

## NOTES ON THE ECONOMY STRUCTURE IN CRIȘANA, SĂTMAR AND MARAMUREȘ DURING THE 8<sup>TH</sup>–10<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES AD

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We propose herein a highlight of the economic structure in the western and north-western area of Romania during the 8<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries AD (Maps 1–6), territory which has been briefly discussed from this point of view in specialty studies and papers. The archaeological facts there, underlie this approach, even the more so since for the proposed period of time, the written sources, either contemporary or just subsequent, provide extremely few data on the topic<sup>1</sup>.

Both the geographic and human factors<sup>2</sup> play an important role in the development of economic affairs. Geomorphologically, in the area there is a diversity of relief forms: plain in the western side; hills and depressions in the eastern and north-eastern side; hills and mountains in the north-eastern side<sup>3</sup>. In our case, how the geographic frame looked like in the period of the last centuries of the first millennium AD is very interesting. The information in the written sources, not much though, beside the current specialty pedological studies offer some data. The Maramureș was completely or almost completely forested. Spread areas in the Plain of Crișuri rivers or the Plain of Carei were covered by brushwood, forests and marshes. The area also contained un-floodable parts, like the high terraces of rivers, tributaries, the hill areas, sand banks and depression parts<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Roșu 1961, 69–86; Gluck 1976, 73–88; Rusu 1977, 169–212; Gluck 1979, 243–278; Rusu 1984, 181–195; Pop 1996.

<sup>2</sup> Pascu 1972; Bona 1973, 66–79; Bulgaru 1975; Hoffmann 1992, 5–40; Olteanu 1997, 17–18.

<sup>3</sup> For describe the geographical framework I used following books: Județele Patriei: Arad, Bihor, Satu Mare, Sălaj, Maramureș, București 1980; Badea, Bugă (Ed) 1992, vol. IV, 17–27.

<sup>4</sup> Pop 1942, 18; Posea 1959, 170; György 1966, 5–20, 163–172, 569–78; Giurăscu 1976, 20–80; Berindei 1977, 84–90; Karácsonyi 1994–1995, 195–233.

The archaeological research has revealed the existence during the 8<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries AD of over 80 settlements in the western and north-western area (Maps 1–3). Not all were investigated by systematic excavations, in many cases, a more restricted chronological framing being difficult<sup>5</sup>. The human presence is further completed by cemeteries and isolated graves discovered in respective area (Maps 4–6).

The demographic realities identified suppose the existence and conduct of economic activities, the two elements being mutually interrelated<sup>6</sup>. From this stand point, grain cultivation and animal breeding were ones of the main preoccupations of the human communities. Firstly, it may be noted that most investigated sites exhibit the specificities of permanent human settlements, inhabited by a sedentary population, which lay precisely in those areas that allowed, under the geo-pedological conditions of the time, the practice of respective activities (Maps 1–3). These were carried out on river and secondary valley-high terraces, on the plain sand banks as well as in certain portions of the depressions, favourable lands for each of the economic branches. Circumstances are somewhat different in the north-east. There, where hills and mountains predominate, soils being poor from agricultural productivity point of view<sup>7</sup> even in depressions, one may suppose that animal breeding superseded the culture of plants. Alpine grasslands and forests are during spring-summer excellent pasture lands for herds, which during autumn-winter moved further to plain areas<sup>8</sup>. This system of a pendulating herding supposes that in hill and mountain areas there existed only temporary dwellings, difficult to identify archaeologically. This could be a possible explanation, beside other causes<sup>9</sup>, of the scarce or even inexistent sites in some areas, like the Maramureş or Oaş depressions at the time. Plant cultivation in the respective area could not be excluded entirely as evidenced by some stable human settlements, not may though, and their inventory, recorded in the Lăpuş depression. Further, the human presence identified in certain caves located in the Crişul Repede gorge may be interpreted as the seasonal inhabitancy of the shepherds, when they led their herds on the alpine terraces existent in the respective region.

<sup>5</sup> There is the risk that some of the mapped points correspond to a single community, as their mobility is well known in the period, they being on a constant move, in search for new farming lands, given the extensive agriculture specific to the period. The issue (chronological framing and accurate record of the sites) requires a thorough analysis, object of a future study. In this case, the presence of the human factor in the area is important though, allowing for the approach of the proposed topic.

<sup>6</sup> Pascu 1972; Bona 1973, 66–79; Bulgaru 1975; Hoffmann 1992, 5–40; Olteanu 1997, 17–18.

<sup>7</sup> Posea, 1959, 170; Chiriţă 1967, 94–120.

<sup>8</sup> Panaitescu 1969, 147–148; Rusu 1977, 199.

<sup>9</sup> Stanciu 1994, 315.

The existent interdependent relation between the two occupations must also be regarded from the view of the influences from the political factor<sup>10</sup>. It is not excluded that the Avars, animal herders, had influenced certain communities, as animal breeding<sup>11</sup>, where it seems to have been more emphasized, without yet impacting the mixed nature of the agriculture, as said communities did not give up entirely plant cultivation.

The evidence recording this occupation includes the farming tools present in some of the researched sites. Ploughshares, a key tool in grain cultivation<sup>12</sup>, were identified in three places: Ghenci<sup>13</sup>, Lazuri<sup>14</sup> and Oradea<sup>15</sup>. The specimens are of the type of symmetrical ploughshare, rather efficient in sandy areas<sup>16</sup>, like those in the Carei Plain area or the lowlands of the Crișul Repede, regions from where they came. Another category of farming tools are those used in the haulm harvesting process or the green grass cutting, namely sickles and scythes coming from: Adoni<sup>17</sup>, Biharia<sup>18</sup>, Nușfalău<sup>19</sup>, Oradea<sup>20</sup>, Râpa<sup>21</sup>, Sălacea<sup>22</sup> or the territory of the Bihor county<sup>23</sup>, without yet an accurate find spot.

The storage grain pits<sup>24</sup> discovered in the settlements at Biharea<sup>25</sup>, Ghenci<sup>26</sup>, Lazuri<sup>27</sup>, Lăpușel<sup>28</sup>, Oradea<sup>29</sup>, Popeni/Cuceu<sup>30</sup>, Vladimirescu<sup>31</sup> as well as the appendages with a pure economic function found at Lazuri<sup>32</sup>,

<sup>10</sup> Rusu 1977, 190–199; Rusu 1984, 181–195.

<sup>11</sup> Rusu 1977, 195, 199.

<sup>12</sup> Edroiu, Gylai 1965, 307–344; Neamțu 1966, 293–316.

<sup>13</sup> Némethi 1992–1993, 60.

<sup>14</sup> Lăzin 1981–1982, 137–141.

<sup>15</sup> Repertoriu Bihor 1974, 49.

<sup>16</sup> Neamțu 1975, 43–68; Olteanu 1997, 67–84.

<sup>17</sup> Dumitrașcu 1978, 76.

<sup>18</sup> Dumitrașcu 1978, 68.

<sup>19</sup> Comșa 1961, 526.

<sup>20</sup> Repertoriu Bihor 1974, 49.

<sup>21</sup> Dumitrașcu 1978, 64.

<sup>22</sup> Dumitrașcu 1978, 69.

