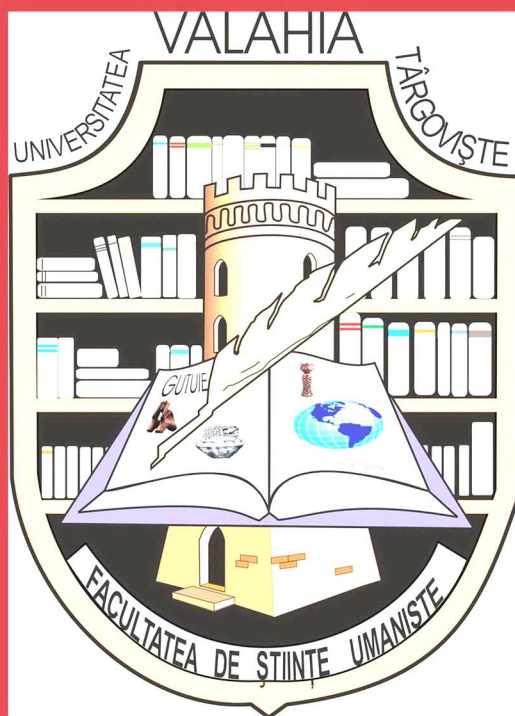


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Monetary deposit found in building XI of the Military Vicus at *Tibiscvm* (Jupa), Caraş-Severin County

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Abstract: Monetary deposit found in building XI of the Military Vicus at *Tibiscvm* (Jupa), Caraş-Severin County. As a result of the systematic archaeological excavations conducted at Jupa in 2008 in building XI a small bronze monetary deposit of 7 sesterii was found. The paper describes and analyses the 7 bronze coins based on: the individual presentation of each coin, the images of the obverse and reverse, the monetary workshop that issued it, the issue year, the metal, the diameter, the weight, the temporary inventory and the catalogue based on which the determination was done.

Key words: Tibiscvm, monetary deposit, sesterii, *vicus militaris*, home-building.

Introduction

In 2008, the systematic archaeological research in building XI within the military *vicus* at Tibiscvm were led by PhD. Lecturer Regep Simona, a member of the West University of Timișoara team of archaeologists, and coordinated by PhD. Professor Doina Benea.

The archaeological research undertaken between 2005 and 2011 in the Tibiscvm military *vicus* were concentrated on building XI, identified as a house. It is placed next to building X, at 1,3 meters West of it, with a North-South orientation. From a typological point of view, building XI fits in the series of those with a narrow fronton and developed in the depth of the plot. This feature suggests a house built on a typical parcel for constructions within *vicus militares*.

The dimensions of the building are: the inner length on the North-South direction of 25,50 meters, and the inner width on the East-West direction of 14 meters.

Regarding the planimetry a portico was observed at the entrance, then a space of about 10–11 by 6 meters representing a yard. Rooms appear in the Northern half, placed on one side

and on the other of a middle wall; thus there are 3 rooms on the East side and 2 rooms on the West side.

From a stratigraphic point of view, 2 wood and clay phases were observed, and afterwards the stone construction was built, somewhere in the middle of the 2nd century A.D., which suffered several restorations; at least 2 of them are datable.

During the research, rich pottery archaeological material resulted: amphorae, *terra sigillata*, usual provincial pottery, *Firmalampen* oil lamps. Iron items of everyday use found are the usual in a Roman house: spikes, nails, padlock, keys, *etc.* The construction materials discovered were numerous, some have the following stamps: MID, MA SY, MIT.

In 2008, while demolishing the partition wall between cassettes (2/2007 and 1/2008) positioned between the portico and the inner yard, seven bronze coins were discovered. The coins were discovered in the first level of the wood phase. The archaeological material discovered consists of very few and unimportant pottery and another small monetary deposit of denarii datable in the period Vespasianus – Hadrianus (S. Regep, C.

Matei, 2011).

Deposit: CSIATIM
Unpublished

Catalogue

1) **TRAIANVS**

S; dimensions 30x31 mm, weight 24,6 g, axis 6; very poor conservation state (worn-out).
Obv.: [.....]; laureate head right
Rev.: [.....]; female diety holding the cornucopiae in the right hand
Unidentified mint; struck 98-117 A.D.
Temporary Inventory: 116a/2008
Deposit: CSIATIM
Unpublished

2) **ANTONINVS PIVS**

S; dimensions 32x31 mm, weight 28,7 g, axis 1; good conservation state.
Obv.: ANTONINVS AVGVSTVS PIVS PP TRP XII, laureate head right
Rev.: COS [IIII] S – C; Aequitas to the left, holding scales in the right hand and cornucopiae in the left hand
Mint: Rome; struck 148-149 A.D.
RIC III, 855
Temporary Inventory: 116b/2008
Deposit: CSIATIM
Unpublished

3) **ANTONINVS PIVS**

S; dimensions 32x30 mm, weight 24,3 g, axis 1; fair conservation state.
Obv.: [ANTONIN]VS AVG PIVS PP TR P [COS III], laureate head right
Rev.: [IMP]ERA[TOR II] S – C; Fides standing, head right, holding corn-ears in the right hand and a basket heaped with fruit in the left hand
Mint: Rome; struck 143-144 A.D.
RIC III, 716
Temporary Inventory: 116c/2008
Deposit: CSIATIM
Unpublished

4) **MARCVS AVRELIVS: Faustina II**

S; dimensions 29x27 mm, weight 22,4 g, axis 1; good conservation state.
Obv.: FAVSTINA AVGVSTA, head right, draped bust right
Rev.: VE[NVS VIC]TRIX S – C; Venus standing left, holding Victory in right hand and shield in left.
Mint: Rome; struck 161-180 A.D.
RIC III, 1688
Temporary Inventory: 116g/2008
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5) **MARCVS AVRELIVS: diva Faustina II**

S; dimensions 30x30 mm, weight 28,6 g, axis 6; fair conservation state.
Obv.: DIVA FAVSTINA PIA, head right, draped bust right
Rev.: [SIDERIBVS RECEPTA] S – C; Faustina as Diana, standing right, holding torch, crescent behind neck.
Mint: Rome; struck post 175 A.D.
RIC III, 1715
Temporary Inventory: 116d/2008
Deposit: CSIATIM
Unpublished

6) **COMMODOVS: Crispina**

S; dimensions 29x27 mm, weight 24,2 g, axis 0; poor conservation state.
Obv.: CRISPINA [AVG]VSTA, head right, draped bust right
Rev.: [PVDICITIA] [S] – C; Pudicitia seated left
Mint: Rome; struck 177-182 A.D.
RIC III, 670
Temporary Inventory: 116f/2008
Deposit: CSIATIM
Unpublished

7) **COMMODOVS**







S; dimensions 27x28 mm, weight 20,2 g, axis 11; very poor conservation state.
Obv.: COMMODOVS [.....]; laureate bust right
Rev.: [.....] S – C; female deity helmeted, standing left, left arm holding spear and leaning on shield; right arm half raised from the elbow.
Mint: Rome; struck 181-182 – 192 A.D.
Temporary Inventory: 116e/2008
Deposit: CSIATIM
Unpublished







Conclusions

The seven bronze coins are 7 sestertii. The oldest coin is 1 S, struck by Trajanus, the most recent is 1 S struck by Commodus between 181-182 and 192 A.D.



The bronze flans were of good quality in some cases and have a square aspect, such as the coins with the following temporary inventory: 116a/2008, 116b/2008, 116f/2008 and 116g/2008.

Monetary deposit found in building XI of the Military Vicus at *Tibiscvm* (Jupa), Caraș-Severin County

Nr. Crt.	Description	Obverse	Reverse	Mint	Struck year	Metal	Dimensions	Weight	Temporary inventory	Catalogue
01	TRAIANVS S; 30x31 mm; 24,6 g; axis 6; very poor conservation state (worn-out) Obv: [.....]; laureate head right Rev: [.....]; female deity holding the cornucopiae in the right hand			Unidentified	98-117 A.D.	AE	30X31 mm	24,6 g	116a/2008	-
02	ANTONINVS PIVS S; 32x31 mm; 28,7 g; axis 1; good conservation state Obv: ANTONINVS AVGVSTVS PIVS P P TR P XII; laureate head right Rev: COS [IIII] S – C; Aequitas to the left, holding scales in the right hand and cornucopiae in the left hand			Rome	148-149 A.D.	AE	32X31 mm	28,7 g	116b/2008	RIC III, 855
03	ANTONINVS PIVS S; 32x30 mm; 24,3 g; axis 1; fair conservation state Obv: [ANTONIN]VS AVGVSTVS P P TR P [COS III]; laureate head right Rev: [IMP]ERA[TOR II] S – C; Fides standing, head right, holding corn-ears in the right hand and a basket heaped with fruit in the left hand			Rome	143-144 A.D.	AE	32X30 mm	24,3 g	116c/2008	RIC III, 716

Nr. Crt.	Description	Obverse	Reverse	Mint	Struck year	Metal	Dimensions	Weight	Temporary inventory	Catalogue
04	MARCVS AVRELIVS: Faustina II S; 29x27 mm; 22,4 g; axis 1; good conservation state Obv: FAVSTINA AVGVSTA; head right, draped bust right Rev: VE[NVS VIC]TRIX S – C; Venus standing left, holding Victory in right hand and shield in left			Rome	161-180 A.D.	AE	29X27 mm	22,4 g	116g/2008	RIC III, 1688
05	MARCVS AVRELIVS: diva Faustina II S; 30x30 mm; 28,6 g; axis 6; fair conservation state Obv. DIVA FAVSTINA PIA; head right, draped bust right Rev: [SIDERIBVS RECEPTA] S – C; Faustina as Diana, standing right, holding torch, crescent behind neck			Rome	post 175 A.D.	AE	30X30 mm	28,6	116d/2008	RIC III, 1715
06	COMMODVS: Crispina S; 29x27 mm; 24,2 g; axis 0; poor conservation state Obv: CRISPINA [AVG]VSTA; head right, draped bust right Rev: [PVDICITIA S] – C; Pudicitia seated left			Rome	177-182 A.D.	AE	29X27 mm	24,2 g	116f/2008	RIC III, 670

Monetary deposit found in building XI of the Military Vicus at *Tibiscvm* (Jupa), Caraș-Severin County

Nr. Crt.	Description	Obverse	Reverse	Mint	Struck year	Metal	Dimensions	Weight	Temporary inventory	Catalogue
07	COMMODVS S; 27x28 mm; 20,2 g; axis 11; very poor conservation state Obv: COMMODVS [Commodvs]; laureate bust right Rev: [.....] S – C; female deity helmeted, standing left, left arm holding spear and leaning on shield; right arm half raised from the elbow			Rome	180-192 A.D.	AE	27X28 mm	20,2 g	116e/2008	-

All the coins are minted by the central mint in Rome.

Coin repartition by emperors is the following: Traianus – 1 S, Antoninus Pius – 2 S, Marcus Aurelius – 2 S and Commodus – 2 S.

The hoarding of the coins started during Antoninus Pius (2 coins) and it continues during Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, each being present with 2 coins each, with the coins struck during Commodus the hoarding comes to an end.

Until now, in Roman Dacia, beside the monetary deposit at Jupa, 7 other coin hoardings ended with coins struck by Commodus were found: 3 in Transilvania – "Alba Iulia I" (I. Winkler, 1965, p. 231), "Cristuru Secuiesc" (D. Protase, 1969, p. 512), "Reghin-Dumbrăvioara" (B. Mitrea, 1954, p. 383) and 4 in Oltenia – "Butoiești" (V. Suci, 2000, p. 31), "Gârla Mare" (V. Suci, 2000, p. 40), "Drăghiceni" (V. Suci, 2000, p. 36), "Slatina" (D. Tudor, 1969, p. 129), from a geographic or chronological point of view these hoardings do not form coin hoarding horizons (V. Suci, 2000). "Thus it seems that these coin hoardings were hidden due to events of local importance or their hiding was caused by events of personal reasons" (A. Husar, 2002, p. 400).

In our opinion this coin hoarding cannot be connected to any political or military event of the era, as its value is very low.

Considering the relative short period of hoarding, the coins were probably accumulated during only one generation. The type of coin hoarded can indicate that this small coin deposit represents current capital, which, from different reasons, was never recovered by the owner.

Building XI is a typical house for the colonists in *vicus militaris*, the first 2 phases of the construction being related to a Norico-Pannonian family.

Abbreviations

AE - bronze

Obv. - obverse

Rev. - reverse

S – *sestertius*

CSIATIM – Centrul de Studii de Istorie și Arheologie „Constantin Daicoviciu” Timișoara

RIC – *The Roman Imperial Coinage*

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The Reign of Teodosie and the 1521 Fights for the Wallachian Throne Short Considerations

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Abstract: *The Reign of Teodosie and the 1521 Fights for the Wallachian Throne. Short Considerations.* The period which covers the death of voivode Neagoe Basarab and the accession to the throne of Radu of Afumați, limited at historical scale, proved a moment of maximum tension in the sinuous development of the Wallachian state during the first decades of the 14th century. It was the beginning of a strained time in the evolution of the Wallachian state which was concluded by the instauration of a direct regime of domination of the Ottoman Empire. Naturally, when events reach us through chronicles or other subjective sources, the interval groups unclear aspects that cannot be supported by precious documentary evidence. Although historiography does not lack for interests in Teodosie's rule, a number of uncertainties regarding the age of the royal offspring, his relationship with the influential boyar family of the Craiovești and particularly his connections with the Ottoman power, represented by the Pasha of Nikopol, still linger on. Thus, the present study aims to highlight and complete earlier or more recent theories and assumptions formulated in the specialty literature and, therefore, to make a contribution to comprehending a controversial time of the Romanian Middle Ages.

Key-words: *voivode, succession, trusteeship, boyars, Ottoman Empire*

“Din mila lui Dumnezeu, Io Radul voievod și domn a toată țara Ungrovlahiei, fiul marelui și bunului Radul voievod” (meaning “By God's mercy, I, voivode Radu, prince of all country of Ungro-Wallachia, son of the good and great Radu voivode”)*. This is how the new Prince of Wallachia, Radu, illegitimate son of Prince Radu the Great, generally remembered as Radu of Afumați, a village located in the Ilfov area where his properties were, would call himself in the document issued on 3 February 1522 at the Princely Court of Târgoviște.

It was an official document that came out seven months after the last document issued by the chancellery of the great Voivode Neagoe Basarab (I. Bidian, 1978). The period, which is short at historical scale, marked a moment of fierce political and military conflict that would have an impact on the development of the Wallachian state during the first part of the 14th century.

Naturally, when events reach us through chronicles only, the interval generates controversies caused by the lack of absolutely necessary documentary evidence. An episode which best illustrates the turmoil of events shows us the ephemeral reign of Teodosie and the attempts to recover the throne that hastened his untimely end.

The death of Prince Neagoe Basarab on 15 September 1521 meant, according to the hereditary principle, that the power would pass to his son, Teodosie, who, being very young, was under the protection of the powerful Craiovescu family and his mother, Princess Despina Milița.

Dangers would threaten at every step the royal seat and, as the Ottoman Empire reached its acme, the status of Wallachia became more fragile. Boyars from Buzău, that had been banished to Moldavia by the late prince, had found support at the court of Bogdan III and were expecting to assume the power by bringing to the

throne the illegitimate son of the former voivode, Vlad cel Tânăr ("the Young"), who had ruled the country from 1510 to 1512.

The first unclear aspect, which is worth mentioning and analysing, is the age of the royal offspring who was entitled to reign, in autumn 1521. The writing of the Ragusan Michael Bocignoli, dated 29 June, 1524, mentioned that Neagoe Basarab left an heir who had not yet come of age: "...Basarab, domnul Țării Românești (pe care l-am cunoscut înainte de a fi domn, pe când mă aflam la români), moare lăsând după el un fiu de 7 ani" ("...Basarab, the Prince of Wallachia, whom I had met before he became voivode, while being among the Romanians, dies leaving behind a 7-year-old son")**. This information was questioned by the Romanian historiography (Constantin Rezachevici, 2001) which brought up the document of 30 October 1521 by which the Venetian ambassadors from Buda announced the appointment of 16-year-old Teodosie to the throne of Wallachia ("...Io Illustrissimo Vayvoda di Transalpina et li Valachi haveano electo il fiol suo chiamato Theodosio de anni 16...")***.

The writing of the Ragusan Bocignoli, which contains a comprehensive description of Wallachia, should be considered within the context of his rich diplomatic activity dedicated to stopping the expansion of the empire of the crescent moon. He completely disregards the two extra-Carpathian Romanian states that were under the Ottoman domination and enhances Transylvania's role appealing to the great Christian powers to support the fight against the Turks.

From this perspective, it is likely that the manuscript should have been ordered by the influential voivode of Transylvania, John Zapolya, in order to use it as an instrument of propaganda, possibly to raise a Christian coalition that would include the Romanian countries as well.

The negotiations carried out by Neagoe Basarab and the Pasha of Nikopol, Mehmed, during the first months of 1521, established the dispatch of Wallachian military support. Due to the voivode's poor health, it was probably placed under Teodosie's command****.

Youth and inexperience of the royal offspring in military actions finally led to the suspension of the Wallachian operations. At the same time it should be noted that Neagoe Basarab's doctor, Ieronim Matievich, a Ragusan as well, was in Wallachia during the last year of life of the

voivode and could have represented an efficient source of information for Michael Bocignoli.

In conclusion, all these negotiations could easily become known to the author of the epistle (especially since his writing is almost contemporary with the events) who thus considered the change of the rule in a negative way.

The information regarding Teodosie's age may also contain a mere error of interpretation. Bocignoli said he had met Neagoe Basarab before the latter's ascension to the throne and the references to Teodosie's age might allude to that particular time. If we start from the theory that Teodosie's age is correctly mentioned by the Venetian ambassadors, then he might have been, in early 1512, before Neagoe Basarab's assumption of power, 7 years old. Therefore, the data contained in Michael Bocignoli's epistle would refer to Teodosie's age during his stay in Wallachia, especially since the exact moment and circumstances of the sojourn remain unknown.

The lack of official internal documents makes it impossible to precisely date the reign of young Teodosie. It can be partially reconstituted based on several letters sent to Braşov and Sibiu and on reports commissioned by the Hungarian Kingdom which record some of the political turmoil across the Carpathians.

First, we shall focus on the controversial tutelage exerted by his uncle, the great boyar Preda Craiovescu. The *Letopiseşul Cantacuzinesc* accurately describes the course of events: "Iar după moartea lui Băsărab voda s-au înălţat domn Preda, fratele lui Băsărab vovod, ca să ție domniia lui Theodosie, nepotă-său" ("after Basarab voda's death, prince Preda, brother of Basarab voivode, assumed the trusteeship of the reign of his nephew Teodosie")*****. The oldest version of the chronicle of Wallachia provides an even clearer picture: "În anul 7029 al lumii, după moartea lui, domnul Preda, fratele lui, s-a ridicat ca să facă pe Theodosie, fiul fratelui sau Basarab, vovod în locul tatălui sau." or in translation "In the year of the world 7029, following his death, his brother prince Preda raised to make Theodosie, the son of his brother Basarab, voivode in his father's place" (V. Căndea, 1970).

Radu Popescu's chronicle brings a different view on this moment, questioning the beginnings of Teodosie's reign: "Iar, când au fost leat 7029, s-au pristăvit și Neagoe-vodă, domnul rumânilor. Și în urma lui au fost multă gâlceavă pentru domnie, că feciorii lui Neagoe-vodă, Theodosie și

altul, au fost mici, rămași cu muma lor Dospina. Ci o seamă de boiari au rădicat domnu pă Preda, ce zic să fie fost frate lui Neagoe-vodă” (“and when it was the year 7029, Neagoe-vodă, the prince of the Romanians, passed away. Much quarrel for the throne did he leave behind for Neagoe-vodă’s sons, Theodosie and another one, were young and remained with their mother Dospina. Some boyars put Preda, Neagoe-vodă’s brother, on the throne”)*****.

In fact, the dissatisfactions arisen during Neagoe’s reign could be reiterated in that Teodosie, like his father, was not royalty. Not many years had passed since Vlad cel Tânăr had accused Neagoe of wanting his crown though he was not a princely offspring, which had finally been accepted by the Craiovescu boyars (“*Deci domnul...trimise să aducă dentru acel neam drept pre iubitul Neagoe la dânsul. Iar alți boieri deacă înțeleșeră, ziseră domnului: Doamne, părăsește-te de aceasta...că Neagoe iaste cu adevărat fecior al nostru și nu are întru sine hicleșug...Iar domnul zise: Deacă iaste așa, voi îl aduceți și jurați pentru dânsul.*”) (“So the prince sent for Neagoe. And other boyars told the prince: Our Lord, Neagoe is truly one of us and there is nothing cunning about him. And the lord said: If that is so, you bring him and swear for him”)***** (p. 21).

Thus, any pretender would consider himself entitled to assume the ruling of the country even if the association to the reign and the conveyance of the throne had been done in compliance with all the canons. Legitimation of power is very likely to have sparked the cavalcade of royal battles and prompted Preda Craiovescu to assume the task of ruling the country. The situation recorded as such by the internal chronicles emphasises the kinship relation between Teodosie and his uncle Preda, although Neagoe Basarab had promoted throughout his reign his filiation from Basarab Tepelus (L. M. Ilie, 2008).

In contrast, his main rival, Vlad Dragomir Călugărul, had a certain lineage, acknowledged as such by Hungary and Poland, which emphasised, in a correspondence that analysed the Turkish danger, his descent from the royal family (“*ex vojevodarum genere*”)*****.

From the very beginning, Teodosie tried, through his mother, princess Despina, to consolidate the relationships with the Christian powers. It is possible that when Teodosie was appointed as head of the state, Lady Despina should have been in Sibiu. She crossed in Wallachia before the fights from Targoviște won

by the pretender Vlad Călugărul (S. Dragomir, 1925-1926). The messenger sent to the court of the king of Hungary was stopped in Brașov on the grounds that it was not recognized: “*...ați oprit Grațiositatea voastră acolo în Brașov pe sluga noastră Andriiaș fiindcă n-ați crezut că este trimis de la domnia noastră. Drept aceea, Grațiositatea voastră, să știți și să credeți, că l-am trimis noi către înălțimea craiul cu vorbele noastre de trebuință, încă pe când mi-a fost Theodosie voevod în țară*” (“... Your Grace stopped our servant Andriiaș in Brașov because you did not believe he was sent by us. Therefore, Your Grace, you should know and believe that we sent him to his lordship the king with the right and necessary words when Theodosie was the voivode of the country”). The lack of dating of the letter sent by Princess Despina Milița prevents an exact placement in time of the moment. We may assume that references to Teodosie’s ruling of the country point even to the last days of the late Neagoe Basarab, when his son was imposed as prince*****.

The last document which confirms Teodosie’s reign (dated 7 January 1522) arranges the sequence of events that groups the attack of the pretender Vlad Dragomir Călugărul with his victory at Târgoviște and Teodosie’s appeal to the Ottoman power translated into the intervention of the bey of Nikopol by which his rights were reinstated. Certain passages are suggestive and can be judged in relation with the letter sent to Brașov by Lady Despina***** (p. 266).

Teodosie tried, amid evident collaboration with the Ottoman forces, to rekindle the relations with Transylvania and Hungary that had followed an upward trend during the last part of his parent’s reign. The distrust of Transylvanian towns, particularly of Brașov, in the political line pursued by the Wallachian state is clearly shown by the episode of the capturing of the Wallachian envoy which roused Lady Despina’s extremely eloquent reaction. To this we may add the envoy from Sibiu sent before Neagoe Basarab’s death in order to investigate precisely Voivode Teodosie’s political options*****.

Of particular interest, in the given context, is the possible alliance between the boyars that were in exile in Moldavia and those around the Buzău area who sought to put an illegitimate son of the prince, Vlad cel Tânăr, on the throne. Taking advantage of Prince Neagoe Basarab’s death, the boyars banished in the Moldavian country quickly took action and provided military

support to the pretender Vlad Dragomir Călugăru. Even though the Buzău boyars remain unidentified, it is known, however, and documents show it, that they allied with several boyars from Oltenia, such as Vlaicu stolnicul ("the seneschal"), Diicul comisul ("the equerry"), Dragomir logofătul ("the chancellor"), who were still faithful to the late voivode Mircea III. (D. Pleşia, 1970).

Historiographical controversies on the existence of two pretenders, Radu Călugăru and Vlad Dragomir Călugăru, have not yet been permanently settled. (N. Iorga, 1898) The name Radu seems to have been wrongly attributed by the 17th-century chronicles because in all contemporary documents he appears with the name of Vlad after that taken by his father at the enthronement. His being called "călugăru" ("the monk") suggests he put on the monastic robe, at an unspecified date, during Neagoe Basarab's reign, with the clear purpose of avoiding the intrigues that could endanger his life.

Returning to the actual events, Radu Popescu's chronicle records the following development: "*Iar pribegii ce au fost în domnia lui Neagoe-vodă, pribegiți în Moldova, auzind poftită de dânșii, de moartea lui Neagoe-vodă, au venit în țară, și, împreună cu buzăienii, au rădicat pe alt domnu, pă un Radul-vodă Călugăru și au mers de s-au bătut cu Preda, ce era cu ceilaltă ceată de boiari...*" ("And the outcasts banished to Moldavia during Neagoe-vodă's reign, learning about Neagoe-vodă's death they had so long desired, returned to the country and, together with the Buzău noblemen, enthroned another voivode, someone called Radu-vodă Călugăru and went to fight Preda, who was with the other band of boyars")***** (p. 272). The fragment suggests that the alliance between the exiled boyars and those in the country was not well established, but rather temporary, aiming to instate Vlad Dragomir Călugăru.

His ascension to the throne or rather his assumption of power by force of arms is recorded by the city of Braşov on 11-12 October 1521 when he appears as bearing the title "*novus wayvoda Transalpinensis Wlad*" *****. As a matter of fact, all notes recording the new power appeared in October, which confirms that Vlad's installation occurred sometime during the last days of September 1521. We have in mind the letter sent by King Louis II to the Transylvanian Saxons in which he asked them to assist Teodosie who had been dethroned by

"*Calager...Dragamir*"***** (p. 375) and that sent to the people of Sibiu on 24 October 1521 *****.

The main battle was to take place at Târgovişte and the exact dating cannot be done. Placing it after 23 September is mandatory for that was the time when knez Demetrie was sent by the voivode of Transylvania to transalpine areas in order to investigate the dissensions between voivodes ("*...disturbiorum in partibus transalpinis inter Wayvodas.*")*****. The defeat of the army led by Preda Craiovescu appears to be explained by the numerical inferiority suggested veiledly both in *Letopiseşul Cantacuzinesc* and Radu Popescu's chronicle. The appeal to Mehmet Bey's Ottoman forces across the Danube, made before the battle of Târgovişte, confirms the insufficient army that Neagoe Basarab's son had.

Vlad's ascension to the throne is also recorded on 14 October in the information given by a Wallachian priest who announced the representatives from Sibiu about Teodosie's replacement with Vlad: "*Cuidam pope transalpinensi qui attulit quod Theodosius rursus in sedem Wayvodatus est locatus et Wladt emulus esset interemptus...*"***** (p. 846).

Therefore, sometime in early October, at Târgovişte, a new prince, who promised to overthrow the balance of powers in the country held by the influential family of the Craiovescu boyars, was installed. He had the opportunity to avenge the death of his father, Vlad cel Tânăr, who had been killed after a campaign led by the Pasha of Nikopol in collaboration with the forces commanded by the Craiovescu boyars.

An identical action was inevitable. The Craioveşti had informed their protector of the turmoil in the country and were expecting an intervention of the latter meant to reinstate Neagoe Basarab's son.

Turkish troops led by Mehmet Bey reached Târgovişte towards the middle of October. The development of hostilities was not detailed in any sources; however, it is known that Vlad Dragomir and his main allies were captured.

The document which recounts this event is a report from the castellan of Făgăraş addressed to the vicevoivode of Transylvania on 25 October 1521. Its analysis brings up several other interesting data.

Thus, it is mentioned that, beyond the Turks' categorical victory, Mehmed became the real leader of the state. Still, his mission was to reinstate Teodosie and, consequently, he would

not want to exceed his duties. Without the Empire's support, his action might have encountered a fierce riposte from the inside and probably that is why the Ottoman ruler chose to cross the Danube at Nikopol to start negotiations with the Sultan regarding his reinstallation as voivode of Wallachia.

The same description of events can also be found in later sources, which means that the Bey of Nikopol tried to take over the power in October 1521 (J. Filstich, 1979).

Mehmed left the Wallachian state with the former voivode, who was captive, and a character with great influence in the country, the equerry Radu Bădica, Neagoe Basarab's cousin, who was on the party opposing the Craiovești. His close relationships with the Pasha of Nikopol are proved by Radu Bădica's killing Vlad Dragomir Călugăruț at his order: "*Acolo fiind și Bădica comisu. ...au cerșut voie de la Mehmet-bei, de au taiat capul Radului-vodă.*" ("As the equerry Bădica was there... he asked for Mehmet-bey's permission and beheaded Radu-vodă")***** (p. 272). As son of Radu the Great, the equerry Radu Bădica was already trying to show his loyalty to the Turkish power that, in two years' time, would grant him the power in Wallachia.

The Turkish troops' leaving the Wallachian state meant the beginning of Teodosie's second reign. It began towards the end of October 1521 for on 1 November Teodosie would send a letter to the people of Brașov informing them of the new dangers that threatened his reign: "*Iar după aceea, încă nu-mi fu cu atâta destul, ci iarăși mi s-au ridicat alți vrășmași și cu hoți, cu făcători de rele, și au prădat țara și au ars-o pe dânsa.*" ("And after that, as it was not enough, other enemies raised and, hand in hand with thieves, with evildoers, plundered and burned the country")***** (p. 267). It is hard to prove who had inflicted the latest damages upon the country. Although Teodosie said his rule had come from the Turks, the only who had set fire and taken slaves were the Ottoman troops instructed to loot the Buzău area: "*Și Mehmet-bei...încă până a nu trece la Nicopia, au trimis turci de au robii pă buzăieni și au prădat tot județul acela, pentru rădicare Radului-vodă Călugăruț*" ("And Mehmet-bey, before going to Nicopia, sent Turks to enslave the people of Buzău and plunder all the county, for raising Radu-vodă Călugăruț")***** (p. 272). However, we find similar information in Macarie's chronicle which emphasises that Teodosie's reign was troubled by no fewer than 6

outcasts who all perished in less than a year (P. P. Panaitescu, 1959)

Therefore, it is possible that the decision to send Teodosie to Nikopol, in the last days of 1521, should have been prompted by the contingent struggles for power that had broken out and on which documents have not preserved any information. Still, it was Mehmed who was behind this action as he wanted to have Wallachia and thus acted accordingly.

Returning to documentary evidence, sometime in mid December of 1521, Teodosie was taken across the Danube under Mehmed-bey's protection and at the Sultan's orders. It was only the first stage of the plan that was to end with bringing a Turkish ruler to Wallachia. According to a letter dated 1521, Louis II of Hungary informed Sigismund I of Poland of the attack launched by Mehmed in the southern parts of Transylvania***** (p. 373).

However, it is difficult to speak about an interruption of reign since on 7 January 1522 hegumen Joseph of Curtea de Argeș went to Sibiu with a message from Teodosie. Entrusting such a deputation across the Danube does not seem, however, impossible, especially in terms of the message contained which insists on trust in the words and information of the carrier ("*...trimis-am pe al nostru părinte, pe egumenul Iosif de la Arghiș...cu ale noastre adevărate și de trebuință cuvinte...apoi Grațiozitatea voastră...cu luare aminte să credeți lui, căci sunt vorbele domniei mele pe adevărat*") ("we have sent our father, hegumen Joseph of Argeș with our true and necessary words... then Your Grace carefully should believe him for they are my words indeed")***** (p. 265).

The voivode's crossing the Danube may thus have two causes. Either Teodosie had to be put under protection against the numerous attacks that were endangering his reign, or he left for the Ottoman Empire precisely to get stronger support from the Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent.

His passing away, as shrouded in mystery as his short reign, urges us to assume that some disagreement, regarding even the ruling of Wallachia, had intervened between Teodosie and his protector, the Pasha of Nikopol. His replacement was extremely rapid for on 22 January the authorities of Sibiu would send an envoy to Târgoviște that was supposed to rekindle the relationships with the new prince of Wallachia, Radu of Afumați. The swift sequence of events allows us to believe that Teodosie fell victim to an assassination plotted by Mehmed

bey or by the nobility dreaming to instate the Turkish rule.

Without knowing the place and date of death, history recorded the voivode's passing out of existence based on an icon ordered by his mother Despina, dated approximately 1522, bearing the inscription: "...primește sufletul robului tău, Ion Teodosie și adu-l la judecata ta" ("receive the soul of Thy servant, Ion Teodosie, and bring him to Your judgment")*****.

His removal marked only the beginning of the political and military tensions that, nearly a century later, would again take the shape of the anti-Ottoman fight. An empire that now, under the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent, reached its utmost force, would bring an unprecedented alternation on the royal throne and create premises for installing a regime of Turkish domination over Wallachia.

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A possible attack direction used by the Roman army during the Dacian Wars

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Abstract: *A possible attack direction used by the Roman army during the Dacian Wars.* The Dacian Wars present at this moment numerous unknown aspects, among these are the military operations of the Roman Army on the Lower and Middle basin of the Mureș Valley. The scholarly opinions on this matter are numerous, in regard to the advance directions, the troop composition, and the period in which the actions occurred - the first or the second war. The author brings into discussion another possible advance route towards the Mureș Valley, across the Lipovei Hills, on a *via terrena* road type, built and used during the Dacian - Roman Wars. The hypothesis is supported by the discovery of another possible roman road in 1977, which crosses in its turn the Lipovei Hills about 50 km to the east, at Bulci. Related to these events during the wars, the author presents a number of new fortifications at Bârzava, Neudorf and Secusigiu. The one from Secusigiu, judging by its size and analogies, might represent a temporary roman camp and could represent the first tangible proof of a Roman advance on the Mureș Valley during the Dacian Wars.

Key words: Dacian Wars, Pannonian expeditionary corps, *via terrena*, temporary camps, roman castra, Mureș Valley.

Introduction

It is a well-known fact that the Dacian Wars present at this moment numerous unknown aspects, and it is unlikely that these might be unraveled anytime soon (D. Benea 2006). Among these unknown aspects are the military operations of the Roman Army on the Lower and Middle basin of the Mureș Valley, from its convergence into Tisa up to the Șureanu Mountains, the heartlands of the Dacian Kingdom and the main conflict area.

Previous researchers had try to answer the puzzling questions: did the Roman forces advanced from Pannonia or did they went downstream on the Mureș from the central conflict area, conquering the Dacian fortifications located near the river? Did the expeditionary corps from Pannonia that took part in both Dacian Wars (101-102 A.D. and 105-106 A.D) came indeed from the west, simultaneous with the Roman offensive in the south, or did this

corps joined with the other Roman forces in Moesia Superior, the starting point of the campaign ? And did the movements on the Mureș River happen in the first war or in the second war?

These questions have remained unanswered to this day, and in the archaeological literature, such issues are treated, because of the lack of any solid arguments so far, in phrases such as „unlikely”, "likely" or "very likely". In this paper, we will bring into discussion a series of new finds, discovered during field researches done in the last years in Arad County that might bring new light on the military operations of the Roman Army on the lower Mureș during the Dacian Wars.

The historiography of the problem

Among the historians and archaeologists that attempted to answer these questions were O. Răut and his collaborators (O. Răuț, O. Bozu, R.

Petrovsky, 1997; F. Fodorean, 2006; E. Nemeth et.al., 2011). They claimed that the Roman Army advanced in the Second War towards the Transylvanian heartlands of the Dacian Kingdom using the Mureş Valley, arriving there on a road existing between Tibiscum and Bulci that might have been built for this purpose earlier, in the inter-war years.

L. Mărghită (1978) believes that in the First Dacian war, we cannot speak of Roman forces attacking the Lower Mureş - they entered only its middle course, thus the numerous Dacian fortifications and settlements located downstream from the Simeria - Uroi area were not directly involved in the battles as the Roman Army concentrated its forces in assaulting the capital of the Dacian kingdom, Sarmizegetusa Regia. L. Mărghită (1978) also believes that after the peace treaty of 102 A.D. the Romans did not occupy the valley of the great Transylvanian river, bringing as an argument the well-known passage found in the works of the ancient historian Dio Cassius that speaks about the Dacian king Decebalus retaking sometimes in the inter-war period, a land previously occupied by the Iazigi Sarmatians. According to L. Mărghită (1978), only in the Second Dacian war, the Romans, together with their Iazigii allies, have attacked the Mureş Valley coming upstream from the west. This scenario is considered much more plausible by the author than a hypothetical secondary expedition launched by the Romans from their war-quarters located in Ţara Haţegului. Thus, in the Second Dacian war, Roman units advanced on the Mureş coming from the northern area of the Strei River, or through the Dobra pass. Once entered the valley, these troops might have engaged Dacian forces both upstream as well as downstream of their entry point. A. Diaconescu (1997), on the other hand, supposes that a Roman expeditionary corps might have entered on the Mureş Valley coming from Pannonia during the first war, getting as far as Apulum, that might have been the joining point of the various Roman expeditionary forces advancing in Dacia from different directions.

However, C. H. Opreanu (1996) considers that during the Second Dacian war, "very likely" an expeditionary corps coming from Pannonia went through the Tisa Plains and on the Mureş Valley, joining other Roman forces at Apulum. In its turn, D. Benea (2006) believes that it is

necessary to analyse again other attack directions used by the Romans against Dacia. She admits as certain the fact that an expeditionary corps, formed from the armies of the two provinces, Pannonia Superior and Inferior, totaling about 26 500 soldiers (Legio I Adiutrix and Legio XIII Gemina with other forces), advanced in the first war from Pannonia towards Transylvania. Its movement might have been made on two possible ways: on land, by transporting the troops to Lugio and from there, across the Pannonian Plains towards Parthikon, after which they continued advancing upstream on Mureş; the second, considers an advance towards Dacia through the using of rivers, on Danube, then on Tisa and after that on Mureş, upstream, until the plains to the north of Şureanu Mountains. She also believes that the *dava* from Pecica – „Şantul Mare” (identified by I. H. Crişan, 1978 with ancient Ziridava; newer opinions identify this *dava* with Ardeu - Cetăţuie, see S. Forţiu, 2012) was destroyed during these operations. Also, in her opinion, the Roman expeditionary corps coming on Mureş might have participated in the Battle of Tapae, together with other forces - but the location of the Tapae is in her view not at the Iron Gates of Transylvania, but somewhere else (D. Benea, 2006).

About the possibility of an attack by a Roman expeditionary corps from Pannonia on the Mureş Valley, K. Strobel (1984) also wrote, but he considered such a road impracticable, due to natural conditions (K. Strobel, 1984; E. Nemeth, 2007). However, such a road had been in usage long before the Roman times (I. Ferenczi, 1974; E. Nemeth, 2007).

E. Nemeth (2007), speaking about the role of the Pannonian Roman expeditionary corps that participated in both wars, emphasizes the merits of the governor Q. Glitius Agricola that led the corps composed of legionary *vexillatio* and auxiliary forces. These actions had taken place during the First Dacian war, while the offensive might have taken place simultaneously with the southern offensive. He cannot exclude the fact that this expeditionary force might not have actually went towards Mureş, but towards Moesia Superior, to join the main column led by Emperor Trajan himself.

Most researchers seem to agree about a possible Roman advance on the Mureş Valley from the Pannonia. A. Diaconescu (1997), D.

Benea (2006), E. Nemeth (2007) believe that this happened during the First War, while L. Mărghită (1978) and C. Opreanu (1997) suppose a later date, during the Second war. Also, if A. Diaconescu (1997) and C. Opreanu (1997) suppose that the Roman advance was on the northern bank of the river, D. Benea (2006) supposes that such an advance was "likely on the southern bank".

Possible new attack directions

Any Roman advance from Pannonia towards the Mureș Valley could have had no less than two objectives: to eliminate all areas of Dacian resistance along the valley (fortresses and settlements); to reinforce the main Roman push into the Transylvanian heartlands of the Dacian Kingdom, during the Second Dacian War. Even if the Roman expeditionary corps might have advanced on the southern bank of Mureș River, opposing the Dacian fortifications that are all located on the northern shore (D. Benea 2006; A. Berzovan, C. Coatu, 2010), these should have been nevertheless eliminated (fig. 1).

The advance of the Roman army towards the Mureș River might have been done from multiple directions. In 1995, during field researches, a new dyke had been discovered on the first heights of the Lipovei Hills, at their contact with the Mureș meadows. It is located at about 2,4 km west from the town of Lipova, and 1,8 km south towards the current course of the Mureș, in the area named „Dâmbul Plumbilor” (GPS coordinates: 46°03'32.58"N, 21°40'06.02"E, elevation 155 m). It is well preserved and it appears as an embankment surrounded by two ditches. The western one has an opening of about 1,5 - 2 m, while the eastern one is smaller, only of about 1 m. The width of this embankment at its height is between 5,5 - 6 meters, while its current height is between 0,80 m - 1 m. Its direction is N-S (fig. 2-3). The „dyke” continues at both ends - the northern one can be easily seen on satellite images is going another 23 meters, towards the meadows of Mureș, in front of the Cladova valley's opening. The southern part goes towards the forest line, being severely damaged by agricultural works - it is also superimposed by a modern agricultural road. In the forest, we could not find it anymore.

We believe that this "dyke" was a part of the one mentioned by G. Teglás (1904) in the

beginning of the XXth century on the Șistarovăț Valley. This „dyke” stretched far to the south towards Banat, going towards Berzovia and even further (G. Teglás, 1904; L. Măruia, 2011). In our point of view, this „dyke”, including the sector described by G. Teglás (1904) had different functions than a simple linear defensive system or a demarcation line - it could have been a part of the communication roads built by the Romans in Dacia during the Dacian - Roman wars. Considering its shape and aspect, this "dyke" could in fact represent one of the simplest types of roads built by the Romans: *via terrena* (F. Fodorean, 2006). Of course, the idea of considering some of the dykes in the Banat as roads is not a new one. Grossly exaggerating, Kematmüller supposed that of the dykes were in fact Roman roads (M. Kematmüller, 1892).

There are a few more considerations to be made regarding this discovery. Between the northern end of the „Dâlma” dyke mentioned by G. Teglás (1904) and the southern part of the dyke we found at „Dâmbul Plumbilor”, there is a distance of about 2,5 km, where we could not find any traces of the dyke - it is possible, however, that it might have been destroyed in time, due to the three plantations and agricultural works that affected this parts of the Lipovei Hills. Anyway, a change of direction with 90° could be explained by an intention to finish the road in front of Cladova, where a Dacian fortification existed on the Cetății Hill (M. Barbu 1996; P. Hügel, P. Hurezan, 1999). We believe that this likely road could have come from Berzovia, going across the Lipovei Hills and entering into the lower Mureș Valley. Our hypothesis says that the Romans have built this road at the end of the First War, or during the interwar period, in order to ease the access towards the southern banks of the River Mureș. A firm Roman control of the southern banks between Orăștie and Tisa was necessary in order to assure a solid starting base for attacking the rather numerous Dacian forts located on the northern bank (M. Barbu, 1996).

At the end of the First War, most scholars agree that the entire Banat region was occupied by the Romans (D. Benea, 1994; N. Gudea, 1997; C. Opreanu 1997, C. Opreanu, 1998; P. Hügel, 1999). It is admitted that the northern limit of the Roman advance during the First Dacian War is represented by the middle and lower course of

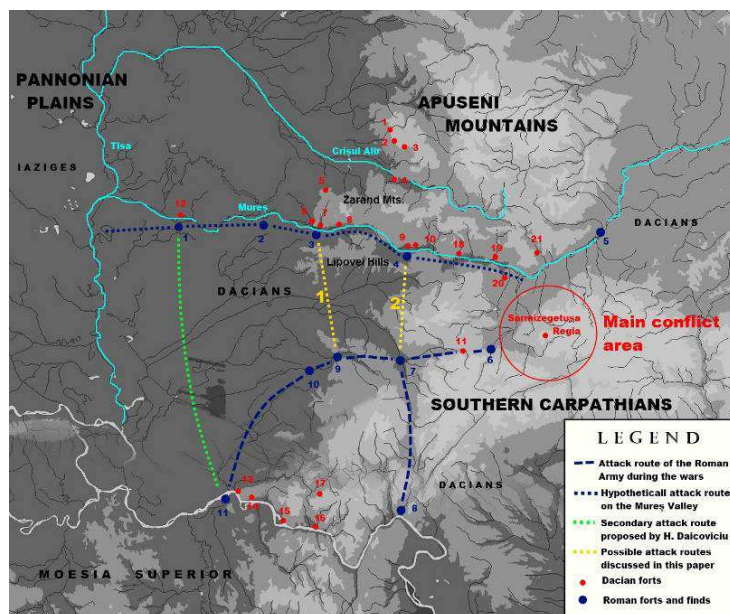


Fig.1- The western theater of operations during the Dacian Wars. **Dacian forts:** 1. Botfei; 2. Clit; 3. Groșeni; 4. Berindia; 5. Șiria; 6. Păuliș; 7. Cladova; 8. Șoimoș (?); 9. Vărădia de Mureș; 10. Săvârșin; 11. Tapae (?); 12. Pecica; 13. Socol; 14. Divici; 15. Pescari; 16. Liubcova; 17. Dalboșeț; 18. Câmpuri Surduc; 19. Uroi; 20. Cozia; 21. Ardeu. **Roman forts and finds:** 1. Secusigiu (?); 2. Aradu Nou; 3. Neudorf (?); 4. Bulci; 5. Apullum; 6. Sarmizegetusa; 7. Tibiscum; 8. Dierna; 9. Aizizis; 10. Berzobis; 11. Lederata. **Possible attack routes discussed in this paper:** 1. Ending at Neudorf; 2. Ending at Bulci.

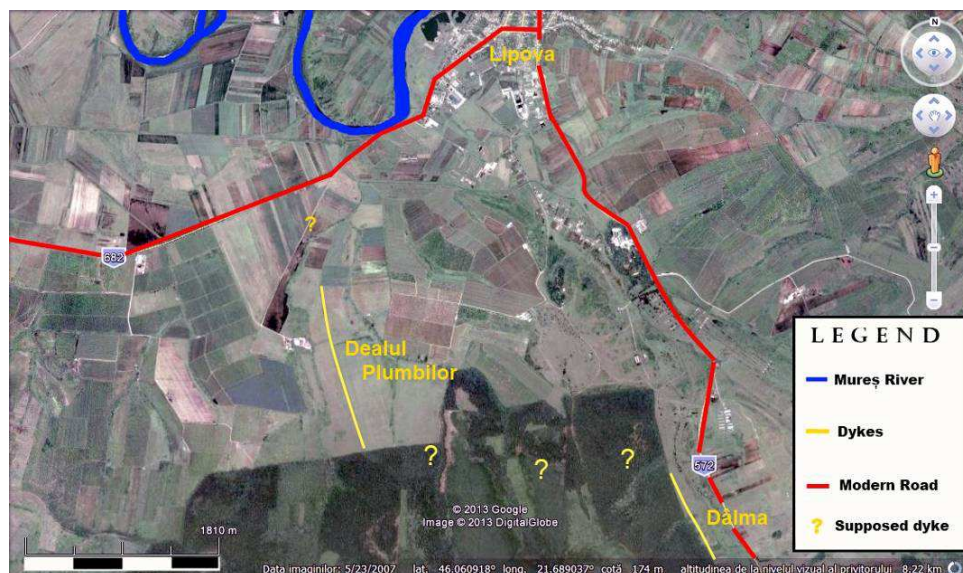


Fig. 2 - The "Dâlma" and the dyke from the "Dealul Plumbilor". Satellite image from Google Earth.



Fig. 3 - The "dyke" from the Dealul Plumbilor

the Mureș River (N. Gudea, 1997; C. Opreanu, 1998). From our point of view, we agree that the northern limits was indeed the Mureș River and that the Romans stopped their advance on the southern bank, possibly due to a clause in the peace treaty signed between Emperor Trajan and king Decebalus. One of the arguments for this is a well-known passage from Dio Cassius related to the quick attack of Decebalus against the Iazygii Sarmatians that had occupied during the war a territory that was previously a part of the Dacian Kingdom (C. Petolescu, 2001). The territory in dispute seems to have been somewhere to the north-west of Mureș, maybe in Arad Plains and Crișana, not in the north-western Banat (C. Opreanu, 1997, C. Opreanu, 1998). In order to get his armies towards this territory, Decebalus had to go on the Mureș valley - however, if all the course of the river would have been under the control of the Romans, the Dacian king would have had to use different, more difficult pathways, that would have considerably slowed him down (for example, the valley of Crisul Alb).

Our hypothesis according to which the "dyke" from the Dealul Plumbilor and the "Dâlma" from Șiștarovăț represents a via terrena used by the Romans to enter the Mureș Valley seems to be supported by an indirect analogy located around 50 km to the east. O. Răuț and its collaborators (1977) mention the existence of an unknown Roman road - going from Tibiscum (Jupa), and then through Răchita - Pădurariu - Bunea Mare (Timis County), passing through the

Lipovei Hills and exiting on the southern banks of Mureș Valley, at Bulci (O. Răuț et.al. 1997; E. Nemeth, 2007). During 1977, we have discovered limestone plates in the structure of the modern county road 80, which connects the villages of Bulci and Ostrov, suggesting a possible re-utilization in modern times of an ancient Roman road. Also, to the north-west, satellite images show a possible trail of the same road (46°00'26.62"N, 22°06'00.77"E, elevation 143 m).

The construction of two roads coming from the main Roman road between Berzovia (C. C. Petolescu, 2001) and Tibiscum (Jupa), offered for the Roman army multiple ways to go towards the Mureș River, attacking key strategic points. It is not at all a coincidence that both roads stop in front of the two main concentrations of Dacian settlements and fortifications on the Mureș Valley: the western one, from "Dealul Plumbilor" stops in the area of Cladova - Dealul Cetății and an entire system of Dacian forts and settlements (A. Berzovan, C. Coatu 2010), while the eastern one from Bulci stops near the fortifications of Vărădia de Mureș - Dealul Cetății and Săvârșin - Dealul Cetățea (fig. 1).

If our hypotheses are correct, an important part in this work might have been undertaken by Legio III Flavia Felix (D. Benea, 1983). It is likely that during the inter-war period, the control of the southern banks of the Mureș might have not been permanent; its surveillance could have been made by small detachments coming from

Berzovia or Tibiscum (D. Benea, 1983). However, certain key areas, such as that from Bulci, or at Bârzava (where an ancient trail-road connects across the Zarandului Mountains the Mureş Valley with the Crişul Alb Valley), might have been fortified by the Romans.

The onset of the Second Dacian War in 105 A.D. permitted the Roman Army an easy access on these roads towards the Mureş Valley, and the fording of the northern shores must have been made simultaneously on a long front. We will never know which of the small Dacian forts on the northern shore did oppose resistance or simply surrendered without a fight. But it is certain that after the destruction of the Dacian fort from Cladova, the emplacement was reutilized by the Romans as a control point, a fact proven by numerous archaeological finds: stamped bricks belonging to Legio XIII Gemina and to the Cohors II Flavia Commagenorum (P. Hügel, 1996; E. Nemeth et.al., 2011). Thus, it seems almost certain that vexillations from the Legio IIII Flavia Felix did take part in military operations on the Mureş Valley, and a further proof of this might be the stamped brick found at Aradu Nou - Catholic Cemetery (I. Glodariu, 1996; D. Protase, 1967; E. Dörner, 1970; N. Gudea, 1997; E. Nemeth et.al., 2011). Some Roman forces might also have continued their advance against the Dacians further north in the Zarandului Basin, securing the northern flanks of the troops advancing on the Mureş valley towards Transylvania.

We believe that the high command of Trajan considered much more efficient to transport the Roman forces from Moesia Superior on the same paths used in the first Dacian war: Lederata - Arcidava - Berzobis - Tibiscum. The start point was accessible with fleets via Danube (D. Benea, 2006), while the later parts towards Tibiscum and Berzobis were already secured by a series of castra (E. Nemeth et.al. 2011) that guarded a road already built in the First Dacian War (C. C. Petolescu, 2001; E. Nemeth et.al., 2011). The two possible roads that end up in the Mureş Valley might have given the Romans further possibilities to attack the Dacians (fig. 1).

Possible new Roman fortifications on the Lower Mureş

Considering the above scenarios, all of which suggest Roman troop movement across the Lower Mureş Valley, we might ask ourselves if

there are any marching camps that might indicate such activities. In the Arad County, up to this moment, there was not a single fortification found that could have been, even loosely, attributed to this period and these events.

New light on this issue might be offered by the recent discoveries of a number of new fortifications on the Lower Mureş Valley in the years 1975-1995. The field researches were supplemented with thorough analyses of the satellite images provided by Google Earth. We will present the results of our studies.

We will start with the description of the fortifications found at Bârzava - Cimitir Ortodox 2, Arad County (fig.4-6). To the north-west of the village, on a gentle hill slope oriented E-V, in and around the orthodox cemetery located to the west of the road Bârzava- Nadăş- Tauţ, we have discovered three fortifications and two dykes.

The first of them was named conventionally **F1** (fig. 6). It is situated to the north-west of the orthodox cemetery 2, at the following coordinates: 46°06'40.35"N; 21°58'55.60"E, at an elevation of about 167 m. It consists of an earth rampart and an outer ditch, having a trapezoidal shape and presenting rounded corners. Its dimensions are: 88x114x136x114m, and it encloses a surface of about 1,3 ha. It is not well preserved: on the field, one can see well only its northern and eastern sides, while the southern one is less visible. The western side, near a river stream, was completely destroyed by landslides. Regarding the size of the fortifications elements, the external ditch presents an opening of about 2,5 m, while the vallum presents a width (at base) between 4,3-4,5 m. On the eastern side, one can clearly see an entrance gate.

In the interior of the fortification, more precisely in its south-eastern parts, there is a bizarre circular mound of about 10 meters, with archaeological materials that consists of small fragments of black, very coarse hand-made pottery (by any means, impossible to date – could be anything ranging from Prehistoric to Dacian or even Early Middle Ages) and burned adobe. On the satellite images, one might see also traces of other possible buildings inside the fortification.

The second fortification was named **F2**. It is located at only 30 m distance from F1, on the territory of the Orthodox Cemetery 2. Its coordinates are: 46°06'38.78"N, respectively

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21°59 '02.46"E, at a height of 182 m. It presents an earth vallum and an external ditch, having a rectangular shape with rounded corners. Its dimensions, based on what is left of it, are 194x106 m, covering a surface of around 2, 05 ha. The fortress was badly preserved. The vallum, at its base, presents a width of around 4 m, while the ditches are clogged up, barely visible (with the exception of the one located in

the north). The southern part goes for a short way in the forest, being mostly destroyed. The western part intersects the eastern part of the third fortification, F3. The planimetric details suggest the existence of two gates: one on the eastern side, one on the western side. In the interior of the fortification one can see groupings of smaller vallums, which fall perpendicularly on the southern side - it is uncertain whether these



Fig. 4 - Bârzava – Orthodox Cemetery. General view on satellite images from Google Earth.

are indeed ancient or had been, more likely, created in modern times. Anyway, such a situation was observed in the case of another fortification found in Arad county, that from Bodrogu Vechi – Grădiște (E. Pădurean, 1987). The satellite images seem to suggest more defensive elements: another vallum of about 24 m on the eastern side, and a possible vallum on the southern side, forming a large „U” shape.

The last of the fortifications of Bârzava, **F3**, is located to the west of F2, and seems to have been attached to it. It is located at 46°06'35.11"N, and 21°58'56.33"E, at an elevation of 163 m. It presents a vallum and an exterior ditch, having rounded corners. It covers a small surface, around 0, 8 ha, having, probably, a rectangular size. Its dimensions seem to be around 90x90 m. On the field, it is not as clear as the others. The southern and western parts disappear into the forest and are hard to be seen on surface. We had found no

traces of gates, and we cannot say much more due to the low degree of preservation.

In regard to the linear fortifications, the first one is located at about 28 m east from the south-eastern corner of the F2 fortress. It presents a vallum and a ditch oriented towards east. The vallum presents at the base a width between 4, 5 - 5 m, while the ditch is between 2-2, 5 m. The linear fortification had a length of about 240 m. A shorter, southern sector, of about 60 m we had seen to the south of the forests margin. This linear fortification is poorly conserved being visible only for a short distance. On satellite images, towards its northern end, one might see a bifurcation, for 60 meters, ending with a possible tower (?) of 10x10 meters. The second linear fortification is located 90 m east from the north-eastern corner of F1 fort (46°06'41.78"N, 21°59'02.67"E, elevation 184 m). It presents a vallum and a ditch oriented towards east. The

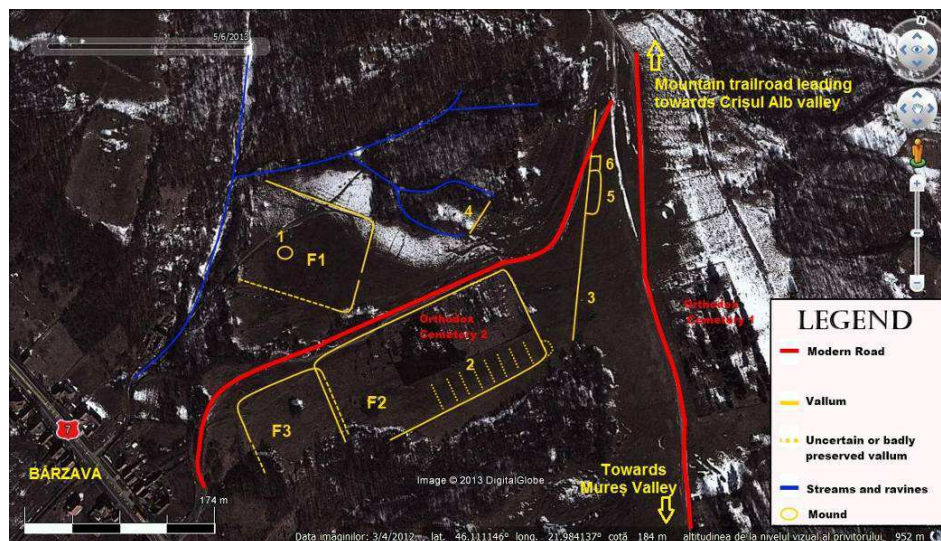


Fig. 5 - Bârzava – Orthodox Cemetery. The fortification system: 1. Mound with archaeological materials; 2. Perpendicular vallums in F2; 3. linear fortification; 4. Linear fortification; 5. Doubling of the linear fortification; 6. Possible tower (?).

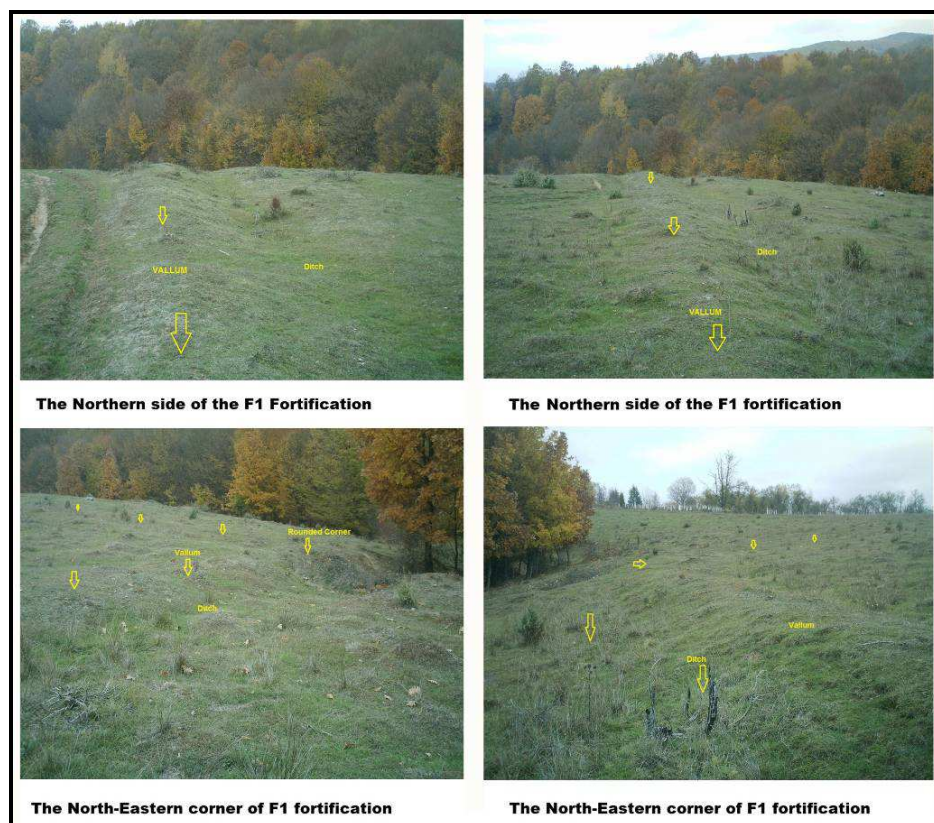


Fig. 6 - The F1 fortification from Bârzava – Cimitirul Ortodox 2.
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vallum has at its base a width of about 2, 5 m, and the ditch is 2 m width. The length of the vallum is 24 meters, and it is oriented N-S, protecting the area between two ravines.

In the south-eastern part of **Neudorf, Arad county** (fig. 7), is located another fortification we are going to present (more precisely, at 46°04'05.08"N, 21°37'28.49"E). The fortification presents a vallum and an exterior ditch, having a rectangular shape with rounded corners. Its size is about 93x115 m (?), closing an area of about 1, 3 ha. The fortress has been badly preserved, being easier to see on satellite images than on the field. The shortest southern part is covered by constructions of the former CAP Neudorf. Part of the vallum had been used by local people as a road. The size of the vallum at its base is between 5, 5- 6 m, while the ditch has an opening between 2, 5 - 3 m. Some details suggest the existence of gates on the northern and eastern sides that were better preserved.

The last fortification we will present is located at **Secusigiu – Borconi** (fig. 8), the Orthodox Cemetery, Arad County. Very likely, as numerous elements suggest, it might represent a Roman marching camp from the Dacian Wars. The fortification is located in the north-western parts of the town, at the contact between the high Vinga Plain and the low Mureş Valley (46°05'48.94" N, 20°58'40.54"E, elevation 96 m). It presents an earth vallum and an outer ditch. It has a trapezoidal shape, with rounded corners, having the following dimensions: 194x288x209x238, covering a surface of about 4,9 ha.

