

LUCIAN BLAGA UNIVERSITY OF SIBIU
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, HERITAGE AND PROTESTANT THEOLOGY

ACTA TERRAE SEPTEMCASTRENSIS

XIX

Sibiu - 2020
Editura Universității "Lucian Blaga"

Chief Editor: Ioan Marian ȚIPLIC

Honorary Editor: Sabin Adrian LUCA

Editorial Board:

Ioan-Aurel POP (President of the Romanian Academy, Romania)

Janusz K. KOZŁOWSKI (Member of Polish Academy, Poland)

John NANDRIȘ (St Cross College, Oxford, United Kingdom)

Krum BAKVAROV (Institute of Archaeology and Museum at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Bulgaria)

Valeri YOTOV (National Museum of Varna, Bulgaria)

Sergiu MUSTEAȚĂ (Universitatea Pedagogică de Stat Ion Creangă, Chișinău, Republic of Moldavia)

Nicolae URSULESCU (Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași, Romania)

Marin CÂRCIUMARU (Valahia University of Târgoviște, Romania)

Gheorghe LAZAROVICI (Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu, Romania)

Alexandru SIMON (Babeș-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca, Romania)

Editorial Staff:

Zeno-Karl PINTER

Silviu Istrate PURECE

Maria Crîngaci ȚIPLIC

Marius Mihai CIUȚĂ

Secretary:

Anamaria TUDORIE

ISSN 1583-1817 (Print), ISSN 2392-6163 (Online), ISSN-L 1583-1817

Publication included in European Reference Index for the Humanities and Social Sciences – ERIH PLUS, EBSCO database, SCIO editorial platform, SCIENDO, Index Copernicus

All material copyright © 2018 by the Research Center of Cultural Heritage and Socio-Cultural History. Reproduction or use without written permission is prohibited.

This publication is published by Research Center for Heritage and Social Cultural History - Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu.

Correspondence, manuscripts and books should be sent to: Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu, Research Center of Cultural Heritage and Social Cultural History, Bdul Victoriei nr. 5-7, 550024, Sibiu, Romania.

E-mail: ioan-marian.tiplic@ulbsibiu.ro, anamaria.tudorie@ulbsibiu.ro



Content

Archaeology

Anamaria Tudorie , <i>Between Rudimentary and Artistic: Decorated Starčevo-Criș Pots</i>	5
Sabin Adrian Luca, Gabriel T. Rustoiu, Florentin Perianu, Sergiu Chideșă, Tiberiu Bogdan Sava, Doru Păceșilă, Oana Gâză, Iuliana Stanciu, Gabriela Sava, Bianca Ștefan , <i>Absolute dating of the systematic excavation from 2019 of the archaeological site from Tărtăria-Gura Luncii (Alba County, Romania)</i>	13
Florentin Perianu , <i>The central area of a "square" from the time of Turdaș culture. Turdaș-Luncă. 2011 campaign. Sector C. The architectural horizon before the great migration from Turdaș</i>	39
Sabin Adrian Luca , <i>Ritual deposits of the Petrești culture in South-Western Transylvania</i>	107

History

Alexandru Simon , <i>At the Turn of the Fourteenth Century: Sigismund of Luxemburg and the Wallachian Princely "Stars" of the Fifteenth Century</i>	135
List of abbreviations	137

Between Rudimentary and Artistic: Decorated Starčevo-Criș Pots

Anamaria Tudorie*

Abstract: *The article presents new information regarding the percentual distribution of Starčevo-Criș decorated pottery, using the information on the Early Neolithic discoveries from the sites of Miercurea Sibiului-Petriș (Sibiu County), Turdaș-Luncă (Hunedoara County), Săliște (Alba County), Cristian I (Sibiu County) and Cristian III (Sibiu County). Excepting Miercurea Sibiului-Petriș and Cristian I sites for which, besides the information about the category, color, temper, surface treatment, firing and morphology of this pottery were published in different volumes or articles, also some data regarding the different percentages on types of ornaments were published. This time, the author discusses globally the total amount of decorated pottery, taking into consideration also the relative chronological framings for each of the sites*

Keywords: *Early Neolithic, Starčevo-Criș, pottery, ornamentation, Transylvania*

Before referring ourselves to arts and artistic manifestation when describing very old pottery, we should establish first what does *arts* stand for. Nowadays, the word is being used to describe numerous things, starting from the spectacular Paleolithic cave paintings, to a banana taped on a wall in an art gallery¹. According to Britannica Encyclopedia, *the arts, also called fine arts [are] modes of expression that use skill or imagination in the creation of aesthetic objects, environments, or experiences that can be shared with others*².

In the Paleolithic period the forms of decorative art were represented on different objects decorated by incisions or painting, but starting with the Neolithic, this form of art is being represented also on pottery.

The first ceramic pots were not produced to be strong enough to cook in them and the explanation is to be found in the fact that the firing temperature was too low. It is very possible that the first pots to have been fired only by covering them with straws or dry vegetation. There is a study made on Early Neolithic pottery from Hungary³, which indicated the fact that it was fired under the

* Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu, Romania, anamaria.tudorie@ulbsibiu.ro

¹ <https://news.artnet.com/market/maurizio-cattelan-banana-art-basel-miami-beach-1722516>

² <https://www.britannica.com/topic/the-arts>

³ Elisabetta Starnini, György Szakmány, "Studio archeometrico comparativo di manufatti non vascolari in argilla cotta e di contenitori ceramici del neolitico antico ungherese". In *Atti della 9^a Giornata di Archeometria della Ceramica (Pordenone 18-19 aprile 2005)*, ed. Bruno Fabbri, Sabrina Gualtieri, Anna Nicoletta Rigoni, (Pordeone: Lithostampa, 2007), 59.

temperature of 750-800 °C, so these pots couldn't have been used intensively or to keep liquid products inside them.

The first ceramic pots from the Near East were assumed to be small sized, few, poorly ornamented and fired at low oxidating temperatures⁴, but in an article about the site of Tell Sabi Abyad in Syria, with a *stratified sequence passing from the aceramic (pre-pottery) to pottery-using Neolithic around 7000 BC*, we find out that the technological evolution in what concerns the fabrication of pottery wasn't a linear one, from simple models to more complex ones. Also, the authors of this study suggest that pottery *made little difference to the Neolithic communities*. In what concerns the appearance, some of the pots had a glossy aspect due to an intensive smoothing and burnishing. More, the first pots didn't have any vegetables used as temper and the firing was oxidating only for 1/3 and the majority had a darker grey to dark grey color. It seems that the pots were fired by open bonfires, no kilns being identified. Decoration was represented by two categories: applying red slip and by painting⁵. So, the first pottery produced in it did not seem to be so rudimentary as the specialists initially believed.

It is possible that the first pots, represented by carefully made objects and with a quite artistic aspect, to have been used and appreciated as *prestige* goods and afterwards, to develop in wide-spread object and the technology of production to have a more practical finality⁶.

It is also assumed that the pottery appeared as a need for more containers, at the end of the process of neolithization and without having the porpoise to be used for cooking inside them⁷. More, the first Neolithic communities knew how to work with the clay (it was used before in architecture, for example) and they could have used it form making pottery if they needed to, so in the aspect of the emerge of pots the functionality is an aspect to regard as more important, than the technology itself⁸.

Other containers were used before and still after the production and use of pottery, some of them possibly made of animal skins, or basketry and wood. If for the first two example mentioned it is improbable to find any archaeological remains, for the recipients made of wood, fortunately, we have a few examples of discoveries belonging to Early Neolithic period from Romania.

⁴ Douglass W. Bailey, *Balkan Prehistory Exclusion, incorporation and identity*, (London-New York: Routledge, 2000), 6.

⁵ Oliver P. Nieuwenhuyse, Peter M.M.G. Akkermans, Johannes van der Plicht, "Not so coarse, nor always plain – the earliest pottery of Syria". In *Antiquity*, 84, 2010, 76-79.

⁶ Nieuwenhuyse, "Not so coarse", 83.

⁷ Takahiro Odaka, "The Emerge of Pottery in the Northern Levant: A Recent view of Tell el-Kerkh". In, *The Emergence of Pottery in West Asia*, Akira Tsuneki, Olivier Nieuwenhuyse, Stuart Campbell (eds.), (Oxford & Philadelphia, Oxbow Books, 2017), 68

⁸ Mehmet Özdoğan, "Earliest Use of Pottery in Anatolia". In *Early Farmers, Late Foragers, and Ceramic Traditions: On the Beginning of Pottery in the Near East and Europe*, Dragos Gheorghiu (ed.), (Newcastle upon Tyne, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), 22-23.

During two campaigns, between 1980-1981, in the archaeological site from Cârcea, *Izlaz* point (Olt County), the remains of two wood pots (the fragmented bottoms), the remains of a bracelet and an entire pot were found⁹. A more recent discovery of this type was made at Cristian III site (Sibiu County) during the preventive research between 2011 and 2012: two fragments from a wooden pot¹⁰.

The decoration is an intervention on the pot, with an esthetic finality, which should not influence the basic shape of the object. The types of ornament that are being represented on Starčevo-Criș pottery are painting and plastic ornaments. In the last category I have included applications, pinches, *impresso* type ornaments (made with finger, finger and nail, nail, an object, like a stick or a shell), barbotine, incisions, and excisions¹¹. Although the first Neolithic pots had a very artistic aspect due to applying a red-colored slip – a thick layer of high quality clay in order to emphasize the color and to improve the pot's texture¹², and a very good polishing, I have considered these techniques as a part of the technological process in the phase of surface treatment and not as an ornament¹³.

For this paper I am using the information on Starčevo-Criș pottery from the following sites: Miercurea Sibiului-*Petriș* (Sibiu County), Turdaș-*Luncă* (Hunedoara County), Săliște (Alba County), Cristian I (Sibiu County) and Cristian III (Sibiu County). Data regarding the category, color, temper, surface treatment, firing and morphology and seriations were published in two different volumes¹⁴, without discussing the statistical data on the ornamentation. There are two exceptions to this situation. The first case is the one of Miercurea Sibiului-*Petriș* site, statistical data regarding the ornamentation of pottery were published in 2008¹⁵. New data for B₉ feature was added¹⁶ but this situation doesn't change consistently the first analysis made by the authors. The second case is the one of

⁹ Marin Nica, "Obiecte de lemn descoperite în așezarea neolitică timpurie de la Grădinile (jud. Olt)". In *Arhivele Olteniei*, 2, 1983, 39-48.

¹⁰ Sabin Adrian Luca, Adrian Georgescu, Anamaria Tudorie, Florentina Marțiș. *CRISTIAN III, realități cronologice și culturale preistorice dovedite prin cercetările preventive*, (Suceava: Karl A. Romstorfer, 2017), 203.

¹¹ Anamaria Tudorie, *Aspecte tehnologice ale ceramicii Starčevo-Criș din Transilvania*, (Sibiu: Muzeul Național Brukenthal, 2013), 49-50.

¹² Anna O. Shepard, *Ceramics for the archaeologist*, (Washington, 1985), 67.

¹³ Anamaria Tudorie, *Aspecte tehnologice*, 48-49.

¹⁴ Anamaria Tudorie, *Aspecte tehnologice*; Sabin Adrian Luca, Adrian Georgescu, Anamaria Tudorie, Florentina Marțiș. *CRISTIAN III*.

¹⁵ Sabin Adrian Luca, Dragoș Diaconescu, Cosmin Suciu, "Cercetările arheologice de la Miercurea Sibiului – Petriș (județul Sibiu, România). Nivelul Starčevo-Criș în campaniile de cercetare din anii 1997-2005". In *Brukenthal. Acta Musei* 1.III (2008) Sibiu, p. 7-46.

¹⁶ Anamaria Tudorie, *Aspecte tehnologice*, 90.

Cristian I site, where some statistical analysis focused on different type of ornaments were published¹⁷.

Also, as a working method, for Miercurea Sibiului-*Petriș* site I shall not discuss each feature, but only the data collected from the three Early Neolithic levels established for this site: Ia, Ib, Ic¹⁸. The same approach was considered for the site of Cristian III: to consider globally the entire lot of ceramics belonging to Starčevo-Criș culture, as all the features were chronological framed in the same phase of the culture (IIIB)¹⁹.

As it can be noticed on the graphics presented above (**Fig. 1**, **Fig. 2** and **Fig. 3**), the percentages on the decorated pottery for levels Ia and Ib are almost similar: 7% for Ia and 8% for Ib. There is quite an increase in level Ic (only one feature in this case: B₉), with 17%. I have also made another interrogation in the data base (not represented graphically here) and from the total amount of the pottery that was ornamented, 93% had barbotine as the technique used.

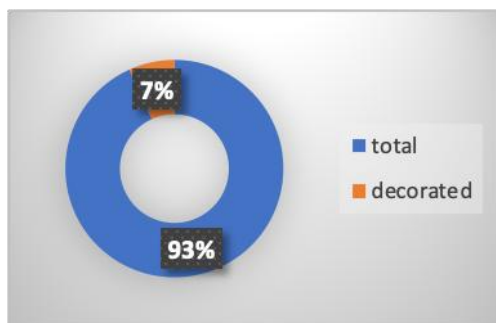


Fig. 1: Miercurea Sibiului-*Petriș* (Sibiu County), level Ia. The percentual analysis of the decorated pottery.

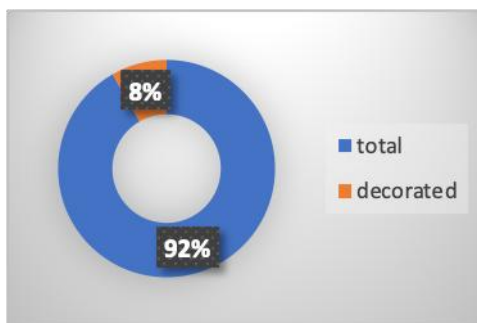


Fig. 2: Miercurea Sibiului-*Petriș* (Sibiu County), level Ib. The percentual analysis of the decorated pottery.

¹⁷ Sabin Adrian Luca, *Viața Trăită sub zei. Situl Starčevo-Criș de la Cristian I, județul Sibiu, România / Living under the Gods. The Starčevo-Criș I site from Cristian I, Sibiu County, Romania*, (Suceava: Academia Română, Karl A. Romstorfer, 2015), 144-145, 162-170.

¹⁸ Sabin Adrian Luca, Dragoș Diaconescu, Cosmin Suciu, "Cercetările arheologice de la Miercurea Sibiului – Petriș, 7".

¹⁹ Sabin Adrian Luca, Adrian Georgescu, Anamaria Tudorie, Florentina Marțiș. *CRISTIAN III*, 233-235.

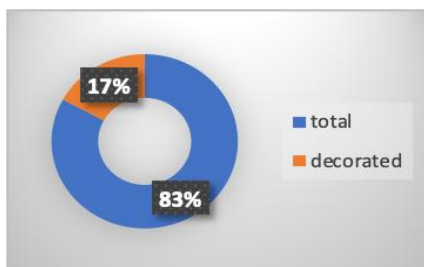


Fig. 3. Miercurea Sibiului-*Petriș* (Sibiu County), level Ic. The percentual analysis of the decorated pottery.

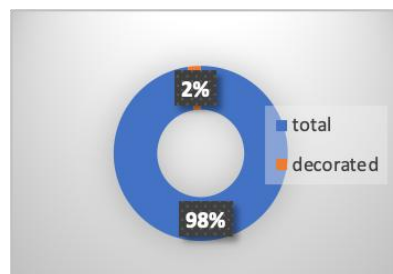


Fig. 4. Turdaș-*Luncă* (Hunedoara County). The percentual analysis of the decorated pottery.

The site of Turdaș-*Lunca*, feature C164²⁰, has a small percentage of the decorated pottery, only 2%. But, from the decorated pots there are two fragments²¹ that can be regarded as examples of fine arts, being decorated by impressed plastic applications that for the motive of a flower. In the case of the materials discovered at Săliște, formerly named Cioara²², 6% of the pottery presented decoration, but this information must be correlated with the data regarding the fabrication techniques²³, namely the category: only 2 fragments were framed in the fine category.

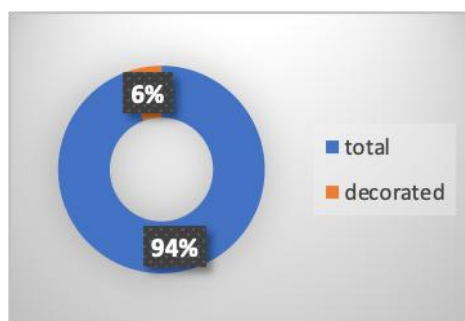


Fig. 5. Săliște (Alba County). The percentual analysis of the decorated pottery.

²⁰ Sabin Adrian Luca, Anamaria Tudorie, Marius-Mihai Ciută, "Data concerning C₁₆₄ feature from Turdaș-Luncă (Hunedoara County)". In *Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis*, no. XI (2012), 7-20 ; Sabin Adrian Luca, *Un oraș preistoric din Europa. TURDAȘ-LUNCĂ, Sectorul A, I.1*, (Sibiu: Editura Universității Lucian Blaga din Sibiu, 2019), 28-36.

²¹ Sabin Adrian Luca, Anamaria Tudorie, Marius-Mihai Ciută, "Data concerning C₁₆₄ feature, Pl. III, 7-8; Sabin Adrian Luca, *Un oraș preistoric din Europa*, Photo 16.

²² Sabin Adrian Luca, Anamaria Tudorie, "Another Early Neolithic site discovered in Alba County. The Starčevo-Criș Settlement from Săliște (Cioara, Romania)". In *Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis*, no. XI, 2012, 21-32.

²³ Sabin Adrian Luca, Anamaria Tudorie, "Another Early Neolithic site discovered in Alba County, 22-25.

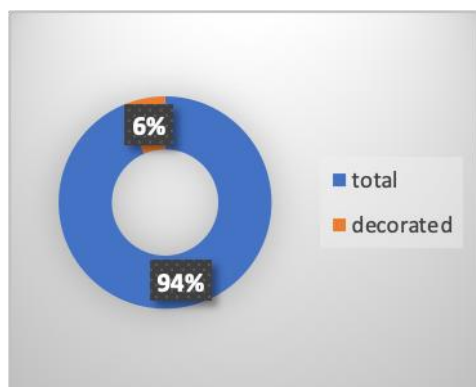


Fig. 6. Cristian I (Sibiu County), feature L1. The percentual analysis of the decorated pottery.

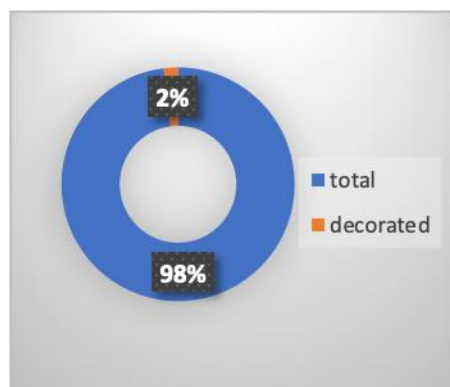


Fig. 7. Cristian I (Sibiu County), feature L2. The percentual analysis of the decorated pottery.

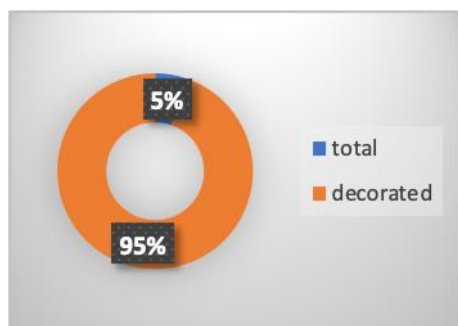


Fig. 8. Cristian I (Sibiu County), feature L3. The percentual analysis of the decorated pottery.

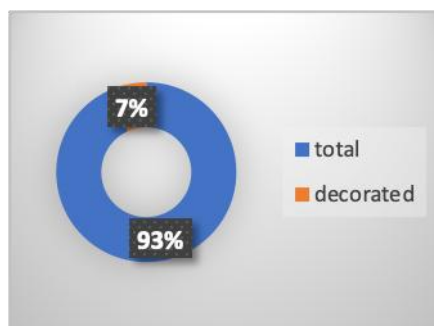


Fig. 9. Cristian III (Sibiu County). The percentual analysis of the decorated pottery.

For the site of Cristian, I²⁴, the statistical data regarding the presence of ornamented pots indicates that for L1 (represented on **Fig. 6**), 6% of the total amount of ceramics presented ornaments. In the case of L2 (**Fig. 7**) there were identified only 2% of decorated pot and the explanation of this situation is to be found in the special destination of this area: a sanctuary with ritual pits²⁵. Inside these pits numerous pots, were discovered and for many of them the restauration was possible²⁶. Also, in this zone, a special and unique pot was discovered: the two-mouth pot and from feature C₅₈²⁷, which I consider that represents, itself, an

²⁴ Sabin Adrian Luca, *Viața Trăită sub zei*.

²⁵ Sabin Adrian Luca, *Viața Trăită sub zei*, 21-99.

²⁶ For more information regarding the number of pits, shape and number of pots discovered inside and the graphic representation of this area see: Sabin Adrian Luca, *Viața Trăită sub zei*, Plan 4, Plan 5 and Tabel sintetic 1, 25-28.

²⁷ Sabin Adrian Luca, *Viața Trăită sub zei*, 66-69.

example of Early Neolithic fine arts. For L3, there is an amount of 5% of decorated pottery.

The last analyzed site was the one from Cristian III²⁸ and as is being indicated on the graphic at **Fig. 9**, from the entire lot of analyzed pottery, 7% was decorated. Connecting this information with the data regarding the general aspect²⁹ we can see that only 4% of the ceramics were considered to belong to the fine category, while semi-fine represent 72% and rough 24%.

Today, pottery is one of the oldest and widespread forms of decorative arts and some of the first pots made by the early Neolithic communities from Transylvania make no exception. If we can say that some the first pots produced by the Early Neolithic people from the territory of Romania were indeed artistic, this assertion should not be extended when referring ourselves to all decorated pottery.

First, we should regard the data we have on the technology of Starčevo-Criș pottery production³⁰, not being enough to establish how many of these pots were decorated and how many were not. As the graphics presented above indicated, a quite small percentage of the pottery was decorated, the numbers varying between 2%, the lowest, and 17% the highest. But it is very important to emphasize the fact that not all the sherds that presented a decoration can be regarded as artistic object, as special ones. This aspect should be in direct dependency with other elements from the process of production: the selection of clay, temper, the surface treatment, and firing.

And the other aspect that we should take into consideration is the fact that for the first phase of the cultural complex, as Gh. Lazarovici defined it³¹, IA, named also *Monocrom* or *Frühkeramik*³², the pots had a monochrome aspect, with a high quality of production (due to the materials used for tempering, as is the fine sand) and a great attention in the surface treatment, by applying a well-polished reddish-brownish slip, which can easily include the ones in a very good conservation conditions in the category of fine arts.

²⁸ Sabin Adrian Luca, Adrian Georgescu, Anamaria Tudorie, Florentina Marțiș. *CRISTIAN III*.

²⁹ Sabin Adrian Luca, Adrian Georgescu, Anamaria Tudorie, Florentina Marțiș. *CRISTIAN III*, 210.

³⁰ Anamaria Tudorie, *Aspecte tehnologice*; Sabin Adrian Luca, Adrian Georgescu, Anamaria Tudorie, Florentina Marțiș. *CRISTIAN III*, 210-211

³¹ Gheorghe Lazarovici, *Neoliticul Banatului*, (Cluj-Napoca: Bibliotheca Musei Napocensis, 1979), 19.

³² Gheorghe Lazarovici, *Neoliticul Banatului*, 16.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1. Miercurea Sibiului-*Petriș* (Sibiu County), level Ia. The percentual analysis of the decorated pottery.

Fig. 2. Miercurea Sibiului-*Petriș* (Sibiu County), level Ib. The percentual analysis of the decorated pottery.

Fig. 3. Miercurea Sibiului-*Petriș* (Sibiu County), level Ic. The percentual analysis of the decorated pottery.

Fig. 4. Turdaș-*Luncă* (Hunedoara County). The percentual analysis of the decorated pottery.

Fig. 5. Săliște (Alba County). The percentual analysis of the decorated pottery.

Fig. 6. Cristian I (Sibiu County), feature L1. The percentual analysis of the decorated pottery.

Fig. 7. Cristian I (Sibiu County), feature L2. The percentual analysis of the decorated pottery.

Fig. 8. Cristian I (Sibiu County), feature L3. The percentual analysis of the decorated pottery.

Fig. 9. Cristian III (Sibiu County). The percentual analysis of the decorated pottery.

**Absolute Dating of the Systematic Excavation
from 2019 of the Archaeological Site:
Tărtăria-Gura Luncii (Alba County, Romania)**

Sabin Adrian Luca*
Gabriel T. Rustoiu**
Florentin Perianu***,
Sergiu Chideșa****,
Tiberiu Bogdan Sava*****,
Doru Păceșilă*****,
Oana Gaza*****,
Iuliana Stanciu*****,
Gabriela Sava*****,
Bianca Ștefan*****

In the memory of Nicolae Vlassa

Abstract: *The systematic research started in 2010 at Tărtăria continue to this day. To clarify the problem of the absolute chronology of the site we have researched on a checkered row (Carriage 25-32) from the SI surface (2019) and carried out sampling for this operation. On this occasion we obtained the evidence published in this article.*

Keywords: *Neolithic and Eneolithic, radiocarbon dating, Tărtăria-Gura Luncii, Romania.*

The surface SI has the dimensions of 16/8 m. It is included in a series of surfaces (the description of the site and structure of the excavations that affected it under our management³³ that have been drawn to investigate – from the north-west

* "Lucian Blaga" University of Sibiu, Brukenthal National Museum, Sibiu, sabinadrian.luca@ulbsibiu.ro

** National Museum of the Union, Alba Iulia, gabriel.rustoiu@mnuai.ro

*** Brukenthal National Museum, Sibiu

**** Brukenthal National Museum, Sibiu, sergiu.mihail.chidesa@gmail.com

***** RoAMS Laboratory, "Horia Hulubei" National Institute of Physics and Nuclear Engineering, Măgurele-Ilfov, tiberiu.sava@nipne.ro

***** RoAMS Laboratory, "Horia Hulubei" National Institute of Physics and Nuclear Engineering, Măgurele-Ilfov, doru.pacesila@nipne.ro

***** RoAMS Laboratory, "Horia Hulubei" National Institute of Physics and Nuclear Engineering, Măgurele-Ilfov, oana.gaza@nipne.ro

to the south-east – the south-east side of the site (the right side of the ditch which cut the settlement from west to east (it has been proven that this ditch is – in fact – Early Medieval, not Neolithic)³⁴ (Plan 1). You can also see the integration of Plan 1 and the surface SI between SIa and SV in a recent article³⁵, and the SIa surface can be seen in other articles as well³⁶. The general map of systematic research is available in a recent published book³⁷.

The research was limited to studying Carriage 25-32 from a depth of -0,45 (depth reached after the 2010 and 2013 campaigns (to all metric data related to depths, please add 0,45 m. In this article we will add 0,45 m (in parenthesis) to all depths measurements of the year 2019)) to the archaeological sterile (Plan 2) (the - 0,45 m depth was investigated in 2010 and 2013, on the entire SI surface³⁸. At that time, the section from 1989, excavated under the aegis of I. Paul, was also outlined³⁹. This research is marked on Plan 1, in the middle of it.

***** RoAMS Laboratory, "Horia Hulubei" National Institute of Physics and Nuclear Engineering, Măgurele-Ilfov, iuliana.stanciu@nipne.ro

***** RoAMS Laboratory, "Horia Hulubei" National Institute of Physics and Nuclear Engineering, Măgurele-Ilfov, gabriela.sava@nipne.ro

***** RoAMS Laboratory, "Horia Hulubei" National Institute of Physics and Nuclear Engineering, Măgurele-Ilfov, bianca.stefan@nipne.ro

³³ Sabin Adrian Luca, *Tărtăria REDIVIVA*, (Sibiu-Alba Iulia: Editura Muzeului Național Brukenthal - Editura Altip, 2016).

³⁴ Zeno Karl Pinter, Sabin Adrian Luca, "Tărtăria-Gura Luncii. Die Frühmittelalterliche befestigung, die den prähistorischen tell durchschneidet", în *ForVL* 61, 2018, Sibiu, p. 157-173; Zeno Karl Pinter, Sabin Adrian Luca, "Tărtăria-Gura Luncii. Fortificația medievală timpurie care taie Tellul preistoric", în *Studii și articole de arheologie. In memoriam Ioan Andreișoiu*, Nicolae C. Rîșcuța, Iosif V. Ferencz (eds.), (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Mega, 2018), p. 253-364.

³⁵ Sabin Adrian Luca, A.-M. Păpureanu, C.I. Florescu, "Possible musical instrument made from Fossil Valve belonging to the Family Ostreidae (Rafinesque, 1815) from Tărtăria-Gura Luncii (systematic research campaign 2018), Transylvania, Romania", în *BruckAM* 14, 2018, 1, p. 35-62, Plan 1, but also in: Sabin Adrian Luca, *Tărtăria REDIVIVA*, p. 16, Photo 4.

³⁶ Sabin Adrian Luca, A.-M. Păpureanu, Gheorghe Natea, "Date despre o cataramă de curea realizată din Spondylus Gaederopulos Linnaeus, 1758, descoperită la Tărtăria-Gura Luncii – campania 2010", în *Apulum* 54, 2017, p. 107-136; Sabin Adrian Luca, A.-M. Păpureanu, Gheorghe Natea, "A Belt Bukle Made of Spondylus gaederopus Linnaeus, 1758, discovered at Tărtăria-Gura Luncii – the 2010 campaign", în *BruckAM* 12, 2017 1, p. 15-44; Florian Dumitrescu-Chioar, Sabin Adrian Luca, Cosmin I. Suciu, "Excavations from 2010 at Tărtăria-Gura Luncii, Alba County", în *Fifty Years of Tărtăria Excavations. Festschrift in Honor of Gheorghe Lazarovici*, J. Marler (ed.), (Sebastopol, 2014), p. 28-34.

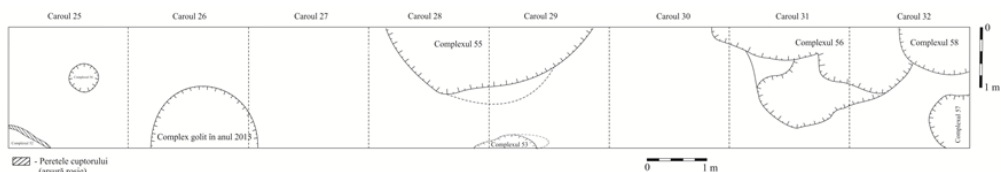
³⁷ Sabin Adrian Luca, *Tărtăria REDIVIVA*, 15, Photo 2.

³⁸ Florian Dumitrescu-Chioar, Sabin Adrian Luca, Cosmin I. Suciu, "Excavations from 2010 at Tărtăria-Gura Luncii.

³⁹ Florian Dumitrescu-Chioar, Sabin Adrian Luca, Cosmin I. Suciu, "Excavations from 2010 at Tărtăria-Gura Luncii", Fig. 2-5.



Plan 1. Tărtăria-Gura Luncii. General plan of SI surface.



Plan 2. Tărtăria-Gura Luncii. The plan of the archaeological features studied up to the archaeological sterile in 2019. SI (Carriage 25-32).

At Plan 2 we can observe the situation of the archaeological features investigated in the year 2019. The features start from different layers of deposit. We should note that the stratigraphy does not have the same size, in this part of the site, as around preventive research between 2014-2015⁴⁰. As Photos 1 and 2 show us, the culture layer has -1,40 m, without the bottoms of the deepened features. We noticed that a large part of the original peak of the site, in this part of it, is affected by the works carried out in the Early Medieval period from the interior of the fortification⁴¹.

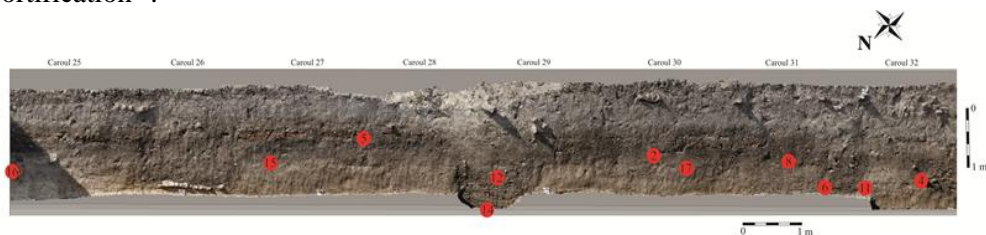


Photo 1. Tărtăria-Gura Luncii, 2019. SI. Eastern profile.

If in the preventive excavation⁴² we could distinguish 5 Levels of deposit (some with sub-levels), now we have only 4 (three investigated in 2019) and one

⁴⁰ Sabin Adrian Luca, *Tărtăria REDIVIVA*, Photo 8. In central area of this site, the stratigraphy reach -3,50 m

⁴¹ Zeno Karl Pinter, Sabin Adrian Luca, "Tărtăria-Gura Luncii. Die Frühmittelalterliche befestigung"; Zeno Karl Pinter, Sabin Adrian Luca, "Tărtăria-Gura Luncii. Fortificația medievală timpurie".

⁴² Sabin Adrian Luca, *Tărtăria REDIVIVA*.

researched in 2010 and 2013. Moreover, a level with surface burned dwelling, discovered in the preventive excavation dated radiocarbon level III⁴³, which is not presented in this excavation. Here we have Levels II, IV-V, a new possible Level VI (Starčevo-Criș I) and another – all new – Mesolithic (VII).

Positioning in stratigraphy of the place of sampling

In Photo 1 you can see the eastern profile of the surface I, the part investigated in 2019, and in Photo 2, Carriages 30-31 from the western profile of the same surface (in the upper part of the profile you can observe the nylon protecting the bottom of the previous research).

Carriage 25

The feature from Carriage 25 – the southwest corner (Photo 3b) is a circular shaped oven, as can be seen from the emptied side, with the feeding mouth facing north. The feature was outlined on SI surface, Carriage 25 (its southern part), at a depth of -1,40 (-1,85) m and its bottom were identified at -0,40 m from the contour. The part surprised by us (the feature continues under the southern and western profile) has the dimensions of 0,40 m (the short side) and 0,70 m (the long side). The oven is made of burnt solder (wall thickness: 0,04-0,07 m), reddish. Its upper part (the ceiling) was identified inside it, being collapsed. The filling is represented by a black soil with a high content of ash, coal and red pigment. Also in the filling were identified 3 ceramic fragments. At the bottom of the feature was observed a very thin layer of burning, a sign that it has not been used for a long time, and under it a yellowish, sterile soil.

Likely, it can be fit into Mesolithic cultures.

Feature 53

Feature 53 (Photo 4; radiocarbon data's; 12, 14) is represented by a circular shaped pit (as far as we can see from the part we discovered, as the feature continues below the eastern profile) identified in Carriages 28-29. The feature was contoured at a depth of -1,40 (-1,85) m – place from which Sample 12 was taken – and the bottom was identified at -0,80 m from the contour, having an alveolate form. Its length is 1,10 m, and its width is 0,40 m. In the east there is an oven.

In its filling have been found rare archaeological materials, but much adobe and burns of black color, all in a blackish soil, loose. In the profile there can be noticed successive layers (yellow soil, adobes layer, black ash layer, black ash layer mixed with ash). This feature stops in the yellow, sterile layer. From its bottom Sample 14 was taken.

⁴³ Sabin Adrian Luca, Tiberiu B. Sava, Doru Păceșilă, Oana Gaza, Iulia Stanciu, G. Sava, Bianca Ștefan, "Radiocarbon Data for Level III from Tărtăria-Gura Luncii (Preventive Researches from 2014-2015)", în *BruckAM* 11, 2016, 1, p. 11-16; Sabin Adrian Luca, Tiberiu B. Sava, Doru Păceșilă, Oana Gaza, Iulia Stanciu, G. Sava, Bianca Ștefan, "Date radiocarbon ale nivelului III de la Tărtăria-Gura Luncii (cercetările preventive ale anilor 2014-2015)", în *Apulum* 53 (2016), p. 27-34.

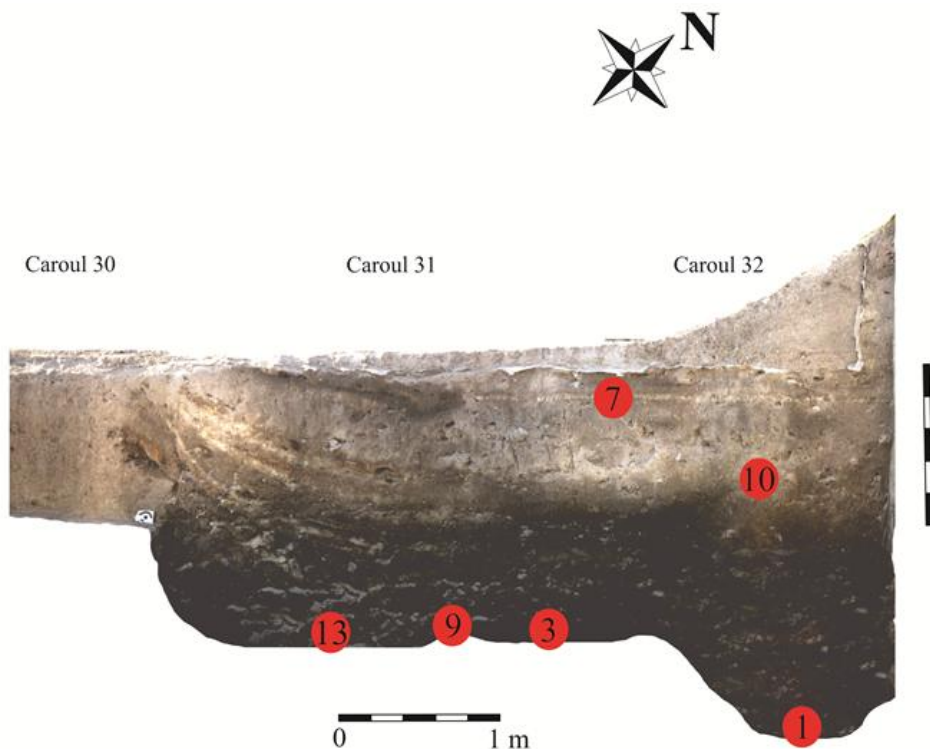


Photo 2. Tărtăria-Gura Luncii, 2019. SI. Western profile.

Feature 56

Feature 56 (Photos 5-6, 10; radiocarbon data's: 9, 13) is represented by a hut with irregular shape, identified in carriage 30-31-32, at a depth of -1,60 (-2,05) m. Its length is 3,40 m, the width is 1,70 m and depth vary between -0,60-1,00 m (from the contour level), as it has three steps. First step is in the southeast part of the feature and has a depth of -0,60 m from the contour level. The second step is in the east, with a depth of -0,85 m and the third is in the central-western part and has a depth of -1,00 m. The filling of this feature is represented by a very loose soil that did not allow us to make a profile according to the necessary criteria because at a simple touch, the filling began to fall. Returning to the filling, it has successive layers – burn layer, yellow solder layer, adobe drop layer. In this filling we have identified Vinča materials (very fine frills), maybe even Starčevo-Criș I (materials decorated with pinches and applications that render a "flower"), but also special materials such as spatulas and bone needles, fragments of weight of clay and a stone ax. The bottom of this feature was also identified in the yellow, sterile layer. This feature is cut by feature 58, on the east side.



a.

Photo 3 a-b. Carriage 25. Tărtăria-Gura Luncii, 2019. SI. 16. RoAMS 1386.75. 7502±112 BP, 6590 (89.8%) 6202, 6194 (0.8%) 6181, 6174 (4.4%) 6100 BC.

Caroul 25



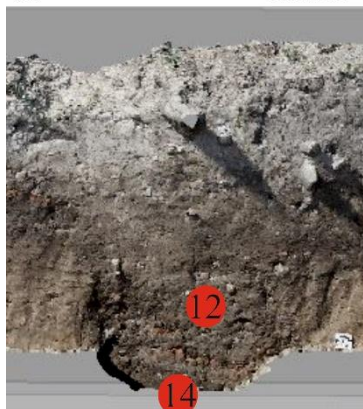
0 1 m

b.



28

Caroul 29



0 1 m

Photo 4. Feature 53. Tărtăria-Gura Luncii, 2019, SI.

12. RoAMS 1385.75. 6162±43 BP, 5224 (95.4%) 4989 BC;

14. RoAMS 1381.75. 6329±66 BP, 5475 (93.3%) 5207, 5161 (0.5%) 5152, 5146 (0.5%) 5138, 5128 (0.4%) 5121, 5094 (0.7%) 5081 BC.



Photo 5. Tărtăria-Gura Luncii, 2019. SI. Features 56 and 58.



Photo 6. Tărtăria-Gura Luncii, 2019. SI. Features 56 and 58.

Feature 58

Feature 58 (Photo 6, 10; radiocarbon data: 3) is represented by a circular pit (as we could see, because it continues in the east and north profile), identified in Carriage 32. The length of the pit is 1,30 m, width is 0,80 m and the depth is -3,05 m from the current level of the arable layer.

Regarding the filling, we must mention that it is represented by a brownish-blackish earth with red pigment and a lot of coal. Also, in the filling we identified ceramic and osteological material but not in very large quantities. It is possible that this feature will cut off Feature 56.

Feature 57



Photo 7. Tărtăria-Gura Luncii, 2019, SI. Feature 57.

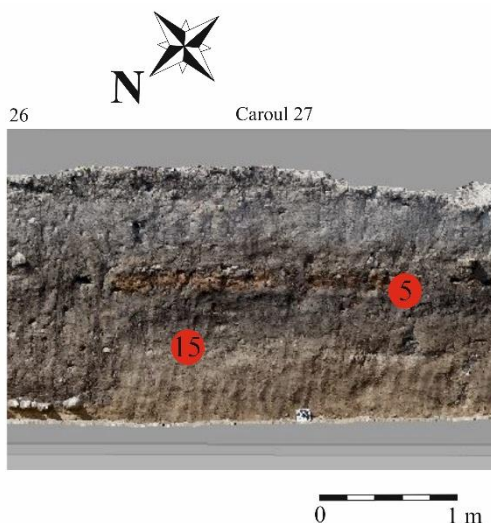


Photo 8. Carriage 27. Tărtăria-Gura Luncii, 2019. SI.
5. RoAMS 1387.75. 6029±40 BP, 5082 (94.1%) 4878, 4815 (1.3%) 4805 BC;
15. RoAMS 1392.75. 7007±38 BP, 5981 (95.4%) 5798 BC.



Photo 9. Carriage 30. Tărtăria-Gura Luncii, 2019. SI.
2. RoAMS 1378.75. 5714±120 BP, 4831 (0.9%) 4813, 4808 (94.5%) 4341 BC;
17. RoAMS 1380.75. 7633±96 BP, 6655 (91.3%) 6337, 6315 (4.1%) 6256 BC.

Carriage 27 (Photo 8; radiocarbon data's: 5, 15), western profile.

Sample 5. The sample from radiocarbon data 5 was collected from the base of the level with number II (Petrești culture) but belongs to the lower Vinča level. It is thin (0,20 m on average) and full of gravel. It is, at his turn, overlapped with another level – also of Petrești, with scraps of adobes – which seems to be the number I.

Sample 15. The sample 15 was harvested collected from the base of the Neolithic level, where we can see a very old layer, without humus and with a thickness of maximum 0,10 m. To our surprise we found that is a very thin layer that can be dated to Starčevo-Criș IB (the situation is very similar to the stratigraphy from Cristian I, where outside the groups of features was no place or very thin layer of culture: Luca 2015).

Carriage 30 (Photo 9; radiocarbon data's: 2, 17)

Sample 2 was taken from a pillar pit of the Petrești level, towards its bottom.

Sample 17 was collected from the base of the Neolithic deposit layer and demonstrates the Mesolithic use of the site.

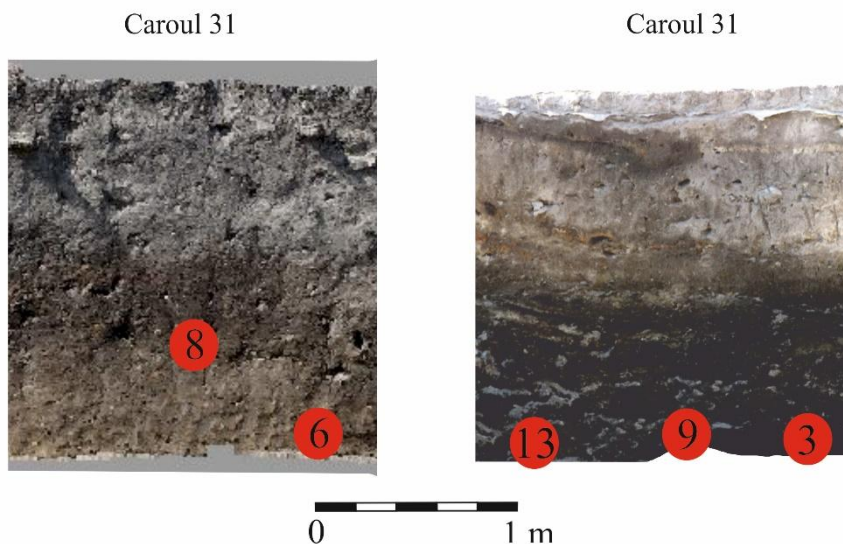


Photo 10. Carriage 31. Tărtăria-Gura Luncii, 2019. SI.

- 3. RoAMS 1379.75. 5716 \pm 43 BP, 4684 (14.8%) 4630, 4624 (80,6%) 4461 BC;
- 6. RoAMS 1388.75. 6040 \pm 38 BP, 5040 (95.4%) 4838 BC;
- 8. RoAMS 1382.75. 6120 \pm 41 BP, 5209 (95.4%) 4951 BC;
- F9. RoAMS 1393.75. 6129 \pm 34 BP, 5211 (95.4%) 4981 BC;
- 13. RoAMS 1377.75. 6168 \pm 94 BP, 5321 (93.9%) 4881, 4871 (1.5%) 4848 BC.

Feature 57 (Photo 7) is represented by a pit of approximately circular shape, identified in Carriage 32, about 0,50 m east from feature 56. It was contoured at a depth of -1,60 (-2,05) m. The length of the feature is 0,90 m, width is 0,70 m and the depth is -0,50 m from the contour level. The bottom of the feature is straight.

The filling of the feature has a dark brown color with a little reddish pigment. As for the archaeological material, it is found in very small quantities (half bag).

At the outline, feature was covered of red burn, under which was a little ash and black burn.

Carriage 31 (Photo 10; radiocarbon data's: 3, 6, 8-9, 13)

Sample 3 (Photo 10 – right photo). The sample was collected from the bottom of a Petrești culture deep pit. The upper part is very well dried, and the lower part – being dug much more freshly – has not been able to dry so well.

Sample 6 (Photo 10 – left photo). The sample was taken from the bottom of a feature belonging to the gray/whitish layer above the black layer of the Sample 8.

Sample 8 (Photo 10 – left photo). The sample was taken from the base of the black layer.

Sample 9 (Photo 10 – right photo) and **Sample 13** (Photo 10 – right photo) were taken from the bottom of the feature 56 and are very close in time. This shows a rebuilding or reuse of the pit at a short distance.

Sample 1 (Photo 11 – right). This was taken from the bottom of a deep pit of Petrești culture, from its bottom (Carriage 32, on the north-western side of the carriage). It can be seen that the pit leaves the arable layer. Part of the pit was overlapped by the work done during the Early Middle Ages (thin strip of sand and ash on the profile).

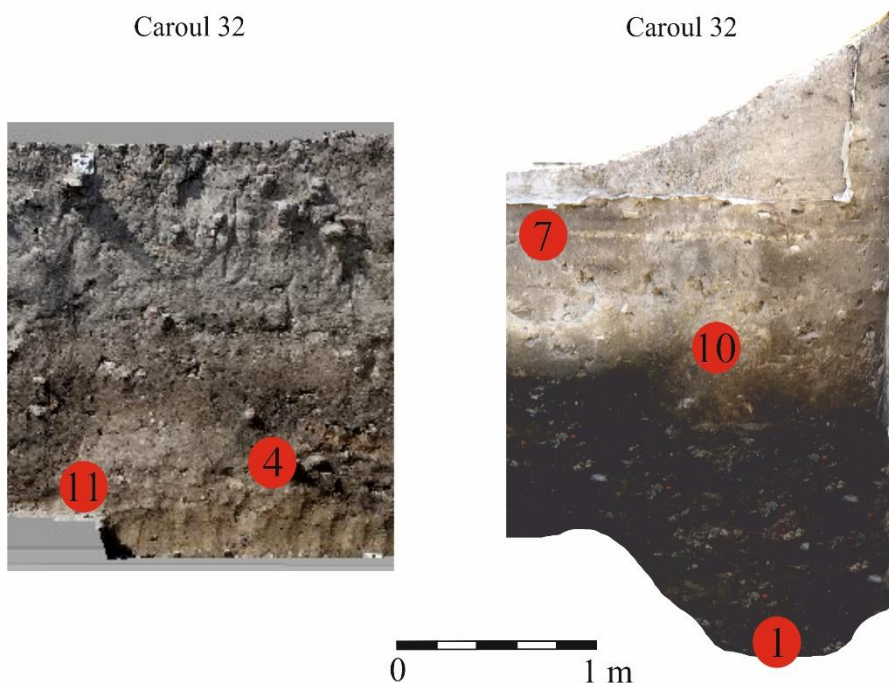


Photo 11. Carriage 32. Tărtăria-Gura Luncii, 2019. SI.

1. RoAMS 1383.75. 5564±45 BP, 4608 (95.4%) 4369 BC.
4. RoAMS 1384.75. 5891±64 BP, 4936 (95.4%) 4600 BC.
7. RoAMS 1389.75. 6076±38 BP, 5203 (4.2%) 5172, 5073 (91.2%) 4848 BC.
10. RoAMS 1390.75. 6140±36 BP, 5212 (95.4%) 4995 BC.
11. RoAMS 1391.75. 6142±36 BP, 5212 (95.4%) 4997 BC.