<sup>23</sup> Dumitrașcu 1978, 69, n. 106.

<sup>24</sup> Neamțu 1975, 258; Olteanu 1997, 87–88.

<sup>25</sup> Dumitrașcu 1994, 180–190.

<sup>26</sup> Némethi 1992–1993, 59–60.

<sup>27</sup> Informație I. Stanciu.

<sup>28</sup> Stanciu 1994, 285–294.

<sup>29</sup> Repertoriu Bihor 1974, 49.

<sup>30</sup> Stanciu, Matei 1994, 136–155.

<sup>31</sup> Barbu 1980, 153–154.

<sup>32</sup> Informație I. Stanciu.

Lăpușel<sup>33</sup>, Popeni/Cuceu<sup>34</sup> also prove plant cultivation. There are insufficient data in terms of the shapes and sizes of respective pits, details which may provide useful information on the quantity of the harvested grains stored there<sup>35</sup>. These adjoining buildings might have been barns, however, depending on their size, could have also been employed as animal stables<sup>36</sup>. Complete or fragmentary grinders, used for seed-grinding<sup>37</sup> discovered within certain settlements like Biharea<sup>38</sup>, unidentified sites in Bihor county<sup>39</sup>, Lăpușel<sup>40</sup>, Oradea/Salca<sup>41</sup>, Popeni/Cuceu<sup>42</sup> as well as the chopped straws in the clay composition used in house making are another evidence of haulm cultivation.

The second branch of the agrarian economy, the animal breeding, is recorded by the bone remains, inventory always present in the researched settlements. In only two cases, Sânniculaul Român<sup>43</sup> and Biharia<sup>44</sup>, were carried out osteological tests, impacting the opportunity to generalize the bred animal species or their ratio in the households of the time. The domestic animals (large horned animals, swine, small horned animals, equines) recorded specifically in the two mentioned cases, were an important food source for the inhabitants of the human communities of the respective period, and concurrently, some of the species, especially the bovids were necessary to various farming works. The discovered ploughshares in fact suppose animal drafting.

The gardening, winegrowing, bee-keeping, fishing and hunting, complementing the economic structure, provide insufficient details for any plausible presentation. They encapsulate only the pickaxe found Săcuieni<sup>45</sup>, a tool used in gardening<sup>46</sup>, the bone needles for intertwining fishing nets found at Cefa<sup>47</sup>, the clay weights used also for the fishing nets found at Lăpușel<sup>48</sup> as well as the bone

<sup>33</sup> Stanciu 1994, 279–322.

<sup>34</sup> Stanciu, Matei 1994, 136–155.

<sup>35</sup> Kudranak 1961, 234–243; Teodor 1978, 75; Olteanu 1997, 87–88.

<sup>36</sup> Stanciu 1994, 299 and n. 17.

<sup>37</sup> Dumitrașcu 1986, 31–34; Olteanu 1997, 88–89.

<sup>38</sup> Dumitrașcu 1986, 31; Dumitrașcu 1994, 180–190.

<sup>39</sup> Dumitrașcu 1986, 31.

<sup>40</sup> Stanciu 1994, 300.

<sup>41</sup> Dumitrașcu 1986, 31–32

<sup>42</sup> Stanciu, Matei 1994, 138.

<sup>43</sup> Haimovici 1989, 169–179.

<sup>44</sup> Haimovici 1988, 121–130.

<sup>45</sup> Inedit Muzeul Săcuieni.

<sup>46</sup> Comșa 1980, 175–184.

<sup>47</sup> Crișan 1993, 14.

<sup>48</sup> Stanciu 1994, 300–301.

material coming from wild animal species or the fish skeleton present in the sites at Vladimirescu<sup>49</sup>, Sânnicolaul Român<sup>50</sup> and Biharea<sup>51</sup>.

The economic framework is completed by the crafts. Chance finds but especially the systematic excavations performed within settlements or cemeteries revealed a rich inventory consisting of metal pieces and objects (iron, bronze, silver). A first issue which must be addressed concerns the origin of these ores. The area, except for that in the north-east or south-east, is extremely poor from this point of view<sup>52</sup>. Nevertheless, in terms of the two areas, the map of the finds framable to the 8<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries AD or any other information do not reveal any activity of ore mining, especially of the iron or copper ores<sup>53</sup>, lying at great depths, hence more difficult to exploit at the time, however not unlikely<sup>54</sup>.

It is possible that the iron was obtained in the western and north-western areas by the mining of poorer ferrous ores (iron oxides, sedimentary rocks which contained iron oxides) found in river banks, land ruptures or swamps and waterholes supplying the so-called “bog ore”<sup>55</sup>. One should also agree with the hypothesis that the metal was imported from intra-Carpathian Transylvania<sup>56</sup>. Its origin is still debated, the metallographic analysis of the items providing certain clues on this subject.

The reduction and processing iron ore process is evidenced by a few finds. One of the categories consists of lumps, bars, ingots and iron scrap to which also adds the bronze, found at Adoni<sup>57</sup>, Biharea<sup>58</sup>, Ghenci<sup>59</sup>, Lăpușel<sup>60</sup>, Mesteacăn<sup>61</sup>, Râpa<sup>62</sup>, Rădulești<sup>63</sup>, Sanislău<sup>64</sup>, Săcășeni<sup>65</sup>, Tăuș<sup>66</sup>, Vladimirescu<sup>67</sup> as well as the

<sup>49</sup> Barbu, Zdroba 1978, 107.

<sup>50</sup> Haimovici 1989, 169–179.

<sup>51</sup> Haimovici 1988, 121–130.

<sup>52</sup> For describe the geographical framework I used following works: Județele Patriei: Arad, Bihor, Satu Mare, Sălaj, Maramureș, București 1980; Badea, Bugă (Ed.) 1992, vol. IV, p. 17–52.

<sup>53</sup> Gluck 1976, 98.

<sup>54</sup> Olteanu, Neagu, Șeclăman 1981, 217–232; Comșa 1995, 301–309; Teodor 1996, 10–20.

<sup>55</sup> Comșa 1995, 307; Teodor 1996, 12.

<sup>56</sup> Gluck 1976, 98.; Rusu 1977, 192; Comșa 1995, 304.

<sup>57</sup> Dumitrașcu 1978, 76.

<sup>58</sup> Dumitrașcu 1978, 68; Dumitrașcu 1994, 180–190.

<sup>59</sup> Némethi 1992–1993, 60.

<sup>60</sup> Stanciu 1994, 302.

<sup>61</sup> Iuga 1979, 312–314; Iuga 1980, 236–239.

<sup>62</sup> Dumitrașcu 1978, 69.

<sup>63</sup> Informație I. Némethi.

<sup>64</sup> Stanciu 1996, 75.

<sup>65</sup> Lazin 1975, 70.

<sup>66</sup> Pădureanu 1985, 40.

<sup>67</sup> Barbu, Zdroba 1978, 107; Barbu, Zdroba 1979, 186; Pădureanu 1979, 153.

remains of two ore reduction kilns from Ghenci<sup>68</sup> and Vladimirescu<sup>69</sup>. Their fragmentary state does not allow yet for more pertinent notes on the kiln type for ore reduction in the respective area, further evidence on any other means to the respective effect<sup>70</sup> lacking also.