Its conservation status is good. The fortress is larger than the current cemetery. It is located on a terrain slightly leaning towards the Mureş Valley. The southern part is better visible, while to the north, parts of it are not that clear. The vallum has at its base about 5, 5 meter width, and the opening of the ditch has about 2, 8 m. The height of the vallum is 0, 60 m at the inside, and 1, 50 m at the outside - this difference might be explained by the fact that the duct of the vallum likely went on a higher bank of an ancient course (?) of the river Mureş (fig. 9). The northern side is composed of two segments united in an angle; it is possible that here might be located one of the gates. The southern gate



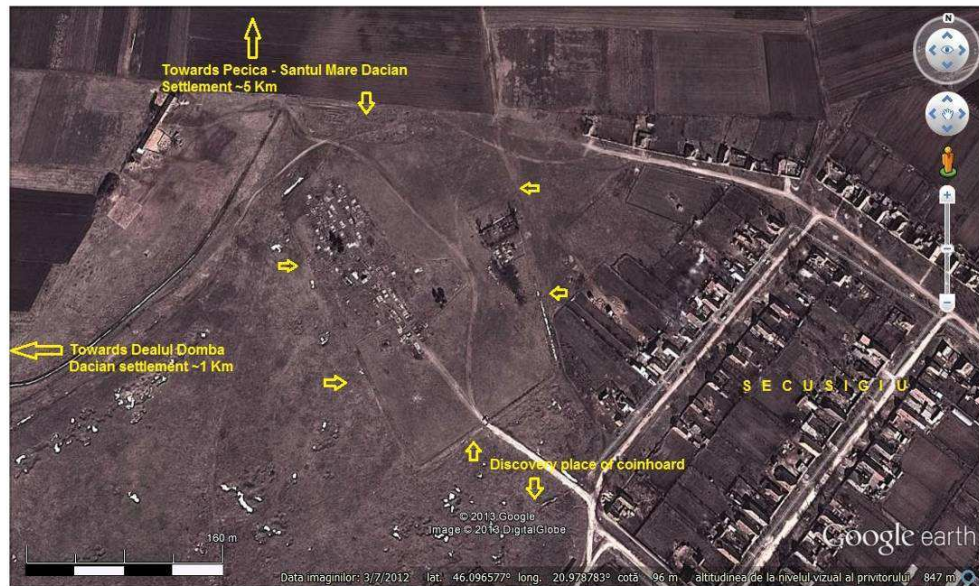
Fig. 7 - The fortification from Neudorf. Satellite image taken from Google Earth.

might correspond with the modern aces road to the cemetery, that enter through an 3 m high embankment located exactly at the middle of the southern side. Two other gates, the eastern and western one, are located on the 69 meters long sides. An interesting detail might be given by the presence of 5 small ditches and vallums, located at 13, 5 m in front the supposed northern entrance, with a length of about 19-20 m. Other such things can be seen also near this gate. An interesting planimetric detail is represented by a vallum with a width of 5 meters, flattened, that goes towards the inside of the fortification. Other further details that can be seen on the field are hard to interpret. In regard to archaeological materials, there had been discovered a few handmade potshards in the vallum. Some of these can be dated roughly in the Dacian Kingdom's period (Ist century BC - Ist century AD).

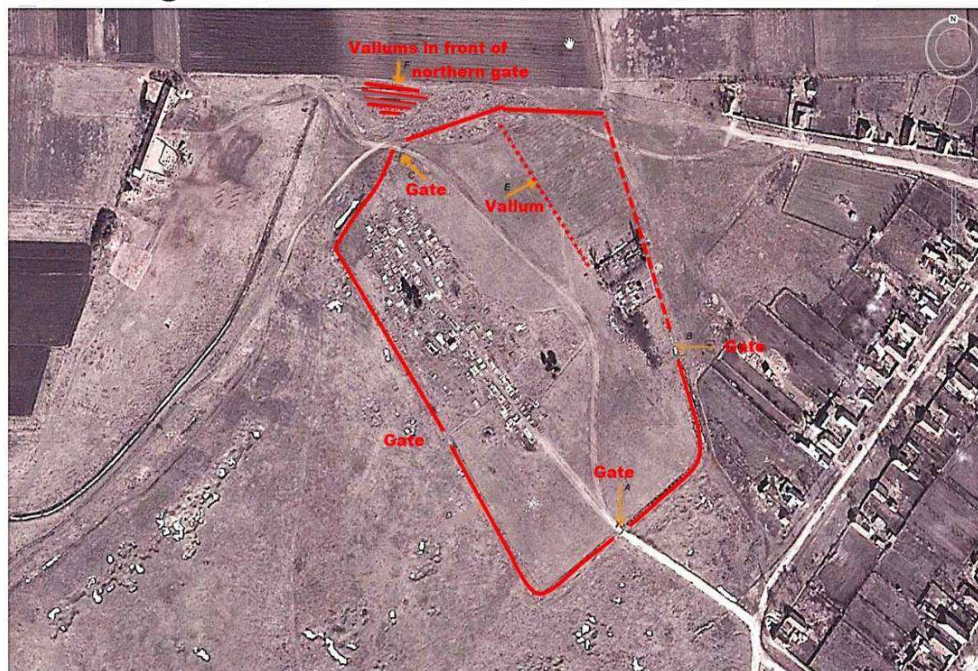
It is also, worth to be noticed that near the emplacement of the fortification, at no more than a few dozen meters from its southern side, had been discovered a coin hoard consisting of Roman Republican Denarii (F. Medeleţ, 1994; D. Bălănescu, 1999). The fortification is also near the Dacian settlements from Secusigiu – Dealul Domba, and about 5 km south from the dava of Pecica – „Şantul Mare” (I. H. Crişan, 1978).

Conclusions

The fortifications we have presented above are all presenting earth vallum's and exterior ditches. The lack of representative archaeological material suggests that they had been used for a



Secusigiu - La Borconi: view of the fortification.



Secusigiu - La Borconi: contours and gates

Fig. 8 - Fortification at Secusigiu – Borconi. Satellite image from Google Earth.

A possible attack direction used by the Roman army during the Dacian Wars

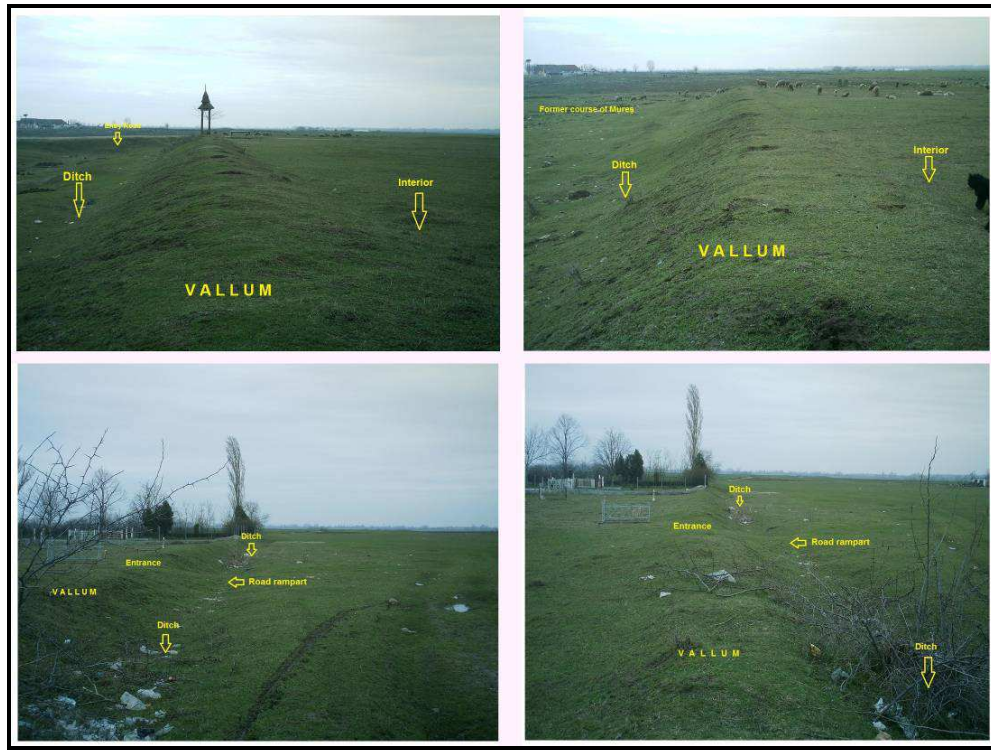


Fig. 9 - Secusigiu – Borconi. Field photographs.

short time. We cannot say that all of them are Roman, but there are chances that some of them might be. Only diggings might offer definite answers. It is true that these fortifications do not have large vallums, but smaller vallums such as here can also be found at many other Roman forts, such as that from Sopor de Sus, Satu Mare County (A. Matei, R. Gindele, 2001). The location of the presented fortifications is also suggestive: the defensive system from Bârzava has a very good view on the Mureș Valley, and is guarding the access on an important trail-road that crosses the Zarandului Mountains. The presence of a complex Roman marching castra, supplemented by linear defensive systems had been observed at Chitid, Hunedoara County (information received from E. S. Teodor and A. Berzovan).

The fortification from Neudorf, although small, has a shape specific to roman forts - it is very likely that it might be that "roman propugnaculum" mentioned in the late XIXth century by Márki Sándor (S. Márki, 1892), being

located at about 900 m est to the most western dyke that traverses the Banat Region. Also at Neudorf, had been found an aureus coin from Augustus (M. Barbu, P. Hügel, 1993), or it is a well-known fact that the presence of such coins during the Ist century AD is related to presence of the Roman Army (R. Ardevan, 1993). In our turn, we had also published some early Roman materials found at Neudorf – Pârâul Roșia (E. Pădurean, 2010). Thus, we believe there are some good arguments to suggest a Roman presence here.

The fortification from Secusigiu si the largest of all we presented and it represents very likely a roman marching castrum from the Dacian Wars. With its size, 4, 9 ha, matches the size of some Roman marching camps dated in the Dacian Wars like that from Vârful lui Pătru, for example (E. S. Teodor et.al., 2013), its shape having also numerous analogies in other Roman castra related to this conflict: Coasta lui Rus Mica from the Parâng Mountains, Ponorici - Dealul Robului



Secugisiu - Borconi

Parâng - Coasta lui Rus Mică

Fig. 10 - A comparison of sizes and shapes between Secusigiu – Borconi (Google Earth image) and Parâng – Coasta lui Rus Mică (ANCPI orthophotograms).

(D. Oltean, 2012; see also Fig. 10), Luncani - Târșea (E. S. Teodor et. al., 2013); a good analogy is found also in Roman Britain, at Twyn-i-Briddallt (E. S. Teodor et. al., 2013). If the fortification from Secusigiu is indeed a Roman marching castrum (as all evidences seem to suggest), it might be the first conclusive evidence of a Roman advance on the Mureș from the Pannonian Plains.

Even if some of the fortifications presented

in this paper might turn out to be not Roman, but from other historical periods (I. Hațegan, 2005), they represent a gain for the scientifically repertoire of the Lower Mureș Valley.

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This paper is dedicated in the memory of our friend, Liviu Măruia, phd, expert archaeologist and lecturer at the West University of Timisoara, who recently passed away in a tragic accident.

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Interprétations symboliques et traits spirituels de l'art mobilier du Paléolithique Supérieur - Roumanie

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Abstract: Symbolical interpretations and spiritual features of the Upper Palaeolithic mobiliary art. Mobiliary art objects discovered in Romania shows various signs, from simple incisions to complex decors, dominated by geometrization, their complexity raising many questions. Regardless of the degree of interventions on the raw material lying at the basis of their realizations, materialized in the realization of adornments of different shapes, highly schematic decorations, engravings somewhat similar as style and shape, mobiliary art ojects represent sufficiently revealing elements for the symbolical activities, as a testimony for the creative imagination of the Gravettian communities.

Key words: spirituality, symbol, mobiliary art, Gravettian, Upper Palaeolithic.

Mots clé: spiritualité, symbole, art mobilier, Gravettien, Paléolithique supérieur.

Introduction

Les recherches récentes sur les objets d'art mobilier tendent à avoir pour centre d'intérêt le déchiffrement de la signification, moins complexe à première vue qu'en réalité, cachée par les gestes qui ont donné naissance aux gravures ou aux décors. Réellement, le plus souvent, le symbolisme est associé aux traits qui ne peuvent pas être déchiffrés facilement, situation qui peut être interprétée aussi comme une modalité de masquer l'impossibilité de décrypter le sens transmis par un artefact.

Partant de l'idée que le symbole est un signe figuratif, l'image d'un concept abstrait, un procédé expressif par lequel on suggère une idée, un attribut, un sentiment, nous nous sommes proposé, dans le cas présent, d'évoquer certains contextes de son utilisation, avec des exemples justifiant éventuellement cette association. Il est évident que l'obstacle majeur dans la voie de la compréhension des messages, plus ou moins

tronqués par le style de représentation, consiste dans les carences de nos connaissances sur la vie réelle de l'homme paléolithique, et surtout de la pensée symbolique. C'est justement pour cette raison qu'il est difficile d'avancer des appréciations définitives en ce qui concerne le thème pris en compte. De l'autre côté, l'incertitude éveille généralement la curiosité, vue comme un premier pas dans tout type de recherche, et les questions inhérentes ont le don de faciliter la formation des concepts et suggestions propres, capables de donner, finalement, un sens à l'information, moins connue, transmise par les objets d'art paléolithique. Ceci est un des arguments pour lesquels, dans cette exposition, nous allons nuancer à la fois la complexité du déchiffrement d'un symbole, tel qu'il ressort des nombreux approches sur ce thème, et aussi la diversité de la manière de manifestation de l'homme paléolithique.

Le symbolisme est lié spécialement à l'art, et son caractère hypothétique laisse toute la liberté à l'imagination, éveillant des théories diverses. Nous partons de la prémisse que la pénétration dans le monde de l'homme paléolithique et l'identification des particularités de ce monde ont la capacité de dévoiler des aspects surprenants de la pensée humaine.

Diverses interprétations de la notion de « symbole »

La discussion sur le thème du symbolisme pourrait débiter partant de quelques concepts, tels la reconnaissance des traits d'un objet (forme, type ou catégorie à laquelle il appartient, matière dont il est réalisé) ou techniques de fabrication et décoration. Cela supposerait, dans une certaine mesure, l'identification de la valeur symbolique donnée par les trois traits mentionnés ou par leur association. Les problèmes ne sont pourtant pas tellement simples, et les questions qui apparaissent en marge d'un tel sujet (A. Averbouh, 2003) démontrent la difficulté réelle de leur interprétation, comme on peut constater dans les trois cas ci-dessous :

- Perforation des dents, décoration des différents objets ou transformation de la matière première : sont-elles des éléments suffisants et obligatoires pour leur attribuer une valeur symbolique ?
- la simple collection d'objets qui ont attiré l'attention par leur forme ou couleur particulière, sans intervenir sur leur morphologie, peut-elle être appréciée comme symbolique ?
- Quels autres éléments devraient être recherchés pour reconnaître dans ces objets les vecteurs de la transmission entre individus d'un message à valeur de symbole ?

Partant de ces signes d'interrogation, une analyse des interprétations symboliques semble assez osée, compte tenant que l'art paléolithique est non seulement diversifié, en tant que forme de manifestation, mais aussi codée dans des sens et significations.

Le symbole semble une sorte de remplacement pour le mot écrit, et la modalité d'expression par des valeurs sémantiques multiples - religieuses, sociales, de communication (dans certains cas, le côté artistique des artefacts n'est pas négligée) fascine et intrigue également. Peut-être même seulement de ce point de vue, on devrait prendre au sérieux l'idée d'interprétation ; une simple

énumération des transformations subies par un objet, sans la démonstration des idées interprétatives, manquerait de substance. A. Leroi-Gourhan (2001) signalait, en ce sens, la tendance de considérer comme symbole tout phénomène ou élément qu'on ne peut pas rapporter à une activité domestique ou quotidienne. Vraiment, même de nos jours, l'expression symbolique est reconnue dans les domaines situés hormis les domaines des préoccupations ordinaires ; l'exclusion d'une fonction symbolique de l'objet peut être considérée un premier critère de sélection dans l'identification du symbole, mais elle est, évidemment, insuffisante. Chaque connotation d'ordre sacramentel, social ou esthétique renvoie à un système distinct, qui ne répond pas à la même logique et réalise des connexions potentiellement différentes avec d'autres systèmes, surtout techniques et économiques. Comprendre les messages transmis ou la simple existence des objets, suppose leur connaissance, ou au moins une différenciation du système sacramental par rapport au système social, car toutes les deux génèrent l'essentiel des messages que les individus se transmettent au sein d'une société. Cela s'impose d'autant plus que, dans l'archéologie, les deux systèmes sont regroupés sous une seule dénomination, à savoir celle de « symbolique. » En ce sens, A. Averbouh (2003) apprécie que l'identification de la connotation adéquate peut être réalisée à travers une distinction des notions de « symbole » et de « synthème. » Une différenciation entre les deux concepts, avant d'évoquer l'existence de « faits symboliques » dans le cadre du sujet proposé, est d'autant plus utile que, en déchiffrant la nuance des deux concepts, nous espérons contribuer à la découverte de la dimension fondamentale de la société préhistorique à laquelle se réfère, de manière explicite, le terme de « symbole. »

Regardé en son entier, le symbole est une tentative de définition, sous forme d'images ou d'objets, de toute réalité abstraite, d'un sentiment, d'une idée, qui ne peuvent pas être perçues par les sens (A. Averbouh, 2003). Selon l'opinion de M. Eliade (1988), le symbole a une valeur évocatrice, l'objet ou l'image ne sont pas de simples représentations, mais ont une signification à part, une valeur mystique, car liée au sacré. Le symbole peut être compris comme un liant entre l'humain et le divin, s'agissant

d'une relation spirituelle indescriptible revêtant un caractère surhumain. Le sens reste statique ; en échange, la relation entre humain et divin évolue (R. Alleau, 1997).

Le synthème, à la différence du *symbole*, a un caractère humain, donc évolue différemment par rapport à lui, étant un signe de reconnaissance des connexions mutuelles, de nature sociale (R. Alleau, 1997). Ce qui caractérise le synthème est le fait qu'il peut être interprété facilement, à travers une analyse immédiate. La relation qu'il exprime est statique, mais le sens du synthème est dynamique car il évolue et peut être modifié (R. Alleau, 1996; A. Averbouh, 2003).

Appliquant ces affirmations dans le domaine de l'archéologie, A. Averbouh (2003) propose la distinction suivante entre les deux notions :

- un *symbole* a des caractéristiques différentes, dont le sens profond ne change pas, mais la modalité de représentation, en tant que forme, style, etc., peut être modifiée au fil du temps. Ce qui prévaut dans le cas d'un symbole est l'*idée* qu'on doit induire.

- un *synthème* a des caractéristiques différentes qui, en général, changent avec les transformations culturelles. Dans le cas du synthème, ce qui prévaut est l'*objet*, sa forme et ses attributs doivent être toujours identifiables dans le cadre de la société, laquelle évolue.

Les difficultés rencontrées dans la tentative de définir un symbole ou de reconstituer exactement la signification de certaines représentations ont été exprimées, au fil du temps, par divers spécialistes de la préhistoire. Ainsi, par exemple, pour nuancer la complexité du déchiffrement d'un symbole, G. Sauvet et A. Włodarczyk (1995) ont exemplifié avec la définition suivante : « un symbole ne signifie pas une seule chose, il suggère une constellation de choses...c'est quelque chose qui éveille un écho, qui peut avoir une signification dans un certain contexte, mais qui évoque irrésistiblement d'autres sens associés » (p. 198). A. Leroi-Gourhan (1972) constatait que la présence des messages « tronqués » ou l'absence des témoignages « verbaux » sont des réalités qui ont rendu difficile et même impossible « la traduction » de l'art paléolithique. De l'autre côté, M. Eliade (2000) attirait l'attention sur le fait que cette impossibilité de déchiffrer le sens, rendu sous différentes formes, n'est pas un trait particulier de tel ou tel objet : « tout document (...) est

« spirituellement opaque » aussi longtemps que nous n'arrivons pas à le déchiffrer, l'intégrant dans un système de significations » (p. 17).

Témoignages du symbolisme dans l'art mobilier paléolithique

Objets de parure

Dans la multitude de formes de manifestation de l'art paléolithique, l'ornement représente la catégorie la plus souvent rencontrée dans les sites, pouvant être réalisée en os, bois, ivoire ou différentes roches. La préférence pour la transformation, par perforation, des objets d'origine naturelle, comme par exemple dents d'animaux, coquilles, etc. constitue la preuve d'attitudes et motivations de l'homme paléolithique pour prendre de l'environnement naturel certaines formes, les situant ultérieurement dans un milieu totalement différent (M. Lorblanchet, 1999). Le but était que les objets soient appliqués sur les vêtements ou portés sous forme de collier. L'aspect, la couleur et la forme naturelle étaient parfois les seules raisons de la collecte, ces traits étaient parfois assez révélateurs pour leur attribuer une fonction symbolique.

Leur transformation en objets de parure constitue une attitude particulière par rapport à l'environnement, lequel n'est pas perçu, dans cette situation, seulement comme source de subsistance, mais aussi comme fournisseur d'éléments chargés de valeur spirituelle. Ainsi, la décoration corporelle, sous tous ses aspects (collier, vêtement, maquillage), devient la modalité par laquelle un individu ou un groupe social peut s'exprimer. Au delà de la valeur esthétique, l'objet décoratif représente l'élément qui différencie un individu par rapport à un groupe ou par rapport à d'autres individus. Plus précisément, la décoration corporelle est étroitement liée à l'identité sociale. En ce sens, R. White (2006) a affirmé que l'objet de parure « ne symbolise pas simplement un statut mais définit le statut social de celui qui le porte » (p. 27).

Les hommes du Paléolithique supérieur récupéraient souvent les dents d'animaux en vue de les transformer en éléments ornementaux. C'est peut-être leur forme particulière, laquelle se prêtait à plusieurs modalités d'attachement, a représenté l'une des principales motivations de leur sélection.

Les pendentifs réalisés en dents de différentes espèces peuvent suggérer, au-delà de l'aspect esthétique ou de divers avantages d'ordre technique, l'existence d'une signification symbolique, peut-être même magique : par exemple, la canine d'un ours, par sa transformation en pendentif, pouvait être destinée à attribuer la force de l'animal à celui qui la portait (S. Mithen, 1996). C'était une manière de perception de l'animal, un transfert du pouvoir et des qualités particulières de celui-ci envers les hommes respectifs. C'est aussi la raison pour laquelle l'incisive d'*Ursus spelaeus* (fig. 1/1), qui faisait probablement partie d'un collier, à côté d'autres objets destinés à être suspendus, a été transformée en pendentif par les habitants du Paléolithique Supérieur de la Grotte Cioarei-Boroșteni, du département de Gorj (M. Cârciumaru, R. Dobrescu, 1997).

Les dents d'ours ont été aussi utilisées pour être transformées en pendentifs aussi par les gravettiens de l'habitat de Țibrinu, commune de Mircea Vodă, dép. de Constanța (Al. Păunescu, 1996-1998). Ici, on a identifié une canine perforée d'*Ursus arctos* (fig. 1/2) L'état précaire dans lequel elle a été découverte a conduit, malheureusement, à une restauration totalement inadéquate de celle-ci, qui, à son tour, n'a plus permis de considérations technologiques capables de dévoiler des éventuelles connotations symboliques.

En échange, les dents de loup sont assez rarement rencontrées en tant que pendentifs durant le Paléolithique supérieur (Y. Taborin, 2004). Leur forme bombée et leur aspect attrayant ne pouvaient pas ne pas impressionner l'homme du Gravettien. Dans l'habitat de Poiana Cireșului-Piatra Neamț, dép. de Neamț, on a découvert une canine de loup perforée (fig. 1/3), certainement utilisée par suspension (M. Cârciumaru et al., 2002-2003). La nouveauté pour le Paléolithique de Roumanie est représentée par le fait que la dent perforée a été utilisée pour embellir un accessoire vestimentaire ou d'une autre nature réalisé en peau. C'est le premier témoignage d'un objet de parure de ce genre découvert dans la Préhistoire de la Roumanie pour lequel on a obtenu des arguments indubitables de son utilisation par suspension, sur un support en peau. Sans analyses technologiques effectuées à l'aide de la microscopie digitale, il n'aurait pas été possible d'observer des stigmates

spécifiques pour son utilisation sous cette forme, la canine de loup faisant partie, probablement, des vêtements du chasseur paléolithique (M. Țuțianu-Cârciumaru, 2012).

Pourtant, la dent de loup de Poiana Cireșului n'est pas la seule canine de carnivore qui a attiré l'attention de l'homme gravettien. Cela est démontré par la découverte, dans la grotte Gura Cheii-Râșnov, dép. de Brașov, d'une canine de renard, perforée (fig. 1/4), dans le même contexte qu'une canine de cerf (fig. 1/5) (C. S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor, Al. Păunescu, I. Pop, 1962) sur laquelle nous allons discuter ci-dessous. Même si la dent de renard n'a pas été suspendue sur un support en peau comme celle de loup de Poiana Cireșului, elle a été, certainement, peinte avec de l'ocre rouge, ce qui lui confère, sans doute, des traits symboliques supplémentaires, en tant que pendentif. Le fait que les deux dents découvertes dans la couche gravettienne de Gura Cheii sont peintes avec de l'ocre démontre l'unité et le style propre d'utilisation pratiqué par les habitants gravettiens de cette grotte.

La valeur symbolique des dents de cerf peut être cherchée dans la fréquence avec laquelle on les rencontre au Paléolithique, mais aussi dans leur morphologie spécifique, assimilée aux signes convexes-concaves, qui restent des formes pleines de significations même dans la société actuelle (Y. Taborin, 2004). Bien que leur forme ne témoigne aucune particularité artistique, les dents de cerf sont rencontrés à partir du Châtelperronien jusqu'au Magdalénien et leur utilisation jusqu'à ce jour représente une preuve de plus de leur importance.

La dent de cerf de la grotte de Gura Cheii-Râșnov a été perforée en vue d'être suspendue étant aussi investie par l'artisan paléolithique avec des valeurs symboliques incontestables, par son teinture avec de l'ocre rouge et noir. L'utilisation de l'ocre rouge comme teinture est certaine ; l'utilisation de l'ocre noir comme colorant est probable, car il existe la possibilité que le noir provienne d'autres sources, ne tenant pas à l'action anthropique (M. Cârciumaru et al., 2008; M. Țuțianu-Cârciumaru, 2012).

Les observations sur la canine de Gura Cheii-Râșnov, qui ont souligné l'existence de l'ocre, ont été possibles seulement à l'aide de la microscopie digitale. De cette manière, on constate que ces études sont vraiment nécessaires pour mettre en lumière des valeurs et des

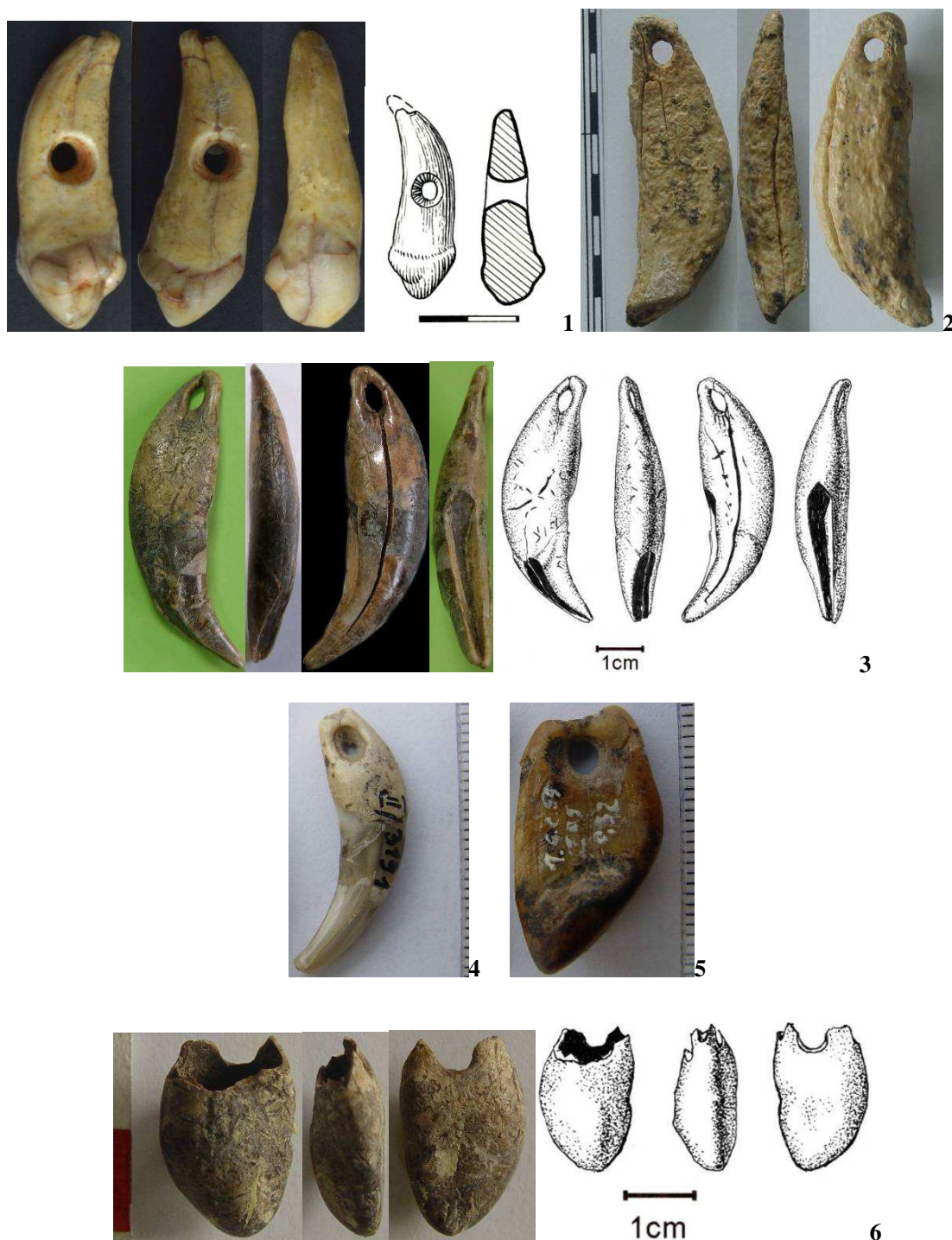


Fig. 1- Objets de parure - 1. La grotte Cioarei-Boroșteni: pendentif en incisive d'*Ursus spelaeus*; 2. Țibrinu: pendentif en canine d'*Ursus arctos*; 3. Poiana Cireșului-Piatra Neamț: pendentif en canine de loup; 4. Gura Cheii-Râșnov: pendentif en canine de renard; 5. Gura Cheii-Râșnov: pendentif en dent de cerf; 6. Poiana Cireșului-Piatra Neamț: pendentif en dent de cerf.

interprétations supplémentaires concernant les traits symboliques de tels objets.

Une canine de cerf similaire a été découverte dans la couche Gravettien I de Poiana Cireșului-Piatra Neamț, dép. de Neamț (fig. 1/6) (M. Cârciumaru et al., 2002-2003). Elle a été transformée de la même manière que celle de Gura Cheii, en vue d'être suspendu, mais on n'a pas découvert aucune trace d'ocre. Ce fait est d'autant plus surprenant dans la mesure où dans la même couche on a découvert des quantités significatives d'ocre, même sous forme de bâtons ayant une structure bien définie.

Hormis les dents, l'homme gravettien a obtenu des pendentifs, exceptionnellement, d'autres matières dures animales. C'est le cas d'une phalange d'*Ursus spelaeus*, découverte dans la couche gravettienne de la grotte Cioarei de Borosțeni (fig. 2/1) (M. Cârciumaru, R. Dobrescu, 1997). Même si l'on ne peut formuler un nombre très grand de considérations d'ordre symbolique sur l'utilisation des phalanges en guise de support, excepté sur leur forme proprement-dite, laquelle suggère le tronc humain, on ne peut pas ignorer l'identification, dans le même contexte que l'incisive d'ours de grotte, d'un pendentif gravé en grès (fig. 2/2). Tous ces objets étaient situés à peu de distance, l'un par rapport à l'autre, au moment de la découverte. Evidemment, le fait que la phalange et l'incisive appartiennent à une espèce unique, dans ce cas-ci l'ours de grotte, nous détermine à l'inclure, du point de vue de sa signification, dans le même contexte que l'incisive pour laquelle nous avons mentionné d'éventuelles interprétations symboliques.

Toujours dans la grotte Cioarei, on a découvert une perle en os (fig. 2/3), de petites dimensions, laquelle a probablement fait partie d'un collier, étant transformée avec beaucoup de minutie.

A son tour, le pendentif non-décoré de Mitoc-Malul Galben (fig. 2/4) est réalisé sur une diaphyse, un os provenant d'un grand herbivore, et les traces d'utilisation ont été bien synthétisées par C. Beldiman : « les traces d'utilisation sont le lustrage et l'émoussement des bords de la perforation, ainsi que de la partie proximale située au-dessus de la perforation » (2004, p. 61).

Vu que cet objet a été utilisé par suspension, il est naturel de nous demander sur sa fonction de pendentif, vu que sur sa surface il n'y a aucune

gravure qui permette la définition d'une valeur symbolique supplémentaire. Le seul élément d'ordre symbolique qui pourrait être invoqué sur son utilisation en tant que pendentif est l'espèce dont le support provient. Malgré l'ambiguïté de la détermination, cheval ou bovidé (*Equus* sp., *Bos primigenius* ou *Bos bison*) (M. Otte, V. Chirica, C. Beldiman, 1995), on peut penser à la signification symbolique de ces deux animaux dans l'art rupestre du Paléolithique Supérieur, le cheval étant le mieux représenté, et le bison le suivant de près comme pourcentage dans les images des grottes peintes. Cela signifie que, depuis tôt, la perception sur les deux espèces a été bien définie et, ultérieurement, s'est matérialisée par les représentations de l'art rupestre magdalénien de l'ouest de l'Europe, et, dans notre pays (Roumanie), dans la grotte Cuciulat (M. Cârciumaru, 2010), où le cheval est l'animal le plus représentatif, et le bison ne manque pas de la récente découverte de Coliboaia (J. Clottes et al., 2012).

Les objets à suspendre, ayant un rôle décoratif, ont été réalisés aussi à partir de différents minéraux et roches. Nous apporterons dans la discussion une perle curieuse réalisée en une stalactite du type macaronis (fig. 3), découverte dans la grotte Cioarei de Borosțeni, dans la couche gravettienne (M. Cârciumaru, R. Dobrescu, 1997). Sa réalisation en une stalactite souligne, premièrement, la relation intime entre l'homme gravettien et le milieu confiné de grotte, et aussi sa capacité d'exploiter les traits prédéterminés du support. Il s'agit du canal spécifique des stalactites, d'habitude de dimensions microniques, qui a inspiré l'artisan gravettien et l'a déterminé à réaliser son élargissement pour donner à l'objet la capacité d'être suspendu. On ne peut pas passer de vue les traits esthétiques particuliers, offerts par la structure cristalline de tels matériaux. Concernant son utilisation dans un collier, ou pour d'autres buts, il est difficile de nous prononcer, vu que sur des supports minéraux de ce type ne s'impriment pas de témoignages de l'utilisation de l'artefact.

Des analogies pour la pièce confectionnée à partir d'une stalactite, on en trouve toujours sur le territoire de la Roumanie, dans la Grotte Bordul Mare-Ohaba Ponor, dép. de Hunedoara. Ici, un objet tubulaire publié à côté d'autres pièces considérées néolithiques (C. S. Nicolăescu-

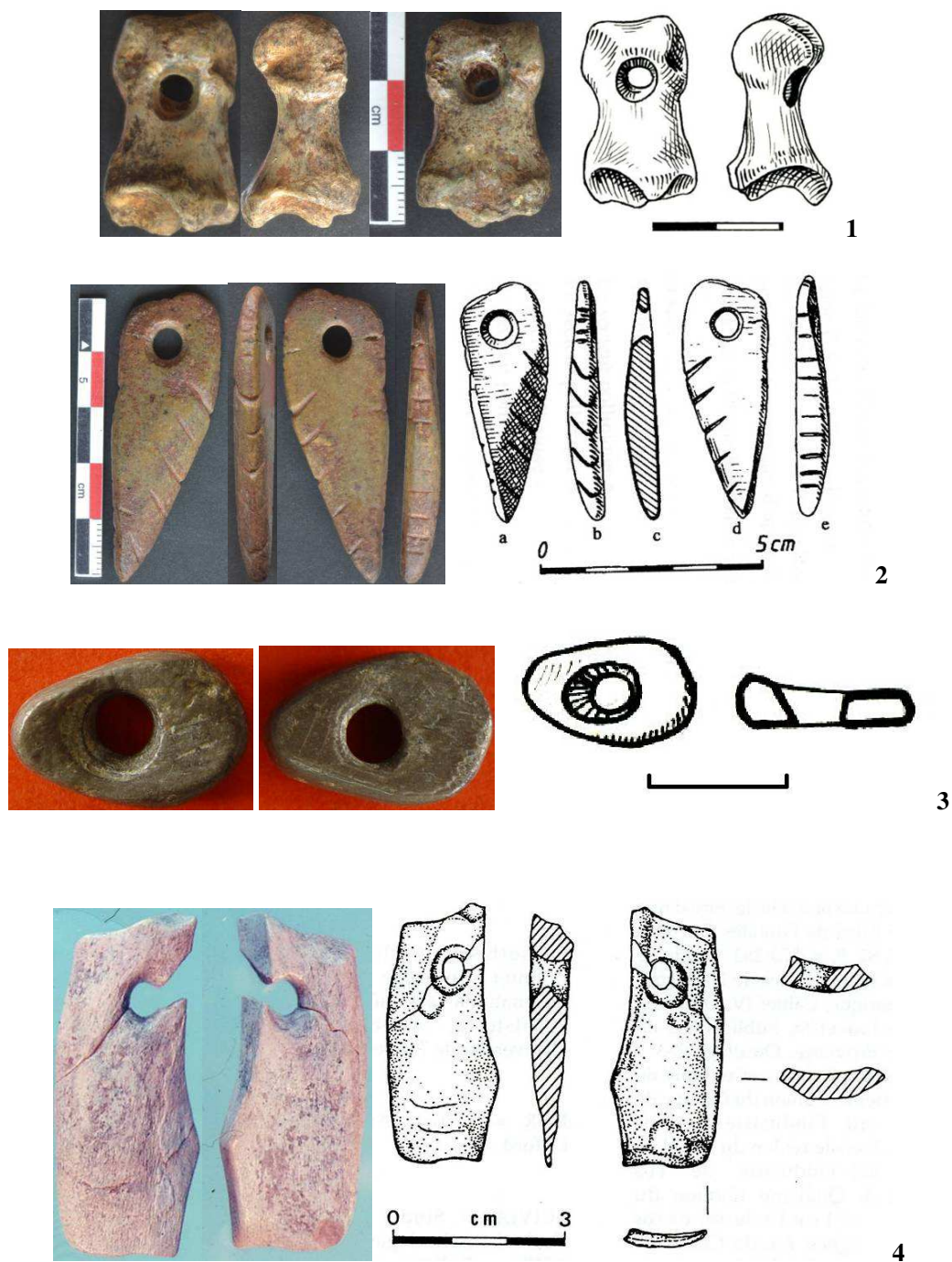


Fig. 2- Objets de parure - 1. La grotte Cioarei-Boroșteni: phalange perforée d'*Ursus spelaeus*; 2. La grotte Cioarei-Boroșteni: pendentif gravé en grès; 3. La grotte Cioarei-Boroșteni: perle perforée en os; 4. Mitoc-Malul Galben: pendentif non-décoré en os.

Plopșor, N. Haas, Al. Păunescu, 1957) surprend par la similitude avec les perles en stalactite découvertes dans la grotte Cioarei-Boroșteni.

En même temps, il y a des objets qui, par leur forme particulière ont attiré l'attention, et la simple curiosité, dans certains cas, semble avoir été l'argument de leur sélection. Il est possible que, dans de telles situations, la couleur ou l'aspect aient été suffisantes pour leur attribuer une valeur symbolique. Dans le cas d'autres matériaux, ces traits ne sont pas restés au niveau de *curiosité* et les matériaux respectifs ont été exploités par leur transformation en éléments de

parure. Il s'agit du pendentif en grès, découvert dans la grotte Cioarei (fig. 4), sur lequel l'homme paléolithique a intervenu avec une série d'incisions destinées à une suspension à l'aide d'un fil (M. Cârciumaru, R. Dobrescu, 1997). Par conséquent, la gravure de la zone proximale n'avait pas de rôle esthétique, comme celle de la partie distale mais, plutôt, un rôle fonctionnel. Grâce à la forme préexistante, de manière tout à fait hypothétique, on peut considérer que son choix a été motivé par son aspect de phallus et, par conséquent, le chargement symbolique respectif.

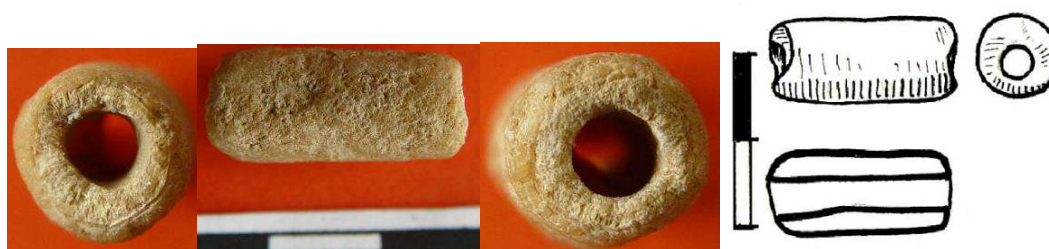


Fig. 3- La grotte Cioarei-Boroșteni: perle perforée, réalisée en une stalactite du type macaronis.

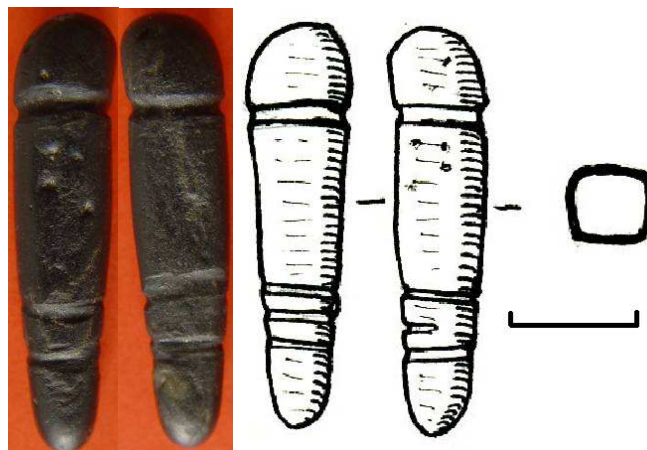


Fig. 4- La grotte Cioarei-Boroșteni: pendentif en grès comportant des incisions circulaires.

La modalité de suspendre le pendentif trouve des similitudes sur une aire géographique étendue, de l'Europe Centrale et jusqu'en Sibérie. Un témoignage en ce sens sont les pendentifs en ivoire, identifiés à Pavlov et Predmosti, lesquels, par leur incision profonde sur leur entière circonférence, rappellent la pièce en grès de la Grotte Cioarei. C'est toujours ici qu'on peut inclure aussi l'objet de Stracova-Dorohoi, du dép.

de Botoșani, réalisé en graphite, de forme ovale, décoré avec quatre rainures parallèles (Al. Păunescu, 1968). Utilisant le même système de rattachement, il n'est pas exclus que cet objet ait eu le rôle de pendentif.

Dans la même catégorie des objets naturels transformés en éléments de parure s'inscrivent les coquilles d'escargots découvertes dans l'habitat gravettien de Poiana Ciresului - Piatra

Neamț (fig. 5) (M. Cârciumaru et al., 2006). La transformation et, implicitement, l'utilisation des coquilles comme objets de parure représentent une des préoccupations manifestées par *Homo sapiens sapiens* au début du Paléolithique Supérieur. La diversité des informations offertes par ces objets ont stimulé aussi l'apparition de nouvelles voies de recherche (Y. Taborin, 1993a, Y. Taborin, 1993b, Y. Taborin, 2004; F. d'Errico, 1993). Les coquilles ont été souvent transformées en objets de parure par perforation, et les divers stigmates pourraient être la conséquence de leur utilisation. Par l'identification des traces d'utilisation, on a pu reconstituer aussi la modalité de fixer les coquilles : suspendues ou cousues. L'usure de la perforation représente un indice sur l'importance de l'ornement respectif pour celui qui le portait. Comme certains des objets de parure étaient déposés à côté du défunt comme faisant partie de l'inventaire funéraire, nous pouvons supposer que leur rôle se prolongeait aussi après la mort de l'individu. En ce sens, S. A. de Beaune (2004) remarquait : « leur rôle se prolongeait même dans l'au-delà puisque nombre d'entre eux ont été retrouvés sur des corps inhumés » (p. 179). Ainsi, les ornements peuvent être interprétés comme attributs personnels dont les individus ne se séparaient ni même après leur mort. D'autres étaient transmis de génération en génération ou représentaient l'objet de certains échanges.

Il est évident que les hommes du Paléolithique supérieur étaient intéressés toujours plus aux objets naturels (M.-H. Moncel et al., 2009), qu'ils poursuivaient de les transposer, conformément à leur pensée, dans une idée, leur donnant, ainsi, un certain sens, une forme personnalisée. On récoltait les coquilles pour les transformer en éléments de parure, un critère de sélection étant lié à une série de traits, comme la forme, la dimension ou la couleur. Evidemment, cette tendance de collecter des objets naturels qui attirent l'attention grâce à leur aspect particulier, apparemment sans une utilité bien définie, dépassera les frontières d'une simple curiosité et acquerra une valeur symbolique. Y. Taborin (2004) remarquait la difficulté de reconnaître les vrais critères de sélection, et, surtout, d'identifier le sens qui était attribué à chaque coquille, nuancant l'importance de la connaissance de l'origine comme un indicateur essentiel des relations entre les groupes humains, « un

document essentiel pour connaître le dynamisme social » (p. 68).

Le rôle fondamental de l'objet de parure est celui de communiquer ; l'ornement est un signe qui doit être compris, éventuellement par l'intuition. La diversité des modalités de transformation (choix d'éléments support, type de suspension) implique la diversité des significations exprimées (Y. Taborin, 1993a).

Comme manière de représentation, en général, les coquilles peuvent être des éléments de parure fixés sur des coiffures, sur divers objets de vêtement, dans des colliers ou des anneaux décorant les bras et les pieds (A. Leroi-Gourhan, 2001). Comme on sait, un objet de parure peut être représenté soit à travers un pendentif unique, suspendu, soit inclus dans un ensemble de plusieurs éléments différents, à la fois en tant que matière première et en tant que forme, dimensions (par exemple, le collier découvert dans la Grotte Cioarei, Boroșteni) ou identiques, comme c'est le cas du collier découvert à Poiana Cireșului-Piatra Neamț, réalisé à partir de coquilles d'escargots de *Lithoglyphus naticoides*. Le fait que ces exemplaires de coquilles ne proviennent pas d'espèces marines particulières ou qu'elles ne sont pas caractérisées par la rareté (du point de vue de leur forme, dimension, couleur, importance dans l'alimentation) ne signifie pas que leur valeur symbolique devrait être diminuée pour cette raison. Les formes naturelles étaient acceptées, plus ou moins, à leur état initial ; c'est justement la raison pour laquelle on préférerait celles qui, par leurs traits particuliers, donnaient la possibilité de créer l'objet désiré. Réaliser des objets de parure à partir de matériaux qui n'étaient pas extraordinaires comme matière première, ne conduit pas à une baisse de leur valeur symbolique.

L'étude technologique réalisée et, surtout, celle expérimentale (M. Cârciumaru, M. Țuțuianu-Cârciumaru, 2012), ont mis en évidence la facilité de la transformation des coquilles en éléments de parure, par suspension. Ce trait a été exploité pleinement par les habitants gravettiens de Poiana Cireșului. Le fait que ces coquilles provenaient d'une espèce commune (escargots terrestres et d'eau douce), manquant, à première vue, de velléités esthétiques particulières, semble ne pas avoir représenté un handicap dans leur sélection, mais, par contre, une opportunité de



Fig. 5- Poiana Cireșului-Piatra Neamț: collier obtenu de coquilles perforés d'escargots de l'espèce *Lithoglyphus naticoides*.

conférer à un objet, apparemment banal, commun, une valeur tout à fait particulière, justement grâce à l'aise avec laquelle on les transformaient.

Par conséquent, la collection des coquilles d'escargots présents dans l'habitat était déterminée par une forte tradition culturelle des communautés gravettiennes, de transformation des gastéropodes et lamellibranchiata en éléments de parure.

C'est le plus ancien collier de coquilles d'escargots d'eau douce (le niveau Gravettien III dans lequel le collier a été découvert a été daté entre : 25.760 ± 160 B.P. (Beta Analytic 244.073) et 27.321 ± 234 B.P. (31.969 ka) ER 11.859) (C. Zeeden et al., 2009), ce qui nous fait soupçonner la transmission, pour les étapes culturelles ultérieures, d'une forte tradition en ce sens. En même temps, on ne peut pas oublier de souligner qu'il représente un objet unique, d'un certain point de vue, pour le gravettien d'Europe.

De la catégorie des objets ornementaux décrite ci-dessus font partie aussi d'autres objets ayant un rôle de pendentif, mais comme le décor implique un élément supplémentaire de description, nous allons les analyser séparément dans une catégorie spéciale, dénommée *objets décorés/ « curieux »*.

Objets décorés/ « curieux »

Certains artefacts, pour être inclus dans la catégorie des objets d'art, doivent avoir un caractère représentatif ou démontrer l'existence d'un code symbolique, par la répétition du même motif. De l'autre côté, l'existence d'un décor introduit une dimension particulière laquelle accentue la signification symbolique, soit qu'il s'agisse d'un ornement du corps humain, soit qu'il s'agisse d'autres types d'objets.

Pour l'art mobilier du territoire de la Roumanie, comme l'étude technologique l'a démontré (M. Țuțianu-Cârciumaru, 2012), le décor est dominé par la géométrisation, ce qui signifie que les symboles collectifs ou individuels n'ont pas été exprimés par un art réaliste, mais par schématisation et abstraction. Ce qui surprend, comme le remarquait M. Mărgărit (2008), est le manque de représentations naturalistes, sous forme de statuettes anthropomorphes et zoomorphes, vu que, dans des zones proches et du même palier

chronologique, on rencontre un grand nombre de représentations de ce type. On ne peut pas accepter cette réalité comme étant la conséquence d'une incapacité de manifestation d'un acte artistique, d'autant plus que, du point de vue ethnographique, on connaît le fait que certains éléments de la nature peuvent être codés par leur transposition en forme géométrique (S. Mithen, 1998).

Comme nous avons souligné, certains ont un rôle de pendentif, étant présentés dans le cadre de cette catégorie pour les raisons déjà mentionnées. Si l'on commençait, dans une première étape, par les objets réalisés en matières dures animales, le pendentif en bois de Țibrinu est le plus représentatif exemple (fig. 6).

Le site archéologique où il a été découvert soulève, cependant, du point de vue stratigraphique, des questionnements sérieux (M. Cârciumaru et al., 2010), mais son existence reste néanmoins une réalité objective que nous devons accepter telle quelle. Son importance a été mise en évidence d'autres études, aussi (C. Beldiman, D.-M. Sztancs, 2006, C. Beldiman, D.-M. Sztancs, 2010).

Certainement, à côté de la richesse et de la complexité du décor, la mise en évidence de l'existence de l'ocre sur la surface du pendentif (M. Cârciumaru et al., 2010) réussissent à donner à ce superbe objet de parure et d'art des connotations symboliques exceptionnelles. L'emplacement de la perforation en corrélation avec la forme générale du support et avec les zones couvertes d'incisions particulières a représenté un élément assez révélateur pour apprécier, au moins de manière hypothétique, que l'entier ensemble du pendentif gravé de Țibrinu suggère la forme d'un poisson. Par l'aspect général de la pièce et du décor, et surtout par la modalité de rendre les incisions (la chronologie de la gravure) nous pouvons supposer que, mentalement, l'artisan avait déjà esquissée dans sa pensée cette signification, ses pas étant guidés justement par un schéma préexistant. On connaît des cas, surtout parmi les pièces de forme allongée, avec une perforation effectuée en vue de leur suspension, ornées par un décor schématique ou abstrait, dans lesquels la perforation dépasse sa fonction « *utilitaire* » et acquiert une signification supplémentaire (Y. Taborin, 1990).

Dans le cas de l'amulette-pendentif de Mitoc-Malul Galben (fig. 7), on a émis diverses opinions en ce qui concerne l'interprétation du décor. Ainsi, V. Chirica (1982) apprécie les gravures de ce pendentif comme suggérant, sur l'avvers, un cervidé orienté vers la droite, et sur le revers, les cornes d'un bovidé ou une silhouette humaine en train de courir, si l'on regarde la gravure renversée. C. Beldiman (2004) exprime des réserves sur l'argumentation de telles interprétations, suite à la géométrisation excessive du décor. Une autre opinion est formulée par M. Cârciumaru (1999), qui considère que sur les deux faces du pendentif pourraient être représentés, exclusivement, de manière stylisée, la partie inférieure du corps d'un coureur, plus précisément ses pieds et son tronc.

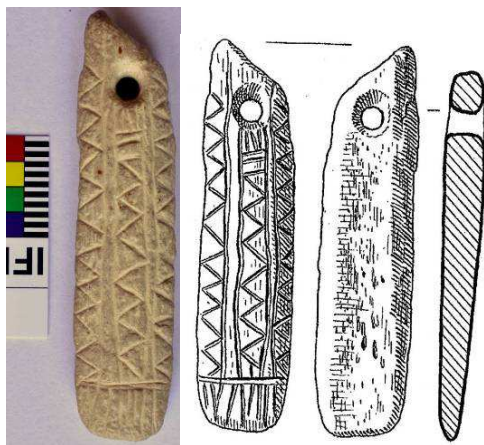


Fig. 6- Țibrinu: pendentif décoré en bois de cervidé.

Quant à la signification de la réalisation des amulettes-pendentifs, on a enregistré diverses interprétations. Partant de l'idée avancée par « le père de l'art préhistorique », A. Leroi-Gourhan (1965), selon lequel les pièces de forme ovale, avec des incisions sur leur contour, constituent des représentations sexuelles féminines, V. Chirica (1982) estime que cette interprétation n'est pas suffisamment fondée, tandis que M. Cârciumaru (1999) n'éloigne pas totalement cette hypothèse.

De la même catégorie, des objets décorés, fait partie aussi le pendentif en grès silicifié de la Grotte Cioarei de Boroșteni réalisé, certainement, pour être suspendu (fig. 2/2). On a supposé qu'il

a fait partie d'un seul collier qui incluait aussi la phalange et l'incisive d'un *Ursus spelaeus*, si l'on a en vue que ces objets ont été découverts dans le même habitat, pratiquement, l'un à côté de l'autre. La complexité des gravures de ce pendentif est remarquable, s'associant à sa coloration avec de l'ocre rouge, qui accentue son caractère symbolique.

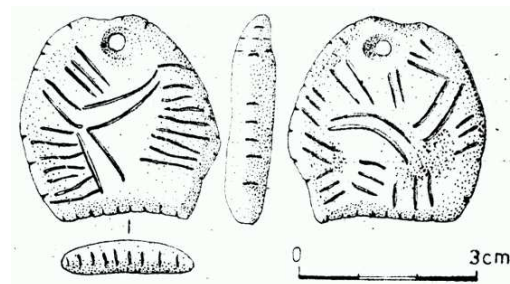


Fig. 7- Mitoc-Malul Galben: amulette-pendentif réalisée dans un éclat de cortex.

Ce pendentif, à côté de ceux décorés du Gravettien de Roumanie, est caractérisé par une géométrisation du décor, est totalement dépourvu de toute représentation réaliste. Certainement, à l'étape des recherches actuelles, le schématisme de l'art gravettien de Roumanie est un trait définitoire.

A côté des artefacts décrits dans la catégorie des objets *décorés*/ « curieux » qui ont aussi la fonction de pendentif – soit réalisés en matières dures animales, soit réalisés sur des supports représentés par diverses roches – il ya une série d'objets gravés dont nous allons essayer de déchiffrer la signification par la suite.

Les particularités du décor, caractérisé par symétrie et répétition, incite à la recherche d'une signification, d'un message, d'une information capable de donner sens à ces décors géométriques. Nous avons la conviction que les structures répétitives des symboles et des associations symboliques n'ont pas un caractère aléatoire ; c'est justement la raison pour laquelle

cette situation est illustrée à l'aide d'exemples.

Un endroit à part parmi ces objets revient à la diaphyse gravée de Poiana Cireșului-Piatra Neamț (fig. 8/1) (M. Cârciumaru et al., 2002-2003, M. Cârciumaru et al., 2006). L'étude technologique a mis en évidence le fait que cette diaphyse, ayant une fonction de support, a été transformée en vue d'obtenir un instrument ayant une utilité pratique, peut-être une pointe de lance (M. Țuțuianu-Cârciumaru, 2012). Plus difficile est de préciser quant la gravure des 17 incisions rhombiques a eu lieu. On peut émettre quelques hypothèses :

- l'intention d'attribuer à l'ancienne arme une signification symbolique pendant ou après l'arrêt de son utilisation en tant que pointe.

- l'utilisation du support, à la suite de la cessation de son fonctionnement comme pointe, à la suite de son destruction, pour d'autres buts, comme par exemple un système numérique, dans le sens de celui proposé par A. Marshak (1970, 1989).

Toujours à Poiana Cireșului, on a découvert un objet gravé (fig. 8/2) (métapode latéral de cheval), ayant presque le même genre d'incision (en nombre de 11) (M. Cârciumaru et al., 2007-2008), réalisées, cette fois-ci, sur un support sur lequel on n'a effectué aucune transformation préliminaire, sauf l'enlèvement du tissu spongieux par abrasion de la zone distale, peut-être en vue d'un éventuel emmanchement. Cela pourrait indiquer son utilisation comme pointe. La gravure a été réalisée, probablement, pour le même but que dans le cas de la diaphyse, sauf que le manque de transformation du support introduit une certaine ambiguïté quant au déchiffrement du but en vue duquel cette gravure a été réalisée. On pourrait croire à l'existence d'une troisième hypothèse concernant la raison de la réalisation des gravures : leur fonction en tant que système numérique, étroitement liée à un but pratique. Plus exactement, chaque gravure pouvait représenter la notation d'un succès obtenu à travers l'arme respectif.

Parmi les objets inclus dans la catégorie de ceux *décorés*/ « curieux », tout à fait insolite est le fragment d'os décoré sur sa partie supérieure, découvert dans le même habitat (fig. 8/3). Du point de vue technologique (M. Cârciumaru, M. Țuțuianu-Cârciumaru, 2009), on a souligné la complexité de la manière de réalisation des gravures respectives sur un objet dont l'utilité est difficilement définissable vu qu'on n'a

découvert, probablement, qu'un fragment de sa forme initiale. La destination de spatule à laquelle nous avons pensé, comme objet d'utilisation prolongée, justifierait le décor présent sur le fragment d'os.

Difficilement analysables sont aussi les gravures présentes sur des fragments de dimensions toutes petites en os, découvertes toujours dans le site de Poiana Cireșului (M. Cârciumaru et al., 2006) (fig. 8/4). Ce qui étonne, vraiment, est la variété des gravures présentes sur chaque fragment. Il est possible qu'elles aient fait partie d'ensembles différents, vu les différences stylistiques des motifs incisés. Il serait plus difficile à imaginer que leurs registres seraient réunis sur un seul objet d'art. La disposition complètement asymétrique des incisions rend difficile à argumenter leur interprétation comme décor qui communique visuellement un certain motif. Il existe la possibilité que les séquences graphiques aient fait partie d'un système symbolique plus sophistiqué, dans lequel un groupe d'éléments porterait une seule signification.

Restant dans le sphère des incisions effectuées dans le sens de la pensée de A. Marshak (1970; 1989), c'est-à-dire comme des systèmes numériques utilisés pour divers buts, on devrait inclure, à côté des objets en matières dures animales mentionnées, le galet gravé de l'habitat de Poiana Cireșului (fig. 8/5). Dans une zone restreinte de sa circonférence on a remarqué 6 incisions qui, étrangement, sont accompagnées par des traces d'ocre. Il est difficile de savoir si l'objet a été peint en entier avec de l'ocre ou seulement dans la zone des gravures, mais son existence donne au galet une forte charge symbolique et rend encore plus compliquée l'interprétation des gravures respectives.

