

# **ACTA TERRAE SEPTEMCASTRENSIS**

**V, 2006**



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

**ACTA TERRAE  
SEPTEMCASTRENSIS**

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**PROGRESS REPORT –  
RECONSTRUCTION AND STUDY OF THE VINÇA ARCHITECTURE  
AND ARTIFACTS USING VIRTUAL REALITY TECHNOLOGY.  
CASE STUDY AT PARȚA AND MIERCUREA SIBIULUI SITES**

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*RECONȘTUCȚIA ȘI STUDIUL ARHITECTURII ȘI ARTEFACTELOR CULTURII  
VINȚA FOLOSIND TEHNOLOGIA REALITĂȚII VIRTUALE. STUDIU DE CAZ:  
PARTA ȘI MIERCUREA SIBIULUI*

*Rezumat*

*Studiul de față reprezintă o abordare interdisciplinară necesară înțelegerii arhitecturii vinčiene. O scurtă prezentare generală a realității virtuale (VR) deschide drumul pentru câteva exemplificări ale modului în care s-au realizat modelele virtuale și materialele multimedia. Modalitățile tehnice de acces ale publicului și ale cercetătorilor la aceste materiale sunt de asemenea discutate atât pentru acest moment, dar și pentru viitor.*

## **1. Background**

An important part of our work involves the reconstruction of the excavation data representing the Vinca architecture and especially the Neolithic settlements from Parța and Miercurea Sibiului using virtual reality technologies. Besides the reconstruction of the Vinca architecture we would like to integrate environment data and artefacts excavated from the sites. For this, we have available materials from the Neolithic stations that are already gathered. The materials from Parța

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(Lazarovici et alii 2000) are published, but the materials from Miercurea Sibiului are unpublished because the excavations are very recent.

Part of this reconstruction work has been done in the Marie Curie Training Site for Computer Graphics and Virtual Reality (MAVRIC) located in the Centre for VLSI and Computer Graphics, Department of Informatics, University of Sussex. Here, several heritage projects, but notably the ARCO – Augmented Representation of Cultural Objects, and recently installed equipment, provided both research knowledge and expertise as well as resources that is essential for advancing this reconstruction and research. Our virtual reconstructions (and associated animations) require large computing resources such as a ‘render farm’ and specialised 3D modelling and animation software. At the same time, the Faculty of History and Patrimony, Lucian Blaga University, is also researching the architecture of the Neolithic site from Miercurea Sibiului, Sibiu County, Romania, which will also be integrated with the reconstruction.

To facilitate the virtual reconstruction work we have access to a render farm composed of two clusters of 8 and 10 machines, respectively, and a further 20 laboratory machines with which to generate large virtual reconstructions requiring thousands of video frames. Further, MAVRIC provides access to many software applications that require very expensive licensing costs essential to our research such as Windows XP professional edition<sup>4</sup>, 3d studio max version 7<sup>5</sup>, Macromedia Dreamweaver MX 2004<sup>6</sup>, ACDSee<sup>7</sup>, Adobe Photoshop<sup>8</sup>, ... as well as the ARCO System specific software for building virtual exhibitions utilising virtual and augmented reality<sup>9</sup>, all of which is not normally available in an archaeology department.

## 2. An introduction – about virtual reality in archaeology

The purpose of this interdisciplinary project is to help the archaeologist to control, present and use the results of their work with the new information and communication technologies (ICT).

A particular ICT of most relevance to this work is Virtual Reality (VR). A virtual reality world is an virtual environment (VE) simulated on the computer through which a person can feel almost as a part of the real world (Allen et alii 2000, 1575). It is used in archaeology because it can offer:

- ◆ Three-dimensional models that aid interpretation of the architecture.
- ◆ Visualise information of a high complexity.

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<sup>4</sup> <http://www.microsoft.com/windowsxp/pro/default.msp>

<sup>5</sup> <http://www4.discreet.com/3dsmax/>

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.macromedia.com/software/dreamweaver/>

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.acdsystems.com/English/index.htm>

<sup>8</sup> <http://www.adobe.com/products/photoshop/main.html>

<sup>9</sup> <http://www.arco-web.org/>



- ◆ It can combine the visual images with the sound in a real time.
- ◆ Access through the Internet using virtual reality can be more easily understood by the large public without losing the quality and the original impact.

This is the technology that can “bring to life” the past in a revolutionary way, this should take place at the end of each archaeological study.

The costs of archaeological excavations (often from public finances) and associated work should be returned to the citizen in a cultural way through understandable forms of presentation. Most published studies address only the specialists and not ordinary people. The citizen usually only comes in contact with archaeology through museums, where the information isn't presented in the habitual context. Lately, there is a tendency to offer to the public archaeological information in the most accessible way, for example through virtual reconstructions. It is generally accepted that virtual reconstructions, from the archaeologist viewpoint, cannot be 100% accurate. This is because there may be more than one interpretation concerning a particular archaeological fact. Therefore, it is important to ensure that the virtual reconstruction represents correctly in most cases only “the proportions and global data such that if an interpreter is unsure of any specific details, these can be bypassed, provided that the global idea is still expressed through its proportions” (Fernández 2001, 280).

Virtual reconstructions or models are also used for educating students that study archaeology, but also for the continuous education of the archaeologists. At the same time, the public can understand the presented subject easily.

Virtual reconstructions can become excellent educational instruments provided the archaeologist verifies that the archaeological content is accurate. They can be easily disseminated through:

a) Virtual Theatres: where immersive, simulated with stereographic glasses and Dolby surround effects, they can deeply involve users that become avatars of virtual historical scenarios. These structures can greatly enhance personalised lessons (Bonfigli et alii 2001, 295; Song and alii 2003, 203). The underlying technology improves, develops and reduces in cost every year, thus implementing these methods in museums will become very cost effective (Wojciechowski et alii, 2004, 135).

b) Virtual Sets: historians and/or actors, immersed in specifically reconstructed virtual environments, can produce TV programmes communicating theories, hypotheses or didactic explanations in a simple and immediate way (Bonfigli et alii 2001, 295). We can add here the games industry, which has an important role in educating the adolescents. If the game industry uses models that are more close to historic reality, it is then a step forward for the educational system.

c) Internet: reachable by everyone world wide, enables access to historical databases linked to simplified virtual environments (VRML/X3D – Virtual Reality Modelling Language – an open, extensible, industry standard

and description language for 3-D scenes on the Internet. With VRML/X3D and certain software tools, you can create and view interactive 3-D worlds that are rich with text, images, animation, sound, music and video –, or QuickTime VR), streaming of TV programmes, etc. (Bonfigli et alii 2001, 295). The connection of 3D models with database content makes easily accessible historical information that can also be accessed through intuitive interfaces and appropriate interaction facilitating validation of the reconstruction. In this way VR cultural products have, as a constitutive part, the background research material and every user can check the authenticity of the models and use the information for further personal researches (Gutierrez et alii 2004, 63). Most countries have invested in 3D archaeology technologies because of the great impact on the public. It is much more sophisticated when presenting a nation's heritage.

Virtual reality can be used for all historical periods, but it's easier for those periods where we have written or visual information that were kept well (e.g. roman period, Greek, medieval). It is more difficult for the prehistoric periods because the settlements from this time used materials that easily degrade. They left only a few marks that can be seen by the public.

### **3. Technology and methodology we used**

- **a short cultural presentation of the Vinča culture**

Vinča culture marks the end of the early Neolithic. It belongs to “The Eneolithic Balkan-Anatolian” (Lazarovici et alii 2000, 276; Maxim 1999, 63). Vinča Culture is extended on a large area that includes Macedonia, Metonia, Croatia, Bosnia, West Bulgaria, Oltenia, Banat, Vojvodina, South Hungaria and Transylvania, but it influences other cultural areas that are out of the origin space (Lazarovici 1977, 19) also. The name of the culture comes from the eponym settlement at 14 km from Belgrade, on the right side of the Danube and it is extended over 10 hectares. The geographical localisation encourages the mediation between cultures that flourished from the Aegean in the South to Central Europe in the far North.

Important events, material and spiritual changes are seen in the levels with almost 10 meters of human works remaining, accumulated over the long period of time when people lived in this area. Vinča settlement distinguishes itself as a reference point in the analyses of Neolithic and Eneolithic culture's birth and development, from Central and South East Europe (Tasić 1990). The first diggings at Vinča were made by Miloje M. Vasić in 1908. Vinča settlement represented the central point of Neolithic and Eneolithic chronological systems' implementations. The systems are based on Vinča's stratigraphy for building some almost stable chronological steps with the help of many cultures and groups, often with different typological characteristics that differ from the eponym settlement.

Concerning the chronological systems for Transylvania, we apply the Holste's system, modified by Vladimir Milojević (Lazarovici 1979, 75-77, table 7; Draşovean 1996, 25) and completed by Gheorghe Lazarovici (Lazarovici 1977, 21-25; Lazarovici 1975, 12-18; Lazarovici 1979, tabel 7). There are known four evolutionary phases (A, B, C, and D) each one with its specific subdivision.



**Map 1.** Geographical localization of Vincian's settlement from Parța and Miercurea Sibiului.

- **Case study presentation of Parța and Miercurea Sibiului**

**Parța** is one of the important Neolithic settlements from North Banat. This can be seen from the systematic excavations, stratigraphic observations, lots of materials, but mostly from its monumental civil architecture (houses with floors, big houses), military architecture (fortification systems) or religious architecture (sanctuaries and shrines) – such evidence reveals a large Neolithic metropolis developed in Banat (Lazarovici et alii 2000, 13). The settlement is a *tell* with a complicated vertical stratigraphy and an architecture based on massive constructions with wooden structures, covered in clay. A lot of excavations, over the years and interdisciplinary studies made this settlement as the most excavated and researched area from the West of Romania until now.

**Miercurea Sibiului** is a particular Vinčian settlement in Transylvania, characterised by massive structures made of wooden beams with less clay. Systematic excavations on the surface revealed a distinguished architecture that makes it the most important settlement in Transylvania. The earlier phases of Vinča Culture were pointed out in Transylvania relatively recently by our team (Luca et alii 2000).

In 2003 campaign there were discovered the earliest vinčian complexes (pit houses B<sub>4-6</sub>, 8 and holes G<sub>7</sub>, 11-12, 13b, 14). The pit houses and the early vinčian holes belong to an aspect of chronology situated towards the end of the A phase. In the 2004 campaign, 4 dwellings were totally or partially researched. They were surface dwellings, with the floor made of river stone dated from Vinča A<sub>3</sub>-B<sub>1</sub>. A few engrossed complexes were shaped (V A<sub>3</sub>; St-C IB-IIA, IIB) (Luca et alii 2005; <http://www.cimec.ro/Arheologie/cronicaCA2005/rapoarte/151.htm>).

- **Examples of reconstructions and interpretation, advantages and target public.**

For creating the virtual models of the architecture and the environment we used the 3d studio max, 7.0 version, developed by Discreet for which the Centre for VLSI and Computer Graphic, University of Sussex has licence. If the models are very easy to make, the most difficult part is to realise the material's texture that must look real. All the objects are made in 3D Studio Max using the plans and the offered technical specification. Objects are made using different techniques. The textures are applied on these objects (using large images in .jpeg or Bitmap format). The next step is doing the animation. After the scene was animated and after the lighting and effects were added, the rendering comes. For this purpose we used a "render farm" made up of 12 computers which transformed the scene into a movie. We used .avi video format (Audio Video Interleave – format was developed by Microsoft). The AVI format is supported by all computers running Windows, and by all the most popular web browsers. It is a very common format on the Internet). The movies have a very good resolution, but they are very large (sometimes 700 MB for a 2 minutes movie). We used Adobe Premier for adjusting the movies in .avi format.

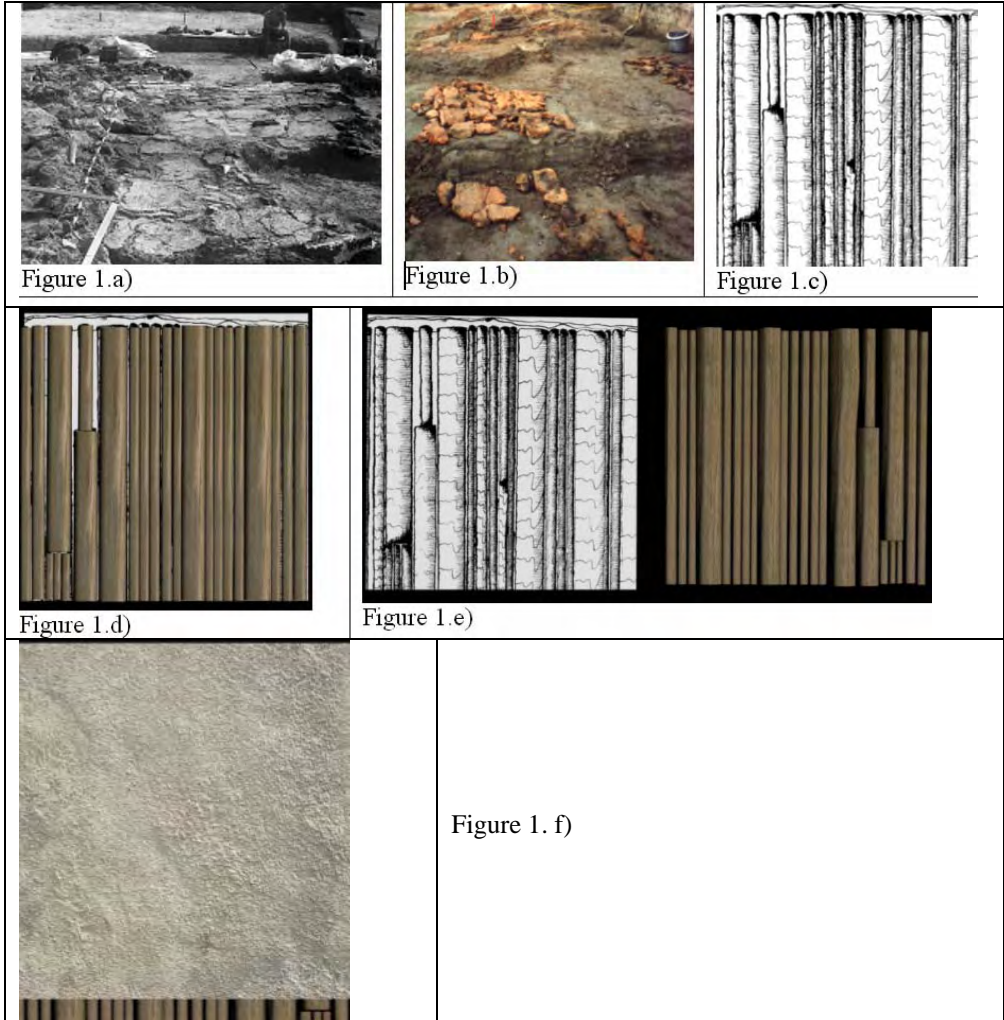
For web streaming, we used tools provided by Microsoft, Windows Media Encoder 9 Series with which we transformed the movie from .avi format into the .wmv (Windows Media File format was developed by Microsoft) format with the web streaming characteristic. We used a middle setting which permits a fast loading in browser of the movie: Multiple Bit rate video (CBR) with a Total Bit Rate = 250 kbps, Frame Rate = 27.7 and Output Size = 320x260. The size of the movie can be reduced to 1-2 MB. We used the HTML code to load Windows Media Player automatically in browser. We tested how the movie loads in Internet Explorer 6.0, Mozilla 5.0 and Opera 8.5. With these characteristics the movies are uploaded on all browsers quite rapidly.

We made educational movies with the reconstruction's process of different architecture elements from Parța and Miercurea Sibiului, and for the validation of different archaeological interpretations. We had a dialog with the specialists that excavated at Parța and Miercurea Sibiului so that now we have a whole view over Vinčian life from the two sites.

Virtual reality offers an integrated archaeological view. The materials are also presented in a more accessible way for the public. We have integrated the virtual structures in VRML/X3D format for the web environment because building a "virtual museum" "on line is very important.

For the architecture, we used the observations gathered from the Miercurea Sibiului and Parța sites, from the analogies in the Vinčian cultural space, from project – Cucuteni project (<http://arts.iasi.roedu.net/cucuteni/arheo/casa/> ) and ethno archaeological research of the Romanian-English team coordinated by John Nandriș (Lazarovici et alii 2000, 10). The research results of the wooden installation permitted the development of ethno archaeological reconstruction.

**Example 1.** *The reconstruction of some wooden and clay floors*



On the site, the clay floor is cleaned (Figure 1. a – real pictures), then it is turned over (Figure 1. b – real pictures) and the hidden wooden sub-structure of the floor is revealed and recorded on site through drawings. The drawings and photographs are imported to 3ds max 7 to use as a reference point for the virtual reconstruction (Figure 1. c the drawing of the mirror image of the wooden floor construction as imported into virtual space). In the virtual space (the 3ds max 7 3D authoring environment) the wooden structure is reconstructed as a virtual model (Figure 1. d). We have now created a virtual reconstruction of the mirror image of the wooden floor structure. Next we turn the wooden floor back to original orientation (Figure 1. e). The wooden beam structure now provides the support of the floor over which, there is added a mixture of clay, straw and water (Figure 1. f).

**Example 2.** *The reconstruction of a supporting wooden structure*

At Parța houses' excavations reveals foundations constructed from a series of holes in which pillars are inserted to support the basic structure of the houses. This was the most frequent system used to build houses (Figure 2. a). At some structures, there were observed massive pillars, but at others there were observed even small poles (Figure 2. a-b). In the virtual space, the wooden structure is filled on the plan (Figure 2. b-c – sanctuary 2). Next we start to create the walls by knitting together a very dense network of poles and rods.

We know this is how the wooden supporting structures of the walls were constructed from the excavated 'fired' clay leaving an imprint of the wooden structure. When the structure burns, the clay changes its firmness, it becomes very hard and it keeps maintaining the marks of the rods and the pillars (Figure 1; Figure 2. d right image).

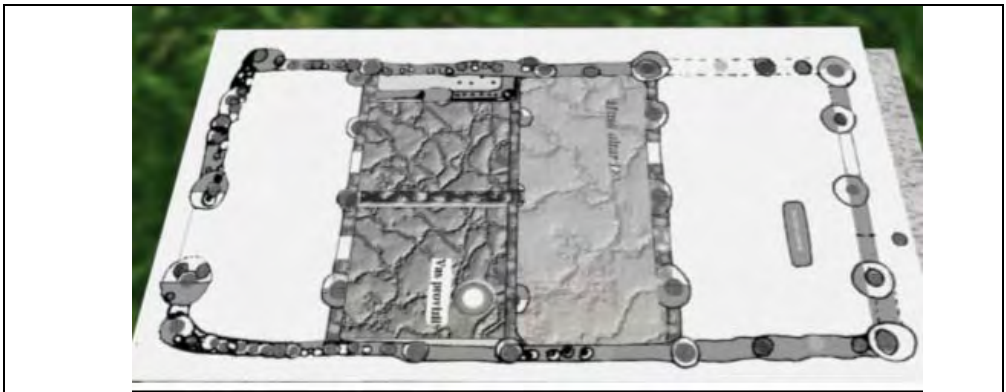


Figure 2. a)

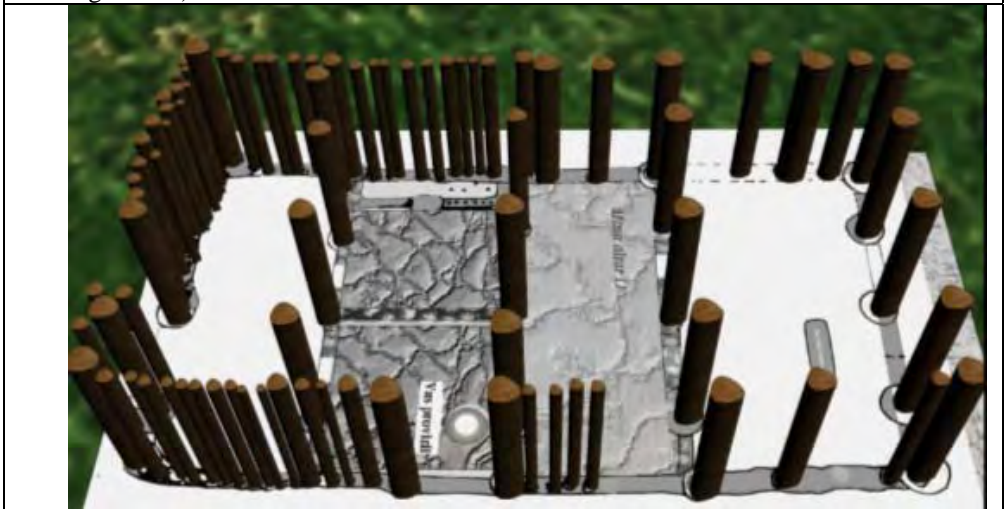


Figure 2. b)

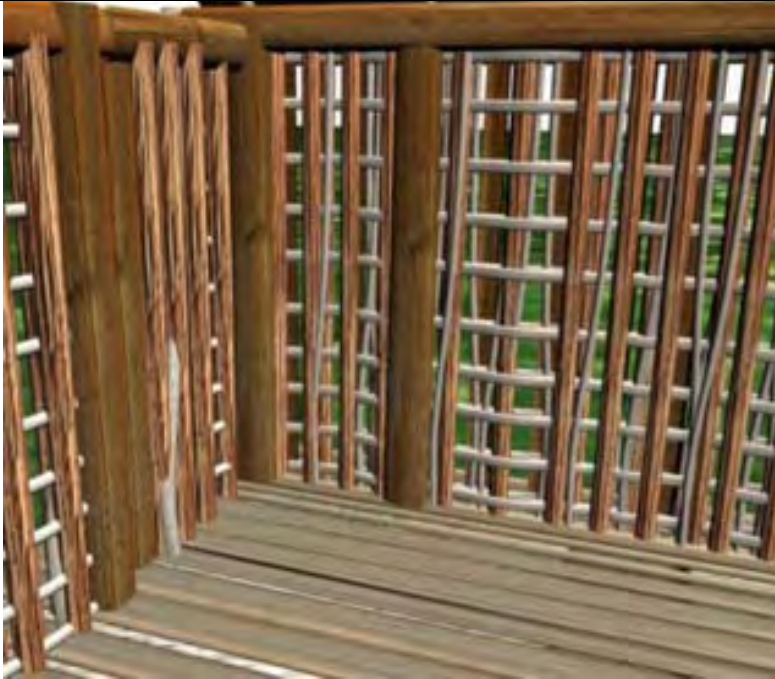


Figure 2. c)



Figure 2. d) Wooden structure (left –virtual space, right- marks in wall remains).

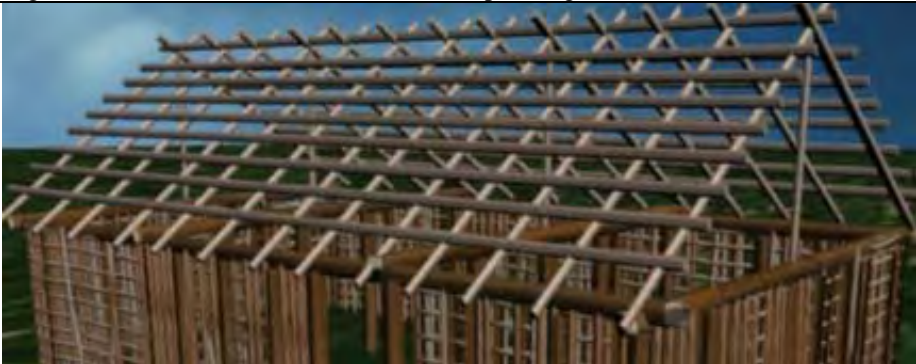


Figure 2. e)



Figure 2. f) The roof's straw structure.

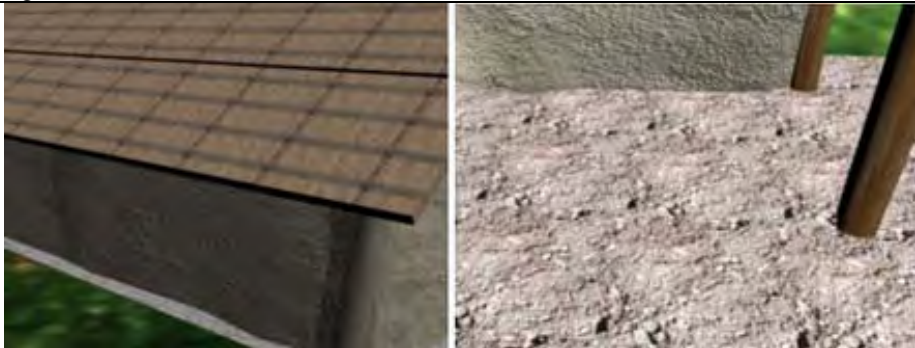


Figure 2. g) The floor and the walls, first sanctuary (left – outside, right – inside).

There are added beams on the structure (Figure 2. d-e). The structure must be rigid, so osier, lime tree crust or bark, twisted rye, and animal bowel were used to tie the beams, rods and poles together. The wooden structure of the roof is then made (Figure 2. e). The roof is covered with dry hay sheaf, straw, bulrush or cane (Figure 2. f). Afterwards, a mixture of clay, straws and water is added (Figure 2. g) to finish the walls. In an archaeological experiment for an Eneolithic house (a house of 7x4 m), there were used for the wooden structure of the house 2 oak trees, 33 lime trees and 245 hazel nut rods. The four walls needed 15 tonnes of clay and 3080 litres of water<sup>10</sup>. The majority of the excavated complexes in Parța are around 11x6 m so the quantity of wooden and clay material used is huge.

### **Example 3. Double statue from Sanctuary 2**

This monumental statue reproduces a divine couple: Big God Mother and her acolyte, Bull God. From the Bull God, there were found fragments from an ear, a part of the horn, fragments from the forehead and also the muzzle/snout. Elements that attest to the practise of the bull cult are all over the sanctuary and in some complexes with the presence of the bull's forehead with horns.

<sup>10</sup> <http://arts.iasi.roedu.net/cucuteni/arheo/casa/>



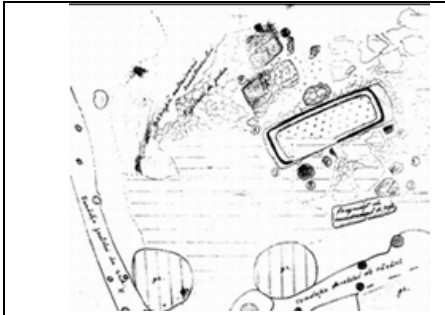


Figure 3. a) The double statue's plan, second sanctuary, Parța.



Figure 3. b) The double statue- in situ. Parța (after Lazarovici et alii 2000, pl. 80, 3).



Figure 3. c) The double statue- interpretation attempt (drawing).



Figure 3. d) The virtual reconstruction of the superior part of the double statue. Front view.

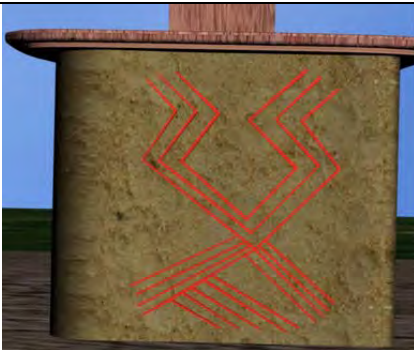


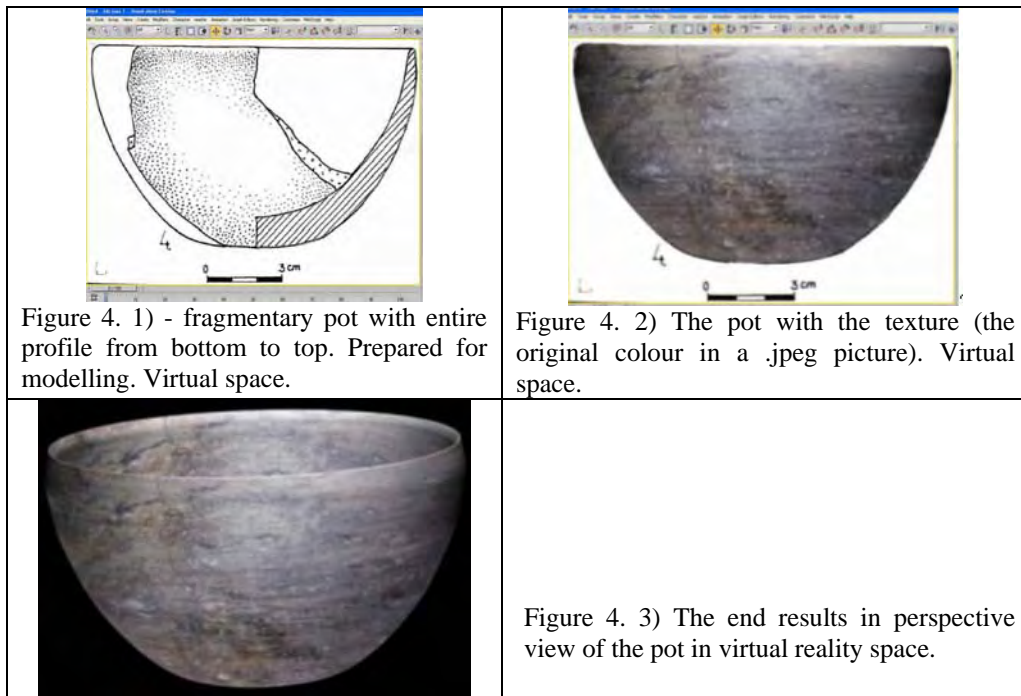
Figure 3. e) The virtual reconstruction of the double statue's base with the red motive's incision.

The archaeologists succeeded in explaining in detail the way in which the statue was built, but they also noticed other interpretations. Of the monumental statue partially remaining; many elements were extended over a large surface (Figure 3. a-b). The excavator illustrates an interpretation (Figure 3. c). In the virtual space, we tried to give a truthful image of the statue (Figure 3. d-e).

**Example 4** *The reconstruction of a pot from pit hut B<sub>5</sub> / 2003 from Miercurea Sibiului on the basis of the pot profile*

Using 3ds max 7 we can import a archaeologist drawing of a pot with its profile and use the NURBS tool to draw round the profile (Figure 4. 1). Next the NURBS curve can be extended by using the Lathe function to rotate the profile thus

generating a wireframe pot whose surface can be then textured by adding a UVW mapping for material adjustment. (Figure 4. 2).




