

HAND-MADE POTTERY FROM HALMYRIS AND ITS CULTURAL CONTEXT

Florin Topoleanu, Eugen S. Teodor

Abstract: *Halmyris is the most eastern Roman fortification on the Danube. In this paper we study the handmade pottery found in this site. Six pots, similar to Penkovka culture pottery, were found in the last layers of the fortress (late 6th century - early 7th century). The context of the finds in huts indicates that the potters lived inside the fort and were probably members of the garrison.*

Key words: *handmade pottery, morphology, Lower Danube, Late Roman army, enlisting*

Cuvinte cheie: *ceramică modelată manual, morfologie, Dunărea de Jos, armata romană târzie, înrolare*

For classical archaeology, handmade pottery is like a homeless child: dirty, without manners and dishevelled; he won't get thrown in the street, but surely you won't call him for dinner, either. In basic cultural terms, these archaic products *are not Roman* and their marginal status is understandable; there are plenty of other fine archaeological facts to study and time is always too short to deal with handmade pottery, too. However, there are a few studies about hand-made pottery from *Scythia Minor*, but we're not going to review them. Nevertheless, to start with, we need some landmarks of the archaeological expertise already performed.

The oldest theory was to ascribe the handmade pottery to the barbarian invaders. This might have been the case in *Dinogetia*, for instance. Ion Barnea connected those isolated discoveries from the burned layer to the *Cutrigur* attack in 559, considering that they effectively proved the "nomads'" success¹. But numerous facts contradict this hypothesis. The pottery is not Turkish, belongs to the *Penkovka* type. The contribution of the supposed Slavic forces to the invasion led by *Zabergan* is today disputed², but it's less important. However, there might be a problem in the fact that most pots belonged to *Penkovka* culture, which is ascribed to the *Antes*³, but in 559 the *Antes* were the Romans' allies, not their enemies. Even some facts in the archaeological report seem to contradict the conclusions. For instance, one pot had two handles, being, in the author's own words, *une imitation barbare assez gauche d'une autre pot romain à deux anses*, an odd situation in *Barbaricum*, too⁴. Finally, the sherd was found *under* a thick layer of debris, which means that it most likely was there *before the siege*.

In a similar situation, but a decade later, at *Beroe*, the conclusions were drawn with far more caution. The authors took note of the fact that handmade pottery is closely associated

¹ Barnea 1966, 253, 258.

² Curta 2006, 39-40.

³ Teodor 1993.

⁴ Barnea 1966, 248. Some pots with handles were found in *Wallachia*, but they are quite rare (e.g. *Ciurel*: Dolinescu-Ferche 1979, fig. 15/1). I. Barnea considered the fabrication of the same fragment as *quite fine*, and this is coming from a *classic archaeologist*. That kind of clay preparation can't be found anywhere in *Barbaricum*.

with *normal* Roman pottery, leading to the assumption that it was used by the Roman inhabitants themselves⁵. However, the authors support the common idea that the morphology is useless for handmade pottery; the uncertainty of the shape and the lack of decoration are real traits that make the typology rather difficult⁶. Nevertheless, the authors make the right observation that the morphology of the handmade pottery *is not uniform*; some of them could find some analogies, far in Barbaricum, while others seem to be imitations of Roman shapes. But the conclusion is merely the same: that the pottery can't be Roman and was made by "Slavs" from the outskirts of the fortress (of course – unknown)⁷.

The third theory advocates the autochthonous concept⁸. It defends the hypothesis that the handmade pottery follows old Getic tradition, along the seven centuries of Roman occupation. The main problem is that a generic Getic tradition could also be brought from Moldavia, by the Carps displaced in the Empire in the 3rd century⁹. The shortcomings are best underlined by examples, as the pot found in the ruins of the large basilica at Tomis¹⁰, dated to the late 6th century. The shape can be easily ascribed to the Getic / Carpiian tradition, as the item is extremely tall, with no other match in *barbaricum* and with some close analogies in Walachia and Moldavia in the same 6th century¹¹. However, the cuts on the rim suggest a recent eastern influence, at least from a statistical perspective¹²; also, the short clay rolls stacked just below the rim have no analogies in proximal geography. Such contradictions can't find the cure inside the plain paradigms as those about *Getae*, *Carpi* or *Sclavini*.

An overview of this kind of discoveries from *Schythia Minor*, as sketched by Ioan C. Opriș¹³, proves that the primitive pottery was identified in almost all Late Roman sites and the barbarian material is a part of the later Roman culture. The same monograph about the pottery in 6th century Capidava brings an essential contribution to the understanding the archaeological issue. In the so-called Guard House, that is the blocked portico of the former *basilica* turned into a military storeroom in late 6th century¹⁴, the archaeologists found a dozen of handmade pots¹⁵, along with several hundreds of normal Roman ceramics; around 580 AD,

⁵ Vâlceanu, Barnea 1975, 210.

⁶ Vâlceanu, Barnea 1975, 211.

⁷ Vâlceanu, Barnea 1975, 217.

⁸ Scorpan 1970; Cârjan 1971; Teodor 1972, 111. The last comes back with other conclusions (Teodor 1993, 1994 and others).

