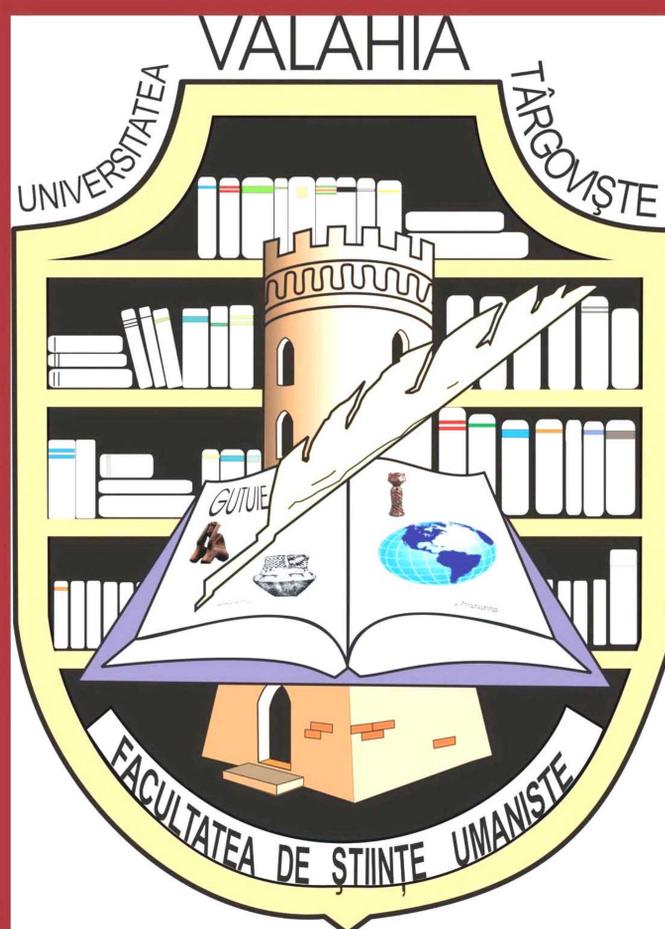


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# ANNALES

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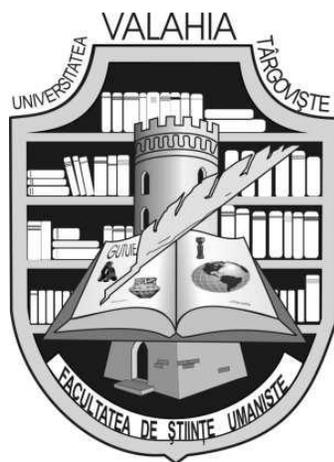
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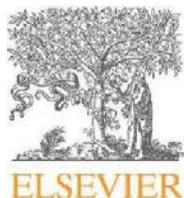
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## Wind Instruments in the Mid Upper Palaeolithic of the Eastern Carpathians

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**Abstract.** Three perforated reindeer phalanxes, hitherto unknown, found in the Brînzeni and Duruitoarea Veche caves in the Republic of Moldova, are discussed in comparison with the perforated reindeer phalanx from Poiana Cireșului-Piatra Neamț in Romania, which has anthropic working marks to be considered a genuine wind instrument in the Late Gravettian. Furthermore, a mammalian diaphysis from the Duruitoarea Veche Cave, unfortunately split in two, with four perforations aligned along the length of the bone, is presented in this paper.

**Key-words:** Gravettian, wind instruments, whistle, symbolism, eastern Carpathians, Poiana Cireșului-Piatra Neamț, Brînzeni Cave, Duruitoarea Veche Cave.

### Introduction

The recent finds have become increasingly convincing regarding the Palaeolithic man's ability to create instruments and thus produce various sounds, which represented additional means of communication and expression. The constant diversification of these communication means definitely contributed to the spiritual evolution of those communities. The most interesting and complex wind instruments are those resulted from working long hollow bones, mainly of birds, but also of some mammals and, more rarely, of ivory. The oldest such pipe made from a bone with holes, typical of and sometimes indispensable to such an instrument, is that found in the Divje Babe I Cave in Slovenia, attributed to the Mousterian 43,100±700 B.P.) (I. Turk, 1997; M. Turk et al., 2018). Its authenticity has been widely debated. A review of these controversies have been provided by a study published recently (E.-C. Nițu, 2015). These finds are more numerous in the Upper Palaeolithic, such as those

from Istállóskö in Hungary or Grosse Badlhöhle, Lieglloch, Bukovácer Höhle, Salzofenhöhle in Austria (Fr. Z. Horusitzky, 2003). Perhaps the most interesting and most complete pipe of this kind is that from Hohle Fels in Germany, made from a griffon vulture bone, 22 cm long (N. Conard, M. Malina, S. C. Münzel, 2009). Also, a flute made from a swan ulna or radius has been described at Geissenklösterle, in an Aurignacian level, dated to 36,800±1.000 B.P. (D'Errico et al., 2003). Another fragmentary flute recovered from Geissenklösterle as well is referred to as having been made of ivory, probably older than 35,000 years (M. Brazil, 2005). The Isturitz Cave in France has delivered a significant collection of over twenty pipes made from long bones, generally of birds, most of them attributed to the Gravettian, which are striking through their morphological resemblance, working technique and probably their functionality. All these elements are arguments which point to their authenticity and contemporaneity (D. Buisson,

1990; D'Errico F., 2003).

Wind instruments made from mammalian phalanges are much more numerous. They go back to the Mousterian and their number increases as time goes by up to the Magdalenian, but they can also be encountered in ulterior stages, in the Mesolithic and even the Neolithic (M. Cârciumaru, M. Țuțuianu-Cârciumaru, 2011). They are also present in pre-Columbian populations in North America, particularly the Mackenzie Indians in north-western Canada (M. Dauvois, 1989; M.-P. Verge, M. Dauvois, X. Boutillon, B. Fabre, 1989).

### Materials and methods

The publication of a perforated reindeer phalanx from Poiana Cireșului-Piatra Neamț was an important signal about the existence of authentic wind instruments made from reindeer phalanges in the Gravettian in Eastern Carpathians (M. Cârciumaru, M. Țuțuianu-Cârciumaru, 2011; M. Cârciumaru, E.-C. Nițu, 2018; M. Cârciumaru et al., 2018). Recently, several phalanges have been found east of the Prut, among the osteological materials from older excavations. The interesting fact about them is that they have a perforation specific to those encountered in other sites from the Upper Palaeolithic in Europe. In

Eastern Carpathians there are currently three sites in which reindeer phalanx wind instruments have been found: Poiana Cireșului-Piatra Neamț (Neamț County - România), the Brânzeni Cave and the Duruitoarea Veche Cave, both located in the Republic of Moldova (fig. 1). V. Chirica and I. Borziac (2009) mention a reindeer phalanx pipe at Babin, which unfortunately we did not have access to for further observations. In addition to these reindeer phalanx wind instruments, an interesting find is however, that of a diaphysis with four holes, recently mentioned in a monograph of the Duruitoarea Veche Cave as well (Н. К Анисюткин, Н. А. Кергару, С. И. Коваленко, 2017).

In this study, we shall only mention these Palaeolithic wind instruments and try to properly illustrate them, but for the discoveries from the Republic of Moldova, we cannot provide microscopic studies on how the perforations were made, as we have done in the case of the Poiana Cireșului-Piatra Neamț reindeer phalanx. Hopefully in the future, we shall return with such details, which are actually very important in order to prove the intention and manner of anthropic intervention for the achievement of the perforation.

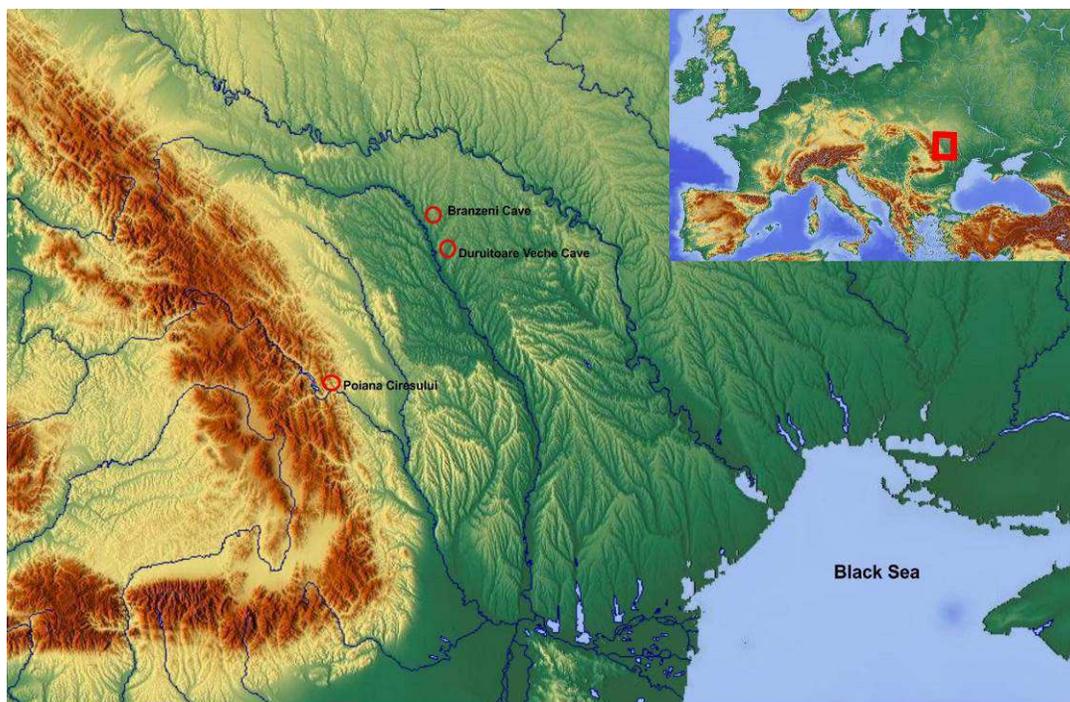


Fig. 1 – Palaeolithic settlements in Eastern Carpathians where wind instruments have been found.

## Wind Instruments in the Mid Upper Palaeolithic of the Eastern Carpathians



Fig. 2 – The Palaeolithic settlement of Poiana Cireşului-Piatra Neamţ: site location (1, 2) and image with the first Gravettian occupation (3)

### Poiana Cireșului-Piatra Neamț

The Palaeolithic settlement of Poiana Cireșului-Piatra Neamț (Neamț County - România) is located on an erosion level, at an absolute altitude of 395 m, on the right bank of the Bistrița River, after its confluence with the Doamna rivulet (46°55'919" North latitude and 26°19'644" East longitude) (fig. 2).

In 2002, a perforated reindeer phalanx was found in the Gravettian I level, dated to between 19,320 ± 80 B.P. (OxA-36785) (23,538-22,992 cal. B.P.) and 20,154 ± 97 B.P. (ER 12,163) (24,096 cal B.P.). It is 3.6 cm long and 1.9 cm wide (fig. 3). The perforated phalanx found at Poiana Cireșului was thoroughly studied under the optical fibre microscope, which led to the identification of some relevant stigmata pointing

to the anthropic actions resulting in the achievement of a wind instrument (M. Cârciumaru, M. Țuțianu-Cârciumaru, 2011). The study focused, primarily, on the perforation, which has the following dimensions: maximum diameter = 5.451 mm; minimum diameter = 4.244 mm; diagonal = 5.178 mm. The centre of the perforation is placed 1.3 cm from the proximal part of the phalanx. Microscopic observations revealed the existence of traces that resulted from the making of the perforation by rotating a lithic tool (fig. 4), which suggests an undeniable anthropic action. The study under the optical fibre microscope also showed the presence of ochre traces scattered on the phalanx surface, which gives it additional symbolic connotations (fig 5).



Fig. 3 – The perforated phalanx from Poiana Cireșului-Piatra Neamț.

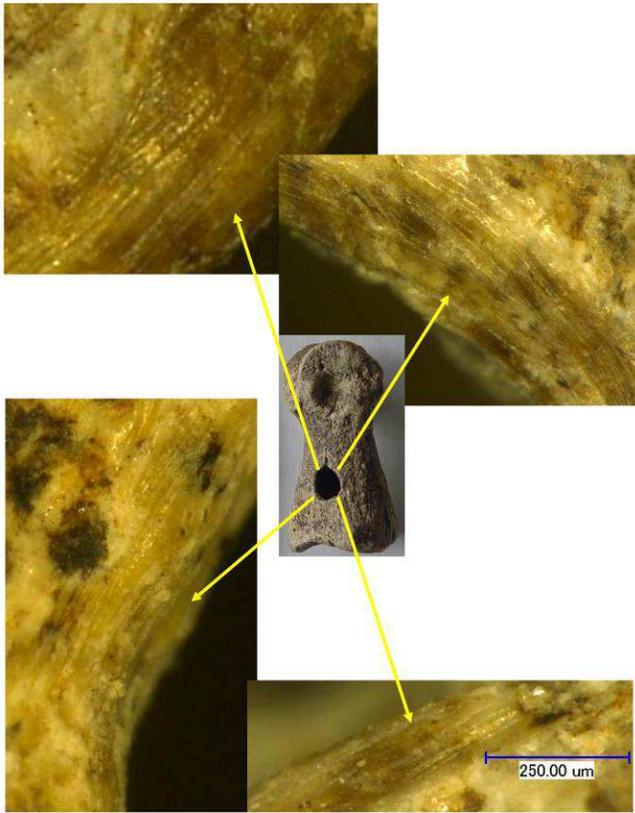


Fig. 4 – Working stigmata resulted from the making of the hole on the reindeer phalanx from Poiana Cireşului.



Fig. 5 – Traces of ochre on the perforated phalanx from Poiana Cireşului-Piatra Neamţ.

### The Brînzei Cave

It is located 1.2 km from Brînzei village in Edineţ District, Mersâna suburb, in the Republic of Moldova. The cave was formed in the limestone dominating the left bank of the Racoveţ River 100 m high, about 8 km away from its confluence with the Prut (48°05' North latitude and 27°08' East longitude) (fig. 6). The entrance is north-oriented, about 65 m above the river thalweg. The first investigations in the Brînzei Cave were conducted by N. A. Chetaru (1965a) and even the following ones (I. Borziac, 1994; I. Borziac, N. A. Chetaru, 1996) would mention very old cultural classifications of the deposit. Based on the study of the lithic material, these cultural attributions were reinterpreted in subsequent studies and are now

in agreement with the C-14 dates of the cave deposit and of the terrace in front of it, which are between  $26,600 \pm 370$  B.P. (OxA-4122) and  $14,700 \pm 130$  B.P. (OxA-4120) (N. A. Chetaru, 1970; P. Noiret, 2009).

A phalanx 4.6 cm long, 2.0 cm maximum width and 1.1 cm minimum width has been found in the Brînzei Cave. The centre of the perforation is positioned 1.5 cm from the proximal part of the phalanx, in an area that was suitable for producing sounds similar to those obtained with other phalanxes in settlements attributed to the Upper Palaeolithic (fig. 7). The phalanx has preserved two shades of ochre, a light red and a deep brown one, on several areas of its surface (fig. 8).



Fig. 6 – The Brînzei Cave.1-2 – general view; 3-cave entrance.



Fig. 7 – The perforated phalanx from the Brînzei Cave.

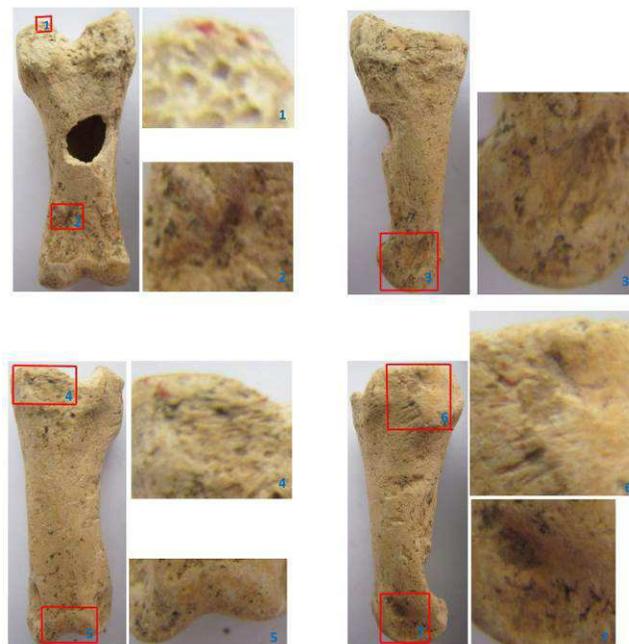


Fig. 8 – Traces of ochre on the perforated phalanx from Brînzei.

### The Duruitoarea Veche Cave

The cave is located on the left side of the Ciuhur rivulet, 2.7 km from its confluence with the Prut, east of the locality of Costești, Râșcani District, the Republic of Moldova (Н. К. Анисюткин, Н. А. Кетрару, С. И. Коваленко, 2017) (fig. 9). The first two probes, 2 sq m each, were carried out by N. A. Chetraru in 1958-1960, when it was noted that the Palaeolithic occupation was concentrated in the central and southern compartment (V. Chirica, I. Borziac, 2005), and continued later in 1965 (N. A. Chetraru, 1965b). The upper level 2 in this cave was culturally attributed to the Gravettian (I. Borziac, 1994). A C-14 date of 24,000±600 B.P. (Le 11,813) confirms this classification.

The first of the two perforated reindeer phalanges from Duruitoarea Veche (fig. 10) was found in 1960. The phalanx dimensions are: length of 4.7 cm, maximum width of 1.9 cm and minimum width of 1.2 cm. The perforation centre is placed 1.5 cm from the

proximal part of the phalanx. The phalanx has traces of ochre spread on the entire surface. There are a few obvious concentrations of ochre. Also, similarly to the Brînzei phalanx, two shades, light red and brown, can be distinguished (fig. 11). Based on the ochre dispersion manner, one cannot rule out the fact that the phalanx may have had its entire surface painted.

The second perforated reindeer phalanx from Duruitoarea Veche is 5.8 cm long, 2.0 cm maximum width and 1.3 cm minimum width (fig. 12). The centre of the perforation is located 1.6 cm from the proximal part of the phalanx. There is no doubt that this phalanx was intensely painted with red ochre because it is still quite well preserved on almost the entire surface, while being highly obvious in certain parts. There are still some areas where the red paint was covered with black. It is possible that the two shades, red and black, might have complemented each other in the decoration of this phalanx (fig. 13). A third shade, brown, also occurs scattered, in the form of dots.



Fig. 9 - The Duruitoarea Veche Cave: 1-general view; 2-cave entrance; 4-5 pictures during excavations.



Fig. 10 – Perforated reindeer phalanx from the Duruitoarea Veche Cave.

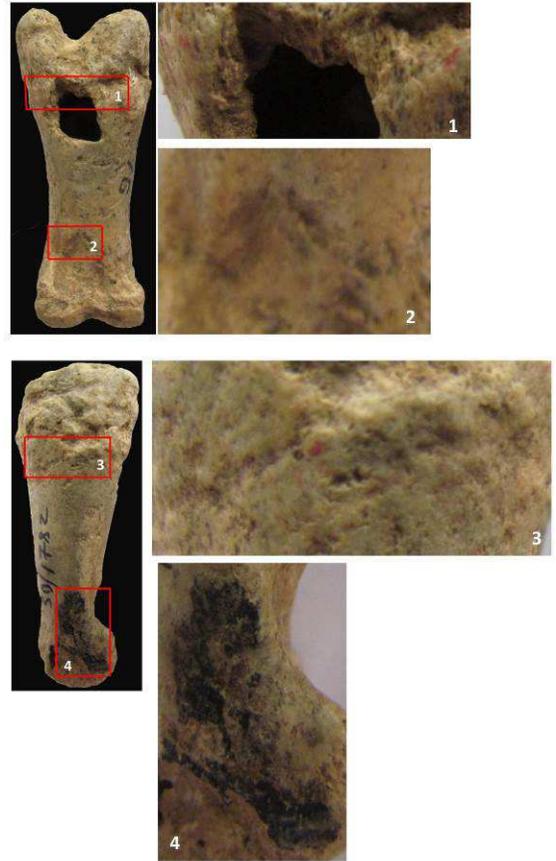


Fig. 11 – Traces of ochre on the first phalanx from the Duruitoarea Veche Cave.



Fig. 12 – Perforated reindeer phalanx from the Duruitoarea Veche Cave.

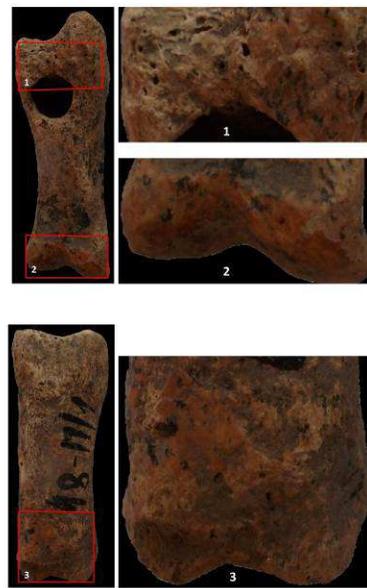


Fig. 13 - Traces of ochre on the second phalanx from the Duruitoarea Veche Cave.

As previously mentioned, in 1959, N. A. Chetaru found a fragment of diaphysis with four perforations at Duruitoarea Veche. The bone ends are carelessly fractured, and at present, the bone is longitudinally split in two parts (fig. 14). The four perforations have a diameter ranging from 0.6 to 0.9 cm and are located 1.5-1.0-1.1 cm apart. Given that microscopic studies on perforations could not be performed, the diaphysis

ends are broken and the bone is split in two, it is difficult to say with certainty that this object is definitely a pipe. However, it is indubitably quite an interesting item that is worth a more careful study in the future. The ochre is not as well preserved as on the phalanxes, but it is present, scattered, on the entire diaphysis surface, better preserved in its upper part.



Fig. 14 – Diaphysis with four perforations from the Duruitoarea Veche Cave.

### Discussions

Among the wind instruments discovered in the Palaeolithic so far, those made from long hollow bones, mainly of birds, but also of mammals, as well as herbivore phalanxes, which allowed the production of

various sounds through a hole in a carefully chosen spot, have aroused particular interest. While long bone instruments have not been regarded with suspicion, those made from phalanxes have caused much debate regarding their authenticity and anthropic origin. It has

## Wind Instruments in the Mid Upper Palaeolithic of the Eastern Carpathians

been stated that the hole of these phalanges is the result of some specific morphological characteristics of the bone, which, under particular sedimentation circumstances, might facilitate the natural penetration of the bone (R. A. Harrison, 1978; Ph. Chase, 2001). After the discovery of a cervid phalanx in a coyote coprolite, it was hypothesized that the phalanges swallowed by certain carnivores can be perforated in their more fragile parts, usually in the proximal part in the case of reindeer, due to the action of the very active gastric acids (Ph. Chase, 1990). Starting from this assumption, F. d'Errico, P. Villa (1997) consider that, before being swallowed by carnivores, certain small bones can be easily perforated by canine teeth, then swallowed and the already slightly perforated parts are

affected by the gastric acids inside the animal's stomach. As there can also be herbivore phalanges among these bones, it is assumed that some holes may appear on these as well. We believe it is best not to absolutize such situations, because, in these circumstances, the perforation position is often atypical for the production of sounds. Moreover, given that there are such discussions, documenting the human intervention in making the hole on the Poiana Cireşului-Piatra Neamţ phalanx is essential. The evidence of anthropic action has been provided by observations under the digital optical fibre microscope, which have allowed the identification of undeniable marks resulted from rotating a lithic tool in order to obtain the perforation (fig. 4).



Fig. 15 – Reindeer phalanges perforated in order to be turned into wind instruments. 1-Poiana Cireşului-Piatra Neamţ; 2-the Brânzeni Cave; 3-4 – the Duruitoarea Veche Cave.

This means that, in so far as certain situations in which phalanges could have been perforated by various natural causes are possible (R. A. Harrison, 1978; Ph. Chase, 1990, 2001; F. D'Errico, P. Villa, 1997), we must accept, as an objective reality, the existence of phalanges that were anthropically perforated in order to turn them into wind instruments (M. Cârciumar, M. Ţuţuianu-Cârciumar, 2011; M. Cârciumar, E.-C.

Niţu, 2018; M. Cârciumar et al., 2018). In the case of a perforated phalanx, one must first check if the hole is placed in such a way as to allow the production of sounds. As far as possible, the microscopy will identify possible anthropic evidence of the hole making, if it is still preserved. We deem it is wrong to believe that perforated phalanges occur in archaeological contexts only as a result of

sedimentation conditions and animal action.

On the other hand, when it is noted that the perforated phalanxes which produce sounds are painted with ochre, as are those from Poiana Cireșului-Piatra Neamț, the Brînzeni and Duruitoarea Veche caves, one should consider the symbolic connotations of that particular item and their well-established role in the spirituality of those communities.

The unity of the perforated phalanxes in the three Palaeolithic settlements in Eastern Carpathians is proved, first, by the location of the perforation on the phalanx. For example, the distance between the perforation centre and the proximal part of the phalanx is relatively similar for all four Palaeolithic phalanxes, between 1.3 and 1.6 cm. Also, the quite similar dimensions of perforations and their being painted with ochre (fig. 15) are part of a larger context of a significant number of such artefacts found in Europe, such as those from Grubgraben, Castanet, Dolni Vestonice, Laugerie Bas, La Madelaine, Le Mazerat, Banwell Bone Cave, Somerset, Bruniquel, Haute Garonne – Aurignac, L'abri Laugerie Haute etc. (M. Cârciumaru, M. Țuțuianu-Cârciumaru, 2011).

We believe that the perforated phalanxes described in the three settlements are important contributions to the symbolism of the Palaeolithic man in Eastern Carpathians, given that, until now, only the discovery from the Poiana Cireșului-Piatra Neamț Palaeolithic settlement has been mentioned. A possible confirmation, through future microscopic studies, of the authenticity of the mammalian diaphysis flute from the Duruitoarea Veche Cave will certainly represent an essential find for the multiplication of pipes of this kind in the Upper Palaeolithic in Europe.

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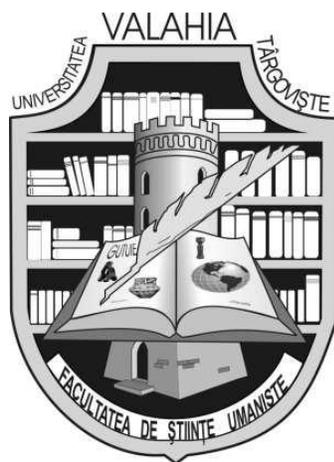
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# ANNALES



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## A brief note on the malacological paleofauna of Piatra-Neamț 1 Paleolithic site (Neamț County, Romania)

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**Abstract:** In this paper, we present the first results of the malacological study of the land snails discovered in a Late Upper Paleolithic occupation, dated to 17.000 uncal. BP, from a new discovered site located in north-eastern Romania, Piatra-Neamț 1 (Neamț County). There are analyzed from the paleoecological point of view one hundred land snails pieces from a representative sample. Some conclusions are drawn regarding the climatic reconstruction of the archeological cultural level as well as about the paleoecosystems existing near the site.

**Key-word:** paleofauna, malacology, Late Upper Paleolithic, paleoecosystem, Piatra Neamț, Romania

### Introduction

The paleontology of invertebrates has provided, particularly in the last century, complex information concerning the paleoclimate and paleoecosystems existing in the past. These data have helped archaeology as well to the extent that fossiliferous remains of these living creatures have been recovered from cultural layers.

The mollusks have always been the phylum with the largest number of invertebrate fossils preserved, especially in Pleistocene and Holocene *loess* layers (G. Macovei, 1954). Of these, gastropods have played an important role in climatic and ecological determinations in the Quaternary. In fact, as early as 1949, Vojen Lozek would draw attention to the role of terrestrial gastropods found in *loess* layers in reconstituting the paleoclimate. Knowing their present habitat and the biocoenoses preferred by certain species (many surviving even today), we can indicate the paleoclimate and the living environment in which they lived during a certain period (A. V. Grossu, 1987).

In Romania, the first paleoecological and biogeographic considerations on mollusks found in

archaeological excavations, in *loess* layers, were made in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, both for Paleolithic and Neolithic settlements (A. V. Grossu, 1957). By means of the gastropod fauna, one can establish precise boundaries between glacial and interglacial periods, in direct connection with the evolution of Paleolithic occupations. Furthermore, the associations of these gastropods may also indicate the type of ecosystems in the proximity of settlements: forest, steppe, xerophilic or mesophilic areas, wetlands (A. V. Grossu, 1986).

In this paper, we have analyzed the terrestrial gastropod fauna found during the archaeological excavations carried out in a newly discovered site from Piatra Neamț (north-eastern Romania) (Nițu et al., 2019a), near the Poiana Cireșului settlement (Cârciumaru et al., 2018; Nițu et al. 2019b), called Piatra-Neamț 1. The material was collected during the campaign of August 2019, when a small area of approximately 4 square meters was excavated up to 3.50 m deep. Two archaeological levels were discovered, separated by a sterile layer about 40 cm thick (the first level was located roughly 250 cm deep, the second 280-290 cm deep). Both occupations belong

to Epigravettian traditions; the collection of gastropods analyzed in this study was recovered from the second level, dated to around 17,000 years uncal. BP [dates are between 16,410 +/- 50 uncal. BP (20,005 – 19,602 cal. BP) (Beta – 531209) and 17,190 +/- 50 uncal. BP (20,925 – 20,554 cal. BP) (Beta – 545811)].

**Materials and methods**

The malacological fauna studied was collected during the archaeological excavations by two methods:

- directly from the excavation, in the cultural layer, through the microstratigraphic method (60% of the material);

- secondarily, through the sieving procedure, by manually screening the sediment on a metallic sieve with 3 mm meshes, followed by the wash of retained granules (40% of the material).

Thus, a number of 100 faunistic elements (snail shells) were quantified, of which 82% are perfectly preserved and 18% are determinable remains, which we subjected to an additional washing operation in order to remove loessoid remains from the apertures. This operation was done by means of a 5% borax solution, by careful brushing, so as not to destroy the aperture dentition.

Taxonomic identifications were carried out using the current basic classifications – IUCN – as well as the classical historical and regional ones (A. V. Grossu, 1981, 1987, 1993). The measurements of the biometric characteristics of shells were taken using the manual

plastic calliper, which has an accuracy of 1/10 of a millimeter. Species determinations were made using the BRESSER ERUDIT optical microscope. At the same time, comparative material from our collections was also used, with reference to the methodological works and the determination keys of Alexandru V. Grossu (1981, 1987, 1993).

**Results**

A number of four species were identified within the studied faunistic material, taxonomically classified as follows:

Order STYLOMATOPHORA

Family SUCCINEIDAE

Genus *Succinella*

Species *Succinella oblonga* DAPARNAUD 1801

Family CLAUSILIIDAE

Genus *Ruthenica*

Species *Ruthenica filograna* ROSSMASSLER 1836

Genus *Clausilia*

Species *Clausilia cruciata* STUDER 1820

Family ZONITIDAE

Genus *Zonitoides*

Species *Zonitoides nitidus* O.F. MULLER 1774

The numerical and percentage distribution of the four species is presented in Table 1, along with the biometric values of shells. Both the minimum and maximum values and the mean values determined by the arithmetic average have been centralized (Tab. 1).

Nr. crt.	Denumirea speciei	Ex. (buc.)	Diametru (mm)			Înălțime			Dens. ex./m <sup>2</sup>
			min.	med.	max.	min.	med.	max.	
1	<i>Succinella oblonga</i>	25	3,0	3,6	4,1	5,9	6,5	7,0	6
2	<i>Ruthenica filograna</i>	3	2,0	2,1	2,2	7,4	7,7	8,0	1
3	<i>Clausilia cruciata</i>	68	2,3	2,7	3,0	8,7	9,2	10,1	17
4	<i>Zonitoides nitidus</i>	4	4,6	4,8	5,0	3,0	3,1	3,3	1

Tab. 1 - Biometric values of analyzed species

Although apparently the number of species is small, they are enough to give one a first picture of that particular paleohabitat, since all four species of gastropods are species with a very narrow and well-defined ecological niche (A. Riedel, 1988).

The percentage distribution of fauna and especially the density of each species per unit area

(Fig. 1) provide information regarding the climate conditions that are favorable or unfavorable to the terrestrial gastropods studied (V. Lozek, 2000).

Data related to the average sizes (height and diameter) of the identified taxa (Fig. 2) build a picture of the palaeoecosystem, in comparison with the classical standard values acknowledged in the ecology

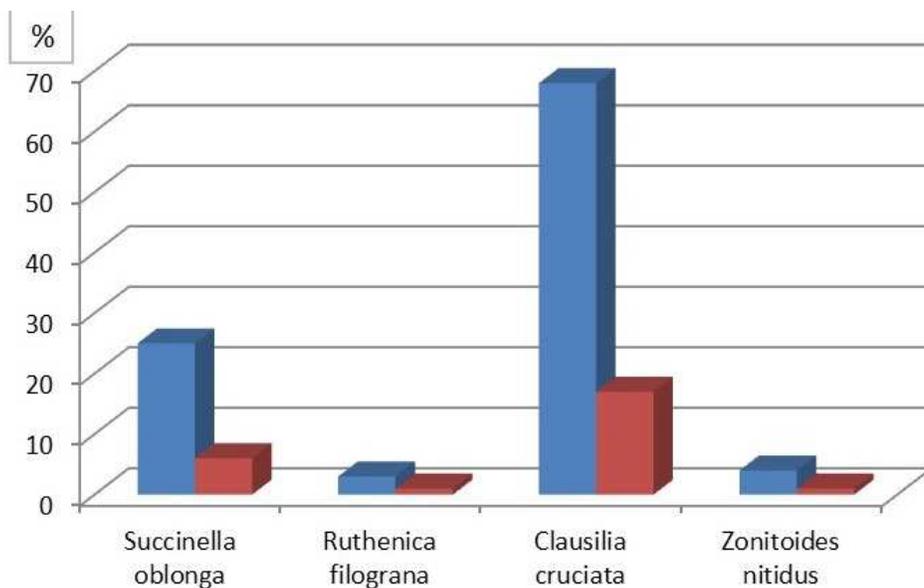


Fig. 1 - The percentage distribution of gastropoda (blue) and the density of each species per unit area - no. ex. / m<sup>2</sup> (red)

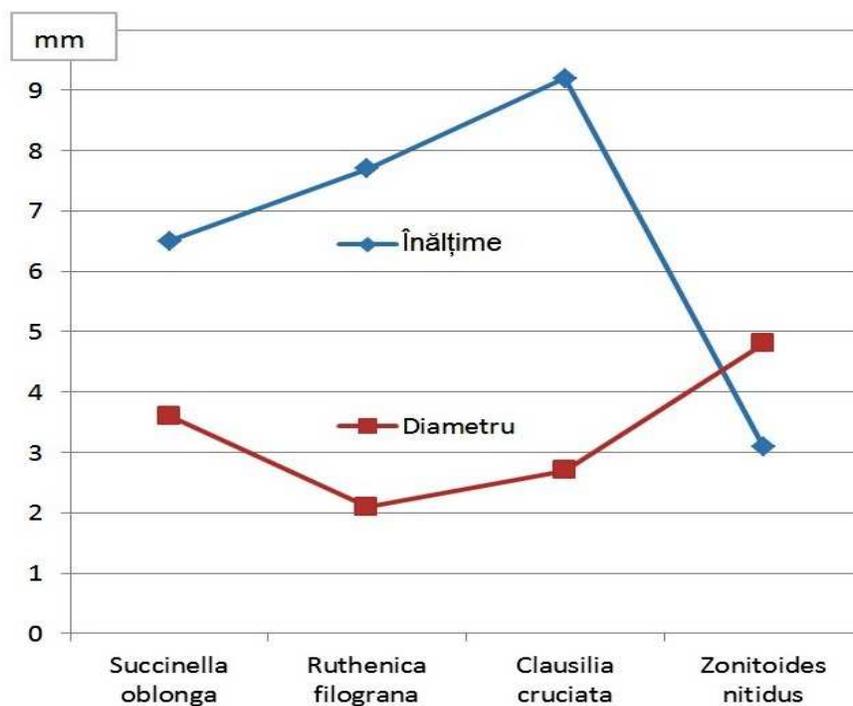


Fig. 2 The average sizes (height and diameter) of the identified taxa.

of these living creatures (A. Sulikowska-Drozd, 2005).

#### Discussion and conclusions

Based on the qualitative and quantitative information resulting from the material studied, we can make several considerations concerning the ecological niches of the four species present in the given archaeological context.

1. *Succinella oblonga* DRAPARNAUD, 1801 (Fig. 3).

The Succineidae family is indissolubly linked to the aquatic environment, as the embryos develop only in water, after which they become terrestrial gastropods in the juvenile phase (P. H. Fischer, 1938).

The life of this species is connected to a very wet environment, being considered to belong to the most primitive group of terrestrial pulmonate gastropods (M.C.Patterson, 1971) (A.V. Grossu, 1987). One should particularly note the occurrence of a large number of specimens in the vicinity of the 'Canadian Rockies – Glacier National Park', in a frigid, humid but open environment, with south-eastern exposure, in which these species proliferate in the area of brooks resulting from snow and glacier melt (S. S. Berry, 1922). This species enjoys the habitat above the soil, as it is permanently encountered on tree trunks or the leaves of aquatic plants (F. C. Backer 1939).



Fig. 3 – Piatra Neamț 1 site, layer II, Epigravettian: *Succinella oblonga* shells.

2. *Ruthenica filograna* ROSSMASSLER, 1836 (Fig. 4).

The shell of this snail is very fragile, as it lives under the wet foliage, among the plant roots, at the edge of deciduous forests. The lack of calcium in the substrate accentuates shell fragilization (A.V. Grossu, 1981). The species is widespread in the mountain area at low elevations and is often encountered in alder forests (*Alnetum incanae carpathicum*) and at the edge of wet forests (A. Sulikowska-Drozd, 2005).

3. *Clausilia cruciata* STUDER, 1820 (Fig. 5).

This Clausiliidae species has a fusiform shell, with numerous whorls, yellow-brown in colour. It lives at the edge of wet mountain forests, under putrid logs and in the humid foliage (A.V. Grossu, 1981). It is considered, in the paleoecology of the Quaternary, as a typical bioindicator of climate warming at the end of the Pleistocene and the beginning of the Holocene (V. Lozek, 2000).

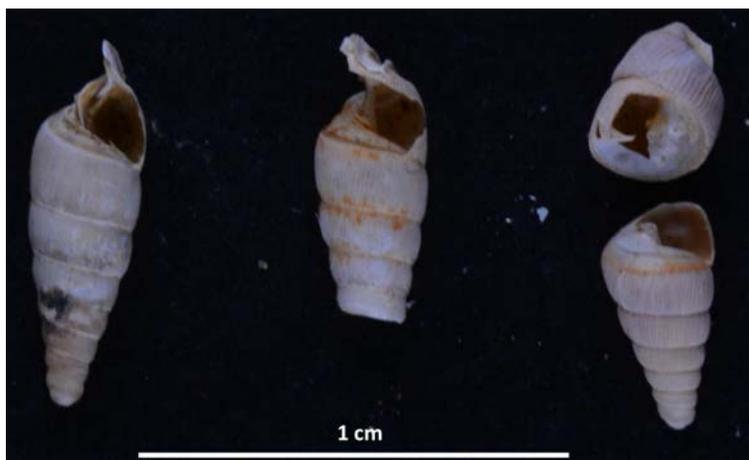


Fig. 4 - Piatra Neamț 1 site, layer II, Epigravettian: *Ruthenica filigrana* shells



Fig. 5 - Piatra Neamț 1 site, layer II, Epigravettian: *Clausilia cruciata* shells

4. *Zonitoides nitidus* O. F. MULLER, 1774 (Fig. 6).

It is a Holarctic species, spreading as far as the Polar Circle, with a yellowish-white discoidal, often transparent, typically calcicolous shell (R. G. Forsyth,

2004). It lives in humid glades, marshy areas, at the edge of the forest and in groves, under wet leaves and wood, sometimes on plants as well (A. V. Grossu, 1983).



Fig. 6 - Piatra Neamț 1 site, layer II, Epigravettian: *Zonitoides nitidus* shells

The data we have obtained contribute to the characterization of paleoenvironment east of the Carpathians 17,000 years B.P. The reconstruction of the paleoclimate of this occupation level allows us to state that the settlement was located immediately above the boundary between the taiga and the tundra, during a wet stage of gradual climate warming, with a slightly positive annual average temperature regime (2-3°C). Near the settlement, there was certainly a spring in the middle of a glade.

From a phytobotanical point of view, we may assume that that particular paleoecosystem comprised the following species: *Alnetum incanae carpathicum*, *Betula nana*, *Vaccinium myrtillus*, *Hippophae rhamnoides*, *Rubus caesius*, *Sedum acre*, *Bryonia dioica*, *Urtica dioica* and *Neotia ovata*.

In the future, our results will be corroborated by studies on the vertebrate fauna and by palynological studies in those particular settlements. The analysis of as many collections recovered from recent excavations in Palaeolithic sites in the Bistrița valley as possible will significantly contribute to the understanding of the paleoenvironment in the Upper Pleistocene east of the Carpathians.

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The information about the context of the findings and the dating of the layer was provided by my colleagues Elena-Cristina Nițu, Marin Cârciumar, Florin Ionuț

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## Data about stylized bull/calf heads from Turdaş excavations

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**Abstract:** We present some of the results of preventive archaeological research campaigns of 2011 and 2019 that have led to special discoveries for the chronological horizon of Petrești culture from the site of Turdaş-*Luncă*. Besides other discoveries, the heads of animals molded in clay and burnt are an example.

**Keywords:** Eneolithic, Petrești culture, surface dwelling, Turdaş-*Luncă* site, preventive archaeological researches

### Preventive archaeological campaign of Turdaş 2011

During the 2011 archaeological campaign were observed, through direct archaeological research, four large areas (A, B, C and D) totalling almost 1.200 m long and an average width of 55 m. In addition they were researched and two lanes of the future motorway A (A<sub>1</sub> and A<sub>2</sub>), one towards N and the other towards S, which had, in total, over 300 m, on a variable width of about 30 m each, on average (S. A. Luca, 2012, 2019).

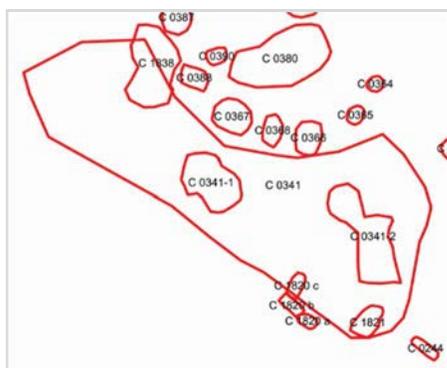


Fig. 1 - Turdaş-Luncă, preventive archaeological research of 2011; Sector B, Feature 341, Petrești culture.

In B area, the surface dwelling C341 (Fig. 1, centre) belonging to the early phase of Petrești culture was investigated. We are interested in this in order to be able to describe a sculpture in clay, burnt, which seems to represent an animal head (deer?, dog?, wolf?; Fig. 2). This was discovered in the area between features C244 and C1837 located at the top of plan (Fig. 1), in the area of a possible entrance to the house (C341).

We must also specify the fact that for the area of the Petrești surface dwelling we have – already – made an article, following the exploitation of another interesting piece, an application on the vessel that shows very plastic, the birth (S. A. Luca et al., 2020, submitted for publication). We were talking about both the heads of the animal made of clay (Fig. 2 – dimensions: maximum high = 19.30 cm; maximum width = 7 cm), discovered near the ox head, as well as the latter, just remembering it (Fig. 3). If the first piece seems to have “furnished” the top of a door, the second seems to have been placed on a stand (directly on the floor or on the wall) in the entrance area.

The stylized calf statue (Fig. 3) has the following dimensions: maximum high = 21 cm and maximum

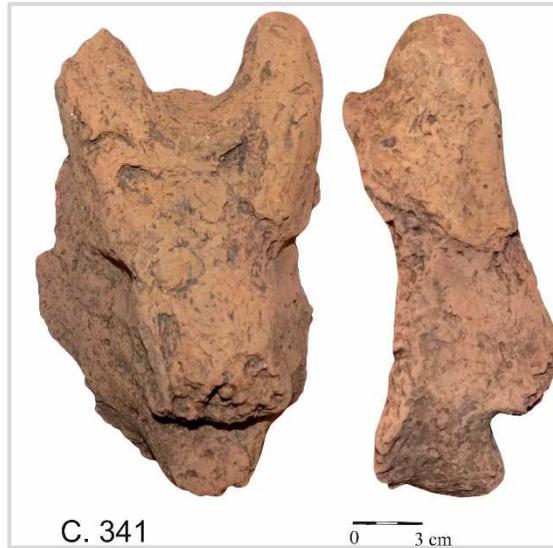


Fig. 2 - Turdaş-Luncă, preventive archaeological research of 2011, sector B, feature 341, Petreşti culture. Head animal made from adobe (deer?, dog?, wolf?).

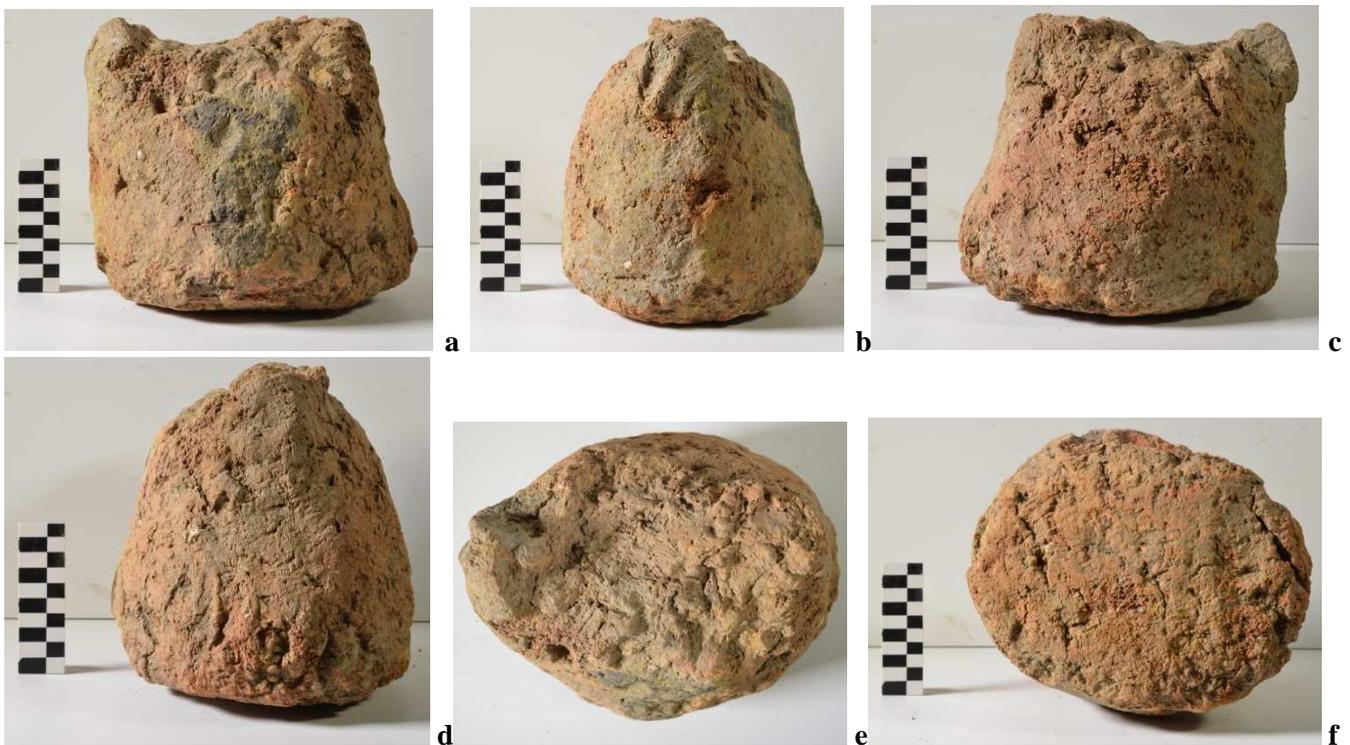


Fig. 3 - Turdaş-Luncă, preventive archaeological research of 2011. Zoomorphic statuette, stylized calf head: a. front view; b. left view; c. back view; d. right view; e. upper part; f. sole-pedestal of the piece (photo Al. Olănescu).

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width = 7 cm. We see the face of it in Fig. 3a and we rely – first of all – on the fact that the outline of a nose/muzzle and applied eyes is seen above it. These sculptural elements fell and only a black trace (in fact, the less well-burned core of the piece) remained in the form of the letter T.

The broken horn (Fig. 3a, b, c, e) has the outlined side by two deep grooves (these are best seen in Fig. 3b and e). The remaining footprint of the broken horn can be seen in Fig. 3a, c, d, e. Under the broken horn, on the outer side of it, we can observe – towards the middle of it – several wide grooves, very well shaped, perpendicular to and up to its base. A deep groove can also be seen on the bottom of the piece (Fig. 3f). This had – perhaps – a role in fixing the piece to the base.

At the highest part of the piece, on the front edge, there are several wide notches (3-4 pieces; Fig. 3a, e) that seem to continue in the back, also on the edge of the

seam between the neck and the upper part of the cap (Fig. 3 c, e). The same type of notches can be seen on the sole-pedestal of the piece (Fig. 3 f).

Unfortunately, we have no other data taken also because the surface dwelling belonging to the Petreşti culture was immediately below the arable layer and was affected by the plough.

### Preventive archaeological campaign of Turdaş 2019

#### G area.

The area with this number is in south of the A1 motorway, Sibiu-Nădlac.

In the Fig. 4a, it is seen that this future road represent a link between the commune Turdaş and the national road DN7, that is approximately 200 m parallel to the motorway and, later, it takes a 90° curve to the south, crossing the high speed railway Vinţu de Jos-Simeria and joins with DN7 at the southern end.



Fig. 4 - Turdaş-Luncă, preventive archaeological research of 2019, sector G: a. general plan; b. northern part, surface dwellings and an element of the fortification system (palisade); c. surface dwellings and an element of the fortification system (palisade); on the right – area heavily flooded since prehistory.

In the Fig. 4b, it is observed that several structures of surface dwellings (pits of aligned pillars, of different shapes) were discovered, but also a palisade that passes through the middle of the researched area. On the right, we can see the course of a stream that destroyed, much later, the elements of the Neolithic deposit.

The feature belonging to the Turdaş culture, phase II-III or III (Fig. 4c, half from middle to bottom) is a surface dwelling with dimensions of 10.20x7.20 m, which was outlined at a depth of -1.20 m as compared to current ironing level. The dwelling is partially destroyed by the floods that coming from the southern area, currently forested (the creek pit –previously mentioned – is well seen on plan). From this layer start

no less than 12-13 pits of different sizes that deepen in the yellow-clay tailings (Fig. 5 a, b– pits from south, round or rectangular, with rounded corners and one or two deep pillar pits in each such pit). Its pillar pits deepened to -1,40 m, from the prehistoric level of ironing.

Below the level of rubble formed by large fragments of squirrels (belonging to a Petreşti dwelling), there is a thick layer of 40-50 cm that was identified in the entire north area of the excavation. Here was observed an agglomeration of pottery, lithic and osteological material specific to the Eneolithic period. The dwelling was not fully documented, as it leaves the investigated area to north.



Fig. 5 - Turdaș-Luncă, preventive archaeological research of 2019: a. Turdaș II/III dwelling; on the north profile (behind the image) we can see the ruins of the Petrești dwelling and its debris in the basement of the Turdaș dwelling; b. Turdaș dwelling II/III (central-right); c. Petrești dwelling, Western end; ox from clay (number 1 - female), on the base, at the entrance to the house; d. Petrești dwelling, Western end; ox from clay on the base, glued to the wall, collapsed on entering in the house; piece number 2 (male); e. Petrești dwelling, Western end; ox from clay on the base, level of ancient ironing, on entering in the house; piece number 1 (female).

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The dwelling is a surface one and has the dimensions of 9.20x6.60 m, which has been shaped to a depth of -0,80 m from the current level of ironing. It is mostly destroyed by floods from the southern prehistoric area. The pillar pits were shaped to a depth of -0,80 m from the current level, in a thick gray layer

with, sandy consistency with much archaeological material rolled. From this layer start no less than 7 circular pits of different sizes that are deep in the tailings. Part of the rubble is tapped (Fig. 5 a – on the back profile, center; Fig. 5 b – left, down) in a possible former cellar of the Petreşti.



Fig. 6 - Turdaş-Luncă, preventive archaeological research of 2019; Petreşti dwelling, Western end. Stylized calf head from burnt clay, placed on a wall-mounted base, collapsed at the entrance to the house: a. male zoomorphic statuette number 2; b. female zoomorphic statuette number 1.

Towards the entrance to the Petreşti dwelling, one of the pedestal from burnt clay was observed (Fig. 5 c) which proved – later, after a box was made (Fig. 5 d, e) – to be that of the stylized zoomorphic statue number 1.

The stylized calf statuette number 1 (Fig. 5e, 6b, Fig. 7), has the dimensions: maximum high = 28.60 cm and maximum width = 21 cm. After all appearances – smaller dimensions and the general way of making it, the calf is feminine (the stylized statuette was remade by Gheorghe Buleteanu; ceramic restoration: Brukenthal National Museum, Sibiu).

In Fig. 5 c, e, we can see the in situ position of the stylized calf's head number 1 (Fig. 6b). Its sex was determined only by the obvious size disproportion to the calf number 2 (Fig. 6a), but also by positioning, on a squared post (round, with the dimensions the diameter of 28.5 cm and the thickness of 3 cm) made directly on the ground. Another possible argument for establishing

the sex of the statue is that we have a different way of intentionally breaking the artifact when leaving the house.

Seeing Figs. 6b and 7, we find an unexpected fact. The breaking of the artifact was – undoubtedly – in our opinion – done intentionally.

In Fig. 5e, we see that the base of the piece was detached, by deliberate hit, from the rest of the piece. We also observe other shots intentionally applied that, however, were not successful.

In Fig. 7a we can see two or three such blows on the "face" of the piece.

In Fig. 7 d, on the side of the piece, we observe a strong shot, resulting in a deep chipping.

In Figs. 6 b, 7a, b, c, d, and f, it can be seen that the upper part was broken, perpendicularly – this time. Therefore, a part of the piece – the horn on the right – was destroyed (definitely, intentionally taken/thrown).

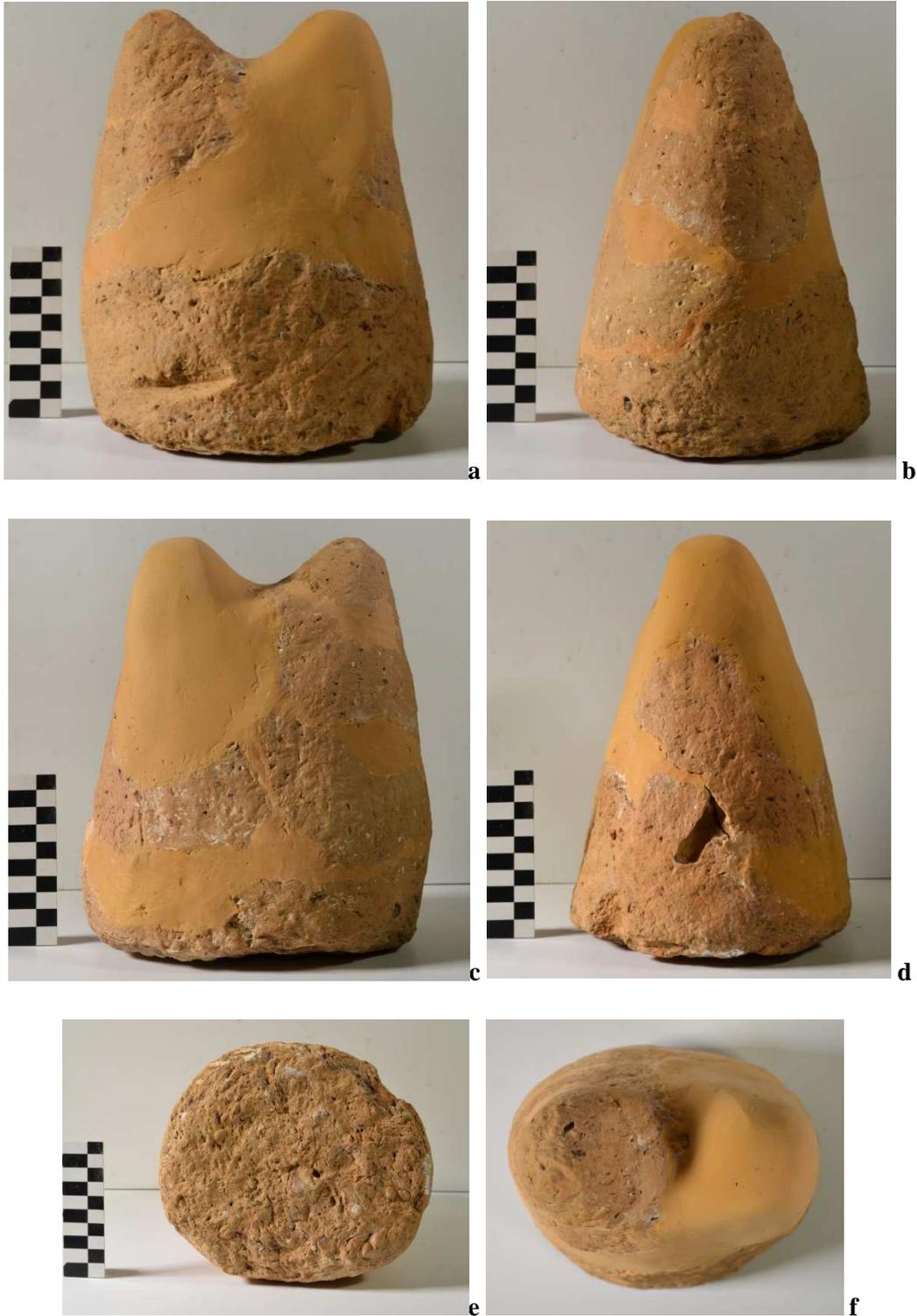


Fig. 7 - Turdaș-Luncă, preventive archaeological research of 2019. Female zoomorphic statuette number 1, stylized calf head: a. front view; b. left view; c. back view; d. right view; e. bottom of the piece; f. the preserved horn of the piece (photo Al. Olănescu).