Le même type d'ornement a été identifié sur deux pièces en os, dans l'habitat gravettien de Khotylevo II (Z. A. Abramova, 1995). Des gravures similaires à celles trouvées sur le galet en quartzite de Poiana Cireșului se retrouvent sur une pièce, malheureusement ayant une datation incertaine, signalée par P. Leonardi dans la grotte Les Marches (Italie) (1988). Il s'agit toujours d'un galet dont les incisions ont été interprétées, par l'auteur cité, dans le sens des notations numériques, le rôle ornemental étant pris en considération seulement partiellement. De tels signes sont appréciés comme étant répandus dans

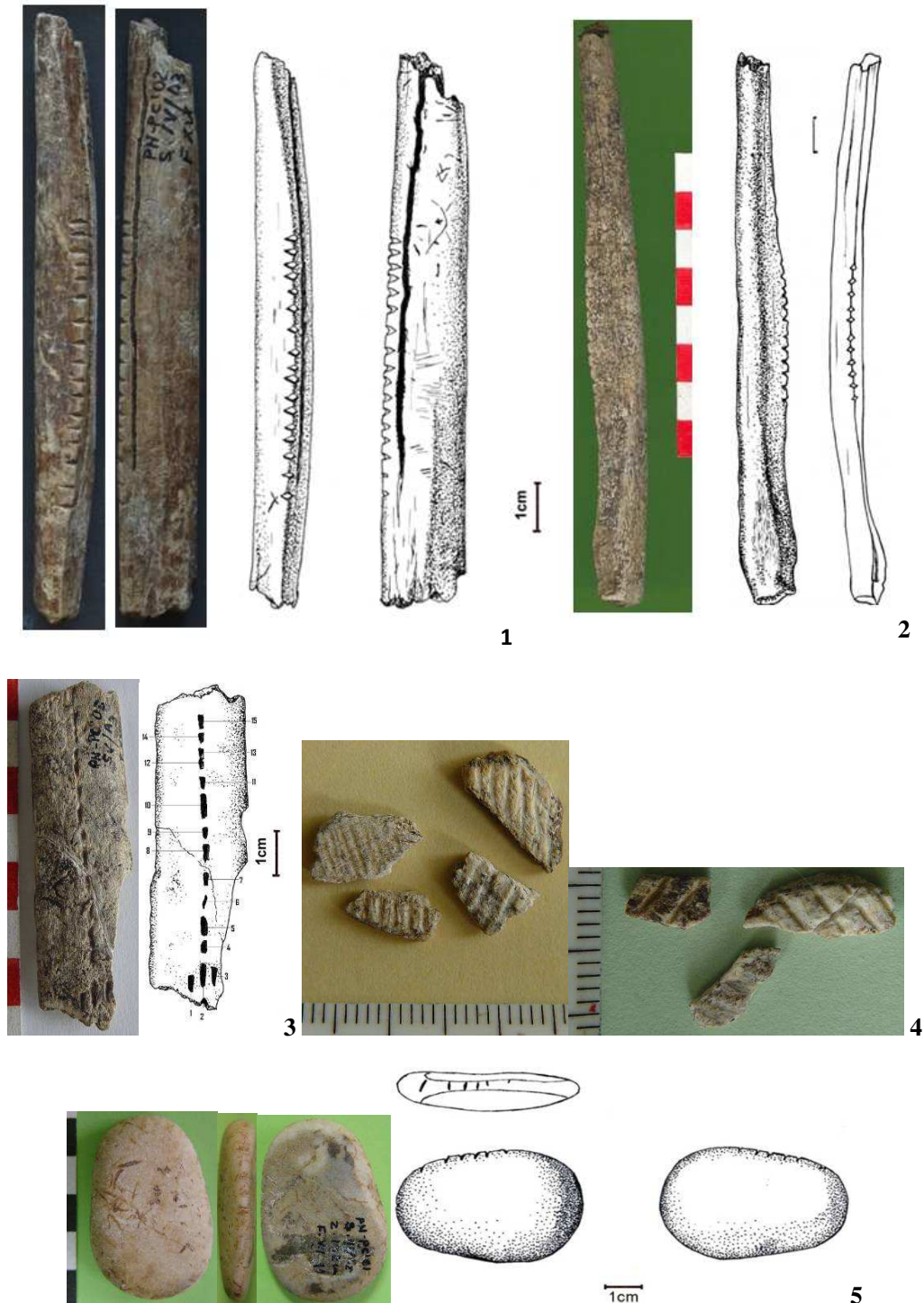


Fig. 8- Poiana Cireșului-Piatra Neamț: 1. diaphyse gravée; 2. objet gravé en métapode lateral de cheval; 3. fragment d'os gravé; 4. fragments d'os minuscules gravés différemment; 5. galet en quartzite gravé.

l'art méditerranéen (P. Leonardi, 1988).

Nous considérons que la présence de tels signes serait liée à la chasse, l'occupation principale des hommes. D'ailleurs, la vie du chasseur était strictement liée à la nature, et cela impliquait non seulement la simple observation, mais surtout la représentation graphique des événements qui avaient lieu autour de lui, et de tous les changements importants pour sa survie. S. A. de Beaune (2004) apprécie que ce type d'incisions représentaient des signes de reconnaissance ou d'appartenance à un groupe, de « signatures » ou même de « marques de propriétaires » (p. 203). En échange, d'autres (F. d' Errico, 1991; M. Crémades, 1996) ont rejeté aussi de telles hypothèses utilisant des arguments technologiques : la gravure des incisions à l'aide du même instrument et dans une seule unité de temps sont des réalités qui ne peuvent pas correspondre à un système de notation du type calendrier.

J. Jelinek (1988), analysant ces suppositions, conclut que, dans de telles situations, les cas claires sont très rares et, par conséquent, il ne reste que de décider dans quelle mesure on peut parler d'une « notation » ou d'un simple « décor ».

Un décor vraiment singulier, provenant du même habitat, mérite, d'autant plus, être rappelé. Il est réalisé sur un fragment d'os et suggère le sabot d'un animal herbivore (fig. 9) (M. Cârciumaru et al., 2002-2003). Sa représentation d'une manière réaliste représente une première pour l'art mobilier gravettien de Roumanie, et aussi une exception par rapport à tous les autres objets gravés, qui sont caractérisés par un fort schématisme. La découverte dans le site de Poiana Cireșului d'un fragment d'os gravé représentant un sabot, le plus probablement d'un mammifère de taille moyenne-grande, semble modifier l'image concernant la présence de l'art figuratif dans l'aire analysée. Bien que l'on ne puisse pas exclure le désir de représentation, nous considérons qu'il est délicat d'émettre des conclusions définitives partant d'un seul objet, d'autant plus qu'il représente seulement un petit fragment.

Peut-être les plus représentatifs, mais surtout curieux, par le message symbolique transmis, qui appartiennent à la catégorie des objets *décorés*/ « curieux », sont les 4 fossiles de *Congerina sp. aff. Congeria (Mytilopsis)*

subcarinata subcarinata (fig. 10) (M. Cârciumaru et al., 2002-2003, M. Cârciumaru et al., 2011).

L'introduction par les communautés paléolithiques de fossiles curieux dans leurs habitats a des racines profondes, les témoignages les plus anciens de ce type pouvant être attribués à l'homme de Neandertal même (A. Leroi-Gourhan, 2001). M. Otte (1996), qui représente une autre génération, apporte de nouveau dans l'actualité l'hypothèse des « objets étrangers » récoltés et transportés par l'homme de Neandertal, leur origine étrangère leur donnant, malgré leur aspect apparemment non-utilitaire, une valeur symbolique.

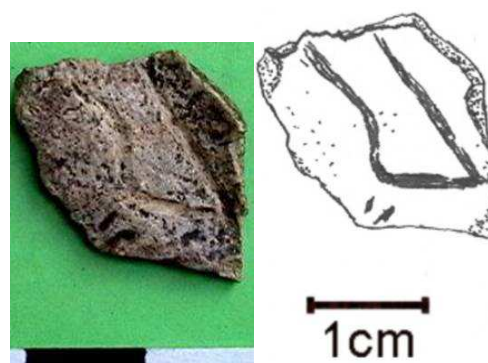


Fig. 9- Poiana Cireșului-Piatra Neamț: fragment d'os gravé qui suggère le sabot d'un animal.

Des découvertes similaires ont été réalisées assez fréquemment dans les habitats du Paléolithique Supérieur de partout, attribuées à *Homo sapiens sapiens*. Beaucoup d'entre elles ont été rappelées et commentées par A. Leroi-Gourhan dès 1964.

L'une des découvertes de ce type doit être mentionnée ayant été faite dans une région située dans la proximité de Poiana Cireșului. Il s'agit d'un oursin fossile de 4,8/5,2 cm, récupéré d'un niveau aurignacien de Climăuți (République de Moldova), sur lequel on considère qu'on a intervenu en vue d'esquisser des traits humains (I. Borziac, V. Chirica, 1996).

Nous considérons qu'il n'est pas sans importance que les fossiles représentent en fait des moules de l'espèce, constitués d'aragonite dont l'aspect a représenté, probablement, un élément supplémentaire d'attrait (M. Cârciumaru et al., 2011). Cette réalité ne constitue pas le seul

argument pour lequel les fossiles ont été introduits dans l'habitat de Poiana Cireșului. La raison pour laquelle ils ont été récoltés se retrouve dans la signification de leur forme tellement caractéristique, laquelle suggère, de très près, celle des vulves représentées dans les grottes ouest-européennes, avec toutes les implications de nature symbolique. Pratiquement, dans l'absence du support représenté par les parois des grottes, les fossiles deviennent une projection de celles-ci, mais dans un autre environnement naturel, justement grâce à leur signification. Leur existence dans cet habitat, qui est un habitat saisonnier de chasse du renne, n'est pas un fait isolé, si l'on a en vue, à côté de la richesse et de la diversité du matériel lithique, celle des objets sur matières dures animales, beaucoup d'entre eux de vraies œuvres d'art (M. Cârciumaru et al., 2011).

Les fortes connotations symboliques des fossiles sont soutenues incontestablement par le fait que leurs moules d'aragonite - insolites par l'aspect naturel de ce minéral, ont été peintes avec de l'ocre. Les fossiles présents dans la couche gravettienne de Poiana Cireșului-Piatra Neamț ne font que compléter l'image et l'ample tableau d'une spiritualité plénière, avec des significations majeures dans la vie de la communauté respective.

En même temps, la communication entre les membres des communautés paléolithiques a représenté un gain perpétuel pour l'évolution de l'humanité du point de vue économique, social et spirituel, la diversification des moyens de communication contribuant, certainement, à nuancer les modalités d'expression. Les instruments à siffler représentent une des formes primaires de matérialisation de ces moyens de communication. L'avantage de la conservation de ces objets réalisés en matières dures animales a permis de formuler des suppositions concernant leur utilisation.

Probablement la majorité des sifflets réalisés de manière intentionnelle par l'homme gravettien avaient, avant tout, une utilité pratique, celle d'obtenir des sons en vue de communiquer. Un argument pour considérer qu'elles ont été transformées en ce sens est le nombre impressionnant des phalanges perforées, découvertes dans presque tous les niveaux culturels appartenant au Paléolithique Supérieur (N. Conrad, M. Malina, S. C. Münzel, 2009; D.

Buisson, 1990; F. d'Errico, 2003).

L'analyse à l'aide du microscope digital (M. Cârciumaru, M. Țuțianu-Cârciumaru, 2011) a mis en évidence aussi les connotations symboliques du sifflet de Poiana Cireșului, car, comme on vient de constater, il a été peint avec de l'ocre (fig. 11). Certes, cet aspect offre des arguments en faveur de l'idée que le sifflet n'est pas un objet quelconque dans la création de l'homme gravettien, mais a des significations complexes pour la spiritualité de la communauté respective.

Conclusions

La capacité d'élaborer des systèmes de personnalisation, matérialisés par la réalisation d'ornements divers du point de vue morphologique, des décors ayant un degré élevé de schématisation, des moyens de communication entre individus, des gravures en quelque sorte similaires par leur style et leur forme, réalisés sur différents supports qui peuvent suggérer des modalités de percevoir des cycles temporels, constitue une preuve concernant la particularisation symbolique des sociétés respectives. Tous les artefacts mentionnés, quel que soit leur degré d'intervention sur la matière première, représentent des éléments assez révélateurs sur les activités symboliques ou métaphysiques, démontrant l'imagination créatrice des communautés gravettiennes.

À côté des capacités d'expression artistique, illustrées sous diverses formes, on a identifié des informations sur le statut social dans le cadre de la communauté respective, sans ignorer les modalités de communication entre individus. Nous avons en vue les pendentifs en dents de carnivores, surtout des animaux dangereux, qui ne faisaient pas partie de la catégorie de ceux chassés fréquemment pour la nourriture de la communauté, mais, probablement, transmettaient, par leur statut, de la force et inspiraient du respect.

De l'autre côté, les objets d'art mobilier découverts sur le territoire de la Roumanie présentent divers signes, à partir d'incisions et jusqu'aux décors amples, dominés par la géométrisation, dont la complexité a conduit souvent à un ample questionnement. Dans certaines situations, les connotations de certaines observations ont conduit à des conclusions

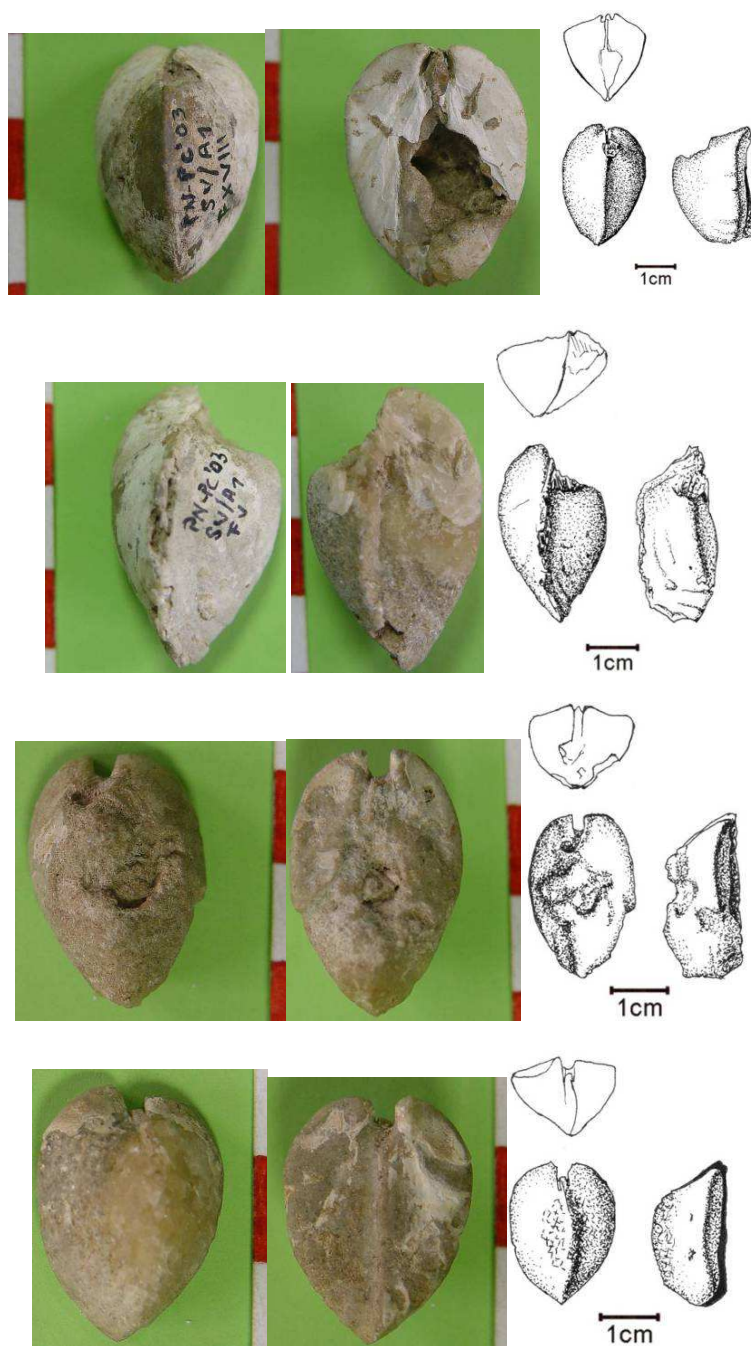


Fig. 10- Poiana Cireşului-Piatra Neamţ: fossiles de l'espèce *Congeria* sp. Aff. *Congeria* (*Mytilopsis*) *subcarinata subcarinata*.

d'ordre esthétique : le rôle de ces objets décoratifs était d'être portés sous forme de colliers ou pour embellir les vêtements ou même des objets utilitaires en cuir.

Quant aux tendances et aux limites actuelles dans l'interprétation des symboles, la méthode expérimentale appliquée aux objets d'art mobilier est, à notre avis, d'une importance cruciale pour l'étude des aspects liés à la spiritualité. Cette méthode est essentielle pour comprendre implicitement le sens du choix de certains matériaux. Avec toute sa complexité – qui nécessite diverses étapes jusqu'à l'obtention de la forme désirée – la méthode expérimentale reste une modalité de travail extrêmement suggestive.

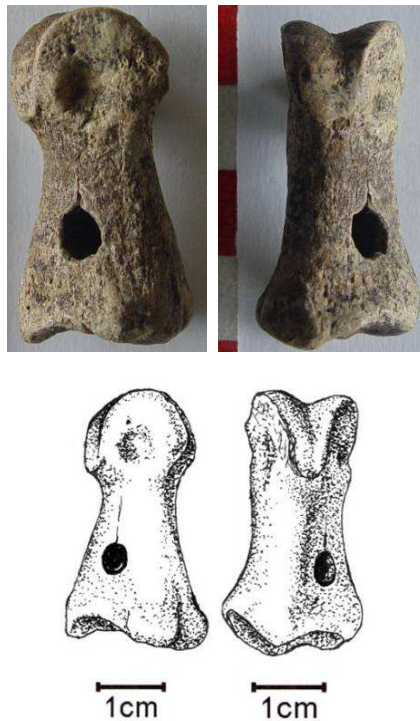


Fig. 11- Poiana Cireșului-Piatra Neamț: sifflet réalisé en phalange de renne.

A travers ce type de recherche on a pu obtenir des données révélatrices sur les rapports qui existent entre geste, matière et outil ; la transformation de l'objet en symbole dépend du comportement du support pendant la gravure ou la perforation. Le collier en coquilles d'escargots du Gravettien de Poiana Cireșului est un exemple

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éclairant. L'homme gravettien, agissant selon une tradition fortement inscrite dans sa conscience, a exploité ce que l'environnement lui offrait, le message symbolique nécessaire étant obtenu à travers des moyens adaptatifs.

Un autre aspect vise la nature du support qui a été à la base de la réalisation des objets d'art mobilier. Pour la plupart, ces objets ont été réalisés en matières dures animales (os, bois, dent, ivoire, coquille) et, dans une moindre mesure, en différentes roches et minéraux (silex, grès, quartzite, stalactite, aragonite). Malheureusement, on n'a découvert aucun objet d'art en ivoire, matière première tellement exploitée dans les grands sites de l'Europe Centrale ou de la Plaine Russe. Pourtant, dans certains habitats, par exemple à Poiana Cireșului-Piatra Neamț, où l'on a aussi le plus grand nombre d'objets d'art, on a découvert une série d'armes réalisées en ce matériau. A côté du site de Poiana Cireșului, de ceux de Lespezi (dép. de Bacău) et Cotu-Miculinți (dép. de Botoșani), des habitats ayant une tradition culturelle gravettienne est-européenne, sont les seules à avoir fourni de l'ivoire provenant du Paléolithique Supérieur.

Les objets d'art découverts dans le Gravettien de Roumanie sont dominés majoritairement par des gravures réalisées en style géométrique, ayant un degré élevé d'abstractisation. Il y a aussi une exception – le fragment d'os gravé découvert dans le site de Poiana Cireșului, qui pourrait être interprété comme un pâle témoignage d'une représentation réaliste. Cette découverte nous fait espérer qu'il y aura aussi d'autres décors ayant le même style, signe d'une tradition spécifique pour le Paléolithique Supérieur, surtout de l'ouest de l'Europe.

Vu l'évolution générale de l'art paléolithique, on peut émettre, de manière justifiée, l'hypothèse que la prédominance du style abstractisé du Gravettien de Roumanie représente une preuve de l'«*intellectualisation*» des communautés respectives, par le message symbolique transmis. Cela peut signifier en même temps une profondeur de la pensée et une perception exclusiviste des représentations.

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Zu einem Metallgegenstand der frühbronzezeitlichen Glina-Kultur. Die Meißel von Mironești

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Zusammenfassung: Die in der Glina-Siedlung von Mironești-Conacul Mironescu, Bezirk Giurgiu, führten zur Entdeckung einer Kupfermeißel. Dieser Fund ermöglichte eine Diskussion bezüglich diesem Werkzeugtyp – Fundorte, Verbreitung, Verwendung, Erzeugungsverfahren.

Schlüsselworte: Glina-Kultur, Mironești-Conacul Mironescu, Metallmeißel, Besprechung.

Abstract: *About an metal object of the Early Bronze Age Glina culture. The chisel from Mironești.* The investigations carried out in the site of the Glina culture, Early Bronze Age, from Mironești-Conacul Mironescu, Giurgiu County, have resulted in the recovery, among others, of a chisel made of copper. This find allowed us to make a larger discussion about this tool type – places of discovery, distribution, functionality, conception mode.

Key-words: Glina culture, Mironești-Conacul Mironescu, copper chisel, discussions.

Dem Dorf Mironești (Gemeinde Gostinari, Bezirk Giurgiu) und seiner Umgebung wurden seitens der Archäologen seit mehr als 25 Jahren die nötige Aufmerksamkeit gezeigt. Zwischen 1986 und 2011 konnten in mehreren Punkten prähistorische Spuren entdeckt werden, zu diesen zählen auch die der frühbronzezeitlichen Glina-Kultur. So wurden Komplexe und/oder Keramik dieser in „Malul Roșu” (C. Schuster, T. Popa, 2008a), „Conacul lui Palade” (C. Schuster, T. Popa, 2008a; C. Schuster, T. Popa, 2012) und „Conacul Mironescu” (Abb. 1) (C. Schuster, T. Popa, 2012) und „Coastă” (C. Schuster, T. Popa, 2008a) gefunden.

Diese Glina-Ansiedlungen wurden sehr wahrscheinlich nur für kurze Zeit benutzt, dafür sprechen die dünnen archäologischen Schichten, die geringe Anzahl der Bauten und Gruben und die kleine Menge der entdeckten Keramik. Sehr möglich, dass diese Siedlungen Beweise der

Tätigkeit kleiner Nomadengruppen, die mit ihren Tierherden in der Suche nach Nahrung, entlang dem Argeș herumstreiften, sind. Solche Siedlungen sind keine Ausnahmen, sondern reißen sich der Mehrheit dieses Siedlungstyp der Kultur ein (C. Schuster, C. Fântâneau, 2005).

Im Jahr 2011 sind die Überreste zweier wahrscheinlicher ebenerdiger Häuser im Punkt „Conacul Mironescu” (Abb. 2) gefunden worden (C. Schuster, T. Popa, 2012). In dem ersten dieser Bauten wurde, neben Lehmewurf, Tierknochen, Keramikscherben, Steinobjekte, auch eine Metallmeißel entdeckt (Abb. 3). Diese ist aus Kupfer, hat eine rechteckige, längliche Form, mit zugespitzter und leicht gerundeter Schneide. Die Ausmaßen betragen eine Länge von 10.7 cm, eine Breite von 1.3 cm und eine Dicke von 0.7 cm. Das Werkzeug wurde nicht durch eine Gußform erarbeitet, sondern kam durch Hämmern zustande. Sehr wahrscheinlich



Abb. 1 - Mironești-Conacul Mironescu. Luftbild des Fundortes.



Abb. 2 - Mironești-Conacul Mironescu. Südostansicht. Foto C. Schuster.

Zu einem Metallgegenstand der frühbronzezeitlichen Glina-Kultur. Die Meißel von Mironesti

wurde die Meißel nur gering verwendet, denn es konnten keine großen Beschädigungen festgestellt werden. Benutzungsspuren sind nur an den zwei Enden besser zu erkennen.

Dieser Werkzeugtyp, desgleichen aus Kupfer, wurde auch in einer anderen Glina-Siedlung, u.z. Branet, in Westoltenien, entdeckt. Es handelt sich um zwei Exemplare, die im *Haus Nr. 2* gefunden worden sind (A. Ulanici, 1975; C. Schuster, 1997; C. Schuster, C. Fântăneanu, 2007). Die erste der Meißeln (Abb. 4) hat eine ähnliche Form (rechteckig im Durchschnitt, 10,8 cm lang, 0,6 cm breit und 0,4 cm dick) der von Mironesti, wurde auch durch Hämmern geschaffen und weist leichte Arbeitsspuren auf. Das Ende mit der Schneide ist gebogen, während das gegenüberliegende Ende schräg zugespitzt wurde.

Die zweite Meißel ist eher klein (nur 5 cm lang), hat eine rombsche Form, fast quadratisch in der Mitte (5,5 cm), mit einem spitzen und einem anderen leicht breiteren Ende (Abb. 5).

Ein gut erhaltenes Werkzeug dieser Gattung (wahrscheinlich desgleichen aus Kupfer¹) wurde im Jahr 1996 in der Glina-Schicht von Odaia Turcului entdeckt (R. Băjenaru 2006). Die Meißel hat eine Länge von 19,2 cm, eine Breite (der Schneide) von 0,7 cm und eine Dicke von 0,5 cm (Abb. 6). Durch ihre erhobenen Ränder des breiteren Ende (der Schneide), stellt sie zurzeit ein Unikum der hier diskutierten frühbronzezeitlichen Erscheinung.

Im Vâlcea-Bezirk wurde eine weitere Kupfermeißeln gefunden. Ihr Fundumstand erlaubt aber keine sichere kulturelle Zuordnung. Gheorghe Petre-Govora (1995) hat diese Meißel von Căzănești-Platformă der Glina-Kultur zugewiesen. Sie wurde durch das gleiche technische Verfahren, u.z. durch Hämmern, erarbeitet. Das eine Ende ist spitz, die Schneide flach (0,4 cm). Ihre Länge beträgt 11,2 cm, in der Mitte ist eine fast rombsche Wulst zu erkennen. Der Teil zwischen dem spitzen Ende und der Wulst ist rund im Durchmesser, während das Segment zwischen der Schneide und der Wulst leicht rechteckig ist.

Die Aufzählung der Metallmeißeln zeugt davon, dass diese kein verbreiteter Werkzeugtyp in der Glina-Kultur war (Abb. 7). Trotz dem

großen Verbreitungsraum und den vielen Fundorten dieser kulturellen Äußerung (C. Schuster, C. Fântăneanu, 2005), sind die Metallobjekte – Werkzeuge und Waffen, aus Kupfer oder Bronze – eher eine Seltenheit (R. Băjenaru, 2006; C. Schuster, C. Fântăneanu, 2007; C. Schuster, T. Popa, 2010). Ein Teil der entdeckten Objekte sind sehr wahrscheinlich Importstücke, andere lokale Produkte. Ob die Meißeln in den Glina-Siedlungen hergestellt oder durch Tausch/Handel erworben wurden, ist schwer zu beurteilen. Hinsichtlich der einheimischen Metallbearbeitung (C. Schuster, C. Fântăneanu, 2007) sprechen einige tönernen Gußformen (Butimanu: S. Morintz, D. V. Rosetti, 1959; P. Roman, 1976; C. Schuster, 1997; 1998a; C. Schuster, C. Fântăneanu, 2007; Govora Sat-Runcuri: P. Roman, 1985; C. Schuster, 1997; C. Schuster, C. Fântăneanu 2007) und ein Fragment eines Schmelztiegels (Valea Iaşului: A. Ulanici, 1982; C. Schuster, 1997).

Die Glina-Menschen verwendeten, so wie uns die Funde beweisen, nicht nur Metallmeißeln sondern auch andere aus Stein (Silexmeißel von Bucureşti-Ciurel: M. Negru, C. Schuster, 1995; C. Schuster, 1997; 1998b; geschliffene Werkzeuge - Bucureşti-Militari Câmpul Boja, Bucureşti-Ciurel, Milcovăţu-Dig, Govora Sat-Runcuri: M. Turcu, 1980; P. Roman, 1985; M. Negru, C. Schuster, 1995; C. Schuster, 1997; 1998b; 2000) und Knochen/Horn (Bucureşti-Fundeni, Varlaam-La Bazin, Drăgăneşti-Olt-Corboaica, Govora Sat-Runcuri, Ostrovul Corbului; S. Morintz, D. V. Rosetti, 1959; C. Schuster, 1995; P. Roman, 1985; 2011; Gh. Petre-Govora, 1986; C. Schuster, 1997; C. Schuster, T. Popa, V. Barbu, 2012).

Die Kupfermeißeln wurden, vielleicht mit Ausnahme der der aus Mironesti, mit einem hölzernen oder aus Knochen oder Horn gebastelten Griffes versehen. Diese Werkzeugkategorie erlaubte hauptsächlich die Bearbeitung von organischen Rohstoffen, wie Holz, Felle, Knochen, Horn. Möglich, dass auch härtere Stoffe, wie z.B. Salz unter die Meißeln geraten sind. Dafür könnten die Fundorte im nordöstlichen Eck Olteniens – Govora Sat-Runcuri und Căzăneşti-Platformă –, sehr reich an Salzvorkommen, sprechen (C. Schuster, I. Tuţulescu, I. Dumitrescu, 2011; C. Schuster, I. Tuţulescu, I. Dumitrescu, 2012). Interessant ist, dass in diesem Gebiet viele steinerne

¹ Es wurden keine metallographischen Analysen durchgeführt, s. R. Băjenaru 2006, S. 129, Anm. 2.



Abb. 3 - Mironești-Conacul Mironescu. Glina-Kupfermeißel. Foto Gh. Chelmec.



Abb. 4 - Branet. Glina-Kupfermeißel (nach A. Ulanici, 1975).

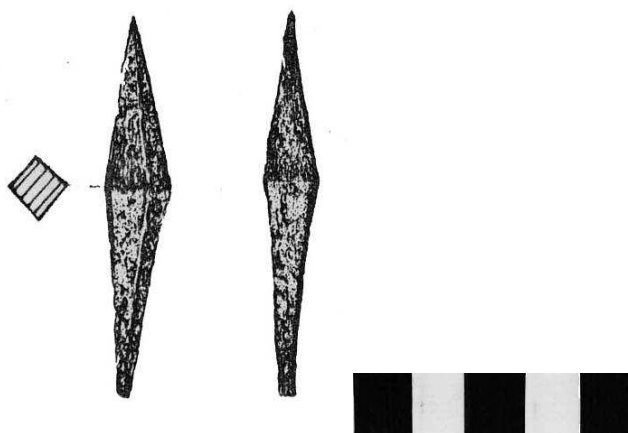


Abb. 5 - Branet. Glina-Kupfermeißel (nach A. Ulanici, 1975).

**Zu einem Metallgegenstand der frühbronzezeitlichen Glina-Kultur.
Die Meißel von Mironеști**



Abb. 6 - Odaia Turcului. Glina-Meißel (nach R. Băjenaru, 2006).

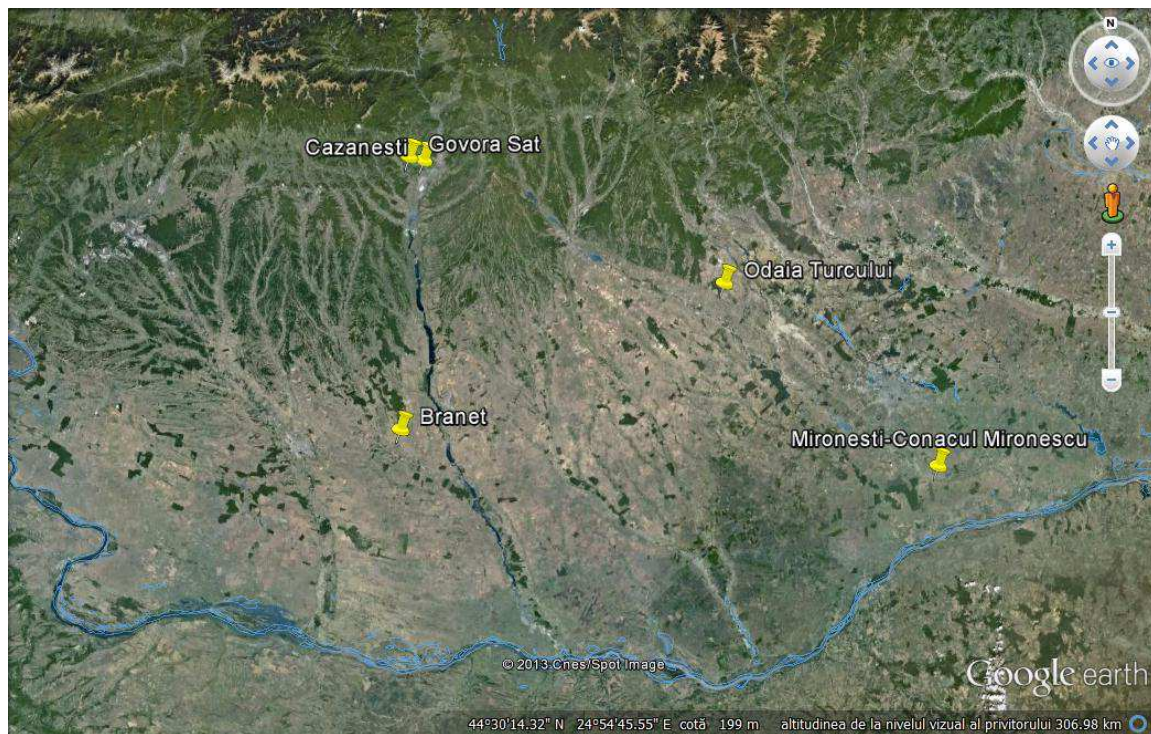


Abb. 7 - Die Fundorte der Glina-Metallmeißeln.

Rillenhammeräxte, desgleichen bei der Zerkleinerung der Salzkumpen verwendet, entdeckt worden sind (C. Schuster, 1998c; C. Schuster, C. Fântâneau, 2007; C. Schuster, I. Tuțulescu, 2011). Ein gleicher Hammeraxttyp wurde weiter südlich, aber desgleichen in der Nähe des Flusses Olt, in Branet (A. Ulanici, 1975; 1981; C. Schuster, 1998c), wo auch, wie schon erwähnt, zwei Kupfermeißeln durch archäologische Forschungen ans Tageslicht gefördert wurden, gefunden. Dass das Salz aus dem Vâlcea-Gebiet auf dem Olt zur Donau transportiert wurde ist bekannt (C. Schuster, A. Morintz, 2006), möglich ist, dass auch einige Werkzeugetypen, in unserem Fall Rillenhammeräxte und Metallmeißeln, desgleichen so verbreitet wurden.

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**Zu einem Metallgegenstand der frühbronzezeitlichen Glina-Kultur.
Die Meißel von Mironeşti**

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Noviodunum. Data about the bone and antler artefacts

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Abstract: *Noviodunum. Data about the bone and antler artefacts.* The archaeological researches carried out during 2009-2012 period in various sectors of the Isaccea, "Fortress" site (Noviodunum), Tulcea County made possible the recovery of an assemblage comprising osseous materials artefacts. Their study marks the beginning of the systematic analysis of this type of pieces discovered at the site. The reduced number of artefacts that is studied with this occasion (13) and their dispersion in various places of the site do not allow us to formulate some detailed conclusions. This analysis aims at highlighting the recent discoveries and the primary data related to this in an extensive manner. The catalogue offers all these significant data regarding the artefacts. They are presented according to the current methodology of the domain (C. Beldiman 2007). The typological categories that form the assemblage includes: I Tools; III Adornments/Accessories; V Varia, Game pieces; Technical pieces (Wastes). The quantitative repartition of the types illustrates a predomination of adornments/accessories category (bone plates; bone button), followed by the one of tools (bone points; bone needles). *Varia* category comprises a bone dice and a red deer antler waste. The most of the pieces are dated from the Middle Ages (13th century); a piece was attributed to the Roman period (bone dice).

Keywords: ancient technology, bone and antler industry, Dobrogea, Middle Ages, Noviodunum, Roman Period.

Context

The archaeological researches carried out during 2009-2012 period in various sectors of the Isaccea, "Fortress" site (Noviodunum), Tulcea County (NVD) (A. D. Stănică, 2013) made possible the recovery of an assemblage comprising osseous materials artefacts.

Their study marks the beginning of the systematic analysis of this type of pieces discovered at Noviodunum. They already form a rich collection that has been created during the past six decades of archaeological excavations (C. Beldiman, D.-M. Sztancs, 2013).

Methodology

The reduced number of artefacts that is studied with this occasion (13) and their dispersion in various places of the site do not allow us to formulate some detailed conclusions. This analysis aims at highlighting the recent

discoveries and the primary data related to this in an extensive manner.

The catalogue offers all these significant data regarding the artefacts. They are presented according to the current methodology of the domain (C. Beldiman, 2007; D.-M. Sztancs, 2011).

In order to achieve the objectives of the study, the optical means of observation were used (optical microscope, zoom x10, x40; digital microscope, zoom x10, x400); complete sets of images at various scales were taken (microscopic including), in this way being initiated a bank of artefacts images discovered at Noviodunum.

The catalogue includes the pieces numbered from 1 to 13, classified from a typological point of view.

Chronological and cultural data related to the studied artefacts were provided by the authors of the researches and they were correlated (whether

it was possible) with the observations regarding the specificity of the typological and technological aspects.

The data are preliminary and they can be revised. The main periods of inhabitation of Noviodunum site are dated from the 1st to the 7th centuries, the 10th to the 11th and the 12th to the 15th centuries (A. D. Stănică, 2013; <http://www.noviodunum.ro>).

Lately, the complex study of the osseous materials artefacts dated from Roman epoch, Late Roman, Roman-Byzantine period (1st, 7th centuries) and Middle Byzantine period (9th, 11th centuries) from Dobrogea has registered important contributions in articles and communications.

These presented the materials discovered at Capidava, Durostorum-Ostrov, Histria-Basilica extra muros (C. Beldiman, V. Rusu-Bolindeț *et alii*, 2011; C. Beldiman, D.-M. Sztancs, 2007a; C. Beldiman, D.-M. Sztancs, 2007b; C. Beldiman, D.-M. Sztancs, 2010; C. Beldiman, D. Elefterescu, D.-M. Sztancs, 2010).

In contrast, the discoveries dated from the Middle Ages (the 12th, the 15th centuries) have been rarely approached in an extensive manner (A. A. Rusu, Fl. Mărginean, 2004).

In this way, the contributions generated by the analysis of the assemblages of osseous materials artefacts from Noviodunum will offer methodological and typological benchmarks for futures approaches of the material culture from Istro-Pontic area and adjacent regions.

Repertory

Each artefact was studied according to a standard protocol comprising several levels and components with the aim of registering the data in an extensive/exhaustive manner (see the Catalogue).

Raw materials, status of conservation, typology, morphology, morphometry, manufacturing traces, use-wear traces, functionality were the main aspects taken into account.

The standard form includes data regarding the artefact, according to the following structure:

- Indicative
- Type
- Typological code
- Category (tools, weapons, adornments, raw materials, accessories etc.)
- Holder/Collection

- Inventory number
- Context
- Culture
- Fig.
- Raw material
- Status of conservation (entire, fragmentary, fragment)
- Description (morphology, technical data regarding the manufacture, use-wear traces, presumed functionality etc.)
- Dimensions (mm)
- Bibliography/Unpublished.

Typology

The typological categories that form the assemblage are presented according to Beldiman 2007 Typological List: I Tools; III Adornments/Accessories; V Varia, Game pieces; Technical pieces (Wastes) (C. Beldiman, 2007, p. 211-234).

The quantitative repartition of the types illustrates a predomination of adornments/accessories category (bone plates N = 7; bone button, N = 1; Total = 8), followed by the one of tools (bone points, N = 1; bone needles, N = 2; Total = 3).

Varia category comprises a bone dice (N = 1) and a red deer antler waste (N = 1).

The most of the pieces are dated from the Middle Ages (13th century); a piece was attributed to the Roman period (bone dice, NVD 11).

Aspects of manufacture

Regarding the raw materials, most of the artefacts were made from long or flat bones of cattle, sheep/goat, bird, fish (N = 12); the detailed situation is the following: long bone of sheep/goat, N = 1; long bone of cattle, N = 4; cattle rib, N = 3; long bone of bird, N = 2; flat bone of fish, N = 2. The red deer antler is also present (N = 1).

The manufacture techniques consist of simple procedures such as: fracture, chopping, scraping, abrasion and complex technological solutions as: perforation, engraving (for ornamental purposes), lathe finishing etc.

Artefacts' manufacture refers both to the household activities (bone point, NVD 1; bone needles, NVD 9-10), and the specialised one, workshops from the site or outside it, external workshops/trades.

The increase of the study on the rest of the osseous materials artefacts from Noviodunum will bring new clarifications in this respect.

Even if the studied assemblage is a small one, it provides the first typological, technological, cultural and chronological benchmarks for the complex and extensive approach of the cultural manifestations from Noviodunum during the Roman period and the Middle Ages.

Catalogue

The data are organized as follows:

- Code/Type
- Holder/Inventory no.
- Archaeological context of discovery
- Epoch/Dating
- Artefact description/Morphometry (in mm)

NVD 1 Bone awl ICEMTL Inventory no. - (fig. 1)

Middle Ages 13th century

2010 Area A Square C1 -1.00 m

Awl made from a proximal radius of sheep/goat (I A25 type).

Whole piece. Good status of preservation. The surfaces were superficially affected by corrosion (plants' roots). Superficial traces of burning. At the proximal end, traces of transversal cutting can be observed. These were produced by a knife blade (cutting the cartilages). The débitage was done by chopping applied at the proximal end in order to smooth the articular surface for a better handling. On the long surface of the active part, on the lateral side, an oblique chopping was done. The axial abrasion was applied on the edges and sides in order to prepare the active part. Use-wear traces: intense bluntness and polish at the level of the active part as well as at the proximal end/part (due to handling). The piece was probably used as an awl for hides.

Ltot 117.93; EP 23.70/17.96; PM 16.13/12.40; LPA 56.68; CD 11.20/6.32.

NVD 2 Bone needle ICEMTL Inventory no. - (fig. 2)

Middle Ages 13th century

2012 Area A Square B3 -1.50 m

Bone needle (tip I A12 a1).

Fragmentary piece; about 2/3 of the length is preserved (proximal part and medial part). Fracture recently produced at the distal part level. Raw material: fragment of long bone of bird?

Piece entirely shaped. The débitage procedures cannot be identified; the shaping was done by applying chopping and axial scraping with a knife. The proximal part was chopped on one of sides (conventionally called inferior side) in order to reduce the thickness – sharpening. The proximal part is sharpened and the proximal end is rounded by specific bluntness produced while using. The sections are oval. The perforation is oval-shaped, with oblique edges, centrally placed at the 15.66 mm distance of the proximal end; it was done in two stages: 1. unilateral perforation with a drill or the point of a knife with a diameter of 2.5 mm; 2. the widening of the perforation at the medial part using cutting with a knife blade offered an oval irregular shape to the perforation, narrower to the medial part. It is possible that the perforation was made before the final shaping of the edges. Use-wear traces: intense bluntness, polish on the entire surface and at the perforation level were produced by the intense use of the piece at sewing hides (leather processing).

Ltot 106.70/66.70; EP 1.45/1.50; PP at the pf level 4.92/2.64; PM 4.09/3.08; PD 3.50/2.73; diam ext of pf on FS 6.79/3.23; diam int of pf on FS 4.33/2.80; dist pf-EP 15.66.

NVD 3 Bone needle ICEMTL Inventory no. - (fig. 3)

Middle Ages 13th century

2012 Area A Square D3 -1.50 m

Bone needle (tip I A12 a1).

Piece entirely preserved. Excellent status of conservation. The reduced length could indicate the reshape of the active part after a possible fracture appeared during the use of the piece. On the inferior side, the anatomic marrow cavity is preserved. It indicates a segment of bird long bone as raw material. The morpho-technical parameters are similar to those described for NVD 2 piece. The proximal part with a sharpen morphology, was shaped by chopping and scrapping. The perforation is placed at 12.23 mm of the proximal end; it was done like the one of the NVD 2 piece. It presents asymmetrical oval morphology shorter than NVD 2 piece. The spongy tissue can be observed at the proximal part. Use-wear traces are similar to those preserved on the surfaces of the NVD 2 piece.

Ltot 55.13; EP 1.83/1.41; PP at level of pf 4.28/2.50; PM 3.90/2.60; CD 2.83/1.91; diam pf 3.89/2.42; dist pf-EP 12.23.



Fig. 1- Noviodunum (Isaccea) – “Cetate”, Tulcea County. 2009-2012 excavation campaigns.
Bone and antler artefacts (Roman Epoch – Middle Ages). NVD 1 (bone awl).

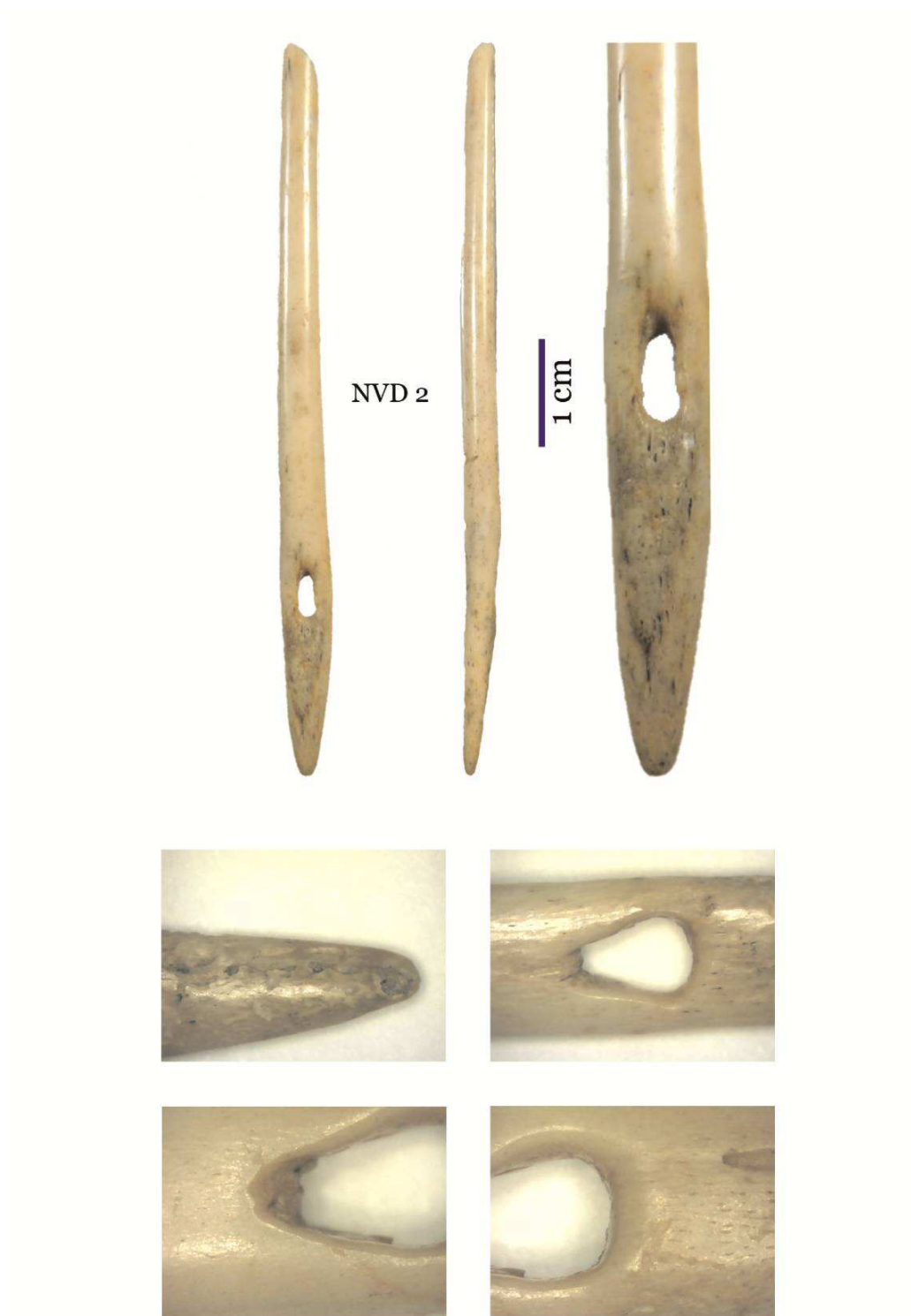


Fig. 2 - Noviodunum (Isaccea) – “Cetate”, Tulcea County. 2009-2012 excavation campaigns.
Bone and antler artefacts (Roman Epoch – Middle Ages). NVD 2 (bone needle).

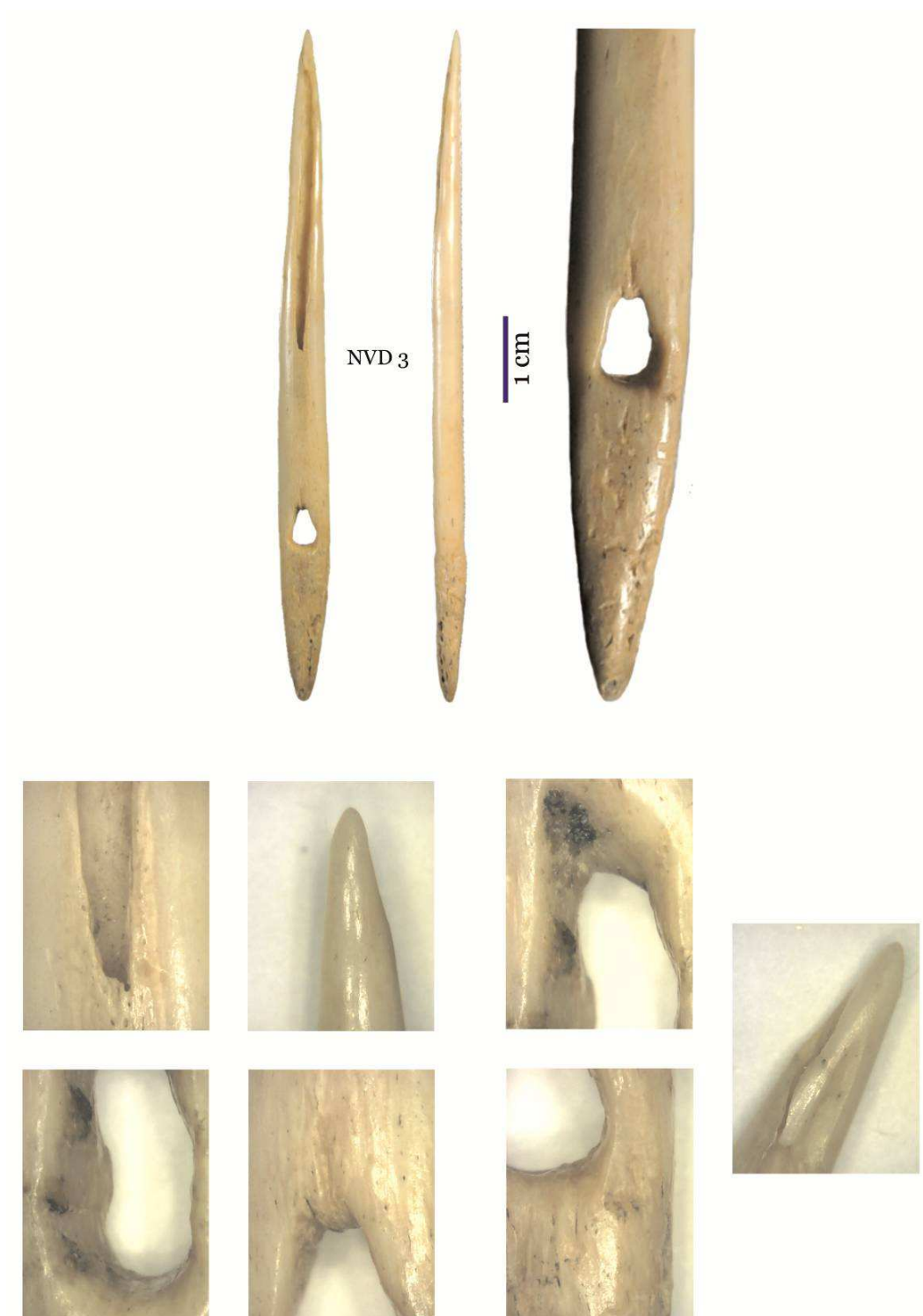


Fig. 3 - Noviodunum (Isaccea) – “Cetate”, Tulcea County. 2009-2012 excavation campaigns.
Bone and antler artefacts (Roman Epoch – Middle Ages). NVD 3 (bone needle).

NVD 4 Bone plate ICEMTL Inventory no. - (fig. 4)

Middle Ages? 13th century?

2011 S I East Square 9 -0.25 – 0.40 m

Bone plate.

Fragmentary piece; the distal end was broken during the use of the piece; at the level of perforation 2 (distal) it was broken recently. Good status of preservation of the surfaces. Raw material: cattle long bone? Small curved plate, with a linear end (conventionally established as the proximal one) and the opposed one (the distal) probably sharpened, broken during the use. The upper surface is convex, the inferior one is flat, covered with oblique striations; the edges are oblique. It presents two circular perforations; they were probably made with the drill before the shaping of the edges. The perforations are placed slightly towards the concave edge. The upper surface is decorated with oblique lines obtained by cutting/notching and engraving with a knife blade. They are grouped and placed in the same direction. The débitage was probably done by chopping and axial sawing: entirely shaped by chopping and scrapping with a knife blade. A rectangular plate of large dimensions was obtained. From it, the analysed piece was extracted. The inferior side preserves oblique hatchings arranged in double sense, intersected, made by the point of a knife blade – with the purpose of obtaining adhesion on the surface on which the piece was set (metal or leather).

L 54.13; EP 9.22/ 2.39; PP at pf 1 9.45/2.46; PM 8.91/2.66; PD 7.32/2.60; PD at pf 2 8.25/2.85; diam pf 1 3.06; dist EP-pf 1 9.24; dist edge 2.50; diam pf 2 3.06; dist edge 1.05; dist between lines of decoration 2.40-2.85.

NVD 5 Bone plate ICEMTL Inventory no. - (fig. 5)

Middle Ages? 13th century?

2012 Area A Square B2 -1.45 m

Bone plate.

Piece entirely preserved. Good status of conservation. Traces of intentional burning applied in order to facilitate the manufacture. Rectangular piece, with convex ends – the proximal one (conventionally established) is slightly asymmetrical convex, as well as the distal one. The edges are slightly concave. The edges and the ends are rounded due to the shaping procedures and use. The sides are flat due to the shaping. The raw material is a

fragment of a cattle rib. It was probably chosen for the general morphology that is close to the finished artefact. The débitage probably consisted in fracture and splitting. Shaping by chopping and scrapping was applied on sides and edges. An oval perforation was done to each end. They have the inner part slightly convex and were done starting from the upper side to the inferior one maybe with the point of a blade knife. On the upper side, the space between perforations was decorated with seven double circles with central dots; these were done by engraving with two instruments similar to compass. The possible direction of decoration was from proximal to distal end. The possible sequence of shaping the circles: axial placed circle/two juxtaposed circles, placed slightly oblique each other/circle axial placed/two circles juxtaposed/circle axially placed. Use-wear traces: intense bluntness and polish of the surfaces (inclusively the edges of the engraved circles), edges and at the perforations level.

Ltot 64.60; EP 16.38/3.33; PP at pf 1 16.20/3.62; PM 14.29/3.67; PD at pf 2 16.75/3.12; diam pf 1 on FS 6.72/5.59; diam pf 2 on FS 6.73/5.46; diam ext circles 8.07; diam int circles 4.78; diam dots/holes 1.5; width max circles 1.3; width min circles 0.3; depth max circles 1.

NVD 6 Bone plate ICEMTL Inventory no. - (fig. 6)

Middle Ages? 13th century?

2012 SC Squares 2-3D -2.25 – 2.35 m

Bone plate.

Fragmentary piece; one of the ends fractured while using. Raw material: fragment of cattle rib. Piece of general trapezoidal elongated shape. The preserved end is linear and presents traces of sawing. The inferior side is covered with axially arranged striations made with the point of a knife blade before the perforations with the supposed purpose of obtaining adhesion on the hafting surface. The edges and the ends are chopped. The upper side is flat and slightly convex. Two perforations are adjacent, slightly oval, placed slightly obliquely to each other at the end of the entire preserved end 15.27 mm. They were drilled from the inferior side and finished on the upper side. Use-wear traces: are not preserved. The fracture probably appeared during shaping procedure; due to this fact, the piece was abandoned (waste?). L 45.86; end 13.82/2.44; PP

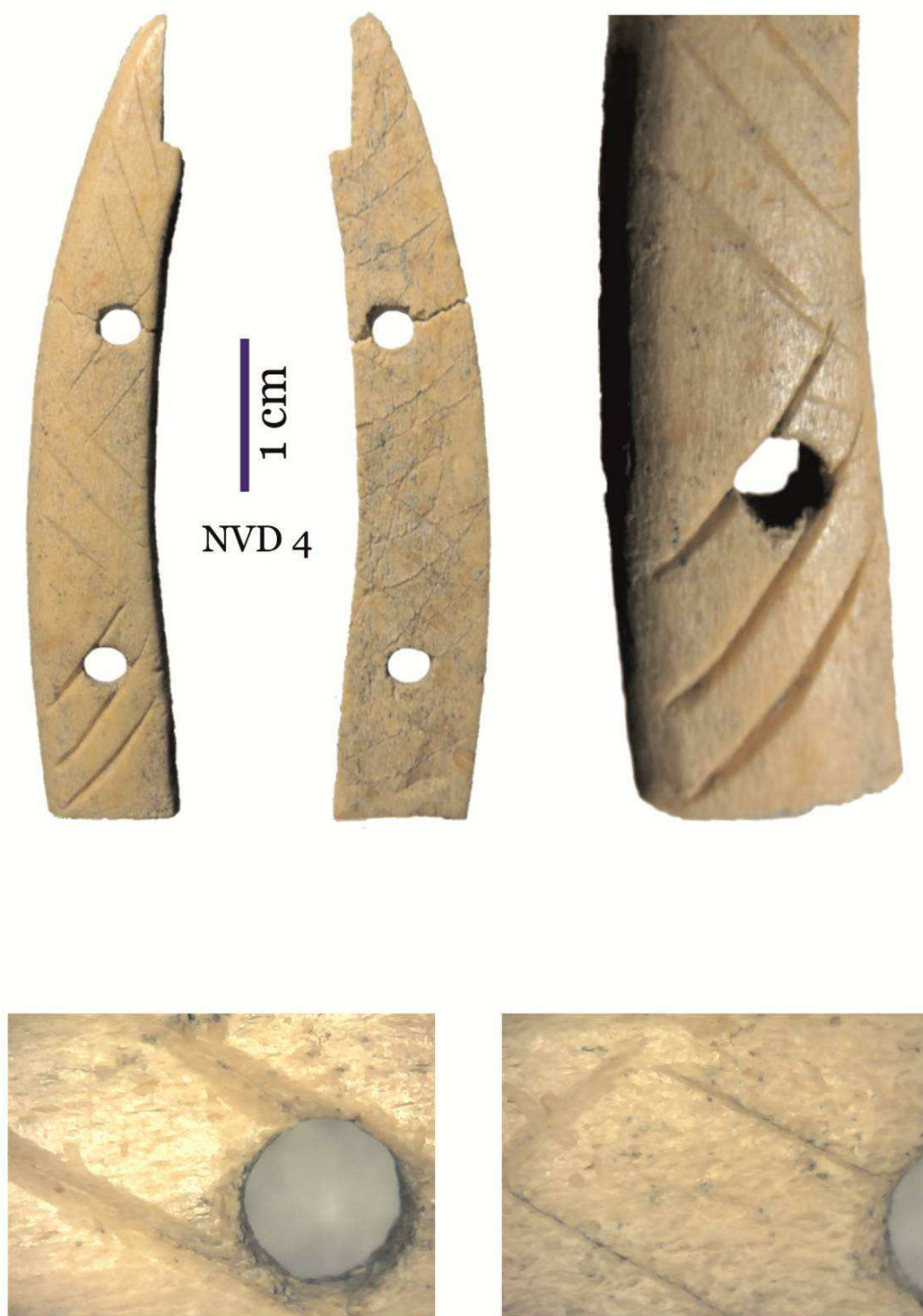


Fig. 4 - Noviodunum (Isaccea) – “Cetate”, Tulcea County. 2009-2012 excavation campaigns.
Bone and antler artefacts (Roman Epoch – Middle Ages). NVD 4 (perforated bone plate).

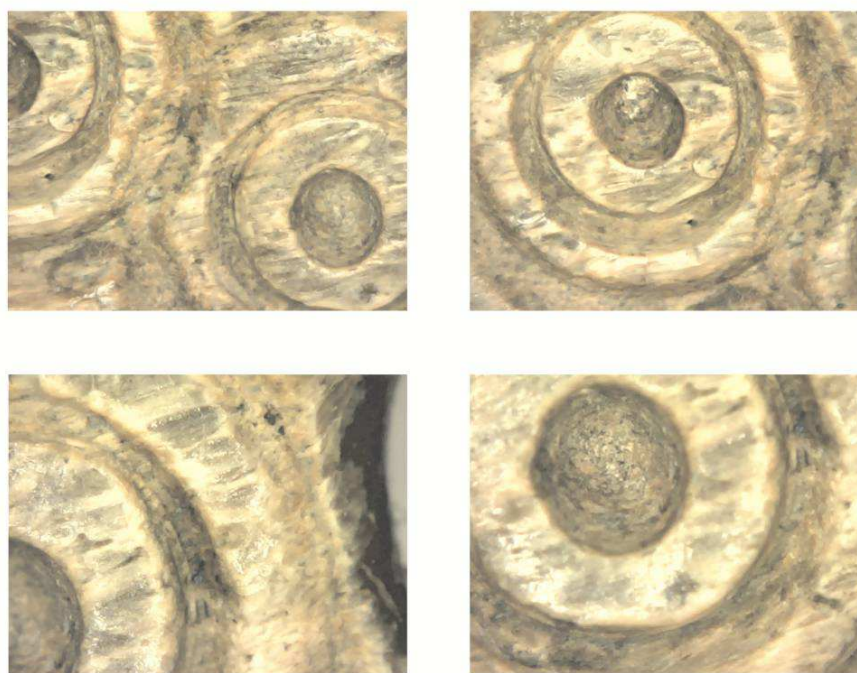


Fig. 5 - Noviodunum (Isaccea) – “Cetate”, Tulcea County. 2009-2012 excavation campaigns.
Bone and antler artefacts (Roman Epoch – Middle Ages). NVD 5 (perforated bone plate).

at pf 15.54/2.10; diam pf on FS 4.86/4.35.

NVD 7 Bone plate ICEMTL Inventory no. - (fig. 7)

Middle Ages? 13th century?

2012 Wall 2 Square 3 Gr. -2.70 m

Bone plate.

Fragmentary piece, fractured during the piece use; about 1/2 from the body is preserved. The preserved end is obliquely sawn after shaping and decoration (reshaped?). The surfaces have a good status of conservation.

The aspect indicates the application of burning in order to ease the manufacture. Semicircular plate. Raw material: fragment of cattle long bone. It was extracted from a rectangular plate. The inferior side is striated with the point of a knife blade before the extraction of the plate. The upper side is smooth, with oblique edges shaped by chopping and scrapping with a knife blade, probably after the decoration.



Fig. 6 - Noviodunum (Isaccea) – “Cetate”, Tulcea County. 2009-2012 excavation campaigns. Bone and antler artefacts (Roman Epoch – Middle Ages). NVD 6 (perforated bone plate).

The exterior edge is rounded and the interior one – is linear, without bluntness. The thickness is uniform. The decoration is applied from the upper side and it was realised by engraving with two objects with different diameters. Centrally, on a circular line, a row of simple circles with central dot was placed equidistantly by the edges. Segments of circles with an end on the circles form a complex twisted ornamentation. Two similar plates probably

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formed a circular piece or the semicircular pieces were assembled one by another. Use-wear traces: intense bluntness and polish on the upper side, edges and ornamentation. Diam ext cca 52.75; diam int cca 27.62; thick 1.5; width 11.80; diam ext central circles 4.70; diam dots 1.6; diam ext circles 9-9.25.

