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**CULTURE AND CIVILISATION AT LOWER DANUBE  
XXIV**

***CULTURE ET CIVILISATION AU BAS DANUBE  
XXIV***

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**MUSEÉ DU BAS DANUBE**

**CULTURE AND CIVILISATION  
AT LOWER DANUBE XXIV**

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BAS DANUBE XXIV***

**CĂLĂRAȘI, 2008**



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## LE NEOLITHIQUE MOYEN AU BAS DANUBE

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**Abstract:** Originile și răspândirea culturilor Dudești, Bolintineanu, Hamangia et Boian-Giulești au avut numeroase elemente comune. Arealul acestor civilizații a fost regiunea Dunării de Jos (fig.1), adică sud-sud-estul României și nord-nord-estul Bulgariei (Hotnica, Kadikioi, bazinul Rusenski Lom, Malik Preslavet și Srebrna-Vetren, Durankulak, Devetaki). Din punct de vedere genetic și cronologic și morfologic a fost valea Dunării cu structura sa de terase și câmpii fertile. Logica habitatului impunea construirea așezărilor în apropierea resurselor, fapt esențial pentru comunitățile preistorice. Analizele sporo-polinice indică vecinătatea cursurilor de apă și a pădurilor, deci o regiune de tranziție între silvo-stepă și stepă. Descoperirile arheologice și cercetările sistematice efectuate de-a lungul anilor au pus în evidență mai multe tipuri de așezări. În stadiul actual al cercetărilor este aproape imposibil de stabilit dacă comunitățile Dudești-Cernica și Bolintineanu aveau așezări principale și secundare. Din punct de vedere al preocupărilor pentru delimitarea așezărilor de spațiul înconjurător se constată existența unor așezări deschise la care nu au fost surprinse nici un fel de amenajări, dar și așezări prevăzute cu șanțuri, foarte probabil cu rol de apărare. Astfel, în stațiunile arheologice cercetate prin săpături sistematice (Piscul Crăsani, Grădiștea Coslogeni, Lunca-La Grădini) s-a constatat existența a câte două nuclee de locuire, rezultat al tendinței firești de concentrare a grupurilor umane pe un teritoriu dat. O altă ipoteză pentru explicarea existenței celor două nuclee de locuire ar consta într-un fenomen de roire a comunităților Bolintineanu, supoziție susținută arheologic prin constatarea cvasigenerală a unui singur nivel de locuire. Această roire sub forma unei pendulări între noile așezări și cele de origine era posibilă și determinată probabil de schimbarea sezonului și de accesul la anumite resurse naturale. După precizarea ariilor de răspândire sunt prezentate originea și evoluția, elemente ale habitatului (tipurile și dimensiunile așezărilor) civilizațiilor Dudești-Cernica și Bolintineanu. În cadrul așezărilor au fost identificate ca tipuri de locuință *bordeiele*, *colibele* și rar *locuințele de suprafață*. Raportul statistic dintre aceste forme de amenajare a spațiului este dat de gradul de sedentarizare al respectivelor comunități.

**Keywords:** neolithic, Bolintineanu, Dudesti, Boian.

L'une des caractéristiques définitives des communautés néolithiques du Bas Danube a été la tendance de choisir pour habitat un territoire spécifique. Les origines et l'expansion des cultures Dudești, Bolintineanu, Hamangia et Boian-Giulești ont de nombreux éléments communs. L'aire de diffusion de ces civilisations est la région du Bas Danube, c'est-à-dire le sud-sud-est de la Roumanie et le nord-nord-est de la Bulgarie (Hotnica, Kadikioi, le bassin Rusenski Lom, Malik Preslavet et Srebrna-Vetren, Durankulak, Devetaki). Toute la zone, de même que les civilisations en question, portent l'empreinte du Danube sous les aspects géographique et géologique, géomorphologique, climatique et hydrographique, hydrogéologique, pédologique, géotechnique et géobotanique.

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L'élément le plus important tant du point de vue génétique que chronologique et morphologique est la Vallée du Danube avec sa structuration en terrasses et ses plaines fertiles. La logique de l'habitat imposait que la construction des sites habités dans la proximité des ressources était essentielle pour les communautés préhistoriques. Les analyses sporo-polliniques indiquent sans doute le voisinage des cours d'eaux et forêts, donc une région de transition entre la silvo-steppe et la steppe. Les études interdisciplinaires et les recherches scientifiques par la méthode nucléaire ont rendu possible la reconstitution du climat durant la préhistoire. Ainsi, d'après les schémas Blytt-Sernander, la période climatique Boréale (6700-5500 B.C.) a été caractérisée par un climat chaud et sec et la période Atlantique (5500-2250 B.C.) par un climat chaud et humide. Donc l'intervalle entre la période boréale et atlantique signifie, en fait, le passage de la sécheresse à l'humidité (Cîrciumaru 1996 : 9). Les conditions très favorables du sol et du relief expliquent le caractère prédominant céréalière pour les cultures de la période préhistorique. Les analyses sporo-polliniques du site de Radovanu, corroborées avec des analyses similaires d'autres sites Dudești-Cernica indiquent l'utilisation mixte des céréales et des graminées sauvages apportées du sud, argument important d'une pénétration méridionale (Comșa 1977 : 326). En même temps, le réseau hydrographique est tributaire en totalité au Danube. Les lacs de cette zone (Gălățui, Mostiștea, Cătălui) sont des limans fluviaux. Les recherches scientifiques ont mis en évidence de telles périodes d'extension de la végétation (*timberline*), à la cause du réchauffement climatique (Cîrciumaru 1996 : 18). Le retrait du Delta du Danube, à cause du mouvement de transgression marine a fait possible la pénétration et la sédentarisation des premières communautés néolithiques en provenance de l'ouest de l'Anatolie (Can Hassan, Illipinar, Yarimbürgaz, Töptepe/ (Ozdodan 1991: 59-121)) et du nord-ouest de l'Asie Mineure au bord de la Mer Noire (Demircihüyük, Dikili-Tash/ Korfman 1978). Pendant la première étape de pénétration des communautés néolithiques au Bas Danube on constate un mouvement des populations et une colonisation autour d'une même aire, phénomène surpris pendant les recherches archéologiques de surface du bassin hydrographique Gălățui et Mostiștea. L'habitat du néolithique moyen du Bas Danube se caractérise, pour la première étape, par les pénétrations successives, par vagues de tribus appartenant à une même civilisation, au cours d'une période limitée et suivant une évolution progressive dans le même endroit des sites-habitat (VI-V<sup>e</sup> millénaire av. J.-Chr.).

**L'aire de diffusion Dudești-Cernica** a été la Munténie et l'Olténie orientale. L'habitat est délimité vers l'ouest jusqu'au sud-ouest de la Munténie et le sud-est de l'Olténie (Roșiorii de Vede-Urlui, Ipotești II, Măgura, Plopii Slăvitești) et de l'est à l'ouest par le lac Boian (Vărăști-Grădiștea Ulmilor) et le bord est du lac Gălățui (Rasa). La limite méridionale est le sud-sud-est de la Roumanie et le nord-nord-est de la Bulgarie (Hotnica, Kadikioi). La limite nord est donnée par les stations de Sudiți, Ghinoiaica, Târgușoru-Vechi et Simnic (Neagu 2000 : 53).

Pour la population Dudești, on constate la présence de sites ouverts de grandes dimensions comme les sites-habitat de Cernica, surface 10.000 m. carrés (Comșa

1974 : 11), Căscioarele, „D-aia parte”, 1,5 ha (Șerbănescu 1997 : 82). La station éponyme Dudești a une surface de  $100 \times 120$  m, avec une habitation plus intense du bord de la terrasse (Comșa 1956 : 42). Le nombre des sites Dudești-Cernica baisse vers l'est, c'est-à-dire vers la steppe (Neagu 2003 : 33).

### **Les habitations**

Les fouilles archéologiques, peu nombreuses et sur un territoire restreint ont mené à la découverte d'un petit nombre de complexes Dudești-Cernica, dont la majorité ont été interprétés comme étant des habitations, alors que certaines n'ont été fouillées que partiellement. La plupart des habitations ont été découvertes suite à de petits sondages pratiqués dans les sites Dudești-Cernica de Căscioarele. Leurs dimensions demeurent inconnues en raison de l'interruption prématurée de la recherche. Les sondages de Vasilăți, „Moșneagu” (Șerbănescu 1997: 81) et les fouilles de la strate supérieure de Dudești et Drăghiceanu ont relevé des huttes. Dans le site éponyme de la culture Dudești on a découvert une chaumière au plancher à auge, aux dimensions de  $3 \times 1,50 \times 0,40$  m (Comșa 1956 : 42). À Drăghiceanu, dans le niveau supérieur de la strate Dudești on a fouillé une habitation à la fosse ovale, aux dimensions de  $3,30 \times 2,52 \times 0,50$  (0,55), à l'orientation sud-sud-ouest (Păunescu 1964: 298).

Dans le secteur fouillé de Cernica ont été découvertes cinq habitations de type huttes aux fosses de forme ovale ou rectangulaire aux angles arrondis. Leurs dimensions sont modestes ( $3,60 \times 2,60$  m ou  $3,60 \times 3,26$  m), la profondeur de la fosse des huttes étant de 0,70-0,80 m. (Comșa 1974: 11).

### **L'aire de diffusion Bolintineanu**

Le territoire habité par cette population est marqué par les découvertes archéologiques faites au fil du temps sur le territoire de la Munténie et dans la Plaine Roumaine, entre les rivières de Vedea à l'ouest et Ialomița à l'Est, les Monts Balkans la sud, les Carpates au nord, les montagnes de Vrancea au nord-est, qui délimitent l'aire de diffusion des découvertes de type Bolintineanu (Neagu 1997 : ). Le point plus au sud en est le site Bolintineanu du troisième niveau de Devetaki (Lovec). Alors que, en règle générale, les communautés Bolintineanu ne se sont pas installées dans l'aire de diffusion de la culture Hamangia, avec lesquels ils ont probablement eu d'étroites relations, on constate une habitation considérable dans le site néolithique de Durankulak, le point plus à l'est de l'aire de diffusion Bolintineanu de la Bulgarie (Todorova 1989 : 299).

Au fur et à mesure que l'on avance vers l'ouest de l'Argeș, les découvertes de type Bolintineanu se font de plus en plus rares, étant connues les sites d'Uzunu et Hulubești (département de Giurgiu) et les découvertes des sites Vădastra I de la zone Slatina, Piatra Olt-les points Piatra Sat et Nucet (Neagu 2003 : 51).

**Types de sites.** En fonction des découvertes archéologiques et des fouilles systématiques réalisées, auxquelles s'ajoute le critère géographique, ont été mis en évidence plusieurs types de sites :

- a) Des sites placés sur des terres alluvionnaires (*grinduri*) ou des îlots, dont les stations archéologiques de Grădiștea Coslogeni et Grădiștea Ulmilor ;
- b) Des sites construits sur des extrémités basses ou moyennes de terrasses – les stations de București-Floreasca, sur le bord sud-ouest du lac Tei de Bucurest ; București-Cățelu, sur la terrasse inférieure de la Dâmbovița; Lunca-La Grădini, au bord du lac Frăsinet-Mostiștea, (précédemment Obilești) ou Căscioarele-Ion Barbu, sur la terrasse moyenne du lac Cătălui;
- c) Des sites placés sur les terrasses hautes ou sur les extrémités de certaines collines, comme les stations archéologiques d'Aldeni-Gurguiul Balaurului, dans la vallée de la rivière de Slănic; Piscu Crăsani, sur la terrasse supérieure de la Ialomița; Radovanu II, sur la terrasse haute de l'Argeșul ou Gălățui-Movila Berzei, sur la terrasse du lac Gălățui (précédemment connu comme le lac Barza). En analysant la paléographie de ces zones, on peut remarquer la préférence des communautés Bolintineanu pour les zones comprenant à la fois les sols fertiles des campagnes et la forêt (Neagu 2003 : 52).

### **Les habitations Bolintineanu**

Les recherches archéologiques insuffisantes dans les sites datés du début du néolithique moyen (culture Dudești-Cernica et Bolintineanu I) n'ont mis en évidence aucune préoccupation pour la systématisation de l'espace. Les habitations sont disposées sur le territoire sans aucune règle spécifique. Pour les étapes suivantes, on a observé des préoccupations certaines pour l'organisation de l'espace des sites. Dans les stations archéologiques Bolintineanu explorées par des fouilles systématiques (Piscu Crăsani, Grădiștea Coslogeni, Lunca-La Grădini), on a constaté à chaque fois deux noyaux d'habitation, résultant de la tendance naturelle de concentration des groupes humains sur un territoire donné (Neagu 2000 : 16). Dans ce stade des recherches sur les civilisations du néolithique moyen, il est impossible d'établir quels ont été les sites principaux et/ou secondaires.

Pour les sites Bolintineanu, on remarque l'habitat de Lunca-La Grădini, à 150 m en largeur et 250 m au long de terrasse inférieure du lac Frăsinet-Mostiștea (Neagu 1987 : 16-17 ), puis des sites avec une surface moyenne comme Gălățui-Movila Berzei (60-70 x 70-80 m), Grădiștea Coslogeni (175 x 50-60 m), Piscu Crăsani (110-120 m x 60-70 m).

Les autres organisations et la gestion de l'espace sont mises en évidence par la découverte de fossés, premièrement utilisés pour la délimitation rituelle des habitats et ensuite pour la défense. Les dimensions de tels fossés (à Piscu Crăsani, le fossé, de section rectangulaire, est profond de 1,50-2,80 m et large de 3,75 à 4,50 m) nous amènent à proposer l'hypothèse de leur utilisation non seulement pour la

simple délimitation rituelle de l'habitat, mais aussi dans des buts fonctionnels, ayant aussi un rôle dans la défense du site. Le seul site fouillé de l'aire de diffusion de la culture Bolintineanu pourvu d'un fossé est celui de Piscu Crăsani, auquel on pourrait ajouter le site de Copuzu-Șuvița Mică. Ce n'est pas par hasard que ces habitats sont situés sur la terrasse supérieure de la Ialomița, en marquant en même temps la limite est des communautés Bolintineanu : il y a là un argument important en faveur de l'hypothèse que ces aménagements ont eu aussi un rôle défensif (Neagu 2000 : 15).

Les recherches entreprises à Gălățui-„Movila Berzei”, Lunca-„La Grădini”, Piscu Crăsani, Grădiștea Coslogeni, corroborée à l'analyse des matériels des fouilles antérieures des sites Bolintineanu plaident pour une existence autonome de la culture Bolintineanu, à une évolution et des caractéristiques propres (Neagu 2003 : 48-65) et non seulement comme une phase de la culture Boian (Comșa 1954 : 387).

La plupart des archéologues ont affirmé, à quelques petites différences ou nuances près que les communautés Bolintineanu se sont formées sur un fond de culture Dudești et avec une participation importante des porteurs de la culture qui a donné la céramique linéaire aux notes de musique.

En général, la culture Dudești est considérée le fond commun des cultures Vădastra et Bolintineanu. L'évolution à l'ouest de la population Dudești a fait naître la culture Vădastra I ; à l'est, en Munténie, elle a participé de la formation de l'aspect Bolintineanu. La participation méridionale à la formation des communautés Bolintineanu a été en général exprimée par la locution verbale de la « réactivation du fonds égéo-méditerranéen » auquel se seraient ajoutées « les influences centre-européennes (de la céramique linéaire) ».

## Évolution

Les fouilles archéologiques des années 1980 - 2000 des sites Gălățui - „Movila Berzei”, Lunca - „La Grădini”, Piscu Crăsani ou Grădiștea Coslogeni ont mis en évidence des différenciations nettes qui ne peuvent s'expliquer que par une évolution spécifique des communautés Bolintineanu résultant de leur pénétration en plusieurs étapes au nord du Danube.

**I.** La pénétration des premières communautés Bolintineanu a été identifiée suite aux fouilles des sites de Gălățui-Movila Berzei, București-Floreasca et Ciocănești-Grădiștea Ulmilor. Suite à l'étude des matériels archéologiques (des fragments céramiques à beaucoup de balle et à la décoration du type Dudești-Cernica) découverts à ces endroits on constate l'avancée d'une population qui a entraîné aussi les dernières communautés Dudești-Cernica.

**II.** La plupart de ces sites ont été construits suite à la deuxième vague de l'avancée de la population Bolintineanu. Pour cette série de sites aux matériels Bolintineanu *typiques*, sont significatives les fouilles d'Aldeni-Gurghiul Balaurului et Lunca-La Grădini.

**III.** L'évolution des communautés Bolintineanu s'accomplit avec les sites de Piscu Crăsani, Copuzu-Deluș, Coroteni, Grădiștea Coslogeni et Radovanu II. Dans cette étape finale, les communautés Bolintineanu parviennent, à l'est, jusqu'à la Ialomița (Piscu Crăsani, Copuzu-Șuvița Mică) et au nord-est jusqu'au Siret (Coroteni).

Les fouilles archéologiques de Gălățui-Movila Berzei, Lunca-La Grădini, Piscu Crăsani, mais aussi d'autres sites Bolintineanu ont démontré l'existence de plusieurs étapes d'évolution de cette culture, chacune à ses particularités et sur lesquelles ont laissé leur empreinte les contacts avec plusieurs cultures. C'est ce qui nous a menés à définir les communautés Bolintineanu comme une culture de contact, ce qui résulte comme une conséquence naturelle de son aire de formation, de diffusion et de son évolution.

Des fouilles dans l'ouest de l'Anatolie, à Yarimbürgaz et Toptepe ou dans la partie du centre-nord, à Demicirhüyük ont démontré l'origine anatolienne des porteurs de la culture Bolintineanu. Ainsi, à Ilipinar (niveau V), Toptepe (V), Yarimbürgaz („O”), les fouilles ont identifié dans le même niveau de la céramique des types Dudești-Cernica (?), Hamangia et Bolintineanu, Karanovo III et Vinča B (Neagu 2003 : 144 – 148).

### **Les habitations**

Les huttes sont la forme la plus commune d'habitation rencontrée dans les sites Bolintineanu. Les aménagements intérieurs sont minimes. Ce n'est que dans un petit nombre de huttes que les fouilles archéologiques ont pu attester l'existence d'une marche à l'entrée. Dans une hutte du site Bolintineanu de Gălățui - Movila Berzei, ont été identifiés, sur le fond de la fosse ovale (4,25 x 3,92 x 1,15m), des traces et des restes de nattes carbonisés. La majorité des huttes découvertes sont prévues d'un âtre dont les dimensions varient entre 60 x 80 cm et 80 x 90 cm. Dans la quasi-totalité des fosses des huttes on a découvert des fragments de terre crue de la partie supérieure de la construction de la hutte, probablement en provenance de la structure de connexion à la toiture.

Les *chaumières* constituent, avec les huttes, le type d'habitation le plus souvent utilisé par les communautés Bolintineanu. Les dimensions de ce type d'habitations ont pu être déterminées tant grâce aux planchers en terre battue qu'à l'aide des traces des pails, là où elles ont pu être aperçues. La majorité des chaumières sont de forme ovale, mais il faut aussi signaler la découverte de chaumières de forme circulaire (3 x 3 m; 3,5 x 3,7 m ou 4 x 4 m). Leurs dimensions varient entre 2,85 x 3,20 m (les plus petites) et 4,35 x 3,92 m (les plus grandes, et qui sont aussi les plus nombreuses). Dans le site de Lunca-La Grădini, on constate que la forme d'habitation dominante est constituée par les chaumières, au nombre de seize, orientées vers l'eau et possédant des planchers peu enfoncés et fortement battus. Toutes les chaumières sont dotées d'âtres ou de grands fragments d'âtres qui demeurent en place même après la destruction et l'abandon des habitations.

**Les habitations de surface.** Les deux habitations de surface fouillées dans le site de Lunca-La Grădini se trouvent sur le bord de la terrasse, dans la zone moins élevée du sol, entre les deux concentrations d'habitations. Leurs dimensions sont plus grandes que celles d'autres formes d'habitation (les huttes ou les chaumières), de 4,5 x 3 m et 4,23 x 4,90 m respectivement. La forme de ces habitations de surface est rectangulaire, aux angles un peu arrondis, étant orientées, comme les chaumières, dans la direction du lac Frăsinet. Les parois sont en glaise massive, portant des traces de verges et comprenant une quantité très importante de balle broyée. Les habitations préservent des traces importantes de brûlure. Les habitations de surface ont été signalées aussi, en général, dans des sites datant d'une phase finale de l'évolution des communautés Bolintineanu, à Piscu Crăsani, Grădiștea Coslogeni et Radovanu II (Neagu 2003 : 54 – 56).

### **La gestion des ressources. Occupations**

L'état actuel des fouilles de la période du néolithique avancé ne nous permet pas de déceler les occupations principales et secondaires, ce qui serait un anachronisme.

#### **La cultivation des plantes et l'élevage des animaux domestiques**

Sont pourtant les occupations archéologiquement les plus facilement identifiables, à l'exception évidente de la poterie. Les analyses paléobotaniques faites par feu C. S. Nicolaescu Plopșor et par M. Cîrciumaru attestent la cultivation des céréales (*triticum monococcum*, *triticum vulgare*, *triticum neococcum* et *secale cereale*), des graines, probablement du sarrasin (blé noir – *fagopyrum sp.*). Dans le site néolithique de Grădiștea Coslogeni on a réalisé des fouilles conjointes avec l'équipe du professeur E. Cernih (Spiridonova 1995 : 81 - 94; Lebedeva 1995 : 95 - 102) entre 1991 et 1995, l'analyse des probes sporo-polliniques prélevées attestant la cultivation des céréales (*Triticum monococcum*, *T. dicoccum*, *Hordeum vulgare*).

Dans le domaine de l'**élevage**, S. Haimovici a fait été des analyses paléofaunistiques sur un lot très limité de matériels ostéologiques d'Aldeni et Cernica (Comșa 1974 : 63). Les fouilles archéologiques des sites de Piscu Crăsani, Gălățui-Movila Berzei, Lunca-La Grădini et Grădiștea Coslogeni ont mis en évidence de riches matériels ichtyologiques, identifiés comme tels par le biologiste Mircea Udrescu et Valentin Radu (Radu 2000 : 184 - 189).

#### **Le travail de la pierre, du silex et de l'os**

##### **Le matériel lithique**

Le niveau d'évolution des outils est en corrélation directe avec le développement économique des communautés Bolintineanu. De ce point de vue, le matériel lithique des sites Bolintineanu ne diffère pas d'une manière radicale de celui de la population Dudești ou des porteurs de la culture à céramique linéaire aux notes

de musique, des cultures qui se trouvent à un état de développement économique similaire. La variété des types d'outils ou les dimensions des pièces ne changent pas d'une manière spectaculaire par rapport à la période précédente. Pour les outils en silex, les outils les plus communs sont les grattoirs, suivis par les lames. L'une des caractéristiques générales des outils en silex est le géométrisme des pièces, dû non seulement à leur travail facile mais aussi à la tradition épipaléolithique, selon l'avis de la majorité des spécialistes (Păunescu 1970 : 43 - 44).

La présence d'outils confectionnés en plusieurs variétés de silex atteste les multiples échanges intercommunautaires – des formes primaires de relations avec d'autres populations – fait que témoigne aussi le contenu de la culture matérielle des communautés Bolintineanu. A remarquer les pièces composantes des faucilles découvertes dans les sites Bolintineanu et qui attestent la préoccupation de ces communautés pour la cultivation et la récolte des graminées. Outre les pièces en silex, on a constaté également l'emploi du grès siliceux et de l'obsidienne. L'emploi de l'*obsidienne* a été constaté seulement à la limite est et nord-est de l'aire de diffusion des communautés Bolintineanu, par les découvertes des sites d'Aldeni - Gurguiul Balaurului (Păunescu 1970 : 164) et Piscu Crăsani.

Les haches en pierre sont en général de forme trapézoïdale, rectangulaire en section, souvent avec le côté du tranchant brisé. Jusqu'à présent on n'a pas trouvé de hache en pierre perforée. Parmi les découvertes susceptible de faire partie de la catégorie des armes, il faut mentionner quelques pointes de flèches en silex, de forme triangulaire, découverts dans les sites de Gălățui - Movila Berzei, Piscu Crăsani et București – Cățelu.

En général, la fréquence de la présence des outils en silex dans les sites est très variable, probablement en fonction de la proximité de la source de matières premières, mais aussi de l'intensité des échanges intertribaux.

### *Le travail de l'os et des cornes*

Les outils en os ou corne sont des découvertes rares dans le contexte des sites Bolintineanu. Les fonctions de beaucoup de ces outils sont difficilement définissables, comme dans le cas de l'outil en os du site d'Aldeni. Un outil qui est très probablement un hameçon a été découvert dans une hutte du site de Piscu Crăsani. La regrettée Alexandra Bolomey a établi le fait que l'os provenait d'un oiseau. Un autre outil en os, en forme d'aiguille-poinçon, prévu d'une perforation à l'un des bouts a été découvert dans l'une des huttes les plus anciennes du site de Gălățui-Movila Berzei. L'aiguille-poinçon a des dimensions considérables et il est très bien polie et aiguisée à l'un des bouts. Toujours dans le site d'Aldeni a été identifié un outil en corne, dont l'une des extrémités est aiguisée – c'est l'unique découverte de ce type de l'aire de diffusion Bolintineanu. De même, dans les sites de Gălățui-Movila Berzei, Lunca-La Grădini, ainsi qu'à Piscu Crăsani ont été découvertes des perles tubulaires de dimensions très similaires et travaillées à l'identique et des perles circulaires. Les perles et d'autres catégories d'outils en os ou corne présentent des traces claires de tranchage, de perforation et de polissage,

étant exécutés avec une précision et habileté qui nous permettent d'avancer l'hypothèse d'une spécialisation dans ce domaine (Neagu 2003 : 58 - 59).

### **Métiers, âtres, fours**

Outre les âtres des habitations, construites à des bouts domestiques, l'âtre d'Aldeni nous capte l'attention par le fait de son emploi prolongé et par le fait qu'il ne fait pas partie d'un complexe d'habitation, ce qui accroît la probabilité de son emploi pour des métiers distincts. Ce type de préoccupation est attesté aussi par la découverte de fours dans les sites Bolintineanu de Cernica et Gălățui-Movila Berzei (Neagu 2003 : 59 – 60).

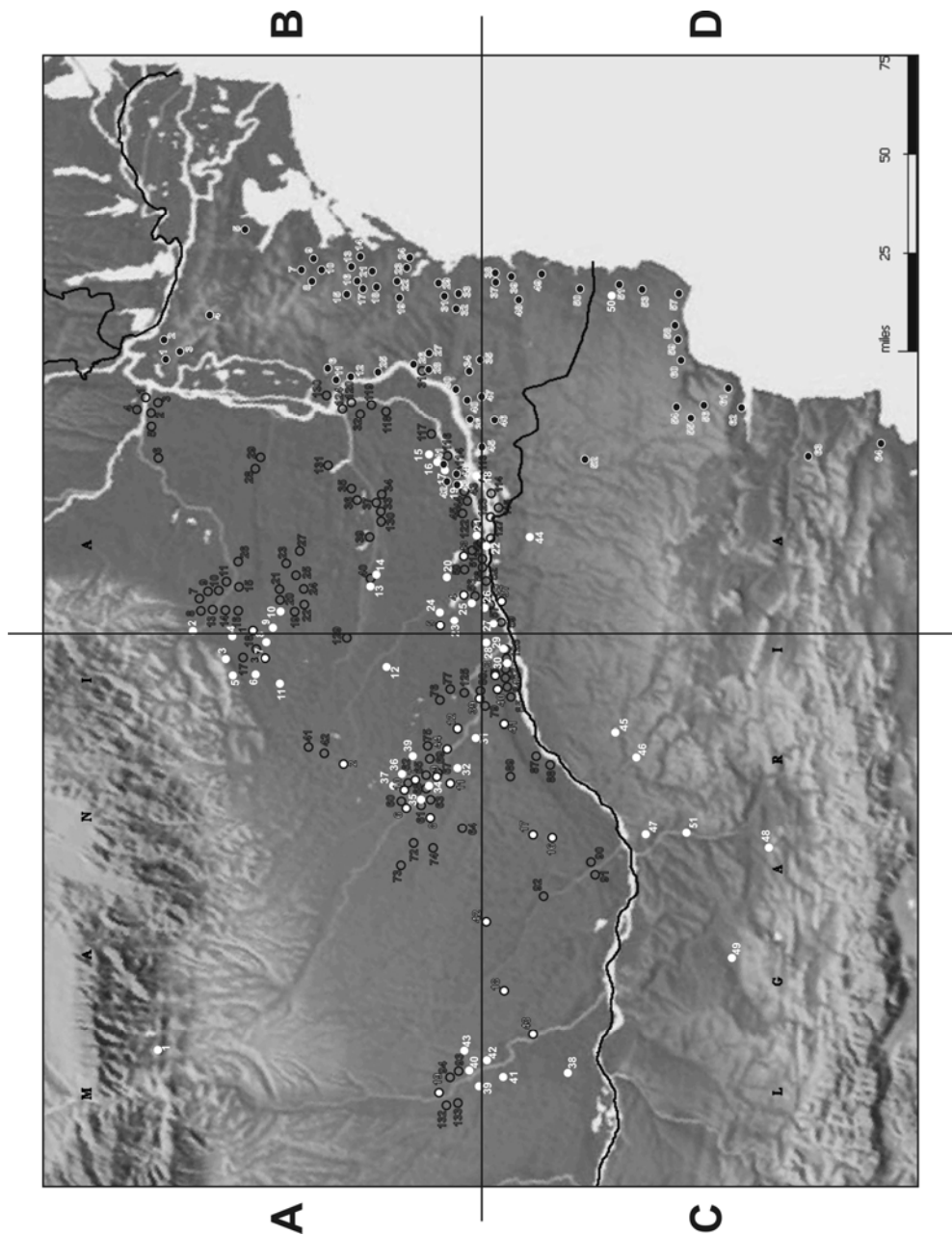
Les influences Vinča que nous avons repérées dans les cultures Dudești et Bolintineanu montrent que les contacts interhumains à grandes distances étaient possibles.

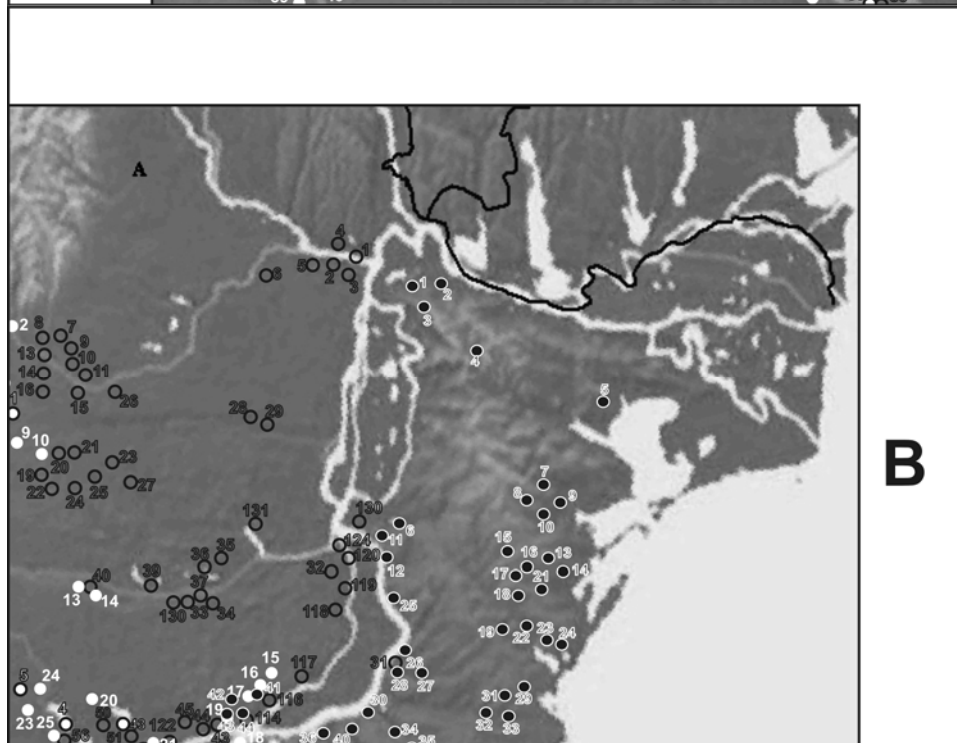
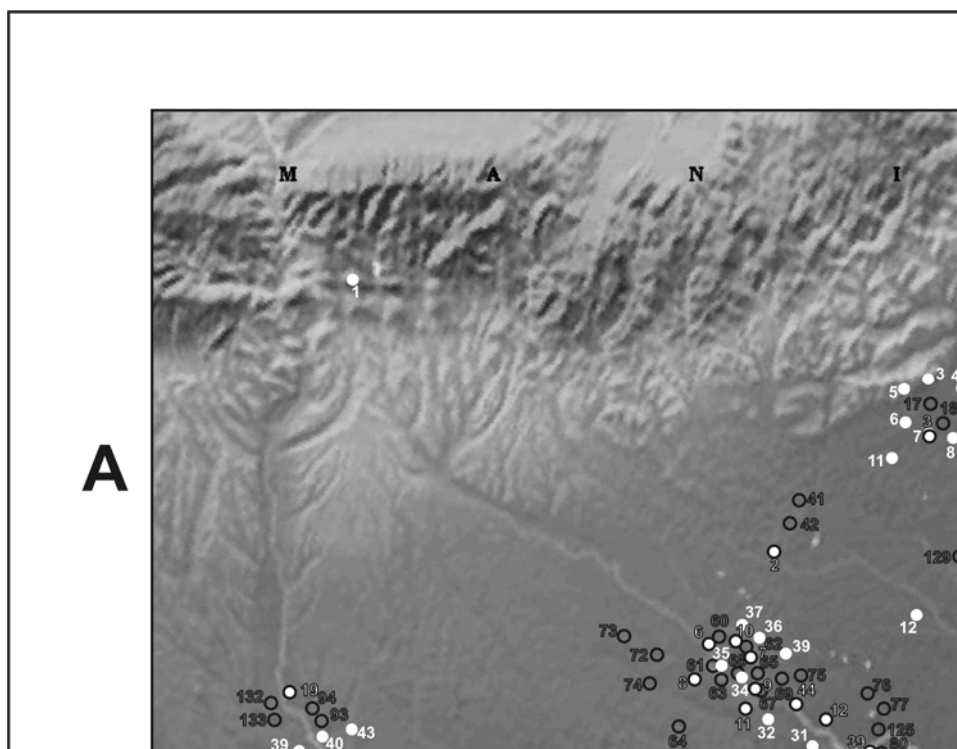
Dans de tels sites on constate une habitation mixte, phénomène qui caractérise les débuts du néolithique moyen au Bas - Danube. Le site de Piscu Crăsani a été habité au début par des communautés Bolintineanu tardives; par la suite, on constate la percée des communautés Boian Giulești-Greaca qui cohabitent avec la population Bolintineanu tardive, majoritaire. Une structure mixte de l'habitat a été archéologiquement constatée dans les cas des sites néolithiques de Grădiștea Coslogeni (Neagu, Pandrea 2004 : 13 – 15) et Durankulak (Todorova 1989 : 299 – 300) par cohabitation des communautés Bolintineanu avec des communautés Hamangia.

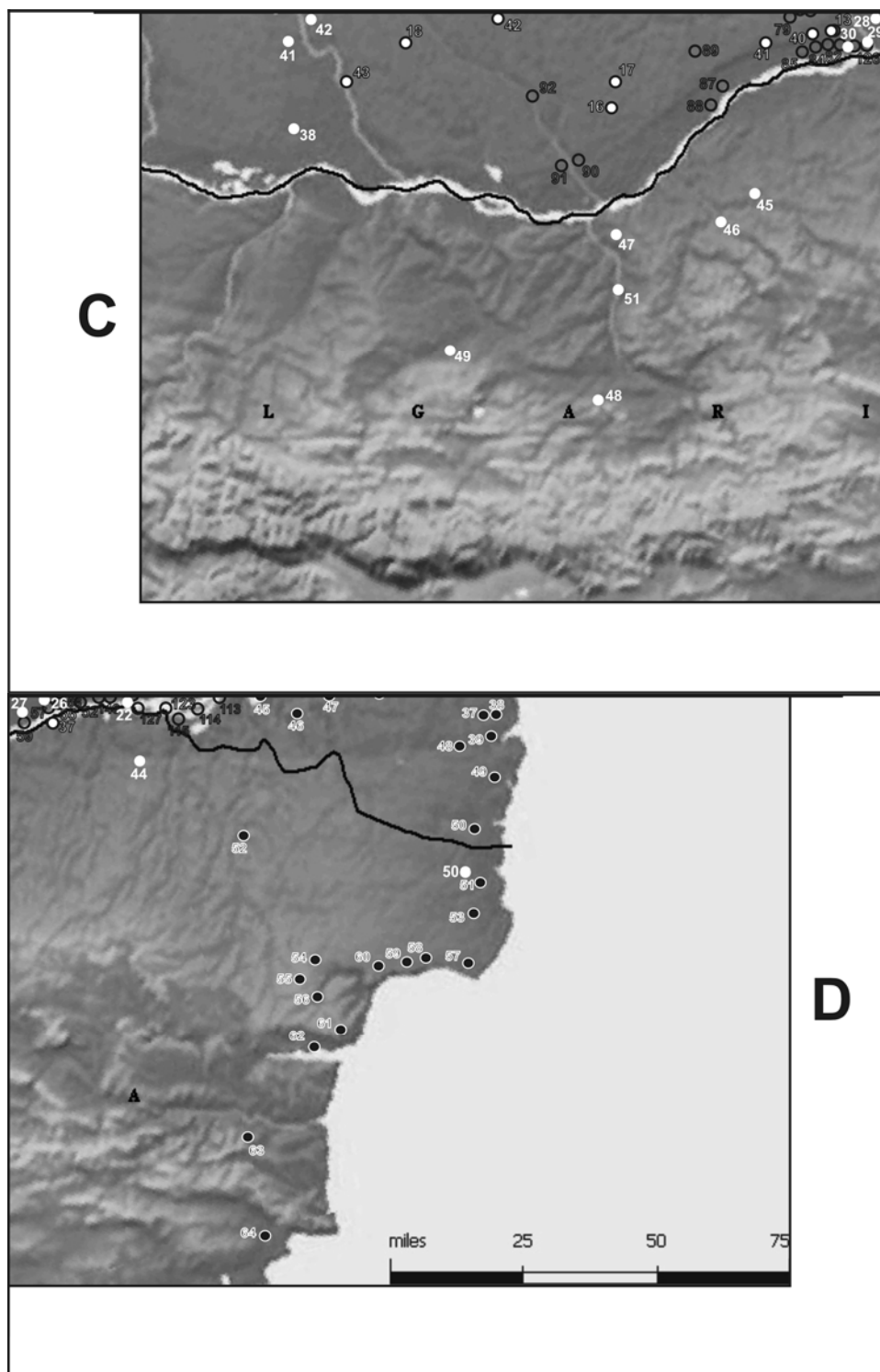
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## ● Culture Bolintineanu

1. Hărman, 2. Coroteni, 3. Aldeni, 4. Băești, 5. Gălbinași, 6. Bălana, 7. Vasilați, 8. Sudiți, 9. Smeeni, 10. Moșica, 11. Valea Scheolor, 12. Coșereni, 13. Crăsanii de Jos, 14. Copuzu- *Deluș*, 15. Pietroiu, 16. Unirea – *Rău*, 17. Coslogeni, 18. Grădiștea Coslogeni, 19. Grădiștea Roșeti, 20. Gălățui – *Movila Berzei*, 21. Ciocănești, 22. Vărăști – *Grădiștea Ulmilor*, 23. Sultana, 24. Lunca – *La Grădini*, 25. Lac Marotin, 26. Chirnoși, 27. Căscioarele, 28. Greaca, 29. Greaca II, 30. Pietrele, 31. Uzun, 32. Hulubești, 33. Măgurele, 34. București – *Cățelu*, 35. Cernica, 36. București – *Floreasca*, 37. București – *Bucureștii Noi*, 38. Vădastra, 39. Piatra Sat, 40. Ipotești, 41. Piatra Olt, 42. Slatina, 43. Slatina II, 44. Sokol, 45. Kubrat, 46. Malik Porovec, 47. Ruse, 48. Hotnica, 49. Devetaki, 50. Durankulak, 51. Borovo, 52. Rusenski Lom.

## ● Culture Hamangia

1. Măcin, 2. Greci, 3. Greci, 4. General Dragalina, 5. Popina-Razelm, 6. Calfa, 7. Ceamurlia de Jos, 8. Caucăgia, 9. Baia, 10. Panduru, 11. Hârșova – Tell, 12. Hârșova – *Celea Mică*, 13. Tariverde, 14. Istria, 15. Cheia – *La Soci*, 16. Grădina, 17. Gura Dobrogei – *La Baba*, 18. Cheia, 19. Târgușor – *La Grădină*, 20. Târgușor – *Urs*, 21. Peștera – *La Adam*, 22. Gura Dobrogei, 23. Nuntași, 24. Corbu de Jos, 25. Capidava, 26. Seimenii Mari, 27. Țibrinu, 28. Cernavoda (necropola și așezarea), 29. Medgidia – I.M.U.M., 30. Cochirleni, 31. Medgidia – *Satu Nou*, 32. Medgidia – *Cocoșe*, 33. Medgidia – Fabrica de ciment, 34. Izvorul Mare, 35. Peștera, 36. Alimanu, 37. Târgușor – Sitorman, 38. Agigea, 39. Techirghiol, 40. Adamclisi, 41. Călărași – Regie, 42. Roșeti, 43. Grădiștea Coslogeni, 44. Pietroiu, 45. Păcuil lui Soare, 46. *Canaraua Feti*, 47. Ion Corvin, 48. Zarguzan, 49. Mangalia, 50. Limanu, 51. Durankulak, 52. Cerna, 53. Șabla, 54. Placi Dol, 55. Dragonovo, 56. Odipti, 57. Caliacra – Bolata, 58. Cavarna, 59. Boyureț – Adata, 60. Balic, 61. Varna – *Drujba*, 62. Varna – *Batareiata*, 63. Sava, 64. Burgas – Kableșkovo.

## ● Culture Boian – Giulești

1. Brăila (Brăilița II), 2. Brăila (Brăilița I), 3. Brăila, 4. Baldovinești, com. Vădeni, 5. Siliștea, 6. Râmnicelu, 7. Băiești, com. Cernătești, 8. Aldeni, com. Cernătești, 9. Sapoca II; 10. Sapoca II; 11. Sapoca; 12. Cârlomanești, com. Vernești; 13. Căndești (Căndești de Jos) com. Vernești; 14. Săsenii Vechi, com. Vernești; 15. Vernești; 16. Nenciulești, com. Merei, jud. Buzău; 17. Valea Sheilor, com. Călugăreni, jud. Prahova; 18. Fântânele, jud. Prahova; 19-21. Sudiți, com. Gheraseni; 22. Balaia, com. Seeni; 23 – 24. Seeni; 25. Gălbinași; 26. Salcioara, com. Ghergheasca; 27. Moșica, com. Smeeni, jud. Buzău; 28-29. Liscoteanca, jud. Brăila. 30. Hârșova, jud. Constanța; 31. Cernavoda, oraș, jud. Constanța; 32. Lunca, com. Vlădeni; 33 – 34. Bora, jud. Ialomița; 35. Amara, jud.

Ialomița, 36. Slobozia oraș, jud. Ialomița; 37-38. Ciulnița, comuna, jud. Călărași; 39. Căzănești, 40. Copuzu, com. Balaciu, jud. Ialomița; 41. Târgșoru Vechi, jud. Prahova; 42. Cocorești Grind, com. Cocorești, jud. Prahova; 43-44. Călărași; 45. Cunești, com. Grădiștea; 46. Rasa, com. Grădiștea; 47. Al. Odobescu, com. Nicolae Bălcescu; 48-50. Bogata, com. Grădiștea; 51. Ciocănești, 52-55. Vărăști, com. Ciocănești; 56. Boșneagu, com. Dorobanțu; 57. Ulmu; 58-59. Sultana, com. Mănăstirea, jud. Călărași; 60-69. București; 70. Cernica, jud. Ilfov; 71. București (Glina); 72. Ciorogârla; 73. Trestieni, Com. Ulmi; 74. Dârvari, com. Ciorogârla; 75. Vidra; 76. Podul Pitarului, com. Plătărești; 77. Cucuteni, com. Plătărești; 78. Crivăț, com. Budești; 79. Hotarele; 80-83. Greaca; 84. Prundu; 58. Puieni, com. Prundu; 86-88. Giurgiu; 89. Stoenști (fost Tangâru); 90-91. Alexandria; 92. Olteni, comuna, jud. Teleorman; 93. Ipotești, com. Milcov, jud. Olt; 94. Slatina, jud. Olt; 95. Halchiu, comuna, jud. Brașov; 96. Feldioara, com. jud. Brașov; 97. Ariușd, com. Vâlcele, jud. Brașov; 98. Hărman, comuna, jud. Brașov; 99-102. Sf. Gheorghe, orș, jud. Covasna; 103. Zalan, com. Bodoc; 104. Brăduș, comuna, jud. Covasna; 105. Ciucsângeorgiu, comuna; 106. Bancu, com. Ciucsângeorgiu, jud. Harghita; 107. Turia, comuna; 108. Reci, comuna; 109. Eresteghin, comuna; 110. Let, com. Boroșneu Mare; 111. Covasna, oraș, jud. Covasna; 112. Ruginești, com. jud. Vrancea; 113. Grădiștea Roseți, com. Roseți; 114. Coslogeni-km.80, com. Dichiseni; 115. Grădiștea Ceacu, com. Grădiștea; 116. Jegălia; 117. Borcea; 118. Cegani; 119. Popina Bordușani; 120. Lăteni, com. Făcăieni; 121. Făurei, com. Ulmu; 122. Potcoava La vii; 123. Rasa - Grădiștea Grozoaica; 124. Chioara, com. Vlădeni; 125. Vasilăți – Palamanca; 126. Chirnogeni; 127. Andolina; 128. Grădiștea; 129. Dridu-Cotullui Buruiană; 130. Andrășești; 131. Vadu Codrii, Piatra Sat; 133. Nucet, Piatra Sat.



### **Culture Dudești – Cernica din centrul și nordul Câmpiei Române**

1. Sudiți; 2. Târgșoru - Vechi; 3. Ghinoiaica; 4. Ciocănești – Grădiștea Ulmilor; 5. Gurbănești; 6. Giulești – Sârbi; 7. Fundeni; 8. Roșu Militari; 9. Cernica; 10. Dudești – Malul Roșu; 11. Bobești; 12. Vasilăți, 13. Radovanu; 14. Căscioarele – D'Aia parte; 15. Singureni; 16. Drăghiceanu I; 17. Drăghiceanu – Fundul Drăghiceanului; 18. Roșiori de Vede – Urlui; 19. Ipotești II, 20. Căscioarele – Fântâna lui Brebu; 21. Chirnogeni; 22. Greaca; 23. Plopii Slăvitești; 24. Rasa, 25. Măgura; 26. Kadikioki (Bulgaria); 27. Hotnitza (Bulgaria)



## ETHNOCULTURAL PROCESSES IN SOUTHERN DOBROGEA DURING THE V-TH MILLENNIUM BC

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**Abstract:** The region of Dobrogea was uninhabited up to the beginning of the Late Neolithic, when the Hamangia culture appeared (around 5300-5200 BC). The southernmost point known of the culture during its first phase is the settlement at Durankulak-Nivata. In the beginning of the Early Chalcolithic the Hamangia people gradually spread in Southern Dobrogea and established relations with their neighbors in the region. These relations were peaceful, based on exogamic matrimones and trading. The process of “mixing” of both populations is clearly visible in the number of changes in the burial rite during the last phase of the Hamangia culture which shows the strong influence of its neighbors. Around the end of the Early Chalcolithic the Hamangia expansion spread south to the already inhabited area of the Varna lakes. This led to armed conflicts with the local population, as a result of which the Hamangians settled down in the region. The subsequent assimilation of the local people, as well as the preceding integration processes led to the formation of the Varna culture. In its first phase evidences for armed conflicts are still visible. The subsequent phases seem to have been more peaceful and this peace led to expanding trade relations with the neighbors as well as with remote areas. In the last quarter of the V-th millennium BC an invasion of steppe tribes began (probably connected with the Sredni Stog II culture or its variants) which led to the extinction of the Chalcolithic civilization in Northeastern Bulgaria.

**Keywords:** late neolithic, early chalcolithic, burial rite, ethnocultural.

### **First stage: 5300/5200 – ~ 4600 cal. BC.**

Around 5300/5200 cal. BC the bearers of the Hamangia culture appeared in Dobrogea, which was uninhabited until then. Most of the authors suggest southern (Anatolian) origin of the culture (Berciu 1966, 52-57; Haşotti 1997, 15-17 with references; Comşa, Cantacuzino 2001, 194-198). However, the data from recent researches provide grounds to seek its provenance to the north or northeast. A great part of the Hamangia people belonged to the proto-europoid racial type (Nekrasov et al. 1990, 185) (with tall, massive bodies) which has not been attested in the earlier Neolithic cultures south of the Danube River<sup>1</sup> (Boev 1972, 89-90). This type may be related to the Late Mesolithic population that inhabited the region north of the Danube

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<sup>1</sup> The sole exception (from Devetashka cave) does not have sure stratigraphic context.

delta<sup>2</sup>. The idea is also supported by the Mesolithic traditions visible in the burial rite: the bodies were laid extended on their backs; among the grave inventory adornments made by deer's teeth (grandels) and microlithic flint tools including Vielle type points were quite common; during Hamangia I-II phases<sup>3</sup> the presence of whole vessels in the graves was an exception. These features have closest similarities with the early burials of the Mariupol type (see Телегин 1991, 7-17).

The Hamangia people first settled the northern part of Dobrogea. Around the same time the areas south and west of Dobrogea were gradually settled by people of the Usoe, Karanovo III-IV and Hotnitsa cultures. These people were successors of the Early Neolithic population of the Karanovo I-II-Starčevo-Criș cultures which belonged to the Mediterranean racial type (with shorter and more gracile bodies) (Boev 1972, 89-90).

These two groups (we'll call them in short "Hamangians" and "Mediterraneans") had different cultural traditions and these differences are most clearly visible archaeologically in the burial rite. The "Mediterranean" tradition was to bury the dead in contracted position – on the left or on the right side, rarely on the back, while the "Hamangians" were buried extended on their backs. Due to this difference the infiltration of "Mediterraneans" in the Hamangia settlements can be traced (fig. 1). This process is most noticeable in the Durankulak cemetery (the southernmost site known of the first two phases of the Hamangia culture).

The available data (both archaeological and anthropological) show that between these two communities relations were established mainly on the basis of exogamous marriages (Бояджиев 2006, 44-48; Boyadziev in print). The contacts were stable, intensive and peaceful. Evidence of this is the gradual increasing of "Mediterranean" women (from about 15% during phases I-II to 53% in phase III – fig. 2) and the constant presence of foreign men (fig. 3), as well as the first burials of children in contracted position – probably children from "mixed" marriages. The "foreigners" were buried according to their burial rite as the percentage of "foreign" graves containing inventory during Hamangia I-II is smaller than those of the "Hamangians" – 51,5% against 64%. There are differences in the grave goods. In the "Hamangian" burials skulls of herbivorous animals and adornments prevail while the "Mediterraneans" were usually accompanied by vessels – whole or fragmentized. During Hamangia III phase stronger symbiosis between the "foreigners" and the "local people" is attested. The presence of grave goods was equalized – in 80% of the extended burials and 79,17% of the contracted ones. More often the grave inventory of the "foreigners" included typical of the "Hamangians" goods (skulls of herbivorous animals and "grandel" beads). At the

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<sup>2</sup> The multiform character of the Hamangian population and the considerable presence of the Mediterranean type (Nekrasov et al. 1990) is discussed below.

<sup>3</sup> In the paper the periodization of the Hamangia culture proposed by H. Todorova (Todorova 1986, 116) is used (the culture is divided into four phases). About other periodizations see also T. Dimov (Димов 1992, 129-130) and P. Hașotti (Hașotti 1997, 19-22).

same time the placing of whole vessels in graves increases, again mainly in burials in contracted position<sup>4</sup>.

During its III phase the Hamangia culture spread to the south (to Kaliakra cape – see Димов 1992, 23-26), in close proximity to its neighbors. This led to two contrary processes. On one hand the contacts with the neighbors increased – both as direct “inflow” of people (mainly women) and as cultural influences. In the end of the phase more than half of the women in Durankulak were “Mediterraneans”; in Cernavoda almost half of the analyzed skeletons were “Mediterraneans” (Necrasov et al. 1990, 185). It seems that the “foreigners” had equal rights with the “Hamangians” and thus imposed some of their own rites.

On the other hand the spread of the Hamangia people into the whole uninhabited part of Dobrogea made impossible further peaceful expansion and provided grounds for conflicts with their neighbors.

### **Second stage: 4600-4400 cal. BC.**

The stage includes the end of Hamangia (IV phase) and the beginning of the Varna culture. The continuing expansion of the “Hamangians” was, as it seems, accompanied by armed conflicts. There are a number of evidences for this:

- The decreasing percentage of male burials in Durankulak accompanied by increasing number of cenotaphs.
- All male burials belong to Juvenilis and Adultus; only one man reached Maturus age (during Hamangia I-III phases 22% of the buried men were Maturus) (fig. 4).
- Antler battle axes appeared in the graves (in Durankulak and Varna II cemeteries). In Durankulak they are attested in 1/3 of the male burials and 1/2 of the cenotaphs from the Hamangia IV-Varna I phases (fig. 4).
- The first fortifications around Hamangian settlements appeared – Provadiya-Solnitsata (Николов 2008), Dolapkulak (Димов 1992, 26). Most of the tells excavated in Northeastern Bulgaria were also fortified – Golyamo Delchevo, Polyanitsa, Ovcharovo, Targovishte, Radingrad (Todorova 1982)<sup>5</sup>.
- The “Hamangians” abandoned their traditional house constructions and started building massive houses with stone walls, sometimes over 0,50-0,60 m thick in their lower parts (Durankulak, Provadiya, Suvorovo –

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<sup>4</sup> About the burials from the Durankulak cemetery see Todorova et al. 2002. In the current paper the anthropological defining of the sex is used. We think that the so-called “anthropological defining” used in the publication of the Durankulak cemetery (Todorova 2002; Todorova et al. 2002) is not applicable for the Hamangia culture because it is based on data from a different culture – the Varna one.

<sup>5</sup> These fortifications were probably provoked not only by the expansion of the Hamangia culture but also by penetration of the Vadastra and Boian cultures south of the Danube as well as by possible growth of the local population. However, the analysis of the processes in the areas west of Dobrogea is beyond the scope of this article.

Boyadžiev 2004; Петрова 2008). These buildings could have been used as small fortifications in case of danger.

- In the entirely excavated tells in Northeastern Bulgaria a concentration of burnt layers is attested in this period, followed by their temporary or permanent abandonment (Тодорова 1986, 222) – fig. 5.

As a result of these conflicts around 4600-4500 BC the “Hamangians” invaded territories previously inhabited by “Mediterraneans” – like the area around the Varna lakes to Provadiya in southwestern direction.

As a consequence of the peaceful contacts in the earlier period and the forced “incorporation” of people in the middle of the V millennium BC rapid integration processes took place in Southern Dobrogea. They are clearly visible in the Durankulak cemetery. There considerable changes in all elements of the burial rite during Hamangia IV phase have been attested (Boyadžiev 2008).

The analysis of these changes shows the influence of two main factors – the traditions of the “Hamangians” on one hand: the preservation of the extended position in the male and some female burials, the North-South orientation of the bodies (although the idea determining it had probably changed), the numerous adornments accompanying the bodies; and the “Mediterranean” traditions on the other hand: the contracted position of the female burials, the placing of whole vessels in the grave, regulated place of the grave goods. The mixing of these different ethnocultural traditions (unevenly represented in both sexes) led to gradual establishment of sex-based differentiation in some elements of the burial rite (position of the body, some stone structures, some elements of the grave inventory) accompanied by a standardization of the rite. At the same time a strong aspiration for ethnocultural self-identification and differentiation from the neighbor cultures is visible. It is worth noting that for the female burials the contracted on the right side position was accepted (mainly strongly contracted) but not the more popular before (and more popular in the neighbor cultures, too) contracted on the left side one (fig. 6). Another difference from the neighbors was the position of vessels in the graves – mainly around the head and the chest and not on the abdomen and legs. A difference is also visible in the weapons used. While in the neighbor cultures stone hammer-axes were dominant, the “Hamangians” used antler ones (stone battle axes are absent both in the cemeteries and settlements of Hamangia and Varna I cultures).

The process of integration led to the formation of the Varna culture around 4500 BC. It spread over a relatively narrow area along the Black sea coast. During the first phase of the culture the changes that had started in Hamangia IV were completed. The Varna I phase in the cemetery of Durankulak is characterized by the total dominance of the local burial rite (male burials in extended position and female ones contracted on the right side; orientation of the body; type and position of the grave goods; etc.). The absence of differing burials can be explained by two reasons – either the access of foreigners to the village was stopped or they were buried not according to their own tradition but to the local one. However, both possibilities are evidences of one trend – attempt for consolidation of the local

community and differentiation from the neighbor cultures. Probably this was provoked by the on-going conflicts between them.

### **Third stage: 4400-4200 cal. BC.**

In the inner part of Dobrogea a relatively peaceful period began. This is attested during phases II and III of the Varna culture in Durankulak. The buildings became less massive than those from the previous period<sup>6</sup>. The average life duration of men increased and individuals older than 40 years have been found in the cemetery (13,27% of the men are Maturus and there is one Senilis). On the other hand the percentage of male burials with battle axes decreased (fig. 4) as well as the number of cenotaphs (which now lack battle axes). The presence of a large number of “foreigners” is also noticeable. In this period it was not only due to patrilocal marriages but to a variety of contacts, including settling of “foreign communities” (attested by groups of burials with different than the local rite but almost equal males/females proportion and a presence of children). The origin of the foreigners is also varied – other regions of the Varna culture (probably the area of the Varna lakes), the Kodzadermen culture area and possibly the territories north of the Danube River (Бояджиев 2006, 19-22, 47-49).

The conflicts lasted longer in the “border areas”. Indication of this is the situation in the Varna I cemetery. The death-rate of the grown-up men there is highest between 20 and 25 years and gradually decreases in number with increasing the age (fig. 7). The cenotaphs are about 14% and the burials with battle axes are about 21% of all excavated graves. The battle axes are more varied than those in Durankulak, but the stone ones are rare. Copper and antler shaft-hole axes are dominant<sup>7</sup>. High concentration of battle axes (of copper and antler) is also visible in the Devnya cemetery. In this period new weapons appeared – like copper battle axes and heavy copper spearheads probably used in close combat (the latest are found in graves 43 and 97 of the Varna I cemetery and the case finding from Varna known as “Second grave 43” – Димитров 2007, 56). As it seems the weapons and especially the battle axes became also symbols of power and high social status which suggests a change in the social structure reflecting the increasing influence of the warriors.

It is namely this “border area” of the Hamangia culture where the desire to retain the tribal traditions is most expressed. The man from the Varna II cemetery (Hamangia IV culture) had a necklace made of imitations of “grandels” (in Durankulak “grandels” were used in phases I-III of the Hamangia culture but disappeared during Hamangia IV). Both in Varna II and Varna I cemeteries (the

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<sup>6</sup> Although there are other possible explanations for this – more difficult access to the stone material or improved building skills and attempt to save materials and labor (see Boyadziev 2004, 10-11).

<sup>7</sup> The authors would like to thank V. Slavchev (Archaeological Museum – Varna) for the opportunity to work with the documentation of the excavations and unpublished finds from the Varna I cemetery.

latter belonging to the Varna culture) the Hamangian tradition to bury some of the women in extended on the back position was preserved, often with grave goods typical of the men – including battle axes in a few cases. It seems that those representatives (and successors) of the Hamangia culture who were in closest contact (and probably armed conflicts) with their neighbors, were the ones that most “jealously” tried to retain their traditions.

At the same time in both Varna I and Devnya cemeteries burials are present that should be connected with people from the Kodzadermen-Gumelnitsa-Karanovo VI area (Бояджиев 2006, 26-30; 48-49). The anthropological data clearly show the continuing process of mixing of the two ethnocultural components – northern (“Hamangians”) and southern one (“Mediterraneans”). On one hand a kinship tie between the “Hamangians” and the representatives of the Varna culture has been recorded. According to the anthropological analysis the man buried in grave 43 of Varna I cemetery (Varna culture) and the one from grave 3 of Varna II cemetery (Hamangia IV culture) belonged to the same tribal group (Йорданов 1980, 19-20). On the other hand in Durankulak the height of people from the Varna culture period was 0,04 m lower than that of the “Hamangians (Yordanov, Dimitrova 2002, 325, 330) – a change which can be explained by mixing with the shorter and more gracile “Mediterraneans”.

#### **Fourth stage: 4200-4100 cal. BC.**

The development of the Varna culture ended abruptly. It is suggested that it was destroyed by people coming from the North-Pontic steppes (Тодорова 1986, 223-224). Several findings have been pointed out as evidences of this process: the graves from Reka Devnya and Kyulevcha, the zoomorphic scepters from Suvorovo, Casimcea, Salcuța, Drama, etc. (Тодорова 1986, 224). New arguments supporting this hypothesis have been found in Durankulak. In the cemetery 9 burials (№№ 12, 24, 119, 128, 162, 164, 166, 181, 190) were excavated which clearly differ from those of Hamangia and Varna cultures but have close similarities with burials from the Sredni Stog II cultural area (Novo Danilovka type – see Telegin 1988, 78). In only one of them (grave 181) grave inventory was found – a fragmentized large storage vessel supported by few stones in its base<sup>8</sup>. The vessel is typical of the Varna culture. However in the graves belonging to this culture only miniature models of these pots were placed but never the real ones. The presence of the vessel in question in grave 181 shows that these burials were made either during the Varna culture or right after its end. In the tell at Durankulak pits destroying the last Chalcolithic building level have been attested<sup>9</sup>. The available data provide ground to suggest that the tell was inhabited for a short time

<sup>8</sup> Personal observations of Y. Boyadziev who excavated the grave in 1981. In the publication of the cemetery it is suggested that the vessel belonged to a destroyed grave from the Varna culture (Todorova et al. 2002, 93).

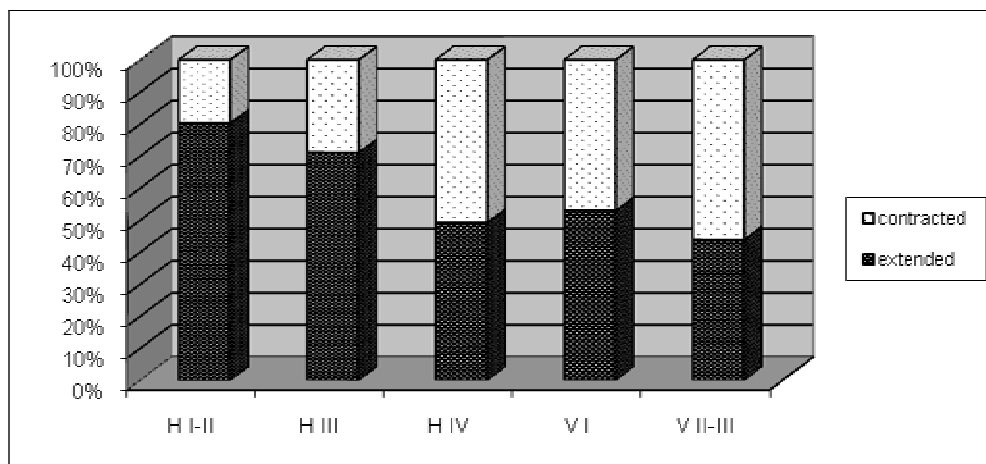
<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately this building level (as well as the possible layer over it) were largely destroyed by the Medieval settlement, thus it is difficult to determine the exact stratigraphic position of these pits.

by people belonging to the Sredni Stog II cultural area. It is quite possible that they were the ones who caused the end of the last settlement of the Varna culture.

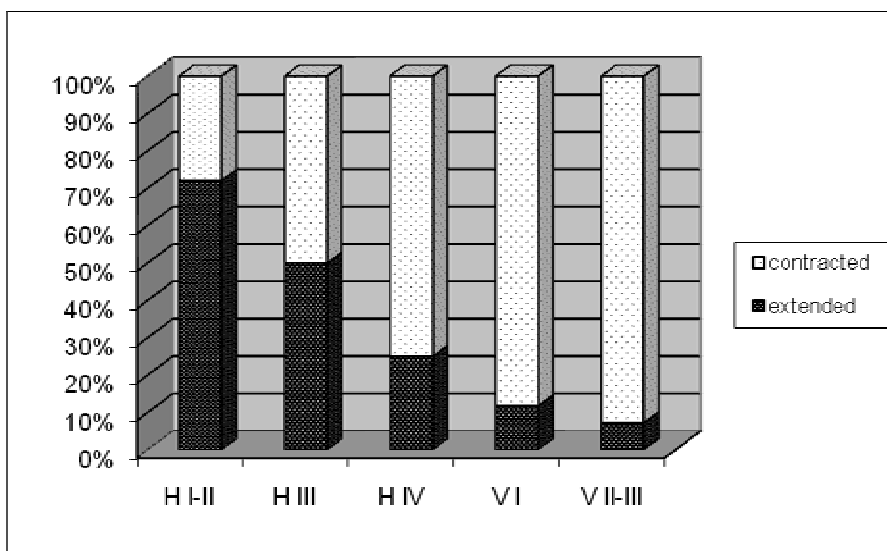
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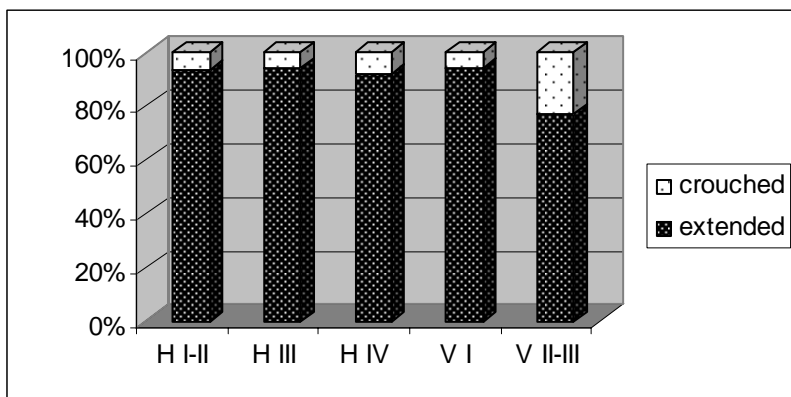
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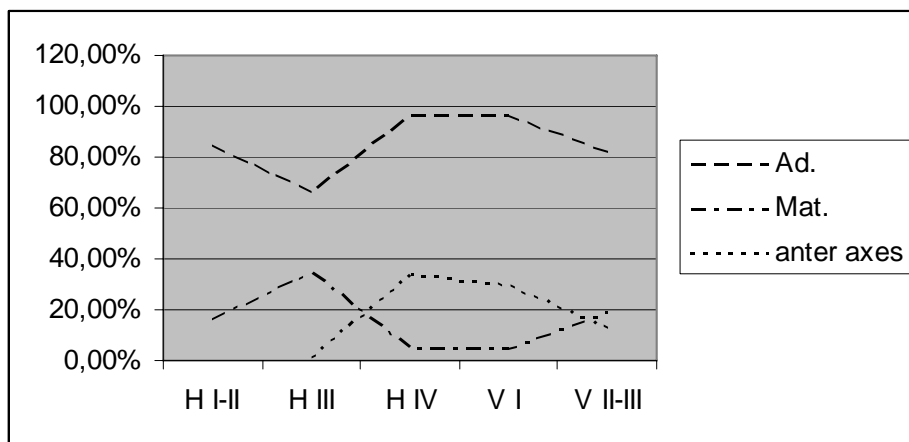
**Fig. 1:** Proportion between contracted and extended position in the Durankulak cemetery during the phases of Hamangia (H) and Varna (V) cultures.



**Fig. 2:** Proportion between contracted and extended position in the female burials in the Durankulak cemetery during the phases of Hamangia (H) and Varna (V) cultures.



**Fig. 3:** Proportion between contracted and extended position in the male burials in the Durankulak cemetery during the phases of Hamangia (H) and Varna (V) cultures.



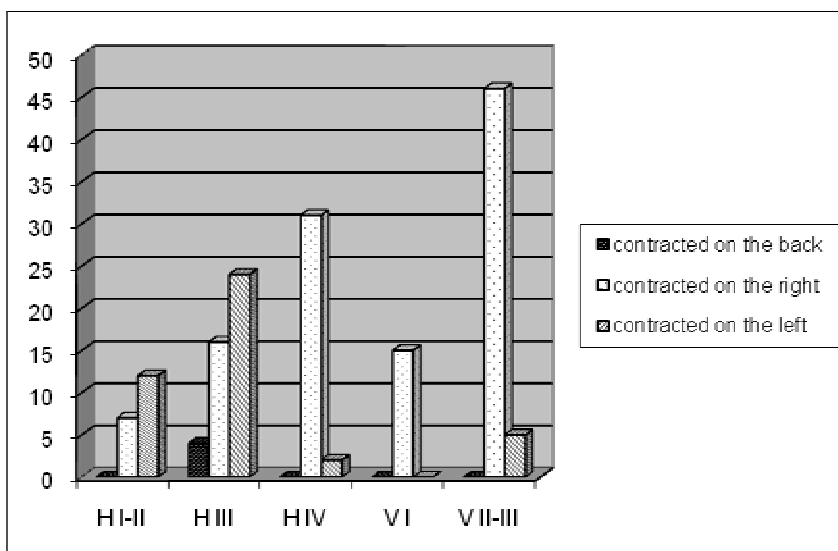
**Fig. 4:** Age-distribution of male burials in Durankulak compared with the percentage of antler battle axes in them.

	Sava	G. Delchevo	Polyanitsa	Targovishte	Ovcharovo	Radingrad
III Late Chalco- lithic II I		XVII				
		XIV-XVI			XI-XIII	
	VI-VII	V-XIII			hiatus	VI
	V	hiatus	VIII	IV	VIII-X	V
Middle Chalcolithic	IV	IV	V-VII	I-III	VII	III
	III	III			V-VI	II
Early Chalcolithic	hiatus	II	I-IV		I-IV	I
	I-II					

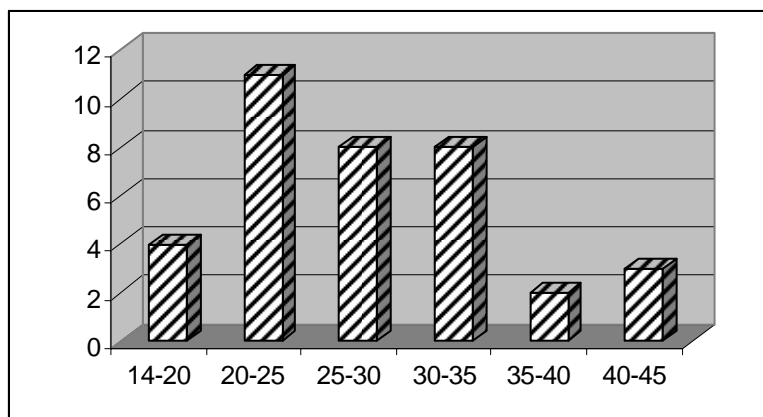
  

	- burnt building level		- partially burnt building level
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**Fig. 5:** Stratigraphic sequence of tells in Northeastern Bulgaria with distribution of burnt building levels.



**Fig. 6:** Proportion between the types of contracted position (on the right side, on the left side and on the back) in the female burials in the Durankulak cemetery during the phases of Hamangia (H) and Varna (V) cultures.



**Fig. 7:** Age-distribution of male burials in Varna I cemetery.



## UP CLOSE AND PERSONAL: AN INTIMATE APPROACH TO THE GUMELNITA FIGURINES<sup>1</sup>

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**Abstract:** In this paper I focus on the quality of the material culture to engage us on a very personal and intimate level; on the imprint of the individual actors onto the objects, as opposed to the collective work involved in the formation and use of public space, monuments and representations. By discussing the capacity of miniature anthropomorphic figurines to both enter in the intimate surrounding, and to foster intimacy, I suggest that because they were immersed in the routine of everyday life, constantly exposed to the gaze and/or touch of the inhabitants of the dwellings, it is fruitful to look at them as a choice media of social negotiation.

**Keywords:** Gumelnita, figurines, anthropomorphic.

In recent years, more and more attention is drawn to the question of whether or not, and to what extent, archaeology is capable of working at the level of the person. From reconstructing the path of human kind, and writing the history of civilizations long dead, through investigating how economy / age / gender / occupation / rank / etc. affected categories of people, the perspective has shifted, or has begun to shift, to a finer-grained inquiry into households, or even individuals (see Fowler 2004: 4-5 for a brief review).

Of course, physical anthropology has long been able to answer questions of diet, health, occupation and death; recently developed analyses of coprolites, house middens, and chemical residue analyses reconstruct recipes; and in some cases, exhaustive lists of the inventory a person has had in her/his possession or available for use can be obtained. But daily life is more than food and labor. It involves encounters with family, friends, people of the settlement and foreigners; but also with supernatural beings, memories and dreams, with custom and law; requires dealing with nature. Emotions, inspirations, constraints, conflicts of various magnitudes are inseparable part of life too. Archaeology informed by phenomenology and material culture studies promises exciting new venues for engaging with exactly those aspects of prehistoric life, previously considered inaccessible.

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<sup>1</sup> This paper was written in 2004 for a graduate course on theory in Archaeology led by prof. N. Russell at Cornell University. Many important studies on both Balkan figurines, and archaeology and materiality, have been published, or have come to my attention since, which are not reflected in this version.

K. Lesick, in a review of recent theoretical work on material culture stresses the importance of interaction between the humanity and the material forms:

*“...it is through experience with material forms that humans create knowledge, identity, and indeed reality. Material culture acts as a template to structure thoughts; it is the physical which grounds the abstract ...Rather than being a passive carrier of symbolic knowledge, the material form is active through cognitive process, and structures the nature of human experience... In this sense we are engendered by the objects around us; they pattern our experience of the world, while patterning how others experience us.*

*(Lesick 1997: 37-8)*

Although Lesick's emphasis on the material basis of human life might be met with resentment by some, in reality it is reflected in many of basic principles that guide the practice of archaeology around the world. For example, settlement layout and house plan are counted among the important criteria for identification of a culture, because they reflect its cosmogony, account for labor specialization and social stratification (Renfrew and Bahn 2004: 178-9). More recently, archaeology of landscape has made extensive use of classifications such as near and far, culture and nature, female and male, sacred and profane, and discusses how they play into our notion of space in general (Ingold 2000; Lane 2000; Richards 2000; Tringham 2000; Tringham 1991). Psychological and physical effects of space and light modification have also been used to put forward interpretations of the naturalized ideologies in megalithic tombs or cave sanctuaries. Studies on the production and decoration of “female goods” have also been used by feminist archaeologists as a key to understanding the role of women in what are traditionally perceived as male-centered societies. Revisions of pottery distribution, or of hoards and sets of grave goods are yet another example of how anthropology has enriched our understanding of the importance of material culture as a vehicle and record of social life (Gero 2000; Hendon 1997; Chapman 2000).

Unfortunately, this level of engagement with the materiality or phenomenology hasn't yet gained momentum in figurine studies. Many authors still occupy themselves with issues of why are figurines predominantly female; of whether or not they were **representations** of supernatural beings, what indications do they give us for the organization of the cult; what power relations regulated their production, etc. (Kokkinidou, D. and M. Nikolaidou, 1997: 108; Talalay, 1993: 37-44). Yet figurines are more than anthropomorphic representations. They are also part of the prehistoric households: found in the dwellings, or together with household garbage. Only rarely do we come across circumstances supporting special, set apart use (see Kokkinidou, D. and M. Nikolaidou, 1997: 90-91 for a list of typical loci of discovery of the Aegean figurines; for the Balkan Peninsula, see Todorova, H. 1986, 2003; Tasic, N.N. and N. Tasic, 2003). Considered within the framework of materiality, the participation of figurines in the household expands their significance for the interpretation of archaeological cultures.

In this paper I focus on the quality of the material culture to engage us on a very personal and intimate level; on the imprint of the individual actors onto the objects, as opposed to the collective work involved in the formation and use of public space, monuments and representations. This is intended as a tool for increasing the visibility of the micro-level, the level of the individual. Applied to the analysis of the figurines as products of the intimate relations between people and between people and the material and the idealistic world, it increases our ability to interpret the prehistoric Gumelnita societies.

Chalcolithic figurines of the Balkan Karanovo VI civilization, I believe, give archaeology a great opportunity to access individuals of the past. It has more than once been suggested, that the experiences, and the anxieties of the prehistoric people influenced Neo/Chalcolithic artists (Chapman 1991, Tringham 1991, Todorova, 1986; Kokkinidou, D. and M. Nikolaidou 1997: 93). Supporters of this widely accepted view still, though, restrict themselves to the implications for the analyses of wider social phenomena, neglecting importance of figurines into the lives of the individuals as self-conscious agents.

For example, researchers have noted an apparent differentiation of Chalcolithic human representations, with the majority of the figurines lacking or having very summary facial features, while, on the other hand, a good number of expressive, “realistic portraits”, busts or heads, have also come to light. Whatever their conclusions,<sup>2</sup> archaeologists seem to agree on one – that “persons” “deserved” a “special attention” (Kokkinidou, D. and M. Nikolaidou 1997: 97; Todorova, 1986; Gimbutas 1982; Raduncheva 1976), i.e., that the “portraits” are an acknowledgement of the power/status of an individual by the society, commissioned and sanctioned by the society. Unfortunately, I am not familiar with a study that supplements grand-analyses of the social role of the “portraits” v/s the “abstractions” with observations on the loci of their finding and the associated artifact assemblage, or on the points of similarity or divergence between the respective archaeological complexes. The research focus is still on the capacity of the society to organize itself in a more-hierarchical manner, than on the role of the individuals that pushed the society on that path, or on struggle between the conflicting ideologies and/or individuals.

Arguments on their socially ascribed function aside, certain features make figurines excellent informants about individual attitudes and decisions. Firstly, because they are fairly common throughout a large area and a long span of time, one can safely assume they were traditional items. Also, their number allows for testing of the interpretations proposed. Secondly, according to filed reports, they are usually found in houses; with house refuse in midden piles or trash pits; or, in “special” buildings or sites. Thus a variety of contexts of the interface between individual and society are open to investigation. Thirdly, they also come in a variety of materials, shapes and sizes, which in itself presupposes differential access to materials, differential statements, differential association of meanings,

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<sup>2</sup> And that would usually be concerned with an emerging or existing social stratification and complexity.

and options for different use. And last (but not least), they are shaped after the human body – an object utterly familiar, but also constantly re-made by the interaction between the self and the social (Thomas 1991; Yates 1993).

One generally neglected, or even downplayed aspect of the figurines makes them especially attractive for a student of materiality. I address here to their ubiquity in the archaeological record, and by extension, the certainty that the figurines have been part of the immediate surroundings for prehistoric people. This, in combination with the scale in which they are rendered, makes them part of the intimate world.

For the purposes of this paper, the following meanings of intimacy will be important:

1. Intimacy is a **private**, very **personal relation**;
2. To be intimate one has to be **involved** in the relationship.
3. One feels **comfortable** in intimate spaces/relations.
4. Often it is synonymous with **friendship (unthreatening, safe, one you can expect support from)**.
5. Intimate relations also involve **trust**, total **transparency**, and **lack of secrets**.
6. Intimacy also stands for possession of **deep**, very **detailed knowledge**, **which is result of experience**, or for **familiarity**;
7. Intimate relationships are first hand, **unmediated**. Require **common language** and **willingness for understanding**.
8. In an intimate relation, **what one means need not explicitly be put into words**.
9. The spatial aspect of intimate relations is that it draws the involved in a very **close proximity**.
10. Of course, intimacy is also a euphemism for **sex**.

How are figurines intimate? First of all, according to excavation logs, the figurines are most commonly found in the main room of the houses, near the oven/fireplace, and near the food storage and processing vessels. No special compartments or features are mentioned, that could have held them. This is valid for excavations of both orderly emptied and of fired houses (Raduncheva 1976; Todorova 1986; Macanova 1992; T. Kanceva 1992). Thus, figurines should have been **in plain view** on a daily basis for anyone allowed in the house, and near the fire. Since they haven't been set apart from the rest of the household equipment, one should have been able to, or even forced **to touch** them while rearranging the working space for his/her routine tasks. Thus, on a daily basis, **personal contact** (through gaze or touch) is granted. Because of the size of the figurines, most probably it was just a single person handling them at any given time; hence the **private** aspect of the relation is also granted.

From habitation levels, destroyed by a single event/accident, usually every building yields a statuette or more. Thus, anthropomorphic representations were considered part of every household's kit, and since conscious effort is necessary to

add those to the kit, personal **involvement** with whatever the figurines used to stand for is also checked.

They are not set apart, but are positioned amongst the pottery, which suggests that contact with them was not polluting or dangerous, that one felt **comfortably** in their presence. Whether or not those enhanced good fortune/fertility, etc., it is certain they were **safe** to be with.

Part of the household, so to say of its “heart”, and accessible, the **knowledge** (explicitly thought, or acquired by observation and inference) of the symbolism involved and the rules for proper handling should have been available to anyone interested / present. Messages, carried by objects so immersed in the house as we find figurines to have been, are usually **read intuitively**, and often uncritically. They are yet another medium available for **tacit communication** between those literate in their language, and for expressing positions.

Sacred objects or not, figurines have been entirely embraced by the everyday routine. If ritual, or magic, paraphernalia, the context of their finding suggests that the rites in which they were involved were more likely to be performed mechanically than consciously set apart from “profane” life. In fact, no real line can be drawn between sacred and profane with regard to the anthropomorphic figurines. This goes in line with ethnographic reports of figurines used as sacred objects in specific rituals, but as children’s toys outside the ritual (after Talalay 1993: 40-44).

Additional support for this argument can be drawn from observations on the relative abundance of figurine finds in levels deposited as a result of a violent accident, as opposed to the numbers in settlements abandoned in more orderly fashion. One would expect that should a threat occur, one would save the most valued and sacred things first, and it seems that anthropomorphic figurines did not fall into either of these categories. Human victims buried by the debris are extremely rare (Todorova, 2003), which means that either all the fires have occurred in an empty house (accident, or planned event), or that people have had a chance to escape and, probably take few valuables with them. Figurines, especially the small ones, are left behind. In the orderly evacuated sites, figurines, along with every other type of household belongings are a scarce find. Does this mean that those statuettes “belonged” with the food, i.e. with the expendable, and were not central for the integrity of the household?

Coming back to our list of figurine intimate nature: people, using the figurines, were **bound** together not only by their shared knowledge of what the objects meant, but also **physically**. They were grouped under the same roof, for starters. On the other hand, if more than one person were to use them simultaneously, due to the size, they would have been forced to come in close proximity, giving a visible sign of their unity to the world. If use were to be sequential, with the figurines being handed down a line, a possibility for creating a special bond between the handing and the handed to person emerges, comparable to the one born in exchange of tokens or gifts.

And finally, those making, and those using the figurines, through this had an immediate everyday encounter with the “intimate parts” of the human body. To the modern mind, there is a kind of automatic connection between ancient, primitive, and nude. Modern people of simpler societies, by coincidence, seem to be spending their time half-naked, exposing most of their bodies to the sun, the air, and the gaze of other people (excluding the Eskimo, of course). Classical Greek art abounds in examples of nude warriors, workers, feasting parties, etc. Yet the temperate zone is no place for prolonged nudity, and therefore its preponderance in Chalcolithic anthropomorphic sculpture needs to be explained. To be more precise, the majority of the figurines are not exactly nude. Many of them bear signs of shoes, cloths, and jewelry. But while curves of the body didn’t seem to cause much difficulties to the producers of the figurines, breasts are almost always added to the body, thus drawing our attention to them not with their size, but because of the technicalities. Accentuation of the penis, the breasts, the hips and the pubic triangle, or the so-called “iconography of sexuality”(Kokkinidou, D. and M. Nikolaidou 1997:93) has been widely interpreted as “an attempt of Neolithic people to understand and interfere symbolically in the phenomenon of fertility” (ibid.), or as an attempt to gain control over the female (but note – this aspect of ‘control over’ is never considered in connection with the itiphallic imagery) sexuality in terms of reproductive power or as a means of sexual gratification, or as the use of the figurines as educational materials in initiation rites. What strikes me as peculiar in the Chalcolithic treatment of human body, and especially with the female body, is that there is an inversion of “visibility”. Heads, hands, and legs are usually only schematically marked. Belly buttons, pubic triangle with the sexual organs, breasts, the small pits at the lower back, the knees and ankles are the areas that attracted most attention. It seems as if through figurines the bodily parts (not restricted to parts engaged in procreation only) usually covered by climate-appropriate clothing have been exposed. If figurines were revealing what’s hidden, they shared with those looking at them a secret. I am not interested whether those parts were taboo or not, whether they aroused desire or not, for the mere fact that those were hidden satisfies my argument. This **shared secret** is another tie that binds humans to their figurines and all humans using the figurines too. Although this aspect of intimacy can further be explored, for the purpose of this paper I shall close this question and concentrate on the implications of the so established relation of intimacy between Chalcolithic people and figurines.

As I’ve already pointed out in the beginning, our immediate environment, the objects that constantly accompany us in life, are just as important for conveying social values as are the structured landscape, architecture and monuments. But they have the added bonus of being much more easily manipulated by individual actors. They provide means for expressing unorthodox aspirations and preferences. I have shown how figurines fit into the definition of being intimate to the Karanovo VI people. I have also pointed out the various kinds of connections figurines, by their quality of intimate objects alone, become mark of. Thus I believe, I’ve added to

the field of figurine studies, making them applicable for wider set of inquiries into the past lifeways.

Apart from opening new horizons, this line of investigation doesn't conflict with the approaches taken so far, nor does it preclude identification of figurines as magical / religious paraphernalia. It only increases the set of spheres they mediate between. Ritual, according to Victor Turner, is a practice, in which social norms become reinforced through their affirmation in a repeated collective action in a setting that separates them from the competing regulations and circumstances that may prove them obsolete (Turner 1967). Praxis, Bourdieu says, in this case the practicing of rituals, on the other hand, is the locus of change, and through their mere participation or abstinence from participation, people come to reject, rework, or reconfirm the social norm under question (Bourdieu, 1990). Hence, if bound to ritual, figurines would be at the apex of both affirmation of cultural values and of agency and change. Immersed in the routine of everyday life, constantly exposed to the gaze of the inhabitants of the house, it is fruitful to look at them as a choice media of social negotiation.

In addition, understanding figurines as products of social relations and tools for their change, can affect interpretations of the disappearance of the anthropomorphic figurines from the central Balkans in the Early Bronze age as a crucial argument in support of the thesis that newcomers with new beliefs and practices took over the land. Apart from looking for external source of change, we can once again evaluate the input of internal events.

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## QUELQUES CONSIDÉRATIONS SUR DES PUIITS RITUELS NEO-ÉNÉOLITHIQUES

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**Abstract:** Ne-am îndreptat atenția asupra unei mici secțiuni din bogata categorie a bothros-urilor și anume gropile-fântâni sau puțurile, din perioada neo-eneolitică. Pornind de la descoperirile din Banat, ce datează dintr-o perioadă anterioară culturii Tiszapolgar, am prezentat o parte a unor astfel de obiective, de la noi și din Ungaria, și am încercat să interpretăm, pe baza simbolisticii din literatura de specialitate, latura lor sacră. Au fost analizate astfel de gropi descoperite în așezările de la: Parța (3 obiective), Cuptoare-Sfogea, Sarvas, Füzeszabony, Poiana în Pisc, Trusești, Hăbășești. Din cele nouă obiective amintite aici, două sunt plasate în centrul așezărilor - Szarvas și Füzeszabony, patru în interior - Parța obiectivul 1 și 2, Trusești, Hăbășești și trei la marginea așezărilor - Parța, obiectivul 3, Cuptoare - Sfogea, Cașolț-Poiana în Pisc. Cu excepția obiectivului 2 de la Parța și a puțului de la Hăbășești, considerate de autorii cercetărilor ca fântâni, despre toate celelalte s-a afirmat că au avut un rol în practicarea anumitor ritualuri. Pornind de la analiza dispunerii în cadrul sitului și de la conținutul lor, se discută asupra simbolismului unor elemente specifice celor doi factori luați în discuție: centru, un anume tip de fortificații, cifra 5, galbenul și negrul, lutul, țapul și iepurele, cifra 2, amfora, triunghiul, toporul. Interpretarea caracterului sacru al acestor descoperiri arheologice se bazează strict pe simbolistica consacrată de literatura de specialitate. Este foarte greu să dovedim că întreaga gamă a acestor simboluri a fost percepută ca atare de populațiile preistorice. Cert este că practicile lor se legau de pământ, cer și vegetație, apă și foc, de centru, de naștere, moarte, regenerare și fertilitate, de zeia mamă și acolitul ei masculin.

**Keywords:** néo-énéolithiques, puits, fosses-fontaines, rituels

La vie quotidienne des établissements préhistoriques présuppose une composante spirituelle aussi, cachée derrière les objets ou les constructions, dont le langage est difficile à déchiffrer et demande beaucoup d'attention pour l'interpréter.

Dans ce qui suit nous avons dirigé notre attention vers une petite section de la riche catégorie des « bothros » - les fosses-fontaines ou les puits de la période néo-énéolithique. En partant des découvertes de Banat qui datent d'une période antérieure à la culture Tiszapolgar, nous avons présenté une partie de tels objectifs situés en Roumanie et en Hongrie, essayant d'interpréter, conformément à la symbolique de la littérature de spécialité, le côté sacré de ces objectifs.

On a présenté de telles fosses découvertes dans les établissements de Parța, Cuptoare-Sfogea, Sarvas, Fuzesabony, Poiana în Pisc, Trusești, Hăbășești.

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### **Parța** (département de Timiș)

Dans l'établissement néolithique de Parța quelques puits ont été étudiés.

Le premier, (C.M. Lazarovici-Gh. Lazarovici 2006: 359; Gh. Lazarovici et alii 2001: 286), découvert dans la zone des sanctuaires 1 et 2 (Fig. 1: 1-3), a été creusé pendant la phase II c de la culture Banat et a été fonctionnel dans une époque antérieure à la culture Tiszapolgár. A cette époque, le sanctuaire 2 avait été démoli, et la fosse du puits en a coupé les cassettes B et C, a détruit la table-autel B et quelques uns des vaisseaux qui s'y trouvaient, en entraînant ceux-ci à l'intérieur de la fosse. Placé au niveau 5 de l'établissement (fosse 9), approximativement à 10 centimètres au-dessus de ces détruits, il a un diamètre de 0,90 - 1,10 m, un peu plus large dans sa partie supérieure (1,50x1,60 cm), le fond creusé et une profondeur qui varie entre 3,8 - 4 m. A cette époque, était en usage l'autel du sud, situé tout près (Gh. Lazarovici et alii 2001: 242), bâti après la destruction de l'autre.

En ce qui concerne sa fonctionnalité, l'auteur de la découverte considère qu'elle est assez difficile à établir. Cela aurait pu être une fontaine, mais elle n'est pas descendue jusqu'au niveau des sables. La fosse a été remplie assez rapidement (dans le matériel de remplissage on a trouvé des fragments céramiques) et le processus de tassage a continué pendant la culture Tiszapolgár, ce qui présuppose un recouvrement volontier.

En marge de l'habitation 117, non loin des complexes P. 40- 43, on a identifié un autre puits, probablement contemporain de celui-ci (Fig. 2: 1-2). D'une largeur de 1,20 m dans sa partie supérieure, il devient plus étroit vers la base (0,70-0,80 m), située à une profondeur de 1,80 m. En ce qui concerne sa fonctionnalité, Gh. Lazarovici considère qu'il a servi au ramassage de l'eau de pluie, qui était employée après purification. A l'intérieur de celui-ci on a trouvé très peu de matériaux archéologiques (C.M. Lazarovici-Gh. Lazarovici, 2006: 360; Gh. Lazarovici et alii 2001: 287).

Le troisième (Fig. 3: 1-2) a été trouvé sur l'autre rive de la rivière Timiș, en amont de la station, près du coude de la rivière, à l'endroit nommé « La Vaci » (Saitoș), (C.M. Lazarovici-Gh. Lazarovici 2006: 359; Gh. Lazarovici et alii 2001: 286-287; Gh. Lazarovici 1991: 13, 23). D'une largeur d'un mètre et une profondeur de 2,40 m, il a été rempli en superposant plusieurs couches: noir, cendres et charbons, cendres, noir-jaunâtre, des raies noires, séparées par une lentille d'argile des autres couches brun-jaunâtre et noires. Cette succession de couches, d'environ 1 mètre d'épaisseur, a déterminé sa considération comme un puits rituel, lié à la purification par le feu (procédé rencontré dans l'autel C du sanctuaire I).

### **Cuptoare-„Sfogea”** (département de Caraș-Severin)

Découvert pendant l'été de 1975 par les chercheurs de trésors, le puits énéolithique (Fig. 3: 3) situé près du village Cuptoare se trouve à la base de la pente sud de la colline Sfogea. A cet endroit on a étudié un établissement énéolithique appartenant à la culture Sălcuța (les phases II b-c, III). En forme de quadrilatère dans sa partie supérieure (1,40 x 1,50m), il devient circulaire et plus

étroit en profondeur (1,10 x 1m). Entre 0,80 et 1,30 il y a quelques anneaux qui en réduisent le diamètre, et ensuite il descend jusqu'à la profondeur de 10,5 m où il est large de 0,80 m. Il est plus profond de 1,5 m que le niveau actuel de la nappe phréatique. Sur le fond de celui-ci, dans une petite fosse, on avait déposé une amphore peinte, et dans la couche qui la recouvre on a découvert deux outils en os, deux outils en silex et des fragments de quelques autres vaisseaux. Dans sa partie inférieure, vers le fond, on a trouvé une grande quantité de cendres et de charbon, suivie par des couches contenant du bois et du charbon, du charbon et des couches qui contiennent du torchis, du charbon et des cendres. Sa destruction a été provoquée par un puissant incendie, lié probablement aux destructions de l'établissement. Après ce moment, il a été bouché assez vite, probablement intentionnellement (Gh. Lazarovici 1979: 174, 194; Gh. Lazarovici-I. Uzum 1977: 434; A. Radu 2002: 34-35).

### **Szarvas (Hongrie)**

L'établissement de Szarvas (J. Makkay 1980/81), situé sur un bras séché de la rivière Criș, a été cartographié selon des photos aériennes. Il est de forme circulaire (Fig. 4: 1-2), entouré d'une douve et de mur de terre, d'un diamètre maximum d'environ 95 m sur la direction nord-sud et approximativement 90 m en direction est-ouest. Le centre en est formé d'une butte entourée d'une douve et de mur de terre. Il appartient, ainsi que le démontre le matériel céramique, à la culture Bodrogkeresztúr. On n'a pas trouvé de traces qui démontrent l'existence des bâtiments ou des âtres. On a découvert des pièces d'argile plus ou moins grandes.

Le puits s'est dessiné d'abord comme une tâche rectangulaire, de couleur foncée, aux coins arrondis (1,35 x 1,45m) et, en creusant on est arrivé à une profondeur maximum de 2,65 relativement au sol actuel. Depuis la profondeur de 1m jusqu'à 2,1m la fosse devient plus étroite et, vers le fond, plus inclinée. Jusqu'à 1m le remplissage est formé d'une couche très dense, dure et noire, après laquelle s'ensuit une zone d'une consistance différente. Depuis 2,1m jusqu'au fond de la fosse la terre présente une consistance semblable à celle de la partie supérieure, étant quand même humide dans sa majeure partie. Dans la partie centrale alternent 4 couches jaunes avec 3 couches noires. Celles jaunes, formées d'argile émietlée provenant du sol initial, sans concrétions calcaires, ont été bien piétinées. Les couches centrales étaient plus étroites que celles noires situées dans les parties supérieure et inférieure. Ainsi, dans la fosse il y avait 5 couches noires et 4 jaunes qui alternaient de telle manière que la couche inférieure et celle supérieure, toutes les deux épaisses, étaient noires.

Dans les couches on a trouvé dispersés des fragments de la culture Bodrogkeresztúr à la surface complètement usée, 2 tessons ornements et de petits fragments de pierre. On n'a pas observé de restes d'os ou de traces de matières organiques.

Il est à remarquer que son orientation correspond exactement au nord magnétique comme s'il avait été emplacé suivant des mesurations exactes, spécialisées.

La fosse de Szazvas pourrait appartenir à un sanctuaire où elle pourrait être une fosse rituelle avec cinq reprises du rituel de sacrifice, séparées par les couches d'argile jaune. A l'intérieur de cet objectif il n'y a pas de traces de combustion ou de sacrifice ni sur les parois, ni dans les couches jaunes. Les pratiques rituelles pourraient être liées à l'offrande de nourriture et de boisson, au cadre de laquelle on apportait comme offrande des produits végétaux et animaux. L'auteur de la recherche avance aussi l'idée que le complexe tout entier avec tranchée et repli de terrain fortifié pourrait avoir été une zone sacrée en plein air.

### **Füzesabony (Ungaria)**

L'établissement de Füzesabony (Á. Kállay 1990, Á. Kállay 1988) est placé à la rencontre de la zone de la plaine avec celle des collines. Deux fossés parallèles (Fig. 5: 1-2), larges de 0,30 - 40 cm, situés à 2 m l'un de l'autre, renferment une surface circulaire au centre de laquelle il y a une fosse centrale. Le fossé intérieur est plus étroit et plus profond que celui extérieur, tous les deux en ont le fond plat. Dans la zone est, à l'intérieur de ceux-ci, on a trouvé des trous de pieux qu'on ne retrouve pas dans la zone sud ou nord. Dans la zone sud on distingue clairement le petit fossé intérieur, qui se plie vers celui extérieur, en marquant ainsi probablement une entrée.

À 2,5 – 3 m du fossé intérieur à l'est, et partiellement au nord, il y a les fosses de quelques pilliers en pieux disposées sous la forme d'un arc. Autour de la fosse centrale, à une certaine distance, on a identifié d'autres fosses placées d'une manière aléatoire. La fosse centrale, de forme presque circulaire (3x3,5 m), profonde de 4,8m, a gardé sa forme cylindrique jusqu'à la profondeur de 2,2m, après quoi elle devient légèrement bombée. Sa matière de remplissage, dense et compacte, dans la composition de laquelle il n'y a pas de terre, consiste de morceaux de torchis, charbon, cendres, fragments de vaisseaux (la majeure partie présentent des traces de combustion secondaire). Elle reste ainsi jusqu'à la profondeur de 3,5m, où commence la nappe phréatique, ce qui rend impossible l'observation d'une stratigraphie. Au fond, la manière spécifique dans laquelle cette fosse a été recouverte ne nous permet pas de saisir la superposition des couches. Sous la nappe d'eau, jusqu'à 4,2-4,4m, on a trouvé plusieurs squelettes d'animaux: le squelette complet d'un bouc aux os rangés anatomiquement, les os d'un agneau, d'un porc, d'un lièvre, d'un rongeur (probablement un écureuil), d'un chevreuil et quelques vaisseaux presque entiers (Á. Kállay 1990, Á. Kállay 1988, V. István 1988).

Les fragments céramiques découverts ont permis l'intégration de cet objectif dans la culture Bodroghkeresztúr.

### **Cașolț-Poiana în Pisc (département de Sibiu)**

Un puits moins profond, de caractère rituel évident, a été étudié dans l'établissement néolithique de Poiana în Pisc (M. Macrea 1959: 426-429; Gh. Lazarovici 1991 : 13). A la périphérie nord-ouest de l'établissement, dans la surface B, au but de la section V, à l'extérieur des habitations, on a trouvé le fond

d'une fosse (Fig. 6: 1-2) située à la profondeur de 1,30m relativement à la surface actuelle du sol. Elle a coupé de 0,20 -0,30 cm le sol vif. A l'intérieur, la base et les parois de la fosse ( de 1m de diamètre) ne présentent pas de traces de combustion mais, on y a trouvé une couche épaisse d'environ 0,15 cm, formée de charbon, os calcinés émiettés et de petits fragments de torchis et de céramique. Sur ceux-ci on avait déposé des fragments céramiques plus grands appartenant à plusieurs vaisseaux (on a complété un bol tronconique et partiellement un couvercle), cassés rituellement. Au-dessus de ceux-ci il y a quatre vaisseaux entiers, disposés en cercle, près desquels on a découvert également un fragment appartenant à un âtre, une imitation en argile d'une hache en pierre douée d'un trou central pour attacher le manche et deux plaques de grès. A l'intérieur des vaisseaux on avait déposé des semences de céréales, et dans l'un d'eux, quelques petits morceaux d'os calcinés aussi. La fosse garde les restes d'un sacrifice rituel et les offrandes offertes à la divinité. Le sacrifice rituel (des animaux et des produits) qui avait eu lieu quelque part dans les environs sur une âtre, avait été accompagné par un banquet rituel. Une partie des objets employés à cette occasion avaient été placés dans la fosse. L'inventaire préservé montre que la divinité pour laquelle le sacrifice avait été réalisé était liée au culte du feu, de l'âtre et de la fertilité.

### **Trusești** (département de Botoșani)

Dans l'établissement appartenant à la culture Cucuteni (phase A) de Trusești on a desseveli deux fosses-fontaines (Fig. 7: 1-3), de forme cylindrique et de grandes dimensions (les fosses 168 et 181 a).

Découverte au centre de l'habitation LXXXVI, la fosse 168 (M. Petrescu-Dâmbovița et alii 1999: 211), presque circulaire dans sa partie supérieure (1,20x1,20 m), présente une profondeur de 6,20 m relativement à la surface actuelle du sol. Jusqu'à la profondeur de 5m elle a présenté un profil cylindrique, après quoi elle s'est élargie jusqu'à 2,5m et ensuite elle est devenue plus étroite vers la base. La terre de remplissage, brun-jaunâtre, alterne avec des couches massives de torchis, charbon, cendres et peu de fragments céramiques peints.

L'autre fosse (181 a) (M. Petrescu-Dâmbovița et alii 1999: 212) a été identifiée partiellement sous le côté nord-ouest de l'habitation XCIV. Ayant la partie supérieure ovale (1,90x1,60 m), elle a été creusée jusqu'à la profondeur de 4,60m relativement à la surface actuelle du sol. La matière de remplissage, formée de couches de cendres, charbon, diverses matières brûlées et terre jaune-brun, déposées alternativement, a contenu quelques fragments céramiques ornementés et peints.

A un moment donné, les deux puits ont été désactivés et en-dessus d'eux on a construit les deux habitations. A la suite d'une analyse du rôle détenu par ces deux fosses dans l'établissement et des diverses modalités dans lesquelles elles auraient pu être exploitées, les auteurs de la recherche ont considéré que leur creusage aurait été fait pour la pratique des rituels *ad hoc*, survenus à la suite de certains événements inhabituels. Ils n'ont exclus ni l'hypothèse conformément à laquelle

ces fosses, ne pouvant être transformées en fontaines ou ne collectant suffisamment d'eau, avaient été abandonnées et bouchées (Mircea Petrescu-Dâmbovița et alii 1999: 219, 221).

### **Hăbășești (département de Iași)**

Une situation semblable offre la fosse de forme conique, à la pointe arrondie (numéro 80) de Hăbășești (Vl. Dumitrescu și colab. 1954: 168; M. Petrescu-Dâmbovița et alii 1999: 221) dont la profondeur atteignait 6,10 m relativement à la surface actuelle du sol. Puisque la terre de remplissage de la fosse ne contenait aucuns restes ménagers, l'auteur de la recherche est arrivé à la conclusion que, ne remplissant pas le rôle pour lequel il avait été creusé, le puits a été abandonné.

Nous avons présenté une partie des fosses-fontaines ou puits découverts au sud-est de l'Europe dont l'existence est signalée depuis le néolithique ancien et continue jusqu'au moyen âge.

Une analyse des pratiques rituelles qui ressortent de la présentation de ces objectifs nous a permis de faire quelques considérations.

Des neuf objectifs mentionés ici, deux sont emplacements au centre des établissements - Szarvas et Füzesabony, quatre à l'intérieur – Parța, les objectifs 1 et 2, Trusești, Hăbășești et trois à la périphérie des établissements – Parța, l'objectif 3, Cuptoare – Sfogea, Cașolț-Poiana în Pisc. A l'exception de l'objectif 2 de Parța et du puits de Hăbășești, considérés par les auteurs des recherches comme des fontaines, on a affirmé à propos de tous les autres qu'ils avaient eu un rôle dans la pratique de certains rituels.

Les deux puits emplacements au centre des établissements Szarvas et Füzesabony sont uniques par le mode d'organisation architecturale de l'espace tout entier qui, au cas des deux, est une butte, une zone plus haute, entourée d'une tranchée et d'un repli de terrain fortifié. Le centre a été considéré depuis toujours comme sacré. Il représente avant tout l'origine, le point de départ de toutes choses, il est le point principal, sans forme et dimensions, donc indivisible et, en conséquence, la seule représentation de l'Unité primordiale (R. Guénon 1977: 65). En créant un parallèle entre la grotte et la montagne d'une part, le puits et la colline ou butte d'autre part, on peut transférer les symboles spirituels qui leurs correspondent - tous les deux étant considérés comme des symboles du centre (J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbrant 1993, I: 281). Le schéma de la montagne, de la pyramide, de la colline est un triangle dont la pointe se dirige vers le haut; par contre, celui de la grotte, du puits, est un triangle dont la pointe est dirigée vers le bas. Ce triangle inversé est le schéma du cœur et de la coupe. Il se rapporte au principe passif ou féminin de la manifestation universelle, pendant que le triangle rectangle, à la pointe dirigée vers le haut, se rapporte au principe actif ou masculin (R. Guénon 1977: 211).

Comparé aux deux découvertes présentées plus haut dans lesquelles le puits, comme symbole du ciel, marque le centre de la butte, elle aussi symbole du centre, la situation de la colline Sfogea semble un peu changée. Ici le puits ne se trouve plus au centre, mais à l'extérieur de la colline, à sa base. Les deux centres ne se superposent pas mais le deuxième symbole représente une réflexion du premier.

À Szarvas et Füzeabony les fosses centrales ont été entourées d'une douve au premier cas et par des piliers au deuxième, les deux disposés circulairement. On ne peut pas considérer nécessairement ces douves et ces murailles comme des éléments de fortification à cause de leur mode d'exécution et de l'endroit où elles ont été emplantées. Pour Szarvas, J. Makkay même spécifie que la douve et le mur de terre ne peuvent pas être considérés comme une vraie fortification et muraille de défense mais, plutôt une clôture (J. Makkay 1980/8: 49). Plusieurs hypothèses ont été lancées: l'existence d'une construction centrale, d'une enceinte sacrée ou on a même attribué un caractère sacré à toute la zone entourée par une douve et de mur de terre (J. Makkay 1980/8: 50). Dans les circonstances données, il est assez difficile de soutenir leur rôle défensif et l'hypothèse qu'on devrait les regarder comme une séparation, par un plan circulaire, du sacré et du profane semble plus vraisemblable. L'étude de la fonctionnalité de certaines fortifications énéolithiques à travers la symbolique a été faite à l'occasion de l'analyse des établissements de Cucuteni (C. Bem 2007: 170).

Dans le puits de Szarvas on n'a pas découvert de traces qui puissent attester le sacrifice rituel, mais la succession des 5 couches noires, superposées par 4 jaunes, indique une telle activité. Probablement, le sacrifice rituel avait été effectué ailleurs (J. Makkay 1980/81: 50) et ici avaient été déposées seulement les offes de sang, de viande, de lait, de miel etc. Même l'argile jaune appliquée à un moment donné entre les couches constitue un symbole en soi, car l'argile est pure et n'absorbe pas les impuretés du milieu environnant, réalisant ainsi une séparation parfaite entre ce qui a été et ce qui est à ce moment. Dans la symbolique, le jaune est associé au noir comme opposant et complémentaire de celui-ci. Il « se sépare du noir au moment de la scission du chaos: la polarisation du non-différencié primordial se fait en jaune et noir - comme en yin et yang -, en rond et carré, en actif et passif ». (J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbrant 1993, II: 83).

La palette symbolique du numéro 5 (J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbrant 1993, I: 310) est large, celui-ci représente la somme du premier nombre pair avec le premier nombre impair (3+2) et il est aussi le milieu des premiers neuf nombres. Il est un signe de l'union, nombre du centre, de l'harmonie et de l'équilibre. Il représentera le chiffre des hiérogamies, le mariage du principe céleste (3) avec celui terrestre (2). Il est la somme 2+3 qui représente la conjonction de la Terre avec le Ciel. On pourrait aussi affirmer que le nombre des sacrifices rituels d'ici est lié au symbole du centre.

Dans le cas de fosses de Trusești aussi, le remplissement a été réalisé par des dépôts successives de couches.

Si à Szarvas le caractère sacré de l'objectif est chiffré, au cas de la fosse de Poiana în Pisc le caractère rituel est visible immédiatement, même en examinant le contenu de cette fosse. La ressemblance entre le rituel de sacrifice en ces deux cas consiste dans le fait que celui-ci n'a pas été exécuté sur place, mais ailleurs. Deux autres objectifs montrent les mêmes pratiques. L'un d'eux, ayant des dépôts semblables, a été trouvé dans le cadre du même établissement, appartenant à la culture de Petresti (I. Paul 1965: 17). Extrêmement riche en vaisselle rituelle est la

fosse  $\gamma$ , appartenant à la culture de Cucuteni AB, découverte à Traian (dép. de Bacau). Dans la fosse et dans la vaisselle on a trouvé de petits débris de briques en torchis, cendres et des ossements d'animaux (bœuf, agneau, chèvre etc.), des escargots et, plus rarement, des coquilles. Celles-ci constituent les traces d'un festin rituel, mis dans la fosse selon une certaine cérémonie (H. Dumitrescu 1954: 408).

En ce qui concerne le puit de Füzeszabony, le caractère sacré réside des enterrements rituels d'animaux.

Le bouc présente une symbolique semblable à celle du bélier, étant liée au pouvoir génératif, à la force vitale, au libido, à la fécondité. Le bélier est un animal solaire tenant du régime journalier, le bouc se situant dans un registre symbolique opposé (il est considéré souvent nocturne et lunaire) (J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbrant 1993, III: 397). Les lièvres sont des animaux lunaires. Par ce symbole lunaire ils sont en correspondance avec la Mère-Terre et par cela avec le symbole des eaux fécondantes et régénératrices, par le renouvellement incessant de la vie sous toutes ses formes. Pour cela la vie doit avoir l'expérience de la mort (J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbrant 1993, II: 140). La biche est, en général, associée au principe féminin (J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbrant 1993, I: 275), le cochon est le symbole de toutes les tendances obscures du psychisme: l'ignorance, la cupidité, gourmandise, la débauche et l'égoïsme (J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbrant 1993, III: 121). L'agneau représente le triomphe du nouveau, la victoire cyclique de la vie sur la mort (J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbrant 1993, II: 299).

De tous ces animaux, le bouc et le lièvre représentent des attributs rituels sûrs.

En ce qui concerne le puit n° 1 de Parta, nous sommes inclinés à croire que l'emplacement dans le périmètre du 2<sup>e</sup> sanctuaire a été intentionnée car, il n'était pas passé une si longue période de temps depuis sa désaffectation pour qu'on oublie la place d'une demeure de culte. D'autant plus que la tradition populaire ne laisse pas au hasard de telles informations, même quand il s'agit de longues périodes temporelles. Il est possible que son fossoyage soit déterminé par des pratiques de purification et de régénération, liées peut-être à des circonstances qui ont eu pour conséquence la destruction du sanctuaire.

Le puit n° 3 de Parța, celui de Cuptoare-Sfogeia et la fosse de Poiana in Pisc se trouvent aux alentours des établissements. Celui de Parta connaît une superposition de couches d'une couleur sombre, séparées par une lentille en glaise, situation semblable avec Szarvas, seulement qu'ici le nombre des couches noires est limité à deux. Le chiffre 2 (J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbrant 1993, I: 452), symbole de l'opposition, du conflit, est celui de toutes les ambivalences et dédoublements, la première et la plus radicale des divisions, celui d'où ressortent toutes les autres. Il signifie le principe féminin de la mère. Par son ambivalence il peut être soit le germe d'une évolution créatrice, soit d'une involution désastreuse.

Le symbolisme du chiffre 2 peut être mis en évidence même dans le cas de l'inventaire trouvé dans le puit de Cuptoare. Ici, à côté d'un vaisseau, il y a deux outils en silex et deux en os. A Cuptoare on a trouvé l'inventaire le plus complet. Le vaisseau peint (Fig.7: 4), les outils en silex et en corne constituent des objets

utilisés pendant le rituel et aussi des symboles sacrés. Sur le fond noir, les triangles ayant la pointe en bas sont des reflets du centre et aussi du principe féminin, les triangles avec la pointe en haut représentant le principe masculin. Ceux-ci abritent des spirales (J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbrant 1993, III: 250) qui expriment l'apparition du mouvement circulaire qui jaillit du point d'origine. La spirale est liée au symbolisme cosmique de la lune, au symbolisme érotique de la valve, au symbolisme aquatique de la coquille et à celui de la fertilité. Celle-ci représente les rythmes de la vie, le caractère cyclique de l'évolution.

A Poiana în Pisc, la présence de la hache en glaise (Fig. 7 : 5), à côté des vaisseaux où on a déposé des offrandes de graines, renforce le caractère symbolique de celles-ci. La hache est associée avec l'éclair et, par extrapolation, avec la pluie, fait qui nous mène vers les symboles de la fertilité. La hache double est simultanément détruisante et protectrice à la fois, son symbole étant liée au dualisme vie - mort, au dualisme des énergies contraires (J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbrant 1993, III, p.218, 219).