Data about stylized bull/calf heads from Turdaş excavations



Fig. 8 - Turdaş-Luncă, preventive archaeological research of 2019. Zoomorphic statuette number 2, stylized calf head: a. front view; b. left view; c. back view; d. right view; e. sole-pedestal of the piece; f. the preserved horn of the piece (photo Al. Olănescu).

The stylized calf statuette number 2 (Fig. 5d, 6a, 8), has the following dimensions: maximum high = 24.50 cm and maximum width = 18.70 cm. After all appearances, larger dimensions and general way of making, the calf is masculine (the stylized statuette was remade by Gheorghe Buleteanu; ceramic restoration: Brukenthal National Museum, Sibiu).

In addition, this piece was subjected to an intentional destruction process. The proof is that in Fig. 5d the base is separated by the rest of it (we also see an intentional hit on the left side, under the existing break – Fig. 8b) and – as in the previous case – the upper part is broken in two, perpendicular to the base, missing a horn – the one on the left, this time. In Fig. 8a – the front of the piece – we see several impressions made intentionally, undecipherable. The same way of ornamentation we have in Fig. 8d. Interesting is the way of ornamenting the calf to the rear base of the pedestal (two parallel strings of impressions).

The base made of burnt clay (cracks) (Fig. 5d, 6a) was – obviously – bound/glued to the wall of the house. This is clear. To have a "socket" as best as it had a length of 42 cm and a width of the base of 20 cm. Its thickness is 3 cm.

At Turdaş were discovered other pieces representing calves.

First, we mention the piece from dwelling 2 – sanctuary, Petreşti, researched between 1994-1996 (S. A. Luca et al., 2012; S. A. Luca, 2018).

The same construction has a pediment made of clay, more precisely with zoomorphic, bovid, highly instructive characters (S. A. Luca et al., 2012; S. A. Luca, 2018).

The proof of the intensive use – during the Neolithic and Eneolithic period – of modelling the skull of the calf shapes is without denial and it is extremely difficult for us to give all the analogies for this gesture.

We will use the example of the Parţa, site and sanctuary where the worship of the calves (bull and cows) is extremely well developed, and the examples of modelling in clay are with the tens (Gh. Lazarovici et al., 2001).

The form of our discoveries is related to the horns of consecration (Gh. Lazarovici et al., 2001). Clearly idealised, with a synthetic sculptural form, this type is rarely encountered in Neolithic and Eneolithic.

If variants are found in the Orient at Körtik Tepe (C. M. Lazarovici, Gh. Lazarovici, 2016), Göbekli Tepe (C. M. Lazarovici, Gh. Lazarovici, 2016) and Tell Azmak – on the column (Gh. Lazarovici et al., 2001; C. M. Lazarovici, Gh. Lazarovici, 2016) – and this observation comes after a brief consultation, pieces of this type reach the Balkans, at Porodin (Gh. Lazarovici et al., 2001; C. M. Lazarovici, Gh. Lazarovici, 2016) and Hungary (Jósa Tepe (Gh. Lazarovici et al., 2001; C. M. Lazarovici, Gh. Lazarovici, 2016), Szajol (Gh. Lazarovici et al., 2001; C. M. Lazarovici, Gh. Lazarovici, 2016), Szentpéterszeg (Gh. Lazarovici et al., 2001) and Véstö-Mágó (C. M. Lazarovici, Gh. Lazarovici, 2016)).

The large and extremely expressive Neolithic Temple from Parţa has such pieces (Gh. Lazarovici et al., 2001; C. M. Lazarovici, Gh. Lazarovici, 2016). They also appear in Turdaş (C. M. Lazarovici, Gh. Lazarovici, 2016), in older discoveries, but also in Moldova and Ukraine (Poduri (C. M. Lazarovici, Gh. Lazarovici, 2016), such as at Izvoare (C. M. Lazarovici, Gh. Lazarovici, 2016), Isaiia (C. M. Lazarovici, Gh. Lazarovici, 2016) și Okopi (C. M. Lazarovici, Gh. Lazarovici, 2016).

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#### Abbreviations

BB - *Bibliotheca Brukenthal*, Muzeul Național Brukenthal Sibiu;

BHAB - *Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Banatica*, Muzeul Banatului Timișoara;

BMA - *Bibliotheca Musei Apulensis*, Muzeul Național al Unirii Alba Iulia;

BS - *Bibliotheca Septemcastrensis*, Universitatea „Lucian Blaga” din Sibiu.

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# ANNALES



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**Abstract.** Forty years after the first excavation on Geangoești-Hulă, a new archaeological research project on site, a Kodjadermen-Gumelnița-Karanovo VI culture settlement, allow a better understanding of the stratigraphic sequences and gives new insight over constructive solutions and dimensions of a K GK VI settlement, sketching regional patterns.

In the last five years, an impressive quantity of archaeological artefacts, mostly ceramic sherds, but over 200 whole vessels, a big lot of clay figurines and chipped flint and obsidian industry, some clay miniature objects, zoomorphic clay figurines, whirls and loom weight, but also copper and polished stone objects, was collected from different archaeological features and structures, as contemporaneous pits, foundation ditches, constructive pits, waste areas, houses etc.

The present study brings to light the only three male figurines from the anthropomorphic collection from Geangoești, occasion to analyse them in a larger context, by comparing them with other male figurines from K G K VI culture and by reviewing some other forms used in Neolithic and Copper Age Eastern Europe to express masculine element.

**Key words:** anthropomorphic miniatures, male, settlement, Copper Age, Romania.

### Introduction

All the Neolithic and Copper Age cultures from the 'Old Europe' impress by the expressivity of anthropomorphic representations, as clay figurines, by far the most numerous, but also recipients, incised signs or *protomas* on vessels, house miniatures, oven miniature *etc.*, and each prehistoric culture can be identified by a distinctive way of expressing anthropocentrism, including in the case of anthropomorphic clay miniatures a specific combination between morphology of the body, the frequency of some states or decorative traits.

But despite of all this differences, for Copper Age clay anthropomorphic figurines can be traced a long tradition which reaches an Anatolian origin and goes back even further, in Palaeolithic (M. Budja, 2004).

The Kodjadermen-Gumelnița-Karanovo VI culture is not an exception. Even if the clay anthropomorphic figurines from north of Danube settlements, especially

tells, of this wide spread culture, are not always published, there are several studies focused on this topic (V. Dumitrescu, 1934; D. V. Rosetti, 1939; M. Zgîbea, 1963; S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, B. Ionescu, 1967; C. Boruga, 1969; R. Lungu, 1978; M. Neagu, 1980; T. Cioflan, R. Rotaru, 1988; R. Andreescu, 1997; E. Paveleț, 2000; L. Grigoraș, E. Paveleț, 2003; C. Lazăr, V. Parnic, 2005; A. Ilie, F. Dumitru, 2010; M. Neagu, D. Măndescu, 2011; A. Frînculeasa *et al.*, 2012) as several monographs (E. Comșa, 1995; R. R. Andreescu, 2002, S. Hansen, 2007) which trace the types and variations of anthropomorphic representation, including clay figurines, and allow us to recognise what is the visual identity of these human communities.

Two general traits of anthropomorphic figurines, a numerical dominance of clay over other raw materials and of feminine figurines over the masculine ones, pass the time barrier of what was defined as Neolithic spiritual revolution (J. Cauvin, 1994).

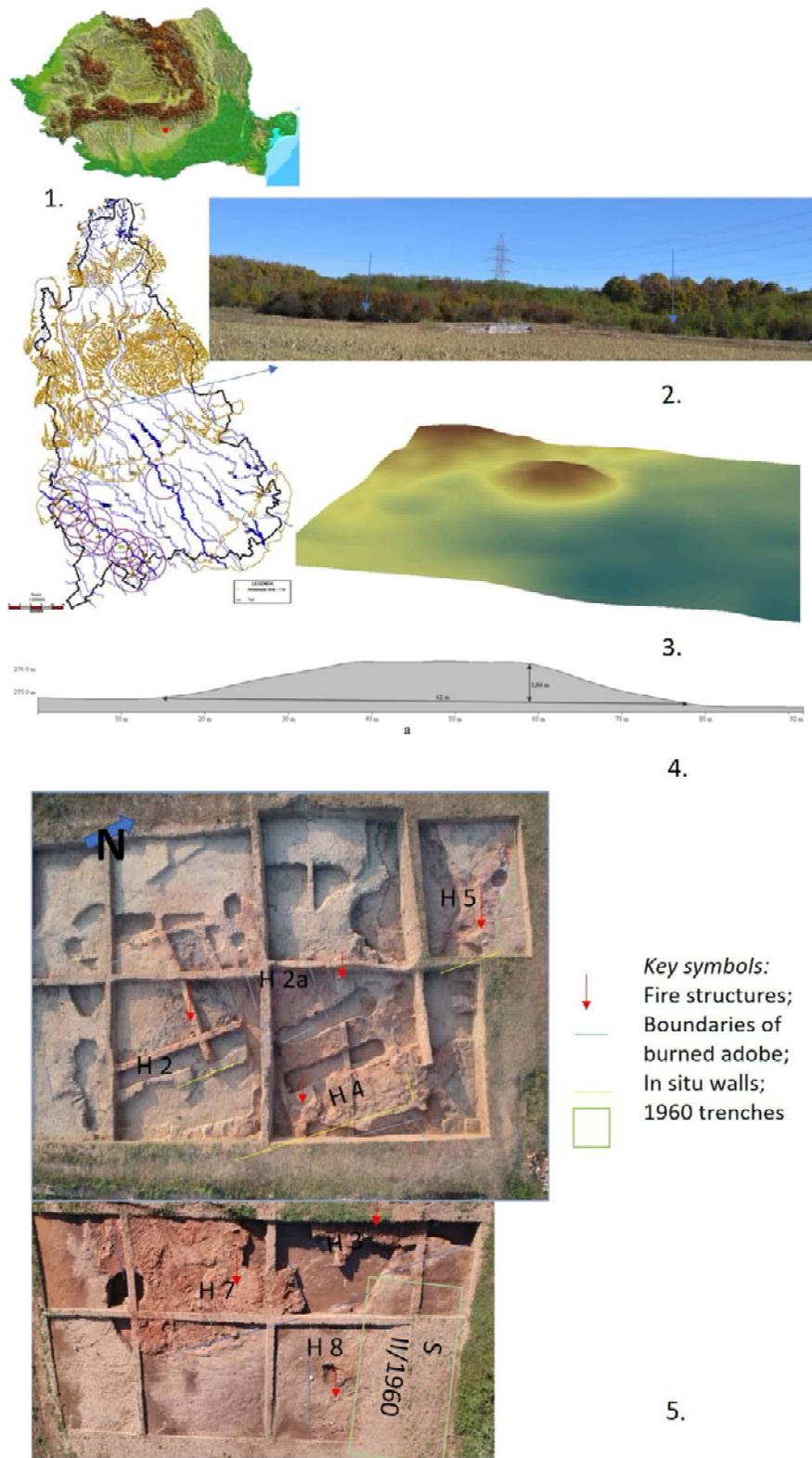


Figure 1. Site location and images: 1. the position of the Geangoești-Hulă site on the Romanian and Dâmbovița county maps; 2. the SE photograph over the site; 3. a 3D image of the site; 4. the morphological section of the site; 5. the aerial photographs from 2018 and 2019 with the excavated surfaces.

In South East Europe Neolithic male plastic representations are rather rare (E. Comșa 1995; M. Mina, 2013; G. Naumov, 2014; N. Ursulescu, 2000), with exceptions (J. Vuković, S. Perić, 2014), but their frequency grows in Copper Age (S. Hansen, 2011, p. 117-118; D. Monah, 2012, p. 238-241).

#### General information about the site

The archaeological site of Geangoești-Hulă is situated at the base of the left terrace of Dâmbovița river, whose current course is at ca. 2 km south. It is the northernmost site of the K-G-K VI culture, placed on the contact of high hills (Sub-Carpathian Hills) with the plain (Romanian Plain) (Fig. 1/1).

The site is a Copper Age tell settlement (Fig. 1/2-3), with a complex stratigraphic sequence, excavated for the first time in 1960. At the time 700 m<sup>2</sup> of the site have been excavated out of the ca. 2000 m<sup>2</sup>. The results had been partly published (C. Boruga 1969; M. Cârțumaru, 1996, p. 78; A. Ilie 2007, p. 255, fig. 1, A. Ilie, 2010; A. Ilie, 2011, A. Ilie, F. Dumitru, 2008; A. Ilie, F. Dumitru, 2010, A. Ilie, I. Neaga, 2010; G. Mihăiescu, A. Ilie, 2004; L. Niță, A. Ilie, 2013).

From 2015, the Geangoești-Hulă settlement is the core of a new research programme: *Archaeological research on the upper stream of Dâmbovița river: the Geangoești-Hulă site (2015-2022)*. Between 2015-2016, in order to evaluate the archaeological potential of the site geo-physical analysis has been performed (D. Micle, A. Stavilă, 2014) and half of the 1960's diagnostic trench has been reopened (O. Cîrstina et al., 2016), but between 2017-2019 the southern half of the settlement, ca. 500 m<sup>2</sup> had been opened (A. Ilie et al., 2017, A. Ilie et al., 2018, A. Ilie et al., 2019), and eight burned houses or parts of them have been unearthed, but not all of them contemporaneous (Figure 1.4). Four of them have been already excavated.

The lot of anthropomorphic clay figurines, most of them are broken parts, is composed of 64 objects from the old excavation, partly published (C. Boruga, 1969), and another 132 objects from the new excavations. Only three of them, the subject of this study, are male figurines, and they represent less than 0,01% from the lot in study.

#### Description of the figurines

The first artefact is a male ithyphallic figurine, depicted with hands rested on hips (as suggested by the traces of detachment) and bended knees, figuring a seated person (Fig. 2). The torso is long, with a straight back, made from a flattened clay rod. The pectorals are like two small round clay salience, as for feminine

figurines. The pelvis has the same thickness as the torso, well profiled buttocks and genital organs, with an ithyphallic penis. The feet are apart, with sketched knee.

The result is a realistic representation of a slim young man, with thick neck and without any clothing details or embroidery.

The head, the left arm, and part of the right arm have been broken anciently. The left leg is broken above the knee, the other leg under the knee, and the penis is fragmented too.

There are trace on the broken head area that induce that the figurine has been made from two rods, the arms, the breast, and probably the head were attached afterwards. There is no particular finishing treatment, as polish or varnish.

The object has been baked in an incomplete oxidizing medium to uneven color, from light brown to grey-brown, on the exterior, and the core of dark grey. The clay is fine, well homogenized, with little to none inclusion (smashed pottery). There are traces of post depositional salt impregnation.

Dimension: H = 8 cm; Width = 3 cm; Thickness = 3 cm

Archaeological context: passim. Inventory: 1/2015

The second artefact is an ithyphallic representation (Fig. 3).

The head is flat and oblong, more like an oval horizontally displayed with incised irregular linear traces, but in the scruff the direction of decoration lines changes. The head has two huge ears, both of them broken, and a face typical for a masked figurine for KGK VI culture, with two concave lobes and a median ridge, a little bit nicked on the upper part and another one marking the mouth. The head seems bent to the right. A marked neck makes the transition to the body, a thickened round rod. The traces of detachments as the nail impression marking the movement of shoulder scapula, suggest a figurine with massive arms resting on the chest. The buttocks are prominent, rounded, the genital organs are oversized, the legs are short and apart. The right leg, the surviving one, is a short, big, oblong rod, inappropriate to the robust body.

The figurine is a strange, masked, even transfigured character.

The object was made from a single clay rod, even the head, the legs and the genital organs or the prominent buttocks. The last as the arms was figured using nail impressions, but the arms seem to be added to this representation.



Fig. 2 - Photographs and drawing of male figurine from Geangoești-Hulă.

The artefact was made of clay with an important quantity of smashed ceramics and quartz, very well homogenized, baked in a reducing atmosphere, presenting a grey, uneven colour on the exterior, and dark grey for the core.

Dimensions: H = 11,9 cm; Width = 4,3 cm; Thickness = 4,3 cm

Discovery context: st. 64, Us 758 – a waste area; Inventory: 74/2019

The third artefact is a fragment of a protomas of a seated male figurine, as suggests the trace of detachment

on the dorsal part. The fragment represents the left leg fractured at the hip and under the knee. The sexual organ is represented only by a broken ithyphallic penis. The knee is individualized.

The anthropomorphic object was made of two clay rods, from a clay mixt with a small quantity of smashed ceramics, well homogenized, baked in a reducing atmosphere, presenting a light brown-grey color on the exterior, and dark-gray on the interior. It is friable.

Dimensions: H = 2,4 cm; Width = 2,5 cm;

Discovery context: st. 34, Feature 134; Inventory 323/2018.



Fig. 3 - Photographs and drawing of male figurine from Geangoești-Hulă.

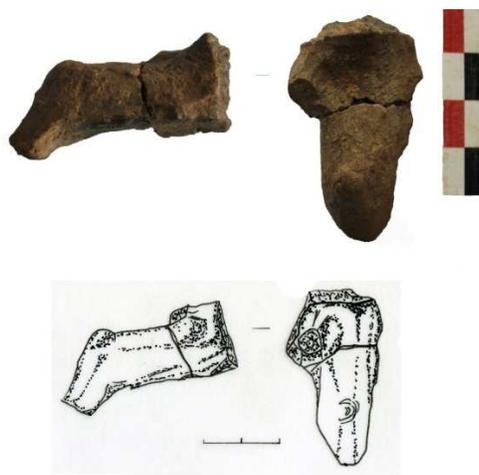


Fig. 4 - Photographs and drawing of male figurine fragment from Geangoești-Hulă.

### Contextual understanding of the male figurines

As in all the Neolithic and Copper Age culture from Old Europe, in the north to Danube of KGK VI culture, the figurines are discovered in one piece by chance, most of them are fragmented, but this does not change the image of a quantitative dominance of feminine figurines, followed by far by the asexual ones. For the Gumelnița culture the percent of male figurine is of 0,1 (R. Andreescu, 2002, p. 53).

The male figurines discovered at Geangoești-Hulă rise the interest of understanding them at least in the cultural context of the north of the Danube area of K-G-K VI culture.

The review of the male representations from this cultural space allows us to identify the anthropomorphic forms of male element expression which reveal also some of the iconographic themes.

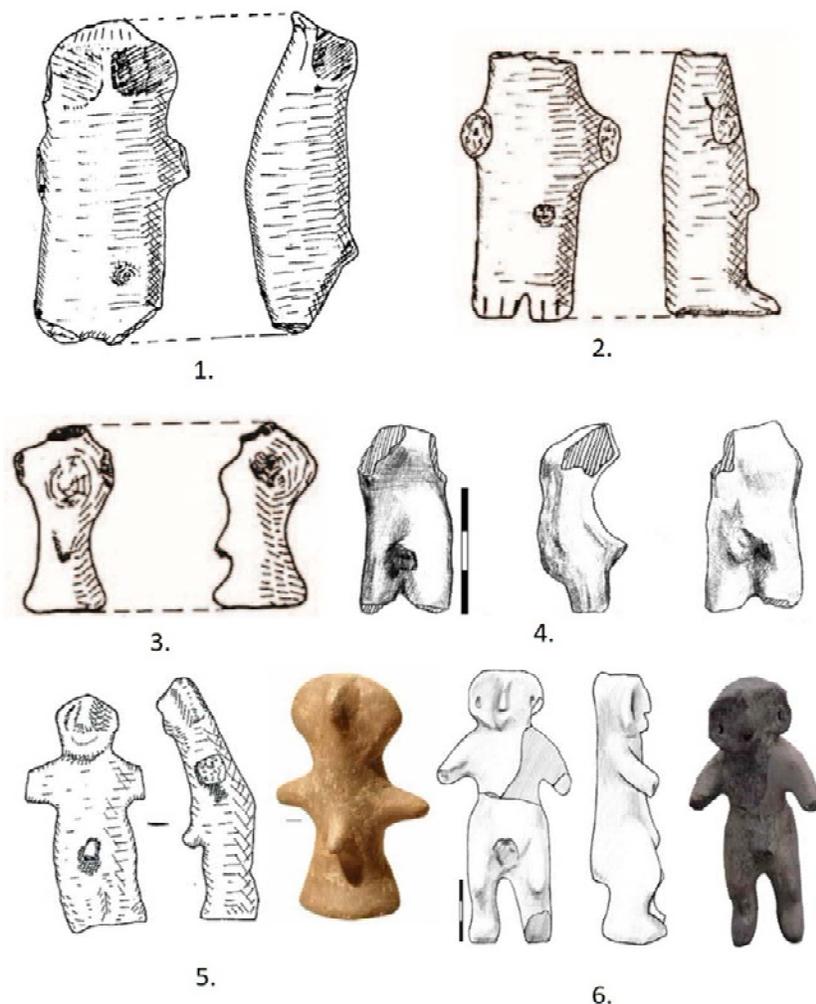


Fig. 5 - Male figurines from the northern area of K-G-K VI culture: 1-3 Căscioarele; 4. Vitănești; 5. Vidra; 6. Sultan – Malu Roșu (after R. Andreescu 2002, pl. 15.5-6; pl. 22.14; pl. 22.6; pl. 22.1).

The first expression takes the form of a miniature plastic figuration (Fig. 5). Male figurines are only seven, all of them ithyphallic, and display a limited typology: small, cylindrical idols, with any anatomical features marked except small foot (Fig. 5/2) or head

(Fig. 5/1); humpback cylindrical idols and small stand up figurines (Fig. 5/3-5) and stand-up (Fig. 5/6). In this series of miniature plastic anthropomorphic representations, it is a very touching statuary group, imaging the divine couple (Fig. 6/1).

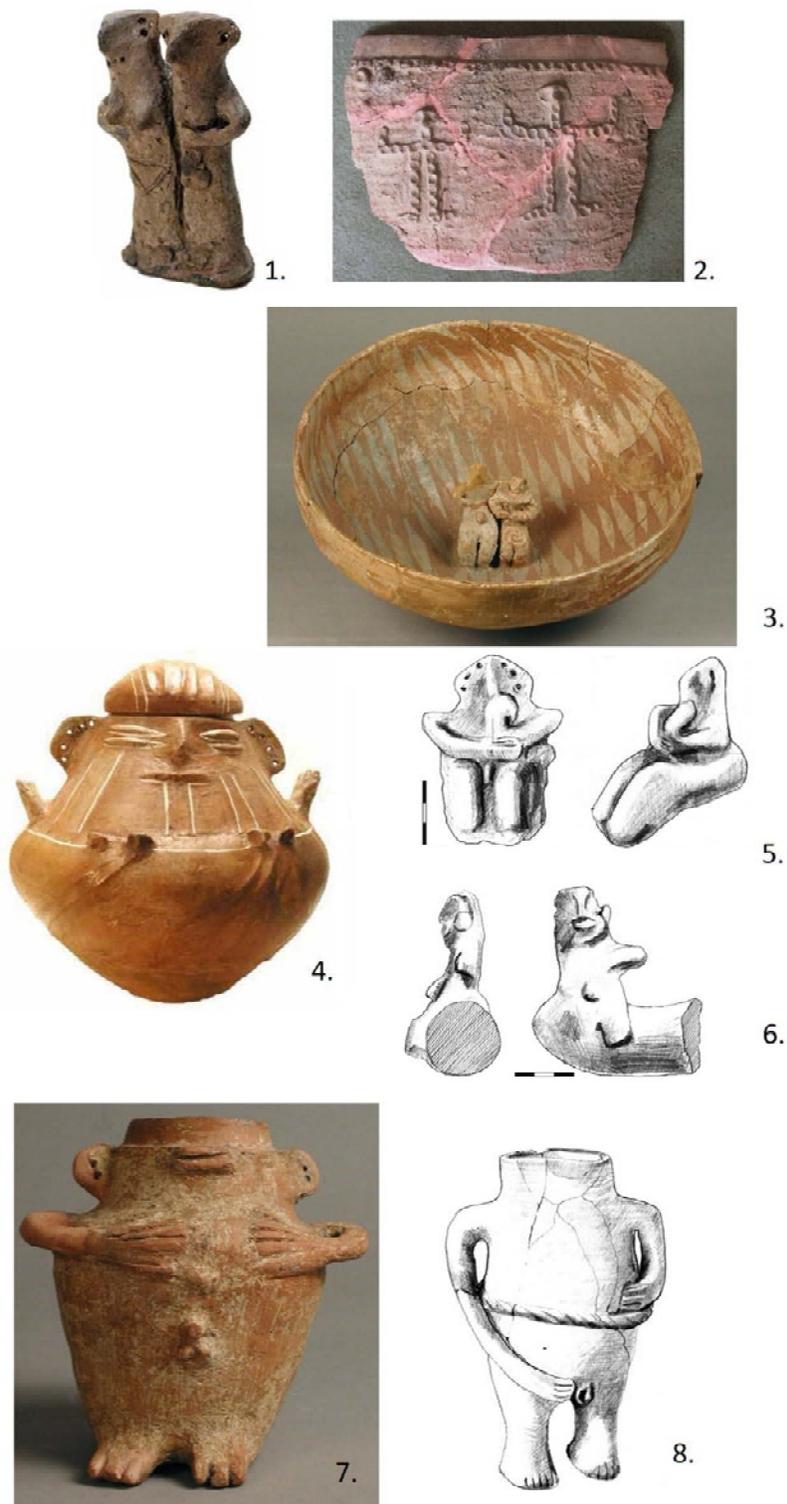


Fig. 6 - Divine couple representation from Căscioarele (1), Gumelnița (2) and Sultana - Malu Roșu (3); The vessel with human heads protomas from Sultana – Malu Roșu (4); Male protomas from Vidra (5 - 6); Male body vessels from Jilava (6) and Gabarevo (7) (after Andreescu, 2002, pl. 36.1; pl. 60.6; pl. 38; pl. 37.5-6; pl. 61.6,4)..

All male figurines are rudimentary worked, without much concern for anatomical details, preoccupation showed for feminine figurines.

The second expression is revealed as male body containers. There are very rare in the series of anthropomorphic vessels from northern area of K-G-K VI culture (R. Andreescu, 2002, p. 77-90; A. Nițu, 1969; V. Voinea, 2005, p. 64-72) (Fig. 6/7-8).

The third form of expressing their iconographic male presence is of plastic application, attached to the vessel walls, as protomas and bas-relief applications (Fig. 6/2-3; 6/5-6).

The protomas and the statuary groups reveal two hypostases of the male element or deity.

The first theme is of representation of the divine couple. It is expressed as stand up figurines or anthropomorphic applications in bas-relief technic on vessels or as seated figurine protomas on the middle of a bowl (Figure 5/1-3). In all three variants the male personage is slightly larger, and taking the feminine figurine by the shoulder. This visual representation is different from the one displayed for other cultural groups, as Vința culture (C.L. Rădoescu, 2016, p. 11-12, pl. 2) or Cucuteni culture (D. Monah, 2012, p. 240-241, fig. 8/1, fig. 238/3, fig. 238).

The second position is illustrated by the two protomas from Vidra (Fig. 6/5-6) of seated male, the head supported by one hand, which can be added to the series of personage/deity of 'the Thinker', as the one found at Târpești or Cernavodă (S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, 1985; N. Ursulescu, 2000, p. 211-212), but maybe a secondary characters because they are attached to bigger vessels as the one attached to 'the vessel with human heads protomas' from Sultana (Fig. 6/4).

There are some researchers who are arguing that even the seated or stand-up position of figurines is important, either they are feminine or male, because the seated ones, rare in number, are bearing strong meanings which allow it to overpass the time barrier, until the beginning of Bronze Age (S. Țerna, S. Țurcanu, 2014, p. 485-491). The situation is the same for the thinker position, considered a variant of the seated one, and this long persistence is linked also to the expression of hierarchy (S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, 1985, p. 123), be it social or religious.

The rarity of male representation is partially counter-balanced by zoomorphic representations. Most of the researchers admit that for the Neolithic and Copper Age cultures the male element is expressed by the presence of bucranium, as cranial skeletons or

figural, in clay, in the form of vessels, or even by zoomorphic figurines (V. Chirica, M. Văleanu, 2008, p. 123-148; C.-M. Lazarovici, G. Lazarovici, 2015, C.-M. Lazarovici, G. Lazarovici, 2016; D. Monah, 2012, p. 241).

Cranial skeleton of horns is a quasi -absence from excavation reports of Gumelnița settlements, and as vessels are rare. Except the impressive bull head vessel from Geangoești (A. Ilie, F. Dumitru, 2008), horned body vessels were discovered in the sites of Calomfirești and Sultana (A. Nițu, 1972, Fig. 11/7, 3) or decorated with horns as the ones from Sultana and Gumelnița (A. Nițu, 1972, Fig 9/4; Fig 12/2-4).

Zoomorphic figurines from KGK VI culture are, generally, rudimentarily worked (R.R. Andreescu, C.-M. Vintilă, 2017; A. Ilie, F. Dumitru, 2014; A. Frînculeasa, 2012a; A. Frînculeasa, O. Negrea, 2010), but there are miniature clay bucranium found in settlements of K-G-K VI culture, rare, as in the site of Geangoești (A. Ilie, F. Dumitru, 2014, pl. V/1), Căscioarele, Gumelnița, Sultana, Surdulești, or abundant, as in the sites of Vitănești (I. Torcică, 2012) and Bucșani (C. Bem, V. Radu, 2007, p. 30).

Although the horned zoomorphic figurines as the clay bucranium has been associated to male element, their role in the ritual practice is unclear. There are voices which consider that the zoomorphic figurines are used in magical rituals (D. Monah, 2012, p. 239).

The male element has also been expressed by parts. Except the rythoi (S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, 2000; A. Frînculeasa, 2012b; Voinea, 2005, p. 64-65, pl. 98), at Teiu (M. Neagu, D. Măndescu, 2011, pl. 12), Geangoești (A. Ilie, I. Neaga, 2010, p.82), etc, are discovered a series of clay objects considered as phallic representations. There are even some vessels decorated with phalloi, as the one from Gumelnița (V. Dumitrescu, S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, 2001, fig. 5/1).

### Some conclusions

The lot of anthropomorphic male and feminine figurines from Geangoești suggests that each one is unique, probably made by several people, but their attitudes and the ways of modelling are similar in all Gumelnița settlements. The identification of the same attitudes and ways of representing things on large areas, we consider to be a material translation of beliefs and myths.

The restraint number of ithyphallic representations from K-G-K VI culture makes from every one of them a remarkable discovery, but the characteristics of the ones from Geangoești-Hulă impose them as outstanding

artistic creations, by realism of the first or by exaggeration and by disturbing the traits of the second creation. The head anatomy, disproportion of representation, the presence of the mask, even the sturdiness of it suggest more an allegory with male attribute than a male miniature representation.

The mask is an element frequently used in anthropomorphic figurine of Vința culture (E. Comșa, 1995, p. 110-115), as it is in K-G-K VI culture (A. Nițu, 1969).

To conclude, the male figurine from K-G-K VI culture follows the pattern of anthropomorphic figurines; many of the feminine or asexual figurine are more like idols, schematically suggested, even if others, maybe just half of them, depending of site particularity, has realistic anatomical details or decorative symbols – incisions for anatomical details or garments or clothing, position, painting etc.

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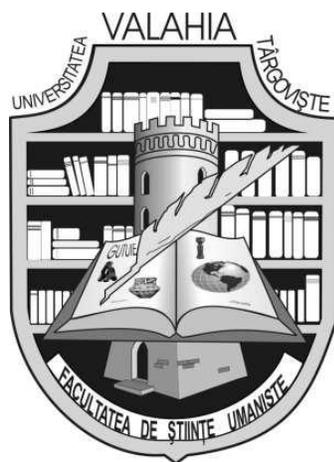
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# ANNALES



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## Delimited Funerary Spaces – Hellenistic Tumuli with Stone Enclosures at Kallatis

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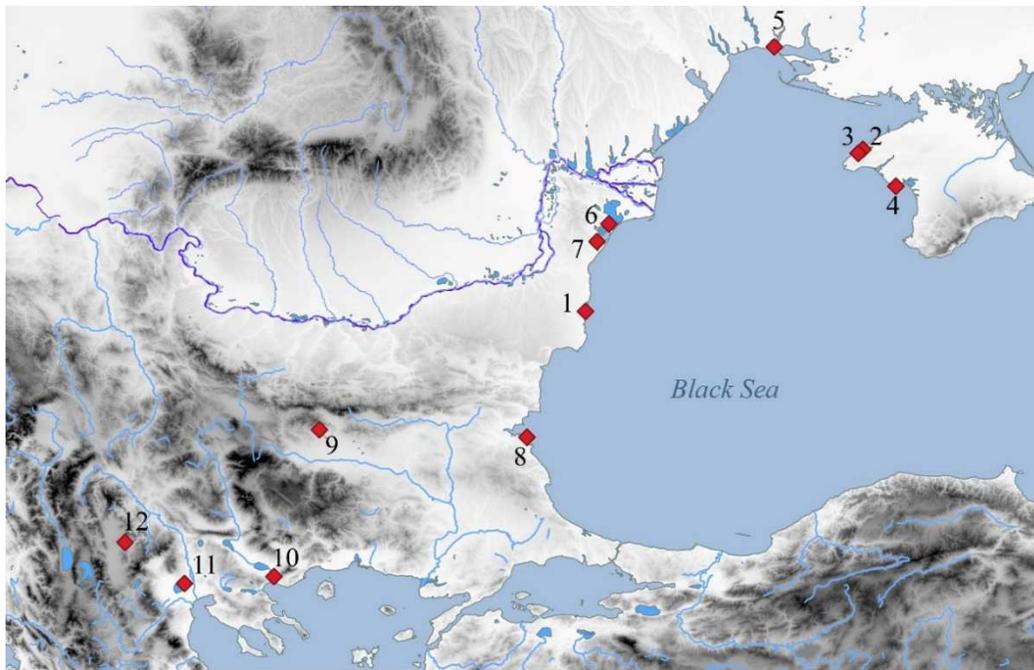
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**Abstract:** This article analyzes the practice of delimiting tumuli graves with stone enclosures, mainly in the Classical and Hellenistic cemeteries of Kallatis/Callatis (Mangalia), a Dorian establishment on the western Black Sea, following the recent exploration of a monumental tumulus ensemble, the Documaci Mound, built at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC-early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC at 3 km west of the ancient city limits. The mound, covering a chamber tomb with semi-cylindrical vault, plastered walls and dromos, was surrounded at its base, measuring around 169 m in circumference, by a stone wall, 1.2 m high and 87 cm thick. After offering a systematic description of the Documaci Mound enclosure wall, the authors take on the occasion to discuss certain funerary architectural developments in the Greek colonies on the western and northern Black Sea shores, related to the use of *periboloi* and other stone delimitations (stone rings, kerbs, *krepidai*) during the Classical period, establishing also general connections with the building trends of the early Hellenistic period of erecting imposing funerary monuments in contexts related to enhancement of the individual identity expression in Macedonia and Thrace.

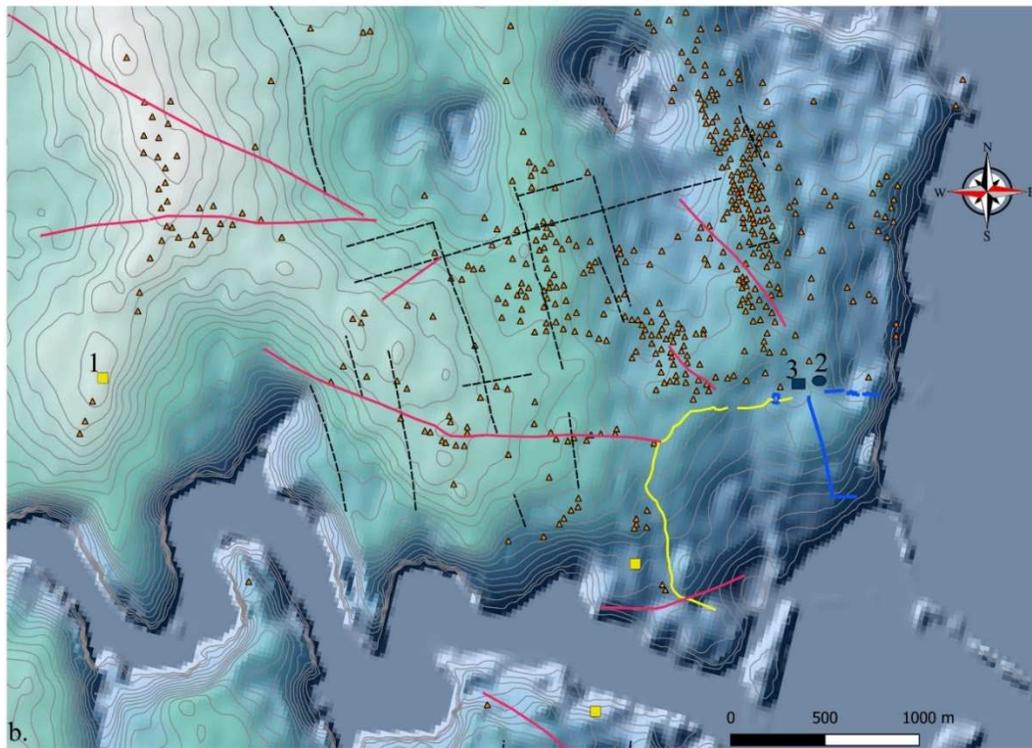
**Keywords:** funerary architecture; *krepidai*; *periboloi*; tumuli; Black Sea Greek colonies

During 2017-2019, the remains of a large mound, 8 m high *Documaci Mound*, located at 4 km west from modern Romanian city of Mangalia's shoreline (Fig. 1b-1), became the focus of a new excavation program<sup>1</sup> (V. Sîrbu *et al.*, 2018; 2019). The monument was known since 1993 (M. Ionescu, V. Georgescu, 1997), when an illegal soil extraction revealed a chamber tomb with semi-cylindrical vault, plastered interior and *dromos*, looted since Antiquity, and a socle, very probable for a free-standing funerary monument, now lost, which could have once topped the mound. Both structures were dated in the early Hellenistic period by taking in consideration architectural style and other materials found in the embankment (M. Ştefan, V. Sîrbu, 2016). The tumulus was part of the urban cemetery of ancient Kallatis (colony<sup>2</sup> of Heraclea Pontica), on the western Black Sea, who experienced a significant spatial and economic development during the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (A. Avram, 1999; 2006; M. Ştefan *et al.*, 2017). As the site of the

polis was almost continuously occupied since Antiquity, an intense superimposing of archaeological material made the investigation of the earlier strata difficult. Moreover, the complete overlapping of the ancient settlement by the modern town and seaside resort of Mangalia, meant that the majority of the archaeological data was obtained in years of rescue archaeological projects, while a considerable part of the ancient heritage, especially the mound necropolis, was lost without any scientific documentation left behind. During the Communist period of intense territorial planning, episodes of overnight ground levelling are known to have happened (O. Bounegru, E. Bârlădeanu-Zavatin, 1990). For example, from the 380 mounds still observable in 1943 in the territory nowadays occupied by the modern city (Fig. 1b), only three identified as such were properly excavated and recorded in archaeological reports after the World War II (C. Preda *et al.*, 1962; O. Bounegru, E. Bârlădeanu-Zavatin, 1990).



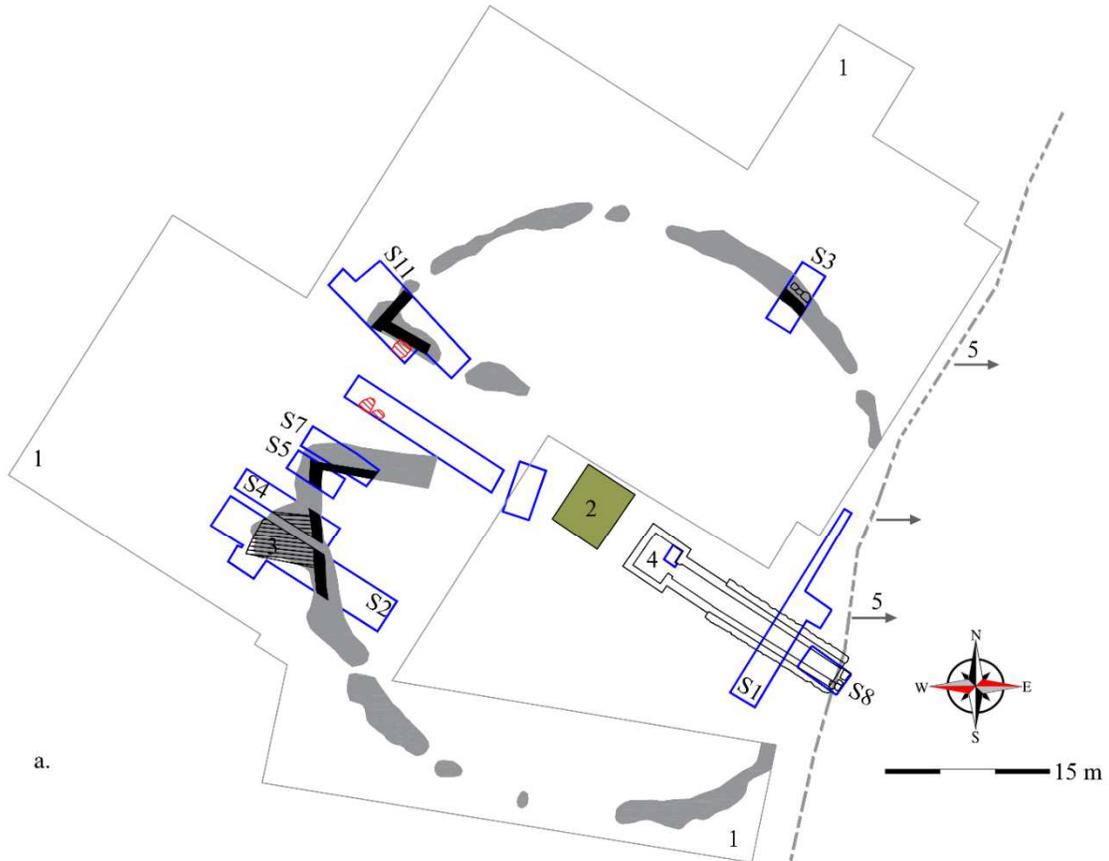
a.



b.

Fig.1 - Sites mentioned in text (a) (1 Kallatis, 2 – Panskoye I, 3 – Kalos Limen, 4 - Zaozernoye (Chaika), 5 – Olbia, 6 – Orgame, 7 – Istros, 8 - Apollonia Pontica, 9 – Starosel, 10 – Amphipolis, 11 – Pella, 12 – Bonce); Kallatis necropolis (b) (1 – *Documaci Mound*; 2 – *Papyrus Tomb*; 3 – Funerary structures with stone enclosures discussed in N. Alexandru *et al.*, 2017); orange triangles = tumuli, red lines = ancient roads, dotted black line = ancient plots delimitations, yellow line = Hellenistic ditch, blue line = Late Roman fortification.

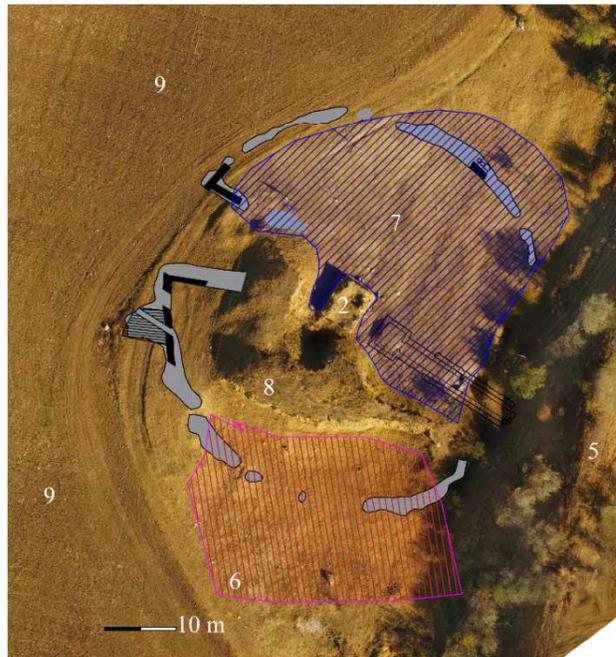
Delimited Funerary Spaces – Hellenistic Tumuli with Stone Enclosures at Kallatis



a.

- 1 - area investigated with ERT
- 2 - stone socle
- 3 - stone base (altar)
- 4 - tomb
- 5 - modern military dyke
- 6 - area of the mound destroyed with machines in 1993
- 7 - area of the mound levelled with machines and researched by excavations (1993-1995)
- 8 - area of the mound still preserved in situ in 2017
- 9 - modern agricultural lots

- resistive anomaly on ERT plot; selection from the ensemble of results
- wall identified in excavations
- ♦ pottery ritual deposit



b.

Fig. 2 - Documaci Mound. General plans.

Less than 20% of this landscape is available for study today, the rest being leveled and occupied by modern constructions. In total, from about 1100 mounds recorded on a 20 km range around Mangalia, archaeological data about only 39 of them are available, among which 29 were excavated before 1945, without clear documentation (M. Ştefan *et al.*, 2017).

Extensive rescue excavations were carried out at *Documaci Mound* initially during 1993-1995, however their results were never published, and the surviving documentation was limited and problematic<sup>4</sup>. After 22 years, a new interdisciplinary team got involved<sup>5</sup>. Following a complete geophysical survey<sup>6</sup> of what was left of the mound heap (about a quarter), including of the areas initially covered with embankment - now disappeared due to illegal soil removing by machines and archaeological excavation (Fig. 2b), pin-pointed excavations targeted several areas of the tumulus in what were considered key-spots for the understanding of the overall design and chronology of the monument. Among the results of these investigations was the identification of a stone enclosure/retaining wall bordering the base of the mound. A detailed monographic publication of the tomb and adjacent structures is in preparation (V. Sîrbu *et al.*, 2020), so only general technical data will be given here. Our purpose is now to focus on the enclosure wall of *Documaci Mound* by placing it in a larger geographical and chronological framework and thus to answer questions like: Was this type of funerary structure typical for Kallatis? What was the cultural context of its implementation? What can we say about its functionality? What can this structure reveal about the overall architectural project of the funerary ensemble?

### **1. *Documaci Mound* - enclosure wall**

The 3D electrical resistivity tomography gave really good results in discriminating between the clay or sandy embankment layers and the limestone structures they covered. It was, in fact, quite a surprise that, even in those areas heavily affected by machines during 1993 events, the base of several stone structures still survived (Fig. 2b). The main observable structure on the geophysical survey was a resistive anomaly with an almost circular layout, marking discontinuously the base of the mound (Fig. 2a). We tested this geophysical anomaly with trial trenches in four points: in the northern sector (Fig. 4), where its width appeared

extended towards the exterior (Trench S3/2017-2018 which enlarged in fact an old excavation dated 1995, probably trench SIII/1995) and more extensively in the western sector (Fig. 3, 5) where the geophysical survey indicated the existence of 'an opening/gate' of the enclosure wall (studied in Trenches 5 and 7 (2018) and 10 and 11 (2019), marked by interior walls making some sort of 'corners' with the enclosure, exactly in opposite position in relation with the tomb's entrance. Other trenches (S2 and S4/2017-2018) tested further the enclosure wall in the south-western sector of the enclosure, south to the 'gate', in a spot where a large rectangular resistive structure was visible adjacent to the enclosure wall (Fig. 2a-3). All the excavations results were consistent, the resistive anomalies identified by the 3D-ERT survey proved to be dry-stone walls and their debris, stone platforms and slabs pavements.

Some details regarding the building technique, elevation level, shape, chronology and ruination of the mound enclosure wall were clarified specifically for the researched sectors. Some of these data were extended for the entire structure by taking in consideration the results of the geophysical survey verified with excavation; other details, however, await further investigation, as more sectors of this wall should have been researched (significant data is lacking, for example, for the southern sector which was the heaviest affected by modern destructions and which is also the only one less aligned to the general circular shape of the mound). Due to the monument's complexity, the period of just two and a half years of our research program was evidently not enough for a complete exploration. These are, therefore, partial results, with several questions left open.

#### **1.1. Mapping the enclosure wall**

In order to map the segments of walls which can be interpreted as belonging to the mound's enclosure, we combined the information obtained in the geophysical survey and the archaeological excavation. The ERT identified not just the enclosure wall (Z1) but also the dismantled stones fallen from it towards the exterior of the mound. This situation appeared in all trenches (Fig. 4, Fig 5e-f). Consequently, it was noted that the width of the enclosure wall, when judged strictly on ERT data, had the potential to appear in cases larger, from slightly larger to double. The excavations revealed, however, that the interior margin of the wall was clearly identifiable and rather well preserved.

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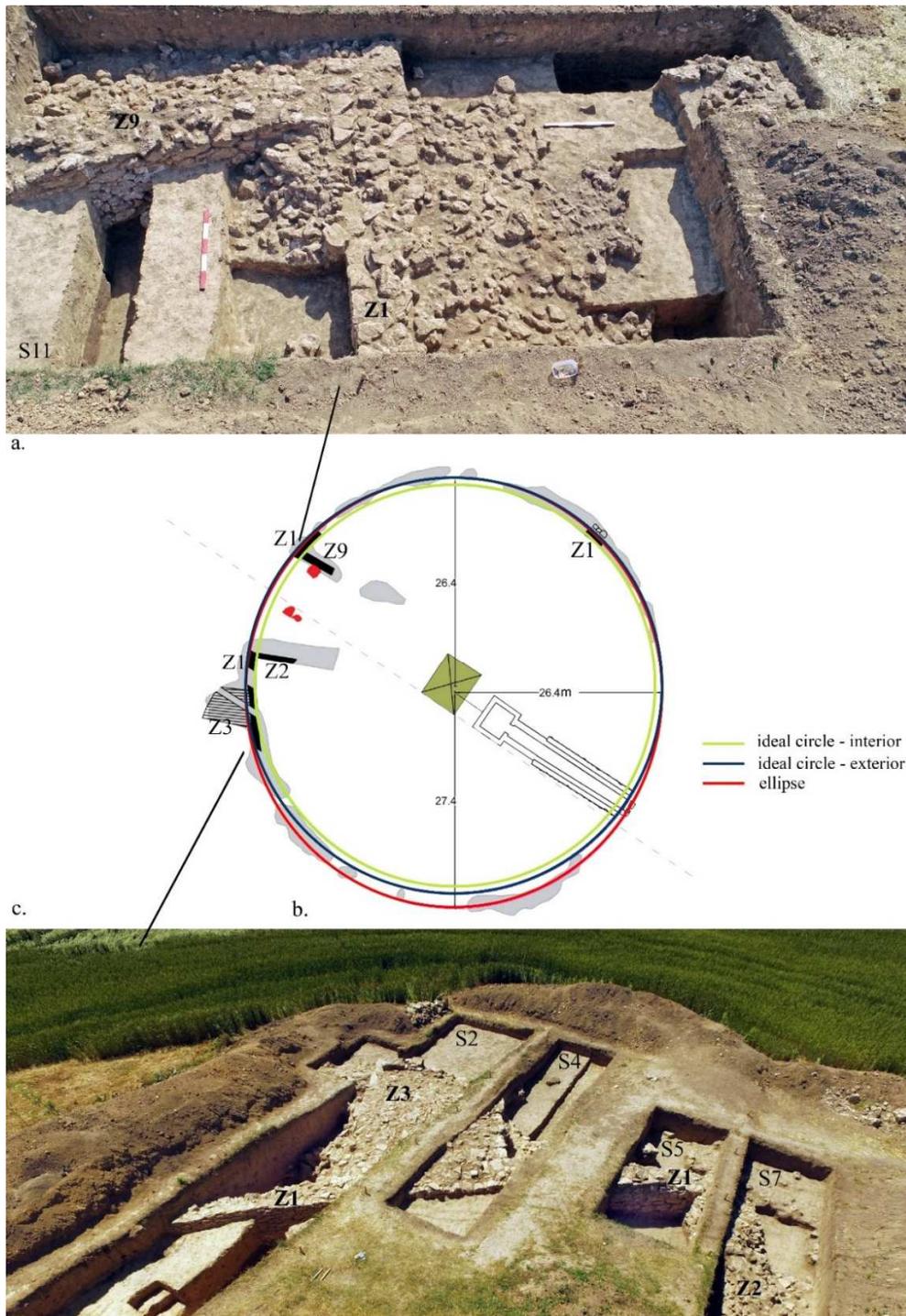


Fig. 3 - *Documaci Mound*: a - S11, view towards S; b – models of approximating the shape and dimensions of the enclosures; c – western sector, view towards SW.

All the debris from the enclosure wall, in the excavated surfaces, was fallen exclusively outside the embankment<sup>7</sup>, indicating that the wall's exterior face was initial visible, exposed, while the back was adjoined to the embankment. The inner side of the wall was affected though by the weight forces of the huge mass of soil heaped behind, which in time distorted the wall, making it to incline towards exterior, especially in its upper part (Fig. 4e, 5c). A displacement of 10 to 40 cm can be supposed for some sectors, when taking in consideration the interior outline of the enclosure. In S2 and S4 the enclosure wall remained in place only in the sector where it was doubled on the exterior by the rectangular base (Z3). All these details may matter if one tries to calculate the shape, perimeter and eventual diameter(s) of the mound enclosure, attempting further a determination of the measuring unit module – which we will not attempt for the moment, considering that further excavation is needed for clearer results.

### 1.2. Enclosure wall building technique. Dimensions

The stone wall was assembled without foundation, directly on top of an initial leveling made with dark-brown, well beaten, clay (Fig. 4e). We found this dark layer underneath many sectors of the embankment, including underneath the chamber tomb's entrance wall plinth. Differences in the absolute recorded elevation values for this level may suggest that this initial preparation of the ground with brought in soil was not made necessary to zero. The western sectors are higher with 70 cm than the northern sectors. A 2-3 cm layer of yellow beaten clay was laid at the base of the future wall before the first course of boulders was put in place. Fine stone debris from working in situ the stones for the walls can be observed above it as a layer extending both on the exterior and interior of the mound for 1 to 2 m. This indicates that the wall was built before the mound was heaped. Irregular limestone boulders were used for the enclosure wall, only slightly worked, with the gaps filled with smaller stone debris. Because the wall was firmly attached to the light brown or yellow clay embankment layer behind, it's hard to say if clay was used additionally for filling the masonry gaps, as the boulders were not neatly fitted, or if the visible clay today between the stones had just infiltrated from behind. For the wall faces the aligned boulders measured 30 to 50 cm long and about 20 cm thick. Occasionally, slender slabs were used as well. The blocks and slabs were arranged in courses, generally block over block when they matched size (preserved from 4 to 9 courses of various heights). The wall was

assembled by several different teams working simultaneously. This is obvious in the differences of selecting and assembling the building material. For example, in S2, behind and south of the rectangular base, the enclosure wall was beautifully assembled of thin slabs, just 5 to 10 cm thick (Fig. 5a-b). The wall aspect in this sector is of careful treatment in comparison with the wall in S3 which appears rougher (Fig. 4). However, there are no arguments for different dating, just indicatives of different hands. There were no clues that any additional coating of the wall on the exterior (with slabs or plaster, for example) existed.

The preserved height of the wall varied, from 1.20 m in S3 and 1 m in S2, to 40 cm in S11 and 65 cm in S5. The width of the wall was relatively constant, 85 cm to 88 m. This is why we suppose that the fallen boulders, some of which were found right at the base of the enclosure wall, on the exterior (Fig. 4a), must have belonged to its elevation, not width. Judging from the quantity of fallen boulders and differences in preserved height we estimate that the enclosure wall had an elevation not higher than 1.5 m, with some segments, those bordering the interruption zone in the west, measuring even less, but being built in a crescendo, rising once the lateral embankment bordering the walled corridor raised, too.

In the northern sector, a pavement of large soft limestone slabs (60 to 90 cm long each, 3-4 cm thick, selected to resemble as much as possible rectangular shapes, smoothed surfaces) was observed surrounding the enclosure wall exterior, at least on S3 width (2.5 m), on a belt situated at 45 cm towards the exterior (Fig. 4a-c). They were probably laid in a previously excavated space (visible now on 1.80 m wide (N-S), 40 cm deep from the wall base, like a ditch with rectangular profile with flat bottom (Fig. 4e). The slabs cover only a part of the ditch, but it is possible that they were partially dismantled in antiquity and initially to have covered all the 1.80 m which lay underneath the level of the wall construction. Because only the northern (most exterior) side of the depression is clear, the other (towards the enclosure wall) being continued smoothly with the levelling layer with black soil, we interpret it as clues that the initial levelling followed a preparation of the terrain through excavation/scraping of this part of the site before soil was brought. The small depression collected the wall debris during its collapse, which, judging from the configuration of the fallen stones directly at the base, was in the initial moment a sudden event. A similar situation concerning the existence of a

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Fig. 3 - *Documaci Mound*. *Krepis* wall (Z1) in S3: a-c – views towards S; d – view towards N, visible here the inner wall face and a pit underneath it; e – stratigraphic profile N-S, of the eastern side of S3 (1 – actual vegetal layer with traces of modern levelling and stones debris; 2 – brown layer indicating an ancient demolishing action of the embankment; 3 – brown-yellow clay – fallen embankment; 4 – layer containing the wall destruction; 5 – yellow compacted clay, in situ embankment; 6 – dark brown, well compacted, levelling; 7 – natural layer; 8 – dark brown – embankment; 9 – stone debris-construction level for the *krepis* wall).

