

Ioan Marian Țiplic

Transylvania in the Early Middle Ages  
(7th – 13th C.)



„LUCIAN BLAGA” UNIVERSITY OF SIBIU  
INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY AND VALORIZATION OF THE TRANSYLVANIAN  
PATRIMONY IN EUROPEAN CONTEXT

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BIBLIOTHECA SEPTEMCASTRENSIS

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**IOAN MARIAN ȚIPLIC**

**TRANSYLVANIA IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES**  
**(7<sup>th</sup> – 13<sup>th</sup> C.)**

Translated by:  
Claudia Valentina APOSTU  
Anca NIȚOI

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## TRANSYLVANIA'S GEOGRAPHY AND DEMOGRAPHY 7<sup>TH</sup> - 13<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES

The transition between Antiquity and the Middle Age was a debated subject for the historiography starting with Edward Gibbon and ending with George Wolf's theory of "systems collapse" as a modern approach of *decline and decay*<sup>1</sup> concept. Such theory is not holding up to today's critical analysis due to the continue transformations of the human society along its *evolution*. Researching the end of the Classical Antiquity, A. Cameron revealed that all the changes occurring within the Roman Empire were mistakenly labeled as part of the decaying process of the Roman society<sup>2</sup>.

The history of Transylvania between the end of Antiquity and early Middle Ages was and still is, unclear mostly because of the lack of written testimonies. Romanian historiography was especially interested on appearance of Christianity in the former Roman province of Dacia. They approached the subject on spiritual level as a phenomenon occurring in a restructuring society. Such studies were an important argument of the *Theory of Continuity*<sup>3</sup>.

Border province of the Roman Empire, towards which all the migratory populations were moving, Dacia became acquainted with all these populations sooner than other parts of the Roman Empire, as consequence of the social and economical conditions and of the tribal conflicts, insufficiently known or explained. Indeed, after 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D, through Dacia succeed in turns several *barbarian groups* from Roxolans, a Sarmatian group, Goths, Gepids, Huns and Avars, Slavs, Hungarians and Türk populations arriving from Asia. The first regions deeply affected by the barbarian invasions of the third century AD were the ones from the Black Sea shores, their geographical positions allowing attacks from both north and east territories.

In order to have a complete picture of the historical process of that period, a brief presentation of the relationships between the invaders and the autochthons is required. Major contributions related to this subject are given by V. Spinei<sup>4</sup> for the eastern territories and Gh. Brătianu for the Pontic territories. Gh. Brătianu<sup>5</sup>, stated that modern historians should not be prejudiced by the 19th century historiography. He considered the migration period a part of an ample historical process that took place

<sup>1</sup> G. Wolf, *World-Systems Analysis and the Roman Empire*, în: *JRA*, 3, p. 44-58, apud C. H. Opreanu, *Transilvania la sfârșitul antichității și în perioada migrațiilor*, Cluj-Napoca, 2003, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> A. Cameron, *The Mediterranean World in the Late Antiquity*, London, New-York, 1993, p. 98.

<sup>3</sup> C. H. Opreanu, *op.cit.*, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> V. Spinei, *Moldova în sec. XI-XIV*, Bukarest, 1982; Id., *Realități etnice și politice în Moldova Meridională în secolele X-XII. Români și turanici*, Iași, 1985; Id., *Marile migrații din estul și sud-estul Europei în secolele IX-XIII*, Iași, 1999.

<sup>5</sup> Gh. Brătianu, *Marea neagră*, Bukarest, ed. a II-a, 1999.

on the Euro-Asian space not an extension of the battle between the Roman Empire and the Barbarian world. Contrary to this opinion, in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the migration period is scarcely approached and its importance is minimized on the process of the formation of the Romanian people and of the Romanian medieval civilization.

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Sometimes peaceful, but most of the time violent, the great migrations had significant ethno-demographical and political repercussions contributing to the creation of new peoples and foundation of new states within the Roman Empire and other territories around It<sup>6</sup>. On the other hand, as B. Murgescu<sup>7</sup> suggested, any discussion concerning the structure of medieval society and early modern ones should start by revealing the correlation between the existing population and the food supply, in other words about the *agro-demographical balance*. Wanting to reconstruct the demographical evolution of historical periods one constantly is obstructed by the lack of written sources. Such situation allowed a constant of five members per family to be considered and used as a general pattern in any demographical study. Beside this, a number of factors should be taken into consideration when trying to draw up a demographical sketch for a given period of time and space, such as: climatic factors, biological factors, physical factors, social and political ones<sup>8</sup>.

Estimation of European population density is only based on consisting facts of Late Middle Ages. *Domesday Book*, elaborated in 1086, is the most detailed and reliable written source which estimates that English population was around 1.1 million. Even these figures can be modified plus or minus 20 %<sup>9</sup>. This error value may be increased when applied to an early period. One also has to take into account that fact in the regions situated further East into the European continent the demography often took a wild course.

As far as the Romanian territories immediately after the Roman troops were removed in Aurelian's time, establishing the number of the population that remain here is very difficult in the absence of a rigorous synthesis concerning the establishments with post Roman continuity. Such attempts were made by D. Protase<sup>10</sup>, for territories with large population density during the Roman occupation, and more recently by R. Popa<sup>11</sup>, but without a correlation with the researches of neighboring territories. The most pertinent thesis which regards the exaggerations of the Romanian historiography concerning the population of Dacia in 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D. is expressed by C.H. Opreanu. He illustrates the example of the town of Napoca where a number of 8.000-9.000<sup>12</sup> inhabitants is recorded for the 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D.

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<sup>6</sup> Șt. Pascu, R. Theodorescu (coord.), *Istoria românilor*, III, Bukarest, 2001, p. 22.

<sup>7</sup> B. Murgescu, *Istorie românească-istorie universală*, Bukarest, 1999, p. 13.

<sup>8</sup> Vezi Massimo Livi Bacci, *Populația în istoria Europei*, Iași, 1999 with bibliography.

<sup>9</sup> M. L. Bacci, *op.cit.*, p. 12.

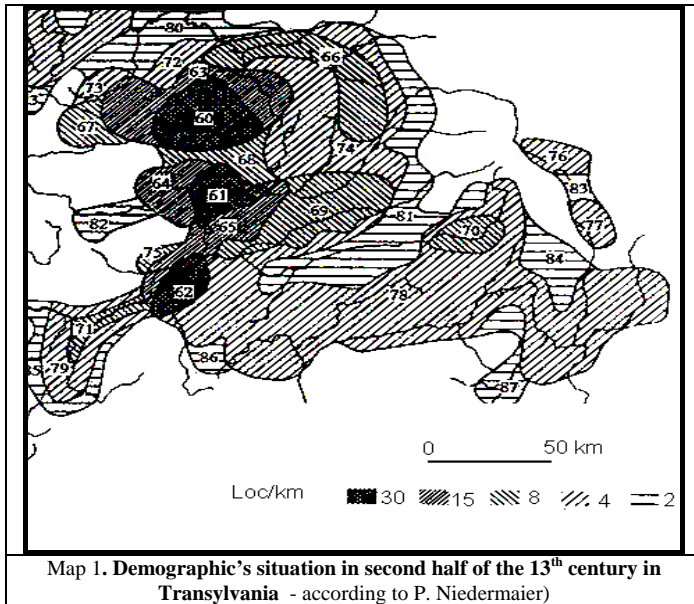
<sup>10</sup> D. Protase, *Problema continuității în Dacia în lumina arheologiei și numismaticii*, Bukarest, 1966.

<sup>11</sup> D. Popa, *Villae, vici, pagi. Așezările rurale din Dacia romană intracarpatică*, Bukarest, 2002.

<sup>12</sup> D. Protase, *Napoca postromană. Sfârșit de urbanism, continuitate de viață*, in: *Napoca. 1880 de ani de la începutul vieții urbane*, Cluj-Napoca, 1999, p. 226-232.



without any proof. For the same period there are known to be excavated only 7 coins dated in the end of 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD<sup>13</sup>, a cemetery belonging to the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD included in the Santana de Mures horizon (Memorandului st.<sup>14</sup>), the ovens from Manastur, and very little archaeological finds able to sustain the thesis of 8000-9000 inhabitants<sup>15</sup>. Corroborating the informations about the post-Roman Napoca with the ones of early modern Cluj is easy to observe that a population of 8000 inhabitants is mentioned for a period of economic and political expansion. So, to consider that in the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD, when there was no infrastructure working, the population was the same as it was in the most flourishing period of late medieval and early modern Cluj it seems inadequate, and most certainly an overstatement as C. H. Opreanu<sup>16</sup> mentioned, to whose opinion we totally agree.



For the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 7<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, most of the information is provided by documents or epigraphically inscriptions concerning the number of soldiers implicated in different conflicts<sup>17</sup>. When analyzing such documents as critical as can be done, one can easily notice the exaggerations. Having as a starting point the figures of the population of Dacia and the first reliable sources for the migration period, K. Horedt tried to establish the average of Transylvania's inhabitants for the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 8<sup>th</sup> centuries AD. For the Roman period it was taken into account the number of

<sup>13</sup> See the list of localities from the appendix.

<sup>14</sup> N. Vlăssă, *Descoperiri arheologice în orașul Cluj*, in: *MCA*, IX, 1970, p. 529-532; K. Horedt, *Siebenbürgen in spätrömischer Zeit*, Bukarest, 1982, p. 123.

<sup>15</sup> C. H. Opreanu, *op.cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> H. Delbrück, *Geschichte der Kriegkunst*, Berlin, Leipzig, 1908, ed. a II-a, vol. II, p. 294-309.

inhabitants per square km. European researches revealed that for the Danubian provinces the acceptable average is around 5 inhabitants per square km<sup>18</sup>. For Transylvania of an area of 60.000 km<sup>2</sup>, taking into account the European average, the population during Roman administration was estimated approximately to 300.000 inhabitants<sup>19</sup>. V. Pârvan suggested that the population of Dacia near the Roman withdrawal had a density of 10 inhabitants per square km that is a total of 600.000 inhabitants. These are twice as much as the figures known from the beginning of 14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>20</sup>. Bearing in mind that the European average of this period is maximum 5 inhabitants per square km, we will consider, with some adjustments the figures of K. Horedt and P. Niedermaier<sup>21</sup>. The last author takes into account, for the period of 6<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> centuries, a density of 0.9 to 2.4 inhabitants per square km. These figures are closely related with German and east European territories<sup>23</sup>.

When we talk about the regions situated outside the Carpathians, the situation is getting even more complicated with regards to the density for the period of 4<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> centuries. For the migrations period the task is basically impossible. Even so, in analogy to the estimations of Roman Dacia, one could approximate that the population of the whole Romanian space was somewhere around 1 million inhabitants. These figures would be decreasing in the 7<sup>th</sup> century during the rule of the emperor Justinian as a result of the epidemics of the 6<sup>th</sup> century (Justinian's plague) but also because of the Slavs relocation in South Danubian territories<sup>24</sup>.

In opposition to the Western Europe, where based on parish account books, 14.7 millions inhabitants were estimated around the year 600, in the regions situated outside the Carpathians an assessment about the number of inhabitants for the second half of the first millennium is almost impossible. For the Romanian space the only informations that could be taken into account for this period are the archaeological finds. Even these figures have their limitation due to the restrictive nature of the data acquired on the field, or the lack of interpretation of the archaeological finds and the lack of archaeological researches for some parts of the Romanian territory<sup>25</sup>. Still, based on the last year's researches a demographical evaluation was conducted, resulting over 400 objectives for the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> century.

In establishing the ethnicity of a certain population, given the lack of written sources, the archaeological data, especially the ones from cemeteries, are defining, since the religious beliefs are the one changing less than anything in time.

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<sup>18</sup> K. Horedt, *Contribuții la istoria Transilvaniei în secolele IV-XIII*, Bukarest, 1958, p. 42. An analysis of the arguments of the density and population figures of post-Roman Napoca in C.H. Opreanu, *op.cit.*, p. 16-17.

<sup>19</sup> V. Pârvan, *Începuturile vieții romane la gurile Dunării*, Bukarest, 1923, p. 8.

<sup>20</sup> K. Horedt, *Contribuții*, p. 42.

<sup>21</sup> P. Niedermaier, *Der mittelalterliche Städtebau in Siebenbürgen, im Banat und im Kreischgebiet. I. Die Entwicklung vom Anbeginn bis 1241*, Heidelberg, 1996, p. 17 sq.

<sup>22</sup> P. Niedermaier, *Der mittelalterliche Städtebau*, p. 16.

<sup>23</sup> W. Abel, *Geschichte der deutschen Landwirtschaft von frühen Mittelalter bis zum 19. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart, 1962, p. 13-14.

<sup>24</sup> B. Murgescu, *Istorie românească - istorie universală*, p. 19.

<sup>25</sup> Șt. Pascu, R. Theodorescu (coord.), *Istoria Românilor*, III, p. 43.

Corroborating these informations with the ones given by Mauricius's *Strategicon*<sup>26</sup>, written in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, one could formulate a pertinent opinion about the ethnicity of the north Danubian inhabitants of 6<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> centuries. The population of the territory between Carpathians and Nistru is estimated to be around 250000 inhabitants for the 9<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> centuries. Starting with the 11<sup>th</sup> century the population started to decrease so that in the 14<sup>th</sup> century dropped dramatically<sup>27</sup>.

### 1.2 Transylvania 11<sup>th</sup> -13<sup>th</sup> century. - A Study Case -

For a deeper analysis a good example is provided by Transylvania. The 11<sup>th</sup> century marked an important transformation with regards to the demography of the Carpathian basin. If in the 10<sup>th</sup> century the Hungarians lived a nomadic life inside the Pannonian territory, the 11<sup>th</sup> century marked a change in their life style as it was demonstrated by the archaeological researches. Settlements that rarely changed their name were discovered near an earth fortification, as a confirmation of the changes emerged in their lifestyle<sup>28</sup>. From the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century and beginning with the 12<sup>th</sup> the village network became denser in the center parts, spreading to the peripheries. According to Gy Kristo, at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century only few territories from the Carpathian Basin remained inhabited, namely Maramures and Burzernland<sup>29</sup>. Excavations conducted for the Arpadian Age revealed that a village was composed of 20 to 40 families (*mansio*) which means that it had around 100-200 inhabitants<sup>30</sup>.

For the central part of Transylvania the density of settlements is greater than for the territories between the rivers Cris and Mures. The biggest concentration of populations was detected in the area of the town of Alba Iulia, South to the line of the rivers Tarnava and Mureş. In the North between the rivers Mures and Somes, the population density is decreasing. In the eastern and south-eastern parts of Transylvania the settlements are grouped around four focal points. The first nucleus is situated on the upper course of the two rivers Tarnava, another between the springs of Mureş and Olt rivers. The third focal point is situated in the center part of today's Covasna County, on the left shore of river Olt, and the fourth nucleus on the territories of today's Brasov and its surroundings<sup>31</sup>. This demographical concentration is also revealed by the archeological finds, quite numerous, especially cemetery and settlements of the local populations but also some pertaining to the foreign elements. The demographical relationship between those two elements can be distinguished by an analysis of the cemetery discovered in that area. Even so the results would be partial since the archaeological researches are also incomplete.

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<sup>26</sup> Mauricius, p. 285, 287.

<sup>27</sup> V. Spinei considers that Moldova's population could have decreased under 150.000 immediately after the Tartar invasion (V. Spinei, *Moldova în secolele XI-XIV*, Chişinău, 1994, p. 240.)

<sup>28</sup> Gy. Kristó, *Histoire de la Hongrie*, p. 94.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> Şt. Pascu, R. Theodorescu (coord.), *Istoria românilor*, III, Bukarest, 2001, p. 152.

Based on the demographical studies conducted until nowadays the population of the 11<sup>th</sup> century Transylvania was estimated to be around 400 000 inhabitants, that is 4 inhabitants per square km in an area of 102.000 km<sup>2</sup>. These figures are estimated for the territory of Transylvania along with Banat, Crisana and Maramures, while in Hungary the estimated population was around 1.000.000 inhabitants<sup>32</sup>. For the period of 9<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> centuries M. Rusu sorts out a number of 283 settlements, 31 fortresses and fortifications along with 81 cemeteries<sup>33</sup> for Transylvania but he never mentions the possibility of the frequent changes of the settlements. In the 12<sup>th</sup> century the growth of populations was determined by the birth rate and also by the colonization of several communities in this region. This growth maintained itself at the same level over the 13<sup>th</sup> century when the number of settlements was established by M. Rusu at 635<sup>34</sup>. Still this is not the actual number since it was taken into account only the settlements mentioned in written documents.

For a better understanding it is necessary to take into account the situation of Europe between 9<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries. East-central and South-eastern Europe went over a period of tranquility which matches the time of the growth of the Carolingian Empire. An immediate consequence is the growth of population, by starting an ample process of inhabiting the less populated areas, draining the swamps that blocked the valleys of the rivers<sup>35</sup>. According to the statistics the population of Europe grew from 14.7 millions inhabitants in the year 600, to 22.6 millions at the middle of the 10<sup>th</sup> century to be estimated at 42 millions inhabitants<sup>36</sup> around the year 1000.

Regarding the Hungarian population of the 10<sup>th</sup> and the 11<sup>th</sup> centuries, several opinions were expressed. According to the Hungarian historiography the population from the territories pertaining to the Hungarian Kingdom was around 500.000 inhabitants<sup>37</sup> taking into account that the non Hungarian populations was around 150.000-200.000 inhabitants<sup>38</sup>.

These figures are based on the supposition that the Bjelo-Brdo horizon is a characteristic of the Hungarian population that assimilated quite rapidly the Slavic-Roman populations settled in the Pannonian territories. All these figures are provided by the document form 1075 concerning the Bihor County where the average population of three villages was estimated at 48 households in a village<sup>39</sup>. Still, this average cannot support the realities of Transylvania since it is known that the situation from the Western Plain differs substantially from the one of Transylvanian

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<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 319. For details see P. Niedermaier, *Der mittelalterliche Städtebau*, p. 17 sq.

<sup>33</sup> A. Drăgoescu (coord.), *Istoria României. Transilvania*, I, Cluj-Napoca, 1997, p. 294 and map no. 4.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> G. Duby, R. Mandron, *Histoire de la civilisation française*, I, Paris, 1958, p. 81, 83.

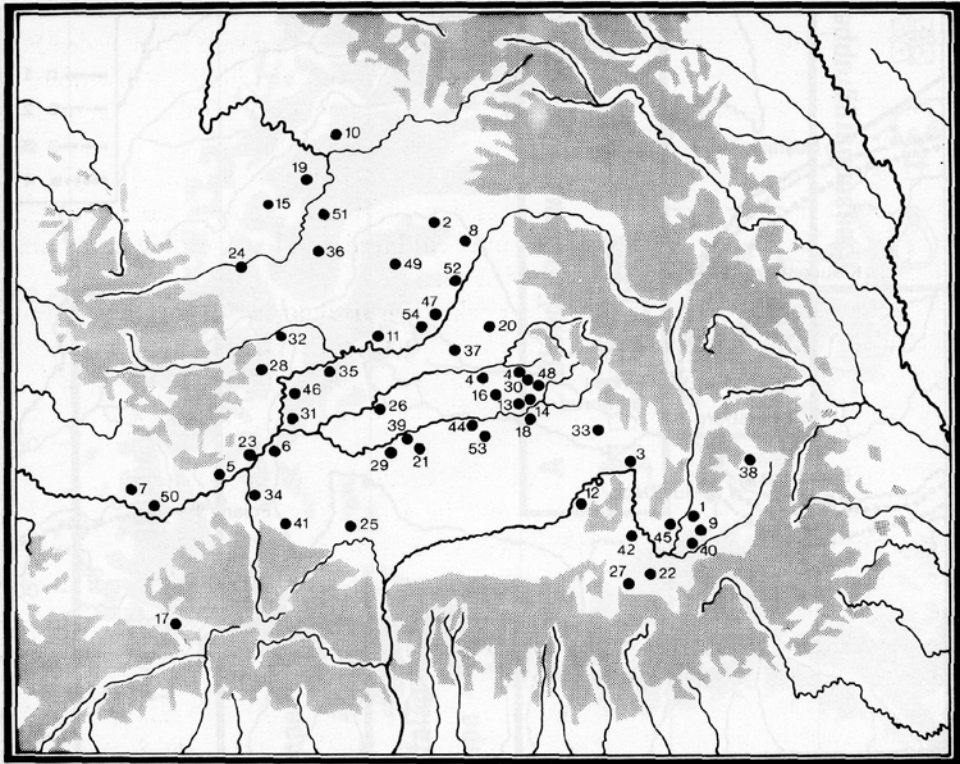
<sup>36</sup> J. C. Russell, *Late Ancient and Medieval population*, Philadelphia, 1958; M. K. Bennett, *The World's food*, Londra, 1954, apud J. Le GOFF, *Civilizația Occidentului medieval*, Bukarest, 1970, p. 331.

<sup>37</sup> Gy. Györffy, *Einwohnerzahl und Bevölkerungsdichte in Ungarn bis zum Anfang des XIV. Jahrhunderts*, în: *SHASH*, 1960, p. 7.

<sup>38</sup> A. Bartha, *Hungarian Society in the 9th and 10th Centuries*, Budapest, 1975, p. 110.

<sup>39</sup> DIR, C, I, p. 1-2.

Plain. The authors of the “History of Romanians” treaty assert that the average of households in Transylvanian villages is around 25 prior to the Tartar invasion<sup>40</sup>.



Map. 2. Repartition of Transylvania's settlements of 7<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries - according to K. Horedt –

1. Angheluș; 2. Archiud; 3. Baraolt; 4. Bezid; 5. Blandiana; 6. Berghin; 7. Bohoț; 8. Breaza; 9. Cernat; 10. Ciceu-Corabia; 11. Cipău – Sfântu-Gheorghe; 12. Comana de Jos; 13. Cristuru Secuiesc; 14. Cristuru Secuiesc; 15. Dăbâca; 16. Eliseni; 17. Federi; 18. Filaș; 19. Gherla; 20. Ghindari; 21. Hetzeldorf; 22. Hărman; 23. Alba Iulia; 24. Cluj-Napoca; 25. Șura Mică; 26. Cetatea de Baltă; 27. Brașov; 28. Lopadea Veche; 29. Mediaș; 30. Meșișoru Mare; 31. Meșcreac; 32. Moldovenești; 33. Nușeni; 34. Sebeș; 35. Noșlac; 36. Pălata; 37. Păsăreni; 38. Poian; 39. Bratei; 40. Reci; 41. Miercurea Sibiului; 42. Rotbav; 43. Sălașuri; 44. Sighișoara; 45. Sfântu Gheorghe; 46. Sîncrai; 47. Sîngiorgiu de Mureș; 48. Șimonești; 49. Șopteriu; 50. Turdaș; 51. Țaga; 52. Voievodeni; 53. Viscri; 54. Morești

Transylvania had a population of approximately 500.000 inhabitants that is 5 inhabitants per square km, while in the central part of the Hungarian Kingdom the average was somewhere around 8 to 10 inhabitants per square km.

The percentage between the local populations and the foreign elements is very difficult to establish in absence of the ethnic and demographic data much less of the

<sup>40</sup>Șt. Pascu, R. Theodorescu (coord.), *Istoria românilor*, III, p. 320.

*historical logic* so claimed by the authors of the above mentioned treaty<sup>41</sup> that could not offer a relevant conclusion.

From a brief review of the cemetery dated between 7<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> centuries it results around 5000 graves of incineration and inhumation to which an unknown number of graves and unpublished cemetery should be added<sup>42</sup>.

Close to the Tartar invasion the demographic situation in Transylvania was roughly like the European one, namely on an ascendant scale. The population was estimated around 230 000 inhabitants, most of them settled on the junction region of the Tarnava and Mures rivers where there were 30 inhabitants per square km<sup>43</sup>. The Tartar invasion of 1241-1242 was a decisive factor that unsettled the demographical situation of East Central Europe with unthinkable consequences.

Starting with the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century Transylvania's demography is starting a new intensifying process. Based on the Papal documents from the first third of the 14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>44</sup>, it result 3.000 – 4.000 settlements with an average of 25 households per village. These estimations are still partially correct since they don't include the mountain regions, barely known for that period of time.

The habitat was influenced by the relief, the length of forests or swampy areas. Overall, Transylvanian territory was almost 50% forests while in some counties or districts this territory would be up to 60-70% of the entire area. The authors of the above mentioned treaty are trying to induce the idea that Transylvanian mountains, namely Meridional Carpathian were temporary inhabited up to an altitude of 1000-1200m, while the Northern Carpathians settlements were erected up to 600 m<sup>45</sup>.

We would like to underline one aspect: the archaeological evidences that could support this idea are almost non-existent, and the one that do exist can not subscribe to the whole mountain territories. As a consequence we believe that settlements built above 600m on mountain territories should be considered as exceptions and treated as such, with little influence on the Transylvanian demography.

Bearing in mind all the aspects presented up until now, it is reasonable to admit that between mid. 13<sup>th</sup> century and mid. 14<sup>th</sup> century the demographic growth can be estimated at 10 up to 20%. Added the written evidences and archaeological data, it can be noticed that, from the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 12<sup>th</sup> centuries the biggest density of the settlements is placed on the middle course of Mures river, which coincides with the earth fortifications line known from written sources and from archaeological researches.

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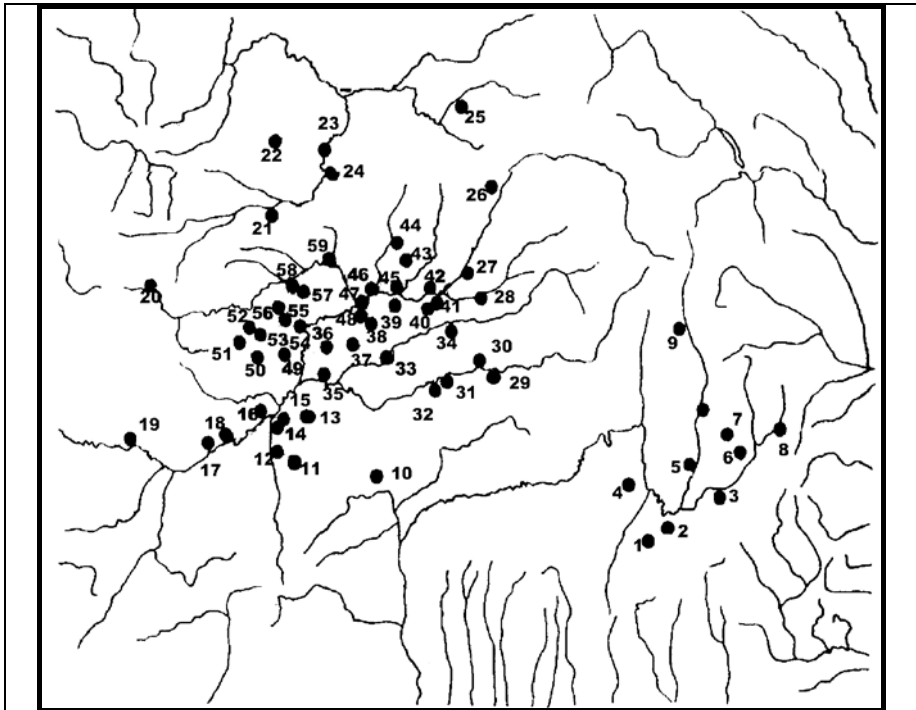
<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> See I.M. Țiplic, *Grupul Mediaș*, in: *ActaMN*, 2004, ; Id., *Necropolele medievale timpurii din Transilvania. (sfârșitul sec. IX – prima jumătate a sec. XII)*, în: Z. K. Pinter, I. M. Țiplic, M. E. Țiplic (coord.), *Relații interetnice în Transilvania (secolele VI-XIII)*, Sibiu, 2005, p. 133-155.

<sup>43</sup> P. Niedermaier, *Der mittelalterliche Städtebau*, p. 55 sq.

<sup>44</sup> DIR, C, III, p. 41-253.

<sup>45</sup> Șt. Pascu, R. Theodorescu (coord.), *Istoria românilor*, III, p. 490.



Map. 3. Repartition of Transylvania's settlements of 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries  
- according to K. Horedt -

1 – Braşov, Braşov County; 2 – Hărman, Braşov County; 3 – Reci, Covasna County; 4 – Rotbav, Braşov County; 5 – Sfântu Gheorghe, Covasna County; 6 – Angheluş, Covasna County; 7 – Cernat, Covasna County; 8 – Mărtănuş, Covasna County; 9 – Săncrăieni, Harghita County; 10 – Ocna Sibiului, Sibiu County; 11 – Miercurea Sibiului, Sibiu County; 12 – Petreşti, Alba County; 13 – Berghin, Alba County; 14 – Cheile Turzii, Alba County; 15 – Ciugud, Alba County; 16 – Alba Iulia, Alba County; 17 – Aurel Vlaicu, Alba County; 18 – Blandiana, Alba County; 19 – Boholţ, Hunedoara County; 20 – Izvoarele, Alba County; 21 – Floreşti, Cluj County; 22 – Cubleşul Someşan, Cluj County; 23 – Gherla, Cluj County; 24 – Iclod, Cluj County; 25 – Bistriţa, Bistriţa-Năsăud County; 26 – Breaza, Mureş County; 27 – Târgu Mureş, Mureş County; 28 – Acăţeri, Mureş County; 29 – Daneş, Mureş County; 30 – Sighişoara, Mureş County; 31 – Bratei, Sibiu County; 32 – Mediaş, Sibiu County; 33 – Cetatea de Baltă, Alba County; 34 – Bahnea, Mureş County; 35 – Crăciunel, Alba County; 36 – Meşcreac, Alba County; 37 – Lopadea, Alba County; 38 – Noşlac, Alba County; 39 – Dateş, Mureş County; 40 – Iernut, Mureş County; 41 – Vaidei, Mureş County; 42 – Cipău, Mureş County; 43 – Band, Mureş County; 44 – Zau de Câmpie, Mureş County; 45 – Lechinţa, Mureş County; 46 – Luduş, Mureş County; 47 – Bogata de Mureş, Mureş County; 48 – Gligoreşti, Mureş County; 49 – Oiejdea, Alba County; 50 – Ţelna, Alba County; 51 – Secăşel, Alba County; 52 – Vălişoara, Alba County; 53 – Colleşti, Alba County; 54 – Săncrai, Alba County; 55 - ; 56 – Livezile, Alba County; 57 – Bădeni, Cluj County; 58 – Cuzdrioara, Cluj County; 59 – Rimetea, Sibiu County;





## THE AVARS AND THE SLAVS IN TRANSYLVANIA GAMBAS AND MEDIAS GROUPS

### *2.1. The Avars in Transylvania – elements of material culture (Gambas Group)*

The Avar People have made their sudden appearance in the territories next to the borders of the Roman-Byzantine Empire at the half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century and they have contributed enormously together with the Slav People to the fall of the borders at the Lower Danube River. Various sources indicate a population with double origin: a population called Shuan-Shuan by the Chinese Sources that took over the control of some of the territories in Central Asia at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century and a part of the Hunnish People, the *Hephthalites* that have settled in the region delimited by the two rivers: Amu-Daria and Sar-Daria. But immediately after the 6<sup>th</sup> century the Turks have stopped the Slavonic dominance in Asia, consequently, a part of the population headed for the West. It has been admitted that by the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century 20.000 Avars have reached the steppes in the Caucasian Mountains<sup>46</sup>. They managed to subject several other populations such as Kutrigurs, Antes and they extended their rule up to the mouth of Danube River. In this way, they had direct contact with the Roman-Byzantine Empire asking for some land where to settle down. The Byzantine diplomats used their power in campaign against the French king Sigibert I in *TURINGIA*, in 562. As a result of another Byzantine diplomatic action the Lombards and the Avar People decided to become allies against the Gepids. This alliance proved to be a successful one in 567 the moment when the Gepids are defeated and the Avar People take over all the territories possessed by the former in Transylvania and Southern Pannonia.

For a while the Avar People have managed to have direct or indirect control over a wide territory which was stretched from the Pontic steppes up to the Alps and from the Northern Carpathians up to the Lower Danube River and the Adriatic Sea coast. The type of organization of the Avar People was similar to the nomadic ones, always moving from one place to another. This type of organization was specific to the Nomads in the East. The Avar people were ruled by a Khagan helped by an administrative and military aristocracy. In fact, they ruled over a population divided into competitive communities and clans. The basic administrative and economic unit was represented by the “aul” which was made of clans and tribes. The type of organization was of Turkish or Chinese origin. For example the population was divided by their status towards the Khagan, that is population subjected by the Avar People and population they had conflicts with. During the archeological researches within the Carpathian area, it has been discovered that there was a kind of a buffer space<sup>47</sup> between the area where a great number of cemeteries dating from the Middle

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<sup>46</sup> *Istoria Românilor*, II, p. 717.

<sup>47</sup> J. Zábajník, *On the problems of settlements of the Avar Khaganate period in Slovakia*, in: *Archeologické Rozhledy*, 40, 1988, p. 401-402.

Period have been discovered (the South and South-East of Slovakia) and the territory where a huge number of discoveries belonging to the Prague type have been made (the North and North-West of Slovakia and Hungary). All these discoveries indicate the fact that the Slav and Avar people used to have tight and strong relations. A similar situation has been confirmed in the case of the Avar and early Slav People discoveries in the North-West of Romania<sup>48</sup>.

It is still uncertain whether the Avar People came to the Pannonian Plain crossing the Carpathians passing through Transylvania or they headed along the Danube River reaching eventually Pannonia. The hypothesis of their coming along the Danube River seems most plausible<sup>49</sup>, if we consider the fact that they managed to beat the Gepids along the Danube River and claim afterwards from the Byzantine Empire the Sirmium town. They were forced to follow this route at North of Carpathians, as the Gepid kingdom from Transylvania was guarding all the gates. They made this detour, attacked TURINGIA and then settled in PANNONIA. It has also been questioned the reason why they went from the Black Sea coast and headed for the west. The Khagan Bayan may have been informed during the fights against Sigibert I, that the Turks have crossed the river VOLGUE. In fact, the Avar people were quite aware of the Turkish threat. Menander the Protector rendered in a very expressive way the words of their leader: " *Varchonites, being subjected to the Turks, will always appeal to me when my heart desires, and if they see the whip raised against them, they will hide at corners or underground. As I know them too well, they will fight against it, they will not be killed by sword but they will be downtrodden by our horses' hooves/hoofed down and they will perish as ants do.*"<sup>50</sup> The events that followed in the years 562-567, point out that they wanted to take refuge to the natural borders which were much easier to be defended. As their actions at the Lower Danube River failed and it was impossible for them to go through the gates of Eastern and Northern Carpathians<sup>51</sup>, they decided to become allies with the LONGOBARDS. This alliance paved their way to the PANNONIA.

The archeological diggings of W. Lipp in Keszthely<sup>52</sup> (Hungary) represent a good starting point for discussing the matter of material culture of the Avar People during the 7<sup>th</sup> -8<sup>th</sup> centuries. According to some historians, in Keszthely there have been discovered 3938 graves<sup>53</sup> and according to others, 5500 graves<sup>54</sup>. The funerary inventory consisting of specific objects with common features, is known under the name of "Keszthely culture." It comprises bronze pieces and gilded objects. Other

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<sup>48</sup> I. Stanciu, *Teritoriul nord-vestic al României și khaganatul avar*, in: *ActaMP*, XXIII, 1, 2000, p. 403.

<sup>49</sup> K. Horedt, *Contribuții*, p. 63; Il. Kovrig, *Das awarenzeitliche Gräberfeld von Alattyán*, Budapest, 1963; I. Bona, *Ein Vierteljahrhundert Völkerwanderungszeitforschung in Ungarn*, in: *ActaArchHung*, 23, 1971, p. 265-336.

<sup>50</sup> *A magyarok elődeiről és a honfoglalásról*, p. 81.

<sup>51</sup> *Histoire de la Transylvanie*, p. 91.

<sup>52</sup> W. Lipp, *A keszthelyi sírmezők*, Budapest, 1884; Idem, *Die Gräberfeld von Keszthely*, Budapest, 1885.

<sup>53</sup> F. Pulszky, in: *Arch.Ert.*, V, 1885, p. 3.

<sup>54</sup> J. Hampel, *Altertümer des frühen Mittelalters in Ungarn*, I, Braunschweig, 1905, p. 17-18.

unique features of all these objects are the lack of fibulae and the constant presence of the harness pieces, such as tongue bits and ladders<sup>55</sup> and different other adornment harness pieces<sup>56</sup>.

Along the years, the material culture has known several stages. Its evolution has been highly influenced by the social and economic structure of the Avar Khaganate. The history of Avar people has been divided into three important periods:

- the early period (568-650/60) characterized by the predominance of Byzantine art
- the middle period (650/60-700);
- the late period (700-792), also named the period of cast pieces, ornaments of griffins and stalks<sup>57</sup>.

The periods mentioned above describe three different stages of the evolution of the Avar society. The first period is characterized by the presence of the pressed bronze foils. This fact is due to the Bulgarians that settle at South of Danube River. Consequently, the Avars, especially the silversmiths from North of Danube River have no longer contact with the culture of the Byzantine Empire. The second period is a period of transition from the pressing technique to the cast technique which is specific to the third period<sup>58</sup>. The first period is said to be influenced by the Byzantine art because there have been discovered Byzantine coins only along with pressed pieces. These coins stopped to be in the use in the basin of Middle Danube River, around 680 and they have never been discovered together with cast pieces<sup>59</sup>.

Settlements that prove the presence of the Avar people during the first period can be found in PANNONIA, the North area of Sirmium, the field between Danube River, Eastern Carpathians and Transylvania.

We have few or no archeological traces in the areas bordering the territories mentioned earlier. There are several explanations for this phenomenon. On one hand, the Avar people had a very defensive system; their land was protected by apiaries, uninhabited or wooden land<sup>60</sup>. On the other hand, there were numerous unstable settlements during the Khagan Bayan's reign (568-601). This statement can be also confirmed by the archeological researches in the PANNONIC field, mainly by the so-called princely graves<sup>61</sup>. I. Stanciu states that there are not any known settlements or graves that can be attributed to the Slav People because of their impermanent feature and for the simply reason that the settlements in the North Transylvania dating from the Avar period have not been thoroughly researched by archeologists yet<sup>62</sup>. It is true

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<sup>55</sup> Related to the evolution of the steel ladders and the horsemen's footwear, see I. M. Țiplic, *Ipoteze cu privire la încălțăminte migratorilor medievali timpurii, din perspectiva evoluției scărișelor de cavalerie*, in: *Sargetia*, XXX, 2001-2002, p. 259-268.

<sup>56</sup> K. Horedt, *Contribuții*, p. 65.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 67.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibidem*.

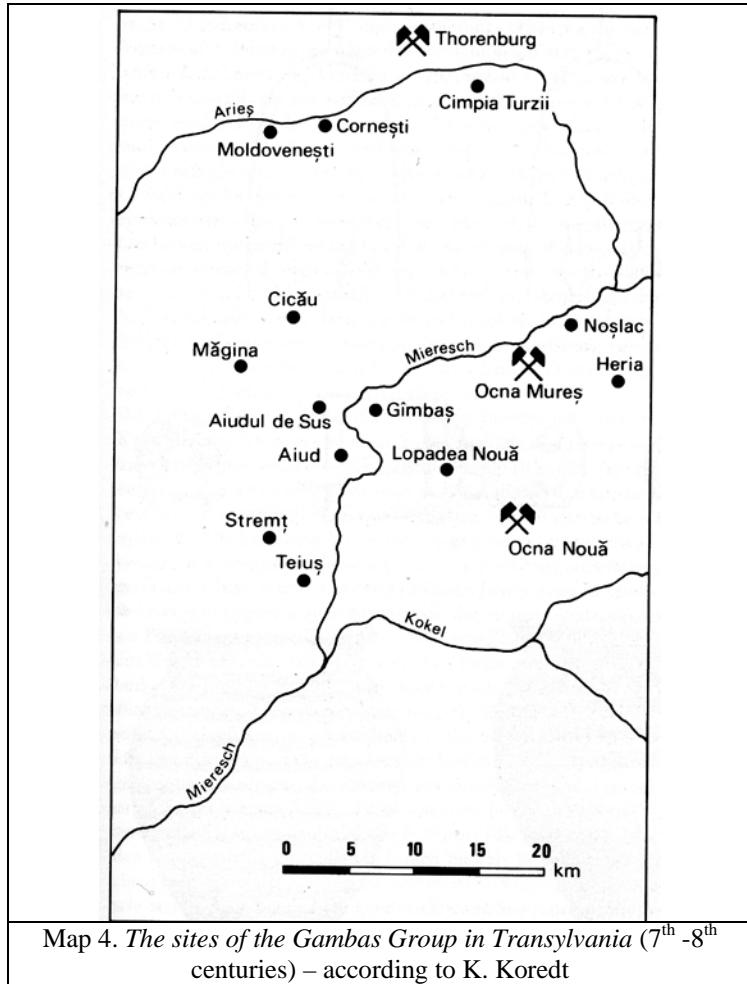
<sup>59</sup> N. Fettich, în: *Archaeologia Hungarica*, XVIII, 1936, p. 94-99; D. Csallány, în: *Folia Archaeologica*, I-II, 1939, p. 174-178.

<sup>60</sup> L. Barckóczy, in: *AAASH*, 20, 1968, p. 275-311.

<sup>61</sup> I. Bóna, in: *Archeologiké Rozhledy*, 20, 1968, p. 605-618.

<sup>62</sup> I. Stanciu, *Teritoriul nord-vestic al României și khaganatul avar*, in: *ActaMP*, XXIII, 1, 2000, p. 403.

the fact that the Romanian historiography during the 6<sup>th</sup> -8<sup>th</sup> centuries has not been so thoroughly researched yet. But we must take into account that it is very difficult to distinguish clear ethnic differences regarding the typology of forms and decor as far as the ceramics is concerned although the archeologists can have a general overview of the settlements belonging to different ethnic groups, within the Carpathians dating from the 6<sup>th</sup> -8<sup>th</sup> centuries.



There have been discovered large necropolises belonging to the permanent population<sup>63</sup>. These necropolises consist of thousands of graves, sometimes including other smaller necropolises of 20-30 graves belonging to the semi-nomadic population,

<sup>63</sup> I. Bona, *A honfoglalás előtti kultúrák es népek*, in: *Szabolcs-Szatmar-Bereg megye monográfiája. I. Kötet – Történelem és kultúra*, Nyiregyháza, 1993, p. 116.

the warriors. In the transition phase, these graves were arranged according to the social structure of the community. The graves of the warriors together with their horses, next to the graves of their wives were placed in the center. Around them, there were the graves of other warriors without their horses. The graves of free people and servants<sup>64</sup> were placed at sides<sup>65</sup>.

The dwellings built deep into the ground belonging to these settlements were of Euro-Asian type. The roof and the walls are supported by a wooden structure. Just opposite the entrance door there was a stone stove sometimes built deep into the ground. Analyzing the necropolises placed at sides we can find out the social category these graves belonged to. We have no knowledge of settlements belonging to Avars in the early period, although, according to I. Stanciu<sup>66</sup>, it is assumed, that they settled here at the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century<sup>67</sup>.

We have few written sources regarding the events during the Avar Khaganate after the year 970 and the presence of Avars in the Western Romania is still a mystery. Still, golden coins discovered in most graves<sup>68</sup> are a proof that the Avars were settled here.

This is the archaeological moment when a new variant of the material culture belonging to the Avars was formed. It was as original and specific as the former one during the first period. The areas lived by the Avars become larger and larger<sup>69</sup>. During the same period, the Bulgarians come to the North of the Danube River and settle down. According to a legend, one of the khan Kubrat's sons has settled with his people in the Avars' Land<sup>70</sup>. This statement is sustained by archaeological findings: several motifs inlaid on the straps' blade that were also discovered near the Great Chinese Wall; ceramics that originate from Kazakhstan, several jewelries similar with the ones found in the region of Volgue; bent swords, cups with high stem; jewels belonging to the ruling class prove the connection with Central Asia. All these findings prove that during the transition period there was a new wave of different populations that migrated to the west under the pressure of the Khazar state. In most cases, the new comers used to settle in the old villages using the old necropolises. Their graves did not overlap with the former ones found there. After two generations (680-720), they eventually mixed up with the old population. This period has been called "the transition period"<sup>71</sup>, as it represented or the Avars a period of cultural changes in this area.

During this transition period, at the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> century there appeared the so-called the art of cast pieces adorned with griffins and stalks. The new technique

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<sup>64</sup> I. Bóna, in: *Archeologiké Rozhledy*, p. 610.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 617.

<sup>66</sup> I. Stanciu, *Gepizi, avari și slavi timpurii (sec. V-VII p. Chr.) în spațiul vestic și nord-vestic al României*, in: *Ephemeris Napocensis*, XII, 2002, p. 203-236.

<sup>67</sup> This hypothesis also belongs to I. Bóna, *A honfoglalás előtti kultúrák es népek*, p. 63-137.