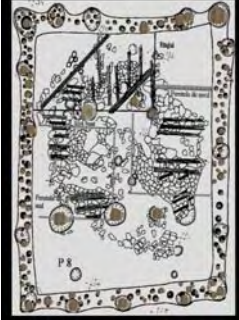

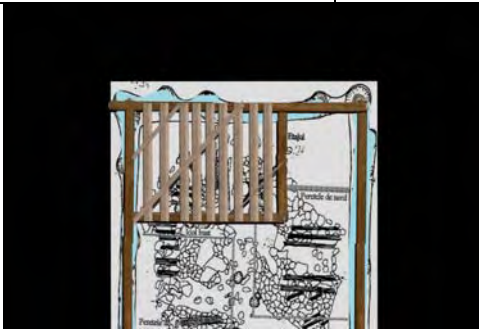
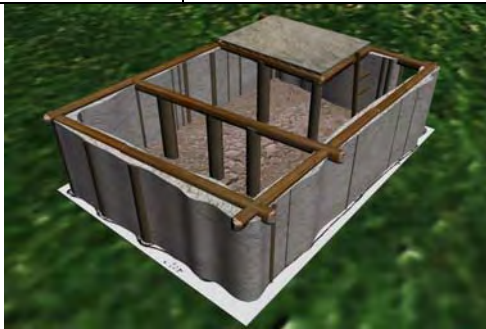
The pot is now realised as a virtual reconstruction or 3D replica (fine technology, grey colour, polished), (Figure 4. 3).

**Example 5** *The reconstruction of house P<sub>8</sub> from Parța and the dissemination of information for the public* (available on our web site at:

<http://arheologie.ulbsibiu.ro/santiere/parta/en/p8.htm>).

Each architectural model has a description in which way it was reconstructed (Figure 5). There can be also be seen animations which show how the building was most likely constructed, but you can immerse yourself in the virtual space and you can explore the model directly in the browser. From 3D studio max you can export the model in VRML format. To view the model in VRML you must use a VRML viewer. We recommend Cortona VRML Client which is free, it goes fast and it doesn't create problems and it's available for a lot (<http://www.parallelgraphics.com/products/cortona/>) of browsers and operating systems.

Technical details are an important element of virtual reconstructions and they are presented in an attractive way. For these technical details, the original source where they had been published is presented each time.

		
<p>Figure 5. 1) The original drawing plan (after Lazarovici and alii 2000, figure 87). Top view.</p>	<p>Figure 5. 2) The plan of the P<sub>8</sub> structure and the elevation of poles (virtual space). Top view.</p>	<p>Figure 5. 3) The pillar 's structure / the structure of pillars (virtual space). Perspective view.</p>
		
<p>Figure 5.4) Detail with the way of the storey reconstruction (virtual space). Top view.</p>	<p>Figure 5. 5) The elevation of clay walls and of the storey (virtual space). Perspective view.</p>	

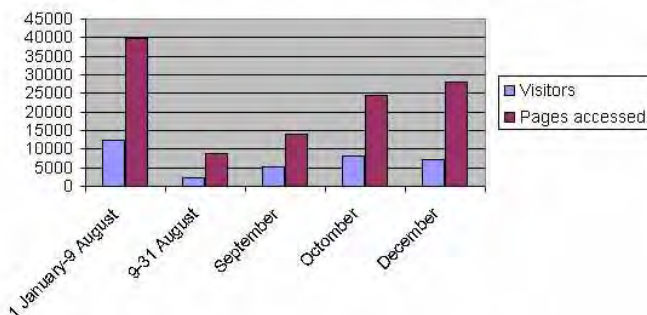
### 5. Conclusions, future work and opportunities

In the future, all the interdisciplinary work associated with our archaeology should be published on our web site where possible as an online resource for access by our students to aid their understanding. In addition, the public can also access this resource for their learning. This article serves as an example instrument for understanding the work we have done until now illustrating the use of virtual reconstructions and collation of these virtual reconstructions with other archaeological data on the Internet as a so called virtual museum or exhibition online. This is an ideal medium for guiding our students and the wider public in understanding the Neolithic way of life. This does not necessarily remove the need to publish our work in the classic format, but the online method using virtual reconstructions is an important supplement to the classical archaeological reports and provides an interesting and enjoyable way of presenting complex information to the student and public alike.

Within our archaeological institution we publish all our informations (books, reports, monographs, presentation, study guides, etc. including our virtual

reconstructions) in order to make this information available in digital format for all and to create a better educational impact and good quality of presentation. Thus our digital publications including virtual reconstructions can also be accessed instantly from all over the world.. Digitisation of all our resources is costly, but the maintenance costs are lower over long term and the number of those who have access to the Internet grows very fast. For example our site <http://arheologie.ulbsibiu.ro/> is a subdomain of <http://www.ulbsibiu.ro/> hosted by Lucian Blaga University. Since it has been created (in October 2004), it was accessed by 42243 visitors that accessed 140200 pages (from a few hundreds visitors a month in 2004 to over 7 thousands in December 2005).

Year 2005-access on site: <http://arheologie.ulbsibiu.ro/>



Besides the classical information: courses, books, etc. we have an initial online resource in the style of a virtual museum opened to the public, see link below. Such information can also be used by the public when they visit the real museum using web accessible devices.

Until now, we could only interact with the visitors in a traditional Museum by:

1. in a traditional way, the artefacts and a label, maps or short descriptions,
2. in a traditional curator who can give more details, usual for groups,
3. through an audio set, borrowed by visitor at the entrance, the visitor can hear the explanations from the audio device,
4. through television sets,
5. through immersive rooms (3 D reality) – very expensive and only for groups,
6. movie rooms,
7. kiosks and touch screens points.

All of them cannot give the independence for visitors and only no. 5 can offer everything (sound, image and a virtual reality feeling). Until now, only the audio device gave some independence.

In the next 2-3 years the new Mobile phones with Bluetooth wireless technology, large resolution screens, capable to run movies, will be a reality. At the same time, PDA devices are improving in performance.

Visitors will use them like an Avatar for explanations (audio, texts, animations, images, movies). Visitors will be able to search through the mobile devices (for audio, texts, animations, images, movies) in the actual museums archive in the same time PDA devices can be offered by museums. Visitors, in the front of a monument or object with their mobile or PDA device will see the virtual reconstruction of the original habitat, more information about the object like descriptions, object design, pictures or audio materials. The visitors will be able to save samples of the information viewed such as movie clips, explanations etc, for reviewing them later on the bus, or at home and the educational message will be reinforced deeper than usual.



Only this way we are open to the wide public that indirectly finances our activity. All virtual exhibitions and multimedia files associated with this progress report are available on:

<http://arheologie.ulbsibiu.ro/virtual.htm>

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## THE GRADEŠNICA SCRIPT REVISITED

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**ABSTRACT.** *The article (The present article is under the frame of the project MU.S.EU.M. (Multimedia system for a European Museum) within the Leonardo da Vinci program) presents new evidence on the signs of the Gradešnica platter through a direct check of them and applying to them a matrix of semiotic markers and rules in order to inspect the internal structuring of the sign system developed in Neo-Eneolithic times in the Danube basin. The matrix is intended: a) to verify the possibility that these cultures might have expressed an early form of writing; i.e. the so called “Danube script”; b) to investigate the organizing principles of this system of writing; c) to distinguish inscriptions of the Danube script composed of two or more signs, without of course knowing what any of them stand for, from compounds of signs associated with other communication codes, among which decorations, symbols, and divinity identifiers. The matrix has been recently tested on some recent discoveries selected from the core area of the Danube civilization and from the peripheral regions in order to document the existence and how widespread the Danube script was.*

One inscribed object, many version of its signs

Sometimes also the celebrities under the spotlights for decades still have hidden unexpected features. The well known Gradešnica platter It is kept at the Museum of history of Vratsa with inventory number A-2700. The object is displayed on line in 3D and accompanied by a identity card at the “Virtual Museum of the European roots” managed by the MU.S.EU.M. project: <http://www.europeanvirtualmuseum.it/museum/schedabase.asp?reperto=113>) was unearthed in 1969 in North-western Bulgaria on the second building level of the dwelling n. 1 from a prehistoric settlement next to the village of Gradešnica (Vratsa County). In the same site signs have been discovered on the bottom of pottery incised before firing. The signs from Gradešnica have different shapes: some of them depict stylized human figures, other represent geometrical patterns, other are very difficult to interpret. Anyway they are more than 40 and B. Nikolov considered

that they compiled the most ancient set of ideograms from this area of South-eastern Europe (B. *Nikolov* 1974: 33).

Concerning the Gradešnica platter, the problem of its dating is not secondary after the claim of the discoverers B. *Nikolov*, V. *Mikov* and G. *Georgiev* that it was bearing signs of literacy and that its marks on four rows are from the oldest script in Europe or even in the world (V.I. *Georgiev* 1969: 32-35; B. *Nikolov* and V.I. *Georgiev* 1970: 7-9; B. *Nikolov* and V.I. *Georgiev* 1971: 289). It is worth noticing that the signs on the Transylvanian Tărtăria tablets had been relegated to Coțofeni cultural horizon in order to argue that the marks on the Gradešnica platter, as well as on the Karanovo seal and other Bulgarian artifacts, are the first written record in human history (G.I. *Georgiev* and V.I. *Georgiev* 1969).

The discoverers attributed the findspot to the first half of the Chalcolithic period corresponding, according to them, to the cultures of Karanovo V (Marica culture), the late Vinča-Turdaș and Boian-Vidra- Gumelnița I (B. *Nikolov*, 1970; B. B. *Nikolov* 1974: 34). On the basis of uncalibrated C14 results, the linguist V. I. *Georgiev* placed the Gradešnica shallow receptacle in a later period; i.e. in the second half of the fourth millennium (*Georgiev* 1970: 8; for a critic viz *Winn* 1981: 214). *Makkay* inclined to the early Vinča C phase (*Makkay* 1990: 78). *Gimbutas* considered Gradešnica to be a Vinča settlement and ascribed the shallow vessel to the Vinča B culture dated around the 5000 BC (*Gimbutas* 1982: 87) or the early 5<sup>th</sup> millennium BC (*Gimbutas* 1991: 313). This date has been substantially challenged by J. *Todorović* who believed that the Gradešnica evidence could not be synchronized with Vinča B framework because of the higher level of development of its script compared to that of Turdaș (*Todorović* 1970: 82). Nowadays scholarship agrees to inscribe the Gradešnica platter to early Chalcolithic; III phase. Accepting this date, it is chronologically positioned before another Bulgarian icon of the Neo-Eneolithic script: the Karanovo seal which is ascribed to Karanovo VI (B. *Nikolov et al* 1970).

However if the dating of the Gradešnica artifact is quite settled, are we sure that it actually bears signs of literacy and not merely decorations, symbols, or even simple scratchings? Its marks has to be analyzed by semiotic criteria, but one immediately discovers that most of the authors, dazzled by a first-eye of its shape and its aligned signs along reading rows, consider it to be a tablet or a plaque (*Winn* 198: 210, *Renfrew* 1973: 177, *Masson* 1984: 108) even if it is actually a little, rounded shallow tray (12.5 cm. long by 10.5 cm. wide and 2 cm. high) with evident lips and two holes for suspension (*Gimbutas* 1991: 313 fig. 8-12). The misunderstanding started from the excavator who judged it a “plaquette en argile, ayant forme d’un petite pot, sur laquelle sont incises des signes écrits” (B. *Nikolov* 1974: 33).

According to the archaeologists in charge the small tray was discovered, in a cultic place, together with a well-preserved figurine and two clay vases (B. *Nikolov* 1970). The bottom of one vase is inscribed with an anthropomorphic figure, while the bottom of the other is bearing script-like signs. Therefore the context of the

Gradešnica evidence is religious although there is not an adequate amount of information to discuss if the mentioned occurrences (the place, the location, the assemblage, and the marks) formulate a symbolic system employing signs of literacy. For example only a protein residue analysis would tell us what the platter was used for (to display/offer sacred liquid or oil, for example?)

Another problem involves the outline of the signs: which are actually the marks incised on the Bulgarian artifact? Few badly-taken, developed and reproduced photos of them have been published. The situation is made more complex by the fact that sometimes the signs have not an obvious silhouette because of indecisions on the part of the scribe (Fig. 1) (Masson's judgment about his/her un-handiness is too severe), the platter is filled by scratches (Fig. 2) and some areas are covered by abrasions. A number of drawings are available but some signs they are depicting are divergent (B. Nikolov 1970 figs. 6 and 7, 1974 figs. 68 and 69, 1986; Masson 1984: 109 fig. 9; Todorova 1986: 211 fig. 116; V. Nikolov 1990: 49). Even the discoverer published in different articles dissimilar version of the marks. Unfortunately most of the information circulating out of the Bulgarian scholarship is based on these unclear photos and conflicting sketches (Masson, for example had only the opportunity to work on the image from the inside of the platter published on the cover of a book).

During the spring of 2005 I had the opportunity of checking the object personally at the National Museum of History in Sofia. The platter is made of clay, the color is grey and the preservation state is quite fair. It was never restored. Inscriptions are incised on both sides, many of the signs are crudely marked and sometimes they are superimposed by scratches and fortuitous lines made after firing, nevertheless in general they are quite distinctive in shape. In the next paragraphs I will present some epigraphic observations on the signs of the Gradešnica little tray and then I will apply on them a matrix of semiotic markers and rules in order to evaluate the *possibility* of the presence of elements of literacy (*Danube script* – I employ the term "Danube signs"/"Danube script" as general allocation for the form of literacy which flourished in Neo-Eneolithic times in the great Danube basin (Danube civilization) and "Vinča signs"/"Vinča script" strictly limited to the Vinča culture which developed in the central area of it. This terminology is coherent with the challenge to demonstrate that the "early civilization" status can no longer limit itself to the regions which have long attracted scholarly attention (i.e. Egypt-Nile, Mesopotamia - Tigris and Euphrates, the ancient Indus valley), but it has to expand to embrace the Neo-Eneolithic civilization of the Danube basin. The presence of a system of writing is only a mark - although important - of the high status of the civilization which flourished along the Danube river at these times) and to distinguish the potential text, without of course knowing what it stood for, from compounds of signs associated to other communication codes, among them decorations, symbols, divinity identifiers (A version of the matrix of markers and rules has been published in "The 'Danube Script' and the Gradesnica Platter. A Semiotic Study based on most recent autopsy of the Bulgarian item", Lolita Nikolova & Jude Higgins (eds.) *Prehistoric*

*Archaeology & Anthropological Theory and Education. RPRP 6-7, 2005.* Another version has been published in “Semiotic approach to the features of the ‘Danube Script’”, *Documenta Praehistorica XXXII*, Ljubljana, 2005). Of course these indicators and guidelines are in progress because one will be able to distinguish without errors the different communication channels only when one is capable of reading the script. But, on the other hand, one will not even be capable of reading the inscriptions if one is not able to isolate their signs from the others. It is really a loop that one has to break step by step and by progressive approximations.

### **A pregnant anthropomorph**

Regarding the outside of the artifact, I present a montage showing also the lips (Fig. 3). One can recognize at one look a human-like stylized figure fixed in a ritual posture with arms raised, surrounded by numbers of triangular, V-shaped and meandering motifs. This makes one concentrate instinctively. In fact, as we will discuss below, the starting sign for decoding the message is the focal point of the anthropomorph: i.e. the deep dot placed inside the central lozenge which depicts the torso (*Merlini 2004: 87*).

The symbolic figure is quite correctly rendered in the published drawings, although with some discrepancies also in the discoverer’s presentations (see for example B. Nikolov 1970 vs. B. Nikolov 1974). The stylized figurine is positioned prominently on the platter. Besides it is in high-relief and its outline is much more deeply incised compared to the surrounding signs. Generally speaking it is supposed to be standing (*Winn 1981: 212*) or sitting (*V. Nikolov 1990*), with arms rose in ritual adoration toward a god and possibly looking downwards (*V. Nikolov 1990* – it is a unconvincing position that one in adoration remaining in a sitting posture). However it is reasonable to consider it to be in a dancing pose as suggested by the high curved arms outgoing from a torso-rhombus and hands as open spirals as well as the posture rendered in dynamic balance on a little triangle representing legs. Following the liturgical suggestions one can consider it an “oranting dancer”. The anthropomorph is composed of a rhombus and four triangle-like forms: each of them shows a dot incised in the barycentre. The dots follow two typologies: the one in the central lozenge is much more deeply carved than the others which form an ideal cross. A sixth dot is less profoundly incised than the others and is placed at the end of a > motif located in the lower register. The “oranting dancer” is evidenced and highlighted by a doubled outline: a) the head is composed of a twofold triangle with a dot inside; b) two arcuate arms create open triangles with a dot inside; c) a double lozenge with a deep dot stands for the body. Only one single-lined triangle with a dot in the centre constitutes the oscillating base of the stylized anthropomorph, actually the legs.

Similarly to the Ocna Sibiului “not phallus” and other incised objects of the Danube Civilization (*Paul on-line, 2002, Merlini 2005a*), the back of the Gradešnica flat platter seems contemporaneously to employ two communication channels: iconic symbolism and an inscription. The starting sign for interpreting the message is also the focus of the figurine as well as of the object: the deep point inserted inside the body-lozenge. Since Palaeolithic times, the lozenge is one of the

most social used geometric shapes, as the triangle with the vertex downward is, to express the feminine body as receptacle of fertility. The reason is obvious: rhombus and triangle allude to the vulva, the pubic triangle, and the womb; therefore they are connected to the life-source. Such social symbolism covers the entire Neolithic period up to historical times, as recorded by a famous passage of Herodotus. For example, in Mesopotamia the lozenge was closely associated with Inana/Ishtar (*Farmer 2003a: 20*).

In the Danube Civilization a lozenge is frequently depicted on the conspicuous abdomen of pregnant figurines which, in their turn, show a body in the shape of a lozenge. Coupling iconic representation with geometric symbolism, the seminal potentiality of a woman, a female forebear, mythical progenitor, or divinity is doubly emphasized (*Merlini 2004: 89*). Consequently if the diamond encloses a point, like in the Bulgarian shallow vase, it evidently marks the uterus containing the fetus because impregnation is implied (this conception is very widespread in time and space. For example in dreams and hallucinations of the Tukano Amazonian peoples “diamonds or lozenges represent the female organ. When marked with a central dot, impregnation is implied. A coherent group of diamonds, each with a central dot, represents the relationship between various exogamous groups. A vertical chain of diamonds represents a line of matrilineal descent. The motif stands for biological and social continuity” (*Reichel-Dolmatoff 1987:16*)). Does the female Gradešnica anthropomorph tell us about expectancy and birth? Has one to deal with pregnancy and giving birth of a definite woman, a mythical ancestor, or a divinity? Was the platter used in liturgies to challenge the infecundity?

Support to this interpretation comes from other Neo-Eneolithic pregnant anthropomorphic figures according to which the incision or the paint of a rhombus with a dot or a dash (in the centre or in all four corners) on the belly-womb (not on the vulva) or on fat parts of the body (buttocks, thighs and hips) (All fat parts of the body were significant, considered to be growing, or pregnant) communicates the condition or period of expecting a baby and “must have been the symbolic invocation to secure fertility” (*Gimbutas 1982: 205*). The stability and importance of this symbol, often arranged in chains, are evident throughout time in all the Neo-Eneolithic cultures of the Danube basin. A very ancient occurrence (c. 6000 BC) is from Gladnice, near Priština and on the bank of the river Gračanica (Kosovo), which is the first Starčevo settlement which obtained a reliable data concerning the vertical stratigraphy (Fig. 4). Over a pregnant statuette in a squatting position of Gladnice I period, a dot has been deeply dig into the centre of a rhombus which was positioned above the belly (*Gimbutas 1982: 206 plate 203, 160*). The schematized figurine is made of terracotta and is characterized by three and three diagonal incised lines which mark vulva and thighs.

Dotted lozenges are depicted on the base of the throne on which Lady I of Kőkénydomb is seated: a cultic vase from house 24 unearthed at the site of Hódmezővásárhely-Kőkénydomb (South-eastern Hungary) in the shape of an enthroned female divinity open in the upper part and without face representation

(Banner 1959) (Fig. 5). The vase is a bit older than the Gradešnica platter and the rich decoration on the lower part of its garment shows rhombuses, "Ms", "Xs", circles, striated triangles, zigzags, lines parallels and "script signs" (Gimbutas 1991: 71) made of white incisions and incrustations which are embedded inside panels for "reading". Dated at Classical Tisza period (early 5<sup>th</sup> millennium BC according to Gimbutas 1982), it was originally painted in red and contained grain and ash: the offer to the divinity. The seed of the wheat is sowed inside the body of the holy mother; the ploughing stands for the act of impregnation, the coming out of the new plant represents birth. Gimbutas suggested that the anthropomorphic vessel could have been put to ritual use filling it with water and then carrying it over the countryside (Gimbutas 1982: 208). The symbolic code of Lady Kőkénydomb makes clear that the dot within a lozenge represents not only the fetus in the womb, but also the seed inside the cultivated land. Therefore the dotted diamond indicates the sown earth and attests the intimate link between female fertility and vegetation fertility (Rybakov 1965 1: 30-31). Gimbutas reminded that some figurines were impressed with actual grains on belly, buttock and thighs (Gimbutas 1974: fig. 156)

Several authors refer the dotted lozenge to a conventional representation of the seed in the field, but it is a misleading conception for three reasons. Firstly it is improbable that at the initial phase of farming people formed quadrangular plots. Archaeological data show that plots of tilled soil usually had geometrically non-regular outlines (Golan 1991: 218). Secondly the lozenge is a very strange shape for orderly spatial regulations of fields: I have never seen rhomboid plots of cultivated land. Thirdly the supposition that the diamond became symbolic of the quadrangular cultivated plots contrasts the fact that this motif emerged as early as the Upper Palaeolithic period when the land was not being cultivated yet (Golan advanced the idea that in Palaeolithic symbolism the rhombus signified a snare for an animal and the zigzag an animal's track and that only later these motifs became symbols of earth and water (Golan 2003: 220)). At the same time, for such very early cultures it is hard to follow Golan's suggestions connecting - as in ancient China, Greek and Rome - the rhombus as well the square with the earth and its prominent deity in opposition to the circle and the oval which represent the celestial sphere (Golan 2003: 219). It is much more plausible to connect this symbol with the cultivated land generally speaking and its power of growing.

Several dotted sketching quadrilaterals, have been found at Sitagroi (Greece) depicted during the 5<sup>th</sup> millennium BC. This mark is the focus of the belly on highly schematic figurines or charms made in light-brown fabric around the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> millennium BC, during the Period II of the settlement (Gimbutas 1982: 207 fig. 159, 160) which was more or less coeval to the Gradešnica culture (Fig. 6). The lower abdomen from a fragment of a sitting pregnant little figure shows a system of lozenges and triangles with a point into the centre: the symbols are positioned inside a frame made of corpulent body, prominent belly; navel emphasized by a hole and nicely rounded buttocks. The symbolic design has been painted in black on red slipped terracotta during the Period III of the tell (around 4500 BC). On the upper

left an egg has been depicted (*Gimbutas 1982: 207 fig. 162; Renfrew C., Gimbutas M., Elster A. 1986 fig 9.54*) (Fig. 7).

Schematic figurines incised with a dotted diamond have been found in the culture Gumelnița A1 phase, c. 4500 BC at Vidra (northern Romania) (*Rosetti 1938: fig 12*) which was quite contemporary to the Gradeșnica platter. The first statuette has holes for suspensions and is distinctive for a complex ornament over all the body which seems to be a liturgical garment and is made of a combination of geometric elements between them a dotted diamond in front and on the back. In both cases the diamond is the vertex of a triangle with long curved segments (Fig. 8). In the second figurine the dotted lozenge is positioned on the back and a meander is on the belly (Fig. 9). Dots are transformed into minute disks on the ‘Goddess of Vidra’. Being a key element of its complex excised decoration, dotted-disked lozenges adorn the nape, the back, the bellies as well as the hips of this anthropomorphic ritual vase which is one of the masterpieces of the Gumelnița culture (Fig. 10). Made by “specialized workers with an acute artistic sense” the ‘Goddess of Vidra’ may have been used “in large worship rituals regarding the life of the entire community, thus having a general representativity” (*Andreescu 2002: 106*). Analogous signs are aligned and incrustated in white on a face of a black polished clay disc from Ploskata Mogila (Plovdiv, central Bulgaria). The disc is c. 4 centimeters in diameter, belongs to Gumelnița culture, is dated c. 4000 BC and bears also a dotted triangle (*Detev 1952: 337, fig. 333; Gimbutas 1982: 208*) (Fig. 11).

The single dotted lozenge also occurs on figurines from Stoicani-Aldeni culture, local evolution of the Gumelnița/Karanovo VI-Kodžadermen cultural complex with Precucuteni and Cucuteni influences (Fig. 12). This motif appears as well on several figurines from Precucuteni and Cucuteni culture. The rounded buttocks of a Precucuteni-Tripolye A statuette from Lencăuți show a complex outline composed by a diamond-with-dot connected to curved “Ys” and surrounded by “Us”. V motifs are incised on the womb; curved lines are evident on front and back of legs (Fig. 13). Another figurine belonging to the same settlement and the same period has dotted lozenges over the hips (Fig. 14) as well as a Cucuteni A figurine from Frumușica (*Matasă 1946*) (Fig. 15). Sometimes the dot inserted in the diamond stretches out in a dash. A lozenge with a vertical stroke is the only symbol on a figurine from Klišcevo (Ukraine) (*M. Lazarovici 2005*) (Fig. 16).

The presence of several statuettes from Cucuteni A culture which are bearing a diamond inserting a diagonal dash attests to the symbolic importance of this motif. Four statuettes from Răucești-Munteni are wearing elaborate garments which are decorated with this symbol (*Dumitroaia 1987*). In the first occurrence the dashed lozenge is on the chest as element of a complex pattern composed of < and > signs which is surrounding a chevron containing multiple diagonal strokes and two circles representing the ovaries (Fig. 17). A multiple rhombus with a diagonal stroke occurs on the belly of a second statuette and echoes a second one positioned on the womb. The chest is adorned with seven diagonal strokes surrounded by 12 dots. All the design seems to represent the irrigated earth by rain and may be interpreted as a

symbolic incantation to ensure falls of rainfall for sown soil (Fig. 18). In the third statuette the dotted rhombus is a part of a sequence of three vertically aligned lozenges of different type accompanied with diagonal lines. Also in this occurrence the rain invocation is obvious (Fig. 19). Finally this symbol is positioned on the front (the abdomen and the throat) and on the back of a statuette with a necklace and a multiple three-dotted diamond positioned on the womb (Fig. 20). On a figurine from Bodești-Frumușica which is wearing a rounded medallion, a lozenge with a diagonal stroke occurs in the middle of the shoulders (*Matasă 1946*) (Fig. 21). The same symbol appears on the back of a statue from Berești (*Dragomir 1985*) (Fig. 22).

The dotted diamond is particularly significant in Trypillya A culture. On a figurine from Ukraine with prominent breasts and tremendous posterior, a dotted rhombus over the womb (in fact a womb in shape of a lozenge-wit-a-dot) is part of a sequence of signs positioned in row on the front (five signs) and on the back (three signs). On the front one can see in sequence a zigzag line under the breasts, a snake-like spiral on the belly, a dotted lozenge on the womb, a bi-dotted sketching quadrilateral on the hips, and a sprouting vegetal sign from the vulva (*Videiko in press*). The chain of marks fits bio-energetic points, although in a different way from Chinese acupuncture and Hindu yoga, and each symbol may indicate one of them (Fig. 23). In another occurrence the dot within the lozenge over the womb was punctured and chevrons and stripes all over the body of the figurine as well as the lack of arms denote snake magic (Fig. 24).

Sometimes the lozenge has two or more dots or dashes inserted inside. Diamonds with two horizontal strokes positioned one over the other are present on Cucuteni A statuettes from Mărgineni (*Monah 1997: 316 fig.6*) (Fig. 25) and Trușești (*Petrescu-Dîmbovița M. et alii 1999*) (Fig. 26). On a figurine from Frumușica (*Matasă 1946*) two dashes are diagonally positioned within two diamonds which are located on the belly and on the chest in a way resembling an image inside a mirror (Fig. 27). On the back of a statuette from Moldova the strokes are aligned (*Monah 1997: 334 fig 82-5*) (Fig. 28).

In Precucuteni and Cucuteni culture the association between rhombus and cultivated land on one hand and between dot and seed on the other hand, that we have above discussed presenting the symbolic code of Lady Kōkénydomb, is emphasized by four-partite dotted lozenges inserted over the abdomen of several pregnant statuettes which are enthroned or standing in a reclining posture. Number of scholars certified the employment of these representations in magic-religious liturgies (*Cucoș 1974; 1993; M. Mantu, Gh. Dumitroaia, A. Tsaravopoulos 1997: 179, 191, fig. 52, 127; Ursulescu et alii 2001-2002*). Most of the figurines have been found in a fragmentary state indicating that they have suffered some kind of a de-sacralization process during magic-religious practices or at the end of them (*M. Lazarovici 2005*). A Precucuteni-Tripolye A figurine from Lencăuți (Moldavia, Romania) has a quartered lozenge with a dot in each section incised above the belly (Fig. 29). The design of its tattoo (or garment) is completed with various magic-religious symbols between them lozenges with a vertical dash, lozenges with two



diagonal strokes and dotted triangles. A figurine from Cucuteni-Cețațuia (northern Moldavia, Romania) is marked by an elaborate magic-religious design with signs including, in the very centre, a lozenge interwoven with a cross and deeply incised with a dot in the middle of three sections whereas the above section shows a large spot in high relief (*Butureanu 1891*). A snake-like sign is depicted on the chest; V-lines run below the schematized head with elaborate coiffure and pinched-up nose; parallel curved lines are incised on front and back of stumps arms; a second diamond with three diagonal dashes is represented on the kidneys (Fig. 30). Made in fine reddish-brown baked clay, the figurine is high schematized but with a very polished surface. It belongs to the Cucuteni A phase, mid of the 5<sup>th</sup> millennium BC (*Gimbutas 1982: 205*). Other figurines from the same settlement and from the same period share the same symbol (*Petrescu-Dîmbovița M. et alii 1999*). On the belly of a statuette one can distinguish that three sub-lozenges have a long horizontal dash inside whereas the forth, on the right, is empty (Fig. 31). On the abdomen of a second typology of statuettes, two arms of the St. Andrews cross which quadripartite the lozenge overrun it as a sprouting bud making very clear the association between the pregnant female womb and the cultivated land growing of plants (Fig 32. Viz also Fig. 33). The same symbol distinguishes figurines depicted in Fig. 34 and Fig. 35.

The positioning over the abdomen of lozenges divided into four equal parts with a dot in each compartment characterizes many other statuettes belonging to Cucuteni A phase (4300-4100 BC). It is evident on a figurine found at Igești-Scândureni (Moldavia Romania) where a quadripartite dotted diamond is inserted inside another diamond (*Coman 1980*) (Fig. 36) and on a statuine from Trușești where the symbol is incised over the shoulders (*Petrescu-Dîmbovița et alii 1999*) (Fig. 37). The rhombus divided into four equal and dotted parts is present also on an incomplete figurine from Drăgusani at Botoșani (northern Moldavia, Romania) belonging to the Middle Cucuteni (Fig. 38). In the last instance a similar motif recurs also over the emphatic buttocks, but its shape is modified in order to adapt it to the rounded forms and it is surrounded by diagonal strokes (*Crișmaru 1977: 67 fig. 55/2; Gimbutas 1987: 116 fig. 14-6*).