Tout ce qui a été présenté dans ce matériel a eu pour but le relevage du caractère sacré de quelques découvertes archéologiques, par l'intermède de la symbolique acceptée dans la littérature de spécialité. C'est extrêmement difficile à prouver le fait que toute cette gamme de symboles a été utilisé par les populations préhistoriques. Mais, c'est sûr que leurs pratiques ont été liées à la terre, au ciel, à la végétation, à l'eau et au feu, au centre, à la naissance, à la mort, à la régénération et à la fertilité, à la mère déesse et à son acolyte masculin.

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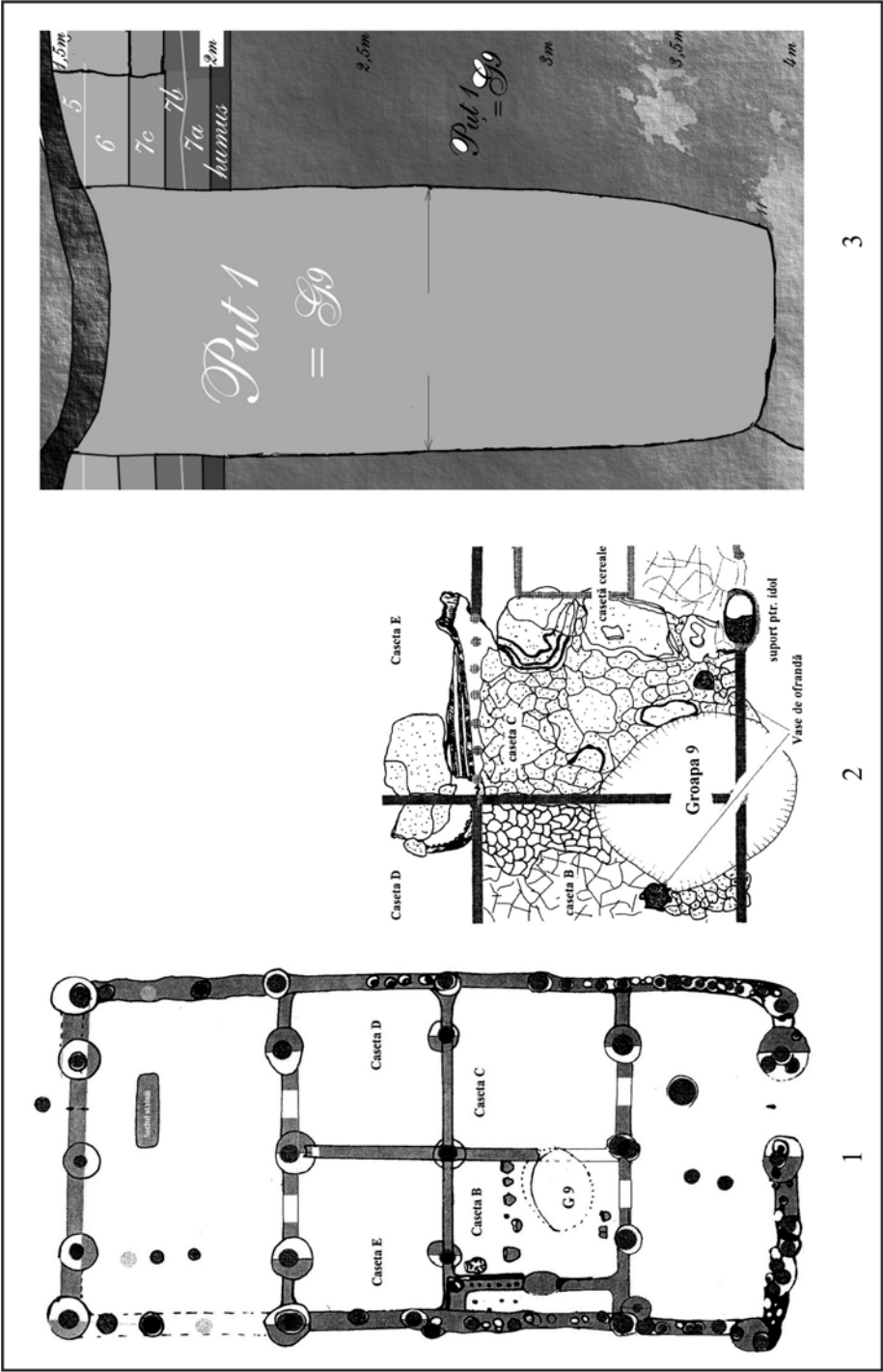


Fig. 1: 1-3 Parța Le puit n° 1 (apre C.M. Lazarovici-Gh. Lazarovici 2006, Gh. Lazarovici et ali 2001).

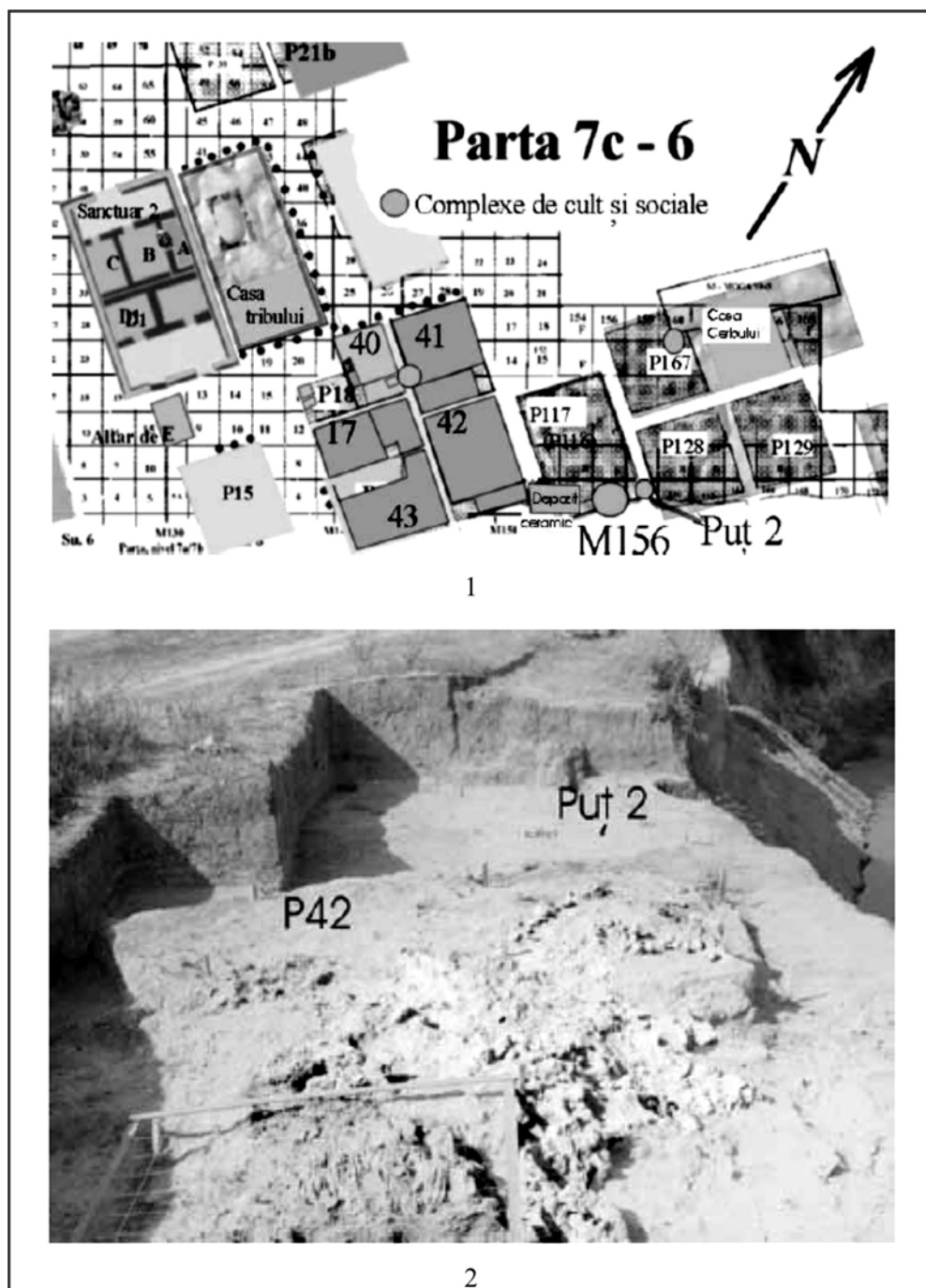
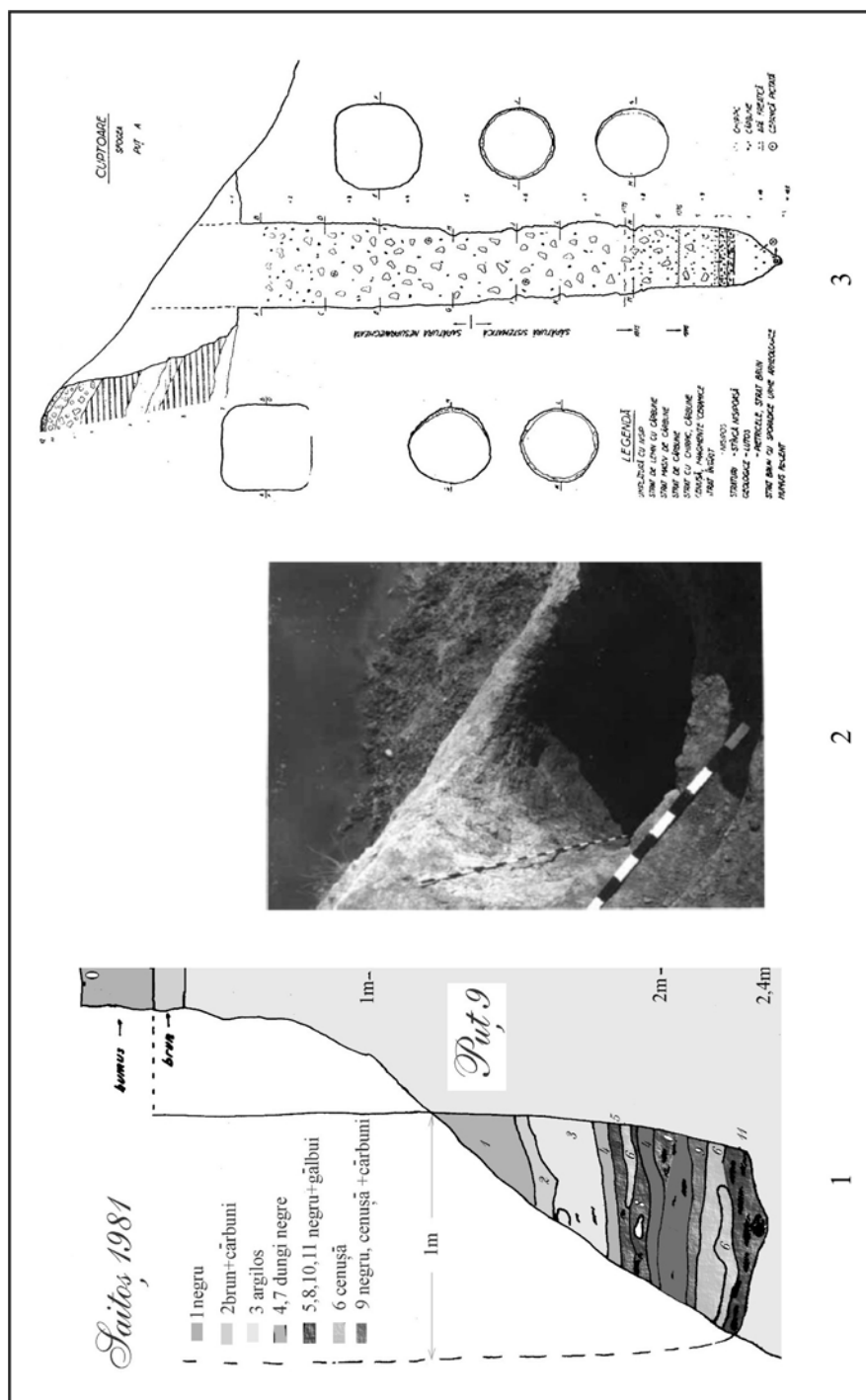
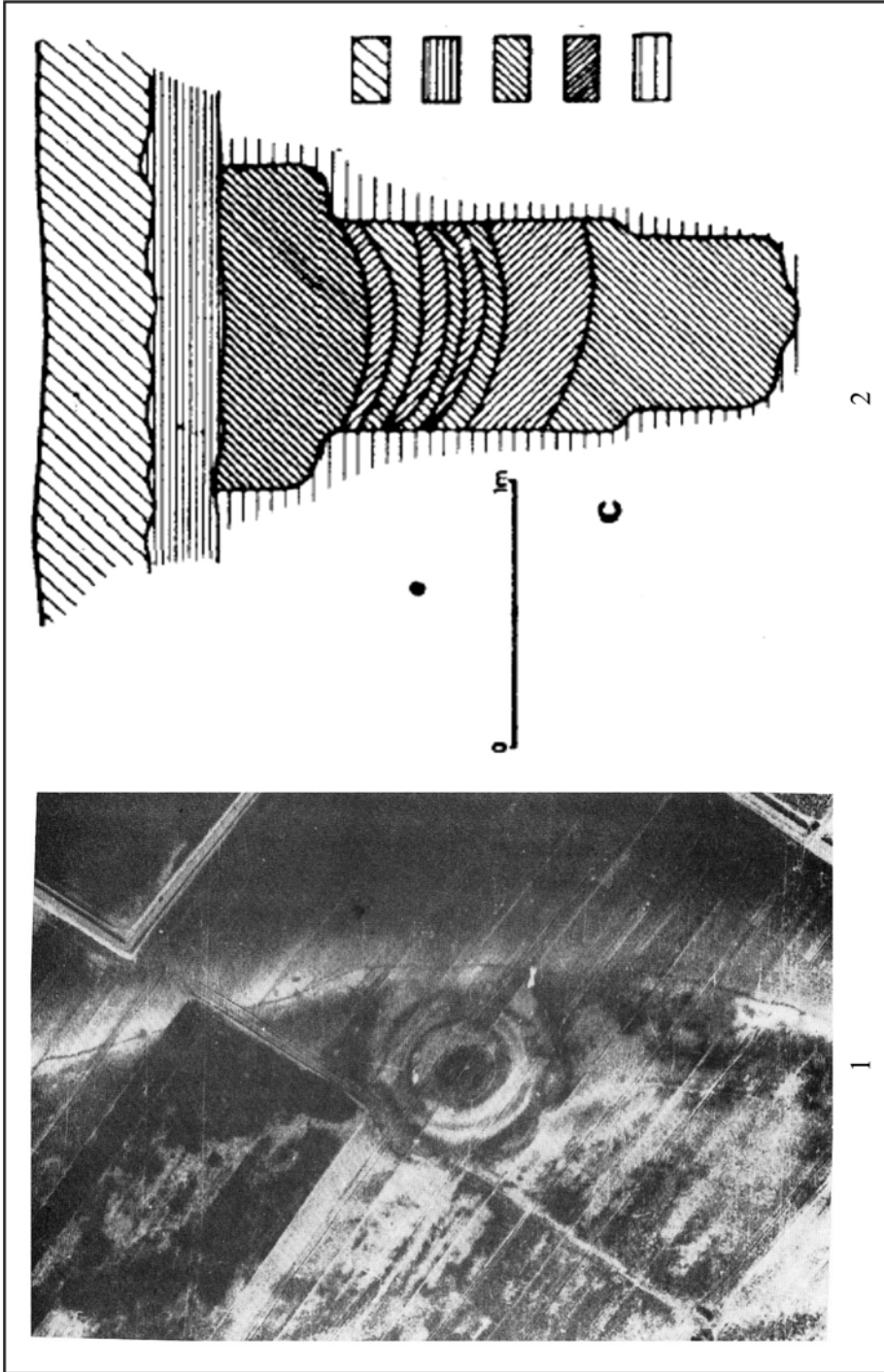


Fig. 2: 1-2 Parța - Le puit n° 2 (après C.M. Lazarovici-Gh. Lazarovici, 2006).





**Fig. 4:** Le puit de Szarvas (après J. Makkay 1980/81).

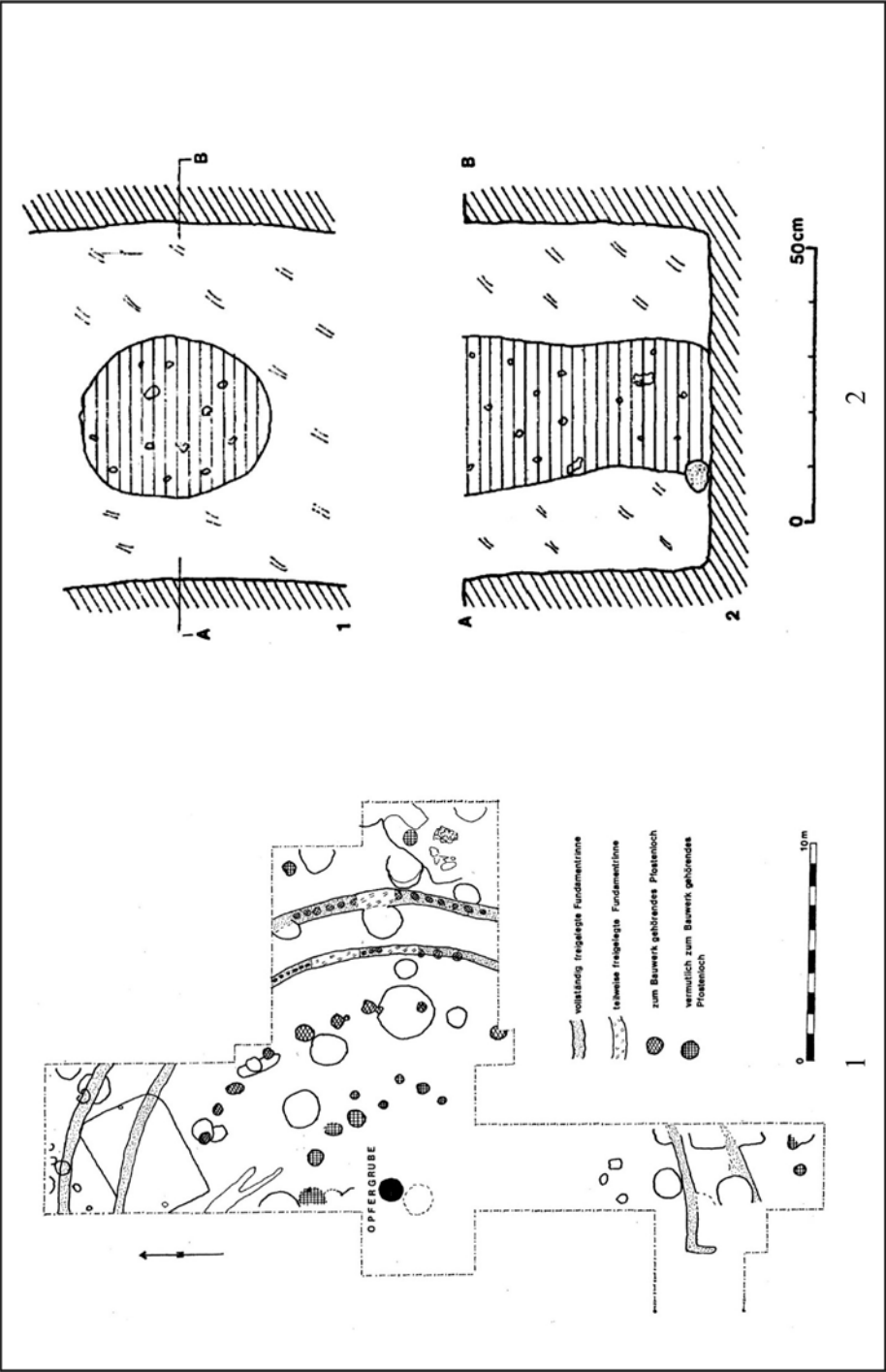
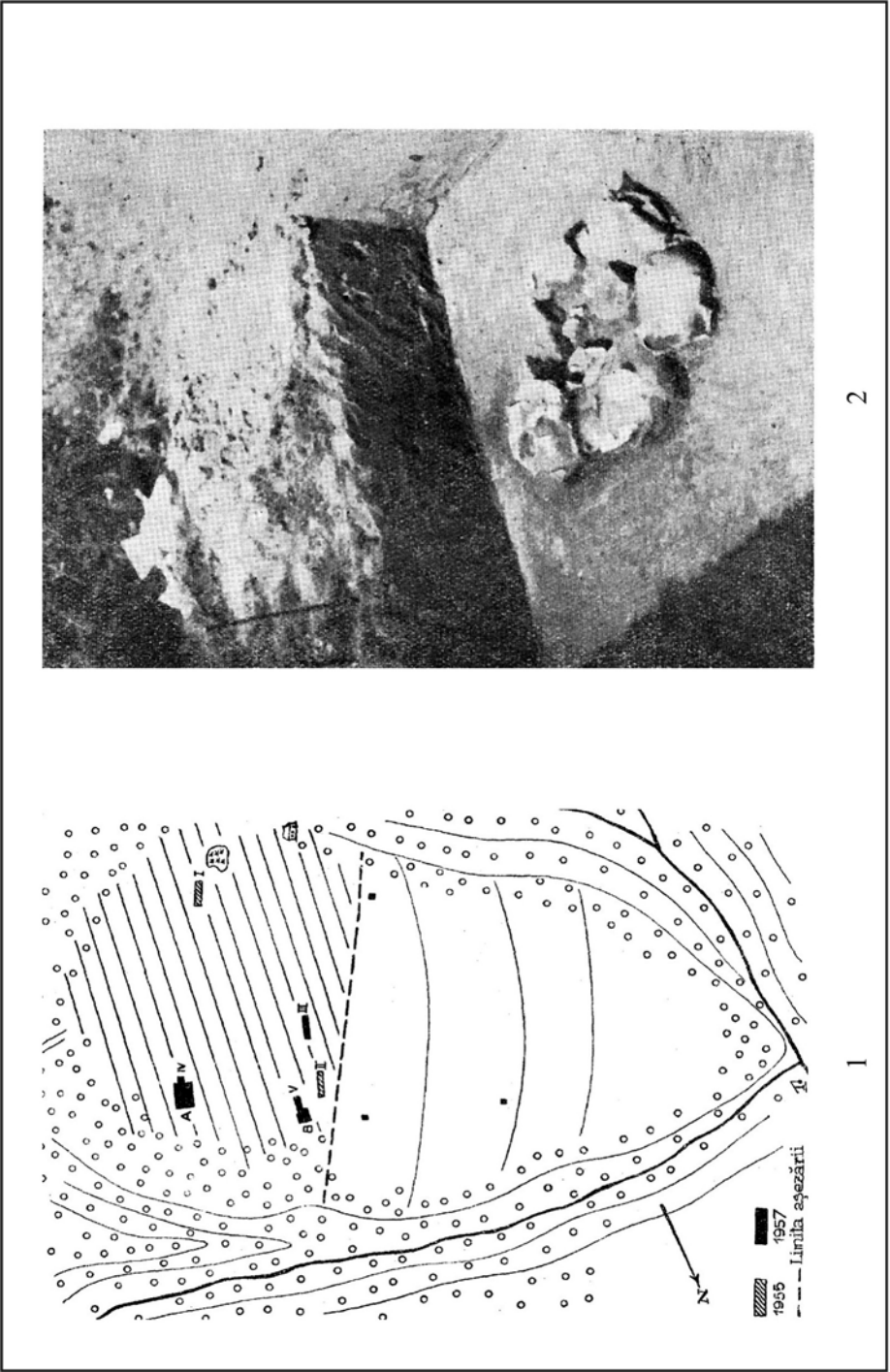
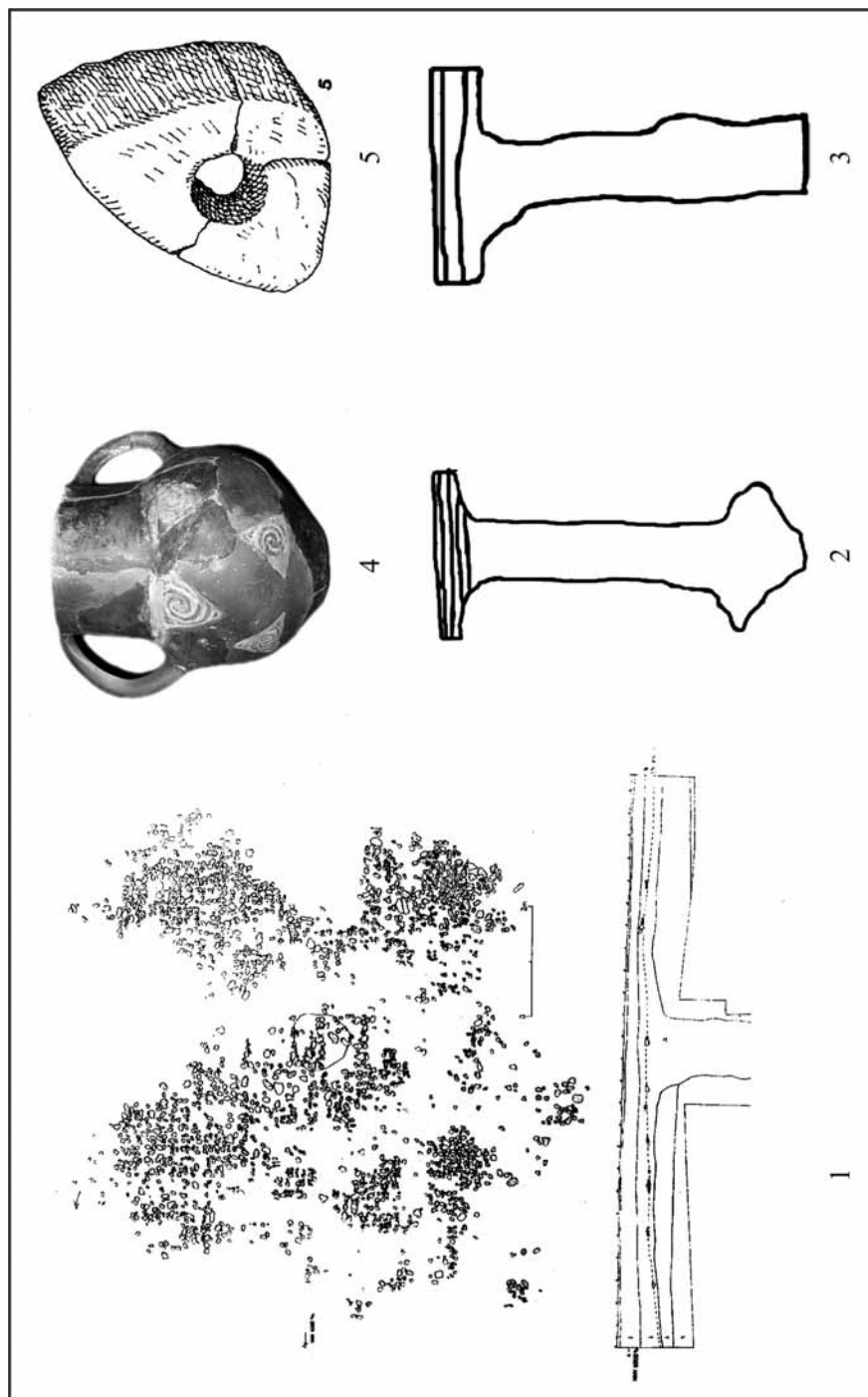


Fig. 5: 1-2 Le puit de Füzeszabony (après Á. Kállay 1990).



**Fig. 6: 1-2 La fosse de „Poiana în Pisc” (après M. Macrea 1959).**



**Fig. 7:** 1. L'habitation XXXCL de Trusești, avec le puit; 2. La fosse 168 de Trusești, 3. La fosse 181 a de la Trusești (1-3 après M. Petrescu-Dâmbovița et alii 1999), 4. Le vaseau peint de Cuptoare-Șoagea, 5. La hache en glaise de "Poiana în Pisc" (après M. Macrea 1959).



## ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES FROM RAMNICELU, BRĂILA COUNTY

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**Abstract:** Satul Râmnicelu face parte din comuna Râmnicelu și este situat la marginea de nord – vest a Câmpiei Brăilei. Din punct de vedere al localizării administrative și teritoriale, satul Râmnicelu se află în partea de vest a județului Brăila, la 35 de Km de municipiul Brăila, pe drumul județean DJ 221. Am ales să prezentăm o scurtă sinteză a descoperirilor arheologice de la Râmnicelu, întrucât vestigiile cercetate sunt variate și datează din epoca neo – eneolitică (culturile Boian – faza Giulești, Gumelnița – faza A2, Cernavoda I – faza C), epoca bronzului, antichitatea târzie și evul mediu timpuriu. Prezentate separat, vestigiile arheologice descoperite la Râmnicelu nu par spectaculoase, dar o viziune integratoare conduce către imaginea unei ”aglomerări” umane care controla un punct de trecere între zona de câmpie și zona subcarpatică, precum și numeroase resurse materiale oferite de zonă.

**Keywords:** neo-eneolitic, bronz, medieval, Boian, Gumelnita, Cernavoda I.

### Introduction

We choose to present this short synthesis of the Ramnicelu archaeological discoveries due to its various vestiges that belong to the neo-eneolithic period, bronze period, late ancient and also first medieval period.

If we look at these discoveries separately, we can say they are not spectacular but, looking at them as a complete vision, we obtain the image of a human crowd which controlled the passing point between the field zone and the subcarpathian zone and also various resources of the zone.

### Geographical environment, localization and “survey” researches

Situated in the north-eastern side of Campia Romana, on the right upper and inferior terrace of the Buzau river, the archaeological complex of Ramnicelu has enjoyed a generous environment that provided the resources of living and surviving along the time. The approach of the Buzau river, two lakes from the Buzau meadow had provided the materials necessary for making tools, settlements, and all the things they needed to survive.

Very important were also the salted lakes that provided the very necessary salt: Batogu lake (30 km on the right of Ramnicelu), Movila Miresii (11 km), Caineni (19 km), Lacu Sarat (29 km).

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From the administrative point of view, Ramnicelu is situated on the west side of Braila, 35 km away from the city, on the DJ221 road.

The archaeological discoveries are as they follow: the Gumelnita hovels, Cernavoda I settlement, pottery fragments belonging to Cozia-Brad culture, a grave from bronze period, sarmatic graves, nomad horsemen grave - all of these discovered on a round hill (225x110m) called Popina; the materials belong to the Boian, Santana de Mures, Dridu cultures - on the upper terrace, north to the Ramnicelu village; the Sihleanu culture materials - on the centre and west of the same terrace (Dispensar and La Oglinda point); and the sarmatic materials were discovered in the west side of the village (Hartuche 1980a, p. 34; fig.1) (*fig.2*).

The new technologies in archaeological researches were also used. We mention the topographical measurements (in System 1970) made in 2008 by the museums specialists together with the Rom Survey SRL Braila. From these measurements has resulted a system of points and coordinates that localize more precisely the hill which also allows us to obtain a tri-dimensional images (*Fig.3; fig.4 a*). Thanks to this type of researches we can say that a central point of the hill has the next coordinates: Stereo 1970, X: 424200 and Y: 697900 and its height from the sea level is maxim 31 metres.

Also the GPS measurements were made (system WGS 84) during 2008 which facilitated us to include the Ramnicelu - *Popina* and its 4 sections into a global system. GPS localization is 45.17.376 latitude - 27.31.272 longitude and 45.17.477 latitude - 27.31.347 longitude (*fig.4*).

### **Archaeological researches**

On the administrative zone that we've mentioned, there were many interesting finds from archaeological point of view. Most of them were already identified during 3 campaign made between 1968-1970 by the Nicolae Hartuche and Florian Anastasiu (Hartuche 1980a, p.33).

First surface researches were made in the autumn of 1958. In 1961 have also been taking a bearing and discovered "many pottery fragments mixed with smashed shells ornamented with strings" (Hartuche 1980a, p. 33). Systematic researches were accomplished 1968-1970 and 69 different sections were made. Most of them were concentrated on the half of the north-east side because there was supposed to be more dense populated. That is why it was completely studied by digging parallel and perpendicular ditches (Hartuche 1980a, p. 33). In the south-western sector only 8 sections were made and the living marks are rarely. The sections maximum depth was 1, 20 m and on the eastern edge was only 0, 40 - 0, 50 m.

In 2008 the archaeological diggings were restarted by Stanica Pandrea, Mirela Vernescu, Costin Croitoru and Viorel Stoian and the old excavations of Hartuche and Anastasiu were extended. The specialists of Braila's Museum reopened the archaeological researches and more 4 sections were accomplished (S1/2008-S4/2008). The sections are on the north side of the hill and are disposed like this: S1- north; S2- east; S3 and S4- north-west (*Fig.4b*).

Some archaeological discoveries were found during all campaigns:

- a) 2 hovels and pottery fragments belonging to the A2 faze of Gumelnita Culture.
- b) a settlement from Cernavoda I Culture.
- c) pottery fragments from Cozia –Brad aspect.
- d) a grave from bronze period.
- e) 18 sarmatic graves.
- f) a nomad horsemen grave.

### **The archaeological discoveries catalog**

The archaeological remains were identified and studied in many areas of the Ramnicelu village:

#### **“Ion Sion” Farm (today Stallion Yard )**

During the agricultural works some pottery materials and silex slides from Boian culture Giulesti faze were discovered. Also during the construction of some mews was identified and searched a settlement – hovel - which contained fragment of vessels and utensils made of stone and bones also from the same culture.

#### **“La Coman”**

In the garden of Alexandru Coman had been discovered some pottery fragments from the Boian culture and other from the IV century B.C. (Anastasiu, Hartuche 1967, p. 19).

#### **Ramnicelu - Stefan cel Mare Road**

On this road were discovered 2 skeletons, 2,00-2,50 m away one from another. Both skeletons were positioned curled up and the heads were towards north-west. Near the heads were found homage vessels. Judging after the vessels` decoration we can say that the skeletons belonged to the late bronze period, probably Coslogeni culture (Anastasiu, Hartuche 1967, p. 19-20).

#### **“Tudor Munteanu`s vineyard”**

On the terrace of river Buzau were found some pottery fragments very much alike to the one discovered in the graves from the Ramnicelu- Stefan cel Mare road. Probably there was a settlement from the late bronze period, contemporary to the two graves. Also here were discovered some pottery fragments belonging to the IV century B.C. (Anastasiu, Hartuche 1967, p. 21).

#### **“La Plasoi”**

In the Stefan cel Mare village (also a part of Ramnicelu), on the Buzau terrace were discovered many pottery fragments belonging to the beginning of Medieval Period (X century A.C.). (Anastasiu, Hartuche 1967, p. 22).

### **“La cimitir”**

On the west side of Ramnicelu village, near the edge of the terrace were identified pottery fragments from the III<sup>rd</sup> century A.C. (Hartuche 1980a, p. 34; fig.1).

### **“La Oglinda”**

The old lake Oglinda was situated on the right side of Buzau river. Under the broken river side were discovered some fragments of pottery belonging to the end of the bronze period and the beginning of the iron period, during the Sihleanu cultural aspect (Hartuche 1980a, p. 34; fig.1).

### **“Popina”**

The archaeological remains discovered are:

- a) eneolithic- 2 human settlements belonging to the Gumelnita culture- A2 faze.
- b) final eneolithic- more settlements and fire places belonging to the Cernavoda I culture - faze Ic.
- c) a grave from the end of the bronze period.
- d) pottery fragments belonging to Cozia- Brad aspect.
- e) 18 sarmatic graves.
- f) a grave of the nomad horsemen.

\*

#### *a) Gumelnita archaeological remains.*

There were searched 2 human settlements, hovel type (belonging to the Cernavoda I culture).

*Hovel B6* was discovered in section S1, near the northern edge of the hill. It was at the 0,70 m depth and was round shaped. Its diameter had 4 m. In its interior were discovered many pottery fragments made of good clay, polished both in interior and exterior, decorated also in interior and exterior (Hartuche 1980a, p. 37).

*Hovel B7* was identified in section S22, close to the north edge of the hill. It had oval shape with a diameter of 3,70x 4,20 m. In B7 had been discovered pottery fragment belonging to the Gumelnita culture - faze A2 and Cucuteni culture - faze A3. The fragments from Gumelnita culture were very much alike those discovered in Brailita settlement that is why we appreciate that they belong to the Gumelnita B1 culture from the Danube Valley.

#### *b) Cernavoda I archeological remains*

The Cernavoda I settlement from Ramnicelu was not fortified because the land had offered a natural protection. The settlement had one single living level

whose thickness was about 0,40 - 0,60 m. In the north-east side there were many remains but in the south- west they are missing. Also we discovered an important amount of ashes. In Cernavoda I had been discovered 20 living complexes - 10 houses and 10 external fire places.

There were not surface houses like those identified in Cernavoda, Oltenita-Renie. The human settlements from Ramnicelu are deep, hovel type and the holes had diameter of 3,70- 4,50 m and A= 0,75-1, 25 m. It had ashes filling mixed with pottery, broken bones and collapsed walls. Beside ashes another important discovery was charcoal. The external fireplaces measure 3,50x 4,00 m and were about 1 m diameter and 0,15-0,25 depth.

The most important archaeological complexes are:

*Hovel B1*- was identified in section S15 near the hill's centre and had L- 4,30 m and 1,00- 2,85 m and A- 1, 20 m. It was square shaped and full of ashes, bones, pottery and collapsed walls. The hovel was arranged:

1. the north entry had steps.
2. had a floor of beaten clay.
3. in the centre of the house was a hole that may belonged to the auxiliary prop that sustained the roof.
4. in the NE side was a fireplace in a hole with D=50 cm and A=20 cm.

The pottery materials could be belonging to the Cernavoda I and Cucuteni B2 cultures.

*Hovel B2*-was identified in section S11 near the hill's centre and had L=4,75 m and A= 1,00m. Its hole is in -75 cm and had oval shape. The filling was of ashes, bones, fragments of the wall. This hovel was also arranged:

1. the north side had steps.
2. there was a floor of beaten clay.

The remains of this hovel could also belong to the Cernavoda I and Cucuteni B2 cultures.

*External fireplace Z2A* was identified in the north-west of the hill and it had L-4,50 m and A=0,40-0,45 m and almost 12 mp (4mx3m).there were discovered many remains. It was build in a hole of 0,50 m diameter and 0,20- 0, 25 depth and we consider that was not used as a living place.

The archaeological remains discovered in these settlements are very various: agricultural implements, weapons made of bones, stones and antlers, fragments of domestic and wild animals, clay, copper. We identified also axes, bludgeon made of hard stone and without punch. Very interested is the fact that the vessels were made of mixed shells (Cernavoda I –Ic faze), they were coloured in black and grey and (Cernavoda III) and many vessel fragments (Cucuteni B2).

### *c) The grave from the bronze period*

The Grave M10 is different from the other graves. It was discovered in the east part of hill in the 0,66 m depth and belongs to the bronze period. It has the oval shape. The skeleton was well conserved, in dwarfed position and oriented towards east-west (Hartuche 1973, p. 18-19). Besides the skeleton had been discovered a

pottery vessel, coloured in yellow both in interior and exterior. Its dimensions are: h= 0,145m; dg= 0,15m; df= 0,84m. Into his palms was discovered some fragments of an object made of bronze.

*d) Sarmatic graves*

The graves M1-9 and M11-19 were identified in the north part of the hill, towards NE and E (Hartuche 1980b, p.216).

M1. (A=0,30 m), oriented SV-NE, adult, fragmentary vessel, red coloured, burned, in shape of a jar (Hartuche 1980, p.216-217).

M2. (A=0,40), oriented V-E, adult, dwarfed position, no fragments (Hartuche 1980, p.217).

M3. (A=0,55m), oriented N-S, child, 2 glass pearls around the neck, with different shapes, and on their surfaces were drawn six white "eyes" (Hartuche 1980, p.217).

M4. (A=0,55 m) V-E oriented, child, normal position (Hartuche 1980, p.217).

M5. (A=0,50m) V-E oriented, child idem M3 (Hartuche 1980, p.217).

M6. (A=0,50) V-E oriented, child (Hartuche 1980, p.217).

M7. (A=1,10 m) oriented N-S, adult, a metallic object (probably belt) around the belly (Hartuche 1980, p.217).

M8. (A=0,50m), oriented V-E, child, no archaeological remains were found (Hartuche 1980, p.217-218).

M9. (A=0,90m) oriented V-E, child, two glass pearls and some metallic remains (Hartuche 1980, p.218).

M12. (A=0,60m) oriented N-S, adult, a fragment of gold piece, square shaped, punched in 2 places (L=2,2cm; l=2 cm) on the right hand. The surface was decorated with flowers and human motives (Hartuche 1980, p.218). Also here were discovered meet homage remains and a knife (L=11, l= 2,2 cm).

M13. (A=0,40m), oriented V-E, adult, bronze fragments near the right arm and leg (Hartuche 1980, p.218).

M14. (Ad=1, 80m), disturbed skeleton, with important objects near: 7 glass pearls coloured in dark red, a golden pendentive, a pottery vessel (Hartuche 1980, p.218-219).

M15. (A= 0,60 m), oriented V-E, adult, no objects (Hartuche 1980, p.219, 222).

M16. (A= 1,20 m) oriented V-E, pottery vessel (Hartuche 1980, p.222).

M17. (A= 0,8 m), oriented V-E, adult, metallic objects (iron) (Hartuche 1980, p.222).

M18. (A= 0,50), oriented V-E, adult, homage objects remains and fragmentary knife, bones (Hartuche 1980, p.222).

M19. (A=0,30), oriented V-E, adult, pottery vessel, grey colour (Hartuche 1980, p.222-223).

M20 - child, disturbed, no inventory (Hartuche 1980, p.223).

The archaeological remains discovered on Ramnicelu - *Popina* are from the II-III century A.C.

e) *The grave of the nomad horseman*

M11 (-1,05), identified in the NNE sector of the hill in 1969, oriented V-E, adult, normal position. Objects discovered: 2 earrings, made of gold, round shaped (diam.= 0,022m, gr= 7,85 g); near the head of the skeleton was a horse skull, an iron curb, and between the legs of the skeleton were 2 of the horse's legs (Hartuche, Anastasiu 1980, p. 263).

It is appreciated to belong to the Mongolian branch (Udrescu 1973, p.129).

Because of the objects discovered near him it is considered that the grave belongs to a petcheneg warrior.

During 2008 the archaeological diggings had started again (under S. Pandrea). Three sectors were made and into them also 4 sections were researched.

The results are as follow:

1. In the north part there is a previously excavated section and also a part of a hovel with Gumelnita A2 pottery.
2. In the east and west side there were not archaeological complexes but pottery materials belonging to Boian, Gumelnita, Cernavoda I cultures. We also noticed that the hill was lived from prehistoric times (*Fig. 5-6*).

We also confirm the information that the north-west side of the hill was permanently lived and the rest of his surface, just temporarily, is right.

The researches from the Ramnicelu along with those from Brailita, Pietroasele, Chirnogi, Ulmeni had contributed to the better acknowledgement of the Cernavoda I culture.

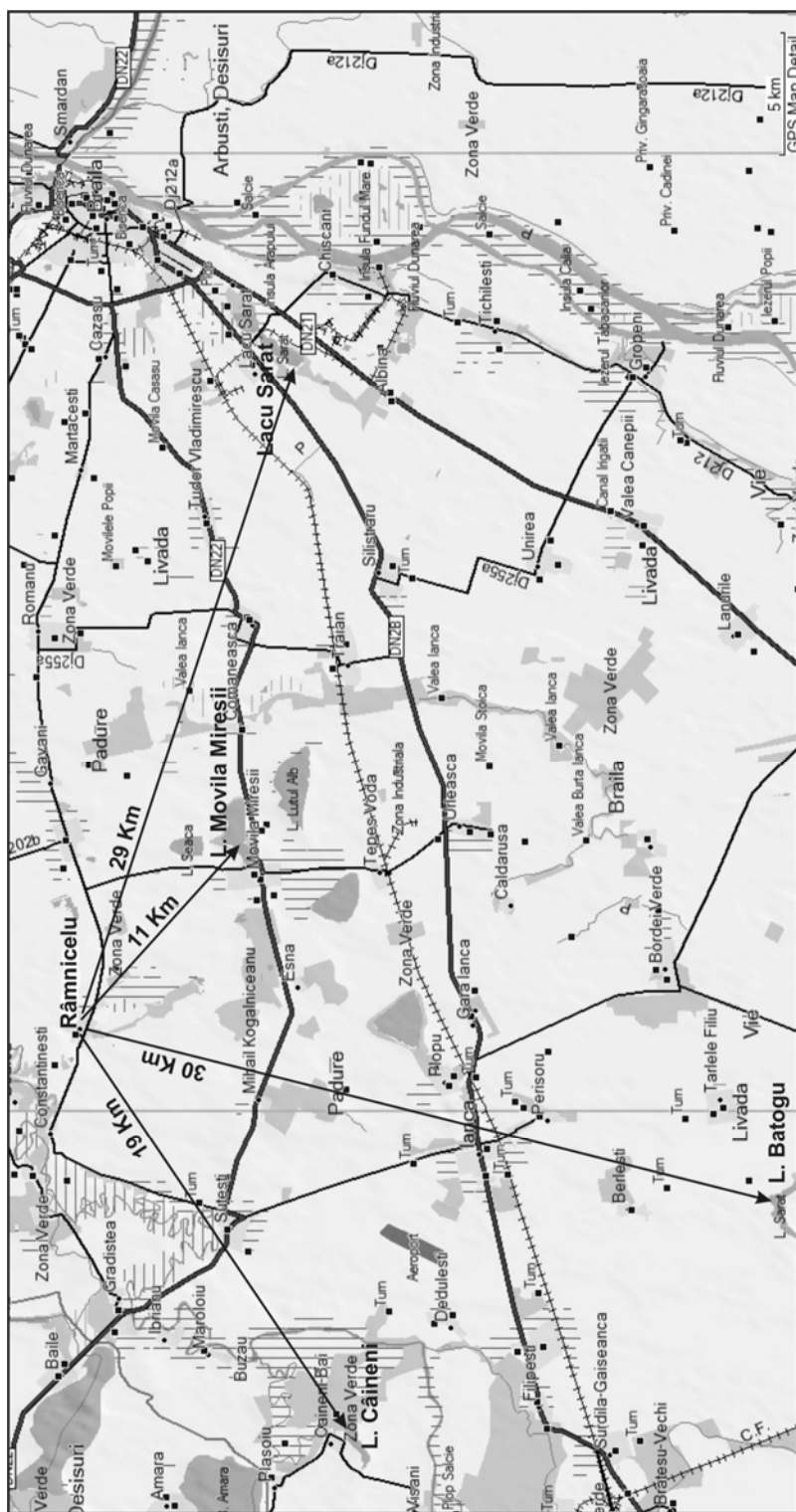
Away from the 2 settlements belonging to Gumelnita culture and the graves from bronze period on the hill was just a single living level- that belonged to Cernavoda I culture.

We hope that the 2008 researches (lately to be published) and those to the next years will bring new informations in this matter.

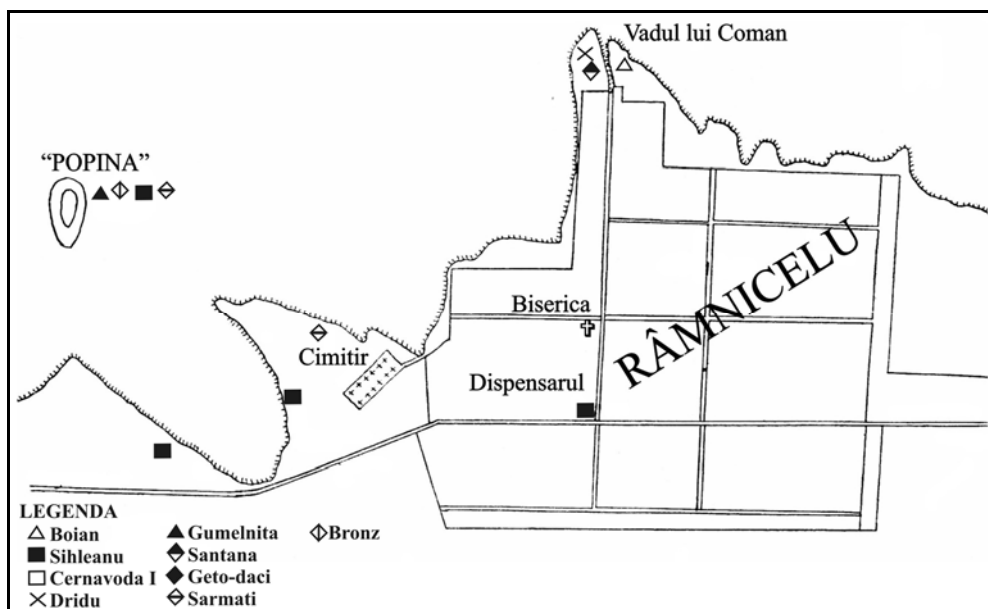
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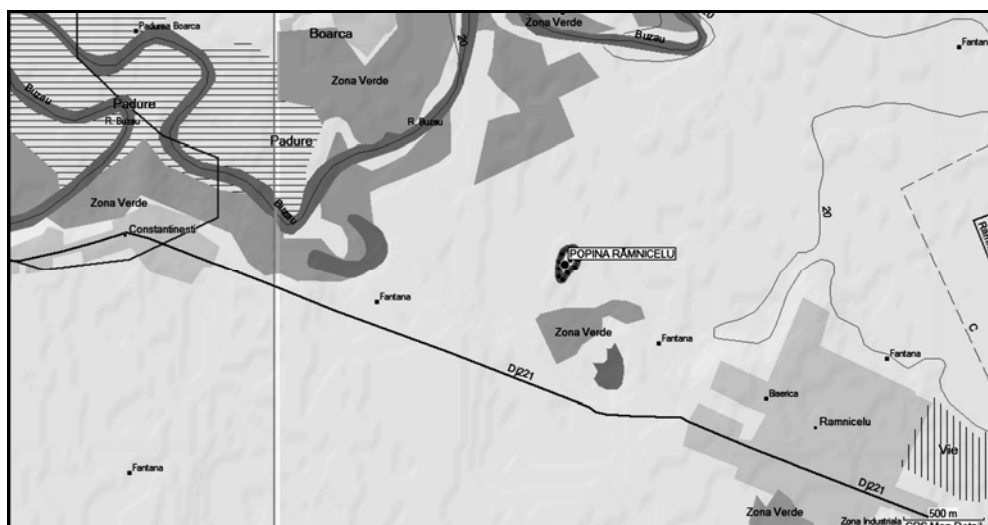
**Udrescu 1973:** M. Șt. Udrescu, *Caii descoperiți în mormintele de călăreți de la Râmnicelu și Lișcoteanca*, în *Studii și Cercetări de Antropologie*, 2, 10, București, p. 125-129.



**Fig. 1:** Râmnicelu archaeological complex and salt lakes from Braila county. Map from RO.A.D 2006 GPS software.

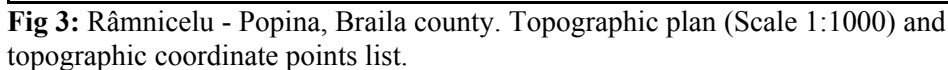


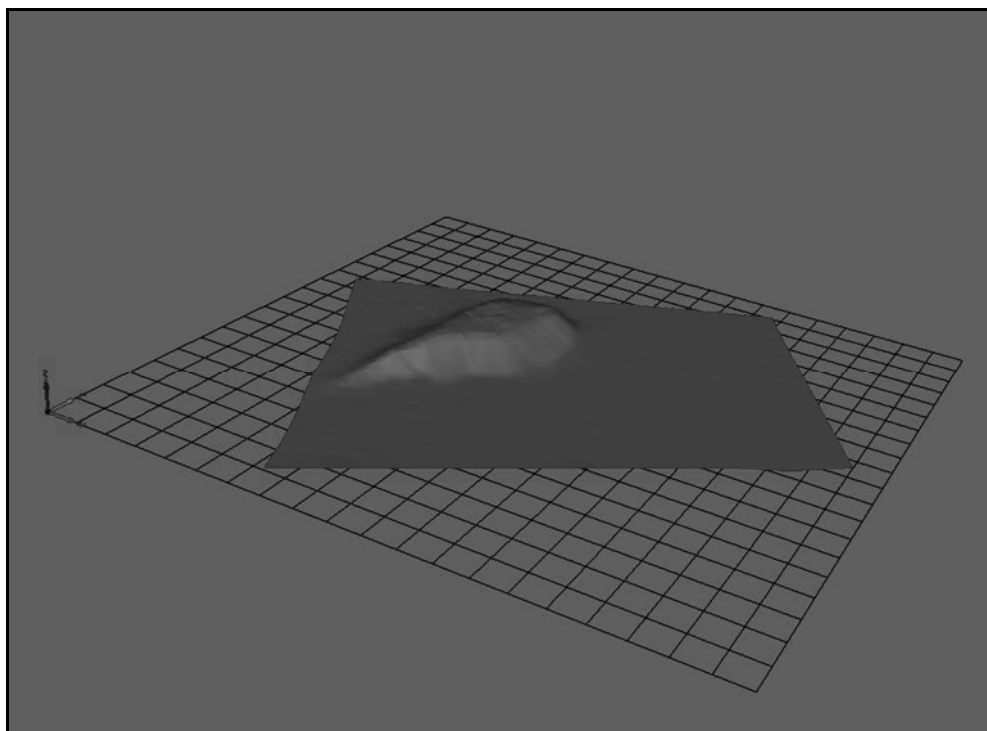
a. Discoveries map (apud Nicolae Hartuche, 1980).



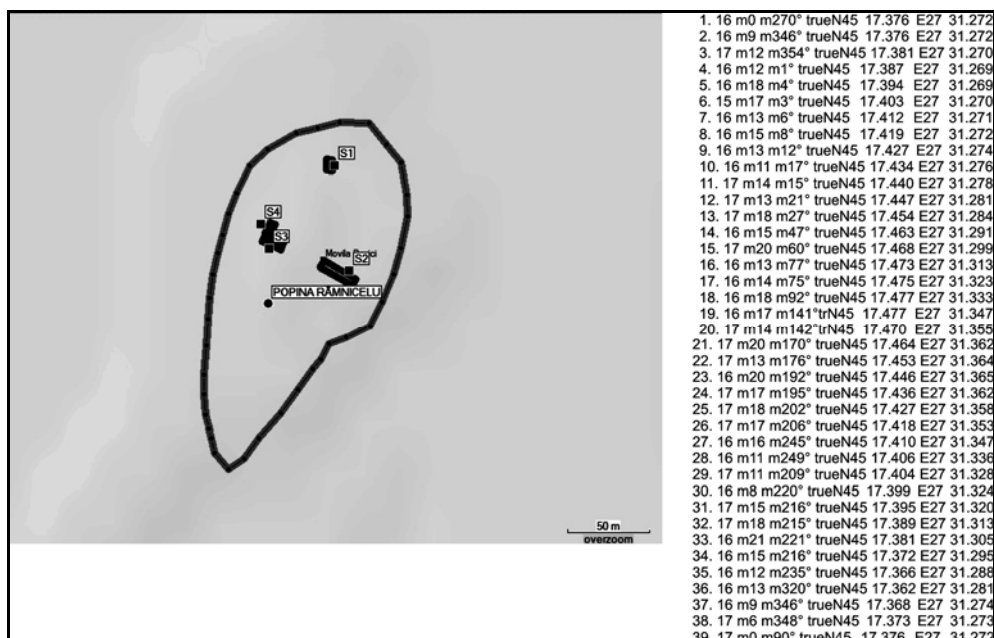
b. Village area map from RO.A.D 2006 software.

**Fig. 2:** Râmnicelu, Braila county.



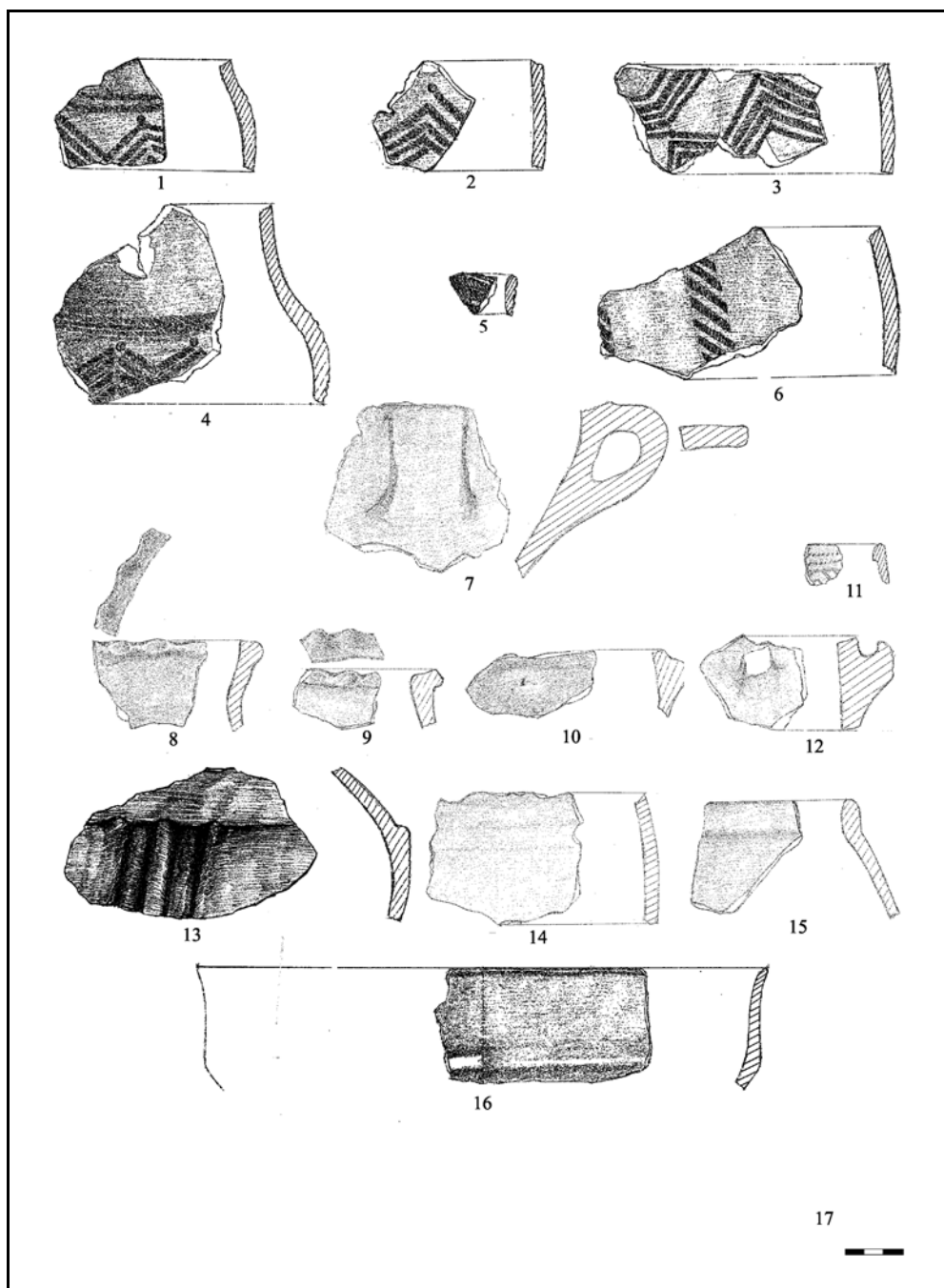


a. Tridimensional Râmnicele, point Hill, map

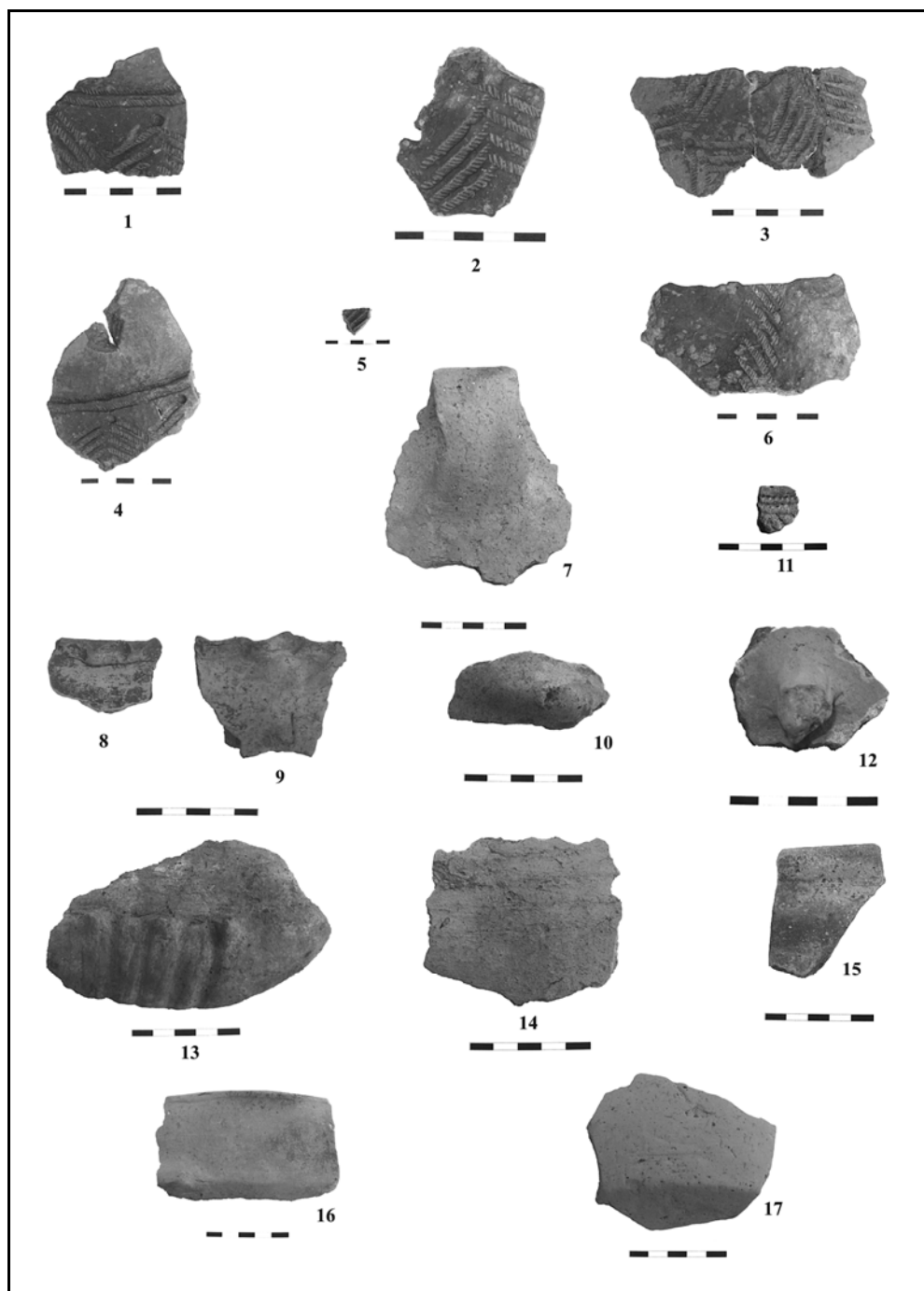


b. Râmnicele, point Hill, GPS map (system WGS 84) and coordinate points list.

**Fig. 4:** Râmnicele land survey maps.



**Fig. 5:** Râmnicelu - Popina, Braila county. Clay vessels parts from different historical ages. 1-6 Cozia - Brad aspect; 7 - 10, 12 Cernavoda I culture; 11 Cernavoda II culture; 13-16 Gumelnita A2 culture; 17 Cucuteni culture.



**Fig. 6:** Râmnicelu - Popina, Braila county. Clay vessels parts from different historical ages. 1-6 Cozia - Brad aspect; 7 - 10, 12 Cernavoda I culture; 11 Cernavoda II culture; 13-16 Gumelnita A2 culture; 17 Cucuteni culture.

## DER FRÜHBRONZEZEITLICHE SCHMUCK VON TELL YUNATZITE

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**Abstract:** In dem vorliegenden Artikel wird der Schmuck von 17 festgestellten kontinuierlichen Siedlungen von FBZ I-III aus dem Tell Yunatzite bei Pasardjik vorgestellt. Es sind 47 einzelne Schmuckfunde und drei Perlenketten analysiert: ihre Einteilung nach Horizonten und Fundort (Taf. I); die Typologie (Taf. II); die Funktion und Bedeutung. Die einzelnen Perlen aus Dentalium und die drei Perlenketten, die in den unteren Horizonten gefunden sind, erlauben den Autor die Vermutung, daß diese Funde aus der chalkolithischen Kulturschicht stammen und als Reliquie während der FBZ I-II benutzt wurden, anzunehmen. Es sind die besonders wertvollen Schmuckfunde von dem intramuralen Begrebnis N 52 - zwei Silberohrenklappen und eine Bronzeahle (Abb. 5) unterstrichen. Der Schmuck aus seltenen und kostbaren Rohstoffe (Dentalium, Grandel, Sardoniks, Silber und Zinnbronze) illustriert nicht nur den guten Zustand einzelner Personen und Familien, sondern auch ihr eigenartigen Status in der Gemeinde. Die sind auch ein Merkmal der Prestige. So hat der Schmuck eine aussagewertige Information und ermöglicht die Bestimmung nicht nur seiner Funktion und Bedeutung, sondern auch das vielseitige Lebenswesen der Einwohner einer Siedlung. Als persönlicher Besitz wurde der Schmuck zu einem wichtigen Merkmal der sozialen und hierarchischen Struktur innerhalb der Gemeinschaft, des Geschlechtes und der Altersstufe, wie auch der kulturellen und religiösen Zugehörigkeit.

**Keywords:** frühbronzezeitliche, Yunatzite, Nekropolen.

Der Reichtum an verschwenderischer Farben- und Formenvielfalt der Tier- und Pflanzenwelt regte den Menschen dazu an, nach seinem Erscheinen nach schönen Formen zu suchen, um seinen ästhetischen Geschmack zu schaffen. Der prähistorische Mensch begann auffallend schöne, farblich seltene oder eigentümlich geformte Dinge zu sammeln und mit ihnen seinen Körper und seine Kleidung zu schmücken. So wurden sie zum persönlichen Besitz und zum Merkmal seiner Person und seines Geschmacks.

Damit unterschieden sich nicht nur die einzelnen Individuen voneinander, sondern auch die verschiedenen Gruppen konnten sich durch ihre spezifischen Schmuckgewohnheiten voneinander abgrenzen und definieren. So wurde der Schmuck zu einem wichtigen Merkmal der sozialen und hierarchischen Struktur innerhalb der Gemeinschaft, des Geschlechtes und der Altersstufe, wie auch der kulturellen und religiösen Zugehörigkeit. Deshalb richtete sich in den letzten Jahren in unserer Literatur zurecht eine verdiente Aufmerksamkeit auf diese Funde (Todorova, Vajsov 2001; Todorova, Avramova, Durankulak 2002, 187-203).

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Unter Schmuck verstehen wir damals wie heute alles, was ein Lebewesen verschönert und unterscheidbar macht. Der Schmuck, den der Mensch für die Verschönerung seines Körpers und seiner Kleider benutzt, teilt sich in zwei Hauptgruppen: Schmuck als fester Bestandteil des Körpers und beweglicher Schmuck (Schönenberger 1990, 127). Zum ersteren rechnet man Bemalung, Tätowierung der Haut und Narbenschmuck. Diese Gruppe ist für die Archäologen wegen ihrer Vergänglichkeit kaum nachzuweisen. Indirekt wird sie aus Resten von Ockerfarben, Druckmustern, ornamentierten keramischen Figuren (für das Neolithikum und die Kupferzeit) und aus ethnographischen Parallelen vermutet.

Zur zweiten Gruppe, dem beweglichen Schmuck, rechnet man Schmuckgegenstände aus anorganischen Material, das sich bis zu

einem gewissen Grade bis heute erhalten hat. Natürlich schließen wir auch Schmuck aus organischem Material nicht aus für die Benutzung im Alltag, bei Sitten und Ritualpraktiken. Es sind dies beispielsweise Ketten aus Blüten und Fruchtkernen, Anhänger aus Holz, Federn, Leder u.a., die uns heute aus verständlichen Gründen, nicht erhalten sind.

Schmuck liefert aussagekräftige Informationen und ermöglicht die Bestimmung nicht nur seiner Funktion und Bedeutung, sondern auch die vielseitige Lebensweise der Einwohner einer Siedlung.

Eine wichtige Bedeutung für die Interpretation des prähistorischen Schmucks sind die Fundquellen. Wie wir vorher unterstrichen, ist der Schmuck ein persönliches Eigentum des Individuums und begleitet seinen Besitzer sogar nach dem Tode. Deshalb sind Nekropolen Quellen von erstrangiger Bedeutung für die Erforschung des Schmucks. Die Fundlage der Schmucks auf den Skeletten ergibt ein vollständiges Bild. Wer trägt ihn: Frauen, Männer, Kinder? Was schmückt er: Kopf, Brust, Ohren, Arme, Finger oder handelt es sich um Besitzstücke auf der Kleidung, oder gar Machtsymbole? So lässt sich die Funktion und Bedeutung erschließen. An zweiter Stelle sind es die Siedlungen, besonders die Tellsiedlungen, die reiches Fundmaterial liefern. Hier wird der Schmuck meist als Einzelfunde oder Fragmente freigelegt. Das sind verlorene, defekte, oder zerbrochene Stücke. Von hohem Wert bei der Erforschung einer Siedlung ist der Kontext der Freilegung der Schmuckgegenstände. Findet er sich in einer Wohnung, einer Wohnstätte, außerhalb von Gebäuden, in Gruben oder in intra murus – Bestattungen?

Von der Frühbronzezeit ist nur die Kollektion vom Tell Esero bei Nova Sagora publiziert (Георгиев и др. 1979, 404-408). Die begrenzte Menge an Funden und ihre summarische Darstellung nach Horizonten gibt uns keine Möglichkeit für eine detaillierte Interpretation des Materials. In dieser Hinsicht ist die Kollektion aus dem Tell Yunatzite von besonderem Interesse. Die festgestellten 17 kontinuierlichen Siedlungen der Frühbronzezeit I-III mit den darin gefundenen Schmuckgegenständen und ihrer genau fixierten stratigraphischen Position, liefern Angaben zur Typologie, Funktion und Bedeutung dieser Artefakte. Sie bestimmen auch die genaue chronologische Stellung der Schmuckstücke in den einzelnen Phasen der Frühbronzezeit.

Es wurden 47 einzelne Schmuckfunde und 3 Perlenketten gefunden. Sie sind aus Stein, Edelstein, Knochen, Raubtierzähnen, Muscheln, Bronze und Silber gefertigt. Bei den Schmuckstücken unterscheidet man Anhänger, Perlenketten, Applikationen, Ring-Ohrenklappen und Armbänder (Taf. I). Aus der Tafel wird ersichtlich, dass der größte Teil des Schmucks (32 Stücke) in Wohnungen gefunden wurden, was 64% der Gesamtmenge entspricht. Außerhalb der Gebäude sind 15 Funde dokumentiert (30%) und aus den intramuralen Bestattungen 3 (6 %).

**Tafel I:** Einteilung der Schmuckfunde nach Horizonten und Fundorten

Fundort	№	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	Summe
W					■														1
	1					■													1
	18													⌘					1
O	19													⌘					1
	20													⌘ •					2
H	21													⌘ •					2
	21a														⌘ •				2
N	22													⌘ • •					3
	27														■ •				2
U	30															■ ⌘ •			3
	32															⌘ ■ ▲ •			4
N	34															•			1
	35																⌘ • □		3
G	43																⌘ •		2
	47																■ •		2
	48																	■	1
	50																	□	1
Außerhalb der Wohnungen							■				■			• • •	• • •	• •	⌘	⌘	12
														⌘	⌘	⌘			3
Bestattung	8												□						1
	52																∞ ∞ └		2
Summe					1		1	1			1		1	13	8	11	10	3	50

Legende: ■ Steinanhänger ; ⌘ Knochen – und Zahnanhänger, • Perlen aus Dentalium; □ - Perlenketten –Dentalium, Hirschgrandel und Zahnanhänger von Raubtieren; ▲ – Knochenapplikation ; ∞ - Ring-Ohrenklappen- aus Silber; └ Bronzeahle

Am häufigsten trifft man auf Perlen aus Muscheln, einzelne (20 Stück) wie auch in Ketten (3 Stück) (Taf. II). Bei den Perlen unterscheidet man 7 Typen: scheibenförmige mit einer Dicke von 2-5 mm und einem Durchmesser von 4-7 mm (Abb. 1,1)<sup>1</sup>, kurzzyylinderförmige mit einer Länge von 5-7 mm, dreieckige und viereckige (Abb. 4,3), langzylindrische mit einer Länge von 1-3 mm (Abb.1,3), kugelförmige mit einer Höhe von 2,5-3mm (Abb.1,2) und tropfenförmige, elfenbeinfarbene Grandeln (der rudimentäre Eckzahn im Oberkiefer des männlichen Rothirschs) (Abb.4,3).

Eine große Vielfalt an Perlen bietet die Kette (Abb.4,3), die in der Wohnung Nr. 35, im Horizont XVI gefunden wurde (Катинчаров, Мацанова 1993, обр. 123,8). Die Kette ist teilweise verbrannt und beschädigt. Gut bewahrt sind 83 Perlen aus Dentalium, 4 Grandeln (6 sind sehr stark verbrannt) und ein Zahnanhänger von einem Raubtier. Die Perlen haben verschiedene Formen: 46 sind scheibenförmig, 23 kurzzyldrisch, 4 dreieckförmig, 2 viereckförmig (Taf.II; Abb. 4,3). Diese Kette ist nicht nur wegen der Vielgestaltigkeit der Perlen aus Dentalium, das ein sehr seltener und teurer Rohstoff war, von großem Interesse, sondern auch wegen dem Vorhandensein von Grandeln. Im Chalkolithikum wurden Grandeln von erfolgreichen Jägern als Trophäen getragen (Todorova 2002, 187). In diesem Fall erscheint diese Perlenkette als ein Merkmal des Prestiges und markiert sogar wahrscheinlich den Status ihres Besitzers. Die zweite Kette wurde im Gebäude Nr. 50 gefunden. Sie ist sehr stark verbrannt. Von ihr sind 7 scheibenförmige und 3 kugelförmige Perlen aus Dentalium erhalten. Die dritte Kette hat 8 scheibenförmige und 10 kugelförmige Perlen aus Dentalium (Abb. 4,4). Sie wurde neben der Urne der Kinderbestattung Nr. 8 aus Horizont XII freigelegt (Телль Юнаците II, 2007, Мишина, Балабина, 188). Die geringe Zahl von Perlen lässt vermuten, dass diese Kette als Perlenarmband gedient hat. Analoge kugelförmige Perlen aus Dentalium sind aus der Bestattung Nr. 5, in Horizont XIII in Esero nachgewiesen (Геиргиев и др. 1979, 493; Abb. 212).

**Tafel II:** Einteilung der Perlentypen nach Horizonten

Horizont	Scheibenförmig	Kurzzylin drisch	Dreieckig	Langzylin drisch	Kugelfor mig	Hirschgra ndel	Summe
XII Kette	8				10		18
XIII	7						7
XIV	5			1	1		7
XV	5				1		6
XVI Kette	46	23	2	2		10	83
XVII Kette	7			3			10
Summe	78	23	4	4	12	10	131

<sup>1</sup> . Die Zeichnungen zu den Abbildungen wurden von der Kollegin Lübka Todorova und dem Grafiker Stoimen Dzukanov vom RIM, Pasardzik, erstellt.

Aus der Tafel wird klar, dass alle Typen von Perlen charakteristisch für die Horizonte XII-XVII (FBZ I-II) sind. Sie sind aber auch aus dem Neolithikum und dem Chalkolithikum Europas und Kleinasiens bekannt (Todorova, Vajsov 2001, 33). Die scheibenförmigen, zylindrischen und kugelförmigen Perlen finden Parallelen in Sitagroi, Phase IV-V (Nikolaidou 2003, 336, Tab. 9, 6), im Gräberfeld bei "Bereketska Mogila" neben Stara Sagora (Kalcev 1996, Fig. 9; Kalcev 2002, 38, Abb. 15, 1). Bedauerlicherweise ist die einzige erforschte Nekropole der FBZ sehr arm an Schmuck. Nur aus Grab Nr. 19, einer kollektiven Bestattung von vier Individuen, sind zwei scheibenförmige Perlen aus Dentalium, ein Zahnanhänger von einem Raubtier und vier Kardiumanhänger überliefert.

Ein sehr interessanter Fund ist die Sardonikperle (Abb. 1, 4; 4, 2). Die Perle ist meisterhaft bearbeitet. Sie wurde in Gebäude Nr. 27, Horizont XIV gefunden. Die Wohnung ist absiedelförmig, mit einem reichen Interior: Backofen, zwei Kornbehälter, einer Wohnstätte mit "Hochkante" und verputztem Boden (Телль Юнаците II, 2007, Мерперт, Мацанова, 50-51). Das Gebäude wurde in der Zitadelle nördlich des Graben und der Palisade freigelegt. Die Architektur, das reiche Interior, die feinen keramischen Gefäße und die Karneolperle sprechen für die Wohlhabenheit der Bewohner des Hauses. Die Chalzedonperle kann nur ein Import sein. Die nächste Fundstätte mit verschiedenartigen Achaten ist in der Region von Momcilovgrad angesiedelt. Dort wurde im Chalkolithikum abgebaut (Радунчева 2003, 62-63). Angaben zur Bearbeitung während der Bronzezeit sind noch nicht bekannt. Durch Handel könnte die Sardonikperle von weither gebracht sein. Ähnliche Perlen sind aus Troja bekannt und auf 2400 vor Chr. datiert (Трејслер 1997, 213, клад Е 122). Die gefundenen Perlen vom Tell Yunatzite dienten als Bestandteile von Ketten, die Hals, Brust und Arme schmückten.

Unter dem Schmuck vom Tell Yunatzite tritt man sehr oft auf Anhänger. Meistens sind es Einzelfunde. Dem Material nach unterscheidet man drei Typen :

1. Anhänger aus Raubtierzähnen, gespaltenen Eberhauern und Horn;
2. Steinanhänger (meistens Flußsteine);
3. Flache Knochenanhänger.

Der erste Typ, Anhänger von Raubtierzähnen, gespaltene Eberhauer und die Spitze von Ziegenhörnern, hat keine spezielle Bearbeitung. Lediglich am Oberteil sind die durchbohrt (Abb. 2, 1-8). Es sind 16 Exemplare. 10 von ihnen sind in den Wohnungen und 6 außerhalb von Wohnplätzen (zwischen Wohnflächen) gefunden worden. Sie sind alles Einzelfunde und stellen Jagdtrophäen dar. Wahrscheinlich hatten sie eine symbolische Bedeutung. Man trug sie als Talisman mit apotrophäischer Funktion. Sie sollten den Benutzer vor Bösem bewahren. Sehr selten sind die Anhänger Besatzteile von Ketten. Ähnliche Anhänger wurden in Esero in ziemlich großer Menge gefunden (Геиргиев и др. 1979, 404, Tab. 228). Wie in Esero, so wurden sie auch in Yunatzite in den unteren Horizonten angetroffen (Taf. I). Einzelne Funde sind von Ovchariza II (Leshtakov at. al. 2001, Fig. 30, 1) und der Kotzofeni - Kultur (Roman 1976, Pl. 52, 22, 37-39) bekannt. Ihre Zeitstellung ist sehr breit - vom Paläolithikum bis zum Ende der Bronzezeit.

Der zweite Typ ist aus Flusssteinen gearbeitet. Es sind gewöhnlich von Wasser geschliffene, flache Steine mit spezifischer Form, die außer der Durchbohrung im oberen Teil keine zusätzliche Bearbeitung erforderten. In der Kollektion trifft man ovale (Abb. 3,2-3,5), halbovale (Abb. 3,1) und vierseitige Formen (Abb.3, 4, 6, 8). Sie sind in den oberen und unteren Horizonten dokumentiert und wurden vorwiegend in Wohnungen gefunden (Taf. I). Sie ähneln den Steinanhängern von Esero Typ 10 und 12 (Геиргиев и др. 1977, 406, Tab. 228) und dem Einzelfund von Ovchariza II (Leshakov et.al. Fig.29-m). Wir vermuten, dass sie dieselbe Funktion wie die Knochenanhänger hatten. Bekannt sind sie aus dem Spätneolithikum.

Der dritte Typ Anhänger ist aus flachen Knochen gefertigt. Es handelt sich um ein einzelnes Exemplar. Er hat eine halbovale Form mit den Abmessungen 5,5 x 2,7cm (Abb. 1, 6; Abb.4, 1). Auf der Peripherie und im Zentrum des Anhängers sind eine Reihe von kreisförmigen Stampen aufgetragen. Ein Loch in der Mitte dient zum Aufhängen. Der Anhänger ist präzise ausgearbeitet. Er wurde im größten Apzishaus des VI. Horizonts freigelegt.

Im Gebäude Nr. 32 wurde eine halbelipsenförmige Knochenapplikation gefunden. In der Mitte ist sie zusammengedrückt (Abb. 1,5). Ihre Länge beträgt 6,3 cm. Wahrscheinlich wurde sie an Gewebe oder Leder befestigt, stellt also einen Gürtelschmuck dar. Der Anhänger und die Applikation besitzen keine Parallele unter den Funden der Frühbronzezeit.

Besonders wertvoll sind die Schmuckfunde des intramuralen Begräbnisses Nr. 52. Die Bestattung gehört zu einer 50 Jahre alten Frau. Sie wurde als Hocker niedergelegt (Abb. 5,1). Im Grab wurden zwei Silberringe gefunden. Der eine befand sich auf der linken Seite des Schädels, über dem ersten Halswirbel, der andere auf der rechten Seite, neben der Schulter. (Мишина, 2002, 232, Ris. 2-3; Телль Юнаците 2007- Мишина, Балабина 52-53, Ris. 126). Die Ringe sind aus massiven ovalen Draht gearbeitet. Sie bilden einen Ring mit zudeckenden Endteilen. Sie haben einen inneren Durchmesser von 2,2cm und einen äußeren von 3 cm. Die Dicke des Drahts ist im Durchschnitt 2-3mm. Der zudeckende Endteil des inneren Rings ist länger als der andere und das erklärt den Unterschied in ihrem Gewicht –5,30-7g. (Abb. 5,3). Wie die Dimension, so ist auch das Gewicht der Ringe sehr groß und wahrscheinlich wurden sie nicht als Schmuck für die Ohren, sondern eines Tuches, Hutes oder Bandes benutzt, die auf den Kopf aufgesetzt waren. Aus späteren Zeiten sind diese Funde als Ohrenklappen bekannt. Es kann angenommen werden, dass diese Silberohrenklappen Parade- oder Bestattungsschmuck für den Kopf waren. Schmuck aus Silber und Gold ist auch von anderen Objekten der FBZ in Bulgarien bekannt (Панайотов 1989, 61-156; Панайотов, Александров 1995, Obr. 10,1; 14 ; Кънчева-Русева 1994,obr.5; Христов 2005, 127-134) und aus dem ägäisch - anatolischen Bereich (Branigan 1974). Die Ohrenklappen haben keine genauen Vergleichsstücke unter den zitierten Funden. Sie unterscheiden sich vom übrigen Material, nicht nur nach ihren eleganten Form und Massivität, sondern auch durch ihre Dimension und ihr Gewicht.

Ein sehr interessanter Fakt bei der Bestattung Nr. 52 ist der festgestellte Fundort der Bronzeahle. Sie wurde auf der rechten Seite des Skeletts, vor dem Kinn und überdeckt vom linken Schlüsselbein (Abb. 5,1) gefunden. Unseren Beobachtungen zufolge gibt die Lage der Ahle Anlass zu vermuten, dass der Fund wahrscheinlich nicht als Grabbeigabe benutzt wurde, sondern als "Nadel" zum Schließen des Kleides auf der Schulter diente. Deswegen erlauben wir uns, die Ahle als Schmuck zu interpretieren. Die Ahle ist von beiden Seiten gespitzt und erreicht eine Länge von 8 cm bei einer Querschnittsdicke von 2-3mm. Die vermutete Polifunktion dieser Fundart ist in Gräbern während des Chalkolithikum dokumentiert (Todorova, Vajsov 2001,48, Taf.8,97- Nadel ohne Köpfe, mit-oder ohne Durchbohrung). In Grab Nr. 19 bei "Goljamata mogila" neben dem Dorf Goljama Detelina, Radnevo, wurde in einer männlichen Hockerbestattung eine Nadel ohne Durchbohrung gefunden (Кънчев 1995,40, obr. 12; Лешаков, Попова 1995,71, obr. 13 r). Hätte man eine genaue Beschreibung des Fundortes und der Dimension der Nadel angefertigt, wäre es klarer, wozu die Nadel benutzt wurde - lediglich als Grabinventar, oder hatte sie eine bestimmte Funktion? Nadeln (?) als Grabbeigaben sind auch in der Magura-Kotzofeni - Kultur bekannt (Александров 1994, 85- eine kremierte Bestattung von Karna- Magura Tomii, Bemerkung 3).

Der Besitz von so kostbaren Gegenständen wie Silberohrenklappen und der aus Zinnbronze gefertigten Ahle, sehr teuren und seltenen Rohstoffen am Anfang der Frühbronzezeit, illustrieren nicht nur die Wohlhabenheit der bestatteten Frau, sondern auch ihren besonderen Status in der Gemeinde. Die beiden Funde sind ein Prestigemerkmal. Das wird auch deutlich durch das Fehlen von Grabinventar der gleichzeitigen Bestattung eines Mannes im selben Alter, vermutlich ihrem Ehemann (Nr. 55), (Телъ Юнаците II, 2007 – Мишина, Балабина 170, ris. 123 ).

Nach der hier vorgestellten Untersuchung des frühbronzezeitlichen Schmucks zeichnet sich ab, dass hier im Vergleich zu den erwähnten gleichzeitigen Fundobjekten die sehr große Zahl von Dentaliumperlen – 20 einzelne und 111 in Perlenketten (Taf.II ) im Vordergrund steht.<sup>2</sup>

Deshalb stellt die in unserer Fachliteratur bisher angenommene Behauptung über den Mangel von Spondylus-Glycimeris –und Dentaliumartefakten in der Frühbronzezeit auf der Balkanhalbinsel (Todorova 2002,177-186) und ihr sehr seltenes Auftreten in ägäischen Raum ( Shackleton 2003, 361-265) durch ihr Vorkommen in den unteren Horizonten des Tell Yunatzite ein Problem dar.<sup>3</sup>

Die in Yunatzite, Esero-Grad Nr. 5 und in der Nekropole bei Bereketzka Mogila gefundenen Dentaliumperlen stammen aus den unteren Horizonten und datieren in die FBZ I. Diese Tatsache und der archäologische Kontext der gefundenen Perlenketten in Wohnräumen der Horizonte XVI-XVII liefern begründete Argumente, anzunehmen, dass diese Funde bei der Bautätigkeit der ersten frühbronzezeitlichen Einwohner von diesen vorgefunden worden sind.

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<sup>2</sup> . Die Zahl der Dentaliumperlen war wahrscheinlich höher. Wegen ihrer geringen Größe konnte man sie jedoch selbst nach dem Sieben der Erde nur sehr schwierig aufspüren.

<sup>3</sup> . In der Fachliteratur ist die Herkunft von Spondylus-Glycimeris-und Dentalium – aus dem Schwarzen Meer oder dem Mittelmeer diskutierbar.

Bei der Störung der chalkolithischen Kulturschicht<sup>4</sup> trafen sie auf diese Artefakte, und da sie sie wertschätzten, bewahrten sie als Reliquie d.h. als Zeugnis einer vergangenen Epoche. Ein Teil von ihnen wurde sogar von Generation zu Generation weitergegeben. Ein Zeichen dafür ist die kleine Perlenkette aus Dentalium, die neben die Urne des Kinderbegräbnisses Nr. 8 aus dem XII. Bauhorizont gelegt wurde. Die Kette datiert in die FBZ II. Für das Vorhandensein von solchen Reliquien sprächen die in den unteren frühbronzezeitlichen Horizonten gefundenen Armreife aus Spondylus, die für das Spätchalkolithikum typisch sind.<sup>5</sup> Eine analoge Erscheinung wurde in Sitagroi festgestellt (Shakleton 2003, 368- Fragmente von Spondylusreifen in Phase IV). Wie die Perlen, so wurden auch die Reifen weiter geschätzt und von den Besitzern aufbewahrt.

Die Architekturangaben der erforschten Horizonte der FBZ I-II mit Befestigungsanlagen, die viereckigen und apsidalen Gebäude mit einer Fläche von 120-220 m<sup>2</sup>, die ein reiches Interior und Inventar aufweisen (Телль Юнаците 2007, Мепнерт, Мацанова 17-121) ergänzt von der Analyse der Schmucks; sowie das Vorhandensein von sehr kostbaren und seltenen Schmuckstücken von hohem Wert und Bedeutung die vorwiegend in Wohnräumen entdeckt wurden, demonstrieren nicht nur das Prestige und den besonderen Status einzelner Personen in der Gemeinde, sondern auch das Vorhandensein von Prestigefamilien.

Diese Schlussfolgerungen geben Grund anzunehmen, dass die untersuchte Fläche des Tells eine Zitadelle und Akropolis darstellen, in denen die Elite der Einwohner gelebt hat. Dies waren wohlhabende und manche auch mächtige Familien.

Wir vermuten, dass die zukünftigen Ausgrabungen des Tells Yunatzite, die die Lokalisierung und Erforschung der Nekropolen der Bronzezeit und des Chalkolithikums umfassen werden, weitere detaillierte Ergebnisse zur Untersuchung des Lebens der Bevölkerung in Thrakien erbringen werden..

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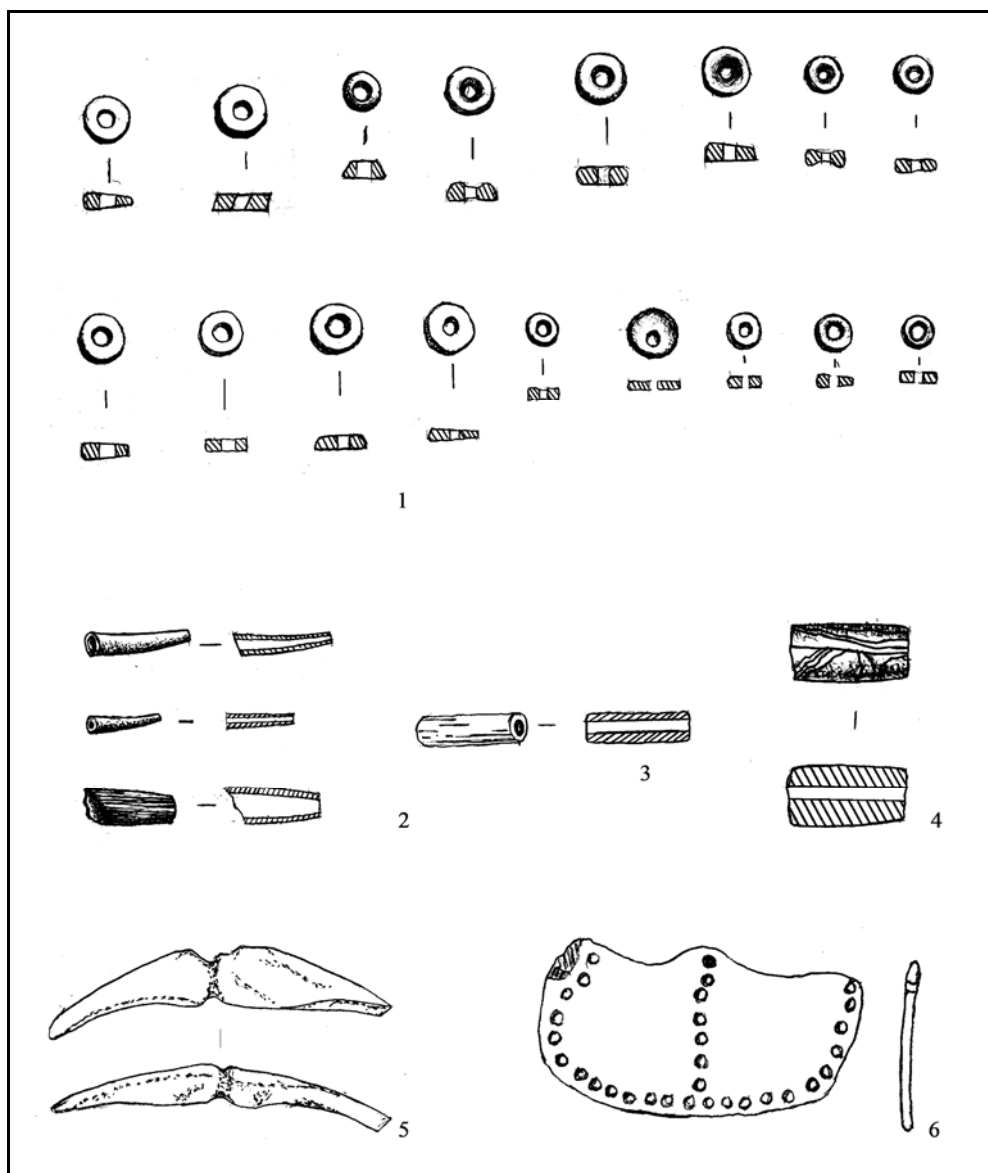
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<sup>4</sup> . In verschiedenen Sektoren der freigelegten Fläche wurden Teile der Hiatusschicht und der oberen Horizonte des Chalkolithikums abgetragen.

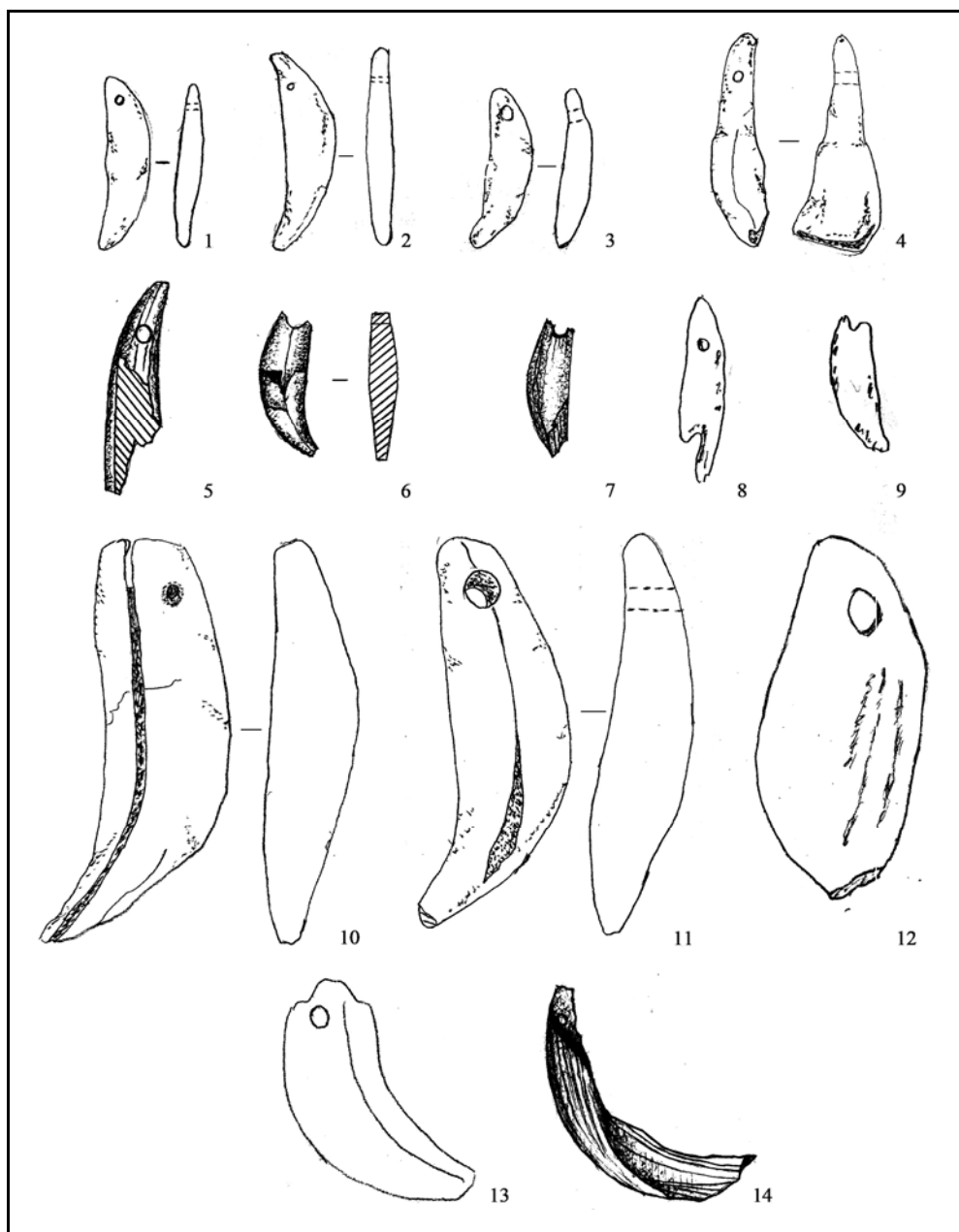
<sup>5</sup> . Fragmente aus Spondylusreifen, die in XV-XVII entdeckt wurden, werden in einer zukünftigen Publikation, die dem spätchalkolithischen Schmuck gewidmet wird, veröffentlicht.

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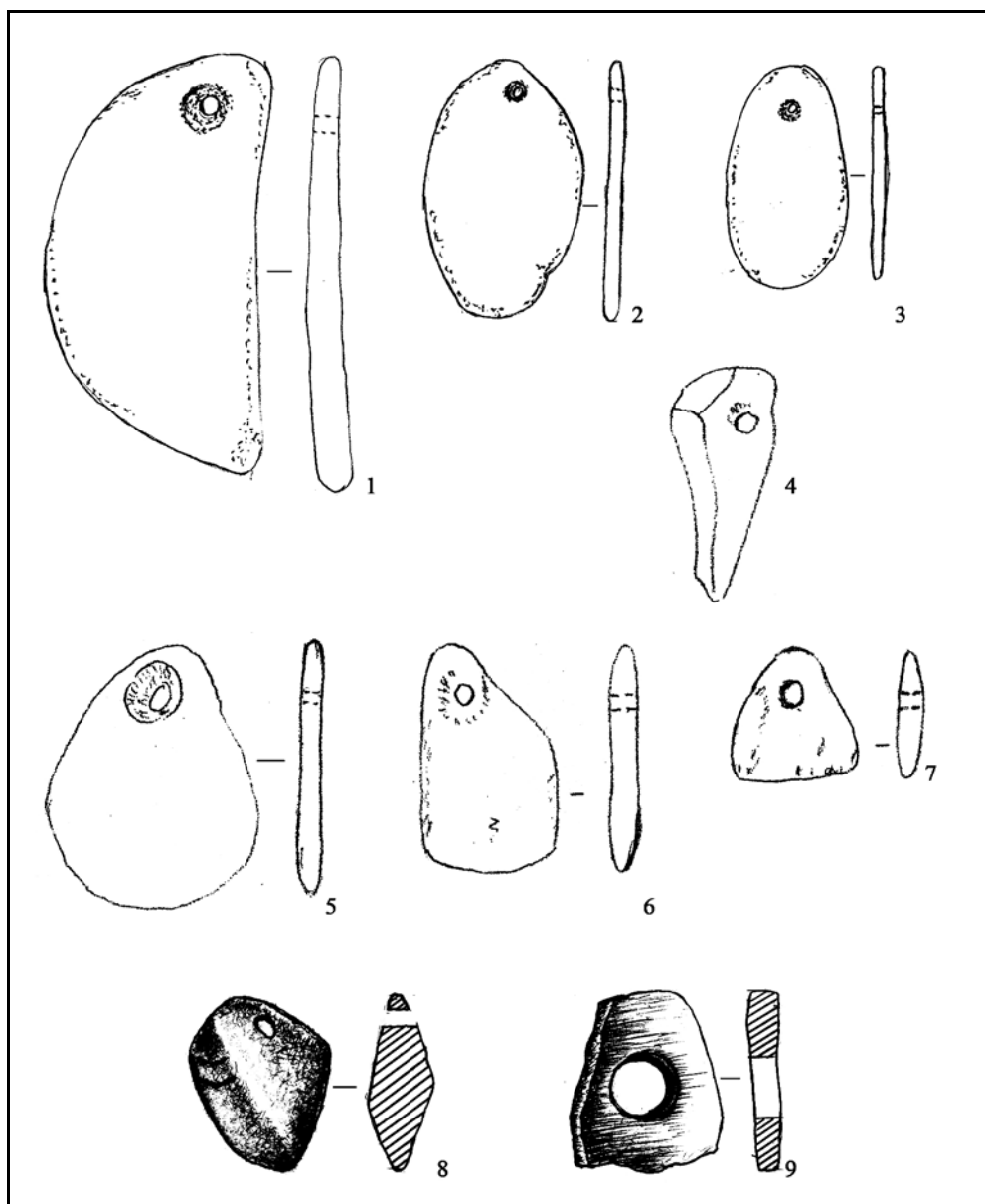
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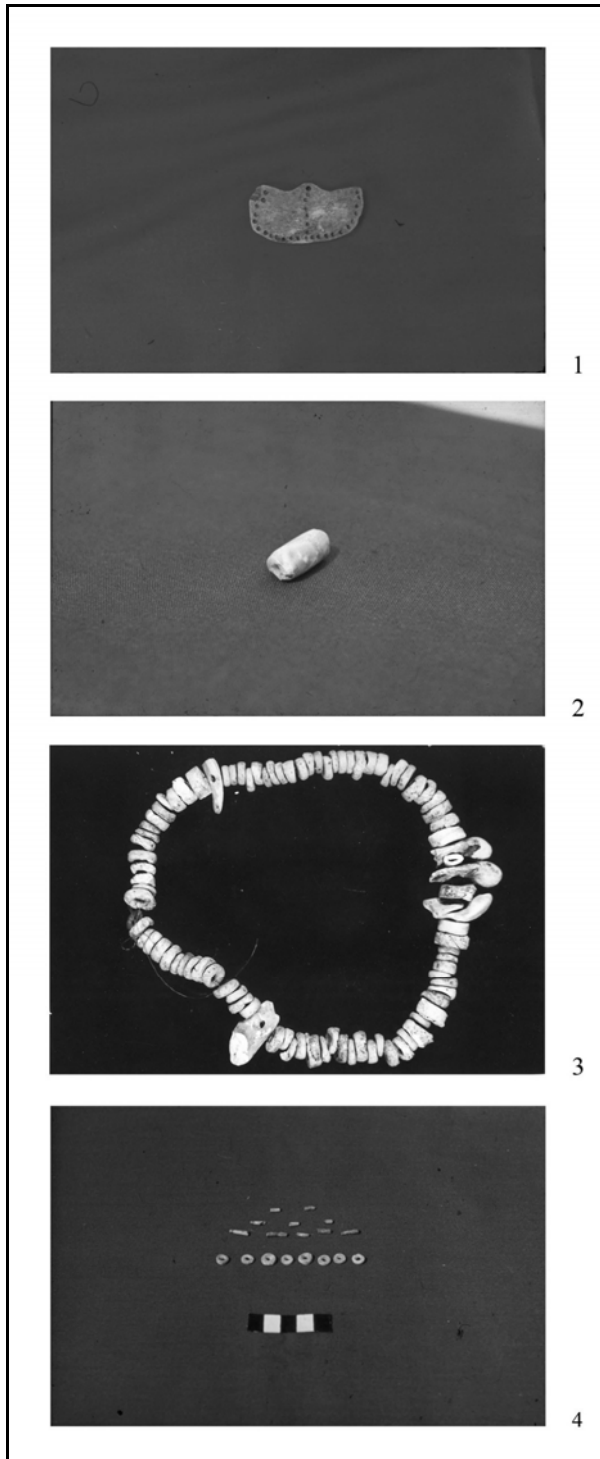
**Abb. 1:** 1-3 Dentaliumperlen; 4 Perle aus Sardoniks (Karneol); 5 Knochenapplikation; 6 Knochenanhänger.



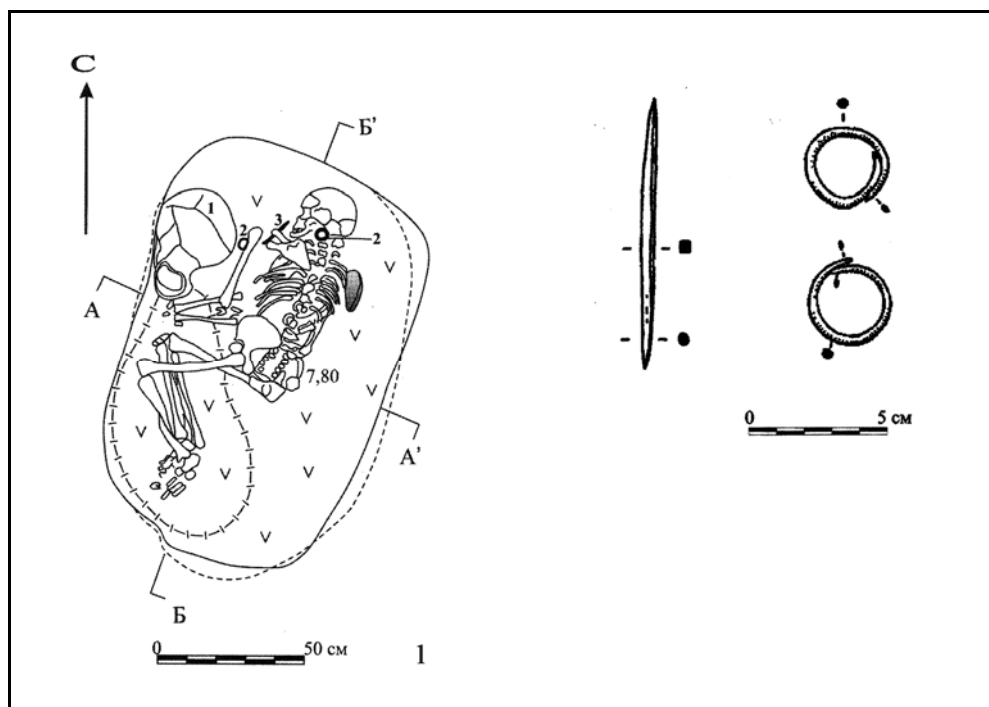
**Abb. 2:** Anhänger: 1-9 aus Raubtierzähnen; 10-14 aus Eberhauern.



**Abb. 3.** 1-9 Steinanhänger.



**Abb. 4:** Knochenanhänger; 2 Perlen aus Sardoniks (Karneol); 3 Perlenkette.



**Abb. 5:** 1- Fundsituation der Bestattung Nr. 52 (nach Mischina, Balabina 2007); 2- Bronzezähle; 3 Silberohrringklappen.



## DIE FRÜHBRONZEZEITLICHE BEFESTIGUNG IM TELL YUNATSITE

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**Abstract:** In diesem Artikel werden Befunde aus den an dem westlichen Hang des Hügels neu angelegten Sektoren M20 und N20 vorgestellt. Es handelt sich um eine Palisade und eine parallel zu ihr verlaufende Pfostenreihe, die in einer Länge von 20 m freigelegt sind. Nach ihrer Fundlage und – Situation lassen sie sich als Bestandteile einer Befestigung mit Palisade und Plattform interpretieren. Zeitlich lässt die Befestigung den frühbronzezeitlichen Horizonten sich XII-X einordnen. Eine genauere Datierung ist noch nicht möglich.

**Keywords:** katholisch, archäologie, aufbringen.

Der Siedlungshügel von Yunatsite befindet sich im westlichen Teil der Thrakischen Ebene. Die ehemals kreisförmige Anlage nimmt heute eine Fläche von etwa 100 m Länge in Nord-Süd-Richtung und 110 m in West-Ost-Richtung ein. Seine maximale Höhe, gemessen am Umland, beträgt noch 12m.

Die erste archäologische Sondage stammt aus dem Jahr 1939 und ist von V. Mikov angelegt worden. 1976 wurden die Ausgrabungen unter der Leitung von R. Katinčarov (Archäologisches Institut und Museum, Sofia) und V. Mazanova (Historisches Museum Pazardjik) wieder aufgenommen. Sie fanden im östlichen Bereich des Hügels auf ungefähr einem Drittel der gesamten Fläche statt. Im Verlauf der Arbeiten wurden zuerst Teile einer mittelalterlichen Nekropole, einer Befestigungsanlage aus römischer Zeit und eine Kulturschicht aus Früh-Späteisenzeit ergraben. Diese Schichten wurden als Schichtkomplex „A“ zusammengefasst. Unter ihnen beginnt eine dicke Abfolge aus der Frühbronzezeit - Schichtkomplex „B“<sup>1</sup> (Катинчаров и др. 1995, 24-29). Bis 1982 wurden 12 Siedlungshorizonte aus dieser Epoche freigelegt. Von 1982 bis 2000 wurden die Ausgrabungen unter Teilnahme einer russischen Grabungsmannschaft fortgeführt, deren Leitung N. J. Merpert oblag.

Die Frühbronzezeit wurde vollständig freigelegt und es begannen die Ausgrabungen der obersten chalkolithischen Schicht. Insgesamt wurden ca. 16-17 frühbronzezeitliche Horizonte festgestellt. Sie umfassen die gesamte

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<sup>1</sup> In der Publikation entspricht das „B“ zu dem kyrillischen “Б”.

Frühbronzezeit: FBZ I (XVII./XVI. – XV. Horizont), FBZ II (XIV. – IX. Horizont), sowie FBZ III (VIII. – I. Horizont).

In den verschiedenen Stufen der Frühbronzezeit wurden zahlreiche Gebäude freigelegt. Es wurde festgestellt, dass schon bei der Anlage der Siedlung der Nordteil den höchsten Bereich der Anlage stellte, abgetrennt vom restlichen Teil der Siedlung durch einen Graben und Palisaden (Мерперт, Мацанова 2007, 17-116 ). In keinem dieser Horizonte wurden Befestigungsspuren rund um die Siedlung gefunden.

Seit 2002 werden die Ausgrabungen der chalkolithischen Epoche in einer bulgarisch-griechischen Kooperation unter Leitung von J. Boyadziev (Archäologisches Institut mit Museum, Sofia) und Joannis Aslanis (Hellenic Research Foundation, Athen) fortgesetzt (Бояджиев и др. 2004).

An der Westseite des Hügels sind zwei Schnitte angelegt, mit dem Ziel die Westgrenze der chalkolithischen Siedlung zu erfassen (Abb. 1). Diese Seite ist diejenige, die zum Land führen sollte, denn von allen anderen Seiten die Siedlung vom einem Sumpf umlagert wurde.

Dort, in den Sektoren M20 und N20, erschienen mehrschichtigen Ablagerungen, die zu der Frühbronzezeit gehören (Abb.2). Auf der Fläche sind die Kulturschichten nur in einer Breite von ca. 2,00 m und in einer Länge von ca. 10,00 m aufgedeckt, der Rest ist ein mächtiger Hangschutt.

Dass dort die Grenzen der Siedlung waren, bezeugen die wiederholt erschienen Pfostenwände und Palisadenreihen, die wir mindestens in drei unterschiedlichen Siedlungsphasen erfasst haben.

Hier werden wir mit einem von diesen Befunden beschäftigen und Ihnen seine mögliche Funktion vorstellen. An dem Ostprofil des Schnittes M20 erscheint ein ca. 0,30 m mächtiger mit Kohlefragmenten bereicherter Aschenschutt. Auf ihm liegt eine Schichtung von verbranntem und unverbranntem Lehmschutt, die das Aschenpaket von oben versiegelt. An dem Profil und in einem regulären Abstand zueinander sind Pfostenlöcher zu erkennen, die gerade vom Profil angeschnitten sind. Ihre Tiefe und Breite betragen ca. 0,30-0,40 bzw. 0,20 m. Der Aschen- und der darauf liegende Lehmschutt setzen sich an dem Nordprofil desselben Schnittes fort und reichen bis zu einem auf dem Profil sehr gut erkennbaren Graben.

Der Graben ist ca. 0,40 m breit und 0,90 m tief und wurde in einer Länge von ca. 10,00 m freigelegt. In ihm lagen in einem Abstand von ca. 0,30 m Pfostenlöcher, einige von denen Teile von Holzkohle beinhalten und andere den Abdruck der vergangenen Pfosten noch hatten. Sein Verlauf entspricht genau der Form des Hügels und scheint die Grenzen der frühbronzezeitlichen Siedlung zu bilden.

Auf der Fläche der Sektoren M20 und N20 liegt der an den Profilen erfassten Aschenschutt direkt auf dem Lauffläche, der keine besondere Anfertigung aufweist und demzufolge kein Hausboden sein kann. Dies konnten wir besonders gut unterscheiden, weil an derselben Stelle die gleich darunter liegende frühbronzezeitliche Bauphase das sorgfältig hergestellte Fußboden eines Hauses freigelegt wurde.

Die Wahrscheinlichkeit hier eine äußeren Palisade der frühbronzezeitlichen Siedlung erfasst zu haben, führte zu einer detaillierteren Untersuchung des Befundes, obwohl ein solches Unternehmen sicherlich eine große Abweichung von unserem Zeit- und Arbeitsplan für die Erörterung der Westgrenzen der chalkolithischen Siedlung deutete. So könnten wir feststellen, dass der Graben an seiner äußeren Seite von einer ca. 0,20 m dicke Lehmwand begleitet war. Die ist sowohl auf der Fläche als auch auf einem für dieses Ziel entstandenen Profil zu erkennen. Der Graben enthielt neben den Pfostenlöchern außer massivem Lehmschutt kleine bräunliche Partikeln von vergangenem Holz.

Alle diese Informationen haben uns erlaubt eine Interpretation des Befunds zu wiedergeben, die wir hier zum ersten Mal bekannt machen möchten. Der Graben bildete den äußeren Ring der frühbronzezeitlichen Siedlung.

Nach der Tiefe des Grabens und der Dicke der Pfostenlöcher dürften die Pfosten eine Länge bis eine bis zu 5 m erreichen, von denen 1 m im Graben lag und der Rest eine bis 4 m hohe Palisade bildete. Die vergangenen Holzpartikel dürften zu Kleinholz gehören, das zusammen mit den Pfosten zur Entstehung einer Flechtwerkwand führte. Von außen war diese hohe Holzwand mit einer bis zu 0,20 m mächtige Lehmpackung gepflastert. Alles zusammen bildet eine ca. 0,40 m dicke mit Lehm gepflasterte Palisade.