<sup>68</sup> I. Stanciu, *Gepizi, avari și slavi timpurii*, p. 213.

<sup>69</sup> *Magyarország Története*, I, Budapest, 1940, p. 331.

<sup>70</sup> L. Gyula, *Études archéologiques sur l'histoire de la société des Avars*, Budapest, 1955, p. 270.

<sup>71</sup> *Magyarország Története*, I, p. 326.

of the bronze casting enabled an easier and more complex execution of the motifs than in the pressing technique. There have been discovered a great number of motif patterns but none of them looked alike. They were used as a personal sign on the blades of their straps. The Avar strap represented the symbol of the possessor's freedom, dignity and rank. It also had magic and religious significance<sup>72</sup>.

The area in the North-West of Romania is very famous for the numerous findings belonging to the Avar culture. There have been discovered 16 places that are said to have belonged to the Avars or to other Eastern related populations, only 12<sup>73</sup>. For the moment there are not any certain discoveries that prove Slav settlements immediately after the Gepids moved away. This possibility must be taken into account because there have been some discoveries from the first stage in the neighbouring territory (Hungary)<sup>74</sup>. At the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, the Avar Khaganate extended up to Inferior Austria and South-West Slovakia and probably the central part of Transylvania (the Middle Mures region). They did not extend their territory up to the North-West of Transylvania probably because these territories did not suit to their nomadic life style or they did not want to respect the borders of a federal population, the Slavs<sup>75</sup>. It is not still confirmed the cohabitation of Slavs and Avars during the early Avar period and the transition. Nevertheless, based on the information we have so far regarding the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century and on the discoveries from Piscolt (Satu Mare)<sup>76</sup> during the early Avar period as well, we may draw the conclusion that there is a clear delimitation between the Avar and Slav settlements although there are some connections between the two areas<sup>77</sup>.

Other Avaric archaeological discoveries were made near the Middle Mures River. This area was an important center of salt exploitation<sup>78</sup> in the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. All the graves discovered and researched in the area delimited by Mures, Aries and Tarnava rivers dated from the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century up to the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> century form the so called Mures or Gambas Group<sup>79</sup> (Teius, Cipău, Câmpia Turzii, Gâmbaş, Aiud, etc.).

There are still some mysteries unsolved regarding the evolution the Avars in Europe, although we have knowledge of approximately 50.000 Avaric graves discovered in 2000 sites within the Carpathians chain<sup>80</sup>. There have been several discussions on the matter of the Avaric findings, namely the few thousands of graves discovered in Keszthely (Hungary) in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The term

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<sup>72</sup> L. Gyula, *Études archéologiques*, p. 292.

<sup>73</sup> I. Stanciu, *Teritoriul nord-vestic al României și khaganatul avar*, în: *ActaMP*, XXIII, 1, 2000, p. 421.

<sup>74</sup> I. Bona, *A honfoglalás előtti kultúrák es népek*, p. 115-116.

<sup>75</sup> I. Stanciu, *Teritoriul nord-vestic al României*, p. 424.

<sup>76</sup> I. Némethi, *Noi descoperiri din epoca migrațiilor din zona Carei (jud. Satu Mare)*, în: *SCIVA*, 34, 1983, 2, p. 139-140.

<sup>77</sup> I. Stanciu, *Teritoriul nord-vestic al României*, p. 425.

<sup>78</sup> *Istoria Românilor*, II, p. 723.

<sup>79</sup> K. Horedt, *Siebenbürgen in Frühmittelalter*, p. 66 sqq.

<sup>80</sup> *Istoria Românilor*, II, p. 721.

“Keszthely culture” has been used for a while in order to describe the cultural Avaric environment. In fact, we very well know that the Roman and the Germans had a more important contribution than the Avars. Consequently, we ask ourselves what was the relation between the Avars and the Gepids after the latter were defeated.

I. Stanciu, a research expert for the Romanian history in the period of the 5<sup>th</sup> -8<sup>th</sup> century for the Transylvanian area and North-West of Romania, states that the matter of the Avars remains still unsolved<sup>81</sup> although we have sources.

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We may find some explanations if we try to build a possible scenario in the 8<sup>th</sup> century:

After the Avars have settled in Pannonia there followed a relatively calm period among the communities within the intra-Carpathian Transylvanian space. The findings belonging to the early Avars from the Mures area can prove these statements. After the first third of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, small Avar communities come and settle in the salt exploitation area near Mures River. These communities take over all the attributions that the Gepids used to have. There have been discovered small Avar necropolises along the Middle Mures River i.e Aiud, Bratei, Campia Turzii, Gambas, Lopadea Noua, Noslac, Teius, etc.<sup>82</sup>

Although the contribution of the Gepids to the material culture seems to have disappeared, certain ornaments on the ceramic objects found in Albesti, Mures County, prove the Gepidic influence<sup>83</sup>.

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Oriental iconographic sources and an extremely rich archaeological inventory can help us to find out what kind of clothes the Avars used to have in the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century and 7<sup>th</sup> century. The belt endowed with all kind of accessories and extra straps was the most important item of clothing for men. Its structure depended on the social rank of the bearer. Within the Carpathians, in some of the oldest Avar graves there have been discovered several types of horse ladders and bits, simple and double-barrelled swords, luxuriously wrought scabbards, reeded spearheads, arches, three swept-back winged arrows.

By the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, the Avars were finally liquidated by the Franks under Charlemagne and the Bulgarians under Krum during their campaigns. The capital was besieged and the Avars were driven away from Pannonia. Bulgarians and Slavs settled at North-East of Pannonia benefited from the Avars' defeat and moved to these territories. At the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, a merge process of culture of the populations within the Carpathians. The result was a new culture of Roman tradition with very strong barbaric features and Balkan-Byzantine influences. It is

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<sup>81</sup> I. Stanciu, *Gepizi, avari și slavi timpurii*, p. 215.

<sup>82</sup> K. Horedt, *Siebenbürgen in Frühmittelalter*, p. 71, Abb. 32.

<sup>83</sup> Gh. Baltag, *Sighișoara înainte de Sighișoara*, p. 215, fig. 51.

very important to understand the history of Avars during the 6<sup>th</sup> -7<sup>th</sup> centuries in order to have a better general view on the Slav ethnic diversity.

## 2.2 Medias Group

Romanian history during the 7<sup>th</sup> -9<sup>th</sup> century is a controversial matter due to the fact that this is period when the Romanian ethno-genesis process takes place. Romanian historiography of the 19<sup>th</sup> century has turned this matter into a political issue. A series of studies on this subject brings forward the political interference in the research of the Romanian ethno-genesis process. For example, after the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War historians have tried to prove the important Slav contribution to the Romanian ethno-genesis process<sup>84</sup>, while during the communist regime, immediately after the “Prague spring” moment, they tried to diminish this importance.

There have also been controversies on the analysis of the bi-ritual necropolises within the Romanian space. According to some historians, these belonged to the Slavs, according to others, they belonged to a Slavonic-Roman community. K. Horedt considers that they belong to Medias Group<sup>85</sup>. He came up with this name after he had discovered a bi-ritual necropolis in Medias–Dealul Furcilor.

There has been discovered a very interesting phenomenon regarding inhumation and incineration during the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> century in Transylvania. During this period the population no longer used the incineration rite and adopted the inhumation rite. Consequently, along the next two centuries the inhumation graves outnumbered the incineration graves. This process was possible only under the powerful influence of Christianity, especially during the 9<sup>th</sup> century. Within the necropolises of Medias type there have been discovered a great number of incineration graves in comparison to the inhumation ones. This was very unusual for that time, but they are said to belong to the local population that cohabited with the Slavs, the new comers.

Besides the re-use of the incineration rite, there have been some changes in the material culture as well. First of all, ceramics is no longer worked with the wheel, but by hand and only later with slow wheel because of the local influence. Among the bi-ritual necropolises can be also included those from Ocna Sibiului<sup>86</sup>, Gusterita<sup>87</sup>, Boarta<sup>88</sup>, Tarnava, Berghin<sup>89</sup>, Ghirbom<sup>90</sup>, Bratei<sup>91</sup>, Turdas<sup>92</sup> etc. These archaeological

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<sup>84</sup> Without quoting other publications or collective volumes, examples of this preference is also rendered in the “*Studii si cercetari de istorie veche*” 1954-1962.

<sup>85</sup> K., Horedt, *Die Brandgräberfelder der Mediasgruppe aus dem 7-9 Jh. in Siebenbürgen*, în: *ZfA*, Berlin, 10, 1976, p. 39 sqq.

<sup>86</sup> D. Protase, *Cimitirul slav de la Ocna Sibiului*, in: *Omagiu lui P. Constantinescu-Iași*, București, 1965, p. 153-159.

<sup>87</sup> Th. Nägler *Vorbericht über die Untersuchungen im Hammersdorfer Gräberfeld aus der Völkerwanderungszeit*, in: *Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde*, 14, 1971, p. 65 sqq.

<sup>88</sup> S. Dumitrașcu., G. Togan, *Cimitirul de la Boarta – „Pârâul Zăpezii-Șoivan”*, in: *Studii și comunicări. Muzeul Brukenthal*, 18, 1974, p. 94 sqq.

<sup>89</sup> Unique archeological diggings of M. Blăjan during the years 1974, 1977-1979

<sup>90</sup> I. Al. Aldea, E. Stoicovici, M. Blăjan, *Cercetări arheologice în cimitirul prefeudal de la Ghirbom (com. Berghin, jud. Alba)*, in: *Apulum*, XVIII, 1980.



discoveries reflect the existence of several Slav communities in the Central-Northern part of Transylvania, mainly in the salt exploitation area. Although they used both rituals, the inhumation graves are less important than the incineration ones; moreover their number is insignificant in comparison to the latter. (See Table no 1 and Graphics no 1). At this stage of the archaeological researches, without a comparative analysis of the osteological remains, we do not know for sure the reason why within the cemeteries belonging to Medias Group, within more necropolises or even within the same necropolis have been also discovered inhumation graves.

*The Catalogue of necropolises of Medias type in Transylvania*

1. **Alba Iulia** (Alba County) – Near the settlement dating from 8<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> centuries, within the necropolis located in *Statia de Salvare- Stadion*, there have also been discovered four incineration urns adorned with a set of wave-like lines<sup>93</sup>.

2. **Berghin** (Alba County) – It is one of the greatest necropolises belonging to Medias Group. It has been researched in Berghin – Peri (Zicatoare) during the years 1976-1979. This necropolis consists of 360 graves dating from the 7<sup>th</sup> -9<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>94</sup>. Most of the graves are of the incineration type but there are also inhumation graves and incineration graves without urn. The funerary inventory is various, comprising different objects like ceramic pieces, jewelries (earrings, beads necklaces, fibulae, and bracelets), items of clothing, knives, steels, grinders, coins<sup>95</sup>.

3. **Bistrița** (Bistrita Nasaud County) – Findings of more cinerary urns belonging to an incineration necropolis from an unknown location<sup>96</sup>.

4. **Bratei** (Sibiu County) located in the Tarnava River region. During the years 1964-1967, a bi-ritual cemetery, called The Cemetery no 2 has been researched in Bratei<sup>97</sup>. The necropolis dates from the 7<sup>th</sup> – 8<sup>th</sup> centuries and consists of 244 graves, 210 incineration graves and 34 inhumation graves. Most of the archaeologists consider it part of the Medias Group although it is different from the other necropolises belonging to the same group<sup>98</sup>.

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<sup>91</sup> E. Zaharia, *Populația românească în Transilvania în sec. VII-VIII (Cimitirul nr. 2 de la Bratei)*, București, 1977.

<sup>92</sup> M. Hica, M. Blăjan, *Un cimitir de incinerare din sec. VIII la Turdaș, jud Alba*, in: *ActaMN*, X, 1973.

<sup>93</sup> *Enciclopedia arheologiei și istoriei vechi a României*, I, A-C, București, 1994, p. 84; O. Dulea, *Considerații privind locuirea în Banat și Transilvania în secolele VII-VIII d. Hr. (II. Necropole și morminte izolate)*, in: *Sargetia*, XXX, 2001-2002, p. 224

<sup>94</sup> Gh. Anghel, M. Blăjan, in: *Dacia, N.S.*, 22, 1978, p. 349; Id., in: *Dacia, N.S.*, 23, 1979, p. 356; Al. Aldea, E. Stoicovici, M. Blăjan, *Cercetări arheologice în cimitirul prefeudal de la Ghirbom*, p. 151; RepAB, p. 56.

<sup>95</sup> RepAB, p. 56.

<sup>96</sup> M. Rusu, *Transilvania și Banatul în secolele IV-IX*, în: *Banatica*. IV, 1977, p. 169-207.

<sup>97</sup> E. Zaharia, *Populația românească în Transilvania în secolele VII-VIII (Cimitirul nr. 2 de la Bratei)*, București, 1977.

<sup>98</sup> K. Horedt, *op. cit.*, p.13; Id., *Siebenbürgen im Frühmittelalter*, Bonn, 1986, p. 64.

5. **Boarta** (Seica Mare commune, Sibiu County) – located in the region of the Visa River, a Tarnava Mare River's affluent. During the years 1965-1968, there has been discovered another bi-ritual necropolis in Boarta<sup>99</sup> in a place called Soivani.

It is about a bi-ritual necropolis where there have discovered 35 graves out of which two inhumation graves and 33 incineration graves. The urns found here are decorated with straight, parallel, horizontal or wave-like lines. Besides these urns there have been discovered small knife blades and two round earrings. Based on the analysis of the burial ritual and the funerary inventory this cemetery can be included in the Medias Group. From chronological point of view, this cemetery dates from the same period as the cemeteries from Medias and Ocna Sibiului, earlier than the Slav cemeteries from Someseni and Nusfalau and even much earlier than Blandiana A<sup>100</sup>.

6. **Dăbâca** (Cluj County) – It dates from the 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>101</sup>. The location is unknown.

7. **Dorolțu** (Cluj County) – It has been discovered in 1960 when some people tried to build a CAP stable in Dambu Mic, located in the South-East of the village. The inventory of the necropolis consisted of fragments of ceramics, ashes, coal and calcined bones. There have also been restored two hand-made pots dating from the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century and beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. It is assumed that that these may come from a larger incineration necropolis<sup>102</sup>.

8. **Ghirbom** (Alba County) – During the years 1974-1975 archeologists restarted the researches in Ghirbom-*Gruitul Fierului* and they discovered seven inhumation graves<sup>103</sup>. After 20 years, in 1995, they continued the researches and they discovered other eleven incineration graves and two inhumation graves<sup>104</sup> within this necropolis. The total number of the graves is twenty, out of which eleven incineration graves and nine inhumation graves. The funerary inventory of these graves consists of various metal objects, ceramics and bronze or iron buckles. This necropolis dating from the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup><sup>105</sup> century may also be included in Medias Group.

9. **Mediaș** – This necropolis is located in the Eastern part of the town and it was discovered during some rescue operations. There have been revealed seventeen

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<sup>99</sup> S. Dumitrașcu, G. Togan, *Cimitirul de la Boarta*, p. 93-109.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 105.

<sup>101</sup> M. Rusu, *Transilvania și Banatul*, p. 205; O. Dulea, *Considerații privind locuirea în Banat și Transilvania în secolele VII-VIII d. Hr. (II. Necropole și morminte izolate)*, in: *Sargetia*, XXX, 2001-2002, p. 225.

<sup>102</sup> I. Ferenczi, *O descoperire slavă timpurie în Transilvania*, in: *ActaMN*, 7, 1970, p. 565-573; K. Horedt, *Die Brandgräberfelder der Mediașgruppe aus dem 7.-9. Jh. in Siebenbürgen*, in: *Rapports du III-e Congres Interantional d'Archeologie*, I, Bratislava, 1979, p. 385-393; RepCJ, p. 191.

<sup>103</sup> I. Aldea, E., Stoicovici, M. Blăjan, *Cercetări arheologice în cimitirul prefeudal de la Ghirbom*, p. 151-175.

<sup>104</sup> Gh. Anghel, *Necropola birituală prefeudală de la Ghirbom (Gruitul Fierului), județul Alba*, în: *Apulum*, XXXIV, 1997, p. 255-270.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*; RepAb, p. 100.

graves out of which fourteen incineration graves and three inhumation graves<sup>106</sup>. This necropolis was discovered at random during some construction diggings and terrain leveling by some workers. At first they noticed some ceramic pots which were filled with ashes and calcined bones, later they proved to be some funerary urns. In 1960 the archaeologists discovered ten graves and other seven in the following year. The necropolis from Medias represented the first archaeological discovery of this kind from Transylvania. The inhumation graves were alternated with the incineration graves. All of them were oriented East-West. Based on the inventory this necropolis was dated from the 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> centuries but after further researches it was dated at the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century and beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> century<sup>107</sup>. The incineration graves contained funerary urns, arrowheads, knives, calcined bones and all sorts of objects belonging to the deceased. The ceramic pieces were decorated with straight, parallel and horizontal lines.

10. **Pișcolț** (Satu Mare County) – It has been discovered a necropolis dating from the 7<sup>th</sup> century in Nisiparie. It was partially researched, only seven graves<sup>108</sup>.

11. **Porumbenii Mici** (Harghita County) – In Galath, during the year 1956 there has been discovered and researched a necropolis dating from the 8<sup>th</sup> century<sup>109</sup>.

12. **Ocna Sibiului** – In the spring of the year 1961 on a plateau called by the locals “Lab”, in Ocna Sibiului<sup>110</sup>, there has been discovered a necropolis similar to the one in Medias.

The research of the cemetery has been made in several archaeological sessions. There were discovered a number of 136 graves, 118 incineration graves and 18 inhumation graves<sup>111</sup>. Unfortunately, there has been published only information about the first session so far. In the first session there have been discovered 18 incineration graves and 1 inhumation grave<sup>112</sup>. This cemetery has been dated from the 8<sup>th</sup> -9<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>113</sup>.

13. **Sibiu – Gusterita** – The archaeological research of this necropolis started by mistake by some foresters in 1966. They found several ceramic pieces. The necropolis is located in a place called Fantana Rece which is situated in front of Catre Hula oriented towards North. There is a little creek between the two terrains, called

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<sup>106</sup> K. Horedt, *Un cimitir din sec. IX-X e. n. La Mediaș*, în *Studia Universitatis „Babeș-Bolyai”, Series Historia*, fasc. 2, 1965, p. 7-25; S. A. Luca, Z. K. Pinter, A. Georgescu, *Repertoriul arheologic al județului Sibiu*, p. 134.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>108</sup> I. Nemeti, *Noi descoperiri din epoca migrațiilor din zona Carei (jud. Satu Mare)*, in: *SCIVA*, XXXIV, 1983, 2, p. 139-140; O. Dulea, *Considerații privind locuirea în Banat și Transilvania*, p. 226.

<sup>109</sup> Z. Szekely, *Raport preliminar asupra sondajelor executate de muzeul regional din Sfântu Gheorghe în anul 1956*, în: *MCA*, V, 1959, p. 233-235; O. Dulea, *Considerații privind locuirea în Banat și Transilvania*, p. 226.

<sup>110</sup> D. Protase, *Cimitirul slav de la Ocna Sibiului*, in: *Omagiu lui P. Constantinescu-Iași*, București, 1965, p. 153-159.

<sup>111</sup> D. Nicolaescu-Ploșor, W. Wolski, *Elemente de demografie și ritual funerar la populațiile vechi din România*, București, 1975, p. 165.

<sup>112</sup> D. Protase, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 156-157.

Paraul Fantana Rece. M. Ackner mentions about two urns discovered here in 1856 and which have been sent to Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna<sup>114</sup>. In 1966 N. Lupu started systematic archaeological researches and continued the next 5 years up to 1970. Starting with the year 1967 the archaeological researches were coordinated by Th. Năgler. During 5 archaeological sessions there have been researched 79 incineration graves and 1 inhumation grave. The whole funerary inventory can be found at Bruckenthal Museum in Sibiu. In 1967, Th. Năgler published the first study on these discoveries and another synthesis study when all the researches ended<sup>115</sup>.

14. **Sighișoara** (Mures County) – In Dealul Viilor, near the settlement dating from the 6<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> century there has been discovered a bi-ritual necropolis, dating from the 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>116</sup>. There were revealed 14 graves out of which 13 of incineration graves and 1 of inhumation grave.

15. **Soporu de Câmpie**

a. **Poderei** – In 1962, during some agricultural activities, there have been discovered seven incineration graves and another six or seven in the following year<sup>117</sup>. It certainly was a larger necropolis but it must have been destroyed by the farmers while working the field. Based on the inventory of the 13 (14!) graves it has been dated from the 9<sup>th</sup> century<sup>118</sup>.

b. **Răzoare-Sânișoara** – While ploughing, there have been discovered two incineration urns dating from the 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> century<sup>119</sup>.

16. **Șeica Mică** (?) (Sibiu County) – It is situated on the Tarnava Mare River Valley. There has been discovered an urn of Medias type in Seica Mică<sup>120</sup>, in an unknown location. This indicates that there existed an incineration cemetery. The ovoidal urn was made of brown clay and it was worked at wheel.

17. **Târnava** (former Prostea) – Sibiu County – It is also situated on the Tarnava Mare River Valley. During the researches from 1974 in Tarnava<sup>121</sup>, Palamor there has been discovered a bi-ritual cemetery dating from the 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> centuries. It consisted of five inhumation graves and 31 incineration graves.

18. **Toarcla** (Brasov County) – It has been discovered a bi-ritual necropolis dating from the 8<sup>th</sup> – 9<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>122</sup>. The location is unknown.

19. **Turdaș** (Alba Iulia County) – During the years 1969-1971, in Turdas–*Valea Clociță* there have been discovered eighteen graves. It has been dated from the

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<sup>114</sup> S. A. Luca, Z. K. Pinter, A. Georgescu, *Repertoriul arheologic al județului Sibiu*, p. 111.

<sup>115</sup> Th. Năgler, *Vorbericht über die Untersuchungen im Hammersdorfer*, p. 63-73.

<sup>116</sup> Gh. Baltag, *Date pentru un studiu arheologic al zonei municipiului Sighișoara*, in: *Marisia*, IX, 1979, p. 85; O. Dulea, *Considerații privind locuirea în Banat și Transilvania*, p. 226.

<sup>117</sup> We do not know exactly the number of the graves, as the archeological inventory of Cluj is mentioned in two different ways as follows: “seven incineration urn graves have been discovered. Other seven similar graves have been discovered in 1963, so the total number is 13!...”

<sup>118</sup> RepCJ, p. 368.

<sup>119</sup> *Id.*, p. 366.

<sup>120</sup> S. A., Luca, Z. K. Pinter, A. Georgescu, *Repertoriul arheologic al județului Sibiu*, p. 213.

<sup>121</sup> A. M. Velter, *Transilvania în secolele V-XII*, București, 2002, p. 450.

<sup>122</sup> M. Rusu, *Transilvania și Banatul*, p. 205; O. Dulea, *Considerații privind locuirea în Banat și Transilvania*, p. 227.

8<sup>th</sup> century<sup>123</sup>. The inventory of this necropolis consists of funerary urns, iron knives and an arrowhead.

20. **Uioara de Jos** (Alba County) – In 1963, I. Motrofan has discovered forty-two incineration graves dating from the 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>124</sup> in Uioara de Jos, La Parloage.

*General Characteristics.* Beginning with the 7<sup>th</sup> century in the space at North of Danube River there have appeared bi-ritual necropolises. This marks a Slav fusion process of the population in Central and South-Eastern Europe. The bi-ritual necropolises discovered in Ocna Sibiului<sup>125</sup>, Gusterita<sup>126</sup>, Boarta<sup>127</sup>, Tarnava (Sibiu County), Berghin (Alba County), Ghirbom<sup>128</sup>, Bratei<sup>129</sup>, Turdas<sup>130</sup> etc reflect the existence of Slav communities in the central and Northern part of Transylvania, especially in the salt exploitation areas. These discoveries also prove their interaction with the local population. The material culture belonging to the local population is hard to be established. It is assumed that this population had a Bratei culture (a Transylvanian variant of the Ipotesti-Candesti culture).

The bi-ritual necropolises belonging to Medias Group are spread in the Central, Western and Southern parts of Transylvania. Most of the times, within these necropolises the incineration ritual is more predominant than the inhumation ritual. An important characteristic of these necropolises is that the inhumation graves are alternated with the incineration graves; they are not placed separately. We drew this conclusion as the objects found both in the inhumation and incineration graves were from the same period. For example, within the necropolis in Boarta, in the inhumation grave 7A there has been discovered a sacrifice urn identical with the ones discovered in the incineration graves<sup>131</sup> dating from the same period. Gh. Anghel has a different opinion regarding this matter. He considers that in the case of the necropolis in Ghirbom the inhumation graves are ulterior to the incineration graves. He further states that the inhumation graves appeared only in the last phase of use of that particular necropolis<sup>132</sup>. We cannot agree with his opinion as in the case of the necropolises in Ocna Sibiului, Medias, Bratei this phenomenon has not been proved yet.

Within the necropolises belonging to Medias Group there are both inhumation and incineration graves. It is certain that latter are more predominant and their

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<sup>123</sup> I. HICA, M. BLĂJAN, *Un cimitir de incinerare din sec. VIII la Turdaş (jud. Alba)*, in: *ActaMN*, X, 1973, p. 641-652; RepAB, p. 193.

<sup>124</sup> RepAB, p. 196; H. CIUGUDEAN, 1990, p. 72.

<sup>125</sup> D. Protase, *Cimitirul slav de la Ocna Sibiului*, p. 153-159; Id., *Cimitirul slav de la Ocna Sibiului (sec. VIII-IX)*, Bucureşti, 2005.

<sup>126</sup> Th. Nägler, *Vorbericht über die Untersuchungen im Hammersdorfer*, p. 65 sqq.

<sup>127</sup> S. Dumitraşcu, G. Togan, *Cimitirul de la Boarta*, în: *StComB*, 18, 1974, p. 94 sqq.

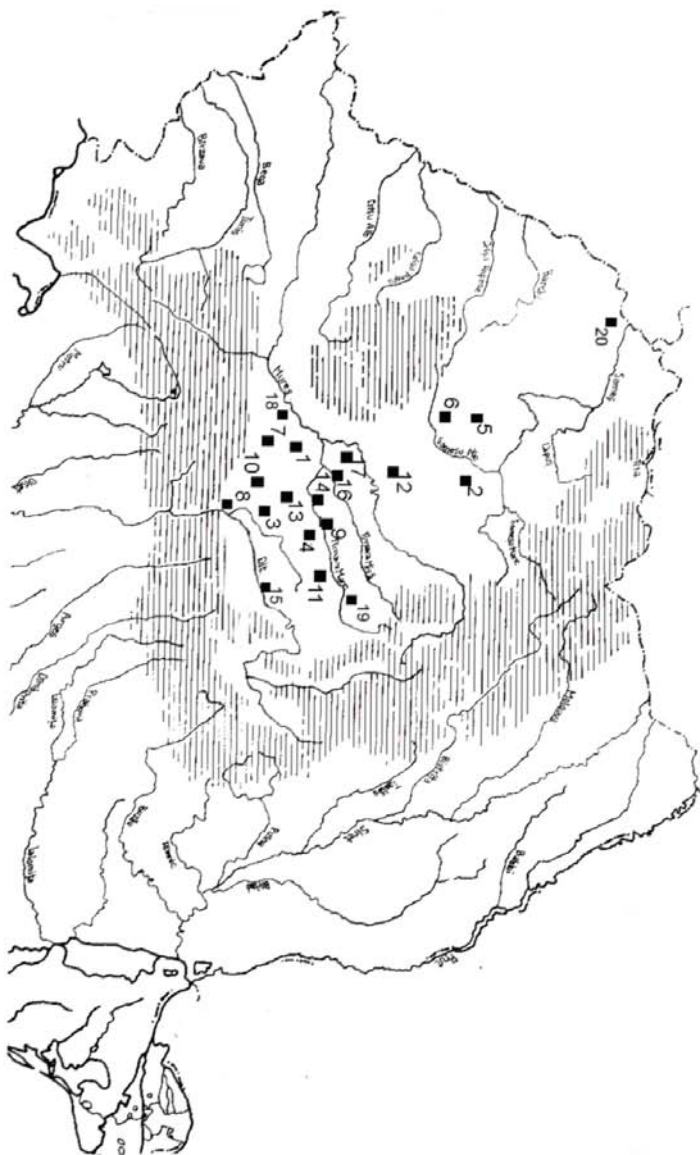
<sup>128</sup> I. Aldea, E. Stoicovici, M. Blăjan, *Cercetări arheologice în cimitirul prefeudal de la Ghirbom*, p. 151-175.

<sup>129</sup> E. Zaharia, *Populaţia românească în Transilvania*, p. 91.

<sup>130</sup> I. Hica, M. Blăjan, *Un cimitir de incinerare din sec. VIII la Turdaş*, p. 651 sqq.

<sup>131</sup> S. Dumitraşcu, G. Togan, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

<sup>132</sup> Gh. Anghel, *Necropola birituală prefeudală de la Ghirbom*, p. 266.



**Cemeteries of Medias Typ (7th-10th c.)**

- 1. Berghin 2. Bistrita 3. Boarta 4. Bratei 5. Dăbâca 6. Doroltu 7. Ghiroba 8. Gușterita 9. Medias 10. Ocna Sibiului
- 11. Sighișoara 12. Soporul de Câmpie 13. Seica Mică 14. Târnava 15. Toarcia 16. Turdaș 17. Uicra de Jos 18. Alba Iulia
- 19. Porumbeni 20. Pîșcolț

number varies from one necropolis to another. Incineration graves may be classified into three categories according to the way the remains were placed in the urn:

- incineration graves where the remains were placed both in the urn and in the hole;
- incineration graves where the remains were placed in the urn;
- incineration graves where the remains were placed directly in the hole.

A chronological differentiation between the two types of graves within the necropolises belonging to Medias Group is not possible as in most cases they appear simultaneously. This may be also proved by the analysis of the necropolises in Bratei<sup>133</sup> or Ghirbom<sup>134</sup>. Though, we can make a chronological classification according to the type of the funerary urns:

- group I – hand made ceramics (or Ipotesti-Candesti type) – dating from the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century and beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> century;
- group II – ceramics worked at slow wheel – dating from the 8<sup>th</sup> -9<sup>th</sup> centuries

The number of inhumation graves is very little. Another characteristic of these graves is the poor funerary inventory and the ceramics urn udes or sacrifice. Most of the times this inventory contains jewels, knives, steels, arrowheads, etc. but these objects do not appear regularly.

*Ethnic Groups.* The analysis of the ceramics found in the graves reveals common features all categories of ceramics objects regarding material, modeling technique, burning, typology and adornments. Hand made ceramics and that worked at slow or fast wheel had common substances and its burning was identical. Ceramics was decorated with horizontal lines or wave-like lines, series o lines or compound motifs specific to the 8<sup>th</sup> century, oriental motifs specific to Dridu culture dating from the 9<sup>th</sup> century. Similar ceramics has been discovered in Bratei, Turdas, Sibiu-Gusterita, Berghin etc. These two types of ceramics were also found in the cemeteries and settlements in Transylvania and in the region delimited by the Carpathians and Danube River<sup>135</sup>. The poor funerary inventory reflects the existence of a poor population that was not differentiated from economic and social point of view. The inventory does not contain any arms but various tools arrowheads, jewels, etc. This shows that there was a peaceful population and not a warrior one. There were also identified the remains of sacrificed animals or poultry (cows, goats, horses, etc.). This shows the types of activities of the population buried ion these cemeteries: animal raising, agriculture, salt exploitation, pottery and metal working. The existing trade is proved by a great number of jewels (earrings, beads, etc). These jewels were made by

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<sup>133</sup> E. Zaharia, *Populația românească în Transilvania*, p. 91.

<sup>134</sup> Gh. Anghel, *Necropola birituală prefeudală de la Ghirbom*, p. 262 sqq.

<sup>135</sup> M. Comșa, *Cultura materială veche românească*, București, 1978, p. 60-107, fig. 40-73; E. Zaharia, *Données sur l'archéologie des IV<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> siècles sur le territoire de la Roumanie*, in: *Dacia, N. S.*, XV, 1971, p. 269-287.

craftsmen in order to exchange them on the market. This explains the great number of these adornment objects in the inhumation and incineration graves discovered all over the territory of Transylvania.

Based on an analysis of the rituals, especially the burial rituals, as well as on the ceramics, the cemeteries within Medias Group are assumed to belong a Slav community that settled in the space delimited by Tarnava Mare and Mures Rivers, a salt exploitation area<sup>136</sup> during the 7<sup>th</sup> -9<sup>th</sup> centuries. This point of view is also supported by the anthropological study on the cemeteries from Ocna Sibiului and Gusterita<sup>137</sup>. The anthropologists started their anthropological research from the premise of different burning of individuals of opposite sexes. They also noticed that most of the graves were double, containing remains of calcined bones from two individuals of opposite sexes. Based on certain Eastern Baltic features of the woman's skeleton they assumed that the incineration graves belonged to the Slavs<sup>138</sup>. They also discovered that the rituals used by the Slavs in the territories where they had settled<sup>139</sup> are similar to those from Ocna Sibiului. They also accepted the existence of the sacrifice ritual of the wife at her husband's death and of children of opposite sex to justify the symbolic marriage of deceased young men.

The necropolises belonging to Medias Group are the first to be systematically researched. Among these bi-ritual necropolises are included Medias (a Slav necropolis)<sup>140</sup>, Sibiu-Gusterita, Bratei, Dabaca<sup>141</sup>, Boarta, Turdas, Tarnava, etc. Later on, during the years 1977-1979, there has been discovered the necropolis in Berghin containing 350 graves that represents 50% out of the necropolis found in the South-East of the village<sup>142</sup>.

In the incineration graves the remains of the calcined bones, the ashes and the coal are placed either in urns or directly in the holes. Usually, the holes are circular or oval in the case there are two urns. The urns were placed into the ground at a small depth, their mouth drawn up; these were not covered. This is why most of the urns from the graves belonging to Medias Group were destroyed because of later activities, especially agricultural ones. Consequently there have been discovered only fragments of urns. O Dulea distinguishes three types of incineration graves<sup>143</sup>:

- graves containing cinerary remains directly in the hole Bratei Cimitirul nr 2 Sighisoara Dealul Viilor (the 7<sup>th</sup> -8<sup>th</sup> centuries)
- graves and urns Turdas valea clocita (the 8<sup>th</sup> century)

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<sup>136</sup> D. Protase, *Cimitirul slav de la Ocna Sibiului*, p. 158; M. Rusu, *Note asupra relațiilor culturale dintre slavi și populația romană din Transilvania (sec. VI-X)*, in *Apulum*, IX, 1971, p. 720.

<sup>137</sup> D. Nicolaescu-Plopsor, W. Wolski, *Elemente de demografie și ritual funerar*, p. 165-248.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 228.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 212-218.

<sup>140</sup> K. Horedt, *Un cimitir din sec. IX-X e. n. la Mediaș*, p. 7-22.

<sup>141</sup> K. Horedt, *Die Brandgräberfelder der Mediașgruppe*, p. 48.

<sup>142</sup> I. Aldea, E. Stoicovici, M. Blăjan, *Cercetări arheologice în cimitirul prefeudal de la Ghirbom*, p. 151-175.

<sup>143</sup> O. Dulea, *Considerații privind locuirea în Banat și Transilvania*, p. 211.



- graves with urns – Ocna Sibiului, Gusterita, Alba Iulia, Sopor de Campie (the 8<sup>th</sup> -9<sup>th</sup> centuries)

Within the group of incineration graves, the double graves seem to be very interesting to study. These graves contain two urns with the remains of two persons; sometimes, these remains may be placed in the same urn, as it was discovered in Ocna Sibiului<sup>144</sup>. This situation may be found in other necropolises, as well. A research of 88 incineration graves from Ocna Sibiului pointed out that in 82 incineration graves the remains of two persons (a man and a woman<sup>145</sup>) were placed in the same urn. A similar situation is the double grave in Gusterita where the remains of a woman and a man were placed in separate urns that were buried in the same hole<sup>146</sup>.

Inhumation graves discovered in these necropolises are very few. Most of them are oriented North-South and only few of them are oriented West-East. But these graves cannot be considered Christian no matter what orientation<sup>147</sup> they may have: North-South or West-East.

The archaeological discoveries point out that all the necropolises belonging to Medias Group and chronologically are date during the 7<sup>th</sup> – 10<sup>th</sup> centuries. Though, there is one exception when the necropolis is dated at the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. The necropolises dating from the 7<sup>th</sup> – 8<sup>th</sup> centuries and 8<sup>th</sup> -9<sup>th</sup> centuries prove that there was a large group of Slavs that came from South-East and settled here during this period (see Graphics 1). The new population that came here used incineration ritual<sup>148</sup> as the local population. This statement is also supported by a thorough osteologic analysis of the necropolises in Gusterita and Ocna Sibiului. On one hand, the researches from the necropolis in Gusterita prove that there was a local Mediterranean population. On the other hand, the researches from the necropolis in Ocna Sibiului prove that there was an East-European population.

The funerary inventory contains few objects: tools (knives, steels) items of clothing (fibulae, buckles) jewels (earrings, beads necklaces, bracelets, rings), etc. These objects were placed both inside and outside the urn in the case of the incineration graves. As far as the inhumation graves, the objects were placed on the skeleton or near.

The ceramic urn represents the main piece discovered in the necropolises belonging to Medias Group. Most of the times there have been found only fragments due to the agricultural activities. Usually, the upper part of the urn is practically destroyed. Some urns were hand made, worked at slow or fast wheel. The latter are

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<sup>144</sup> D. Protase, *Cimitirul slav de la Ocna Sibiului (secolele VIII-IX)*, in: *ActaTS*, IV, 2005, p. 151 sqq.; D. Nicolaescu-Plopșor, W. Wolski, *Elemente de demografie și ritual funerar*, p. 194.

<sup>145</sup> D. Nicolaescu-Plopșor, W. Wolski, *Elemente de demografie și ritual funerar*, p. 212-218.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 260.

<sup>147</sup> We only mention the necropolis in Orastie–Dealul Pemilor X2 where all the graves are oriented West-East, but the funerary inventory does not prove that this necropolis belongs to a Christian community (I. M. Țiplic, Z. K. Pinter, M. Căstăian, *Orăștie, jud. Hunedoara. Punct: Dealul Pemilor X2* in: *CCA. Campania 2003*, Cluj-Napoca, 26-29 mai 2004, p. 224-225); there are various similar examples.

<sup>148</sup> I. Stanciu, *Slavii timpurii în cercetarea arheologică românească*, în: *Eph.Nap.*, XI, 2002, p. 131.

fewer. The adornment was made with a stick or a comb and it consisted of simple wave-like lines or of series of wave-like lines. According to K. Horedt, this type of ceramics is specific to the Slavs dating from the 7<sup>th</sup>- 9<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>149</sup>. Though, he considers that this type of ceramics also presents local influences.

*The Origin Problem and the Slav settlements in Transylvania.* During the 1960's this subject matter was a real scientific contention among historians. I. Stanciu is the author of a study on the early Slav settlements in Transylvania and North-West of Romania. He synthesized the research stages regarding their settlements.

The most well-known necropolises dating from the 6<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century are those from Band-Noslac-Moresti<sup>150</sup>. In the extra Carpathian regions, Slav settlements are dated even from the 6<sup>th</sup> century. They came to Transylvania only later, at the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> century after the disappearance of the Gepid<sup>151</sup> culture. The discoveries of digital fibulae in Sarmisegetusa, Vetel (Hunedoara County)<sup>152</sup> confirm the presence of the Slavs in Transylvania. They may have come independently or together with the Avars. The older types of digital fibulae from Transylvania may have similar features with those found in the Slav necropolises from Middle Niper region, in Pastirsk. In Transylvania, this type of fibulae has been found in Avar necropolises, although we very well know that they were not adornment objects. An interesting phenomenon is the fact the archaeologists did not find such adornment objects in the Slav necropolises dating before the Avars had come to Pannonian Plain. A plausible explanation of their presence in the Avar necropolises would be that they may have brought along some Slav tribes from the Middle Niper<sup>153</sup> region, too.

Nevertheless, the archaeological discoveries from the settlements in Cernat, Poian (Covasna County), Bezid, Sălășuri (Mureș County), Filiași, Eliseni (Harghita County), Hărman (Brașov County) proved that first group of Slavs came to Transylvania from South-East and settled in the 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup><sup>154</sup> centuries or 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup><sup>155</sup>

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<sup>149</sup> K. Horedt, *Ceramica slavă din Transilvania*, in: *SCIV*, II, 2, 1951, p. 208-211.

<sup>150</sup> *Istoria Românilor*, III, București, 2001, p. 736.

<sup>151</sup> *Id.*; I. Nestor, *Câteva considerații cu privire la cea mai veche locuire a slavilor pe teritoriul R. P. R.*, in: *Omagiu lui P. Constantinescu-Iași*, București, 1965, p. 147; M. Rusu, *Note asupra relațiilor culturale dintre slavi și populația romanică*, p. 718; M. Comșa, *Sur l'origine et l'évolution de la civilisation de la population romane et ensuite protoroumaine, aux VI- X siècles sur le territoire de la Roumanie*, in: *Dacia N.S.*, XII, 1968, p. 363.

<sup>152</sup> *Istoria României*, I, București, 1961, p. 737; K. Horedt, *Ținutul hunedorean în secolul IV-XII*, in: *Sargeția*, 2, 1956, p. 106-108.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>154</sup> I. Stanciu, *Slavii timpurii în cercetarea arheologică românească*, în: *Ephem. Nap.*, XI, 2001, p. 121; C. Beldiman, *Cercetări privind sec. III-IX în estul Transilvaniei (județul Harghita)*, în: *Symp. Thrac.*, V, 1987, p. 23.

<sup>155</sup> Z. Szekely, *Contribuții la cultura slavă în sec. VII-VIII în sud-estul Transilvaniei*, in: *SCIV*, XIII, I, 1962, p. 47-56; *Id.*, *Slavii și populația băștinașă în sud-estul Transilvaniei*, in: *Aluta*, 1971, p. 129-134; I. Nestor, *Les données archéologiques et le problème de la formation du peuple roumain*, in: *RRH*, 3, 1964, p. 404-406; E. Zaharia, *Câteva observații despre arheologia și istoria sec. VIII-XI pe teritoriul R. S. România*, in: *Aluta*, I, 1969, p. 117-118.

centuries. According to many archaeologists, these settlements reflect a symbiosis of the local population and early Slavs as in the area there are no findings that may be

*Table no 1<sup>156</sup>*  
*Necropolises belonging to Medias Group*

<b>Location</b>	<b>Period</b>	<b>Incineration</b>	<b>Inhumation</b>
Alba Iulia – Statia de Salvare – Stadion	8 <sup>th</sup> -9 <sup>th</sup> c.	4	-
Berghin – In Peri	7 <sup>th</sup> -9 <sup>th</sup> c.	360 (?)	?
Bistrita	?	2	-
Bratei – Cimitirul 2	7 <sup>th</sup> -8 <sup>th</sup> c.	210	34
Boarta Soivani	8 <sup>th</sup> -9 <sup>th</sup> c.	33	2
Dabaca	8 <sup>th</sup> -9 <sup>th</sup> c.	16	-
Doroltu dambu Mic	6 <sup>th</sup> -7 <sup>th</sup> c.	2	-
Ghirbom Gruitul Fierului	9 <sup>th</sup> -10 <sup>th</sup> c.	11	9
Medias	7 <sup>th</sup> -8 <sup>th</sup> (9 <sup>th</sup> ) c.	14	3
Piscolt Nisiparie	7 <sup>th</sup> c.	7	-
Porumbenii Mici Galati	7 <sup>th</sup> -8 <sup>th</sup> c.	?	-
Ocna Sibiului Lab	8 <sup>th</sup> -9 <sup>th</sup> c.	120	15
Sibiu – Gusterita fantana Rece	8 <sup>th</sup> -9 <sup>th</sup> c.	79	1
Sighisoara	6 <sup>th</sup> -8 <sup>th</sup> c.	13	1
Soporu de Campie Poderei si Sanisoara	9 <sup>th</sup> c. 8 <sup>th</sup> -9 <sup>th</sup> c.	13 (14) 2	- -
Seica Mica	?	1	-
Tarnava	8 <sup>th</sup> -9 <sup>th</sup> c.	31	5
Toarcla	9 <sup>th</sup> c. 8 <sup>th</sup> -9 <sup>th</sup> c.	1	?
Turdas	8 <sup>th</sup> c.	18	-
Uioara de Jos	8 <sup>th</sup> -9 <sup>th</sup> c.	42	?
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>979 (980)</b>	<b>70+x</b>

attributed to the Gepids in the 6<sup>th</sup> -7<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>157</sup>. From chronological point of view, the earliest necropolises belonging to Medias Group are those from Doroltu and Turdas. In these two necropolises there have been discovered hand made funerary urns similar to the ceramics of Prague type<sup>158</sup>.