Sometimes the four-partite dotted lozenge incised over the belly is the most pronounced feature conveying the idea/desire of pregnancy opposed to infertility, the rest of the female body serving only as a background to the ideographic concept. This is the case of the lower half of a terracotta figurine from Luka Vrublevetskaja (Western Ukraine) (Fig. 39). The design of the statuette is completed with spirals on buttocks and horizontal lines on tapering legs totally schematized. Made of light-brown fabric, the symbols are incised white-filled. It belongs to Precucuteni-Tripolye A, late 5<sup>th</sup> millennium BC (*Bibikov 1958: 400, pl. 108*).

In the Danube civilization lozenges and triangles with one or more dots or dashes are encountered not only on (in general pregnant) figurines, but also on shrine walls, vases, seals, and amulets. For example a polychrome Petrești fruit stand vase from Pianul de Jos (Transylvania, Romania) (*Paul 1992; Gimbutas 1989: 145*) is decorated, painted dark and light brown on white, by a complex

design composed by lozenges-with-seed and lozenges-with-snakecoil which are arranged in a chain in order to suggest the idea of seeds and serpents in the land, in the earth (4500-4000 BC). It was found with an assemblage of cult equipment on a tripod table and was probably used for autumn sowing rituals (Fig. 40).

The sketching quadrilateral with a dot was also employed on amulets to secure fertility. A clay egg-shape charm with a double diamond surrounding an evident point was found at Cifer-Pàc (near Trnava, South-western Slovakia) from early LBK culture (Fig. 41). The excavator interpreted it as an anthropomorphic amulet of female gender (*Kolník 1978*). Correlating the symbol on this object and that on the already mentioned figurine from Gladnice, Ruttkay inferred the direct assumption that around the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> millennium BC the graphic and symbolic idea was taken by the LBK population from the south neighboring of late Starčevo culture (*Ruttkay 1999*. Viz also *Kalicz 1990: Taf. 1/1; Pavúk 1994: fig. 3; Simon 1996: 72, fig. 15*). As I have above documented, the cultural chain should be much more complex and articulated.

### **The flourishing rhombus as vital symbol of the pregnant four-sided moon which is dancing and thriving**

A final typology of dotted lozenge is particularly significant because it lets us to move from this symbol occurring on the focus of the Gradešnica anthropomorph to the outline of the whole figure and from the symbolism of land to that of earth. The motif that I have in mind is the diamond with a dot in the center and in all four corners. This symbol is evident for instance in early Trypillya culture (initial stages of Trypillya B1 according to *N. B. Burdo 2004*) at Novye Ruseshty I (Republic of Moldavia), 4800-4600 BC, which on its upper part bears also a dotted lozenge (Fig. 42). According to Gimbutas “many dots within a diamond may signify multiplication of the seed, a general resurgence of life in the sown field” and the diamond with five dots (one in the center and one in each of the four corners) may denote “planting in all four directions”, a feature still present in European folk belief (*Gimbutas 1989: 145*). Throughout Europe, sowing in four directions is a ceremony carried out at the winter and spring planting to ensure that dead vegetation will come to life again. The graphic result of the five-dotted lozenge is very similar to the fourfold pattern of Gradešnica similar-human being: a cruciform design made of a central rhombus and four triangular dotted arms (Fig. 43). This fourfold pattern is on shown on Bohemian Linear Pottery dishes of the end sixth-early fifth millennium BC (*Gimbutas 1974: fig. 46*) (Fig. 44) and it is quite similar to a quadripartite mark incised on a schematic figurine from Țigănești (*Monah 1997: 316, fig. 64/4*) (Fig. 45).

The earliest occurrence of the typology of the fourfold pattern composed by a central lozenge-with-a-dot and four triangles-with-a-dot as arms is findable at Çatal Hüyük (Asia Minor) on a seal that may has been used to stamp this symbol on loaves of sacred bread. The dotted rhombic motif in the centre apparently links the symbol of a seed within cultivated land or within a womb and the notion of bread as gift of earth and its associated forces or divinity. The seal belongs to Çatal Hüyük II-IV, second half 7<sup>th</sup> millennium BC (*Gimbutas 1989: 144*) (Fig. 46). At Hacilar

(Asia Minor) on the early Neolithic pottery, dating from the 6<sup>th</sup> millennium BC, is encountered the so-called ‘flourishing rhombus’ or ‘flourishing square’ consisting of these quadrilateral motifs with shoots at the corners. The design depicted in Fig. 47 (*Mellaart 1970: 411*) is interpreted by Golan in the following way: the rhombus containing zigzags represents irrigated land, the triangular appendages at its corner symbolize vegetation, clouds are pictured as arcs, and short dashes above stand for rain (*Golan 2003: 221*). The agricultural symbolism is obvious also in other flourishing lozenges with triangles (*Mellaart 1970: 401; 350*) (Fig. 48a and b) or with other lozenges (*Mellaart 1970: 395, 409*) (Fig. 49). In fact analysis shows that they are not arbitrary patterns but that they convey the same set of ideas in a certain way: according to Golan each of the five elements of the cruciform design is an earth sign, thus the pattern would imply the idea of “five lands”; the element of the middle is the particular locality and around it are the “four quarters of the world” (*Golan 2003: 263* – Golan observes that the concept “south, north, west, east, and the middle of the earth” appeared in ancient Egypt, China, and pre-Columbian America. The formula recurred in ancient Egyptian texts. A similar idea concerning the structure of the inhabited world existed in ancient China: the world was imagined as consisting of “four quarters” and a central part with the “sacred city” in it, in this case “the great city of Shang”, the residence of the rulers of the Yin state. When the lands of the state were listed, its five parts were mentioned as four peripheral and the central. In Aztec cosmology, the universe is comprised of four quarters and the middle region; the same view was shared by the Indian tribes of North America (*Golan 2003: 263*)).

Other evidence from Hacilar (*Mellaart 1970: 350; 383*) can be explicated as follows: the quadrangle may signify earth, the dot may designate the seed and the spiral-shapes resembling ram horns may symbolize plant shoots (*Golan 2003: 150*) (Fig. 50). Apparently this design is very similar to the silhouettes of the anthropomorph from Gradešnica but in the later case the curved-spirals appendages are all bottom down. Concerning the Danube civilization, a hooked and dotted lozenge similar to this grapheme is positioned on the upper chest of a statuine from Drăgușeni (Fig. 51).

However is the dotted lozenge (plain, multiple or quadripartite) a female or a male symbol? If most of the scholars follows Ambroz who suggested that the diamond symbolized fertility designating earth, plant, and a woman at the same time, Golan speculates that “during the Neolithic the rhombus was depicted on feminine figurines, symbolizing impregnation of the goddess by the earth god” (*Golan 2003: 221*). According to him this symbol represents the male deity of earth and its application on a feminine image means the idea that the male deity, the earth god, impregnates the goddess, the mother of all life. In any case a common point is hold on by all the authors: the meaning of the dotted diamond, typical transformational geometry, is apparent from its position on the figurines and is the representation of the state “to be pregnant” or “to be growing”. Dotted lozenges on the round portion of globular vases seem to express the same significance because this topology of vessel has been conceived of as maternal womb.

A similar four-folded pattern is present in coeval and subsequent civilizations attesting to its symbolic importance. Pottery decorated with cruciform design composed with four triangles positioned on the vertexes of a rhombus has been found in Mesopotamia dated c. 3000 BC (*Golan 2003: 264, fig. 278-2*) (Fig. 52). The symbol occurs also on seals of ancient Indus civilization where it is interpreted as the cosmic power in the city or citadel (*Farmer 2004*) (Fig. 53). On Neolithic pottery of 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC from Iran the four triangles around the lozenge sometimes develop into goats (*Herzfeld 1941: 241*) (Fig. 54). Scholars are discussing if the picture depicts animals around a water basin (*Parrot 1953*) or animals around the earth and expressing the ideographic message “our locality and the four quarters of the world”, i.e. “the entire world, the whole earth” (*Golan 2003: 264*). Another Iranian fourfold painting (*Herzfeld 1941: 241*) is interesting comparing the pattern of the Gradešnica figure because it subdivides the outer space in four quadrants as the Bulgarian does (Fig. 55).

However the most significant comparison is between the layout of the Gradešnica figure and a more or less coeval Sălcuța-Krivodol pintadera modeled as stylized schematic anthropomorphic figurine in adoration or dancing on an elongated six-angled base (Fig. 56) (it is hold in the National Museum of History of Sofia and has inventory number MIS A 5393. The object is displayed on line in 3D and accompanied by a identity card at the “Virtual Museum of the European roots” managed by the M.U.S.E.U.M. project: <http://www.europeanvirtualmuseum.it/museum/schedabase.asp?reperto=123>). The piece was discovered at Pekluk (near Galabovtsi in the area of Sofia) and is very massive. Light brown color, it is 8.5 cm. in length and 5.9 cm. in height with a massive cone-like handle. At a close look it is evident that the incised design had been represented by angular, double, and specular lines converging, but not uniting, in the centre (is one in presence of two interlaced human-like figures?). V. Nikolov interpreted it as a lunar cycle which has to be read from left towards right (V. *Nikolov 1990: 45*). According to him the first angular symbol represents the first phase of the lunar cycle as a growing moon, the third symbol (i.e. the opposite angular symbol) indicates the fourth phase (the descending moon), and the intermediate symbol, where the two angular parts join, marks a sort of overturning where full moon becomes half moon. This period includes also the full moon nights in which the earth's satellite has a perfectly circular shape. The vision of the full moon was evidently interpreted as a beneficial period for human, animal, and vegetal fecundation. Probably stamping the magic pattern of the pintadera brought good luck.

From the above evidence one can conclude that the human-like figure incised over the outside face of the Gradešnica platter is not the earth as postulated before but the moon. I am also persuaded that is necessary to make a revision of the symbolism of the dotted lozenge on the above mentioned artifacts generally interpreted only as sown land to that of earth. Indeed in some cases one has to look up at the fecund fields of the moon. Anyway I will come back to Nikolov's

interpretation of a lunar cycle when analyzing the signs incised over the inner face of the Gradešnica platter.

In conclusion one can consider the anthropomorph from Gradešnica as a pregnant lunar figure with cruciform design composed of a strong rhomboid dotted centre, two dotted triangles for head and legs, and curved arms which create other two dotted triangles due to a spiral movement. The dotted diamond indicates the sown soil of the moon attesting the intimate link between moon, female fertility and vegetation fruitfulness. The like-human moon is dancing with movements directed to the four corners. The hook-hands or branching lines attached to the curved arms (actually the arms of the cross) reinforce its dynamic expression. The figure subdivides the space in four quadrants. The vital symbol of the pregnant four-sided moon which is moving-dancing and flourishing while its is dividing the space in four regions was employed widespread by the communities of the Danube civilization and was recurrently incised or painted on vessels, figurines, spindle-whorls, loom-weights, and stamp seals to promote good-luck. It is worth to note that the Gradešnica figure, combining repeated dotted lozenges-triangles and fourfold pattern, is neither a decorative motif nor a “schematic drawing”, but an *ideogram* “necessary to promote the recurrent birth and growth of plant, animal and human life” (*Gimbutas 1974: 89-91*).










### **Is the oranting and dancing moon surrounded by constellations of an archaic sky?**

Nine signs or grouping of signs are inscribed surrounding the humanoid (they are not six-eight marks as described in literature because of the bad photos. See for example *Winn 198: 213; Masson 1984: 109*). Underscoring the circular layout of the vessel and of the anthropomorph, they are disposed in a round row sub-divided in four quadrants therefore they follow a precise spatial organization. Moving clockwise from the upper right quadrant, one can see at first sight a large area without any sign because of an abrasion, then a triangle which is positioned under the suspension hole, starts from the back of the hand, breaks through the edge and apparently continues with a “tail” on the lip. In the lower right quadrant a double  $\Lambda$  and a V are very clear (many published drawings catch only its segment on the left. The sketch published by *Todorova (1986)* is correct). In this area there are several scratches made after firing, possibly ritual marks because in a number of cases they are little V motifs of liturgical origin.

On the lower left of the figurine there are a  $>$  empathized by a dot at one edge, a very closely juxtaposed rectilinear meander (incorrectly, they are linked in their upper part according to most of the published drawings which also do not register the dot), and another rectilinear meander in opposition with the previous one positioned as in a mirror. Above there is a meandroid open triangle much more adjacent to the arm of the figure than in already published drawings. On the upper left quadrant there are two signs: a compounded sign formed by V motifs, a triangular open shape (it is not perfectly clear if triangle and stroke are two elements of a compounded sign or two separate signs. A close inspection of the

marks let me opt for the first alternative. Anyway the outline of the sign is not a very close < as in most of the published drawings).

If one has the inclination to proceed with the nativity-symbolism of the anthropomorphic figure and follows at the same time Gimbutas' approach, one can notice all around the human-like figure a series of signs suggesting the aquatic element and expressing the water of life that emerges during the event of birth. In this case the risk is to succumb to one of the most common errors in attempts at decipherment: the “*pictographic fallacy*” (Robinson 2002). In fact if one believes that the Danube script is mainly pictographic and, having searched for stylized pictographic elements also in signs which actually are abstract, one naturally finds them and then – under the influence of the determinatives found in Egyptian hieroglyphs (such as the shepherd's crook meaning 'ruler' in the cartouche of Tutankhamen) – one proceeds to treat the presumed pictograms as referring only to the objects they are supposed to depict, resulting in *interpreting* iconic representations and failing to *read* abstract signs. The pictographic fallacy is generally coupled with another misconception which considers the first phase in the development of literacy as a pictographic or ideographic one (Merlini 2004c). V. I. Georgiev applied both these false opinions to the Gradešnica inscriptions (V. I. Georgiev 1970: 3).

FIRST QUADRANT				
SECOND QUADRANT				
THIRD QUADRANT				
FOURTH QUADRANT				
<b>Tab. 1 - Signs surrounding the humanoid (not standardized shapes)</b>				

When one applies the “matrix of semiotic markers and rules” to the nine signs surrounding the stylized figure one is more confident of signaling geometric, abstract, high schematic, linear and not very complex signs typical of a script framework. The schematization of some signs (V-shapes, meandering open triangles, meanders) could have been originated by a long process of stylization, simplification, geometricization and abstraction by which some naturalistic symbols have, step by step, lost the “formal” connection with the old prototype in the natural or artificial world. Anyway such a naturalistic basis is no longer recognizable on the

back of the Gradešnica platter where the scribe used signs that she/he considered mainly abstract with a linear shape.

Although the signs sometimes seem to be imprecise and carelessly made, they have not been inscribed haphazardly but with standardized knowledge and most of them can be definitely included in Winn's inventory of Vinča signs (*Winn 1981*) (in Winn's inventory 1981 one can identify seven on the nine signs which occur around the humanoid on the back of the platter. Following my sequence, they are: (rotated) 106, (variant) 111, 95, (rotated) 95, (inverted) 206, 206, 106), in Haarmann's inventory of the Old European script (*on-line*) (Haarmann's inventory (*on-line*) was firstly published in Haarmann 1975 and rubricates the signs with the abbreviation OE: Old European. Eight on the nine signs which occur on the back of the platter are recognizable. Following my sequence, they are: (rotated) OE 159, OE 108, OE 76, (rotated) OE 76, (inverted) OE 63, OE 63, (inverted) OE 220, OE 159), in Winn's repertory 2004 of the Danube script (*on-line*) (Winn's inventory 2004 (*on-line*) indexes the signs with the abbreviation DS: Danube script. One can identify in it eight on the nine signs which surround the human-like figure on the back of the platter. Following my sequence, they are: (rotated) DS 51, (inverted) DS 15, DS 1, (rotated) DS 1, (inverted) DS 235, DS 235, (rotated) DS 168, DS 51) and in Lazarovici's catalogue of sacred symbols and signs (2004) (In Lazarovici's catalogue (2004) there are eight correspondences with the nine signs that I have identified on the back of the Gradešnica platter. They are (in sequence): (rotated) 152, 20=33, 1a=a, 1c=b, 191, (inverted) 191, (inverted) 128b, 152).

With regards to the techniques to modify the outlines of the signs, the back of the Gradešnica platter presents convergence and divergence with other Danube inscriptions. Like other Danube texts, some signs have been rotated in mirror-fashion (as the meanders were), other signs have been placed in opposition, and furthermore a probably compounded sign occur (it is the eighth in my sequence and may be formed by a ligature – a meander and the meandroid open triangle are not connected as in the already published drawings). However contrary to a general rule of the Danube script, the signs on the back of the Gradešnica platter do not seem to have been modified by the application of diacritical marks such as small strokes, crosses and arches (only in one case a > has been modified by a dot).

Concerning the space organizational principles of the inscription, the nine signs are all surrounding the figure along a circular row (none of the marks is located inside the anthropomorph), are positioned inside quadrants derived from the fourfold outline of the figure, and do not saturate the entire available space. They are obviously positioned in a functional way for the purpose to carrying a specific message and not as a decorative framework.

In conclusion, one can infer from the above observations that the focus of the outside of the Gradešnica platter is a pregnant four-sided moon depicted as a human-like figure who is dancing/praying and flourishing according to circular, rotating movements and sub-dividing the space in four quadrants filled by emblematic signs. As working hypothesis one can contemplate that a 360° inscription could surround the humanoid dealing with and specifying the same

theme possibly depicting constellations and that it could be an arbitrary classification of the bright stars in the galaxy into prominent configurations positioned serially.

An ancient star atlas that could provide a definitive answer to this question has yet to be discovered. Although scientists have made much progress deciphering cuneiform astronomical tablets from 700 BC, we still have no complete and accurate map even of the Babylonian sky (*Gurshtein 1997: 47*). With regards to the Neo-Eneolithic Europe, images of the stars do adorn rock walls in many regions but it is a real challenge to understand how prehistoric peoples connected the points of light into patterns in the night sky. According to the astronomer Gurshtein the oldest constellations were created 16,000 years ago, with an uncertainty of not more than 2,000 years, and seem to fall into three groups: animals and objects associated with water, humans and other land-dwelling animals, and flying creatures. These strata reflect a kind of world view held by early humanity: a lower world existing as a water kingdom, a middle world for humans and animals, and an upper world populated by flying creatures. The symbolism on the sky, therefore, may be the manifestation of a sense of division developed by our ancient ancestors (*Gurshtein 1997: 48* – the three-stratum conception of the sky seems to be identifiable also in cuneiform texts. Many mention three pathways -those of the gods Ea (Enki), Anu, and Enlil. The historian and linguist Samuel N. Kramer proposed that Ea was the deity of water, Enlil of atmospheric phenomena and storms, and Anu, the supreme god of gods, of the middle world). When the ecliptic – the path of the Sun among the stars – was discovered around the 6<sup>th</sup> millennium BC, it was located against the background of the land and water strata. It never reached the stratum for airborne beings. Therefore zodiacal constellations were represented only by land and water creatures, and those in a three-to-one ratio. Furthermore, three distinctive points on the ecliptic (marking the northern spring and autumn equinoxes and the summer solstice) lay on the land stratum; only one (the winter solstice) lies on the water one (*Gurshtein 1997: 49, 50*). Around 5600 BC, probably in ancient Babylon, four constellations were contrived to mark the equinox- and solstice-points at that time. These were the modern zodiacal constellations Gemini, Virgo, Sagittarius, and Pisces (*Gurshtein 1995: 33*).

Concerning the single constellations recognized by the Neo-Eneolithic Europe, a pattern of signs over a pintadera from Gulubnik is believed to be a graphical representation of the Taurus constellation (*Dzhanfezova 2004*). Gh. Lazarovici has studied in deep the signs “M” and “W” considering them astronomical representations in connection with the Cassiopeia constellation which 6 months is on the sky as “M” and the next 6 months through rotation becomes “W” (*Lazarovici 2002*). Butterfly as a constellation was depicted in 5<sup>th</sup> millennium BC in the Northern Italy (Valcamonica, Foppe di Nadro, Rock n. 27) (*E. Anati 1982: Fig. 7*). A double symbol characterized by a butterfly and the Cassiopeia constellation occurs over a statuette from the Southern Italy (Passo di Corvo, Foggia) modelled about 5500 BC (*Gimbutas 1991: 23, fig. 36*).



The *possibility* to be at Gradešnica in front of a representation of constellations is supported by seven observations: the revolving movement of the signs around a barycentre (the stylized figure) and along the circumference; their number in 12 if three of them would not have been cancelled by the upper-right abrasion; their organization in quadrants; their rectilinear outline with angles (there are no curves in their silhouettes); their unchanging shape due to the absence of diacritical marks; the fact that no sign is similar to another; the resemblance between some of them and the marks incised on Karanovo seal which are considered by some scholars to draw a map of sequential constellations (*Flavin 1991; 1999*). In addition the astral-interpretation of the signs incised on this face of the platter is in tune with V. Nikolov's interpretation of the signs on the other face as a synodic lunar cycle (*V. Nikolov 1990*).

The proposed interpretation is consistent to ancient concepts where the four-folded pattern is a symbol of life as a continuum based on the belief that the moon, embracing the four cardinal points and passing in front of the twelve zodiacal regions, transmits forces to the earth which operate the maturation of the plants. The moon makes a revolution around the earth every 27 days, 12 hours, and 43 minutes and in the course of the revolving movement pauses approximately two days and half in the region of every zodiacal sign. Its enter and stay in a zodiacal region is traditionally believed to influence the vegetal cycle, therefore the careful choice by the farmers of the times for the different activities (sowing, hoeing, harvesting, and so on) is supposed to increase health and grows of the plants. Still nowadays some farmers act in the fields according to the following chains of traditional beliefs: Constellations of Pisces, Cancer, and Scorpion > Wet > Leaves; Constellations of Ram, Sagittarius, and Leo > Warm > Fruit; Constellations of Taurus, Capricorn, Virgo > Cool/Cold > Roots; Constellations of Balance, Aquarius and Gemini > Light > Flowers (this method of celestial guidance has been in part lost as modern techniques have been developed. Nowadays a research in this field has been done for four decades by a German biodynamic farmer, Maria Thun, who publishes an agricultural calendar: *The Stella Natura*).

The twelve ecliptical constellations commonly referred to as the solar zodiac, along with ten or so circumpolar constellations and a varied amount of 'paranatellonta' (peripheral star groups or asterisms, usually minor, which rise in conjunction with a major or well-known constellation) have been combined by ancient peoples to create calendric lunar zodiacs (*Flavin 1998*). Even the Antikythera device of the first century BC was capable of predicting the positions of the moon (as well as the sun) in the zodiac at a given date.

The signs incised over the outside of the Gradešnica platter are not dealing with the much more known and easy observable synodic lunar cycle of 29 days, 12 hours and 44 minutes (from new moon to full moon) but with the sidereal lunar cycle (ascending and descending moon; lunar winter and summer) according to which every 27 days the moon is at the farthest point, from the earth, that its orbit reaches. If the first lunar cycle takes in account the time employed by the moon to revolve around the Earth and return in conjunction with the Sun, the second considers the

orbit of the moon around the Earth regarding its motion in relation to the firmament, which is presupposed to be motionless and in which the constellations are discernable, i.e. its complete cycle around the Earth returning in the same position in relationship with a fixed background of stars, or constellations.

The elliptical path of the moon around the Earth is different from that one of the sun (ecliptic) and it runs half over the ecliptic and half under it. Its orbit around the Earth is tilted, and therefore twice a month the moon intersects the ecliptic and these points are called “lunar nodes” (it is the moment when eclipses can occur). The moon, cutting the line of the Equator, raises towards the summer zodiacal constellations, then comes down towards the winter ones. The circular path of the sun employs a year and the moon a bit less than a month, but both seem to pass through regions in the sky occupied by twelve specific constellations. Observing the moon from the Earth, during the year it acts two rhythmic processes moving forward in the zodiac: one ascendant and one descendent. At first it traces step by step a greater arc in the sky (ascending) then a smaller (descendant) one. From the lower position in Sagittarius it begins to rise, its circle grows in the sky, the point from which the moon springs out moves in direction north-east, and the point of the sunset moves towards north-west. The higher point is in Taurus, then reaching Gemini the Twins, the moon begins to come down, its circle lowers in the sky, it rises toward south-east and sunsets towards south-west. The lower point is in Scorpio. During the ascending moon plants are believed to be luxuriant and strong in the upper branches, the lymph comes up with force; it is time to pick up fruits. During the descendent moon the lymph comes up with a weak force and it is better to seed or to transplant the plants because they root better.

In conclusion, the Gradešnica lunar zodiac regulated time by noting which stars, planets, and constellations appeared in the night sky simultaneously with a specific (usually new or full) phase of the moon. Connecting moon and zodiacal constellations, which mythological chronogram is explaining the outside of the Gradešnica platter? One can presume that it reports a myth which exploited in Danube basin as one of the foundation of all the regional spiritual beliefs and which was common also to other primitive agricultural societies. It could well concern the creation and re-creation of the world, which is closely connected to the dancing moon in the sky and the giving birth. The motion of the universe is a perpetual act around motherhood and its rotating life on the one hand is generated by it while on the other hand supports the creative action. Motherhood creates sky and constellations and is sustained by them in its generative process.

The initiating nature and the magic-religious function of the fourfold anthropomorphic figure and the surrounding signs of constellations are outlined by their location on the non-visible part of the ritual vessel. The magic-religious marks are visible only when the platter is moved, stored, or transported, but not when it is posed. During the rituals, the marks faced the ground possibly for the giving and the taking of lunar-forces then they were put in motion and became visible reversing the tray maybe for pouring sacred liquid contained in the little try. Was the non-visibility not only a supplementary symbolic meaning but also an integral part of

the message and a necessary condition for setting cosmic symbols and inscription into motion?

The question of the non-visibility of some texts is very significant and is indicative of magical associations and sacral meaning of the Danube script connected with initiation processes. Also the cultic, discoidal medallion found by Sabin Luca at Turdaş and more or less coeval to the Gradeşnica platter belonging to the early phase of the Turdaş culture, had been used with its inscription facing the ground. In this case the inscribed artifact laid in the middle stratum of a pit among the ashes of a deep steep dwelling, may be a granary or a shaman's habitation, and accompanying six vessels containing cereals (Luca 1993; Merlini 2004a). In parallel it is noteworthy to consider the possibility of placing one of the rectangular Tărtăria tablet on top of the circular tablets with holes in perfect alignment. The hole of the rectangular tablet fits precisely that of the circular one and the former tablet covers the upper register of the latter perfectly (Fig. 57). This means that they have been worn one over the other and the resulting compound had overt and esoteric signs on the rectangular tablet and the lower register of the circular one, and hidden and esoteric signs on the upper register of the circular tablet. Was the sacred assemblage used during initiation ceremonies? (Merlini on-line, Lazarovici-Merlini 2004).

The above mentioned inscribed artifacts document that Neo-Eneolithic communities of the Danube basin were just at the beginning of the development of a script with a mainly cultic, initiation-ritual character; therefore many meanings were esoteric and revealed only at the occasion of specific initiations (Lazarovici-Merlini 2004). This does not facilitate any attempts to decipher the Danube script since one is dealing with texts which are aimed to convey the un-expressible, which not only reveal but also conceal and divert, and finally which indicate something to actually mean something else.

#### **A vertical inscription**

The inside of the Gradeşnica flat vessel bears a long inscription which, according to the majority of scholars, is divided into four horizontal registers. In fact all the researchers are working from the drawings published by B. Nikolov (1974), Masson (1984), and Todorova (1986). But if one looks at the humanoid stylized on the outside and turns the vessel, one can see that the signs on the inside are actually aligned vertically and not horizontally (Fig. 58): a layout which has been judged very strange by several scholars for a written text structured in supposed guidelines for the scribe. Being aware of the problem Todorova decided to loose the pictographic force of the anthropomorph turning it 90° in order to save the horizontal alignment of the script-like marks on the inner face. The scholars who have the script choice in mind are inclined to perceive the characteristic layout (according to our contemporary eyes) of complex writing messages, whereas scholars who have the decorative option in mind tend to force the original patterns in a symmetric way.

The difference between the horizontal and the vertical layout is not unimportant. We can mention three erroneous lines of thinking induced by the mistaken

perspective. Firstly, one of the markers used by Masson in order to document that the Gradešnica platter carries a written message (*“comme il arrive généralement sur les inscriptions véritables rédigées en toutes sortes d’écriture”*) is the decrease of the space employed by the registers and the diminishing size of the characters when one goes from the top to the bottom (Masson 1984: 108). Secondly, due to the distorted perspective Masson believed to have distinguished a sign which evoke the letter M (Masson 1984: 110). Thirdly, V. I. Georgiev identified a number of notations in the sequences of supposed vertical segments starting from the erroneous observation that the lower register bears a single sign of writing surrounded by eight little vertical strokes (three on the left and five on the right) (Georgiev 1970: 8). In fact the view of a forest of numeral sticks is based on the perception of vertical segments due to the incorrect layout as well as other two misunderstandings: the idea that the artifact is a “tablet” and some missing distinctions between the lines which are signs of writing and the lines which are elements of the reading frame.

If our contemporary eye is costumed to connect writing with a horizontal alignment of the signs, it was not for necessity the layout employed by the ancient scribes-priests who wrote according to the particular demands of the architectural setting. I will present just few examples of vertical texts ascertained to the Danube script. One of the two rectangular tablets found at Tărtăria bears signs aligned in vertical rows. A vertical inscription is exhibited by a quite flat figurine found at Vinča-Belo Brdo at the depth of 5.5 meters (Fig. 59). It was briefly discussed by Vasić as a possible Minoan-related script of ca. 1600 BC on a figurine wearing a “long chiton” (Vasić 1936: 664; 666, fig. 8). Then it was analyzed by Popović (Popović 1965: 30 ff.). The figurine is roughly made and damaged. The marks are concentrated on the upper area of the left side, are very little, very superficially incised and not very carefully-designed. Consequently any determination of individual signs is hazardous but they are clearly vertically aligned in groups and Popović could guess the direction of the inscription noticing that it is crowded near the head, where the signs (presumably) terminate, whereas it is free and unpacked at the end nearest the foot. Through this reasoning he concluded that the figurine was held in the left hand with the head toward right and was inscribed from left to right, but without allowing enough space to finish the inscription when the region of the head was reached. Instead according to Masson shape and disposition of the inscription indicate that the direction of reading is from left to right positioning the statuette horizontally with the head toward left. Therefore she hypothesized one direction for the scribe and the opposite for the reader; a possible but not very frequent situation. The fact is that it is not always functional to determine the direction of a text on the basis of the increasing crowd of the signs. The scribe could have held the figurine in the left hand with the head toward left and, having to write a precise text, could have started to incise it from the throat region packing a number of signs in a limited space then he/she had a crescent room for the remaining signs. The understanding of the inscription is very hard because of the publication of different drawings of it and I did not have the possibility to check it

directly. Anyway, all the signs have a linear and un-complex shape. It is worthy to mention the tri-repetition of a V-motif. The modality of the incision and the repartition of the signs suggest that the inscription is a “veritable inscription” and that it is articulated in four groups of signs. According to Masson, the first is composed of two signs followed by a vertical stroke; the second is composed of only one Y-like mark followed by a vertical stroke; the third is composed of the same sign followed by a vertical stroke; the fourth is composed by a y-shape positioned a little apart and incised more deeply than the other signs (*Masson 1984: 97*). The figurine has one or two marks also on the back. I reproduce the Masson’s sketch just to document the verticality of the inscription (*Masson 1984: 95, fig. 3-7*)

A terracotta statuine from Vinča is wearing elegant bracelets and is walking with a stiff, erect, and conceited gait, but has little recognizable features because it is wearing a ritual mask. Even the gender is unclear. Nevertheless the inscription which turns on hips and thighs is obvious: a linear sequence of  $\wedge$ ,  $\setminus$  /, F, U, >, <, bi and tri-lines. We are probably “reading” a formula for offer, a dedication composed at late fifth millennium BC (*Merlini 2004a: 139*) (Fig. 60). Other vertical inscriptions occur on statuettes from Vinča-Belo Brdo. On a fragmented and now disappeared figurine unearthed at the depth of 2.5 m. some marks occur between waistline and haunch which have been interpreted by Vasić as meander motifs (*Vasić 1936: 95, fig. 471 a, b, c*). The upper sign is vague and it is composed by discontinuous elements whereas according to Masson the lower sign reproduces very clearly two walking legs and it is very similar to the Egyptian hieroglyph which stands for the verb “to move”. The graphic parallelism and the evocative quality of the Vinča sign give to it a comparable symbolical value: to be the ideogram of movement (*Masson 1984: 96*) (Fig. 61). A schematic figurine from late sixth millennium BC is vertically inscribed on the back (on waistline and haunch) with signs composed of two identical marks although differently oriented: an equilateral triangle downward oriented and with a row of four vertical strokes (*Popović 1965*). Masson noticed the precise (standardized?) outline of the signs (*Masson 1984: 93*). The figurine is made of light-brown fabric and has symmetrical perforations on ears, arms and hips (Fig. 62). An interesting vertical inscription based on lozenges occurs on a figurine from Potporanj (*Brukner 1968, tab. IV,1*) (Fig. 63).