NVD 8 Bone plate ICEMTL Inventory no. - (fig. 8)

Middle Ages? 13th century?

2012 SC Squares 3-4 C-D -2.05 – 2.10 m.

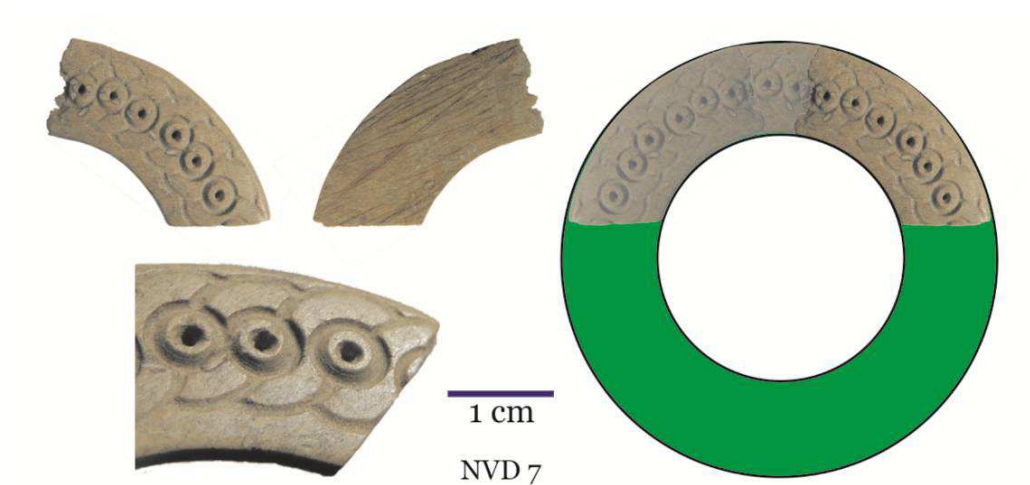


Fig. 7 - Noviodunum (Isaccea) – “Cetate”, Tulcea County. 2009-2012 excavation campaigns. Bone and antler artefacts (Roman Epoch – Middle Ages). NVD 7 (half-circular bone plate).

Bone plate.

Piece entirely preserved. Good status of conservation. Blank for a plate. Raw material: fragment cattle rib. Ends were shaped by fracture and the edges by chopping. The spongy tissue was removed from the inferior side by chopping and scrapping. The débitage was made by fracture and splitting, removing the ends and chopping and scrapping of the edges.

Ltot 54.55; ends 16.41/3.23 – 18.78/3.57; PM 17.02/3.36.



Fig. 8 - Noviodunum (Isaccea) – “Cetate”, Tulcea County. 2009-2012 excavation campaigns. Bone and antler artefacts (Roman Epoch – Middle Ages). NVD 8 (probably raw material for a plate - rib).

NVD 9 Bone plate ICEMTL Inventory no. - (fig. 9)

Middle Ages? 13th century?

2012 TC Profile N-S Semi-section-2.30 m

Bone plate.

Piece entirely preserved. Good status of conservation. A corner was recently fractured and glued. Small and thin bone plate, triangle-shaped, with smooth sides with perforations on corners. Raw material: probably fish operculum. The manufacture consisted in sawing and abrasion of the edges applied for a pack of similar pieces,

otherwise the specific fragility of the raw material determined the fracture of the individually treated pieces. The superficial finishing of the surfaces by abrasion. The perforation of several pieces with a drill then the widening of the perforations with a knife blade; the morphology of the perforations is similar to the one of the needles, technical hint for dated from the same epoch. Use-wear traces: bluntness and polish of the sides and perforations' edges. The plate was probably sewn on clothes.

L sides 49.88; gros 1.15; diam max pf 5.68 – 8.70; diam min pf 3.14 – 3.78.

NVD 10 Bone plate ICEMTL Inventory no. - (fig. 9)

Middle Ages? 13th century?

2012 TC Profile N-S Semi-section -2.30 m

Bone plate.

Piece entirely preserved. Good status of conservation. A corner was recently fractured and glued. Small and thin bone plate, triangle-shaped, with smooth sides and perforations at corners. The parameters are identical with the ones of the NVD 9 piece.

L sides 49.88; thick 1.15; diam max pf 7.66 – 5.92; diam min pf 2.99 – 4.18.

NVD 11 Bone die ICEMTL Inventory no. - (fig. 10)

Roman period

2012 SC Square 3A -1.90 – 2.00 m

Bone die.

Piece entirely preserved. Good status of conservation; the surfaces are superficially affected by the corrosion. Raw material: cattle long bone, *compacta*; there are no traces of spongy tissue. Its general shape is parallelepiped. The sides are rectangular and unequal. The numbers are marked on each side by engraved small, simple circles with dots done with a small instrument like the compass. Starting with the number 1 and rotating the piece towards left, the sides corresponding to 3, 2 and 4 appear. Starting with the number 1 and rotating the piece down, the side corresponding to 5 appears. Starting with the number 1 and rotating the piece up, the side corresponding to 6 appears. The sum of the sides

Noviodunum. Data about the bone and antler artefacts

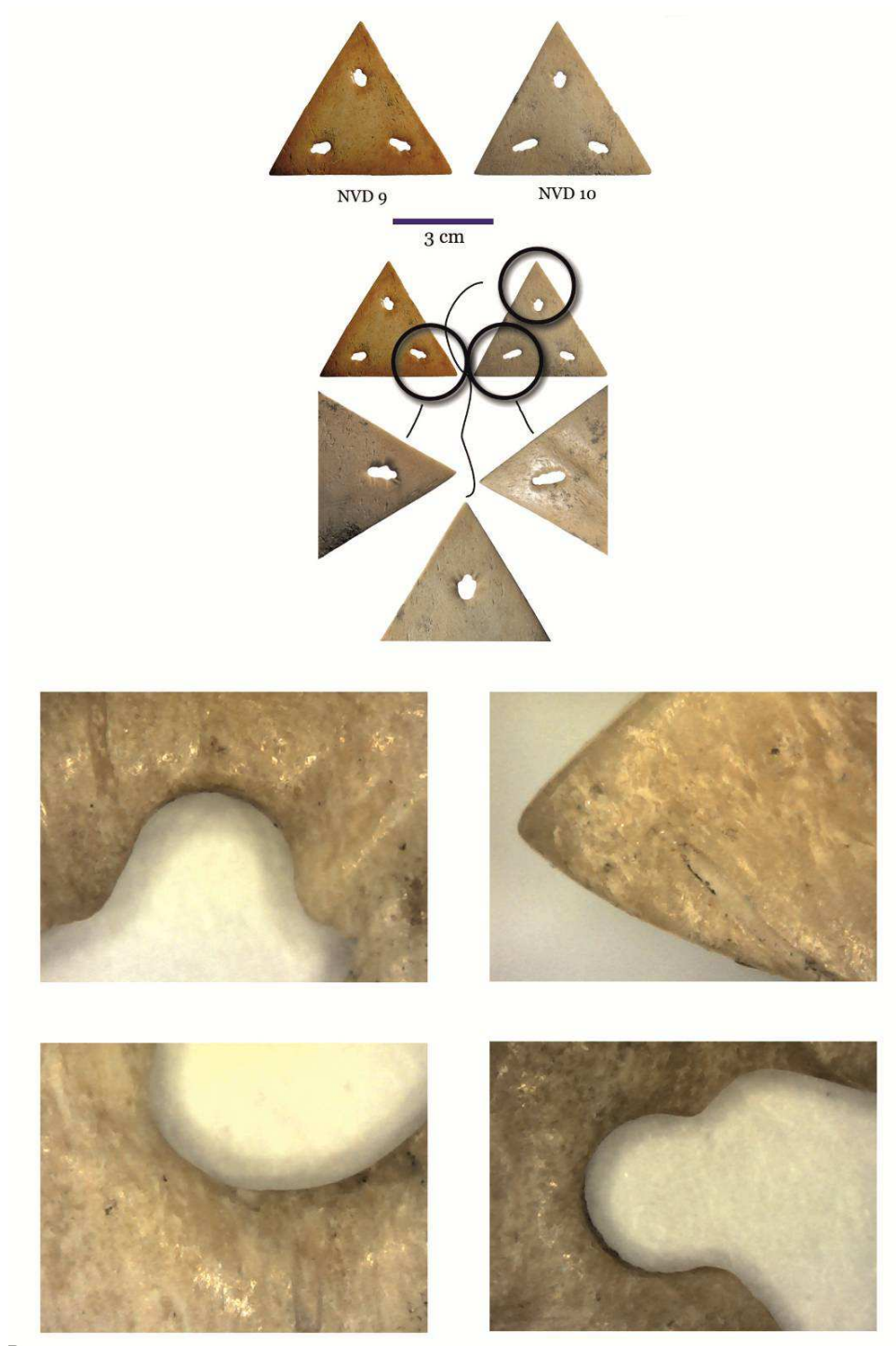


Fig. 9 - Noviodunum (Isaccea) – “Cetate”, Tulcea County. 2009-2012 excavation campaigns. Bone and antler artefacts (Roman Epoch – Middle Ages). NVD 9-10 (perforated bone plates).

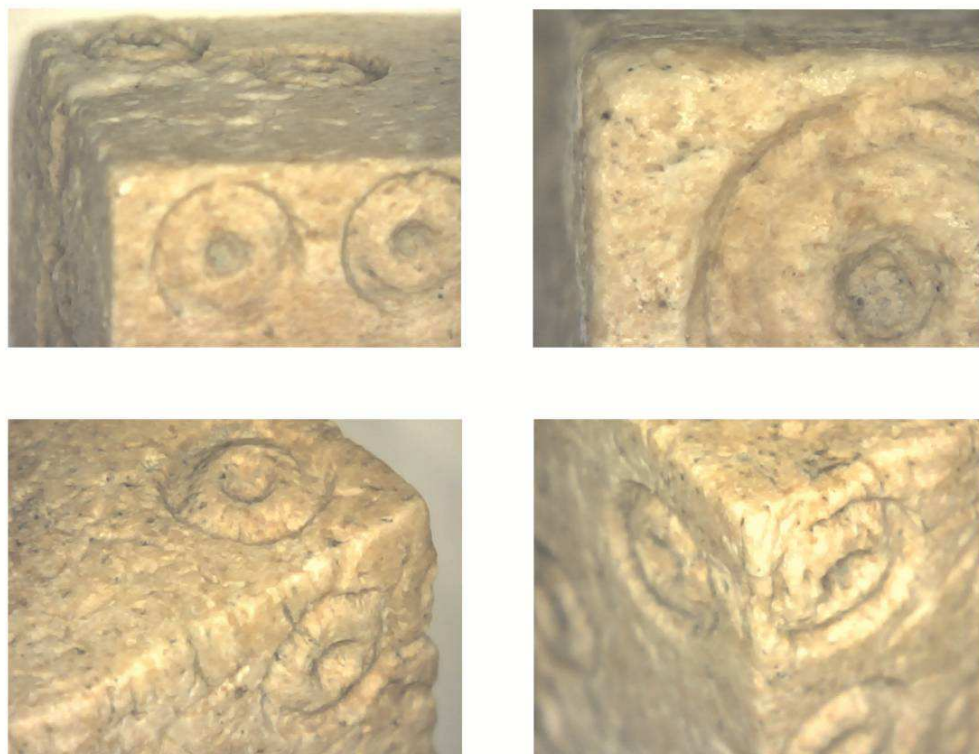


Fig. 10 - Noviodunum (Isaccea) – “Cetate”, Tulcea County. 2009-2012 excavation campaigns.
Bone and antler artefacts (Roman Epoch – Middle Ages). NVD 11 (bone die).

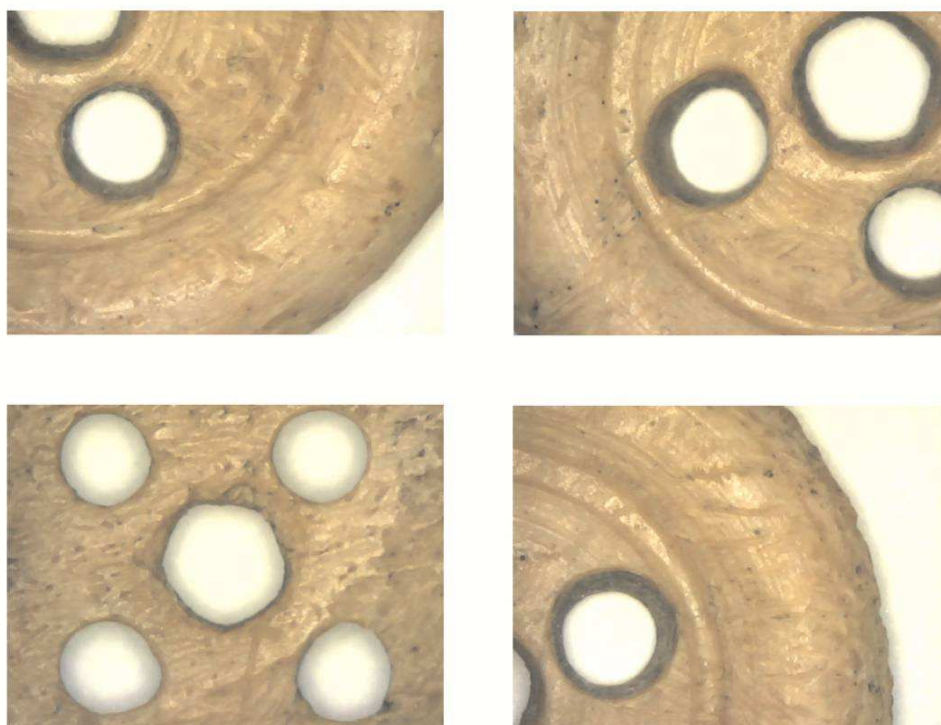


Fig. 11 - Noviodunum (Isaccea) – “Cetate”, Tulcea County. 2009-2012 excavation campaigns.
Bone and antler artefacts (Roman Epoch – Middle Ages). NVD 12 (bone button).

is: $1 + 2 = 3$; $3 + 4 = 7$; $2 + 1 = 3$; $4 + 3 = 7$; $5 + 6 = 11$; $6 + 5 = 11$. The débitage was probably done by sawing, the obtained stick was cut at the die's dimensions and the sides were finished by abrasion and polish. Use-wear traces: bluntness and superficial polish of the corners.

Side 1: 11.73/11.05; side 2: 11.78/10.42; side 3: 12.32/10.90; side 4: 12.30/10.74; side 5: 12.34/11.85; side 6: 12.34/11.70.

NVD 12 Bone button ICEMTL Inventory no. - (fig. 11)

Middle Ages? 13th century? Modern Epoch?

2011 S I East Square 9 0.25 – 0.40 m

Bone button (tip III I1).

Fragmentary piece, a small sector of the circumference was fractured. Good status of conservation. Circular shape. Raw material: probably cattle long bone (*compacta*). Bone plate lathe-shaped. The upper side has a convex edge and a circular rib. The central part is slightly convex. It has five perforations, among which one is central and circular (in order to fasten the lathe spindle) and four cross-arranged, slightly oval and truncated, narrower on the inferior side made by drilling. These were used for sewing the piece. The inferior side is flat with the oblique edge. Use-wear traces: -.

Diam 14.51; width edge convex 2.68; width rib 0.3; diam central pf 2.65; diam cross-pf FS 2.50/2.45; diam cross-pf FI 1.75/1.40.

NVD 13 Debris (red deer antler) ICEMTL Inventory no. - (fig. 12)

Middle Ages? 13th century?

2009 SC 2 Square 6 -1.45 m

Debris (red deer antler).

The tines and the beam were detached in order to be used as raw materials. Medium status of conservation. Recent fracture in two large fragments and several smalls; it can be reconstructed. Traces of burning. Deposits of adherent concretions. Right beam of red deer antler; shed antler; base with burr, base of tine 1, about 1/3 of the tine 2 and the base of the beam. traces of perforation can be observed. These have the shape of deep dots, asymmetrical oval-shaped, wider on the lateral side, produced with a metallic instrument. The dots' morphology

suggests the manufacture of the antler while it was wet. Diam burr 71.10/60.26; L R1 53.09; diam R1 at cut end 32.02/22.15; diam R2 at cut



Fig. 12 - Noviodunum (Isaccea) – “Cetate”, Tulcea County. 2009-2012 excavation campaigns. Bone and antler artefacts (Roman Epoch – Middle Ages). NVD 13 (red-deer antler beam and tines).

end 25.15/19.50; diam basis of the beam 52.87/38; diam max dots on the lateral side 12.84/11.82; diam min dots on the lateral side 7.95/6.12.

Abbreviations

CD – Distal caliber; Diam – Diameter; Dist – Distance; ED – Distal extremity; EP – proximal extremity; Ext – Exterior; FI – Inferior surface; FS – Superior surface; Gr – Pit; ICEMTL – Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale Tulcea; Int – Interior; L – Length; L tot – Total length; LPA – Length of active part; Max – Maximum; Min – Minimum; NVD – Noviodunum; PD – Distal part; Pf – Perforation; PM – Medial part; PP – Proximal part; R – Tine; S – Section; Supr – Surface; TC – Tower.

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A fort at the edge of the Empire. Observations enabled by the discovery of two curved weapons at the Dacian fortress of Divici

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Abstract: *A fort at the edge of the Empire. Observations enabled by the discovery of two curved weapons at the Dacian fortress of Divici.* Among the specific embodiments of the military phenomena, weapons occupy a leading role, as they are the most obvious physical representations. The arrival of Roman power on the lower Danube during Ist century A.D. generated a series of skirmishes in the region, with both the Dacian kingdom, as well as with various tribal factions, more or less under the influence of the said kingdom, on both sides of the great river. In our view, a special interest zone for understanding said phenomena is the Danube Gorge, where, for over a century, the armies of Rome and those of the Dacian kings were in direct and permanent contact, separated only by the great European river. The usage of modern methods of investigation, to the extent that it can be done, combining them with field research and excavations in well-defined micro zones, can provide new insights into the analysis of issues such as the spatial distribution of sites in an area and thus, the issue of relations between these archaeological sites. In this picture, curved weapons discovered in the ruins of the Dacian fortress Divici, an important fort, throws an important light on the importance of this border point. It is likely that the garrison stationed here, obviously related to the power center from the Șureanu Mountains, was composed of elite soldiers, as the weapons, the type of fortification and the geographical position converge together towards this hypothesis. Located at the meeting point of two distinct worlds, the Dacian warriors on the Danube Gorge built solid fortifications, integrated into a coherent system, which aimed at controlling access to key crossing points across the river. Consolidating their power through trade, but also through plunder, these warriors found themselves at the forefront of the advance of Roman armies towards the Danube, managing to resist until the era of the large Dacian-Roman confrontations.

Key words: Dacian curved weapons, Ancient Dacian Warriors, GIS, Danube Gorge, Divici Fortification

Introduction

Among the specific embodiments of the military phenomena, weapons occupy a leading role, as they are the most obvious physical representations. Carriers of social and ideological messages, weapons were regarded as having real identity markers, as a weapons type and characteristics were associated with the warriors that owned them. That is the case of the curved weapons with the blade on the concave side,

invariably associated by ancient artists and authors with the warrior populations of the northern Balkans, Thracians, but especially Geto-Dacians.

The construction of the Dacian kingdom in the centuries Ist B.C. – Ist A.D., done through the more or less peaceful integration of preexistent sociopolitical entities, could not have been achieved without a solid political-military infrastructure. This infrastructure was

characterized, among other things, by the existence of numerous core groups of professional warriors with a well-defined identity, as they were the builders and masters of impressive fortifications, securing and projecting the power and authority of the Dacian kings of Sarmizegetusa throughout the territories.

The arrival of Roman power on the lower Danube at the end of the Ist century B.C., generated a series of violent clashes and skirmishes in the region, with both the Dacian kingdom, as well as with the various tribal factions, more or less under the influence of the said kingdom, battles taking place on both sides of the river. These clashes along a Danubian frontier that spanned more than 1000 km, have been well documented by contemporary sources. The need for an efficient response to the new military and political challenges brought on by the situation on the Danube, had determined the consolidation of existing fortifications, as well as the creation of a veritable defensive systems meant to protect the, up until then fluctuating borders of the Dacian kingdom. In our view, a special interest zone for understanding said phenomena is the Danube Gorge, where, for over a century, the armies of Rome and those of the Dacian kings were in direct and permanent contact, separated only by the great European river.

In the present study, we have set out to discuss the issues of the defensive system of the area, at the same time attempting a journey into the world of the Dacian warriors at the boundaries of the Roman Empire. Therefore we will present two curved weapons, unpublished, discovered in one of the keeps located inside the powerful Dacian fortress of Divici – „Grad” (town of Pojejena, Caraș- Severin County).

Means and methods

Our discussions focus on the Danube Gorge, the area defined conventionally as being between the modern localities of Baziaș (town of Socol, Caraș-Severin county) to the west, and Ieșelnița (town, Mehedinți county) to the east. To the south, the limit is the waters of the Danube, and to the north the waters of the Nera river (fig. 1). Our analysis includes almost the whole of the Almăjului Mountains – even though their peaks rarely go over 1000 meters, the large degree of relief fragmentation and the considerable terrain

differences make this area, even today, one of the least populated and remote areas of Romania (L. Măruia, 2004-2005).

Caution must be used when using the results of analyzing discoveries mentioned in the relevant bibliography for the purpose of obtaining an image concerning the intensity of habitation. Therefore, with the exception of fortifications, random discoveries are usually very generously dated, thus their inclusion in our timeframe of interest, Ist century B.C. – Ist century A.D., is often questionable.

The same uncertainty regarding dating is also found in the case of hoards and numismatic discoveries, the case of monetary circulation in pre-roman Dacia, the period of use and preservation of certain coins, all these are issues that lack sufficient clarification. For the purpose of this article, we have selected 46 distinct archeological discoveries (fig. 2; tab. 1), consisting of 5 fortifications, 8 open settlements 6 cave dwellings, 1 funerary find, 10 coin hoards and 15 isolated coin finds (tab. 1).

To better understand the functionality of defensive ensembles and their spacial relationship with neighboring settlements, we believe we must first start with a good awareness of the local terrain, while modern analysis methods (GIS software), are in our opinion, **indispensable**. It is not in the purpose of this paper to criticize some approaches in contemporary Romanian archaeology of the Late Iron Age– but we find indeed curious how certain authors (for example, P. Pupeză, 2013) can discuss at length the archaeological theory of view shed in relation to Dacian forts without providing in their papers any sort of GIS analysis, not to mention any sort of maps at all.... To calculate visibility ranges, we have used a DEM (Digital Elevation Model) with a 30 m resolution, the processing of results being done with the Global Mapper 13.00 program. We have also consulted ortophotograms, on a scale of 1:5000, available online on the site of the ANCP. Information regarding the precise locations (in GPS and in Stereo70 format coordinates) of a majority of analyzed points was gracefully provided by Liviu Măruia and Alina Gheorghe.

Using a single reference point to calculate visibility and control ranges of fortifications situated in rough terrain can usually cause errors.

A fort at the edge of the Empire.
Observations enabled by the discovery of two curved weapons at the Dacian fortress of Divici

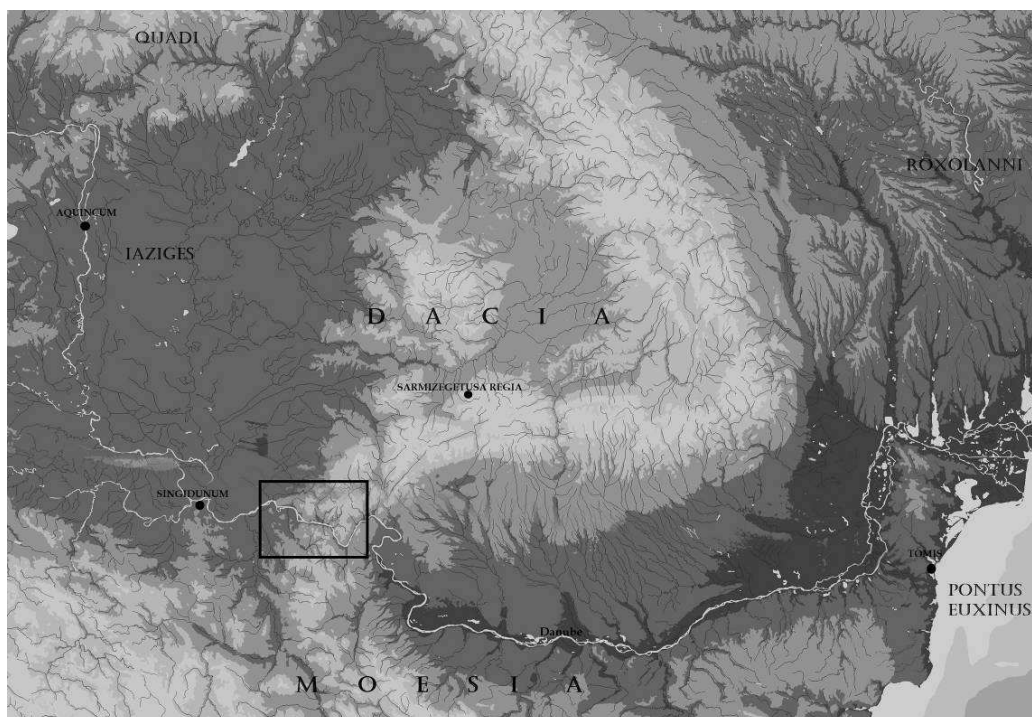


Fig. 1- Map of ancient Dacia and surroundings areas with the location of the area in question.

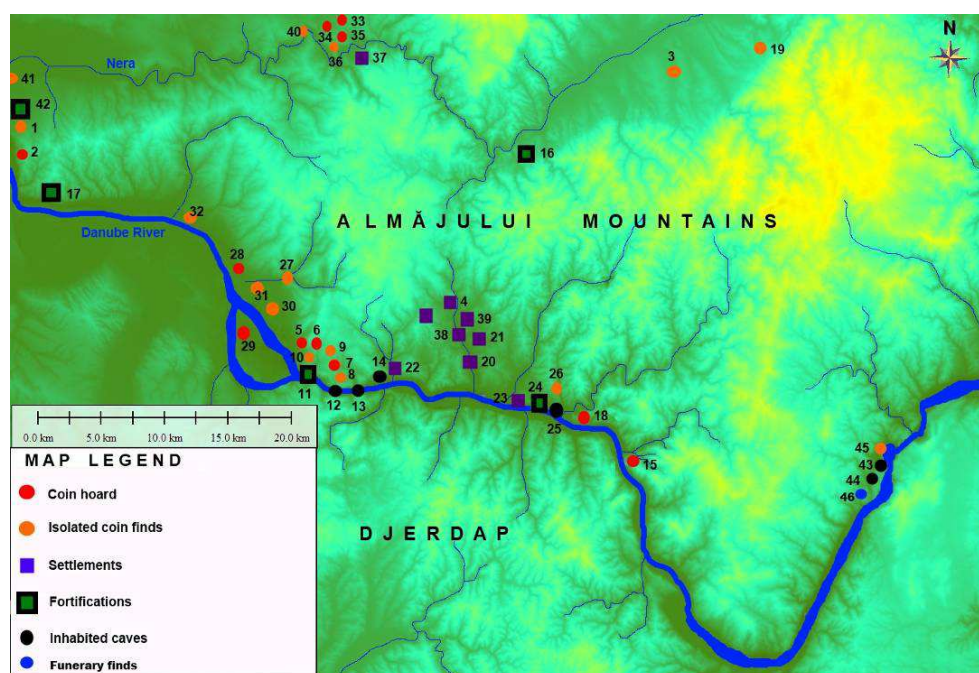


Fig. 2- Map of analyzed area and archeological discoveries in question.

Number	Place	Placename	Type	Bibliography
1	Baziaș	-	Isolated find	I. Glodariu, 1974; S. A. Luca, 2004.
2	Baziaș	-	Coin hoard	F. Medeleț, 1994; S. A. Luca, 2004.
3	Bănia	-	Isolated find	S. A. Luca, 2004.
4	Cămenița	-	Settlement	S. A. Luca, 2004.
5	Coronini	-	Coin hoard	F. Medeleț, 1994; S. A. Luca, 2004.
6	Coronini	-	Coin hoard	F. Medeleț, 1994; S. A. Luca, 2004.
7	Coronini	-	Coin hoard	F. Medeleț, 1994; S. A. Luca, 2004.
8	Coronini	-	Isolated find	I. Glodariu, 1971; F. Medeleț, 1994.
9	Coronini	-	Isolated find	F. Medeleț, 1994.
10	Coronini	-	Isolated find	F. Medeleț, 1994.
11	Coronini	La Culă	Fortress	F. Medeleț et.al., 1971; S. A. Luca, 2004.
12	Coronini	Gaura Chindiei I	Cave	S. Petrescu, 2000; S. A. Luca, 2004.
13	Coronini	Gaura Chindiei II	Cave	P. Rogozea, 1987; S. Petrescu, 2000.
14	Coronini	Gaura cu Muscă	Cave	P. Rogozea, 1987; S. Petrescu, 2000.
15	Cozla	-	Coin hoard	F. Medeleț, 1994; S. A. Luca, 2004.
16	Dalboșeț	Grădiște	Fortress	O. Bozu et.al., 2004.
17	Divici	Grad	Fortress	M. Gumă et.al., 1987; M. Gumă et.al., 1997; A. Rustoiu, 1993; A. Rustoiu, 2006-2007.
18	Drencova	Debarcader	Coin hoard	F. Medeleț, 1994; S. A. Luca, 2004.
19	Eftimie Murgu	-	Isolated find	F. Medeleț, 1994; S. A. Luca, 2004.
20	Gornea	Padina cu spini	Settlement	S. A. Luca, 2004.
21	Gornea	Ogașul Ierii	Settlement	I. Dragomir, 1981; S. A. Luca, 2004.
22	Liborajdea	Locul lui Bănilă	Settlement	I. Dragomir, 1981; S. A. Luca, 2004.
23	Liubcova	Țiglărie	Settlement	S. A. Luca, 2004.
24	Liubcova	Stenca Liubcovei	Fortress	M. Gumă, 1977; Gumă et.al., 1999; I. Glodariu, 2004; S. A. Luca, 2004; A. Rustoiu, 2006-2007.
25	Liubcova	Peștera de sub Stenca Liubcovei	Cave	V. Boroneanț, 2000; S. Petrescu, 2000; S. A. Luca, 2004.
26	Liubcova	-	Isolated find	F. Medeleț, 1994; S. A. Luca, 2004.
27	Moldova Nouă	Observator	Isolated find	F. Medeleț, 1994; S. A. Luca, 2004.
28	Moldova Veche	-	Coin hoard	F. Medeleț, 1994; S. A. Luca, 2004.
29	Moldova Veche	Ostrovul Mare	Coin hoard	F. Medeleț, 1994; S. A. Luca, 2004.
30	Moldova Veche	Jose	Isolated find	F. Medeleț, 1994; S. A. Luca, 2004.
31	Moldova Veche	-	Isolated find	F. Medeleț, 1994; S. A. Luca, 2004.
32	Pojejena	Via Bogdanovici	Isolated find	F. Medeleț, 1994; S. A. Luca, 2004.
33	Potoc	-	Coin hoard	F. Medeleț, 1994; S. A. Luca, 2004.
34	Potoc	-	Coin hoard	F. Medeleț, 1994; S. A. Luca, 2004.
35	Potoc	-	Coin hoard	F. Medeleț, 1994; S. A. Luca, 2004.
36	Potoc	-	Isolated find	F. Medeleț, 1994; S. A. Luca, 2004.
37	Sasca Montană	Valea Șușara	Settlement (?)	S. A. Luca, 2004.
38	Sichevița	La Biserică	Settlement	I. Dragomir, 1981; S. A. Luca, 2004.
39	Sichevița	La Dispensar	Settlement	S. A. Luca, 2004.
40	Slatina Nera	-	Isolated find	F. Medeleț, 1994; S. A. Luca, 2004.
41	Socol	-	Isolated find	I. Glodariu, 1971; F. Medeleț, 1994.
42	Socol	Palanački Breg	Fortress	M. Gumă, 1997; S. A. Luca, 2004.
43	Dubova	Cuina Turcului	Cave	S. A. Luca, 2006.
44	Dubova	Peștera Poniceva	Cave	S. A. Luca, 2006.
45	Dubova	-	Isolated find	S. A. Luca, 2006.
46	Dubova	-	Grave	D. Spănu, 2004.

Tab. 1- Archeological finds in the area in question and their number of order on Fig. 2.

A fort at the edge of the Empire.
Observations enabled by the discovery of two curved weapons at the Dacian fortress of Divici

It is well known that perspectives can differ from one side to another on a mountain; however our intention was to offer a global perspective of the existing visibility range. Therefore, for each site we have used multiple reference points, that form a polygonal mesh overlapped with what we have termed (mostly in a conventional sense) the „limits” of said location, the plans we provided showing the cumulative results for analysis done for each of the mentioned reference points.

Given that surveillance in forts was certainly done from towers or specially built observatories, we have taken into consideration a height of 10 m above ground (still, identical results were achieved with the analysis for this area where we calculated visibility ranges from ground level for each).

The artifacts and their context of discovery

The Divici - „Grad” fort is situated on the Danube Gorge, between kilometers 1065 and 1066 of the river, on the last peaks of the Almăjului Mountains, occupying a triangular plateau, with an area of 7000 square meters, that dominates with around 100 m the river's flow (fig. 3). Surrounded on three sides by steep slopes, it is only accessible from a narrow path on the northern side, which in ancient times was barred by two defense ditches, with an opening of 6 and 10 m respectively, separated by what seems to have been an earth wall. In the immediate vicinity of the fort, on a series of anthropic terraces located on the eastern slopes of the promontory, numerous signs of habitation have been observed – at the base, on the banks of the Danube a contemporary civilian settlement existed, currently submerged due to the building of the Iron Gates dam (M. Gumă et.al., 1987; M. Gumă et.al., 1995; M. Gumă et al., 1997; I. Glodariu, 2004; A. Rustoiu, 2005; A. Rustoiu, 2006-2007).

A series of fortification works, consisting of three successive earth walls, were observed on the peak north-west of the site (M. Gumă et.al., 1995). Liviu Măruia pointed out the existence of major linear fortifications meant to bar access to the west of the Almăjului Mountains, which are believed to be from the Dacian period due to similarities existing to those found in the Șureanului Mountains (D. Oltean, 2012; E. S. Teodor et.al., 2013) – therefore, we believe that

future systematic field researches should be started throughout the whole region.

Archeological digs at „Grad” location during 1985-1998, have identified three separate phases of said fortifications, which seem to be linked to three phases of habitation. Our description will focus particularly on the military aspects of the discussed site. During the first of these phases, less known (dated between the late IInd century BC - the first half of the Ist century BC), the plateau was defended by a simple earth wall with palisade. The second phase, much better substantiated by findings, is dated in general during the Ist BC to early Ist century AD, when the fort suffers significant damage. During this period, the slopes of the early earth wall were removed by the addition of large amounts of compacted clay, thus achieving a terracing that had a stone wall built on top. This stone wall presents partly shaped facings made of stone bound with clay, the wall filling being made of crushed stone and clay, apparently also having, on the outside, a series of support beams stuck down, with perhaps a supporting role. This phase corresponds, apparently, to the T2 keep, that has a stone base and a story probably made of brick (M. Gumă et.al., 1995).

The last phase lasts throughout the Ist century AD and marks the peak of the fortification's development (M. Gumă et.al., 1995, M. Gumă et.al., 1997; I. Glodariu, 2004; A. Rustoiu, 2005, A. Rustoiu, 2006-2007).

Following significant damage sustained at the end of Phase II, the stone wall above is restored, at which time the T1 keep was built in the northwest plateau, which, considering its position, acted as a curtain wall tower (Fig. 4). Between the restored wall and the edge of the keep is a gap of a few meters - judging by the published excavation plans, it is possible that there may have been the location of the fort gateway. A 3.60 m thick stone wall runs from the north-eastern side of T1, built using the same *opus incertum* technique. As with the Phase II wall, the strengthening of the structure was also made on the outside by a series of beams, vertical panels supported on a structure of transverse beams or boards, according to the authors of the excavation (M. Gumă et.al., 1995, M. Gumă et.al., 1997). It seems hard to explain why this wooden structure was built on the outside wall,

as it was constantly exposed to danger of fire during an eventual siege - but it is likely that engineering reasons (risk of the wall slipping toward the outside) might have prevailed over military considerations.

The T1 keep has a rectangular shape, each of its sides measuring approx. 9, 50 m on the outside (fig. 4). Its solid walls, with a thickness of 2.15 to 2.20 m, were kept in elevation over 1.50 to 1.60 m from ground level. The building was erected on a foundation 0.80 m deep, dug into the well compacted clay layer of a previous terracing. The foundation was made out of large pieces of local rough stones, stuck together with clay (M. Gumă et.al., 1995). The walls of the tower have a complex structure, being made with the same "opus incertum" technique, but in a slightly different manner from that of settlement walls. Thus, both the interior and exterior wall facings were solid, made of large blocks of various shaped rocks, with a summarily shaped external side, the binder used being clay. Between the facings, the filling was made out of small pieces of stone bound in clay, the whole building being enhanced by several rows of wooden cross-beams with "dovetail" shaped heads (see fig. 4) that left spacing's in the wall. These rows of spacing's, located approx. 1 m away from each other, could be seen mostly on the side of SW, NW and NE of the tower, better preserved (M. Gumă et.al., 1995). The upper floor of the keep was made of brick, judging by the presence of whole and fragmented bricks, some of them badly burned, found in the debris. Three distinct types could be distinguished: rectangle shaped, size 30x40 cm or 22x13 cm, and square shaped, with dimensions of 19x18 cm, thickness of all types ranging from 7 to 8 cm. Note that some of the rectangular pieces present traces of plaster, approx. 1 cm thick. Numerous traces of charred wood, and nails, discovered in debris, resulted from the destruction by fire of the wood infrastructure and superstructure of the keep (M. Gumă et alii 1987, M. Gumă et.al., 1995, Gumă et.al., 1997).

Inside the tower, in the middle is a round earthen hearth. A rich archaeological material, consisting of numerous pottery fragments, made both by hand and wheel, some of them painted, were found around it and in its chamber. We should also note the presence of fragments from large storage vessels. Also found were metal

pieces, among which a jeweler's anvil demands notice. In this same area, captured in Section I (fig. 4), were also found the two curved arms that are the object of our study.

Beyond the obvious set of spiritual and cultural values with which Dacians have penetrated the consciousness of antiquity, history was more easily impressed by the warrior ethos and military virtues which they exercised during their tumultuous existence. The Dacian-Roman wars of 101-102 and 105-106 A.D., revealed not only martial qualities unveiled by written sources, but also a local adaptation of a species of curved sword known in antiquity as the falx, whose archaeological remains are slowly revealed. Curved blade weapons had a long evolution in the Thracian and then Dacian environments. The ancient written sources, archaeological findings and artistic representations show this long process (A. Rustoiu, 2007).

P. Papinius Statius, Latin poet and protégée of Emperor Domitian (therefore we assume that he knew the Dacians well) remarks the sinister fame of their weapons, with which they are associated: *Quo Paeones arma rotatu, quo Macetae sua gaessa citent, quo turbine contum Sauromates falcemque Getes arcumque Gelonus tenderet et flexae Balearicus actor habenae [...]* (Statius, *Achilleis*, II, verses 131-134 of the II part).

M. Cornelius Fronto, important rhetor and Roman lawyer, also speaks of this terrible sword, which the Dacians used to oppose Roman expansion: [...] *in bellum profectus est cum cognitis militibus hostem Parthum contemnentibus, saggitarum ictus post ingentia Dacorum falcibus inlata volnera despiciatui habentibus* (Fronto, *Principia Historiae*). This is how he starts to describe the valiant efforts of the emperor L. Verus in his war against the Parthians, in an effort to mask his former student's poor performance in said conflict. This fragment, quoted extensively in the literature, is very important for the fact that it brings into question, more than half a century after Dacian-Roman wars, not only generalized use of the Dacian curved swords, but their forms as well. Naming sickles in general, the author shows that he speaks of curved weapons, the term *Dacorum falcibus* including said sickles, scythes, spades, knives, daggers and curved swords used during

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Fig. 3 - Divici – Grad Fort. Ortophotogram.

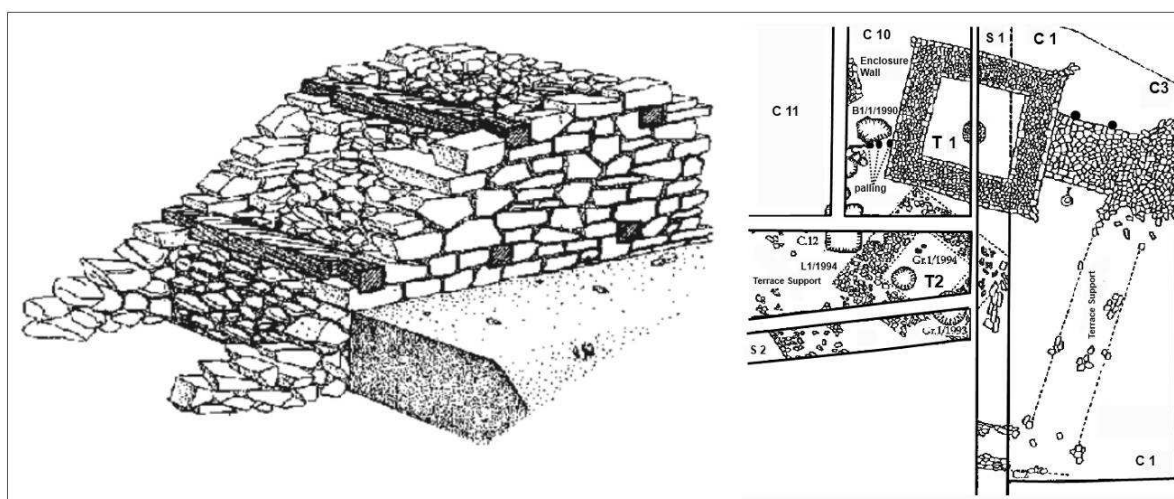


Fig. 4 - Reenactment of technique used in the construction of T1 keep's walls and the general plan of the excavations in the area of the T1 keep (A. Rustoiu, 2006-2007).

the Dacian kingdom's period.

Despite the reputation, exemplifying with artifacts suffers a number of shortcomings, due in part to the rarity of these objects in archaeological contexts, and on the other hand, because of their relative standardization. Although present on architectural monuments, monetary issues or votive pieces, artistic ambiguities do not always show the actual characteristics of these swords (C. Borangic, 2006), almost invariably the authors seem content to convey the idea of *falx* and rarely the objective picture of it.

As we said, *falx dacica* findings are rare in relation to their fame at the time, so far a relatively small number of such curved swords have been found, subsumed, with few exceptions, in a single type of sword called "Sarmisegetusa" (C. Borangic, 2006), considering those which we are confident are authentic and have kept almost the entirety of their characteristics. The term *falx dacica*, obtained by associating two Latin terms, allows accurate identification of the weapon, in various historical and archaeological contexts (Cf. C. Borangic, 2006). This type of sword, "Sarmisegetuza", was for a long time the only model without any doubt regarding its authenticity. The other types were assumed to be possible because even though artistic illustrations were not accompanied by specific findings, it was possible that they appear in the future, for manual techniques that were used in their production leave room for their existence at the time, even in a limited number (C. Borangic, 2006), and their consistent presence in Roman art seemed more than a simple artistic canon.

The assumption proved itself correct, because, as we have temporarily admitted, as digs done in the Divici fort have archeologically confirmed the existence of this other type of curved sword, named „curved gladius”, type III, registered as A2B3 – sword with medium sized blade, with only a bent - (C. Borangic, 2006) in Dacian environments. The combination of terms is only apparently contradictory, for it has circulated in antiquity, at least as poetic license. We encounter it, for example, under the term *falcatus ensis* – *ensis* being a synonym for *gladius* (C. Daremberg, M. Saglio, 1926) and in two poems of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (part I, verses 717-718: *Nec mora, falcato nutantem* Tome XV, Numéro 1, 2013

vulnerat ense, qua collo est confine caput [...]; part IV, verse 727: *Desinit in piscem falcato vulnerat ense [...]* and part V, verse 80).

Previous inferences were then supported only by illustration of such weapons in Roman art, lacking until now, the archaeological proofs confirming the existence of such a type of curved sword, whose morphology would permit its use in a disciplined way, in compact groups fighting after the Roman model. Changes were brought to the dominant model of curved sword "Sarmisegetusa", which seems to have been the favorite weapon of a distinct category of Dacian warriors, because of the new tactical considerations needed when facing the Roman legions and their absence in previous chronological horizons, allowing the assumption that this type of weapon was a strange symbiosis between *falx dacica* and *gladius*, in fact a later, hybridized version of the feared curved sword. This curved sword has a short blade, bent only at the tip and was probably a single handed weapon.

Thus, on Trajan's Column, a monument with a visible message of imperial propaganda, the fight scenes depict Comati warriors wielding invariably short curved sword and shield (fig. 5). Note that *Sarmisegetusa* type curved swords, usually have a two-handed grip, which eliminates the possibility of using it simultaneously with a shield. This allows the assumption that those wielding the *Sarmisegetusa* type sword opened the battle, creating gaps and those with short swords, including the *curved gladius* type, formed the bulk of the warriors that engaged in melee.

A more explicit rendering can be found in the Adamclisi triumph monument's weapon frieze. (fig. 6/1), where the curved sword is comparable in size with gladius next to it. Completely different from other weapons represented on the monument, this one has a straight blade to near the top, which is short and with a sharp bend and handle, slightly oversized, is separated from the blade by a guard sleeve visible only on the underside of the blade (F. Bobu-Florescu, 1960).

The bravery and skill of the Dacian military art was not exploited in arenas just for the fun of the plebe when the warriors were taken as gladiators after the end of the Daco-Roman wars, for the Roman imperial administration, whose pragmatism was practically a state policy, skillfully used these qualities of the new subjects

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Fig. 5 - *Capillati* warriors pictured on Trajan's Column, wielding short curved swords. Photos of copies of scenes located at MNIR.



Fig. 6 - Dacian curved weapons sculpted on roman monuments.

and incorporated a large number of soldiers coming from Dacia into the Roman auxiliary units (C. C. Petolescu, 2002). Among these units, deployed far from their native lands, is also the *Cohors I Aelia Dacorum*, stationed at (C) Amblogana, in Britannia, today Birdoswald (Great Britain), mentioned in a series of epigraphic sources (C. C. Petolescu, 2002). First in chronological order, dating from between 198-209 A.D., is a rock "uncovered" when soldiers of said Dacian cohort and those of *Cohors I Thracum civium Romanorum* were building a horeum, whose inscription (Fig. 6/2) is flanked on the left by a sword with a bent tip and to the right by a palm branch, a symbol of victory (I. I. Russu, 1980).

Another statement, made on a block of stone found in 1852, embedded in the wall of another granary, by soldiers under the leadership of tribune Marcus Claudius Menander, the commander of *Cohors I Thracum civium Romanorum*, dated around 219 AD. On the monument relief, preserved at the Carlisle Museum, the inscription's text is flanked to the right by a palm branch, and to the left by a curved sword whose blade is straight right up near the top (Fig. 6/3), where a bend ends with a sharp tip (I. I. Russu, 1980; C. C. Petolescu, 1980). Both carved arms certify the origin of the units stationed here, at least that of the first contingent of soldiers and even if, very likely, it does not reflect the use of curved arms by the unit, but nevertheless, they remain as true symbols associated with Dacian ethnos.

A similar association one can find on a honorific altar (Fig. 6/4) erected in honour of a Roman officer, Sextus Vibius Gallus, *praefectus castrorum legionis XIII Geminae*, found at Amastris (nowadays Amasra, Turkey), showing the titular of the monument on horseback, fighting against two barbarians. One of them, probably injured, throws from his hands a long curved sword, while the other has in its turn a curved sword, but of smaller size. It is improbable that the freedman commanding and paying for the monument could have actually known the curved swords of the Dacians that he would have wanted to eternalize them in the memory of his patron's bravery - excepting the case that he entered in his service as a Dacian prisoner - but it is certain that the ethnicity of the

officer's enemies is put in connection with the curved sword. It is important to notice that on the monument are two such weapons, having totally different dimensions. If large swords appear only on the Adamclisi monument - offering maybe a clue in regard to the battle where Sextus Gallus might have fought? The short sword can be connected with other such representations from the Roman art. Initially, the dating of this monument was related to the invasion of Roman Dacia by barbarian populations during the Marcomannic Wars, in the years 166-169 A.D., against whom the Legio XIII Geminae located at Apulum fought a series of battles (I. I. Russu, 1971). More recent scholarship (V. Maxfield, 1981; B. Dobson, 1978), date the military career of the officer during the reigns of emperors Domitian and Trajan.

The historical record of this type of curved sword would have remained in the field of assumptions, had it not been for the recent discovery of an intact, well preserved specimen in an undeniable archeological context.

It is a short curved sword, obtained by hot forging, strongly curved at the tip, like a spout and edge on the concave side (fig. 7). The handle does not show signs of visible rivets, its fastening was probably ensured by fixing the end spine in a timber tail. The handle would have been solid enough to ensure a proper balance for the weapon and increased mobility during combat.

Falx dacica

Place of discovery, placename: Divici - „Grad”.

Type of piece: *falx dacica*.

Type of research: systematic research.

Archeological context: interior of T1 keep.

Storage site: Mountain Banat Museum, Reșița.

Repository inventory: no. 8664.

Description: good conservation status.

Size: L = 39 cm; Exterior L. = 47 cm; Interior L. = 42 cm; handle L. = 8,5 cm; w. = 3,2 - 2,6 cm; Thick = 0,5 - 0,2 cm

Dating: 1st century A.D.

Technical execution: hot tapping.

References: novel

The weapon belonged, most likely, to an infantryman, the relatively average length being an impediment to a rider, therefore it was used in close combat - the pronounced curvature and tip

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shape giving it the advantage of high penetration power, very likely, able to penetrate light armor. Due to the specific shape, the whole force of penetration is concentrated in the tip, thus not suitable to stabbing, the maximum effectiveness achieved just in the case by slashing and shearing. This makes it especially dangerous,

even if the enemy was protected by armor, shield and helmet. Potential injuries (penetrating blows, cuts, splits) depended largely on striking power, the experience of the weapon wielder, the angle of incidence as well as the portion of the body affected. In the case high amplitude hits, the experience of the weapon wielder, the angle

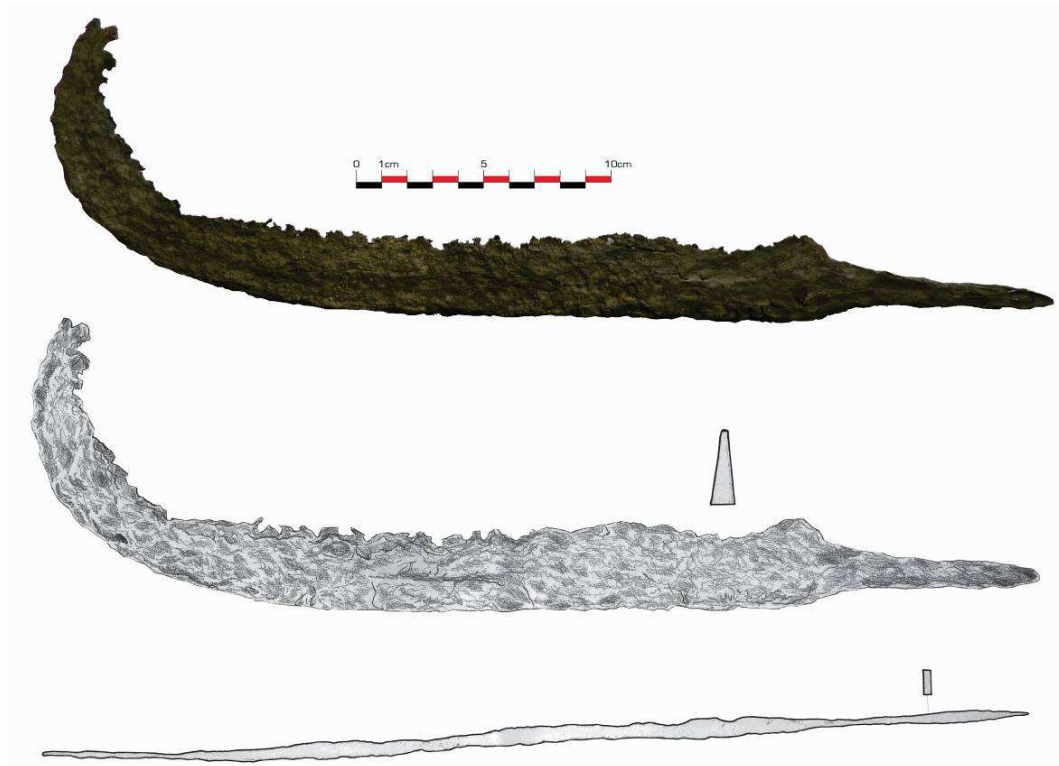


Fig. 7 - *Falx dacica* from Divici (drawing made by I. Iova and M. Gyömbér).

of incidence as well as the portion of the body affected. In the case high amplitude hits, also involved was the inertia force conferred by the weight of the weapon and arm (C. Borangic, 2007-2008), aggravated by the action of tearing.

We would be tempted to say that beyond the remarkable features of this type of sword, she was in general use in Decebal's army, but we would fall into obvious historiographical clichés. The historical landscape of the Dacian kingdom's last period of existence revealed the existence of a professional corps (Z. Petre, 2004), in turn with a hierarchy and curved swords were typically used only by a distinct category of warriors.

The upper echelon of this hierarchy was composed of so-called *tarabostes*. Well-armed,

equipped with an efficient and heterogeneous arsenal which included spears, Celtic type swords, *sica* type curved daggers, shields, bows, chain mail armor and helmets, riding selected and trained horses, possessing exceptional mental state, these nobles were the core of the Geto-Dacian military organization that provides both military commanders, as well as special units composed of their relatives, clients, personal guards, with probable addition of mercenaries.

For long considered as actually the mass of common people, another group of soldiers were the *kometaii*, *long-haired warriors*, in fact *warriors of the king*, coming from the lower, less noble strata of society, and binder core of a compact and disciplined royal army. This

hypothesis implies the existence of free land owners, who were called to periodically join the warrior aristocracy (see also N. Ursulescu, M. Vasilescu, 1991). Endemic conflicts led to their permanent presence in the local military phenomenon. In a society where the tradition of death on the battlefield, as the initiatory rite of immortality, show - along with the existence of parade panoply and of lavish grave inventories - a complex image of the warrior function would be inconceivable that the original symbolic meaning of these *capillati* tresses has been overturned, transforming the hair, from an element of social distinction and superiority into a stigma of inferiority, as this social category has hitherto been interpreted. In contrast to the *pilophorii*, aristocracy tied to function sacred sovereignty, *kometai* appear to have originally represented the noble warrior caste, representatives of the two Indo-European features, a highly specialized military elite, whose main occupation was war.

The existence of these elites is supported by the combative qualities of this type of sword that could not be handled by anyone, requiring weapons professionals specially trained to fight using this kind of weapon. Sword effectiveness in facing opponents with defensive equipment, particularly Roman legionaries, seems to be due not only to the qualities of the *falx* type swords, but the human element in this equation as well. Written sources mention the great psychological impact of Dacian curved arms, the artistic and numismatic confirm their widespread use, while archaeological finds are extremely rare, limited to a few specimens. The explanation stems from the fact that these swords were coveted trophies, their presence in most artistic ensembles is a clear message and the fact that these elite units are only a part, not the largest, of an army, and a third possibility would be the low social status of these warriors, whose funeral rites are not yet known.

That this was not an aristocratic elite but very likely only a specialized class of warriors, *capillati* mentioned by ancient sources, free born men with military obligations and are in a relationship of subordination to *pilleati*, is demonstrated also by the absence of curved sword from funerary contexts, with no cases of found grave inventory with *falx dacica* in its composition. The only *falx dacica* sword

discovered in a funerary context is the one from Viscri (Braşov County), but it is a rather problematic find. the contrary, all certified archaeological contexts, *falx dacica* appears to be a weapon hidden to avoid its confiscation or, more likely, not give away ownership status (C. Borangic, 2009, with bibliography).

The effectiveness of these fighters was the result of combining two cleverly associated elements. One of them lies in the special shape of the sword, which was capable of causing serious injury, even if the opponent was protected by armor. The second element that led to the successful man-weapon combo was the special mental training of the *falx* handler. Using this type of sword requires, in addition to rigorous training, a degree of heroism which, combined with the exceptional features of the weapon, can justify the almost exclusive association of Dacians - and on coins Dacia as well - with terrible Dacian *falx*. The attachment of these warriors for such a weapon must be linked to the Geto-Dacian lack of thanatophobia and, very likely with the magic and religious meanings that these curved weapons had in all cultures, the association between them and death being a cultural constant seen to this today (C. Borangic, 2009). The sickle, the primary source of inspiration for curved arms, was in the primordial myths associated with time, but also with change and rebirth, later becoming an attribute of Death (C. Bogdan Dobre, 2003).

Another curved weapon must be seen in the same register and, a solid pruning knife, found in a similar context with the sword (Fig. 9/1). The piece is made of iron, hot forged, strongly curved at the tip, like a beak, with the edge on the inside. Presents gloving tube and rivet hole. It was mounted on quite massive a wooden tail, judging by sleeve size. Given the specific shape it can be assumed that those who wielded them acted as support troops in other units.

Pruning knife

Place of discovery, placename: Divici - "Grad".

Type of piece: pruning knife.

Type of research: systematic research.

Archaeological context: interior of T1 keep.

Storage site: Mountain Banat Museum, Resita.

Repository inventory: no. 8666.

Description: good conservation status.

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Size: L = 29, 5 cm = 43 cm exterior L., interior L. = 32 cm, blade w. = 5.2 to 0.8 cm, gloving tube L. = 7 cm, gloving tube w. = 2.6 cm, Ø rivet hole: 0.4 cm.

Dating: Ist century A.D.

Technical execution: hot forging.

References: novel.

The position of these parts among tools or weapons was an often discussed and disputed topic in the literature (C. Borangic, 2010), belonging to one of the categories was often determined in general, the process lacking a functional analysis. Which is why, while appearing in ancient representations (fig.8/1-2), they were treated peripherally by archaeologists.

No less effective than actual swords, these pruning knives were a tactical solution resorted to by both professional warriors, and especially ordinary fighters. Acting as a reenactor, within thematic associations, I participated by means of experimental archeology in the making of such weapons and have tested their effectiveness in specific situations, simulating battles with groups of Roman legionaries (fig. 9/2- 3). Attached to a tail made of strong wood, whose optimal length is between 1 and 1.5 m, these weapons could produce disarmament, serious head injuries, by direct hits or fatal cuts to the legs or neck area. The long tail allowed a fight at a safe distance from the short swords of legionnaires and applying two-handed strikes with the sickle, turned this ordinary tool in a terrible, extremely efficient weapon. No less effective were shorter tailed war hooks handled in tandem with a shield (fig. 9/3). Relatively inexpensive, the cost of performing such a war hook estimated at approx. 3 hours of work, pruning knives must have been highly prized and their number high enough for them to become visible in Roman art and now in archaeological finds.

Not unimportant is the presence of such weapons on Trajan's Column, where a character of noble rank, judging from the specific *pileus*, uses it against the Romans (fig. 8/1). Attached to a tail that is double, the blade length, the pruning knife is short and very curved, similar to some pieces from archaeological contexts. The fact that such a weapon was wielded by a tarabostes may suggest its effectiveness, enough to make him prefer it to other weapons that his rank and status would have allowed. The spread and frequent findings of pruning knives, dated especially in the

Ist century B.C. – Ist century A.D. across the entire area Dacian influence and their use, even occasionally, as weapons, allows the inclusion of this category of artifacts among those *Dacorum falcibus* mentioned by Cornelius Fronto (C. Borangic, 2010).

Discussions

Analyses of visibility ranges for fortifications in the area have provided some very interesting results. Situated on the last western peaks of the Almăjului Mountains, the fortification of Socol - "Palanački Breg" had a very good viewshed to the west and south, allowing it to control the approach into the Danube Gorge (fig. 10). It has no direct line of sight with Divici - "Grad", but it is very possible that they were part of a complex defensive system located in the area of the Almăjului Mountains (see discussions above). Its closeness to the Banat Plain, as well as the lower course of the Nera provides abundant farmlands – the lack of major excavations do not allow us to say to what extent the point was ascribed to trade routes of the time - but the presence of stone architecture (M. Gumă et.al., 1997) and monetary findings inside its control zone as well as the surrounding areas (see fig. 2) constitute evidence of the strength and prosperity of the inhabitants of this fortification during the Dacian Kingdoms period.

Divici - "Grad" has the most extensive visibility range of all analyzed fortifications, controlling access to the Danube for a distance of approx. 25 km. It has a good view of plains that climb the slopes of the Almăjului Mountains, but also of the right bank of the river. The area where it was located is an area of expansion of the canyon (fig. 11/A), where the Danube waters could be crossed in relative safety - more than that, during winter there is a tendency for ice bridges to appear in this area (information provided by L. Măruia). Merchant caravans and roaming bands of warriors, once on the south bank, could head to the wide valley of the river Pek, from where they could easily reach one of the most important trade and military routes of its time – the Morava Valley. To the east, wide valleys offered sufficient farm land, the proximity of the mountains also offered plentiful wood and stone, which have actually been used to build the fortification in its second and third phase of existence, and fishing or hunting could become at

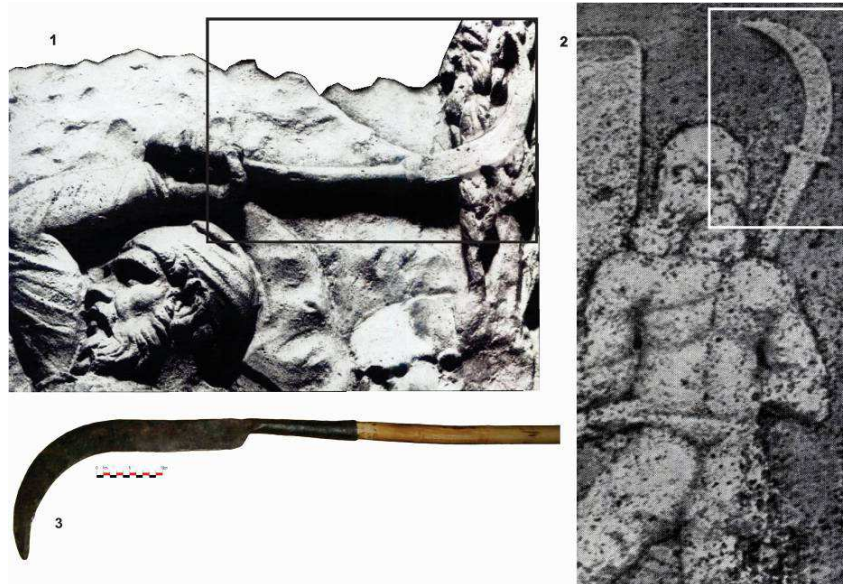


Fig. 8 - Pruning knife appear in Roman art and craft reconstruction of such weapons. We thank our colleague Marius Barbu, reenactor and archaeologist, who kindly provided us with information and pictures about the reconstitution and combat use of pruning knives.