In einer Entfernung von ca. 1,30 m von der Innenseite der Palisade liegen sie vom Ost-Profil geschnittene Pfostenlöcher. Sie entsprechen zu Pfosten mit einer Dicke von ca. 0,20 cm und sind bis zu 0,30-0,40 m im Boden eingetieft. Sie liegen in einem Abstand von ca. 0,50 m zu einander und geben den Eindruck einer Reihe von Einzelpfosten, deren Höhe niedriger als die der Palisade ist. Die im Graben festgestellten vergangenen Holzpartikel fehlen hier. Die unterschiedliche Bauweise zu der Palisade ist augenscheinlich. Auch in keinem der Häuser der Siedlung ist eine ähnliche Bauart festgestellt (Мерперт, Мачанова 2007).

Setzen wir beide Konstruktionen zusammen, so bilden sie zwei in einem Abstand von ca. 1,30 m parallel laufenden, unterschiedlich konstruierten Pfostenreihen, von denen die äußere stärker ist. Verbindet man sie mit einer Plattform, die nicht breiter als 1,50 m sein kann, haben wir eine ca. 4,00 m hohe, leicht in ihrer Konstruktion aber effektiv in ihrer Funktion hergestellte Befestigung der Siedlung vor uns (Abb. 3).

Diese Befestigung umkreiste höchstwahrscheinlich nur die Westseite der Siedlung, weil die Ausgrabung an der Ostseite keinen ähnlichen Befund ans Licht gebracht hat.

Sie dürfte durch einen starken Brand zugrunde gegangen sein. Dabei ist erst die Plattform verbrannt und gefallen dann folgte die Palisade mit dem Lehm-pflasterung. Dadurch ist die stratigraphische Abfolge entstanden, wo der auf dem Siedlungsboden verbreiteter Aschenschutt von verbranntem und unverbranntem Lehm bedeckt war.

Die Befestigung liegt in einer Tiefe von ca. 4,50 m unter dem Nullpunkt des Hügels. Diese Tiefe entspricht den Siedlungshorizonten XII bis X der Frühbronzezeit, wie es sich aus der kürzlich erschienen Publikation hervorgeht

(Мерперт и др. 2007, 140-142). Die Entfernung unserer Sektoren M20 und N20 von dem großen Profil erlaubt eine genauere Korrelation nicht. Jedoch zeigt die Keramik aus unseren Sektoren große Ähnlichkeit zu derjenigen aus den Horizonten XII bis X.

Wir konnten auch den Bezug zu dem am nördlichen Teil der Siedlung angelegte halbkreisförmige Graben herstellen. Er wurde in dem Horizont XVI entstanden und war bis zum Horizont XIII in Funktion (Mazanova 1996). Unsere Befestigung an der Westteil der Siedlung ist daher jünger als dieser Graben.

Interessant wird es auch die Beziehung des befestigten Hügels zu der nach Westen verbreiteten Siedlung. War sie an ihrer Westseite ebenfalls befestigt oder nicht? Wenn ja, kommen wir dann in einem anderen Interpretationsniveau, das auch die begriffe "Akropolis" und „Unterstadt“ beinhaltet und zu weiteren Wege die Siedlungsorganisation führen könnte.

## LITERATUR

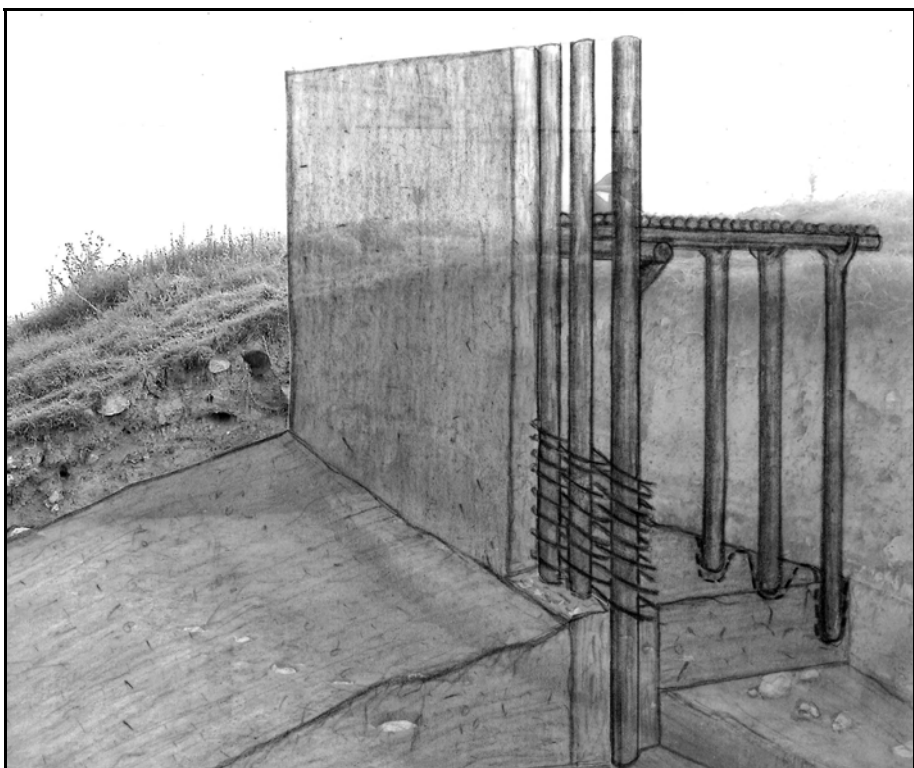
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**Abb. 1:** Ansicht der Westseite des Hügels mit den Schnitten M20 und N20.



**Abb. 2:** Ost- und Nordprofil des Schnittes M20



**Abb. 3:** Rekonstruktionsvorschlag der frühbronzezeitlichen Befestigung.

## DOUBLE-SIDED ZOOMORPHIC FIGURINES FROM TELL YUNATSITE

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**Abstract:** The term “amphisbaena” was introduced in the archaeological literature by V. Balabina. She used it in her classification of the zoomorphs from the Cucuteni-Tripolie in order to mark a specific type of figurines – those with one body and two heads at opposite ends. Zoomorphic amphisbaenas have been found in Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic sites in Central and Southeastern Europe. There are two main variations – cylindrical body with animal heads or conical protrusions and four-legged figurines. Both variations sometimes have orifices. Amphisbaenas are known not only in the form of separate zoomorphic figurines but also in the form of amulets, figurines with receptacles, altars and vessel-lids. By now there are 15 fragmented zoomorphic amphisbaenas from the Late Chalcolithic layer of tell Yunatsite. It is possible that their number is larger but they are usually found halfbroken (with few exceptions) and thus assigned to the ordinary zoomorphic figurines. All of the specimens belong to the four-legged type and represent two subtypes: I – with realistically-modeled heads and ears (or horns); II subtype, with two variations – schematic figurines with conical protrusions-heads, with or without tails.

**Keywords:** figurines, zoomorphs, amphisbaenas.

There are particular artifacts among the numerous ceramic finds discovered at prehistoric sites, whose function or affiliation to a specific group of artifacts is difficult to define. The difficulties are often due to the fragmentary condition of the artifacts. Thus in the publications their function is often defined as unknown or related to ritual practices (a sphere in which real and irrational interlace). In other cases there are different interpretations of very similar finds. This is normal when non-utilitarian artifacts with schematic depiction are concerned. The lack of obvious practical use of these objects leaves the door open for various interpretations.

The above said is completely valid for a particular type of zoomorphic clay figurines from Chalcolithic sites in Bulgaria. These are artifacts with a single body and two heads at the opposite ends – realistically modeled or schematically marked by protrusions. In the publications these finds are called “objects of unknown purpose”, “stands for clay idols”, “zoomorphic figurines or chairs”, “chairs with bull’s heads”, “clay chairs”, “packsaddles”, “barriers”, “zoomorphic handles” (Миков 1961, обр. 19 а; Детев 1954, обр. 68; Мирчев, Златарски 1960, 19, обр. 38 б; Радунчева 1961, обр. 2, 3; Радунчева 1997, обр. 5; Тодорова и др. 1975, Т. 44: 5, 8; Лихардус, Фол, Гетов и др. 2001, фиг. 29: 1, обр. 13: 10; Чохаджиев

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1997, обр. 181: 5, обр. 188: 5). The authors usually list these figurines among the ritual artifacts without any further analysis of their function. The article of A. Raduncheva "About the Purpose of Some Chalcolithic Zoomorphic Clay Figurines" (Радунчева 1971) is an exception in the list. She studied two such finds from tell Kodzadermen and defined them as chairs with ox heads. The author analyzed the importance of ox and its cult in prehistoric societies. However, I should notice that in my opinion she had placed these figurines upside down which reflected her interpretation. Yet, it is possible that the two-horned zoomorphic heads represent schematic bulls' heads.

The term "amphisbaena" was introduced in the archaeological literature by V. Balabina. She used it in her classification of the zoomorphic figurines from the Cucuteni-Tripolie culture in order to define a specific type– the ones with a single body and two heads at opposite ends (Балабина 1998, 174-176). As the author noted, the term was "borrowed" by the medieval bestiaries continuing the ancient tradition. The name "amphisbaenas" is also used in the zoological taxonomy for a genus of lizards that can crawl with either their head or their tail to the front. In Greek amphisbaena means "moving in two directions" (from *amphis* – in both directions, and *baino* – walk, move).

Zoomorphic amphisbaenas have been found in Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic sites in Central and Southeastern Europe. There are two main variations – a cylindrical body with animal heads or conical protrusions and four-legged figurines. Both variations sometimes have openings. Amphisbaenas are known not only in the form of separate zoomorphic figurines but also in the form of amulets, figurines with receptacles, altars and vessel-lids (Балабина 1998, 175 with references).

By now there are 15 fragmented zoomorphic amphisbaenas from the Late Chalcolithic layer at tell Yunatsite<sup>1</sup>. It is possible that their number is larger but they are usually found half-broken (with few exceptions) and thus assigned to the ordinary zoomorphic figurines.

All of the artifacts belong to the four-legged type. As V. Balabina noted, the four-legged figurines differ by the shape of the head:

- with realistically modeled heads and ears (or horns);
- schematic figurines with conical protrusions-heads.

To the first type we may with discretion assign a half-preserved figurine from tell Yunatsite. The uniformly shaped cylindrical and quite disproportionately

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<sup>1</sup> Tell Yunatsite is situated in the western part of Upper Thrace, near the village of Yunatsite, Pazardzhik region, Bulgaria. It is a multi layer settlement and was inhabited during several millennia – from the Chalcolithic till the Late Middle ages. The tell was first excavated in 1939 by V. Mikov (Миков 1940) and since 1976 regular archaeological excavations were made there. The thickness of the layers is about 10 m and until now layer A (Iron age, Roman and Mediaeval periods) (Катинчаров, Мерперт и др. 1995), layer Б (17 Early Bronze age I-III levels) were excavated. The excavation of layer В (Chalcolithic) is in process.

In 2002 started the realization of a new Bulgarian-Greek scientific project. The director of the Bulgarian team are Dr. Yavor Boyadzhiev ( NAIM- BAS) and Stoilka Terzijska-Ignatova ( RMH – Pazardzhik), deputy head. The director of the Greek team is Dr. Yoanis Aslanis ( KERA-NHFR).

elongated body provides ground to suggest that the artifact belongs to the first type of amphisbaenas. The head is modeled by pinching, the muzzle is open, the legs are broken. There is a diagonal orifice.

All of the other figurines from tell Yunatsite belong to the second type – schematic figurines with conical protrusions-heads. There are two variants:

- without tails (fig. 1: 2-5);
- with horizontal conical protrusions – tails (fig. 1: 6-8; 2: 1-7).

In her classification V. Balabina described similar amphisbaenas as figurines with or without muzzle. In my opinion the horizontal protrusions (or knobs) more likely represent tails. This is attested by their position and shape. Thus, the amphisbaenas of the second variant of the second type are figurines with one body ending in both ends with conical protrusions-heads and protrusions-tails. In this variant there is also a difference in the position of the legs – horizontally extended (fig. 2: 3-5) or in normal standing position (fig. 1: 6-8; fig. 2: 1-2, 6-7). Zoomorphic amphisbaena of the second type have been found in Romania too (Marinescu-Bilcu, Ionescu 1968, Pl. XXI 8).

The zoomorphic amphisbaenas from tell Yunatsite are made of fine clay. Their surface is usually nicely smoothed. The dimensions of the complete artifacts vary between 4 and 8-9 cm. In some of the figurines the protrusions were modeled by drawing out of the body but in most of the cases they were additionally attached (which explains their lack in most of the finds).

By now this kind of figurines remains enigmatic. I disagree that they are models of chairs or beds, even if we assume that the protrusions represent zoomorphic arm-rests. The shape of the body – cylindrical, with oval cross-section – does not suggest their comfortable use for seating. Besides, in almost each Chalcolithic site clay models of chairs with normally modeled seats and backs have been found. It is quite possible that they represent real elements (probably wooden ones) of the interior of prehistoric houses.

Undoubtedly, the zoomorphic amphisbaenas were ritual objects with certain meaning and importance for the prehistoric people. The vision of fantastic animals with two heads and two tails in opposite directions originated from complex mythological concepts. The concept of opposed and at the same time mutually connected images could have symbolized directions (East-West = sunrise-sunset) as well as the dual nature of things – male and female, good-bad, dark-light, etc. With respect to this it should be noticed that one of the figurines from tell Yunatsite has indications for being of male sex (fig. 2: 5). Unfortunately it is half-preserved so it is not possible to say whether it was unisexual or dual-sexual.

Similar double-sided images (sometimes of both sexes or of different species) existed not only in prehistory – like double-faced clay anthropomorphic figure from tell Starozagorski mineralni bani, double-sided bone figurine from tell Kazanlak, etc. (L'or de Thraces 2002, № 60, 89), but also in Antiquity and Medieval ages – in art, literature and heraldry (Средневековый бестиарий 1984; Борхес 1994, 7; Герасимов 1960). In the mythologies of many peoples two-headed creatures are in some cases fearful symbols of destruction whilst in others

they are guards of home and symbols of vigilance – one of the heads sleeps but the other is awake. In the Egyptian mythology two-headed lion embodies the gods of sunrise and sunset. Two lions standing in opposite directions and depicted with the solar disk symbolized past and future, yesterday and today. In many cases double-sided zoomorphic figurines (as well as anthropomorphic ones) were connected to house and fireplace (Лещаков 2003). In China similar beliefs are embodied in porcelain figurines of animals – the two Fu dogs are powerful symbols of protection. Placed at the window or in the middle of the house they prevent bad energies or people from entering the home. It is possible that zoomorphic amphisbaenas as well were regarded by prehistoric people as having magical powers and were thus placed in houses to protect them. These unusual syncretic images may have been also related to fetishism – respected as objects with supernatural powers, or to animism – as being personification of good (or bad?) spirits.

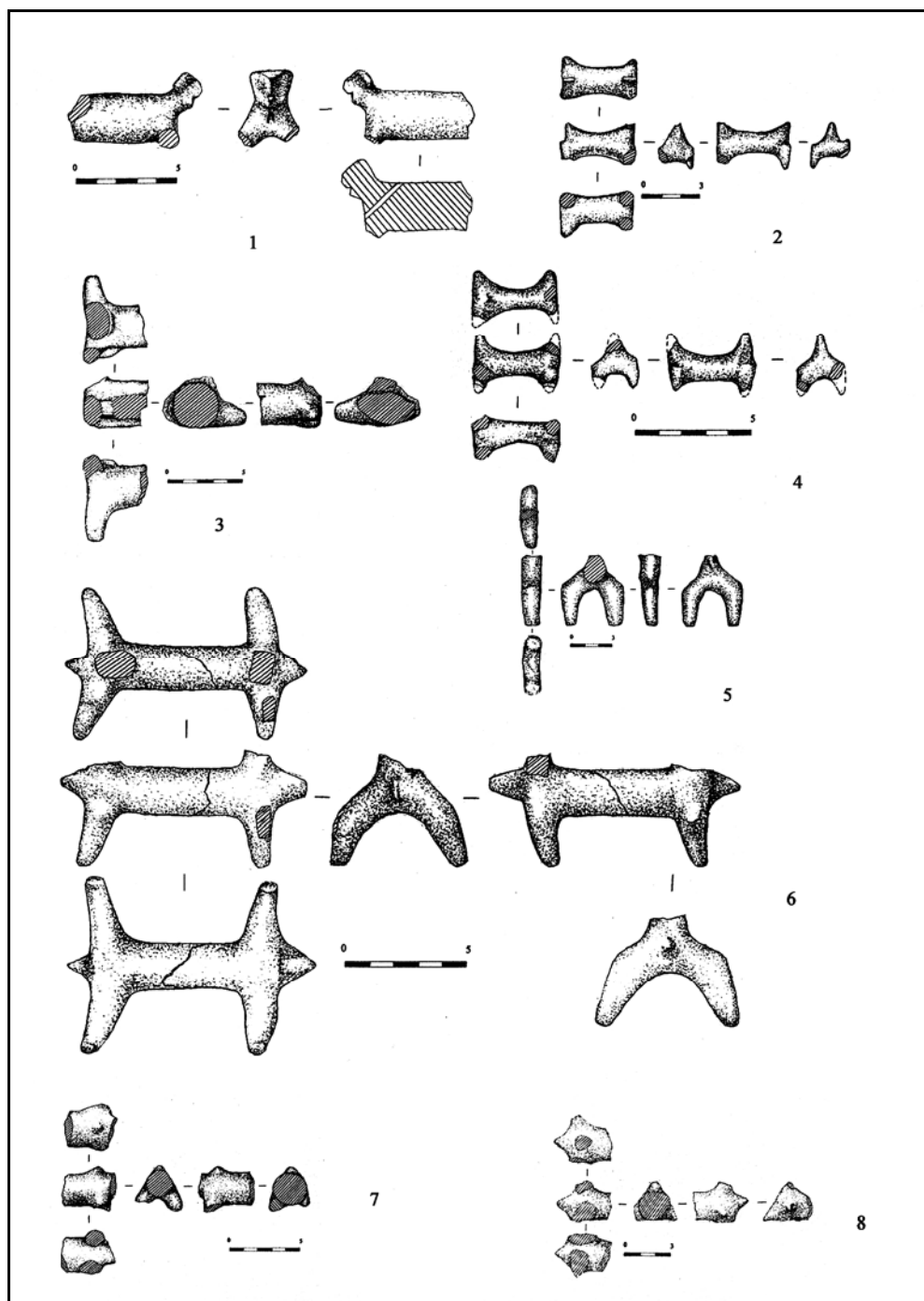
As I mentioned in the beginning, such figurines have been found in many Chalcolithic settlements in Bulgaria – Bikovo (Детев 1954), Zavet (Миков 1961), Sava (Мирчев, Златарски 1960), Kodzadermen (Радунчева 1971), Sedlare (Радунчева 1997), Drama (Лихардус, Фол, Гетов и др. 2001), Slatino (Чохаджиев 1997), Golyamo Delchevo (Тодорова и др. 1975), Azmashka tell (Калчев 2005, 52), Ruse (Чернаков 2005, обр. 3: 10, 11, 14а, 14б, обр. 4: 5а-б), etc.

By now the semantic code of the zoomorphic amphisbaenas remains non-deciphered but this is one of the challenges which the archaeological investigation offers us.

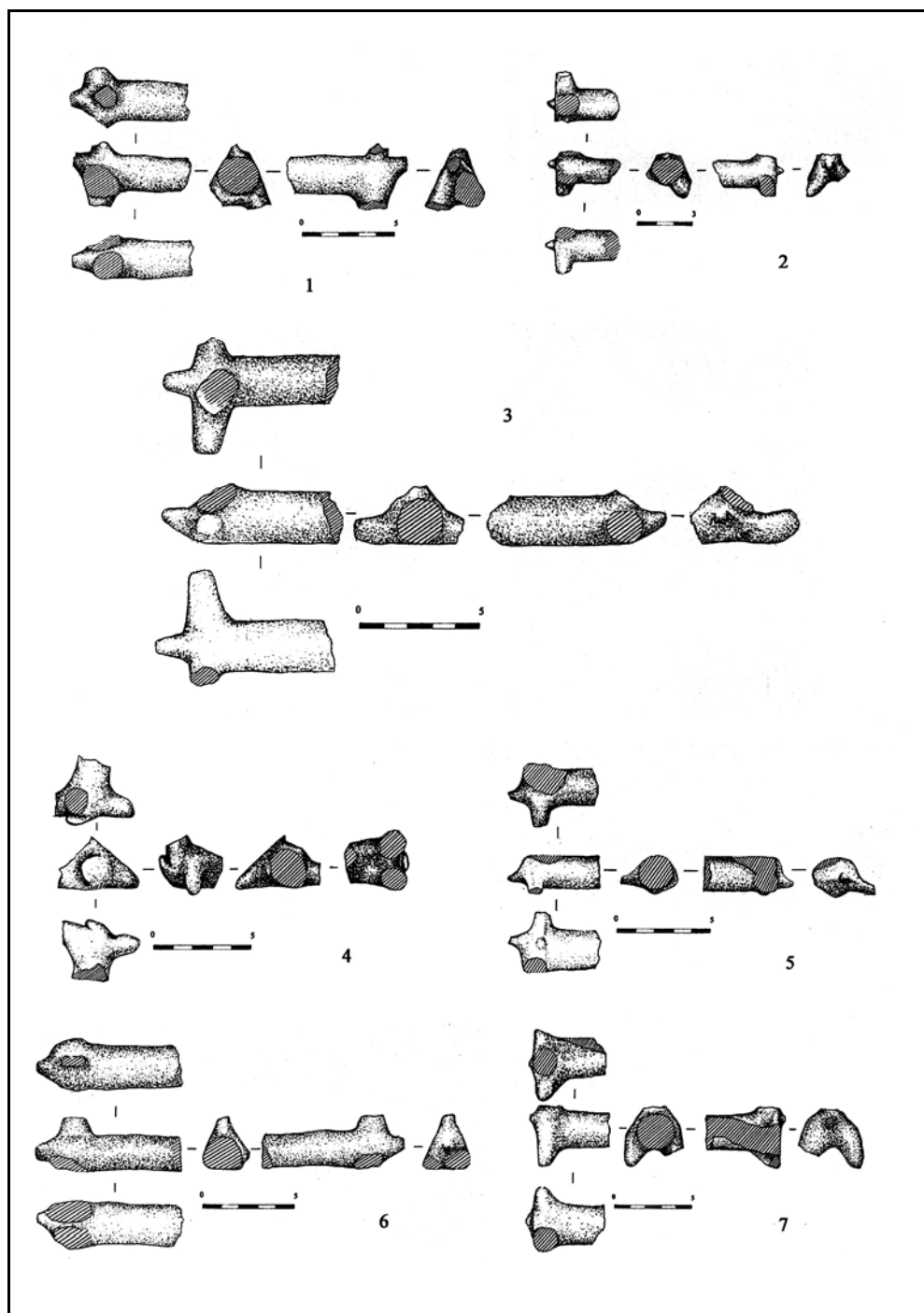
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**Fig. 1:** Zoomorphic amphisbaenas from Tell Yunatsite: 1- type I; 2-5 – type II, variant 1; 6-8 - type II, variant 2.



**Fig. 2:** Zoomorphic amphisbaenas from Tell Yunatsite: 1-7 - type II, variant 2.



## PREHISTORIC SETTLEMENT IN “DOLAPKULAK” LOCATION NEAR DRAGANOVO VILLAGE, DOBRICH DISTRICT, BULGARIA

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*This paper is dedicated to my late colleague Alexander Georgiev Bonev. We excavated together in Durankulak and Draganovo. He taught me how to “see” in archaeological work.*

**Abstract:** Așezarea preistorică de lângă satul Draganovo, Dobrici, face referire la categoria așezărilor fortificate situate pe „înălțimi”, ce au apărut la jumătatea și în cea de a doua jumătate a neoliticului și bronz în unele zone din Peninsula Balcanică și care au fost locuite cu intensitate diferită până la sfârșitul eneoliticului, iar unele zone și într-o perioadă mai târzie. Obiectivul a fost descoperit și studiat prin sondaj în anul 1975 pe o suprafață mai extinsă în anul 1993. Până acum rezultatele care s-au obținut în urma săpăturilor au fost publicate în termeni destul de generali și în diferite contexte în cadrul unor monografii și anunțuri, comunicări prealabile. Din această cauză în cadrul acestei comunicări autorul are ambiția să prezinte, pe cât este posibil, informația topografică și arheologică cât mai completă din așezarea Drăganovo-Durankulak, în speranța că această informație se va extinde prin informații noi din viitoare cercetări. În cazul de față, are importanță și faptul că obiectivul este situat pe malul stâng al unuia dintre brațele canionului Suha Reka. De pe teritoriul Bulgariei și din teritoriile învecinate se cunosc mai mult de zece asemenea descoperiri arheologice care au o caracteristică arheologică înrudită, în ciuda unor diferențe care există în stratigrafia și cronologia lor. Dar localizarea și topografia lor, ca regulă de bază, demonstrează o locuire a platourilor situate la înălțime, ce domină zona înconjurătoare, zona locuită fiind înconjurată de versanți abrupti, ce ofereau o apărare naturală a locuitorilor săi. Și așezarea de la „Durankulak” este o așezare fortificată, situată pe un platou înalt, care se află la 5 km. sud de satul Draganovo, județul Dobrici. Săpăturile care s-au efectuat în anii 1975 și 1993, ne-au oferit informația arheologică de teren, care a fost expusă amănunțit în articolul de față. În cadrul acestei așezări s-au descoperit cantități impresionante de ceramică, plastică antropomorfă și zoomorfă, sculpturi din cremene și din os. Din punct de vedere stratigrafic și tipologic s-a stabilit că această așezare a avut două perioade de locuire: 1. Din epoca bronzului târziu și epoca fierului timpuriu, avem un strat de locuire cu o grosime de 30 de cm. Aici s-au delimitat două nivele de locuire – culturile Cologeni Sabatinovka, Sihleanu-Prababadag și Babadag I.; 2. Mijlocul și cea de a doua jumătate a epocii halcolit, un strat de locuire cu o grosime de 80-90 de cm. Aici s-au diferențiat două nivele de locuire – culturile – Hamangia IV, Sava IV și etapele timpurii de la Varna.

**Keywords:** prehistoric, settlement, fortified, stratigraphy.

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The prehistoric formation near village Draganovo belongs to the category of fortified settlements located on eminence which occurred during the late Stone-Copper Age in some parts of the Balkans and which existed with different duration till the end of the Chalcolithic and even later.<sup>1</sup> Within the territory of Bulgaria ten such archaeological formations are known nowadays; these are Krivodol, Gorna Kremena-Zaminets and Ohoden-Kaleto in Vratsa region;<sup>2</sup> Gnilyane – Okolglava and Glalabovtsi-Peklyuk, Sofia region;<sup>3</sup> Krakra – in Pernik;<sup>4</sup> Dyakovo-Gradishte and Slatino-Chardako – Kyustendil region;<sup>5</sup> Kolarovo-Moussovitsa in the valley of river Strumenitsa, Blagoevgrad region;<sup>6</sup> Sadovets-Golemanovo kale and Telish-Redutite, Pleven region<sup>7</sup> and some other of similar archaeological characteristics, although of different stratigraphy and chronology.<sup>8</sup> Their topography shows settlements on high steep-sloped plateaus dominating over the surrounding terrain, which provided natural protection for the inhabitants. According to region and chronology they can be presented as follows:

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<sup>1</sup> What I have in mind here is the formation near Krivodol, Vratsa region, and its chronology. See also **Bogdan Nikolov**. Krivodol, ancient cultures, S., 1984, p. 7-10 (in Bulgarian). Three horizons dated to the second half and to the end of the Chalcolithic and two horizons from the transitional period from the Stone-Copper to the Bronze Age were cleared.

<sup>2</sup> **Bogdan Nikolov**. Prehistoric settlement near village Ohoden, Vratsa district. – In: *Arheologia* X, 1968, vol. I p. 65-75. **Ibid**: Zaminets – an album, S., 1975.

<sup>3</sup> **Nedelcho Petkov**. Okol glava tell site near village Gnilyane. – In: *GNM* V, 1931, S., p. 115-145 (in Bulgarian); **Ibid**: Peklyuk – prehistoric settlement near village Galabovtsi, Sofia region. – In: *IAI* XXVI, 1963, p. 177-194 (in Bulgarian).

<sup>4</sup> **Changova, Y. et al**. Prehistoric settlements in Pernik, vol. I, 1981, p.11-51 (in Bulgarian).

<sup>5</sup> **Stefan Cochadziev**. Ausgrabungen an der prahistorischen Siedlung beim Dorf Djakovo, Kreis Kjustendil. – In: *Stidia Praehistorica*, 7, Sofia, 1984, S. 64-80; **Idem**: Fruhaneolitische Keramik aus der Prahistorischen Siedlung bei Slatino, Bezirk Kjustendil. – In: *Studia Praehistorica*, 8, Sofia, 1986, S. 185-202.

<sup>6</sup> **Lilyana Pernicheva**. Drill investigations of the prehistoric settlement near Kollarovo village, Blagoevgrad district in 1980 (in Bulgarian). – In: *Archaeological discoveries and excavations in 1980.*, S., 1981 XXVI, p. 27-29. **Idem**: Researches on the Chalcolithic along the mid-Struma river (in Russian). – In: *Studia Praehistorica* 11-12, Sofia, 1992, p. 221-235.

<sup>7</sup> **Stefan Alexandrov**. Cultural characteristics of the Orlya-Sadovets complex (in Russian). – In: *Studia Praehistorica* 11-12, Sofia, 1992, pp. 358-361; **Ventsislav Gergov**. Copper finds from the prehistoric settlement in Redoutite location near village Telish, Pleven district (in Bulgarian). – In: *Arheologia* XXIX, 1987, vol. 4, p. 44-54; **Idem**: Prehistoric sttlement Telish-Redoute (in Russian). – In: *Studia Praehistorica* 11-12, Sofia, 1992, p. 347-357; **Ibidem**: Clay altar from the prehistoric settlement in Telish, Pleven region (in Bulgarian). – In: *Communications of the Museums in North-Western Bulgaria*, vol. 18, 1992, pp. 29-31.

<sup>8</sup> **Henrieta Todorova**. Settlement structure during the Stone-Copper Age in Bulgaria (in Bulgarian), S., 1986, p. 42-89.

**Table 1:** Stratigraphy and chronology of fortified Late Chalcolithic settlements on high plateaus in Bulgaria

FORMATION	STRATIGRAPHY	CHRONOLOGY
Krivodol, Vratsa region	Horizon depth 2.80 m. Five horizons	Late Chalcolithic – KSB <sup>9</sup> II-III and transition to the Bronze Age.
Zaminets, Gorna Kremena, Vratsa region	Horizon depth 0.80 m. Three horizons.	Late Chalcolithic – KSB III till the end of the period.
Kaleto, Ohoden, Vratsa region	Horizon depth 0.40 m. One horizon.	Late Chalcolithic – KSB II.
Okol glava, Gnilyane, Sofia region.	Multy-layered settlement. Horizons not clear.	Mid- and Late Chalcolithic. Import – culture Vincha C.
Peklyuk, Galabovtsy, Sofia region	Disturbed layer. Probably two horizons according to typology	Late Chalcolithic – KSB II-III.
Krakra fortress, Pernik.	Disturbed cultural layer. No stratigraphy.	Second stage of culture Gradeshnitsa. Early and Late Chalcolithic.
Gradishte, Dyakovo, Kyustendil region.	Disturbed cultural layer. Two horizons – remains from houses.	Late Chalcolithic – KSB I.
Chardako, Slatino, Kyustendil region.	Horizon depth 2.05 m. Four horizons.	Early Chalcolithic, culture Dikilitash-Slatino.
Moussovitsa, Kolarovo, Blagoevgrad region.	Horizon depth 0.70 m. Horizons not clear.	Late Chalcolithic – KSB III and Early Bronze Age.
Golemanovo Kale, Sadovets, Plevn region	Disturbed cultural layer, Horizons not clear.	Late Chalcolithic – KSB IV; bronze and Orlya-Sadovets.
Redoutite, Telish, Plevn region.	Horizon depth 1.50 m. Three horizons.	Late Chalcolithic – KSB III – IV; transitional period – Galatin.

This table does not exhaust all the data. There are other fortified sites on high plateaus from the Stone-Copper Age discovered in different parts of Bulgaria, as well as abroad. It is worth mentioning the late Chalcolithic settlement on an eminence at the bank of Chataalka Dam in Stara Zagora region. The archaeological material from this site (unfortunately unpublished) has close parallels from the materials found in the eminence settlements in West and North-west Bulgaria. Temporally, this material follows the block Codjadermen–Goumelnitsa–Karanovo

<sup>9</sup> KSB = Krivodol-Salcutsa-Bubani culture.

VI (KGK VI). There is also the tell site Chataalka, from which artifacts were dated to the culture Karanovo V – Maritsa and the cultural block KGK VI.<sup>10</sup> Excavations were also done at the eminence Tepeto near Krivodol,<sup>11</sup> and significant data is provided by the settlements located on eminences near Makresh, Vidin region, Kroushovitsa,<sup>12</sup> Galatin<sup>13</sup> and Sofronievo, Vratsa region – terrain observations and drill excavations of Bogdan Nikolov in north-eastern Bulgaria.<sup>14</sup> In order to illustrate the archaeological context of these sites, the settlements of similar type in Salcutsa, South Romania<sup>15</sup> and on the eminence Bubani Hum near the modern town of Nish in East Serbia<sup>16</sup> should be mentioned as well.

The above shows that at the end of the Stone-Copper Age the fortified eminence settlements were present in different parts of the Balkan peninsular. The problem with the cause for this phenomenon should be sought in other studies. One thing is certain: a global event made the people in South-east Europe to build their settlements on unusual places during the Late Stone-Copper Age and especially at its end. The landscape and topographic peculiarities of these places were attractive for the ancient populations mostly for their relief standing above the surrounding locality, even if some (otherwise highly valued by the ancient people) natural resources and conveniences were absent.<sup>17</sup> It is impossible to say what exactly happened. It is not possible to say if there is only one answer to this question. There different hypotheses (mostly speculative and some even frivolous) ranging from inter-tribal conflicts, economic or ecological troubles<sup>18</sup> to attempts at identifying the prehistoric communities on the basis of later names, toponyms, biblical manuscripts and legends.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Investigations of **Mincho Dimitrov** from Regional Museum of History – Stara Zagora. See also Jungstezeit in Bulgarien (Neolithikum und Aneolithikum), Sofia, 1981, S. 111, 127 B; 112, 128a, 113, 129a, 116, 133, 119, 136B, 133, 151a.

<sup>11</sup> **Vasil Mikov**. Prehistoric settlement near Krivodol, Vratsa region (in Bulgarian). – In: Excavations and investigations I, S., 1948, p. 26-62.

<sup>12</sup> **Georgi Iliev Georgiev**. Die Aneolithische Kultur in Sudbulgarien im Lichte der Ausgrabungen vom tell Azmak bei Stara Zagora. – In: Studijne Zvesti 17, Nitra, 1969, S. 154, abb.12.

<sup>13</sup> **Bogdan Nikolov**. Prefistoric settlements in Vratsa region (in Bulgarian). – In: Arheologia IV, 1962, vol. 1, p. 69-71.

<sup>14</sup> **Bogdan Nikolov**. Sophronievo, Vratsa region, 1971. **Idem**: Periodization of the Neolithic cultures in North Bulgaria from Yantra to Timok (in Bulgarian). – In: Communications of the museums in north-western Bulgaria, vol. 18, 1992, p. 11-28.

<sup>15</sup> **Dumitru Berciu**. Contributii la problemele neoliticului in Romania in lumina noilor cercetari, Bucuresti, 1961, p. 120-298.

<sup>16</sup> **Milutin Garasanin**. Neolithikum und Bronzezeit in Serbien und Makedonien, Ueberblick uber den Stand der Forschung 1958. – In: BerRGK 39, 1958, S. 1-130.

<sup>17</sup> **David and Ruth Whitehouse**. Archaeological Atlas of the World. Thames and Hudson, London, 1975, p. 136-137 and 157.

<sup>18</sup> **Henrieta Todorova**. The Stone-Copper Age in Bulgaria (in Bulgarian), S., 1986, p. 221-227.

<sup>19</sup> **Vladimir Tsonev**. The secrets of humankind and the Bulgarian people (in Bulgarian). – In: Anthology, vol. 3, S., 2008, p. 7-188.

The settlement discovered in the locality Dolapkulak is also fortified and is situated on a high plateau, 5 km to the south of the modern village Draganovo (Table 2). The site was investigated through drilling by Alexander Bonev and Rossen Boshnakov in 1975 in relation to the "History of Dobroudja" project consecutively published in four volumes. The first volume was published in 1984 and the results from the Draganovo-Dolapkulak settlement were presented there briefly.<sup>20</sup>

The place stands above the surrounding terrain in the form of an even plateau with north-south orientation. From the east and south it is naturally protected with steep slopes. It is accessible only from the north where the settlement was fortified with a ditch and a rampart, now evident in the de-leveling of 2.00 – 2.50 m from the bottom of the ditch to the upper rampart. The built-up area is 90 m to the north-south and 50 m to the east-west, or a total of 4 500 m<sup>2</sup>. In 1975 Bonev and Boshnakov made two perpendicular drillings with orientation north-south and east-west, respectively. Both were 1.50 m wide, the length of drilling 1 was 20 m, and the length of drilling 2 – 12 m. They helped to establish the stratigraphy and the relative chronology of the settlement, which encompassed the Stone-Copper, Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages. At depth 60 cm a covering from small stones forming a kind of pavement was cleared in the first drilling, as well as a rectangular construction of large stones with the following size: length 2 m, width 1.50 m and height of the walls 0.35 m. This construction was located 4 m from the south end of the drilling. Similar pavement was found in drilling 2 as well, at depth 1.10 m; 2 m from its east end a low wall of medium-sized crumbled stones was cleared, its length was 2.50 m, and its height – 0.30 m from the surface of the terrain. The researchers referred the stone constructions in drilling 1 to the first building horizon, and the constructions in drilling 2 – to the second building horizon.<sup>21</sup> Two chronological periods of the settlement were determined:

1. Middle and beginning of the Late Bronze Age: a cultural layer 70-80 cm thick. Various artifacts were discovered: stone and bone tools and weapons, sherds from vessels. The ceramics included high conical hollow stems of vessels decorated with stamped geometrical ornaments: incised lines and bands of small rectangles, S-shaped patterns, lines of incised triangles, decoration through removal of the background, flutings, etc. Several artifacts are of special interest:

The knee from a big sitting anthropomorphic clay figure or a large vessel. Such artifacts are known from the distribution zone of the Tisza and Herpaly cultures in Hungary.<sup>22</sup> Similar finds were excavated in the lower horizons of Durankulak tell site (Figure 2, 1-2);<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> **Henrieta Todorova**. Dobroudja during the Prehistoric Age (in Bulgarian). – In: History of Dobroudja, vol. 1, S., 1984, p. 40-55.

<sup>21</sup> Field book of the 1975 excavations of Al. Bonev and R. Boshnakov.

<sup>22</sup> **Nandor Kalicz, Pal Raczky**. The Late Neolithic of the Tisza region: A survey of recent archaeological research. – In: The Late Neolithic of the Tisza region, Budapest-Szolnok, 1987, p. 11-30; **Ibidem**: A settlement of the Herpaly culture, p. 105-125, Fig. 7-10.

<sup>23</sup> Excavations of **Henrieta Todorova** and **Todor Dimov**. The results will be published in the 4<sup>th</sup> volume of the "Durankulak" series.

Ceramic lid in the form of swine head with relief and geometric ornamentation consisting of rows of incised triangles, lines and patterns through removal of the background (Figure 3, 1). This find has parallels in the zoomorphic figurines from Rousse tell site, where the swine figurines amount to 11.9 % from all zoomorphic finds (Figure 3.2).<sup>24</sup>

Pieces from a round clay mould for making of ceramic pots in the shape of a frustum of a cone. It was strongly burnt, with unevenly baked interior. Similar artifacts are known from different sites in Bulgaria – tell sites in Rousse,<sup>25</sup> Karanovo,<sup>26</sup> etc. They are representative of the technology for ceramic production during the Stone-Copper Age.<sup>27</sup>

A large number of back parts and blades of battle axes made from massive deer antlers (Figure 5). Destructions from surface houses with plinth clay and pillar construction were cleared as well as stones assembled without any structural connection between them.

2. Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age – a 30 cm deep layer. After discontinuation of the settlement on the plateau at mid-Late Chalcolithic, the place was re-settled at the end of the Bronze Age, the second half of 13<sup>th</sup> – 12<sup>th</sup> century B.C. A small number of ceramic sherds were found. Very typical was a piece from the upper half of a vessel in the form of frustum of a cone and semi-spherical body. The piece had gray-yellowish polished surface and two vertical relief ribs and wide vertical flutings between them. Pottery with similar ornaments is well known to the north of Romania, in the distribution area of **Pechica** culture.<sup>28</sup> This horizon from Draganovo-Dolapkulak corresponds chronologically to the settlement from the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age on the south bank of the Big Island in Durankulak lake, cultures **Koslogeni-Sabatinovka**<sup>29</sup> and **Sihlianu-Prebabadag**, and probably a little later.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Thanks are due to my colleague **Dimitër Chernakov** from the Rousse Regional Museum of History for the provided photos. Cf. also **Dimitër Chernakov**. Zoomorphic plastic art from Rousse tell site. – In: Communications of RMH-Rousse, 2005, vol. 9, p. 29-30, Table 1, 18-19 and Table 2, 20.

<sup>25</sup> **Georgy Iliev Georgiev and Nikola Angelov**. Excavations of the tell site near Rousse during 1950-1953. – In: Communications of the Archaeological Institute XXI, S., 1957, p. 123.

<sup>26</sup> **Vasil Mikov**. Technique of pottery production during the prehistoric age in Bulgaria (in Bulgarian). – In: Communications of the Archaeological Institute XXIX, S., 1966, p. 180-181, Table 12.

<sup>27</sup> **Han Van Khan**. Contribution to the technology of ceramic production during the Chalcolithic in Bulgaria from the perspective of experiment (in Bulgarian). – In: Archaeology XXI, 1979, vol. 2, p.37-41; **Ibidem**: Technology of the Chalcolithic ceramic production in North-eastern Bulgaria: raw materials and moulding (in Bulgarian). – In: Archaeology XXI, 1979, vol. 4, p. 1-12.

<sup>28</sup> **Ion Miclea și Radu Florescu**. Preistoria Daciei. Editura meridiane, Bucuresti, 1980, Fig. 368 si p. 105-106.

<sup>29</sup> **Henrieta Todorova, Todor Dimov**. Late Brone Age settlement on the Big Island near Durankulak, Tolbuhin district (in Bulgarian). – In: North-eastern Bulgaria – Ancient and Modern Times, Sofia, 1985, p. 21-25. For more details see **Henrieta Todorova, Todor Dimov**. – In: Durankulak, vol. 3, Sofia (in print).

<sup>30</sup> **Nicolae Hartuchi**. Un nou aspect cultural de la sfirsitul epocii bronzului la Dunarea de Jos. – In: Pontica, 5, 1972, p. 59-74

The Early Iron Age is comparatively richly represented. It is characterized with sherds from large vessels worked manually. They have tongue-shaped handles and wide bow-like fluting decoration and belong to the so-called “knob” ceramics of Babadag culture. The pots have glossy gray-black polished surface and are decorated with knobs, wide flutings, relief and stamped elements. There are sherds from vessels with handles at right angles, bow-like handles and elliptic intersection, or handles at acute angle in their upper part. The artifacts from the early Iron Age found in Draganovo-Dolapkulak can be definitely dated to the beginning of this period in North-eastern Bulgaria, Dobroudja region and the Lower Danubian – culture Babadag I. The results from the drillings of Alexander Bonev and Rossen Boshnakov had already several publications.<sup>31</sup>

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In 1993 new excavation works were undertaken in the Draganovo-Dolapkulak settlement under the supervision of Todor Dimov and Alexander Bonev. In the north-eastern part of the site, to the south of the fortification rampart, ten 5 x 5 m squares were situated in two parallel rows. They were orientated north-south and encompassed a total area of 250 m<sup>2</sup>. The perimeter thus delineated had a size 10 x 25 m and included parts of the drillings previously made by Alexander Bonev and Rossen Boshnakov in 1975 (Table 3):

- a) The northern half of drilling 1 lies in squares Г 7.2, Г 7.3, Д 6.1, Д 7.1, Е 6.4. Its southern end was to the west of square Ж 6. Thus its entire length was within the perimeter of the excavations from 1993.
- b) The eastern end of drilling 2 was in squares Г 6.3 and Г 7.4.

In the west end of the settlement, to the south of the fortification rampart, another drilling was made, 1.50 m wide and 15.00 m long, designated for convenience “Western drilling” (Table 3). It helped to establish the width of the cultural layer in this part of the settlement – from 1.00 to 1.20 m. Three stratigraphic levels were differentiated in it:

1. Surface humus layer consisting of gray-black soil 25-30 cm thick.<sup>32</sup> Sherds from clay pots were found dating from the beginning of the Early Iron Age (1<sup>st</sup> millennium B.C.) and the middle of the Stone-Copper age (5<sup>th</sup> millennium B.C.).
2. Another two building levels (80-90 cm thick) from the first half and the middle of the Stone-Copper age followed. The upper level was thicker

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<sup>31</sup> **Todor Dimov**. Archaeological sources of Hamangia culture along the Lower Danubian and the West Black Sea Coast (in Bulgarian) – In: Research Communications of the Union of Bulgarian Scientist – branch Dobrich, vol. 4, No 1, Dobrich, 2002, p. 141-155; **Todor Dimov**. Neolithic and Copper Age sites in the Northeast Balkans (With Special Reference to Hamangia Culture) – In: Early Symbolic Systems for Communication in Southeast Europe, vol. 1, BAR International Series 1139, 2003, p. 459-467.

<sup>32</sup> It should be mentioned that the settlement area has not been cultivated and the observations during 1975 and 1993 reflect the historic reality.

(55-60 cm), and the lower one consisted of gray-black layer of ashes 20-25 cm thick, comparatively poor in artifacts. This layer lied on the bedrock. In the middle of the drilling (in its northern profile) a clear vertical digging was identified; it was 60-70 cm wide and had an oval-shaped bottom – a part of the substruction of a Chalcolithic house from 1<sup>st</sup> Chalcolithic horizon. At the bottom of this pit there was a slightly burnt yellow-greenish plaster 3-4 cm thick. The ceramics from the two levels belonged to the first half and the middle of the Stone-Copper Age.

At the west end of the drilling a transverse row of crumbled stones was cleared, probably from a fortification wall. At its east end, at depth 0.60 m, on an area of about 3.50 m<sup>2</sup> a large number of worked and pre-made pieces from deer antlers were found. Their chronology is uncertain, their archaeological context could not be specified, but they are probably related to the bone axes and other antler tools found (Table 4).

The excavations in the wide area of the eastern part of the settlement reached to a depth of 0.40 m, and in some places – 0.60 m from the surface, depending on the terrain displacement. At the center of square B 6 a semi-destroyed clay floor of a round oven was cleared. According to the ceramics found near it, the oven could be dated to the time of the Early Iron Age – culture Babadag I. Not very far from it a “kyatos” type cup was found and sherds from a large plate with stamped ornamentation. The “kyatos” may be considered a late replica of the golden vessels from the Valchi Tran gold treasure. A ceramic sherd with stamped ornamentation was also found and referred to culture Bassarabi (probably import), but this find does not alter the chronology and culture of the site (Figure 6). It seems very probable that the architecture from the Early Iron Age consisted of light surface constructions which are now hardly possible to recover. The troubled times and the uncertainty of life were the probable reasons for the protection of the settlement with a ditch and a rampart from the north (and presumably with a wooden palisade), and with a stone fortification wall. Remains from it were recovered at the end of the “Western” drilling (Table 4).

In squares Г6 and Г 7 a 4.20 x 5.60 m assemblage of lime slabstones, red burnt clay plaster and Chalcolithic ceramic sherds were cleared. These are probably destructions from the upper part of a burnt house from the first (upper) horizon of the settlement. Remains from such houses were also reported by Bonev and Boshnakov in 1975. Construction details were not preserved, except for a clay-covered oven floor to the north of the stone assemblage.

It is worth mentioning the large amount of pieces from bone axes and other deer antler tools (observed also by Bonev in 1975) and flint artifacts. There were numerous pieces from worked antlers, including ploughs (sokha), diggers and various hafts for complex tools (Figure 7). The stone tools were scanty: mainly palstaves, adzes, grinders, and several sling projectile balls. A large amount of sherds from ceramic lids were collected; they had bi-conical handles in the middle and cylindrical slightly-outsloping periphery. The ceramic ware was decorated with

stamped horizontal patterns with waving lines, triangles, rhomboids and other ornaments. There were rectangular ceramic stands and fine pots with well polished reddish to dark-brown surface. Some of them had decoration of knobs, shallow flutings and incised lines. The typology of the finds allows referring these two levels of the settlement to the middle of the Stone-Copper Age, to the last stage (Tekirgyol) of culture Hamangia spread in the region of Dobroudja and the Lower Danubian. Scarcer were the sherds from the last stages (the fourth stage Varna) of the culture Sava to the south, and some ornamental and technological elements from the beginning of the Late Chalcolithic culture Varna, as well as the Codgadermen-Gumelnitsa-Karanovo VI complex from the interior of the continent.<sup>33</sup>

During season 1993 three clay biconical ovoids were found; their length was from 5.0 to 6.1 cm, and their diameter 3.0 – 3.6 cm. One of them was burnt and cracked by fire (Figure 8). Two were found in the large sector including squares B 6, 4 and Д 6,1 at depth 0.40 – 0.50 m, and the third was recovered from the “western” drilling at depth 1 m from the surface. Two of the finds belonged stratigraphically to the upper Chalcolithic level and the find from the drilling – to the lower one. Their weights were 35.90 (the ovoid was probably heavier before burning), 40.75 and 33.50 g, respectively. The functional interpretation of such artifacts in literature varies: objects with unclear function (?), cult objects (?), amulets (models of cereal grains related to agricultural rituals),<sup>34</sup> or spherical or ovoid projectiles for slings.<sup>35</sup>

It becomes clear from the publications of different authors that stone and clay projectiles have been found as single finds or in groups in various parts of the prehistoric world, on the territory of the entire Balkan Peninsula, although their presence was not uniform.<sup>36</sup> The authors give various comments on the use of the stone and clay sling projectiles during the prehistoric age. Attention is paid to their usage as “shepherd’s aids” to control stray animals<sup>37</sup> during grazing, for hunting, and later – for warfare. N. Vitiropulos notes that there is no evidence in Greece for

<sup>33</sup> **Henrieta Todorova**. The Stone-Copper Age in Bulgaria (in Bulgarian), S., 1986, p. 96-132.

<sup>34</sup> Such interpretation is not final. Cf. **Chris Harrison’s** site [www.slinging.org](http://www.slinging.org). The speculations there are rather free.

<sup>35</sup> **Raphail Popov**. Kodga-Dermen tell site near Shoumen (in Bulgarian). – In: IBAD VI, 1916-1918, S., 1919, p. 142 and the figure on page 143; **Stefan Chohadgiev**. Vaksevo. Prehistoric settlements (in Bulgarian). Veliko Tarnovo, 2001, p. 31. **Ibid**: Neolithic and Chalcolithic cultures along river Strouma (in Bulgarian). Veliko Tarnovo, 2007, p. 85.

<sup>36</sup> **Bogdan Nikolov**. Zaminets. Prehistoric settlement (in Bulgarian), S., 1975, p. 13, Figure 9 and 10. **Ibid**: Gradeshnitsa (in Bulgarian), S., 1974, p. 27; **Manfred Korfmann**. Schleuder und Bogen in Sudwestasien. Von den fruhesten Belegen bis zin Beginn der historischen Stadtsaaten, Bonn, 1972, S. 9-18 und 225; **Nikos Vitiropulos**. Fernwaffen in Sudosteuropas. Neolitikum bis fruhe Bronzezeit. – In: Internationale Archaeologie, 4, 1991, S. 51-53; **Childe Perles**. The Early Neolithic in Greece: the first farming communities in Europe. – In: Cambridge World of Archaeology, 2001, p. 228-231; **Stefan Chohadgiev**, Op. cit.

<sup>37</sup> **Childe Perles**. The Early Neolithic ..., p. 231. Oral evidence is provided for the modern usage of such projectile balls in the near east and North Africa, and an assumption is made that the clay projectiles were a more efficient and precise weapon.

the use of such projectile ball in warfare “in spite of the increased number of fortified settlements” and therefore interprets them as hunting weapons. In my opinion this is a convincing interpretation, at least with regard to some small and medium-sized game.

Finally, a few words may be said about sling as a military weapon. Chris Harrison defines it as “mankind’s first true projectile weapon... an excellent, remarkable achievement”.<sup>38</sup> In this context Harrison realistically describes the way of using the sling and provides technical details such as: “the movement of the weapon is just an extension of the user’s body. The power and accuracy of the weapon is not by technological means, but rather user’s skill”. The author further notes that the weapon was not supplanted until the 15<sup>th</sup> century, then adds that “The sling continues to be used in various smaller conflicts and by enthusiasts to this day”. The last remark may be further specified that in more recent times this projectile is used primarily in the folk rituals of various ethnographic communities. I myself had the opportunity to observe in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century such usage of slings called “firing” during the spring folk festival Sirni Zagovezni (beginning of March) in the region of South-west Bulgaria (the villages Levunovo and Marikostino), and in North Macedonia. The boys coming of age fired spherical clay projectiles with their slings covered with tinder (which blazed while the ball was in the air) aiming at the roof tops of the houses of their sweethearts.<sup>39</sup> Years later I made myself several slings from hemp fibers and experimented with them. After some exercising I became rather skilful in using this projectile weapon (Figure 9). The cords are held in one hand above the head and the projectile is accelerated by circular movements of the wrist. Then one cord is let loose and a controlled centrifugal firing of the stone or clay projectile is achieved into the aimed direction, with high accuracy, at a distance of 100-150 m. During the Neolithic and Chalcolithic Ages the sling must have been a dangerous weapon in trained hands and must have had wide usage in hunting and other everyday activities.

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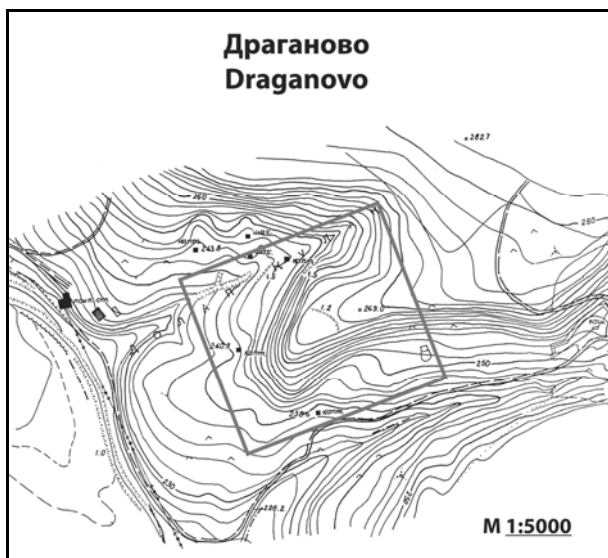
<sup>38</sup> It consisted of two (connected) strings with a pouch for the projectile balls. Cf. [www.slinging.org](http://www.slinging.org). and the brief though rather emotional comments there.

<sup>39</sup> For more details on the ritual content of the pre-Easter festivals Sirni and Mesni Zagovezni cf. **Michail Arnaudov**. Studies on Bulgarian rituals and legends, Sofia, 1972, vol. 2, p. 90-95.

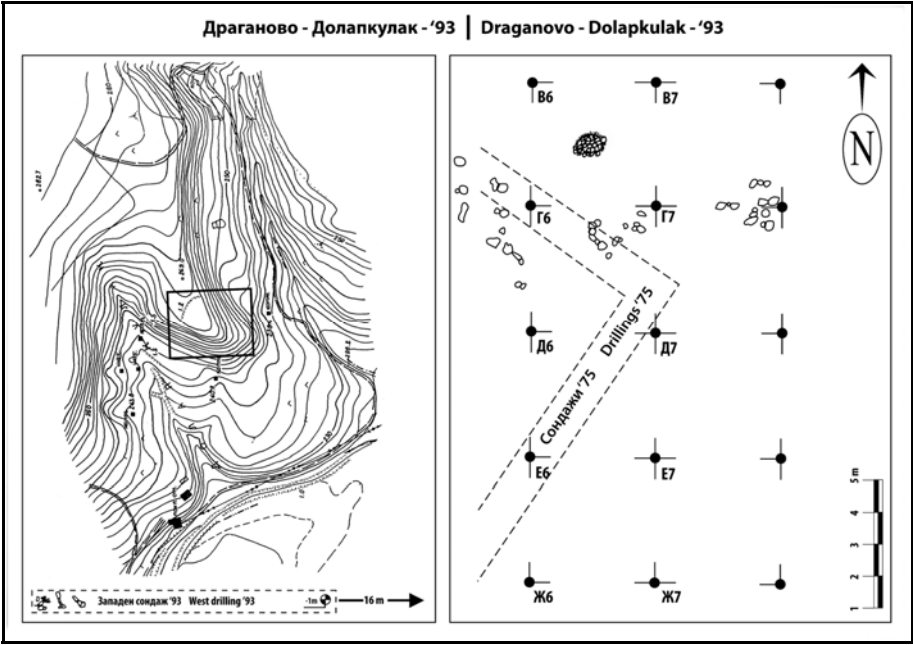
**Table 1:** Stratigraphy and relative chronology of the fortified Late Chalcolithic settlements located on eminences in Bulgaria.

FORMATION	STRATIGRAPHY	CHRONOLOGY
Krivodol, Vratsa region	Horizon depth 2.80 m. Five horizons	Late Chalcolithic – KSB <sup>1</sup> II-III and transition to the Bronze Age.
Zaminets, Gorna Kremena, Vratsa region	Horizon depth 0.80 m. Three horizons.	Late Chalcolithic – KSB III till the end of the period.
Kaleto, Ohoden, Vratsa region	Horizon depth 0.40 m. One horizon.	Late Chalcolithic – KSB II.
Okol glava, Gnilyane, Sofia region.	Multy-layered settlement. Horizons not clear.	Mid- and Late Chalcolithic. Import – culture Vincha C.
Peklyuk, Galabovtsy, Sofia region	Disturbed layer. Probably two horizons according to typology	Late Chalcolithic – KSB II-III.
Krakra fortress, Pernik.	Disturbed cultural layer. No stratigraphy.	Second stage of culture Gradeshnitsa. Early and Late Chalcolithic.
Gradishte, Dyakovo, Kyustendil region.	Disturbed cultural layer. Two horizons – remains from houses.	Late Chalcolithic – KSB I.
Chardako, Slatino, Kyustendil region.	Horizon depth 2.05 m. Four horizons.	Early Chalcolithic, culture Dikilitash-Slatino.
Mousovitza, Kolarovo, Blagoevgrad region.	Horizon depth 0.70 m. Horizons not clear.	Late Chalcolithic – KSB III and Early Bronze Age.
Golemanovo Kale, Sadovets, Pleven region	Disturbed cultural layer, Horizons not clear.	Late Chalcolithic – KSB IV; bronze and Orlya-Sadovets.
Redoutite, Telish, Pleven region.	Horizon depth 1.50 m. Three horizons.	Late Chalcolithic – KSB III – IV; transitional period – Galatin.

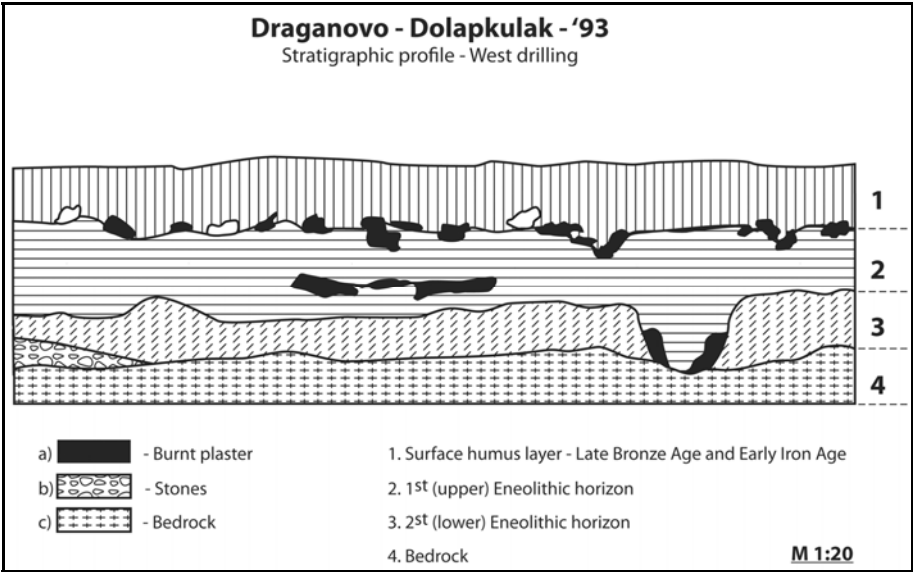
**Table 2:** Topography of Draganovo-Dolapkulak settlement, Dobrich region, Bulgaria.



**Table 3:** Layout of the excavations in Draganovo-Dolapkulak, season 1993.



**Table 4:** Stratigraphic profile of the “Western drilling” in Draganovo-Dolapkulak, season 1993.

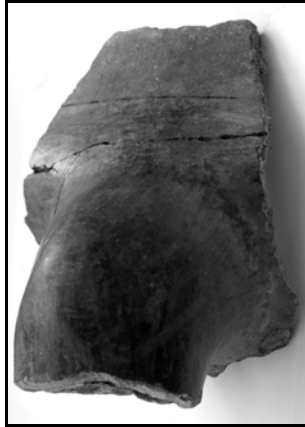




**Fig. 1:** Eminence-located settlement Draganovo-Dolapkulak, view from south-east, 2008.



**Fig. 2.1:** Sherd from anthropomorphic vessel from Draganovo-Dolapkulak, 1975.



**Fig. 2.2:** Sherd from anthropomorphic vessel from the tell site Big Island in Durankulak lake, 1998.



**Fig. 3.1:** Ceramic lid in the form of a swine's head from Draganovo-Dolapkulak, 1975.



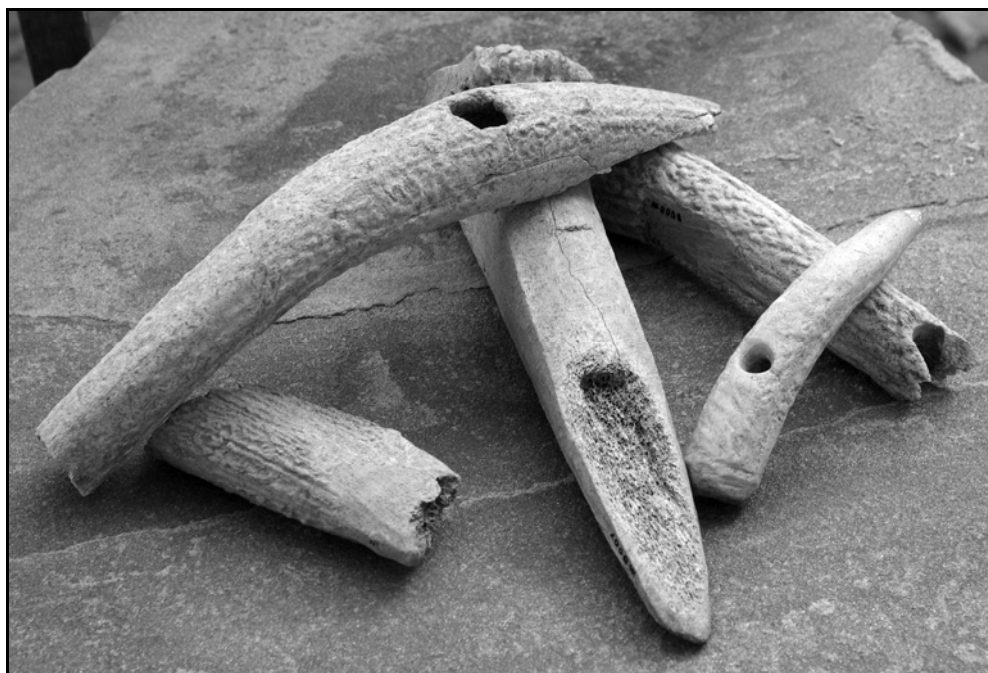
**Fig. 3.2:** Zoomorphic ceramic vessel in the form of a swine's head from Rousse tell site, 2008. Photo kindly provided by Dimitar Chernakov.



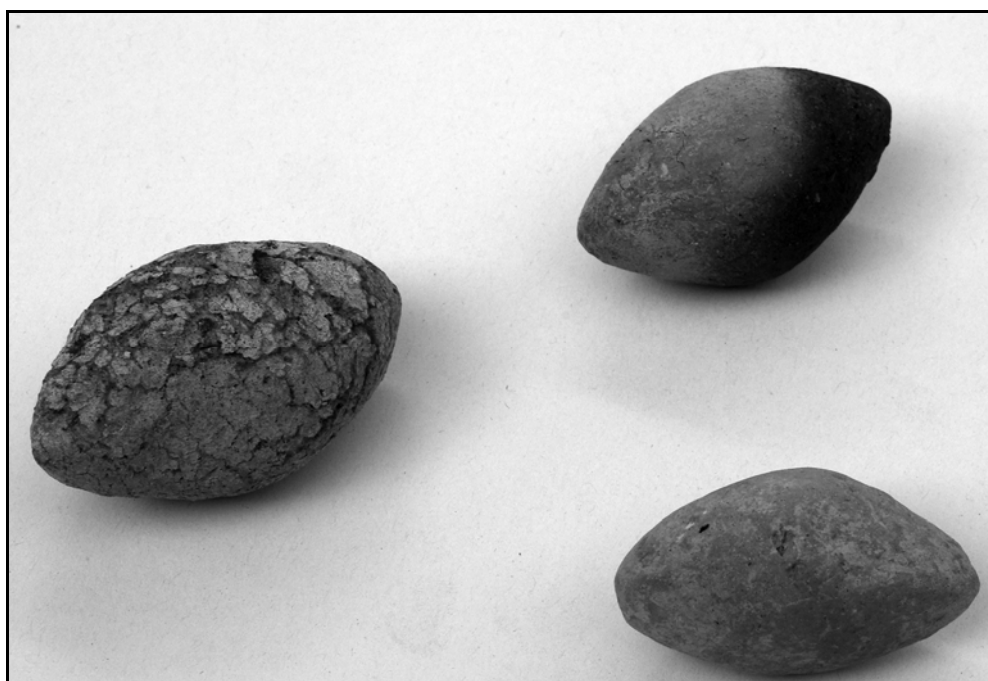
**Fig. 4:** Clay mould for ceramic vessels from Draganovo-Dolapkulak, 1975.



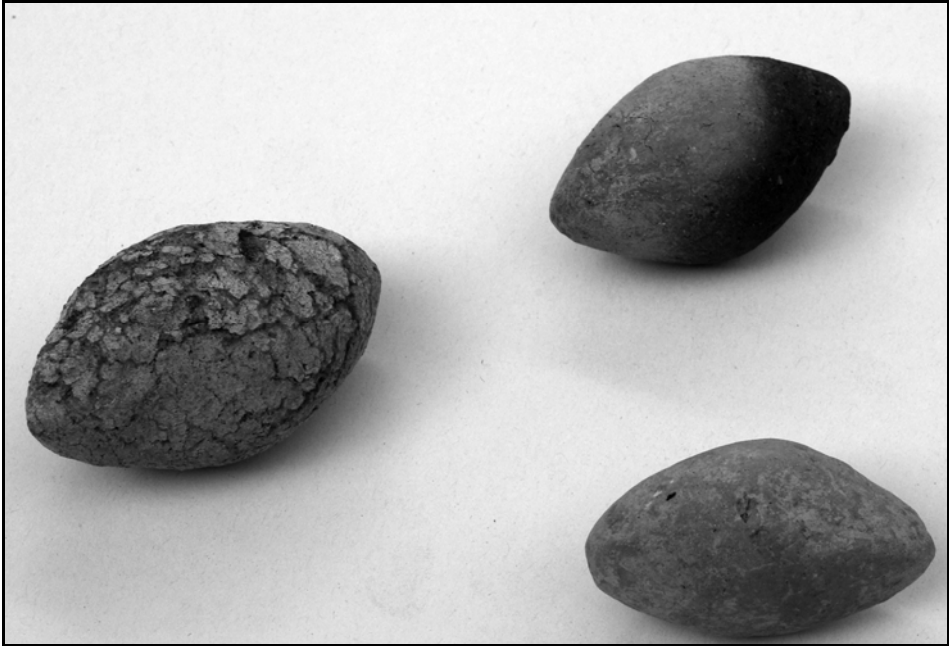
**Fig. 5:** Antler axes from Draganovo-Dolapkulak, 1975.



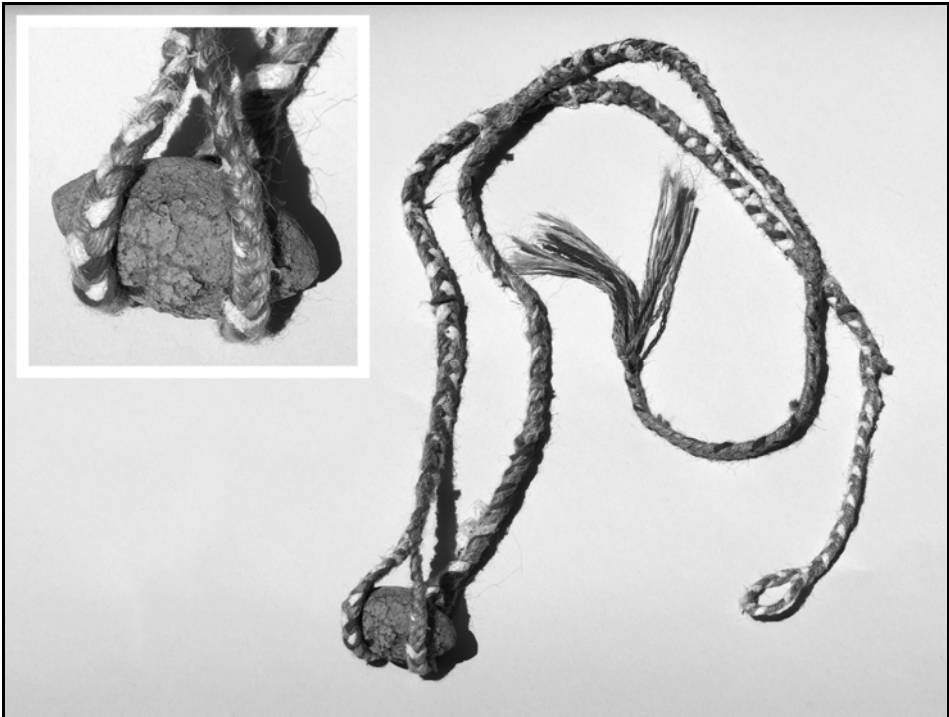
**Fig. 6:** Ceramic cup with “kyatos” type handle from Draganovo-Dolapkulak, 1993.



**Fig. 7:** Agricultural and other antler tools from Draganovo-Dolapkulak, 1993.



**Fig. 8:** Clay ovoid projectiles for sling from Draganovo-Dolapkulak, 1993.



**Fig. 9:** My reconstruction of a sling for firing stone or clay projectiles.



## QUELQUES REMARQUES SUR LA PERIODE VIII-VI<sup>e</sup> SIECLES AV. J.- C. EN BULGARIE DU NORD-OUEST

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**Abstract:** L'exposé présente les éléments essentiels du développement culturel pendant la période VIII-VI<sup>ème</sup> s.av.J.Ch. sur la territoire de la Bulgarie du nord. On fait une nouvelle analyse des matériaux archéologiques déjà examinés mais pas encore publiés. Comparant les éléments particuliers du développement de la région, on cherche la place et le rôle des terres thraces septentrionales dans la culture du Bas Danube pendant la douzième phase de l'âge du Fer. On prête attention aux points problématiques dans les recherches archéologiques de cette période importante. La résolution possible des questions posées est liée avec la collaboration commune des pays qui sont part de la région du Bas Danube.

**Keywords:** stick, religious, christianity

La question de la chronologie habituellement représente le premier pas dans l'analyse précise du matériel archéologique. Une fois placées dans une position chroniquement correcte, l'explication et la compréhension du matériel devient plus faciles.

En littérature archéologique (bulgare, serbe, roumaine) consacrée à l'investigation du Bas Danube en l'époque de premier âge du Fer, existent des différentes opinions pour la chronologie et la périodisation de cette période.

Même ayant quelques différences, qui dépendent en certain point des écoles nationales, partout dans les terres du Bas Danube, les spécialistes détachent comme une période indépendante dans le développement culturel le temps entre VIII-VI<sup>e</sup> siècles av. J.- C.

La catégorie principale des matériaux attribués à cette période dans la région du Bas Danube, est une céramique spécifiquement décorée connue comme "type Basarabi". A la base de la diffusion de cette céramique pendant VIII-VI<sup>e</sup> siècles av. J.- C. on considère une partie de la Roumanie du Sud-ouest (Olténie), la Bulgarie du Nord-ouest et la Serbie du Nord-est comme une espèce culturelle commune, marquée comme culture Basarabi.

Le but de l'article présent est de mettre en circulation scientifique quelques trouvailles de ce type, qui sont restées inconnus pour la science, et ainsi de discuter

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quelques problèmes de la chronologie et la diffusion de cette céramique sur la territoire de Bulgarie présente.

Dans le site de l'âge du Bronze tardif près du village Baley, département de Vidin<sup>1</sup>, on a plusieurs fois rapporté de céramique, datée en gros en premier âge du Fer (Катинчаров, Йоцова 1982, 25; 1984, 42; 1985, 60-61; 1990, 33-34). Dans les publications n'a pas été donnée une description détaillée de la céramique du premier âge du Fer, ainsi que son appartenance culturelle. On a marqué seulement la ressemblance du matériel avec celui de la grotte Magura<sup>2</sup>. Selon les chercheurs la céramique mentionnée a été trouvée surtout en fosses et entre les matériaux des deux horizons d'habitations supérieurs<sup>3</sup>. Le premier horizon est presque complètement détruit par le labourage régulier et le deuxième horizon - fortement dérangé.

Parmi les trouvailles du premier âge du Fer on peut montrer quelques unes, qui certainement peuvent être attribuées au type Basarabi. Typologiquement les fragments se groupent en trois catégories de vaisselles: une cruche, une écuelle au rebord évasé obliquement en dehors et des vases biconiques en divers dimensions.

Dans une fosse examinée, qui appartient au premier horizon, parmi les gros morceaux de crêpi incendié, de cendre, de charbons, un peu des os animaux et plusieurs fragments de vases céramiques, sont trouvés une demie d'une cruche, un fragment de rebord d'une écuelle et un fragment de mur d'une vase biconique.

La cruche (fig. 1) a un col cylindrique et un rebord faiblement recourbé en dehors. Le corps de la cruche est fort gonflé et finit avec un fond plat et un peu concave. La cruche a une anse haute, décorée de trois cannelures verticales. Le vase est fait à la main, d'argile bien purifiée avec de petites additions du quartz. La cruche a une surface bien polie et une couleur grise-noire. Sous le bord de l'ouverture, le col de la cruche est décoré d'une bande de spirales en S estampés, limitée de deux côtés par des lignes incisées. En bas il y a deux plates cannelures horizontales et une bande d'un ornement zigzag incisé. Près de la base du col est incisé un triangle hachuré. Le passage du col vers le corps de la cruche est marqué de deux cannelures horizontales. Le corps de la cruche est décoré avec trois types d'ornements: bande de spirales en S estampés, bande hachurée et bande de zigzag incisé. Tous les ornements sont incrustés d'une matière blanche.

Dans la fosse sont trouvés aussi trois fragments de rebord large d'une écuelle (fig. 2a). Le rebord est fait d'argile purifiée et il a une surface bien polie et une couleur grise-noire. Le rebord est décoré de la côté intérieure. Justement sous le bord est incisé un ornement de zigzag horizontal. Au-dessous sont incisés des triangles hachurés qui finissent comme spirales. Sur le décor il y a de traces d'incrustation d'une matière blanche.

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<sup>1</sup> Les recherches sont réalisées presque 20 ans de 1970 à 1989 avec quelques interruptions. Malheureusement il n'y pas encore une publication complète de cet objet.

<sup>2</sup> Tatyana Shalganova fait spécialement attention aux trois horizons d'habitation du plaste du premier âge du Fer de la grotte Magura et les compare avec le premier horizon du site de Baley (Шалганова 1993, Shalganova, T./ Gotzev, A., 1995, 330). Les matériaux cependant ne sont pas présentés.

<sup>3</sup> Dans le site on a déterminé IV horizons d'habitations.

Le dernier fragment de cette fosse est une paroi d'un vase biconique (fig. 2b). Le fragment est décoré d'un zigzag horizontal incisé.

Parmi les matériaux de type Basarabi, trouvés dans le site de Baley un intérêt représentent:

- Un fragment du vase biconique (fig. 3a) – le passage du col vers le corps du vase est décoré de trois lignes horizontales estampées, semblables à corde fausse; ce vase est décoré d'une bande hachurée de lignes obliques au-dessous de laquelle sont estampées des spirales en S liées. L'espace entre les spirales est rempli de lignes obliques estampées. La couleur de la céramique est brune-noire et la surface – bien polie.
- Deux fragments du rebord d'un vase biconique (fig. 3b), décorés de cannelures horizontales, limitées au dessus d'une bande horizontale hachurée, et au-dessous encore d'une bande horizontale hachurée dans laquelle est incisé un zigzag. Sous cette bande sont représentés deux croix maltes hachurées.
- Dans une fosse de premier horizon d'habitation est fouillée une fosse au-dedans de laquelle sont trouvés gros et plus petits morceaux de crêpi incendié, avec des traces de lits des pieux, charbons et cendre, petites et plus grandes pierres, os animaux et une grande quantité de fragments de vases céramiques avec prédominance des vases à parois épaisses. Parmi les fragments trouvés il y a quatre d'un vase profond avec un col haut et cylindrique, un rebord évasé en dehors, une surface fortement polie et une couleur jaune-brune. Sous le bord de l'ouverture le col est décoré de six lignes horizontales incisées. Le reste du col est orné de cinq cannelures horizontales, sous lesquelles dans une bande sont incisées des spirales en S liées. Le corps du vase est décoré un ornement stylisé qui paraît à un oiseau (fig. 3c). Tous les ornements sont incrustés d'une matière blanche.

Les fragments présentés et les deux autres (fig. 3d, 3e) portent les signes caractéristiques du style Basarabi, notamment les spirales en S liées, des bandes hachurées, le zigzag incisé, la croix malte et l'oiseau stylisé.

L'état fragmentaire du matériel analysé ne permet pas de chercher analogues et parallèles de formes des vases. Seulement pour la cruche on peut donner un tel analogue. Pour le reste de la céramique on doit chercher parallèles de la décoration – les ornements et la technique de leur exécution. On doit souligner que toutes les datations ci-dessous proposées ont un caractère approximatives parce que le matériel est trouvé mélangé avec la céramique de l'âge du Bronze tardif et il manque de matériaux métalliques avec une date plus concrète et précise.

Dans la littérature existent deux groupes généraux d'opinions en ce qui concerne la périodisation de la céramique de type Basarabi, qui la divisent en deux (Vulpe 1965, 117-124) et en trois périodes (Berciu 1966, 236-246). La périodisation acceptée par l'auteur de ce travail est celle proposée de M. Gumă qui divise aussi en trois phases le développement du phénomène Basarabi: I<sup>e</sup> phase – la première moitié de VIII – le milieu de VIII siècle av. J.-C. (755-725), II<sup>e</sup> phase – la

deuxième moitié de VIII – la première moitié de VII siècle av. J.-C. (725-675/650) et III<sup>e</sup> phase – deuxième moitié de VII siècle av. J.-C. (675/650-625/600) (Gumă 1983, 93-101; 1993, 232-235). A la base d'une analyse détaillée de l'ornementation de la céramique de type Basarabi et la technique de l'exécution des motifs et utilisant la chronologie de M. Gumă, E. Zverev remonte le développement du décor de cette céramique pendant ces trois phases (Зверев 2001-2002, 224-255).

Comme parallèles de la forme et le composition du décor de la cruche et de l'image d'oiseau on peut montrer les cruches et une écuelle de la nécropole Vajuga-Pesk près de Portes de Fer (Popović, Vukmanović, 1998, 146, 1, 4; 159,13). Pour les autres fragments on peut dire que leurs ornements sont très répandus parmi la céramique de type Basarabi et utilisés comme décoration de différents types de vases. A la base de technique – prédominance de l'incision, mais aussi l'utilisation d'estampage et de cannelures, on peut poser le matériel à la fin du premier – la première moitié de deuxième période c. à. d. 2 ½ de VIII – 1 ½ de VII<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C.

Un autre site de Bulgarie de Nord-ouest, duquel on connaît céramique du type Basarabi est dans la grotte Magura. Une attention spéciale sur ce matériel prête Bernard Hänsel, qui publie graphiquement une partie des trouvailles (Hänsel 1976, tabl. 60,61). Le reste de la céramique de type Basarsbi n'est pas publié ou a été présenté comme des photos d'une qualité assez mauvaise (Дамбазов, Катинчаров 1974, 128-132, fig. 26-31). C'est la cause qui me permet de tourner attention à cette céramique de la grotte Magura d'autant plus qu'il existe des possibilités de discussion par rapport sa plus précise datation.

L'investigation du site dans la grotte de Magura, département de Vidin, a été examinée en deux campagnes régulières (en 1971 et 1975) et avant en 1960-61 ont été effectués des recherches assez brefs. Pendant l'investigation de la grotte on a fouillé trois secteurs où est enregistré une stratigraphie de plusieurs couches. Dans le secteur II est constaté une couche culturelle d'épaisseur de 1m. On a distingué deux couches appartenantes au l'âge du Bronze récent et au premier âge du Fer. Dans la couche de l'âge du Bronze récent ont été limitées deux horizons d'habitations. A la base des restes de fours et de foyers même de traces de pieux, la couche du Premier âge du Fer a été divisée à trois horizons d'habitations (Джамбазов, Катинчаров, Йоцова 1976, 24-25). Dans les deux couches supérieures on a trouvé de céramique estampée, mélangée avec de céramique de type Basarabi. Malheureusement dans la publication du site manque une division de la céramique dans les limites du premier âge du Fer, ainsi que sa représentation graphique (Дамбазов, Катинчаров 1974, 127-134).

Comme on a déjà mentionné B. Hänsel prête attention à la céramique du premier âge du Fer de Magura. Il divise cette céramique en trois période chronologiques – la céramique de troisième horizons appartient à première phase du premier âge du Fer; dans les deux horizons supérieures on trouve mélangée la céramique estampée de la première phase avec la céramique de type Basarabi de la deuxième phase (Hänsel 1976, 170-172).

A cause de son caractère assez fragmenté, la céramique peut être typologiquement divisée en groupes suivants: des écuelles au rebord recourbé vers l'intérieur; des écuelles au rebord évasé obliquement en dehors; des vases biconiques.

Dans la première catégorie on peut poser quatre fragments (fig. 4 et fig. 5). Leur décoration est faite de technique d'incision et d'estampage de lignes à trémolo, de cannelures horizontales et incrustation d'une matière blanche. Les ornements représentent des triangles hachurés, le zigzag vertical, des bandes hachurées. Excepté un fragment (fig. 5a) les restes ont une surface polie et ont une couleur noire.

Deuxième type d'écuelles est représenté aussi de quatre fragments (fig. 6) qui présentent le passage de l'embouchure vers les parois de l'écuelle. Ils sont décorés de la coté intérieure. La technique utilisée est l'incision et l'incrustation de matière blanche. Les ornements sont: des triangles hachurés et des bandes parallèles, qui peut être ont été partie d'un ornement spiral. Tous les fragments ont une surface polie et noire.

La plupart des ornements sur les parois de vases biconiques, présentés sur figure 7, sont exécutés par estampage de lignes à trémolo – guirlandes, spirales, triangles et bandes hachurés. Le reste des ornements sont faites par incision. L'intérêt représentent deux fragments: sur le premier (fig. 8a) est présenté une croix malte et sur le deuxième (fig. 8b) - figure stylisé d'un oiseau. Les parois ont une couleur différente, qui varie de brune foncée à noire. La surface des fragments noirs est bien polie.

En analysant la céramique de type Basarabi de la grotte Magura on voit que dans la technique ornementale prédomine l'estampage de lignes à trémolo. La céramique décorée avec des lignes à trémolo est trouvée dans plusieurs sites et nécropoles de la région du Bas Danube qui appartiennent à la culture Basarabi. Cette technique est analysée dans les travaux de quelques archéologues serbes (Stojić 1986; 1994, 104-107; Jevtić 1992, 113-128; Popović, Vukmanović 1998, 38, 61). Ce type de technique est daté en gros en VII<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C., considérant que son début peut être placé plus tôt à la fin du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C.

A la base de la caractéristique de la technique d'ornementation, le matériel analysé peut être daté approximativement en deuxième période de développement de la céramique de type Basarabi ou 725-675/650.

La quantité de céramique de type Basarabi, trouvée à localité Bagačina, département de Lom, fait de cet objet le plus riche lieu en Bulgarie de ce type de trouvailles. En pourcentage la plus grande quantité de la céramique de type Basarabi est trouvée dans les fosses centrales. L'analyse et la datation des matériaux sont compliquées de la stratigraphie incertaine et la manque des trouvailles métalliques.

Ici je vais présenter en synthèse la céramique de type Basarabi de Bagačina et seulement quelques fragments (fig. 9-13), parce que une analyse profonde est déjà faite de l'auteur de cet article (Agre 2008, 140-169).

Typologiquement la céramique est divisée en: des écuellen au rebord recourbé vers l'intérieur; des écuellen au rebord évasé obliquement en dehors; des tasses; des vases biconiques et soi-disant des petits vases. Malheureusement le caractère fort fragmentaire du matériel empêche la possibilité de créer des variants à la base de leur forme dans ces grandes catégories de vaisselles.

Parmi les fragments les plus nombreux sont les deux types des écuellen. La technique décoration prédomine l'utilisation d'incision et d'estampage des lignes à trémolo. Après viennent l'estampage et les cannelures. Les motifs ornementaux, exécutés en différentes techniques représentent des combinaisons de quelques ornements essentiels: des spirales en S libres ou liées, des triangles et bandes hachurés, zigzag, l'ornement d'échecs, la croix malte et l'oiseau stylisé.

A la base d'analyse précise de la technique de du décor et les motifs ornementaux utilisés, la céramique de type Basarabi de localité de Bagačina est datée en VII<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. dans les limites de deuxième et troisième périodes de développement du style Basarabi.

De ces trois complexes céramiques plus ou moins représentatifs, on peut conclure que en Bulgarie du Nord-ouest la céramique de type Basarabi n'appartient à son premier période du développement. A cette conclusion mènent aussi les autres objets de Bulgarie du Nord-ouest où a été trouvée et publiée une telle céramique et a et a été datée en VII<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. (Hänsel 1976, 169-191). Le fait, que peut-être le premier chronologiquement de ces complexes – celui de Baley – se trouve justement dans le coin nord-ouest de Bulgarie et il est un peu plus tardif des complexes ouest comme la nécropole Vajuga-Pesak, comme si témoigne la direction de diffusion de ce type de trouvailles. Bien sûr, quand manque de matériel suffisant avec une stratigraphie précise, particulièrement de Bulgarie, toutes ces dates, établies seulement sur l'analyse des motifs et la technique du décor, resteront plus ou moins approximatives.

Récemment on considérait que l'aire de diffusion de la céramique de type Basarabi en notre pays est limitée par le Balkan du sud seulement dans la Bulgarie du Nord-ouest et il y a un peu d'exemples de la Bulgarie du Nord-est. L'apparition de quelques nouveaux objets le dernier temps a changé le paysage existé.

En 2002 pendant des fouilles de sauvetages a été examiné un tumulus, appartenant à une nécropole, qui se trouve à 3 km nord-ouest du village Čelopeč.

Dans la périphérie sud-ouest de la base du tumulus, sur un lit de pierres a été trouvée une tombe. La fosse funéraire était un peu enterrée dans le terrain ancien. Le défunt était posé sur le dos avec les jambes tendues et bras posés sur le bassin. Orientation de la tombe était nord-est – sud-ouest. Sur la tombe étaient entassées en deux rangs des grosses pierres fluviales, qui avaient formé un petit tumulus (fig. 14). L'inventaire funéraire comprend une tasse non décorée (fig. 15a) posée près de la tête et une tasse décorée du style Basarabi (fig. 15b), trouvée à côté des pieds du défunt. Près du fémur droit a été trouvé un couteau du fer (fig. 15c) (Agre 2004, 213-215). La construction funéraire et l'inventaire y trouvée sans ambiguïté attachent la tombe examinée à l'aire de diffusion de trouvailles de type Basarabi.

D'autre part les nouvelles études du matériel de premier âge du Fer de la forteresse Krakra, en Pérnik (fig. 16-17) (Михайлов 2005, 21-34), ainsi que les observations sur le premier âge du Fer dans la partie ouest de la région de Sofia, publiées cette année de Ventsislav Dintchev (fig. 18) (Динчев 2008, 319-339), illustrent la présence d'une céramique de VIII-VI<sup>e</sup> siècles av. J.-C., qui porte quelques traits caractéristiques de la céramique Basarabi.

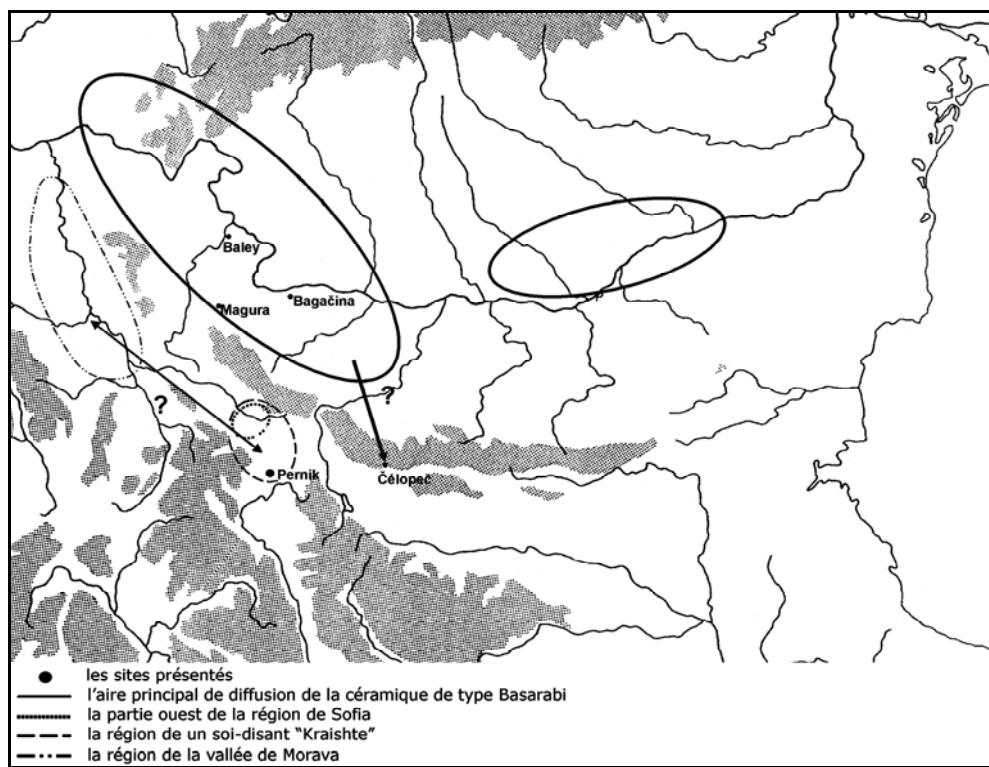
A la fin on peut faire quelques conclusions:

- les trois objets présentés ici (Baley, Magura et Bagačina) appartiennent au l'aire principal de diffusion de la céramique de type Basarabi;
- la tombe de Čelopec est le premier complexe fermé, trouvé au sud du Balkan et cela pose directement la question comment est pénétrée cette céramique au sud du Balkan. Seulement les recherches suivantes permettront répondre si c'est une tombe isolée ou il s'agit d'élargissement sûr de l'aire de diffusion de phénomène Basarabi au sud du Balkan.
- la céramique de Krakra et de la partie ouest de la région de Sofia a beaucoup de ressemblances avec celle trouvée en Serbie de Nord-Est et avant tout dans la vallée de la rivière Morave. Cela met en ordre du jour la question des relations culturelles de la population dans la région de un soi-disant "Kraishte" avec celle de la vallée de Morava. Est-ce qu'on peut parler *de deux groupes culturelles différentes* ou on doit considérer cette vaste région comme un aire de diffusion *d'une groupe culturelle indépendante qui est sous l'influence culturelle de noyau principal de phénomène Basarabi ou c'est un variant local de*

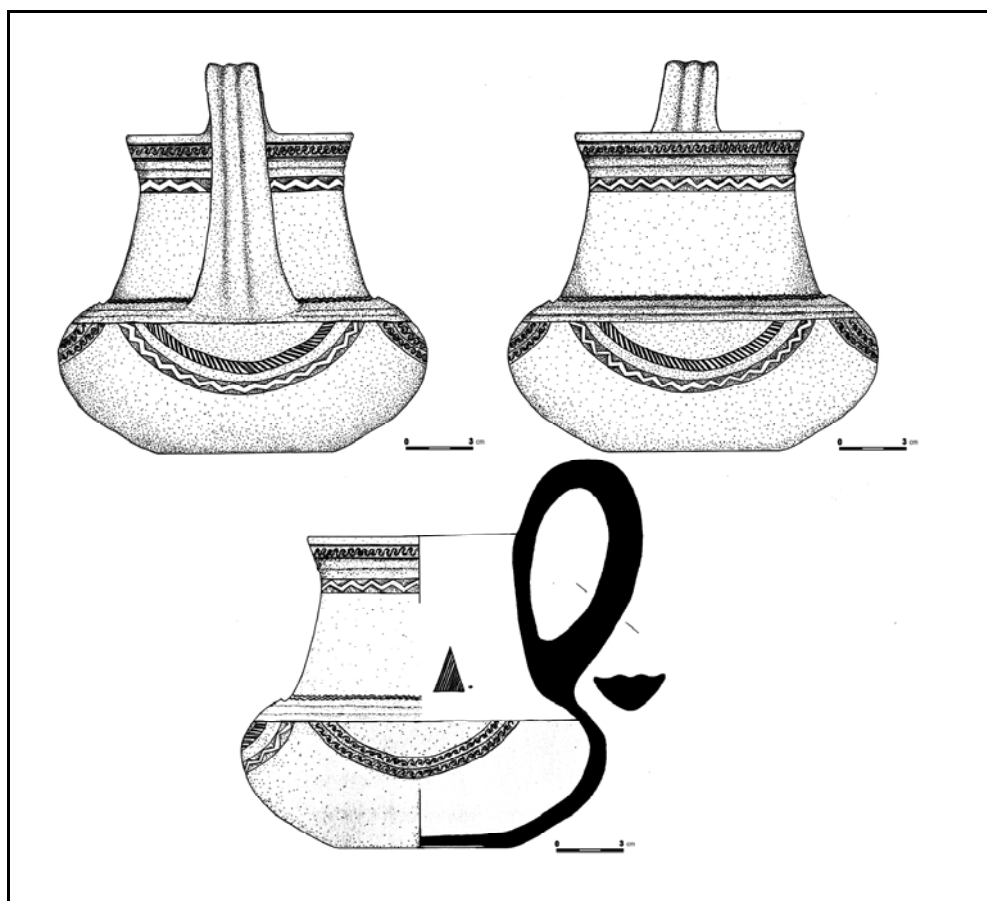
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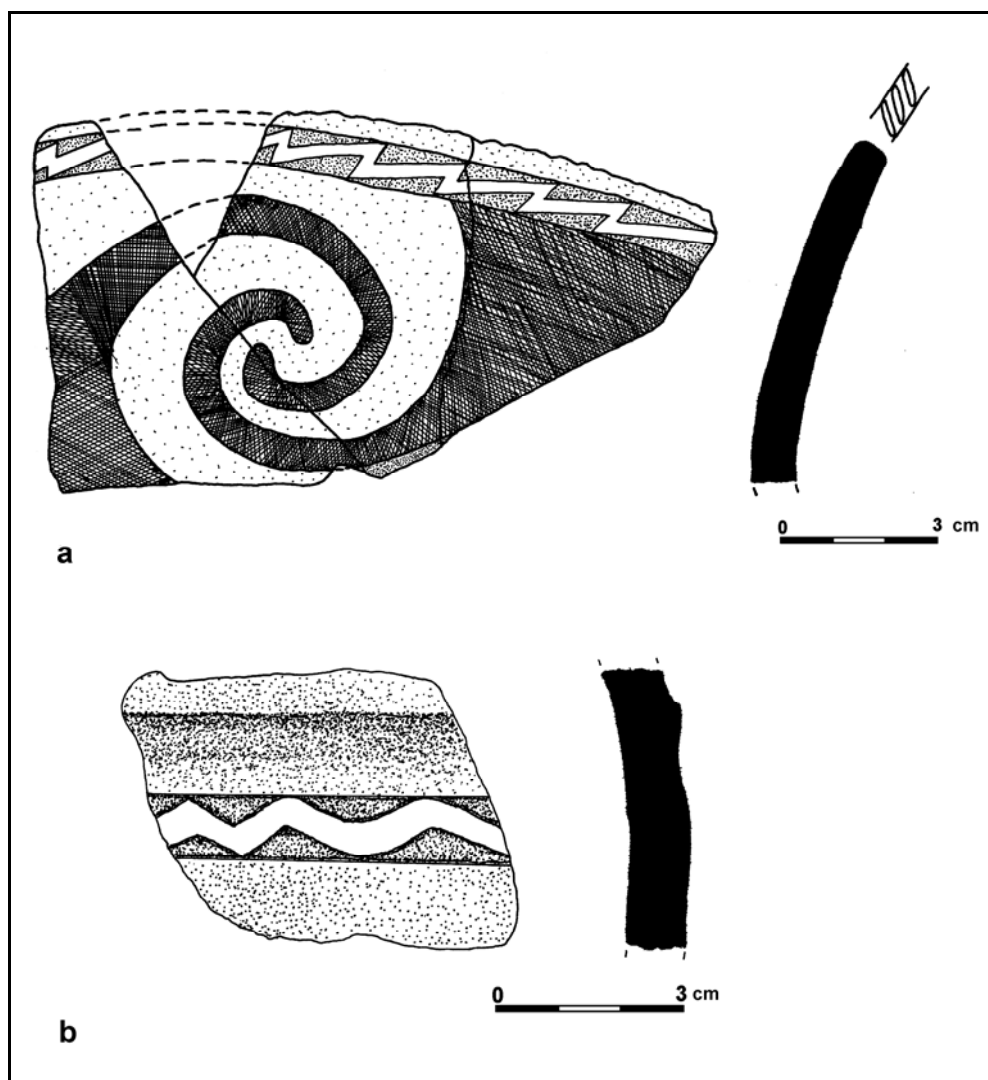
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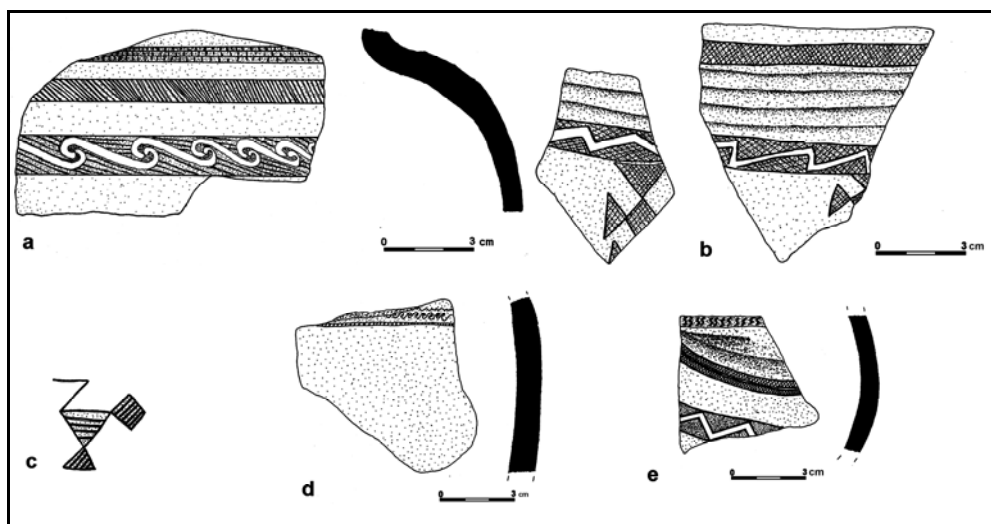
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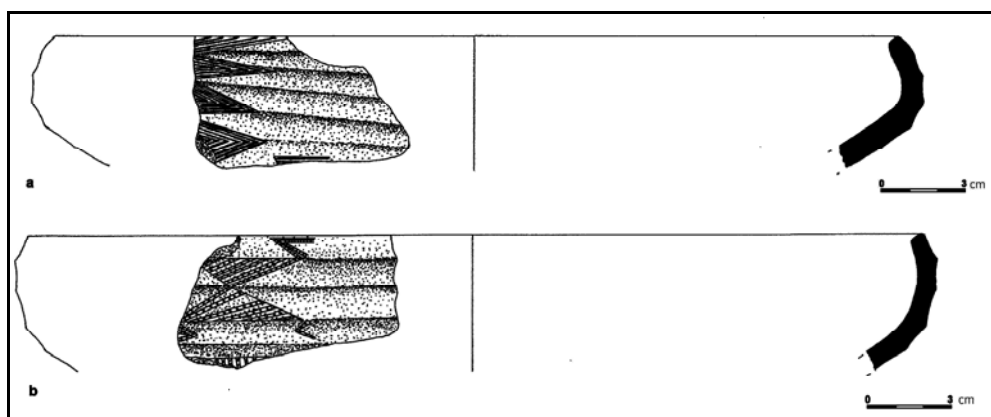
**Fig. 1:** La cruche de Baley.



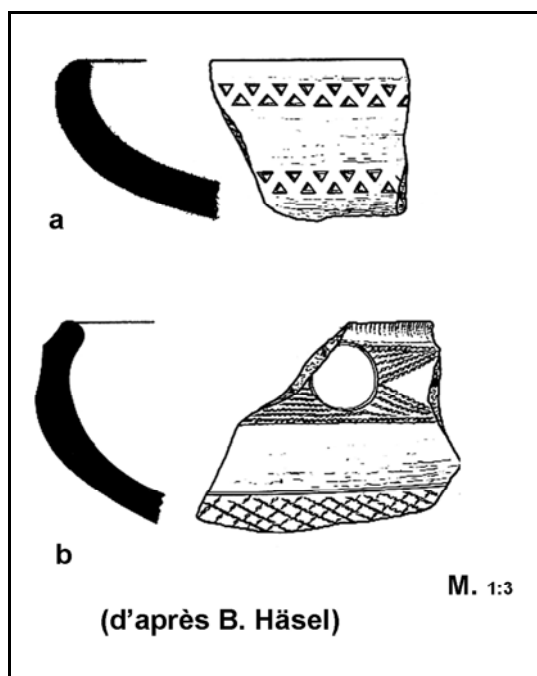
**Fig. 2:** Des fragments de rebord large d'une écuelle et une paroi d'un vase biconique.



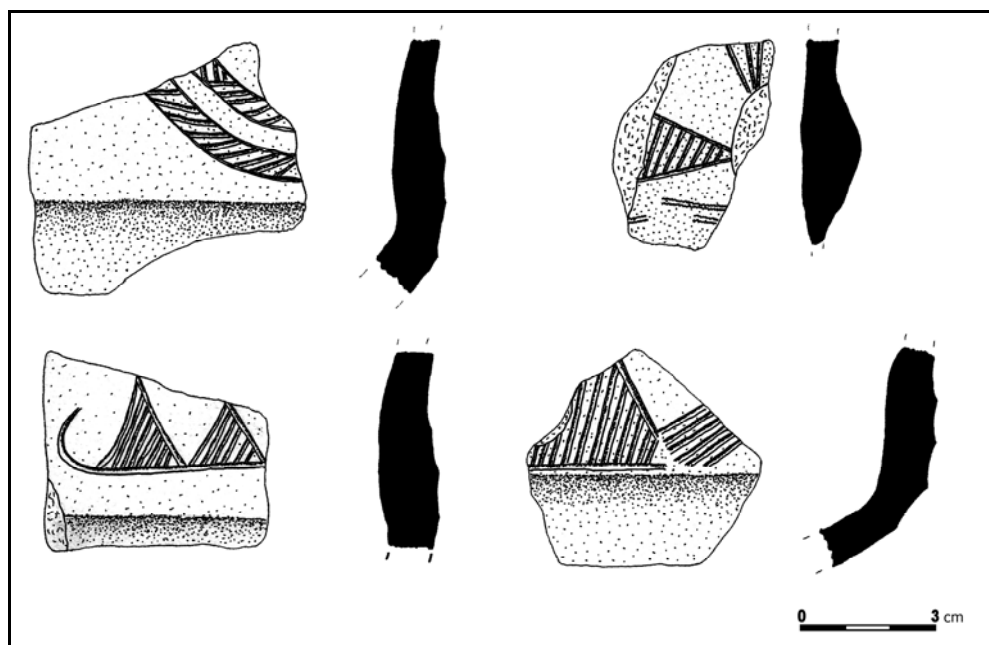
**Fig. 3:** Des fragments céramiques de Baley.



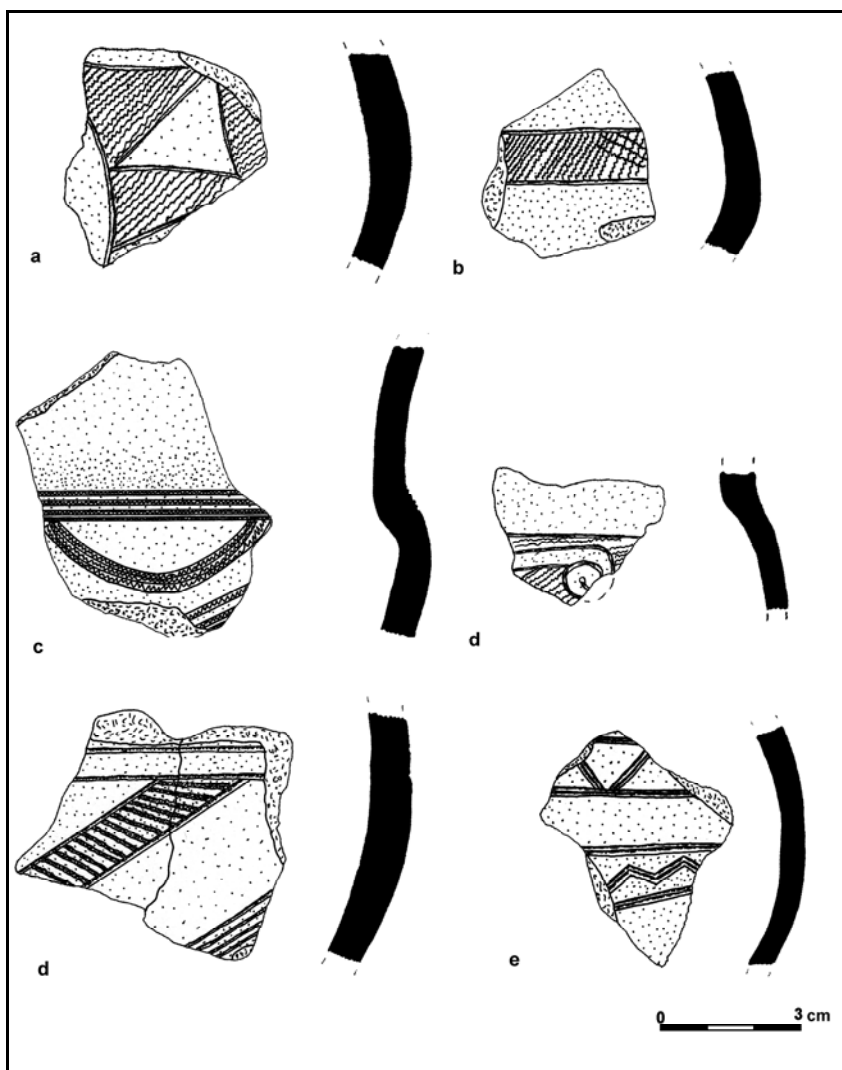
**Fig. 4:** Des fragments des écuelles au rebord recourbé vers l'intérieur de Magura.



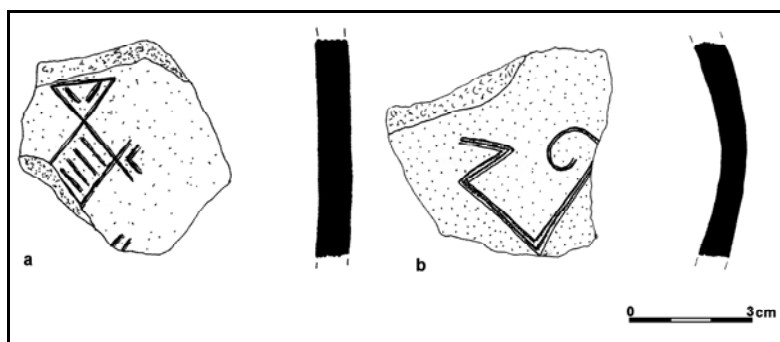
**Fig. 5:** Des fragments des écuelles au rebord recourbé vers l'intérieur de Magura.



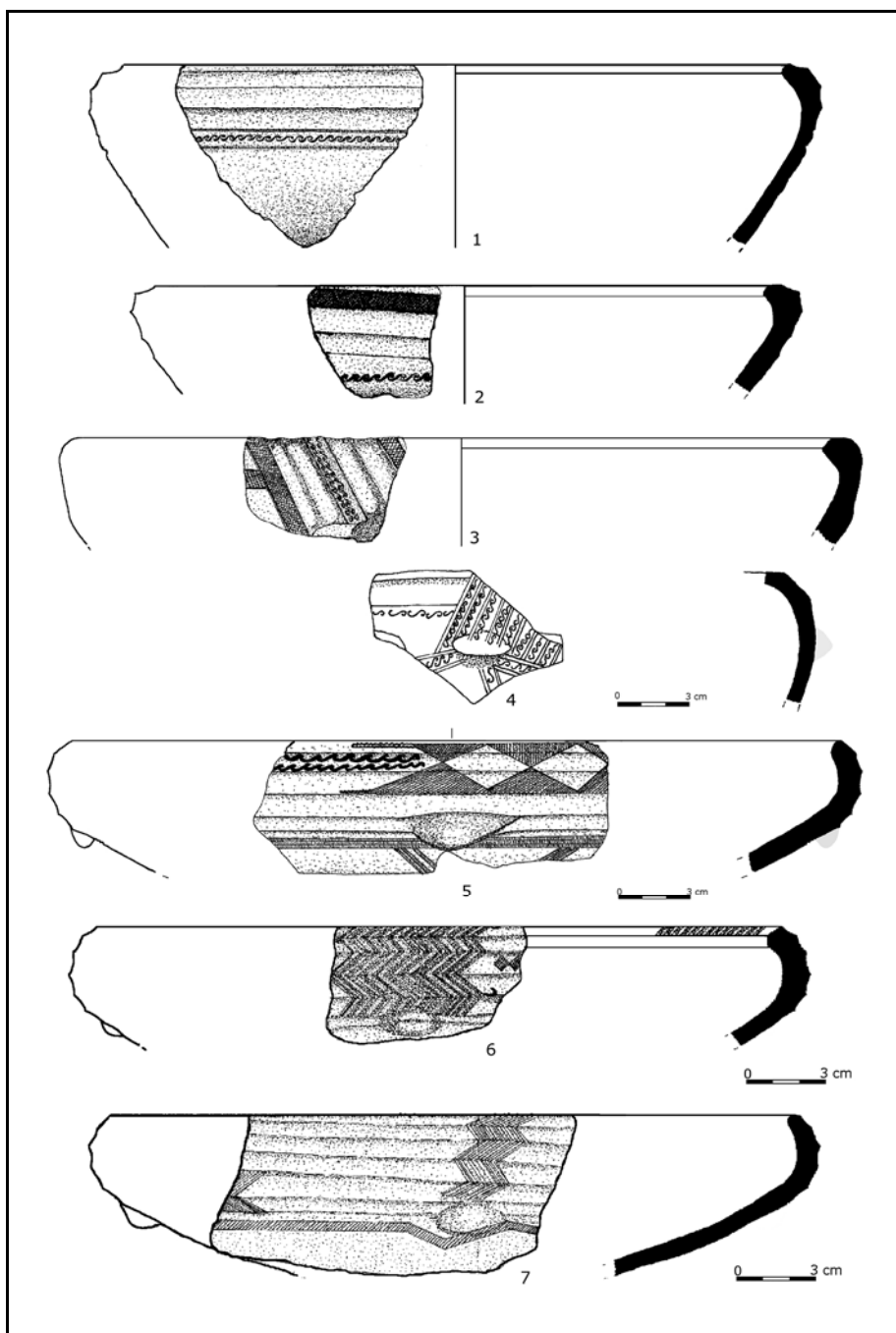
**Fig. 6:** Des fragments des écuelles au rebord évasé obliquement en dehors de Magura.