With regards to the other ancient scripts, the vertical layout was very widespread therefore the inscribed columns of the Gradešnica platter are not at all a unique wonder. The archaic cuneiform signs, which were still quite pictographic, were etched into wet clay on tablets in vertical columns from top to bottom and right to left. Subsequently scribes began to write the wedge-shaped characters in horizontal rows rotating counter-clockwise all of the pictograms 90° in the process. The vertical progressing direction of a text is one of the most important indicators in order to distinguish between the earlier cuneiform scripts of the Old period Babylonians to those of the later period. The question of when and why the Babylonians changed direction of their script from columns to lines has long been debated and still now remains open. If F. Delitzsch, A. Deimel and A. Falkenstein

proposed the "rotation theory" for a very early date, just after the Fara Period, S.A. Picchioni pointed out that until the Kassite Period most of the inscribed objects whose orientation can be established – such as vases, stelae, and statues – are bearing texts that run in columns from top to bottom (*Picchioni 1984-5: 19* – still in 516 BC Darius' scribes composed a famous royal proclamation on the Rock of Behistun in three languages (Old Persian, Akkadian, and Elamite) chiseling columns in the smooth vertical surface). Madeleine A. Fitzgerald gave the tantalizing hint that change in direction may have been in order to bring Babylonians in line with contemporary writing practices because the alphabetic scripts of Ugarit and the Levant as well as Egyptian cursive were written oriented horizontally: a sort of application of an internationally agreed interface standard to facilitate communication (*Fitzgerald 2003*). It is remarkable noticing that still now many modern scholars read even the earliest cuneiform texts in lines from left to right although they are clearly lying on their sides if not read in columns from top to bottom and right to left.

The texts in the hieroglyphic script had varied direction: they could have been written in horizontal lines running either from left to right or from right to left, or in vertical columns oriented from top to bottom. Anyway in many cases hieroglyphics were organized in vertical columns and have been read from top to bottom generally, but not always, starting from the far right column. The vertical columns were separated by thin rules and delineated by one or two colored horizontal rules across the top and bottom of the adjoining columns. If before the Middle Kingdom most writing followed this layout, it continued thereafter in formal religious texts such as the *Book of the Dead* (whose sanctity required the cursive hieroglyphic). In earlier times the characters of a third form of a script, the Hieratic (a cursive form of Egyptian hieroglyphics well adapted to the expendable medium of papyrus), were transcribed in vertical columns and the format was also commonly retained in the most basic instructional texts used in the scribal schools (even the *Book of Kemyt* (i.e. the "Book of Perfection"), which was apparently the first text learned by scribal students, is an 11<sup>th</sup> century BC form letter which was written in cursive hieroglyphs in vertical columns). However during the Twelfth Dynasty most hieratic texts began to be arranged in horizontal lines from right to left, and then this become the standard practice for as long as the language itself survived.

In Indus script inscriptions can occur vertically. The Old Elamite, a partially deciphered syllabic script derived from Proto-Elamite and in use between about 2250 and 2220 BC though it was probably invented at an earlier date, consisted of about 80 signs written in vertical columns progressing from top to bottom and left to right.

Sometimes Linear A and Linear B inscriptions had a vertical layout.

Chinese, Japanese, and Korean were traditionally written in vertical columns, proceeding from right to left on the page with each new column starting to the left of the preceding one. Before the invention of paper, in China documents were ordered in vertical files on strips of bamboo and the strips were then bound together with strings. Still this approach is used today because Chinese can be written in

vertical columns when it is read from right to left or in horizontal lines when it is read left to right. Taiwan follows the traditional method often organizing texts in vertical rows, while China under the influence of European system of writing usually arranges them horizontally. Chinese numerals are more common in vertical text. Nushu (Chinese for "women's writing"), an ancient syllabic script of 1200 characters created and used exclusively by women in Jiang Yong Prefecture, Hunan Province (China), is written in vertical columns running from top to bottom and from right to left. The women were forbidden formal education for thousands of years then developed this secret script in order to communicate with one another weaving Nu Shu characters into cloth or placing them on paper fans. Nushu writing was passed on to daughters and granddaughters. It has curves and tilted lines, unlike regular Chinese which has mostly straight lines or strokes (*Silber 1994; P McLaren 1996*). Japanese can be written from right to left in vertical columns or left to right in horizontal lines.

Talmudic can be written vertically.

The Zapotec writing – which appearing as early as 600 BC in the Valley of Oaxaca was older than Maya or Aztec systems – placed glyphs in vertical columns and often with numerals (*Marcus 1980: 113*). In inscriptions, the Mayan hieroglyphics were often arranged in T rectilinear compartments in which characters step down successive horizontal levels of successive paired vertical columns from left to right in a sort of a downwards zigzag pattern, unlike Chinese texts which characters descend through successive vertical columns. Mayan numbers were counted in twenties with the lowest value place at the bottom and higher value places stacked on top as high as necessary. Until relatively recently the general point of view was that Mayan hieroglyphics were not true writing, but were merely decorations. One of the texts used by the linguist Michael Coe in deciphering this writing system was painted on a polychrome four-legged lidded jar in 6 vertical columns representing the day signs of the Mayan calendar (*Coe 1992*).

The famous Lemnos inscription consists of two vertically and one horizontally written part. In Muslim calligraphy the calligrapher can draw also vertical lines. Kufic and Thuluth script employ both horizontal and vertical inscription bands.

Even alphabets are sometimes arranged in vertical columns read in general from right to left. The hieroglyphic form of the Meroitic alphabet, derived from ancient Egyptian writing sometime during the 2nd century BC and deciphered by the British Egyptologist Francis Llewellyn Griffith in 1909, was written in a vertical layout from top to bottom and from right to left. A number of vertical inscriptions occur in Etruscan (For example a vertical inscription on the right jamb, in Etruscan, relates to the construction of the Hypogeum of the Volumni near Perugia). One of the earliest inscriptions in the Latin alphabet is vertical and appears on a small pillar in the Roman Forum. The Celtic alphabet Ogham can either be used vertically (in inscriptions) or horizontally (in manuscripts). Sometimes the runes were written vertically with the letters rotated by 90° and the texts should be read from the top to bottom and right to left. Most of the early inscriptions on stone in Scotland and

Ireland are written in the vertical form. The Hangul (Hanguù 1, Hangeul), the Korean alphabet, is sometimes written in vertical columns from right to left.

Unusually Uighur alphabet (It is also known as Uigur, Old Script, Mongol Script, Script Mongolian, or Classical Mongolian) and derivate scripts are written vertically from left to right. Uighur alphabet, belonging to the Southeastern Turkic sub-arm of the Turkic sub-branch of the Altaic branch of the Ural-Altaic family of languages, was written in vertical columns read from left to right. In this script, the pen writes a continuous line, for the most part, from the beginning to the end of the word. A continuous baseline runs vertically with the majority of lines and loops sticking out to the left as the word progresses downward. Mongols conquered and destroyed the Uighur kingdom but adopted Uighur-derived Mongolian scripts including the vertical layout. The Traditional Mongolian alphabet, which was adapted by order of Genghis Khan from the Uighur alphabet in 1204 for writing Mongol tongue, is arranged vertically from top to bottom progressing from left to right. 'Phags-pa syllabic alphabet (It is sometimes referred to in English as the "Mongolian Quadratic Script"), a script derived from Tibetan in order to write Mongolian, Chinese and other languages during the Mongolian Yuan dynasty (1271-1368), is written vertically from top to bottom and from left to right. The Manchu alphabet, which was commissioned in 1599 by the Manchu leader Nurhaci (1559-1626), the founder of the Manchu state in China, employs letters based on the Classical Mongolian alphabet which are written in vertical columns running from top to bottom and from left to right.

In ancient inscriptions of Tifinagh alphabet ("Lybico-berber"), used by Berber speaking people in Northern Africa and the Canary Islands, one can find both bottom-to-top and top-to-bottom organization of the text.

According to a crescent number of scholars the "portrait"-orientation" (taller than wide) of written information is not a merely archaic feature, but a more natural and efficient way to communicate. "Today's computer screens ... are the wrong shape. They are designed for watching, not reading; they are descendants of television sets, not books. That is why their displays have a "landscape" orientation (i.e., they are wider than they are tall). Most printed and written reading materials are 'portrait'-oriented (taller than they are wide)" (*The Economist* 1998). Experiments by Stanley Wearden at Kent State University's Information Design Laboratory in 1997 and 1998 showed a strong preference for portrait orientation and for two-page spreads (*Wearden* 1998). Intriguingly, this predilection may reflect more than just the fact that people are used to books. James Craig and Bruce Barton, who chronicle 30 centuries of graphic design, found that all but one of the examples in 3,000 years is portrait-oriented. The sole landscape-oriented design is from the 1980s. People have chosen to make their reading materials portrait-shaped for the past 3,000 years. Craig and Barton reminded that even Egyptian hieroglyphics were commonly organized in vertical columns read left to right (*Craig and Barton* 1987).

### **The signs on the inside of the Gradešnica platter**



The interior face of the Gradešnica platter is divided by five vertical lines into four registers of slightly unequal width, narrowing from left to right. There are three or more signs in each column. According to the matrix of markers and rules the asymmetric co-ordination of the signs along a linear alignment is one of the main space organizational principles of a system of writing (although not exclusive of writing). It is also noteworthy, although not conclusive as stated above, the estimate that the direction of reading is from left to right due to the decrease of the space employed by the vertical registers and the diminishing size of the characters when one goes from the left to right.

Complementing the vertical development of the layout, some of the more isolated horizontal segments intersect the upright lines giving the sensation that the signs have been inscribed inside metopes. Each metope may represent an idea (or a word?) as perhaps on Lepenski Vir stone sphere or on the circular Tartaria tablet (*Merlini 2004a: 89*). With reference to the Gradešnica shallow vase, this hypothesis has been postulated by V.I. Georgiev (*1970: 8*). The custom of incising texts inside a reserved space is not a once-off case in the region. In the early Chalcolithic, at the neighbor settlement of Brénitza, according to B. Nikolov (*1986: 167*) the external surface of containers employed for the maintenance of food presents rectangular spaces designed as if they were metopes in order to bear sign groups which give recommendations about the conservation of the alimony. The Brénitza's signs are symbols and ideograms, specifies B. Nikolov. The use of a layout in rows and in metopes at Gradešnica as well as in Brénitza evidences that the scribe had to trace a defined number of signs of a standard outline for shape and size. In conclusion, on the inside of the Gradešnica little tray signs are assembled in a functional way in order to express a message and they definitely do not follow an aesthetic design.

A direct check of the distinct signs inside the platter evidences that some of them look rather different from the previous published drawings. On the left column there are two metopes: the first shows a meander (actually an open rotated P) and a vertical stroke (the sign is neither a meander with a very open loop as in B. Nikolov 1970 and 1974, not a meander with a close loop as in Masson 1984); in the second there are a horizontal line and a multiple  $\Lambda$  with curved segments (Todorova (*1986*) depicts a meander confusing a line of the framework with elements of a script). The signs of the second vertical row are very complex and difficult to identify. Also this column is subdivided in two metopes. In the first there is a lightly curved hook (or a  $>$  motif) (according to my system it is a hook) starting from the frame and opposed to (the actual sign is neither a T-shape formed by two separated segments as in Nikolov 1974, nor a line as in Winn 1981, nor a sort of  $\Pi$  as in Masson 1984. Todorova (*1986*) depiction is quite correct) a quite close meander (B. Nikolov 1974 wrongly detected two separated signs: a meander with four segments and a horizontal line); in the second metope there are above a compounded sign formed by joining some basic signs (among which one can distinguish with some difficulty a J, a meander and a V – B. Nikolov 1970 distinguished only an open meander contained within a J-shape geometry; Masson 1984 inserted some sketch lines and did not depict others in order to save the script-like form of this compounded sign

but the first are just scratches and the second actually are as deeply incised as the outlines of the supposed sign) and below a very open V.

FIRST COLUMN						
SECOND COLUMN						
THIRD COLUMN						
FOURTH COLUMN						

*Tab. 2 - Signs on the inside of the Gradešnica platter (not standardized)*

The upper part of the third column starting from the left is not very clear because of many superimposing scratches. From top to bottom one can catch a glimpse of a very open V motif which expands itself in the next column, a V motif so open that becomes a L-like (the blending of the two distinct sign in one made by Winn (1981: 212) and its identification as “a typical three-toothed comb frequently found at Vinča but also at other later sites and in many scripts” is inconsistent), an almost horizontal stroke, the sign which has a dot inside (it looks like the rotation of the Hittite hieroglyph which resembles a chain of mountains or towers and stands for “country” and has parallels on the Karanovo seal), a meander, and a horizontal segment. On the right row four marks are visible; from top to bottom: three horizontal segments, a horizontal stroke very near to an unclosed triangular meander, and other three-lines.

According to the matrix of markers and rules, the signs of the Gradešnica platter belong, with a high probability, to the script framework having geometric, abstract, high schematic, linear and not very complex outlines. Of the 10 signs which are not horizontal segments and grouping of signs, five could be categorized as various types of meanders, and five as V-forms (a chevron included). But could they also be included inside the inventories of writing units made by Winn (1981, *on-line*) and Haarmann (*on-line*)? Let’s check this fundamental point noticing at first that both the researchers rotated the platter 90° in order to present horizontal layout and then my signs cannot fit precisely them. The sign on the top of the left vertical row matches an inverted and rotated sign 205 (in Winn 1981), DS 233 (in Winn *on-line*), and OE 52 (in Haarmann *on-line*). The horizontal stroke which does not have the purpose of dividing the space for reading finds counterpart in a rotated sign 1, DS 87 and OE 144. The multiple Λ corresponds to a variant of sign 111, DS 15 and OE 108. The top sign in the second column corresponds to a rotated variant of sign 7 and DS 138 in Winn’s inventories and to a rotated OE 211b in Haarmann’s. The components of the subsequent compounded sign could be partially paralleled to the rotated signs 204, 205 and 95 in Winn 1981, to rotated DS 231, DS 235, and DS1

according to Winn's inventory on-line and to rotated OE 51, OE 52, and OE 76 according to Haarmann's. The V-shape is equivalent to sign 95 in Winn 1981, DS 1 in the last Winn's inventory (*on-line*) and to OE 76 in Haarmann's (*on-line*). In the third row, the sawing sign is not present in Winn 1981 and it is comparable (but not equivalent) to a rotated DS 22 and OE 91b. Finally, in the fourth column the three-lines correspond to rotated, in the respective inventories, sign 32, DS 85, and OE 149. The unclosed triangular meander can be paralleled to the above mentioned meanders.

Significant correspondences occur between my signs and Lazarovici's catalogue of sacred symbols and signs (*Lazarovici 2004*). The sign on the top of the left vertical row could be paralleled to sign 192; the horizontal stroke finds counterpart in 0a; the multiple  $\Lambda$  corresponds to 20=33. The top sign in the second column is consistent with 229b, the components of the subsequent compounded sign matches 230b, 192 and 1a=a; the V-shape is equivalent to sign 1a=a. In the fourth column the three-lines correspond to a rotated 163. The unclosed triangular meander can match the above mentioned meanders.

In conclusion the large majority of the signs incised on the front of the Gradešnica platter could be included in the surveyed inventories of the Danube Neo-Eneolithic script. This is a significant point because Winn, dealing only with the Vinča culture (in the area included between Turdaş in the North-West, Jela in the East, and Anza in the South) and not with the more general Danube civilization and not certain if Gradešnica belongs to it, published the signs from Gradešnica plaque both in 1973 book and 1981 book as well (*Winn 1981: 210-211*) but he did not use them for the inventory (At the opposite Gimbutas considered Gradešnica as part of the Vinča culture in northwest Bulgaria (*Gimbutas 1991*)).

With regards to the techniques and restrictions in modifications of the outlines of the signs, the marks on the front part of the Gradešnica platter contrary to other Danube inscriptions do not seem to have been modified by the application of diacritical marks such as small strokes, crosses, dots and arches. However some signs (meandering and V shapes) have been rotated like in other Danube inscriptions. One sign is clearly combined by ligatures: the third in the second column.

Interesting is V. Nikolov's interpretation of the put in columns signs as a lunar cycle although he rated 24 marks (5-4-6-9 considering the columns from left to right) accounting also some horizontal segments which instead intersect the upright lines in order to frame the reading metopes, four angles positioned always alone and seven meanders (two in the first three columns and one in the fourth). According to the Bulgarian archaeologist the last symbol resembles the first one closing in this way a circle that he interprets as a schematic model of the lunar circle (not a lunar calendar), where its four phases are embodied in the four columns. The meanders play the key role: the first shows the new moon; the second indicates the first quarter at the seventh day; the third repeats the second; the fourth, particularly complex and located in a central position, symbolizes the arrival of the full moon at the 14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> day; the fifth stands for the end of the full moon; the sixth suggests the

conclusion of the phase at the 22<sup>nd</sup> day and the moon is again depicted as a half circle but now with the hump at Levant (the sign is inverted comparing the third); the seventh has the same position of the first but it is petite and stoop down like the last slice. What about the possible interpretation of the four and the three horizontal segments before and after the last meander? According to Nikolov they should indicate the nights without moon, but the scholar does not explain this interpretation and seven black nights are sincerely too many. He is also in trouble in order to explicate the meaning of the other two horizontal segments. In fact he considers them probably additional nights (*V. Nikolov 1990*), but they actually are just marks in order to frame the metopes.

**Several signs on the lips are still now unpublished**

A number of signs occur on the internal and external lips of the little Gradešnica tray. Unfortunately they have not been fully published up to now, but their identification is part and parcel of the inscriptions. It is not a fortuitous case that some signs start and develop on the back or on the front surface of the object ending on a lip. I present a montage showing both the outside and the inside faces with also the lips (Fig. 3; Fig. 58), publishing for the first times signs and photos. I begin the description from the signs on external lips which encircle the pregnant dancing figure outlining that they are not visible when the tray was put on altar or on hands.

The lip above the head of the humanoid is quite disfigured and its signs are missing in all the already published drawings, but it is possible to detect some signs among them – starting from left – a trapezium inserted by a line, a meandering figure, a rectangular shape connected to a bi-line, and a T-shape (Fig. 64).

The lip under the base of the pregnant orante-dancer is structured along three aligned spaces (Fig. 65). Of course the observer of the actual object has a reversed prospective then in the Fig. 3 and in the description of the marks I will follow this point of view. In the centre, a rectangular three-stratified structure is positioned. On the right one can notice two very deeply incised parallel lines placed below less evident hooks upstanding at a corner in specular opposition. On the left is visible a meander surrounded by a V, a diagonal line, a long line irregular connected with the multiple Λ located on the right bottom of the figure (in this case the sign could be a compounded one formed by a Λ surrounding a meander). Many signs of this lip seem to be pictograms/ideograms depicting structures with different functions.

UPPER LIP						
LIP ON THE RIGHT						
LIP ON THE LEFT						
LOWER LIP						
<i>Tab. 3 – Signs on the external lips of the Gradešnica platter (not standardized)</i>						

The lips on the right and on the left of the figurine bear much fewer signs than the other two. Although the lip on the right is the most ruined because of large abrasions, breakings, and mainly post-firing scratches, one can catch a glimpse of a stroke which is completing a triangle starting from the back surface of the platter (from the humanoid's arm). A similar development has a little inverted y (Fig. 66).

THE LIP ON THE RIGHT		
THE LIP ON THE LEFT		
<i>Tab. 4 - Signs on the internal lips of the Gradešnica platter (not standardized)</i>		

Also the lip on the left is much damaged and the only interesting signs that it bears (mainly little v shapes) have been made post-firing because of rituals or simply by accident. It is characterized by some not very clear lines and hooks (Fig. 67).

The internal lips are much less inscribed than the external ones. On the lip on the right a + occurs (Fig. 68).

The lip on the left shows an unclosed triangular meander similar to that one on the right column and two vertical strokes (Fig. 69).

**Conclusions**

The signs in sequence over the two faces of the Gradešnica platter prove that in Eneolithic time night sky and celestial bodies were studied. In fact it was assumed the general beliefs that they controlled life and events on Earth and that each of them symbolizes certain character, personality, gender, qualities, and meanings. Regarding the moon, it surrounds the Earth, in orderly procession and extends its influence in regular rhythms contributing by this way to life, growth, and form of the plants and also to animal and human fecundity.

And here it is the rationalized bulb of the understanding that these ancient cultures expressed in a mythical way: the moon has two orbital motions connected to two rhythmic activities and two cycles of times. With regards to the two revolutions, it has a rotating motion around the Earth running after the sun and an oscillating one connected to its traveling through an imaginary belt in the sky formed by zodiacal constellations. Concerning the rhythmic activities, the moon is employed in two basic: waxing-waning (connected to the synodic cycle – waxing describes lunar activity in the period between the new and the full moon. Waning occurs between the full and the new moon); ascending-descending (connected to the sidereal cycle). As regards the two cycles of times, the synodic cycle follows a regular sequence of phases (new moon-crescent-full moon-decrescent). According to the sidereal cycle the moon raises from the line of the horizon, day after day until reaching its zenith in the sky (ascending moon) from south to north. During these 14 days the moon "enters" the zodiacal signs of the Sagittarius, Capricorn, Aquarius, Pisces, Aries and Taurus. Then it inverts its path in a descendant motion

towards the horizon (descendent moon) from north to south. The two cycle times have different lengths: the moon revolves around the Earth through its cyclical phases in 29.5 days and it reappears in the same spot in the sky every 27.1 days.

The knowledge of the sidereal cycle was embedded over the outside of the Gradešnica platter and the knowledge of the synodic cycle was incised over the inside. The first was a esoteric (iniziatico) knowledge founded on the observation that the moon acts as a kind of gate as it passes in front of the 12 constellations of the zodiac, opening the way for specific influences which strengthen animal and human fecundity as well as the root, leaf, flower or fruit of plants which are sown and cultivated; the second was a essoteric (public) knowledge.

Both the sign sequences on the platter involve the "reading" of the time although they do not seem to be specific calendars. A major problem in understanding the precise functioning of a lunar zodiac such as Gradešnica one is that it was apparently designed for monthly and not for daily notations. Signs both on the faces of the lunar cycle and the lunar zodiac establish a working relationship between the two time systems giving the possibility of a daily application of the lunar zodiacs, as evidenced by the Chinese calendar and to a certain extent by the diagonal calendar divisions (or decans) of the ancient Egyptians.

Signs of both lunar cycle and lunar zodiac might have also been utilized as mnemonic and narrative devices for rituals with the accent placed on the full moon, in order to take care of animals, crops and plant according to cycles of cosmic rhythms of the moon although not in a calendrical way. For example, according to the synodic month the few days preceding the full moon are the most stimulating for the germination of seeds; according to the sidereal orbit vegetables planted when the moon is in the constellations of Taurus, Capricorn or Virgo (traditionally termed "root days") are more prolific than if they are planted when the moon is positioned in other constellations of the zodiac belt. And so on. Postulating gesture and effect of each particular rhythm, the ancient farmers timed ground preparation, sowing, cultivating, and harvesting to the advantage of the crops they were raising.

The relationship between the representation of constellations and the signs of the Danube script is a real challenge for the future. Are the silhouettes of the former the graphic roots for some signs of the script (Regarding this point and focussing on Cassiopeia see Merlini 2004a)? Which are the semantic connections between sky and writing? There was in European Eneolithic a divine word processor as Thoth was in ancient Egypt inventing hieroglyphic writing, reporting the court verdict of the dead persons, protecting administrative records and laws, and supporting the scribal elite? Was the European divine word processor also the lord of time and the keeper of the calendar as Thoth was? Was the first month of the calendar named to it as the first month of Egypt's lunar-stellar calendar – the month that followed the first return of Sirius to the predawn sky – was named Thoth? There was a special relationship between the divine word processor and the Moon (which distinguishes seasons, months, and years) as the calendrical skill of Thoth made a Moon god out of it who often wore a crescent Moon on his head? And such a special relationship could become identity as in Egypt where Thoth as "reckoner of time" is sometimes

the Moon's guardian, but he is also equated with the Moon itself? (*Krupp 2003: 86-87*).

As starting point could be noteworthy to think that European Eneolithic cultures as the ancient Mesopotamians, although wrote in clay and not on paper, treated the starry sky as if it was a real page-turner and called the configurations of the constellations "writing of heaven" and "writing of the night sky". The placement of planets, behavior of the Moon, and occurrence of eclipses on that celestial slate were messages under the form of legends left by divine forces to signal their intent. The night sky and its mythological patterns were full of advices and warnings.

Astronomical knowledge and related legends were used to make predictive correlations with natural events important to the group's survival (such as the availability of particular foods or changes in weather conditions). Without any technological means of controlling their environment, the Eneolithic populations depended completely on the cycles of the natural world for survival. Not surprisingly, their interest in the stars was not in extraordinary occurrences, such as supernovae or comets, but in regular patterns and rhythms. Regarding the signs over the outside of the Gradešnica platter, the entering of the moon into the different constellations was seen as indicator able to anticipate information regarding seasonal events prompting for example the beginning of harvesting a particular type of cereal.

Equally important to the survival was the sense of identity. Translated into signs of writing – as well as into ritual songs and dances – the information associated with the sky reminded each generation of the traditional beliefs, taboos, and behavioral codes that determined the community's identity within the sky-Earth arena.

**The artist and anthropologist Daniela Bulgarelli is the author of the painting appearing on this study. Marco Merlini is the author of the photos. Copyright© 2005 The Global Prehistory Consortium at EURO INNOVANET srl.**

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Fig. 1. Indecisions on the part of the scribe of the Gradešnica platter: an example.



Fig. 2. The Gradešnica platter is covered by scratches: an example.



Fig. 3. The signs on the outside of the Gradešnica platter: a montage with the lips.



Fig. 4. Dotted rhombus over a pregnant anthropomorphic figure from Gladnice, near Priština (Kosovo) dated c. 6000 BC. After Gimbutas 1982: 206 fig. 203.



Fig. 5. Dotted lozenges are depicted on the base of the throne on which Lady I of Kökénydomb is seated: a cultic vase from Hódmezővásárhely-Kökénydomb (South-eastern Hungary) and belonging to Classical Tisza period. Daniela Bulgarelli © The Global Prehistory Consortium at EURO INNOVANET.

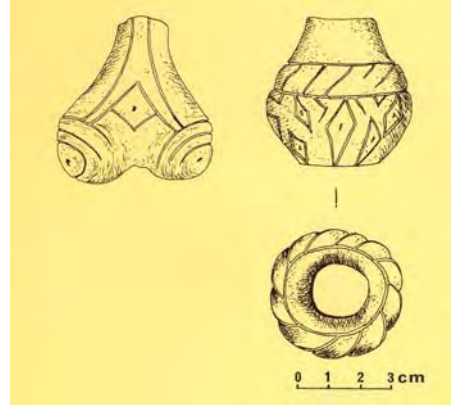


Fig. 6. Several dotted sketching quadrilaterals are the mark on highly schematic figurines or charms from the Period II of the settlement of Sitagroi (Greece), after Gimbutas 1982: 207 fig. 159, 160.