Another category of finds includes those recording the metal processing once obtained. Firstly, count the four workshops discovered at Biharea<sup>71</sup>, Mesteacăn<sup>72</sup>, Râpa<sup>73</sup> and Vladimirescu<sup>74</sup>. Scientifically investigated are only those at Biharea and Râpa, their inventory consisting of objects specific to the processing and manufacturing work of the metal objects: iron spoon for metal casting, chisel, crucibles, moulds, metal processing kilns, iron or bronze slag cakes or debris beside also a few unfinished objects.

The finished products like the ploughshare, sickle, scythe, already mentioned, nails, spike nails, chisels, scissors, knife blades, lighter, handles and rings for buckets, axes, present at Biharea<sup>75</sup>, Beliu<sup>76</sup>, Nuşfalău<sup>77</sup>, Popeni/Cuceu<sup>78</sup>, Râpa<sup>79</sup>, Vladimirescu<sup>80</sup> or the territory of the county of Bihor<sup>81</sup> further prove metal processing.

Another series of finds are the weapons and harness pieces (arrowheads and spearheads, swords, stirrup, bridles, links, buckles) made of iron, as well as various types of bronze or silver jewellery coming from within isolate graves or cemeteries. Many of them, by their specificities, were assigned to the migrating populations. For this reason it is difficult to say where these objects were produced, the foreigners in most cases being the element who used both the adornment objects and the harness pieces or the weapons on rather expanse geographical regions. The majority suppose the existence of specialised workshops in the field, recorded in fact in Central-South-Eastern<sup>82</sup> Europe. One may not exclude entirely the possibility that some were made in the western and north-western

<sup>68</sup> Némethi 1992–1993.

<sup>69</sup> Gluck 1976, 98; Barbu, Zdroba 1979, 186.

<sup>70</sup> Teodor 1996, 13–20.

<sup>71</sup> Dumitraşcu 1994, 200–201.

<sup>72</sup> Iuga 1979, 312–314; Iuga 1980, 236–239.

<sup>73</sup> Dumitraşcu 1978, 69.

<sup>74</sup> Gluck 1976, 98; Barbu, Zdroba 1978, 107.

<sup>75</sup> Dumitraşcu 1994, 186–195.

<sup>76</sup> Dumitraşcu 1978, 60.

<sup>77</sup> Matei 1979, 480–481.

<sup>78</sup> Stanciu, Matei 1994, 138.

<sup>79</sup> Dumitraşcu 1978, 69.

<sup>80</sup> Pădureanu 1985, 40.

<sup>81</sup> Dumitraşcu 1978, 69, n. 6.

<sup>82</sup> Rusu 1977, 190–192.

territory in permanent workshops or by the travelling artisans<sup>83</sup>. Evidence to the effect is the mould for casting pendants discovered in the workshop at Biharea, the finished products made by its use, similar to those made in the Byzantine workshops, or in eastern Romania, having analogies among the products carried by the migrants<sup>84</sup>.

Pottery making is another segment of the economy. Pottery is the most numerous archaeological material discovered in all mapped sites. Although it may be agreed that most of it was made in local pottery workshops, until present, in the investigated area, they were identified in only one place, namely at Sânnicolaul Român<sup>85</sup>, specifically the remains of four pottery firing kilns as well as a workshop-house where clay wares were made prior firing. The kilns are of the vertical type, with two chambers, the lower for the fire and the upper for vessel-firing. Such kilns, or of another type<sup>86</sup>, must have functioned in most settlements of the time, the quantity and quality of the pottery (fabric, shape, making) pleading for the existence of specialised workshops.

From the production technique point of view, there are three distinct categories: handmade pottery, slow wheel-turned and fast wheel-turned<sup>87</sup>. The first category is recorded in only a few settlements dating especially to the 8<sup>th</sup> century or 8<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, their ratio being small compared to the other categories. The handmade pottery will gradually disappear, the 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> century-sites no longer exhibiting it. The slow-wheel turned vessels predominate quantitatively in the 8<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> centuries AD compared to those made by the fast wheel. This ratio changes in the 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries AD when the fast wheel-thrown vessels impose themselves, those made by the slow wheel becoming sporadic within the sites. Above notes suppose craftsmanship in terms of fabric quality. For the 8<sup>th</sup> century or the 8<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> centuries AD we are dealing, in the case of the handmade and slow-wheel thrown vessels, with a coarse fabric where large grain sand degreasers were used and in only a few cases crushed potshards or shells. The fabric used for the wares dating to the 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries AD is of higher quality (carefully chosen and battered, using small grain sands as ingredients and in smaller quantities), imperatively necessary in their production process by a faster potter's wheel<sup>88</sup>. Depending on the firing technique, there are vessels of a dark or dark-brown colour, the orange or dark-orange pottery being also present. The predominant form is the pot, which shows a few decorations

<sup>83</sup> Rusu 1977, 190–192; Olteanu, Neagu, Şeclăman 1981, 226, n. 30; Teodor, 1996, 24–26.

<sup>84</sup> Dumitraşcu 1994, 201.

<sup>85</sup> Dumitraşcu, Crişan 1988, 48–54.

<sup>86</sup> Teodor, 1996, 52–56.

<sup>87</sup> Stanciu, Matei 1994, 140; Cosma 2001, 35–38.

<sup>88</sup> Stanciu, Matei 1994, 142, n. 33a; Cosma 2001, 35–38.

consisting of striations and horizontal and waving line strips, in various combinations and shapes<sup>89</sup>.

A series of finds like for instance: iron drawknife (Râpa<sup>90</sup>), clay loom spindles (Biharea<sup>91</sup>, Carei<sup>92</sup>, Cicir<sup>93</sup>, Foieni<sup>94</sup>, Lazuri<sup>95</sup>, Lăpușel<sup>96</sup>, Moroda<sup>97</sup>, Oradea/Salca<sup>98</sup>, Popeni/Cuceu<sup>99</sup>, Sanislău<sup>100</sup>, Săcășeni<sup>101</sup>, Sânnicolaul Român<sup>102</sup> and Vladimirescu<sup>103</sup>, stone grinders, sandstone polishers (Biharea<sup>104</sup>, Lăpușel<sup>105</sup>, Moroda<sup>106</sup>, Nușfalău<sup>107</sup>, Popeni/Cuceu<sup>108</sup>, Râpa<sup>109</sup>, Rădulești<sup>110</sup>, Săcășeni<sup>111</sup>, Sânnicolaul Român<sup>112</sup>, Valenii Șomcutei<sup>113</sup> and Vladimirescu<sup>114</sup>), knife handles, piercers, spinning top, small boxes, all of them of bone (Cefa<sup>115</sup>, Popeni/Cuceu<sup>116</sup>, Râpa<sup>117</sup>, Sânnicolaul Român<sup>118</sup> and Vladimirescu<sup>119</sup> suppose a series of activities like timber, stone and bone processing, spinning, weaving, fabric and animal skins processing<sup>120</sup>. Their

<sup>89</sup> Cosma 2002a, 297–389.

<sup>90</sup> Dumitrașcu 1978, 39.

<sup>91</sup> Dumitrașcu 1994, 180–195.

<sup>92</sup> Iercoșan 1986–1987, 140.