Sample 4 (Photo 11 – left). The sample was taken from the south-west profile of Carriage 32 and comes from the bottom of a Vinča pit.

Sample 7 (Photo 11 – right). The sample was taken under the thin band of sand and ash from the north-west profile of Carriage 32. It is obvious that in the early Middle Ages were made arrangements that disturbed the Petrești layer, at times, but also the Vinča layer. The sample was taken from *in situ* position.

Sample 10 (Photo 11 – right). This sample (north-west profile of Carriage 32) shows us a basis for the level of ironing and links to Sample 11.

Sample 11 (Photo 11 – left). The sample was taken from the side of a pit starting from the layer from which Sample 10 was extracted.

Table I. Tărtăria-Gura Luncii, 2019. SI. List of radiocarbon data obtained from systematic research, with rigorous details.

S – surface

□ – carriage

C – feature

▼ – depth

Sample code, plan	BP dating	BC dating	Archaeological culture	Sample material	Stratigraphic Data
RoA MS 1383. 75 Plan 2/1	5564±45	2σ (95,4%): 4608 (95.4%) 4369	Classical/Late Petrești	Coal	SI, □32, C ₅₈ , ▼1,90 (2,35) m
RoA MS 1378. 75 Plan ½	5714±120	2σ (95,4%): 4831 (0.9%) 4813 4808 (94.5%) 4341	Early Petrești	Coal	SI, □30, ▼1,35 (1,80) m
RoA MS 1379. 75 Plan 2/3	5716±43	2σ (95,4%): 4684 (14.8%) 4630 4624 (80,6%) 4461	Early Petrești	Coal	SI, □31, C ₅₆
RoA MS 1384. 75 Plan 1/4	5891±64	2σ (95,4%): 4936 (95,4%) 4600	Vinča, phase D	Coal	SI, □32, ▼1,70 (2,15) m
RoA MS 1387. 75 Plan 1/5	6029±40	2σ (95,4%): 5082 (94.1%) 4878 4815 (1.3%) 4805	Vinča, phase C	Coal	SI, □27-28, from under the adobes; ▼0,90 (1,35) m

RoA MS 1388. 75	6040± 38	2σ (95,4%): 5040 (95.4%) 4838	Vinča, phase C	Anima 1 bone	SI, □31, ▼1,70 (2,15) m
RoA MS 1389. 75 Plan 2/7	6076± 38	2σ (95,4%): 5203 (4,2%) 5172 5073 (91,2%) 4848	Vinča, phase C	Anima 1 bone	SI, □32, ▼1, 20 (1, 65) m
RoA MS 1382. 75 Plan 1/8	6120± 41	2σ (95,4%): 5209 (95.4%) 4951	Vinča, phase B	Coal	SI, □31, ▼1, 40 (1,85) m
RoA MS 1393. 75 Plan 2/9	6129± 34	2σ (95,4%): 5211 (95.4%) 4981	Vinča, phase B	Anima 1 bone	SI, □31, C ₅₆ , from the bottom of the feature
RoA MS 1390. 75 Plan 2/10	6140± 36	2σ (95,4%): 5212 (95.4%) 4995	Vinča, phase B	Anima 1 bone	SI, □32, ▼1, 20 (1,65) m
RoA MS 1391. 75 Plan 1/11	6142± 36	2σ (95,4%): 5212 (95.4%) 4997	Vinča, phase B	Anima 1 bone	SI, □32, ▼1, 70 (2, 15) m
RoA MS 1385. 75 Plan 1/12	6162± 43	2σ (95,4%): 5224 (95.4%) 4989	Vinča, phase B	Coal	SI, □28-29, C ₅₃ , ▼1,40 (1,85) m
RoA MS	6168± 94	2σ (95,4%): 5321 (93.9%) 4881	Vinča, phase B	Coal	SI, □31, C ₅₆ , from the bottom

1377. 75 Plan 2/13		4871 (1.5%) 4848			of the feature
RoA MS 1381. 75 Plan 1/14	6329± 66	2σ (95,4%): 5475 (93.3%) 5207 5161 (0.5%) 5152 5146 (0.5%) 5138 5128 (0.4%) 5121 5094 (0.7%) 5081	Vinča, phase A ₂₋₃	Coal	SI, □28-29, C ₅₃ , ▼1,40 (1,85) m
RoA MS 1392. 75 Plan 1/15	7007± 38	2σ (95,4%): 5981 (95.4%) 5798	Starčevo-Criș, phase IB	Anima l bone	SI, □27, ▼1,40 (1,85) m
RoA MS 1386. 75 Plan 1/16	7502± 112	2σ (95,4%): 6590 (89.8%) 6202 6194 (0.8%) 6181 6174 (4.4%) 6100	Mesolithic	Coal	SI, □25, ▼1,40 (1,85) m
RoA MS 1380. 75 Plan 1/17	7633± 96	2σ (95,4%): 6655 (91.3%) 6337 6315 (4.1%) 6256	Mesolithic	Coal	SI, □30, ▼1,50 (1,95) m

Discussions

As shown in the data from 5800 BP to 5550 BP you can talk about the Petrești culture. In sites such as Turdaș, Tărtăria or Daia Română the Petrești culture is evident to all those who have published closed and dated archaeological features as such⁴⁴.

In Turdaș site, the two dates seem to position the Petrești culture from here in the Classical phase (II) of this culture.

⁴⁴ Paul 1991; Luca 2001, 46-47, 71-77, 143-146; Fig. 34/11, 14, 16; 42/6, 9-10-11; 43; 44/3-6; Luca 2018, 27-31, 51-59, 69-78, 84-91; Fig. 52/1-3, 9-11; 71-111/1-5

In Tărtăria⁴⁵, the two Petrești horizons – at least – are part of Phase I and II (III?) of the culture.

The Orăștie site is – undoubtedly – an example of the departure of Turdaș from Turdaș-Luncă with the middle of the third phase of the culture. Thus, some new settlements are born, through colonization, like this one⁴⁶. Moreover, to the north-east the Turdaș, in migration, are hit by Petrești communities, ready to be formed. So strong – at least cultural – relationships are born. The bearers of the Turdaș culture will create a synthesis Phase (III/IV) that will reach the Herpály culture environment (to the north-west of Romania), Tisa (in the west of Romania) and the late Vinča (in the south-west of Romania).

At Pianul de Jos in the new preventive archaeological excavations, extremely relevant radiocarbon data were collected: 5670±35, 5725±35, 5775±35 and 5810±35 BP⁴⁷. These show, once again, the time of the Turdaș III migration and/or the birth of the Petrești culture in this area near the eponymous settlement of the Transylvanian culture.

In Hunedoara there is a resort that is also formed by this action of colonization and – in a second phase – it is flooded by Petrești elements (not Foeni as the author of the quoted article states)⁴⁸.

Lumea Nouă is an archaeological site that changes its stratigraphy and internal chronology now, through approximate observations⁴⁹. We think – for example – of the ceramic species specifically to Petrești culture illustrated in the volume, but called "Foeni", since we cannot cite Foeni archaeological features described and published according to the minimum rules, printed somewhere in the world⁵⁰. Moreover, a book is published on the cover of the book, which can also be found inside it⁵¹. At some distance plates we also find an unfolded register of the

⁴⁵ Petrești pieces published by us: Sabin Adrian Luca, Florentina Marțiș, *Album. Evoluția picturii în situl neolitic și eneolitic de la Tărtăria-Gura Luncii (I)*, (Sibiu: Editura Muzeului Național Brukenthal, 2018), LV-LVI, LXIII, LXXVIII-XC, XCII Drawings 32-60, 63-85, 87-88, 90-92 (forms and paintings); Sabin Adrian Luca, Ioan Al. Aldea, *Album. Evoluția picturii în situl neolitic și eneolitic de la Tărtăria-Gura Luncii (II)*, (Sibiu: Editura Muzeului Național Brukenthal, 2019), VI-VIII, X-XIII, XVI-XX, XXII, XXIV, XXVI-XXVII, XXIX-XXX, XXXII, XXXIV, XL, Drawings 4-99, Photos 21-45 (forms and paintings).

⁴⁶ Sabin Adrian Luca, *Așezări neolitice pe valea Mureșului (I). Habitatul turdășean de la Orăștie-Dealul Pemilor (punct X₂)*, (Alba Iulia: Bibliotheca Musei Apulensis, 1997).

⁴⁷ Cătălin Bem, *Sistemul de fortificare al stațiunii eneolitice de la Pianu de Jos Podei (Alba, România). Între simbolism și rațiuni defensive*, (Târgoviște: Editura Cetatea de Scaun, 2015), 107.

⁴⁸ Sorin Tincu, "Cercetările arheologice preventive de la Hunedoara. Considerații privind încadrarea culturală și cronologică a descoperirilor". In : *AB (SN)*, 23 (2015), 63-87.

⁴⁹ Mihai Gligor, *Așezarea neolitică și eneolitică de la Alba Iulia-Lumea Nouă în lumina noilor cercetări*, (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Mega, 2009).

⁵⁰ Mihai Gligor, *Așezarea neolitică și eneolitică de la Alba Iulia-Lumea Nouă*, plates with mixed archaeological material (Vinča A, B and C, Turdaș and Petrești, named "Foeni", even though in Transylvania is a monograph describing the characteristics of the culture – Iuliu Paul, *Cultura Petrești*, (București: Editura Museion, 1992), Pl. CLXXVII.

⁵¹ Mihai Gligor, *Așezarea neolitică și eneolitică de la Alba Iulia-Lumea Nouă*, Pl. CLIX.

vessel, with the constituent ceramic fragments⁵². Further we discover an *in-situ* photograph in which are 3 ceramic fragments, two of which seem to be part of this vessel, but which are on the ground as if they had been – already – taken previously⁵³. In this case we no longer wonder about the very careful impregnation and” drawing and painting” identical with the idea of the restaurateur or archaeologist. Moreover, at Pl. XLIX/7 shows us a laborious analysis of the vessel so important. Seeing the exemplified part as the analyzed one (photo of the belly), we see on Pl. CLXIII (the part with the belly declared as original) that on this – the last – the number of parallel lines is higher on certain registers, some parts are missing. Should the gypsum be analyzed?

Moreover, I recently published a closed Petrești culture feature with my colleague H. Ciugudean⁵⁴. In this closed feature is an entire vessel that has been in the public showcase of the museum in Alba Iulia for decades⁵⁵. The archaeological feature is – by its structure – characteristic of the Petrești culture! If someone else had published it, was Foeni?

Another „characteristic” vessel for the Foeni from Lumea Nouă is the one from Pl. LXXV/1 and CLX⁵⁶. Interestingly and beautifully, the vessel belongs – according to the criteria of our colleague – to the culture from Banat that was not defined as such (with that eponym) even in Banat. What we do is that in Tărtăria is a fragment of a vessel⁵⁷, made in the same way, as a technology of manufacture, shape, and ornamentation, but – unfortunately for your theory – in a clear, Petrești culture context.

We conclude this brief analysis with another observation related to stratigraphy, how it is reproduced. Maybe why the stratigraphy boards from Pl. XXII-XXIII⁵⁸ do not correspond as a style of approach, drawing and explanation with those of the following drawings⁵⁹. It is precisely this small detail that the research has reached extremely small areas, and the first two plates reflect from a more southern area dug by another group, much more meticulous (I. Paul, I. A. Aldea and M. Ciută).

Tărtăria reflects – through radiocarbon data – an interesting reality. After the Petrești moment it seems to be the peak moment of a Vinča habitation – which starts at least now A₂ of the culture. This shows us both radiocarbon data and

⁵² Mihai Gligor, *Așezarea neolitică și eneolitică de la Alba Iulia-Lumea Nouă*, Pl. CLXIII – dozens of ceramic fragments.

⁵³ Mihai Gligor, *Așezarea neolitică și eneolitică de la Alba Iulia-Lumea Nouă*, Pl. CCXI/5.

⁵⁴ Sabin Adrian Luca, Horia Ciugudean, ”O depunere ritualică aparținând culturii Petrești descoperită la Uioara de Jos”, in *Apulum* 55, 2018, p. 9-22.

⁵⁵ Sabin Adrian Luca, Horia Ciugudean, ”O depunere ritualică, 12, Fig. 2, Pl. I/2

⁵⁶ Mihai Gligor, *Așezarea neolitică și eneolitică de la Alba Iulia-Lumea Nouă*.

⁵⁷ Sabin Adrian Luca, Florentina Marțiș, *Album. Evoluția picturii în situl neolitic și eneolitic de la Tărtăria-Gura Luncii (I)*, 188, XCI.

⁵⁸ Mihai Gligor, *Așezarea neolitică și eneolitică de la Alba Iulia-Lumea Nouă*, Pl. XXII-XXIII – without page.

⁵⁹ Mihai Gligor, *Așezarea neolitică și eneolitică de la Alba Iulia-Lumea Nouă*, Pl. XXIV-XXXIII.

stratigraphic contexts. From the data obtained in Rome⁶⁰, to the ones obtained in Bucharest (RoAMS), the same thing is found – the site from here begins its vinciian evolution *at least at the time of this culture A₂ Phase*. Here we also push the observations from Miercurea Sibiului – column 2 of the table III and Limba – column 3 of the table II.

Table II. BP data. Reporting to the site from Vinča of sites belonging to the Vinča culture (Tărtăria, Miercurea Sibiului, Limba) or to the Turdaş culture (Turdaş, Orăştie, Hunedoara, Daia Română) from Transylvania⁶¹.

Tărtăria ⁶²	Miercurea Sibiului ⁶³	Limba	Turdaş ⁶⁴	Hunedoara ⁶⁵	Orăştie ⁶⁶	Daia Română ⁶⁷	Vinča site/ Depth/ phase at Vinča ⁶⁸
5891±64			5885±33	5.828±35	5825±60	5835±100	5845±160 ▼3.48, V D2 5855±27 ▼4.1, V D1
			5901±				

⁶⁰ Dusan Borić, "The End of the Vinča World: Modelling the Neolithic to Cooper Age Transition and the Notion of the Archaeological Culture", in: *Neolithic and Cooper Age Between the Carpathians and Aegean Sea. Chronologies and Technologies from the 6th to 4th Millenia BCE*, Sven Hansen, Pal Raczky, B. Anders, A. Reingruber, Archäologie in Eurasien, 31 (Verlag Marie Leidorf, 2015), p. 157-217, , 215, R-1630: 6200±65 BP, 2σ (95,4%): 5311-4996 calBC; R-1655: 6215±65 BP, 2σ (95,4%): 5315-5004 calBC; R-1631: 6310±65 BP, 2σ (95,4%): 5469-5077 calBC

⁶¹ Cornelia Magda Lazarovici, *Relative and Absolute Chronology of the Romanian Neolithic*. In: *AB(SN) 7-8 (1999-2000)*, p. 75-105, Table 1-3, 5, 10-13, 15-17, 19-20, , 21-42, 44-52, 55-58, 60, 62-63, 66, 70-71, 75

⁶² S.A. Luca, T.B. Sava, D. Păceşilă, O. Gaza, I. Stanciu, G. Sava, B. Ştefan, *Date radiocarbon ale nivelului III de la Tărtăria-Gura Luncii (cercetările preventive ale anilor 2014-2015)*. In: *Apulum* 53 (2016), 27-34

⁶³ unpublished: Hd-28578, 5210-5033 BC (the very new data time); Paulo Biagi, S. Shenman, Michaela Spataro, "Rapid rivers and slow seas? New data for the radiocarbon chronology of the Balkan Peninsula". In: *Prehistoric Archaeology & Anthropological Theory and Education, RPRP* 6-7 (2005), p. 41-50.

⁶⁴ Sabin Adrian Luca, *Un oraş preistoric din Europa. Turdaş-Luncă. Sector B. II.1*; S.A. Luca, T.B. Sava, D. Păceşilă, O. Gaza, I. Stanciu, G. Sava, B. Ştefan, *Date radiocarbon din situl arheologic de la Turdaş-Luncă (cercetările preventive ale anilor 2011) (I)*. In: *Apulum* 54 (2017), 107-127; S.A. Luca, T.B. Sava, D. Păceşilă, O. Gaza, I. Stanciu, G. Sava, B. Ştefan, *Date radiocarbon din situl arheologic de la Turdaş-Luncă (cercetările preventive ale anilor 2011) (III)*. In: *Apulum* 56 (2019), 1-16.

⁶⁵ Sorin Tincu, "Cercetările arheologice preventive de la Hunedoara.

⁶⁶ Sabin Adrian Luca, *Aşezări neolitice pe valea Mureşului (II). Noi cercetări arheologice la Turdaş-Luncă. I. Campniile anilor 1992-1995*.

⁶⁷ Mihai Gligor, *Aşezarea neolitică şi eneolitică de la Alba Iulia-Lumea Nouă*, last three positions in table.

⁶⁸ D. Borić, "The End of the Vinča World", 216-217.

5996± 32			28 5903± 29 5917± 36 5932± 29 5947± 35 5938± 35 5975± 31 5985± 30 5987± 31 5990± 36			5900±1 00	
6023± 32 6029± 40602 3±33 6040± 38 6063± 33 6076± 38 6082± 33			6027± 30 6094± 34				6051±34 ▼6.9, V B 6081±68 ▼6.4, V C
6112± 33 6120± 41 6129± 34 6142± 36			6100± 31 6116± 35 6120± 40 6124± 33				6145±34 ▼7.1, V B 6149±63 ▼7.8, V B
6162± 43 6168±	6155±21 6160±50 6180±40						6180±40 ▼7.8, B 6190±60

94							▼8, V A 6198±51 ▼7.8, V B
6200± 65 6215± 65	6200±60		6233± 42				6249±31 ▼9.3, A 6259±47 ▼6.9, V B 6264±22 ▼8.5, V A 6273±49 ▼8.4, V A 6293±79 ▼7, V B
6310± 65 6329± 66	6350±130	6290 ±50					6353±66 ▼8.7, V A
	6475±40						

An early dating has also the discoveries from Tărtăria reported by O.C. Rogozea⁶⁹. He notes that in north of the site is a Vinča A₂-A₃ dwelling, as we also found in 2015 between his reign and the Neolithic tell⁷⁰.

At the early Vinča horizon, from the chronological beginning of the discoveries from Tărtăria, the fragments painted by the Lumea Nouă-Zau type appear, specific to a Vinča A₂-B chronological and cultural horizon. At Tărtăria, they appear for the first time on the horizon of Vinča A – feature 56 (Photo 12-17; painted fragment: Photo 17). Analogies for the painting Lumea Nouă-Zau are found in the analyzed site – Tărtăria⁷¹, and in the Lumea Nouă⁷² – is this to be” Foeni?”) (we will exemplify from the same work of M. Gligor, even though most of the ceramic fragments illustrated do not belong to the excavations of his reign

⁶⁹ O.C. Rogozea,” Discoveries Attributed to the Early Vinča Phase in Tărtăria “Gura Luncii” (Alba County). The 214 Preventive Archaeological Research Performed on “Site 10B”, în *Ziridava* 31, 2017, p. 7-28.

⁷⁰ Sabina Adrian Luca, *Tărtăria REDIVIVA*, 209-221.

⁷¹ Sabina Adrian Luca, *Tărtăria REDIVIVA*, Fig. 7/3 (Vinča B), 42/3 (Vinča A), 46/3 (Vinča A), 57/1 (Vinča A), 61/4-5 (Vinča A), 69 (Vinča A), 137/1 (Vinča B), 149/1-5 (Vinča B), 158-159 (Vinča A₃- B₁); for better reproduction of the pictural register: Sabin Adrian Luca, Florentina Marțiș, *Album. Evoluția picturii în situl neolitic și eneolitic de la Tărtăria-Gura Luncii (I)*, LXXIV-LXXVI – Vinča B, LXXVII – Vinča A; Drawings 3-4, 6-17, 19-21; Photos 2-3 – Vinča A; Sabin Adrian Luca, Ioan Al. Aldea, *Album. Evoluția picturii în situl neolitic și eneolitic de la Tărtăria-Gura Luncii (II)*, Photos 1-2, 5-11, 13-17, 19-20 – right (excavations from 1989: I. Paul, I.Al. Aldea, 46 - the painted fragment also published in this article – Vinča A; Drawings 2-3; XXX

⁷² We must state that the materials of the Lumea Nouă-Zau type are mixed with Petrești materials on Pl. CLVIII/1-15, CLIX-CLXIII, CLXVIII/1 and others

but are older or newer achievements of some predecessors). Consequently, we will never know the stratigraphic conditions realistically⁷³. Those from Limba⁷⁴, Zau⁷⁵ or Miercurea Sibiului⁷⁶, no!

Also, some of the discoveries from Șoimuș-*La Avicola, Ferma 2* are also included. Unfortunately, the interesting discoveries to define the beginning of the settlement are only published in the XI plate⁷⁷. Not knowing the Vinča archaeological materials, the authors consider that the archaeological materials from this plate are Turdaș⁷⁸, not Vinča A₂₋₃, as they are. Towards the Lumea Nouă-Zau (Vinča A₂-B₁) also takes the ceramic fragment from Pl. XI/2. Its analogies are evident in Tărtăria, Lumea Nouă, Limba, Zau or Miercurea Sibiului (see the quotations above). The authors' expression: "the painted pottery of the type Lumea Nouă-Tăualaș type"⁷⁹ is at least bizarre (but we are not surprised when it is taken from authors who do not know the cultural realities of southwestern Transylvania). The chronological distance between the two types of painting exists and the painting of the Lumea Nouă-Zau type is painted species of the Vinča culture, and the Tăualaș type painting belongs to Phase I/II and II of the Turdaș culture. The time differences between the two pictorial motifs are visible in the tables of this work.

Even though in the monograph published by M. Gligor it is stated that the eponymous site does not start its Vinča existence before the chronological and cultural horizon Vinča B⁸⁰ (because in a work on the phase C of the Vinča culture, observations were made – on several occasions – about the whole chronology of the above mentioned culture (in fact, this observation remained – as the quoted one states – in the "research history", really). There are – and have even been published – archaeological materials Vinča A₃/B₁⁸¹. Moreover, these observations come from a excavation made in 1995, used in the illustration of M. Gligor's book⁸², but

⁷³ Mihai Gligor, *Așezarea neolitică și eneolitică de la Alba Iulia-Lumea Nouă*, Pl. CLVIII, CLXI, CLXIV-CLXXVII; XXX 2007, 46, Photo 27.

⁷⁴ Marius Ciută, "Noi precizări cu privire la succesiunea depunerilor neolitice de la Limba-Oarda de Jos (jud. Alba)", în *Apulum* 52, 2017, p. 47-84., 54, Fig. 21 – Vinča A₃-B₁; p. 56, Fig. 32 – Vinča B₁; XXX 2007, p. 47-49, Photos 28-30

⁷⁵ Gheorghe Lazarovici, *Evolution, absolute and relative chronology of the Zau Culture*, SAM 11, (Bratislava: Panta Rhei 2010), p. 115-128; Gheorghe Lazarovici, "Cronologia absolută, relativă și evoluția culturii Zau", în *AcaMP* 34, 2012, p. 57-71; D. Borić, *The End of the Vinča World*, 209.

⁷⁶ D. Borić, *The End of the Vinča World*, 210, GrA-26606: 6180±40 BP, 2σ (95,4%): 5286-5002 calBC; GrA-30500: 6200±60 BP, 2σ (95,4%): 5295-5045 calBC; GrN-29053: 6350±130 BP, 2σ (95,4%): 5556-5001 calBC; GrA-33127: 6475±40 BP, 2σ (95,4%): 5516-5357 calBC

⁷⁷ S.E. Ștefan, Radu Petcu, "Reprezentări antropomorfe din așezarea neolitică de la Loimuș-*La Avicola (Ferma 2)*, jud. Hunedoara", în *StudPre* 10, 2013, p. 49-66, 65.

⁷⁸ S.E. Ștefan, Radu Petcu, "Reprezentări antropomorfe", 52-53.

⁷⁹ S.E. Ștefan, Radu Petcu, "Reprezentări antropomorfe", 52.

⁸⁰ Mihai Gligor, *Așezarea neolitică și eneolitică de la Alba Iulia-Lumea Nouă*, 136.

⁸¹ Marius Ciută, *Despre un complex inedit descoperit la Alba Iulia Lumea Nouă (jud. Alba)*, în *TS* 4, 2012, p. 65-85.

⁸² Mihai Gligor, *Așezarea neolitică și eneolitică de la Alba Iulia-Lumea Nouă*, Pl. XXII-XXIII.

completely misunderstood. The oldest date for Vinča culture is in Feature 53, 14, and the contents of the pit – with a ritual character – are shown in Photo 18.

Regarding the Turdaş culture it is seen that it begins – at the earliest – contemporary with Vinča B₁, *but it is not a vincian culture, but independent*, but – more certainly – at the border between phases B₁ and B₂ of this culture. The settlements from Hunedoara, Orăştie and Daia Română (?) shows similarities – at their beginnings with the Turdaş III, during which the great Turdaş migration mentioned above begins, as explained in table II.

Also now we notice a contemporaneity with Vinča D in Banat, at Foeni: 5835±40 and 5855±85 BP⁸³. In the third row of the table, from top to the bottom, one can enter once from Orăştie: 6070±70 BP⁸⁴, but this is obtained from a human bone – even if it is Turdaş I, in its end phase – it must be avoided (after others).

In fact, in a recently published article⁸⁵ we see that in one site it is contemporary at least with the first phase of the Turdaş culture, in Şoimuş-*La Avicola*. Thus, the human bones from C₁₈₂ are dated: 6233±39 BP (5307 (95,4%)-5197 BC) (RoAMS 317.53) (Turdaş culture, phase Ia) and those from C₂₇₀: 6020±41 BP 5016 (95,4%)-4799) (RoAMS 318.53 – Turdaş culture, phase Ib). These last two data confirm the fact that the remains of the human skull head from Orăştie belong – as I had stated – to the Turdaş culture, phase Ib (today). All the other speculations advanced by some” colleagues” are related to pride, not to the historical – archaeological realities of the Turdaş era.

From the above analysis it follows that during the period analyzed the Foeni group or culture (not defined as such in Banat⁸⁶) does not exist. The discoveries assigned to this cultural phenomenon belong to Petreşti culture, as it was defined by I. Paul.

Turdaş culture is in the evolution phase III/IV (migration to the west, north and north-west). Its characteristics are deeply diluted. In the eponymous site Turdaş culture ceases its existence. This period is related to phase D of the Vinča culture.

Discussions

Table II is necessary to try to start a radiocarbon ordering for Transylvania, in relation with the existing stratigraphy and relative chronology data. The lack of strong observations – but also the” interpretation” of some of the clear data, already existing – has, in some cases, created mixtures of ideas that are difficult to

⁸³ Mihai Gligor, *Așezarea neolitică și eneolitică de la Alba Iulia-Lumea Nouă*, Pl. CLXXXII – upper table.

⁸⁴ Sabin Adrian Luca, *Așezări neolitice pe valea Mureșului (II). Noi cercetări arheologice la Turdaş-Luncă. I. Campaniile anilor 1992-1995*, în BMA 17, (București: Editura Economică, 2001), Pl. 9.

⁸⁵ S. E. Ștefan, ”Miniature vessels from Şoimuş – La Avicola (Ferma 2), Hunedoara County. A case study”, *Dacia*, NS, 61, 2017, p. 71-102.

⁸⁶ Sabin Adrian Luca, Cosmin Urian, ”Neue archäologische Funde im Kreis Temesch / Timiș sowie einige Fragen zur Einordnung der Kulturgruppe Foeni-Mintia in Siebenbürgen”, *ForVL*, 55, 2012, p. 7-32.

understand for the reader outside this cultural area (for the Neolithic and Eneolithic eras).

Conclusions

This period refers to Phases A, B, C and D (beginning) of the Vinča culture. Parallels with what is happening in west of the Apuseni Mountains have been defined in a clear synthesis (Yerkes *et al* 2009).

This culture has a particular evolution in Transylvania. Phase A is approximately the same, typological-stylistic, with the contemporary moments in the Serbian-South Hungarian area (Jakucs *et al* 2016), and with the end of phase A₂ (Limba) also receiving local influences, through a painted material related to the polychrome one, Starčevo-Criș, called here Lumea Nouă-Zau.

Phase B of the Vinča culture is short in time. At the beginning of it is born the Turdaș culture (Phase I), which evolves in Phase I/II towards the end of Vinča B and C in Turdaș phase II. And Turdaș phase II/III is also parallel to phase C of this culture.

As for Turdaș culture, it is totally different from the one called Vinča and has – in Phases I-III a living area with the most remote sites from the eponymous site about 60 km to the west, south and east. The site mother has from its very beginning the characteristics of a city (for that time) and is located in the northern most part of the residential area of Turdaș culture.

Two things are worth remembering. The first is related to the” stopper” created by Turdaș between Banat and Transylvania in the communication of the Vinča culture from the two regions. Therefore, the characteristics of Vinča culture are different from those in Banat. The second important moment is related to the reopening of this dialogue with the end of Turdaș phase III, when the city of Turdaș is left and a Turdaș” diaspora” starts to the west, north and north-west (Turdaș III final and IV). Now, cultural exchanges are often made between the western communities of Apuseni and Banat with the late Turdaș and Petrești culture.

Acknowledgement

The research was carried out with a team of specialists – archaeologists in various stages of training – employees of the Brukenthal National Museum: Florentin Perianu, Sergiu Chideșă, Runcan Bogdan, Malanca Răzvan, Miha Cristina and Mareș Răzvan. Alongside there were the students, in the specialized practice, from “Lucian Blaga” University of Sibiu (bachelor, master and doctoral studies from Prehistory period specialization).

Another important group of supporters are those from the National Museum of the Union of Alba Iulia who were not able – unfortunately – to participate in this campaign, except for the head of the institution, Gabriel T. Rustoiu.

Thanks also to the constituent group of the RoAMS Laboratory, within the National Institute for Research and Development of Physics and Nuclear Engineering „Horia Hulubei”, Măgurele-Ilfov: Tiberiu Bogdan Sava, Doru Păceșilă, Oana Gaza, Iuliana Stanciu, Gabriela Sava, Bianca Ștefan who enthusiastically helped us for dating some great Transylvanian archaeological sites, Turdaș and Tărtăria.

Illustration list

Plans

Plan 1. *Tărtăria-Gura Luncii*. General plan of the SI surface.

Plan 2. *Tărtăria-Gura Luncii*. The plan of the archaeological features studied up to the archaeological sterile in 2019 (carriage 25-32).

Photos

Photo 1. *Tărtăria-Gura Luncii*, 2019. SI. Eastern profile.

Photo 2. *Tărtăria-Gura Luncii*, 2019. SI. Western profile.

Photo 3. Carriage 25. *Tărtăria-Gura Luncii*, 2019. SI. 16. RoAMS 1386.75. 167502±112 BP, 6590 (89.8%) 6202; 6194 (0.8%) 6181; 6174 (4.4%) 6100 BC.

Photo 4. Feature 53. *Tărtăria-Gura Luncii*, 2019, SI. 12. RoAMS 1385.75. 6162±43 BP, 5224 (95.4%) 4989 BC; 14. RoAMS 1381.75. 6329±66 BP, 5475 (93.3%) 5207; 5161 (0.5%) 5152; 5146 (0.5%) 5138; 5128 (0.4%) 5121; 5094 (0.7%) 5081 BC.

Photo 5. *Tărtăria-Gura Luncii*, 2019. SI. Features 56 and 58.

Photo 6. *Tărtăria-Gura Luncii*, 2019. SI. Features 56 and 58.

Photo 7. *Tărtăria-Gura Luncii*, 2019, SI. Feature 57.

Photo 8. Carriage 27. *Tărtăria-Gura Luncii*, 2019. SI. 5. RoAMS 1387.75. 6029±40 BP, 5082 (94.1%) 4878; 4815 (1.3%) 4805 BC; 15. RoAMS 1392.75. 7007±38 BP, 5981 (95.4%) 5798 BC.

Photo 9. Carriage 30. *Tărtăria-Gura Luncii*, 2019. SI. 2. RoAMS 1378.75. 5714±120 BP, 4831 (0.9%) 4813; 4808 (94.5%) 4341 BC; 17. RoAMS 1380.75. 7633±96 BP, 6655 (91.3%) 6337; 6315 (4.1%) 6256 BC.

Photo 10. Carriage 31. *Tărtăria-Gura Luncii*, 2019. SI. 3. RoAMS 1379.75. 5716±43 BP, 4684 (14.8%) 4630; 4624 (80.6%) 4461 BC; 6. RoAMS 1388.75. 6040±38 BP, 5040 (95.4%) 4838 BC; 8. RoAMS 1382.75. 6120±41 BP, 5209 (95.4%) 4951 BC; 9. RoAMS 1393.75. 6129±34 BP, 5211 (95.4%) 4981 BC; 13. RoAMS 1377.75. 6168±94 BP, 5321 (93.9%) 4881; 4871 (1.5%) 4848 BC.

Photo 11. Carriage 32. *Tărtăria-Gura Luncii*, 2019. SI. 1. RoAMS 1383.75. 5564±45 BP, 4608 (95.4%) 4369 BC; 4. RoAMS 1384.75. 5891±64 BP, 4936 (95.4%) 4600 BC; 7. RoAMS 1389.75. 6076±38 BP, 5203 (4.2%) 5172; 5073 (91.2%) 4848 BC; 10. RoAMS 1390.75. 6140±36 BP, 5212 (95.4%) 4995 BC; 11. RoAMS 1391.75. 6142±36 BP, 5212 (95.4%) 4997 BC.

Photo 12. *Tărtăria-Gura Luncii*, 2019. SI, Feature 56. Pottery. Vinča A.

Photo 13. *Tărtăria-Gura Luncii*, 2019. SI, Feature 56. Pottery. Vinča A.

Photo 14. *Tărtăria-Gura Luncii*, 2019. SI, Feature 56. Pottery. Vinča A.

Photo 15. Tărtăria-*Gura Luncii*, 2019. SI, Feature 56. Pottery. Vinča A.

Photo 16. Tărtăria-*Gura Luncii*, 2019. SI, Feature 56. Bitronconic vessel with wide grooves, parallel to the bottom. Vinča A.

Photo 17. Tărtăria-*Gura Luncii*, 2019. SI, Feature 56. Ornamented vessel with brown paint/white painted background (Lumea Nouă-Zau). Vinča A.

Photo 18. Tărtăria-*Gura Luncii*, 2019. SI, Feature 53. Cult pieces. Vinča A.

Photo 19. Miercurea Sibiului-*Petriș*.

Tables

Table I. Tărtăria-*Gura Luncii*, 2019. SI. List of radiocarbon data obtained from systematic research, with rigorous details.

Table II. BP data. Reporting to the site from Vinča of sites belonging to the Vinča culture (Tărtăria, Miercurea Sibiului, Limba) or to the Turdaș culture (Turdaș, Orăștie, Hunedoara, Daia Română) from Transylvania.



Photo 12. Tărtăria-Gura Luncii, 2019. SI, Feature 56. Pottery. Vinča A.



Photo 13. Tărtăria-Gura Luncii, 2019. SI, Feature 56. Pottery. Vinča A.



Photo 14. Tărtăria-Gura Luncii, 2019. SI, Feature 56. Pottery. Vinča A.



Photo 15. Tărtăria-Gura Luncii, 2019. SI, Feature 56. Pottery. Vinča A.



Photo 16. Tărtăria-Gura Luncii, 2019. SI, Feature 56. Bitronconic vessel with wide grooves, parallel to the bottom. Vinča A.



Photo 17. Tărtăria-Gura Luncii, 2019. SI, Feature 56. Ornamented vessel with brown paint/white painted background (Lumea Nouă-Zau). Vinča A.



Photo 18. Tărtăria-Gura Luncii, 2019. SI, Feature 53. Cult pieces. Vinča A.



Photo 19. Miercurea Sibiului-Petriș.

**The Central Area of a "Square" from the Time of Turdaș Culture
Turdaș-Luncă. 2011 Campaign. Sector C
The Architectural Horizon before the great Migration from Turdaș**

Florentin Perianu*

Abstract: *The preventive excavation from 2011, at Turdaș-Luncă, led to the discovery of over 2000 archaeological features. Among them is feature 959. Through this article we want to continue the series of publications related to the preventive excavation of 2011 and highlight certain aspects related to a possible organization of the communities that lived here.*

Keywords: *preventive research, Turdaș-Luncă, feature 959, Transylvania, Romania.*

As we already know, in Hunedoara county a multitude of settlements are located on the terraces dug by the rivers over time. Among them is the site from Turdaș¹. Turdaș commune was attested in 1332², but – as an area – it was inhabited long before. In its south-west side, on the left bank of the Mureș river, is the site of Turdaș-Luncă (Map 1-2), a site that became known since 1860, but which benefited from a first mention a few years later, in 1866³.

From now on, a series of surface investigations/research would follow⁴ – some with published results⁵. All these were to materialize starting with 1992 in the form of systematic field research, led by Sabin Adrian Luca, concluded in 1998⁶.

* "Lucian Blaga" University of Sibiu, Brukenthal National Museum, Sibiu, florentin_florentin13@yahoo.com

¹ Sabin Adrian Luca, "Descoperiri preistorice din județul Hunedoara – din Paleolitic până la începutul civilizației dacice", în *SUC.SH*, II, 2005, p. 7-51, 38, Point 187; A.T. Marc, "Contribuții la repertoriul arheologic al județului Hunedoara. Descoperiri recente pe raza comunei Turdaș", în *Sargetia (SN)*, I, 2010, p. 38-63, 38-41.

² Ghinea *Enciclopedia Geografică a României*, Vol. III (R-Z), (București: Editura Enciclopedică, 1998), 320; Sabin Adrian Luca, *Cercetările arheologice preventive de la Turdaș-Luncă (jud. Hunedoara). Campania 2011*, în *BB*, LIX, (Sibiu: Editura Muzeului Național Brukenthal, 2012), 7.

³ Carl Gooss, "Skizzen zur vorrömischen Kulturgeschichte der mittleren Donaugegenden", în *AVSL*, 14, 1, 1877, p. 47-175, 103

⁴ Sabin Adrian Luca, *Cercetările arheologice preventive de la Turdaș-Luncă*, 11-18.

⁵ We mention a few: Marton Roska, *Die Sammlung Zsófia von Torma*, (Cluj, 1941); Florin Drașovean, T. Mariș, "Cercetări arheologice de suprafață în așezarea neolitică de la Turdaș (jud. Hunedoara)", în *Sargetia*, XVI-XVII, 1982-1983, p. 89-94; Zoia Kalmar, *Turdaș*, (Cluj-Napoca, 1991).

⁶ Results published in: Sabin Adrian Luca, "Așezarea de la Turdaș – situația actuală a sitului arheologic (II)", în *AICSU*, 3, 1996, p. 27-30; Sabin Adrian Luca, *Așezări neolitice pe valea*

In 2007-2008, a magnetometric research was carried out⁷ in Turdaş-Luncă and one in 2011⁸. The AFCN project entitled *Primul oraş preistoric datat cu mijloace moderne din România* was also carried out and the series of large-scale preventive research was opened, concluded in 2019 with impressive results⁹, and contradictory discussions appeared, discussions we distance ourselves from¹⁰.

Mureşului (II). Noi cercetări arheologice de la Turdaş-Luncă. I. Campaniile anilor 1992-1995, în *BMA*, XVII, (Bucureşti: Editura Economică, 2001); Sabin Adrian Luca (cu contribuţii de: Dragoş Diaconescu, Cristian Roman, Georgeta El Susi, Florentin Perianu, Adrian Luca), *Aşezări neolitice pe valea Mureşului (III). Campaniile anilor 1996-1998*, în *BS*, XXV, (Sibiu: Editura Universităţii" Lucian Blaga", 2018)

⁷ C. Mischka, "Geomagnetische Prospektion neolithischer und kupferzeitlicher Siedlungen in Rumänien". In *Eurasia Antiqua*, 14, 2008, p. 105-106.

⁸ Some of the results have already been printed – we mention Sabin Adrian Luca, *Cercetările arheologice preventive de la Turdaş-Luncă (jud. Hunedoara). Campania 2011*; S.A. Luca (coordonator), Fl. Dumitrescu-Chioar, Gh.V. Natea, Fl/M. Niţu, M.-R. Teodorescu, V. Palaghie, A. Tudorie, C. Beldiman, M.C. Căstăian, V.C. Sava, C.I. Suciu, S. Tincu, "Şantierul arheologic Turdaş-Luncă, campania anului 2011". In: *CCA*, 2012, p. 292-293; Sabin Adrian Luca; Adrian Georgescu; Gheorghe V. Natea; Raluca Maria Teodorescu; Claudia Urduzia; Claudiu I. Munteanu; Vasile Palaghie; Adrian Luca, *Cercetarea preventivă. Provocarea arheologică a zilelor noastre*, în *BB*, LXV, (Sibiu: Editura Muzeului Naţional Brukenthal, 2013), 9-32; Sabin Adrian Luca, Cosmin I. Suciu, "The eneolithic fortification system of Turdaş-Luncă, Hunedoara County, Romania". In *Pradziejowe osady obronne w Karpatach*, 2015, p. 43-60; Sabin Adrian Luca, Florentin Perianu, Sergiu Chideşa, "Câteva amănunte despre complexele arheologice C32-33 din situl de la Turdaş-Luncă, jud. Hunedoara (I). Săpăturile preventive ale anului 2011". In *Studia in Honorem Florea Costea*, 2017, p. 32-50; Sabin Adrian Luca, Florentin Perianu, Sergiu Chideşa, "Some details regarding the archaeological feature C₂₃ from Turdaş-Luncă site, Hunedoara County (II). The preventive excavations from 2011" în *ActaTS*, XVI, 2017, p. 21-59; Sabin Adrian Luca, Florian Dumitrescu-Chioar, Tiberiu B. Sava, Doru Păceşilă, Oana Gaza, Iuliana Stanciu, G. Sava, B. Ştefan, Florentin Perianu, "Radiocarbon data from the Turdaş-Luncă archaeological site. Petreşti culture. (Preventive research of 2011) (II)". In: *ActaTS*, XVII, 2018, p. 115-120; Sabin Adrian Luca, "Some details about the C₄₀₃ archaeological feature from the site of Turdaş-Luncă, Hunedoara County (III). Petreşti culture. Preventive excavations of the year 2011". In: *ActaTS*, 2018, p. 121-131; Sabin Adrian Luca (cu contribuţii de: Fl. Perianu), *Un oraş preistoric din Europa. Turdaş-Luncă. Sectorul A. I.1*, în *BS*, XXVI, (Sibiu: Editura Universităţii" Lucian Blaga", 2019); S.A. Luca (cu contribuţii de: Vasile Palaghie, Florentin Perianu), *Un oraş preistoric din Europa. Turdaş-Luncă. Sector B. II.1* în *BS*, XXVII, (Sibiu Editura Universităţii" Lucian Blaga", 2019); Sabin Adrian Luca, Florentin Perianu, "Turdaş-Luncă. 2011 preventive campaign. Sector B. Feature 341-2. A ritual pit? Turdaş culture, phase III". In: *ActaTS*, XVIII, 2019, p. 5-21; Sabin Adrian Luca, Tiberiu B. Sava, M. Ilie, A. Dima, D. Pascal, G. Sava, C. Mănăilescu, Florentin Perianu, Raluca Maria Teodorescu, "Radiocarbon data from the archaeological site of Turdaş-Luncă (preventive research of 2011) (IV)". In: *ActaTS*, XVIII, 2019, p. 93-112.

⁹ Sabin Adrian Luca, Gheorghe Natea, Vasile Palaghie, "Data about stylized bull/calf heads from Turdaş excavations". In: *Annales d'Université Valahia*, XXI, 2019, p. 29-37.

¹⁰ Dragoş Diaconescu, "Despre cultura Turdaş şi poziţia sa cronologică". In: *AB, S.N.*, XXII, 2014, p. 67-88.

The plateau on which the settlement is located has been conventionally divided into systematic research, in three large areas¹¹, in order to follow the horizontal stratigraphy of the Neolithic and Eneolithic settlements from the perimeter of the site.

As a result of the preventive excavation carried out in 2011, the sectors in which the surface of the site was divided are the following: area A (km 11+200 – 11+400; in the east of the site), area B (km 11+400 – 11+900; central area), which in turn was subdivided into area B east and B west and area C (km 11+900-12+450; west part; Plan 1)¹².

Focusing on the area that is the subject of this study, namely (area) sector C, mention the presence of the following stratigraphy:

- 0-0,4 m – the greyish-yellowish arable layer appears.
- 0,4-0,8 m – clayey black layer, with traces of burnt platforms in the west zone, from here starting in sterile soil most of the archaeological features.
- 0,8-1,2/1,3 m - light brown soil with rare ceramic fragments.
- Under 1,2/1,3 m - sterile, geological, clayey, brown layer appears.
- In sterile soil appears archaeological features (black color with yellow clay inserts, black with ceramic pigment) that reach up to 3,5 m depth.

Following the preventive excavation from 2011, a number of approximately 2000 features resulted, including feature 959. It consisted of approximately 4000 ceramic fragments outside the lithic and osteological material.

Feature 959 was identified in sector C, in the N-E part of it (Plan 2), being surrounded by several dwelling structures. It is noted that in the S-V¹³ and the central-eastern part of this sector, are other agglomerations of structures, similar to those from N-E.

Feature 959 (I want to thank S.A. Luca for the archaeological materials offered to carry out this work and colleague V. Palaghie for the adjacent information) is represented by a large deep dwelling, with an approximately quadrilateral shape, belonging to the Turdaş culture. It has a filling with several layers and after abandonment it is transformed into a possible household pit. The filling has several layers (Drawing 2, Photo 1):

- black greyish with adobe pigments and ceramic fragments.
- black greyish with rare ceramic fragments.
- agglomeration of ceramic and osteological materials mixed with black soil.

¹¹ Sabin Adrian Luca, *Așezări neolitice pe valea Mureșului (II). Noi cercetări arheologice de la Turdaș-Luncă. I. Campaniile anilor 1992-1995*, în *BMA*, XVII, (București: Editura Economică, 2001), Plan 1.

¹² Sabin Adrian Luca, *Cercetările arheologice preventive de la Turdaș-Luncă*, 20.

¹³ For Structure 29, see Gheorghe Lazarovici, Sabin Adrian Luca, Gheorghe Natea, Cosmin Suciu, Mihai Căstăian, "Turdaș, C sector, reconstruction of feature or St. 29 based on ethno-archeological studies". In: *Acta TS*, XIII, 2014, p. 73-111, 73-111; for structure 28, see Sabin Adrian Luca, *Cercetările arheologice preventive de la Turdaș-Luncă*, 77-100.

- black soil mixed with ceramic materials.
- black with yellow pigment, adobe, ceramic fragments and osteological material.
- black mixed with yellow, adobe pigment and ceramic materials.
- black soil lenses alternating with yellow lenses.

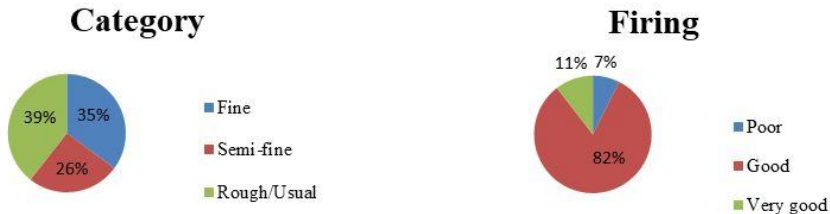
This feature has many fragments of adobe with traces of beams and poles, thrown in, many ceramic fragments but also whole vessels (Luca *et al* 2013, 16-17).

In the upper part the ceramic material is very fragmentated and in the lower part material is much better preserved and belongs to the moment of abandonment of the feature. The feature also had a rich lithic inventory which will be presented with another occasion.

The depth of the feature is 2,40 m from the contour level of the pit, the length is 4,90 m and the width is 4,80 m (Drawing 1, Photo 2).
Technological aspects of ceramics from the feature 959

As mentioned above, the 959 features provided a fairly rich archaeological inventory. From this inventory, most was represented by pottery (approximately 4000 fragments), which we will deal with in the following rows.

From the point of view of the technology of making ceramic, we find, as can be seen from Graphic 1, below, that all 3 categories are somewhat balanced represented, 39% being the percentage of rough ceramics, 26% semi-fine ceramics and 35% fine ceramics. The categories are distributed as follows:



Graphic 1. Turdaş-Luncă. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Turdaş culture, phase III. Graphic with percentage analysis of ceramic categories.

Graphic 2. Turdaş-Luncă. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Turdaş culture, phase III. Graphic with percentage analysis of firing categories.

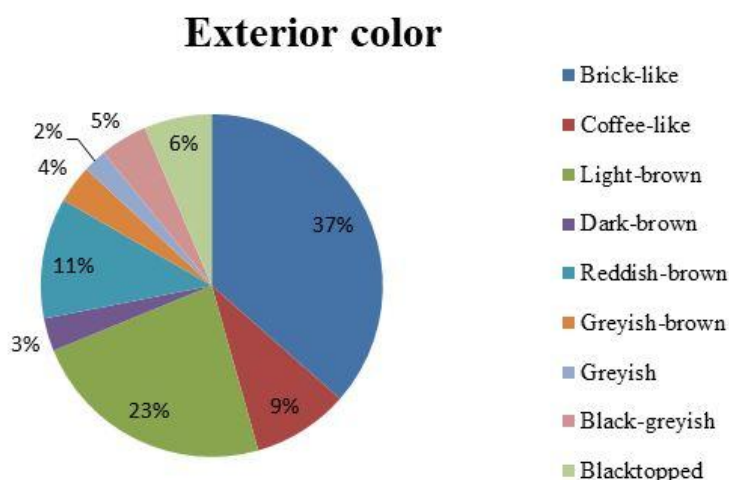
- fine – Pl. I/1,3,4; Pl. II/1-6,8; Pl. III/2-6; Pl. IV/1-5; Pl. V/1-7,9; Pl. VI/1-6; Pl. VII/1-3; Pl. VIII/2, 3; Pl. XIV/1; Pl. XVI/2; Pl. XVIII/2; Pl. XXI/2; Pl. XXII/6; Pl. XXIII/6; Pl. XXIV/3; Pl. XXV/5; Pl. XXVI/2, 4, 5, 7; Pl. XXVII/3, 5, 6; Pl. XXVIII/7; Pl. XXIX/2, 4, 6, 8, 9; Pl. XXX/2, 3, 5; Pl. XXXI/2, 4, 8, 9-12, 15, 17; Pl. XXXII/1, 2, 4, 5, 7; Pl. XXXIII/2, 5-7.