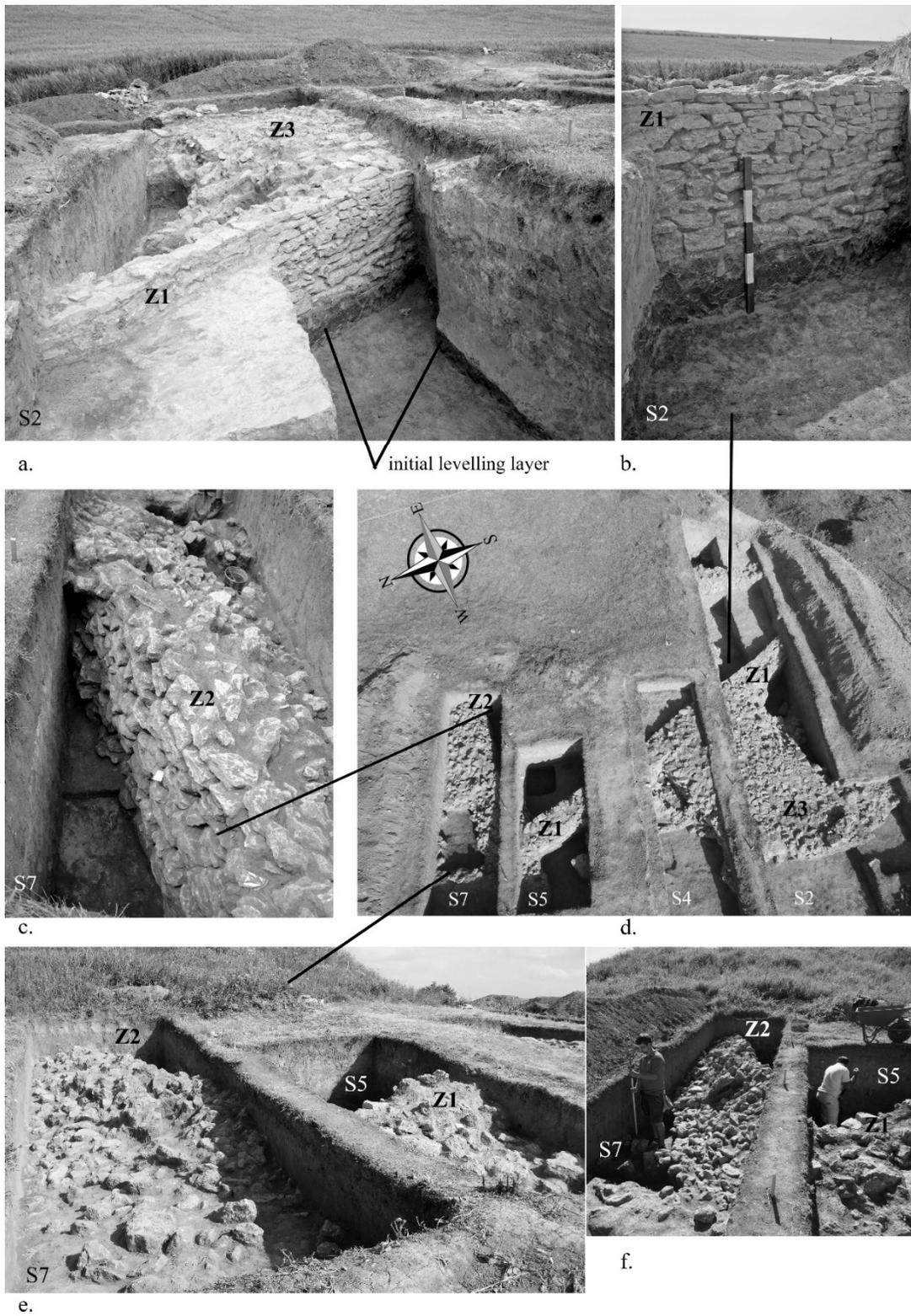


Fig. 5 - *Documaci Mound* - western sector (d): a-b – enclosure wall (S2/Z1) inner face; c – S5/Z2- view to W – only the inner face was identifiable (inclined towards exterior); the exterior face (e-f) was partially fallen.

small depression outside the was observed in the western sector in S11. No pavement slabs were preserved here.

### 1.3 Enclosure Shape. General geometry of the mound

By taking in consideration the interior margin of the enclosure wall visible on the ERT, a medium width of 87 cm and the outline of the wall arches already uncovered in excavation, we deduced that the shape described by this structure can be approximated with an ellipse measuring 27.4 m N-S x 26.4 m E-W (Fig. 3b). In this configuration the ellipse center appears located at 1.24 m to south-east of socle's center, on an axis perfectly perpendicular on the middle of the funerary chamber tomb western wall – the one opposite the entrance. In fact, a circle with a diameter of 52.8-52.9 m and a center at just 60 cm east of the socle center estimates quite well the ideal shape of the enclosure (on the exterior), linking perfectly the excavated sectors, missing only the south-eastern sector, as seen on the ERT, which appears displaced with 1.4-2 m towards south. The ellipse shape could be caused by a difference in terrain initial leveling. It is, in the same time, the most affected sector of the mound by prior modern machine work, the same which remained still unexplored by newer excavation. Moreover, it is located close to the entrance in the tomb which was rebuilt at some point by extending/or just rebuilding the *dromos* and fixating it in an earlier embankment. The foundation ditch for the second phase of the *dromos*, partially dismantled even since Late Roman period, was identified in the most recent excavations (S8 in Fig. 2a). In total, in the latest phase the tomb's corridor measured at least 17.47 m in length. At this dimension the *dromos* reached the margin of the enclosure wall calculated on the 52.8 m diameter circle.

### 1.4 Other elements of the funerary ensemble with which the enclosure wall was connected

The socle, measuring 5.05 x 6.05 m, has currently survived on a 5.60 m height. Its base lays at 2.50 m west and with 50 cm above the level on which the base of the funerary chamber is. The stratigraphic relation between the chamber and socle is not entirely clear. It hasn't been explored in the last years, within the new excavations, so our interpretation is solely based on the study of older documentation. Two stratigraphic sections recorded in 1994, reintegrated in the architectural sections of A. Sion of 1999, apparently suggest that the socle was installed in a pit which was later than the embankment containing the funerary chamber. Unfortunately, these

sections document only a very small portion of these stratigraphic relations, the lowest, so doubt remains.

On the south-western side of the enclosure wall (S2, S4), linked to its exterior, not intertwined, a rectangular stone construction was found (Z3), measuring at least 6.30 m (E-W) x 4.20 m (N-S). It was built in similar technique as the enclosure wall and in identical material, with the slightly worked stones better fitted at the faces, and interior made of smaller, unworked stones and earth (Fig. 2a-3; 3c; 5d). It was preserved, at the moment of its discovery, on three courses, measuring about 50-60 cm in height in its upper (eastern side). The western side was cut by modern agricultural works, while part of the southern wall collapsed, probably around the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, in a nearby ditch, excavated in front and parallel with the enclosure wall.

Some of the smaller interruptions in the ERT anomaly corresponding to the enclosure wall, proved to be, at excavation (for example in S11 – Fig. 3a), just areas where the wall was affected by later intrusive elements, including agriculture or excavators, which lead to its partial dismantling. The larger disruption in the western sector was however confirmed to be deliberate, projected from the start by the ancient builders. It measured 11 m in width along the general enclosure arch. The two ends of this interruption were each marked by a wall adjoined to the enclosure, with which they formed corners in an angle of 80 degrees (Fig. 2a, 3). These corner walls were built in similar technique and of similar width with the enclosure; they extend towards the center of the mound as lateral supports of an open space. The excavations made inside this sector (S10) have showed that it was always left uncovered by embankment, no initial leveling with dark brown soil was done at the ground level, the place being used, at least at some point, for ritual deposits – remains of ritual meals left at the grave, with the occasion of the burial or at some subsequent festival dedicated to honoring the dead. Two such deposits were discovered in S10 separated by a 10 cm layer of clay (possibly drained of the mound, with the first laid directly on the initial vegetal layer, which in this sector was not scrapped or levelled with additional soil – a third was found in S11 under the debris of Z9 wall. The materials found in these deposits (small plates, fishplates, kantharoi, bowls, some black glazed, fragments of amphorae), were datable anytime in the interval between the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC to the middle 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC<sup>8</sup>.

The building of the enclosure wall and tomb, including its second *dromos* phase. It is not yet clear how the socle fits in this sequence of events. Some shards of amphorae found in stratigraphic positions relatable with the ruination phase of the mound's enclosure and SW altar (which at some point partially collapsed in an adjacent ditch) can be dated at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC.

We will not discuss here the entire problematic of the monument project, nor its sequence of building in phases, subjects which need more printing space and will therefore be detailed in the monograph (V. Sîrbu *et al.*, 2020). We just included here some details in order to highlight that the enclosure wall was built in architectural, possibly mathematical relation, with the other elements of the mound (socle for a funerary monument, tomb, *dromos* – built in two phases, area for ritual deposits, exterior altar).

## 2. Were there any other stone enclosures for tumuli in Kallatis?

The answer is not easy to give because, despite their long history of research, with scholars involved since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (O. Tafrali, 1927; 1928; Th. Sauciuc-Săveanu, 1938; 1945), the ancient cemeteries of Kallatis do not benefit yet of a systematic monographic publication<sup>9</sup>.

Basic information about 100 graves excavated before 1990, which can be dated 4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, can be identified in several archaeological reports (for example: C. Preda, 1961; E. Zavatin-Coman, 1972; C. Preda, N. Georgescu, 1975; N. Cheluță-Georgescu 1974). After 2000, quite a few rescue excavations conducted by specialists from the local museum, investigated under the modern city at least 40 more graves of the same period. Their publication is of variable detail, some remaining for the moment quite schematic (N. Alexandru *et al.*, 2018). A good presentation among these is the one dedicated to the 18 Hellenistic graves excavated in 2003 in the northern sector of the urban cemetery, close to the ancient city's gates (N. Alexandru *et al.*, 2017). Several other tens of graves, usually inhumations in stone cists, did not contain any inventory and remain difficult to date (either Hellenistic or Late Roman). Despite this, it can be deduced that during the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC the burial grounds of Kallatis reached their greatest extent surrounding the Hellenistic fortification on all the available land sides. A significant concentration for the Hellenistic period was noticed near the northern gate, but graves with Hellenistic period materials were found towards west, even at 2 or 3 km far from the shore and towards south in the localities of 2 Mai and Vama

Veche, above Mangalia lake, on a 10 km line. The majority of 65% were inhumations in stone cists (made of slabs or blocks), while others were placed in simple pits or tile graves; several cremations were found, too, on pyres or with the ashes collected in urns, a total around 20% (M. Ştefan *et al.*, 2017, p. 57, fig. 4b). The cemeteries contained both flat and tumuli graves with no clear reserved sectors for a category or another, with excavation data being available predominantly for what was considered the flat category.

The tumuli of Kallatis seem, in fact, the least known. Only very recently a remote-sensing analysis (M. Ştefan *et al.*, 2017) focused on the territories surrounding ancient Kallatis gave a systematic insight into the impressive number, density, organized layout and large sizes of tumuli built here during the Hellenistic and early Roman periods (Fig. 1b). Many of them measured 5 m in height or more (O. Tafrali, 1928). Over 800 mounds were mapped, just on a 7 km radius around the ancient city, with many of the monuments being retrieved from archive aerial imagery recorded before 1950's. It is not implausible that a part of the so-called flat graves excavated until now to had belonged initially to leveled mounds. Reports of varied quality are available for just 39 tumuli excavated or trial trenched in Kallatis and its surroundings, among which 29 were investigated before 1945 and recorded just briefly and mostly in confusing ways (M. Ştefan *et al.*, 2017; M. Ştefan, V. Sîrbu, 2016 for mound graves catalogue and bibliography). These data suggest that the tumuli of Kallatis were functioning as family burial grounds, used for several generations, especially those mounds in the northern sector of the cemetery.

Even if several rich funerary inventories were found (C. Preda, 1961; V. Lungu *et al.*, 2012, p. 17-18), attesting for the existence of rich families in Kallatis and its surrounding territory, taken in general, the cemetery displayed a rather restrained ritual, in which monumental architecture was rather exceptional. The tumuli were in fact the main monumental elements of the necropolis. A group of 5 tumuli covering chamber tombs built of dressed masonry and covered with barrel vaults (including *Documaci Mound*), represents a distinct category of the Hellenistic graves in the territory of Kallatis (M. Ştefan, V. Sîrbu, 2016). Except *Documaci*, for the others (just one excavated, one trial trenched, the others without context) no data about stone enclosures were presented.

Two tumuli excavated by Oreste Tafrali in 1927 were depicted as having heaps of stones at their base: 'un amas de petites pierres' (O. Tafrali, 1928, p. 27-29)

Delimited Funerary Spaces – Hellenistic Tumuli with Stone Enclosures at Kallatis

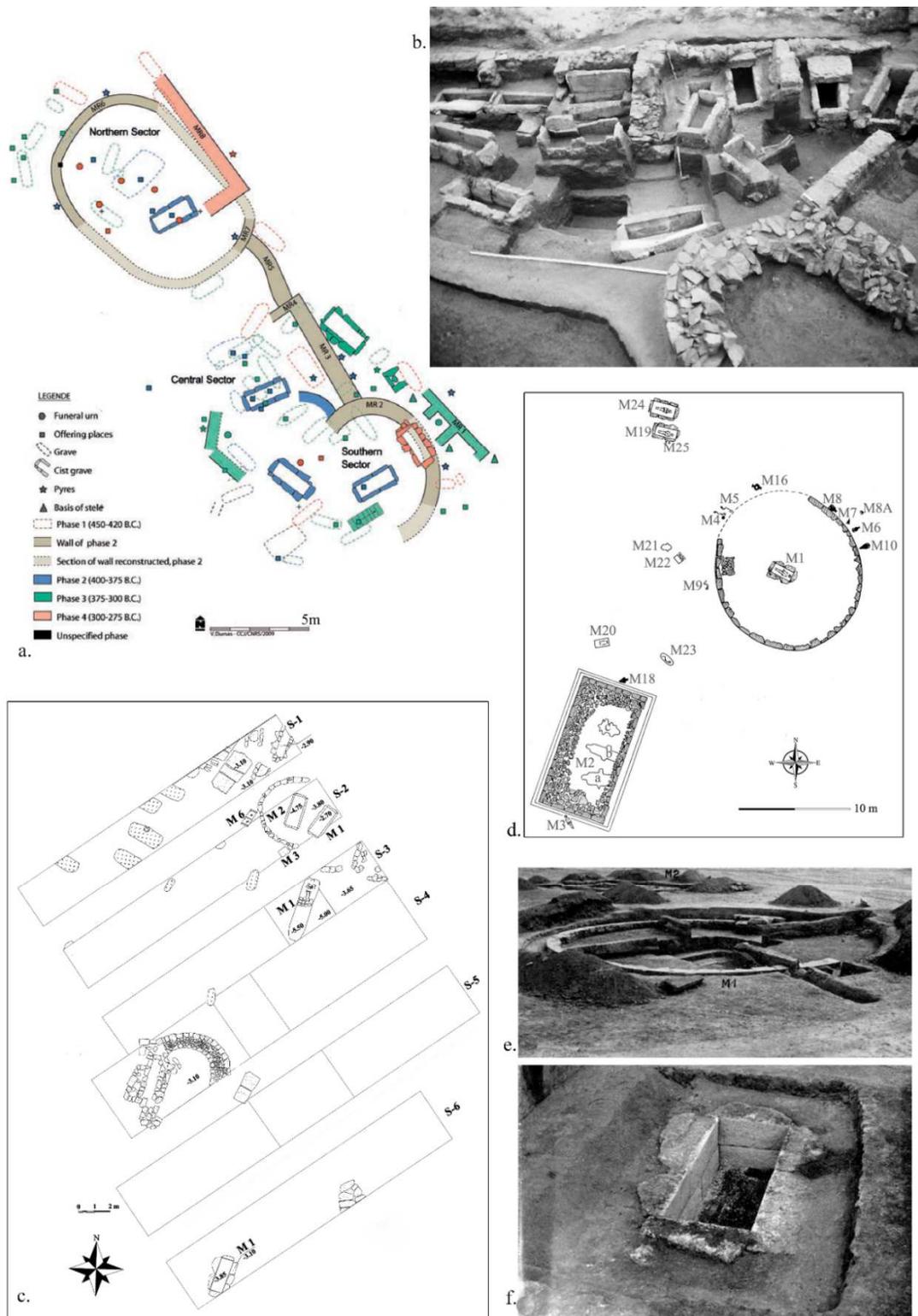


Fig. 6 - Apollonia Pontica (a-b) (after A. Baralis, K. Panayotova, 2013, p. 245, fig. 2; p. 248, fig.4); Kallatis *The Papyrus Tomb* area (c-f) (after C. Preda 1961, p. 277, fig. 1; C. Preda *et al.*, 1962, p. 446, fig. 6; N. Alexandru *et al.*, 2017, p. 230, pl. II).

in a manner which reminds well the situation of the dismantled walls in the northern sector of *Documaci Mound* (Fig. 11e-f). Taking in consideration Tafrali's style of excavation by drilling vertical and horizontal shafts in the large embankments, we consider that an enclosure wall, if it had existed (very probable), could have been overlooked, especially if it had stone debris on the exterior. One of the mounds was located at 400 m west of the sea, to the north of the city (32 m diameter, 5 m high, cremation in situ, mixed inventory suggesting both Hellenistic and Roman eras interventions) and one near Hagieni (44 m diameter, 5 m high, without graves mentioned, but which contained a masonry structure, with a façade built on 13 polished stone rows).

Some stone enclosures, of smaller dimensions, linear, oval or semi-circular, which can be dated during the 4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC were found during excavations carried on at interval of almost five decades between them, at about 300-350 m distance of the northern ancient city gates (Fig. 1b), along the road leading to Tomis: the so called *Papyrus Tomb* (C. Preda, 1961; *et al.*, 1962) and two other stone enclosures, one delimiting two inhumations in cists and the other adjacent to a rectangular stone platform (N. Alexandru *et al.*, 2017; 2018, p. 175-179).

The quality of the 4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC burials in the northern sector (the presence of gilded laurel wreaths in several graves, the discovery of a collective monument for a group of cremation pyres) was interpreted by C. Preda (*et al.*, 1962) as evidence for the area as being reserved for the burials of preeminent citizens. The same idea was reinforced by N. Alexandru (*et al.*, 2017, p. 225-227) who considered several of the structures researched in the nearby, but in 2003, as *heroa*. The special significance of the funerary space bordering the northern city gates, at the scale of the entire cemetery, was confirmed also by our recent remote sensing analysis (M. Ştefan *et al.*, 2017), which identified the northern periphery of the ancient polis as the most crowded and organized part of the tumuli cemetery of Kallatis, the origin of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC land division of the *chora* - aligned and derived from the layout of the main road leading north, to Tomis, along the shore. The standardized use of the funerary space, alignment of tumuli on several rows to the general plots' orientation, in corroboration with evidence of using the area and tumuli even later, during early Roman period, rather points to the functioning of the northern part of the cemetery essentially for family groups with a certain status in general, like that of descendants of an initial

group of citizens. In this official sector, of course, graves for the preeminent individuals, honored by the demos could also be allowed, like *polyandria* – collective graves for those died in battles for the city. We can notice the high percent of cremations discovered in this sector.

### 2.1 *Papyrus Tomb*

The best-known tumulus excavated near Kallatis is the so-called *Papyrus Tomb* which is currently partially preserved as a large-scale context in the city's museum. It was researched in 1959 (C. Preda, 1961; *et al.*, 1962).

No stratigraphic data was published for the mound covering the *Papyrus Tomb*, but the available plan (Fig. 6d) suggests the tumulus was surrounded (in one of its phases) by an oval low wall, measuring 13.55 m (N-S) x 14.20 m (E-W) m in diameter, built on two rows of blocks of regular size, worked only on the exterior. Parts of this wall were dismantled in modern times, the mound, at the time of its research, was reported as preserved only in its lower sector. The stone enclosure was labeled by Preda as 'ring', but paralleled with 'crepida rings' of tumuli in Northern Black Sea area (C. Preda, 1961, p. 295). A layer of yellow clay, strongly beaten, was found inside the ring wall. A similar reinforcement of the enclosure wall on its back with yellow clay was noticed in *Documaci Mound*.

The central grave of the *Papyrus Tomb* mound was an inhumation in a stone cist built of slabs worked only on the interior (Fig. 6f). The head was to the east, like in most of the graves excavated in this cemetery sector (C. Preda *et al.*, 1962, p. 448), suggesting an organized approach to the funerary plots arrangement. In the earth covering the grave, a black glossed *kantharos* and a black glossed little dish with stamped palmettes, together with two other small plates were found. The pottery was probably associated with a ritual meal offered at the grave. On the cist cover, eggshells and a laurel wreath made of bone with bronze and gilded ceramic elements were placed; a similar wreath was found on the deceased head, who carried additionally in the right hand a papyrus, in a bad preservation state. Only few letters in Greek alphabet were readable. The pottery types and the presence of laurel wreaths point to a chronology in the last third of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC. A general reference to coins from Philip II and Alexander III found 'in the vicinity of the mound' was also made (C. Preda *et al.*, 1962, p. 448).

The circular distribution of several graves in the immediate vicinity of the *krepis*, especially of the *enchytrismois* in the eastern periphery (M7, M8), but also

of secondary cremations in sumptuary urns (M16) or even primary cremations (M8a, M21) may suggest that these graves were added subsequently, as secondary funerals in the same mound (Fig. 6d). The *enchytrismoι* indicate a family character of the mound following a similar model with the low mounds surrounded by *krepis* walls, dated 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC, from Panskoye I (V. F. Stolba, E. Rogov, 2012, see further). The Panskoye tumuli, the *Papyrus Tomb* and *Documaci Mound* share yet another feature – the low and rectangular stone platforms built adjacent to the *krepis* walls, predominantly towards west<sup>10</sup>.

## 2.2 Stone enclosures and altars

At about 70 m west from the *Papyrus Tomb* excavated in 1959, a group of 18 burials dated during the Hellenistic period, 4 Roman period graves and two stone funerary structures, one consisting of a circular wall and an adjoined rectangular platform, were discovered in 2003 (N. Alexandru *et al.*, 2017; 2018, p. 175-179) revealing more clues for the use of stone enclosures for family graves, and of altars, placed predominantly towards west (Fig. 6c)

Two inhumation cists graves, made each of four large slabs and covered with other three blocks, smaller in size, were delimited by a single row of partially worked limestone blocks, outlined on a circle (partially preserved) with a diameter of 5 m. The cists lids were found with 1.40 m lower than the level of the stone enclosure. The deceased's heads were one towards NE and the other towards E. One grave had no inventory, the other had a golden bead and a bronze loop (N. Alexandru *et al.*, 2017, p. 219).

About 8 m south from this pair of cists delimited with a circular row of stones, the following structure was identified: an oval enclosure made of a wall, 1 m wide, preserved on a height of four rows (approx. 70 cm) to which a rectangular platform was built intertwined with the wall, towards its west. Both structures were built of stones linked with clay and were found partially dismantled. The platform, if entire, could have measured 4.2 m x 2.4 m), while the wall enclosure could outline a 6.67 m x 4.03 m area. Pottery fragments dated in the Hellenistic and Roman periods were recovered in relation with this structure (N. Alexandru *et al.*, 2017, p. 220, 224, pl. VI.4-6; XII.4-5; XIII.5-11). Beneath this structure, four layers of 'burning' (?) alternating with yellow clay were found. The structure was interpreted as an *escharon* - understood as an altar for heroes (N. Alexandru *et al.*, 2017, p. 224, 231, pl. III).

## 3. Terminology

The custom of encircling graves in general and tumuli in particular with stone structures had a very wide geographic, cultural and temporal span, being essentially grounded on a basic psychological need with social implications, to differentiate an area reserved to ritual practice from the mundane. Despite this widespread appeal which makes the identification of sources of influences difficult, or even unnecessary, some chronological trends and regional models can be identified in the way these structures were built or the emphasis was placed on either of the many possible functions with which they could be invested (retaining wall for an earth construction, funeral marker, property delimitation, ritual delimitation, element of enhanced monumentality, component part of an overall architectural programme) – especially for the more socially and ritually normalized cemeteries of the Greek poleis and settlements of the western and northern Pontus.

For the enlarged contextualisation of the few finds of enclosures in Kallatis and of the *Documaci Mound* in particular, two phenomena deserve attention: the building of the *periboloi* type of graves beginning with the end of 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC, in Attica and beyond, in the Greek world, and the early Hellenistic developments in monumental funerary architecture in Asia Minor, Macedonia, and in their northern peripheries Thrace and Crimea.

In what concerns the stone walled enclosures of mounds, a certain terminological inconsistency can be noticed. *Peribolos* is the modern scientific denomination for a group of family graves delimited by a (monumental) wall façade which served also as an enclosure, on which signallers/markers/*semata* were aligned. They appeared at the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC and were in use until the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC. In Attica thousands of examples are known. Usually the tendency is to regard *periboloi* as primarily the linear walled facades or the rectangular enclosures aligned to roads, marking flat graves, while the stone structures of any type surrounding mounds are named in scientific literature as *krepis*, *crepis*, *krepidae*, *ring-wall*, *belt-walls*. The term *krepis* used in pair with a mound structure may have a larger application, being without chronological or building style limitations. Stone walls for tumuli in Greece and Asia are mentioned in ancient sources. Pausanias (8.16.3), when describing the territory of Pheneos in Arkadia, revealed his personal eagerness to see the grave of Aipyros mentioned in Homer verses. The grave was 'a mound of earth, of no great size, surrounded by a circular base of stone (*κρητις*)'. Herodotus (1.93)

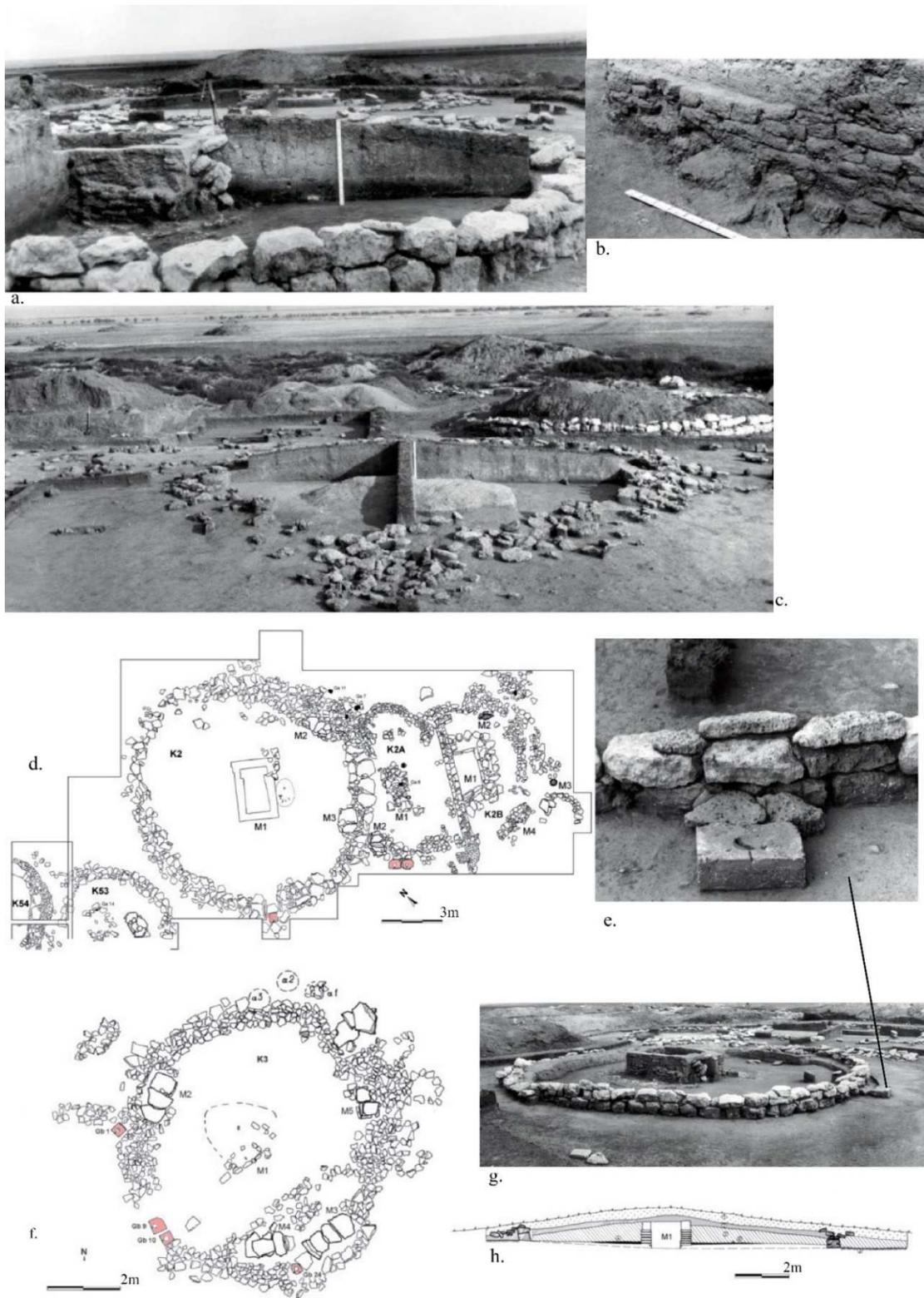


Fig. 7 - Panskoye I (V. F. Stolba, E. Rogov, 2012, p. 13, fig. 2.1; p. 16, fig. 2.3; p. 14, fig. 2.2; p. 90, fig. 6.5; p.43, fig. 2.40; p. 87, fig. 6.1; p. 132, fig. 6.84, 6.83-1).

was impressed by a tumulus in Lydia, the grave of Alyattes, father of Croesus. He considered the tomb a marvel of Lydia, an enormous piece of work, exceeded only by those in Egypt and Babylon; its retaining wall (*κρηπίς*) was built of large stones and the rest of the mound (*σῆμα/sema*) of earth’.

*Peribolos* – is currently used in modern Greek language as a word meaning generally enclosure; it was not used as such to define a type of grave in the Antiquity (D. Marchiandi, 2011). In classical Athens the term designated the boundary of urban fortifications (Thucydides 1.89.3, 90.2, 93.2), or, generically, a fencing wall of a property. In Roman times, Pausanias (1.18.6-7). uses *peribolos* as a synonym for *temenos*, referring to the enclosure of a sanctuary. The contemporaries used the word *μνημα/mnema* for referring to both family or individual graves, meaning "monument", as documented by both the epigraphic and the literary tradition: a "rememberer" (*μνημα*) or "signaler" (*σῆμα*). The attention of the Ancients was therefore on the function of the monument as a whole and not on the form (D. Marchiandi, 2011, p. 20)

By following the logic of significance and not of form, it was observed that during the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC groups of family tombs were enclosed by walls describing various shapes, including circular or oval. Repeated use of the family plot led in cases to rising heaps concluding in the occurrence of small tumuli (2 to 10 m diameter, 1-2 m high) enclosed by stone walls. A good example (A. Baralis, K. Panayotova, 2013, p. 244) was presented for the Classical period cemeteries of Apollonia Pontica, nowadays Sozopol in Bulgaria, where the dry-stone walls were used essentially as delimitations of the family funeral properties (Fig. 6a-b), - in the conditions of an increasingly crowded cemeterial space and emergence of communal programmes of territorial planning (see further).

In other situations, for similar chronology and category of associated structures (low family tumuli graves surrounded by stone enclosures, including walls raised on several courses of dressed blocks) explored in the territories of ancient Greek poleis, the term *krepis* is preferred, like in the cases of Panskoye and Olbia in North-western Pontus (V. F. Stolba, E. Rogov, 2012).

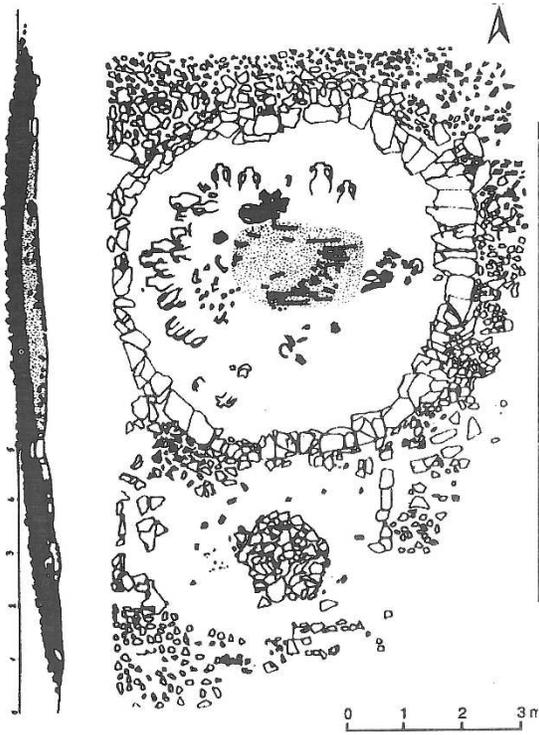
#### 4. Tumuli with stone enclosures in archaic and classical periods in the western and northern Pontus

##### 4.1 Apollonia Pontica

In the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC stone enclosures, in the shape of dry-stone low walls (0.7-1 m high, pseudo-isodomon style) were used at Apollonia

Pontica (Kalfata necropolis) for delimiting the family burial grounds, for either flat graves or for the small collective tumuli obtained by repeated heaping when adding new burials – usually inhumations in pits or cists (A. Baralis, K. Panayotova, 2013 with bibliography). These enclosures were circular, oval or just linear facades when the marked graves were in the vicinity of a road (Fig. 6a-b). The facades were assembled of three courses of ‘carefully squared-off granite blocks that rested on a filling of small stones occasionally mixed with earth. This filling rested on a series of mainly sandy embankments intended to fill the gap between the wall and the barrow covers behind.’ (A. Baralis, K. Panayotova, 2013, p. 244). The low walls were correlated to the *peribolos* type of graves used in Attica beginning with the last quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC, until the third quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC. The occurrence of this type of grave in the rural areas around Apollonia was interpreted as a consequence of the rise in grave numbers in certain burial grounds, enhanced regularity in space use (for example, more coherent similarity in graves orientation, clearer references to the roads as recognized axes) and, therefore, to the growing need to designate more firmly the funeral properties.

For example, in the cadastral plot UPI 5517, the initial burial nuclei were marked by four graves, separated at 4 to 6 m apart and covered by individual mounds; the initial tumulus of tomb 343 had a height of 1.22 m and a diameter of little more than 5 m; the addition of new tombs alongside the earliest ones led to superimposing the burial mounds which eventually formed monumental groups. In the same excavated plot, the largest enclosure, measuring 10 in length, was oval and included the barrows of two different graves (334, 336). Its life span was short, not exceeding two decades. By 380-370 BC it was already partially dismantled. Other mound (of grave 291) was surrounded with a wall only around the side facing the road. As a general observation in the excavated unit of Kalfata, near Apollonia, the *periboloi* around mounds were characteristic of the second cemetery phase, dated 400-375 BC, while the fragments of linear walls facing the road were considered later (375-275 BC). During the second-third quarters of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC, the cemetery transitioned to flat graves, marked by Pi shaped stone structures with the facades adjoined and aligned to the road. These delimitations measured 5 to 7 m wide – the opening at the facades, indicating thus a gradual reducing in size of the burial plots, in



b.

AMPHORES    
 PIERRES    
 VASES CÉRAMIQUES CASSÉS

a.

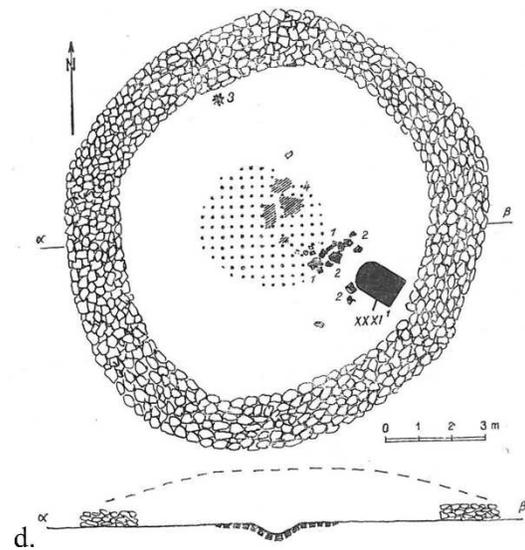
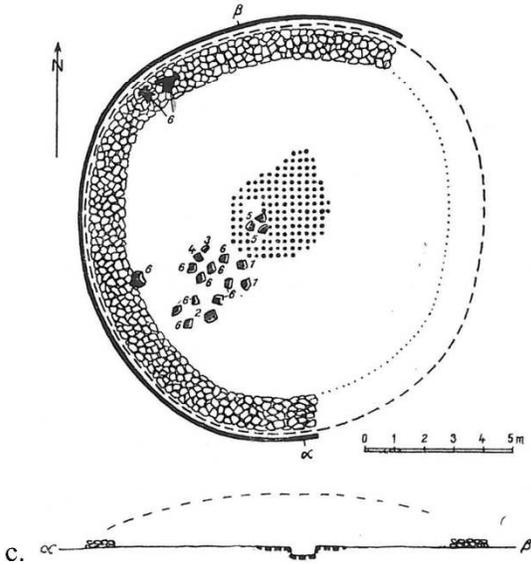


Fig. 8 – Orgame (a-b) (after V. Lungu, 2000, p. 84, fig. 7.10; p. 79, fig. 2.2); Istros, T XXIX and TXXI (c-d) (after P. Alexandrescu, 1966, p. 184, fig. 35; p. 189, fig. 37).

concordance with the abandonment of the earlier, larger, family structures. A parceling of the burial grounds was deduced, with constructions of enclosure walls before the burials were performed.

A similar construction program superimposed over earlier kerbs was observed in Budjaka peninsula, located 300 m southeast of Kalfata, suggesting the large extent of the southern necropoleis of Apollonia characterized by high density occupation. Regularization is here even more apparent, but occurred at once with a spatial revision, not taking in consideration the older burials. Façade walls mark even individual cist grave. Adjoined facades formed continuous chains of even 40 m in length, with perpendicular divisions separating graves or groups of graves. In the third phase of the necropolis (375-300 BC), burials, which by now were just flat, occupied more land, the *periboloi* were built in square or rectangular shapes with an average width of 6.5 m.

#### 4.2 Panskoye I

Some of the most relevant data for our review comes from Panskoye I<sup>11</sup> (V. F. Stolba, 2011; V. F. Stolba, E. Rogov, 2012) a large site, at some point part of the rural territory of Chersonesus. Here, some 30 mounds grouped in clusters, dated in the first three quarters of the 4<sup>th</sup> BC, measuring from 6 m to 18 m in diameter and initially around 2 m in height, were recorded as having their base marked by heaps of stones (Fig. 7). Except for two tumuli (K12 and K13), the earliest, dated at the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC, which did not exhibited proper solid walls, only some scattered stones<sup>12</sup>, the rest of the enclosures (and of tumuli in fact) consisting of low dry-stone walls (labeled as *crepis/krepis* by V. F. Stolba) belonged to the 4<sup>th</sup>-early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC. These walls were built of blocks which were ‘either roughly worked or on occasion merely rounded limestone boulders and slabs’ (V. F. Stolba, E. Rogov, 2012, p. 13). No regularity was observed regarding these walls building technique while many of these enclosures were reported as already being in a partially collapsed state at the time of their investigations; despite these shortcomings, the authors distributed the enclosures in three categories: (1) complete walls surrounding the mounds, (2) walls with gaps (at least five tumuli were mentioned as having their interruption towards SW), (3) fragments of walls (‘symbolic walls’ at one periphery of the mounds). Mudbrick *krepis* was attested in one case. Usually the lower course was laid of large limestone slabs, upon which smaller stones were just heaped with a sloping arrangement.

K34, dated in the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC, measuring 18 m in diameter, had its base surrounded by a 2 m wide sloping heap of stones which covered, in fact, a low wall (labeled in the initial publication as kerb) (Fig. 7a, g-h). This kerb, 12 m in diameter, was built of large fragments of limestone laid directly upon the ancient topsoil surface (V. F. Stolba, E. Rogov, 2012, p. 13-14, 132, fig. 2.1-2.2, 6.84). Its masonry was irregular, consisting of one course on its width and one-two rows in elevation. A mudbrick rectangular cist was built above ground, in its middle. These tumuli were interpreted to be family plots heaped over a longer interval and containing several burials, including of children.

Strong similarities between Panskoye and *Documaci Mound* can be observed also in the case of the pottery deposits found in the vicinity of the *krepidai*, consisting of debris of ritual meals performed shortly after the interment or at some subsequent memorial festival. The presence of small, one block, stone altars or stone tables with carvings for retaining liquids, found adjacent to the tumuli enclosures of Panskoye, usually towards SW (Fig. 7d-f), is a feature that may give some clues about the functionality of the large stone platform found in the western periphery of *Documaci Mound*, *Papyrus Tomb* and of other structures researched in the northern sector of Kallatis cemetery. At Panskoye 28 pieces were found. The number of altars at each mound varies from one to four, and, except for a single case, never exceeds the quantity of recorded interments. Yet, despite a few matches, no direct correspondence between the number of graves and the number of altars could be established (V. F. Stolba, E. Rogov, 2012, p. 43). Most of the altars were accompanied by concentrated areas of amphorae fragments discovered in front of them. Other areas with concentration of crushed pottery (labeled ritual deposits) including categories like perfumes containers, drinking vessels and fishplates, were found in other sectors of the enclosures or on the mound surfaces. Their aspect (V. F. Stolba, E. Rogov, 2012, p. 43, fig. 2.43) is alike to the three deposits identified in the western sector of *Documaci Mound*, in the area where the enclosure has a walled opening.

Tumuli of maximum 2 m high, enclosed by stone heaps (*krepidai*), dated during the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC, were found associated with other settlements in the rural territory of Chersonesus, too: at Kalos Limen (ritual deposits of broken pottery were found here also) (V. F. Stolba, E. Rogov, 2012, p. 70-71) or in Zaozernoie (Chaika)<sup>14</sup>

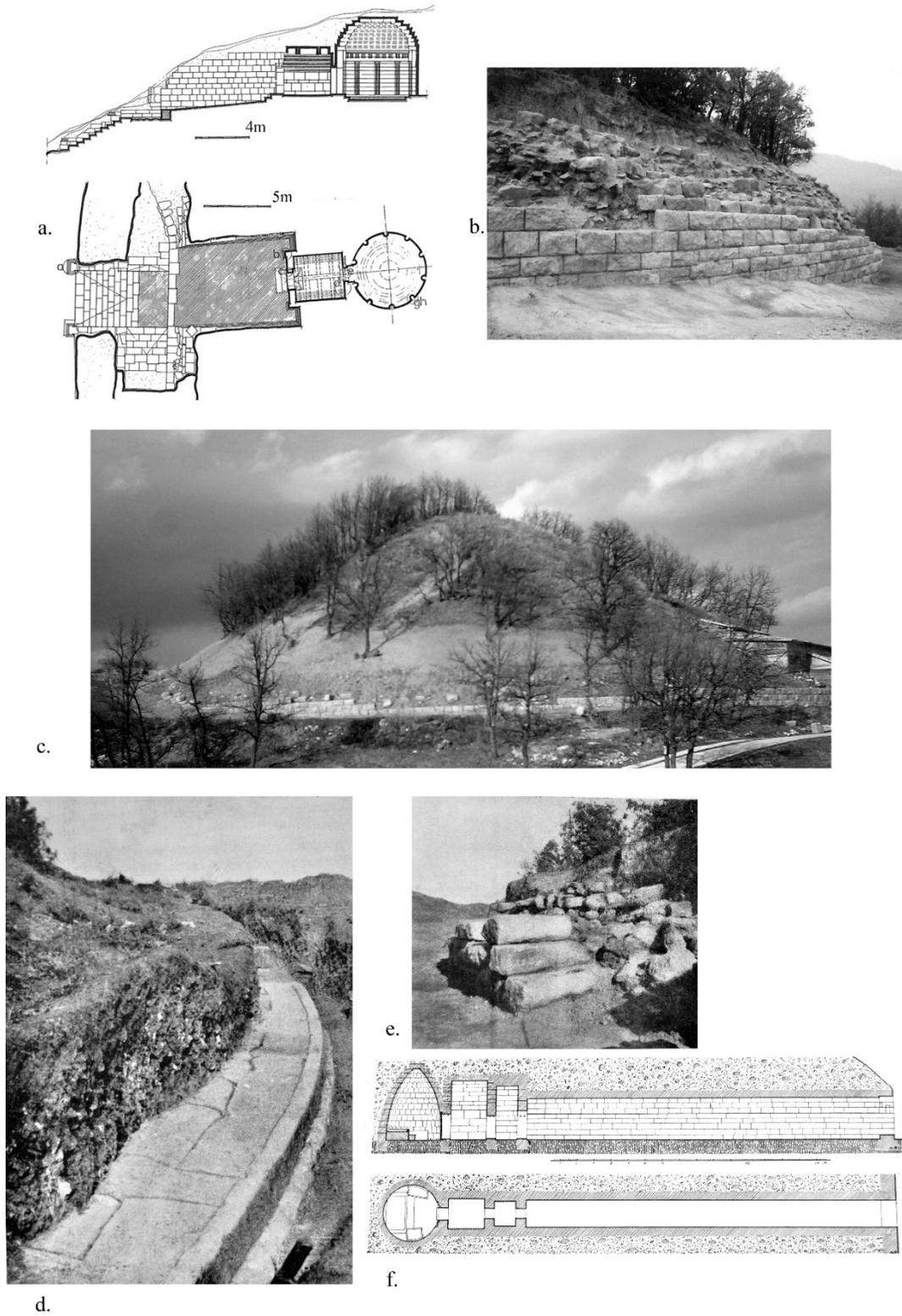


Fig. 9 - Starosel *Chetinyova* (a-c) (after G. Kitov ,2008, p. 147, 149, fig.190, 194a); Mezek *Mal Tepe* (d-f) (after B. Filov, 1937, p. 9-11, fig. 3-5).

(Fig. 1a). At Olbia, from the huge tumuli necropolis, which was once surrounding the city, data for only 36 barrows survived (V. Papanova, 2000). Among these, 30 were dated 4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC. Eight of them apparently had ‘crepidae’, in one case consisting of crude large stone boulders (labelled as ‘cromlechs’). Papanova dates the building of tumuli with krepidiae since the earliest phase of the necropolis, around 600 BC.

#### 4.3 Orgame

Delimitations of unworked stones for low tumuli graves were the norm in the cemetery of Orgame both in the archaic period and during the 4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC (V. Lungu, 1999; 2000a; 2000b; 2007). These enclosures, measuring from 2 to 12 m in diameter, were made of heaps of irregular boulders of various dimensions, usually just piled unevenly in circular adjoined shapes, occasionally intertwined in larger collective stone coverings; sometimes ‘rings’ were assembled – circles of stones of a more regular aspect carefully laid in a single circular row (Fig. 8a).

The graves were arranged in family plots with the larger mounds covering primary cremations, usually associated with several smaller tumuli with secondary cremations. Until further detailed publication of the necropolis we cannot say if the stone enclosures were meant to be visible or were initially covered with soil.

The only grave known to bear a more monumental aspect is T95A (V. Lungu, 2000b), dated in the third quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC. It measured 42 m in diameter, the pyre had 8 m and the *krepis* surrounding the pyre - 22 m in diameter. The stone structure, which was not a wall, had a width of 5-7 m at the base and a height of 1.25 meters. The mound was surrounded by a ditch filled with offerings, mostly pottery, shards of amphorae and of drinking vessels, some with dedicatory graffiti. The tomb was looted in Antiquity. The large dimensions, early chronology, position in proximity of the settlement, traces of prolonged commemorative activity - were all interpreted as proofs for the tomb as belonging to an *oikist* which was worshiped for a longer time at his tomb as a city founder. In both Istros and Orgame no structures of dressed stone were found, nor inventories which could be categorized as rich (precious metals or metals in general). The use of cremation and of tumuli organized in family plots were nevertheless indicatives of special status amongst the inhabitants (M. Damyanov, 2012).

#### 4.4 Istros

At Istros, from the 40 excavated tumuli, two, dated at

the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC or the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC (P. Alexandrescu, 1966, p. 235-236; p. 184, fig. 35; p. 189, fig. 37), had their funerary areas delimited by ‘belts’ of stones carefully assembled, measuring 20 to 50 cm high (Fig. 8c-d). In Tumulus XXIX the low wall measured 13-14 m in diameter and 1-1.20 m in width, while in tumulus XXXI, 13-13.5 m in diameter and 1.5-1.7 m in width. Both walls were built on the ancient walking level for individual primary cremation.

These structures are later than the *periboloi* in Apollonia Pontica and Panskoye, while contemporaneous with *Documaci Mound* enclosure. The main difference is that in Istros they were presented as covered by the embankments. The stratigraphy is not however published in a way that can allow us to judge by ourselves if the low walls were meant to be seen or not. An earlier variant can be recognized in Istros tumulus XIX (P. Alexandrescu, 1966, p. 151, fig. 17), dated in the third quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC, where a shallow ditch (50 cm deep, 1 m wide), which encircled the mound, was filled in its upper part with carefully laid small stones (green schist). In this ditch, two human bodies were found, in disorder, mixed with horse bones and pottery fragments. In this case the ditch filled with stones was not covered by the mound. Its content and analogies with other two neighboring mounds dated as well in the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC, encircled by ditches in which more human bodies and horses were found thrown (for example in tumulus XX the ditch was again partially covered with pebbles), suggest that the main function of these structures was ritual, related to offerings, in contrast with the 4<sup>th</sup> c. *periboloi* the function of which above all was to demarcate a funeral property serving also as *semata*. The choice however for the early Hellenistic mounds in Istros to have these delimitation built in durable stone, in elevated, more marking appearance, could had been influenced by the general trends of the period of building more imposing tombs in which *krepidiae* were a part of an architectural elaborate design.

#### 5. Monumental mounds surrounded by stone walls

The famous **Mal Tepe Mound** near Mezek (B. Filov, 1937), in Bulgaria, close to the nowadays border with Turkey, contained a *tholos* tomb with two rectangular antechambers and a 20 m long dromos covered with a two-sloping roof. It was said to have had initially a ‘krepis’ wall 5 m thick, built partly with broken stones, partly with large worked stone blocks that were apparently placed facing the outside (Fig. 9d-f). Already at the time of its excavation following a recent looting, the *krepis* was quarried by locals and had disappeared completely. Only two images survive, recorded by Theodor Macridy, director of the

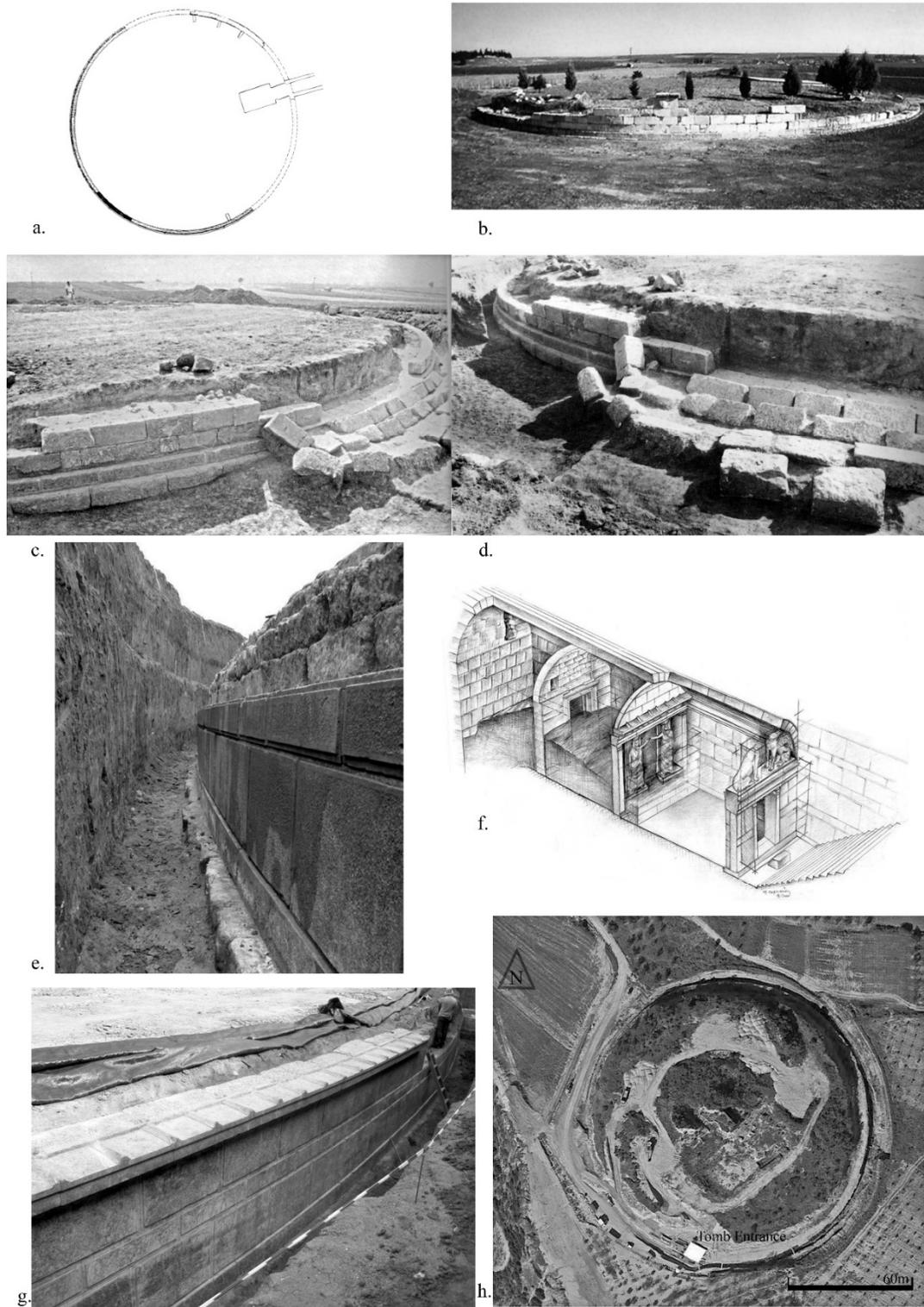


Fig. 10 - Archontiko Pella (a-d) (after P. Chrysostomou, 1987: p. 157, fig. 2; 158, fig. 3-4; I. Akamatis *et al.*, 2004, p. 108, fig. 43); Amphipolis Kasta (e-h) (after K. Peristeri, 2016, p. 167, fig. 4; 3, g – [www.theamphipolistomb.com](http://www.theamphipolistomb.com); h – Google Earth Imagery 2014).

Istanbul Archaeological Museum (B. Filov, 1937, p. 9-10, fig. 3-4). The images reveal the stone structure to have been carefully executed, with a step close to the base (*stereobate*), an exterior rounded border and a plated top, assembled like a puzzle in a ‘megalithic style’ of well fitted, polygonal shaped slabs. The tumulus measured 90 m in diameter and 14 m in height. The tomb was used for multiple burials. Their sequence is unclear and debated, however the first quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC seems surely covered (C. Tzochov, 2014).

The closest parallel for this model of stone *krepis* can be found at Staro Bonce in the tomb of Pavlo Cuka (V. Lilchikj Adams, A. Jakimovski, 2015), located in Republic of North Macedonia, in the Selecka Mountain range, of north-eastern Pelagonia. Here, a Macedonian type tomb dug in the native rock, fitted with an antechamber and dromos covered also with semi-cylindrical vault was covered by a mound and surrounded by a wall (diameter 32 m)<sup>15</sup> built of a single row of massive dressed stones, placed on a stone step and covered with a stone *geyson* (Fig. 1a, 11a-d). The dromos partially extended outside the enclosure wall. On the eastern side of the entrance a rectangular structure made of stones of similar style as the wall was built adjacent to the enclosure. It was violently destroyed since Antiquity. The ensemble was dated at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC – early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC only on architectural style grounds.

At **Starosel**, Bulgaria, in *Chetynova* mound the largest tomb (*tholos* with an exterior façade and access steps) in Thrace was found (G. Kitov, 2003, p. 9, fig. 1–2, 10). A stone wall belted the mound, measuring a diameter of 80 m and up to 3.5 m in height. It had a back filling (rubble, broken stones and earth) resting on the embankment and an exterior face built in *isodomon* style of regular dressed blocks (Fig. 9a-c). An impressive *propylon* linked the *krepis* with the tomb’s interior. The complex hasn’t yet been fully published so the chronology is not clear. The architectural program was proposed following the dating of two amphorae placed in front of the tomb’s entrance around 350-340 BC (C. Tzochov, 2011). This early chronology is a little bit surprising for the architectural ensemble, especially for the wall. The majority of the other *isodomon* built *krepidiae* of monumental tumuli are dated in the last quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC-early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC.

In what regards the tumuli covering Macedonian type tombs, except the discovery of Staro Bonce-Pavlo Cuka, two other cases with *krepidiae* are representative. At Archontiko (in vicinity of the ancient Macedonian

capital of Pella) a tumulus covering an unfinished chamber tomb (labelled by its excavators as the ‘Heroon’) was surrounded by an enclosure measuring 158.5 m circumference (a diameter of 50.45 m) (P. Chrysostomou, 1987). The retaining wall which once stood at 4.20 m high, had only one face, being assembled of very well-dressed blocks, fixed with iron leaded clamps, in *isodomon* style, on 6 rows superimposed on two lower steps (*stereobat*) (Fig. 10a-d). The blocks in the lower steps had an arched exterior profile. The wall was decorated with life-size shields embossed on the stone blocks of the fourth elevation course, which was additionally topped with a *geyson*. A series of short interior walls were built apparently to reinforce the retaining wall. The *dromos* exceeded the mound’s enclosure like in Pavlo Cuka. The ensemble was dated by its excavator (P. Chrysostomou, 1987, p. 155) during the time of Antigonos Gonatas (276-239 BC), while, more recently, a hypothesis was presented (I. Akamatis *et al.*, 2004, p. 107) that the Celtic invasion of 279 BC could have caused the interruption of the building program.