<sup>93</sup> Pădureanu 1985, 40.

<sup>94</sup> Lazin, Hep 1990, 81.

<sup>95</sup> Informație I. Stanciu.

<sup>96</sup> Stanciu 1994, 300.

<sup>97</sup> Dumitrașcu *et alii* 1970, 164, n. 5; Cosma 2002, 202–203.

<sup>98</sup> Inedit Muzeul Țării Crișurilor Oradea.

<sup>99</sup> Stanciu, Matei, 1994, 136.

<sup>100</sup> Stanciu 1996, 74–75.

<sup>101</sup> Lazin 1975, 70.

<sup>102</sup> Dumitrașcu 1988, 47–54; Dumitrașcu, Crișan 1990, 102–106.

<sup>103</sup> Barbu, Zdroba 1979, 185; Barbu 1980, 154.

<sup>104</sup> Dumitrașcu 1994, 180–195.

<sup>105</sup> Stanciu 1994, 300.

<sup>106</sup> Dumitrașcu *et alii* 1970, 164, and n. 5.

<sup>107</sup> Matei 1979, 481.

<sup>108</sup> Stanciu, Matei 1994, 138.

<sup>109</sup> Dumitrașcu 1978, 64.

<sup>110</sup> Informație I. Némethi.

<sup>111</sup> Gh. Lazin 1975, 70.

<sup>112</sup> Dumitrașcu, Crișan 1988, 51.

<sup>113</sup> Stanciu 1992, 182.

<sup>114</sup> Pădureanu 1985, 40.

<sup>115</sup> Crișan 1993, 14.

<sup>116</sup> Stanciu, Matei 1994, 138.

<sup>117</sup> Dumitrașcu 1978, 64.

<sup>118</sup> Dumitrașcu, Crișan 1988, 51–52.

<sup>119</sup> Barbu, Zdroba 1978, 107; Barbu, Zdroba 1979, 185–186; Barbu 1980, 154.

<sup>120</sup> Teodor 1996, 43–45.



numbers is very small and at the same time, the quality of some of the items, their processing is very rudimentary, so that respective activities may be deemed as secondary, domestic occupations, performed by some family members, without being activities of a major role in the economic structure. Some of the finds (stone objects) record skills rather from the knowledge of the qualities of various rock types, even the more so since in the area no stone building, suggesting activities in the field of stone processing and use in construction works, was found. Timber processing is an exception to the above, which definitively had a more important ratio at that time, timber being used in house building<sup>121</sup>.

A last issue deserving our attention is that of trade exchanges. Under the circumstances of an autarchic economy, specific to the period, the main exchange coins were the grains. It is worth mentioning there are no coin finds in the area under discussion. It is difficult to examine the existence and how the exchange of goods occurred between the communities from the area. The investigated human settlements and the discovered archaeological material exhibit common features, occasionally identical, realities which record, if not necessarily extensive commercial relations, at least relations between the human communities, a mutual influence regarding the development of their material culture.

Another aspect is that concerning the trade exchanges which the west and north-west of Romania had with other areas. This territory, by its geographical location<sup>122</sup>, was to a certain extent a transit area for the goods arriving from the east or south-east designed for the west or north-west, but also the other way around. The written sources of the period record an extensive salt trade, its transport being made via rafts on the main rivers crossing respective territory. The same sources reveal the existence of ports aligned from the Mureş or the Crişuri specialised in the partial outlet and customs taxation of this product<sup>123</sup>, however until recently, unidentified archeologically. The salt came from Transylvania, rich in such resources, and was most definitely transported up to the Great Hungarian Plain, Slovakia, Moravia and the Czech Republic<sup>124</sup>. Most definitely, this product was traded also in the western and north-western parts, the salt being a necessity stringent to both people and animals<sup>125</sup>. It may

<sup>121</sup> Cosma 1996, 261–271; Cosma 2003, 283–298.

<sup>122</sup> Mihăilescu 1971, 9.

<sup>123</sup> Roşu 1961, 69–86; Gluck, 1976, 98–99; M. Rusu 1977, 194; Kovach 1980, 193–200; Iambor 1982, 75–85.

<sup>124</sup> Roşu 1961, 69–86; Gluck, 1976, 98–99; M. Rusu 1977, 194; Kovach 1980, 193–200; P. Iambor 1982, 75–86; Cosma 2001, 158.

<sup>125</sup> Rusu 1977, 194.

be assumed that beside salt, intra-Carpathian Transylvania and especially the Western Carpathians also supplied the iron in the form of ingots as well as precious metals<sup>126</sup>.

The main trading routes, either by rivers or land, as well as some of the merchandise transited by the west and north-west of Romania are extremely well highlighted in the written reports on the situation in the period just after (the 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> centuries AD)<sup>127</sup>. When following the path of these roads it may be noted that for the 8<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, most of the mapped settlements lie precisely along their route, a further reason to argue they were used in the respective period for the same purposes.

The aforementioned examples are too few to support a higher level, well-defined economic structure, the specialisation of various branches and also the development of the entire range of activities on the entire investigated area. The reported economic activities most definitely had a higher ratio than that suggested by the current archaeological finds.

In conclusion, we wish to mention that aspects regarding the economy structure, the multiple and complex issues referring to this field, which we attempted to examine, the sometimes personal notes and work hypotheses were made within the limits allowed by the current state of research in the Romanian historiography. Only future investigations and especially the archaeological excavations will improve the available information and multiply the approach opportunities of the proposed topic.

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<sup>126</sup> Moraru, Onişor 1971, 15–30; Rusu 1977, 194.

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## CONSIDERAȚII PRIVIND STRUCTURA VIEȚII ECONOMICE ÎN CRIȘANA, SĂTMAR ȘI MARAMUREȘ ÎN SECOLELE VIII–X D. H.

### *Rezumat*

Articolul de față își propune reliefarea structurii economice în arealul vestic și nord-vestic românesc din perioada secolelor VIII–X d. Hr. Realitățile arheologice (așezările și materialele arheologice descoperite în cadrul lor), din respectivul teritoriu, analiza lor, constituie baza dezvoltării subiectului propus spre cercetare.