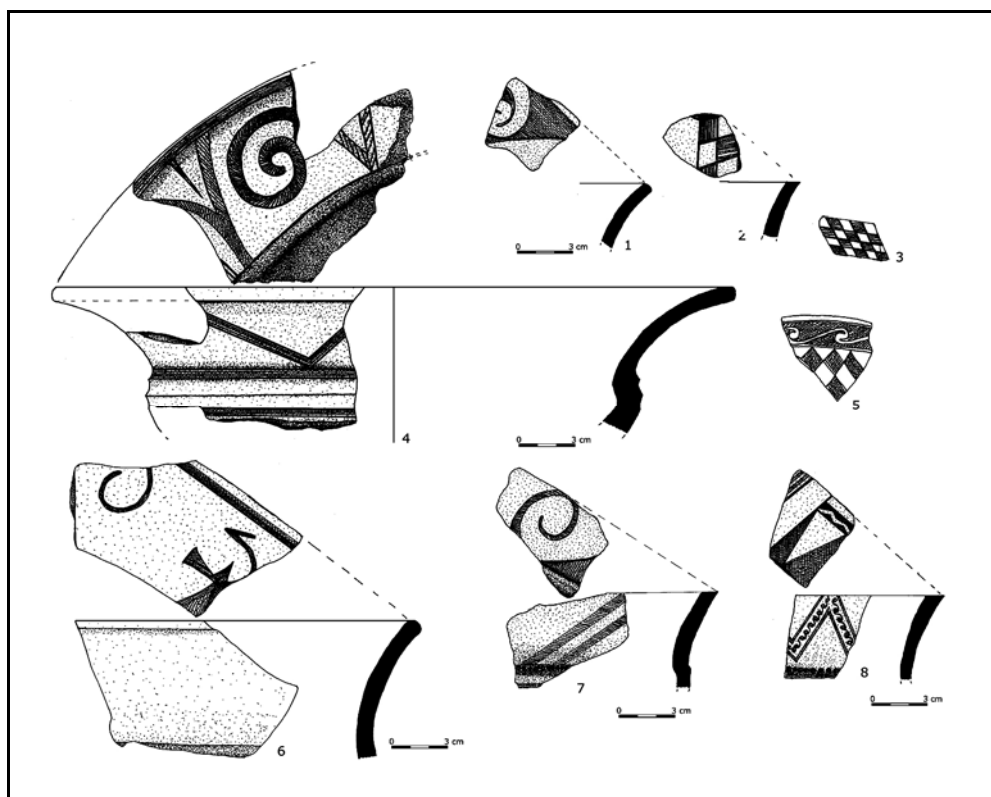
**Fig. 7:** Des fragments des vases biconiques de Magura.



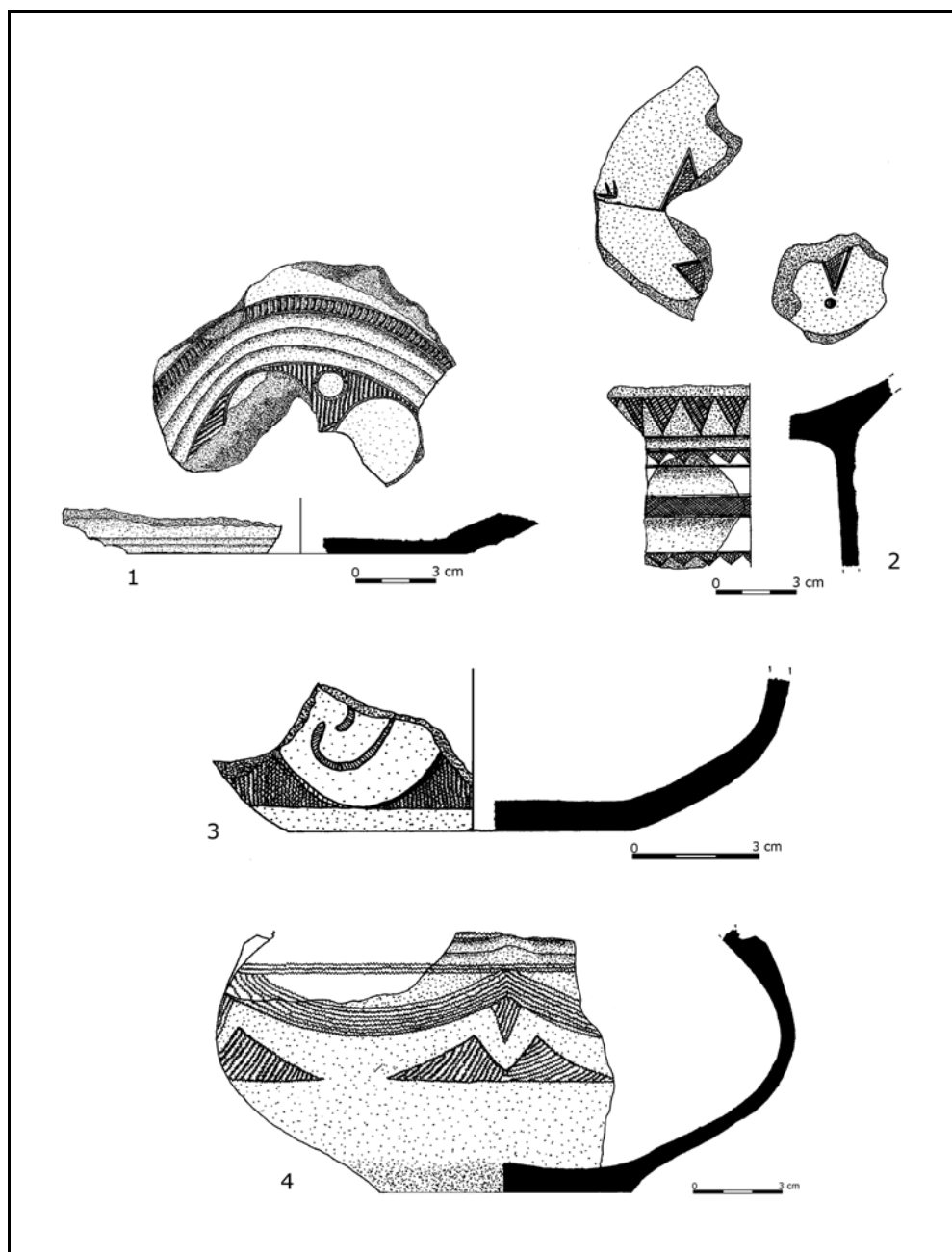
**Fig. 8:** Des fragments des vases biconiques de Magura.



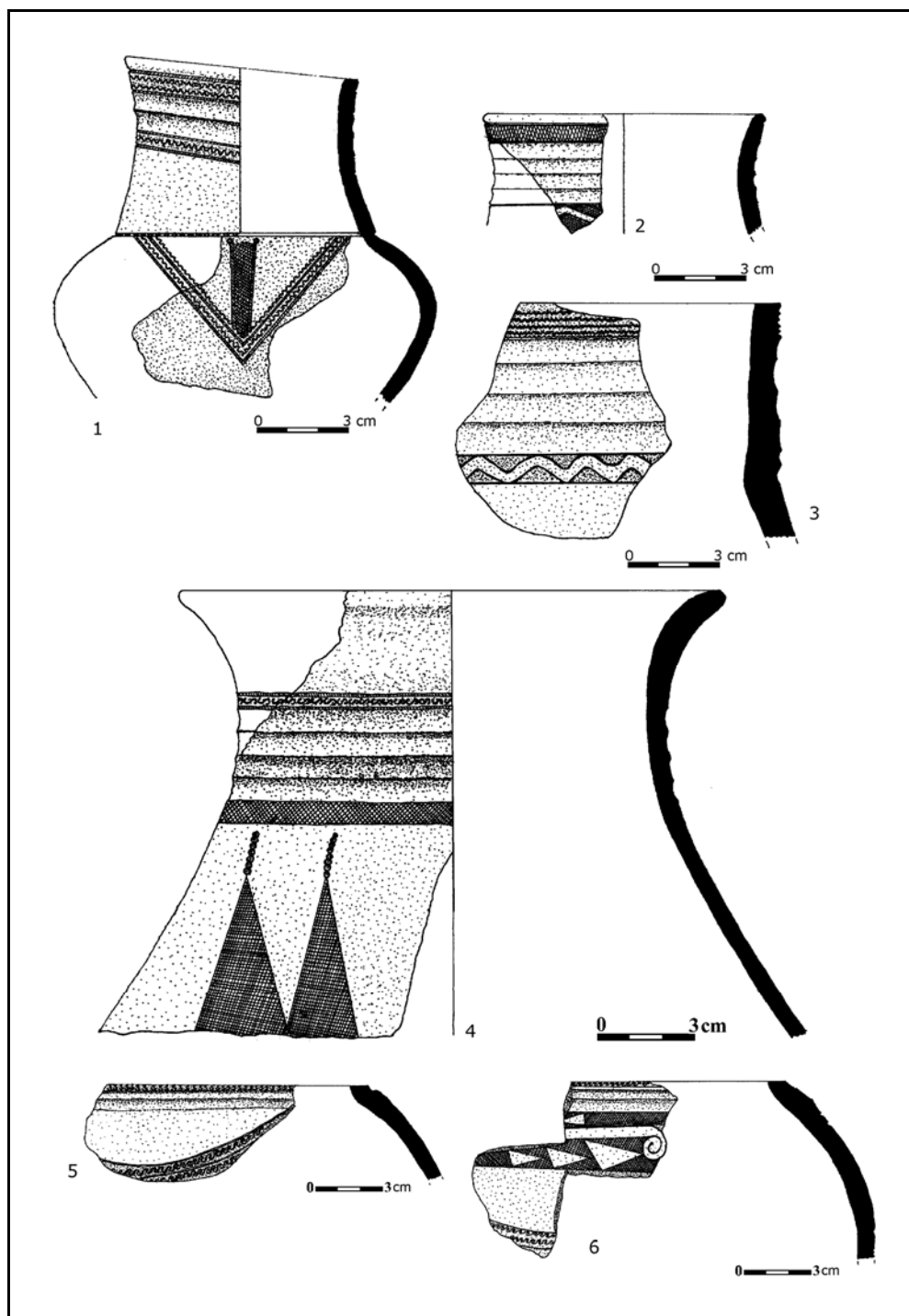
**Fig. 9:** Fragments des écuelles au rebord recourbé vers l'intérieur de Bagačina.



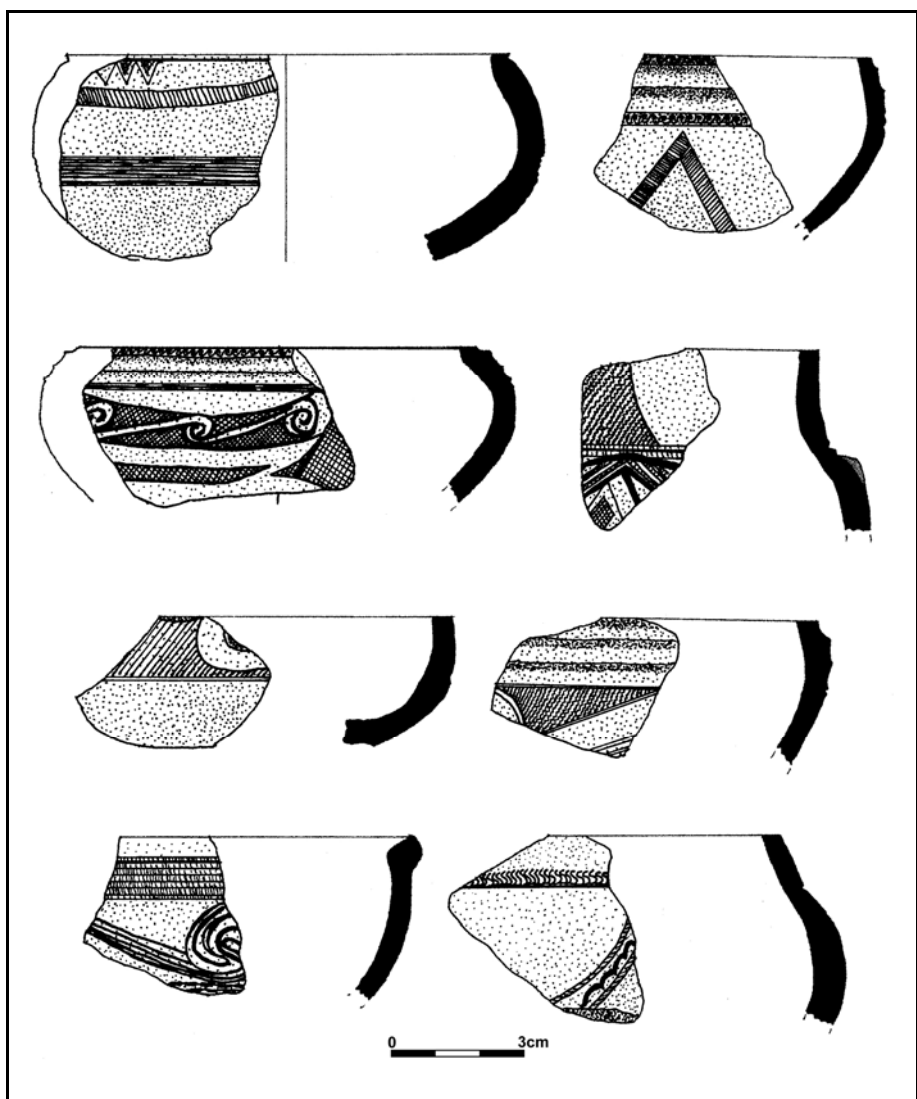
**Fig. 10:** Des fragments des écuelles au rebord évasé obliquement en dehors de Bagačina.



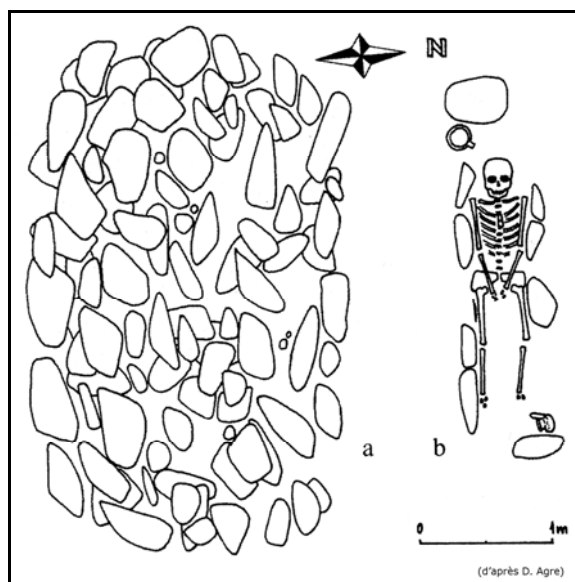
**Fig. 11:** Des fragments de fonds des écuelles et de vases biconiques de Bagačina.



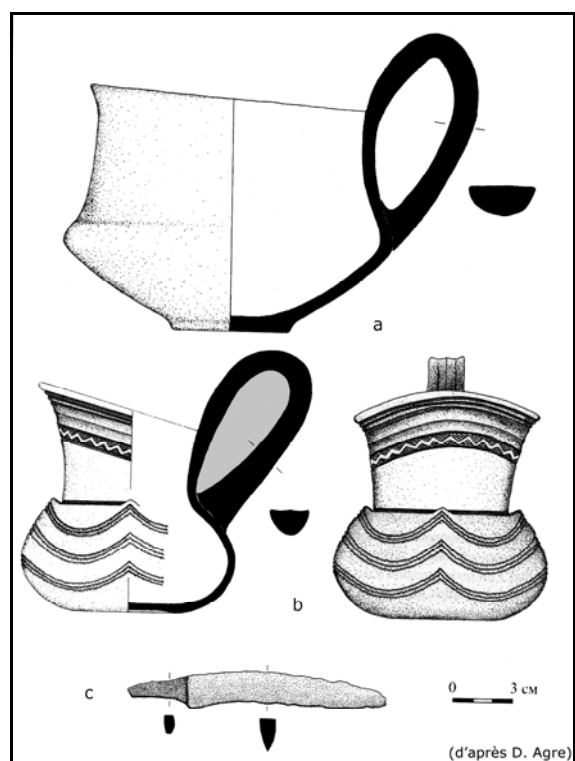
**Fig. 12:** Des fragments des vases biconiques de Bagačina.



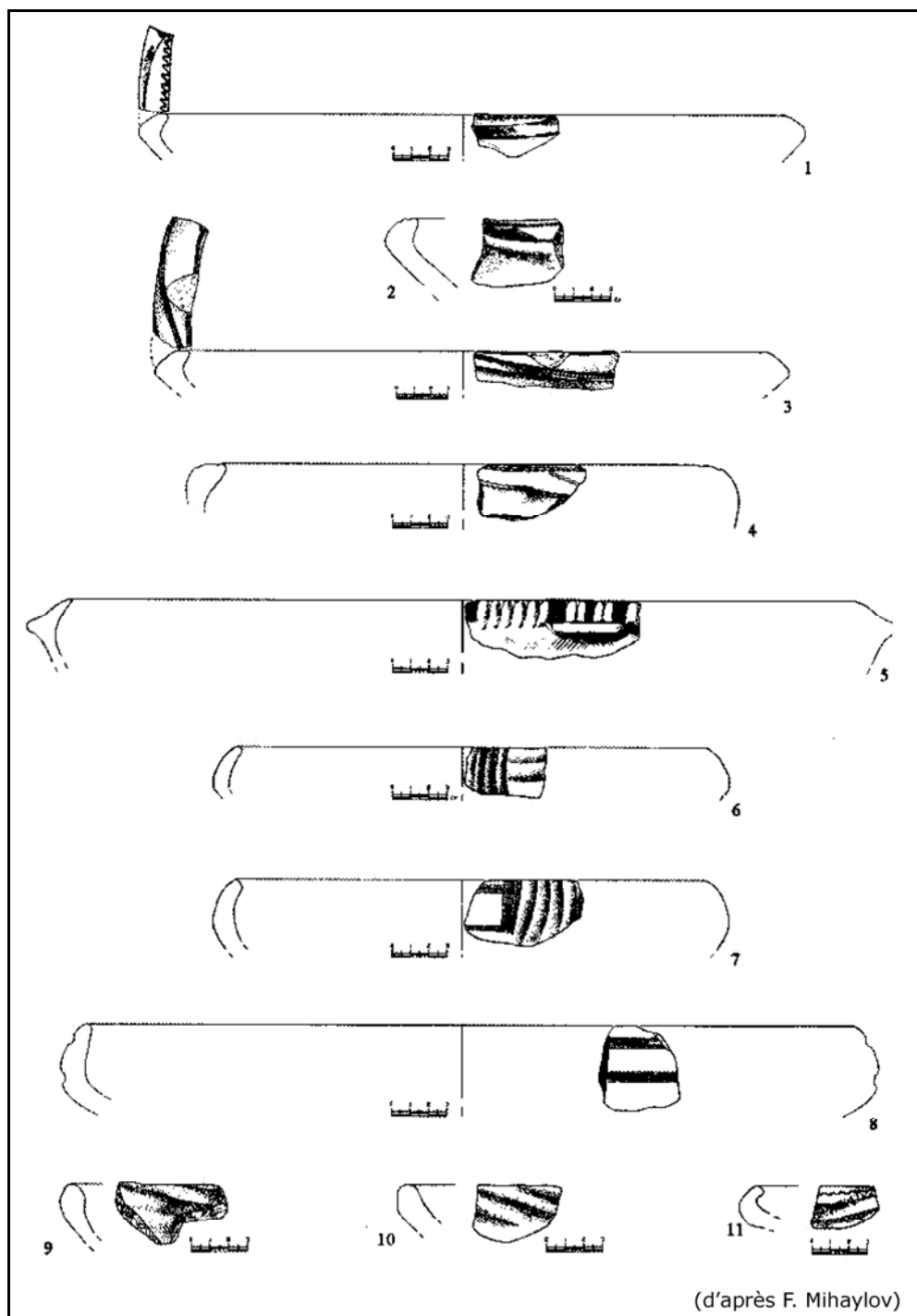
**Fig. 13:** Des fragments de petits vases de Bagačina.



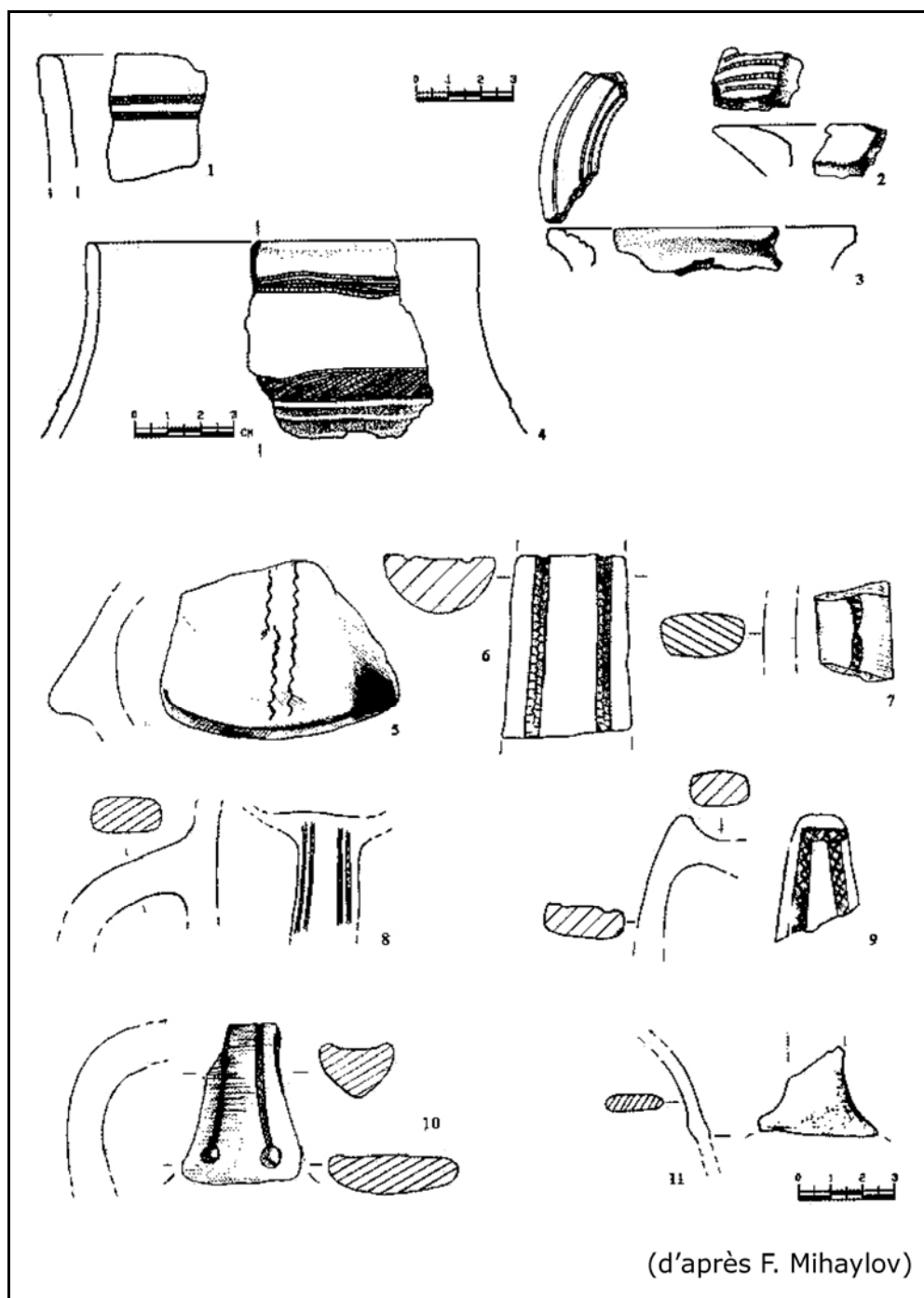
**Fig. 14:** La tombe de Čélopeč.



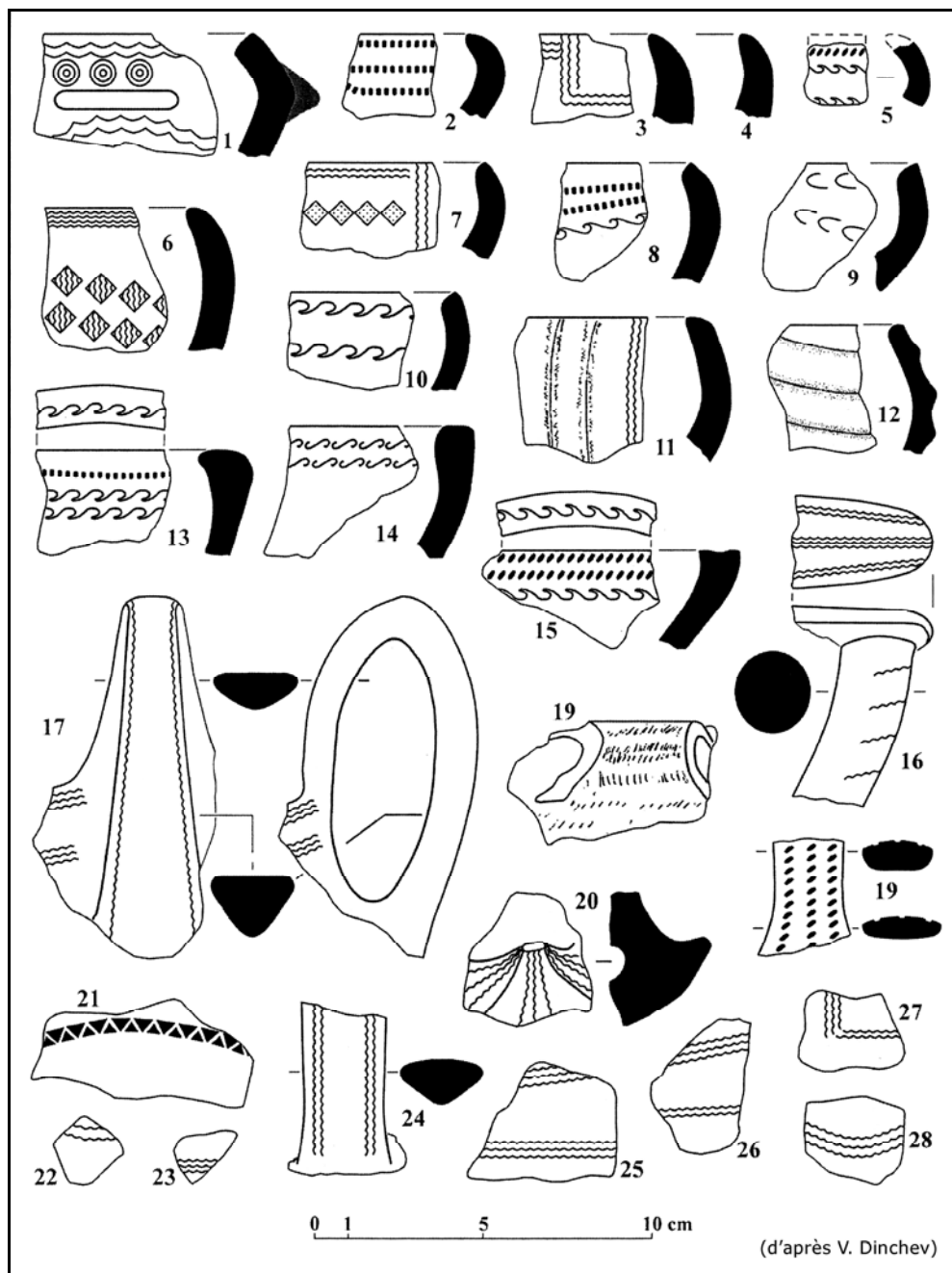
**Fig. 15:** L'inventaire funéraire de la tombe de Čélopeč.



**Fig. 16:** Matériel de premier âge du Fer de la forteresse Krakra.



**Fig. 17:** Matériel de premier âge du Fer de la forteresse Krakra.



**Fig. 18:** Matériel de premier âge du Fer dans la partie ouest de la région de Sofia. une carte des matériaux analysés dans l'article.



## THE CULT OF HERMES IN MOESIA INFERIOR

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**Abstract:** The article presents a general review of Hermes' cult in *Moesia Inferior*. Attention is paid to a quantitative analysis of monuments, as votive tablets, bronze statuettes, gems and epigraphic sources. At the same time an attempt is made to trace development of cult, as well as the centers of its wide pervasion in *Moesia Inferior*.

**Keywords:** Moesia, Hermes, monuments.

The cult of Hermes in Ancient Thrace is established well before VI<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Proves about this are well-known records of Herodotus (V. 7.) and some interesting monuments, as coins of Derroni, Bizalti, Oreski and Tinteni tribes, the helmet from Cotofenești and the “*situla*” from Pustrovo. Hermes has undoubtedly a deep Indo-European origin. That is why the information received for the development of his cult in Ancient Greece easily can be referred to Thracian soil. And as we know from Herodotus, Hermes along with Ares, Artemis and Dionysus is one of the most worshipped divinities in Thrace. Thracian Hermes is an ancient divinity directly related to the Thracian religion, revealing as a mediator between the three worlds – “*Ψυχοπόμπος* – Guide of Souls”, patron of trade, cattle, young people and the aristocratic institution as a whole. And after the campaigns of Philip II<sup>nd</sup> Macedonian in the interior of Thrace, this local divinity receives the iconography and cult of Greek Hermes.

In *Moesia Inferior* the cult of Hermes-Mercury penetrates along with Roman legions. Whithin the territory of the province are differentiated three main areas, where the cult of Hermes-Mercury is widespread. Firstly, these are the Roman city and defence centers along the stream of Danube – Oescus, Novae, Durostorum, etc. Secondly – the ancient Greek colonies on the Western Black Sea coast, as Odessus, Dionysopolis, Callatis, Tomis and Histria, where the cult of Hermes is infiltrated by Eastern merchants already before IV<sup>th</sup> century B.C. And in the third place is the administrative territory of Nicopolis ad Istrum, where the pervasive influence from Asia Minor creates a precondition for interesting syncretism between Hermes and other Eastern divinities.

In Greek mythology, Hermes is one of the twelve Olympian gods. He is the messenger of gods, the bringer of dreams, the god of flocks and herds, and of the

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market-place. He is the god of commerce and trade, of inventions, science, and the arts, and of craft in oratory. As an ancient fertility god, he is also a god of wealth, hence of luck, hence of thieves. He conducts the souls of the dead to Hades, and thus is a link between the world of the living and of the dead, equally beloved in both. The Roman Mercury is perceived mostly as a god of commerce, trade and profit. That's why he is pictured with a purse in his hand and his name is linked with Latin words "merx" – "merchandise" and "mercor" – "buy" (Avery 1962, 552-556).

In Moesia Inferior are discovered a great number of monuments, dedicated to Hermes – votive tablets, epigraphic sources, bronze statuettes, gems, etc. From territory of province are mentioned more than 25 votive tablets, with Hermes' images. On the monuments from Kovachitca, Berkovitca district (Филов 1913, p. 332, fig. 261), Vidlitsa, Montana district (Александров 1977, p. 59, № 14), Montana (Огненова-Маринова 1987, 50-51, fig. 27 а, б), Pavlikeni (Султов 1962, 12-14, fig. 12), Nicopolis ad Istrum (Добруски 1901, p. 732, № 24, fig. 23), Abritus (Явашев 1936, p. 50, fig. 43), Dimitar Ganevo, Dobrich district (Василичин 113-114, № 5, pl. II 2), Valchidol, Varna district (Мухайлов 1977, p. 161, № 25), Odessus (Тончева 1960, 73-74, pl. IV, fig. 17), Callatis (Sauciuc-Săveanu 1941-1944, 276-278, fig. 15, № 2) and Tomi (Canarache / Rădulescu / Aricescu / Barbu 1963, p. 136, № 4, fig. 5) the god is represented alone, in the well-known Roman iconography – upright, nude or with mantle hanging over his left shoulder and left arm, holding a purse in his right hand and a "caduceus" in his left. Only on the votive tablet from Kovachitca, Berkovitca district, Hermes is depicted riding on a he-goat. At some of votive tablets the god is represented with a "petasus" on his head<sup>1</sup>. Frequently next to him are depicted altar<sup>2</sup> and his sacred animals – ram<sup>3</sup>, he-goat<sup>4</sup> and cock<sup>5</sup>. Many monuments represent Hermes together with other divinities and this is evidence about growing up syncretism from II<sup>nd</sup> to IV<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D. He is depicted together with Zeus on a votive tablet from Butovo, near by Nicopolis ad Istrum (Младенова 1967, 44-45, № 14, fig. 14). On three monuments Hermes is represented in conjunction with Athena – from Butovo (Султов 1977, p. 60, not. 71), Veliko Turnovo (Мурчев 1951, p. 24, № 52, fig. 52) and Novae (Младенова 1967, p. 44, № 13, fig. 13). Dionysus, Hermes and The Thracian horseman are depicted on a votive tablet from Callatis (Bordenache 1960, 502-503, № 14, fig. 17). On three monuments from Odessus (Мурчев 1953, 12-14, № 10-11, fig. 19-20; Мурчев 1961, 7-8, № 1, pl. 1, fig. 1) are pictured The Thracian horseman, Hermes' herm and a dedication by an association of belted bonito fishermen. On some votive tablets Hermes is depicted in large compositional scenes, together with many other divinities. Together with Zeus,

<sup>1</sup> Votive tablets from Montana and Dimitar Ganevo, Dobrich district.

<sup>2</sup> Votive tablets from Nicopolis ad Istrum, Dimitar Ganevo, Dobrich district, Valchidol, Varna district and Odessus.

<sup>3</sup> Votive tablets from Pavlikeni, Odessus, Callatis and Tomi.

<sup>4</sup> Votive tablets from Kovachitca, Berkovitca district, Montana, Abritus and Odessus.

<sup>5</sup> Votive tablets from Pavlikeni, Dimitar Ganevo, Dobrich district and Tomi.

Hera, Demeter, and Heracles, is on the monument from Krivodol, Montana district (Венедиков 1955, 201-205, fig. 4). With Athena, Zeus, Hera and Heracles is on the monument from Nicopolis ad Istrum (Добруски 1901, p. 729, № 22, fig. 20) and with Venus, Dioscurs, Mars, Saturn, Silvanus, Sol, Luna and Jupiter – on the so called “monument of gods” from Odessus (Kalinka 1906, 137-139, № 149, fig. 42).

From territory of *Moesia Inferior* are found some epigraphic monuments, devoted to Hermes-Mercury. In Durostorum, Caius Antonius Herculanus, “centurio” from XI<sup>th</sup> Claudius Legion raises an inscription devoted to Hermes-Mercury and dated to about 198 – 211 year A.D (Георгиев 1974, 97-98). From Dolna Beshovitca, Vratsa district descends an inscription dedicated to Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Victoria, Volcanus and Mercury (Gerov 1989, p. 75, № 156). In Vishovgrad (Gerov 1989, p. 190, № 409) and Pavlikeni (Gerov 1989, p. 195, № 423), near by Nicopolis ad Istrum are discovered two inscriptions, devoted to Sabazius and Mercury. There are two damaged inscriptions found in Odessus (Mihailov 1970, № 44, 45) and dated to about I<sup>st</sup> century B.C. – I<sup>st</sup> century A.D. from which we get some information about an organization connected with official feasts and Odessus’ city games. These games are called *Ερμια* after the name of the trade God Hermes, but dedicated also to Heracles as a symbol of power and courage (Minchev 2003, p. 232). Greek inscriptions from Western Black Sea coast and these from territory of Nicopolis ad Istrum contain Thracian names, as *Ερμαιος*, *Ερμας*, *Ερμαφιλος*, *Ερμης*, *Ερμογένης*, *Ερμόδωρος* and *Ερμοκράτης* (Mihailov 1970, 427-428), and Latin inscriptions from province contain *cognomina Romana* – *Mercurius* (Ковачева 1978, 76-81).

More than 40 bronze statuettes, representing Hermes-Mercury are found in *Moesia Inferior*. Some of them are luxurious import and others – craft of local workshops. From Oescus descends fine bronze composition that depicts Hermes carrying the infant Dionysus (Ogdenova-Marinova 1975, p. 96, № 91). Usually bronze statuettes represent Hermes-Mercury semi-nude with one end of his mantle hanging down from his left shoulder along his left arm. He is wearing a small winged “petasus” on his head and holding a purse in his right hand and a “caduceus” in the left. Bronze statuettes of Hermes are found all around the territory of *Moesia Inferior*. There are publications about monuments from Vratsa (Ogdenova-Marinova 1975, p. 98, № 92), Botevgrad (Ogdenova-Marinova 1975, p. 103, № 101), Opanets, Pleven district (Венедиков/Велков 1946, p. 229, fig. 143), Dimum, now Belene (Ogdenova-Marinova 1975, p. 101, № 98), Kramolin, Sevlievo district (Ogdenova-Marinova 1975, p. 103, № 102), Kruvenik, Gabrovo district (Милчев/Ковачев 1967, 43-44, fig. 5), Butovo (Църов 1990, p. 33, № 6, fig. 6), Nicopolis ad Istrum (Дончева 2002-2003, p. 216), Marcianopolis (Ogdenova-Marinova 1975, p. 109, № 115), Dubravino, Varna district (Лазаров 2001, с. 46, № 83) and Rogachevo, near by Dionysopolis, now Balchik (Василичин 1980, 116-117, № 2, pl. I 1). From the administrative territory of Abritus, now Razgrad are known nine bronze statuettes – one from ancient city (Явашев 1936, 67-68, fig. 57), one from Radingrad (Радославова/Дзанев 2003, p. 126), one from Ljublen (Ogdenova-Marinova 1975, p. 108, № 114), one from

Drinovo (Георгиев/Атанасов 1992, p. 51, № 14, fig. 2, pl. IV), two from Krepcha (Велков 1928-1929, p. 376, fig. 250; Велков 1930-1931, p. 310, fig. 236) and three from Орака (Гинев 1989, с. 34, № 45, обр. 45; Георгиев/Атанасов 1992, 50-51, № 12-13, fig 4, pl. III; fig. 1, pl. IV). Seven bronze statuettes come from Novae (Огнепова-Маринова 1975 p. 101, № 97; p. 107, № 112; p. 110, № 119; p. 111, № 120; p. 113, № 125; Димитрова-Милчева 1984 18-19; Художествен бронз 1984, № 111), five from Durostorum (Георгиев/Доневски 1980, 119-120, № 1 – 3; 7, pl. I 1 – I 3; III 7; Petculescu 2003, p. 102, № 43) and three from Tomi (Barbu 1965, 14 – 18, № 6 – 8). Sometimes Mercury is represented as Hermes - Thot<sup>6</sup>. He is wearing on his head a “petasus”, with wide brims and two lateral wings framing a lotus flower or a feather on the crown of his head.

Another type of widespread monuments, related to Hermes' cult are gems. From territory of *Moesia Inferior* are originated more than 30 monuments. Some of them are part of Bălăcescu collection (Gramatopol 1974, 56-57, № 223, 229, 240, 242, 245, 246) and they are preserved in Numismatic Cabinet of Romanian Academy of Sciences in Bucharest. More of the gems descend from territory of Novae and Oescus. Probably in Novae existed jewellery workshop, as also an unfinished gem with god's representation is found there (Димитрова-Милчева 1980, p. 21). Sometimes Hermes is depicted on gems together with other goddesses as Izis (Димитрова-Милчева 1980, p. 46, № 61) and Fortuna (Димитрова-Милчева 2005, 264-276, № 4).

Hermes is perceived as a patron of money, profit, good luck and male inception. That's why god's herms are used for decoration of toilet boxes' clasps. These boxes were used for toilet accessories and various valuables as jewellery, coins and objects of luxury. From *Moesia Inferior* are known more than 15 clasps, mostly from territory of Odessus (Kouzon 2003, p. 32, № 23-25; 27-30, fig. 23-25; 27-30), Marcianopolis (Мънзова 1963, 18-19, № 2a; 2b; 7, fig 3; Kouzon 2003, p. 32, № 31, fig. 31), Durostorum (Petculescu 2003, p. 132, № 159) and Nicopolis ad Istrum (Дончева 2002-2003, p. 216, fig. 2).

Various monuments with Hermes image are evidence for different aspects of his cult. From Oescus (Младенова 1967, p. 43, № 11, fig. 11), from Odessus' thermal baths (Георгиев 1975, p. 145, № 8, pl. IV, 3, 4) and from Early-Christian church in “Ancient villa № 1”, near by Montana (Александров 1983, p. 68, №1) originated stone statues of Hermes. In *villa rustica* near by Dolna Kremena, Vratsa district (Машиов 1988, 32-33, № 2-3, fig. 2-3) and in Nicopolis ad Istrum (Дончева 2002-2003, 216-218) are discovered god's herms. From Butovo descend terracottas (Султов 1977, p. 87) and clay moulds for applications with representations of Hermes (Кабакчиева/Султова/Владкова 1988, p. 31; 36, № 181; 212). From Montana – clay mould for votive tablets (Велков 1940-1942, 183-184, № 1, fig. 247), and from Gradnitca, Gabrovo district – votive hand, an evidence for syncretism between Sabazius and Hermes-Mercury (Милчев 1972-1973, 48-58, fig. 1 а, б, в, г, д; Тачева-Хитова 1975, 53-56, № 7, fig. 2).

<sup>6</sup> Bronze statuettes from Novae, Durostorum and Rogachevo, Balchik district.

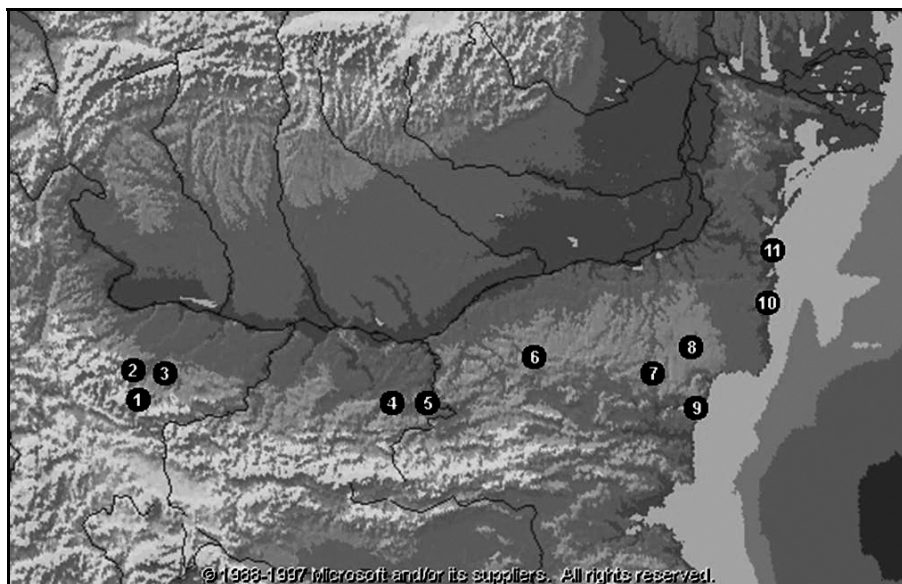
There is no temple of Hermes-Mercury found in *Moesia Inferior* and *Thrace*. But this multiform divinity is directly related with human spirit, existence and daily pursuits. He is patron of craftsmen, merchants, shepherds, musicians, athletes, orators, even of thieves. That's why the monuments with Hermes' images are so numerous all over the Roman Empire. They are perceived as an apotropaic amulets that bring good luck and avert evil.

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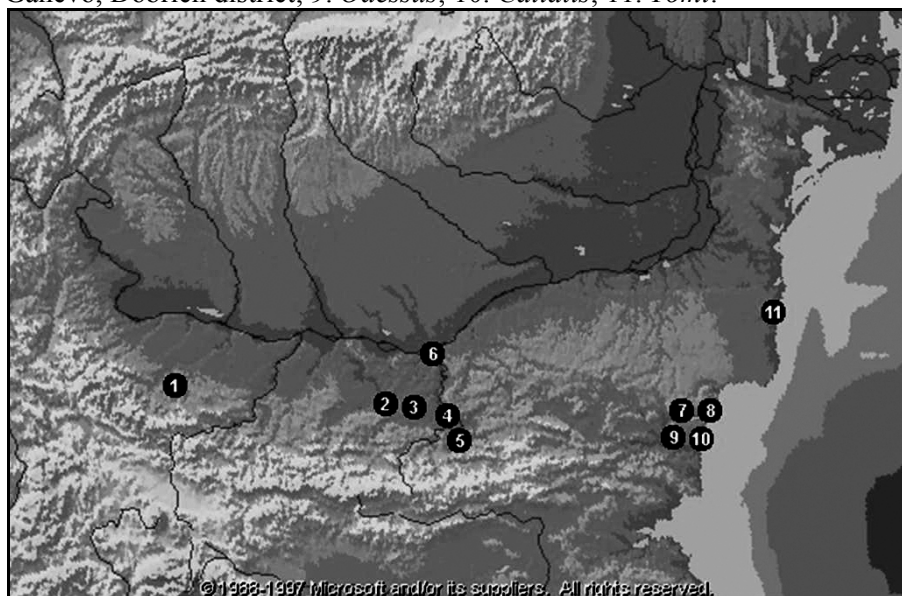
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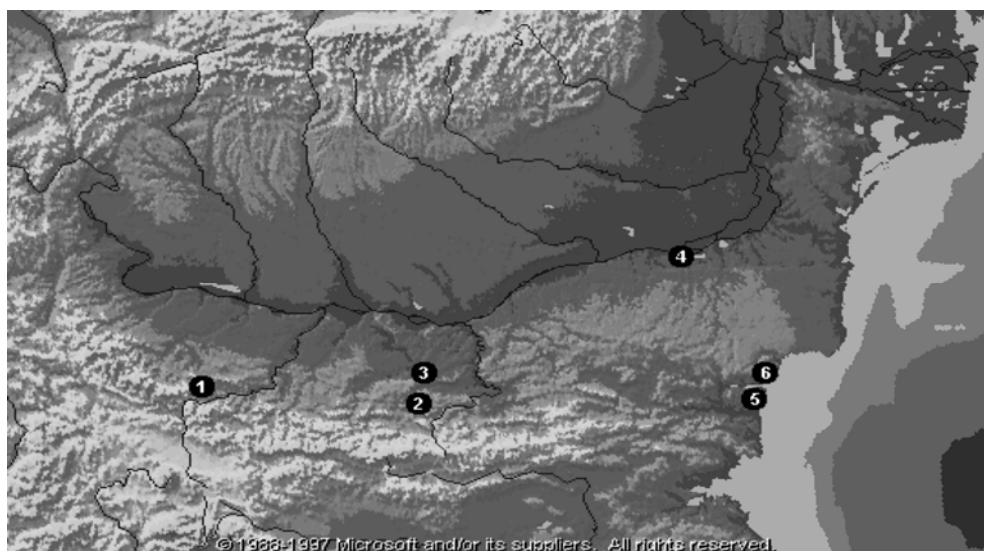
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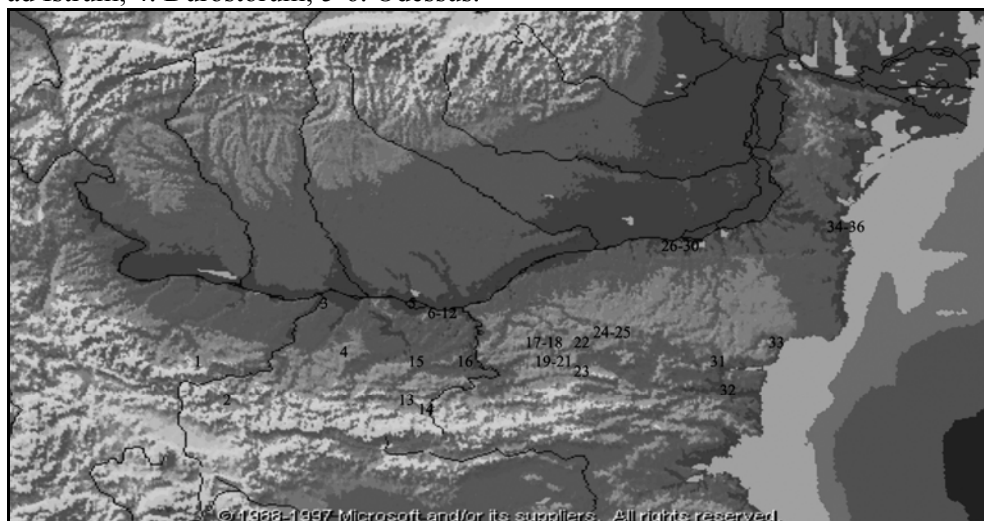
**Fig. 1:** Votive tablets with Hermes' images from territory of Moesia Inferior. 1. Kovachitsa, Berkovitca district; 2. Vidlitsa, Montana district; 3. Montana; 4. Pavlikeni, administrative territory of *Nicopolis ad Istrum*; 5. *Nicopolis ad Istrum*; 6. *Abritus*; 7. Valchidol, Varna district; 8. Dimitar Ganevo, Dobrich district; 9. *Odessus*; 10. *Callatis*; 11. *Tomi*.



**Fig. 2:** Votive tablets with Hermes and other divinities from territory of Moesia Inferior. 1. Krivodol, Montana district; 2-3 Butovo, administrative territory of *Nicopolis ad Istrum*; 4. *Nicopolis ad Istrum*; 5. Veliko Turnovo, administrative territory of *Nicopolis ad Istrum*; 6. *Novae*; 7-10. *Odessus*; 11. *Callatis*.



**Fig. 3:** Epigraphic monuments, devoted to Hermes - Mercury from territory of Moesia Inferior. 1. Dolna Beshovitca, Vratsa district; 2. Vishovgrad, administrative territory of Nicopolis ad Istrum; 3. Pavlikeni, administrative territory of Nicopolis ad Istrum; 4. Durostorum; 5-6. Odessus.



**Fig. 4:** Bronze statuettes, representing Hermes - Mercury from territory of Moesia Inferior. 1. Vratsa; 2. Botevgrad; 3. *Oescus*; 4. Opanets, Plevan district; 5. *Dimum*; 6-12. Novae; 13. Kramolin, Sevlievo district; 14. Kruvenik, Gabrovo district; 15. Butavo; 16. *Nicolis ad Istrum*; 17-18. Krepcha, administrative territory of *Abritus*; 19-21. Opaka, administrative territory of *Abritus*; 22. Ljublen, administrative territory of *Abritus*; 23. Drinovo, administrative territory of *Abritus*; 24-25. *Abritus*; 26-30. *Durostorum*. 31. *Marcianopolis*; 32. Dubravino, administrative territory of *Odessus*; 33. Rogachevo, administrative territory of *Dionysopolis*; 34-36. *Tomi*.



## ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN THE ROMAN FORT TRIMAMMIUM (PRELIMINARY REPORT)

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**Abstract:** At the end of 2005, within the territory of the Roman fortress Trimammium, near village Mechka, Rousse district, treasure-hunters have discovered some architectural details (fragments) and stone wall from a big building. That imposed the undertaking of a rescue archaeological excavation within this area. The building was investigated completely in the period between years 2006-2008. It is established, that the earliest structures (features) within the investigated area are the five pits and clay soldering wall from III rd century AD. Having in mind the discovered things in two of the pits, we must connect them with some rituals of the soldiers from the fortress. In the beginning of the IV th century AD a big building was erected in the investigated area. It was repaired in the middle or second half of the same century (IV AD). In the first half of the V c AD, within the building a big pit was digged. The last coins, found in it, are from the time of emperor Theodosius I. During the VI th c AD the building was rebuild and was used until the end of the same century (or until the beginning of VII c AD). After this the building was abandoned and destroyed by an earthquake. The place was located again in the IX-X th c AD and then above the remains of the antique building was erected medieval house with stone foundations. The last dated materials discovered in the excavated area are from the XIII th c AD.

**Keywords:** archaeological, Roman, fort, coins.

The Roman fort Trimammium is situated 3 km to the west from the village of Mechka, Ruse region, in the locality called Stulpishte, on a natural incline on the Danube bank (*fig. 1*). It is a component part of the chain of military sites along the Roman *limes* in Lower Moesia. The fort's name was mentioned for the first time by Claudius Ptolemaeus, and afterwards many times in a number of ancient maps (Иванов 1999).

A Thracian settlement, dated in the Early and Later Iron Age, has been registered nearby the fort. However, it has not been archaeologically investigated until now (Дремсизова, Иванов 1983, 47). An accidentally found hoard of 418 coins, which contains imitations of issues of Philippus II, Philippus III Arideus and

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\*\* Historical Museum – Popovo.

\*\*\* Historical Museum – Popovo.

the Second period of Thassian coinage (Юркуова 1979, 60<sup>1</sup>), might well be connected with that settlement.

The only known until present rock-cut relief of the Thracian Horseman in Bulgaria originates exactly from the locality called Stulpishte (*fig. 2*). It had been cut in a not very high rock rising in the dry valley of the Oreshe river, but was destroyed in the 30s of 20<sup>th</sup> century (Дремсизова, Иванов 1983, 47; Oppermann 2005, 118). Here was also found a Roman milestone from the time of Gordianus III and Constantinus I the Great, but it has recently been lost (Велков 1968, 6; Hollenstein 1975, 23-44). Two tombstones from the *necropolis* of Trimammium are kept now in the Regional History Museum in Ruse (Дремсизова, Иванов 1983, 47). The first one dates from the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century (Велков 1968, 4-6). In 1984 this *necropolis* was precisely located in the locality called Dervisha (Станчев 1984, 90<sup>2</sup>). Graves have also been found close to the Danube bank, to the north from the fort (Дремсизова, Иванов 1983, 47).

In the Regional History Museum in Ruse are also kept lots of coins (including coin hoards), fibulae and other archaeological materials from Roman, Byzantine and Early Mediaeval times. The inventory books declare the fort of Trimammium as their place of finding, but considering the fact that they were bought from private persons, we could doubt about their real origin.

According to the available evidence, the fort already existed in the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. However, until 2006 no archaeological investigations had been carried out at the site. In the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, especially in the years of 'transition' from socialism to democratic society, the fort became an object of large-scale treasure-hunters' interventions. During one of those interventions, in the winter of 2005, a solid wall of a building made of stones soldered with mortar was unearthed, together with a few architectural details (parts of columns and column bases). This fact provoked rescue archaeological excavations during the spring of 2006, which continued until the total investigation of the building in 2008. The shortage of money predetermined the methods of investigation – square by square, but not simultaneous removal of the chronological layers. A building, called building A in this paper, was entirely excavated. Parts of three other buildings (B, C and D) were also studied.

No traces of settlement life in pre-Roman times and during the Early Roman period were found in the excavated area. The earliest documented structures are pits and a part of a wall with mud soldering from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century (*fig. 3*). Five pits with different forms and diameters are fully or partially examined. All of them contain building ceramics and pottery, bones, stones, lumps of clay, charcoals, iron and bronze finds (and fragments of such) and different number of coins, which allow correct dating. The two found coins in pits № 1 and № 2 are small

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<sup>1</sup> The finding place of this hoard is incorrectly pointed in the bulletin about the coin hoards in the periodical Archaeology as the area of the village of Pirgovo, Ruse region.

<sup>2</sup> The *necropolis* has not been archaeologically investigated and documented. Two limestone covers of *sarcophagi*, kept now in the museum in Ruse, but without inventory numbers, probably originate from there.

denominations of provincial bronze coinage from the time of Emperor Septimius Severus; in pit № 3 – two provincial bronze coins (the first one belongs to Emperor Philip I Arab, the second one is badly preserved and the ruler is not identified) and three *antoniniani* of Emperors Claudius II, Aurelianus and Probus; in pit № 4 – 39 *antoniniani* and their imitations, the latest one of which is chronologically connected with the rule of Emperor Diocletianus. Pit № 5 yielded eleven *antoniniani*, the latest one of which chronologically belongs to the time of Emperor Probus. Most of the coins are burnt. Fragments of *tegulae* and *imbrici* with stamps of Legio I Italica and cohorts I Bracaraugustanorum were also discovered in pits № 1, 2, 3 and 5 (**fig. 4 a, b, c**).

The functions and usage of the pits remain still unclear at the present stage of investigations. Pits № 1 and № 2 were initially interpreted as garbage ones (Върбанов, Драгоев, Русев 2007, 262). The analyses of the content of pits № 4 and № 5, which were excavated in 2008, lead however to different conclusions. They have comparatively smaller size and are *pithos*-shaped. Burnt armory was found in pit № 4 – bronze shield *umbo*, fragments of an iron helmet, a bronze belt buckle and other parts of bronze and iron artifacts. A burnt bronze statue of Venus (**fig. 4 d**) and an almost entirely preserved cup of well-purged clay were also discovered in the same pit. Pit № 5 contained one fragmented bowl, laid down with its bottom upwards over fish scales. There also were eight whole and six broken loom weights of not well-done clay, together with 38 analogical fragments. The quantity of bones and ceramic fragments of vessels made by means of a potter's wheel is different in the pits (fragments of hand-made pottery were found only in pits № 4 and № 5). It has to be noted that almost every coin, bronze and iron find, and every pottery fragment from the pits is burnt.

The practices of putting vessels over food, coins, bronze and iron fragments with traces of burning, not well-done loom weights, bones, stones, ceramics, coals and burnt lumps of clay in the pits are identical to those in the Thracian pit complex in Ruse (Varbanov, Dragoev 2006, 181-193). Considering all the facts we could suggest, with some reservations<sup>3</sup>, that the discovered pits are remains of the ritual practices, carried out by the local military garrison and population during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century (pits № 4 and № 5 confirm this assumption).

A wall with clay soldering also belongs to the earliest level (**fig. 3**). A very small part of it is preserved and according to the found pottery it dates to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.

Buildings from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century are situated in the close proximity of the excavated area. The great amount of building ceramics and pottery, coins, fibulae and applications from later layers support this statement. At this stage of investigations buildings B and C are dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. A part of an inscription, re-used as *spolium* in the repair of building A during the 6<sup>th</sup> century, dates from the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century (**fig. 4 e**).

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<sup>3</sup> At this stage of investigations secure conclusions are impossible because of the small area excavated within the fort.

The next chronological phase is represented by the construction of building A in the beginning of 4<sup>th</sup> century, probably during the reign of Constantinus I the Great. The edifice has irregular quadrangular shape and its northwest wall is in fact one of the re-used walls of the earlier building C (*fig. 3*). Unfortunately, the floor levels within building A were already destroyed in the antiquity. The first floor level was brick-paved, over a layer of mortar. A very small part of this mortar layer (only by the northeast long wall) is preserved. This part, together with the corrections of the northwest wall, testifies that the building was repaired in the middle or second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Afterwards, in the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> /beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, the building was temporarily abandoned. We came to this opinion on the base of a discovered big pit filled with 'reddish' soil, dug into its interior (*fig.3*). The content of the pit includes relatively small quantity of ceramics, bones, stones, bronze and iron fragments, and 16 coins – 5 dated in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century and the latest one belonging to Theodosius I. These finds date the pit to the beginning/first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. There is a possible connection of this pit with the lime-pit in the northern part of building A, which is also dated after the archaeological materials before the building's repairs in the 6<sup>th</sup> century (*fig. 3*).

The evidence for repairs and usage of the building in the 6<sup>th</sup> century is enough to make steady conclusions. At first place, the two well-preserved stylobates could be mentioned, one of which even with a column base *in situ* (*fig. 3*). The floor level from this period is rammed down loam, containing many fragments of comb-like ornamented amphorae, and it is dated by a coin of Justinus II and Sophia. There is a layer of destructions (from the building's walls) above this level, which is connected with the abandonment of the building in the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> – beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. A fibula with pseudo-wire decoration, cast in a mould, is among the well-dated materials (Генчева 2004, 172, табл. XVIII, 1-10). The walls of building A fell down during some big earthquake after its final abandonment.

The next stage of dwelling in the investigated area relates to the period of the First and Second Bulgarian kingdom. The earliest well datable finds are from the 9-10<sup>th</sup> century and the last (coins) – from the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Building D, quadrangular in plan and erected over the remains of building A, also belongs to the described period (*fig. 3*). Within the context of this structure, on its floor level from rammed down loam, a lead cross and many fragments of pottery with incised decoration typical for 10-11<sup>th</sup> century period were found. Currently, we put the building's construction into this period, but a little later data is not excluded too. Unfortunately, the most compromised by treasure-hunters' invasions is exactly the uppermost, mediaeval layer (the bases of building D are approximately 50 cm under the contemporary surface). Two pits, one of which situated in the southern corner of building A, also belong to the period 10-13<sup>th</sup> century (*fig. 3*). The pits' filling contains a small amount of ceramic fragments (easy datable), bones and iron pieces. A kiln, probably for baking pottery, whose investigation is forthcoming, dates from the same time (Върбанов, Драгоев, Русев 2008, 347-348).

It is difficult to firmly define the functions of building A because of its compromised interior. At this stage of excavations they are interpreted as social-

administrative. Since buildings B and C are partially investigated, their dating and interpretation are still uncertain. According to the archaeological materials building B could be dated to the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. After its stratigraphic position, Building C is earlier, i.e. it was built before the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. However, the materials (mainly pottery) from the small investigated part of this building are from later times (the 6<sup>th</sup> century), which points to a possible re-use.

The full analysis of the artifacts, found in 2006-2008, will make it possible to specify the chronology of the discovered buildings and structures in the investigated area.

Finally, the 255 coins, found in the period of 2006-2008, are presented chronologically in tables.

## I. Early Roman Coins

	Rome	Nikopolis Ad Istrum	Marcia- nopolis	Medio- lanum	Vimi- nacum	Siscia	Antioch	Tripolis	Cyzi- cus	Sevica	Philipo- polis	Anchialo	Incerta	Total
Trajan	1												1	2
Antoninus Pius	1													1
Marcus Aurelius	1													1
Commodus	1													1
Septimius Severus		3												3
Julia Domna		1												1
Caracalla		2												2
Plautilla		1												1
Severus Alexander			1											1
Gordian III		1			1									2
Philip I					1									1
Gallienus	5												6	11
Salonina	1												2	3
Claudius II				2									22	24
After death of Claudius II													7	7
Aurelian	3			3		2		2	1	1			9	21
Severina							1							1
Tacitus	1						1						1	3
Probus	1					1				2			1	5
1 <sup>st</sup> – 2 <sup>nd</sup> century AD													3	3
2 <sup>nd</sup> – 3 <sup>rd</sup> century AD	1										1	1	3	6
Second half of the 3 <sup>rd</sup> century AD													10	10
Total	16	8	1	5	2	3	2	2	1	3	1	1	65	110

Table 1

## II. Late Roman Coins

	Constantinople	Cyzicus	Nicomedia	Trier	Heraclea	Thessalonica	Aquileia	Sirmium	Siscia	Antioch	Ticinum	Alexandria	Rome	Incerta	Total
Diocletian					1						1		2	1	5
Maximianus I					3										3
After death of Maximianus I														1	1
Licinius I			1		2				1	1		1		1	7
Licinius II				1	1					1					3
Constantine I					1	1		1	2					2	7
After death of Constantine I														3	3
VLPP Imitative Type														1	1
Vrbs Roma					2										2
Crispus														1	1
Delmatius		1													1
Constantine II caesar							1		1					1	3
Constantine II						1									1
Constantius II caesar	1														1
Constantius II	1	2	2		4	3		3		1				16	32
Constans caesar		1													1
Constans			1			1								2	4
Constantius II/Constans										1				5	6
Constantius Gallus			1											3	4
The family of Constantine I														5	5
Julian caesar						1									1
Valentinian I		1	1			1			2						5
Valens	1	1							2					4	8
Procopius	1														1
Valentinian II	2														2
Theodosius I														2	2
Arcadius		1												4	5
Arcadius/Honorius														3	3
Eudoxia														1	1
Honorius														1	1
Honorius/Theodosius II					1									1	2
Theodosius II		1													1
4 <sup>th</sup> century														5	5
End of 4 <sup>th</sup> – 5 <sup>th</sup> century														3	3
5 <sup>th</sup> century				1	15	8	1	4	8	4	1	1	2	1	1
Total	6	8	6	1	15	8	1	4	8	4	1	1	2	67	132

Table 2

### III. Early Byzantine Coins

	Constantinople	Thessalonica	Incerta	Period	Value	Total
Anastasius I			1	491-498	nummus	1
Justin I	1			?	$\frac{1}{4}$ follies (I)	1
Justinian I	1			541/42	1 follis (M)	1
			1	542/43	$\frac{1}{2}$ follies (K)	1
			1	550/51	$\frac{1}{2}$ follies (K)	1
Justin II (and Sophia)		1		568/69	$\frac{1}{2}$ follies (K)	1
Total	2	1	3			6

Table 3

### IV. Medieval Coins

Anonymous Byzantine Follis Class A2
Anonymous Byzantine Follis Class A3
Latin Imitative Trachea, large modul, series A, Constantinople (from 1204 to the end of 30-s of 13 <sup>th</sup> ).
Latin Imitative Trachea, small modul, series A, Constantinople (from 1210 to the middle of 13 <sup>th</sup> ).
Latin Imitative Trachea, small modul, series A, Constantinople (from 1210 to the middle of 13 <sup>th</sup> ).
Latin Imitative Trachea, small modul, series B, Constantinople (from 1210 to the middle of 13 <sup>th</sup> ).
Latin Imitative Trachea – firs half of 13 <sup>th</sup> century AD

Table 4

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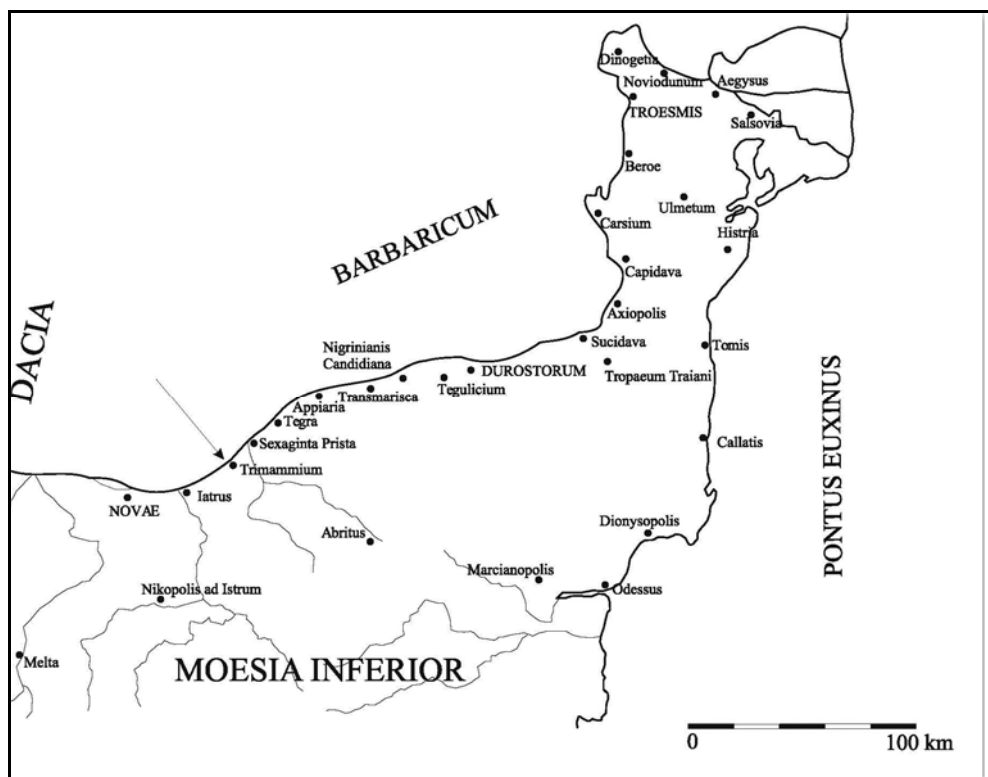
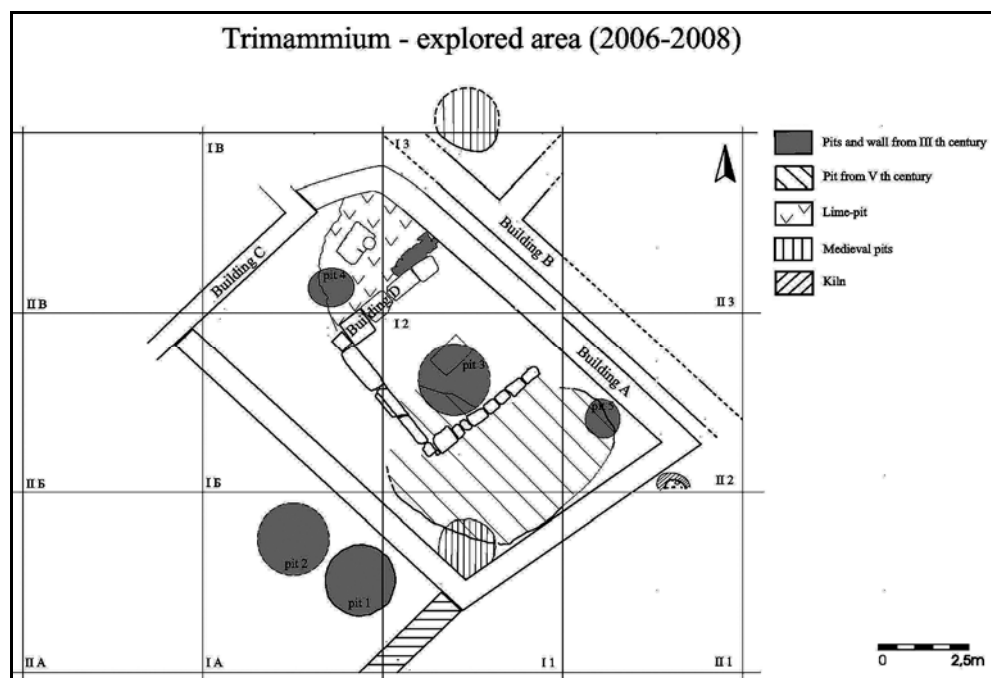


Fig. 1: Lower Danube roman limes.



Fig. 2: Rock – cut relief of the Thracian horseman.



**Fig. 3:** Trimammium – explored area (2006-2008).

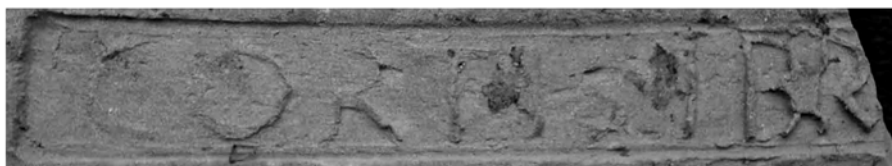


fig.4 a



fig.4 b



fig.4 c



fig.4 d

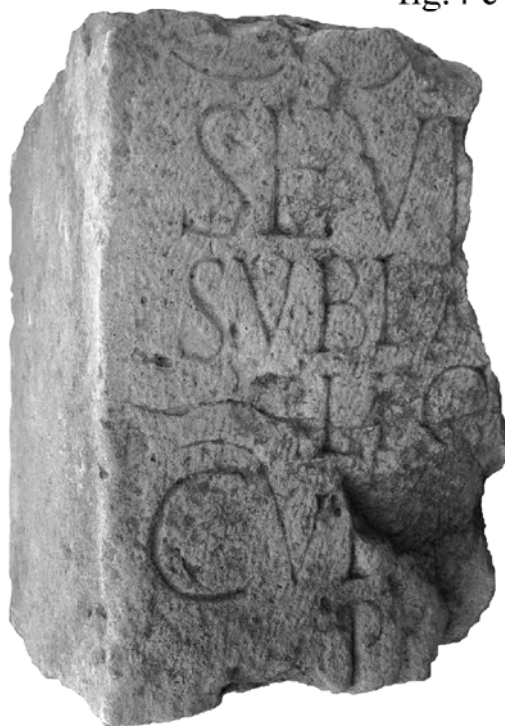


fig.4 e

**Fig. 4:** a-c. Tegulae and imbrici with stamps; d. Statue of Venus; e. Fragment of stone with inscription.



## DVROSTORVM ET LE MONDE DES CELTES

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**Abstract:** Une série de six toponymes et un hydronyme d'origine celte identifiés au Bas Danube s'ajoutent aux sources littéraires et archéologiques dans l'idée de confirmer une présence celtique au III-e s. av.J.C. dans la région.

**Keywords:** celte, toponymes, hydronyme,.

1. C'était en 1968 quand un vrai Celte de nos jours, Christian Guyonvarc'h, publiait en Roumanie une très convaincante étude « Sur le nom de Durostorum », exactement sous ce titre<sup>1</sup>. En partant de la série des sources antiques mentionnant ce toponyme de la sorte de *Tabula Peutingeriana* VIII, 2 ; Ptolémée, III, 10, 5 ; *Itinerarium Antonini* 223, 4 ; *Notitia Dignitatum*, Or. 40, 26 et 33 et, plus tard ; l'Anonyme de Ravenne IV, 7, l'auteur a dépassé la prudence explicable d'Alfred Holder<sup>2</sup>. D'une façon qu'on va reprendre plus bas, Guyonvarc'h arrivait à une traduction dudit toponyme par « la forteresse de la colline escarpée ». A ce qu'il paraît, cette signification n'échappait pas aussi à Holder. Mais celui-ci était sans doute surpris d'avoir remarqué un fort possible toponyme celte dans le milieu considéré prédominant thrace à l'époque. Par la suite, il avait hésité dans le II-e volume de son oeuvre monumental, en se demandant si le toponyme *Durostorum* ne serait plutôt thrace. D'ailleurs, un toponyme comme celui d'*Aliobrix* qu'on va commenter plus bas ne figurait pas encore à l'époque dans son répertoire.

Convaincu du fait que *duro-* est le nom antique de la forteresse en celtique continental, Guyonvarc'h a concentré sa recherche sur la seconde partie dudit toponyme, *-storo-n*. Par la suite, il a porté sa démonstration encore plus loin que son illustre prédécesseur. Il a remarqué, parmi autres, que l'alternance vocalique *e/o* déjà attestée dans le celtique permet d'accorder la même signification à la racine *-storo-* qu'à sa parallèle *-stero-* avec ses variantes déjà connues par Holder aussi. A la suite d'une plus longue et très érudite étude linguistique savamment soutenue, entre autres par plusieurs exemples en commençant avec le sanskrit et en finissant avec des fragments des poèmes en gaulois moderne y compris, l'auteur a sans doute raison sur la signification du deuxième mot compris dans le toponyme de *Durostorum*. Celui-ci est plus proche au sens original indo-européen, hérité

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<sup>1</sup> Chr. Guyonvarc'h, dans *Apulum* VII/1, 1968, p.201-208.

<sup>2</sup> A. Holder, *Altceltischer Sprachschatz*, II, Leipzig, 1896, p. 1386.

dans quelques langues de la même souche avec la significartion de « abrupt », « escarpé » etc.

Pour en conclure, l'auteur de cette remarquable recherche observait la formation plus récente de notre toponyme, au niveau chronologique correspondant « à l'évolution analytique des documents continentaux tardifs et du néo-celtique récent ». Par la suite, il considérait vers la fin de son étude : « *duro-(n)* et *storo-(n)* présentent une similitude de sens qui confine à la répétition par incompréhension : c'est apparemment un composé analytique et pléonastique [...] dans lequel les deux mots ont un sens très proche, le premier n'ayant été préfixé que parce que le second n'était plus compris »<sup>3</sup>.

Une fois y arrivé, l'auteur restait de nouveau, comme son prédécesseur plus haut cité, toujours embarrassé, même devant une découverte tellement étonnante. C'était ainsi qu'il considérait mieux de conclure son étude par une question : « où et jusqu'à quand y a-t-il eu des Celtes, c'est à dire des peuples de langue celtique, implantés sur le bas Danube et dans les provinces avoisinantes ? ».

2. Deux années plus tard après cette importante découverte finie par une conclusion évasive, une nouvelle découverte toponymique s'ajoutait au dossier celte du Bas Danube. En partant d'un vers d'Ovide de ses Pontiques, I, 8, 13, le professeur Nicolae Gostar de l'Université de Iași se demandait qui pourrait être ce *Caspios Aigisos*, fondateur de la ville d'*Aegyssus*<sup>4</sup>. Celui-ci était considéré par le poète romain exilé à Tomis (auj. Constantza de Roumanie) comme le vrai *conditor* de la plus haut nommée fortification, le dernier établissement important avant le Delta du grand fleuve. Quelques détails morphologiques et l'absence du nom *Aigisos* avec ses variantes des répertoires thraces ont mené feu professeur Gostar (1922-1972) à une conclusion jamais contestée jusqu'à présent. En suivant Ovide dans l'idée de l'origine antroponyme d'*Aegyssus*, il remarquait l'impossibilité d'une origine thrace de celui-ci. Au contraire, il trouvait, par analogies bien vérifiées, une autre origine, celle celtique. A la suite d'une très belle démonstration philologique, N.Gostar arrivait à la conclusion suivante : « le nom personnel *Caspios Aegisos*, paru dans cette forme dans l'oeuvre d'Ovide, [...] pourrait-être le nom d'un chef des Celtes établis [ .... ] dans la région »<sup>5</sup>. Mais, remarquait le même auteur, *Aegyssus* n'était pas le seul toponyme celtique de la région. En suivant Tomaschek, Pârvan, Polaschek et R.Vulpe, Gostar rappelait la même origine pour *Arrubium* (auj. Măcin), *Noviodunum* (auj. Isaccea) et, sans doute, vis-à-vis du dernier, de l'autre côté du Danube, *Aliobrix* (auj. Orlovka, au moment de la rédaction de ces lignes, en Ukraine). Dans le même lieu, l'auteur y ajoutait, seulement dans une note<sup>6</sup>, le nom de *Durostorum*, de l'étude à peine paru (et plus haut cité) pendant qu'il corrigeait son texte. C'était sans doute en dernière instance, parce que, dans le résumé, il n'a plus eu le temps de l'insérer dans la liste.

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<sup>3</sup> Chr.Guyonvarc'h, *op.cit.*, p.208.

<sup>4</sup> N. Gostar, dans *Danubius*, 4, 1970, p. 113-121.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 116.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 117, n.19.

3. Après ces dires, on est sans doute dans la situation de ne plus pouvoir ignorer l'existence et l'importance de ces toponymes. Leur série commence (au moins) avec *Durostorum* (auj. Silistra, Bulgarie), continue avec le village *Vicus Vergobrittianus*, près de *Cius* (Gârliciu, dép. de Constantza)<sup>7</sup>, *Arrubium* (Măcin, dép. de Tulcea), *Noviodunum* (Isaccea, dép. de Tulcea) et son pendant de l'autre côté du fleuve, *Aliobrix*, en finissant avec *Aegyssus* (Tulcea). Il faut y ajouter le nom de la même origine celte d'une petite rivière se trouvant au nord du territoire (*chora*) de la ville d'Istros (= *Histria*), *Gabranus*, peut-être Slava Rusă d'aujourd'hui<sup>8</sup>.

Tout ce tableau indique, sans doute, une présence celtique plus de deux siècles avant la domination romaine, bien que la majorité de sources plus haut citées et nous fournissant les informations à peine évoquées arrivent de cette époque plus tardive. Un des arguments en est concerné dans une réalité se trouvant loin d'aucune doute : les Romains, ici ou ailleurs, n'ont presque rien changé de la toponymie locale des pays conquis. Le seul exemple contraire de la Scythie Mineure est celui de la ville de *Tropaeum Traiani*, qui devait prendre le nom trop prestigieux du monument triomphal érigé en 109 tout près de l'établissement<sup>9</sup>.

On pourrait encore supposer, en suivant les exemples des établissements jumeaux du Bas Danube dont le seul exemple clairement celtique est celui de *Noviodunum - Aliobrix*<sup>10</sup>, que, par analogie, les autres auraient été soutenues par des têtes de pont de l'autre côté du fleuve aussi. Mais, pour l'instant, les sources et l'état des recherches ne nous offre aucun indice de ce point de vue. En tout cas, l'exemple des pendants plus haut cité confirme encore une fois l'affirmation diachronique et géo-politique de Vasile Pârvan : « ... Les Gètes. Ceux-ci avaient besoin de la rive droite, pour surveiller l'étang et la pleine, de la même façon que les Grecs, les Romains, les Byzantins ou les Turcs ... »<sup>11</sup>. C'est dans le même esprit que, pendant leur présence au Bas-Danube, les Celtes de *Noviodunum* nommaient la fortification de l'autre côté « l'autre fort » (ou l'autre colline ou bien rive), dans

<sup>7</sup> Gr.Tocilescu, dans *Archaeologisch-Epigraphische Mitteilungen*, 14, Vienne, 1891, p. 19, no. 42 = CIL III, 12479, inscription reprise avec la bibliographie antérieure par Em. Dorutiu Boila dans le V-e vol. des *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris* (plus bas *ISM*), no. 115. L'auteur, en ignorant l'interprétation de 1948 du document due à S.Lambrino et publiée dans le volume *Mélanges Marouzeau* paru à Paris, reprend toutefois la lecture de l'inscription due à T.Zawadzki de *Sprawozdania z prac. Nauk. Widy. I, PAN*, 1965, 2, p. 46-47, où, au lieu de la lecture initiale (*Verobrittiani*), l'auteur proposait, au juste titre, *Vergobrittiani*, en tant que dérivé de *Vergobretus*, nom commun typique (latinisé) d'un chef de communauté celte.

<sup>8</sup> *ISM* I, nos. 67.2 et 68.5 et 6; VI. Georgiev, *Trakite i tehniat ezik*, Sofia, 1977, p.210, considère ce nom de rivière d'origine daco-misienne, même en citant S.Lambrino et B.Gerov qui envisageaient l'origine celtique du nom de cette rivière.

<sup>9</sup> V., parmi autres et avec la bibliographie antérieure, Al.Barnea, dans le vol. *Dacia Augusti Provincia*, Bucarest, 2006, p. 411-415.

<sup>10</sup> Nous avons repris et commenté ce répertoire des établissements jumeaux du Bas Danube dans *Roman Frontier Studies, Proceedings of the XVII th International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*, Zalau, 1999, p. 485-486.

<sup>11</sup> V.Pârvan, *Getica*, Bucarest, 1926, p. 91.

leur langue, *Aliobrix*<sup>12</sup>. Ils étaient donc, pour l'instant et à l'époque de l'apparition de ces toponymes, les maîtres de la rive droite du grand fleuve.

Enfin, sous titre d'hypothèse, les ainsi-dits *Coralli* se trouvant après Strabon (VII, 5, 12) entre les Balkans et la Mer Noire pourraient être, en suivant aussi Ovide (*Ex Ponto*, IV, 2, 37-38 et 8, 83-86), d'origine celte, à la suggestion, soutenue par les sources, du même C.Guyonvarc'h<sup>13</sup>.

Dans le même esprit, il faut donner raison à N.Gostar en remarquant, par le texte de Ptolémée (III, 10, 7), la présence au N du Delta du Danube du tribu celtique des *Britolagai*<sup>14</sup>.

4. Avec toutes ces réalités de géographie historique et d'analyse linguistique, on se trouve devant un problème d'histoire que l'interprétation des sources littéraires antiques pourraient résoudre au moins à part. Déjà Vasile Pârvan en esquissait une réponse. Il était convaincu d'une pénétration celte autour des années 300-250 av.J.C. dans la région, en suivant plutôt les résultats des recherches archéologiques de la plaine roumaine qui étaient en train de confirmer au moins à part les sources littéraires qu'il connaissait fort bien au niveau de l'époque<sup>15</sup>.

Plus tard et en reprenant ce problème avec presque toute la bibliographie antérieure, Adelina Piatkovski écrivait à la fin de son étude : « Par conséquence, l'invasion celte dans les Balkans équivaut au fin de l'influence macédonienne dans la région du Danube roumain et des cités ouest-pontiques »<sup>16</sup>. Plus tard et parmi autres, D.Berciu datait, comme Pârvan, le commencement de cette présence autour de l'année 280 av. J.C., ou, plus précis et en suivant une étude de G. Mihailov de 1955, de l'année 279 av.J.C.<sup>17</sup>. D.M.Pippidi notait, comme d'ailleurs A.Piatkovski en 1960, la fin de cette domination vers la fin du III-e s. av.J.C.<sup>18</sup>. Toutefois, il doutait une présence ou une domination celte dans le territoire de la Dobroudja<sup>19</sup>. Enfin, ce problème est présent aussi parmi les questions historiques importants à résoudre, chez Vl.Georgiev, vers la fin de son ouvrage plus haut cité, et formulé d'une manière presque analogue à l'auteur précédent : « l'invasion celte au III-e s. et la question controversée de la domination celtique en Thrace (278-218) »<sup>20</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup> Comme nous l'avons plus haut noté, Holder ne l'avait pas compris dans son répertoire du premier vol. de son oeuvre. Toutefois, v. le radical *brig-* et les variantes du III-e vol., *op.cit.*, p. 533 sq., qu'on peut voir repris dans le nom d'*Aliobrix*. A. Falileyev, *Celtic Dacia*, Aberystwyth, 2007, p. 4, s.v. *Aliobrix*, en reprenant la proposition de N.Gostar, *op.cit.*, voit aussi une liaison avec les *Britolagai*. C'était Ptolémée, III, 10, 7 qui mentionnait la présence de ces Celtes au N du Delta du Danube. Plus de détails sur ce sujet chez N.Gostar, *Latomus*, 21, 1967, p. 987-995, le premier qui avait fait cette liaison fort possible.

<sup>13</sup> C.Guyonvarc'h, dans *Apulum*, VI, 1967, p. 119.

<sup>14</sup> N.Gostar, dans *Danubius*, 4, 1970, p.117, n.20; v. aussi ci-dessus, n. 12.

<sup>15</sup> V.Pârvan, *op.cit.*, p. 299.

<sup>16</sup> A.Piatkovski, dans *Studii Clasice*, II, 1960, p. 198 des p. 189-201.

<sup>17</sup> D.Berciu, D.M.Pippidi, *Din Istoria Dobrogei*, I, Bucarest, 1965, p. 135 et p. 167, n. 38.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 210.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 224.

<sup>20</sup> Vl.Georgiev, *op.cit.*, p. 270, texte repris en français à la p. 297.

5. L'aspect archéologique du problème n'est pas encore suffisamment convaincant pour le territoire de la Dobroudja. Toutefois, les artefacts d'origine celte ne manquent pas dans la région. Parmi autres, un tombeau datable à l'époque et avec un inventaire spécifique a été plusieurs années auparavant découvert à *Callatis* (Mangalia). On y ajoute d'autres découvertes de la Dobroudja et plusieurs du territoire de la Bulgarie<sup>21</sup>. Plus encore, après une conférence sur la présence celtique au Bas Danube soutenue par le soussigné au Musée de Constantza le 1-er octobre 2008, le collègue Mihai Irimia, archéologue réputé de cette institution, m'informait autour de quelques très importantes découvertes inédites de Satu Nou, dép. de Constantza, typiques pour le monde des Celtes<sup>22</sup>.

Sans plus insister sur ce sujet, il faut dire que la situation historique mieux précisée pour ce qui est de la présence celtique dans la région pourrait mener à une chronologie plus restreinte des artefacts de cette souche au III-II-s. le plus tard, au lieu d'une datation plus large (III-e-I-er s.) comme, par une prudence exagérée, se passe encore dans les publications archéologiques, plutôt à la suite d'une tradition soutenue par des critères typologiques.

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Pour en conclure, et en partant de l'exemple de *Durostorum* auquel s'ajoute toute la série plus haut commentée, une présence celtique au Bas Danube au III-e s. av.J.C. est maintenant hors aucune doute. Premièrement par la série vraiment probante des toponymes et puis par les autres informations des sources littéraires antiques et, enfin, par les découvertes archéologiques de plus en plus convaincantes. Sans doute, elles vont peu à peu confirmer les réalités toponymiques. Fait, à vrai dire, très difficile, au moins pour les établissements de l'ancien *limes*, où la continuité quelquefois millénaire dans le même endroit (par exemple à *Noviodunum*) fait encore plus difficile une recherche des vestiges de l'époque plus haut évoquée.

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<sup>21</sup> Informations communiquées par mme Margareta Arsenescu, notre collègue de la Faculté d'Histoire de l'Université de Bucarest à laquelle nous remercions vivement. Elle est en train de finir une thèse doctorale sur ce sujet du point de vue archéologique.

<sup>22</sup> A la suite des recherches entreprises les derniers années ensemble avec notre feu collègue Nicolae Conovici. Remerciements pour cette information de dernière heure.



## SPÄTANTIKER KERAMIKKOMPLEX AUS DUROSTORUM – DOROSTOL

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**Abstract:** În acest articol sunt analizate două complexe pentru producerea de ceramică, cercetate în anul 2007 în zona centrală a Rezervației Arheologice și Arhitecturale Naționale „Durostorum – Drăstrăr - Silistra”, în Silistra contemporană. Este vorba despre un cuptor pentru producerea ceramicii de uz casnic și un complex de producție din alt cuptor, descoperit la o distanță de 20 de metri de primul complex. Interesul nostru este provocat de locul unde sunt descoperite aceste structuri – în zona fortificată a castrului. Vasele sunt conservate și restaurate. Toate materialele sunt datate în secolul VI.

**Keywords:** keramik, komplex, Durostorum

Im VI – VIII. 2007 Jh. waren in der Nähe von der südlichen Festungsmauer der spätantiken und mittelalterlichen Befestigung des Nationalen Archäologischen und Architekturelen Reservat „Durostorum – Drastar – Silistra“ Rettungsausgrabungen in UPI 1 nach Stadtkataster, durchgeführt (Abb. 1, Abb. 2) (Kirilov\Koleva 2008). Es steht eine vollständige Publikation der Materialien aus diesen Object bevor zu machen. Gegenstand dieser Untersuchung ist ein Komplex spätantike Tongefäße, die hier gefunden waren.

In **Quadrat A5** war einer Zweikammer **Töpferofen** (Abb. 3) entdeckt und untersucht, welcher sich in das nordwestlichen Viertel des Quadrats befindet. Der Töpferofen ist mit einer runden im Plan Kammer und bestehet aus Unter – Brandkammer und Obenkammer. Die beiden Kammern sind untereinander durch eine Scara - Kaminvorsetzer getrennt, welcher mit einer Säule – einem Pfahl festgehalten ist, der in der Mitte der Brandkammer aufgestellt ist. Der Pfahl ist mit einer längeren Form mit Dimensionen 60 x 35 sm. Und ist 64 sm. hoch. Der Kaminvorsetzer ist mit runden Öffnungen. Er ist auf den Aufmunternd Laternenpfahl aufgebaut. und ist 20 sm. dick. Die Öffnung ist auf der nördlichen Seite und ist teilweise erhalten, aber man kann sehen wie er gewölbt nach draußen kuppelförmig herausgekommen war. Der Boden und das Inneres der zwei Kammern waren mit Ton bemalt. Die Brandkammer ist mit inneren Diam. – 140 sm. (ö-w) x 154 sm. (n-s) auf den Boden. Die Höhe ist 54 sm. Der Kaminvorsetzer (die Scara) ist 10 sm. dick. Die Unterkammer ist in Schicht mit antiken Materialien

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eingegrabt. Vor dem **Töpferofen** war eine Grube entdeckt, die mit dem Brennkanal verbunden war.

Die Füllung der Unterkammer war dichter grau-braunen Erde, die mit Fragmenten der Lehmkonstruktion des Kaminvorsetzers, zahlreichen spätantiken fragmentierten Keramikgefäßen<sup>1</sup>, wenig Glas, einer Münze, sowie Dutzende von Schneckenhäusern gemischt war. Die Keramik aus der **Töpferofenkammer** ist vorwiegend Töpfe, die in VI Jh. datiert werden können (Topoleanu 2000, 110, nr. 251, Pl.XXIX).

Wieder aus VI – en Jh. ist die Münze, die in die Brandkammer, gefunden war. Der südwestliche Teil der Kammer ist von einer Grube zerstört, die Material spätantike Keramik und 2 spätrömische Münzen enthält. Östlich die Kammer ist von einer Grube mit Materialien aus XI Jh. durchschitten und der Brennkanal ist partial aus Eingrabung von der osmanischen Periode zerstört. Die stratigraphische Position des **Töpferofens** und die hinein gefundenen Materialien datieren diesen Ofen in VI -en Jh.

Man kann nach die hinein gefundene Keramik auch zwei Gruben in Q A1/2, B1/2/3 ins VI Jh. datiert weden. Es macht Eindruck die grosse Zahl Küchen-Keramik, Amforen und Baukeramik in der Füllung der Grube №2 in Q. D7. Der entdeckte **Töpferofen** kann man mit der Keramikproduktion in diesen Teil des castels verbinden.

In der südwestlichen Ecke des **Quadrats D7** war ein Ofen untersucht. Er ist mit Tonkuppel, ziegelähnlich, welche teilweise in Profil des Quadrats bewahrt ist. Die Basis ist auf der damaligen Schicht gebaut – große Fragmente Baukeramik (am meistens Dachziegel), welche mit gelbem Lehm Boden zusammengefügt und darüber verputzt waren. Der Lehm Boden ist 4 sm. dick ziegelähnlich gebrannt. Der Boden der Grund des Fundaments ist leicht vertieft. Beim Zerschneiden des Bodens könnte man feststellen, daß unter der Schicht aus Baukeramik eine einige sm. dicke Schicht aus Schotter - Sand und Kiesel ist. Nachdem der Ofenbodens demontiert war, darunter wurde eine **Grube** aufgedeckt. Der Umriss der Grube ist fielt mit dem Ofen zusammen. Maximaler Durchmesser der Grube ist 119 sm. und sie ist 90 sm. tief. Diese Grube war mit weicher, feuchter, grünfarbiger Erde gefüllt. Die Füllung der Grube ist vor allem Keramik: zahlreiche Fragmente aus Keramikgefäße (Abb. 4), wenige Fragmente Baukeramik, Tierknochen und Kohle. Außerdem waren zwei Amphoren, eine Lampe, fragmentiertes Glas und eine Münze. Die Keramikkomplex ist besteht aus typische Formen, die in den VI –en Jh. dateirtbar sind (Topoleanu 2000, 88-89, 108, 111, nr. 186, 187, 189, 240, 262-263, Pl.XXI, XXVII, XXX). In der Nähe von D 7 in den nachbaren **Quadrat D 8** waren auch viele Fragmenten aus Keramikgefäße gefunden (Abb. 5).

Angesichts des Charakters der Ablagerungen auf der Oberfläche der Fragmente wurde eine chemische Methode zur Säuberung der Oberfläche angewendet. Die Keramikfragmente wurden ins Wasser getränkt und danach einer kontrollierten chemischen Säuberung in fünfprozentiger Salzsäure unterzogen. Um

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<sup>1</sup> Alle Zeichnungen wurden von Drd. Anna Agre gemacht (Sofia). Ihr sei an dieser Stelle herzlich gedankt.

lösliche Salze aus den Poren der Objekte zu entfernen, die aus der Lagerung im Boden und möglicherweise auch aus der Wirkung der Salzsäure stammen, wurde eine Entsalzung in destilliertem Wasser vorgenommen.

Die Leitfähigkeitsmessungen der Lösung haben gezeigt, dass die darin gelösten Salze nach eintägiger Lagerung der Keramik einen niedrigen Wert haben, und die gemessene spezifische Leitfähigkeit der Lösung im Rahmen des zulässigen Fehlers des Geräts liegt. Das destillierte Wasser wurde gewechselt und nach dem Anzeigen des Leitwerts von 14  $\mu\text{S}/\text{cm}$  (Mikrosiemens pro Zentimeter) wurde die Prozedur beendet. Beim Zusammensetzen der Gefäße wurde ein Klebstoff auf der Basis von Polymethylmetacrylat verwendet, der durchsichtig und reversibel ist (Мавров 1987, 13). Die niedrige Elastizität bei seiner Auflösung in Chloroform wird durch eine gute Adhäsion und die kurze Trocknungszeit kompensiert.

Fehlende Gefäßteile wurden nicht ergänzt, da es sich bei den Gefäßen um Fehlbrände handelt, und ihre Hauptschädigungen im Vorhandensein von Verformungen und Rissen bestehen.

Die Ergänzung von Fehlstellen mit Gips würde zu einem Konflikt mit dem archäologischen Kontext führen.

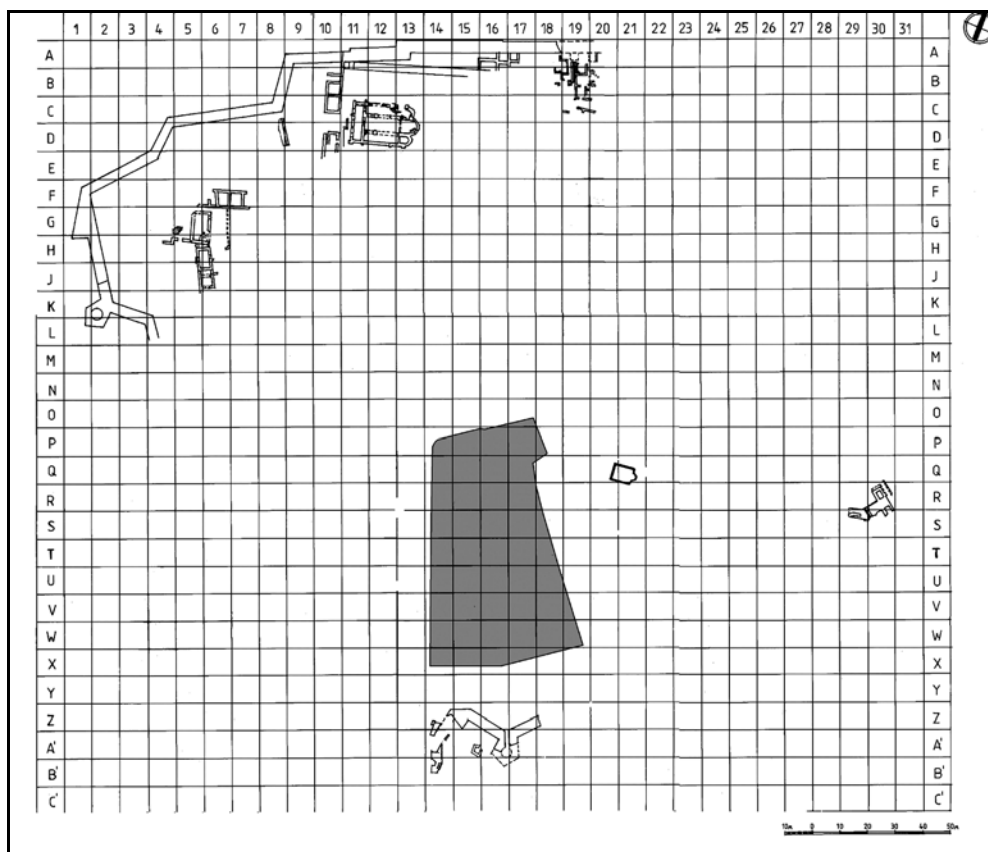
Analyse der Formen (Abb. 6) der Gefäße zeigt, dass sie vorwiegend Formen für alltäglichen Gebrauch enthält – Küchenkeramik, welche benutzbar ist. Das sind vor allem Tontöpfe, Kannen, Schüssel und Schalen (Topoleanu 2000, 88-89, 108, 111, nr. 186, 187, 189, 240, 262-263, Pl. XXI, XXVII, XXX). Sie besitzen keine Verzierung, Schmuckornamente oder Dekorationen, alle sind ohne Glasur.

Interessant für uns ist die Stelle, wo diese Komplexe gefunden waren. UPI 1 befindet sich in der befestigten Zone der spätantiken Stadt Durostorum - Dorostol. Die Produktionstätigkeiten in der Antike sind gewöhnlich außer der Befestigungen. In der Spätantike waren diese Tradition nicht mehr erhalten. Für Durostorum in der römischen Epoche (II – IV Jh.) haben wir viele Angaben, dass die meisten Keramikateliers und Werkstätte außer den Festungsmauern befanden – in der Nähe von Donau (Mușeteanu 2003, 16). In 2004 in Silistra waren Reste einer Keramikwerkstatt in der Nähe der nördlichen Festungsmauer entdeckt (Боева – Кънчева 2006, 89; Бъчваров\Боева 2005, 198-199; Angelova\Buchvarov 2007), aber die Mauer ist später denn die Produktion des Ofens. Eine solche Keramikwerkstatt wie diese in Q. A5 kann man entweder mit einem vorübergehenden, einmaligen Ofen oder mit einem speziell bestimmten Ort für Produktionstätigkeiten in der befestigten Zone erklärt werden. Waren die Regeln von Vitruvius für Stadtaufbauten in Durostorum verpasst, können nur die zukünftige Untersuchungen zeigen.

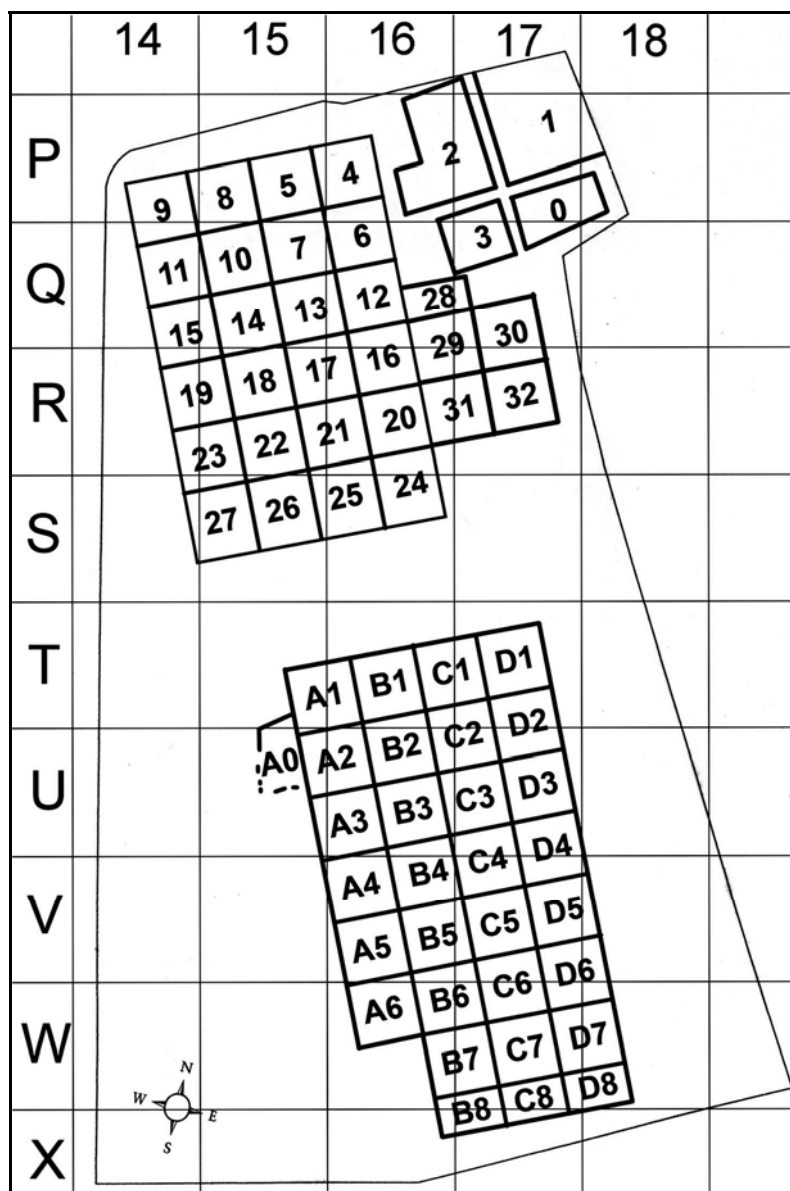
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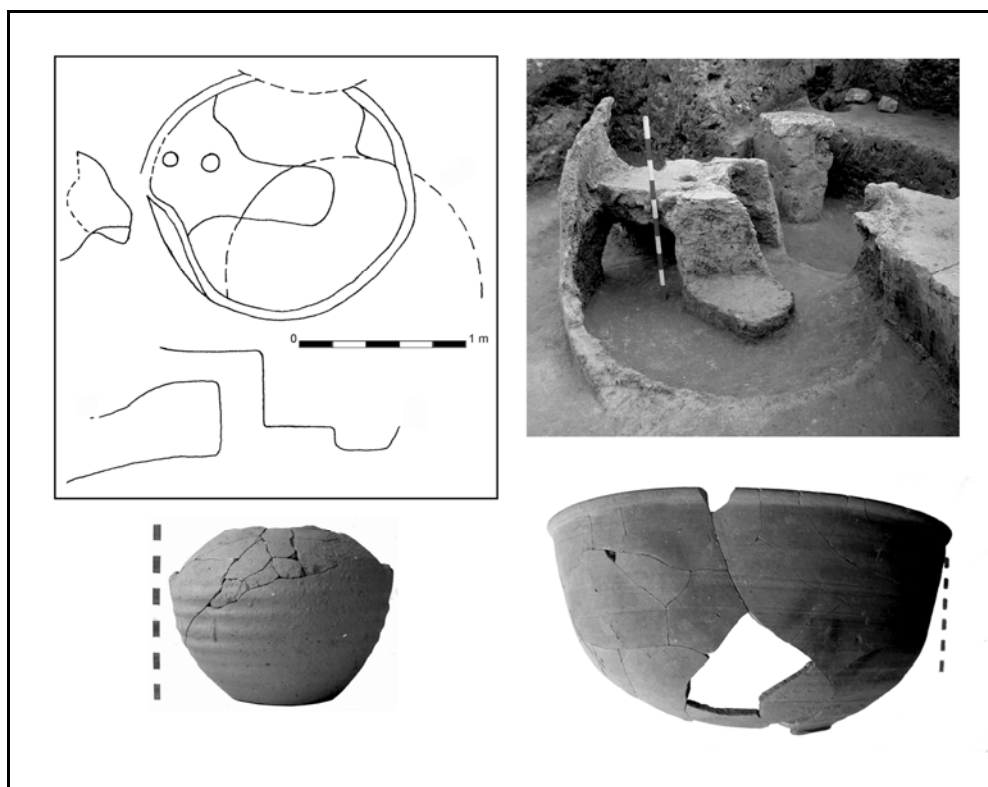
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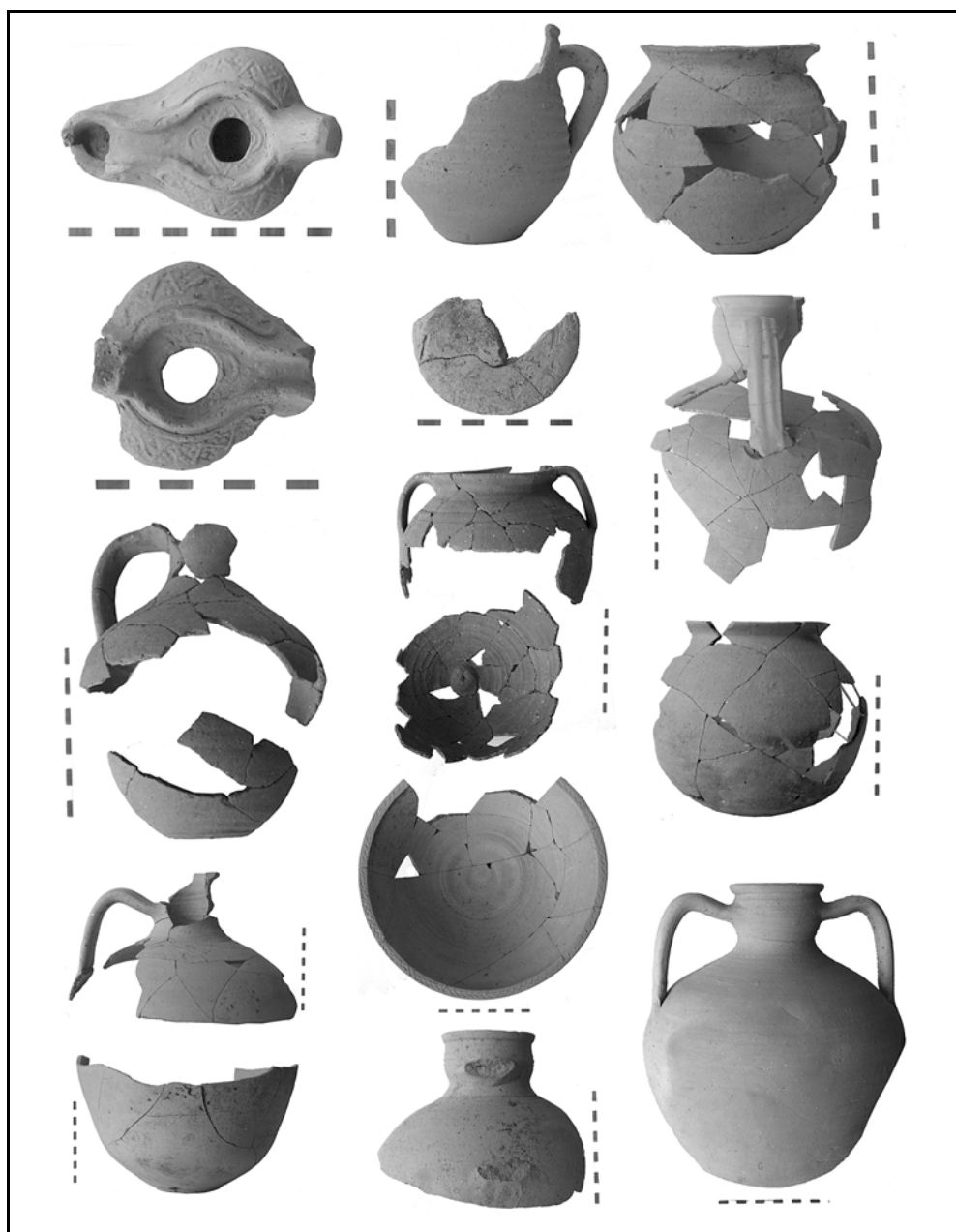
**Abb. 1:** Durostorum/Drăstăr. Gesamtplan der spätantiken und frühmittelalterlichen Befestigung mit der angezeigten Lage der Grabungsfläche in 2007.



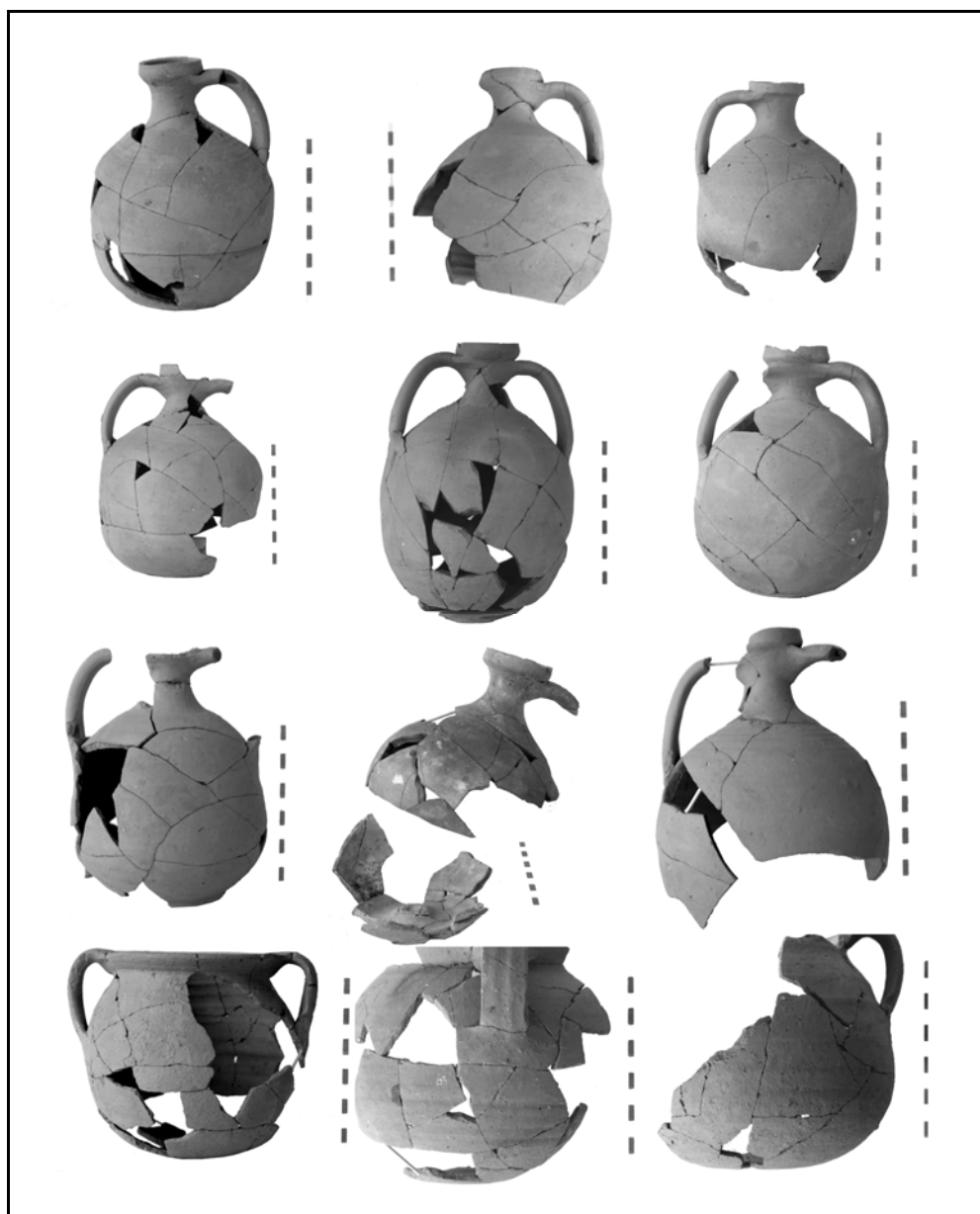
**Abb. 2:** Gesamtplan der in 2007 freigelegten Befunde.