- semi-fine – Pl. I/5, 6; Pl. II/7; Pl. III/1; Pl. V/8; Pl. VIII/5; Pl. IX/1, 2, 4; Pl. XV/1, 3, 4; Pl. XVII/2, 3, 7, 9; Pl. XVIII/6, 8; Pl. XIX/4; Pl. XX/2; Pl. XXI/5; Pl. XXII/1, 4; Pl. XXVI/1, 6; Pl. XXVII/1, 2, 4; Pl. XXVIII/1-5; Pl. XXIX/1, 3, 5, 7; Pl. XXX/1, 4; Pl. XXXI/1, 3, 5-7, 14; Pl. XXXII/1, 2, 4, 5, 7; Pl. XXXIII/1, 4, 8.

- rough/usual – Pl. XIV/2-6; Pl. XV/2, 5, 6; Pl. XVI/1, 3, 4; Pl. XVII/1, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10; Pl. XVIII/1, 3-5, 7; Pl. XIX/1, 2, 3, 5; Pl. XX/1, 3-5; Pl. XXI/1, 3, 4; Pl. XXII/2, 3, 5, 7; Pl. XXIII/1-5, 8-10; Pl. XXIV/1, 2, 4, 5; Pl. XXV/1-4, 6-8; Pl. XXVI/3, 8; Pl. XXVIII/6, 8, 9; Pl. XXXI/13, 16.

Another aspect analyzed in terms of ceramic production technology refers to firing (Graphic 2). From this point of view, 82% of the total material have good firing, 11% is very good fired and only 7% of the material present in this feature has poor firing. From the point of view of firing, the archaeological material presented in the plates is as follows:

- very good – Pl. II/2, 3; Pl. III/2-6; Pl. IV/2, 4, 5; Pl. V/2, 4, 7; Pl. VI/3, 4; Pl. XXVI/4, 5, 7; Pl. XXXII/7;



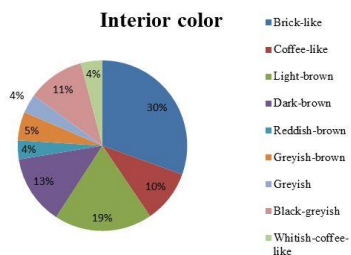
Graphic 3. Turdaş-Luncă. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Turdaş culture, phase III. Graphic with percentage analysis of exterior color of the ceramic materials.

- good – Pl. I/1, 3-6; Pl. II/1, 4-8; Pl. III/1; Pl. IV/1, 3; Pl. V/1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9; Pl. VI/1, 2, 5, 6; Pl. VII/1-3; Pl. VIII/1-5; Pl. IX/1-4; Pl. X/1, 2, 4; Pl. XI/1-4; Pl. XII/1-7; Pl. XIII/1-4; Pl. XIV/1-6; Pl. XV/1-6; Pl. XVI/1-4; Pl. XVII/2, 4-10; Pl. XVIII/1-3, 6-8; Pl. XIX/1-5; Pl. XX/1, 3-5; Pl. XXI/1-5; Pl. XXII/1, 3, 4-7; Pl. XXIII/1-10; Pl. XXIV/1-5; Pl. XXV/1, 3-8; Pl. XXVI/1, 2, 6; Pl. XXVII/1-6; Pl. XXVIII/1-7, 9; Pl. XXIX/1-9; Pl. XXX/1, 2, 4, 5; Pl. XXXI/1, 3-12, 14-17; Pl. XXXII/1-6, 8; Pl. XXXIII/1-3; 5-7;

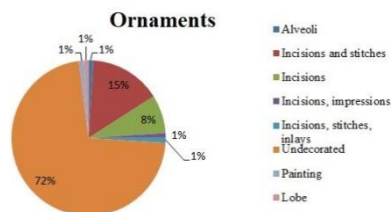
- poor – Pl. I/2; Pl. V/10; Pl. X/3; Pl. XVII/1, 3, 7; Pl. XVIII/4, 5; Pl. XX/2; Pl. XXII/2; Pl. XXV/2; Pl. XXVI/3, 8; Pl. XXVIII/8; Pl. XXX/3; Pl. XXXI/2, 13; Pl. XXXIII/4.

Referring to this aspect, we can also specify that the vast majority of the material has an oxidizing firing and only a small part has a reducing firing.

Regarding the exterior color, there is a majority of 37% represented by the brick-like color 37%, followed by the light brown color 23%, reddish-brown color 11% and coffee-like 9%. Less represented are the colors/effects: *blacktopped* 6%, black greyish 5%, greyish brown 4%, dark brown 3% and greyish 2%.



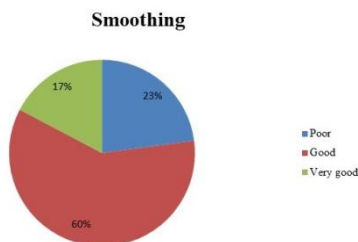
Graphic 4. Turdaş-Luncă. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Turdaş culture, phase III. Graphic with percentage analysis of interior color of the ceramic materials.



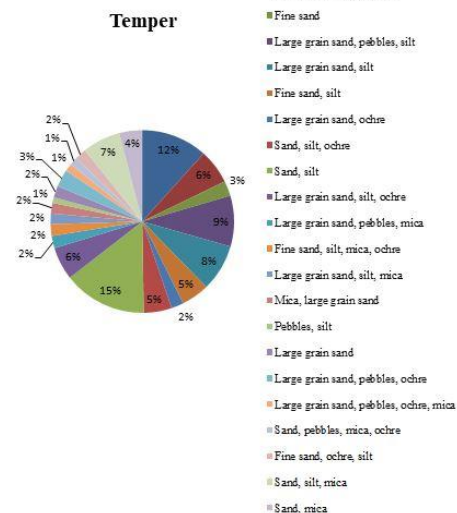
Graphic 5. Turdaş-Luncă. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Turdaş culture, phase III. Graphic with percentage analysis of decoration of the ceramic materials.

Exterior color:

- brick-like – Pl. I/1, 2; Pl. II/4, 8; Pl. III/1-3; Pl. V/4, 7; Pl. VIII/1, 3; Pl. IX/1, 2; Pl. XI/1-4; Pl. XII/1, 2; Pl. XIII/1, 4; Pl. XIV/2; Pl. XVI/2, 4; Pl. XVII/1, 7; Pl. XVIII/1; Pl. XIX/2, 4, 5; Pl. XX/1, 4, 5; Pl. XXI/2, 4; Pl. XXII/4; Pl. XXIII/2; Pl. XXIV/3; Pl. XXV/1, 3, 4, 8; Pl. XXVI/2, 4, 6-8; Pl. XXVII/2, 5; Pl. XXVIII/1, 3, 7-9; Pl. XXIX/2, 7; Pl. XXX/1-3, 5; Pl. XXXI/1, 3, 6, 8, 13, 17; Pl. XXXII/1-7; Pl. XXXIII/1-4, 7, 8;
- coffee-like – Pl. I/5; Pl. II/3, 5; Pl. V/2; Pl. VIII/5; Pl. XII/4; Pl. XIV/1; Pl. XVII/2, 5; Pl. XVIII/3; Pl. XXIII/5; Pl. XXV/5; Pl. XXVI/5; Pl. XXVIII/4; Pl. XXIX/5; Pl. XXXI/2, 7, 9, 12; Pl. XXXII/8; Pl. XXXIII/5;
- light brown – Pl. I/3, 4, 6; Pl. V/5, 6; Pl. IX/3, 4; Pl. X/1-3; Pl. XII/3; Pl. XIII/3; Pl. XIV/3, 5, 6; Pl. XV/1-6; Pl. XVI/3; Pl. XVII/4, 10; Pl. XVIII/2; Pl. XIX/3; Pl. XX/2, 3; Pl. XXII/5, 7; Pl. XXIII/3, 6-10; Pl. XXIV/2, 4, 5; Pl. XXV/6; Pl. XXVI/3; Pl. XXVII/1, 4; Pl. XXVIII/2, 5, 6; Pl. XXIX/1, 3, 6; Pl. XXXI/4, 5, 11, 16; Pl. XXXIII/6;
- dark brown – Pl. VIII/2, 4; Pl. X/4; Pl. XVII/3; Pl. XXVII/3; Pl. XXIX/8, 9;
- reddish-brown – Pl. II/1, 7; Pl. V/10; Pl. XVII/9; Pl. XVIII/4, 5, 7, 8; Pl. XIX/1; Pl. XXI/3; Pl. XXII/1; Pl. XXIII/1, 4; Pl. XXV/2, 7; Pl. XXVI/1; Pl. XXVII/6; Pl. XXX/4; Pl. XXXI/15;
- greyish brown – Pl. II/2; Pl. V/ 1, 3, 8, 9; Pl. XII/5-7; Pl. XIII/2; Pl. XVI/1; Pl. XVII/6, 8; Pl. XXI/1; Pl. XXII/2; Pl. XXIV/1; Pl. XXIX/4;
- greyish – Pl. XXI/5; Pl. XXII/3; Pl. XXXI/4, 10;
- black greyish – Pl. II/6; Pl. VI/1-6; Pl. VII/1-3;
- *blacktopped* – Pl. III/4-6; Pl. IV/1-5; Pl. XIV/4; Pl. XVIII/6; Pl. XXII/6.



Graphic 6. Turdaş-Luncă. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Turdaş culture, phase III. Graphic with percentage analysis of smoothing of the ceramic materials.



Graphic 7. Turdaş-Luncă. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Turdaş culture, phase III. Graphic with percentage analysis of temper.

Regarding ornamentation, we notice an overwhelming majority of unornamented material (72%). The ornamented material is divided as follows, in big categories: incisions and stitches (short stitches, elongated or which together form the dotted-incised strip) 15%, incisions 8%, alveoli 1%, incisions and impressions (with fingertip or different objects) 1%, incisions, stitches and inlays 1%, painting 1% and lobes 1% with many combinations.

Ornaments register in the plates are as follows:

- "bitumen" black painting – Pl. II/2.
- reddish-brown painting associated with incisions (small altar fragment) – Pl. XXX/4.
- alveoli – Pl. IX/4 (on the lip of the vessel); Pl. XV/5.
- lobe on the lip of the vessel – Pl. XVIII/2; associated with 3 impressions under the lip – Pl. XXII/6.
- incisions – Pl. XXVII/1; Pl. XXVIII/3; Pl. XXIX/4; Pl. XXXI/5, 13, 16; Pl. XXXII/1; Pl. XXXIII/2, 4.
- short incisions – Pl. XXIX/2; Pl. XXXI/9; Pl. XXXIII/5;
- stitches – Pl. XXVIII/1.
- incisions and stitches – Pl. XXVI/6; Pl. XXVIII/2; Pl. XXXI/1-3.
- incisions, stitches and impressions made with an object – Pl. XXVII/3; Pl. XXIX/3.

- incised strips filled with stitches in Turdaş style – Pl. XXVII/6; Pl. XXVIII/4, 9; Pl. XXX/1, 3 (fragment altăraş); Pl. XXXI/4, 7, 10, 12, 14, 15, 17; Pl. XXXII/3, 7, 8; Pl. XXX/3.
- incised strips filled with elongated stitches in Turdaş style – Pl. XXVII/5.
- incised strips filled with short incisions in Turdaş style – Pl. XXVIII/7; Pl. XXXI/6, 11; Pl. XXXII/2, 4, 5; Pl. XXXIII/6, 7, 8.
- incised strips filled with short incisions inlays with white – Pl. XXVII/4.
- incised strips filled with elongated stitches and impressions made with an object – Pl. XXVII/2.
- incised strips filled with stitches and oblique incisions/parallel with the lip of the vessel - Pl. XXIX/5, 6, 7 (quadrilateral vessel), 8, 9; Pl. XXXI/8; Pl. XXXII/6; Pl. XXXIII/1.

Regarding the smoothing of the ceramic material, more than half of the analyzed material has a good smoothing (60%), being followed at a great distance by the poor smoothed material (23%) and an even smaller part of very good smoothed material (17%).

In the plates we have the following situation regarding the smoothing of the material:

- very good – Pl. I/3, 4; Pl. II/1-6; Pl. III/2-6; Pl. IV/1-5; Pl. VI/3-5; Pl. VII/2; Pl. XIV/1; Pl. XXI/2, 5; Pl. XXVI/4, 5, 7; Pl. XXXI/12; Pl. XXXII/3, 8; Pl. XXX/5-7;
- good – Pl. I/1, 2, 5, 6; Pl. II/7, 8; Pl. III/1; Pl. V/1, 3, 5-8; Pl. VI/1, 2, 6; Pl. VII/1, 3; Pl. VIII/1-5; Pl. IX/1, 2, 4; Pl. X/1-4; Pl. XI/1-3; Pl. XII/1-5, 7; Pl. XIII/1, 2, 4; Pl. XIV/2, 5, 6; Pl. XV/1, 3, 4, 6; Pl. XVI/1-4; Pl. XVII/2, 4, 6; Pl. XVIII/1, 2, 7; Pl. XIX/2-5; Pl. XX/1, 3, 4; Pl. XXI/1, 4; Pl. XXII/1, 3, 4, 7; Pl. XXIII/2, 4, 7, 9, 10; Pl. XXIV/1, 2, 4; Pl. XXV/1, 3, 6, 7; Pl. XXVI/1, 2; Pl. XXVII/1-3, 5, 6; Pl. XXVIII/1-3, 5, 7; Pl. XXIX/1-9; Pl. XXX/1, 2, 4, 5; Pl. XXXI/1-11, 14, 15, 17; Pl. XXXII/1, 2, 4-7; Pl. XXXIII/1-4, 8;
- poor – Pl. V/10; Pl. IX/3; Pl. XI/4; Pl. XII/6; Pl. XIII/3; Pl. XIV/3, 4; Pl. XV/2, 5; Pl. XVII/1, 3, 5, 7-10; Pl. XVIII/3-6, 8; Pl. XIX/1; Pl. XX/2, 5; Pl. XXI/3; Pl. XXII/2, 5, 6; Pl. XXIII/1, 3, 5, 6, 8; Pl. XXIV/3, 5; Pl. XXV/2, 4, 5, 8; Pl. XXVI/3, 6, 8; Pl. XXVII/4; Pl. XXVIII/4, 6, 8, 9; Pl. XXX/3; Pl. XXXI/13, 16.

Making an analysis of the temper from which the materials were made, we notice a great diversity: sand, silt (15%), fine sand, silt, mica (12%), large grain sand, pebbles, silt (9%), large grain sand, silt (8%), sand, silt and mica (7%), large grain sand, pebbles and large grain sand, silt and ochre (each combination with 6%), fine sand, silt and sand, silt and ochre (each combination with 5%), sand, mica (4%), fine sand and large grain sand, pebbles, ochre (each combination with 3%) and some combinations with 2% and 1%, represented in Graphic 7.

The temper present in plates I-XXXIII is following:

- fine sand – Pl. I/4; Pl. II/5; Pl. VI/3, 4;
- fine sand and silt – Pl. II/1, 4, 6; Pl. III/2; Pl. IV/1; Pl. V/3, 7, 9; Pl. VI/6; Pl. VII/2; Pl. XXV/5; Pl. XXVII/6; Pl. XXVIII/7; Pl. XXIX/1; Pl. XXX/3, 5; Pl. XXXI/1, 2, 4, 9, 12, 15; Pl. XXXIII/2, 7;

- fine sand, silt, and mica – Pl. I/1, 3; Pl. II/2, 3; Pl. III/6; Pl. IV/4, 5; Pl. VIII/2; Pl. XIV/1; Pl. XVIII/2; Pl. XXI/2; Pl. XXIV/3; Pl. XXVI/4, 5; Pl. XXVII/5; Pl. XXIX/2, 8, 9; Pl. XXX/2; Pl. XXXI/10, 11; Pl. XXXII/3; Pl. XXXIII/5.
- fine sand, ochre, and silt – Pl. V/2; Pl. VIII/3; Pl. XVI/2, Pl. XXVI/7; Pl. XXXII/6, 8.
- fine sand, silt, mica and ochre – Pl. IV/2; Pl. V/4, 6; Pl. XXXIII/3.
- sand and mica – Pl. III/3; Pl. VI/1, 2; Pl. VII/1, 3; Pl. VIII/5; Pl. IX/2; Pl. XXXI/14.
- sand and silt – Pl. III/1, 4, 5; Pl. V/5; Pl. VI/5; Pl. XXIII/7, Pl. XXVI/1, 6; Pl. XXVII/ 1, 3; Pl. XXVIII/1-4; Pl. XXIX/3; Pl. XXX/4; Pl. XXXI/3, 6; Pl. XXXIII/1, 6.
- sand, silt, and mica – Pl. XV/4; Pl. XVII/1, 2; Pl. XIX/4; Pl. XXI/5, Pl. XXIII/10; Pl. XXVI/2; Pl. XXVII/2, 4; Pl. XXIX/4-6; Pl. XXXI/8, 17; Pl. XXXII/1, 2, 4, 5, 7; Pl. XXXIII/8.
- sand, silt, and ochre – Pl. II/8; Pl. V/1; Pl. XVII/3, 9; Pl. XX/1, 6; Pl. XXXI/ 5.
- sand, pebbles, silt, and ochre - Pl. IX/3; Pl. XII/5, 7; Pl. XIII/3; Pl. XVIII/8.
- large grain sand - Pl. V/8; Pl. XII/3; Pl. XXI/3; Pl. XXII/4; Pl. XXIV/1.
- large grain sand, pebbles, ochre, and mica – Pl. VIII/1; Pl. XII/6; Pl. XX/4.
- large grain sand, pebbles, and ochre – Pl. V/10; Pl. IX/4; Pl. XI/2; Pl. XV/5; Pl. XVI/3; Pl. XVIII/3, 4; Pl. XIX/1, 3; Pl. XX/5; Pl. XXII/3, 9; Pl. XXIV/4; Pl. XXV/1; Pl. XXXI/16.
- large grain sand, silt, and mica – Pl. XI/1; Pl. XXX/1.
- large grain sand, pebbles, and mica – Pl. X/4; Pl. XIII/2; XIV/4; Pl. XX/2.
- large grain sand, silt, and ochre – Pl. XI/3; Pl. XIII/4; Pl. XVI/4; Pl. XVII/10; Pl. XXIII/5.
- large grain sand and ochre – Pl. II/7; Pl. XIV/2; Pl. XVII/4; Pl. XXIII/6; Pl. XXV/6; Pl. XXVIII/8;
- large grain sand and silt – Pl. I/6; Pl. IX/1; Pl. XII/2; Pl. XIII/1; Pl. XVIII/1; Pl. XIX/5; Pl. XXI/1; Pl. XXII/5; Pl. XXIII/2, 4, 8; Pl. XXIV/2, 5; Pl. XXV/3, 4; Pl. XXVI/8; Pl. XXVIII/5; Pl. XXXI/7, 17; Pl. XXXIII/4.
- large grain sand, pebbles and silt – Pl. I/5; Pl. X/1, 2; Pl. XI/4; Pl. XII/1, 4; Pl. XIV/3, 6; Pl. XV/2, 6; Pl. XVI/1; Pl. XVII/7, 8; Pl. XVIII/5; Pl. XIX/2; Pl. XXI/4; Pl. XXIII/1; Pl. XXV/8; Pl. XXVI/3; Pl. XXVIII/9.
- large grain sand and pebbles – Pl. I/2; Pl. X/3; Pl. XIV/5; Pl. XVII/5, 6; Pl. XVIII/7; Pl. XX/1, 3; Pl. XX/7; Pl. XXIII/3; Pl. XXV/2; Pl. XXVIII/6.
- mica and large grain sand – Pl. IV/3; Pl. VIII/4; Pl. XX/2; Pl. XXV/7.
- pebbles and silt – Pl. XV/1, 3; Pl. XVIII/6.

Also, from the graphic we notice that the fine sand can be found in combination with mica, ochre and silt and that it predominates in these combinations that we can see especially in fine ceramics.

We also notice that the large grain sand is found in most combinations together with pebbles, silt and ochre, combinations rendered in rough pottery that has a rough texture. In our analysis, sand – simple (it has a texture between fine

sand and large grain sand) is most often found in combination with pebbles, silt and ochre.

From this combination results, most of the times, a ceramic that we classified in the semi-fine category, from our observations being somewhat close to the fine one, the difference in classification consisting in the fact that the semi-fine ceramic has a more textured porous than the texture of the fine.

Morphological aspects of the ceramics from feature 959

In the following, we will present some of the material discovered in this feature, not being able to be presented at all, due to its richness.

Repertoire of the forms:

- circular button – Pl. XXX/1.

- unperforated handles:

- simple handle – Pl. V/7; Pl. VIII/1, 2; Pl. XII/1; Pl. XVIII/3, 5; Pl. XXII/4, 5, 7; Pl. XXIII/ 10; Pl. XXV/7; Pl. XXVII/4, 5; Pl. XXIX/ 8; Pl. XXXI/9.

- wavy handle, narrow – Pl. IX/1; Pl. XII/5, 6, 7; Pl. XV/6; Pl. XXV/2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

- narrow handle with an impression made with an object, under it – Pl. XVII/6.

- narrow handle with an impression made with an object, in her – Pl. XXV/5.

- simple handle, conical, wavy, with the tip up – Pl. XII/ 2, 3, 4; Pl. XV/2, 4; Pl. XVII/6.

- simple handle, conical, wavy, with the tip down – Pl. XV/1; Pl. XVIII/7; Pl. XXXII/7.

- perforated handles:

- beaked handle, horizontally perforated – Pl. III/1.

- handle with one horizontally perforation – Pl. VI/1; Pl. XXI/5; Pl.

XXIX/7.

- handle with one vertical perforation – Pl. XXVII/3; Pl. XXX/2.

- handle with two vertical perforations – Pl. III/3; Pl. VI/2; Pl.

XXI/2.

- small altar with two legs, unornamented – Pl. XXX/5.

- small altar with four legs (probably), decorated with oblique incised strips, filled with stitches – Pl. XXX/3.

- A₁ – bowl with walls at an angle of 45° – Pl. XXVII/5.

- A_{1a} – bowl with walls at an angle of 45°, quadrilateral – Pl. I/1; Pl. XVIII/2 (with lobe on the lip); Pl. XXIX/3.

- A_{1b} – bowl with walls at an angle of 45° with four alveolar protomes – Pl. XXX/4.

- A_{1d} – bowl with walls at an angle of 45° with handle under the lip – Pl. V/7.

- A₂ – bowl with walls at an angle greater then 45° – Pl. II/7, 8; Pl. III/5; Pl. IV/3-5; Pl. V/1, 6; Pl. IX/4; Pl. XIV/6; Pl. XVII/7; Pl. XXIII/6-8; Pl. XXVII/2.
- A_{2a} – bowl with walls at an angle greater then 45°, quadrilateral – Pl. XXIX/7.
- A_{2b} – bowl with walls at an angle greater then 45° – Pl. XXII/6 (lobe on the lip).
- A₄ – bowl with flared walls and arched inwards – Pl. XIV/5; Pl. XV/3, 4, 6; Pl. XVIII/3, 5, 7, 8; Pl. XIX/1; Pl. XX/1; Pl. XXII/3, 5, 7; Pl. XXV/1, 3-6, 8.
- A_{4a} – bowl with flared walls and arched inwards, with lobe – Pl. II/1.
- A_{4b} – bowl with flared walls and arched inwards, flat – Pl. III/6; Pl. V/2; Pl. XVII/5.
- A₅ – bowl with walls arched inwards – Pl. IV/2; Pl. XXVII/1, 4, 6.
- A₇ – bowl – Pl. IX/1; Pl. XII/5; Pl. XVII/6; Pl. XXIII/9; Pl. XXIV/1,4; Pl. XXV/2.
- B₂ – deep bowl with slightly arched walls – Pl. XV/1 (with handles), 5; Pl. XVI/1, 3, 4; Pl. XVII/9; Pl. XVIII/4; Pl. XXIII/2-4; Pl. XXIX/4-6, 8, 9.
- B₃ – deep bowl with arched walls – Pl. XII/1, 6; Pl. XIV/4; Pl. XV/2; Pl. XVIII/1; Pl. XXI/3.
- B₄ – deep bowl with arched walls making transition to globular forms – Pl. X/4; Pl. XII/7; Pl. XIII/1-3; Pl. XXI/4.
- D₁ – globular pot – Pl. III/4; Pl. XI/3, 4; Pl. XII/3, 4; Pl. XVII/8; Pl. XXIV/2, 3, 5.
- D₂ – globular pot with slightly arched lip – Pl. II/6; Pl. III/2; Pl. V/9; Pl. X/2; Pl. XI/2; Pl. XVII/4, 10; Pl. XIX/5; Pl. XX/3; Pl. XXI/1.
- D₃ – globular pot with slightly profiled lip and slightly elongated body – Pl. IV/1; Pl. IX/2; Pl. XXV/7.
- D₄ – globular pot with straight lip – Pl. I/3, 5; Pl. V/10; Pl. VI/3.
- E₂ – tall pot with domed belly and flared lip – Pl. XXIX/1 (miniatured vessel);
- F₁ – amphora with elongated walls and straight lip – Pl. XIV/2, 3; Pl. XVII/2.
- F₂ – amphora with elongated walls and profiled lip – Pl. II/3-5; Pl. XIII/4; Pl. XIV/1; Pl. XX/2-4;
- G₁ – „fish tray”, oval, with oblique walls – Pl. VIII/3, 4 (with drain or wick mouth), 5.
- G₂ – „fish tray”, oval, with arched walls and handles – Pl. VIII/1, 2; Pl. IX/3; Pl. XXIII/10.
- H₁ – plate with slightly sloping walls – Pl. V/3; Pl. VII/2, 3; Pl. XXIII/5.
- H₂ – plate with flared walls, slightly arched and profiled bottom – Pl. V/4; Pl. XVI/2.
- I_{1b} –leg with very short spindle– Pl. XXVI/1, 8.

- I₂ –massive vessel foot with arched pedestal inwards – Pl. XXVI/5.
- I_{4a} – foot with widened pedestal – Pl. XXVI/4.
- I₅ –leg with circular pedestal and slightly pronounced hollow – Pl. XXVI/2, 7.
- K₂ – miniatures vessel, bowl type A₁ – Pl. V/5; Pl. XXIII/1.
- K₃ – miniatures vessel, bowl type A₂ – Pl. XXII/1, 2.

We consider it necessary to mention the fact that one of the "fish trays" has a band of soot around the lip (inside) and the drain (Plate VIII/4), which may lead us to think of a used vessel to the lighting, which, in the area of the drain, had a burning wick.

Plates XXXI, XXXII, XXXIII, contain largely ornamented ceramic fragments that could not help us determine the exact shape of the vessel of which they were part.

The materials belonging to the Turdaş culture presented can be partially included in the catalog made in the doctoral thesis of our late colleague Nițu Florina Maria, entitled *Aspecte tehnologice privind ceramica culturii Vinča din Transilvania*, built under the coordination of S.A. Luca¹⁴ but also in other typologies that we used in this paper¹⁵.

The author mentioned above is the one who also took care of other features belonging to the Turdaş culture, from this site, analyzing approximately 27000 ceramic fragments¹⁶.

¹⁴ For ceramic typology see Sabin Adrian Luca, *Așezări neolitice pe valea Mureșului (II)*, Pl. I-V.

¹⁵ Sabin Adrian Luca, *Așezări neolitice pe valea Mureșului (II)*, Pl. 1-5

¹⁶ Florentina M. Nițu, *Aspecte tehnologice privind ceramica culturii Vinča din Transilvania*, (PhD Thesis), (Sibiu: Universitatea "Lucian Blaga" din Sibiu, 2012), 57-84; Sabin Adrian Luca, *Cercetările arheologice preventive de la Turdaş-Luncă*, 55-73.

Description of the ceramic material

Plate I

1. Fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: light brown; temper: fine sand, silt, mica; good smoothing; good firing; quadrilateral pot.
2. Rough category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: large grain sand, pebbles; good smoothing; poor firing.
3. Fine category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: greyish; temper: fine sand, silt, mica; very good smoothing (polishing traces); good firing.
4. Fine category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: dark brown; temper: fine sand; very good smoothing; very good firing.
5. Semi-fine category; exterior color: coffee-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: large grain sand, pebbles, silt; good smoothing; good firing.
6. Semi-fine category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: greyish; temper: large grain sand, silt; good smoothing; good firing.

Plate II

1. Fine category; exterior color: reddish-brown; interior color: reddish-brown; temper: fine sand, silt; very good smoothing; good firing.
2. Fine category; exterior color: greyish brown; interior color: greyish brown; temper: fine sand, silt, mica; very good smoothing (slip traces); very good firing; decoration: traces of bitumen painting.
3. Fine category; exterior color: coffee-like; interior color: coffee-like; temper: fine sand, silt, mica; very good smoothing; very good firing.
4. Fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: fine sand, silt; very good smoothing; good firing.
5. Fine category; exterior color: coffee-like; interior color: whitish-coffee-like; temper: fine sand; very good smoothing; good firing.
6. Fine category; exterior color: black greyish; interior color: black greyish; temper: fine sand, silt; very good smoothing (polishing traces); good firing.
7. Semi-fine category; exterior color: reddish-brown; interior color: light brown; temper: large grain sand, ochre; good smoothing; good firing.
8. Fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: sand, silt, ochre; good smoothing; good firing.

Plate III

1. Semi-fine category; exterior color: brick-like in the lower part with black greyish in the upper part (*blacktopped*); interior color: whitish-coffee-like; temper: sand, silt; good smoothing; good firing.
2. Fine category; exterior color: brick-like in the lower part with black greyish in the upper part (*blacktopped*); interior color: black greyish; temper: fine sand, silt; very good smoothing; very good firing.

3. Fine category; exterior color: brick-like in the lower part with black greyish in the upper part (*blacktopped*); interior color: black greyish; temper: sand, mica; very good smoothing (polishing traces in the upper part); very good firing.
4. Fine category; exterior color: coffee-like in the lower part with greyish in upper part (*blacktopped*); interior color: greyish; temper: sand, silt; very good smoothing; very good firing.
5. Fine category; exterior color: brick-like in the lower part with black greyish in upper part (*blacktopped*); interior color: black greyish; temper: sand, silt; very good smoothing; very good firing.
6. Fine category; exterior color: coffee-like in the lower part with black greyish in the upper part (*blacktopped*); interior color: black greyish; temper: fine sand, silt, mica; very good smoothing; very good firing.

Plate IV

1. Fine category; exterior color: brick-like in the lower part with dark greyish in the upper part (*blacktopped*); interior color: black greyish; temper: fine sand, silt; very good smoothing; good firing.
2. Fine category; exterior color: coffee-like in the lower part with black greyish in the upper part (*blacktopped*); interior color: coffee-like; temper: fine sand, silt, mica, ochre; very good smoothing; very good firing.
3. Fine category; exterior color: light brown in the lower part with black greyish in the upper part (*blacktopped*); interior color: black greyish; temper: mica, large grain sand; very good smoothing; good firing.
4. Fine category; exterior color: brick-like in the lower part with black greyish in the upper part (*blacktopped*); interior color: black greyish; temper: fine sand, silt, mica; very good smoothing; very good firing.
5. Fine category; exterior color: brick-like in the lower part with black greyish in the upper part (*blacktopped*); interior color: black greyish; temper: fine sand, silt, mica; very good smoothing; very good firing.

Plate V

1. Fine category; exterior color: greyish brown; interior color: brick-like; temper: sand, silt, ochre; good smoothing; good firing.
2. Fine category; exterior color: coffee-like; interior color: coffee-like; temper: fine sand, ochre, silt; very good smoothing; very good firing.
3. Fine category; exterior color: greyish brown; interior color: dark brown; temper: fine sand, silt; good smoothing; good firing.
4. Fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: fine sand, silt, mica, ochre; very good smoothing; very good firing.
5. Fine category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: brick-like; temper: sand, silt; good smoothing; good firing.
6. Fine category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: light brown; temper: fine sand, silt, mica, ochre; good smoothing; good firing.

7. Fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: fine sand, silt; good smoothing; very good firing.
8. Semi-fine category; exterior color: greyish brown; interior color: greyish brown; temper: large grain sand; good smoothing; good firing; decoration: impressions made with nail and finger on the rim.
9. Fine category; exterior color: greyish brown; interior color: light brown; temper: fine sand, silt; very good smoothing; very good firing.
10. Rough category; exterior color: reddish-brown; interior color: brick-like; temper: large grain sand, pebbles, ochre; poor smoothing; poor firing.

Plate VI

1. Fine category; exterior color: black greyish; interior color: black greyish; temper: sand, mica; good smoothing; good firing.
2. Fine category; exterior color: black greyish; interior color: black greyish; temper: sand, mica; good smoothing; good firing.
3. Fine category; exterior color: black greyish; interior color: black greyish; temper: fine sand; very good smoothing (polished); very good firing.
4. Fine category; exterior color: black greyish; interior color: black greyish; temper: fine sand; very good smoothing (polished); very good firing.
5. Fine category; exterior color: black greyish; interior color: black greyish; temper: sand, silt; very good smoothing; good firing.
6. Fine category; exterior color: black greyish; interior color: black greyish; temper: fine sand, silt; good smoothing; good firing.

Plate VII

1. Fine category; exterior color: black greyish; interior color: black greyish; temper: sand, mica; good smoothing; good firing.
2. Fine category; exterior color: black greyish; interior color: black greyish; temper: fine sand, silt; very good smoothing (polished); good firing.
3. Fine category; exterior color: black greyish; interior color: light brown; temper: sand, mica; good smoothing; good firing.

Plate VIII

1. Rough category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: large grain sand, pebbles, ochre, mica; good smoothing; good firing.
2. Fine category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: greyish; temper: fine sand, silt, mica; very good smoothing; good firing.
3. Fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: fine sand, ochre, silt; good smoothing; good firing.
4. Rough category; exterior color: dark brown; interior color: dark brown; temper: large grain sand, mica; good smoothing; good firing (inside is a soot band, in the upper part).

5. Semi-fine category; exterior color: coffee-like; interior color: dark brown; temper: sand, mica; good smoothing; good firing.

Plate IX

1. Semi-fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: large grain sand, silt; good smoothing; good firing.
2. Semi-fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: sand, mica; good smoothing; good firing.
3. Rough category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: dark brown; temper: sand, pebbles, silt, ochre; poor smoothing; good firing.
4. Semi-fine category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: dark brown; temper: large grain sand, pebbles, ochre; good smoothing; good firing; decoration: impressions on the rim.

Plate X

1. Rough category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: light brown; temper: large grain sand, pebbles, silt; good smoothing; good firing.
2. Rough category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: light brown; temper: large grain sand, pebbles, silt; good smoothing; good firing.
3. Rough category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: dark brown; temper: large grain sand, pebbles; good smoothing; poor firing.
4. Rough category; exterior color: dark brown; interior color: greyish brown; temper: large grain sand, pebbles, mica; good smoothing; good firing.

Plate XI

1. Rough category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: large grain sand, silt, mica; good smoothing; good firing.
2. Rough category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: large grain sand, pebbles, ochre; good smoothing; good firing.
3. Rough category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: light brown; temper: large grain sand, silt, ochre; good smoothing; good firing.
4. Rough category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: large grain sand, pebbles, silt; poor smoothing; good firing.

Plate XII

1. Rough category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: large grain sand, pebbles, silt; good smoothing; good firing.
2. Rough category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: large grain sand, silt; good smoothing; good firing.
3. Rough category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: light brown; temper: large grain sand; good smoothing; good firing.
4. Rough category; exterior color: coffee-like; interior color: coffee-like; temper: large grain sand, pebbles, silt; good smoothing; good firing.

5. Rough category; exterior color: greyish brown; interior color: greyish brown; temper: large grain sand, pebbles, silt, ochre; good smoothing; good firing.
6. Rough category; exterior color: greyish brown; interior color: brick-like; temper: large grain sand, pebbles, ochre, mica; poor smoothing; good firing.
7. Rough category; exterior color: greyish brown; interior color: coffee-like; temper: large grain sand, pebbles, silt, ochre; good smoothing; good firing.

Plate XIII

1. Rough category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: large grain sand, pebbles, silt; good smoothing; good firing.
2. Rough category; exterior color: greyish brown; interior color: reddish-brown; temper: large grain sand, pebbles, mica; good smoothing; good firing.
3. Rough category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: light brown; temper: large grain sand, pebbles, silt, ochre; poor smoothing; good firing.
4. Rough category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: large grain sand, pebbles, silt, ochre; good smoothing; good firing.

Plate XIV

1. Fine category; exterior color: coffee-like; interior color: whitish-coffee-like; temper: fine sand, silt, mica; very good smoothing; good firing.
2. Rough category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: large grain sand, pebbles, ochre; good smoothing; good firing.
3. Rough category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: light brown; temper: large grain sand, pebbles, silt; poor smoothing; good firing.
4. Rough category; exterior color: reddish in the lower part with dark-greyish in the upper part (*blacktopped*); interior color: greyish; temper: large grain sand, pebbles, mica; poor smoothing; good firing.
5. Rough category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: light brown; temper: large grain sand, pebbles; good smoothing; good firing.
6. Rough category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: brick-like; temper: large grain sand, pebbles, silt; good smoothing; good firing.

Plate XV

1. Semi-fine category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: coffee-like; temper: pebbles, silt; good smoothing; good firing.
2. Rough category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: light brown; temper: large grain sand, pebbles, silt; poor smoothing; good firing.
3. Semi-fine category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: light brown; temper: pebbles, silt; good smoothing; good firing.
4. Semi-fine category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: coffee-like; temper: sand, silt, mica; good smoothing; good firing.

5. Rough category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: dark brown; temper: large grain sand, pebbles, ochre; poor smoothing; good firing; decoration: small alveoli on the rim.

6. Rough category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: light brown; temper: large grain sand, pebbles, silt; good smoothing; good firing.

Plate XVI

1. Rough category; exterior color: greyish brown; interior color: light brown; temper: large grain sand, pebbles, silt; good smoothing; good firing.

2. Fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: whitish-coffee-like; temper: fine sand, ochre, silt; good smoothing; good firing.

3. Rough category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: dark brown; temper: large grain sand, pebbles, ochre; good smoothing; good firing.

4. Rough category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: large grain sand, silt, ochre; good smoothing; good firing.

Plate XVII

1. Rough category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: reddish-brown; temper: sand, silt, mica; poor smoothing; poor firing.

2. Semi-fine category; exterior color: coffee-like; interior color: coffee-like; temper: sand, silt, mica; good smoothing; good firing.

3. Semi-fine category; exterior color: dark brown; interior color: coffee-like; temper: sand, silt, ochre; poor smoothing; poor firing.

4. Rough category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: dark brown; temper: large grain sand, ochre; good smoothing; good firing.

5. Rough category; exterior color: coffee-like; interior color: dark brown; temper: large grain sand, pebbles; poor smoothing; good firing.

6. Rough category; exterior color: greyish brown; interior color: light brown; temper: large grain sand, pebbles; good smoothing; good firing; decoration: impression made with an object.

7. Semi-fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: light brown; temper: large grain sand, pebbles, silt; poor smoothing; good firing.

8. Rough category; exterior color: greyish brown; interior color: brick-like; temper: large grain sand, pebbles, silt; poor smoothing; good firing.

9. Semi-fine category; exterior color: reddish-brown; interior color: brick-like; temper: sand, silt, ochre; poor smoothing; good firing.

10. Rough category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: brick-like; temper: large grain sand, silt, ochre; poor smoothing; good firing.

Plate XVIII

1. Rough category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: large grain sand, silt; good smoothing; good firing.

2. Fine category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: light brown; temper: fine sand, silt, mica; good smoothing; good firing. (quadrilateral)
3. Rough category; exterior color: coffee-like; interior color: light brown; temper: large grain sand, pebbles; poor smoothing; good firing.
4. Rough category; exterior color: reddish-brown; interior color: dark brown; temper: large grain sand, pebbles; poor smoothing; poor firing.
5. Rough category; exterior color: reddish-brown; interior color: brick-like ; temper: large grain sand, pebbles, silt; poor smoothing; poor firing.
6. Semi-fine category; exterior color: brick-like in the lower part with dark brown in the upper part (*blacktopped*); interior color: whitish-coffee-like; temper: pebbles, silt; poor smoothing; good firing.
7. Rough category; exterior color: reddish-brown; interior color: light brown; temper: large grain sand, pebbles; good smoothing; good firing.
8. Semi-fine category; exterior color: reddish-brown; interior color: dark brown; temper: sand, pebbles, silt, ochre; poor smoothing; good firing.

Plate XIX

1. Rough category; exterior color: reddish-brown; interior color: reddish-brown; temper: large grain sand, pebbles, ochre; poor smoothing; good firing.
2. Rough category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: large grain sand, pebbles, silt; good smoothing; good firing.
3. Rough category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: light brown; temper: large grain sand, pebbles, ochre; good smoothing; good firing.
4. Semi-fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: sand, silt, mica; good smoothing; good firing.
5. Rough category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: large grain sand, silt; good smoothing; good firing.

Plate XX

1. Rough category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: light brown; temper: large grain sand, pebbles; good smoothing; good firing.
2. Semi-fine category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: coffee-like with black firing mark; temper: mica, large grain sand; poor smoothing; good firing.
3. Rough category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: light brown; temper: large grain sand, pebbles; poor smoothing; good firing.
4. Rough category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: large grain sand, pebbles, ochre, mica; good smoothing; good firing.
5. Rough category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: large grain sand, silt, pebbles, ochre; poor smoothing; good firing.

Plate XXI

1. Rough category; exterior color: greyish brown; interior color: brick-like; temper: large grain sand, silt; good smoothing; good firing.

2. Fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: black greyish; temper: fine sand, silt, mica; very good smoothing; good firing.
3. Rough category; exterior color: reddish-brown; interior color: brick-like; temper: large grain sand; poor smoothing; good firing.
4. Rough category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: large grain sand, pebbles, silt; good smoothing; good firing.
5. Semi-fine category; exterior color: greyish; interior color: brick-like; temper: sand, silt, mica; very good smoothing; good firing.

Plate XXII

1. Semi-fine category; exterior color: reddish-brown; interior color: brick-like; temper: sand, silt ochre; good smoothing; good firing.
2. Rough category; exterior color: greyish brown; interior color: light brown; temper: large grain sand, pebbles, mica; poor smoothing; poor firing.
3. Rough category; exterior color: greyish; interior color: reddish-brown; temper: large grain sand, pebbles, ochre; good smoothing; good firing.
4. Semi-fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: greyish brown; temper: large grain sand; poor smoothing; good firing.
5. Rough category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: greyish; temper: large grain sand, silt; poor smoothing; good firing.
6. Fine category; exterior color: brick-like in the lower part with black greyish in the upper part (*blacktopped*); interior color: brick-like; temper: sand, silt, ochre; poor smoothing; good firing; decoration: lob and three impressions, under the rim.
7. Rough category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: dark brown; temper: large grain sand, pebbles; good smoothing; good firing.

Plate XXIII

1. Rough category; exterior color: reddish-brown; interior color: dark brown; temper: large grain sand, pebbles, silt; poor smoothing; good firing.
2. Rough category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: large grain sand, silt; good smoothing; good firing.
3. Rough category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: light brown; temper: large grain sand, pebbles; poor smoothing; good firing.
4. Rough category; exterior color: reddish-brown; interior color: brick-like; temper: large grain sand, silt; good smoothing; good firing.
5. Rough category; exterior color: whitish-coffee-like; interior color: whitish-coffee-like; temper: large grain sand, silt, ochre; poor smoothing; good firing.
6. Fine category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: brick-like; temper: fine sand, silt; poor smoothing; good firing.
7. Fine category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: light brown; temper: sand, silt; good smoothing; good firing.

8. Rough category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: light brown; temper: large grain sand, silt; poor smoothing; good firing.
9. Rough category; exterior color: light brown with dark-greyish firing mark; interior color: black greyish; temper: large grain sand, pebbles; good smoothing; good firing.
10. Rough category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: light brown; temper: sand, silt, mica; good smoothing; good firing.

Plate XXIV

1. Rough category; exterior color: greyish brown; interior color: dark brown; temper: large grain sand; good smoothing; good firing.
2. Rough category; exterior color: dark brown; interior color: light brown; temper: large grain sand, silt; good smoothing; good firing.
3. Fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: fine sand, silt, mica; poor smoothing; good firing.
4. Rough category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: light brown; temper: large grain sand, pebbles, ochre; good smoothing; good firing.
5. Rough category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: whitish-coffee-like; temper: large grain sand, silt; poor smoothing; good firing.

Plate XXV

1. Rough category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: large grain sand, pebbles, ochre; good smoothing; good firing.
2. Rough category; exterior color: reddish-brown; interior color: dark brown; temper: large grain sand, pebbles; poor smoothing; poor firing.
3. Rough category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: large grain sand, silt; good smoothing; good firing.
4. Rough category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: greyish brown; temper: large grain sand, silt; poor smoothing; good firing.
5. Fine category; exterior color: coffee-like; interior color: coffee-like; temper: fine sand, silt; poor smoothing; good firing.
6. Rough category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: light brown; temper: large grain sand, ochre; good smoothing; good firing.
7. Rough category; exterior color: reddish-brown; interior color: light brown; temper: mica, large grain sand; good smoothing; good firing.
8. Rough category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: greyish brown; temper: large grain sand, pebbles, silt; poor smoothing; good firing.

Plate XXVI

1. Semi-fine category; exterior color: reddish-brown; interior color: brick-like; temper: sand, silt; good smoothing; good firing.
2. Fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: black greyish; temper: sand, silt, mica; good smoothing; good firing.

3. Rough category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: dark brown; temper: large grain sand, pebbles, silt; poor smoothing; poor firing.
4. Fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: black greyish; temper: fine sand, silt, mica; very good smoothing; very good firing.
5. Fine category; exterior color: coffee-like; interior color: whitish-coffee-like; temper: fine sand, silt, mica; very good smoothing; very good firing.
6. Semi-fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: black greyish; temper: sand, silt; poor smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions, short incisions.
7. Fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: dark brown; temper: fine sand, ochre, silt; very good smoothing; very good firing.
8. Rough category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: large grain sand, silt; poor smoothing; poor firing.

Plate XXVII

1. Semi-fine category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: light brown; temper: sand, silt; good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions.
2. Semi-fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: sand, silt, mica; good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions, impressions (made with an object).
3. Fine category; exterior color: dark brown; interior color: black greyish; temper: sand, silt; good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions, elongated stitches, impressions (with an object).
4. Semi-fine category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: light brown; temper: sand, silt, mica; poor smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions, elongated stitches, inlays (white).
5. Fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: greyish; temper: fine sand, silt, mica; good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions, short incisions.
6. Fine category; exterior color: reddish-brown; interior color: reddish-brown; temper: fine sand, silt; good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions, stitches.

Plate XXVIII

1. Semi-fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: dark brown; temper: sand, silt; good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions, stitches.
2. Semi-fine category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: light brown; temper: sand, silt; good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions.
3. Semi-fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: coffee-like; temper: sand, silt; good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions.
4. Semi-fine category; exterior color: coffee-like; interior color: dark brown; temper: sand, silt; poor smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions, impressions made with an object.
5. Semi-fine category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: coffee-like; temper: large grain sand, silt; good smoothing; good firing.

6. Rough category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: dark brown; temper: large grain sand, pebbles; poor smoothing; good firing.
7. Fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: fine sand, silt; good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions.
8. Rough category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: greyish brown; temper: large grain sand, ochre; poor smoothing; poor firing.
9. Rough category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: large grain sand, pebbles, silt; poor smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions, stitches.

Plate XXIX

1. Semi-fine category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: light brown; temper: fine sand, silt; good smoothing; good firing.
2. Fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: fine sand, silt, mica; good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions.
3. Semi-fine category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: dark brown; temper: sand, silt; good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions, stitches.
4. Fine category; exterior color: greyish brown; interior color: greyish brown; temper: sand, silt, mica; good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions.
5. Semi-fine category; exterior color: coffee-like; interior color: greyish; temper: sand, silt, mica; good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions.
6. Fine category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: brick-like; temper: sand, silt, mica; brown; good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions, elongated stitches.
7. Semi-fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: sand, silt; good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions, stitches.
8. Fine category; exterior color: dark brown; interior color: dark brown; temper: fine sand, silt, mica; good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions.
9. Fine category; exterior color: dark brown; interior color: brick-like; temper: fine sand, silt, mica; good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions.

Plate XXX

1. Semi-fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: large grain sand, silt, mica; good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions.
2. Fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: fine sand, silt, mica; good smoothing; good firing.
3. Fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: light brown; temper: fine sand, silt; poor smoothing; poor firing; decoration: incisions.
4. Semi-fine category; exterior color: reddish-brown; interior color: brick-like; temper: sand, silt; good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions, traces of reddish-brown painting.
5. Fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: greyish brown; temper: fine sand, silt; very good smoothing, good firing.