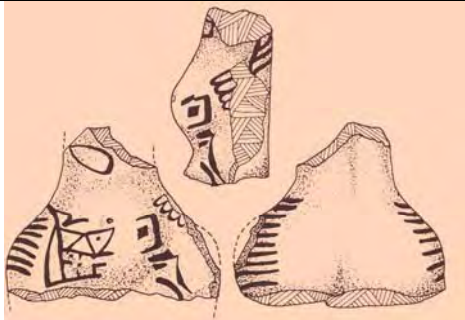
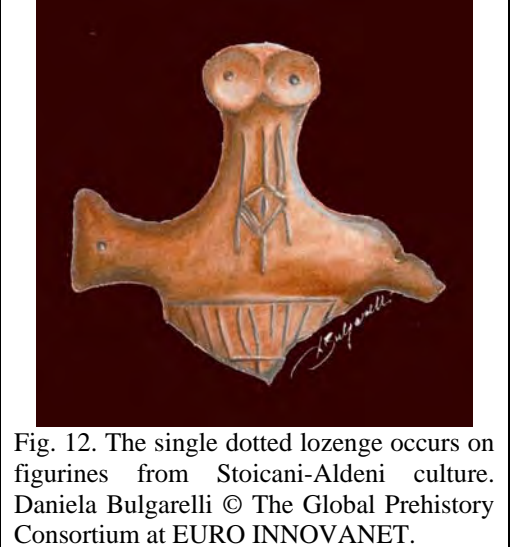
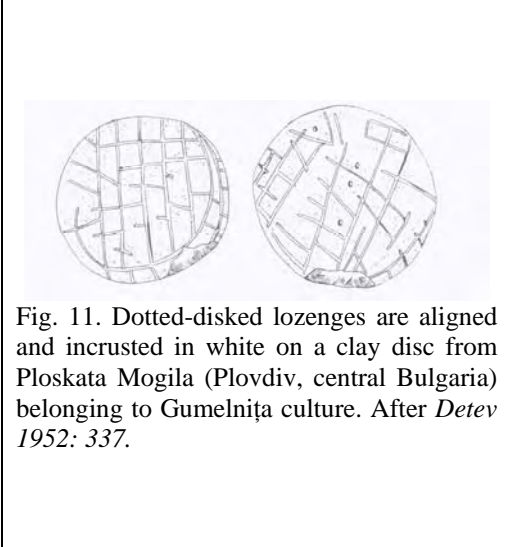
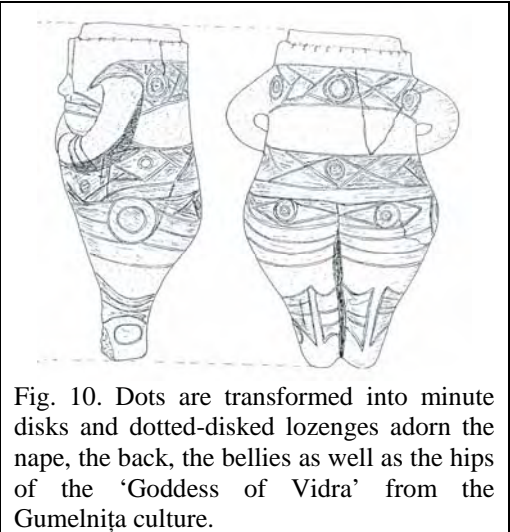
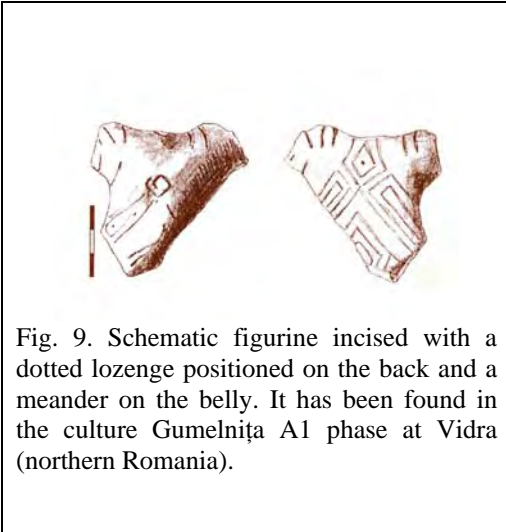


Fig. 7. The lower abdomen from a fragment of a sitting pregnant little figure shows a system of lozenges and triangles with a point into the centre. The symbolic design has been painted during the Period III of Sitagroi (Greece). After Gimbutas 1982: 207 fig. 162.



Fig. 8. A schematic figurine incised with a dotted diamond has been found in the culture Gumelnița A1 phase at Vidra (northern Romania). After Rosetti 1938: fig 12.





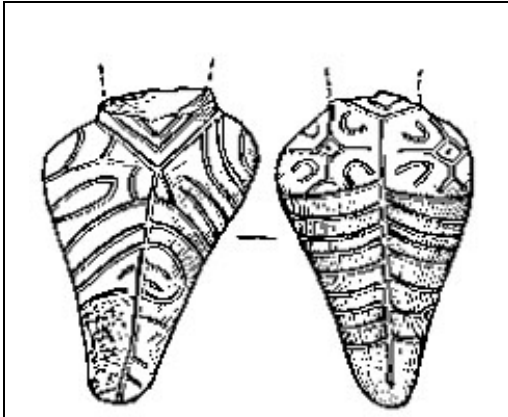


Fig. 13. The rounded buttocks of a Precucuteni-Tripolye A statuette from Lencăuți show a complex outline composed by a diamond-with-dot connected to curved “Ys” and surrounded by “Us”.

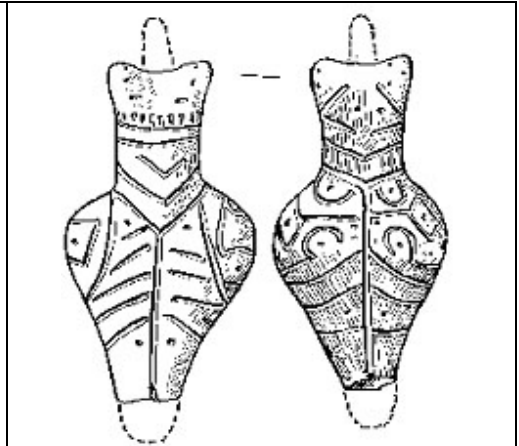


Fig. 14. Dotted lozenges are incised over the hips of a Precucuteni-Tripolye A statuette from Lencăuți. After M. Lazarovici 2005: 147, fig. 3-2.

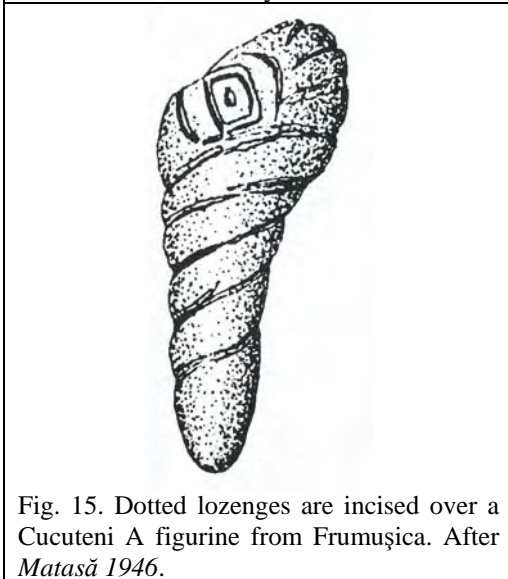


Fig. 15. Dotted lozenges are incised over a Cucuteni A figurine from Frumușica. After Matasă 1946.

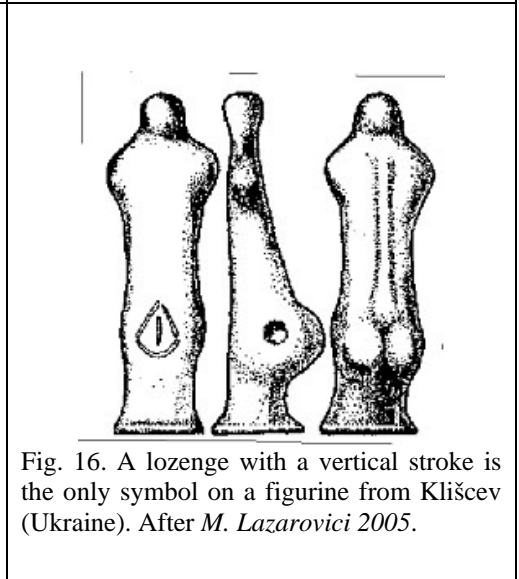


Fig. 16. A lozenge with a vertical stroke is the only symbol on a figurine from Klișcevo (Ukraine). After M. Lazarovici 2005.

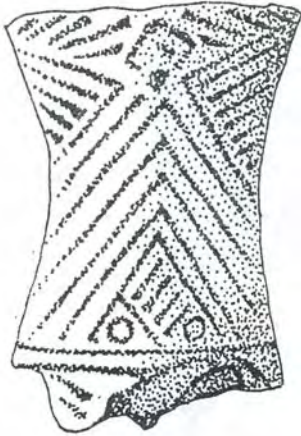


Fig. 17. A diamond inserting a diagonal dash on the chest of a Cucuteni A statuette from Răucești-Munteni. After Dumitroaia 1987.

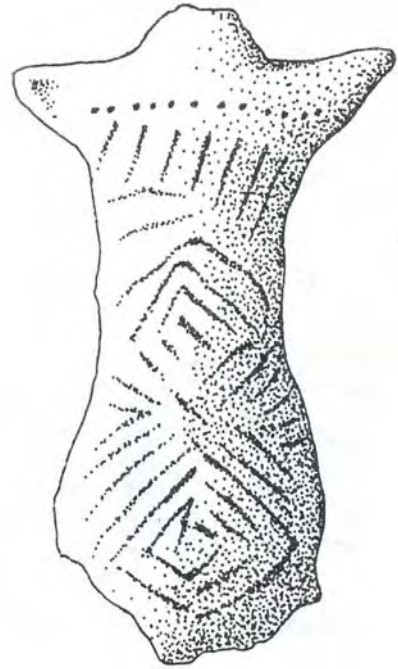


Fig. 18. A multiple rhombus with a diagonal stroke occurs on the belly of a Cucuteni A statuine from Răucești-Munteni. After Dumitroaia 1987.

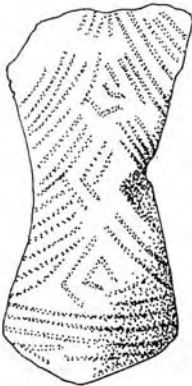
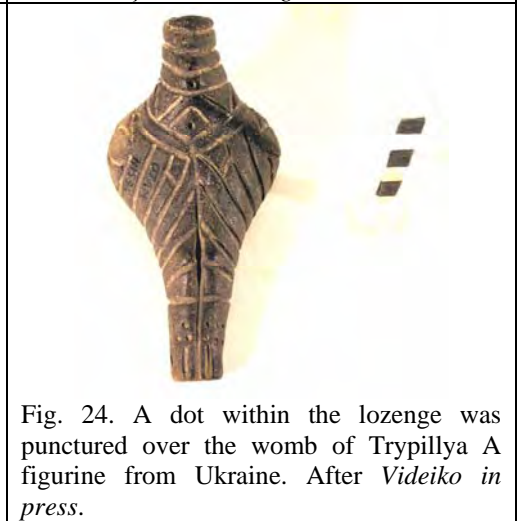
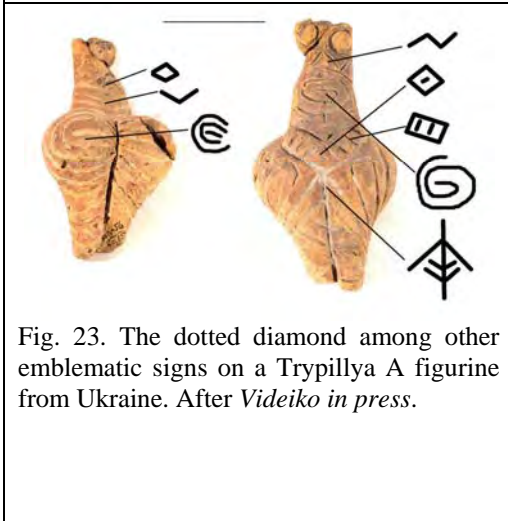
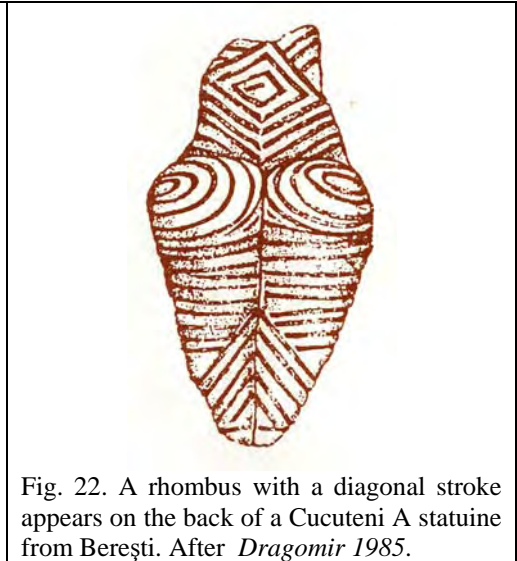
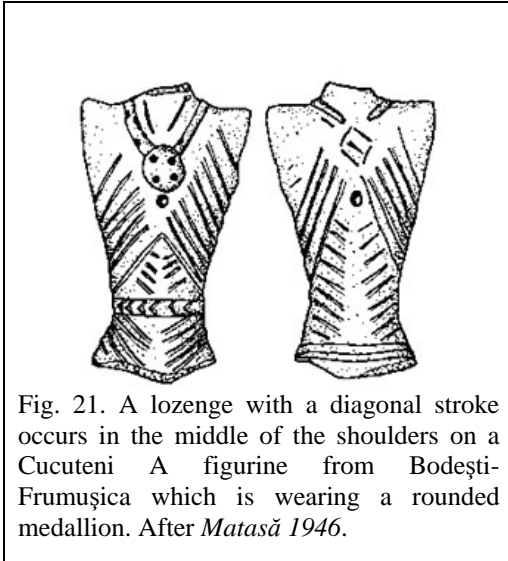


Fig. 19. A dotted rhombus is a part of a sequence of three vertically aligned lozenges of different type accompanied with diagonal lines on a Cucuteni A statuine from Răucești-Munteni. After Dumitroaia 1987.



Fig. 20. A dashed lozenge is positioned on the front (the abdomen and the throat) and on the back of a Cucuteni A statuette with a necklace and a multiple three-dotted diamond positioned on the womb. After Dumitroaia 1987.



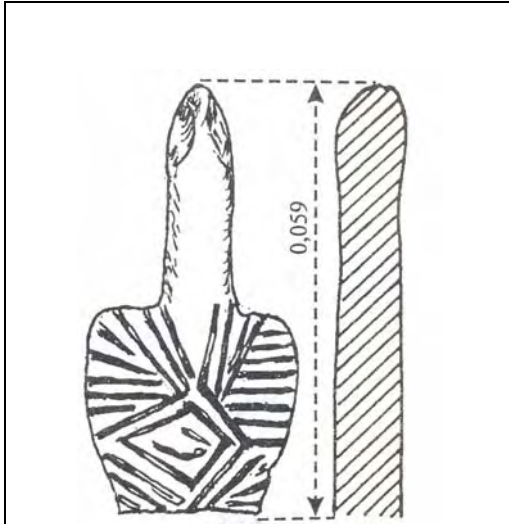


Fig. 25. Diamonds with two horizontal strokes positioned one over the other occur on a Cucuteni A statuette from Mărgineni. After *Monah 1997: 316 fig.6.*



Fig. 26. A lozenge with two horizontal dashes occurs on a Cucuteni A statuette from Trușești. After *Petrescu-Dîmbovița M. et alii 1999.*

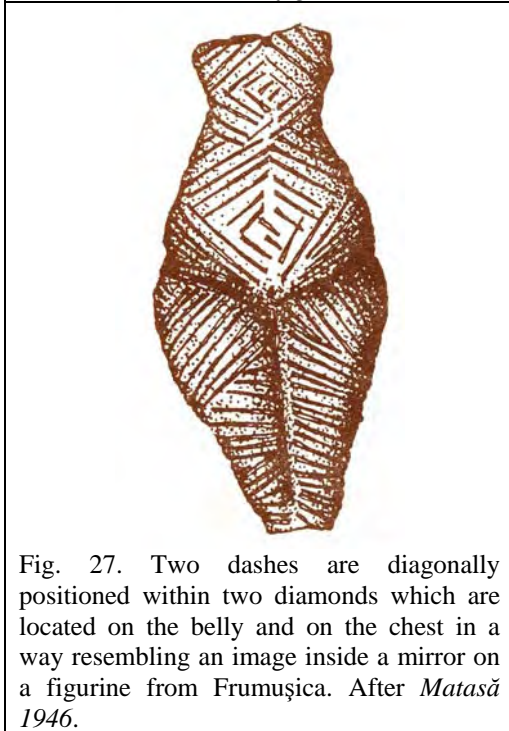


Fig. 27. Two dashes are diagonally positioned within two diamonds which are located on the belly and on the chest in a way resembling an image inside a mirror on a figurine from Frumușica. After *Matasă 1946.*

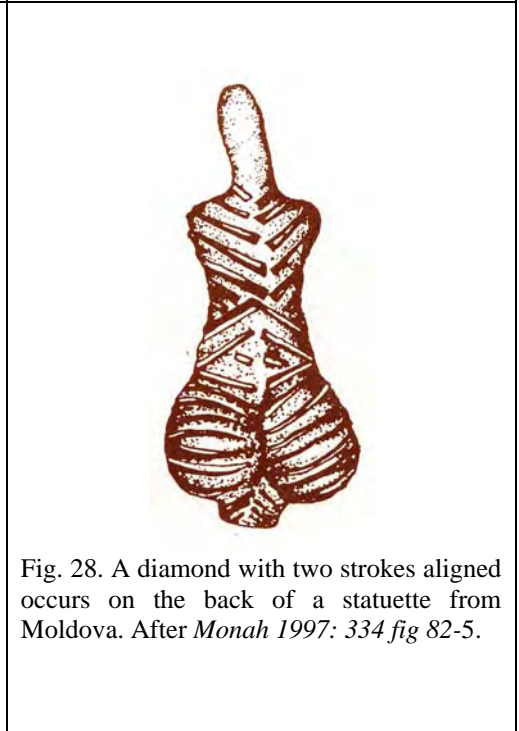


Fig. 28. A diamond with two strokes aligned occurs on the back of a statuette from Moldova. After *Monah 1997: 334 fig 82-5.*

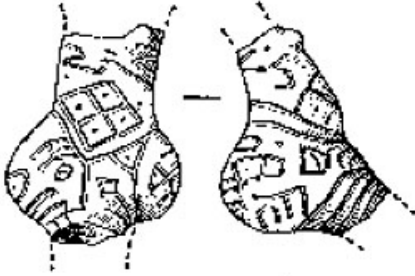


Fig. 29. A Precucuteni-Tripolye A figurine from Lencăuți (Moldavia, Romania) has a quartered lozenge with a dot in each section incised above the belly. After *M. Lazarovici 2005: 147, fig. 3-3.*



Fig. 30. A Cucuteni A figurine from Cucuteni-Cetățuia (northern Moldavia, Romania) is marked by an elaborate magic-religious design with signs including, in the very centre, a lozenge interwoven with a cross and deeply incised with a dot in the middle of three sections whereas the above section shows a large spot in high relief; a second diamond with three diagonal dashes is represented on the kidneys. After *Gimbutas 1982: 206, fig. 204.*



Fig. 31. Three sub-lozenges have a long horizontal dash inside whereas the fourth, on the right, is empty on the belly of a Cucuteni A figurine from Cucuteni-Cetățuia (northern Moldavia, Romania). After *Petrescu-Dîmbovița M. et alii 1999.*



Fig. 32. On the abdomen of a Cucuteni A statuette from Cucuteni-Cetățuia (northern Moldavia, Romania) two arms of the St. Andrews cross which quadrupartite the lozenge overrun it as a sprouting bud. After *Petrescu-Dîmbovița M. et alii 1999.*



Fig. 33. Two arms of the St. Andrews cross which quadripartite the lozenge overrun it as a sprouting bud on the abdomen of a Cucuteni A statuette from Cucuteni-Cetățuia (northern Moldavia, Romania). After *Petrescu-Dîmbovița M. et alii 1999*.



Fig. 34. The same sign of the above images occurs on the abdomen of a Cucuteni A statuette from Cucuteni-Cetățuia (northern Moldavia, Romania). After *Petrescu-Dîmbovița M. et alii 1999*.



Fig. 35. The same sign of the above images occurs on the abdomen of a Cucuteni A statuette from Cucuteni-Cetățuia (northern Moldavia, Romania). After *Petrescu-Dîmbovița M. et alii 1999*.



Fig. 36. A quadripartite dotted diamond is inserted inside another diamond on a Cucuteni A figurine found at Igești-Scândureni (Moldavia Romania). After *Coman 1980*.

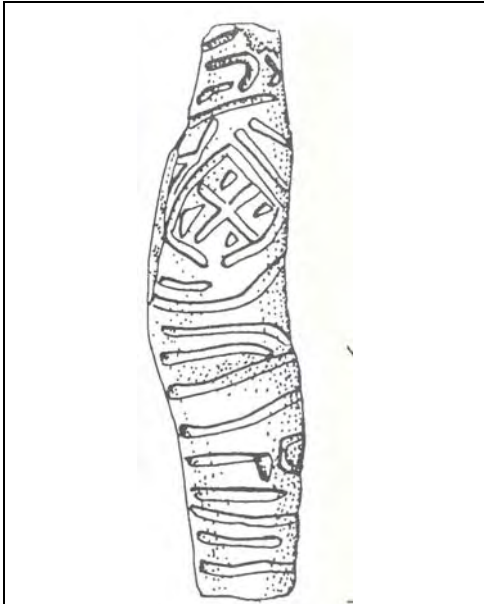


Fig. 37. A quadripartite dotted diamond is incised over the shoulders of a statuine from Truşeşti. After *Petrescu-Dîmboviţa et alii 1999*.



Fig. 38. The rhombus divided into four equal and dotted parts is present on an incomplete figurine from Drăgusani at Botoşani (northern Moldavia, Romania) belonging to the Middle Cucuteni. After *Crîşmaru 1977: 67 fig. 55/2*.



Fig. 39. The four-partite dotted lozenge incised over the belly is the most pronounced feature on a fragmented terracotta Precucuteni-Tripolye A figurine from Luka Vrublevetskaja (Western Ukraine). Daniela Bulgarelli © The Global Prehistory Consortium at EURO INNOVANET.

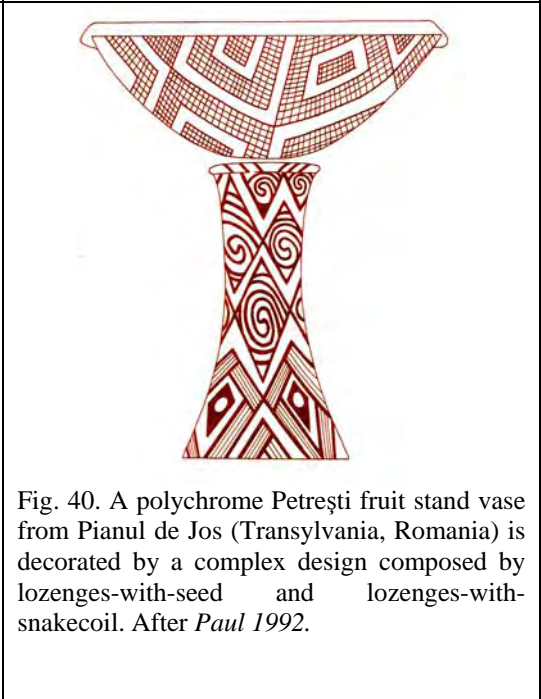


Fig. 40. A polychrome Petreşti fruit stand vase from Pianul de Jos (Transylvania, Romania) is decorated by a complex design composed by lozenges-with-seed and lozenges-with-snakecoil. After *Paul 1992*.

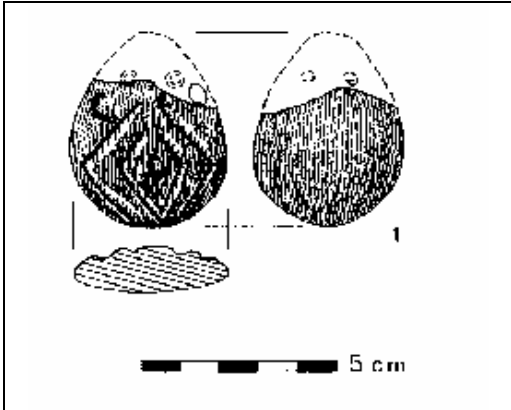


Fig. 41. A clay egg-shape charm with a double diamond surrounding an evident point was found at Cifer-Pàc (near Trnava, South-western Slovakia) from early LBK culture. After *Kolník 1978*.

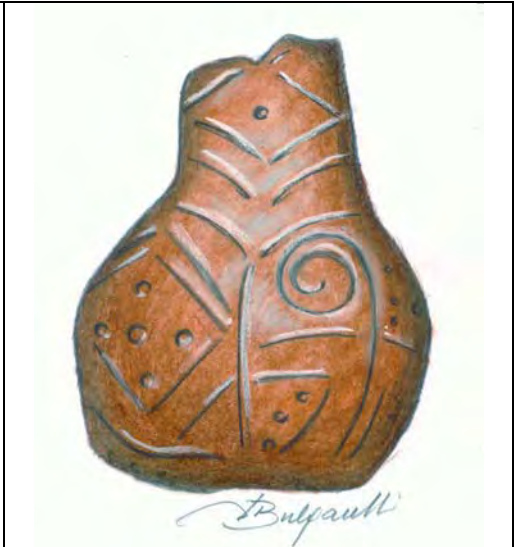


Fig. 42. A diamond with a dot in the center and in all four corners is evident for instance in a fragmented figurine from early Trypillya culture found at Novye Ruseshty I (Republic of Moldavia). Daniela Bulgarelli © The Global Prehistory Consortium at EURO INNOVANET.

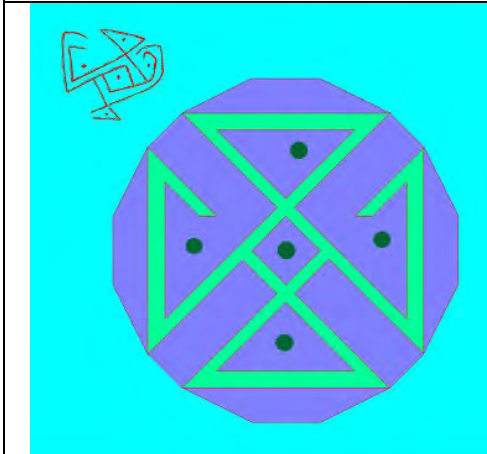


Fig. 43. The fourfold pattern of Gradešnica similar-human being: a cruciform design made of a central rhombus and four triangular dotted arms.

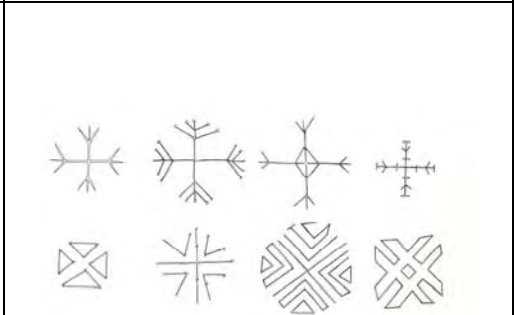


Fig. 44. The cruciform pattern with a central rhombus and four triangular dotted arms is on shown on Bohemian Linear Pottery dishes of the end sixth-early fifth millennium BC. After *Gimbutas 1974: fig. 46*.



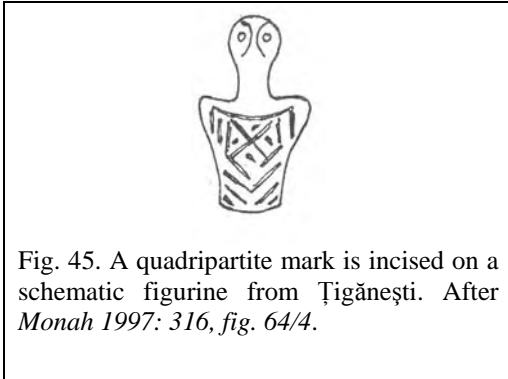


Fig. 45. A quadripartite mark is incised on a schematic figurine from Țigănești. After *Monah 1997: 316, fig. 64/4.*

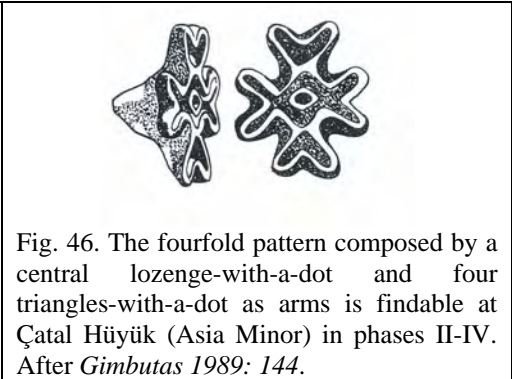


Fig. 46. The fourfold pattern composed by a central lozenge-with-a-dot and four triangles-with-a-dot as arms is findable at Çatal Hüyük (Asia Minor) in phases II-IV. After *Gimbutas 1989: 144.*

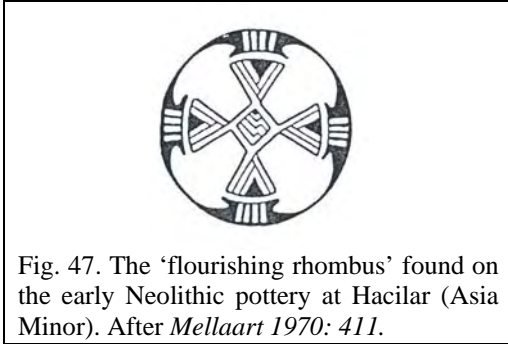


Fig. 47. The ‘flourishing rhombus’ found on the early Neolithic pottery at Hacilar (Asia Minor). After *Mellaart 1970: 411.*

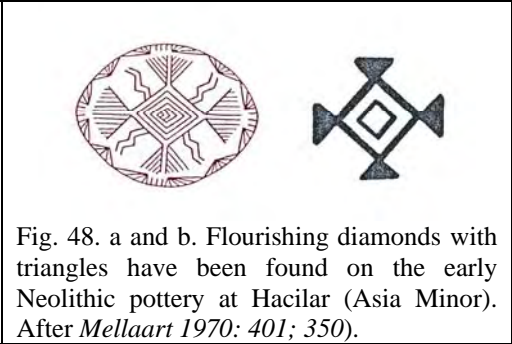


Fig. 48. a and b. Flourishing diamonds with triangles have been found on the early Neolithic pottery at Hacilar (Asia Minor). After *Mellaart 1970: 401; 350.*

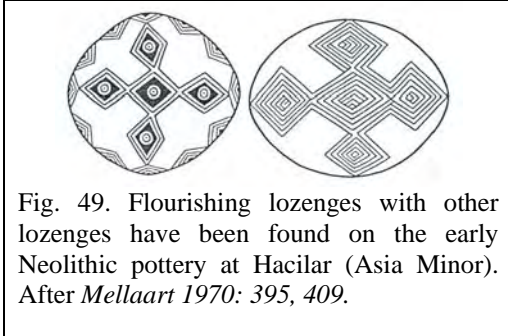


Fig. 49. Flourishing lozenges with other lozenges have been found on the early Neolithic pottery at Hacilar (Asia Minor). After *Mellaart 1970: 395, 409.*

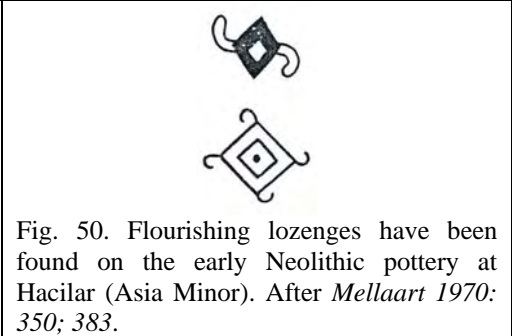


Fig. 50. Flourishing lozenges have been found on the early Neolithic pottery at Hacilar (Asia Minor). After *Mellaart 1970: 350; 383.*

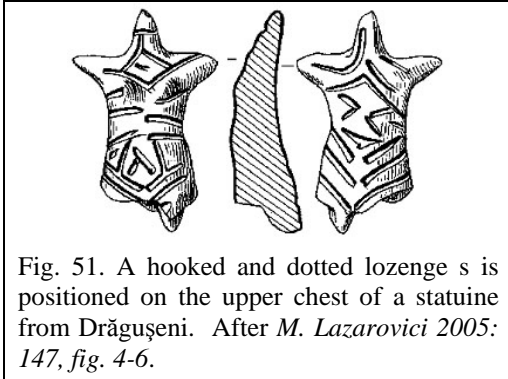


Fig. 51. A hooked and dotted lozenge s is positioned on the upper chest of a statuine from Drăgușeni. After *M. Lazarovici 2005: 147, fig. 4-6.*

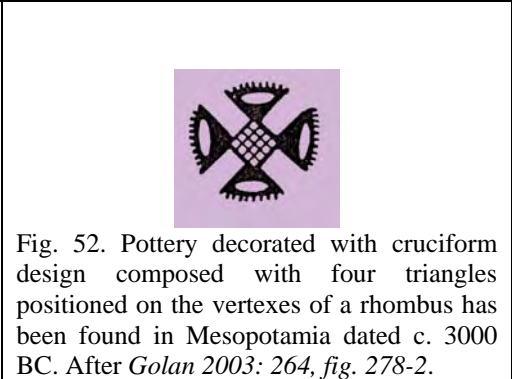


Fig. 52. Pottery decorated with cruciform design composed with four triangles positioned on the vertexes of a rhombus has been found in Mesopotamia dated c. 3000 BC. After *Golan 2003: 264, fig. 278-2.*

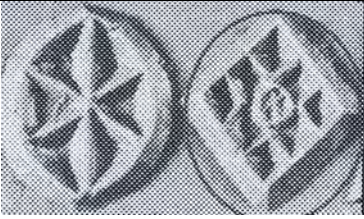


Fig. 53. The four-folded pattern occurs also on seals of ancient Indus civilization where it is interpreted as the cosmic power in the city or citadel. After *Farmer 2004*.