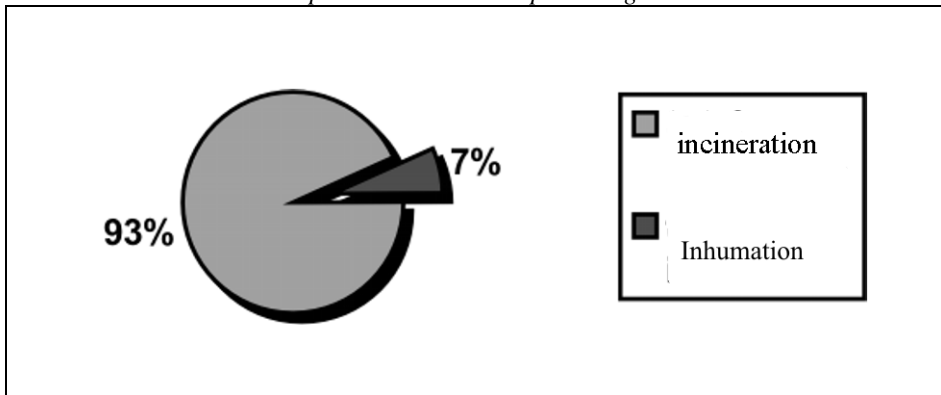
<sup>156</sup> It is certain that the total number of the incineration graves is larger simply because the archaeological research was not made until the complete stripping of the necropolises. Moreover, even if we make a thorough research of the existing bibliography, it is impossible to obtain the exact figures. Consequently, as a rough guide, we can use the total numbers presented in the table no 1.

<sup>157</sup> M. Rusu, *Transilvania și Banatul*, p. 182; M. COMȘA, *op. cit.*; I. Nestor, *Les données*, p. 404.

<sup>158</sup> K. Horedt, *Siebenbürgen in Frühmittelalter*, Bonn, 1986, p. 66-73.

We have no information on the burial rite the early Slavs used, but they probably used the incineration rite used by their neighbors from Sarata-Monteoru<sup>159</sup>. This group of Slavs continued to live on this territory during the next centuries (8<sup>th</sup> - 9<sup>th</sup>). They used to live in the same settlements (discovered in Filiasi. Poian)but at a superior level or in other new settlements (Simionești, Cristur – Harghita County, Sf. Gheorghe – Brașov County, Coșeni, Ereteghin – Covasna)<sup>160</sup>.

Graphics 1 Incineration percentage



Slav and Avar tribes settled together in the centre of Transylvania. They come from the Upper Tisa River region. Archaeological traces of their material culture can be found in Morești, Moldovenești and Cipău-Sf. Gheorghe. There have been discovered fragments of ceramics that has similar features with the ceramics of Hlincea I type and that from the Middle Danube River region. Based on the analysis of the ceramics we can say that the material culture from the centre of Transylvania combines both Eastern Slav cultural elements and Avar cultural elements from Pannonia. The result of a unique culture named Luca-Raikovetkaia-Hlincea I<sup>161</sup>.

Beginning with the 7<sup>th</sup> century there have been some cultural changes on the entire territory of Transylvania. These changes are due to the fact that a great number of Slav tribes came and settled here until the year 800. Moreover, the late Avars came and settled in the Mures River region, as well<sup>162</sup>. Around the year 700, when the second Avar Khaganate was formed in Slovakia and Tisa Plain, a large group of Slavs were driven westward to the centre of Transylvania. They were probably forced to come here because of their alliance with the Avars. They settled in the Mures, Someș

<sup>159</sup> *Ibidem*; I. Nestor, E. Zaharia, *Săpăturile de la Sărata-Monteoru*, in: *MCA*, VI, 1959, p. 509-513; M. Comșa, *Discuții în legătură cu pătrunderea și așezarea slavilor pe teritoriul R.P.R.*, in: *SCIV*, XI, 1, 1960, p. 160.

<sup>160</sup> Z. Szekely, *Așezări din sec. VII-VIII*, p. 169-197; Id., *Sud-estul Transilvaniei în secolele IV-XIV*, în : *Symp. Thrac.*, V, 1987, p. 137-138; I. Mitrea, *Elemente comune în cultura materială și spirituală din spațiul est-carpatic și sud-estul Transilvaniei în secolele VI-LX, expresie a unității etnice de pe ambele versante ale Carpaților*, in: *Symp. Thrac.*, V, 1987, p. 103.

<sup>161</sup> M. Comșa, *Slavii pe teritoriul*, p. 70.

<sup>162</sup> M. Rusu, *Note*, p. 721.

and Crisuri regions as indicate the discoveries in Culciu Mare (Satu Mare) Dăbâca, Țaga<sup>163</sup>, Cluj-Cordos (Cluj County) Noslac (Alba County) Cipău-Sf Gheorghe (Covasna County)<sup>164</sup>. These Slav groups may have had military role that is to maintain control and security over some regions<sup>165</sup>. This explains why there is a sudden increase of the number of necropolises and graves within the necropolises.

The cemeteries dating from the 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> 166 centuries can be divided into two groups<sup>167</sup>.

- the first group consists of incineration necropolises such as Sopor de Campie (Cluj County), Turdas, Uioara de Jos (Alba County) and bi-ritual ones like Boarta, Bratei, Gusterita, Ocna Sibiului (Sibiu County), Ghirbom (Alba County). These necropolises belong to Medias Group and 85-90% of them are bi-ritual containing incineration graves. The calcined bones were placed either in urns or directly in simple holes of different shape and measure. 10-15% of the inhumation graves were North-South<sup>168</sup> oriented.
- the second group consists of inhumation necropolises dating from the 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> centuries. These necropolises belong to Gambas, Ciumbrud and Cluj Groups. Most of the inhumation necropolises in the Mures River region (Campia Turzii – Cluj County, Aiud, Teius, Heria, Stremt, Lopadea – Alba County)<sup>169</sup> dating from the 8<sup>th</sup> century, are attributed to the Avars. In this period, a group of late Avars and one of Slavs come to the Mures River region. As a consequence of the formation of the second Khaganate they defeat the local population in the salt exploitation area, namely in Ocnisoara, Ocna Muresului (Alba County) and Turda (Cluj County)<sup>170</sup>. In the salt works areas in Transylvania such as Ocnisoara, Ocna Sibiului, Sic (Cluj County), Ocna Dejului, Ocnita there have been discovered Avar findings not Slav. This proves that the Avars and the Slavs were allies in their fight with the locals in order to take control over the salt works. This hypothesis is also confirmed by the Slav settlements and cemeteries discovered in the central area of the Avar territory (Noslac, Ciunga, Turdas). In Bratei there has been discovered a grave of an Avar warrior next the incineration necropolis dating from the 8<sup>th</sup> century. This alliance and symbiosis between the Avars and Slavs is also confirmed in other regions too. For example, there have been discovered Avar-Slav

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<sup>163</sup> D. Protase, *Țaga. Două așezări din perioada finală a etnogenezei românilor (sec. IV-VI și sec. VII-VIII)*, Cluj-Napoca, 2003, p. 55-74.

<sup>164</sup> M. Rusu, *Transilvania și Banatul*, p. 187; D. Gh. Teodor, *Romanitatea carpato-dunăreană și Bizanțul în veacurile V-XI e. n.*, Iași, 1981, p. 44.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>166</sup> I. Stanciu, *op. cit.*, p. 120-121.

<sup>167</sup> M. Rusu, *Transilvania și Banatul*, p. 187.

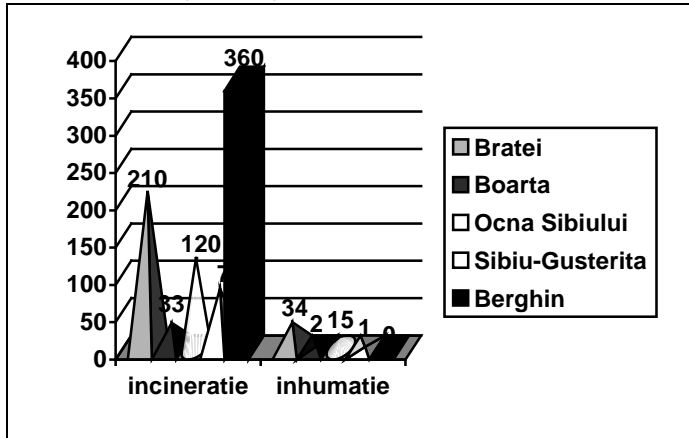
<sup>168</sup> For illustration, there are some graphic analyses of the archaeological sites in Ocna Sibiului, Boarta, Bratei and Sibiu-Gusterita.

<sup>169</sup> K. Horedt, *Contribuții*, p. 61-105.

<sup>170</sup> D. Gh. Teodor, *op. cit.*, p. 48; M. Rusu, *Note*, p. 720.

necropolises dating from the 8<sup>th</sup> century in Slovakia in Devinska Nova Ves, Nove Zamky, Holiare, Zelovce<sup>171</sup>.

*Graphics no 2*  
*The distribution of graves within the necropolises in Bratei, Boarta, Ocna Sibiului and Sibiu-Gusterita*



*Conclusions.* To the number of necropolises discovered by K. Horedt another three have been added. At present, the total number reached twenty. Out of all these necropolises only three of them are fully researched from archaeological point of view.

Although the number of necropolises has not increased very much (from 20, according to K. Horedt up to 20 known at present), there is an increase of approximately 50% of the graves (from 650 up to 980). It is remarkable the case of a double grave. There have been discovered calcined bones originating from both a woman and a man. These double graves can be also found in Ocna Sibiului, but they may be also found in other necropolises.

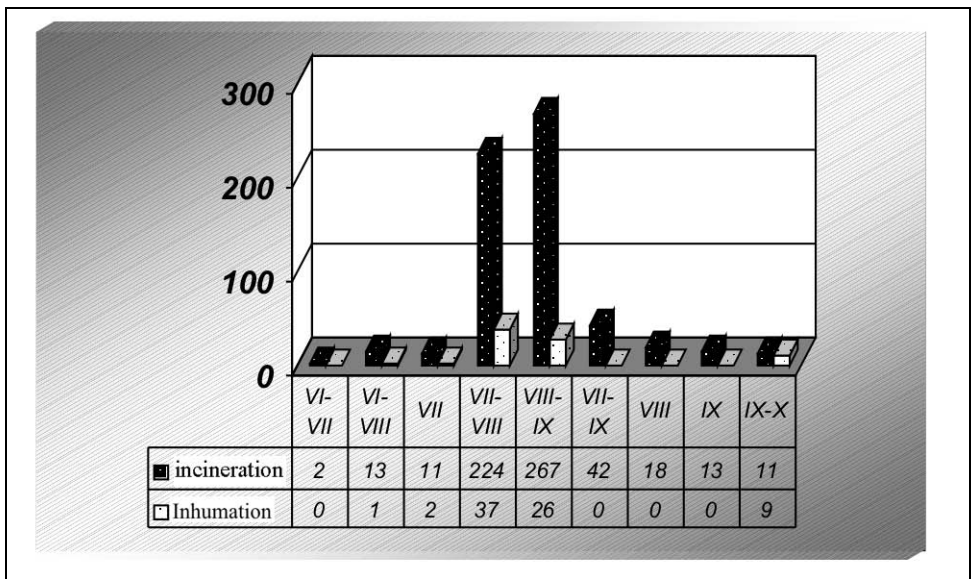
An anthropological study of the content of various urns from graves in Ocna Sibiului confirmed this phenomenon of double funeral. 82 graves out of the total of 88 graves that were the object of the anthropological study contained remains from both a woman and a man. It has been demonstrated that the death of the two came simultaneously or immediately one after the other. There is a series of written sources or chronicles that prove the existence of the sacrifice ritual among the Slav population. There also existed double graves for children or young people, this proves the ritual of symbolic marriage of young people after death.

It seems that in the case of a double grave with two urns, the remains of calcined bones may also come from both a woman and a man. In Gusterita, Sibiu there has been discovered among others, such a grave and it was studied from anthropological point of view. It has been discovered an unusual situation: the

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*; M. Comşa, *Sur l'origine*, p. 363.

remains of the man were placed together with the remains of the woman in the same urn. Moreover, this situation is very rare and the man; bones seem to be fewer. Thus, these findings may bring some controversy on this matter. It is assumed that they may have not placed all the remains in the urn, or they came from a former incineration placed in the urn by mistake. The studies prove that the population buried and incinerated in Ocna Sibiului was of East-European origin, i.e. Slav origin while the population from Gusterita, Sibiu was of local Mediterranean origin. Unfortunately we have little information on the necropolises belonging to Medias Group from anthropological point of view. Therefore it is very difficult to distinguish the ethnic groups from the 20 necropolises we know of so far.

*Graphics 3.  
The number of incineration and inhumation graves  
– distribution on centuries*



A more detailed analysis of these necropolises and the cultural backgrounds may give us a better description of the stages in the Romania ethno genesis process. It has been said the Medias Group represents the moment of the cultural merge of the two populations. P.P. Panaitescu distinguished two ethnic groups coexisting on the same territories: the Slavs and the Romans. Gh. Anghel considers that the bi-ritual necropolises discovered in the centre of Transylvania belonged to the Slav population in process of assimilation<sup>172</sup>.

<sup>172</sup> Gh. ANGHEL, *Necropola birituală prefeudală de a Ghirbom*, p. 270-271.

The spread of Christianity in Transylvania beginning with the 8<sup>th</sup> century and ending in the 9<sup>th</sup> -10<sup>th</sup> centuries influenced enormously the number of the incineration graves in comparison with the inhumation graves, the latter increase their number.

We consider that the graves dating from the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century and beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, belonging to Ciumbrud Group, according to the archaeological discoveries, present the last Western Slav influences and the first Christian ones that contributed to the formation of the Romanian people. Consequently, beginning with the 9<sup>th</sup> century, we may speak of a return to Christianity within Transylvania. This religion will be gradually imposed as the predominant religion in the community. This process was politically controlled by the royal authority and it came to its end when the last wave of early migratory populations made their appearance and the Arpad's kingdom was formed.

An important issue for discussion would be the demographic rate between the local population and the Slavs that moved to Transylvania at the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, and continued to come in the 7<sup>th</sup> and the 8<sup>th</sup> century. Unfortunately, we have little information on this matter. Moreover, Romanian archaeology cannot provide solid proofs as a result of the archaeological researches in order to draw some conclusions regarding the existence or non-existence of a powerful local community during the 8<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> centuries. This fact is due to the lack of anthropological researches within the necropolises belonging to the period mentioned earlier.

A complete analysis of Medias Group may not be possible without taking into account the necropolises within the settlements and the archaeological findings belonging to this group. An approach of such an analysis will have to be dealt with in another study in order to have a clearer overview on the evolution of this group from archaeological point of view.



## TRANSYLVANIA IN THE 10<sup>TH</sup>-12<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES FROM A HISTORIC AND ARCHEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

The archeological research of the early Middle Ages in Transylvania is extremely important due to the fact that the historiography of this period has limited possibilities of referring to contemporary documentary proof concerning the events of the 9<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The identification of archeological monuments belonging to the Hungarians in the intra-Carpathian basin is today a routine exercise for archeologists. Since 1834 it has been discovered that the warriors' burials within Transylvania have the same particularities of costume and arms which could be linked with the Hungarians from the period of Pannonian conquering. Their presence has been dated back as early as the 10<sup>th</sup> century due to some western coins from the same period.

In the last decades, the Romanian ethno-genesis and the beginning of Romanian medieval states has been a matter that was brought to attention of the historians and researchers. Therefore, there has been accumulated an impressive amount of new information on these subjects, although not very pertinent. This fact generated numerous critics oriented towards some synthesis works that were published at that time. A critic examination of the majority of these works appeared in the 1990's. Radu Popa<sup>173</sup>, outlined at the beginning of the 90's, the new research direction and capitalization of Romanian medieval archeology sources. He has made an extremely critical analysis of the affirmation which has become a dogma of the Romanian historiography, regarding the appearance of the Romanian states and the relationship established between the Arpadian royalty and the population in Transylvania.

Due to the fact that medieval archeology was considered as a branch of the Romanian historical research, which had been earlier subjected to some pressures coming from outside of the scientific circles, the majority of the results were untrue. The new wave of scholars who appeared after 1990 had the task to correct the mistakes and to remove the dogmatic untrue information from archeological researches results<sup>174</sup>. A particular domain where the historical archeological restructuring is undoubtedly needed is that of fortifications. We have enormous documentary information on this subject which must be verified and completed by archeological research.

Using without discrimination the archeological discoveries from the intra-Carpathian space to support a pre-established thesis – fact noticed by Radu Popa<sup>175</sup> in

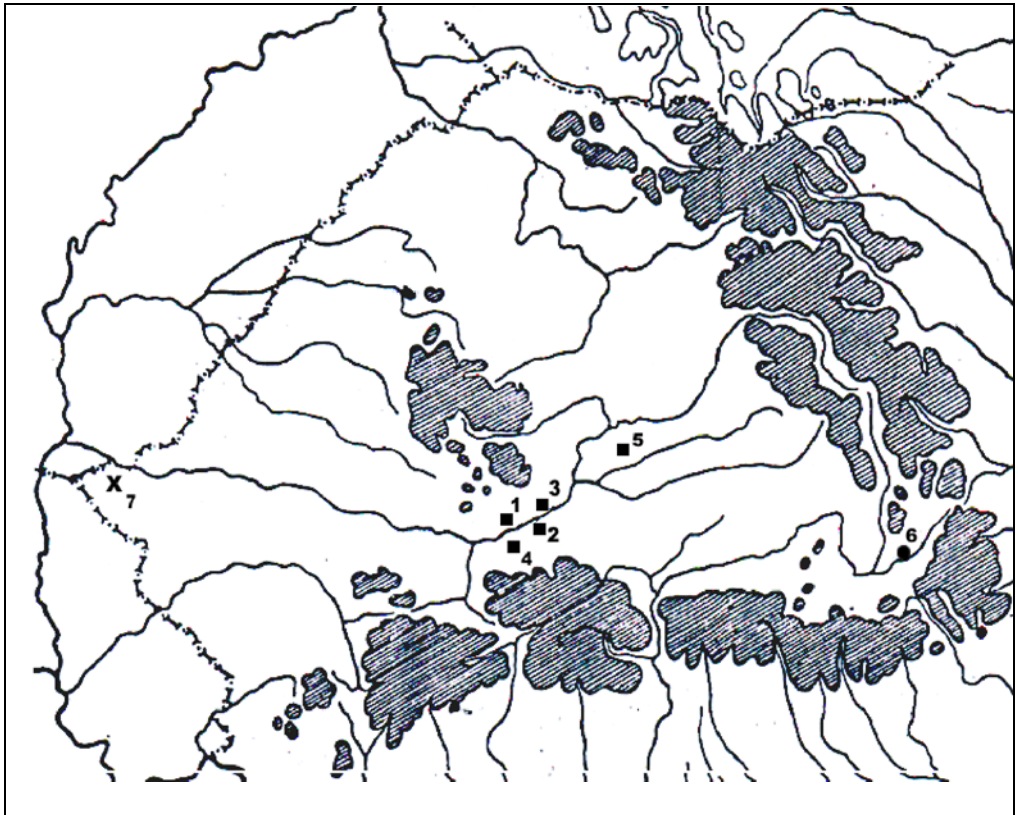
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<sup>173</sup> R. Popa, *Observații și îndreptări la istoria României în jurul anului O Mie*, în: *SCIIVA*, 42, 3-4, 1991, p. 153.

<sup>174</sup> C. Cosma, A. Gudea, *Habitat und Gesellschaft im Westen und Nordwesten Rumäniens in den 8.-10. Jahrhunderten N. Chr.*, Cluj-Napoca, 2002; C. Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul României în secolele VIII-X*, Cluj-Napoca, 2002.

<sup>175</sup> R. Popa, *Observații și îndreptări*, p. 157 sqq.

his work *Voievodatul Transilvaniei* – shows proves of neglect of vestiges investigation. There were different groups of allogeneous populations, who altered the possibility of true reconstitution of the historic evolution in the Transylvanian area during the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium and offered undesired opportunities to attack the Romanian medieval archeology and criticize some of its representatives<sup>176</sup> as well. For this very reason we think that is absolutely necessary to present the results obtained until today by medieval archeology concerning the period of the 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> centuries. There is special focus on the matter of fortifications built in the intra-Carpathian Transylvanian space as a part of state formation process of the Arpadian Kingdom and also on a larger Central and South-Eastern European process of organizing the feudal society according to the Western type.



Map 6. *Bulgarian discoveries in Transylvania* – according to Chisvași - Comșa  
 1. Blandiana; 2. Sebeș; 3. Alba Iulia; 4. Cugir; 5. Sânbenedic; 6. Reci; 7. Sânicolau Mare

<sup>176</sup> H. Ciugudean, *Opinii privind civilizația medievală timpurie din Transilvania în lumina descoperirilor funerare (sec. IX-XI) – în loc de cuvânt înainte*, în: *Catalogul expoziției "Civilizația medievală timpurie din Transilvania: rit și ritual funerar (secolele IX-XI)"*, Alba Iulia, 2002, p. 3.

The chronological limits fixed for this short review have in view the entire period of occupation of the Transylvanian space by the Hungarian ducal authority which ended with the formation of local ethnicity through the fusion of various elements belonging to allogeneous or local groups. There are various examples of discoveries such as the Blandiana group A and B (9<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> centuries), Ciumbrud group (9<sup>th</sup> century), Cluj group (the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century - the first half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century), the Dridu–Alba Iulia group - Statia de Salvare II (9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> centuries) and Ciugud group (11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries).

Generally, archeologists admit that, the period between the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century is dominated, as far as the archeological material is concerned, by two cultural groups: Cluj group, as a representative of the appearance of materials characteristic to the Hungarian culture and Blandiana B – Alba Iulia (or Dridu–Alba Iulia), as a representative of appearance of earlier elements of Bjelo–Brdo culture on Transylvanian territory. Beside these two large groups, two other groups can be distinguished as representatives of some allogeneous penetration of the Slav–Bulgarian structure (Blandiana A), and Moravian (Ciumbrud–Orăștie) respectively. However, they present no demographic importance to the Transylvanian intra–Carpathian space. Many archeologists<sup>177</sup> starting with K.Horedt<sup>178</sup> have analysed these cultural groups and that is why we will dwell on the first two in order to prove the socio–political evolution process reflected by the analysis of their discoveries.

The archeological research relies on documentary information offered by less important sources that refer to the 9<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> centuries and in a larger measure on the results of archeological discoveries made until now. The discovery and publication of “Gesta Notarului Anonim” 250 years ago brought about a series of polemics and controversies, referring to the presence of some Romanic groups in the Transylvanian space. These controversies have been recently dealt with by Al. Madgearu. We don’t want to make an analysis and exegesis of all these writings, but only to offer a general view, a micro-synthesis of the archeological discoveries belonging to the 10<sup>th</sup> – 12<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Some elements specific to the first phase of Bielo–Brdo culture, at the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century belong to the local population in Banat Crisana and Transylvania. Even before the Hungarian population has adopted and spread these elements of culture in these areas, especially at the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>179</sup>. The property of these elements was established on the basis of the existence of some Western–Slav elements which were introduced in the 9<sup>th</sup> century in Transylvania by some Moravian Slav groups that took refuge here after the collapse of Moravia Mare. This event was

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<sup>177</sup> A short review on these researches in A. Dragota, I.M. Tiplic, *Scurt istoric al cercetarilor privind necropolele din Transilvania (sec.IX-XI)*, in: Corviniana, VI, 2000, p.126-137 and A.Dragota, H.Ciugudean, *Istoricul cercetarilor*, in the catalogue of the exposition “*Civilizatia medievala timpurie din Transilvania: rit si ritual funerar (sec.IX-XI)*”, Alba Iulia, 2002, p.7-21.

<sup>178</sup> K.HORED T, *Siebenbürgen in Frühmittelalter*, Bonn, 1988.

<sup>179</sup> P. Iambor, *Asezari fortificate din Transilvania in secolele IX-XIII. Aspecte economice, sociale, politice, militare si culturale*, examination for doctor’s degree, Cluj Napoca, 1999, p.295.

attested by the discoveries made in Zalau, Moigrad, Dăbâca, Ciumbrud, Orăștie – Dealul Pemilor X<sub>8</sub>. Even before the creation of the Moravian state, around the year 800, a Slav group from those parts came and settled in Transylvania. Their presence is attested by the tumular necropolises in Apahida, Someseni and Nusfalau. Their inventory is similar to those from Slovakia and the territories inhabited by white Croats from the North of Wooded Carpathians. The migration of these tribes was determined by the fights between the Avars and the Franks. In Transylvania, they contributed along with the Romanic and the local Slav population to the assimilation of last representatives of the local Avar population<sup>180</sup>.

After the collapse of Moravia Mare at the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century and following a series of persecutions against Chiril and Metodiu's followers and their teachings lead by the Western Church having as bishop Wichig, a part of the Moravian and the Romanic population from Pannonia and Slovakia has taken refuge in Transylvania<sup>181</sup>. The presence of the Moravian population in Transylvania is attested by discoveries in several cemeteries. Within the inhumation cemetery in Ciumbrud –*Podirei*, there have been discovered 32 Christian graves, containing adornment pieces of Moravian type similar to those from Staré Mesto. Another cemetery with similar inventory was partially discovered in Orastie –Dealul Pemilor X<sub>8</sub><sup>182</sup>. Some vessel and decorative pieces, as well as some metal pieces similar with those in Moravia Mare and in the Pannonia were discovered also in Dabica, Cluj – Manastur, Zalau, Moigrad, Salacea, Biharea, Galospetru, Deta, etc<sup>183</sup>. These intrusions of Western-Slav elements in Transylvania can be assigned to the appearance of earth fortifications which can be dated to the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. We must have in view that this type of military constructions was widely-spread in the Slav culture.

In this context, not even the Bulgarian influence in the South–West of Transylvania can be denied. This influence began to have a particular importance in the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century due to the raising power of the Bulgarian Czar after the defeat of the Avar Khaganat. The presence of the Bulgarian domination at North of the Danube and in the middle of the Mures Valley is documented by numerous

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<sup>180</sup> P. Iambor, *Asezari fortificate din Transilvania in secolele IX-XIII*, p.294. An example of this kind of assimilation can be exemplified with the discoveries in Albesti, Mures County (the partial results of excavations in Gh.Baltag, *Sighisoara inainte de Sighisoara. Elemente de demografie si habitat in bazinul mijlociu al Tirnavei Mari din preistorie pina in secolul al XIII-lea d.Hr. cu privire speciala asupra zonei municipiului Sighisoara*, Oscar Print [Bucuresti, 2000], p.203-215).

<sup>181</sup> M. Rusu, *Notes sur les relations culturelles entre les slaves et la population roman de Transylvanie (VI-X siècles)*, in: *Slovianite I sredizemno-morskiat sveat (VI-XI vek)*, Sofia, 1973, p.198.

<sup>182</sup> Z.K. Pinter, N. Boroffka, *Neue mittelalterliche Gräber der Ciumbrudgruppe aus Bross/Orastie, Fundstelle Böhmerberg/Dealul Pemilor X<sub>8</sub>*, in *Transylvanica, Gedenkschrift für Kurt Horedt*, Rahden, 1999; Idem, in *Apulum*, 38, 2001; S.A. Luca, Z.K. Pinter, *Der Böhmerberg bei Broos / Orastie. Eine Archäologische Monographie*, Sibiu, 2001, p.98-114; Al. Madgearu considers that the Ciumbrud group – so called by K.Horedt, the elements belong to Moravian Slavs from Transylvania – they represent only another proof of Slav-Bulgarian influence in the South of Transylvania (Al. Madgearu, *Rominii in opera notarului Anonim*, p.192 sqq).

<sup>183</sup> <sup>12</sup> P. Iambor, *Asezari fortificate din Transilvania in secolele IX-XIII*, p.295.

archeological discoveries of gray ceramics with glazed background and amphoric jugs (Blandiana A, Alba Iulia –Statia de Salvare I, etc)<sup>184</sup>, as well as by runic symbols with strong analogies to the south –Danubian Bulgarian medium (Slon –Prahova). The extension of the Bulgarian authority in the North of the Danube and in the South–West of the Transylvanian space had as an objective the control of “salt road”, this road being also the objective of the Moravian Slavs. Due to numerous attempts of controlling this “salt road” there may have appeared the fortifications from Slon –Prahova, assigned by Al. Madgearu to Bulgarian and to the deported population in the Adrianopol area around 812<sup>185</sup>. The Bulgarian presence in the middle Mures corridor is implied by Z.K. Pinter. He admitted a possible diplomatic treaty between the Bulgarians and the Franks<sup>186</sup>. At the middle of the 9<sup>th</sup> century the relations between these two powers were rather tight in the year 892 under Czar Vladimir and king Arnulf of Carintia. The annals from Fulda mentioned a deputation that negotiated the cease of salt export towards the Moravians with whom the Carolingians were in conflict<sup>187</sup>. We are witnesses to what Z.K. Pinter called the first attested *embargo* documentary in this area, since only the salt transportation on the Mures could be controlled by the czar<sup>188</sup>. The presence of the Bulgarian authority in the middle Mures corridor marked by Blandiana A<sup>189</sup> cultural group also marks the end of the Ciumbrud group necropolises. Based on an extremely conclusive inventory it was assigned to some Moravian enclave, both in the eponym locality<sup>190</sup> and at Orastie<sup>191</sup>.

The presence of Bulgarians in the North of Danube is used as a pretext by the partisans of the theory of Hungarian penetration through the gates of Oriental Carpathians. It is the appearance of a frontal system in the South–East of Transylvania that counter–weights the Bulgarian expansionist tendencies. The Bulgarians headed towards the South–East of Transylvania through the Prahova Valley and built here strong fortifications<sup>192</sup>.

The Bulgarian domination can explain the appearance of some dwellings and necropolises in Alba Iulia in the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century. Their specific materials have similarities with those from Lower

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<sup>184</sup> H.CIUGUDEAN, Necropola de la Alba Iulia –Statia de Salvare, in the catalogue of exhibition “ Anul 1000 la Alba Iulia –intre istorie si arheologie”, Alba Iulia, 1996, p.6-8.

<sup>185</sup> Al. Madgearu, *The Romanians in the Anonymous Gesta Hungarorum. Truth and fiction*, Cluj-Napoca, 2005, p.188

<sup>186</sup> Z.K. Pinter, *Spada si sabia medievala in Transilvania si Banat (secolele IX-XIV)*, Resita, 1999, p.105-106.

<sup>187</sup> *Annales Fuldenses*, in MGHs, Hannover, 1891, p.408:...*ne coemptio salis inde Maravanis daretur*. Cs. Balint, *Südungarn im 10. Jahrhundert*, Budapest, 1991, p.100sqq.

<sup>188</sup> Z.K.PINTER, *Sabia și spada in Transilvania medievală*, p.106.

<sup>189</sup> K. Horedt, *Siebenbürgen in Frühmittelalter*, p.71.

<sup>190</sup> A. Dankanits, I. Ferenczi, *Săpăturile arheologice de la Ciumbrud*, in *MCA*, VI, 1959, p. 605-617; K. Horedt, *Siebenbürgen in Frühmittelalter*, p.74.

<sup>191</sup> Z.K. Pinter, N.G. Boroffka, *Neue mittelalterliche Gräber der Ciumbrudgruppe aus Bross/Orastie, Fundstelle Böhmerberg /Dealul Pemilor X<sub>8</sub>*, in *Transylvanica. Gedenkschrift für Kurt Horedt*, Rahden, 1999.

<sup>192</sup> B.KÖPECZI, *op.cit.*, p.119, the map 7.

Danube. These dwellings and necropolises (Blandiana A<sup>193</sup>, Alba Iulia<sup>194</sup>, Sinbenedic<sup>195</sup>, Sebes<sup>196</sup>) are marked by the presence of fine gray ceramics with glazed background that represents so-called B category ceramics of Dridu culture. In addition, there are amphoral jugs specific to Dridu culture<sup>197</sup>. This type of jug was discovered in the necropolis from Orastie–Dealul Pemilor X<sub>2</sub> in a girl's grave<sup>198</sup> beside the materials specific to the Hungarian population from the 10<sup>th</sup> century. Generally, the archeological discoveries are assumed<sup>199</sup> to have belonged to Bulgarians. These are concentrated 50 km. around Alba Iulia and they consist of elements of material culture specific to the Dridu culture –Alba Iulia (Alba–Iulia, Sebes, Cugir, Orastie, Sinbenedic, Blandiana, Daia Romina, Poiana, Ghirbom, Gârbova)<sup>200</sup>. Many ceramic pieces discovered in these localities are similar to those from Bulgaria, in the sites from Pliska, Madar, Preslav, and Kadjiköi. Moreover, they are also similar to those in Moravia Mare in Stare Mesto, etc.

In the first phase of **Blandiana A** cemetery in Blandiana, the inventory consisted of sacrifice vessel, of jars worked from a fine paste at slow wheel, with incised background, amphoras and glazed globular vessel, adornments of Byzantine type (earrings with pendant in cluster of grapes form, bronze necklace), a knife and an arrowhead. According to the inventory, this phase of cemetery has some similitude with others from Romania in the South of Carpathians: in Isvorul, Obârșia–Olt, Frătești, Sultana, Bucov and Dridu. To the same chronological cultural environment belongs the fortification from Alba Iulia and the first phase of the cemetery from Alba Iulia–Statia de Salvare<sup>201</sup> dated in the 9<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, as well as the cremation or bi-ritual necropolises from Berghin, Ocna Sibiului, Gusterita, Ghirbom.

At the middle of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, in the decisive defeat in Lechfeld, the Hungarian tribes passed at a semi-sedentary way of life, becoming a sedentary population only in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. This process is attested in the archeological discoveries from Transylvanian space. Gy. Kristó<sup>202</sup> outlined the archeological discoveries from necropolises that prove the existence of a material inequality of the population. There can be distinguished two types of cemeteries. On one hand, there are the cemeteries of so-called *big families* consisting of 20 -50 graves (Cluj group), containing generally an inventory of men's graves with elements that reveal their

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<sup>193</sup> K.HOREDT, *Die Ansiedlung von Blandiana, Rayon Orastie, am Ausgang des ersten Jahrtausend u.Z.*, in *Dacia*, N.S., 10, 1996, p.261-290; I.A. Aldea, H. Ciugudean, *Noi descoperiri feudal-timpurii la Blandiana (jud.Alba)*, in *Apulum*, 19, p.145-149.

<sup>194</sup> M. Blăjan, A. Popa, *Cercetari arheologice la Alba Iulia - "Statia de Salvare"*, in *MCA*, XV, 1983, p. 375-380.

<sup>195</sup> RepAB, p.173.

<sup>196</sup> K. Horedt, *Ceramica slava din Transilvania*, in *SCIV*, II, 1951, 2, p.202-203.

<sup>197</sup> Al. Madgearu, *Români în opera Notarului Anonim*, p.189.

<sup>198</sup> Necropolis researched by a collective team - I. M. ȚIPLIC and Z.K. PINTER.

<sup>199</sup> The name given by P.Iambor (P.IAMBOR, *Asezari fortificate din Transilvania*, p.295).

<sup>200</sup> P.IAMBOR, *Asezari fortificate din Transilvania*, p.296.

<sup>201</sup> Rep.AB, p.167.

<sup>202</sup> Gy. Kristo, *Histoire de la Hongrie*, p.29.

warlike nature. On the other hand, there is the necropolis with numerous graves that have no arms in their inventory (Blandiana B–Alba Iulia *Statia de Salvare II*). These pieces belonged to civilians. The sedentariness tendency of warlike population is proved by the necropolises that combine these two features. In the case of necropolis from Orastie–Dealul Pemilor X<sub>2</sub>, we have graves with inventory specific to earlier elements of Bjelo–Brdo culture and elements specific to the Hungarian cultural environment in the first half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century. But there are also some elements of Dridu influence<sup>203</sup>.

The exact attestation of the first warlike elements of Hungarian origin in the Transylvanian space can be made on the basis of archeological discoveries analyses of the Cluj group. To this group belong the necropolises from Alba Iulia–*Statia de Salvare II*, Cluj–Napoca, Gâmbaş and Lopadea. But beside them there are also discoveries in Crisana and Banat (Biharea, Arad–Ceala). The Hungarian archeological materials are those that they came with from Euro–Asian steppes: armament, equipment and harness pieces and adornment objects. Metchild Schulze – Dörrlamm<sup>204</sup> classified and dated all the old Hungarian vestiges in Central Europe in comparison with similar materials discovered within the Euro-Asian space. She established three ethno–cultural groups that had contributions to the formation of the Hungarian tribes federation:

- **the group I, a** (862 -896) and **b** (896-940), defined by objects specific to steppian horsemen (Khazars, Petchenegs, Bulgarians);
- **the group II**, characterized by objects resulted from Kama and middle Volgue area, assigned to Jassi;
- **the group III**, characterized by objects brought from the area between Volgue and Dnieper, probably assigned to Khazars, who first came in the Tisa basin before 896.

According to Al. Madgearu, the old Hungarian vestiges in Central Europe dating between 862 and 930/940<sup>205</sup>, the only discovery in Transylvania that belonged to old Hungarian culture – **the group Ia** – from the period before their settlement in Pannonia, is the M5 grave from Biharea. The other necropolises –Alba Iulia “*Statia de Salvare*”, Blandiana, Cluj-Napoca, Gimbas and Lopadea Nouă – belong to the Dörrlamm Ib phase, dating from the 10<sup>th</sup> century<sup>206</sup>.

The appearance of the first Hungarian elements in Transylvania represents another matter of dispute due to the lack of sources on this subject. This fact made it impossible to establish an exact chronology of this matter. The issue was dealt with in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when there were discovered in Deva, inhumation graves with inventory containing of arrows, ceramics and spear heads, dated due to a

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<sup>203</sup> Z.K. Pinter, S.A. Luca, *Necropola medieval-timpurie de la Orăştie –Dealul Pemilor*, p.17 sq; Z.K. Pinter, I.M. Tiplic, M. Căstăian, *Orastie, jud.Hunedoara. Punct: Dealul Pemilor*, in: *CCA*, XXXVI, 2002, p. 223-224.

<sup>204</sup> M. Schulze-Dörrlamm, *Untersuchungen zur Herkunft der Ungarn und zum Beginn ihrer Landnahme im Karpathenbecken*, in *JRGZM*, 35, 1988, 2, p.373-477.

<sup>205</sup> Al. Madgearu, *România in opera Notarului Anonim*, p.151.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibidem*, p.151-152.

coin from Ladislau I (1077-1095) and others from Gâmbaş<sup>207</sup>. Historians became more interested in this matter after the publication of the discoveries from Cluj–St. Dostoievski (Zapolya), in 1948. This necropolis was considered to be a pattern for necropolises of the kind. K. Horedt stated that it proved the coming of the first wave of Hungarian warriors in the first years of the 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> century in Transylvania. The term *Cluj group*<sup>209</sup> designates this archaeological discovery mentioned earlier, in the field literature. In the period 1945-2000 there were made numerous discoveries of necropolises. They were dated on the basis of materials discovered in 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries: Cluj Napoca–St. Semeneicului<sup>210</sup>, Cluj Napoca–St. Plugarilor<sup>211</sup>, Hodoni–Picioroange<sup>212</sup>, Simeria Veche-In vii<sup>213</sup>, Moldovenesti<sup>214</sup>, Piclisa<sup>215</sup>, Deva–Micro 15<sup>216</sup>, Ghirbom–Gruicul Fierului<sup>217</sup>, Alba Iulia–Statia de Salvare II<sup>218</sup>, Alba Iulia–St.Arhim.Iuliu Hossu<sup>219</sup>, Orastie–Dealul Pemilor X<sub>2</sub><sup>220</sup>.

The archeological discoveries of *honfoglalas* type are of relatively little importance in comparison with those from Serbian Banat area or from the area delimited by Cris, Tisa and Danube Rivers and in some cases Mures River. The most important are two cemeteries discovered in Cluj, in Zapolya Street. Here, there were discovered 12 graves with quivers, stirrups, bridles, silver earrings in cluster grapes form, rhomboidal and Y shaped arrows, vessels of Saltovo type, long bones and horse skull. The same inventory was found in 26 graves in Gheorgheni Street<sup>221</sup>.

<sup>207</sup> A. Dragota, I.M. Tiplic, *Scurt istoric al cercetarilor necropolelor din Transilvania (secolele IX-XI)*, in *Corviniana*, VI, 2000, p.126

<sup>208</sup> For dating, also see B. Köpeczi, *Histoire de la Transylvanie*, p.133 sqq.

<sup>209</sup> K. Horedt, *Siebenbürgen im Frühmittelalter*, p.80-87.

<sup>210</sup> Rep.CJ, p.137.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*; R.R. Heitel, *Die Archäologie der ersten und zweiten Phase des Eindringens der Ungarn in das innerkarpatische Transilvanien*, in *Dacia N.S.*, XXXVIII-XXXIX, 1994-1995, p.415

<sup>212</sup> FL. Drasoveanu, D. Teicu, M. Munteanu, *Hodoni. Locuirile neolitice si necropola medievala timpurie*, Resita, 1996.

<sup>213</sup> R. Popa, *Tara Hategului*, p.59

<sup>214</sup> G. Bako, *Despre structura sociala a populatiei din epoca feudala timpurie de la Moldovenesti*, in *SCIV*, 20, 1969, p.337-342.

<sup>215</sup> Rep.AB, p.147, H. Ciugudean, A. Dragota, *Cercetari arheologice la Alba Iulia-Pâclisa: descoperiri hallstattiene si medievale timpurii (campania 2000)*, in *Apulum*, XXXVIII, 2001, p.269-288.

<sup>216</sup> K. Horedt, *Siebenbürgen im Frühmittelalter*, p.84, Abb.39.

<sup>217</sup> I. Aldea, E. Stoicovici, M. Blajan, *Cercetari arheologice in cimitirul prefeudal de la Ghirbom*, in *Apulum*, XVIII, 1980, p.151-176.

<sup>218</sup> Rep.AB, p.43; H. Ciugudean, the catalogue of exhibition "Anul 1000 la Alba Iulia –intre istorie si arheologie", p.4-16; H. Ciugudean, A. Dragota, the catalogue of exhibition "Civilizatia medievala timpurie din Transilvania: rit si ritual funerar (secolele IX-XI)", p.10-11.

<sup>219</sup> A. Dragota, *Istoricul cercetarilor*, p.15, in H. Ciugudean, A. Dragota, in the catalogue of exposition "Civilizatia medievala timpurie din Transilvania: rit si ritual funerar (secolele IX-XI)".

<sup>220</sup> Z.K. Pinter, S.A. Luca, *Necropola medievala timpurie de la Orastie-Dealul Pemilor, punctual X2/1992-1993*, in *Corviniana*, I, 1995, p.17-44; I.M. Tiplic, *Necropola medievala timpurie de la Orastie-Dealul Pemilor X2 (Hunedoara) si batalia dintre Stefan I si Gyla-Gyula*, in *AANTIM*, Chisinau, 1999, p.150-153; Z.K. Pinter, I.M. Tiplic, A. Dragota, *Orastie, jud.Hunedoara.Punctul: Dealul Pemilor*, in *CCA*, XXXV, 2001, p.167-168; Z.K. Pinter, I.M. Tiplic, M. Castaian, *Orastie, jud.Hunedoara. Punct: Dealul Pemilor*, in *CCA*, XXXVI, 2002, p.223-224.

<sup>221</sup> Unpublished excavations P.Iambor P.IAMBOR, *Asezari fortificate din Transilvania*, p.336.



In the middle Mures River there were discovered older Hungarian cemeteries that belonged to *middle strata*, i.e. a permanent population from the second and the third generation after the dismounting moment. In Gâmbaş there were discovered 12 graves disposed on two rows: on one side men's graves (having as inventory swords, hatchets, quivers), and on the other side, women's graves. Other graves were discovered in Lopadea Noua, Teius, Benic, Alba Iulia-*Stația de Salvare II*, Simeria Veche, Deva, Blandiana B. The isolated discoveries of graves or pieces specific to the old Hungarian material culture from eastern parts of Transylvania (Eresteghin, Odorheiul Secuiesc, Bretcu, Cozieni, Sf.Gheorghe, Dârjiu, Reci, and Joseni) seem to be connected to the fights between Hungarians and Petchenegs.

The map of archeological discoveries belonging to the old Hungarian cultural environment – Dörrlamm Ib-from Transylvania point out their concentration in the salt exploitation area. The Hungarian horsemen came to Transylvania through the middle Mures Valley, and imposed themselves in the North-West through the Porțile Meseșului, the Cris Repede Valley and Capusului Valley. This possible penetration way is also marked by the fortifications from Bologa, Cluj-Mănăștur, Moldovenști and Alba Iulia. All these events are also connected with the discoveries from old Hungarian cultural environment from Biharea, Cluj, Moldovenesti, Lopadea Noua, Gimbas, and Alba Iulia. These discoveries indicate that the Hungarians came to Transylvania from the North West. The Valley of Mures<sup>222</sup> River cannot be considered the second entrance way of the earlier Hungarian elements to Transylvania. There are no datable elements at the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century discovered neither in the entrance area of the Mures nor in the passes. There are not any traces in the whole covered<sup>223</sup> area. The Hungarians settled in the first phase in the West of Transylvania, probably during the 10<sup>th</sup> century. They probably settled in the Somes Mic area<sup>224</sup> in a salt exploitation area where the transport of salt was possible.