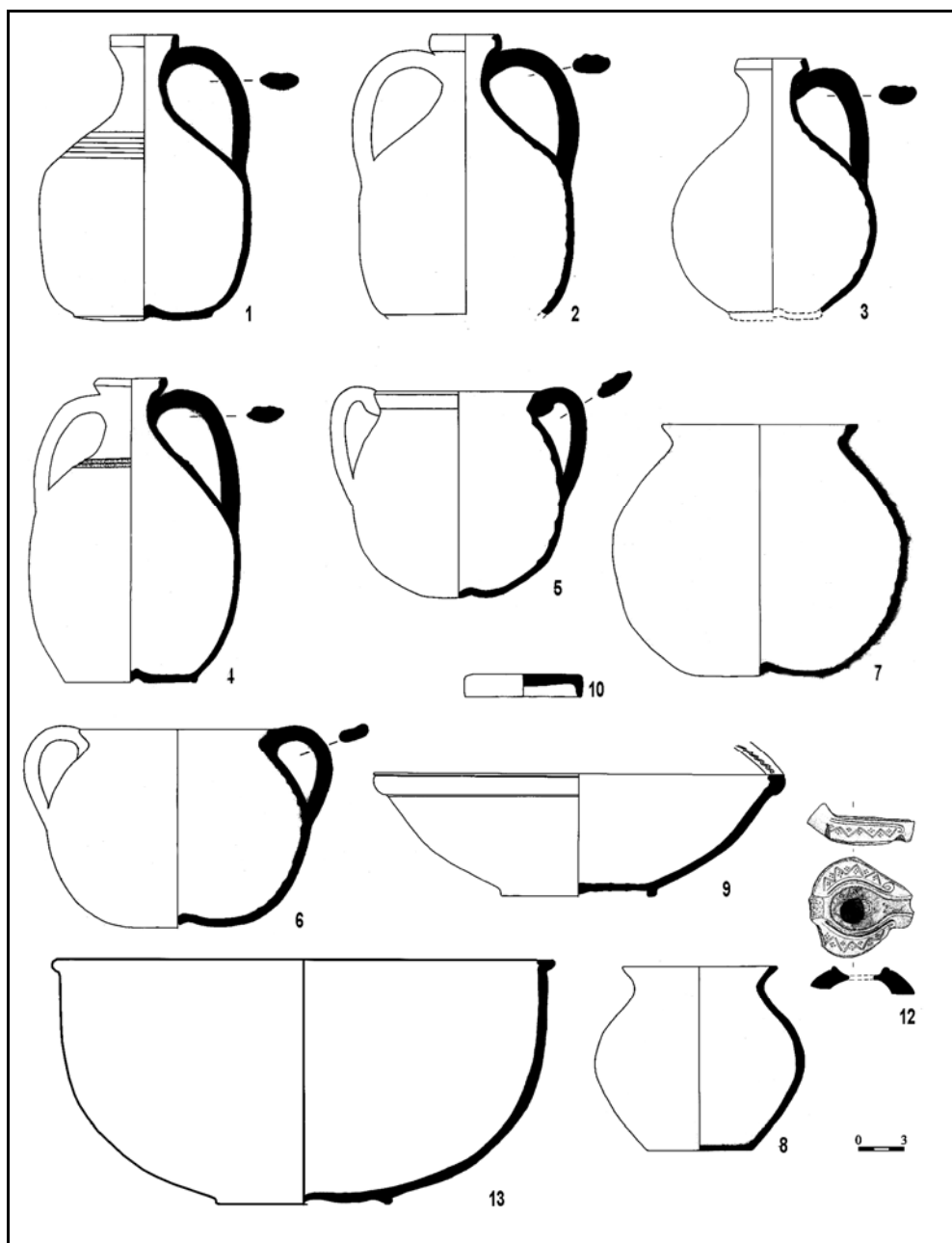
**Abb. 3:** Töpferofen in Quadrat A5.



**Abb. 4:** Keramikkomplex aus Quadrat D7 und D8.



**Abb. 5:** Keramikkomplex aus Quadrat D8.



**Abb. 6:** Keramikkomplex Quadrat A5, D7 und D8.

## ANCIENT TOMBS FROM ABRITUS AND DUROSTORUM

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**Abstract:** In the autumn of 2004, during digging of canal for laying down of phone cable in the area of the Eastern necropolis of the late ancient town of Abrittus, the workers found a stone sarcophagus, which led to its urgent study. The eastern tumulus necropolis of Abrittus is located about 1 km away from the castle of Abrittus in the area of “Mezarata”, on the western bank of Beli Lom River and on the both sides of the road Razgrad-Varna. The open funeral complex is located in the south-western part of the necropolis, 10 metres away from the road Razgrad-Varna and 800 metres away south of the castle of Abrittus. The ground is a private property and is processed constantly. Within a hypothetical reconstruction it can be admitted that the earliest rites refer to the primary burial in Sarcophagus № 1. This burial can be referred chronologically to the second half of 3<sup>rd</sup> century. Later on, the tomb and the sacralising crypt around the tomb have been constructed on the same time, and sarcophagus № 1 has been included in the crypt. Probably the buried people were family-related. The built-in coin of the Emperor Aurelian (270-275) in the eastern part of the crypt – an antoninianus, minted in 274-275 – would be considered as terminus ante quem for the construction of the complex – the last quarter of 3<sup>rd</sup> century. The stock, found in the northern part of the tomb chamber, provides the opportunity to admit that it belonged to the first man or the first people, buried there. After these burials the tomb has been closed with vertically dropping stone gate. Coins of the Emperors Constantius the Second (337-361) and Theodosius the Second (402-450) were discovered on the both sides of the tomb’s entrance, indicating the removal of the skeletons – probably twice for this long period of time – to the sarcophagus № 2, situated in front of the crypt. The tomb has been used for a long period of time, as we can see from the number of the buried people. New people have been buried in the tomb chamber in the middle of 5<sup>th</sup> century, probably after the invasion of the Huns in 447. After this act the tomb has been built-in with hewn stones, soldered with mortar. The remnants of skeletons and the funeral stock from sarcophagus № 2 are from the initial burials in the tomb. The fragmented bronze mirror, found here, is a widespread type, made in the workshops of the province Germania Inferior. We have analogues in the mirrors from Nijmegen (the Netherlands), dated the whole 3<sup>rd</sup> century, which is an evidence for terminus ante quem for the construction of the complex.

**Keywords:** tombs, necropolis, sarcophag, rites, coins.

The ruins of the late ancient town of Abrittus are located in the area of “Hisarlaka” on the eastern suburbs of the present-day town of Razgrad in North-Eastern Bulgaria. Abrittus is known in the historical written documents as the place of fight between the Goths and the Romans (250-251 A.D.), when the Roman Emperor Trajan Decius and his son Herennius have found their death. At the end of 3<sup>rd</sup> century, after the administrative and military reforms of Diocletianus (286-305),

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Abrittus is in the province Moesia Secunda within dioecesis Thraciae, with administrative centre of Marcianopolis, part of Praefectura per Orientem. The late ancient town of Abritus is constructed during the rule of Constantine the Great at the beginning of 4<sup>th</sup> century and destructed by the Slavic tribes and the Avars at the end of 6<sup>th</sup> century (586 A.D.). (Радославова, Дзанев 2003).

In the autumn of 2004, during digging of canal for laying down of phone cable in the area of the Eastern necropolis of the late ancient town of Abrittus, the workers found a stone sarcophagus, which led to its urgent study. The eastern tumulus necropolis of Abrittus is located about 1 km away from the castle of Abrittus in the area of "Mezarata", on the western bank of Beli Lom River and on the both sides of the road Razgrad-Varna. In the 30s of 20<sup>th</sup> century, the necropolis consisted of 13 tumuli, while by the moment they are just 4 with average height of about 2 metres (Явашов 1930, с.58).

The open funeral complex is located in the south-western part of the necropolis, 10 metres away from the road Razgrad-Varna and 800 metres away south of the castle of Abrittus. The ground is a private property and is processed constantly.

The site is rather interesting with its architectural design. It consists of the following appurtenances, connected with the dead people cult rituals:

1. A dug-in bricked tomb with semi-cylindrical arch, orientated with its long axis north-south and with total size 5,60 metres x 2,80 metres.
2. The fundament of a premise with total size 6,10 metres x 6,80 metres, surrounding the tomb and constructed over it, while the tomb itself is located at its eastern underground part.
3. A limestone sarcophagus with two-slope roof, located with its long axis east-west and built-in at the western external wall of the tomb on the level of its fundament (2,85 metres).
4. A lower part of limestone sarcophagus, situated in front of the eastern wall of the premise, on the level of the tomb's arch and located longwise northeast-southwest.

The tomb is dug-in completely in the solid ground on depth of 2,85 metres. An entrance as a small dromos – 1,12 metres long, 0,60 metres wide and 0,70 metres high – is constructed at the southern part of the tomb. The tomb chamber is orthogonal with size of 4,20 metres north-south, 2,25 metres east-west and height of 2,20 metres. The entrance – vertically laid limestone stones, pressed down by monolith cross-piece stone block over it – is on the southern wall of the premise, and this wall is in fact a joint in front of the tomb's avant-corps. A heap of hewn stones were cleaned in front of it. At its lower part the premise is built-in with different-sized hewn stones on four layers on total height of 0,50 metres, soldered with grey and white mortar. Several huge hewn stones with different size are drawn up over this building-in, without solder, and some smaller stones are drawn up over the other stones. The height of the entrance, including the building-in, is 1,30 metres. The sides step on a cross-piece stone, with the masonry of the tomb's fundament under it. On the internal side a longitudinal groove is carved, 7

centimetres wide and 4 centimetres deep, for closing the entrance with vertically dropping gate. Through a step on the internal side of the dromos, 20 centimetres high, can be entered into the tomb chamber.

The tomb chamber is covered with semi-cylindrical arch and constructed by average huge hewn stones, soldered with grey and white mortar. The top of the arch is constructed with seven rows of cross-piece red bricks with size 0,30 metres long and 0,05 metres thick. Traces from the shuttering – planks with different length (1,00 – 1,10 metres) and 0,08 metres wide – can be seen on the arch of the tomb chamber, plastered with grey and white mortar. On the cross-piece walls of the tomb chamber, at height of 1,00 metre, there are five niches at distance of 0,70 – 0,90 metres each other and with size on average 0,14 x 0,17 metres, serving as support of the joists, used for the shuttering of the arch. The walls of the tomb chamber are plastered with grey and white mortar in a way that part of the stone masonry can be seen. The floor is a mortar plastering, mixed with small stones, while at its northern side it is covered by huge plane stones. On this stone support-platform - 1,40 metres x 2,25 metres – a wooden coffin has been laid, as can be guessed from the big number of iron nails with wooden remnants on them. Scattered human bones have been found – six skulls of adult people and parts of their skeletons. Two of the skeletons were laid on the stone base with heads laying to the west. There were two skulls along the western and eastern cross-piece walls of the tomb chamber, between the stones, with heads laying to the north.

The tomb has been plundered even during the Antiquity. Besides the following artefacts were found in front of the tomb's entrance: clay bowl, fragment from glass vessel's orifice, iron nail and a bronze coin of the Emperor Constantius the Second (337-361). In the tomb chamber itself, just near the entrance, two bronze coins were found (resp. from the ruling of Constantius the Second /337-361/ and Theodosius the Second /402-450/), as well as several iron nails. Many iron nails with wooden remnants on them, a bronze belt clasp, three cylindrical golden beads, bronze loop, part of bronze necklace, golden and silver ring and bronze ear-ring were found on the platform between the stones at the northern part of the tomb chamber. At the north-western part of the tomb chamber we found part of another clasp with threaded glass bead. Along the eastern wall of the tomb chamber, 0,50 metres away of its southern wall, a half of clay bowl was found. Several ceramic fragments from vessels, dated 3<sup>rd</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> century, were found also in the ground inside the tomb chamber.

The tomb is situated in the eastern part of the fundamentals of almost square premise with size 6,10 x 6,80 metres, constructed by hewn stones soldered with mortar and mud. The eastern wall of the premise is connected architecturally with the tomb and has the function of eastern wall of the tomb, as can be seen from their simultaneous construction. The southern wall is put on a joint in front of the tomb's facade and the dromos is hollowed out in it. The thickness of the walls is 0,60 metres. A part of layer of front construction – worked up stone quadric, soldered with mortar – is preserved on the northern and southern part of the eastern wall. In the middle a space appeared, leading to an entrance 1,90 metres wide. A bronze

coin of the Emperor Aurelianus (270-275), minted in the period 274-275, was found in the mortar plastering on the eastern wall.

The space between the tomb's arch and the eastern wall of the premise is filled-in by small stones, soldered with mortar for levelling the floor during the construction of the premise.

The flanked perimeter between the western wall of the tomb and the western wall of the premise is 2,70 metres north-south and 4,60 metres east-west.

A stone sarcophagus with two-slope roof and akroteria is built-in on the tomb's floor level, 0,40 metres to the north from the southern fence wall along the western wall of the tomb. The two short sides of the sarcophagus were pressed by blocks of not too big rough stones without soldering. The tomb chamber was completely filled with soil. We found a heap of human bones from initial burial on depth of 0,60 metres in its eastern corner. On the bottom of the sarcophagus the secondary burial in anatomical order appeared, as it was carried out through a funeral of the corps, buried on their back with head laid to the west. The hands were along the body, the legs were on the same line. The ribs were intact, the pelvis was broken on the right. We found several not too big stones near the pelvis. The phalanges of the extremities were scattered. The length of the skeleton without the leg fingers was 1,54 metres. Small fragments of two thin glass vessels were discovered near the right shoulder – spherical bottles with cut orifices, a fragment from the top of glass cup and a miniature mother-of-pearl plate.

Two bronze coins were discovered during the cleaning up of the ground around the sarcophagus – from the time of Septimius Severus (193-211) and Arcadius (383-408).

Second limestone sarcophagus was laid down with preserved lower part of the sarcophagus on the east next to the tomb, on the level of the arch. The sarcophagus lies obliquely on the eastern wall of the tomb on two monolith blocks. Around the sarcophagus coins from the period of ruling between the Emperors Constantius the Second (337-361) and Theodosius the Second (402-450) were found, as well as an astragalus, plumbic weight, fragment of clay lamp, fragment of orifice of glass etc. In the sarcophagus itself were discovered the scattered skulls of 15 people and many jumbled bones of their skeletons. The bones were squeezed by fallen fragments of tegulae and imbrices from the destroyed roof of the premise and small stones. Nearby coins of Constantius the Second (337-361), Iulianus the Second (360-363) and Honorius (393-423) were discovered, as well as fragmented bronze mirror, iron nails and shoe tacks.

0,40 metres to the south from the south-western corner of the southern facade wall of the premise, on the level of funding of the tomb (2,85 metres) was discovered heaping of destroyed clay altar with size 1,00 x 1,70 metres. Fragments of every-day ceramics, elaborated during the Hellenic age (4<sup>th</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.) were discovered too.

The established archaeological situation put many questions. It is obvious that we face a long-existed complex for funeral practices and cult rites of the local population, inhabited the late ancient town of Abrittus.

Within a hypothetical reconstruction it can be admitted that the earliest rites refer to the primary burial in Sarcophagus № 1. The lack of burial offers cannot allow its precise dating. The sarcophagus is Minor Asian type with austere architectonic design and a cover in the shape of two-slope roof with acroteria – one-fourth of a sphere. Probably it is made in a local workshop and can be dated not precisely in the wide range of 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> century (Иванов, 2002, с.264). The sarcophagus has been found on the spot and re-used for new burial. The fragments from glass vessels, discovered near the right shoulder of the skeleton from the secondary burial, represent two glass bottles with spherical shape, conical neck and cut orifice. These vessels have been disseminated in the ancient age and have been used for different kind of liquids. They are dated mainly in the second half of 3<sup>rd</sup> century (Минчев 1990, с.67, таб. III, 24). This burial can be referred chronologically also to the second half of 3<sup>rd</sup> century. Later on, the tomb and the sacralising crypt around the tomb have been constructed on the same time, and sarcophagus № 1 has been included in the crypt. Probably the buried people were family-related. The built-in coin of the Emperor Aurelian (270-275) in the eastern part of the crypt – an antoninianus, minted in 274-275 – would be considered as terminus ante quem for the construction of the complex – the last quarter of 3<sup>rd</sup> century. The stock, found in the northern part of the tomb chamber, provides the opportunity to admit that it belonged to the first man or the first people, buried there. After these burials the tomb has been closed with vertically dropping stone gate.

Coins of the Emperors Constantius the Second (337-361) and Theodosius the Second (402-450) were discovered on the both sides of the tomb's entrance, indicating the removal of the skeletons – probably twice for this long period of time – to the sarcophagus № 2, situated in front of the crypt. The tomb has been used for a long period of time, as we can see from the number of the buried people. New people have been buried in the tomb chamber in the middle of 5<sup>th</sup> century, probably after the invasion of the Huns in 447. After this act the tomb has been built-in with hewn stones, soldered with mortar. The remnants of skeletons and the funeral stock from sarcophagus № 2 are from the initial burials in the tomb. The fragmented bronze mirror, found here, is a widespread type, made in the workshops of the province Germania Inferior. We have analogues in the mirrors from Nijmegen (the Netherlands), dated the whole 3<sup>rd</sup> century, which is an evidence for terminus ante quem for the construction of the complex (Lloyd-Morgan 1981, p.95, fig. 98). The last entering has occurred in 6<sup>th</sup> century, having in mind the discovered inside the tomb chamber fragments of amphora's sides with comb-alike decoration. The entrance has been broken and built again with dry masonry, while in front of the entrance block of rough stones has been heaped.

The discovered destructions of the Thracian altar are evidence for a millennial continuity in the places, connected with the cult to the dead people.

No doubt we face an exceptional funeral complex - interesting with its architectural design and functional use - constructed during the Roman Empire Age

and referring to the ceremonial practices and the rituals of the population, inhabited the castle of Abrittus and its adjoining territory during this period.

The funeral complex, discovered in 2007 in the town of Silistra, is similar to the one near Abrittus (Атанасов, Бъчваров, Денев, 2008, с.351-352). A late ancient arch tomb was discovered, dug-in into the solid loam at 7,60 metres and expanded eastside with a premise. The total length of the complex eastside-westside is 8,65 metres and current height of 3,26 metres. The tomb itself is 3,76 metres wide, while the equipment adhered to the eastern side is 4,80 metres long. The arch is revealed at 3,70 metres from the present area and is constructed by bricks with size 34x30x5 centimetres. The lunette is 1,20 metres high and 2,34 metres wide. It is constructed by semi-treated stones of robust white mortar and broken bricks. The interior of the tomb was studied partially through a drilling. A bricked arch niche – 68 centimetres high, 28 centimetres wide and 22 centimetres deep - is shaped at the southern inside wall at 0,45 metres. The interior of the arch is plastered with mortar and at some places the visible stones are decorated with thin engraved lines. There are no artefacts and pottery found around the site. By its plan, size and type of construction, the tomb is identical with other tombs in Durostorum, dated within 4th century. By its plan, size and type of construction, the tomb is identical with other tombs, discovered in Durostorum (Иванов, Атанасов, Донеvски 2006).

The both monuments are without analogues in funeral architecture practices in Lower Danube. In the same time the tombs are similar in details.

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**Fig. 1:**Abritus. Panorama view.



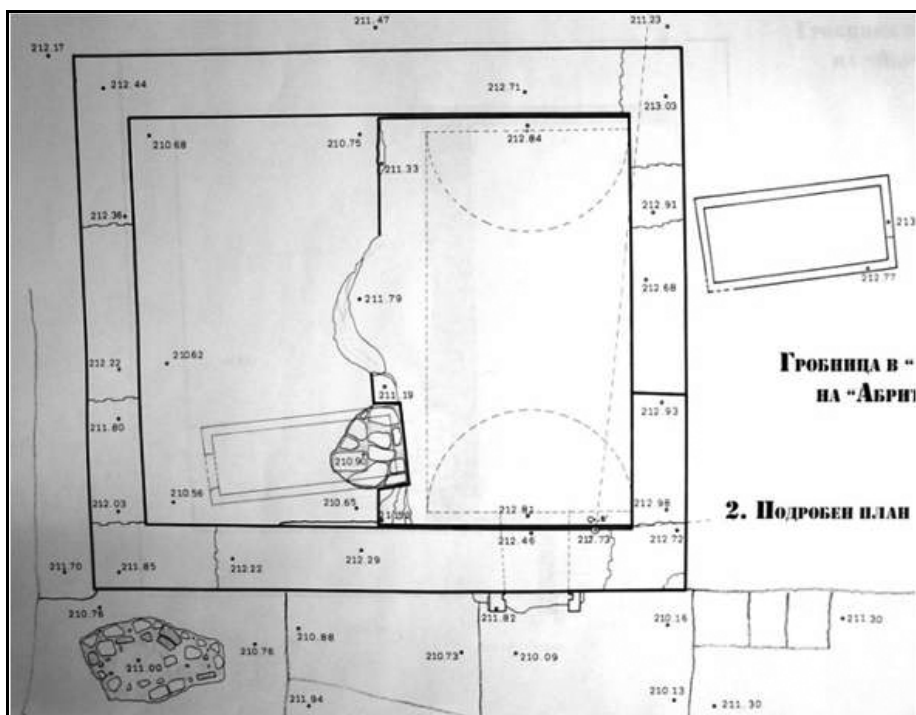
**Fig. 2:**Abritus. The complex.



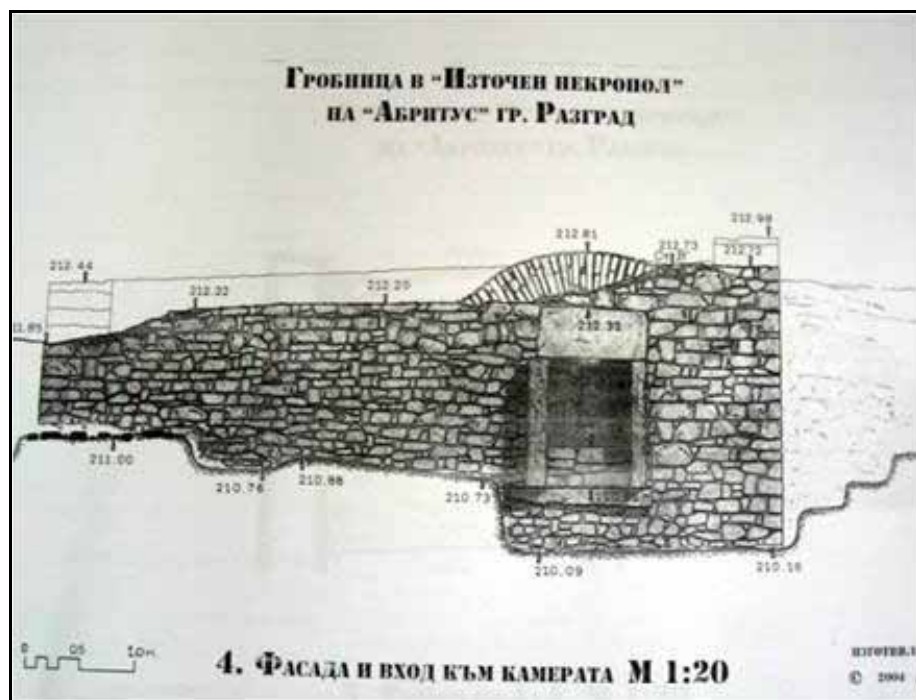
**Fig.3:**.Abritus. The burial camera.



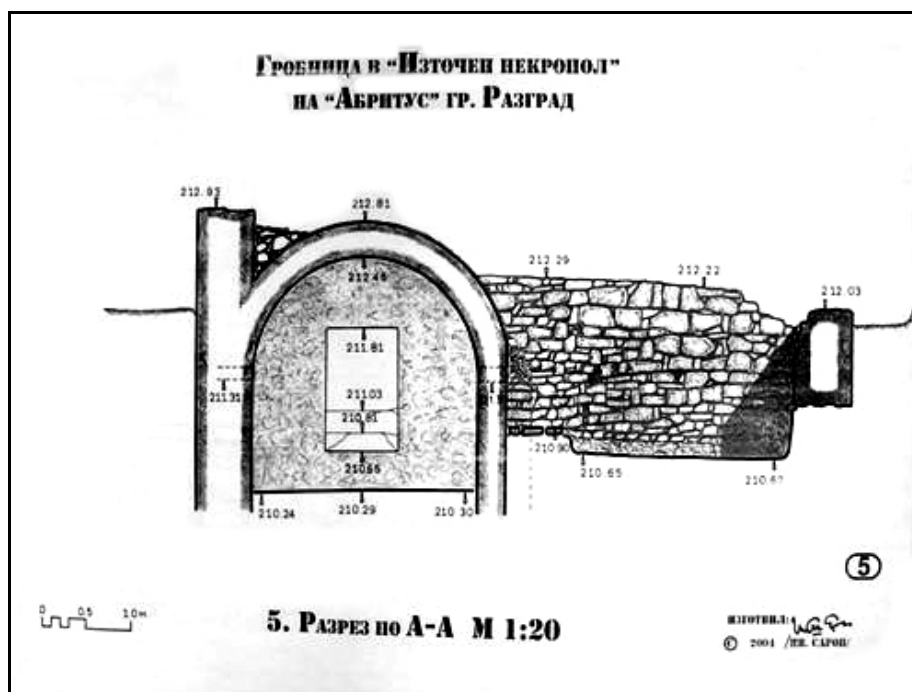
**Fig. 4:**.Abritus. The entrance.



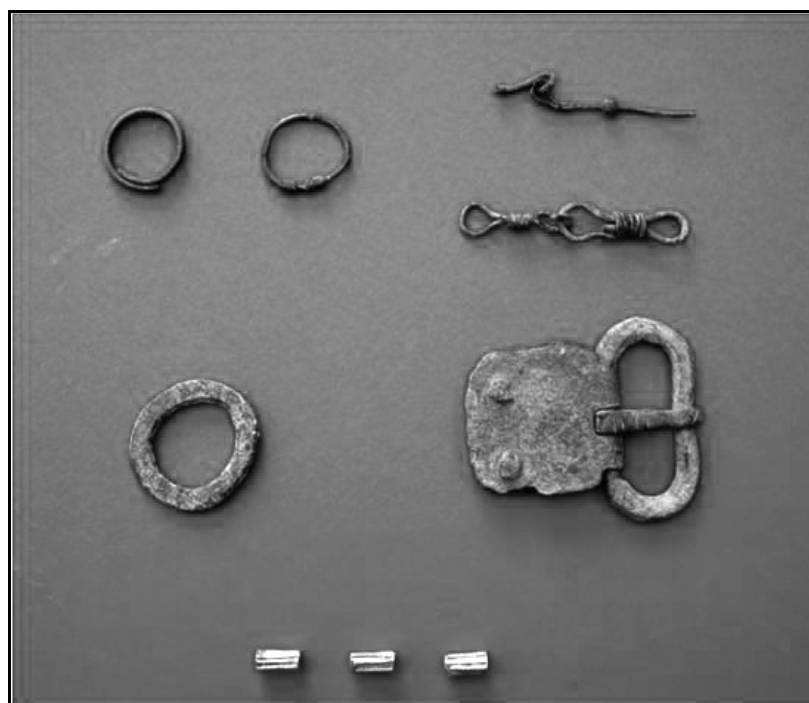
**Fig. 5:** Abritus. Plan of the complex.



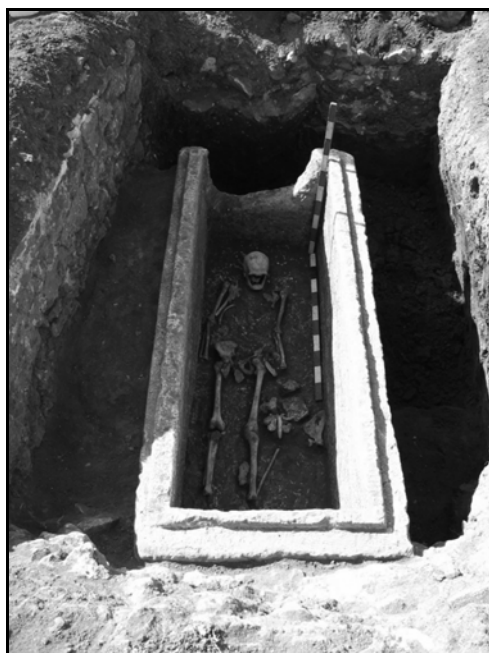
**Fig. 6:** Abritus. The tomb-Longitudinal section.



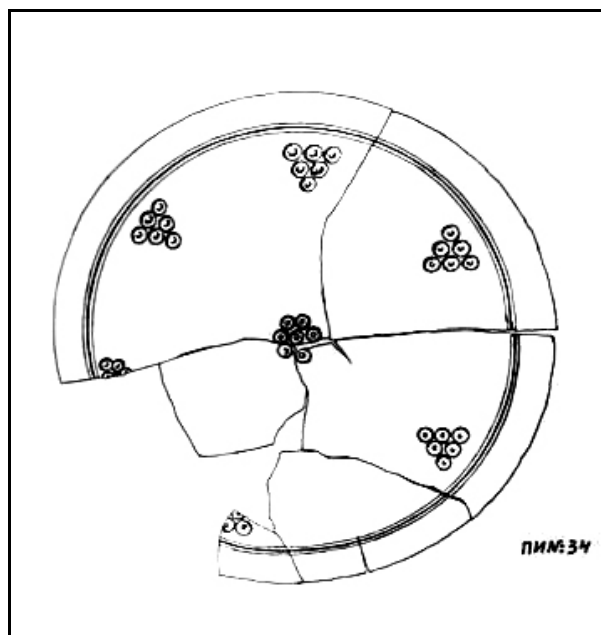
**Fig. 7:** Abritus. Transverse section.



**Fig. 8:** Abritus. Finds from tomb.



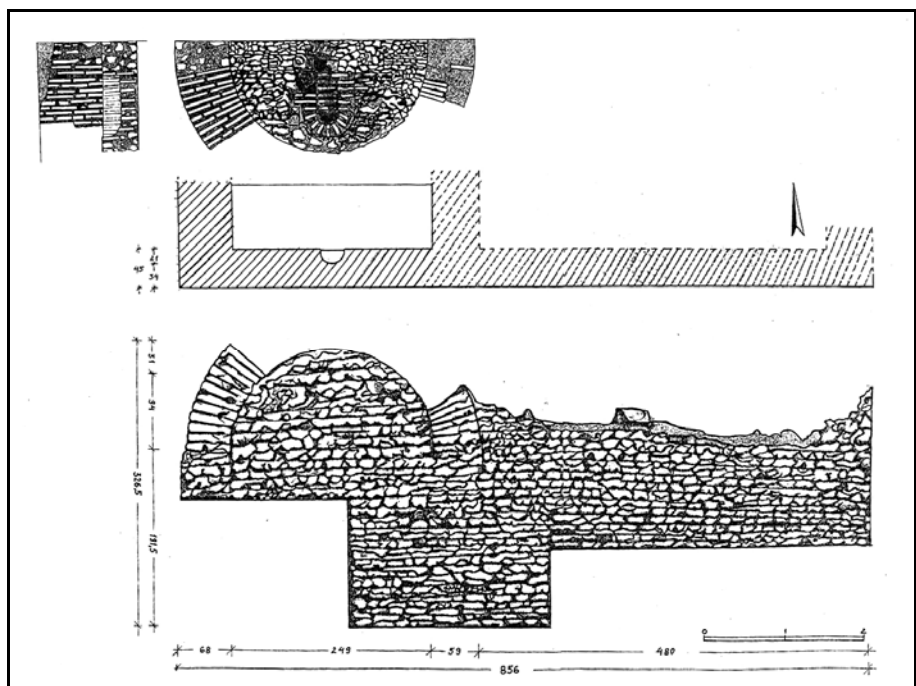
**Fig. 9:** Abritus.Sarcophagus 1. The second burial.



**Fig. 10:** Abritus. The mirror from sarcophagus 2.



**Fig. 11:** The tomb from Durostorum.



**Fig. 12:** Plan of the tomb from Durostorum.



## DATA ABOUT HUNTING PRACTICES BY HALMYRIS (MURIGHIOL, TULCEA COUNTY) INHABITANTS IN THE 4<sup>TH</sup> – 7<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES A.D.

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**Abstract:** Articolul de față are în vedere analiza resturilor de faună aparținând mamiferelor sălbatice, colectate din fortificația romană târzie de la Murighiol (portul Halmyris în antichitate). Situl este plasat pe partea dreaptă a brațului Sfântu Gheorghe, în apropierea Deltei Dunării, pe un promontoriu stâncos, 5 metri deasupra nivelului mării. Au fost colectate ca 3553 oase de animale prin săpăturile executate între anii 2004-2007; dintre acestea, 3457 provin de la mamifere, 87 de la păsări și 9 resturi de la moluște, cf. datelor tabelului 1. Resturile de pește, bine reprezentate în eșantion nu au fost determinate și nici incluse în statisticile din text. Conform datelor preliminare, grupa mamiferelor domestice include 10 specii, reprezentate prin artiodactile, carnivore, rozătoare, fiind vorba per ansamblu de 605 fragmente însumând 21,42 %. Materialul a fost colectat din zona barăcilor, a presupusului Palat episcopal, terme, turnurile 2 și 12, cf datelor tabelului 2. În continuare se face o prezentare detaliată a caracteristicilor morfologice și dimensionale ale speciilor sălbatice, fiind vorba de: mistreț (cel mai bine reprezentat), cerb, căprior, bour, vulpe, vidră, jder, bursuc, castor și iepure. În final se face o paralelă (sub raport procentual) între fauna sălbatică de la Halmyris și cea din situri dateate între sec. IV-VII d. Chr., din Dobrogea cf datelor tabelului 3. Așadar vânătoarea era practică fie în scopuri economice: procurarea cărnii, a unor materii prime: corn de cervide, piei, blănuri, fie pentru necesitățile interne ori externe-comerț (blănuri), fie pentru agrement. Întrucât gruparea speciilor necesitănd un biotop ceva mai bine împădurit, mlăștinos (în primul rând mistrețul, chiar cerbul) este bine reprezentată, se apreciază că împrejurimile Halmyrisului erau destul de bine împădurite față de prezent. În schimb gruparea mamiferelor reclamând un biotop ceva mai stepizat (bour, iepure, chiar și căprior) este slab reprezentată confirmând ideea de mai sus.

**Keywords:** hunting, mammals, bones.

Murighiol locality (Halmyris town in Antiquity) is only 34 kilometers east from Tulcea, the city capital of the county, on the southern border of the Sfântu Gheorghe arm of the Danube. Referring to landscape that arm is the most spectacular and little affected by human activities. Murighiol locality is bordered like an amphitheatre to the south, west, and east by low hills (around 300 meters above sea level) without an abundance of vegetation at present. The zone climate is influenced by Danube vicinity, so the winters are gentle and the summer warmly enough. The landscape characterizes by a large variety of trees, plants, flowers and herbs specific to the Deltaic regions beside a rich fauna including fox, boar, rabbits, deer, wolf, falcons, wild geese, wild ducks, pelicans, pheasants and fish.

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The most important archaeological objective is the *Halmyris* fortress located on a rocky promontory five meters above the sea level. Since 1981, when were initiated the first investigations in the town of Halmyris, the yearly work has revealed step by step the chronology of the site, encompassing more than a millennium of life and the continuity of a civilization (fourth century BC to seventh century AD) (Zahariade, 1991: 311-317).

The assemblage under debate was collected during 2003-2007 excavations, from the following areas: barrack's block (no. 2, 3, 4) inhabited by the garrison soldiers, the assumed Episcopal Palace (domus no. 1), a structure closely related to the activities in the northern gate and towers, domus no. 2, the bathhouse, the towers no 2, a storage one with an apparent waterproof basin on its bottom for keeping fresh fish/meat products and tower no. 12. (Zahariade, Topoleanu, Ene, 2004; Zahariade et alii, 2006, Ibidem, 2007). Another faunal sample to anterior excavations was analysed by professor Haimovici, its results has not been published for now. Because the site archaeological research is not yet finished, for the present we considered a good opportunity to publish partial results about wild faunal analysis, that one representing a significant segment of the alimentary and utilitarian domain of Halmyris life. Approximately 3,553 bones were collected during excavations executed between 2004-2007, of which 3,457 originate in mammals, 87 in birds and 9 in mollusks, cf. Table 1. Fish remains, extremely numerous has not been determined and included in statistics up till now. According preliminary results, the wild mammal sample includes ten taxa remains, from artiodactyls, carnivorous and rodents, their bones accounting for 605 pieces (21.42 %). Talking about the wild mammals' distribution within the investigated areas (Table 2, Fig. 2) an unequal distribution of elements according taxa and body parts is obvious: so inside the barracks' perimeter were found few bones, just eight pieces, certainly from hygienic reasons the leavings were thrown elsewhere. Few bones were picked from the bathhouse (21 fragments) and domus no. 2 (41 remains). The richest samples originate in tower no. 12 (333 fragments) even tower no. 2 (88 fragments). Just the boar and deer remains were constantly found in all locations, the other taxa bones being aleatory dispersed. The Halmyris inhabitants practiced the hunting of a lot of big and medium sized-mammals as: wild boar, deer, roe deer, aurochs either to supplement the meat needful or to procure some raw materials as furs, hides, bones, antlers; small sized-aquatic and terrestrial animals as marten, otter, fox, beaver were also hunted, for the commerce with furs. Without doubt we can't negligee the amusement aspectual of hunting, practices by soldiers mostly. The hunted mammals in the Halmyris neighboring were included in four groupings in relating to their ecological requirements.

**1. Grouping of species claiming a forested and swampy habitat includes wild boar and red deer,** the most common taxa in our statistics. **The boar** dominates the wild mammals' segment by 330 bones (11.55 %). The distribution of skeletal parts emphasizes the prevalence of elements from upper fore- and hides limbs (61.2 %), the skull elements totaling no more than 26.7 %; also the ribs and

vertebra account for 17.8 %. About 76 % from long bones' sample originate in mature exemplars versus 24 % the rate of immature elements. Considering the teeth eruption and erosion the picture little changes: 22.5 % is

**Table 1 – Species frequencies at Halmyris**

<b>Species/group</b>	<b>Frgm.</b>	<b>%</b>
Sus domesticus (pig)	708	24.85
Bos taurus (cattle)	685	24.04
Ovis aries (sheep)	124	4.35
Capra hircus (goat)	84	2.95
Ovis/capra (sheep/goat)	434	15.23
Equus caballus (horse)	127	4.46
Equus asinus (donkey)	16	0.56
Canis familiaris (dog)	58	2.04
Felis domestica (cat)	8	0.28
<b>Total domestic mammals</b>	<b>2,244</b>	<b>78.76</b>
Sus s. ferrus (boar)	330	11.58
Cervus elaphus (red deer)	209	7.33
Capreolus c. (roe deer)	16	0.56
Vulpes vulpes (fox)	11	0.39
Lepus europaeus (hare)	10	0.35
Lutra lutra (Eurasian otter)	10	0.35
Martes m. (marten)	8	0.28
Meles meles (badger)	5	0.18
Castor fiber (beaver)	5	0.18
Bos primigenius (aurochs)	1	0.04
<b>Total wild mammals</b>	<b>605</b>	<b>21.24</b>
Total determined bones	2,849	100
Sus sp.	14	
Undetermined bones	594	
MAMMALS	3,457	
BIRDS	87	
MOLLUSCS	9	
<b>TOTAL SAMPLE</b>	<b>3,553</b>	

The percent of jaw bones with teeth in different stages of eruption and 77.5 % have a complete dentition, in different wear stages (adults, matures). Most part of individuals was killed between 4-8 years and over these limit just three males. Overall the aging according dentition harmonizes with the data on long bone

fusing. According maxillaries measurements the prevalence of males is clear, but the metric evaluations of the long bones indicate the predominance of females nevertheless. A tall variation of 84.8-109.9 cm (n=20), average - 92.3 cm was estimated. Closed values were established in case of some contemporaneous sites from Dobroudja as Telița-Amza - 93, 93,6, 112,2 cm (Haimovici 2001: 166), Dinogetia - 103,9 cm (Stanc 2005: 292) and Capidava - 96,9 cm (Haimovici, Căpuș, Căpuș 2006: 362). Overall, the metric evaluations suggest medium sized individuals, with some robust exemplars (probably males). We exemplify by the following averages: maxilla - lg. M3, 40.5 mm (38-43.2); mandible - lg. M3, 44.6 mm (41.2-55.5); humerus – breadth distal, 52.4 mm (47.6-59); tibia - breadth distal, 38.6 mm (35-42.5). Bones from half-breed individuals for sure exist in the sample, e.g. a complete tibia with the GL - 215 mm corresponds to a withers height of 84.2 cm, but its breadth distal is 35 mm only. Referring to variation of the length  $M^3/M_3$  (Fig. 1) no gap between domestic and wild species values exists. For sure the pig rising in Deltaic conditions besides the increased density of the boar in neighboring favored the cross-breeding between both of mammals; as a result the increasing of the pig withers height and other body parameters. The phenomenon is well-known in the Danube Delta present-days.

The boar bones are constantly present in all samples from Dobroudja (4<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> AD), regardless of sample size: at Dinogetia – 5.66 % (Haimovici, 1991, apud Stanc, 2005: 78), Slava Rusă – 1.51 % (Stanc, 2005: 59) and Histria – 0.56 % (Haimovici, 2007: 551) ranks the first, other times ranks the second after red deer as Capidava – 3.10 % (Haimovici, Căpuș, Căpuș, 2006: 359) or Adamclisi – 0.65 % (Stanc, 2005: 63).

**Red deer** was a very common element of the wildlife in some regions of Dobroudja. With 7.31 % corresponding to 209 fragments, the mammal was a preferred game for the inhabitants from Halmyris. Were identified bones from all body parts, their participation being disproportionate, 2/3 of them originating in upper fore- and hind limb parts. These represent 71.5 % versus 13.5 % the participation of ribs, vertebrae or 15 % the percent of cranial elements. Either we talk about a fortuitous distribution as a result of the present stage of site research or the hunted mammals were discarded elsewhere, just important body parts being carried into the fortress.

**Table 2** – The distribution of bones within the excavated area

	Domus 1	Domus 2	Barrack 2	Barrack 3	Barrack 4	Bathhouse	Tower 2	Tower 12	Total
<i>Sus s. ferrus</i>	64	12		2	3	18	48	183	330
<i>Cervus elaphus</i>	44	24	2			2	29	108	209
<i>Capreolus c.</i>						1	9	6	16
<i>Vulpes vulpes</i>	5						2	4	11
<i>Lepus europaeus</i>								10	10
<i>Lutra lutra</i>		1						9	10
<i>Martes m.</i>		3						5	8

	Domus 1	Domus 2	Barrack 2	Barrack 3	Barrack 4	Bathhouse	Tower 2	Tower 12	Total
Meles meles		1						4	5
Castor fiber			1					4	5
Bos primigenius	1								1
Total wild species	114	41	3	2	3	21	88	333	605

Some shed antlers and splinters issued from antlers manufacturing were found too. Is the case of a frontal part with the shed anther, preserving the spindle with GL/diameter – 33.8/46 mm. The piece originates in a bulky male, ten years old. Were also identified two bases of shed antlers (maybe picked for manufacturing) as well as seven splinters, processing refuses. One of the shed antler base bear cut-off traces to remove some branches. The measurements emphasized both medium and big-sized exemplars and a visible sexual dimorphism. Among males were identified very robust exemplars, cu increased metric data like those of cattle e.g. M<sub>3</sub> - GL. 38.4 mm, versus 31-33 mm the mean variation; a distal humerus – breadth trochlea 66.4 mm; a proximal radius proximal – proximal breadth. 76.2 mm. A complete metatarsal of 303 mm estimated a tall of 121.5 cm, a female considering the slenderness of the bone. Referring to kill-off patterns one appreciates that most mandibles indicate two animals sub-adult and the others adult-matures, one exemplar having a much worn dentition (old one). The fusion data generally shows that 76 % of the bones come from adult or mature exemplars and just 24 % from bones originate in young and sub-adult animals. Two pieces bear butchery marks, is about two scapulae with deep cut marks applied above the articulation, to remove the upper part of the fore limb. That means either the method of butchery involved the use of a heavy tool such as cleaver or the person who executed the dismembering, were not “specialist” in butchering. Other cut marks (rather attempts) were observed on other bones too. Certainly the red deer bones found al Murighiol came from individuals hunted in the local woodland.

**2. Grouping of species claiming an opened biotope, stepic one, including roe deer, aurochs, hare.** There were 16 roe deer fragments identified accounting for 0.56 %; the majority of skeletal elements consist of limb bones. The few measurements indicate robust exemplars, hunted at an adult stage (at least). A single radius distal unepiphysed suggest an immature individual. The lower percentage of roe deer could be reflect a lower density of mammal in the Halmyris neighboring, maybe in relation to a lesser opened landscape.

**The hare** totals ten remains (0.35 %) originating in limb skeleton, from minimum 3-4 individuals; one of them is sub-adult, a distal radius not fused. It is probably that hare at Halmyris were hunted in the fields surrounding the harbour, occasionally, according its lower percent, 0.35 %. Indicator of opened areas with small wooden spots and a loamy-sandy soil (just so conditions offered by Dobroudja) it wasn't identified at Dinogetia, Histria, Ovidiu, Capidava, Jurilovca,

Adamclisi (Haimovici: 1991, 2006, 2007)<sup>1</sup>, excepting Slava Rusă – 0.67 % (Stanc, 2005: 59). **Aurochs** is a rare element in the local fauna at the mid of the first mill. AD; a single scapula was in all probability assigned to species. We have some doubts for a certain assigning of fragment to aurochs because, cattle of that epoch had increased metric parameters, including numerous large individuals, very closed to wild species. The preliminary analysis of cattle sample from site gave us this impression, moreover confirmed by professor Haimovici when analysing the fauna from Telița-Amza (Haimovici, 2001: 160), Histria, Dinogetia, Capidava (Haimovici, 2006: 351-352). Aurochs remains are few or missing in the faunal samples collected from contemporary sites in Dobroudja; it was identified only at Histria (level of 6<sup>th</sup> century AD) – 0.38 % (Haimovici, 2007: 551), Capidava – 0.62 % (Haimovici, Cărpuș, Cărpuș, 2006: 359) and much later in the 9<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> at Dinogetia (Haimovici, 1989: 53).

**3. Grouping of aquatic species: carnivorous (Eurasian otter), rodents (beaver), claiming a biotope reach in lowland deciduous woody vegetation, streams with at least intermittent flow and lakes or ponds with standing waters.** From **Eurasian otter** determined ten bones (0.35 %), consisting in complete bones from limb skeleton (two humerii, three radii, two ulnae, one tibia, one pelvis and a fragment from skull); they were collected from the filling of tower no. 12 and domus no. 2. We talk about a numerous enough sample confronted by materials from other sites located nearest the Danube whence is missing. Mammal well adapted to aquatic biotope, it was abundant in the Danube Delta area and implicit in the Halmyris neighbouring. The skull fragment is very probable to originate in a female exemplar as compared to similar material to Garvăn-Dinogetia (medieval levels) (Haimovici, 1989: 51). An obvious sexual dimorphism is ascertained on species bones, exemplified by the variation of radius proximal breadth, 11-12.7 mm. Though its remains are present in almost all prehistoric faunal samples from eastern Romania, the otter was not identified in the above mentioned sites from that chronological period. For sure its hunting was focused on the acquirement of a valuable fur, maybe exported. **The beaver** is quoted with 0.18 %, its sample including a mandible, two femora, a tibia and an ulna, from two (three) individuals. Semi-aquatic mammal, it preferred still watercourses or lakes with a vegetation including poplar, willow, birch, alder, elements common to Danube Delta in the I<sup>st</sup> mill AD. Unfortunately it was identified excepting Murighiol at Dinogetia - 0.94 %. It was captured for fur and flesh (?) (Lynwood, 1990:151). Also the „castoreum” oil, a glandular secretion, was used in the medicine, according to physicians’ writings from the 4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, Oribasius and Antyllus (Ramoutsakis ET alii, 2002). The taxon from the Late Roman epoch reduced its size, such as the faunal samples from Dobroudja of the I<sup>ST</sup> mill AD prove it (Haimovici, 1991, apud Stanc, 2005: 78). Extinct from Romania the beaver was introduced into local fauna after 1995.

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<sup>1</sup> The small samples’ size would be an explanation.

**4. Grouping of species without special requirements of habitat including fox, badger, marten.** The fox has the highest frequency within the carnivorous, the eleven fragments totalling 0.38 %, from at least five adult exemplars. Inside the Episcopal palace were collected five remains from minimum two foxes, the other six bones coming from the filling of tower no. 12. By entrance of tower no. 12 was collected an almost complete skull with the zygomatic arches damaged. The value of the canine length – 7.1 mm falls within the size range variation common for males and females (Szuma, 200: 120, Table 2), but the value of the basal length of 136 mm should suggest a mature female (closed skull sutures); for males the value of basal length oscillates around 150 mm. It was established a fluctuation of 15-16.3 mm for the length of carnassials ( $M_1$ ). The other measurements fall within the medium range variation, without discrepancies confronted by values registered in prehistoric sites from the eastern regions of Romania (Haimovici, 1991: 155; Bălăşescu, 2003: 458). Adapted to variety of habitat the fox was a common element to Dobroudja landscape. Its hunting was done exclusively for fur and to eliminate the predator effect for fowls. Its remains sporadically appear in contemporary sites from Dobroudja, being identified only at Slava Rusă/Ibida (3<sup>rd</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> AD), with an insignificant participation, 0.42 % (Stanc, 2005: 56). **The badger** is quoted with 0.18 %, its sample including five skull fragments, from minimum three (four) exemplars. A fluctuation of 15.8-17.5 mm was registered on the length of  $M_1$ , the values belonging to small and medium size range comparatively to similar material (Haimovici, 1989: 51; Bălăşescu, Radu, 2003: 379). Adapted to all habitats from lowland forests to uplands ones, nevertheless he prefers the wooden areas in the vicinity of cultivated fields. For sure the surroundings of Halmyris offered good conditions of living at those times, but its hunting was occasionally practiced. Eight complete bones (0.28 %) preserved from **marten**; a radius, a tibia and six mandibles suggest minimum two young and two adult individuals. On the length of  $M_1$  established a variation of 11.5-14.6 mm, an average – 13.06 mm. It seems the carnivore was frequent enough in the Dobroudja milieu, its hunting was done for fur, much more valuable than that of otter.

Therefore the inhabitants of Halmyris practiced the hunting of a lot of big and medium sized-mammals as: wild boar, deer, roe deer, aurochs either to supplement the meat needful or to procure some raw materials as furs, hides, bones, antlers; small sized-aquatic and terrestrial animals as marten, otter, fox, beaver were also hunted, for the commerce with furs. Without doubt we can't neglect the amusement aspectual of hunting, practices by soldiers mostly. Generally the hunting would have had a selective character, adult and matures exemplars being preferred. About 2/3 of bones originate in these exemplars. According to above mentioned data, of the four mammals grouping the first one (including the boar and deer) dominates the statistics, it comes to that the surroundings of Halmyris were quite different than present: extensive forests, containing thermophilic mixed oak developed throughout, inclusively nearby the waters, today they were extinct. Due to these woods the environment of the fortress was not as arid as present. So the surroundings consisted in waters and forests low or higher zone forest. The recent

paleogeographic data referring to Danube Delta in Holocene emphasized that, at the beginning of the I<sup>ST</sup> mill AD, the southern arm of the Danube was split into two main distributaries, Dunavăț and St. George. Dunavăț started to build its marshy delta into Halmyris lagoon, at present transformed into Razim-Sinoie complex (Giosan, ET alii, 2006: 759). By that branch was a communication with the salted waters of the Black Sea. Self-evident, a shell of *Cardium*, marine species was found in our sample. The archaeological data talk about the harbor Halmyris at the Danube too (Zahariade, 1989: 311-317).

By and large, talking about the hunting practiced in the 4<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> centuries AD in Dobroudja we refer to several faunal samples, quantitatively unequal, most part of them counting below one thousand fragments. A comparison between them suggests the following aspects: 1. taking into account the wild/domestic ratio the sites in question sort in two main classes. (Fig. 3):

- Sites with an important percent of wild remains, that one counting for 10-20 %: Murighiol - 21.24 %, Slava Rusă – 14.25 % (Stanc, 2005: 59), Capidava – 11.79 % (Haimovici, Corpus, Cărpuş, 2006: 359), Dinogetia – 9.43 % (Haimovici, 1991 apud Stanc, 2005: 78). Broadly we talk about settlements placed in the central or N-NW part of Dobroudja, in a various biotope, with more forested areas than present. We refer to Murighiol and Măcin Hills, or Babadag Plateau, or near by the Danube floodplain. Fauna is rather diversified, predominating over the “sylvan” mammal group (red deer, wild swine);

**Table 3** - Distribution of wild mammalian bones in sites from Dobroudja (4<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> AD)

Species	Murighiol	Slava Rusă	Adamclisi 1*	Adamclisi 2*	Dinogetia	Histria	Ovidiu	Capidava 4 <sup>th</sup> -6 <sup>th</sup>
Dating	4 <sup>th</sup> -7 <sup>th</sup>	4 <sup>th</sup> -6 <sup>th</sup>	5 <sup>th</sup> -7 <sup>th</sup>	6 <sup>th</sup>	6 <sup>th</sup>	6 <sup>th</sup>	4 <sup>th</sup> -6 <sup>th</sup>	4 <sup>th</sup> -6 <sup>th</sup>
<i>Sus s. ferrus</i>	11.58	3.02	0.65	2.22	5.66	0.56	4.8	3.1
<i>Cervus elaphus</i>	7.33	6.08	3.25	2.22	2.83	1.5	1.2	8.07
<i>Capreolus capreolus</i>	0.56	3.9	0.65			0.18		
<i>Vulpes vulpes</i>	0.39	0.42						
<i>Lepus europaeus</i>	0.35	0.67						
<i>Lutra lutra</i>	0.35							
<i>Martes martes</i>	0.28							
<i>Meles meles</i>	0.18							
<i>Castor fiber</i>	0.18				0.94			
<i>Bos primigenius</i>	0.04					0.38		0.62
<i>Ursus arctos</i>		0.08						
<i>Canis lupus</i>		0.08						
<i>Phocaena relicta</i> ?						0.18		

Species	Murighiol	Slava Rusă	Adamclisi 1*	Adamclisi 2*	Dinogetia	Histria	Ovidiu	Capidava
<b>Wild mammals</b>	<b>21.24</b>	<b>14.25</b>	<b>4.55</b>	<b>4.44</b>	<b>9.43</b>	<b>2.8</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>11.79</b>
<b>Domestic mammals</b>	<b>78.76</b>	<b>85.75</b>	<b>95.45</b>	<b>95.56</b>	<b>90.57</b>	<b>97.2</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>88.21</b>

1\* - sample determined by S. Stanc, 2005; 2\* - sample determined by S. Haimovici, 1991

- Sites with a reduced wild mammal bones, below 6 %, Adamclisi – 4.5 % (Stanc, 2005: 63), Histria – 2.8 % (Haimovici, 2007: 551), Ovidiu – 6 % (Haimovici, 2007: 561). The deer and wild boar bones are present in samples, but they have reduced percentages. For sure, in the lowlands (the plain), the species, mostly red deer would have had reduced densities in Antiquity, as compare to Dobroudja uplands or Danube riversides.

2. Referring to the richness in taxons and the interspecies rapports, despite of sample size, in all cases, the wild swine and red deer constantly were identified in samples. The wild boar has a maximum value at Murighiol (11.5 %) (is not astonishing, having in view the Delta proximity, lesser values were recorded at Dinogetia (6 %), Capidava, Slava Rusă (3 %). The red deer counts for 6-8 % at Capidava, Murighiol, and Slava Rusă and below 3 % in the other sites. Occasionally, bear (element of a forested habitat) is found only at Slava Rusă (0.08 %). The mammals adapted to an opened biotope are present in almost all cases, especially in those from the central and southern part of Dobroudja. The terrestrial and aquatic carnivorous have few fragments, they appear sporadically in settlements.

Because the investigation of the site goes on the coming years the existing information have a preliminary character, we expect new faunal samples to complete the present data.

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## MEASUREMENTS

Skulls			Maxilla			
dorsal	fox	badger	M1-M3	P1-M3	M3/P4	Species
Total length	139		78,5		39,2	boar
Upper neurocranium length	70,5		81,2		38,9	boar
Facial length	43,4				38,4	boar
Snout length	59,4				39,3	boar
Euryon-Euryon	43,8	44,6			41	boar
Least breadth of skull	21,1				42	boar
Frontal breadth	32				42,8	boar
Entorbitale-Entorbitale	27				43	boar
Height of orbit	24,5			31,9	10,9	otter
Skull height	37,9			36,7 (alv.)	16	badger
Skull height without the sagittal crest	36,3					
Otion-Otion	45,2	59				
Breath of the occ. condyles	25,6	30,8		Ulna		
Breadth of foramen magnum	16,7	13,6		GL	71,1	otter
Height of foramen magnum	12,7	17,6				
Akrocranium-Basion	31	33,6				
Median palatal length	74,9					
Diam. of auditory bulla	19,5	21,6				
Breadth al canine alveoli	21,8					
P1-M2	55,4					
M1-M2	15,4					
P1-P4 (at alveola)	40,8	Axis				
Lg. P4	13,6	BFcr	SBV	LCDe	H	
Greatest palatal breadth	40,8	54,7	35,7	67,6	68,4	deer
Diam. canine (at alveola)	7,1	61,5				boar

Mandible						
P1/P2-M2/M3	M1-M3	P1-P4	M3/M1	Condylobasal length	Species	
	86,7		38,4		deer	
127	78,8		31,8		deer	
			32,6		deer	
			32,7		deer	
135,7	91		46,5		boar	
			43,5		boar	
			49		boar	
			43		boar	
	95,8		55,5		boar	
	82,5		41,8		boar	
			45,5		boar	
			45		boar	
			42		boar	
	82,5		41,9		boar	
			42,1		boar	
			43,7		boar	
			43,4		boar	
	81,8		41,2		boar	
58,7	26,7	32,3	16		fox	
	23,9		15		fox	
			16,3		fox	
			11,5		marten	
33,1			12,6		marten	
			13,1		marten	
			13,5		marten	
			14,6		marten	
39	21,5	17,5	15,8	81,5	badger	
40,1			16,2		badger	
37,6			17,5		badger	
29,8					beaver	
Atlas			Scapula			
BFcr	BFcd	Species	Ld	SLC	GLP	Species
60,4	64,9	boar	39,9			deer

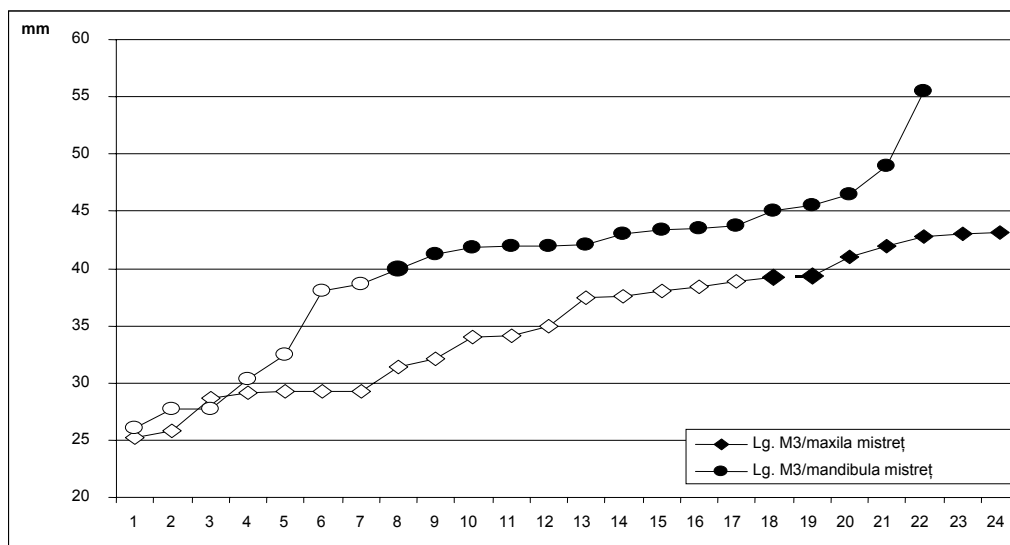
62,4		boar	43,2	63,1	49,3	deer	
66	64,5	boar	43,5	66	50,7	deer	
66,5		boar	43,6	65,7	52,7	deer	
67,1	63,6	boar		67,3	54	deer	
67,4		boar		56,6	52	deer	
72		boar	29,7	44	37,8	boar	
			29,7			boar	
			31,7	48,8	38,1	boar	
			32,1			boar	
			33,5		36,4	boar	
			34,8			boar	
				43,4	35,8	boar	
			68,6	90,5	75,3	aurochs	
			15,4		15,1	fox	
Humerus							
GL	Bp	Dp	Sd	BT	Bd	Dd	Sp.
				53,4	60,4	60,1	deer
				56	64,8	61,9	deer
				57,2	64,2		deer
				57,5	63	64,2	deer
				58,8	66,2		deer
				66,4			deer
	84,6						deer
						43,5	boar
					54,6		boar
				37,2	48,5	46,1	boar
				37	49,8	49,5	boar
				38,5	51		boar
				38	47,6	47,7	boar
				39,4	49,8	49,7	boar
				39,6	52,1	55,6	boar
				39	53,7	50,1	boar
				39	51,2		boar
				40,1	51,8	55,2	boar
				40,6	52,3	51,8	boar
				40,9	54,7	51,5	boar

				41,3	50,4	50,9	boar
				41,3	52,8	50,3	boar
				41,8	59	54,6	boar
				42	53,8		boar
				45,5	53,3	53	boar
					56,8		boar
	88,4						boar
					30,2		roe deer
					21,6	17,8	fox
					22,3		fox
					13,5	10,4	hare
					13,2	9,8	hare
94,4			7,6		28,8	12,2	otter
					27,6	11,6	otter
<b>Radius</b>							
<b>GL</b>	<b>BFp</b>	<b>Bp</b>	<b>Dp</b>	<b>Sd</b>	<b>Bd</b>	<b>Dd</b>	<b>Species</b>
	53,7	58,7	31,6				deer
	58,4	64,3	33,5				deer
	58,7	65,5	35,3				deer
	60,5	64,2	36				deer
		76,2					deer
					48,4	39,4	deer
					55,8	39,4	deer
		36,8	36,4				boar
		37	25,9				boar
		37,1	27,4				boar
		38	25,4				boar
		39,4	27,5				boar
		39,6	24,4				boar
		42	26,8				boar
					40,1	31	boar
					46,4	35,2	boar
					49	34	boar
					41,6	31	boar
58,1		26,7	16,3				roe

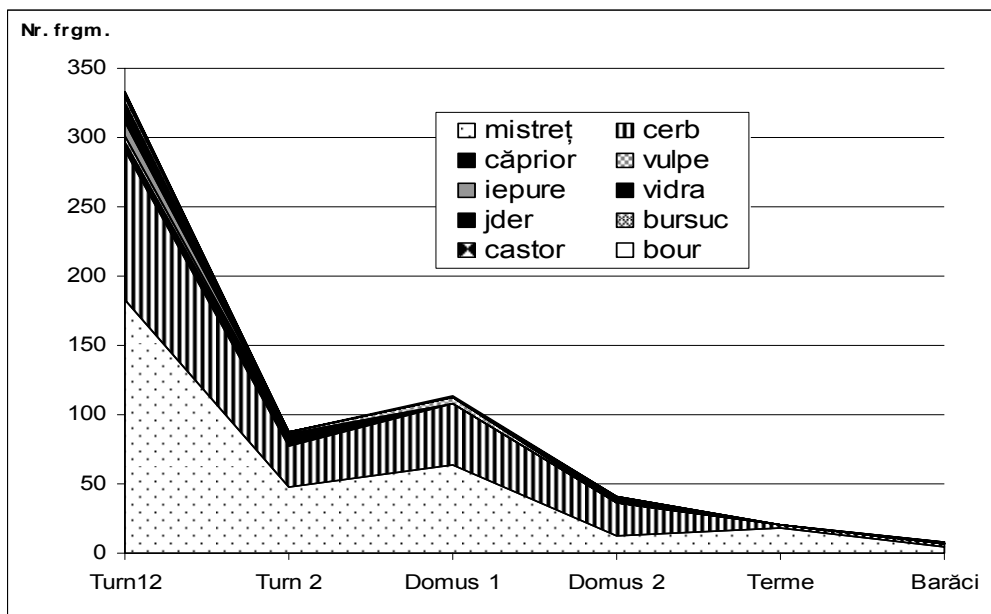
							deer
		11	8,2	5,8	13,2	9,1	otter
64,1		12,3	8,5				otter
		12,7	9,4	6,4	13,7	11,5	otter
Metacarpus							
Bp	Dp	Bd	Spec ies	Mt. III-GL	Spe cies		
43,7	30,1		deer	104,1	boar		
43,7	32,3		deer	116,1	boar		
45,2	32,8		deer				
46,2			deer	Mc. IV-GL	Spe cies		
46,3	31,6		deer	103	boar		
48,9	34,2		deer	Mc. III-GL	Spe cies		
		45	deer	102,6	boar		
Talus				Femur			
GLI	GL m	Bd	Spec ies	Bp	Bd	Species	
54,6	50,1	38,9	deer	84,5		deer	
61,1	57,5	36,2	deer		60,1	boar	
61,5	56,5	37,9	deer		61	boar	
55,9	45,9	34,4	boar		61,2	boar	
54,9	46,8	28,2	boar		62,5	boar	
51,6	47,3	33,5	boar		63,4	boar	
52,4	47,6	34,2	boar		64	boar	
49,7	46,1	30,4	boar		64,1	boar	
52,3	46,7	30,9	boar	73,3		boar	
56,4	47	35,8	boar		21,4	fox	
53,2	49,1	33,2	boar	29,2		hare	
54,1	49,5	36,2	boar	20,1		hare	
49,5	44,3	31,2	boar				
26,8		17,9	fox				

Pelvis		Pelvis		Calcaneus		
LA	Species	LA	Species	GL	Species	
40	boar	44,1	boar	95,6	boar	
40,3	boar	56,4	deer	98,8	boar	
40,6	boar	57,4	deer	106	boar	
42,1	boar	61,1	deer	107,4	boar	
42,1	boar	53,2	deer	109,3	boar	
42,7	boar	55,9	deer			
43	boar	15,5	otter			
44,1	boar					
Metatarsus						
GL	Bp	Dp	Sd	Bd	Dd	Species
303	37,8	40,2	23,4	40,7	30,7	deer
	37,3	44,2				deer
	38,7	42,7				deer
				40,9	26,7	deer
				48	33,4	deer
					31	deer
Tibia						
GL	Bp	Dp	SD	Bd	Dd	Species
				50,2	37,7	deer
				51,7	37,6	deer
				51,8	41,9	deer
				53,2		deer
				55,4	43,6	deer
				57,2	43,2	deer
				58,1	46,4	deer
	69,3					boar
	81,2					boar
				35		boar
				35,1	32,3	boar
				36,8	32,7	boar
				37	33	boar
				38,2	33,6	boar

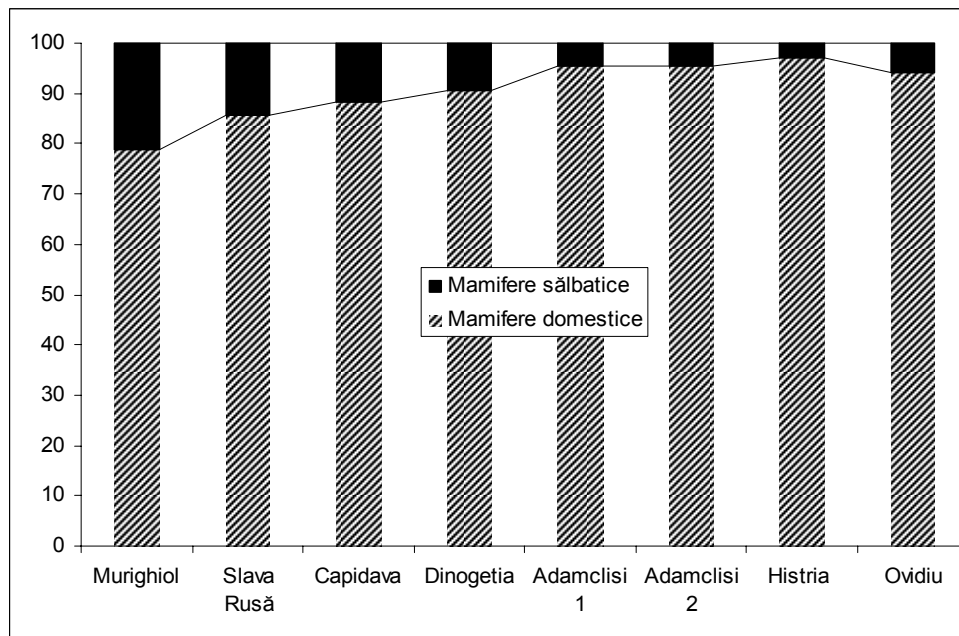
				38	35,1	boar
				40,3	36,6	boar
				40,4	34,6	boar
				40,4	40,7	boar
				41,3	36,3	boar
				42,5	36,6	boar
90,1	12,7	9,4	7,3	14,3	10,9	otter
	10,4					marten



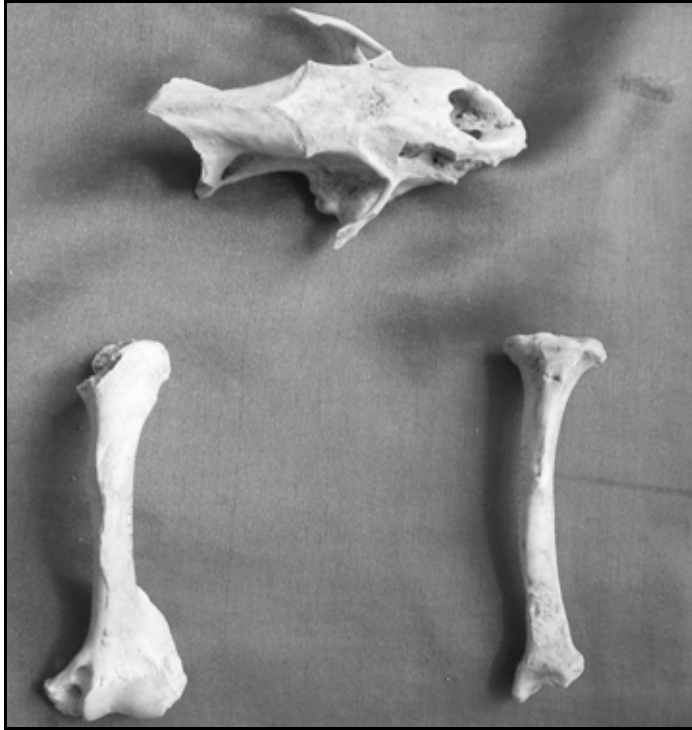
**Fig. 1:** Scatter diagram of Lg. M<sup>3</sup>/M<sub>3</sub>: fill circle, rhombus-boar; empty circle, rhombus-pig.



**Fig. 2:** Distribution of wild species bones at Halmyris.



**Fig. 3:** Domestic/ wild ratio at Halmyris.



**Fig. 4:** Bones of Eurasian otter.



**Fig. 5:** Bones of beaver.



## A STICK WITH DOVE HEAD FOUND AT HALMYRIS

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**Abstract:** În depozitul Institutului de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale din Tulcea se păstrează o baghetă fragmentară de bronz, descoperită în cursul săpăturilor arheologice de la Halmyris (nr. inv. 39.645). Ea are lungimea totală de 110 mm și un profil pătrat cu latura de 3 mm. El este ornamentat cu incizii care imită penajul. Se disting ochii și ciocul. Obiecte similare s-au descoperit în mai multe situri din Bulgaria, Serbia, Ungaria, România, Spania și Germania. Cele întregi au la capătul opus o verigă. Deși nu știm nimic despre contextul stratigrafic din care provine acest obiect de la Halmyris, considerăm necesară studierea lui, din cauza rarității acestor baghete. Până în prezent, în Dobrogea s-a mai descoperit, din câte cunoaștem, doar un singur exemplar în afara celui de la Halmyris, și anume la Ulmetum. Bagheta semnalată la Troesmis de către Octavian Bozu în studiul la care ne vom referi mai jos, conform informațiilor date de Florin Topoleanu, este de fapt cea de la Halmyris.

**Keywords:** stick, religious, christianity

In the depository of the Institute for Eco-Museal Researches from Tulcea is preserved a fragmentary bronze stick, found during the archaeological excavations at Halmyris (nr. 39.645). The object has a total length of 110 mm and a quadrate section of 3 x 3 mm. The profile becomes rhombic toward the upper part (7 mm diameter). The end of this upper part is decorated with a dove placed on a base high of 8 mm. The length of the stick without the dove is 87 mm. The dove is 18 mm length and 13 mm high, and it is decorated with incisions that represent the plumage. The eyes and the beak are also figured (Fig. 1 and 2).

Similar objects were found in several places from Bulgaria, Serbia, Hungary, Romania, Spain, France and Germany. The entire pieces have a link at the opposite end. Although we do not know the stratigraphic context of this object from Halmyris, we consider that it deserves a study, because such pieces are quite rare. In Dobrudja was found only one more stick, at Ulmetum. The piece mentioned at Troesmis by Octavian Bozu in the paper quoted below, according to an oral information provided by Florin Topoleanu, is in fact the same with that from Halmyris.

The first study dedicated to these sticks was written by Hermann Vetters, who discussed the seven pieces found at Sadovec during Ivan Velkov's excavations in

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the 1930's<sup>1</sup>. He pointed to several analogies in Spain, Germany and Switzerland, reaching the conclusion that the sticks with dove were transported by the Goths from Danube to these regions, and that they represent "the bird of the soul", a funeral symbol. The symbol of the bird was considered by Vetters an element of Scytho-Sarmatian origin. Most of the sticks known by Vetters are dated in the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>2</sup> Some of them have pairs of doves. The sticks were produced by casting in moulds. In Spain, at Cacabelos, was found a mould for sticks (Fig. 3).<sup>3</sup>

A religious significance was also proposed by Đorđe Janković, who has ascribed the sticks to the believers of the Bonosiac heresy, recorded in large number until the 6<sup>th</sup> century around Aquis in Dacia Ripensis, an area where many such sticks were found. Janković supposed that these sticks were put on the neck instead of the crosses<sup>4</sup>. This heresy was initiated by the bishop Bonosus of Naissus at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century (he sustained that Mary did not remain always virgin and it seems that he also denied the divine nature of Jesus Christ). The heresy found followers not only in Dacia Mediterranea, but also in other Balkan provinces, as well as in Hispania, Gallia and Burgundy. Bishop Niceta of Remesiana fought against this heresy<sup>5</sup>.

The idea of Janković was assumed by Nelu Zugravu, first in relation with a piece found at Craiova, and next in his book on the heresies spread in the Danubian provinces<sup>6</sup>. I accepted without criticism this interpretations in some previous studies<sup>7</sup>, but now I reject it, because two such sticks (Fig. 4) were discovered in a closed context dated before 245, at Romula, in a building destroyed by the inroad of the Carpi of 245<sup>8</sup>. It is clear that the dove sticks appeared much time before the Bonosiac heresy. Even if they would have a significance related to the Christianity, they could not be considered insignia of the believers of this heresy.

Ovidiu Bozu, who discovered four sticks in the collections of the Timișoara Museum, proposed another significance, following the interpretation of a lot of

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<sup>1</sup> I. Welkov, *Eine Gotenfestung bei Sadowetz (Nordbulgarien)*, "Germania", 19, 1935, p. 154.

<sup>2</sup> H. Vetters, *Der Vogel auf der Stange, ein Kultzeichen*, "Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien", 37, 1948, p. 131-150.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 134, 135, fig. 32/17.

<sup>4</sup> D. Janković, *Podunavski deo oblasti Akvisa u VI i početkom VII veka (La partie danubienne de la région d'Aquis au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle et au début du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, Beograd, 1981, p. 176-177, 221.

<sup>5</sup> A. Baudrillart (ed.), *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, vol. 9, Paris, 1937, col. 1093, 1094, 1096; M. Mirković, *Die christliche Kirche und das Christentum in den zentralillyrischen Provinzen im 4. und 6. Jahrhundert*, in A. B. Biernacki, P. Pawlak (ed.), *Late Roman and Early Byzantine Cities on the Lower Danube from the 4th to the 6th century AD (International Conference Poznan, 15-17 November 1995)*, Poznan, 1997, p. 50-51, 56; N. Zugravu, *Erezii și schisme la Dunărea Mijlocie și de Jos în mileniul I*, Iași, 1999, p. 80-81.

<sup>6</sup> N. Zugravu, *Geneza creștinismului popular al românilor*, București, 1997, p. 291, 299, 314 (footnote 140), 319 (nota 229), 423-424; Idem, *Erezii...*, p. 81.

<sup>7</sup> A. Madgearu, *The Spreading of the Christianity in the rural areas of post-Roman Dacia (4th-7th centuries)*, "Archaeus. Études d'histoire des religions", 8, 2004, 1-4, p. 46; Idem, *The 6th Century Lower Danubian Bridgeheads: Location and Mission*, "Ephemeris Napocensis", 13, 2003 (2005), p. 308.

<sup>8</sup> Gh. Popilian, *Un quartier artisanal à Romula*, "Dacia", NS, 20, 1976, p. 243.

similar pieces made of bone found in several early Roman cemeteries and settlements from other provinces, studied by the Swiss archaeologist Gerd G. Könik. He argued that the sticks were in fact distaffs. The link was used to insert the finger. The bone sticks were decorated at the opposite end with a representation of Venus<sup>9</sup>. In Dobrudja, bone sticks with the figure of Venus were found at Dinogetia and Callatis<sup>10</sup>. On the other hand, O. Bozu agreed that the dove sticks had a Christian significance, because they were used by Christian women<sup>11</sup>. In the monograph of the fortifications from Sadovec, Syna Uenze and Joachim Werner were too convinced that these sticks are a kind of Christian amulets<sup>12</sup>.

The interpretation proposed by O. Bozu for the use of the sticks seems to be convincing, but we cannot exclude that they were hair pins.

Since in the Roman symbolism, the dove was associated with Venus<sup>13</sup>, its presence on an object used by women before Christianity is normal. The dove was a substitute for the representation of the goddess. After Christianization, the same symbol of the dove was preserved because it was associated with another significance, the Holy Spirit descended to Christ at His baptism by Saint John. The dove was also a symbol of the divine peace (the dove that brought the olive bough to Noah).<sup>14</sup> We consider that this is the explanation of the appearance of the sticks with dove. They were initially variants of the bone sticks, where Venus was replaced with her attribute, the dove. Women continued to use these sticks, but the significance of the dove became different after the free spreading of the Christianity. This is only one case when Greek, Roman and other heathen symbols and customs were Christianized. The dove sticks were not tokens of an Orthodox or Heretic belief, but they bear a Christian symbol. In some cases they are decorated with crosses, or they have small crosses attached with chains<sup>15</sup>. An analogy are the Sucidava type buckles decorated with pierced crosses which were not religious tokens. In both cases, one specific for women and other for men, a Christian symbol was applied on an object used for a specific purpose, but this did not transform the objects into tokens that expressed the belonging to Christianity, like did the pectoral crosses that had no other function.

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<sup>9</sup> G. G. Könik, *Die Fingerkunkel aus Grab 156*, in K. Roth-Rubi, H. Rudolf Sennhauser (ed.), *Verenamünster Zurzach. Ausgrabungen und Bauuntersuchung*, vol. 1. *Römische Strasse und Gräber*, Zürich, 1987, p. 129-137.

<sup>10</sup> Gh. Ștefan, *Dinogetia, I. Risultati della prima campagna di scavi*, "Dacia", 7-8, 1937-1940 (1941), p. 414, fig. 22 (p. 417); C. Preda, *Callatis. Necropola romano-bizantină*, București, 1980, p. 63, 159, Pl. 29/1, 3.

<sup>11</sup> O. Bozu, *Obiecte creștine inedite de uz casnic. Furcile de tors pentru deget datate în secolele IV-VI e.n.*, "Analele Banatului, SN, Arheologie-Istorie", 2, 1993, p. 208-209.

<sup>12</sup> S. Uenze, *Die spätantiken Befestigungen von Sadovec (Bulgarien). Ergebnisse der deutsch-bulgarisch-österreichische Ausgrabungen (1934-1937)*, I, München, 1992, p. 199, 412.

<sup>13</sup> H. Biedermann, *Knaurs Lexikon der Symbole*, München, 1998, p. 1084.

<sup>14</sup> F. Cabrol, H. Leclercq (ed.), *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, vol. III/2, Paris, 1914, col. 2203.

<sup>15</sup> V. Ljubenova, *Selišteto ot rimskata i rannovizantijskata epokha*, in J. Čangova (ed.), *Pernik*, vol. I. *Poseliščen život na chālma krakra ot V chil. pr. n.e. do VI v. na n. e.*, Sofia, 1981, p. 192, fig. 133; S. Uenze, *op. cit.*, Taf. 4/9.

The doves sticks presented in the following list were found in the Middle and Lower Danubian regions, sometimes in contexts that are showing that they were produced and used up to the 6<sup>th</sup> century.

- 1 - Asparukhovo, Varna Region, Bulgaria. Fragment long of 108 mm.<sup>16</sup>
- 2 - Bela Voda, Pernik Region, Bulgaria. Five pieces from a lot of metallic objects hidden in the 6<sup>th</sup> century in the ruins of a *villa rustica* dated on the 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> centuries, used as raw material for a workshop. The date of the deposit is given by a Sucidava buckle decorated with cross and crescent.<sup>17</sup>
- 3 - Bozveliysko, Varna Region, Bulgaria. A fragment long of 86 mm and a dove from another stick.<sup>18</sup>
- 4 - Caričin Grad (Justiniana Prima), Jablanica District, Serbia. A fragment long of 72 mm, found in a building near the basilica from the lower town<sup>19</sup>.
- 5 - Celei (Sucidava), Corabia, Olt County, Romania. An entire stick without known dimensions, found in the garbage pit 2 / 2000 together with a bronze coin from the 4<sup>th</sup> or from the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>20</sup>
- 6 - Craiova, Dolj County, Romania. An entire stick long of 182 mm, found in the settlement from point Fântâna Obedeauu dated in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, in the filling earth of dwelling 2.<sup>21</sup>
- 7 - Dăbravino, Varna Region, Bulgaria. A fragment long of 41 mm<sup>22</sup>.
- 8 - Gamzigrad, Zaječar District, Serbia. Three pieces from the 4<sup>th</sup> century palace.<sup>23</sup>
- 9 - Goleš, Silistra Region, Bulgaria. An entire stick long of 168 mm, found in a fortress dated between the 4<sup>th</sup> and the 6<sup>th</sup> century, in a fountain near a tower, with objects from the 4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> centuries. From another stick are preserved two fragments with total length of 170 mm.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> L. Lazarov, *Dreven bronz. Katalog (Ancient bronze. Katalog)*, Dălgopol, 2001, p. 50, nr. 95 (p. 152).

<sup>17</sup> V. Ljubenova, *Bronzovi predmeti ot kăšnoantičnata vila pri rudnik "Bela Voda", Pernik (Objets de bronze de la villa de la basse antiquité située près de la mine "Bela Voda", Pernik)*, "Arheologija", Sofia, 37, 1995, 3, p. 13, fig. 12.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 50, nr. 97, 98 (p. 151-152).

<sup>19</sup> V. Kondić, V. Popović, *Caričin Grad. Utvrđeno naselje u vizantijskom Iliriku (Caričin Grad. Site fortifié dans l'Illyricum byzantin)*, Beograd, 1977, p. 399, nr. 59, Pl. XVI/4.

<sup>20</sup> P. Gherghe, L. Amon, D. Liciu, F. Băciu, *Corabia, jud. Olt [Sucidava]*, in *Cronica cercetărilor arheologice. Campania 2000*, Suceava, 2001, nr. 52, p. 75.

<sup>21</sup> Gh. Popilian, M. Nica, *Așezarea prefeudală de la Craiova (Fântâna Obedeauu)*, "Drobeta", 15, 2005, p. 150-151, 154-155 pl. VI/5.

<sup>22</sup> L. Lazarov, *op. cit.*, p. 50, nr. 96 (p. 152).

<sup>23</sup> D. Srejić (ed.), *Gamzigrad. An Imperial Palace of the Late Classical Times. Ausstellungskatalog*, Beograd, 1983, p. 138, nr. 186-188 (apud S. Uenze, *op. cit.*, p. 412, footnote 17).

<sup>24</sup> G. Atanasov, *Martyrium et Agiasmon dans le castel basbyzantin près du village de Golech, région de Silistra (communication préliminaire)*, in *Von der Scythia zur Dobrudža*, hrsg. Ch. Choliolčev, R. Pillinger, R. Harreither (Miscellanea Bulgarica, 11), Wien, 1997, p. 127, 128, fig. 5/11, 12 (p. 138); Idem, *De nouveau sur la localisation de la forteresse bas-byzantine St. Cyril en Scythie Mineure*, in *Prinos lui Petre Diaconu la 80 de ani. Volum îngrijit de I. Cădea, V. Sărbu, M. Neagu*, Brăila, 2004, p. 417, fig. 6.

- 10 - Gornea – Căunița de Sus, Caraș-Severin County, Romania. A fragment without dove, long of 175 mm, found in section I in the 4<sup>th</sup> century *castellum*.<sup>25</sup>
- 11 - Hărlec (Augusta), Vratza Region, Bulgaria. Several sticks (at least one being decorated with a cross on the dove backside) found in a tower of the fortress, with 6<sup>th</sup> century objects.<sup>26</sup>
- 12 - Kjustendil (Pautalia), Kjustendil Region, Bulgaria. A fragment long of 120 mm, decorated on one side with a rosette.<sup>27</sup>
- 13 - Kladovo-Donje Butorke, Bor District, Serbia. An entire stick long of 193 mm<sup>28</sup>.
- 14 - Mokranjske Stene, Bor District, Serbia. A fragment long of 100 mm<sup>29</sup>.
- 15 - Murighiol (Halmyris), Tulcea County, Romania. A fragment long of 110 mm, found in unknown conditions in the Late Roman fortress.
- 16 - Orșova (?), Caraș-Severin County, Romania. Four pieces preserved in the Museum of Timișoara, most probably found at Dierna (Orșova). Two entire sticks are long of 178 and 190 mm, while from other two are preserved only the doves.<sup>30</sup>
- 17 - Pantelimonul de Sus (Ulmetum), Constanța County, Romania. An entire stick long of 130 mm, found in a tower of the southwestern gate, together with coins from Constantius II and Valens<sup>31</sup>.
- 18 - Pernik, Pernik Region, Bulgaria. Five entire pieces and eight fragments. One of them has a cross attached to the link<sup>32</sup>.
- 19 - Popina, Silistra Region, Bulgaria. An entire stick long of 170 mm, found in a 4<sup>th</sup> century grave together with a fibula with onion heads.<sup>33</sup>
- 20 - Prahovo, Bor District, Serbia. An entire stick long of 200 mm, two dove fragments and three fragments that preserved the link.<sup>34</sup>
- 21 - Reșca (Romula), Olt County, Romania. Two fragments long of 122 mm and 53 mm, both decorated with a dove, found in a building destroyed during the attack of the Carpi in 245<sup>35</sup>.

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<sup>25</sup> N. Gudea, *Gornea. Așezări de epocă romană și romană târzie*, Reșița, 1977, p. 84, fig. 50/16; O. Bozu, *op. cit.*, p. 206, fig. 1/5.

<sup>26</sup> Apud Gh. Popilian, M. Nica, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

<sup>27</sup> I. Ivanov, *Kiustendilskijaz Hisarlâk i negovite starini*, "Izvestija na Arheologičeskija Institut, Sofia", 7, 1920, p. 105, fig. 76.

<sup>28</sup> D. Janković, *op. cit.*, p. 252, Pl. XVIII/7.

<sup>29</sup> D. Janković, *op. cit.*, p. 252, Pl. XVIII/6.

<sup>30</sup> O. Bozu, *op. cit.*, p. 206, fig. 1/1-4.

<sup>31</sup> Gh. Papuc, C. Băjenaru, Z. Covacef ș.a., *Pantelimonu de Sus, com. Pantelimon, jud. Constanța [Ulmetum]*, in *Cronica cercetărilor arheologice din România. Campania 2006*, Tulcea, 2007, p. 260.

<sup>32</sup> V. Ljubenova, *op. cit.*, p. 191-192, fig. 132-133.

<sup>33</sup> Ž. Vážarova, *Slaviano-bălgarskoto selište kraj selo Popina Silistrenko*, Sofia, 1956, p. 27, fig. 18 (p. 27).

<sup>34</sup> D. Janković, *op. cit.*, p. 252, Pl. XVIII/1, 3, 4, 8, 11, 12.

<sup>35</sup> Gh. Popilian, *Un quartier...*, p. 243, fig. 13/12, 13.

- 22** - Royak, Varna Region, Bulgaria. Two fragments long of 169 mm and 192 mm. One of them has two face to face doves.<sup>36</sup>
- 23** - Sadovec, Pleven Region, Bulgaria. Two entire sticks long of 210 mm and 195 mm, and 11 fragments (one made of silver, from which only the dove was preserved). Discovered in the fortifications ascribed to the Gothic foederati, Sadovsko Kale and Golemanovo Kale.<sup>37</sup>
- 24** - Szekszárd, Tolna County, Hungary. An entire stick with unknown dimensions, found in the women grave nr. 79 from an early Avarian cemetery.<sup>38</sup>

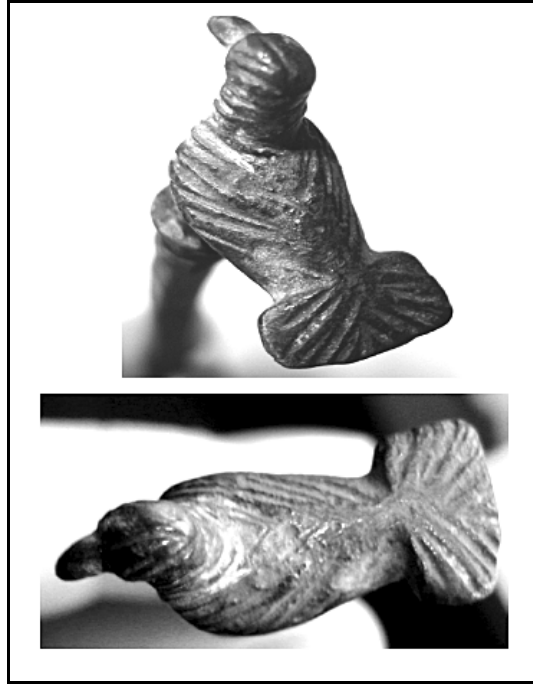


**Fig. 1:** The stick from Halmyris.

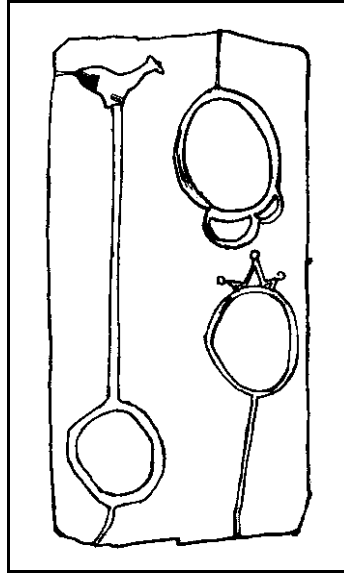
<sup>36</sup> L. Lazarov, *op. cit.*, p. 49, nr. 93, 94.

<sup>37</sup> S. Uenze, *op. cit.*, p. 528-529, Taf. 4/9, 5/1-6, 6/1-5, 122/10.

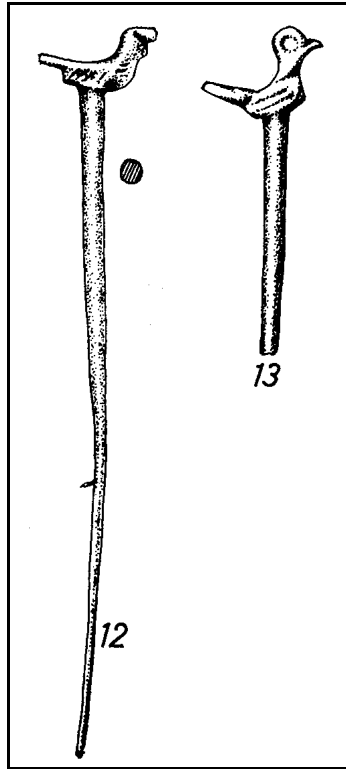
<sup>38</sup> G. Rosner, *Das awarenzeitliche Gräberfeld im Szekszárd-Bogyszlói Strasse*, Budapest, 1999, p. 19, Taf. 6/79/1 (p. 172).



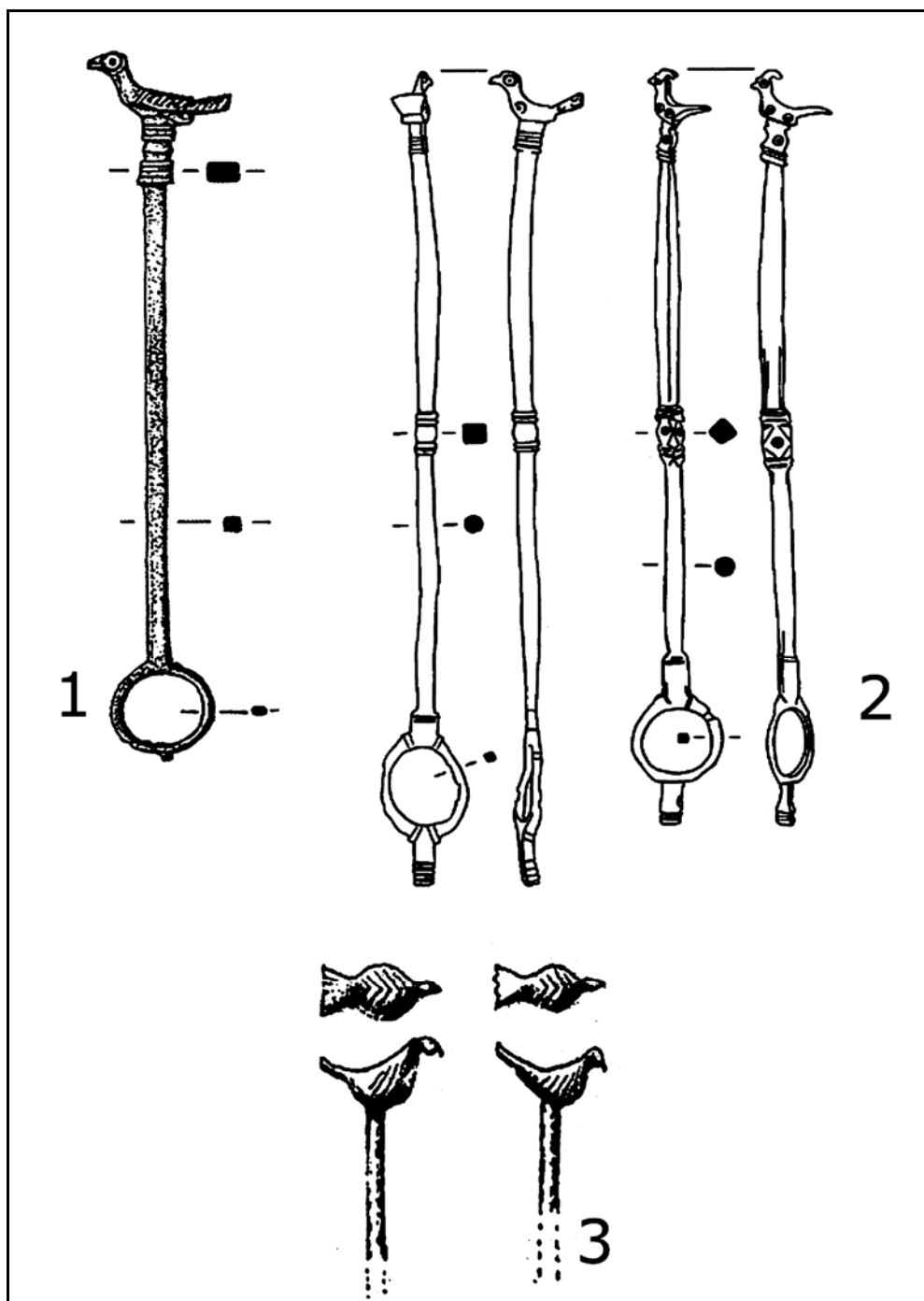
**Fig. 2:** The dove head of the stick from Halmyris.



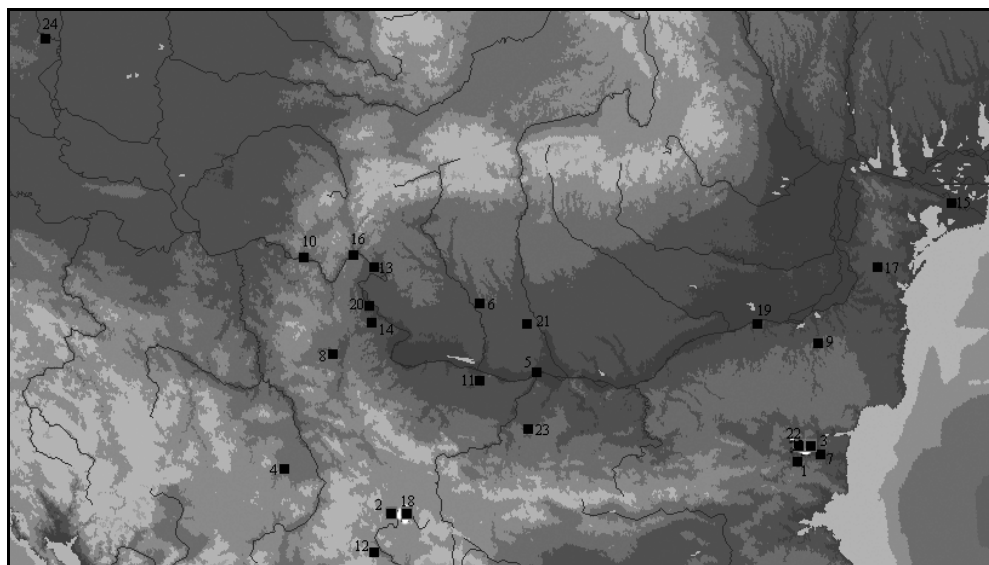
**Fig. 3:** Moukd for sticks (Cacabelos, Spain), after H. Vetters, *op. cit.*, fig. 32/17.



**Fig. 4:** The sticks from Romula, after Gh. Popilian, *Un quartier...*, p. 243, fig. 13/12, 13.



**Fig. 5:** The sticks from 1- Goleš (after G. Atanasov, *Martyrium...*, fig. 5/11, 12), 2- Sadovec (after S. Uenze, *op. cit.*, Taf. 6/1,2), 3- Orșova (after O. Bozu, *op. cit.*, fig. 1/3-4).



**Fig. 6:** Map.

## DUROSTORUM-DRÄSTÄR ZWISCHEN ANTIKE UND MITTELALTER: EINIGE RESULTATE DER RETTUNGSGRABUNG 2007

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**Abstract:** Săpăturile arheologice de salvare care s-au desfășurat în cetatea ce se află pe malul Dunării și care a fost datată în epoca antică târzie și evul mediu, ne-au furnizat date noi despre locuirea sa. Și aici, la fel ca și în cadrul celorlalte săpături care s-au efectuat până acum, s-a observat lipsa construcțiilor în cadrul anticului târziu. Tot către această perioadă sunt încadrate și resturile de locuință îngropată sau subteranul de locuință, precum și un mormânt îngrădit și acoperit cu tegulae, elemente care sunt legate de producția de obiecte de ceramică, precum și două parcele delimitate clar ce au fost săpate în suprafața terenului și care au fost umplute cu var roz și cu țărână, a cărui semnificație a rămas deocamdată necunoscută. În timpul domniei hanului Omurtag aci a fost construită „slăvita locuință a Dunării”, de care sunt legate resturile de baie și o clădire (reprezentativă) impunătoare din sectorul nord-estic al fortificației. Către aceeași perioadă, trebuie să fie încadrat și un colț dintr-un templu păgân din sectorul sud-vestic al fortificației care a fost studiat încă din anul 2007. Temeliile sale au fost săpate în stratul din anticul târziu, și după distrugerea sa intenționată din cea de a doua jumătate a sec. al IX-lea, aceste aceste temelii au fost străpunse de numeroase gropi. În cadrul tuturor acestor gropi din epoca medievală, care interferează cu temeliile templului se întâlnesc fragmente de ceramică destinată bucătăriei, realizată manual precum și cu ajutorul unei roți mănuite de picior, de asemenea s-a mai descoperit și ceramică smălțuită realizată cu ajutorul unei roți mănuite de picior, importuri bizantine și amfore. Într-una dintre gropi s-a descoperit și o monedă anonimă bizantină, clasa B (1030-1042). Gropile nu pot fi datate înainte de a doua jumătate a sec. al XI-lea. Materialul ce provine din evul mediu situat pe terenul înconjurător este similar cu cel descoperit în cadrul acestor săpături. În cadrul sectorului studiat lipsesc alte structuri sincrone ale altarului păgân. Acest fapt confirmă supoziția d-nei S. Anghelova, care susținea: cu excepția câtorva clădiri reprezentative, și în cadrul acestei perioade, cetatea rămâne aproape neconstruită.

**Keywords:** antic, medieval, locuinta, groapa.

Das antike Durostorum, Sitz der Legio XI Claudia, bestand spätestens am Anfang des 4. Jahrhunderts aus drei topographisch klar abgesonderten Einheiten – des befestigten Legionslager, der zivilen Siedlungen nördlich und östlich davon und der neuentstandenen spätrömische Befestigung am Donauufer (Angelova / Buchvarov 2007, 65 und Fig. 1), die etwa zwei Jahrhunderte später erneuert bzw.

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wiederaufgebaut wurde. Gerade diese Befestigung wurde später zum Kern der mittelalterlichen Stadt.

Eines der Hauptprobleme, die sich im Laufe der Erforschung dieser spätromischen bzw. frühbyzantinischen Befestigung ergaben, war die genaue Bestimmung ihrer Funktion. Die Stichgrabungen an verschiedenen Stellen innerhalb der spätantiken Mauern in den letzten 40 Jahren haben gezeigt, dass, obwohl eine Schicht, die Funde und Münzen aus der Zeit 4.-6. Jh. enthält, durchaus vorhanden ist, keine nennenswerten zeitgleichen Baubefunde zu verzeichnen sind. Die einzige Ausnahme wäre ein „repräsentatives spätantikes Gebäude“ im Bereich zwischen der frühmittelalterlichen Kirche Nr. 2 und der Nordmauer, berichtet bisweilen von der Ausgräberin Doz. Dr. Stefka Angelova (zuletzt Angelova/Buchvarov 2007, 73), das aber bis heute unveröffentlicht bleibt. Dasselbe betrifft die „Überreste von Bauten aus Lehmziegeln auf Steinfundament, Steinbauten und Wasserleitungen aus dem 6. Jh.“, die hier und da im Rahmen der Befestigung zutage kamen (Angelova/Koleva 2004, 20).

Gerade deswegen war eine der Hauptaufgaben der Rettungsgrabung, die im Sommer 2007 auf einer Fläche von knapp 4000 Quadratmetern im Herzen der modernen Stadt und im zentralen südlichen Bereich der spätantiken und mittelalterlichen Befestigung stattfand (Abb. 1), den Charakter der frühbyzantinischen Besiedlung zu klären. Die Grabungsergebnisse waren in dieser Hinsicht mehr oder weniger überraschend.

An vielen Stellen auf der Grabungsfläche konnten wir eine sich vom anstehenden Boden hauptsächlich durch ihre Farbe klar unterscheidende Schicht nachweisen, die spätromisches und frühbyzantinisches Fundgut enthält. Eine beträchtliche Anzahl der mehr als eintausend während der Grabung geborgenen Münzen gehören ebenfalls diesem Zeitraum. Die Befunde aber, die dieser Periode zuzuweisen sind, sind recht spärlich:

- eine eingetiefte Struktur (Abb. 2<sub>1</sub>), deren Boden mit Ziegeln gepflastert war, erbrachte dutzende Fragmente von frühbyzantinischen Amphoren und eine Lampe, die im ausgehenden 6. oder in den ersten Dezennien des 7. Jahrhunderts zu datieren ist. Den Charakter dieser Struktur zu bestimmen, ist eine schwierige Aufgabe. Sie wurde vorläufig als „Grubenhaus“ bezeichnet, aber sie könnte auch der Kellerraum eines oberirdischen Gebäudes gewesen sein. Leider sind die höher gelegenen Schichten in diesem Bereich der Grabungsfläche schon vor dem Beginn der Grabungen ausgebaggert, so dass wir heute die Existenz eines solchen Gebäudes nur vermuten, aber nicht sicher nachweisen können.
- eine rätselhafte Struktur (Abb. 2<sub>2</sub>), die folgendermaßen angelegt worden ist: im gewachsenen Boden wurde ein Graben ausgegraben, dessen Wände senkrecht sind und dessen Sohle ausnahmslos auf 13.45 NN nivelliert ist. Dieser Graben wurde danach verfüllt, wobei die kompakte, gestampfte Füllung aus kleinen Bruchsteinen, rötlichem Mörtel und Erde bestand. In dieser Füllung konnten wir nur wenige nicht näher bestimmbare antike

Keramikscherben bergen. An etlichen Stellen sind in diese Struktur hochmittelalterliche und neuzeitliche Gruben eingetieft worden.

Im südlichen Sektor der Grabungsfläche konnte aber die Schichtenabfolge mehr oder weniger gerettet und nach allen Regeln der archäologischen Methode erforscht werden. Hier dürften wir also besser erhaltene frühbyzantinische Strukturen erwarten. Gefunden wurden aber nur die Folgenden:

- ein Töpferöfen (Abb. 2<sub>3</sub>), der nach der in seinem Inneren gefundenen Keramik und Münzen in das 6. Jahrhundert zu datieren ist. Diese Zeitstellung ist zusätzlich durch eine Grube gesichert, die den südwestlichen Teil des Ofens zerstört hatte und in deren Füllung wir nicht nur spätantike Keramik, sondern auch zwei Münzen aus dieser Zeit bergen konnten; der Ofen wurde also bereits am Ende der antiken Periode aufgegeben und zerstört.
- Etwa 20 Meter östlich von diesem Ofen, auf einem etwa höheren Niveau, wurde unterhalb der Heizstelle eines hochmittelalterlichen Grubenhauses eine Grube entdeckt (Abb. 2<sub>4</sub>), die zahlreiche Keramikscherben enthielt. Von diesen Scherben gelang es, einen Gefäßsatz zu rekonstruieren. Diese Abfallgrube ist nicht mit dem oben genannten Ofen verbunden, sondern mit einer durch jüngere Bauaktivitäten zerstörte spätantike Anlage im daneben gelegenen Quadrat. Wir haben also in diesem Bereich mit mindestens zwei Anlagen zur Herstellung von Keramik zu rechnen.
- Reste von einer Wasserleitung aus Ton, die Südwest-Nordost ausgerichtet ist.
- Ein Grab mit Ziegelkonstruktion. Es handelt sich um eine beigabenlose Körperbestattung mit dem Kopf im Westen.

Bis auf die genannten Befunde wurden keine spätantiken Strukturen auf der gesamten Grabungsfläche freigelegt. Reste von Steinbauten konnten nirgendwo festgestellt werden. Diese Resultate erhärten die in den letzten Jahrzehnten gewonnene Vorstellung über die innere Bebauung der frühbyzantinischen Befestigung und erheben erneut die Frage nach ihrer Funktion. War das eine rein militärische Befestigung? Oder bloß ein Refugium für die Stadtbevölkerung in schweren Zeiten? Oder müssen wir in diesem Fall mit einem größeren Projekt für die Umgestaltung des Stadtbildes im 6. Jahrhundert, das aber aus irgendwelchen Gründen nicht verwirklicht werden konnte? Das sind Fragen, deren Antwort die künftige Forschung endgültig finden soll.

Jedenfalls können wir zurzeit behaupten, dass diese Befestigung keinesfalls zu neuem Kern des spätantiken Durostorums geworden ist. Diese Beobachtung wird durch Befunde aus dem 6. Jahrhundert im Bereich des ehemaligen Legionslagers ergänzt, die ein klarer Nachweis dafür sind, dass in dieser Zeit das Leben außerhalb der frühbyzantinischen Befestigung weiterlief. Gerade hier wurde in einem verbrannten Gebäude ein Silberschatz aus Ohr- und Fingerringen sowie einigen Münzen gefunden. Die jüngste dieser Münzen wurde unter Kaiser Konstantin IV. Pogonatos geprägt und weist darauf hin, dass die Stadt am Vorabend der bulgarischen Landnahme nicht völlig geräumt war (Ангелова/Пенчев 1989).

So kommen wir zur nächsten großen Frage: was geschah mit Durostorum in den ersten Jahrhunderten der bulgarischen Herrschaft? Anhand einiger spärlichen Berichten in den Schriftquellen – die, aber, mindestens 200 Jahre nach der Landnahme verfasst wurden – wird meistens von Historikern behauptet, Drăstăr (der mittelalterliche bulgarische Name Durostorums) sei zu einem der Hauptzentren des bulgarischen Staates bereits im ausgehenden 7. oder gleich am Anfang des 8. Jahrhunderts geworden. Die Archäologie konnte aber bislang solche Vorstellungen kaum unterstützen. Funde und Befunde aus dieser frühen Zeit konnten bisher nicht nachgewiesen werden.

Deutlicher fassbar ist Drăstăr nach 800. In diese Zeit – laut der bisherigen Forschung – sind einige Reparaturen an der frühbyzantinischen Mauer. Als Resultat dieser Aktivitäten entstand ein neues Tor, das dem sog. Pliskaer-Typ Tore gehört. In Pliska werden diese Tore, sowie die ganze dortige steinerne Befestigung der Innenstadt mit den Bauaktivitäten Omurtags verbunden, so dass das Tor in Drăstăr ebenfalls in die Zeit seiner Regierung zu datieren sei. Zwei weitere Steinbauten – ein „repräsentatives“, aus mehreren Räumen bestehendes Gebäude dicht an der Nordmauer und ein Bad etwa östlich davon werden von der Ausgräberin Stefka Angelova ebenfalls dieser „vorchristlichen“ Zeit zugewiesen (Angelova/Koleva 2004, 22-24).

Die Anwesenheit solcher Bauten wurde als einen archäologischen Nachweis für die Idee Veselin Besevliev's angesehen, in Drăstăr sei „das prächtige Palast an der Donau“ von Omurtag zu lokalisieren, erwähnt in der Säuleninschrift aus der Kirche „Heilige 40 Märtyrer“ in Tarnovo (Beševliev 1963, 257-260). Im Jahre 1997 wurde ein Säulenfragment gefunden, eingebaut in einem Haus der osmanischen Zeit südlich der mittelalterlichen Kirche Nr. 2. Auf diesem Fragment war ein Teil des Namen Omurtag zu lesen (Ангелова 2003, 191). Dadurch wurde die oben genannte Vorstellung zusätzlich erhärtet.

Dieser vermutlichen Residenz Omurtags fehlte bislang eine wichtige Komponente – ein Kultbau. Ich möchte aber ausdrücklich darauf Hinweisen, dass Stefka Angelova an die Existenz von mindestens einem heidnischen Tempel in Drăstăr fest glaubte. Als Hinweis dafür betrachtete sie die innerhalb der spätantiken und mittelalterlichen Befestigung gefundenen vier Opfersteinen (Angelova/Koleva 2004, 24).

Ihre Vermutung fand während der Rettungsgrabung im Sommer 2007 eine spektakuläre Bestätigung. In der nordöstlichen Ecke der ausgegrabenen Fläche wurden die Fundamente eines massiven Baus entdeckt (Abb. 2<sub>5</sub>; 3-4). Es handelt sich eigentlich nur um die südwestliche Ecke des Gebäudes; der Rest bleibt unter der Straße entlang des heutigen Stadtgartens im Norden und des Schülerwohnheims im Osten. Es wurden zwei sich rechtwinklig kreuzenden Mauerzüge freigelegt. Der eine ist Süd-Nord ausgerichtet und weist bis zur Grabungsgrenze eine Länge von 5.30 m. Der andere ist West-Ost ausgerichtet und seine Länge innerhalb der Grabungsfläche betrifft 6.60 m. Beide sind gleich breit – zwischen 1.40 und 1.50 m.

In einem Abstand von genau 3.90 m westlich und südlich von diesen beiden Mauerzügen fanden wie zwei weitere sich rechtwinklig kreuzende Mauerzüge, die parallel zu den ersten beiden verlaufen. Der Süd-Nord ausgerichtete ist 8.60 m lang, und der West-Ost ausgerichtete 13.10 m. Diese äußeren Mauerzüge sind gleich breit und etwa schmäler als die inneren: je 1.20 m.

Diese Mauerzüge stellen – wie bereits erwähnt – die Fundamente der südwestlichen Ecke eines massiven Gebäudes. Die Konstruktion der Fundamente konnten wir durch vollständige Freilegung ihrer Reste und die Anlage zweier Querschnitte gut dokumentieren (Abb. 5).

Die Mauerunterlage beider Mauerzüge – sowohl des inneren, als auch des äußeren – besteht aus in den anstehenden Boden eingeschlagenen senkrechten Holzpfehlern mit rundem, bisweilen auch quadratischem Querschnitt. Ihr Oberteil (d.h. die obersten 10 cm) wurde mit einer Schicht belegt, die fast ausschließlich aus rötlichem Mörtel besteht. Über dieser ersten Mörtelschicht liegt eine zweite Schicht, die aus weißem Mörtel, winzigen Bruchsteinen und Fragmenten von römischen Ziegeln besteht. Zwischen diesen beiden Schichten konnte in den beiden Querschnitten eine nur etliche Millimeter dünne Schlammschicht beobachtet werden, die als die Spur einer kurzfristigen Bauunterbrechung zu deuten wäre.

Die Holzpfehle bilden parallele Reihen aus je 6 Pfehlern, wobei die beiden äußeren mit ihren 38 cm deutlich kürzer sind, als die vier inneren – zwischen 75 und 80 cm. Die Pfehle wurden nicht besonders sorgfältig bearbeitet, es handelt sich um an den Enden gespitzte Stämme junger Bäume oder massive Äste. Ein Hinweis dafür sind die an etlichen Stellen erhaltenen Reste von Rinde. An bestimmten Stellen sind die quer laufenden Pfehlreihen durch rhombisch gruppierte Pfehle ersetzt. Diese Tatsache ist auf die Besonderheiten der oberirdischen Konstruktion des Gebäudes zurückzuführen.

Wie an einigen Stellen festgestellt werden konnte, diente die obere der beiden Mörtelschichten als Bett, in dem die gut bearbeiteten Steinblöcke der oberirdischen Mauerteile eingebettet sind. Die Mauern waren offensichtlich in einem Läufer-Binder-Verband errichtet. Nach den Abdrücken im Mörtel zu urteilen waren die Steinblöcke zwischen 98 und 100 cm lang und 50 cm breit (Abb. 6).