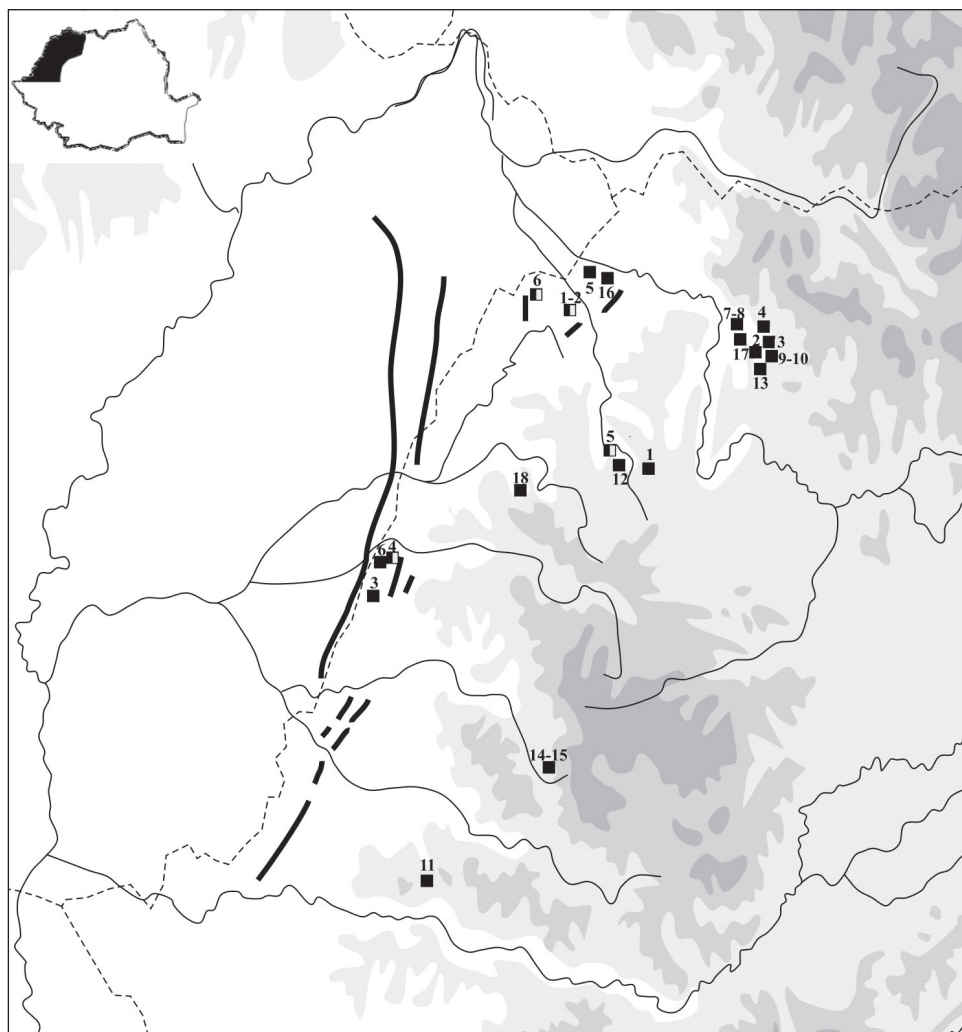
Cercetările arheologice au relevat existența, pe parcursul secolelor VIII–X d. Hr., a peste 80 de așezări în spațiul vestic și nord-vestic românesc (Harta 1–3). Prezența umană este completată de necropolele și mormintele izolate, descoperite în zona respectivă (Harta 4–6).

Cultivarea plantelor cerealiere și creșterea animalelor au constituit principale preocupări economice ale comunităților umane din vestul și nord-vestul României, cu întâietate a agriculturii în zonele de câmpie și a creșterii animalelor în zonele deluroase și muntoase.

Cadrul economic este întregit de îndeletnicirile meșteșugărești precum olăritul, extragerea și prelucrarea metalelor, prelucrarea lemnului, a pietrei și a osului, țesutul, prelucrarea țesăturilor și a pieilor de animale.

Schimburile comerciale între comunitățile din vestul și nord-vestul României, dar și comerțul dintre respectivul teritoriu cu zonele geografice învecinate, completează cadrul activităților economice din arealul vestic și nord-vestic din secolele VIII–X d. Hr.

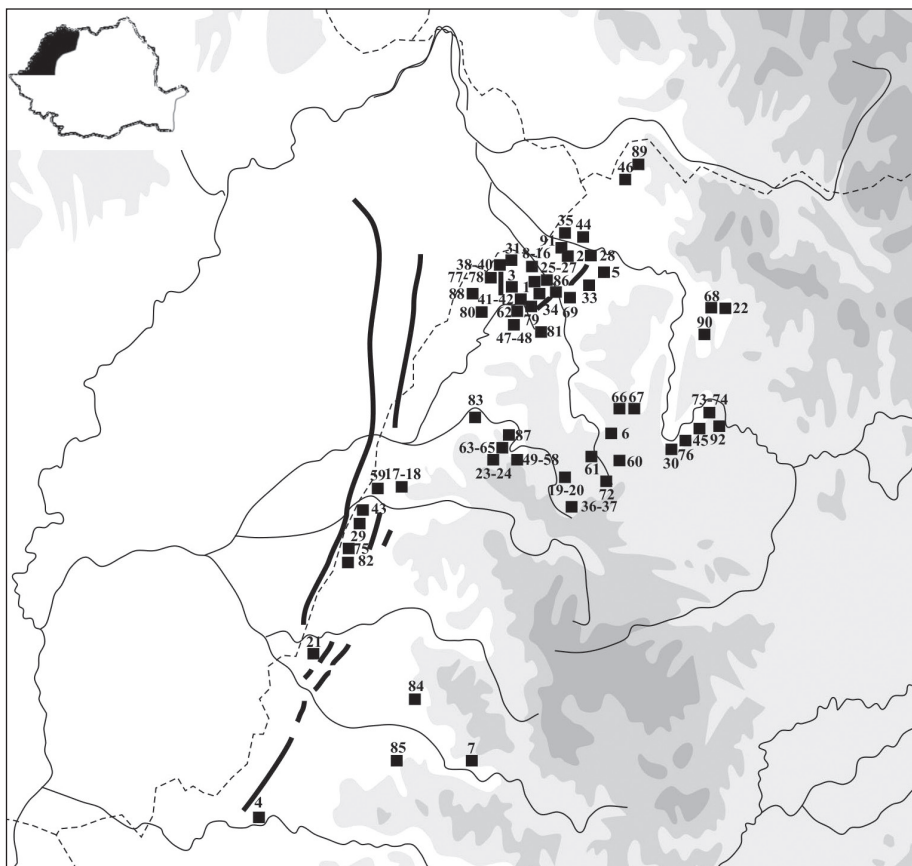




Map 1. Settlements from the 8<sup>th</sup> century / *Harta 1. Așezări din secolul al VIII-lea*