⁹ Comșa 1972.

¹⁰ Scorpan 1970, 156 with fig. 14.

¹¹ Dulceanca I (Dolinescu-Ferche 1974, fig. 64/2), Băleni-Români (L. Muscă, manuscript), Soldat Ghivan (Dolinescu-Ferche, Constantiniu 1981, fig. 4/7, 8, 10), Străulești-Măicănești (Constantinescu 1965, fig. 85/1, 2, fig. 89), Cățelu Nou (Leahu 1963, fig. 27/1, 3, 4), Budureasca 4 (Teodorescu *et alii* 1993, fig. 12/b), Bacău-Curtea Domnească (Mitrea 1980, pl. 23/5, 24/5), Izvoare-Bahna (Mitrea 1998, fig. 34/1), Suceava-Șipot (nepublicat; MNIR 66540). The only other analogy comes from southern Poland (as Parczewski 1993, 16/1) and it can easily be ascribe to the *Costobocae* inheritance, *i.e.* Dacian.

¹² The matter is not completely clear. Such decorations can be documented only for periods preceding the Slavs (Teodor 1996, 30-31). On the other hand, such rim cuts were found at Militari-Bucharest (not published) especially in later contexts (early 7th century), without wheel-made pottery.

¹³ Opriș 2003, 103-104.

¹⁴ Opriș 2003, 109-110.

¹⁵ Opriș 2003, 119-122.

the entire Guard House was destroyed and covered in ruins and remained undisturbed until the archaeological investigations in the '90s. So it becomes obvious that the handmade pottery belongs to the Roman soldiers, and it's almost sure they were the ones who produced it, too, due to lack of storage containers.

The extended investigations in Murighiol, after 1981, brought out some entirely preserved vessels¹⁶, or large fragmentary ones, from levels 12 and mainly 13, the later layers on the site (late 6th until mid 7th century)¹⁷. There is a major difference between those two layers, which can be summed up by the wordplay *town life* and *life in town*; on level 12 the military function is preserved, but on level 13 one can find only some "pitiful cottages" (as Procopius would say), more or less buried in the soil, and no street network.

Andrei Opaïț fairly and briefly identified the ceramic inventory of those late discoveries as belonging to Penkovka culture¹⁸. The diagnostic is correct, as we shall see, although the direct connection between Penkovka and the Slavs sets aside old arguments¹⁹. About "Slavs" at the crossroads between the 6th and the 7th century we can only speak in a foreseeing way²⁰. We will not discuss here the intricate relations between *Praga culture* (or *Praga-Korceak*) and *Penkovka culture*. Nevertheless we assert that these two cultural areas are too different to admit, by means of archaeological reasoning, that they can ever express the roots of the *same* people²¹; otherwise, we'd be compelled to state that archaeology *is unable to detect the essence of ethnic processes*. Only one of these statements can be true.

This paper aims to fill the voids in the cultural references for the handmade pottery found in Halmyris, with possible historical relevance.

We will proceed with the catalogue:

ICEM²² Tulcea 27951

ink inscription: Mur(ighiol) 81, S.1, □ (landmarks) 57-58;

handless pot with short bent rim, with the median diameter at mid height, without foot; of typical biconical shape; correct modeling, within the limits of the technique (handmade); relatively good, but not complete original firing (the broken rim is black); ingredients difficult to identify (but probably chalk, possibly grinded pot sherds), visible on the surface, but small and rare; vegetal prints on the base; secondary functional firing side marks (kitchen);

H = 28.4 cm; up.D. = 18.4 cm; low.D. = 12.7 cm

bibliography: Opaïț 1991, pl. 34/200, Opaïț 1996, pl. 41/9; Teodor 1994, fig. 7/10; see also Fig. 2, group 2B, in this paper.

¹⁶ Opaïț 1991a, 157.

¹⁷ Suceveanu *et alii* 2003, 39-41; Opaïț 1991a, 157; Opaïț 1996, 104-105.

¹⁸ Opaïț 1991a, 157; Opaïț 1996, 104-105. The phrase "migratory people" is evasive. The recent research (Curta 2008, 176) confirms old hypotheses that the *Antes* were a nomadic aristocracy dominating a sedentary population. The pottery in question was not made by the aristocracy. However, A. Opaïț' merits regarding barbarian pottery in northern Dobrogea are indisputable, as he published the Topraichioi inventory (1991b); that pottery is *different*, the *insider* identity of the producers is more obvious. We will not deal here with Topraichioi material, because it is a distinct case.

¹⁹ Overviews: Teodor 1993; Corman 1996; Curta 2008.

²⁰ Curta 2001, 335-350, for and update in Slavs' identification in the Early Byzantine sources.

²¹ Teodor 2001, 98-99.

²² Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale (The Eco-Museal Research Institute).