Ein *terminus post quem* für das Errichten dieses Gebäudes bietet der Umstand, dass seine Fundamente in Schichten eingetieft sind, die ausschließlich spätrömische und byzantinische Funde enthielten. In einer Grube mit rechteckigen Form, die von den Mauerzügen geschnitten wird, wurde eine Münze geborgen, geprägt unter Maximian Hercules (286-305 n. Chr.). Eine weitere Münze, diesmal aus der ersten Hälfte des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr., wurde unterhalb der rötlichen Mörtelschicht im Schnitt Nr. 2 gefunden.<sup>1</sup>

*Terminus ante quem* für die Existenz des Gebäudes bieten die in seinen Resten eingetieften mittelalterlichen Gruben, die weiter unten ausführlich diskutiert werden. Nur als ein Vorverweis sei kurz erwähnt, dass ihr Auftreten nicht vor dem ausgehenden 10. Jahrhundert zu datieren ist.

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<sup>1</sup> Die Münzfunde aus der Grabung wurden vom Dr. Vladimir Penčev vom Nationalen Historischen Museum (Sofia) bestimmt. Ihm sei an dieser Stelle herzlich gedankt.

Das Gebäude darf also – angesichts der rein archäologischen Angaben – in den breiten Zeitraum zwischen der ausklingenden Antike und dem Ende des ersten bulgarischen Reichs datiert werden. Zwei Umstände erlauben aber, die Zeit seiner Errichtung etwa näher zu bestimmen.

Einerseits gehört das Gebäude – nach Plan und Baubesonderheiten – zu einer Gruppe von Bauten, die bislang nur in Pliska, Preslav und Madara gefunden, als protobulgarische heidnische Tempel interpretiert und üblicherweise in die erste Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts datiert worden sind (zuletzt Пашев 2008, 88-89, 124-125 mit weiterführender Literatur). Eine solche Funktions- und Zeitbestimmung widerspricht unserem Grabungsbefund überhaupt nicht. Der Umstand, dass das Gebäude bereits im Mittelalter komplett abgerissen wurde, spricht auch dafür. Es war für uns in dieser Hinsicht sehr interessant zu prüfen, ob die Steinblöcke der frühmittelalterlichen Kirche Nr. 2 die gleichen Ausmaße aufweisen wie die demontierten und nur noch durch ihre Abdrücke nachgewiesenen Stenblöcken unseres Gebäudes. Wir konnten feststellen, dass beim Bau der Kirche Blöcke verwendet wurden, die auch kleiner sind, aber die Mehrzahl mit Unseren vollkommen identisch ist. Es muss weiterhin darauf betont werden, dass keiner der Blöcke der Kirche *größer* ist, als die demontierten Stenblöcke unseres Gebäudes. Aufgrund dieser Beobachtungen dürfen wir *vermuten*, dass der Bau um die Mitte des 9. Jahrhunderts *bereits* oder *noch* existierte, und in den Jahrzehnten nach der Bekehrung im Jahre 864 abgerissen wurde. Die Steinblöcke aus seiner Konstruktion wurden bei dem Bau der Kirche Nr. 2, errichtet spätestens gegen Ende des 9. Jahrhunderts (zuletzt Angelova 2007), wieder verwendet.

Der Umstand, dass der Bau nach der Bekehrung abgerissen wurde, ist ein weiterer Hinweis für seine Funktion als heidnischer Tempel. Somit wäre auch seine untere zeitliche Grenze näher bestimmt – er dürfte nicht früher als die bulgarische Landnahme erbaut worden sein. Ob er aber schon zu Zeiten Asparuhs gestanden hat, ist fraglich.

Einige dieser heidnischen Tempel wurden nach der Christianisierung zu Kirchen umgebaut. Das war das Schicksal jener Gruppe von Tempeln, die eine rechteckige Form aufwiesen und West-Ost ausgerichtet waren. Die quadratischen wurden abgerissen. Dieser Umstand sowie die Proportionen unseres Tempels gestatten es, das Gebäude als einen quadratischen Bau zu rekonstruieren, obwohl wir nur eine seiner Ecken freigelegt haben.

Somit ist es unseres Erachtens endgültig klar geworden, dass Drästar mit Pliska und Preslav zu den Herrscherresidenzen der letzten Jahrzehnte der sog. heidnischen Periode des mittelalterlichen bulgarischen Staates gehörte, und dass Besevliev und Stefka Angelova vollkommen recht hatten, das „prächtige Haus“ Omurtags gerade an dieser Stelle zu lokalisieren.

Es wäre aber interessant zu prüfen, wie diese Residenz aussah. Der Tempel liegt nahezu im geometrischen Zentrum der alten frühbyzantinischen Befestigung. Wie oben gezeigt, befinden sich in ihrem nördlichen Teil zwei weitere weltliche Bauten, die eventuell dieser Zeit zuzuweisen sind. Die Rettungsgrabungen aus dem Jahre 2007 erbrachten keinerlei Hinweise für eine frühmittelalterliche Besiedlung,

die dem Tempel zeitgleich ist oder seiner Errichtung vorausgeht. Es darf natürlich vermutet werden, dass um ein solches Gebäude ein freier Raum, eine Art öffentlicher Platz, existiert haben sollte. Aber die komplette Abwesenheit von Funden aus dieser Zeit auf der *gesamten* Grabungsfläche ist schon merkwürdig. Der südliche Rand der Grabungsfläche liegt etwa 70 m vom Tempel. Falls wir annehmen dürfen, dass diese gesamte Fläche ein Teil der mittelalterlichen Platzes ist, so dürfte der letztere eine Fläche von mindestens 16000 m<sup>2</sup> eingenommen haben, d. h. etwa ein Drittel der gesamten befestigten Fläche. Das scheint uns eher unmöglich. Falls wir den Umstand in Betracht ziehen, dass auch in den anderen untersuchten Flächen keine sicher in diese „heidnische“ Zeit datierbare Funde zutage kamen, so müssen wir Stefka Angelova nur zustimmen, wenn sie behauptet, die Befestigung sei recht spärlich und nur mit repräsentativen Gebäuden bebaut.

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Was geschah nach der Christianisierung Bulgariens im Jahre 864? Wie sah das Gebiet aus, wo bis vor kurzem der heidnische Tempel stand? Die eingehende Analyse der Keramik aus den mehr als 100 geschlossenen mittelalterlichen Befunden – vor allem Gruben, aber auch Häuser – steht noch bevor. Aber heute noch können einige Beobachtungen präsentiert werden, die uns im Großen und Ganzen gestatten, die mittelalterliche Besiedlungsgeschichte auf dem Gebiet des heidnischen Tempels nach seiner Vernichtung zu rekonstruieren. Wie bereits erwähnt, wurden hier zahlreiche Gruben – eigentlich mehr als 30 – nachgewiesen, wobei die Mehrzahl davon als mittelalterlich anzusprechen ist.

Bis auf den anonymen byzantinischen Follis, Klasse B (1035-1042), der lediglich einen sicheren *terminus post quem* für die Datierung des in der Grube Nr.5/Quadrat Nr.1 gefundenen Keramikkomplexes darstellt, enthalten die Gruben hauptsächlich Keramikscherben, die in einige Gruppen eingeteilt werden können:

1. Gruppe I: *Gefäße, gefertigt auf langsam drehender, handbetriebener Drehscheibe*

- 1.1. Untergruppe Ia (Abb. 7<sub>1-4</sub>): Gefäße, die wenig, dafür aber relativ große Beimengungen enthalten, mit dichter Faktur, gut gebrannt. Die Randfragmente gehören zu Gefäßen mit kurzem Hals und ausladenden Rändern, meistens mit einer senkrecht geschnittenen und seltener gerundeten Randlippe. Bei den größeren Fragmenten dieser Gruppe ist Oberfläche nach dem Brand leicht rosa oder grau geworden. Auf einem Gefäßboden dieser Gruppe (Grube Nr.5/Quadrat Nr.2) sind klare, gerade waagerechte Spuren zu beobachten, die nach dem Abheben von der Drehscheibe geblieben sind; dieser Umstand könnte auf eine Änderung der Herstellungstechnik hinweisen, die mit der Einführung der schnell drehenden Drehscheibe verbunden wäre. Die Gefäße dieser Gruppe sind mit Hilfe eingeritzter waagerechter gerader Linien verziert, die von unterschiedlichem Muster überlagert werden: mit einem mehrzinkigen Kamm eingezogene schräge oder senkrechte

Streifen, breite Wellenstreifen, kleine eingetiefte Grübchen zwischen dem Hals und den linienverzierten Schultern. Die hier vorhandenen Gefäßformen und -verzierung sind in Drăstăr gut bekannt (Angelova 1987, I-III<sub>7-12</sub>). In Jatrus wurden solche Gefäße als Gruppe 7 bezeichnet und im ausgehenden 9. und 10. Jahrhundert datiert (Wendel 1986, 142, Taf. 23). Die Vergleichstücke aus Dinogetia bilden die dortige Keramikgruppe IIa und werden am Ende des 10. und in die erste Hälfte des 11. Jahrhunderts datiert (Comşa 1967, 154-164, Fig. 97 und 131); solche Exemplare aus Păcuil lui Soare gehören nach der Meinung der Ausgräber eher dem 11. Jahrhundert an (Harhoiu R. 1972, Fig. 25<sub>2,5</sub>, pl. XXIV).

- 1.1. Untergruppe Ib (Abb. 7<sub>5-6</sub>): Die Scherben aus weicherem, porigem Ton sind deutlich weniger und in der Regel kleiner. Hier findet man einige Topfränder, die nach außen und nach oben ausladen, sodass es sich eine Rinne zum Aufsetzen eines Deckels bildet. Diese Gefäßform ist in Drăstăr in Befunden des 11. Jahrhunderts gut belegt (Angelova 1987, I-III<sub>11</sub>). Dort sind sie des Öfteren mit stichverzierten Fragmenten vergesellschaftet, die in den hier behandelten Gruben kaum zu treffen sind.
- 1.2. Untergruppe Ic (Abb. 7<sub>7-9</sub>): Hierher gehören Fragmente von Töpfen, versehen mit breitem senkrechtem Henkel mit zwei ovalen senkrechten Grübchen im unteren Teil. Sie sind meistens aus Beimengungen enthaltenden, aber auch aus relativ reinem Ton gefertigt. Die Untersuchungen anderer Komplexe haben gezeigt, dass Töpfe dieser Art in der Regel mit X-förmigen Einritzungen im unteren Teil des Halses und plastischen Vorsprüngen im Verbindungsbereich von Rand und Henkel versehen sind (Angelova 1987, I-III<sub>5</sub>). Ein Teil eines solchen Gefäßes wird in Dinogetia in das 10. Jahrhundert datiert (Comşa 1967, 137, Fig. 78<sub>17</sub>). Die Fragmente dieser Gefäße sind unter den Materialien von Drăstăr gut vertreten und sowohl mit glasierten Scherben mit Reliefverzierung als auch mit einfacher, auf schnell drehender Drehscheibe gefertigten Keramik vergesellschaftet.<sup>2</sup> Aufgrund des Begleitmaterials und der stratigraphischen Angaben scheint diese Keramik jünger als die für das 11. Jahrhundert typische Töpferware mit Stichverzierung zu sein.
2. Gruppe II (Abb. 8): *Einfache Keramik, gefertigt auf schnell drehender, fußbetriebener Drehscheibe*. Gefertigt von feiner gemagertem Ton im Vergleich zur auf handgetriebener Drehscheibe gefertigten Keramik. Außer einer nur teilweise erhaltenen weißtonigen Kanne (Abb. 8<sub>2</sub>) und einem einhenkligen Topf mit fehlendem Boden (Abb. 8<sub>1</sub>) ist diese Gruppe hauptsächlich durch Bodenfragmente präsentiert, an denen das für diese Herstellungstechnik typische Schneiden mithilfe einer Faser Spuren

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<sup>2</sup> Unsere eigene Erfahrung zeigt, dass solche Fragmente unter den Materialien von der Grabung der Kirche Nr. 2 kaum vertreten sind.

hinterlassen hat, aber auch durch größere Rand- und Schulterfragmente von Töpfen (Abb. 8<sub>3-6</sub>) wie auch den Rand eines Deckels (Abb. 8<sub>7</sub>). Die Topfformen stehen den ins 11.-12. Jahrhundert datierten byzantinischen (Hayes 1992, 133, Fig. 76<sub>32</sub>; Борисов 2002, 41-42, обр. 18а-г) sowie den zeitgleichen, als byzantinische Importe angesprochenen Gefäßen aus Păcuiul lui Soare und Dinogetia am nächsten (Barnea 1967, 172-175, Fig. 164<sub>5,7</sub>; Vilceanu 1972b, 112, Fig. 48<sub>1,2</sub>, pl. XXVII<sub>4,5</sub>).

### 3. Gruppe III: *Glasierte Keramik*

3.1. Untergruppe IIIa (Abb. 9<sub>1-5</sub>): Vertreten von einem kleinen Gefäß mit geschlossener Form, dessen Randlippe fehlt, dem Rand eines einhenkligen Krugs, einigen weiteren Krug- bzw. Kannenfragmenten und etlichen Wandscherben. Die Tonfarbe ist hauptsächlich rötlich. Die Gefäße weisen Ritz- und plastische Verzierung auf, bedeckt mit olivengrüner oder brauner Glasur. In Drăstăr werden sie aufgrund stratigraphischen Angaben und verwandter Exemplare von Păcuiul lui Soare und Dinogetia (Vilceanu 1972a; Barnea 1967, 230 – 238) in die zweite Hälfte des 11. Jahrhunderts datiert (Angelova 1987, 110, 113). Dieser Gruppe sollte auch ein Fragment vom oberen Teil und der Teil des hohlen Henkels eines sog. Destillationsgefäßes zugeordnet werden. Diese Gefäße finden eine Verbreitung ab dem 12. Jahrhundert (Алексиев 1992; Борисов 2002, 273, обр. 115), obwohl neulich auch einen etwa früheren Zeitansatz, um die Mitte des 11. Jahrhunderts, vorgeschlagen wurde (Атанасов 1998, 78, обр. 65).

3.2. Untergruppe IIIb: *Importierte glasierte Gefäße*. Dieser Gruppe gehören lediglich zwei Exemplare. Es handelt sich zum einen (Abb. 9<sub>6</sub>) um den Rand (verblieben ist noch der Teil des Henkels) einer Tasse aus rosafarbigem Ton, bedeckt mit monochromer braun-grünlicher Glasur. Sie steht den Vertretern der in das 10.-11. Jahrhundert datierte Gruppe II der unverzierten glasierten Keramik aus Korinth am nächsten (Morgan 1942, 56-57, Fig. 38f). Das andere Exemplar (Abb. 9<sub>7</sub>) ist der Boden einer byzantinischen polychromen glasierten Tasse mit Darstellung eines Kreuzes. Seine Vergleichsstücke werden in die zweite Hälfte des 11. Jahrhunderts datiert (Talbot Rice 1930, Pl. VI; Morgan 1942, 70, Pl. XVIIg; Dark 2001, 64, Pl. 28; Barnea 1967, 244, Fig. 147<sub>17</sub>, 148<sub>1,6</sub>).

### 4. Gruppe IV: *Amphoren*.

Die in den Gruben gefundenen Vertreter dieser Gruppe sind ausführlich in der Arbeit von E. Todorova in diesem Band kommentiert. Hier sei nur darauf hingewiesen, dass ihre Datierung der Zeitstellung des restlichen keramischen Materials nicht widerspricht.

Die dargestellten keramischen Gruppen sind in fast allen Gruben vertreten, die in den Fundamenten des ehemaligen Tempels eingetieft sind. Die Grube Nr.5/Quadrat Nr.1 schneidet sowohl die Fundamente des Gebäudes, als auch die

Öffnung der nördlicheren von den beiden über denselben Fundamenten liegenden Öfen. Die jüngsten Scherben aus dieser Grube sind der Oberteil des Destillationsgefäßes und die Topffragmente der Untergruppe Ib. Aufgrund der in hier gefundenen Münze und der Keramik darf diese Grube in die zweite Hälfte des 11. und eventuell ins beginnende 12. Jahrhundert datiert werden. Da in den Gruben Nr.5/Quadrat Nr.2 und Nr.2/Quadrat Nr.0 eine ähnliche Vergesellschaftung von keramischen Gruppen festgestellt wurde, sollten sie ebenfalls demselben Zeitraum zugeordnet werden. In der Grube Nr.3/Quadrat Nr.3 wurde zusammen mit Amphorenfragmenten Keramik der Gruppen I und II gefunden, sodass auch dieser Komplex in diese Zeit datiert werden sollte. In der Grube Nr.4/Quadrat Nr.2 wurden nur einige Keramikscherben gefunden, von denen nur eine der Gruppe Ia angehört und die restlichen nicht näher bestimmbar sind, sodass es ziemlich schwierig ist, die Zeitstellung ihrer Verfüllung genauer zu bestimmen; ein etwa früheres Datum sei aber nicht ausgeschlossen. Unter den Fragmenten aus der Verfüllung der nördlicheren der beiden Öfen über den Tempelfundamenten sind auch Scherben zu treffen, die mit Sicherheit der Grube Nr.5/ Quadrat Nr.1 gehören. Die Materialien aus dem kleineren, südlicheren Ofen sind spärlich und meistens nicht näher bestimmbar; einige größere Fragmente einschließlich Ränder der Gruppen Ia und Ib gestatten aber, für diesen Komplex ein etwa älteres Datum vorzuschlagen, d. h. eventuell gleichzeitig mit Grube Nr. 4/Quadrat 2. Es ist natürlich zu bedenken, dass die besagten Keramikscherben aus der Verfüllung beider Öfen mit ihrer primären Funktion nichts zu tun haben und dort erst *nach* der endgültigen Einstellung der Produktion geraten sein können. Daraus folgt, dass die Öfen noch früher zu datieren sind, als die umliegenden Gruben und ihre Errichtung über den Fundamenten stellt den richtigen archäologischen *terminus ante quem* für die Existenz des Tempels. Leider können wir nicht näher bestimmen, wann genau diese Öfen errichtet worden sind und zurzeit müssen aus kulturhistorischen Gründen annehmen, dass die Zerstörung des Tempels kurz nach der Bekehrung im Jahre 864 erfolgte.

Die Öfen, die Gruben und die spärlichen Hausreste im Bereich des ehemaligen Tempels wie auf der gesamten Grabungsfläche bezeugen aber, dass die früher „leeren“ Areale innerhalb der Festung spätestens im 11. Jahrhundert dicht besiedelt wurden. Der Entwicklung Drăstăr's in dieser Zeit anhand unserer Resultate wird an anderer Stelle Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt.

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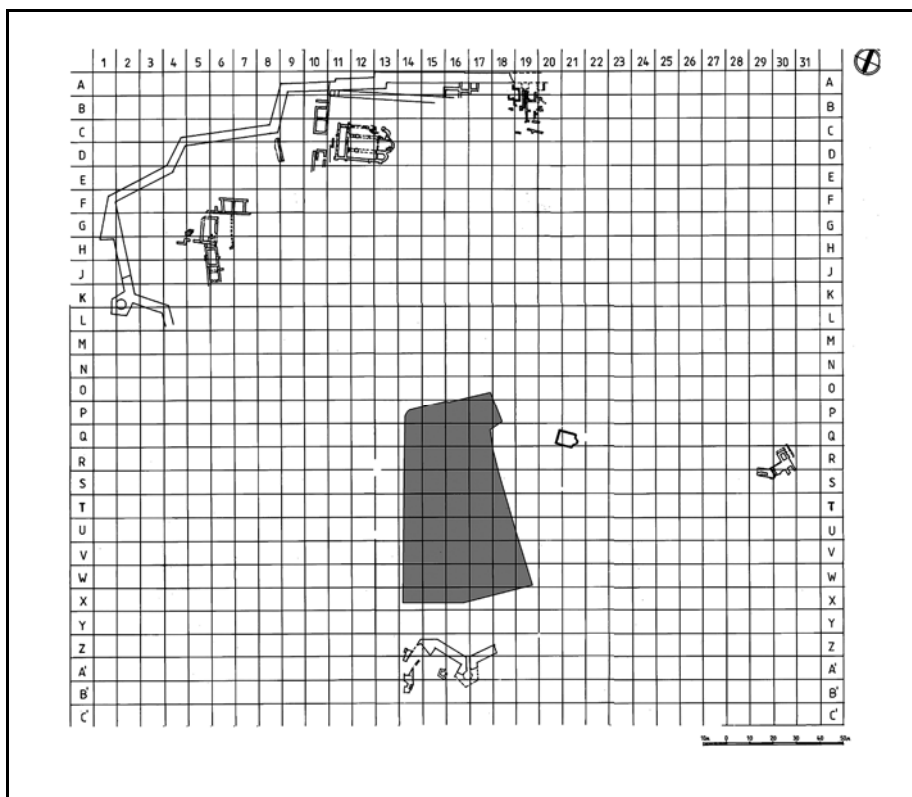
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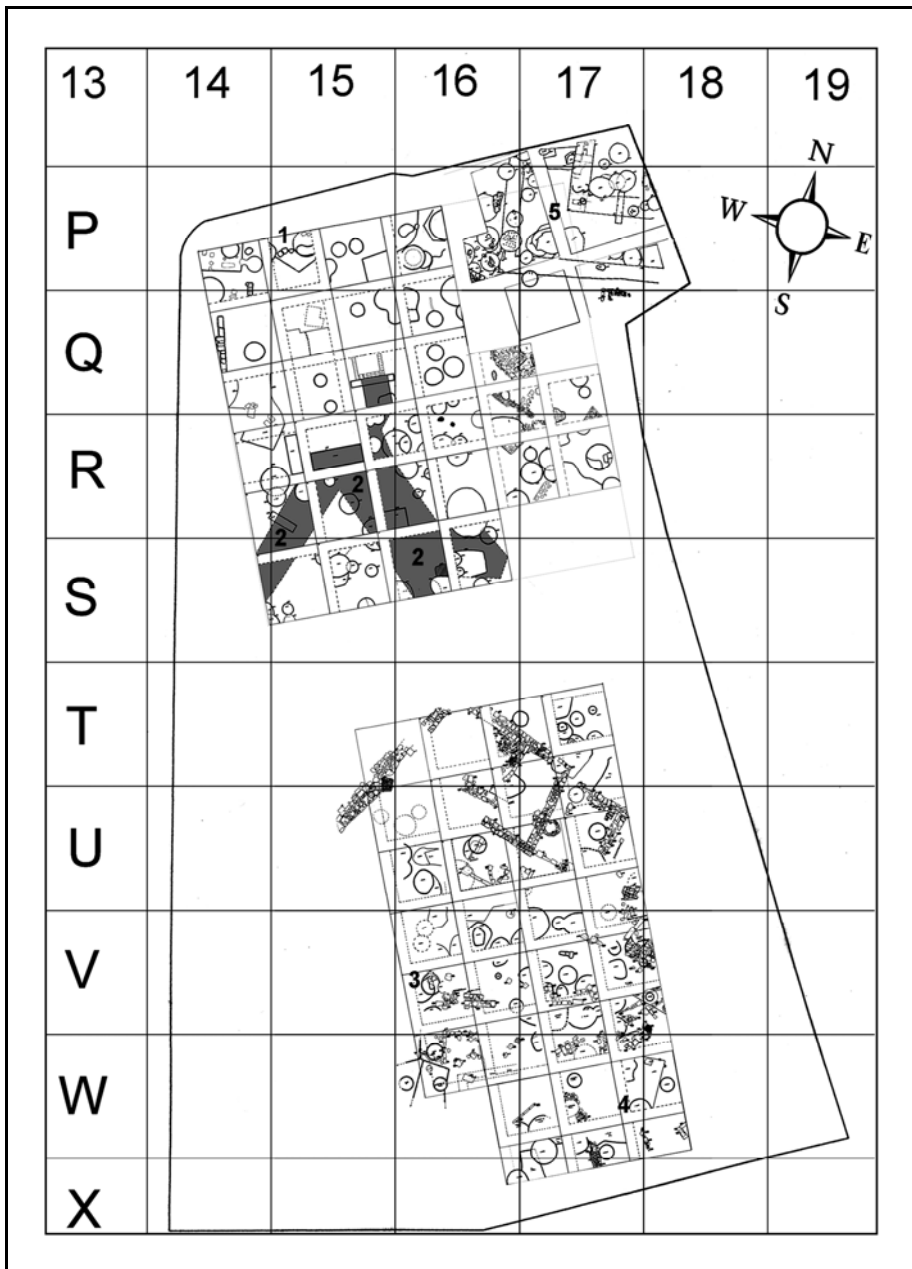
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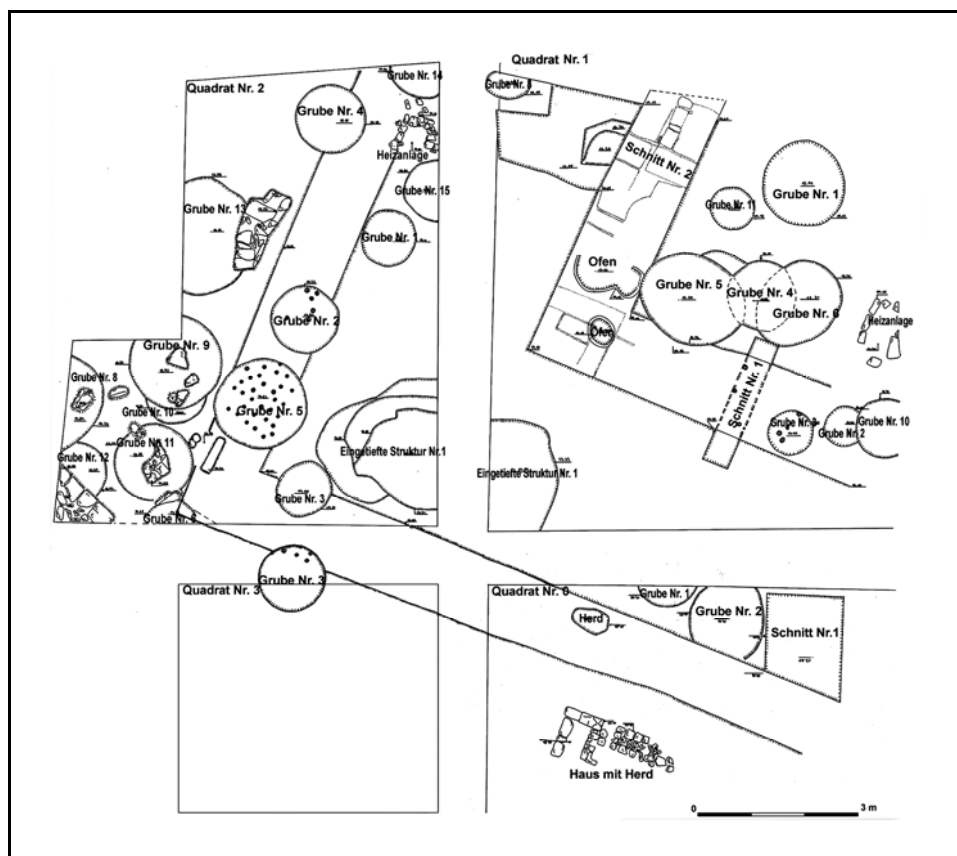
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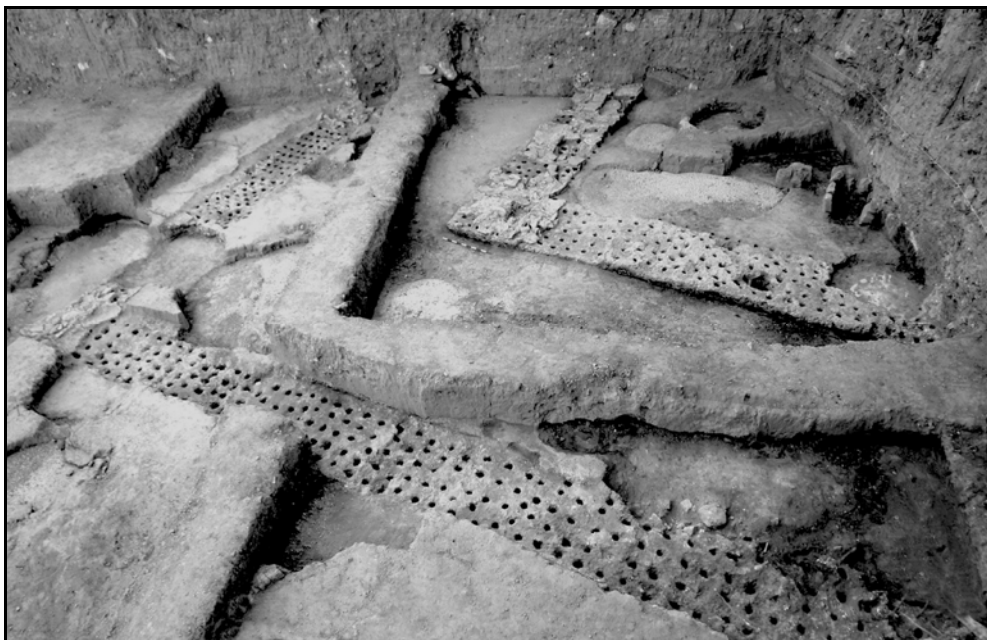
**Abb. 1:** Durostorum/Drăstăr. Gesamtplan der spätantiken und frühmittelalterlichen Befestigung mit der angezeigten Lage der Grabungsfläche in 2007.



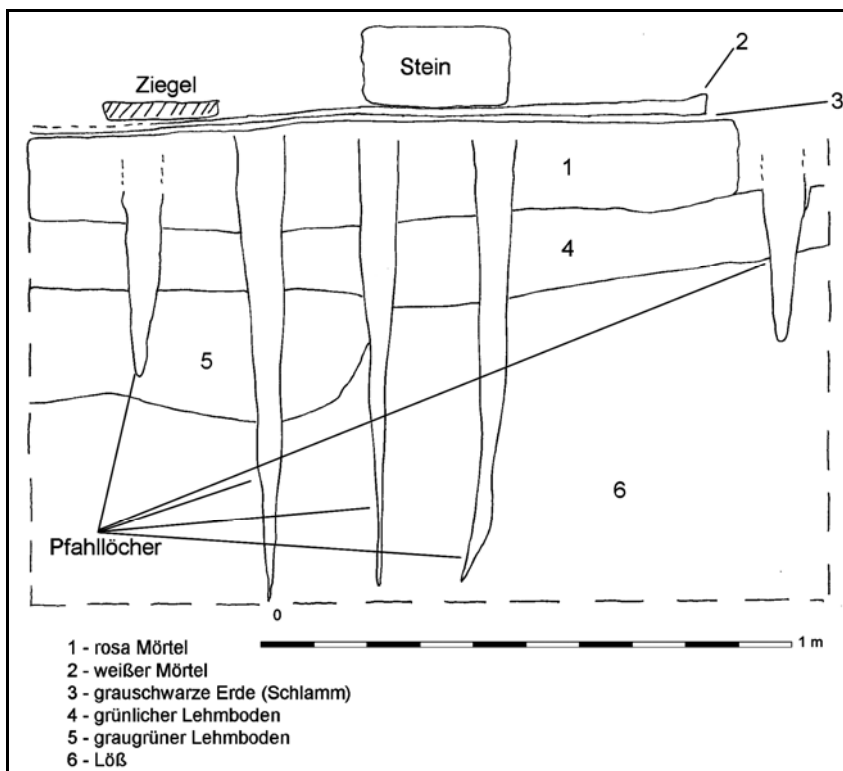
**Abb. 2:** Gesamtplan der in 2007 freigelegten Befunde.



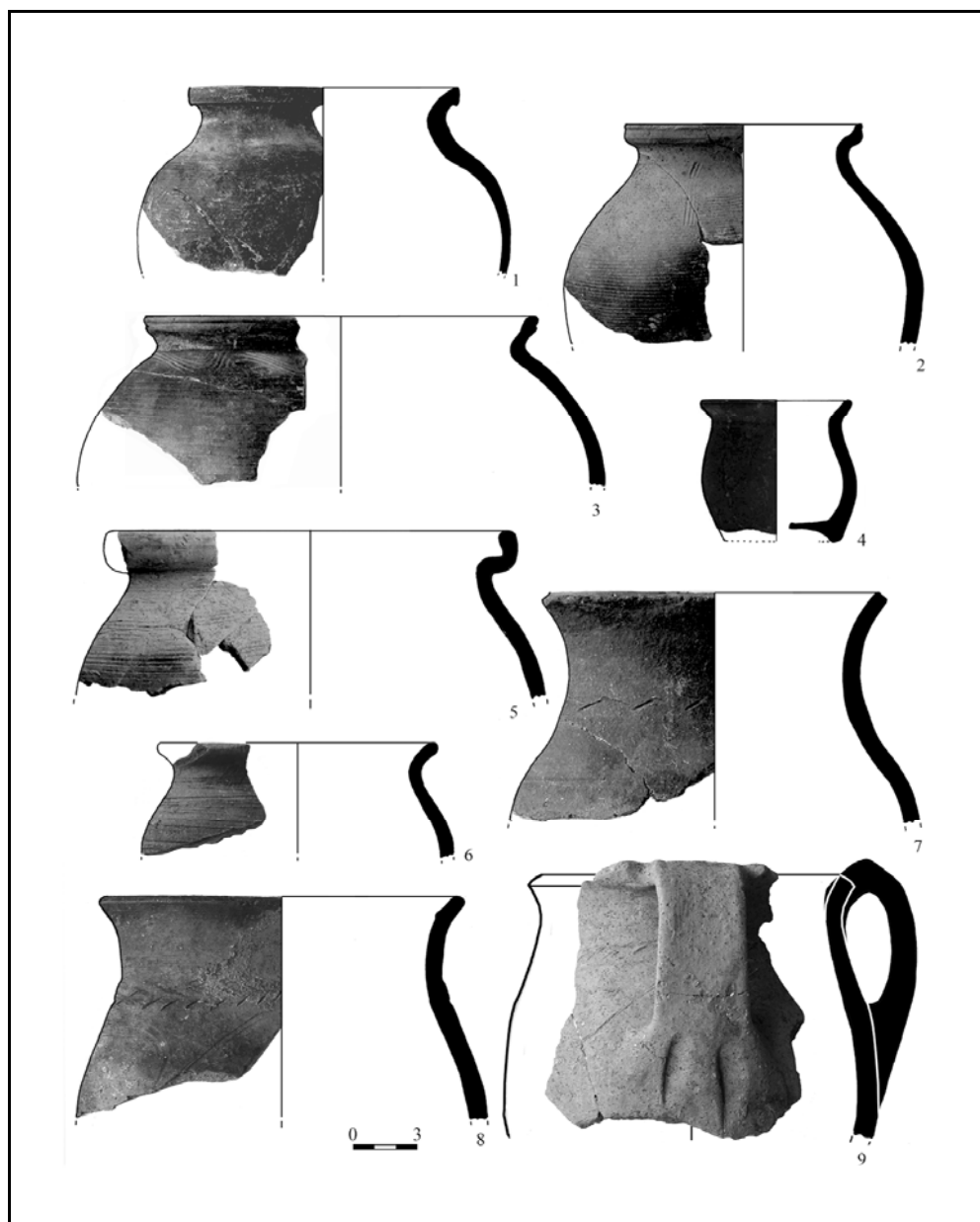
**Abb. 3:** Plan des heidnischen Tempels und der jüngeren eingetieften Strukturen.



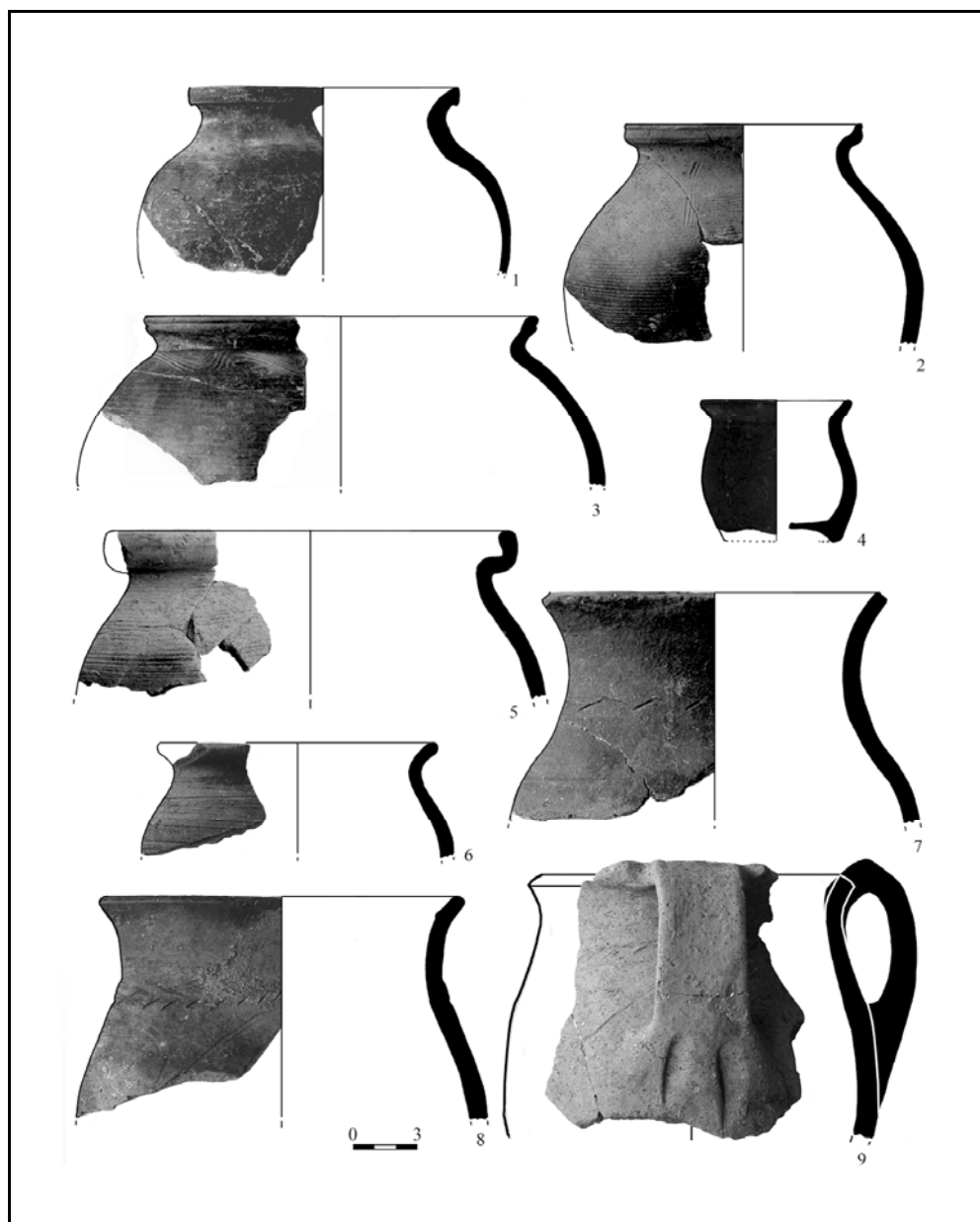
**Abb. 4:** Lichtbild des heidnischen Tempels.



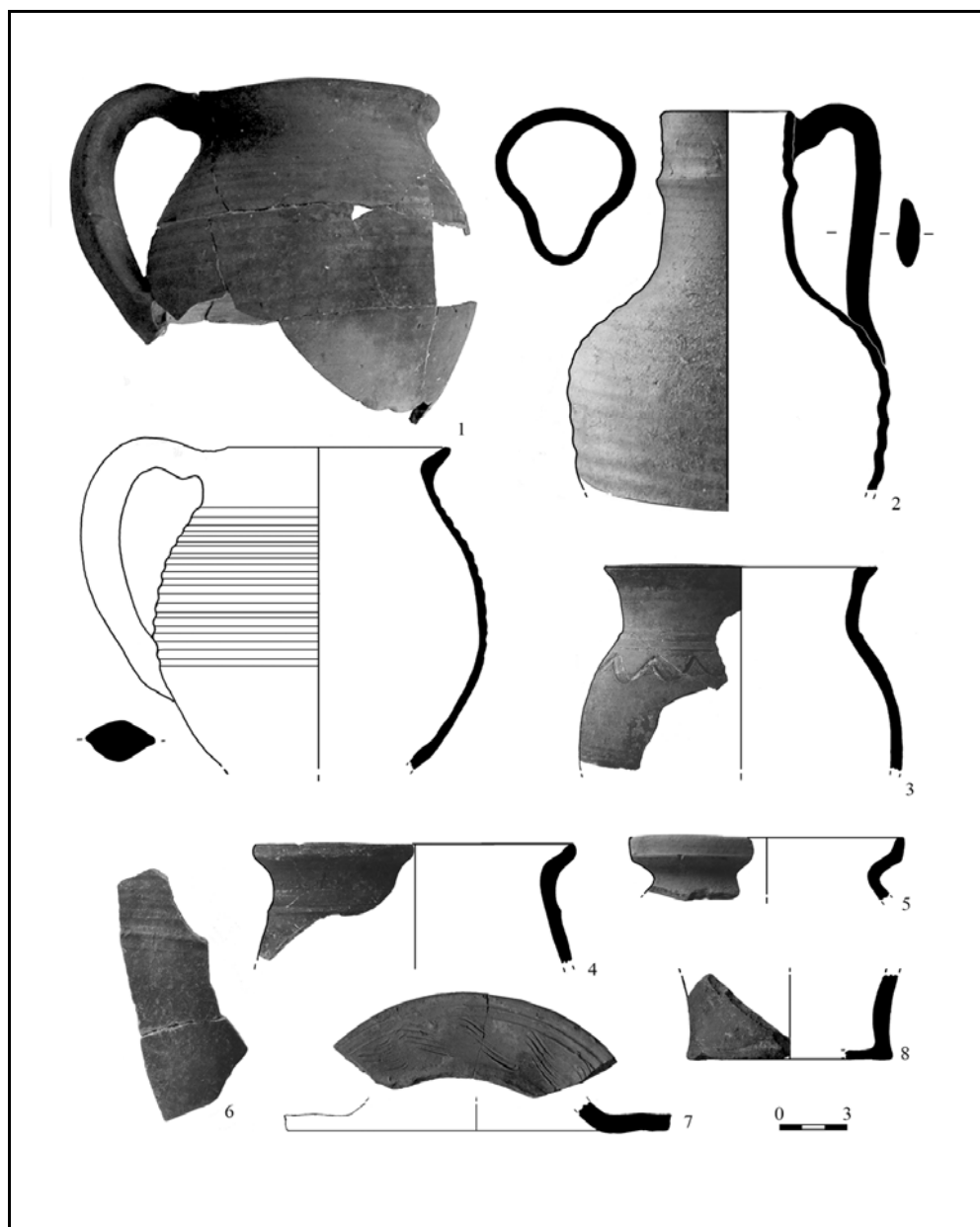
**Abb. 5:** Quadrat Nr.1/Schnitt Nr.2: Nordprofil.



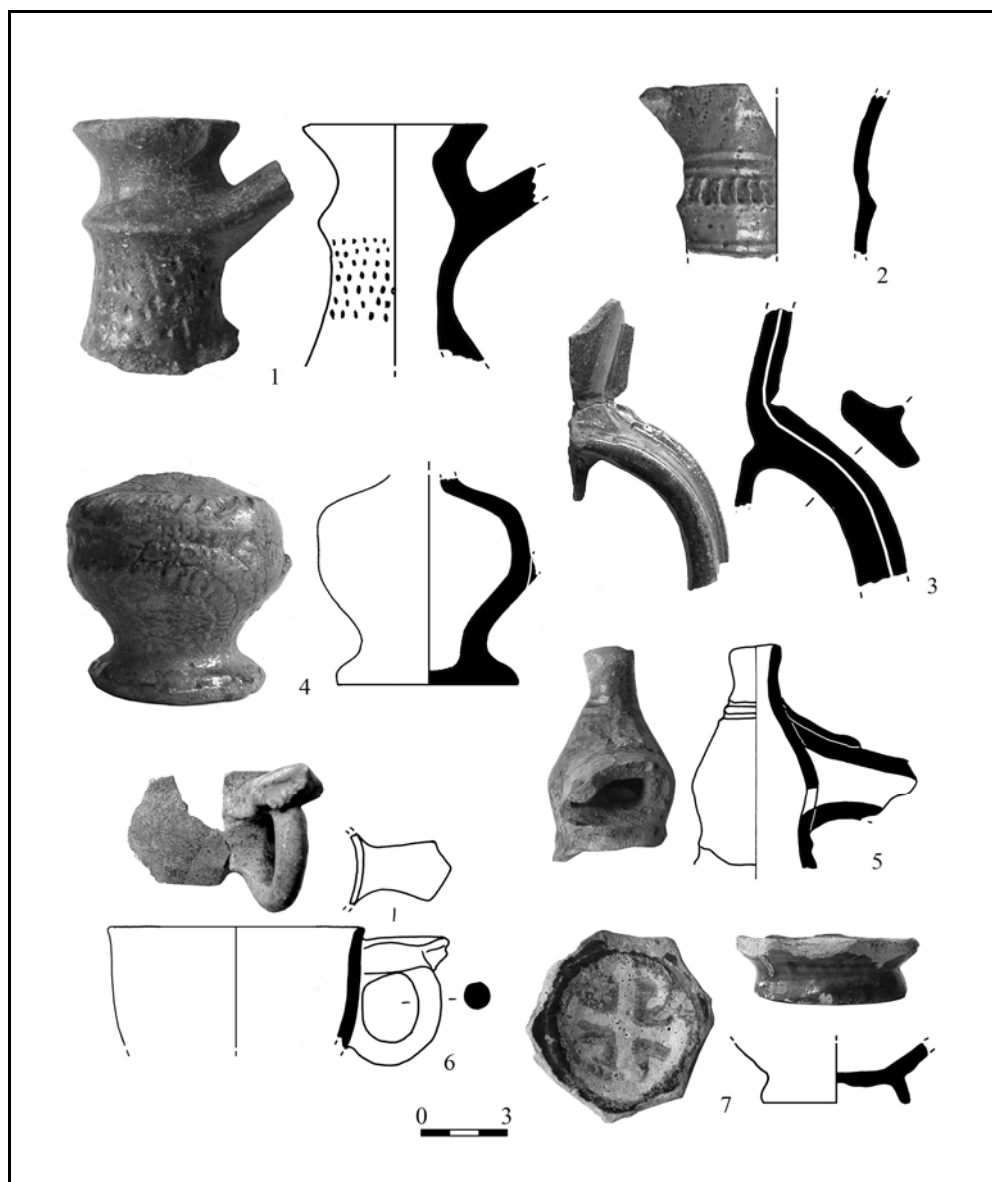
**Abb. 6:** Abdrücke von Steinquadern.



**Abb. 7:** Gefäße der Gruppe I.



**Abb. 8:** Gefäße der Gruppe II.



**Abb. 9:** Gefäße der Gruppe III.



## ÉPÉE D'OSTROV – UN VESTIGE D'APRES LA BATAILLE PRES DE VARNA EN 1444

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**Abstract:** The sword was discovered on the right shore of Danube River in the vicinity of the Village of Ostrov, Constanta County. In general it belongs to the Late Mediaeval arms of that type – i.e. of late 13<sup>th</sup>– 15<sup>th</sup> century. In North-East Bulgaria there have been discovered a significant number of arms and horseman equipment (swords, spears, spurs, rains, etc.), which by no doubts are of West European origin and of the same period. In Romania similar swords were discovered in Transilvania and Banat. The date and the found spot of the Ostrov sword lead to a conclusion, which seems to be most convenient: it is a trace of the retreat after the battle nearby Varna in 1444. of some survivors of the defeated by the Turks united European military forces, lead by Vladislav III Jagelo.

**Keywords:** épée, armes médiévales.

Il y a peu de temps Dr. Marian Neagu – directeur du musée à Calarasi m'a donné une information d'une épée trouvée dans la région d'Ostrov, au bord de Danube<sup>1</sup>. L'épée est à deux manches, d'une longueur – 114 sm. D'après la bouterolle de la poigne, le cran (préservatif) et les particularités du coin, l'épée peut être attachée aux armes médiévales de ce type – fin des XIII–XV s. Il faut nous tourner vers les classifications des épées en Europe pour une détermination plus concrète. Il est connu que longtemps l'attention était fixée vers l'armement scandinave (Petersen 1919), et à peine aux années 50 apparaissent des études sur les épées des XII–XVI siècles. On accepte qu'une des meilleures classifications des épées soit à l'auteur anglais E. Oakeshott (Oakeshott 1998). Son schéma se répète de la plupart des auteurs s'occupant de l'armement médiéval. J'ai en vue les écoles: Pologne – A. Nadolski (Nadolski 1954), M. Glosek (Glosek 1984), Slovaquie – A. Rutkay (Rutkay 1976), Romania – Zeno-Karl Pinter (Pinter 2007) et autres. Il existe d'autres différentes classifications – à Hongrie – J. Kalmár (Kalmár – 1971, 57–67), l'auteur russe A. Kirpichnikov (Кирпичников – 1966) etc.

Ainsi d'après la classification de E. Oakeshott l'épée d'Ostrov peut être attribuée au type XVI–XVI-a, le cran au type 6 et la bouterolle octogonale – I.1, datation – XIV siècle (Oakeshott 1998, 104–105, 125.).

Dans les classifications de Al. Rutkay pour les épées de Slovaquie on rencontre une bouterolle octogonale – type XX avec un cran type 8/9 et datée aux XIV–XV siècles (Rutkay 1976, 260–263, Abb. 1).

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D'après la classification de Kirpichnikov l'épée d'Ostrov ressemble les caractéristiques de deux types – VI selon de bouterolle et VII – selon la forme de la bouterolle de la poigne (Кирпичников – 1966, 55–57, désigne 10).

De pareilles épées sont découvertes à Transilvanie et Banat. Zeno-Karl Pinter les détermine aux types IX, X – deux de Jupa et d'Agnita (le même cran) – la deuxième moitié du XIV siècle (Pinter 2007, 95–98, Pl. 44) et deux aux types XI, XII d'Oradea (la même bouterolle) – fin du XIV – début du XV siècles (Pinter 2007, 99–102, Pl. 46a-b).

La datation de l'épées et son lieu de trouvaille – au bord de Danube dirigent vers la possibilité la plus probable – cette épée est encore un vestige pour la retraite des croisés survivants après la bataille près de Varna en 1444. Bien sûr on peut admettre que l'épée était liée à une certaine croisade des princes valaques au sud de Danube au Nord Est Bulgarie

Comme il est connu la croisade de l'armée chrétienne Vladislav III Iagelo en tête contre l'armée turque avec Murad II en tête est bien décrite par deux participants – Andreas de Palatio et Gregorius de Sanok (Мирчев 1964, 85–96). Il existe et beaucoup de littérature (Prochaska 1900, 1–60, Цветкова 1969; Papacostea 1991, 3–21; Antoche 2000, pp. 28–74, Mureșan 2003, 115–132).

Il n'est pas difficile de déterminer la voie des armées unies avant leur arrivée près de Varna – Orshova, Florentin, Vidin, Nikopol, Rjahovet (Gorna Orjahovita), Shumen, Madara, Novi Pazar, Provadia, Petrich, Maglish (Кызов 1973, 139–152). La bataille est décrite aussi en détails dans les sources et les historiens contemporains Hans Lewenklaw et Leonie Chalcocondylas (Lewenklaw 1595; Chalcocondylas 1958) complètent avec des sources turques.

La poursuite des voies de la retraite des croisés survivants jusqu'à leur passage par Danube est plus complexe. D'après Andreas de Palatio, la plupart d'eux Ian Huniadi en tête ont passé par le désert (desertum a texte de Palatio) et guidés par des valaques ils sont arrivés à Delaslatoch (d'après l'Historien polonais Dlugosh – Dela Floche) qui s'assimile avec Orashul de Flochi, à 10 km au sud de Harsovo (Мирчев 1964, 93). D'autres auteurs déterminent le lieu de passage comme Laslovche – entre Silistra et Russe (Мирчев 1964, note 54).

Sans doute le désert (desertum) est Dobroudja, – région peu peuplées pendant XII–XV siècles. La seule possibilité de poursuivre les voies de ceux qui s'enfuient après la bataille sont les trouvailles de l'armement et l'équipement restés d'eux.

On a découvert un nombre considérable d'objets de l'armement – épées, piques, éperons, brides) d'une origine de l'Europe d'ouest. De telles trouvailles il y en a dans les environs des villages Ignatievo – 9 épées, éperons), Dobrogled (épée et équipement de cheval), Izvorsko (épées, flèches et bride) et Zornitza (épées), près de Varna, Debrene (épées, piques, éperons, brides), Dobritch (Кызов 1973, 149, notes 75–78; Апостолов 1988, 100, 103). La trouvaille la plus éloignée au nord était l'épée chevaleresque, découverte près de Kardam, Dobritch (Папышев 1999, 142–143).

Dernièrement, V. Paruchev tourna l'attention vers la voie de la retraite à la base des trouvailles dans les régions près de Danube, au sud de Silistra, une épée et

hache découvert près de Vetren. Il est question des épées et aussi des couteaux courts, éperons, marteaux de combat (Парушев 2004).

En conclusion je me joins à l'opinion de cet auteur que ces trouvailles aussi comme l'épée d'Ostrov affirment d'une manière indirecte ces passages du témoin où il parle qu'il y avait certains qui sont restés sans guides et sont perdus non par l'arme turc mais épuisés par la faim, le froid et les poursuites.

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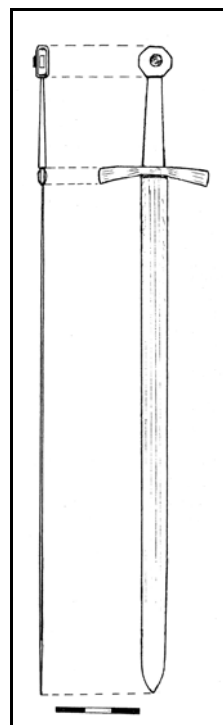
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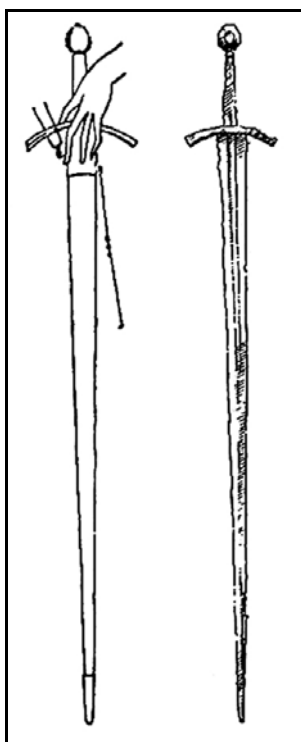
**Fig. 1-a:** Épée d'Ostrov – photo.



**Fig. 1-b:** Épée d'Ostrov – dessin.



**Fig. 2:** La place de trouvaille.



**Fig. 3:** L'épées de types XVI–XVI-a d'après E. Oakeshott.



## THE DRISTRA BATTLE (1087)

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**Abstract:** One of the most significant events during the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century is the Byzantine emperor Alexios I Komnenos' campaign against the Pechenegs in 1087. The military event ended with a shattering defeat in the vicinity of medieval Drastar. Despite being unsuccessful for Byzantium, this campaign sets the beginning of the end of the Pecheneg threat – an end that comes after the battle of Levounion – April, 29<sup>th</sup> 1091. The question about where the battle took place remains unanswered. Still no suggestions about the location of the battle have been made. The analysis of the events preceding and following the battle gives extra clarification on where the battle took place and probably this is a territory close to Drastar. It is important to analyse why the Byzantine army suffered such defeat. The reasons are many. There were many mistakes made during the preparation for the campaign and also during its implementation. The Byzantine army set out not well enough prepared; several times during the campaign the Byzantine soldiers scattered in search for fodder and fell into Pecheneg ambushes. Emperor Alexios I Komnenos never listened to the advice of his experienced officers to not cross the Balkan mountain and afterwards did not accept the offer to retreat to Great Preslav and decided to launch an attack against the Pechenegs. The battle itself was unsuccessfully carried out for the Byzantines who in my opinion did not dispose of heavy cavalry and practically had no serious military advantage over the Pechenegs. Of course if we assume that Alexios disposed of heavy armored horse detachments after all, then they were weak in number and could not seriously counteract to the manoeuvres and the numerous light nomadic cavalries. The unexpected appearance of the 36 000 Pechenegs who jumped out of nowhere from an ambush is also disturbing. The moving of such big military formation can hardly remain unnoticed since the Byzantine strategists should both before and during a battle reconnoitre the enemy, its strength, position and manner of battle formation.

**Keywords:** battle, byzantines, military.

One of the most significant events during the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century is the Byzantine emperor Alexios I Komnenos campaign against the Pechenegs in 1087. The military event ended with a shattering defeat in the vicinity of medieval Dristra. Despite being unsuccessful for Byzantium, this campaign sets the beginning of the end of the Pecheneg threat – an end that comes after the battle of Levounion – April, 29<sup>th</sup> 1091.

The sources about the campaign and the battle in particular are only Byzantine. On the first place is “Alexiad” by Anna Komnena (1083-1148) – daughter of emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118), who describes her father's

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deeds (Comnena 1928; Комнина 1996). Of great significance among the other sources are the coin hoards. Some questions about the battle can be clarified by comparing the methods of military action described in the Byzantine military treatises from the 10<sup>th</sup> century (Фока 2005; Кучма 2001; Кучма 2002).

Although many authors have taken notice of the campaign (Dieter 1894; Chalandon 1900; Diaconu 1970, 117–118; Stephenson 2000, 102; Madgearu 2007, 114; Васильевский 1908; Аврамов 1929; Златарски 1994, 190-195; Любарский 1966; Литаврин 1987, 320; Божилов 2004, 158-159; Йотов, Николов 2008), only two scientists describe the last battle. V. Zlatarski makes a short analysis (Златарски 1994, 193-194). A more detailed one is written by J. Birkenmeier in his studies about the development of the Byzantine army during the Comnenian reign (Birkenmeier 2002, 72-74).

Alexius I Comnenus military campaign against the Pechenegs inhabiting the lands between the Balkan mountain and the Danube River took place during the summer of 1087. After the army took a quick march to Dristra the Byzantines failed at their attempts to quickly take possession of the town and Alexius laid down the siege, retreated from the town and set up camp at a small river near the Danube and started considering another eventual attack on the Pechenegs (Comnena 1928, 172-173).

Two of the emperor's military commanders George Palaeologus and Gregory Mavrocatalon advised the emperor to take the army and to retreat to Great Preslav where they would be well covered and will be able to attack the Pechenegs. The two generals said that the Byzantines should retreat in full battle armaments and formation and thus the Pechenegs would not dare attack them (Comnena 1928, 173). Later on Anna Comnena places Great Preslav at the Danube. Most writers think that Anna Comnena confuses Great Preslav with Preslavets at the Danube. This conclusion is perfectly logical but still it is interesting what advice the adherents of Gregory Mavrocatalon give: „...and harass the Scythians by daily skirmishes, we shall be punishing them the whole time and not allowing them to come out of their own camp at all either to forage or to fetch any other necessities” (Comnena 1928, 174).

A slight contradiction appears here. How could the Byzantines possibly attack the Pechenegs located in or around Drastar every day when the distance between Great Preslav and Drastar is over 100 kilometers (Йотов, Николов 2008). The Romanian scientist P. Nasturel localizes Preslavets at the Danube by the fortress Păcuiul lui Soare, and according to P. Diaconu Anna Comnena was speaking about Great Preslav – the capital of The First Bulgarian Kingdom (Nasturel 1965, 17-36; Diaconu 1965, 50-53). On the contrary, J. Birkenmeier interprets the historical source freely by saying that the emperor turned south to Great Preslav where the main Pecheneg army had set up camp (Birkenmeier 2002, 72; Йотов, Николов 2008).

The emperor, however, driven by the young sons of the former emperor Roman IV Diogenes (Nicephorus and Leo), and also as Anna Komnena states that he naturally strove for battles, he rejected the advice of those who were restraining him from battle and decided to take field (Comnena 1928, 174; Златарски 1994, 193-194). Meanwhile he entrusted the royal tent and the whole military transport to George Kucomit and sent him to Vetrin. He ordered the army to not light a fire in the evening and “to keep the horses ready and watch till sunrise” (Comnena 1928, 174). It is thought that Vetrin is the fortress close to today’s village Vetren, on the bank of the Danube River, west from Dristra. Another thesis is that Vetren should be identified with ancient Marcianopolis next to Devnya (Златарски 1994, 193-194; Атанасов, Йорданов 1994).

On the next morning Alexius built the phalanxes in battle formation and galloping performed a military inspection (Comnena 1928, 174). For their part, the Pechenegs, even though they were not familiar with the classic military art, as Anna Comnena notes: “But the Scythians too had arranged a plan of battle, for the science of warfare and of ordering troops is inbred in them; they set ambushes and connected their ranks in close-ordered array, and built towers, as it were, of their covered wagons, and advanced against the Emperor in squadrons, and hurled missiles from afar” (Comnena 1928, 174).

Despite being insufficient, Anna Comnena’s writings about the formation of the army allow us to compare the Byzantine battle behavior with examples of Byzantine military treatise (fig.1).

In the crucial battle the army was drawn up as phalanx when the emperor was standing in the center of the battle array, together with his brother Adrian who was commanding the “Latins”. The left flank was under the command of the Caesar Nicephorus Melissenus, and the right one by Kastamonites and Tatikius. It is still unclear what the role of the allies „sauromatians” (in this case – Ouzes) Ouzas and Karadja was. The text allows us to infer that in the middle of the battle array were most probably located the infantrymen carrying heavy armor, called by Anna Comnena „hoplites” and also “Latins” = Franks (Comnena 1928, 174; Birkenmeier 2002, 72-73).

In a later source again in a battle with the Pechenegs emperor John II Comnenos (1118-1143) ordered his axemen (who were British) to step up to the carts and break them (Cinnamus 1836, 8). Overcoming this Pecheneg military approach (the carts built in a circle) by the cavalry cannot be accomplished independently – a heavy armored infantry also needs to take part (Birkenmeier 2002, 72).

The described military approach is almost the same as the one in the battle at Dristra – the actions of the “Latins” under the command of the emperor’s brother were the following: „And Adrian the Emperor's brother, who had been entrusted with command over the Latins, seeing that the Scythians' onset was proving irresistible, gave his horse his head and charged right up to the wagons and after

fighting magnificently returned with only seven comrades, all the rest had been either slain or captured by the Scythians.” (Comnena 1928, 175)

J. Birkenmeier makes the following interesting ratiocination: there were both infantry and cavalry carrying out combined operations along the Byzantine battle formation – something completely opposite to the usual way of forming the Byzantine army and namely that is cavalry by the flanks and infantry in the center (J. Birkenmeier 2002, 73).

The emperor’s personal Guards (most of them were most probably Varangians, commanded by the Varangian’s Guard leader – Nambites) were located where he was, which is the center of the battle array (Comnena 1928, 175).

There were horse detachments placed most probably at the two wings where Nicephorus Melissenus, Kastamonites, Tatikius and the Ouzes allies were located. For good reasons we can say that the mentioned in the text „sauromatians” = Ouzes (Златарски 1994, 193) were cavalry with light armor, whose functions were more likely secondary (Birkenmeier 2002, 73). At the left and the right wing was also located cavalry with light armor which cannot be defined as *kataphraktos* (i.e. heavy-armored cavalry). On one hand the reason for this is that during the preparation for the campaign to Dristra Alexius I Comnenus did not have time to man the army with heavy cavalry – the *pronoia* system was not developed well enough and also according to scientists studying the Byzantines military skills *kataphraktos* disappear as a military unit on the Balkans in the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century (Фока 2005, 67, note № 80).

According to the description in “*Alexiad*” the Pecheneg army on its part consisted of bow shooters, infantry (“three Scythian foot-soldiers” attacked Alexios), light cavalry, carts used for setting up temporary camps where the Pechenegs were taking refuge together with their wives and children (Comnena 1928, 174-175).

The battle lasted during the whole day. Both sides suffered many casualties. As Anna Komnena tells, the battle was bitter and still not decided when 36 000 Pechenegs (a number most likely too exaggerated) suddenly appeared which determined the end of the battle (Comnena 1928, 175; Златарски, 194). The Byzantine army retreated in chaotic rout: „...Seeing the uncontrolled flight of the troops (for the lines had long since been broken up, as all fled promiscuously), the Protostrator said...” (Comnena 1928, 175-176). Even the life of the emperor whose feats are described in details by Anna Komnena was at risk (Comnena 1928, 175-177).

During the night Alexios very quickly reached Goloe. On the next day the emperor went to Beroe where he settled intending to redeem the captives. The Pecheneg leaders wanted to kill them but the people who took part in the summoned meeting wanted to liberate them for a ransom. The emperor, after receiving enough money, managed to free the captives (Comnena 1928, 177-178).

The question about where the battle took place remains unanswered. Still no suggestions about the location of the battle have been made. The only one is J. Birkenmeier's, who claims several times, that the battle occurred at Great Preslav (Birkenmeier 2002, 46, 72, 81).

From the narrative and the archaeological sources can certainly be assumed that the last battle between the Byzantine army and the Pechenegs took place in the territories surrounding the medieval Dristra.

Firstly, because deserting the region of Dristra and the Danube territories by the Byzantine army has not been described in "Alexiad". The following was said: „But the Emperor, hitting upon the right plan, abandoned the siege of the citadels (for it was an arduous and lengthy task), left the town (i.e Dristra) and entrenched himself near a stream, not far from the Ister, and deliberated whether it would be wise to attack the Scythians" (Comnena 1928, 173).

When the Byzantine military commanders advised the emperor how to continue the campaign after the siege of Dristra, Alexius did not accept the advices of the trained officers to retreat to Great Preslav and was convinced by the young officers to take field: "During the bandying of arguments the two young sons of Diogenes, Nicephorus and Leo, who were inexperienced in the difficulties of warfare, slipped off their horses and took off their bridles, gave them a slap and drove them into a field of millet with the remark, "Do not be afraid, Emperor, we will cut them to pieces with our swords." The Emperor who was very adventurous and liked to be the first to start a battle, did not take into consideration the arguments of those who protested against fighting..." (Comnena 1928, 174).

The other important piece of information is about the return of the Pecheneg leader Tatus who left to try to draw the Cumans in as allies: „At that time Tatus returned to the Ister with the Coumans he had won over; directly they saw the amount of booty, and of captives..." (Comnena 1928, 178). Again the described region is around the Danube River.

The analysis of the events preceding the battle gives extra clarification on where the battle took place and maybe this is the location of the temporary Byzantine camps around Dristra during the town's siege.

Not one attempt has been made to clarify the topography of the biggest on the lower Danube town during the Middle Ages – Dristra. Making a detailed analysis of some questions in this respect P. Georgiev locates Alexius Comnenus' camp on the ancient vicus Durostorum's place (Георгиев, 70-71) which is mentioned in "Alexiad". Here we can add one more reason. In the military treatise „De castrametatione" - dated around the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century (as in other tactics before that) again dedicated mainly to the questions about the structure of the field camp – is mentioned that such should not be organized close to mountain or forest, but the camp should be organized on the hard passing river places, which could guarantee safety on one of the camp's sides (Кучма 2002, 285-286, 323). Therefore, thus the Byzantine camp was set up by a river Vichina = Kamchia, after

the crossing of the Balkan mountain (Comnena 1928, 172; Златарски 1994, 192). The distance indicated by Anna Komnena is 24 stades from the Dristra fortress (Comnena 1928, 172), i.e. distance of about 4.5 km, corresponds entirely to Alexios' camp location where the ancient vicus was (Георгиев 2002, 70).

The most important information is considered to the Alexius' flight to Goloe, and to this occasion the citizens of Constantinople would say ironically: „From Dristra to Goloe is a fine feat even for an unwounded man, Comnenus” (Comnena 1928, 177). The described region where the Alexius' flight begun is Dristra which gives more reasons to accept, that the battle place was near to the medieval Dristra.

The coin hoards are other source of information. There are many coin hoards, which could be connected to the Alexius I Comnenus military campaign to Dristra in 1087 (Пенчев 1990; Атанасов, Йорданов 1994; Йотов, Николов 2008). Here is important to be mentioned only the hoards, which can be connected to the retreat of the Byzantine army after the defeat (fig. 2).

Three of the hoards consist of gold coins (nomismes). The first one was founded near to the village of Prof. Ishirkovo (Jordanov 1987, 207; Custurea 2000, 163; Mănușu-Adameșteanu 2001, 163; Герасимов 1966, 215; Йорданов 1981, 64; Георгиева, Бъчваров 1994, 5; Йотов, Николов 2008), which is located 15 km southwest from Silistra town. The other gold coin hoard was found in the village of Gurgendjik, present day Поп Кралево (Йорданов 1981; Jordanov 1987, 207; Mănușu-Adameșteanu 2001, 162; ИБАД, II - 1912, 281; Йотов, Николов 2008). The village is located 15 km southeast from Silistra town, and 15 km eastern from Prof. Ishirkovo village. Another coin hoard was found in the village of Kirkovo, Shumen district (Йорданов 1981, 64; Йотов, Николов 2008).

There are also some gold coin hoards, which are keeping in private collections. The hoards are usually found along the old roads, district Silistra. They consist of “stamenon nomismes” and “electron nomismes” to Constantine IX Monomachus, Romanus IV Diogenes, Michael VII Ducas, Alexius I Comnenus. Their number usually is from about 6, 12, 36, 40 coins. Close to the hoards were not found other archaeological artifacts – pottery, weapons and equipment (Йотов, Николов 2008).

The coins in these hoards, especially the Alexius I Comnenus coins, are preserved very well, which show that they were given at the same time and they were not in money circulation. It is not known such coin hoards to be found in medieval villages and cities. It is possible, these coin hoards to be soldier salaries.

The next group of coin hoards is of bronze and anonym follises. Very important are four coin hoards, which are found in municipality of Dulovo, Silistra district (Йотов, Николов 2008). Other coin hoard is from the region of the Balkan mountain passes – Varbishi pass or Rishki pass (Yotov 2004, 445-460; Йотов, Николов 2008).

The coin hoards show the route of retreat and flight of the Byzantine army. The shown by the coin hoards route is the same, described in “Alexiad” emperor's

flight to Goloe and Beroe. This route probably follows the old main road Dristra - Pliska (for the medieval road Pliska- Dristra see: Рашев 1988, 117-132), which was also used by the Byzantine army during the first part of the campaign. According to the coin hoards could be accepted, that the place of battle was north of these coin findings, namely the territories around medieval Dristra.

It is important to analyse why the Byzantine army suffered such defeat. The reasons are many. There were many mistakes made during the preparation for the campaign and also during its implementation. The Byzantine army set out not well enough prepared; several times during the campaign the Byzantine soldiers scattered in search for fodder and fell into Pecheneg ambushes (Comnena 1928, 172). Emperor Alexius I Comnenus never listened to the advice of his experienced officers to not cross the Balkan mountain and afterwards did not accept the offer to retreat to Great Preslav and decided to launch an attack against the Pechenegs.

The battle itself was unsuccessfully carried out for the Byzantines who in my opinion did not dispose of heavy cavalry and practically had no serious military advantage over the Pechenegs. Of course if we assume that Alexius disposed of heavy armored horse detachments after all, then they were weak in number and could not seriously counteract to the manoeuvres and the numerous light nomadic cavalries.

The Byzantines had not light infantry – archers, which were destroyed during a Pecheneg raid against one of the temporary Byzantine camps around Dristra (Comnena 1928, 172). According to the Byzantine military treatise, the light infantry included mainly archers (Фока 2005, 48, see note № 30).

The unexpected appearance of the 36 000 Pechenegs who jumped out of nowhere from an ambush is also disturbing. The moving of such big military formation can hardly remain unnoticed since the Byzantine strategists should both before and during a battle reconnoitre the enemy, its strength, position and manner of battle formation (Кучма 2001, 375, 381).

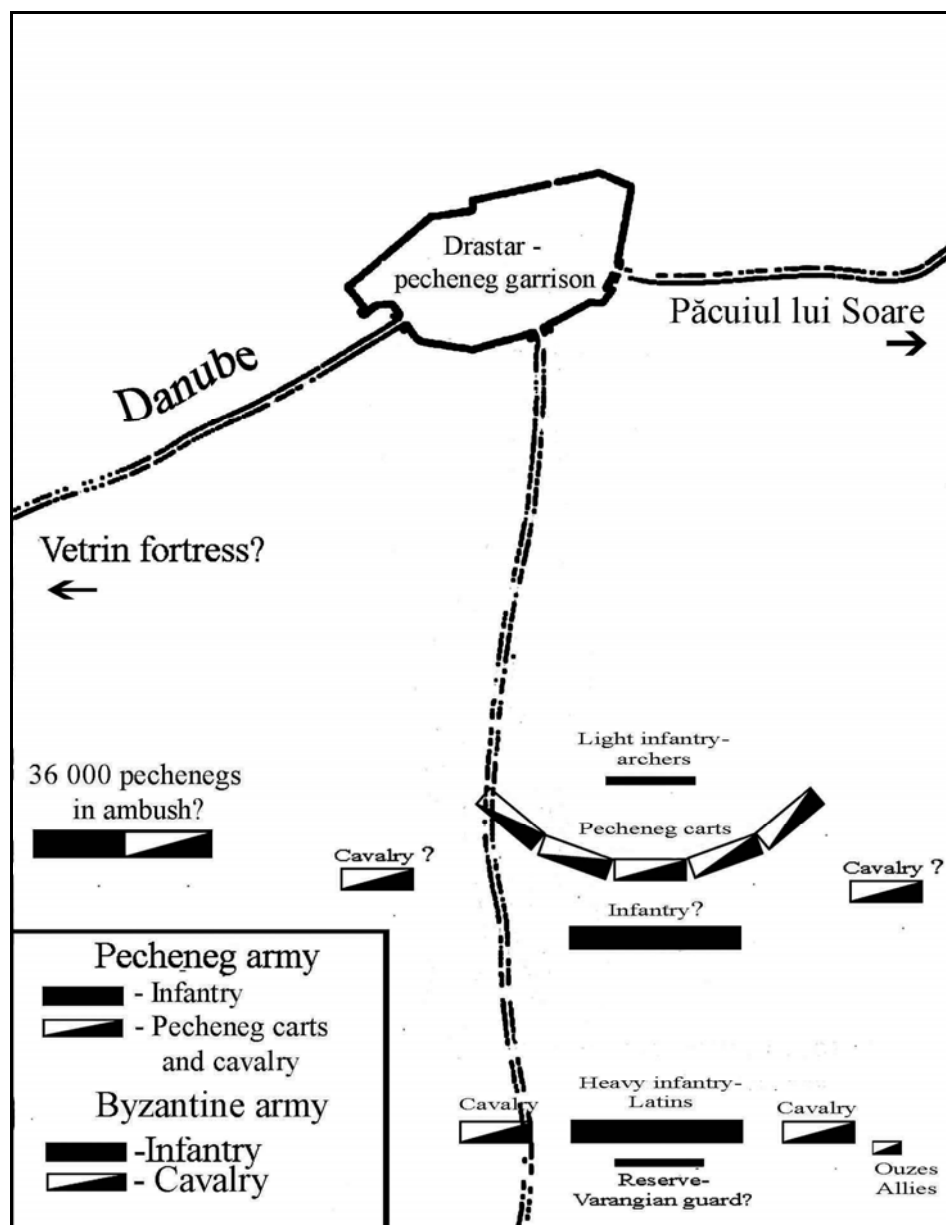
It could be presumed, that in the Dristra battle was finally destroyed the “classical” Varangian guard. After the Alexius I Comnenus military campaign to Dristra in 1087, in “Alexiad” the Varangian corpus as military unit is not more mentioned (Комнина 1996, 685). The ethnonym “Varangian” is also not more used in Byzantine narrative sources in 12<sup>th</sup> century, instead of that is used the ethnonym “British”.

The defeat of the Byzantines at Dristra is one of the most significant military events at the lower Danube at the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. It should not be forgotten that the restoration (which is the most discussed) of the empire's shaky positions barely happened after the battle of Levounion (1091). However, the success there is mainly due to another nomadic army – the cuman one.

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**Fig. 1:** The Dristra battle (1087) map.



**Fig. 2:** Coin hoards which could be connected to retreat of the Byzantine army.



## THE LOWER DANUBE IN THE BYZANTINE NAVAL CAMPAIGNS IN THE 12TH C.

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**Abstract:** The present study focuses on the naval actions that took place within the context of the restored Byzantine power over the Black Sea and the Northern Balkans in the 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> c. and more precisely, throughout the 12<sup>th</sup> c., when most of the naval operations were concentrated not in the Black Sea basin proper but at the Lower Danube. Thus, the analysis of the recorded military campaigns in the region has thrown light on a number of characteristics of the Byzantine naval activity there, such as the predominantly logistical employment of the Byzantine ships and the combination of the naval actions with military operations on land yet not always well coordinated. Apparently, the employment of naval forces at the Lower Danube was not of a primary concern for the Byzantine emperors in the 12<sup>th</sup> c. Perhaps one of the reasons might have been the fact that the Byzantines did not face a real naval power there and thus, the ships were needed mostly in logistics and to respect the enemy. Moreover, the fleet had got involved in crippling naval operations far from the Lower Danube region and the Black Sea—against the Normans in Sicily, in support to the Crusaders in Egypt, and against the Venetian fleet in the Aegean sea.

**Keywords:** campaigns, naval, byzantine, military.

Almost forty years ago in a footnote in his article dedicated to the interaction between Vlachs, Cumans and Byzantines in the time of Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180), the Romanian historian P. Năsturel mentions that the actions of the Byzantine navy at the Lower Danube are still lacking their well-written history and therefore, he and P. Diaconu were planning to approach this rather interesting topic.<sup>1</sup> Some twenty-five years later I. Barnea came up with a comprehensive overview of the appearance of the Danube as an important Byzantine communication between the 4<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> c. yet not putting an accent on the Byzantine naval operations there.<sup>2</sup> The present study is not as much ambitious as to answer the need of an exhaustive study of the Lower Danube in the Byzantine military strategy and campaigns throughout the centuries. Rather it focuses on the naval actions that took place in the region within the context of the restored Byzantine power over the Black Sea and the Northern Balkans in the 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> c. and more precisely, in the 12<sup>th</sup> c. when the most of the naval operations were concentrated not in the Black Sea basin proper but at the Lower Danube.<sup>3</sup>

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## The Byzantine navy against the Hungarians

The first action of Byzantine ships against the Hungarians happened in the course of the conflict in AD 1127-1129.<sup>4</sup> Despite the differences in the accounts on the events provided by Choniates and Cinnamus, the chronology of the first Byzantine-Hungarian war in the 12<sup>th</sup> c. has been generally settled.<sup>5</sup> According to it, the attempt of the Byzantines to interfere in the internal Hungarian affairs by providing a refugee to Prince Álmos, a brother and rival to the throne of King Stephen II, as well as the hostility demonstrated by the citizens of Braničevo to the Hungarian merchants, made the Hungarian king in the spring of AD 1127 to attempt an audacious raid to Belgrade, Braničevo (near present-day Kostolac), and Serdica advancing as far as Philippopolis. There the Hungarians were stopped and retreated back by the emperor John II Komnenos (1118-1143) who spent in the town the rest of the year in preparing his counter-offensive.<sup>6</sup> According to Choniates, that was a well-planned campaign on land and water: in the spring of AD 1128 “he sailed the swift-moving ships (νήες ταχυαυτοῦσαί) he had outfitted into the Istros by way of the Pontos and there suddenly came upon the enemy on both land and water.” The emperor himself crossed the river with his imperial trireme (τὴν στραθηγίδαὺν τῆρουβ), while the rest of the ships ferried the troops to the left bank of the Danube where the Hungarians were severely defeated.<sup>7</sup> The dispatch of ships against the Hungarians in AD 1128, however, has not been noted by Cinnamus. Yet, he states that the Byzantines crossed the Danube and the decisive battle took place on the opposite bank of the river as well as that after the sack of Chramon (present-day Bačka Palanka on the left bank of the Danube) the emperor “crossed back to the Romans’ territory”.<sup>8</sup> Apparently, such maneuvers could not have been accomplished without ships. Indeed, the active participation of Byzantine naval ships in that operation is further stated by the “Hungarian Chronicle” according to which the Hungarian ships were showered on with sulphureous fires.<sup>9</sup> Thus, summing up the information provided by the sources it can be assumed that on the order of John II Komnenos in the spring of AD 1128 a fleet of swift-moving ships fitted and equipped with “Greek fire” had been dispatched from Constantinople “by way of the Pontos (διὰ τοῦ Πόντου)” along the West Black Sea coast to the Danube delta. From there, thanks to the high spring waters, the ships sailed upstream the river to Chramon where they destroyed the Hungarian ships with “Greek fire”. In addition, the Byzantine ships ferried to the left bank of the river both the emperor and the Byzantine troops (the cavalry, according to Choniates).<sup>10</sup>

The treaty which put the end of that campaign was followed by almost twenty peaceful years in the Byzantine-Hungarian relations. Yet, the ambition of Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180) to secure his rear in the north-western Balkans before concentrating his efforts in a total military campaign against the Normans in Italy had led to a conflict first with the Serbs in AD 1149, and later with the Hungarians who supported them and were also an ally of the Normans.<sup>11</sup> The chronology of the Byzantine-Hungarian conflicts in the 1150s has been a subject of a long-going

discussion finalized with the chronology proposed by F. Makk and further revised by P. Stephenson.<sup>12</sup> According to it, the first military conflict between Manuel I Komnenos and Geza II happened in the late autumn of AD 1150 when, after his victory over the Serbs at the river Tara, the emperor went back to Constantinople in order to organize in that same autumn the penalizing offensive against the Hungarians for their support to the Serbian rebellion.<sup>13</sup> Similarly to the campaign in AD 1128, the logistics of that offensive envisaged the participation of the fleet which must have ferried the emperor and the troops across the river. As noted by Cinnamus, however, the ships (*neôn*) prepared in Constantinople did not appear when the emperor was back to the Danube. Therefore, he and the troops had to cross the river Sava on skiffs (*l embádiôn*) available on the shores and thus, to start their attack on the Hungarian territories between the Danube and the Sava.<sup>14</sup> Though any territorial acquisitions had not been made by the Byzantines, the waste of the Hungarian territories between the Danube and Sava as well as the threat to Geza's power demonstrated by the raids of the Hungarian pretender Boris in the course the Byzantine offensive, seemed to have neutralized Hungary as an active military and political factor in the north-western Balkans. Yet, very soon, Geza II tried to change the humiliating situation with his intention to attack the "Paristriian cities". There is no common opinion when exactly that incident happened: in the spring of AD 1152,<sup>15</sup> in AD 1153,<sup>16</sup> or already in the spring of AD 1151.<sup>17</sup> The plans of Geza II, however, became known to Manuel I Komnenos who marched swiftly to the Danube and camped with his army along the shore waiting again for ships (*neôn*). Since they did not appear, the Byzantines "constructed as many light boats as possible out of available materials and dragged them to the river". Thus, facing the possibility to suffer devastation similar to that in AD 1150 if the Byzantine troops would have reached the Hungarian lands, Geza II proceeded to negotiations without launching a battle.<sup>18</sup>

As can be seen, the Byzantine military response to the first two incidents provoked by Geza II envisaged the action of the Constantinopolitan fleet to ferry the emperor and the troops to the Hungarian lands. Yet, in both cases the ships fitted in Constantinople did not appear. What might have been the reason? Having in mind the approximate speed of a Byzantine trireme sailing on the Black Sea (ca. 225 km per day), the distance from Constantinople to the Danube delta (ca. 600 km) must have been sailed by the Byzantine ships for ca. 3-4 days.<sup>19</sup> Much more problematic, however, was the navigation on the Danube. As noted previously, the sea craft would have had no problems in navigating in the so-called "maritime Danube", that is the sector from the branches of the estuary (more precisely, the branch of Sulina) upstream to present-day Brâila, while farther one had to rely either on waters high enough, or to employ smaller river ships. Moreover, the speed of sailing on fluvial waters was considerably lower, normally 25-45 km per day or 60-90 km per day in the best case.<sup>20</sup> In other words, the time necessary for the swift ships to reach Belgrade starting from the delta (ca. 1100 km) would have been ca. 4-7 weeks in the worst case, or 2-3 weeks in the best case. Thus, if we turn back to the incident from AD 1150, the ships ordered by Manuel I Komnenos must

have started from Constantinople in late October at earliest and in any case they had to navigate on the Danube during early November at best.<sup>21</sup> In that case, it is very likely that they faced serious problems in the fluvial navigation due to fogs and frozen sectors typical for that season and therefore, the danger to get trapped along the hostile banks of the Danube might have made them to turn back at a certain point.<sup>22</sup> As for the second incident, according to the most reliable chronology it happened in April AD 1151, a period that can be considered appropriate for navigation on the Danube since in May and June the waters of the river usually reach their highest level.<sup>23</sup> However, the fact that the Byzantines intended to cross the Danube with kind of light boats made on the spot suggests that the level of the waters was not as high as to endanger such an improvised ferry.<sup>24</sup> If that was the case, the insufficient level of the Danube might have had disabled the appearance of the ships dispatched from Constantinople.

In contrast to the above discussed cases, the Constantinopolitan fleet successfully joined the troops headed by Manuel I Komnenos in the last episode in the Hungarian-Byzantine conflicts during the reign of Geza II. According to the chronology convincingly argued by F. Makk and P. Stephenson, after the unfortunate Byzantine campaign against the Hungarian siege of Braničevo at the end of AD 1154, in the spring of AD 1155 the emperor came back to the Danube, camped at the shores with his army and this time “the ships (νῆες) he had set out from Byzantium anchored there in great numbers, waiting to carry the armed force across”. However, the conflict ended without a battle since Geza II realized the military superiority of his enemy and sent an embassy.<sup>25</sup>

The active participation of the fleet in the Hungarian-Byzantine conflicts can be further traced in the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> c. This time, however, Manuel I Komnenos interfered in the internal affairs of the Hungarian Kingdom by supporting the expelled king Stephen IV and Béla, the younger son of the late Géza II. In this way, the Byzantine emperor tried to put under control the strategically important regions of Sirmium and Dalmatia.<sup>26</sup> Thus, when Stephen III broke the treaty with Byzantium and invaded Dalmatia at the beginning of AD 1164, Manuel I Komnenos aided the pretender Stephen IV to raid the Hungarian territories along the Danube. More precisely, as stated by Cinnamus, “Stephen [István IV], whom the Hungarians had previously expelled from office, crept back to Hungary through Anchialos (di 'Agxiál ou pólewß)”.<sup>27</sup> The most natural identification of Anchialos with the Byzantine port at the West Black Sea coast implies the action of the fleet in that campaign.<sup>28</sup> Yet, there is another interpretation according to which the name of Anchialos refers to Akimink, a place near Petrovaradin (to the south of Novi Sad on the right bank of the river).<sup>29</sup> But such an assumption contradicts seriously the fact that after his short period of reign in AD 1163 Stephen IV fled again to Byzantium.<sup>30</sup> The area of Petrovaradin (*Petrikon*), however, as noted by Cinnamus himself, is “the outermost limit of the approach to inner Hungary” and thus, was a rather unsuitable refuge for a pretender to the Hungarian throne.<sup>31</sup> Therefore, it seems much more likely that Cinnamus meant exactly Anchialos on the West Black Sea coast as a starting point for the Byzantine fleet which had brought

“surprisingly” to the Hungarian territories via Pontos and on the Danube not only Stephen IV, but also the Byzantine troops. As narrated in Cinnamus’ *Epitome*, a bit later the emperor himself marched to the Danube and after crossing the Sava he advanced to the northwest along the south bank of the Danube encamping first opposite to *Titelion* (Titel on the Tisza river) and then, at *Petrikon* (Petrovaradin).<sup>32</sup> That was the point where Manuel I Komnenos crossed the Danube, most likely on the ships that came earlier with Stephen IV. The vivid description provided by Cinnamus of the accident that happened while the boats (*te nausìn*) were crossing the Danube loaded with “arms and cargo”, indicates that the waters of the river were rather high and even “violent”.<sup>33</sup> Thus, it can be assumed that those events happened during the high-water period of the Danube, namely in May-June. The final stop in the campaign was at *Pagatzion* (Bač on the river Mostonga in present-day Vojvodina) on the left bank of the river, where, facing the threat of the Hungarian, German, Russian and Bohemian alliance, the Byzantine emperor stepped back across the Danube and signed a peace treaty according to which Prince Béla got back his patrimony (i. e. Dalmatia and Sirmium) and *sebastokrator* Michael Gabras was entrusted with the assurance of those possessions.

Yet, Stephen III violated the peace treaty already in the spring of AD 1165 seizing the entire Sirmium except for Zemun defended by the pretender Stephen IV himself. Manuel I Komnenos reacted in the usual manner dispatching “numerous ships (*naûß*) with soldiers and supplies” by way of the Danube. This time the ships did not only ferry the troops and the supplies for the besieged defenders of Zemun, but also fight in a real battle with the Hungarian ships (*nêeß*) employing naval tactics and “Greek fire”.<sup>34</sup> In the same time, the land march of the emperor started from Serdica towards Belgrade and there he crossed the river Sava on a skiff (*l embadíö*) as well as did the rest of his army.<sup>35</sup> The dramatic fights for Zemun which passed from hand to hand, ended with a defeat for the Hungarians and the establishment of Byzantine control over Dalmatia and Sirmium.

However, the end of the confrontation between Hungary and Byzantium during the reign of Stephen III came two years later. In response to the Hungarian invasion of Sirmium in the spring of AD 1166 the Byzantine emperor organized a rather unusual counter-offensive. He dispatched three armies: the one of them commanded by the *protostrator* Alexius Axouchos and joined by Prince Béla-Alexius, marched to the Danube thus misleading the Hungarians that they will attack “by way of the customary regions”, most likely at Sirmium (mod. Sremska Mistrovica).<sup>36</sup> As implied by the text of Cinnamus, the other army under John Ducas must have also launched its attacks but rather to the north. More precisely, as suggested by P. Năsturel, John Ducas passed the Danube at Vidin and attacked the region between the rivers Mureş and Timiş.<sup>37</sup> A third army under Leo Batatzes also brought a terrible surprise to the Hungarians by attacking them from the northeast. As stated by Cinnamus, the force of Leo Batatzes which included a large group of Vlachs “falls upon Hungary by way of the regions near the so-called Euxine [Black] Sea (*tþ Euxeínö kal ouménö póntö*).”<sup>38</sup> It can be suggested that ships were employed to ferry the Byzantine troops and the Walachian mercenaries

to the Danube estuary and perhaps upstream the river to a certain point. In fact, there are two main opinions about the route of Batatzes' army. According to I. Nistor, the Byzantines passed rather to the north along the valley of Siret to Poiana, then continued along the valley of Trotuș to Oituz-Bretz (ancient Augusta), and finally reached the area between the rivers Cerna and Timiș.<sup>39</sup> According to E. Frances, the route went rather to the south and passed through Buzău.<sup>40</sup> In both cases, the ships must have had left the Byzantine troops and the Vlachs at Dinogetia. If the ships, however, stopped at Hirșova, the army of Batatzes might have followed the valley of Ialomița, well-known to the Byzantines since the 8<sup>th</sup> c. onwards,<sup>41</sup> and then have entered the Southern Carpaths. There they might have launched the devastating raid as described by Cinnamus and took a lot of captives, most likely because attacked the Hungarians from behind. A probable place that the surprising attack might have happened is modern Stara Palanka opposite to Braničevo, the usual focal point of the Hungarian-Byzantine clashes.<sup>42</sup> Whatever the case, in the spring of AD 1167 the fleet acted as a real force supporting the army under Andronikos Kontostephanos in the heavy defeat of the Hungarians near Zemun and the river Sava.<sup>43</sup>

Thus summing up the remarks on the action of the fleet in the Byzantine campaigns against the Hungarians during the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> c. one should noted that in contrast to the 1150s, the ships had never failed to appear in the time and at the place they were expected. It seems that Manuel I Komnenos and the commandment of the fleet got accustomed to the seasonal and local peculiarities of the navigation from the estuary of the Danube up to Belgrade and even farther to the north and thus managed to plan well the naval actions. In this way, the employment of the fleet was much more effective not only in logistics, but also in actual battles.

### **Byzantines, Crusaders and Cumans on the Lower Danube**

In addition to the Hungarian-Byzantine conflicts, Byzantine naval activity at the Lower Danube has been recorded on two more occasions. On the first, Byzantine ships ferried across the Danube the forces of the German emperor Conrad III (1138-1152) in the course of the Second Crusade in the summer of AD 1147. Once ensured by his envoys sent to Conrad that the Crusaders' target was not Byzantium and the Greeks but rather Palestine and the Seljuk enemy, the emperor organized very carefully the transfer of the German troops trying to get precise information about the strength of the foreign army with the help of a number of secretaries who had to make records for each ship's (νεύβ) cargo.<sup>44</sup> Most likely the Germans crossed the Danube and entered the Byzantine territory proper at Braničevo where they, as witnessed by the French chronicler Odo de Deuil, had to leave their numerous ships in order to be ferried by the Byzantines.<sup>45</sup>

Very soon after those events, just at the beginning of his campaign against the Normans in the spring of AD 1148, Manuel I Komnenos had to face unexpected Cuman raids across the Danube. He dispatched ships (ναύβ) from Constantinople

via Anchialos to the Danube and marched from Philippopolis to the Danube. However, since the ships did not arrive the emperor proceeded in a manner similar to that he employed against the Hungarians in AD 1151: he ferried five hundred soldiers with the horses to the left bank of the river by means of primitive boats (toûß l émbouß) bounded together.<sup>46</sup> The place where the Byzantines crossed the river is not mentioned by Cinnamus yet the clues provided by the text is the references to *Demnitzikos* as the fortress seized by the Cumans and to the two navigable rivers encountered by the emperor while marching forward already after crossing the Danube. The localization of *Demnitzikos* and the two rivers, however, turned to be a subject of a long going discussion in which a variety of suggestions have been made.<sup>47</sup> Recently, the most widely accepted identification of *Demnitzikos* with the modern Romanian town of Zimnicea has been questioned by P. Năsturel. More precisely, he claims that the Cumans seized two towns: one “digne de ce nom” and that was *Axiopolis* (mod. Cernavoda), and another one, *Demnitzikos*, which might be a fortress nearby *Axiopolis*.<sup>48</sup> However, the interpretation of the phrase pólin lógou ~cían in the sense of “a town distinguished by its name” is very disputable. In fact, the exact meaning of ~ció-l ogoß is that of “remarkable, distinguished” and the correct translation must be “a remarkable/distinguished town”.<sup>49</sup> Thus, the identification of the “notable” town seized by the Cumans with *Axiopolis* appeared to be unreasonable and purely speculative. Moreover, Cinnamus definitely points out that *Demnitzikos* was the name of that same fortress seized by the Cumans.<sup>50</sup> Therefore, I think that the most reliable interpretation of the above described military events in AD 1148 is that proposed by P. Diaconu according to whom, they happened in the region of Teleorman in the proximity of the Danube, most probably in the vicinity of Zimnicea, and the two navigable rivers most likely were two arms or channels of the Danube.<sup>51</sup>

Apparently in the last two cases one can hardly speak about naval activity proper yet both of them can be considered very common for the way the Byzantine navy had been employed in military operations at the Lower Danube in the 12<sup>th</sup> c. in general. If one analyzes all the military conflicts in which the participation of the Byzantine navy had been envisaged, one can make the following statistics: in three cases (AD 1148, 1150, 1151) the ships prepared in Constantinople had never entered the Danube, in one case the ships arrived yet a battle did not take place (AD 1155), in one case the ships were used only to ferry troops (AD 1147), and in three cases the ships did not only carried the forces, but also participated in naval battles (AD 1128, 1165, 1167). One may see a kind of reflection of that predominantly logistical employment of the Byzantine ships also in the terminology used in the sources. Thus, in the majority of the cases the term used is that of “naûß, neýß, h” (AD 1147, 1148, 1150, 1151, 1164) which is usually applied for designating “ships” without specifying their particular function. Only in the account on the campaign of AD 1128 Choniates used the term nêaß taxunautoúsaß which emphasizes the rapidity typical only for the naval ships.<sup>52</sup> Furthermore, only for two naval clashes with the Hungarians the sources provide

some evidence about the naval tactics of the Byzantines such as the use of Greek fire (AD 1128) and the keeping the formation in order (“a type of a battle array”) while attacking the enemy with arrows (AD 1165). As witnessed by the written sources, the naval ships were always dispatched from Constantinople and in two cases it became clear that they passed by Anchialos perhaps for loading troops and supplies. As argued above, most likely they entered the Danube River through the branch of Sulina. It can be speculated, however, that a number of transport ships might have stationed in some of the greater ports at the Lower Danube, such as Durostorum (mod. Silistra). An indirect evidence for such a suggestion is the seal of Alexander Gravina found in Silistra. As suggested by I. Barnea, Gravina’s seal might have been related to his diplomatic mission to Conrad III in Hungary he took on order of Manuel I Komneos in AD 1146/1147.<sup>53</sup> Perhaps Alexander Gravina informed the governor of Durostroum about the positive result of the talks with Conrad III which gave a reason for outfitting transport ships to Braničevo to ferry the crusaders.

In addition to the frequent employment of ships for ferrying the Byzantine forces across the Danube, another characteristic feature of the Byzantine naval actions at the Lower Danube in the 12<sup>th</sup> c. was the combination with military operations on land. The land forces of the Byzantines usually headed by the emperor used the communications to the Danube well-established since the Romans times. Thus, in the course of the Hungarian-Byzantine conflicts the most frequent starting point of the marches to the river bank was Philippopolis and thus, the most frequent communication was *Via Diagonalis* through Serdica, Niš, up to Braničevo, Belgrade and even farther to Petrovaradin, Titel on Tisza river and Bač on Mostonga river in Vojvodina (AD 1164) as well as its branches such as the road Philippopolis-Karasura-Beroe (mod. Stara Zagora)-Stilbnos (mod. Tvŭrditsa)-Turnovo-Svištov (AD 1148).<sup>54</sup> The most complicated campaign, however, was that of AD 1166/1167 when the land forces attacked not only from the south bank of the Danube but entered Transylvania with the help of the Vlachs and managed to surprise the Hungarians from behind. In many of the cases above discussed, however, the coordination between the naval and land forces did not work properly and the Byzantine troops as well as the emperor himself had to improvise with the available boats and skiffs.

In conclusion, one can clearly see that the employment of naval forces at the Lower Danube was not of a primary concern for the Byzantine emperors in the 12<sup>th</sup> c. Perhaps one of the reasons might have been the fact that the Byzantines did not face a real naval power there and thus, the naval ships were necessary mostly in the logistics and to respect the enemy. Moreover, the way the Byzantine navy had acted in all those events to a great extent was determined by the changes in its organization and commanding throughout the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>55</sup> Until AD 1118 the maritime *strategoi* were replaced by *dukai*, the simple ‘dux of the fleet’ disappeared and the *meas dux* remained the chief of the whole Byzantine fleet.<sup>56</sup> Thus, by the 12<sup>th</sup> c. the naval command, financing and recruitment was centralized in Constantinople. This centralization enabled John II Komnenos (1118-1143) to

redirect the taxes raised for maintaining the navy into the imperial treasury. His devastating financial policy was followed by the attempt of Manuel I Komnenos to enforce the Byzantine navy and to raise its efficiency by constructing a new fleet in AD 1147. That was the last attempt of Byzantium to acquire a strong Constantinopolitan fleet and to restore to some extent its domination in the Mediterranean. The fleet had got involved in severe naval warfare on other fronts far from the Lower Danube region and the Black Sea—against the Normans in Sicily, in support to the Crusaders in Egypt, and against the Venetian fleet. That activity, however, exhausted the potential of the Byzantine naval forces and was followed by a gradual decay after AD 1180 the sad end of which was the sack of Constantinople in AD 1204 by the Fourth Crusade with the decisive support of the Venetian fleet.<sup>57</sup>



Toponyms and hydronyms in the region of the Lower Danube mentioned in the article

<sup>1</sup> P. Năsturel, “Valaques, Coumans et Byzantins sous le règne de Manuel Comnène”, *Byzantina*, 1 (1969): 170, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> I. Barnea, “Le Danube, voie de communication Byzantine”, in *H EPIKOINWNIA STO BUZANTION*. Athens, 1993, 577-595.

<sup>3</sup> The present article is a part of a larger study on the naval campaigns along the West Black Sea coast and the Lower Danube during the last period of the Byzantine hegemony in the Northern Balkans which I have started with a piece on the naval activity in the area in the 11<sup>th</sup> c.: Kostova, R. “‘Bypassing Anchialos’: The West Black Sea coast in naval campaigns 11<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> c.”, in *Tangra*.

*Sbornik v čest na 70-godišnina na akad. Vasil Gjuzelev*. Sofia, 2006, 579-597. Both articles resulted from a research project entitled 'Crossroads in periphery: the West Black Sea coast 11<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> c.' which I have accomplished as a Research Fellow of the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung in 2005/2006 at the Institut für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik at the University of Cologne and the Institut für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik at the University of Vienna.

<sup>4</sup> Ioannis Cinnami *Epitome rerum ab Ioanne et Alexio Comnenis gestarum*, rec. A. Meinike. CSHB. Bonn, 1836, 10-11. English translation: *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus by John Kinnamos*, trans. Ch. M. Brand. New York, 1976, 17-19; Nicetae Choniatae *Historia*, rec. J. A. Van Dieten. CFHB, 11/1. Berlin and New York, 1975, 17-18. English translation: *O City of Byzantium. Annals of Niketas Choniates*, trans. Harry J. Magoulias. Detroit, 1984, 11-12.

<sup>5</sup> According to Al. Kazhdan, the two chronicles are rather close to each in their parts dedicated to the reign of John II Komnenos which can be explained with the eventual use of Cinnamus' text on John II Komnenos by Choniates or, with the employment of a lost common source for that emperor both by Cinnamus and Choniates: Al. Kazhdan, "Eschche raz o Kinname i Nikite Honiate", *Byzantinoslavica*, 24 (1963): 4-31, esp. 9-18, 28-31. However, the rather laconic narration of Cinnamus on the Byzantine-Hungarian conflict in AD 1127-1129 ignoring to a great extent the role of the emperor in contrast to the text of Choniates has been stressed and explained by P. Stephenson with the general neglectful attitude of Cinnamus towards John II Komnenos in favor to his son, Manuel I Komnenos: P. Stephenson, "John Cinnamus, John II Komnenos and the Hungarian campaign of AD 1127-1129", *Byzantion*, 66/1 (1996): 177-187.

<sup>6</sup> F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène. Études sur l'empire byzantin au XI<sup>e</sup> et au XII<sup>e</sup> siècles. II (1). Jean II Comnène (1118-1143) et Manuel I Comnène (1143-1180)*. Paris, 1912, 57-60; G. Moravcsik, *Byzantium and the Magyars*. Amsterdam, 1970, 78-79; F. Makk, *The Árpáds and the Comneni. Political relations between Hungary and Byzantium in the 12<sup>th</sup> c.* Budapest, 1989, 21-27.

<sup>7</sup> Choniates, p. 17; trans., p. 11-12.

<sup>8</sup> Cinnamus, p. 11; trans., p. 17-19. According to P. Stephenson, the "Romans" (as they were called by Cinnamus) who crossed the river must have been the mercenaries (Lombards and Seldjuks) summoned and actively employed in that campaign by John II Komnenos: Cinnamus, p. 10-11; P. Stephenson, "John Cinnamus," 179, n. 14. For the identification of Chramon, see F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II (1), 59, n. 2.

<sup>9</sup> P. Stephenson, "John Cinnamus," 183, n. 20.

<sup>10</sup> Choniates, 17.

<sup>11</sup> According to the wide-spread opinion, the reason for the Byzantine-Hungarian conflicts in AD 1150-1155 was not the territorial expansionism of the Byzantines but rather the need to inspire respect in the Hungarians in order to keep them away from an active co-operation with the Normans and the Serbs: F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II (1), 404; F. Makk, *Árpáds*, 55-56; P. Stephenson, "Manuel I Comnenus and Geza II: a revised context and chronology for Hungaro-Byzantine relations 1148-1155", *Byzantinoslavica*, 55 (1994): 261-276.

<sup>12</sup> F. Makk, "Contributions à la chronologie des conflits Hungaro-Byzantins au milieu du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle", *ZRVI*, 20 (1981): 25-39; id., *Árpáds*, 52-62; P. Stephenson, "Manuel I Comnenus and Geza II", 251-275. In addition to the Byzantine sources, both authors used also Greman and Russian sources in order to make a precise the chronology of the events.

<sup>13</sup> Cinnamus, 105, 113-114; Choniates, 92; F. Makk, "Contributions", 33-34; id., *Árpáds*, 55; P. Stephenson, "Manuel I Comnenus and Geza II", 260-261.

<sup>14</sup> Cinnamus, 114. It is generally assumed that the emperor and the troops waited for the fleet at Belgrade and since the ships did not come, they crossed on skiffs the river Sava and launched their attack on two directions: against the area of Hungarian Sirmium (i. e. the territory between Sava and Danube) and against Zemlin (Zemun) which was seized by Theodore Vatatzes: F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II (1), 404; F. Makk, "Contributions", 30; P. Stephenson, "Manuel I Comnenus and Geza II", 261, n. 62. For Zemun, see J. Kališ, "Zemun u XII veku", *ZRVI*, 13 (1971): 27-56.

<sup>15</sup> F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II (1), 407.

<sup>16</sup> F. Makk, *Árpáds*, 58-59; Z. J. Kosztolnyik, *From Coloman the Learned to Béla III (1095-1196). Hungarian domestic policies and their impact upon foreign affairs*. New York, 1987, 148-149.

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<sup>17</sup> P. Stephenson, "Manuel I Comnenus and Geza II", 263-265.

<sup>18</sup> Cinnamus, p. 119-120; trans., p. 95.

<sup>19</sup> In my previous article I have made an incorrect reference to the estimation of the traverse of the Black Sea made by A. Poppe. In fact, the overall traverse along the West Black Sea coast from the Danube delta to Bosphorus is 343 nautical miles, or ca. 600 km: Kostova, R. 'Bypassing Anchialos', I, 592, n. 63; A. Poppe, "La dernière expédition russe contre Constantinople," *Byzantinoslavica*, 32 (1971): 243-244. See also, El. Todorova, "More about Vicina and the West Black Sea coast", *Etudes Balkaniques*, 2 (1978): 124-138, esp. Table II.

<sup>20</sup> Kostova, R. "'Bypassing Anchialos' I", 585, n. 25, 586, n. 31.

<sup>21</sup> According to P. Stephenson, Manuel I Komnenos went back to Constantinople in October while his army remained in Braničevo and after preparing the fleet in the capital, he returned back the very same autumn to launched his attack against the Hungarians: P. Stephenson, "Manuel I Comnenus and Geza II", 260-261. According to the other chronology, the incident also took place in autumn yet in AD 1151: F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II (1), 404.

<sup>22</sup> In AD 1148 the Cumans raided the Byzantine territories along the Danube crossing the river without problems: Cinnamus, 93-96. See also here below.

<sup>23</sup> P. Stephenson, "Manuel I Comnenus and Geza II", 263-264, n. 77.

<sup>24</sup> For instance, during the Byzantine-Hungarian conflict at the end of AD 1154, the Hungarians were not able to withdraw over the Danube because they "found it swollen": Cinnamus, 131; trans., 103.

<sup>25</sup> Cinnamus, 133; trans., 105. According to some scholars, these events happened at the end of AD 1155 and the spring of AD 1156: F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II (1), 414-415; G. Moravcsik, *Byzantium and the Magyars*, 82; Z. J. Kosztolnyik, *From Coloman the Learned to Béla III*, 149-150. For the arguments of F. Makk and P. Stephenson for an earlier chronology, see F. Makk, "Contributions," 38-39, n. 72-73; id., *Árpáds*, 62-63; P. Stephenson, "Manuel I Comnenus and Geza II", 267-268.

<sup>26</sup> G. Moravcsik, *Byzantium and the Magyars*, 82-83; F. Makk, *Árpáds*, Chapter V.

<sup>27</sup> Cinnamus, 216; trans., 164. There are again different opinions on the chronology of those events. According to F. Chalandon, the conflict happened in AD 1163: F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II (1), 477-78. The same dating is supported by Ch. M. Brand in his translation of Cinnamus' work: *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, 164. G. Moravcsik and F. Makk, however, claim that there was a Hungarian-Byzantine conflict already in AD 1162 which ended with a treaty in AD 1163 and namely with the break of that treaty started the military conflict in AD 1164 in which Stephen IV took part: G. Moravcsik, *Byzantium and the Magyars*, 82-83; F. Makk, *Árpáds*, 88-91.

<sup>28</sup> F. Makk, *Árpáds*, 90, n. 114.

<sup>29</sup> F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II (1), 477, n. 1; J. A. Fessler, *Die Geschichte der Ungarn und ihrer Landsassen*. II Teil. II. Band. Leipzig, 1815, 104.

<sup>30</sup> Cinnamus, 202-203; G. Moravcsik, *Byzantium and the Magyars*, 82.

<sup>31</sup> Cinnamus, 217; trans., 165. Let us recall that by that time Zemun was also in Hungarian possession: J. Kališ, "Zemun", 38-40.

<sup>32</sup> Cinnamus, 217; trans., 164. According to F. Chalandon, Manuel I Komnenos crossed the Danube rather than the Sava yet the first two stops of his army, opposite to Titelion and at Petrikon indicate that the march was following the south bank of the Danube: F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II (1), 477, n. 2; *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, 164, n. 20.

<sup>33</sup> Cinnamus, 221; trans., 167.

<sup>34</sup> Cinnamus, 238-239; trans., 179-180.

<sup>35</sup> Cinnamus, 240; trans., 181, n. 45.

<sup>36</sup> P. Năsturel, "Valaques," 177.

<sup>37</sup> P. Năsturel, "Valaques," 180.

<sup>38</sup> Cinnamus, 258-260; trans., 195; Choniates, 132.

<sup>39</sup> I. Nistor, "Bizantinii în luptă pentru recucerirea Daciei și Transdanubiei", *Analele Academiei Române*, 25 (1943): 721.

<sup>40</sup> E. Frances, "Les relations russo-byzantines au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle et la domination de Galicie au Bas-Danube", *Byzantinoslavica*, 20 (1959): 59.

<sup>41</sup> J.-Cl. Cheynet, C. Morrison, "Lieux de trouvaille et circulation des sceaux", in *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography*, 2. Ed. N. Oikonomides. Washington, D.C., 1990, 124, 127, 129.

<sup>42</sup> The most probable routes that might have been followed by Leo Batatzes from Transylvania to the Danube might have been the Roman road Tibiscum (mod. Timișoara)-Lederata (Ram, mod. Serbia). In fact, Stara Palanka lies on the left bank of the Danube opposite to Ram: E. Tóth, "The Roman Province of Dacia," in *History of Transylvania. I. From the beginnings to 1606*. Eds. L. Makkai, A. Mócsy. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001, 74-77.

<sup>43</sup> Cinnamus, 265-274; Choniates, 151-157.

<sup>44</sup> Cinnamus, 69-70; trans., 60. According to John Cinnamus, the number of the crusaders was more than 90 000, while the relevant Latin sources note various yet smaller numbers: F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II, 271, n. 3.

<sup>45</sup> Odo de Deuil, *La Croisade de Louis VII, roi de France*, II-III, ed. Henri Waquet, *Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades*, Vol 3 (Paris: Paul Guethner, 1949), 30-32, 35-37, translated by James Brundage, *The Crusades: A Documentary History*. Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 1962, 106-109; F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II, 271; S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusade, II*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952, 259. According to E. Koytcheva, the crossing of the Danube by the German took place at Belgrade: E. Koytcheva, *The First Crusades and the Balkans* (in Bulgarian). Sofia: Vekove, 2004, 97-98.

<sup>46</sup> Cinnamus, 93-74; trans., 76-77.

<sup>47</sup> F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II, 324, n. 2 (Zimnicea with a reference to the identification proposed by A. Vasiljevskij); V. N. Zlatarski, *Istoriya na bŭlgarskata dŭržava prez srednite vekove*, II. Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1971 (reprint), 384-385, n. 2 (mod. Tutrakan on the right bank of the Danube); E. Frances, "Les relations russo-byzantines au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle et la domination de Galicie au Bas-Danube", *Byzantinoslavica* 20 (1959): 56; A. Bolșakov-Ghimpu, "La localization de la cite Byzantine de Demnitzikos," *RESEE V* (3-4) 1967: 543-51 (Dinogetia-Garvă); I. Barnea, "Le Danube," 592, n. 43 (Zimnicea); P. Năsturel, "Valaques," 170-175 (Turnu Măgurele known in the medieval period as Holăvnic). As for the two navigable rivers, with respect to the proposed location of *Demnitzikos* they have been identified either with Vedea and Teleorman, or with Argeș and Dâmbovița, or with Prut and Siret.

<sup>48</sup> P. Năsturel, "Axipolis sur le Comnène. Une relecture de Kinnmos (III 3)," in *Prinos lui Petre Diaconu la 80 de ani*, I. Căndeia, V. Sirbu, M. Neagu eds. (Brăila, 2004), 521-535. I would like to thank Dr. Alexandru Madgearu for calling my attention to this article.

<sup>49</sup> Cinnamus, 93. See, for instance, the English translation by Ch. M. Brand, p. 76 ("a notable city") and the Bulgarian translation by G. Cnakova-Petkova and G. Batakliiev in *Fontes graeci historiae bulgaricae*, ed. G. Cankova-Petkova, P. Tivčev, T. XIV (Sofia, 1968), 226 ("dosta zabelezhitelen grad").

<sup>50</sup> Cinnamus, 93: "... ouk ἂν ½ te Demnitzikoß čál w (o%tw gār tò toib Skúqaiß, çsper eírhtai, a%reqèn Ÿnomáceto froúrion).."

<sup>51</sup> P. Diaconou, "À propos de l'invasion Cumane de 1148," in *Études Byzantines et post-byzantines I*, E. Stănescu, N.-Ș. Tanașoca eds. (Bucharest, 1979), 19-29.

<sup>52</sup> For the terms for naval ships used in the Byzantine sources, see H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer. La marine de guerre, la politique et les institutions maritimes de Byzance aux VII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles*. Paris, 1966, 409-412.