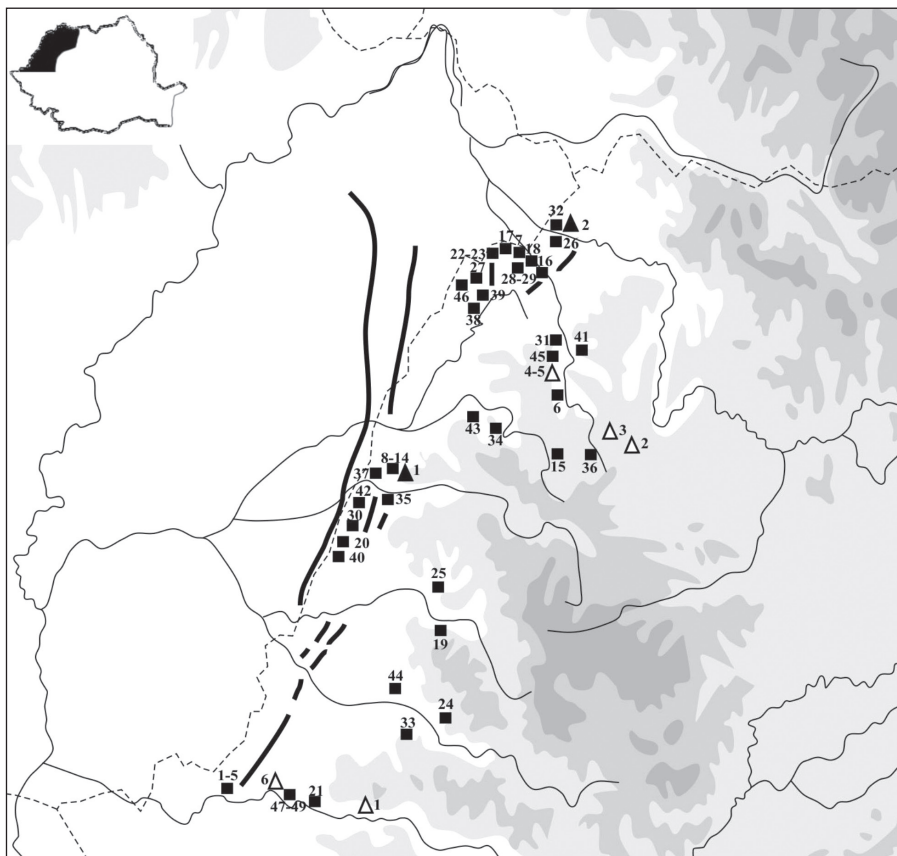
- Settlements between 750 and 850: 3 – Bozânta Mică; 4 – Girișul de Criș; 5 – Nușfalău; 6 – Sanislău / *Așezări din perioada 750 – 850: 3 – Bozânta Mică; 4 – Girișul de Criș; 5 – Nușfalău; 6 – Sanislău*
- Settlements from the 8<sup>th</sup> century: 1 – Badon; 2 – Băzânta Mică; 3 – Cefa; 4 – Chechiș; 5 – Culciu Mare; 6 – Girișul de Criș; 7–8 – Lăpușel; 11 – Moroda; 12 – Nușfalău; 13 – Oarța de Jos; 14–15 – Petrani; 16 – Tătărești; 17 – Văleni; 18 – Voievozi / *Așezări din secolul al VIII-lea: 1 – Badon; 2 – Băzânta Mică; 3 – Cefa; 4 – Chechiș; 5 – Culciu Mare; 6 – Girișul de Criș; 7–8 – Lăpușel; 11 – Moroda; 12 – Nușfalău; 13 – Oarța de Jos; 14–15 – Petrani; 16 – Tătărești; 17 – Văleni; 18 – Voievozi*