ICEM Tulcea 27952

handless pot originally without rim, with the median diameter almost at mid height, of relatively biconical shape; light yellow-reddish color; carefully smoothed surface; 3-5 mm wide pinches on the surface (from the melted chalk during the firing process); on the surface other small ingredients are visible, possibly previously incompletely fired clay or incompletely kneaded clay clods; there are also some tiny black crumbs (ca. 1 mm), probably ferrous oxides from the local clay, and a little red dot, probably a well grinded sherd;

H = 16.5 cm; up.D. = 12.3 (12.4) cm; low.D. = 8.4 cm

Bibliography: Opaïț 1991, pl. 34/201; Opaïț 1996, pl. 41/8; Teodor 1994, fig. 7/5; see also Fig. 2, group 2A.

ICEM Tulcea 27953

small handless pot, resembling a „bowl” (Height/ med. D. = 0.69)²³; median diameter just above mid height; well-defined rim, curved outwards; originally tile-colored rim; from the neck downwards, the outer surface is covered with a calcareous residue, probably due to the long exposure in aquatic environment; the inside is partially covered with gypsum, but apparently the calcareous residue is absent; it is difficult to imagine what particularity that determined such different aspect of the two sides, but it's possible the pot remained a long time upside down in a damp environment; the material is sandy, similar to Roman kitchenware, unusual for the rest of the handmade pots from Halmyris; the material contained pebbles up to 5 mm in size;

H = 11.4 cm; up.D. = 14.7 cm; low.D. = 11.4 (11.0) cm;

Bibliography: Opaïț 1991, pl. 34/202; Opaïț 1996, pl. 41/7; Teodor 1993, fig. 2/9; see also Fig. 3, group 24A.

ICEM Tulcea 40276

handless pot with the median diameter at mid height; truncated biconical body; rim curved outwards; asymmetry probably due to restoration; careful shaping and finishing, with no touch-up marks, except in the neck area, where horizontal spatula marks are visible, on both sides; light brownish color; smoother surface with few relatively fine pinches; well sifted sand; on the inside the surface is not as smooth, with visible crushed pebbles; secondary firing side marks, in several occasions, mostly on the upper half; typical marks for use with a cover;

H = 17.3 cm; up.D. = 12.6 cm; low.D. = 10 cm;

bibliography: Opaïț 1991, pl. 34/203; Opaïț 1996, pl. 41/8; Teodor 1994, fig.9/3; see Fig. 1, group 1B.

²³ A reasonable upper limit is 0.67, meaning the height is two thirds of the median diameter, but a bowl has many other characteristics, besides shape (a wide mouth, for instance). The proportion (0.69) is not calculated based on the dimensions in the catalogue above, but is the result given by Compas database. There are principled differences between the measurement in the lab and the measurement on Compas System drawing; the result is that the diameter measurements in Compas are shorter than the laboratory measurements.

ICEM Tulcea 43293

ink inscription: Mur(ighiol) 91, □ (landmark) U 20

handleless pot; relatively biconical body; short rim, curved outwards; intense red color (but incomplete firing as indicated by the dark color on the chipped rim); multiple secondary firing marks on the side, extremely contrasting; on the surface there are white pebbles, rather many chalk pieces up to 6 mm in size and up to 2mm large silicon grains; the base of the pot is very obvious, suggesting that it was made separately and the rest of the pot was made using the adding curls technique (but no such traces on the surface of the pot); the adding curls technique is sometimes referred to by the archaeologists studying *Barbaricum*, but is extremely poorly documented (mostly large pots, like this one);

H = 24.5 cm; up.D. = 21.6 (20.4) cm; low.D. = 12.9 (12.8) mm;

unpublished; see fig. 3, group_10C.

ICEM Tulcea 43812

ink inscription: Mur(ighiol) 93, surface X 13, from the well, -3.20-4.35 m;

handleless pot with median diameter at mid height; short rim, rounded walls; strong secondary firing; original colour could be chestnut; finger and spatula marks, more visible than usual, including on the outside; these marks are horizontal on the upper part and quasi-vertical on the lower part, and are rather systematic, suggesting a decoration attempt; there is no engobe and many pebbles are obvious in the material; the bottom is missing, so it was possible to measure thickness of the walls (9.5 mm on the rim and 13 mm close to the bottom);

H (in graphic restitution) = 18.7 cm; up.D. = 13 (13.5) cm; low.D. (graphic restitution) = 8.9 cm.

The descriptions above were made on the restored items, without examining the sections. Nevertheless, a detailed inspection of the surface can certify the rare occurrence of grinded sherds into the material – sometimes mistaken for Slavic origin marker²⁴; this ingredient is clearly less present here than in some contemporary sites from central Walachia, as Militari or Târgșor. The overall impression is that Halmyris pottery has less sand in the clay, compared to the Roman kitchenware or to Ipotești-Cândești ceramics, resembling more the La Tène pottery, with a slippery and discreetly polished surface.

Although A. Opait's cultural diagnosis seems valid at first glance, we tried to put these impressions to the test. We selected 75 shapes considered to define Penkovka culture from Compaș database²⁵. We then added the six pots from Halmyris, and we subjected all 81 of them to a “waterfall procedure”, which consists in comparing ratios two by two, on a scattered graph, with intermediate temporary classifications²⁶. Seven sequences of classification were produced in order to obtain a final one, which resulted in 26 groups, divided in 47 subgroups; 24 of them are isolated items, without match in the tested lot. The goal was to see in what

²⁴ Feature considered for Penkovka culture (Comșa 1968, 356) or Korceak culture, in eastern “fatherland” of the *sclaveni* (Gimbutas 1971, 83).

