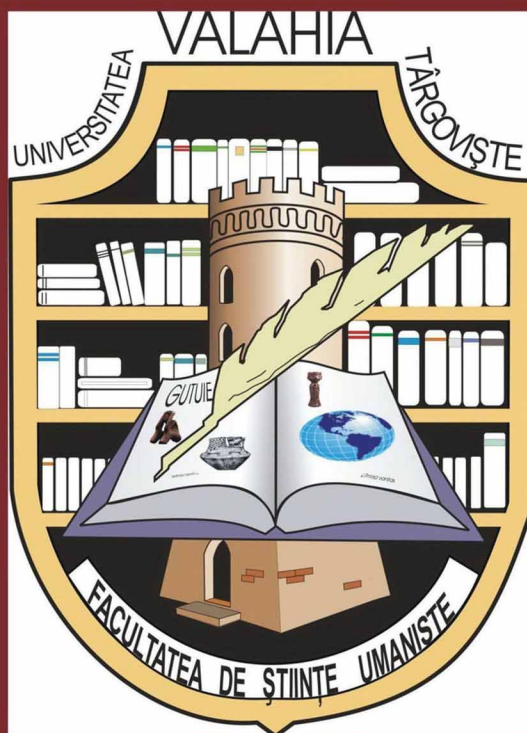


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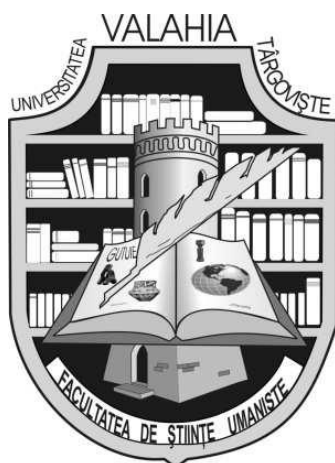
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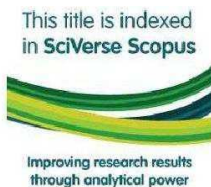
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Archaeological Survey of the new - found lithography of the Aghrablou, Shahindej - Boukan, Iran

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Abstract: There is a rich collection of carvings on a cliff facing to the east in border of the Zarrinehrood River, Western Azarbaijan Province, and in a hillside mountain called Kou Sorkh (In Kurdish) or Red Mountain, in the north of Aghrablou Village around Shahindej City. This collection includes animal motifs, ibex with high and long horns, hunting scenes, human on horseback, geometric and tools motifs and so on. This paper, which is based on field and library studies, has been done to identify and typology these motifs completely, explaining the function and purpose of creating lithography and determining their chronology.

Key Words: lithography, Aghrablou, animal motifs, human motifs, typology.

Introduction

The rock art has been used in many societies, cultures and civilizations as a means of expressing thoughts and beliefs. Study of these motifs has gradually been acquiring a position in field archaeological studies in the Iran since last decade. Frequency and dispersion of these rock art works in different regions of the Iran (eastern north, west, central plateau, south and eastern south) have converted this subject as a new branch of archaeology studies (T. Ghasemi 2007, p. 71; S. Sheikh Akbarizade *et al.* 2014, p. 196). The rock art in the modern sense consists only of the drawings in which their main roles, small and sometimes miniature images, animals, shapes, symbols, plants and humans, in single picture or in scenes of hunting, battle, dance and social and religion ceremonies, and the technique of the execution of these motifs in the style of the carving (petroglyph). However, it involves all kinds of carving, rubbing, scratching, cutting, and chopping (F. Karimi 2007, p. 21).

Sometimes rock motifs are related together and often they are unrelated. Although most of researchers assign these motifs to prehistoric period, recent studies show that most of them may belong to the historical periods and even recent periods (L. Fazel 2011, p. 69). Various rock motifs have been acquired in different regions of the Iran and many of them have been studied in different journals and books. The first found motifs in the Iran are belong to the Kouhdasht City, Lorestan Province, and they are dating back to six to eight thousand years ago (H. Izadpanah 1984, p. 358; A. Ayatizadeh 2014, p. 80). The oldest illustrations that have been found so far are cave motifs in the Lorestan province that they are dating back to four thousand years ago (H. Afshari 2011, p. 164). In archaeology

studies of recent decade in the north- west of Iran also many rock illustrations have been identified including the Pirazmian and Laheroud motifs in the Meshkinshahr, the Soungun, Liqlan, Ghahghahe in the Arasbaran of the Ahar region the Khareh Valley in the Hanjiran of the Mahabad township and so on. Another valuable rock motif is the Aghrablou lithography of the Shahindej- Boukan that is located on a vertical rock face to the sun and in the Red Mountain hillside. These illustrations include 21 various motifs such as animal, geometric and tools (archery) and combined riders' motifs and so on, that have been carved on the rock in different dimensions and sizes by the petroglyph or carved illustration. Writers have the following aims due to studying the Aghrablou motifs:

- Study and identify the studied motifs;
- Comparing and conformity of the studied motifs with other samples in the Iran;
- Relative chronology of the studied motifs.

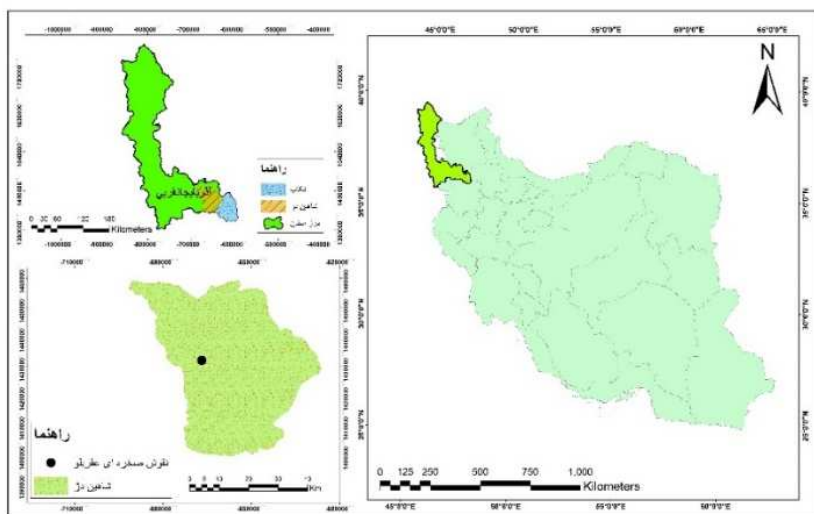


Fig. 1 - Geographical location of the West Azarbaijan Province, Shahindej City and Aghrablou Village, ARC GIS software.

Background research

The history and start of studies relating to rock art in the Iran have been done by the Italian researchers. In 1958 when a group of the Italian geologist was exploring and exploiting minerals in the Baluchestan region, some rock motifs in the Gezu region were detected. These detections can be considered as the first research about rock motifs in the Iran (S. Mohammadi Qasrian 2007, p. 18). Then the studies of the Mack Bernie in 1969 in the Mirmlas and the Houmian, Lorestan Province, were a general beginning for this subject (C. Burney 1969, p. 14-16). The book named "Museums in wind" (M. Farhadi, 1998) that has studied the collection of lithography in the Taimareh region and the book named "Arasbaran Lithography" (J. Rafiee far 2006) that has description the rock motifs of the Hourand (Leghan) of the Kliber, are the most important studies about these art works. In two recent decades, various rock motifs all over the Iran have been identified and studied by domestic researchers: Lakhmazar and Kal Changal of the Birjand (R. Labaf Khaniki, R. Bashash, 1994), Yazd's Arnan mountain (D. Shahrzadi, 1997), motifs of the Khare Hanjiran of the Mahabad (S. Mohammadi Qasrian, R. Naderi, 2007), motifs of the Hormozgan's Ahou cave, rock motifs of the Awraman (T. Ghasemi, 2007), motifs of the Sangestoun of central plateau (S. Mohammadi Qasrian, 2007), rock motifs of the Damghan's Rasham Dokhtar mountain (K. Roustaei, 2007), rock motifs of the Azandaryan Malayer (Y. Mohammadifar, E. Hemati Azandaryani, 2012), Azandaryan, petroglyphs in Hamadan,

Western Iran (E. Hemati Azandaryani *et al.*, 2014), newfound rock art at Boroujerd, Lorestan Province, western Iran (M. Sabzi, E. Hemati Azandaryani, 2017), the Petroglyphs of Qeshlagh in Hamadan Province (Y. Mohammadifar, E. Hemati Azandaryani, 2015), lithography of the Jazmoorian's zeh klout (S. Sheikh Akbarizade *et al.* 2014), lithography of the Tous plain (M. Bakhtiari Shahri, 2009), the Asbaghteh lithography of Yazd (A. Ayatizadeh, 2014), rock motifs of the Hajj Mad Field and the Hamadan Moradbig Valley (M. Rashidinejad *et al.*, 2010), motifs of the Tong Tadwan and Tong Tihooie (L. Fazel, 2011), the collection of the Olya Jarbat and Nargesloy in the Northern Khorasan (A. Vahdati, 2011), Kermanshah motifs (J. Lahafian, 2015), rock art in Northwest of Iran (A. Binandeh, 2016) etc.



Fig. 2 - The Red Mountain and the Aghrablou rock.



Fig. 3 - The Aghrablou lithography.

The history of study the Aghrablou rock motifs

The first source that mentioned the Aghrablou rock motifs is the book of “Mahabad Civilization” written by the Mahmud Pedram who has identified geographical location of lithography and some motifs (M. Pedram, 1995). The Jalaledin Rafiee, in his book named “Arasbaran Lithography”, introduced the Aghrablou rock motifs in a paragraph and compared them with motifs of the Khourehan Hanjiran and the Arasbaran (J. Rafiee far, 2006). The Fariba Karimi in her article titled “A New Approach to Iran's Rocky Drawings Based on Field Studies” (F. Karimi, 2007).and in her partitioning of the Iran rock motifs has pointed to the Aghrablou rock art works of the Shahindej-Boukan as motifs in fourth group, i.e. the west and west- north. It can be said there isn't any complete study about the Aghrablou rock illustrations and this research tries to analyze and compare these with other lithography and define their chronology despite motifs' introduction and their grouping (F. Karimi, 2007).

Geological location of the Aghrablou Village and the studied rock arts

The Aghrablou Village is located eight kilometers far from the west of Shahindej City. This city exists in the Western Azerbaijan beside the Zarrine River (Fig. 1). There is a mountain named Red Mountain (in local language; Kewasour) in this village that a smooth brown rock is placed in its east hillside towards river. There are some carved motifs on this rock clearly (Fig. 2-4). Despite the long time since the creation of this lithography, it hasn't taken place any erosion on them so that all qualitative features such as carvings depth, size and kind of motifs are simply identifiable.

Content and features of the Aghrablou illustrations

The Aghrablou carvings are divided into four categories: animal motifs, human motifs (combined scenes and hunting scenes), geometric motifs and tools motifs (archery and stick).



Fig. 4 - A close up picture of the Aghrablou lithography.



Fig. 5 - Horse and ibex's picture in the Aghrablou lithography.



Fig. 6 - Ibexes' motifs

Animal motifs

The animals in the Aghrablou illustrations are all ibex or gazelle in different sizes and dimensions except an item that is a horse with its rider (Fig. 5). The main illustration of the Aghrablou rock motifs is goat that such as other motifs has created by method of abstract and stylization and the details of animal body have been considered in only two items (Fig. 6). The goat's crescent or semilunar and high horns have carved significantly without any symmetry with animal body. There are short horns in two items. The size of goats varies between 10 to 35 centimeters. There is a single horn goat among 12 illustrations of the goats. In one motifs, the image of a goat with an arrow sunken in the legs of the animal and the blood is falling from the arrow, which its kind is interesting. As mentioned, the most prominent illustration in the Aghrablou collection is goat that has depicted stylization and linearly or volumetric. Due to available documents and the existence of goat in other collections in the Iran and neighbor countries, it can be interpreted that this animal was a symbol of usefulness and development among prehistoric people that today has maintained this concept and symbol among people. In the Iran, the oldest illustration of this animal is related to the beginning of the Neolithic Period (J. Rafiee far, 2006). In most of the Iran regions, wherever there was source water, the picture of ibex is seen on rocks (M. Naserifard, 2009, p. 132) in other words, wherever the ibex is seen, it shows water and plant (A. Dadvar, 2010, p. 67). The goats were worshiped as the embodiment of fertility of humans and flocks of animals and were equal with Sumerian fertility god named Tammuz. In primary civilizations of the Egypt and India, ibex was also worshiped and was related to fertility (J. Hall, 2001, p. 35). On the other hand, goat was considered as one of the first domesticated animals by humans, in addition to having a kind of respect for humans of that period, one of the most important sources of protein was considered, and one of the concerns of the past man was hunting and the discovery of this animal has been valuable (H. Etefaghi, 2013).

The ibex has been abundantly depicted in the bronze art works of the Lorestan and historical periods of the Achaemenid and Sassanian and it indicates that this animal has had a special position in this period. Other interesting case in relation to the animal motifs in the Aghrablou collection is horse illustration in the hunting scene. The whole body of animal is shown naturally and paid enough attention to the depth and volume of animal.

The horse has a halter on its neck that rider has held it on his hand. The horse illustration is seen in most rock motifs in other regions of the Iran but horse illustration with a halter is only seen in lithography of the Daei Mamigh Sungun in the Arasbaran region (J. Rafiee far, 2006), lithography of the Arges Sofla of the Hamadan Province (K. H. Beyk Mohammadi *et al.*, 2012), rock motifs of the Azandaryan Malayer (Y. Mohammadifar, E. Hemati Azandaryani, 2012), rock motifs of the Jazmorian of the Kerman Province (Sheikh Akbarizade *et al.*, 2014) and rock illustrations of the Karaftou Cave, Divandareh (T. Ghasemi *et al.*, 2013). Horse illustration and rider with specific saddles is presented in lithography of the Saral of the Sanandaj Province (J. Lahafian, 2015).

Human motifs

In the studied collection, human illustration is fewer than other motifs and is only seen in content validity scenes including rider or hunter. There isn't any single illustration of the human alone in the Aghrablou. Generally, human illustrations in the Aghrablou rock motifs are ended with two riders while shooting with archery. The most beautiful and important motifs in this collection is a human on a horse while holding on to the halter, he is shooting backwards in the opposite direction. This illustration shows one of strategies or war methods (shooting backwards while running away) that is related to the Parthian Period (Fig. 7). Similar samples are seen in motifs of the Karaftou Cave. In a scene in this cave, two riders are shooting to each other with an archery in the opposite direct of their horses (T. Ghasemi *et al.*, 2013, p. 6). Factitious retreat or rebellion (Parthian shot) is famous among the English vocabulary in the Roman literature. The exact recognition of role of second rider and the nature of item in his hands as well as the animal isn't completely clear. However, due to locating goat illustration in front of the rider illustration, the item in his hand can be a cane or stick.

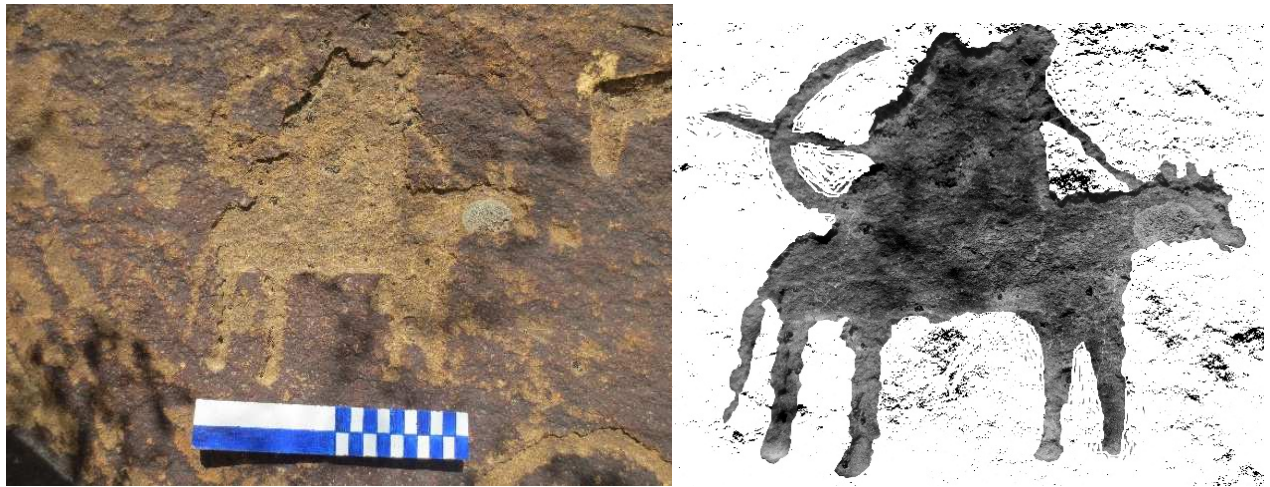


Fig. 7 - Picture of a rider.



Fig. 8 - Symbolic motif in the Aghrablou motifs.

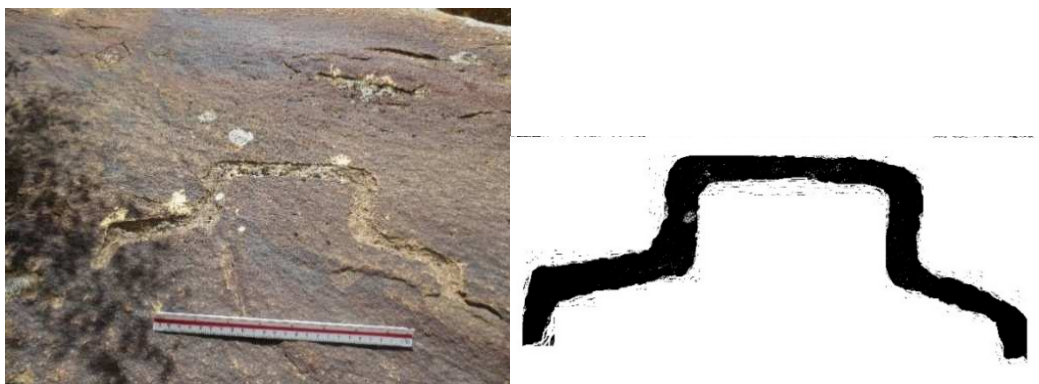


Fig. 9 - Numeral shape in the Aghrablou motifs.

Geometric or symbolist motifs

There are symbolist and simple geometric motifs among the Aghrablou illustrations and the interpretation is that they have symbolic concepts in themselves (Fig. 8). One can indicate to a depiction like an altar and a house that has located above all illustrations. Mahmud Pedram in his book likened this image to a snake which bears no resemblance to such an animal (M. Pedram, 1995, p. 132). Due to its position above riders and animal motifs, carving like an altar shows a house or a shelter in the first sight (Fig. 9). It can be said that this motif has been a symbol of land of who tried to create these illustrations in their hometown. Such motifs are seen in the second floor of the Karaftou Cave illustrations. The lozenge geometric illustration is another Aghrablou symbolist illustration. This motif is at the highest level of the cliff and taller than all the motifs. Many lozenge motifs are engraved on the walls of the four floors of the Karaftou Cave in Divandareh, especially the first floor. The lozenge illustrations indicate that this place has been holy in the past. Professor Walter Heinz in his book, "New findings of ancient Iran" has introduced lozenge as a holy item (W. Heinz, 2008, p. 392). The lozenge shapes in the Karaftou Cave, which number more than ten, are in design and dimensions quite similar to those in the Aghrablou (Fig. 10). Apart from the diamond pattern in the study collection, in the bottom of the rock art, two broken cross sections are also closed, which is the design of the intersection of these two symbolic lines, the shape of a diamond. There isn't such illustration in other lithography in the Iran, it probably has a symbolic concept. Another beautiful motif in the Aghrablou illustration is a symbolist illustration that is in the form of a circle with a point inside it and three small lines are connected to it. The length of this illustration is 20 centimeters; at first sight, it looks like an animal but due to central point, it is meaningful and conceptual illustration. Such motif is seen in rock illustrations of the Azandaryan, Malayer (Y. Mohammadifar, E. Hemati Azandaryani, 2015) and lithography of the Arges Sofla, Hamadan Province (K. H. Beyk Mohammadi *et al.*, 2012). Beside the mentioned cases, similar illustrations were obtained from Taymareh's historical site (M. Farhadi, 1998), rock motifs collection of the Farahan, Arak Province (K. H. Pourbakhshande, 2008), illustrations of the Ojimam, Hamadan Province.