— Earth dikes / *Valuri de pământ*



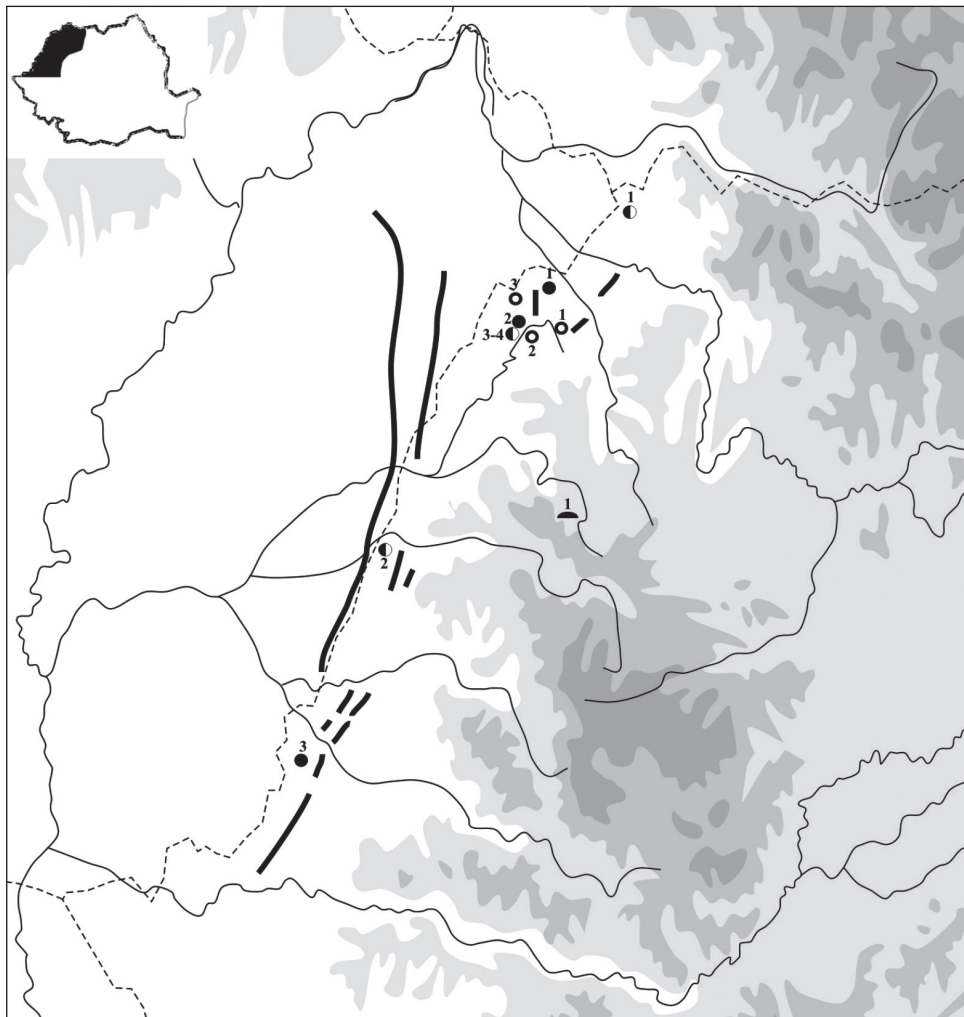
Map 2 / Harta 2

- Settlements from the 8<sup>th</sup> – 9<sup>th</sup> centuries: 1 – Acăț; 2 – Aliza; 3 – Andrid; 4 – Arad; 5 – Baba Novac; 6 – Badon; 7 – Beliu; 8–16 – Berea; 17–18 Biharia; 19–20 – Boghiș 21 – Boiu; 22 – Boiu Mare; 23–24 – Bozieș; 25–27 – Carei; 28 – Căpleni; 29 – Cefa; 30 – Ciocmani; 31 – Ciumești; 32 – Cociuba Mare; 33 – Crișeni; 34 – Dindești; 35 – Dorolț; 36–37 – Drighiu; 38–40 – Foieni; 41–42 – Ghenci; 43 – Girișul de Criș; 44 – Lazuri; 45 – Lemniu; 46 – Livada; 47–48 – Mișca; 49–58 – Nușfalău; 59 – Oradea; 60 – Panic; 61 – Pericei; 62 – Pir; 63–65 – Plopiș; 66 – Popeni; 67 – Popeni/Cuceu; 68 – Prislop; 69 – Rădulești; 70–71 – Râpa; 72 – Recea; 73–74 Rogna; 75 – Roit; 76 – Rus; 77–78 – Sanislău; 79 – Săcășeni; 80 – Săcueni; 81 – Sărăud; 82 – Sânicolaul Român; 83 – Suplacul de Barcău; 84 – Șicula; 85 – Tauț; 86 – Unimăt; 87 – Valcău de Jos; 88 – Valea lui Mihai; 89 – Vama; 90 – Vălenii Șomcutei; 91 – Viile Satu Mare; 92 – Zalha /
- Așezări din secolele VIII–IX: 1 – Acăț; 2 – Aliza; 3 – Andrid; 4 – Arad; 5 – Baba Novac; 6 – Badon; 7 – Beliu; 8–16 – Berea; 17–18 Biharia; 19–20 – Boghiș 21 – Boiu; 22 – Boiu Mare; 23–24 – Bozieș; 25–27 – Carei; 28 – Căpleni; 29 – Cefa; 30 – Ciocmani; 31 – Ciumești; 32 – Cociuba Mare; 33 – Crișeni; 34 – Dindești; 35 – Dorolț; 36–37 – Drighiu; 38–40 – Foieni; 41–42 – Ghenci; 43 – Girișul de Criș; 44 – Lazuri; 45 – Lemniu; 46 – Livada; 47–48 – Mișca; 49–58 – Nușfalău; 59 – Oradea; 60 – Panic; 61 – Pericei; 62 – Pir; 63–65 – Plopiș; 66 – Popeni; 67 – Popeni/Cuceu; 68 – Prislop; 69 – Rădulești; 70–71 – Râpa; 72 – Recea; 73–74 Rogna; 75 – Roit; 76 – Rus; 77–78 – Sanislău; 79 – Săcășeni; 80 – Săcueni; 81 – Sărăud; 82 – Sânicolaul Român; 83 – Suplacul de Barcău; 84 – Șicula; 85 – Tauț; 86 – Unimăt; 87 – Valcău de Jos; 88 – Valea lui Mihai; 89 – Vama; 90 – Vălenii Șomcutei; 91 – Viile Satu Mare; 92 – Zalha*



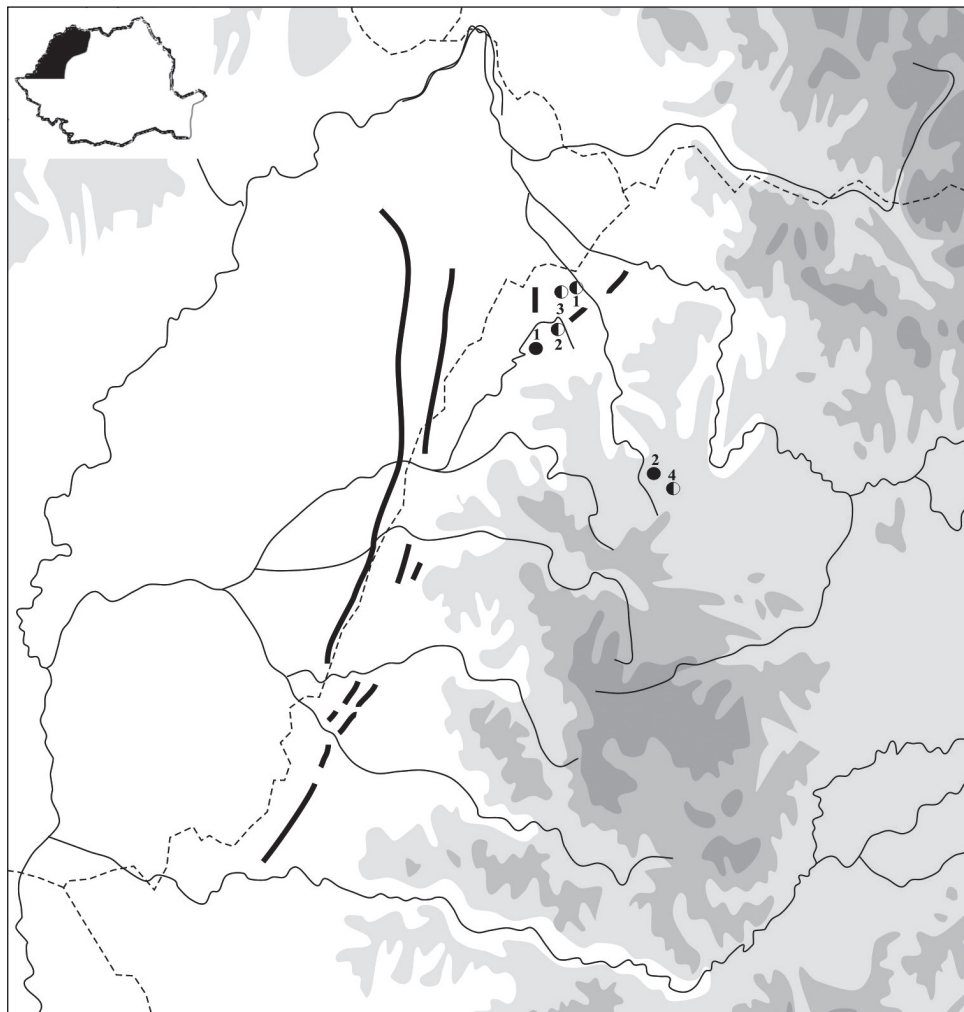
Map 3. Settlements and fortifications from the 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries / Harta 3. Așezări și fortificații din secolele IX–X

- Settlements from the 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries: 6 – Bădăcin; 7 – Berea; 8–14 – Biharia; 15 – Boghiș; 16 – Carei; 17 – Cămin; 18 – Căpleni; 19 – Cărăsău; 20 – Cefa; 21 – Cicir; 22–23 – Ciumești; 24 – Clit; 25 – Cociuba Mare; 26 – Culciu Mare; 27 – Curtuiușeni; 28–29 – Ghenci; 30 – Girișul de Criș; 31 – Girtelecul Șimleului; 32 – Lazuri; 33 – Moroda; 34 – Nușfalău; 35 – Oradea; 36 – Recea; 37 – Santăul Mic; 38 – Săcueni; 39 – Sălacea; 40 – Sănnicolaul Român; 41 – Sâncraiu Silvaniei; 42 – Sănandrei; 43 – Suplacul de Barcău; 44 – Șicula; 45 – Șimleul Silvaniei; 46 – Valea lui Mihai; 47–49 – Vladimirescu / Așezări din secolele IX–X: 6 – Bădăcin; 7 – Berea; 8–14 – Biharia; 15 – Boghiș; 16 – Carei; 17 – Cămin; 18 – Căpleni; 19 – Cărăsău; 20 – Cefa; 21 – Cicir; 22–23 – Ciumești; 24 – Clit; 25 – Cociuba Mare; 26 – Culciu Mare; 27 – Curtuiușeni; 28–29 – Ghenci; 30 – Girișul de Criș; 31 – Girtelecul Șimleului; 32 – Lazuri; 33 – Moroda; 34 – Nușfalău; 35 – Oradea; 36 – Recea; 37 – Santăul Mic; 38 – Săcueni; 39 – Sălacea; 40 – Sănnicolaul Român; 41 – Sâncraiu Silvaniei; 42 – Sănandrei; 43 – Suplacul de Barcău; 44 – Șicula; 45 – Șimleul Silvaniei; 46 – Valea lui Mihai; 47–49 – Vladimirescu
- ▲ Fortifications from the 10<sup>th</sup> century (possible dating): 1 – Biharia; 2 – Satu Mare / Fortificații din secolul al X-lea (datare posibilă): 1 – Biharia; 2 – Satu Mare
- △ Fortifications between 950 and 1050: 1 – Cladova; 2 – Moigrad; 3 – Zalău/Ortelec; 4–5 – Șimleul Silvaniei; 6 – Vladimirescu / Fortificații din perioada 950 – 1050: 1 – Cladova; 2 – Moigrad; 3 – Zalău/Ortelec; 4–5 – Șimleul Silvaniei; 6 – Vladimirescu
- Earth dikes / Valuri de pământ