²⁵ Prihodnjuk 1998 (49 shapes); Teodor 1994 (13 shapes); Rusanova 1976 (13 shapes).

²⁶ We have recently expressed our doubts about this technology (Teodor 2005), rather old and limited. The criticism pointed out this procedure's capacity to deal with large qty of data (over 1000 pieces, at that time). This lot, of less than 100 shapes, raised no special problems.

degree those six shapes from Halmyris fit or don't fit in the Penkovka test lot. The table below sums up the lines regarding the handmade pots from Roman provinces:

Site	Lot	Identification no.	Typology
Halmyris	ICEM Tulcea	43812	Pnk01A
Budeni	Teodor D 1994	07/06	Pnk01A
Selisht [Seliște]	Prihodnjuk 1998	19/01	Pnk01A
Lug I	Rusanova 1976	34/08	Pnk01A
Stetzovka	Rusanova 1976	34/14	Pnk01A
Selisht [Seliște]	Prihodnjuk 1998	56/10	Pnk01B
Halmyris	ICEM Tulcea	40276	Pnk01B
Rechi [Reci]	Prihodnjuk 1998	53/13	Pnk02A
Halmyris	ICEM Tulcea	27952	Pnk02A
Halmyris	ICEM Tulcea	27951	Pnk02B
Lug I	Rusanova 1976	34/07	Pnk02C
Sheptebani-Hucha	Prihodnjuk 1998	53/11	Pnk02C
Halmyris	ICEM Tulcea	43293	Pnk10C
Hanska 2	Prihodnjuk 1998	58/12	Pnk10C
Sheptebani-Hucha	Prihodnjuk 1998	53/10	Pnk10C
Halmyris	ICEM Tulcea	27953	Pnk24A
Andrusovka	Rusanova 1976	34/20	Pnk24B
Hanska	Prihodnjuk 1998	19/05	Pnk24B
Selisht [Seliște]	Prihodnjuk 1998	56/07	Pnk24C

For this lot, the overall statistic rate for *no match* is 30% (24 from 81); two items from Halmyris (those classified as 2B and 24A) meet this condition (33.33%), but they belong to a *definite group*; 2B is flanked by 2A and 2C, and the shape classified as 24A is a good analogy for subgroup 24B (see fig. 3)²⁷. In conclusion, the Halmyris lot fits in the test lot.

²⁷ We need to offer a brief explanation about how the illustrations were made: the comparison concerns the shape, not the size (as the capacity), therefore the pots were rendered in apparently the same size (for median diameter). The new drawings highlighted the restored parts, in order to draw the attention (and measurement!) on the original shape. The drawings were performed tracing the contour of a zoomed photograph (10× or focal distance of 200), to cut lens distortion. The old recommendations for photos taken with zoom lenses are to keep a distance at least 5 times longer than the item's maximum diameter (Teodor 1996, 15); in this case, the distance was roughly 20 times larger.

A relevant observation is that, although there are some distant analogies (Andrusovka, Lug, Stetzovka), most of the analogies are found near central Bessarabia²⁸. The close range connection is even stronger than suggested in the table above; Penkovka culture has a vast spreading area, from Siret River, in the west (in a complicated mix with other cultures) up to Donetz River²⁹, in the east, stretching over 1100 km, on 250 km width, bordering the forests area from the north. Inside this area (larger than nowadays Romania) at least five different cultural aspects can be noticed, depending on the inheritance or influence. Angular-shaped pottery is not this culture's only landmark, but its best known characteristic. In the same area we find completely different morphologies, expressing different roots: Korceak type pottery, with the middle diameter placed very high and with a very wide rim³⁰; very tall shapes (where the height is by 50% larger than the middle diameter) that remind of the Carps' tradition³¹; the so-called "tulip" type, resembling Korceak, but with an even wider mouth, of northern inspiration (Kiev, Tushemlja or Kolotchin)³²; the Roman-like, arched and harmonious shapes, even though taken from Cernjakhov connection³³. As a general rule, Penkovka type pottery has no profiled foot, but some pots indicate a Sarmatian heritage³⁴. Lastly, there is an extremely archaic type, decorated with a girdle of La Tène tradition just below the short neck, or, exceptionally on the middle diameter, decorated or not with fingerprints³⁵; a similar situation occurs with the buttons (different shapes) just below the rim³⁶. We made this short list of the odd Penkovka antiquities just to point out that *they are missing from Halmyris*, within the limits of the inventory known so far³⁷. The real interest of the observation is enlightened by the fact that *they are rare in Bessarabia too*, although usual in Bug or Dniپر areas.

The conclusion of the analysis is that the producers of the handmade pottery from Halmyris originated north of the Danube mouth, not very far from the fort. This kind of discovery is encountered in level 13, the latest level, but they are not unusual for level 12 either, when a Roman garrison was still present in Halmyris. What we have here is less of an *event* and more of a process. Although assimilating *Penkovka culture* to *the Antes* (from

²⁸ The southern part of Bessarabia was not inhabited in the 6th-7th centuries (Musteață 2005, 34) and will not be considered a "gap".