Plate XXXI

1. Semi-fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: fine sand, silt; good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions, elongated stitches.
2. Fine category; exterior color: coffee-like; interior color: coffee-like; temper: fine sand, silt; good smoothing; poor firing; decoration: incisions, stitches.
3. Semi-fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: sand, silt; good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions.
4. Fine category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: black greyish; temper: fine sand, silt; good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions, elongated stitches.
5. Semi-fine category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: brown; temper: sand, silt, ochre; good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions.
6. Semi-fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: sand, silt; good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions.
7. Semi-fine category; exterior color: coffee-like; interior color: greyish; temper: large grain sand, silt; good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions, elongated stitches.
8. Fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: sand, silt, mica; good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions.
9. Fine category; exterior color: coffee-like; interior color: light brown; temper: fine sand, silt; good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions.
10. Fine category; exterior color: greyish; interior color: dark brown; temper: fine sand, silt, mica, ochre; good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions.
11. Fine category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: coffee-like; temper: fine sand, silt, mica; good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions.
12. Fine category; exterior color: coffee-like; interior color: coffee-like; temper: fine sand, silt; very good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions, stitches.
13. Rough category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: large grain sand, silt; poor smoothing; poor firing; decoration: incisions.
14. Semi-fine category; exterior color: greyish; interior color: greyish; temper: sand, mica; good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions, elongated stitches.
15. Fine category; exterior color: reddish-brown; interior color: dark brown; temper: fine sand, silt; good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions.
16. Rough category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: light brown; temper: large grain sand, pebbles, ochre; poor smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions.
17. Fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: sand, silt, mica; good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions, stitches.

Plate XXXII

1. Semi-fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: sand, silt, mica; good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions.
2. Semi-fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: sand, silt, mica; good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions.
3. Fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: fine sand, silt, mica; very good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions.
4. Semi-fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: sand, silt, mica; good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions, stitches.
5. Semi-fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: sand, silt, mica; good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions.
6. Fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: coffee-like; temper: fine sand, ochre, silt; good smoothing; poor smoothing; decoration: incisions.
7. Semi-fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: sand, silt, mica; good smoothing; very good firing; decoration: incisions, elongated stitches.
8. Fine category; exterior color: coffee-like; interior color: coffee-like; temper: fine sand, ochre, silt; very good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions, elongated stitches.

Plate XXXIII

1. Semi-fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: sand, silt; good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions.
2. Fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: fine sand, silt; good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions.
3. Fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: fine sand, silt, mica, ochre; good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions, elongated stitches.
4. Semi-fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: large grain sand, silt; good smoothing; poor firing; decoration: incisions.
5. Fine category; exterior color: coffee-like; interior color: coffee-like; temper: fine sand, silt, mica; very good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions.
6. Fine category; exterior color: light brown; interior color: brick-like; temper: sand, silt; very good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions.
7. Fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: brick-like; temper: fine sand, silt; very good smoothing; very good firing; decoration: incisions.
8. Semi-fine category; exterior color: brick-like; interior color: coffee-like; temper: sand, silt, mica; good smoothing; good firing; decoration: incisions.

Some conclusions

This paper was made to present some aspects captured during the preventive excavation at Turdaş-*Luncă* carried out in 2011, on the occasion of the construction of the Deva-Orăştie highway sector. Among these aspects is the

analysis of the feature 959 but also its relationship to the structures (structure 9, 12-14, 21-22) around it.

From a technological point of view, the identified pottery falls within the Neolithic patterns, being made of coils, more precisely within phase III of Turdaş culture (but also with rare older elements).

All this analysis provided us with the predominant colors of the ceramics in this feature, namely light colors such as: brick-like, light brown, brown, reddish, and less often darker colors such as dark brown, black greyish.

From the temper graphic (Graphic 7) we observe three main categories of temper (sand and silt; large grain sand, pebbles, and silt; fine sand, silt and mica) practically being the combinations that give us the three types of ceramic categories (fine, semi-fine and rough) from where we notice the presence of the silt to a large extent.

Regarding ornamentation (Graphic 5), 72% of the material present in feature 959 is unornamented. The remaining 28% are from this point of view in the register of ornaments of the Turdaş culture.

Related to the dotted-incised strip, a diversification is observed, with strips filled with stitches which become longer and wider.

As mention above, feature 959 is surrounded by several dwelling structures, together forming a group composed of:

- structure 9 (C. 902a-e; C. 903a-e; C. 947; C. 948; C. 949; C. 951b-g; C. 953; C. 956; C.957; C. 957b; C. 958);
- structure 12 (C. 968; C. 969a-f; C. 970b-f; C. 971a-c; C. 986a);
- structure 13 (C. 972a-b; C. 983a, c, e, g, i; C. 984a, b, d, e);
- structure 14 (C. 955; C. 965a-d; C. 966-a; C. 967a-d);
- structure 21 (C. 960a-h; C. 961a-f; C. 1454; C. 1455);
- structure 22 (C. 973a-d; C. 973f; C. 973i; C. 973j; C. 1350; C. 1351; C. 1352; C. 1359; C. 1360; C. 1361);

In Plans 3-4 we have a proposal for the grouping of structures, as we observed it. From what we see in the plan, we can conclude that in sector C we encounter – at a moment – a systematization of the area, on "neighborhoods/markets" or – why not – on family groups, all being part of a possible prehistoric city with several moments – certain – of inhabitation.

Illustration list

Plans

- Plan 1.** Sectors of the Turdaş site and the fortification system – the yellow lines represent approximations.
- Plan 2.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Turdaş culture III. Identifying the feature within the sector.
- Plan 3.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Turdaş culture III – grouping of structures (with purple).
- Plan 4.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Grouping of structures (9, 12-14, 21-22).

Photos

- Photo 1.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Turdaş culture, phase III – section view.
- Photo 2.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Turdaş culture, phase III – image after emptying.

Drawings

- Drawing 1.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Turdaş culture, phase III – drawing after emptying.
- Drawing 2.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Turdaş culture, phase III – drawing with section view.

Graphics

- Graphic 1.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Turdaş culture, phase III. Graphic with percentage analysis of ceramic categories.
- Graphic 2.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Turdaş culture, phase III. Graphic with percentage analysis of firing categories.
- Graphic 3.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Turdaş culture, phase III. Graphic with percentage analysis of exterior color of the ceramic materials.
- Graphic 4.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Turdaş culture, phase III. Graphic with percentage analysis of interior color of the ceramic materials.
- Graphic 5.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Turdaş culture, phase III. Graphic with percentage analysis of decoration of the ceramic materials.
- Graphic 6.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Turdaş culture, phase III. Graphic with percentage analysis of smoothing of the ceramic materials.
- Graphic 7.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Turdaş culture, phase III. Graphic with percentage analysis of temper.

Maps

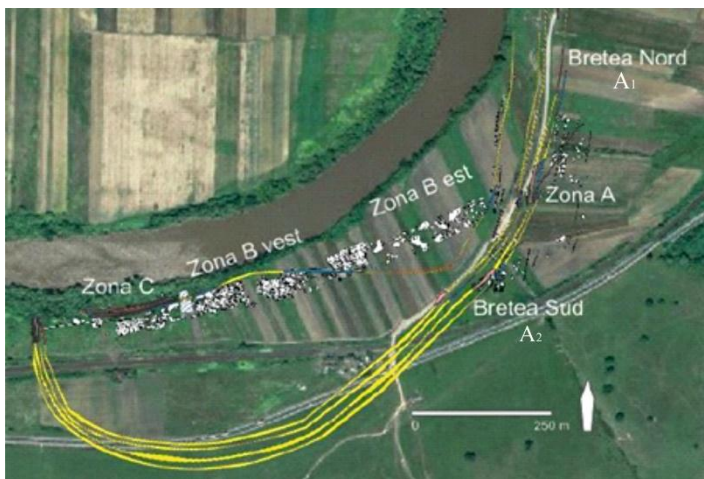
Map 1. Settlement from Turdaş-*Luncă*. Perimeter of the researched surface (Josephin map).

Map 2. Settlement from Turdaş-*Luncă*. Overview of the area researched in 2011.

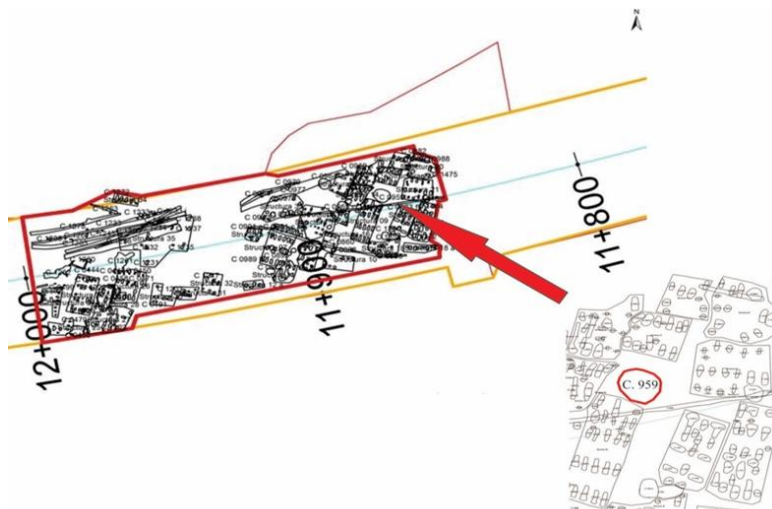
Plates

- Pl. I.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaş culture, phase III.
- Pl. II.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaş culture, phase III.
- Pl. III.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaş culture, phase III.
- Pl. IV.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaş culture, phase III.
- Pl. V.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaş culture, phase III.
- Pl. VI.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaş culture, phase III.
- Pl. VII.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaş culture, phase III.
- Pl. VIII.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaş culture, phase III.
- Pl. IX.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaş culture, phase III.
- Pl. X.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaş culture, phase III.
- Pl. XI.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaş culture, phase III.
- Pl. XII.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaş culture, phase III.
- Pl. XIII.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaş culture, phase III.
- Pl. XIV.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaş culture, phase III.
- Pl. XV.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaş culture, phase III.
- Pl. XVI.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaş culture, phase III.
- Pl. XVII.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaş culture, phase III.
- Pl. XVIII.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaş culture, phase III.

- Pl. XIX.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaş culture, phase III.
- Pl. XX.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaş culture, phase III.
- Pl. XXI.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaş culture, phase III.
- Pl. XXII.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaş culture, phase III.
- Pl. XXIII.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaş culture, phase III.
- Pl. XXIV.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaş culture, phase III.
- Pl. XXV.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaş culture, phase III.
- Pl. XXVI.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaş culture, phase III.
- Pl. XXVII.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaş culture, phase III.
- Pl. XXVIII.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaş culture, phase III.
- Pl. XXIX.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaş culture, phase III.
- Pl. XXX.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaş culture, phase III.
- Pl. XXXI.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaş culture, phase III.
- Pl. XXXII.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaş culture, phase III.
- Pl. XXXIII.** Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaş culture, phase III.



Plan 1. Sectors of the Turdaș site and the fortification system – the yellow lines represent approximations (Luca 2012, 33, Foto 3; Luca, Suci 2015, 43, Photo 1; Palaghie 2020 (manuscript)).



Plan 2. Turdaș-Luncă. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Turdaș culture III. Identifying the feature within the sector.

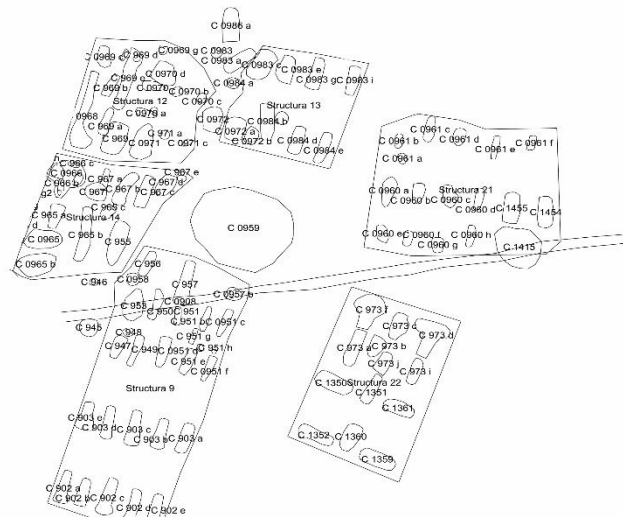
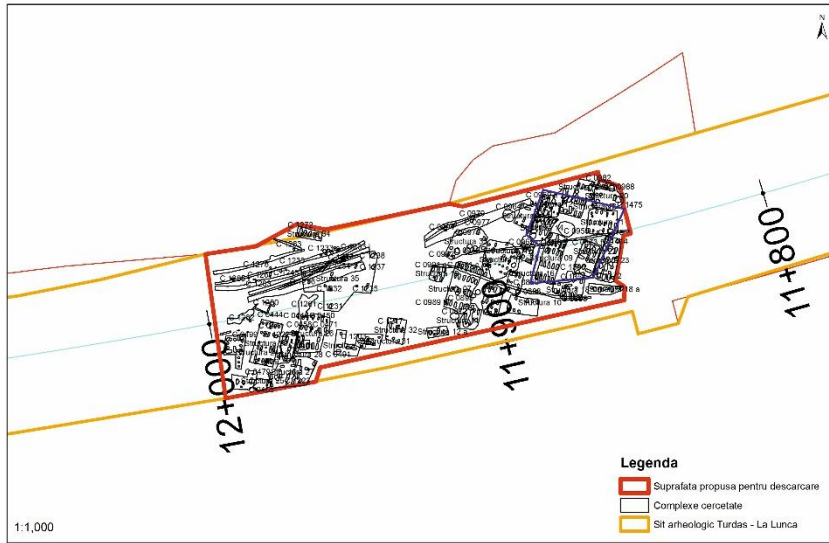
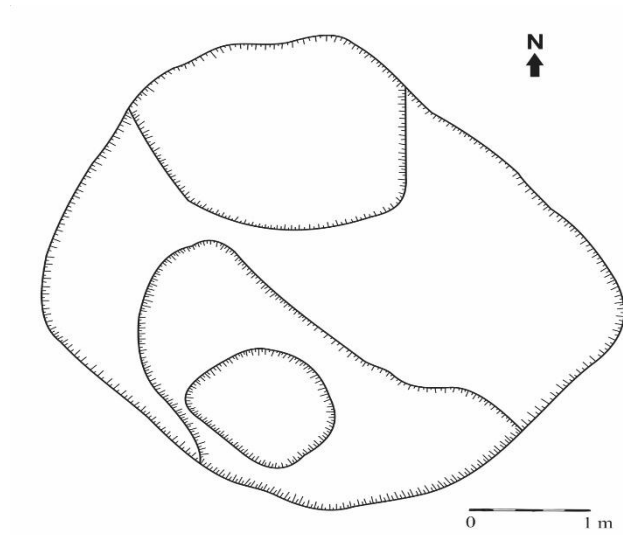




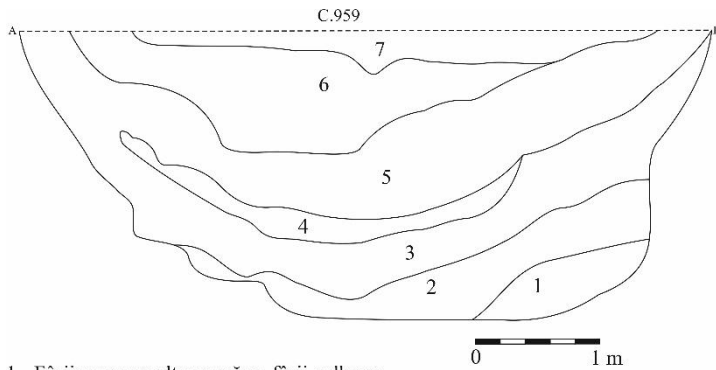
Photo 1. Turdaș-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Turdaș culture, phase III – section view.



Photo 2. Turdaș-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Turdaș culture, phase III – image after emptying.

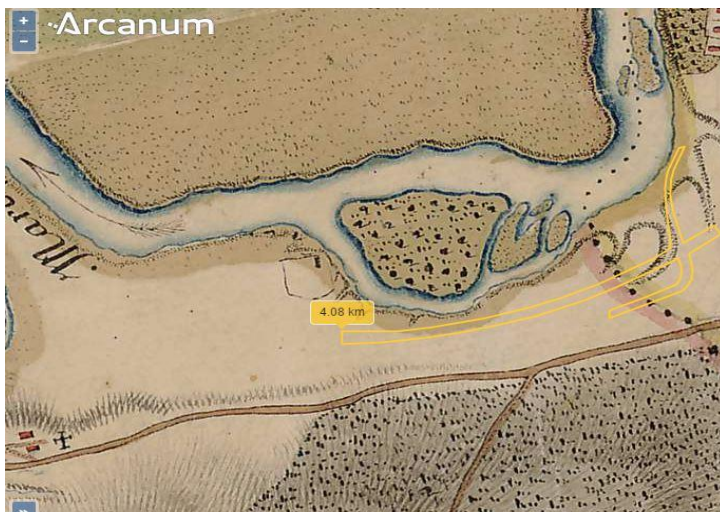


Drawing 1. Turdaș-Luncă. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Turdaș culture, phase III – drawing after emptying.



- 1 - Fâșii negre ce alternează cu fâșii galbene.
- 2 - Negru amestecat cu galben, pigment de chirpic și cioburi.
- 3 - Negru cu pigment galben, chirpic, fragmente ceramice și material osteologic.
- 4 - Negru amestecat cu cioburi.
- 5 - Aglomerare de materiale ceramice și osteologice, amestecate cu sol negru.
- 6 - Negru cenușiu cu puține fragmente ceramice.
- 7 - Negru cenușiu cu pigment de chirpic și fragmente ceramice.

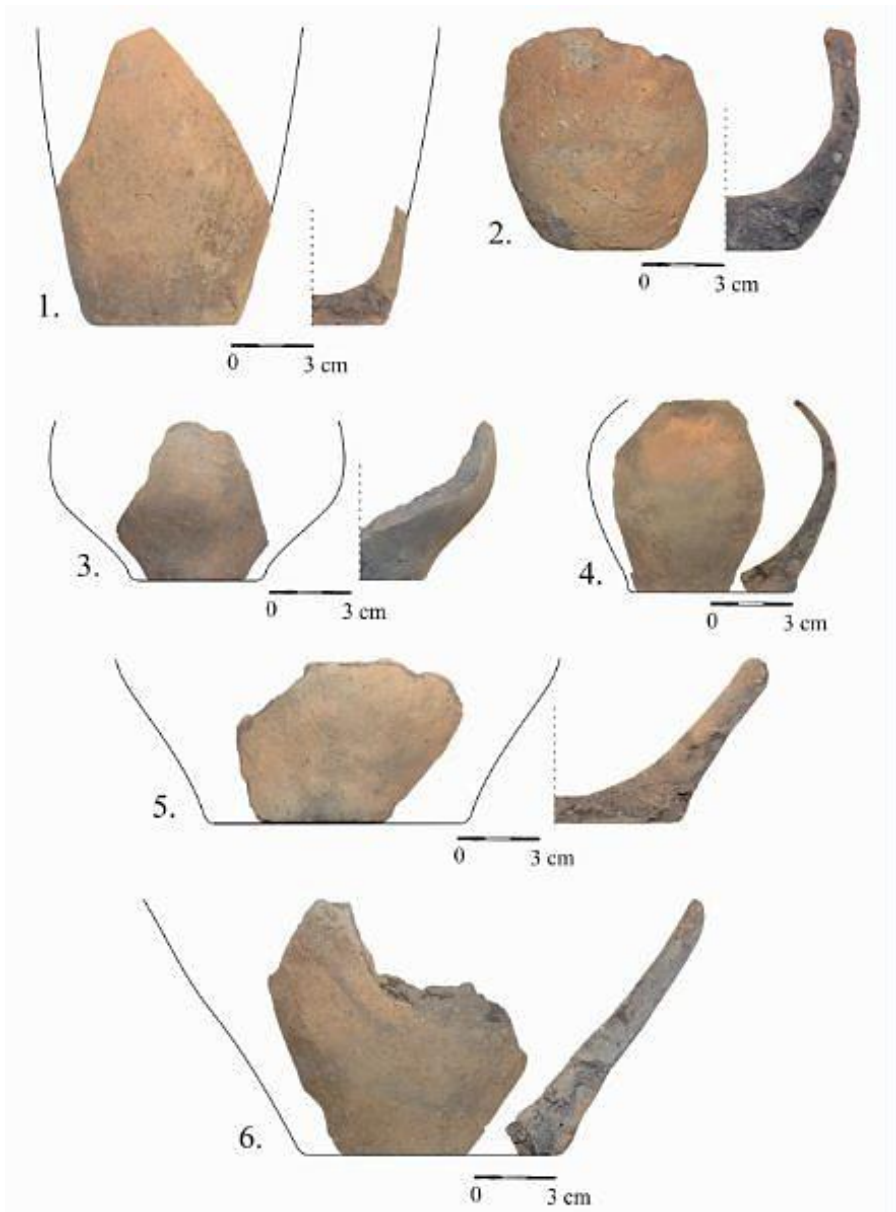
Drawing 2. Turdaș-Luncă. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Turdaș culture, phase III – drawing with section view.



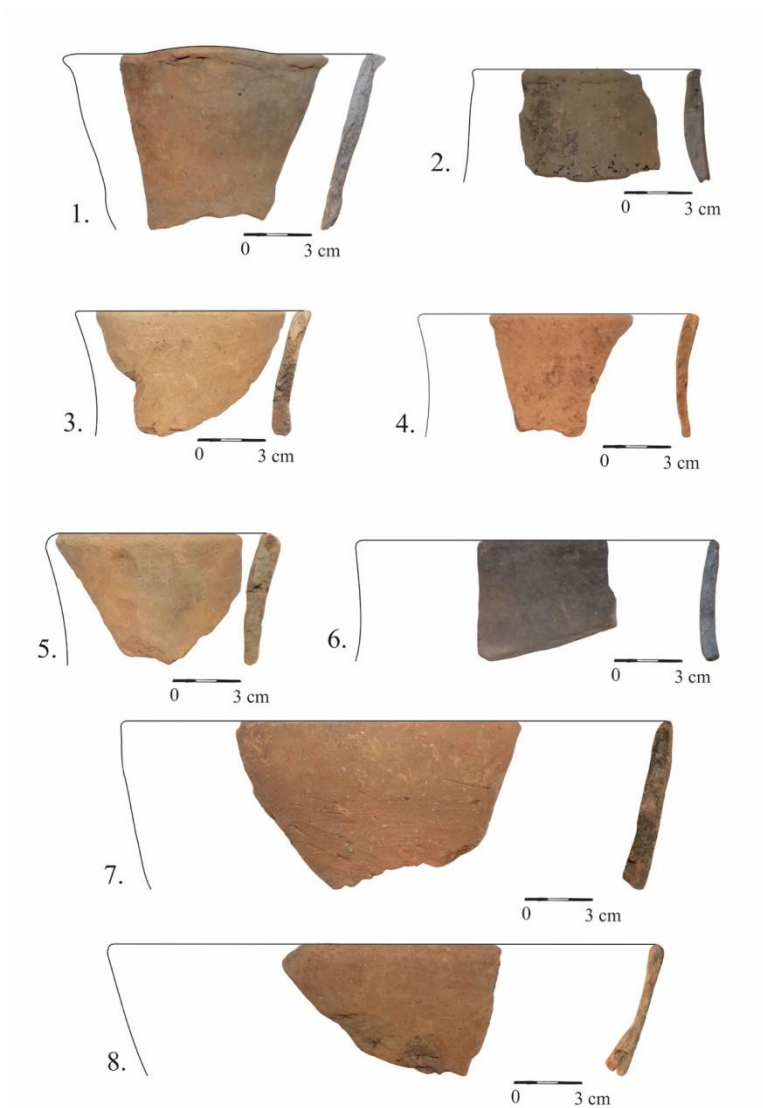
Map 1. Settlement from Turdaș-Luncă. Perimeter of the researched surface (Josephin map; <http://mapire.eu/en/map/firstsurvey/?bbox=2570934.3677172074%2C5755015.524158083%2C2577460.1790070543%2C5757815.030319028>, accessed at 29-11-2019, time 21:28.).



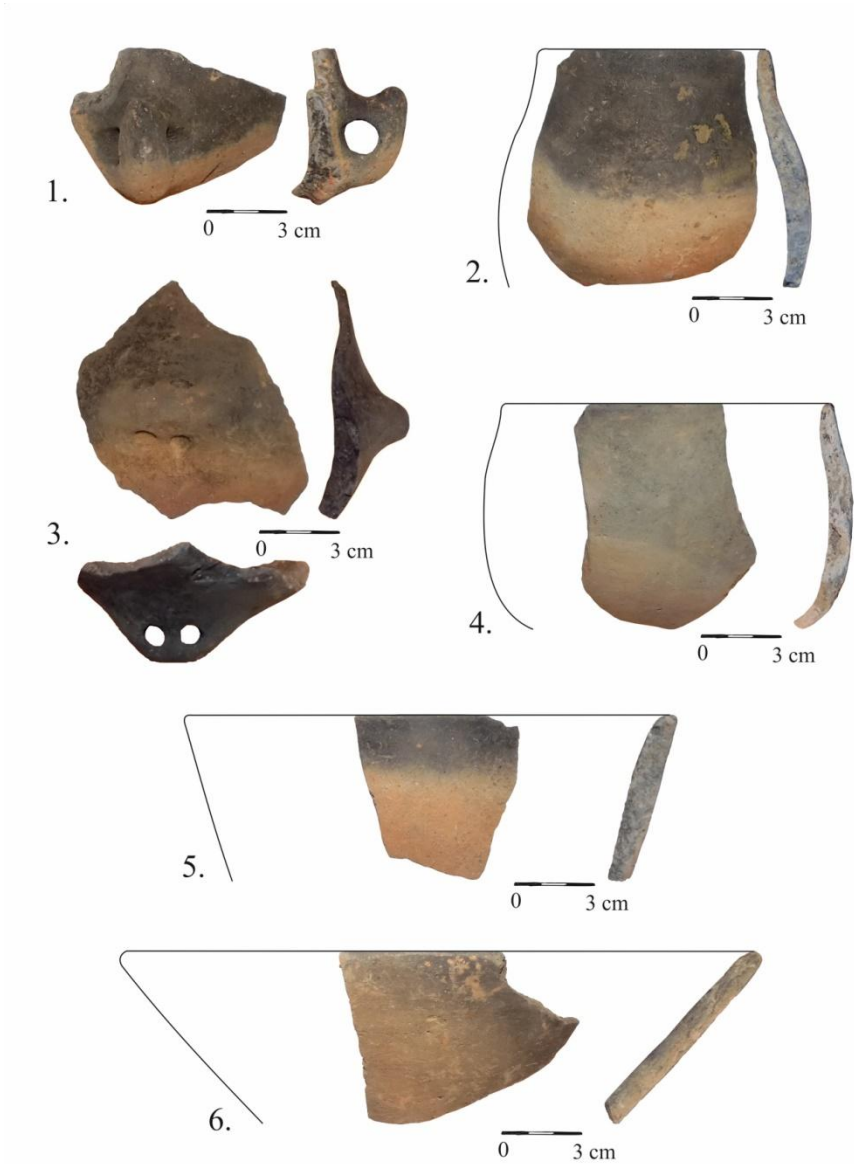
Map 2. Settlement from Turdaș-Luncă. Overview of the area researched in 2011 (Google Earth Pro, accessed at 2-09-2020, ora 15:16 (the presented photo was made from satellite in the 23rd of April, 2020)).



Pl. I. Turdaș-Luncă. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaș culture, phase III.



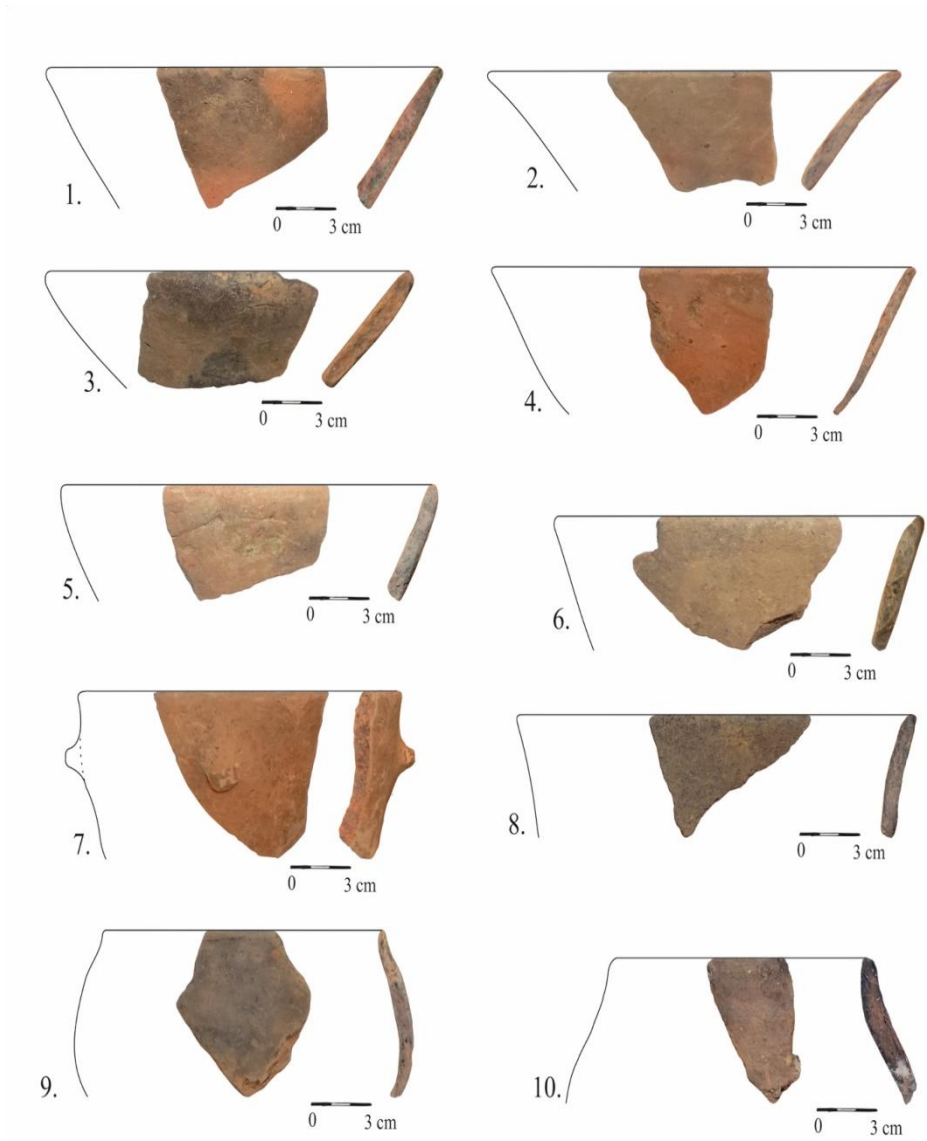
Pl. II. Turdaș-Luncă. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaș culture, phase III.



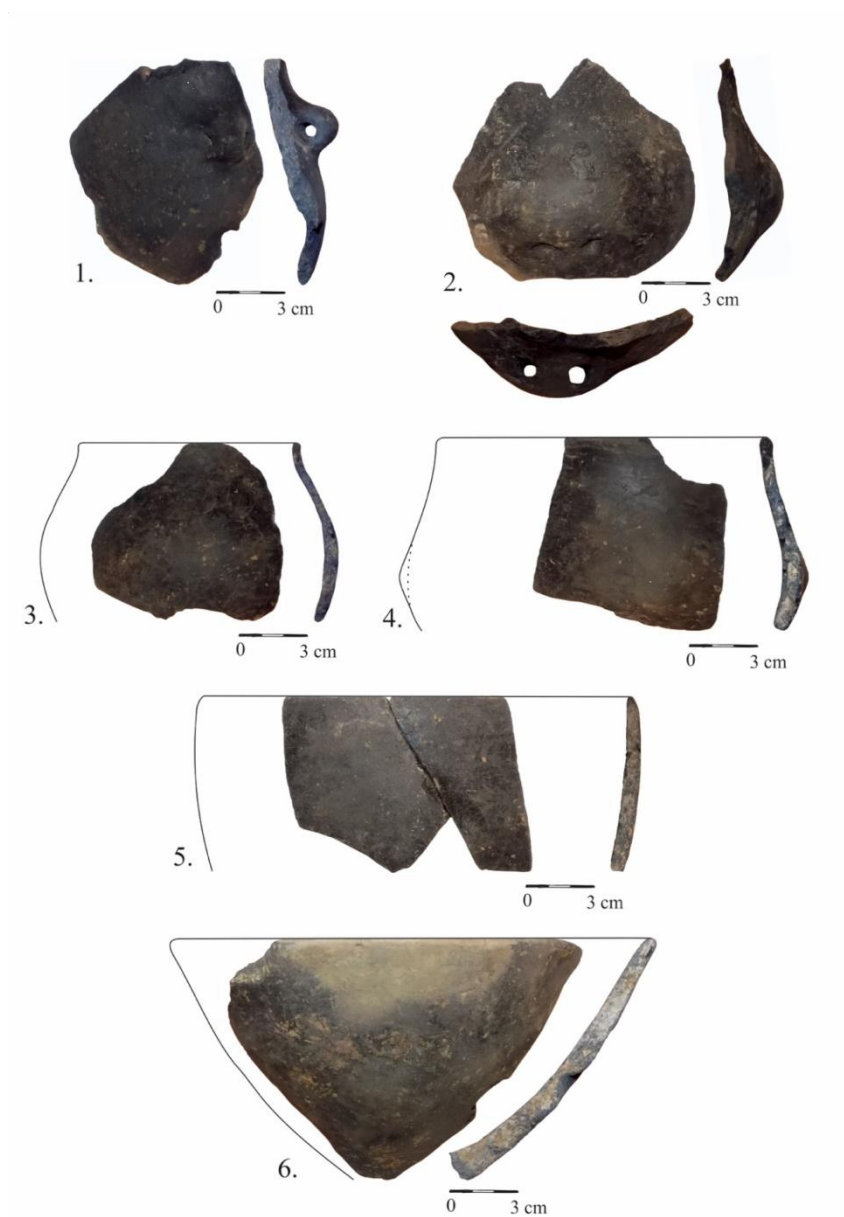
Pl. III. Turdaș-Luncă. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaș culture, phase III.



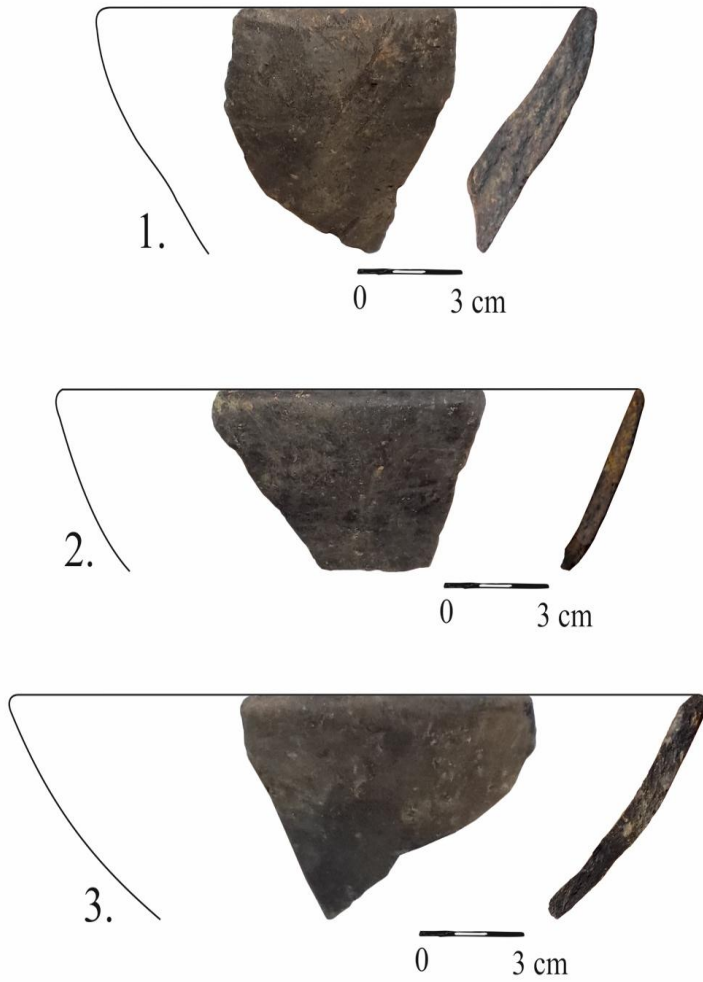
Pl. IV. Turdaș-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaș culture, phase III.



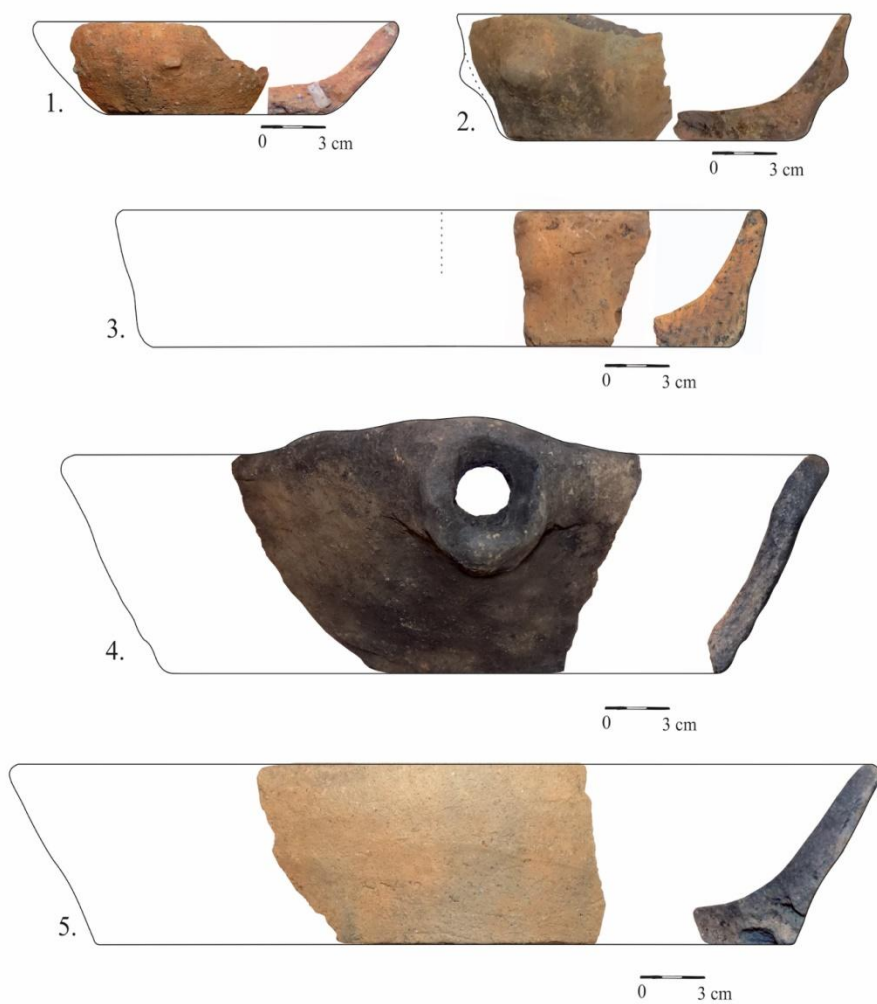
Pl. V. Turdaș-Luncă. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaș culture, phase III.



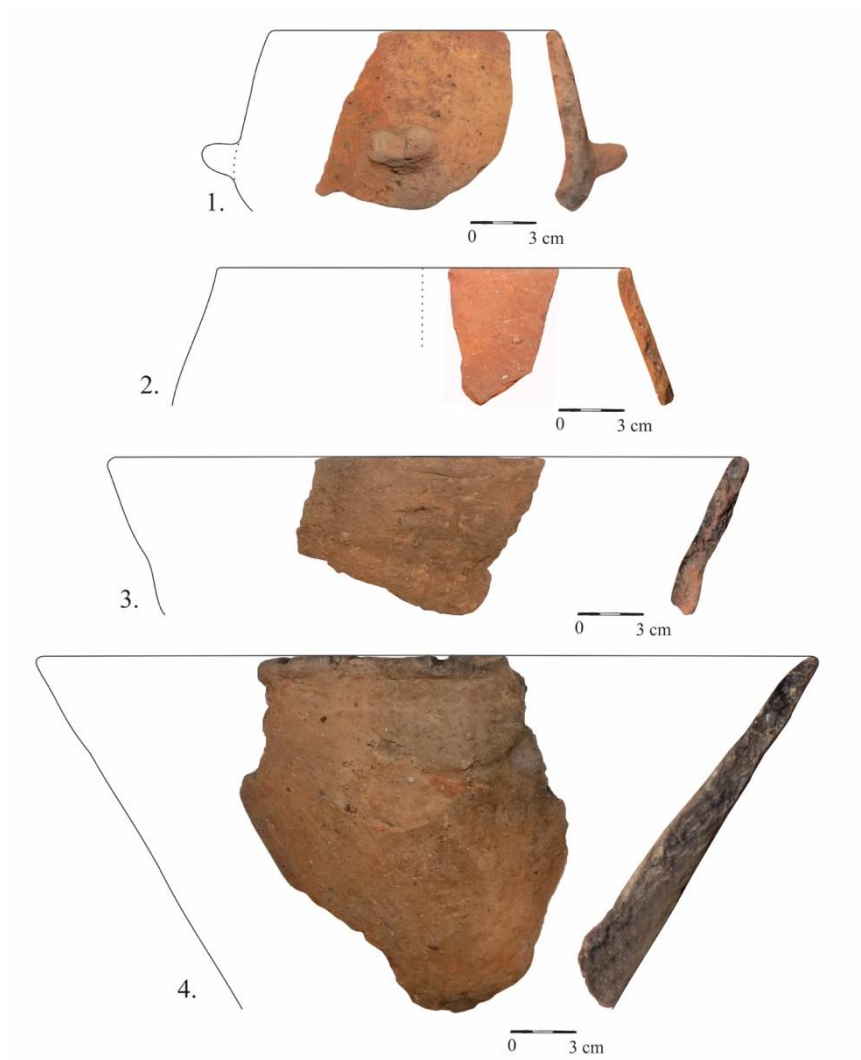
Pl. VI. Turdaș-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaș culture, phase III.



Pl. VII. Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaş culture, phase III.



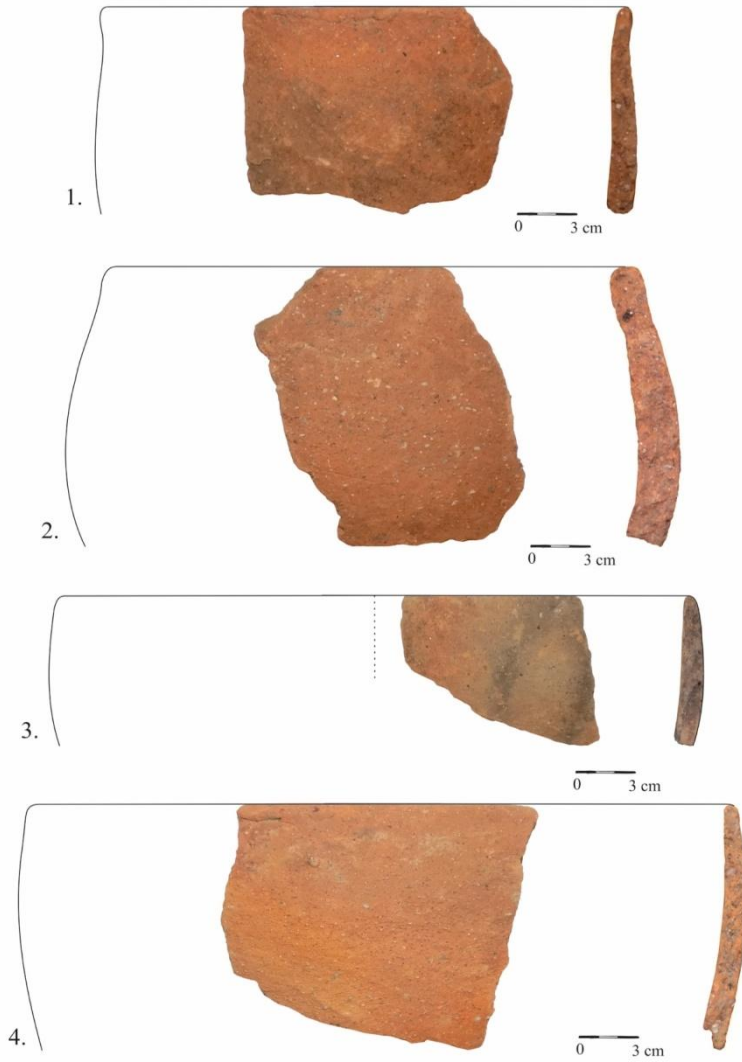
Pl. VIII. Turdaș-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaș culture, phase III.



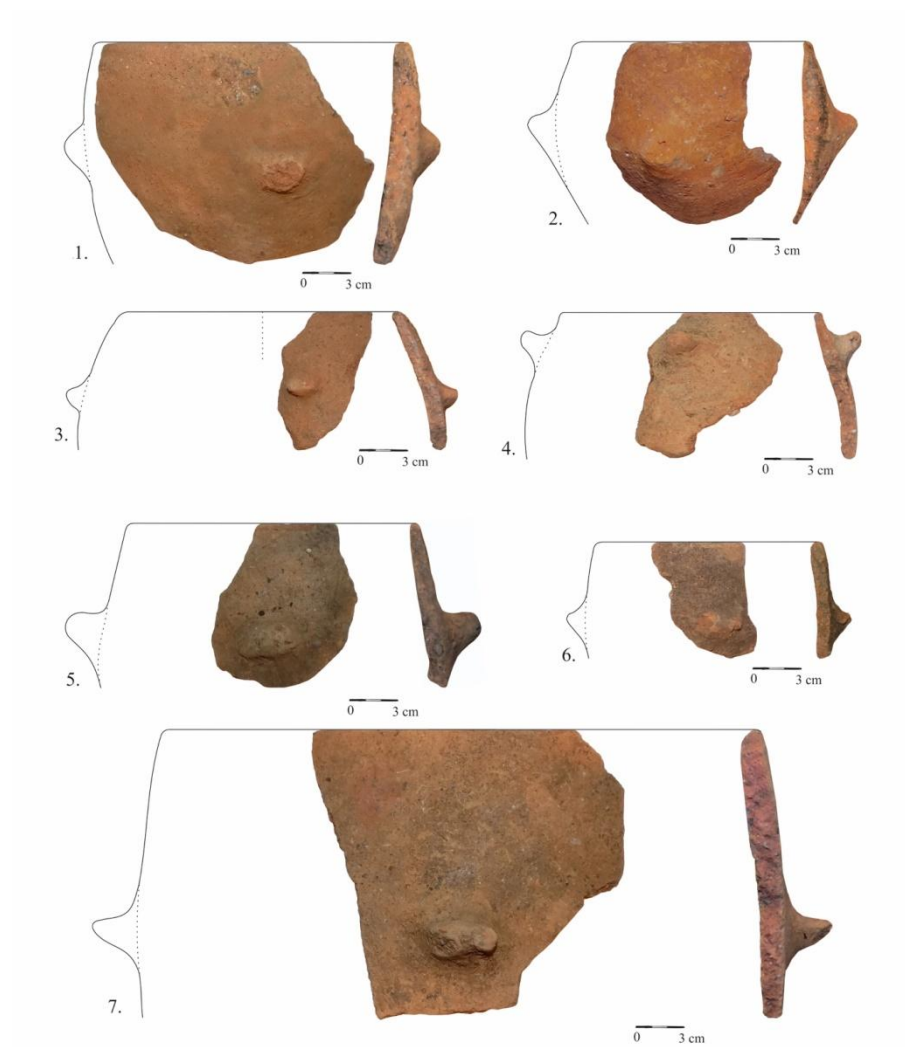
Pl. IX. Turdaș-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaș culture, phase III.



Pl. X. Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaş culture, phase III.



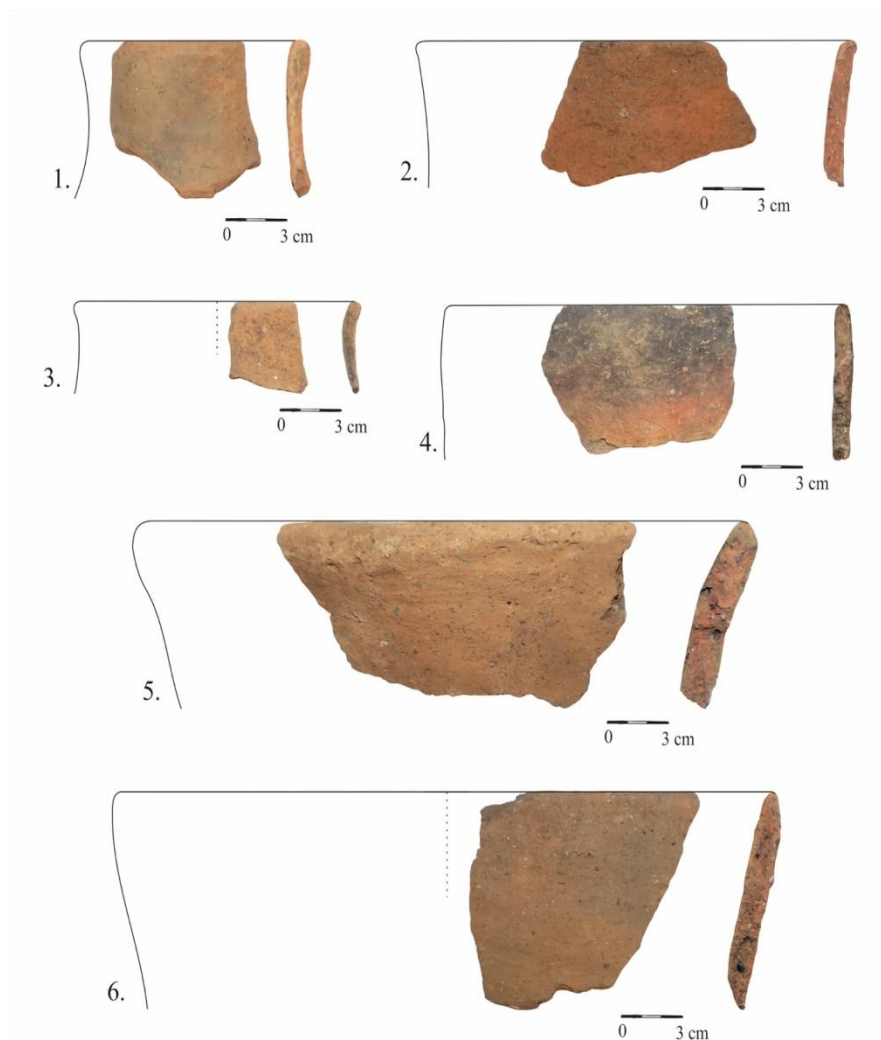
Pl. XI. Turdaș-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaș culture, phase III.