The majority of known necropolises and unique discoveries in the territory that belonged to Glad and Achtum duchy and in special from the area included between Cris, Tisa and Danube where the archeological researches were more complex and lasted over a century. Most of them seem to have belonged to the Hungarians, therefore the graves inventory from these parts differ from those in the superior valley of Tisa. These are considered to have belonged to the first generation of *dismounting*. The main difference consists in the fact that the West-European coins<sup>225</sup> are missing from the graves inventory. The graves are located in the Eastern confluence of the Cris and Mures with Tisa. The graves from the East of Tisa and Banat belonged to warriors of the second generation that had contact with local population from these

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<sup>222</sup> K. Horedt, *Siebenbürgen im Frühmittelalter*, p.84.

<sup>223</sup> Z.K. Pinter, *Spada medievala din mormintul de calaret de la Deva. Consideratii tipologice si cronologice*, in *Sargetia*, XXV, 1992-1994, p.240, n.34.

<sup>224</sup> K. Gündisch, *Autonomia de stari si regionalitate in Ardealul medieval*, p.37.

<sup>225</sup> A.-M.Velter, *Transilvania in secolele V-XII*, p.135.

areas and with their material culture<sup>226</sup>. The graves inventory from the necropolises mentioned above reflects the Hungarian population life style in the second generation in the Pannonian space, It has been noticed the absence of swords and all types of stirrups; these elements can be dated back as early as the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century.

Beginning with the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century and especially with the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the material culture consisted of uniforms; the oriental attributes began to disappear slowly. Later on, the elements from central – Europe have become more specific the Hungarian society was going through a sedentariness, of Christianization and of state organization<sup>227</sup> process. In Alba Iulia–*Statia de Salvare II* the inventory is characteristic for an earlier cultural environment of the Bjelo-Brdo culture from Transylvania; there have been discovered coins in the graves. A particular example is the ringlets ending in S shape<sup>228</sup> in a single grave.

At the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the king Stefan I started to organize Transylvania from political and administrative point of view and at the same time started a territorial annexation campaign. This moment marked the beginning of the second phase of Hungarian settlement in Transylvania<sup>229</sup>. This episode, is mentioned by various sources, studied by numerous scholars, like P.Iambor who affirmed in his doctor's thesis that Young Gyula was of Petcheneg origin. His opinion was also sustained by Constantin Porfirogenetul. In his work, Constantin Porfirogenitus, located the Petcheneg province lower Gyla at four days away from the East of Ukraine<sup>230</sup>. This hypothesis could be plausible whether the Transylvanian intra-Carpathian territory was not a part of the new Hungarian apostolic kingdom. Moreover, there is a precedent concerning Young Gyula episode, which confirms the text from Anonymus, about other Petcheneg leader *Thonuzoba*, the moment he was driven away by force<sup>231</sup>. Gy.Györffy has also an interesting hypothesis on this matter. According to him, there was a possibility that the troops led by Ahtum or his rivals to

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<sup>226</sup> The lack of West-European coins from the graves by *honfoglalas* type from intra-Carpathian Transylvanian area comes to support the thesis that the first Hungarian warriors groups first came to this area in the first decades of the 10<sup>th</sup> century. On the other hand, there could be argue that Transylvania was politically and military controlled by a group that wasn't involved in the campaigns led by Hungarians to the West. This group could be of the Petchenegs.

<sup>227</sup> P. Iambor, *Asezari fortificate din Transilvania*, p.331.

<sup>228</sup> J. Giesler, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Bjelo Brdo-Kultur*, in *PZ*, 56, 1981, 1,p.137-142 and p.53.

<sup>229</sup> R. Heitel, *Arheologia etapelor de patrundere a maghiarilor in Transilvania intracarpatica*, in *ST*, II, 1987, p.77.

<sup>230</sup> *Ibid.*, p.342-343. P. Iambor considers that *Gylas* was the only respectable leader from Alba Iulia of Petcheneg origin, called *Prokuj*. He based his affirmation on the excerpt from the chronicle of the bishop Thietmar de Merseburg († 1018). This showed that the Duke of Poland, The Brave Boleslav had a frontier fortified town at the Hungarian border and this was given in the custody of Prokuj, the uncle of King Stefan I, who was driven away and left his residence. Having no money to redeem his wife from captivity, finally Prokuj obtained her liberation through the benevolence of his nephew, the king, though they were foes (MGHS, III, p.861, P.IAMBOR, *Asezari fortificate din Transilvania*, p.339).

<sup>231</sup> *Thonuzoba in fide vanus noluit esse christianus, sed cum uxore vivus ad portum Obad est sepultus* (G. Popa-Lisseanu, *Anonymus*, LVII, p.75).

have participated in the fights from Transylvania being rewarded for his services. All these are also supported by the existence in the Cluj County of the locality Aiton documentarily dated only in 1320 and it was named *villa Ohtunh*<sup>232</sup>. The author<sup>65</sup> believes that at the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century it was in the possession of the Duke of Banat and it was named after him.

The cemetery from Blandiana has a second phase of utilization, **Blandiana B**. This phase outlines the settlement of the population of Bjelo-Brdo culture in the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century. The cemetery was no longer used starting with of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, probably due the fights between the Hungarians and Young Gyla<sup>233</sup>. It is the moment when the second phase of the cemetery Alba Iulia –Statia de Salvare ended.

There are no written documents that to attest an effective Hungarian domination in Transylvania until the first decades of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The campaigns of Stefan I also attest the existence of the autonomy, even the independence of Transylvanian intra-Carpathian territory. Thus, even Stefan I left the whole territory that belonged to Young Gyla<sup>234</sup>, to his relative Zultan/Zoltan<sup>235</sup>. He did not begin immediately the administrative-territorial organization of Transylvania. His first measures taken to better organize the ecclesiastic and administrative structures setting up of the Transylvanian diocese with its centre in Alba Iulia.

In parallel with these events, it has been noticed that elements of Bjelo-Brdo culture make their appearance all over the Transylvanian territory while materials of **Dridu-Alba Iulia** type to disappear. This can be exemplified by the discoveries out of necropolises from Alba Iulia-*Statia de Salvare II*, Alba Iulia-*Roman-Catholic Cathedral*, Alba Iulia-*Vinatorilor Street*, Cluj Napoca-*Semenicului Street*, Cluj Napoca-*Calvaria*, Dabâca-the 4<sup>th</sup> precincts, Geoagiu de Jos, Gârbova, Ilidia-*Cetate*, Hunedoara, Moldovenești, Pâclișa, Peteni, Streisângiorgiu, Zalău-*Ortelec*<sup>236</sup>. The archeological pieces that prove the existence of Bjelo-Brdo cultural environment in Transylvania, are mainly bronze and silver adornments such as twisted rings and bracelets, earrings in S shape, pearl necklaces, ceramic and coins placed in the grave. However, during the same period, it is assumed that certain cultural standards were established in the Carpathian region. Thus, we cannot make an ethnical distinction based on the burial rite after the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>237</sup>. The only exception seems to be the necropolises from Alba Iulia- *Arh.Iuliu Hossu* Street. There, the existing inventory from the discovered graves, as well as their particularity of covering the graves with litchis elements made the author of excavations to come up

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<sup>232</sup> Gy. Györffy, *Az árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza*, III, p.341.

<sup>233</sup> *Ibid*, p.331-332.

<sup>234</sup> See more details in I.M. Tiplic, *Necropola medievala de la Orastie-Dealul Pemilor X2*, p.150-153.

<sup>235</sup> P. Iambor, *Asezari fortificate din Transilvania*, p.341.

<sup>236</sup> H. Ciugudean, A. Dragota, *Cercetari arheologice la Alba Iulia-Piclișa: descoperiri hallstatiene si medievale timpurii (Campania din anul 2000)*, in *Apulum*, XXXVIII/1, 2001, p.275.

<sup>237</sup> A-M Velter considers that from the 11<sup>th</sup> century the archeological materials are specific to all Romanian settlements belonging to the so-called Alba Iulia-Ipotesti-Candesti-Dridu culture. A-M Velter, *op.cit.*, p.161.

with an hypothesis According to this hypothesis, the Romanic population and the necropolis are the connection element between these two phases of the necropolis in Alba Iulia-Statia de Salvare<sup>238</sup>.

The Hungarian monetary discoveries<sup>239</sup> in association with the toponymics<sup>240</sup> and the archeological discoveries in general can offer information regarding the settlement of the Hungarian administrative authorities in Transylvanian territory, as K.Horedt<sup>241</sup> assumed 40 years ago. In Transylvania the Western dinars that could attest the presence of a Hungarian group that may have participated to the campaigns from the West, have not been discovered. The earlier Western coins found in Transylvania were the dinars of Friesach type dating from the 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries. A.M. Velter considers that there found here due to the passing of crusaders who were driven to these areas<sup>242</sup>. Regarding the existence of the necropolises of Cluj type in Transylvania, we can say that the penetration of Hungarian warlike elements happened in the first decades of the 10<sup>th</sup> century and these may have belonged to the other tribe, not the one led by Arpad family. These tribes were not involved in the campaigns led by Arpad in the West of Europe, probably due to the fact that they were Petchenegs.

Beside the elements assigned to Hungarian cultural environment –either of Cluj type, or early elements of Bjelo-Brdo culture –in the territories adjacent to the middle course of Mures River, we can notice the existence of a cultural group characterized by strong Byzantine influences. R.Heitel, during the excavations from Roman-Catholic Cathedral, identified in the ceramics series belonging to the same cultural environment dating in the 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries, a few pieces that in Transylvania are usually assigned to the so-called *Ciugud* type<sup>243</sup>. The quoted author considers that this cultural group represented only the local face of Byzantine influence in the context of the integration of some Hungarian populations groups in Transylvania. Based on his discoveries, we can say that the Ciumbrud cultural type cannot be dated in the 10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>244</sup>. It cannot be considered without reserves, a product of the cultural continuity process characteristic to the local Romanic-Slav population, because there are also Byzantine influences through the agency of new “masters” of Transylvania. The existence of a population influenced by the elements of the Blandiana B culture and Bjelo-Brdo assigned to some allogeneous is certified by the settlements in Albesti-Mures County and Cefa-La Padure Bihor County, where the archeological

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<sup>238</sup> A. Dragota, S. Brinda, *Necropola medieval timpurie de la Alba Iulia-Str.Arhim.Iuliu Hossu (fosta Brindusei). Sapturile de salvare din anul 1999*, in *Apulum*, XXXVIII/1, 2001, p.309.

<sup>239</sup> For that see A.M. Velter, *op.cit.*, p.154-209.

<sup>240</sup> It carefully examined and interpreted what is showed in the treaty *Istoria Rominilor* the edition 2001, (but not exemplified as in the treaty), it does not argue the toponymics report of study of the Romanian Earlier Middle Age, finishing to take again the older thesis of nationalist-communist from the years '80 of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (see the 3<sup>rd</sup> tome, p.324 sqq.)

<sup>241</sup> K. Horedt, *Contributii la istoria Rominiei*, p.109-131.

<sup>242</sup> A.M. Velter, *Transilvania in secolele V-XII*, p.142.

<sup>243</sup> R.HEITEL, *Contributii la problema genezei raporturilor feudale in Transilvania in lumina cercetarilor arheologice de la Alba Iulia*, in *MN*, II, 1975, p.344.

<sup>244</sup> See Gh.Anghel, in *Apulum*, VII, 1968, I, p.469.

researches brought to light the settlements without round or oval dwellings and clay columbine specific for the 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries. Gh. Baltag discovered during his researches in Albești<sup>245</sup> the existence in parallel of a population different from the Szekler settled in Tirnava Mare region during the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

There is also a similar situation in Hateg. Here, as a result of larger archeological researches it is better outlined the existence of a cultural environment belonging to a Slav-Romanian population. These discoveries from Streisingiorgiu, Hunedoara-Dealul Comorilor<sup>246</sup>, illustrate elements that attest the late penetration of Hungarians. Based on the analyses of a necropolis from Hunedoara, R.Popa considers that to the end of the Stefan I's reign, the authority of the new kingdom was preoccupied by the direct control of the iron ore exploitation area in Hunedoara. For this purpose they moved up to the Cerna Valley. Their origin is hard to be established, but it is possible that they may be descendants of the sedentary Hungarian population that lived here two or three generations ago<sup>247</sup>. They stopped making use of these necropolises which are similar to those from Moldovenesti and Hunedoara-Dealul Comorilor, not because the population had moved. We know very well that during the 12<sup>th</sup> century the Arpadian kingdom authority ordered that the burials had to be placed around the cult edifice<sup>248</sup>.

We can say that (on the basis of discoveries dating from the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century), we can assume that there was an integration period by means of the Hungarians, of the elements belonging to the Bjelo-Brdo culture in Transylvania. In addition, we can say that all these may have been combined with some elements belonging to the Ciumbrud group, of a population by Slav-Romanian tradition. In Transylvanian areas there have been various important discoveries that attest the existence of Slav-Romanian communities, thus, we can establish two most significant areas, namely area Hateg and Alba Iulia-Cluj Napoca area.

The existence of the burials around the church, as a result of the decisions of the Conciliu from Szabolcs in 1095, makes us assume that there was an intensive municipal activity that had started during the reign of Ladislau I<sup>249</sup>. A relevant example is the cemetery no.2 in Moldovenesti which started to be functional around a church at the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The same situation is in Dabica, where in the old cemetery from the 4<sup>th</sup> precincts a little church was built<sup>250</sup>. In the 12<sup>th</sup> century it is assumed that there has been an extension of the Arpadian kingdom frontiers up to the Eastern Carpathians, including only a part of the territory between Olt and Southern Carpathians. This new chronology of the process of territorial annexation of the

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<sup>245</sup> Gh. Baltag, *Sighisoara inainte de Sighisoara*, p.203-215.

<sup>246</sup> R. Popa, *Streisingiorgiu. Marturii de istorie romineasca din secolele XI-XIV in sudul Transilvaniei*, in *MMM.MIA*, XLVII, 1, p.9-32; Idem, *La inceputurile evului mediu rominesc. Tara Hategului*, Bucuresti, 1988, p.51-54, 62-64 and fig.13.

<sup>247</sup> R. Popa, *Tara Hategului*, p.54.

<sup>248</sup> K. Horedt, *Contributii*, p.58,145.

<sup>249</sup> P. Iambor, *Asezari fortificate din Transilvania*, p.345.

<sup>250</sup> *Ibid.*

Transylvanian space within the Hungarian kingdom, was anticipated by R.Heitel<sup>251</sup>. This process was also confirmed by A.Ionita<sup>252</sup> based on the discoveries from the necropolises in Peteni, Zabala and Feldioara. But there are different historians who do not accept this new chronology, considering that only in the 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries the administrative-political authority of the Arpadian kingdom extend up to the Carpathians chain<sup>253</sup>.

In conclusion, in the intra-Carpathian territory between the 9<sup>th</sup> and the 12<sup>th</sup> century we have to do with more cultural areas that define more ethnic elements. These cultural areas were ethnically established on the basis of the burial rite and ritual. K.Horedt named the following cultural groups<sup>254</sup>: Blandiana A or Dridu-Alba Iulia (Slavs-Bulgarians), Ciumbrud (Christian Moravian Slavs), Cluj (early Hungarian), Blandiana B-Alba Iulia (Christian mixed population), Ciugud (Slav-Romanian population). Beside those, Gh.Baltag introduces in the field literature the so-called *mountainous culture* that defines the local Romanic population during the 8<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> centuries, that used to live in the regions with an altitude between 600-800 meters. He also brought proofs of ceramics elements from the settlement in Albesti, Mures County<sup>255</sup>.

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<sup>251</sup> R. Heitel, *Arheologia etapele de patrundere a maghiarelor in Transilvania intracarpatica*, in *ST*, V, p.77-78.

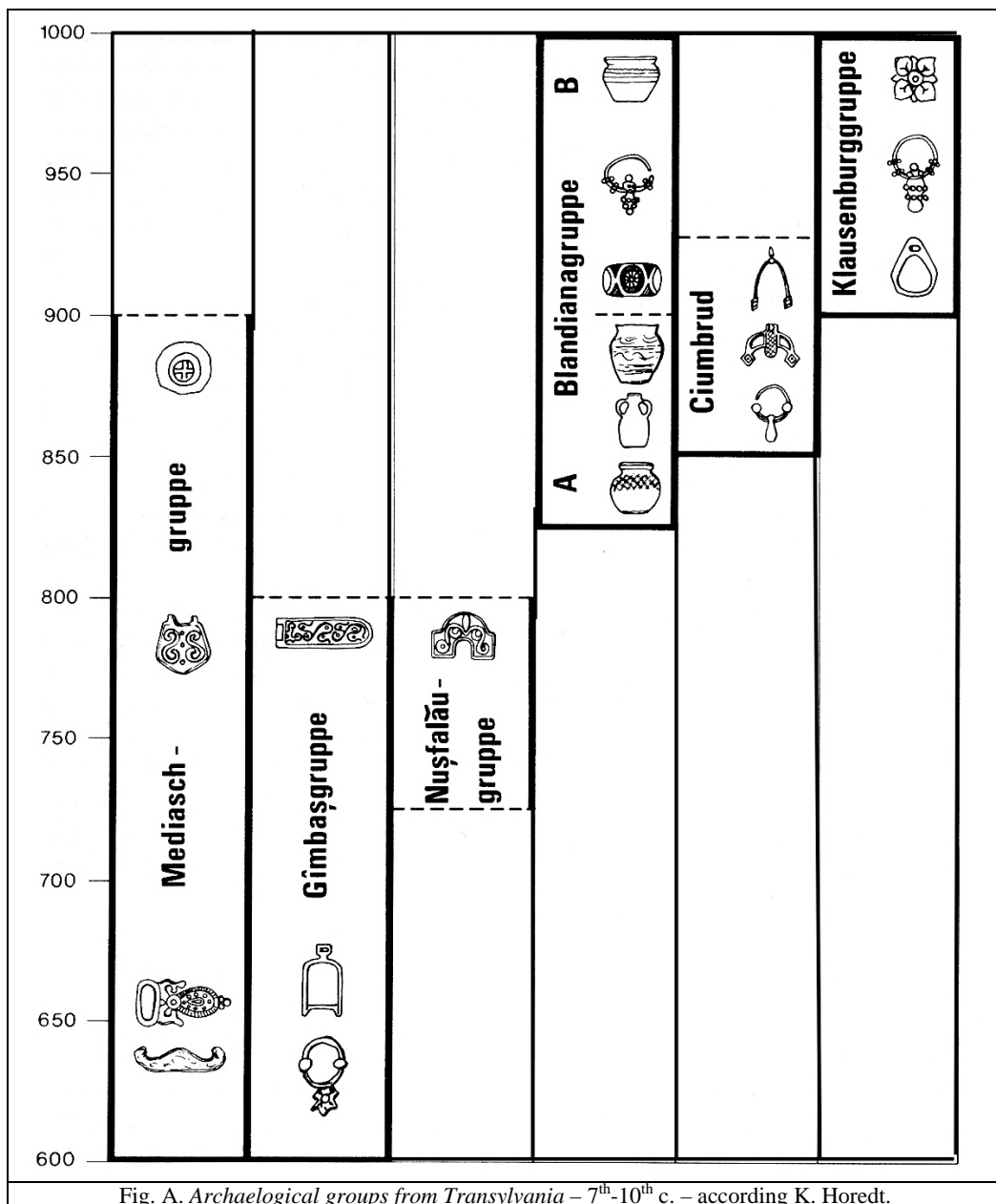
<sup>252</sup> A.IONITA, *Date privind colonizarea germana in Tara Birsei si granita de est a regatului maghiar in cea de-a doua jumatate a secolului al XII-lea*, in *RI*, 5, 1994, 3-4, p.278-279; Idem, *Das Gräberfeld von Marienburg und die deutsche Siedlung in Siebenbürgen. Ein archäologischer Beitrag zur Geschichte des Burzenlandes im 12 und 13 Jahrhundert*, in *ZSL*, 19, 1996, 2, p.121-129.

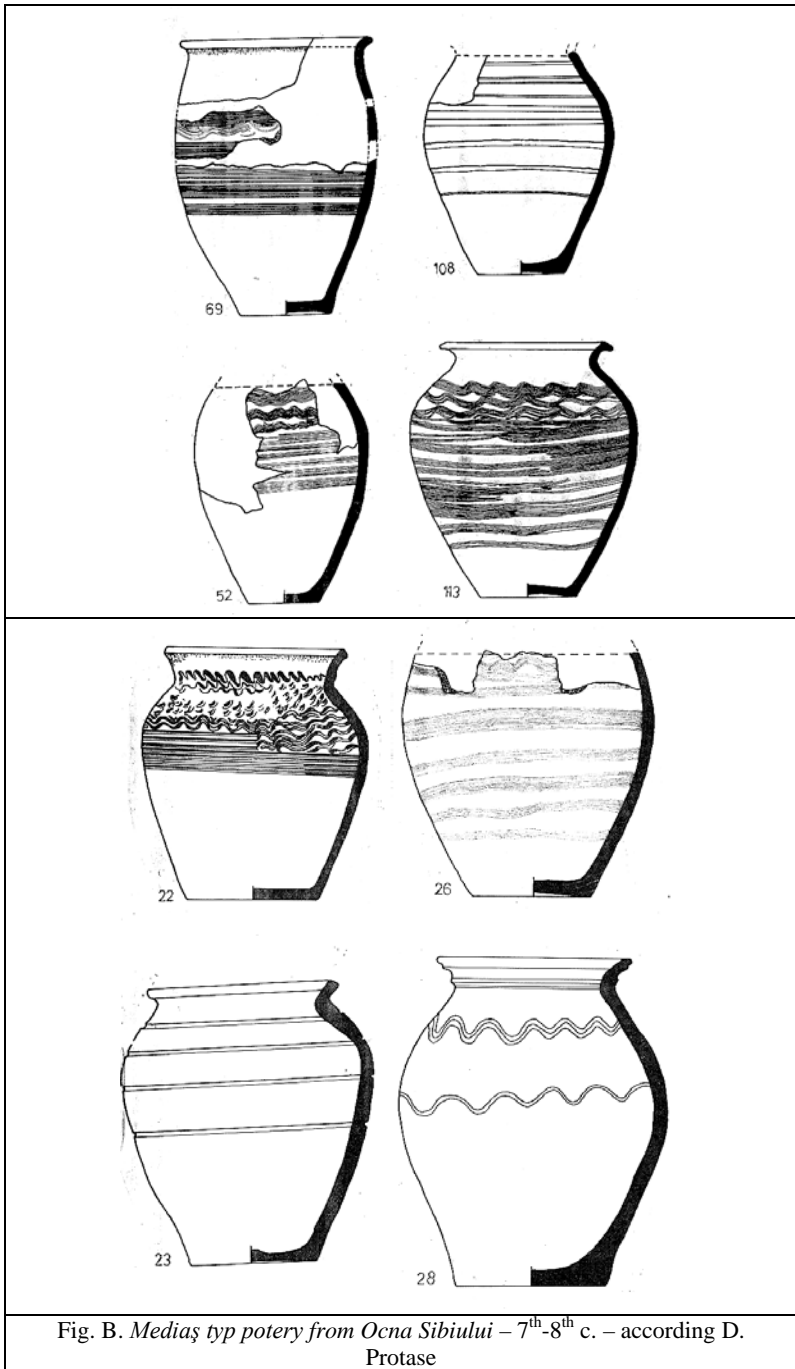
<sup>253</sup> K. Gündisch, *Autonomie de stari si regionalitate in Ardealul medieval*, p.37.

<sup>87</sup> Gh. Baltag, *Sighisoara inainte de Sighisoara*, p.272-273.

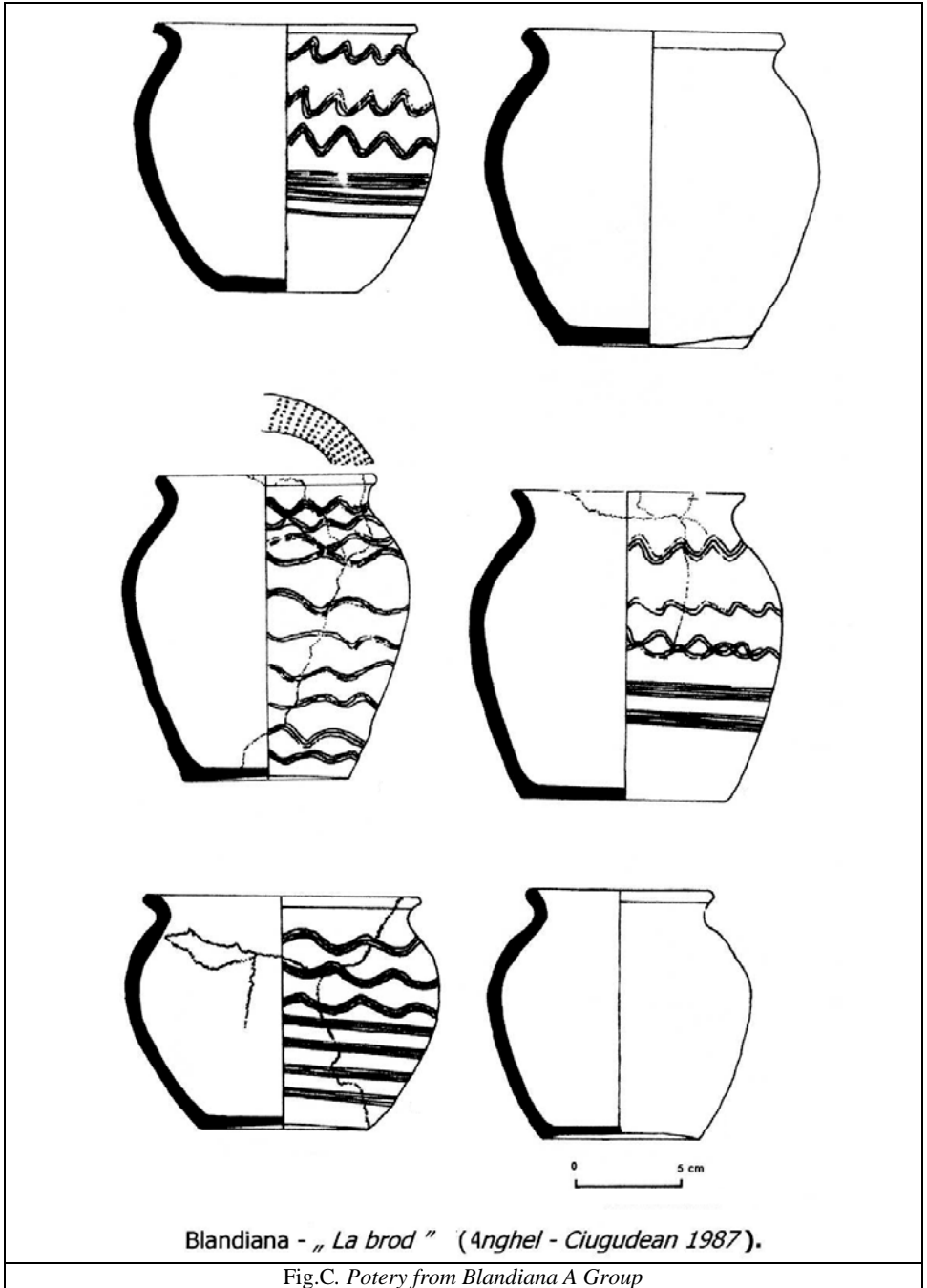
<sup>254</sup> K. Horedt, *Siebenbürgen im Frühmittelalter*, p.72 sqq.

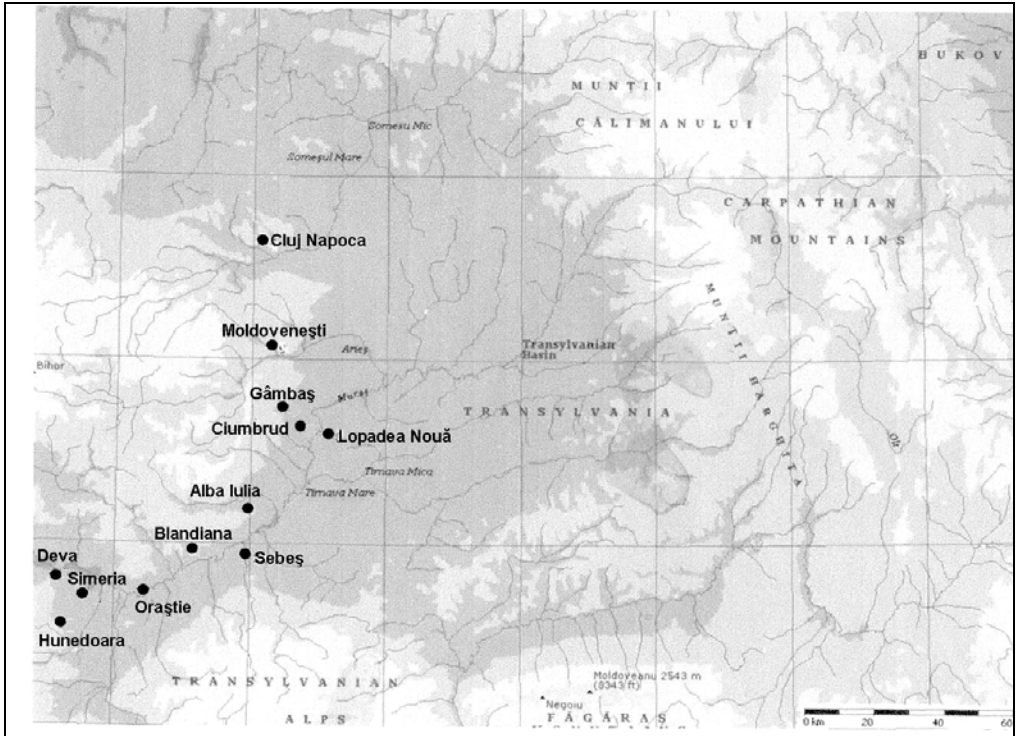
<sup>255</sup> Gh. Baltag, *Sighisoara inainte de Sighisoara*, p.272-273.



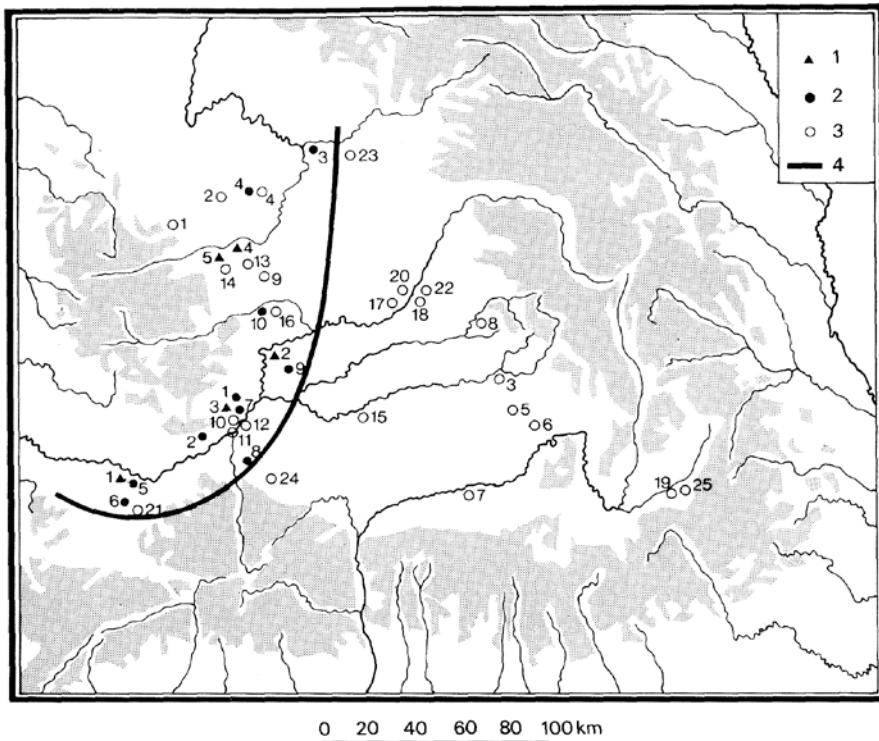








Map 7. *Old Hungarian cemeteries from Transylvania – 10<sup>th</sup> c. – according. A. Dragotă*



Map 8. Cemeteries and graves from 10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> c.– according K. Horedt

1. **Cluj Group** (1. Deva – Micro 15, 2. Gâmbaş, 3. Alba Iulia, 4. Cluj-Napoca – str. Zapolya, 5. Cluj-Mănăştur);
2. **Bijelo-Brdo Culture (Blandian B-Alba Iulia Group)** (1. Benic, 2. Vurpăr, 3. Cuzdrioara, 4. Dăbâca, 5. Deva, 6. Hunedoara – Dealul Comorilor, 7. Alba Iulia – Stația de Salvare, 8. Câlnic, 9. Lopadea Nouă, 10. Moldovenești);
3. **Citfalău Group** (1. Almașu, 2. Chidea, 3. Cristuru Secuiesc, 4. Dăbâca, 5. Viscri, 6. Drăușeni, 7. Făgăraș, 8. Gălățeni, 9. Gheorghieni, 10-12. Alba Iulia – Catedrală, 13. Cluj-Napoca – Piața centrală, 14. Cluj-Mănăştur, 15. Mediasch, 16. Moldovenești – Biserica Unitariană, 17. Morești, 18. Târgu Mureș, 19. Peteni, 20. Sîncrai de Mureș, 21. Streisângiorgiu, 22. Sângiorgiu de Mureș, 23. Șirioara, 24. Gârbova, 25. Zăbala);
4. **border of the territory ruled by hungarian people in 11th c.**



## EARLY MEDIEVAL CEMETERIES IN TRANSYLVANIA. SECOND HALF OF 9<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY – FIRST HALF OF 12<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY\*

The history of the Romanian territories between the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century to the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> is still a debated subject. Due to the lack of archaeological data that could prove the existence of the Romanian population in Transylvania, starting with the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Romanian historiography transformed the stages of the formation of Romanian people into a political issue related to that time's status-quo. The archaeological researches of the early medieval period of the Transylvanian territories are a necessity since the historiography has little resources to call on the written evidences of the events of 9<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Identifying archaeological artefacts belonging to the Hungarian population within the Carpathian Basin is only a routine exercise for today's archeologists. Warrior inhumations, particularities of their outfit and weaponry were related to the Hungarian Conquest Period since, in 1834, when western coins dated the 10<sup>th</sup> century were first found. On the next decays, Romanian Ethno genesis as well as the formation of the Romanian Medieval states captured the interests of scholars. Not always those informations were also pertinent, so as a consequence various critical analysis were elaborated. One of these critical reviews materialized in 1990 on an article by Radu Popa<sup>256</sup>, the one who, in the early '90s established a new direction on the medieval Romanian archaeological researches. He is the one that critically analyzed all the thesis of the Romanian historiography related to the emergence of Romanian states and their relations to the Arpadian royalty and the Transylvanian population.

Given the circumstances of the medieval archaeology, regarded as a branch of the Romanian historical researches, it is not a surprise that a big part of the results are corrupted and unreal. The new wave of young archaeologists which emerged after 1990 has a difficult task: to get rid of the lumber from previous archaeological researches<sup>257</sup>. A field in which the archaeology has an important task is that of the fortification, where the written evidence should be corroborated by the archaeological data. Linking such data to the finding of settlements and necropolis should provide a complete picture of the living condition in early medieval Transylvania.

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\* This study was published in romanian version in *Relații interetnice în Transilvania (secolele VI-XIII)*, București, 2005, p. 133-156.

<sup>256</sup> R. POPA, *Observații și îndreptări la istoria României în jurul anului O Mie*, în: *SCIVA*, 42, 3-4, 1991, p. 153.

<sup>257</sup> In the last years a number of archaeological researches conducted in the North Western parts of Romania resulted in new informations for the periods of the 8<sup>th</sup> to the 10<sup>th</sup> centuries. See C. COSMA, A. GUDEA, *Habitat und Gesellschaft im Westen und Nordwesten Rumäniens in den 8.-10. Jahrhunderten N. Chr.*, Cluj-Napoca, 2002; C. COSMA, *Vestul și nord-vestul României în secolele VIII-X*, Cluj-Napoca, 2002.

Using the archaeological data without any solid motivation, in order to support pre-established theories - as R.Popa<sup>258</sup> noticed in the treaty “*Transylvanian Voievodate*” and not only here - neglecting to investigate vestiges belonging to the non-native populations, lead to an alteration of the possibility to reconstruct correctly the events that occurred in Transylvania in the first millennium AD, given the possibility to criticize the Romanian medieval archaeology and its representatives<sup>259</sup>. These are the reasons for which, we believe it is mandatory to bring in the results of medieval archaeology for the periods of the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 10<sup>th</sup> centuries and the 11<sup>th</sup> to the 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, naturally in a concise manner.

The chronological limit for this brief presentation takes into account all the steps of the occupation of Transylvania by the Hungarian authority. Another topic that will be discussed in this paper is the finalization of the process of the formation of an autochthon population as a result of the mixture of local and foreign elements, which are identify in the Romanian historical literature as:

- *The Mediaș Group* (7<sup>th</sup> -9<sup>th</sup>/ 10<sup>th</sup> century), *the Blandiana A and the Blandiana B Groups* (the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 11<sup>th</sup> century), *the Ciumbrud Group* (the 9<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> century), *the Cluj group* (end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century-first half of the 10<sup>th</sup>), *the Dridu culture, Alba Iulia - Stația de Salvare II* (the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 10<sup>th</sup> century), *the Ciugud Group* (the 11<sup>th</sup> to the 12<sup>th</sup> century).

Generally speaking, the archaeologists agreed that the period, between the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century and first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, is dominated by two cultural groups confirmed by the archaeological finds, that is: the **Cluj group** as a mark of the Hungarian material culture and the **Blandiana B** and the **Alba Iulia** (or the **Dridu-Alba Iulia**) groups, representing the first Bjelo-Brdo elements on Transylvanian land. Besides these major groups another two groups, representing south Danubian foreign elements (**Blandiana A**) and Moravian one (**Ciumbrud – Orăștie**), are traceable, yet without a major influence on the area within the Carpathians. A number of archaeologists<sup>260</sup>, starting with K. Horedt<sup>261</sup>, studied these groups. We will focus mostly on the first two in order to present the evolutionary process from a social and political point viewed in the light of new findings.

Issues like rite ‘n’ funerary rituals of the given period of time are very interesting, and yet a very debatable subject. Transylvania’s history for the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 12<sup>th</sup> centuries is known mostly due to the informations regarding the necropolis discovered and partially studied at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. These cemeteries had shown the existence within the Transylvanian Carpathian Basin of a mixture of

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<sup>258</sup> R. POPA, *Observații și îndreptări*, p. 157 sqq.

<sup>259</sup> H. CIUGUDEAN, *Opinii privind civilizația medievală timpurie din Transilvania în lumina descoperirilor funerare (sec. IX-XI) – în loc de cuvânt înainte*, în: *Catalogul expoziției ‘‘Civilizația medievală timpurie din Transilvania: rit și ritual funerar (secolele IX-XI)’’*, Alba Iulia, 2002, p. 3.

<sup>260</sup> K. HORED, *Siebenbürgen in Frühmittelalter*, Bonn, 1988.

<sup>261</sup> A brief presentation of the researches about this subject can be found in A. DRAGOTĂ, I. M. ȚIPLIC, *Scurt istoric al cercetărilor privind necropolele din Transilvania (sec. IX-XI)*, în: *Corviniana*, VI, 2000, p. 126-137 și A. DRAGOTĂ, H. CIUGUDEAN, *Istoricul cercetărilor*, în: *Exhibition Catalog ‘‘Civilizația medievală timpurie din Transilvania: rit și ritual funerar (secolele IX-XI)’’*, p. 7-21.

influences as a result of the population mixture. P.P. Panaitescu's theory of *population tissues* represents one of the theories, partially successful, that tried to explain the coexistence in a restricted territory of different ethnic groups and mostly their interaction on a cultural level. In the same time, the analysis of the discoveries generated many controversies on a scientific level but mostly on a political level. This last one imposed *historical axioms* towards which all the historical researches should subscribe and start further analysis.

One of these axioms was the *early Christianization* followed by the *persistence of popular Christianity* in all north Danubian areas and within the Transylvanian Carpathian Basin. All the archaeological researches from Transylvania were conducted, especially the ones of early medieval times based on this last postulate. Such researches were trying to demonstrate the existence, within these territories, of a local population, culturally superior to all the other foreign ones. Due to this reason, the researches consisting on investigation of early medieval necropolises didn't have a constant evolution that could have allowed a clarification of the ethnical situation of the above mentioned period. We do not know the reasons that could prevent an interdisciplinary approach of the necropolises pertaining to the period from 9<sup>th</sup> until the 12<sup>th</sup> century, but it is sure that none of the necropolis was entirely excavated and afterwards published.

In the following pages we don't intend to do a complete radiography of the archaeological researches concerning early medieval Transylvanian<sup>262</sup> cemeteries, but only to point out a few differences existing between different cultural horizons, in order to see how important was the ethnical argumentation in a historical process. On the other hand, it is not our intention to start a methodological polemic on ethnic issues with regards to some artefacts discovered in graves or settlements, we only wish to emphasize that funerary rituals are a very good indicator of radical changes occurring within a territory, including ethnic ones.

We are fully aware that only a thorough analysis in all parts of Transylvania could provide informations that could take us as close as possible to the "*absolute truth*" but we consider that the most debated subject of the Romanian historiography is related to the ethnical assignment of the inhabitants of the middle course of the river Mureș. In this region the early medieval artefacts belong to the Ciombrud, the Blandiana A, the Cluj the Blandiana B- Alba Iulia and the Cițfalău cultural horizons.

## **4.1 Characteristics of funerary rituals in Transylvania**

4.1.1. *The Ciombrud Group.* In 1957 is excavated in Ciombrud-Podireu a cemetery with inhumation graves that based on the funerary artifacts, is attributed to the Moravian space, specifically to the Stare Mesto cultural group and consequently

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<sup>262</sup> See Appendix A. *The repertory of inhumation cemeteries from Transylvania.* ( *Repertoriul necropolelor de înmuție din Transilvania*) appendix B *Casual discoveries and possible cemeteries B.*(*Descoperiri întâmplătoare și posibile necropole.*)

dated in the first half of the 8th century<sup>263</sup>. Concerning the dating there are some other opinions according to which the cemetery could be dated in the last decades of the 9th century<sup>264</sup>. Graves belonging to this cultural group, excavated in Ciumbrud - Podireu and Orăștie - *Dealul Pemilor X8* are oriented West to East and have rich inventory composed of bronze, silver or ceramic jewelry.

Based on the analogies between the funerary inventories from Ciumbrud and Orăștie and the ones from Moravia (Slovakia), the Ciumbrud horizon, as a Transylvanian aspect of the Stare Mesto culture, is regarded as the first archaeological evidence of christianized Slavs from Transylvania. West to east orientation of graves combined with other funerary aspects - the hand position, lack of weapons from the funerary inventory or the abundance of jewelry as a proof of the strong affiliation to the Byzantine tradition – could justify the previous statement, especially when, for the period of 8th and 9th century the predominate funerary rite was the cremation. Still, for the cemetery of Ciumbrud and Orăștie - *Dealul Pemilor X8* we can not assert, in view of the existent elements, the presence of Christianity without further substantial evidences.

*Ethnical attribution.* K. Horedt, the scholar who defined the Ciumbrud cultural group, showed the strong connection with the Moravian cultural horizon. The presence of the Moravian Slavs within Transylvanian area ceased to be so important when other Slav groups, namely the Bulgarians begin to be present here. This last presence can be related to the fact that the Bulgarian State inferred in the animosity between the Great Moravia and the German Kingdom.