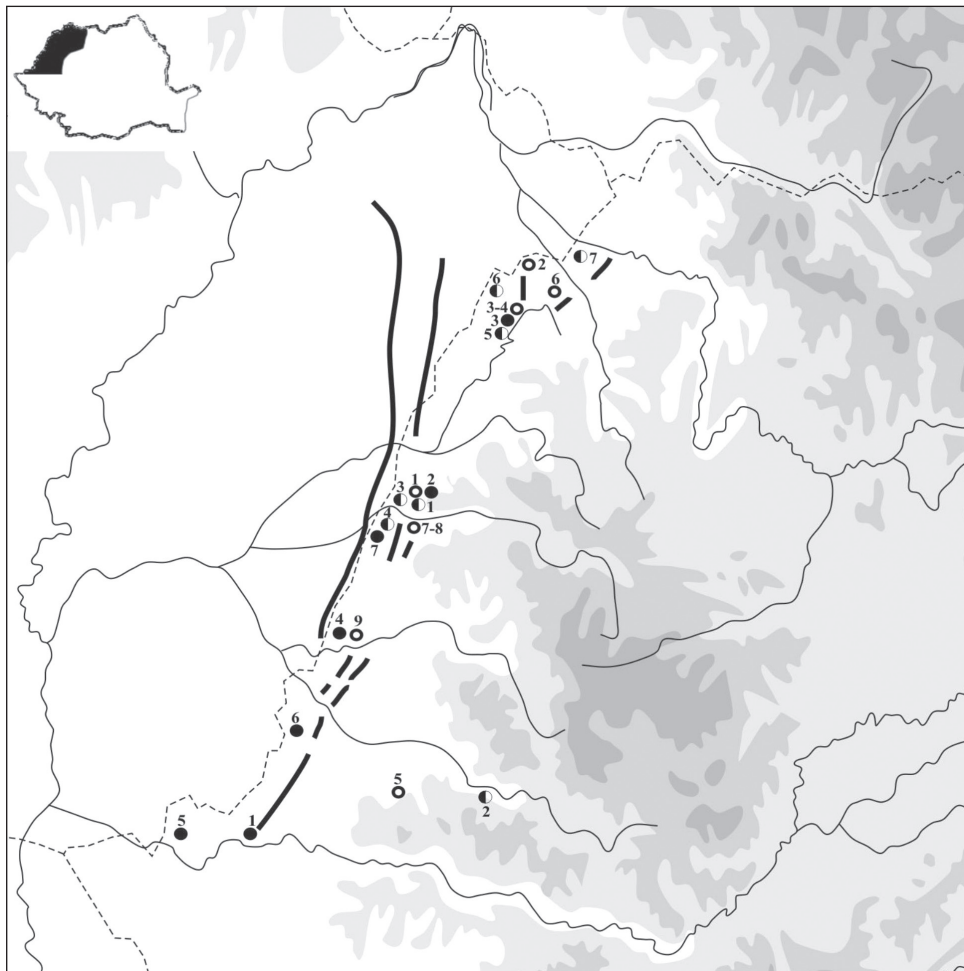
Map 4. Funerary findings from the 8<sup>th</sup> century / Harta 4. *Descoperiri funerare din secolul al VIII-lea*

- Cemeteries and inhumation graves between 630 and 670: 1 – Cheșereu; 2 – Căuaș; 3 – Valea lui Mihai / *Cimitire și morminte de înhumare din perioada 630 – 670: 1 – Cheșereu; 2 – Căuaș; 3 – Valea lui Mihai*
- Cemeteries and inhumation graves between 710/720 and 810/830: 1 – Dindești; 2 – Săcueni; 3 – Socodor / *Cimitire și morminte de înhumare din perioada 710/720 – 810/830: 1 – Dindești; 2 – Săcueni; 3 – Socodor*
- Cremation barrow cemetery between 700 and 810 / 830: 1 – Nușfalău / *Cimitir tumular de incinerare din perioada 700 – 810 / 830: 1 – Nușfalău*
- Burial findings with uncertain character from the 8<sup>th</sup> century: 1 – Cicârlău; 2 – Girișul de Criș; 3–4 – Girișul de Criș / *Descoperiri funerare din secolul al VIII-lea, cu caracter incert: 1 – Cicârlău; 2 – Girișul de Criș; 3–4 – Girișul de Criș*
- Earth dikes / *Valuri de pământ*



Map 5. Funerary findings between 700 and 950 / *Harta 5. Descoperiri funerare din perioada 700–950*

- Burial findings with uncertain character from the 8<sup>th</sup> century: 1 – Dindești; 2 – Ghenci; 3 – Irina; 4 – Moigrad / *Descoperiri funerare din secolul al VIII-lea, cu caracter incert: 1 – Dindești; 2 – Ghenci; 3 – Irina; 4 – Moigrad*
  - Inhumation cemeteries of Köttlach type from the 10<sup>th</sup> century: 1. Sălacea; 2 – Zalău / *Cimitire de înhumare de tip Köttlach, din secolul al X-lea: 1. Sălacea; 2 – Zalău*
- Earth dikes / *Valuri de pământ*



Map 6. Funerary findings from the 10<sup>th</sup> century / Harta 6. Descoperiri funerare din secolul al X-lea

- Cemeteries and inhumation graves from first half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century: 1 – Arad; 2 – Biharia; 3 – Galošpetreu; 4 – Salonta; 5. Șeitin; 6 – Șiclău; 7 – Tărian / Cimitire și morminte de înhumare din prima jumătate a secolului al X-lea: 1 – Arad; 2 – Biharia; 3 – Galošpetreu; 4 – Salonta; 5. Șeitin; 6 – Șiclău; 7 – Tărian
- Cemeteries and inhumation graves of Bjelo-Brdo type from second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century 1. Biharia; 2. Ciumești; 3–4 – Curtuiușeni; 5. Mâsca; 6 – Moftinu Mic; 7 – Oradea; 9. Oradea; 9 – Salonta / Cimitire și morminte de înhumare de tip Bjelo-Brdo, din cea de a doua jumătate a secolului al X-lea: Biharia; 2. Ciumești; 3–4 – Curtuiușeni; 5. Mâsca; 6 – Moftinu Mic; 7 – Oradea; 9. Oradea; 9 – Salonta
- Burial findings with uncertain character from the 10<sup>th</sup> century: 1 – Cauaceu; 2 – Răpsig; 3 – Santăul Mic; 4 – Sănandrei; 5 – Tarcea; 6 – Valea lui Mihai; 7 – Vetiș / Descoperiri funerare din secolul al X-lea, cu caracter incert: 1 – Cauaceu; 2 – Răpsig; 3 – Santăul Mic; 4 – Sănandrei; 5 – Tarcea; 6 – Valea lui Mihai; 7 – Vetiș
- Earth dikes / Valuri de pământ