Tools motifs

Tools motifs that have been depicted in the Aghrablou lithography collection include archery in rider's hands among illustrations, an arrow in a goat's foot and a motif like a cane (Fig. 11). In hunting scene that is the most beautiful motif of collection, rider while are going backwards, has hold an archery towards goats. The Aghrablou bows motifs have been depicted as an oval with a small angle at the end (Fig. 12). Furthermore, chord of arch and arrows are also present. In one scene, archery illustration has been depicted towards three goats without human and in another scene, archery has been drawn up towards an unspecific motif. There isn't any archery motif without human in studied lithography collection in the Iran except in the Aghrablou motifs and it is very significant. Second rider in the Aghrablou motifs that rides on an unspecific animal has an item like a cane or spear in his hands that has brought forwards and has placed against goats. There are two unspecific motifs among the Aghrablou illustrations that one can't identify their nature.

Relative chronology

One of the most important problems that exists regard to chronology and defining the exact time of creating rock motifs is the lack of laboratory studies in the Iran. So the chronology of these artworks is based on comparative studies and nature identification. Due to erosion rate and weathering of the Aghrablou rock motifs and their depth, it can be said that all illustrations of these collection belong to the same time and one group of people.

As mentioned, one of the most important methods for relative chronology of rock motifs is paying attention to kind and nature of carved illustrations on rocks. For example, the Aghrablou rider and horse illustration while holding halter in his hand shows domesticating this animal by human and belongs to the period before domesticating horse. The horse was domesticated by the Hindu and Europeans for the first time (M. Jafari dehghi, 2004, p. 54) and the date of its domesticating and using it isn't beyond the Iron Age (K. H. Beyk Mohammadi *et al.*, 2012). The

horse was very common in ancient ages so that media paid it as a tax to the Assyrian (J. Lahafian, 2015). Most researchers think that collections with rider and horse motifs belong to first millennium (J. Lahafian, 2015, p. 10). The main point about the Aghrablou rider illustration is his shooting backwards with archery that it reminds the Parthian guerrilla wars. This fight method in the Parthian is of “fight and escape” that was performed the Parthian combatants. This category was riders who had light weapon, like archery, and they used armor and helmet (J. A. Boil, 1997, p. 153). This rank was trained for shooting so they were tactful and agile; before their enemies defend themselves, they shot and exhausted them with fight and escape (M. Ravandi, 2006, p. 630; E. Nasaji Zavare, 2009, p. 24). Failure or loss of roman Crassos was done by this method (M. Rostovtzeff, 1943, p. 186). After the Parthian, Sassanian learnt this fighting method and has capability of riding and shooting backwards (A. Taheri, 2012, p. 20).

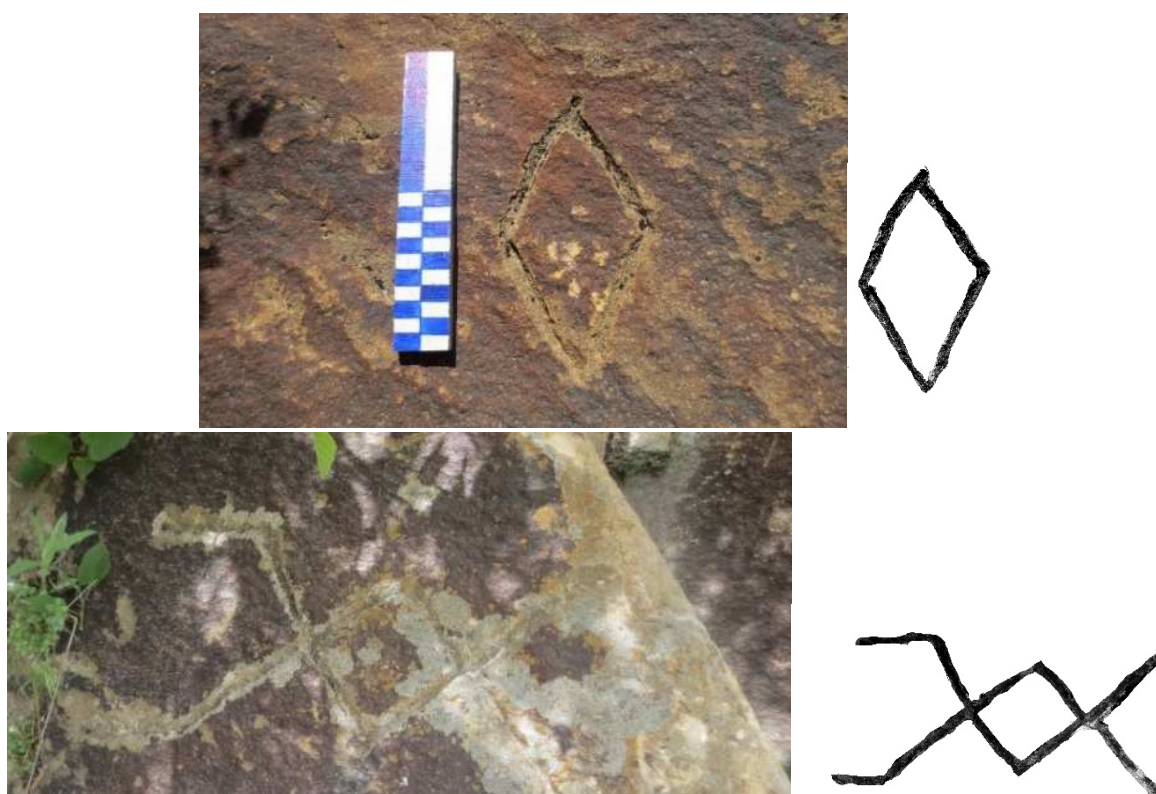


Fig. 10 - Rhombic shape in the Aghrablou motifs (Rashidinejad et al 2010) and illustrations of the Lakhmazar (R. Labaf Khaniki, R. Bashash, 1994).

Due to comparative studies, one of the most important lithography that is comparable to the Aghrablou rock motifs is artworks of the Karaftou Cave. This cave is located in the Kurdistan Province, between historical places of the Zewya and Takhte Solayman. The Karaftou Cave is a collection of natural caves that its entrance and some halls have been manipulated during the Parthian period (H. V. Gall, 1978). The existence of the Greek inscription on the façade of one of the rooms shows that this cave was used as a temple for the Hercules, the Greek God (H. V. Gall, 1978). Due to archaeological studies, we know that this cave has been used from late fifth millennium to fourth millennium and was utilized for dwelling after the Seleucia, i.e. the Parthian, Sassanian and Islamic periods (Y. Mohammadifar, E. Hemati Azandaryani, 2012, p. 47). As the Aghrablou motif, rider while shooting backwards has been drawn up inside the floors of the Karaftou Cave in several scenes that has been dating to the Parthian

Period. The Aghrablou and Karaftou artworks are comparable from aspect of motifs altar like, diamond and symbolic circle with central point and its three lines. The symbolic circle with its following lines can be effective in defining the Aghrablou chronology. Similar samples were obtained all over the Iran. In all cases, the studied motif was defined as a symbolic motif and Mr. Pourbakhshande has considered this illustration as a picture of a deer (in studying motifs in Farahan, Arak). Rashidinejad called it a Shanist symbol in illustrations of the Ojimam, Hamadan Province (M. Rashidinejad *et al.*, 2010, p. 169). The symbolic circle illustration is very similar to coronation scenes, i.e. grasping power loop in historical periods motifs. For example, power loop is seen in motif of the Narseh of Sassanian and the Anahital in Rostam motif as well as in Tagh Bostan.

The available evidence doesn't present enough reason for belonging the Aghrablou rock motifs to the Parthian Period. However, one can probably and conditionally attribute this lithography to the Parthian Period and afterward.



Fig. 11 - Arrow in the foot of the Aghrablou goat.



Fig. 12 - Archery in the Aghrablou motif.

Conclusion

Study the Aghrablou rock motifs that are the most beautiful and the most intact motifs in the western Azerbaijan and the west- north of Iran shows that the subject of this artwork is inspired by environment, daily livelihood and attitudes and beliefs of residents in this area. Comparing the Aghrablou art with motifs of other different regions of the Iran and beyond borders of Iran indicates the sameness of concepts, subjects and applied elements in these illustrations. The Aghrablou images are valuable both pictorial and conceptual and indicate a time when human has created the most valuable ritual and artworks of ancient world without any facilities.

The Aghrablou motifs have important characteristics from perspective of image; all motifs are similar from aspect of erosion and depth of illustrations. This indicates that all mentioned illustrations have been created by a special group of people and in a special time. All motifs have been created through carving and have the same thickness. The volume in a number of motifs is mildly seen, and only in the horse and rider's drawing is almost enough to be bulked. It has been paid more attention to ibex or gazelle image than any other animal in studied lithography. The ibex illustration is very interesting from aspect of number, the length and semilunar horns as well as upward tail. The Aghrablou hunting and horseback riding scenes are the most prominent scenes of these illustrations that have facilitated the dateline of this collection. Generally, the Aghrablou rock motifs can be attributed to the Parthian Period and after that in relation to motifs chronology and two important roles of rider and circle as well as due to comparative method and typology with other rock artworks in the Iran.

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Archaeological monuments of nomads of the 10th - 13th centuries on the territory of southern Ukraine

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Abstract: The article considers the most characteristic features of archeological monuments, the so - called late nomads of the 10th - 13th centuries on the territory of Southern Ukraine. The problem of studying the history of these peoples, despite a fairly wide range of researchers who have devoted their work to this issue, still remains unresolved and leaves a lot of controversial issues.

The authors determine that the settlement of these territories by a nomadic population in the 10th - 13th centuries took place in several stages. In the 10th - first half of the 11th century the Dnieper steppes were occupied by the Pechenegs and Torks (Guz). This is evidenced, in particular, in his work by the Byzantine emperor Constantine the Crimson; mention of this is in the message of the Khazar kagan Joseph to the dignitary of the Caliphate of Cordoba Hasday Ibn Shafrut; this is confirmed by Russian chronicles.

The presence of Pechenegs in this area is confirmed by archaeological materials. Mostly, these are shallow inlet graves (in the western orientation), with burials of a man with the remains of a horse (skull and limbs) and a small set of equipment (weapons, stirrups, fishing rods) in the mounds of earlier epochs.

Torks appeared in the northern Black Sea region at the beginning of the 11th century. The fact that the Torks were found in the Lower Dnieper is not recorded in written sources, but archaeological finds suggest the presence of these nomads in these areas. Unlike similar Pecheneg monuments, they differ mainly in some features in the design of the burial chamber (the presence of a longitudinal step, a wooden ceiling of the tomb, *etc.*).

Keywords: late nomads, written sources, archeological monuments, Pechenegs, Torks, Polovtsians, Mongol-Tatars

Introduction

The article considers the most characteristic features of archeological monuments, the so-called late nomads of the 10th - 13th centuries on the territory of Southern Ukraine. The problem of studying the history of these peoples, despite a fairly wide range of researchers who have devoted their work to this issue, remains unresolved and leaves a lot of controversial issues.

Soviet and Ukrainian archeology has made a significant contribution to the development of this issue. One of the most common archaeological sources is burial complexes. Together with other archeological material, they are the basis for various historical reconstructions (social, ethnic, and other) of history and life of nomadic communities

of the 10th - 13th centuries on the territory of our country, which, in our opinion, determines the relevance of our chosen issues.

The source base of the study was a set of written sources, which can be divided into several separate groups. The first of them includes the works of ancient authors of the 10th - 13th centuries, such as the works of the Byzantine emperor Constantine the Crimson (mid-tenth century), the message of the Pope's envoys to the Mongol khan, Dominican monks Plano Carpini and Rubruk (mid-13th century) and others. They are mainly descriptive and contain many interesting data about the natural conditions of the southern region of our country and historical events that took place here, the life and customs of the peoples who inhabited it, their relationships, and so on.

The same group includes ancient chronicles. Their information is more dry and specific, mainly related to political events throughout southern Ukraine in the 10th-13th centuries. Despite the relatively incomplete and fragmentary nature of these reports, they are an important addition to the general historical picture of the political life of these territories at that time.

Another important part of the source base of the study is scientific monographs, which in one way or another dealt with the problems of the history of medieval nomads. Some of them, by their nature, are based on the results of many years of research on certain archaeological sites in the Northern Black Sea region. Their information is more specific and is based on a huge visual material collected over many years of purposeful archaeological excavations.

The last and main part of the source base consists of various archaeological yearbooks, collections, magazines, brochures on the pages of which are published scientific articles, reports, reports on the results of archaeological excavations, which were conducted in different years in the region. The pages of these publications provide quite diverse, although not always complete, information for different years, regarding the archaeological research of nomadic monuments.

Methods

In writing the article, traditional methods of historical and archaeological research were used, namely comparative-typological, problem-chronological, generalizing, and descriptive methods, which, in our opinion, allows us to most fully solve the research tasks.

Thus, the comparative-typological method of research allows to consider together the general set of separate elements and types of the material culture of nomadic burials and to define the most characteristic features of their separate groups on ethnic and chronological signs, to trace dynamics of development of the basic types of armaments, household things, ceramics, burial complexes. The application of the problem - chronological method helps to study the various processes that took place among the nomadic population of the southern territories of modern Ukraine at that time, in a certain time sequence. The descriptive method was used when considering general questions of the history of the late nomads of the southern region in the 10th-13th centuries, which revealed the most characteristic features and features of the studied processes and phenomena. The method of generalization allows forming specific general conclusions from the history of studying the archaeological monuments of the nomadic population of the study area, based on a comprehensive analysis of ancient sources and scientific literature.

The study of the above-mentioned archaeological sites began in the Russian Empire in the late 19th - early 20th century, when some domestic archaeologists conducted the first excavations of burial mounds of late nomads in the Lower and Middle Dnieper. Among other things, there were studies of the so-called Chernoklobutsk mounds in Poros (N. E. Brandenburg, 1908), nomadic burials in the Seversky Donets basin (V. A. Gorodtsov, 1905) and the steppe zone of the Lower Dnieper (D. I. Evarnitsky, 1905).

Further work in this direction was continued during the Soviet era, but it should be noted that for a long time they were limited to the active accumulation of archaeological material and at the same time almost complete lack of generalizing work on this topic. Among the archeological researches of that time, it is possible to note excavations

in the area construction of modern DniproGES (1927-1932), construction of Kakhovka and Molochansky reservoirs in the late 1940 - early 1950s, creation since the mid-1960s in the whole southern region of Ukraine networks of irrigation systems, in the area of which the Institute of Archeology of the USSR Academy of Sciences organized permanent archaeological expeditions, *etc.* During these scientific works, many monuments of late nomads were discovered.

In these conditions, the problem of development of rather effective technique and typological-chronological processing of monuments of late nomads became more and more actual before domestic science that demanded the most urgent decision.

This problem was solved in the second half of the 20th century, when due to the scientific activity of some scientists, the first generalizing works on this issue were published, which were based on a huge accumulated archaeological material. Among them are the works of doctors of historical sciences, professor of Moscow State University, G. A. Fedorov-Davidov, and Professor of the Institute of the History of Material Culture of the USSR Academy of Sciences, S. A. Pletneva.

Thus, the basis of one of the most famous monographs of G.A. Fedorov-Davidov on the above topic "Nomads of Eastern Europe under the rule of the Golden Horde khans: Archaeological monuments", compiled material from more than 1,000 known, at that time, burial complexes, which the author divided into certain chronological periods, highlighting in each of them a typology of some features (G. O. Fedorov-Davidov, 1966).

In studies of S. A. Pletnyova, considerable attention was paid to determining the main features of the funeral rite and material culture of various ethnic groups of the late nomads, and their findings remain relevant today (S. A. Pletneva, 2003a).

In general, the term "late nomads" in modern science refers to several nomadic peoples who successively replaced each other in the steppes of the Northern Black Sea coast during the 10th - 14th centuries. Usually, these include Pechenegs, Torks, Polovtsians, and Tatars (or Tatar-Mongols). In this chronological sense, we can identify three separate periods – Pecheneg-Torks (10 - first half of the 11th century), Polovtsian (mid 11 - first half of the 13th century), and Golden Horde (mid 13 - 14 century).

The presence of Pechenegs in the Northern Black Sea Coast in the 10th - early 11th centuries is confirmed by written sources and archeological materials. In particular, the presence of these nomads in this region is evidenced by the Byzantine emperor Constantine Porphyry in his work "On the management of the empire" (mid-10th century). He directly notes that the Black Sea steppes during this period were occupied by Pecheneg nomads who came here in the late 9th century, from the Volga steppes, where they were displaced by another nomadic association - the Torks. As a result of active military expansion, the Pechenegs managed to seize a huge steppe territory from the Danube to the Volga by the middle of the 10th century and become a significant military and political force in the whole region. The population living on these lands was either destroyed or included in the Pecheneg Union. Thus, this author gives us a description of the country of the Pechenegs, in the period of their highest power. He describes in detail the history of their appearance in the Northern Black Sea, relations with neighboring peoples, and the possibility of using these nomads in the interests of Byzantium. According to him, the Pechenegs were divided into eight independent hordes (fem), four of which were located on this side of the Dnieper River, in the direction of the more western and northern regions, namely: "Fema Haravon borders on ... Ultins ... and other Slavs" (Kostyantyn Porphyrogenitus, 1989, p. 157).

Along with the above-mentioned work, an important source for the study of this issue is the ancient chronicles. They repeatedly reported on the attacks of these nomads on Russia and military clashes with them. Among the most famous events of this time, we can note the death in 972 near the Dnieper rapids, in a battle with the Pechenegs, of Prince Svyatoslav of Kyiv. According to the chronicles, Svyatoslav, who was returning to Russia with his small

army, was blocked by the Pechenegs at the Dnieper rapids. Unable to retreat, this prince was forced to accept an unequal battle and died with his soldiers (L. Makhnovets, 1989).

Archaeological evidence confirms the presence of these Turkic-speaking nomadic people in the Black Sea region. The "classical" or "pure" Pecheneg burial complexes were characterized by shallow inlet graves, with burials of the horse's head and legs to the left of the man, western orientation of the burial, the presence of tomb symbols (cenotaphs), and a small set of equipment (weapons, stirrups, rods), mounds of earlier epochs. Funeral equipment included: stirrups with a blindfold, ring bridles, short straight sabers, bows with heavy medium overlays, pendants in the form of stylized birds, and more.

In general, the funeral rite of the Pechenegs is quite monotonous and differs only in some details. Thus, a certain group of burials consists of symbolic burials without a man (cenotaphs), with the remains of horses, horse equipment (stirrups, fishing rods), and weapons (remains of bows, arrowheads, rarely - spears and sabers). To another group, we can include ordinary burials of horsemen with a similar funeral inventory. Another group of burials has generally unarmed inventory, limited only by a set of horseman and individual household items (knives, ceramics, *etc.*) (S. A. Pletneva, 1981).