Fig. 54. On Neolithic pottery of 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC from Iran the four triangles around the lozenge sometimes develop into goats. After *Herzfeld 1941: 241*.



Fig. 55. A Iranian fourfold painting is interesting comparing the pattern of the Gradešnica figure because it subdivides the outer space in four quadrants as the Bulgarian does. After *Herzfeld 1941: 241*.



Fig. 56. A Sălcuța-Krivodol pintadera modeled as stylized schematic anthropomorphic figurine in adoration or dancing on an elongated six-angled base. Photo © MU.S.EU.M. project.



Fig. 57. An amazing superimposition with holes in perfect alignment between two tablets from Tărtăria. Photo © Merlini-Lazarovici.



Fig. 58. The inside of the Gradešnica flat vessel.

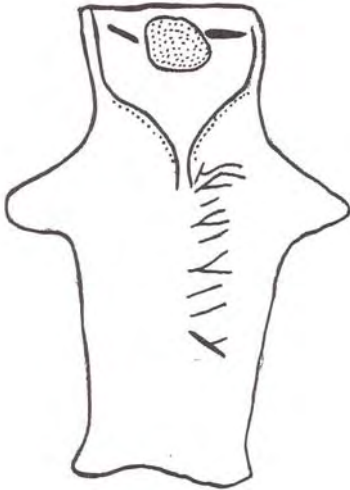


Fig. 59. A vertical inscription is exhibited by a quite flat figurine found at Vinča-Belo Brdo at the depth of 5.5 meters. After *Masson 1984: 95, fig. 3-7*.



Fig. 60. A terracotta statuette from Vinča with a linear sequence of  $\wedge$ ,  $\vee$ , F, U,  $>$ ,  $<$ , bi and tri-lines. After *Merlini 2004a: Pl. 13*.



Fig. 61. The ideogram of movement occurs on a statuette from Vinča-Belo Brdo. After *Masson 1984: 95, fig. 3-5*.



Fig. 62. A schematic figurine from late sixth millennium BC is vertically inscribed on the back (on waistline and haunch) with signs composed of two identical marks although differently oriented: a equilateral triangle downward oriented and with a row of four vertical strokes. After *Masson 1984: 93, fig. 2-1*.



Fig. 63. A vertical inscription based on lozenges occurs on a figurine from Potporanj. After *Brukner 1968, tab. IV,1.*



Fig. 64. The signs over the lip above the head of the humanoid.



Fig. 65. The signs over the lip under the base of the pregnant orante-dancer.



Fig. 66. The signs over the lips on the right of the figurine.



Fig. 67. The signs over the lips on the left of the figurine.



Fig. 68. A + occurs on the internal lip on the right.



Fig. 69. An unclosed triangular meander and two vertical strokes are incised over the lip on the left.



## DONNÉES RÉCENTES CONCERNANT L'HISTOIRE DES COMMUNAUTÉS ÉNÉOLITHIQUES DE LA CIVILISATION CUCUTENI

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### DATE RECENTE CU PRIVIRE LA ISTORIA COMUNITĂȚILOR ENEOLITICE ALE CIVILIZAȚIEI CUCUTENI

*Rezumat*

*Este prezentat un stadiu al cercetării complexului cultural Precucuteni-Cucuteni de pe teritoriul României în perioada 2000-2005, când, alături de instituții mai vechi, s-au implicat două organisme nou create: Fundația „Cucuteni pentru Mileniul III” din București (cu o puternică filială la Iași) și Centrul Interdisciplinar de Studii Arheoistorice, format pe lângă Facultatea de Istorie a Universității „Al. I. Cuza” din Iași. Se consideră că tendința majoră în această perioadă este cea de conjugare a eforturilor financiare și științifice între diferite instituții cu activitate arheologică, precum și pe plan interdisciplinar, pentru cercetarea civilizației cucuteniene. Sunt amintite șantierul cele mai importante unde au fost cercetate, în această perioadă, vestigiile ale culturilor Precucuteni și Cucuteni (Poduri, Isaiia, Tg. Frumos, Ruginoasa, Hoisești, Vorniceni, Lunca, Scânteia, Fetești, Păuleni ș.a.). Cercetările de teren au fost completate cu meritoase încercări de arheologie experimentală, în domeniul locuințelor și al ceramicii cucuteniene. În 2004, cu ocazia împlinirii a 120 de ani de la descoperirea stațiunii eponime de la Cucuteni, s-au desfășurat mai multe manifestări științifice, îndeosebi marele colocviu internațional de la Piatra Neamț. De asemenea, au apărut mai multe monografii (Drăgușeni, Cucuteni, Poduri, Preutești) și numeroase studii. Cercetarea s-a orientat din ce în ce mai mult spre activitate în echipă, în cadrul unor teme contractate prin granturi. Valorificarea cercetărilor s-a realizat și printr-o activitate muzeistică sporită, remarcându-se deschiderea, în 2005 la Piatra Neamț, a primului muzeu al civilizației Cucuteni. Organizarea expozițiilor dedicate civilizației cucuteniene a fost însoțită și de editarea unor cataloage de înaltă ținută grafică și științifică.*

*Prezentarea este însoțită de o listă a lucrărilor recente despre complexul cultural Precucuteni-Cucuteni, apărute în intervalul 2000-2005.*

Quelque phénomène ou événement historique important s'impose en permanence à l'attention des chercheurs et nécessite une étude de plus en plus approfondie, dans la mesure de la découverte de nouveaux documents ou de nouvelles directions d'approche et de recherche. C'est aussi le cas de la civilisation

cucuténienne, qui, par son lieu et son rôle important dans la Préhistoire européenne, se mentient toujours à l'attention des investigations archéologiques, aussi bien que de s études théoriques.

Des chercheurs de Roumanie, de République Moldavie, Ukraine, Russie, Pologne – des pays où ont vécu autrefois les communautés de cette civilisation – réunissent leurs efforts plus de 120 ans, laps de temps de la découverte de la station éponyme. L'espace immense (environ 350.000 km<sup>2</sup>) occupé par les communautés du complexe culturel Précucuteni-Cucuteni / Tripolie, pendant un millénaire et moitié (4200-2700 b.c.: dates <sup>14</sup>C non-calibrés ou 5000-3500: dates calibrés), justifient les efforts permanents pour le déchiffrement de nombreuses énigmes qui persistent encore en ce qui concerne l'héritage cucuténien. Au regard de très grand nombre de sites avec des vestiges cucuténiens (approximativement 2000 seulement sur le territoire de la Roumanie), sans tenir en compte les nombreux vestiges qui attendent encore être signalés, il est normal que chaque agglomération fouillée systématiquement produise des données inconnues jusqu'à ce moment-là.

Nous voulons nous y limiter rien qu'aux résultats apparus après l'année 2000, dans la première moitié de la décade passée de nouveau millénaire. Cette délimitation chronologique regarde aussi l'implication dans la recherche de la civilisation cucuténienne, dans ce laps, de deux nouveaux établissements culturels et scientifiques, qui ont joint leurs efforts ensemble d'autres centres de recherche, déjà existants. Il s'agit de l'A.S.B.F. „Cucuteni pour le III<sup>ème</sup> millénaire” de Bucarest (de suite: l'A.S.B.F.), avec une puissante filiale à Iași<sup>11</sup> et de Centre Interdisciplinaire d'Études Archéohistoriques (de suite: CIEA) de la Faculté d'Histoire de l'Université „Al. I. Cuza” de Iași<sup>12</sup>. Entre les deux établissements un accord de collaboration a été fermé; par cet accord l'A.S.B.F. assure les conditions financières et les matériaux nécessaires pour les investigations d'une série de chantiers avec des vestiges appartenant aux cultures Précucuteni et Cucuteni et le CIEA offre une partie des chercheurs et réalise l'interprétation des matériaux et des données résultées par les fouilles.

L'A.S.B.F. a collaboré ou collabore aussi avec d'autres centres de recherches de la civilisation cucuténienne, comme l'Institut d'Archéologie de Iași, le Musée National d'Histoire de la Roumanie (Bucarest), le Complexe de Musées du Département de Neamț (avec son *Centre International de Recherche de la Culture Cuucuteni* de Piatra Neamț), le Musée d'Histoire de la Moldavie (Iași), le Musée

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<sup>11</sup> Où sont des chercheurs consacrés de la culture Cucuteni (Marin Dinu, Dan Monah, Cornelia-Magda Lazarovici, Nicolae Ursulescu, Sergiu Haimovici, Felicia Monah, Dumitru Boghian), aussi bien que de jeunes archéologues (Vasile Cotiugă, Mădălin Cornel Văleanu, Senica Țurcanu, Adrian-Felix Tencariu, George Bodi, Raluca Kogălniceanu, Sorin Ignătescu, Letiția Scarlat ș.a.) et de nombreux étudiants de la Faculté d'Histoire de l'Université de Iași.

<sup>12</sup> N. Ursulescu, *Fondation du Centre Interdisciplinaire d'Etudes Archéohistoriques*, SAA, IX, 2003, p. 517-522. Ce centre de recherche a été reconnu en 2001 par le Conseil National de la Recherche Scientifique de l'Enseignement Supérieur (CNRSES).



d'Histoire du Département de Botoșani, etc.<sup>13</sup>. Donc, dans le dernier temps on observe une tendance accentuée de concentration des efforts en visant l'étude approfondie et systématique de la civilisation cucuténienne, un rôle important en cette orientation revenant, dans la période y envisagée, à l'A.S.B.F. et au *Centre International de Recherche de la Culture Cucuteni* de Piatra Neamț.

Par suite de l'implication financière de l'A.S.B.F., dans cette période on a pu commencer ou on a repris les fouilles à plusieurs chantiers avec des vestiges Précucuteni-Cucuteni.

Ainsi, les explorations du *tell* cucuténien de Poduri (dép. de Bacău), intrerrompues en 1997, à cause du changement du régime de la propriété sur le terrain, ainsi qu'aux difficultés financières, ont pu être reprises dès 2000, par l'intervention de l'A.S.B.F., qui a acheté le terrain et l'a mis à la disposition de l'équipe archéologique (coordonné par Dan Monah de l'Institut d'Archéologie de Iași), assurant, en même temps, les argents nécessaires au déroulement des fouilles<sup>14</sup>.

De même, les explorations de l'habitat précucutenien de Isaiia-Balta Popii (com. de Răducăneni, dép. de Iași), déroulées initialement par des sondages limités dans les années 1996 et 1998<sup>15</sup>, ont acquis l'aspect d'amples recherches systématiques, en commençant de l'année 2000, quand l'A.S.B.F. a intervenu financièrement afin de soutenir les fouilles et les travaux de restauration des matériaux résultés; en même temps, a acheté une partie de l'aire de la station, où on fait des fouilles par une équipe du CIEA, sous notre coordination<sup>16</sup>.

Grâce à la possibilité de réaliser des fouilles de longue haleine et sur des terrains propres, dans les deux stations (Poduri et Isaiia) on a dévoilé de grandes surfaces, ce qui a contribué décisivement à l'entendement de l'évolution de l'habitat, de la planimétrie des agglomérations et du mode de construction des habitations<sup>17</sup>; ainsi, on a attesté, pour la première fois aux maison précucuténiennes, à Isaiia, l'utilisation des fossés de fondation pour les poteaux des parois. Des données importantes on a obtenu aussi en ce qui concerne l'existence de quelques constructions et complexes de culte dans le cadre de la culture

<sup>13</sup> Gabriela Simon, „*Cucuteni for the III<sup>rd</sup> Millennium*” Foundation, SAA, X-XI (2004-2005), 2005, p. 261-264.

<sup>14</sup> Dan Monah et alii, *Poduri-Dealul Ghindarului. O Troie în Subcarpații Moldovei*, BMA, XIII, 2003, p. 17.

<sup>15</sup> N. Ursulescu, V. Merlan, *Cronica 1996*, București, 1997, p. 32 et pl. XXIV.

<sup>16</sup> N. Ursulescu, V. Merlan, F.A. Tencariu, *Cronica 2000*, București, 2001, p. 110-112 et pl. 28; *Cronica 2001*, București, 2002, p. 160-162 et pl. 66-67; N. Ursulescu, V. Merlan, F. Tencariu, M. Văleanu, *Cronica 2002*, București, 2003, p. 158-160 et pl. 66; N. Ursulescu, A.F. Tencariu et alii, *Cronica 2003*, București, 2004, p. 149-153 et pl. 32; *Cronica 2004*, București, 2005, p. 188-191, pl. 32 et annexe 6.

<sup>17</sup> D. Monah et alii, *op.cit.*, 2003; N. Ursulescu, F.A Tencariu, V. Merlan, *Carpica*, XXXI, 2002, p. 13-18 et fig.1-2; N. Ursulescu, F.-A Tencariu, *MemAnt*, XXIII, 2004, p. 129-144.

Précucuteni, qui se trouvent à la base des manifestations similaires du milieu cucutéenien<sup>18</sup>.

Dans le site précucutenien de Târgu Frumos (dép. de Iași), les explorations, commencées en 1990 (coordonées jusqu'au 2001 par Nicolae Ursulescu, puis par Dumitru Boghian)<sup>19</sup>, ont connu dans les dernières années une accélération – y compris par l'assistance financière de l'A.S.B.F. -, ainsi qu'en 2005, a été achevée l'investigation exhaustive du secteur A (avec une surface de 1100 m<sup>2</sup>), étant possible une série de conclusions stratigraphiques, planimétriques et interprétatif-historiques. Les données du respectif secteur, corroborées avec celles obtenues en d'autres secteurs, où ont été fouillées jusqu'à présent des surfaces plus grandes ou plus petites, sont considérées comme un échantillon représentatif pour l'essai de reconstitution de l'ensemble de ce grand habitat précucutéenien, qui soulève une série de problèmes importants sur la fin de cette culture et la transition vers la culture Cucuténi proprement-dite entre Siret et Prut<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> N. Ursulescu, in: *Istorie și conștiință. Profesorului Ion Agrigoroaiei la a 65-a aniversare*, Iași, 2001, p. 1-7; idem, *MemAnt*, XXII, 2001, p. 51-69; idem, *Academica*, S.N., XII, 2002, nr. 2-3, p. 40-43; idem, *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia*, XLV (2002), Università degli Studi di Bari, 2003, p. 5-25; idem, *Actes du XIV<sup>ème</sup> Congrès UISPP, Université de Liège, Belgique, 2-8 septembre 2001, Section 9 – Section 10*, BAR International Series 1303, Oxford, 2004, p. 325-331; idem, in: *Archaeozoology and Paleozoology Summercourses* (ed. by L. Bejenaru), Socrates Intensive Programme, Academic Year 2002-2003, Iași, 2004, p. 79-95.

<sup>19</sup> N. Ursulescu, D. Boghian, *CC*, s.n., nr. 2 (12), 1996, p. 38-72; nr. 3-4 (13-14), 1997-1998, p. 13-42; iidem, *CC*, s.n., 6-7, 2000-2001, p. 11-20; D. Boghian, *Senica Tudose*, *ArhMold*, XVII, 1994, p. 147-174; N. Ursulescu, D. Boghian, V. Cotiugă, S. Haimovici, A. Coroliuc, *ATS*, I, 2002, p. 29-54; iidem, in: *Archaeozoology and Palaeozoology Summercourses. Socrates Intensive Programme, Academic Year 2000-2001* (ed. by L. Bejenaru), Iași, 2002, p. 101-130; S. Haimovici, in: *Archaeozoology and Palaeozoology Summercourses. Socrates Intensive Programme, Academic Year 2000-2001* (ed. by L. Bejenaru), Iași, 2002, p. 131-150; N. Ursulescu, D. Boghian, V. Cotiugă, V. Merlan, *Sargetia*, XXX, 2001-2002, p. 61-78; N. Ursulescu, D. Boghian, V. Cotiugă, *SAA*, IX, 2003, p. 27-40; N. Ursulescu, in: *Actes du XIV<sup>ème</sup> Congrès UISPP, Université de Liège, Belgique, 2-8 septembre 2001, Section 9 – Section 10*, BAR International Series 1303, Oxford, 2004, p. 344-345; V. Cotiugă, S. Haimovici, in: *Actes du XIV<sup>ème</sup> Congrès UISPP, Université de Liège, Belgique, 2-8 septembre 2001, Section 9 – Section 10*, BAR International Series 1303, Oxford, 2004, p. 317-324. Voir aussi les rapports de fouilles, publiés en chaque an (dès 1995) dans: *Cronica cercetărilor arheologice din România (Chronique des recherches archéologiques de Roumanie: variante imprimée et électronique: <http://archweb.cimec.ro/>): 1996, p. 127; 1997, p. 77-78; 1998, p. 77-78; 1999, p. 120-121; 2000, p. 106-107; 2001, 252-254 et pl. 68; 2002, p. 314-316; 2003, p. 323-324; 2004, p. 344-346.*

<sup>20</sup> N. Ursulescu, D. Boghian, V. Cotiugă, in: *Scripta praehistorica. Miscellanea in honorem nonagenarii magistri Mircea Petrescu-Dîmbovița oblata* (eds. V. Spinei, C.-M. Lazarovici, D. Monah), Iași, 2005, p. 217-260.

Un autre important objectif cucutéenien où l'A.S.B.F. s'est impliqué, ensemble le Musée d'Histoire de la Moldavie et l'Institut d'Archéologie de Iași, est bien connu habitat de Ruginoasa<sup>21</sup>, où dès 2001 on a repris les fouilles (sous la coordination de Cornelia-Magda Lazarovici), initialement comme une intervention de sauvetage, puis en tant que travaux amples<sup>22</sup>, ce qui a permis l'obtention de quelques importantes informations, surtout concernant la typologie des habitations cucutéeniennes: ainsi, les membres du collectif de recherche soutiennent l'existence de quelques constructions enfoncées<sup>23</sup>, mais ces observations ont été faites jusqu'à présent uniquement sur le tracé de l'ancien fossé de défense de l'habitat<sup>24</sup>.

C'est décisive qu'a été l'intervention logistique de l'A.S.B.F., personnellement de son Président Romeo Dumitrescu, pour l'arrêt des destructions provoquées à l'habitat cucutéenien de Hoisești (com. de Dumești, dép. de Iași) par la construction d'un pont sur Bahlui, emplacé même au centre du site archéologique. De plus, avec l'assistance financière de l'A.S.B.F. on a continué ici les fouilles de sauvetage dans les années 2003-2004<sup>25</sup>. Ainsi, on a réussi la récupération d'un important matériel archéologique, qui permettra l'étude des conditions de vie de cette communauté cucutéenienne, qui a choisi l'emplacement de son habitat dans la zone inondable de la rivière de Bahlui – fait extrêmement rare à cette population. Un autre fait important constaté à Hoisești a été l'utilisation des fossés de fondation pour les parois des maisons, aussi bien que des pylônes pour le soutènement des plates-formes cucutéeniennes<sup>26</sup>.

L'A.S.B.F. a appuyé aussi les fouilles de Vicu Merlan dans les habitats de Crețești (dép. de Vaslui) – la phase Cucuteni A-B<sup>27</sup> et Răducăneni-Bazga (dép. de Iași) – la phase Cucuteni A<sup>28</sup>; dans le dernier habitat, l'A.S.B.F. a acheté aussi le terrain du site.

En 2005 l'A.S.B.F. a accordé aussi l'assistance financière aux fouilles commencées dès 2001 dans l'habitat du type Cucuteni A-B de Vorniceni, par une

<sup>21</sup> H. Dumitrescu, *La station préhistorique de Ruginoasa*, Dacia, III-IV, 1927-1929 (1933), p. 56-87.

<sup>22</sup> C.-M. Lazarovici et alii, *Cronica* 2001, București, 2002, p. 272-273; *Cronica* 2002, București, 2003, p. 263-265; *Cronica* 2004, București, 2005, p. 316-318 et pl. 37.

<sup>23</sup> C.-M. Lazarovici, Gh. Lazarovici, SAA, IX, 2003, p. 41-74; *idem*, ATS, III, 2004, p. 9-42.

<sup>24</sup> A notre avis, l'approfondissement des planches des habitations de ce secteur n'a pas existé initialement, mais s'est produit par le tassement graduel du remplissage du fossé, ce qui a imposé la réfection répétée des plates-formes. D'autrement, dans toutes les stations Cucuteni de ce temps d'alentours (Hăbășești, Cucuteni, Fedeleșeni, etc.) il y a seulement des habitations en surface du sol.

<sup>25</sup> N. Ursulescu et alii, *Cronica* 2003, București, 2004, p. 139-142 et pl. 28; *Cronica* 2004, București, 2005, p. 177-178 et pl. 19.

<sup>26</sup> N. Ursulescu, F.-A. Tencariu, G. Bodi, *Carpica*, XXXII, 2003, p. 5-18.

<sup>27</sup> V. Merlan, P. Salomeia, *Cronica* 2003, București, 2004, p. 110; *Cronica* 2004, București, 2005, p. 132-133.

<sup>28</sup> *Idem*, *Cronica* 2004, București, 2005, p. 289-290.

équipe du Musée d'Histoire de Botoșani, coordonné par Paul Șadurschi et Maria Diaconescu<sup>29</sup>. Les fouilles ont offert un matériel céramique exceptionnel, qui contribue à l'enrichissement de nos connaissances sur la phase Cucuteni A-B; de même, des données intéressantes ont résulté sur le mode de construction des habitations et d'aménagement de certaines structures avec un rôle de culte.

Entre les fouilles effectuées dans cette période par d'autres établissements scientifiques il faut surtout mentionnées celles de l'équipe du Musée de Piatra Neamț, conduite par Gh. Dumitroaia, en collaboration avec Dan Monah (l'Institut d'Archéologie de Iași), John Chapman (Université de Durham) et Olivier Weller (C.N.R.S. Besançon), aux sites situés dans la zone de salifère des Carpates Orientaux, d'abord dans le bien-connu site de *Lunca-Poiana Slatinei* (com. de Vânători, dép. de Neamț), mais aussi à *Oglinzi-Băi* et *-Cetățuie* (le même département)<sup>30</sup>, à *Cucuieti-Slatina Veche* (dép. de Bacău)<sup>31</sup>, tout comme à *Solca-Slatina Mare* (dép. de Suceava)<sup>32</sup>, ce qui a permis l'obtention de nouvelles données sur l'exploitation du sel de l'eau des sources salées en Préhistoire, y compris pendant les cultures Précucuteni et Cucuteni. Il faut mentionné que les fouilles de ces objectifs ont été accompagnées de prospections géophysiques (effectuées en collaboration avec des spécialistes anglais), tout comme de recherches ethnologiques.

De même, le contrôle et l'exploitation des sources salées de zone ont été considérées les causes de l'installation d'une communauté de la phase Cucuteni B à Tg. Neamț-*Dealul Pometea*, habitat où une équipe du Musée de Piatra Neamț, coordonné par Gh. Dumitroaia, a fait une fouille de sauvetage<sup>33</sup>.

D'autre part, il faut mentionner la continuation des fouilles dans l'agglomération Cucuteni A de *Scânteia* (dép. de Iași)<sup>34</sup>, sous la coordination de Cornelia-Magda Lazarovici<sup>35</sup>, puis les investigations du site avec des niveaux Cucuteni A et B de *Fetești-La Schit* (com. d'Adâncata, dép. de Suceava), sous l'égide du Musée d'Histoire de la Bucovine et de la Faculté d'Histoire et Géographie de l'Université „Ștefan cel Mare” de Suceava (responsable: D. Boghian)<sup>36</sup>, ensuite

<sup>29</sup> P. Șadurschi, M. Diaconescu et alii, *Cronica* 2001, București, 2002, p. 336-337; *Cronica* 2002, București, 2003, p. 342-343; *Cronica* 2003, București, 2004, p. 372-374.

<sup>30</sup> Gh. Dumitroaia, D. Nicola, C. Preoteasa, J. Chapman, *Cronica* 2001, București, 2002, p. 190-191; Gh. Dumitroaia et alii, *Cronica* 2002, București, 2003, p. 183-184.

<sup>31</sup> Gh. Dumitroaia et alii, *Cronica* 2004, București, 2005, p. 110-111.

<sup>32</sup> Gh. Dumitroaia et alii, *Cronica* 2003, București, 2004, p. 314-315.

<sup>33</sup> Gh. Dumitroaia et alii, *Cronica* 2004, București, 2005, p. 349-351.

<sup>34</sup> C.-M. Mantu, S. Țurcanu, M. Geba, A. Hușleag, *Scânteia*, Iași, 1999.

<sup>35</sup> C.-M. Mantu Lazarovici, S. Țurcanu, *Cronica* 2001, București, 2002, p. 284-285; C.-M. Mantu Lazarovici, S. Țurcanu, L. Ellis, *Cronica* 2002, București, 2003, p. 276-279; C.-M. Mantu Lazarovici, S. Țurcanu, L. Ellis et alii, *Cronica* 2003, București, 2004, p. 297-301; *Cronica* 2004, București, 2005, p. 331-334.

<sup>36</sup> D. Boghian, I. Mareș, B. Niculică, *Cronica* 2000, București, 2001, p. 82-84; D. Boghian, S. Ignătescu, I. Mareș, B.P. Niculică, *Cronica* 2001, București, 2002, p. 132-136 et

celles entreprises par Lăcrămioara Istina dans l'habitat Cucuteni A de Fulgeriș (com. de Pâncești, dép. de Bacău)<sup>37</sup> et dans ce du type Cucuteni A-B de Bălțata (com. de Nicolae Bălcescu, dép. de Bacău)<sup>38</sup>, de même que celles du site Précucuteni II-III de Zăpodeni (dép. de Vaslui), effectuées par le Musée de Vaslui, sous la direction d'Attila László (Faculté d'Histoire de Iași – CIEA)<sup>39</sup>.

Dans le cas d'autres fouilles, entreprises pour de diverses périodes historiques, comme à Adâncata-*Imaș*<sup>40</sup>, Baia-*Cetățuia*<sup>41</sup>, Voitinel-*Slatina Voitinel*<sup>42</sup> et Siret-*Dealul. Ruina*<sup>43</sup> (dép. de Suceava), Podu Iloaiei-*Șesul Târgului*<sup>44</sup> (dép. de Iași), Costișa-*Cetățuia*<sup>45</sup> (dép. de Neamț), on mentionne seulement l'existence de quelques vestiges de la période néolithique, sans d'autres détails. C'est que la même est la situation résultée par la publication des explorations à la surface du sol, qui enrichissent avec de nouvelles signalisations les répertoires de deux cultures, mais sans d'autres détails.

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Les explorations en terrain ont compris pas seulement l'aire classique de la culture Cucuteni (la Moldavie entre les Carpates et le Prut), mais aussi la zone transylvaine de l'aspect Ariușd, où on a repris les recherches, surtout par les fouilles de l'habitat pluristratifié de Ciomortan-*Dealul Cetății* (com. de Păuleni, dép. de Harghita)<sup>46</sup>, par une équipe du Musée des Carpates Orientaux de Sf. Gheorghe, dont on a obtenu des données significatives sur le début et l'évolution de l'habitat cucutéenien en zone.

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pl. 51-52; Cronica 2002, București, 2003, p. 124-127 și pl. 57; Cronica 2003, București, 2004, p. 119-123 et pl. 23; Cronica 2004, București, 2005, p. 148-150 et pl. 14.

<sup>37</sup> Al. Artimon, L.El. Istina, M.Al. Istina, I. David, Cronica 2003, București, 2004, p. 124-125; L.El. Istina, F.A. Tencariu, Cronica 2004, București, 2005, p. 152-153.

<sup>38</sup> N.Ursulescu, L. Stratulat, L.-E. Istina, F.-A. Tencariu, Cronica 2004, București, 2005, p. 62-63.

<sup>39</sup> A. László, C.N. Ursache, Cronica 2002, București, 2003, p. 346-347; Cronica 2003, București, 2004, p. 379.

<sup>40</sup> B.P. Niculică et alii, Cronica 2004, București, 2005, p. 22: Cucuteni (phase non-précisée).

<sup>41</sup> B.P. Niculică et alii, Cronica 2003, București, 2004, p. 47-48: Précucuteni III, Cucuteni B.

<sup>42</sup> M. Andronic, E. Ursu, Cronica 2002, București, 2003, p. 341: fragments céramiques Cucuteni.

<sup>43</sup> A. László, I. Mareș, B. Niculică, M. Ignat, Cronica 2000, București, 2001, p. 230; Cronica 2002, București, 2003, p. 293; Cronica 2004, București, 2005, p. 348: habitat Cucuteni B.

<sup>44</sup> V. Chirica et alii, Cronica 2000, București, 2001, p. 189.

<sup>45</sup> Al. Vulpe, A. Popescu, R. Băjenaru, Cronica 2004, București, 2005, p. 130: Précucuteni final.

<sup>46</sup> V. Cavruc, D. Buzea, Gh. Lazarovici, Cronica 2001, București, 2002, p. 306-309; Cronica 2003, București, 2004, p. 337-338; Cronica 2004, București, 2005, p. 374-375; iidem, *Angustia*, 6, 2002.

Outre des fouilles, dans cette période on a effectué d'intéressantes recherches expérimentales, qui ont eu comme but surtout la reconstitution du mode de vie de la population cucuténienne et des techniques utilisées dans l'édification des maisons et dans la production de la céramique.