²⁹ Prihodnjuk 1998, 78.

³⁰ Prihodnjuk 1998, fig. 49/10.

³¹ Prihodnjuk 1998, fig. 19/10, 44/1.

³² Prihodnjuk 1998, fig. 38/1, 41/2, 49/11. For the named culture in an accessible language, see Kazanski 1999, 120-128 and Barford 2001, mostly 96-103.

³³ Prihodnjuk 1998, fig. 36/1.

³⁴ Prihodnjuk 1998, fig. 46/18.

³⁵ These are rather numerous, mostly east of Dniپر (*e.g.* Prihodnjuk 1998, figs. 32/14, 15, 36/12, 39/1, 2, 40/1 etc). The rolls stacked on the body can be confusing, because any professional archaeologist would say, seeing them, this is *prehistory*, as Fl. Curta (2001, 230-231) did, suspecting Rusanova to have mixed Wielbark and Korceak pottery. It appears this is not the case, as Penkovka culture dates to *proto-history*.

³⁶ Vertical (Prihodnjuk 1998, figs. 29/17, 31/7); U-shaped (Prihodnjuk 1998, fig. 32/15); ellipsoidal (Prihodnjuk 1998, figs. 33/1, 37/13, 49/2); horizontal (Prihodnjuk 1998, fig. 51/20). Neither of the examples above is a direct analogy for the pot from Tomis, but the Penkovka buttons could date the „old Getic” shapes and the short rolls (*i.e.* buttons) stacked under the rim to the 6th century.

³⁷ We express our gratitude to M. Zahariade for sharing with us some new findings in this site.

historic records) is not simple³⁸, it is a fact we can rely on. Around the year 600, the *Antes* were the Roman's allies and their presence in the fort should mean that they were *foederati*, not plundering barbarians or "migrators". This approach would also apply to other Roman fortresses on the Lower Danube where items attributed to Penkovka culture were connected to earlier destruction layers, such as Dinogetia or Beroe.

For the final section of our paper, it we try to make a comparison with the handmade pottery from Capidava. Those 12 shapes form the most extensive lot of *archaic* pottery from *Scythia Minor*, since Late Antiquity. On the other hand, Capidava's geographic position of Capidava is 106 km southwest from Halmyris and 94 km south from Dinogetia, facing the Romanian plain, not southern Bessarabia. A detailed analysis should be the subject of another paper, therefore now we try to provide a few brief answers. We will consider two traits of the Penkovka pottery: the low middle diameter, at mid height; and the angled, flat body of the pots. In figure 4 we separated three categories: Penkovka test lot, Halmyris handmade pottery and Capidava *archaic* pottery lot (two of which on the slow-wheel); the graphic compares values for the upper body arch (X axis) and the values for the upper height³⁹ (Y axis). As you can easily see in fig. 4, the Halmyris group is part of the Penkovka culture "hard core", while the shapes from Capidava are outside the main area of the Penkovka type. Some specifications could be helpful: the upper height of the typical Penkovka type is between 0.4-0.5; figures below 0.4 are normal, but encountered on low shapes, similar to bowls, a shape completely absent in Korceak environment. The usual values for Korceak pottery are between 0.3-0.4⁴⁰, which points out another problem: the comparison between the lot from Capidava and any of the two "classic" early Slavic cultures is not relevant, at least in general. A developed analysis of the shapes from Capidava has been done⁴¹, but the matter is still difficult to understand, because there is a missing link in the archaeological record.

Taking Halmyris as a model case (but also Dinogetia and Beroe), the analogies from Capidava point out to the territory beyond the *limes*, facing west (see the map in the fig. 5). Like in Bessarabia, eastern Walachia also completely lacks artifacts from this period, although Procopius' story is different⁴² - that there were large numbers of Slavs on the Danube's banks. Unlike in the binomial Halmyris-Bessarabia, the analogies for Capidava are spread over wide areas, like southern Poland, western Ukraine, northern Bulgaria (all later!), not only in central Walachia (contemporary). It is not at all obvious where Capidava's soldiers were enlisted, but this shouldn't be far. The missing link could be the cemetery from Sărata Monteoru, not

³⁸ The *Antes* are well documented along the 6th century, but they disappear from history after their defeat by the Avars, at the dawn of the 7th century (Teodor 2003, 30). While the most Penkovka antiquities date to the 7th century (Fl. Curta, 'Antes, people', in *International Encyclopaedia for the Middle Ages-Online. A Supplement to LexMA-Online*. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2005, in Brepols Medieval Encyclopaedias). See also Curta 2008. But we keep in mind that the *ex silentio* argument is not reliable.

³⁹ In simple terms, the *arch* value will be read just as *the bigger is the figure – the deeper is the arch*; the figures for the upper height show the ratio between the upper height (measured from the middle diameter to the rim) and the overall height.

⁴⁰ Teodor 2001, 91: most of them and the most characteristic values are below 0.35, which applies southern Poland, too.