There are other opinions according to which the Ciumbrud group would actually a south Danubian cultural horizon<sup>265</sup>. Analyzing the relationship between Great Moravia and Hungary, Al Madgearu considers that Great Moravia was not able to control the salty area from Transylvania. He explains that in such situation the Bulgarians could not impose in 892 an *embargo* on the Transylvanian salt exported to Great Moravia<sup>266</sup> and that the Köttlach elements from Transylvania would actually be the intense economical exchange between the two spaces. Yet, we believe that the Köttlach elements discovered in Western and Northwestern parts of Transylvania between the Carpathians can be related to the presence of the Franks in Pannonia than

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<sup>263</sup> I. Dankanits and St. Ferenczi, in *MCA*, 1959, p. 605-615; K. Horedt, *Siebenbürgen in Frühmittelalter*, Bonn, 1986, pp.78-80; Z. K. Pinter, N. G. O. Boroffka, *Neue mittelalterliche Gräberder Ciumbrudgruppe aus Broos/Orăștie, Fundstelle Böhmerberg / Dealul Pemilor X8*, în: *Transylvanica. Studia Honoraria*, Bd. 7. *Gedenkschrift für Kurt Horedt*, Rahden/Westfalia, 1999; Idem, *Necropola de tip Ciumbrud de la Orăștie – „Dealul Pemilor, Punct X8*, în *Apulum*, XXXVIII/1, 2001, pp. 319-346; S. A. Luca, Z. K. Pinter, *Der Böhmerberg bei Broos / Orăștie. Eine Archäologische Monographie*, Sibiu, 2001, pp.98-114

<sup>264</sup> M. Rusu, *Autochthonous population and the Hungarians on the territory of Transylvania in the 9th-11th centuries. Relations between autochthonous population and the migratory population*, Bukarest, 1975, p. 207; Al. Madgearu, *Români în cronică Notarului Anonim*, Cluj-Napoca, 2001, p. 192; Al. Madgearu, *The Romanians in the Anonymous Gesta Hungarorum, Truth and Fiction*, Cluj-Napoca, 2005.

<sup>265</sup> Cs. Balint, *Südungarn im 10. Jahrhundert*, Budapest, 1991; Al. Madgearu, *Români în cronică Notarului Anonim*, p. 192 sqq.

<sup>266</sup> Al. MADGEARU, *Români în cronică Notarului Anonim*, p. 168



to the economical exchanges, since in these territories there was no state establishment yet.

4.1.2. **The Blandiana A group.** In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Sebes, Alba County archaeological materials with a south Danubian influence were discovered. Starting with the 60' within the area of Blandiana and Alba Iulia a number of archaeological evidences belonging to this cultural group were excavated in Blandiana A, Sebes, Alba Iulia - *Stația de Salvare II*. The systematical excavations conducted in Blandiana A and Alba Iulia - *Stația de Salvare II* uncovered over 100 inhumation graves oriented West to East with an inventory composed of amphora shaped ceramic pots, jewelry, harness items and animal offerings. All these elements allowed a dating in 9<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>267</sup>. Another peculiarity of these graves was the use of stone ciste for the head, reusing Roman spoliias. It can not be said that there was a rule regarding the shape of the grave pits, since there were simple grave pits and graves with stone pits. The only common feature was the presence of the rests of funerary banquets, which leads us to the conclusion that these populations were not Christianized.

On the first phase of the cemetery from Blandiana, the **Blandiana A**, the inventory consisted of offering jar pots made of fine ceramic paste, worked on the slow wheel with incision decoration, amphorae and globe like pots, Byzantine like jewelry (earrings moulded in the Shape Bunch of Grapes, bronze necklaces), a knife and an arrow head. Judging from the inventory this phase of the cemetery has some other antecedents and similarities with other cemeteries discovered on the South of the Carpathians: *Isvorul*<sup>268</sup>, *Obârșia – Olt*<sup>269</sup>, *Frătești*<sup>270</sup>, *Sultana*<sup>271</sup>, *Bucov*<sup>272</sup> and *Dridu*. To the same chronological horizon belong the first phase of Alba Iulia - *Stația de Salvare II*<sup>273</sup> dated in the 9<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century.

*Ethnical attribution.* The cemetery of Blandiana A is still an inhumation cemetery, belonging to a south Danubian population not all Christianized. The issue of ethnical attribution of the cemetery from Alba Iulia - *Stația de Salvare II*, as well as the discoveries from Sebes, is difficult to take into consideration since a full history of the presence of the Bulgarian state in North Danubian territories is not yet known.

4.1.3 **The Cluj Group.** The battle of Lechfeld from mid 10<sup>th</sup> century and the total defeat of the Hungarian tribes lead to a beginning of a semi-sedentary way of life. They became sedentary only in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, process that can also be traced in

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<sup>267</sup> K. Horedt, *Die Ansiedlung von Blandiana, Rayon Orăștie, am Ausgang des ersten Jahrtausends u.Z.*, în: *Dacia, N.S.*, X, 1966, p. 261-290.

<sup>268</sup> B. Mitrea și colab., în: *MCA*, 9, 1970, p. 330 sqq.; Idem, *Das Gräberfeld aus dem VIII. Jahrhundert von Izvoru, jud. Giurgiu*, în: *Dacia, N.S.*, XXXIII, 1-2, 1989, p. 145-219.

<sup>269</sup> O. Toropu, O. Stoica, în: *Dacia, N.S.*, XVI, 1972, p. 166 sqq.

<sup>270</sup> Dolinescu-Ferche, M. Ionescu, *Dacia, N.S.*, XIV, 1970, p. 423 sqq.

<sup>271</sup> B. Mitrea, *La necropole birituelle de Sultana. Resultat et problemes*, în: *Dacia, N.S.*, XXXII, 1-2, 1988, p. 91-139.

<sup>272</sup> M. Comșa, *Cultura materială veche românească (Așezările din secolele VIII-X de la Bucov-Ploiești)*, Bukarest, 1978.

<sup>273</sup> RepJudAB, p. 167.

the archaeological material from Transylvania. As Gy. Kristó<sup>274</sup>, noticed the archaeological data reveals material inequalities within the Hungarian population. Two types of cemeteries can be detected from the archaeological finds: the cemetery of *big families* of 20 up to 50 graves (**The Cluj group**) with an inventory consisting of elements similar to the one's discovered in man pits, that reveal the warrior side of the population, and the other type like the ones from Alba Iulia - *Stația de Salvare II* and Blandiana B belonging to the civilians. The new findings from Orăștie - *Dealul Pemilor X2* support the sedentary tendency of the warrior population where both population are represented the Bjelo - Brdo elements and the ones belonging to the 10<sup>th</sup> century Hungarian population and also of South Danubian influences<sup>275</sup>.

The exact dating of the first elements of Hungarian elements can be established only by analyzing the archaeological material belonging to the Cluj group, identified in the cemeteries from Alba Iulia - *Stația de Salvare II*, Cluj Napoca, Gâmbaș, Lopadea and also in some other discoveries of Crișana and Banat (Biharea, Siclău, Arad- Ceala, etc.). The archaeological materials belonging to the Old Hungarians consist mostly of items that accompanied the tribes from Asia like weaponry, harness and jewelry. Mechthild Schulze Dorrlamm<sup>276</sup> established three ethno-cultural groups by comparing the elements of Old Hungarians from Europe with analogies from Euro Asian space. These are:

- Group I a (862-940), b (896-940) defined by items belonging to the Steps riders (Khazars, Pechenegs, Bulgarians)
- Group II defined by items belonging to the area of Kama and Middle Volga – Ugri
- Group III defined by items belonging to the area between Volga and Nipru pertaining to the Khabars. These came to the Tisa Basin even before 896.

According to Al. Madgearu old Hungarian vestiges in Europe can be dated between 862 and 930/940<sup>277</sup>. The only Transylvanian item belonging to the Dorrlamm first group phase A that is before their establishment in Pannonia is the Grave 5 from Biharea. The other cemeteries Alba Iulia - *Stația de Salvare*, Blandiana, Cluj-Napoca, Gâmbaș and Lopadea Noua belong to the Dorrlamm first group phase B and are dated in the 10<sup>th</sup> century<sup>278</sup>.

The dating of the first Hungarian elements in Transylvania was, and still is a very debated subject also due to the lack of written information, which made virtually impossible to establish an absolute chronology. This issue started in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when the graves from Deva, containing arrows, ceramics and a lance head dated with a coin from Ladislav I (1077-1095) were uncovered. Beside

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<sup>274</sup> Gy. Kristó, *Histoire de la Hongrie*, p. 29.

<sup>275</sup> Z. K. Pinter, S. A. Luca, *Necropola medieval-timpurie de la Orăștie-Dealul Pemilor*, p. 17 sq; Z. K. Pinter, I. M. Țiplic, M. Căstăian, *Orăștie, jud. Hunedoara. Punct: Dealul Pemilor*, în: *CCA*, XXXVI, 2002, p. 223-224.

<sup>276</sup> M. Schulze-Dörflamm, *Untersuchungen zur Herkunft der Ungarn und zum Beginn ihrer Landnahme im Karpathenbecken*, în: *JRGZM*, 35, 1988, 2, p. 373-477.

<sup>277</sup> Al. Madgearu, *România în opera Notarului Anonim*, p. 151.

<sup>278</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 151-152.

these elements others were discovered in Gâmbaş<sup>279</sup>. When in 1948 the archaeological excavation from Cluj Napoca - Gen. T. Mosoiu (former Zapolya, Dostoievski str) were published, the interest for such elements grew immediately. K. Horedt who considered this cemetery a representative one, established that this was the first wave of Hungarian warriors coming into Transylvania in the first years of the 10<sup>th</sup> 280 century being also the one who introduced in the archaeological literature the name the **Cluj group**<sup>281</sup>. Between 1945-2000 a number of cemeteries dated in the 10<sup>th</sup> –11<sup>th</sup> centuries were uncovered in Transylvania such as: Cluj Napoca – *Semenicului str*<sup>282</sup>, Cluj Napoca – *Plugarilor str*<sup>283</sup>, Hodoni – *Pocioroane*<sup>284</sup>, Simeria Veche - *In Vii*<sup>285</sup>, Moldovenești<sup>286</sup>, Pâclișa<sup>287</sup>, Deva – *Micro 15*<sup>288</sup>, Alba Iulia - *Stația de Salvare II*<sup>289</sup>, Alba Iulia – *Arh. Iuliu Hossu*<sup>290</sup>, *str.*, Orăștie - *Dealul Pemilor X2*<sup>291</sup>.

The archeological items belonging to the *Honfoglalás* type discovered within the Transylvanian Carpathian Basin are relative few in comparison with the ones from Serbian Banat, the region between Criș Tisza and Danube and don't cross the line of the river Mureș. The most important are the two cemeteries discovered at Cluj:

- the cemetery from Zapolya str. where 12 graves were uncovered. The inventory consisted of an arrow quiver, stirrups, saddles, sabers, silver earrings moulded in the shape of Bunch of Grapes, rhomboidal section and Y shape arrowheads, Saltovo type pots, long bone and head bones of horses<sup>292</sup>.

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<sup>279</sup> A. Dragotă, I. M. Țiplic, *Scurt istoric al cercetărilor necropolelor din Transilvania (secolele IX-XI)*, în: *Corviniana*, VI, 2000, p. 126.

<sup>280</sup> Pentru datare vezi și B. Köpeczi, *Histoire de la Transylvanie*, p. 133 sqq.

<sup>281</sup> K. Horedt, *Siebenbürgen im Frühmittelalter*, p. 80-87.

<sup>282</sup> RepCJ, p. 137.

<sup>283</sup> *Ibidem*; R. R. Heitel, *Die Archäologie der ersten und zweiten Phase des Eindringens der Ungarn in das innerkarpatische Transilvanien*, în: *Dacia N.S.*, XXXVIII-XXXIX, 1994-1995, p. 415.

<sup>284</sup> Fl. Drașoveanu, D. Țicu, M. Munteanu, *Hodoni. Locuirile neolitice și necropola medievală timpurie*, Reșița, 1996.

<sup>285</sup> R. Popa, *Țara Hațegului*, p. 59.

<sup>286</sup> G. Bakó, *Despre structura socială a populației din epoca feudală timpurie de la Moldovenești*, în: *SCIV*, 20, 1969, 2, p. 337-342.

<sup>287</sup> RepJudAB, p. 147; H. Ciugudean, A. Dragotă, *Cercetări arheologice la Alba Iulia-Pâclișa: descoperiri hallstattiene și medievale timpurii (Campania din anul 2000)*, în: *Apulum*, XXXVIII/1, 2001, p. 269-288.

<sup>288</sup> K. Horedt, *Siebenbürgen im Frühmittelalter*, p. 84, Abb. 39.

<sup>289</sup> RepJudAB, p. 43; H. Ciugudean (red.), *Catalogul expoziției „Anul 1000 la Alba Iulia – între istorie și arheologie”*, p. 4-16; H. Ciugudean, A. Dragotă, *Catalogul expoziției „Civilizația medievală timpurie din Transilvania: rit și ritual funerar (secolele IX-XI)*, p. 10-11.

<sup>290</sup> A. Dragotă, *Istoricul cercetărilor*, p. 15, în: H. Ciugudean, A. Dragotă, *Catalogul expoziției „Civilizația medievală timpurie din Transilvania: rit și ritual funerar (secolele IX-XI)*.

<sup>291</sup> Z. K. Pinter, S. A. Luca, *Necropola medievală timpurie de la Orăștie – Dealul Pemilor, punctul X2/1992-1993*, în: *Corviniana*, I, 1995, p. 17-44; I. M. Țiplic, *Necropola medievală-timpurie de la Oraștie-Dealul Pemilor X2 (Hunedoara) și bătălia dintre Ștefan I și Gyula – Gyula*, în: *AANTIM*, Chișinău, 1999, p. 150-153; Z. K. Pinter, I. M. Țiplic, A. Dragotă, *Orăștie, jud. Hunedoara. Punct: Dealul Pemilor*, în: *CCA*, XXXV, 2001, p.167-168; Z. K. Pinter, I. M. Țiplic, M. Căstăian, *Orăștie, jud. Hunedoara. Punct: Dealul Pemilor*, în: *CCA*, XXXVI, 2002, p. 223-224.

<sup>292</sup> P. Iambor, *Așezări fortificate din Transilvania*, Cluj-Napoca, 1999, p. 336.

- the cemetery from Gheorghieni<sup>293</sup> str., where 28 graves were uncovered having a similar inventory

On the middle course of the river Mureș were discovered, or just mentioned, several Hungarian cemeteries belonging to the middle class population on the second or third generation from the Hungarian Conquest. In Gâmbaș were uncovered 12 graves placed on two rows, different ones for men and women. The warrior (men) graves had an inventory composed of sabers, axes, quivers. Other graves were excavated in Lopadea Noua, Teius, Benic, Alba Iulia - *Stația de Salvare II*, Simeria Veche, Blandiana B. Isolated graves or items belonging the Old Hungarian horizon were signaled in the Eastern parts of Transylvania – Ereesteghin, Odorheiu Secuiesc, Brețcu, Cozieni, Sf. Gheorghe, Dârjiu, Reci, Joseni – seem related to the conflicts between the Magyars and Pechenegs<sup>294</sup>.

Studying the Transylvanian map of the discoveries belonging to the Old Hungarian horizon – Dörrlamm Ib- a concentration around the salty areas from the middle course of the river Mureș was revealed. Regarding the penetration direction of Hungarians in Transylvania the north eastern road, namely the Gates of Meses, is the most probable one. The other roads that are the valleys of river Crișul Repede and Capusului can also be taken into consideration. This last version is also supported by the existence of the fortifications from Bologa, Cluj-Manastur, Moldovenești and Alba Iulia along the way. All these elements corroborated with the items discovered in Biharea, Cluj, Moldovenești, Lopadea Nouă, Gâmbaș, Alba Iulia indicating the north western way as the only possibility of penetration. Also, the course of Mureș<sup>295</sup> can not be regarded as a second possibility since there is no inventory dated in the 10<sup>th</sup> century<sup>296</sup>. The Hungarian domination was initially established in Western Transylvania most probably in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, considering the location of the salt deposits and the means of transportation, namely the river Someșul Mic<sup>297</sup>.

Most of the cemeteries and isolated graves are discovered on the territory that once belonged to the Glad and Achtum duchies especially the land between the rivers Criș, Tisa and Danube. Here the archaeological excavations are extensive and last for over a century. Most of these cemeteries are thought to be Hungarian although the inventory differs from the ones on the upper course of Tisa river, thought to be from the first generation of the Conquest Period. The most important difference consists in the lack of western coins<sup>298</sup> from the graves situated east to the confluence of rivers Criș and Mureș to the river Tisa. These graves belonged to the second generation of Hungarian warriors who became acquainted to the local population and their material

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<sup>293</sup> Unpublished excavations P. Iambor, *Așezări fortificate din Transilvania*, p. 336.

<sup>294</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 337.

<sup>295</sup> K. Horedt, *Siebenbürgen im Frühmittelalter*, p. 84.

<sup>296</sup> Z. K. Pinter, *Spada medievală din mormântul de călăreț de la Deva. Considerații tipologice și cronologice*, în: *Sargetia*, XXV, 1992-1994, p. 240, n. 34.

<sup>297</sup> K. Gündisch, *Autonomie de stări și regionalitate în Ardealul medieval*, p. 37.

<sup>298</sup> A.-M. Velter, *Transilvania în secolele V-XII*, p. 135.

culture<sup>299</sup>. This is also reflected by the graves inventory where the lack of sabres can be detected along with a more evolved type of trapezoidal shouldered stirrups dating the graves in the mid- 10<sup>th</sup> century.

Starting with the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, but mostly in the 11<sup>th</sup> one, the material cultural started to be more unified, the Oriental attributes slowly disappearing. This phenomenon coincided with the sedentary life, the Christianized of the Hungarians and the appearance of the royalty<sup>300</sup>. In Alba Iulia - *Stația de Salvare II* the inventory is specific to the first phase of the Bjelo Brdo horizon, characterized by the lack of coins and the appearance, in a singular case, of an S-terminalled locking<sup>301</sup>.

Starting with the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the king Steven the Great began his policy annexation of Transylvania to the Hungarian kingdom. This is known as the second phase of the Hungarian Conquest of Transylvania<sup>302</sup>. This episode is known mostly from written sources. P. Iambor, who affirmed that Gyla the Young had Pecheneg origins, studied these sources, among others. This statement is also supported by the testimony of the Byzantine Emperor *Constantine the Porfirogenet* who states that the Pechenegs province is at four days distance East from the Hungarian kingdom<sup>303</sup>. This hypothesis is also supported by two facts, first that Transylvania was not yet a part of the Apostolic Hungarian kingdom and second, in the Anonymus texts there is a mentioning of another Pecheneg ruler, Thonuzoba, who was removed by force<sup>304</sup>. In the same context, another interesting opinion is that of Gy. Györffy who states that *Duke Ahtum* took part in the battles for Transylvania and was rewarded for his services. This hypothesis is supported by the existence of the village Aiton in Cluj County, mentioned in 1320's documents under the name *villa Ohtunh*<sup>305</sup>, a territory that in the 11<sup>th</sup> century would have been under the rule of the Banat duke<sup>306</sup>.

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<sup>299</sup> The lack of western coins in the *honfoglalás* graves from the Transylvanian Carpathian Basin also supports the thesis according to which the first Hungarian warriors arrived in these areas only in the first decades of the 10th century. On the other side, this also could be an argument of the thesis according to which these territories could have been controlled by another warriors group, namely the Pechenegs.

<sup>300</sup> P. Iambor, *Așezări fortificate din Transilvania*, p. 331.

<sup>301</sup> J. Giesler, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Bijelo Brdo – Kultur*, în: *PZ*, 56, 1981, 1, p. 137-142 și pl. 53.

<sup>302</sup> R. Heitel, *Arheologia etapeilor de pătrundere a maghiarilor în Transilvania intracarpatică*, în: *ST*, II, 1987, p. 77.

<sup>303</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 342-343. P. Iambor considers that *Gylas* is only a rank, dignity that the ruler of Alba Iulia had, and that his actual name was *Prokuj*. This affirmation is based on one passage from bishop Thietmar de Merseburg († 1018) chronic. The document shows that Duke of Poland Boleslav cel Viteaz had a border fortress on Hungarian territories garded by Prokuj, uncle of king Steven I, who was evacuated from his residency. Without any money, Prokuj regained his wife due to his nephew generosity, even though they were enemies (MGHS, III, p. 861, apud P. Iambor, *Așezări fortificate din Transilvania*, p. 339).

<sup>304</sup> *Thonuzoba in fide vanus noluit esse christianus, sed cum uxore vivus ad portum Obad est sepultus* (G. Popa-Lisseanu, *Anonymus*, LVII, p. 75).

<sup>305</sup> Gy. Györffy, *Az árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza*, III, p. 341.

<sup>306</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 331-332.

*Ethnical attribution.* Graves pertaining to this horizon are generally considered to belong to the Hungarian population. For the Transylvanian areas the Pechenegs, with similar rite and funerary ritual, are to be taken into consideration. Chronologically, the **Cluj group** can be dated from the first years of the 10<sup>th</sup> century until the end of the same century.

4.1.4. *The Blandiana B group.* The cemetery from Blandiana, early mentioned, has a second phase from the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century to the beginning of the next one. This dating is contemporary with the cemetery of Orăștie - *Dealul Pemilor X2* as representative of the first elements of Bjelo Brdo horizon dated in the middle of 10<sup>th</sup> century. Beginning with the 11<sup>th</sup> century these elements are harder to detect in grave inventory when the funerary rite is generalized. It is highly probable that this penetration coincide with the fights between Gyla the Young<sup>307</sup> and the Hungarians, when the cemetery from Alba Iulia - *Stația de Salvare II* ceased to exist.

Grave inventories, exclusively inhumation graves, revealed a population not entirely Christianized and are formed by weaponry (arrows, axes), harness (stirrups, saddles), jewelry and ceramics. The graves are oriented west to east. The mail graves consist of warrior graves: riders and infantrymen. The women graves are also of two types: ones with animal and vegetal offerings deposited in ceramic pots situated in the head area and others without any offerings but with an inventory consisting of rich bronze and ceramic jewelry.

The results of the historical and archaeological analyses is not supported by any written evidence that could attest an effective domination of the Transylvanian territories by the Hungarians, earlier than the first decades of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, even the presence of king Steven and his campaign here could point out to a certain state of autonomy of these territories. King Steven did not actually start any administrative reorganization of the territory, leaving it to one of his relatives, a certain Zultan/Zoltan<sup>308</sup>. The first measure taken by the Hungarian king was the establishment of the Transylvanian Bishopric at Alba Iulia.

Parallel to these events it the generalization of Bjelo Brdo horizon in Transylvania resulting occurs also in the overlapping and, consequently, the disappearance of the Blandiana A –Alba Iulia elements as can seen in the cemeteries of from Alba Iulia - *Stația de Salvare II*, Alba Iulia – *Catedrala romano-catolică*, Alba Iulia – *Vânătorilor, str*, Cluj Napoca – *Semenicului str*, Cluj Napoca – *Calvaria*, Dăbâca, fourth precincts, Geoagiu de Jos, Gârbova, Ilidia - Cetate, Hunedora, Moldovenești, Pâclișa, Peteni, Streisângeorgiu, Zalău – *Ortelec*<sup>309</sup>. The archaeological objects defining Bjelo Brdo horizon in Transylvania consist of bronze or silver jewelry- rings, twisted bracelets S-terminalled lockring, ceramic necklaces and coins, all placed in the graves. Along with this cultural horizon a process of standardization

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<sup>307</sup> An ample presentation in I. M. Țiplic, *Necropola medieval timpurie de la Orăștie-Dealul Pemilor X2*, p. 150-153.

<sup>308</sup> P. Iambor, *Așezări fortificate din Transilvania*, p. 341.

<sup>309</sup> H. Ciugudean, A. Dragotă, *Cercetări arheologice la Alba Iulia – Pâclișa: descoperirile hallstattiene și medievale timpurii (Campania din anul 2000)*, în: *Apulum*, XXXVIII/1, 2001, p. 275.

of the material culture leading into impossibility to distinguish any ethnicity based on funerary rituals beginning with the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>310</sup>. Still an exception is represented by the cemetery of Alba Iulia – *Arh. Iuliu Hossu* where the grave inventory and the existence of stone within the grave pit led the archaeologist to affirm that this cemetery is the linking element between the two phases I and II of the cemetery from Alba Iulia - *Stația de Salvare*<sup>311</sup>.

#### 4.2. Brief Demographical Considerations

Starting with the analysis of Transylvanian cemeteries and isolated graves, although unfinished due to the lack of informations, we can provide data concerning the Transylvania's demography for the 9<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. Obviously these estimations are related with the published<sup>312</sup> data provided by the archaeological excavations. An ideal situation would have been when to a settlement corresponds a cemetery and the other way around, but since there are gaps<sup>313</sup> in this theory, the dates are not final.

Demographic analysis of historical periods without written documents that could provide pertinent data is, generally speaking, subject to probability. Due to the development of the Carpathian Danubian society, historical geography could also provide information for a demographic reconstruction.

The 11<sup>th</sup> century represented a century of changes regarding the demographical evolution in the Carpathian Basin. If during the 10<sup>th</sup> century the Hungarian population lived mostly in tents free to move in the Pannonian territory, for the 11<sup>th</sup> century the archeological researches revealed the existence of fortified settlements having earth boundaries: such settlements rarely changed their name which proved a certain stability<sup>314</sup>. Towards the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> the village network became more dense in the central parts of the country spreading to the peripheries. According to Gy. Kristó beginning with the 12<sup>th</sup> century few territories, such as Maramureș or Burzenland remained unpopulated<sup>315</sup>. The archeological researches revealed, for the Arpadian period, that a village had an average of 20 to 40 households (*mansio*), corresponding to a population of 80 to 160 inhabitants<sup>316</sup>.

In the central part of Transylvania the settlements density is higher than the territories comprised between river Criș and river Mureș. The biggest concentration of population can be seen in the area of Alba Iulia, South of the line formed by the

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<sup>310</sup> A.-M. Velter considers that starting with the 11th century there are archaeological materials considered to be Romanian belonging to the so-called Alba Iulia – Ipotești – Căndești – Dridu culture. A.-M. Velter, *op.cit.*, p. 161.

<sup>311</sup> A. Dragotă, S. Brânda, *Necropola medievală timpurie de la Alba Iulia – Str. Arhim. Iuliu Hossu (fostă Brândușei). Săpăturile de salvare din anul 1999*, în: *Apulum*, XXXVIII/1, 2001, p. 309.

<sup>312</sup> Vezi appendix A and B, Table 1 și Grafic 1.

<sup>313</sup> There are cc 232 cemeteries where the exact number of graves is still unknown. This represents 50% of the located cemeteries.

<sup>314</sup> Gy. Kristó, *Histoire de la Hongrie*, p. 94.

<sup>315</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>316</sup> *Ibidem*.

rivers Târnava and Mureș, while in the North territory comprised by the rivers Mureș and Someș, the density is decreasing. In the Eastern and South-Eastern parts of Transylvania the settlements are grouped around four focal points. The first nucleus is situated on the upper course of the two rivers Târnava, another one in the same territories where the rivers Mureș and Olt are springing. The third focal point is situated in the center part of today's Covasna County, on the left shore of river Olt, and the fourth nucleus on the territories of today's Brasov and its surroundings<sup>317</sup>. This demographical concentration is also revealed by the archeological finds, quite numerous, especially cemetery and settlements of the local populations but also some pertaining to the foreign elements. The demographical relationship between those two elements can be distinguished by an analysis of the cemetery discovered in that area. Even so the results would be partial since the archaeological researches are also incomplete.

Based on the demographical studies conducted until nowadays the population of the 11<sup>th</sup> century Transylvania was estimated to be around 400 000 inhabitants, that is 4 inhabitants per square km in an area of 102.000 km<sup>2</sup>. These figures are estimated for the territory of Transylvania along with Banat, Crișana and Maramureș, while in Hungary the estimated population was around 1.000.000 inhabitants<sup>318</sup>. For the period of 9<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> centuries M. Rusu sorts out a number of 283 settlements, 31 fortresses and fortifications along with 81 cemeteries<sup>319</sup> for Transylvania but he never mentions the possibility of the frequent changes of settlements. We do not discuss here the authenticity of the dates regarding the settlements or fortification; we can only regard the number of the cemeteries for the period of the 9<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> centuries. According to our researches we can only take into consideration the 59 excavated cemeteries<sup>320</sup> and, more or less, 22 isolated discoveries<sup>321</sup> which would lead to a number of 81, but in order to discuss about a cemetery there has to exist at least 4 or 5 adults and /or children graves.

In the 12<sup>th</sup> century the growth of populations was determined by the birth rate and also by the colonization of several communities in this region. This growth maintained itself at the same level over the 13<sup>th</sup> century when the number of settlements was established by M. Rusu at 635<sup>322</sup>. Still this is not the actual number since it was taken into account only the settlements mentioned in written documents.

Analyzing the graphic (see graphic 1) we can see that, indeed, in the 9<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> centuries Transylvania there is not a dense inhabitation of the territories, with few exceptions: Alba Iulia, Cluj Napoca, Zalău-Oradea, Arad-Timișoara. The graphic looks totally different for the period between the 11<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century when the number of graves comes near 2500 pits, 50% higher than the 9<sup>th</sup> to first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> centuries.

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<sup>317</sup> Șt. Pascu, R. Theodorescu (coord.), *Istoria românilor*, III, Bukarest, 2001, p. 152.

<sup>318</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 319. For details see P. Niedermaier, *Der mittelalterliche Städtebau*, p. 17 sq.

<sup>319</sup> A. Drăgoescu (coord.), *Istoria României. Transilvania*, I, Cluj-Napoca, 1997, p. 294 și harta 4.

<sup>320</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>321</sup> See Appendix b.

<sup>322</sup> *Ibidem*.



Regarding the Hungarian population of 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries, several opinions were expressed. According to the Hungarian historiography the population from the territories pertaining to the Hungarian Kingdom was around 500.000 inhabitants<sup>323</sup> taking into account that the non-Hungarian populations were around 150.000-200.000 inhabitants<sup>324</sup>. These figures are based on the supposition that the Bjelo-Brdo horizon is a characteristic of the Hungarian population that assimilated quite rapidly the Slavic-Roman populations settled in the Pannonian territories. All these figures are provided by the document form 1075 concerning the Bihar County where the average population of three villages was established at 48 households in a village<sup>325</sup>. Still, this average cannot support the realities of Transylvania since it is known that the situation from the Western Plain differs substantially from the one of Transylvanian Plain. The authors of the “History of Romanians” treaty assert that the average of households in Transylvanian villages is around 25 prior to the Tartar invasion<sup>326</sup>. Transylvania had a population of approximately 500.000 inhabitants that is 5 inhabitants per square km, while in the central part of the Hungarian Kingdom the average was somewhere around 8 to 10 inhabitants per square km. The percentage between the local populations and the foreign elements is very difficult to establish in absence of the ethnic and demographic data, not even the so-called *historical logic*, as claimed by the above treaty<sup>327</sup>, can't offer certainties.

The habitat was influenced by the relief, the length of forests or swampy areas. Overall, Transylvanian territory was almost 50% covered with forests while in some counties or districts this territory would be up to 60-70% of the entire area. The authors of the above mentioned treaty are trying to induce the idea that Transylvanian mountains, namely Meridional Carpathian were temporary inhabited up to an altitude of 1000-1200m, while the Northern Carpathians settlements were erected up to 600 m<sup>328</sup>.

For the Transylvanian area comprised in the Carpathian basin for the period between the 9<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, we can talk about numerous cultural horizons that define several ethnical elements. A detailed analysis of these cemeteries as well as their relations with other cultural horizons, prior or subsequent, could provide a more complex picture of the process of ethnogenesis.

Based on the funerary rite and rituals, all these cultural areas were ethnically assigned by K. Horedt to the following cultural groups with south Danubian and/or central European cultural influences:

- Blandiana A or Dridu – Alba Iulia (Pre-Christian south Danubian influence)

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<sup>323</sup> Gy. Györfly, *Einwohnerzahl und Bevölkerungsdichte in Ungarn bis zum Anfang des XIV. Jahrhunderts*, în: *SHASH*, 1960, p. 7.

<sup>324</sup> A. Bartha, *Hungarian Society in the 9th and 10th Centuries*, Budapest, 1975, p. 110.

<sup>325</sup> DIR, C, I, p. 1-2.

<sup>326</sup> Șt. Pascu, R. Theodorescu (coord.), *Istoria românilor*, III, p. 320.

<sup>327</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>328</sup> Șt. Pascu, R. Theodorescu (coord.), *Istoria românilor*, III, p. 490.

- Ciumbrud (south Danubian influence Christian?)
- Cluj (early Hungarians)
- Blandiana B - Alba Iula – Orăștie-Dealul Pemilor X2 (central european influence, mixed population Christian and Non Christian)
- Citfalău (mixed population Christians Hungarian- Romanians)

Along these groups, Gh Baltag introduced the concept of *Table land culture* that defines a local population of the 8<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> centuries, living on the high altitude areas (600-800m). His argument is represented by the unusual ceramic discovered on the site of Albești, Mureș County.

In our opinion the cemeteries belonging the Medias group marked the start of the melting process of those *two tissues of population* defined by P.P.Panaitescu. The percentages of the cremation or inhumation graves could provide some informations regarding the generalization of Christianity within the Transylvanian area, starting with the 8<sup>th</sup> century ending with the 10<sup>th</sup> century.

We believe that the graves dated in the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, beginning of the following one that belong to the Blandiana A and the Ciumbrud cultural groups are the first important marks of a massive intrusion of Christianity and the last stage in the Romanian people formation.

## A. The cemeteries from Transylvania, Banat and Crișana (the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> C –the first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> C.)

### I. Geographical position

1. a. Point; b.time; c. ; d. research typ; e. Bibliography; f. Inventory no.; e. inventory description

#### I. Alba Iulia, jud. Alba

1. Punct: *Spital veterinar*
  - a. 10-11 C.
  - b. Cemetery (5? graves)
  - c. Archaeological researched
  - d. RepJudAB, p. 39
  - e. -
2. Punct: *la sud est de cetatea modernă*
  - a. 11 C.
  - b. cemetery(35 graves)
  - c. Archaeological researched
  - d. RepJudAB, p. 38
  - e. -
3. Punct: *Stația de salvare II*
  - a. 8-11 C.
  - b. Cemetery (cca. 1200 graves)
  - c. Archaeological researched – 1980-1984
  - d. RepJudAB, p. 43
  - e. -
4. Punct: *Str. Arhim. Iuliu Hossu (fostă Brândușei)*
  - a. 10-11 C.
  - b. cemetery (89 graves)
  - c. Archaeological researched
  - d. CCA, 1999, p. 10-11; A. Dragotă și colab., *Săpături de salvare în cimitirul de la Alba Iulia – str. Arhimandrit Iuliu Hossu (fostă Brândușei)*, în: PA, II, 2002, p. 38 sqq.; A. Dragotă și colab., *Necropola medievală timpurie de la Alba Iulia, str. Brândușei (III)*, în: PA, IV, 2004, p. 217-220.
  - e. -
5. Punct: *Biserica catolică*
  - a. 11-12 c.
  - b. cemetery (315)
  - c. Archaeological researched
  - d. CCA, 2002, p. 34
  - e. -
6. Punct: *Apulum II-Stadion*
  - a. 11 c.
  - b. cemetery (cca. 20 graves)
  - c. Archaeological researched (2002)
  - d. C. Inel și colab., *Raport preliminar privind cercetările de la Alba Iulia – Apulum II – „Stadion” – campania martie – aprilie 2002*, în: PA, II, 2002, p. 142 sqq.
  - e. -
7. Punct *Stația OMV*
  - a. 11
  - b. cemetery
  - c. Archaeological researched

- d. CCA, 2003, p. 36
8. Punct: *Izvorul Împăratului*
  - a. 10 c.
  - b. cemetery (22 graves)
  - c. Archaeological researched (2001)
  - d. A. Dragotă, *Descoperiri arheologice privind relațiile Ungariei arpadiene cu Croația și Transilvania (sec. IX-XI)*, teză de doctorat, Sibiu, 2003, p. 164-165.

#### II. Arad, jud. Arad

1. Punct: *Aradul Nou*
  - a. 9-10 c.
  - b. cemetery
  - c. Archaeological researched
  - d. A. M. Velter, *Transilvania în sec. V-XII*, 2002, p. 363
2. Punct: *Pădurea Vrăbiilor*
  - a. 11/12-13
  - b. cemetery(13 graves)
  - c. Archaeological researched (1972)
  - d. A. M. Velter, *Transilvania în sec. V-XII*, 2002, p. 365
3. Punct: *Pădurea Ceala*
  - a. First half of the 10 c.
  - b. grave
  - c. Archaeological researched (1970)
  - d. E. Dörner, *Cercetări și săpături arheologice în județul Arad*, în: MCA, IX, 1970, p. 447-449, fig. 4-5.
  - e. MJA, nr. inv. 14371-14376

#### III. Arad-Vladimirescu, (jud. Arad)

1. Punct: *Cetate*
  - a. 11-12 c.
  - b. cemetery (200 graves)
  - c. Archaeological researched (1976-1981)
  - d. A. M. Velter, *Transilvania în sec. V-XII*, 2002, p. 364

#### IV. Bădeni (com. Moldovenesti), jud. Cluj

1. Punct *între fostele grajduri Cap și movila Dâmb*
  - a. 11 c.
  - b. cemetery
  - c. Archaeological researched
  - d. RepJudCJ, p. 47.

#### V. Biharea, jud. Bihor

1. Punct: *Cărămidărie*
  - a. 11-12 c.
  - b. cemetery (524 graves)
  - c. Archaeological researched (1956, 1974-1978)
  - d. A. M. Velter, *Transilvania în sec. V-XII*, 2002, p. 372

2. Punct: *dealul Șumuleu*
- 10 c.
  - cemetery (8 graves)
  - Archaeological researched (1909)
  - C. Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul României în secolele VIII-X d. H.*, Cluj-Napoca, 2002, p. 175-178; A. M. Velter, *Transilvania în sec. V-XII*, 2002, p. 372.
3. Punct: *zona centrală din interiorul incintei fortificate a cetății de pământ*
- 10 c.
  - cemetery (11 graves)
  - Archaeological researched
  - S. Dumitrașcu, *Biharia. Săpături arheologice (1973-1980)*, I., Oradea, 1994, p. 65-67, 187, 202
  - MȚCO, nr. inv. 9122, 9118, 9119, 9120.
- VI. Blandiana**, jud. Alba
1. Punctul *la Brod*
- second half of the 9 c. – the first half of the 10 c.
  - cemetery(8 graves)
  - Archaeological researched (1961-1962)
  - RepJudAB, p. 60
2. Punctul *În Vii*
- 10
  - cemetery (22 graves)
  - Archaeological researched (1961-1962)
  - RepJudAB, p. 62
- VII. Cenad**, jud. Timiș
1. Punct *sesia parohiei ortodoxe sârbe, pe brațul Arancăi*
- 10-11 c.
  - cemetery
  - Archaeological researched
  - S. A. Luca, *Arheologie și istorie. III Descoperiri din Banat*, p. 80, 81
- VIII. Ciumbud** (sat aparținând or. Aiud), jud. Alba
1. Punctul *Podireu*
- 9-10 c.
  - cemetery (32 graves)
  - Archaeological researched (1957)
  - RepJudAB, p. 79; A. Dankanits, Șt. Ferenczi, în: *MCA*, 6, 1969, p. 606, 614
- IX. Cladova**, jud. Arad
1. Punct: *Dealul carierei de piatră*
- 11-13 c.
  - Cemetery
  - Archaeological researched(1980)
  - A. M. Velter, *Transilvania în sec. V-XII*, 2002, p. 389
- X. Cluj-Napoca**, jud. Cluj
1. Punct: *Calvaria*
- 11-12/14 c.
  - Cemetery (159 graves)
  - Cercetare arheologică
  - RepJudCJ, p. 120
2. Punct: *Piața Libertății*
- XI-XII
  - cemetery
  -
- d. RepJudCJ, p. 128
3. Punct: *str. Gen. Traian Moșoiu (fostă Zapolya fostă Dostoiewski, fostă Tunarilor)*
- 10 c.
  - cemetery (11 graves)
  - Archaeological researched (1941)
  - RepJudCJ, p. 136
4. Punct: *Str. Semenicului*
- 10-11 c.
  - cemetery
  - Archaeological researched
  - RepJudCJ, p. 137
5. Punct: *Str. Plugarilor (fostă Pata)*
- 10
  - cemetery (26 graves)
  - Archaeological researched (1985-1986)
  - RepJudCJ, p. 137; R. R. Heitel, *Die Archäologie der ersten und zweiten Phase des Eindrigens der Ungarn in das innerkarpatische Transilvanien*, în: *Dacia, N.S., XXXVIII-XXXIX*, 1994-1995, p. 415; I. Hica, P. Iambor, *Cimitirul din secolul al X-lea de la Cluj-Napoca – Str. Plugarilor*, comunicare prezentată la simpozionul *Civilizația medievală timpurie din Transilvania. Rit și ritual funerar (sec. IX-XI)*, Alba Iulia, 2002.
- XI. Cristurul Secuiesc** (Szekelykeresztur), jud. Harghita
1. Punct: *Biserica romano-catolică*
- 11-12 c.
  - cemetery
  - Archaeological researched
  - RepJudHR, p. 94
- XII. Dăbâca**, jud. Cluj
1. Punct: *incinta a IV-a a cetății, peste o parte a așezării din sec. IX-X*
- 11-12 c.
  - cemetery (cca. 500 graves)
  - Archaeological researched
  - RepJudCJ, p. 177
2. Punct: *Grădina lui Tămaș*
- 11-12 c.
  - Cemetery (60 de graves)
  - Cercetare arheologică
  - RepJudCJ, 178
- XIII. Deta**, jud. Timiș
1. Punct: *la limita de hotar dintre Deta și Denta*
- 9-10
  - 2 necropole
  - sondaje (1900-1910)
  - Cs. Balint, *Südungarn in X. Jahrhundert*, Budapest, 1991, p. 218, LIIB; M. Mare, *Banatul în sec. IV-IX*, p. 168.
- XIV. Deva**, jud. Hunedoara
1. Punct: *Micro 15*
- X-XI
  - Cemetery (5 sau 6 graves)
  - Archaeological researchedde salvare (1975)

- d. R. Popa, *La începuturile evului mediu românesc. Țara Hațegului*, București, 1988, p. 52; S. A. Luca, *Arheologie și istorie*, III, 2005, p. 94; Z. K. Pinter, *Spada și sabia medievală în Transilvania și Banat (sec. IX-XIV)*, Reșița, 1999, p. 118-123; A. Dragotă, I. M. Țiplic, *Scurt istoric al cercetărilor privind necropolele din Transilvania (sec. IX-XI)*, în: *Corviniana*, 6, 2000, p. 130-131.

**XV. Dudeștii Vechi**, jud. Timiș

1. Punct: -

- a. 9-10 c.  
b. cemetery  
c. cercetări arheologice  
d. A. M. Velter, *Transilvania în sec. V-XII*, 2002, p. 403

**XVI. Feldioara**, jud. Arad

1. Punct: -

- e. 11-12 c.  
f. Cemetery  
g. Archaeological researched(1898)  
h. A. M. Velter, *Transilvania în sec. V-XII*, 2002, p. 405

**XVII. Foeni**, jud. Timiș

1. Punct *Cimitirul ortodox*

- a. 11-12 c.  
b. Cemetery  
c. Archaeological researched(1998)  
d. A. Szentmiklosi, în: *AB(SN)*, 7-8, 1999-2000, p. 577-588; S. A. Luca, *Arheologie și istorie. III Descoperiri din Banat*, p. 160

**XVIII. Foieni**, jud. Satu Mare

1. Punct: *în curtea fostului CAP*

- a. 11 c.  
b. Cemetery (31 graves)  
c. Archaeological researched(1958)  
d. A. M. Velter, *Transilvania în sec. V-XII*, 2002, p. 407

**XIX. Galoșpetreu** (com. Tarcea), jud. Bihor

1. Punct: *Dâmbul Morii / Malom Domb*

- a. 10 c.  
b. Cemetery (4 graves)  
c. Archaeological researched(1962)  
d. C. Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul României*, p. 190-191; A. M. Velter, *Transilvania în sec. V-XII*, 2002, p. 408

**XX. Gîmbaș**, jud. Alba

1. Punct: *Măguricea*

- a. 10-11 c.  
b. Cemetery (9 +?)  
c. Archaeological researched(1895, 1901, 1913)  
d. RepJudAB, p. 101.  
e. MIC, II. 8566-8747

**XXI. Geoagiu de Jos**, jud. Hunedoara

1. Punct: *curtea casei parohiale reformat*

- a. 11-12 c.  
b. Cemetery ()  
c. Archaeological researched(1993-2003)

- d. Gh. Petrov, *Raport preliminar asupra cercetărilor arheologice din complexul medieval de la Geoagiu de Jos, jud. Hunedoara (Campaniile din 1993, 1994, 1995)*, în: *ActaMN*, 33, I, 1996, p. 403-413; R. Popa, *Țara Hațegului*, p. 60; S. A. Luca, *Arheologie și istorie*, III, 2005, p. 109.