The recent discovered funerary complex in *Kasta Mound* of Amphipolis (K. Peristeri, 2016) has revealed a very impressive *krepis* wall (*peribolos* as labelled by its Greek excavators), 3 m high and 1.60 m thick, built in similar technique as Starosel and Mal Tepe – a back wall built of limestone squared blocks and a more polished exterior face assembled in *pseudo-isodomon* style. The major difference is that at *Kasta* the face was assembled of Thasian marble slabs and the upper part of the wall featured a drafted marble cornice (*geison*) (Fig. 10e-h). The diameter of this enclosure is given as 158.4 m which is exactly three times larger than the diameter of the ideal circle that would best approximate the enclosure of *Documaci*; also similar to the circumference of the wall of the unfinished tumulus in Archontiko. The tumulus contained one of the most impressive Macedonian type tombs ever researched in northern Greece, decorated with amazing sculptures and pebbles mosaic. The complex, still awaiting its publication, was preliminarily dated by its excavators in the last quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

## 6. Conclusions

The practice of surrounding mound graves with heaps of stones or more carefully arranged rings of boulders has a very wide appeal during the Early Iron Age, particularly in Thrace and Macedonia, where it was used often in pair with low stone embankments, but also in the north-pontic steppes and Asia Minor (more

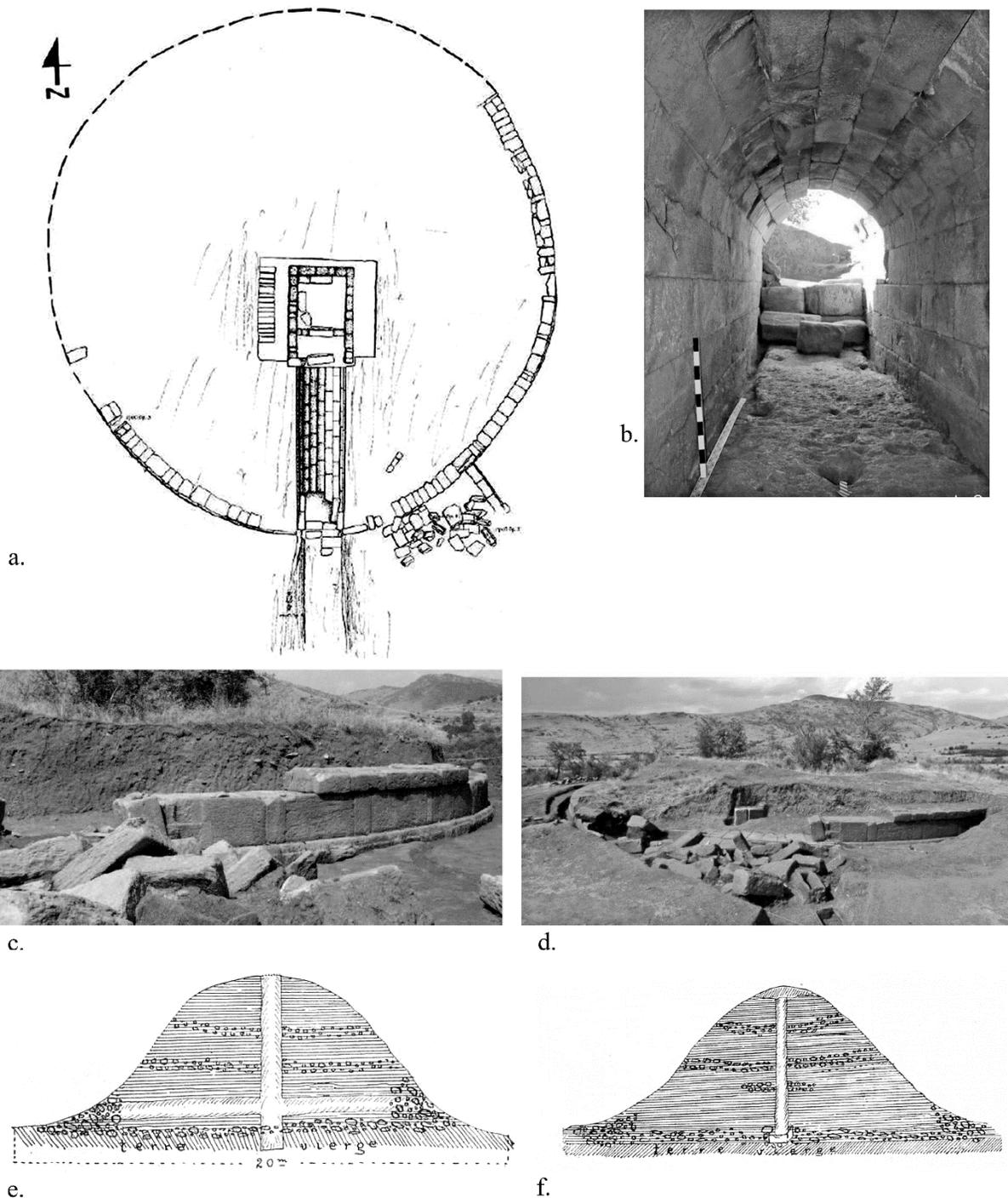


Fig. 11 - Pavla Cuka-Staro Bonce (a-d) (after V. Lilchikj Adams, A. Jakimovski, 2015, p. 34-35, 37); Kallatis and Hagieni mounds (e-f) (after Tafrafi, 1928, p. 27-28).

about *krepidai* in Iron Age tumuli in M. Ștefan, 2011). In the archaic period heaps of stones were used to delimit the small mounds of family groups in Orgame, on the Black Sea, while more carefully built stone arrangements were exceptionally used in the mounds of Istros. For the case of Kallatis the connections should be made however with later funerary phenomena characteristic for the Hellenic world, like the marking of Classical period graves with *periboloi* and the early Hellenistic trends of building imposing individual funerary ensembles. If the Classical era constructions are spread only in some of the Greek poleis of the western and north-western Black sea shore, bearing mostly a social and familial load, the early Hellenistic developments in funerary architecture became fashionable on larger spaces proving the circulation of architects and ideas and also the connection between local rulers during the aftermath of Alexander the Great death and the wars of his successors. It is a period when also the Greek cities democratic regimes collided with the supporters of the Macedonian kings. In this context, the chamber tombs under tumuli in Kallatis can be explained in a political framework

From the catalogue of sites briefly reviewed above we remark, first of all, the strong analogies between the stone enclosures (built walls or single row kerbs) of the small collective tumuli from the northern sector of Kallatis cemetery, Panskoye I and Apollonia Pontica. They allude to a trend of treating the organisation of funerary spaces, mainly dated in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC, which can be placed on the larger and widespread phenomenon of building *periboloi* graves. On the western and north-western shores of the Black Sea, this practice emphasized the need to differentiate funeral properties and usually had a familial character. They stand proof for increased demography and also of a social regularisation of the access to funerary space linked probably with other citizen rights inherited on a family base. For Kallatis, the practice is just attested in several cases, mainly grouped in the northern sector of the cemetery, in comparisons with the more numerous ones in Apollonia or Panskoye. The funerary monument (measuring 12 x 6 m) built like a rectangular podium of dressed stones above three pyres consumed at once (M2 in C. Preda 1961; *et al.*, 1962), found near the *Tomb with Papyrus*, possibly initially covered as well with a mound, with good analogies in two cases in Apollonia (A. Baralis, K. Panayotova, 2013, p. 251, fig. 7-8), completes the picture of a period of emphasizing the *semata* of graves in stone. In Kallatis the practice of

building stone platforms on the western part of the stone enclosures can be paired with the use of stone tables for libations (also placed towards west or southwest) in Panskoye I and Olbia and perhaps in Orgame (see note 13).

The enclosure of *Documaci* is, however, much closer in concept to the early Hellenistic monumental tumuli graves, built beginning with the last third of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC in Thrace and Macedonia, in which retaining walls were connected with other architectural elements of the mounds, like chamber tombs, statues, *propylaea*. These tumuli functioned, thus, not just as simple heaps of earth, but as complex designed constructions with interconnected parts and were the work of architects. They exhibited a certain tendency, characteristic to the period, to place more emphasis on visible and exterior elements of the graves. This topic is still not enough explored, but it appears that such constructions could have been based on mathematical calculations and interrelations. The tumuli of *Documaci*, Amphipolis Kasta and the Heroon of Archontiko in Pella share, seemingly, some numbers, besides chronology and other architectural elements<sup>16</sup>.

The rectangular low stone platform (Z3) connected to the western part of the *Documaci* enclosure can be seen as just a more monumental variant of the altars found in the western sides of the stone enclosures in Kallatis (specifically identified in northern sector of the cemetery, including one adjacent to the *Papyrus Tomb* Mound) and also of those in Panskoye or Olbia, in the last two cases, being much smaller and having special grooves for pouring liquids. These connections place very well the concept of *Documaci* architectural program with Macedonian affinities, in the Greek in general, and Kallatian, in particular, ritual environment. To the same conclusion point also the remains of ritual meals offered at the grave in the special designed space of *Documaci* enclosure (also located to the west, near the ancient road), a practice with good analogies again in Panskoye and Apollonia Pontica.

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#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> The four excavation campaigns were undertaken by the Institute of Archaeology ‘Vasile Pârvan’ in Bucharest with funds from UEFISCDI in the national project ‘KALLA - The Interdisciplinary Exploration of tumuli

landscapes of Kallatis' (2017-2019). During the excavations, Callatis Museum in Mangalia, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and Rzeszow Institute of Archaeology were partners.

<sup>2</sup> If the origin of the establishment seems generally accepted, the foundation date is still debated (A. Avram, 1999; 2006). Nevertheless, even if the date was just late – early 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC, or if an earlier foundation existed in a different location, the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC remains the period when the territory was taken over and systematized and city defenses built.

<sup>3</sup> The date of an aerial image of Mangalia recorded by the German aviation during WWII (M. Ştefan *et al.* 2017, 65, fig. 12).

<sup>4</sup> Excavations were directed by Valeriu Georgescu from Callatis Museum in Mangalia. Other participated in the digs like Mihai Ionescu and Nicolae Alexandru. The most relevant documentation of this early research stage were the architectural plans and sections made in 1999 by architect Anișoara Sion. Others stratigraphic profiles survived nowadays just in poor quality; they were drawn initially by Mihai Ionescu.

<sup>5</sup> Lead by Valeriu Sîrbu, the team assembled from the Institute of Archaeology in Bucharest: Magdalena Ştefan, Dan Ştefan, Alexandra Teodor, Valentina Cetean, Alexandru Halbac; As partners: Mihai Ionescu, Robert Constantin and Nicolae Alexandru from Museum Callatis in Mangalia; Thomasz Bochnak from the Institute of Archaeology in Rzeszow; Evghenia Tarassova, Mihail Tarassov, Rositsa Titorenkova from the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia, The Institute of Mineralogy and Crystallography.

<sup>6</sup> Undertaken by Dan Ştefan within the KALLA project, with technical aid from Alexandru Halbac.

<sup>7</sup> In a single situation – S11 (Fig. 3a) a small heap of stones was found in the interior corner the enclosure made with Z9 wall (the northern margin of the western gate); we consider however that these stones were laid here intentionally, perhaps in order to reinforce the walls corner.

<sup>8</sup> Analysis in course by Livia Buzoianu.

<sup>9</sup> Some syntheses based though only on the old published records in L. Donnellan, 2006, M. Damyanov, 2012 – both placing the finds of Kallatis in a larger context of the funerary grounds of the Greek western Pontus and more recently in Ştefan *et al.*, 2017.

<sup>10</sup> The drawing in C. Preda 1961 places the platform of slabs on the interior, however the photograph in C. Preda *et al.*, 1962, p. 116, Fig. 6a) seems to rather indicate that the altar was on the exterior – the position

in which it was in fact restituted in a 3D reconstruction proposal by N. Alexandru *et al.*, 2017, p. 242, Pl. XIV.

<sup>11</sup> This settlement was a short-lived site that arose in the late 5<sup>th</sup> century BC as an Olbian fort, was destroyed around 360 BC, from which time on it was subordinated to the city of Chersonesos and ceased to exist abruptly around 270 BC (V. Stolba, 2011; V. F. Stolba, E. Rogov, 2012).

<sup>12</sup> But were included nevertheless in the table were the *krepis* walls measurements were listed (V. F. Stolba, E. Rogov, 2012, p. 15, table 2.1).

<sup>13</sup> Altars absolutely identical, both in their shape and dimensions were found during investigations of the Olbian town-site and its necropolis (V. Papanova, 2006). One appears to have been found in Orgame (V. Lungu, 2000a, p. 116, fig. 5.4).

<sup>14</sup> The bases of the mounds were supported by encircling *krepis* walls, in the most cases unclosed. At each of tumuli K-27 and K-30, the remains of three sequential *krepidiae* were preserved. The mounds of tumuli K-23, K-38, K-39 and K-41 were covered with shields of limestone (V. F. Stolba, E. Rogov, 2012, p. 73).

<sup>15</sup> The published plan (V. Lilchikj Adams, A. Jakimovski, 2015, p. 34) has no graphic scale, the measurements remain difficult to verify. Trying to scale it digitally taking in consideration the given measurements for various objects we noticed a series of inconsistencies which makes us believe that some of them are wrong.

<sup>16</sup> 32 m high tumulus Yigma Tepe at Pergamon, was surrounded by a *krepis* made of tuff blocks (laid on 5 courses) measuring 158.5 m in diameter. The stone base had a width between 2.5 and 2.8 m. A provisional date for the construction was made for the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC (F. Pirson, 2016, p. 158-164).

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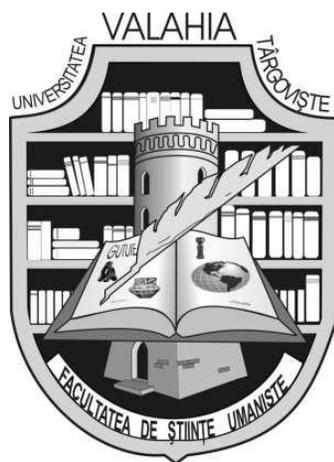
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# ANNALES



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## History under the Microscope: the Pigments Used in the Funerary Chamber of the Early Hellenistic Period Tomb in *Documaci Mound*, at Kallatis, on the Western Black Sea

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**Abstract:** The paper refers to the macroscopic, mesoscopic and microscopic mineralogical study of the plasters with pigments which decorate the funerary chamber walls of the early Hellenistic tomb in *Documaci Mound*, a large tumulus researched in the vicinity of Mangalia (ancient Kallatis). The analyses were undertaken as part of a larger interdisciplinary research project, conducted by the Archaeology Institute “Vasile Pârvan” from Bucharest, during 2017-2019. The main purpose of the presented geoarchaeological approach was to provide a general geological description and to identify the mineral compounds, as basis for a multidisciplinary characterization of the archaeological objective and a proper positioning in the historical reference period.

**Key words:** Geoarchaeology, funerary early Hellenistic tumuli, painted plaster, mineral pigments.

### 1. Introduction

*Documaci Mound* was a large funerary mound, part of a tumuli group located in the western periphery of the ancient cemetery of Hellenistic Kallatis, on the Black Sea shore (Ștefan, M., Sîrbu, V. 2016, see also Sîrbu, Ștefan in this journal). Almost three decades ago, during the illegal extraction by heavy machines of soil from the tumulus embankment, constructive elements were severely damaged. A rescue excavation campaign that followed has highlighted the presence of a funerary ensemble, including: 1) a tomb with dromos built in two phases and a painted funerary chamber covered with semi-cylindrical vault, 2) a large base for a monument topping the tumulus, 3) an enclosing stone wall, 4) other stone walls and ancient structures. The funerary ensemble was dated in the early Hellenistic period (end of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC – middle 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC).

The applied conservation solutions were insufficient to prevent the damage due to the infiltration in the funerary chamber, especially of the painted plasters, which, at this scale, is the oldest surviving on an ancient structure on the territory of present-day Romania. As result, in the period 2017-2019 new researches were proposed at *Documaci Mound*, designed and conducted by the Institute of Archaeology in Bucharest in ‘The Interdisciplinary exploration of tumuli landscapes and monumental tombs of ancient Kallatis’ project, founded in the UEFISCDI national competition program.

The overall geological analysis targeting *Documaci Mound* included four types of elements for technical analysis: a) the stonemasonry (the tomb, the pedestal of the statue and the boundary or supporting walls; b) stone and lithic elements used for other purposes (e.g. for decorating); c) painted and the normal plaster that covers the walls and ceiling of the funerary chamber; d) the pigments

used for colour decoration on the lower part of the funerary chamber: dark-blue layer (carbon black), red ochre, yellow-ochre and white paint (pinkish-white). The paper presents the results of only the last category of investigations, the rest being prepared for a near-future monographic study (Sîrbu et al. 2020). The plasters were also analysed by a second team involved in the project<sup>1</sup>, using optical and scanning electron microscopy (SEM), electron probe microanalysis (EPMA), respectively infra-red (FT-IR) and Raman spectroscopy. Their comparative and extended results will be separately presented in the monograph.

## 2. Materials and research methodology

The steps followed in researching the coloured plaster from the funerary chamber (Fig. 1) included

field and laboratory activity. They were carried in successive stages, the last one being the basis of work design for the next one. As a result of this, the *in situ* general observations from 2017 were followed by documentation regarding the specific research techniques and of the archaeological material samples collected from inside of the funeral complex from secondary contexts (fallen from the walls). Subsequently, in 2018, detailed specific observations were made, and a minimal quantity of mortar and plaster samples were extracted from *in situ* positions, relevant for the undergoing objective. In 2019 additional photographic documentation and new scanning electron microscopy analyses were made.

On the two samples received in 2017 from the



Fig. 1 – The early Hellenistic tomb in *Documaci Mound* (Mangalia): the funerary chamber walls covered by mortar and plaster, with delimiting lines of painted panels (a); the coloured layers with dark-blue and red colour pigments are millimetre thickness (b) decorated in the upper part with a yellow and white pattern by using paint brush or stencil as specific tool (c) (photo V. Cetean, M. Ștefan).

archaeological team, MD17-K24 from quadrat 4 (Fig. 2a) and MD17-K25 (Fig. 2b), descriptions and photo documentation were made based on the visual observations and stereographic microscopic analyse. Later, the MD17-K24 sample of plaster with pigments was prepared to be subjected for an instrumental investigation (in 2017 and 2018) within the MICROSCOSMOS Laboratory of the Geological Institute of Romania, as follows:

- mineralogical optical observations on Zeiss STEMI 508 binocular stereo microscope, that can deliver a useful magnification up to 50x; the magnifying power of the eyepiece 10x and power of the lens ranges between 0.63x, to 5x (0.63x, 0.8x, 1x, 1.25x, 1.6x, 2x, 2.5x, 3.2x, 4x, 5x);
- scanning electronic microscopy (SEM) on Hitachi TM3030 Tabletop Scanning Electron

Microscope with a magnification index from 15 to 30000x (Digital zoom x2, x4), equipped with BSE and EDX detectors and Accelerating Voltage of 15kV.

Both the plaster and mortar samples (consisting of several fragments) were analysed with a binocular magnifying glass, under various values of magnification, in order to collect as much information as possible.

The first SEM analyses were performed in 2017 on the uncoated sample (but with areas defined with carbon tapes), in five selected points of investigation: two from the dark blue area, another two from the red area and one from yellow area. The results, even at a lower image resolution, presented good correlation with those achieved in 2018 on the same sample, but in different area.

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Both the *in situ* visual observations as well as under stereomicroscope suggested a certain presence of coal as a determining element in the dark blue-grey (charcoal) colour layer. As a result, in 2018 the selected method for preparing the same

MD17-K24 sample was the covering with a gold foil coating (Fig. 2c, d), after which measurements of elemental chemical composition have been conducted in 12 quadrants (with a total of 43 measured points).

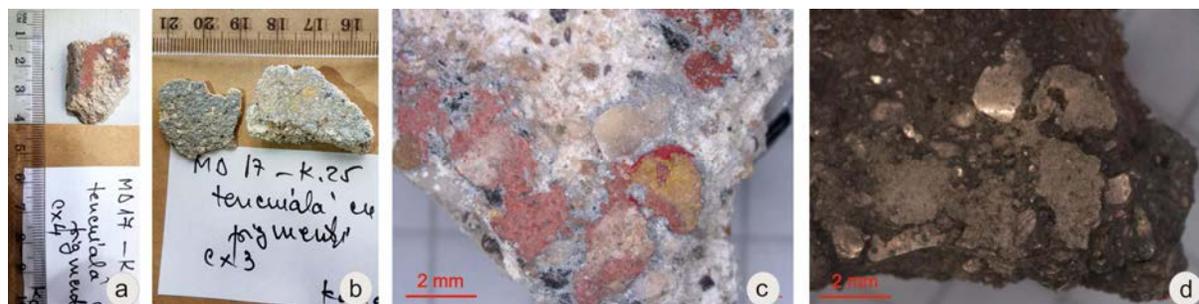


Fig. 2 – Two samples of mortar with painted plaster with pigments were analysed, from which MD17-K24 sample (a) under the scanning electron microscope, showing the coarse-grained mortar layer upon which carbonate finish white layer was applied, followed by successive layers with pigments (b); the sample before (c) and after (d) gold coated, in order to maximize the accuracy of the observations and to prevent contamination (photo V. Cetean).

### 3. Results

The visual observations made *in-situ* between 2017 and 2019 during the archaeological campaigns in the area of the barrel-vaulted tomb from Documaci, have confirmed the presence of binder with pigments only in the funerary chamber. This chamber (3.56 x 3 x 3.65 m) consists of walls covered with mortar (in layers of different coarse-grained quality) and plastered in two different shades of colour (Fig. 3a): dark-blue and red, respectively, decorated with a polychrome seco on

a support with the same nuance, upon which a drawing was made with white and lime yellow colour, by using a stencil or a paint brush (Fig. 3b).

The mortar, upon which the plaster with pigments was applied, includes a millimetre upper level, finely grained. Later, this was incised by tracing horizontal and vertical lines over the mortar layer, that imitates the overlay of constructive parallelepiped elements, but usually larger than the blocks from which the walls of the funerary complex system were made.



Fig. 3 – The dark blue colour is the dominant shade inside the funerary chamber. The panels are realized through rectangular incisions in mortar, without overlaying the rows of ashlar. The plaster with red pigment was applied on two rows (a); in the upper decorative row, both the dark-blue and the red panels were painted using a paint brush or a stencil and white and yellow-ochre colours (b) (photo V. Cetean)

The preparing of the walls for further decoration had obviously followed aesthetic criteria rather than a constructive purpose. Later on, the dark blue layer was applied over the surface of each of these panels, in a sub-millimetre uniformed layer. It has undergone colour changes during its millennial existence, due to the water leakage from the ground level and also from the floods that covered the pavement with a consistent layer of clayey water.

Where the consistency or bond with the mortar substrate failed, the mortar and plaster fell from the surface of the block. In those areas, the coarse processing of stone could be observed, which was made with the purpose of increasing the adherence of the mortar. In most cases, the bond of the binder was so strong that it caused (accidentally or caused by human intervention) the fall even of the material from the mortar layers (Fig. 4a).

The red pigment layer is placed over the dark blue-grey one, the sub-millimetre thickness contributing to a better observation of shades of grey on spots free of red pigment. In addition, in some areas (most probably due to the effect of humidity over time), the red material drainage over the blue-grey layer can be noticed, as well as the larger black charcoal grains of prismatic-tabular form, easy observed in the dark-blue areas (Fig. 4b).

Regarding the painted level, this has about 20 cm high and separates the surface covered with plaster with pigments from the one only plastered, from the upper part of the chamber walls (Fig. 3a). The pattern made from white and yellow ochre shades is only apparently homogeneous, in matter of fact the aesthetic effect is given by the maintaining of line thickness and the size of the open curved elements, which cover the space of the



Fig. 4 – The most colourful ornamented row is the top one, where alternate surfaces with dark grey-blue pigments and red pigments (a), painted in an uneven pattern, with yellow and white (pink-white) colours.

On all blue-grey surface can be observed charcoal grains with prismatic-tabular habitus (b) (photo V. Cetean, M. Ștefan).

respective panels with a constant density (Fig. 8).

### 3.1 Dark blue-grey level

Both the *in situ* visual and the binocular magnifying glass observations, as well as all the electron microscopy analysis made on the dark blue-grey plaster indicates the charcoal as the pigment responsible for the colour of this layer. The fine grinded coal (up to micron size) was mixed up to a high level of homogenisation with a fine-grained carbonate material (probably even in

aqueous solution). Rare large charcoal grains can be found into the pigment-free plaster (Fig. 5a, b, c) showing prismatic tabular form, their sizes having up to de 3-5 mm, but usually millimetric.

Most likely the coal comes from burnt wood, its fibrous bundles (Fig. 5d) being very easy to be identified at a higher magnification gradient (Fig. 5f). What couldn't be determined for sure is the type of wood used, the main shade being dark blue-grey (Colour Index: Pigment black 8 (PBk 8), C.I.

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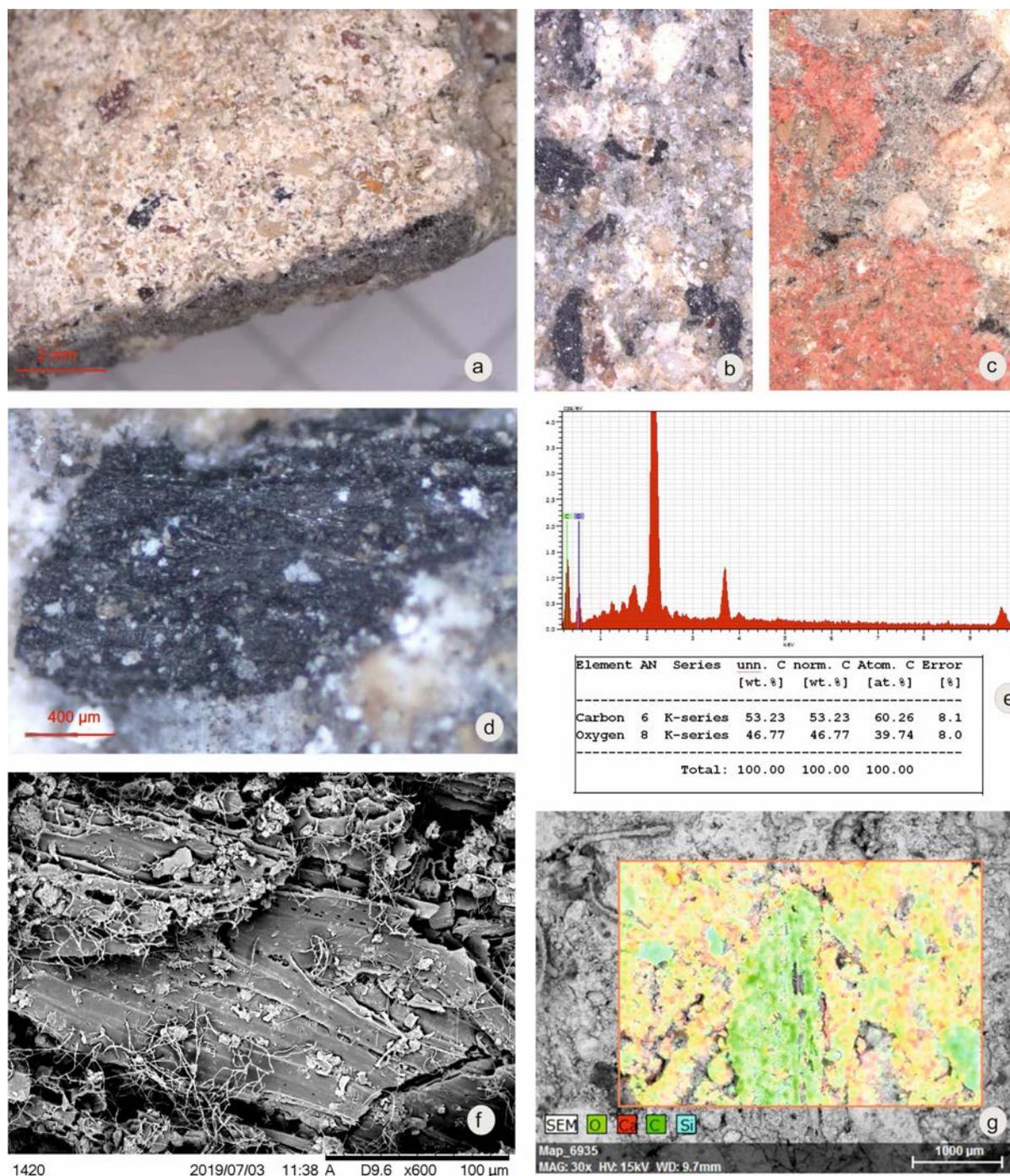


Fig. 5 - The mortars are made by compounds that come from beach sands (quartz grains, lumachellic debris, feldspars, heavy minerals *etc.*) and a carbonatic binder (a). In the dark blue-grey coloured layer of plaster, the coal fragments are easily recognized (b). In some cases, these can be observed directly on the walls of the funerary chamber (c), in other cases the sub-millimetre sizes involve the use of a stereomicroscope (d) or SEM (f) in order to analyse them (e). Elemental map on a selected area outlines the C (carbon) composition of these grains with a fibrous aspect (g) and the charcoal as the constitutive element, probably from burnt vine or wood (photo S. Lőrincz, V. Cetean).

77268) which would rather indicate wood (+/- the seeds) of vine, than the wood from trees.

There is the probability that both types have been mixed, depending on the availability of the raw plant material from that period, of the given area.

In relation with the charcoal, both quartz grains and pearlescent fragments of shells, as well as calcite powder, most likely of secondary origin, may appear. The micronic size coal is best highlighted by the elementary sequential maps (Fig. 5g), where the element C (carbon) appears clearly demarcated.

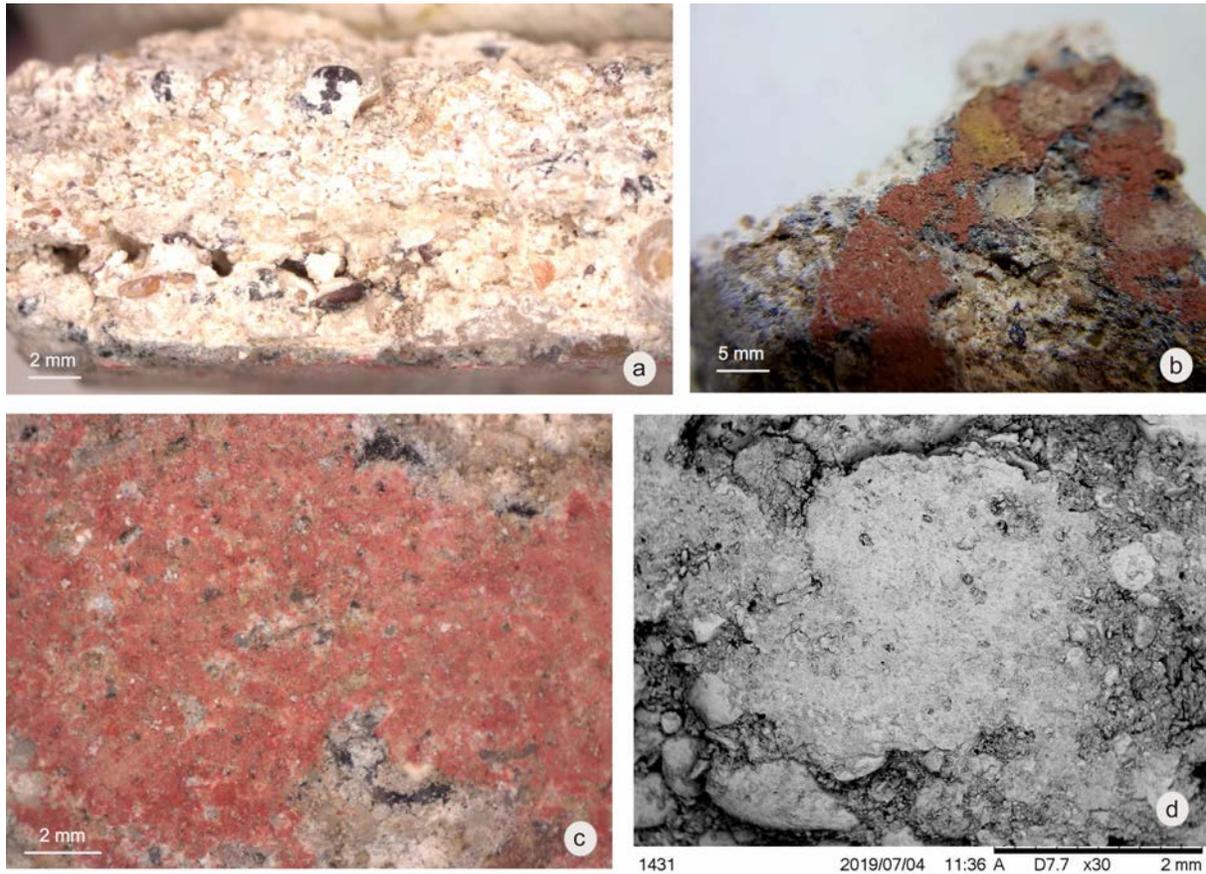


Fig. 6 – The size of the grains from the mortar of the decorated level determines the thickness of the finishing carbonatic plaster layer on which the plaster with pigments was applied. Millimetre granules of quartz, coal, opaque minerals can often be recognized (a). Image of a layer of (multilayer) mortar usually sub-centimetre, upon which a plaster with pigments with a thickness between 0.8-2 mm was applied.

Stereomicroscopy imagery, zoom 0.8x (b). Depending of the grains size from mortar and plaster, the original red colour turns to shades of pink and brownish (c). Analysis of the plaster with red pigment made under the SEM (d) reveals the carbonate substrate, in a minimal mixture with clay, probably originating from the limestone mass, alongside quartzite and silicon grains, with a shade of colour that most probably occur from trivalent iron (ferric compound) (photo V. Cetean, S. Lőrincz).

### 3.2 Red-ochre layer

In the absence of methods for direct instrumental mineralogical investigations (G. Karydas et. al., 2009, S. Sotiropoulou et. al., 2018), the analysis of the plaster with red pigment (Fig. 6b, c) were performed through field investigations,

laboratory analyses and interpretation of results. There were investigated not only the local soil composition, but also the genetic connections with the bedrock. Observation on optical microscopy equipment were carried out (Fig. 6a), as well the study of bibliography for similarities with other

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researches and analysis on construction materials or stone elements and interpretation of the scanning electron microscopy analysis (V. Perdikatsis, H. Brecolaki, 2003).

Over 20 points on the sample of layer with red pigment were analysed by SEM (Fig. 6d), the conclusions being as follows:

- along with the elements that form the carbonate material (Ca, C, O), in all of these points there were identified elements which in the oxide form define the chemical composition of the clay material (Si, K, Al, Mg, +/-Ca) and of the compounds of iron respectively, most probably as ferric iron oxide (valence III, which usually determines the reddish colour);

- mineralogically, the iron compounds can be both unaltered oxides or iron hydroxides, from the clay in which it was initially spread; the intensity of red colour depends not only by the oxidation processes of the iron compounds, e.g. the hematite, but also of the quantity of manganese dioxide, present in all measurements;

- most of limestone blocks (e.g. the base of the statue near the mortuary chamber) contain numerous spots of brownish red colour of limonite-goethite, resulted by altering (oxidation) of the ferric oxide; this indicates the existence of a big percentage of iron compounds into the carbonaceous mass also, directly attached (among the micritic components) or as a secondary mineral from the source area;

- on the analysed samples, the iron compounds represent 2-3%  $\alpha\text{Fe}_2\text{O}_3$  (hematite and derivatives of it, proved to be widely present on surfaces with ancient paintings (R. Sidall, 2018), (V. Perdikatsis, H. Brecolaki, 2003), but it can reach up to 5-8%, if the modal composition is taken into account;

- this red ochre pigment (Colour Index: Pigment red 102 (PR 102), C.I. 77491) (Fig. 6b, c) of mineral origin is found in most of the carbonate finishing materials used in ancient times; also, regarding the colour used to small paintings, the scientific literature indicates the clayey material, soils (red earth) or even some water as the widespread sources for this pigment colour.

### 3.3 Yellow ochre pigment

Although it is less widespread than the red ochre pigment, the yellow ochre (Fig. 1c, 7a-c) (*Colour Index: Pigment Yellow 43 (PY 43), 77492*) has also iron (Fe) as a source of colour, identified

through SEM analysis made on the material found inside the funerary chamber from *Documaci Mound*. Limonite – which is not a single mineral, but a mixture of several minerals which contain iron (<https://colourlex.com>) - is the element through which this colour can be obtained and can be found even in normal deposits of clay (yellow earth) in the surrounding area of the archaeological site. Goethite (as mineral or generic term, next to limonite, for iron hydroxides ( $\text{FeO}[\text{OH}]$ ) is the representative mineral for ferric oxyhydroxide compounds.

The elemental analysis through scanning electron microscopy (Fig. 7d, e) were indicated limonite-goethite as the only element responsible for the yellow colour applied on the decorated stretch from inside the funerary chamber (Fig. 3). The limonite-goethite seems to be accessible, but not in a sufficient quantity in order to be able to cover a large surface. A fine carbonate material was used as a mixing agent, without excluding the use of an organic compound also (e.g. egg, animal fat), but these analyses were not accessible at this stage. The visual comparison made with plasters with pigments from similar periods of time (e.g. Macedonian) and the literature (Aloupi, 2000) indicate this element as the main and easy to find mineral compound used for drawing an ornamental pattern by stencil on the dark blue-grey and red ochre surfaces from the decoration row.

### 3.4 White, pink white pigment

The ornamental pattern drawn on by a stencil or a paint brush is made both by using yellow ochre and a white colour (Fig. 1c, 4a). The variable thickness of the layer determines the visual aspect to vary from white to pink-white colour, if the red colour on which it is applied, adds to the intensity of its colour (Fig. 8). Taking into consideration the constructors have used accessible materials and practical (un-sophisticated) technique for painting the surfaces, the mineral element used is most likely a calcium carbonate compound, either limestone/calcite ( $\text{CaCO}_3$ ) with no obvious impurities, or chalk (a very pure and light limestone). This material is very well known in Dobruja, the rock church from Basarabi being an obvious example and a representative monument. SEM analysis have also shown the presence of Ca, C, O, Cl and sustain the mineralogical composition of this pigment material.

These fine-grained carbonate materials could

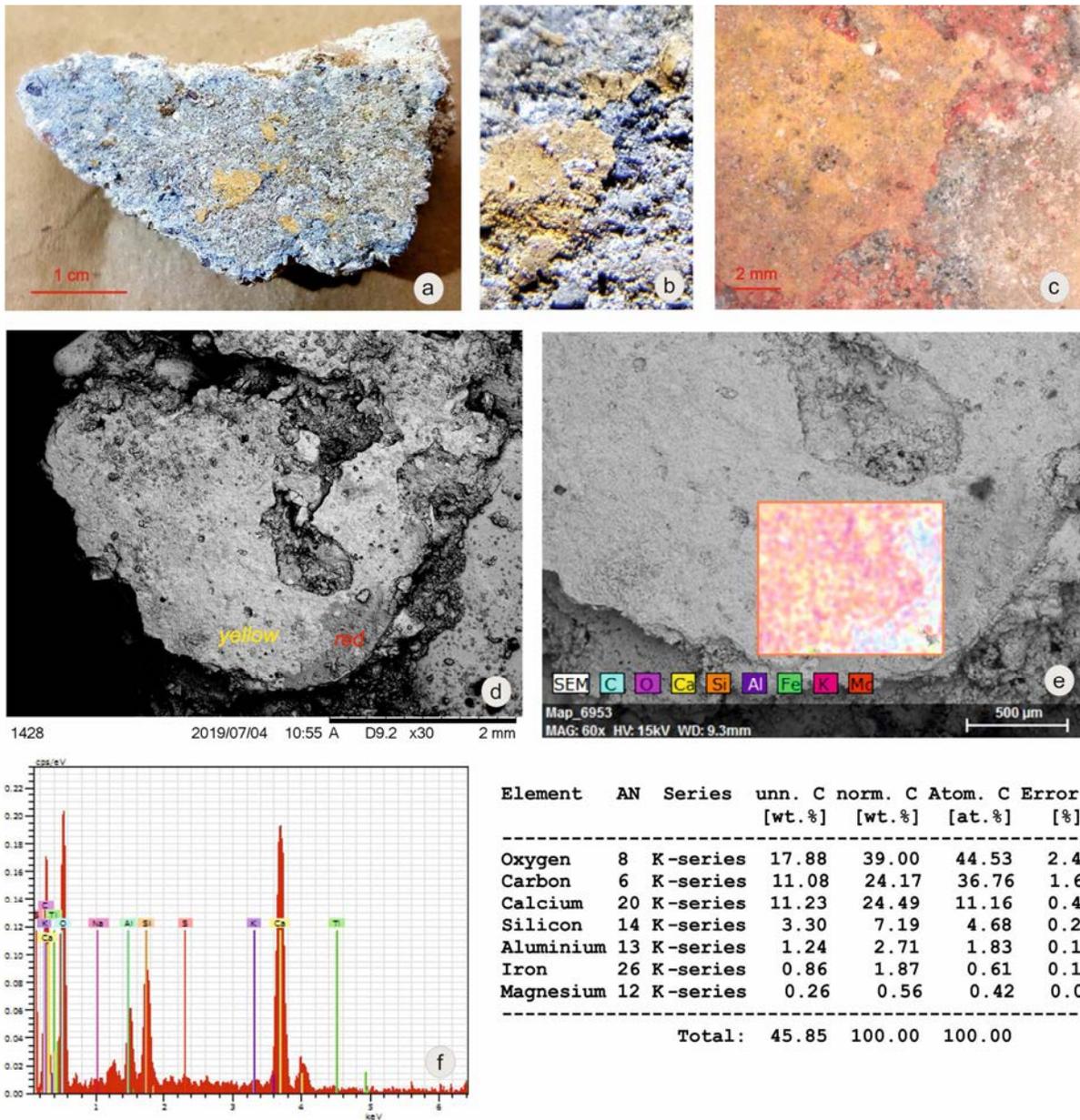


Fig. 7 – The yellow-ochre pigment pattern was applied over the red and dark blue-grey (a) alternately panels. The thickness of the yellow pattern is around of hundred microns, being finely-grained and having a dusty appearance (b). The yellow-ochre areas slightly differ depending on which substrate the pattern is applied, turning from yellow ochre (typical for iron hydroxides) to ochre-pink, especially if the thickness was very small (c). When the red area lost part of its colour (d), the elemental sequential analysis indicates a predominant presence of C and less Mg (e), differentiated by the area with yellow pigments. Calcium is most probably chemically bind as carbonates and include Fe compounds (f) both as hydroxide and oxide pigments (photo V. Cetean, S. Lőrincz).

## History under the Microscope: the Pigments Used in the Funerary Chamber of the Early Hellenistic Period Tomb in *Documaci Mound*, at Kallatis, on the Western Black Sea

have been the easiest and less expensive source for the white pigment, without excluding the possibility of adding kaolinite, a soft white clay with a high level of aluminium, but also magnesium and potassium, all these elements being identified one by one through scanning electron microscopy.

### 4. Conclusions

Both the plaster with pigments and the decorated painted level in the burial chamber of the

funerary monument from *Documaci Mound-Mangalia*, were the object of field and laboratory geoarchaeological researches between 2017 and 2019. The analysis carried out on the Geological Institute of Romania have shown that the pigments used in order to obtain the five shades of colour (dark blue-grey, red ochre, yellow ochre, white to pink white) are easy to find mineral elements for which the material source can be found in the neighbouring area of the funerary burial mound.

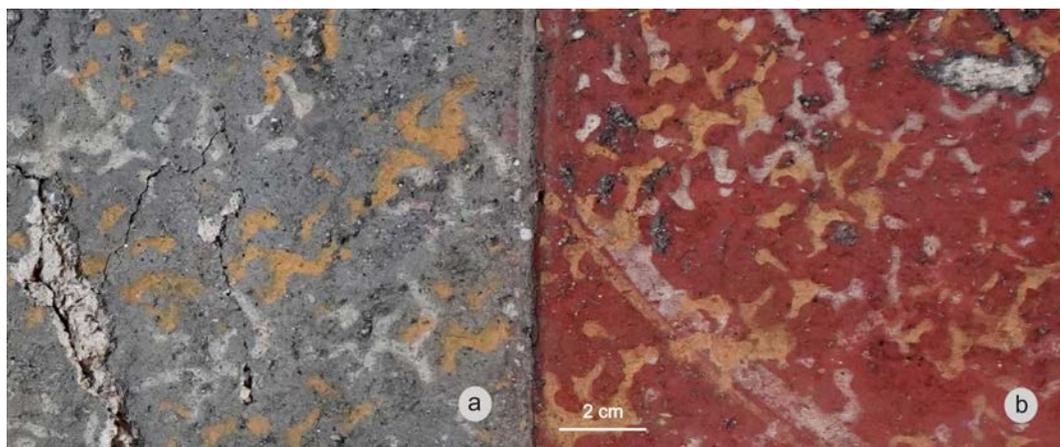


Fig. 8 – The yellow-ochre and white pattern in the polychrome fresco decorative row (photo M. Ștefan)

The dark blue-grey colour was made by adding grains and powder charcoal from the burning of plant material (vine, trees), the red ochre through the use of hematite (ferric oxide), the yellow ochre colour used for the decorative template was obtained by adding of goethite (compound of the mineral group known as limonite) and the white colour was made by using calcite (pure limestone or chalk). Being chemical inert, these range of pigments, mixed into a lime base support, were perfectly adhered on the walls surfaces and have well preserved the original colours.

All these techniques and type of pigments are dated from the Early Hellenistic period, in which this funerary monument was most likely built, these constructive-decorative components being similar with other Macedonian monuments as Pydna, Louloudia Kitrous and Makrygialos 937 (Brecoulaki, Perdikatsis, 2000) or Amphipolis (Brecoulaki et. al., 2006).

### Notes

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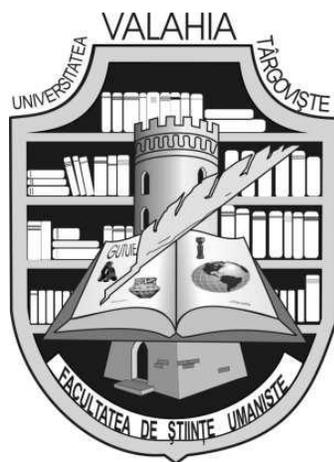
The present study was conducted as part of the research project - PN-III-P4-ID-PCE-2016-0621 ([www.kalla.net4u.ro](http://www.kalla.net4u.ro)): "The interdisciplinary exploration of the tumuli landscapes of the ancient Kallatis" (2017-2019), funded by UEFISCDI, won and managed by the "Vasile Pârvan" Archaeology Institute from Bucharest, under the authorization no. 307 / 10.04.2017. V. Cetean would like to thank his colleagues Daniel Bîrgăoanu who performed the first scanning electron microscopy analysis in 2018, and for the numerous ones conducted in 2019 by Sarolta Lőrincz, who had also the idea of constructing and using elemental maps differentiated by colour, making it easier in this way to interpret the results of SEM analysis.

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# ANNALES



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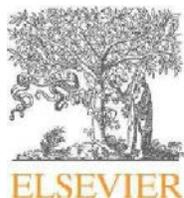
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## L'Habitat fortifié sur la frontière romaine présaharienne en Algérie orientale (Oasis des Ziban, Algérie)

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### Résumé

L'habitat fortifié aux piémonts des monts du Zab occupe un territoire géographique qui a longtemps gardé un statut de zone de contact culturel. Bien avant que le Zab présaharien n'appartienne à la marche occidentale de l'*Ifriqiya*, il se trouvait aux confins de l'Empire romain grâce à l'implantation du secteur de Gemellae au sud de la Numidie. Le métissage de différentes cultures locales et romaines a eu inévitablement pour impact la production d'un paysage zibanais portant ses propres marques. L'objectif escompté à travers cet article dépasse l'identification des attributs morphologiques des établissements situés dans les confins antiques de la Numidie, sur la rive gauche d'Oued Djedi. On veut mettre davantage en relation les formes de leurs habitats avec les structures antiques du limes Zabensis, les principes des divisions territoriales médiévales et les impératifs de l'irrigation. Les recoupements des textes relevant de la géographie historique, avec les données matérielles issues des archives cartographiques du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, mais aussi avec les résultats des investigations sur terrain, ont abouti à la construction d'un corpus des agglomérations du Zab occidental. Le fait de démontrer leur caractère fortifié et hiérarchisé permet de refléter un des aspects de l'habitat rural entre le 11<sup>e</sup> et le 18<sup>e</sup> siècle. Notre analyse des archives cartographiques qui a précisé dans un premier temps les attributs morphologiques et fonctionnels des établissements du corpus d'étude, a produit au final leur catégorisation en cités « chefs-lieux » et en agglomérations « secondaires ».

**Mots-clefs :** Gemellae, Frontière romaine, habitat fortifié, oasis présahariennes, cité chef-lieu, cité secondaire.

**Abstract: Fortified settlement on the pre-Saharan Roman border in eastern Algeria between the 11th and 18th centuries. (Oasis of Ziban, Algeria).** The fortified settlements on the foothills of the Zab Mountains occupy a geographical area which has long kept its status as a zone of cultural contact. In fact, after having belonged to the furthest reaches of the Roman Empire, the pre-Saharan Zab made up the western boundary of Ifriqiyah with its location in the Gemellae sector in the south of Numidia. The intermingling of these two cultures inevitably led to the production of a Ziban landscape with its own characteristics. This article aims to go beyond a simple classification of the morphological attributes in the establishments situated on the left bank of the River Djedi, in the ancient confines of Numidia, to link the form of their dwellings with ancient Ziban lime structures, medieval principles of territorial division and the demands of irrigation.

The cross-checking of texts concerning the historical geography of the Medieval and Ottoman eras, with material data from both excavations and the interpretation of cartographic records, together with the findings of on site surveys and investigations, has resulted in the formation of a corpus on these agglomerations in the western Zab Valley, while highlighting their fortified and hierarchical character. An analysis of the plans from historical records identified the morphological and functional attributes of all the establishments in this corpus of study, which resulted in their final classification into two groups: "main" towns or "secondary" agglomerations.

**Keywords:** Gemellae; Roman border; fortified settlements; pre-Saharan oasis; main town; secondary agglomeration.

## 1. Introduction

Voulant aborder, au départ, le continuum antique dans les noyaux d'habitats implantés le long des « limes Zabensi » aux environs du camp de Gemellae, situés aux piémonts méridionaux des monts du Zab et au nord d'Oued Djedi ou le *Flumen Nigris*, nous nous sommes confrontés à un déficit de connaissances précises sur les établissements humains de cette région présaharienne. De multiples interrogations restées sans réponse témoignent d'un vide laissé par les recherches et études antérieures, dont les données disparates et dispersées ne pouvaient pas permettre une étude morphologique de fond sur ces structures de peuplement.

Le Zab actuel se positionnait durant l'antiquité sur la bordure frontalière romaine de la Numidie. Plus tard à la période médiévale, il se trouva sur les itinéraires commerciaux transsahariens dans la partie orientale de l'Afrique, notamment sur l'axe économique rustumide entre Tihert, Kairouan et djabal Nafūsa. Le parcours de pèlerinage, quand à lui, passait nécessairement par les Ziban reliant le Maroc, Laghouat en Algérie, et Gabes en Tunisie (R. Chevallier R., 1997, p. 259). Plus localement, et en perpétuelle transhumance sur les terres de parcours reliant les montagnes aux plaines présahariennes, les groupes de populations nomades et semi-nomades ont participé à la circulation des cultures marquant à jamais le Zab actuel.

## 2. Présentation de l'aire d'étude et de son intérêt scientifique

Les Ziban, connus sous ce toponyme à partir du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, représentent une sous-région présaharienne qui se situe à la lisière nord-est du territoire saharien algérien. Par leur pérennité, les richesses hydrographiques descendantes des monts du Zab ont été les garants de la permanence du phénomène d'occupation, de peuplement et d'urbanisation de ce territoire (P. Troussat, 1986).

La cartographie topographique et les vues satellitaires montrent le Zab sous forme de trois sous-ensembles : le Zab oriental au piémont des Aurès, le Zab central aux alentours de Biskra et le Zab occidental au piémont des monts du Zab<sup>1</sup>. Ce dernier se présente sous forme de deux lignes d'oasis sensiblement parallèles : l'une, au nord, au pied du mont du Zab, est appelée localement *al-Zāb Dhahrāwī* ou le Zab septentrional, tandis que la

deuxième, au sud et à 10 km en aval, longe la rive gauche d'oued Djedi et prend comme appellation *al-Zāb Guabli* ou le Zab méridional<sup>2</sup>. La capitale du Zab, Biskra, occupe une position plus au moins centrale au nord des deux Zab (Fig. 1).

Ces agglomérations, désignées localement par *qusūr* et *dachra-s*, sont pour la plupart désertifiées, en raison du phénomène de micro-urbanisation que connaît la région du bas Sahara (M. Côte, 2005). Elles occupent une aire parsemée de structures antiques, qui est devenue durant la période médiévale un paysage habité à proximité d'une structure linéaire formée par la bande frontalière antique du limes (S. Haoui, 2013). Cette ligne fortifiée représentait à l'époque romaine une organisation défensive en profondeur, contenant un *Fossatum*, des organes fortifiés ponctuels et un réseau routier reliant les différents postes secondaires du quartier général de Gemellae (J. Baradez, 1949).

## 3. Etat des connaissances sur l'habitat fortifié en Algérie

En Algérie, les recherches sur les structures fortifiées antiques ou médiévales remontent aux années quatre-vingt. Les travaux de M. Filah (1986) et d'Y. Aibèche (2006) se sont penchés sur le contexte socio-économique dans le Maghreb romain et byzantin et ont abouti à la caractérisation d'une partie du paysage rural en Numidie occidentale et à la construction d'un corpus des places fortes datant de ces deux périodes.

Concernant le Zab médiéval et moderne, quelques avancées récentes méritent d'être soulignées. La recherche de S. Aidaoui (1994) s'intéressant aux régimes d'irrigations dans les Ziban demeure incontournable pour la compréhension du paysage agraire dans le Zab. Les travaux de P. L. Cambuzat (1970 a et b) sur les cités du tell et de l'*Ifriqiya* ont apporté des éclairages nouveaux sur le contexte, plus global, dans lequel a évolué le Zab entre les VII<sup>e</sup> et XI<sup>e</sup> siècles, ainsi que sur l'histoire de son peuplement. Les études actuelles d'A. Amara (2012, 2016) se versent dans l'histoire du peuplement et d'islamisation du Maghreb. Son intérêt pour l'évolution de la doctrine ibadite l'a poussé à traiter tout particulièrement du Zab médiéval classique tout en mettant en lumière les apports des textes médiévaux. Les nombreuses

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recherches, historiques et archéologiques de M. Meouak (2001, 2007, 2017, 2018) oscillent entre le Maghreb, et l'Andalousie. Elles sont relatives aux problématiques de la géographie historique, ainsi qu'à l'administration et l'organisation des territoires. L'auteur a montré un intérêt particulier à la Hodna et a traité aussi des oasis des Ziban à

travers les textes médiévaux et modernes. La thèse de R. Bedhiafi (2014) traite du Zab médiéval classique, à sa plus grande extension, en s'appuyant sur les sources écrites. Seules, les structures septentrionales ont été abordées de façon plus prononcée que les établissements présahariens, correspondant à notre terrain d'étude.

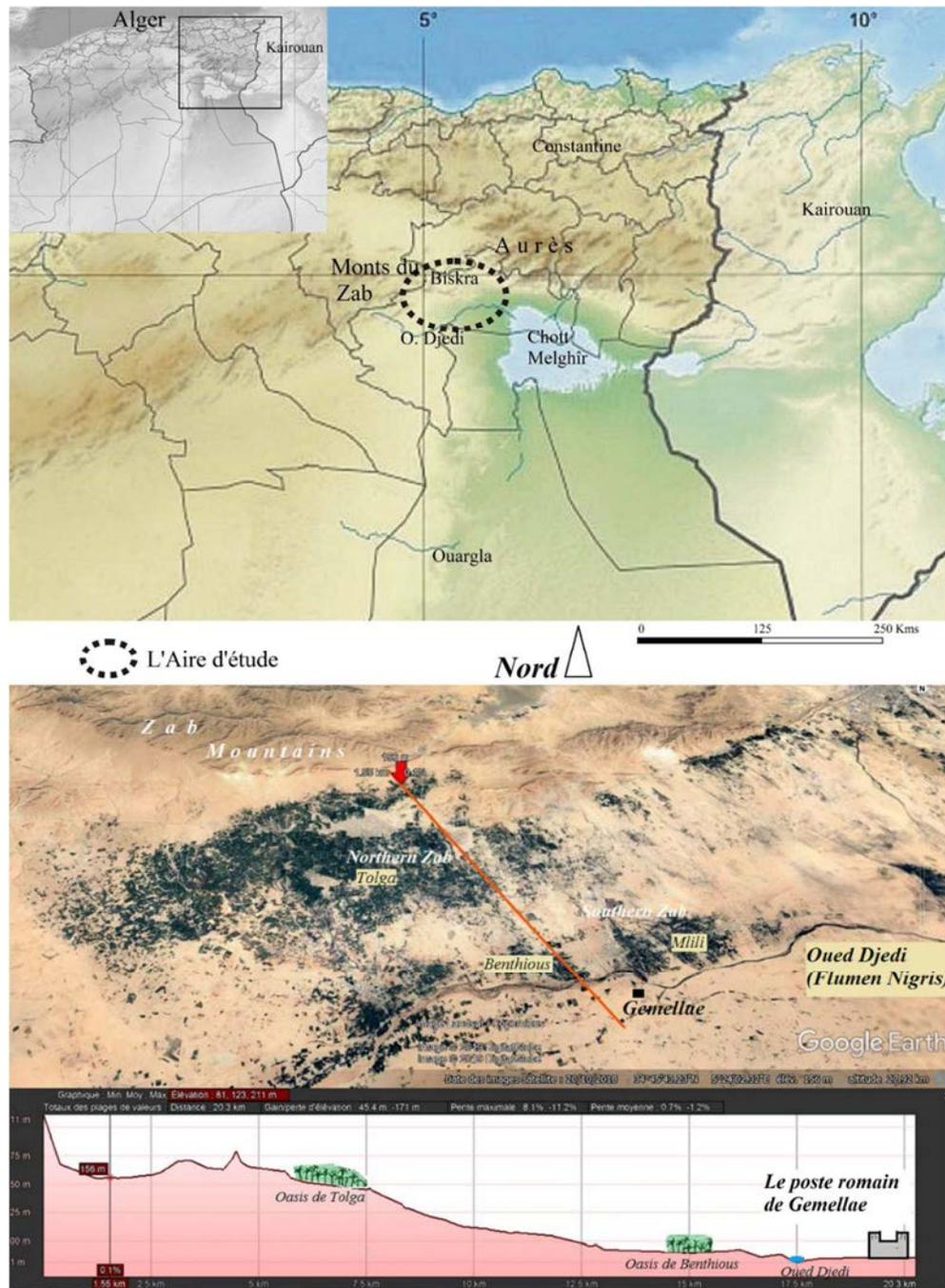


Fig. 1 - Situation de l'aire d'étude et configuration topographique des oasis sur image satellitaire.

#### 4. Méthodologie

##### **Orientation de la recherche : cadres géographiques et chronologiques.**

Le Zab occidental a fait l'objet de descriptions assez étoffées dans les textes-sources de trois principaux auteurs et historiens de la période médiévale : al-Bakrī (1859) au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, à l'époque Hammadide, Ibn Khaldūn (1852-1856) au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle en période hafside et al-Numayrī (1990) lors de l'incursion mérinide.