Dans cette direction, un mérite particulier est revenu au projet d'archéologie expérimentale „Le Parc Archéologique Cucuteni”, initié au cadre du CIEA, par l'assistant universitaire Vasile Cotiugă, qui a obtenu aussi le soutien logistique et financier d'autres organes, comme le Musée National „Moldova” de Iași, la Mairie de la commune Cucuteni, l'A.S.B.F. „Cucuteni pour le III<sup>ème</sup> Millénaire”, l'A.S.B.F. *Ford Motor Company*, l'A.S.B.F. *Dacia Revival International*, aussi bien que de la part du Prof. C. I. Matasă (de l'États Unis), le neveu du fondateur du Musée Archéologique de Piatra Neamț, le prêtre Consatntin Matasă. L'Université „Al. I. Cuza” de Iași et l'Université „Dunărea de Jos” de Galați ont contribué à l'accomplissement de ce projet de recherche par leurs enthousiastes étudiants, qui ont effectué tous les travaux prévus aux étapes du projet. Toutes les opérations exécutées, en commençant de l'été 2002, ont été enregistrées, à la fois en écrit et au support digital, s'en réalisant aussi des films synthétiques d'étape<sup>47</sup>.

Une attention spéciale a été accordée aux effets de l'incendie des habitations cucuténiennes sur les différents types de construction. A cette étape de l'expérimentation, déroulée au 24 octobre 2004, a participé, avec l'appareillage adéquat de monitorisation de la température, le professeur Dragoș Gheorghiu de l'Université Nationale d'Art de Bucarest, qui a pu ainsi comparer les résultats de Cucuteni avec ses expérimentations, entreprises antérieurement à Vădastra<sup>48</sup>. De même, à l'expérimentation ont assisté les participants au Colloque international „Cucuteni - 120 ans de recherches. Le temps du bilan”, passé, les jours auparavant, à Piatra Neamț, parmi eux étant aussi des spécialistes de grand prestige d'Ukraine et de Russie (Olexej Korvin-Piotrovskij, Vladimir Kruts, Mihail Videiko, Elena Tsvek, Natalja Burdo, Yuri Rassamakin, Sergej Ryžov, Natalja Skakun ș.a.), qui ont partagé de leur expérience, accumulée dans le cadre des projets similaires déroulées en Ukraine, pour la reconstitution des habitations tripoliennes.

Les tests d'incendies et l'observation du comportement des habitations brûlées après l'extinction du feu on été poursuivies d'un débat, initié par le président de l'A.S.B.F., Romeo Dumitrescu, à Iași, le 12 décembre 2004, débat où ont participé, excepté l'initiateur de l'expérimentation, Vasile Cotiugă, prof. dr. Attila László, prof. dr. Nicolae Ursulescu, dr. Dan Monah et drd. George Bodi, qui a enregistré les principales conclusions de la rencontre, les mettant à la disposition de ceux intéressés.

Une étude récente a comparé les données de l'archéologie expérimentale concernant la construction des habitations cucuténiennes avec quelques résultats

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<sup>47</sup> V. Cotiugă, O. Cotoi, in: M. Petrescu-Dîmbovița, M.-C. Văleanu, *Cucuteni-Cețățuie. Monografie arheologică*, BMA XIV, Piatra Neamț, 2004, p. 337-351.

<sup>48</sup> Dragoș Gheorghiu, *Fire in Archaeology*, BAR International Series 1089, Oxford, 2002, p. 83-94.

obtenus par les recherches archéologiques<sup>49</sup>; quelques données de l'expérimentation ont été présentées aussi dans le cadre d'une conférence internationale, passée au octobre 2003 à Százhalombatta (Hongrie)<sup>50</sup>.

Au-delà d'expérimentations sur les maisons cucuténiennes, se sont déroulées aussi, dans les années 2003-2005, celles concernant la production de la céramique, tant à Cucuteni qu'au chantier de Isaiia, sous la coordination de Adrian-Felix Tencariu. Ces expérimentations ont bénéficié de l'appui de l'A.S.B.F. et du financement reçu par un grant de C.N.R.S.E.S., obtenu par l'initiateur du projet. A ce projet ont participé des doctorandes et des étudiantes de la Faculté d'Histoire de Iași, aussi bien que de la Faculté d'Arts Visuels de l'Université d'Art de la même ville.

C'est le but des expérimentations, qui ne se sont achevées encore, que la reconstitution de l'entière chaîne technologique de production de la céramique préhistorique, en partant de la localisation des sources d'argile, le ramassage des échantillons, puis la préparation de la pâte, la construction proprement-dite des vases de différents types, leur séchage et, enfin, la cuisson. Pour ce but final on a construit des installations de chauffage, sur la foi des données archéologiques et ethnologiques<sup>51</sup>.

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L'année 2004 a représenté, pour la civilisation Cucuteni, „le moment 120”, grâce aux manifestations scientifiques qui ont marqué le passage de ce nombre d'ans de la découverte de la célèbre station éponyme, située sur la colline „Cetățuia”.

D'abord, on remarque le grand Colloque international „Cucuteni - 120 ans de recherches. Le temps du bilan”, organisé, dans les meilleures conditions, par le Musée d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Piatra Neamț, aux jours 21-23 octobre, où, au-delà de nombreux spécialistes de Roumanie, ont participé des archéologues d'autres 12 pays (Angleterre, Autriche, Bulgarie, Colombie, Espagne, Etats-Unis, France, Hongrie, République de Moldavie, Russie, Turquie, Ukraine). Parallèlement, on a déroulé un autre Colloque international „Archéologie pré- et protohistorique du sel”, qui a abordé aussi beaucoup des aspects du complexe culturel Précucuteni-Cucuteni. Les résumés des communications, mises à la disposition des participantes, nous déterminent attendre, avec légitime intérêt, l'apparition des travaux des deux colloques, qui représenteront, certainement, un moment de référence pour la recherche de la civilisation cucuténienne.

Au 30 septembre 2004, dans l'organisation du CIEA, de l'A.S.B.F., de l'Institut d'Archéologie de Iași et du Musée d'Historie de la Moldavie, on a déroulé, à Iași, le Symposium National „Cucuteni 120. Valeurs universelles”, où ont

<sup>49</sup> A. László, V. Cotiugă, SAA, X-XI (2004-2005), 2005, p. 147-170.

<sup>50</sup> Idem, *Archaeological Park in Cucuteni: from project towards accomplishment*, 6. EXARC Conference, 13-15. 10. 2003.

<sup>51</sup> F.A. Tencariu, I. Robu, Carpica, XXXIII, 2004, p. 53-64; F. A. Tencariu, *Experiments on pottery manufacture*, <http://www.exarc.net/presentations/speeches/EXARC-6/FelixTencariulecture.pdf>.

participé des spécialistes de Cluj (Gheorghe Lazarovici), Suceava (Dumitru Boghian), Piatra Neamț (Gheorghe Dumitroaia, Roxana Munteanu, Dorin Nicola), Brăila (Stănică Pandrea) et, bien sûr, Iași (Mircea Petrescu-Dîmbovița, Marin Dinu, Attila László, Nicolae Ursulescu, Marius Alexianu, Cornelia-Magda Lazarovici, Slvia Teodor, Ruxandra Alaiba, Vasile Cotiugă, Senica Țurcanu, Cornel-Mădălin Văleanu, George Bodi), tout comme des chercheurs d'autres domaines, intéressés de la connaissance de l'univers cucutenien, y compris sous l'aspect interdisciplinaire. Les communications données seront réunies dans un volum.

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Les derniers cinq ans ont été marqués aussi par l'apparition d'importants publications concernant le complexe culturel Précucuteni-Cucuteni. D'abord, on rémarque une intensification de l'activité du *Centre International de Recherche de la Culture Cucuteni* de Piatra Neamț à ce domaine aussi, ainsi que la bien-connue série *Bibliotheca Memoriae Antiquitatis* a lancé, dans cette période, neuf volumes, en arrivant au XV<sup>ème</sup> nombre.

Entre eux, on détache la monumentale monographie sur les résultats de nouvelles fouilles de Cucuteni-*Cetățuia*, le fruit des efforts et de la persévérance du Professeur Mircea Petrescu-Dîmbovița, membre de l'Académie Roumaine, aidé par son jeune disciple, Mădălin Cornel Văleanu<sup>52</sup>.

De même, on impose à l'attention la monographie-catalogue sur la station du type *tell* de Poduri-*Di.Ghindaru*<sup>53</sup>, réalisée par une équipe coordonnée du responsable des fouilles de cette station, Dan Monah, puis la monographie sur l'aspect culturel Drăgușeni-Jura, dûe au régrété archéologue de Bessarabie Victor Sorochin<sup>54</sup>, le premier volume du répertoire des habitats de la phase Cucuteni A, réalisé par Dragomir Nicolae Popovici, la monographie du directeur du Musée et, en même temps, le coordinateur de la série, Gheorghe Dumitroaia<sup>55</sup>, etc.

Sauf des publications dûes au Musée de Piatra Neamț, d'autres ouvrages monographiques ont été dédiés, dans cette période, à la civilisation Cucuteni, comme ce de la station de Drăgușeni (Silvia Marinescu-Bîlcu et Alexandra Bolomey)<sup>56</sup> ou ce de l'habitat de Preutești-*Haltă* (Nicolae Ursulescu et Sorin Ignătescu)<sup>57</sup>, aussi bien que de nombreuses études, articles, chroniques, comptes-rendus, apparues en revues de spécialité de Roumanie et d'étranger (voir l'Annexe).

<sup>52</sup> M. Petrescu-Dîmbovița, M.-C. Văleanu, *Cucuteni-Cetățuia. Monografie arheologică*, BMA XIV, Piatra Neamț, 2004.

<sup>53</sup> D. Monah et alii, *op.cit.*, BMA XIII, 2003.

<sup>54</sup> V. Sorochin, *Aspectul cultural cucutenian Drăgușeni-Jura*, BMA XII, Piatra Neamț, 2002.

<sup>55</sup> Gh. Dumitroaia, *Comunități preistorice din nord-estul României. De la cultura Cucuteni până în bronzul mijlociu*, BMA VII, Piatra Neamț, 2000.

<sup>56</sup> S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, Al. Bolomey, *Drăgușeni. A Cucutenian Community*, București – Tübingen, 2000.

<sup>57</sup> N. Ursulescu, S. Ignătescu, *Preutești-Haltă. O așezare cucuteniană pe Valea Șomuzului Mare*, Iași, 2003.



Normalement, très grand a été aussi le nombre des communications sur le complexe culturel Précucuteni-Cucuteni, présentées aux différentes manifestations scientifiques, s'en remarquant la consistante présence au XIV<sup>ème</sup> Congrès International de Sciences Préhistoriques et Protohistoriques, passé à Liège, le septembre 2001<sup>58</sup>.

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Une nouvelle direction, qui s'impose, dernièrement, de plus en plus, aussi dans l'activité archéologique de la Roumanie, est celle des recherches en équipe, par des grants. De même, dans le domaine de la recherche du complexe culturel Précucuteni-Cucuteni on a initié l'activité par des grants, accordés surtout par le Ministère de l'Education et de la Recherche (par son organisme spécialisé: C.N.R.S.E.S.) et par l'Académie Roumaine, mais aussi par d'autres établissements de pays et d'étranger. Ainsi, entre 2001-2003, on a déroulé l'activité au grant *La vie et l'environnement des communautés énéolithiques de l'Est de Carpatés (recherches interdisciplinaires)*; de 2004 a commencé l'activité, pour trois années, à un autre contrat, *Dimension européenne de la civilisation énéolithique de l'Est de Carpatés*, les deux financés par C.N.R.S.E.S. (directeur des contrats: N. Ursulescu), le noyau de recherche étant formé de membres CIEA.

Un autre grant, réalisé aussi par C.N.R.S.E.S., entre 2001 et 2003, *Etude d'identification et répertoire des ressources utiles de la zone montagneuse du département de Suceava en préhistoire et histoire* (directeur: Dumitru Boghian), a abordé aussi, dans une manière interdisciplinaire, le problème des matières premières utilisées dans l'Énéolithique du Nord de la Moldavie<sup>59</sup>.

Entre les jeunes chercheurs, Felix-Adrian Tencariu a obtenu, de même du C.N.R.S.E.S., entre 2002-2004, financement pour le projet *Archéologie expérimentale. La reconstitution des technologies et des installations préhistoriques de cuisson de la céramique*, qui a abordé son thème de doctorat, concernant la technologie de la céramique en Préhistoire, à spécial regard sur l'époque énéolithique de la Moldavie, ce qui lui a permis le déroulement d'amples expérimentations.

Parmi les grants initiés à d'autres centres de recherche, concernant de même la connaissance de la civilisation cucutenienne, on doit mentionner ceux obtenus par

<sup>58</sup> *Actes du XIV<sup>ème</sup> Congrès UISPP, Université de Liège, Belgique, 2-8 septembre 2001, Section 9 – Section 10*, BAR International Series 1303, Oxford, 2004: N. Ursulescu, *Nouvelles données concernant les croyances magiques des communautés de la civilisation Précucuteni (Énéolithique ancien) de l'Est de la Roumanie* (p. 344-345); idem, *La valeur sacrée des nombres dans l'Énéolithique de Roumanie* (p. 325-331); V. Cotiugă, S. Haimovici, *Fosses culturelles (bóthroi) et à caractère culturel du Néolithique et l'Énéolithique de la Roumanie* (p. 317-324); Dan Monah, *L'exploitation préhistorique du sel dans les Carpatés Orientales*, in: O. Weller (éd.), *Archéologie du sel: technique et sociétés*, Internationale Archäologie, ASTK 3 Colloque 12.2, XIV<sup>e</sup> Congrès UISPP, Liège, sept. 2001, 2002, p. 135-146.

<sup>59</sup> D. Boghian, N. Ursulescu, C. Catană, Gh. Romanescu, M. Ignat, I. Mareş, V. Cotiugă, B. P. Niculică, S. Ignătescu, CC, s.n., 8-9 (18-19), 2002-2003 (2004), p. 135-159.

Dan Monah (l'Institut d'Archéologie de Iași), l'un avec C.N.R.S.E.S. ("Les trésors de la culture Cucuténi"), pour la période 2002-2004, l'autre – un projet roumaino-anglais, en collaboration avec John Chapman (l'Université de Durham) – sur les échanges intercommunautaires dans l'aire Cucuteni-Tripolie (*Research and Exchange in the Cucuteni-Tripolye Network*), pour une période de cinq années (2001-2005).

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Il faut souligner que si quelques années auparavant, la manière d'approche interdisciplinaire des matériels archéologiques était utilisé encore assez retenu et avec timidité, à présent cette manière a gagné de nombreux adeptes, en devenant une pratique usuelle dans la publication des résultats des recherches, ce qui a aussi des répercussions bénéfiques pour l'étude de la civilisation cucuténienne. Il est important aussi le fait que cette manière moderne est devenu institutionnelle à Iași, par la reconnaissance du CIEA en 2001, même si les directions d'abord interdisciplinaire peuvent être encore beaucoup diversifiées et approfondies. On remarque particulièrement les résultats obtenus au domaine de l'archéozoologie, où il y a déjà des collectifs de tradition à Iași et à Bucarest. Naguère, il y a aussi un ouvrage de synthèse sur l'archéozoologie en Roumanie<sup>60</sup>.

Pour les efforts constants dans la stimulation de la collaboration entre l'archéologie et d'autres sciences il faut remarquer le Musée National d'Histoire de la Roumanie, qui a initié la publication d'une importante série, *Cercetări pluridisciplinare (Recherches pluridisciplinaires)* (éditeur: Dragomir Popovici), où ont apparu, jusqu'à présent, huit nombres.

De même ne peut pas être omise l'apparition d'un livre à caractère interdisciplinaire, dédié à la recherche des outils en pierre polie<sup>61</sup>.

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Enfin, mais pas en dernier tour, il faut mentionner l'accroissement vraiment spectaculaire des réalisations au plan muséologique, concernant la valorification par d'expositions et de catalogues du précieux patrimoine cucuténienn existant en différentes collections.

Dans ce domaine aussi, la présence de l'A.S.B.F. a eu un rôle extrêmement bénéfique. Même au début de cette période, le Musée National d'Histoire de la Roumanie, ensemble l'A.S.B.F. et le Musée de Piatra Neamț, a organisé, à Bucarest, à l'occasion de la reprise des fouilles dans la station-tell de Dealul Ghindaru, l'exposition „Un monde retrouvé. Le village cucuténienn de Poduri”, qui a bénéficié aussi d'un catalogue d'exception, avec des variantes en roumain<sup>62</sup> et en

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<sup>60</sup> A. Bălășescu, M. Udrescu, V. Radu, D. Popovici, *Archéozoologie en Roumanie. Corpus de données*, Târgoviște, 2003.

<sup>61</sup> O. Cotoi, C. Grasu, *Uneltele din piatră șlefuită din eneoliticul Subcarpaților Moldovei*, Iași, 2000.

<sup>62</sup> Dan Monah, Dragomir Popovici, *O lume regăsită. Satul cucutenian de la Poduri* (catalogue d'exposition), București, 2000.

anglais<sup>63</sup>. A cette occasion, au-delà des pièces de grande valeur de Poduri, y compris l'ensemble connu sous le nom de „Conseil des Déesses”, a été présenté publiquement, pour la première fois, l'ensemble de culte semblable, trouvé à Isaiia (dép. de Iași) en 1998.

Avec les pièces trouvées par suite des fouilles financées par-elle, l'A.S.B.F. a organisé une exposition itinérante, „Culture Cucuteni. La magie de la céramique”, présentée dans les années 2004-2005 au Musée du Bas-Danube de Călărași, puis à Bucarest, au siège du Ministère de la Culture et des Cultes, au Musée Départemental Prahova de Ploiești, au Musée „Iulian Antonescu” de Bacău et au Musée Départemental Dâmbovița de Târgoviște. L'exposition, qui a bénéficié aussi d'un catalogue imprimé en conditions graphiques excellentes<sup>64</sup>, n'a pas été organisée tant selon le canon classique, thématique, mais on a su plutôt un groupement des objets exposés selon des principes esthétiques, afin de créer une atmosphère d'implication effective du spectateur au monde de la spiritualité cucuténienne.

Le musée de Piatra Neamț a ouvert, dans cette période, deux grandes expositions. La première, dédiée à l'art cucuténi<sup>65</sup>, a été vernie, le printemps 2002, au Musée National Cotroceni et l'automne de la même année au Musée Départemental d'Histoire de Brașov. La deuxième (le novembre-décembre 2003) a présenté les résultats des recherches de Poduri-*Delul Ghindaru*<sup>66</sup>. Par le mode ingénieux de présentation, cette exposition a reçu un prix du Ministère de la Culture et des Cultes<sup>67</sup>.

D'autres expositions dédiées au phénomène cucuténi<sup>68</sup> ont été organisées à Sf. Gheorghe, en 2002, par le Musée des Carpates Orientaux (le thème a été le site pluristratifié de Păuleni, où on trouve aussi d'importants vestiges de l'aspect Ariușd du complexe culturel Cucuteni)<sup>68</sup>, puis en 2004, l'octobre, à Suceava („Les communautés cucuténiennes du Nord-Est de la Roumanie”)<sup>69</sup> et le novembre-décembre à Botoșani<sup>70</sup>, les deux dernières mettant en relief les découvertes récentes du Nord de la Moldavie.

L'apogée de l'activité muséographique concernant la civilisation Cucuteni a été le 24 juin 2005, quand a été accompli un ancien rêve du fondateur du Musée de

<sup>63</sup> Idem, *A refound world. The Cucutenian village from Poduri*, București, 2001.

<sup>64</sup> R. Dumitrescu, A. Frînculeasa, D. Garvăn, El. Gheorghe, A. Pavlu, *Cultura Cucuteni. Magia ceramicii*, București, 2004.

<sup>65</sup> Gh. Dumitroaia, Dan Monah (coord.), *Artă eneolitică Cucuteni*, Piatra Neamț, 2002.

<sup>66</sup> D. Monah et alii, *op.cit.*, BMA XIII, 2003.

<sup>67</sup> Gh. Dumitroaia, C. Preoteasa, R. Munteanu, D. Nicola, D. Monah, *Primul muzeu Cucuteni din România*, BMA XV, Piatra Neamț, 2005, p. 48.

<sup>68</sup> *Păuleni-Dealul Cetății. O stațiune preistorică în depresiunea Ciucului*, Sf. Gheorghe, 2002.

<sup>69</sup> D-tru Boghian, C.-E. Ursu, *Eternul Cucutenian ... Catalogul expoziției „Comunitățile cucuteniene din nord-estul României”*, Suceava, 2004.

<sup>70</sup> L. Pârvan, M. Diaconescu, A. Melniciuc, P. Șadurschi, Gh. Stanciu, *Fascinația culturii Cucuteni* (catalogue d'exposition), Botoșani, 2004.

Piatra Neamț, le prêtre Constantin Matasă, par l'organisation et l'inauguration, dans un cadre solennel, du premier musée Cucuteni de Roumanie<sup>71</sup>, aménagé dans un bâtiment adéquat, où fonctionnera aussi dorénavant le *Centre International de Recherche de la Culture Cucuteni*. Dans ses espaces, le Musée peut abriter de grandes collections de découvertes cucuténiennes, qui, à présent, se conservent, en conditions impropres, à d'autres musées. Nous croyons que, par ses dotations et par le patrimoine, le nouvel musée peut devenir vraiment un polariseur des recherches de la civilisation cucuténienne.

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Commencée sous de bons auspices pour l'héritage cucuténiien, par l'implication décisive de l'A.S.B.F. dans la recherche de ses vestiges, la période s'achève vraiment apothéotique, par l'accomplissement du rêve de fondation d'un musée, que cette civilisation le mérite totalement.

Est-ce-que suivra dans la période prochaine?

Le temps, les efforts des chercheurs, mais aussi la bienveillance des facteurs de décision donneront la réponse.

Espérons, mais aussi agissons, avec l'esprit et avec le fait.

En cas que d'ici cinq ans on fera un nouvel bilan, alors on verra si les espoirs se sont accompli ou non.

Par cette voie, on lance une incitation aux jeunes chercheurs, qui ont pris déjà, partiellement, ou prendront bientôt, la mission de la recherche de cette civilisation, qui attend ... patiemment, plus de cinq millénaires, le déchiffrement de ses mystères et de ses messages encore énigmatiques.

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<sup>71</sup> Gh. Dumitroaia, C. Preoteasa, R. Munteanu, D. Nicola, D. Monah, *op.cit.*, BMA XV, 2005.

Littérature roumaine récente (2000-2005) concernant le complexe culturel  
 Précucuteni – Cucuténi

### ABREVIATIONS

AMM	<i>Acta Moldaviae Meridionalis</i> , Muzeul Județean de Istorie Vaslui.
Angustia	<i>Angustia</i> , Muzeul Carpaților Răsăriteni, Sfântu Gheorghe.
ArhMold	<i>Arheologia Moldovei</i> , Institutul de Arheologie Iași.
ARMSI	<i>Academia Română. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice</i> , București.
AȘUI	<i>Analele Științifice ale Universității “Al. I. Cuza” Iași</i> .
ATS	<i>Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis</i> , Universitatea “Lucian Blaga” Sibiu.
BAI	Bibliotheca Archaeologica Iassiensis, Institutul de Arheologie Iași.
BAR	British Archaeological Reports, Oxford.
BHAB	Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Banatica, Muzeul Banatului, Timișoara.
BMA	Bibliotheca Memoriae Antiquitatis, Piatra Neamț.
CA	<i>Cercetări arheologice</i> , Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București.
Carpica	<i>Carpica</i> , Muzeul Județean de Istorie Bacău.
CC	Codrul Cosminului, <i>Analele Universității „Ștefan cel Mare” Suceava. Seria Istorie</i> .
CCDJ	<i>Cultură și Civilizație la Dunărea de Jos</i> , Muzeul Dunării de Jos, Călărași.
CercIst	<i>Cercetări Istorice</i> , Muzeul de Istorie a Moldovei, Iași.
CISPP	Congrès International des Sciences Pré- et Protohistoriques.
Civilisations	<i>Civilisations</i> . Revue internationale des Sciences Humaines et des civilisations différentes publiée par l’Institut de Sociologie de l’Université Libre de Bruxelles avec l’aide du Ministère de la Communauté Française, Bruxelles.
Cronica	<i>Cronica cercetărilor arheologice din România. Campania ....</i> , CIMEC, București.
Dacia	<i>Dacia. Recherches et découvertes archéologiques en Roumanie (1924-1947)</i> , București.
Dacia, N.S.	<i>Dacia. Revue d’archéologie et d’histoire ancienne</i> , Nouvelle Série, Institutul de Arheologie București.
Danubius	<i>Danubius</i> , Muzeul Județean de Istorie Galați.
ERAUL	Etudes et recherches archéologiques de l’Université de Liège.
Interacademica	Interacademica. Commissions mixtes d’histoire, d’archéologie, d’ethnographie et de folklore de l’Académie Roumaine et de l’Académie Nationale des Sciences de l’Ukraine.
JIES	<i>The Journal of Indo-European Studies</i> , Los Angeles.

Materiale	<i>Materiale și cercetări arheologice</i> , București.
MemAnt	<i>Memoria Antiquitatis. Acta Musei Petrodavensis</i> , Complexul Muzeal Județean Neamț.
Mousaios	<i>Mousaios</i> , Muzeul Județean de Istorie Buzău.
RSP	<i>Rivista di Scienze Preistoriche</i> , Organo dell'Istituto Italiano di Preistoria e Protostoria, Firenze.
SAA	<i>Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica</i> , Universitatea „Al. I. Cuza” Iași, Seminarul de Istorie Veche și Arheologie al Facultății de Istorie.
TD	<i>Thraco-Dacica</i> , Institutul Român de Tracologie, București.
Tyragetia	<i>Tyragetia</i> , Muzeul Național de Istorie a Moldovei, Chișinău.

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2002 *Cercetări arheologice la Chetrești-Capul Dealului, jud. Vaslui, campaniile 1988, 1992*, CercIst, 18-20 (1999-2001), p. 33-87.

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2005 *Reprezentări zoomorfe în relief pe ceramica Cucuteni de tip C*, Carpica, XXXIV, p. 75-86.

**ALAIBA R., GRĂDINARU Iulian**

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2001 *Noi semnalări de ceramică de tip Cucuteni C și Horodiștea-Erbiceni-Gordinești, TD, 22, p. 97-105.*

**ALAIBA R., VĂLEANU Mădălin**

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2003 *Voitinel, com. Gălănești; Marginea, com. Marginea, jud. Suceava, Cronica 2002, p. 341.*

**ARTIMON Alexandru, ISTINA Lăcrămioara Elena, ISTINA Marius Al., DAVID Irina**

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2001 *Plastica antropomoră de la Mihoveni-Cahla Morii, Suceava, 26-28 (1999-2001), p. 109-143.*

**BATARIUC P.-V., GOGU Monica, AMARANDEI Brândușa**

2002 *Mihoveni, com. Șcheia, jud. Suceava, Cronica 2001, p. 205-206.*

**BATARIUC P.-V., HAIMOVICI Sergiu, NICULICĂ Bogdan**

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## FELINES AND BULLS: PLASTIC REPRESENTATIONS FROM THE LATE NEOLITHIC SITE AT HARMANLI IN THE MARITSA VALLEY

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### FELINE ȘI TAURI: REPREZENTĂRI PLASTICE ÎN SITUL NEOLITICULUI TÂRZIU DE LA HARMANLI DIN VALEA MARIȘTEI

-rezumat-

*Autorul prezintă descoperiri de plastică neolitică târzie descoperită în situl arheologic de la Harmanli din valea Mariștei. Din punctul de vedere al cronologiei relative situl se încadrează în faza Karanovo IV și – poate – în faza de tranziție spre Chalcolithicul vechi din Bulgaria.*

The ruins of a late Neolithic site from the very end of sixth mill. BC have been found on a lowly rising ground directly above the floodplain on the right bank of the Maritsa river, at about 3.5 kilometers to the north of the town of Harmanli, southeast Bulgaria. In the summer of 2004, a trench was made in the northeast periphery of the flat site, covering an area of 100 sq. m. The lack of features as houses, hearts/ovens etc., as well as the great number of pottery sherds in the cultural layer suggest that this was the most peripheral part of the prehistoric village, which center seems to had been localized – comparing it with other more or less simultaneous flat sites in the same area – on the ridge of the river terrace.

The depth of the cultural layer reached 60 to 70 cm. The finds belong to the last period of the late Neolithic in Thrace – Karanovo IV – and probably to its transitional phase to the early Chalcolithic, which was identified just recently. However, the upper layer has been almost totally destroyed by the continuing agricultural cultivation of the area, and only scattered pottery sherds have been found; more open shapes appeared in this phase, carinated vessels became more rounded, and the white-encrusted decoration disappeared. For the pottery of the lower layer, carinated and sharply profiled shapes are typical, and in those rare cases when the surface has not been eroded by the strongly alkaline chernozems, it is dark burnished. Some vessels have those specific vertical handles with a cylindrical protome, which are found in Greek Thrace as well as at the nearby late Neolithic site near Lyubimets, also on the Maritsa river bank (Nikolov V., 2003). Most common feature of the ceramic complex of the Karanovo IV period at Harmanli is the incised and white-encrusted decoration as well as a specific dark-gray burnished ware with grayish white-painted decoration, which has its parallels

in Turkish Thrace and northwest Anatolia. In spite of the limited area of the archaeological excavations, a total of over fifteen hundred flint pieces were found as well as artifacts of the types that are common for the Thracian late Neolithic. Plastic representations include anthropomorphs, zoomorphs, and other finds of clay and stone that are typical for the Karanovo IV material culture as a whole but have some specific features, too.

### **Anthropomorphic figurines**

The surface of all clay figurines from Harmanli has been deeply eroded by the alkaline soil effects. Complete figurines have not been found; although fragmented, they are sufficiently instructive and detail the knowledge of the late Neolithic Karanovo IV anthropomorphs in Thrace. The Harmanli assemblage consists of six standing figurines, one sitting, one bended forward, and one anthropomorphic head.

*Type 1.* I attribute two fragments to this very common Neolithic type - a left and a right half of standing female figurines (Fig. 1: 6, 8). Their fragmentation mode allows establishing with a relative certainty how these artifacts have been formed: two separate vertical halves have been modeled around two clay cylinders upon which the oversized buttocks have been sculptured. In the first case, a rounded belly has been formed but in the other, this part of the body has been damaged. In both cases, only the torso from the waist down to the upper end of the thighs is intact. The roughly smoothed surface is decorated with incised patterns.

With certain caution, I attribute one more standing figurine to the same type, only the right half of which has been preserved, with smooth undecorated brown surface (Fig. 1: 7).

The forming and fragmentation modes respectively of these female clay figurines seem to give hints to their functioning in the early farmers' ritual sphere as far back as the early Neolithic onwards. It is a fact that of the most anthropomorphs of this type either only halves are being found, or they are broken at least at two pieces; they come from the general context of the cultural layer or from pits – as is the case with one of the figurines from Harmanli (Fig. 1: 8) – the backfill of which is no more different than the cultural layer itself. As John Chapman's analyses suppose, fragmentation have played a key role in the ritual system of the early farming societies (Chapman J., 2000).