At the same time, according to some studies, among the burials of the Pechenegs, there are graves without any things and the remains of a horse facing south. According to some experts, these details indicate the beginning of the process of spreading Islam in a nomadic environment, which began to penetrate into the European steppe long before the emergence of the Golden Horde (S. A. Pletneva, 1975, p.77).

Despite their activity in the first half of the 11th century as a result of heavy defeats by Russia in 1019 and 1036, as well as internal contradictions, the military power of the Pechenegs weakened and they could not resist the new nomadic union - Torks, which at the beginning 11th century also appeared in the Northern Black Sea region.

The classic Torks burials are united by several common features with the previous Pecheneg monuments. These include the western orientation of the burial, introduction into the funeral set of similar remains of a horse (head and limbs), almost identical (by type) set of inventory, *etc.* Some differences can be traced only in certain features of the funeral rite. Thus, the remains of a horse were placed not next to a person, but on a separate longitudinal step, on the side of it, or special wooden ceiling of the grave (G. N. Garustovich, V. A. Ivanov, 2001, p. 39). In this sense, we can note a very interesting group of burials of 11-12 centuries, found, in particular, in the village of Blagoveshchenko, Kamyanka-Dniprovsky district, Zaporizhzhia oblast. Both Pecheneg and Torks features (Fig. 1) can be traced in the peculiarities of their funeral rites and the set of inventory, which may indicate the beginning of the process of mixing these groups of nomads in our steppes (D. Ya. Telegin, *et al.*, 1977, p. 36-47).

The military activity of the Torks in the Black Sea steppes was, however, quite short-lived, in the middle of the 11th century they and the Pechenegs were absorbed by a new wave of conquerors - the Polovtsians.

In the middle of the 11th - first half of the 13th century, the steppe areas were occupied by the Polovtsians, with whom part of the Pecheneg-Torks hordes mingled. Archaeological excavations confirm the presence of Polovtsians in the entire southern region of modern Ukraine in the middle of the 11th - first half of the 13th century. Polovtsian monuments are represented by burial mounds and remains of Polovtsian sanctuaries and a stone sculpture, the so-called "stone women".

These people were first mentioned in ancient Russian chronicles in 1064. According to the chronicler, this year the Polovtsian ode of Khan Balush approached the borders of the Pereyaslav principality, with whom the Pereyaslav prince Vsevolod Yaroslavych "created peace" and redeemed himself with rich gifts. The chronicle of 1068 also describes the first military raid of the Polovtsians on Russia, as the first evil that the country suffered from these nomads (L. Makhnovets (transl.), 1989, p. 260). Since then, these nomads are repeatedly mentioned in ancient chronicles in the general military-political context of the events of that time.

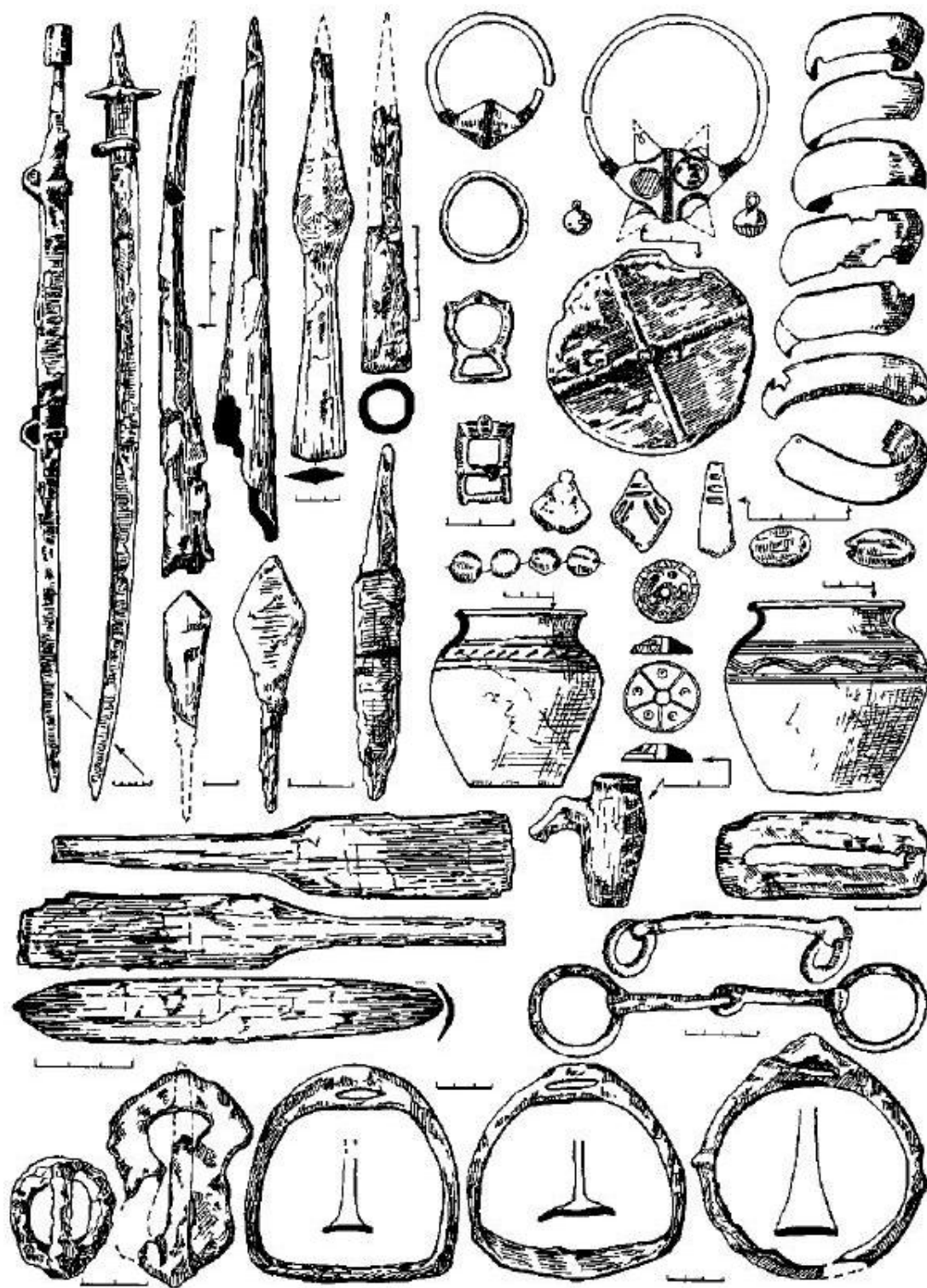


Fig. 1 - Items from the Pechenezh (chernoklobutskikh) burials excavated by N. Ye. Brandenburg (after S. A. Pletneva, 2003b).

For the "classical" funeral rite of the Polovtsians, the presence of stones (crepis) in the construction of the tomb is characteristic; the dominance of the eastern orientation of burials; placing in the grave, next to a man, a whole skeleton of a horse or his stuffed animal. Funeral inventory items are characterized by long curved sabers, oval armchairs, silver and iron "rods", earrings with a fake biconical bead, and more (D. Ya. Telegin *et al.*, 1977, p. 182).

In general, the nomads of this time had different features of the funeral rite, among which the most common, we can identify the following:

- inlet graves in the mounds of earlier epochs in simple rectangular or oval burial pits. The deceased was buried in an extended position on his back, most often in a coffin or in a wooden cemetery; often burial is accompanied by horse bones lying in anatomical order;

- burial in a rectangular pit with a step on which, as a rule, the horse was placed; the deceased was laid stretched out on his back in a coffin or on bedding;

- burial with wooden decking;

- burial in graves with linings;

- burial without a horse (A. G. Atavin, 1984, p.37-52).

Men's Polovtsian burials were accompanied to the afterlife by horse burials with horse equipment, weapons, and various equipment. Horse equipment consists mainly of iron rods and stirrups. The weapon is represented by curved swords (have a long, narrow, and sharp end, as well as a bent iron ephesus); birch and leather quivers, bows with bone plates, arrows, spears, knives. A distinctive feature of many Polovtsian military burials is boilers among the funeral inventory - as a symbol of power. They are known today in a very small number of burials and were always accompanied by sabers, quivers, daggers, helmets, chain mail, spearheads, or darts. In addition to armor and weapons, glass and silver twisted, Byzantine amphorae, and Byzantine brocade was found in burials with cauldrons (Fig. 2).

Most of these burials took place in mounds of earlier epochs, mounds of earth and stones were poured over especially wealthy Polovtsians, and a stone sculpture was placed on top of them.

Women's burials are also quite common. Many of them have a relatively rich funeral inventory: earrings, breast ornaments, pendants, metal mirrors, rings, sometimes twisted hryvnias (symbols of power), which indicates a fairly high position of women in Polovtsian society (V. D. Baran *et al.*, 1986, p. 509-510).

An interesting element of the Polovtsian funeral rite is also the presence of a stone sculpture or "stone women", which were installed on top of the mounds. However, this custom was not widespread among all Polovtsians, but only on the left bank of the steppe zone of Ukraine, which again indicates the heterogeneity of the Polovtsian hordes, which included different nomadic ethnic groups. These stone sculptures have undergone their evolution from sculptures with a barely defined face without arms to statues with clearly defined sexual characteristics, the presence of hands, a vessel at the level of the abdomen. Sometimes the stone "grandmothers" were almost portraits, although, at the end of the 12th century, both male and female sculptures began to show a certain primitivism. Stone "women" are not only tombstones, but they are also objects of worship (often they were installed in sanctuaries). All this indicates the presence of the Polovtsians quite developed beliefs and rituals associated with the cult of ancestors (S. A. Pletneva, 1981, p. 511).

Polovtsian stone statues were erected over cemeteries, as Rubruk wrote in the 13th century: "Kumans pour large mounds over the buried and install a statue, which faces east and holding a bowl in front of the navel" (N. P. Shastina, 1957, p. 52).

Polovtsian statues are distinguished by good quality of carving, modeling of the human physique and its parts. There are several types of sculptures: standing, sitting, waist, images with and without hands, with and without a background. The large number of female statues, which even outnumbered them, also testifies to the high position of women in Polovtsian society (Fig. 3).

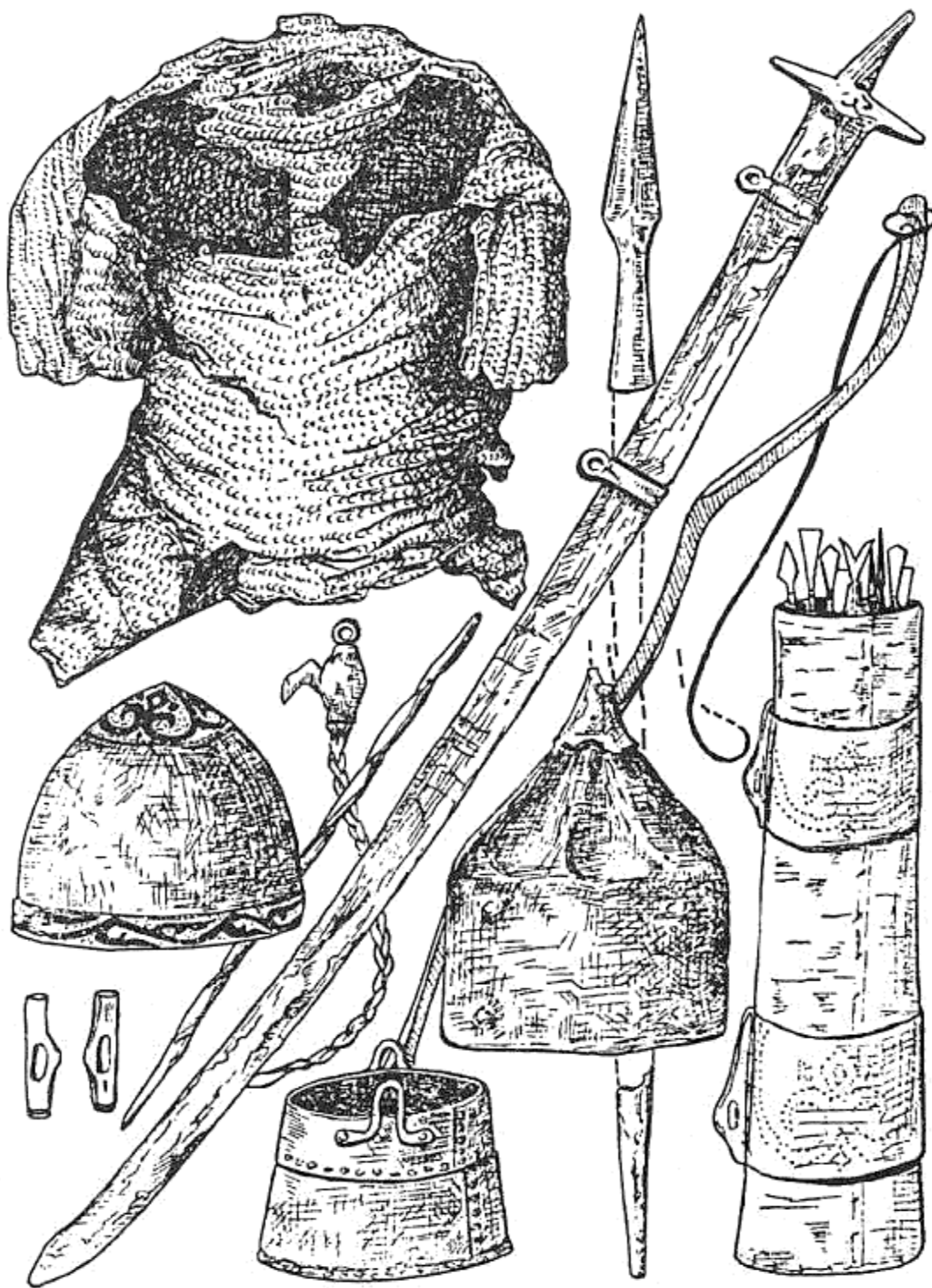


Fig. 2 - A characteristic set of weapons from the burials of warriors of the Polovtsian time (after S. A. Pletneva, 1990).

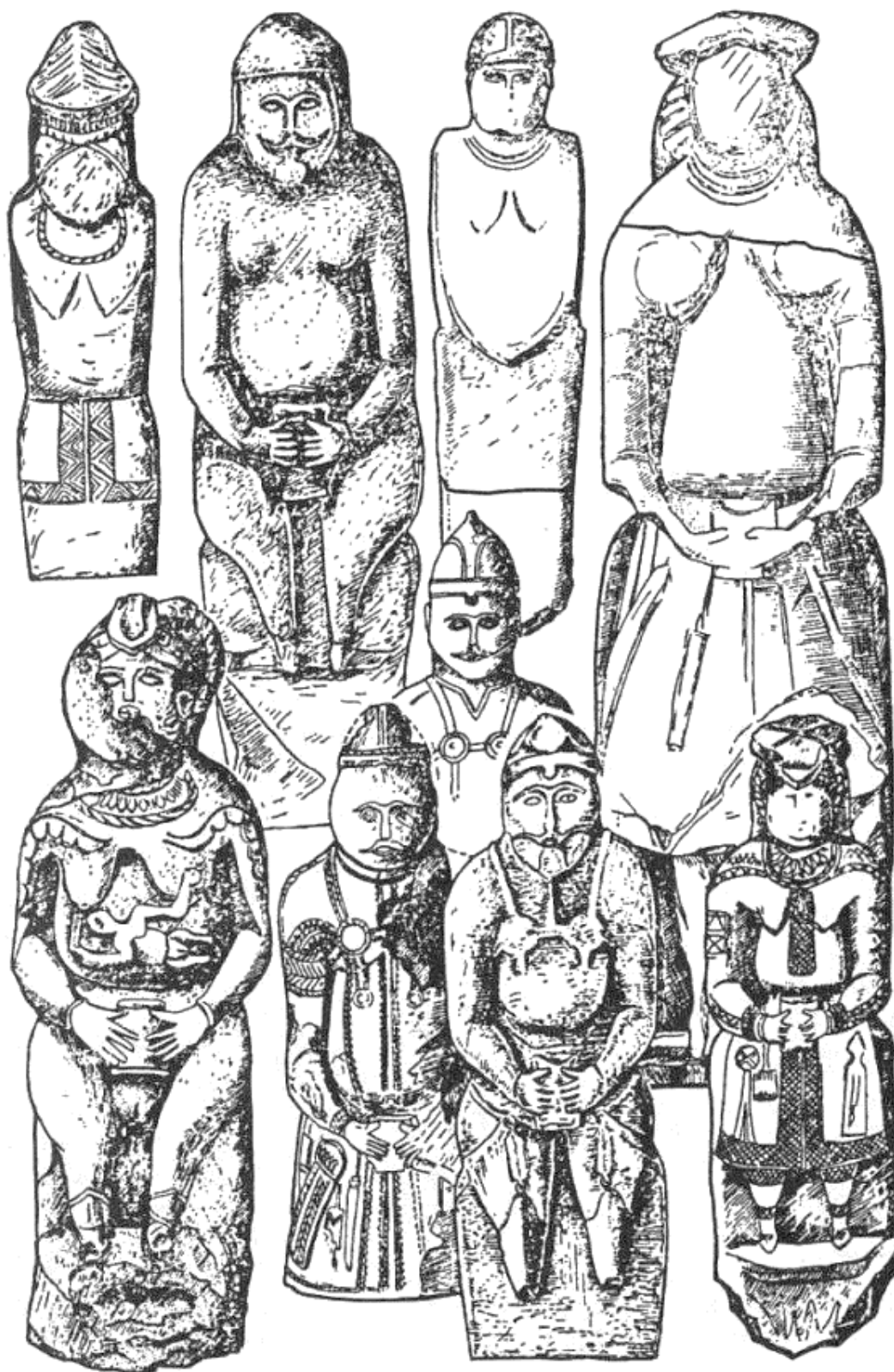


Fig. 3 - Stone statues (second half of the 12th - 40s of the 13th century) (after S. A. Pletneva, 1990).

In addition to burial mounds, some finds of Polovtsian sanctuaries belong to the same period. Thus, a typical example may be 2 similar findings during the excavations of the famous Chingul mound. One of them, the sanctuary no. 1, was a separate part of the remains of the foundation, of several rows of limestone up to 0.64 m. Its overall dimensions were 3.6 x 3.2 m. At a height of 0.4 m, the limestone masonry was supplemented by a wall of granite blocks, which was divided into two parts by a passage. In the middle of the building, the remains of a hearth with a diameter of one meter were also found (V. V. Otroshchenko, Yu. Ia. Rassamakin, 1987, p. 82-83).

In the middle of the 13th century, the northern Black Sea coast was conquered by the Mongol-Tatars and became part of the Golden Horde, but this circumstance did not have a significant impact on the ethnic composition and cultural traditions of the region. The new conquerors quickly dissolved into the total number of local nomads. Data from modern archeology show that the nature of the funeral rite retains the main features of the Polovtsian period. At the same time, the ritual of erecting stone statues and shrines disappears. The only burial of the Polovtsian aristocracy in modern Ukraine, the Chingul Mound, which dates back to the middle of the 13th century and stands somewhat apart from the bulk of burial monuments, belongs to the same period.