Le recoupement de ces trois textes historiques, soutenu par les diverses lectures traitants des divisions territoriales et de l'organisation administrative des établissements au Moyen-âge, a permis de dégager les trois oasis du Zab occidental, appartenant au canton (*kūra*) de Biskra. Les sources médiévales laissent par contre hypothétique l'identification des agglomérations affiliées aux dites oasis. L'appel aux traités d'irrigation et partage des eaux, aux archives cartographiques et aux études récentes a permis non seulement de confirmer ou d'infirmer certaines hypothèses, mais de construire aussi nos propres points de vue.

##### **Problématique et objectifs**

La présente recherche s'intéresse au phénomène de peuplement d'un territoire antique frontalier appartenant aux limes sud-ouest de la Numidie par des établissements humains de période islamique. La problématique incarne plusieurs questionnements en lien avec les attributs matériels des formes d'habitat, à travers leurs organisations et leurs morphologies.

Un intérêt particulier est réservé au caractère groupé et fortifié des agglomérations à travers la précision de leurs caractéristiques défensives et la vérification de leur conformité aux apports des textes. Le programme fonctionnel a aussi été analysé afin de distinguer son unité ou sa disparité à travers la récurrence des espaces publics à caractères politiques ou économiques. Ce dernier critère est un moyen supplémentaire dans la détermination des attributs des agglomérations promues centre de pouvoir, aussi local soit-il.

A travers cet article, on est amené à contribuer d'abord à la production d'une connaissance historique et morphologique des établissements humains post-romains (islamiques) de la partie occidentale du Zab actuel, en relation avec le paysage frontalier antique de la Numidie et la

marche occidentale de l'*Ifriqiya*. La caractérisation de ces structures de peuplement médiévales, saisies comme formes d'établissements perpétuant l'occupation romaine du 2<sup>e</sup> au 5<sup>e</sup> siècle, forme un second objectif qui a permis en outre la formulation d'une typologie des agglomérations du corpus interrogé.

##### **Les choix méthodologiques**

Le recours à l'historiographie, à travers les sources médiévales et modernes, tout comme l'exploitation des recherches historiques et archéologiques, s'est imposé de lui-même. Les sites relevant de notre zone d'étude ont disparu ou sont actuellement désertifiés. L'espace habité étant, lui-même, un environnement complexe, son étude et son analyse nous invitent à faire appel aux éléments relevant de différentes disciplines : l'histoire de peuplement, l'archéologie, la géographie et l'architecture.

##### **Présentation des sources textuelles**

L'analyse des textes relatifs à l'historiographie du Zab par le biais de celles relevant de la géographie historique et de la cartographie littéraire a pour objectifs de circonscrire les composantes urbaines du Zab médiéval tout en les inscrivant dans leur organisation territoriale d'antan.

-Al-Bakrī (1859, p. 170) identifie le premier jalon de l'organisation des villes du Zāb au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle. L'auteur en donne, en effet, les composantes de la *kūra* de Biskra avec les villes commanditaires des trois *aqālīm* du côté occidental de la *kūra*. Il souligne aussi le caractère fortifié de ces établissements tout en décrivant leurs composantes sociales et économiques (Fig. 2).

-Ibn Khaldūn (1852-1856) précise l'organisation territoriale du Zab sous les hafside au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. De l'analyse du texte d'Ibn Khaldūn émerge la composante et l'organisation du réseau villageois de *waṭan al-Zāb* avec sa division territoriale et son organisation hiérarchisée qui comporte, à notre sens, une certaine continuité avec celle présentée par Al-Bakrī au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle.

-Al-Numayrī Ibn al-Hāḡ (1990), est l'autobiographe du souverain Mérinide Abū 'Inān et son compagnon lors de son incursion dans le Zab en 1357. Sa relation est le troisième jalon précisant l'état des centres de peuplement dans le Zab à cette époque. A travers la narration des faits destructeurs de l'invasion mérinide se distingue le caractère

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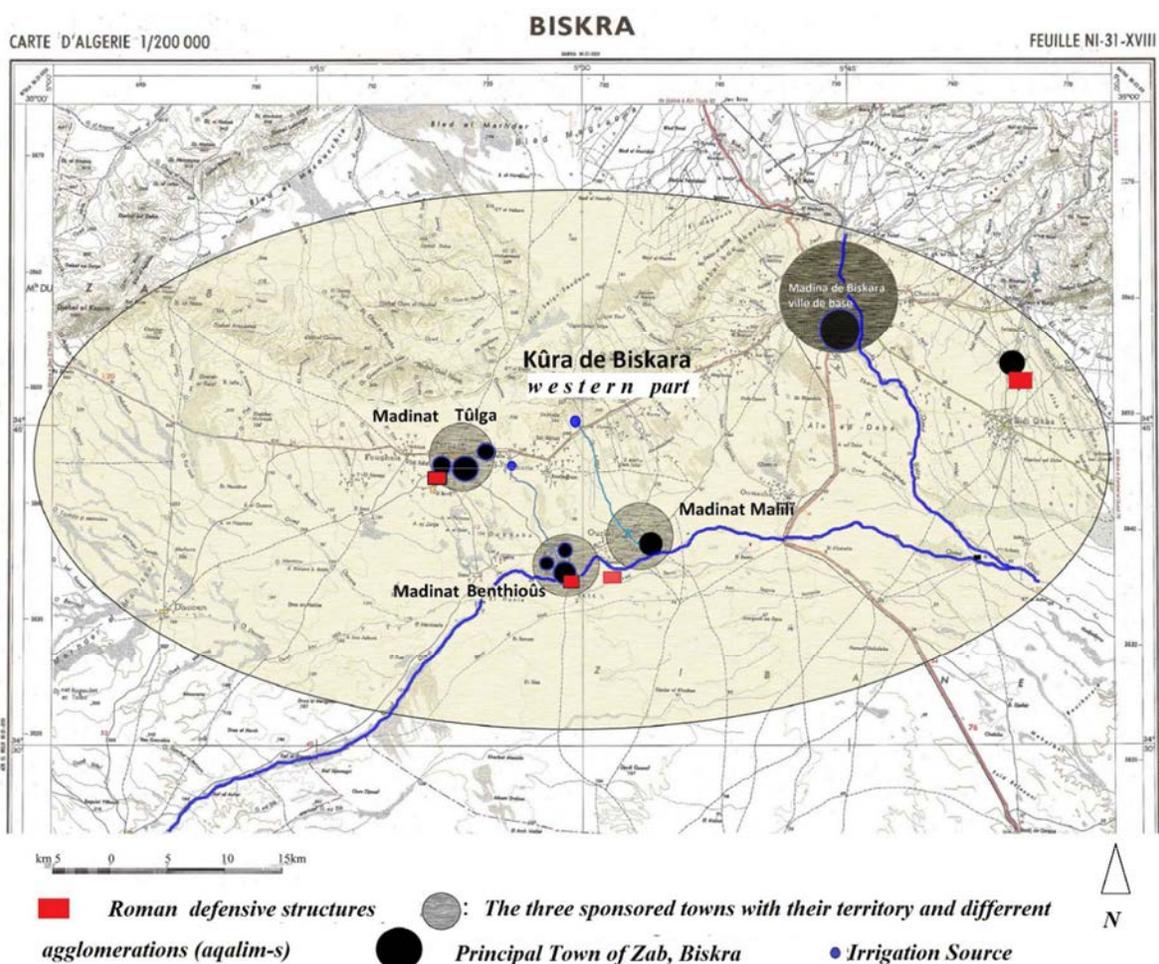


Fig. 2 - Organisation des réseaux d'oasis au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle selon al-Bakrî (graphique S. Haoui).

défensif des noyaux d'habitats est récurrent dans le texte relatif au Zab de Tolga.

### **Les explorations et monographies de la période coloniale :**

Au début de l'incursion coloniale dans le Sahara algérien, plusieurs explorateurs versés relevant de différentes disciplines scientifiques se sont attelés à décrire les Ziban. Concernant les explorations archéologiques, et contrairement aux établissements médiévaux, les structures antiques ont suscité plus d'intérêt. Parmi les ouvrages de base, l'Atlas Archéologique de l'Algérie (S. Gsell, 1911) ; Les structures antiques du Zab occidental y sont représentées comme points archéologiques parsemant les oasis.

Les explorations archéologiques aériennes en Algérie remontent à 1934, et avaient pour but la définition du 'Limes' romain (F. Piéchon, 1936, p.

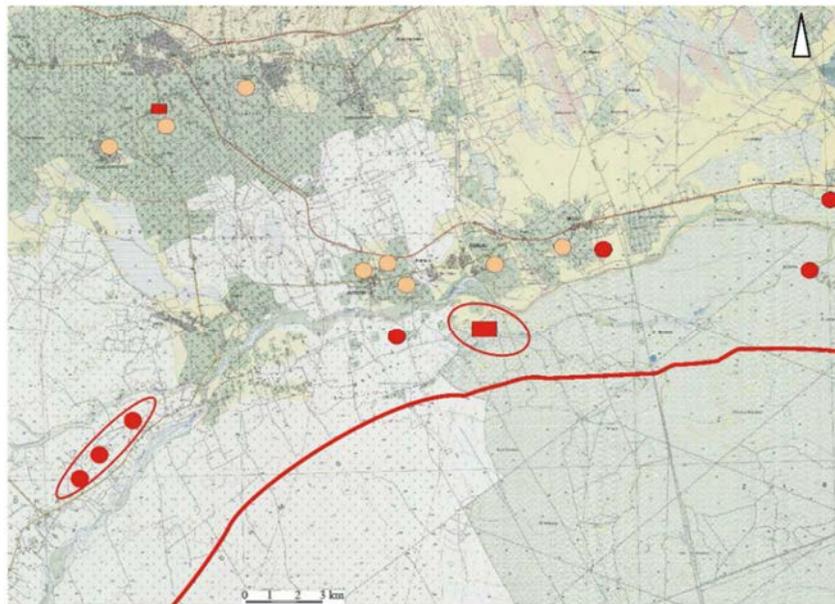
1383-1395). En 1946, J. Baradez, colonel-aviateur et spécialiste de l'observation et de la photographie aérienne, avait entamé des recherches aériennes dans la région. Ses résultats sont publiés dans son ouvrage qui demeure une référence de base pour tout travail sur le limes en Algérie (J. Baradez, 1949) (Fig. 3).

### **Les documents d'archives et cartographiques du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle**

Au lendemain de la prise de Biskra le 4 mars 1844, des campagnes de levés topographiques ont été organisés par le Génie militaire français. Les révoltes des Ziban à partir de 1849 ne pouvaient se faire sans laisser de traces tangibles illustrant l'organisation des établissements faisant objets de sièges et d'attaques massives. Le dépouillement des archives effectué dans les différentes institutions algériennes et



Extrait de la section 3 de la Table de Peutinger figurant Gemellae  
(Source: [https://www.euratlas.net/cartogra/peutinger/3\\_traspadana/index\\_fr.html](https://www.euratlas.net/cartogra/peutinger/3_traspadana/index_fr.html))



(Fond: cartes 1/50 000, Ourlâl 1 et Tolga 2, 2005, INCT, Alger)

- postes de commandement principale camp de Gemellae et sa ville
- Castellum de Tolga
- vestiges reconnus comme habitats ou exploitations agricoles antiques ( S. Gsell, 1902, 1911)
- agglomérations et oasis renfermant des vestiges archéologiques ( S. Gsell, 1911)
- Fossatum,

Fig. 3 - Ancrage antique de la zone d'étude tant que partie du limes de l'empire romain en Afrique du nord : Extraits de la table de Peutinger présentant le camp de Gemellae et repérage des habitats antiques et islamiques sur carte topographique d'après les recherches du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle (graphique S. Haoui)

## L'Habitat fortifié sur la frontière romaine présaharienne en Algérie orientale (Oasis des Ziban, Algérie)

françaises a été suivi d'une sélection de documents susceptibles de ramener des éclairages relatifs à l'espace humanisé, aux oasis et aux établissements sous étude et reflétant l'état des lieux à la fin de la période ottomane.

### *Les prospections sur terrain*

Vu l'état de dégradation et le processus de disparition constatés lors de nos premières visites sur terrain, il nous a paru primordiale de renseigner le plus grand nombre possible de sites sous étude, tout en réalisant des couvertures photographiques et

des relevés illustrant les spécificités architecturales et constructives (S. Haoui, 2014; S. Haoui, S. Chergui, 2016).

Les 15 sites retenus ont été localisés et délimités grâce à l'usage des images satellitaires et cartes topographiques anciennes. Le but des prospections effectuées était de récolter des données autant topographiques, urbaines qu'architecturales. L'objectif final était d'effectuer des recoupements avec les renseignements des textes et ceux des archives et d'en tirer les conclusions (Fig. 4).

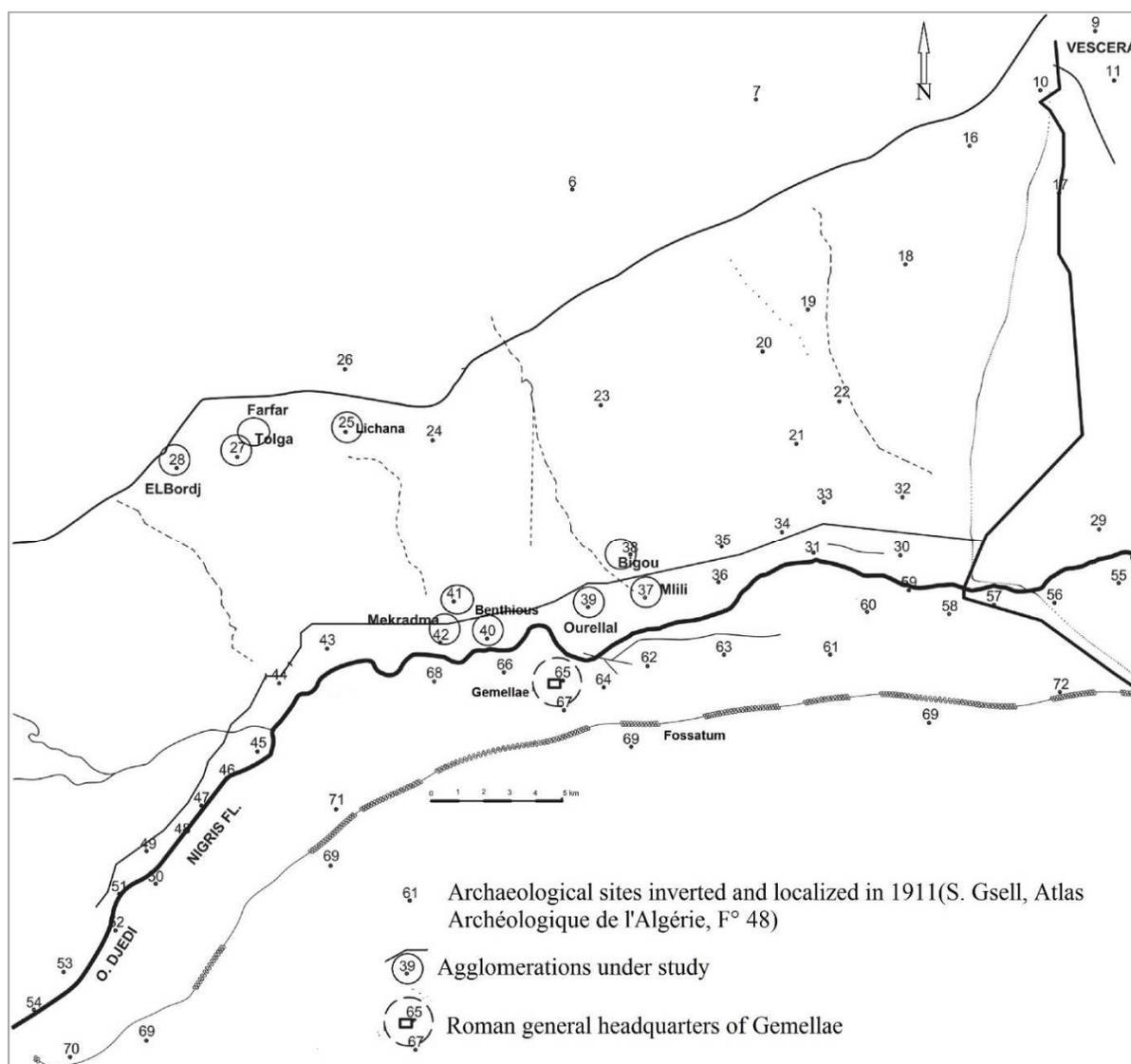
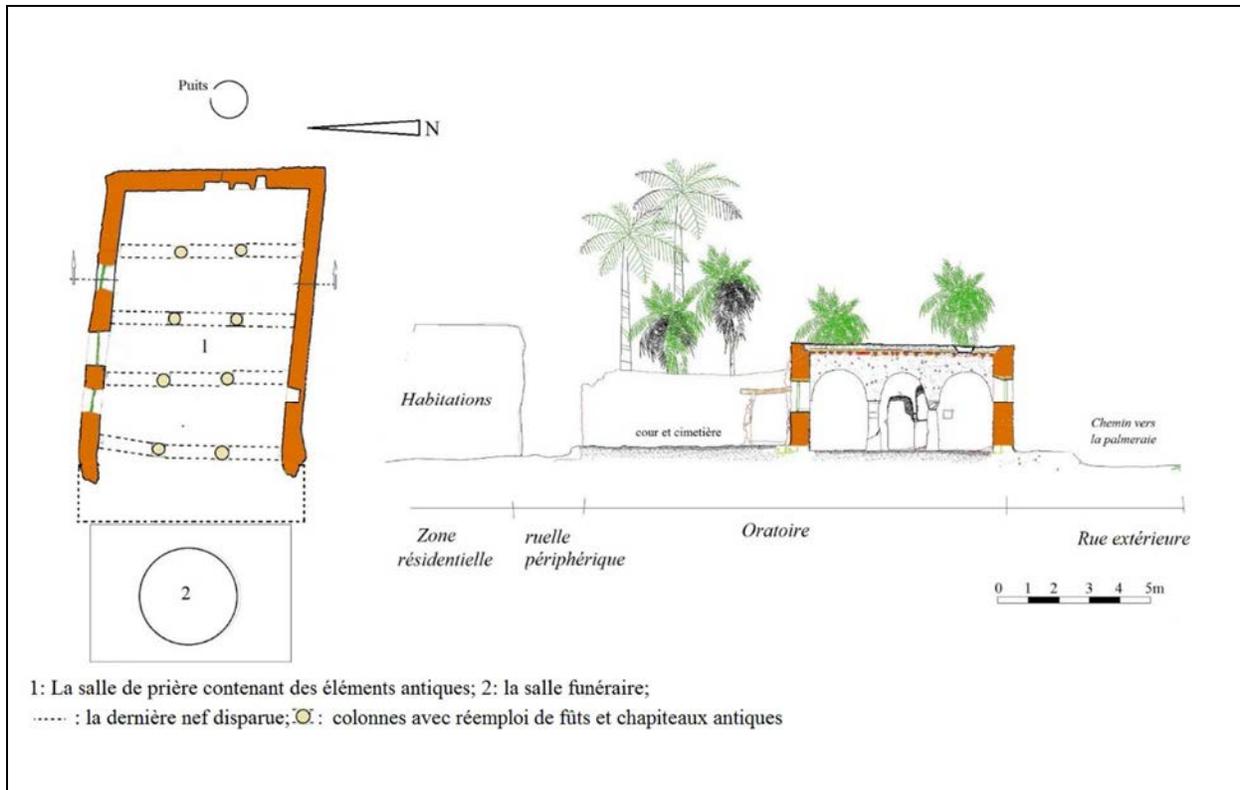


Fig. 4 - Repérage des établissements sous étude sur la carte archéologique de la zone d'étude (graphique S. Haoui).



Exemple de mosquée contenant des éléments antiques en remploi (mosquée de Benthioûs, 14<sup>e</sup> siècle)

<p>Colonne avec réemploi de chapiteau corinthien sur deux fûts antiques.</p>	<p>Usage de deux chapiteaux antiques inversés sur fût en pierre.</p>	<p>Une fenêtre ajourée sculptée dans un bloc de pierre.</p>

Fig. 5 - Repérage des éléments architectoniques antiques réemployés dans les édifices culturels (graphique S. Haoui)

## 5. Résultats

Les trois vocables d'agglomération, d'établissement ou de noyau d'habitat ont été retenus pour la désignation des sites sous étude car ils recouvrent, sans contraintes terminologiques, des réalités différentes. Ce n'est qu'au terme de l'étude analytique, et en s'appuyant sur des descripteurs choisis, que ressortent les distinctions typologiques sous forme de cités importantes ou « agglomérations chef-lieu », mais aussi d'« agglomérations secondaires ». Ces dernières s'organisent autour des premières et se trouvent sous leur juridiction. Il s'agit là d'une division territoriale en plusieurs réseaux d'agglomérations selon une certaine hiérarchisation.

En se basant sur des descripteurs morphologiques et fonctionnels, expérimentés sur le corpus monographique à travers une lecture comparative, les résultats proposent une première représentation caractérisant les formes d'occupation de la plaine pré-désertique du Zab occidental, pouvant être scindés en trois points.

### **Ancrage antique des établissements : réseau routier et implantations fortifiées**

L'ancrage antique est d'abord attesté par l'origine latine et berbère de certains toponymes (A. Amara, 2016, p. 14-15). Les sources d'époque médiévale ont très souvent souligné la consolidation et la réappropriation des vestiges antiques en *Ifriqiya* par les populations ultérieures. Phénomène rapporté par al-Bakrī, en attestant des origines antiques de Tolga et de Benthioûs. La citadelle est devenue *qaṣaba* ou *hiṣn* et a été réutilisée comme habitat, grenier ou refuge. La traçabilité antique a été démontrée également, en traitant du réseau routier du secteur de Gemellae. Les explorations archéologiques concluantes de J. Baradez et les plans d'archives attestent que chaque oasis se trouve dotée d'au moins une agglomération localisée sur une voie antique, et consolidant une forteresse ou citadelle en grand appareil. Les levés font état de structure en pierres de tailles, qu'on désigne de *castellum* romain ou byzantin. A l'échelle du bâti, plusieurs mosquées renferment des éléments architectoniques d'origine romaine ou byzantine (Fig. 5). Les fortifications antiques ont engagé ainsi un processus d'implantation d'habitat fortifié sur ces mêmes structures ou dans leurs environnements immédiats. Ce phénomène semble être connu dans

tout le monde musulman ayant connue les occupations romaines ainsi qu'en occident (J. Lefort, J. M. Martin, 1983) (Tab. 1).

### **Organisation territoriale médiévale hiérarchisée**

L'organisation territoriale du Zab occidental, illustrée par les sources médiévales, s'appuie sur un concept fondamental, propre aux codes lexicaux et glossaires géographiques médiévaux. En effet, un seul toponyme, celui de la cité chef-lieu, désigne plusieurs agglomérations relevant de son territoire (A. Amara, 2016, p. 15 ; Dj. Chabane, 2003, p. 202-203). Ce fait a été noté par trois principales sources textuelles. Les descriptions d'al-Bakrī rattachent respectivement à Tolga et à Benthioûs un groupe de trois villes sans les identifier, celles d'Ibn Khaldūn présentent les différents Zab (ou oasis) du flanc occidental de waṭan al Zāb dont chacun est composé de plusieurs villages tout en soulignant la suprématie de Tolga. Enfin, celles d'al-Numayrī en précisant que Tolga était la cité chef-lieu des districts se trouvant à l'Ouest de Biskra. L'étude des établissements contenus dans le corpus d'étude a confirmé une seconde notion relative à la toponymie en usage dans les structures de peuplements médiévales. En effet, les précisions de Yāqūt (1977, vol. 1, p. 35-37) à propos des aspects et fondements toponymiques se confirment à l'oasis de Mlīlī dont le toponyme fait référence à la rivière principale d'oued Mlīlī. Il en est de même à Benthioûs et à Tolga. Leurs noms, à racines latines (A. Amara, 2016, p. 14), renvoient aux citadelles antiques « *qaṣaba* » réutilisées comme refuges, greniers ou habitats.

Bien que les sources littéraires aient signalé « un groupe » d'agglomérations pour chaque cité chef-lieu, la composition urbaine n'en a pas été précisée. Sous la lumière des recherches antérieures traitant de cette problématique, notamment celles d'A. Amara et P. L. Cambuzat, des hypothèses ont été discutées et de nouveaux postulats ont été formulés en se basant sur les paramètres hydrauliques et géographiques. Ces derniers ont permis l'identification du réseau de Mlīlī et de Benthioûs et maintenir à l'état d'hypothèse celui de Tolga.

### **Le réseau de Benthioûs**

Au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, al-Bakrī précise qu'à cette époque, Benthioûs comptait trois villes et souligne le caractère rapproché de ces agglomérations.

N° du site	Localité (toponyme)	N° AAA	Consolidation attestée d'une fortification	Consolidation probable	Appartenance au réseau routier antique
S.1	Mīlī	37	•		●
S.2	Zaouïa de Mīlī		○	●	
S.3	Bīgou	38		○	●
S.4	Zaouïa Chorfa	/		○	●
S.5	Ourlāl	39	•		?
S.6	Zaouïa Guerdma	/		○	●
S.7	Benthioûs	40	•		●
S.8	Zaouïa de Benthioûs	/		○	
S.9	Mekhadma	42		○	
S.10	Zaouïa de Mekhadma	/		○	
S.11	Djerbānia	41	•		●
S.12	Tolga	27	•		●
S.13	Farfār	25	•		
S.15	Lichāna		•		●
S.14	El Bordj	28	•		●

Légende : ● Confirmation ; ○ Probable ; ● appartenance à un axe routier antique confirmée

Tab. 1 - Prépondérance de l'ancrage antique dans les 15 sites sous études à travers la consolidation d'une structure antique ou l'appartenance au réseau routier (S. Haoui).

L'auteur n'ayant pas distingué les toponymes des deux agglomérations affiliées à Benthioûs, plusieurs hypothèses s'imposent quant à l'identification des deux autres établissements. Afin de résoudre cette rébus, plusieurs auteurs et chercheurs ont avancé des hypothèses. L. Piesse (1882, p. 420), avance sur la base de l'interprétation du texte d'al-Bakrī, que les deux autres villes devaient être Ourlāl et Mīlī. Une hypothèse qui se révèle discutable, car al-Bakrī mentionne la ville de Mīlī au même titre que la ville de Benthioûs et non une cité dépendante de cette dernière. Selon P. I. Cambuzat (1970a, vol. II, p. 71), les trois villes de Benthioûs seraient les agglomérations actuelles d'Ourlāl, de Benthioûs proprement dite et de Ksar Djerbānia. A son tour, A. Amara (2016, p. 14) estime que les deux autres villes de Benthioûs

seraient Mekhadma et Ourlāl, Hypothèses tout à fait plausibles et méritant discussion.

Si, dans le texte d'al-Bakrī, les deux villes auxiliaires de Benthioûs, n'ont pas reçu de noms particuliers, elles s'y distinguent par deux principales caractéristiques ; le partage d'une même source d'irrigation et le caractère de proximité topographique. Au cours de nos recherches, ces deux spécificités sont retenues comme paramètres de vérification de l'affiliation de ces structures de peuplement à une même oasis et appartenant, de ce fait, au territoire d'une même cité chef-lieu. En effet, sur le plan hydraulique, les deux agglomérations de Mekhadma et de Benthioûs sont irriguées par la même source d'eau, oued Kelbī.

Ceci apparait, de manière explicite sur les cartes topographiques de 1849 et de 1909, qui

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retracent le parcours d'Oued Kelbī. L'établissement de Mekhadma serait ainsi affilié au territoire de Benthioûs tel que l'a suggéré A. Amara. La troisième ville reste donc à identifier. En maintenant la primauté des critères d'affiliation hydraulique et de proximité, la troisième ville serait Djerbānia, telle que proposée par P. L. Cambuzat. Cette

agglomération est effectivement localisée entre les deux palmeraies de Benthioûs et de Mekhadma, et plus précisément au Sud-est du point de partage des eaux d'oued Kelbī. Benthioûs, Mekhadma et Qasr Djerbānia formeraient ainsi les trois agglomérations du réseau médiéval de Benthioûs. (Fig. 6)

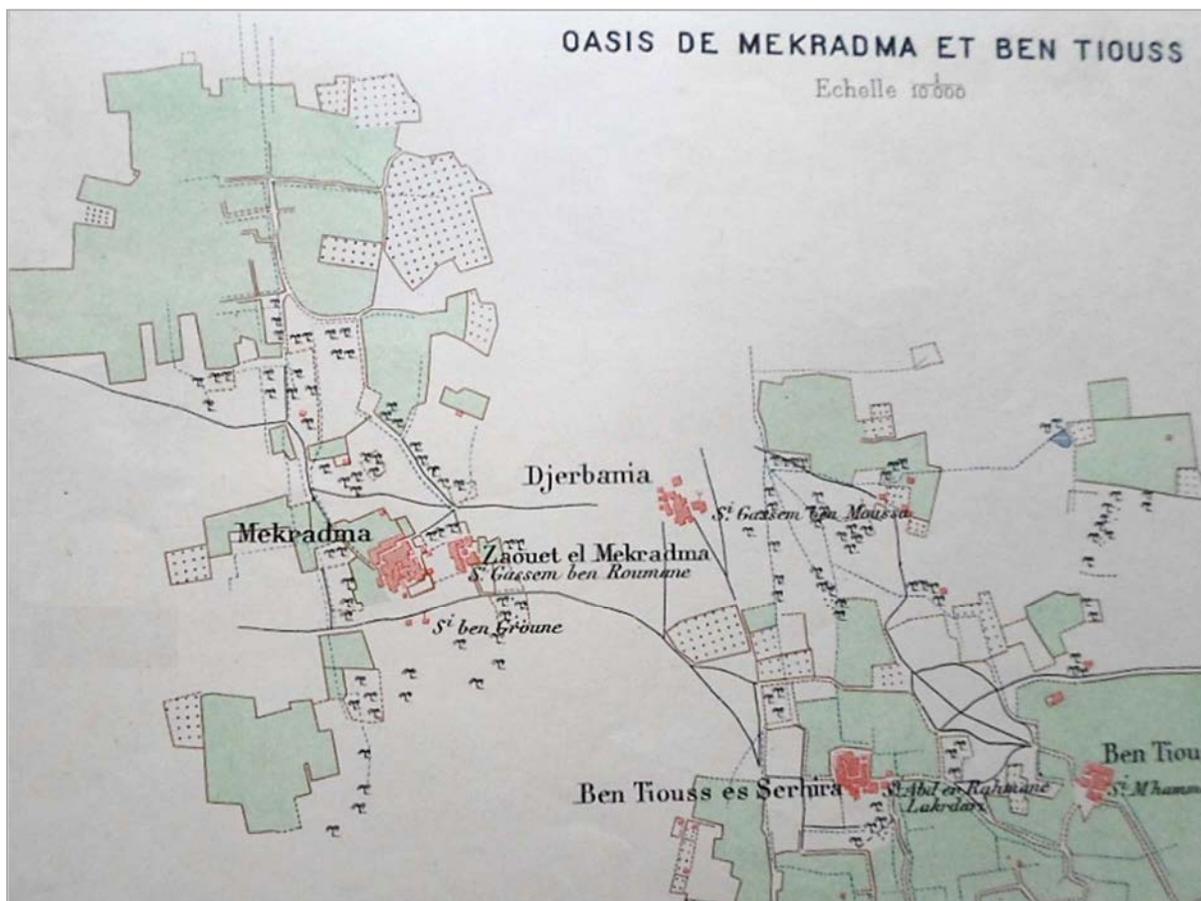


Fig. 6 – les agglomérations de l'oasis de Benthioûs, itinéraires et système d'irrigation (1909). (Document d'archives cartographiques, BNF)

### ***Le réseau de Mlīlī***

En prenant comme premier critère l'irrigation, on constate une organisation particulière des agglomérations de l'oasis de Mlīlī autour d'une même source d'eau, oued Mlīlī. L'oasis de Mlīlī renferme plusieurs agglomérations dotées de palmeraies. Celles faisant partie du corpus d'agglomérations interrogé sont au nombre des six établissements qui forment les trois secteurs de Mlīlī, Bīgou, et Ourlāl<sup>3</sup>. Ces mêmes trois secteurs ou palmeraies sont réparties géographiquement de manière à pouvoir recevoir les eaux par gravité à

partir du premier répartiteur des eaux de la rivière de Mlīlī et selon des proportions convenues. En se basant sur les paramètres d'irrigation et de proximité géographique, les établissements de Mlīlī, Bīgou et Ourlāl forment les trois agglomérations relevant du réseau oasisien de la cité chef lieux de Mlīlī.

### ***Le réseau de Tolga***

Selon les sources textuelles médiévales, Tolga était non seulement la cité chef-lieu du Zab occidental septentrional mais aussi du Zab occidental entier.

Si les textes médiévaux et la cartographie moderne, à travers une lecture comparative des établissements, attestent que Tolga est une cité principale par ses dimensions, son système défensif relativement recherché ainsi que par la convergence des principaux itinéraires, les deux agglomérations du réseau historique de Tolga, estimée à trois, font partie des questions restées en suspens. Plusieurs chercheurs reconduisent la composante urbaine d'al-Bakrī. En se référant à l'étude de P. L. Cambuzat (1970a, Vol. II, p. 380), les villes de Tolga dont parlait al-Bakrī seraient Tolga, al-Burdj et Lichāna. M. Meouak (2001) n'avance aucune hypothèse à propos des établissements de Tolga mais précise qu'il s'agirait de « quartiers » appartenant à la campagne de la ville de Tolga. Il souligne, toutefois, l'apport attendu de l'archéologie et l'étude de terrain pour combler les questions auxquelles les sources ne répondaient pas. En se basant sur des aspects toponymiques et archéologiques, A. Amara (2016, p. 15) affirme que les trois villes signalées par al-Bakrī seraient le noyau historique de Tolga, Farfār et Lichāna.

La lecture des levés topographiques de 1909 présente Tolga entourée des palmeraies de Farfār, Lichāna, Zaatcha et al-Burdj<sup>4</sup>. Vu que l'irrigation dans le Zab septentrional était basée sur des sources localisées générant de multitudes cours d'eau, le paramètre hydraulique ne pouvait être maintenu et celui de la proximité topographique était loin d'être suffisant. Au regard des précédentes études, nous retenons comme agglomérations susceptibles d'avoir appartenu à Tolga, le noyau de Tolga, Farfār, Lichāna et al-Burdj. Seuls de nouveaux apports en textes, analyses morphologiques ou en résultats de fouilles archéologiques pourraient dénouer cette problématique, comme l'avait souligné M. Meouak.

### ***Le caractère fortifié des établissements***

L'aspect fortifié des noyaux d'habitat est le résultat d'éléments de défense et de protection, qui, à travers leur nature et leur succession, contribuent dans le renforcement ou l'affaiblissement de la limite-défense. L'analyse des plans d'archives sous la lumière des descriptions ramenées par les sources et nos observations sur terrain ont abouti à l'établissement d'une synthèse confirmant le caractère fortifié de l'ensemble des noyaux d'habitat et la majorité des zaouïas<sup>5</sup>.

Dans ce système de défense stratifiée, le végétal et le minéral composent une succession de

structures protectrices et dissuasives. De l'extérieur vers l'intérieur, une ceinture de jardins murés, en pierre, en *tûb* ou en levées de terre, et accessibles uniquement de l'intérieur de l'établissement, forment une première couronne que seul des passages contrôlés franchissent. Une seconde couronne est matérialisée par le fossé, creusé dans le sol et rempli d'eau. Chaque fossé, dont la largeur peut atteindre 12 m, adopte totalement ou partiellement les contours de l'établissement. Il est rempli à partir de canaux qu'on a fait aboutir aux deux bouts de la tranchée. Seuls des ponceaux mobiles donnaient accès aux portes qu'on désire ouvrir. Un chemin de ronde est souvent signalé et observé entre le fossé et le mur de rempart. Un espace continu permet guet et défense ainsi que l'entretien du fossé. L'ultime défense coïncide avec le mur de rempart ; un ouvrage soutenu par un soubassement en pierres et un corps de mur en briques de terre séchées au soleil solidement agencées grâce à un mortier de terre et de chaux (S. Haoui, 2015). D'une hauteur de 8 m, il offre un aspect continu, alors qu'il s'agit de murs extérieures des maisons périphériques qu'on a voulu homogènes et solidaires constituant corps unique. Le degré d'ouverture du mur de rempart contribue également dans le renforcement ou la diminution de cette limite-défense. Plusieurs établissements étaient dotés d'une porte urbaine unique, signe d'un culminant degré de défense et de contrôle, générant la configuration d'une véritable forteresse. D'autres établissements, généralement pourvus de place ou de marché présentaient 2 à 4 portes, signe d'une certaine ouverture et d'activités attractives (Fig. 7 et 8).

Au bout de cette lecture apparaît une particularité de ce système de défense. Si le fossé, chemin de ronde et murs de remparts ont été signalés par les sources et sont assez récurrents dans les études sur les cités fortifiées, la présence des jardins clôturés sur les plans d'archives et leurs signalement systématiques dans les rapports précédant les assauts militaires mériterait discussion. En effet, cette disposition n'est pas un simple agrément de l'habitat, ou une réserve de croissance du bâti. Des dispositions similaires sont observées dans des villages en Ifrīqiya au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle où elles seraient le résultat d'une décision autoritaire cherchant protection des biens contre les incursions nomades (M. Hassen, 2000, p. 243).

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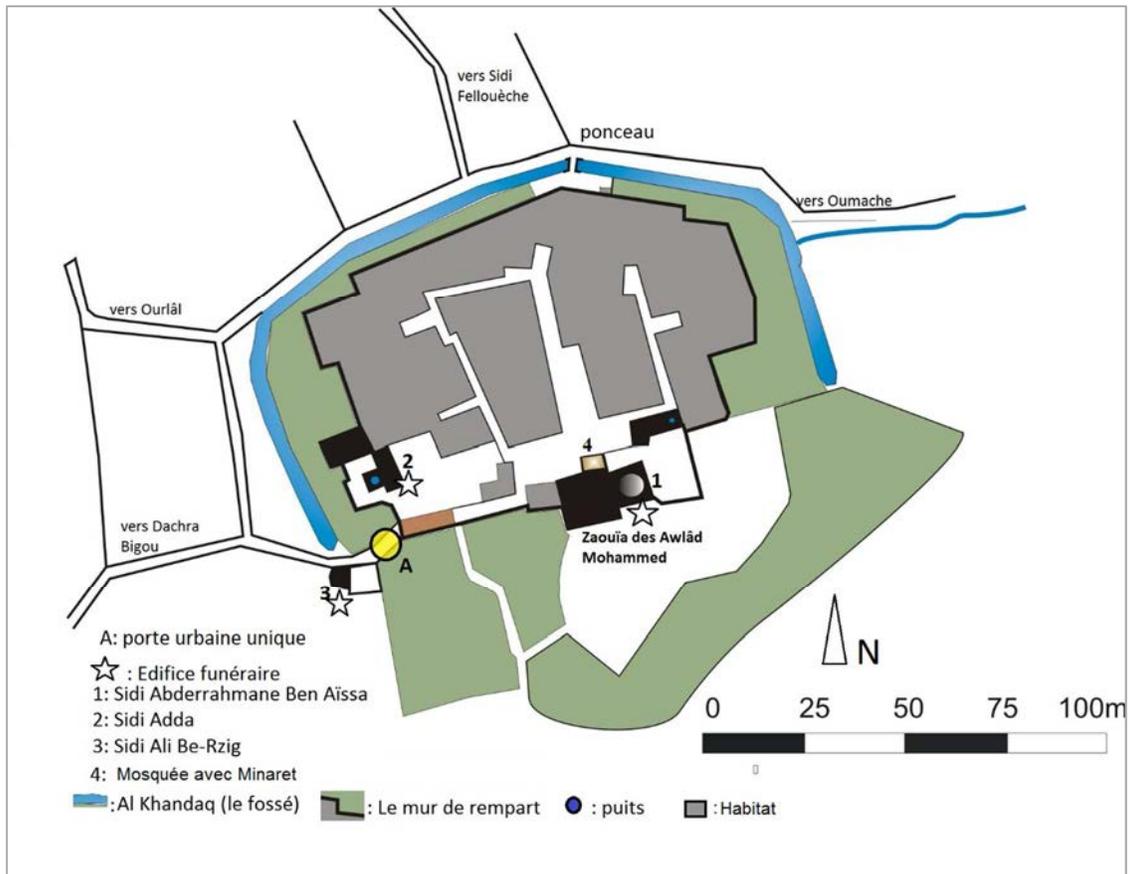


Fig. 7 - Plan d'un établissement de l'oasis de Mlîli au milieu du 19<sup>e</sup> siècle (S. Haoui, d'après recouplement de plans d'oasis, Archives SHD, Vincennes)

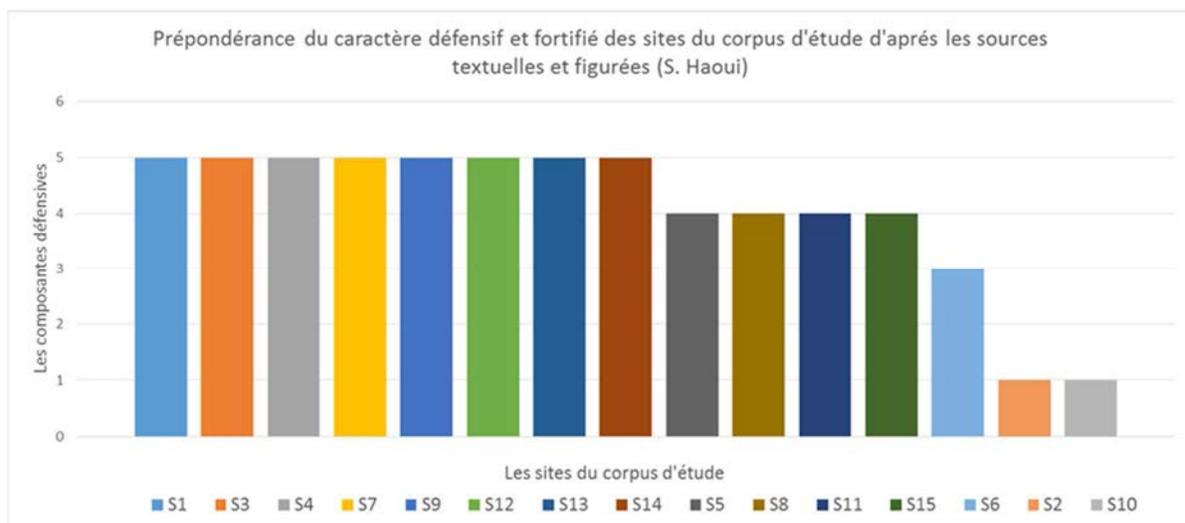


Fig. 8 - Prépondérance du caractère fortifié des sites du corpus d'étude (S. Haoui)

## 6. Discussion

La reclassification des agglomérations sous études n'est pas uniquement tributaire des aléas géographiques ou des données d'irrigations, mais aussi des aspects relatives à leurs statut dans un système territorial organisé et hiérarchisé. Le caractère fortifié étant dominant à travers sa confirmation dans 13 sites des 15 étudiés, les descripteurs d'ordre morphologiques et fonctionnels retenus ont permis, à travers leurs interprétations, une deuxième catégorisation. De l'analyse du corpus d'étude et de la lecture topographique, ressort d'abord la récurrence de la présence d'une zaouïa dans le voisinage immédiat d'une *dachra* partageant, selon des proportions préétablis, les mêmes eaux ; un trait distinctif que nous avons déjà soulevé. Le préfixe de zaouïa est utilisé aussi bien pour désigner une agglomération renfermant habitat et complexe religieux qu'un établissement dominé par la fonction religieuse et d'enseignement. Ainsi une première sélection en *dachra-s* et *zaouïas* a été croisée avec une deuxième catégorisation basée sur le statut de l'agglomération en tant que cité chefs-lieux ou agglomération secondaire. Le résultat est la représentation de quatre types - au moins - d'établissements.

1. *La cité chef-lieu d'oasis* : ce concept apparait, dans les textes médiévaux classiques et tardifs sous la dénomination de « *madīna, qāi'da, ummu-al-qurā, qarya Djāmi'a* ». La cité chef-lieu est pourvue d'une forteresse antique (*qaṣaba*) ou porte le nom d'une rivière. Elle est identifiée à travers ses fonctions utilitaires et d'échanges, mais surtout de la présence d'un siège représentatif d'un pouvoir locale. Elle protège un territoire vivier, la palmeraie, dont elle assume les litiges liés aux partages des eaux. Sous sa juridiction, se trouve aussi un territoire administratif et fiscal composé des terres de plusieurs agglomérations. D'après les analyses morphologiques, son système défensif est proportionnel à son statut et à son aire de juridiction et peut se développer en plusieurs aménagements extérieurs. L'activité commerciale s'impose à travers la place de marché ou de la rue commerçante pourvue de boutiques de prestations et de cafés. La mosquée à prône garde une position assez particulière, elle se trouve au centre linéaire ou surfacique de la cité.

2. *L'agglomération secondaire (Habitat)* : ce second type incarne l'agglomération sous l'autorité

et la juridiction fiscale d'une autre. Bien que cette agglomération soit pourvue d'un système défensif performant, les édifices caractérisant la cité chef-lieu lui font défaut. Le siège d'une autorité et la mosquée à prône sont souvent absents. l'oratoire, quand il existe, se trouve réservé aux prières quotidiennes. L'activité résidentielle est dominante.

3. *L'agglomération secondaire (Zaouïa-habitat)* : c'est un troisième type qui se rattache au précédent mais appartiendrait, au même temps, à la catégorie des zaouïas. Son toponyme reflète certes une fonction religieuse et d'enseignement, mais il est surtout dominé par la fonction résidentielle. L'articulation des espaces de culte et des zones d'habitat permet une certaine autonomie d'accessibilités à la zone résidentielle comme au complexe religieux. L'analyse de ce type d'établissement atteste de la constance du critère fortifié et défensif. La Zaouïa des « Awlād Mohamed-Chorfa » relevant du réseau de Mlīlī incarne à notre sens l'ultime état de protection et de défense. Le complexe religieux renferme une mosquée associée à un mausolée édifié à la mémoire du chef spirituel ainsi que des salles indépendantes d'enseignement et d'hébergement.

4. *La zaouïa* : ce quatrième type est une seconde variation des zaouïas. Il s'agit d'une polarité religieuse dépourvue d'une zone résidentielle dominante. L'établissement, montrant un certain degré d'importance, assume principalement la fonction religieuse et d'enseignement sous l'autorité d'un chayḥ. Le dépouillement des archives et les investigations sur terrain amènent à confirmer qu'elles sont également dépourvues de système défensif. Plusieurs édifices funéraires, salles d'enseignement et oratoires se côtoient dans un espace délimité mais ouvert.

Ainsi le reclassement des établissements du corpus interrogé selon d'autre critères de recomposition a permis une mise en ordre et un agencement différents selon les objectifs recherchés inhérents aux discernement des tenants de leurs organisation et leurs hiérarchisation (Fig. 9).

Sans doute, la généralisation de l'aspect fortifié dans les établissements sous étude ouvre le débat quant aux causes d'une telle initiative ainsi que le processus de son installation. Ce dernier point engagerait plusieurs hypothèses. Rappelons qu'en Occident musulman, notamment en *Ifriqiya*, ce territoire auquel était affilié le Zab à l'aube de la

**L'Habitat fortifié sur la frontière romaine présaharienne en Algérie orientale  
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période médiévale, des recherches récentes concluent que ce type d'habitat, dont les racines peuvent être aghlabides, est devenu imposant à partir du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle (M. Hassen, 2000, p. 244). Dans notre cas d'étude, les données recueillies des sources relatives aux évolutions historiques du Zab rendent compte de l'importance des périodes d'insécurité et des troubles qu'a connue le Zab

médiéval tardif, résultant probablement des richesses de son terroir et des impôts qu'il générait, mais aussi de sa situation sur des frontières faisant très souvent objet de convoitises par les différents pouvoirs. L'émergence d'un habitat défensif était donc une réponse de ces sociétés rurales à un besoin de protection des cultures et des hommes contre des pressions militaires et économiques.

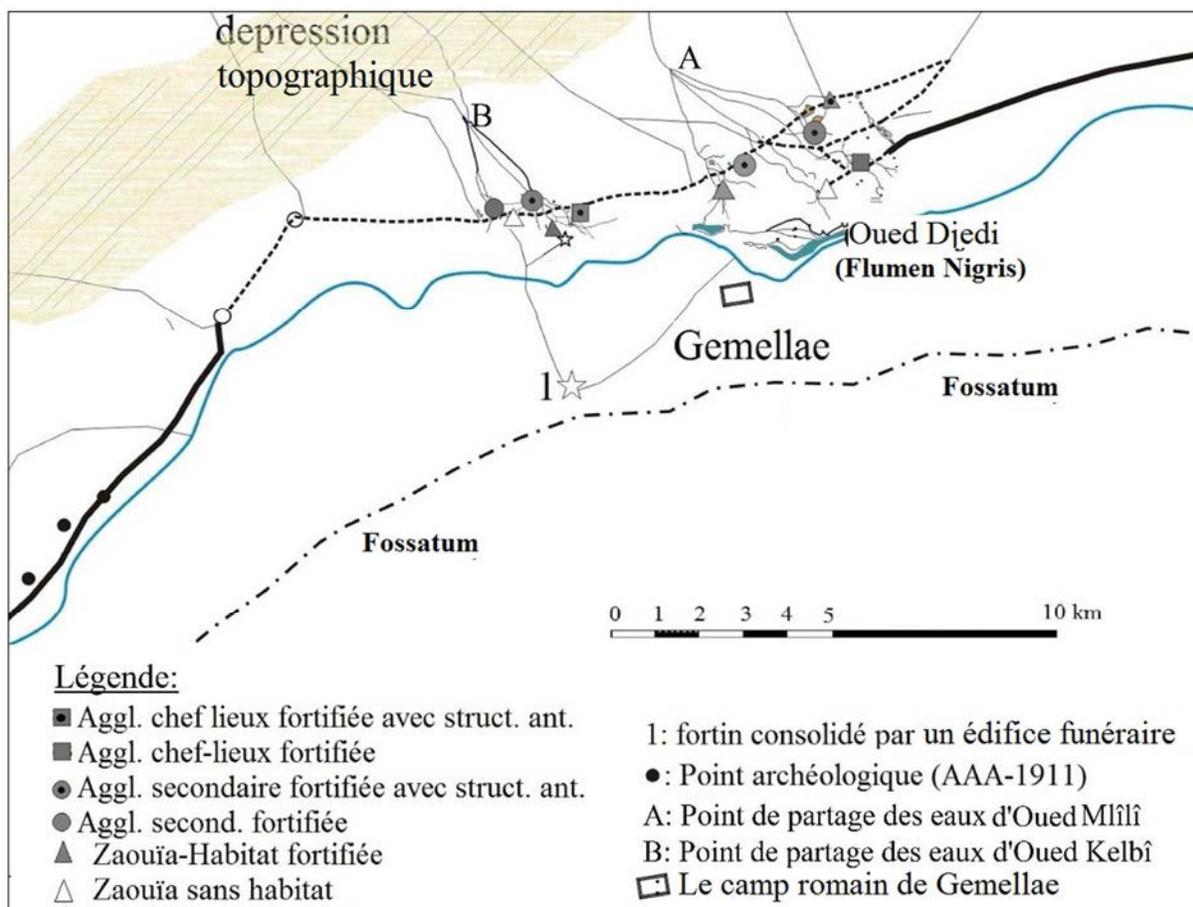


Fig. 9 - Carte de synthèse : distribution spatiale et croisement des données relatives aux établissements groupés implantés le long du Fossatum (graphique S. Haoui).

Au terme de l'étude de ces établissements, quelques questionnements émergent et restent en suspens. La filiation des agglomérations de Mlîlî et de Benthioûs semble être déterminée par nos critères de classement, à savoir les sources d'irrigations communes et la proximité topographique. L'identification des trois agglomérations composant le réseau médiéval de Tolga dans le Zab septentrional n'est pas tout à fait résolu et reste discutable.

**7. Conclusion**

Le travail d'analyse effectué a permis la constitution d'une nouvelle base de données relative aux oasis et à l'habitat fortifié du Zab occidental, situé entre les piémonts des monts du Zab et les rives du Flumen Nigris, grâce à l'exploitation des sources et des archives figurées inédites. Nous avons tenté d'établir une classification propre aux établissements de cette région de l'Algérie orientale tout en se rapportant à un contexte géographique et

scientifique plus globale. Une recherche que nous voulions, autant que possible, une contribution à l'édification de l'histoire relative aux paysages habités en Algérie, au Maghreb et en Méditerranée occidentale en relation avec l'occupation romaine de l'Afrique du nord. Le résultat est une image appuyée sur une approche historico-morphologique considérant l'épaisseur historique depuis l'implantation du quartier général de Gemellae, la confirmation de cette occupation par un tracé routier militaire et économique développé et sa consolidation définitive à l'ère médiévale par des agglomérations et des habitats à essence oasienne. Les thématiques de recherches sollicitées ou effleurées, dans le cadre de cette recherche, et soldées par des questionnements restés en suspens, relèveraient de la géographie humaine et de l'archéologie de l'habitat qui y maintient une direction préférentielle et une place primordiale dans les perspectives de recherche désormais ouvertes.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Cette structure d'implantation renvoie aux descriptions données par Ibn Khaldūn à propos de la présentation du Zab au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Nous avons là une confirmation de la pérennité de cette organisation territoriale.

<sup>2</sup> Les Ziban possèdent des toponymes respectifs, selon leur situation et leur orientation : le Zab septentrional ou Dhahrāwī se trouve sur la route menant à Boussaāda et au Hodna en passant par M'doukel, vers le Dhahra. Quant au Zab méridional, il est situé sur la route menant au Sahara, Laghouat et Ghardaïa, vers la Guebla.

<sup>3</sup> Nous transcrivons les toponymes selon leurs premières apparitions dans les textes du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle.

<sup>4</sup> Archives de la BNF, plan d'oasis, 1909, GE DD-2445

<sup>5</sup> Sur les 15 établissements sous étude, 13 sont fortifiés. Deux Zaouïa-s ne présentaient pas d'éléments de défense en 1909, elles étaient dédiées uniquement à l'activité religieuse et d'enseignement.

#### Abréviations utilisées dans le corps de texte

AAA : Atlas archéologique de l'Algérie.

BNF : Bibliothèque nationale de France-Paris.

SHD : Service historique de la défense -Vincennes-Paris.

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Les auteures tiennent à remercier C. Aillet et J. P. Van Staëvel, professeurs et spécialistes de l'histoire de l'Islam médiéval et l'archéologie en occident musulman pour leurs précieuses orientations et pertinentes observations.

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# ANNALES



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## Relations between the Bohai people and the Koryŏ kingdom

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**Abstract.** The issue of relations between the Bohai people after the destruction of their state in AD 926 and the southern neighboring state, Koryŏ, is a very complicated and important one for understanding the fate of ethnic groups in East Asia. As is known, after 926 many Bohai people immigrated to Koryŏ, because they considered this state a comfortable place to live. However, after a century the situation changed and the Bohai people preferred to live in other regions. This article considers the reasons for the movement of the population from the former Bohai state and analyzes the specifics of the relations between the Bohai population and the Koryŏ kingdom.

**Keywords:** Bohai, Koryŏ, East Asia, suryong, history, Korea.

As is known, in the seventh and ninth centuries AD, the Korean Peninsula was divided into two states. In the southern part of the peninsula the medieval Korean state, Silla, was located, while the northern areas formed part of the territory of another state – Bohai.

From the late seventh to the early tenth centuries AD, the Bohai<sup>1</sup> (in Russian: Бохай, in Korean: Parhae 발해, in Chinese: Bohai 渤海) existed in what is now the Russian Maritime Region (Primorskiĭ kraj/ Приморский край), North Korea and Northeastern China (*Istoriia stran zarubezhnoj Azii v srednie veka*, 1970). According to the Japanese annals “Ruijū-kokushi” (類聚国史), the Bohai state was founded in AD 698. A number of events had led to the formation of this state. In the process of Bohai’s build-up in power, the Korean kingdom Koguryŏ had been destroyed in 668 by the Tang Empire and Silla, and parts of the Mohe tribes, who were vassals of Koguryŏ, changed their loyalty to the Tang Empire or immigrated to other districts.

Bohai and Silla had mutually hostile relations over a long period. Sometimes both states attacked each other with another third country or planned to do so (A. Kim,

2011). For example, Silla helped China wage war against Bohai in the war of 732-735, albeit unsuccessfully, and Bohai had plans for a joint attack with Japan against Silla (A. Kim, 2009).

Clearly, Bohai and Silla exploited every possibility to fight against each other. But in the tenth century, both states had problems: internal problems in the case of Silla, and external problems in the case of Bohai

Silla unsuccessfully fought against internal separatist tendencies from the end of the ninth century. Several new states had been established in the areas in the southern part of the Korean Peninsula (Ki-ho Song 1995, p. 72), which had hostile relations with each other. Finally, one state, Koryŏ, which had been officially established in 918, emerged the winner in this fight. However, this new state was not able to unify all districts of the southern and central parts of the Korean Peninsula until the 930s.

Bohai had another problem – the nomadic tribes of Khitans, which were undertaking foreign expansion at this time. The Khitans wanted to invade China (in this period several powers existed in the territory of the Tang Empire, where fighting for control of all the provinces of the former Tang Empire, and the Khitans

considered the time right for a successful attack), but for this they needed a safe rear. Bohai located in an easterly direction from the Khitans, was a formal vassal of China

Therefore, the Khitans at first attacked Bohai. For over 20 years, both sides fought against each other. Finally, the Khitans destroyed Bohai in 926.

However, the Khitans could not govern the vast areas of the former Bohai state. Moreover, they wanted to concentrate military power against China – this war was more profitable, than fighting against remaining Bohai districts. Consequently, the Khitans established a puppet state – Dongdan (in Chinese – 東丹, in Korean – 동단) in the western part of the Bohai state. The first ruler of this state was a son of the Khitan chief Abaoji. Dongdan provided an opportunity for a civil war between Bohai people, because some Bohai official and nobilities served in this state. Certainly, parts of the Bohai population did not like this situation and immigrated to other regions.