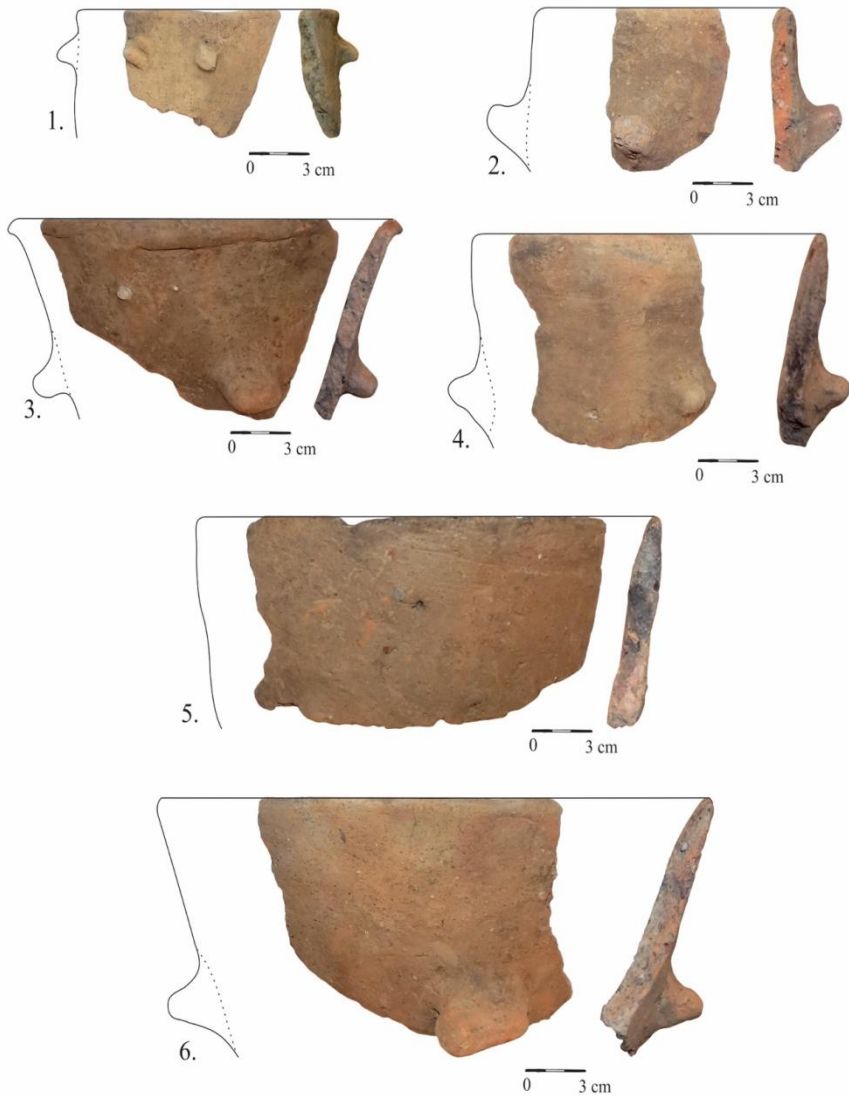
Pl. XII. Turdaș-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaș culture, phase III.



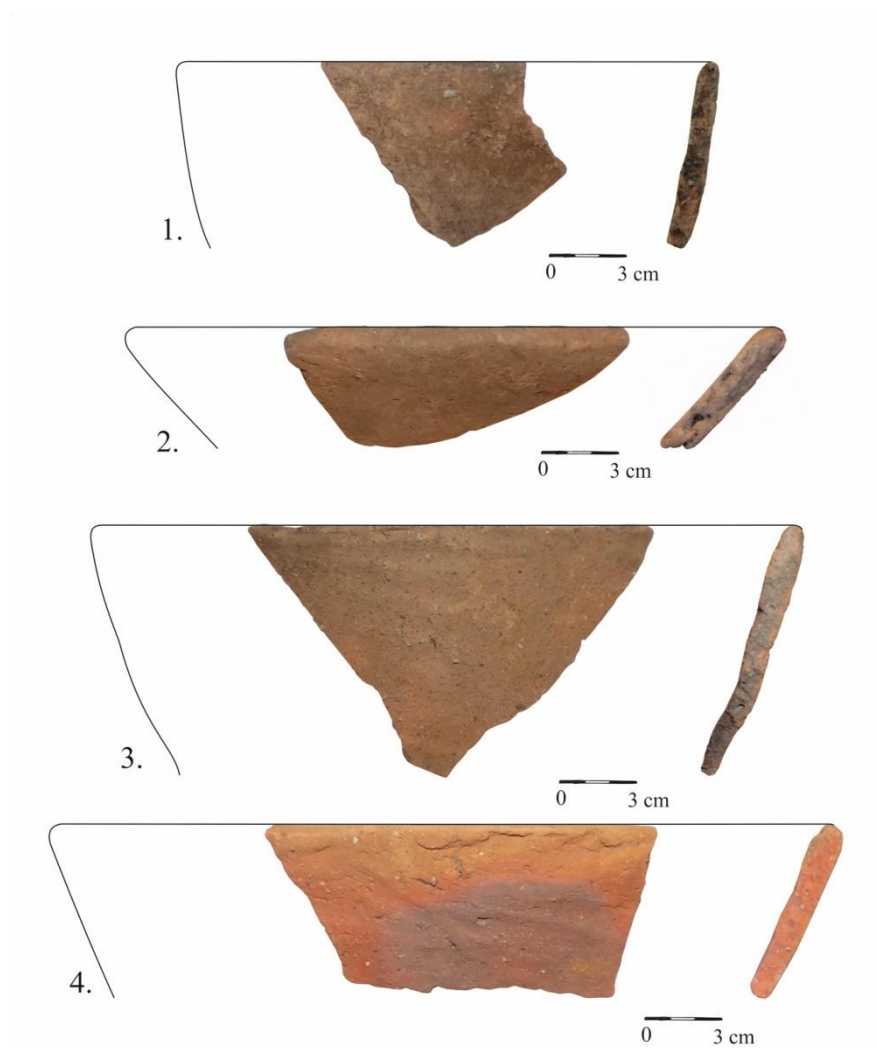
Pl. XIII. Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaş culture, phase III.



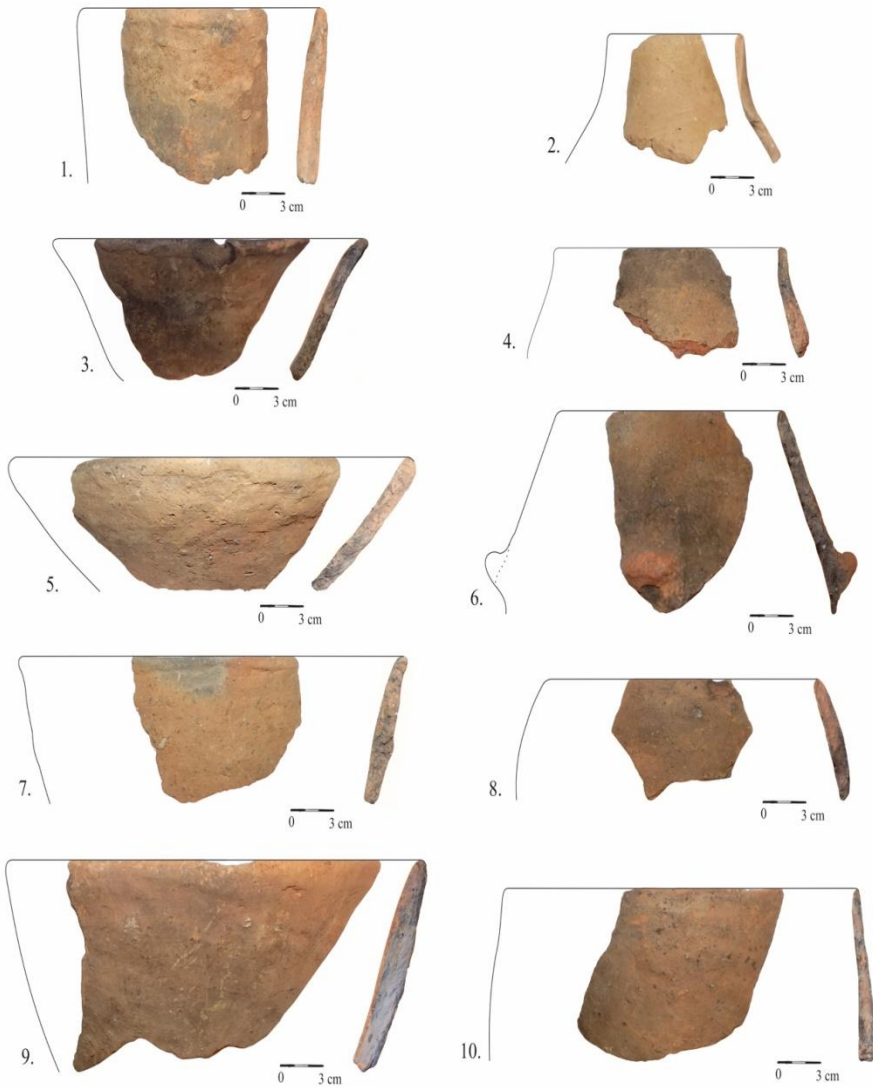
Pl. XIV. Turdaș-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaș culture, phase III.



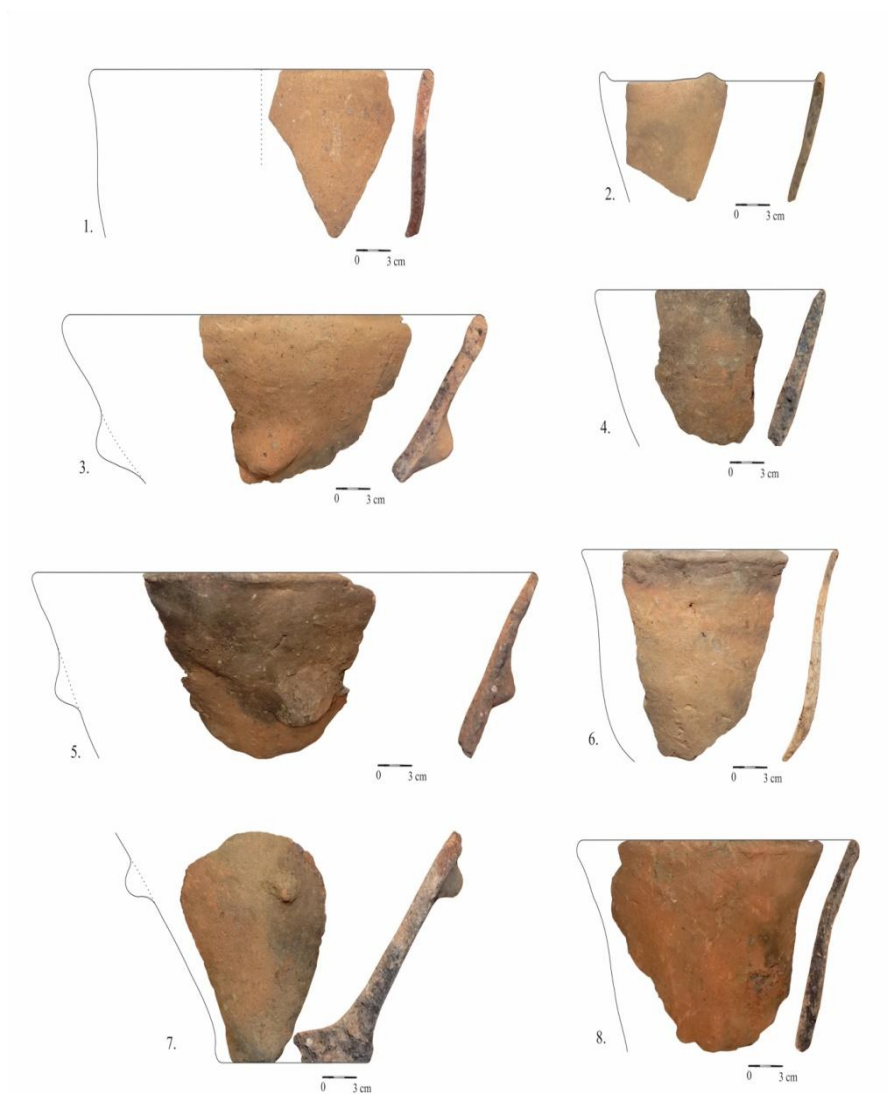
Pl. XV. Turdaș-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaș culture, phase III.



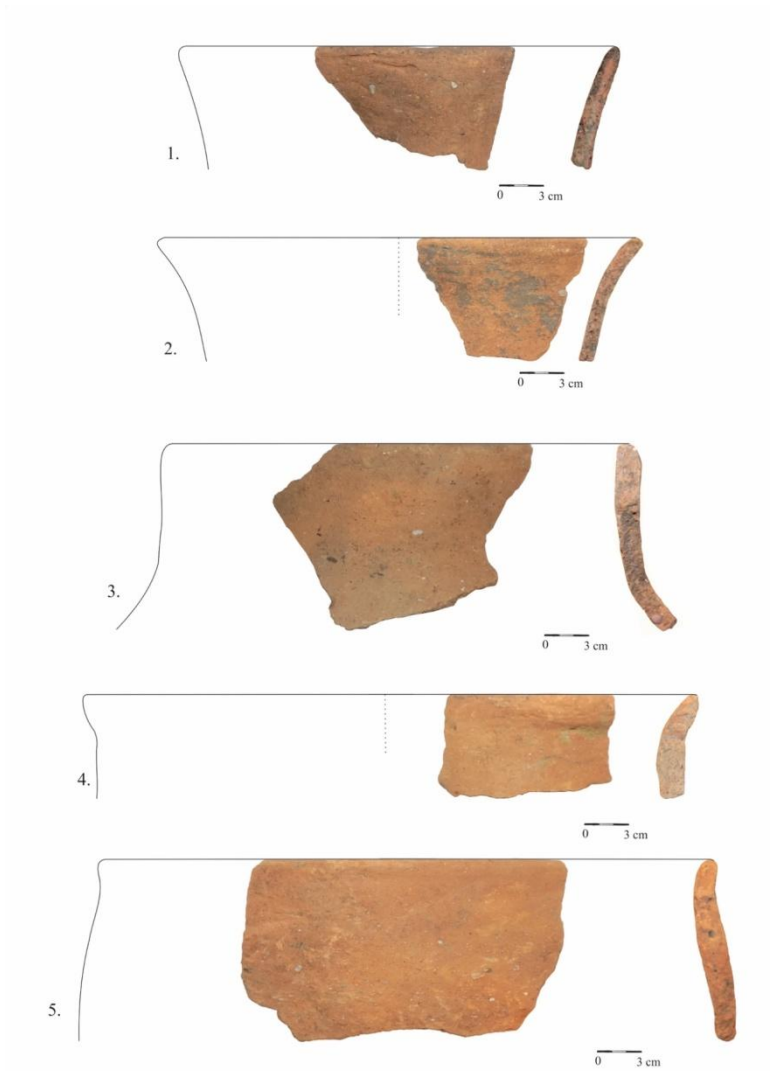
Pl. XVI. Turdaș-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaș culture, phase III.



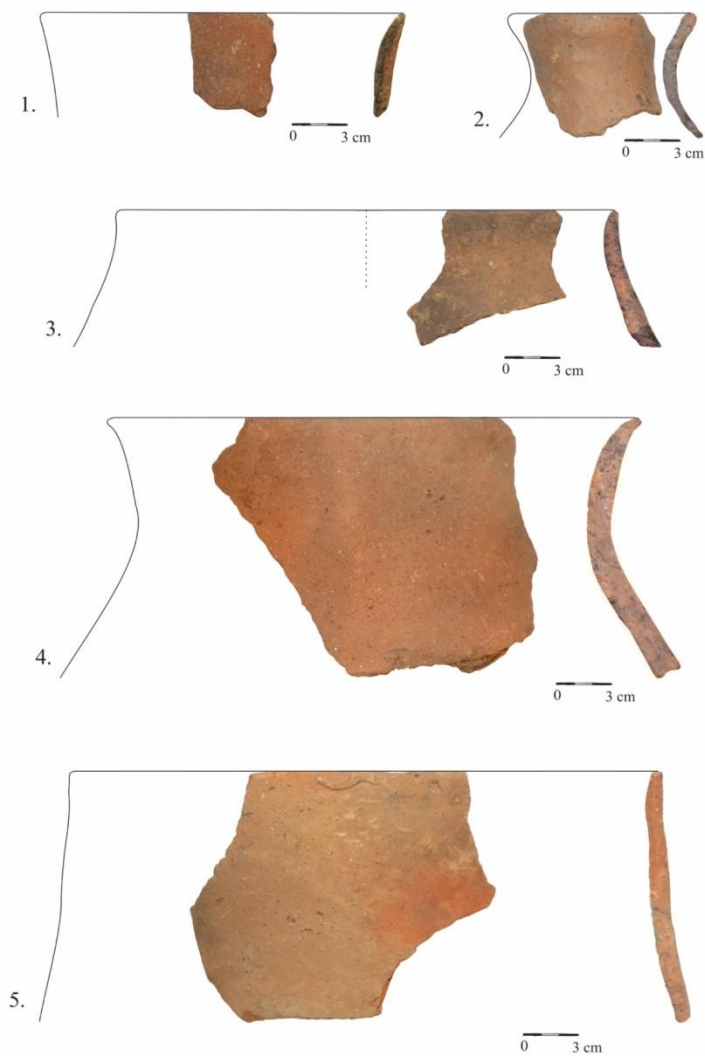
Pl. XVII. Turdaș-Luncă. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaș culture, phase III.



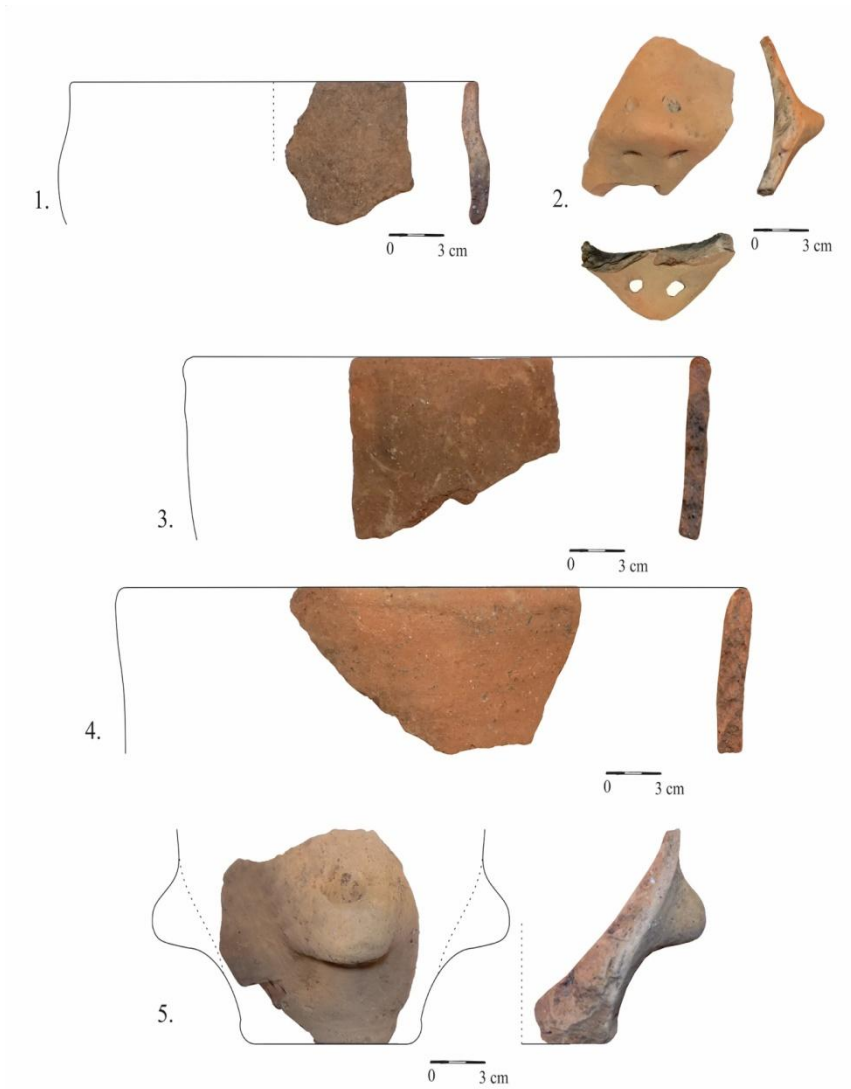
Pl. XVIII. Turdaș-Luncă. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaș culture, phase III.



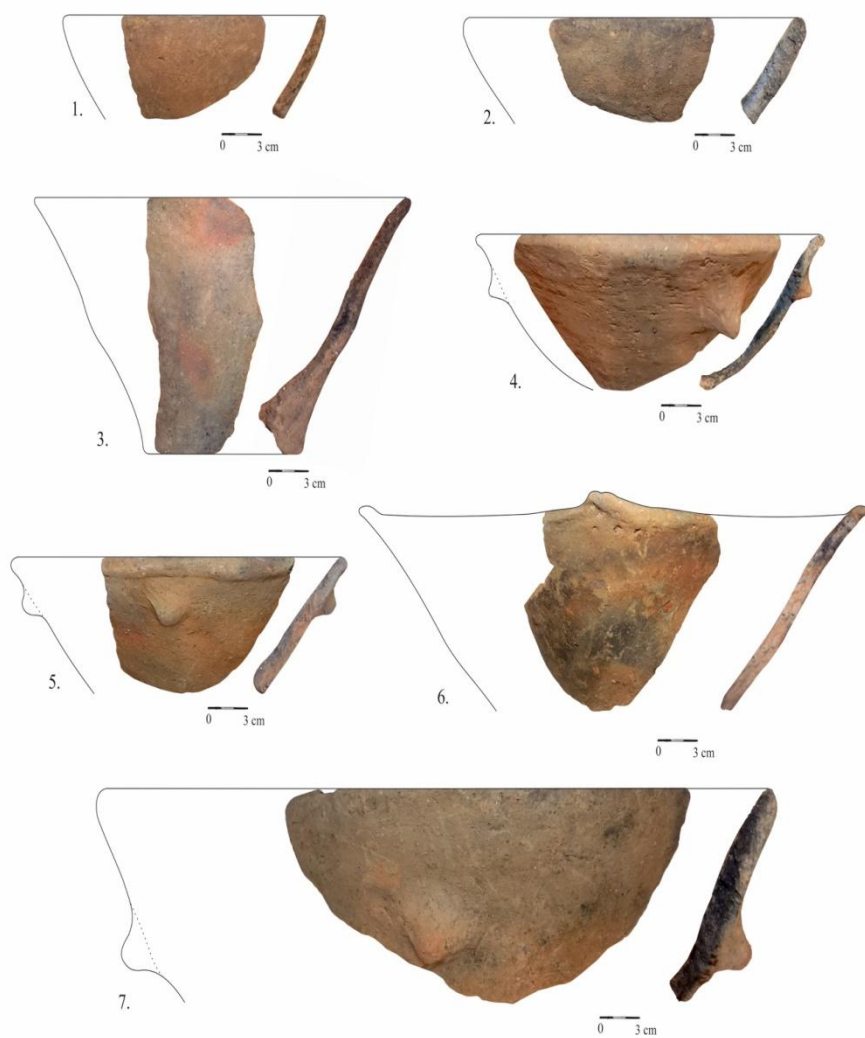
Pl. XIX. Turdaș-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaș culture, phase III.



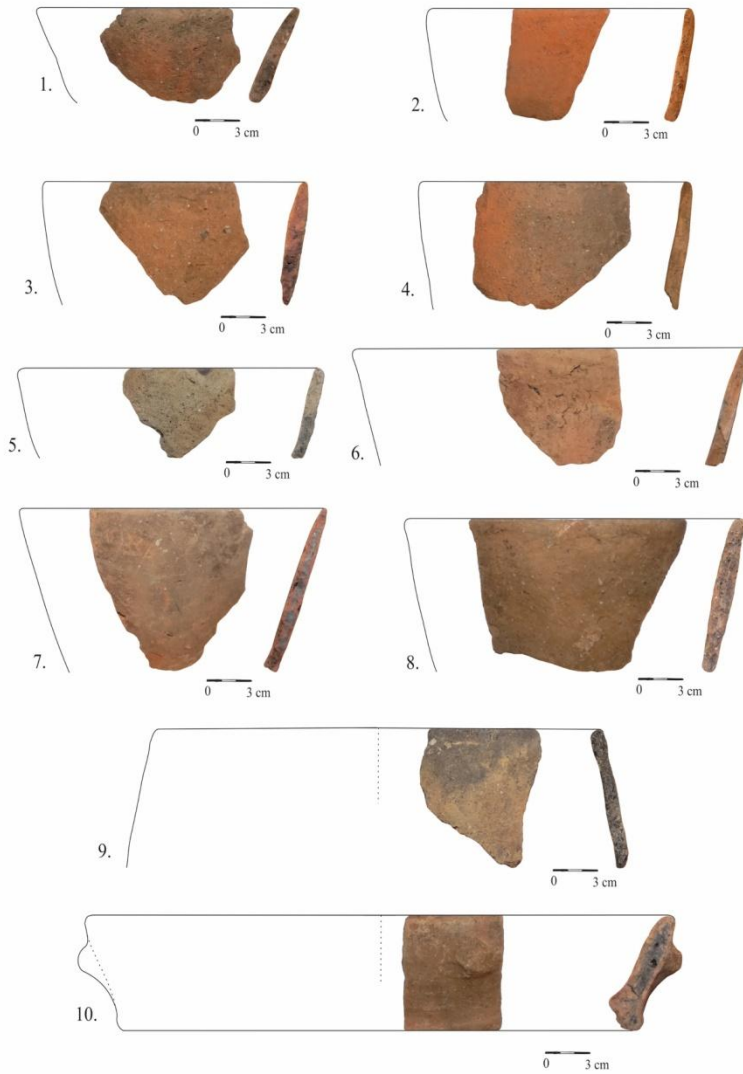
Pl. XX. Turdaş-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaş culture, phase III.



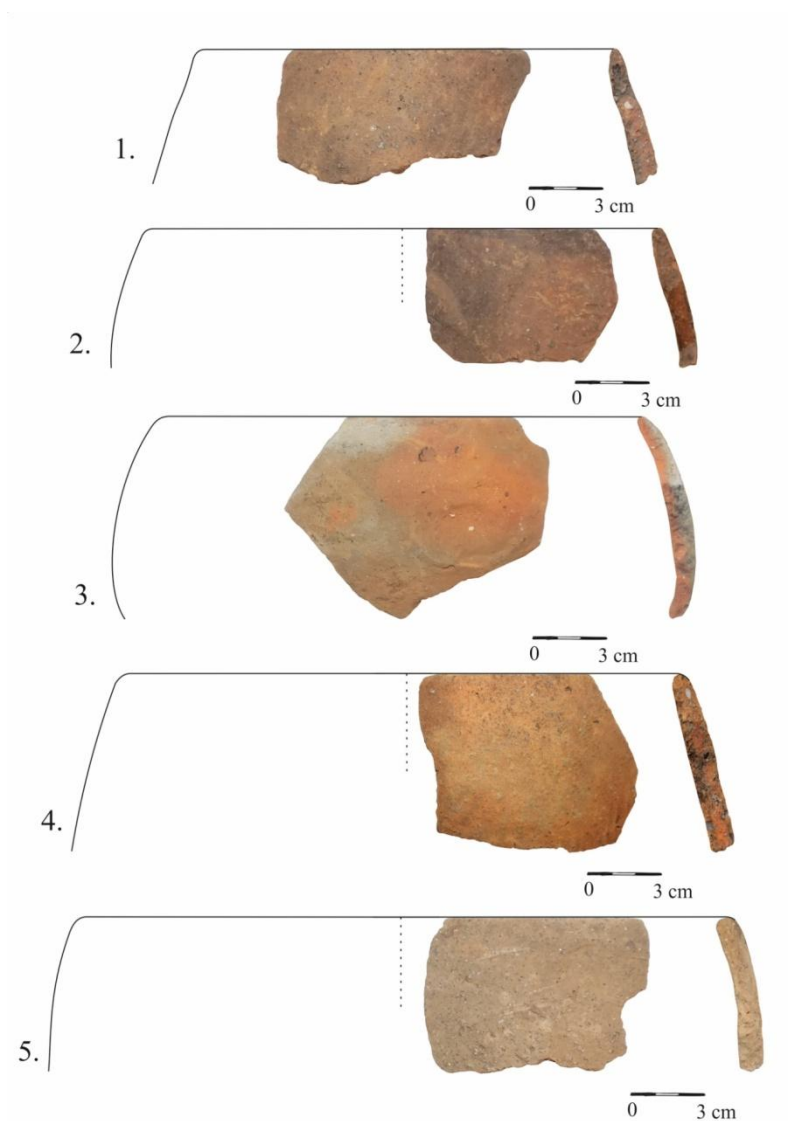
Pl. XXI. Turdaș-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaș culture, phase III.



Pl. XXII. Turdaș-Luncă. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaș culture, phase III.



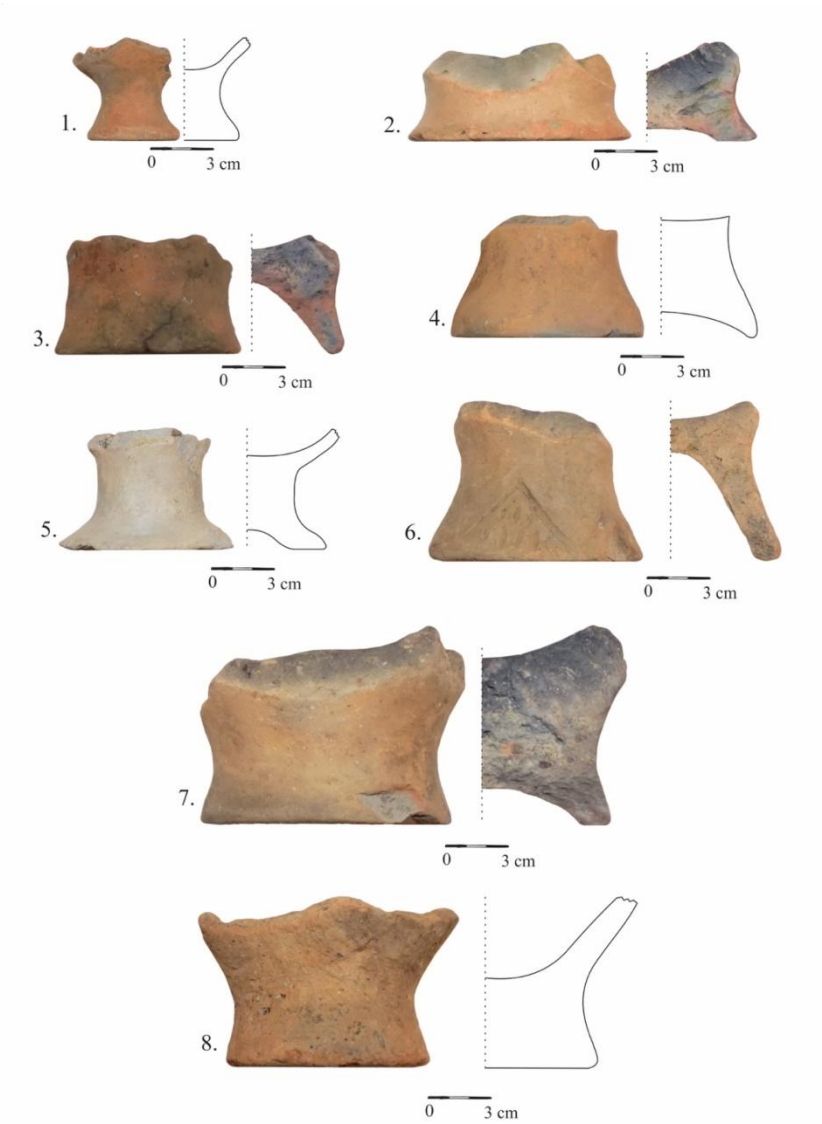
Pl. XXIII. Turdaș-Luncă. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaș culture, phase III.



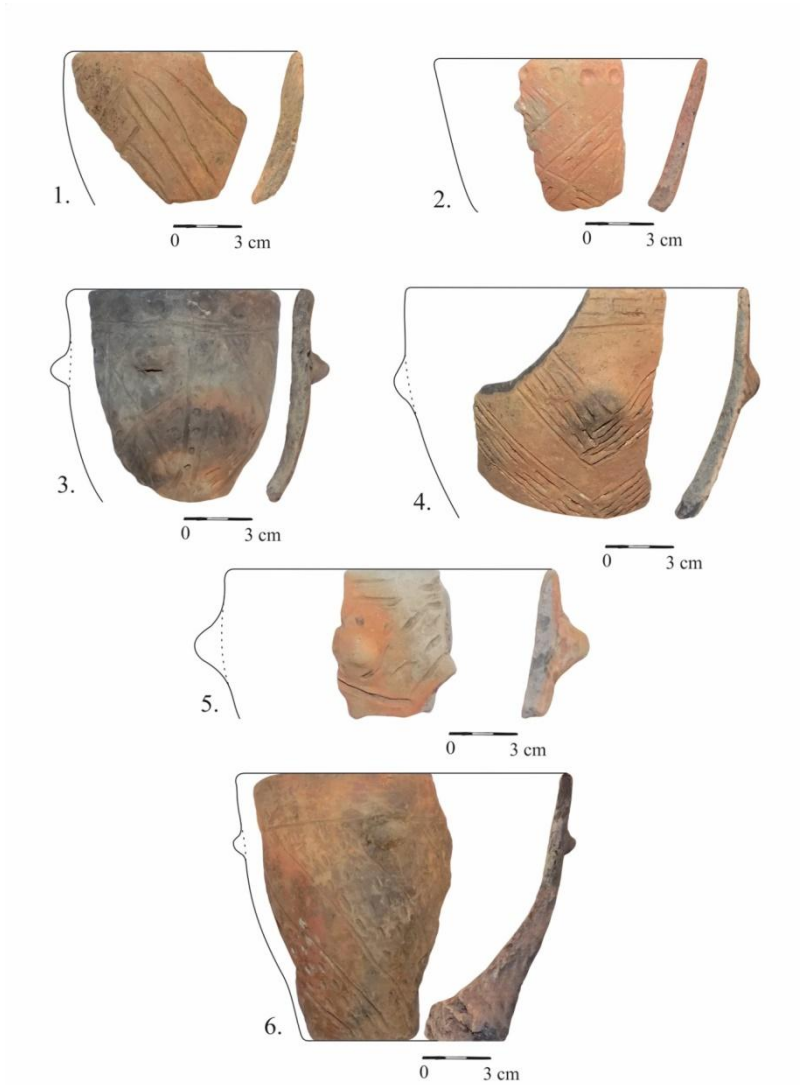
Pl. XXIV. Turdaș-Luncă. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaș culture, phase III.



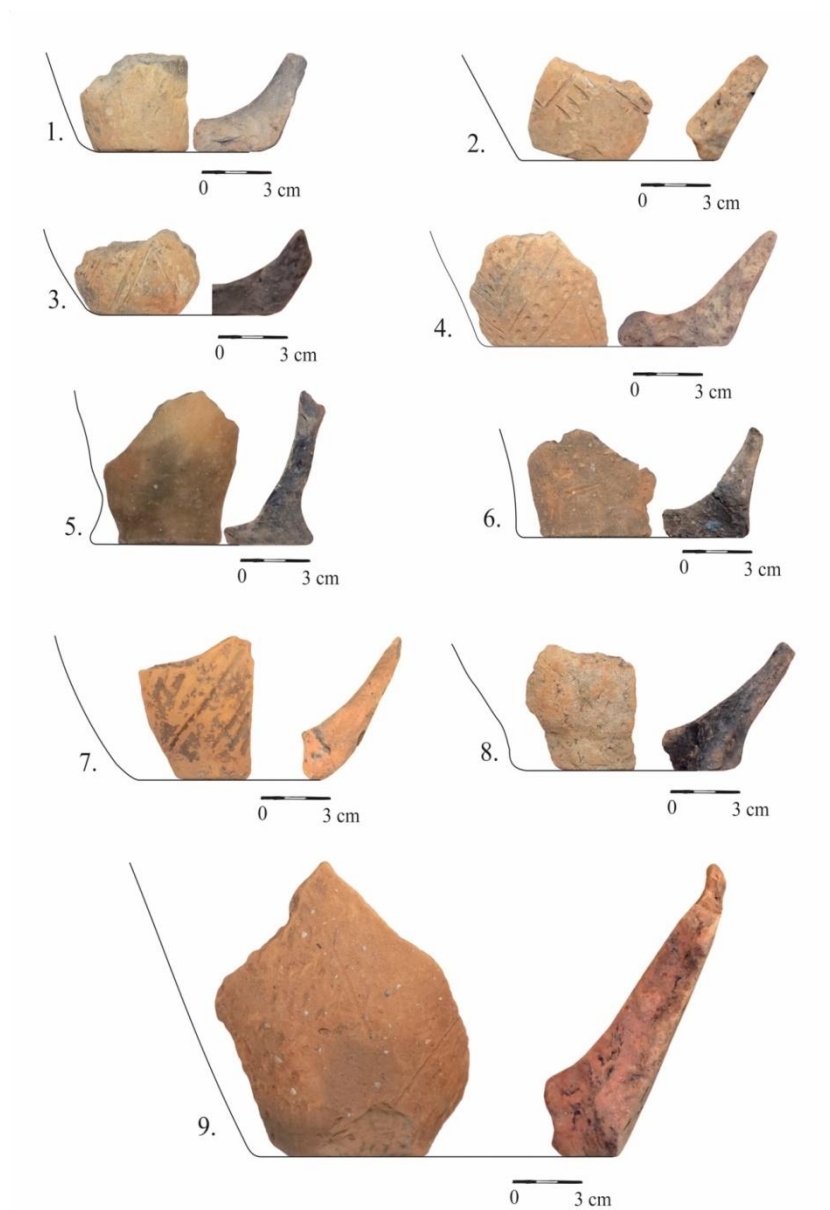
Pl. XXV. Turdaș-Luncă. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaș culture, phase III.



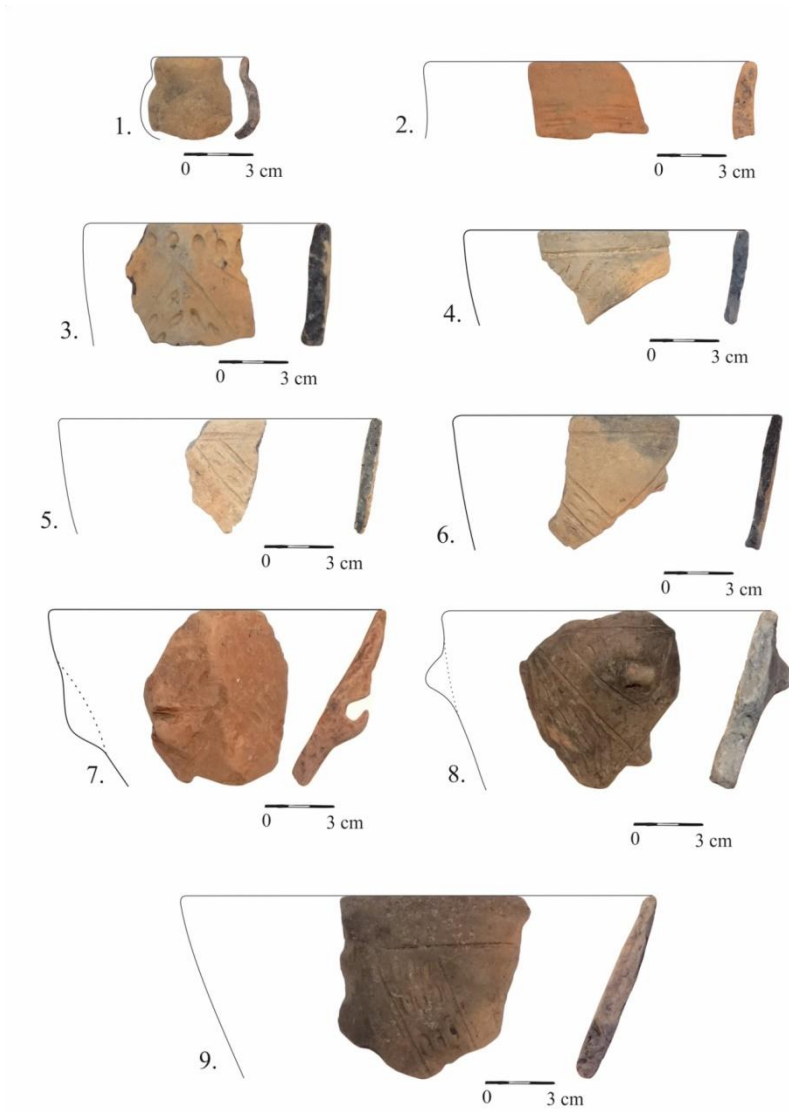
Pl. XXVI. Turdaș-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaș culture, phase III.



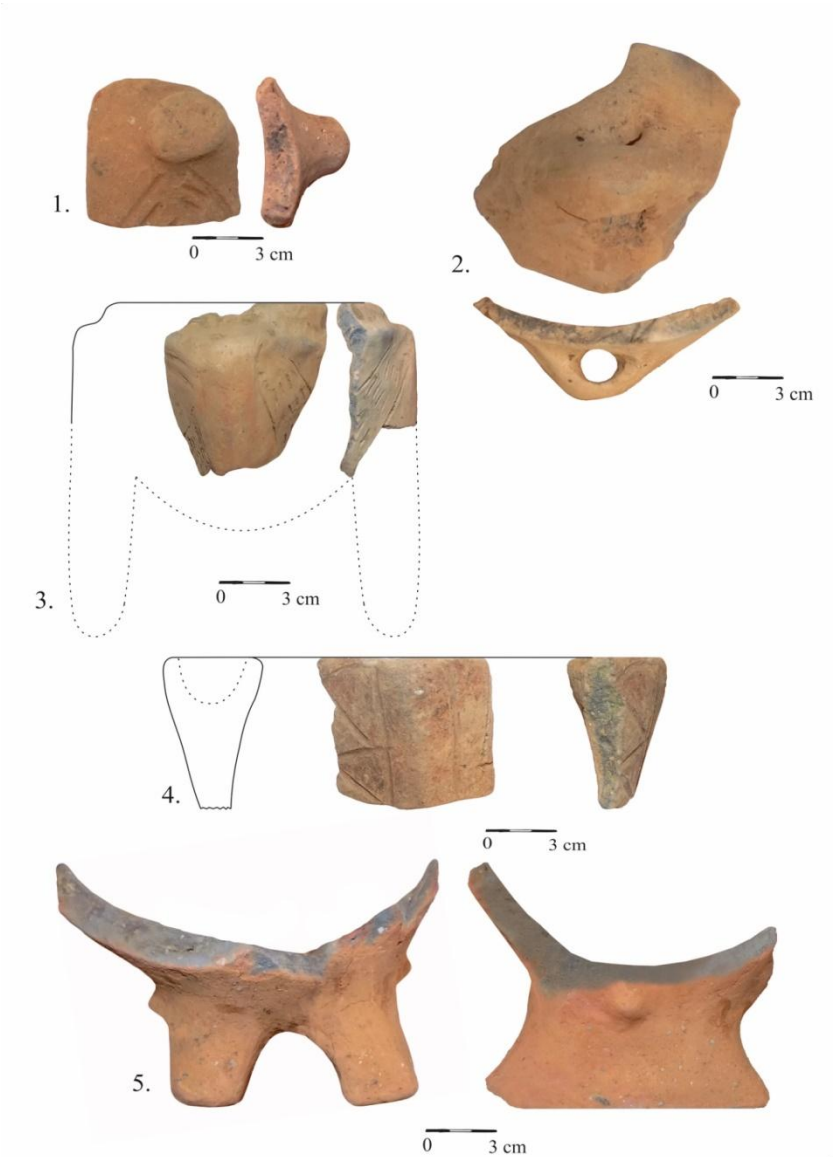
Pl. XXVII. Turdaș-Luncă. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaș culture, phase III.



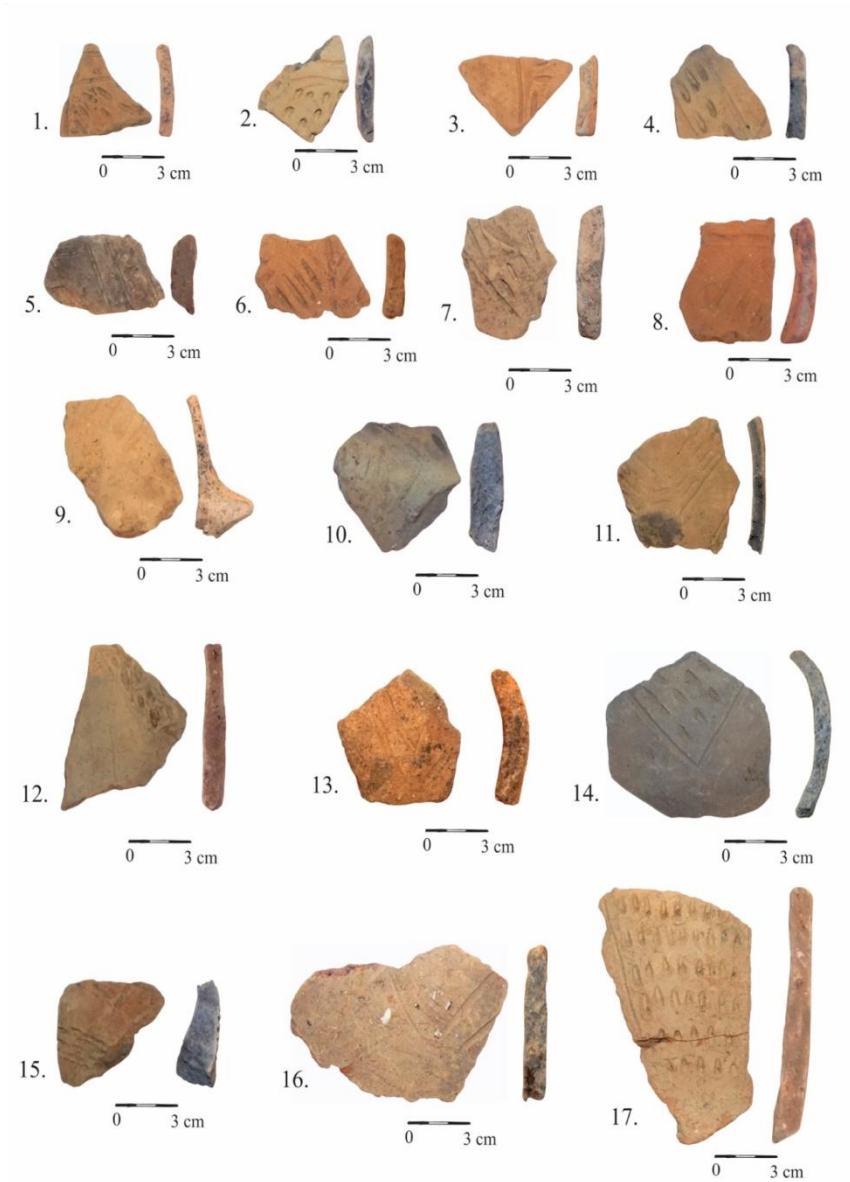
Pl. XXVIII. Turdaș-Luncă. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaș culture, phase III.



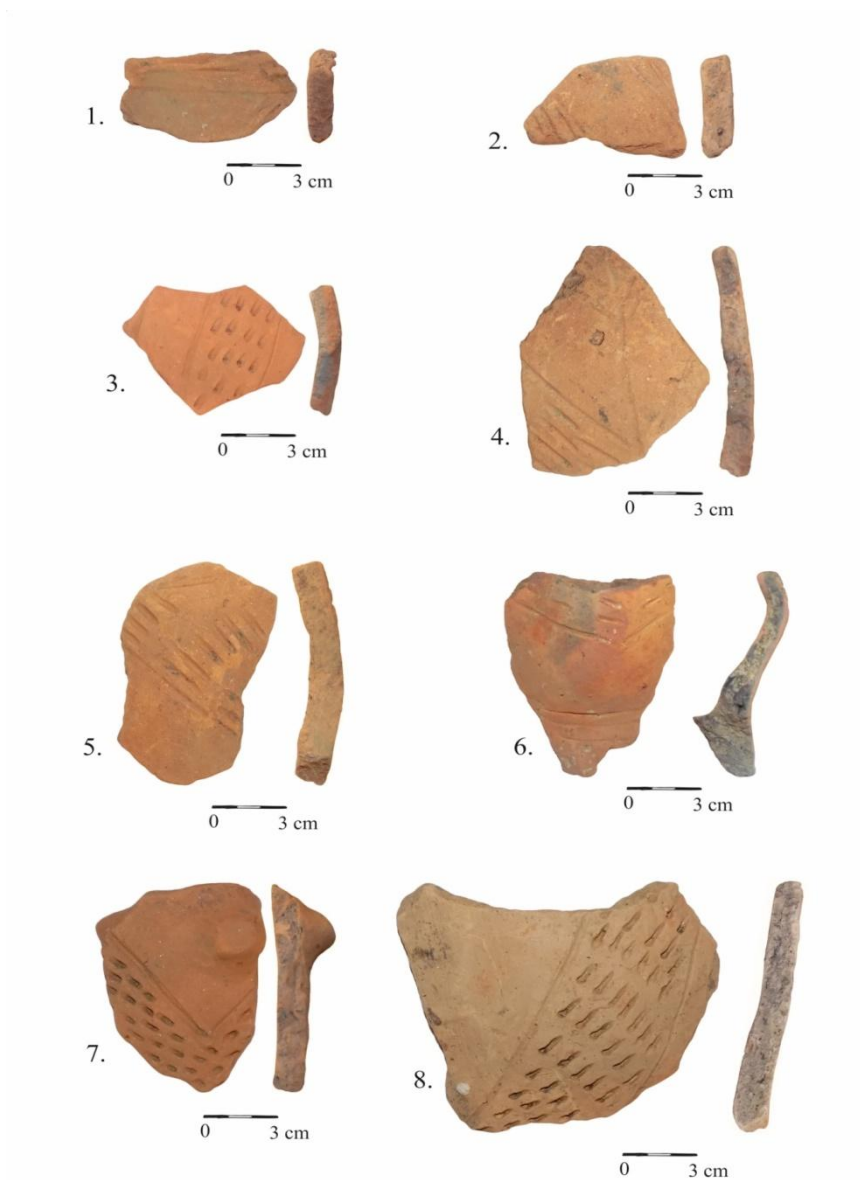
Pl. XXIX. Turdaș-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaș culture, phase III.