It stands out, among others, the complexity of the funeral rite and the richness of inventory. The burial chamber was covered with a double wooden deck, around which were placed the graves of 5 horses, in identical poses (on the belly, with legs bent under them), heads to the main grave. The latter was covered with a wooden double-deck, between which the remains of 10 rams were found. The burial pit itself (4.35 x 2.1 m) is oriented along the west-east line. At its bottom was a 2.5 x 1.1 m wooden oriental sarcophagus with a human skeleton facing west. Remains of rich clothes (embroidered with gold plates and beads caftan; brocade; belts decorated with silver plates and buckles; fabric hat with sewn silver plates) have been preserved on it. The funeral inventory included weapons (helmet with half mask and barmitz, chain mail, shield, saber, dagger, quiver, arrowhead), gold scepter, and other items (Fig. 4) (V. V. Otroshchenko, 1986, p. 70-74).

At the same time, new features can be traced in other burials of the nomadic population of this time. They touched on the use of a wider range in the orientation of graves, a set of funeral equipment (bone plates, quivers with original ornaments, rings, tweezers, ceramic necklaces and buttons covered with blue glaze, *etc.*). According to some researchers, their appearance is due to the new nomadic ethnic groups who came to the Northern Black Sea coast with the hordes of Batu Khan and settled here, gradually mixing with the local nomads. At the same time, the number of burials without horses with rather poor inventory, dating from the middle to the second half of the 13th century, is increasing sharply, which may be due to the general deterioration of the social and economic situation of the Polovtsians under the Golden Horde khans. Another group without inventory burials, with an orientation to the east, which has been spreading since the end of the 13th century among the nomadic population, can again be associated with the gradual spread of Islam among them (M. V. Yelnykov, 2006).

Conclusions

Written sources of the 10th - 13th centuries repeatedly mention the territory of the South of modern Ukraine as an integral part of it, in the context of general political events of that time. Most of these reports are usually fragmentary and fragmentary, but they are an important source for studying the history of the region. Based on the given sources it is possible to trace the process of relations between Kyiv Rus and nomadic tribes, the influence of the latter on the formation and development of this state, *etc.*

The first archaeological excavations of the nomadic population of the 11th - 14th centuries in the Lower Dnieper were conducted in the late 19th century. Archaeological excavations at that time had a limited scale and insufficient scientific basis. In addition, there was no appropriate method of field research, but they marked the beginning of the study of this region and the process of accumulation of scientific material.

The vast majority of such discoveries were made in Soviet times, mainly in the middle - second half of the 20th century. This was due both to the relevant state policy on the general development of archaeological science in the country and to large-scale reclamation works, which were carried out at that time in the south of modern Ukraine. At the same time, Soviet scientists made the first attempts to generalize and introduce a classification of the found archaeological material (works by S. A. Pletneva, G. I. Fedorov-Davidov, and others). The classification system developed by them to determine the ethnicity of the burial monuments of the late nomads of the 10th-14th centuries remains relevant today.

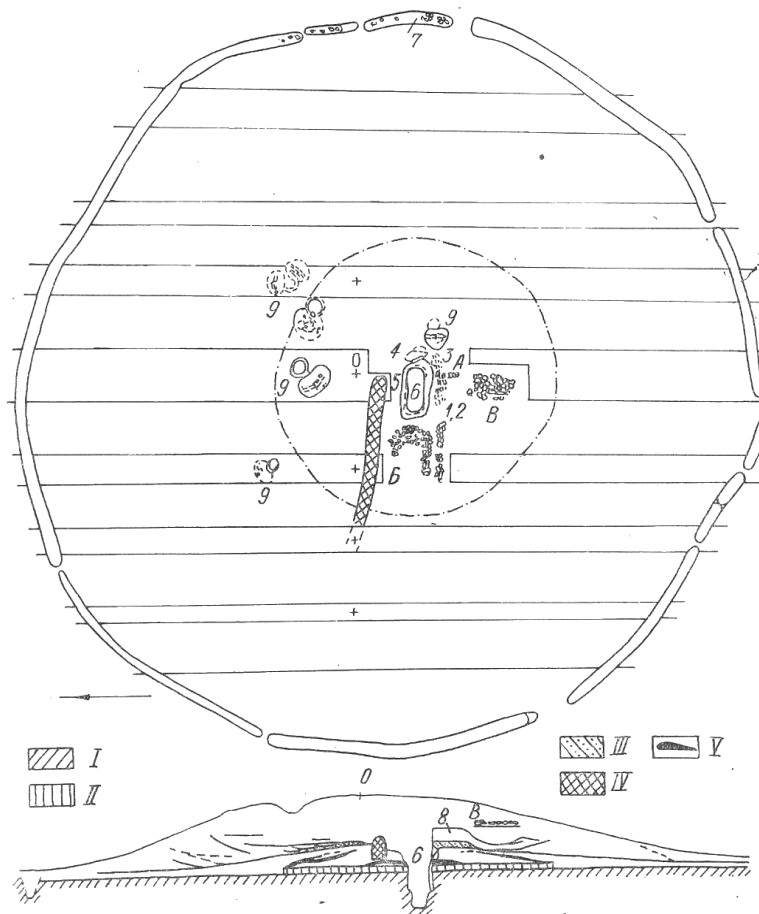


Fig. 4 - Scheme of a Polovtsian burial in the Chingul burial mound

I - mainland; II - buried chernozem; III - layer of clay around the burial 3 (Polovtsian); IV - late excavation; V - emissions of continental clay from burials; A - stone fence; B - building 1; B - building 2; 1-5 arrangement of horses; 6 - burial 3; 7 - fragments of amphorae in the ditch; 8 - elevation above the burial; 9 - burial of catacomb culture in the mound (V. V. Otroshchenko, 1986).

The settlement of this southern territory of our country by the nomadic population in the 10th - 12th centuries took place in several stages. In the 10th - first half of the 11th century the Black Sea steppes were occupied by the Pechenegs and Torks. This is evidenced by contemporary written sources and relevant archaeological material. In the latter case, it is mostly shallow inlet burials of riders in the mounds of earlier eras with the remains of a horse (skull and limbs) and a small set of equipment (weapons, stirrups, fishing rods, *etc.*).

In the middle of the 11th - first half of the 13th century, the steppe areas were occupied by the Polovtsians, with whom part of the Pecheneg-Torks hordes mingled. The monuments of this time are represented by burial mounds (entrance and main), the remains of Polovtsian sanctuaries, and a stone sculpture ("stone women"). The character of the Polovtsian funeral rite differs considerably, in many cases it has features of the previous time (western orientation of burials, the presence of a wooden ceiling in the tomb, *etc.*), which indicates the heterogeneity of the nomadic population of this region during this period.

In the middle of the 13th - 14th centuries, the southeastern part of the Lower Dnieper was captured by the Mongol-Tatars and became part of the Golden Horde, but this circumstance did not have a significant impact on the ethnic composition and cultural traditions of the region. Much of the burial monuments of this time retain the basic features of the Polovtsian period, at the same time the custom of erecting stone statues and sanctuaries disappears, and the number without inventory burials increases sharply.

At the same time, the new features traced in the nomadic burial complexes of this time directly indicate the presence of new nomadic ethnic groups, which came as part of the Mongol-Tatar troops and gradually dissolved among the nomadic population.

Thus, the study of archaeological monuments of the late nomads of the South of modern Ukraine allows us to conclude that there are quite complex ethnocultural, migration, and assimilation processes that took place in their environment throughout the 10 - 13 century AD.

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A Forgotten History. A Communist Horse and the Last Vandalization of the Princely Court of Târgoviște

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Abstract: The Princely Court of Târgoviște is one of the best-preserved mediaeval monuments of the Romanian space. Built during the 14th and 15th centuries, it held the role of main political centre in the time of several important rulers such as Vlad the Impaler, Petru Cercel, Michael the Brave, Matei Basarab or Constantin Brâncoveanu. The 18th-century Russo-Austrian-Turkish wars left a heavy mark on the Wallachian Court, accelerating the process of its degradation. The first consistent restoration measures were taken in the modern age, but, unfortunately, they altered the aspect of some of the components of the aulic assemblage. The precarious situation of the former princely court in the early 20th century prompted the authorities to conduct a study meant to initiate the process of preservation and restoration of the princely complex. The research was entrusted to the Târgoviște-based Virgiliu N. Drăghiceanu, who would obtain the first notable results by carrying out a programme of systematic archaeological excavations in 1934-1938. The establishment of the Communist regime and the difficult Stalinist period affected the local authorities' efforts to protect the monuments of Târgoviște. One of the lesser-known episodes was to occur in 1956, when a horse belonging to the People's Council would enter the Princely Court and, together with a few employees of the aforementioned institution, would cause serious damage, which remained unpunished, despite the legal action taken by the museum management.

Key-words: Princely Court, Târgoviște, restauration, vandalization, archive pages.

Introduction to the history of Târgoviște

Wallachia emerged in the highlight of history following the victory of the voivode Basarab I against the Kingdom of Hungary in 1330. The Basarab Dynasty, who was to occupy the throne of the country for several centuries, initially established its power centre in Argeș and had a voivodal residence at Câmpulung as well.

More than half a century after these events, Târgoviște was mentioned in the works of the Bavarian writer Johann Schiltberger, which is a sign that the settlement underwent constant development in the 14th century: place of exchange-borough-city (E. Fruchter, G. Mihăescu, 1976; Gh. I. Cantacuzino, 1999; D. Căprăroiu, 2012). In the age of Mircea the Elder, in a time on which historians have not agreed (N. Constantinescu, C. Ionescu, P. Diaconescu, V. Rădulescu, 2009), the abovementioned traveller journeyed through Wallachia and mentioned the two capitals: Argeș and Târgoviște*.

From this moment, Târgoviște and the Princely Court, in particular, recorded an upward evolutionary trend. During his consistent reign (1386-1418), Mircea the Elder would have a massive princely house built at Târgoviște, with a ground floor and vaulted cellars, which marked a first in the Wallachian civil architecture (R. Gioglovan, 1974). Next to it was the first church of the assemblage, known as the Biserica Paraclis (the church chapel) or church of the High Princely Court (A. Erich, M. Oproiu, 2012).

It was only a step until it acquired the position of main princely residence. A part of historiography holds that, during Michael I, the successor of Mircea the Elder and co-ruler of the country, Târgoviște became the most important residence of Wallachia**. However, it was only a decade later, starting in 1431, during Alexander Aldea's reign, that most of the chancellery documents would be issued from the city of Târgoviște**.

The middle of the 15th century marked the consolidation of another voivodal residence, that of Bucharest. The alternation of reign between Târgoviște and Bucharest was influenced by the interference of the Great Powers in the Romanian land. Thus, in the 15th-16th centuries, the residence at the foot of the mountains was preferred by the voivodes drawn to Christian alliances, whereas Bucharest, which was closer to the Danube, was favoured by the rulers promoting a relationship of subordination to the Ottoman Empire.



Fig. 1 - Fantasy image of Târgoviște in the 17th century. Source: National Museum of History of Romania.

Petru Cercel, the humanist prince that briefly occupied the throne of the country (1583-1585), managed to render a certain glow to the Wallachian centre by combining the concept of secular and ecclesiastical architecture in the capital that was away from the eyes of the Turkish power. In the old residence of Târgoviște, the princely house had a neat architecture, but required some enrichment with splendid quarters, as his Italian secretary Franco Sivori would say ***. Nearby, in the central area of the Princely Court, Petru Cercel would order the construction of an imposing princely church that was to last for centuries.

The 17th century came to settle what had been achieved in the main residence of Wallachia. Prince Matei Basarab sought to turn Târgoviște not only into a political centre but also into a military one. Thus, in addition to his concern for the elements of the aulic complex, the voivode had the courtyard surrounded by precinct walls in the parts that had fallen during the Turkish occupation in 1595 (R. Gioglovan, 1974) (Fig. 1).

The most extensive restoration of the Princely Court would start in 1692, under the rule of Constantin Brâncoveanu. It was also a debt to the Basarabs that had dwelt here. Biserica Paraclis (founded by Mircea the Elder),

the Church of Petru Cercel, the Princely House, the rest of civil buildings acquired a new aspect and Târgoviște became the great voivode's favourite residence.

Honour and dishonour. The Princely Court of Târgoviște in the 18th-20th centuries

The maintenance of the old court of Târgoviște remained a concern until the mid-18th century. For example, in 1735, the authorities from Bucharest took note of the state of degradation at the Princely Court and Prince Grigore Ghica II decided to cover the church and the houses (N. Iorga, 1905). The Russo-Austrian-Turkish wars caused significant damage and the Turks destroyed the princely courtyard in 1761-1763, during the reign of Constantin Mavrocordat (D. P. Condurățeanu, 1886).

The destruction was to be confirmed two decades later by the Austrian architect Franz Joseph Sulzer, who would deplore the state of the Princely Court and of the towers that had decayed (F. Sulzer, 1781).

At the beginning of the 19th century, following the 1802 earthquake, the churches of the former Princely Court were in an advanced state of degradation. Desperately needing assistance to prevent ruin, the citizens of Târgoviște requested the intervention of Prince Constantin Ipsilanti to salvage the entire aulic complex (V. A. Urechia, 1897). No consequences followed this documented approach, which prompts one to assume that the complaint was disregarded by the court of Bucharest.



Fig. 2 - The Royal Court of Târgoviște in 1843. Lithograph by Michel Bouquet. Source: Archive of the "Princely Court" National Museum Complex Târgoviște.

Furthermore, in the context of the deplorable state of the former voivodal centre, a *de facto* property of the Prince, the first attempts to alienate this true place of memory occurred. The low land price, resulting from the city abandonment by the wealthy boyars, in the century following the disappearance of Constantin Brâncoveanu, led to the attempt to get land at advantageous prices (M. Iancu, 1973).

Given these conditions, having received a tempting financial proposal in 1813, Prince Ioan Gheorghe Caragea would deem the court ruins as useless both for the reign and for the country and would grant them to the High

Steward Isaac Ralet and his heirs. The protest of the citizens of Târgoviște eventually brought about the annulment of the document and the heirs of the boyar Ralet decided to cede the land of the Great Princely Church.

The first promotion of the voivodal court ruins is due to the French painter Michel Bouquet. The lithography drawn by the artist in 1843 is the most important graphical representation of the aulic complex in the mid-19th century (Fig. 2).

Amid the great Romantic movement that was sweeping across Europe with its political revolutionary ideas, the Wallachia principality would look back on its ancient history (P. Cornea, 1972). Prince Gheorghe Bibescu, an open-minded spirit who treasured the values of the past, seemed to be the most appropriate person to assume this difficult task. During his visit in 1843, the prince would be impressed by the ‘*vechea culă*’ (the old tower, i.e. The Chindia Tower), the only monument that was keeping a watch over the ancient ruins. On this occasion, he would promise to make this place a symbol of honouring the rulers who had sacrificed themselves for freedom (N. Isar, 2016).

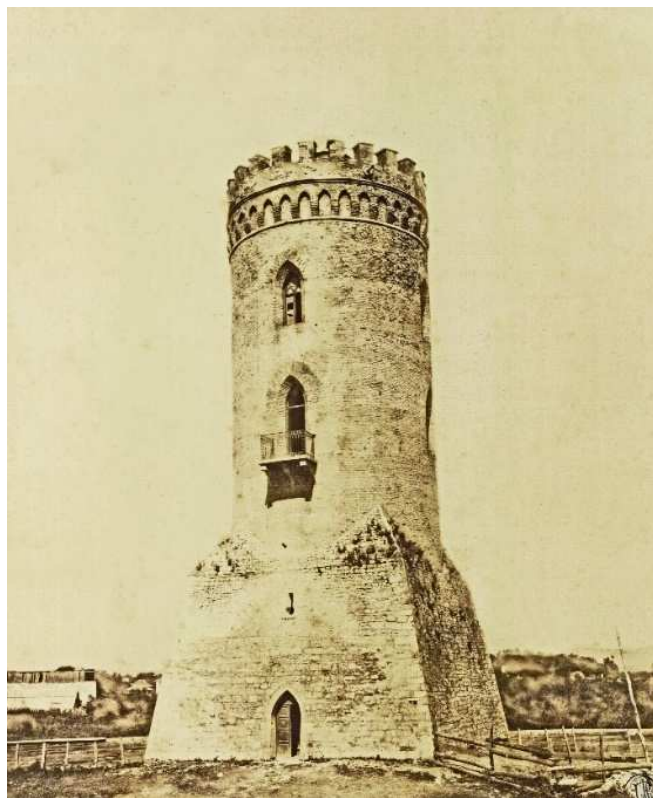


Fig. 3 - Carol Popp de Szathmari Chindia Tower-1867, Source: Romanian Academy Library Archive.

In fact, a complete restoration of the voivodal assemblage was at no time taken into consideration. According to a project of the architect Johann Schlatter, dated 30 November 1847, the so-called restoration regarded only the Chindia Tower. This project, marked by the interventions of the architects Johann Schlatter and Iulius Freiwald, radically changed the appearance of the building (P. Chihaia, 1968). One would not be mistaken if one would say that this is a profanation of the history of one of the most representative monuments of the Wallachian Middle Ages, the proportions and style of which were visibly altered.

Within a few decades, until 1867, the complex of buildings located near the impressive tower would disappear under a few metres of land. This landscape, with the state of the ruins in the former Court, was photographed by the Transylvanian Carol Popp de Szathmari (Fig. 3).

Towards the end of the 19th century, the disregard of the historical past would resurface when a number of buildings began to be constructed, with the consent of the city administration, inside the princely courtyard. A building with several annexes, which housed the County Hospital, was raised in the north-west (M. Oproiu, P. Dobrin, 2001).



Fig. 4 - Image during the archeological excavations carried out by V. Drăghiceanu. 1936. Source: Archive of the National Heritage Institute. Photo Library of the Historical Monuments Directorate, Historical Monuments Commission Fund.

Beyond the bad choice of location, these buildings obstructed the much-needed archaeological analysis for decades, until their demolition in 1976.

The poor situation of the former princely court in the early 20th century prompted the local authorities to carry out a study meant to indicate the physical state of the historical monuments in the county. The research was entrusted to the Târgoviște-based Virgiliu N. Drăghiceanu, who was to be known as a supporter of the preservation and restoration of the monuments (V. Drăghiceanu, 1907). He managed to open the first programme of systematic archaeological excavations at the former princely court in 1934-1938 (Fig. 4).

It was then that the civil and military constructions near the Ialomița river, located 6-7 metres deep, were uncovered and vestiges that can be admired today were brought to life: the princely house cellars, the church chapel

next to the Chindia Tower, the princely bath chamber, defence towers. The former princely assemblage would partially reveal its splendour from the mediaeval times and nothing seemed to disturb the peace of the old court of princes.

The vandalism of the Princely Court during the communist regime

The establishment of the communist regime and the difficult Stalinist period which sought to fight any bourgeois remnant in all its manifestations also affected the local authorities' protection of the monuments in Târgoviște. One should not forget that this was still the age of the '*cultural revolution*', a model favoured by Romanian communists as early as 1948, which aimed at the party's complete assumption of the responsibility to guide and control the evolution of science, art and culture (F. Velimirovici, 2015) (Fig. 5).



Fig. 5 - The entrance gate to the Royal Court from Târgoviște in the '50s. Source: Archive of the National Heritage Institute. Photo Library of the Historical Monuments Directorate, Historical Monuments Commission Fund.

In the summer of 1956, on 21 June, Radu Gioglovan, the manager of the Regional Museum of Târgoviște, would send a report to the People's Council of the City and Raion of Târgoviște. The document gave an account of how a horse belonging to the People's Council had run loose amid the ruins of the Princely Court on 17 June. In order to get it out of there, the horse caretakers had started tearing down the walls of these ruins and the supervisors of the complex had managed, with much effort, to restrain them from wrecking a large part of the vestiges. The museum manager also mentioned how the caretakers had been warned countless of times not to let the horses graze inside the ruins and how he personally had had numerous disputes blaming them for trespassing the protection area of the historical monument****.