However, Bohai people began to immigrate before the date of the destruction of their state (from 925 – to Koryŏ, in 920 - to Japan). We can consider it as evidence that during the last ten years of existence, the Bohai state unsuccessfully fought against the Khitans and inhabitants of this state searched a safe place for immigration. However, in our opinion, it was possible that Bohai people could have immigrated to areas of Korean Peninsula before the 920s. During this period, several powers fought in Silla and in this situation, Korean historians who wrote the official annals did not pay attention to Bohai groups.

Initially rulers of Koryŏ protected the movement by Bohai people into the Korean Peninsula.

South Korean scholars believe that the basis of this protection was a fact that Koryŏ people considered Bohai and Koryŏ as related countries through marriages made between rulers of the Bohai and Koryŏ dynasties. The first Koryŏ ruler, Wang Gon, referred to this relationship in 942 (He Hyŏng Lee, 1999, p. 143-144).

Nevertheless, we believe that this protection by the Koryŏ king also had a practical basis. Koryŏ had spent considerable resources, material and human for support state system, fighting with other powers in Korean Peninsula. After victory in civil war and acquisition of new territories, Koryŏ needed immigrants, who could live in these areas, who lacked close relations with domestic population, maintained loyalty to Koryŏ and could form the basis for Koryŏ power in different provinces.

Certainly, some local groups in new areas did not consider accept the suzerainty of Koryŏ. This article argues that Wang Gon needed support from Bohai immigrants, who could help him in the establishment of Koryŏ power in conquered provinces. Moreover, after a long civil war Koryŏ king did not like starting a war inside of his country with opposition.

In addition, the first ruler of new the Korean state must have realized that so fast an expansion by the Khitans in the east could cause a problem for Koryŏ. Koryŏ rulers can understand that the Khitan were very successfully fighting against Chinese states and would attack the Korean Peninsula. Therefore, Wang Gon could have considered Bohai immigrants as an important support for the military and human potential of his kingdom.

Moreover, tribes from the east and central parts of modern Russian Far East began to arrive in the areas of the former Bohai state. These groups wanted to expand into new areas and Wang Gon noted this factor.

Therefore, Koryŏ officials constantly supported lines of defense in the northern border of the country. The importance of this activity was confirmed later when Khitan attacked Koryŏ three times (993, 1010-1011 and 1017-1020) (K. A. Wittfogel, F. Chia-cheng, 1949). However, according to South Korean historians, six wars took place between Koryŏ and the Liao Empire during this period (Ju-Seop An, 2003). It is clear that the material and human capability of the Khitans was great, therefore Koryŏ received vassal status under the Liao Empire.

But before this agreement, Koryŏ in many cases had hostile relations with the Liao Empire. In 942 Khitan ambassadors arrived in Koryŏ, but Wang Gon sent them away, on the grounds that Khitan had reneged on a previous agreement with the Bohai state and destroyed him whom Koryŏ was related to through marriage (Sang-sŏn Lim, 1990). However, there is no information about marriages between Bohai and Koryŏ ruler houses in the official chronicle “Koryŏ sa”. The North Korean scholar Park Si Hyong (2000) considered this episode and noted that “marriage” and “relative” is written in the same Chinese characters, so, he guessed in this situation that modern scholars, who studied these relations, at first can misunderstood the character for relations between Bohai and Koryŏ and what Wang Gon meant in this episode.

Many historians from the southern part of the Korean Peninsula support his opinion and believe that Koryŏ protected Bohai migrants because Bohai and

Koryŏ had friendly relations (Eun-guk Kim, 1999, p. 126-128).

For understanding this position by the first ruler of Koryŏ, we must consider political aspects of this period. As noted above, the Khitans had destroyed Bohai and successfully fought against Chinese Empires and demonstrating the great military power of the Liao Empire in this period. Certainly, Koryŏ did not have the same military capability. Therefore, we must consider a reason for the activity by Wang Gon. The first Koryŏ ruler understood that Liao potential was great - Chinese states could not help Koryŏ in the case of Khitan attack. But activity by Wang Gon had demonstrative characteristics for some people. Accordingly we can conclude that it was for the Bohai people who lived in Koryŏ or moving from Liao to Korean peninsula. Wang Gon gave understanding that he would like to support Bohai immigrants, who wanted to immigrate into Koryŏ areas, because he considered them as people from related state. Wang Gon had important reasons for this. The power of the Koryŏ king was not stably, therefore he considered Bohai migrants as a support for his power base against local separatists and aristocratic clans.

On the other hand, it should be noted that few Bohai people arriving in Koryŏ as results of pressure or repression from the Khitans. It can be argued that the process of migration of the Bohai population played a major role and was an important factor - in the internal problems in the territory of the former Bohai kingdom.

As mentioned above, in the western areas of the former Bohai state, the Khitans had established the puppet state - Dongdan, but the eastern part remained independent. In these territories, Bohai powers (military troops, aristocratic clans and other) fought against each other. Moreover, Mohe and other tribes arrived in these regions after 926. Before the destruction of Bohai state, these tribes stayed under Bohai administration or were their vassals, but after 926 they received independence and began to expand in new territories. Later these tribes received one united name - Jurchen.

The above summation is based on the information below.

The South Korean scholar Han Gju-cheol believes that after 926 some leaders from ruler dynasty Da in the central parts of Bohai fought against each other for control of the region.

The son of the last Bohai king (Da Injuan, in Chinese - 大諲譔, in Korean - 대인선) Da Guansian (in Chinese - 大光顯, in Korean 대광현), took part in this

struggle, but could not win and immigrated to Koryŏ (*Parhaesa*, 1996, p. 77).

However, information exists about him as “seja” (세자, crown prince) in medieval Korean annals “Koryŏ sa”, but not as “bohαιwang” (발해왕, Bohai king). Therefore, we must conclude that an individual existed in the independent part of Bohai state, who could be regarded as Bohai ruler. However, this person was not Da Guansian. Of course, it is possible that the Koryŏ people might have recognized the ruler of Dongdan as a Bohai king, while confirming Da Guansian only as crown prince.

There is another important record to consider. Da Guansian arrived with many Bohai people in Koryŏ in 934, after eight years of destruction of the Bohai state. This gives rise to the question – why did Da Guansian arrive in Koryŏ in 934, but not in 926, immediately after the destruction of the Bohai state?

It is reasonable to conclude that Da Guansian stayed in areas of the former Bohai state because he was able to fight for the re-establishment of Bohai. As this struggle took place between Bohai aristocratic clans, we can guess that there had been fighting between Bohai people for power for a long time in the territory of Bohai state.

Koryŏ accepted the Bohai crown prince and his supporters very hospitably. He received property and a high-level rank (fifth rank “Wonbo”); his soldiers received houses and lands (Tyk-kong Yu, 2000, p. 98).

Some Korean scholars believe that after his arrival in Koryŏ, Da Guansian established a new Korean family name in the Korean Peninsula - Thae (태) (Ki-ho Song, 1999, p. 61).

This position was a basis for the views held by South Korean scholars about relations between Bohai and Koryŏ people. Many specialists from the southern part of the Korean Peninsula are thinking that Koryŏ considered Bohai people as related nation (Ki-ho Song, 1995, p. 202-203, 212).

Some Korean scholars note that many leaders from Bohai aristocracy immigrated in Koryŏ. But sometimes the Bohai nobility, who lived in Liao, fled to Koryŏ. For example, in 979 the Bohai suryong Dae Nan Ha (in Chinese 大鸞河, in Korean 대난하) immigrated to Koryŏ from Liao with 300 people. In the spring of 984, the Koryŏ king invited him for an audience. Dae Nan Ha very successfully fought against “barbarian” tribes (probably, Mohe groups, who had arrived to areas of the

former Bohai state) so after this victory he received an invitation for go to hunting with the king who also gave him alcohol and a substantial amount of money (100 thousands)<sup>2</sup>. However, the most famous Bohai immigrant was Gao Mo Han.

The Bohai general Gao<sup>3</sup> Mou Han (in Chinese - 高模翰, in Korean Go Mo Han (고모한), in sources there is another interpretation of his name, such as Gao Sung) served in Dongdan after the destruction of Bohai. He held a high-level position in the administration of the Khitan puppet state, but suddenly fled to Koryŏ.

In Koryŏ Go Mou Han was married with Koryŏ woman (according to the writings of Yu Tyk-kong, his wife was a relative of Koryŏ king). He was described as well built, a good horse-rider and archer. Moreover, he had a good understanding of military strategy and capability. But he liked to drink alcohol and when he had drunk too much, Go Mou Han lacked self-control. On one occasion, he drank too much and committed a criminal act. As a result, the Koryŏ king arrested him and sent him to prison. However, later Wang Gon released Gao Mou Han, because, in the opinion of the South Korean scholar So Pyong Guk, the Koryŏ king needed the strategic abilities of his prisoner. As a result, Gao Mou Han fled to Liao. This Bohai general became a famous commander in the Khitan state, the Liao Emperor trusted him, and he had many victories in battles against Chinese armies. The Liao ruler regarded his activity very positively and often praised him (So 1990: 195-196).

The Bohai people who lived in territories of the Liao Empire, actively participated in the wars between the Khitan and Koryŏ. In 1018 Liao military troops attacked Koryŏ; the leader of one these troops was a Bohai general Go Yong Myong (고영명). But in one battle Khitan army was defeated and this Bohai general has been killed by Koryŏ soldiers. The Liao Emperor received information about this battle and announced that the family of Go Yong Myong would stay under his protection and care (So 1990: 199).

Bohai people were members of many Khitan ambassadorial missions, and they could be Bohai officials, who worked in Liao Empire, as heads of diplomatic groups in Koryŏ. For example, according medieval Korean annals “Koryŏ sa”, five Bohai people from Liao arrived in Koryŏ as heads of Khitan ambassadorial missions.

In 1039, an official from the Eastern capital of Liao, Dae Gyong Jae, arrived as head of mission in Koryŏ, in 1073- the governor of Injou, Dae Thæk, in

1093 – an official from Injou, Dae Kwi In, in 1109 - Dae Young Sin and in 1111 - Dae Jung Song arrived (So 1990: 206).

From the date of the establishment of Koryŏ kingdom (918) until the destruction of this state (1392) the names of only six high-level ranked Bohai officials in the Koryŏ government system, who received high-level ranks appeared in official Koryŏ annals. However, according to official Koryŏ statistical information, more than 100.000 Bohai people immigrated from the Bohai kingdom and Liao Empire to Koryŏ at different dates, and among them large number of military commanders and aristocrats are mentioned (So 1990: 208-209; Giuchŏl Han, 1994).

This number appears large given the Liao army had deported 94.000 local families (near 470.000 inhabitants) from former Bohai areas (A. L. Ivliev, 1988) and the number of Bohai people who remained could not have been as great, as the number of Bohai immigrants who fled to Koryŏ.

However the part of the Bohai population, who had received high-level ranks in Koryŏ, was killed or immigrated to Liao Empire. For example, during the reign of the Koryŏ king Mokjong [목종/ 穆宗, 997-1009 (1010)] two Bohai people, Yu Chung Jong (유충정) and Yu Haeng Gan (유행간), received high-level ranks in official system.

However, in 1010 the Koryŏ king Mokjong was killed by conspirators as result of revolution. Yu Chung Jong immigrated to Liao Empire, but Yu Haeng Gan was killed by conspirators too (So 1990: 208-209).

During the reign of the next Koryŏ king, Hyeonjong (현종/ 顯宗, 1010-1031/1032), only one Bohai official was able to receive a high-level rank - general Dae Do Soo (대도수, 大道秀), who was a descendent of Da Guansian, the last crown prince of Bohai.

Thus, Koryŏ annals contained the names of only six Bohai officials – Da Guansian, Gao Mou Han (immigrated to Liao), Dae Nan Ha (immigrated from Liao), Yu Chung Jong (immigrated to Liao), Yu Haeng Gan (was killed in Koryŏ) and Dae Do Soo. Nevertheless, in Liao many Bohai people took part in administration of the Liao Empire and received high-level ranks.

Therefore, in spite of many Bohai aristocrats and military commanders having fled to Koryŏ, almost all from them and their descendants could not receive good positions in their new motherland.

There are several reasons, why Bohai people did not have an opportunity for positions in the court of the Koryŏ king. First, after the peace agreement between Koryŏ and the Khitans the Korean state did not need support from Bohai immigrants as a part of Koryŏ army. In this situation changes in policy by Koryŏ rulers played a big role. Second, in the court of the Koryŏ king the Korean aristocrat clans and alliances had leading positions. They received support from high-level nobles and provincial powers. Bohai migrants did not have a similar base and could not compete with them. Certainly, Koryŏ aristocrat clans did not provide opportunities for Bohai leaders. It was no coincidence that two famous Bohai leaders (Gao Mou Han and Yu Chung Jong) immigrated to Liao and one (Yu Haeng Gan) was killed. Therefore, Bohai people could not rise to high-level positions and could not compete with local alliances.

In this situation, persons of Yu Chung Jong and Yu Haeng Gan deserved our attention. These Bohai people had the same family names and received high-level ranks during the reign of the one Koryŏ king - Mokjong. Their activity can be viewed as unique attempt of Bohai people for establishment Bohai association in the court of the Koryŏ king. However, Koryŏ aristocrat clans very quickly liquidated this attempt. Yu Haeng Gan became a sole Bohai person, who was killed in the court of the Koryŏ king. Clearly, if his relative, Yu Chung Jong, not fled to Koryŏ, he can be murdered too. After this incident, Bohai people did not try to establish clan or alliance in Koryŏ. Probably, they participated in some activities of Koryŏ aristocrat clans, like Dae Do Soo, but few of them could receive high-level positions.

Third, Koryŏ pursued a semi-isolationist foreign policy. The reason for this was the internal problems of Koryŏ. From a long-term perspective, their social system could not accept a large number of immigrants, in spite of the state needed in them. Clearly, this policy had a large influence on the position of the Bohai people in Koryŏ.

We don't have exact details on discrimination against the Bohai people in Koryŏ. But, as highlighted above, the Bohai population did not have opportunity for political development in Koryŏ. Thus, it is likely that Koryŏ officials limited the activity of the remaining Bohai population.

However, the opposite situation was evident for the Bohai population in Liao. The Bohai people in this Khitan state occupied important positions in government and the number of Bohai high-level officials was great. Certainly, the Bohai population in

Liao and Koryŏ had contacts with each other. Therefore, Bohai people, who lived in the Khitan state, did not immigrate to Koryŏ in large numbers after the peace agreement between these two states. Of course, Bohai officials, who lived in Liao, understood that life in this empire and service in Khitan administration could give them many benefits, more than in the court of the Koryŏ king. The number of Bohai refugees from Liao to Koryŏ from 940 s. was very small. Consequently, we believe that the Bohai people in Liao considered immigration to Koryŏ as a last resort.

Thus, it can be concluded that few Bohai people in the Khitan state considered Koryŏ as a related state. However, this does not mean that the position of the Bohai people in the Liao Empire was comfortable for every Bohai person during the existence of the Khitan state.

As is known, sometimes the Bohai population in Liao rebelled against the Khitans and tried to re-establish their state, and not long after destruction of the Bohai state, this population rebelled in the third and seventh month of 926. In the first case, three administrative centers rebelled, in the second – one (K. A. Wittfogel, Chia – cheng Feng, 1949, p. 404, 406). The Khitan army destroyed both rebellions and executed two Bohai leaders (Dyuk-gong Yu, 2000, p. 96). Probably, after these rebellions the Bohai people, who fought against Khitan army, fled to Koryŏ.

The Khitan administration provided measures for control of the Bohai population, including raising taxes and deporting many suspicious Bohai people to the inner areas of the Liao Empire (*Parhaesa*, 1996, p. 40). In these conditions, Bohai people rebelled in some occasions. The biggest rebellion by the Bohai population was in the period 1029-1030, when the Liao government tried to raise taxes for the Bohai people. During this period, the Khitans were experiencing a severe drought (A. L. Ivliev, 1988), and as a consequence Liao officials established taxes for salt and alcohol in areas, where Bohai people lived. Before this, act taxes for salt and alcohol existed only for Chinese, so the Bohai population considered these taxes very negatively. Moreover, Khitan officials increased trade duties (Dyuk-gong Yu, 2000, p. 65-66).

The Bohai rebellion started in the Eastern Capital of the Liao Empire. This city was the capital of the Khitan puppet state Dongdan and controlled 9 regions and 87 districts. The leader of the rebellion was the Liao general Da Yanglin (in Chinese - 大延琳, in Korean - 대연림), who exploited the discontent of the Bohai

population in the city (*Parhaesa*, 1996, p. 89; Dyuk-gong Yu, 2000, p. 67; K. A. Wittfogel, Chia – cheng Feng, 1949, p. 449). He was from seventh generation of descendants from Da Zuerong, founder and first ruler of Bohai state.

Da Yanglin arrested many Khitan high-level officials and members of the Liao's Imperial clan, killed some Liao leaders. After this, he took control of the Eastern capital and neighboring areas and announced the establishment of a new empire – Sin Liao (in Chinese - 興遼國, in Korean – 흥료국) (Giu-chöl Han, 1994, p. 260-261; *Parhaesa*, 1996, p. 89; Dyuk-gong Yu, 2000, p. 67).

It is clear that Da Yanglin understood the weaknesses in the position of the new state and looked for support from other states. Therefore, he sent ambassador Go Gil Dok (in Chinese - 高吉德, in Korean - 고길덕) in Koryŏ with a request for military support (*Parhaesa*, 1996). Bohai people hoped that Koryŏ could help them, because after the rebellion this kingdom did not support diplomatic relation with the Liao Empire (Dyuk-gong Yu, 2000, p. 66).

Sin Liao needed military support from Koryŏ and during diplomatic talks Da Yanglin suggested Koryŏ occupy Liao lands on the river of Yalu (*Parhaesa*, 1996, p. 90). Koryŏ officers sent some military troops in the territories of the Liao Empire, but Khitan groups successfully fought against them and expelled the Koryŏ army from Liao districts. The Korean scholars are considering this as an attempt by the Koryŏ army to help for Sin Liao state (*Parhaesa*, 1996). However, the Soviet and Russian historians believe that this activity was an attempt by Koryŏ officials to occupy Liao territory (A. P. Okladnikov, 1959; A. P. Okladnikov, A. P. Derevianko, 1973).

Resistance by Khitan military troops against the Koryŏ army gave Koryŏ diplomats considerable influence in negotiations. Therefore, the Koryŏ king had discussions with high-level nobles about war against Liao. Certainly, many Koryŏ officers appreciated the military, economic and human resources of the Khitan state. In spite of the fact that some of the Koryŏ generals wanted to occupy lands near the Yalu river, many Koryŏ nobles headed by the famous Korean writer Che Sa Hwi (in Chinese - 崔士威, in Korean – 최사위) asked the king do not to start a war against Khitans. They recommended to king to take care noting that this activity could be dangerous for state. Thus, the king had

to exercise caution and he was forced to assess the benefits of waging war (*Parhaesa*, 1996, p. 90-91).

As result of this discussion, the Koryŏ government realized that it could not successful fight against the Liao Empire and decided do not take part in the war between the Bohai people and the Khitan state.

According opinions of Korean scholars, in spite of this decision, the Bohai people sent an ambassadorial missions to Koryŏ four times asking for military support.

As mentioned above, Go Gil Dok was head of the first mission from Sin Liao to Koryŏ, but he was also head of the third mission. The second mission arrived in Koryŏ under Dae Yon Jong (in Chinese - 大延定, in Korean - 대연정), who was related to the ruler of Sin Liao. The head of the fourth diplomatic group was Dae Gyong Han (in Chinese - 大慶翰, in Korean – 대경한), governor of Injou city. The last mission by Lee Kwang Rok (in Chinese - 李匡祿, in Korean - 이광륙) from Sin Liao arrived after the destruction of the state of Da Yanglin (Giu-chöl Han, 1994, p. 264; *Parhaesa*, 1996, p. 91). Lee Kwang Rok informed Koryŏ government about the destruction of Sin Liao by the Khitan army. Thereby we can consider the group led by Lee Kwang Rok as refugees, not as members of an ambassadorial mission. In Koryŏ annals, he remained as governor of Injou city. Moreover, Lee Kwang Rok did not come back from Koryŏ (Seun-phil Che, 1989, p. 143).

In the history of contacts between the Bohai population and Koryŏ (see Appendix 1) it is evident that some Bohai people fled to Koryŏ before the destruction of Sin Liao. Probably, many participants of the Bohai rebellion understood the weakness of Sin Liao and immigrated to Koryŏ before the collapse of the last remnants of the Bohai state.

Many Korean scholars believe that the Bohai people fled to Koryŏ because Da Yanglin sent an ambassadorial mission to this kingdom at the fall of Sin Liao and they hoped to gain support from Koryŏ (*Parhaesa*, 1996, p. 91-92). Nevertheless, theory lacks one important piece of evidence: Koryŏ did not give any real support to Da Yanglin. The some Korean scholars consider the activity undertaken by the population of Sin Liao towards Koryŏ (for example, ambassadorial missions, the flight of the people after destruction of their state) as a result of residual understanding between Southern and Northern states<sup>4</sup>. However, other historians from the Korean Peninsula write about

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problems in the argumentation of this theory and considered geographical factors in the immigration of the Bohai people (Parhaesa, 1996, p. 93). Certainly, Koryŏ was closer than China for Bohai people.

The last official activity of the Bohai population was the establishment of their state within the Liao Empire seen in the 1116 rebellion by Gao Yunchan against the Liao Empire (Si-hyŏng Park, 1995; Giu-chŏl Han, 1994), who proclaimed the empire- Great Bohai state.

The Jurchen army destroyed this state. After the destruction of the Great Bohai state small groups of Bohai people, who had taken in the rebellion, fled to Koryŏ from Liao areas at different times.

Despite this, it is still possible to compare the number of Bohai migrants in Koryŏ in the 920s and 930s, after the rebellion by Da Yanglin and after the rebellion by Gao Yunchan and conclude that in comparison with previous migrations of Bohai people a very small number of Bohai people fled to Koryŏ after

the destruction of the Great Bohai state (Appendix 1).

In the period between the tenth and twelfth centuries, nearly 30.000 Bohai families, (more than 100.000 people) immigrated to Koryŏ areas (A. L. Ivliev, 1988). After deportation by the Khitan army, large number of Bohai people, nearly 20.000 Bohai families from areas of the former Bohai state lived in Liao (Gju-cheol Han, 2001, p. 67).

This article has shown how relations between the Bohai people and Koryŏ changed after 926. At first, contacts between them were friendly, but over a long time relations changed for the worse, under the influence of political and economic factors and specific of political developments in the Koryŏ kingdom.

In the tenth century, the Bohai people considered Koryŏ a safe place for immigration, but in the eleventh century the situation changed and the Bohai population viewed the Korean kingdom very differently – no longer as a place for immigration but a hostile state, in which Bohai people lacked support.

### Appendix 1

#### History of contacts between Bohai remained population and Koryŏ.

Data		Events
6 day 9th month 8 year of Thaejo.	925	Bohai general Sin Dok with 500 people fled in Koryŏ.
16 day 9th month 8 year of Thaejo.	925	Bohai officials Dae Hwa Gyun, Dae Gyun Go, Dae Wong Gyun, Dae Bok Mo, Dae Sim Lee with 100 households immigrated to Koryŏ.
29 day 12th month 8 year of Thaejo.	925	Bohai officials Mo Doo Gan and Park O with 1000 households immigrated to Koryŏ.
3 day 3th month 10 years of Thaejo.	927	The head of Department of Social Work O Hying with 50 Bohai people (according other records – 5000 people) fled to Koryŏ.
3th month 10 year Thaejo.	927	After O Hying Bohai monk Chae Un (Dae Ying) with 60 Bohai people fled to Koryŏ.
10 year of Thaejo.	927	Bohai official Gong Boo Gyong immigrated to Koryŏ.
2 day 3th month 11 year of Thaejo.	928	Bohai official Kim Sin with 60 Bohai family (according other records- 60 people) fled to Koryŏ (according another information – in Silla).
8 day 7th month 11 year of Thaejo.	928	Bohai official Dae Yu Bom with «people» (exact number unknown) immigrated to Koryŏ.
25 day 9th month 11 year of Thaejo.	928	Bohai official Yin Gie Jon and «other» arrived from Bohai areas to Koryŏ.
24 day 6th month 12 year of Thaejo.	929	Bohai official Hong Gyong and «other» in 20 ships with people and property fled to Koryŏ.
10 day 9th month of 12 year Thaejo.	929	Bohai official Jong Gyin with more than 300 people arrived by land in Koryŏ.
	The second	Bohai general Gao Mou Han fled from Dongdan to Koryŏ.

	part of 920 s.	
	The beginning 930 s.	Bohai general Gao Mou Han immigrated from Koryŏ to Liao.
17 year of Thaejo.	934	Bohai crown prince Da Guainsian immigrated with some thousands people (or households) fled to Koryŏ. Koryŏ king gave him family name Wang Ji and 4th rank Wonbo, registered his name in lists of king clan. He became the governor of Baijou (Paekju). His officials received ranks, Bohai soldiers received lands and houses.
12th month 17 year of Thaejo.	934	Bohai official and ambassador Jing Lim with 161 Bohai people fled to Koryŏ.
21 year of Thaejo.	938	Bohai official Park Sying with 3000 households arrived in Koryŏ.
4 year of Kyongjon.	979	Bohai surying Dae Nan Ha with 300 warriors fled to Koryŏ.
1 year of Hyeonjong .	1010	Bohai official Yu Chung Jong, who had high rank in Koryŏ, fled to Liao.
8 year of Hyeonjong	1018	Khitan military troops attacked Koryŏ. The one from Khitan commanders was famous Bohai general Go Yong Myong. However, in one battle, Khitan army was defeated and this Bohai general has been killed by Koryŏ soldiers. The Liao Emperor received information about this battle and announced that family of Go Yong Myong will be stay under his protectorate and care
13 day 1 month 20 year of Hyeonjong.	1029	Ambassador Go Gil Dok from Sin Liao arrived in Koryŏ. During discussion, Da Yanglin suggested Koryŏ to occupied Liao lands in the river of Yalu.
20 year of Hyeonjong.	1029	Koryŏ officers sent some military troops with support by Bohai people to territories of Liao Empire, but Khitan groups successfully fought against them and expelled Koryŏ army from Liao districts. Koryŏ government understood that he cannot successfully fight against Liao Empire and made decision do not take part in war between Bohai people and Khitan state.
13 day 5th month 20 year of Hyeonjong.	1029	Ambassador Dae Yon Jong from Sin Liao arrived to Koryŏ.
1st month 21 year of Hyeonjong.	1030	Ambassador Go Gil Dok from Sin Liao arrived to Koryŏ.
14 day 7th month 21 year of Hyeonjong.	1030	Ambassador Dae Gyong Han, governor of Injou, from Sin Liao arrived to Koryŏ.
6 day 9 month 21 year of Hyeonjong.	1030	Ambassador Lee Kwang Rok, governor of Injou, from Sin Liao arrived to Koryŏ.
13 day 5th month 21 year of Hyeonjong.	1030	6 Bohai people fled to Koryŏ.
10th month 21 year of Hyeonjong.	1030	500 Bohai people fled to Koryŏ.
3rd month 21 year of Hyeonjong.	1030	40 Bohai people fled to Koryŏ.
22 day 7th month 21 year of Hyeonjong.	1030	14 Bohai people fled to Koryŏ.

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24 day 7th month 21 year of Hyeonjong.	1030	Bohai people (exact number unknown) fled to Koryŏ.
26 day 1st month 2 year of Tokjong.	1032	29 Bohai people fled to Koryŏ.
7 day 2nd month 2 year of Tokjong.	1032	17 Bohai people fled to Koryŏ.
29 day 5th month 2 year of Tokjong.	1032	15 Bohai people fled to Koryŏ.
12 day 6th month 2 year of Tokjong.	1032	12 Bohai people fled to Koryŏ.
16 day 6th month 2 year of Tokjong.	1032	17 Bohai people fled to Koryŏ.
27 day 7th month 2 year of Tokjong.	1032	20 Bohai people fled to Koryŏ.
8 day 10th month 2 years of Tokjong.	1032	10 Bohai people fled to Koryŏ.
Beginning 4ur month 3 year of Tokjong.	1033	18 Bohai people fled to Koryŏ.
23 day 4 month 3 year of Tokjong.	1033	3 Bohai people fled to Koryŏ.
29 day 5th month 3year of Tokjong.	1033	19 Bohai people fled to Koryŏ.
8 day 6th month 3 year of Tokjong.	1033	7 Bohai people fled to Koryŏ.
21day 12ve month 3 year of Tokjong.	1033	11 Bohai people fled to Koryŏ. They received land in south lands of Koryŏ.
6 year of Joenjong.	1039	Official from Eastern Capital of Liao, Bohai aristocrat Dae Gyong Je arrived in Koryŏ as Liao ambassador.
28 year of Munjong.	1073	Governor of Injou, Bohai aristocrat Dae Thaek, arrived in Koryŏ as Liao ambassador.
10 year of Seonjong.	1093	Liao official from Injou, Bohai men Dae Kwi In, arrived in Koryŏ as Liao ambassador.
5 year of Sukjong.	1109	Bohai men Dae Yong Sin arrived in Koryŏ as Liao ambassador.
5 year of Yejong.	1111	Bohai men Dae Jung Son arrived in Koryŏ as Liao ambassador.
10 year of Yejong.	1116	The ruler of Great Bohai state Gao Yunchan sent ambassador to Koryŏ. Koryŏ sent mision ot Great Bohai state. Koryŏ official Jong Ri-ang-chik has been arrested and sent to prison after arrival from Eastern Capital Liao (capital of Great Bohai state) in Koryŏ. He gave presents and false documents from Koryŏ to Gao Yunchan. According these documents, Koryŏ recognized Great Bohai state as suzerain. Gao Yunchan was glad and sent to Koryŏ rich gfits with mission by Jong Ri-ang-chik.
	1116	33 Bohai people fled in Koryŏ.
	1116	52 Bohai people fled in Koryŏ.
	1116	155 Bohai people fled in Koryŏ.
	1116	15 Bohai people fled in Koryŏ.
	1116	44 Bohai people fled in Koryŏ.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>In the Soviet Union, scholars used the Chinese style for identification of names in the Bohai (Parhae) state. Therefore, this article uses Chinese names for Bohai rulers. Russian specialists in Korean studies began to use the name “Parhae” only from the 2000s.

<sup>2</sup> I considered in detail situation with Bohai suryongs and Dae Nan Ha in article “The problem of Bohai suryongs”, *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. 69 (1), 2016. p. 27-35.

<sup>3</sup> Gao an was aristocratic family in Bohai. It had second place in the state, after, of course, king dynasty Da.

<sup>4</sup> The Korean historiography tends to present the period of Silla–Bohai coexistence in the Korean Peninsula as a “period of South and North States” in Korean history.

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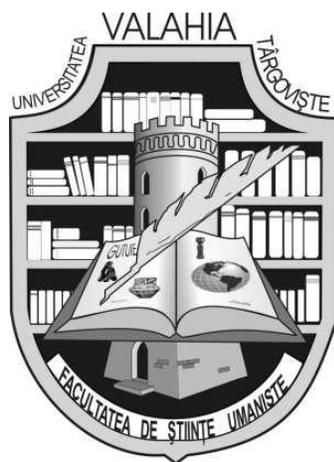
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# ANNALES



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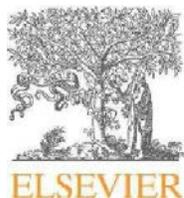
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## Prince Negru Vodă, a Mediaeval Figure as Mirrored by the Romanian Enlightenment and Romanticism

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**Abstract:** Negru Vodă remains one of the most enigmatic figures of Romanian history. It is certainly the reason that he has been the focus of historical investigations ever since the dawn of modernity. In the absence of documents that should guide one through the mists of those times, the Romanian Enlightenment and Romanticism built a false perception of the beginnings of the first Romanian mediaeval state. Negru Vodă is thus seen as being a member of the Basarab family or as the voivode who raised most of the urban centres in Wallachia. This paper aims to identify the main fallacies of the representatives of this historiography and emphasise such representatives as Gheorghe Șincai and Nicolae Bălcescu, who understood that, in the absence of sources, more moderation is required.

**Key-words:** voivode, chronicle, legend, historiography, Enlightenment, Romanticism.

Negru Vodă remains one of the figures that have received much attention from Romanian historians. Modern historiography, of the late 18<sup>th</sup> century and the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, which realized the 1848 Revolution, has not been properly dealt with, perhaps unjustly, in the specialized literature.

The analysis of studies that appeared at that historic moment has a special value due to the representatives of the Transylvanian School and of the Romantic age. If the Romanian Enlightenment provided valuable insight into the Romanian people's way of being and origins, Romanticism built mediaeval heroes such as Mircea the Elder, Stephen the Great or Michael the Brave (I. Lungu, 1978; P. Cornea, 1972).

In this array of personalities, Negru Vodă occupies a secondary position, yet he excited the historians' imagination due mainly to the fact that, in his case, the scarcity of documents led to a combination of written and oral information, legends, and testimonies of people from various places. This approach was to be continued and observed in representatives of the Romanian critical school, such as Bogdan Petriceicu Hașdeu or A. D. Xenopol, until the

end of the modern age (B. P. Hașdeu, 1875; A. D. Xenopol, 1925).

At the moment, we can say that extensive research about Negru Vodă has been conducted correlating information from foreign sources and carrying out a thorough analysis based on late chronicles which mention him. Starting from this assumption, we deem it necessary to make a short presentation of the figure of Prince Negru Vodă in order to establish the general framework of the exposition and identify the stage of investigations, highly changed as compared to the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The enigmatic voivode has constantly aroused high historiographical interest, for scholars have considered his contribution to the emergence of the first Romanian mediaeval state as remarkable, despite the fact that he was explicitly mentioned, for the first time, in an 18<sup>th</sup>-century Wallachian chronicle, *Letopisețul Cantacuzinesc*\*. Starting from the legend inserted here, it was established that Negru Vodă ruled over Amlaș and Făgăraș, located inside the Carpathian arch. However, in 1290, the Transylvanian voivode descended as far as the waters of the Dâmbovița and

went on to found the city of Câmpulung. From here, he “dismounted” by the Argeș, where he built a large city with princely houses and stone courtyards. The forces that accompanied Negru Vodă then advanced towards the Danube, at which point the Basarabs allegedly bowed to the new master\*.

Historically, the legend introduces us to two political formations mentioned several decades before, in 1247, in a Hungarian document: the Diploma of the Joannites\*\*.

One was in present-day Oltenia and, at that particular moment, was under the rule of voivode Litovoi, and the other, on the left bank of the Olt River, in Wallachia, was governed by voivode Seneslau.

In conclusion, based on the interpretation provided by the chronicle, one might assume that Negru Vodă took possession of the former territory led by Seneslau and extended his authority over that controlled by Litovoi. Two political realities came thus to confront and their fusion would ultimately result in the establishment of Wallachia. This development, nevertheless, cannot, even to this day, be proven by documents. There are many documents about Transylvanian voivodes dated to the last quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, but none of them contains the slightest allusion to an action, a possible establishment or “dismounting” from over the mountains\*\*\*.

Of the extremely extensive bibliography assigned to this topic, at the onset of contemporaneity, we shall refer only to a few works gathering points of view on the origin and evolution, which are interesting not so much through the force of demonstration, but also through their originality. It should be mentioned that in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the credibility of Negru Vodă as a real figure was almost inexistent. Constantin Kogălniceanu (1908), in his *Cercetări critice cu privire la istoria românilor* (1908), completely dismissed the existence of Negru Vodă and considered Basarab I, who appeared in documents as the first ruler of Wallachia, as the only founder. Another important example is the study of Ion C. Filitti, *Despre Negru-Vodă* (1924), where the author would build an entire theory according to which Negru-Vodă was a late creation of Prince Matei Basarab and was introduced in chancellery documents when the princely church of Câmpulung was restored. In *Radu Negru Basarabă*, published in Bucharest in 1925, Nicolae Argeș is among the first historians who advanced the hypothesis that the father of Basarab I, Thocomerius, mentioned in a document issued by the

Hungarian chancellery, was in fact Negru Vodă, as he ascended to the throne in 1290. Unfortunately, he supported his claims with mere personal considerations.

All these contributions were to pave the way for the great studies written, in the interwar period, by historians like Nicolae Iorga (1937) or Gheorghe I. Brătianu (1940) and continued, in the latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, by the theories of such researchers as Ștefan Ștefănescu (1970), Nicolae Stoicescu (1980) or Șerban Papacostea (1988).

Therefore, the evolution of historiography in the 20<sup>th</sup> century helped complete this puzzle, which, nevertheless, was still missing some pieces.

In the pre-modern period, the perception about Negru Vodă was significantly different as a direct consequence of the lack of documents and of the merger of written and oral information, which thus reached the Age of the Enlightenment in a skewed form.

The work of Samuil Micu, *Scurtă cunoștință a istoriei românilor*, published at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, presents a distorted picture of Negru Vodă or Radu Negru, as he is referred to in the study. We are told that before Radu Negru, the Romanians had their own ruler. It was only in 1290 that Negru Vodă, a prince from the Olt, descended by the waters of the Dâmbovița (S. Micu, 1963).

From this point, Samuil Micu takes the legend from *Letopisețul Cantacuzinesc*, a source he certainly had at hand. Nevertheless, the evolution described seems to be rather a figment of the author’s imagination or maybe the result of orally gathered information. According to his story, Radu Negru made an alliance with Prince Basarab under the conditions imposed by the voivode beyond the mountains. In Samuil Micu’s opinion, he was an intercessor of Hungary and that is why Basarab accepted to name the country Ungro-Wallachia. The Transylvanian School representative seems certain of the number of years he ruled, 24, thus overshadowing, chronologically, even the first voivode of Wallachia, Basarab I (Samuil Micu, 1963). The voivodal succession presented by Samuil Micu indubitably points to the mixture of data available to the Transylvanian scholar. Thus, Negru Vodă was succeeded to the throne of Wallachia by Ioan Mihail and, 18 years later, by Alexandru Basarab, who was to fight the Hungarians led by King Charles.

One therefore notes some lacunae in the analysis of the period, for he claims there was an alliance

between Negru Vodă and Basarab I, the unknown Ioan Mihail was interposed as ruler and the Hungarian campaign in Wallachia was erroneously placed in time (the autumn of 1330) during the reign of Alexandru, the son of Basarab I (Samuil Micu, 1963).

Not all representatives of the Romanian Enlightenment approach this controversial period. In his extensive work *Hronicul românilor*, Gheorghe Șincai prefers to avoid the moment of the emergence of Negru Vodă, perhaps due to the lack of clarifying documents, and goes straight to Basarab I and his fight against Charles of Anjou's Hungary (Gh. Șincai, 1969).

One of the early 19<sup>th</sup>-century essential works dealing with these moments is Dionisie Fotino's *Istoria Daciei* ('History of Old Dacia'), published in Vienna in 1818. He speaks about the destruction of these territories by barbarians and the need to organize them. It is in such circumstances that Negru Vodă emerged in Wallachia and Dragoș, in Moldavia (D. Fotino, 1859). During the great Mongol invasion, the former crossed the mountains and came to an agreement with King Béla IV of Hungary that he should be allowed to go to the lowlands of Wallachia, although entry to the country had been forbidden to him, for there were other rulers there (D. Fotino, 2008). Later, he would extend his domination from the Carpathians as far as the Danube and from the Olt to the Siret river (D. Fotino, 1859), looking after the country and providing a religious organization.

According to Dionisie Fotino (2008), the Basarab family had controlled the right side of the Olt, Severin, since ancient times, since the Romans' withdrawal from Dacia under Emperor Aurelian, when the centre of their power was the city of Bassarovița. The family thus split in two branches: one, which the later Bans of Craiova would descend from, arrived in Moesia and the other was sent to Transylvania and gave rise to the voivodes of Făgăraș. D. Fotino therefore suggests the existence of only one family, reunited by the action of their representative, Radu Negru, which is why foreign chronicles also refer to him as Basarab.

In the modern age, the interest in Negru Vodă was also related to the Romanian magazine from Buda, *Biblioteca românească*, supervised by Zaharia Carcalechi, in which the character had been noticed following the lithograph published by Constantic Lecca, a painter who was not afraid to build short historical monographs in the pages of the periodical. From such small initiatives, Negru Vodă soon found his place in more extensive projects, such as the work

of Damaschin Bojincă, *Anticele românilor* (D. Bojincă, 1978), which mentions but unfortunately fails to clearly characterize him. The legendary figure of the 13<sup>th</sup> century is also mentioned in Aaron Florian's book *Idee repede de istoria Prințipatelor Țării Românești* (A. Florian, 1835).

The great politician Mihail Kogălniceanu, the ideologist of the 1848 Revolution, carries out the first deep analysis of the enigmatic character in the modern age. In his monumental work *Histoire de la Valachie, de la Moldavie, et des Vlaques transdanubiens*, published in Berlin in 1837, Mihail Kogălniceanu draws heavily upon Dionisie Fotino's *Istoria Daciei* and Johann Cristian von Engel's *Geschichte der Moldau und Walachey*, published in 1804. Perhaps that is why the conclusions he reaches cannot yet build a new vision of the period.

In the work of the famous revolutionary, Radu Negru is a member of the Basarab family and the first voivode of Wallachia. He crossed the mountains from Făgăraș and found a territory ravaged by Mongol hordes, with the exception of the Banate of Severin, where he settled, in a first stage, but he later moved his see to Argeș (M. Kogălniceanu, 1946). Here he built a castle and a church, in which apparently there was a portrait of him. The author is convinced that Negru Vodă came in 1241, as he was inspired by Fotino's work, from which he also takes other erroneous data, according to which the legendary voivode founded the cities of Pitești, Târgoviște and Bucharest (M. Kogălniceanu, 1946).

Another thorough and applied analysis belongs to a cultural symbol of the modern age: Ion Heliade Rădulescu. The outstanding representative of the 1848 generation is the first to wonder about the date on which the voivode crossed over the Carpathians and the first to mention the existence of a controversy among historians regarding the exact moment of this event. The discord lies in the existence of an inscription from the Câmpulung church, traditionally attributed to Negru Vodă, which specifies the year 1215. The 75-year gap between the two dates, that on the inscription (1215) and that from chronicles (1290), makes the author wonder whether the father Negru Vodă might have built this place (I. Heliade Rădulescu, 1869). Heliade Rădulescu is aware that his action should be placed after the big event that marked this part of Europe in the 13<sup>th</sup> century: the great Tatar invasion.

Unfortunately, the author relies on his own intuition as well, including information that has no

historical logic. Of the most serious fallacies, let us mention the hypothesis regarding the 1244 arrival of Negru Vodă in Câmpulung, where he proclaimed himself prince, and the sending of the two brothers, who do not exist in documents: Mihai, who went to Severin in order to take over the Banate of Oltenia, and Dragoș, as the duke of Maramureș, who laid the foundations of Moldavia, the second Romanian state (I. Heliade Rădulescu, 1869). This assumption should be judged in the spirit of the age, as the author was aiming at finding a common genealogy of the princes of Wallachia and Moldavia against the background of the struggle for national unity of the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. Inspired by Mihail Kogălniceanu's work, he also takes over Dionisie Fotino's previous theory according to which the legendary figure set up the most important mediaeval centres of Wallachia, Târgoviște, Bucharest or Pitești, adding to these the citadel of Giurgiu (I. Heliade Rădulescu, 1869), which we now know, based on archaeological sources and investigations, was founded by Mircea the Elder.

The man who succeeded in picturing the mediaeval voivodes as genuine heroes, making them known to the public through his speeches and writings, was Nicolae Bălcescu. However, he relates the analysis of Negru Vodă to sources, as a true historian. His conclusions are that, as regards Wallachia, the oldest chronicles date only from the 17<sup>th</sup> century and therefore should be viewed with some reluctance. In *Cuvânt preliminar despre izvoarele istoriei românilor*, he mentions several chronicles of Wallachia, noting that all start from Negru Vodă and the year 1290 (N. Bălcescu, 1973). Nicolae Bălcescu is at the same time aware of the lack of erudition of Wallachian chroniclers, whom he divides into two schools: one closer to the religious writings that are difficult to read and the other, more readable, but full of naiveté (N. Bălcescu, 1973). Although Bălcescu does not say it bluntly, this may be the reason he avoids to make a full description of the legendary voivode.

His works suggest that Negru Vodă was connected to the emergence of that state, but, unlike other authors, he refuses to detail the moment. For example, in one of his most significant works, *Puterea armată și arta militară de la întemeierea Principatului Valahiei până acum*, he states that it is quite likely that the beginnings of the Wallachian army may have been related to Negru Vodă (N. Bălcescu, 1872). Nicolae Bălcescu thus questioned the very contribution of Negru Vodă to the establishment of the state, which

seemed to be an unyielding fact at the time. His indecisiveness may be even contrasted with a figure that had been more thoroughly investigated in his study, namely Mircea the Elder. To Nicolae Bălcescu, voivode Mircea is a real character, whereas Negru Vodă seems to be lost in the mists of time.

In conclusion, this brief analysis points out the very different perception about Negru Vodă and the cautiousness of some historians, such as Nicolae Bălcescu, who delicately refrained from supporting risky opinions. The absence of documents seems to be the main reason in issuing several hypotheses, such as that of Negru Vodă's belonging to the Basarab family, his passage south of the Carpathians during the great Mongol invasion of 1241 or his contribution to the foundation of such cities as Târgoviște or Bucharest.

It is certain that the Romanian Age of Enlightenment brought realism to historical deeds and figures, whereas the Romantic current tried to glorify the past, going beyond the historical truth on numerous occasions. However, while this is a well-defined fact with such voivodes as Mircea the Elder, John Hunyadi, Stephen the Great or Michael the Brave, Negru Vodă remains a historiographical exception in terms of the two currents of thought.

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# ANNALES



## D'UNIVERSITÉ VALAHIA TÂRGOVIȘTE

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## Archaeological Finds at the “St. Vineri” Church from the Princely Court of Târgoviște. The Repertory of Personal Ornaments

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**Abstract.** Since the dawn of its existence, the “St. Vineri” Church, located on the premises of the Princely Court of Târgoviște, has been overshadowed by the better-known church of the Court, the Princely Chapel. In the absence of epigraphic or documentary evidence that should attest its age, founder or purpose, the archaeological investigations carried out in 2018 are a first step in solving the issues regarding the beginnings of this place of worship. The extremely rich and varied funerary inventory presented, by categories of items, in this study partly clarifies the role this church played in a historical period of the utmost importance for the city of Târgoviște, namely the consolidation of the capital status of Wallachia. The adornment items, attributed to the 15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries, are represented by earrings, veil pins, clothing accessories (buttons, hooks), rings (seal or stone, with floral/vegetal/geometric/cruciform representations or wedding band type of rings), made particularly of gold-plated silver and silver.

**Key-words:** Târgoviște, Princely Court, “St. Vineri” Church, archaeological research, personal ornaments, repertory, seal inscription.

The premises of the Princely Court of Târgoviște, the residence of Wallachian princes for almost three hundred years (the 15<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries), enclosed, alongside of civilian architectural components, three churches built in the 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries (N. Constantinescu *et al.*, 2009; Gh. I. Cantacuzino, 1969). These are the **Chapel-Church**, today in ruins, with an imposing bell tower known as the Chindia Tower, the **Great Princely Church** built, according to old chronicles, in 1583-1584, founded by Prince Petru Cercel, and the **Sfânta Vineri Church**, the subject of this study, dedicated to Saint Paraskeva, a replica of the princely chapel, built outside the fortified precincts of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, but in its immediate vicinity. With a seemingly valueless appearance, with an architecture deformed by the additions suffered and no inscription that should reveal its identity, the “Sfânta Vineri” Church continues to arouse interest in the area of the

research, in the hope of attributing some kind of age certificate (Fig. 1).

Following the analysis of the original architecture of the monument, the church has been dated to the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century, based on elements and decorations specific to that period, such as the triconic plan, the outer recesses or enamelled ceramic ornaments (N. Constantinescu, Cr. Moisescu, 1965).

Since its establishment until the present day, the church has undergone many transformations which have altered its aspect over time. We hope that the identification of these changes in documentary and epigraphic sources and particularly their correlation with archaeological data resulting from excavation campaigns will help formulate pertinent conclusions about the evolution of a mediaeval monument of indubitable historical value.

To begin with, the discussion on the period of

construction of the church within the Princely Court of Târgoviște implies the obligation to present, even briefly, the stages of restorations and consolidations the edifice has gone through over time.

An inscription in Slavonic dated 13 July 1517, found in 1940 on the southern wall of the church, is the only epigraphic source locating the edifice in time: “*Rugăciunea robului lui Dumnezeu jupân Manea – Cliucer și a jupânesei Vlădae. Veșnica lor pomenire. la anul 7025, luna iulie 13 zile*” (V. Brătulescu, 1940, p. 5, Fig. 1), (which roughly translates as ‘The prayer of

God’s servant master Manea Clucer and mistress Vlădae. Their eternal remembrance, the year 7025, the 13<sup>th</sup> day of the month of July’). This mention is regarded with some reservations because it has been considered that the text indicates neither the founder nor the date of the construction but rather some transformations the church suffered in that period. Moreover, there are some opinions in historiography according to which this portal might not belong to the place under discussion, but to another church, located nearby (R. Gioglovan, 1974).

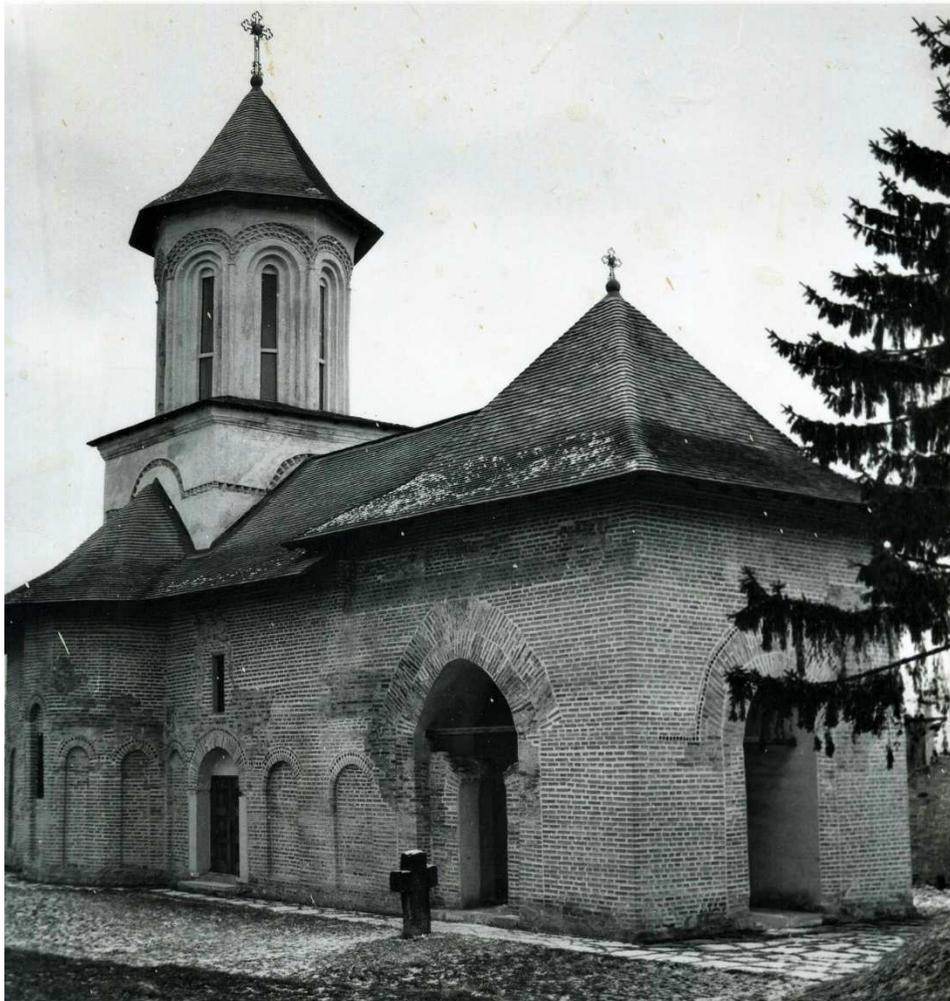


Fig. 1 – St. Vineri Church (St. Paraschiva Church) located near the walls of Princely Court of Târgoviște; nowadays image.

Indeed, the existence of three churches in the former Country Seat - Târgoviște, dedicated to “*Sfânta Vineri*” or “*Sfânta Parascheva*” has given rise to some confusions of identification and location: *Sfânta Vineri “veche sau de la vale”* (‘the old Saint Friday or from

*the valley*’), *Sfânta Vineri “a coconilor”* (‘Saint Friday of the masters’). Both were demolished in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, except the third one, *Sfânta Vineri “nouă sau de sus”* (‘the new or upper Saint Friday’) (R. Gioglovan, 1974, p. 98), which we shall analyse in

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this study. The first documentary information emerged in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, but we do not know which of the

three Saint Vineri or Saint Paraskeva churches it refers to\*.



1



2



3

Fig. 2 - St. Vineri Church: 1. Entrances into the Princely Court, located on the south side of the enclosure, near the church. Image surprised by photographer Carol Popp de Szathmari in 1868; 2. Perspective on the church from the Princely Gardens. Sketch in pencil made by the graphic artist Carol Isler in 1860; 3. The church in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

After the restoration undertaken at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, attributed to the boyar Manea Perșanu and his wife Vlădaia, notable support was provided by Lady Bălașa, the wife of Prince Constantin Șerban of Wallachia (1654-1658), who was to look after the place and have a house bearing her name built nearby. The southern façade preserves the 1656 inscription with reference to the destination of the civil construction: “*ca să fie de odihnă creștinilor cari cad în nevoie*” (N. Iorga, 1905, p. 112; R. Gioglovan, M. Oproiu, 1975, p.151) (i.e. ‘a place of rest for Christians in need’).

A renovation of the church is recorded in 1731-1732, when the Prothesis was redone and repainted by the boyar Șerban Fusea. This information can be found in an inscription mentioning this intervention (N. Iorga, 1905).

The 1802 earthquake brought the place of worship to the attention of Dionisie Lupu, the hegumen of the Dealu Monastery, whose metochion was the “Sfânta Vineri” church (N. Iorga, 1908). It is assumed that the intervention consisted in taking down the walls separating the narthex from the porch and the wall between the narthex and the nave (Gh. I. Cantacuzino, 1969).

The deteriorated state of the building drew the attention of the Târgoviște boyar Nicolae Brătescu, who would pay the expenses for the 1850-1852 repairs. It was the beginning of transformations the edifice was to undergo: it was plastered inside and outside, a second porch and a wooden bell tower were added. Later, the Church yard was separated from the main premises by the erection of a wall and, about 10 m south-east of the Brâncovenesc Gate, another entrance opened. The photographer Carol Popp Szathmari\*\* and the illustrator and painter Carol Isler would record the new look of the Sfânta Vineri Church in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century\*\*\* (Fig. 2).

The largest earthquake in contemporary Romania, that of 1940, affected the Princely Court monuments and the effects of the cataclysm were also felt by the Sfânta Vineri Church. During the rehabilitation of the church roof, the unaesthetic and useless wooden tower on the narthex was done away with, which in fact was also “*a wish of the late professor N. Iorga*”\*\*\*\*.

One of the objectives included in the restoration programme of the Directorate of Historical Monuments had been, for a long time, the Sfânta Vineri Church of Târgoviște. The 1967-1977 restoration carried out under the supervision of the architect Rodica

Mănciulescu sought to remove all additions and bring the edifice, as much as possible, to its original form (Șt. Balș, R. Mănciulescu, 1971). The works led to the discovery and enhancement of the oldest open porch in the Wallachian architecture, whose massiveness was also due to its bell tower function. The tower, which disappeared at an unknown date, was not rebuilt during the restoration because of insufficient data. The current aspect is the result of the restructuring of that period\*\*\*\*\*.

In solving the issues related to the beginnings of the church, the difficulties may be overcome, as far as possible, only by means of archaeological investigations. Walking along this route, the restoration project of the princely court monuments initiated in 1967 also allowed the archaeological research of the Sfânta Vineri Church. Under the coordination of the archaeologist Gheorghe Cantacuzino, the excavations were carried out in two stages, in October 1967, outside the church, and in February 1968, inside. (Gh. I. Cantacuzino, 1969; M. Georgescu, 1973).

The second research started in mid-2018 and was also stimulated by a project of consolidation and enhancement of the Princely Court monuments in Târgoviște. The research team consisted of Gheorghe Olteanu (“Princely Court” National Museum Complex, Târgoviște) –scientific manager, Minodora Cârciumaru (“Princely Court” National Museum Complex, Târgoviște), Florin Gabriel Petrică (“Princely Court” National Museum Complex, Târgoviște), Gheorghe I. Cantacuzino (National History Museum, Bucharest), Adrian Ioniță (“Vasile Pârvan” Institute of Archaeology, Bucharest). On this occasion, seven sections were dealt with, six outside and one inside, as follows: on the northern side of the church S I a (2×1.5 m), S I b (3.5×4 m), S II (1.5×3 m) and S VI (3×3.3 m), on the southern side, S III (1.5×4 m), S IV (1.5×1.2 m), S V (1.5×8 m), at the junction between the narthex and the porch, and inside, in the narthex, S VII (north and south). The research results were presented in March 2019 at the *Annual Session of Research Reports* of “Vasile Pârvan” Institute of Archaeology, Bucharest, and in November 2018 at the *Annual Session of Archaeological Reports* of the National Museum of Transylvanian History, Cluj-Napoca.

The total number of archaeological material exceeds 100 items: earrings (8 samples); pins for fixing or decorating the head cover – 25 samples, ornamental stones – 21; sequins (over 600); rings, 24 items, of which four are seal rings, eight have various

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floral/vegetal/geometric/cruciform elements, ten have stones and two are wedding band type of rings; clothing clasps (31 buttons and 24 hooks), coins – 29, textile material – cap, cloth fragments, various other objects. The data provided by the research, correlated with the analysis of the funerary inventory discovered, attest the functionality of the graveyard as early as the 15<sup>th</sup> century, which prompts us to implicitly acknowledge the existence of the Church at that time. In fact, the discovery of seal rings with such mentions as *Mihailogofet, Paraskeva, Necula, Jupanina Vlădaie*, or the existence of the inscription on the built-in frame on the southern side of the church might point to a boyar founder.