**XXII. Gheorghieni** (com. Feleacu), jud. Cluj

1. Punct: *în jurul bisericii*

- b. 11-13 c.  
c. Cemetery  
d. Cercetare arheologică  
e. RepJudCJ, p. 210

**XXIII. Gherman** (com. Jamu Mare), jud. Timiș

1. Punct: *din hotarul satului*

- a. 11-12? C.  
b. Cemetery (8 graves)  
c. Cercetări arheologice  
d. S. A. Luca, *Arheologie și istorie. III Descoperiri din Banat*, p. 171

**XXIV. Gornea**, jud. Caraș-Severin

1. Punct: *Căunița de Sus*

- a. 11-12 c.  
b. Cemetery (cca. 100 graves)  
c. Cercetare arheologică  
d. RepJudCS, p. 73; D. Țeicu, Gh. Lazarovici, *Gornea, Reșița, 1996*; S. A. Luca, *Arheologie și istorie. III Descoperiri din Banat*, p. 178

2. Punct: *Pod Păzăriște*

- a. 9-10 (?) c.  
b. Cemetery  
c. Cercetare arheologică  
d. RepJudCS, p. 74

**XXV. Hodoni** (com. Satchinez), jud. Timiș

1. Punct: *Pocioroane*

- a. 11 c.  
b. Cemetery (16 graves)  
c. Archaeological researched(1959-1960, 1978, 1991, 1995)  
d. Fl. Drașovean, D. Țeicu, M. Munteanu, *Hodoni. Locuirile neolitice și necropola medievală timpurie*, Reșița, 1996, p. 34-54.

**XXVI. Hunedoara**, jud. Hunedoara

1. Punct: *Dealul Comorilor*

- a. 11 c.  
b. Cemetery (114 graves)  
c. Archaeological researched(1910)  
d. M. Roska, *Árpádkori temető Vajdahunyadon. - Sepultures de l' époque d' Arpad, a Vajdahunyad*, în: *Dolgszeged IV*, 1, 1913, 166 - 198; K. Horedt, *Contribuții la istoria Transilvaniei în sec. IV - XIII*, București, 1958, p. 144sq; R. Popa, *Țara Hațegului*, p. 53; A. Dragotă, I. M. Țiplic, *Scurt istoric al cercetărilor privind necropolele din Transilvania*

(*sec. IX-XI*), în: *Corviniana*, 6, 2000, p. 126; S. A. Luca, *Arheologie și istorie*, III, 2005, p. 138.

**XXVII. Ildia** (com. Ciclova Română), jud. Caraș-Severin

1. Punct: *La Funii*
- a. 12-13 c.
- b. Cemetery (17 graves)
- c. Cercetare arheologică
- d. D. Țeicu, *Banatul montan*, p. 127; RepJudCS, p. 85

**XXVIII. Iștihaza** (com. Ațintiș), jud. Mureș

1. Punct: *Movila oaselor*
- a. 11-12 c.
- b. cemetery
- c. Archaeological researched(1972)
- d. A. M. Velter, *Transilvania în sec. V-XII*, 2002, p. 421

**XXIX. Jupa** (municipiul Caransebeș), jud. Caraș-Severin

1. Punct *Sector Cărbunari-Țigănești*
- a. 10-11 c.
- b. cemetery
- c. semnalare
- d. RepJudCS, p. 89

**XXX. Lopadea Nouă**, jud. Alba

1. Punct: *La Râpe (Șanțuri), între dealurile Gorgan și Cetate*
- a. 11 c.
- b. Cemetery (11? graves)
- c. Archaeological researched(1905)
- d. RepJudAB, p. 118; A. M. Velter, *Transilvania în sec. V-XII*, 2002, p. 424-425

**XXXI. Mâsca** (com. Șiria), jud. Arad

1. Punct: *Dealul cu Vii*
- a. 10 c.
- b. cemetery
- c. descoperire întâmplătoare
- d. C. Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul României*, p. 198

**XXXII. Mehadia**, jud. Caraș-Severin

1. Punct: *Zidină - deasupra castrului roman, pe malul Bolvașniței*
- a. 11-12 c.
- b. cemetery (10 graves) – distrusă de amenajări moderne
- c. cercetări arheologice
- d. M. Macrea, în: *Studii. Revistă de știință și filozofie*, II, 1, 1949, p. 1239-1240; A. M. Velter, *Transilvania în sec. V-XII*, 2002, p. 429

**XXXIII. Moftinu Mic** (com. Moftin), jud. Satu Mare

1. Punct: *Pe deal*
- a. 10 c.
- b. Cemetery (13 graves)
- c. Cercetări arheologice
- d. I. Nemeti, *Descoperiri arheologice din teritoriul localității Moftinu Mic (jud.*

*Satu Mare)*, în: StComSatu Mare, VII-VIII, 1986-1987, p. 111-112; C. Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul României*, p. 200-201.

**XXXIV. Moldovenești**, jud. Cluj

1. Punct: *Fostul Castel G. Josika*
- a. 11-12 c.
- b. cemetery (63 graves)
- c. cercetare arheologică (1912)
- d. RepJudCJ, p. 284; A. M. Velter, *Transilvania în sec. V-XII*, 2002, p. 432

e. MIC

2. Punct *Strada spre Cetate*

- a. 12 c.
- b. Cemetery (5 graves)
- c. Cercetare arheologică (1951)
- d. RepJudCJ, p. 284

**XXXV. Nadiș** (oraș Cehu Silvaniei), jud. Sălaj

1. Punct: *Buia Mitrului*
- a. 11 c.
- b. Cemetery
- c. Archaeological researched(1968)
- d. Popescu, în: *Dacia NS*, 12, 1968, p. 692; A. M. Velter, *Transilvania în sec. V-XII*, 2002, p. 437-438

**XXXVI. Noșlac**, jud. Alba

1. Punct: *la 100 m este de „Pompa de apă”*
- a. 10-11 c.
- b. Cemetery (18 graves)
- c. Cercetare arheologică
- d. RepJudAB, p. 131

**XXXVII. Opațița** (oraș Deta), jud. Timiș

1. Punct: *în jurul mănăstirii*
- a.
- b. 11-12 c.
- c. Cemetery
- d. Cercetări arheologice
- e. A. Radulescu, *Archaeological researchedmedievale din Banatul de câmpie; scurt istoric*, în: *StIB*, 23-25, 1999-2001, p. 51-52; S. A. Luca, *Descoperiri arheologice în Banat*, p. 267.

**XXXVIII. Oradea**, jud. Bihor

1. Punct: *Salca-Ghețarie*
- a. 10 c.
- b. Cemetery (7 graves)
- c. Archaeological researched(1960)
- d. C. Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul României*, p. 208-209; A. M. Velter, *Transilvania în sec. V-XII*, 2002, p. 441

**XXXIX. Orăștie**, jud. Hunedoara

1. Punct: *Dealul Pemilor X2*
  - a. 10-11 c.
  - b. Cemetery (57 graves)
  - c. Archaeological researched(1992-1994, 2000-2004)
  - d. Cercetări inedite I. M. Țiplic, Z. K. Pinter
2. Punct: *Dealul Pemilor X8*
  - a. 9-10 c.
  - b. Cemetery (10 graves)

- c. Archaeological researched(1994)  
 d. Z. K. Pinter, N. Boroffka, *Neue Mittelalterliche Gräber der Ciumbrud Gruppe aus Broos / Orăștie, Fundstelle Böhmerberg / Dealul Pemilor X8*, în: *Transilvania*. 1999, p. 313-330.

3. Punct: *Cetate*

- a. sec. 11-12 c.  
 b. cemetery (cca. 40)  
 c. Archaeological researchedinedite  
 d. inf. Z. K. Pinter

**XL. Ortelec** (oraș Zalău), jud. Sălaj

1. Punct: *La Cetate*

- a. 11-12 c.  
 b. Cemetery  
 c. Cercetări arheologice  
 d. A. M. Velter, *Transilvania în sec. V-XII*, 2002, p. 444

**XLII. Pâclișa** (localitate aparținând municipiului Alba Iulia)

1. Punct: *La Izvoare*

- a. 11 c.  
 b. Cemetery (17 graves)  
 c. Archaeological researched(2000-2001)  
 d. RepJudAB, p. 147; H. Ciugudean, A. Dragotă, în: *Apulum*, XXXVIII/1, 2001, p. 269-288; A. Dragotă și colab, în: *PA*, II, 2002, p. 58-95.  
 e. MNUAI, nr. inv. 6340-6347, 8802-8807

**XLII. Pecica**, jud. Arad

1. Punct: *La Șanțul Mare*

- a. 11-12 c.  
 b. Cemetery (140 graves)  
 c. Archaeological researched(1900, 1960, 1962, 1964)  
 d. A. M. Velter, *Transilvania în sec. V-XII*, 2002, p. 444

**XLIII. Pescari**, jud. Caraș-Severin

1. Punct: *Cetate*

- a. 11-12 c.  
 b. Cemetery  
 c. Archaeological researched(1973, 1980)  
 d. Șt. Matei, I. Uzum, *Cetatea de la Pescari*, în: *Banatica*, 2, 1973, p. 142-145; A. M. Velter, *Transilvania în sec. V-XII*, 2002, p. 445

**XLIV. Pojejena**, jud. Caraș-Severin

1. Punct: *pe malul Dunării, la hotarul cu comuna Sușca*

- a. 11 c.  
 b. Cemetery  
 c. Cercetări arheologice  
 d. D. Țeicu, *Necropole medievale*, p. 239/14; A. M. Velter, *Transilvania în sec. V-XII*, 2002, p. 447

**XLV. Reci** (Rety), jud. Covasna

1. Punct: *Telek, pe malul drept al Râului Negru*

- a. 9-10 c.  
 b. Cemetery  
 c. Cercetare arheologică

- d. RepJudCV, p. 122

**XLVI. Sălacea**, jud. Bihor

1. Punct: *Dealul Vida*

- a. 9-10 c.  
 b. cemetery (12 graves)  
 c. Archaeological researched(1968)  
 d. N. Chidioșan, *O cemetery din feudalismul timpuriu descoperită la Sălacea*, în: *SCIV*, 20, 1969, 4, p. 611-615; C. Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul României*, p. 222-223; A. M. Velter, *Transilvania în sec. V-XII*, 2002, p. 455

2. Punct: *Dealul Varbo*

- a. 11-12 c.  
 b. Cemetery  
 c. Archaeological researched(1925, 1968)  
 d. N. Chidioșan, *O cemetery din feudalismul timpuriu descoperită la Sălacea*, în: *SCIV*, 20, 1969, 4, p. 614; A. M. Velter, *Transilvania în sec. V-XII*, 2002, p. 455

**XLVII. Sănnicolau de Beiuș** (com. Șoimi), jud. Bihor

1. Punct: -

- a. 11-12 c.  
 b. Cemetery  
 c. Archaeological researched(1977, 1987)  
 d. A. M. Velter, *Transilvania în sec. V-XII*, 2002, p. 459

**XLVIII. Sânpetru German** (com. Secușigiu), jud. Arad

1. Punct: *între ruinele romane*

- a. 10-11 c.  
 b. Cemetery (8 graves)  
 c. Semnalare (1860)  
 d. A. M. Velter, *Transilvania în sec. V-XII*, 2002, p. 460

**XLIX. Simeria Veche** (oraș Simeria), jud. Hunedoara

1. Punct: *În vii*

- a. 10-11 c.  
 b. Cemetery (33 +? graves)  
 c. Archaeological researched(1962, 1971-1972)  
 d. D. Popescu, în: *Săpăturile arheologice din R. P. R. în anul 1962*, *SCIV* XIV, 2, 1963, p. 455; B. Basa, *Șantierul Simeria*, în: *MCA*, IX, 1970, p. 225 – 232; M. Muntean, *Studiul antropologic al scheletelor provenite din necropola medievală timpurie de la Simeria Veche (Jud. Hunedoara)*, în: *AnB*, VI, 1998, p. 339 – 357; R. Popa, *Țara Hașegului*, p. 59; A. Dragotă, I. M. Țiplic, *Scurt istoric al cercetărilor privind necropolele din Transilvania (sec. IX-XI)*, în: *Corviniana*, 6, 2000, p. 128; S. A. Luca, *Arheologie și istorie*, III, 2005, p. 222;

**L. Socodor**, jud. Arad

1. Punct: *Căvăjdia*

- e. 11-12 c.  
 f. Cemetery

- g. Cercetări arheologice  
 h. P. Iambor, *Câteva observații privind cercetarea arheologică a așezărilor rurale din Transilvania din perioada feudalismului timpuriu*, în: *ActaMN*, 20, 1983, p. 503; A. M. Velter, *Transilvania în sec. V-XII*, 2002, p. 467

**LI. Streisângeorgiu** (aparține or. Călan), jud. Hunedoara

1. Punct: *La Biserică*  
 a. 11-12 c.  
 b. Cemetery  
 c. Cercetări arheologice  
 d. C. Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul României*, p. 228; A. M. Velter, *Transilvania în sec. V-XII*, 2002, p. 468

**LII. Șeitin**, jud. Arad

1. Punct: *Șpălanca în imediata apropiere a caselor de pe Aleea Mureș*  
 a. 10 c.  
 b. cemetery (4 graves)  
 c. cercetări arheologice  
 d. M. Blăjan, Șt. Bozian, C. Șiclovan, *Descoperiri arheologice la Șeitin (jud. Arad)*, în: *Apulum*, 14, 1976, p. 423-427; A. M. Velter, *Transilvania în sec. V-XII*, 2002, p. 470

**LIII. Șiclău** (com. Grăniceri), jud. Arad

1. Punct: *Gropoaie*  
 a. 10 c.  
 b. cemetery (12 graves)  
 c. cercetare arheologică de salvare (1958, 1959)  
 d. M. Rusu, E. Dörner, *Săpătura de salvare de la Șiclău (r. Criș, reg. Crișana)*, în: *MCA*, 8, 1962, p. 705-708; C. Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul României*, p. 228-231; A. M. Velter, *Transilvania în sec. V-XII*, 2002, p. 470-471

**LIV. Șiria**, jud. Arad

1. Punct: *Balta Jătei*  
 a. 11-12 c.  
 b. cemetery  
 c. cercetare arheologică (1968)  
 d. D. Popescu, în: *Dacia, NS*, 14, 1970, p. 503; A. M. Velter, *Transilvania în sec. V-XII*, 2002, p. 472

**LV. Șirioara** (com. Șieu-Odorhei), jud. Bistrița Năsăud

1. Punct: *Cetățuie*  
 a. 11-12 c.  
 b. Cemetery (74 graves)  
 c. Cercetări arheologice  
 d. M. Rusu, Șt. Dănilă, *Cetatea feudală timpurie de la șirioara*, în: *File de istorie*, 2, 1972, p. 47-66; A. M. Velter, *Transilvania în sec. V-XII*, 2002, p. 472-473

**LVI. Șușca** (comuna Pojejena), jud. Caraș-Severin

1. Punct în hotarul localității

- a. 11 c.  
 b. Cemetery  
 c. Semnalare  
 d. RepJudCS, p. 131; D. Țeicu, *Necropole medievale (sec. X-XIV) din sudul Banatului*, în *Banatica*, 13, 1995, 1, p. 239; S. A. Luca, *Descoperiri arheologice în Banat*, p. 365

**LVII. Tărian** (com. Girișu de Criș), jud. Bihor

1. Punct: *Dâmbul lui Ciordaș*  
 a. 10-11? c.  
 b. cemetery (12 graves)  
 c. cercetări arheologice  
 d. D. Popescu, în: *Dacia, NS*, 12, 1968, p. 682; C. Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul României*, p. 234; A. M. Velter, *Transilvania în sec. V-XII*, 2002, p. 475

**LVIII. Timișoara**, jud. Timiș

1. Punct: *Cioreni*  
 a. 10-11 c.  
 b. Cemetery  
 c. Cercetări arheologice  
 d. A. Radulescu, *Archaeological researchedmedievale din Banatul de câmpie; scurt istoric*, în: *StIB*, 23-25, 1999-2001, p. 62-63; S. A. Luca, *Descoperiri arheologice în Banat*, p. 372

**LIX. Vărsand** (com. Pilu), jud. Arad

1. Punct: *Movila dintre Vii*  
 a. 10-11 c.  
 b. cemetery (58 graves)  
 c. Archaeological researched(1902-1903, 1931, 1949)  
 d. D. Popescu, *Archaeological researcheddin Transilvania. II. Săpăturile de la Vărsand*, în *MCA*, II, 1956, p. 89-132; A. M. Velter, *Transilvania în sec. V-XII*, 2002, p. 483

**LX. Voiteg**, jud. Timiș

1. Punct: -  
 a. 10-11 c.  
 b. cemetery  
 c. cercetări arheologice  
 d. A. M. Velter, *Transilvania în sec. V-XII*, 2002, p. 485

**LXI. Zalău**, jud. Sălaj

1. Punct: *Palvar / Polișonul militar, str. Crasna*  
 a. 10 c.  
 b. cemetery (12 graves)  
 c. cercetări de salvare (1994)  
 d. C. Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul României*, p. 24-241; S. Băcuet-Crișan, D. Băcuet-Crișan, *Archaeological researchedpe teritoriul orașului Zalău*, Zalău, 2003, p. 60-64.

Punct: *Cetate*

- a. 11 c.  
 b. cemetery (35 graves)  
 c. Archaeological researched(1980, 2001)



- d. S. Băcuet-Crișan, D. Băcuet-Crișan, *Archaeological researchedpe teritoriul orașului Zalău*, Zalău, 2003, p. 49-50, 69-73.

**LXII. Zăbala** (Zabola), jud. Covasna

1. Punct: *la 3,5 km vest de comună, pe malul stâng al Râului Negru, la Movila Tătarilor*
- 11-12 c.
  - Cemetery (198 graves)
  - Cercetare arheologică (1969-1970)
  -

- d. RepJudCV, p. 163; A. M. Velter, *Transilvania în sec. V-XII*, 2002, p. 487

**LXIII. Zimandu Nou**, jud. Arad

1. Punct: *Cetatea de pământ*
- 11 c.
  - cemetery
  - cercetări arheologice
  - A. M. Velter, *Transilvania în sec. V-XII*, 2002, p. 488

**B. Singular Graves from Transilvania, Banat and Crișana  
(the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> C –the first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> C.)**

**I. Almaș**, (jud. Arad)

1. Punct: *neprecizat*
- 11 c.
  - grave izolat
  - 
  - A. M. Velter, *Transilvania în sec. V-XII*, 2002, p. 361

**II. Beba Veche**, jud. Timiș

1. Punct: *din arealul localității*
- X-XI
  - Grave
  - Descoperire izolată
  - G. Tănase, E. Gall, în: *AB(SN)*, 7-8, 1999-2000; S.A. Luca, *Arheologie și istorie. III Descoperiri din Banat*, p. 25

**III. Belin** (Bölön), jud. Covasna

1. Punct: *în hotarul comunei*
- 11-13 c.
  - grave with sword
  - 
  - RepJudCV, p. 43
  - MNS, nr. inv. 233

**IV. Benic** (com. Galda de Jos), jud. Alba

1. Punct: *neprecizat*
- 11 c.
  - Cemetery (?)
  - 
  - RepJudAB, p. 53
  - Muzeul Aiud, nr. inv. 4945-46

**V. Căpeni** (Chepeș, Köpec), aparține orașului Baraolt, jud. Covasna

1. Punct: *Kocsukk*
- 11 c.
  - 2 graves with hors bones
  - 
  - RepJudCV, p. 39
  - MNS, nr. inv. 7676

**VI. Ciumești** (com. Sanislău), jud. Satu Mare

1. Punct: *La Silozuri/Legelö kut / Ciumești III*
- 11-12 ? c.
  - Cemetery ?
  -

- d. C. Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul României*, p. 186

**VII. Curtuiușeni** (com. Curtuiușeni), jud. Bihor

1. Punct: *Dealul Căramidăriei / Egető hegy*
- X
  - Grave
  - 
  - C. Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul României*, p. 188

2. Punct: *Dealul Mănăstirii sau Dealul Capelei / Kapolna Domb*

- X
- grave ?
- 
- C. Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul României*, p. 188-189

**VIII. Cuvin**, jud. Caraș-Severin

1. Punct: *valea Dunării*
- 11 ? c.
  - Cemetery ?
  - Archaeological researched(1968)
  - L. Kovacs, în: *AAH*, 43, 1991, p. 419; D. Țeicu, *Banatul montan în evul mediu*, Timișoara, 1998, p. 126.

**IX. Deva**, jud. Hunedoara

Punct: *la marginea sudică a municipiului Deva*

- 11-12 ? c.
- Cemetery?
- Archaeological researched (1894)
- R. Popa, *La începuturile evului mediu românesc. Țara Hațegului*, p. 59

**X. Dîrjiu** (Szekelyderzs), jud. Harghita

1. Punct: -
- 11 c.
  - grave
  - 
  - RepJudHR, p. 122

**XI. Irina** (com. Andrid), jud. Satu Mare

1. Punct: *necunoscut din hotarul satului*
- 9-10 c.
  - Grave ?
  -

- d. C. Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul României*, p. 193.
- XII. Lopadea Veche** (fost Lopadea Română), jud. Alba
- Punct: -
- - cemetery ?
  - 
  - RepJudAB, p. 119
- XIII. Moldova Veche** (com. Moldova Nouă), jud. Caraș-Severin
1. Punct: *Rât, pe malul Dunării*
- XI
  - Grave
  - 
  - A. M. Velter, *Transilvania în sec. V-XII*, 2002, p. 431
- XIV. Oarba de Mureș** (com. Iernut), jud. Mureș
1. Punct: *La Biserică*
- 10 c.
  - Cemetery? (4 graves)
  - 
  - A. M. Velter, *Transilvania în sec. V-XII*, 2002, p. 439
- XV. Oradea**, jud. Bihor
2. Punct: *Cazarma husarilor*
- 10 c.
  - cemetery ?
  - (1893)
  - C. Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul României*, p. 209-210.
- XVI. Petrisat** (localitate componentă a or. Blaj), jud. Alba
1. Punct *în curtea caselor nr. 138 și 139*
- - 
  - 
  - RepJudAB, p. 143
- XVII. Răpsig** (com. Bocsig), jud. Bihor
1. Punct: *din hotarul comunei*
- 9-10 c.
  - Grave ?
  - 
  - C. Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul României*, p. 216.
  - MȚCO, nr. inv. 5076.
- XVIII. Salonta**, jud. Bihor
1. Punct: *Insula uscată*
- 10-11 c.
  - 2 graves
  - 
  - C. Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul României*, p. 218; A. M. Velter, *Transilvania în sec. V-XII*, 2002, p. 453
  - MȚCO, nr. inv. 1279-1286, 1288-129
2. Punct: *Dealul Trupului / Test halom*
- 10 c.
  - Grave
  -
- d. C. Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul României*, p. 218-219
- e. MȚCO, nr. inv. 4886-4888
- XIX. Santăul Mic** (com. Borș), jud. Bihor
1. Punct: *hotarul satului*
- 10? C.
  - grave ?
  - (1890)
  - C. Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul României*, p. 220.
- XX. Săcuieni**, jud. Bihor
1. Punct: *locul Horo*
- 9-10 c.
  - Grave
  - Archaeological researched(1964)
  - N. Chidioșan, Z. Nannasy, *Un grave din perioada prefeudală descoperit la Săcuieni, jud. Bihor*, în: *ActaMN*, 5, 1968, p. 519; A. M. Velter, *Transilvania în sec. V-XII*, 2002, p. 454.
- XXI. Sânbenedic**, com. Fărău, jud. Alba
- 1. Punct pe teritoriul satului**
- 9-10? C.
  - 
  - 
  - RepJudAB, p. 173
- XXII. Sântandrei** (aparține mun. Oradea), jud. Bihor
1. Punct: -
- 11 ? c.
  - Grave
  - 
  - A. M. Velter, *Transilvania în sec. V-XII*, 2002, p. 461
- XXIII. Sântion** (com. Borș), jud. Bihor
1. Punct: -
- 11 c.
  - grave
  - 
  - A. M. Velter, *Transilvania în sec. V-XII*, 2002, p. 461
- XXIV. Sebeș**, jud. Alba
1. Punct: *pe malul Sebeșului, între Sebeș și Petrești*
- 9-10 c.
  - 2 graves
  - 
  - RepJudAB, p. 167
- XXV. Sfântu Gheorghe** (Sepsiszentgyorgy), jud. Covasna
1. Punct *Dealul fragilor*, la est de oraș în apropierea gării CFR
- 10-11 c.
  - Un grave de călăreț
  - 
  - RepJudCV, p. 126
  - MSN, nr. inv. 8175-8177
2. Punct *pe raza municipiului*
- 11-13 c.
  - grave (?)
  -

- d. RepJudCV, 128
- XXVI. Vrani**, jud. Caraș-Severin
- 1. Punct: *Dealul Morîșchii*
    - a. Early medieval (?)
    - b. cemetery
    - c. -
    - d. RepJudCS, p. 144

- XXVII. Vurpăr** (com. Vințu de Jos), jud. Alba
- 8. Punct: -
  - a. 9-11? C.
  - b. grave
  - c. -
  - d. A. M. Velter, *Transilvania în sec. V-XII*, 2002, p. 485

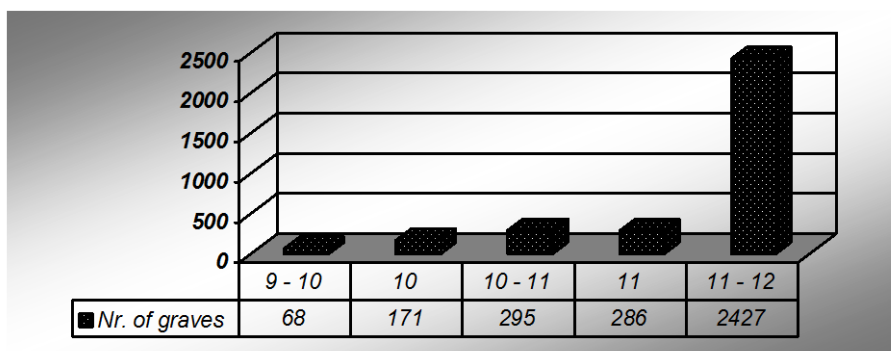
Tabel 1. Grave no. – 9-12 c.

	<b>Cemetery</b>	<b>9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup></b>	<b>10<sup>th</sup></b>	<b>10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup></b>	<b>11<sup>th</sup></b>	<b>11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup></b>
A I.	1. Alba Iulia – Spitalul Veterinar			5		
	2. Alba Iulia				35	
	4. Alba Iulia – Str. Arh. I. Hossu			89		
	5. Alba Iulia – Biserica catolică					315
	6. Alba Iulia – Stadion				20	
	8. Alba Iulia – Izvorul Împăratului		22			
B I.	Almaș				1	
A II.	2. Arad – Pădurea Vrăbiilor					13
	3. Arad – Pădurea Ceala		1			
A III	1. Arad-Vladimirescu					200
B II.	1. Beba Veche			1		
A V.	1. Biharea - Cărămidărie					524
	2. Biharea – Dealul Șumuleu			8		
	3. Biharea - Cetate			11		
A VI	1. Blandiana – La Brod	8				
	2. Blandiana – În vii		22			
B V.	1. Căpeni				2	
A VIII.	1. Ciumbrud	32				
A X.	1. Cluj-Napoca - Calvaria					159?
	3. Cluj-Napoca – Str. gen. T. Moșoiu		11			
	5. Cluj-Napoca – Str. Plugarilor		26			
B VII.	1. Curtuiuşeni		1			
	2. Curtuiuşeni		1			
A XII.	1. Dăbâca – Cetate					500?
	2. Dăbâca – Grădina lui Tamaș					60
B X.	1. Dîrjiu				1	
A XIV.	1. Deva – Micro 15			5-6?		
A XVIII.	1. Foieni – jud. Satu Mare				31	
A XIX.	1. Galoșpetreu – Dâmbul Morii		4			
A XX.	1. Gâmbaș - Măguricea			10?		
A XXIII.	1. Gherman					8
A XXIV.	1. Gornea – Căunița de Sus					100
A XXV.	1. Hodoni - Pociroane				16	
A XXVI.	1. Hunedoara – Dealul Comorilor				114	
A XXVII.	1. Ilidia – La funii					17
B XI.	1. Irina	1				
A XXX.	1. Lopadea Nouă – La Râpe				11?	
A XXXII.	1. Mehadia – Zidină					10
A XXXIII.	1. Moftinu Mic – Pe deal		13			
B XIII.	1. Moldova Veche				1	
A XXXIV.	1. Moldovenești					63
	2. Moldovenești					5
A XXXVI.	1. Noșlac			18		
B XIV.	1. Oarba de Mureș		4			
A XXXVIII.	1. Oradea – Salca Ghețarie		7			
A XXXIX.	1. Orăștie – Dealul Pemilor X2			57		
	2. Orăștie – Dealul Pemilor X8	10				
	3. Orăștie – Cetate					40?
A XLI.	1. Pâclișa – La izvoare				17	
B XVII.	1. Răpsig	1				
A XLII.	1. Pecica – La șanțul mare					140
B XVIII.	1. Salonta – Insula uscată			2		

	2. Salonta – Dealul Trupului		1			
B XIX.	1. Santăul Mic		1			
B XX.	1. Săcuieni	1				
AXLVI.	1. Sălacea – Dealul Vida	12				
A XLVIII.	1. Sânpetru German			8		
B XXII.	1. Sântandrei				1	
B XXIII.	1. Sântion				1	
B XXIV.	1. Sebeș	2				
A XLIX.	1. Simeria Veche – În vii			33?		
B XXV.	1. Sfântu Gheorghe			1		
	2. Sfântu Gheorghe					1
A LII.	1. Șeitin		4			
A LIII.	1. Șiclău – Groppoaie		12			
A LV.	1. Șirioara					74
A LVII.	1. Tărian – Dâmbul lui Ciordaș			12		
B XXVII.	1. Vurpăr	1				
A LIX.	1. Vârșand – Movila dintre vii			58		
A LXI.	1. Zalău – Palvar		12			
	2. Zalău – Cetate				35	
A LXII.	1. Zăbala					198
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>68 +?</b>	<b>171 +?</b>	<b>295 +?</b>	<b>286 +?</b>	<b>2427 +?</b>

<b>TOTAL + Alba Iulia – Stația de Salvare</b>	<b>3247</b>	<b>+</b>	<b>1200</b>
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Graphic 4.



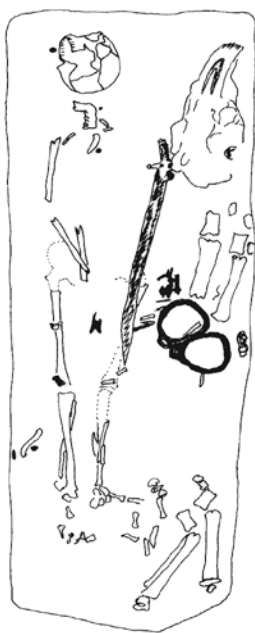
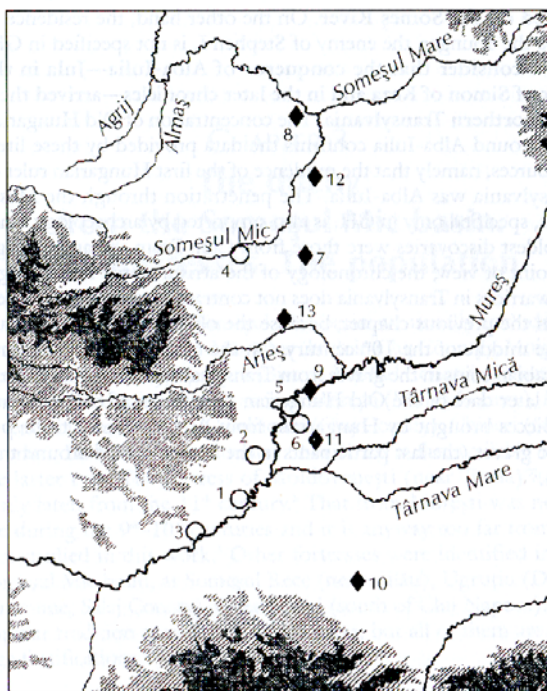


Fig. D. Grave from Zapolya Cemetery (Cluj\_Napoca) – according B. Köpeczi

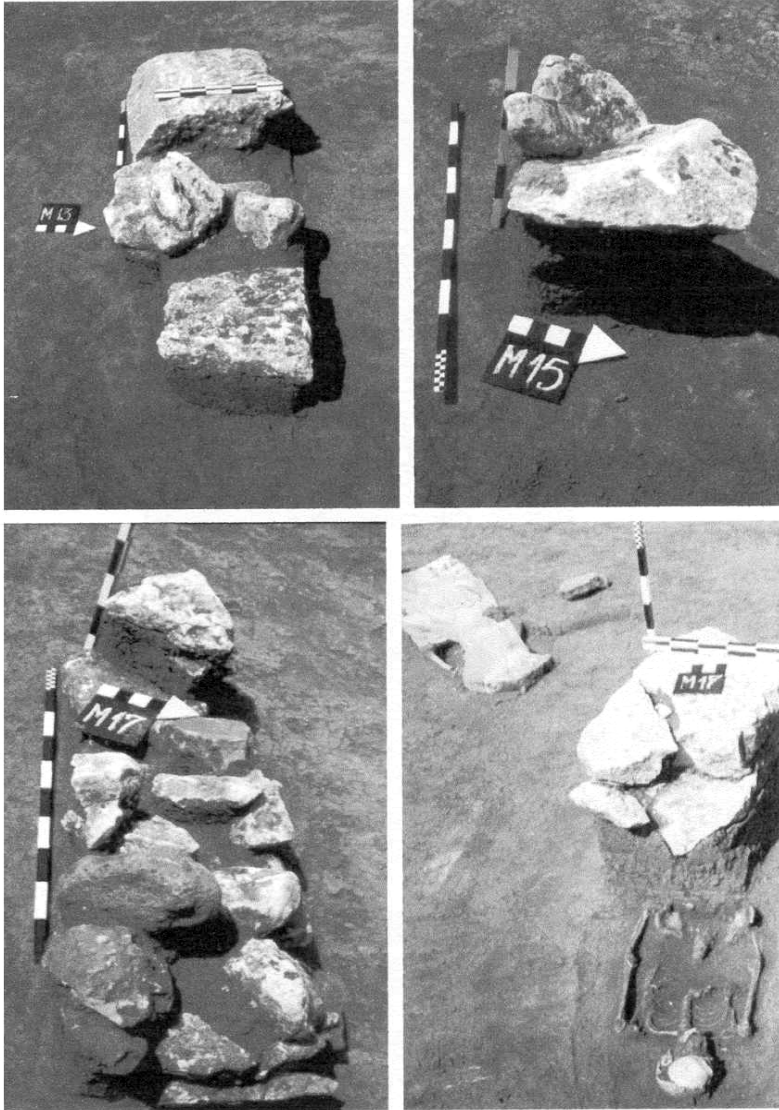


Old Hungarian cemeteries and graves in Transylvania

LEGEND

- |                      |                    |
|----------------------|--------------------|
| ○ = Hungarian graves | 6 = Lopadea Nouă   |
| ◆ = Salt mines       | 7 = Cojocna        |
| 1 = Alba-Iulia       | 8 = Ocna Dejului   |
| 2 = Benic            | 9 = Ocna-Mureș     |
| 3 = Blandiana        | 10 = Ocna Sibiului |
| 4 = Cluj-Napoca      | 11 = Ocnișoara     |
| 5 = Gâmbaș           | 12 = Sic           |
|                      | 13 = Turda         |

Map.9. Old Hungarian cemeteries from Transylvania (10<sup>th</sup> century) – Al. Madgearu



Alba Iulia – Str. Brîndușei ( Dragotă – Brânda 2001 ).

Fig. E. Alba Iulia. Graves with stone – 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> c.





## TYPOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF EARTH AND WOOD FORTIFICATIONS FROM TRANSYLVANIA IN THE 10<sup>TH</sup>-13<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES

5.1 *General View.* The fortifications' study was a constant issue of the European historiographies, but the obtained results do not represent a general constant at European level. The reasons are obvious: the economic-politic discrepancies within this region. As concerning the fortifications' study from Transylvania, we can say that it was a great concern even starting with the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This impulse resulted from the romantic trend. However, in this case, the results are fare and cannot offer clear conclusions. Generally speaking, the fortifications' problems were treated in sequential periods. German historiography was preoccupied especially by the fortifications in the South of Transylvania; while Romanian historiography was preoccupied especially by getting results that support the information from "Cronica Notarului Anonim". This information is related to the fortifications besieged by Hungarians at the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. Hungarian historiography (from Hungary) had a particular interest in the fortifications dating from the Arpadian Age. However, the most important studies regarding the fortifications in Hungary and Transylvania<sup>329</sup> belong to Hungarian historiography, but the origin of the fortifications' architecture from the Arpadian period was not completely clarified, even if some structural particularities were close to the fortifications in Central and Eastern Europe from the period between the 11<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries. A widely-spread opinion, from their point of view, is that the architecture of these fortifications are linked to the Khazar model<sup>330</sup>, but this hypothesis was not completely demonstrated through the archeological researches.

Romanian historiography has information regarding the fortifications from the 11<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries due to the archaeological researches in Dăbâca. The partial researches published until the 1960', in the context of the researches of the fortified settlements, are resumed by P. Iambor in his doctor's thesis<sup>331</sup> in 1999. Based on the ideas exposed by the collective research from Dabica, the Transylvanian fortifications can be divided in three categories:

- fortifications with one of many earthworks or one or two moats;
- fortifications with palisade at the back or on the ridge of the earthwork;
- stone fortifications;

The archeological researches made in the last decades brought substantial contributions to the reconstruction of the general historic frame and to a better

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<sup>329</sup> See *Castrum Bene*, 1/1989, *Várak a 13 században. Burgen im 13 Jahrhundert. A magyar várépítés fénykora. Die Blütezeit des ungarischen Burgenbaus*, Gyöngyhös, 1990; *Castrum Bene*, 2/1990, *Várak Későközépkorban. Die Burgen im Spätmittelalter*, hg.Von Juan Cabello, Budapest, 1992; I. Bona, *Az Árpádok korai várai*, Debrecen 1998.

<sup>330</sup> B. Köpeczi, *Histoire de la Transylvanie*, Budapest, 1992, p.158.

<sup>331</sup> P. Iambor, *Așezări fortificate din Transilvania*, doctor's thesis, Cluj Napoca, 2001, p.190 sq.

understanding of the demographic situation at the time. Various discoveries as a result of the systematic excavations and archeological researches made on the Transylvanian territory established the existence of 238 settlements, 31 fortified towns or fortresses and 81 necropolises<sup>332</sup> between the 10<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries. The acknowledgement of the fortifications plays an important role for the global reconstruction of the medieval habitat of this particular area. However, without any doubt, the fortresses dating from the 9<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> centuries are the most controversial problem of reconstructions based on archeological discoveries.

A special attention was paid to the fortresses and strongholds dating from the 9<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> centuries because their study allow us a more realistic understanding of the political, social and economic transformations that took place within the society in those times. M. Rusu reckoned these transformations based on the appearance of earlier medieval Transylvanian fortresses<sup>333</sup> and gave less significant importance to the impact that the Western medieval world had upon this area. On the other hand, Șt.Pascu, gave full credit to the chronic narratives written about year 1200. As concerning the fortifications that the Hungarians founded in the first decades of the 10<sup>th</sup> century in Bihor, Banat and Transylvania, Șt.Pascu strongly believes in archeology and identified in the field the majority of the vestiges mentioned in this chronic<sup>334</sup>. The same source claims that numerous fortresses were built by Hungarians during the 10<sup>th</sup> century<sup>335</sup>. R. Popa considers that it is possible that there were earth fortresses at the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century in Transylvania, as this chronic or other sources mention. However, he is aware that we do not hold enough information on any fortresses examined until today and we do not have the necessary documentation for sure dates, consequently we have to the dates proposed by the authors of the researches<sup>336</sup>. Only 3 or 4 cases mentioned the preliminary reports allow us to have a more comprehensive view of the vestiges. The 20 earth fortresses examined in the last decades in Transylvania through systematic excavations still represent the personal scientific capital of those archaeologists who were preoccupied by their<sup>337</sup> research.

All those authors who have written about Romanian early medieval fortresses from the intra-Carpathian territories in the last decades met major obstacles, as their ideas were not accepted. At social and political level, they encountered even more obstacles. The whole theory of Șt.Pascu about Romanian fortresses from the 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> centuries was inspired by the archaeological soundings and an older hypothesis, but

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<sup>332</sup> *Istoria României. Transilvania*, tome 2, Cluj Napoca, 1997, p.294.

<sup>333</sup> *Ibidem*, p.295.

<sup>334</sup> Șt.Pascu, *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*, tome I, Cluj Napoca, 1971, p.42 sqq.

<sup>335</sup> Anonymus, *Gesta Hungarorum*, chapters XVII, XVIII, XXI, XXII, XXXII, XXXIV, P.L.Tonciulescu, Bucuresti, 1996.

<sup>336</sup> R.Popă, *Observații și îndreptări la istoria Anului O Mie*, in SCIVA, 42, 1991, 3-4, p.167 (see *Observații*).

<sup>337</sup> A consistent report only on the archeological researches from Dăbâca after 4 years that they had started the researches in the year 1964 (ȘT.PASCU, M.RUSU and colab., in Acta MN, 5, 1968, p.153-202) this report is far too accomplished using the information for all affirmations ulterior appeared in publications. R.Popă, *Observații*, p.167-168, n.51.

subsequently transformed, in spite of arguments, into stimulus and even in indication for subsequent archeological researches of his exposition in *Tratatul de Istorie* (1962) and mainly in the work *Voievodatul Transilvaniei* (1971). This theory starts from the assumption that we can draw a parallel between the evolution of the Romanian society and the evolution of the populations the neighboring territories<sup>338</sup> in the 8<sup>th</sup> -10<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The Transylvanian fortresses can be divided, according to M. Rusu's opinion<sup>339</sup>, into three main types:

- fortresses with one or more earthworks protected by moats with neat bottom or in river bed shape;
- fortresses with complex palisade situated in the back or on the ridge of earthwork;
- fortresses with stone walls built through a technique of Byzantine origin .

There is no clear typology and chronological framing of the fortifications because we have, during the 11<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries plenty of examples that can be included in each of these three types. We have discovered fortifications with stonewalls in the 11<sup>th</sup> century in Moldovenești, fortifications with wall, palisade and moat in the 12<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries such as Lipova, Ceala, Cuhea<sup>340</sup> and fortifications with wall, palisade and moat in the 10<sup>th</sup> century in Biharea, Dăbica.

Many of the fortresses from the 9<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> centuries mentioned in the documents of that time have not been identified in the field. The only information that can be used about these identifications is of toponymy nature. Numerous settlements that survived or "disappeared" contain in their names clues regarding the strong character of the population or the existence of a fortification. In other words, we have numerous toponyms that remember those simple fortification works made of trees and moats, enclosures and earthworks. Some of these enclosures must have been either destroyed or conquered by Hungarians during the fights for Transylvania conquering. Their existence in Transylvanian territory is supported also by Anonymus in his chronic *Gesta*

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<sup>338</sup> R.Popa, *Observații*, p.171. As concerning the ethnic origin of those who ruled these fortifications, the opinion of M.Rusu is relevant (*Cetățile transilvănene din sec.IX-XI și importanța lor istorică*, in Ziridava, 10, 1978, 168): "*The Petchenegs' and Cumans' claims of Transylvania's domination were obvious, because they were the principal organized army force, that together with the Romanian-Slav local population opposed against systematic conquering of this territory by Hungarians*", although going further (p.169) the quoted author considers that these fortifications defended by Petchenegs and Cumans seem to have been built by autochthonous population.

<sup>339</sup> *Istoria României. Transilvania*, p.295-296. confronted by the article published in 1978, the quoted author brought no modification in the syntheses made in the tome I of the treat *Istoria României* about Transylvanian early medieval fortifications and with those dating. M.Rusu, *Cetățile medievale din sec.IX-XI și importanța lor istorică*, in Ziridava, 10, 1978, p.159-170. For references about some mentioned fortifications see R.Popa, *Observații*, p.156 sq.

<sup>340</sup> R.Popa, M.Zdroba, *Șantierul arheologic Cuhea*, Baia Mare, 1966, p.13, 32; R.Popa, *Reserches d'archeologie medievale au Maramures*, in *RRH*, 5, 1966, p.771.

Hungarorum<sup>341</sup> who mentioned their name. On the other hand, this kind of fortifications is attested in the entire Eastern European space beginning from the territories in the East of Prut and reaching the region of present Silesia<sup>342</sup>.