According to the legislation in force, the report requested that the regional militia should be informed and legal proceedings should be started with the People's County becoming a civil party for the compensations established by law****.

An identical document was sent by the museum management, at the same time, to the Militia of the Raion of Târgoviște****.

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A day before dispatching the notifications to the local officials, the museum management had received a reply to another request to the Ministry of Culture related to the Chindia Tower, which had been seriously damaged by lightning. The Ministry was to send an architect in order to assess the damage and require the installation of a lightning rod****.

On a sheet kept in this file there is a note of the manager Radu Gioglovan mentioning the presence of the architect on 29 and 30 June 1956. The latter would also ascertain the damage caused by the employees of the People's Council to the Princely Court ruins****.

Moreover, we find that the architect Pîrvoiu, from the Commission on Historical Monuments of the Ministry of Culture, insisted that the People's Council should approve the remediation of the damage produced by the employees who had taken the horse out of the Princely Court.

According to the last document, on 5 September 1956, two months after the incident, the People's Council required the Museum of History in Târgoviște to indicate the damage caused and furthermore to provide evidence that that particular segment of the Princely Court was watched by a guard****.

The Museum Management promptly answered stressing that the damage consisted in the destruction of the protective cover of the walls over an area of two square metres and the demolition of two rows of bricks in the same walls****.

It was also shown that the entire affected area was not under the watch of the museum guards but of the caretaker of the Great Princely Church, which rendered the service defective, as she was on no one's payroll and no one took heed of her. One should note the courage of the manager Radu Gioglovan who would say that, in a city so full of history as Târgoviște, it was the People's Council that should be permanently in charge of guarding all monuments****.

On 21 September 1956, the reply given by the People's Council seems relevant in terms of the authorities' concern for the important vestiges in Târgoviște. A document signed by the very president of the People's Council, comrade Gheorghe Oproiu, mentioned that the notification of the Museum was reasonable, but the People's Council could not be held responsible, especially since the person in charge of horse care at that time, namely comrade Verzea Manole, was no longer an employee of the institution****.

A final attempt to settle this devastation produced at the Princely Court of Târgoviște was a report of the Management of the Museum of History, dated 24 September 1956. It clearly specified that, according to articles 7 and 28 of the Municipal County Decision 66i/955, the protection of cultural monuments, the establishment of damages, the right to impel those who had caused any kind of damage to monuments to bear the costs fell under the responsibility of the People's Council****.

On 8 November 1956, the whole matter was resolved by an ordinance for the cessation of criminal proceedings sent by the Târgoviște Regional Militia Service to the Museum of History****.

Sublieutenant Titeică Gheorghe had been given the task of verifying the criminal complaint file sent by the Museum of History on 12 September 1956. The policeman's observations are hallucinating and mark the very position of the communist regime, which would become increasingly visible in the following decades, vis-à-vis the heritage protection.

Thus, the field investigations carried out by Sublieutenant Titeică Gheorghe resulted in insufficient evidence of guilt: *"on account of the fact that the deed was unintentional and it happened by chance due to a horse"* ****. Therefore, in the case of the complaint made by the Museum of History with regard to the destruction of the ruins within the Princely Court of Târgoviște, a refusal to initiate criminal proceedings was ordered.

Conclusion

The plans for Târgoviște were just getting started. A few years later, the restoration of the Princely Court began. This work would perfectly fit into the national communism conceived by Nicolae Ceaușescu. The new head of state

had found his passion for history by means of which he would try to legitimate his own power. This trend was clearly shown by the working visits. While, in Suceava, Stephen the Great's watchmen would stay on the ramparts wearing costumes borrowed from the Moldavian theatres, in Târgoviște, in 1968, the presidential car taking Nicolae Ceaușescu and the French President Charles de Gaulle to the princely residence would be escorted by the horsemen of the voivode Mircea the Elder.

The reshaping of the city after the 1977 earthquake, given Nicolae Ceaușescu's intention to establish a second capital of the country here, led to the replacement of the merchant houses from the modern and premodern age with the grey blocks of flats, but evaded the Princely Court. It was only towards the end of the communist regime that measures aimed at the court were taken. The plans included the construction of a Palace on the ruins of the old one, the demolition of the Great Princely Church and its replacement with a square.

Therefore, in the light of the analysed documents, the culprit in the last action of destruction of the most important mediaeval complex in Târgoviște was a horse, the name of which, unfortunately, was not even recorded for posterity.

Specification

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Explanation of Neolithic and Chalcolithic of Qaradagh region based on archaeological data from Ahar County

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Abstract: Ahar County, located in the northeast of Azerbaijan, has different sites and cultures. Archaeological studies and chronological table of Azerbaijan have been formed based on the data of Urmia Lake basin and the position of other regions of northwestern Iran, including Qaradagh region (meaning very large mountain in Turkish), remained unknown in its cultural sequence. Since this area is located between the South Caucasus region and the northern regions (Mugan region) of northwestern Iran and the basins of Lake Urmia and Ghezel Ozan, it can play an important role in explaining the periods of Neolithic, Chalcolithic. Comparison and analysis of newly discovered archaeological data in the region will provide a relatively new result. In order to promote and achieve the prehistoric cultures of the region (cultural periods), the following questions are raised: 1- How is the chronological sequence of this region explained according to the cultural periods? The main hypothesis related to this question is the existence of New Neolithic periods and New Chalcolithic 2 and 3 (LC2-3) in Ahar area. 2- What cultural features is shown by common and non-common links (cultural interactions) of this region from northwestern Iran including Mugan region and other regions in terms of archaeological data and chronology of the mentioned periods? This writing is done using field surveys and descriptive-analytical study of archaeological data to clarify the cultural horizons and chronological table of the region. As a final result, it can be said that the pottery of the mentioned periods shows similarities with other regions of northwestern Iran, especially with the Urmia Lake basin. Given the vastness of the sites and other archaeological data, it is inferred that the settlements are seasonal and temporary and have probably been used by livestock and nomadic communities.

Key Words: Azerbaijan, Ahar County, Neolithic and Chalcolithic, pottery, Qaradagh region, chronology.

Introduction

Due to its good environmental conditions and specific location, northwestern Iran has a sequence of settlements from prehistoric to Islamic periods. Identifying archaeological cultures and settlement sequences of different geographical regions and introducing it to the archaeological community seems necessary (S. Bakhtiari *et al.*, 2019, p. 8). Due to its proximity to important cultural areas such as the Caucasus, Anatolia, Zagros and Mesopotamia,

this region of Iran has long had a special place in archaeological studies, and among these, Northwest Iran (Azerbaijan) alone is an important cultural and geographical area of the Iranian plateau during the prehistoric periods of Iran (H. Talaei, 2011, p. 63-64). Investigating the cultural periods of an area and comparing its archaeological data with neighboring regions with the aim of studying settlement patterns and examining bilateral and multilateral regional and extra-regional interactions in each period are among the earliest stages of explaining the evolution of old societies in prehistoric archeology. The lack of regular excavations and studies, as well as the lack of publication of all archaeological findings, has caused many problems and complexities in the chronology and cultural explanation of this region. On the other hand, the archeology of northwestern Iran relies on the chronology of Lake Urmia, which cannot be generalized to the whole of northwestern Iran due to its geographical nature and excavations that were carried out in that region before the Islamic Revolution. On the other hand, although this geographical region has good environmental conditions and many ancient sites, we have very little information about its different prehistoric periods, its adaptation, sequence, and chronological sequence with neighboring areas. Archaeological activities, including excavations and surveys has been done in neighboring regions, but the cultural and geographical region of Ahar County has remained somewhat unknown in terms of archaeological studies.

Investigation and study of the role of northwestern Iran in Neolithic and Chalcolithic, comparison of its cultural data with neighboring regions, study of regional and transregional interactions, and presentation of a chronological framework are the main objectives of this study. The questions of the present study have also been raised in this regard. The Neolithic and Chalcolithic of northwestern Iran have received less attention than other regions (E. Henrickson, 1983). Previous activities done in this region have focused on excavating Hasanlu, Dalma and Pisdeli sites, and finally the results of these studies have led to the introduction of Hasanlu X (Neolithic), Hasanlu IX (Dalma - Early Chalcolithic) and Hasanlu VIII (Pisdeli period - middle and New Chalcolithic) in Hasanlu chronological table. The beginning and the end of the Neolithic period are different in various regions of Iran and considering the heterogeneous climatic situation, and a chronological table revision seems necessary due to recent studies in other regions of northwestern Iran in addition to the Lake Urmia basin, whose chronology has been considered as the basis of northwestern Iran.

Due to some questions and ambiguities in the archeology of this region, Ahar cultural area, which is located in the northwest of Iran, is connected with Mugan region on the one side and by Lake Urmia and Ghezel Ozan basin (Zanjan province) on the other side. This region was selected as one of the important regions for the study. These questions are raised in relation with the relative chronology of the studied area in the Neolithic and Chalcolithic: 1- How is the chronological sequence of this region explained according to the cultural periods? The main hypothesis related to this question is the existence of New Neolithic periods and New Chalcolithic 2 and 3 (LC2-3) in Ahar area. 2- What cultural features is shown by common and non-common links (cultural interactions) of this region from northwestern Iran including Mugan region and other regions in terms of archaeological data and chronology of the mentioned periods? Based on the hypothesis that can be presented on this question, it can be said that based on studies, this cultural region shows connections and commonalities with the Mugan region and especially with the Urmia Lake basin based on archaeological data.

Research method

In this study, by using the descriptive-analytical method of pottery data obtained from archaeological survey, the relative chronology of Qaradagh region is presented to complete the chronology table of Neolithic and Chalcolithic to determine the cultural situation of the region in the mentioned periods. In order to complete and confirm the findings and relative chronology, radiocarbon dating of 14 cases used in other sites of northwestern Iran has been used as the basis of archaeological studies.

Explanation of Neolithic and Chalcolithic of Qaradagh region based on archaeological data from Ahar County

Geographical location of the studied region

Ahar County, with an area of 3073/93 square kilometers, is one of the most important cities of East Azerbaijan, including eight villages of Azghan / Azqan, Uech Hacha, Bozqush (Buzkash), Dodangeh, Dikleh, Qishlaq, Goyjah Bel and Vargahan. This county, as the center of Qaradagh region, has a large mountainous area, which part of the land of this region was registered by UNESCO organization as a biosphere reserve in 1976. It is surrounded by Meshgin Shahr and Mugan in the east, by Sarab in the south and by Tabriz and Marand in the west (Fig. 1) (B. Khamachi, 1991). The important salient point of Qaradagh region is the existence of good and excellent environmental conditions for human societies from prehistoric times to the present period.

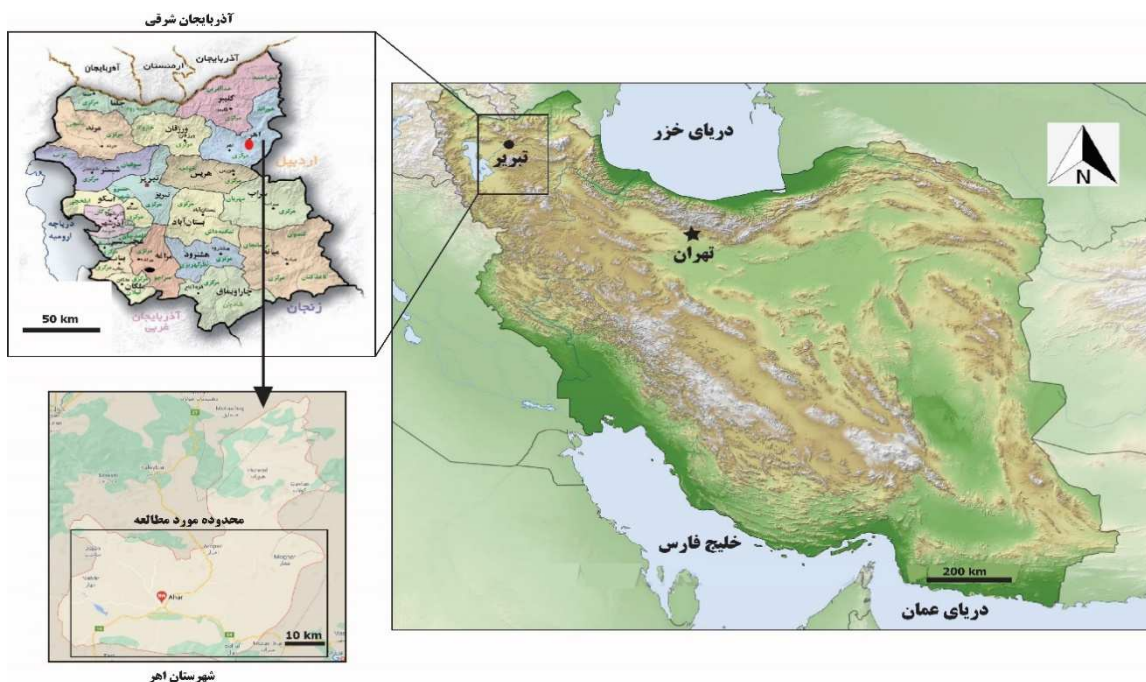


Fig. 1- Geographical location of Ahar County.

Studied materials

As a result of field surveys conducted in 2012 (R. Salmanpour *et al.*, 2012), 10 sites from the Neolithic and Chalcolithic were identified in the Ahar region. The study of pottery of the mentioned periods obtained from Ahar County shows similarities with the collected pottery of areas such as Idir Tepe of Aslan Duz in Mugan region, Kol Tepe in Jolfa and Dava Goz in Khoi, etc. around Lake Urmia. The ancient sites of Ahar has been dated from about 3400/3500 - 5000 BC. These sites belong to the Late Neolithic period (Hasanlu X, Idir Tepe VI, Kol Tepe IX, Dava Goz IX) and Chalcolithic. Most of them belong to the New Chalcolithic 2 and 3 (Idir Tepe III, Kol Tepe VI, Dava Goz I). Among the excavated areas, areas that have two or more periods have also been obtained, which indicates the subject of transfer from one period to another.

Background of Archaeological Studies of Chalcolithic in Northwest Iran

Most of the archeological activities of northwestern Iran (Azerbaijan) have been carried out around Lake Urmia and other data, findings and datings of this region are considered as the basis of archaeological studies. The first excavated prehistoric sites include: the hills of Haji Firuz Tepe, Dalma (C. Hamlin, 1975) and Pisdili (R. H. Dyson, C. Young, 1960); Charles Burney (1962, 1964) at Yaniq Tepe; B. Brown (1951) in Göy Tepe; study and excavation of Ahranjan Tepe (H. Talaei, 1983); surveys of Behrooz Omrani in the East of Lake Urmia (B. Omrani, 1993); the emergence of prehistoric remains at Qosha Tepe in Meshgin Shahr (A. Hejebri Nobari, A. Pourfaraj 2006; H.

Derakhshi *et al.*, 2008); excavation of Lavin Tepe related to Dalma culture (A. Binandeh *et al.*, 2012, p. 32); recent excavation in Kol Tepe and Dava Goz in Khoy (A. Abedi *et al.*, 2014; A. Abedi 2017); Idir Tepe in Aslan Duz (M. Hesari, H. Akbari 2005; M. Hesari 2019); survey of Horand region in Qaradagh (R. Salmanpour, Z. Abtahi Foroushani 2013; S. Bakhtiari *et al.*, 2018); sondage by Mr. Chaichi Amirkhiz in Shiramin Tepe of Azarshahr and Dagirman Tepe of Bostan Abad (A. Chaichi Amirkhiz, 2008); excavation of Ms. Maziar in Kohnehpasgah of Tepesi (S. Maziar. 2010); stratigraphic excavation of Kol-e-Yeri Tepe in Zanjan (S. Ali Beigi *et al.*, 2014); excavation and survey of Dalma pottery in Sahachai Tepe in Zanjan (R. Rahimi Sorkhani *et al.*, 2016) and archaeological studies of Saed Mocheshi in Ghezel Ozan region of Chai Bijar etc (A. Saed Moucheshi, 2013). Studies conducted by domestic and foreign researchers on the culture of Chalcolithic, especially on the interpretation of pottery of this cultural period, change and completion of chronology, regional and supra-regional interactions and even diffusionism, provided important results to researchers.

In recent years, one of the important issues in introducing and studying the Chalcolithic culture in northwestern Iran was the ambiguity in the chronological table of the Chalcolithic of this region. Because this period was introduced after the New Neolithic period, which was identified in areas such as Haji Firuz, Hasanlu, Yaniq Tepe, etc., with an interval of almost a thousand years. In recent years, Abedi's excavations in the Jolfa and Dava Goz Tepe of Khoy (A. Abedi *et al.*, 2014; A. Abedi 2017) removed an interruption in the chronology of Chalcolithic of northwestern Iran (Azerbaijan). In general, the prehistoric chronology of Azerbaijan has been explained based on the excavations carried out in the area of Lake Urmia. But no site has known to contain all the prehistoric periods in the stratigraphic sequence. In this regard, prehistoric periodization has been done based on the studies and data of sites that are located at close and far distances in this area. American archaeologists, as pioneers of archaeological activities in the region, have generalized the results found from an area such as Suldüz 1 to all regions of the North Zagros and beyond during periodization of prehistoric cultures in northwestern Iran (A. Ali Yari, H. Talaei, 2005).

Research data obtained from archaeological surveys

As a result of archeological excavations in Ahar city, five sites related to the New Neolithic period named Qarachilar (Qara Chiller) in Aqa Kandi village, Gon Batedi ruins in Anbaq-e Olya, Qarah Dash ruins in Anbaq-e Sorkhay, Sarkhosh Cherei in Ghezelja (Ghezeljeh), Qarpiz Qayasi in Qalandar and five sites of Chalcolithic were identified. The relative chronology of these sites is based on the study of pottery samples and their comparison with samples obtained from scientific excavations. Accordingly, the five identified and introduced sites of the Chalcolithic (Qabri Tomb in Reyhan, Amirno in Nahar, Kol Tepe in Khuniq, Ao Qabaqi in Reyhal, Topchilar Tepesi in Azghan) are related to the New Chalcolithic. Among them, one site has New Neolithic, Chalcolithic works. Comparison of data from previous findings and chronological analysis of dating done in some sites will be used to better understand and provide more accurate results. In the following, the studied pottery will be introduced.

Late Neolithic pottery

The obtained pottery (Qarachilar, Gon Batedi ruins, Qarah Dash ruins) are handmade with vegetable chamotte, incomplete cooking in the range of beige, red, gray and brick colors. But most pottery is brick, red and beige. Although pottery with geometric patterns in black with a thick red coating can be seen among the pottery pieces, the pottery of this period are often hollow and most of them are simple. Geometric motifs are comparable to Haji Firuz motifs. Among them, combed ornaments can also be seen (Table 1, Fig. 2). Some sites, such as Sarkhosh Cherei and Qarpiz Qayasi, have been attributed to the Neolithic period due to the acquisition of blades and stone tools (Fig. 3). Regarding the form of the vessels, the pottery is related to shallow vessels such as bowls, cups, as well as short-necked jars and inverted curb. This type of pottery is found in most Neolithic sites in northwestern Iran, the South Caucasus, including the Göy Tepe (F. Quliyev, Y. Nishiaki, 2012), Haj Alam Khanli (Y. Nishiaki *et al.*, 2015), Mantesh Tepe (B. Lyonnet, F. Quliyev, 2010) of Azerbaijan and the site of Khatun Ark- Aknashen- in Armenia. Archaeologists consider the Neolithic period to be an important event and a salient point in human life.