<sup>53</sup> I. Barnea, "Sceaux byzantins inédits de Dobruja", in *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography*, 3. Ed. N. Oikonomides. Washington, D.C., 1993, no. 10; Iv. Jordanov, *Corpus of Byzantine seals from Bulgaria*. Vol. 2. *Byzantine seals with family names*. Sofia, 2006, no. 150.

<sup>54</sup> For the routes, see P. Soustal, *Thrakien*. Tabula Imperii Byzantini 6. Wien, 1991, 135, 139.

<sup>55</sup> Throughout the 11<sup>th</sup> c. the distinction between the imperial fleet, the thematic fleets, and the provincial fleets disappeared. In fact, by the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> c. one can distinguish the Constantinopolitan and the provincial fleets yet the latter were also subjected to the commandment in Constantinople and had been presented at the spot by officers dependent on the centre: H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer*, 117-163.

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<sup>56</sup> H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Études d'histoire maritime de Byzance, à propos du "Thème des Caraviens"*. Paris, 1966, 159-60; N. Oikonomides, "L'évolution de l'organisation administrative de l'Empire byzantin au XI<sup>e</sup> s. (1025-1118)", *TM*, 6 (1976), 146-47.

<sup>57</sup> H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer*, 175-297.



## ABOUT THE EARLY MEDIEVAL CERAMICS FROM OLTINA „CAPUL DEALULUI” (CONSTANȚA COUNTY)

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**Abstract:** Așezarea fortificată din punctul „Capul Dealului”, situată între localitățile Satu Nou și Oltina (în sud-vestul Dobrogei), pe un promontoriu din apropierea Dunării, a fost semnalată încă din prima jumătate a secolului al XX-lea de către P. Polonic. Numeroasele descoperiri fortuite din acest punct, ca și din teritoriul apropiat, au determinat acordarea unei atenții sporite din partea cercetătorilor în vederea achiziționării materialelor respective, dar mai ales inițierea săpăturilor sistematice, începând cu anul 2001. În campaniile arheologice din 2001-2007 au fost cercetate trei secțiuni în perimetrul cărora au fost identificate mai multe complexe de locuit, câteva instalații gospodărești și gropi menajere, precum și un abundent și divers material arheologic constând în fragmente ceramice, monede, sigilii, cruciulițe simple sau reliquar, obiecte din bronz și fier (aplice și țiște, cuțite, seceri, vârfuri de săgeți), gresii de ascuțit, fusaiole, greutăți pentru plasa de pescuit, lupe și fragmente de zgură de fier, material faunistic etc. Dintre acestea cele mai numeroase sunt fragmentele ceramice, iar studiul prezent, care vizează materialul apărut în campaniile din 2003 și 2007, este unul preliminar urmând ca în viitorul apropiat analiza să fie extinsă și asupra ceramicii apărute în alte campanii sistematice. Faptul că materialul ceramic apărut în cele trei secțiuni este unitar, iar numeroase fragmente au fost descoperite în strat, i-a determinat pe autori să facă o prezentare pe categorii (ceramica de uz comun; ceramica decorată cu vopsea; ceramica cenușie; ceramica cu smalt verde-oliv; amfore), doar o mică parte a acestuia fiind plasată pe complexe. Categoriile ceramice apărute în așezarea medievală timpurie de la Oltina „Capul Dealului” nu diferă, din punct de vedere tipologic și cantitativ, de cele prezente în așezările perioadei istorice respective cercetate în teritoriul istro-pontic. Pentru acest sit este de subliniat numărul destul de mare de vase confecționate din pastă caolin, precum și rara prezență a celor cenușii ornamentate prin tehnica lustrului și a celor cu smalt verde-oliv. Ele sunt lucrate îngrijit, decorul este realizat cu atenție în cele mai multe cazuri, iar unele vase sunt confecționate la roata semirapidă. Este de remarcat și numărul destul de mare de funduri de vase cu marcă de olar. Pe baza monedelor, a ceramicii și a altor elemente, în acest stadiu al cercetărilor, așezarea de la Oltina „Capul Dealului” se datează în secolele X – XI.

**Key words:** ceramics, settlement, 10 – 11<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The fortified settlement of the area „Capul Dealului”, situated between the villages Satu Nou and Oltina (in the South-Western part of Dobruja), on a promontory near the Danube, surrounded to the North by the river, and on the South by Oltina lake, has been mentioned even from the first part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century by P. Polonic<sup>1</sup>. The numerous accidental discoveries in this area, as well in

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\* Muzeul de Istorie Națională și Arheologie Constanța.

\*\* Muzeul de Istorie Națională și Arheologie Constanța.

<sup>1</sup> Polonic 1935: 19.

the neighbourhood, determined researchers to pay a special attention in order to purchase these materials<sup>2</sup>, but mostly to initiate systematic diggings beginning with 2001<sup>3</sup>. Based on the accidental discoveries, mostly numismatic ones, there was assumed the hypothesis of the existence in this settlement of various living phases, between the 2-11<sup>th</sup> centuries with some discontinuities, and based on the documentation at the very place – during the archaeological campaigns between 2001-2003 – it was established that the early medieval settlement of „Capul Dealului” was protected, to the North, by an earth wave, 410 m in length, 2.5 m in height, together with a 3 m sq depth ditch to the West<sup>5</sup>. Otherwise, during the five campaigns until now, only the earth wave and the city defence system ditch have been uncovered, the 4 m width wall, mentioned by P. Polonic or even its foundation mark are still objectives far to be achieved. Only the rare presence inside the digging or in the valleys and wooded areas on the promontory of some small squared seem to represent until now the poor evidence of the defence wall existence, wall of which, as P. Polonic mentioned, the Turks extracted stone, even from the 8<sup>th</sup> decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which they used to sell in Călărași as building material<sup>6</sup>.

During the archaeological campaigns between 2001-2007, there have been studied three sections: S1, of 35 x 3 m, on E-V direction, in the SV sector of the site; S2, of 30 x 4 m, on N-S direction, placed at a small distance from the first section, to the NE, and S2A, of 15 x 4 m, continuing S2, to the North. In the sections areas, there have been identified, partially, numerous living complexes, there are to be added to these some household arrangements and house holes, as well an abundant and diverse archaeological material, including ceramics fragments, coins, seals, small simple or reliquary crosses, bronze and iron objects (applied ornaments and nails, knives, sickles, arrow points), sharpening whetstones, plates, weights for the fishing net, magnifying glasses and fragments of iron slag, fauna material etc<sup>7</sup>. Among these, the most numerous are the pottery fragments, and our study aiming the material discovered during the campaigns between 2003 and 2007, it is a preliminary one, we are going to extend the analysis in a very short time as well upon the ceramics discovered during other systematic campaigns.

The fact that the pottery material discovered in the three sections is unitary, and numerous fragments have been found inside the stratum, determined us to make a presentation on categories, only a small part is to be placed on complexes.

There has been identified the Complex 3, inside S2, during the 2003 campaign, and this one proved to be a house. The identification inside the Eastern profile, as a consequence of the animals actions during the two years break, of

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<sup>2</sup> Custurea 2000: 151; Chiriac 2000-2001: 343-348; Custurea 2000-2001: 583-594; Custurea, Ionel 2002-2003: 433-438; Custurea 2006: 415-421.

<sup>3</sup> Chiriac, Custurea 2002: 222.

<sup>4</sup> Mănușu-Adameșteanu 2001: 39-40; Custurea 2006: 415-416.

<sup>5</sup> Chiriac, Custurea 2002: 222 ; Chiriac et alii 2004: 223.

<sup>6</sup> Chiriac et alii 2004: 223.

<sup>7</sup> Chiriac et alii 2004: 222-224; Custurea, Talmațchi, Mototolea, Chiriac 2008: 211.

some bricks, as well as the presence inside the stratum of some traces of burnt earth and ashes, determined us to make, in 2007, a 2 x 2 m case (Cas. A/2007), which excavation led to the discovery of a household arrangement, the Oven 1/2007, with only one room. The oven is situated in the South-Eastern corner of the 3/2003 Complex, it is rectangular shaped, with round corners, and it is surrounded on the Eastern and Southern sides by a stones series limiting the house area. The fireplace of the house was slightly deepened compared to the floor and was made of shaped stone blocks fixed with bonding material (loess) only on the Southern side of the oven. The oven roof, partially broken because of the animals actions, was made of brick sizes river stones fixed with loess, upon which here was put a 6.5 – 7.5 cm thick clay stratum<sup>8</sup>. In the clay roof of the fire arrangement there were fixed some ceramics fragments, and inside the Southern wall, among the stones covering the very fireplace there were a pot bottom as well as a tile fragment (plate III). The ceramics resulting from the uncovering of the Oven 1/2007 included: a fragment of the upper part of a pot burnt oxidantingly on the surface and made of sand paste and small lime of which is still preserved the simple round turned lip and a shoulder part, representing an incised ornament (a six lines waved strip, followed by horizontal lines); fragment of the upper part of a pot burnt oxidantingly on the surface and made of sand paste with medium granules, of which is still preserved the slightly turned lip and a shoulder part decorated with incised horizontal lines; fragment of a pot shoulder burnt oxidantingly on the surface and made of sand paste, preserving an incised ornament representing horizontal lines in a background upon there was applied in the upper part, a four waves lines strip; the lower part of a pot burnt oxidantingly and made of sand paste and medium lime granules, at semirapid wheel, having a 10 mm thick wall, 14 cm the bottom diameter and 13 mm thick of the bottom, presenting on the exterior of the flat area a drop of olive-green enamel; 11 fragments of small sizes, belonging to pots burnt oxidantingly and made of sand paste and decorated with incised lines and a whitish-grey fragment.

A house of the 5/2003 Complex sheltered as well, on a burning level and wood burnt beams, an amphora with „ribs” and very high bails<sup>9</sup> (plate IV/1, VIII), and in 2007, in the house pit<sup>10</sup> near the Oven 2/2007, there have been discovered numerous ceramics fragments (plate IV/2-11), among which we mention: the lower part of a kaolin pot (jug?) on which there are poorly preserved polished ornament traces-the – burning is complete, with pink tint, the pot wall is 8 mm thick and the bottom is 6.5 mm thick; two pots bottoms made of kaolin and sand paste; the upper part of kaolin pot preserving the simple round lip and a part of the pot shoulder decorated with a series of fine cut horizontal lines, preceded by a series of alveoli; the upper part of a surface oxidantingly burnt pot, made of paste sand and mica, still preserving the simple round lip and a part of a shoulder with a series of

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<sup>8</sup> Custurea, Talmațchi, Mototolea, Chiriac 2008: 211.

<sup>9</sup> Chiriac et alii 2004: 223.

<sup>10</sup> Custurea, Talmațchi, Mototolea, Chiriac 2008: 211.

horizontal lines preceded by a waved line; some pot fragments burnt at the surface and nonoxidantingly, made of paste and sand.

Taking into consideration the main ceramics categories, discovered in the early medieval settlement of Oltina „Capul Dealului”, we mention these already known groups in the special bibliography for this historical period<sup>11</sup>.

1. The common use ceramics. This category represents about 90 – 92 % of the whole medieval early ceramics discovered in „Capul Dealului” during the campaigns 2003 and 2007. It is made at the slow wheel and semirapid wheel, using paste with sand, with sand and rare small grits, with sand and rare small or medium lime granules, or with sand and silvery mica. Most of the fragments were burnt oxidantingly on the surface (the core is grey), but there are situations when there is a complete burning. Of 90-92 % of this category, 20% is represented by the ceramics made of kaolin paste, with sand or, exceptionally, white clean. Generally, the burn is complete, mentioning that some pots have a reddish tone, due to the presence of the ochre granules in the raw paste. We also included here the pots burnt nonoxidantingly, but made of common sand paste.

The shapes included in this category are the pots without handles, the pot with handle, rarely the bowl and the rushlight (plate I/2). Generally, the pots are medium in size, rarely small or large, they have slightly prominent shoulders, a pyriform body, rarely globular, a short neck and different lip types (plate II/5-12). The mouth diameter goes from 8 to 18 cm, the bottom diameter from 4.8 to 14 cm, the walls width between 5 and 12 mm, and the bottoms thickness between 5 and 13 mm.

The decoration elements covering the pots walls are made by incision using a stick or a comb with thick and uniformly set teeth, or by pressing the soft paste using the nail, the knife point, or the cogged wheel (plate V). The horizontal lines series appears more frequently as unique decoration element or associated with one/two elements. It is fine made or more deepened, and its variants are to be found both on the pots burnt oxidantly and the nonoxidantingly or on the kaolin pots. Among the decorative variants found on the first category of ceramics, we notice: a series of horizontal lines finely cut; a series of horizontal lines finely cut set at irregular distances, not very accurately made; series of horizontal lines upon which there were incised sections of inclined lines, near the shoulder; a large wave line with a small incline, followed by a large wave lines strip; strips of three-four lines incised upon horizontal lines, near the shoulder; a series of horizontal lines, upon there was incised a waved line near the shoulder; two strips of three-four waved lines, accurately made, with a sharp incline, set near the shoulder, followed by a series of horizontal lines; series of horizontal lines upon which there was cut a strip of two waved lines, near the shoulder, and under it also upon the horizontal lines inclined sections of five lines; on the shoulder strip of six waved lines followed by a series of horizontal lines which beginning superposes slightly the inferior part of the waved line; alveoli series in the upper part of the shoulder

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<sup>11</sup> Barnea 1962: 352-364.

followed by a series of finely cut horizontal lines; series of horizontal lines upon there were incised sections of five short inclined lines (2.7 cm, 1.2 cm) near the shoulder; strips of ten horizontal lines with areas not decorated in between; series of inclined cuts under the neck, followed by an irregular waved strip, followed at its turn, by horizontal lines; inclined sections of seven short lines followed by a series of horizontal lines; squared cuts made using the crogged wheel; two series of rectangular cuts framed by cut horizontal lines; strips of waved lines forming loops etc. On the whole, we mention that the decorated fragments with cuts made using the cogged wheel are rather rare. Neither the alveoli and the cuts are not constantly present.

There is to be included also in this category small pot (8.3 cm height) without handles, nonoxidatingly, made at semirapid wheel, using paste with sand. It was decorated with a five lines strip on the shoulder, followed by a strip of five horizontal lines in the area of the maximum diameter, then, under it, a strip of eight waved lines. The first two elements are accurately made, but the last one slightly trembled. The bottom of the pot is 4.8 cm in diameter, and it has a ring in relief to the exterior side. The lip is simple, slightly opened, and it is 8 cm opened. The pot was accurately made and it is homogenously shaped (plate I/1, V/1).

We also included here a bowl fragment, burnt nonoxidatingly, 6.7 cm height and 8 mm thick. It has a slightly inclined lip and a flat edge, and on the exterior side it was decorated with a series of horizontal lines, 3.1 cm thick, upon there was incised a strip of waved lines, on the upper part.

During the two campaigns there were discovered about 30 pots bottoms with potter stamps, all in relief, representing: a circle, two concentric circles, a triangle, a wheel with four spokes, a simple cross gammata, wheel with four spokes inscribed into the circle, a wheel with more than four spokes etc. (plate I/3-8, II/1-4, VI/1-11).

2. The ceramics decorated with paint. During the two archaeological campaigns there were discovered around 20 kaolin pottery fragments preserving traces of red, brown and brown-blackish paint on the external surface. These fragments belong to jugs and pots with or without handles, made at the wheel and usually totally burnt and they have a larger surface covered by paint, or they have a decoration representing vertical stripes, which sometimes meet horizontal lines or they form larger spots in the inferior zone. Some fragments have painted, as well as another cut decoration (plate VII/1-6).

3. The grey ceramics, made of fine paste of different shades, it is rather rare and fragmentary, there are small fragments, most of the time. When existing, the decoration represents vertical polishment on the whole fragment surface, slightly inclined polished lines, polishes inclined lines meeting and forming rhombuses. In some situations, the polished decoration was put also on three sides slightly in relief, or over strips of two fine incised horizontal lines, continuing their initial pattern (plate VII/7-10).

4. The ceramics with olive-green enamel is as rare as the grey one and it is also fragmentary (plate VII/11-14). The fragments also belong to pots made at rapid or semirapid wheel, and using fine grey or pink paste, completely burnt.

5. Amphoras. The only sample found complete is the one previous mentioned in the Complex 5/2003, the rest including only fragments of the pots bodies or handles. The amphora with raised handles from Oltina (2003, S2, Complex 5, square 14, -1.50 m) is included in a category of early medieval amphoras, also found in other centres on the Dobrujan territory<sup>12</sup>.

It was discovered in a house, in a very well defined framework, beside other numerous Byzantium *folles* and a small cross, dated in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. There was also discovered an important quantity of fish bones and scales under the amphora, near a small oven in the above mentioned house.

It is a sample, which, by fortune, has been preserved almost complete. There are missing only some fragments of the body and lip. It was made of good quality clay, which, after burning, became redish to orange, with traces of a secondary burning.

It is pyriform in shape, with a lit bit long neck and the handles going straight, from the body of the amphora reaching the upper lip part, closing exactly under it. The amphora is 52 cm in height, and the handles 22 cm in height, being raised with almost 3 cm comparing to the lip. This one opens to the exterior like a funnel, supported by the handles. The lip diameter measured from the exterior is 12 cm, and the pot mouth diameter is 6 cm.

It has two decorations patterns, one of them going from the lip to the handles basis, and the other one on the very bottom of the pot. Practically, we see five rows of grooves set in concentric circles. Just under the superior pattern there are two vertical cuts on the amphora body, about 6 cm each, set in parallel, as a stamp. Other two shorter lines (about 2 cm) are cut almost on the same direction with the symbols above mentioned, but in the upper part of the amphora.

Comparing with other areas, as well as with the Dobrujan sites<sup>13</sup>, and with the archaeological materials identified *in situ* beside our sample, the amphora from Oltina can be included chronologically in the first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

Surveying the categories of ceramics discovered in the early medieval settlement of Oltina „Capul Dealului” we notice they are not different, as typology and quantity comparing, to those found in the settlements of the historical period studied in the Danubian-Pontic territory. Thus: the common use ceramics can be also found in Dinogetia-Garvă<sup>14</sup>, Aegyssus-Tulcea<sup>15</sup>, Nufăru<sup>16</sup> (Tulcea county), Capidava<sup>17</sup>, Păcuiul lui Soare<sup>18</sup>, Basarabi<sup>19</sup>, Hârşova<sup>20</sup> (Constanţa county) etc.; the

<sup>12</sup> Barnea 1954: 518-520; Florescu, Florescu, Diaconu 1958: 209.

<sup>13</sup> Jakobson 1951: 339, pl. 10, 33-34; Jakobson 1979: 109-111, pl. 68, 1, 2.

<sup>14</sup> Ştefan, Barnea, Comşa, Comşa 1967: 134.

<sup>15</sup> Vasiliu, Mănuclu-Adameşteanu 1984: 148.

<sup>16</sup> Damian et alii 1997 : 40.

<sup>17</sup> Florescu, Florescu, Diaconu 1958: 162-163, 193.

<sup>18</sup> Diaconu, Vilceanu 1972: 71.

<sup>19</sup> Barnea 1962: 352.

ceramics decorated with paint can be found in Basarabi<sup>21</sup>, Capidava<sup>22</sup>, Dinogetia-Garvăn<sup>23</sup>, Păcuiul lui Soare<sup>24</sup> etc.; the grey one in Păcuiul lui Soare<sup>25</sup>, Dinogetia-Garvăn<sup>26</sup>, Capidava<sup>27</sup> etc.; the ceramics with olive-green enamel in Dinogetia-Garvăn<sup>28</sup>, Aegyssus-Tulcea<sup>29</sup>, Capidava<sup>30</sup>, Basarabi<sup>31</sup>, Păcuiul lui Soare<sup>32</sup> etc.; and the amphoras are present mostly in the large settlements<sup>33</sup>, but not only<sup>34</sup>. We emphasize, for the site of Oltina „Capul Dealului”, the great number of pots made of kaolin paste, as well as the rare presence of the grey ones decorated by polishing, as well as those with green-olive paste. As regarding the decoration elements for the exterior of the pots, we consider it is included into the second phase of evolution propounded by us in a previous study<sup>35</sup> - the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century-the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century - when the decoration of the ceramics produced by local workshops became more various and rich, being easier to be included in registers and of a superior aesthetic level. We also, mention that the paste of the pots discovered in „Capul Dealului”, during the two systematic research campaigns, is generally of a better quality, well tempered and with small impurities. In the same time, the pots are accurately made, the decoration is mostly very attentively made, and some of the pots are made at the semirapid wheel. It is also to be noticed the great number of pot bottoms with potter stamps, which, together with those discovered in the previous years, include the settlement of Oltina in the same series with Hârșova<sup>36</sup>, Castelu, Istria, Păcuiul lui Soare (Constanța county)<sup>37</sup>, Isaccea<sup>38</sup> and Ostrov<sup>39</sup> (Tulcea county) as number of discoveries, being possible to find other clear evidence for pottery craftsmanship here in the future.

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<sup>20</sup> Aricescu, 1971: 357; Panait, Rădulescu, Ștefănescu, Flaut 1995-1996: 128.

<sup>21</sup> Barnea 1962: 357.

<sup>22</sup> Florescu, Florescu, Diaconu 1958: 173, 179.

<sup>23</sup> Ștefan, Barnea, Comșa, Comșa 1967: 163.

<sup>24</sup> Diaconu, Vilceanu 1972: 85.

<sup>25</sup> Diaconu, Vilceanu 1972: 85.

<sup>26</sup> Ștefan, Barnea, Comșa, Comșa 1967: 164, 168 fig. 103.

<sup>27</sup> Florescu, Florescu, Diaconu 1958: 171, 203.

<sup>28</sup> Ștefan, Barnea, Comșa, Comșa 1967: 230.

<sup>29</sup> Vasiliu, Mănușu-Adameșteanu 1984: 149.

<sup>30</sup> Florescu, Florescu, Diaconu 1958: 179, 206.

<sup>31</sup> Barnea 1962: 361.

<sup>32</sup> Diaconu, Vilceanu 1972: 89.

<sup>33</sup> Florescu, Florescu, Diaconu 1958: 209; Ștefan, Barnea, Comșa, Comșa 1967: 249; Damian et alii 1997: 40.

<sup>34</sup> Barnea 1962:363; Vasiliu, Mănușu-Adameșteanu 1984: 148.

<sup>35</sup> Paraschiv-Talmațchi 2007: 25-30.

<sup>36</sup> Aricescu, 1971: 357.

<sup>37</sup> Paraschiv-Talmațchi 2006: 23.

<sup>38</sup> Paraschiv-Talmațchi, Stănică 2005-2006: 283-304.

<sup>39</sup> Paraschiv-Talmațchi 2006: 23.

In way of conclusion, we stress that, in this research stage, based on coins, ceramics and other elements discoveries, the settlement of Oltina „Capul Dealului” is dated in the 10-11<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>40</sup>.

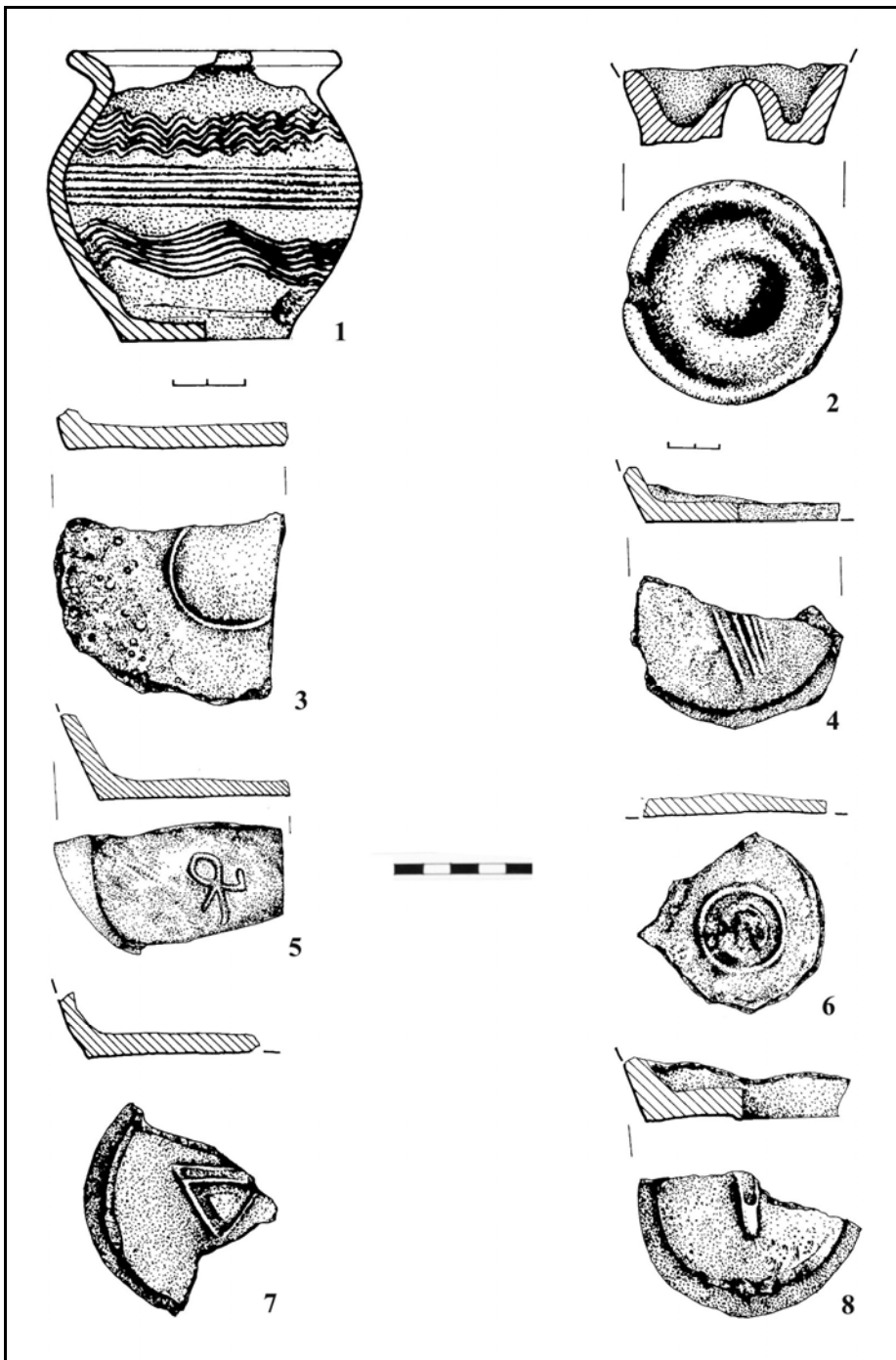
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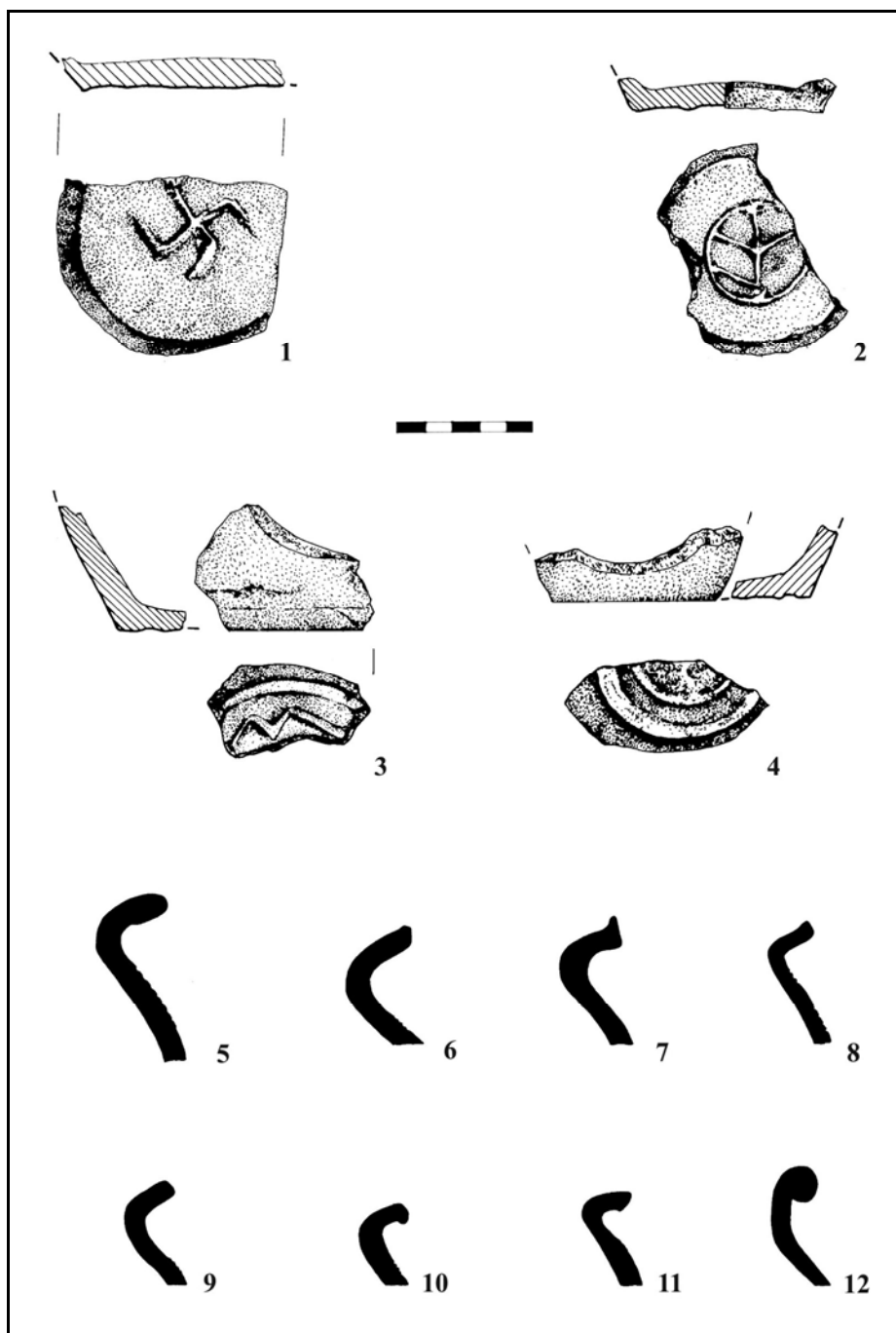
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<sup>40</sup> Chiriac et alii 2004: 223; Custurea 2006: 415.

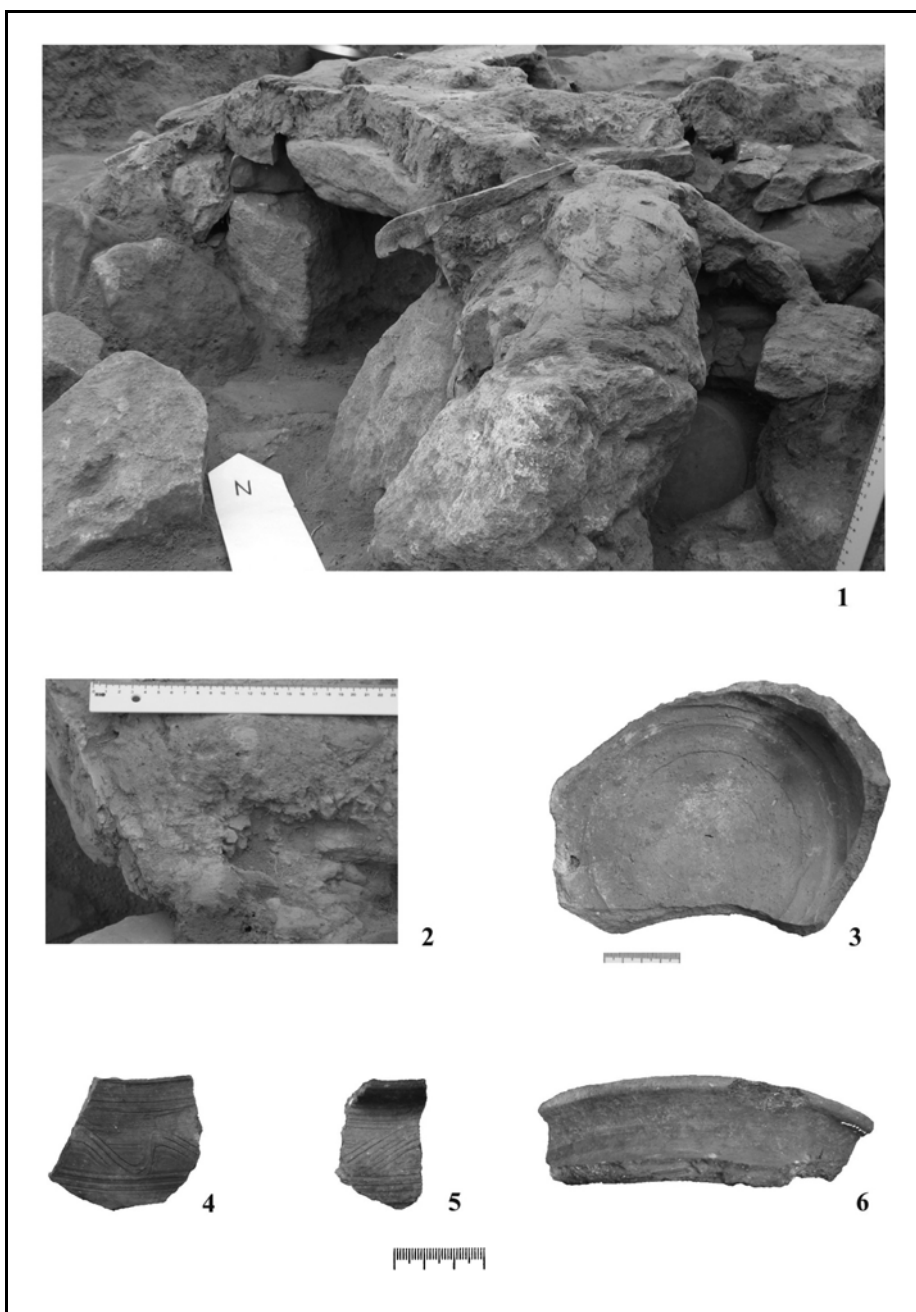
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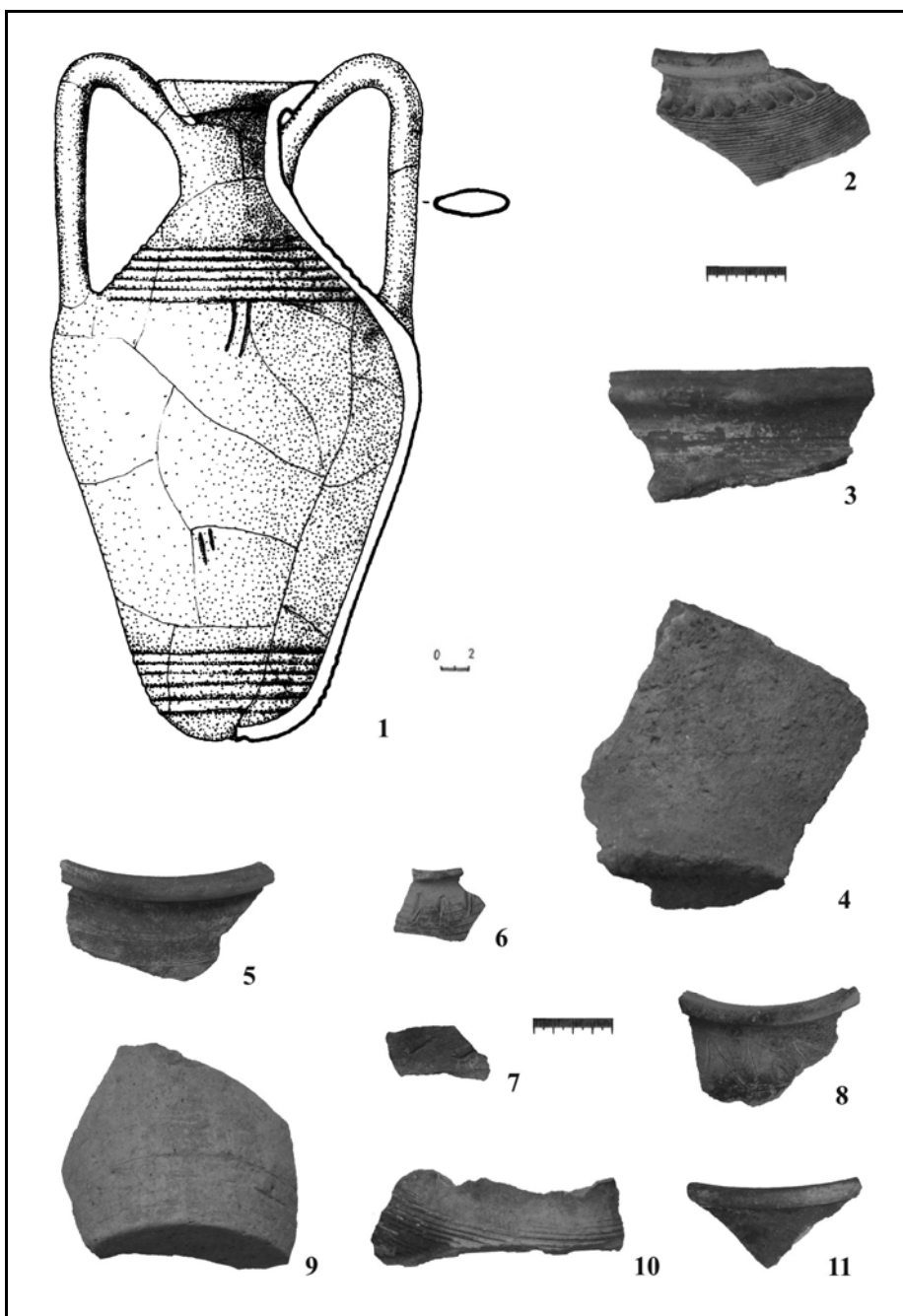
**Plate I:** Common use ceramics discovered in Oltina "Capul Dealului" in 2003: pots (1), rushlight (2), potter stamps (3-8).



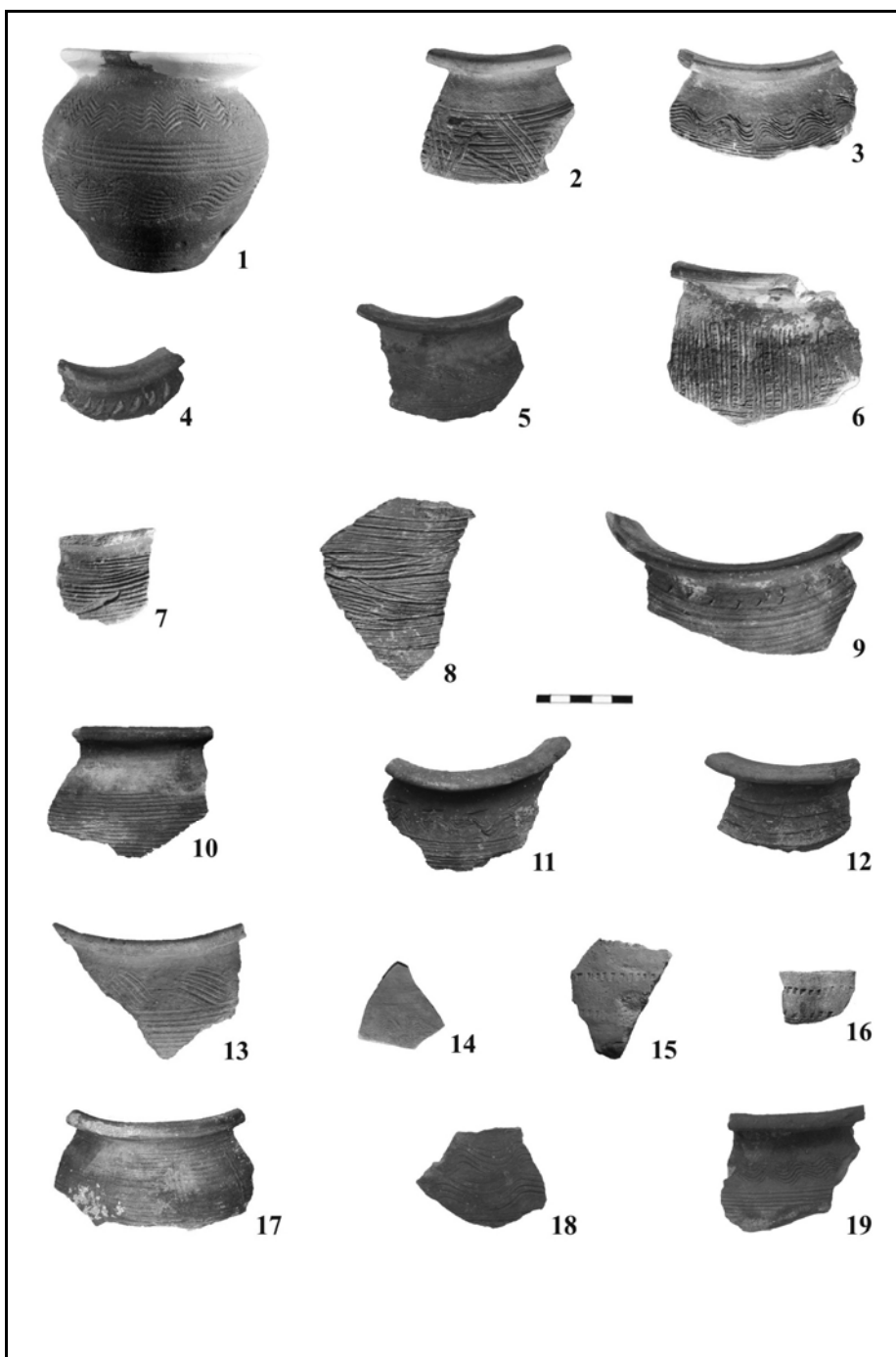
**Plate II:** Potter stamps discovered in Oltina "Capul Dealului" in 2003 (1-4); lip types (5-12).



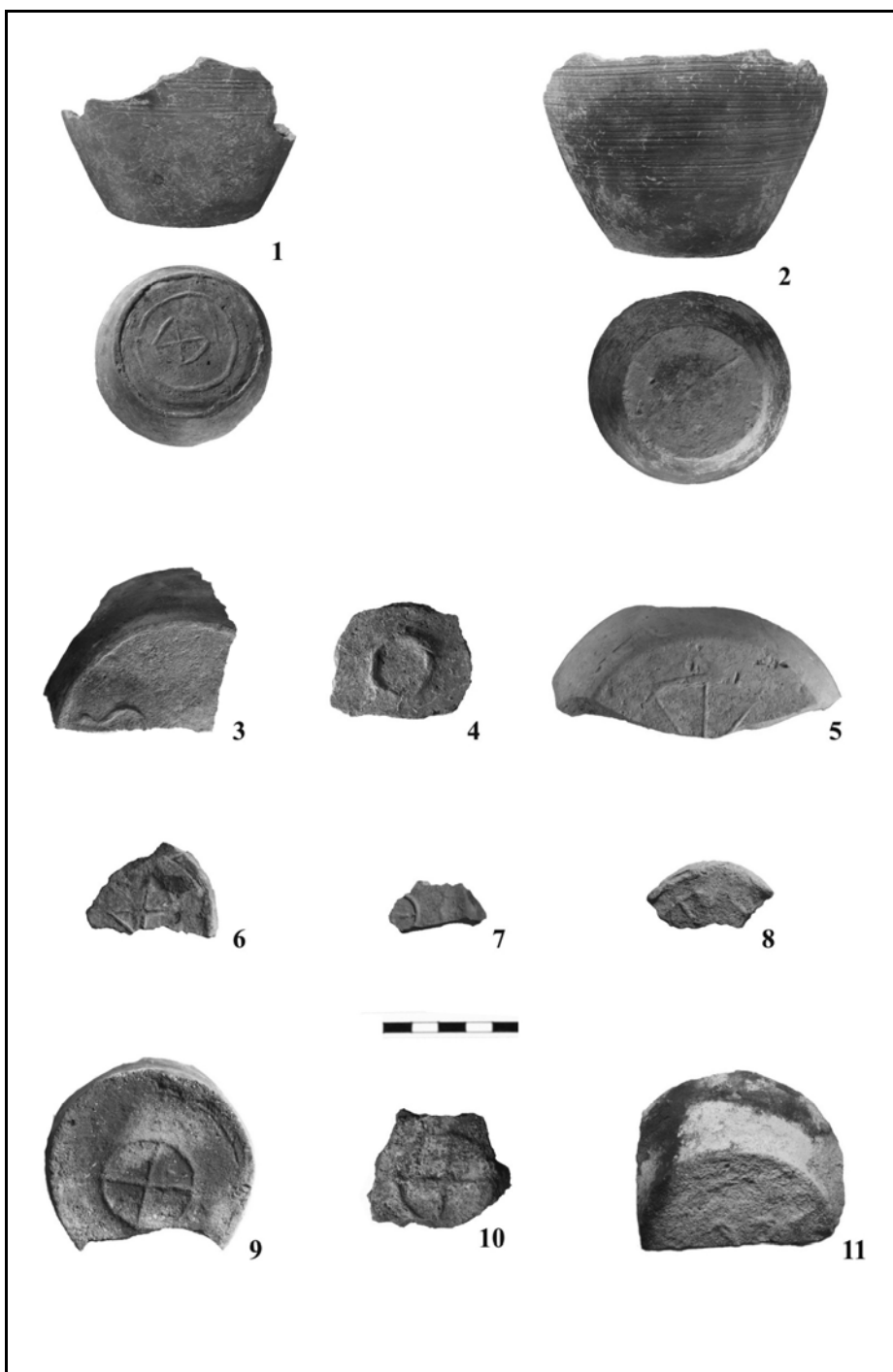
**Plate III:** Ceramics after the Oven 1/2007 was uncovered.



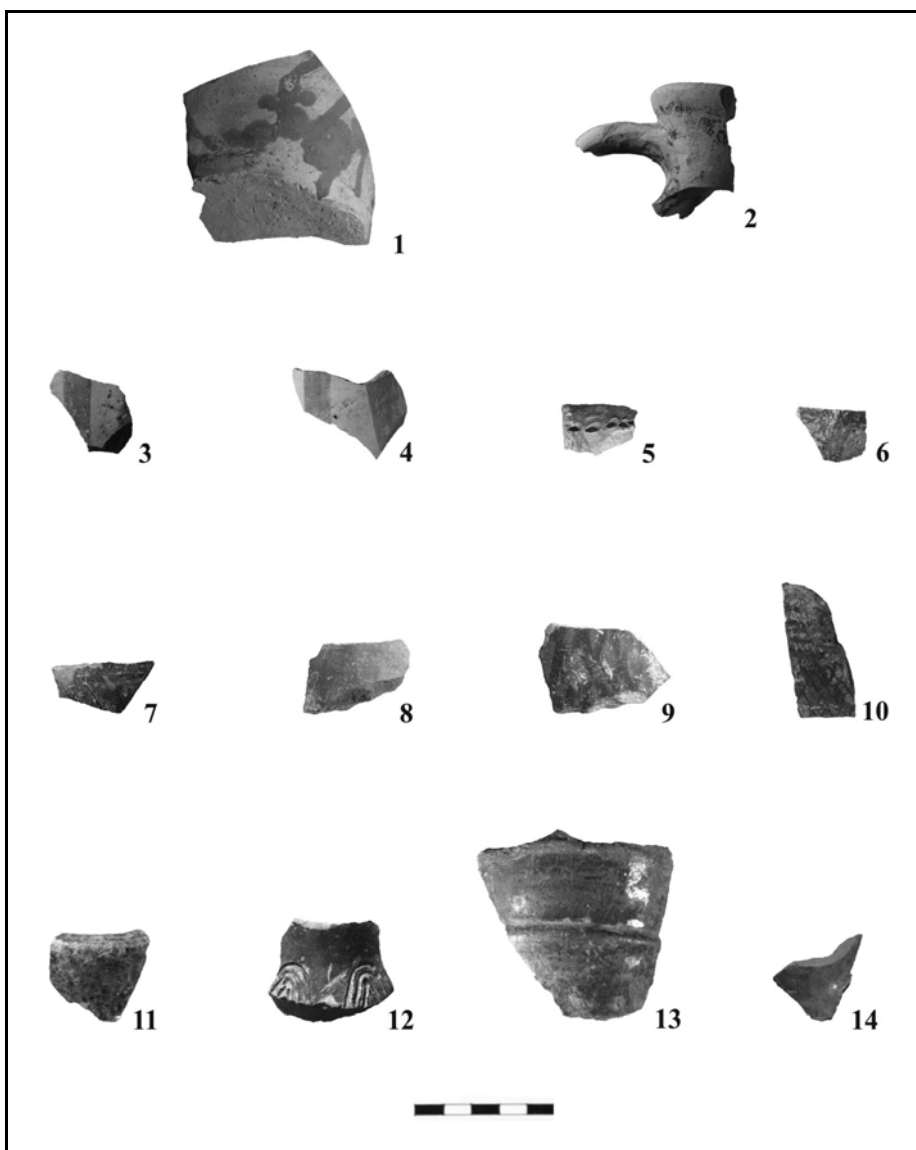
**Plate IV:** Ceramics discovered in 5/2003 Complex (1); ceramics discovered in the Pit 1/2007 (2-11).



**Plate V:** Common use ceramics discovered in Oltina "Capul Dealului".



**Plate VI:** Potter stamps discovered in Oltina "Capul Dealului" in 2007.



**Plate VII:** Ceramics decorated with paint (1-6); grey ceramics with polished decoration (7-10); ceramics with olive green enamel (11-14).



**Plate VIII:** Amphora discovered in 5/2003 Complex.



## TIMBRES AMPHORIQUES MÉDIEVAUX DU MUSÉE DE SILISTRA, BULGARIE DE NORD-EST

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**Abstract:** The main goal of the paper is to present to the open public some still unpublished medieval amphora stamps coming from the museum in Silistra. The stamps have different shape and some of them content letters and monograms. Usually one finds them on the soulders and on the handles of two main amphora types – Günsenin's type I and type IV. It is still not clear what was their exact function. Were they a producers or merchants mark? Or maybe they had to do with the centralized imperial power? Were they a sign showing the existing unification of shapes and mesures in Byzantium or a sign who was helping the imperial clerks to control the production of the merchandises and to collect money for the imperial treasury? Based on similar stamps coming from Constantinople, Athens and the North-western and Northern Black Sea Coast, some of the specimens from Silistra can be dated in the first half - mid of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The others, that are still unique, are dated according to the amphora type they are belonging to. Taking in mind the amphora production center found on the Northern coast of the Sea of Marmara, near Constantinople, the author also proposes her interpretation about some of the monograms on certain amphora stamps.

**Keywords:** medieval, amphora, stamps.

Bien qu'elles représentent une part considérable du matériel céramique qui a été trouvé les dernières décennies lors des fouilles archéologiques, les amphores médiévales et les questions qu'y sont liés deviennent rarement l'objet des articles spécialisés de la part des archéologues [Чангова 1959; Дончева-Петкова 1977, 98-103, 144-145; Аладжов 1993]. La publication et la stricte classification des amphores qui se trouvent dans les fonds des musées bulgares rendra possible la datation des couches archéologiques qui ne contiennent pas des monnaies ou des objets métalliques d'une date précise.

L'objectif du présent article est plutôt de faire une brève revue des problèmes concernant le timbrage des amphores médiévales, de présenter encore une opinion et d'attirer l'attention des spécialistes sur quelques timbres amphoriques non-publiés du musée de Silistra, que de faire des conclusions finales.

Le timbrage des amphores était effectué avant leur cuisson en appliquant sur la pâte encore humide un sceau métallique dont les symbols et les lettres étaient concaves ou convexes. Un tel sceau, daté du Xe siècle, est mis au jour à Kiev [Булгаков 2000d]. Pas toutes les amphores ont été timbrées. On trouve souvent les

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timbres sur les épaules des amphores (à la base du col, entre les deux anses ou à une proximité immédiate d'une des anses) et sur les anses (la part supérieure qui est très proche du col ou à la base de l'anse, là où elle se rattache avec la panse). Les exemplaires en question appartiennent à deux types principaux d'amphores – type I (fig. 2) (cat. №№ 1-8, 10, 13, 15, 16, 18-19) et type IV (fig. 3) (cat. №№ 11, 12) selon la classification de N. Günsenin [Günsenin 1989, 269-270, 274-276, fig. 2-4, fig. 12-14].<sup>1</sup> Malheureusement il y a des fragments de dimensions insignifiantes qui ne peuvent pas être attribués à aucun des deux types.

À l'état présent des recherches il y a encore des questions auxquelles on ne peut pas donner une réponse définitive – Quel était le rôle des timbres amphoriques? Qui exerçait le droit du timbrage? Que signifient les symbols et les lettres sur les timbres? etc. Un autre problème qui a besoin d'être éclairci est pourquoi le timbrage des amphores qui existait aux époques hellénistique et romaine cesse d'être pratiqué à l'époque de la Basse Antiquité pour réapparaître au Moyen Âge? Il sera aussi intéressant de savoir pourquoi seulement deux types des amphores médiévales (les types I et IV selon la classification de N. Günsenin) ont été timbrées? Est-ce que les timbres se rapportent au contenu de l'amphore et de cette façon garantissent sa qualité ou bien au contraire, c'est à la standardisation de la capacité des récipients qu'on doit les attribuer? Il se peut que les timbres n'étaient pas faits à l'intention des acheteurs mais sont en rapport avec le fisc et concernent le contrôle sur les quantités de production d'une marchandise donnée et le revenu de sa vente. Quelle est la signification des symbols et les lettres sur les timbres? Est-ce le nom du fabricant ou le nom du fonctionnaire qui contrôlait la production et la distribution des amphores et des marchandises qu'elles contenaient?

Selon R. Demangel et E. Mamboury les timbres amphoriques étaient « une marque de fabrique » qui contenaient souvent des noms complets, des initiales, des monogrammes ou des chiffres de série [Demangel, Mamboury 1939, 149, 152]. D'autres chercheurs acceptent aussi l'opinion que les timbres étaient la marque du fabricant [Якобсон 1951, 336; Чангова 1959, 254; Алладжов 1993, 103; Günsenin 1990, 19], mais aucun d'eux ne mentionne pas si c'était le fabricant du récipient ou le fabricant du contenu. D'après Ch. Bakirtzis le timbre ne peut pas garantir la qualité de la marchandise étant donné qu'on utilisait les amphores plus d'une fois.

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<sup>1</sup> Les amphores du type I possèdent un col bas, cylindrique ou biconique, une panse sphéroïdale et un fond arrondi. Des anses verticales, petites et massives, à la section ellipsoïdale, se rattachent au col et à la panse de l'amphore, en dépassant parfois légèrement la hauteur de l'embouchure. La corps du récipient est couvert de stries horizontales – plus denses sur l'épaule et la panse et plus espacées vers le fond. La pâte, d'une couleur beige-orange ou rouge-orange, est très bien purifiée et cuite et contient parfois de mica et de sable très fin. L'extérieur des amphores est couvert d'une engobe blanchâtre. Les exemplaires du type IV sont de très grande taille, d'une panse large et sphérique avec du fond arrondi, le col n'y est presque pas présent. Des anses lisses, d'une section ellipsoïdale, qui commencent directement du col, s'élèvent au dessus de l'embouchure et se rattachent sur la panse. Le corps du récipient est couvert de stries horizontales très denses. La pâte est dure, d'une couleur rouge-orange à marron-orange, et contient des petites quantités de mica et de sable très fin. L'extérieur est couvert d'une engobe blanchâtre.

Il considère ces marques comme montrant l'appartenance des récipients à l'équipement d'un bateau ou à une confédération de bateaux qui transportaient la marchandise. Une autre hypothèse à lui est que les timbres doivent être associés avec les fonctionnaires et les services d'État qui contrôlaient le commerce maritime du vin et de l'huile et de cette façon contrôlaient la production même des amphores. Donc les symbols que comportaient les timbres sont les noms des ateliers et des potiers qui avaient le droit de les fabriquer [Μπακιτζής 1989, 82-83]. Ces opinions ne manquent pas de logique étant donné qu'au Xe siècle appartient "Le livre du préfet"- un document qui réglementait les droits et les obligations des corporations commerciales de Constantinople dont les fonctions étaient surveillées par le préfet de la capitale. [LP 1894]. Malgré que les potiers et leurs production n'y sont pas mentionnés, on peut supposer qu'à l'intérieur de l'Empire même existait un contrôle centralisé et strict par rapport à ce métier et que les services d'État respectifs en ont été chargés. De toute évidence, en contrôlant la production des amphores, on contrôlait d'une voie indirecte le volume du commerce des marchandises différentes qui de sa part reflétait sur le revenu du fisc. Le fait que pendant le Moyen Âge on rencontre quatre types principaux d'amphores est la preuve de l'existence d'un système d'unification et de standardisation de la production à l'intérieur de Byzance.

Dire, que les amphores ont été produites dans un seul centre de production et de là ont été repandues dans un territoire plus vaste ne serait pas vrai. Étant donné leur fonction d'emballage, il faut plutôt chercher leur production à une proximité immédiate des grands régions agricoles d'où s'effectuait l'exportation des marchandises. À l'état présent des recherches il y en a seulement deux centres de production d'amphores médiévales qui sont connus. Le premier a été repéré par N. Günsenin près du village Ganos, sur la côte nord de la mer de Marmara où on a trouvé des fours et une grande quantité de fragments d'amphores brisées du type I. C'est une région connue dès l'Antiquité pour ses vignes et ses ateliers de potiers. Là, selon les trouvailles archéologiques, les sources historiques ottomanes et les études ethnographiques, la tradition dans la production du vin et de la céramique continue sans cesse jusqu'au début du XXe siècle. [Günsenin 1993, 1993-201; Günsenin 1995, 165-178]. Des ateliers pour la production d'amphores du VIII-e – IX-e siècle ont été trouvés aussi à différentes parts de la Crimée [Якобсон 1964, 43-44, 64, рис. 12, рис. 21; Якобсон 1973, 44-47, 64-65]

Trois des timbres amphoriques de Silistra (cat. №№ 1-3, fig. 1<sub>1-3</sub>, 4) appartiennent à un des types les plus répandus dans le bassin de la Méditerranée Est et la Mer Noire. Bien qu'ils diffèrent l'un de l'autre par sa forme (circulaire, rectangulaire ou d'une croix grèque), ces timbres ont un trait commun - le monogramme qui y est estampillé. Selon la manière de l'écriture des lettres, le monogramme a été déchiffré comme ΚΩΣ/ΚΩΣΤ. Des exemplaires similaires proviennent de Svichtov [Чангова 1959, обр. 7<sub>5-6</sub>; Дончева-Петкова 1977, обр. 48<sub>6,7</sub>], de Dinogetia [Barnea 1954, fig. 1<sub>2,9</sub>; Barnea 1967, fig. 154<sub>3,4,7</sub>], de Sarkel [Якобсон 1951, рис. 7<sub>9</sub>], de Kiev et du littoral Nord de la Mer Noire [Булгаков 2000a, рис. 14; Булгаков 2000b обр.3<sub>2</sub>], de Constantinople [Demangel,

Mamboury 1939, fig. 201<sup>49,50,52,55</sup>] et de l'Agora d'Athènes [Günsenin 1990, pl. LXXVIII<sup>d</sup>]. Du même type est le ci-dessus mentionné sceau de Kiev [Булгаков 2000d].

V. Bulgakov fait la suggestion que le nom du monogramme (Κωνσταντίνος) pourrait être le nom du Saint Constantin qu'on trouve souvent inscrit sur des tuiles. De cette manière les gens imploreraient le saint de les aider. Le chercheur propose aussi une autre interprétation pour ce nom. Il le relie avec l'empereur Roman III (1028-1034) qui au cours du règne de Constantin VIII (1025-1028) était encore préfet de Constantinople et le responsable des poids et des mesures. D'après V. Bulgakov l'unification des timbres amphoriques était la manifestation d'un symbolisme particulier de la succession du trône. D'autre part, la vaste diffusion des timbres du type ΚΩΣ/ΚΩΣΤ est un témoignage de la réorganisation intérieure de la chancellerie du préfet. En considérant les amphores provenant du quartier des Manganes à Constantinople et en se basant à ses observations personnelles concernant l'évolution de la forme des récipients, V. Bulgakov date les timbres avec le monogramme ΚΩΣ/ΚΩΣΤ du second quart à la moitié du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle. [Булгаков 2000a; Булгаков 2000b; Булгаков 2000d].

Bien que les idées de V. Bulgakov ne manquent pas de vraisemblance, dans cet article on voudrait présenter encore une interprétation des timbres amphoriques en question que le temps et les nouvelles recherches pourraient affirmer ou démentir. La vaste région de diffusion des timbres de ce type, le fait que Constantinople, étant la capitale de l'Empire Byzantin, avait une importance primordiale dans la production et la répartition des marchandises, et, non pas sans importance, le voisinage du centre de production près de Ganos, nous font enclins de supposer que les lettres ΚΩΣ/ΚΩΣΤ sont l'abréviation du nom de la capitale même et servaient comme "étiquette" disant „Fabriqué en Constantinople“ ou „Provenant de Constantinople“ par analogie de la pratique utilisée à nos jours. La différente forme des timbres pourrait s'expliquer par un changement périodique de „la marque commerciale“.

Suivant le même modèle logique on pourrait dire que les lettres Θ, Ε, Σ, Ν sur les timbres cat. №№ 4 et 5 (fig. 1<sub>4,5</sub>) sont l'abréviation de Θεσσαλονίκη (Salonique). C'est aussi l'opinion de Ch. Bakirtzis, selon lequel de tels timbres portent les amphores utilisées dans la construction des voûtes de l'église „Sainte Sophie“ à Salonique. Il ajoute aussi, que si cette supposition se vérifiait, ce serait le raffermissement de l'importance de Salonique dans le commerce et l'exportation des marchandises [Μπακιρτζής 1989, 82]. V. Bulgakov publie un timbre similaire de Kiev dont l'inscription est déchiffrée comme „φῖς ζωή“ (?) et qu'il date du second quart du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle [Булгаков 2000a, рис. 13].

Un autre type de timbres amphoriques très répandus ont la forme d'un cercle dont les contours sont faits à l'aide d'un instrument aux dents pointus (cat. №№ 7-9) (fig. 1<sub>7-9</sub>, 5,6). Similaires proviennent de Dinogetia [Barnea 1954, fig. 1<sub>7</sub>; Barnea 1967, fig. 154<sub>11,12</sub>], de Constantinople [Demangel, Mamboury 1939, fig. 201<sub>53,57</sub>], d'Edirne et de Sinope [Günsenin 1990, pl. LVI 1c,d,e; pl. XXVI 4c], de Serçe Limani [Doorninck 1989, fig.3<sub>27</sub>]. D'après les données stratigraphiques et les

observations faites par rapport à certaines des analogies, ces timbres peuvent être datés du second quart à la moitié du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle [Demangel, Mamboury 1939, 46, 148-149; Barnea 1967, 249-250; Barnea 1989, 131; Doorninck 1989, 253].<sup>2</sup>

De la 1<sup>ère</sup> moitié du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle peut être attribué aussi le timbre cat. № 6 (fig. 1<sub>6</sub>), qui trouve des analogies exactes avec un exemplaire de Constantinople [Demangel, Mamboury 1939, fig. 201<sub>62</sub>]. Cat. № 10 (fig. 1<sub>10</sub>) est daté au dernier quart du Xe siècle selon des analogies provenant de Prélav [Аладжов, 1993, 103, обр. 1<sub>2a,26</sub>]. Cat. № 13 (fig. 1<sub>13</sub>) a été trouvé dans un ensemble de fours et de fosses du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Malheureusement les autres timbres amphoriques de Silistra (cat. № № 14-19, fig. 1<sub>14-19</sub>) ne trouvent pas des analogies parmi les exemplaires déjà publiés. Il peuvent être datés généralement dans les limites du type I d'après N. Günsenin auquel ils appartiennent – de la seconde moitié du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu'au milieu du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Il serait possible de bien préciser cette date grâce aux résultats des nouvelles recherches.

La constatation de Zh. Aladzhov que „selon beaucoup de connaisseurs de ce genre de monuments, les timbres amphoriques médiévaux apparaissent vers le fin du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle et existent jusqu'au fin du Xe – le début du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle” [Аладжов, 1993, 101-102] n'est pas valable.<sup>3</sup> Le timbrage des amphores comme symbole de l'unification de la production et du contrôle qui s'en exerçait de la part du pouvoir centralisé s'observe jusque la dernière période de l'existence de l'Empire byzantin. Quand elles étaient timbrées, les amphores du XIII<sup>e</sup> et du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle portaient des marques à la base des deux anses, là, où elles se raccordent à la panse [Булгаков 2000c]. Il y a seulement deux timbres de Silistra qui s'attribuent au type IV d'après N. Günsenin. Identiques au timbre cat. № 11 (fig. 1<sub>11</sub>) ont été mis au jour lors des

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<sup>2</sup> Les amphores de Dinogetia appartenant au type I d'après N. Günsenin sont généralement attribués au Xe-XI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Dans une des publications quand même est mentionné qu'une amphore presque entière de ce type était trouvée dans une hutte incendiée pendant l'invasion des Petchénègues de l'an 1036 et datée grâce à une monnaie de l'empereur Michel IV le Paphlagonien (1034-1041). Malheureusement il n'est pas mentionné si cette amphore possède un timbre ou non [Barnea 1989, 131]. Les amphores publiées par R. Demangel et E. Mamboury ont été utilisées comme des éléments de construction des voûtes des bâtiments mis au jour lors des fouilles de la région de Gülhane à Constantinople. Les amphores du palais des Manganes qui était construit pendant le règne de Basile I (867-886) se rapportent à la seconde période de sa construction et à la reconstruction de l'ensemble chez Constantin IX (1042-1055) [Demangel, Mamboury 1934, 148-9]. Terminus ante quem pour l'épave mise au jour près de Serçe Limani et pour sa cargaison est la 3<sup>ème</sup> décennie du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle [Doorninck 1989, 253].

<sup>3</sup> Pour supporter son allégation, Zh. Aladzhov cite les articles de A. Yakobson [Якобсон 1951, 336-337], I. Changova [Чангова 1959, 252] et L. Dontcheva-Petkova [Дончева-Петкова 1977, 144-145]. Si on fait quand même une tentative de lire les paragraphes et les pages respectives, on va voir qu'aucun de ces auteurs ne soutient pas une thèse pareille. A. Yakobson et I. Changova mentionnent seulement que les timbres sont un trait caractéristique des amphores du IX<sup>e</sup> – XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, mais ils ne font aucun commentaire à ce qui concerne la période de leur apparition ou de leur disparition. Le paragraphe consacré aux timbres amphoriques dans le livre de L. Dontcheva-Petkova est très bref et il n'y a pas du tout des dates qui peuvent être reliées avec ce problème.

fouilles menées à Saraçhane, Constantinople [Hayes 1992, 76, fig. 27<sub>11</sub>, pl. 14<sub>11</sub>].<sup>4</sup> On les trouve aussi sur des amphores des musées turcs [Günsenin 1990, pl. XV 2c; pl. LXII c,d] et sur celles du littoral nord de la Mer Noire [Булгаков 2000 с, рис. 14-8,14,15]. La principale part des timbres de Sudak et de Solhat provient de couches et d'ensembles archéologiques très bien datées au second et au troisième quart du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle [Булгаков 2000 с]. On pourrait mettre à la même période et l'exemplaire de Silistra. À ce qui concerne cat. № 12 (fig. 1<sub>12</sub>, 7), on doit le dater généralement au XII<sup>e</sup> – XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles parce que on ne connaît pas du tout ses analogies. Le timbre est unique parce qu'il est constitué de deux images identiques qui se recouvrent l'une l'autre. Est-ce que ce timbrage double était le résultat du désir du fonctionnaire responsable que le monogramme soit bien lisible (malgré qu'il était toujours lisible lors du premier timbrage) ou s'était une faute de sa part et au lieu de timbrer les deux anses a estampillé deux fois seulement l'une d'eux? C'est une question à laquelle pour le moment serait difficile de répondre.

Malheureusement, en jugeant des résultats, les problèmes concernant les amphores médiévales et les timbres amphoriques ont besoin d'études plus approfondies. La publication d'exemplaires provenant d'ensembles bien datés permettrait la création d'une échelle chronologique plus précise qui serait utilisée comme un point de repère pour la datation de couches archéologiques et les trouvailles qu'y sont trouvées. De très grande importance serait de repérer et de mettre au jour les centres de production d'amphores. Ces résultats pourraient aider l'enrichissement de l'image qu'on a pour la vie économique et culturelle dans l'Empire byzantin pendant le Moyen Âge en reconstruisant les voies commerciales maritimes par lesquelles s'effectuait la diffusion et la pénétration des marchandises transportées dans les amphores.

### Catalogue des fragments avec les timbres amphoriques

**Cat. № 1.** Fragment de l'épaule d'amphore type I avec transition vers le col. Pâte bien purifiée, d'une couleur rose-orange, contenant une grande quantité de sable fin. Timbre circulaire à la base du col avec un monogramme concave - ΚΩΣΤ. D. 2,7x3,1 cm. (fig. 1<sub>1</sub>).

Musée régional de Silistra. Non publié. Inv. № III-2699.

**Cat. № 2.** Fragment de l'épaule d'amphore type I. Pâte bien purifiée, d'une couleur orange, contenant une quantité insignifiante de mica. Timbre circulaire, partiellement conservé, avec un monogramme concave - ΚΩΣΤ. D. 2,6 cm. (fig. 1<sub>2</sub>).

Musée régional de Silistra. Non publié. Inv. № III-4734.

**Cat. № 3.** Fragment de l'épaule d'amphore type I avec transition vers le col et part de l'anse. Pâte bien purifiée, d'une couleur rose-orange, contenant de sable fin. Le timbre est mis sur l'épaule, à proximité de l'anse. Il a la forme d'une croix grèque avec des côtés concaves. À l'intérieur – un monogramme concave - ΚΩΣΤ. D. 3x3 cm. (fig. 1<sub>3</sub>, 4).

Musée régional de Silistra. Non publié. Inv. № provisoire 2007/39

<sup>4</sup> Le timbre se trouve à la base de l'anse d'une amphore du type 62 d'après J. Hayes, qui a été datée vers le fin du XII<sup>e</sup> – le début du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.

**Cat. № 4.** Fragment de la part supérieure d'amphore type I. Pâte bien purifiée, d'une couleur rose-rouge, contenant une grande quantité de mica. Timbre carré avec des angles arrondis sur l'épaule, à proximité de l'anse droite. Des lettres concaves y sont inscrites - Θ, Ε, Σ, Ν. D. 3,7x3,7 cm. (fig. 14).

Musée régional de Silistra. Inv. № III-45. [Чангова 1951, стр. 252, обр. 7<sub>2</sub>; Дончева-Петкова 1977, стр. 144, обр. 48<sub>2</sub>; Аладжов 1993, обр. 2<sub>2</sub>.]

**Cat. № 5.** Fragment de l'épaule d'amphore type I avec transition vers le col. Pâte bien purifiée, d'une couleur orange, contenant une quantité insignifiante de mica. Timbre partiellement conservé sur l'épaule, à la base du col et à proximité de l'anse. De toute vraisemblance sa forme est pareille à celle du cat. № 4 et contient des lettres concaves - Ν, Η, Κ. D. 2,8x2,1 cm. (fig. 15).

Musée régional de Silistra. Non publié. Inv. № III-2502.

**Cat. № 6.** Fragment d'épaule d'amphore type I. Pâte bien purifiée, d'une couleur orange-marron, contenant de mica. Timbre partiellement conservé qui a la forme de deux ellipses tangentes. Des lettres concaves y sont inscrites. D. 3,9x3,1 cm. (fig. 16).

Musée régional de Silistra. Non publié. Inv. № III-3176.

**Cat. № 7.** Fragment de col avec la lèvre et part de l'anse qui s'y rattache d'amphore type I. Pâte bien purifiée, d'une couleur orange. Timbre circulaire, dont le contour est fait à l'aide d'un instrument aux dents pointus. À proximité de la base de l'anse. D. 1,6 cm. (fig. 17, 5).

Musée régional de Silistra. Non publié. Inv. № provisoire 2007/192.

**Cat. № 8.** Part supérieure d'amphore type I. Col trapu et des épaules sphériques. Les anses ne surpassent pas la hauteur de l'embouchure. Le timbre circulaire, dont le contour est fait à l'aide d'un instrument aux dents pointus, se trouve entre les deux anses, à la base du col. D. 2,2 cm. (fig. 18, 6).

Musée régional de Silistra. Non publié. Inv. № provisoire 2007/104.

**Cat. № 9.** Fragment de la paroi d'amphore dont les dimensions sont insignifiantes. Pâte bien purifiée, qui contient de mica. Timbre circulaire, dont le contour est fait à l'aide d'un instrument aux dents pointus. D. 1,5x1,8 cm. (fig. 19).

Musée régional de Silistra. Non publié. Inv. № III-3051.

**Cat. № 10.** Part supérieure d'amphore type I. Pâte bien purifiée, d'une couleur rose foncé. Timbre circulaire, concave, à la base du col, entre les deux anses. Le timbre est divisé à quatre parts par deux lignes qui se croisent. À l'intérieur de chaque part il y a un petit cercle. D. 3 cm. (fig. 110).

Musée régional de Silistra. Inv. № III-39. [Чангова 1951, стр. 252, обр. 7<sub>3</sub>; Дончева-Петкова 1977, стр. 144, обр. 48<sub>3</sub>; Аладжов 1993, обр. 2<sub>3</sub>.]

**Cat. № 11.** Fragment de la paroi d'amphore type IV avec la part inférieure de l'anse verticale. Pâte bien purifiée, d'une couleur orange, contenant une grande quantité de mica. Timbre circulaire, concave, à la base de l'anse. À l'intérieur il est divisé en petits carrés par des lignes parallèles qui se croisent. D. 2,5 cm. (fig. 111).

Musée régional de Silistra. Non publié. Inv. № III-4756.

**Cat. № 12.** Fragment de la paroi d'amphore type IV avec la part inférieure de l'anse verticale. Pâte bien purifiée mais un peu brûlée lors de la cuisson, d'une couleur gris-rose. Deux timbres circulaires identiques avec un monogramme convexe à la base de l'anse qui se recouvrent partiellement l'un l'autre. Malheureusement une part du second timbre manque. D. 2,5 cm. (fig. 1<sub>12</sub>,7).

Musée régional de Silistra. Non publié. Inv. № provisoire 2007/81.

**Cat. № 13.** Fragment du col avec la lèvre et de l'épaule d'amphore type I. Pâte bien purifiée, d'une couleur orange. Timbre ellipsoïdal à la base du col, entre les deux anses. L'image concave du timbre est indécise. D. 2,7x0,9 cm. (fig. 1<sub>13</sub>).

Musée régional de Silistra. Non publié. Inv. № III 2674.

**Cat. № 14.** Fragment de col d'amphore avec une anse dans un état de conservation très mauvais. Pâte d'une couleur beige-orange. Timbre concave, circulaire, sur la partie supérieure de l'anse. L'image n'est pas nette, de toute probabilité des lettres. D. 2,3x2,0 cm. (fig. 1<sub>14</sub>).

Musée régional de Silistra. Non publié. Inv. № III-1384.

**Cat. № 15.** Fragment du col et de l'épaule d'amphore type I. Pâte bien purifiée, d'une couleur orange, contenant de sable fin. Timbre partiellement conservé sur l'épaule. Il a la forme d'un triangle isocèle, dont la base est plate et les côtés sont convexes. Le triangle est divisé en deux par une ligne verticale. D. 2,3x1,7 cm. (fig. 1<sub>15</sub>).

Musée régional de Silistra. Non publié. Inv. № III-2657.

**Cat. № 16.** Fragment d'une anse verticale d'une section ellipsoïdale. Pâte bien purifiée, d'une couleur orange, contenant de sable fin. Timbre concave, rectangulaire, partiellement conservé sur l'anse. L'intérieur du timbre est occupée par deux petits rectangles mis l'un à côté de l'autre, au dessus desquels se trouve un triangle isocèle avec des côtés convexes. D. 2,1x1,2 cm. (fig. 1<sub>16</sub>).

Musée régional de Silistra. Non publié. Inv. № III-3154.

**Cat. № 17.** Fragment d'épaule d'amphore type I. Pâte bien purifiée, d'une couleur orange, contenant du mica. Timbre circulaire très mal préservé d'une image illisible. D. 3,0x2,6 cm. (fig. 1<sub>17</sub>).

Musée régional de Silistra. Non publié. Inv. № III-2872.

**Cat. № 18.** Fragment de la part supérieure d'amphore type I avec une anse verticale qui dépasse la hauteur de l'embouchure. Pâte bien purifiée, d'une couleur beige, contenant une grande quantité de sable. Timbre ellipsoïdal sur la part supérieure de l'anse, à proximité de la lèvre. Des lettres concaves y sont inscrites. D. 1,8x3,1 cm. (fig. 1<sub>18</sub>).

Musée régional de Silistra. Non publié. Inv. № III 1382.

**Cat. № 19.** Fragment du col et de l'épaule d'amphore type I. Pâte bien purifiée, d'une couleur beige-orange, contenant une grande quantité de sable fin. Timbre circulaire avec un monogramme concave sur l'épaule, à la base du col. D. 2,9x3,2 cm. (fig. 1<sub>19</sub>).

Musée régional de Silistra. Non publié. Inv. № III-2503.

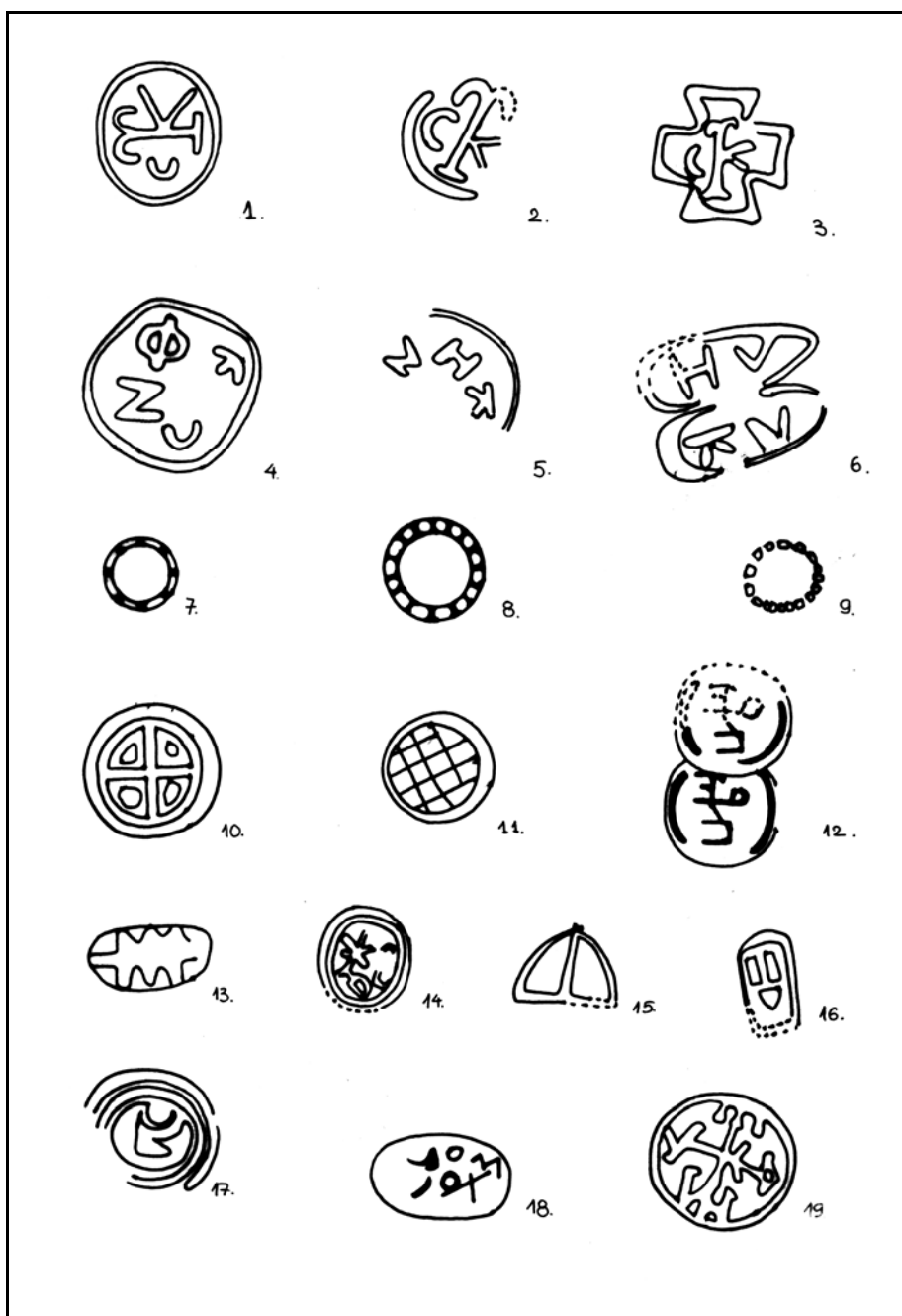
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- Булгаков 2000c** Булгаков, В. В. „Византийские амфорные клейма XIV в. из Солхата, Херсонеса и Судака”, <http://archaeology.kiev.ua/byzantine/amphorae/stamps/bulgakov2/htm>.
- Булгаков 2000d** Булгаков, В. В. „Штамп для клеймения византийских амфор XI в.”, *Восточноевропейский археологический журнал*, 1(2), <http://archaeology.kiev.ua/journal/010100/bulgakov.htm>.

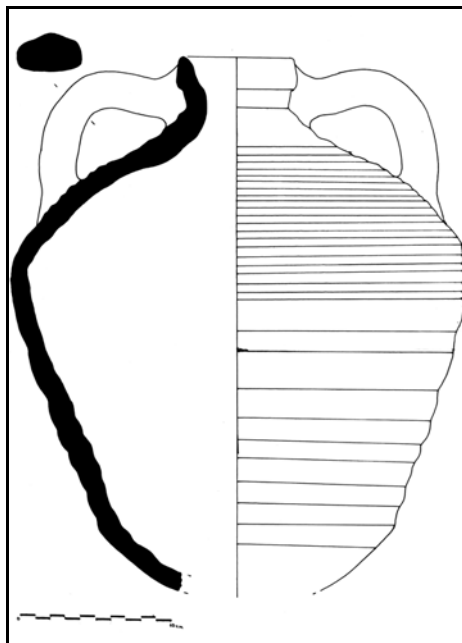
- Дончева-Петкова 1977** **Дончева-Петкова, Л.:** *Българска битова керамика през ранното средновековие (втора половина на 6 – края на 10 век.), София.*
- Чангова 1951** **Чангова, Й.:** *Средновековни амфори в България – ИАИ, т. 22, стр.243-261.*
- Якобсон 1951** **Якобсон, А. Л.:** *Средневековые амфоры Северного Причерноморья – СА, XV, стр. 323-344.*
- Якобсон 1964** **Якобсон, А. Л.:** *Средневековый Крым, Ленинград.*
- Якобсон 1973** **Якобсон, А. Л.:** *Крым в средние века, Москва.*

### **Liste des abreviations**

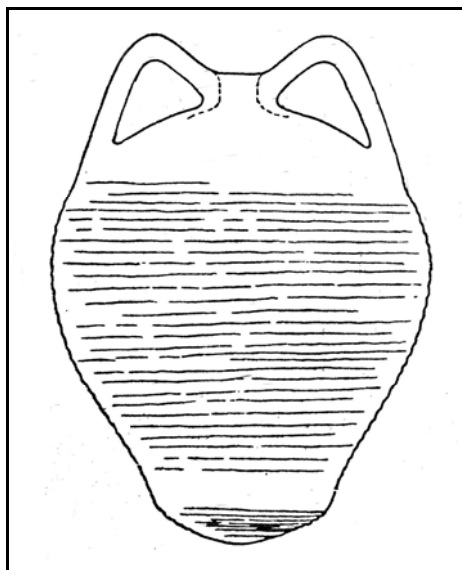
ГНАМ – Годишник на националния археологически музей, София  
 ИАИ – Известия на археологическия институт, София  
 СА – Советская археология, Москва  
 BCH – Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique, Paris  
 SCIV – Studii și Cercetări de istorie veche, București



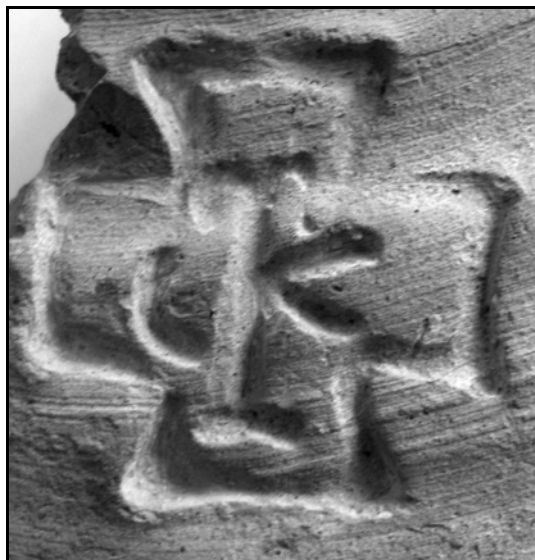
**Fig. 1:** Timbres amphoriques de Silistra, Cat. №№ 1-19, M 1:1.



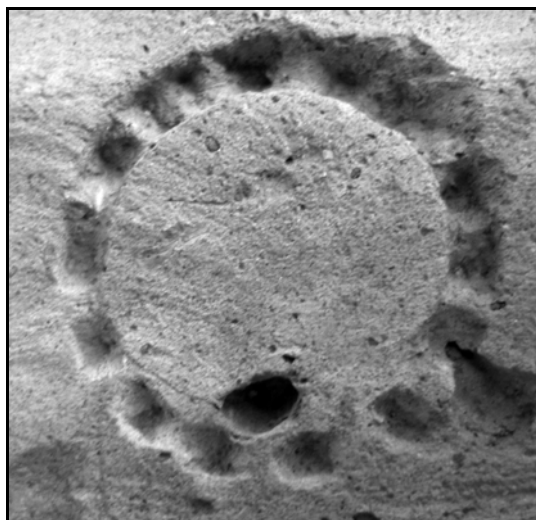
**Fig. 2:** Amphore type I d'après la classification de N. Günsenin (provenant des fouilles menées à Silistra le 2007).



**Fig. 3:** Amphore type IV d'après la classification de N. Günsenin (d'après A. Yakobson).



**Fig. 4:** Timbre cat. № 3.



**Fig. 5:** Timbre cat. № 8.



**Fig. 6:** Timbre cat. № 7.



**Fig. 7:** Timbre cat. № 12.

## EARLY MEDIEVAL LEAD ICONS FROM THE BULGARIAN LAND

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**Abstract:** The word “icon” (εἰκών) originates from Greek and means “image”, “portrait”. In the period of forming of the Christian Arts in Byzantium, this word meant any image of the Savior, Lord’s Mother, angel, saint or event, connected with the Holy history, no matter if this had been a sculptured image, monumental painting or miniature and no matter what the technique of implementation had been. That is why, speaking about icons, we will have in mind the church image in general, because its essence is in the Christian worldview and the doctrine of Salvation. In this relation here there are represented some lead icons from the territory of Mediaeval Bulgaria, and more precisely - from its northeastern part. The icons belong to that group of monuments of small plastics, which are not so often seen in this period. They differ in form, but all of them are unified by the style of the pictorial motifs, which represent individual characters or whole scenes from Christian arts. Some of them are earlier and date back to the 5<sup>th</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> century CE, while others are later and belong to the arts of the First Bulgarian Kingdom – 10<sup>th</sup> – 11<sup>th</sup> century CE.

**Keywords:** iconography, coins, christians.

The word “icon” (εἰκών) is of Greek extraction and means “image”, “portrait”. During the period of Christian art formation in Byzantium this word signifies every effigy of Christ, Virgin Mary, an angel, a saint or an event connected with biblical history, although it may be a sculptural work, a monumental fresco or a miniature created in different ways. Therefore, when dealing with icons, we shall consider the church image in general because its meaning lies in the Christian world view and the doctrine of salvation. Such are the objects represented here – several lead icons from the territory of medieval Bulgaria and particularly from its north-eastern part. These icons belong to the group of monuments of small plastics which are comparatively rare from this period. They differ in their form but they are united by the features of the pictorial motives which represent various personages or entire scenes. Some of them are early and can be dated to the 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> century while others were created later and are part of the art of the First Bulgarian Kingdom of the 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> century.

The joint consideration of all these monuments stems from our willingness to underline the development of some more typical iconographic types from the time of early Christianity until the establishment of the new faith in this country. Attention is paid not only to the specifics of the depicted scenes but also to the

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stylistic particularities of their interpretation and the manner of their technical execution. The issues of production are also important because they serve to enhance orientation regarding the use of these objects and contribute to the more detailed study of the particular iconographic types.

The first specimen is a rectangular icon whose two sides were damaged during the casting of the object (ill. 1)<sup>1</sup>. Not only this fact but the irregularities on the upper curved part of the icon and the unremoved metal along its frame are clear evidence that it was never in use. In spite of that, the frontal image is of a high quality and presents the composition “Entry of Christ into Jerusalem” (ill. 1a). The intention of the artist was to give all details of the scene. The illusion of movement is provided by the situation of the ass and the hands of Christ. In front of the image there is an equal-arm cross whose arms’ ends are extended and under it the earth’s surface is represented by a horizontal line. On the reverse are depicted geometric ornaments (ill. 1b). There are only two amulets similar to this one, but they have any differences<sup>2</sup>.

As a composition and conception the Entry into Jerusalem scene develops the images of the imperial *Adventus* from the pagan period<sup>3</sup>. While in the amulets in question which belong to the earlier period of the 4<sup>th</sup> century emphasis is laid on the expression of humility and gratitude to Christ, here the festivities surrounding the triumphal entry of Jesus into Jerusalem are brought to the forefront. These scenes of larger dimensions demand more space which is provided by embossed plastics. Examples of this are a wooden cornice from the Virgin Mary church in Egypt from the late 4<sup>th</sup> century (ill. 2) and a detail from the limestone sarcophagus from the 5<sup>th</sup> century in the Istanbul Museum (ill. 3)<sup>4</sup>. A version of this subject is the meeting of Christ by angels which symbolizes the holy liturgy<sup>5</sup>. The choice of this composition and the peculiarities of its interpretation clearly point to the time of creation and use of this lead icon which is the late 4<sup>th</sup> or early 5<sup>th</sup> century. It was the time when biblical scenes created in the East started to become popular owing to the numerous amulets and eulogia brought by returning pilgrims to the Holy Land (ill. 3)<sup>6</sup>. Christ is depicted in a similar manner in the Entry into Jerusalem scene on other two sarcophagi from the National Museum in Rome – the first one from the termæ of Diocletian (ill. 4) and Iunius Bassus (ill. 5)<sup>7</sup>.

An early Christian monument is also the round bilateral embossed icon featuring the prophet Daniel in his classical posture – a tall, beardless young man

<sup>1</sup> Dimensions: length – 3,0 cm, width – 1,7 cm, thickness – 0,15 cm. North-East Bulgaria..

<sup>2</sup> **Марков, Н.** Поклоннически амулет от IV век. – Археология, 4, 2003, 51-53; **Марков, Н.** По следите на античната магия (55 късноантични амuleта от няколко частни сбирки). С., 2005, с. 95, обр. С.11; с. 96, обр. С.12.

<sup>3</sup> **Grabar, A.** L’empereur dans l’art byzantin. Paris, 1936, p. 234.

<sup>4</sup> **Mathews, T.** The Clash of Gods. A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art. New Jersey, 1993, p. 39.

<sup>5</sup> Obb. cit., p. 41.

<sup>6</sup> **Buckton, D.** Byzantium. Treasures of Byzantine Art and Culture. London, 1994, p. 113, Abb. 128; p. 115, Abb. 130.

<sup>7</sup> **Ausstellungskatalog.** Imperator Caesar Flavius Konstantin Konstantinus der Grosse. Trier-Luxemburg, 2007, Abb. II. 3.19; Abb. 8.

standing *en face* with arms lifted in a prayerful gesture, with a nimbus and long attire (ill. 6a). In his hands, open for prayer, there are depicted martyrs' wreaths, let down from the sky. The lions' figures are upright and their heads are turned to him. On the reverse a rider is depicted in low relief facing left and having a correctly drawn nimbus around his head (ill. 6b)<sup>8</sup>. The right hand of the rider holds a long patriarchal cross, and in his left hand there is a spear, with which he pierces a female daemon, thrown down under the legs of the horse. There is a small human figure behind the horseman, and an eight-rayed star in front of him. The images on the both sides are evenly proportioned and relatively volumetrically treated with proportions kept among the particular figures. On the periphery of both surfaces it passes a relief belt, which frames the compositions and creates an impression about their completeness.

The combination of both scenes on a single monument is not accidental. The spread of the Daniel in the lions' den composition on various monuments – ampullae, stone and metal plastics, gems and many others is particularly widespread during the 5<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> century<sup>9</sup>. Similar iconography is on an amulet from Aldomirovci, near Sofia<sup>10</sup>. It is supposed that this iconographic scene, along with the Sacrifice of Abraham and the Glorification of the Cross, came from the East and especially from Syria<sup>11</sup>. A special role for their formation is played by the book of the Prophet Daniel – a work written about 163 BC (Dan. 6:14)<sup>12</sup>. The first scene of Daniel with lions however becomes the most popular one and it is perceived by Christians as a symbol of Christ's personality, who had fully disarmed death. Some people insert into it apotropaic meaning, while others see in it a symbol of resurrection and salvation: "But as for you, go your way to the end; then you will enter into rest and rise again for your allotted portion at the end of the age." (Daniel 12:13). This scene with the relevant artistic transformations was ratified as early as 4<sup>th</sup> - 5<sup>th</sup> century, but there had been disputes about its prime source – according to some authors it is Judaic, and according to other ones - Paleo-Christian<sup>13</sup>. This scene was interpreted by the Christians as a symbol of Christ who overcame death by His resurrection. In some of the earlier monuments He wears a short tunic and has a Phrygian hat on His head – the purpose is the time and place of the event to be underlined – Persia, during the times of Cyrus. He had been depicted this way

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<sup>8</sup> Dimensions: length – 2,2 cm, thickness – 0,2 cm. Razgrad vicinity.

<sup>9</sup> **Bank, A.** L'art byzantin dans les musées de l'Union Soviétique. Leningrad, 1977, p. 283, pl. 78; Early Christian and Byzantine Art. Baltimore, 1947, pl. LXVII, No 552; **Ross, M.** Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Vol. I, Washington, 1972, p. 99, No 119; **Dalton, O.** Byzantine Art and Archaeology. New York, 1961, p. 138, fig. 72; p. 623, fig. 396.

<sup>10</sup> **Марков, Н.** Бележки за раннохристиянски медалион с образа на пророк Даниил от една частна сбирка. – Археологически вести, (под печат).

<sup>11</sup> **Кондаков, Н.** Археологическое путешествие по Сирии и Палестине. СПб., 1904, с. 287-293; **Атанасов, Г.** Пос. съч., с. 51.

<sup>12</sup> **Марков, Н.** Християнската символика. С., 2006, с. 65.

<sup>13</sup> **Атанасов, Г.** Сребърен медалион с образите на пророк Даниил и Свети Георги от ранносредновековната крепост до село Цар Асен, Силистренско. – Археология, 3, 1990, с. 42.

over ivory paxes from 5<sup>th</sup> - 6<sup>th</sup> century<sup>14</sup>, as well as over a relief from the 6<sup>th</sup> century<sup>15</sup> (Fig.7). According to Eusebius of Caesarea, even Constantine the Great (306-337) wished this composition to be placed in front of the Palace in Constantinople<sup>16</sup>. The popularity of the scene had been strengthened by the convincing belief in the protective force of Divine manifestation<sup>17</sup>. The story about the prophet- wise man, survived by miracle in the pit with lions converts into an emblem of eternal life and emanation of Christ's resurrection. Thus, in small plastics this subject has been perceived as a symbol, defeating death.

The military soldier on another plate is the Jewish King Solomon who is canonized as a saint by the Eastern church<sup>18</sup>. According to the Judeo-Christian tradition, he is considered to be lord of the demons and a saint who was endowed with power by God to chase away disease-inflicting demons. The female figure vanquished by Solomon is the demon Lilith who snatched newly born babies and was mother to demons according to Mesopotamian and Jewish folklore. One of the first researchers of Byzantine amulets sees in the scene a symbol of the victory of good over evil<sup>19</sup>. There is a similar iconographic scene over a lead medallion from Varna region<sup>20</sup>, as well as over other similar monuments from the 6<sup>th</sup> century, brought from the Holy Land (Fig.8), (ill. 9)<sup>21</sup>. During the reign of Emperor Justinian the Great the subjects of triumphant emperors and saintly riders acquired wide popularity<sup>22</sup>. Thus they gave additional support to the production of many apotropaic medallions which feature triumphant riders overpowering evil forces.

Thus, they become an additional reason for circulation of multiple medallions- apotropeics, representing triumphant riders above evil forces. This is the time of the pre-Iconoclastic epoch (5<sup>th</sup> - 7<sup>th</sup> centuries), when there had been formed the basic iconographies of the military saints - "warrior-walker", "warrior-walker and dragon-fighter", "warrior-rider and dragon-fighter"<sup>23</sup>, which had inevitably been influenced by the representations of the Old Testament apocryphal subjects over different monuments. Moreover, the images of St.Solomon and St.Sisinius on horse with a demon, thrown down under the horses' legs are one of the most distributed scenes.

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<sup>14</sup>Wetzmann, K. Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection. Vol. III, Washington, 1972, p. 31-36, No. 18, Pl. XVI, XVII.

<sup>15</sup>Matheus, T. The Clash..., p. 78, Abb. 55.

<sup>16</sup>Wessel, K. Daniel. – In: Reallexicon zur byzantinischen Kunst, I. Stuttgart, 1966, col. 1114.

<sup>17</sup>Даркевич, В. Прикладное искусство. – В: Культура Византии – вторая половина VII–XII в. М., 1989, с. 550; G. Majeska. A Medallion of the Prophet Daniel in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection. – DOP, 28, 1974, 361-366.

<sup>18</sup>Марков, Н. По следите на..., с. 55.

<sup>19</sup>Schlumberger, G. Amulettes byzantins anciens. Revue des études grecques. T. V. Paris, 1892, p. 74-75 et suiv.

<sup>20</sup>Марков, Н. Ранновизантийски амулет за предпазване от болест. – Нумизматика и сфрагистика, 1, 2000, 85-87.

<sup>21</sup>Matheus, T. The Clash..., p.

<sup>22</sup>Атанасов, Г. Християнският Дуросторум-Дръстър. Велико Търново, 2007, с. 121.

<sup>23</sup>Атанасов, Г. Воинските иконографии, въоръжението и снаряжението на Свети Георги през Ранното Средновековие (V–X в.). – В: Оръжие и снаряжение през Късната Античност и Средновековието IV–XV в. Варна, 2002, с. 41.

On one of the round icons is represented Virgin Mary Orans, where the body dressed in a tunic and the raised hands which denote a gesture of prayer are strongly modeled (ill. 10)<sup>24</sup>. The high relief and the use of a double relief line, as well as the emphasized sketchiness of the effigy of the round icon, betray its earlier provenance from the 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> century. One of the interesting example is the medallion on the gold bracelet (6<sup>th</sup> century), (ill. 11)<sup>25</sup>. It is known that one of the earliest images of Virgin Mary Orans or Blacherniotissa is a mosaic in the Blacherna church of Constantinople<sup>26</sup>. It should be noted that initially the orans gesture was a symbol illustrating piety (*pietas*) and as such it was familiar in the art of the Roman empire. The same gesture was later preserved in the portraits of the intercessor saints and especially of Virgin Mary. Initially, Orans was a symbol, representing piety (*pietas*) and in such a way it is known from the arts of the empire's times. This is the Orans which can be seen over many pagan and Christian sarcophagi from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. Its parity is the shephard with a lamb in hands, and later – the Christian Good Shephard. The personification of belief fast gets transformed into a typological image of the dead man with underlined individual features. The custom of raising the hands in prayer passes from the Old Testament to the New one. In this relation, St.apostle Paul wrote to his friend Timothy (I, 2, 8): "I will therefore that men pray every where, lifting up holy hands..." Later on this prayer gesture of open hands started to be interpreted as a symbol of the Holy Cross<sup>27</sup>. In the later stage of the same development in the Orans pose, it had been reproduced neither alive, nor dead person and the iconographic image had been saved among the portraits of the saints – protectors and most of all – in the representation of God's Mother<sup>28</sup>.

The next lead icon is unilateral, has a round form and a lug for hanging it (ill. 12). On its obverse side is featured a frontal bust effigy of a saintly bishop which is proven by the crosses on both sides and the loros thrown across his shoulders. The lack of an inscription does not enable one to determine who is the depicted saint but his specific iconographic features – a long face, a short beard and ears pricked up, are typical of St. Nicholas. This attribution is also supported by the bishop's attire which he wears, particularly the loros. In the 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> century, to which the lead icon is dated, St. Nicholas became the most accessible saint and the church rightly calls him "a rule of faith and an example of meekness"<sup>29</sup>. The two crosses aside of the figure are confirmation of the chronology, because as it is known, they are

<sup>24</sup> Dimensions: length – 2,4 cm, thickness – 0,3 cm. Shumen vicinity.

<sup>25</sup> **В. Buckton**. Byzantium. Treasures of Byzantine Art and Culture. London, 1994, P. 95, Abb. 99.

<sup>26</sup> Влахернският храм в Константинопол се намирал до морето при Златния Рог, построен бил от Пулхерия Августа през 451г., а по-късно възстановен и разширен от Юстиниан I. Неговата слава се свързвала със съхраняването на мафория на Богородица.

<sup>27</sup> **Жебелев, С.** Оранта (К вопросу о возникновении типа). – В: Seminarium Kondakovianum, III, 1927, с. 5.

<sup>28</sup> **Грабар, А.** Портретът в старохристиянската иконография. – В: Избрани съчинения. Т. 2, С., 1983, с. 248.

<sup>29</sup> **Дончева, С.** Кръгла иконка с релефно изображение на "Св. Никола" от Североизточна България. – Сборник "IV есенни четения Сборяново 2004", Т. 3, 2005, 80-89.

typical for the molivdovuls between the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century and the middle of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. Bigger accuracy we can see at the lead medallion with an image of St. Tecla with crosses on both sides and St. George, which originates from Syria and dates back from the 6<sup>th</sup> - 7<sup>th</sup> century, (ill. 13) <sup>30</sup>. The style of make and the availability of similar monuments are an exemplary landmark for the time of creation of this icon – namely the 6<sup>th</sup> - 7<sup>th</sup> century.

Apart from the iconography which forms the basis of the present study one should also consider the time of production of the particular specimens. Two of the three discussed icons from the 6<sup>th</sup> century definitely carry the spirit of the classical tradition. The strong influence of this era is felt not so much in monumental painting but in icons, miniatures and applied art. It is expressed in the classical proportions of the figures, the almost three-dimensional rendering of the volume, the easiness which depicts their movement, the quality of painting the dress. What strikes in the artistic policy of Justinian, is its universal character, as far as it embraces not only the large constructions – the secular and cult buildings, the mosaics, but also the small-form works, made from different materials – ivory, marble, limestone, metal. together with the statics and the strictness of the images, the interest has been directed into the rhythmic and inner movement, which become typical for the Byzantine arts<sup>31</sup>. The choice of subjects in the artistic processing of the metal has been oriented to mythological and biblical themes and their practical execution by the jeweller-masters has been expressed in the separation of images from the free space on the background and emphasis over their silhouette. The created expressive and ornamentalized style of representation started developing in details the iconography of the narrative cycles and on first place – the gospel ones. The religious objects – crosses, ampoules, icons – made from lead, bronze and different precious materials, whose production Syria was famous for, had been distributing these iconographic principles of representation all over the Christian world. A reflection of this specific individuality and prominent volume treatment is present in the images of Christ in the Entry into Jerusalem composition, of Daniel with the lions and the rider Solomon who overcomes the evil forces<sup>32</sup>.

Here we must pay attention also to the material, from which there had been made the very icons. It is well known that the lead is perceived as a protective symbol and has a symbolic and sign character in the cultural history in the course of ages<sup>33</sup>. According to Paracelsus, the lead is the water of all metals and symbolizes the smallest possible base, from where it could start an ascending development<sup>34</sup>. In the biblical text, the lead is a one-meaning symbol of sin, which is identified with the weight of this material, and in contrast to the gold and silver (symbols of the spiritual life in God), the lead cannot resist to the purifying force of

<sup>30</sup> **Атанасов, Г.** Войнските иконографии..., с. 58, обр. 25.

<sup>31</sup> **Райс, Т.** Искусство Византии. М., 2002, с. 46.

<sup>32</sup> **Тяжелов, В.** Малая история искусств. М., 1975, с. 40.

<sup>33</sup> **Влайков, С.** Книга на символите. В. Търново, 2003, с. 171; **Шиваров, Н.** Речник на библейските символи. С., 1992, 134 – 135.

<sup>34</sup> **Залеская, В.** Ампулы – эвлогии из Малой Азии (IV – VI вв.). – ВВр. 47, 1986, 130.

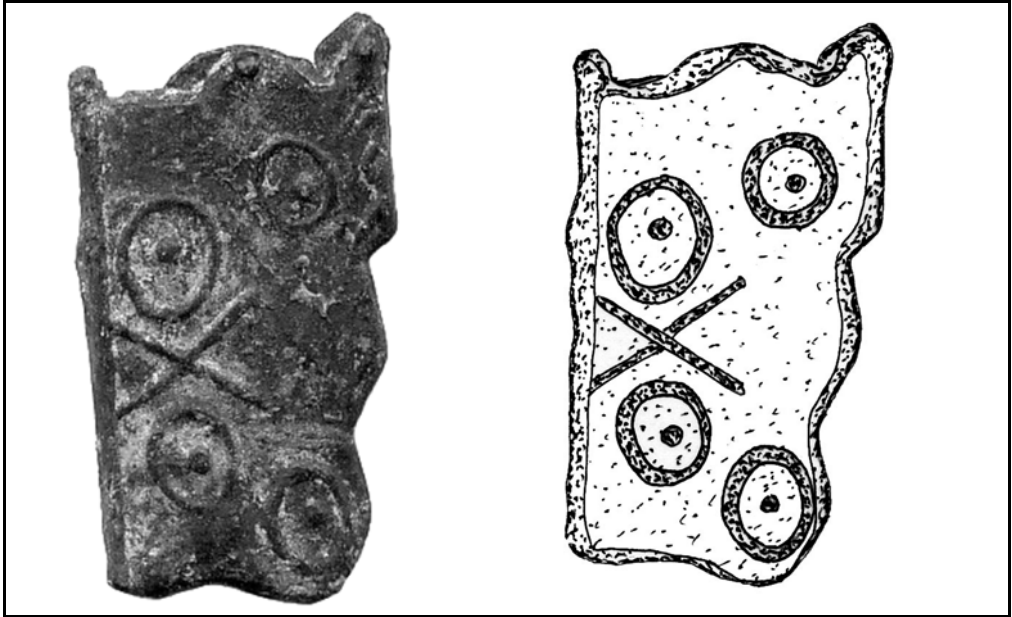
the Divine Fire and melts into it. The holders of these pendants (icons, medallions) had definitely believed in the protective and guarding function of the lead, which strengthened its influence with the images of characters and scenes over them.

From the monuments, survived till our times, it becomes clear, that it does not exist a precise separation in the production and popularization of these objects. There are not enough reasons either, to think that all the products had been imported from outside. It should be rather supposed that in many of the cases they had been created on the place and according to a sample. The very technology of casting also provides opportunities for multiple production of works of this kind, which indicates the way of distribution of the Byzantine artistic culture in the countries, connected to it. In these cases there was no need of foreign masters, because this is a direct copying of imported originals by local jewellers, in which there had been inserted a lot of local features.

This epoch saw the widespread distribution of the new compositions as well. The monuments in question confirm this practice and at the same time they provide an idea of the combination of elements which appeared at different times in new works created far from the capital city.



**Fig.1a:** Lead icon-medallion. Front side - “Entry of Christ into Jerusalem”, IV<sup>th</sup> – V<sup>th</sup> century.



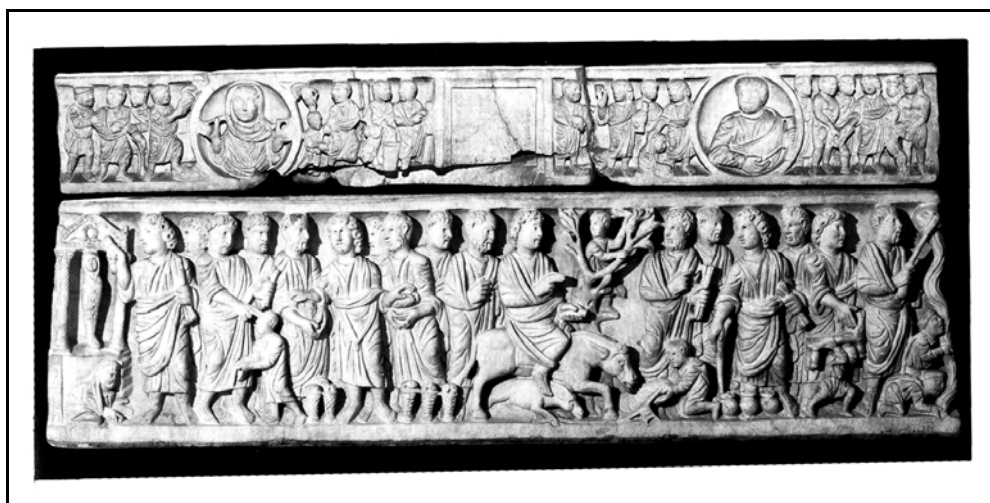
**Fig.1b:** Lead icon-medallion. Reverse side – geometric motifs, IV<sup>th</sup> – V<sup>th</sup> century. North-East Bulgaria.



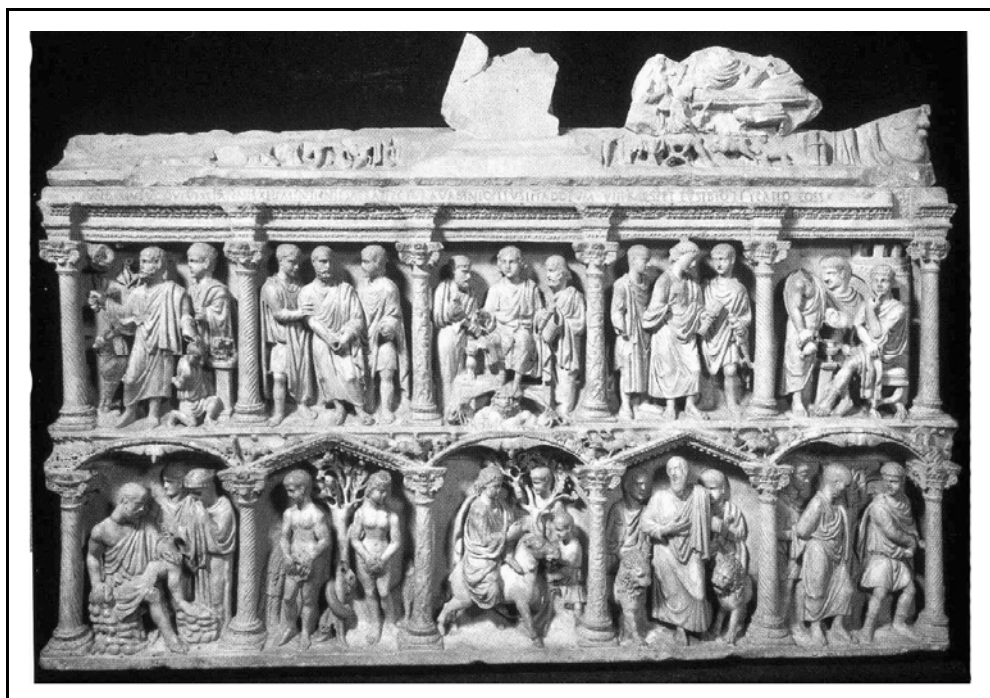
**Fig. 2:** “Entry of Christ” – wooden epistyle of Virgin Merry church, IV<sup>th</sup> century. Cairo.



**Fig. 3:** “Entry of Christ” – limestone sarcophagus, V<sup>th</sup> century. Archaeological museum in Istanbul.



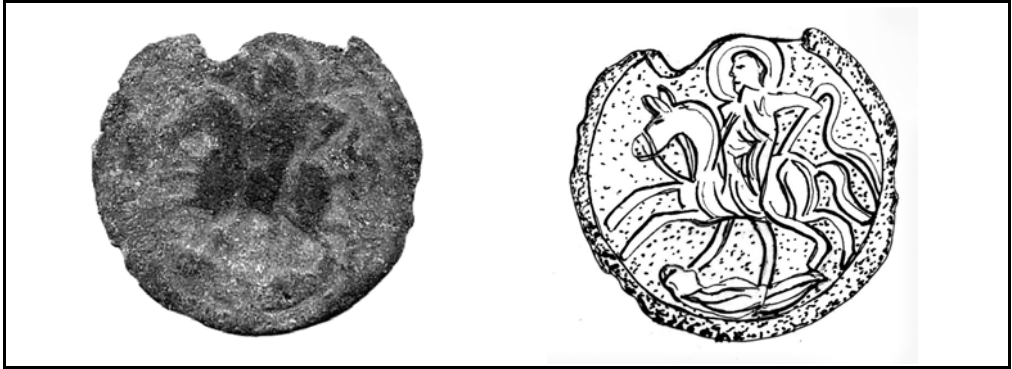
**Fig. 4:** “Entry of Christ” – murmur sarcophagus, IV<sup>th</sup> – V<sup>th</sup> century. The baths of Diocletian, Roma.



**Fig. 5:** “Entry of Christ” – marmor sarcophagus of Junins Basil, V<sup>th</sup> century.



**Fig. 6a:** Lead icon-medallion. Front side – “Daniel in the lions”.



**Fig. 6b:** Lead icon-medallion. Reverse side – “King Solomon on the demon Lilith”, V<sup>th</sup> – VI<sup>th</sup> century. Near Razdrad.