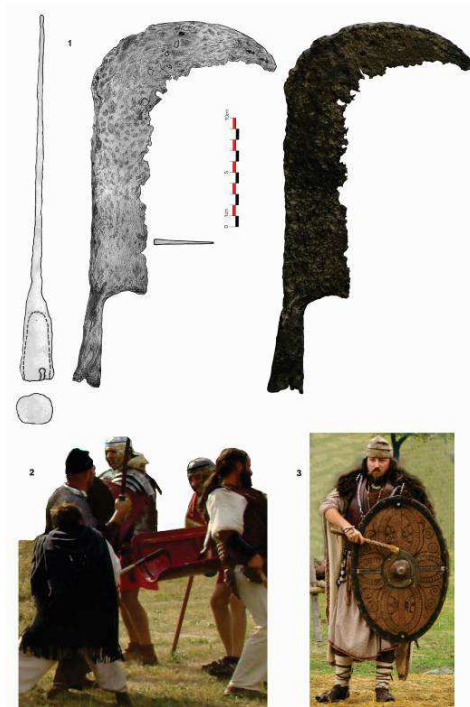


Fig. 9 – 1. Pruning knife discovered at Divici (drawing by I. Iova and M. Gyömbér). 2-3. – Pruning knife tested during reenactment

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any time additional sources of food (G. El Susi, 1996).

Monumental stone architecture, keeps with stories made of plastered brick, present in two overlapping chronological phases of fortification, corresponding to 1st century B.C. – 1st century A.D., the hierarchy of habitat in a "fortified acropolis" and a number of adjacent civilian settlements and not least, the ability to change the

natural environment by massive terracing, is evidence of an ideology of design and expression of power that is found in the same shapes in the area of Dacian fortresses in Transylvania (see also . The analogies do not stop there: the presence of painted pottery, imported parts (acquired by robbery or trade), some true luxury items (M. Gumă et. al., 1995, M. Gumă et.al., 1997; A. Rustoiu, 2001, A. Rustoiu, 2006-2007;

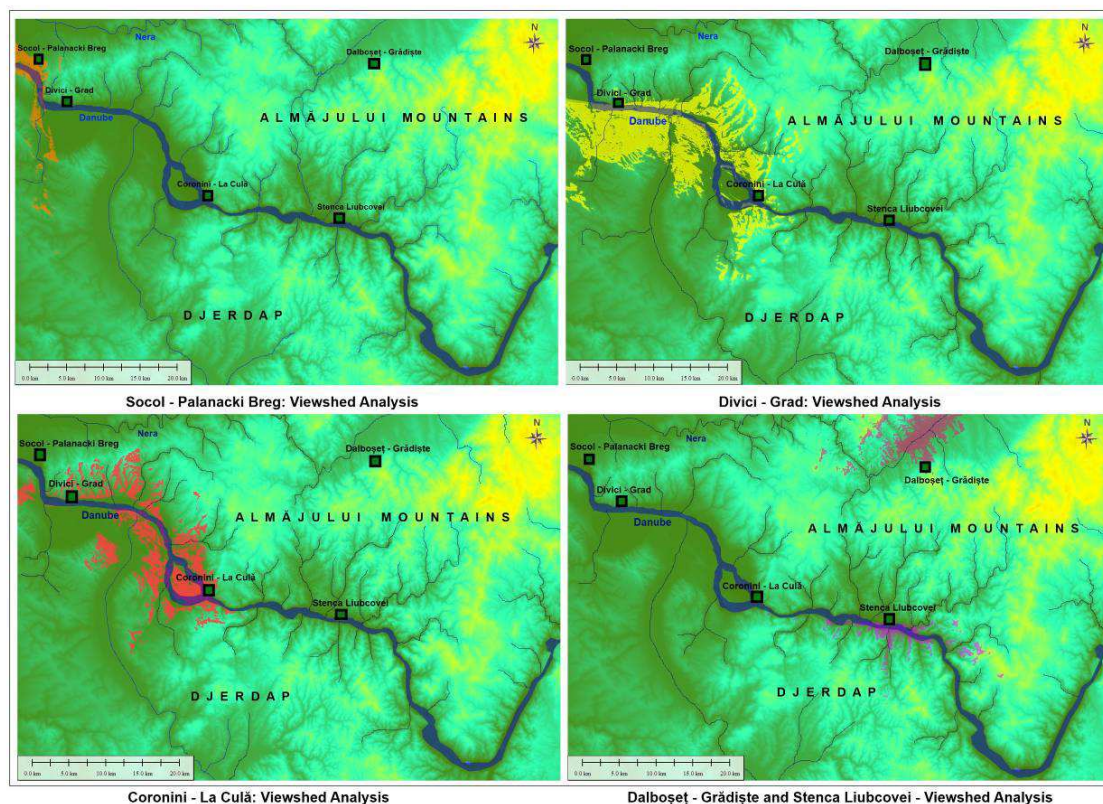


Fig. 10 - Viewshed analysis of the Dacian fortifications from the Danube Gorge

Drăgan A., 2012 a) and last but not least, the presence of curved weapons attest undoubtedly a level and a way of living comparable to that of the area of the capital of Dacian kingdom. The myriad of hoards and stray finds from the area Divici - Moldova Noua - Coronini, is further evidence of the prosperity of the area (fig. 2).

Besides the warrior nobles, with their related bands, the fortress, permanently inhabited, certainly housed skilled craftsmen, judging by specific items discovered: cast pewter spoon, file,

jeweler chisel and anvil, pattern for cast rings etc. (M. Gumă et.al., 1995, M. Gumă et.al., 1997). Other findings, such as clay spindlewhorls, bronze mirrors and various household objects reveal an interesting fresco on the lives of those who were the wives, the daughters or the mothers of the settlements residents.

Less known, stirred up by building a medieval stone fortress, the fortification of Coronini/Pescari - „La Culă” has a special strategic position, being located right at the

beginning of one of the narrow areas of the Danube Gorge (fig.11/B, C). It provides excellent visibility to the north-east, with the fortification of Divici - "Grad" in its line of sight, but does not have a good angle of view to the east. Its role seems to have been similar to that of Divici – one of the fords used for crossing the Danube was located in this area during Middle Ages, probably used and known in Antiquity as well (A. Rustoiu, 2005, A. Rustoiu, 2006-2007). Lacking, as far as we know, elements of stone architecture (A. Rustoiu, 2006-2007), it is likely to have played a secondary role to the much more powerful fortress of Divici.

Located in an area of widening (fig. 11/D), the fortification of the Stenca Liubcova has an area of restricted visibility (fig. 10), which is reduced to only the areas immediately adjacent, having no other fortified point in its line of sight. Very likely, the main role of this fortification was to control access from the south bank of the river, in an area predisposed to the formation of ice bridges (information provided by L. Măruia). The findings of the fortification (M. Gumă, 1977, M. Gumă, 1983) revealed a fairly prosperous center, defended, during the second Dacian Phase, by a wall with a stone and earth filling.

Downstream along the Danube Ieșelnița (eastern boundary of the area to analyzed by us), despite monetary discoveries and signs of cave dwelling, Dacian fortifications are missing - it is likely that this lack indicates merely a stage of research, but the analysis of geomorphological features can provide other explanations: here, the valley narrows very much, with very large height differences (fig. 11/E) - before the construction of the dam, navigation in this area, as is well known, was highly problematic, crossing the river with large armies being out of the question.

Although not located on the Danube Gorge, the fort of Dalboșeț - "Grădiște", discovered during some field research (O. Bozu, C. Săcărin, 1979), controls access to Nera valley, as well as the roads crossing from the Almăjului Mountains to the Danube Gorge. The issue of Dacian habitation of the Nera Valley also requires in depth research in the future, in the light of new discoveries: thus, after some field research conducted at Borlovenii Old - "Leul" (Prigor town, Caras-Severin county) by L. Măruia have led to the rescue of pottery fragments dating from I B.C. - I A.D., suggesting the existence of

Dacian level that overlaps the prehistoric habitation previously reported here (O. Bozu, C. Săcărin, 1979).

Lack of line of site between fortifications cannot be considered as evidence for the lack of a system, the problem can be solved by observation towers, which are archaeologically barely visible. Any new research in the area could provide information and clarification in this regard.

No doubt part of a single system, termed "Limes dacicus" by A. Rustoiu (A. Rustoiu, 2005, A. Rustoiu, 2006-2007; A. S. Ștefan, 2005), the fortifications around the Gorge know relatively similar chronological phases, linked to, in our opinion, a number of well-documented historical events. As stated in the introductory part of the study, the turn of the Ist century B.C. and Ist A.D. is characterized by a series of violent confrontations between Dacians and Romans throughout the Danube region, becoming more pronounced. Historical sources of the period mention the armies of the Dacian king Cotiso that come down from the mountains, crossing the frozen Danube raiding south of the river - the only area where the mountain borders on the great river is the one we are talking about. Faced with these challenges, Augustus responds promptly, sending Lentulus in the area, which brought peace to the region, driving out the Dacians and placing several Roman garrisons on the southern bank of the river. We tie the destruction that happened at the beginning of the Ist century A.D. to all fortifications on the Gorge, to this historical event.

Enthusiastic following this successful military action, the poet Horace speaks of the destruction of Cotiso's army - more realistic, the Roman historian Aeneas L. Florus says that the Dacians "have not been defeated, but repulsed and scattered" (H. Daicoviciu, 1965), which is fully confirmed by archaeological findings showing a restoration of fortifications in the area (tab. 2). The very rugged topography, clearly favoring defenders, and the closeness to the powerful Transylvanian nucleus of the Dacian kingdom – it is less than a three day trip on the mountain trail roads that start at the mouths of the Cerna river across the Țarcu-Godeanu massif - would have caused serious logistical and military problems for the Romans if they had wanted to start pacification and resettlement operations like those conducted against the tribal factions of the

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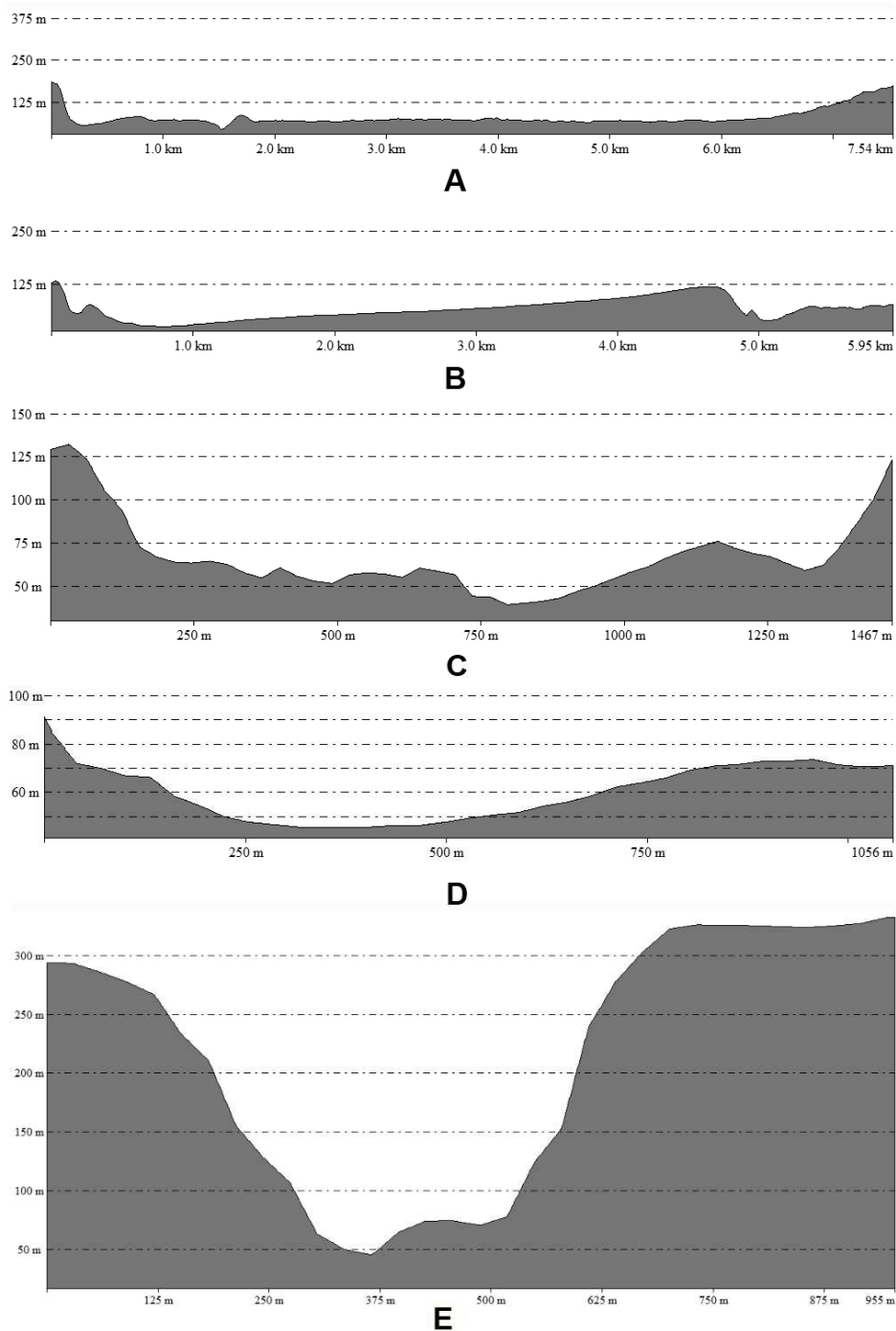


Fig. 11 - Altimetric profiles across the Danube Gorge: A. Divici – „Grad” – Topolovnik (N-S); B. Coronini/Pescari – „La Culă” – Radosevac (E-V); C. Coronini/Pescari – „La Culă” – Jerinin Grad (N-S); D. Stenca Liubcovei – Dobra (N-S); E. Profile across Danube at Dubova (E-V).

Wallachian Plain. Thus we think that this might explain why this area has fared distinctly from other areas along the Danube, the decisive confrontation between the Dacians and Romans in the sector being postponed until the time of the great wars during the reigns of emperors Domitian and Trajan.

Whether these fortifications were neutralized during the wars in the time of Domitian or during the first Dacian war, they seem to have ended in a violent way, being stormed by the Roman legions. Archaeological evidence for the fortification of Divici - "Grad" are quite eloquent, fully illustrating the dramatic confrontations. The

Fortress phase	Second half of II nd century B.C	First half of I st century B.C	Second half of I st century B.C	First half of I st century A.D	Second half of I st century A.D
Coronini/Pescari-„La Culă” I		X	X		
Coronini/Pescari-„La Culă” II				X	X
Dalboșeț -„Grădiște”		?	?	?	?
Divici-„Grad” I	X	X			
Divici-„Grad” II			X		
Divici-„Grad” III				X	X
Socol-„Palanački Breg”		X	X	X	X
Stenca Liubcovei I	X	X			
Stenca Liubcovei II			X	?	?

Tab. 2- Fortifications and datings (M. Gumă et.al. 1999; A. S. Ștefan, 2005; A. Rustoiu 2006-2007).

northwest side of the fortification wall was destroyed, and arrowheads and roman catapult projectiles were discovered in the debris and burned layer behind the defense. Fragments of *lorica squamata* were discovered in the same place (M. Gumă et.al., 1997; A. Rustoiu, 2006-2007). Regarding the arms we presented, it seems natural to believe that they were lost by defenders who took refuge in the tower, trying, perhaps, a last resistance. Regarding the final moments of the fortification of Divici, A. Rustoiu launches an interesting hypothesis, naming the Romans as the builders of the two grooves that cut the access path to the plateau of the city, being constructed during the siege so as to cut off the defenders. In our case, however, we express serious reservations about it for several reasons: the difference in height of 15-20 meters between the path and plateau would put attackers who would like to occupy advanced positions in an obvious disadvantage; moreover, being in the immediate vicinity of the fort, they would have been exposed, during rampart construction operations, to projectiles launched by the defenders. If they

wanted to isolate the city and its defenders before the final assault, the Roman army, so experienced in siege operations, could find more feasible solutions.

The coin from Trajan's time, dated between AD 112-117, discovered in the topsoil during archaeological excavations (M. Gumă et.al., 1997), is no longer bound to the existence of the fort - its presence may indicate, however, a discreet surveillance of this point by the Romans, during a time when the kingdom and the old centers of authority were still alive in the consciousness of the locals.

Conclusions

Use of modern methods of investigation, to the extent that it can be done, combining them with field research and excavations in microzones well defined, may provide new insights into the analysis of issues such as the spatial distribution of sites in an area and thus, the issue of relations between these archaeological sites.

In this picture, curved weapons discovered in

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the ruins of the Dacian fortress Divici, an important border fort, throws a bright light on the importance of this border point. It is likely that the garrison stationed here, obviously related to the power center from Șureanu Mountains, was composed of elite soldiers, as weapons, type of fortification tower itself, the geographical position converge towards this hypothesis.

Located at the meeting point of two worlds, Dacian warriors on the Danube Gorge built solid fortifications, integrated into a coherent system, which aimed at controlling access to key crossing points across the Danube. Consolidating its power through trade, but also through plunder, they found themselves at the forefront of the advance of Roman armies towards the Danube, managing to successfully resist until the era of the large Dacian-Roman confrontation.

The similarities to the situations encountered in the Transylvanian area, especially in the nucleus around Sarmizegetusa Regia, raise many questions. The existence of influences amid political, military and economic interdependence is indisputable, but their meaning is hard to pin down precisely. Problems of chronology, but also those related to the current state of research requires extreme caution, but even so, we wonder if the warriors of the Gorge, indisputably involved in the broader phenomenon Padea Panaghiurskij Kolonij (Drăgan A., 2012 b), will have brought, on their way to Transylvania, the model layout of these settlements....

This study is dedicated in the memory of Liviu Măruia, university lecturer at the West University of Timișoara, PhD. and expert archaeologist, researcher of the Dacians in Banat, and also a very close friend.

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**A fort at the edge of the Empire.
Observations enabled by the discovery of two curved weapons at the Dacian fortress of Divici**

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Monetary deposit found in building XI of the Military Vicus at *Tibiscvm* (Jupa), Caraş-Severin County

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Abstract: Monetary deposit found in building XI of the Military Vicus at *Tibiscvm* (Jupa), Caraş-Severin County. As a result of the systematic archaeological excavations conducted at Jupa in 2008 in building XI a small bronze monetary deposit of 7 sesterii was found. The paper describes and analyses the 7 bronze coins based on: the individual presentation of each coin, the images of the obverse and reverse, the monetary workshop that issued it, the issue year, the metal, the diameter, the weight, the temporary inventory and the catalogue based on which the determination was done.

Key words: Tibiscvm, monetary deposit, sesterii, *vicus militaris*, home-building.

Introduction

In 2008, the systematic archaeological research in building XI within the military *vicus* at Tibiscvm were led by PhD. Lecturer Regep Simona, a member of the West University of Timișoara team of archaeologists, and coordinated by PhD. Professor Doina Benea.

The archaeological research undertaken between 2005 and 2011 in the Tibiscvm military *vicus* were concentrated on building XI, identified as a house. It is placed next to building X, at 1,3 meters West of it, with a North-South orientation. From a typological point of view, building XI fits in the series of those with a narrow fronton and developed in the depth of the plot. This feature suggests a house built on a typical parcel for constructions within *vicus militares*.

The dimensions of the building are: the inner length on the North-South direction of 25,50 meters, and the inner width on the East-West direction of 14 meters.

Regarding the planimetry a portico was observed at the entrance, then a space of about 10–11 by 6 meters representing a yard. Rooms appear in the Northern half, placed on one side

and on the other of a middle wall; thus there are 3 rooms on the East side and 2 rooms on the West side.

From a stratigraphic point of view, 2 wood and clay phases were observed, and afterwards the stone construction was built, somewhere in the middle of the 2nd century A.D., which suffered several restorations; at least 2 of them are datable.

During the research, rich pottery archaeological material resulted: amphorae, *terra sigillata*, usual provincial pottery, *Firmalampen* oil lamps. Iron items of everyday use found are the usual in a Roman house: spikes, nails, padlock, keys, *etc.* The construction materials discovered were numerous, some have the following stamps: MID, MA SY, MIT.

In 2008, while demolishing the partition wall between cassettes (2/2007 and 1/2008) positioned between the portico and the inner yard, seven bronze coins were discovered. The coins were discovered in the first level of the wood phase. The archaeological material discovered consists of very few and unimportant pottery and another small monetary deposit of denarii datable in the period Vespasianus – Hadrianus (S. Regep, C.

Matei, 2011).

Deposit: CSIATIM
Unpublished

Catalogue

1) **TRAIANVS**

S; dimensions 30x31 mm, weight 24,6 g, axis 6; very poor conservation state (worn-out).
Obv.: [.....]; laureate head right
Rev.: [.....]; female diety holding the cornucopiae in the right hand
Unidentified mint; struck 98-117 A.D.
Temporary Inventory: 116a/2008
Deposit: CSIATIM
Unpublished

2) **ANTONINVS PIVS**

S; dimensions 32x31 mm, weight 28,7 g, axis 1; good conservation state.
Obv.: ANTONINVS AVGVSTVS PIVS PP TRP XII, laureate head right
Rev.: COS [IIII] S – C; Aequitas to the left, holding scales in the right hand and cornucopiae in the left hand
Mint: Rome; struck 148-149 A.D.
RIC III, 855
Temporary Inventory: 116b/2008
Deposit: CSIATIM
Unpublished

3) **ANTONINVS PIVS**

S; dimensions 32x30 mm, weight 24,3 g, axis 1; fair conservation state.
Obv.: [ANTONIN]VS AVG PIVS PP TR P [COS III], laureate head right
Rev.: [IMP]ERA[TOR II] S – C; Fides standing, head right, holding corn-ears in the right hand and a basket heaped with fruit in the left hand
Mint: Rome; struck 143-144 A.D.
RIC III, 716
Temporary Inventory: 116c/2008
Deposit: CSIATIM
Unpublished

4) **MARCVS AVRELIVS: Faustina II**

S; dimensions 29x27 mm, weight 22,4 g, axis 1; good conservation state.
Obv.: FAVSTINA AVGVSTA, head right, draped bust right
Rev.: VE[NVS VIC]TRIX S – C; Venus standing left, holding Victory in right hand and shield in left.
Mint: Rome; struck 161-180 A.D.
RIC III, 1688
Temporary Inventory: 116g/2008
Tome XV, Numéro 1, 2013

5) **MARCVS AVRELIVS: diva Faustina II**

S; dimensions 30x30 mm, weight 28,6 g, axis 6; fair conservation state.
Obv.: DIVA FAVSTINA PIA, head right, draped bust right
Rev.: [SIDERIBVS RECEPTA] S – C; Faustina as Diana, standing right, holding torch, crescent behind neck.
Mint: Rome; struck post 175 A.D.
RIC III, 1715
Temporary Inventory: 116d/2008
Deposit: CSIATIM
Unpublished

6) **COMMODOVS: Crispina**

S; dimensions 29x27 mm, weight 24,2 g, axis 0; poor conservation state.
Obv.: CRISPINA [AVG]VSTA, head right, draped bust right
Rev.: [PVDICITIA] [S] – C; Pudicitia seated left
Mint: Rome; struck 177-182 A.D.
RIC III, 670
Temporary Inventory: 116f/2008
Deposit: CSIATIM
Unpublished

7) **COMMODOVS**







S; dimensions 27x28 mm, weight 20,2 g, axis 11; very poor conservation state.
Obv.: COMMODOVS [.....]; laureate bust right
Rev.: [.....] S – C; female deity helmeted, standing left, left arm holding spear and leaning on shield; right arm half raised from the elbow.
Mint: Rome; struck 181-182 – 192 A.D.
Temporary Inventory: 116e/2008
Deposit: CSIATIM
Unpublished







Conclusions

The seven bronze coins are 7 sestertii. The oldest coin is 1 S, struck by Trajanus, the most recent is 1 S struck by Commodus between 181-182 and 192 A.D.



The bronze flans were of good quality in some cases and have a square aspect, such as the coins with the following temporary inventory: 116a/2008, 116b/2008, 116f/2008 and 116g/2008.

Monetary deposit found in building XI of the Military Vicus at *Tibiscvm* (Jupa), Caraș-Severin County

Nr. Crt.	Description	Obverse	Reverse	Mint	Struck year	Metal	Dimensions	Weight	Temporary inventory	Catalogue
01	TRAIANVS S; 30x31 mm; 24,6 g; axis 6; very poor conservation state (worn-out) Obv: [.....]; laureate head right Rev: [.....]; female deity holding the cornucopiae in the right hand			Unidentified	98-117 A.D.	AE	30X31 mm	24,6 g	116a/2008	-
02	ANTONINVS PIVS S; 32x31 mm; 28,7 g; axis 1; good conservation state Obv: ANTONINVS AVGVSTVS PIVS P P TR P XII; laureate head right Rev: COS [IIII] S – C; Aequitas to the left, holding scales in the right hand and cornucopiae in the left hand			Rome	148-149 A.D.	AE	32X31 mm	28,7 g	116b/2008	RIC III, 855
03	ANTONINVS PIVS S; 32x30 mm; 24,3 g; axis 1; fair conservation state Obv: [ANTONIN]VS AVGVSTVS P P TR P [COS III]; laureate head right Rev: [IMP]ERA[TOR II] S – C; Fides standing, head right, holding corn-ears in the right hand and a basket heaped with fruit in the left hand			Rome	143-144 A.D.	AE	32X30 mm	24,3 g	116c/2008	RIC III, 716

Nr. Crt.	Description	Obverse	Reverse	Mint	Struck year	Metal	Dimensions	Weight	Temporary inventory	Catalogue
04	MARCVS AVRELIVS: Faustina II S; 29x27 mm; 22,4 g; axis 1; good conservation state Obv: FAVSTINA AVGVSTA; head right, draped bust right Rev: VE[NVS VIC]TRIX S – C; Venus standing left, holding Victory in right hand and shield in left			Rome	161-180 A.D.	AE	29X27 mm	22,4 g	116g/2008	RIC III, 1688
05	MARCVS AVRELIVS: diva Faustina II S; 30x30 mm; 28,6 g; axis 6; fair conservation state Obv. DIVA FAVSTINA PIA; head right, draped bust right Rev: [SIDERIBVS RECEPTA] S – C; Faustina as Diana, standing right, holding torch, crescent behind neck			Rome	post 175 A.D.	AE	30X30 mm	28,6	116d/2008	RIC III, 1715
06	COMMODVS: Crispina S; 29x27 mm; 24,2 g; axis 0; poor conservation state Obv: CRISPINA [AVG]VSTA; head right, draped bust right Rev: [PVDICITIA S] – C; Pudicitia seated left			Rome	177-182 A.D.	AE	29X27 mm	24,2 g	116f/2008	RIC III, 670

Monetary deposit found in building XI of the Military Vicus at *Tibiscvm* (Jupa), Caraș-Severin County

Nr. Crt.	Description	Obverse	Reverse	Mint	Struck year	Metal	Dimensions	Weight	Temporary inventory	Catalogue
07	COMMODVS S; 27x28 mm; 20,2 g; axis 11; very poor conservation state Obv: COMMODVS [Commodvs]; laureate bust right Rev: [.....] S – C; female deity helmeted, standing left, left arm holding spear and leaning on shield; right arm half raised from the elbow			Rome	180-192 A.D.	AE	27X28 mm	20,2 g	116e/2008	-

All the coins are minted by the central mint in Rome.

Coin repartition by emperors is the following: Traianus – 1 S, Antoninus Pius – 2 S, Marcus Aurelius – 2 S and Commodus – 2 S.

The hoarding of the coins started during Antoninus Pius (2 coins) and it continues during Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, each being present with 2 coins each, with the coins struck during Commodus the hoarding comes to an end.

Until now, in Roman Dacia, beside the monetary deposit at Jupa, 7 other coin hoardings ended with coins struck by Commodus were found: 3 in Transilvania – "Alba Iulia I" (I. Winkler, 1965, p. 231), "Cristuru Secuiesc" (D. Protase, 1969, p. 512), "Reghin-Dumbrăvioara" (B. Mitrea, 1954, p. 383) and 4 in Oltenia – "Butoiești" (V. Suciu, 2000, p. 31), "Gârla Mare" (V. Suciu, 2000, p. 40), "Drăghiceni" (V. Suciu, 2000, p. 36), "Slatina" (D. Tudor, 1969, p. 129), from a geographic or chronological point of view these hoardings do not form coin hoarding horizons (V. Suciu, 2000). "Thus it seems that these coin hoardings were hidden due to events of local importance or their hiding was caused by events of personal reasons" (A. Husar, 2002, p. 400).

In our opinion this coin hoarding cannot be connected to any political or military event of the era, as its value is very low.

Considering the relative short period of hoarding, the coins were probably accumulated during only one generation. The type of coin hoarded can indicate that this small coin deposit represents current capital, which, from different reasons, was never recovered by the owner.

Building XI is a typical house for the colonists in *vicus militaris*, the first 2 phases of the construction being related to a Norico-Pannonian family.

Abbreviations

AE - bronze

Obv. - obverse

Rev. - reverse

S – *sestertius*

CSIATIM – Centrul de Studii de Istorie și Arheologie „Constantin Daicoviciu” Timișoara

RIC – *The Roman Imperial Coinage*

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The Reign of Teodosie and the 1521 Fights for the Wallachian Throne Short Considerations

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Abstract: *The Reign of Teodosie and the 1521 Fights for the Wallachian Throne. Short Considerations.* The period which covers the death of voivode Neagoe Basarab and the accession to the throne of Radu of Afumați, limited at historical scale, proved a moment of maximum tension in the sinuous development of the Wallachian state during the first decades of the 14th century. It was the beginning of a strained time in the evolution of the Wallachian state which was concluded by the instauration of a direct regime of domination of the Ottoman Empire. Naturally, when events reach us through chronicles or other subjective sources, the interval groups unclear aspects that cannot be supported by precious documentary evidence. Although historiography does not lack for interests in Teodosie's rule, a number of uncertainties regarding the age of the royal offspring, his relationship with the influential boyar family of the Craiovești and particularly his connections with the Ottoman power, represented by the Pasha of Nikopol, still linger on. Thus, the present study aims to highlight and complete earlier or more recent theories and assumptions formulated in the specialty literature and, therefore, to make a contribution to comprehending a controversial time of the Romanian Middle Ages.

Key-words: *voivode, succession, trusteeship, boyars, Ottoman Empire*

“Din mila lui Dumnezeu, Io Radul voievod și domn a toată țara Ungrovlahiei, fiul marelui și bunului Radul voievod” (meaning “By God's mercy, I, voivode Radu, prince of all country of Ungro-Wallachia, son of the good and great Radu voivode”)*. This is how the new Prince of Wallachia, Radu, illegitimate son of Prince Radu the Great, generally remembered as Radu of Afumați, a village located in the Ilfov area where his properties were, would call himself in the document issued on 3 February 1522 at the Princely Court of Târgoviște.

It was an official document that came out seven months after the last document issued by the chancellery of the great Voivode Neagoe Basarab (I. Bidian, 1978). The period, which is short at historical scale, marked a moment of fierce political and military conflict that would have an impact on the development of the Wallachian state during the first part of the 14th century.

Naturally, when events reach us through chronicles only, the interval generates controversies caused by the lack of absolutely necessary documentary evidence. An episode which best illustrates the turmoil of events shows us the ephemeral reign of Teodosie and the attempts to recover the throne that hastened his untimely end.

The death of Prince Neagoe Basarab on 15 September 1521 meant, according to the hereditary principle, that the power would pass to his son, Teodosie, who, being very young, was under the protection of the powerful Craiovescu family and his mother, Princess Despina Milița.

Dangers would threaten at every step the royal seat and, as the Ottoman Empire reached its acme, the status of Wallachia became more fragile. Boyars from Buzău, that had been banished to Moldavia by the late prince, had found support at the court of Bogdan III and were expecting to assume the power by bringing to the

throne the illegitimate son of the former voivode, Vlad cel Tânăr ("the Young"), who had ruled the country from 1510 to 1512.

The first unclear aspect, which is worth mentioning and analysing, is the age of the royal offspring who was entitled to reign, in autumn 1521. The writing of the Ragusan Michael Bocignoli, dated 29 June, 1524, mentioned that Neagoe Basarab left an heir who had not yet come of age: "...Basarab, domnul Țării Românești (pe care l-am cunoscut înainte de a fi domn, pe când mă aflam la români), moare lăsând după el un fiu de 7 ani" ("...Basarab, the Prince of Wallachia, whom I had met before he became voivode, while being among the Romanians, dies leaving behind a 7-year-old son")**. This information was questioned by the Romanian historiography (Constantin Rezachevici, 2001) which brought up the document of 30 October 1521 by which the Venetian ambassadors from Buda announced the appointment of 16-year-old Teodosie to the throne of Wallachia ("...Io Illustrissimo Vayvoda di Transalpina et li Valachi haveano electo il fiol suo chiamato Theodosio de anni 16...")***.

The writing of the Ragusan Bocignoli, which contains a comprehensive description of Wallachia, should be considered within the context of his rich diplomatic activity dedicated to stopping the expansion of the empire of the crescent moon. He completely disregards the two extra-Carpathian Romanian states that were under the Ottoman domination and enhances Transylvania's role appealing to the great Christian powers to support the fight against the Turks.

From this perspective, it is likely that the manuscript should have been ordered by the influential voivode of Transylvania, John Zapolya, in order to use it as an instrument of propaganda, possibly to raise a Christian coalition that would include the Romanian countries as well.

The negotiations carried out by Neagoe Basarab and the Pasha of Nikopol, Mehmed, during the first months of 1521, established the dispatch of Wallachian military support. Due to the voivode's poor health, it was probably placed under Teodosie's command****.

Youth and inexperience of the royal offspring in military actions finally led to the suspension of the Wallachian operations. At the same time it should be noted that Neagoe Basarab's doctor, Ieronim Matievich, a Ragusan as well, was in Wallachia during the last year of life of the

voivode and could have represented an efficient source of information for Michael Bocignoli.

In conclusion, all these negotiations could easily become known to the author of the epistle (especially since his writing is almost contemporary with the events) who thus considered the change of the rule in a negative way.

The information regarding Teodosie's age may also contain a mere error of interpretation. Bocignoli said he had met Neagoe Basarab before the latter's ascension to the throne and the references to Teodosie's age might allude to that particular time. If we start from the theory that Teodosie's age is correctly mentioned by the Venetian ambassadors, then he might have been, in early 1512, before Neagoe Basarab's assumption of power, 7 years old. Therefore, the data contained in Michael Bocignoli's epistle would refer to Teodosie's age during his stay in Wallachia, especially since the exact moment and circumstances of the sojourn remain unknown.

The lack of official internal documents makes it impossible to precisely date the reign of young Teodosie. It can be partially reconstituted based on several letters sent to Braşov and Sibiu and on reports commissioned by the Hungarian Kingdom which record some of the political turmoil across the Carpathians.

First, we shall focus on the controversial tutelage exerted by his uncle, the great boyar Preda Craiovescu. The *Letopiseşul Cantacuzinesc* accurately describes the course of events: "*Iar după moartea lui Băsărab voda s-au înălţat domn Preda, fratele lui Băsărab vovod, ca să ție domniia lui Theodosie, nepotă-său*" ("after Basarab voda's death, prince Preda, brother of Basarab voivode, assumed the trusteeship of the reign of his nephew Teodosie")*****. The oldest version of the chronicle of Wallachia provides an even clearer picture: "*În anul 7029 al lumii, după moartea lui, domnul Preda, fratele lui, s-a ridicat ca să facă pe Theodosie, fiul fratelui sau Basarab, vovod în locul tatălui sau.*" or in translation "In the year of the world 7029, following his death, his brother prince Preda raised to make Theodosie, the son of his brother Basarab, voivode in his father's place" (V. Căndea, 1970).

Radu Popescu's chronicle brings a different view on this moment, questioning the beginnings of Teodosie's reign: "*Iar, când au fost leat 7029, s-au pristăvit și Neagoe-vodă, domnul rumânilor. Și în urma lui au fost multă gâlceavă pentru domnie, că feciorii lui Neagoe-vodă, Theodosie și*

altul, au fost mici, rămași cu muma lor Dospina. Ci o seamă de boiari au rădicat domnu pă Preda, ce zic să fie fost frate lui Neagoe-vodă” (“and when it was the year 7029, Neagoe-vodă, the prince of the Romanians, passed away. Much quarrel for the throne did he leave behind for Neagoe-vodă’s sons, Theodosie and another one, were young and remained with their mother Dospina. Some boyars put Preda, Neagoe-vodă’s brother, on the throne”)******.

In fact, the dissatisfactions arisen during Neagoe’s reign could be reiterated in that Teodosie, like his father, was not royalty. Not many years had passed since Vlad cel Tânăr had accused Neagoe of wanting his crown though he was not a princely offspring, which had finally been accepted by the Craiovescu boyars (“*Deci domnul...trimise să aducă dentru acel neam drept pre iubitul Neagoe la dânsul. Iar alți boieri deacă înțeleșeră, ziseră domnului: Doamne, părăsește-te de aceasta...că Neagoe iaste cu adevărat fecior al nostru și nu are întru sine hicleșug...Iar domnul zise: Deacă iaste așa, voi îl aduceți și jurați pentru dânsul.*”) (“So the prince sent for Neagoe. And other boyars told the prince: Our Lord, Neagoe is truly one of us and there is nothing cunning about him. And the lord said: If that is so, you bring him and swear for him”)****** (p. 21).

Thus, any pretender would consider himself entitled to assume the ruling of the country even if the association to the reign and the conveyance of the throne had been done in compliance with all the canons. Legitimation of power is very likely to have sparked the cavalcade of royal battles and prompted Preda Craiovescu to assume the task of ruling the country. The situation recorded as such by the internal chronicles emphasises the kinship relation between Teodosie and his uncle Preda, although Neagoe Basarab had promoted throughout his reign his filiation from Basarab Tepelus (L. M. Ilie, 2008).

In contrast, his main rival, Vlad Dragomir Călugărul, had a certain lineage, acknowledged as such by Hungary and Poland, which emphasised, in a correspondence that analysed the Turkish danger, his descent from the royal family (“*ex vojevodarum genere*”)******.

From the very beginning, Teodosie tried, through his mother, princess Despina, to consolidate the relationships with the Christian powers. It is possible that when Teodosie was appointed as head of the state, Lady Despina should have been in Sibiu. She crossed in Wallachia before the fights from Targoviște won

by the pretender Vlad Călugărul (S. Dragomir, 1925-1926). The messenger sent to the court of the king of Hungary was stopped in Brașov on the grounds that it was not recognized: “*...ați oprit Grațiositatea voastră acolo în Brașov pe sluga noastră Andriiaș fiindcă n-ați crezut că este trimis de la domnia noastră. Drept aceea, Grațiositatea voastră, să știți și să credeți, că l-am trimis noi către înălțimea craiul cu vorbele noastre de trebuință, încă pe când mi-a fost Theodosie voevod în țară*” (“... Your Grace stopped our servant Andriiaș in Brașov because you did not believe he was sent by us. Therefore, Your Grace, you should know and believe that we sent him to his lordship the king with the right and necessary words when Theodosie was the voivode of the country”). The lack of dating of the letter sent by Princess Despina Milița prevents an exact placement in time of the moment. We may assume that references to Teodosie’s ruling of the country point even to the last days of the late Neagoe Basarab, when his son was imposed as prince)******.

The last document which confirms Teodosie’s reign (dated 7 January 1522) arranges the sequence of events that groups the attack of the pretender Vlad Dragomir Călugărul with his victory at Târgoviște and Teodosie’s appeal to the Ottoman power translated into the intervention of the bey of Nikopol by which his rights were reinstated. Certain passages are suggestive and can be judged in relation with the letter sent to Brașov by Lady Despina)****** (p. 266).

Teodosie tried, amid evident collaboration with the Ottoman forces, to rekindle the relations with Transylvania and Hungary that had followed an upward trend during the last part of his parent’s reign. The distrust of Transylvanian towns, particularly of Brașov, in the political line pursued by the Wallachian state is clearly shown by the episode of the capturing of the Wallachian envoy which roused Lady Despina’s extremely eloquent reaction. To this we may add the envoy from Sibiu sent before Neagoe Basarab’s death in order to investigate precisely Voivode Teodosie’s political options)******.

Of particular interest, in the given context, is the possible alliance between the boyars that were in exile in Moldavia and those around the Buzău area who sought to put an illegitimate son of the prince, Vlad cel Tânăr, on the throne. Taking advantage of Prince Neagoe Basarab’s death, the boyars banished in the Moldavian country quickly took action and provided military

support to the pretender Vlad Dragomir Călugăru. Even though the Buzău boyars remain unidentified, it is known, however, and documents show it, that they allied with several boyars from Oltenia, such as Vlaicu stolnicul ("the seneschal"), Diicul comisul ("the equerry"), Dragomir logofătul ("the chancellor"), who were still faithful to the late voivode Mircea III. (D. Pleșia, 1970).

Historiographical controversies on the existence of two pretenders, Radu Călugăru and Vlad Dragomir Călugăru, have not yet been permanently settled. (N. Iorga, 1898) The name Radu seems to have been wrongly attributed by the 17th-century chronicles because in all contemporary documents he appears with the name of Vlad after that taken by his father at the enthronement. His being called "*călugăru*" ("*the monk*") suggests he put on the monastic robe, at an unspecified date, during Neagoe Basarab's reign, with the clear purpose of avoiding the intrigues that could endanger his life.

Returning to the actual events, Radu Popescu's chronicle records the following development: "*Iar pribegii ce au fost în domnia lui Neagoe-vodă, pribegiți în Moldova, auzind poftită de dâșii, de moartea lui Neagoe-vodă, au venit în țară, și, împreună cu buzăienii, au rădicat pe alt domnu, pă un Radul-vodă Călugăru și au mers de s-au bătut cu Preda, ce era cu ceilaltă ceată de boiari...*" ("And the outcasts banished to Moldavia during Neagoe-vodă's reign, learning about Neagoe-vodă's death they had so long desired, returned to the country and, together with the Buzău noblemen, enthroned another voivode, someone called Radu-vodă Călugăru and went to fight Preda, who was with the other band of boyars")***** (p. 272). The fragment suggests that the alliance between the exiled boyars and those in the country was not well established, but rather temporary, aiming to instate Vlad Dragomir Călugăru.

His ascension to the throne or rather his assumption of power by force of arms is recorded by the city of Brașov on 11-12 October 1521 when he appears as bearing the title "*novus wayvoda Transalpinensis Wlad*" *****. As a matter of fact, all notes recording the new power appeared in October, which confirms that Vlad's installation occurred sometime during the last days of September 1521. We have in mind the letter sent by King Louis II to the Transylvanian Saxons in which he asked them to assist Teodosie who had been dethroned by

"*Calager...Dragamir*"***** (p. 375) and that sent to the people of Sibiu on 24 October 1521 *****.

The main battle was to take place at Târgoviște and the exact dating cannot be done. Placing it after 23 September is mandatory for that was the time when knez Demetrie was sent by the voivode of Transylvania to transalpine areas in order to investigate the dissensions between voivodes ("*...disturbiorum in partibus transalpinis inter Wayvodas.*")*****. The defeat of the army led by Preda Craiovescu appears to be explained by the numerical inferiority suggested veiledly both in *Letopiseșul Cantacuzinesc* and Radu Popescu's chronicle. The appeal to Mehmet Bey's Ottoman forces across the Danube, made before the battle of Târgoviște, confirms the insufficient army that Neagoe Basarab's son had.

Vlad's ascension to the throne is also recorded on 14 October in the information given by a Wallachian priest who announced the representatives from Sibiu about Teodosie's replacement with Vlad: "*Cuidam pope transalpinensi qui attulit quod Theodosius rursus in sedem Wayvodatus est locatus et Wladt emulus esset interemptus...*"***** (p. 846).

Therefore, sometime in early October, at Târgoviște, a new prince, who promised to overthrow the balance of powers in the country held by the influential family of the Craiovescu boyars, was installed. He had the opportunity to avenge the death of his father, Vlad cel Tânăr, who had been killed after a campaign led by the Pasha of Nikopol in collaboration with the forces commanded by the Craiovescu boyars.

An identical action was inevitable. The Craiovești had informed their protector of the turmoil in the country and were expecting an intervention of the latter meant to reinstate Neagoe Basarab's son.

Turkish troops led by Mehmet Bey reached Târgoviște towards the middle of October. The development of hostilities was not detailed in any sources; however, it is known that Vlad Dragomir and his main allies were captured.

The document which recounts this event is a report from the castellan of Făgăraș addressed to the vicevoivode of Transylvania on 25 October 1521. Its analysis brings up several other interesting data.

Thus, it is mentioned that, beyond the Turks' categorical victory, Mehmed became the real leader of the state. Still, his mission was to reinstate Teodosie and, consequently, he would

not want to exceed his duties. Without the Empire's support, his action might have encountered a fierce riposte from the inside and probably that is why the Ottoman ruler chose to cross the Danube at Nikopol to start negotiations with the Sultan regarding his reinstallation as voivode of Wallachia.

The same description of events can also be found in later sources, which means that the Bey of Nikopol tried to take over the power in October 1521 (J. Filstich, 1979).

Mehmed left the Wallachian state with the former voivode, who was captive, and a character with great influence in the country, the equerry Radu Bădica, Neagoe Basarab's cousin, who was on the party opposing the Craiovești. His close relationships with the Pasha of Nikopol are proved by Radu Bădica's killing Vlad Dragomir Călugăru at his order: "*Acolo fiind și Bădica comisu...au cerșut voie de la Mehmet-bei, de au taiat capul Radului-vodă.*" ("As the equerry Bădica was there... he asked for Mehmet-bey's permission and beheaded Radu-vodă")***** (p. 272). As son of Radu the Great, the equerry Radu Bădica was already trying to show his loyalty to the Turkish power that, in two years' time, would grant him the power in Wallachia.

The Turkish troops' leaving the Wallachian state meant the beginning of Teodosie's second reign. It began towards the end of October 1521 for on 1 November Teodosie would send a letter to the people of Brașov informing them of the new dangers that threatened his reign: "*Iar după aceea, încă nu-mi fu cu atâta destul, ci iarăși mi s-au ridicat alți vrășmași și cu hoți, cu făcători de rele, și au prădat țara și au ars-o pe dânsa.*" ("And after that, as it was not enough, other enemies raised and, hand in hand with thieves, with evildoers, plundered and burned the country")***** (p. 267). It is hard to prove who had inflicted the latest damages upon the country. Although Teodosie said his rule had come from the Turks, the only who had set fire and taken slaves were the Ottoman troops instructed to loot the Buzău area: "*Și Mehmet-bei...încă până a nu trece la Nicopia, au trimis turci de au robii pă buzăieni și au prădat tot județul acela, pentru rădicare Radului-vodă Călugăru*" ("And Mehmet-bey, before going to Nicopia, sent Turks to enslave the people of Buzău and plunder all the county, for raising Radu-vodă Călugăru")***** (p. 272). However, we find similar information in Macarie's chronicle which emphasises that Teodosie's reign was troubled by no fewer than 6

outcasts who all perished in less than a year (P. P. Panaitescu, 1959)

Therefore, it is possible that the decision to send Teodosie to Nikopol, in the last days of 1521, should have been prompted by the contingent struggles for power that had broken out and on which documents have not preserved any information. Still, it was Mehmed who was behind this action as he wanted to have Wallachia and thus acted accordingly.

Returning to documentary evidence, sometime in mid December of 1521, Teodosie was taken across the Danube under Mehmed-bey's protection and at the Sultan's orders. It was only the first stage of the plan that was to end with bringing a Turkish ruler to Wallachia. According to a letter dated 1521, Louis II of Hungary informed Sigismund I of Poland of the attack launched by Mehmed in the southern parts of Transylvania***** (p. 373).

However, it is difficult to speak about an interruption of reign since on 7 January 1522 hegumen Joseph of Curtea de Argeș went to Sibiu with a message from Teodosie. Entrusting such a deputation across the Danube does not seem, however, impossible, especially in terms of the message contained which insists on trust in the words and information of the carrier ("*...trimis-am pe al nostru părinte, pe egumenul Iosif de la Arghiș...cu ale noastre adevărate și de trebuință cuvinte...apoi Grațiozitatea voastră...cu luare aminte să credeți lui, căci sunt vorbele domniei mele pe adevărat*") ("we have sent our father, hegumen Joseph of Argeș with our true and necessary words... then Your Grace carefully should believe him for they are my words indeed")***** (p. 265).

The voivode's crossing the Danube may thus have two causes. Either Teodosie had to be put under protection against the numerous attacks that were endangering his reign, or he left for the Ottoman Empire precisely to get stronger support from the Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent.

His passing away, as shrouded in mystery as his short reign, urges us to assume that some disagreement, regarding even the ruling of Wallachia, had intervened between Teodosie and his protector, the Pasha of Nikopol. His replacement was extremely rapid for on 22 January the authorities of Sibiu would send an envoy to Târgoviște that was supposed to rekindle the relationships with the new prince of Wallachia, Radu of Afumați. The swift sequence of events allows us to believe that Teodosie fell victim to an assassination plotted by Mehmed

bey or by the nobility dreaming to instate the Turkish rule.

Without knowing the place and date of death, history recorded the voivode's passing out of existence based on an icon ordered by his mother Despina, dated approximately 1522, bearing the inscription: "...primește sufletul robului tău, Ion Teodosie și adu-l la judecata ta" ("receive the soul of Thy servant, Ion Teodosie, and bring him to Your judgment")*****.

His removal marked only the beginning of the political and military tensions that, nearly a century later, would again take the shape of the anti-Ottoman fight. An empire that now, under the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent, reached its utmost force, would bring an unprecedented alternation on the royal throne and create premises for installing a regime of Turkish domination over Wallachia.

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Sur le caractère culturel des représentations plastiques néo-énéolithiques de l'espace carpato-danubien

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Abstract: About the cultural character of the neo-eneolithic plastic representations to the carpatho-danubian region. The spiritual life of prehistoric communities seems to be a combination of culturale practices, of the most diverse, integrated into a system of ideas and religious beliefs, articulated around symbols that were worshipped by the community as a whole. Spiritual connotations of neo-eneolithic art are linked not only by magico-religious practices, but also by the capacity of plastic representations of giving force to the symbolism they relieve in the process of institutionalizing the new beliefs.

Key words: neo-eneolithic art, cultural character, hypostases of Divinity, cultural markers.

Résumé: Sur le caractère culturel des représentations plastiques néo-énéolithiques de l'espace carpato-danubien. La vie spirituelle des communautés préhistoriques paraît un mélange de pratiques culturelles des plus diverses, intégrées dans un système d'idées et de croyances religieuses articulées autour de certains symboles vénérés par toute la communauté. Les connotations spirituelles de l'art néo-énéolithique ont à faire non seulement aux pratiques magiques-religieuses mais aussi à la capacité des représentations plastiques de transmettre de la vigueur au symbolisme que les nouvelles croyances dégagent au cours du processus de l'institutionnalisation.

Mots-clés: art néo-énéolithique, caractère culturel, hypostase de la Divinité, marqueurs culturels.

Au fil du temps, la plastique anthropomorphe a généré d'amples discussions à l'égard de sa signification, les modalités d'interprétation proposées reflétant un certain point de vue pertinent (P. Ucko, 1962; 1968; 1996; A. Fleming, 1969; C. Louboutin, 1990; M. Pavlovič, 1990; M. Voight, 1991; D. W. Bailey, 1994; 1996; J. Marcus, 1996; M. Conkey, R. Tringham, 1995; G. Haaland, R. Haaland, 1995; 1996; R. Treuil, 1992; F. Draşovean, 1998; M. Conkey, 2001; K. Băčvarov, 2006; A. Niculescu, 2010; B. Watson, 2010). Ainsi, l'analyse de la signification et de la fonctionnalité des représentations plastiques néo-énéolithiques partait, le plus fréquemment, de la premise que celles-ci n'étaient que des modèles des divinités

ultérieurement découvertes (D. W. Bailey, 1994), réunies dans un panthéon dominé par la figure de "la Grande Mère", surprise dans de variables hypostases (J. Mellaart, 1967; Vl. Dumitrescu, 1968; S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, 1977; D. Monah, 1997; B. Erdogu, 2009).

Tandis que D. W. Bailey affirme que ces artefacts représentent un moyen d'exprimer l'identité individuelle et de groupe (D. W. Bailey, 2000) et P. F. Biehl les associe aux transformations multiples auxquelles les collectivités humaines sont soumises à travers le temps (P. F. Biehl, 1996; 1997; 2006), d'autres opinions soulignent la liaison logique entre les représentations anthropomorphes et la vie religieuse de ces communautés-là (N. Kalicz,

1970; M. Voight, 1991; R.-R. Andreescu, 2002; V. Voinea, 2005; E. Blake, 2005).

En étroite corrélation avec les manifestations spirituelles de la communauté, la plastique anthropomorphe reflète l'existence d'une pensée symbolique, évidemment liée à la polyvalence de l'archétype de *la Grande Déesse* (E. Neumann, 1974; R. Tringham, 1993; L. Meskell, 1998; 2000). La modalité de déchiffrer un tel système de mythes et de croyances, illustré par tels artefacts, ne peut pas constituer un argument qui certifie l'existence d'une certaine religion - au sens classique du mot -, présentant un panthéon au centre duquel soit placée une divinité dominante. D'ailleurs, on ne pourrait pas négliger aussi le rôle que la magie aurait pu jouer au cadre de certaines pratiques rituelles mais, au cas où tous les deux systèmes auraient coexisté, la façon d'établir la fonctionnalité de ce type de représentations plastiques devient d'autant plus difficile (F. Draşovean, 1998; M. Augé, 1995).

Une analyse détaillée concernant les modalités et les techniques d'exécution des représentations plastiques peut clarifier certains aspects liés à la signification de leur modélisation et de leur utilisation en but de rite ou peut offrir des données sur le statut des personnages qu'elles incarnent (D. Gheorghiu, 2010). La présence de certains restes végétaux dans la pâte dont les figurines anthropomorphes étaient modélisées, d'habitude des graines (Vl. Dumitrescu, 1934, fig. 13/7; O. Höckmann, 1991, fig. 1/1-2), représente une habitude ancienne liée à la sacralité des occupations agricoles, tandis que l'assimilation de la terre à *Mater Genitrix*, lors de la pratique des rites magiques-religieux qui symbolisaient „la fécondation” de la divinité, était une forme de magie sympathique (J. G. Frazer, 1980, I). La solidarité entre la fertilité de la terre et la fécondité féminine constitue une synthèse mytique-rituelle qui suppose non seulement l'identification de la terre avec la matrice et du travail agricole avec l'acte générateur mais aussi de la charrue avec le phallus, ce qui explique le grand nombre de rites liés aux cérémoniaux agraires (M. Eliade, 1992).

L'un des plus fréquents scénarios agricoles qui concerne la régénération de la vie présente dans les grains déposées d'une manière rituelle dans la terre implique le déchaînement des forces régénératrices de la végétation contrôlée de *la Grande Divinité* (l'incarnation de la féminité), douée des attributs de la vie et de la mort. La

régénération périodique des forces sacrées nécessite un sacrifice des représentants humains ou animaliers du pouvoir personnifié dans la récolte (M. Eliade, 1992), qui, au fil du temps, a été remplacé par le cérémonial du „dieu dévoré”, en fait, une consommation rituelle de l'esprit du blé, représenté comme une figurine anthropomorphe (J. G. Frazer, 1980, IV; D. Monah, 1997). La valeur sacramentale des offrandes utilisées lors de ce scénario agraire s'est perpétuée grâce à l'assimilation et à la revalorisation de certains symboles et traditions archaïques, compte tenu du nouveau message chrétien qui transforme les dieux en saints (M. Eliade, 1986).

Les thèmes iconographiques transposés en argile, en pierre, en os ou en métal prouvent la préoccupation des créateurs de valorifier une large gamme de matières premières, compte tenu non seulement des possibilités de les façonner toute de suite mais aussi de la charge symbolique dont elles ont été „douées”. Les figurines en os, dont on retrouve le prototype pendant le VIII^e millénaire av. J. C., à Jerichon (J. Cauvin, 1972, fig. XI/I), apparaissent au nord du Danube, au cadre de la culture Boian, à Cernica (G. Cantacuzino., S. Morintz, 1963, fig. 27/7) (fig. 1/1), à Petru-Rareş (D. Berciu, 1966, fig. 189/5) et sont fréquemment utilisées au cadre des communautés gumelniennes (R.-R. Andreescu, 2002, pl. 40-50) (fig. 1/2, 3, 5-7) et salcutiennes (E. Comşa, 1995, fig. 62-64) (fig. 1/4). Le plus souvent, les pièces transposent des personnages féminins mais, compte tenu du schématisme et de la variété typologique, il est assez difficile de déchiffrer leur fonctionnalité culturelle, puisque ces pièces peuvent refléter des thèmes religieux déjà consacrés dans la plastique en argile ou elles peuvent représenter d'autres thèmes nouveaux, issus de la multiplication des formes d'expression artistique.

Les statuettes plates ont été considérées des représentations de petits enfants, parfois langés, qui étaient portées de jeunes filles pour accomplir un culte de la fertilité (E. Comşa, 1995) ou bien étaient des représentations de certaines divinités envisageant les rites de la régénération (M. Gimbutas, 1989). On attribue généralement un rôle apotropaïque aux figurines prismatiques, étant utilisées comme amulettes, les représentations convexes ayant le même caractère protecteur.

La diversité et la complexité de la vie

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spirituelle néo-énéolithique sont illustrées aussi par une catégorie de pièces à part, façonnées en os et en marbre, connues sous la dénomination d'idoles „en violon” (fig. 1/5). Ce type de statuettes, extrêmement schématisées, a paru pour la première fois lors du Néolithique des Cyclades et a évolué du point de vue stylistique jusqu'à l'époque du Bronze, visant notamment les contextes funéraires (V. Voinea, 2008). Elles ont été considérées des protections pour les bras ou des pièces utilisées à allonger la corde de l'arc (D. V. Rosetti, 1934) mais leur plus probable utilisation concernait, paraît-il, le domaine musical (E. Comşa, 1995). L'utilisation du même terme pour d'autres types de représentations anthropomorphes existantes dans l'espace égéen-anatolien et du Sud-Ouest des Balkans, dont „le corps” ne conserve pas la forme rectangulaire, a suscité d'amples polémiques concernant la modalité de les encadrer du point de vue typologique et de leur fonctionnalité (S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, 1980; D. Monah, 1997; V. Voinea, 2008). La dénomination d'idoles „en violon” est utilisée pour désigner les pièces façonnées en os ou en marbre, rencontrées dans les cultures Gumelnița-Karanovo VI, Sălcuța et Cernavoda I qui suggèrent, probablement, d'éventuelles hypostases de *la Grande Déesse*. Dans le milieu cucuténien, des pièces qui ressemblent à une boîte de violon ont été découvertes à Truşeşti, à Hăbăşeşti, à Cucuteni-Cetăuia, à Drăguşeni etc. et, selon le nombre des perforations, elles pouvaient être suspendues ou cousues sur des vêtements, leur valeur apotropaïque étant toujours conservée (D. Monah, 1997, fig. 258/2-19, 259/1-4).

Les statuettes anthropomorphes en or ont été considérées, à l'instar des idoles „en violon”, des représentations féminines extrêmement schématisées, illustrant l'image de *la Déesse Mère* dans la position spécifique à l'accouchement (H. Dumitrescu, 1961). L'origine de ce type d'idole a été identifiée à Çatal Höyük, d'où l'hypothèse de la déesse en position blottie a été prise et transposée dans la plastique néo-énéolithique de l'Europe du Sud-Ouest (M. Gimbutas, 1989, fig. 174, 175). On rencontre de telles représentations à travers l'espace gumelnien, à Ruse, Koşarița, Sultana, Vidra, Gumelnița, Vărăști, Akca-Ac etc. (R.-R. Andreescu, 2002, pl. 52) (Fig. 1/8); elles sont caractéristiques aussi à la plastique des communautés Cucuteni-Tripolje, pour l'habitat

de Traian-Dealul Viilor (D. Monah, 1997, fig. 17/9) et présentent de nombreuses analogies avec les pièces de Moigrad, Hatvan-Ujtelep, Tisza-Szöllös, Jászladány, Oradea (M. Gimbutas, 1989), ce qui illustre clairement la large diffusion sur le territoire de l'Europe du Sud-Est et centrale de l'image schématique de la déesse accouchant.

Cette position, transposée avec tant d'assiduité, a un profond sens religieux lié à la répétition d'un geste primordial par l'intermédiaire du contact direct avec la terre. L'acte de l'accouchement était soumis à des prescriptions rituelles que toute femme (future mère) devait respecter. *Humi positio* était pratiquée en vue du perfectionnement de l'oeuvre *Mater Terrae* – l'apparition de la Vie et la reconnaissance des vertus de fertilisation de la femme (M. Eliade, 1991). On ne saura jamais quel aura été le régime des pendentifs et des amulettes “en violon” mais, grâce au caractère universel de cette coutume de la femme qui accouche directement sur la terre, leur utilisation pendant ces moments assurait la protection de “la Grande Déesse”. Si les pièces de petites dimensions avaient une utilité individuelle, les pièces de dimensions considérables, comme dans le cas de la représentation de Truşeşti (D. Monah, 1997, fig. 9/6), pouvaient être utilisées dans le même but mais au bénéfice de toute la communauté.