⁴¹ Opreş 2003, 110-112.

⁴² Procopius, *De Bello Goth*, VII 14.22.

published in half a century. If not – we should unload our mental inhabits and ask ourselves if *those sclaveni* really lived in buried dwellings, as everybody thinks, or in tents, as nobody considers.

Bibliography

- Barford, P. 2001, *The Slavs: Culture and Society in Early Medieval Eastern Europe*, London.
- Barnea, I. 1966, *L'incendie de la cité de Dinogetia au VI^e siècle*, Dacia, N.S. 10, 237-259.
- Cârjan, C. 1971, *Ceramica băștinașă din secolele VI-VII e.n. descoperită la Tomis*, Pontica 4, 339-350.
- Comșa, M. 1968, *Sur l'origine et l'evolution de la civilisation de la population romane, et ensuit proto-roumaine, aux VI^e-X^e siècles sur le territoire de la Roumanie*, Dacia, N.S. 12, 355-380.
- Comșa, M. 1972, *Elemente „barbare” în zona Limes-ului Dunării inferioare în secolele al III-lea și al IV-lea*, Pontica 5, 223-232.
- Constantiniu, M. 1965, *Șantierul arheologic Băneasa-Străulești. 3. Săpăturile de la Străulești-Măicănești. Așezarea prefeudală II*, CAB 2, 174-189.
- Corman, I. 1996, *L'origine ethnique des “Antes” fondée sur les découvertes archéologiques dans l'espace d'entre Prouth et Dniestr*, ArhMold 19, 169-190.
- Corman, I. 1998, *Contribuții la istoria spațiului pruto-nistriean în epoca evului mediu timpuriu (sec. V-VII d.Chr.)*, Chișinău.
- Curta, Fl. 2001, *The Making of the Slavs. History and Archaeology of the Lower Danube, c. 500-700*, Cambridge.
- Curta, Fl. 2008, *The North-Western Region of the Black Sea During the 6th and Early 7th century AD.*, Ancient West & East 7, 149-185.
- Dolinescu-Ferche, S. 1974, *Așezări din secolele III și VI e. n. în sud-vestul Munteniei. Cercetările de la Dulceanca*, București.
- Dolinescu-Ferche, S. 1979, *Ciurel, habitat des VI^e - VII^e siècles des notre ère*, Dacia, N.S. 23, 179-230.
- Dolinescu-Ferche, S., Constantiniu, M. 1981, *Un établissement du VI^e siècle à Bucarest (Découvertes de la rue Soldat Ghivan)*, Dacia, N.S. 25, 284-329.
- Gimbutas, M. 1971, *The Slavs*, London.
- Kazanski, M. 1999, *Les Slaves. Les origines (I^{er}-VII^e siècle après J.-C.)*, Paris.
- Leahu, V. 1963, *Raport asupra săpăturilor arheologice efectuate în 1960 la Cățelu Nou*, CAB 1, 34-43.
- Mitrea, I. 1980, *Regiunea centrală a Moldovei dintre Carpați și Siret în secolele VI-IX*, Carpica 12, 55-190.
- Mitrea, I. 1998, *Așezarea din secolele VI-IX de la Izvoare-Bahna*, Piatra Neamț.
- Musteață, S. 2005, *Populația spațiului pruto-nistean în secolele VIII-IX*, Chișinău.
- Opaïț, A. 1991a, *Ceramica din așezarea și cetatea de la Independența (Murighiol) în secolele V î.e.n. - VII e.n.*, Peuce 10, 133-182.
- Opaïț, A. 1991b, *Elemente etnice nord-dunărene în Scythia Minor (secolele IV-V p.Ch.)*, Peuce 10, 127-132.
- Opaïț, A. 1996, *Aspecte ale vieții economice din provincia Scythia (secolele IV-VI p.Ch.)*.