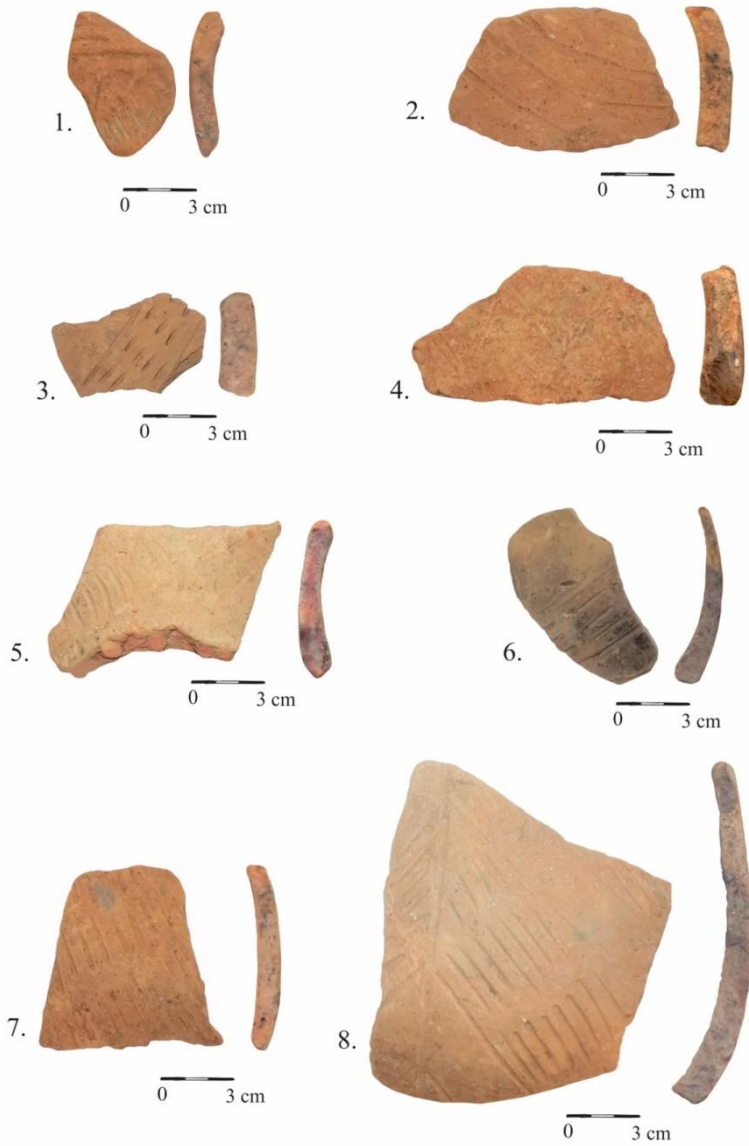
Pl. XXX. Turdaș-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaș culture, phase III.



Pl. XXXI. Turdaș-Luncă. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaș culture, phase III.



Pl. XXXII. Turdaș-Luncă. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaș culture III.



Pl. XXXIII. Turdaș-*Luncă*. 2011 campaign. Sector C. Feature 959. Pottery. Turdaș culture III.

Ritual deposits of the Petrești culture in South-Western Transylvania

Sabin Adrian Luca*

Abstract: *This article presents archaeological discoveries of ritual pits framed in Petrești culture, discovered in western and south-western Transylvania. The ritual of consecrating the dwellings, through banquets dedicated to fertility and fecundity, is so well known at the time around the Apuseni Mountains that is spreads in cultural environments, west of them.*

Keywords: *ritual deposit, Eneolithic, from Petrești culture, discovered in western and south-western of Transylvania.*

In 1984¹, archaeological excavations were carried out in the border of Uioara de Jos (I. Hica and H. Ciugudean) (Fig. 1), the complete research of the incineration cemetery from the VII-VIII AD centuries identified on the place called *Pârloage*, in 1963². Various traces of habitation have also been identified here, including an urn incineration tomb belonging to the Wietenberg culture³ and archaeological materials belonging to the late Hallstatt⁴.

Between 1985-1986, at *Gruicul lui Șip*, a settlement with several levels of habitation was researched, starting from the developed Eneolithic (Petrești culture), continuing with the late Eneolithic (Coțofeni culture), early Bronze III (Iernut type discoveries), middle Bronze (Wietenberg) and late Bronze (Noua materials, pre-Gáva and Gáva), ending with a level belonging to the VII-VIII centuries AD, contemporary with the cemetery from *Pârloage* (the research results were only partially published in various studies⁵).

*"Lucian Blaga" University of Sibiu; sabinadrian.luca@ulbsibiu.ro, Brukenthal National Museum of Sibiu; sabin.luca@brukenthalmuseum.ro

¹ Sabin Adrian Luca, Horia Ciugudean, "O depunere rituală aparținând culturii Petrești descoperită la Uioara de Jos". In: *Apulum* 55 (2018), p. 9-22.

² Vasile Moga, Horia Ciugudean (ed.), *Repertoriul arheologic al județului Alba*, (Alba Iulia: 1995), 196.

³ Horia Ciugudean, "Noi descoperiri funerare aparținând culturii Wietenberg". In: *Apulum* 26 (1989), 69-77, 72, Fig. 2/1, 4.

⁴ Horia Ciugudean, *Cercetări privind epoca bronzului și prima vârstă a fierului în Transilvania*, (Alba Iulia: 1997).

⁵ Ioan Al. Aldea, Horia Ciugudean, "Obiecte din cupru și bronz recent descoperite pe teritoriul județului Alba". In: *Apulum* 25 (1988), 79-81; Horia Ciugudean, *The Hallstatt A period in central Transylvania*, (Alba Iulia: 1994), 25-40. The Petrești type settlement has unpublished so far

The Petrești inhabitation is not very consistent and continuous as a layer. The researched features were in sections I, III and IV. Within the perimeter of section IV/1985, a surface dwelling with massive remains of polished clay was partially unveiled, while section I intersected the pit of a large hut, inside which was found a hearth, built on a "layer" formed from ceramic fragments.

The most important feature belonging to the Petrești culture is represented by the pit with ritual deposits from section III. It deepened to about -1,40 m, in the reddish-yellowish clay level, sterile from archaeological point of view. Unfortunately, other stratigraphic or positioning observations of the archaeological feature were not available to us⁶.

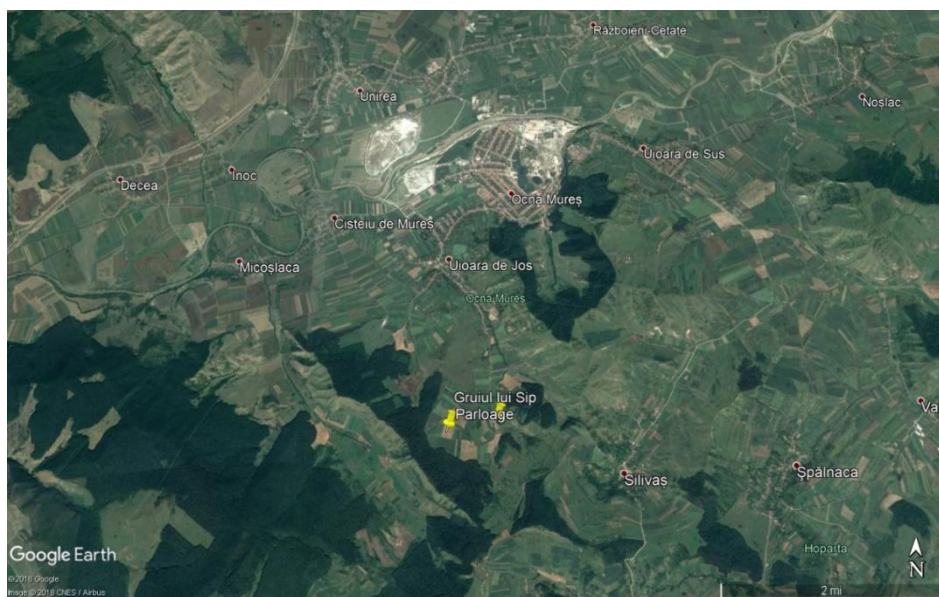


Fig. 1. Location of the investigated sites in the area of Ocna Mureș.

In its upper part, the pit was covered with several fragments of stone mills, like a ritual deposition from Turdaș-*Luncă*, the dwelling-sanctuary number 2, the Petrești culture⁷.

We find that in Turdaș it was about a special feature, the foundation of the Petrești sanctuary, consisting of 8 mills (broken and buried with the active part down) and a massive stone bovid head (buried face up)⁸.

⁶ Sabin Adrian Luca, Horia Ciugudean, "O depunere ritual", 9.

⁷ Sabin Adrian Luca, *Așezări neoliice pe Valea Mureșului (II). Noi cercetări arheologice la Turdaș-Luncă. Campaniile anilor 1992-1995*, (Alba Iulia: 2001), 88-91.

⁸ Sabin Adrian Luca, *Așezări neoliice pe Valea Mureșului (II)*, 89-90, Fig. 6.

The association of whole vessels with broken mills is specific to the ritual deposits from the European Neolithic⁹.

From the bottom of the pit from Uioara de Jos-*Gruicul lui Șip*, several whole or completable vessels, a piercer, half a bi-tronconic clay spindle piece, a stone polisher for pottery (?) were recovered and more animal bones¹⁰.

We further present the description of the ceramic vessels found inside the ritual pit¹¹.

Vessel number 1 is an amphora with a bulging belly and a high neck (Photos 1-2, Pl. I)¹². The clay from which the vessel was made is fine, brick-like, and very well fired. The slip of the vessel was affected by the storage conditions in the ground, being partially dropped and without specific shine.

As a form, the vessel has analogies in the monography written by I. Paul¹³.



Photo 1. Uioara de Jos-*Gruicul lui Șip*, Alba County. Painted amphora, Petrești culture (Vessel 1).



Photo 2. Uioara de Jos-*Gruicul lui Șip*, Alba County. Painted amphora, Petrești culture. Detail with the belly of the vessel.

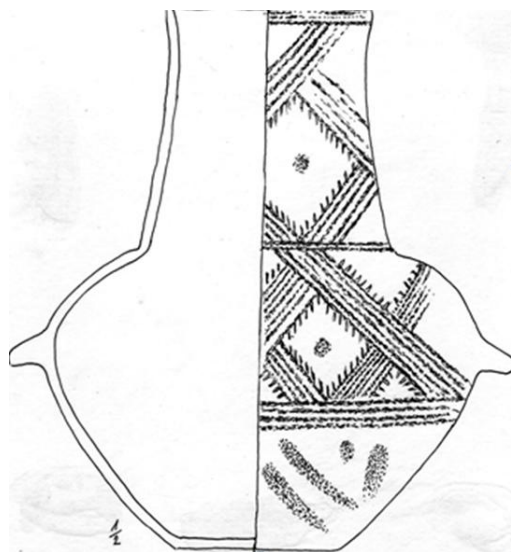
⁹ J. Graefe, C. Hamon, C. Lidström-Holmberg, C. Tsoraki, S. Watts, "Subsistence, social and ritual practices: querns deposits in the Neolithic societies of Europe". In: *Du matériel au spirituel*, S. Bonnardin (ed.) (Antibes: 2009), 29-38.

¹⁰ Sabin Adrian Luca, Horia Ciugudean, "O depunere ritual", 11.

¹¹ Sabin Adrian Luca, Horia Ciugudean, "O depunere ritual", 11-20.

¹² Sabin Adrian Luca, Horia Ciugudean, "O depunere ritual", 11-12, Fig. 2. Named – generally – pots, at Paul 1992, Pl. XXIX, Petrești culture, Phase A or – maybe – AB.

¹³ Iuliu Paul, *Cultura Petrești*, (București: 1992), Pl. XXVII/1, 5-6; XXVIII/15.



Pl. I. Uioara de Jos-Gruicul lui Șip, Alba County. Painted amphora, Petrești culture (Vessel 1).

The lower register (below the four lines surrounding the vessel, towards the bottom, from the middle of the belly, of the distance between it and the handles) is made of thick, parallel lines, whose groupings are arranged in "rafters". Between the rhomboid rafters, on the unpainted rhombus, is a painted point. The lower register is like that of a vessel from Alba Iulia-*Lumea Nouă* belonging to the same Petrești culture¹⁴. The median register is located between the four-line band that borders, at the top, the lower register and the three parallel lines that surround the twinning between the belly and the neck. On the neck and on the upper part of the middle part you can see – in some places – a white font (poorly preserved), over which lie the painted ornaments in dark color.

The ornament of the middle and upper register is made of strips of parallel lines (5-7 lines), arranged in a zigzag and intersected. Their weaving gives the geometric shape of diamonds. The empty spaces inside the diamonds are filled with a dot, made with the same color¹⁵.

¹⁴ Mihai Gligor, *Așezarea neolitică și eneolitică de la Alba Iulia – Lumea Nouă în lumina noilor cercetări*, (Cluj-Napoca: 2009), Pl. CLIX, CLXIII.

¹⁵ Analogies: more dots: Iuliu Paul, *Cultura Petrești*, Pl. XXXVII – vessel from the middle of the plate, Pl. XL/3a (inside), Pl. XLI/5b (inside) and Pl. XLIV/2; one dot: Iuliu Paul, *Cultura Petrești*, Pl. XXXVII/1b; Pl. XLVIII/4 – elongated; Mihai Gligor, *Așezarea neolitică și eneolitică de la Alba Iulia – Lumea Nouă*, Pl. CXLIII/1: at 1a (outside, one dot) and at 1b (inside, more geometric arranged dots)). The edges of the strips are accentuated by short, parallel cuts – painted (analogies: Iuliu Paul, *Cultura Petrești*, Pl. XXXI/16 (right – down), Pl. XLI/1a, 2a, 3, 5a (Petrești culture); *Ceramica neolitică. Meșteșug, artă, tradiție. Trei milenii de spiritualitate preistorică – catalog de expoziție*, (Piatra Neamț: 1995), the cover, left vessel (Cucuteni culture).

In my opinion, this vessel is the central part of the cultic feature, in which the sacred liquid is housed. The height of the vessel is 30,2 cm, the diameter of the mouth is 10,5 cm, the diameter of the bottom is 9,3 cm (NMU Alba Iulia, Inv. No. P. 6604).

The second vessel is a bowl with a faired shoulder and neck perpendicular to the careen (Photo 3-4; Pl II)¹⁶. It also has simple buttons, one at a time, placed on the maximum proximity of the careen. The vessel is made of fine clay, fired, brick-like-yellowish outside and brown yellowish inside, very well smoothed and polished.

As a form, the vessel has analogies in the monograph written by I. Paul¹⁷. The neck is painted with triangles (one by one with the tip towards the lip or careen,” wrapped”) filled with short lines (3, 4 or 5 each – those with 3-4 lines are oriented with the tip towards the lip, the triangles, and those with 5 are oriented – the triangles – with the tip towards the lower part of the vessel, more precisely towards the careen).



Photo 3. Uioara de Jos- *Gruul lui Șip*, Alba County. Painted careened-vessel, Petrești culture (Vessel 2).

¹⁶ Sabin Adrian Luca, Horia Ciugudean, "O depunere ritual", 12-14, Fig. 3-4.

¹⁷ Iuliu Paul, *Cultura Petrești*, Pl. XXIX/careened bowl, Petrești culture, Phase B; Pl. XXIV/28



Photo 4. Uioara de Jos-*Gruicul lui Șip*, Alba County. Painted careened-vessel, Petrești culture (Vessel 2).

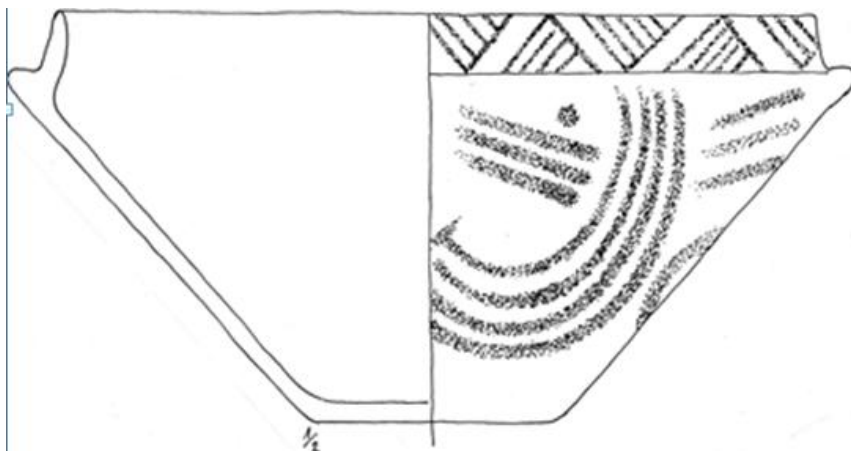
The container is painted as follows. Outside, the painting covers – through different registers – the neck, the careen (the part perpendicular to the neck) and the wall of the vessel (from the careen to the bottom) and is black.

The careen is painted along a fine demarcated line with the neck. Next to the triangles are 3-5 very short lines, arranged – again – at opposite angles.

Finally, the part between the careen and the bottom is ornamented with lines 3-4 times thicker than those at the top, arranged 4 – those that are meandering, at complementary angles (one end of the meander is cut, perpendicularly by a short line) – and slightly oblique to the careen – those that fill the space, three, shorter.

Rarely and without and obvious connection with the geometry of the painting is a dot painted with the brush with which the lower part was painted.

The interior of the vessel is painted with the third brush, in my opinion (due to the thickness of the line). Even if its size (of the brush) is about the same as the one with which the lower space of the vessel's face was painted, it draws a line that has the middle untouched by color. The lines are organized in three – both those that adorn the neck, inside, from the careen to the bottom and the bottom (analogies at Paul 1992, outside – Pl. XXXIII/the vessel from the bottom of the plate has the exterior painted almost identical to our vessel; Pl. XLVV/3c).



Pl. II. Uioara de Jos-*Gruicul lui Șip*, Alba County. Painted careened-vessel, Petrești culture.
The vessel is painted outside and inside (Vessel 2).

The lines that decorate the neck (its back) are three and have a geometric painting direction for half of the vessel and another direction – forming an ideal triangle – on the other half. From the careen to the bottom, the lines are side by side, all three (and on the bottom), being opposite, one group to another, at an angle of about 90° .

The height of the vessel is 20 cm, the diameter of the mouth is 35,9 cm and the diameter of the bottom is 11,7 cm (NMU Alba Iulia, Inv. No. P. 6605).

The vessel with number 3 is also a bowl with a careened shoulder, like the previous vessel (Photo 5-6; Pl. III)¹⁸. It no longer has a straight bottom, and its upper part, that of the careen, is slightly inclined to one side, the connection between the neck and the careen not being perfectly straight and the neck being slightly bent towards the inside of the vessel.

Compared to the previous vessel, it looks more unbalanced. It is made of fine clay, brick-like, polished, and very well fired. And this vessel has two buttons, double, which can be imagined as grabbing on the maximum proximity of the careen. As a form, it has analogies in the monograph written by I. Paul¹⁹.

Like the previous vessels, it is decorated with black paint – like color – slightly to brown. The style of the painting is – for the most part – the same as that of the previous vessel, but – as the shape and category show – the vessel is no longer made by a craftsman, as routine as the one who made the previous vessels, so seems to be made especially for this ritual occasion.

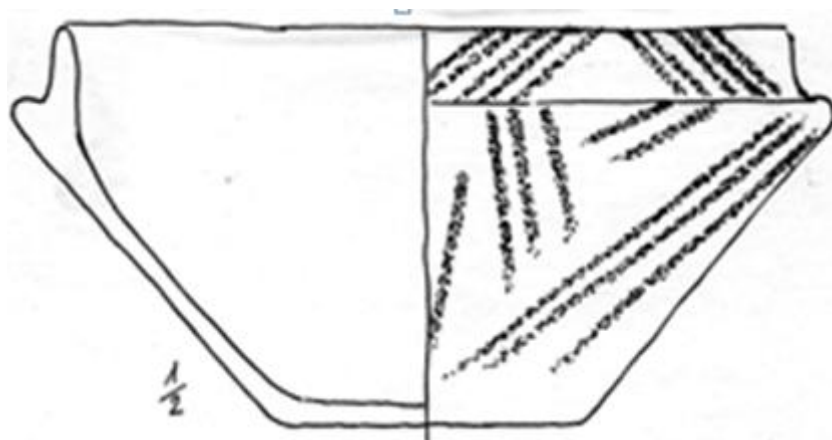
¹⁸ Sabin Adrian Luca, Horia Ciugudean, "O depunere rituală", 14-16, Fig. 5; typologically-stylistically, the vessel can be framed in Phase AB of the Petrești culture: Iuliu Paul, *Cultura Petrești*, Pl. XXIX/careened bowl.

¹⁹ Iuliu Paul, *Cultura Petrești*, Pl. XXIV/25, pl. XLI/5b; XLVII/4c; XLVIII/6c

Only the combustion shows the same craftsmanship, so they were fired in the same oven or in the same type of wood to achieve the temperature (at least Vessels 2-4).

On the outside are painted, slightly differently, the same registers as in Vessel 2. The neck is painted with two brush thicknesses, joining 4 parallel lines that meet in a triangle, at 90°, only on the half of the vessel. On the side perpendicular to the neck of the careen, the idea of painting is relatively the same as for Vessel 2. Continue, towards the bottom, the groupings of lines on the neck. The lower part comprises groupings of two or three lines arranged relatively disorganized, but with the intention of suggesting the virtual intersections of the groupings²⁰. The painted interior is no longer as well organized, as in the arrangement of the ornamental registers, as in Vessel 2. The lines are made – however – with a brush like the one with which the interior of Vessel 2 was painted.

The lines that decorate the inside of the lip seem to be continued towards the bottom, where, however, there are groupings of short lines, arranged relatively chaotically²¹. The height of the vessel is 11 cm, the diameter of the mouth is 19,5 cm, the diameter of the bottom is 8 cm (NMU Alba Iulia, Inv. No. P. 6606).



Pl. III. Uioara de Jos-Gruicul lui Șip, Alba County. Painted careened-vessel, Petrești culture. The vessel is painted outside and inside (Vessel 3).

²⁰ Analogies: Sabin Adrian Luca, *Tărtăria REDIVIVA*, (Alba Iulia: 2016), 181, Fig. 138/1 – exterior part (up), inferior half.

²¹ Analogies: Iuliu Paul, *Cultura Petrești*, Pl. XLVIII/8c.



Photo 5. *Uioara de Jos-Gruicul lui Șip*, Alba County. Painted careened-vessel – exterior part of the Petrești vessel (Vessel 3).

Photo 6. *Uioara de Jos-Gruicul lui Șip*, Alba county. Painted careened-vessel – interior part of the Petrești vessel (Vessel 3).

Vessel number 4 is painted bichrome – this time (red and black)²² (Photo 8).

The vessel is complex – in shape – with a high support leg, slightly quadrilateral-rounded, as a section, and with the vessel on the foot (which continues it) difficult to define, as a shape. The walls of the foot are extremely thick with the clay mixed less well, floury, unpolished – but only very well smoothed – and with the painting not having a very good quality, the one – by the way – general in the Petrești culture. Only the firing is of good quality.

The upper part, the vessel itself, was – probably – thrown away with its breaking, as was the base of the foot (the breaking happened, of course, at the time of the final ritual). We also mention that the foot retains a round perforation²³ towards its upper part and is slightly flared towards the base²⁴.



Photo 7. Uioara de Jos-Gruicul lui Șip, Alba County. Bitronconic vessel, Petrești culture (Vessel 5).



Photo 8. Uioara de Jos-Gruicul lui Șip, Alba County. Bichrome painted vessel base. Petrești culture (Vessel 4).

²² Sabin Adrian Luca, Horia Ciugudean, "O depunere rituală", 16-17, Fig. 6; analogies for the form at: Iuliu Paul, *Cultura Petrești*, Pl. XXIX/support, Petrești culture, phase B, middle vessel.

²³ Analogies for perforation: Sabin Adrian Luca, *Tărtăria REDIVIVA*, 46, Fig. 23.

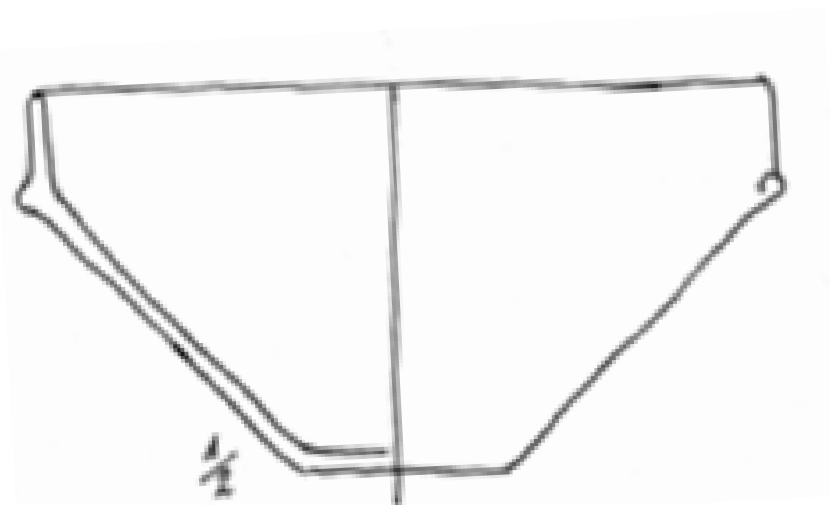
²⁴ In the monography dedicated to the Petrești culture there are perforated legs with rectangular or quare holes: Iuliu Paul, *Cultura Petrești*, Pl. XXVa/9; XXVIII/14; XXIX/support, Petrești culture, Phase AB.

The ornament of the vessel is the painted one. The black painting consists of strips intersected at an angle of 45° by short cuts. On the vessel, at the top of the support leg they (painted strips) are oblique²⁵, and in the bottom (on the foot itself) they are perpendicular to the sole, and filled with bands, either oblique, intersected at an angle of 90° to the middle of the foot height, the band to the upper part of which the perforation is applied; or filled with short lines, intersected by thin bands, perpendicular to its bottom.

Note that at the bottom the red painting completely fills the space of the quadrilateral angle, slightly curved (its corners) of the foot, and at the top it is not possible to define exactly the role of the red painting (and the foot is rounded, a more much in section), limiting us only to mention it (NMU Alba Iulia, Inv. No. P. 6605).

Vessel number 5 is a bi-tronconic bowl, with the shoulder perpendicular to the bottom (Photo 7; Pl. IV)²⁶.

It is made of black clay with red-brick-like firing marks. The button bowl placed on the shoulder, at the twinning between it and the part facing the bottom. The firing is very good and the temper is quite homogeneous.



Pl. IV. Uioara de Jos-Gruicul lui Șip, Alba County. Bitronconic vessel, Petrești culture. Unpainted (Vessel 5).

²⁵ Sabin Adrian Luca, *Tărtăria REDIVIVA*, 202-203, Fig. 155/4.

²⁶ Sabin Adrian Luca, Horia Ciugudean, "O depunere rituală ", p. 18, fig. 7; Iuliu Paul, *Cultura Petrești*, Pl. XXIX, Phase A.

The lip of the vessel is slightly wavy, and its general appearance shows that it belongs to semi-fine ceramics, well smoothed, but unpolished. It seems that this vessel was also made only (especially) for the ritual purpose of the described archaeological feature. As a form it has analogies in the monography written by I. Paul²⁷. The height of the vessel is 9,2 cm, the diameter of the mouth is 15,1 cm and the diameter of the bottom is 4,4 cm (NMU Alba Iulia, Inv. No. P. 6607).

Vessel with number 6 is small, tronconic (Photo 9-10 – left; Pl. V/2)²⁸.

The vessel is made of clay mixed with pebbles, brick-like clay on the outside and greyish inside, being well fired. Like Vessels 3-5, it seems to have been made especially for this warehouse, not being carefully finished. It may have been painted (Fig. 8, Pl. I/1), but the painting left only very fine traces. The height of the vessel is 3,7 cm, the diameter of the mouth is 8,8 cm, the diameter of the bottom is 2,9 cm (NMU Alba Iulia, Inv. No. P. 6608).



Photo 9. Uioara de Jos-*Gruicul lui Șip*, Alba County. Small vessels, Petrești culture. Interior (Vessels 6-7).

Vessel number 7 is small and tronconic, having the shape of a vessel for serving liquids (Photo 9-10 – right; Pl. V/1). It is yellowish inside and brown yellowish with greyish firing marks outside, semi-fine and well fired. It belongs to the series of good vessels, made with greater care and used – by all appearances – for common use, and outside rituals, as well as vessels 1-2 of this ritual deposit.

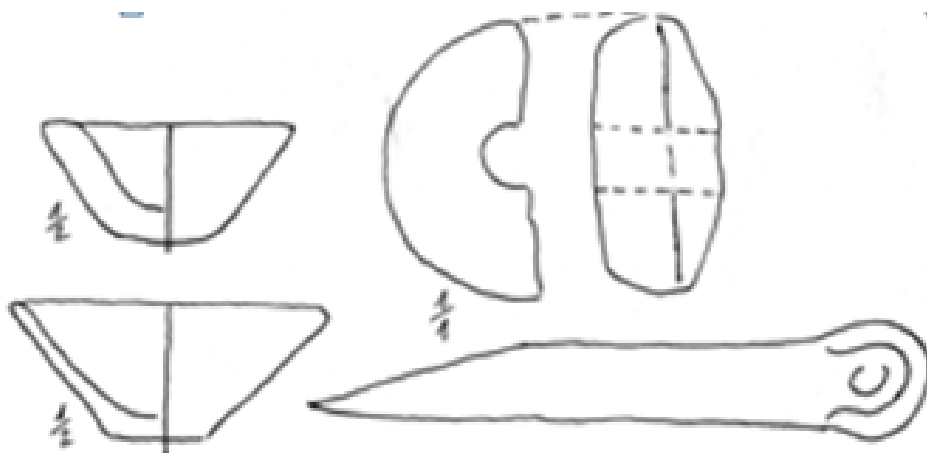
The height of the vessel is 3,2 cm, the diameter of the mouth is 7,2 cm, the diameter of the bottom is 2,9 cm (NMU Alba Iulia, Inv. No. P. 6609).

²⁷ Iuliu Paul, *Cultura Petrești*, Pl. XXIV/9.

²⁸ Vessels 6-7: Sabin Adrian Luca, Horia Ciugudean, "O depunere rituală", 18-19, Fig. 8.



Photo 10. Uioara de Jos-Gruicul lui Șip, Alba County. Small vessels, Petrești culture. Exterior (Vessels 6-7).



Pl. V. Uioara de Jos-Gruicul lui Șip, Alba County. 1 (left-up). Small vessel (Vessel 7); 2 (left-down). Small vessel (Vessel 6); 3 (right-up). Perforated weight, break in two. 4 (right-down). Bone tool.

Piece number 8. The piercer made of bone (Pl. V/4), bird's foot (?) has length of 8,1 cm (Luca, Ciugudean 2018, 19, Pl. I/7). It was made by cutting/chopping/polishing and seems to have been used for serving food. In the ritual process – which seems to have had a strong food meaning – this tool has its place. Unfortunately, the other bones inside the pit mentioned as part of the pit filling were not researched. We could have – maybe – a better picture of the raw material of the meal (which are the animals approved for such a feast, the parts used by the animal) and how it is cooked (meat). You could see on the bones how to cut them when used for food.

Piece number 9. Fragmentary bi-tronconic spindle made of fired clay (Pl. V/3) (Luca, Ciugudean 2018, 19, Pl. I/6). As most of the times when it comes to

rituals, the spindle discovered in this ritual pit is broken exactly into two parts, in the pit being only one of them. We would discover hundreds of broken pieces in this way and we never found only one of them (this meant that the piece itself connects with the world of the dead, half belongs to them, their world, and the other half remains on the surface, either to the family, or to their relatives, to the world of living).

Pieces numbers 10-11. Two poor quality flint scrapers (not show) (Luca, Ciugudean 2018, 19 – not show). Unfortunately, the flint pieces were not found. The observation at discovery (poor quality flint) shows us, however, that it is a local raw material, usual, so common.

Conclusions

Several conclusions are needed analyzing – at least – the composition of the deposit of objects in the feature from Uioara de Jos-*Gruicul lui Șip*²⁹. The vessels in the cult feature published now are of two type:

Type I is that of the vessels used by the community and during daily activities (Vessels 1-2 and 5). We propose this destination based on the more careful way in which they are made, the category, the polish, the way of balancing the ornamental registers and the shapes. But such vessels can undoubtedly have a ritual role. They (the ones discovered on this occasion and in this context) connect with the rituals of the domestic space, being used less often and with a very precise purpose. In our case it is a vessel for storing liquids (Vessel 1), another for serving food – meat, in our opinion (Vessel 2) and a third (Vessel 5) for serving liquids.

Type II belongs to the vessels used only for the ritual process of consecrating the pit (Vessels 3-4 and 6-7). We believe this because they are made, technologically, without too much care, the shapes being a little neatly made, and the painting as well – where it still exists. The general role of one vessel is to store liquids – for suction (vessel 4), and another for serving food – meat, in our opinion (Vessel 3) – and the third role (Vessel 6-7) for serving liquids in small quantities.

We also know that meat was served from Vessels 2-4 and we see it after the burial of a "piercer" ("fork") along with the storage itself. It can also have the purpose of a "fork" because it is made of a bone (of a bird), which splits easily, in environments stronger than this. In meat or other foods, we do not think it can spoil/break very quickly. However, it was only necessary at the time of the unique, ritual feeding.

Vessel 5 can be part – in turn – of category II. In our opinion it is a vessel for heating liquids. The category, the smoothing, and the way of laying the pictorial layer fully show this. Its intentional destruction may be related to its direct use during the ritual process. This ritual can also be linked to the idea of not using it more than once, before burying the warehouse itself. The purpose of half of the spindles discovered on this occasion remains enigmatic.

²⁹ Sabin Adrian Luca, Horia Ciugudean, "O depunere rituală", 19-20.

If it was used by a character during his life, and to defend himself, energetically and ritually, we understand why it had to be broken in two exactly. If it had another role, our above proposal is no longer valid. The magical-ritual practices from the time of the Petrești culture are still little known.

Regarding the inclusion in one of the phases of Petrești culture as proposed by I. Paul in the monography that he printed and dedicated to the culture (A, AB or B). By consulting the notes in the quotations up to this page, we see that the vessels are inscribed, according to form or ornaments, each in a different phase.

According to a well-known principle of archaeological thinking: "the newest product (chronologically speaking) from a closed archaeological feature, requires the dating of the whole feature", so we should include the ritual pit from Uioara de Jos-Gruicul lui Șip in the phase B of the Petrești culture.

*

Pianu de Jos-Podei³⁰ ()

I. Paul proposed the reconstruction of a possible "cult table" or altar, discovered at Pianul de Jos (Fig. 2; Drawings 1-3)³¹. His approach remained, unfortunately a singular one, even if it would fit – maybe – in this case as well (comparison with Uioara de Jos). The cult complex researched and published by him was near a hearth, a hand grinder, whole and completable vessels³².

The fireplace was slightly domed in the middle, and the feature with archaeological materials had nothing around and was -0,50 m deep³³. Ceramic vessels appeared above or in mixture or below, with fragments of adobe³⁴. Analyzing, in detail, all the details of the discoveries, I. Paul concludes that we are in front of a table where the discovered ceramic instruments were³⁵. The discovered vessels are 10 in number (of which 6 are painted and 4 unpainted – among the unpainted are two incised ornaments – a vessel lid and a careened bowl and two others: a lid and another, large, for storage food or grain)³⁶ and were put together by the author in an attempt to recompose the cult table³⁷. I also mention the fact that the vessel published by us in drawing 1 seems to have been made especially for this event, being made more carelessly. This archaeological feature can be included in phase B of the Petrești culture.

Two years after the publication of the cult complex I. Paul publishes a consistent article in which we see the general composition in artifacts and cultures

³⁰ Iuliu Paul, "Un complex de cult descoperit în așezarea neolitică de la Pianul de Jos (r. Sebeș, reg. Hunedoara)". In : *StComBruck* 12 (1965), p. 5-20; Iuliu Paul, *Vorgeschichtliche Untersuchungen in Siebenbüngen* (Alba Iulia: 1995), 81-92.

³¹ Iuliu Paul, "Un complex de cult", p. 5-20; Iuliu Paul, "Așezarea neo-eneolitică de la Pianul de Jos (Podei), jud. Alba". In: *StComBruck* 14 (1969), p. 33-88; Iuliu Paul, *Cultura Petrești*, Pl. LII/3

³² Iuliu Paul, "Un complex de cult", 5, Fig. 1-3.

³³ Iuliu Paul, "Un complex de cult", 6.

³⁴ Iuliu Paul, "Un complex de cult", 8.

³⁵ Iuliu Paul, "Un complex de cult", 10.

³⁶ Iuliu Paul, "Un complex de cult", 11-14, Fig. 3-4; Pl. I.

³⁷ Iuliu Paul, "Un complex de cult", 15, Fig. 4.

of the site from Pianu de Jos-Podei. On this occasion, it was found that the neolithic and eneolithic stratigraphy is made up of the Turdaș, Petrești and Coțofeni cultures, with a great resemblance – with small exceptions – to the Turdaș-Luncă site³⁸.

C. Bem has the same observation when he publishes the results of his research in the same and, on the occasion of carrying out the preventive researches carried out on the occasion of laying the foundations of the Orăștie-Sibiu highway³⁹.

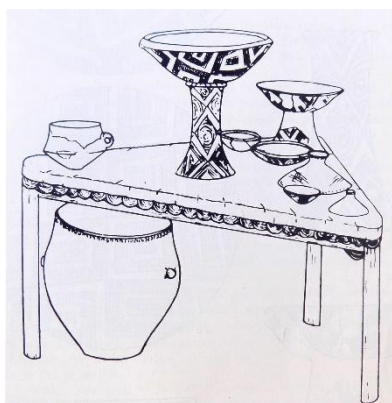


Fig. 2. Pianu de Jos-Podei, Alba County. Reconstruction of the table-altar.



Drawing 1. Pianul de Jos-Podei, Alba County.
Painted vessel, inside and outside (Fr. Weinrich) (Paul 1965, 13 (no. 6), Pl. I/6 (p. 12); Pl. II/5, 5a-5b (p. 16)).

³⁸ Sabin Adrian Luca, *Așezări neolitice pe Valea Mureșului (II). Noi cercetări arheologice la Turdaș-Luncă. Campaniile anilor 1992-1995*, (Alba Iulia : 2001) BMA 17; Sabin Adrian Luca, *Așezări neolitice pe Valea Mureșului (III). Noi cercetări arheologice la Turdaș-Luncă. Campaniile anilor 1996-1998*, (Sibiu: Editura Universității Lucian Blaga, 2018) BS 25; Sabin Adrian Luca, *Un oraș preistoric din Europa. Turdaș-Luncă. Sector A. I.1.*, (Sibiu: Editura Universității Lucian Blaga, 2019) BS 26; Sabin Adrian Luca, *Un oraș preistoric din Europa. Turdaș-Luncă. Sector B. II.1.*, (Sibiu: Editura Universității Lucian Blaga, 2019) BS 27.

³⁹ Cătălin Bem, *Sistemul de fortificație al stațiunii eneolitice de la Pianu de Jos Podei (Alba, România). Între simbolism și rațiune*, (București: 2018) Monografii 10.



Drawing 2. Pianul de Jos-Podei, Alba County. Painted vessel foot (Fr. Weinrich) (Paul 1965, 52, Pl. IV/2a (p. 54); Paul 1992, Pl. XLV/5).



Drawing 3. Pianul de Jos-Podei, Alba County (Fr. Weinrich) Painted vessel foot and the painted vessel above it (Paul 1965, 11-13 (nr. 3), Pl. I/3 (p. 12); Pl. II/3 (p. 16)).

*

A ritual deposit of the Petrești culture was discovered in Sibiu county by M. Macrea (Photo 11; Fig. 3)⁴⁰. This discovery was made in the settlement from Poiana în Pisc⁴¹. In the surface dwelling and in the hut researched on this occasion, ceramic⁴² and plastic⁴³ material specific to the Petrești culture were discovered. Precucuteni materials are also discovered here⁴⁴.

Another important discovery from here is a cult pit that has a number of 10-11 whole vessels, among which 6 could be refilled, unadorned, a fragment of a hearth with a garden and a perforated ax, modeled from clay (Fig. 3 – a part in the inventory of the ritual pit)⁴⁵. The vessels were intentionally broken and buried along with coals and other remains from the funeral banquet⁴⁶.

Archaeological materials belonging to the Boian-Giulești and Coțofeni cultures were also discovered in the same archaeological site.

⁴⁰ Mihail Macrea, "Șantierul arheologic Cașolt-Boița". In: *MCA* 7, 1959, 407-444.

⁴¹ Mihail Macrea, "Șantierul arheologic Cașolt-Boița, 421-429.

⁴² Mihail Macrea, "Șantierul arheologic Cașolt-Boița, Fig. 20 (Criș tradition! In the vision of the discoverer, but obviously, Petrești).

⁴³ Mihail Macrea, "Șantierul arheologic Cașolt-Boița, Fig. 21.

⁴⁴ Mihail Macrea, "Șantierul arheologic Cașolt-Boița, 425, Fig. 23.

⁴⁵ Mihail Macrea, "Șantierul arheologic Cașolt-Boița, 426-429, Fig. 24-25.

⁴⁶ Mihail Macrea, "Șantierul arheologic Cașolt-Boița, 427-428.



Photo 11. Poiana în Pisc, Sibiu County.
The content of the pit.

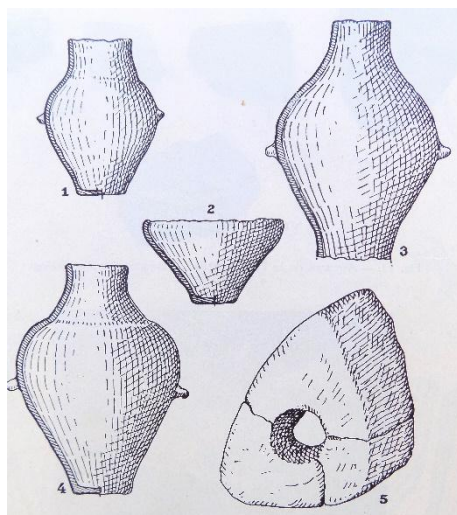


Fig. 3. Poiana în Pisc, Sibiu County. Part of the content of the pit, restored.



Photo 12. Poiana în Pisc, Sibiu County.
Hearth.



Photo 13. Poiana în Pisc, Sibiu County.
Ritual pit.

I. Paul⁴⁷ continues, later, the research from Poiana în Pisc. In addition to two surface dwellings (Photo 12 – hearth of one of them) was discovered a pit (ritual, in the opinion of the discoverer, but also ours) in which were buried two large vessels (Photo 13 – vessels *in situ*)⁴⁸.

The characteristics of the Petrești settlement from Poiana în Pisc show us an archaeological site of great importance, probably included in one of the beginning sub-phases of the culture (phase A or AB). Remarkable are the special pits, some – certainly – rituals, illustrated in this article.

*

⁴⁷ Iuliu Paul, "Așezarea neolitică târzie de la "Poiana în Pisc" (com. Cașolț, raionul Sibiu)". In : *MCA*, 7 (1961), 107-120.

⁴⁸ Iuliu Paul, "Așezarea neolitică târzie de la "Poiana în Pisc", 115-116, Fig. 9-10

At Moșna-Râpă/Tablă, at least three pits were discovered (arranged around or at the edges of a surface dwelling), like the one in Uioara de Jos a deposit of vessels.

The settlement has been mentioned – already – in the literature (photo 14-15)⁴⁹. We are reminded of the discovery at this time, and we are not publishing it in its entirety – because the current article is a synthesis, and the full article is being written for printing⁵⁰.



Photo 14. Moșna-Râpă Tablă, Sibiu County. Petrești ritual pit remains.



Photo 15. Moșna-Râpă Tablă, Sibiu County. Remains from the bottom of the Petrești ritual pit. Detail with ceramic and osteological fragments, integrable vessels, adobe.

We limit ourselves to starting that in the composition of the filling of this feature is a grinder, adobe and vessels decorated with painting (two are illustrated here, in this article, in photo 16-17), along with others, unpainted. According to all the typological-stylistic characteristics, this archaeological feature can be included in phase AB and B of the Petrești culture.

Tărtăria-Gura Luncii. Excavations from 1989, coordinated by I. Paul, led to the discovery – in section I, which I coordinated 0 of a ritual pits filled with painted or unpainted vessels and other archaeological materials. The archaeological material is at the National Museum of the Union in Alba Iulia (excavations were coordinated by I. Paul. The pit is unpublished. Some of the archaeological materials are exhibited in the basic exhibition of the Alba Iulia Museum).

The richness in painted archaeological materials belonging to the Petrești culture from Tărtăria (phase A or AB of the culture) is special. Only the latest publications can be consulted to prove this⁵¹.

⁴⁹ Lazăr, Georgescu 2004; Gonciar *et al* 2007; Tincu 2011, 17, *Petrești culture*. Summary of the doctoral thesis, "Lucian Blaga" University of Sibiu

⁵⁰ Luca *et al* 2021. Contributors: A. Georgescu, A. Gonciar and M.D. Lazăr

⁵¹ Sabin Adrian Luca, *Tărtăria REDIVIVA*; Sabin Adrian Luca, Florentina Martiș, *Album. Evoluția picturii în situl neolitic și eneolitic de la Tărtăria-Gura Luncii (I)*, (Sibiu: 2018) BB 75; Sabin Adrian

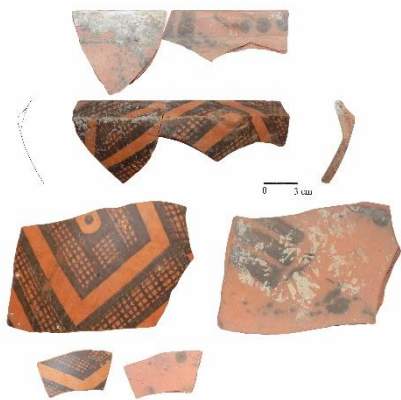


Photo 16. Moșna-Râpă *Tablă*, Sibiu County. Pit 2. Petrești vessel AB decorated with painting (outside and inside).



Photo 17. Moșna-Râpă *Tablă*, Sibiu County. Pit 7. Petrești vessel AB decorated with painting.



Photo 18. Ghirbom., Alba County. The dwelling near which the ritual complex was discovered.

Finally, we must mention the ritual archaeological complex from Ghirbom⁵². The dwelling researched in this site had an agglomeration of archaeological materials that attracted special attention (ceramic vessels – many painted – axes, carved and bone tools)⁵³.

Near to this dwelling, or at one of the edges, a ritual deposit was discovered compared to the one from Pianu de Jos-Holm published by I. Paul and mentioned in this article as well. I. Al. Aldea reminds about a cult table and a possible altar in adobe⁵⁴, covered with painting.

Also here was discovered a deer head (made of clay) covered with brown paint – with linear and angular motifs and a clay tablet covered with signs/incisions⁵⁵. There is also a hearth near this feature⁵⁶. The ritual complex consists of 8 vessels⁵⁷, a deer's head⁵⁸ and a clay table⁵⁹.

The component vessels of the ritual complex are published⁶⁰ (Photo 19) separately from the large painted vessel⁶¹ (Photo 20). Interestingly, the author of the discovery considers that it is followed by a feminine component (imitation of the shape of the woman's body) and the drop is extremely laborious and suggestive, in addition to painted lines and "signs" there are points made with finger (opinion of the author). It is interesting that these points are also inside the vessel.

Conclusions

Within the Petrești culture is a "fashion", that of making ritual deposits (usually in pits) that have the following characteristics:

- are usually pits, in association with grinders.
- many of these pits are associated with hearths or adobe.
- when there is increased attention, tools are also found in these archaeological features.
- some of the vessels of the ritual pits are decorated with paintings, with a great diversity of motifs and colors (black, red and white, sometimes in combinations of bichrome or polychrome – trichrome), relatively chronologically framed – especially – in phases AB and B; it should be

⁵² Ioan Al. Aldea, "Altarul" magico-ritual descoperit în așezarea neolitică de la Ghirbom (com. Berghin, jud. Alba). In: *Apulum* 7 (1974), p. 40-47

⁵³ Ioan Al. Aldea, "Altarul" magico-ritual", 40.

⁵⁴ With sides around 1 m – Ioan Al. Aldea, "Altarul" magico-ritual", 43.