Explanation of Neolithic and Chalcolithic of Qaradagh region based on archaeological data from Ahar County

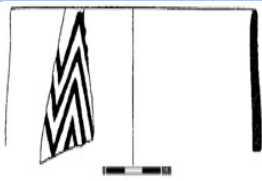



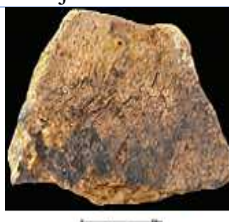
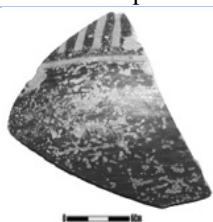
Row	Ancient site	Construction	Cooking	Colour Motif Background	Form	Chronology	
						Period	
1	Qarachilar	Hand made	Enough	Brown, beige, brick	Body curb	Neolithic	 <p>(H. Razzaqi, F. Fahimi, 2004, p.56)</p>
2	Gon Batedi ruins	Hand made	Not enough	Black and red	Body	Neolithic	 <p>(A. Abedi. 2017)</p>
3	Qarah Dash ruins	Hand made	Not enough	Beige	Body curb	Neolithic	-
Site name		Göy Tepe		Kamil Tepe	Haj Alam Khanli		Kol Tepe
Pottery sample							
Source		(B. Lyonnet, F. Quliyev 2010, p. 228)		(B. Lyonnet <i>et al.</i> , 2012)	(Y. Nishiaki <i>et al.</i> , 2015, p. 11)		

Table 1. Characteristics of Late Neolithic pottery in Qaradagh and South Caucasus regions.

Studies show that several areas in the Middle East have experienced Neolithization, and among these, Azerbaijan is one of the marginal areas and in the first phase of Neolithic; groups have settled around Lake Urmia. Neolithic research in Azerbaijan has received less attention than other parts of Iran (S. Bakhtiari *et al.*, 2019a, p. 7). Based on surveys conducted in Ahar County, several Neolithic sites have been identified, which seems to be temporary settlements due to the distribution of pottery and the size of the sites. The initial inference of Ahar pottery with neighboring areas indicates the coincidence of the sites with the culture of Haji Firuz (Hasanlu X). The samples of pottery studied in the areas of Dava Goz in Khoy, Kol Tepe in Jolfa, Lavin Tepe, Jelbar (Babakhan) Tepe are on the same horizon with the pottery obtained from Ahar County. According to the relative and absolute chronology of Idir Tepe in Mugan, Dava Goz in Khoy and Kol Tepe in Jolfa, etc., and the samples of pottery in terms of technique, form and decoration are placed in the transition period from Neolithic to Early Chalcolithic (A. Abedi, 2017)). In the eastern regions (Ardabil province) and the north (Mugan region) of northwestern Iran, Qosha Tepe in Shahar Yeri and Idir Tepe in Mugan have been studied in this time range (H. Derakhshi *et al.*, 2008; M. Hesari, 2019).

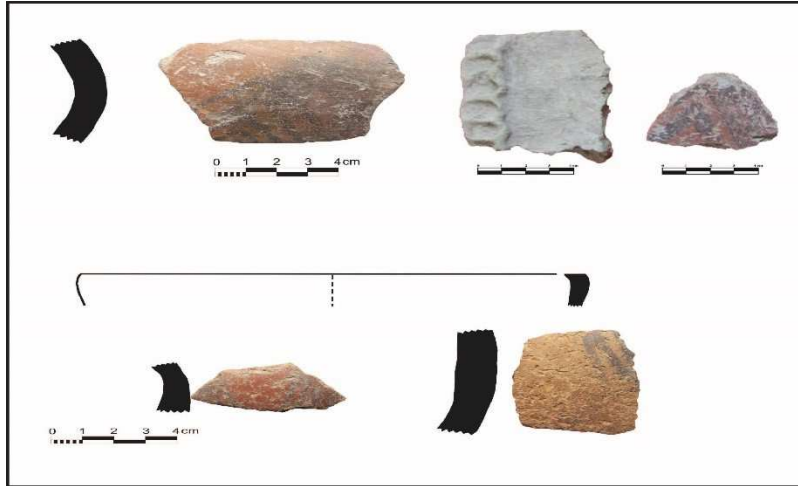


Fig. 2 - Late Neolithic pottery of Ahar region

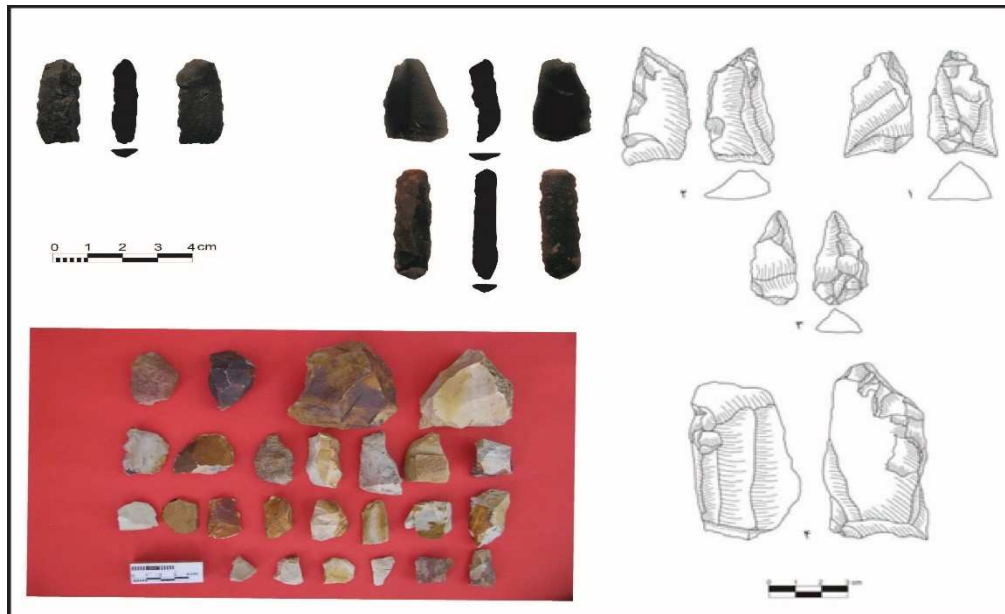


Fig. 3 - Stone tools belonging to the late Neolithic period of Ahar region

Based on the comparison of pottery, samples of Ahar pottery have also been reported from the geographical area of the South Caucasus (trans-regional area), including the Neolithic period pottery of the Göy Tepe site in the Republic of Azerbaijan. The pottery in site has mineral and organic chamotte. They are in simple and decorated forms and have a red clay coating. There are also signs of reed mats among them. This type of pottery decoration is also seen in the later phase of Shulaveri-Shomu culture (B. Lyonnet, F. Quliyev 2010, p. 222). It should be noted that the later phases of Shulaveri-Shomu culture (layers IV-V) coincide with the late Neolithic period (T. Kiguradze, M. Menabde, 2004, p. 362). Pottery related to Shulaveri-Shomu culture has also been obtained from the site of Haj Alam Khanli in Azerbaijan, which is later in time than the Göy Tepe (Y. Nishiaki et al., 2015). This type of

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decoration has not been reported from the Aratashen site yet. Aratashen pottery is in different colors (yellow, beige, gray) and minerals such as basalt, mica and sand is used as chamotte and their surfaces has been polished with wet hands. Mantesh Tepe pottery is in gray colors, Bright and inclined beige in which most of their surfaces has been polished. Their chamotte is vegetable and most minerals and the form of pottery consists of a wide mouth pot and bowl. There is a type of handle among them (B. Lyonnet et al., 2016, p. 178-179). Aknashen - Khatun site in Ark, located in Armenia, is one of the most important sites for studying the cultures of the sixth to fifth millennium BC. This is the first site in the South Caucasus obtained in terms of stratigraphy, sequence and continuation of the Late Neolithic to the Chalcolithic. In terms of chronology, this site has 5 time horizons. Horizons II-V related to the Late Neolithic and horizon I related to the Chalcolithic. The decorated pottery obtained in this site is similar to the pottery of other sites of the South Caucasus (Table 2) (R.S. Badalyan et al., 2010).





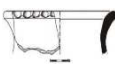

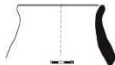

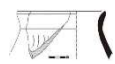

Row	Ancient site	Pottery sample	Construction	Cooking	Decoration	Form	Chronology
1	Qabri Tomb		Wheel made	Enough	-	Curb, Body, Handle	 (A. Abedi <i>et al.</i> , 2014)
2	Amirno		Hand made	Not enough	Polished	Body	 (A. Abedi, 2017)
3	Kol Tepe		Hand made	Enough	-	Body curb	 (A. Abedi <i>et al.</i> , 2014, p. 118)
4	Ao Qaba Qey		Hand made	Not enough	-	Curb	 (S. Maziar, 2010, p. 189)
5	Topchilar Tepesi		Hand made	Not enough	Polished	Curb	 (A. Abedi <i>et al.</i> , 2014)

Table 2 - Characteristics of Chalcolithic period pottery in Qaradagh region.

Pottery of Chalcolithic and their analysis

According to the initial study of pottery and their comparison with other sites in terms of form, motif, coating, etc., all the pottery obtained is related to the New Chalcolithic 2 and 3 / chaff-faced ware (CFW) 7. The pottery of this period is both handmade and wheel-made and has vegetable chamotte (chaff) and minerals (fine and coarse sand). The core of most pottery is beige, brick red, and gray, and the surface is often rough. Most pottery has enough cooking and some of them have incomplete cooking. The outer and inner coating of the pottery is changed to red,

beige and gray. The pottery is simple and without decorations and sometimes are shiny and polished. The most common forms of pottery of this period are open-mouthed vessels with short necks, vessels with short necks turned outwards, vessels with angled bodies, jars with turned curbs and short necks, large conical bowls with shallow and open mouth and small vats.

The maximum thickness of the pottery wall is 3 cm and the minimum is 1 cm. Scattering and diffusion of this type of pottery was observed in most sites of northwestern Iran and the South Caucasus (Mantesh Tepe, Leila Tepesi, Goygol, Ochan Aghil, Kol Tepe, Tekhut, Uzun Oba, Nakhchivan Tepe). In addition, a number of parent rocks, discarded stones and flint tools have been obtained and most of the sites have been severely damaged due to unauthorized excavations and agricultural and horticultural activities (Fig. 4).



Fig. 4 - Pottery samples of Chalcolithic 2 and 3.

Ahar County, due to its location in the highlands and mountainous region known as Qaradagh, has a different landscape than other parts of eastern Azerbaijan. Most of the Neolithic sites are located at an altitude of 1400 to 1800 meters and the settlements are seen as both nomadic and sedentary. The main feature of these sites is having a small area and the lack of continuity of settlements from the late Neolithic to the Chalcolithic (S. Bakhtiari *et al.*, 2019a, p. 9). In terms of comparative study, pottery related to the late Neolithic period of Ahar County has been obtained from Horand of Qaradagh sites (S. Bakhtiari *et al.*, 2019), Dava Goz in Khoy (A. Abedi, 2017), Kol Tepe in Jolfa (A. Abedi 2014; 2016a), Idir Tepe in Mugan (M. Hesari, 2019), Lavin Tepe (A. Hejebri nobari *et al.*, 2012), Qosha Tepe in Shahar Yeri (A. Hejebri Nobari, A. Pourfaraj, 2006) (H. Derakhshi *et al.*, 2008) and Jelbar (Babakhan) Tepe (H. Razzaqi, F. Fahimi, 2004), being similar to Ahar pottery in terms of technique and form. This group of pottery such as cups, jars with turned curb, and conical bowls with open mouths, is classified under Hasanlu X, Dava Goz I, Kol Tepe IX, Idir Tepe VI groups, and based on relative and absolute dating, the 5400 to 5000 BC period is considered as the coincidence of the transition from Neolithic to Chalcolithic (Table 1) (A. Abedi, 2017).

Pottery similar to the above-mentioned pottery was obtained from the lower layers of the Lavin Tepe site and attributed to this period, but its exact sequence is not mentioned (A. Hejebri Nobari *et al.*, 2012) (A. Binandeh *et al.*, 2012). In the eastern and northern regions of Ahar County, the sites of Qosha Tepe and Idir Tepe have Late Neolithic pottery. In these two sites, pottery, especially the form of bowls with different shapes, has obtained and

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is located between the periods of Haji Firuz and Dalma (H. Derakhshi et al., 2008, p. 21). During the excavation of Idir Tepe of Mugan plain, large bowls were found and classified under the Neolithic period (M. Hesari, H. Akbari, 2005). In terms of technique and form, the pottery of this site shows many similarities with Ahar, Horand, Qosha Tepe, Dava Goz and Lavin Tepe. Ahar clay studies and their comparison with neighboring regions and sites show similarities and long-standing relationships with sites around Lake Urmia. In general, the surface data obtained from the Chalcolithic surveys of the studied region include pottery pieces and stone tools made of flint and obsidian. The main cultural data are from pottery. According to previous studies, the height of the Chalcolithic sites of Qaradagh region from sea level (studies of Horand region) varies from 500 meters to 2000 meters and generally covers the area from 0.3 to 2 hectares (R. Salmanpour *et al.*, 2015). The altitude factor is directly related to decreasing air temperature and increasing precipitation. This factor will cause the accumulation of snow and the creation of canal feeding nests when the weather warms up and the snow storage melts, which in turn leads to access to water resources, pastures and vegetation. According to the statistical studies conducted in Horand region, which can be generalized to Ahar region, 88% of the settlement sites are located in mountainous areas and 12% of them are located in plain areas. These sites are 500 to over 2000 meters away from water resources, most of which are located at a distance of 500 to 1000 meters from water (S. Bakhtiari *et al.*, 2019b).

The studies of the Chalcolithic of northwestern Iran were denominated based on the chronology of the tables of Hasanlu, Hasanlu IX and Hasanlu VIII, and the term “Chalcolithic” was not used to introduce the mentioned classes. In recent years, one of the considerable issues in introducing and studying the Chalcolithic culture in northwestern Iran has been the ambiguity in the chronological table of the Chalcolithic of the region, because the period was introduced after the Neolithic with an interruption of almost a thousand years. Until the recent excavations of Abedi in Kol Tepe in Jolfa and Dava Goz in Khoy (A. Abedi et al., 2014; A. Abedi 2017, 2016a, 2016b) eliminated the interruption in the chronology of the Chalcolithic of Azerbaijan. In general, the prehistoric chronology of northwestern Iran has been explained based on the excavations carried out in the Urmia Lake basin. Based on preliminary and comparative studies of pottery obtained from field surveys in Ahar region, Chalcolithic pottery is related to the New Chalcolithic 2 and 3 / chaff-faced ware. The pottery of this period is often handmade, although wheel-made pottery can be seen among them. The pottery has chamotte of organic and mineral materials and most of the pottery is simple and without decorations and is sometimes decorated with a polished method. The most common forms of pottery of this period are vessels with a short neck with turning curb, vessels with an angled body, shallow conical bowls, and so on. The pottery coating is changed in red, beige and gray colors and the effect of burnt chaff can be seen on the surfaces of the vessels. The pottery samples obtained from Dava Goz IV and Kol Tepe VI have similarities with the pottery of Ahar region in terms of form and technique. According to the absolute chronology of the mentioned sites (Dava Goz and Kol Tepe), the time range of 3600/3700 - 4200 BC can be considered for the data of this period of Ahar County. The pottery of Dalma and Pisdeli periods has been identified from Lavin Tepe, but the New Chalcolithic 2 and 3 LC2-3 have not been identified (A. Binandeh et al., 2012).

From Qosha Tepe site of Shahar Yeri, pottery with handmade features, chaff-faced ware with basket design and red and brick coating has been obtained. They are similar to the pottery group of the east of Lake Urmia. By a significant reduction in the motif on the pottery of this period, they are comparable to the New Chalcolithic in other regions of northwestern Iran and has been obtained from period 2a of this site (A. Hejebri Nobari, A. Pourfaraj 2006, p. 7-9). Similar samples of this type of pottery have been obtained from Ali Komak Tepe of Azerbaijan and Sioni of Georgia. All the triple Chalcolithic have been obtained from Idir Tepe of Mugan and its layer III is related to the New Chalcolithic. In terms of form and technique, the pottery of this site shows similarities with other regions of northwestern Iran and also with Ahar region. Apart from simple pottery, decorated pottery is seen more among the pottery of the New Chalcolithic of Idir Tepe (M. Hesari, 2019, p. 32-33).

Another key site is Kohnepasgah of Tepesi, from which a lot of documents from the New Chalcolithic, including chaff-faced ware with groove and combed decorations, have been obtained. It has been radiocarbon dated in the time range of 3787-3955 BC. The site of Kohnepasgah of Tepesi is one of the sites from which data on the economy-livelihood of New Chalcolithic communities have been obtained (S. Maziar, 2010, p. 170-171). During the archaeological excavations in Bostan Abad, chaff-faced ware have been uncovered from most sites and based on comparative studies and relative chronology, it has been dated to the New Chalcolithic (H. Naseri Someh, 2014). Another important newly excavated site is Kol Tepe site in Jolfa, in which New Chalcolithic data has been obtained from Trench III and from layer VI, including pottery with groove / combed motifs that are features of the pottery of Chalcolithic 2. Chaff-faced ware are also features of the New Chalcolithic 3. It should be noted that all periods of Early Chalcolithic / Dalma (4500-5000 BC), New Chalcolithic 1 LC114 (4200-4500 BC) and New Chalcolithic 2 and 3 LC2-3 (3800/3900 -4200 BC) has been studied in this site like the site of Dava Goz in Khoy (A. Abedi, 2016b).

Chronology / Date	Sequence of Kohnepasgah in Tepesi	Sequence of Qosha Tepe	Sequence of Idir Tepe	Sequence of Kol Tepe in Jolfa	Northwest of Iran
2500-3000 BC	Phase 3d			Kol Tepe IV	Kura-Araxes II
3000-3400 BC	Phase 2			Kol Tepe V	Kura-Araxes I
3600/3700-3800/3900 BC	Phase 1	Period 2A	Idir Tepe II	Kol Tepe VIA	New Chalcolithic 3LC3
3800/3900-4200 BC			Idir Tepe III	Kol Tepe VIB	New Chalcolithic 2LC2
4200-4500 BC			Idir Tepe IV	Kol Tepe VII	New Chalcolithic 1LC1
4500-5000 BC		Period 2B	Idir Tepe V	Kol Tepe VIII	Dalma
5000-5400 BC		Period 2C	Idir Tepe VI	Kol Tepe IX	Late Neolithic / Transitional Chalcolithic

Table 3 - Chronology table of northwestern Iran (authors)

In addition to radiocarbon dating, another important point is the continuation of the pottery data of the New Chalcolithic 3 in Kura-Araxes I period; thus, chaff-faced ware with gray-black gloss pottery with a Nakhjavan handle has been obtained, which shows the continuation of the previous tradition in the very extensive cultural tradition of Kura-Araxes. The third floor of the site of Qishlaq Talvar, which is considered to have the same horizon as Godin VII, has pottery related to the New Chalcolithic similar to the pottery of other regions of Azerbaijan (M. Sharifi, 2020). The triple periods of Chalcolithic in Dava Goz settlement is without interruption and this site has been considered by the digger as the winter pasture of the livestock communities of Urmia Lake basin and the IV floor belongs to the New Chalcolithic 2. The pottery is both simple and decorated, and chaff-faced ware with grooved and combed motifs can be seen among them (Table 3) (A. Abedi, 2017).