The fortifications in the first centuries of the Middle Age were built from earth, wood and sometimes stone. They were either summer camps (*castra estiva*) or permanent camps (*castra stativa*). From the 12<sup>th</sup> century until the large Tartar-Mongol invasion in 1241 a new type of fortifications has developed: fortifications of earth and wood; among them some stone fortifications (Moldovenești, Dăbica, Feldioara) began to appear. The tragic experience of the invasion from 1241 determined the royalty to replace more and more earthworks with stone palisade or strengthen the old fortresses with a type of fortification that will be imposed beginning with the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and coming out under the royal power monopoly<sup>343</sup>. The phenomenon can also be included in the larger process of building fortresses in the 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries on the background of feudal anarchy in the Hungarian kingdom from the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Also in this context, the fortified dwellings-towers as an example of generalizing the feudal relationships of Western type make their appearance in Transylvania. D. Țicu considers that the dwellings-towers are a part from the ensemble of medieval village world (...*Our present step is looking only at an aspect of the archeology in the medieval village, and especially that referring to the dwellings-towers*)<sup>344</sup>. This fact is unacceptable because the dwelling-tower is the appanage of a feudal and not of a community. It is not a fortification element of a locality, but a seigniorial residence. This affirmation is supported even by the quoted author, when states that the *origin of the tower-dwelling as typical fortification with an individual character must be sought in the Western-European medieval civilization of the 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries*<sup>345</sup>. The stone dwellings-towers transposed from constructive point of view the older traditions of the architecture in wood, considered to be one from the biggest innovation of the fortifications architecture from Western Europe in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, and more probably this phenomenon has been carried out in parallel with the development of the ecclesiastic architecture in stone<sup>346</sup>.

The authors of the treaty *Istoria Românilor*<sup>347</sup> tried to offer a typological structure starting from the summary analyses of some hypothesis- that concern the organization

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<sup>341</sup> P.L.Tonciulescu, *Cronica Notarului Anonymus. Faptele ungarilor*, Bukarest, 1996. The subject is larger treat in I.M.Țiplic, *Considerații cu privire la liniile întărite de tipul prisăcilor din Transilvania (sec.IX-XIII)*, in *ActaTS*, 1, 2002, p.147-164.

<sup>342</sup> L.Chișescu, *Fortificații de pământ și lemn pe teritoriul Țărilor Române in Evul Mediu*, in *SMMIM*, 2-3, 1969-1970, p.48.

<sup>343</sup> E.Fügedi, *Vár és társadalom a 13-14. Századi Magyarországon*, Budapest, 1977, p.87; A.Theiner, *Vetera monumenta Hungariae illustrantia*, I, p.253; Șt.PASCU, *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*, p.218.

<sup>344</sup> D.Țicu, *Despre începuturile arhitecturii de fortificații medievale in Banat*, in: *Arheologia satului medieval din Banat*, Reșița, 1996, p.77 (see *Arhitectura de fortificații*).

<sup>345</sup> D.Teicu, *Arhitectura de fortificații*, p.79.

<sup>346</sup> M.de Bouard, *Manuel d'archéologie médiévale. De la fouille à l'histoire*, Paris, 1975, p.113-114; A.A.Rusu, *Donjoane din Transilvania*, in *ActaMN*, XVII, p.181-182.

<sup>347</sup> Șt.Pascu, R.Theodorescu (coordinator), *Istoria Românilor*, tome III, Genezele românești, Bukarest, 2001, p.155.

mode of some territories, of some territorial structures, (i.e. in evolution phases of a state form) even from the 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> centuries. They began their analyses of the fortifications taking into account the following criteria: *emplacement* (promontory, field, waterside), *construction technique and dimensions*, *construction material and functional role*. We agree the fact that the first criterion is irrelevant as concerning its contribution in a typological analysis from chronological point of view. However, we can remark a superficiality regarding the subject of the treaty, because before admitting that the first criterion *is not important to establish a scientific typology*<sup>348</sup>, it should be mentioned that all four criteria have in general the same importance<sup>349</sup>.

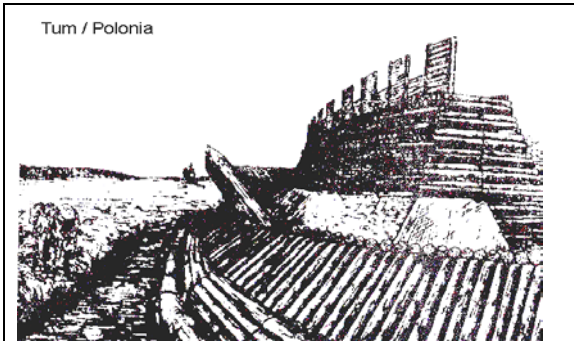


Fig. 1 Reconstruction of a complex palisade- Tum / Poland - W. Hensel

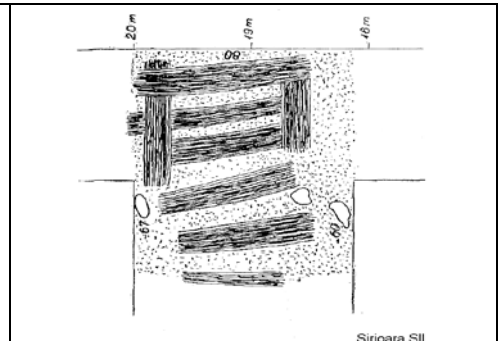


Fig. 2 Șirioara – burned wood from palisade (M. Rusu – Șt. Dănilă)

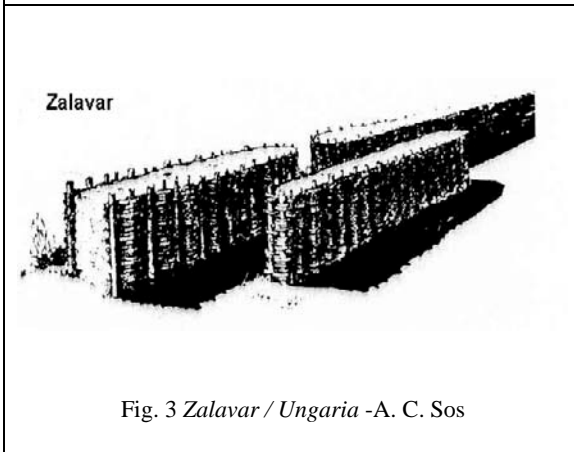


Fig. 3 Zalavar / Ungaria - A. C. Sos

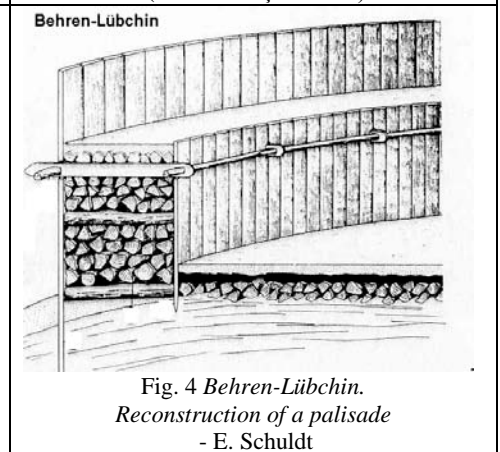


Fig. 4 Behren-Lübchin. Reconstruction of a palisade - E. Schuldt

S. Musteață<sup>350</sup> tried to come up with a typology for Republic of Moldova. He started his analysis from emplacement criteria and fortifications forms within this area. The author distinguished many fortifications types, but without a very clear

<sup>348</sup> *Ibidem*, p.156.

<sup>349</sup> *Ibidem*, p.155.

<sup>350</sup> S.Musteață, *Fortificații medievale timpurii din Republica Moldova*, doctor thesis, Iași, 1998.

chronological distinction. The fortifications form is given by the terrain where the fortifications are emplaced, thus we cannot distinguish certain preferences for some forms during the Medieval Age and certain preferences as regarding the fortifications emplacement.

The impossibility of getting rid of the conceptions appeared in the year 1960's is better illustrated. *Istoria României Transilvania*<sup>351</sup> offers the typology of Transylvanian fortifications in a simplistic way. In this work there are presented three types of fortifications suggested by M. Rusu<sup>352</sup> in 1978. However, this typology begins only from an analysis of a single criterion that is, the materials used for building the fortifications.

Șt. Pascu came up with a more complex analysis of the typology of Transylvanian fortifications. He acknowledged the criterion of construction materials and fortification affiliation<sup>353</sup>, but he disregarded the affiliation criterion concerning the stone fortifications. We do not agree with the author's opinion referring to the anteriority of *rustic fortifications* before the nobiliary and royal fortifications: *...many of the strengthen settlements were at the beginning "rustic fortresses", and some of them have become royal or feudal fortresses...*<sup>354</sup>. This kind of evolution is not included in the type of European medieval society. Moreover, in the space with western influence, the constructions of fortifications were the appanage of royalty or they represented a force attribute of the feudal.

### 5.2. *Typological aspects of fortifications constitutive elements.*

In order to come up with a typology of the fortifications we have to analyze first the elements of the fortification namely earthworks, moats, berme, round way and palisade. In 1956 P.A.Rappaport<sup>355</sup> published an important study referring to fortifications of earth and wood from the middle Dnieper region, respectively from the principalities situated in the territory called in old times *Russkaia zemlea*. The quoted author elaborated a typology enough pertinent starting from the analysis of elements that compose the fortifications. He managed to distinguish more fortifications types<sup>356</sup>:

- the 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> centuries are characterized by settlements that use for defense the relief forms which offer some advantages from this point of view. The fortifications form is irregular depending on the role of the fortification. They were defended in the exposed parts by artificial elements (moat and earthwork);
- the 10<sup>th</sup> century marks the beginning of a new period in organizing the strengthen settlements. There were three ways of strengthening the fortifications:

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<sup>351</sup> *Istoria României. Transilvania*, Cluj Napoca, 1997, p.295-296.

<sup>352</sup> M.Rusu, *Cetățile transilvanene din sec.IX-XI și importanța lor istorică*, p.159 sq.

<sup>353</sup> Șt.Pascu, *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*, II, Cluj Napoca, 1979, p.219-221.

<sup>354</sup> *Ibidem*, p.227.

<sup>355</sup> *Očerki po istorii russkogo voennogo zodčestva X-XIII vv*, in MIA, 52, 1956.

<sup>356</sup> D.Vilceanu, *Studii asupra arhitecturii militare ruse în secolele X-XIII*, in SCIV, IX, 1958, 1, p.192-193

- the first is represented by the type continuation during the 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> centuries;
- the second is represented by settlements that use hardly accessible position, but with artificial fortifications, such as earthwork and moats;
- the third variant represented the group of settlements that are not conditioned by relief forms naturally defended, the principal elements of fortifications were earthworks, moat and complex palisade;

Analyzing those fortifications elements, P.A.Rappaport could represent their evolution beginning from the analyses of construction modality of the earthworks and afferent palisades<sup>357</sup>. In the 10<sup>th</sup> century there was a system of depth extension characterized by horizontal rows of beams that formed the wall of simple palisades. To the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, these constructions have become more and more complex: there were used two rows of beams in parallel, having inside rammed earth; the result was a core with increased hardness and consistency. This variant of earthwork started to develop in the 10<sup>th</sup> century and continued to develop up to the 12<sup>th</sup> century when there appeared other artificial fortifications elements, like defence towers emplaced in the beginning phases in the gate area and after on the fortification earthwork, in the points considered more vulnerable<sup>358</sup>.

The numbered criteria are in general the most important modalities of classify the fortifications thus we may have some reports regarding the chronology as well. For this reason, we chose to present the following three classification criteria:

#### CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS:

##### Type I

- Subtype I a. Apiary lines
- Subtype I b. Fortifications with earthwork (v1-v2) and/without-simple palisade (p1).
- Subtype I c. Fortifications with earthwork (v3) and complex palisade (p2, p3).
- Subtype I d. Fortifications with earthwork, moat, palisade and stone dwelling tower.

##### Type II

Subtype II a. Fortresses with simple circular precincts built around the dwelling tower.

Subtype II b. Polygonal precincts with quadrilateral interior towers and with/without dwelling tower.

Subtype II c. Circular precincts with interior quadrilateral towers.

Subtype II d. Circular precincts with exterior quadrilateral towers.

Subtype II e. Precincts from longitudinal stone having an earthwork (v4) and dry moat.

Subtype II f. Irregular precincts with interior quadrilateral towers.

Subtype II g. Fortifications by Central-European type –the castles.

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<sup>357</sup> *Ibidem*, p.193.

<sup>358</sup> *Ibidem*.

## THEIR FUNCTION

Frontier fortifications  
County centre fortifications  
Urban fortifications  
Refugee fortifications

## THEIR AFFILIATION

Royal fortifications  
Voivodal fortifications  
Episcopal fortifications  
Nobiliary fortifications  
Collective fortifications

All these variants may be grouped in two categories: category A, the 10<sup>th</sup> century - the last decade of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and category B, the last decade of the 13<sup>th</sup> century – the 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>359</sup>. Thus, we can talk about a group of *early medieval fortifications* and the second group of fortifications only built from stone specific for *Late Middle Age and Modern Period*.

*5.3. Elements of fortifications by wood and earth.* In order to establish a clearer chronological view, it is necessary to make an analysis based on the studies published until present, on three main elements a fortification is made of: wood and earth, moat, earthwork and palisade. The reference fortifications brought into discussion are those we have little published information on. Such fortifications are found in Vladimirescu, Biharea, Ortelec, Moigrad, Dăbica, Șirioara, Cluj-Mănăștur.

The moat was the first element used for defending settlements even from antiquity. It was developed once the fortifications improved their ensemble. These evolutions can be divided in two types: s1 and s2.

**Type s1.** The archeological researches established that in the initial phases of the fortifications from Vladimirescu/Arad County<sup>360</sup>, Ortelec<sup>361</sup> and Moigrad/Sălaj County<sup>362</sup>, the moats adjacent to earthworks have riverbed shape. The bottom was relatively flat and their depths varied between 1.2 and 1.8 m. In Vladimirescu and Dăbica 2, in the earthwork were found traces of oblique pole pits, oriented to the moat. The distance from the bottom of the moat and until the ridge of the earthwork, was of about 9m in Ortelec and Moigrad. A similar situation is in the case of fortified moats

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<sup>359</sup> We stop due to chronological limits of this work, only about the first part of the category B and about the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and until the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>360</sup> M.Barbu, M.Zdroba, *Noi cercetări privind cetatea de pamânt de la Vladimirescu*, in Ziridava, VIII, 1977, p.17-28.

<sup>361</sup> P.Iambor, *Sondajul arheologic de la Zalău –Ortelec*, in MCA, 1983, p.513-514.

<sup>362</sup> M.Rusu, *Cetatea Moigrad si Porțile Meseșului*, in *Sub semnul lui Clîo. Omagiu Acad.Prof. Ștefan Pascu*, Cluj, 1974, p.265-279.



from Șirioara 1 and Dăbica 1, these have riverbed shape with flat bottom<sup>363</sup>. In all the cases presented above, the fortifying phase I dates from the 10<sup>th</sup> century. This fact is supported by the analogies from the Moravian and Polish space where the fortifications from Stare Mesto, Stara Kourim and Tum (fig.1) have these forms of the moats and supplementary elements of protection earthworks.

**Type s2.** To the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the moat shape from the mentioned fortifications does not suffer large modifications; there are mainly modifications of dimensions. At Dabica 2 the afferent moat to the earthwork of the precincts I was deepened to the native rock and widened in the superior part, having a depth of about 4m and a width of about 9m in the superior part and only of 3m<sup>364</sup> the inferior part. The same situation we met in the case of phase II of the fortification from Vladimirescu<sup>365</sup>. In all cases, the new shape of the earthwork is given by the fact that in the phase II of earthwork reconstruction is also included the ruin of the initial earthwork and the moat.

**Type s3.** Simultaneously with palisades development and earthworks volume enlargement, the moats will evolve during the 11<sup>th</sup> century. They take different forms and the dimensions are getting larger in depth and width. In this sense there are mentioned the moats of the fortifications from Dăbica 2 and Morești, afferent to complex palisades and cassette earthworks dating from the last part of the 10<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. These may have analogies in Russian, Polish and Moravian space and in the German space as well.

The earthwork represented the main element of fortification during the Early Middle Age being the characteristic element for *category A* (of wood and earth fortifications). The analyses of the earthworks as a result of archeological researches in Transylvanian space allow us to divide them in several categories from chronological and typological point of view:

- the type v1 (earthwork built from layers of rammed earth, with exterior beam and interior road way –Dăbica1, Cluj-Mănăștur1 Moldovenești1);
- the type v2 (earthwork strengthened through the building of cassettes connected by two wooden fences with transversal beams –Dăbica3, Cluj-Mănăștur2 and 3, Morești);
- the type v3 (earthwork strengthened through stone pieces combined with earth –Zalău-Ortelec, Avrig);
- the type v4 (earthworks that represent only additional defensive elements of stone fortifications –Breaza);

In the 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> centuries, in many regions from Central-Western and Southeastern Europe, the fortifications were protected by earthworks made of lattice work (Holz-Erde-Wall), as well as cassettes (Kasetenkonstruktion). There is some information according to which the lattice system is former to that with cassettes, but there were

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<sup>363</sup> M.Rusu, Șt.Dănilă, *Cetatea feudală timpurie de la Șirioara*, p.56-60; Șt.PASCU, M.RUSU și colab., *Cetatea Dăbica*, p.158.

<sup>364</sup> Șt.Pascu, M.Rusu și colab., *Cetatea Dăbica*, p.162.

<sup>365</sup> M.Barbu, M.Zdroba, in *Ziridava*, X, 1978, p.101-120.

times when they could have been used almost simultaneously<sup>366</sup>. For Transylvanian space we can make a few chronological classifications starting from the accepted periods for the examined fortifications so far.

**Type v1.** The majority of earth fortifications from Transylvania are said to be date from the beginning of 10<sup>th</sup> century. For this period we have proofs the use of simple earthwork in Dăbica1 (the precincts IV), Cluj-Mănăştur1, Moldoveneşti1. The first phase of fortification from Moldoveneşti consists of a simple rammed earthwork, about 7-9 m wide that surrounds the plateau. It is assumed that on its ridge there existed a simple wooden palisade. This stage is dated at the end of 9<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century<sup>367</sup> as a result of the archaeological researches. In Cluj-Mănăştur1, the first phase of fortification consists from earthwork built from successive layers of sandy earth, gravel and lens of black earth, fur-lined on the both sides with wooden beams, dating from the first part of the 10<sup>th</sup> century<sup>368</sup>. Thus, in Transylvania the type v1 can be traced only for relatively short period of time, namely in the first half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century.

**Type v2.** In Şirioara in the first phase of fortification there has been discovered the existence of an earthwork built on a wooden framework, made from two fences of wooden beams, connected with other transversal beams. There could not be found archeological traces of exterior beams of earthwork, but there were found compact fragments of carbonate wood from transversal beams that connected these two sides of the earthwork<sup>369</sup>.

In Dăbica2 and 3, Cluj-Mănăştur1 there were found other earthworks with the same characteristics but with a complex palisade. At Dăbica 2 the same situation is found in the reconstruction of the earthwork from the precincts I, Here it has been raised and built a palisade with double walls of longitudinal wooden beams and strengthen by other horizontal<sup>370</sup> beams. This system has a foundation made of wooden framework stuck in the earthwork mantle, creating a solid base for palisade elevation. These earthworks are assumed to be dating from the first part of the 11<sup>th</sup> century until during the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the moment when the earthworks at Dăbica are replaced with stone walls<sup>371</sup>.

**Type v3.** The third type of earthwork is relatively simple. It has been discovered in Zalău-Ortelec, where there have been found pieces of ceramics dating from the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>372</sup>.

**Type v4.** The last type of earthwork is represented by the late earthworks established at stone fortifications from the 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries. This kind of fortifications

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<sup>366</sup> C.Cosma, *Fortificații din secolele X-XI din vestul si nord-vestul României. Considerații privind stadiul actual al cercetarilor*, in Acta MN, XXIII, 2000, 1, p.459-460.

<sup>367</sup> K.Horedt, *Untersuchungen zur Frühgeschichte Siebenbürgens*, Bukarest, 1958, p.132-145.

<sup>368</sup> P.Iambor consider that the built moment of fortifications can be push until the last third of the 9<sup>th</sup> century (*Așezări fortificate din Transilvania*, p.148-149).

<sup>369</sup> M.Rusu, Șt.Dănilă, *Cetatea feudală timpurie de la Şirioara*, p.50.

<sup>370</sup> Șt.Pascu, M.Rusu and colab., *Cetatea Dăbica*, p.160.

<sup>371</sup> P.Iambor, *Așezări fortificate din Transilvania*, p.141-143.

<sup>372</sup> C.COSMA, A Rustoiu, *Zalău, jud Sălaj, punct Ortelec-Cetate*, in CCA, 2002, no.245.

with defensive elements has been raised in regions with potential high risk. In Breaza there have been discovered earthworks and stone precincts used simultaneously dating from the beginning with the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century<sup>373</sup>.

It has been established that there can be delimitation in the chronological evolution of the periods when these types of earthworks (see Table 1) have been used. This classification will offer supplementary elements in an analysis of the typology and chronology of the fortifications in Transylvania.

*Table 3. The development of earthworks types at fortifications from Transylvania.*

	<b>Type v1</b>	<b>Type v2</b>	<b>Type v3</b>	<b>Type v4</b>
9 <sup>th</sup> (?)-10 <sup>th</sup> centuries	Dăbica 1 Biharea 1			
10 <sup>th</sup> -11 <sup>th</sup> centuries	Dăbica 2 Cluj-Mănăştur 2	Zalău-Ortelec		
11 <sup>th</sup> -12 <sup>th</sup> centuries		Dăbica 2 Moldoveneşti Moreşti		
12 <sup>th</sup> -13 <sup>th</sup> centuries		Cluj-Mănăştur 2 Cluj-Mănăştur 3 Şirioara 2		
13 <sup>th</sup> -14 <sup>th</sup> centuries				Breaza

The palisade was the defensive element that appears within the Slav space. It is the oldest element during the 9<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries. During this period the construction technique of the palisade has developed and generated many forms specific for some chronological periods. From this point of view, the Transylvanian space was not any different, even if the researches as a part of fortified archeological sites did not lift up to the level of those from Poland or Russia. Analyzing the construction technique of the palisades discovered in the fortifications from Transylvania we can distinguish three types of palisades as presented bellow:

- p1 –simple palisade that characterized the afferent phases of the 10<sup>th</sup> century;
- p2 –complex palisade made from beams walls disposed longitudinal and supported by vertical pillars. They had the role to strengthen the walls of the palisade; the created voids were filled in with earth;
- p3 –advanced palisade from the former type; it represents the superior part of a structure of wood and earth; the exterior parapet was protected by a row by oblique poles set over the moat;

**Type p1.** The variant p1 represents the simplest palisade known from the archeological researches in Dăbica 1 and Cluj Mănăştur 1. It is in fact a simple fence of

<sup>373</sup> Th.Nägler, *Cercetări din cetatea de la Breaza (Făgăraş)*, in StComSB, 14, 1969, p.89-117.

poles stuck into the soil. It may also represent the only fortification element in the case of the buildings in the naturally defended areas. In Dăbica 1 in the first phase of fortification, dating before the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the abrupt edges of the terrace that contained the precincts I, III and IV were fortified by a simple fence of massive vertical pillars. The archaeologists have also analyzed the pillars' hollows registered in the section III 3 in the Eastern side of the precincts III<sup>374</sup>, in the year 1960. In the case of the palisade in the precincts I, we find an evolution of the constructive type. There are also proofs of the existence of a road built from earth, and a platform of poles and transversal beams, which was used by the defenders of the fortification. The palisade was made of vertical beams arranged at a long distance from one another. They were connected with other beams and wattles<sup>375</sup> (fig.3).

In Zalău –Ortelec in the North –East and North of the terrace the slopes were very abrupt and the fortification was made of pillar fences. The fortification belonged to a settlement dating from the 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> century. Within this settlement there have been some pieces of ceramics discovered in the precincts<sup>376</sup>.

This type of palisade has been also discovered in the settlement in Grupskaia, Zitimir region<sup>377</sup>. A similar type, but with more advanced elements – regarding the beam arrangement in front of the palisade (the case of palisade from the precincts I of the fortification Dăbica I), dating in the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century has been found in those in Poznan<sup>378</sup> and Behren-Lübchin<sup>379</sup> (fig.4). On the base of those analogies, we can admit that, the rising of the simple palisade from Dabica I, from the first third of the 10<sup>th</sup> century as fortification element of the existent settlement from here, and functioning until the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century or most until the first years of the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

**Type p2** represents the transition to the category of complex palisades integrated in the earthwork. This type is considered to be the second type of fortifications from Transylvania during the Early Middle Age<sup>380</sup>. These complex palisades are attested in Dăbica 2, Vladimirescu, Cluj-Mănăştur 2; they were functional until the middle of the 11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>381</sup>. In Şirioara there was examined in S II a wooden palisade destroyed by a powerful fire. From the published profile, we have the information that it was not built on the ridge or on the back of the earthwork, because it was situated on the side with maxim natural protection (fig.6)<sup>382</sup>. From the position and the disposing of the calcined beams, about 5 -8 cm. thick and about 15-20 cm wide the archaeologists could partially

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<sup>374</sup> Şt.Pascu, M.Rusu and colab, *Cetatea Dăbica*, p.158.

<sup>375</sup> Ibidem. A similar type but made from two walls of poles and wattles is attest at Zalavar (Hungary), being dated during the 9<sup>th</sup> century. A.SÓS, *Wykopalska w Zalavar*, in *SlavA*, VII, 1960, p.247.

<sup>376</sup> P.Iambor, *Aşezări fortificate din Transilvania*, p.113.

<sup>377</sup> W. Hensel, *Fortifications en bois*, p.91, fig.1.

<sup>378</sup> Idem, *Wstęp do studiów nad osadnictwem Wielkopolski wczesnohistorycznej*, Poznań, 1948, fig.72.

<sup>379</sup> E.Schuldt, *Die Ausgrabungen auf dem Burgwall Behren-Lübchin*, 1957 in *Ausgrabungen und Funde*, III, 1958, P.137.

<sup>380</sup> *Istoria României. Transilvania*, I, p.295.

<sup>381</sup> Ibidem, p.296.

<sup>382</sup> M.Rusu, Şt.Dănilă, *Cetatea feudală timpurie de la Şirioara*, p.53.

reconstitute the construction technique of the palisade. First, after leveling the terrain, a palisade was built over the sterile clay with wooden framework. It was built in the following way: the exterior walls were made of longitudinal beams of 20-40 cm., arranged at irregular distances (2-3 m) they were supported by vertical pillows, 30-40 cm thick. These walls were connected at the base of transversal beams about 1.5 m long arranged at 15-20 cm distance. The empty spaces between beams were filled in with earth. In the upper part of the palisade the transversal beams were arranged at about 1m distance forming quadrilateral compartments filled with earth<sup>383</sup>. It results from the Eastern profile of the section S II the fact that the palisade was initially about 5m wide (fig.6). This fortification phase from Șirioara can be easily dated due to the analogy with the fortification in Dăbica. The authors of the research suggested that the disappearance of this type took place at the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>384</sup>.

The palisade from the precincts I from Dăbica was built in a similar manner: the wooden framework of the palisade had the exterior walls of longitudinal beams supported by vertical pillars. The structure was consolidated with others beams which formed regular compartments filled in with earth. The researches dated this palisade based on some metal pieces found inside the precincts: a bracelet and a cooper necklace, a silver ring, two arrowheads. These objects are assumed to be dating from the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century and the 11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>385</sup>. A similar fortification is the one in Cluj-Mănăștur 2. Here, the palisade could be dated more accurately, based on the ceramics materials similar with those from Alba Iulia, Șirioara, Cenad, Păcuiul lui Soare, namely fragments of boilers and grooved neck vessels dating from the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century and in 11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>386</sup>. The destruction of these palisades seems to have taken place during the conflicts from the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century between the Hungarian kingship, Petchenegs and Cumans. The strongest similarities for this type of palisade can be also found in Poland in Klecko and Gniezno These palisades dating from the 11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>387</sup> and represented advanced variants in comparison with those known in Transylvania until today. This could be due to the transition of this type of palisade from the oriental and occidental Slavs spaces toward the central and South-East European type. Gradually, these types of palisades went through a transformation process having individual features in each region. The type p2 from Transylvania is chronologically dated between the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 11 century and was specific for fortified settlements of large dimensions.

**Type p3.** This type of palisade has developed from the type p2, but his construction supposes an ensemble with more complex elements, constituting from an earthwork cosseted and fur-lined with wooden beams. The complex palisade has been made of earth and wood. This type of palisade has been researched in Dăbica 3. The

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<sup>383</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>384</sup> *Ibidem*, p.57

<sup>385</sup> Șt.Pascu, M.Rusu and colab., *Cetea Dăbica*, p.162.

<sup>386</sup> P.Iambor, *Așezări fortificate din Transilvania*, p.150-151.

<sup>387</sup> W.Hensel, *Fortifications en bois*, p.76-77.

earthwork surrounded the precincts I and II and it has almost a triangle shape. The new earthwork built in the third fortification stage was preserved only at a height of 5 m. It has been fur-lined on the both sides with wooden beams horizontally placed. the two sides were connected with transversal beams placed in rows, at about 1m away, raised from the base till upright<sup>388</sup>. This earthwork with palisade may be dated based on an earring with in S shape discovered in the earthwork from the precinct I; this earring may be dated at the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century<sup>389</sup>. Due to the fact that it has been discovered a Coloman coin (1095-1114) in the reconstruction of this earthwork, we can admit that the construction of this earthwork with palisade was made at the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

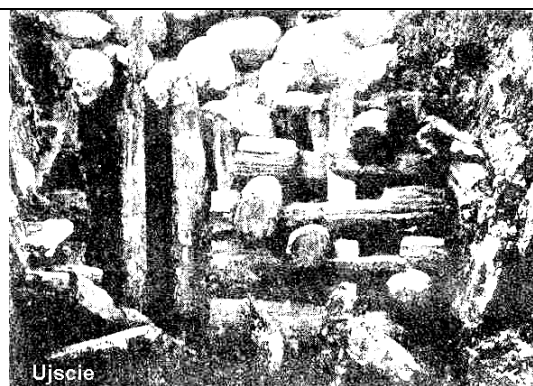


Fig. 5 Ujscie - după Leciejewicz

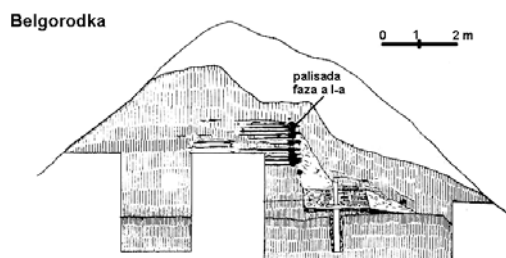


Fig. 7 Palisade from I faze – P. A. Rappoport

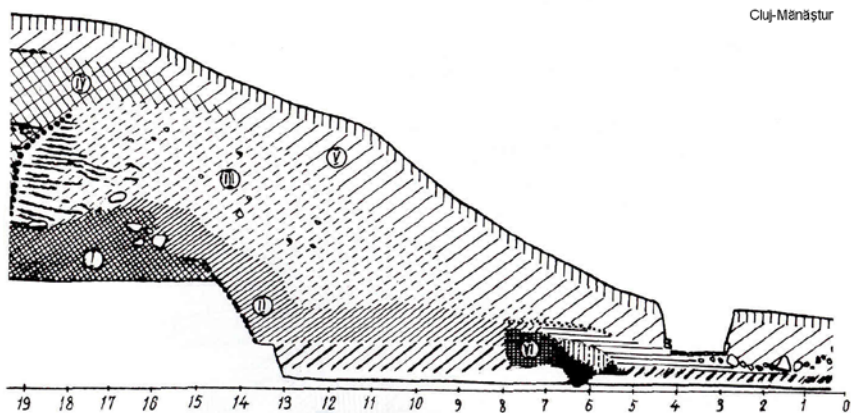


Fig. 6 Cluj-Mănăstur: SH/1973 – P. Iambor

<sup>388</sup> St.Pascu,M.Rusu and colab., *Cetatea Dăbica*, p.164.

<sup>389</sup> See D.Popescu in MCA, II, 1956, p.124 sq.

A similar situation is in the case of the reconstruction of the fortification in Cluj-Mănăştur 3. During the third fortification stage, after destruction of the palisade of type p2, over the ruins of the former construction there was built an earthwork fur-lined with longitudinal wooden beams<sup>390</sup>. This earthwork is similar with the one in Moreşti (fig.6) characterized by complex palisades. A relevant profile for the preservation manner for this kind of palisades with fur-lined earthwork is that from Belgorodka<sup>391</sup> (fig.7). It represents the same features with the ones in Dăbica 3 and Cluj-Mănăştur 3. The fortification phase from Belgorodka that corresponds to those three phases of fortification from Dăbica and Cluj-Mănăştur (fig.6) is assumed to be dating from the 11<sup>th</sup> century. It is said to have been functional until the 12<sup>th</sup> century<sup>392</sup>.

This type of palisade is complete in the case of the fortification in Stare Mesto. It is made of an oblique poles row of stuck into the moat. This moat had the role to protect the exterior side of the palisade. This type of system has also been discovered in Dabica 2, where the row of poles was followed by a beam covered with grass furrow. A similar type of the palisade has been found in Vladimirescu, Arad County.

Based on the researches, we can say that this type of the palisade had few modifications regarding the functionality during the years. From chronological point of view it is assumed to be dating from the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century until the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century in Transylvania. It may have existed longer probably until the Tartar invasion in 1241 (i.e the fortifications in Şirioara and Cluj-Mănăştur 3<sup>393</sup>).

Table 4. The chronology of types of earthworks, moats and palisades.

		9 <sup>th</sup> -10 <sup>th</sup> centuries	10 <sup>th</sup> -11 <sup>th</sup> centuries	11 <sup>th</sup> -12 <sup>th</sup> centuries	12 <sup>th</sup> -13 <sup>th</sup> centuries	13 <sup>th</sup> -14 <sup>th</sup> centuries
EARTHWORKS	V1	X				
	V2		X	X		
	V3		X	X	X	
	V4					X
MOATS	S1	X	X			
	S2		X	X	X	
	S3		X	X		
PALISDES	P1	X	X			
	P2		X	X		
	P3			X	X	

<sup>390</sup> P.Iambor, St.Matei, *Incinta fortificată de la Cluj-Mănăştur*, p.302, P.Iambor, *Aşezări fortificate din Transilvania*, p.151-152.

<sup>391</sup> P.A.Rappaport, *Očerki po istorii russkogo*, p.75, W.Hansel, *Die Slawen im frühen Mittelalter*, Berlin, p.233, fig.269.

<sup>392</sup> W.Hansel, *Fortifications en bois*, p.76.

<sup>393</sup> P.Iambor, Şt.Matei, *Incinta fortificată de la Cluj-Mănăştur*, p.299-300.

#### 5.4 The typology for fortifications by wood and earth.

The following typology refers to wooden and earth and stone fortifications taking into consideration some constructions and fortifications and their particularities. The chronological period that we refer to (the 10<sup>th</sup> century and until the year 1382) brings up some difficulties in approaching all the types of fortifications, as some constructions cannot be included in this chronological period. That is why we did not choose to approach the fortified churches and fortified towns from Transylvania. Nevertheless, for a clearer delimitation of Transylvanian types and subtypes, we divided them in two types according to the main construction material: type I –fortification of earth and wood and type II –stone fortification. These types have many subtypes, and we shall try to separate them chronologically.

**Type I.** Fortifications of wood and earth. Within this type there are included all the fortifications specific for the period between the 10<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries, such as the apiaries, fortresses and fortified manors. Their main construction materials were wood and the earth.

##### Subtype Ia. Apiaries lines.

The apiaries system is very well known in the whole Oriental Europe. It was characteristic for the Slav states within this space. In Transylvania, the apiaries systems represented the main form of enlightened defence especially at the frontiers area. Their existence dating from the 13<sup>th</sup> century has been discovered in Ungra, Hălmeag, and Maramureş<sup>394</sup>. The apiaries represented defensive lines consisting of complex fortification elements: continuous earthworks, palisades built in the passing areas and even earth and wood fortifications that insured the watching of some roads and passes. Beside these elements there have been discovered –near by Zalău –the existence of watching towers<sup>395</sup>. This kind tower also existed at the Western frontiers of the Hungarian Kingdom, in Mur-Raab region<sup>396</sup>. In the East of Transylvania, the apiaries system have been made of continuous elements –earthworks with palisades in certain

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<sup>394</sup> UKB, I, p.11-12; DIR, C,II, p.145.

<sup>395</sup> M.Rusu see with the opportunity of terrain research on the slopes find at 1 km. south by the fortification, from the point Camin, in the valley, at the meeting point of these two earthworks from here, a large quadrilateral surface with burn earth, suggesting the traces of an eventually watching tower that supervise the access from east; P.IAMBOR, *Așezări fortificate din Transilvania*, p.112.

<sup>396</sup> <sup>69</sup> F.Posch, *Die Deutsch-ungarische Grenzentwicklung im 10.und Jahrhundert auf dem Boden der Steiermark*, in *Festschrift für BALDUIN Saria zum 70. Geburtstag*, p.114-115; H.Pirchegger, *Karantainen und Unterpannonien zur Karolingerzeit*, in *MIÖG*, 33/1912, p.290; K.Tagányi, *Alte Grenzschutzvorrichtungen und Grenzödländ*, in *UJ*, 1, 1921, p.105 sqq; E.Moór, *Zur Siedlungsgeschichte der deutsch-ungarischen Sprachgrenze*, in *UJ*, 9, , 1929, p.41 sqq; IDEM, *Westungarn im Mittelaltewr im Spiegel der Ortsnamen*, in *Acta litterarum ac scientiarum der Universität Szeged*, 10, 1936; K.K.Klein, *Grenzüstung und Siedlung: Gyepü und Gyepüvorland. Bemerkungen zur mittelalterlichen deutschen Südosiedlung im altungarischen Raum* in: O.Menghin, H.M. Olberg, *Festschrift Leonhard C.Franz zum 70. Geburtstag*, Innsbruck, 1965.



areas supported by fixed defense points. The communities of that time were specialized in frontiers defending. A deep analysis of these defense systems of the frontiers may lead us to a subtypes division of these systems. But this typology has not much a chronological value because each element presented above may be dated from the beginning with the 10<sup>th</sup> century and ending with the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Thus it has not been established a characteristic type for this period.

Subtype I b. Fortifications with earthwork (v1-v2) and/without simple palisade (p1).

The first fortifications of the Early Middle Age were built from the most spread materials – earth and wood. These materials did not suppose advanced technical knowledge regarding their processing. W. Hensel, based on the researches of the fortifications from Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia and Russia, considered that the oldest type of fortifications known in the Slav culture was the one with palisade. So far, his hypothesis has been admitted in general until present by the historians of the period. The palisades used to be constant in the fortifications from Poland (Gniezno, Łęczycza, Santok) and Moravia (Mikulčice)<sup>397</sup>. In Transylvania, these first fortifications of the Early Middle Age were made of *earthwork, moat and on the ridge of the earthwork a simple palisade* and the precincts form were usually circular. P. Iambor outlined the similarity regarding the strategic position, the adaptation at the relief forms, the construction technique of the earthworks surrounded by moats, the fortifications' functionality. The majority were not only military centres, but also fortified centres of settlements with numerous populations in comparison with the open settlements<sup>398</sup>.

The fortified settlements from Transylvania were located mainly in the Western part. They usually were built along the important strategic and commercial roads, near by large rivers such as Mureş and Someş. These rivers offered protection or the rich areas in ore in Apuseni or Metaliferi Mountains and the salines (Ocna Dej, Sic, Ocna Turzii, Ocna Mureş, Ocnişoara).

Exemplifications:

**a. Dabica I** –contains fortifications belonging to the conventional precincts called I, III and IV respectively ( fortifying phase, according to I Pascu-Rusu);

The fortifications<sup>399</sup> of those four precincts from Dăbica represent the most important and probably the most discussed defensive elements from Transylvania. For this reason, we try bring out some additional information regarding the fortification development and the evolution of the defensive elements. The authors of archeological research unrolled during many campaigns, offered to scientific community only excavation reports or contextual aspects of the fortification ensemble from Dăbica<sup>72</sup>.

Dăbica I represents the stage of building earthworks with moats afferent to the conventional precincts called I, III and IV in the Southern-Southwestern side, where the

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<sup>397</sup> W.Hansel, *Fortifications en bois de L'Europe Orientale*, in ChG, IV, Gent, 1969, p.72 sqq; IDEM, *Types de fortifications slaves du haut Moyen-Age*, in AP, II, 1959, p.72.

<sup>398</sup> P.Iambor, *Așezări fortificate din Transilvania*, p.368-369.

<sup>399</sup> Șt.Pascu, M.Rusu and colab., *Cetatea Dăbica*, in Acta MN, 5, 1968, p.153 sq.

terrain was straightened with a simple palisade of massive wooden pillars vertically arranged one after another, the way it was established in S3/III from 1966 in the Eastern side of the precincts III<sup>400</sup>. There is also a similar construction in Zitomir (Poland). In the phase II of the stage, I Pascu-Rusu discovered that the earthwork of the precinct I was wider, and the existent road way behind the earthwork was metalled. In this stratum from the road way there were found two fireplaces made of ceramic materials and four pendants in bell shape<sup>401</sup>.

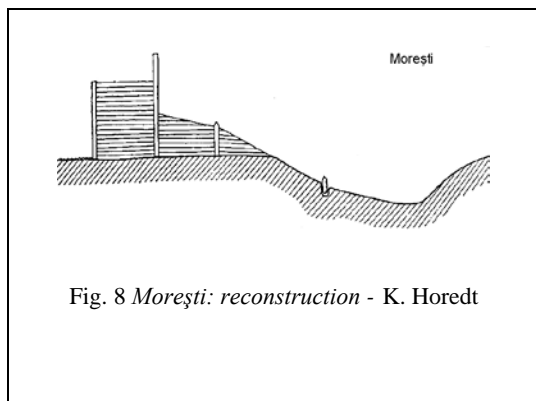


Fig. 8 *Morești: reconstruction* - K. Horedt

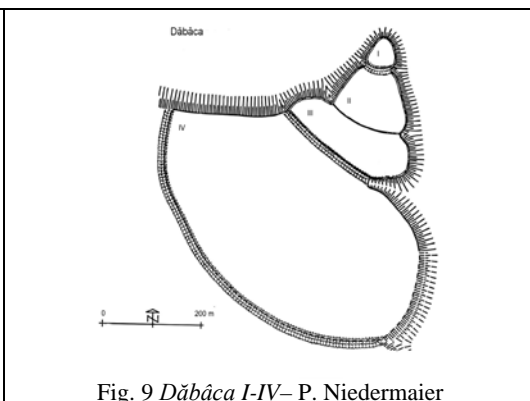


Fig. 9 *Dăbâca I-IV*- P. Niedermaier

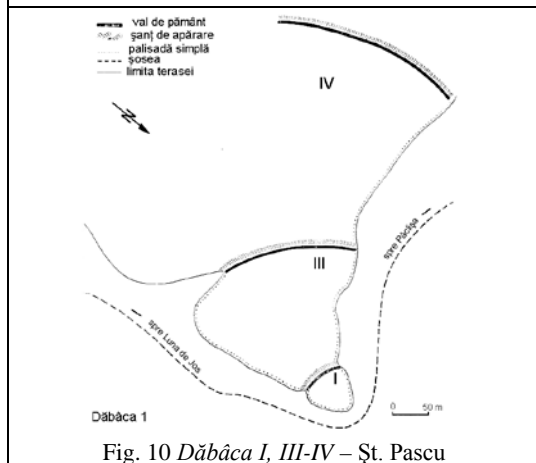


Fig. 10 *Dăbâca I, III-IV* - Șt. Pascu

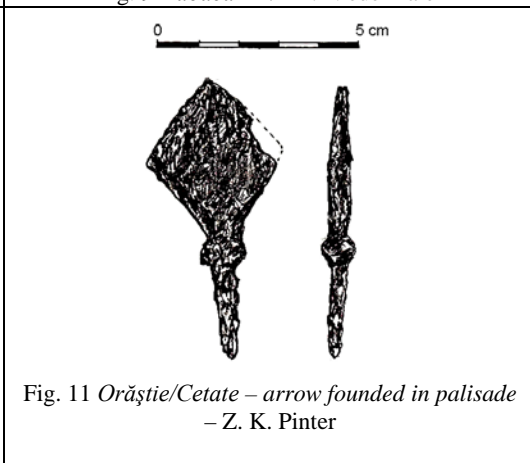


Fig. 11 *Orăștie/Cetate - arrow founded in palisade* - Z. K. Pinter

The analyses of discovered archeological materials, as well as the stratigraphies comparison of those three earthworks showed that they were built in different stages, but at short periods of time. In the stratum corresponding to the level of fortification destroyed at Dăbâca I there were found ceramic fragments worked at slow and fast wheel, fireplaces, arrowheads, dating back as early as the 10<sup>th</sup> century and the second

<sup>400</sup> Ibidem, fig.1.

<sup>401</sup> P.Iambor, *Așezări fortificate din Transilvania*, p.136.

half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. The division of the fortified system in three precincts has no connection with the land situation, as mentioned some authors<sup>402</sup>, but rather with the reflection of social situation. We have not to deal only with a simple fortified settlement, but rather with a *prince court and the annexed settlement*. This fact is supported by the discovery in the precincts III and IV of numerous dwellings and fireplaces with ceramic material and metal pieces specific for the 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>403</sup>.