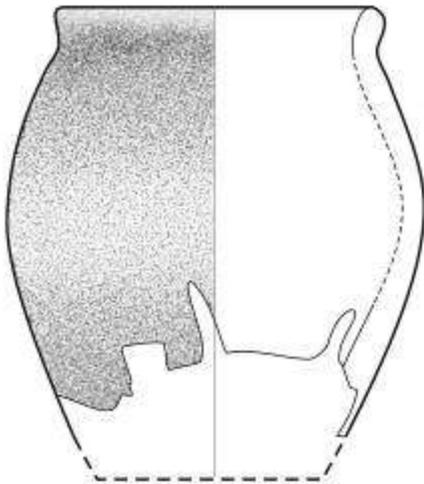
- Producția ceramicii locale și de import*, București.
- Opriș, I.C. 2003, *Ceramica romană târzie și paleobizantină de la Capidava în contextul descoperirilor de la Dunărea de Jos (sec. IV-VI p.Chr.)*, București.
- Parczewski, M. 1993, *Die Anfänge der frühslawischen Kultur in Polen*, Wien.
- Prihodnjuk, O.M. 1998, *Penkovskaia Kultura - kulturno-hronologikeski aspekt issledovania*, Voronej.
- Rusanova, I.P. 1976, *Slavianskie drevnosti VI-VII vv.*, Moskva.
- Scorpan, C. 1970, *Aspecte ale continuității și romanizării băștinașilor din Dobrogea în lumina recentelor cercetări*, Pontica 3, 139-188.
- Suceveanu, Al., Zahariade, M., Topoleanu, Fl., Poenaru Bordea, Gh. 2003, *Halmyris, I*, Cluj-Napoca.
- Teodor, D. Gh. 1972, *Contribuții privind pătrunderea și stabilirea slavilor în teritoriile extracarpătice ale României*, Carpica 5, 105-114.
- Teodor, D. Gh. 1993, *Unele considerații privind originea și cultura anșilor*, ArhMold 16, 205-213.
- Teodor, D. Gh. 1994, *Slavii la nordul Dunării de Jos în secolele VI-VII d. H.*, ArhMold 17, 223-251.
- Teodor, E.S. 1996, *Sistemul Compas. Studiu de morfologie analitică numerică, aplicat ceramicii uzuale din perioada de migrație a slavilor*, București.
- Teodor, E. 2001, *Ceramica uzuală din Muntenia, de la sfârșitul veacului al V-lea până la mijlocul veacului al VII-lea*, teză doctorat, Universitatea A.I. Cuza Iași, http://www.mnir.ro/publicat/TTW/index_est.html
- Teodor, E.S. 2003, *Epoca romană târzie și cronologia atacurilor transdanubiene. Analiza componentelor etnice și geografice (partea a doua, de la 565 la 626)*, MuzNaț 15, 3-36.
- Teodor, E.S. 2005, *Metoda distanței cumulate și morfologia ceramicii est- și central-europene în veacurile V-VII*, studiu publicat pe site-ul grupului Etnogeneza (<http://egg.mnir.ro>).
- Teodorescu, V., Dupoi, V.I., Peneș, M., Lichiardopol, D., Panait, Gh. 1993, *Stațiunea arheologică Budureasca, jud. Prahova (complexele daco-române și străromânești)*, Materiale 17, II, 365-387.

Florin Topoleanu

Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale
Str. 14 Noiembrie nr. 1 bis
820009, Tulcea

Eugen S. Teodor

Muzeul Național de Istorie a României,
Calea Victoriei, nr. 12, sect. 3
030026, București



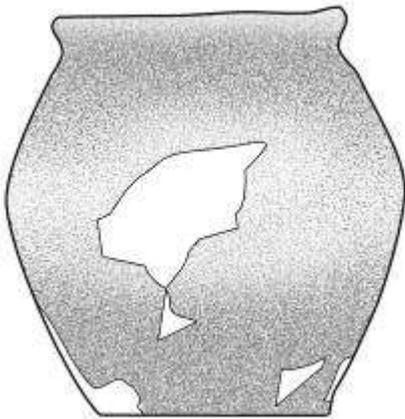
Murighiol; Tulcea Museum
no. 43812

group

1A

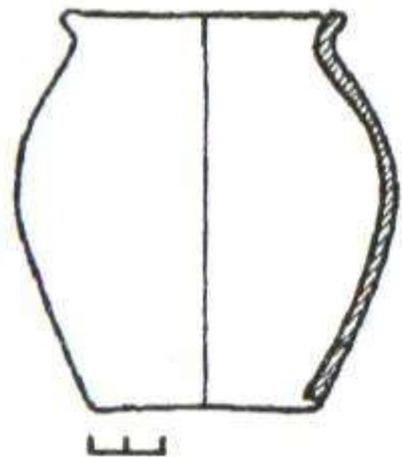


Stetzovka
Rusanova 1976, fig. 34/14



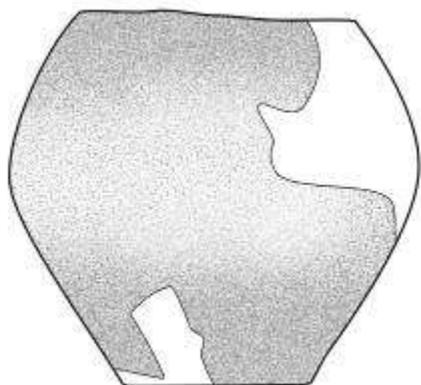
Murighiol; Tulcea Museum
no. 40276

1B



Selishte [Seliște]
Prihodnjuk 1998, fig. 56/10

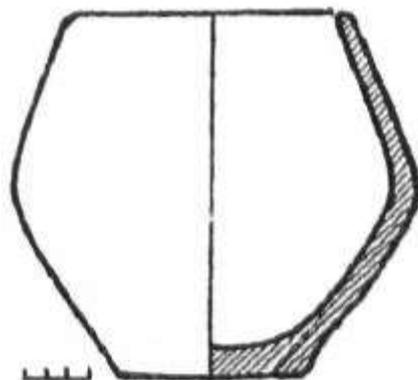
Fig. 1. Common classification of the pots' shapes from Penkovka culture and hand-made pottery from Murighiol (*Halmyris*). Group 1, subgroups A and B. For dimensions in Murighiol cases see the catalogue.