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The Chalcolithic cultural period in the South Caucasus archeology is known as the Eneolithic cultural period. In this geographical area, the two rivers named Kura and Araxes are called the Mesopotamia of the Caucasus, because it has very important settlements (A. Karimikia et al., 2020). Even today, however, Caucasus archaeological studies have become one of the favorite sites of Western archaeologists (B. Lyonnet, F. Quliyev, 2010). The main features of the New Chalcolithic 2 and 3 are pottery with a combed and grooved design, with a simple potter's sign, and without chaff-faced motif, which has been obtained from the excavation of Suyouq Bolaq's kurgans, one of the famous kurgans / cemeteries of this period. Like those from the Aknalich Korgans of Armenia (F. Muradyan, 2014), the Yeni Yul site and in the Uchular Hill area have been obtained. Most of the pottery is chaff faced, although the pottery with relieved work can be seen among them. Mantesh Tepe, which is one of the important prehistoric sites of this region, has been studied without interruption from the Neolithic period to the Kura-Araxes period. Rectangular architectural structures of unburnt brick, storage wells, large jars and pottery with combed and chaff-faced design as well as signs of metalworking activities have been observed from this site (B. Lyonnet *et al.*, 2012). Weaving evidence (basket and cloth weaving) were discovered from Areni Cave (C. H. Chataigner *et al.*, 2010).










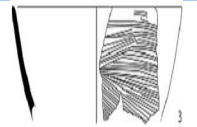
Site Name	Qara Jamirli	Qalayeri	Rabati	Rabati	Areni Cave
Pottery sample					
Source	(T. Dostiyev, 2007)	(N. Museibli, 2019)	(G. Bedianashvili et al., 2019, p. 68)	(G. Bedianashvili et al., 2019, p. 70)	(K. N. Wilkinson et al., 2012)
Site Name	Godzur	Darah Shahbuz	Aknalich	Yeni Yul	Mantesh Tepe
Pottery sample					
Source	(C. H. Chataigner et al., 2010)	(E. Bakhshaliyev, 2017)	(F. Muradyan, 2014, p. 358)		(B. Lyonnet et al., 2012, p. 102)

Table 4: Features of New Chalcolithic pottery (chaff-faced ware), trans-regional (South Caucasus region).

Cultural relations between the Caucasus and Mesopotamia reached their peak in the New Chalcolithic 2 and 3. This cultural phase in the Caucasus is known as the "pre-Uruk expansion" phenomenon. Clay molds, bone and stone tools made of flint and obsidian and pottery with a groove motif near the curb, combed design in the forms of jars, pitchers were excavated from Qalayeri. Some pottery has signs (probably potter signs), which are prominent features of this cultural period (N. Museibli, 2019). Also, pottery with the features of this period, including pottery with a combed design originates from the site of Qara Jamirli (T. Dostiyev 2007, p. 5) and Khoja Khan (M. Huseynov, B. Jalilov, 2007, p. 7). Also, pottery in the forms of bowls, cups and plates has been obtained from archaeological studies of the sites of the Darah Shahbuz and Salah Suz located in Nakhchivan of Azerbaijan, some examples being discovered and studied from the Kol Tepe site of Hadi Shahr (E. Bakhshaliyev, 2017). Along with decorated pottery, simple, polished, chaff-faced, and combed pottery in different colors was analyzed from Rabati site in Georgia (G. Bedianashvili *et al.*, 2019), similar to the two-hectare Orchosani site, which is a multi-period

site of the New Chalcolithic, pottery, bone, clay structures (human and animal figurines) as well as clay seals (I. Gambashidze *et al.*, 2018) (Table 4).

Conclusions

As a result of archeological excavations in Ahar city, five sites related to the New Neolithic period named Qarachilar (Qara Chiller) in Aqa Kandi village, Gon Batedi ruins in Anbaq-e Olya, Qarah Dash ruins in Anbaq-e Sorkhay, Sarkhosh Cherei in Ghezelja (Ghezeljeh), Qarpiz Qayasi in Qalandar and five sites of Chalcolithic were identified. The relative chronology of these sites is based on the study of pottery samples and their comparison with samples obtained from scientific excavations. Accordingly, the five identified and introduced sites of the Chalcolithic (Qabri Tomb in Reyhan, Amirno in Nahar, Kol Tepe in Khuniq, Ao Qabaqi in Reyhal, Topchilar Tepesi in Azghan) are related to the New Chalcolithic. Among them, one site (Amir No site) has New Neolithic, Chalcolithic discoveries. Comparison of data from previous findings and chronological analysis of dating done in some sites will be used to better understand and provide more accurate results. In the following, the studied pottery will be introduced.

Based on archaeological evidence obtained from Ahar, pottery of New Chalcolithic 2 and 3 were obtained after the Neolithic, and among these, the new Neolithic pottery shows similarities with other regions of northwestern Iran, especially with the Urmia Lake basin. As the pottery of New Chalcolithic 2 and 3 are mostly simple in terms of visual and surface decorations, it is inferred that the settlements are seasonal and short-lived and probably used by ranchers and small communities of the New Chalcolithic. It should be noted that in the New Chalcolithic, we are witnessing an increase in settlements and population both in the northwestern region of Iran and the Caucasus region. Most of the Chalcolithic sites of Qaradagh region are located next to seasonal rivers or water springs and most of them are located at a distance of 500 to 1000 meters from water sources. In general, the area of settlements in this region is 0.3 to 2 hectares.

According to the analyzes performed, the settlement pattern of this cultural period in the discussed region is completely influenced by natural and environmental variables such as water resources, land topography, land slope, vegetation, animal cover and altitude. Among these, the altitude factor has a direct relationship with decreasing air temperature and increasing rainfall. This factor causes the accumulation of snow and storage of water resources for hot seasons, and as a result, causes access to water resources, pastures and vegetation.

Based on the studies of the data obtained from Ahar region and neighboring regions, the prehistoric situation of the region is clarified to some extent and determines both the completion of the chronological table and the dispersion and expansion of the sites of the mentioned periods. According to the chronologies of Kol Tepe in Jolfa and Dava Goz in Khoi, in the cultural and chronological sequence of Qaradagh region, we can see the new Neolithic / Transitional Chalcolithic (5000-5400 BC) and New Chalcolithic 2 and 3 (3600 / 3700- 4200 BC). Based on cultural findings, we find that there is a cultural and temporal gap between the Late Neolithic and the New Chalcolithic 2 and 3. Considering the fact that the Nakhjavan group, whose samples were obtained both from Kol Tepe in Jolfa (Trench IV) and from the geographical area of the South Caucasus, is one of the main reasons and signs of the pottery data of the New Chalcolithic 3 in the Kura-Araxes period I. This issue is one of the main cultural and archaeological ambiguities in northwestern Iran and the South Caucasus. If we accept this coexistence of two cultural traditions and the communities of New Chalcolithic 3 and Kura-Araxes I, this leads to an important issue that most likely the culture of Kura-Araxes I has been derived from the native tribes of New Chalcolithic 3. Of course, this problem needs more scientific studies and research.

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Bohai rebellion of Da Yen-lin (1029-1030) in the Liao Empire

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Abstract. After destruction of Bohai state in 926, Khitan rulers deported a part of local population in the territory of their Empire. Bohai remained population lived in different conditions in Liao Empire. Sometimes, Bohai population rebelled against Khitans for several reasons. Most great among them was the rebellion in 1029-1030 conducted by Da Yen-lin. The aims of this work are consideration of specifics of this action and analyze some aspects of rebellion.

Keywords: Liao, Khitans, Sin Liao, rebellion, Bohai remained population.

In 926, Khitans destroyed Bohai state (Park, 1995). In spite of great victory (military expedition was during ten days and fast control of the Capital), Khitan military troops scared resistance of Bohai people and deported part of them in the Liao Empire. After this process, many Bohai people adapted in life in the Khitan state (Kim, 2020). Many Bohai persons become good officials in the Liao Empire, and Bohai soldiers fought for Khitans in wars against China (Kim, 2015) and Koryo (An, 2003). For example, Bohai general Gao Mou-han became famous person in the wars of Liao and Chinese empires (Kim, 2015). He used Bohai, Khitan and Chinese soldiers in the military operations. Gao Mou-han and his people conquered a vast territory in China for Liao. Therefore, many Liao nobles believed to Bohai persons in the administrative apparatus and high estimated Bohai soldiers in the army. However, discrimination policy against Bohai population remained in the Liao Empire (Vorob`ev, 1975), and it was reason of the Bohai rebellions. However, the position of Bohai people in the Khitan state was better than Chinese or Jurchen.

Usually many historians believe that Bohai rebellion in Liao Empire (1029-1030) was greatest in the history of Bohai population in the Khitan state (*Parhaesa*, 1996). Reasons for this event were attempts of Liao government to use new taxis for Bohai people (Ivliev, 1988). But it was important result – serious drought in the empire. Khitan officials started to use new taxis for alcohol and salt, to use raised trade duties (Yu, 2000, p. 65-66), because they needed in the material resources in new economic conditions. However, Bohai people could not accept these measures. This system of taxis was not a new in the Liao Empire; before 1029 Khitan already used it for Chinese population (Wittfogel and Feng Chia, 1949, p. 405). Probably, Bohai population in the Eastern Capital had another system of taxis (which was more easy and comfortable then for Chinese), therefore Bohai people considered the new economic measures of Khitan officials as reason for conflict.

Moreover, as result of drought, Yan region in Liao Empire had problem with food. Thus, Khitan officials started to move the bread from Eastern Capital to Yan region (*Istoriia Zheleznoi imperii* 2007, p. 98). This measure

was considered by Bohai population very negatively, and their position can be understood - in period of drought the bread had very important significance for population of cities. But this activity of Khitan officials was dictated by state and imperial court.

However, in modern Korean states it is considered another reason for rebellion by Da Yen-lin. Tax policy of Khitan officials and situation with bread were believed as occasion for rebellion, but real reason were national discrimination and corrupted officials in Liao, and Bohai people wanted to live in their Bohai state (*Parhaesa* 1996).

Wittfogel and Feng Chia (1949, p. 404-405) assumed that rebellion had mainly economic reasons, and later in this process the political aspects were dominated. In opinion of this scholars, conflict of 1029-1030 was revolution more than rebellion.

Therefore, for understanding of this event we need to consider main events of Bohai rebellion.

Conflict started in the province of Eastern capital of the Khitan state. This city was a former capital of the Dongdan - Bohai buffer state of Khitans in 10th C. (Dongdan was a state for adaptation of the Bohai population to Khitan power; when Liao officials believed that Bohai population adapted to Khitan administrative system, this state was liquidated). This province included 9 regions and 87 counties at that time. In spite of mass deportations before, great number of the Bohai people remained and lived in this province. They were recognized as loyal population for Khitans, but situation with taxes moved them for fighting.

The head of this rebellion, Da Yen-lin, used discontent of the local population and started military activity against Liao (*Parhaesa* 1996, p. 89; Wittfogel and Feng Chia, 1949, p. 419; Yu 2000, p. 67) in 8th month of 9th year Tai-pin (1029). He was commander of military contingents "Sheli" (guards troops) in the capital (*Istoriia Zheleznoi imperii* 2007, p. 207), being very useful for control of the city. He arrested a number of Khitan leaders, including members from Imperial dynasty, for example, king's son-in-law Xiao Xiao-hsien and his wife, princess Nangyan and sent them in the prison (*Istoriia Zheleznoi imperii* 2007, p. 98). Moreover, soldiers of Da Yen-lin killed part of Khitan officials in the city, for example, Chairman of the Ministry of Finance Han Shao-shung, advisor Wang Tsia, main commander of garrison Xiao Pude (Wittfogel and and Feng Chia, 1949, p. 419; *Istoriia Zheleznoi imperii* 2007, p. 98). Murder of these people was not accidental, many Bohai believed that executed officials were guilty in economic problems of the capital and moved the bread to Yan district. Probably the murder of Xiao Pude had another reason – his liquidation can destroy organized resistance of Khitan soldiers against Bohai rebellion in the capital (moreover, he was commander of Da Yen-lin and likely between both generals were antagonistic relations, otherwise Xiao Pude can be arrested) and can create panic tendency among Liao officials.

As we can see, rebellion had economic reasons. In this case, Khitan can change economic policy and it can be stopped the Bohai rebellion. Moreover, many persons among Bohai population wanted peaceful life and did not have interest in the fighting with Khitans. Probably, Da Yen-lin understood it and needed to search another base for rebels. Certainly, in this case political motivation can be better for development of rebellion.

Da Yen-lin mobilized his supporters in the Eastern Capital. All troops of "sheli" in this city moved to his side (Wittfogel and and Feng Chia, 1949, p. 520). Therefore, Da Yen-lin controlled all lands of the province, declared about creation of Bohai State -Sin Liao (Xing Liao), and called himself as Emperor (Han, 1994, p. 260 – 261; Yu, 2000, p. 67; *Parhaesa*, 1996, p. 89).

Da Yen-lin was a descendant of Da Juorong (founder of Bohai state in 698) and can consider it for his rights in creation of new state. In Liao Empire he was member of Bohai aristocracy in the Eastern Capital (Yu, 2000, p. 65; *Parhaesa*, 1996, p. 89). New state created official apparatus and financial system (Wittfogel and Feng Chia, 1949, p. 314). Of course, in many aspects it was a copy of the Liao system.

However, according to the position of Wittfogel and Feng Chia (1949, p. 405), this state form could not be called as empire, because it was self-proclaimed state and neighboring states (like, Koryo kingdom) did not recognize it as empire. Later, Da Yen-lin created agreements with western, south and northern Jurchens against

Liao, because these tribes did not like the policy of Khitan state (Wittfogel and Feng Chia, 1949, p. 588; Yu, 2000, p. 67).

Da Yen-lin very fast mobilized military contingents of Bohai people who fought with Khitan troops in the areas of province of the Eastern Capital. Bohai army received support from Chinese peasants (*Parhaesa*, 1996). In period of drought, many Chinese peasants did not work in the agriculture and moved to robbers. Sometimes, these robber groups can be very strong - until to some dozen thousands people. Chinese peasant armies played important role in the history of ancient and medieval China (Goncharov, 1986), sometimes created new ruler dynasties (*Istoriia stran zarubezhnoj Azii v srednie veka*, 1970). We don't have exact information about number of Chinese peasants in Bohai army. However, economic troubles can be the reason why many Chinese peasants and robbers can arrive in army of Da Yen-lin. Moreover, Bohai military groups can receive support from Xsi tribe (Wittfogel, 1949, p. 407-408).

Interesting fact - Da Yen-lin very fast occupied many regions of the province, but as is known, Khitan officials banned from practicing equestrian polo for Bohai people and as result Bohai population had problem with horse-breeding. Liao officials did not like possibility for creation of Bohai cavalry. Army of Da Yen-lin very fast moved in regions with Bohai population, but his speed was slowly in places without Bohai people. Moreover, Khitan general Xiao Pidi mobilized his military troops and tried to stop troops of Sin Liao (*Istoriia Zheleznoi imperii* 2007: 98).

Da Yen-lin sent ambassador Go Gil Dok in Koryo for inform about establishment his state and asked about military help (Wittfogel, 1949, p. 420; *Parhaesa*, 1996). Reason for this activity was the fact that after rebellion of Bohai people the Koryo stopped diplomatic relations with Liao (Yu, 2000, p. 66). However, Koryo refused to help Da Yen. Moreover, Koryo supported defense of border, probably, afraid of attack of Sin Liao (Wittfogel, 1949, p. 420). Therefore, Da Yen-lin asked about help again and mentioned that Koryo can receive Khitan lands in the Yalu river (*Parhaesa*, 1996, p. 90).

In total, Da Yen-lin sent in Koryo five ambassadorial missions. Go Gil Dok was a head of first and forth missions, the head of second mission was Da Eyon jong, who was relative of Da Yen-lin. Mayors of Inchou-city, Da Han kyuon, and Lee Kwang rok were heads of third and fifth missions (Han 1994, p. 264; *Parhaesa*, 1996, p. 91). Koryo refused the military support for all his missions (Wittfogel 1949: 420), but sent to Sin Liao gifts (*Istoriia Zheleznoi imperii*, 2007, p. 98).

We believe that Da Yen-lin had talks about recognition of his state from Koryo – ordinary process for all new medieval states in the East Asia. But it was very complicated question for Koryo. At first, Koryo was kingdom and in the legal aspect can't recognize the Empire. At second, Koryo did not have interest in establishment of new state near her borders.

Koryo officials considered new situation, but they overestimated potential of Bohai population in Liao and results of crisis, underestimated Khitan army. Therefore they sent small military contingents in territory of Liao Empire. All these groups were destroyed by Khitan border troops (Wittfogel, 1949, p. 318). It had influence to positions of Koryo officials. Korean scholars believe that this military activity were attempt to help Sin Liao, but Soviet specialists considered it as Koryo tried to receive lands of Liao Empire (*Parhaesa*, 1996; *Okladnikov*, 1959; *Okladnikov*, Derevyanko, 1973).

According to information from "Koryo sa" (Korean medieval annals), Koryo king discussed with nobles about situation with Sin Liao. In spite of some generals, who wanted to occupy some lands of Liao, many officials did not want it. Part of nobles with political leader Che Sa Wi urged king to be careful in this situation, noting that this is "a dangerous activity, in which one cannot but be careful and whether this (activity) will be beneficial" (*Parhaesa*, 1996, p. 90-91).

As result of this discussion, Koryo understood that can't fight against Liao Empire successfully and did not take part in the rebellion of Da Yen-lin. Moreover, Bohai military contingents did not have good connection between each other and gave good possibilities for Khitan army for attack. Bohai army did not mobile move in the many areas and did not consolidate for fight with Khitan army.

Ye Longli wrote about incident with Su Shi-zhen. According information of this Chinese historian, in the 11th C. in the old Bohai lands was rebellion of Su Shi-zhen. A great number of Bohai people took part in this rebellion, and only in the East Capital stayed some dozen thousands soldiers. Bohai army start expedition against Kihtan military contingents. Liao Emperor ordered Xiao Xiao-mu to Commander of army and sent hum against rebellion. His army was greatest than army of Su- Shi-zhen.

Su Shi-zhen moved to mountain, created camp and surrounded it with a palisade. His position was good and attack of Kihtan army had many problems. Liao army can move to the Eastern Capital, but the great Bohai army can attack in the rear of Khitan. Therefore, Liao army stayed near Bohai military contingents. Xiao Xiao-mu declared about forgiveness of Emperor for rebels as result more than 70 thousands of Bohai families capitulated. Khitans considered it as great success and Xiao Xiao-mu received high-level rank (Ye, 1979, p. 248-249); according another information, Xiao Xiao-mu received it only after destruction of rebellion of Da Yen-lin (*Istoriia Zheleznoi imperii*, 2007, p. 99). As we can see, policy of Khitans was very loyalty for Bohai rebels. Probably, it had dealing with the position of Bohai people in Liao Empire or dangerous of their rebellion. However, records about Su shi-zhen are very small, therefore we don't have exact information about his activity.

However, only Ye Longli mentioned Su Shi-zhen. In the materials of "Liao shi", Xiao Xiao-mu received awards for destruction of rebellion of Da Yen-lin. Therefore we can consider three options about Su Shi-zhen: 1. Chinese historians had mistaken and considered Da Yen-lin as Su shi-zhen; 2. Su shi-zhen was one general of Sin Liao; 3. he was independent leader of Bohai rebels and was did not have dealing to the Da Yen-lin. If Su Shi-zhen was independent leader of Bohai rebels, incident with him for Liao was episode of war against Da Yen-lin, thus Khitan did not pay great attention. For Liao, the way to Eastern Capital was most important. After capitulation of army of Su shi-zhen, the Khitans received possibility for attack the Eastern Capital.