The absolute chronology and historical interpretations of the collective research from Dabica were questioned by many historians<sup>404</sup>. But the relative chronology and the particularity of the construction stages are accepted as real elements in Romanian historiography. In 1980<sup>405</sup>, in one of his articles, Al. Madgearu outlines that the inventory discovered in the settlements from the precinct IV and III is not relevant for the fortification dating from Dăbica 1, because many can be former to the fortifications built in the precincts III and IV. Dăbica 1 fortifications (with two functional phases) were dated due to four bell-shaped silver pendants. These are similar to those in the Bulgarian area (Preslav period), in the East of Austria (Drassburg), dating from the last third of the 10<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>406</sup>. Thus, we can accept the connection between the moments of destruction of Dabica 1 fortification during the fights bear at the beginning of the 10 century. Al. Madgearu considers that the phase I of destruction of the fortifications from Dăbica (Dăbica 1) took place on the background of the conflicts between Stefan I and Young Gylas/Prokuj in the years 1002-1003. It is believed that it was reconstructed a few decades later<sup>407</sup>. Thus we can admit the fact that Dăbica 1 fortification could have been built during Gelu period. This fact is also supported also by the discovery of a few channeled neck vessels fragments that belong to a ceramic type found in the North- East of Hungary and in Slovakia in complexes sites dating from the end of the 10 century<sup>408</sup>.

The fortifications from Dabica I have many similarities with those found in Russia and Poland. Thus there could be distinguished several types of fortifications:

-the type I C, of circular, arch or triangle form according to A.Zaki's<sup>409</sup> typology, or to other classification criteria of type C II belonging to J.Olczak and K.Siuchniński's typology<sup>410</sup>. The fortifications were situated on the high promontories with abrupt slopes, both dated in the period of the 8<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> centuries.

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<sup>402</sup> Ibidem, p.137.

<sup>403</sup> P.Iambor, *Așezări fortificate din Transilvania*, p.137, and the plates XI-XLIV.

<sup>404</sup> K.Horedt, *Siebenburgen im Fruhmittelalter*, p.126; R.POPA, *Observații și îndreptări la Istoria României*, p.168, n.51; Al.Madgearu, *Români în opera notarului anonim*, p.159 sq.

<sup>405</sup> St.Matei, P.Iambor, *Observații privind așezările fortificate din Transilvania în perioada feudalismului timpuriu*, in *ActaMN*, XVII, 1980, p.511.

<sup>406</sup> Gy. Györffy, *A honfoglaló magyarok települési rendjéről (Über das Siedlungssystem der landnehmenden Ungarn)* in *AE*, 97, 1970, 2, p.232-233.

<sup>407</sup> AL.Madgearu, *Români în cronică notarului anonim*, p.163.

<sup>408</sup> P.Iambor, *Vase cu gât canelat descoperite în așezările feudale timpurii din Transilvania*, in *Acta MN*, 22-23, 1985-1986, p.589-598.

<sup>409</sup> A.Żaki, *Archeologia Małopolski wczesnośredniowiecznej* Kraków, 1974, p.38

<sup>410</sup> J.Olczak, K.Siuchniński, *Typologische Klassifikation der frühmittelalterlichen Burgenlagen Mittelpommern*, in *EAZ*, 16, 1975, 3, p.453.

In conclusion, we admit the existence of a conventional fortification called Dabica 1 (corresponding to the stage I according to Pascu-Rusu), that existed during the 10<sup>th</sup> century and probably in the first years of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The fortification was partially built over the older settlement dating from the 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> century. This fact is proved by the discoveries in the cemetery of Mediaș type within the precinct IV. These discoveries seem to have belonged to the Avar cultural environment the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century<sup>411</sup>.

**b. Cluj-Mănăștur 1** –fortification with earthwork and moat (fortification phase I, according to Iambor-Matei)

From the first fortification phase what still remained over the years, was the earthwork about 1,90 m high and the upper part 4,75 m wide. The earthwork has been made of successive strata of sandy earth, gravel and wide lens of rammed black earth. These two sides of the earthwork, easy battered, were fur-lined with longitudinal thick wooden beams of 0.1 -0.15 wide supported by vertical pillars. There have been found here a large number of ceramic pieces dating from the 8<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>412</sup>. Due to this discovery it is hard for archaeologists to find a chronological date to mark the existence of the fortification in Cluj-Mănăștur 1. This matter still remains a mystery but, as a result of analyses, the authors of archeological research dated this fortification at the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century<sup>413</sup>.

The construction of the fortification such as Dabica 1 was made at that time in order to offer protection for civil settlements. This fortification was dated due to a cooper belt dating from the 10<sup>th</sup> century discovered in the padding of a hollow in the stratum corresponding to the settlements<sup>414</sup>. Thus we can also dare to date fortification from Cluj-Mănăștur 1 in the first third of the 10<sup>th</sup> century<sup>415</sup> as well. These considerations can be connected to the fact that in the earthwork were found only ceramic materials belonging to the Roman and post-Roman period<sup>416</sup>, which proves that the fortification construction from Cluj-Mănăștur 1 had been made simultaneously or at a short time after the settlement had appeared.

The major difference between these two contemporaneous fortifications is that Dăbica 1 had developed from the status of collective fortification (type XI) to the status of county centre fortification (Dăbica 2), while Cluj-Mănăștur was a collective fortification. P.Iambor came up with the idea that in Cluj-Mănăștur there was the centre of Cluj County attested by numerous documentary sources dating from the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century<sup>417</sup>. After the year 1241 the

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<sup>411</sup> K.Horedt, *Siebenbürgen in Frühmittelalter*, p.61.

<sup>412</sup> P.Iambor, Șt.Matei, *Cetatea feudală timpurie de la Cluj-Mănăștur*, in AIIAC, XVIII, 1975, p.291.

<sup>413</sup> Idem, *Cetatea feudală timpurie de la Cluj-Mănăștur*, p.295.

<sup>414</sup> Idem, *Incinta fortificată de la Cluj-Mănăștur*, in Acta MN, XVI, p.601, pl.VI/6.

<sup>415</sup> This type of applications result from the inventory of graves that belong to the old Hungarian horizon. See Cs.Balint, *Südungarn im 10. Jahrhundert*, Budapest 1991, p.137, pl.XLV/10.

<sup>416</sup> P.Iambor, *Așezări fortificate din Transilvania*, p.149.

<sup>417</sup> DIR, C, I, p.60, 10, 19, 44, 57, 140.

fortification was not reconstructed<sup>418</sup>, that is why we do not for sure whether it was a county centre or not.

Beside these fortifications there is also a large number of fortification such as the one from Orăștie that represent, according to their emplacement, a particular case in the intra-Carpathian Transylvanian space, as they were built in a swamp area. The fortification from Orăștie (called Orăștie 2) dating from the 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> centuries, has been made of earthwork with simple palisade and moat, as the fortification Dăbica 1. There have been found ceramic pieces dating from the 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>419</sup> within this fortification. The archeological researches also discovered that it was made of a simple palisade and earthwork combined with gravel and clay. In the earthwork of this fortification there were discovered ceramics dating back as early as the 8<sup>th</sup> century<sup>420</sup>. The existing palisade was dated due to an arrowhead with catching peduncle dating from the 11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>421</sup> (fig.11) and beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. The existence of the rotunda walls proves that the palisade was no longer functional and that some changes have been made, i.e. the cutting in half the hollow of the palisade. Comparing the necropolis from Orăștie –Dealul Pemilor X2<sup>422</sup> and the fortification from Hunedoara – Dealul Sânpetru, we can draw the conclusion that the fortified systems were supported by border guards dating from the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

Thus, we can talk about the existence on the Transylvanian space of a fortification characteristic for the 10<sup>th</sup> century, up to the 11<sup>th</sup> century (type called Ib). In general, they were made of earthworks of small dimensions (about 3-4m) that could be fur-lined with wooden beams. The exterior moats part, opened about 3 m towards the upper part. This can be noticed in the fortifications from Dăbica 1, Cluj-Mănăștur 1, Șirioara, Vladimirescu and Nălați.

#### *Subtype I c. Fortifications with earthwork and complex palisade.*

The afferent fortifications of this type represent an advanced phase of the earth fortifications of type Ib. The existence of these fortifications are mainly due to the continuation of Western Slav influences attested by the presence of the necropolises in Nușfalău (Sălaj County) and Someșeni (Cluj County)<sup>423</sup>, the tumuluses in Sânicoaia<sup>424</sup> (Apahida Commune, Cluj County) and of the elements of Mediaș type in the North-

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<sup>418</sup> P.Iambor, S.Matei, *Cetatea feudală timpurie de la Cluj-Mănăștur*, p.300.

<sup>419</sup> Z.K.Pinter, *Cercetări arheologice la Orăștie*, in BI, 3, September 1995.

<sup>420</sup> Z.K.Pinter, *Rotonda de la Orăștie*, in: *Memoriam Radu Popa. Temeiuri ale civilizației românești în context european*, 2003, p.261-286.

<sup>421</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>422</sup> Z.K.Pinter, S.A.Luca, *Necropola medieval-timpurie de la Orăștie –Dealul Pemilor. Punctul X2/1992-1993*; Z.K.Pinter, I.M.Tiplic, A.Dragotă, *Orăștie, jud.Hunedoara. Punct Dealul Pemilor*, in CCA, Campania 2001; Z.K.Pinter, I.M.Tiplic, M.Căstăian, *Orăștie, jud.Hunedoara. Punct: Dealul Pemilor X2*, in CCA, Campania 2001.

<sup>423</sup> M.Macrea, *Necropola slavă de la Someșeni*, in MCA, 5, 1959, p.515-522. and 6, 1959, p.519-527; M.Comșa, *Săpăturile de la Nușfalău*, in MCA, 7, 1961, P.519-529.

<sup>424</sup> Rep.Cluj, p.357.

Western area of Transylvania. Beginning with the first part of the 11<sup>th</sup> century the fortifications of earthwork were supposed to strengthen their defensive system through palisades (similar from technical point of view with Dacian fortresses walls –*murus dacicus*). Along the years, there have been used several types of palisades: from wooden palisades with double walls supported by transversal beams and rammed earth in cassettes to more complex ones with stone and strengthening material of the wooden structure (this was specific for the final phase in the 11<sup>th</sup> century and first half of the 12 century)<sup>425</sup>. This fortification system supposed defensive elements and the emplacement of an oblique pillars row arranged at the edge of the moat for better protection of the palisade (i.e. Dăbica, Tum/Poland). In the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century in Transylvania there were usually constructions of earthworks of large dimensions (about 8-10 m heigh) fur-lined with longitudinal wooden beams and fixed with vertical beams (i.e. Dăbica 2, Șirioara, Cluj-Mănăștur 2). There are also similar constructions in Werla and Grünwald/Germany<sup>426</sup>, Stara Kourim, Stare Mesto/Slovakia, Gniezno, Łęczyca/Poland, Kiev/Ukraine.

*Exemplifications:*

a.Dăbica 2 –represents the phase of earthwork reconstruction and of building of some complex palisades in the precincts I and II of the fortification. In the 11<sup>th</sup> century the earthwork of the fortress was reconstructed and there were dug deeper moats from the precinct I. At the same time, two complex palisades with moats corresponding to the precincts I and II (fig.13) have been built. This reconstruction phase is called conventional Dăbica 2.

The first palisade has been partially built respecting the route of the earthwork of the precinct I, but on those two sides with abrupt precipices of the precinct. The wooden framework of the palisade had exterior walls made of longitudinal beams on a row of vertical pillars find arranged at a 4 m distance from one another. These two wooden walls were rigid because of the transversal beams. It had a system with rectangular compartments filled with rammed earth. The functioning period is attested by the discovery of a coin issued by Petru (1038-1041; 1044-1046) and a spur dating from the 11<sup>th</sup> century; the treading level corresponds to the period of use<sup>427</sup> off the palisade.

The second palisade represented an additional fortification element that generated the appearance of the precinct II of Dăbica 2 fortress. It was made of a vertical pillars fence. This fence had an exterior beam 5 m wide and a moat in the lower part.. The construction technique of this palisade may have analogies with those in Stare Mesto/Slovakia<sup>428</sup>, Fundu Herții<sup>429</sup>, Morești<sup>430</sup> and Șirioara<sup>431</sup>. The entire defensive

<sup>425</sup> For details about these types of fortifications with complex palisades see A.Rappaport, *Očerki po istorii ruskogo voennogo zodčestva X-XIII vv*, Moskva, 1956, passim; W.Hensel, *Fortifications en bois*, p.74 sq.

<sup>426</sup> R.Von Huslar, *Studien*, 1964, p.68 sq and 163.

<sup>427</sup> P.Iambor, *Așezări fortificate din Transilvania*, p.140.

<sup>428</sup> V.Hrubý, *Stare Mesto*, p.220 sq.

<sup>429</sup> M.Petrescu-Dâmboviță, D.Gh.Teodor, *Sisteme de fortificație medievale timpurii la est de Carpați. Așezarea de la Fundu Herții (jud. Botoșani)*, Iași, 1987, p.14-22.

system was strengthened at the edge of the moat by oblique pillars row poked creating advanced supplementary barrage. A typological correspondence could be the phase II of the fortification construction in Tum (near Łęczycza/Poland), dating from the 11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>432</sup>.

The palisade of the precinct I passed through two gates defended by two wooden towers. One gate was situated in the Northern side at the joint with the moat of the precinct I; the other gate was in located in the South-West corner of the precinct at the Western end of the palisade. The beams earthwork was supposed to defend the precincts I and II<sup>433</sup>. From the published excavations reports we have the information that these two gates seem to have been built of the big earthwork fur-lined with beams during the construction phase After 1068<sup>434</sup>, these two gates have been functional until the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century<sup>435</sup>.

There may be similarities between the palisades in Dabica and the one in Stare Mesto (dating from the 9<sup>th</sup> century). The palisades from Dăbica 2 were built as early as the 10<sup>th</sup> century or the first decade of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Without any archaeological clues the cause of the fire must have been the alleged conflicts between the Arpadian royal power and Petchenegs in the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

Dăbica 2 has become functional during the initial fortified settlement of Dabica county (type IV) dating back from 1164<sup>436</sup>. It is one of the first fortifications of this type from Transylvania.

**b. Cluj –Mănăştur 2** – represents the fortifying phase II, according to Iambor – Matei (fig.15). The fortification from Cluj-Mănăştur, called Cluj-Mănăştur 1 (the phase of fortifying), following the damages caused by attacks or due to the time passing, was reconstructed and fortified with the earthwork and placing a cassette palisade on its ridge. These traces can be seen in S II and S III<sup>437</sup> where the interior pillars row and the transversal beams that connected the exterior row were still visible. Due to a fire, these collapsed and drained on the earthwork's slope like a coal stratum<sup>438</sup>. The functioning phase of the fortification Cluj-Mănăştur corresponds to the dwellings of hut type, of the earthwork. In these dwellings there were discovered ceramics with analogies in the settlements from Dăbica<sup>439</sup> (the precinct IV), Alba Iulia<sup>440</sup>, Păcuilui lui Soare<sup>441</sup>, all

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<sup>430</sup> K.Horedt, Moreşti. *Grabungen in einer vor-und frühgeschichtlichen Siedlung in Siebenbürgen*, Bukarest, 1979, p.81-88.

<sup>431</sup> M.Rusu, Şt.Dănilă, *Cetate feudală timpurie de la Şirioara*, p.48 sq.

<sup>432</sup> W.Hensel, *Constructions en bois*, p.87-88 and fig.52.

<sup>433</sup> P.Iambor, *Aşezări fortificate din Transilvania*, p.141-142.

<sup>434</sup> Şt.Pascu, M.Rusu, *Cetatea Dăbica*, p.173 sqq.

<sup>435</sup> P.Iambor, *Aşezări fortificate din Transilvania*, p.142.

<sup>436</sup> DIR, C, I, p.3.

<sup>437</sup> P.Iambor, St.Matei, *Cetatea feudală timpurie de la Cluj-Mănăştur*, p.296.

<sup>438</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>439</sup> Şt.Pascu, M.Rusu, *Cetatea Dăbica*, p.153-183.

<sup>440</sup> Gh.Anghel, *Noi descoperiri arheologice în legătură cu aşezarea feudal-timpurie de la Alba Iulia*, in *Apulum*, VII, 1968, 1, p.469-481.

dating between the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries. The discovered ceramic fragments represented by rims of boilers prove that the fortification functioned during the 10<sup>th</sup> century, but the lack of some elements does not allow us to establish the exact period when the fortification was reconstructed in phase 1 from Cluj-Mănăștur. We consider that, due to the lack of materials dating from the last part of the 11<sup>th</sup> century which are rarely present outside the fortification, the fortification from Cluj-Mănăștur ( the phases 1 and 2) functioned beginning with the first third of the 10<sup>th</sup> century and until the second third of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. During this period, it has been attested the destruction of the complex palisade by a strong fire, probably in the context of the fights between the Arpadian royalty and Petchenegs<sup>442</sup>.

**c. Cluj-Mănăștur 3** – the fortifying phases III –IV according to Iambor-Matei.

After this destruction moment had taken place there began a massive reconstruction campaign of the exterior fortification with longitudinal wooden beams that were fixed and joint with the ends of other transversal beams that formed true walls in the middle of the earthwork, thus resulting a cassette system in the interior<sup>443</sup>. Cluj-Mănăștur 3 was restored at short time after its destruction in the phase 2. This fact is supported by the discovery of numerous ceramic fragments dating from the 11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>444</sup>. This has analogies in Moldovenești and Dăbica 3, both dating from the 11 century and the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>445</sup>, respectively.

The archeological researches did not discover the whole surface of fortification and it was not possible to establish if in this stage there had been a palisade on the ridge of the cassettes earthwork. however its existence must be admitted, as there was an extended wall of beams raised about 2,5 m over the earthwork. This kind of situations was numerous in the case of the fortifications in Hungary, Poland and Russia.

*Type I d. Fortifications with earthwork, moat, palisade and stone dwelling tower.*

This type of fortifications appear rather early in Central and Western Europe, as a result of feudal society development, characterized by a re-seated of the vassal reports. In general, this type of fortifications is documented in England, France, Germany, beginning with the 11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>446</sup>. In Central Europe, this type becomes wide spread only during the 13 century<sup>447</sup>. Regarding this chronological mark we may not agree

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<sup>441</sup> P.Diaconu, D.Vilceanu, *Păcuil lui Soare. Cetatea bizantină*, I, Bukarest, 1972, p.78 sq.

<sup>442</sup> P. Iambor, Șt. Matei, *Cetatea feudală timpurie de la Cluj-Mănăștur*, p.297.

<sup>443</sup> *Ibidem*, p.297-298.

<sup>444</sup> *Ibidem*, p.298 and fig.3.

<sup>445</sup> Also see L.Gerő, *Magyarországi várépítészet*, Budapest, 1955, p.114 sq.

<sup>446</sup> R.Sanfacon, *Défrichements, peuplement et institutions seigneuriales en Haut-Poitou du X<sup>e</sup> au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, 1967, p.37 sq.

<sup>447</sup> T.Durdik, *Kronologii*, p.221-228; P.A.Rappaport, *Kárpátaljai várak*, p.65 sq.



with this opinion as the 13<sup>th</sup> century is rather late for the appearance of this construction type in Transylvania<sup>448</sup>.

*Exemplifications:*

**a. Orăștie 2.** The earliest documentary attestation of a dwelling tower in Transylvania is that referring to the donjon from Rodna. It was mentioned at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century on the occasion of its sale and court strengthening (probably with the help of a simple palisade)<sup>449</sup>. Nevertheless, the earliest dwelling tower existing in Transylvania is that in Orăștie dating from the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century<sup>450</sup>. In the first construction phase, the dwelling tower was a part of a nobiliary pile, a seigniorial court. It was developed in an adequate frame, on a grind of marsh amplifying and consolidating a precinct of wood and earth beside a stone circular church (rotunda), both being integrated in the ulterior stone fortification. The rotunda served at the same time as a court chapel; its basement could offer enough space for founders family's crypts. It also had high ground floor that served for cult rituals, but there was also a supplementary strengthen element of the fortification owed to the existence of a fight floor. It was oriented towards fortification's earthwork with palisade<sup>451</sup>. For moment, Orăștie 2 has no analogies in the Transylvanian space. Though there may be the archaeological researches from Sibiu – Piața Huet that reveal a similar situation regarding the rotunda emplacement, examined in the year 2002<sup>452</sup>. The closest analogy as regarding the emplacement is represented by Cetatea de Baltă 1, located in a low swamp area, but this is documentarily dated in the first year of the 14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>453</sup>; it may be dated earlier, after 1294, during the reign of Ladislau II Kan.

In Central Europe, the rotunda appears frequently as court chapel<sup>454</sup>, in Poland at Przemysl, Strzelno, Ciszyn, Grzgorzewice, Łekno<sup>455</sup>, in Bohemia and Moravia<sup>456</sup> in Znojmo, the residence of the duke Konrad II (1123-1150)<sup>457</sup>, Plaveč, Předni, Kopanina, Starý Plzneck<sup>458</sup>, Pustiněř<sup>459</sup>, Mihalovciach<sup>460</sup> or Praga-Staré Město<sup>461</sup> and Praha –

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<sup>448</sup> This limit is proposed by A.A.Rusu, who admit that with the beginning of the seven decade of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, in the conditions of the documentary notes of the fortresses from Deva and Rodna, we can talk about the appearance of this construction type in Transylvania (Donjoane din Transilvania, p.181).

<sup>449</sup> ...a stone tower and a wooden house near by tower and a court strengthen around... DIR, C, II, p.115; UKB, I, p.99.

<sup>450</sup> Z. K. Pinter, *Cercetari arheologice de la Orăștie*, in q.w.; Idem, *Rotonda de la Orăștie*, p.268 sq.

<sup>451</sup> Idem, *Rotonda de la Orăștie*, p.264 sq.

<sup>452</sup> Z. K. pinter, I.M.Țiplic –new researches in the year 2002.

<sup>453</sup> Gh.Anghel, *Fortificații medievale din piatră*, p.89 sq; DIR, C, I, p.21; G.ENTZ, *Die Baukunst*, p.168.

<sup>454</sup> M. Slivka, *Príspevek k problematike vzťahu stredovekých sakrálnych objektov a feudálnich sídiel na Slovensku*, in AH, 11, 1986, p.359-376.

<sup>455</sup> A. M. Wirwa, *Der Siedlungskomplex von Łkno*, in AP, XXVIII, p. 171-195.

<sup>456</sup> J. Poulík, B. Chropovský, *Grossmähren und die anfänge der tsechoslowakischen Staatlichkeit*, Praha, 1986, 59-78.

<sup>457</sup> B. Kizemská, *Die Rotunde in Znojmo und die Stellung Mährens im Böhmischem Přemyslstaate*, in *Historica* 27, 1987, p.5-59.

<sup>458</sup> A. Merhautová, D.Třeštic, *Románske umedi v čechách a na Moravě*, Praha, 1984, p.80, 81, 114.

Vyšehrad<sup>462</sup>. In this space, the rotundas and donjons are frequently integrated in the earth fortifications as in the one at Týnec<sup>463</sup> or they are emplaced on older earth fortifications from the 9<sup>th</sup> century<sup>464</sup>.as in that at Košice-Krásna (Széplac), dating from the 12<sup>th</sup> century. In Nitrinska Blatnica, a rotunda with semi-circular apsis was built after the 9<sup>th</sup> century in a seigniorial court that has been built over an older fortification<sup>465</sup>. There have been found simple rotundas with apsis in the most important royal and seigniorial residences<sup>466</sup> in Hungary as well.

**b. Răchitova.** The fortification is composed of a stone tower with a 2 m thick wall and 8.4 m long and a precinct with oval plain, with a diameter of 45 and 35 m, limited by a earthwork and the access area by a moat (fig.17). The initial dwelling tower has been defended by a simple moat in an ulterior phase. The earthwork had simple palisades<sup>467</sup>. During the archeological researches ceramic fragments older than the 14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>468</sup> have not been found. But the first documentary attestation dates from 1360, so it may be dated earlier, in the first third of the 14 century.

The dwelling tower from Răchitova has strong analogies in the south of Transylvania: Colți ( Râu de Mori Commune, Hunedoara County), Petrești (Alba County), Axente Sever (Sibiu County), Viscri (Brașov County) dated during the 14<sup>th</sup> century. However, concerning the entire ensemble the closest analogy is the fortress in Colți, where R.Popa considers that the first dwelling tower was built with a palisade with moat and later during the 15<sup>th</sup> century the stone precinct<sup>469</sup> was built.

Therefore, we must to admit the existence of the earth and wood fortifications in Transylvania beginning with the 12<sup>th</sup> century up to the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and 14<sup>th</sup> century. Regarding these fortifications, the next archeological researches will clarify some problems connected to the construction stages of some vestiges such as Axente Sever, Gușterița, Sibiu, Ocna Sibiului, Petrești, Cetatea de Baltă, etc. It will be delimited a subgroup belonging to the seigniorial courts of Western type, dating from the 12th century. An example could be the one in Orăștie, dating between the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Based on this information, we consider that, this fortifications type represents a unitary group (called subtype Id).

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<sup>459</sup> L. Konecny, *Výsledky stavebně –historického a archeologického průzkumu rotundy sv. Pantaleona v Pustiměři 1977-78*, in *AH*, 11, 1986, p.329-375.

<sup>460</sup> Slivka, M.Vallašek, A., *Hospodárské zázemie šľachtických sídiel v oblasti Horného Zemplína*, in *Archæologia Historica*, 7/1982, p.289-310.

<sup>461</sup> V. Hrubý, *Staré Město*, p.178 sq.

<sup>462</sup> Z.DRAGON, *Archeologické výskum rotundy sv. Jana Křtitele pod Pražským hradem vr. 1986 a 1987*, in *AH*, 13, 1988, p.403-415.

<sup>463</sup> A.Hejna, *Opevněná venkovská sídla doby přemyslovské Čechách*, in *AH*, 2, 1976, p.69-70.

<sup>464</sup> B.Polla, *Košicko –krásnianska rotunda*, in *AH*, 9, 1984, p.181 sq.

<sup>465</sup> A. Ruttkay, *Včasnostredoveká rotunda a zaniknutý sídlisknutý region pri Nitrinskej Blatnici*, in *Archeologické výskumy a nálezy na Slovensku v roku*, 1974, Nitra, 1975, p.94-95.

<sup>466</sup> I. Holl, *Mittelalterarcäologie in Ungarn (1946-1964)*, in *AAASH*, XXII, 1970, p.383-386

<sup>467</sup> R.Popa, *Cetăți din Țara Hațegului*, in *BMI*, 3, 1972, p.56.

<sup>468</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>469</sup> R.Popa, *Țara Hațegului*, p.221-222.

It is characteristic for the last decade of the 13 century and the beginning of the 14 century, yet, there are some exceptions.

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The emplacements, construction technique of the earth fortifications elements are as important as the geographic regions. Many fortifications of earth and wood from the Transylvanian territory were dated by means of comparing them with other similar fortifications from, closer or not, geographic spaces from Eastern or Central Europe. From an analysis of the geographic emplacement of the fortifications from Central-Western and South-Eastern Europe, dating from the 10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries, we can delimitate several areas as follows:

- in the region Volhinia, in Poland and in the Oder-Elba region the earliest fortifications are disposed in relative low and marshy areas, how on the high terrace of the rivers<sup>470</sup>;
- in the region of Bug, Dnieper and Prut basin, in Hungary, Slovakia and Czech Republic, most of the fortified centres were build on the high terrace of the rivers, on the hills' plateau, always using the natural defense system of the places<sup>471</sup>;

The fortifications from Transylvania are considered to belong to the last type of emplacement; due to this fact, the emplacement and the fortifications form are not suitable criteria as concerning the absolute and relative chronologies. As concerning the planimetry, we can establish that the Transylvanian fortifications belong to a larger geographic area, within Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary, where we establish a diversity of forms –ovals, quasi-triangle, trapezoidal, square, rectangular –taking into account the relief forms as well.

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<sup>470</sup> P. A. Rappaport, *Planifications des castra a l'Ouest de la Russie aux X et XI siecle*, in Miedzynadowy kongres arhæeologii, IV, Warszawa, 1968, p.51-54; W.Hensel, *La nassance de la Pologne*, Wroclaw-Warszawa- Krakow, 1966, p.158-178; E.Dabrowska, *Wielkie grody dorzecza górnes Wisly-Proba klasyfikacji*, in Archeologia Polski, XIV, 1971, 1-2, p.463-464; W.Hübener, *Frühmittelalterliche Zentralorte im Niederelbegebiet (Forschungserträge 1970-1987)*, in Hamburg. Vor-und Frühgeschichte aus dem Niederelbischen Raum, 10, 1993, p.167-193.

<sup>471</sup> C. Cosma, *Vestul si nord-vestul României în secolele VIII-X D.H.*, Cluj-Napoca, 2002, p.45.

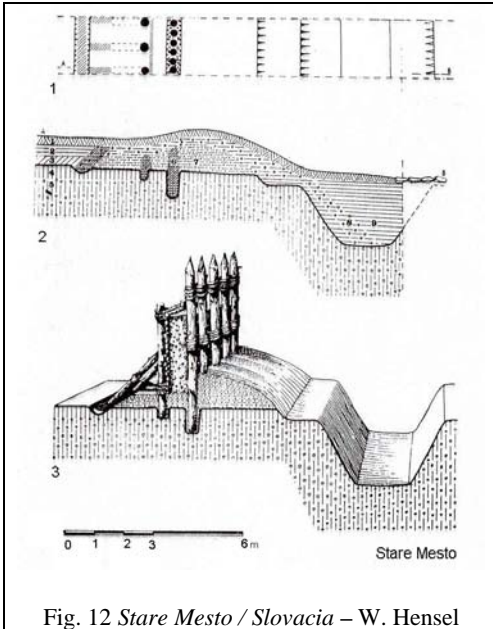


Fig. 12 *Stare Mesto / Slovacia* – W. Hensel

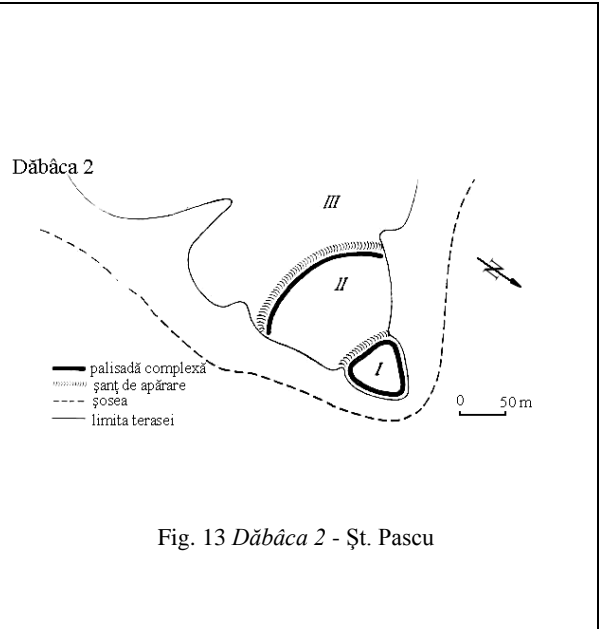


Fig. 13 *Dăbâca 2 - Șt. Pascu*

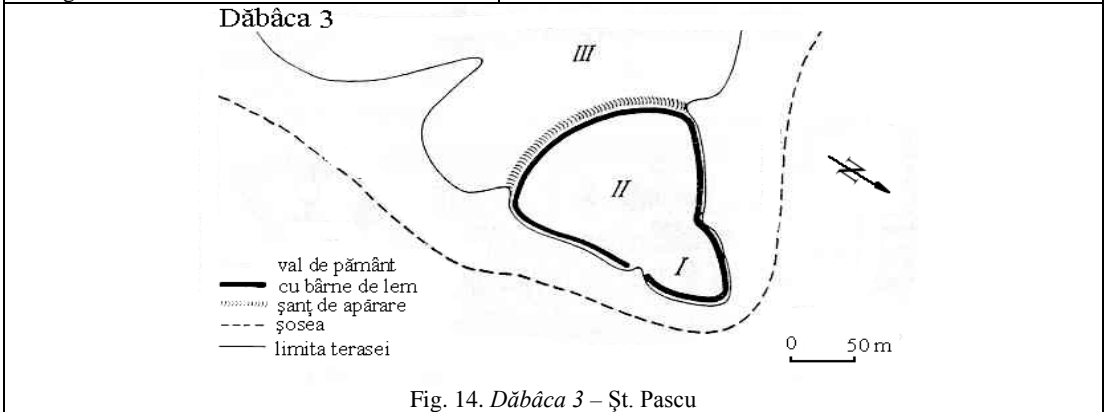


Fig. 14. *Dăbâca 3 – Șt. Pascu*

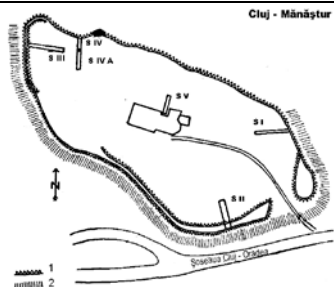


Fig. 15 Cluj – Mănăştur – P. Iambor

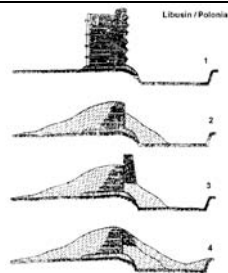
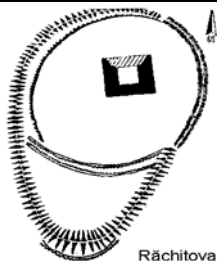


Fig. 16. Libusin / Poland



Răchitova

Fig. 17 Răchitova – planul fortificației - R. Popa

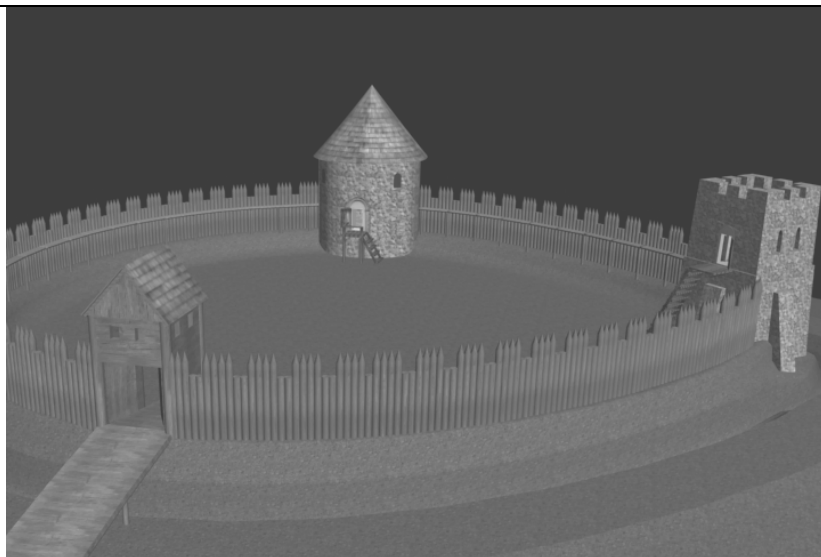
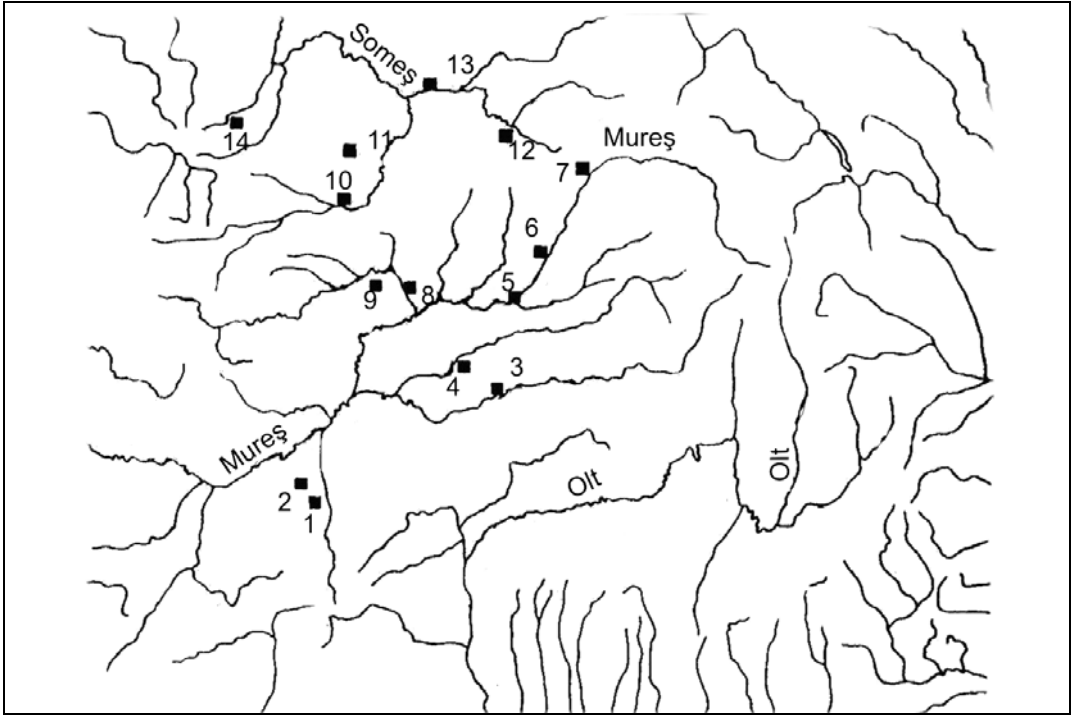


Fig. 18. Orăștie - reconstruction – M. E. Țiplic



Map. 10. Earthworks from Transylvania – 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> c.

- 1 – Laz, jud. Alba; 2 - ; 3 – Târnavă, jud. Sibiu; 4 - Cetatea de Baltă, jud. Alba; 5 – Morești, jud. Mureș; 6 – Chinari, jud. Mureș; 7 – Dedrat, jud. Mureș; 8 – Turda, jud. Cluj; 9 - Moldovenești, jud. Cluj; 10 – Cluj-Napoca, jud. Cluj; 11 – Dăbâca, jud. Cluj; 12 – Șirioara, jud. Bistrița-Năsăud; 13 – Cuzdrioara, jud. Cluj; 14 – Moigrad, jud. Sălaj

## Abbreviations

ActaA	<i>Acta Antiqua</i> , Budapest
AAC	<i>Acta Archaeologica Carpathica</i> , Varşovia
AHA	<i>Acta Historiae Artium</i> , Budapest
AAASH	<i>Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i> , Budapest
AANTIM	<i>Analele Asociației Naționale a Tinerilor Istorici din Moldova</i> , Chişinău
AARMSI	<i>Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice</i> , Bucureşti
AB	<i>Analele Banatului</i> , Timișoara
Acta	<i>Acta. Muzeul Național Secuiesc</i> , Sfântu-Gheorghe
ActaMN	<i>Acta Musei Napocensis</i> , Cluj-Napoca
ActaMP	<i>Acta Musei Porolisensis</i> , Zalău
ActaTS	<i>Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis</i> , Sibiu
AE	<i>Archeológiai Értesítő</i> , Budapest
AECO	<i>Archivum Europae Centro-Orientalis</i> , Budapest
AfÖG	<i>Archiv für österreichische Geschichte</i> , Wien
AH	<i>Archaeologia Historica</i> , Brno
AHA	<i>Acta Historiae Artium</i> , Budapest
AHP	<i>Archivum Historiae Pontificiae</i> , Roma
AICSU	<i>Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane</i> , Sibiu
AIAC	<i>Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie</i> , Cluj-Napoca
AIIAI	<i>Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie</i> , Iași
AIINC	<i>Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională</i> , Cluj
Aluta	<i>Aluta. Studii și comunicări</i> , Sfântu Gheorghe
AM	<i>Arheologia Medievală</i> ,
Anteus	<i>Antaeus Communicationes ex Instituto Archaeologico Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i> , Budapest
ArhM	<i>Arheologia Moldovei</i> , Iași
AP	<i>Archeologia Polski</i> , Warszawa
APH	<i>Acta Poloniae Historica</i> , Warszawa
AV	<i>Archiva Valahica</i> , Târgoviște
BBA	<i>Berliner Byzantinische Arbeiten</i> , Berlin
BCMI	<i>Buletinul Comisiei Monumentelor Istorice</i> , Bucureşti
BI	<i>Buletin Informativ</i> , Institutul de Cercetări Socio-Umane, Sibiu
BMI	<i>Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice</i> , Bucureşti
BMÖ	<i>Beiträge zur Mittelalterarchäologie in Österreich</i> , Wien
CA	<i>Cercetări arheologice</i> , Bucureşti
CB	<i>Castrum Bene</i>
Cbo	<i>Castellologica Bohemica</i> , Praha
ChG	<i>Chateau Gaillard</i>
CCA	<i>Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice</i> , Bucureşti
Corviniana	<i>Corviniana. Acta Musei Corviniensis</i> , Hunedoara
CREL	<i>Cahiers roumains d'études littéraires</i> , Bucureşti
EAZ	<i>Ethnographische-Archäologische Zeitschrift</i> , Berlin

EB	<i>Etudes Balkaniques</i> , Sofia
EM	<i>Erdélyi Muzeum</i> , Cluj-Napoca
EN	<i>Ephemeris Napocensis</i> , Cluj-Napoca
FI	<i>File de istorie</i> , Bistrița
FVL	<i>Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde</i> , Sibiu
HK	<i>Hadtörténelmi Közlemények</i> , Budapest
HZ	<i>Hermannstädter Zeitung</i> , Sibiu
HOMK	<i>A Miskolci Herman Otto Múzeum Közleményei</i> , Miskolc
IBI Bulletin	<i>Internationales Burgen-Institut Bulletin</i> , Rosendaal, Belgia
JRGZM,	<i>Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseums</i> , Mainz
JSKV	<i>Jahrbuch des siebenbürgischen Karpatenvereins</i> , Hermannstadt, Kronstadt
KHKM	Kwartalnik historii kultury materialnej, <i>Moscow</i>
KASL	<i>Korrespondenzblatt des Arbeitskreises für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde</i> , Hermannstadt
KVSL	<i>Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde</i> , Hermannstadt
MA	<i>Memoria Antiquitatis</i> , Iași
MBSM	<i>Mitteilungen des Burzenländer Sächsischen Museums</i> , Brașov
MCA	<i>Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice</i> , București
MGHS	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica, series Scriptores</i> ,
MGSL	<i>Mitteilungen des Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde</i> , Salzburg
MIA	<i>Materialy i issledovanija po arheologii, SSSR, Moscov-Leningrad</i>
MIÖG	<i>Mitteilungen des Institut für österreichische Geschichtsforschung</i> , Wien
MMS	<i>Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei</i> , Suceava
MN	<i>Muzeul Național</i> , București
MT	<i>Mediaevalia Transilvanica</i> , Satu Mare
PSRL	<i>Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisej</i> , Moskow
PZ	<i>Prähistorische Zeitschrift</i> , Berlin - Mainz
RB	<i>Revista Bistriței</i> , Bistrița
RBPH	<i>Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire</i> , Bruxelles
RESEE	<i>Revue des etudes sud-est europeenes</i> , București
RI	<i>Revista Istorică</i> , București
RIM	<i>Revista de Istorie Militară</i> , București
RMM.MIA	<i>Revista Muzeelor și Monumentelor. Monumente Istorice și de Artă</i> , București
RMMN	<i>Revista Muzeului Militar Național</i> , București
RBPH	<i>Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire</i> , Bruxelles
RRH	<i>Revue Roumaine d'Histoire</i> , București
RRHA	<i>Revue Roumaine d'Histoire, seria Beaux-Arts</i> , București
SA	<i>Siebenbürgisches Archiv</i> , Köln, Wien
SCI	<i>Studii și cercetări de istorie</i> , Cluj
SCIV(A)	<i>Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche și Arheologie</i> , București
SCȘ	<i>Studii și Cercetări Științifice</i> , seria istorie, Iași
SF	<i>Südost-Forschungen</i> , München



SHASH	<i>Studia Historica Academiae Scientarum Hungaricae</i> , Budapest
SlavA	<i>Slavia Antiqua</i>
Slov. Arch	<i>Slovenska Archaeologia</i> , Praha
SMIM	<i>Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie</i> , București
SMMIM	<i>Studii și Materiale de Muzeografie și Istorie Militară</i> , București
ST	<i>Symposia Thracologica. Revistă a institutului de Tracologie</i> , București.
StComSb	<i>Studii și comunicări. Muzeul Brukenthal</i> , Sibiu
SUBB	<i>Studia Universitatis „Babeș-Bolyai”</i> , series <i>historica</i> , Cluj-Napoca
SV	<i>Siebenbürgische Vierteljahrschrift</i> , Hermannstadt
TR	<i>Transylvania Review</i> , Cluj-Napoca
TSzl	<i>Történelmi Szemle</i> , Budapest
ZfSL	<i>Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde</i> , Heidelberg
UJ	<i>Ungarn-Jahrbuch</i> , München
UjB	<i>Ungarisches Jahrbücher</i> , München



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