La grande majorité des représentations plastiques ont été réalisées en argile, soit d'une seule boule, soit des parties modélisées séparément, pressées et collées, en vue d'obtenir la forme désirée. Identifiées pour la première fois à Hacilar (J. Mellaart, 1970, I), les statuettes modélisées de deux moitiés pressées en vue de les coller, auxquelles on attachait ultérieurement la tête, apparaissent dans le milieu vinçien (M. M. Vasić, 1936, III); au Nord du Danube, elles sont signalées à Rast (Vl. Dumitrescu, 1987-1988, fig. 42, 44, 47, 54), dans la création artistique de type Boian (E. Comşa, 1974, fig. 74/1; 75/7, 15; 1990, fig. 48/4; 49/6), le procédé étant utilisé aussi par les artistes des communautés Petreşti (I. Paul, 1992, pl. L/1), Stoicani-Aldeni (I. T. Dragomir, 1983, fig. 48/1; 49/3, 6; 52/1-2, 5-7), Precucuteni (S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, 1974a; 1974b), Cucuteni (Vl. Dumitrescu, H. Dumitrescu, M. Petrescu-Dîmbovița, N. Gostar, 1954; E. Popușoi, 1985-1986; D. Monah, 1997, fig. 15/4, 5; 20/4, 5; 52/6-8; 53/2-5, 10, 13).

Cette modalité artistique de réaliser les

figurines anthropomorphes, en nul cas dépourvue de significations religieuses, reflète un modèle mythique d'exprimer „le paradoxe de la réalité divine” (M. Eliade, 1992, p. 326). *Coincidentia oppositorum* dévoile la présence et l'opposition, en même temps, de deux principes coéternels qui assurent la manifestation du Tout intrinsèque, de la Divinité dans sa plénitude. La polarité des deux moitiés confectionnées de la même matière confère un double caractère aux représentations artistiques. Les attributs en vertu desquels les figurines étaient utilisées à l'occasion des diverses processions magiques-religieuses développent l'ambivalence de la Divinité qui peut être créatrice ou destructive, intelligente ou maléfique, douce ou effrayante etc. Cette manière de personnifier la structure intime de la Divinité, rencontrée dans la plupart des religions dualistes (M. Eliade, P. Culianu, 1993), trouve sa transposition dans la création plastique néo-énéolithique par la mise en évidence de détails anatomiques ou de caractéristiques mythiques du personnage incarné.

L'utilisation de la peinture, des lignes incisées et des applications plastiques au cas de certaines représentations anthropomorphes prouve leur régime différencié et le traitement dont elles bénéficiaient à la fin de la cérémonie, étant donné que les artefacts de grandes dimensions, soigneusement modélisés, étaient utilisés plus longuement par comparaison aux pièces superficiellement façonnées qui étaient détruites après l'accomplissement du rituel. Le grand nombre de statuettes fragmentaires est le résultat d'un processus rituel au cadre duquel on les brisées avec intention; ce processus est attesté pour toute l'Europe du Sud-Est (D. Srejovič, 1968, pl. XXIII-XXIV; J. Chapman, 2001; S. A. Luca, 2003) et relié au scénario dramatique (mais obligatoire) de la divinité qui meurt et renaît. C'est par ce rite qu'on assurait la régénération des forces sacrées et la réitération d'un acte primordial mené *ab initio* (J. G. Frazer, 1980, II, II, IV; M. Eliade, 1991), la manière où s'est produite la fragmentation constituant un repère en ce qui concerne le caractère intentionnel ou non de ce geste. On a identifié des situations où les figurines ont été brisées dans la région du cou, de la taille, des jambes ou à travers la ligne qui unissait les parties composantes.

Les représentations plastiques spécifiques au Néolithique récent sont ciselées en pierre, comme „des têtes”, ce qui exprime l'idée d'immortalité

et leur placement rituel dans des tombeaux, ainsi qu'à Lepenski Vir (D. Srejovič 1969, fig. 35) (fig. 2/1), Cuina Turcului (N. Păunescu, 1978, fig. 26) (fig. 2/2) ou Gura Baciului (N. Vlassa, 1972; 1976) plaide en faveur de l'existence d'un culte de la tête et du crâne (M. Eliade, 1991; M. Mărgineanu, 2000), compte tenu des valences symboliques de ces parties du corps (P. Wernert, 1953; G. Durand, 2000; J. Chevalier, A. Gherbraant, 1994, I). Cette modalité de représenter la tête a été signalée aussi au cas des pièces identifiées en Olténie, à Grădinile-Izlaz (M. Nica, 1981, fig. 5/1, 2), leur fonctionnalité étant liée à la conviction que la pierre peut capter les âmes des défunts (E. O. James, 1959; J. Chevalier, A. Gherbraant, 1995, III).

Au moment où les communautés vinčienues apparaissent, l'expressivité des représentations anthropomorphes va se diversifier, en rencontrant aussi, au parcours de tout le Néo-Énéolithique, à côté des vieilles pièces, extrêmement schématisées, des exemplaires qui font la preuve d'une charge artistique particulière. Pour ce qui est de la manière de transposer de diverses attitudes, on retient la prédominance du rôle de la position où les figurines étaient modélisées, ce qui fait que la plastique anthropomorphe culmine dans un véritable „art du geste”, considérée probablement comme le réflexe immédiat de certaines raisons culturelles. La tendance vers la schématisation est évidente au cas des statuettes ayant un corps en forme de cylindre, rencontrées dès le Néolithique récent, ainsi qu'au cas des statuettes prismatiques en os ou même des têtes humaines stylisées.

Le caractère dominant du personnage féminin dans de variables hypostases reste une certitude, tandis que l'identification de leurs multiples significations continue à représenter un problème sans résultat, puisque les données dont on dispose sont encore insuffisantes, mais on peut affirmer en toute certitude qu'on a à faire avec une manifestation du sacré. Le procédé de déchiffrer le système religieux des communautés néo-énéolithiques devient d'autant plus difficile puisque prendre en considération l'existence d'une seule divinité dans des hypostases différentes ou, au contraire, accepter tout un panthéon conduirait à la définition d'une structure religieuse incomplète, étant connu qu'une série de considérations théoriques rejettent les valeurs spirituelles des représentations plastiques (P. Ucko, 1968; R. Treuil 1984; 1992).

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Cependant, l'existence de certaines catégories plastiques permet l'identification des thèmes de culte à l'aide desquels on peut traiter d'une manière plus nuancée leur signification.

Quelle que soit la modalité d'expression artistique, le personnage féminin est représenté comme une "matrone", surdimensionnée, ayant un abdomen proéminent, les bras reposant sur celui-ci (C. N. Mateescu, I. Voinescu, 1982; P. Ucko, 1968; E. Neumann, 1974). De telles figurines, présentant une stéatopigie prononcée, ont été identifiées avec *la Déesse Mère*, créatrice de l'Univers et génératrice de bien-être. Les vases anthropomorphes décrivent, peut-être le mieux possible, le geste protecteur de la matrone, raison en vertu de laquelle on peut admettre que cette attitude est d'autant plus représentative pour les cultes de la fertilité et de la fécondité (C.-L. Rădoescu, 2012; D. Boghian, 2012).

Les vases anthropomorphes modélisés en forme de corps humain dévoilent l'existence de certains canons stylistiques ayant des connotations spirituelles, des représentations de l'archétype féminin de *la Grande Déesse*, et quelle que soit la catégorie typologique à laquelle ils appartiennent, ils constituent un élément essentiel lors du déroulement des pratiques magiques-religieuses (C.-L. Rădoescu, 2011). D'une forme variable, les vases présentant des attributs humains ont un rôle bien défini lors des pratiques culturelles et connaissent une large utilisation due à leur fonction de récipient qu'ils expriment, même au cas des exemplaires d'exception. La représentation du visage humain, en particulier du visage de la Divinité, confère un caractère sacré au contenu des vases et ils assurent non seulement la protection des officiants mais aussi celle des participants au cérémonial. Compte tenu de leur dimension, on peut supposer que ces vases étaient utilisés au cadre des processions culturelles et aussi lors de la manipulation des graines (A. László, 1970; D. Monah, 1997). La possibilité de visualiser et de matérialiser le principal attribut de *Mater Genitrix* (l'autoprocréation, que la Divinité s'est assumée en tant de garant du monde préhistorique) sous la forme allégorique des vases en forme de corps humain, constitue une réalité de la vie spirituelle, manifestée par la permanente tendance de l'homme préhistorique d'expérimenter le sacré.

L'exécution de certains gestes (individuels/collectifs), la position des actants lors du

développement d'un cérémonial magique-religieux, la modalité "d'utiliser" le corps, compte tenu du rôle que celui-ci joue au cours de la manipulation rituelle des symboles, mettent en évidence le permanent effort de (ré)établir la liaison avec la Divinité, liaison que *homo religiosus* réalise en s'assumant un mode spécifique d'existence dans le monde (M. Eliade, 1995). Liées au mystère de la fécondité et de la fertilité, les danses exécutées à l'occasion de la mise d'offrandes sont immortalisées dans l'iconographie néo-énéolithique (S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, 1974) comme des supports anthropomorphiques de type danse en ronde, tel le cas de l'exemplaire découvert à Frumușica (Șt. Cucuș, 1973, fig. 22; Vl. Dumitrescu, 1979, fig. 170) (fig. 2/3) ou des silhouettes humaines identifiées à Ipotești (E. Comșa, 1995, fig. 105/5) ou à Trușești (A. Nițu, 1967, fig. 1). Au cadre de ces processions, les danseuses entrelacées dans la danse en ronde „aspirent à la suppression de toute dualité du monde temporel pour redécouvrir l'unité originarie” (J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbrant, 1994, I, p. 427), tandis que la communauté animée par cette frénésie participe pleinement au relancement de la vie agricole. Faute de données archéologiques certes, tout essai de reconstituer ces cérémonies paraît presque impossible, raison pour laquelle les futures recherches doivent aborder cette problématique d'une manière interdisciplinaire, conférant une objectivité plus claire aux interprétations.

On paraît que les vases anthropomorphes à double visages, d'origine anatolienne, signalés au cadre des cultures Vinča, Gumelnița (S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, B. Ionescu, 1967, pl. XI/1a-b; XX/3), étaient utilisés dans des buts d'initiation, compte tenu de leur ressemblance à Ianus Bifrons, le dieu de l'initiation dans les mystères romains, „Le Maître des temps”, celui qui ferme et ouvre le cycle (Vl. Dumitrescu, 1956). Sa signification liée aux fêtes occasionnées par les solstices d'été et d'hiver justifie totalement le rôle de „Maître des deux voies” d'accès (vers la droite et vers la gauche), vers le monde transcendantal et celui de l'enfer qu'il s'assume (R. Guénon, 1997). Marquant l'évolution du passé vers l'avenir, le passage d'un état à l'autre, les processions religieuses consacrées au gardien des portes solstitielles détermine certains types comportementaux qu'on peut saisir au niveau de toute la communauté, la manipulation rituelle des symboles (les vases à double visage) dans

certains moments-clé représente l'une des modalités d'"aborder" le sacré au niveau individuel et/ ou collectif.

Les représentations anthropomorphes appliquées sur la surface des vases, rencontrées pour la première fois au cadre du complexe culturel Sesklo-Starčevo-Criș, connaissent une large diffusion dans la céramique de Vinča, Gumelnița, Precucuteni, Cucuteni, leur thématique variant des silhouettes humaines en relief ou incisées jusqu'aux simples têtes schématiques. Le groupe statuaire de Hotărani (M. Nica, 1980, fig. 6/1) dénote un réalisme à part en ce qui concerne la manière de façonner la pièce et un considérable pouvoir de suggestion dans la transposition d'un thème cultuel, par laquelle le caractère sacré se manifeste au niveau de toute la communauté. *L'androgynie* divine met en évidence la capacité d'autoreproduction de *la Grande Mère*, la communion entre le principe masculin et le principe féminin (*coincidentia oppositorum*) et la tendance de l'homme primitif d'imiter l'archétype révélé par les mythes (M. Eliade, 1992). L'idée d'associer *la Grande Divinité* avec l'acolyte masculin, ainsi qu'elle paraît être présentée dans le vase-petit panier découvert à Crușovu (Vl. Dumitrescu, 1974, fig. 203), met en évidence une autre hypostase de *la Déesse Mère*, celle de *Potnia* des animaux domestiques, déterminée aussi par les mutations enregistrées dans la structure du système magique-religieux, en remplaçant les vieux rites de chasse par une série de cultes et de croyances agraires centrées sur la fécondité et la fertilité de *la femme-terre*.

Une silhouette humaine fortement schématique, les bras levés et les jambes pliées, apparaît incisée sur le vase en miniature découvert à Ciolănești de Deal, appartenant à la phase Gumelnița A2; la ligne médiane figure le sexe masculin hypertrophié, ce qui nous détermine d'admettre qu'il s'agit d'une représentation ithyphalque (Vl. Dumitrescu, 1974, fig. 251/4; R.-R. Andreescu, 1992, pl. 60/7) (fig. 2/4). De telles réalisations plastiques anthropomorphes, rencontrées aussi au cadre de l'art cucuténien, à Dumești, Trușești, Scânteia (D. Monah, 1997, fig. 242/3; 238/5; 243/3), prouve la perpétuation du même type d'image à „axe vertical” (A. Nițu, 1968) qui, dans certaines situations, pourrait figurer des scènes de couplage (*hieroi gamoi*) ou la position accroupie, d'accouchement, de „la Déesse Mère” (A. Nițu, 1967, fig. 1/1). La

tendance (d'origine orientale) de présenter des images humaines d'une manière extrêmement stylisée (A. Nițu, 1967, fig. 4/5) est visible aussi au cadre de la céramique à décoration anthropomorphe appartenant à certains groupes culturels centraux et est-européens (N. Kalicz, 1970), les détails iconographiques contribuant, dans une certaine mesure, à la reconstitution de l'univers spirituel néo-énéolithique. Les vases décorés de visages humains étaient utilisés lors des actes rituels à caractère apotropaïque, de protection et de prévention du mal qui pourrait menacer toute la communauté et contribuaient, en même temps, à la sacralisation des récipients et de leur contenu germinatif (N. Kalicz, J. Makkay, 1973).

Un élément qui contribue à une meilleure interprétation de la signification de la plastique anthropomorphe vise l'identification de l'aspect sexuel du personnage figuré par les statuettes ou les vases anthropomorphes. On connaît que la grande majorité des figurines anthropomorphes incarnent des personnages féminins (D. Monah, 1992) mais on rencontre aussi des pièces asexuées qui rendent d'autant plus laborieuse leur interprétation. Il est difficile d'expliquer pourquoi le sexe de certaines figurines est indiqué avec précision, tandis qu'au cas des autres il n'y a aucune spécification, l'explication dans ce cas pouvant être la représentation de l'humanité, en général, sans faire une distinction nette entre le masculin et le féminin.

L'association de *la Grande Divinité* avec le taureau céleste renforce le caractère sacré de la procréation, les deux entités du „couple anthropomorphe” représentant une autre manifestation du sacré au cadre des communautés préhistoriques. La divinité masculine apparaît régulièrement dans une position secondaire, de subordination envers le principe féminin, le nombre réduit de figurines et aussi les différences dimensionnelles en étant une preuve en ce sens. Le thème du „couple divin”, rencontré dans la plastique vinčienne de Rast (Vl. Dumitrescu, 1987-1988, fig. 90), dans le milieu artistique de la culture Vădăstra, à Crușovu, au cadre de la création anthropomorphe gumelnitienne (R. R. Andreescu, 2002, pl. IV) ou cucuténienne (N. Ursulescu, V. Bătaru, 1987; D. Monah, 1997, fig. 238/3, 5; 240/1; 241), ne suggère en aucun cas qu'il s'agirait d'un rapport d'infériorité mais, au contraire, d'une pleine harmonie, les deux personnages se complétant

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récioproquement dans une „coincidentia oppositorum”.

Il est extrêmement important de définir exactement le sexe des figurines puisque l'apparition des idoles masculines suppose, d'une part, la naissance d'une société différenciée où le rôle de l'homme devient prépondérant et, au plan spirituel, on impose un nouveau culte uranien (O. Höckmann, 1968), comme une conséquence de l'intensification des influences anatoliennes-égéennes et de leur perpétuation par l'intermédiaire des communautés vinçiennes (J. Mellaart, 1960; VI. Dumitrescu, 1970; N. Ursulescu, 2000). Même si le nombre des figurines et des statuettes masculines est réduit, leur présence au cadre de certaines cérémonies rituelles sous la forme de *phalloi* constitue encore une preuve de l'application du principe *pars pro toto*, conformément auquel la divinité masculine fait ressentir sa présence par un élément représentatif. L'apparition des cultes phalliques est une conséquence des transformations passées au niveau du subconscient collectif, déterminées par l'augmentation du rôle et de l'importance de l'élément masculin au niveau de la communauté (E. Neumann, 1974). Les *phalloi*, des symboles du pouvoir régénérateur, ont connu une large diffusion au cadre des cultures néo-énéolithiques du Nord et du Sud du Danube, tandis que leur association avec la divinité féminine consacrait la sacralité de la procréation (fig. 2/5).

La représentation de l'androgynie en illustrant tous les deux attributs sexuels (ou certaines caractéristiques secondaires attribuées au sexe opposé) sur la même statuette (D. Monah, 1997, fig. 39/1-6; 40/1-3; 41/1-4) ou de certains éléments de décoration, tels la ceinture ou la diagonale, au cas des représentations masculines (D. Monah, 1997, fig. 37/1; 38/5, 6) reflète la dualité de la divinité principale et souligne, une fois de plus, la capacité d'autoreproduction de *la Grande Mère*. Le fameux groupe statuaire "d'amoureux" de Gumelnița (R.- R. Andreescu, 2002, pl. V/12) ou le "couple" de Sultana (R. R. Andreescu, 2002, pl. IV) confirment l'existence, pendant le Néolithique, du culte de l'androgynie, ce qui implique l'idée de perfectionnement et „la permanente tendance de l'individu de s'approcher de cette plénitude par l'intermédiaire des rites ou des techniques mystiques de réintégration” (M. Eliade, 1995a, p. 101).

La présence „des couples divins” dans diverses hypostases est la conséquence de la

personnification des attributs d'une divinité primordiale, androgyne, dont le pouvoir créateur dévoile la totalité originaire où on retrouve, dans une parfaite harmonie, toutes les possibilités. L'utilisation des statuettes bisexuées lors des rites par lesquels on réactualise l'état d'androgynie donne la possibilité d'inverser, dans un moment donné de la procession, les comportements des participants et de se transposer dans un état qui a précédé leur situation particulière. Il s'agit d'une transcendance de sa propre condition et d'une réintégration dans la plénitude initiale, dans l'indifférencié primordial; par conséquent, périodiquement, le monde se (re)crée et le temps se régénère (M. Eliade, 1991; 1992; 1995a).

La détermination de „l'âge” des personnages, marquée par certains détails anatomiques, constitue un autre problème qui réclame une analyse détaillée et qui peut contribuer dans une certaine mesure à comprendre la signification de l'art néo-énéolithique. À côté des figurines présentant des formes proéminentes et une stéatopigie accentuée suggérant la présence de *la matrone* dans toute sa plénitude, il existe des représentations artistiques de certaines femmes âgées, *des ancêtres* (S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, 1974b, p. 74), tandis que la manière de modéliser les seins, petits et gracieux, suppose l'illustration de *la vierge nubile* (S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, 1977; 1977a; 1980); toutes ces hypostases de *la Grande Déesse* trouvent des analogies tant dans l'espace anatolien que dans la région des Balkans (J. Mellaart, 1967; 1970, I).

L'attitude où les figurines ont été modélisées dénote une variété de gestes rituels, déterminés, en particulier, par la position des bras, par la posture et même par la gestique. La grande majorité des représentations anthropomorphes sont des figurines de petites dimensions, les bras tendus latéralement, orientés en haut, le geste de l'ascension mettant mieux en valeur la signification des orantes. Cette attitude a une connotation rituelle qui s'amplifie au cas des figurines surmontées de vases, semblables aux orantes dont les bras sont tubulaires, raison qui exclue une éventuelle utilisation à l'occasion des travaux domestiques.

Par comparaison aux créations du Paléolithique supérieur qui indiquent plutôt des aspects liés à l'état de sexualité de la femme, l'art néo-énéolithique consacre la sacralité de la naissance et de la grossesse (V. Vhircă, M.-C. Văleanu, 2008). Utilisées comme accessoires

pendant certaines cérémonies de magie sympathique (J. G. Frazer, 1980, I; C. N. Mateescu, I. Voinescu, 1982, p. 47-48), les statuettes modélisées dans cette hypostase reflètent la qualité de la Grande Déesse de gardien des mystères de la fécondité et de la fertilité, ce qui explique aussi l'utilisation des syntagmes „Mère-Terre” (M. Eliade, 1992, p. 207) ou „Bonne Mère” (E. Neumann, 1974, p. 120; D. Monah, 1997, p. 92). Les différentes étapes de la maternité – l'abdomen légèrement bombé (fig. 3/2), l'écartement des jambes (fig. 3/1), la posture de l'accouchement imminent, la cavité abdominale avec des „embrions” - ont été surprises et transposées en fait grâce à un langage artistique dont la signification dévoile le plus important attribut de la divinité – “la Déesse Mère, créatrice de la vie” (Vl. Dumitrescu, 1987-1988, p. 47).

L'élément décoratif joue aussi un rôle considérable alors qu'il s'agit d'établir le thème cultuel; son absence ou sa présence peut imposer certains critères de classification des représentations plastiques (Y. Yakar, 2005). La décoration des figurines avec des motifs incisés ou la peinture en rouge de certaines parties suggère le tatouage et, quelle que soit la manière où elles sont réalisées, on observe la présence des mêmes motifs artistiques: des cercles concentriques dans la région des épaules, du dos mais aussi des autres parties du corps; des incisions en forme de „V” dans la région du cou; des spirales et des losanges dans la région de l'abdomen, le triangle incisé qui met toujours en évidence l'attribut sexuel féminin etc. La manière de disposer les éléments décoratifs en fonction du spécifique de la région anatomique révèle l'existence de certaines règles artistiques strictes, difficilement à déchiffrer pour le moment, qui envisagent les symboles des figures géométriques.

Au cas des représentations anthropomorphes où les incisions et les impressions étaient utilisées dans diverses combinaisons, l'effet artistique prouve l'intention des créateurs de transposer des pièces de vestimentation (I. Andrieșescu, 1938; D. V. Rosetti, 1938, pl. 11/2; E. Comșa, 1974; 1989; S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, A. Bolomey, 2000; R.-R. Andreescu, 2002)(fig. 3/5), des parures (E. Comșa, 1995) (fig.3/3) et des coiffures (E. Comșa, 1985; 1995; D. Monah, 1997; N. Ursulescu, 1999) (fig. 3/6); la présence des traces de peinture blanche, rouge ou noire confère une

certaine auréole symbolique aux artefacts (P. T. Vucović, 1972; S. Debois, M. Otte, 2005; S. Petru, 2006; L. N. Stutz, 2010). La vestimentation féminine est illustrée, en principal, par des robes avec des tailles serrées et des modèles „en cloche”, décorées de motifs rappelant des angles, des méandres, des losanges, des spirales etc. (fig. 3/5), par des écharpes portées autour du cou, décorées de cannelures ou de diagonales incisées et peintes (fig. 3/4). Même si la combinaison diagonale-ceinture apparaît aussi au cas des représentations féminines bisexuées (D. Monah, 1997, fig. 41/1-5; 103/5, 7; 116/10), elle est généralement considérée comme un attribut vestimentaire de la masculinité, étant associée à l'emblème du guerrier, personnage qui se différencie par son statut du reste des membres de la communauté. Bien que l'aspect chromatique et les motifs décoratifs différencient les représentations culturelles de celles communes, la précarité des moyens d'interprétation ne nous permet pas une analyse complexe de la vestimentation rituelle, étant donné que la divinité était douée d'une multitude de symboles qui ne portaient toujours la même signification mais qui étaient correctement interprétés par les officiants.

Les marquages corporels, utilisés lors des rites de passage, modifient temporairement ou même définitivement le statut social ou l'état naturel de l'individu et dévoilent aussi l'existence d'une suite de valeurs symboliques qui, une fois acquises, légitime son identité et son appartenance au groupe, sous tous les aspects (M. Coquet, 1997; D. Boghian, 2010). L'habitude des Néandertaliens de peindre leur corps lors de certaines processions magiques religieuses (F. Bordes, 1952; A. Leroi-Gourhan, 1964) a été attesté sur le territoire roumain au niveau du Moustérien de Peștera Cioarei Boroșteni (jud. Gorj), les récipients pour la préparation de l'ocre, les plus anciens du monde, constituant une preuve certaine de la pratique du tatouage corporel ou facial (M. Cărciumaru, 2000, fig. 57; 2006, fig. 21; M. Cărciumaru, M. Țuțianu-Cărciumaru, 2009).

Les représentations anthropomorphes de l'homme aurignacien, ainsi que celles de Hohle Fels (D. Boghian, 2010, fig. II/1a, 1b) ou Stratzing (M. Cărciumaru, M. Mărgărit, 2002, fig. 29/1) illustrent des préoccupations liées à l'utilisation des marquages intentionnés comme moyen d'affirmation de l'identité de genre, tandis

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que la figurine anthropozoomorphe (*Löwenmensch*) de Hohleinstein-Stadel (M. Cărciumaru, 2006; *** 2011) présente des lignes parallèles, gravées sur le bras gauche, des traces probables d'un tatouage exécuté à l'occasion de certaines cérémonies magiques-religieuses, symbolisant la solidarité mystique homme-animal. On signale aussi la même attitude symbolique au cadre de l'art gravétien, les représentations pariétales de bras de la grotte Gargas suggérant éventuelles amputations de doigts ou même de tout le bras au cadre de certaines opérations rituelles (M. Cărciumaru, 2006).

Dans l'Orient Proche et dans l'Anatolie, une fois „la révolution des symboles” produite, les marquages corporels vont connaître une diversification stylistique, toutes ces formes symboliques d'expression de l'identité collective ou individuelle trouvant une large diffusion au cadre de l'art néo-énéolithique (D. W. Bailey, 2005; D. Boghian, 2010, fig. III/ 1a-1c, 6, 7; fig. IV/1-14; 19, fig. V/1a-1b.). On a signalé de tels *marqueurs* culturels dans la région des Balkans et du Danube, à Sofia-Slatina (Karanovo I) (V. Nikolov, 2001; 2001a; S. Hansen, 2001), Durankulak (Hamangia III) (D. Boghian, 2010, fig. VI/2-5, 8-10), Vinča (D. Boghian, fig. V/4-14), ce qui met en évidence le caractère péren des pratiques de marquage corporel dû aux permanents contacts avec les populations voisines.

La diversification de la série des pratiques de marquage corporel (des perforations auriculaires, faciales, des déformations crâniennes etc.), rencontrées, avec prédominance, au cadre de la région gumelnitienne (D. Boghian, 2011), précucuténienne (S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, 1974b, fig. 83/2) et cucuténienne (Vl. Dumitrescu, 1974, fig. 219, 220, 221, 222, 227, 228; 1979, fig. 160, 161, 164, 165, 176; R. Maxim Alaiba, 1987, fig. 1; D. Monah, 1997; C. Bem, 2007, fig. 418/1-4; C.-M. Lazarovici, Gh. Lazarovici, S. Țurcanu, 2009; D. Boghian, 2011, fig. XI-XVII), atteste un changement de mentalité à l'égard du rôle que l'individu joue au cadre d'une société hiérarchisée, comme une conséquence du nouvel afflux de populations venues de la région de la Méditerranée orientale.

Au cadre de la catégorie des marquages définitifs, à côté de la déformation et de la mutilation intentionnée de certaines parties du corps, le tatouage a un rôle précis, bien défini lors

du processus de personnalisation de l'individu ou du groupe au prestige supérieur.

La problématique de la signification du tatouage transposé à l'aide des incisions a suscité un ample débat (Vl. Dumitrescu, H. Dumitrescu, M. Petrescu-Dîmbovița, N. Gostar, 1954; S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, 1974a; E. Comșa, 1994-1995; 1995; S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, A. Bolomey, 2000), mais l'idée d'aborder les représentations anatomiques cutanées et sous-cutanées du point de vue médical (H. Dumitrescu, 1973) n'est pas soutenable, faute de données qui justifient la motivation psychologique et culturelle de la pratique de ce type de marquage corporel. Compte tenu de la tendance permanente de l'homme préhistorique d'imiter le modèle divin, l'acte par lequel les femmes peignaient ou tatouaient certaines parties de leurs corps envisageait la répétition exemplaire d'un geste primordial, accompli en *illo tempore*, l'identification avec l'image archétypale de la Grande Déesse, celle qui détient les attributs de la fécondité et de la fertilité (M. Eliade, 1992).

Au Nord du Danube, des représentations anthropomorphes qui transposent le tatouage ont été identifiées à Zorlențu Mare (Vinča B1/B2) (G. Lazarovici, 1979, fig. 39), lors de la phase finale de la culture Boian (D. V. Rosetti, 1938, pl. 12/2; 14/3, 4, 5; 16/10; 17/1, 5, 8), au cadre de la culture Gumelnița (R.-R. Andreescu, 2002, pl. 8/1, 5; 19/3; 26/8; 30/1; 40/4; 42/1; 43/2; 46/1,2, 6; 48/5-9; 49/1, 5, 8) et indiquent des personnages féminins qui ont, habituellement, trois petits perforations dans la région du menton. L'analyse de la plastique gumelnitienne a prouvé que l'application du tatouage se réalisait seulement au cas des figurines féminines, le nombre des perforations étant variable, en fonction de l'âge de la personne. L'indication du tatouage au cas de certaines statuettes met en évidence sa valeur magique-religieuse; dans d'autres cas, l'absence du tatouage est liée à la croyance qu'à un certain âge, la pratique du tatouage n'a plus de sens puisqu'il a perdu sa signification (E. Comșa, 1995). La décoration marquée par des points renforcés, rencontrée sur les statuettes en argile et sur les statuettes plates en os gumelnitiennes (E. Comșa, 1995; R.-R. Andreescu, 2002; D. Boghian, 2011, fig. VII-X) est rencontrée aussi dans la plastique anthropomorphe salcutienne (C. Pătroi, 2008), comme une preuve des liaisons interrompues entre les porteurs des deux cultures, ci-inclus

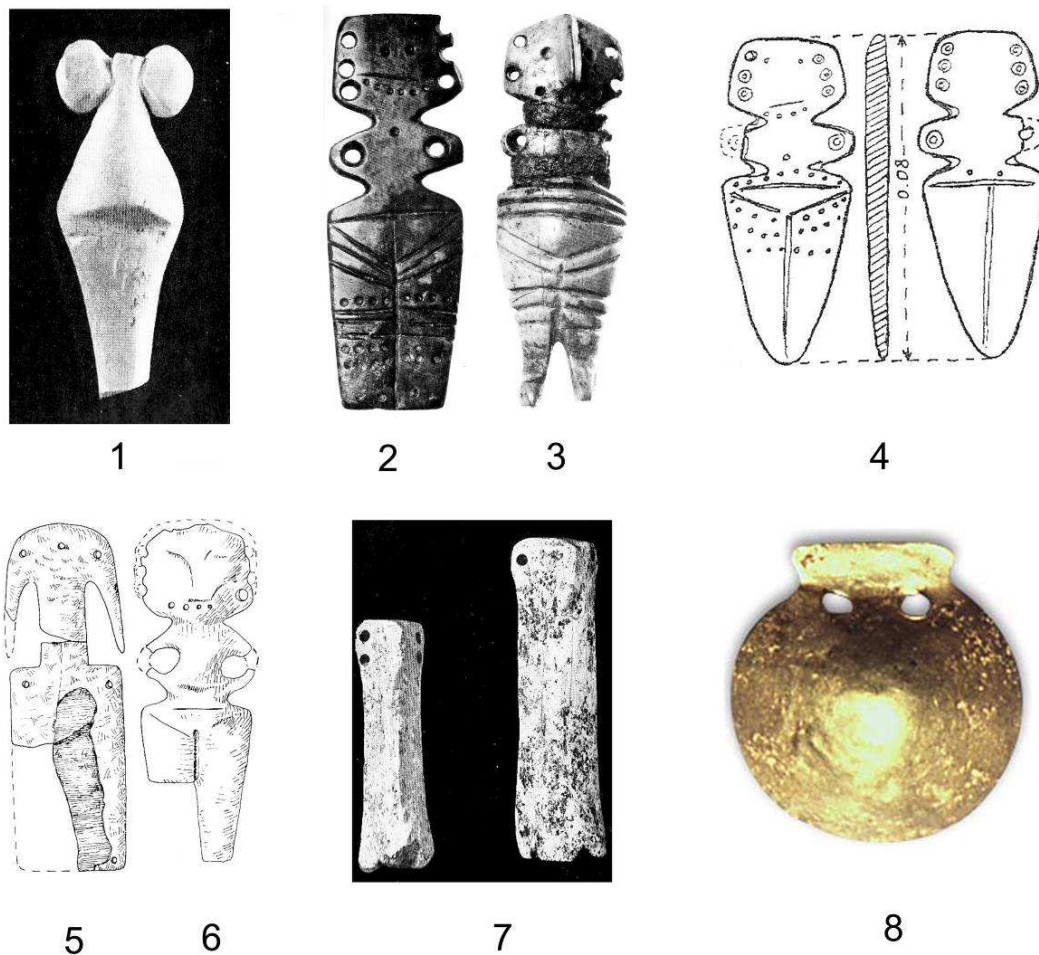


Fig. 1- Figurines en os, marbre et or. La culture Boian: 1- Cernica (d'après VI. Dumitrescu, 1974, fig. 200). La culture Gumelnița: 2, 3, 7 - Căscioarele(d'après VI. Dumitrescu, 1974, fig. 270, 271, 269); 5, 6 - Gumelnița (d'après VI. Dumitrescu, 1974 272/1, 2); 8-Vărăști (<http://www.culture.gouv.fr/fr/arnat/harsova/ro/dobro3.htm>). La culture Sălcuța. La phase Sălcuța I: 4- Sălcuța (d'après E. Comșa, 1995, fig. 62/1)

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Fig. 2- Représentations anthropomorphes diverses. La culture Lepenski Vir-Schela Cladovei: 1- Lepenski Vir (<http://virtuelnimuzejdunava.rs/>); 2- Cuina Turcului (<http://clasate.cimec.ro/detaliu.asp?k=9BB2B46569234434B2CE9649702741D3>). La culture Cucuteni: 3- Frumușica (<http://clasate.cimec.ro/detaliu.asp?k=9F02831C5B1C41A1BCEAE454D70FEF36>). La culture Gumelnița: 4- Ciolănești (d'après Vl. Dumitrescu, 1974, fig. 251/4). La culture Vădastra. La phase Vădastra III: 5- Hotărani(d'après I. R. Nichita, 2011, f. 25)



Fig. 3 - Figurines feminine et tête anthropomorphe. La culture Gumelnița: 1- Gumelnița (d'après I. R. Nichita, 2011, f. 128). La culture Vădastra: 2- Slatina (d'après I. R. Nichita, 2011, f. 38). La culture Cucuteni: 3, 4- La collection Istrati-Capșa, Drobeta Turnu-Severin (d'après I. R. Nichita, 2011, f. 39, 38). La culture Vădastra: 5- Fărcașele, Hotărani (d'après I. R. Nichita, 2011, f. 04). Cultura Sălcuța: 6- Sălcuța (d'après I. R. Nichita, 2011, f. 05)

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Fig. 4 - Objets anthropomorphisés. La culture Sălcuța-Gumelnița: 1- Drăgănești-Olt “Corboaica” (d’après I. R. Nichita, 2011, f. 13). La culture Gumelnița: 2- Corboaica (d’après I. R. Nichita, 2011, f. 11); 4- Căscioarele (d’après R.-R. Andreescu, 2002, pl. 39/1, 1a). La culture Vinča: 3- Strehareț (d’après I. R. Nichita, 2011, f. 79)

dans le domaine magique-religieux. En analysant la problématique des motifs tatoués, M. Vulcănescu attirait l'attention sur les différences saisies en fonction du sexe: „le tatouage masculin était héraldique et hiératique, tandis que le tatouage féminin était sexuel et artistique. Au cas des hommes, le tatouage encadrait le symbole totémique, tandis qu'au cas des femmes, il revêtait certaines parties du corps qui étaient tabous, qui devaient être cachées à la vue des hommes” (M. Vulcănescu, 1987, p. 94-95).

Considérées comme des pièces obligatoires du „paquet néolithique” (H. Schwarzberg, 2005), les petits autels de culte sont signalés au parcours de l'espace des Balkans et du Danube dès le début du Néolithique (D. Srejović, 1969; H. Todorova, I. Vajsov, 1993, S. Karmanski, 1990; Z. Maxim, 2000; Jacobbsson, A. Boroneanț, 2010). Leur présence dans les milieux culturels du Nord du Danube (M. Nica, 1976, fig. 8/1,2, 4, 5; M. Neagu, 2003, pl. LXXVI/1; G. Lazarovici, 2006, fig. 36b; C.-M. Mantu, A. Mantu, I. Scorțeanu, 1992, fig. 19/1; S.-A. Luca, 1995, fig. 3; M. M.- Ciută, 2005; R.-R. Andreescu, P. Mirea, 2008, fig. 11; P. Mirea, 2011), même dans ceux de l'Europe centrale (J. Pavuk, 1980; I. Pavlu, V. Vokelek, 1992; E. Bánffy, 1997, fig. 9), la terminologie utilisée pour désigner la diversité typologique et la fonctionnalité qui leur étaient attribuées, ont constitué les sujets d'amples débats dans la littérature de spécialité.

Les dénominations de *petits autels* (M. Nica, 1976, p. 452-453; G. Lazarovici, 1979, p. 34), *petites tables de culte* (M. Nica, 1994, p. 14), *petites tables-autels* (J. Chapman, 2000, p. 82), *prismatic polypod vessels* (H. Schwarzberg, 2003) etc. étaient utilisées au cadre des activités ordinaires – le brûlage des graisses, la maintenance du feu, l'illumination des chambres des habitations abritant des enfants et des malades (G. Lazarovici, Z. Maxim, 1995; Z. Maxim, 1999) et aussi au cadre des activités culturelles, en vue de consacrer certains liquides, comme symboles gardants du feu, de la lumière et de la chaleur (G. Lazarovici, 2001). En tant que reproduction du Palais céleste et englobant la symbolique du centre du monde (J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbrant, 1994, I), l'autel devient le point de sacralité maximale, vers lequel convergent les gestes liturgiques, en dévoilant, en même temps, l'existence d'un comportement rituel, mené pour accomplir le sacrifice et pour assurer la normalité de l'acte primordial, réalisé en *illo tempore* par

un être divin.

La célébration de certains moments-clé de la vie des communautés néo-énéolithiques supposait l'existence obligatoire d'un espace spécialement aménagé pour développer de telles activités qui, au fil du temps, vont devenir un véritable *axis mundi*. Organisé selon les principes de l'architecture divine, le sanctuaire (l'autel) représentait soit une partie spéciale d'un lieu de culte monumental (un temple), soit une construction à part, conçue pour officier le culte d'une divinité (G. Lazarovici, C.-M. Lazarovici, 2006). On a identifié de tels édifices monumentaux dès le Néolithique précéramique (PPN), en Anatolie, à Çatal Höyük, Nevalı Çori, Çayönü, Göbekli Tepe etc. (J. Mellaart, 1967; 1975; H. Hauptmann, 1993; H. Hauptmann, K. Schmidt, 2000; M. Özdoğan, 2001; K. Smith, 2001; C.-M. Lazarovici, G. Lazarovici); ils marquaient la cristallisation des nouvelles conceptions magiques-religieuses qui utilisaient les vieux symboles et les incorporaient dans d'autres formes de représentation du monde, définissant le rôle et le lieu des diverses divinités.

Des préoccupations envers „la gestion” des lieux chargés de sacralité sont visibles au cas des découvertes de Lepenski Vir (D. Srejović, 1969), Cuina Turcului (P. Jacobbsson, A. Boroneanț, 2010), Gura Baciului (G. Lazarovici, Z. Maxim, 1995, fig. 33), ce qui prouve que l'emplacement des sanctuaires n'était pas établi au hasard mais seulement dans un espace consacré où une série de signes et de symboles à destination précise conféraient des attributs culturels au point autour duquel on fixait l'emplacement de l'habitat. Au Nord du Danube, les constructions de type sanctuaire ont été signalées après l'apparition des influences de type vinçien (N. Ursulescu, F. A. Tencariu, 2006), l'édifice de Parța (G. Lazarovici, F. Drașovean, Z. Maxim, 2001) étant le plus vieux; cette fois, le symbole est représenté par un groupe statuaire, tandis que les structures des alentours – des tables, des vases pour l'offrande, des cheminées, des banquettes, des moulins, des colonnes etc. – acquièrent des caractéristiques culturelles dues au contact avec *le sacré*.

Compte tenu de leur destination communautaire ou domestique, il est presque impossible de tracer une délimitation nette entre les sanctuaires, les temples ou les autels, mais on peut avancer certaines hypothèses liées à la fonctionnalité et à la signification des éléments

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d'architecture, ayant en vue leur association avec les objets de culte. L'entrée dans les temples, les cheminées utilisées pour brûler et déposer des offrandes, le four, l'étoile, les colonnes, les statues monumentales dévoilent l'existence d'un système de représentations symboliques, largement répandu dans le monde néo-énéolithique. Identifiées pour la première fois dans le milieu Sesklo et Starčevo (M. Gimbutas, 1980), les maquettes de sanctuaires tels de Căscioarele (H. Dumitrescu, 1968; 1973a), Oltenița-„Măgura” (D. Șerbănescu, 1997; G. Lazarovici, C.-M. Lazarovici, 2010, fig. 11/1) ou ceux appartenant aux cultures Précucuteni et Cucuteni (M. Petrescu-Dîmbovița, M. Florescu, A. C. Florescu, 1999; C.-M. Lazarovici, 2004; N. Ursulescu, D. Boghian, V. Cotiugă, 2003; N. Ursulescu, F. A. Tencariu, 2006; G. Lazarovici, C.-M. Lazarovici, 2008), à côté des petits autels identifiés à Cârcea (M. Nica, 2000, fig. 8/1; 1991, fig. 8/13, 14, 15), Ostrovu-Golu (G. Lazarovici, 1979, pl. X/B 21, 22, 28-31), Copăcelu (C. A. Tulugea, 2008, foto 10), Gălățui-„Movila Berzei”, Lunca-„La Grădini”, Grădiștea Coslogeni (M. Neagu, 2003, pl. LXXIII.), Măgura „Buduiasca” (P. Mirea, 2011, fig. 3-9), Olteni (D. L. Buzea, A. Mateș 2008, pl. II-VI), Ocna Sibiului etc. montrent l'existence des manifestations culturelles liées aux croyances et aux pratiques magiques-religieuses spécifiques aux communautés néo-énéolithiques.

La décoration de cette catégorie plastique de signes et de symboles sacrés lui confère un rôle bien défini au cadre des rites liés à la fertilité et à la fécondité de *la Grande Déesse*. La diversité typologique des représentations en miniature - des maquettes d'autels, des temples, la maison divine, le four divin, la tour divine ou mythique - permet d'identifier le symbolisme cosmique attribué à l'habitation-temple et surtout à ses éléments composants. La construction des édifices de culte était précédée de rites de fondation, accomplis en déposant des vases et des idoles dans les fondations (G. Lazarovici, F. Drașovean, Z. Maxim, 2001; S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, Al. Bolomey, 2000); l'entrée dans le temple était marquée par une série d'éléments d'architecture, tels des encadrements, des colonnes, des idoles etc. (G. Lazarovici, C.-M. Lazarovici, 2006, fig. 18a, 18b; C.-M. Lazarovici, 2004, fig. 55/1-2). Excepté leur rôle utilitaire, les foyers avaient aussi une fonction culturelle (A. Kovács, 2010), générée par la sacralité du feu (J. Chevalier, A.

Gheerbrant, 1995, II; G. Durand, 2000; G. Bachelard, 1989), étant considérées comme l'univers de la famille ou le centre de la communauté autour de laquelle les participants légitimaient leur dominance sur un territoire. La présence d'une telle structure à Parța (G. Lazarovici, F. Drașovean, Z. Maxim, 2001, fig. 165-168), Gălățui-„Movila Berzei” (M. Neagu, 2000), Pianul de Jos (I. Paul, 1992, pl. LII/2-3), Trușești, Isaiia (N. Ursulescu, F. A. Tencariu, 2004), Târgu-Frumos (N. Ursulescu, D. Boghian, V. Cotiugă, 1999), Véstő Mágó (K. Hegedüs, J. Makkay, 1987) etc., ainsi que les maquettes de sanctuaires de Popudnja (C.-M. Lazarovici, 2004, fig. 13, 14), Šušková (C.-M. Lazarovici, 2004, fig. 20) ou Ovčarovo (H. Todorova, 1976, fig. 89) constituent encore une preuve à l'égard du rôle que les foyers jouaient lors des cérémonies culturelles, celui de gardiens du feu et sources de lumière mais aussi de lieu où on déposait et on brûlait les offrandes en l'honneur des divinités qui assuraient la régénération de la nature. Leur placement au-dessus de fosses contenant des pièces de culte y déposées avec intention, était destiné à assurer, en officiant une pratique de consécration, la liaison symbolique, comme hiérogamie, entre le monde chtonien et le monde céleste. Le four, le véritable creuset où on accomplit l'union des éléments et on prépare la renaissance de la matière, est obligatoire au cadre des aménagements culturels, tandis que la présence à sa proximité des vases, moulins, banquettes et surtout de certaines représentations anthropomorphes ont une explication religieuse certaine, puisque toute la récoustite était sacralisée par contamination dans cet espace spécialement consacré à ce type d'activités. L'hypothèse de l'utilisation des statuettes et des autres objets lors des cérémonies était soutenue non seulement par les observations enregistrées à l'occasion des fouilles réalisées mais aussi par la scène de culte de Ovčarovo et le mobilier des maquettes-sanctuaire de Popudnja, Šušková, Ghelăiești (Șt. Cucuș, 1993) qui permettent de reconstituer l'intérieur des sanctuaires. Il est presque impossible encore de se prononcer sur leur utilisation mais leur apparition marque le début d'un processus de discrimination entre les édifices de culte et les édifices profanes.

Compte tenu que le sanctuaire désigne un lieu consacré, destiné aux mystères divins, les modalités d'organiser cet espace devraient tenir compte des aspects magiques que les symboles

numériques révèlent. De l'analyse des différentes situations où on constate la répétabilité de certains éléments d'architecture liés au nombre "sept" – les sept piliers signalés dans les sanctuaires de Căscioarele (Vl. Dumitrescu, 1970a; 1986) et Kormadin (B. Jovanović, 1991, ABB. 1) qui apparaissent aussi au cas du mégaron de Vinča (G. Lazarovici, F. Drașovean, Z. Maxim, 2001, fig. 242); les triangles et les spirales identifiés au cadre du complexe de Căscioarele (la culture Boian), dont le nombre rappelle le chiffre 7, on pourrait avancer l'hypothèse de l'existence d'une mystique des nombres, utilisée lors des cérémonies cultuelles. Le même chiffre, illustré par les fenêtres de la maquette du sanctuaire de Căscioarele (la culture Gumelnița) (H. Dumitrescu, 1973a), par les orifices du sanctuaire de Parța (G. Lazarovici, F. Drașovean, Z. Maxim, fig. 250), par les banquettes du sanctuaire de Gălățui-"Movila Berzei" (M. Neagu, 2000) ou par les déesses, les trônes et les *phalloi* signalés dans le milieu culturel cucuténien (N. Ursulescu, 2001) ou gumelnitien (fig. 4/1, 2) représente le témoignage d'une conception magique ancienne sur le fondement de laquelle on peut comprendre l'association du chiffre sept aux piliers soutenant la voûte céleste, aux étapes du perfectionnement, aux sphères planétaires, aux portes de l'éden qui s'ouvrent à la mère des sept filles ou aux aigles du sanctuaire de Çatal Hüyük (J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbrant, 1995, III; G. Lazarovici, 2001a).

En partant de sa qualité d'exprimer la totalité, englobant la trinité et l'universalité des choses (le ciel et la terre, le spirituel et le concret), le chiffre sept devient l'emblème de la vie éternelle, du renouvellement cyclique, aspect pris en considération à l'occasion des aménagements des espaces de culte où l'individu allait vénérer l'incarnation symbolique de la Divinité. Les vingt et une statuettes découvertes au cadre des complexes précucuténiens de Poduri et Isaiia reflètent la sagesse divine, présente dans les plus diverses hypostases (N. Ursulescu, F.-A. Tencariu, 2006). En tant que résultat de la multiplication de 7 à 3, le chiffre 21 devient le symbole de la perfection par excellence et l'image de „l'effort dynamique de l'individualité qui naît de la lutte des contraires et embrasse la voie toujours nouvelle des cycles évolutifs" (J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbrant, 1994, I, p. 459).

La présence des moulins à l'intérieur des sanctuaires (N. Vlassa, 1976, fig. 52, 13/3; I. Tome XV, Numéro1, 2013

Paul, 1992, pl. LII/2-3; J. Makkay, 1971; Vl. Dumitrescu, 1970a), les scènes cultuelles illustrées par les maquettes de Popudnja et Šušková, où les femmes sont surprises en moulant, sont autant de preuves de la pratique d'un rituel par l'imitation d'un geste primordial dont la finalité était la prospérité de la famille et de la communauté. L'opération sacrée de moudre (G. Lazarovici, 2003), à côté de l'habitude de mêler les caryopses dans la pâte des représentations anthropomorphes illustrent l'existence de certains rites et croyances agraires, consacrés à la *Grande Déesse*, tandis que la présence des vases destinés à déposer les graines et surtout les crânes dans un endroit spécial, à destination culturelle, ainsi qu'ils apparaissent à Çatal Höyük, Kormadin, Véstő Mágor, Parța, Isaiia etc., reflètent la complémentarité des principes élémentaires qui reposent au fondement de la régénération de la nature entière. Les vases anthropomorphes et ceux aux attributs anthropomorphes, utilisés lors des processions religieuses, étaient des images de la *divinité-terre* qui, douée d'attributs créatifs, assurait „le pouvoir" de la récolte et la perpétuation des troupeaux.

L'association de l'élément masculin à la *Grande Mère*, dont dépend la fécondité universelle, constitue le fondement des religions préhistoriques, la fonction génésique-agraire du dieu taumorphe devenant essentielle pour le maintien de l'ordre biologique, même si son rôle dans la distribution de la Vie était secondaire. Une fois l'agriculture apparue, les divinités célestes modifient leur statut, en renonçant à la toute puissance qu'elles avaient initialement et devenant des fécondants et des procréateurs, accompagnés et dominés parfois de la *Grande Déesse*.

Le taureau et le foudre, des symboles des divinités atmosphériques, évoquent le mâle impétueux, tandis que le mugissement, assimilé à la tonnerre, apparaît comme une épiphanie de la force fécondante, du dieu génésique-atmosphérique (M. Eliade, 1992; J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbrant, 1995, III). L'ensemble ciel-foudre-fécondité dévoile une symbolique complexe et variée, associée au taureau, l'entrelacement des attributs et des fonctions célestes avec ceux terrestres étant lié aux rites primaires de la fécondité et de la fertilité.

À Çatal Höyük, le taureau apparaît dans une posture de subordination envers la déesse, mais

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grâce à sa constitution immense, il détient la position d'un deuxième être suprême, suggérant la manifestation d'une hiérogamie incipiente; il est probable qu'elle ait constitué la base des rites de bestialité rencontrés au cadre des grandes civilisations de l'antiquité (J. Cauvin, 1994). Les bucrânes, les colonnes qui finissent par des têtes de taureaux, les ensembles monumentaux illustrent, d'une forme symbolique, l'idée de la substitution de la virilité humaine par celle animalière, tandis que la préférence pour la représentation du taureau dans la plastique néo-énéolithique peut être expliquée par l'existence des canons religieux qui imposaient une certaine image du sacré.

Des édifices imposants sont consacrés au taureau, on érige des colonnes en son honneur, surmontées de son effigie comme symbole de la divinité qui médie entre le Ciel et la Terre (M. Eliade, 1995). À Parța, les deux colonnes situées devant la statue monumentale ont été ornées de symboles spéciaux – le Soleil et la Lune – dont l'opposition recouvre la dualité masculin-féminin, tandis que l'apparition des yeux peut indiquer le rôle de la divinité protectrice/destructive lors du déroulement des pratiques magiques-religieuses (G. Lazarovici, 2001). En même temps, compte tenu de la correspondance Soleil – l'œil droit-avenir, Lune-l'œil gauche-passé et de la transition de la perception distinctive à celle unificatrice par l'intermédiaire de certains rites d'initiation, on ouvre la voie vers la connaissance de la véritable source de la Vie et de la Lumière.

Considéré comme un animal de la Lune, le taureau est associé à l'astre nocturne qui influence la vie des gens, tandis que la présence des cornes à la proximité de *la Grande Déesse* met l'accent sur la complémentarité des attributs primaires du couple divin. Le placement des cornes dans les habitations ou dans les sanctuaires met l'accent encore une fois sur la sacralité de ces espaces, compte tenu de la dimension ambivalente du symbolisme afférent qui exprime le pouvoir, l'élévation mais aussi leur aspect maléfique, destructif (R. Guéron, 1997). Considérées comme des symboles de la masculinité et du prestige, les cornes de consécration sont signalées dans le milieu vinčien, à Parța (G. Lazarovici, 1989), dans la culture Gumelnița (Vl. Dumitrescu, 1925, fig. 75; R. R. Andreescu, P. Mirea, Șt. Apope, 2003, fig. 12/9, 11; I. Torcică, 2012, pl. I-III), dans les

complexes précucuténiens de Poduri-Dealul Ghindaru, Iisaia ou dans le complexe cucuténien de Ghelăiești (D. Monah, 1997). Les maquettes des sanctuaires de Căscioarele ou Trușești utilisent les cornes comme éléments décoratifs, leur rôle étant justement celui de consacrer les objets et les alentours. Leur forme et leur fonction rituelle permettent des associations avec la couronne, signe du pouvoir, ou avec la double hache (*labrys*), symbole du foudre et emblème du dieu de l'orage, son bord symbolisant la coexistence des principes complémentaires (M. Eliade, 1992). Largement diffusées dans l'iconographie minoïque, les cornes de consécration représentent l'image d'une divinité solaire qui veille à la régénération de la nature entière (E. Banou, 2008), raison pour laquelle les cornes de l'abondance, fréquemment rencontrées dans la tradition gréco-romaine, trouvent leurs origines dans les multiples significations accordées au taureau et à ses substituts.

Considérées non seulement comme des symboles mais aussi comme des instruments culturels, utilisés lors des processions magiques-religieuses liées à la fécondité et à la fertilité, les cornes de consécration, semblables au croissant de lune, deviennent des signes du changement et du retour des formes de l'astre nocturne (J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbrant, 1994, I). Inclues dans le régime diurne des représentations, comme symbole terriomorphe, le taureau, pareil au cheval, présente des attributs chthoniens, aquatiques et astraux, surgissant de l'écoulement du temps, des changements météorologiques et de l'angoisse produite par toute sorte de changements (G. Durand, 2000).

Les représentations humaines placées entre les cornes de consécration (Vl. Dumitrescu, 1977; I. Torcică, 2012, pl. V/2) (fig. 4/4), largement répandues en Anatolie et en Crète (P. Lévêque, 1985), évoque les amours taurins de *la Grande Déesse* qui répondent aux besoins d'union avec *l'interdit* (R. Solier, 1978). Les tentatives de reconstituer l'hiérogamie sacrée mettent en évidence l'existence d'un cadre rituel officiel, institutionnalisé et d'une hiérarchie sacerdotale bien structurée, mais aussi de certains rites secrets, d'initiation, qui ne vénèrent le Taureau en soi mais „l'épiphanie du dieu masculin”, son adoration n'étant qu'un aspect du culte de la fécondité et de la fertilité. Grâce à leur forme et aux associations symboliques, les représentations de bovidées, en particulier les

bucrânes et les cornes, possèdent non seulement des valences fertilisatrices mais aussi des traits apotropaiques, compte tenu des placements de tels substituents de la masculinité dans les sanctuaires et les habitations (fig. 4/3). La fragmentation des cornes, dès les vieux temps, représente une preuve de la pratique des rites dont l'effet se reflète sur les membres de la communauté et aussi sur les troupeaux et les récoltes; à côté des cultes officiels, les cultes „domestiques” contribuent à l'humanisation de l'inconnu sacré de la divinité masculine.

Intégrée dans un système d'idées et de croyances religieuses et articulée autour de symboles qui étaient vénérés de toute la communauté, la vie spirituelle des communautés préhistoriques paraît être un mélange de pratiques culturelles, destinées à (ré)actualiser certains événements mythiques et le désir de déchiffrer la signification de ces gestes rituels représente l'une des plus difficiles missions des futures recherches interdisciplinaires.

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About the Sălcuța Eneolithic culture

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Summary: *About the Sălcuța Eneolithic culture.* The name of the Sălcuța eneolithic communities comes from the eponymous settlement in Dolj County. The area in which it spreads comprises Oltenia, eastern Banat, north-western Bulgaria, north-eastern Serbia, similar communities also being found in Macedonia and Albania. Sălcuța culture is part of a big Eneolithic complex, along with the Krivodol (Bulgaria) and Bubanj (Serbia) groups. The best analogies for material culture elements can be found in Gumelnița culture, phase B1. Anthropomorphic plastics are well represented, along with copper tools. Sălcuța communities' evolution spans over a three phases period, their ending being determined at the level of Herculane II-III – Sălcuța IV cultures.

Key words: Sălcuța culture, Eneolithic, material culture, copper tools, anthropomorphic plastics.

Introduction

Because all stories start with "once upon a time...", our little story has a starting point that begun with a child's play in a village in Oltenia, in the first quarter of the 20th century: „I was going aimlessly, during a holiday, on plains, valleys and hills, along with cousin Marinică, until, thirsty because of all the running after antiques, we got to a stream filled with frogs, at the foot of Piscul Cornișorului”. Looking carefully at the stream, restless treasure hunters dug a hole as big as they get, and instead of "nine bags of gold coins, berried by outlaws, at the end of the gutter"-as the legend says-, they dug up lots and lots of thick pot fragments, “the kind the professor urged us to bring him”. Very happy with their find, they continued their expedition, rushing all the way up on the peak. Here, in the fresh furrows of spring ploughing, they found "a bedstone filled with ashes and potsherd" (A. Nicolae, 1996).

Our hero is none other than the great savant C. S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor, who was a path opener throughout his entire activity in prehistoric research.

In 1916, I. Andrieșescu started systematic digging at Sălcuța, digging that were abandoned and recommenced in 1919 and 1920 (fig. 1). Unfortunately, the results of this research are only partially known as the manuscript of this monography has been lost. Under German occupation, in 1917, the German archaeologist C. Schuchardt dug at Sălcuța. The items were taken to Berlin and the results were never published (D. Berciu, 1961 b).

In 1921, I. Andrieșescu published in his work «*From Oltenia's Prehistory*» a part of the digging results, later adding two tables of Sălcuța type items in his study «*Des survivances paleolithiques dans le milieu neolithique de la Dacia*» (I. Andrieșescu, 1929). The stratigraphy revealed by the research from "Piscul Cornișorului" from Sălcuța, disclosed archaeological levels belonging to the cultures: Starčevo-Criș, Sălcuța I-III, Sălcuța IV, sporadic traces of Coțofeni, Glina III, Gârla Mare, Hallstatt and feudal remains (D. Berciu, 1961 b). Obviously, along a century of research, the approaches were different, the researchers who turned their attention towards these remains

referencing to the knowledge of their time and the extremely low repertoire of similar discoveries. A detailed presentation of the subject's historiography can be found in my study „*Repere cronologice privind cercetarea culturii Sălcuța*” (*Chronological landmarks regarding the research of Sălcuța culture*) (C. N. Pătroi, 2009 b).



Fig. 1 - Settlement on Sălcuța, Dolj County (after S. Marinescu-Bâlcu, R. R. Andreescu, 2005).

Four milestones in getting to know these pre-historical communities from Oltenia must be mentioned:

First milestone - D. Berciu publishes in 1939 “*Arheologia preistorică a Olteniei*” (*Oltenia's Prehistoric Archaeology*). It is presented as a first repertoire of settlements and discoveries attributed to the Sălcuța culture in: Hinova, Cloșani, Salcia, Vela, Cornu, Maglavit, Terpezița, Coțofeni, Corabia, Frăsinet de Pădure, Orlea, Celei, Severin “Castrul Drobeta” and the west of the city.

Fact – As a statement, D. Berciu (1939) said: “*the Sălcuța settlement's name is linked to the beginning of our systematic archaeological movement, not only in Oltenia, but also across the country*”

Second milestone – The detailed presentation by D. Berciu, in 1961 in the volume “*Contribuții la problemele neoliticului în România în lumina noilor cercetări*” (*Contributions to the neolithic's problems in Romania, in light of new researches*) of the results of systematic researches from the campaigns of 1950-1951. The periodization of the Sălcuța culture evolution is postulated, during four fazes – Sălcuța I, Sălcuța II (with the subdivisions II a, II b and II c), Sălcuța III and Sălcuța IV and synchronism with cultural phenomenons from neighbouring geographical

areas are made (the relation with the Gumelnița Eneolithic culture and the appartenance of the Sălcuța culture to a greater Eneolithic cultural complex along with south Danube groups Bubanj–north– eastern Serbia and Krivodol–north-western Bulgaria) (fig. 2).

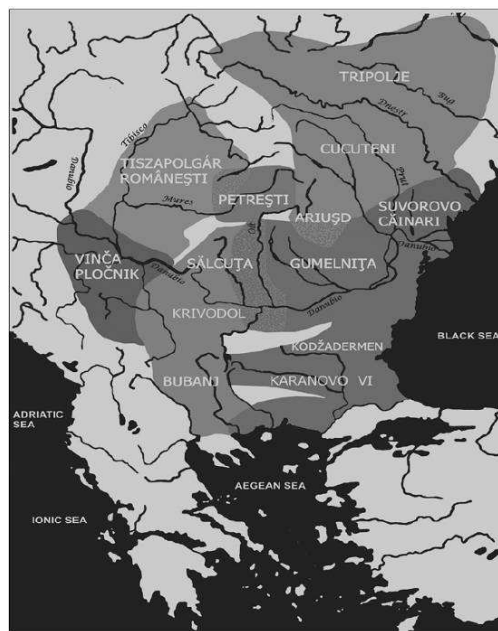


Fig. 2 - Eneolithic cultures distribution map from Southeastern Europe (after Lazarovici *et al.* 2009).

Fact

1. Items characteristic to Sălcuța culture, discovered through research campaigns are similar in shape and design with the discoveries from the Gumelnița culture, but the author puts this on account of imports and not on a evolution of a common cultural base. To strengthen this point of view (D. Berciu, 1961 a) makes parallels at a relative chronological level that the evolutionary phases of the Sălcuța culture are synchronised with those of the Gumelnița culture.