In this incipient stage of the research, we intend to compile a repertory of personal ornaments whose

presentation aims to include them in the scientific circuit. The following basic groups, determined by the type of finds, on which we shall make brief considerations and analogies, have been highlighted:

I. head ornaments and head cover ornaments (earrings, pins for fixing and decorating, various ornamental items such as wreaths) (Fig. 3, Fig. 4);

II. clothing accessories (buttons, hooks) (Fig. 5);

III. hand ornaments (seal or stone rings, rings with various vegetal, floral, geometric, cruciform motifs, band rings) (Fig. 6, Fig. 7, Fig. 8).

I. Within the category of head ornaments, earrings are those which, through their variety, their continuous use, hold a special place. The total number is eight, of which three are pairs. The material used is gold, gold-plated silver, silver and copper.



Fig. 3 –Personal Ornaments: 1. Earrings with a bead; 2. Ornate earrings 3. Globular earrings; 4. Earrings with single link; 5. Earrings with stones (scale 1 cm).

Among the types found, the rosette earrings with semiprecious stones, green on one face and dark-red on the other, draw attention (Fig. 3/5). The existence of a textile string fastened to one of the earrings prompts us to also consider the possibility of this piece being used as part of a set of ornaments. They seem to be similar to the earrings found at Tișău, Buzău County, dated to the 16<sup>th</sup> century (V. Drăghiceanu, 1931, a, fig. 24, fig. 36; M. Popescu, 1970, cat. 25) or those from Suslănești, Argeș County (D. V. Rosetti, 1972, Planșa

5/1; Planșa 6/6) and treated in the specialised literature as *kolt* or *kolt* temple rings (S. Reabțeva, 2014, Fig. 25/4-5).

There are also two singular ornaments, one made of silver with a bead (Fig. 3/1) and another one made of copper (Fig. 3/4). Usually, the shanks of bead rings are smooth, with cut ends and the eyelet (with a hook and a loop) is mounted right next to the bead. As regards this type as well as the copper ornament, where most of the shank is wrapped in a thin wire of the same

material, one can note similarities with those found at Enisala, Păcuiul lui Soare, Dridu or Orlea (L. Dumitriu, 2001, Taf. 16-1, Taf. 81, Taf. 90, Taf. 97). Ornaments with smooth beads dated to the 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries are also encountered in Suceava (P. V. Batariuc, 1993) or in the territory of Bulgaria, dated to the 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries (S. Reabțeva, 2014, Fig. 32, Fig. 36/9). Analogy for our globular earrings we found in those discovered at Suslânești (Argeș County) (D. V. Rosetti, 1972, Planșa 5/1; Planșa 6/8).

A characteristic element of the Romanian court garment in the 15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries, known in detail from iconographic sources, was the head covering, which for married women, ladies or noble women obligatorily included a cloth veil (*maramă*) fastened to the cap with pins with laboured ends (C. Nicolescu, 1970). Regardless of their type, they complemented the head decoration (Fig. 4). Of various sizes, the pins comprise a stem sharpened at one end and with different

ornamental elements at the other. The simple ones, used for fastening, are more numerous (21 items) (Fig. 4/3). The rosette-shaped ones (4 items), decorated with semiprecious stones, of diverse colours, stand out through their beauty (Fig. 4/1-6-7). Such an ornament is similar to the brooch found at Buda (Buzău County) (V. Drăghiceanu, 1931 a, fig. 27) or to the silver ones with rosette-shaped ends found in the church of Tismana Monastery, in a 17<sup>th</sup>-century grave. The ends of these pins are decorated with miniature rubies and turquoises (Gh. I Cantacuzino, 1996). Pins with similar ends have been found as part of several discoveries in the Romanian territory. A first example is the Geartoglu Church of Târgoviște\*\*\*\*\* (P. V. Diaconescu, 2009). Similar ornaments come from the church of Tisău, Buzău County (V. Drăghiceanu, 1931 a, fig. 27), the treasure of Zăvoaia (Brăila County) (I. Dragomir, 1972, fig.1/3-4), Șendreni (Galați County) (I. Dragomir, 1968, fig. 56/12).

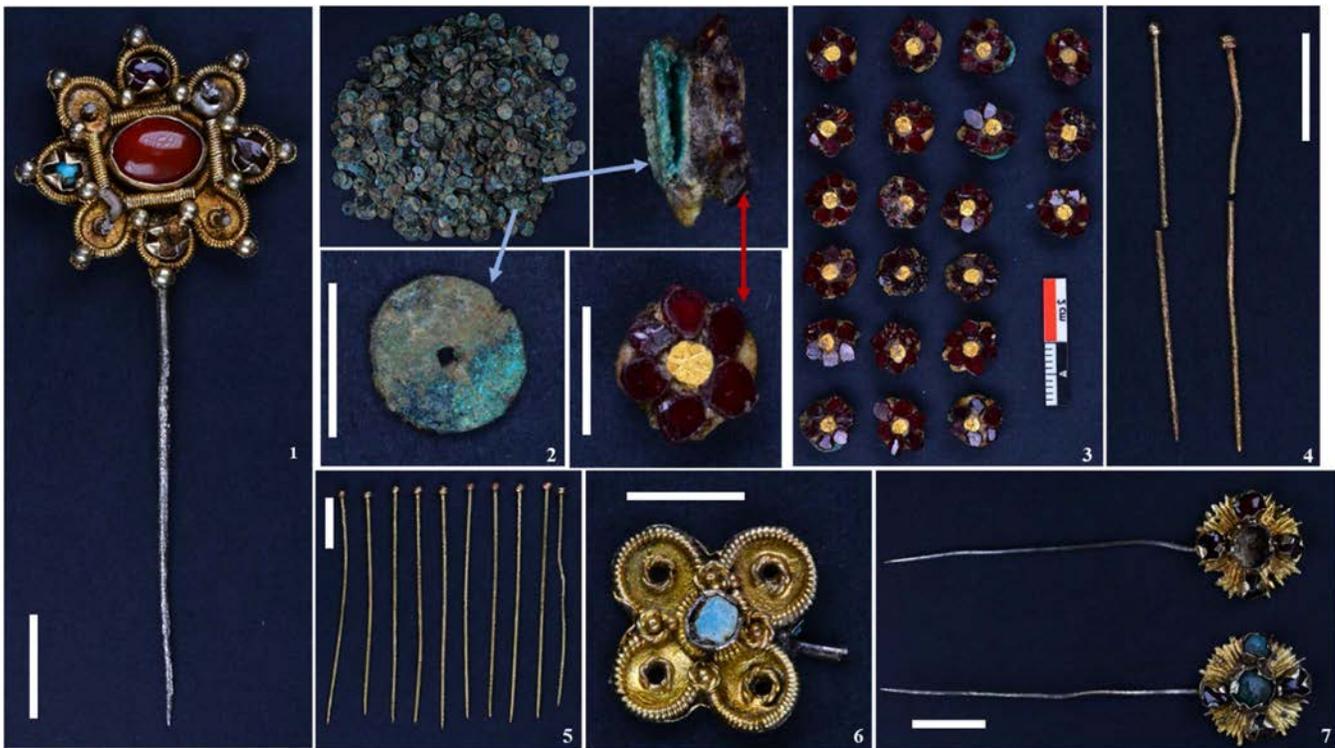


Fig. 4 – Head cover ornaments: 1, 7. Decorative pin with stones; 2. Spangles; 3. Wreaths ornaments; 4-5. Simple pins 6. Decorative pin – fragmented (scale 1 cm).

II. It is certain that the value of garments was not limited only to expensive materials but was also given by the ornaments embellishing them. Clothing items, popular at princely and boyar courts, were also passed

on to other categories, but made from less luxurious materials and with simpler ornaments (C. Nicolescu, 1970). Among the ornaments found at the “Sf. Vineri” Church, we should mention the items directly related to

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the appearance of clothing, such as buttons and hooks (Fig. 5). The situations in which they were the only category of metal funerary inventory found in a grave are, at least in our case, rare. Clothing accessories have been found in association with other items such as earrings, rings, veil pins, coins, cloth fragments, gold or silver threads, glass containers, trade seals etc. This category of objects that of buttons, is commonly encountered during the entire Middle Ages, with differences in terms of the nature of material used, sizes and shape. We shall give some examples of pieces found at the “Sfânta Vineri” Church in more than half of the tombs excavated. Most of the buttons

are simple, spherical and semispherical in shape, with flat base, unadorned. They are similar to those found in the voivodal necropolis of the Sf. Nicolae Domnesc Church, Curtea de Argeș (V. Drăghiceanu, 1923; M. M. Popescu, 1970, Cat. 181, 182), or in the tombs outside the first church of Rădăuți (L. Bătrâna, A. Bătrâna, 2012, Fig. 43/3). A small category is that of buttons with small metallic pearls arranged in the shape of a pyramid placed in the lower part, similar to the silver buttons from the 16<sup>th</sup>-century treasure found at Coveiu, Dolj County (C. Nicolaescu Ploșor, 1928; L. Dumitriu, 2001, Taf. 25/2-14).



Fig. 5 – Clothing accessories: 1-5 Hooks; 6-8 Buttons (scale 1 cm).

III. In terms of the category of hand ornaments, the rings are numerous relative to the size of the researched area and quite various typologically. The ring aspect varies naturally depending on the role it played over time, from personal ornament to a sign of social distinction or object with religious connotations.

At the Sfânta Vineri Church, a total of 24 items, made of gold-plated silver, silver or bronze, have been found, covering a wide range of types: semiprecious, band rings, rings with variously engraved decorations, with geometric, vegetal, floral or cruciform motifs, with or without inscriptions (Fig. 6, Fig. 7, Fig. 8). Obviously, the rings highlighted the social status of the wearer and, in this respect, seal rings are referential. Thus, a ring which belonged to a woman has been found in section IV, Grave 1 (Fig. 8/4). The inscription, in Cyrillic, PARASKEVA, a name written in three registers, naturally points to the titular saint of the church where the ring has been discovered (“Sfânta

Parascheva”). The location of the grave, on the southern side of the apse, near the altar, cannot be accidental.

The item which by far stands out among the finds resulting from the research of the church is a seal ring, with a hexagonal stone, possibly onyx, made of gold-plated silver (Fig. 8/1). It is spectacular in many respects. It was identified in the narthex, on the southern side, 0.55 m deep, in an inconclusive stratigraphic context and without being associated to bone remains. The chance of recovering this item was due to an extraordinary intuition, because it was embedded in a crust of sand and lime, which made it impossible to see. It was at the same depth and under the same conditions of disturbed stratigraphy that a fabric with gold and silver thread, resembling a cap, was found. The place of identification of the two items, under the tombstone of Lady Bălașa, Prince Constantin Șerban’s wife, is a first element with a particular

connotation. On the other hand, the inscription in Cyrillic, with the mention JUPANINA VLĂDAIE, on the outer surface of the chaton, compels us to make a logical association with the only preserved votive

inscription (*'pisanie'*) of the church, which refers to mistress Vlădaie and the *clucer* Manea Perșanu as the authors of probably one church restoration, in 1517, as we have previously said.



Fig. 6 - Hand ornaments: rings with stones (scale 1 cm).



Fig. 7 - Hand ornaments: rings with zoomorphic/vegetal/floral/geometric/cruciform representations. 1. Ring decorated with a cruciform motif; 2. Ring decorated with the representation of a peacock; 3. Ring decorated with the stylized representation of two birds facing each other; 4. Ring decorated with the representation of a bird; 5-6. Rings engraved with floral motifs (scale 1 cm).

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Why is a ring bearing the inscription *JUPANINA VLĂDAIE* found in the narthex of the “Sf. Vineri” Church from Târgoviște? It is a well-known fact that the tombstone of Manea Perșanu’s wife is at the Seaca Mușetești Monastery in Olt County, which was actually founded by this boyar family (V. Drăghiceanu, 1931b). Considering all the above, the idea of an

inherited ring is not to be disregarded. But bequeathed to whom?

The presence of the ring obviously clarifies some doubts related to the church’s history, but, at the same time, it raises a number of questions, to which we shall seek answers in a separate study.



Fig. 8 - Hand ornaments: seal rings/inscriptions with Cyrillic characters. 1. *JUPANINA VLĂDAIE* ; 2. *MIHAILOGOFET* ; 3. *NECULA LUI K ...* ; 4. *PARASKEVA* (scale 1 cm).

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**Head ornaments. Earrings (Fig. 3)**

*EARRING.* The 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Gold-plated silver. Earring height (with shackle) 2.9 cm, height without shackle 1.6 cm, thickness 0.8 cm. Weight 3.3 gr.

Archaeological data: “Sfânta Vineri” Church, Princely Court, Târgoviște, 2018, Section VI, Grave 6, depth– 0.60 m.

Description: The earring is spherical in shape, with the central part scooped and marked, on both faces, by a rosette with 8 petals, which are hollow inside. Four mountings arranged on the earring thickness (0.8 cm) and ten cylindrical loops (0.4 cm), also placed on the outer surface of the item, formed the entire decoration. At the time of the discovery, the item

preserved no stone and some of the ornamental elements were either deteriorated or missing. The simple shackle, with both ends flattened and perforated, was attached to the earring body by two cylindrical loops, placed on its entire thickness, 0.5 cm apart. The pair of the earring, which lacks many more elements than the analysed one, weighs 2.8 gr. (Fig. 3/2)

*EARRING.* The 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Jewel made in a Transylvanian workshop. Gold-plated silver. Earring height (with shackle) 2.4 cm, height without shackle 1.6 cm, thickness (including the mounting on both faces) 1.1 cm. Weight 3 gr.

Archaeological data: “Sfânta Vineri” Church, Princely Court, Târgoviște, 2018, Section V, Grave 4, depth– 0.55 m.

Description: The earring has two faces. Five stones (two in the centre, one on each face, and 3 on the side), set into mountings with cross-shaped arms, decorate the personal ornament. The central mounting is surrounded by a rosette made of the outlines of 8 petals, of oval shape. The stones arranged on the 0.4-cm thickness of the item, about 0.8 cm apart, are each flanked by two cylindrical loops made from spiralled wire. The simple, undecorated shackle is missing some parts and is detached from the earring body. The item has a pair (Fig. 3/5).

*EARRING.* The 15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Silver. Earring height (with shackle) 2 cm, height without shackle 1.1 cm. Weight 2 gr.

Archaeological data: "Sfânta Vineri" Church, Princely Court, Târgoviște, 2018, Section I/b, square A1, depth–0.50 m.

Description: The earring has a globular shape and the oblate upper part supports two systems of shackle fastening, each 0.7 cm long. The decoration consists in the incision of floral motifs on the globular surface of the item. The pair of the earring has a recent fracture (Fig. 3/3).

*EARRING.* The 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries. Silver. Link diameter 1.7 cm, bead diameter 0.6 cm. Weight 1 gr.

Archaeological data: "Sfânta Vineri" Church, Princely Court, Târgoviște, 2018, Section I/b, square B 1, Grave 2, depth – 0.48 m.

Description: The ring has a simple metal link, circular in section, with one of the ends flattened, rhomboidal and perforated, and towards the other extremity, bent in a spiral. Only the lower part is decorated with twisted wire and a simple spherical bead. Two rows of granules located at the bead poles complete the ornament (Fig. 3/1).

*EARRING.* The 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries. Copper. Link diameter 1.5 cm. Weight 0.4 gr.

Archaeological data: "Sfânta Vineri" Church, Princely Court, Târgoviște, 2018, passim.

Description: The earring, rudimentary in terms of shape and execution, is made by bending a circular cross-section wire. A third of the link is wrapped in thin wire, of the same material, which can be considered the only ornament of the item. One of the ends, struck until flattened, has a perforation (Fig. 3/4). **Head cover ornaments. Pins for fixing and decorating, various ornamental items such as wreaths** (Fig. 4);

*DECORATIVE PIN.* The 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Jewel made in a Transylvanian workshop. Gold-plated silver.

Diameter 4 cm, stem length 9 cm, total length of item 10 cm. Weight 14.4 gr.

Archaeological data: "Sfânta Vineri" Church, Princely Court, Târgoviște, 2018, Section VI, Grave 5, depth–0.60 m.

Description: The item is star-shaped, with eight corners decorated with a granule each, whereas around the mountings there are semicircles made of wrapped wire. In the centre, an oval chaton, with a stone, is bounded by four cylindrical loops. At the time of the discovery, only three of the total of eight stones, arranged marginally, had been preserved (Fig. 4/1).

The ornament described was found in association with a functional bronze pin, 5.5 cm, weighing 0.4 gr.

*DECORATIVE PIN.* The 15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Jewel made in a Transylvanian workshop. Gold-plated silver. Diameter 2.3 cm, stem length 7.5 cm, total length 8.8 cm. Weight 5.3 gr.

Archaeological data: "Sfânta Vineri" Church, Princely Court, Târgoviște, 2018, Section IV, Grave 1, depth – 0.70 m.

Description: The item has a circular ornamental plate, with stamped rim. In the centre it has a chaton with a green stone. Together with four others, it forms a cross-shaped decoration. The presence of holes left by the rivets which most likely held some stones points to the item having been decorated in this part also. There are two such ornaments coming from the same grave. One of them is missing the central stone (Fig. 4/7).

These two decorative pins were accompanied by 10 more, made of gold-plated bronze, simple, functional. Their length ranges from 5.3 to 5.8 cm. Weight between 0.4 and 0.5 gr. (Fig. 4/5).

*DECORATIVE PIN.* The 15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Jewel made in a Transylvanian workshop. Gold-plated silver. Diameter 1.5 cm, length of stem (fragmented) 0.8 cm, total length 1.5 cm. Weight 0.9 gr.

Archaeological data: "Sfânta Vineri" Church, Princely Court, Târgoviște, 2018, Section I/B, Square B1, depth – 0.48 m.

Description: The item has the ornamental plate in the shape of a rosette with four petals. It has a chaton with a stone in the centre. The outline of each petal is marked by a thin wire, made of the same material as the rest of the item. The occurrence of holes left by the rivets most probably holding some stones proves the decoration of the item in this part also. The pin stem is fractured (Fig. 4/6).

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*DECORATIVE ITEM.* The 15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Stone, garnets, gold. Diameter 0.9 cm, thickness 0.5 cm. Weight 0.4-0.5 gr. Number of samples – 21.

Archaeological data: “Sfânta Vineri” Church, Princely Court, Târgoviște, 2018, Section V, Grave 4, depth– 0.55 m.

Description: The ornamental item is made up of an irregularly shaped base, with double perforated cross-section, possibly of stone, with a diameter of about 0.9 cm. Six garnets were applied to its surface, not fastened in mountings, which created the shape of a rosette. The central part of the item is decorated with a six-pointed star, of gold foil (Fig. 4/3).

*DECORATIVE ITEM.* The 15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Sequins. Diameter 0.7 cm. Total weight 100 gr. Number of objects – over 600.

Archaeological data: “Sfânta Vineri” Church, Princely Court, Târgoviște, 2018, Section V, Grave 4, depth– 0.55 m.

Description: The circular item, made of metal, has a perforation in order to be sewn most likely on a cap. Over 600 sequins have been recovered, only in the head area (Fig. 4/2).

In Section V, Grave 4, in association with the last two types of items presented, there were two simple pins (each 5.7 cm long and weighing 0.4 gr.) with a functional role, both fractured (Fig. 4/4), and a stem (6 cm long, weighing 0.7 gr.), without a rosette, which probably completed the decoration of the head.

**Clothing accessories** (Fig. 5).

*HOOKS.* The 15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Copper. Total weight 10 gr.

Archaeological data: “Sfânta Vineri” Church, Princely Court, Târgoviște, 2018, Section V, Grave 5, depth– 0.70 m.

Description: Seventeen pairs of hooks, known as hook and eye, have been found near the lower limbs. Made from copper wire, the hooks are about 2 cm long each. They have no decoration and belong to the category of the simplest objects of this kind (Fig. 5/5).

*HOOK.* The 15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Gold-plated bronze. Weight 0,5 gr.

Archaeological data: “Sfânta Vineri” Church, Princely Court, Târgoviște, 2018, Section V, Grave 4, depth – 0.53 m

Description: The item is a hook whose body was flattened by striking and has two fastening eyes. It is not decorated (Fig. 5/4).

*HOOK.* The 15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Gold-plated silver. Weight 0,6 gr.

Archaeological data: “Sfânta Vineri” Church, Princely Court, Târgoviște, 2018, Section I/B, depth– 0.65 m.

Description: The item preserves only the decorative part of a hook, probably. The total length of the preserved item is 1.6 cm (Fig. 5/1).

*BUTTONS.* The 15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Silver.

Archaeological data: “Sfânta Vineri” Church, Princely Court, Târgoviște, 2018, Section VI, Grave 8, depth– 0.85 m.

Description: Three specimens (each of them weighing 0.5 gr. each and 1.2 cm wide) have a spherical shape, flattened in the upper part. A circular shank is attached to one of the poles. Two other spherical buttons, flattened at the poles, have a circular shank, and, at the other end, a granule (weight of 1.2 gr. and 1.7 cm tall each) (Fig. 5/8).

*BUTTONS.* The 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries. Transylvania workshop. Silver. Gold-plated silver. Height with shank 12 mm. Weight 0.4 gr.

Archaeological data: “Sfânta Vineri” Church, Princely Court, Târgoviște, 2018, Section VI, Grave 6, depth– 0.60 m.

Description: Globular in shape, the buttons are made up of two hemispheres, stuck together. A metal shank is attached to one pole. 15 specimens have been found in the same grave (Fig. 5/7).

*BUTTONS.* The 15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Silver. Gold-plated silver.

Archaeological data: “Sfânta Vineri” Church, Princely Court, Târgoviște, 2018, Section VI, Grave 7, depth– 0.80 m.

Description: Two differently-shaped buttons have been found in the same grave. One of them (1.1 cm tall, 0.9 gr., diameter of 0.9 cm), singular among the finds of this category, is the button flattened in the upper part, with a circular fastening system at the opposite part. Another model (1.1 cm tall, 0.6 gr., diameter of 0.7 cm) of gold-plated silver is globular. Opposite to the shank there is an ornament, namely a granule (Fig. 5/6).

**Hand ornaments. Rings with stones** (Fig. 6).

*RING.* The 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> century. Gold-plated silver. Weight 3.2 gr. Outer diameter: 2.2 cm.

Archaeological data: “Sfânta Vineri” Church, Princely Court, Târgoviște, 2018, Section V, Grave 3, depth – 0.60 m.

Description: The ring is made up of a simple shank and an embossed decoration is on the left and right side of the mounting. The mounting, 0.8 cm tall,

is rectangular and has a turquoise. The shank is partially broken (Fig. 6/2).

*RING.* The 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Gold-plated silver. Weight 4.4 gr. Outer diameter: 2.2 cm.

Archaeological data: “Sfânta Vineri” Church, Princely Court, Târgoviște, 2018, SectionV, Grave 4, depth– 0.53 m.

Description: The ring has the mounting (0.5 cm tall) attached to the shank and is circular. The stone, of transparent colour, is deteriorated. The side ornaments have floral and vegetal motifs (Fig. 6/3). The stone was found in association with various adornment and clothing items such as earrings, sequins, head wreaths, metallic gold and silver threads, fabric fragments.

*RING.* The 15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Gold-plated silver. Weight 4.2 gr. Maximum diameter: 2.3 cm.

Archaeological data: “Sfânta Vineri” Church, Princely Court, Târgoviște, 2018, SectionI/b, square B1, Grave 2, depth– 0.48 m.

Description: The ring shank has the appearance of a garland. The mounting, oval-shaped, incised with various lines and dots, holds a purple stone (Fig. 6/1).

**Hand ornaments. Rings with various zoomorphic/vegetal/floral/geometric/cruciform motifs** (Fig. 7).

*RING.* The 15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Gold-plated silver. Weight 7.3 gr. Maximum diameter: 2.3 cm.

Archaeological data: “Sfânta Vineri” Church, Princely Court, Târgoviște, 2018, SectionV, Grave 12, depth– 0.80 m.

Description: The oval-shaped plate is cast together with the shank. The incised decoration lies in the representation of a bird (peacock). Several lines and geometric shapes complete the item ornamentation (Fig. 7/2).

*RING.* The 15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Gold-plated silver. Weight 3.6 gr. Maximum diameter: 2 cm.

Archaeological data: “Sfânta Vineri” Church, Princely Court, Târgoviște, 2018, SectionVII, Narthex, depth – 0.50 m.

Description: The ring has a circular chaton. Through the shape of the incised lines, the decoration suggests two birds which are affronté and with a stylised tree of life in between. The ornamentation covers the entire circumference of the chaton (Fig. 7/3).

*RING.* The 15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Gold-plated silver. Weight 4.6 gr. Maximum diameter: 2.4 cm.

Archaeological data: “Sfânta Vineri” Church, Princely Court, Târgoviște, 2018, SectionV, Grave 11, depth– 0.70 m.

Description: The oval-shaped chaton is part of the shank. The entire surface, marked by an incised line, has a central decoration – a cross accompanied, in the upper part, left and right, by two symbols, sun and half-moon. The cross is flanked by two incised lines, adorned with vegetal elements (Fig. 7/1).

*RING.* The 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Silver. Weight 3.7 gr. Maximum diameter: 2.3 cm.

Archaeological data: “Sfânta Vineri” Church, Princely Court, Târgoviște, 2018, SectionV, Grave 8, depth – 0.60 m.

Description: The ring is made up of a rhomboidal plate, applied to a falsely twisted shank (oblique incisions). Centrally, the decoration renders a circle with four elongated petals fronting onto the four corners of the plate. The rest of the area is marked by geometric lines of various sizes (Fig. 7/6).

*RING.* The 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Silver. Weight 1.9 gr. Maximum diameter: 2.2 cm.

Archaeological data: “Sfânta Vineri” Church, Princely Court, Târgoviște, 2018, SectionV, Grave 6, depth– 0.60 m.

Description: The ring, similar in type and shape to the previous one, has a different decoration, consisting of incised lines which suggest a bird with long neck, claws, wings and tail that are well-defined (Fig. 7/4).

**Hand ornaments. Seal rings** (Fig. 8).

*RING.* The 15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Silver. Weight 11.8 gr. Maximum diameter: 2.6 cm.

Archaeological data: “Sfânta Vineri” Church, Princely Court, Târgoviște, 2018, SectionVI, depth – 0.50 m.

Description: The massive ring, with the shank widened towards the chaton and decorated with floral and vegetal motifs, points to a particular attention given to the rendering of decorative elements. The seal, oval-shaped, cast together with the shank, has a Cyrillic inscription, *MIHAIOLOGOFET*, and a stylised bird in the central field. Due to its general aspect and especially to its decorative elements, the ring is one of the representative models, the care for details being best emphasised (Fig. 8/2)..

*RING.* The 15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Silver. Weight 17.3 gr. Maximum diameter: 2.7 cm.

Archaeological data: “Sfânta Vineri” Church, Princely Court, Târgoviște, 2018, SectionV, depth – 0.90 m.

Description: The ring has an oval chaton and the shank decorated with vegetal motifs. The inscription *NECULA LUI K...* centrally frames the representation

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of a bird with specific, well-defined elements (Fig. 8/3).

*RING.* The 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Silver. Weight 5.8 gr. Total diameter: 2 cm.

Archaeological data: “Sfânta Vineri” Church, Princely Court, Târgoviște, 2018, Section IV, Grave 1, depth – 0.70 m.

Description: The ring has the shank and the mounting cast together, and, in terms of appearance, it suggests accuracy, simplicity and finesse. The chaton, of slightly oval shape, is divided into three registers, marked vertically by two parallel lines, where the inscription *PARASCHEVA* lies. In a third field, half of the entire seal, next to the final letter of the inscription – A, there is the stylised representation of a bird. The shank is not decorated (Fig. 8/4).

*RING.* The 16<sup>th</sup> century. Gold-plated silver, stone. Weight 14.4 gr. Maximum diameter 2.8 cm.

Archaeological data: “Sfânta Vineri” Church, Princely Court, Târgoviște, 2018, Section VII - Narthex, depth – 0,55 m.

Description: The seal ring, whose massiveness is striking considering it belonged to a woman, as indicated by the inscription name, is richly decorated with geometric and floral motifs. The inscription *JUPANINA VLĂDAIE* is incised on the marginal area of the chaton. In the centre, it has a black hexagonal stone, decorated with the crescent and the tree of life. Parts of the ring, especially those around the hexagonal stone still preserve a black layer, similar to a resin, which currently makes that area impossible to decipher (Fig. 8/1).

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*In memoriam* Gheorghe I. Cantacuzino

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# ANNALES



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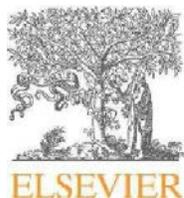
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## Outcrops of Exotic Raw Material in the Bistrița Valley (north-eastern Romania) used in the Palaeolithic

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**Abstract:** This article deals with a number of raw material sources less commonly used by Palaeolithic populations in the Bistrița valley, such as amber and serpentinite. Artefacts made from such rocks have been found in the Gravettian from Poiana Cireșului-Piatra Neamț site. The identification of outcrops of this kind of materials in the Bistrița valley prompts one to reflect upon the possibility of some of them having been used as local sources.

**Key-words:** amber, exotic raw materials, Bistrița valley, Romania, Palaeolithic, Gravettian, art, serpentinite, Bisericani Formation, Kliwa Sandstone, Linguresti Marls, Ferastrau Sandstone, Oligocene.

### 1. Introduction

The archaeological investigations from the Poiana Cireșului-Piatra Neamț site (Neamț County), resumed more than 20 years ago, have resulted, among other things, in the discovery of numerous ornaments and art objects, which have turned this site into one of the most representative for the Palaeolithic in Romania (M. Cârciumaru, E.-C. Nițu, 2018; M. Cârciumaru *et al.*, 2018; E.-C. Nițu *et al.*, 2019).

A number of these art objects were made from less common raw materials, such as amber, silicified wood, serpentinite etc. (fig. 1). In this study we are going to refer only to some recently found amber and serpentinite outcrops, but, in the future, we intend to go further into the issue of supply sources of silicified wood that might possibly be encountered in the Bistrița Basin.

In 2002, a sizable amber sample, which may originally have been a sculpture, postdepositional degraded (fig. 1/1), was found in the Gravettian I level dated to between  $19,320 \pm 80$  B.P. (OxA-36785)

(23,538-22,992 cal. B.P.) and  $20,154 \pm 97$  B.P. (ER 12.163) (24,096 cal. B.P.). Also, in 2018, a serpentinite trapezoid fragmented object with traces of production, which might be part of an art object, was recovered from the second Gravettian level, dated to between  $23,420 \pm 310$  B.P. (28,200-27.112 cal. B.P.) (OxA-X-2762-25) and  $25,135 \pm 150$  B.P. (29,556-28,801 cal. B.P.) (Beta 244.072) (fig. 1/2) (M. Cârciumaru, E.-C. Nițu, 2018). As the archaeological research essentially relies on the identification of raw material sources, a recently published study has dealt with the potential of amber occurring in Neamț County (M. Cârciumaru *et al.*, 2017), mentioning deposits that have been known ever since the inter-war period. They were considered important enough to even employ the term “Piatra amber” in order to distinguish them from the amber in the Buzău area. Citing G. Murgoci (1924), the study discusses that fact that the amber in Neamț County is somewhat different from that of Buzău, in that it may always be found in the Kliwa sandstone and in the

menilites. Moreover, it reiterates the opinion of A. Rabichon (1934; 1938), according to which the amber in Neamț County may have actually formed in the Cenomanian and the Senonian or later, following overthrusting processes, was transported to the Paleogene deposits, from which it crops out in the valleys of the Iapa and the Almaș rivers. Following recent studies, the outcrop in the Iapa valley, near the Duras waterfall from Negulești (Neamț County), has

been attributed to the Eocene; more specifically, a number of lenses no more than 7 m long and 8 m thick might be found in the lower half of the Lucăcești formation, below a unit of greenish grey clay (T. Brustur *et al.*, 2017).

In this study, we shall particularly focus on the amber in the Almaș valley, which is geologically less known, and try to bring newer data regarding the outcrop in this area.



Fig. 1 – Art objects made from exotic raw materials found in the Gravettian from Poiana Cireșului-Piatra Neamț. 1-amber; 2-serpentinite; 3-silicified wood schematic statuette; 1c – image obtained with fibre optic microscope (after M. Cârciumaru, E.-C. Nițu, 2018; M. Cârciumaru *et al.*, 2017; 2018).

## 2. The amber in the Almaș valley

### 2.1. Background

The amber in the Almaș valley was first mentioned by G. Murgoci (1923), who considers it Oligocene in age, as it is Kliwa Sandstone and the menilites. He also mentions that the amber in the Almaș valley is

sometimes green and accompanied by bituminous coals. The particular aspect of amber here prompted G. Murgoci (1924) to give it an eponymous name, *Almashit*, while A. Rabichon (1938) would call it *almașita*.

In fact, the *Almashit* is probably nothing more than

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amber which was originally yellow in colour, such as that in the Colți-Buzău area, and which underwent deep transformations, resulting in the emergence of two varieties typical of this region. According to G. Murgoci (1924), the *almashit* is nothing but a “burnt” variety of succinite or rumanite particularly encountered in the Carpathian Bend Area. One variety of *almashit* is greenish-blue or greenish-brown, even black, with conchoidal fracture, vitreous aspect and high fluorescence with red or ruby reflections, quite hard but easy to work. When it breaks, it gives off a slight bitumen smell. The second variety is chocolate-black in colour, with a glassy glow and conchoidal fracture. Though of medium hardness, this type seems rather brittle and friable, which makes it difficult to work (M. Cârciumaru *et al.*, 2017). A. Rabichon (1938) greatly appreciated the *almashit*, stating that it “is somewhat

better than that of Buzău County and gives off a bitumen and sulphur odour. The lustre is beautiful, the green and blue colours are reflected through the fluorescence. Its red and crimson glows shine like the diamond” (p. 22). In his turn, A. P. Ianculescu (1928) did not hesitate to praise the qualities of the amber in Neamț County, including that encountered in the Iapa valley at Negulești and the Almaș valley. He characterizes it as very beautiful amber, more frequently green in colour, easy to work, and less often black in colour and quite friable.

The amber in Neamț County was most certainly exploited in the inter-war period (V. N. Madgearu, 1940). In the Almaș valley, an association founded by an engineer called Roșca, a former student of George Munteanu Murgoci (1924), extracted it from the so-called “groapa Mălaia” (the ‘Mălaia pit’).

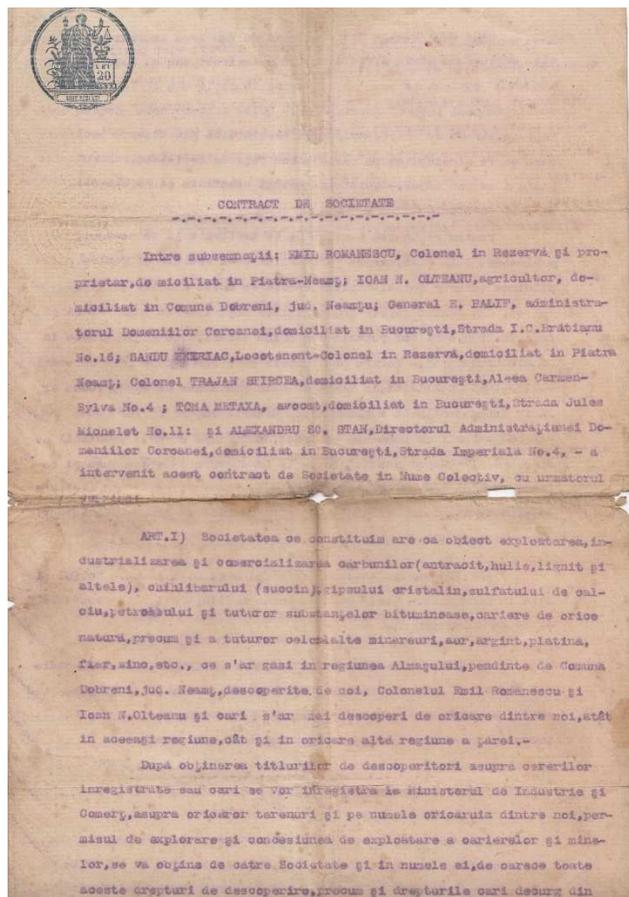


Fig. 2 – Certificate of incorporation of the Company for amber exploitation in the Almaș valley, Neamț County.

It is interesting that V. Al. Ionescu (1935) would be mentioned the occurrence of amber at the confluence of the rivers Almaș and Horăița as well, more precisely at

Dobrinul (currently Dobreni commune), which would not be so unusual, considering that both rivers spring from the deposits attributed to the Oligocene and the

Eocene. Starting from these old brief data, we have managed to acquire some documents which indeed confirm the establishment of an association for amber exploitation in the Almaș valley, Neamț County. A document titled “Contract de Societate” (‘Company Contract’), which included Retired Colonel Emil Romanescu from Piatra Neamț, General E. Balif from Bucharest, the administrator of the Crown Domains, Colonel Traian Stircea from Bucharest, the counsellor Toma Metaxa from Bucharest, Alexandru Sc. Stan from Bucharest, the Director of the Crown Domain Administration, and Ion N. Olteanu, an agriculturalist from Dobreni commune, Neamț County, attests the establishment of a General Partnership which was aimed to exploit, among other useful ores and substances, the amber that “might be found in the Almaș area,

subordinated to Dobreni commune, Neamț County, and discovered by us, Colonel Emil Romanescu and Ioan N. Olteanu” (fig. 2).

Ion N. Olteanu was also a founding member and shareholder of “Chihlimbarul Românesc” General Partnership, whose certificate of incorporation is dated 2 November 1933. His social contribution to this Company was “the permit for the exploration and concession for the exploitation of the 50-hectare area located on the territory of Calul-Iapa commune in Neamț County” (fig. 3, p. 1). All these attempts to exploit the amber in the Almaș valley actually failed quite soon because of the hard rocks in which the amber was embedded and probably, as G. Murgoci (1924) would say, because of its laminated aspect and the fact that it breaks easily.

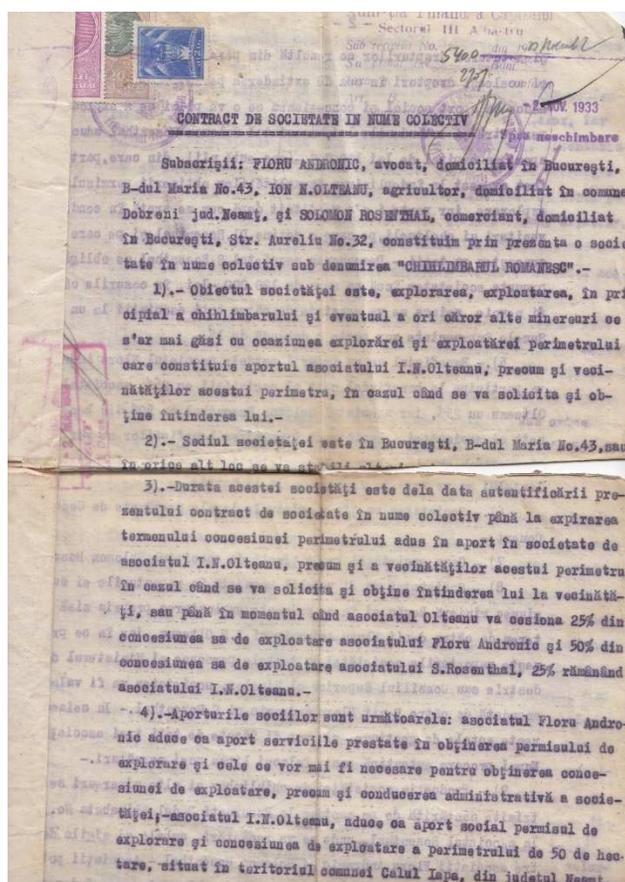


Fig. 3 – Certificate of incorporation of “Chihlimbarul Românesc” Company.

As G. Murgoci stated as early as 1923, the amber in the Almaș valley was mainly attested along a tributary, namely the Mălaia creek (fig. 4). Therefore, our investigations have focused on this area. Furthermore, based on the documentary attestations of

the presence and systematic exploitation of amber during the inter-war period, we have tried to verify if there is still a significant potential regarding the existence of this fossil resin in the Almaș valley, since there are more extensive mentions about the Negulești

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deposits in another study (M. Cârciumaru et al., 2017). As a result, our research has focused on this area in which Eocene-Oligocene deposits crop out (fig. 5) (M. Micu, 1976), more precisely on the Mălaia creek area where, in fact, we have identified the place of amber exploitation (fig. 6). A representative amber sample,

over 5.3 cm maximum length and 3.7 cm width, was recovered from a greenish-gray mudstone, about 20-25 cm thick (fig. 7). Certainly, the sample was slightly larger, considering the fragments resulted from the process of its extraction from the rock embedding it (fig. 8).



Fig. 4 – Confluence of the Almaș and the Mălaia valleys (1) and the Mălaia creek (2).

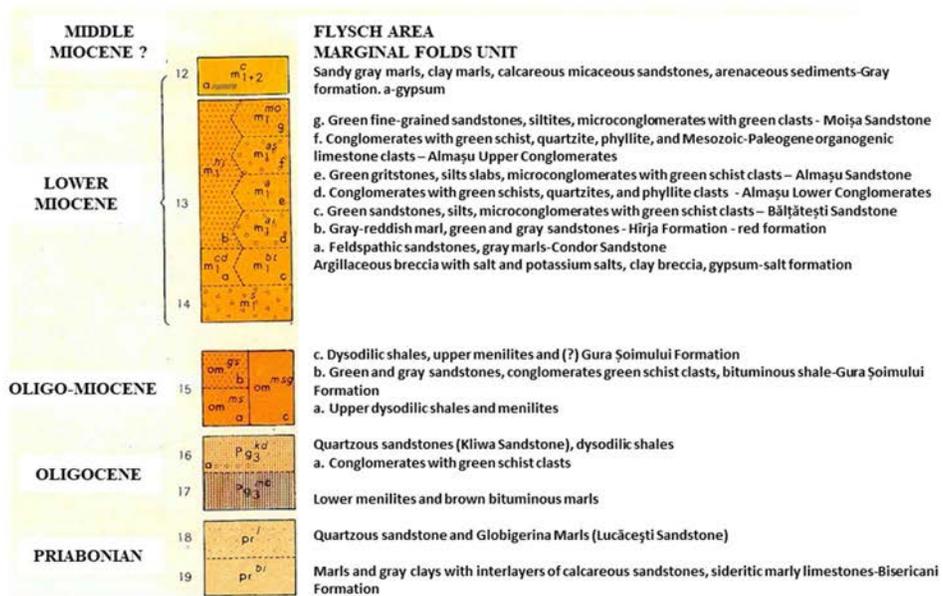
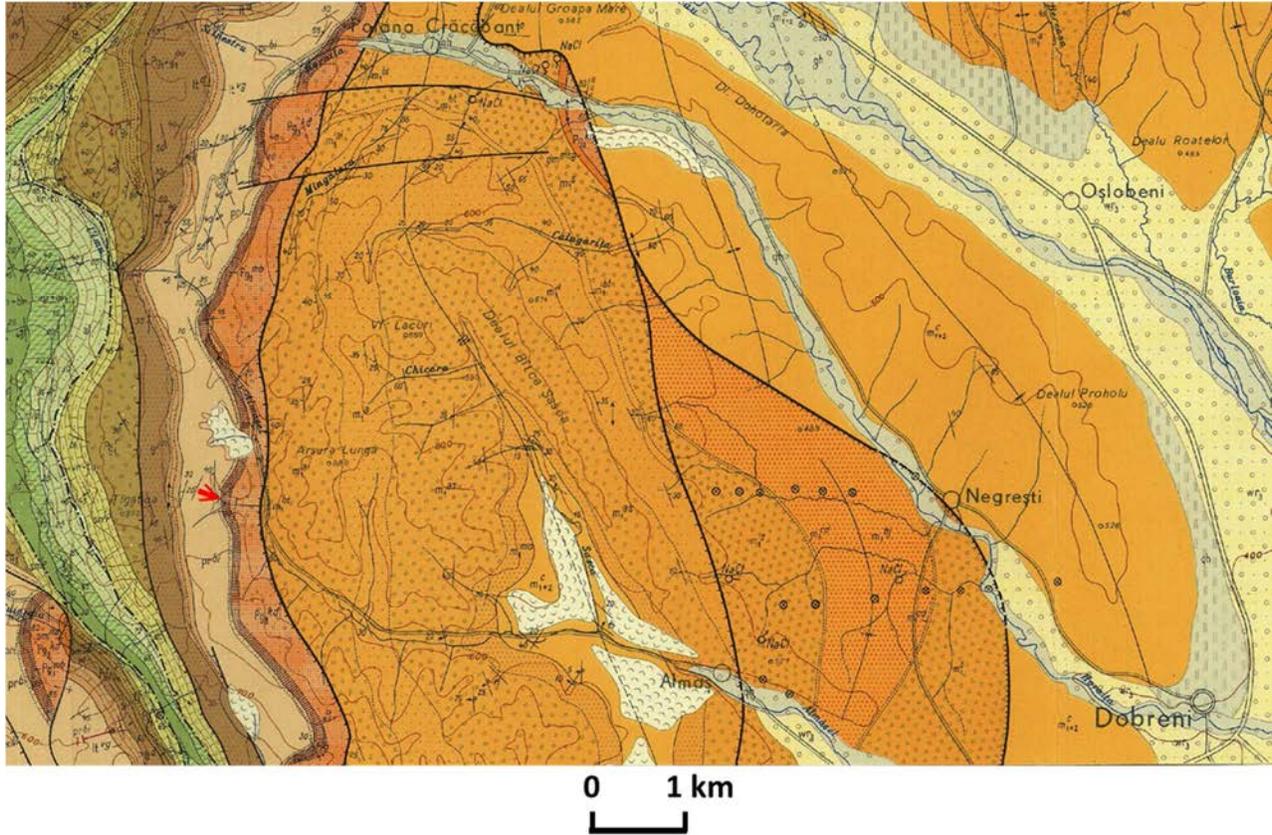


Fig. 5 – Geological map 1:50,000. The red arrow indicates amber exploitation in the Mălaia creek (modified after M. Micu, 1976).

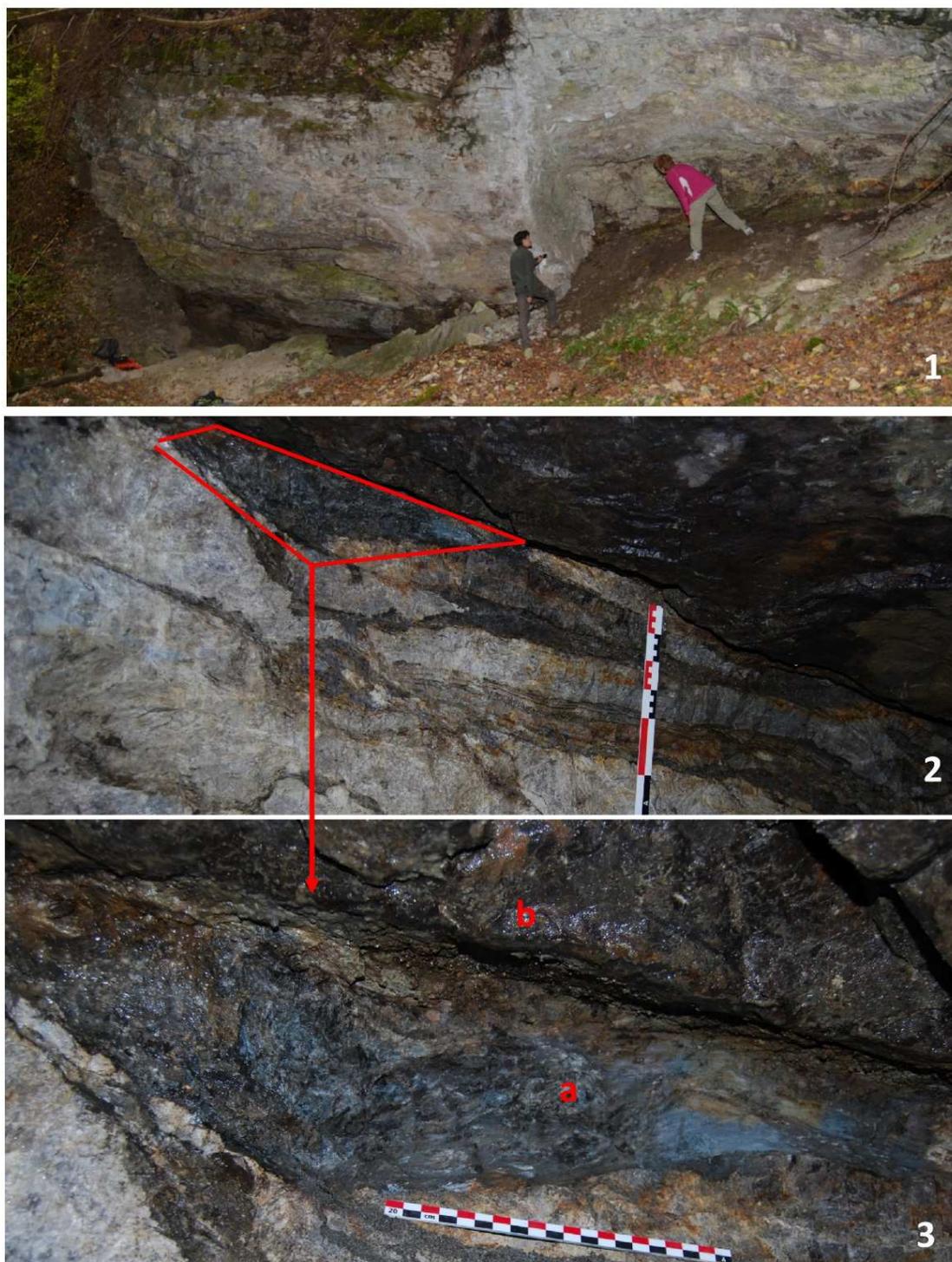


Fig. 6 – The quarry where the amber in the Mălaia creek was exploited: 1. General view; 2, 3. Lenticular bed of greenish-gray and brown mudstone (a) where amber was collected and the overlaying bituminous marls (b).

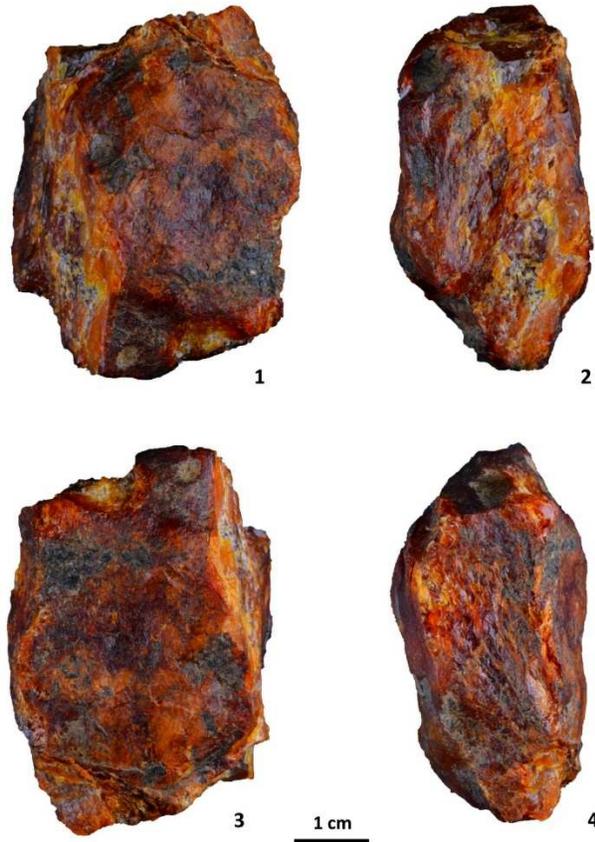


Fig. 7 – Amber sample **a** found in the old quarry in the Mălaia creek, before polishing.

As regards the second sample, we managed to recover it embedded in the hosting rock (fig. 9). This gave us hope that we could better determine the lithostratigraphic unit hosting the amber. Another amber nugget was sampled together with the embedding of mudstone (fig. 10).

### 2.2. Geological considerations at the confluence of the Almaș River with the Mălaia Creek

Along the Mălaia creek, a right tributary of the Almaș River, a sedimentary succession consisting of both formal and informal lithostratigraphic units of Vrancea Nappe (or Marginal folds Unit) crop out, as follows (C. Grasu et al., 1988): the Bisericani Formation, lower menilite formation, bituminous marl formation, lower dysodilic shale formation with Kliwa Sandstone (figs. 5 and 11). In the confluence area, the Mălaia creek flows onto the Almaș Conglomerates belonging to Pericarpathian Nappe (C. Grasu et al.,



Fig. 8 – Some fragments from sample **a**. 1- main sample; 2-6 a part of the pieces from the main sample.

1976; 1988).

### Studied sedimentary succession

The studied point is located on the left creek in the upper drainage basin of the Mălaia creek under a 10 m high water fall. In the outcrop where the amber pieces were collected (fig. 6/1) are exposed, from bottom to top, soft white very fine sandstones (<1 m), thin brown mudstones (cms to decimeter), a unit consisting of lenticular brown mudstone showing numerous slicken slides, and bituminous marls (>10 m thick). The amber pieces were find right under the bituminous marls, in some brownish slickensided mudstone lenses (figs. 6/2, 6/3).

According to the geological map (M. Micu, 1976), the sedimentary succession is continuous (fig. 5). However, the numerous slicken slides in the mudstones and sandstones below the bituminous marls suggest rather a tectonic contact.

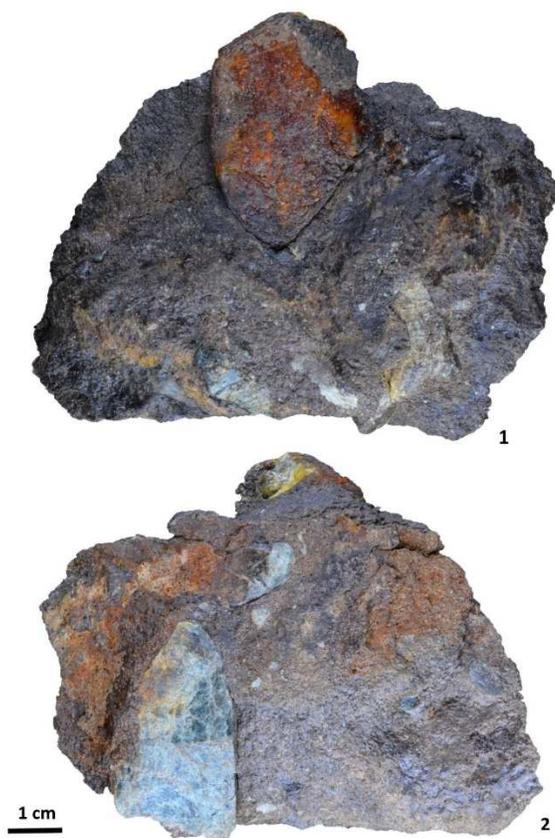


Fig. 9 – Amber sample **b** found in the old quarry in the Mălaia creek, before polishing.



Fig. 10 – Amber nugget embedded in rock (slickensided mudstone).

**Analysis method**

We sampled the sedimentary succession below the bituminous marls in order to establish its position in the Vrancea Nappe Eocene-Oligocene sedimentary successions. As such, we sampled the fine soft white sandstone, the interlayer of brown mudstone, the mudstone embedding the amber, as well as some pieces of (Kliwa type) sandstone right under the bituminous marls. The latter contain small pieces (millimetres to 1 cm) of shiny black coals.

The first three samples were prepared in the

Micropalaeontological Lab of the Department of Geology (“Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University) in order to find microfossils based on which the age of deposits should be established. The samples were dried in the oven at 105° C, then 50 g of each sample were immersed in hydrogen peroxide (50%). The clay fraction was removed in multiple washing cycles. The remained coarse residues were dried at 105°C, after which they were separated on 0.263 and 0.122 mm sieves. The fractions were analysed under the stereomicroscope (up to 150X magnification).

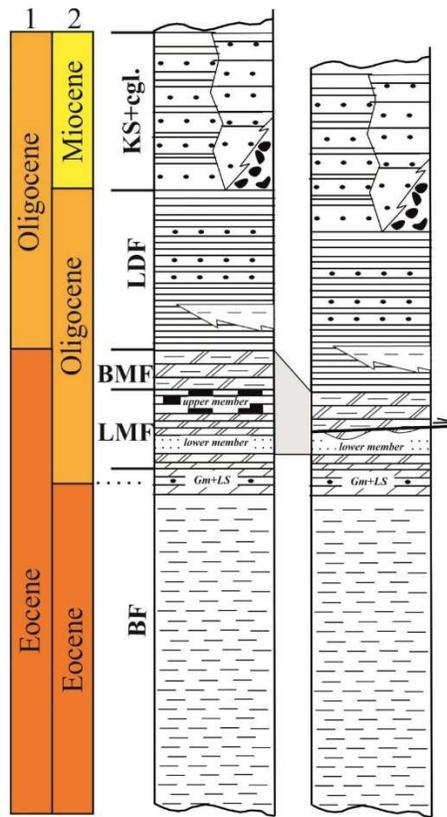


Fig. 11 - The lithostratigraphic units of Vrancea Nappe, with their age acc. to C. Grasu et al., 1988 (noted **2** in the figure) and F. Guerrera et al., 2012 (noted **1** in the figure). The right column indicates the field situation in the studied point on Mălai creek (notice the lack of the upper member of LMF): BF - Bisericani Formation (Gm - Globigerina marls; LS - Lucăcești Sandstone); LMF - lower menilite formation; BMF - bituminous marl formation; LDF - lower dysodilic shale formation; KS+cgl. - Kliwa Sandstone and conglomerates.

**Results and comments**

The three analysed samples (white fine sandstones, brown mudstones, mudstone hosting the amber) were sterile in terms of the microfossil content. The scarcity of fossil content is common for Oligocene sedimentary successions of Eastern Carpathians. However, the

violent reaction of the mudstone in which the amber was embedded with the hydrogen peroxide indicates its high content of organic matter. Based on this, we consider that the mudstone belongs to the Oligocene sedimentary succession. The position of sampled mudstone under the bituminous marls indicates that they belong to the so-

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called lower menilite formation. This lithostratigraphic unit has two members, a lower one with brown marls (the Linguresti Marls), black shales and white sandstone (the Ferastrau Sandstone) and an upper one with black chert beds (liver opal) and black silicified shales (fig. 11). The upper black chert member is absent in the studied outcrop, consequently we consider that the amber occurs in lenses of mudstone belonging to the lower member. The lack of the black cherts supports the observation of an unconformity between the lower menilite formation and the bituminous marl formation, probably a contact after a fault as would indicate the frequent slicken slides in the brown marls.