⁵⁵ Ioan Al. Aldea, "Altarul" magico-ritual", 41.

⁵⁶ Ioan Al. Aldea, "Altarul" magico-ritual", 43.

⁵⁷ Ioan Al. Aldea, "Altarul" magico-ritual", 43-45.

⁵⁸ Ioan Al. Aldea, "Altarul" magico-ritual", 41, 45.

⁵⁹ Ioan Al. Aldea, "Altarul" magico-ritual", 41, 45.

⁶⁰ Ioan Al. Aldea, "Altarul" magico-ritual", Fig. 2.

⁶¹ Ioan Al. Aldea, "Altarul" magico-ritual", Fig. 3.

noted that the vessels decorated with painting are made by an extremely good technology of mixing, firing and finishing.

- there are, less frequently, unpainted vessels, decorated with incisions; extremely good mixing, firing and finishing technology is also found – sometimes – in these vessels.

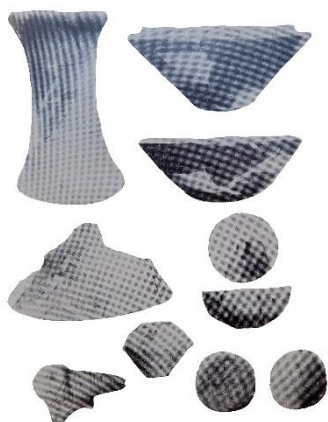


Photo 19. Ghirbom. Alba County.
Some of the archaeological materials of
the ritual complex (Aldea 1974, Fig. 2).

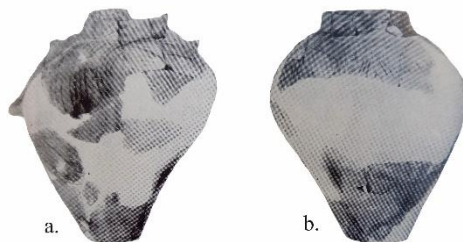


Photo 20. Ghirbom. Alba County. Large painted
vessel (Aldea 1974, Fig. 3).

*

- unpainted vessels – sometimes made, technologically, excellent – are found in all phases.
- there are in these deposits also vessels that seem to be built especially for these rituals.
- the rituals related to these pits are related to eating habits, difficult to individualize, related – perhaps – to feeding, consecration of the quantity and quality of food, but also to” praise” the quantities of food obtained (with food – grains – or with meat).
- of course, these rituals are also related to the harvest, the periods of these moments and the worship of specific gods.
- these rituals consecrate – by all appearances – all the dwellings of the Petrești settlements. Some surrounding archaeological cultures” borrow” this custom, along with some of the cult vessels and the specific ritual, by all appearances.
- *the ritual of consecrating the dwellings, through banquets dedicated to fertility and fecundity, is so well known at the time, around the Apuseni Mountains, that it is spread in cultural environments west of them.*

Notes

If most researchers of Romanian prehistory are proud of the art of the Romanian Neolithic⁶², with painted or sculptural pieces created by these civilizations, and in the last great academic synthesis published in 10 volumes, the place of prehistory it is very well covered⁶³. In the last two volumes published under the same aegis that reflect art and the evolution of art in Romania⁶⁴, *there is no prehistoric art* (we are a unique case in Europe, at least!). Chapter I describes Folk art, and Chapter II Art on the territory of Romania from the beginning until the VI century but without illustrated or written references in detail to the Paleolithic, Mesolithic, Neolithic or Eneolithic!

⁶² Vladimir Dumitrescu, *Arta neolitică*, (București: 1968); Vladimir Dumitrescu, *Arta culturii Cucuteni*, (București: 1979); Vladimir Dumitrescu, Alexandru Vulpe, *Dacia înainte de Dromichete*, (București: 1983).

⁶³ Istoria Românilor, 2010, (Chapter II., 103-206. Authors: N. Ursulescu, M. Petrescu-Dîmbovița, D. Monah. Petrești culture, 154, Fig. 22. The art – 179-188, Fig. 24-29)

⁶⁴ *Arta din România*, Răzvan Theodorescu, Marius Porumb (eds.), (București-Cluj-Napoca: 2018).

Illustration

Figures

Fig. 1. Location of the investigated sites in the area of Ocna Mureș.

Fig. 2. Pianul de Jos-*Podei*, Alba County. Reconstruction of the table-altar.

Fig. 3. Poiana în Pisc, Sibiu County. Part of the content of the pit, restored.

Drawings

Drawing 1. Pianul de Jos-*Podei*, Alba County. Painted vessel, inside and outside (Fr. Weinrich).

Drawing 2. Pianul de Jos-*Podei*, Alba County. Painted vessel foot (Fr. Weinrich).

Drawing 3. Pianul de Jos-*Podei*, Alba County (Fr. Weinrich) Painted vessel foot and the painted vessel above it.

Photos

Photo 1. Uioara de Jos-*Gruicul lui Șip*, Alba County. Painted amphora, Petrești culture (vessel 1).

Photo 2. Uioara de Jos-*Gruicul lui Șip*, Alba County. Painted amphora, Petrești culture. Detail with the belly of the vessel.

Photo 3. Uioara de Jos- *Gruicul lui Șip*, Alba County. Painted careened-vessel, Petrești culture (vessel 2).

Photo 4. Uioara de Jos-*Gruicul lui Șip*, Alba County. Painted careened-vessel, Petrești culture (vessel 2).

Photo 5. Uioara de Jos-*Gruicul lui Șip*, Alba County. Painted careened-vessel – exterior part of the Petrești vessel (vessel 3).

Photo 6. Uioara de Jos-*Gruicul lui Șip*, Alba County. Painted careened-vessel – interior part of the Petrești vessel (vessel 3).

Photo 7. Uioara de Jos-*Gruicul lui Șip*, Alba County. Bitronconic vessel, Petrești culture (vessel 5).

Photo 8. Uioara de Jos-*Gruicul lui Șip*, Alba County. Bichrome painted vessel base. Petrești culture (vessel 4).

Photo 9. Uioara de Jos-*Gruicul lui Șip*, Alba County. Small vessels, Petrești culture. Interior (vessels 6-7).

Photo 10. Uioara de Jos-*Gruicul lui Șip*, Alba County. Small vessels, Petrești culture. Exterior (vessels 6-7).

Photo 11. Poiana în Pisc, Sibiu County. The content of the pit.

Photo 12. Poiana în Pisc, Sibiu County. Hearth.

Photo 13. Poiana în Pisc, Sibiu County. Ritual pit.

Photo 14. Moșna-*RâpăTablă*, Sibiu County. Petrești ritual pit remains.

Photo 15. Moșna-*RâpăTablă*, Sibiu county. Remains from the bottom of the Petrești ritual pit. Detail with ceramic and osteological fragments, integrable vessels, adobe.

Photo 16. Moșna-RâpăTablă, Sibiu County. Pit 2. Petrești vessel AB decorated with painting (outside and inside).

Photo 17. Moșna-RâpăTablă, Sibiu County. Pit 7. Petrești vessel AB decorated with painting.

Photo 18. Ghirbom. Alba County. The dwelling near which the ritual complex was discovered.

Photo 19. Ghirbom. Alba County. Some of the archaeological materials of the ritual complex.

Photo 20. Ghirbom. Alba County. Large painted vessel.

Plates

Pl. I. Uioara de Jos-*Gruicul lui Șip*, Alba County. Painted amphora, Petrești culture (vessel 1).

Pl. II. Uioara de Jos-*Gruicul lui Șip*, Alba County. Painted careened-vessel, Petrești culture. The vessel is painted outside and inside (vessel 2).

Pl. III. Uioara de Jos-*Gruicul lui Șip*, Alba County. Painted careened-vessel, Petrești culture. The vessel is painted outside and inside (vessel 3).

Pl. IV. Uioara de Jos-*Gruicul lui Șip*, Alba County. Bitronconic vessel, Petrești culture. Unpainted (vessel 5).

Pl. V. Uioara de Jos-*Gruicul lui Șip*, Alba County. 1 (left-up). Small vessel (vessel 7); 2 (left down). Small vessel (vessel 6); 3 (right-up). Perforated weight break in two. 4 (right-down). Bone tool.

History

At the Turn of the Fourteenth Century: Sigismund of Luxemburg and the Wallachian Princely “Stars” of the Fifteenth Century*

Alexandru Simon**

Abstract: *In late spring 1398, the noble judges of the Inner Szolnok County rejected John Toth as the legal representative of Stephen I, voivode of Moldavia. Toth (i.e. the Slav/ Slovak, chiefly in later centuries) was in fact merely the procurator of Stephen's appointed procurator (representative), a certain John, the son of Costea. Mircea I the Elder, the voivode of Wallachia, was experiencing similar legal problems at the time in the Voivodate of Transylvania. In January 1399, his procurator, Nicholas Dobokai of Luduş, the son of Ladislav Dobokai (the relative of Mircea's step-uncle, Wladislaw I Vlaicu), had to admit he did not know the exact boundaries of the estate of the Hunyad castle, recently granted by Sigismund of Luxemburg to Mircea. The two documents, almost trivial in essence, point towards two neglected issues: the first Transylvanian estates granted by a king of Hungary to a voivode of Moldavia and to the transalpine origins of the Hunyadi family. Placed in the context of other edited and unedited sources (charters and chronicles), the documents in question provide new perspectives on the beginnings and actions of famed Wallachian personalities of the next century.*

Keywords: *Doboka (Dăbâca), Hunyad, Transylvania, Wallachia, Sigismund Luxemburg, Mircea I of Wallachia, Stephen I of Moldavia, John Hunyadi.*

In late spring 1398, the noble judges of the Inner Szolnok County¹ rejected John *Toth* as the legal representative of Stephen I, voivode of Moldavia. Toth (i.e.

* The paper is the result of a presentation ('Sigismund of Luxemburg and Wallachia in 1387') delivered at the *The Court and Chancery of Emperor Sigismund* conference, organized by the Masaryk University (Brno) and the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Centre for Medieval Studies (Vienna) in Brno (November 18-21, 2015).

** Research Professor Habil., Romanian Academy, Centre for Transylvanian Studies, Cluj-Napoca; E-mail: alexandru.simon@acad.ro/ alexandrusimon2003@gmail.com.

¹ For the counties in the area and their peculiarities: András W. Kovács, "The Authorities of Middle Solnoc and Crasna Counties in the Middle Ages", and Géza Hegyi, "The Affiliation of the Sălaj (Szilágy) Region in the Mirror of Social Relations", in *Institutional Structures and Elites in the Sălaj Region and in Transylvania in the 14th-18th Centuries* (=Transylvanian Review, XXI, suppl. 2), edited by A. W. Kovács (Cluj-Napoca, 2012), pp. 31-66 (at pp. 43-45), 67-99 (at pp. 77-86).

the Slav/ Slovak) was in fact merely the procurator of Stephen's appointed procurator (representative), a certain John, the son of Costea.² The case apparently went cold.

Nos Leusthasius de Zilagthew, Iohannes, filius Iacobi de Zilkerek, iudices nobilium comitatus de Zonuk interiori, memorie commendamus quod, quia Iacobus dictus Toth coram nobis sic dicebat quod ipse procurator magnifici viri Stephani, vayvode Moldaviensis, esset et in persona ipsius coram nobis setit, cum tamen comes comitatus de Zonuk interiori litteram procuratoriam postulasset et coram nobilibus comprovincie legere fecisset, tamen litera procuratoria non tenebat quod prefatus Iacobus dictus Toth esset procurator magnifici viri Stephani, vayvode Moldaviensis, sed procurator Iohannis, filii Coztha; ideo, nobiles comprovincie, in sede nostra iudiciaria consedentibus, taliter decreverunt quod procurator procuratorem facere non posset, declarato, tamen, quod prefatum Iacobum dictum Thoth, Iohannes, filius Coztha, officialis viri magnifici Stephani, vayvode Molda-viensis, procuratorem constituisset.// Datum in Dees, feria quarta proxima ante festum Penthecosthes, anno domini MCCC nonagesimo octavo (Dej, May 22, 1398).³

Mircea I *the Elder*, voivode of Wallachia, was experiencing similar legal problems at the time in the Voivodate of Transylvania.⁴ His procurator, Nicholas of Luduş, the son of Ladislav Dobokai, the *relative* of Mircea's step-uncle, Wladislaw I *Vlaicu*,⁵ had to admit that he did not know the exact boundaries of the estate of the *Hunyad* castle, recently granted by Sigismund of Luxemburg to Mircea. Nicholas thus asked for time so that he could grow familiar with the estate. His request was granted.⁶

² For the document, see also Matei Cazacu, "À propos de Iaţco de Suceava: entre le mythe et la réalité", in *Istoria ca lectură a lumii. Profesorului Alexandru Zub la împlinirea vârstei de 60 de ani*, edited by Gabriel Bădăraş, Leonid Bociu, Lucian Năstăsă (Iaşi, 1994 [1998]), pp. 97-114, at pp. 101-102.

³ Magyar Országos Levéltár, Budapest, Diplomatikai Levéltár (DL), [no.] 27382; partially edited in *Documenta Romaniae Historica* (DRH), D. *Relaţiile între Ţările Române, I. 1222-1456*, edited by Ştefan Pascu, Constantin Cihodaru, Konrad G. Gündisch, Damaschin Mioc, Viorica Pervain (Bucharest, 1977), no. 102, pp. 169-170; calendared in *Documenta Historiam Valachorum in Hungaria illustrantia*, edited by Imre Lukinich, László Gáldi, Antal Fekete Nagy, László Makkai (Budapest, 1940), no. 455, p. 504; and afterwards in *Zsigmondkori Oklevéltár*, [general-editors Elemér Mályusz, Iván Borsa, Norbert C. Tóth,] I. *1386-1399*, edited by E. Mályusz (Budapest, 1951) (ZsO), no. 5330, p. 587.

⁴ The legal aspects of such (political) relations have been downplayed rather frequently.

⁵ Romanian historiography apparently paid no attention to the identity of Mircea I's procurator ever since the source was officially brought to its attention in the 1950s. For the relation between Wladislaw I and Ladislav Dobokai, to whom he granted estates in the Transylvanian Duchy of Făgăraş: DRH, D, I, no. 60, p. 104 (1372). For the history of the branches of the Dobokai family (of Dăbâca), including that of one ban of Severin, Mikud (in the 1260s-1270s): Marius Diaconescu, *Structura nobilimii din Transilvania în epoca angevină* (Cluj-Napoca, 2013 [2014]), pp. 185-188.

⁶ The source first discussed of Iosif [József] Pataki, "Ceva despre relaţiile Ţării Româneşti cu Ungaria la sfârşitul veacului al XIV-lea", *Studii şi Materiale de Istorie Medie*, II (1957), pp. 421-429, at p. 424.

[...] *Nicolaus de Ludas, pro magnifico viro domino Meche, waywoda partis Transalpine, cum procuratoriis litteris eiusdem in nostram [...] castrum Hunyad, simulcum possessionis Saluasara predicta ac aliis possessionibus et portionibus possessionariis, ad idem castrum pertinentibus, de novo [...] per regiam maiestatem [...] collatum existere allegans retulit eo modo, quod ipse de cursibus metarum seu signorum metalium possessionum predictarum et per omnia inscius haberetur [...] (Turda, January 23, 1399).*⁷

The two documents, almost trivial in essence, point towards two neglected issues: (1) the first Transylvanian estates granted by a king of Hungary to a voivode of Moldavia⁸ and to (2) the *transalpine* origins of the Hunyadi family,⁹ although the *Hunyad* estate (and castle), granted to Mircea, was usually identified with the Bologa castle, near Huedin (*Bánffy-hunyad* in later records), west of the city of Cluj.¹⁰ Each of the issues seemingly stand at that very basis of the Wallachian policies in the 1400s.

The Princely Wallachian Roots and Claims of John Hunyadi. A most peculiar copy of the *Chronicle of the Counts of Cilly*, altered prior to 1504 in the entourage of King Matthias Corvinus' illegitimate son, duke John, claimed that John Hunyadi had in fact been Mircea I's offspring (i.e. son).¹¹ John Hunyadi was usually rumoured to have been Sigismund of Luxemburg's natural son (the rumor, launched against John Hunyadi in order to explain his spectacular political rise, was strongly refuted by his son, Matthias; entourage, though it would have supported the royal candidacy of Matthias' own illegitimate child, John, the only

⁷ MOL, DL 28768. Calendared in ZsO, I, no. 5680, p. 627. Passages from the document were edited in DRH, D, I, no. 104, p. 171.

⁸ Stephen III was conventionally considered the first Moldavian recipient of such Transylvanian estates, in the last part of Matthias Corvinus' reign (see also M. Diaconescu, "Contribuții la datarea donației Ciceului și Cetății de Baltă lui Ștefan cel Mare", *Analele Putnei*, IX (2013), 1, pp. 91-112).

⁹ For an overview of the issue: András Kubinyi, *Matthias Rex* (Budapest, 2008), pp. 7-12.

¹⁰ For the confusions between *Vajdahunyad* (Hunedoara) and *Bánffy-hunyad* (Huedin), designating also the nearby fortress at Bologa (otherwise known as *Sebesvár*): Pál Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301-1457*, I-II (Budapest, 1996 [CD version 2000]).

¹¹ Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (BStB), Abendländische Handschriften, Codices Germanici Monacenses (CGM), [no.] 5350, pp. 89-263: *Gräff Zillische Cronnica*. Preserved in a copy written after 1624 (because of the reference to the Habsburg embassy to Istanbul, at p. 41), the version was drafted after 1492 (according to the notes on pp. 242, 256), under the patronage of Hartmann Schedel (1440-1514), the known humanist from Nürnberg; his library also contained the only preserved copy (1502) of the so-called *Moldavian-German Chronicle* of Stephen III of Moldavia (BStB, Codices Latini Monacenses (CLM), 952. *Chronica breviter scripta Stephani dei gratia voivoda terrarum Moldannensium necon Valachyensium*). This version that has eluded the learned comparative edition of Franz von Krones (*Die Freien von Saneck und ihre Chronik als Grafen von Cilli*, I-II (Graz, 1883)) can be dated under the circumstances only to the days of John Corvinus († October 1504), more precisely after his return to actual Hungarian power (1496-1498). Otherwise, the glorifying "adaptation" of the chronicle would not have aided any member of the *Corvinus* family.

member of the Hunyadi family to officially bear the name Corvinus).¹² At the time of the royal donation of 1398,¹³ Mircea of Wallachia already held the Amlaş and Făgăraş duchies in southern Transylvania¹⁴ and was married to a high-ranking Hungarian lady.¹⁵

[The sub-chapter] *Iohannes Corvini origo, patria et parentes* [began with] *Merckh* [name placed above the actual text as sort of title] *dessen Herkommens Corvinus gewesen <ist>. Corvinus war von sainem Vathern ein Wallach, von der Muther ein Kriegh [Greek] und hat sein Geschlecht durch mancherley ritterliche Thathen zu grossen Ehren bracht, und ist für sich selbst auch nit von schlechten Leithen gebohren gewest. [...]* [The classical presentation of the Roman roots of the Wallachian followed. Then, starting at John's birth in *Corvino* (Cuvin/ Keve on the Danube), like in Antonio Bonfini's *Decades*, the story returned – by means of the Wallachian-Serbian-Hungarian *melting-pot* on the Danube¹⁶ – to the origins of John's mother.] [...] *Die Mutter ist von Reiss, alter Geschlechte* [i.e. John's mother was from *Rascia*/ Serbia].¹⁷ [...] [The presentation in the altered chronicle concluded with John Hunyadi's "apotheosis".] [...] *Was Corvinus für ein Mann gewesen? Er war ein solcher Mann in welichem erschiene die römische Dapfferkhait, Waisheit und treue Mannheit. [...]*.¹⁸

At about the same time (c. 1399), the influential monk, Nicodimus of Tismana, of princely Serbian descent, closely connected to Sigismund of

¹² On John's rise: P. Engel, "Hunyadi pályakezdése", in *Nobilimea românească din Transilvania. Az erdélyi román nemesség*, edited by M. Diaconescu, Ioan Drăgan (Satu-Mare, 1997), pp. 91-109.

¹³ The above-quoted charter prevents us from endorsing a much earlier dating. The donation was probably a result of the failed crusade of Nicopolis (1396). Hence, the donation took place the earliest in 1397. The same largely applies in the case of Stephen I.

¹⁴ Despite the obviously nationalist title, see also Ilie Minea, *Din trecutul stăpânirii românești asupra Ardealului. Pierderea Amlaşului și Făgăraşului* (offprint *Convorbiri Literare*, XLVIII) (Bucharest, 1914).

¹⁵ The Hungarian charters recorded her only as the wife of Mircea. The same later applied for Vlad III *Dracula*'s first wife, closely related to Matthias. The Wallachian sources named her solely the mother of Michael, Mircea's son and heir. Because of her estates in Hungary proper (near Balaton), she was considered a member of the Bánffy family of the Tomai kindred (see also Ioan-Aurel Pop, "Stăpânirile lui Mircea în Transilvania", *Revista de Istorie*, XXXIX (1986), 7, pp. 685-695, at p. 693).

¹⁶ See in these matters also Péter Kulcsár, "Antonio Bonfini és műve", in A. Bonfini, *A magyar történelem tízezei*, translated by P. Kulcsár (Budapest, 1995), pp. 915-922. The manuscript of Bonfini († c. 1502) was well in political circulation by the time of the Congress of Vienna (1515).

¹⁷ For further information on these questions: Al. Simon, "La parentèle ottomane du roi Mathias Corvin", in *Matthias Corvinus und seine Zeit: Europa am Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit zwischen Wien und Konstantinopel* (=Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, CDX), edited by Christian Gastgeber, Ekaterini Mitsiou, I.-A. Pop, Mihailo Popović, Johannes Preiser Kapeller, Al. Simon (Vienna, 2011), pp. 25-33. Because of the various Serbian-Byzantine matrimonial ties, the statement above did not actually contradict the previously asserted Greek origins of John's mother. In effect, in the end, the story implied a Hunyadi (*Corvinus*) genetic synthesis between the Romans (through the Wallachian father of John) and the Greeks (through his Serbian mother).

¹⁸ BStB, CGM 5350, pp. 174, 176-177. An edition of this version could prove most useful.

Luxemburg,¹⁹ left Wallachia. He settled in the Hunyad County (for some six years), most likely at the Prislop Monastery.²⁰ In stories on Nicodimus' miracles, Matthias occasionally took Sigismund's place as the Hungarian king impressed by Nicodimus' *Orthodox* virtue.²¹

Rather unsurprisingly, while on the eventually disastrous road to Varna (1444), John Hunyadi confirmed Sigismund's privileges²² for the monastic foundations of Nicodimus in Western Wallachia (i.e. Oltenia): Tismana and Vodița.²³ In 1473, when Usun Hassan's victory over Mehmed II in Asian Minor seemed sealed (the opposite occurred), Matthias granted special freedoms to the Monastery of Cozia (similarly in Oltenia), the necropolis of Mircea I of Wallachia.²⁴ Both father and son, John (who had been promised the crown of Bulgaria in mid-1444), and Matthias, focused on the Monasteries of Tismana, Vodița and Cozia, on the eve of major anti-Ottoman offensive. These onslaughts were – supposed – to alter the status of Wallachia, and consequently that of its western parts (northern Oltenia, i.e., the Gorj region, if not entire Oltenia, named the *Land of Severin*, had been united with the Land of Hațeg until the 1270s, when the latter was incorporated into the Hunedoara County).²⁵

¹⁹ See also the data in Đurađ Sp. Radojičić, “*Bulgaroalbanitoblahos et Serboalbanitobulgaroblahos*: deux caractéristiques ethniques du Sud-Est Européen du XIV^e et XV^e siècle. Nicodème de Tismana et Grégoire Camblak”, *Romanoslavica*, XIII (1966), pp. 77-79.

²⁰ See I.-A. Pop, Al. Simon, “Misiunile Sfântului Nicodim în contextul politicilor bisericești ale Venetiei și Ungariei”, *Mitropolia Olteniei*, LVIII (2006), 9-12, pp. 234-252. We use the Hungarian denomination of the county instead of the Romanian one (Hunedoara) because of issue of the identities of the *Hunyad* castles of 1399 and 1409. The name <Bánffy>-*Hunyad* was later applied to the Huedin borough in the vicinity of the Bologa fortress (in Cluj County). The name *Hunyad* stood for both the fortress and the county (Hunedoara), where the transalpine members of the Hunyadi family settled. Nicodimus' temporary residence was in nearby Prislop (at least at the end of stay in Transylvania). There, in 6912 (1404/1405), he was *in his sixth year of refuge*, according to a manuscript note. Within probably a year (certainly by 1406), Nicodimus returned to Wallachia, prior to the Severin meeting and reconciliation between Sigismund and Mircea (November 1406).

²¹ For these hagiographic relations: Virgil Ciociltan, “Întelesul politic al *minunii* Sfântului Nicodim de la Tismana”, *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie*, XXII (2004), pp. 153-168, with further references.

²² DRH, D, I, no. 276, pp. 384-387. The charter was issued at the start of the campaign of Varna (that ended in disaster on November 10), in Orșova (on the Danube), on September 20, 1444.

²³ DRH, D, I, no. 125, pp. 204-205; nos. 128-129, pp. 210-212; no. 169, pp. 266-268. All royal (Hungarian) privileges (1419-1428) were issued after Mircea I's death (1418). Only *Drachendespot* Stephen Lazarević, Nicodimus' relative, granted a (Serbian) privilege during Mircea's rule (1406).

²⁴ DRH, B. *Țara Românească*, I. 1250-1500, edited by P.P. Panaiteșcu, Damaschin Mioc (Bucharest, 1966), no. 144, pp. 240-241. The royal deed was issued on June 29, 1473. At that time, Mehmed II was fighting Usun Hassan in Asia Minor. The sultan eventually won in early August. Supported by Matthias Corvinus, Stephen III then attacked pro-Ottoman Wallachia in November 1473.

²⁵ King Louis I of Anjou “returned” to the lords of (unified) Wallachia only (the Duchies of) Amlaș and Făgăraș. The “return” of Hațeg would have signified the complete loss of direct royal control over the Southern Carpathians, except the Saxon centers of Sibiu, north-west of Amlaș, and Brașov, east of Făgăraș (with emphasis on the 1360s, see I.-A. Pop, *From the Hands of the Schismatic*

In 1409, roughly a decade after the royal donation of *Hunyad* to Mircea, and also after Nicodimus' return to Wallachia (by 1406),²⁶ Sigismund officially granted the *Hunyad* castle, in south-western Transylvania (in the Land of Hațeg),²⁷ to Voicu and his kindred, including his son, John, the future John Hunyadi.²⁸ *Jancho* (Johnnie in Serbian) in Balkan, Wallachian, as well as in Italian milieus,²⁹ John Hunyadi, already regent (governour) of Hungary at that time, claimed – for a short while – the throne of Wallachia for himself (in early December 1447), after executing the illegitimate son of Mircea, Vlad II *Dracul*, father to the infamous Vlad III *the Impaler (Dracula)*.³⁰ Albeit rather fictional, the idea of Matthias Corvinus' retaking *parental Wallachia* – as king of Hungary (moreover) – made quite an

Wallachians: *The Romanians and Power in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary (13th-14th Centuries)* (New York-Oxford-Frankfurt-am-Main-Basel-Vienna, 2013), pp. 414-434, 457-478)..

²⁶ In addition to the abovementioned “coincidences”, the events must be viewed in connection because of the debates on the actual date when the *Hunyad* estate was donated to Voicu. The royal deed of 1409 was also viewed as a reconfirmation of an earlier royal grant (for an overview: Radu Lupescu, “Matthias Hunyadi: from the Family Origins to the Threshold of Power”, in *Matthias Corvinus, the King: Tradition and Renewal in the Hungarian Royal Court 1458–1490*, edited by Péter Farbaký, Enikő Spekner, Katalin Szende, András Vég (Budapest, 2008), pp. 35-49, at p. 39).

²⁷ Church history might be useful for the understanding of these issues (usually dealt with separately): Hațeg vs Amlaș and Făgăraș. In the 1390s, the Greek rite authority over Transylvania (the voivodate and its Hungarian “appendixes”) was divided – north vs south – with the approval of the royal crown and the benediction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople (for the context: Ș. Papacostea, “Byzance et la création de la Métropole de Moldavie”, *Études Byzantines et Post-Byzantines*, II (1991), pp. 133-150). The northern parts, down to the Someș rivers, were entrusted to the Peristavrophiha (in the Maramureș County), founded by the Dragoș family. The southern parts reverted to the Metropolitanate of Wallachia (*Ungrovlachia* in official records). The only exception was the Land of Hațeg (i.e. the Hunedoara County). Certainly between 1404 and 1407 (precisely on the eve of the first official record on the Hunyadi family in the region, in 1409 and during Nicodimus' stay at Prislop, between 1398/1399 and 1405/1406) the land was under the ecclesiastical control of the Metropolitanate of Severin (Vladimir Agrișoroaiei, “An *Interpretatio Wallahica* of Serbian Cultural Patterns: The Cases of Ribița, Streisângiorgiu and Crișcior (but also Râmteț)”, in *Transylvania in the Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries: Aspects of the Formation and Consolidation of Regional Identity* (= *Annales Universitatis Apulensis. Series Historica*, XVI, 2), edited by Cosmin Popa-Gorjanu (Alba Iulia, 2012), pp. 105-136, at pp. 110-112). The natural connection between the Severin (the Banate of) and Hațeg influenced also the beginnings of John Hunyadi's career. He made his military and political debut on the Danube, under Pippo Spano and Stephen Lazarević (hence also the Cuvin/Keve legend).

²⁸ For a summary of his rise (based on the main known sources and literature): Kubinyi, *Matthias Rex*, pp. 7-13; Lupescu, “Matthias Hunyadi”, pp. 38-44.

²⁹ For more information on these matters: I.-A. Pop, “The Names in the Family of King Matthias: From Old Sources to Contemporary Historiography”, in *Matthias Rex 1458-1490. Hungary at the Dawn of the Renaissance* (= *Ethnographica et folkloristica Carpathica*, XVII), edited by Elek Bartha, Róbert Keményfi, Zsófia Vincze Kata (Debrecen, 2012), pp. 11-40.

³⁰ MOL, DL 29793 (4th of December 1447; last edited in DRH, D, I, no. 286, pp. 394-396). *Johannes de Hunyad, regni Hungariae gubernator ac, Dei gracia, parcium Transalpinarum wayuoda*, issued the charter in *civitate nostra Tergouisthya* [Târgoviște, the capital of Wallachia]. For the Hungarian-Wallachian-Ottoman context: Francisc Pall, “Intervenția lui Iancu de Hunedoara în Țara Românească și Moldova în anii 1447-1448”, *Studii. Revistă de Istorie*, XVI (1963), 5, pp. 1049-1072.

“international” career until the end of the fifteenth century, reaching even Burgundy and also France in Western Europe.³¹

Moldavia and the Heirs of Dragoș (of Maramureș) and Voicu (of Hunyad). The Hunyadi princely Wallachian claims seemingly exceeded medieval relations and facts.³² Yet they appear to have been well-rooted in Sigismund’s deeds and charters from the end of the 14th (1398-1399)³³ and the beginning of the 15th century (1405-1409)³⁴. Almost naturally, the Wallachian deeds of Sigismund

³¹ E.g. Philippe de Commines, *Mémoires*, edited by Joseph Calmette, I. 1464-1473 (Paris, 1924), p. 339; II. 1474-1483 (Paris, 1925), pp. 335-338; III. 1484-1498 (Paris 1925), p. 169. Much of the information was probably circulated in the late 1480s, when King Matthias attempted to secure the custody of Sultan Bayezid II’s brother, Djem, who was held by the Knights Hospitaller in their centres in the French realm (Al. Simon, “Lumea lui Djem. Buda, Suceava și Istanbul în anii 1480”, *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie* George Barițiu, XLVIII (2005), pp. 11-43).

³² It would be the safest assumption under the present circumstances (see also Péter E. Kovács, “A Hunyadi család”, in *Mátyás király. Emlékkönyv Mátyás király halálának 500. évfordulójára*, edited by Gyula Rázsó, László V. Molnár (Budapest, 1990), pp. 29-51). The extant medieval information also enables “bolder” perspectives. At any rate, Voicu’s rank of court knight clearly indicates that he belonged to the “better families” (Kubinyi, *Matthias Rex*, pp. 8-9). Drag’s son, Alexander (1419), enjoyed the same status, even after his father’s downfall (ZsO, VII. 1419-1420 (Budapest, 2001), no. 1174, p. 287), and so did, Vlad II *Dracul*, the illegitimate son of Mircea I, and later also member of the Order of the Dragon (see also DRH, D, I, no. 172, pp. 273-274; no. 179, pp. 279-280).

³³ In effect, the charters on Stephen I’s and Mircea I’s Transylvanian (feudal) concerns (May 1398 and January 1399) point – because of their necessary legal background – towards the Diet of Timișoara (E. Mályusz, *Kaiser Sigismund in Ungarn (1387-1437)* (Budapest, 1990), pp. 46-48, 136-166). Unfortunately, unlike in the case of the Hungarian Diet of April 1467 (that approved direct royal control over Amlaș, Făgăraș and Rodna, in view of their granting to the voivodes of Wallachia and Moldavia, on the eve of another planned anti-Ottoman offensive) no records from the file of Diet of September-October 1397, related to the lords of Wallachia and Moldavia, have been identified so far. In relation to the 1390s and to the early 1400s, the matter is of particular importance because – on ecclesiastical soil (where the Church largely followed the lines laid down by the secular administration, either through stately units or through large estates, such as those of the Dragoș) – Hațeg belonged to a different “entity”. Though nominally a part of the Voivodate of Transylvania, the land (included in the Hunedoara County) belonged to structure around Severin, basically an extended version of the so-called *Land of Severin* (that – under the last Arpadians – had encompassed Western Wallachia/ Oltenia). In effect, Severin (proper), Oltenia and Hațeg formed – from a royal perspective – one entity. At least two thirds (Severin and Oltenia) were held by Mircea, ban of Severin. The acceptance of the “Olt union” between Oltenia and Muntenia (central Wallachia) was been one of the main issues in the relation between the Angevine kings and the first voivodes of (Transalpine) Wallachia (Ș. Papacostea, “Prima unire românească. Voievodatul de Argeș și Țara Severin”, *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie*, XXVIII (2010), pp. 9-24).

³⁴ In this chronological framework, we must single out the meeting between Sigismund and Mircea at Severin (a Hungarian-Wallachian *condominium*) in November 1406, most likely brokered by Nicodimus (P.P. Panaitescu, *Mircea cel Bătrân*, edited by Gheorghe Lazăr (Bucharest, 2000²), pp. 368-369). In that context, Nicodimus’ monastic foundations received grants from both Mircea and despot Stephen Lazarević (reconciled on this occasion with the lord of Wallachia), one of the “founding members” (as a Greek rite Christian) of the Order of the Dragon in 1408 (M. Popović, “The Order of the Dragon and the Serbian Despot Stefan Lazarević”, in *Emperor Sigismund and the*

were chronologically separated by the Hungarian pro-Angevine rebellion that nearly brought his reign to an end.³⁵ Almost paradoxically, the latter events return our attention to Stephen I.

The archenemies of Stephen I's House (of Bogdan), the Drágffy family (i.e. the House of Dragoș),³⁶ previously Sigismund's loyal supporters, were among the king's main opponents during that rebellion.³⁷ Based in the County of Maramureș, north of Transylvania, the Drágffys, who had previously acted as mediators between the king and the Wallachians in the Land of Hațeg,³⁸ also held

Orthodox World (=Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, CDIX), edited by E. Mitsiou, M. Popović, J. Preiser-Kapeller, Al. Simon (Vienna, 2010), pp. 103-106).

³⁵ For an outline of the events between 1398 and 1403: Mályusz, *Kaiser Sigismund*, pp. 59-68. The Wallachian involvement in the crisis still has to be researched. In comparison, we re-draw attention to the role of Dan I (c. 1382-1386), Mircea's step-brother and predecessor, in the previous Hungarian civil war, more precisely to a passage, *ad annum 1386*, from a passage in Hector von Müllich's chronicle (c. 1420-c. 1490): [...] *Am Sant Jacobs Tag* [July 25 <1386>] *kam der Wasserwaider von Ungern* [Dan I of Wallachia] *and den Groß Grafen von Ungern* [count-palatine Nicholas (I) Garai] *und schlug den im Veld zu Tod und enthauptet ainen Ritter, der den König Karl von Pülen* [Charles of Anjou/ Durazzo] *ermodet hett, und pracht die Künigin von Ungern* [Elisabeth, Louis I's widow, accompanied by her daughter, Maria, Sigismund's wife] *zu Väncknus, die das Mord gestiftet hett, da ward Sigismund* [of Luxemburg] *Künig zu Hungern, der hernach Kaiser ward* [...] (*Die Chronik des Hector <von> Müllich, 1348-1487*, in *Die Chroniken der schwäbischen Städte*, III. Augsburg (=Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert, XXII), edited by Franz Roth (Leipzig, 1892), pp. 1-274, at p. 29; cf. Alexandru Ciociltan, "Din biografia cavalerului Friedrich von Kreuzpeck", *Revista Istorică*, NS, XXI (2010), 5-6, pp. 537-550, at p. 545, note 44).

³⁶ M. Diaconescu, "Dragoș descălecătorul Moldovei: între legendă și realitate", in *Nobilimea românească din Transilvania*, pp. 77-90. Dragoș was a "royal creation". He made his fortune serving Louis I.

³⁷ For an "eastern perspective": K.G. Gündisch, "Siebenbürgen und der Aufruhr von 1403 gegen Sigismund von Luxemburg", *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, XVI (1976), 3, pp. 399-420.

³⁸ For a discussion of the sources: Radu Popa, *La începuturile Evului Mediu românesc: Țara Hațegului în secolul al XIV-lea* (Bucharest, 1988), pp. 291-293. Without entering any "pan-Wallachian" rhetoric, it is obvious that the Dragoș kindred (who – furthermore – had preserved their Greek rite even under Louis I) had at that time the dominant position among the Wallachians in the Hungarian realm, with a – seemingly direct – impact over both "Wallachian borders" of the kingdom (see also M. Diaconescu, Erika Kató, "Incursiunea moldovenilor în Maramureș în 1395. Noi aspecte ale relațiilor moldo-polone", *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie A.D. Xenopol*, XXXII (1995), pp. 147-155). In order to have an insight into the complexity of these border relations, we must note that in early 1395 Sigismund attacked Moldavia via its southern pro-Hungarian *Lower Country*, and Stephen I responded with a raid in northern Maramureș, by then the "fief" of the Dragoș family. The same pattern ("plus" a Moldavian attack on the Szeklerland in eastern Transylvania) applied for the confrontations of 1467-1469 between Matthias and Stephen III (Ș. Papacostea, "Un épisode de la rivalité polono-hongroise au XV^e siècle: la campagne de Mathias Corvin en Moldavie (1467) à la lumière d'une source inédite", *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* (Bucarest), VIII (1969), 6, pp. 967-979). In reference to the events seven decades earlier, we also recall the royal (Arpadian) administrative "foundation" of future Moldavia, the *Borkoth County* (north of the *Lower Country* of Moldavia), designation featured in a neglected papal charter from 1327 (Al. Simon, "Principele Dominic, secuii și Țara de Jos a Moldovei", *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie A.D. Xenopol*, LI (2014), suppl., pp. 59-76).

important estates in the Inner Szolnok County.³⁹ These estates were – now – bordered by Stephen's lands.⁴⁰

Within a few years (1395-1398),⁴¹ Stephen went from Sigismund's foe (Stephen's pro-Ottoman⁴² and pro-Polish enthronement had led to an instant royal Hungarian campaign against him)⁴³ to his vassal (with lands in Transylvania, registered after the Nicopolis disaster).⁴⁴ The Drágffys turned away from Sigismund. They lost almost all influence, until Matthias Corvinus' reign.⁴⁵ The

³⁹ Lajos Thálloczy, *A Kamara Haszna (lucrum camerae) története kapcsolatban a magyar adó- és pénzügy fejlődésével* (Budapest, 1879), Appendix, no. 37, pp. 180-185. The data from 1427-1428 (more than two decades after the downfall of the family) reveals the significant extent of the estates of Drágffy in the Inner Szolnok County, as well as a multitude of voivodes in the region, altogether a rather problematic local feudal system.

⁴⁰ The involvement of the judges of the county and the presence of the procurator(s) of Stephen I can only be associated with a feudal matter within the boundaries of the Inner Szolnok County. In the absence of any other evidence, we must presume that the issue of the estate(s) did not predate the reign of Sigismund (and, given the extant sources, the rule of Roman I, the only time span between 1387 and 1396/1398 when Sigismund was not in conflict with the rulers of Moldavia), even though it would be tempting to connect the matter of the estate(s) to the establishment of Angevine suzerainty over Moldavia around 1377-1378 (see Ș. Papacostea, "Domni români și regi angevini: înfruntarea finală (1370-1382)", *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie A.D. Xenopol*, XXIII (1986), suppl., pp. 571-581). The *interregnum* of 1382-1386/1387 cannot be completely ruled out as potential candidate for an earlier dating of the donation (because – for instance – of the abovementioned Wallachian involvement in the Hungarian crisis). Yet the peculiar features of the region that included the Inner Szolnok County and the proximity of the estates of the growingly influential Dragoș family advocate caution.

⁴¹ Constantin Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică a domnilor din Țara Românească și Moldova (a. 1324-1881)*, I. *Secolele XIV-XVI* (Bucharest, 2001), pp. 460-463. His rule ended under mysterious circumstances (possibly in battle against the Tartars). Nevertheless, like all Moldavian rulers (except for his successor Jaga, dethroned and imprisoned by Mircea I in 1400) from Bogdan I († c. 1367) and until Alexander I (1400-1432), Stephen I was buried in the princely necropolis of Rădăuți.

⁴² For Thomas Ebendorf (*Chronica regem Romanorum* (= *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Scriptores, NS, 18), edited by Harald Zimmermann, I (Hannover, 2003), p. 552), 1395 was the year when Moldavia came under Ottoman domination. According to Johannes Löwenklau (*Annales Sultanorum Othomaniarum a Turcis sua lingua scripti*, (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1588), p. 312), Stephen was the first ruler of Moldavia to accept Ottoman suzerainty. This had in fact occurred under Peter I (c. 1390). His brother and – unwanted – successor – Roman I changed sides (1392-1394). Until, Stephen I came to power, Moldavia supported Sigismund and Mircea against the *Turks* (Al. Simon, "Bisericile Turcului: *valahii* lui Spandounes și geneza Mitropoliilor Țării Românești și Moldovei", *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai. Theologia Orthodoxa*, XVII (2010), 1, pp. 91-97, mainly at pp. 94-95).

⁴³ Radu Manolescu, "Campania lui Sigismund de Luxemburg în Moldova (1395)", *Analele Universității București. Istorie*, XV (1965), pp. 65-72.

⁴⁴ Without Stephen I's approval, Sigismund could not have made it, via the Danube Mounds, to Constantinople after Nicopolis. Moldavia controlled the Dniestr Mounds and partially the Danube Mounds (Al. Simon, "*Annus Mirabilis 1387*: King Sigismund, the Ottomans and the Orthodox Christians in the Late 1380s and Early 1390s", in *Emperor Sigismund*, pp. 125-150, at p. 143).

⁴⁵ For further information, see Richárd Horváth, "A Bélteki Drágfiak és a királyi udvar kapcsolata a Hunyadiak korában (1424-1490)", in *A Szilágyság és a Wesselényi család (14-17. század)*, edited by G. Hegyi, A.W. Kovács (Kolozsvár, 2013), pp. 167-212.

Drágffys' return to power largely coincided with the marriage between *Mary*, the daughter of King Matthias' trustee Bartholomew Drágffy,⁴⁶ and Alexander, the Moldavian heir of Stephen III, in the summer of 1489.⁴⁷ After Sigismund of Luxemburg's grant to Stephen I, almost a century earlier (at any rate, a risky royal Hungarian decision for it also implied areas defined by strong feelings of local autonomy⁴⁸), Stephen III was the first – known – ruler of Moldavia to receive (certainly two) estates in the Kingdom of Hungary.

Even though the issue was finalized almost a decade later, the first known official royal promise of an estate (i.e., a refuge castle) for Stephen III dates from 1482.⁴⁹ It was the result of a series of negotiations initiated some three years earlier, in which Stephen I “played his part”. On the new tombstone placed by Stephen III upon Stephen I's grave in Rădăuți (1480), Stephen I was designated – a unique occurrence (among all contemporary tombstones) – as *the one who had defeated the Hungarians at Hindău*.⁵⁰ Previously, no one in Moldavia (or in Jagiello Poland, Hungary's rival), had claimed that Stephen I had won *at Hindău*. Noteworthy enough, John Thuróczy (prior to 1488) and Antonio Bonfini (after 1486), Matthias Corvinus' chroniclers, paid almost equal attention to Sigismund's Moldavian campaign of January-February 1395 and to Matthias' largely ill-fated expedition from November-December 1467.⁵¹

Stephen III's lineage may prove relevant under our Sigismundian circumstances as well.⁵² He was Bogdan II of Moldavia's illegitimate son (the most

⁴⁶ Tibor Neumann, “Drágfi Bertalan politikai szerepe II. Ulászló király idején”, in *A Szilágyság*, pp. 213-236. He became voivode of Transylvania (1493), aiding Stephen III of Moldavia against the Jagiellonian brothers, Wladislaw II, Jan Albert of Poland and Sigismund (1497).

⁴⁷ M. Diaconescu, “Peștorii nepoatei lui Ștefan cel Mare în 1517. Despre căsătoria lui Alexandru cu fiica lui Bartolomeu Drágfi”, *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie A.D. Xenopol*, XLIX (2012), pp. 55-70, at pp. 60-63.

⁴⁸ See in this respect Tudor Sălăgean, “«Contrat» et «révolte»: traditions politiques dans le nord-ouest de la Transylvanie à la fin du règne de Sigismund de Luxembourg”, and Szilárd Süttő, “Spuren einer vom niederen Adel ausgeübten Autonomie im Siebenbürgen des ausgehenden 14. Jahrhunderts”, in *A Century in History (=Mélanges d'Histoire Générale*, NS, II, 1-2), II. *A Century in the History of Transylvania. The Later Crusades, Humanism, Church Union and Social Mobility at the End of the Middle Ages*, edited by I. Drăgan, I.-A. Pop, T. Sălăgean, Al. Simon (Cluj-Napoca, 2008), pp. 161-170, and pp. 185-195.

⁴⁹ Cristian Luca, Al. Simon, “Documentary Perspectives on Matthias Corvinus and Stephen the Great”, *Transylvanian Review*, XVII (2008), 3, pp. 85-112, at p. 88.

⁵⁰ *Repertoriul monumentelor și obiectelor de artă din timpul lui Ștefan cel Mare*, edited by Mihai Berza (Bucharest, 1958), no. 59, p. 255.

⁵¹ See also I.-A. Pop, Al. Simon, “The Venetian and Walachian Roots of the Ottoman-Hungarian Truce of 1468: Notes on Documents in the State Archives of Milan”, in *The Italian Peninsula and Europe's Eastern Borders. 1204-1669 (=Eastern and Central European Studies*, I), edited by Iulian Mihai Damian, I.-A. Pop, M. Popović, Al. Simon (New York-Oxford-Basel-Frankfurt-am-Main-Vienna, 2012), pp. 283-302, at p. 285.

⁵² For more information on his family, see Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică*, I, pp. 513-515.

loyal to John Hunyadi of all Wallachian rulers⁵³), the illegitimate at best son of Alexander I *the Just*, the son of Roman I (i.e. Stephen I's predecessor) and of his second wife, Radu I of Wallachia's sister or cousin.⁵⁴ In 1400, less than a year after the death of Stephen I (Roman I's son from his first – Lithuanian – marriage),⁵⁵ Mircea I, Radu I's son,⁵⁶ enthroned the "Wallachian son" of Roman (Mircea's ally during his short rule as sole voivode of Moldavia between 1391/1392 and 1394⁵⁷) and took Moldavia under his Wallachian suzerainty.⁵⁸ In the mid-1470s, Mircea,

⁵³ See Sorin Iftimi, "La politique de Jean Hunyadi en Moldavie", în *Between Worlds* (=Mélanges d'Histoire Générale, NS, I-2), II. Extincta est lucerna orbis. *John Hunyadi and his Time*, edited by Ana Dumitran, Loránd L. Mátyás, Al. Simon (Cluj-Napoca, 2009), pp. 365-378.

⁵⁴ E.g., Mark Whelan, Al. Simon, "A New Source on Moldavian Politics at the End of the Rule of Alexander I the Just", *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie*, XXXI (2015), pp. 149-160.

⁵⁵ Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică*, I, pp. 460-473. The – sadly – more than dubious genetic analysis of the remains of the voivodes buried in Rădăuți prevents us from other assessments regarding Roman I and his family, Stephen I and his half-brothers included.

⁵⁶ Likely, unlike his brother and predecessor Dan I (whose downfall he apparently endorsed), Mircea I was Radu I's son from his second marriage. 17th century sources claim that Mircea's mother (her name was recorded as *Calinichia*, but at a time when she was already a nun) was the daughter of Lazar Hrebeljanović, the father of Stephen Lazarević. Lazar's youngest daughter, Theodora, wed Nicholas II, the son of Nicholas I Garai, approximately a year after (March-April 1387) his father had fallen in combat at the end of July 1386, apparently against Dan I. Dan then lost his life (within a month or two), fighting John Shishman, Tsar of Bulgarian Târnovo, whose son, Alexander, had married Dragana, Theodora's younger sister, earlier that same year (for these Balkan connections: John V. A. Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest* (Ann Arbor, 1994²), 387-389, 395-398). After Lazar's death at Kossopolje (1389), Mircea I (who most likely however did not support him) claimed Podunavia (in the Serbian-Hungarian-Wallachian *triconfinium*), formerly in Lazar's possession (Marian Coman, "*Podunavia și relațiile sârbo-muntene în secolele XIV-XVI*", in *Istoria. Utopie, amintire și proiect de viitor* <Festschrift Andrei Pippidi>, edited by Ovidiu Cristea, Radu G. Păun (Iași, 2013), pp. 239-258). The absence of additional reliable sources advocates caution (see also A. Pippidi, "Despre Dan voievod: Rectificări cronologice și genealogice", *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie*, XXXI (2013), pp. 47-96, at pp. 72-73, for the dating of Mircea I's enthronement).