2. The evolutionary phase Sălcuța IV is seen as the last evolutionary stage of the Sălcuța culture; although the discovered items (ceramics with handles, milk pots, the vessel with “draining tube”; the impressions, the motif of the spiral) show that this is a new cultural phenomenon.

Following the researches at Băile Herculane “Peștera Hoților” which revealed this cultural delimitation more clearly, P. Roman (1971) postulated at a relative chronology level, in the

study “*Strukturänderungen des Endeneolithikums im Donau-Karpaten Raum*”, the new realities, which are subsequently supported by similar discoveries in Bistreț, Valea Anilor, Slatina-Timiș etc. and which are attributed to a more recent cultural horizon named Sălcuța IV-Herculane II-III (I. Sălceanu, 2008).

3. Based on stratigraphic observations from Reșca (Olt County) from a tell with defense ditch and vallum attributed to the Sălcuța culture, where a Jaszladany copper ax was found in a Sălcuța III level, corroborated with the presence of Cernavodă I elements in the classical Sălcuța settlements, the absence of Jaszladany axes from Gumelnița settlements and the discovery of a great number of axes in the Sălcuța culture area, the appearance of Brătești type complexes, the discovery of a Bodrogkeresztur graveyard over a Sălcuța settlement, the chronological gap between the Sălcuța and Gumelnița culture can be observed (P. Roman, 1978) and that is: the classical phases of the Sălcuța culture are subsequent to the Gumelnița cultural evolution.

Third milestone – The rescue researches from the eneolithic graveyard from Ostrovul Corbului, Mehedinți County (P. Roman, 1996; P. Roman, A. D. Oprițescu, 1989; 1998) and from the settlement Sălcuța (M. Șimon, 1989). Diggings were grouped in two sectors: A and B. The main sector was named A and it was found on “Botul Cliucului” between km. Flv. 910,880 and km. flv. 911,018. This was explored through 20 sections made on the beach at km. Flv. 911 where 64 inhumation graves were found: three-Schela Cladovei, five-Criș culture, 53 Eneolithic and three-Hallstatt. In 1984, the graveyard was destroyed by the Danube and covered by the reservoir of the Porțile de Fier II hydro power plant.

Fact

1. The cemetery is reflecting the contacts with ethno-cultural groups which have met in south-western Romania; the synthesis resulted from their interconnection had as a base the Sălcuța cultural background. The following Eneolithic cultures: Sălcuța, Cernavoda I and Bodrogkeresztur, reached at this moment of their evolution the transition stage towards Sălcuța IV–Herculane II-III.

2. The three layers of the Sălcuța habitation from the settlement form two distinct stages.

The first two layers form a first stage and the third one a second stage, strongly linked with the first. The best analogies for the artefacts discovered are in the Sălcuța III phase from “Piscul Cornișorului”. So, we have:

-Sălcuța III a – layer corresponding to the third phase from Sălcuța (characterised through smashed shells).

- Sălcuța III b – represented by the first and the second layers from Ostrovul Corbului (smashed shells and the appearance of the alveolated decoration).

- Sălcuța III c – represented by the third layer from Ostrovul Corbului (increases the temper with shells, the impressed decoration is generalizing).

There is postulated the chronological parallelism between Sălcuța III a – III c - Cernavoda I - Brătești.

Fourth milestone – Sistematic research at the Eneolithic site of Drăgănești-Olt “Corboaica” (M. Nica, 1990; M. Butoi, T. Zorzolui, 1992; M. Nica, 1994; M. Nica et al., 1995; M. Nica, C. Fântâneau, 2000; A. Grosu, 2004; G. El Susi, 2006). The tell settlement is surrounded by a wall and a ditch and has a cultural layer 2.85 m thick in the center of the settlement and 2 m thick behind the wall. The height of the wall is 1.30 m.

Fact – Based on the stratigraphic relations from the sections III and IV and taking into account the groups of floors from surface houses, the Eneolithic layer from this tell was formed during three phases.

-the first phase: Gumelnița A 2 (- 2,90 and – 2 m).

- the second phase: Gumelnița B1 (- 2 and – 1m). At this moment appear the first Sălcuța elements together with type C pottery.

- the third phase: the upper layer with a thickness of 0.80 m. There are features from the last phase of the Sălcuța culture.

New elements which permitted the resuming of the debates about the Sălcuța culture:

-Adriana Radu (2002) published her Ph.D thesis, “*The Sălcuța culture in the Banat*” referring to the research, interpretation and valuation of the artefacts from settlements belonging to the phases II b, IIc and III of the Sălcuța culture from the Banat. The repertoire of settlements and discoveries contains 14 positions of which only Băile Herculane “Peștera Hoților”

Cuptoare “Sfogea” and Slatina- Timiș benefited of a systematic research and consistent stratigraphy. Also, there were highlighted the contacts between the Sălcuța culture with Neolithic elements of Vinča or Tiszapolgar type that have a consistent presence in the Banat and in the western part of Romania.

-The publication of archaeological materials from H. Dumitrescu's excavations at Sălcuța in 1946–1947 (S. Marinescu-Bâlcu, R. R. Andreescu, 2005).

-As Sălcuța IV was defined in the archaeological literature as a distinct culture, many problems regarding the end of the Sălcuța culture and what comes after are presented in the book “*Sălcuța IV – Herculană II – III*” (I. Sălceanu, 2008).

-The valuation of the archaeological material from habitation layers attributed to the Sălcuța culture from Verbicioara, Dolj County (D. Berciu, 1950; E. Comșa *et al*, 1951; 1952; E. C. Ștefan, 2011 a, b; 2012).

The settlements and discoveries attributed to the Sălcuța culture

The repertoire of settlements and discoveries attributed to the Sălcuța culture comprises a significant number of sites (C. N. Pătroi, 2007; 2011) from the entire area of Sălcuța culture's evolution and topographically situated on all kinds of landforms. The most simple approach, using as a criterion the easiest access to water resources, offers a wide range of locations where Sălcuța communities lived: on the bank of the Danube, on the grids and islets, or in the inland area, along the main rivers and streams of Oltenia. The situation is as following:

- on the bank of the Danube: the settlements from Balta Verde, Gârla Mare, Șvinita, Țigănași (Mehedinți County).

- Danube's islets–Ostrovul Corbului, Ostrovu Mare, Ostrovu Șimian (Mehedinți County).

- on low altitude areas along inland rivers and brooks: the sites of Almăjel, Corlățel (Mehedinți), Valea Anilor (Mehedinți) – on the Drincea's bank; the tell of Brebeni (Olt) on the Oboga valley; the tell of Optași (Olt County) at the confluence between Vedița and Veza; the tell of Drăgănești-Olt “Corboaica” on the bank of the Sâi stream, the settlement of Vâlcelele “Dealul Cișmelelor” (Olt County) on the Iminog's bank and more other sites.

- on inland rivers and brooks, but placed at low altitude, in strategic locations: the site of Curmătura (Dolj County) on a terrace promontory in the waterside of the Desnățui, the eponymous tell settlement from Sălcuța “Piscul Cornișorului” on the spur of a hill close to Desnățui brook; the site of Slatina “Strehareț” on a high area close to the Sopot stream, etc.

Without any doubt, the access to water sources was combined with the strategic criterion, many settlements or temporary habitations being reported from hills such those from Dobra (Mehedinți County), Coțofenii din Dos – on the “Botul Mare” Hill (Dolj County), Găneasa (Olt County) – a settlement on a high plateau, easy to defence, flanked by the Corneș brook.

Some settlements have ditch and defending wall: Sălcuța, Drăgănești-Olt, Brebeni, Reșca, Vădastra.

Habitations in caves are attested from the final phase, Sălcuța III, especially in the Banat area (A. Radu, 2002): Hoților Cave, Cave from Piatra Băniței, Gaura Ungurului Cave, Dubova Cave, Rolului Cave, Cave from Colțul Cătării, Gaura Porcariului Cave, Mare Cave from Găuri, Mare Cave beside Colțul Tulburării at Domașnea and also Baia de Fier “Peștera Muierilor” (Gorj County). For the synchronous group Krivodol, from Bulgaria, we mentions Devetaki Cave (D. Berciu, 1962), researched by V. Mikov și N. Djambazov in 1960. The Devetaki III layer belongs to the cultural horizon Sălcuța – Krivodol.

Dwelling structures. Archaeological features utilized by the members of the community

By analyzing the profiles and the results of surface excavations at some Sălcuța sites it can be observed an evolution from pit houses to surface houses, built from posts and wattle, stuck with clay mixed with organic materials and sand, and with roofs made of straw or reed. This problem was analysed in detail in my work *Dwelling structures in the Late Eneolithic of Oltenia* (C. N. Pătroi, 2008) where I presented the types of dwellings discovered for each phase of the Sălcuța culture. The main sources of information were based on data obtained from the sites of Sălcuța “Piscul Cornișorului” (D., Berciu, 1961 b; S. M. Bâlcu, R. R., Andreescu, 2005), Șimnic, Cerăt (D. Galbenu, 1969), Drăgănești-Olt “Corboaica” (M. Butoi, T.

Zorzoliu, 1992; M. Nica *et al.*, 1995), Ostrovul Corbului (M. Șimon, 1989), Ostrovu Șimian (E. Comșa, 1990), Ostrovu Mare (G. Crăciunescu, 1985), Almăjel (D. Galbenu, 1983), Balta Verde (D. Berciu, E. Comșa, 1956), Gârla Mare "Malu Mare", Mehedinți County (E. Comșa, 1990), and Băile Herculane-"Peștera Hoților" (P. Roman, 1967), Cuptoare "Sfogeia", Caraș-Severin County (A. Radu, 1993) and Slatina-Timiș "Săș" (Gh. Lazarovici, 1982).

Recent joined in the scientific circuit the material resulted from the researches in the site of Verbicioara (Dolj County) from 1951, the author presenting a residential complex of Sălcuța III (E. C. Ștefan, 2011b). It can make a number of observations about the houses from Sălcuța (fig. 3-4).

- It captured the evolution from huts to residential structures having round or oval form and from small dimensions to large housing having a rectangular irregular form. Are attested two forms of houses: one room houses and two room's houses with an entrance at the north side or at south side (site from Sălcuța III).

- The walls were made from trellis. Between poles stuck in the ground they added a braided composed by small stuck without being placed in the ground (Sălcuța III). Either the walls were placed in to a small ditch such as Almăjel (Mehedinți County).

- The direction of housing location in the settlements are the most various, north-east at Sălcuța, north-south at Drăgănești-Olt, south-north or north-south at Ostrovul Corbului (Mehedinți County). We can talk about a clear criterion of location of structures in the settlements assigned in the Sălcuța culture as we have for the area of Cucuteni culture, Gumelnița or Karanovo VI and Varna from Bulgaria. We notice however a preference for the location on the axe north south, probably due to the topography of the land and the direction of the wind is determining housing orientation.

- At Cuptoare "Sfogeia" the house S2 bring in the foreground for the Sălcuța areal using a platform of small stones blended with adobe, this thing being possible because the community lived near the stone resources area.

- As a measure of protection against flood, there were placed around ditches for water drainage as in the case of Sălcuța phase II c and Drăgănești-Olt.

- An ovens complex was found at Curmătura,

Olt County (M. Nica, C. Câșlaru, 1981). We speak here about six structures having a horseshoe form and being placed by air currents.

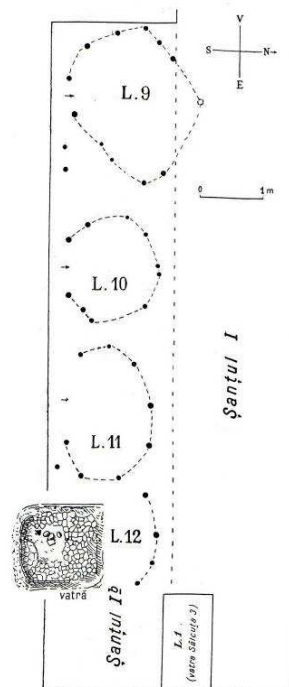


Fig. 3 - House L9-L12 on Sălcuța, Dolj County (after D. Berciu, 1961 b).

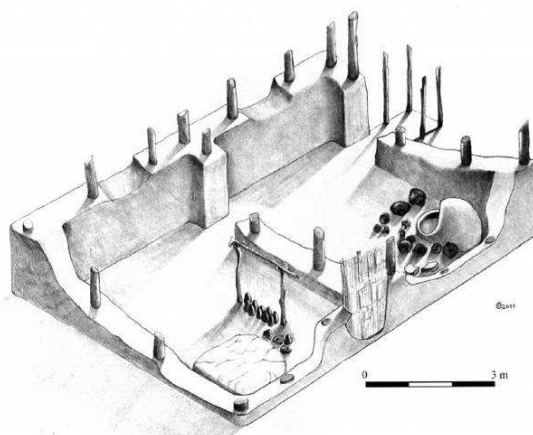


Fig. 4 - House reconstructed from Verbicioara site, Dolj County (after E. C. Ștefan, 2011).

From the point of view of archaeological interiors complex the situation is as follows:

- hearth with groove (*gardina*) that after his disrepair it has been enlarged and has been added a vault oven (east wall location)-site of Almăjel,

evolutive phase II;

- hearth placed in the north-west corner and build it to a pedestal of clay (Drăgănești-Olt, phase II);
- simple hearth having an oval form and being placed at the south side which had as his right an ash pit and at his left a clay pedestal for weights (Sălcuța phase III);
- two hearts, one simple and the other garden heart in the same room (Ostrovlul Corbului phase III);
- clay bed covered with a petrified doormat placed on the south wall (Almăjel phase II, Drăgănești-Olt phase III);
- a hole for kitchen supplies in oval form that goes down in stairs placed on the north wall (Ostrovlul Corbului phase III).

Ritual deposits located at the basis of house III, facts illustrated in some discoveries from Ostrovlul Corbului and the skeleton of a child in an oven from Curmătura complete the image.

We cannot speak yet about a model of Salcuța houses identified just in this area. The closest analogy's are at cultural complex level (Gumelnița, Karanovo VI for the group Kridovol from Bulgaria we have various situations. At Krivelj and Kridovol (V. Mikov, 1948) were founded small houses with small dimensions (3/4m) placed on the terrace of a scarp and in the case of the first sit an house is placed on a rock and a part of this being used as a protection wall. There are similarities at Supljevec or Velik Humsk Cuka (****, 1979).

Graves. Cemeteries. Isolated discoveries of bones.

The findings are quite a few and they came from the sites Gârlești-Ghecerști, Dolj County (M. Nica, 1983), Ostrovlul Corbului (P. Roman, A. D Opretescu, 2008) with the points "Botul Piscului" and "Botul Cluciului", Mehedinți County, from the few graves discovered in the Gumelnița-Sălcuța settlements from Drăgănești-Olt, Olt County (M. Nica *et al.*, 1995) as from a child grave discovered in a bread oven from Curmătura, Dolj County (M. Nica, C. Câșlaru, 1981) and another of a woman in Lepenski Vir (L. Zagorka, 1970).

The majority of graves from Gârlești (M. Nica, 1983), in number of ten, were having the skeletons in a crouching position and they were north/ north-west/ south/ south – east oriented. Only three crouching graves of children (M 8, 9, 10) had the skeletons right recumbent with the

head oriented to south east. The funerary inventory is poor and the few ceramic fragments Sălcuța type discovered in the south corner of section III in the peripheral zone of the necropolis, allows framing the necropolis in the phase III of Sălcuța culture.

The right snuggle position of the four skeletons from Gârlești necropolis is found in a very low frequency at the gumelnițean graves from Vidra, Cernavoda, Grădiștea Ulmilor, Dridu, Kubrat and Russe. The same observation can be made when it is about the folded arms position, which in the majority of cases, both tombs from Gârlești or Gumelnița, are touching the face and chin with palms.

In the neo-eneolithic settlement from Drăgănești-Olt, Olt County (M. Nica, 1995), "Corboaica" point, there were identified six graves belonging to Sălcuța culture M4-M9 (fig. 5). There are the graves of some adults in oval hole whose skeletons crouched to left and being oriented to east west. The funerary inventory is present distinguishing out a Vidra type axe, snail shells and the rest of an animal offering.

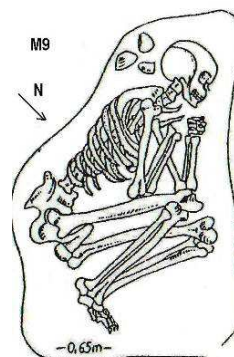


Fig. 5 - Grave M9 from settlement at Drăgănești - Olt "Corboaica" (after Nica *et al*, 1995).

The anthropology analysis (A. Comșa, 1995) to an individual human being from M4 illustrated the robustness at the entire skeleton level and well muscled. The sex is male, aged 40-45 years old and the type is protoeuropoid with northern influences. The highest affinities are at tumulus graves with red ochre populations. We cannot speak about an allogenic, since the anthropological type is very present in the Romanian space at Neolithic level.

In oven number one from Curmătura, Dolj County (M. Nica, C. Câșlaru, 198) under a 0,22 m higher vault, on the west edge of the hearth,

was discovered the skeleton of a child. This was submitted faced down on a thin layer of ash. To have enough places in the oven, the child was pushed to the western wall with the hands glued to his body and feet tightened (fig. 6). Overhead it could be observed a libation hole which was perforating the vault of the oven. Near his head, oriented to the right, were deposited as an offering two pieces of ox meat and five snails discovered behind the skeleton. The age of the child was estimated between four and five years old by the anthropologist Dardu Nicolăescu-Plopsor (1974).

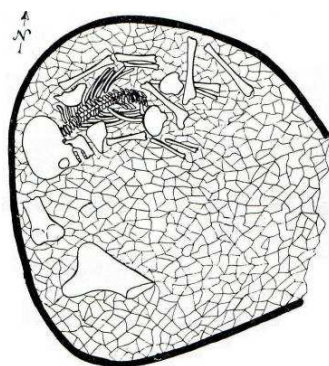


Fig. 6 - Child's grave in oven number one from Curmătura, Dolj County (After M. Nica, C. Cășlaru, 1981).

An isolated grave assigned to Sălcuța culture was discovered to Lepenski – Vir. The skeleton belongs to a woman between 40-50 years old with a height of 1,54 - 1,65m. Its position was south north and the crane being oriented to south. The skeleton was faced down on the abdomen, with the lower limbs brought back and the crane facing the ground. The grave is rich in funerary materials and includes four clay pots.

Crouched graves with the dead placed on the left side, with small deviation guidance, were discovered near the sălcuța settlements from Ostrovul Corbului, Mehedinți County, to “Botul Clucului” and “Botul Piscului” points (fig. 7).

Undoubtedly, the Eneolithic cemetery from Ostrovul Corbului (P. Roman, 1996) is one of the most spectacular discovery on Romania's territory and portrays a phenomenon of local culture synthesis which reflects a predefined symbiosis of earlier ethno-cultural contacts, which, according to the inventory, were located in the Sălcuța-Tiszapolgar-Cernavoda I.

Technical details on the Ostrovul Corbului grave pits are given by Ann Dodd Oprițescu (P. Roman, A. D. Oprițescu, 2008). Most graves are east-to-west oriented, head facing east and feet to the west with a slight deviation to east/north/east-west/south/west. The most obvious analogies can be detected in Bodrogkeresztur culture and also in Tiszavalk, Magyarhomorog, Tiszapolgar, Basatanya, Jászládány cemeteries.

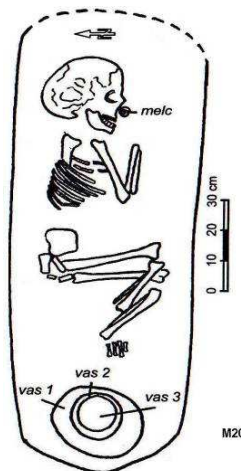


Fig. 7 - Grave M20 from cemetery at Ostrovul Corbului, Mehedinți County (after P. Roman, A. D. Oprițescu, 2008).

Funerary inventory is poor, consisting mostly of ceramics, but also tools, weapons, ornaments and flesh offerings. No pattern could be established in the arrangement of offerings along the pit. However, the most common situation seems to coincide with the location of a ceramic vessel near the head. Bowls and straight-edged and tapered body dishes were the most common items discovered in this cemetery. The main components of the funeral inventory from Ostrovul Corbului have their origin or derivation to Sălcuța. It is not surprising at all, given the fact that the area was densely inhabited by these communities.

As to the distorted position of legs, in most cases, for instance Ghercești, Ostrovul Corbului, Drăgănești-Olt and so on, the femurs and the spine are arranged as to form a right angle (C. N. Pătroi, 2010).

In addition to these elements, practices which cannot be classified as funerary were also attested in the Sălcuța area, such as human bones occasionally discovered in domestically contexts.

There are two certified cases for the Sălcuța communities: the first one, located in the eponymous settlement, where a mandible belonging to a 40-45 years old male was found (E. Comșa, 1974) and the second case in Băile Herculane – “Peștera Hoților” (D. N. Plopșor, 1974) where a skull with no mandible and a human sacrum in association with a humerus of *Bos taurus* and a Sălcuța vessel from the late age were found.

Recent researches carried out in the southern end of Lîga village (K. Randsborg *et al.*, 2005) in Bulgaria revealed seven tombs attributed to the Krivodol group. All tombs were discovered in the southern or south - western part of the Lîga hill. Women were buried separately and children were placed along with adult males. This division by gender was also observed in a cemetery from the Eneolithic period at Târgoviște (Bulgaria), where 11 graves were found out of which four were attributed to men and another four to women. The graves were placed separately.

Funerals in the Krivodol culture area remain scarce, this feature also being applicable to Thrace, where abound the settlements with tell. In north-western Bulgaria, tombs associated with remains from the Eneolithic were found in Devetaki Cave. The excavations from 1952 revealed four children's graves dating from Eneolithic age. Deceased were placed in an extremely crooked position, knees brought to the chest.

Information on funerary findings from Sălcuța can be discussed and compared to the new findings from Sultana – “Malul Roșu” (C. Lazăr *et al.*, 2009) in Gumelnița as well. The inhumation graves are oriented towards east and the deceased are placed in distorted positions left or right oriented. The cemetery is approximately 150 m to the west of the tell. Gumelnița communities from Pietrele “Gorgana” point, Giurgiu County (M. Toderăș *et al.*, 2009), seem to prefer the same location.

Elements of material culture

As the sites attributed to Sălcuța culture came to the attention of specialists, extensive research was triggered. Most materials, now part of the movable cultural heritage, were discovered as a result of systematic research.

At the moment, the results of the excavations from the eponym settlement in Sălcuța “Piscul Cornișorului” are the most important both in

terms of materials and in terms of quality of records and stratigraphy. In order to offer an accurate picture, it would be ideal to refer only to the materials found in supervised stratigraphic compounds, but this approach is toilsome precisely due to inaccurate information that we have received from authors. Inventory items attributed to Sălcuța culture can also be traced back to the settlement and cemetery at Ostrovul Corbului, Ostrovu Șimian, Valea Anilor, Almăjel (Mehedinți County), settlements in Șimnic, Cerăt, the eneolithic kilns from Curmătura, cemetery and settlement at Gârlești-Ghercești, “La trestii” Verbicioara (Dolj County), Vădastra “La Cișmele” and “Măgura Fetelor”, Drăgănești-Olt “Corboaica”, Brebeni, Slatina “Strehareț” (Olt County), Băile Herculane “Peștera Hoților” Cuptoare “Sfogeia” (Caraș-Severin County) and Slatina-Timiș “Săș” (Timiș County).

Flint tools (D. Berciu, 1939; 1961 b; Al. Păunescu, 1970; D. Galbenu, 1975; I. Stângă, 1982; M. Șimon, 1989; M. Nica *et al.*, 1995; E. C. Ștefan, 2012) are represented by: retouched blades, finely denticulated blades, sickle elements on small and medium-size truncated blades, notched blades, truncated blades (transversal, convexly, flattened, concavely truncation), perforators on blade, endscrapers on blade and flake, the majority with convex active part, but also oblique, straight and convex-crenated. Some endscrapers, usually made on blades, present finely retouched and denticulate edges; there are also endscrapers-drill tools, arrowheads and spearheads triangularly shaped and usually with straight basis, slightly convex or concave; flint axes. Were analyzed the lithic materials from the sites Sălcuța, Verbicioara (fig. 8), Șimnic (Dolj County), Vădastra, Drăgănești – Olt (Olt County), Ostrovul Corbului, Almăjel (Mehedinți County), Orlea (“Grindul lui Ianacu Mușat”, Olt County), Băile Herculane “Peștera Hoților” and Cuptoare “Sfogeia” Caraș-Severin County (P. Roman, 1967; 1971; A. Radu, 2002).

Apparently, the eneolithic inventory inherent to the cultural compound Sălcuța-Krivodo-Bubanj has a unitary character. Thus, according to evidence in the Devetaka cave, flint tools and weapons of the Krivodol group present striking similarities to those of the settlements in Sălcuța. Most types of flint tools found in Sălcuța settlements are common to almost every contemporary and contiguous cultural area. It seems that so far, there is no type of flint tool

specific to Sălcuța culture only.

Stone axes (D. Berciu, 1939; 1961 b, D. Galbenu, 1983; Gh. Lazarovici, 1979; M. Nica, T. Zorzoliu, 1992; M. Nica et al., 1995; S. M. Bîlcu, R. R. Andreescu, 2005) are made of sandstone (sites of Cuptoare “Sfogeia” and Sălcuța) and rarely of a more nonlocal hard stones, such as quartz found in the upper area of the Jiu river or diabase. There were found: block-shaped hand axes (fragment), hammer axes with a transversal hafting cavity, unperforated axes of

different shapes and sizes (V. Cristescu, 1932), Vădastra site, “Măgura Fetelor” and a special category of shield-shaped axes (D. Berciu, 1939).

Grinders (D. Berciu, 1961; D. Galbenu, 1983) are represented by: plain-convex grinders, with the lower stone fixed on a ground base/pedestal or directly in sand, curved or irregularly shaped; portable (mobile) grinders, with small dimensions, with two flat surfaces, were generally used on both sides. The grinders’ shape is quite varied due to the nature of the rock of

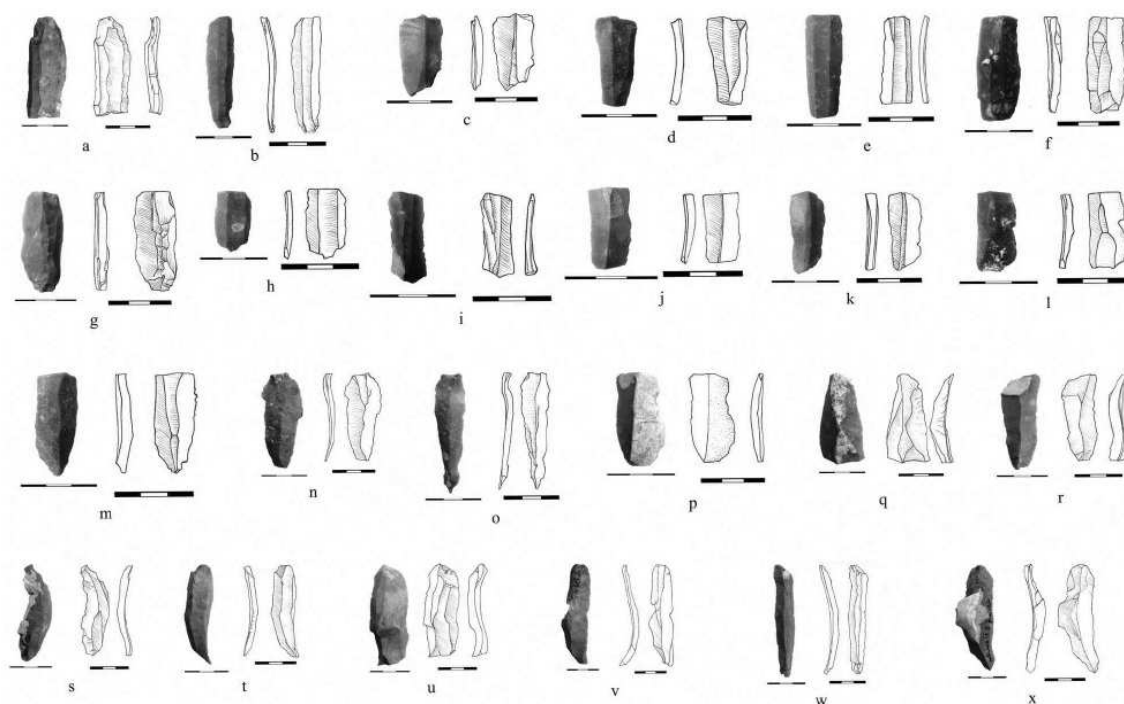


Fig. 8 - Flint tools discovered at Verbicioara, Dolj County (after E. C. Ștefan 2012).

which they were made: trapezoidal shape with irregular edges; oblong shape with flat top and curved bottom; cone/funnel shape almost flat; nearly round shape, with flat inner surface; rectangular shape with the corners made by hitting and tiny hammering; triangular shape.

Grinding stones and hammers. The most common form is cylindrical (D. Berciu, 1961 b). The pieces from Sălcuța, Șimnic and Drăgănești-Olt are similar. Hammers are rare and were made from quartzite, rarely from flint.

Chisels. There are two artefacts from Sălcuța phase II (fig. 9), from Almăjel, and from phase III we have only one piece (D. Galbenu, 1983). Another two pieces are from Drăgănești- Olt

and have a flat form (M. Nica, T. Zorzoliu, 1992).

Bone-antler objects, although they are much likely to an easier degradation due to the material and the environment in which they were found, are also present in the settlements of Sălcuța communities (fig. 10). Are remarkable the antler mattocks discovered in the sites from Almăjel (D. Galbenu, 1983), Drăgănești-Olt (M. Butoi, T. Zorzoliu, 1992), Sălcuța (D. Berciu, 1961b), Verbicioara (D. Berciu, E. Comșa, 1957) and Ostrovul Corbului (M. Șimon, 1989). The only way to differentiate the mattocks is the hafting-hole, which had a round or rectangular section. The rectangular shape section is characteristic to the phase I of the culture. With the phase II of

Sălcuța culture, this form is no longer used.

-chisels: discovered in large number in Sălcuța, Almăjel and Drăgănești -Olt.

-awl: discovered in all phases of Sălcuța culture, with the single mention that towards the end of this culture's evolution their number decreases (D. Berciu, 1961 b).

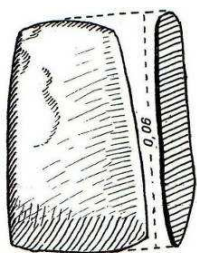


Fig. 9 - Chisels discovered at Sălcuța, Dolj County (after D. Berciu, 1961 b).

-sheaths and handles, perforators, dibbles/planters, daggers are poorly represented—Sălcuța, Cuptoare—“Sfogeia” (G. Trancă, 1981), Almăjel (D. Galbenu, 1983).

-spatulas: Ostrovul Corbului settlement (M. Șimon, 1989) and the eponymous settlement.

-fishing hooks: Verbicioara (D. Berciu, E. Comșa, 1957), Sălcuța (D. Berciu, 1961 b) și Căzănești “Fabrica”, Vâlcea County (Gh. P. Govora, 1995).

-spindle whorls: appeared during Sălcuța III phase from Drăgănești-Olt “Corboaica”.

-polishers: two pieces from Sălcuța made of astragalus/talus/ankle bone.

The tools inventory contains also **clay objects**. The most numerous are the loom weights, tapered, with two flat sides and rounded edges—Sălcuța (D. Berciu, 1961 b), Ostrovul Corbului (M. Șimon, 1989); pyramid-shaped—Sălcuța (D. Berciu, 1961 b), Ostrovul Mare (G. Crăciunescu, 1985), Valea Anilor (Mehedinți); “saddle”-shaped loom weights discovered in Almăjel (D. Galbenu, 1983) and Drăgănești-Olt (M. Nica, 1994) and assigned to Sălcuța phase III.

Distaffs (D. Berciu, 1961 b; M. Butoi, T. Zorzioliu, 1992; D. Galbenu, 1983), **spools, stamp seals** (S. M. Bîlcu, R. R. Andreescu, 2005) are very rarely.

Metal objects (C. N. Pătroi, 2006 a) are numerous, Sălcuța communities using different types of copper tools, from the simplest-small objects such as awls, fishing hooks, to the most complex- chisels, flat axes, pickaxes. Ornaments

were discovered as well, like hairpins of various types - with volute (Vădastra— “Măgura Fetelor” and Drăgănești-Olt “Corboaica” sites), with square section (D. Berciu *et al.*, 1951; M. Șimon, 1989), with round section (M. Nica, 1990; M. Nica *et al.*, 1995), with rhombic plate head (M. Nica *et al.*, 1995), rings (V. Cristescu, 1927-1932), small copper beads (C. N. Mateescu, 1959) and even a razor blade (fig. 11).



Fig. 10 - Bone tools discovered at Sălcuța, Dolj County (after D. Berciu, 1961 b).

Axes with arms in cross of **Jaszladany** type, Târnăvița, Orșova, Petrești and Bradu variants, are found in large numbers in the area of Sălcuța culture, not in stratigraphic conditions, but isolated (fig. 12-13). Such objects are found in Rast settlement, Dolj County (C. Nicolăescu-Plopșor *et al.*, 1951), Sălcuța, Dolj County (D. Berciu, S. Morintz, 1952; D. Berciu, 1961 b), Cerăt, Dolj County (D. Galbenu, 1969), Reșca, Olt County, Coșovenii de Jos, Dolj County (C. Moisil, 1911; E. Comșa, 1981), Padina Mare, Mehedinți County (O. Toropu, 1965; I. Mareș, 2002), Poiana, Mehedinți County (E. Tudor, 1972; I. Mareș, 2002), Vârtop, Dolj County, Halânga, Mehedinți County (Al. Vulpe, 1975), Dobriceni, Vâlcea County (A. Dumitrașcu, Gh. Manea, 1978), Izverna, Mehedinți County (D. Tudor, 1934; E. Comșa, 1981), Dubova “Poiana din Zbag”, Mehedinți County, Obogeni (Gh. P. Govora, 1995), Prudeni (Gh. P. Govora, 1983; I. Mareș, 2002), Govora village, Vâlcea County (Gh. P. Govora, 1983), Racovița, Vâlcea County (Gh. P. Govora, 1983; I. Mareș, 2002), Drobeta Turnu Severin (C. Manea, 2006), Vîlcele, Olt County (Al. Vulpe, 1975). Only the piece from Reșca, Olt County (Al. Vulpe, 1975; I. Mareș, 2002), which was found at the base of the

defensive mound from Sălcuța phase III, is from a certain chronological context.

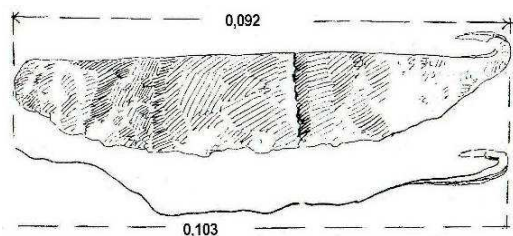


Fig. 11 - Copper tools (After D. Berciu, 1939).

Techniques: hot and cold hammering, reducing the ore then casting it in monovalve or bivalve moulds using the “lost-wax” process.

Local sources of ore: the most likely areas to exploit copper veins are Baia de Aramă and Baia de Fier, analyzes of copper pieces from the Sălcuța cultural area confirming that there were used two types of ore: one with traces of silver, sometimes silver and iron, and the second with insignificant traces of nickel (E. Comșa, 1981).

Copper ore is found in abundance in these areas and some extracting points may have their roots to the Eneolithic period. These are:

a) The smithies from Valea Găinii, in which the metal was extracted from Joița mines and the surroundings.

b) The smithies from Zahana, in which the metal was extracted from Ocnele/mines in Cornetul Băii.

c) The smithies from Baroaia which served to extract ore from Ocnele/mines in Baroaia.

d) The smithies from the place called “Valea Cușnițelor”.

e) The smithies from Dealul Tihomirului, whose vents still exist today in Poiana Timohirului near Groapa Lupului, between the boundaries of the villages Văeni, Sohodol and Padeș (N. D. Spineanu, 1994).

Another source of raw material (D. Diaconescu, 2009), close enough to the Sălcuța communities is Banat region. Important copper resources are reported in Rușchița, Bucova, Tincova, Ocna de Fier, Docnecea, Teregova, Ciclova–Romană– Oravița Măidan, Sasca Montană, Moldova Nouă, Topleț and Valea Cernei–Banat Mountains, Podeni, Plavișevîța (Mehedinți County).

Analysis. For Oltenia area of evolution, analyses were made on copper objects found at

Sălcuța and Verbicioara. Copper appears in combination with traces of Ag, Ni, Fe and sometimes a small percentage of Mn, Zn, Pb. (D. Berciu, 1961 b; S. Junghans *et al.*, 1968).

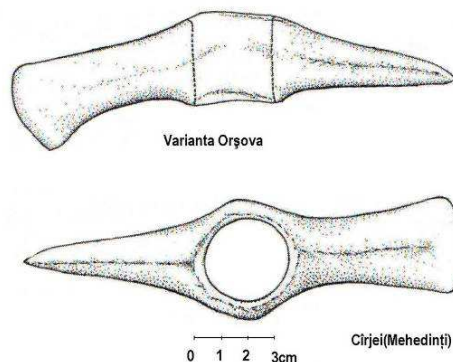


Fig.12 - Axes of “Jaszladany” type at Cîrjei, Mehedinți County (after C. Manea, 2006).



Fig. 13 - Axes of “Jaszladany” type at Moțăței, Dolj County. Photo C. N. Pătroi.

Analysis of a copper chisel-ax from Cuptoare “Sfogeia” (Caraș-Severin county), from Sălcuța phase III reveals the following:

-metal’s purity is less than 0.005%.

-impurities present in copper are: Au, As, Sb, Se, Hg, Ni, Sc, Fe, Zn, Co, Tn, Sn and lead to a

slight increase in strength and hardness of the material.

External sources of ore in the Krivodol (Bulgaria) area was in the Bor and Maidanpek region, the deposit from Rudna Glava, in Plakalnitsa region (Vraca district). The techniques consist in opening vertical wells, along the oxidized routes of copper sulphide veins. The digging of the pit was done on the natural direction of the mining vein simultaneously applying the technique of heating and cooling the ore. It was then separated and ground using bone and stone tools, giving to it an original form, which shows an initial processing.

The presence of some copper articles-axes (in the men's graves), beads (in the women and children's graves), in necropolis of Ostrovul Corbului (Mehedinți County), Drăgănești-Olt (Olt County) and Gârlești (Dolj County), highlights the cultic character of the specified objects, more so that they do not present any signs of use. The large number of copper objects from Sălcuța- Bubaň-Krivodol cultural complex prefigures the development of copper metallurgy within Romanian territory.

The ceramics. Shape and ornament.

There is sufficient pottery, mostly fragmentary which was accidentally found, surveys or large-scale research (fig. 14-23). The stratigraphical facts found by research allow a detailed presentation and a systematical classification of the shapes and kinds of pottery of Sălcuța or from the level of living belonging to this culture.

Qualitatively, the pottery has been divided into: common use ceramics, semifine ceramics and fine ceramics. There are three big categories of ceramics whose impact in the everyday life of the community is different, the rough ceramics being represented the best. Being subject to fast aging, we can notice that the common use ceramics is messy, plenty of different degreasers being mixed up with the clay. The burning is uneven; the pottery's colour varies between brick-red-brown and brick-red, with grey stains together with some brown, light brown and smoky shades.

The burning, the purity of the clay, the treatment of the surface of the pottery, the slip, the polishing are the elements that we recognize at the fine pottery, the dominant colours being brick-red, with orange shades, along the coffee-brown, and rarely black. From the observations

referring to their dimension, the small size pottery usually belongs to this category.

Classifying the shape of the ceramics was based on the home usage criteria, being doubled by the shapes used.



Fig.14 - Pottery from Valea Anilor (settlement) and Ostrovul Corbului, Mehedinți County (cemetery). Photo C.N. Pătroi.

Food pottery: the tureen (the most common one), in different shapes that depend on how the wall was done and the rim; the bowl with a conical or biconical body, its edge making the difference while classifying them.

Drinking pottery: the cup, with one or two handles, is very often found. It is a sort of Sălcuța hallmark, the classification here it is done by the way the two handles are placed and the way that the edge was treated; amphora, in biconical shapes and of small dimension, very well represented at Ostrovul Corbului, Sălcuța and Verbicioara (E. C. Ștefan, 2011 a); the cup with a leg, a very rare object; the glass, with three subcategories that depend on how the body was made or the cup or the pot “with a beak” as D. Berciu used to name it because of its diagonal rim.

Cooking pottery: the pear-shaped pot, well represented at Almăjel (D. Galbenu, 1983), Drăgănești-Olt (M. Nica et al., 1995), Sălcuța (D. Berciu, 1961 b), the pan, the strainer.

The pottery for supplies: the amphoras, with the long neck and with two strong handles on its body, often seen in Ostrovul Corbului; the jar; round or bulging shaped pots; globular pots, the face.

Miniature pottery: in a large number.

Pottery in special shapes: the askos pot discovered at Sălcuța (D. Berciu, 1961 b), Cerăt

(Dolj County), Drăgănești-Olt (fig. 18), Reșca (D. Berciu, 1961), Verbicioara (D. Berciu, 1961 b): the kernoi pot, found only in Cloșani, Mehedinți County (D. Berciu, 1939); one legged or multiple leg vessel-fruit vessel, from Sălcuța; the chandelier (fig. 17) in the Eneolithic cemetery from Ostrovul Corbului, Mehedinți County (P. Roman, A. D. Oprețescu, 2008), the pyxis, the support.

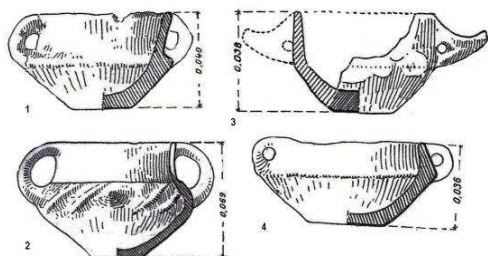


Fig.15 - The cups discovered at Sălcuța, Dolj County (after D. Berciu, 1961 b).

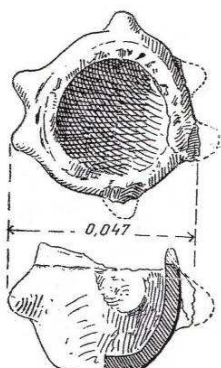


Fig. 16 - Miniature pottery Sălcuța, Dolj County (after D. Berciu, 1961 b).

Pottery of multiple uses: the bailer, the spoon.

Obviously, all shapes belong to the well known geometrical shapes, making them simple or complex executions: conical pots, biconical, spherical, rounded, cylindrical pots, pots made of three or four components. On their top details such as verge, drain pipe or the gutter, as others named them, is being added.

Pot lids were also found along sides of the pots, the typology being diverse: semi spherical lid, big, with a rounded hole in the center (D. Berciu, 1961 b), dome shaped lid- Ostrovul Corbului (M. Șimon, 1989) and Drăgănești-Olt

(M. Nica, 1994); cylindrical lid- Ostrovul corbului (M. Șimon, 1989), conical lid- Drăgănești-Olt (M. Nica, 1994), Verbicioara (E. C Ștefan, 2011), flat lid with a splay edge and a little handle in the center-Verbicioara (D. Berciu, 1961 b); lid in a special shape with anthropomorphic or sanctuary representations instead of a handle-Drăgănești-Olt (M. Nica, 1994), Sălcuța (D. Berciu, 1961 b).

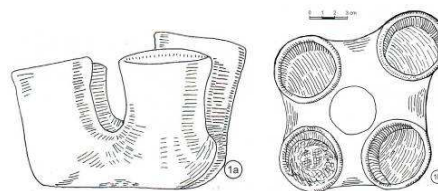


Fig. 17 - Pottery from Ostrovul Corbului, Mehedinți County (after P. Roman, A. D. Oprețescu, 2008).



Fig. 18 - The askos pot discovered at Drăgănești – Olt. Photo C. N. Pătroi, 2012.

Obviously all these types of pots, with or without handles, show us the method of making and placement of these auxiliary elements in different typologies.

A very interesting category of pots is the one that has its ornament on the bottom of the vessel (C. N. Pătroi, 2009). An ornament that is made by incised lines, shape of a gamma cross, with shaded sides, appears on a bowl found in Ostrovul Corbului, the "Botul Cliuciului". At Valea Anilor (Mehedinți County), "La Glamie" a glass has on its bottom an ornament that was made with the nail, that seems not to have a well developed idea, the direction of the incisions and the way they are grouped being very diverse.

Chronologically, the inferior limit of these discoveries would be the early Neolithic, while the superior one is the late Eneolithic (the pottery from Sălcuța, as well as that from Insuratei,

Taşaul “La Ostrov” - area Gumelința A2). The most of it is from the developed Neolithic.



Fig. 19 - The askos pot discovered at Sălcuța, Dolj County (after D. Berciu, 1961 b).

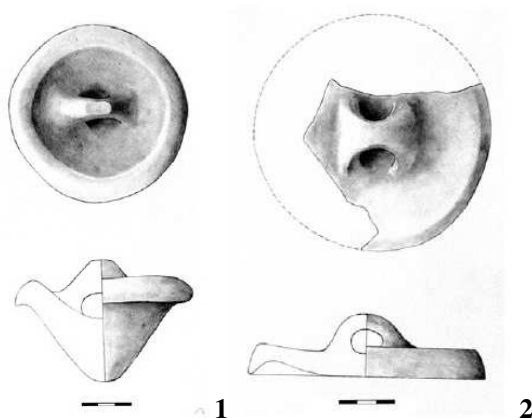


Fig. 20 - Lids from Verbicioara, Dolj County (after E. C. Ștefan, 2011).

The ceramic belonging to Sălcuța has a large variety of decorative motifs and technical procedures. Certainly we can name the technical procedures such as decorating by incisions, in relief, with notches, barbotine, by abscission (very few fragments), by scratching, by painting. The polishing technique appears on some pottery or fragments that were covered by a slip, but they are not ornamental motifs as in Gumelnița culture.

The painting ornaments are less found in Sălcuța. There are two types of painting:

a) Crusted - the floury coloured substance is applied after the burning of the pot, and then, the slip is put on top of it. Red and white are used alternating with the polishing of the empty spaces of the vase.

b) with graphite, which is mostly found on the interior. It appears quite rare (fig. 22-23).

The ornament is mostly applied on the visible side of the pot, the edge that is bent towards the exterior, the interior edge, when the orifice is splay; the neck, when it stands straight, cylindrical or byconical, the shoulder when it is prominent, the body, on the most rounded line of the vase, as well as the interior of the vases.

The motifs: organic strings (horizontal, vertical, diagonal, disorganized), ornament in brackets and ornament done with the nail, alveolar belts, grooves and fake grooves, the incision (chess board, shades, stairs, labyrinth, wolf teeth) or incisions combined with buttons, alveolus, dots, notches, visible models made of the pot's paste or applied, pricks, tree shell, abscission (rarely). The painting shows a combination of lanes, narrow or wide, thin or thick, made with raw colours or graphite, spirals, triangles, shaded triangles, deer etc.

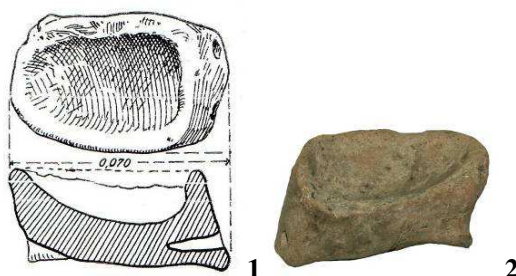


Fig. 21 - Bailer from Sălcuța “Piscul Cornișorului”-1 (D. Berciu, 1961 b), 2 – photo C. N. Pătroi.

Anthropomorphic and zoomorphic art

It is represented by anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines made from clay, anthropomorphic figurines from bone, anthropomorphic figurines from marble, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic attributes used to hold on containers, pottery beaks, anthropomorphic feet from clay, anthropomorphic containers (C. N. Pătroi, 2008 a).

By analysing the figurines according to the artistic and technique criteria, we can notice the following directions in which it will be acted for the realization of a profile. It is all about: the quality of the paste, the condition, the dimensions and the shape of the piece, the human category to whom belongs, the way of treating the anatomic groups, the background of the figurines, the

realization manner, the stratigraphic context and the complex where they were found.



Fig. 22 - Ornaments with graphite from Valea Anilor, “La Glamie” (Mehedinți County). Photo C. N. Pătroi.

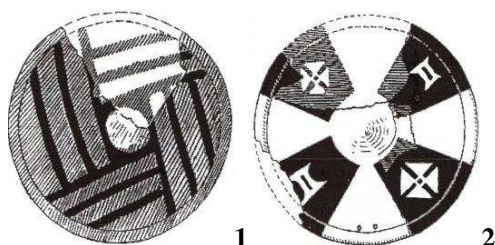


Fig. 23 - Decore with graphite from Sălcuța “Piscul Cornişorului” (D. Berciu, 1961 b).

The series of analysed pieces came from: the traces discovered in the points “Măgura Cetate” and “Măgura Fetelor” near Vădastra locality (V. Cristescu, 1927-1932; E. Comşa, 2007), Sălcuța “Piscul Cornişorului” (D. Berciu, 1961 b; S. M. Bîlcu R., R., Andrescu, 2005), Ostrovul Corbului (Al. Bărcăcilă, 1924; D. Berciu, 1951), Almăjel (D. Galbenu, 1983), Valea Anilor, Mehedinți County (I. Stângă, 1988), Drăgănești-Olt “Corboaica” (M. Nica et al., 1995; A. Grosu, 2004), Slatina “Strehareț” (C. Schuster, S. Popovici, 1998; 2000), Brebeni, Olt County (C. Schuster, S. Popovici, 1998; 2000). The image is completed by the pieces mentioned in “Arheologia preistorică a Olteniei” (D. Berciu, 1939), “Figurine antropomorfe din arealul culturii Sălcuța din Oltenia” (E. Comşa, 2007).

Close analogies can be found in the similar groups Bubanj and Kridovol, the pieces being discovered in the sits from Bakarno Gumno near Prilep, Pelagonia, Crnobuki near Bitola, Pelagonia (N. Tasič, 1995), Krivelj, Serbia (N. Tasič, 1957), Supljevek, Macedonia (N. Tasič,

1957), Makedonija (Macedonia), Crnobuki, Macedonia, Zlotska pecina, Serbia, Kovilovo (Bulgaria), Zaminet Bulgaria (V. Nikolov, 1975), Krivodol, Bulgaria (V. Mikov, 1948), Kolarovo, Bulgaria (L. Pernicheva, 1995), Varna, Bulgaria (H. Todorova, 1978), Maliq, Kossovo (F. Prendi, 1966), Lîga, district Plevén (K. Randsborg et al., 2005).

From the point of view of the material from which the anthropomorphic idols are made and of the paste quality, we are approaching the following situation: figurines made from raw paste containing clay, gravel and vegetal material; figurines made from clay containing gravel; figurines from clay well-chosen and battered, sometimes containing fine sand; marble figurines (Brebeni).

Depending on the medium in which they were manufactured and on the number of the burnings suffered, we are dealing with the following range of colours: black, brown, maroon, gray (Ostrovul Corbului, Sălcuța, Valea Anilor, Brebeni, Slatina “Strehareț”); red, brick, brick-grey (Sălcuța, Almăjel).

From the point of view of the human type to whom they belong we are dealing with: feminine idols (the most); male idols (pretty rare); hermaphrodite idols; anthropomorphic representations without any attribute helping them to be included in the first two groups.

From the point of view of the techniques used to realise the anthropomorphic figurines we can distinguish two categories: very schematised figurines, for whose execution the artist didn’t file a too big creative effort (in some cases we can hardly assign the human form to some figurines); figurines made in a realistic manner to whom we can see the artist care to reproduce close to reality some particularities of the human body.

According to the techniques (fig. 24) used to represent the anatomical parts of the anthropomorphic figurines, we are facing the following execution manners:

-The face is realized by modelling the clay with fingers, as a ‘pecker’ or in two lobes type.

-The ears are shown either through perforations or by modelling the clay toward the external parts of the head.

-The eyes and the mouth are made from channels, points or alveoli. A piece from Brebeni has the eyes realized by the perforation of the entire head.

-The arms are elongated in the lateral of the body and holed transversally and longitudinally; they are placed on the chest or transversally along the body.

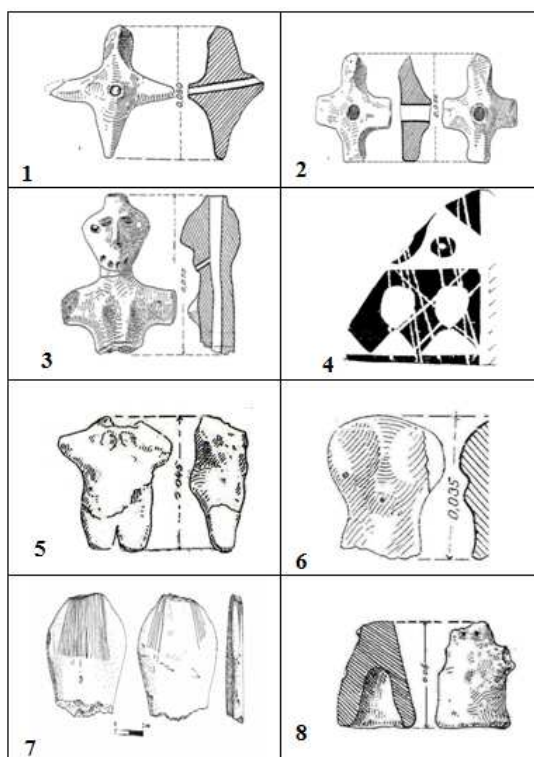


Fig. 24 - Anthropomorphic figurines from Sălcuța "Piscul Cornișorului"-1-3, 6-7 (D. Berciu, 1961 b), Valea Anilor, Mehedinți County – 4 (I. Stângă, 1988) and Vădastra, "Măgura Cetate", Olt County -5 (V. Cristescu, 1927-1932).

-The breasts are either made from the figurines mass or they're added lately and they are cone-shaped prominences.

-The hips are usually well-evidenced and for underlying the border line between body and legs are used groups of cutting lines.

-The female gender is represented as a cut triangle with the base in the upper part.

-The legs are treated in several ways: either they are shaped separately or they are shown through cut lines. There are some examples having the inferior part as a compact, without showing any anatomic symbol. Some statues have some anatomic details well pointed out. It is about knees, ankles, fingers. It must be said that in the sits of Sălcuța culture, there were found

many fragments of human legs with a role in the period's culture under several interpretations.

From the point of view of the repartition on the vertical axis, according to the shape's aspect, the most of the idols are fusiform. Another category, less known, is the one of the "en cloche" idols. The latter, at the inferior part, present two aspects: the base is slightly chopped inside of the piece may have the interior of the inferior part empty. It must be mentioned the fact that, even they appear rarely in this environment, it does exist a category of anthropomorphic representations made as sitting (Sălcuța). One of the idols from Brebeni presents a circular stand at the inferior part (fig. 25).

There are some anthropomorphic figurines which present particular details different than the others. It is about a cylindrical prolongation in the superior part of the head. Another idol is vertically perforated on its entire surface (Sălcuța).

A technical approach rarely met in the execution way of the anthropomorphic figurines belonging to Sălcuța culture, is the one of "bonded halves" by the use of a bung (Ostrovul Șimian). As decoration used to accentuate some anatomic details or wardrobe pieces, the ornamental range include incisions as continuous or dotted lines, horseshoe bend, spirals, alveoli, cuttings, raw picture in red, white, black or yellow.

The anthropomorphic idols from the area of Sălcuța culture have small height, their dimensions varying between 0.5 cm and 15 cm. Anthropomorphic Art made from clay in Sălcuța type is represented mainly by female figurines, more rarely males, majority kept as fragments.

The representation of the anthropomorphic leg in neo-eneolithic carpathian-danubian plastics is a general phenomenon. Its perception is unitary and includes the following types found in anthropomorphic and zoomorphic art in Sălcuța culture:

-the massive anthropomorph leg, with or without shoes, most probably serving as a base for the cultural pieces.

-the massive anthropomorph leg, as independent piece, generally representing the wearing leg or suggesting the footwear.

-the inside naked anthropomorph leg representing the footwear and acting as a base for the bowl.

About the Sălcuța Eneolithic culture

Anthropomorphic and zoomorphic art from clay of Sălcuța culture has many analogies in Gumelnița domain, phase B 1 (R. R., Andreescu, 2002).

Several ceramic fragments (M. Nica et al., 1995; E. C. Ștefan, 2011 b) discovered in Sălcuța show human figurines alike *Oranta* (C. N. Pătroi, 2012). For developing Sălcuța's culture from Banat, from Cuptoare "Sfocea" (A. Radu, 2002), a figurine applied on a bowl with several traces old white and red was discovered (fig. 26).



Fig. 25 - Anthropomorphic representations from Slatina "Strehareț" (Olt County). Photo C. N. Pătroi.

Anthropomorphic representations of bone

The researches of H. Dumitrescu from "Piscul Cornîșorului", between 1945 -1946, led to the recovery of three complete anthropomorphic pieces made of bone (S. M. Bîlcu, R. R., Andreescu, 2005). Subsequently, also in Sălcuța (Berciu 1961 b) such anthropomorphic figurines appeared alongside another type of prismatic idols. The number of bone figurines is higher due to the researches from Drăgănești-Olt, "Corboaica" site (fig. 27) and from the settlement of Brebeni (Olt County).

From the point of view of treating the body of the figurines we can observe two different ways of making it, with different varieties of expression:

A. Human Body done by separate handling of the three distinct body parts: head, torso and arms, legs.

a. with stuck feet.

b. with the legs distinctly marked by incisions or cutting.

B. Human Body done by treating middle and lower part as a whole and a distinct head.



Fig. 26 - Human figurines alike *Oranta*. From Verbicioara, Dolj County (after E. C. Ștefan, 2011).



Fig. 27 - Anthropomorphic representations on bones from Drăgănești-Olt. Photo C. N. Pătroi.

Bone anthropomorphic figurines from Sălcuța showing holes on the surface, had no traces of copper in the area where they have been breached, nor had circular ornaments attached when discovered, as happened in the Gumelnița both north and south of the Danube.

Comparing the anthropomorphic representations of bone found in area of Sălcuța culture with pieces found in north-Danube, Gumelnița culture, and also with the pieces found in Bulgaria, we can speak about the same cultural phenomenon Chalcolithic, the same approach, both as a form and as decoration.

Zoomorphic representations of clay

There are quite a few such pieces. We refer to a zoomorphic vessel from Brebeni (Olt County), a buffalo head from Sălcuța, "Piscul Cornîșorului" (S. M. Bîlcu, R. R., Andreescu, 2005) of the H. Dumitrescu campaign, a fragment of a zoomorphic idol all from Sălcuța discovered by H. Dumitrescu, an ox from the Valea Anilor, Mehedinți County (I. Stângă, 1988). From the researches of D. Berciu, "Piscul Cornîșorului", in 1951, comes a group of six zoomorphic figurines.

At Ostrovul Corbului resort (Mehedinți County) were found more vessels with zoomorphic protomes. A single vessel anthropo - zoomorphic was certified to Salcuța - painted pedestal bowl shaped human feet below the rim, grab ram head shaped (D. Berciu, 1939).

The cultic

The main artefacts are altars. Very few discoveries as we mention an altar cup-shaped quadrilateral with four legs, is modeled in a sloppy paste modest and secondary burned in a house at the site of the first Salcuța level (S. M. Bîlcu, R. R. Andreescu, 2005). Some fragments were discovered at Cerăt and Verbicioara, Dolj County (E. C. Ștefan, 2011) (fig. 28), Valea Anilor, Mehedinți County (C. N. Pătroi, 2012 b).

Specimens found in sites assigned to Salcuța culture are rectangular or triangular, with short legs, presenting ornaments registers made by incision and meandering incised lines arranged in a network. Sometimes they have traces of inlay with white paste.

For Bubanj group, cultural group synchronous Sălcuța of Serbia, N. Tasič has two cult shrines at Krivelj and Kovilovo (N. Tasič, 1957). The cult shrines triangular are documented in Bulgaria, at Lîga (K. Randsborg et al., 2005), in a group setting synchronous Krivodol.

Miniature cult tray tables, such as the one from Vadastra and **cult chairs** (M. Nica, 1994; S. M. Bîlcu, R. R. Andreescu, 2005) or **miniature thrones**, complete the picture of the side of existence harder to capture in archaeological research (fig. 29).

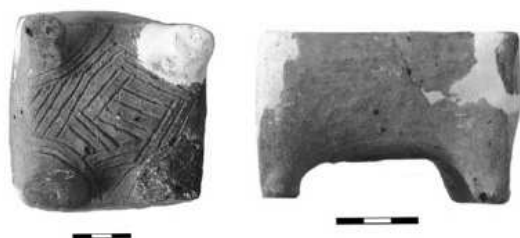


Fig. 28 - The cultic artifacts from Verbicioara, Dolj County (after E. C. Ștefan, 2011).

Amulets, adornments: clay beads with biconical form with cylindrical hole are attested in Ostrovu Mare, Ostrovul Corbului (county Mehedinți), Vădastra, Magura Cetate (Olt County), Lîga (group Krivodol) - Bulgaria and usually found in graves; bone and antler

pendants; rings and copper beads; bracelets made of Spondylus shell.

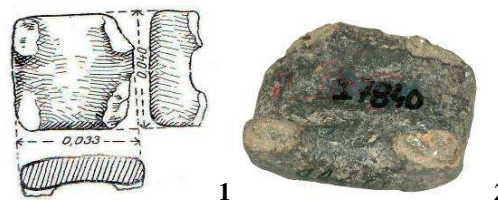


Fig. 29 - Miniature on Sălcuța "Piscul Cornișorului"-1 (D. Berciu, 1961 b); 2- photo C. N. Pătroi.

Salcuța culture periodization and elements of relative and absolute chronology

The period of development of the cultural Salcuța-Bubanj-Krivodol is characterized by several specific elements, namely:
-Intensification of copper mining from Rudna Glava, Ai Bunar and copper processing on a large scale;

-Migrations of Indo-European peoples from the steppes to the Carpatho-Danubian-Pontic area;
-Acting as a filter and then as the transmitter for the southern influences of these elements on large areas.