If Su shi-zhen was one general of Sin Liao, capitulation of his soldiers with families was great blow for Sin Liao. Da Yen-lin loose not only 70 thousands soldiers, but economic support of their families too. Moreover, recently Khitan army did not have problem with partisan activity in rear. Therefore, Khitan armies of Xiao Xiao-mu and Xiao Pidi arrived to Bao-chou (*Parhaesa*, 1996). Further, inspector Xiao Punu arrived in this army (*Istoriia Zheleznoi imperii*, 2007: 99).

Da Yen-lin tried to occupy this city, because Bao-chou had strategic importance - it was the way to Koryo. In Bao-chou located Liao garrison, part of it was Bohai troop with commander Ha Hen Mi (Bohai person). Ruler of Sin Liao sent him letter and asked about support, but Ha Hen Mi informed the Khitans about it (Wittfogel, 1949, p. 464). Probably, Bohai soldiers in Bao-chou wanted to come in Da Yen-lin side. Consequently, Khitans attacked Bohai soldiers in Bao-chou and murdered 800 of them (Yu, 2000, p. 67). In "Istoriia Zheleznoi imperii" (2007, p. 98), we can see another version of this incident: Yelui Bugu intercepted information about Bohai rebels in garrison and murdered them. Before this incident, generals of Sin Liao Wang, Do Phen and Hwang Phen, escaped from Haunlunfu to Eastern Capital and Khitans received this city without battle (Yu, 2000, p. 67).

After it, Bohai military contingents tried to stop Khitan army near Phosu, and Liao troops won in this battle. Da Yen-lin tried to attack Shenchou; this city was an important base for Khitan army in the province of Eastern Capital. But ruler of Sin Liao loose time (*Istoriia Zheleznoi imperii*, 2007, p. 98). The part of inhabitants of Shenchou consisted of Khitan settlers, they did not like of Bohai population. City was prepared for defense, Da Yen-lin can't take it and came back in Capital (Yu, 2000, p. 67-68). After discussion among commanders, the

Khitan army blocked the city (*Istoriia Zheleznoi imperii*, 2007, p. 99) and used experience of Gao Mo Han for control all areas near Eastern Capital.

The city was prepared for defense and resistance against Khitan and the army was strong, but Bohai general Yan Sianshi, who was a scholar and Head of defense in south direction of the capital, betrayed Da Yen-lin. He had secret talks with Kihats and open gates for Liao army (*Istoriia Zheleznoi imperii*, 2007, p. 99). Khitan army took Eastern capital, and arrested Da Yen-lin. So, in the night 25 day 8 month 1330 the Sin Liao was ended (Yu, 2000, p. 68; *Parhaesa*, 1996, p. 91).

Koryo officials noted this situation, they considered the activity in the Sin Liao. Koryo sent ambassador in Liao with congratulation for receiving the Eastern Capital. Moreover, Koryo king apologized because did not send ambassadors before in Khitan state and explained this situation by the fact that “the ways were closed” (*Parhaesa*, 1996, p. 91).

Some Bohai troops fought against Khitan army in several castles, but Liao destroyed it later (Yu, 2000, p. 68). After victory Khitan officials deported part of the Bohai population from capital province in other places of Liao Empire (*Parhaesa* 1996: 92), for example, in Shanjin (Wittfogel 1949:69-70).

As result of destruction of Sin Liao and mass deportations, many Bohai people migrated in Koryo. Among refugees were persons from Khitan and Xia (Wittfogel, 1949, p. 420). But Koryo officials did not have good knowledge about population of Liao Empire and recorded in annals the Bohai people as Khitans or Xia.

Many modern Korean scholars believed that Bohai people migrated to Koryo because Da Yen-lin sent ambassadors and Sin Liao considered Koryo as related country (*Parhaesa*, 1996, p. 91-92). However, we don't think so - Koryo refused the support for state of Da Yen-lin. In the South Korea exist the opinion that contacts between Sin Liao and Koryo, migration of Bohai people in this Korean state, was “remained understanding about South and North States” in Korea (*Parhaesa*, 1996, p. 93). Yet many famous Korean professors did not consider this version and believe that in process of migration of Bohai population the geographical factor played a major role (*Parhaesa*, 1996, p. 93). We believe that its right, Koryo was located very close of Sin Liao.

All Khitan generals, who take part in destruction of Bohai rebellion, received awards from Liao Emperor (*Istoriia Zheleznoi imperii*, 2007, p. 99).

Usually Korean scholars considered the act of Yan Sianshi as main reason of destruction of Sin Liao, but objectively fate of state by Da Yen-lin was actually already a foregone conclusion. During the period of blocking Eastern Capital by Khitans, all rebels of Bohai population in other territories of Liao already did not existed. Moreover, many Bohai people did not take part in military conflict. They did not have interest to establishment of Bohai state. Koryo refused in support for Da Yen-lin, western and north Jurchens were destroyed by Liao army. Da Yen-lin had only Eastern Capital, which will be taking Khitans. Human and economic potential by Liao Empire outnumbered for many times, than possibilities of Da Yen-lin. Sin Liao could not be exist without support from another state.

Of course, in 12th C. Jurchen destroyed Liao Empire, but at that time Jurchen were nomadic tribes with strong social system and had excellent cavalry. Moreover, Jurchen used Khitan, Chinese and Bohai people in the war against Liao (Kozhanov, 1980; Malyavin, 1942). Da Yen-lin did not have nomadic cavalry and mass support of many Bohai people. His political motivations for establishment of his state did not receive mass support among Bohai population. Probably, economic motivation can be helpful, but it was not developed. Moreover, we can't see information, how Da Yen-lin worked with Chinese peasants, therefore he can't receive support from Chinese too. As result, his rebellion had base only Bohai population in the Eastern Capital (but not from all, after rebellion Liao noted it and used Bohai population later), so Da Yen-lin can't receive mass support. It was a main reason of Khitan victory.

Of course, Bohai population rebelled later in 12th C. and occupied Eastern Capital again, but Bohai leaders can't create situation like Da Yen-lin. Therefore establishment of Sin Liao can be considered as most serious attempt of Bohai population to create their state.

In spite of this rebellion, Khitan officials accepted Bohai soldiers in Liao military troops later. Bohai military contingents played important role in resistance of Liao Empire against Jurchen army in 12th C. (Ye, 1979; Kozhanov, 1980). So, as we can see, Liao nobles positively considered Bohai population in Empire.

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Albanian mercenaries in the Wallachian army (16th-17th centuries)

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Abstract: In the middle of the 16th century, more and more foreign mercenaries came to Wallachia and Moldavia. They were in the service of some pretenders to the thrones of the two Romanian countries, such as Radu-Ilie, Iacob Heraclid Despot, Petru Cercel and Ioan Armeanul. However, the number of these adventurous warriors would increase in the last decade of the same century, with the start of the great anti-Ottoman uprising in the autumn of 1594, initiated by Mihai Viteazul, in close cooperation with István Báthory, prince of Transylvania, and Aron Tiranul, prince of Moldavia. Shortly after the battle of Călugăreni (August 13th-23rd, 1595), many Western mercenaries, especially Balkans, joined Mihai Viteazul in the subsequent battles fought against the Ottoman army that had occupied Wallachia. The present paper makes reference to the Albanian mercenaries in the Wallachian army, confirmed by the internal and external historical sources in the 16th-17th centuries.

Key-words: Wallachia, Balkan refugees, mercenaries, Albanian, the Wallachian army.

In a recently published article, we revealed that the 16th century was, at least for Wallachia, a rather turbulent era, dominated by numerous internal conflicts and external dangers (C. Neagoe, 2020, p. 17-18). It was an period of fights for the throne among different pretenders, more or less legitimate, supported by different aristocratic groups, interested in controlling the power as much as possible, both centrally and locally (C., 2005, p. 156-159). It was also a period in which the political and military pressure of the Ottoman Empire on Wallachia became higher and higher (A. Decei, 1978, p. 162; C. Rezachevici, 2001a, p. 257, p. 361-362; C. Neagoe, 2004, p. 25-32).

Unlike the previous century, a series of pretenders to the throne appeared in the 16th century, accompanied by mercenaries from Western Europe or mercenaries of Balkan origin, with the intention of claiming the throne of Wallachia, with or without recognition of the Ottoman sultan. Among these mercenaries, the Albanians drew our attention in particular. Therefore, we will seek in this paper to find out as many things as possible about their presence in the Wallachian army and their military and social role, based on the internal and external historical sources we have had so far.

The first Albanian mercenaries came to Wallachia during the reign of Petru Cercel (1583-1585) (N. Stoicescu, 1968, p. 207). Matteo Zane's "report" (August 13th, 1585) regarding Prince Petru Cercel's fleeing from Wallachia to Transylvania, caused by the news that he was relegated and replaced by Mihnea II, on March 20th/30th, 1585 (M. Maxim, 1974, p. 65, doc. No. 14; C. Rezachevici, 2001b, p. 294), shows that most of the foreign mercenaries were scattered in Transylvania, among whom there were 200 Albanians and Greeks from the personal guard of

Prince Petru Cercel*, led by the Cretan Andrea Demonogiani (Ş. Pascu, 1944, p. 41-42; C. Luca, 2000, p. 80; C. Neagoe, 2020, p. 22).

After the reign of Petru Cercel, historical sources did not mention anything about the presence of Albanian mercenaries in the Wallachian army. However, they reappeared during the reign of Mihai Viteazul (1593-1601). Thus, on March 24th, 1595, Giovanni de Marini Poli wrote to Dr. Pezzen, a close relative of the Austrian emperor Rudolf II of Habsburg, and informed him that, not long ago, a large group of Albanians from Cervenă Voda, Ruse region (Bulgaria) had crossed the Danube into Wallachia, together with their "families and fortunes", apparently demanding the protection of Prince Mihai Viteazul (*Waivoda di Walachia*) and his consent for them to settle in Wallachia**. According to some opinions, they were under the command of Leca Racotă *aga*, a boyar of Albanian origin from the Court of Mihai Viteazul (C. Rezachevici, 1981, p. 53; A. Majuru, 2002, p. 48). In our and others' opinion there was groundless talk of about 15,000 souls (G. S. Maksutovici, 1992, p. 20-21). However, 1,500 of these Albanians were recruited by Mihai Viteazul, and they joined several hundred other Albanians in the Wallachian army. This was confirmed a few years later, by the Ragusan Paolo Giorgi (1560-1600), in Alba Iulia, in a "memorandum" to Pope Clement VIII (1592-1605), on "March 15th" 1598. We find out, therefore, that in 1595, after the burning of Rusciuk City by the army of Prince Mihai Viteazul, all the Albanians in Cervenă Voda, a town three leagues away, crossed the Danube into Wallachia with their families. Many of them were willing to fight against the Turks*** in the service of Mihai Viteazul.

On September 17th, 1596, the Milanese Carlo Magno (c. 1560-1617), agent of the emperor Rudolf II of Habsburg, in Alba Iulia, at the Court of Sigismund Báthory, sent a letter to Guido Avellana, secretary of the Duke of Mantua in which he specified, among other things, that the prince of Wallachia, Mihai Viteazul had in his service 400 Albanian mercenaries**** at that time. In 1597, the cavalry received a monthly payment of 5 thalers and the pedestrians received 3 thalers from Mihai Viteazul. The soldiers of the Wallachian prince received a daily portion of "bread, meat and a knife (*chinjal*)" *****.

In 1598, the Italian historian Lazaro Soranzo would also record the presence of several hundred Albanians***** in the Wallachian army. These Albanians continued to fight for the Wallachian prince until the autumn of 1600, when he lost the throne in favor of Simion Movilă, Ieremia Movilă's brother and prince of Moldavia (A. Moisin, 2011, p. 98).

The Albanians who came to Wallachia under the reign of Mihai Viteazul settled in the village of Călineşti, Prahova County. On May 1st, 1602, Simion Movilă exempted them from all taxes (oxen, hay, honey, wine, sheep, pigs) for a period of ten years*****. After these ten years, the Albanians from Călineşti were to annually give 15,000 Turkish *âkçe* or *aspri* to the central power half on St. Gheorghe and half on St. Dumitru, as tribute to the sultan (*birul de haraci*)*****.

After the reign of Radu Şerban (1602-1611) the Albanians were no longer mentioned in the Wallachian army (C. Rezachevici, 1981, pp. 68-69), despite the fact that Paul of Alep, a Syrian traveler of Orthodox faith, would groundlessly record, in the middle of the 17th century, the presence of some Albanians in the army of Matei Basarab, during the battle of Finta (May 17th/27th 1653), fought by the army of the Moldavian Prince, Vasile Lupu (Paul of Alep, 2014, pp. 227 & 244).

The Albanian mercenaries reappeared in Wallachia at the beginning of the 18th century, under the generic name of *arnăuți*, during the reign of the Phanariot Ioan Alexandru Mavrocordat (1716-1719) (C. Neagoe, 2010, p. 34).

The Albanians settled in Călineşti, Prahova County, made up a free rural community (*slobozie*) with fiscal immunities until 1626, when Alexandru Coconul (1623-1627) eliminated all the taxes for the villagers of Călineşti*****.

The documents from the first half of the 17th century mention the names of some Albanians (*arbănași*) from Călinești, most of them as witnesses of some land transactions: Ghica *aga* (April 12th-14th, 1627, August 1st, 1627, February 8th, August 1st and 13th, 1630), Dediul *vătaf* (August 1st, 1630, February 21st, 1632, November 15th, 1635), Miha (August 1st, 1630), Vlad *logofăt* Răducan, Drăghicean *logofăt* and Mihai Căineriu *logofăt* (March 9th, 1632). These were free people, holding positions in the central or local administration.

The descendants of the Albanians settled in Călinești, Prahova County, during the reign of Mihai Viteazul, were mentioned until the end of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century, during the reign of Constantin Brâncoveanu (1688-1714). For example, a document dated November 30th, 1695, mentions a whole generation of Albanians (*arbănași*) from Călinești-Prahova: Sarul, his son, Fota, and his grandchildren Iane, Dima and Dumitrașco*****. Another document, dated January 1st, 1712, mentions Ghica *arbănaș* from Călinești with his wife, Neagolea, and his sons Vintilă, Stănilă and Apostul*****.

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1. Annales D'Universite "Valahia" Targoviste, Section d'Archeologie et d'Histoire, acceptă lucrări ca articole științifice originale, lucrări de sinteză despre o temă specifică elaborate într-o limbă străină de circulație internațională (franceză, engleză, germană). Acuratețea traducerii este obligația și responsabilitatea autorului.

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Lucrările trebuie trimise electronic redactorului șef (mcarciumaru@yahoo.com) într-un singur atașament (sau fișier) în format PDF, incluzând întregul text, tabelele și figurile, aranjate conform normelor revistei. De asemenea, autorii trebuie să trimită textul și tabelele și în format MS Word, iar figurile într-un document separat în format JPG sau TIFF. Autorii sunt responsabili pentru calitatea imaginilor, care trebuie trimise în forma finală la rezoluție de minim 300 dpi.

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Lucrarea trimisă trebuie să fie aranjată după cum urmează: (1) titlul, (2) numele autorului/autorilor, (3) adresa autorului/autorilor, (4) rezumat, (5) cuvinte cheie, (6) lucrarea, (7) bibliografia, (8) explicația figurilor, (9) figurile, (10) tabelele;

Titlul: Acesta trebuie să fie scurt, specific și informativ. Se va scrie în TNR 13, bold, centrat.

Autorii: La două rânduri sub titlu, centrat, în TNR 11 italic, se va scrie numele complet al autorului/autorilor (cu asterisc).

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-Al doilea subtitlu de paragraf - literă mare numai la începutul cuvântului, aliniat la stânga paginii).

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trei) se va cita primul autor urmat de "et al", (M. Otte et al., 2006).

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Numele autorului/autorilor, Inițiala prenumelui autorului/autorilor, Anul, Titlul articolului (italic), Numele revistei, Tome/Volum, Număr, Paginile.

Demars P.-Y., 2008, *Paleogeographie de l'Europe dans la premiere partie du Paleolithique superieur – Premiers travaux*, Annales d'Universite « Valahia » Targoviste, Section d'Archeologie et d'Histoire, Tome X, Nombre 1, p. 29-45.

b - Cărți:

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Cărciumaru M., Anghelinu M., Nitu E.-C., Cosac M., Muratoreanu G., 2007, *Geo-Archeologie du Paleolithique moyen, Paleolithique superieur, Epipaleolithique et Mesolithique en Roumanie*, Editura Cetatea de Scaun, Targoviste, 187 p., 48 fig., ISBN 978-973-8966-38-3.

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Cărciumaru Marin, 1978, *Studiul paleoclimatic și geocronologic asupra unor stațiuni paleolitice din Banat*, în Florea Mogosanu, *Paleoliticul din Banat*, Editura Academiei Române, București, 152 p., 53 fig., p. 83-101.

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Cărciumaru Marin, 1994, *Paleoenvironnement et chronostratigraphie du Paeolithique moyen et superieur en Roumanie, Paleoecologie et geochronologie des industries du Paleolithique superieur ancien de la Roumanie*, în *"El Cuadro geochronologico del Paleolitico superior inicial"*, Museo y Centro de Investigacion de Altamira. Monografias, No. 13, ISBN 84-8181-024-X, p. 15-23.

e - Teze (doctorat, master, licențe) și rapoarte nepublicate:

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Geneste J.-M., 1985, *Analyse lithique d'industries moustერიennes du Perigord: une approche technologiques du comportement des groupes humains au Paleolithique Moyen*, These presentee a L'Universte de Bordeaux I pour l'obtention du titre de Docteur, Universtite de Bordeaux I, 572 p.

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Patrușiu D., Dimitrescu R., Dessila-Codarcea M., Gherasi N., Popescu I., Popa E., Bandrabur T. (redactori coordonatori și redactori), 1968, *Harta geologica*, Scara 1:200.000, Brașov, Comitetul de Stat al Geologiei, Institutul Geologic, București, 68 p.

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References

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Carciumaru M., 1978, *Studiul paleoclimatic si geocronologic asupra unor statii paleolitice din Banat*, in Florea Mogosanu, ***Paleoliticul din Banat***, Editura Academiei Romane, Bucuresti, 152 p., 53 fig., p. 83-101.
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Carciumaru M., 1994, *Paleoenvironnement et chronostratigraphie du Paleolithique moyen et superior en Roumanie, Paleoeologie et*

geochronologie des industries du Paleolithique superieur ancien de la Roumanie, in ***El Cuadro geochronologico del Paleolítico superior inicial***, Museo y Centro de Investigacion Altamira. Monografías, No.13, ISBN 84-8181-024-X, p. 15-23.

e) Unpublished thesis or reports

Last name(s), Initial(s), Year, Title, University, company, etc, City, Type of work, pages.

Geneste J-M., 1985, *Analyse lithique d'industrie moustériennes du Perigord: une approche technologiques du comportement des groupes humains au Paleolithique Moyen*, These presentee a L'Universite de Bordeaux I pour lobtention du titre de Docteur, Universite de Bordeaux I, 577 p.

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Patrulius D., Dimitrescu R., Dessila-Codarsea M., Gherasi N., Popescu I., Popa E., Bandrabur T., 1968, Harta geologica, Scara 1:200.000, Brasov, Comitetul de Stat al Geologiei, Institutul Geologic, Bucuresti, 68p

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