Murighiol; Tulcea museum
no. 27952

group

2A

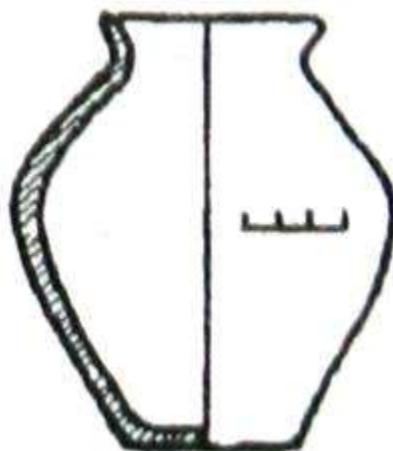


Rechi [Reci]
Prihodnjuk 1998, fig. 53/13



Murighiol; Tulcea Museum
no. 27951

2B



2C

Hucea [Hucea]
Prihodnjuk 1998, fig. 53/10

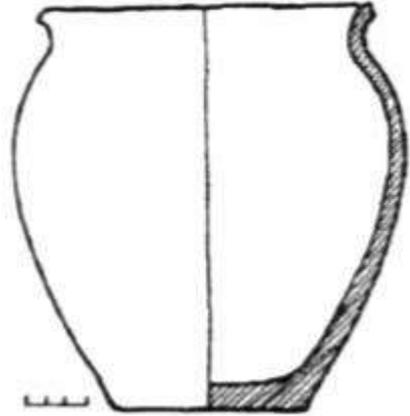
Fig. 2. Common classification of the pots' shapes from Penkovka culture and hand-made pottery from Murighiol (*Halmyris*). Subgroups 2A, 2B, 2C. For dimensions in Murighiol cases see the catalogue.



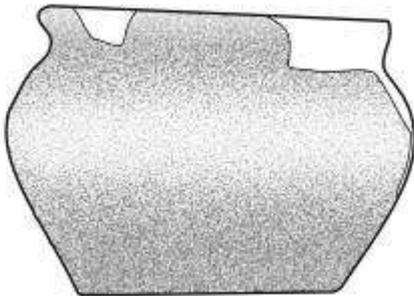
Murighiol; Tulcea Museum
no. 43293

group

10C

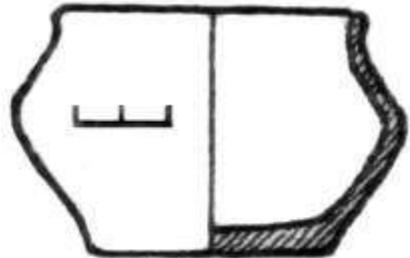


Hanska 2
Prihodnjuk 1998, fig. 58/12



Murighiol; Tulcea Museum
no. 27953

24A



24B

Hanska
Prihodnjuk 1998, fig. 19/5

Fig. 3. Common classification of the pots' shapes from Penkovka culture and hand-made pottery from Murighiol (*Halmyris*). Groups 10C and 24. For dimensions in Murighiol cases see the catalogue.

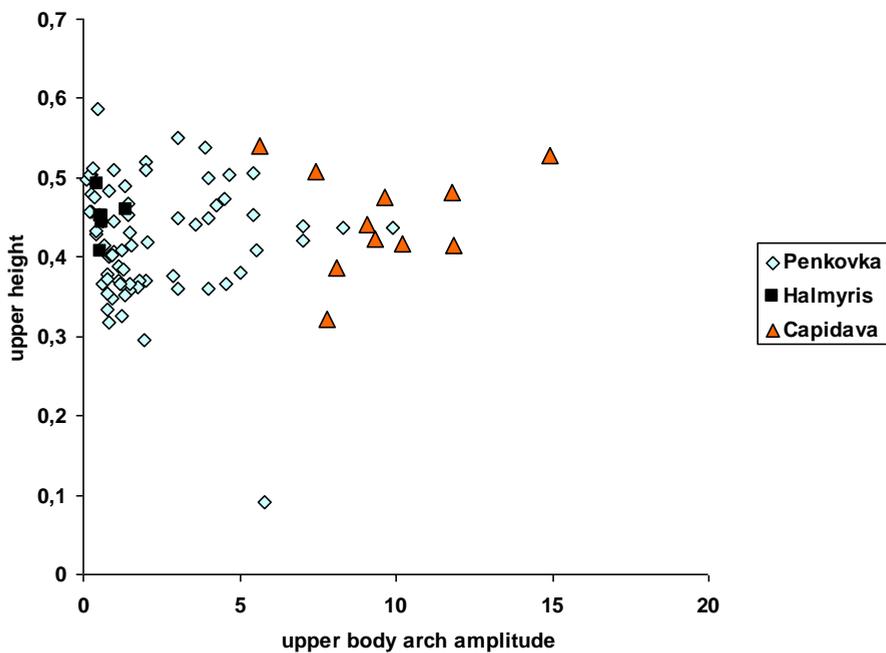


Fig. 4. Graph showing the differences between hand-made pottery from Capidava (sixth century) and Penkovka culture's pottery.



Fig. 5. Some sites mentioned in text.