The basic elements that characterize different stages of evolution of this cultural group, could be separated using data obtained from: studying the findings from settlements with several stratigraphic levels, global comparison - within certain geographical microzones - materials from different places; typological developments of various cultural elements components, inserting archaeological settlements or levels depending on imports or received influences from other cultures or period established, the study of the elements of tradition and cultural backgrounds transmitted either prior or subsequent cultural backgrounds. All these elements made it possible to claim that the evolution of complex Salcuța-Bubanj-Krivodol spans three major chronological periods:

- The training-Phase I;
- The maximum crystallization and development-phase II subphases II a, II b and II c;
- Classical period-phase III, subphases III A and III B.

Based on regional differences (related to older funds) in the Carpathian - Balkan settled

three main cultural groups: Gumelnița-Karanovo VI-Kodjadermen-in Thrace, part of the north-eastern Bulgaria, Muntenia and Dobrogea; Sălcuta-Bubanj - Krivodol-in the north-western Bulgaria, southern and western Romania, Eastern Serbia; Varna-from Stara Planina at the Danube - a coastal strip they get more than 25 - 35 km inwards. The findings so far confirm our background and a common cultural heritage. The three main entities can be treated and analyzed separately.

The evolution of Sălcuța culture occurs simultaneously with the start of a long and lengthy process of cultural unification focused on Transylvanian copper areas and colour reception and filtering of cultural property from the south of Danube. Establishing its evolutionary phases is possible by the multiplication of systematic investigations of Sălcuța settlements and in areas neighbouring cultures.

Sălcuța derived materials found in stratigraphic context at Drăgănești-Olt "Corboaica" and Romula "Dealul Morii", confirmed they contemporaneity between Gumelnița B1 and Sălcuța I cultures, in a moment when the first culture was in the final evolutionary stage.

Pottery decorated with comb, technique having Eastern origin, fragments of Cucuteni C type vessels decorated with cufflinks "au repoussé" style (fig. 30), decorated with cord wrapped, using crushed shell splinters and crushed and mixed with crushed shell, bowl with relatively high margin, inclined inwards, with shoulder knobs drilled or punched vertical projections made by pushing organic paste inside the vessel, the tread surface, or applied organic belt just below the rim and grooves disposed, decoration in the form of caterpillars, plastic lip line that marks the edge of the body contact and the body of the pots that have oblong S shaped profile, all found in the settlements of Sălcuța, Vădastra, Ostrovul Corbului, Drăgănești-Olt, Brătești posits a synchronism Cernavoda-Sălcuța III, posterior phases Gumelnița B 1.

Stratigraphic study of the content of each level from Bubanj demonstrated that it can not be an exact match between them and Sălcuța. Analogies Bubanj level I refers to the Sălcuța sub-phase II c. This means that, chronologically, a parallelism between the two groups begin to take place in the Sălcuța II c and Bubanj I a.

The second synchronic moment is the Sălcuța III-Bubanj I b, when begin to appear some *helanic* items that create the premises of the end of Sălcuța-Bubanj complex and chronologically the phases Sălcuța III - Bubanj I b represent a late period.

Based on impressions of "wrapped string" from Šupljevec, we can speak of a contemporary Sălcuța II-III and Šupljevec-Bakarno-Gumno Group. It should be noted that in this area reached the common carriers of Cernavoda I culture.

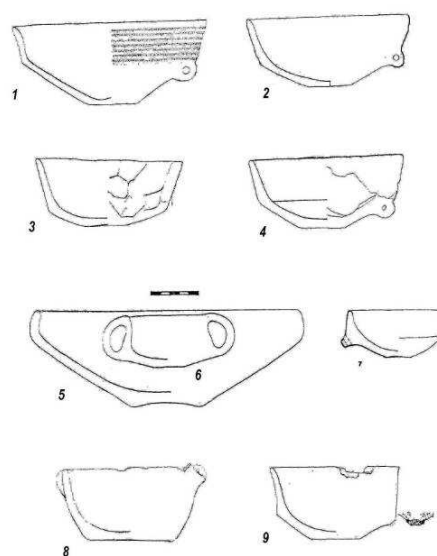


Fig. 30 - Pottery on Ostrovul Corbului (Mehedinți County) (after M. Șimon, 1989).

In western Bulgaria, the Krivodol group is descended of Krivodol Gumelnița-Karanovo VI-Kodjadermen complex. The first phase is known from Krivodol, Dyakovo (near Kustendil), second and third from Krivodol, Zaminetz, Pernic and Galatin and the unifying phenomenon cultural Sălcuța type IV from Telisha, Rebrukovo and other points. Based on pottery vases depicting profiles, bowls of all kinds, vases with two handles, painted fragments that have analogues in phase Sălcutța I, we can speak about Krivodol phase I. On the same criteria were established Krivodol II and Krivodol III phases. Valuable clues were obtained from Devetaki cave where Krivodol Phase I is well

documented (pottery with graphit).

Timeline relative elements are being confirmed by C14 dating. The few C14 analyzes for Sălcuța culture are from the settlements from Curmătura, Ostrovul Corbului and "Peștera Hoților" from Băile Herculane, Caraș-Severin County. The data for Krivodol were combined with the results obtained from samples of settlements from Lîga, Pipra, Krivodol, Golijamata Peștera, Teliș.

If the data for the north Danube area converge between 4451-3980 cal. B.P., for the north - western part of Bulgaria data fall between 4330 - 4020 cal. B. P.

Sălcuța culture evolution seen through interdisciplinary analyzes

From the site Drăgănești-Olt tell (G. El Susi, 2006) were collected and determined 3645 bones, fragments of which 3570 come from mammals (percentage 98%). There were identified five species of domestic mammals (cattle, sheep, goat, pig, dog) and 11 species hunted (deer, boar, horse, deer, bull, rabbit, bear, marten, badger, beaver and fox). Regarding the species dynamic on levels we were able to observe the following:

- Cattle register a decrease in the typical end of the Eneolithic from 27% (Gumelnița A2) - 21% (level Sălcuța).

- Goats lower from 23% / 21% to 8%.

- Pigs record growth, 21% -27%.

- Canids double their share in the Sălcuța , 7%.

From the data on the samples examined, it appears that there is a reversal in the economy of the site to the Sălcuța culture toward Gumelnița. Hunt returns. All changes relating to the number of the registered mammals are due to a crisis in the livestock economy of the site at the end of the Eneolithic.

Another perspective we have from the osteological material found in the necropolis of Ostrovul Corbului, Mehedinți County and that was also subjected to analysis (G. El Susi, 2012). Overall, among the analyzed faunal remains prevalent the bones of small mammals, pig, sheep, goat, widespread in Eneolithic habitation (default Sălcuța culture). As a general trend, we observe low share of cattle and strong increases of hunted species. Among them, the highest percentage, 26-21%, is accounted to deer. At a small difference is followed by wild boar, with 22 to 12.6%.

Instead of conclusions

At first glance, trying to identify the origins of Sălcuța is quite difficult. Analysis of the main elements of civilization that belonged to these communities gives us some working hypotheses. In the late Neolithic, Oltenia region has several cultural phenomena that come to be contemporary, although most of their evolution occurred in a prior chronologically period.

Gumelnița communities from Oltenia were present in the evolutionary phase B 1. Civilization with a variety of shapes and motifs, modes of execution and organization of the decor has a consistent presence in the development of Sălcuța culture.

The influences and similarities we meet in the pottery: form (bowl rim thickened inwardly curved rim inside bowl and those with shoulder, tapered bowl with straight walls, slightly curved or concave, bowl high edge at right angles or rounded edge bowl short, straight or slightly flared foot cups, bowl inside sloping edge, sharp shoulder bowl, cup, bowl or bowl bulging body, biconical vessel, dish hemispherical, pear-shaped bowl, cover, supply vessels, vessels, threshold, biconical vessels with high neck, truncated, miniature vases, bowl, drain tube, amphora, vessel askos) and decoration (incised lines, reasons point, so angular, spiral motif, triangle, square, why curvilinear, semicircle). We find them in the execution techniques: impressions, nicks, incisions, topography (cufflinks, pleats, belts alveolar), slurry, painting, cruel, painting graphite in anthropomorphic clay and bone, rite and ritual.

In the current state of researches and information we know, we believe that we can talk about Sălcuța culture (C. N. Pătroi, 2011 a) as a Gumelnița cultural phenomenon origin.

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A possible attack direction used by the Roman army during the Dacian Wars

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Abstract: *A possible attack direction used by the Roman army during the Dacian Wars.* The Dacian Wars present at this moment numerous unknown aspects, among these are the military operations of the Roman Army on the Lower and Middle basin of the Mureș Valley. The scholarly opinions on this matter are numerous, in regard to the advance directions, the troop composition, and the period in which the actions occurred - the first or the second war. The author brings into discussion another possible advance route towards the Mureș Valley, across the Lipovei Hills, on a *via terrena* road type, built and used during the Dacian - Roman Wars. The hypothesis is supported by the discovery of another possible roman road in 1977, which crosses in its turn the Lipovei Hills about 50 km to the east, at Bulci. Related to these events during the wars, the author presents a number of new fortifications at Bârzava, Neudorf and Secusigiu. The one from Secusigiu, judging by its size and analogies, might represent a temporary roman camp and could represent the first tangible proof of a Roman advance on the Mureș Valley during the Dacian Wars.

Key words: Dacian Wars, Pannonian expeditionary corps, *via terrena*, temporary camps, roman castra, Mureș Valley.

Introduction

It is a well-known fact that the Dacian Wars present at this moment numerous unknown aspects, and it is unlikely that these might be unraveled anytime soon (D. Benea 2006). Among these unknown aspects are the military operations of the Roman Army on the Lower and Middle basin of the Mureș Valley, from its convergence into Tisa up to the Șureanu Mountains, the heartlands of the Dacian Kingdom and the main conflict area.

Previous researchers had try to answer the puzzling questions: did the Roman forces advanced from Pannonia or did they went downstream on the Mureș from the central conflict area, conquering the Dacian fortifications located near the river? Did the expeditionary corps from Pannonia that took part in both Dacian Wars (101-102 A.D. and 105-106 A.D) came indeed from the west, simultaneous with the Roman offensive in the south, or did this

corps joined with the other Roman forces in Moesia Superior, the starting point of the campaign ? And did the movements on the Mureș River happen in the first war or in the second war?

These questions have remained unanswered to this day, and in the archaeological literature, such issues are treated, because of the lack of any solid arguments so far, in phrases such as „unlikely”, "likely" or "very likely". In this paper, we will bring into discussion a series of new finds, discovered during field researches done in the last years in Arad County that might bring new light on the military operations of the Roman Army on the lower Mureș during the Dacian Wars.

The historiography of the problem

Among the historians and archaeologists that attempted to answer these questions were O. Răut and his collaborators (O. Răuț, O. Bozu, R.

Petrovsky, 1997; F. Fodorean, 2006; E. Nemeth et.al., 2011). They claimed that the Roman Army advanced in the Second War towards the Transylvanian heartlands of the Dacian Kingdom using the Mureş Valley, arriving there on a road existing between Tibiscum and Bulci that might have been built for this purpose earlier, in the inter-war years.

L. Mărghită (1978) believes that in the First Dacian war, we cannot speak of Roman forces attacking the Lower Mureş - they entered only its middle course, thus the numerous Dacian fortifications and settlements located downstream from the Simeria - Uroi area were not directly involved in the battles as the Roman Army concentrated its forces in assaulting the capital of the Dacian kingdom, Sarmizegetusa Regia. L. Mărghită (1978) also believes that after the peace treaty of 102 A.D. the Romans did not occupy the valley of the great Transylvanian river, bringing as an argument the well-known passage found in the works of the ancient historian Dio Cassius that speaks about the Dacian king Decebalus retaking sometimes in the inter-war period, a land previously occupied by the Iazigi Sarmatians. According to L. Mărghită (1978), only in the Second Dacian war, the Romans, together with their Iazigii allies, have attacked the Mureş Valley coming upstream from the west. This scenario is considered much more plausible by the author than a hypothetical secondary expedition launched by the Romans from their war-quarters located in Ţara Haţegului. Thus, in the Second Dacian war, Roman units advanced on the Mureş coming from the northern area of the Strei River, or through the Dobra pass. Once entered the valley, these troops might have engaged Dacian forces both upstream as well as downstream of their entry point. A. Diaconescu (1997), on the other hand, supposes that a Roman expeditionary corps might have entered on the Mureş Valley coming from Pannonia during the first war, getting as far as Apulum, that might have been the joining point of the various Roman expeditionary forces advancing in Dacia from different directions.

However, C. H. Opreanu (1996) considers that during the Second Dacian war, "very likely" an expeditionary corps coming from Pannonia went through the Tisa Plains and on the Mureş Valley, joining other Roman forces at Apulum. In its turn, D. Benea (2006) believes that it is

necessary to analyse again other attack directions used by the Romans against Dacia. She admits as certain the fact that an expeditionary corps, formed from the armies of the two provinces, Pannonia Superior and Inferior, totaling about 26 500 soldiers (Legio I Adiutrix and Legio XIII Gemina with other forces), advanced in the first war from Pannonia towards Transylvania. Its movement might have been made on two possible ways: on land, by transporting the troops to Lugio and from there, across the Pannonian Plains towards Parthikon, after which they continued advancing upstream on Mureş; the second, considers an advance towards Dacia through the using of rivers, on Danube, then on Tisa and after that on Mureş, upstream, until the plains to the north of Şureanu Mountains. She also believes that the *dava* from Pecica – „Şantul Mare” (identified by I. H. Crişan, 1978 with ancient Ziridava; newer opinions identify this *dava* with Ardeu - Cetăţuie, see S. Forţiu, 2012) was destroyed during these operations. Also, in her opinion, the Roman expeditionary corps coming on Mureş might have participated in the Battle of Tapae, together with other forces - but the location of the Tapae is in her view not at the Iron Gates of Transylvania, but somewhere else (D. Benea, 2006).

About the possibility of an attack by a Roman expeditionary corps from Pannonia on the Mureş Valley, K. Strobel (1984) also wrote, but he considered such a road impracticable, due to natural conditions (K. Strobel, 1984; E. Nemeth, 2007). However, such a road had been in usage long before the Roman times (I. Ferenczi, 1974; E. Nemeth, 2007).

E. Nemeth (2007), speaking about the role of the Pannonian Roman expeditionary corps that participated in both wars, emphasizes the merits of the governor Q. Glitius Agricola that led the corps composed of legionary *vexillatio* and auxiliary forces. These actions had taken place during the First Dacian war, while the offensive might have taken place simultaneously with the southern offensive. He cannot exclude the fact that this expeditionary force might not have actually went towards Mureş, but towards Moesia Superior, to join the main column led by Emperor Trajan himself.

Most researchers seem to agree about a possible Roman advance on the Mureş Valley from the Pannonia. A. Diaconescu (1997), D.

Benea (2006), E. Nemeth (2007) believe that this happened during the First War, while L. Mărghită (1978) and C. Opreanu (1997) suppose a later date, during the Second war. Also, if A. Diaconescu (1997) and C. Opreanu (1997) suppose that the Roman advance was on the northern bank of the river, D. Benea (2006) supposes that such an advance was "likely on the southern bank".

Possible new attack directions

Any Roman advance from Pannonia towards the Mureș Valley could have had no less than two objectives: to eliminate all areas of Dacian resistance along the valley (fortresses and settlements); to reinforce the main Roman push into the Transylvanian heartlands of the Dacian Kingdom, during the Second Dacian War. Even if the Roman expeditionary corps might have advanced on the southern bank of Mureș River, opposing the Dacian fortifications that are all located on the northern shore (D. Benea 2006; A. Berzovan, C. Coatu, 2010), these should have been nevertheless eliminated (fig. 1).

The advance of the Roman army towards the Mureș River might have been done from multiple directions. In 1995, during field researches, a new dyke had been discovered on the first heights of the Lipovei Hills, at their contact with the Mureș meadows. It is located at about 2,4 km west from the town of Lipova, and 1,8 km south towards the current course of the Mureș, in the area named „Dâmbul Plumbilor” (GPS coordinates: 46°03'32.58"N, 21°40'06.02"E, elevation 155 m). It is well preserved and it appears as an embankment surrounded by two ditches. The western one has an opening of about 1,5 - 2 m, while the eastern one is smaller, only of about 1 m. The width of this embankment at its height is between 5,5 - 6 meters, while its current height is between 0,80 m - 1 m. Its direction is N-S (fig. 2-3). The „dyke” continues at both ends - the northern one can be easily seen on satellite images is going another 23 meters, towards the meadows of Mureș, in front of the Cladova valley's opening. The southern part goes towards the forest line, being severely damaged by agricultural works - it is also superimposed by a modern agricultural road. In the forest, we could not find it anymore.

We believe that this "dyke" was a part of the one mentioned by G. Teglás (1904) in the

beginning of the XXth century on the Șistarovăț Valley. This „dyke” stretched far to the south towards Banat, going towards Berzovia and even further (G. Teglás, 1904; L. Măruia, 2011). In our point of view, this „dyke”, including the sector described by G. Teglás (1904) had different functions than a simple linear defensive system or a demarcation line - it could have been a part of the communication roads built by the Romans in Dacia during the Dacian - Roman wars. Considering its shape and aspect, this "dyke" could in fact represent one of the simplest types of roads built by the Romans: *via terrena* (F. Fodorean, 2006). Of course, the idea of considering some of the dykes in the Banat as roads is not a new one. Grossly exaggerating, Kematmüller supposed that of the dykes were in fact Roman roads (M. Kematmüller, 1892).

There are a few more considerations to be made regarding this discovery. Between the northern end of the „Dâlma” dyke mentioned by G. Teglás (1904) and the southern part of the dyke we found at „Dâmbul Plumbilor”, there is a distance of about 2,5 km, where we could not find any traces of the dyke - it is possible, however, that it might have been destroyed in time, due to the three plantations and agricultural works that affected this parts of the Lipovei Hills. Anyway, a change of direction with 90° could be explained by an intention to finish the road in front of Cladova, where a Dacian fortification existed on the Cetății Hill (M. Barbu 1996; P. Hügel, P. Hurezan, 1999). We believe that this likely road could have come from Berzovia, going across the Lipovei Hills and entering into the lower Mureș Valley. Our hypothesis says that the Romans have built this road at the end of the First War, or during the interwar period, in order to ease the access towards the southern banks of the River Mureș. A firm Roman control of the southern banks between Orăștie and Tisa was necessary in order to assure a solid starting base for attacking the rather numerous Dacian forts located on the northern bank (M. Barbu, 1996).

At the end of the First War, most scholars agree that the entire Banat region was occupied by the Romans (D. Benea, 1994; N. Gudea, 1997; C. Opreanu 1997, C. Opreanu, 1998; P. Hügel, 1999). It is admitted that the northern limit of the Roman advance during the First Dacian War is represented by the middle and lower course of

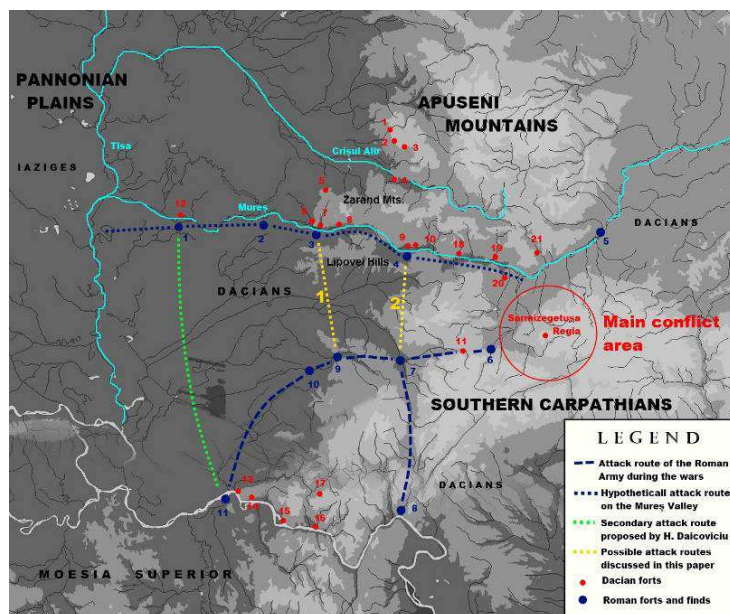


Fig.1- The western theater of operations during the Dacian Wars. **Dacian forts:** 1. Botfei; 2. Clit; 3. Groșeni; 4. Berindia; 5. Șiria; 6. Păuliș; 7. Cladova; 8. Șoimoș (?); 9. Vărădia de Mureș; 10. Săvârșin; 11. Tapae (?); 12. Pecica; 13. Socol; 14. Divici; 15. Pescari; 16. Liubcova; 17. Dalboșeț; 18. Câmpuri Surduc; 19. Uroi; 20. Cozia; 21. Ardeu. **Roman forts and finds:** 1. Secusigiu (?); 2. Aradu Nou; 3. Neudorf (?); 4. Bulci; 5. Apullum; 6. Sarmizegetusa; 7. Tibiscum; 8. Dierna; 9. Aizisis; 10. Berzobis; 11. Lederata. **Possible attack routes discussed in this paper:** 1. Ending at Neudorf; 2. Ending at Bulci.

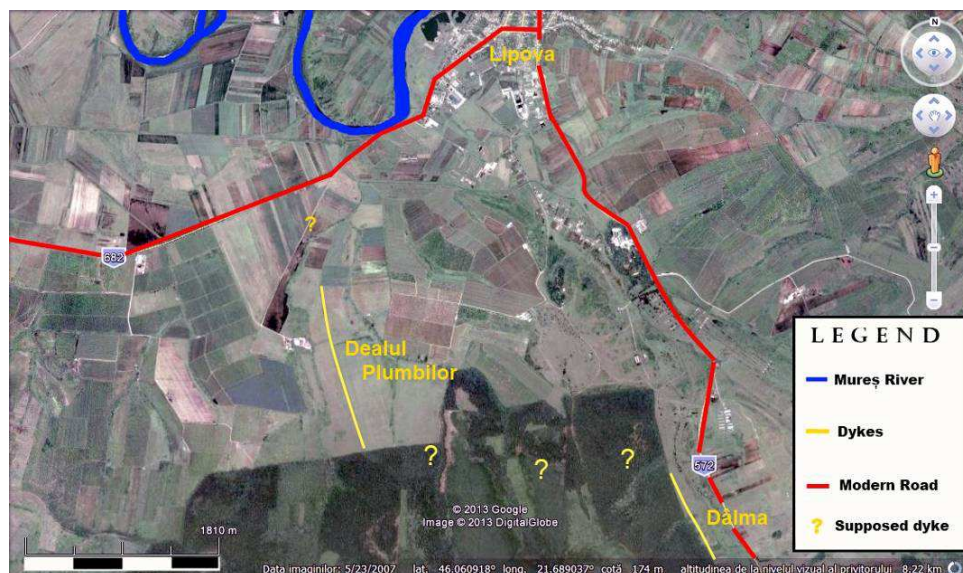


Fig. 2 - The "Dâlma" and the dyke from the "Dealul Plumbilor". Satellite image from Google Earth.



Fig. 3 - The "dyke" from the Dealul Plumbilor

the Mureș River (N. Gudea, 1997; C. Opreanu, 1998). From our point of view, we agree that the northern limits was indeed the Mureș River and that the Romans stopped their advance on the southern bank, possibly due to a clause in the peace treaty signed between Emperor Trajan and king Decebalus. One of the arguments for this is a well-known passage from Dio Cassius related to the quick attack of Decebalus against the Iazygii Sarmatians that had occupied during the war a territory that was previously a part of the Dacian Kingdom (C. Petolescu, 2001). The territory in dispute seems to have been somewhere to the north-west of Mureș, maybe in Arad Plains and Crișana, not in the north-western Banat (C. Opreanu, 1997, C. Opreanu, 1998). In order to get his armies towards this territory, Decebalus had to go on the Mureș valley - however, if all the course of the river would have been under the control of the Romans, the Dacian king would have had to use different, more difficult pathways, that would have considerably slowed him down (for example, the valley of Crisul Alb).

Our hypothesis according to which the "dyke" from the Dealul Plumbilor and the "Dâlma" from Șiștarovăț represents a via terrena used by the Romans to enter the Mureș Valley seems to be supported by an indirect analogy located around 50 km to the east. O. Răuț and its collaborators (1977) mention the existence of an unknown Roman road - going from Tibiscum (Jupa), and then through Răchita - Pădurariu - Bunea Mare (Timis County), passing through the

Lipovei Hills and exiting on the southern banks of Mureș Valley, at Bulci (O. Răuț et.al. 1997; E. Nemeth, 2007). During 1977, we have discovered limestone plates in the structure of the modern county road 80, which connects the villages of Bulci and Ostrov, suggesting a possible re-utilization in modern times of an ancient Roman road. Also, to the north-west, satellite images show a possible trail of the same road (46°00'26.62"N, 22°06'00.77"E, elevation 143 m).

The construction of two roads coming from the main Roman road between Berzovia (C. C. Petolescu, 2001) and Tibiscum (Jupa), offered for the Roman army multiple ways to go towards the Mureș River, attacking key strategic points. It is not at all a coincidence that both roads stop in front of the two main concentrations of Dacian settlements and fortifications on the Mureș Valley: the western one, from "Dealul Plumbilor" stops in the area of Cladova - Dealul Cetății and an entire system of Dacian forts and settlements (A. Berzovan, C. Coatu 2010), while the eastern one from Bulci stops near the fortifications of Vărădia de Mureș - Dealul Cetății and Săvârșin - Dealul Cetățea (fig. 1).

If our hypotheses are correct, an important part in this work might have been undertaken by Legio III Flavia Felix (D. Benea, 1983). It is likely that during the inter-war period, the control of the southern banks of the Mureș might have not been permanent; its surveillance could have been made by small detachments coming from

Berzovia or Tibiscum (D. Benea, 1983). However, certain key areas, such as that from Bulci, or at Bârzava (where an ancient trail-road connects across the Zarandului Mountains the Mureş Valley with the Crişul Alb Valley), might have been fortified by the Romans.

The onset of the Second Dacian War in 105 A.D. permitted the Roman Army an easy access on these roads towards the Mureş Valley, and the fording of the northern shores must have been made simultaneously on a long front. We will never know which of the small Dacian forts on the northern shore did oppose resistance or simply surrendered without a fight. But it is certain that after the destruction of the Dacian fort from Cladova, the emplacement was reutilized by the Romans as a control point, a fact proven by numerous archaeological finds: stamped bricks belonging to Legio XIII Gemina and to the Cohors II Flavia Commagenorum (P. Hügel, 1996; E. Nemeth et.al., 2011). Thus, it seems almost certain that vexillations from the Legio IIII Flavia Felix did take part in military operations on the Mureş Valley, and a further proof of this might be the stamped brick found at Aradu Nou - Catholic Cemetery (I. Glodariu, 1996; D. Protase, 1967; E. Dörner, 1970; N. Gudea, 1997; E. Nemeth et.al., 2011). Some Roman forces might also have continued their advance against the Dacians further north in the Zarandului Basin, securing the northern flanks of the troops advancing on the Mureş valley towards Transylvania.

We believe that the high command of Trajan considered much more efficient to transport the Roman forces from Moesia Superior on the same paths used in the first Dacian war: Lederata - Arcidava - Berzobis - Tibiscum. The start point was accessible with fleets via Danube (D. Benea, 2006), while the later parts towards Tibiscum and Berzobis were already secured by a series of castra (E. Nemeth et.al. 2011) that guarded a road already built in the First Dacian War (C. C. Petolescu, 2001; E. Nemeth et.al., 2011). The two possible roads that end up in the Mureş Valley might have given the Romans further possibilities to attack the Dacians (fig. 1).

Possible new Roman fortifications on the Lower Mureş

Considering the above scenarios, all of which suggest Roman troop movement across the Lower Mureş Valley, we might ask ourselves if

there are any marching camps that might indicate such activities. In the Arad County, up to this moment, there was not a single fortification found that could have been, even loosely, attributed to this period and these events.

New light on this issue might be offered by the recent discoveries of a number of new fortifications on the Lower Mureş Valley in the years 1975-1995. The field researches were supplemented with thorough analyses of the satellite images provided by Google Earth. We will present the results of our studies.

We will start with the description of the fortifications found at Bârzava - Cimitir Ortodox 2, Arad County (fig.4-6). To the north-west of the village, on a gentle hill slope oriented E-V, in and around the orthodox cemetery located to the west of the road Bârzava- Nadăş- Tauţ, we have discovered three fortifications and two dykes.

The first of them was named conventionally **F1** (fig. 6). It is situated to the north-west of the orthodox cemetery 2, at the following coordinates: 46°06'40.35"N; 21°58'55.60"E, at an elevation of about 167 m. It consists of an earth rampart and an outer ditch, having a trapezoidal shape and presenting rounded corners. Its dimensions are: 88x114x136x114m, and it encloses a surface of about 1,3 ha. It is not well preserved: on the field, one can see well only its northern and eastern sides, while the southern one is less visible. The western side, near a river stream, was completely destroyed by landslides. Regarding the size of the fortifications elements, the external ditch presents an opening of about 2,5 m, while the vallum presents a width (at base) between 4,3-4,5 m. On the eastern side, one can clearly see an entrance gate.

In the interior of the fortification, more precisely in its south-eastern parts, there is a bizarre circular mound of about 10 meters, with archaeological materials that consists of small fragments of black, very coarse hand-made pottery (by any means, impossible to date – could be anything ranging from Prehistoric to Dacian or even Early Middle Ages) and burned adobe. On the satellite images, one might see also traces of other possible buildings inside the fortification.

The second fortification was named **F2**. It is located at only 30 m distance from F1, on the territory of the Orthodox Cemetery 2. Its coordinates are: 46°06'38.78"N, respectively

A possible attack direction used by the Roman army during the Dacian Wars

21°59'02.46"E, at a height of 182 m. It presents an earth vallum and an external ditch, having a rectangular shape with rounded corners. Its dimensions, based on what is left of it, are 194x106 m, covering a surface of around 2, 05 ha. The fortress was badly preserved. The vallum, at its base, presents a width of around 4 m, while the ditches are clogged up, barely visible (with the exception of the one located in

the north). The southern part goes for a short way in the forest, being mostly destroyed. The western part intersects the eastern part of the third fortification, F3. The planimetric details suggest the existence of two gates: one on the eastern side, one on the western side. In the interior of the fortification one can see groupings of smaller vallums, which fall perpendicularly on the southern side - it is uncertain whether these



Fig. 4 - Bârzava – Orthodox Cemetery. General view on satellite images from Google Earth.

are indeed ancient or had been, more likely, created in modern times. Anyway, such a situation was observed in the case of another fortification found in Arad county, that from Bodrogu Vechi – Grădiște (E. Pădurean, 1987). The satellite images seem to suggest more defensive elements: another vallum of about 24 m on the eastern side, and a possible vallum on the southern side, forming a large „U” shape.

The last of the fortifications of Bârzava, **F3**, is located to the west of F2, and seems to have been attached to it. It is located at 46°06'35.11"N, and 21°58'56.33"E, at an elevation of 163 m. It presents a vallum and an exterior ditch, having rounded corners. It covers a small surface, around 0, 8 ha, having, probably, a rectangular size. Its dimensions seem to be around 90x90 m. On the field, it is not as clear as the others. The southern and western parts disappear into the forest and are hard to be seen on surface. We had found no

traces of gates, and we cannot say much more due to the low degree of preservation.

In regard to the linear fortifications, the first one is located at about 28 m east from the south-eastern corner of the F2 fortress. It presents a vallum and a ditch oriented towards east. The vallum presents at the base a width between 4, 5 - 5 m, while the ditch is between 2-2, 5 m. The linear fortification had a length of about 240 m. A shorter, southern sector, of about 60 m we had seen to the south of the forests margin. This linear fortification is poorly conserved being visible only for a short distance. On satellite images, towards its northern end, one might see a bifurcation, for 60 meters, ending with a possible tower (?) of 10x10 meters. The second linear fortification is located 90 m east from the north-eastern corner of F1 fort (46°06'41.78"N, 21°59'02.67"E, elevation 184 m). It presents a vallum and a ditch oriented towards east. The

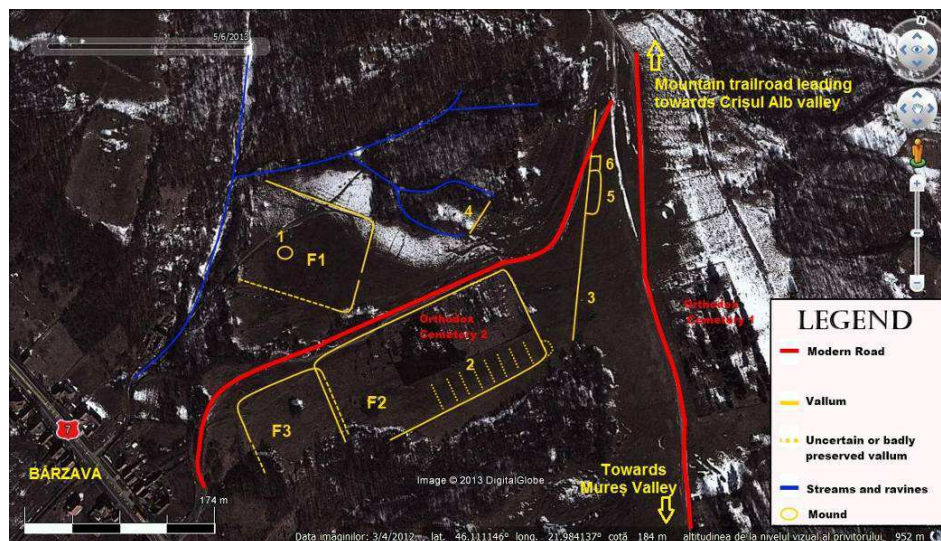


Fig. 5 - Bârzava – Orthodox Cemetery. The fortification system: 1. Mound with archaeological materials; 2. Perpendicular vallums in F2; 3. linear fortification; 4. Linear fortification; 5. Doubling of the linear fortification; 6. Possible tower (?).

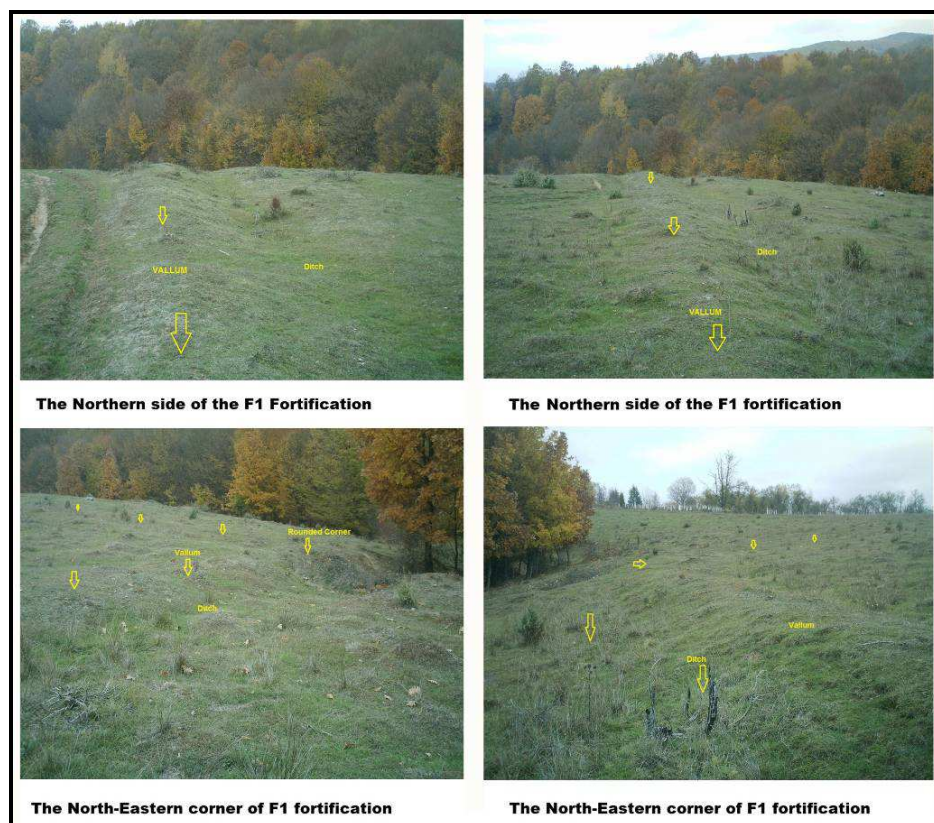


Fig. 6 - The F1 fortification from Bârzava – Cimitirul Ortodox 2.
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vallum has at its base a width of about 2, 5 m, and the ditch is 2 m width. The length of the vallum is 24 meters, and it is oriented N-S, protecting the area between two ravines.

In the south-eastern part of **Neudorf, Arad county** (fig. 7), is located another fortification we are going to present (more precisely, at 46°04'05.08"N, 21°37'28.49"E). The fortification presents a vallum and an exterior ditch, having a rectangular shape with rounded corners. Its size is about 93x115 m (?), closing an area of about 1, 3 ha. The fortress has been badly preserved, being easier to see on satellite images than on the field. The shortest southern part is covered by constructions of the former CAP Neudorf. Part of the vallum had been used by local people as a road. The size of the vallum at its base is between 5, 5- 6 m, while the ditch has an opening between 2, 5 - 3 m. Some details suggest the existence of gates on the northern and eastern sides that were better preserved.

The last fortification we will present is located at **Secusigiu – Borconi** (fig. 8), the Orthodox Cemetery, Arad County. Very likely, as numerous elements suggest, it might represent a Roman marching camp from the Dacian Wars. The fortification is located in the north-western parts of the town, at the contact between the high Vinga Plain and the low Mureş Valley (46°05'48.94" N, 20°58'40.54"E, elevation 96 m). It presents an earth vallum and an outer ditch. It has a trapezoidal shape, with rounded corners, having the following dimensions: 194x288x209x238, covering a surface of about 4,9 ha.

Its conservation status is good. The fortress is larger than the current cemetery. It is located on a terrain slightly leaning towards the Mureş Valley. The southern part is better visible, while to the north, parts of it are not that clear. The vallum has at its base about 5, 5 meter width, and the opening of the ditch has about 2, 8 m. The height of the vallum is 0, 60 m at the inside, and 1, 50 m at the outside - this difference might be explained by the fact that the duct of the vallum likely went on a higher bank of an ancient course (?) of the river Mureş (fig. 9). The northern side is composed of two segments united in an angle; it is possible that here might be located one of the gates. The southern gate



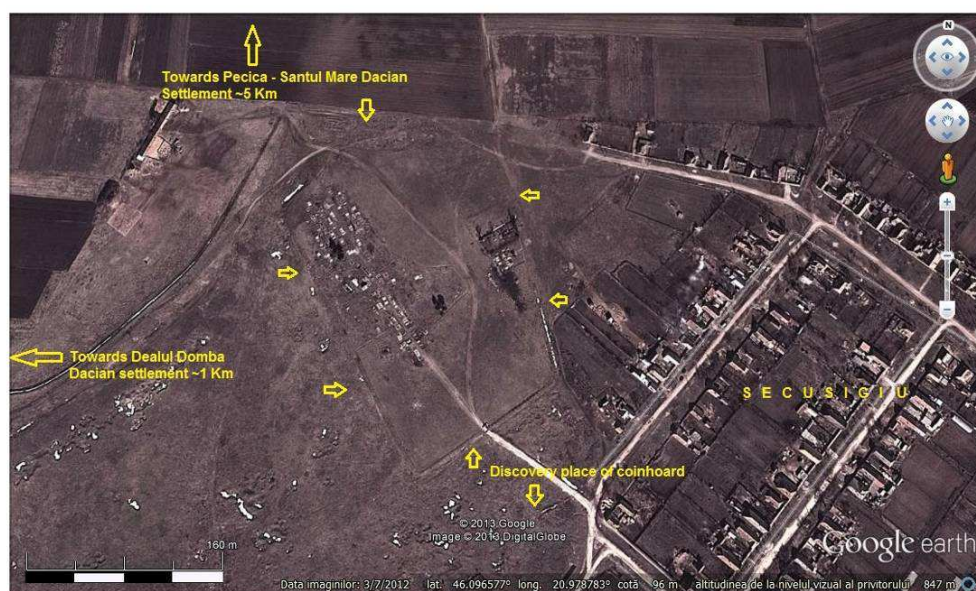
Fig. 7 - The fortification from Neudorf. Satellite image taken from Google Earth.

might correspond with the modern aces road to the cemetery, that enter through an 3 m high embankment located exactly at the middle of the southern side. Two other gates, the eastern and western one, are located on the 69 meters long sides. An interesting detail might be given by the presence of 5 small ditches and vallums, located at 13, 5 m in front the supposed northern entrance, with a length of about 19-20 m. Other such things can be seen also near this gate. An interesting planimetric detail is represented by a vallum with a width of 5 meters, flattened, that goes towards the inside of the fortification. Other further details that can be seen on the field are hard to interpret. In regard to archaeological materials, there had been discovered a few handmade potshards in the vallum. Some of these can be dated roughly in the Dacian Kingdom's period (Ist century BC - Ist century AD).

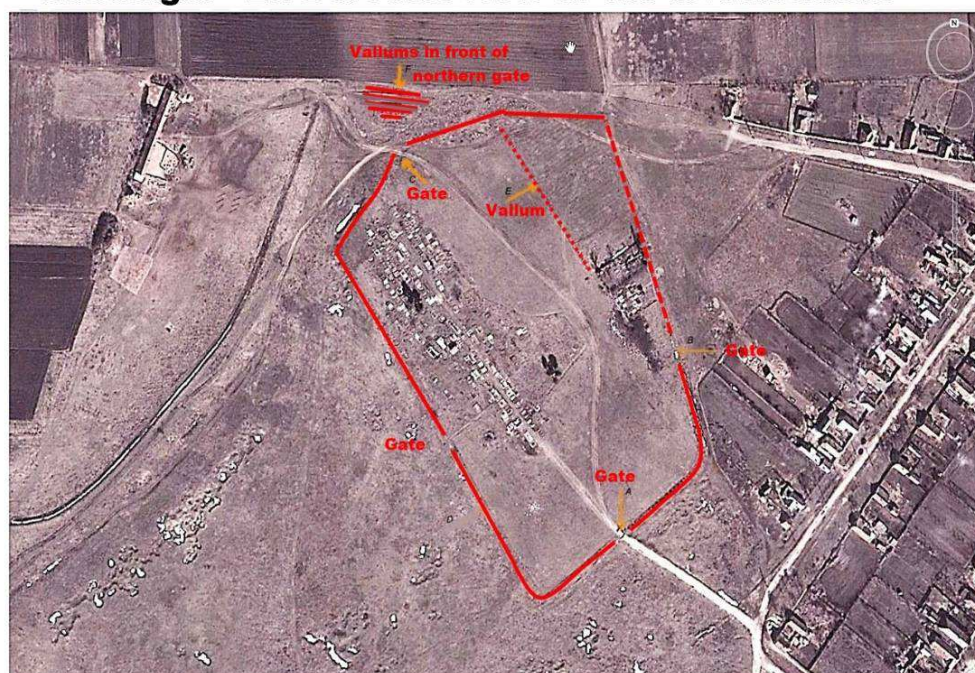
It is also, worth to be noticed that near the emplacement of the fortification, at no more than a few dozen meters from its southern side, had been discovered a coin hoard consisting of Roman Republican Denarii (F. Medeleţ, 1994; D. Bălănescu, 1999). The fortification is also near the Dacian settlements from Secusigiu – Dealul Domba, and about 5 km south from the dava of Pecica – „Şantul Mare” (I. H. Crişan, 1978).

Conclusions

The fortifications we have presented above are all presenting earth vallum's and exterior ditches. The lack of representative archaeological material suggests that they had been used for a



Secusigiu - La Borconi: view of the fortification.



Secusigiu - La Borconi: contours and gates

Fig. 8 - Fortification at Secusigiu – Borconi. Satellite image from Google Earth.

A possible attack direction used by the Roman army during the Dacian Wars

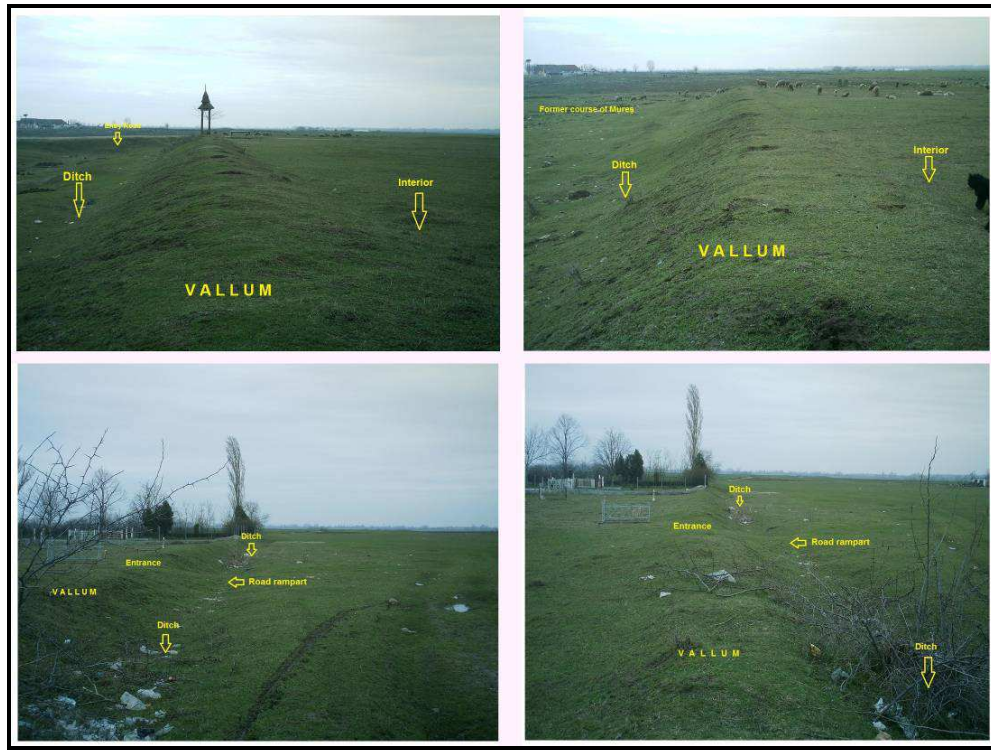


Fig. 9 - Secusigiu – Borconi. Field photographs.

short time. We cannot say that all of them are Roman, but there are chances that some of them might be. Only diggings might offer definite answers. It is true that these fortifications do not have large vallums, but smaller vallums such as here can also be found at many other Roman forts, such as that from Sopor de Sus, Satu Mare County (A. Matei, R. Gindele, 2001). The location of the presented fortifications is also suggestive: the defensive system from Bârzava has a very good view on the Mureș Valley, and is guarding the access on an important trail-road that crosses the Zarandului Mountains. The presence of a complex Roman marching castra, supplemented by linear defensive systems had been observed at Chitid, Hunedoara County (information received from E. S. Teodor and A. Berzovan).

The fortification from Neudorf, although small, has a shape specific to roman forts - it is very likely that it might be that "roman propugnaculum" mentioned in the late XIXth century by Márki Sándor (S. Márki, 1892), being

located at about 900 m est to the most western dyke that traverses the Banat Region. Also at Neudorf, had been found an aureus coin from Augustus (M. Barbu, P. Hügel, 1993), or it is a well-known fact that the presence of such coins during the Ist century AD is related to presence of the Roman Army (R. Ardevan, 1993). In our turn, we had also published some early Roman materials found at Neudorf – Pârâul Roșia (E. Pădurean, 2010). Thus, we believe there are some good arguments to suggest a Roman presence here.

The fortification from Secusigiu si the largest of all we presented and it represents very likely a roman marching castrum from the Dacian Wars. With its size, 4, 9 ha, matches the size of some Roman marching camps dated in the Dacian Wars like that from Vârful lui Pătru, for example (E. S. Teodor et.al., 2013), its shape having also numerous analogies in other Roman castra related to this conflict: Coasta lui Rus Mica from the Parâng Mountains, Ponorici - Dealul Robului



Secugisiu - Borconi

Parâng - Coasta lui Rus Mică

Fig. 10 - A comparison of sizes and shapes between Secusigiu – Borconi (Google Earth image) and Parâng – Coasta lui Rus Mică (ANCPI orthophotograms).

(D. Oltean, 2012; see also Fig. 10), Luncani - Târșea (E. S. Teodor et. al., 2013); a good analogy is found also in Roman Britain, at Twyn-i-Briddallt (E. S. Teodor et. al., 2013). If the fortification from Secusigiu is indeed a Roman marching castrum (as all evidences seem to suggest), it might be the first conclusive evidence of a Roman advance on the Mureș from the Pannonian Plains.

Even if some of the fortifications presented

in this paper might turn out to be not Roman, but from other historical periods (I. Hațegan, 2005), they represent a gain for the scientifically repertoire of the Lower Mureș Valley.

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This paper is dedicated in the memory of our friend, Liviu Măruia, phd, expert archaeologist and lecturer at the West University of Timisoara, who recently passed away in a tragic accident.

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Trigonometric method used to correct local coordinates topographic surveys, applied for archaeology

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Abstract: **Trigonometric method used to correct local coordinates topographic surveys, applied for archaeology.** The necessity of Stereo 70 topographical surveys for archaeological sites raises the issue of access to coordinates needed to create a proper measurement aligned to the Romanian national system. In most situations involving our team, Stereo 70 coordinates of sites that had to be measured were unknown or the site itself was still unknown, being unidentified yet, and thereby we were forced to use local coordinates for those particular surveys. Local coordinates involve an orientation issue, orientation mainly achieved with the help of a compass to indicate the magnetic North, thus implying another issue: the difference between true (geographic) North and magnetic North. In our experience the difference between our survey and the reality was between 7 and 12 trigonometric degrees. The software methods used rotations based on the shapefiles thus leaving the source coordinates unaltered, but these created inconveniences because both shapefiles and source coordinates, among other digital data, must be handed over to the Ministry of Culture and Cults in order to obtain the excavation authorization. Also, the archaeologists who requested the surveys need geographically correct data. This trigonometric method involves trigonometric correction of the raw data acquired by the total station and its conversion to Stereo 70, thus offering precise data and surveys to researchers and institutions.

Key words: Stereo 70, survey, archaeological topography, coordinates, orientation, Romania.

Introduction

In the actual context of Romanian archaeology, in order to acquire authorizations for systematic archaeological research, the following digital data are required: topographic survey plan in Stereo 70 projection in digital format (ArcMap shapefiles), a plan presenting ancient and modern landmarks and the overlaying on orthophotomap with the size of 2,5 x 2,5 km. These data were sent to the Ministry of Culture and Cults and to the Institute for Cultural Memory (cIMeC).

The current legislation requires: the topographic survey of the site using Stereo 70 coordinate in .dwg or .shp format and the orthophotomap (1:5000) in digital format

containing the georeferenced file for the area of the site¹. Also for preventive research, archaeological diagnosis and archaeological surveillance these data are required².

Also, according to the Order of the Ministry of Culture OMC 2408/2005 states the National eGISpat Program to elaborate a digital map of historic monuments in GIS needed to protect the national immobile cultural heritage – historic and archaeological monuments (eGISpat 2012).

¹ Monitorul Oficial 768/2010, Art. 10

² Monitorul Oficial 768/2010, Art. 11, Art. 12, Art. 13

The Stereographic projection on Secant unique plan 1970, or Stereo 70, was adopted for the Romanian territory in 1973 and it is still in use. It is based on the elements of Krasovski-1940 ellipsoid and it uses the elevation reference plan Black Sea-1975 (B. Moroşanu 2007; D. Micle *et al.* 2011, p. 56; M. Breazu *et al.* 2003, p. 415; A. Năstase, G. Osaci-Costache 2005, p. 147).

In order to start a topographic survey we need the following: site location, site surface, site landmarks, landmarks coordinates in Stereo 70, orientation, elevation, equipment and trained specialists. For some sites we were unable to obtain the field coordinates that are obligatory for a correct survey, such as: landmarks coordinate, orientation and elevation. The elevation issue is relatively simple to solve in the laboratory by using topographical maps.

But our greatest challenge consisted of dealing with Stereo 70 coordinates and orientation, because we found ourselves in the middle of the field with no coordinates to set up our total station and with no orientation landmarks, thus we were forced to conduct the topographical survey using local coordinates, such as 5000 x 5000 meters for North and East fields and compass orientation towards the magnetic North.

When imported, edited and overlaid onto the satellite image or orthophotomap our measurements were rotated in trigonometric direction with an angle between 7 and 12 degrees, implying incorrect orientation issues, given by the difference between the magnetic and the real North. Our colleagues from the Geography Department and surveyors of the company that provided the equipment offered a solution that involved editing and rotation of points measured within the shape file based on our measurements that eventually lead to a correct overlay, but did not alter the source coordinates of measured points. We needed a solution to adjust the source of the points, the coordinates, in order to have a correct set of coordinates that would overlay the orthophotomap with a precise orientation, thus creating an accurate plan.

The solution was given by trigonometry. With the help of Monica Dăgădiță, a Computer Science engineer from the University of Bucharest, we managed to use and apply a

rotation formula and a methodology that proved to be precise and time saving for our future surveys. This formula can be applied in MS Excel to the coordinates thus applying the rotation angle needed and a new set of precise and correct coordinates will be obtained. The rotation trigonometric formula is known as a part of Euclidean transformations (J. Smart 1994; 1998).

Formula

The formula requires concomitant transformations for the x and y columns because is based on both values in the same time.

The formulas for x' and y', the new rotated values for x and y, are:

$$x' = x \cdot \cos(\alpha \cdot \Pi / 180) - y \cdot \sin(\alpha \cdot \Pi / 180)$$

$$y' = x \cdot \sin(\alpha \cdot \Pi / 180) + y \cdot \cos(\alpha \cdot \Pi / 180)$$

Above, α represents the angle needed for the rotation, x and y represent the initial values of the point coordinates, x' and y' represent the new values of the point coordinates and Π represents the mathematical pi value.

If our survey needs a trigonometric direction rotation then the angle value must be positive and if we need a reverse trigonometric direction rotation, the angle value must be negative (J. Smart 1994; 1998).

Methodology

There are a number of steps required for this transformation to be successful, such as: identification of landmarks coordinates within the orthophotomap and within the local coordinates measurements, establishing the elevation, local coordinates conversion in order to position the station point into the centre of the Cartesian system (x and y coordinates become 0), angle determination, rotation formula, Stereo 70 coordinates conversion for landmarks, overlaying, coordinates control and export.

Step 1: first of all we determine the elevation based on topographic maps for one of the points within our measurement. In MS Excel we will apply add or subtract formula to get all points to the real elevation. If the local coordinates point has a 102 meters elevation and the same point has a real elevation of 186 meters, we will add 84 meters to all points in order to apply correct height information. The total station has already given height difference between points when measured starting from its setup.

Step 2: identification of landmarks coordinates within the orthophotomap and within the local coordinates measurements is done after importing both data into ArcMap and identifying common landmarks: roads, rivers, railways, intersections in general and especially poles, ancient or modern buildings corners and antennas. Now we have a common set of coordinates for landmarks and we know what calculus we have to apply to determine the Stereo 70 location of the points. The total stations use the following coordinate system: X for Northing, Y for Easting and Z for elevation.

For example: the measured point named Pole1 has the local coordinates (142, 58, 186) and the Stereo 70 coordinates are (280342, 444658, 186).

Step 3: using MS Excel we will add to all points on the x column the value 280200 and to all point on the y column the value 444600 in order to position the measurement to that particular area and to overlay them to the orthophotomap. These values are obtained by subtracting the local values from the real values. For the moment, the only point that will be precise will be Pole1, the other points still having an orientation issue (fig. 1).

This point, Pole1, will become our Stereo 70 main landmark; it will be used to transform all points to Stereo 70 and to check our orientation angle correction.

Step 4: to determine the orientation angle difference we can use vector graphics software, such as CorelDraw. We can import the image of the points overlaid onto the orthophotomap in Step 3 and draw two lines based in point Pole1, one for the local survey and one for the image and determine the angle between them. In our experience, the angle difference between the compass obtained magnetic North and the real North fits between 7 and 12 degrees.

Step 5: to be able to apply the rotation formula we have to set the centre of the survey into the centre of the Cartesian system. The centre of the survey represents the station point that has the values inserted when setting up the station. Being a local coordinate's survey we can use any values that can fit the surveyed points. We generally use 5000 x 5000 meters, meaning

that the station point has the coordinates (5000, 5000, 100) where we could not access Stereo 70 coordinates. The elevation value was already modified during Step 1, but the formula deals only with x and y fields, elevation remains unchanged – as measured and then corrected.

To position the station point into the 0, 0 coordinates for x and y we have to subtract for both columns in MS Excel their value for all points, in order to keep the ratio. For our case, we will subtract the value 5000 for both columns, x and y, and the station point will become (0, 0, elevation).

Step 6: having the station point based in the centre of the Cartesian system, we can now proceed to applying the formula on both x and y columns in the same time. It is obligatory to respect this concomitant calculus because the new values, x' and y', will have to be pasted as values over x and y columns in the same time in order not to alter ratio and correctness.

Our points are now rotated to the determined angle, but are still positioned in the center of the Cartesian system, as the (0, 0, elevation) coordinates of the station point remain unaltered.

Step 6: using the Pole1 point Stereo 70 coordinates, established as main landmark in Step 3, we will set our survey into the Stereo 70 system. Using MS Excel we will add to the x and y values of Pole1 the value needed to become (280342, 444658), determined in Step 2. These values will be added to the whole x and y columns in order to obtain the Stereo 70 coordinates and to preserve ratio.

Step 7: the new, rotated and converted, set of data will be overlaid onto the orthophotomap to verify the angle and the level of correctness of the measurement.

This methodology was developed in time based on our team's survey experience with the available software and instruments. The training for instruments and software usage was initially done with the help of the Geography Department and the company that provided the survey equipment. This rotation formula was successfully used for most of our local coordinates surveys, summing up to around 150 survey sessions.

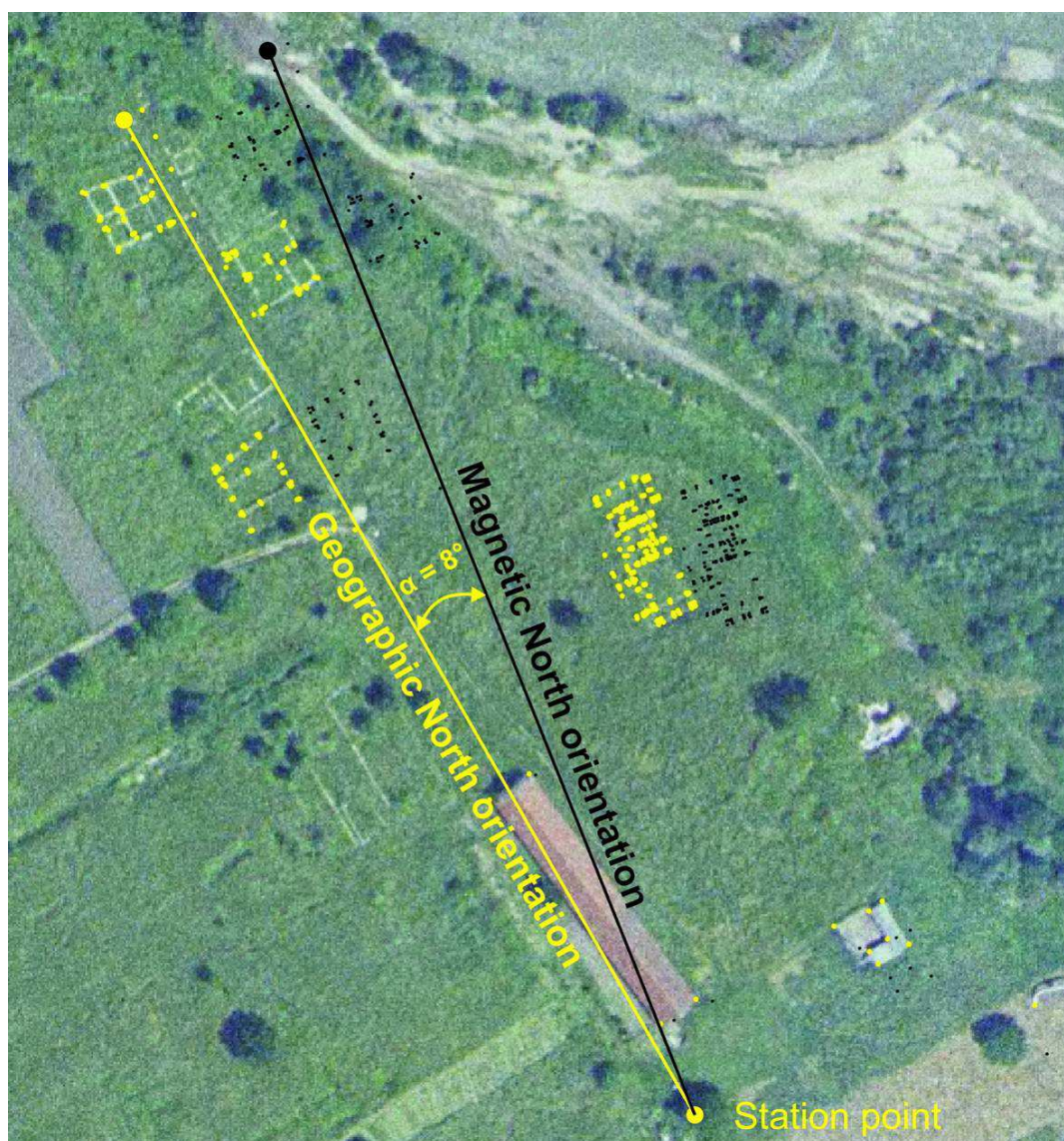


Fig. 1 - Image representing in black the survey oriented using a compass and in yellow the corrected survey, based in the same station point, with a rotation angle $\alpha = 8^\circ$. The site is *Tibiscvm* – Jupa (Caraş Severin County) and the survey represents modern landmarks and ancient buildings measured initially using local coordinates and a compass for orientation, afterwards corrected using our formula.

Conclusion

After following these steps, we obtained a correct overlay of genuine correct survey data onto the orthophotomap by altering the values of the coordinates obtained from the total station and thus, we are able to create and edit a precise and qualitative plan to be used by professionals and institutions. We did not rotate a shape file to obtain a good looking plan without correct background coordinates, but we set up the initial values of the local coordinates into rotated, Stereo 70 values and by such we offered complete digital data of the survey which can be used and overlaid onto any other map or satellite image.

*

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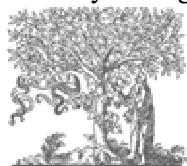
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