After removing the matrix of the soft white

sandstone, the remaining coarse residue consisted mostly of well-sorted silt size angular quartz with rare glauconite grains, consequently the rock can be considered rather a quartz siltstone, not described in the sedimentary succession of Vrancea Nappe so far.

The two main samples (**a** and **b**) recovered from the Almaș quarry were partially polished in order to obtain a more accurate picture of the aesthetic virtues of amber in this deposit (fig. 12). If sample **a** is characterized by intense reddish colouring (fig. 12/1-2), sample **b** exhibits a greater complexity of shades, in that the upper face is deep orange (fig. 12/3), whereas the back has a yellowish to soft greenish tint (fig. 12/4).

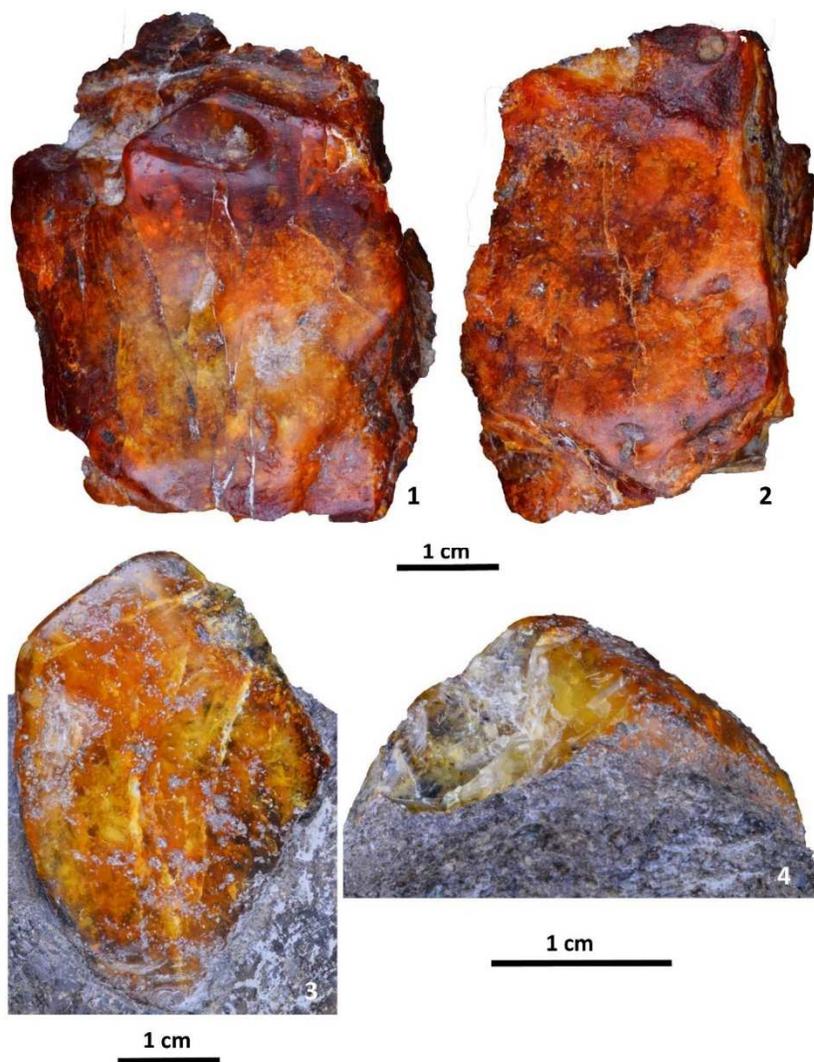


Fig. 12 – The two amber samples after a first polishing. 1-2 the two faces of sample **a**; 3 upper face of sample **b**; 4 a fragment of the backside of sample **b**.

### 3. Serpentinite deposits in the Bistrița Basin

A. F. Park (1989) defines serpentinite as "a soft, compact, pale green to greenish black rock consisting wholly or largely of serpentinite minerals [...] produced by hydrous alteration of olivine, orthopyroxene, and, to a lesser extent, clinopyroxene". As such, most serpentinites are metamorphics of former ultramafic igneous rocks (e.g., peridotite) which reacted with aqueous solutions under special conditions of pressure and temperature as those in the oceanic setting where the ultramafics can be uplifted to the seafloor (N. Jöns, W. Bach, 2011).

According to Toplița sheet of the geological map 1:200 000 (Gr. Alexandrescu *et al.*, 1968), there are many serpentinite occurrences in the Hășmaș Mountains. C. Grasu *et al.* (2012), based on existing literature and on their own researches, showed that the serpentinites occur as part of basic and ultrabasic magmatics in two different situations: 1) in association with tectonic klippe of Hășmaș Nappe (e.g. Bardos Klippe or Munticelu Klippe); 2) as olistoliths of cubic decimeters to hundreds' meters belonging to the so-called wildflysch (Barremian-Albian) (fig. 13).

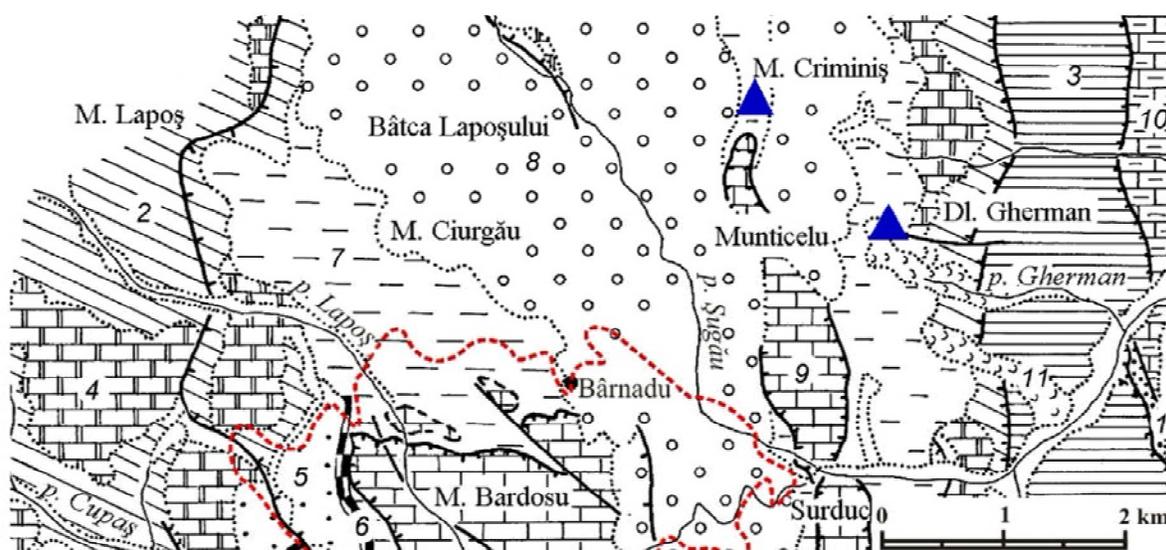


Fig. 13 – Geological sketch of the Munticelu-Criminiș area (after C. Grasu, 1971; M. Săndulescu *et al.*, 1975 in C. Grasu *et al.*, 2012): **Subbucobinian Nappe**: 1 – Triassic-Neocomian deposits; **Bucovinian Nappe**: 2 – metamorphics of Bretila -Rarău Group; 3 – metamorphics of Tulgheș Group; 4 – conglomerates, sandstones, dolomites, and limesones (Triassic); 5 – red limestones, sandstones, and sandy limestones (Liassic-Dogger); 6 – jaspers and radiolarites (Callovian-Oxfordian); 7 – wildflysch with olistoliths (Barremian-Albian); 8 – Bârnadu Conglomerates (Vraconian-Cenomanian); **Hășmaș Nappe**: 9 – limestones (Tithonian-Aptian); **Ceahlău Nappe**: 10 – Sinaia Formation; 11 – Quaternary landslides. The red dashed line represents the boundary of Cheile Bicazului-Hășmaș National Park. The blue triangles indicate two occurrences of serpentinites.

In the Munticelu-Criminiș area, the serpentinites occurs as olistoliths in the wildflysch; besides the serpentinite, there are also olistoliths of limestones and basic-ultrabasic volcanics of different ages which were sedimented together in a mudstone matrix by gravity flows (a discussion of sedimentary processes is given by C. Grasu *et al.*, 2012).

We collected several big blocks of serpentinites

along Șugău creek (fig. 14-15), a tributary of Bicaz river, which, in turn, is a tributary of Bistrița river. On this path, the clasts of serpentinites were transported as bedloads, together with all the other petrographic types, and could be easily recovered by individuals of Upper Palaeolithic communities settled along the Bistrița valley, such the one in Poiana Cireșului, and used for creating different objects.

Outcrops of Exotic Raw Material in the Bistrița Valley (north-eastern Romania) used in the Palaeolithic



Fig. 14 – Serpentinite blocks taken from an outcrop near the Șugău valley.

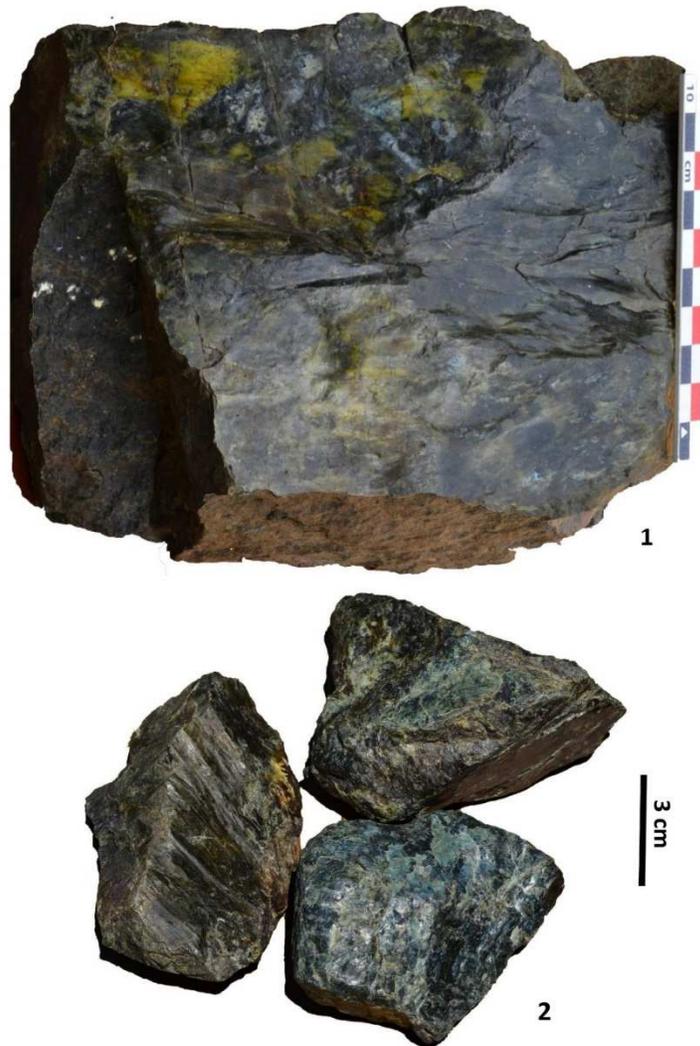


Fig. 15 – Serpentinite recovered from the Munticelu area.

#### 4. Discussions

In a 1987 study, J. Hahn would state that amber and hematite could be considered exotic raw materials used by the Palaeolithic people to make art objects. Recent research in the Poiana Cireșului-Piatra Neamț settlement has definitely broadened the range of known rocks used in the Gravettian, which may be viewed as special raw materials, sometimes unusual or exotic as they have been defined lately, through the discovery of fragmented objects (one of which is a schematic statuette) made from silicified wood and serpentinite (M. Cârciumaru, E.-C. Nițu, 2018; M. Cârciumaru *et al.*, 2018). It may be said that silicified wood is a novelty in terms of its usage in the Upper Palaeolithic of Romania. As regards the serpentinite, the latest evaluations of the

Palaeolithic Venus figurines of Grimaldi, Italy, have shown that two statuettes were carved from light green fibrous serpentinite, whereas the other five were made from dark green fibrous serpentinite (R. White, 1997). We should remember that, not long ago, the same Venus figurines were thought to have been made of steatite (H. Delporte, 1993).

Due to its medium hardness and petrographic constitution and structure, the serpentinite is a rock that the Palaeolithic man would find not so difficult to work. That is why the fragmented object with traces of production (perhaps an art object) found at Poiana Cireșului-Piatra Neamț was very carefully shaped, particularly on the sides (fig. 1/2b), first probably by abrasion and then by fine polishing (M. Cârciumaru, E.-

C. Nițu, 2018).

In contrast, the silicified wood is certainly more difficult to work, involving a diverse and sometimes rather complicated operational sequence. The shaping of such rock greatly depends on the degree of diagenesis of that particular sample (M. Cârciumaru *et al.*, 2018).

As regard the using of less common raw materials by the Palaeolithic man, especially for the art works, due to their scarcity in the inhabited areas, there is the tendency to consider their source in the very proximity of discovered sites. Not infrequently, rather complex analyses have been carried out in order to identify, as accurately as possible, their provenance, which is sometimes at considerable distance. For example, let us mention the attempts to prove amber's origin in Baltic areas. Investigations have often started not from researching forgotten or simply ignored local sources. Naturally, such situations also require comparative physico-chemical analyses of local sources and artefacts recovered from Palaeolithic settlements. In a recent article we have proved the existence of amber in Neamț County (M. Cârciumaru *et al.*, 2017) and in this study we have tried to complete the picture. Thus, we have intended to encourage the future researches and to launch a challenge for clarifying the origin of amber recovered from the Gravettian of Poiana Cireșului-Piatra Neamț (M. Cârciumaru *et al.*, 2017; 2018). We hope that we will supplement these results with a series of specific physico-chemical analyzes that should bring us closer to the source of amber of the Gravettian populations from the Bistrița valley.

As for the serpentinite, used by Gravettian populations from Poiana Cireșului-Piatra Neamț, there is no doubt that the source of supply were the gravels in the Bistrița valley. It arrived here from the outcrops in the Hăghimaș Mountains, transported by the Bicz river, a tributary of the Bistrița.

The clasts of serpentinites were supplied by the outcrops in Hășmaș Mountains and were transported along the Șugău-Bicz-Bistrița path in bedloads together with all the other petrographic types composing the rivers' alluvia.

#### Acknowledgements

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companies for amber exploitation in Neamț County, and Mr. Daniel-Dumitru Popa from Piatra Neamț for taking part in the discovery of one of the amber samples in the former Mălaia quarry.

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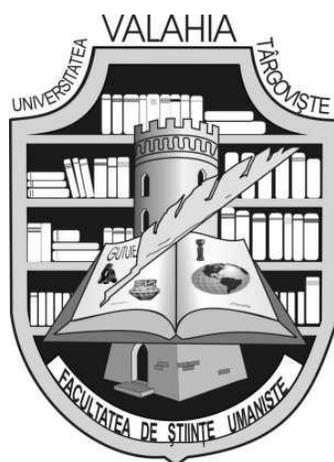
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# ANNALES



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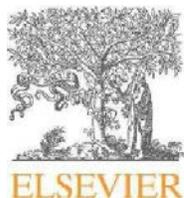
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## Military organization of Wallachia from the first Basarabs until the beginning of the 16th century

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**Abstract:** The Romanian medieval sources do not provide us with information about the measures taken by the first leaders of Wallachia to organize the army. However, from the accounts of some travellers or foreign chroniclers from the 15th-17th centuries, we find out about the composition of the Wallachian army at that time: the "big army" of the country, made up of free peasants and vassals, the "small army" made up of the prince's noblemen and high officials, the troops of the great boyars and, to a smaller extent, the troops of foreign mercenaries.

**Key-words:** Wallachia, the "big army", the "small army", courtiers, great captains, mercenaries.

### "The big army"

In the last century, Nicolae Stoicescu (1974, p. 270-271) considered that Basarab was the first to raise the "big army". According to the historian Nicolae Iorga, Vladislav-Vlaicu (1364-1377) raised the "big army" of the country for the first time (N. Iorga, 1910, p. 62). A document issued by the chancellery of this prince in 1374, shows that the villages belonging to Vodița, Jidovștița and Vodița Mare monasteries had been exempted from "the military service"\*. On the other hand, Constantin C. Giurescu reveals that Mircea cel Bătrân (1386-1418) used the "big army" for the first time in the Battle of Rovine against the Ottomans. Historians have so far proposed three dates for the battle: October 10th, 1394, and May 17th, 1395 (see Cl. Neagoe, 2014, vol. I, p. 221).

Most historians have so far supported the last opinion. The "big army" was first mentioned during the reign of Mircea cel Bătrân: in 1408 the prince of Wallachia granted Ciulnița village to the abbot Lazăr of Snagov Monastery, who had been exempted from all the taxes and work performances, but not from his service "in the big army"\*. According to a document issued by

Mihail I (1418), both the peasants and the inhabitants of the city participated in "gathering the mobs"\*

According to most historians, the "big army" ranged between 30,000 and 40,000 soldiers (*Istoria românilor*, 2001, vol. IV, p. 232). The prince ordered the call to arms by sending special envoys (*curteni domnești*) to the territory. Territorial governors (*vornici de județ, vornici de târg*) passed around the prince's "call to arms" in villages, fairs and cities (R. Rosetti, 2003, p. 112-113). An Ottoman document issued in 1521, mentioned that mobilization of the Wallachian army lasted at least 20 days\*\*.

The soldiers (Slav. *vojniki*; Rom. *voinicii*) gathered in a previously established place called "camp". There were smaller military units or companies (*steaguri*), consisting of 50-100 soldiers that joined together in larger units or battalions (*cete*), each made up of at least 4 companies (*steaguri*). During a military confrontation, several battalions (*cete*) could join to form a regiment (*pâlc*) (N. Stoicescu, 1980, p. 161-186). All the battalions formed the army (*gloata*), as we learn from *Învățăturile lui Neagoe Basarab către fiul său Theodosie*\*\*\*. Those who distinguished themselves on

the battlefield were proclaimed "brave men" (*Instituții feudale. Dicționar*, 1988, p. 504-505). This is what happened, for example, after the anti-Ottoman action on the Danube, undertaken by Vlad Țepeș in the winter of 1461-1462. According to the historian Liviu Pilat, these "brave men" who were wearing weapons proved great courage and military qualities during the battle. Subsequently, they used the term "brave" as cognomen (L. Pilat, 2009, p. 42).

Another prince who most probably gathered "the big army" of Wallachia was Vlad Țepeș (1456-1462), in the summer of 1462, when the Ottoman sultan Mehmed II personally invaded Wallachia. It is known that Vlad Țepeș failed to gather all the army in a relatively short time. Therefore, the Wallachian prince relied on the royal army, the troops of the great boyars and the personal guard made up of Transylvanian mercenaries (Cl. Neagoe, 2009, p. 131-132, 141).

Most historians who dealt with the Wallachian military evolution considered that the country's "big army" was no longer raised starting with the establishment and consolidation of the Ottoman domination in the first half of the 16th century (C. C. Oprescu, 2004, p. 19). However, a document in September 18th, 1531, during Prince Vlad "Înecatul" still mentions the villagers' obligation to participate in the "big army". Following this date, there is no other historical document or narrative source to prove the mobilisation of the "big army" in Wallachia.

#### **The prince's army or the "small army"**

It consisted of the prince's courtiers and servants (*slugi domnești*), spread across the 17 Wallachian counties. In the documentary and narrative sources of Slavic language, the courtiers were called *dvoreani*\*, in other words, they "were in the service of the princely court" (N. Stoicescu, 1968, p. 15-17). Since the 15th century, these courtiers (*curteni*, *curtiani*) who were free men of noble origin, have always made up the military personnel of the main or temporary princely courts. They were organized into small military units (*steaguri*), each comprising, according to most specialists, 100 men, hence the name "hundred" (*sută*). In reality, a *steag* comprised between 50 and 80 soldiers (*curteni*, *slugi domnești*). Several *steaguri* formed bigger units called *cete*, and during a military conflict, several *cete* joined in *pâlcuri* (N. Stoicescu, 1968, p. 214-222).

Their attributions included: participation in wars; fulfilment of prince's orders; collection of taxes and fines (*gloabe*), etc. The courtiers were at their own expenses, and received money, tax exemptions, or land

(*milă domnească*) for the services offered to the Wallachian prince (Cl. Neagoe, 2014, p. 282, 299).

At the beginning of the 16th century, the courtiers were spread into counties where there were courts, fairs and princely customs, under the command of captains (*vătafi*). The great captains (*mari vătafi de curteni*) were mentioned in 1529. They were subordinated to the local governors (*vornici de județ*, *vornici de târg*) who administered the territorial divisions of the country (*județe*) (Cl. Neagoe, p. 299).

Since the middle of the 16th century, the status of these military servants has been steadily degrading. After 1564, Prince Petru cel Tânăr and his mother, Chiajna imposed an annual tax (*birul de curte*) of 50 *akče*\*\*\*\*. Later in 1576 or 1577, prince Alexandru Mircea (1568-1577) increased the courtiers' tax from 50 to 180 *akče*\*\*\*\*. Prince Petru "Cercel" (1583-1585), also increased this tax and, in addition, forced the courtiers to give a tithe of their sheep (*gorștina de oi*)\*\*\*\*\*.

Starting with the second reign of Mihnea II (1585-1591), the courtiers were known as "the red" (*cervenii*), forming a category of military servants of the Wallachian prince (N. Stoicescu, 1968, p. 30).

Vlad Țepeș (1456-1462, second reign) was the first Wallachian prince who relied mainly on the "small army," during the confrontations taking place both inside and outside the country. At the beginning of his reign, the prince strengthened his internal authority. Externally, he prevented any attempt of the Ottomans to fully reign over Wallachia. In order to do this, Prince Vlad needed a well-organized army capable of answering his call at any moment (Cl. Neagoe, 2009, p. 132-134).

First of all, Prince Vlad Țepeș made up a "personal guard"\*\*\*\*\* of several hundred Hungarian mercenaries brought from Transylvania (*trabant*, *darabant*). They were rewarded for their fidelity with the possessions and properties confiscated from the boyars who had dissatisfied him or proved to be traitors (*hicleni*). Later, the prince organized a small army, mainly of free, big and small landowners (*boieri*, *boiernași*, *meșteșugari*, *moșneni*) who formed the courts of courtiers or servants of the prince (*curteni*, *slugi domnești*).

They were most likely to benefit from tax exemptions and other material privileges (*milă domnească*) in exchange for providing military service. Unfortunately, the Wallachian prince did not have fixed and constant financial means for the payment of his soldiers at that time.

In wartime, the courtiers fought either under the direct command of the prince, or under the command of

## Military organization of Wallachia from the first Basarabs until the beginning of the 16th century

a dignitary governor specially designated for that purpose. In time of peace, some of them guarded the Princely Courts of Târgoviște and Bucharest, and others were spread into counties and placed under the command of *vornici de târg* or "village administrators" (*pârcălabi de sate*). They were organized into small military units (*steaguri*), each counting up to 100 men, and bigger units (*cete*) formed by the union of two or more small units. All of them had to maintain the internal order and raise the prince's income (Cl. Neagoe, 2015, p. 283).

The "small army" proved to be extremely effective, since prince Vlad Țepeș punished the townspeople and the boyars of Targoviște, who had been found guilty of the death of his brother Mircea in 1447 (C. Rezachevici, 2001, p. 97) according to a late chronicle (*Letopisețul Cantacuzinesc*). Later in 1459, the prince annihilated the internal opposition, led by the great boyar Albu (Cl. Neagoe, 2010, p. 6-13). He succeeded in rejecting Dan III's (1460) attempts to remove him from the throne of Wallachia (Șt. Andreescu, 1998, p. 82).

### The Military Troops of the Wallachian Princes in the 14th-15th centuries

Year/ Period	Prince's name	Number of soldiers
1394-1395	Mircea cel Bătrân	over 20 000
1439-1443	Vlad Dracul	over 14 000
1458-1462	Vlad Țepeș	over 7 000
1475-1476	Ștefan cel Mare	about 20 000
1476	Laiotă Basarab cel Bătrân	12 000

With his small but powerful army, ranging between 7,000 and 10,000 soldiers, Vlad Țepeș invaded Transylvania on several occasions (1458-1460) to punish the cities of Sibiu and Brașov, which had supported Dan III's candidacy for the throne of Wallachia. Moreover, they had tried to dominate the economic and social life of the Romanian principality in the southern part of the Carpathians (I. Cioarec, 2009, p. 38-40).

Vlad Țepeș relied completely on his faithful courtiers and boyars and managed to reject an Ottoman expedition of robbery, carried out in the spring of 1458 by Mahmud Pașa, in the north of the Danube with an army of 18,000 soldiers under the command of Sultan Mehmed II. According to an anonymous author, the Wallachian prince at the head of his 5,000 soldiers, mostly Wallachian courtiers and Hungarian mercenaries, surprised and slaughtered half of the Ottoman army near the Danube (Șt. Andreescu, 1998, p. 102; Cl. Neagoe, 2009, p. 133-134).

In 1462, when Sultan Mehmed II came with a big army of about 80-90,000 soldiers, prince Vlad Țepeș gathered about 38,000 soldiers according to Gheorghe I. Brătianu (Gh. I. Brătianu, 1943, p. 138), and only 22,000 soldiers according to the historian Ștefan Andreescu (Șt. Andreescu, p. 128). According to the Turkish chronicler Tursun-Bey, following the confrontation with the Ottomans during the night of June 16/17, 1462, near Târgoviște, 3,700 of the

Wallachian prince's soldiers were taken prisoners, but Vlad and other 700 horsemen managed to escape from the clash\*\*\*\*\*. The famous "night attack" on the Ottoman camp did not succeed in spite of the prince's bravery because of the betrayal of the great boyars who had decided to side with the new prince Radu "cel Frumos", Vlad Țepeș's brother, brought and supported by Sultan Mehmed II (B. Cămpina, 1954, p. 599-624; Șt. Andreescu, 1998, p. 144).

Accompanied by a few hundred soldiers, Vlad Țepeș first fled to Poenari, and a few months later, at the beginning of October 1462, he crossed the mountains in Transylvania. There he had other unpleasant surprises. The Saxons of Brașov, Prince Vlad's old enemies, showed a few well-turned letters to the Hungarian King Matthias Corvinus that revealed some secret ties between Vlad and Mehmed II for a joint action against the Hungarian kingdom (C. Șerban, 1976, p. 1711). Having been cheated by the Saxons, the King ordered the arrest of Vlad Țepeș by the mercenary captain Jan Žižka of Brandys before November 26, 1462, somewhere in Rucăr-Bran area, near Câmpulung, probably at the stone fortress Pietra Craiului (M. P. Dan, 1944, p. 166-167; C. Rezachevici, 1976, p. 1751; R. Oprea, 2010, p. 136-137). He escorted him to Alba Iulia, and later to Buda, where the prince was introduced to the king on New Year's Eve in 1463 (C. Șerban, 1976, p. 1712).

Vlad Țepeș was the king's prisoner in Vișegrad for 12 years. In 1476, at the insistence of Prince Ștefan cel

Mare of Moldavia, King Matthias Corvinus freed Vlad and helped him to regain the throne of Wallachia in the autumn of 1476. Unfortunately, the third reign was extremely short (October 1476 - January 1477), because Vlad Țepeș died under mysterious circumstances. His followers relied heavily on the "small army", ranging from 9,000 to 12,000 soldiers (Cl. Neagoe, 2015, p. 297).

### Military services

With only a few exceptions, the strategies used by the Wallachian princes during the 14th-15th centuries had a defensive character. In case of danger, the princes often required the entire population to retreat to the wooded or mountainous regions. In order to make it harder for the enemy to enter the country, the Wallachians organized permanent nuisance actions. At the same time, they fired all the settlements in the way of the enemy, so that they could not get any supplies. The Wallachian princes delayed as much as possible the direct confrontations with the enemies, seeking to attract them to hard-to-reach places: marshy or wooded areas; mountain passes (*posade*).

According to *Chronicon pictum Vindobonense* (written between 1358-1370 at the Court of King Ludovic of Anjou by Kálati Márk, a priest from Székes-Fehérvár), the battle between the Hungarian King, Charles Robert d'Anjou and Basarab, the Wallachian prince of *Terra Transalpina* took place on a "winding pass, enclosed at both sides by very high ravines" which the Wallachians "had fortified with apiaries"\*\*\*\*\*.

The royal documents following the battle (1332, 1333 and 1335) remind of a "dark and narrow place," or a "narrow and woody place enclosed with strongholds"\*. The term *Posada (Pazzata)*, used by the historian Nicolae Iorga, was mentioned for the first time in a royal document on 6 June 1397, but it referred to another battle between Sigismund of Luxembourg, King of Hungary, and Vlad I (1396-1397), prince of Wallachia (Cl. Neagoe, 2014, p. 187).

The battle between Charles Robert and Basarab took place in November 9-12, 1330, "from the sixth day of the week <Friday> until the second day of the next week <Monday>". As stated by Constantine Rezachevici, Basarab's soldiers threw "arrows" or spears at the Hungarians from the high ridges of the mountains. Apparently, it was not a long-distance battle, but rather an assault of Basarab's army on the royal army and a hand-to-hand fighting.

During the first two days (Friday 9th and Saturday 10th, November), the king's army was stopped in a mountain valley and crushed down with weapons for

remote battle; in the next two days (Sunday 11th and Monday 12th) it was attacked and defeated in a hand-to-hand fighting. The author of the painted chronicle, especially its miniaturist, did his best to create the image of a Romanian army made up of peasant fighters with shaggy hats and sheepskin coats, carrying arches, spears and boulders. They had to save the royal dignity by illustrating an idea specific to the Middle Ages: God punished the king's pride through Basarab's peasants with their rudimentary weapons. In fact, Wallachian knights and soldiers used western-like equipment and weapons: lances, swords, arches and cudgels (C. Rezachevici, 2004, p. 167-175).

In the summer of 1462, Vlad Țepeș (named *Dracula-oglu Kazâklî* or *Kazâklî beğ* by the Ottomans)\*\*\*\*\* faced an extremely difficult situation: the expedition of Sultan Mehmed II (1444-1446, 1451-1481). The strategies used by the Wallachian prince were described by some contemporary authors such as the Byzantine chronicler Mihail Ducas\*\*\*\*\* or the Serbian janizary Konstantin Mihailović of Ostrovica\*\*\*\*\*. The first author said that Prince Vlad put all his subjects "to hidden and wooded places, the fields were left desolate, and all kind of cattle were driven more inland [...]; the prince and his army used to stand in strategic and wooded places"\*\*\*\*\*.

After being informed about the number and equipment of the Ottomans, the prince infiltrated himself "as a scout"\*\*\*\*\* into his enemy's army as we learn from the Byzantine chronicler Laonikos Chalkokondyles and launched the famous night attack on the camp of Sultan Mehmed II (16,17 June 1462) (M. Cazacu, 2008, p. 202-203).

The military action was carried out shortly after midnight. At the head of over 7,000 well-armed Wallachian horsemen carrying lighted torches, Prince Vlad Țepeș launched a fierce attack on the Ottoman camp, placed somewhere on the road to Târgoviște. His main objective was to surprise and physically eliminate Sultan Mehmed II.

After they had fled the military body of Anatolia, the Wallachians gave, according to Chalkokondyles, "a great battle"\*\*\*\*\* in the tents of the viziers Isaac Pasha and Mahmud Pasha. The janizary troops were organized and intervened in a short time. At dawn, Prince Vlad ordered his army to withdraw right in the middle of the Ottoman camp. He found it difficult to leave the Ottoman camp accompanied by only 700 Wallachian horsemen. Approximately 3,700 Wallachians were taken prisoners, and other 3,000 or 4,000 soldiers fell in the confrontations against the

Ottomans. According to the Turkish chronicler Tursun Bey, the prince's army was reduced to almost a quarter\*\*\*\*\*.

Most Ottoman chroniclers considered the action of the Wallachian prince a complete failure. Bishop Niccolò of Modrusa, on the other hand, attributed the prince's military failure to the incompetence of one of his commanders, Galeș *dvornic* (*palatinus, judex curie*), who did not have the courage to attack the Ottoman military camp from another direction (N. Stoicescu, 1976, p. 111, n. 126). Shortly after, Vlad Țepeș lost the throne of Wallachia in favor of his brother, Radu, who was supported by the Ottomans, and after November 26, 1462, he was arrested by order of the Hungarian King Matthias Corvinus on the basis of fake letters of the Saxons in Brașov, the indomitable enemies of Vlad Țepeș (C. Șerban, 1976, p. 1711).

After the appointment of Radu cel Frumos (1462-1475), the Ottoman political and economic influence on Wallachia (*Eflak, Böyü Eflak*) became increasingly evident. From that moment, the foreign policy of the Wallachian princes was adopted in full accordance with the one of the Ottoman Empire. The Wallachian prince had to be "a friend of friends and an enemy of the enemy" (*dosta dost ve düşmana düşman olub*) to the Great Sultan (M. Maxim, 2012, p. 41).

He was obliged to constantly supply information and auxiliary troops during the Ottoman military campaigns. For example, Radu cel Frumos joined the Ottomans in the Battle of Vaslui (January 10, 1475) against Prince Ștefan cel Mare of Moldavia (Ș. Papacostea, 1990, p. 45). Laiotă Basarab cel Bătrân also joined Sultan Mehmet II in the expedition in Moldavia and the Battle of Războieni\*\*\*\*\*, in which Prince Ștefan of Moldavia was defeated (26 July 1476). Another prince later, Vlad Călugărul\*\*\*, participated in the Ottoman expedition to conquer the Moldavian fortresses Chilia and Cetatea Albă (1484).

#### Equipment, weapons and military techniques

Based on foreign narrative evidence and iconographic representations in the more important Wallachian churches, we can broadly recompose the equipment and weapons used during the 14th-15th centuries. For example, one of the supporting columns of Domnești Church in Argeș, dating back to the middle of the 14th century, depicts a Wallachian knight wearing a "leather armour" with rows of iron scales and iron protective blades on the thighs (A. Alexianu, 1971, p. 35).

If Basarab I's soldiers were unjustifiably represented as peasants-soldiers in *Chronicon Pictum*

*Vindobonense*, wearing high caps and shaggy woolen clothes, a German engraving in 1488 showed them as Western-equipped soldiers: they wore helmets with semicircular trench caps that covered their head and neck, chainmail shirts and iron shields for their upper and lower limbs, swords in the belt, and lances in their hands (A. Alexianu, 1971, p. 37). In the 15th century, the horsemen replaced the lance with the spear. This weapon with a throwing or thrusting role, was about 5-8 m long, with a short iron tip and rhombic or leaf shape (Ion I. Solcanu, 2002, p. 101). The great boyars wore 1,25 m long straight swords at least until the middle of the 15th century (Ion I. Solcanu, 2002, p. 112). Subsequently, as Wallachia entered the political influence of the Ottoman Empire, the boyars adopted Eastern swords of smaller size, 80-90 cm, slightly curved at the top and the blade across their entire length (Ion I. Solcanu, 2002, p. 109; C. Vlădescu, C. Köning, D. Popa, 1973, p. 45).

Ordinary soldiers came to army with their own weapons. They used striking and chopping weapons (cudgels, hatchets, swords), long throwing weapons (crossbows, bows and arrows) and shields\*\*\*\*\*. There were two types of arches: brace-shaped and oriental bows. They were made of hazelnut, hornbeam, ash or elm wood and their string was made of flax, hemp, or bowels. The 0,90 m arrows had an iron tip. According to the historian Radu Rosetti, the Wallachians could shoot about 10-12 arrows per minute, up to a distance of 220 m (R. Rosetti, 2003, p. 131). The Wallachians' shields were small and light, made of a metal plate, wood or leather-lined wicker (R. Rosetti, 2003, p. 127).

The firearms were first used in Wallachia in the middle of the 15th century. According to Walerand of Wavrin, counselor and chamberlain of Duke Philip of Burgundy, the commander of the crusader fleet, who acted on the Danube in 1445, Prince Vlad Dracul had about 6,000 soldiers and two big bombers\*\*\*\*\* during the siege of Ottoman-dominated Giurgiu fortress. These firearms are described by the commander of the Burgundian fleet: "They had the loading box for only three quarters [...] so when it was loaded, the stone cannonball was out about an eighth. And the cannoners did not know how to target the fortress (?), so the stones always passed over"\*\*\*\*\*.

In the first half of the 15th century the Wallachian princes favored the merchants in Brașov, giving them trade privileges and eliminating all customs duties for all the weapons brought and sold in Wallachia. For example, on August 25, 1413, Mircea cel Bătrân

eliminated customs duties for swords, spears, knives, and bowstrings, brought by the Saxon merchants in Braşov\*. Between 1422-1424 Prince Dan II also eliminated customs duties for the weapons brought from Braşov: swords, bows, arrows and knives\*.

In the autumn of 1445, Vlad Dracul asked for cannons (*puşti*) and gunpowder in addition to bows and arrows\*. In 1474, Basarab Laiotă sent his servant Proica to Braşov to buy bows and shields (I. Bogdan, 1905, p. 121, no. XCIV). Between 1483-1484, Vlad Călugărul asked the judges and the rulers of Braşov to send him "bows and arrows, swords, shields and iron for weapons" (I. Bogdan, 1905, p. 189-190, no. CLVI). According to a document issued between 1503-1504 by Radu cel Mare, Rădilă, a merchant from Câmpulung had purchased 18,000 knives from Braşov (I. Bogdan, 1905, p. 221-222, no. CLXXXV).

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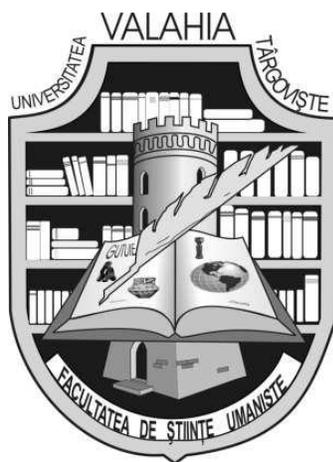
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# ANNALES



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## Aspects of religious life in Teleorman County (Romania) from the sixteenth to nineteenth century

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**Abstract:** Religious life in Teleorman County has only begun to be documented since the sixteenth century, although we have so far few documents, but since the seventeenth century, the number of documented priests has increased considerably. Numerous medieval documents confirm that in the village community, the priest did not only act as a supporter of the Orthodox faith, to alleviate the sufferings of the people, but to own lands he had bought or inherited from his parents. In terms of their social status, priests were considered free people, but there were also situations where the priest's dependence on the boyar was a real fact. Most of the priests were scholars, as evidenced by the numerous documents written by them. The book teaching was done, firstly in the village churches by its parishioners, but not lastly in the monasteries and hermitages erected on the county territory.

**Keywords:** religious life, XVIth-XIXth century, Teleorman County (Romania), priest, church, owner, free people, literacy.

With the formation of the Wallachia medieval state in the first decades of the fourteenth century, the foundation of ecclesiastical structures with all state structures was laid as well. Thus, in 1359, during the time of Nicolae Alexandru, the first Metropolitan Church of Ungrovlahia was established, based in Argeș, conducted by the metropolitan Iachint de Vicina (D. C. Giurescu, 1973, pp. 355-357; N. Dobrescu, 1906, p. 35; N. Constantinescu, 2002, p. 137-146), acquiring, “*not only a church organization, but also a political- state organization, both by the fact that it was recognized by Byzantium and by the fact that the foundations of the ruler-metropolitan / state-church binomial were laid*” (Cl. Neagoe, 2014, p. 190). Here lived the metropolitans of Wallachia until 1517, when Neagoe Basarab moved to Târgoviste (D. C. Giurescu, 1973, p. 353; N. Dobrescu, 1906, p. 35).

In the 14th-15th centuries, the representatives of the Church, the monks and the clergy were landowners, and therefore, probably, payers of gifts to the reign, but

there is no evidence to this effect (D. C. Giurescu, 1973, p. 358).

We have witnesses regarding the obligations of priests only from the seventeenth century. As it appears on January 14, 1630, voivode Leon Tomșa exempted the priests and deacons from the Royal Church in Bucharest, so that „*ca să fie de acum înainte casele lor și bucatele lor în pace și slobode de bir și de bou și de oaie seacă și de cal și de miiare și de ceară și de galben și de cai de olacu și de vinărici și de păhărnice și de schimbul banilor și de găleata cu fân și de undelemnul și de dijmă și de năem și de împrumutare și de toate slujbele și mâncăturile care sunt peste an în țara domniei mele, de nimic băntuială să nu aibă, pentru că am iertat domnia pe dânșii, ca să se odihnească în zilele domniei mele, cum au fost iertați și la alți domni*”\* („*from now on, their houses and their food should be in peacekeeping and free from taxes, oxen and sheep, horses and thousands and wax and gold and free from horses and winery taxes and butlers and exchanging*

money and the hay bucket and oil and free from taxes and fellow citizens and from borrowing and all the work and all the food that exist all over the year in the land of my kingdom, there is nothing to be desired, for I have forsaken the kingship, to rest in the days of my reign, as they were forgiven also by their lords”). We can conclude that they paid all the duties as the rest of the population, being exempted, in certain periods, by the rulers. From *Anatefter. Condica de porunci a vistieriei lui Constantin Brâncoveanu* (*Anatefter. In the order of the treasury of Constantin Brâncoveanu*), in 1698, we also find some obligations that the priests had towards the reign (D. C. Giurescu, 1962, p. 391-392). Thus, for those in Buzău bishopric, Constantin Brancoveanu gave orders to pay 2000 annual *ughi* in four installments „și le-am facut domniia mea rumtoare da bir, ca să aibă a dare toți preoții și diiaconii [...], pre an câte ug<hi> 2000” (D. Giurescu, 1962, p. 391-392) („and I did during my reign rumtoare in order for everybody to give tribute so that all the priests and deacons have to pay [...] per year by ug <hi> 2000”). As for other gifts, from *Anatefter* we find that „pentru oeritul, dijmăritul, vinericiul, după obicéiu, sa-și plătească cu bani, pre ce le-ar face. Si vinericéii carii vor hi, să n-aibă voe a le luaré buți cu vin pentru vinericiu, ci numai bani, nici sa dea chiriiia buților céle dă vinerici și poclonul, dă nume, câte bani 12, mai mult nu” („for sheepkeeping, dijmarit, vinericiu, according to the custom, they should pay money, whatever they would do. And vinericéii, whoever they will be, must not take with them any wine barrels for vinericiu, but only money and nor must they give rent to Buti to those given that give vinerici and poclon, by name, 12 coins and no more”). It is also mentioned that „și i-am ertat dă dăjdii mărunte, ce le era asupra lor, ca să aib<ă> răsuflar<e>, să poată fi de paza sfintelor biserică, cu slujba, ca să pomenească pre domniia mea și pre toți creștini” (and I exempted them from giving small dăjdii(taxes) which they owed so that they could be free to be guarding the holy Church, to give sermons in which to mention my reign and all the Christians) (D. C. Giurescu, 1962, p. 391-392).

Following the archaeological research done at the Church “Sf. Nicolae” from Roșiorii de Vede founded by the Butculescu family towards the end of the 18th century, a cemetery was discovered, which, although it has a poor inventory, could be dated from the 15th-16th centuries (Ecaterina Țânțăreanu, 2010, p. 33- 34).

The attestation of the priests in Teleorman county starts only from the 16th century, a period for which we have only eight documents containing the names of some priests. Thus, from a reinforcement book from

Neagoe Basarab, dated May 23, 1515, we find out about “priest Stanciu” who had bought “a part of Zărnești”, from a certain Cernica, for the sum of 260 *aspri* \*\*. On April 23rd, 1527, priest Mircea is mentioned, to whom voivode Radu from Afumați strengthened his part of the land „pentru că îi este veche și dreaptă ocină, dedină” („because it is old and straight land, *dedina*), namely a plot of land in the village Tămășești bought from Oncea with 62 *aspri* \*\*\*, \*\*\*\* (E. Țânțăreanu, 2010, p. 66). On January 13, 1575, Alexandru Mircea, the ruler of the Wallachia, was giving to a certain priest Dumitru from Poenari village, a part of the village bought from Stroe from Valceni with the sum of 300 rough, a territory that included „toată vatra satului și din amândouă ogrăzile cât se va alege toată și din rediu jumătate și din Valea cu Trestie jumătate (“all the hearth of the village and of both yards. how much will all be chosen and half of the spinney and half of the Trestie Valley”)\*\*\*\*\*, \*\*\*\* (M. Bâzgan, 2004, p. 175). Witness to the signing of the decree given by voivode Mihnea Turcitul to Ban Calotă and his wife, consisting of properties in Lipov, Căpățână and București villages, on June 1, 1578, was also priest Stan from Șerbănești village \*\*\*\*\*; \*\*\*\* (I. Spiru, 2015, p. 95). Priest Bucșe, from the village of Cervenia, appears mentioned, on November 29, 1588, in a letter issued by Mihnea II, called “*Turcitul*”, which allowed Mihai the redemption of some gypsies from priest Bucșe for 2000 rough \*\*\*\* (Ecaterina Țânțăreanu, 2010, p. 51). On March 21, 1589, in another charter of voivode Mihnea II, it is mentioned the monk Maxim who was having a lawsuit with *postelnic* Dragomir for a property in the village of Pietroșani, which he claimed to have bought, but proved later the judgment of the ruler that he had received only a guarantee for 5000 *aspri* \*\*\*\*; \*\*\*\*\*. On January 26, 1590, Priest Dumitru from the village of Miroși, another representative of the Church, witnessed in a charter of voivode Mihnea Turcitul\*\*\*\* (M. Bâzgan, 2004, p. 174); six decades later, on April 16, 1662, his daughter “aunt Neagolea”\*\*\*\*\* sold to the cupbearer Tudoran, the 100 fathoms held by her in the village. Finally, on June 21, 1597, would be certified priest Frățilă in the village Lacen as he signed as a witness in a charter issued by Prince Michael the Brave\*\*\*\*\* (M. Bâzgan, 2004, p. 174).

Therefore, for the 16th century, we can say that in the county of Teleorman there were at least 8 churches, in the following locations: Zărnești, Tămășești, Poenari, Șerbănești, Cervenia, Pietroșani, Miroși and Lăceni. After positioning them on the current map of Teleorman County, one can conclude that, except for the village of Miroși and Zărnești, which were in the west of

Teleorman County, most are in the North-East area. This possible reality is also due to the 1517 relocation of the Metropolis of Ungrovlahia to Târgoviște, which influenced, by approaching the border of Teleorman County on its NE side, the development of the religious life in this geographical area and less in the west.

Since the seventeenth century, the number of documented priests has increased considerably compared to the previous period (I. Spuru, 2015, p. 95-137). Ioan Spuru, in the work *Din istoria bisericii teleormănene (From the history of the Teleorman church)*, made a list of the clergy who performed their activity, comprising about 1200 priests for the period 1500-1900 (I. Spuru, 2015, p. 95-137). From this list, for the period of the sixteenth century up to the first three decades of the nineteenth century, we find that there are recorded a very large number of priests who performed their religious activity in the villages of Teleorman County; new ones are added to these as a result of our research. Thus, in a letter from January 11, 1680, we find mentioned Gheorghe Tichigiul, the son of Eftemie the monk from Râca, Teleorman County, who sold to Radu Știrbei a large estate which was in Popesti, Teleorman County \*\*\*\*\*. Another representative of the Teleorman church, later discovered, is priest Radu of Nanov, whose children were selling on February 25, 1680, to Constantin, the *pitar*, and to her maiden, Anca, an estate in Singureni, Vlașca County\*\*\*\*\*. Also on May 25, 1716, Oană Răspopitul from Adămești village, Teleorman County, gives a written document to the abbot Averchie from Cotroceni monastery, to whom they give, for his memory and that of his parents, 48 fathoms of land in Comanesti, Teleorman. From the document, we also find that the monastery still owned lands in the village Comănești, which had been given by “priest. Paisie monah Urdăreanul, since he was a layman“ („*părintele Paisie monah Urdăreanul, încă de când au fostu mirean*”)\*\*\*\*\*. Beside this estate dedicated by priest Paisie, were the 48 fathoms given by Oană Răspopitul, bought three years ago by Radu Furculescu and his cousin Manea\*\*\*\*\*. From *Condica Marii Logofeții* we find that among the properties of Cotmeana monastery, in Argeș County, the *metoh* of Cozia monastery, were the 100 fathoms from Nenciulești, bought on May 30, 1693, from the priest Radu and his brother Ilie\*\*\*\*\*. In the same *Condica Marii Logofeții* is mentioned that Mr. Constantin Brancoveanu strengthened to Hristodor *vel* captain a part of the estate in Hânsărești, Teleorman County, part that had belonged to the monks Simion and

Dobre, which he had bought in 1697-1698\*\*\*\*\*.

In the village community, the priest did not merely have the role of supporters of the Orthodox faith, of alleviating the sufferings of the people, but he also owned the lands he had bought or inherited from his parents. In this respect, there are very good testimonies such as that of May 25, 1613, of voivode Radu Mihnea, who gave to „*popii David din Merișani ocine în satul Merișani, partea bunicului său, Seprentin, toată [...], pentru că toate aceste părți îi sunt de moștenire și are pentru ele și carte veche, ruptă și întunecată de la bătrânul Vlad voievod, fiul bătrânului, de mult răposat, Vlad voievod*”\*\*\*\*\* („*priest David from Merișani properties in the village of Merișani, the property of his grandfather, Seprentin, all of it [...], because all these parts belong to him. they are part of his inheritance and he has for them also an old book, broken and dark from the old Vlad Voievode, the son of the old, long-lost, Vlad Voievode*”). Another document is the one from February 22, 1700, when Nicula, the son of priest Nicula of Nemoșteni, sold to Bunea Grădișteanu a big landlord, his share of the estate in the village of Nemoștenii de Jos, Teleorman County „*care moșie iaște a mea dă la părinții mei*”\*\*\*\*\* (“*which inherited property is mine from my parents*”).

The written document of May 9, 1692, tells us that during the time of Serban Voda, Metropolitan Valaam had left the treasure of the metropolis for preservation, more precisely, „*un sipet cu 2000 tl. la popa Stan din satul Albești*”\*\*\*\*\* („*a coffer with 2000 tl. to priest Stan from the village of Albești*”), and Grigorie Chancellor Grădișteanu had taken the money from this priest, Stan, and spent it. Some of the money had been returned by his wife, and part of it by his son, Matei. But as he was still owed part of the debt, Matei also gave „*partea sa de moșie de la Netoți, județul Teleorman*”\*\*\*\*\* (“*his part of the estate from Netoți, Teleorman County*”) that his father Grigore Chancellor Grădișteanu had bought. From the document, we also deduce the importance of the priest in the village world, the confidence that he enjoys.

Regarding their social status, priests were considered free people (I. Spuru, 2015, p 92), but there were also situations in which the priest's dependence on the boyar was a real fact. In this respect, there is the evidence of 20 May 1612, by which voivode Radu Mihnea granted „*lui Preda postelnic și soției lui Florica, fiica lui Mihail voievod, satul Pleașovul de Sus și de Jos, cu tot hotarul, cu tot venitul și cu toți*

vecinii”\*\*\*\* („to Preda postelnic and to the wife, Florica, the daughter of voievode Mihail, the village of Pleaşov de Sus and de Jos, with all the borders, with all the income and with all the neighbors”), among which were „popa Rele cu fiul său Stoica”\*\*\*\* (priest Rele and his son Stoica).

Another proof of this we have in December 8, 1617, when seneschal's Para, gave to „popa Stanciu cu nepotu-său Pătru” (priest Stanciu and his nephew Patru) and others „moşia Cărtojanilor, din hotar până în hotar, din câmp, apă şi pădure, pentru că s-au răscumpărat pentru 40.000 aspri şi a patra parte din ocina de jos, fără rumâni”\*\*\*\* („the estate Cartoijan from border to border, from the field, water and forest, because they were redeemed for 40,000 aspri and the fourth part of the property below, without peasants”).

Representatives of the clergy benefited from certain tax exemptions, but from the document of June 25, 1628, we find that priest Dragomir from Poeni village in Vlaşca County who had moved to Fiiani village from Ilfov county, paid taxes in Fiiani village, along with the other inhabitants of the village\* \*\*\*\*.

Most of the priests were scholars, as evidenced by the numerous documents written by them. Thus, according to the catalog of documents, prepared by Maria Georgescu and Gheorghe Popa, *Documente referitoare la istoria judeţului Teleorman 1441-1700* (Documents referring to the history of Teleorman county 1441-1700), between 1606 and 1685, no less than 25 priests, representatives of the clergy write acts, which proves that they were connoisseurs of book science\*\*\*\*. In addition, some of them were probably transmitting the teaching to others, as well. Thus, on February 25, 1671, a document appears through which priest Gheorghe sold to priest Teodosie, who preached at his monastery in Aninoasa from Muscel County, his land in the village of Puţinței; he wrote „Mitrea, chiliaşul părintelui Teodosie, cu zisa popii Gherghe din Bucureşti” („Mitrea, the Chiliaş of priest Theodosius, according to the agreement of priest Gherghe from Bucharest”)\*\*\*\*. On June 6, 1684, there comes the document of priest Mihăilă from the village of Reapezi, Teleorman County, through which he sold to bishop Barbu Urdăreanu, his share of the estate he had from the monk Iftimie, his grandfather; the document was written by a certain Radu „cu învăţătura preotului Mihăilă” („with the instructions of priest Mihăilă”)\*\*\*\*.

Together with the priests, the deacons helped to carry out the religious worship, despite being mentioned in fewer documents, and appear as landowners or as witnesses in signing the acts. A small part of them is

considered scholars. Thus, from May 24, 1642 we have the document written by Oană, the deacon from the village of Grozeşti\*\*\*\*. Another scholar deacon is Constantin from Puţinței, Teleorman County, mentioned on December 1, 1680\*\*\*\*. On March 1, 1686, a document is written by deacon Coman from Crângeni\*\*\*\*. Among these deacons, there were some who gave teachings on writing acts, such as the deacon Gheorghe of the village of Mârzăneştii de Jos, who, on April 4, 1674, sold his land, along with his father and brother, to *clucer* Tudoran, in the village of Aninoasa, for which a document was written by Iane, the cupbearer „cu zisa lui Gheorghe diaconul” („with the agreement of Gheorghe, the deacon”)\*\*\*\*. We find the same deacon Gheorghe on February 12, 1676, when he was haggling about hiring some craftsmen to make a mill in the village of Puţinței with *clucer* Tudoran; he also came to a deal with Tudoran, who owned more than half of the village of Puţinței, „la cheltuiala morii, ca şi la venitul ei, Tudoran să fie pătaş proporţional cu moşia ce i se va cădea să stăpânească” („to the expense of the mill, as well as to its income, Tudoran would contribute in a proportional part to the estate that he was going to own”)\*\*\*\*.

The literacy was a reality in Teleorman County, a fact which is proven by the numerous documents written between 1441-1665 by grammarians, no less than 29 medieval documents, together with 8 copyists, 27 priests and 4 deacons\*\*\*\*, (N. Stoicescu, 1988, p. 153, 209). The essential condition of being a part of the clergy, whether they were priests, deacons or cantors, was to know how to write and read (N. Stoicescu, p. 368; I. Spiru, p. 82-83). From these, the children of the village learned the mystery of reading and writing „folosind pentru aceasta cărţile bisericii şi lada cu nisip” („using for this the books of the church and the sand box”) (I. Spiru, p. 89).

The book teaching was done, firstly, in the village churches by its servants, but not lastly in the monasteries and hermitages erected on the county territory. In this regard, it is worth mentioning the monasteries and churches of this period in which a rich religious activity took place, such as: the monastery from Drăgăneşti - 1647, the monastery from Plăviceni - 1648, the church from Balaci - 1684, the monastery from Baldovineşti - erected at the end of the seventeenth century and not least the monastery from Dideşti - ca 1700 (St. V. Cristea, 2002, p. 77). Probably, Radu Gramaticu from Măniceşti also learned in the monastery from Drăgăneşti or the hermitage of Comanca, and from him we have some valuable works, namely the Gospel written in

1574 (St. V. Cristea, 2002, p. 77). Jeremiah Iacacela was also abbot of the Plaviceni monastery in Teleorman County, who had spent, due to his wisdom, time at the court of Șerban Cantacuzino (1678-1688), being also the teacher of the children of Constantin Cantemir, between 1691-1693; in addition he taught Dimitrie Cantemir as well (St. V. Cristea, 1996, pp. 145-146).

As it can be seen, there had been monasteries on the territory of the county long before the execution of the 1700 map by the steward Constantin Cantacuzino, although no monastery belonging to the county of Teleorman is recorded in it (C. C. Giurescu, 1943, p. 20). Nevertheless, in 1778, Theodor Wilhelm von Bauer comes to mention 42 churches for Teleorman County, of which four were in the only city, Roșiorii de Vede (Fr. W. von Bauer, 1778, p. 168-172). About 40 years after that, Dionisie Fotino (1859, p. 170-171) when describing in his work *Istoria generală a Daciei sau a Transilvaniei, Țerei Muntenesci și a Moldovei (The general history of Dacia or Transylvania, Muntenia Country and Moldova)*, in 1819, the fourth county of Walachia, Teleorman, he wrote that there was only one city, Rușii de Vede, where there were two churches, whereas in the whole county there were 190 churches and no monasteries.

According to the census of the Ungro-Vlahia Diocese of 1810 (I. Spiru, 1996, p. 87) there were 165 villages and one city, Rușii de Vede. In the county, there were 171 churches, most of them were made of wood, brick and very few of the masonry, six of which could be found in Roșiorii de Vede. In these churches, 372 priests and 310 deacons performed the religious service. (I. Spiru, 1996, p. 87- 88).

According to a monograph of the Wallachia between 1820-1828, Teleorman County had two churches (C. Caracaș, 1937, p. 206).

In addition, the travelers who passed through the Romanian space left behind information about Teleorman County, one of these being Ignati Iakovenko (1820), a Russian traveler, official of the Russian consulate in Bucharest, connoisseur of the Romanian space, who provided economic, social, political and administrative information. After this, in the Wallachia, there were four dioceses, each subordinated to the Metropolitan, but ruled separately. Under the leadership of the Metropolitan were the churches in seven counties, comprising Teleorman, which included 385 priests with 264 deacons\*\*\*\*\*. In addition, for Teleorman County, he stated that there were two

*metohs*: Drăgănești and Didești, 194 churches, out of which two in Roșiorii de Vede\*\*\*\*\*.

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# ANNALES



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