⁵⁷ Simon, "*Annus Mirabilis 1387*", pp. 142-144. Roman I apparently also supported Sigismund against Wladislaw II Jagiello in their Podolian conflicts (Ilona Czamańska, *Moldavia i Woloszczyzna wobec Polski, Węgier i Turcji w XIV i XV wieku* (Poznań, 1996), 56-57). He may have even lost his life during them. Immediately after his enthronement, Stephen I swore allegiance to Wladislaw II in early January 1395, with Sigismund's troops at his border. The preparations for the campaign had begun in December 1394 (Manolescu, "Campania lui Sigismund de Luxemburg", pp. 65-66).

⁵⁸ Ș. Papacostea, "Aux débuts de l'état moldave. Considerations en marge d'une nouvelle source", *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, XII (1973), 1, pp. 139-158, at pp. 149-150. As part of the arrangement, Alexander conceded the direct connection between Hungary and the Danube Mounds (via the Oituz pass) to Mircea. The connection (part of the so-called *Lower Country* of Moldavia) had come under Moldavian control under Roman I, who had won the throne (1391/1392) against the sons of his brother, Peter I, the anti-Hungarian (and pro-Ottoman) ally of Mircea I and Wladislaw I, according to the arrangements of 1389-1390 (Simon, "*Bisericile Turcului*", pp. 94-95). Stephen III in his official chronicle had to admit Mircea I's role in the enthronement of Alexander I, though he omitted to mention the support he had received from Mircea's nephew, Vlad III *Dracula*, the son of Vlad II *Dracul*, in 1457 (*Letopisețul anonim al Moldovei*, in *Cronicile slavo-române din secolele XV-XVI publicate de Ioan Bogdan*, edited by P.P. Panaitescu (Bucharest, 1959), pp. 6-23, at pp. 14-15).

though quite voluntarily confused with nephew Vlad III *the Impaller* (*Dracula*) was regarded in a German pro-Habsburg treatise on the rise of the *Turks* as *Dracula de Molda et Walachia*, who had successfully fought against Sultan Bayezid I, victorious over Sigismund at Nicopolis in 1396.⁵⁹ After (reluctantly) acknowledging that Mircea I had indeed enthroned Alexander I in Moldavia, Stephen, notorious for his Wallachian ambitions,⁶⁰ took over, at least at the end of his rule, in his coat of arms the colours (green and gold) of Alexander *Basarab*,⁶¹ married to Lady Clara *de Ungaria*,⁶² who was probably Radu I's mother.⁶³

⁵⁹ BSStB, CLM, 14668, ff. 7^r-43^r, at ff. 23^r, 24^v

⁶⁰ Al. Simon, "From *Wallachia* to *Dacia*: International Politics and Political Ideology in the Last Decades of the Fifteenth Century", in *Government and Law in Medieval Moldavia, Transylvania and Wallachia* (= *Studies in Russia and Eastern Europe*, XI), edited by Martyn Rady, Al. Simon (London, 2013), pp. 91-100.

⁶¹ Dan Cernovodeanu, *Știința și arta heraldică în România* (Bucharest, 1977), p. 67. The Wallachian princely coat of arms was discovered only in 1920 when the so-called Grave 10 was found in the Princely St. Nicholas Church in Curtea de Argeș, more than four centuries after Stephen's colored coat of arms (1502). The identity of the deceased (usually deemed to have been Radu I or his brother and predecessor Wladislaw I) was not established until recently, following ¹⁴C dating and DNA analysis (see Beatrice Kelemen, Adrian Ioniță, Alexandru Simon, "Între *Negru Vodă* și *Prințul Negru* al Țării Românești: mormântul 10 din Biserica Sfântul Nicolae Domnesc de la Curtea de Argeș", *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie* A.D. Xenopol, LI (2014), pp. 1-44). The visual identity between the two coats of arms (i.e. green and yellow/ gold, not red and white/ silver, Arpadian stripes) – separated by some 150 years (the very limit of medieval –oral – memory) is thus even more striking.

⁶² Pope Innocent VI recorded her in August 1360 as *Clara de Ungaria, Wayuodissa Vlachie* (Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Vatican City, Registra Avenionensis, [no.] 144. 1359-1360, f. 473^v). Alike (some two decades later) the Duchy of Moldavia (a *Latin* rite state between 1370 and 1385/1386), Wallachia had received its first crown from the Papacy, from Pope Clement VI (c. late 1345-early 1347), about a decade after the marriage between Alexander, the son of Basarab I, and Clara, probably – because of her title and because of the post-Arpadian royal Hungarian context – an illegitimate daughter of Charles-Robert, the father of Louis I (B. Kelemen, A. Ioniță, Al. Simon, "De la Biserica Argeș I la Biserica Argeș II: vremea Țării Românești și a Bisericii Sfântul Nicolae Domnesc", *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie* A.D. Xenopol, LII (2015), pp. 1-58). She was the mother of Louis' *quandam suam consanguineam* (*Ancha*) for whom, in winter 1346-1347, permission to marry Stephen Urosh V, the son of Stephen Urosh IV Dushan (recently crowned emperor) was requested from Clement VI (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (ÖNB), Codices, 2042, f. 1^r, Sima Cirković, "O jednoj srpsko-ugarskoj alijansi", *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta*, XLIV (2007), 2, pp. 411-421, at pp. 420-421; this became a "very long engagement").

⁶³ Wladislaw I and Radu I were certainly brothers, according to Dan I's charter of 1385 for – interestingly enough – Tismana, Nicodimus' foundation (DRH, B, I, no. 7, pp. 19-22). According to Pope Urban V in 1370 (*Acta Urbani P.P. V (1362-1370)* (= *Fontes*, III, 11), edited by Aloisie L. Tăutu (Rome, 1964), nos. 180-d, pp. 305-308; no. 193, p. 237). Clara, the mother of Anna of Bulgarian Vidin (the wife of John Stratsimir, John Shishman's half-brother and rival) and of *Ancha* of Serbia (the wife of Stephen Urosh V), was Wladislaw I's *noverca* (meaning primarily stepmother, but also adoptive mother and even mother-in-law). Alexander certainly had a son, Voislav (a typically Serbian name, never used afterwards by the Wallachian elites), buried next to him in Curtea de Argeș, according to Voislav's tombstone discovered – likewise – in 1920 (see also Virgil Drăghiceanu's notes in *Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice*, X-XVI (1917-1923), pp. X, 264).

Aside from Venetian “administrative records” related to the election of Matthias as king of Hungary in 1458⁶⁴ or from John Hunyadi’s Wallachian “usurpation” of 1447,⁶⁵ the Moldavian sources may provide the sole contemporary evidence for the princely Wallachian roots of the Hunyadi clan⁶⁶. The chronicles of the Monastery of Putna, the necropolis of Stephen III and of his legitimate successors,⁶⁷ recorded Matthias’s death and spoke highly of him (though they emphasized “his Moldavian defeat” at Baia in December 1467).⁶⁸ All other deaths mentioned in these chronicles belonged to members of the House of Bogdan or to their relatives (by marriage).⁶⁹

The Putna chronicles acknowledged in effect Matthias as a relative of the House of Bogdan,⁷⁰ in a manner quite like that of Stephen III’s own acceptance of Dragoș and of his sons as the first voivodes of Moldavia.⁷¹ Fact or fiction,⁷² the

⁶⁴ Stefano Magno, *Annali veneti et del mondo*, I-IV [1433-1478] (=ÖNB, Cods. 6214-6217), III [1457-1468 (=Cod. 6216)], *Ad annum 1457 [More Veneto 1458]*, f. 6^r. Matthias was [...] *d’origine humile de progenie de Valacchia* [...].

⁶⁵ DRH, D, I, no. 286, p. 394; Pall, “Intervenția lui Iancu de Hunedoara”, pp. 1069-1070.

⁶⁶ In spite of numerous studies, this “detail” has passed unnoticed until quite recently.

⁶⁷ See also Ștefan S. Gorovei, Maria-Magdalena Székely, *Princeps omni laude maior. O istorie a lui Ștefan cel Mare* (Putna, 2005), pp. 9-13, 75-76.

⁶⁸ The texts were last edited in *Cronicile Slavo Române* (they predate the final preserved version of the Stephen III’s “official chronicle”, though the latter ended with the year 1507): *Letopisețul de la Putna I*, pp. 43-52 (1359-1526), at pp. 49, 50; *Letopisețul de la Putna II*, pp. 55-66 (1359-1519), at pp. 62, 64.

⁶⁹ Such as Ivan Ivanovitch, the son of Ivan III of Moscow, married to Helena, the daughter of Stephen III and of Evdochia of Kyiv. He died a month before Matthias. Yet the chronicles (*Putna I* and *II*) recorded his death after that of Matthias. Stephen III’s so-called “official chronicle” mentioned none of the two deaths and further omitted – in comparison to the deaths recorded in the two chronicles from Putna – the death of the influential metropolite of Moldavia, Theoctist I (1477), as well as that of Stephen III’s first wife, Evdochia of Kyiv, who had passed away when Matthias entered Moldavia in November 1467.

⁷⁰ With the mention of Stephen III’s death, these chronicles basically ended. *Putna I* briefly mentioned the enthronements of Bogdan III (1504) and Stephen IV (1517), Stephen IV’s success over the Tartars (1519), the Ottoman victories over the Hungarians at Belgrade and Mohács (1521 and 1526) and the death of Peter, Bogdan III’s son and Stephen IV’s (half?) brother (25th of September 1526). The *Putna II* mentioned the enthronement and the death of Bogdan III, as well as the enthronement of Stephen IV, ending with the narration of Stephen IV’s victory (i.e., of the captains of the – at that time – approximately ten year old prince) over the Tartars. Not even the death of Mary Voichița (Branković), the last wife of Stephen III and Bogdan III’s mother (1510), was recorded, though she was buried in Putna, like her mother, Mary Despina (the wife of Radu III, the son of Vlad II). Her death in 1500 had been duly registered by both chronicles.

⁷¹ In Stephen III’s “official chronicle”, Ladislav/ *Lațcu* (c. 1367-c. 1373), the first Moldavian monarch (as *Latin* rite duke since 1370) was deemed the son of Sas, the son of Dragoș, the (first) founder of Moldavia (in 1359. *Lațcu* had – thus – ruled before Bogdan I (who in fact ruled just before *Lațcu*, between c. 1363 and c. 1367). On the tombstone placed – similarly in Rădăuți – by Stephen III on *Lațcu*’s grave no mention was made regarding *Lațcu*’s father (In the chronicles from Putna, *Lațcu* was correctly placed after Bogdan I, as his son). All preserved (new) princely tombstones were placed in Rădăuți by Stephen III (for, in the chronological order of their installement, Roman I, *Lațcu*, Bogdan, Alexander I’s maternal brother, Bogdan I and Bogdan, Alexander I’s son) between mid-

princely Wallachian roots of the sons of Alexander I *the Just* of Moldavia, as well as of Voicu of Hunedoara were endorsed by medieval Moldavian monastic sources.⁷³

Wallachian Dynastic Alliances. Sigismund of Luxemburg was most aware of Wallachian princely “genealogies”⁷⁴. The three known daughters (*Ancha*/Alexandra,⁷⁵ Anna and Elisabeth) of Alexander of Wallachia and of Clara of Hungary⁷⁶ had wed: (1) Stephen Urosh V of Serbia (c. 1346-1347),⁷⁷ (2) John

December 1479 and the end of January 1480, except for Stephen I’s tombstone, with its special “Hungarian mention”. The latter was installed in the second half of May 1480 (*Repertoriul monumentelor și obiectelor de artă*, nos. 53-57, pp. 249-254; no. 59, pp. 255-256; we note in addition that Stephen III deemed Bogdan, Alexander I’s brother, as his *grand-father*, though – officially – the father of Stephen’s father, Bogdan II, was Alexander I).

⁷² Three matters might be of relevance in this respect, as the (medieval) question is (was) not so much what truth lay behind such relations, but what could have been accomplished through them. 1. “Like” the Hunyadis – Stephen III had *Serbian* claims related to both Hilandar, on Mount Athos (1466), and *Podunavia* (1475), prior to his marriage to Mary *Voichița* in 1478 (Luca-Simon, “Documentary Perspectives”, pp. 87-88). The only justification for them was on Wallachian genealogical soil, on his paternal side. His mother, *Oltea*, was from the *Lower Country* of Moldavia and was never designated – including by her son – a *lady* (Gorovei-Székely, *Princeps omni laude maior*, pp. 9-10). 2. According to Jan Długosz, a *sister* of John Hunyadi was given into marriage to – the much younger – Alexander II of Moldavia, a marriage “below the station” at the time of the Hunyadis (unlike in the case of the two Hunyadi marriages of Vlad III, the first one with a close relative of Matthias, an unknown cousin or even an illegitimate daughter of John, and the second with the king’s maternal cousin, Justine Szilágyi). This calls for dynastic (family) reasoning (see Al. Simon, “Propaganda and Matrimony: *Dracula* between the Hunyadis and the Habsburgs”, *Transylvanian Review*, XX (2011), 4, pp. 80-90). 3. The *Putna I* and *II* chronicles remain the only contemporary written Moldavian sources to emphasize Transylvania in the politics of Stephen III through the *gifts* he received and the *gifts* he made (*Putna I*, pp. 49-50; *Putna II*, pp. 62, 65): (1) immediately after/ sometime after the battle of Baia (according to the chronicles) Matthias gave Stephen estates in the *Land of Transylvania* (*Ardeal* in the original, based on the Hungarian name of the province); (2) in 1497, Stephen made numerous gifts to his co-father-in-law, Bartholomew Drágffy, voivode of Transylvania, who had come to aid him against King John Albert of Poland; according to Maximilian I of Habsburg (1498), at that time, Stephen controlled half of Hungary, of Matthias’ royal legacy (*Correspondencia de Gutierre Gomez de Fuensalida, embajador en Alemania, Flandes é Inglaterra (1496-1509)*, edited by Jacob Fitz-James Stuart de Berwick-Alba (Madrid, 1907), p. 21).

⁷³ This literally meant claiming part of Hungary for Stephen and chiefly his successors by right of blood, as King Matthias’ relatives. John Corvinus died in October 1504, three months after Stephen’s death. The male line of the Hunyadi family died out by spring 1505. Post-1526 events tend to support this idea. Based on Eugenius IV’ decision of 1436, Moldavia (and not Wallachia) certainly had the *Greek rite* ecclesiastical rights over the eastern parts of Hungary (*Acta Eugenii PP IV (1431-1447)* (= *Fontes*, III, 15), edited by Georgio Fedalto (Rome, 1990), no. 421, pp. 229-230).

⁷⁴ We focus under the circumstances on the relations established prior to 1398-1399. For King Sigismund’s knowledge towards the end of the reign, see M. Whelan, Al. Simon, “The Moldavian Lady and the Elder Lords of the East”, *Transylvanian Review*, XXIV (2015), 3, pp. 113-129.

⁷⁵ *Ancha* was recorded also as *Helena* or *Slava* (Mauro Orбини, *Il regno degli Slavi* (Pesaro, 1601), p. 267; Giacomo di Pietro Luccari, *Copioso ristretto degli annali di Ragusa* (Venise, 1605), p. 60).

⁷⁶ The three daughters are listed in the – (needless to say) apparent – chronological order of their marriages. To this end, we have given the approximate dates based on the few preserved sources.

Stratsimir of Bulgaria (c. 1353-1354)⁷⁸ and (3) Wladislaw II of Oppeln (c. 1354-1355).⁷⁹ The daughter of Stratsimir and Anna, Dorothea (King Louis I' favourite), had wed Tvrtko I (1374)⁸⁰, the first king of Bosnia, Sigismund's southern nemesis.⁸¹ Ágnes-Elisabeth, the child of Wladislaw II of Oppeln and Elisabeth, was married to Jobst of Moravia (1372), Sigismund's – (most) unwanted – paternal cousin.⁸² In addition to these marriages (that basically connected the so-called "Visegrád group" to the "Belgrade-Vidin-Severin group"⁸³), there was already an abundance of Wallachian princely offsprings⁸⁴ that competed for the throne (the same applied for Moldavia, in particular after the death of Peter I, around 1391⁸⁵). More were to come until the end of Sigismund of Luxemburg's reign, following the death of Mircea I (1418). Mircea I had seemingly fathered an impressive number

⁷⁷ ÖNB, Cod. 2042, f. 1^r. The letter sent by an unnamed (in the Viennese preserved medieval copy) Hungarian prelate to the pope suggest that – at least by proxy – the marriage was a *fait accompli* when the bishop asked Clement VI not to interfere with Louis I' decision. On the other hand, it seems that the marriage was celebrated at a much later date because of Stephen Dushan's changing policies (e.g. *Monumenta Serbica spectantia historiam Serbiae, Bosnae, Ragusae*, edited by Franz Miklosich (Vienna, 1858), no. 127, p. 147; Stephen Dushan's charter for Ragusa, issued in 1349).

⁷⁸ Ivan Božilov, *Фамилията на Асеновци (1186-1460). Генеалогия и просопография* (Sofia, 1994), pp. 200-202.

⁷⁹ In this matter (highly debated at the end of the 1990s), see also Maciej Salamon, "Ladislaus von Oppeln: ein schlesischer Herzog zwischen der katolischen und der orthodoxen Welt", in *Medieval Christian Europe: East and West. Traditions, Values Communications*, edited by Vassil Gjuzelev, Anisava Miltenova (Sofia, 2002), pp. 518-527, at p. 521, note 20.

⁸⁰ See also Mór Wertner, *A középkori délszláv uralkodók genealogiai története* (Temesvár, 1891), pp. 218-220, 226-227.

⁸¹ Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans*, pp. 391-392; Mályusz, *Kaiser Sigismund*, pp. 24-26, 31.

⁸² Dieter Veldtrup, *Frauen um Herzog Ladislaus (†1401): Oppelner Herzoginnen in der dynastischen Politik zwischen Ungarn Polen und dem Reich* (Warendorf, 1999), pp. 53-60, 80-86. One information, for which I am indebted to Professor Petr Elbl, might be relevant in this context. Apparently, in the 1390s, a Moravian noble fought against the *Turks* in Wallachia. He was created a knight by Mircea (Wallachia seemingly had its own order of knights prior to the creation of the Order of the Dragon), who gave him a ring on this occasion (for the ring, in private property, and its depiction: Heinz Rohlik, "Rohlik", *Deutsches Geschlechtbuch*, LX (CCXIX) (2007), pp. 155-174, here at p. 166).

⁸³ The second lesser-known group predated the first. It consisted of the relatives and offsprings of Stephen Milutin, Basarab and Michael Sishman, pro-Tartar allies during Charles-Robert of Anjou's combats for Hungarian power. The wife of John Alexander, tsar of Bulgaria (since 1331), was Theodora, Basarab's daughter. The tsar's sister, Helena, had wed the new king of Serbia, Stephen Dushan, in 1332. The "Visegrád group" (Hungary-Poland-Bohemia) appears to have been created by Charles-Robert (1335-1339) also as response to this southern dynastic alliance. Noteworthy enough, the marriage between Alexander, the son of Basarab, and Clara (his second wife; given also Voislav's name, Alexander's first wife had been of Serbian origins) was concluded at some point between the main dates of the constitution of the "Visegrád group", either prior or after the Byzantine sponsored Turkish attack on Bulgaria and Wallachia in 1337-1338 (for the main extant sources, see Kelemen-Ioniță-Simon, "De la Biserica Argeș I la Biserica Argeș II", pp. 48-51).

⁸⁴ Not only Constantinople, Adrianople or Krakow possessed a "reservoir" of princely Wallachian candidates (hostages), but also Buda (Ferenc Forgach, *Rerum Hungaricarum sui temporis commentarii libri XXII* (Bratislava-Kosice 1788), p. 275).

⁸⁵ For both states, see the overview in Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică*, I, pp. 78-84, 446-471.

of *bastards* (as the late Byzantine chronicles noted with undisimulated satisfaction).⁸⁶ Sigismund's charters never listed Voicu and his family relatives of the House of Basarab.⁸⁷ Still, the grant of the *Hunyad* estate to Voicu (October 1409)⁸⁸ predated by only months a new conflict between Sigismund and Mircea. By May 1410, Mircea had attacked Transylvania.⁸⁹ The Polish defeat of the Teutonic Knights at Grünwald (July) halted the planned Hungarian campaign against Mircea.⁹⁰ The death of Rupert of Wittelsbach, King of the Romans (May) further distracted Sigismund from the Wallachian issue. He had to compete with Jobst for Rupert's succession (September-October 1410). At first, he lost in front of his cousin. Then, Sigismund prevailed.⁹¹

In an age of few coincidences, the grant of *Hunyad* to Voicu narrowly preceded the official outbreak of a conflict between Sigismund and Mircea.⁹² Earlier,

⁸⁶ E.g. [Michael] Dukas, *Istoria turco-bizantină (1341-1462)*, edited by Vasile Grecu (Bucharest, 1958), p. 250. This attitude was chiefly due to Mircea I's involvement during the Ottoman civil war (1402-1413). Still, Michael I too was viewed as morally decayed in the same Byzantine environment.

⁸⁷ Prior to Voicu, only four other Wallachians are known to have been courtiers: Carapciu of Recea (in the Banate <of Hungary>), whose family had fled from Wallachia during the conflict between Louis and Alexander (1345-1347) and the sons of Sas, Balc (Baliță), Drag and John (I. Drăgan, *Nobilimea românească din Transilvania. 1440-1514* (Bucharest, 2000), p. 423). The safest assumption would be that Voicu had, at least, the royal Hungarian relevance of Carapciu. As to his princely Wallachian ties, because Voicu was seemingly never employed as a candidate for the Wallachian throne, they must have been on his mother's side, not on his father's (Șerb). The family's policy towards Wallachia indicates that their Basarab ties followed the lineage(s) of Wladislaw I, Dan I and Vlad I (Octavian Iliescu, "Vlad Ier, voievode de la Valachie: le règne, le sceau et les monnaies", *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, XXVII (1988), 1-2, pp. 73-105). This would also suit Nicolaus Olachus' "story". According to himself, Olachus was related to the Hunyadis on his paternal side via John's otherwise unknown sister *Marina* (*Ungaria.Atila*, edited by Antál Gyöngyvér (Iași, 1999), pp. 87-89).

⁸⁸ The final (privilegial) charter for the estate was issued on February 10, 1410 (Lupescu, "Matthias Hunyadi", p. 39), consequently further reducing the distance between the two events (see below).

⁸⁹ MOL, DL 73910 (May 8, 1410; edited in DRH, D, I, no. 113, p. 183; calendared in ZsO, II-2. 1407-1410, edited by E. Mályusz (Budapest, 1957), no. 7573, p. 355). Bologa (referred to also as *Sebeswar* or *Kalathazeg*, a rather confusing name) was generally deemed the *Hunyad* castle donated to Mircea (primarily because the village Șaula, *Saluasara* in the deed, was part of the estate). Bologa was again a royal castle in 1412 (Dezső Csánki, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában*, V (Budapest, 1913), pp. 299-300; cited by Pataki, "Ceva despre relațiile Țării Românești", p. 425).

⁹⁰ In relation to our topic (given also the special "anniversary features" of the age, i.e., the Warsaw Pact vs NATO/ "battle of nations"), see also Ștefan Ștefănescu, "Participarea românilor la lupta de la Grünwald (15 iulie 1410)", *Studii. Revistă de Istorie*, XIV (1961), 1, pp. 5-22.

⁹¹ For the context, see also Jörg K. Hoensch, *Kaiser Sigismund: Herrscher an der Schwelle zur Neuzeit, 1368-1437* (Munich, 1996), pp. 263-266; Mályusz, *Kaiser Sigismund*, pp. 72-76.

⁹² Apparently, no connection was previously established between the two events, possibly also because the Wallachians who had attacked Transylvania and had to be punished were deemed to have come from Moldavia. Yet Moldavian attacks on the realm usually targeted the Maramureș (e.g., ZsO, II-1. 1400-1406, edited by E. Mályusz (Budapest, 1956), no. 3035, p. 357; no. 5152, p. 653; II-2, no. 5504, p. 32; III. 1411-1412, edited by E. Mályusz, I. Borsa (Budapest, 1993), no. 1093, p. 295; apparently, in spite of their old feud, the House of Bogdan supported the House of Dragoș during the latter's conflict with Sigismund). For the context: C. Rezachevici, "Implicarea Giurgiului în relațiile

the grant of the estate(s) in the Inner Szolnok County to Stephen I had – chronologically – stood at the beginning of the break between the Dragoș family and Sigismund.⁹³

After Nicopolis and the Diet of Timișoara (1396-1397),⁹⁴ Sigismund had deemed it wise to establish his vassals voivodes of Wallachia and Moldavia in the Voivodate of Transylvania, and not so far apart from each other (if we are to fully embrace the commonly accepted identification of Mircea's *Hunyad* with Bologa, west of the city of Cluj).⁹⁵ Sigismund would have thus supplemented the forces of his proven loyal trustee Stibor of Stiboricz, voivode of Transylvania,⁹⁶ and set a convenient distance between Moldavia, Wallachia and the – new in the case of Mircea I – Hungarian estates of their voivodes (once again, if *Hunyad* was not Hunyadi Hunedoara).⁹⁷

lui Mircea cel Bătrân cu Polonia”, *Revista Istorică*, NS, XIII (2002), 3-4, pp. 149-159 (the last three, 1403, 1411, 1415, of the four major Wallachian-Polish arrangements under Mircea, were concluded in Giurgiu on the Danube, at a safe distance from the Hungarian border).

⁹³ See N. C. Tóth, “Szász vajda utódainak felemelkedése és bukása. A család vázlatos története 1365-1424 között”, in *A Szilágyság*, pp. 135-166, at pp. 138-140, 142-143. The origins of the break between them and Sigismund might have dated back to 1390 (when they lost the countship of the Szeklers). Because of the key Constantinople mission entrusted to the brothers by the king in 1391 (Papacostea, “Byzance et la création de la Métropole”, pp. 137-139), 1396 would however be the soonest estimate. That year, Balç and Drag lost Sătmar, the county that together with Maramureș and Ugocsa had formed the foundation of their power, since the mid-1370s. At any rate, in spring 1398, the relations between the Dragoș and Sigismund were no longer those from 1386-1387.

⁹⁴ Polish-Moldavian relations prevent us from dating the reconciliation between Sigismund and Stephen I immediately after the royal campaign in Moldavia, though the king claimed a complete victory. Additionally, by late spring 1396, Mircea lost control over a significant part of Wallachia, occupied by Vlad I, supported by Wladislaw II; Vlad was eventually defeated and captured by voivode Stibor in winter 1396-1397 (Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică*, I, pp. 82-83). Because at the beginning of 1399, the Transylvanian representative of Mircea I excused himself for not knowing the exact limits of the estate of the *Hunyad* land (DRH, D, I, no. 104, p. 171), we must assume that both royal grants (from Mircea and Stephen) were related to the Diet of Timișoara convened by Sigismund in October 1397. The high offices held by non-Hungarians was one of the main points on the agenda of the Diet. The “ethnic” context of the donation of the estates was rather tense.

⁹⁵ Because no reference was made to the Hungarian wife of Mircea I and her rights in relation to the Hunyad castle of 1398 and because the *Hunyad* castle (if identified with Bologa) had previously been held by the voivode of Transylvania (Pataki, “Ceva despre relațiile Țării Românești”, p. 425), we have to presume that this estate was not part of the “dowry” of Mircea I’s wife, but a proper royal grant for the voivode of Wallachia. The Bánffy-Losonczy family (to which his wife was also presumed to be related) only acquired Bologa towards the end of Sigismund’s reign (i.e., in 1435).

⁹⁶ Daniela Dvořáková, *A lovag és királya: Stiborici Stibor és Luxemburgi Zsigmond* (Bratislava, 2009). Stibor was among the high-ranking non-Hungarian officials explicitly “spared” in autumn 1397 by the Diet of Timișoara. We consequently underline that the Diet of Timișoara most likely did not view any of the Wallachian voivodes, who were granted estates in the Hungarian kingdom, as an “ethnic” threat to the stability of the realm (besides, Mircea’s wife was a proper Hungarian lady).

⁹⁷ In Mircea’s case, the motivation for the donation of *Hunyad* (Bologa?) may have also been related to the threats revealed by Vlad’s rule, that touched, if not engulfed, also Amlaș and Făgăraș (see also M. Diaconescu, “The Relations of Vassalage between Sigismund of Luxemburg, King of Hungary, and Mircea the Old, Voivode of Wallachia”, *Mediaevalia Transilvanica*, II (1998), 2, pp. 245-282, at

Sigismund's decision backfired in part also because of the general context.⁹⁸ A rebellion broke out, supported by the Dragoș family as well.⁹⁹ The Moldavian grant was not renewed, not even after Mircea enthroned Alexander I.¹⁰⁰ Irrespective of the *Hunyad*'s identity, Mircea himself kept *Hunyad* for a decade.¹⁰¹ Additionally, when a new domestic crisis was blooming (1399-1400),¹⁰² Sigismund had major problems – especially in the Zala County – because of the behavior of Mircea's wife on her estates (Mircea's Hungarian wife was most likely related to the Cilly family, to which Sigismund's and Wladislaw II Jagiello of Poland's second wives belonged).¹⁰³

pp. 255-257, 265-271). The royal grant for Mircea in the Cluj County would be even more telling if the Bran castle near Brașov had been entrusted to Mircea by Sigismund following their treaty of March 1395 (concluded in the same city of the Transylvanian Saxons). Bran was certainly Mircea's in 1412 when Stibor deemed it to be *in foreign hands* (see also Panaitescu, *Mircea cel Bătrân*, p. 235, note 19). Bran in south-eastern Transylvania was a significantly more delicate possession than Bologa in the north-west, for it largely controlled Hungarian-Wallachian trade.

⁹⁸ The absence of other known relevant sources limits any modern interpretation of his decisions, in relation to Moldavia, under Alexander I's rule (on this matter, see more below).

⁹⁹ R. Popa, *Țara Maramureșului în veacul al XIV-lea*, edited by A. Ioniță (Bucharest, 1997²), pp. 231, 236-238. The Drágffys' main local rivals were count Peter Perény and Theodore Koriatović. The latter's family was related to the House of Bogdan. Theodore had been supported by Roman I (and Sigismund), against Wladislaw II in 1393-1394 (Czamańska, *Moldawia i Woloszczyzna*, pp. 56-57).

¹⁰⁰ The charter of May 1398 did not contain any reference to the actual estate(s) and its/ their name(s). It dealt only with the matter of Stephen I's legal representative (DRH, D, I, no. 102, p. 169). Any assumption regarding the estate(s), its/ their extent and location would be speculation. Furthermore, the Moldavian raids in the Maramureș area during the royal Hungarian crisis made a renewal of the grant under Alexander I unlikely (see also N. Iorga, "O mărturie din 1404 a celor mai vechi moldoveni", *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, 3rd series, VI (1926), pp. 69-72).

¹⁰¹ Csánki, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza*, V, p. 300. Pataki ("Ceva despre relațiile Țării Românești", p. 425) challenged such a possibility (not even taken into account earlier) by simply stating that the mention of Bologa as royal Hungarian castle in the year 1412 was no evidence that Mircea I of Wallachia had lost the Transylvanian estate (even though this was precisely the obvious case).

¹⁰² *Zala vármegye története. Oklevéltár*, II. 1364-1498, edited by Imre Nagy, Dezső Véghely, Gyula Nagy (Budapest, 1890), no. 117, pp. 298-299; Panaitescu, *Mircea cel Bătrân*, pp. 60-61.

¹⁰³ The hypothesis was first voiced by Panaitescu (*Mircea cel Bătrân*, pp. 59-61) in the 1940s. The key evidence in this respect were the lands in the Zala County, largely controlled by the Cilly. This interpretation, otherwise, generally accepted, was challenged chiefly by Pataki in the 1950s. He attempted to "counteract" Zala with Bologa, though no mention of Mircea's wife was made – in the sole known charter on the issue from 1399 – in relation to *Hunyad* castle. Considering also that (1) in 1400, when he wrote in anger to Mircea's wife, Sigismund did not call her by her name (*Zala vármegye története*, II, no. 117, pp. 298-300), the Tomay (Tomaj) estate mentioned in the same context was connected to the kindred to which the Bánffys belonged (Pataki, "Ceva despre relațiile Țării Românești", p. 428), and that (2) the major Hungarian feudal fall after 1397 was that of the Lákffy family (P. Engel, "Zsigmond bárói: rövid életrajzok", in *Művészet Zsigmond király korában 1387-1437*, edited by László Beke, Ernő Marosi, Tünde Wehli, I. *Tanulmányok* (Budapest, 1987), pp. 405-458, at pp. 427-430), we cannot rule out a "Cilly genetic foundation" in the case of Mircea's Hungarian wife (see also Heinz Dopsch, "Die Grafen von Cilli: ein Forschungsproblem?"),

Sigismund of Luxemburg and the Rise of the Hunyadis. In this border context, the Hunyadis in the Land of Hațeg seem to have been King Sigismund's safest "Wallachian gamble"¹⁰⁴, and – obviously – not Stephen I¹⁰⁵ or Mircea I, the self-styled *blood-relative* of King Wladislaw Jagiello,¹⁰⁶ as well as – conveniently

Südostdeutsches Archiv, XVII-XVIII (1974-1975), pp. 9-49), well-embedded however in the power relations of Hungarian clans that shaped policies in the realm prior to Sigismund's rise in 1387.

Although we cannot tell when it was celebrated exactly, the plausible Cilly marriage of Mircea I certainly predated those of the two kings. The earliest – uncertain – mention of Michael (the son of Mircea and of his Hungarian wife) as his father's associate in 1391 suggests that the marriage was concluded at the time of Sigismund's contested enthronement (in his "Despre Dan voievod", pp. 51-52, 81; Pippidi even presumed that Mircea's rule began already in March 1386; hence, Mircea, and not Dan I, would have been the voivode who – according to von Müllich – killed Garai).

¹⁰⁴ For an overview: I. Minea, *Principatele române și politica orientală a împăratului Sigismund* (Bucharest, 1919); Pippidi, "Despre Dan voievod", passim. Vlad II Dracul, Mircea's illegitimate son, and Dan II (III according to Pippidi), another illegitimate son of Mircea (and seemingly not the son of Dan I, Mircea I's half-brother as usually presumed) in the 1420s and then 1430s proved also quite (given the medieval circumstances) loyal. In comparison to them, we must note that no known member of the Hunyadi family was in fact "pushed" towards the Wallachian throne, even after the death of Sigismund and the Ottoman campaigns "guided" by Vlad II into the realm (1437-1438), when John and his younger – half – brother John (Jovan/Ivașcu) were appointed bans of Severin (1439).

After that moment, John ceased to be called *John the Wallachian* in official Hungarian records (see also Lupescu, "Matthias Hunyadi", p. 42). Given his time in royal service, John's earlier designation as *the Wallachian* cannot be explained only by ethnic criteria in the context of his elevation to the rank of ban of Severin. He had spent too much time in Hungarian administration (fifteen years) in order for the Wallachian designation to become obsolete prior to 1439 (still, as a court knight, from 1434 onwards, he had been named *Johannes Olah de Hunyadi*; Drăgan, *Nobilimea românească*, p. 424; the emphasis placed on *the Wallachian* was futile, as long as he was further named of *Hunedoara*). The most plausible explanation seems of political nature. Once John became a high official (and *real baron*) of the realm (Kubinyi, *Matthias Rex*, p. 13), Wallachia as a "career option" was out of the question, irrespective of how meagre or strong John's ties to the Basarabs were). Still, as regent of Hungary (1447), John personally pushed for more: the throne of Wallachia (Pall, "Intervenția lui Iancu de Hunedoara", passim). But John had to pull back and enthrone his *relative*, Wladislaw II.

¹⁰⁵ Stephen I was also open to "Catholic temptation" (Renate Möhlenkamp, "Ex czeretensi civitate: Randnotizen zu einem in Vergessenheit geratenes Dokument", *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie A.D Xenopol*, XIX (1982), pp. 105-130). Both his father (Roman I) and his uncle (Peter I) had been *Latin* rite Christians prior to 1386-1387, under the influence for their powerful mother, Margarete of Siret (*Acta Gregorii P.P. XI (1370-1378)* (= *Fontes*, III, 12), edited by A.L. Tăutu (Rome, 1966), no. 248, pp. 493-494). Alexander I, Stephen I's younger half-brother, also used to be a *Latin* rite Christian (Anton Kern, "Der Libellus de notitia Orbis Johannes III (de Galonifontibus?) O.P. Erzbischofs von Sultanieh", *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, VIII (1938), pp. 82-123, at p. 104, note 12). Such "vulnerabilities" did not help settle the conflict between Byzantium (i.e., the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople) and Moldavia, although Sigismund apparently used his Byzantine credit to better relations, after he reconciled with Stephen (Simon, "Annus mirabilis 1387", p. 145).

¹⁰⁶ In 1411, Mircea addressed Wladislaw as his *blood relative*. Even under medieval circumstances, this designation hardly matched a relation established through wives. However, a direct Moldavian genealogical link between Mircea and Wladislaw was impossible (Panaitescu, *Mircea cel Bătrân*, p. 59; Whelan-Simon, "A New Source", pp. 154-155). Mircea's exaggeration must have been rooted in

for John Corvinus in the post-Cilly context of his days¹⁰⁷ – the *father* of John Hunyadi and the husband of a member of the Cilly family.¹⁰⁸ Seemingly, less well-rooted in the growing House of Basarab than other Wallachian “applicants” in quest for Hungarian royal grace,¹⁰⁹ Voicu was apparently never prompted towards Wallachia’s throne, but was entrusted with a key-station at its Hungarian border.¹¹⁰

Endowed with *Hunyad*, he “cut” the princely web that spread on both slopes of the Southern Carpathians, connecting the Banate of Severin, Oltenia (i.e. the *Land of Severin*), the Duchies of Amlaş and Făgăraş and the Land of Haţeg.¹¹¹

the wives of the two monarchs. His *Hungarian* lady had given birth to Mircea’s heir and associate-ruler of Wallachia, Michael I, “his blood”. Anna was expected to give birth to Wladislaw II’s much needed son and heir (by the time of the Polish-Wallachian treaty of 1411, she had given birth only to Hedwig). Besides, the northern connections of Mircea were strong enough to support in 1416 a planned matrimonial union between him and Witold of Lithuania, Wladislaw’s cousin (ZsO, V. 1415-1416, edited by I. Borsa (Budapest, 1997), no. 2023, pp. 545-546). Mircea was still married to Michael’s mother, who outlived him. Anna, Witold’s wife, passed away only in 1418. Their only daughter, Sophia, was married to Vasili I of Moscow. The only potential wedding must thus have been between Michael, who had two sons at the time of his death in 1420, and a relative of Witold.

¹⁰⁷ After Ladislas Hunyadi, Matthias’ elder brother, had Ulrich II of Cilly executed in November 1456, the family, deprived already of male and female offsprings, died out (Johannes Grabmayer, “Das Opfer war der Täter. Das Attentat von Belgrad 1456 - über Sterben und Tod Ulrichs II. von Cilli”, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, CXI (2003), pp. 286-316). Ulrich’s widow, Catherine, the daughter of George Branković, died in 1491. By the end of the century, there was no one left to challenge the “Corvinus adaptation” of the history of the counts. By then, John Corvinus had also won the favour of Maximilian I of Habsburg (Paul Gwynne, “*Tu alter Caesar eris*: Maximilian I, Vladislav II, Johannes Michael Nagonius and the *renovatio Imperii*”, *Renaissance Studies*, X (1996), 1, pp. 56-71). Maximilian was Frederick III’s son. Frederick and John Hunyadi had been Ulrich II of Cilly’s main enemies (Konstantin Moritz Ambrosius Langermaier, *Erzherzog Albrecht VI. von Österreich: ein Fürst im Spannungsfeld von Dynastie, Region und Reich* (=J.F. Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii*, suppl. XXXVIII) (Cologne-Weimar-Vienna, 2015), pp. 443-447).

¹⁰⁸ Basically (prior to the “Ottoman rediscovery” of Mircea I by Johannes Löwenklau in the 1580s), the Cilly marriage of Mircea I and his alleged fatherhood of John Hunyadi support each other in the context of this altered version of the chronicle of the by then extinct counts of Cilly.

¹⁰⁹ For an overview (from 1418 onwards), see Pippidi, “Despre Dan voievod”, pp. 82-93.

¹¹⁰ Voicu died (between 1414 and 1419) most likely before Mircea’s death in 1418 (see Kubinyi, *Matthias Rex*, p. 8; Lupescu, “Matthias Hunyadi”, p. 40). Because of his location, he should have played a major role in the subsequent events. The *Argeş castle* was occupied by Hungarian troops and temporarily turned into a royal stronghold (M. Diaconescu, Géza Érszegi, “Documenta quibus Hungariae, Valachiae et Moldaviae relationes melius illustrantur”, *Medievalia Transilvanica*, II (1998), 2, pp. 283-288, at no. 1, p. 283). At that time however, the head of the family was Voicu’s sonless younger brother, Radu (named also Ladislas). Radu (Ladislas) died before 1429.

¹¹¹ Usually, Haţeg was – historiographically – removed from this equation. Oltenia was accepted as part of it only in recent decades (Papacostea, “Prima unire românească”, *passim*). In effect, in addition to the proper counties of Transylvania, a complex “appendix” (also meaning buffer-zone) stretched between Hungary and Wallachia (i.e., Muntenia east of the Olt). It consisted of the former Lands of Olt (Făgăraş, as well as Amlaş) and Severin (including Oltenia and Haţeg). The “link” between these lands was Haţeg, with the Duchy of Amlaş playing an important, yet rather neglected part. In 1520, it was still virtually impossible to draw a border between Haţeg and northern Oltenia (see I.-A. Pop, “Din relațiile Țării Hațegului cu Țara Românească în veacul al XV-lea și la începutul veacului al XVI-lea”, *Revista de Istorie*, XXXVIII (1985), 1, pp. 80-85).

The son of the natural son of Sigismund of Luxemburg (according to Hungarian rumors),¹¹² of Stephen Lazarević (in Serbian tradition)¹¹³ and of Mircea I (following Corvinus-Cilly “fashion”),¹¹⁴ Matthias, who often attempted to imitate Sigismund (without actually admitting it),¹¹⁵ had lessons to learn from his *German* predecessor.¹¹⁶ King Matthias Corvinus learnt them his own way, which usually proved to be the very hard way.

In spite of earlier promises,¹¹⁷ Matthias granted the estates of Ciceu and Cetatea de Baltă in central Transylvania to Stephen III only in the king's final days.¹¹⁸ John Hunyadi's son never returned the estates of Amlaş and Făgăraş, confiscated already by John from Wladislaw II in the early 1450s, to the various voivodes of Wallachia supported by Matthias throughout his reign.¹¹⁹ Matthias came close to restoring the duchies to Radu III, Vlad III's brother, and to handing-over

¹¹² Not only to our knowledge, but this also supposed fatherhood was never accepted by Hunyadi loyalists. Voicu was “anointed” the official father of John. The only personal story promoted by Matthias himself was that of the *blood ties* between him and Mehmed II. This “tale” alone was more than enough. It was first recorded in the speech of the Hungarian envoys sent to the *Reichstag* of Nürnberg (BStB, CLM 443, f. 176^r; December 21, 1479), following the royal anti-Ottoman victory at Câmpul Pâinii (October 13, 1479). This also led to the first – rapid – official acknowledgment of the six-year-old John as the natural son of King Matthias (MOL, DL 27714; October 21, 1479).

¹¹³ Elegantly underlined by Kubinyi (in *Matthias Rex*, p. 13), the peculiar relation between John Hunyadi and George Branković, the son of Vuk, Stephen Lazarević's younger brother (Momčilo Spremić, *Despot Djuradj Branković i njegovo doba* (Banja Luka, 1999³), p. 553, nota 79), is worth closer analysis, given: (1) the conflict caused by the special (Ottoman) deal of 1444 between George and John (P. Engel, “János Hunyadi and the *Peace of Szeged* (1444)”, *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, XLVII (1994), 2, pp. 241-257); and (2), approximately a decade later, the “Catholic-Orthodox” engagement between Matthias and Elisabeth of Cilly, George's grand-daughter (see also Iulian Mihai Damian, *Ioan de Capestrano și cruciada târzie* (Cluj-Napoca, 2011), pp. 96-118).

¹¹⁴ BStB, CGM 5350, pp. 174, 176-177. For historiographical purposes, as well as a token of the limitations of local scholarly research, we must note that the text was copied for Nicolae Iorga as well and included in *Acte și fragmente privitoare la istoria românilor*, III. [1399-1499] (Bucharest, 1899). However, the text was never used (i.e., analysed), neither by its “editor” or by other historians.

¹¹⁵ István Bitsky, “Höfische Representation in Ungarn während der Herrschaft von Sigismund und Matthias Corvinus”, in *Das Zeitalter König Sigismunds in Ungarn und im Deutschen Reich*, edited by Tilmann Schimdat, Peter Gunst (Debrecen, 2000), pp. 191-208.

¹¹⁶ An “Eastern” (not only “Western”) comparison between them could prove most relevant. For an outline: Ferenc Szakály, “Phases of Turko-Hungarian Warfare before the Battle of Mohács. 1365-1526”, *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, XXXIII (1979), pp. 65-112; J. Preiser-Kapeller, “*Sive vincitur Hungaria*... Das Osmanische Reich, das Königreich Ungarn und ihre Nachbarn in der Zeit des Matthias Corvinus im Machtvergleich im Urteil griechischer Quellen”, in *Matthias Corvinus und seine Zeit*, pp. 37-62.

¹¹⁷ Luca-Simon, “Documentary Perspectives”, p. 88 (1482).

¹¹⁸ See *Acta et epistolae relationum Transylvaniae Hungariaeque cum Moldavia et Valachia* (= *Fontes Rerum Transylvanicarum*, IV, VI), edited by Endre Veress, I. 1468-1540 (Budapest, 1914), no. 40, p. 44.

¹¹⁹ Antál Lukács, *Țara Făgărașului în Evul Mediu (secolele XIII-XVI)* (Bucharest, 1999), pp. 171-173.

Rodna (closer to the Moldavian border) to Stephen III,¹²⁰ on the eve of the “Hungarian plot” of 1467.¹²¹ Alike the planned and delayed Habsburg-Hunyadi military intervention in support of Albanian Skanderbeg, again under heavy Ottoman attack, the project was a complete failure, largely ushering-in a new Hungarian (and regional) conspiracy against *low-born* Matthias. This, at least, eased a significantly more valid arrangement, on Hungarian and Wallachian soils, between King Matthias and Stephen III of Moldavia (1471).¹²²

¹²⁰ Biblioteca Capitular Colombiana, Sevilla, Codices, Cod. 82-4-8. *Joannis Pannonii Vitesii episcopi Quinque Ecclesiarum Silvarum Liber et Epistolae*, f. 94^v (January 2, 1467).

¹²¹ A. Kubinyi, “Erdély a Mohács előtti évtizedekben”, in *Tanulmányok Erdély történetéről*, edited by István Rácz (Debrecen, 1988), pp. 65-73, at p. 67.

¹²² Ș. Papacostea, “Politica externă a lui Ștefan cel Mare: opțiunea polonă (1459-1472)”, *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie*, XV (2007), pp. 13-28; Pop-Simon, “The Venetian and Wallachian Roots”.

List of abbreviations

ActaMP	- <i>Acta Musei Porolissensis</i> , Muzeul Zalău
AB(SN)	- <i>Analele Banatului (serie nouă)</i> , Muzeul Național al Banatului, Timișoara
ActaTS	- <i>Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis</i> , Universitatea „Lucian Blaga”, Sibiu
AICSU	- <i>Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane</i> , Sibiu
Apulum	- <i>Apulum, Acta Musei Apulensis</i> , Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia
AVSL	- <i>Archivs des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde</i> , Sibiu.
BB	- <i>Bibliotheca Brukenthal</i> , Muzeul Național Brukenthal, Sibiu
BrukAM	- <i>Brukenthal. Acta Musei</i> , Muzeul Național Brukenthal, Sibiu
BMA	- <i>Bibliotheca Musei Apulensis</i> , Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia
BMN	- <i>Bibliotheca Musei Napocensis</i> , Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca
BS	- <i>Bibliotheca Septemcastrensis</i> , Universitatea „Lucian Blaga”, Sibiu.
DocPrae	- <i>Documenta Praehistorica</i> , Ljubljana
CCA	- <i>Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România</i> , București
ForVL	- <i>Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde</i> , Institutul de cercetări Socio-Umane, Academia Română, Sibiu
MCA	- <i>Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice</i> , București
Monografii	- Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București
Sargetia	- <i>Sargetia, Acta Musei Devensis</i> , Muzeul Civilizației Dacice și Romane, Deva.
Sargetia (SN)	- <i>Sargetia, Acta Musei Devensis (serie nouă)</i> , Muzeul Civilizației Dacice și Romane, Deva.
StComBruk	- <i>Muzeul Brukenthal. Studii și comunicări (arheologie-istorie)</i> , Muzeul Brukenthal (Muzeul Național Brukenthal), Sibiu
StudPre	- <i>Studii de Preistorie</i> , București
SUC.SH	- <i>Studia Universitatis Cibiniensis. Series Historica</i> , Universitatea „Lucian Blaga”, Sibiu
TS	- <i>Terra Sebus. Acta Musei Sabeniensis</i> , Muzeul Sebeș
Ziridava	- <i>Ziridava. Studia Archaeologica</i> , Muzeul Arad