**Fig. 7:** “Daniel in the lions” – murmur relief, VI<sup>th</sup> century. Archaeological museum, Istanbul.



**Fig. 8:** “King Solomon on the demon Lilith” – lead ampullae, VI<sup>th</sup> century. Dumbarton Oaks.



**Fig. 9:** “King Solomon on the demon Lilith” – lead ampullae , VI<sup>th</sup> century. Dumbarton Oaks.



**Fig. 10:** Lead icon-medallion. Frontal side with Virgin Oranta, VI<sup>th</sup> century. North-East Bulgaria.



**Fig. 11:** Silver bracelet with Virgin Oranta. VI<sup>th</sup> century. Dumbarton Oaks.



**Fig. 12:** Lead icon-medallion. Front side with saint (St. Nicolaos). VI<sup>th</sup> – VII<sup>th</sup> century. North-East Bulgaria.



**Fig. 13:** Lead icon-medallion with St. Thekla and St. George. VI<sup>th</sup> – VII<sup>th</sup> century. Syria. (G. Atanasov)

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PETER BOYCHEV\*

## BULGARIAN-ROMANIAN CONFRONTATION IN 1916 AND CONCERN ABOUT SOLDIERS' GRAVES IN BOTH COUNTRIES

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**Abstract:** In 1916 Bulgaria and Romania turned into enemies, as being members of the two opposing military powers. The Central powers- Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy (later Italy withdrew from the war, Turkey joined) and the Entente. Consequently, both countries entered into armed conflict, as the military actions for the most time had been carried on territories of Southern and Northern Dobrudzha and north Romania. The casualties for Bulgaria in that conflict exceeded 10000 killed. No less was the number of Romanian killed soldiers. After the war, according to clauses in the 1948 Versailles system of treaties and later in the Geneva Convention it was envisaged the relevant provisions to be taken with respect to killed soldiers, in order to be respected and maintained the cemeteries and graves of soldiers buried in these territories. It has also been envisaged for the graves of prisoners of war to be properly maintained. In his communication the author reveals what measures have been taken in this respect up to the present in both countries.

**Keywords:** conflict, military, cemeteries.

On 15 (or 28 new style) of July, 1914 the beginning of World War I was set. Bulgaria and Romania declared that they would remain neutral but both countries hoped to manage in accomplishment of their half-finished reunification during the war and that was the reason for both of them to initiate intensive preparation for military operations. Up to the end of 1914 and the first half of 1915 they held active negotiations with representatives of both the Entente (the Triple Entente Powers) and the Triple Alliance (Central Powers). The Dobrudzha issue was a constant subject for discussion during negotiations. As the Entente was reluctant to provide Bulgaria with guarantees in respect to regaining of its lands, including Southern Dobrudzha, on September 6 Bulgarian government signed a secret agreement with Germany, which definitely allied Bulgaria with the Central Powers in World War I. Annex 2 of the Treaty reads: '...In case of attack on the part of Romania in the course of this conflict, being by no means inflicted by Bulgarian government, its allies or Turkey, Germany will agree upon for Bulgaria to annex the ceded to Romania by virtue of the Bucharest treaty territories, as well as alteration of Romanian-Bulgarian boundary set by the Berlin treaty to be performed...' <sup>1</sup> In this way regaining of southern Dobrudzha had been placed in a state of dependency on the war outcome for the Central Powers, also on the actions

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which Romania would undertake. The promise in respect to the boundary was obscure.

The main military and political goals of Romania in the forthcoming war were: territorial expansion in westward direction at the expense of Austria-Hungary and retention of annexed in 1913 southern Dobrudzha. In order to retain it, Romania prepared a special, third army, the main strength of which had been localized in Tutrakan, Silistra and Dobrich. Commanding officer was Gen. M. Aslan. After the Romanian general hypothesis in respect to the course of conducting the war against the Fourfold Union (the so called hypothesis Z), Romania had to concentrate its basic forces against the Austria-Hungary. In Dobrudzha it had to cover the railway line Cherna voda – Kyustendzha, as the main point in respect to defense was given to the fortresses in Tutrakan, Silistra and Kubadin. On the eve of war Romanian Commanding Staff specified hypothesis Z with a view to the military actions in Dobrudzha. They had to be conducted in two phases: defensive and offensive. The first phase was to last for 10 days. Romanian garrisons in Tutrakan and Silistra as well as Dobrich 19<sup>th</sup> division had to repel the attacks of Bulgarian troops, also to cover the debarkation of Russian troops in Dobrudzha. Upon the arrival of Russian troops started the second phase-offensive actions by means of which Bulgarians had to be repulsed from southern Dobrudzha thus leading to seizure of Ruse – Razgrad – Shumen – Varna zone.<sup>2</sup>

Third army, comprising of 1<sup>st</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> divisions, 2<sup>nd</sup> brigade comprising of 6<sup>th</sup> division, 1<sup>st</sup> mounted brigade, Varna mobile reserve and Danube cohort, altogether 60 battalions, 54 batteries and 24 squadrons, commanded by Lieutenant – General Stefan Toshev was localized along the Dobrudzha border with Danube River to the Black sea. The confronting Romanian army, led by General M. Aslan comprised of 136 battalions, 135 batteries and 39 squadrons – twice as large power and the battle outcome seemed predetermined. As a matter of fact, according to some records provided by Bulgarian army intelligence General Toshev had had information that there were 48 battalions, 50 batteries and 18 squadrons only against his army.<sup>3</sup> Romanian army's armament was identical to that of Bulgarian as it had been supplied mainly from Germany and the Austro-Hungary Empire. Infantry was armed with 1893 full-stock carbine Manlicher, calibre 6,5mm, Maxim German machineguns, 1910, and St. Etienne 1896 French machineguns; artillery: 37 and 57 mm Krupp heavy guns cal. 75 mm, 87 mm and 105 mm, castle cannons, howitzers – 120 mm, long cannons - 150 mm, as well as non q.f. field guns etc.<sup>4</sup>

By the end of August 1916 Romanian commanding in Dobrudzha relied on the West group armies under the leadership of General Valyanu (16<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> divisions, 2-Kalarash mounted brigade), providing the guarding of the border from the outfall of Olt river to Gryaka lake. East group, commanded by General Zayonchkovskiy (47<sup>th</sup> Russian corps, which entered Dobrudzha on 27<sup>th</sup> of August, two hours prior Romania had declared war to Austria-Hungary) on the strength of: 61 Russian division, Serbo-Croatian division, 64<sup>th</sup> artillery brigade, one mountain artillery cohort, 3<sup>rd</sup> mounted division, Black sea mounted regiment, 56<sup>th</sup> pioneer battalion, 6<sup>th</sup> aircraft detachment. 19<sup>th</sup> division commanded by General Argirescu

and 5<sup>th</sup> Kalarash mounted brigade guarded along the Dobrudzha border from Gryaka late to Ekrene (now village of Kranevo), therefore they moved to the region of Dobrich in order to cover the concentration of Russian forces. 17<sup>th</sup> division, commanded by General K. Teodorescu- defended the bridgehead fortress of Tutrakan as a point of closest proximity to the frontier, from where it could take the offensive by crossing the Danube river against Bulgaria. 9<sup>th</sup> division – led by General Basarabescu – defended the bridgehead fortress of Silistra from where enough forces could be launched during the forthcoming offensive actions.

These troops constituted the 3<sup>rd</sup> Romanian army, commanded by General M. Aslan, with headquarters in Bucharest.<sup>5</sup>

On August, 17, Romania signed a military convention with the Entente countries and on 27 of August at 10 o'clock in Bucharest the Council of State was summoned and was attended by representatives of the government and chiefs of all political parties; at 21 o'clock they declared war on Austria-Hungary. Thus Romania turned to be on the enemy's side which assumed a military conflict with Bulgaria. On the next day Germany declared war on Romania and invited its Bulgarian allies to do the same, in order to manifest Central powers' unity in actions. The war between the two countries became inevitable. That day Romanian batteries fired at the Austria-Hungarian monitor "Bosnia" at Ruse.

On 28 of August 1916 Romanian artillery fired at Ruse 30 shells which hit the customs house, the Secondary School for Boys, the bank, Military club and the surrounding area of Bristol hotel as a result of which two soldiers and a civilian had been killed, one more soldier and six civilians wounded. The casus belli was provided. General staff of the acting army ordered the 3rd army commanded by Lieut. Gen. Stefan Toshev to be ready for action and "no attacks to be launched until Bulgaria formally declared war on Romania."<sup>6</sup> That very day Third Bulgarian army was submitted under the command of German Field Marshal Alfred Von Mackenzen. Initially his plans were for Bulgarian troops to take the possession of Tutrakan and Silistra after which to take defensive positions. The main combats against Romanian units had to be provided by the unified Austria-German forces on the Vlashka lowlands. The Chief of Staff of Bulgarian acting army (SAA) General Zhekov as well as General Toshev sharply opposed to this plan.<sup>7</sup> On this occasion in Gorna Oryahovitsa a harsh dispute burst out between Field Marshal Mackenzen and General Toshev. The opinion of Bulgarian officer that "Tutrakan had to be taken up as soon as possible prevailed, at that it had to be done by the time of Russian reinforcement arrival".<sup>8</sup> Mackenzen adopted this plan and countermanded his previous instruction.

Military actions in Dobrudzha were conducted in four stages: 1. Liberation of Dobrich, Tutrakan and Silistra (2-10 September, 1916); 2. Liberation of entire Dobrudzha and reaching the fortified Kubadin position (10- 19 September, 1916); 3. Position battles at Kubadin front (19 September – 20 October, 1916); 4. Liberation of northern Dobrudzha (21 October, 1916 – the beginning of January, 1917)<sup>9</sup>

This publication is not intended to describe in details the military actions- these facts shall be noted only, but rather to reveal what has been done for the memory of thousands of Bulgarian and Romanian soldiers killed in this war to be preserved and respected.

On first of September, the Head of the State Tsar Ferdinand Saxe-Coburg-Gotha issued a Manifesto, declaring war on Romania, signed by all of the Ministers.<sup>10</sup> On the same that day Commander-in-Chief General Zhekov issued an order for the military actions against Romania to begin. On 1<sup>st</sup> of September an Operative order No 16 of the commanding officer general Toshev was sent to outfits of 3<sup>rd</sup> army, by means of which it was ordered the powers of 4<sup>th</sup> Preslav division, 1<sup>st</sup> brigade of 1<sup>st</sup> Sofia division together with detachments of Colonel Von Kauffman from Ruse Tutrakan fortress to be attacked, and 3<sup>rd</sup> brigade of 1<sup>st</sup> Sofia division was directed to Silistra in order to provide cover for the main actions- “ to be able to interfere in both the battle for Tutrakan, also against a try on the part of the enemy; to hit from Silistra, in the rear our forces, while they are making attacks on Tutrakan”.<sup>11</sup> First mounted division had to act on the left flank of the enemy, the sector between Silistra and Dobrich while the garrison of Varna fortified point had to attack by its reserve in order to beat off the forces of the enemy, which would attack from the line Dobrich – Balchik. Brigade’s 6<sup>th</sup> division had to provide for the end right flank of the army onward from Dobrich.

Commanding the 3<sup>rd</sup> Romanian army General Aslan, under whose commanding was the garrison of the Tutrakan fortress declared, that Tutrakan was to him as the little Verdun and anyone who would try to capture it would have been pricked.<sup>12</sup> To grater extent he was right, as for the construction of Tutrakan fortress had been used the latest achievements in fortifying- a new fort was established with concrete covertures and turreted cannons provided with concrete platforms for the batteries, some of them with a shelter. It has to be noted for the purposes of comparison, that the mightiest fortresses- 150 in total during the First World War, the number of fortresses of the same type was as follow: in Osovetz- 4, in Metz- 5, in Brest-Litovsk- 6, in Namur – 9, in Liege- 12, in Pshemisl – 15, in Novogeorgievsk /Modlin/ - 18, in Verdun 23. Long lasting fortifying outfit /forts/ had been skillfully provided with field equipment /trenches and ditches/. Also, the fiery system was well organized, which provided for firing of pre-positional areas, as well as for passing between the forts and surrounding walls. A very broad combined surrounding area was established- measuring a hundred meters. The Field Marshal Mackenzen reasonably named Tutrakan “The near East’s Verdun”.<sup>13</sup> The defense of the fortress was provided for by 17<sup>th</sup> infantry division, consisting of 19 battalions, and the garrison was supplied additionally with 4 monitors, 8 patrol vessels, 4 gun-boats and 8 torpedo boats from Romanian Danube Fleet. There were 27621 people, 214 cannons (54 provided by the river fleet) and 66 machine-guns. The defense of the west sector (I) was provided for by 5 battalions, the central (II) – by 3 and the east sector (III) – by 4 battalions.

Bulgarian attack on the fortress began on 5 of September in the morning and, notwithstanding the advantages of Romanian garrison due to a number of mistakes

made by the commanding staff, it fell in 33 hours only.<sup>14</sup> At 15.30 on 6 of September, 1916, Col. Marashescu offered the Commanding General Panteley Kiselov for his troops to surrender.

After the utter defeat of Romanian army at Tutrakan and the epic battles around Dobrich Bulgarian troops undertook offensive actions. Romanian commanding gave Silistra with no combats and fortified positions at the Kubadin position. Fierce battles were conducted there between the two countries for a month and a half and after its occupation on 21<sup>st</sup> of October, 1916 just for a couple of days Medzhidie and Babadag, Harsovo, Kyustendzha and Cherna voda had been taken by Bulgarian troops, thus gaining full control over the railway line Cherna voda – Kyustendzha. Romanian troops left central northern Dobrudzha and passed to the left bank of the Danube River, and the Russian army withdrew northward in Dobrudzha. On 6<sup>th</sup> of December Bulgarian and German troops, under the command of Field Marshal Mackenzen entered Bucharest.

For the following stage, the main Bulgarian forces' counterpart was the Russian army as the battles continued till 5<sup>th</sup> of January, 1917. Heavy battles were led near Tulcha, Isakcha, Cherna, Machin. Upon their seizure Bulgarian troops took positions on the Siret river in Moldova.

The total number of Bulgarian soldiers, killed on the northern (Dobrudzha) front amounts to 11 500 people. Although the information is quite poor, and the approximate figures are not known, none the less is the number of Romanian casualties. After the war, according to Art. 16 of the Treaty of Neuilly from 27 of November, 1919 „The Allied and Associated Governments and the Bulgarian Government will cause to be respected and maintained the graves of the soldiers and sailors buried in their respective territories...”<sup>15</sup> . Art. 117 takes into consideration the issue of prisoners of war and their graves.

Right after the battle for Tutrakan fortress all the soldiers killed on the battle field- Bulgarian, Romanian, German soldiers and Bulgarian Moslem soldiers had been buried in fort No 7 on the main fortifying line in southern Dobrudzha, and by the end of 1918 Bulgarian Ministry of War and the garrison in Tutrakan took the necessary cares for its initial establishment and maintaining as a military cemetery. After the second occupation of Romania, Romanian Government has also taken the proper measures. An arch has been erected in the centre of Tutrakan in memory of the heroes of war and commemorative activities were conducted annually there. After the mounting of the obelisk in 1922 the military cemetery was almost neglected. The cemetery has been reconstructed three times- in 1941, 1986 and 1996.

The situation in Dobrich is some different. Special attention was taken on the part of Romanian country in respect to its maintenance and it was kept in very good condition during the entire period of occupation till 1940.

In northern Dobrudzha, near the small railway station Mircha voda, 50 km far from Kostantsa, 12 km away from Medzhidie and 17 km- from Cherna voda, a military cemetery is situated which was reconstructed in 1928 and 1932, last in 2007.

Today, when our both countries are members of the common European family and all the forms of antagonism and nationalism have been overcome long ago, concerns about the fallen soldiers belonging to both countries remain to us, to undertake the proper measures and the due honor to be attested to them.

What is the situation now. Nowadays, there are three cemeteries on the territory of Bulgaria, where Romanian soldiers are buried. The largest is the Memorial complex „Military cemetery-1916”, situated 10 km southward from Tutrakan, near the village of Shumentsi (the old name is Daydar). There are about 8000 people buried in the Memorial Complex, 6000 of them Romanian. The number of casualties during the battle for Tutrakan amounts to 1764 Bulgarian and 7742 Romanian soldiers.<sup>16</sup> The number of 34 Kyustendzha regiment amounted to 68 officers and 3481 soldiers in the beginning of the war; its losses at Tutrakan were: 31 killed and missing officers and 17 wounded; soldiers- 2570 killed and missing, 440 wounded. Out of service as a result of war were 48 officers and 3260 soldiers. 20 officers and 221 soldiers only remained in service. The regiment was completely destroyed.<sup>17</sup> Every first Sunday of September a National Commemorative meeting is organized there, memorial service is held, wreaths are laid in memory of killed Bulgarian, Romanian and Turkish soldiers. National flags of Bulgaria, Romania and Germany are hoisted. There is an obelisk within the Memorial Complex with inscription in Bulgarian, German, Romanian and Arabic: “Honor and Glory of all those who knew how to die like heroes for their mother country.” A chapel “Saint Georgi” has been built for anyone who wants to light a candle in memory of killed soldiers. Victors and vanquished have been buried in common graves.

The other large graveyard is the Military Cemetery – Museum in the town of Dobrich. More than 3000 soldiers – Bulgarian, Romanian, German, Turkish, Serbian, and Russian are buried there. Every year, on 25 of September commemorative events take place in memory of soldiers killed during the war. There is a chapel built up there- St Michael the Archangel, where every first Saturday of November – (the Day of Archangel Michael) a memorial service is held in memory of the killed soldiers. In 2006 a museum collection was exhibited, representing scenes of the Dobrich Epopee. These two cemeteries are very well maintained by the good offices of museums and municipalities in both cities of Tutrakan and Dobrich.

1241 people, Romanian prisoners of war have died from their wounds and diseases (number of those who took part in battles for Tutrakan only amounts to 28 000 people). In 1941 a Charnel house was built up in Sofia Cemetery by the Romanian Association Cultul eroilor for which is taken good care of. Most probably, there are other places existing where Romanian soldiers are buried but this is a matter of future common concerns of Bulgarian Ministry of Defense and Association “Cultul eroilor”.

After a report provided by the Department of the Ministry of War, which is responsible for military monuments and graves, the number of Military cemeteries in Romania where Bulgarian soldiers are buried as well, amounts to about 320, as

in the end of 1925 through the mediation of Bulgarian Legation there, the Ministry sent to Bucharest a request for information to be provided in respect to the number and location of Bulgarian graves on Romanian territory. In reply to this, in a letter No 346 dated 10 of March, 1926 the Legation reported that 21 excerpts containing information about the location of graves and lists with the names of buried soldiers were sent.<sup>18</sup> No answer has been received, but in the end of 20s, bones of all Bulgarian soldiers buried in the regions of Kyustendzha and Tulcha had been dug up and transported to the railway station of Mircea Voda.

In a letter dated 11 of July, 2005, Cultul eroilor Association informed, that soldiers' graves had been found in Bucharest – the graveyard “Pro Patria”, where 163 Bulgarian soldiers were buried in Bulgarian lot and 136 Bulgarian and Russian soldiers buried in the city graveyard of Buzau, 9 soldiers in the city graveyard in Alexandria, in the village of Mircha voda – railway station, Memorial Cemetery “Mircha Stari” buried 82 soldiers on the territory of Bulgarian lot and 28 in Bulgarian-Russian lot. It is reported that in the village of Cherna, Tulca region there was a monument – a sort of an obelisk with names of killed soldiers. (see the Appendix).

In autumn, 2007 a research expedition was organized by the management of museums in Tutrakan and Dobrich in cooperation with the Military Monument Department at the Ministry of Defense, aiming at visiting the memorable places in northern Dobrudzha – with in the regions of Kostantsa and Tulca.

“Mircha Stari” Memorial which is situated near the village of Mircha Stari, after its reconstruction and opening ceremony on 3 of November, 2007 is one of the best notable places established in memory of heroes-soldiers of different nationalities. All this is evident from the well-shaped lots, the chapel and the magnificent monument in the middle of the complex.

Besides the Memorial “Mircha Stari”, 25 settlements have been visited and 8 gravestones of killed Bulgarian soldiers were found – most of them in village graveyards. We could not find the gravestone-obelisk in the village of Cherna as it was noted in the letter, but found two more graves in the local graveyard. In the cities of Konstantsa, Babadag, Medzhidie, Tulca, Brail – in the common city graveyards there were lots where Romanian, German, Turkish and Russian soldiers had been buried. There were no Bulgarian soldiers buried there, though some had died there. In Manchin we did not find the gravestone of 47<sup>th</sup> regiment in spite of the fact that we had a picture of it at our disposal as well as its exact location. In the village of Pietreni (Kokardzha), there is a splendid memorial – a Charnel-house within the yard of the church, but Bulgarian names are missing on the stelae, though there epic battles have been led there in the view of the fact that Kokardzha was a part of the reinforced Kubadin position and there were near 400 Bulgarian soldiers killed there. At the meeting at the prefecture in Constance a particular commitment was accepted for all the soldiers' names sent by us to be written.

This year our expedition will continue its exploration work. We rely on Cultul eroilor Association for its support, as well as on prefectures in Constance and Tulcha. We are intended to visit the rest of the villages in connection of which data

have been provided about buried Bulgarian soldiers and the results from investigation will be published.


Regardless of their nationality, all the killed soldiers have done it for their countries and not with standing the fact that their bones are far from their birth places they have to be honored and to be given the due respect as they deserve it for the sacrifice they have done for their countries and for us to live.

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# **LISTA PROVIZORIE CU LOCALITĂȚILE ÎN CARE SUNT ÎNHUMAȚI MILITARI BULGARI**

LOCALITATEA	CIMITIRUL	PARCELĂ/ MONUMENT	NUMĂRUL MILITARILOR ÎNHUMAȚI	Conflictul în care și-au pierdut viața
București	Cimitirul german „PRO PATRIA”	Parcela bulgară	163	Primul război mondial
Buzău	Cimitirul civil	Parcela militară	Groapă comună cu 136 de militari ruși și bulgari	Primul război mondial
Alexandria	Cimitirul civil	Parcela militară (în curtea bisericii)	9 militari bulgari (în groapă comună cu alți 285 de militari din diferite armate)	Primul război mondial
Comuna Mircea Vodă, județul Brăila	-	-	Număr necunoscut	Primul război mondial
✓ Satul Mircea Vodă Gară, comuna Mircea Vodă, județul Constanța	Cimitirul de onoare al eroilor din 1916-1918	-	82 în parcela bulgară (cunoscuți și necunoscuți) 28 în parcela ruso-bulgară	Primul război mondial
Satul Garvan, comuna Jijila, județul Tulcea	-	Obelisc (între localitățile Garvan și Zaclău) în memoria sublocotenentului Evghenii Vasiliev	Pe monument se află și o listă, în prezent ilizibilă, cu nume ale unor militari bulgari (probabil îngropați acolo)	Războiul din 1877- 1878
Comuna Cerna, județul Tulcea	-	Obelisc ridicat în 1916 în amintirea unui ofițer (posibil general) bulgar	Pe monument se află înscrisă o listă, în prezent ilizibilă, cu nume ale unor militari bulgari (probabil îngropați acolo)	Primul război mondial

  
11.07.2005



**Fig. 1:** Memorial – Charnel-house in the village of Pietrene, Konstantsa Region.



**Fig. 2:** German Cemetery, village of Kubadin.



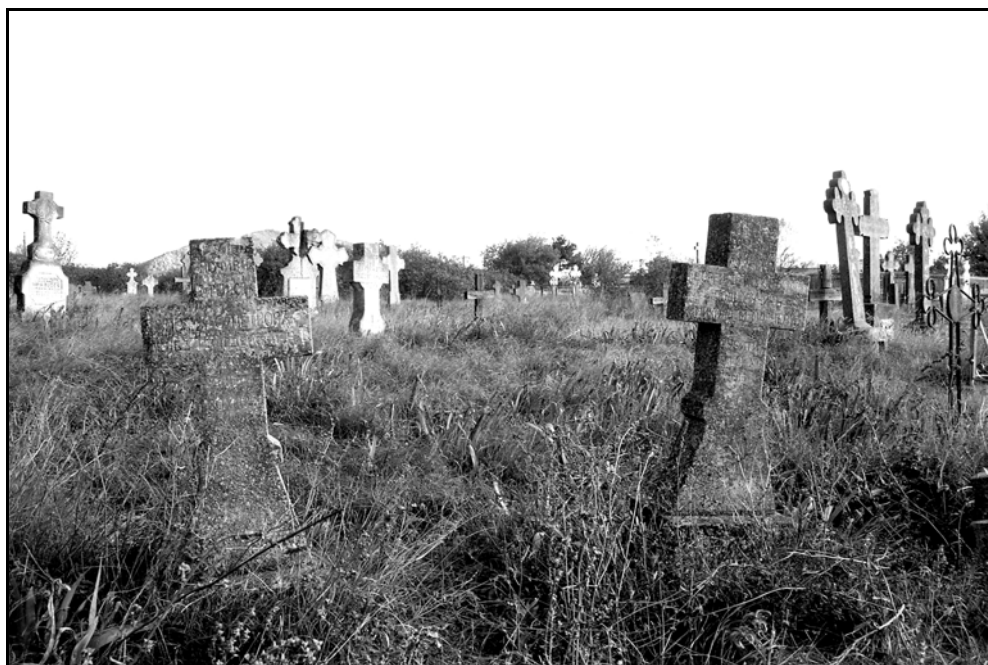
**Fig. 3:** A Monument in memory of killed soldiers during the wars, village of Kubadin.



**Fig. 4:** A Pyramid in memory of killed Serbian soldiers in the city of Babadag.



**Fig. 5:** Konstantsa Cemetery.



**Fig. 6:**Bulgarian soldiers' gravestones in the village of Cherna.



**Fig. 7:** Military Memorial in the city of Tulcha.



**Fig. 8:** Braila Cemetery.



**Fig. 9:** “Mircha Stari” Cemetery - Opening ceremony in the village of Mircha Stari on 3<sup>rd</sup> of November, 2007.



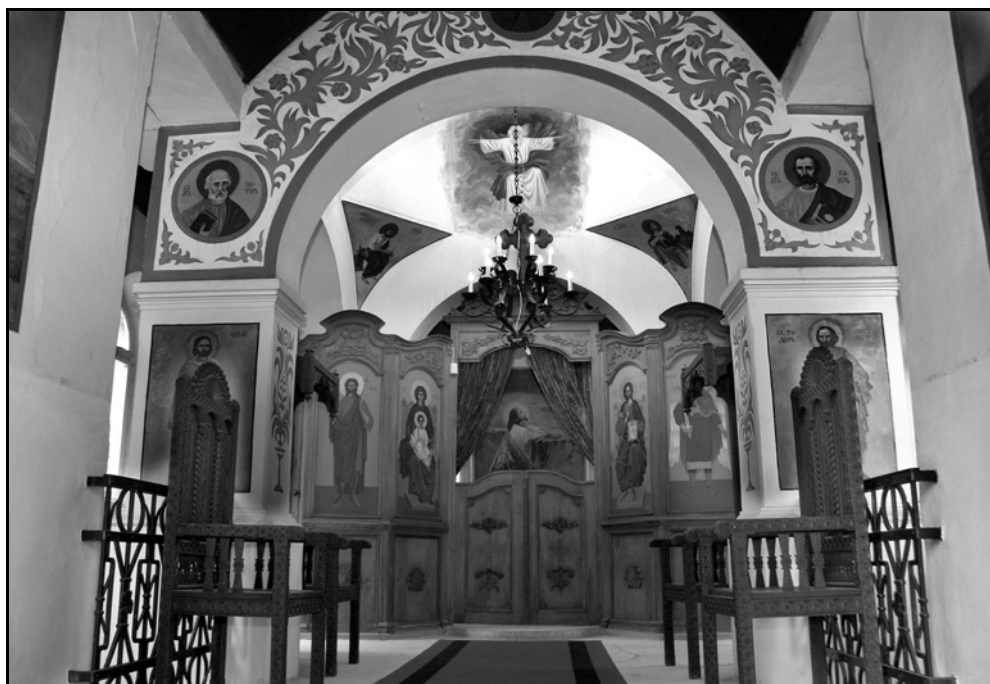
**Fig. 10:** “Mircha Stari” Cemetery - Opening ceremony in the village of Mircha Stari on 3<sup>rd</sup> of November, 2007.



**Fig. 11:** “Mircha Stari” Cemetery - Opening ceremony in the village of Mircha Stari on 3<sup>rd</sup> of November, 2007.



**Fig. 12:** Cemetery – Dobrich.



**Fig. 13:** The Chapel – Charnel-house „St Archangel Michael” at the Cemetery - Dobrich.



**Fig. 14:** Memorial complex “Military tomb-1916”, Tutrakan.



**Fig. 15:** Memorial complex “Military tomb-1916” , Tutrakan.



**Fig. 16:** Memorial complex “Military tomb-1916” , Tutrakan- Path of Glory



**Fig. 17:** Memorial complex “Military tomb-1916” , Tutrakan Monument – obelisk with inscriptions on bulgarian, romanian, german and turkish  
 ”Honor and glory to those, who know how to die for they countries”



**Fig. 18:** Memorial complex “Military tomb-1916”, Tutrakan.



**Fig. 19:** Memorial complex “Military tomb-1916”, Tutrakan.



**Fig. 20:**Chapel “Saint George Pobednosec” at Memorial complex “Military tomb-1916”, Tutrakan.



**Fig. 21:** Inside on Chapel “ Saint George Pobednosec” at Memorial complex “Military tomb-1916”, Tutrakan.

## rites of passage-novel sequences in OLTENIA REGION

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**Abstract:** Riturile de trecere în accepțiunea de «ceremonii care însoțesc și dramatizează evenimentele majore» (C. Bell) din viața comunității rurale s-au constituit pentru noi într-o cercetare de teren în zona Olteniei. Secvențele care s-au dovedit inedite și care au rezistat în timp în satele din Oltenia au fost înregistrate și transmise la radioul public românesc. Ulterior au fost material de analiză a funcționalității riturilor de trecere. Trei secvențe rituale de naștere (Boborodița, Ponuda, Năpoinița) au ca element comun ospățul ritual ca moment de consacrare și integrare a pruncului în familie. Pentru ilustrarea inedită a riturilor de căsătorie prezentăm anunțul căsătoriei, primitul miresei pe pânză și petrecerea «pe vedere». În cadrul riturilor de separare (ca rituri funerare) o secvență dramatizată a suscitât interesul specialiștilor. Este cunoscută în județul Gorj drept «perna mortului». Toate secvențele prezentate se derulează în contextul unui eveniment major din viața familiei și au un evident caracter dramatizat.

**Keywords:** rites, Oltenia, birth, marriage, funerary.

Rites of passage have been analyzed from different perspectives (Victor Turner, 1969; C. Bell, 1997, N. Belmont, 1986, A. Van Gennep, 1998, M. Coman, 2008), the common element being represented by the ceremonial construct.

The main ceremonial sequence will engender significant details for the rite of passage, individualizing it within the complex of existential ceremonial acts.

According to the most common vision “the rites of passage are ceremonies that accompany and dramatize the major events such as birth, maturity and initiation of boys and girls, marriage and death. Sometimes called rites of existential crises (life-crises) or of existential cycles (life-cycles), they mark culturally the transition of a person from a social state to another.” (C. Bell, 1997, p. 94).

We chose this definition of the rites of passage, because the sequences that we recognized in our field research are characterized by two attributes: they are performed in the context of a major event in the family life and they have a dramatized trait. The actors abide by a pre-established script, a direction of the event (which women are responsible for), the sequences involve a series of rhymed and rhythmic formulas endowed with propitiation and apotropaic role.

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These rites establish an order in life unfolding, the consecration of a certain status during a certain period of existence being the main role of the rites of passage.

According to this consecration function, the most used classification is the following: rites of birth, rites of initiation (for the passage to a new status), rites of marriage and funerary rites.

Arnold Van Gennep (1998, p. 22) identifies and justifies the compulsory order of the three types of rites: rites of separation (funerary rites), rites of aggregation (marriage) and liminary rites (engagement).

We retain from the description concerning the “material passage” the ones that refer to the threshold: “the rites performed on the threshold are liminary rites. [...]. The threshold rites are not rites of „alliance”, but a preparation for the preceded alliance.” (1998, p. 8).

Ceremonial sequences that we will present are performed also on the threshold, as concrete material passage from a space to another: from the big world to the family (at birth, the bringing home of the baby), from a family to another (marriage, reception on the cloth), from a world to another (the dean man’s pillow).

Rites of passage involve the entire community, the family event becoming an event of those who are integrated in the collectivity. Thus there is symbolically marked “the articulation between individual and social, [...] between natural and cultural, between human and cosmic”. (M. Coman, 2008, p. 151).

The dramatization of the ritual sequence also has the role to persuade the community for the transmission of tradition and the adhesion to the ritual act seen as a life performance. This is the modern comprehension of integration rites, for they nowadays lack the foundation on faith, the status of “given fact” and the compulsory nature of abiding by the norm. The models have lost their compulsory trait, they are no longer thoroughly abided by. They have become references to reiterate within more general frameworks, with circumstantial data imposed by place and time.

## **1. Birth rites**

„I consider rites of passage all the rites that have as object to make the child enter in the linear period that lasts depending on the population, from 2 to 40 days or more.” (A. Van Gennep, 1998, p. 57). We propose three birth ceremonial sequences, that have as common element the party, the ritual feast as moment of consecration and integration of the baby into the family.

### **1.1. Boborodița**

The baby’s coming into the Longing World is accompanied in Dolj county, in Urzicuța commune by the family feast named “boborodiță” by which the entry of the new born baby is extolled.

It is a custom that the community established after the foundation of maternities.

Since the child is not born at home, he must be introduced into the family environment that remind us of the hospitality which the stranger is treated with, to banish mean thoughts.

The entry of a stranger into the family circle is welcomed with apotropaic and propitiation acts. The new born baby is welcomed by the paternal grandfather (or another old man) with bread and salt and with the wish "may you live long!". The welcome is performed on the house's threshold, the place of separation of the world with good and things from the sacralized space by means of purification rites. The mother is the one who passes the baby over the threshold.

The mother –in-law on behalf of the groom organizes the next day after the arrival of the baby a party at which there will participate the closest relatives. The party will begin before midday and will last till dawn the day after. The participants do not bring gifts for the baby and do not give money. It is a party thrown by the family to celebrate the baby's birth.

All must make health wishes to the baby and to the parents. After „boporodiță” there is organized the baptism, a complex integration ritual within the framework of the rites of passage.

Toți însă vor face urări de sănătate atât copilului, cât și părinților. După boporodiță se organizează botezul, rit de integrare complex în cadrul riturilor de trecere.

### **1.2. Ponuda**

In Romanați Southern region, at Vădastra-Olt there is kept the custom of organization of a novel party, ponuda. It is „the joyous feast” for the child and it is organized the second or the third day after the baby's birth, in the house where the young parents live.

An original aspect is represented by the fact that „the feast” is organized, even if the baby and the lying-in woman have not arrived home yet. The performance in the absence of those to whom it is dedicated is an argument for the viability of the rites of purification of space, in which the new born baby will live.

The house is cleaned, all the clothes, carpets are washed, and they are sprinkled with holy water. Then there begins the preparation for the party.

A second original aspect is the exclusive participation of old aged women, over 50 years old. The interdiction of the presence of children at this moment is equally surprising. People are served soup and steak, and they drink wine. There are no gifts brought to the child. The godmother and midwife are given important places at the table. In the context of the feast, the two do not have specific tasks. The midwife is given more attention because it is the main actor at the first three important moments in the young family's wife: at birth, at „ponudă”, and at the Fates' feast. Men wait for the women to come home towards dawn, the next day.

### **1.3. Năpoinița**

In Cetate commune, Dolj county, people have kept the custom to organize at the new born baby's house a feast to which only women participate.

From birth to „năpoiniță”, the Holy Mother kneels and cries. That is why the day for „năpoiniță” must not last longer than a week starting from the child’s birth.

The interdiction of men’s and children’s participation is strictly abided by, any transgression being verbally amended by the oldest female-participant. Women who have not been invited to the party bring gifts for the child.

The children’s presence is claimed in a sequence from the baby’s baptism party: at church, the old lady of the house prepared a meal covered with white cloth. To the four corners there were placed money. The new born baby was placed on this ritual table. Four children would lift the table and pass it over the house’s threshold. Then there followed the party with the family members, relatives, neighbours.

The reentry in the family environment after the denomination rite (baptism) was done by the marking of the passage over the threshold, with the payment of the moment (money put at each table side). The choice of children for the performance of the act was significant for the idea of magic transfer of attributes: physical purity, ingenuity, joy, solicitude.

These parties, organized in Oltenia by exclusive participation of women, parties circumscribed to the rites of beginning and to the augural magic practices remind us of similar family parties in Moldavia.

They are known under the name of „rôdin”, „rôdină” with victuals, „plocon” (bribe) and „pocinog” (nasty trick) and they unfold according to a script resembling „ponuda” or „năpoiniță”. Women bring gifts and wish health and prosperity to the new born baby.

The role of these traditions with regional denominations is to mark the beginning of a period, the purification of space by augural magic practices.

As active presence at biological, psychosocial and cultural level, the woman activates the emotional register of actors at events that establish the passage of the baby from the ancestors’ world to the present real world.

In traditional mentality, there is believed that the woman occupies the main role in the organization and carrying out of customs, especially of those from the family cycle.

It is obvious that she detains the main role in the moments of entry and exit from the family magic circle: at birth and at death.

She is the one who will care for the soul till 40 days after the relative’s death and she will be in charge of the charities for relenting the souls of the departed ones. She will take care of separation rites at the entry or exit from the magic circle.

The woman’s image is associated with the image of the house-symbol of the vital and cultural-magic space.

## **2. Marriage rites**

In the tome „Romanian traditional customs” (1976), Mihai Pop considers that marriage rites are composed of three ceremonial units: engagement, marriage and customs performed after the marriage.

In order to illustrate them, in the succession still recognizable today (according to our field research) we will briefly describe three sequences that were viable in Oltenia region, and which are today reconstituted only on purpose (especially for documentaries or as sequence of performance according to a script).

### **2.1. The announcement of the marriage ceremony**

Wedding is a public ceremonial and must be publicly announced. At Voineasa, in Vâlcea county, people used to make a marriage announcement for three Sundays before the religious ceremony. After the mass was over, the priest would announce the young couple's intention to found a family in the church, in front of the believers. If nobody „opposed” to it (specify the documents of the epoch), then the young people were married. The Church became the sacred place that consents the union of the two young people in the new family. And the Church is also the place far from wickedness, envy and lies, it submits to the collectivity's approval the intention to found a new family.

The judgment of the gesture could be done only within the sacred space, hindering any mean commentary “on the bench” in front of the house and forestalling any of the young people second thoughts or hesitation, for they had at their disposal three Sundays which were considered enough to make the last decisions regarding the future status. The passage from one state to another, from the status of virginity to that of marriage was accomplished gradually, with the community's approval and under the auspices of the Church, of faith, the only guide to the right path in the new life, the family life. Loviște Country is guardian and treasurer of a lot of traditions and original faith, carols of surprising expressivity.

The marriage announcement, during the three Sundays before the marriage, before the religious engagement, within the Church's framework, after the end of the Saint Mass, in the presence of most of the believers from the parish is an original element of a behavioural code claimed by the patriarchal village.

### **2.2. The receiving of the bride on a cloth**

The passage over the threshold into a new state, the entry in another world supposed, in the mentality of the traditional community, the use of symbolical gestures meant to forestall any intervention of mean forces. The relenting of spirits was accomplished through the use of objects with apotropaic powers: the sweet basil, money (payment of customs in the passage to the other world), the salt and so on. At opening the door/the gate in order for the stranger to entry into the house, mean spirits can pass by. „The stranger” can bring with himself, without him knowing it, signs of bad luck, of sadness. That is why the passage must be performed on a path that is „cleaned” of ugliness.

The bride is a „stranger” for her parents-in-law. Her reception into the house that will become the house of the young family was performed in the Southern part of Dolj county many years ago. In Calafat-Dăbuleni, people abided by a custom

known under the name of „reception of the bride on the cloth”.<sup>1</sup> Waiting for the bride and groom after the consumption of the religious ceremony was a party for the groom’s parents. As identical elements in the marriage ceremonial sequence, recognizable in Oltenia region, we mention: the feast where there would be placed a glass of wine and a special loaf of bread („azimă”).

The custom which we refer to was much more complex. The mother-in-law would weave the boy’s cloth after his baptism. She would measure the courtyard till the place where she thought she would receive the bride and she would thus establish the length of the cloth to suit this measure. The whiteness of the cloth symbolized purity, pure thought, with which one started on the path of life in couple. The path must be cleaned, especially at the beginning. Then it is possible for other events to soil the immaculate white, but otherwise, these events will be judged from the perspective of a common shared life style, of the house’s purposes that one should not overpass after the first misunderstanding.

The bride passes on the cloth (the immaculate path) that links the Gate, the World’s Threshold to the House’s Threshold. The fiddlers animate the atmosphere with songs that explain the ritual gestures of the actors:

The mother-in-law’s wish is essentially a message with ritual implications endowed with augural value and protective at the same time. The elements invoked have double value in two symbolical plans; they are endowed with different meanings for the couple’s life and for the norms of the social code that the future wife must abide by.

The mother-in-law’s wish focused on the formulation of three augural sequences ends with the wish for the future wife to continue the cycle of ceremonial sequences, over time, changing the place and register of appeal: she must become a mother. The formulation of the explicit wish of the mother-in-law on behalf of the groom is the first argument of the behaviour in the new quality that allows her to “command”. The pronunciation of the augural verbal sequences will have an “echo” amongst the participants to the marriage party and amongst the fiddlers, sign of reception of the message by the community.

The entire ceremonial sequence is placed under the sign of the Saint Trinity: people repeat three times the ritual gesture in order to make a permanent correlation with Divinity: the godfather leaves with a little chair and stops at three crossroads; the mother-in-law proposes a toast for the bride three times, breaks a loaf of bread into three and throws it; she places on the altar-table three kinds of offerings: wheat (with protective value), salt (symbolizing measure, temperance) and honey (“the sweetness” of feelings, the manifest affectivity).

The knot-shaped bread, the ritual bread has a protective value against any aggression of the mean forces in the couple’s life, and wine is the episanic beverage, purifying and regenerating the spirit.

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<sup>1</sup> Custom reconstituted by Aurelia Popescu-Preda at Calafat-Dăbuleni and turned into a script by „The ensemble of customs and traditions *Dor călător*” from Craiova.

Receiving the bride on the cloth constitutes itself into a custom that emphasizes the active presence, full of meanings for the characters that have a symbolical role and function in the context of the family group: the mother-in-law and the future bride.

The alternation of the sequences with humorous connotations, full of sobriety and carriers of symbols of the sacred ensure the tension of discourse and the viability of the custom.

### **2.3. The party „on sight”**

The marriage ceremonial is carried out for several days, having as a central moment the great Sunday feast.

The wedding used to start on Thursday, when flour was sifted in order to bake the bread necessary at the wedding meals and would end on Wednesday morning during the following week when “runners”, helpers at the wedding would clear the dishes away.

The parties in the family continued also after the wedding. One week after the wedding, the bride’s parents threw a party where they invited the bride and groom, the godparents, the in-laws and the closest relatives. This was the first meeting of the bride with her parents after the passage to the new wife status and in order for her to be lucky as bride she was forbidden to see her parents till this party called party “on sight”. The way to the bride and groom’s house was known under the name of “primary path”, a first journey into a space, into the family space for which the bride should have no regrets and in order for her to get used to the affective distance there was interposed a time consecrated to fulfilment, a week.

In Oltenia region, there is still kept the custom according to which one week after the religious ceremony, the young bride goes to Church, accompanied by her godmother and by a few friends and relatives. After tasting Eucharist bread, the godmother and midwife invite those who have accompanied them to a party where the goddaughter pays. These are the first journeys into the world of the young bride that will miss home once the handkerchief is put over her head:

*An open-minded wife  
Is a wreath to her husband*

The change of social category is the most different and complex in the ensemble of rites of passage that involve the entire community.

### **3. Funerary rites**

Funerary ceremonies comprise rites of separation, liminary rites and aggregation rites (A. Van Gennep, 1998, p. 131). Amongst these rites we chose as an original sequence an integrated sequence of rites of separation, suggestively called „the dead man’s pillow”.

„Talking to dead people”, calling the souls is a practice acknowledged at all people from ancient times and supposes the existence of a medium, that is of a material link, the body, the witch’s „mouth”. For the performance, there is needed

the visualization of the „meeting”, by deduction of the meanings of gestures and of pronounced words (“mumbled”). In the case of onirical experiences, the appearance of the face in a dream represents the visualization of the meeting.

In Gorj county, at Cloșani there is practiced another way of talking to the dead: the moment when the „dead man’s pillow” is done and is placed in the coffin, the dead man is counseled.

Finita Ceacă (70 years old) and Georgeta Croitoru (45 years old) are the village’s mourners. Georgeta is the daughter-in-law of Ecaterinei Croitoru (68 years old). The three participate in the burrial ritual, interpreting specific songs.

They are the ones that make the dead man’s pillow and talk to him, and counsel him. The pillow had three corners. In the pillow they put wool, nine buds, three buds of peer tree, three buds of apple tree, three buds of ungrafted apricot tree, a seed of incense, a clove of garlic, a hair comb, a mirror and a piece of marble. After the pillow is sewed, the needle and thread are introduced into it, for nobody should take them away. When they put objects into the pillow, the mourners talk with the dead man, they counsel him what to do with them. The pronunciation is a recital, in white verse that do not resemble as incantation with „Zorile”/The dawn. They talk and the syncretism functions: gesture and text in an atmosphere that does not inspire fear, it is only strangeness. Those who assist are marked by the sadness of the loss of someone known or someone dear, but the defulation by pronunciation, by an act of the burial ritual (the sewing of the dead man’s pillow) saves them from the fear state, that they will not see him anymore.

It is a way to produce separation, as act it must be sustained by verbal formulas with persuasive role, suggesting the leaving into another world.

After the separation ritual, there will succeed the liminary rite (the passage of the new “bed” over the line of demarcation inside-outside), the passage to another world, the beginning of a new journey. As last time of journey there will be the rite of aggregation marked by feasts of communion.

The rites of passage are complex manifestations, to which participates an entire world (the micro-family, the macro-village, the community). As common element and as appeal there remains the organization of the party or the passage marked by a feast.

This moment represents the sequence most used as script in the mediatization of rites of passage. The involvement of the entire community, the diverse props, the specific songs and their variants from different ethnofolklorical regions are arguments for the realization of television documentaries and of radiophonic broadcasts of ethnography and folklore, the present generation knowing only these mediatizations in spectacular form.

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## TOPONYMES D'ORIGINE ROUMAINE DES VILLAGES DANUBIENS DANS LA REGION DE SILISTRA

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**Abstract:** În articolul de față sunt prezentate toponime de origine română înregistrate în satele Aydemir, Srebarna, Vetren, Popina și Garvan, situate pe malul Dunării în zona orașului Silistra. Toponimele de origine română sunt mai puțin numeroase în comparație cu cele de origine bulgară și turcă. În fiecare dintre satele cercetate numărul total al toponimelor depășește o sută, iar cele de origine română sunt 12 la Popină, câte 5 la Garvan și la Aydemir, câte 4 la Srebarna și la Vetren. O parte din toponimele prezentate au provenit din antroponime românești (*Sherbanesco*, *Ionovata cheshma*, *Oprev pat*), altele din antroponime bulgărești care conțin elemente lexicale sau formative românești (*Moshtodoranka*, *Brezoev kladenets*, *Monelovata kulachka* ș. a.). Puține dintre toponimele prezentate ar fi putut considerate românești (*Gadul*, *Piscu*, *Stramba*, *Shkimbil*, *Sherbanesco*). Majoritatea dintre ele sunt forme hibride, formate în limba bulgară.

**Keywords:** toponymes, roumaine, villages.

Les villages danubiens Aydemir, Srebarna, Vetren, Popina et Garvan<sup>1</sup> dans la région de Silistra sont parmi le petit nombre de localités dans lesquelles est conservée la population bulgare autochtone – les Grébentsi<sup>2</sup>. Depuis le XVI<sup>e</sup>-ème siècle sont connus comme des villages bulgares (Dimitrov 1986, 86), avec les mêmes noms. Dans la vie matérielle, les coutumes et le dialecte de leurs habitants ont laissé des traces de longue durée les contacts culturels et linguistiques avec la population roumaine voisine. Dans cet article sont présentés des toponymes d'origine roumaine, enregistrés pendant des recherches de terrain en 2006 et 2007 dans les villages cités. Les toponymes sont peu nombreux en comparant avec ceux d'origine bulgare et turque, mais quand même plus nombreux que dans le reste de la région. Dans chacun des villages le nombre total des toponymes enregistrés est plus de 100, à Srebarna – plus de 200. D'origine roumaine à Popina sont douze

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<sup>1</sup> La translittération des noms bulgares est en conformité avec le système de translittération de l'Institut de langue bulgare de l'Académie des Sciences de la Bulgarie (<http://transliteration.mdaar.government.bg/trans.php>).

<sup>2</sup> Des Grébentsi habitent aussi dans quelques autres villages de la région de Silistra – Kalipetrovo et Kaynardzha, et jusqu'au 1940 dans certains villages de Dobrudzha de Nord (Romanski 1917, 213-214). Après la Libération Nationale de la Bulgarie en 1878, et plus tard, après le Traité de Craiova en 1940, des habitants de ces villages se sont installés à Sitovo, Poliana, Nova Popina, Lambrinovo, Dobrotitsa, Malak Preslavets (V. Mladenov 1974, 398; Sabotnova 1998, 8-11).

toponymes, à Garvan – cinq, à Aydemir – cinq, à Srebarna et à Vetren – à peine quatre pour chacun.

### 1. *Балта* ['baltə].

Dans le dialecte local a été emprunté le roum. *baltă* ‘étang, marécage’, ‘terrain inondable au bord du Danube’<sup>3</sup>. Avec le même sens le mot est rencontré dans quelques toponymes: 1) *Горната балта*, *Gornata balta* ['gornətə 'baltə], Pop., marécage avec sa végétation. De *балта* et *горна*, la forme de féminin de l’adjectif *горен* ‘supérieur’, ‘plus élevé’, ‘d’au-dessus’, avec l’article défini *-ma*. 2) *Долната балта*, *Dolnata balta* ['dolnətə 'baltə], Pop., plaine, verger, qui s’inonde parfois. De *балта* et *долна*, la forme de féminin de l’adjectif *долен* ‘inférieur’, ‘bas’, avec l’article défini *-ma*.

*Балтата*, *Baltata* ['baltətə], de *балта* avec l’article défini pour le féminin en bulgare *-ma*. 1) Vet., Sreb., une plaine, qui s’inonde au printemps et en été. Elle se trouve sur le territoire des villages Vetren et Srebarna, à proximité du lac Srebarna et du Danube. Une partie de la contrée se trouve dans la réserve de Srebarna. 2) Ayd., une plaine au bord du Danube, qui s’inonde au printemps et en été. 3) Ayd., Sreb, Vet. Le même que le lac Srebarna. 4) Gar., identique avec le lac marécageux *Golyamoto blato*.

Dans le dialecte locale l’emprunt *балта* et le slave *блато* apparaissent comme des synonymes. Les lacs Srebarna et Golyamoto blato auprès de Garvan sont nommés également *Baltata* et *Blatoto*. D’autre part, à la différence de *блато*, le mot *балта* ne se rencontre pas en pluriel dans la toponymie de la région, et les enquêtés expliquent, qu’il désigne un territoire plus vaste que *блато*. Ainsi par exemple, pour le total des territoires marécageux auprès de Srebarna et de Garvan on utilise le mot dialectal *балта*, en singulier, ou *блата*, la forme de pluriel du bulg. *блато*, comp. les toponymes *Srebarskite blata* (MRH Silistra, UF, u. a. 1), *Garvanskite blata*.

Il existe aussi une autre différence entre les deux mots: *блато* est rencontré dans les noms des lacs et des terrains marécageux intérieurs, mais pas dans le cas des noms des terrains riverains périodiquement inondés, tandis que *балта* pourrait se référer comme aux marais intérieurs, aussi bien qu’aux marécages et aux territoires inondables du bord du Danube. Ce fait pourrait être expliqué par l’emprunt du mot roumain non seulement comme un synonyme du bulg. *блато*, mais aussi comme un terme géographique avec le sens plus étroit de ‘territoires inondables au bord du Danube’, que le mot possède en roumain.

Le mot *балта* a été enregistré aussi dans la toponymie d’autres parties de la Bulgarie – Gorna Oryahovitsa (Angelova-Atanasova 1996, 148), Godech (Simeonov 1966, 123), Dupnitsa et Radomir (Elenin 2006, 163).

<sup>3</sup> Pour l’origine du roum. *baltă* existent deux hypothèses. Selon la première le mot provient du slave *blato*, ou bien de l’ancien slave *\*bolto* (BER 1: 54). Selon la deuxième le mot provient de la racine indoeuropéenne *\*bal-*, de laquelle proviennent l’all. *\*pol-*, le lituanien *balá*, le slave *blato* < *\*balto*, le celtique *\*palta*, l’illyrien *\*balton*, en pluriel *\*balta*. De celui ci on considère que proviennent le roum. *baltă*, l’albanais *baljtë*, le lombard *palta*, le triestois *paltan*, le piémontais *pauta*, les grecs *βάλπη*, *μπάλτα*, *βάλτα* et *βάλτος*. Du roumain ont été empruntés le ruthène *balta* et le vieux bulg. *baltina* (DER, 75).

2. *Гъдул, Gadul* Pop. Le nom a été inclus dans une liste des toponymes de Popina (MRH Silistra, UF, u. a. 73, f. 5) et n'est pas connu des enquêtes. Probablement provient du roum. *gât* 'gorge, gosier', avec l'article défini *gâtul*, et la sonorisation du *t* < *d*.

3. *Лунгата, Lungata* ['lungətə] Ayd., verger. Provient du roum. *lung* 'long', ж. р. *lungă*, avec l'article défini pour féminin en bulgare *-ma*. Le nom s'explique par la forme allongée de la contrée. Des toponymes provenus du roum. *lung* sont rencontrés dans d'autres régions de la Bulgarie (Belene, Kovachev, Kovacheva-Tsvetkova; Preslav, Krastev 2005, 195).

4. *Манеръ, Manera* Sreb. Inclus dans une liste des toponymes de Srebarna (MRH Silistra, UF, u. a. 92, f. 1). Le nom n'est pas connu des enquêtes. Probablement provient du roum. *mâner* 'manche, anse', avec l'article défini pour masculin en bulgare *-ъm/-a*, qui se prononce [ə] et de cette raison a été translittéré par la lettre cyrillique pour ce son ъ. Malgré que pour le dialecte local la forme typique de l'article est *-o*, dans la majorité des toponymes de cette liste elle a été substituée par la forme de la langue littéraire *-a*. Peut-être le mot roumain était inconnu pour celui qui a fait la liste, ce qui devient évident depuis la translittération phonétique de l'article défini *-a* par le *-ъ* et la hypercorrection du *â* de la première syllabe en *a*. On peut supposer que le mot a été conçu comme un mot d'origine turque, comp. par exemple le turc *sirtı*, qui dans la liste a été translittéré *capтъ*, avec la même hypercorrection du *ı* en *a*.

5. *Пуску, Piscu* ['pisku] Pop., plaine. Du roum. *pisc* 'bec'; 'pic'; 'la partie de devant de la chariotte', avec l'article défini pour masculin en roumain *-ul*, ou bien avec l'article défini pour masculin dans les dialectes bulgares de nord-est *-o*, qui en position inaccentuée se prononce [-u].

6. *Стръмба, Stramba* ['strəmbə] Pop., forêt. Du roum. *strâmb* 'courbe', en féminin *strâmbă*, depuis la forme de la contrée.

7. *Цинти* ['tsinti]: 1) *Bexтume цинти, Vehtite tsinti* ['vetite 'tsinti], *Bemo цинти, Veto tsinti* (dans une liste des contrées de DRAF Silistra, inconnu pour les enquêtes), *Цинтумо, Tsintito* ['tsintitu] et 2) *Новume цинти, Novite tsinti* ['noite 'tsinti], *Ново цинти, Novo tsinti* ['novu 'tsinti], Ayd., des champs. On raconte que ici, pendant les Guerres balkaniques, il y avait des champs de tir.

Les toponymes proviennent du roum. *țintă*, pl. *ținte* 'cible', 'but' et des adjectifs bulgares *вехт* 'vechi' et *нов* 'nou'. La réduction du *-e* dans le roum. *ținte* en *-i* est régulière, en accord avec les lois phonétiques des dialectes bulgares du nord-est. Les noms *Tsintuto*, *Novo tsinti* et *Veto tsinti* sont le résultat de la contamination du mot *tsinti* avec les mots du genre neutre dans la langue bulgare, qui se terminent en *-e*, en position inaccentuée prononcée [-i] (comp. bulg. *коте* ['koti] 'chaton', *цвете* ['tsveti] 'fleur'). Le changement du genre du mot est représenté par la forme de genre neutre des adjectifs dans le cas des *Novo tsinti* et *Veto tsinti* et par la forme de l'article défini pour le neutre *-mo* dans le toponyme *Tsintuto*.

8. *Шкимбил, Shkimbil* ['ʃkimbil] Gar., plaine, des champs. Probablement du roum. dial. *șchimb* 'changement', 'échange', avec l'assimilation du *-u* en *-i* ou bien

par contamination avec les noms propres bulgares avec la termination -ул (*Strahil*, *Gavril* etc.). Comp. *Шурдил*, *Shurdil* [ʃur'dil] dans la région de Godech, du roum. *surdul* ‘le sourd’ (Simeonov 1966, 235).

Une partie des toponymes d’origine roumaine proviennent d’antroponymes, et d’autres des antroponymes bulgares qui contiennent des éléments lexicaux ou formatifs roumains. Ce sont les toponymes suivants:

1. *Бабаяшов орах*, *Babayashov oreh* [bəbə'jeʃuw 'oref] Pop., un noyer et les champs autour de lui. Du surnom de la famille *Babayashov*, à laquelle autrefois appartenaient les champs. Le surnom provient du roum. *baboi*ā, diminutif du *baboi* ‘petit poisson’; ‘perche’, emprunt du bulg. *бабои* (DER, 66).

2. *Брезоев кладенец*, *Brezoev kladenets* [bri'zojuw 'kladents] Pop., un puits. De *кладенец* ‘puits’ et du nom de famille *Brezoev*, du roum. *Brezoi(u)* < *breaz*, emprunté du bulg. *брыз* (Selimski 2006, 80). Comp. les noms roumains *Brezoi*, *Brezoiu*, *Brezoiul*, rencontrés aussi comme des toponymes en Roumanie.

3. *Йоновата чешма*, *Ionovata cheshma* Ayd., fontaine. De *чешма* ‘fontaine’ et du prénom roumain *Ion*.

4. *Кънушов бурун*, *Kapushov burun* [kə'puʃuw bu'run] Pop., colline. Probablement d’un surnom, du bulg. *кануш*, emprunté du roum. *căpușă* ‘tîque’, ‘ricin’ (BER 2: 226), et du bulg. dial. *бурун* ‘colline’, ‘(géogr.) cap’ du turc *burun* ‘nez’.

5. *Монеловата кулачка*, *Monelovata kulachka* ['moneluwɤ ku'lat[kə], *Енюмонеловата кулачка*, *Enyumonelovata kulachka* ['enju,moneluwɤ ku'lat[kə] Vet., vallon. De *кулачка*, forme régionale diminutive du bulg. dial. *кулак* ‘vallon’ < turc *kulak* ‘oreille’, et du nom de famille *Monelov* (associé du prénom *Enyu* dans le cas de *Enyumonelovata kulachka*), du prénom roumain *Monel*, diminutif de *Simion*. Dans une liste des toponymes de Vetren des années 1940-1950 la contrée a été enregistrée avec le nom de *Монев кулак*, *Monev kulak* (MRH Silistra, UF, u. a. 18, f. 8), du diminutif bulgare *Мончо* du nom *Simeon*, ce qui démontre qu’autrefois on utilisait également les diminutifs roumains et bulgares du prénom *Simeon/Simion*, mais, évidemment, c’était la forme roumaine qui s’est imposée.

6. *Мош*. Le mot roumain *moș* ‘vieillard’ est rencontré dans quelques toponymes et dans certains noms de famille, a été enregistré dans d’autres régions de la Bulgarie, comp. par exemple *Мошмаринова буджак*, *Moshmarinova budzhak*, *Мошмариновия дол*, *Moshmarinoviya dol* dans la région de Gorna Oryahovitsa (Ангелова-Атанасова 1996: 308), *Мошилова могила*, *Moshilova mogila*, *Мошкино кладенче*, *Moshkino kladenche* dans la région de Chirpan (Pavlova 2005: 299).

*Мошганьовите кладенци*, *Moshganyovite kladentsi* [muʒ'ganjuwɤ 'kladentsi] Sreb., Ayd., deux puits dans le territoire du village Aydemir. De *кладенци* (pl.) ‘puits’. *Moshganyov* provient du roum. *moș* et du prénom bulgare *Ganyo*. A Aydemir en ce moment les puits sont connus avec le nom *Дядо Ганьовите кладенци*, *Dyado Ganyovite kladentsi* ['djadu 'ganjuwɤ 'kladentsi], du bulg. *дядо* ‘grand-père’, ‘vieillard’. C’est aussi le nom de la contrée dans laquelle

se trouvent les puits, enregistré dans les listes officielles et dans les cartes de la Direction régionale de l'agriculture et des forêts (DRAF) à Silistra. Probablement ce toponyme est plus nouveaux, apparu par la traduction en bulgare de l'élément roumain, qui était conçu par la jeune génération et des représentants de l'administration comme étranger, archaïque et dialectal.

*Мошкировата чешма, Moshkirovata cheshma* [muʃ'kiruwtə tʃuʃ'mɛ] Gar., fontaine. Du bulg. *чешма* 'fontaine' < turc. *Moshkirovata* provient du roum. *moș* et du prénom bulgare *Kiro*.

*Мошкоюв кладенец, Moshkojuv kladenets* Pop., puits (Stoyanova 1972, 103). Le toponyme est inconnu pour les enquêtes. Du bulg. *кладенец* 'puits' et le nom de famille *Moshkojuv* < roum. *moș* et le prénom bulgare *Koju*.

*Мошминчовите ниви, Moshminchovite nivi* [məʃ'mintʃuwtə 'nivi] Pop., une plaine avec des champs. Du bulg. *ниви* (pl.) 'des champs', et *Moshminchovite* du roum. *moș* et du prénom bulgare *Mincho*.

*Мъшпенчов кладенец, Mashpenchov kladenets* [məʃ'pentʃuwtə 'kladents] Pop., un puits. Du nom de famille *Mashpenchov* < roum. *moș* et le prénom bulgare *Pencho*. Le deuxième mot est le bulg. *кладенец* 'puits'.

*Мошрадев кладенец, Moshradev kladenets* [muʃ'radiw 'kladents] Gar., un puits. Du bulg. *кладенец* 'puits' et *Moshradev* du roum. *moș* et le prénom bulgare *Radi*.

*Мошторанка, Moshtodoranka* [moʃtudu'rankə] Vet., fontaine. Du roum. *moș* et le prénom bulgare *Тодоран*, avec le suffixe toponimique *-ка*.

A l'exception du toponyme *Moshtodoranka*, dans la toponymie et dans les noms de famille le mot *moș* montre certains signes de désémantisation. Ce sont la perte complète de l'accent et la réduction du *o* en *u* qui en a résulté, ainsi que la transition du *o* en [ə] dans les exemples de Popina, due probablement à une contamination avec le bulg. *мъж* 'homme'.

7. *Нъпруюв кладенец, Naprujuv kladenets* [nə'prujuw 'kladents] Pop., des champs, autrefois il y avait un puits. Du bulg. *кладенец* 'puits' et du nom de famille *Naprujuv* < roum. *năprui* 'stupide'.

8. *Опрев път, Oprev pat* ['opriw pət] Vet., des vignobles. Du bulg. *път* 'route' et du prénom roumain *Oprea*, ou bien du nom de famille *Oprev* < *Oprea*, enregistré dans le village voisin Srebarna. La deuxième étymologie est soutenue du fait que la contrée se trouve en direction de Srebarna.

9. *Шербанеско, Sherbanesco* Sreb., inclus dans la liste des toponymes de Srebarna de la DRAF Silistra. Le nom n'est pas connu des enquêtes. Sans doute du nom de famille roumain *Șerbănescu* < prénom *Șerban*.

10. *Канделов кладенец, Kandelov kladenets* ['kandeluw 'kladents] Ayd., autrefois un puits dans les champs de la famille *Kandelov*, maintenant la contrée fait partie du village. Du bulg. *кладенец* 'puits' et du nom de famille *Kandelov*. Il est possible que le nom de la famille soit provenu du roum. *candel* 'sucre candi' < all. *Kandel*, mais ce n'est pas impossible aussi qu'il soit provenu directement d'allemand.

Une très petite partie des toponymes pourrait être expliqués comme entièrement roumains d'origine (*Gadul, Piscu, Stramba, Shkimbil, Sherbanesco*). La plupart d'entre eux sont des hybrides, formés en bulgare. A l'exception des toponymes *Vehtite tsinti* et *Novite tsinti*, qui sont apparus après la Première guerre balkanique, il est impossible de déterminer avec sûreté lesquels des toponymes sont le résultat de la présence des populations roumaine, aroumaine et mégléno-roumaine, installées ici pendant les périodes quand la région faisait partie du territoire roumain (1913-1916, 1918-1940) <sup>4</sup>, et lesquels parmi eux sont plus anciens.

Le petit nombre des toponymes roumains pourrait s'expliquer par le fait que pour la population aroumaine et mégléno-roumaine, venue de régions avec une population multiethnique – aroumaine, slave, grecque, turque, albanaise et pour les roumains, qui sont venus des régions du sud de la Roumanie, où existaient des minorités bulgares, ainsi que pour les roumains et aroumains provenant d'autres parties de la Bulgarie, il était facile d'accepter les toponymes d'origine slave et turque déjà existants. D'autre part, l'administration roumaine n'a pas changé presque tous les noms des villages et probablement a laissé sans changement les autres toponymes.

## ABREVIATIONS

all.	allemand
Ayd.	Aydemir
bulg.	bulgare
dial.	dialectal
DRAF	Direction Régionale de l'Agriculture et des Forêts
f.	feuille
Gar.	Garvan
illyr.	illyrien
MRH	Musée Régional d'Histoire
Pop.	Popina

<sup>4</sup> Pendant la période 1925-1940 en Dobrudzha de Sud sont venus des colonisateurs roumains, aroumains et mégléno-roumains, inclusivement de la Bulgarie d'Ouest. Dans les villages de la région de Silistra tous les colonisateurs sont nommés par les bulgares македонци 'macédoniens'. Les aroumains dans les villages Aydemir, Garvan, Srebarna étaient de Thessalonique (Negoescu, Dimitriu, 75, 79, 81), à Srebarna étaient installés aussi des colonisateurs de Petrich (Negoescu, Dimitriu, 81). Les enquêtes de Srebarna racontent qu'ils communiquaient en bulgare avec les colonisateurs, et que les colonisateurs parlaient le dialecte de la Bulgarie de Sud-Ouest, où se trouve la ville Petrich.

Dans d'autres villages il y avait des aroumains de Plovdiv (Filipopole), Petrich, Razlog, Kyustendil, Pirdop (certains noms sont écrits incorrectement, par exemple Plodiv, Rezlor, Pirdat), des roumains de Vidin et de Pleven. Dans certains villages, parmi lesquelles est Popina, il y avait des colonisateurs locaux, de la région de Silistra (Durostor) (Negoescu, Dimitriu, 75-82).

Les roumains à Aydemir étaient de Constanța, Ialomița, Tulcea, et de Sibiu; à Garvan – de Constanța, Ialomița, Ilfov, Botoșani; à Popina – de Dolj, Ialomița, Ilfov, Olt, Teleorman, Ramnicu Sarat; à Srebarna – de Ialomița, Vlașca, Romanați, Gorj et Argeș. Vetren n'est pas inclus dans la liste des villages colonisés (Negoescu, Dimitriu, 75-82).

roum.	roumain
Sreb.	Srebarna
u. a.	unité d'archives
UF	unité des fonds d'archives
Vet.	Vetren

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## THE DANUBE BULGARIAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL AREA

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**Abstract:** Articolul face parte dintr-un studiu mai amplu de antropologie balcanică. În acest articol este analizat un material antropologic interesant și specific zonei Dunărene. Materialul este demarcat din punct de vedere regional printr-o semantică ambivalentă. Este vorba de nume de familie rezultate din urbonime. Pe de o parte, ele semnaleză în mod natural o apartenență regională concretă, iar pe de altă parte – reflectă legătura comună pe care o au toți cu teritoriul fluviului Dunărea. Este vorba despre onimi de tipul: Vidinliev, /Видинлиев/ Kalafatov, /Калафатов/ Švištovliev, /Свищовлиев/, Rusciukliev /Русчуклиев/, Calarașev /Каларашев/, Tutakanov /Тутраканов/. Această apariție este răspândită pe ambele maluri ale fluviului Dunărea, dar aici mă restrâng prezentând doar datele din Bulgaria, care sunt analogice cu datele culese din România, și este vorba de onomastice. Antroponimele din zona de contact de la Dunărea de Jos sunt polisemantice. Ele sunt unitare în ceea ce privește tipul nominalizării și ca orișice personalizare prezintă conotații în afara discursului lingvistic. Din această cauză ele nu sunt doar martori ai istoriei lingvistice ci și a caracteristicii sale locale. Acestea reprezintă baza unor dispute comparative și a unor studii interdisciplinare.

**Keywords:** anthropological, language, ethnical, researched.

The Danube is a natural boundary and hence a language boundary. It is a well-known fact that the end-part of the Danube is a boundary between two of the languages of the Balkan language union, spoken by a majority of native speakers. Unlike the rest of the Balkan languages, these two languages belong to different major language families. Bulgarian is a Slavonic language, whereas Romanian is a Roman language. A part from Bulgarians and Romanians, there live other ethnical communities in the lands near the end-part of the Danube such as Jewish, Greek, Gypsy, Ukrainian, Turkish, Albanian, Greeks, Russians, Tatars and the group of the Gagauz, as well. Of course, there is diversity concerning denominations that are represented by Orthodox, Catholics, Jews, Muslim, Protestants, etc. In the contact area there are important phenomena and processes, concerning the boundary area, emphasizing the common features of the Balkan area, as well as specific features of each of the languages.

This paper, which is part of a larger research on the Balkan anthroponymy, analyses interesting and specific material, typical of this geographical region that is regionally marked and has ambivalent semantic meaning. These are family names, formed by urbonyms. On the one hand, they quite naturally signalize the specific regional belonging, and on the other, they show the link with the common area: the

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Danube river, namely. We mean family names of the type: *Vidinliev, Kalafatov, Svishtovliev, Ruschukliev, Kalarashev, Tutrakanov*, (meaning ‘from Vidin’, ‘from Kalafat’, ‘from Svishtov’, ‘from Russe’, ‘from Kalarash’, ‘from Tutrakan’). This phenomenon is popular on both banks of the river. However, we shall focus on the data from Bulgarian that are comparable to data from Romanian. The data used here has been based on the onomasticons of Stefan Ilchev (Ilchev 1969), and Nikolai Kovachev (Kovachev 1987, 1995), Yordan Zaimov (Zaimov 1988), as well as on more specialized research of Ludwig Selimski (Selimski 1999) as well as on terrain research by the author of the present paper (Koleva 2001: 150-154).

(As a kind of language superstrat) anthroponymy lexis gives us information not only of the language situation, but also data of the ethnolinguistics and cultural anthropology. This approach to research is a new and productive one. Phenomena could be stratified and their areal characteristics could be delineated, based on the terrain data.

The choice of the present topic is related to the discourse of the language concepts, that are source of rich information as they reflect the age, environment and culture. The hydronym *Danube* could be regarded in that aspect not just because its contextual polysemy. First of all, this hydronym is widely-known in various phonetic variants, including Indoeuropean languages that have nothing to do with its ethymological source. This fact is due to the universality of its semantic meaning of ‘river’ that appeals to multiple meanings and uses, a wide derivation network and a high frequency (BER 1: 446-447; Fasmer 1: 552-553). Within the context of Bulgarian the Danube is a key word in collocoations (parhemes) comprising the idea of a large space, being a boundary. For example the colloquial expression *Власите на края на Дунава се давят // Накрай Дунава власите се давят* (*The Vlachs get drowned when they have almost reached the opposite bank of the Danube*) ‘for a person who loses, fails in the final stage of some work’ (ПБЕ 2: 263), and the dialect expression: *Не може ме опра ни Дунав* (*The Danube cannot wash me*) ‘В много тежко състояние съм, не може да ми се помогне’ (to be in a difficult situation) (ФРБЕ 1: 709).

In Prilep, which is in the south-west, the collocation ‘*туна и сàва*’ (*tuch*, a great deal of) is used. Its source is the Turkish name of the Danube: *Tuna* and the hydronym *Sava*. In Macedonia where there are big rivers, the collocation ‘*дунав вода*’ (*Danube water*) means ‘a lot of water, usually after heavy rainfalls or floods’ (Embore, the Lerin region).

One of the most often used derivatives built from *Danube* is the dialect geographical term ‘*дунавец*’ (*danuber*, meaning northern wind) (Totleben, in the region of Pleven; Koprivec, the region of Belene; Radanovo, the region of Turnovo; Targovishte).

In literary language the words *дунавец* (*danuber*) *дунавец* and *дунавка* (*a woman from the region of Danube*) are appellatives for persons, born or living near the Danube (ПБЕ 4: 477).

There exist exotic male personal names such as *Дунав* (*meaning Danube*), registered for the first time in the XV century (Zaimov1988: 99) and *Дунай*

(*Dunai*) under a Russian influence (Kovachev 1995: 194). There are more diverse female personal names *Дунава* (*Dunava*), known since the XVIII century, common in the south-western regions (Kichevo, Deber), the new name *Дунàвия* (*Dunavia*) (Kovachev 1995: 194), known also as a brand of cheese (chrematonym) and a diminutive *Дунàвка* // *Дунавка* (*Dunavka*).

The family name *Dunavski* ‘someone, coming from the region of the Danube’ is well-known.

For onomastics in an European context, derivation of anthroponyms from urbonyms has a transparent semantics, because the phenomenon is quite common and its continuity could be regarded as a language universal. This phenomenon is not only a sign of an obsolete archaic language but it can also be regarded as a code for belonging to a particular civilization or culture, whose bearers show it consciously through their name, no matter what their language, ethnic or denominational community is. A fact that proves the above statement is that such types of family names are not only inherited. Like nick-names, they could appear in order to show a new status, related to the popularity and prestige of the territory. This socio-cultural phenomenon is quite topical on the boundary of two epochs, when the processes are quicker. In this respect, conclusions can be drawn both on diachronic and synchronic level, the second one being the contemporary period that could be studied in detail in many respects.

The end part of the Danube in its Bulgarian part is part of the Danube region, comprising the Danube plain and the land near the Danube. There are 34 municipalities in this area, united in the biggest regional union in the country, called ‘Danube’. The towns and villages along the river are 35. A great part of them are old, dating back to ancient times and the Middle ages, which is logical, having in mind the importance of the river in the past and nowadays. The favourable conditions near the Danube are the reason why there have been long-lasting migration processes, leading to ethnical and cultural diversity.

The important role of the river in the political, socio-economical and cultural development of Central and Eastern Europe has had an impact on the development of the towns and their urbanization. Like with the Black sea coastline, here the towns have had an important role. They are 11 in number today. They have an European look and atmosphere. Their development is sustainable. And the number and density of population is sustained. Their names have been known for many years outside the country. The bigger towns and cities such as Vidin, Lom, Svishtov, Russe, Silistra have had a key role in the modern history. To use sociological terms, this fact enhances their rating and makes them attractive and prestigious places for living.

The sociolinguistic markers *prestige* and *social status* can be explained through anthroponymy. In the third quarter of the XIX c., when these places were developing most intensively, there were more family names that ‘gave out’ the place where the inhabitants lived. Thus, we can make a map of the towns, cities and villages along the Danube: *Новосёлски* // *Новоселянски* < Ново село, Видинско (meaning New village); The following anthroponyms mean ‘one

coming from the town / city / village of: *Новосёлски* // *Новоселянски* < Ново село; *Видинско* (meaning New village); *Бдински*, *Видински*, *Видинлиев* < Видин; *Ломски*, *Ломлиев*, *Ломов* // *Ломев* < Лом; *Цибрански* // *Цибрянски* // *Цибренски*, *Цибров* // *Цибрев* < v. Долни and Горни Цибър; *Рàховски* < Оряхово; *Острòвски* < v. Острòв; *Байка̀лски* (new) < v. Байкал; *Бèленски* < Белене; *Свищовлиев* < Свищов; *Русчуков*, *Русчуклиев*, *Русейски* < Русе; *Тутрака̀нов* < Тутракан; *Доростòлски* < Силистра.

This list including 24 family names, made of 12 urbonyms, gives multiple information.:

- The prevailing urbonyms are those of citizens (8). These towns have the greater part of the population in the Danube region. They are old places
- There is greater variability with family names, related with the biggest and most important places, economically and culturally, *Russe* as the biggest city near the Danube and *Lom* as the second in size and closer to the capital harbour, *Vidin*, an administrative and church centre in the past and nowadays.
- The villages of Novo selo, Dolni Cibar and Ostrov are among the biggest in the north-western region.
- The family names related to the cities with the greatest distance between them: Vidin and Silistra are composed not from their contemporary base but from their historical base. The discerning of these forms as „дунавски” (*dunavski*) is a matter of the level of knowledge. While the anthroponym *Bdinski* has a similar phonetic structure with a Celtic ethymon and some contemporary variants, the family name *Dorostòlski*, associated with the easternmost town on the Danube is not of Bulgarian origin and can be difficultly discerned, as the results of a questionnaire among young people show.
- The opposition *old ~ new* is transparent in the variants of the names of the biggest cities on the Danube: *Russe* and *Vidin*
- There is a common dialect marker of the appellative word-formative base of ‘-лия’ meaning ‘a citizen of ...’
- The variants of ‘-ски’ are territorially marked. They are typical of the northwestern anthroponymy area but are also common in the north-eastern area. The only urbonyms that do not yield family names with the above ending are Свищов (*Svishtov*) and Тутракан (*Tutrakan*).
- The most widely used suffixes–ов // -ев yield names in the old area of Mizia
- The emphatic variants are also territorially marked.
- The family name originating from the urbonym *Oriahovo* has an initial vocal elision
- Anthroponyms of salavonic origin dominate. The word formative element – ‘àн (-’ан) in the family name *Новоселянски* (*Novoselianski*) is a signal of the contact area between Bulgarian and Romanian.

A few more names can be added to this list of Bulgarian names, that show the influence from the left bank of the Danube: e.g. *Калафàтев* < Калафат (from *Kalafat*) < dialectal калафàт ‘който запълва, замазва зирките на лодка’ <

Grecian *καλαράτης* (someone who fills the holes of a boat); *Бекѐтов* < Бѐкет (from Beket); *Корѐбиев* < Корѐбия (from Korabia); *Каларѐшов* // *Каларѐшев* (from Kalarash) < *călăraș* ‘конник, куриер’ (from the Romanian ‘horseman’). This word-formative structure is traditional for Bulgarian.

The systemic character in language nomination is evident. The link ~ *family name* ~ a *big city място* is a fact, no matter on which bank of the river the city is situated. Rarely, though, the name of the place can be a source of a personal name: *Олтенка* (*Oltenka*) < romanian *olteancă* ‘a citizen of Oltenia’.

The anthroponyms in the contact area of the end-part of the Danube are polysemantic. They reflect unity concerning the type of nomination and, like any personalia, have connotations outside the linguistic discourse. That’s why they are not only evidence of the history of the language but also of its areal characteristics. Anthroponyms can be used as a basis for comparative, confrontative and interdisciplinary studies.

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## THE MISUNDERSTOOD CIVILIZATION (BULGARIANS OF ROMANIA, WAY TOO FAR FROM COMPLETE UNDERSTANDING...)

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**Abstract:** Articolul da față se bazează pe lucrările dramatice a doi autori: un român și un bulgar ce au creat în perioade de timp apropiate și care prin două dintre comediile lor (Vasile Alecsandri “Iorgu de la Sadagura” și Dobri Voinikov “Civilizația înțeleasă anapoda”) au încercat să arate chiar și în mod parodic ce se întâmplă când alegi să urmezi orbește “moda europeană” de la sf, de sec. XVIII-lea și începutul secolului al XIX-lea. Modalitatea de asimilare a așa-zisei civilizații europene este asimiliată în mod identic, mai ales că autorul bulgar se afla în exil datorită ocupației turcești din Bulgaria, și avusese din plin prilejul de a observa acest fenomen în țara gazdă, adică în România.

**Keywords:** literatura, comedie, parodie.

Many centuries ago, a crowd of Bulgarians decided to leave their country for settling down in eastern part of what today is called Romania.

What suppose to drive them so hard at that time? Well, like many people, rising from the Dark Age, they had a huge hope for changing the world.

And as you fill the shirt and just when the wind really blows you try your jacket, changing the world was starting, naturally with an attempt regarding their native country, Bulgaria, which for centuries experienced the Turkish occupation of the Ottoman Empire.

In every section of what is to be named cultural life, history, literature, folklore, theatre (a “devilish” issue at that time...), and oppressive occupation put a standstill. Moreover, the old and ignorant people fiercely rejected almost every bit of breath towards was in civilized Europe appeared as modern. Religion, as usually for those years was misused and “Anathema” was called for every single young intellectual who envisioned some changes.

Such an endeavour needed appropriate instruments, so was a demand for schools, new teaching methods, and new code of ethics. The expected results would consist of educated young people to counteract the lack of instruction. Only basic things had been taught to the poor people, in monasteries (some prays and to read/write the name and that was all!)

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It is not clear at this moment where the teachers of the new schools came with their education from, but it is not hard to guess that they spent time learning in well acknowledged European schools of the time.

One of the first educators was Dobri Popov Voinikov (b.1833 in Shumen, today Bulgaria), lately considered an original, which used theatre as a method of teaching Bulgarian history. Somehow oriental, at that time and occurring in east European space, the fact appeared as phenomena.

A complete personality, teacher, musician and composer, conductor and musical critic, he authored some textbooks, published and supported a newspaper in his native Bulgarian as editor in chief, came with a significant theatrical scripts and plays (first Bulgarian drama of "Stoyan Voivoda" for instance). He founded the first Bulgarian theatrical company in Braila, Romania, in 1865.

Covering about five hundred years, the ottoman occupation of what today is Bulgaria (independent since 1878), begun at the end of fourteen century. Due to the nature of life under Turkish occupation, people's ignorance coming from the lack of education was a fact. The late appearance of Bulgarian theatre (no earlier than 1830s), as indigenous art form (on large scale), with respect to developed countries at that time, can be naturally understood.

In the early nineteenth century, in Bulgaria as elsewhere (we have a similar interpretation of this process in some Romanian cities too), theatre stood for vice and depravity, although its naive performances, in local schools and reading rooms, tended to end in patriotic hymns, synonymous of potential revolutionary activity, sometimes threatening civil order, which was quite uncomfortable for the occupation authorities.

The opposition to the theatrical art in Bulgaria came from the authorities and the obedient press, which tried to sell theatre as foreign and profane art form, mainly embodied in plays by Goldoni, Hugo, Moliere or Schiller.

To perform theatre, new art in Bulgaria of nineteenth century, was an almost impossible task, so relocation was a must for the authors, players, actors and generally speaking for Bulgarian artists.

In this totally unfavourable historical context theatre troupe of Dobri Voinikov had the chance to escape the jurisdiction of Turkish authority and the Islamic law, as well as bypass the cultural hegemony of the Greek Orthodox Church, the other main player for Bulgarians.

From this point of view in these early days drama in Bulgaria stood as a rebel art form, an element of cultural revival and significant toward political independence. The education system also provided a fertile soil for the emergence of drama.

Dobri Voinikov started to write dialogues for the Bulgarian stage, considered to be at that time the beginning of the Bulgarian theatre.

As a matter of fact the schools had been playing a prominent role in the development of the theatre and will become schools for adults, a stage where the history was brought to life.

The school ending celebrations gave to Voinikov opportunities to display his operas. First of all dialogues, followed meantime by original historical drama like "Raina Kniaghinia", "Stoyan Voivoda", a comedy, etc.

Voinikov and his followers strongly believed that a popular and historical theatre can give to every spectator the possibility to shape own image, to comprehend the deeper meaning of their human mission, and to acquire a sense of national pride, duty and responsibility. Those generous objectives had to be achieved from the historical drama.

Contrary to drama, Dobri Voinikov's comedy entitled "Civilization Misunderstood", written in 1871, prior to the Russian-Turkish war, will be the main objective of this paper.

The original play was a comic satire, which stigmatizes the taste for "French" of the elite, in contrast to the "solid" Bulgarian values.

No simple accident in our choice; in fact the intention is to debate similarities of Voinikov's play and some of the Vasile Alecsandri's (1821-1890) playwright opera. Alecsandri was the Moldavia's foremost dramatist and a great lyric poet.

Alecsandri was born at Bacau to a noble family, in 1840 he was appointed joint director of "Iasi Variety Theatre" and came into prominence as the author of the most popular Rumanian play of the season "The Freemason from Hârlău") a comedy he wrote specially for Costache Caragiale.

Two modern theatres have been taken his name: The National Theatre in Iasi (Romania) and The Moldavian Musical-Dramatic Theatre at Bălți (Moldova).

In 1840, he became director of the National Theatre of Iași. He wrote his first play, "The Freemason from Harlau" – in Romanian "Farmazonul din Hârlău", and, in 1844, his second, "Iorgu de la Sadagura", a comedy.

Both saw the stage to mild acclaim.

He published in "Dacia Literară", the first Romanian language literary magazine, founded by Mihail Kogălniceanu, as well as to "Albina Românească", the first Romanian language newspaper in Moldavia.

We can say also that at that time Voinikov was the unnameable director of the Bulgarian national theatre from exile and that he made from his newspaper which editor he was, "Danubian Swan", a real tribune of the voice of the emigrants from Romania and especially from Braila.

The background of the two plays is a very debauched character of the two "Balkans" societies because at that time they liked to ape foreigners (as for example the hero of Voinikov play, the Greek Margaridi) and to defame ourselves as does Anka, Iorgu, Dimitraki, Gahita in the plays we are talking about.

Therefore the Romanian and Bulgarian societies "followed the winds" and have been turn into "Turkish" style, "Greek" style, and God knows what else, and by God mercy, as we have seen in the comedies, we have turn to be "French" style, but only by a pseudo-language and nothing more.

The similarities of Voinikov's play "Civilization Misunderstood" to "Mr. Iorgu from Sadagura" (called also "A Nephew is a limb of Satan – as played in Iasi

at 1844) and “Trilogy of Coana Chirita” authored by Alecsandri are obviously special.

We count mainly for in the language and the way of dressing, but we don’t exclude significant scenes chosen for the play.

Let’s come with some examples:

1) In the Romanian play, the nephew of Mr. Damian Enachi had come back from Sadagura. which means the center of the universe to him, a place where the civilization is blossoming in her splendour, carrying a dichotomy of “we” (the educated people)-“they” (the old and uneducated citizens of Romania)”. In Bulgarian play, on the other side, Dimitraki the son of an enriched shopkeeper came back from Paris with a mistaken idea about civilization and its benefit upon the Bulgarian society.

Dimitraki’s father wanted him an educated man and for this purpose he paid the entire voyage and his studies in Paris, but as the Alecsandri’s hero, he came back only with the hate for everything that is Bulgarian: clothes, way of speaking, the food and drinks and ending up hating everything to be Bulgarian. Instead of helping his father at the shop he spends the entire day in the coffee shop reading newspaper and talking with “French” accent. Similar issues experienced his Romanian counterpart.

It’s very important to emphasize that the Romanian society where the young Bulgarian playwright had arrived to a certain point of the understanding was also confused in the perception of the real values of civilizations, and was treating it almost in the same manner as the Bulgarian: to be civilized means just to know some words in French to use it in front of the uneducated people only to show just how smart they are!

Both young men Dimitraki the brother of Anka and Iorgu were a kind of misrepresent of the new world.

2) In both comedies, the women play similar characters: Gahita (from Alecsandri, which is a neighbour of Iorgu’s uncle) and Anka (from Voinikov, the sister of Dimitraki). Anka had never been in the “real Europe” and her only dream is that one day she will be a real lady, dressed properly and talking in French. She wants to get out of her village and to start a new life side by side with a so called European, who is doctor Margaridi a fake physician. She wants to marry him, but her plans are ruined. In the play of Alecsandri, Gahita wants to marry, Iorgu, younger than her, and wants to escape the dusty village where she’s living since she remembers.

3) After a lot of adventure the honour of the romanian and bulgarion nation is saved and the young are making peace with the older generation, understanding that paying tribute to the national tradition don’t harm the progress of a nation.

The real civilization coming with the education doesn’t jeopardize the pride of being a real Bulgarian or either Romanian.

4) Even if the manners of writing the comedy of both authors are similar: they adopted a romantic style, but the true represented in it is a little bit cruel: it’s very

easy to be between one's teeth, and not to understand properly the current of living after the new rules of the western society.

### **Conclusion**

These two plays had accomplished the aim of showing the good and bad habits of copying things. Are they good for own society? Should they be filtered, adapted...?

A very important thing to remember is that the "Civilization Misunderstood" is considered to be the landmark in the early phase of authentic Bulgarian drama and, as such, may still be revived from time to time.



## ASPECTS OF TRADITIONAL FISHING IN SOUTH-DOBRUDJAN VILLAGES

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**Abstract:** Practicarea pescuitului în satele aflate pe malul Dunării a reprezentat pentru locuitorii Dobrogei o ancestrală îndeletnicire, dar și o importantă sursă de venituri. Prezența numeroaselor bălți de-a lungul Dunării, bogăția speciilor de pești, dar și existența unui inventar de unelte și tehnici, conferă pescuitului o importanță majoră în zonele de baltă ale Dunării. Locuitorii acestor așezări au fost de-a lungul veacurilor furnizori de pește și pentru ținuturile lipsite de acest aliment ieftin, care era prețuit atât de săteni, cât și de orașeni. Primele dovezi arheologice care atestă practicarea acestei ocupații pe teritoriul Dobrogei datează încă din epoca mezolitică, iar în epoca neolitică se înregistrează un progres considerabil în practicarea acestei îndeletniciri, prin folosirea plasei de pescuit, cu ajutorul căreia se putea pescui o cantitate mai mare de pește. Pentru această perioadă istorică sunt relevante descoperirile arheologice care s-au făcut la Histria, pe malul Dunării: harpoane și undițe din os, precum și greutăți de plasă modelate din lut. În scrierile lăsate de numeroși autori antici, între care îi amintim pe Arrian, Strabon și Polibiu, pescuitul este prezentat ca o ocupație însemnată a locuitorilor acestor ținuturi. Pescuitul a continuat să fie o ocupație importantă, aducătoare de hrană sau de venituri, în toate epocile care au urmat, indiferent de stăpânirea sub care s-au aflat cei care îl practicau. Potrivit documentelor, pescuitul se desfășura intens mai ales pe Dunăre și în bălțile vecine din care se pescuiau diverse specii: crap, știucă, șalău, caras, somn, sturion, scrumbie. În timp ce în majoritatea regiunilor țării pescuitul a reprezentat o ocupație secundară prin care populația și-a completat resursele alimentare, în unele sate din sudul Dobrogei (Oltina, Satu Nou, Aliman, Dunăreni, Rasova, Cochirleni, Topalu, Capidava Ghindărești), situate pe malul Dunării sau în apropierea bălților sau lacurilor, pescuitul a fost o ocupație de bază, care asigura atât necesarul de hrană, cât și venituri însemnate pentru familiile pescarilor. Tehnicile de pescuit sunt variate, de la metoda clasică a pescuitului cu mâna până la utilizarea undițelor sau a uneltelor confecționate din împletituri sau plasă, printre care amintim: „vârșă”, „cârlionțul”, „setca”, „prostovolul”, „ava”, „năvodul”, „tifanul”. Folosită în toate satele mai sus menționate, undița a rămas una dintre cele mai cunoscute unelte folosite în ape adânci, la pescuitul pe Dunăre sau în bălțile acesteia. Mijlocul de transport tradițional folosit pentru această activitate este barca lucrată de meșterii specializați din sate precum Rasova, Ostrov, Topalu sau de lipovenii din Ghindărești.

**Keywords:** fishing, techniques, food.

For the inhabitants of Dobrudja the practicing of fishing in the villages located on the Danube banks represented an ancestral activity but also an important source of profit.

The presence of various meadowlands found along the Danube river, the abundance of highly qualitative fish species and the existence of a specific

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inventory of tools and techniques which, due to their diversity are used in no other activity on the territory of our country, offer a major importance to this activity practiced in the meadows of the Danube river. For many years the inhabitants of these villages were major suppliers of fish especially for the areas deprived of this type of cheap food, which was valued both by villagers and by citizens.

Considering the age of this occupation on these lands, archaeological evidence show that during the Mesolithic period fishing instruments such as harpoons with “ears” made of stag horn or even of bone were used to catch large fish such as sturgeons or catfish.

During the Neolithic period fishing registered a considerable progress when the fishing net was finally introduced and marked the passage from the primitive fishing technique to an economical one which brought with it larger quantities of fish which was either used for consumption or for trading. In Harsova, located on one of the Danube banks, in an establishment dating from the Neolithic period, the archaeological excavations revealed a series of ancient tools such as harpoons and bone fishing lines, as well as net weights made of clay.

The importance of this activity during the Dacian and Getic period was highlighted by the historian Arrian. According to his accounts about the military expedition of Alexander the Great in the north of the Danube river, in 335 B.C, the army led by the king of Macedonia had crossed the river by using a primitive boat, the “monoxile” (carved out of a single block of wood), belonging to the local people who “had many boats like these and used them to fish on Istru river”.

Strabo, the Greek geographer, also writes about the abundance in fish of these lands and in his paper called “Geography” he mentions the fact that in the northern lands inhabited by the Scythians, the sturgeons could be caught directly “from the ice and some were as big as a dolphin”.

During the 2<sup>nd</sup> century another historian named Polybius, reminded us of the high quality of the salty fish which the Dacian and Getic people used to sell and export to Greek colonizers along the entire Dobrudjan coast line.

In ancient times the importance of fishing was also reflected in the economical life of the Greek colony of Histria, to which the Emperor Trajan granted some rights concerning fishing. A series of Latin words dating since the Roman domination are still kept and these add a completion to the latest proofs regarding the idea of how old this occupation is: fish, milt, fisherman, fishery, fishy, catfish, bream.

During the migration period and in the Middle Ages the activity of fishing continued to progress and to bring important profits to the people engaged in it.

In the Byzantine city of *Pacuiul lui Soare*, the archaeological evidence revealed a rich inventory coming from the 11<sup>th</sup> century and which was extremely significant concerning the continuity of this occupation on Danubian-Pontic lands: fishing line hooks, net weights, large iron hooks, clay weights for the long fishing line (“pripon”), lead weights for the fishing line.

Documents from the Middle Ages speak about a vast activity of fishing developed on the Danube river. Therefore, at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, referring

to a Christian military expedition against the Turks, a high Polish official of that time declared that for the transportation of troops on the Danube river many boats were available mainly because “all the cities located along the great river were inhabited by fishermen and consequently this meant a lot of boats”. During the Turkish domination in Dobrudja the people who practiced fishing had the obligation to pay great fees to the Roman Empire; by the end of this period, meaning in 1877, the total amounts of money owned to the Roman state reached the outstanding number of 400.000 golden lei. After the Independence War “fish factories were almost deserted” and the Romanian government started to exert its rights on the fish factories belonging to the Turkish state”.

If up until 1895 “Dobrudjan waters and meadowlands with the entire seacoast were put out to contract, after this specific date they began to be exploited under direct state management, a thing which brought a considerable increase in the state’s profits as well as an improvement in the fishermen’s social status who started to receive a quota out of the resulting incomes. Considering this, we give as a specific example the situation during 1895-1896 when from the entire profit of 1.699.614 golden lei, the state received 415.371 golden lei and fishermen the remaining 1.284.043 golden lei.

The Danube river and its system of river meadows and lakes have always represented an important source of Romanian fish production including: carp, “lin”, “caracuda”, pike, perch, “salau”, “avat”, carp, bream, catfish, “oblete”, Danubian herring, sturgeons such as “pastruga” and “nisetru”.

In 1896, due to Grigore Antipa’s suggestions concerning the necessity of preserving the country’s fish supplies, the *fishing law* was voted and according to it the following were forbidden: fishing during the reproduction period, fishing using explosive material, drugs or poison; fishing with “spears, sharp stakes, rakes, fire weapons”; “fishing during nightfall by using torches and fire”; water pollution.

This law as well as the decision concerning the exploitation of fish factories under direct state management meant an increase in the productivity of this activity in Dobrudja. A series of old testimonies support this idea and confirm that this activity was practiced in all the Dobrudjan villages located near Danube’s waters. Therefore, while in Rasova, a village located along one of Danube’s banks near the city of Cernavoda, in 1922 one million kilograms of fish were caught, in the same year in Seimeni, from the four ponds neighboring the village (Turcaret, Ramadan, Domneasca Mare, Domneasca Mica), and “stretched on an area of 1300 hectares”, 4000 kilograms of fish were caught each year. Some years later, Gheorghe Stefanescu, the tenant of the four swamps above mentioned “developed a rich commerce”. In 1923 for the inhabitants of Topalu and Capidava fishing was an important and widely spread occupation. Other major fish suppliers were Ostrov and Oltina villages; in 1924 Ostrov had “important meadowlands and devices used to catch fish”, and in Oltina a “cherdana” (a small factory in which fish was processed) was opened and it was famous in the entire region of Dobrudja.

While in most of the areas of the country fishing represented a secondary occupation which supplied the population with the necessary food resources, in

some Dobrudjan villages situated on the Danube banks or near the lakes or river meadows this activity represented a main occupation which provided not only the daily food but also a considerable source of profit for fishermen families.

In the lines to follow some aspects of traditional fishing in south-Dobrudjan villages are presented and these mainly refer to specific tools and techniques used for fishing along the Danube river.

One of the most primitive methods used up until present times was hand fishing or tickling. This ancient technique was used mainly during summers when pools and lakes dried out and the fish could be spotted hiding between the river stones and could easily be caught even by women and children.

In all the villages under investigation, nowadays people still catch fish by using bait and *fishing lines* made of reed sticks or long rods measuring 3-4 m in length, to which a 4-5 m string was attached with a baited hook (ground worms, bits of maize porridge or even fish) at its end.

In order to float above the water surface the string of the fishing line was attached to a piece of floating material such as reed or cork and for a better movement through the water small lead balls were connected to the fishing line.

For catching catfish a special fishing line called "*visila*" was used; this had a kind of a "*tongue*" in its top part which was bent on one side; with the help of a thick string the fishing line was tied up to a stick firmly fixed in the mud; the bait used for this purpose consisted mainly in a living fish ("oblete", "lin"). The catfish was attracted by the fish which moved in the fishing line, it reached to grab it being therefore caught in the "*visila*".

On the Danube river, in the meadows or lakes along the seacoast the so-called *hook fishing* was practiced by using for this purpose different hooks for each kind of fish species: "catfish hooks", "sterlet hooks", "sturgeon hooks".

These hooks connected a series of fishing lines each having a small string measuring about 40 cm in length, all being attached to a thicker string which had a stone at one end so that it could be thrown far into the open waters and a rod called "pripon" at the other end which was fixed into the mud. The hooks were mainly of two types: "with food" (*pripoane*), which used bait and caught the fish by its mouth and "without food" (*carmace*), used for catching fish with no scales (sturgeons).

"*Pripoanele*" (long lines with baited hooks) used by fishermen in Ostrov village were made of "a thicker string measuring 50-60 m in length which had larger hooks attached at a distance of a meter from each other in which the bait was placed: maize porridge, small living carp used for predators, white ground worms, fan cricket. "Priponul" "was set in the evening across the Danube river and it was pulled out in the morning" and the fish they caught (catfish, zander, carp) was taken out from the hooks with an instrument called "*minciog*" or purse net; this was made of a "ring of thick wire to which a net bag and a handle was connected".

"*Carmacele*" or the trail lines were stretched across the waters and they were provided with straight hooks which were lined up on a string along with corks which pulled them up and kept them above the water surface with their spikes

oriented upwards in order to sting the fish that passed by (morun, nisetru, cega, pastruga).

For catching catfish the “*clonc*” method is still used nowadays. The “*clonc*” is an instrument made of a rod provided at one end with a kind of a funnel used by fishermen to hit the water surface generating vibrations and producing loud sounds which attracted the catfish. The bait was placed in a hook attached to a thick string which was fixed on the boat’s edge; the moment the fish grabbed the bait it was pulled out to the surface with “*bura*” and directly thrown into the boat. “*Bura*” was an instrument used to grab large fish; it consisted of a metallic hook tied at one end to a long stick. For the Lyppovan fishermen in Ghindaresti village “*bura*” was also known as “*bagor*” and it was always present in a fishing boat.

Beside the usual instruments used to grab and to sting the fish, others were made of twigs or net. Among these, the most popular is “*varsa*” which the fishermen from Ostrov, Oltina, Satu Nou, Dunareni, Topalu, Capidava and Rasova villages describe as “a false basket made of twigs and net”. “*Varsa*” consists of five rings “which are made of ten knitted twigs, each having a different length to which the proper net is attached”. The rings form a series of connected rooms: such instrument has as many rooms as its number of rings, the last room being the smallest of them all. “*Varsa*” is dipped in water “as much as to cover the rings and it is left there for a day or a night”; the fisherman “must leave a sign, a stick near it in order to find it”.

In order to be caught, the fish (catfish, zander, carp) needs to get inside the “*varsa*”, to cross all the rooms until these straiten in size and finally remain trapped inside. “*Varsa*” resembles “a funnel in which the fish gets in, but from where they can’t get out”.

The twigs which support the net of this instrument were made of green hazel wood (Ostrov), willow (Oltina, Satu Nou), dogberry tree (Rasova, Cochileni, Dunareni) or “*singer*” (Capidava, Topalu, Ghindaresti). During the latest years these materials were replaced by steel rings which were far more resistant to water corrosion.

Another fishing tool found in all these villages was the so-called “*blind basket*”, also known as “*hodorog*” (Cochirleni, Rasova, Topalu, Seimeni), or “*hodorob*” or “*odorob*” (Ostrov, Buceag). This instrument was made of knitted twigs and it resembled a basket with no bottom which had a piece of sack attached to its narrowest ends, and a wider mouth which was dipped into water. For luring the fish into the basket bits of maize porridge and ground worms were placed inside it. In shallow waters the “*hodorob*” or “*odorob*” made of metallic net (“*rapit*”) or iron frame were very efficient and had the aspect of “a basket completely dressed in net which you submerged in water and walked with it with its mouth turned upside down until the fish got in; the fish got scared, ran, hit the net and remained trapped in it.

A particular instrument frequently used (even by women and children!) was the so-called “*carlioni*” or “*chipcel*”, consisting in a long pole measuring 2-2,5 m in length, two bent cross-shaped sticks with its points oriented upwards, and an

exterior net. "*Carliontul*" had the shape of a large spoon which was used to agitate the water, and depending on the length of its handle a fisherman could submerge it deep into the Danube river, pulling it then to the surface together with the fish trapped inside it. An informer woman from Rasova village describes "*carliontul*" as follows: "it is a big spoon which you use to search the water with and you can catch all sorts of fish: "oblete", "ochelnita", "rosioara"-redeye, pike, "salau", carp.

Other fishing instruments used in the areas under investigation were those made from net. Fishermen made the nets in any season of the year but the skilled masters were the Lyppovans from Ghindaresti. Nevertheless, during the latest years more and more fishermen started to buy the so-called "*net dolls*" (in large quantities and already manufactured) which they afterwards cut to the dimensions they needed.

Two of the instruments that fishermen used to knit a net were: "*calusul*" and "*iglita*". "*Calusul*" was in fact a small board which actually determined the size of the of the net' loops; if you wanted a smaller loop, then "*calusul*" was thinner, if you wanted a loose loop then you used a larger "*calus*". "*Iglita*" was made of metal and through its V shaped ends a thread was passed. The thickness of the thread could vary depending on the size of the loops of the net: for smaller loops a thinner thread was used while for the larger ones, a thicker one was required.

The fishing instruments which were made of net were used to fish in deep waters, on the Danube river and in its neighboring meadows. From this category we mention the following tools: "*setca*", "*prostovolul*", "*navodul*" (trail net), "*tifanul*", "*ava*", "*oria*". According to the description of an informer from Rasova village, "*setca*" is "a 45 m long net which has two "*camene*". The one with lead is submerged in water and the other one with cork floats above the water surface; the net forms a kind of a wall in the water and the fish that pass by get entangled in it and remain suspended without being able to get away. The net used for a "*setca*" is of two types: the one in the middle is thicker and the other two that frame the first one are thinner. Depending on the size of the net's loops, *setca* can be of several types. The smaller loops measure 12 mm and this kind of net is ideal to catch smaller fish (especially "*obleti*"), while the larger loops reach to 100 mm and they are used for bigger fish (carp).

"*Setca*" can be used in "deep" waters having in this case heavy lead weights which reach the bottom of the water, or it can be used in "shallow" waters, in which case it is provided with large corks and smaller lead weights which float above the water surface.

In Oltina, Dunareni, Cochirleni and Rasova villages fishing with *setca* in deep waters is also known as fishing with "*stanoaga*" and it is mainly practiced in standing waters (pools, lakes). In this particular case *setca* is tied up on two poles which are firmly fixed on the shore, creating thus a vertical network in the water; the fish which swim by and easily pass through the larger loops of the first net (80-120 mm) get entangled in the smaller ones (12-35 mm) of the second net, being unable to get away. *Setca* is set in the evening so that in the morning fishermen can pull out the fish they captured during the night.

“Ava” works on the same operating principle as setca and it is mainly used for catching carp. For a better efficacy in this aspect “ava” is composed of two rows of net, the second of which has larger loops and helps stabilize the prey.

“Prostovolul” is a large, round-shaped fishing net which has a metallic ring by means of which the net is thrown into the water. A rope is fixed all around its edges and on this rope around 250-400 lead weights are lined up, weighting up to 5-10 kg. A fisherman from Ostrov village describes “prostovolul” as follows: “prostovolul is thrown into the water and when it is spread out it forms a circle, then it is pulled out to the surface and by using some “streji” it is folded again. The “streji” are threads which fold “prostovolul” by forming a kind of a funnel, like a bag in which fish are caught. The fisherman pulls out “prostovolul” from the water and unfolds it in his boat and then he gathers the fish he caught : catfish, carp, zander”.

This fishing instrument is mainly used in the autumn when carps crowd the hollow spaces on the bottom of river pools.

“Navodul” or the trail net is also a kind of a net which has cork attached to its edges; this is thrown from the boat covering a large water surface, two or four persons being necessary for this operation; it is used to catch carp, zander, catfish or pike.

“Tifanul” is actually “a part from a trail net” manufactured from a long net with corks on its edges. With this particular instrument you could fish in shallow waters, an operation also known as “*front fishing*”.

During winters, when waters froze, fishing in ice holes is the most popular activity. The fish comes near the surface where the water is rich in oxygen and it is caught by hand or by using a “*minciog*” or a purse net. For ice fishing in the Danube meadows “*brisca*” was also used for this purpose; this is a metallic instrument with a shiny surface resembling the tail of a spoon which has a sharp end curved like a hook. The other end had a hole in it to which a piece of string is attached. Lured by the brightness of this instrument the fish reaches to grab it and remains caught in the hook.

Another tool which was used not only in the summers but also in the winters when ice fishing was “*alaul*”; this was made of two arched twigs forming a cross, put one on top of the other and firmly tied in the joints. Between the four arms a squared net measuring 1,80 m and with small loops was connected; in the middle of the arches either a two-armed thole used for orientation, or a thick string was fixed. “Alaul” was submerged in water and afterwards it was taken out in order to gather the fish. This tool is still used in Ostrov and Oltina villages but the arched twigs that supported the net were replaced with two bent iron poles.

The boat still remains the common means of transportation for fishing activities. The boats were manufactured by skilled craftsmen either in their own personal workshops (Ghindaresti, Topalu, Ostrov, Rasova) or in factories such as the ones in Harsova or Cernavoda. During the latest years, among the traditional wooden boats, new metal ones appeared and fishermen started to use them mainly because they were cheaper.

For the Dobrudjan villages found on the Danube banks fishing represented for a long time a basic occupation which provided the daily food and this was possible because fish was cheap, easy to preserve either dried or smoked, transported on long distances and cooked in each season of the year.

## A NOTE CONCERNING A $^{14}\text{C}$ DATING FROM THE *TELL* AT BUCȘANI POD (GIURGIU COUNTY, ROMANIA)

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**Abstract:** Aceasta notă a fost scrisă cu scopul de a aduce unele necesare lămuriri cu privire la o situație arheologică și arheozoologică care a făcut obiectul unui studiu în revista “Cultură și Civilizație la Dunărea de Jos” numărul 22 din 2005 (Bem C., Bălășescu A., 2005, *A few considerations regarding an exceptional archaeological situation. Foundation pit of the settlement or occasional offering?* (Bucșani, Giurgiu county, Romania). Aceste rânduri care poate nu au fost foarte ușor de scris, dar pe care le-am considerat absolut necesare, au pornit din dorința noastră de a pune pe un făgaș normal adevărul arheologic, biologic și istoric.

**Keywords:** zooarheologie, dateare C14, ritual.

The purpose of this note is to correct the taxonomic identification and dating of archeozoological material and of the archaeological structure that produced it, reported in a previous study: Bem C., Bălășescu A., 2005, *A few considerations regarding an exceptional archaeological situation. Foundation pit of the settlement or occasional offering?* (Bucșani, Giurgiu county, Romania), *Cultură și Civilizație la Dunărea de Jos* 22, p. 317-336.

A collaboration between the Romanian National Museum of History (National Center for Pluridisciplinary Research) and the Musée National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris - Centre National de Recherche Scientifique UMR 5187 (Archéozoologie et Histoire des Sociétés) led to the analysis of fossil DNA from animal samples collected in Romania from various archaeological contexts. Among the samples analyzed was a fragment from the diaphysis of a left metacarpus (sample ROBUCA 18) from a skeleton uncovered during excavations at Bucșani (Giurgiu county, Romania) in the structure Cx 57, and identified by one of us (A.B.) as belonging to an aurochs – *Bos primigenius*. However, analysis of the well preserved DNA showed that the bone fragment belonged to domestic (*Bos taurus*), and not to wild cattle.

The same bone sample was  $^{14}\text{C}$  dated as part of the same program of analyses that allowed for investigation of the fossil DNA (Chronobos Programme<sup>1</sup>). The

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<sup>1</sup> The Chronobos Program is coordinated by Dr. Anne Tresset, UMR 5197 CNRS, to whom we are very grateful.

radiocarbon date obtained (UB-7277, Queens Belfast University, Northern Ireland, 20 December 2006) indicates that the age of the skeleton is not Eneolithic, but it dates to the final part of the XIX<sup>th</sup> century (<sup>14</sup>C Date: 113±31).

These findings require reconsideration of the Bușani discovery. The <sup>14</sup>C date indicates that the connection between the skeleton and the Gumelnița settlement from the Bușani Pod *tell* is fortuitous. At the time the skeleton was excavated, the characteristics of the deposition pit, the sediments sectioned by the pit, its placing in a clear topographic setting, even the aspect of the bone remains, all indicated association with the uppermost level of the Eneolithic settlement (Bem and Bălășescu 2005, p. 321-322). However, pedogenic homogenization, mentioned by us in the previous article (Bem and Bălășescu, 2005, p. 319), precluded identification of the precise stratigraphic level at which vertical interventions (such as pits, including the “aurochs” pit) were made. The pit was likely dug in a short period of time, in already homogenized sediments and quickly covered; as a result, its margin is impossible to identify. Only in those situations where sediments sectioned by such interventions have maintained more of their initial pedogenetic characteristics can the margins of pits be identified.

We have pointed out on several occasions the importance of the archaeological context, emphasizing that it is the archaeological content which allows for the dating of a stratigraphic level or structure (pit, dwelling, hut, etc.), whereas the biological content (including faunal) does not (Popovici et al. 2002, p. 53; Bălășescu and Radu 2004, p. 37). Also, rapidly evolving fossil DNA analysis techniques have shown that for the period of time encompassing the beginnings of animal domestication, taxonomic identification of faunal remains is delicate when it comes to differentiating the domesticated species from close wild relatives in cattle (*Bos taurus/Bos primigenius*) and pigs (*Sus domesticus/Sus scrofa*).

Such was the situation at Bușani Pod, where the inferred archeological context of the skeletal remains (Eneolithic period, Gumelnița culture, therefore an early age) provided the starting point for the interpretation of the biological material. The Cx 57 skeleton was identified as belonging to wild cattle, with biometrical data pointing to the species *Bos primigenius* (Bem and Bălășescu A 2005, fig. 7 a-f). Had the skull of the animal been found in the same pit, it would have undoubtedly allowed for more accurate taxonomic identification, as domestic cattle, and relative dating (or at least it would have raised some questions), because the morphology of horncores provides better diagnostic characters for taxonomic identification.

The newly interpreted archaeological situation of the cattle skeleton in Cx 57 at Bușani Pod, although disconnected from the Gumelnița settlement, remains nevertheless interesting. The acts, dating from the period of modern history, of killing and beheading an animal in its prime (a male domestic cattle), digging a pit in the area of maximum altitude of the hillock at Bușani Pod and burning of the walls of the pit before depositing inside the “aurochs” skeleton, are intriguing elements to be recorded by ethnographers and historians, and for which we would like to find explanations.

### Radiocarbon date certificate

Laboratory Identification:	UB-7277
Date of Measurement:	2006-12-18
Site:	Bucsan
Sample ID:	ROBUCA18
Material Dated:	Bone (Bos cf. primigenius)
Pretreatment:	Collagen
Submitted by:	Anne Tresset

<sup>14</sup> C Date:	113 $\pm$ 31
$\delta^{13}$ C:	-22.0

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