*Type 2.* This type consists of a solidly formed lower half of a standing female figurine (Fig. 1: 2). It is flat, has a trapezoid form, narrowing down of the protruded angular hips. Its sex has been emphasized with an oversized stomach upon (sic) which the vulva has been marked by a short vertical incision. The figurine is completely covered with thin white-encrusted incisions in the form of meandering patterns filled with white-encrusted dots, probably rendering a sort of garment.

*Type 3.* A fragment of a flat torso with a short conical hand belongs to the group of the standing anthropomorphs (Fig. 1: 5). This figurine has not been decorated.

*Type 4.* This rather peculiar type is represented by a female clay figurine with upper part, which has been strongly bended forward but now is missing (Fig. 1: 1). The figurine has been formed of one piece of clay. The lower part is solid; the legs

have a rectangular cross-section and are bisected on the front by a vertical incision. The genital triangle has been marked with two oblique incisions. A late Neolithic anthropomorph with so lowly bended upper part was found at Tell Kapitan Dimitriev, also in Thrace (Báčvarov K., 1999, tabl. 5/8), although it belongs to another iconographic type. However, the figurine from Harmanli has a specific peculiarity. Its surface is covered by a pointillée pattern, which consists of dots in groups of four, closely resembling the rosette patterned coat of a leopard. Its yellowish-brown color (with gray blots) is rather different than the surface of the other anthropomorphic figurines from Harmanli; most probably, it was intentionally sought, and emphasizes the overall “feline” impression. It should be kept in mind that the leopard (*Panthera pardus*) have never inhabited the Neolithic Balkans but the early farmers had not been unfamiliar with it, as is evidenced by certain feline figures (e.g. from the early Neolithic site at Eleshnitsa in the Mesta valley, southwest Bulgaria: Nikolov V., 1986). The “investment” of the character represented by the Harmanli figurine with a leopard skin seems to suggest her functions and meaning since in the early farmers’ religio-mythological beliefs, great cats have been closely related to the character of the female divinity. The bended position of her body also contributes to the general expression of the feminine principals.

*Type 5.* The anthropomorph of this type belongs to the group of sitting figurines (Fig. 1: 4). Although only the right leg of the figurine is intact, it preserved enough telltale features to allow a comparative reconstruction using numerous parallels from Thrace with complete upper part, for instance from Tell Karanovo, Drama, Yasatepe-Plovdiv, Aşağıpınar, Lyubimets. These figurines have been formed of several parts: separately modeled legs, a cylindrical head and oval torso (see the reconstruction in Berger L., 2004, Figs. 5-6). In this case, the buttocks were formed separately and have probably been intended for sitting upon a stool, as distinguished from a figurine from Drama, which has been formed together with the stool (Fol A. et al., 1989, Taf. 35). By contrast with the well-smoothed or burnished surface of the figurines from the other sites, the surface of the Harmanli fragment is relatively rough but it is possible that this is due to the eroding effects of the alkaline soils. Besides its broad distributional area, this figurine type obviously showed a long stability since it had survived to the very end of the Thracian late Neolithic. The piece from Harmanli belongs to the Karanovo IV period, i.e. to the final of the Neolithic whereas the most figurines of the same type from other sites, including the nearby Lyubimets, predate it and belong to the Karanovo II-III to Karanovo III-IV periods.

*Type 6.* A head with obvious anthropomorphic and ornithomorphic features (Fig. 1: 3). It has a flat crown and a telltale hooked nose/beak. This head has most likely belonged to a standing figurine.

Although the significance of the Neolithic bird figures is far from satisfactorily explained, it seems to be related to the female divinity, too, for instance, in her aspect of mistress of Death, though probably not as her symbols, as is per Mellaart (1964, 64), but as her attributes. It is possible to assume, too, a relation to the

ancestors, as is per Nikolov, on the basis of examples from the very close – both culturally and territorially – late Neolithic site at Lyubimets (Nikolov V., 2002, 32; see also Băčvarov K., 2003, 152ff).

### **Zoomorphic figurines**

The excavations of the late Neolithic site at Harmanli yielded two types of zoomorphs: zoomorphic knobs and protomes.

*Type 1.* I refer to this type five zoomorphic knobs of clay vessels, in the form of bull's heads (Fig. 2: 1, 5, 7-9). The heads of three figurines have been formed of two slightly concave planes. Special attention should be given to a relatively well-preserved figurine representing quite realistic bull's head (Fig. 2: 5). It is flat, has triangular muzzle and the horns are curved upwards. Some part has been broken between the two horns, which had probably been related directly to the significance of the character represented. There are some traces of red paint on the dark-gray, eroded surface. The red color, which has been very rarely used in the Thracian late Neolithic, as well as certain parallels to figurines of bulls and bucrania allow me to consider the Harmanli finds in the context of the religio-mythological beliefs related to the bull as a personification of the fertilizing male principals.

*Type 2.* This type is represented by two protomes of conical clay lids. The first protome is almost intact and has been formed as a hollow feline head (Fig. 2: 4). The plastic ears have been vertically pierced. The head is covered by a spiral band of incisions. As is the case with the bull's head, some part between the feline's ears has been broken.

The other zoomorph of the same type is a fragment of similar protome; however, it bears some facial features – pointed muzzle and eyes represented as long and deep excisions, which emphasize the “feline” impression (Fig. 2: 3). Both figurines have dark-gray eroded surface.

The group of plastic representations includes a collection of six clay artifacts, all of which are damaged and only parts of them have been preserved (Fig. 3: 1-3, 5-7). They have rectangular shape, and rectangular or slightly oval cross-section. Other common feature is the incised ornamentation, which in one case is white-encrusted. The decoration covers the surface of five artifacts completely but one long base, which seems to suggest that they have probably been intended to lie on this plain side. All intact sides of the white-encrusted piece are decorated, which means that it was either completely covered by ornaments, or only the now missing short base has been left plain. Decoration consists of bows, spirals, straight lines and zigzags etc. but because of fragmentary nature of the finds, it is not possible to reconstruct the overall ornamental patterns. The functions of these artifacts have not been identical considering the different decorations and the parallels from other simultaneous sites in Thrace, for instance Nova Zagora – Hlebozavoda and Tell Karanovo. The interpretations of their purpose vary from decorative models, ideograms or ritual artifacts (Detev P., 1956, 66, 71f), to altars (Ilcheva V., 2002, 69), or stamps for textile/tattoos or hanging objects (Höglinger P., 1997, 280). Depending on the shape and size of the artifacts as well as on the decorated

surfaces, T. Kănčeva-Russeva classifies the collection from Hlebozavoda into three functional groups: ritual objects, amulets and ideograms (2000, 62).

Three more pieces belong to the plastic representations' group, unique as shapes but otherwise more or less common as types. These are a miniature clay bowl, a miniature clay tripod, and a greenstone amulet.

*Miniature clay bowl* (Fig. 2: 6). It has conical shape and a low pedestal base. Its light-brown surface is smoothed but the artifact as a whole has been roughly modeled. Its diameter is 2.8 cm and its height is 1.7 cm. Miniature clay vessels of the same type are relatively common finds at the Neolithic/Chalcolithic sites in Thrace, although their functions have not been satisfactorily explained, probably because of the absence of relevant contexts. One of the extremely rare cases where such context is available – the late Chalcolithic Tell Ovcharovo, in northeast Bulgaria – yielded a ritual scene, which most likely is the function of this artifacts type.

*Miniature clay tripod* (Fig. 3: 4). Although clay tripods are commonly found in the Thracian later prehistory, such miniaturized pieces are unique. With its width of barely 4 cm, it has a slightly concave, triangular dish 3 or 4 mm high, on three rounded conical legs with broken lower ends. Small plastic bulges are fitted between the legs. The grayish-brown surface of the tripod is deeply eroded. For the lack of meaningful reasons for a functional interpretation, the significance of this artifact should probably be considered in the broader context of the Neolithic clay altars (Nikolov V., 2004).

*Greenstone amulet* (Fig. 2: 2). It is 1.5 cm long and has the shape of a horseshoe, with thinning ends, one of which has been pierced. Both beams have a vertical groove each in their upper ends. Similar fine amulets are relatively rarely found, and sometimes represent frogs or have M/W-shape, which have been generally interpreted in relation to the “fertility cult”.

The majority of the artifacts from Harmanli find relatively close parallels in the Thracian Neolithic. Despite the lack of relevant archaeological contexts, which should refer to the functional interpretation of the Harmanli finds, certain hints are inherent in their nature itself. One of their common – almost always – features is their fragmentariness. They were found in the cultural layer at the village periphery as well as in pits, the backfill of which has been more or less the same as the cultural layer itself; it seems that they have already fulfilled their functions related to the early farmers' ritual activities, and after their fragmentation – so typical that it is most likely intentional, as is being recently acknowledged – they had been “desacralized” and become useless, or at least their “dumped” part could be considered as such. That this could be assumed as more or less certain, at least with the anthropomorphs, is evidenced by their special forming modes, which suggest their splitting in several parts. As regards the “feline” and bulls characters of the zoomorphs, it is probably more reasonable to put them in a broader territorial and cultural context, and to consider them on a comparative basis with other simultaneous sites. Although fragmentary – or even because of that – and scanty, the plastic representations' assemblage from Harmanli definitely expands the

knowledge of the late Neolithic anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines in Thrace and elucidates certain moments of their functional interpretation in the context of the early farmers' religio-mythological system.



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2. Late Neolithic site at Harmanli: 1, 3-5, 7-9 – zoomorphic figurines; 2 – greenstone amulet; 6 – miniature bowl.
3. Late Neolithic site at Harmanli: 1-3, 5-7 – clay artifacts; 4 – miniature tripod.

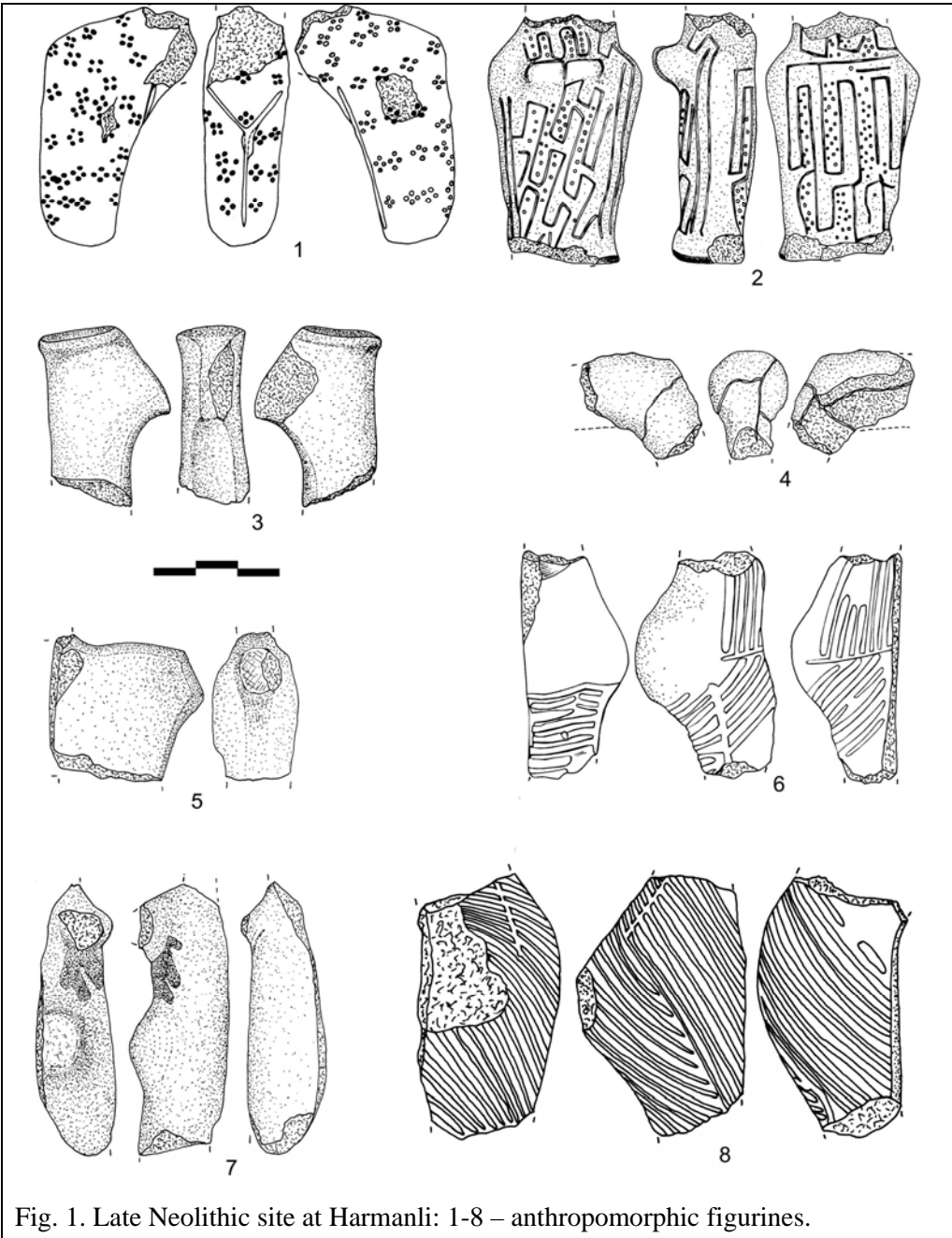


Fig. 1. Late Neolithic site at Harmanli: 1-8 – anthropomorphic figurines.

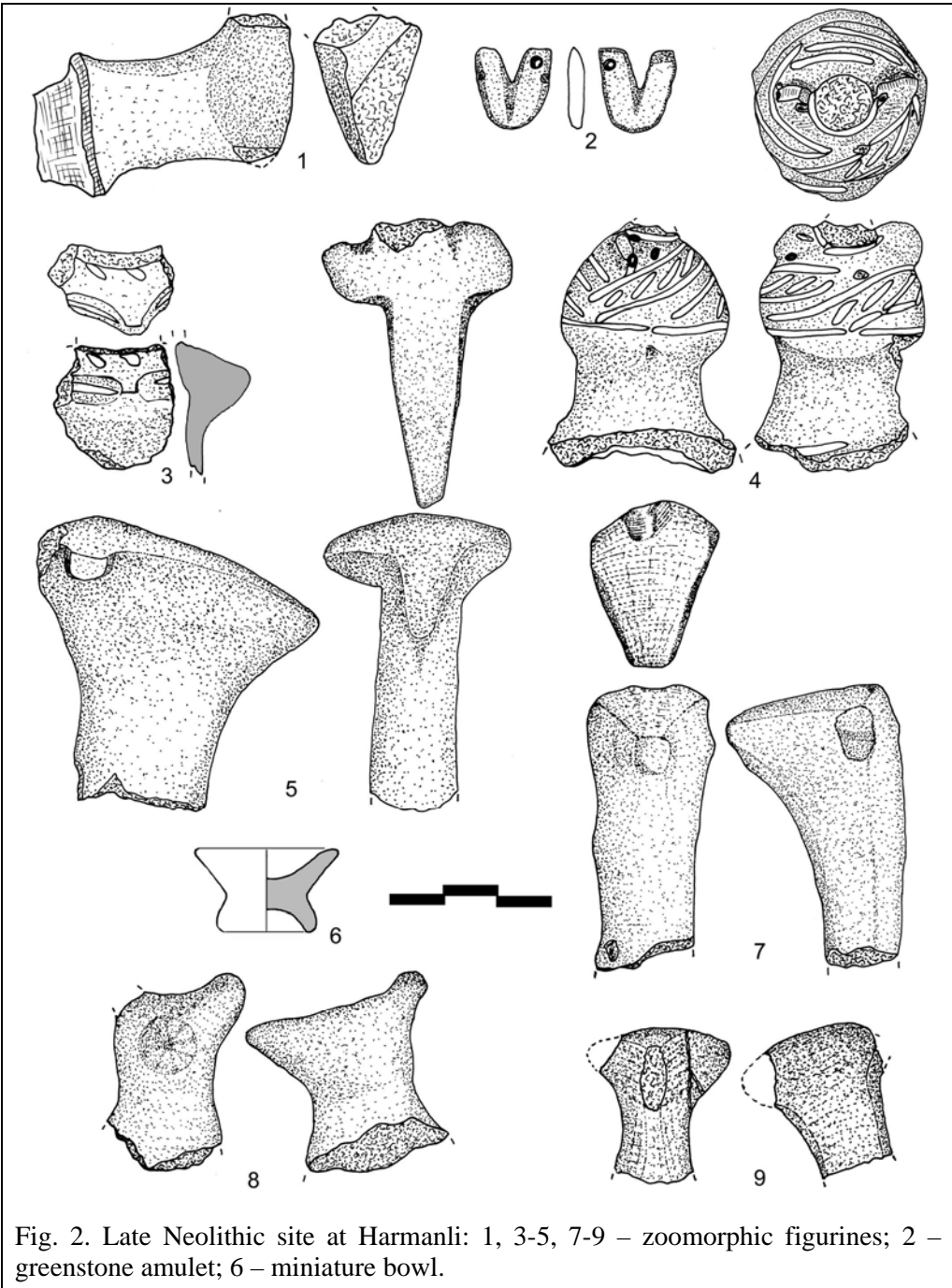


Fig. 2. Late Neolithic site at Harmanli: 1, 3-5, 7-9 – zoomorphic figurines; 2 – greenstone amulet; 6 – miniature bowl.

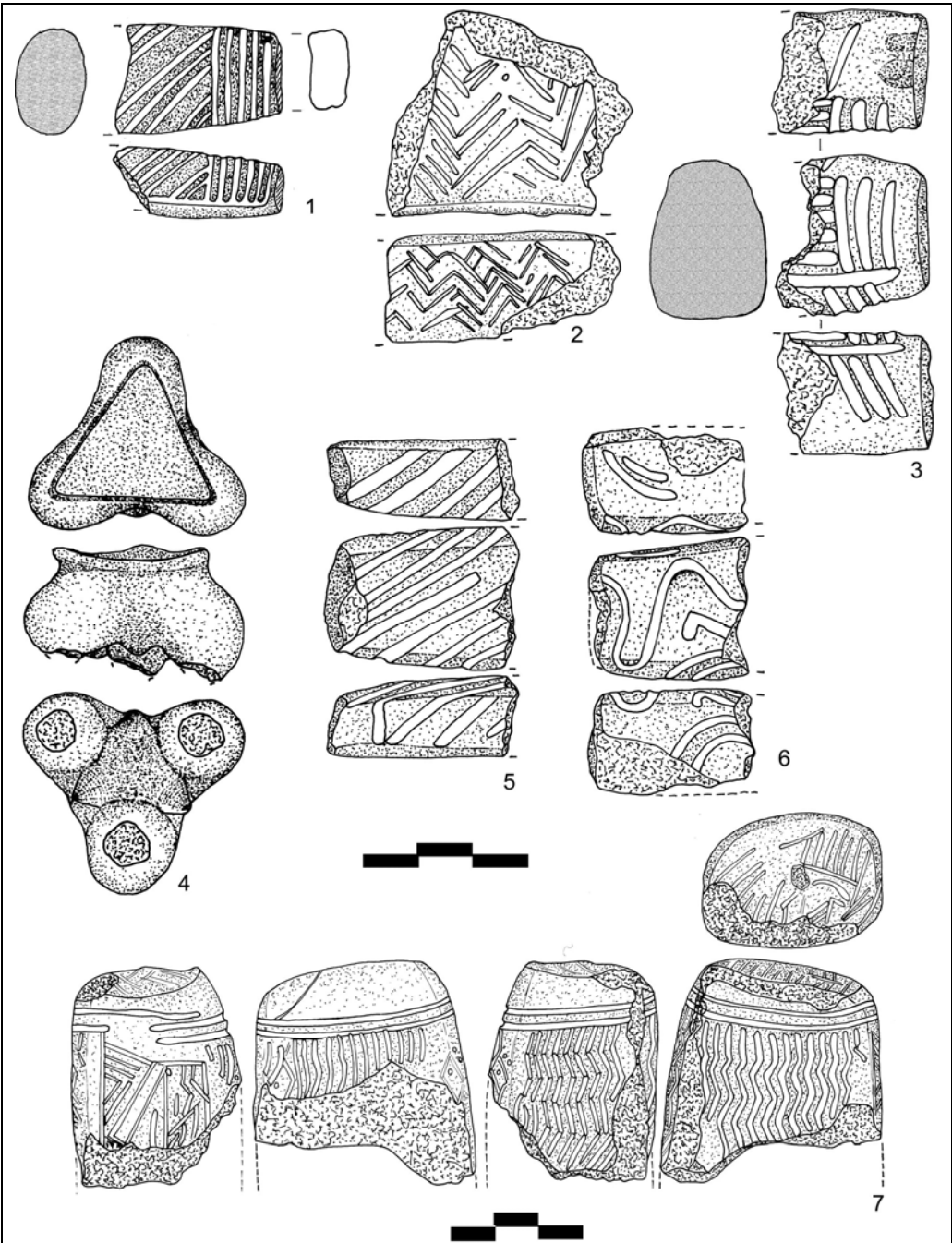


Fig. 3. Late Neolithic site at Harmanli: 1-3, 5-7 – clay artifacts; 4 – miniature tripod.



**MODELS OF ALTARS AND MINIATURE TABLES  
BELONGING TO THE CUCUTENI – ARIUȘD CULTURE,  
DISCOVERED AT  
PAULENI CIUC-CIOMORTAN „DAMBUL CETATII”,  
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*MODELE DE ALTARE ȘI MĂSUȚE MINIATURALE APARTINÂND  
CULTURII CUCUTENI-ARIUȘD DESCOPERITE LA PĂULENI CIUC-  
CIOMORTAN, JUDEȚUL HARGHITA, ROMÂNIA*

- rezumat -

Articolul prezintă cele mai importante descoperiri de plastică eneolitică din situl de la Păuleni Ciuc – Ciomortan, aparținând culturii Ariușd – Cucuteni – Tripolje.

The archaeological researches from the Păuleni settlement (known in the specialized scientific literature also under the name of Ciomortan or Șoimeni), found nearby Șoimeni (Csikcsomortán) village, Păuleni-Ciuc commune, Harghita county (Pl.I/1) continued between 2003-2005.

The researches were continued in order to investigate the inhabitation traces from the *early copper age* (*Cucuteni-Ariușd and Bodrogkeresztur*) and from its late age, (*Coțofeni culture*), found in the former campaigns. The archaeological diggings were made in the northern sector of the settlement, in S.I., c. A-D/8-14, on a surface of 96 mp.

About 8 km east of Miercurea-Ciuc, near the village of Șoimeni (Csikcsomortán in Hungarian), on the promontory called locally „hillfort” (*Várdomb* in Hungarian), lays the well-known fortified settlement site of Păuleni-Ciomortan. It is situated at the foot and to the west of the Ciuc Mountains, between the upper course of the River Olt and the Trotuș stream, the latter connecting the Ciuc Depression with Moldavia (Pl. II/1, 2). The Vlăhița is the natural border between the Ciuc Depression and central Transylvania.

On plane surface, the settlement has an oval shape. The maximum length is of about 90 m (East-West) and the width (North-South) of about 60 m (Pl.I/2).

The site was discovered by Alexandru Ferenczi between the wars, and was included in the inventory of Dacian fortresses in Transylvania. The first archaeological excavations were carried out in 1954 by the Ciuc Szeckler Museum,

and then in 1956, 1960 and 1967 by the National Szeckler Museum, under the direction of Székely Zoltán. They showed that it had actually been occupied several times before the Dacian period. The earliest layer was assigned to the *Ariuşd-Cucuteni* culture. After that, according to Székely, the site was occupied by people of *Coşofeni* culture, and in the Middle Bronze Age by bearers of the *Ciomortan* and *Wietenberg* cultures. However, Székely failed to establish whether the *Ciomortan* and *Wietenberg* material belonged to two successive habitations or to a single layer that combined two different cultural components. The fortifications of the site (ramparts and ditches) were attributed to the Bronze Age.

The first excavations were restricted to narrow trenches, which were unable to recover houses or other structures. In fact these excavations were confined to establishing the main occupation phases of the site. Their most important finding was the discovery of a new Bronze Age cultural group, soon to be included in the archaeological literature under the name “*Ciomortan culture*” (the term deriving from one of the Hungarian names of the neighbouring village – Csomortán).

The settlement came again into the attention of the researchers when it started to be poached by relic hunters. Through a happy event part of this archaeological material came into the property of the Museum of the Eastern Carpathians, through donations and acquisitions. Because during the first investigations of Zoltan Szekely, the chronological comparison between the *Ciomortan* and *Wietenberg Cultures*, of the middle period of the Bronze Age, were not stratigraphically surprised, and the genealogy of the *Ciomortan group* was left out as well, the re-opening of the archaeological site from Păuleni Ciuc – Cimortan was decided, marking larger research surfaces.

In 1999-2005 the Museum of Eastern Carpathians, Sfântu Gheorghe (Valerii Kavruk – coordinator, Dan Buzea), in collaboration with the National History Museum of Transylvania, Cluj-Napoca (Mihai Rotea), the Romanian Institute of Thracology, Bucureşti (Székely Zsolt), “Eftimie Murgu” University from Reşiţa (Gheorghe Lazarovici) and the Piatra-Neamţ Museum of History (Gheorghe Dumitroaia), and with the support of the Ministry of Culture and Cults, resumed work at the site. At the 2000-2001 archaeological campaigns took part students from the “Lucian Blaga” University from Sibiu, under the coordination of Sabin Adrian Luca and assistant Cosmin Suciu. On these occasions, the aim was not simply to uncover the succession of occupation phases but to look at larger areas; as a result, the new work revealed several houses and other structures, unlike the earlier work. Although the new excavations confirmed most of Székely’s conclusions, they brought to light much new important information.

Thus, contrary to the earlier belief that the earliest occupation belonged to a “rather late” period of the *Ariuşd-Cucuteni* culture, the new diggings showed that it actually dates from its early phase (A<sub>1-2</sub>).

After the *Ariuşd-Cucuteni* and *Coşofeni* inhabitations, the settlement was occupied twice: first, at the very beginning of the period, by bearers of *Ciomortan culture*, and soon after by people of *Wietenberg culture*. Furthermore, it was shown that the so-called *Ciomortan culture* was really a local variant of the *Costişa* culture



that is found mainly on the other side of the Carpathians in western Moldavia (Székely 1959, 231-245; 1970, 71; Zs. Székely 1998, 12; Zaharia 1995, 151-152; Janovits 1999, 121-150; Cavruc 1999, 93-102; 2000, 99; 2000a, 173-176; 2001, 55-75; 2002, 89-95; 2003, 129; 2003a, 43; 2003b, 43; 2003c, 28-29; 2005, 81-123; Cavruc & colab. 2000, 103-104; 2001, 245-247; 2002, 306-309; 2003, 314-316; Cavruc, Dumitroaia 2000, 131-154; Cavruc, Rotea 2000, 155-172; Cavruc, Buzea, 2002, 41-88; Comşa 2000, 173-176; Buzea 2004, 111-123).

*Cucuteni-Ariuşd* Stratigraphy. Eneolithic Păuleni I level, based mainly on the researches from 2004 (Pl.III/2) (which contain many complexes studied or still in work) might be related to the older stage from Ariuşd or other sites, and belongs to *Cucuteni A<sub>1</sub>* or *Protocucuteni*. Most data, images and published information belong to *Păuleni I*. It is followed by two-three large complexes from the stage *Cucuteni A<sub>2</sub>*, named Păuleni II, which contain a much-developed architecture. The third stage contains also two-three complexes; two of them superpose the ones belonging to Păuleni II. The architecture and the pottery from Păuleni III horizon reflect a retardation process. After this, there are sporadic traces belonging to the *Bodrogresztúr-Scheibhenckel horizon* (Lazarovici, Buzea, 2004, 57-59).

#### **Eneolithic complexes:**

##### ***Eneolithic Păuleni III level***

**House 16.** Under the defence wall of the settlement dating from the Bronze Age, in c. C-D/11-13, there have been discovered the traces of a house. It appeared as an agglomeration of an approximately rectangular shape (4,5 x 4 m), of rocks, fragments of burned daub, fragments of carbonised wood and fragments of *Cucuteni-Ariuşd* pottery. In the middle of the complex there was a hearth, highly damaged. The hearth was disposed on a stone pavement and it had round shape (1,6 m). In its eastern side two poles perforated it.

The hearth was built in the same way as the one from House 4, in a hole made in the Eneolithic level, represented here by the ruins of House 5, rooms A and B. A small piece of the superior part of the hearth has been preserved, as fine daub. But the pavement was firm solid, 0,2-0,3 m thick, composed of plate stones, probably taken out of the local rock. The hearth was probably slightly suspended because after the destruction, the stones, which were part of the pavement, have been found inclined or vertically disposed, and part of the floor daub has been found facing downwards. North of the hearth a small ritual altar has been discovered.

##### ***Eneolithic Păuleni II level***

**House 5.** It had rectangular shape, with the dimensions of 12 x 4 m, covering a surface of over 48 mp, directed to northwest – southeast. Room A was disposed in the natural slope of the hill, where it was suspended, and in the area of room B the floor was disposed directly on the soil, because here the land is relatively flat (Lazarovici & colab. 2000, 104-108) (Pl.III/1, 3, 4; Pl. IV).

The division was necessary also because the difference of level, determined by the slope of the land. As a matter of fact, the collapsed floor from room A, at the edge with room B, was less pronounced than in the northern end.

The upper surface of the floor is flat, but the majority of the recovered daub pieces have on their lower surface imprints of thick beams, with rectangular and semi-circular sections. In the area of the north – eastern corner, where the floor was the highest, its ruins are more pronounced. The layer of daub broke, turned upside down and mixed up with the pottery fragments and the remains of the walls, out of which some adobe fragments have been preserved. Sometimes, judging after the cracks in the suspended floor, one can observe the direction and the width of the suspension beams of the wooden structure. The uneven areas, recorded in the southern half of the house, don't rise above 10 cm, meanwhile those in the north and east are more pronounced.

The daub fragments examined until now do not contain visible imprints of organic substances, but they contain small fragments of gravel coming from the local rock.

When raising the walls of House 5, clay in mixture with sand and gravel has been used; meanwhile the structure of the suspended floor has a more stony composition.

Along the wall one can notice stone agglomerations, disposed in different positions (some are lower, some are higher), placed towards the exterior, more precisely between the post and the traces of the fallen wall. The quantity of adobe shows that we deal with a plaster that does not rise above 20-30 cm, above the floor level. The width of the fallen exterior wall, which had a structure of poles and wattle, was of about 20-30 cm. It seems that a threshold of gravel and clay, of greenish colour and of about 20-25 cm wide, resembling the one from room B, had been disposed towards the eastern end of the beams.

After taking down the ruins of the floor, the areas of House 5, room B and House 5A could be defined very well. At the same time the postholes, which were part of the roof and wall structures of the houses, have been defined. These will be investigated in the future campaign.

**House 5A.** It was discovered in c. A-B / 7-9 and A /10, researched in several archaeological campaigns, only a third of it being uncovered and investigated (Lazarovici & colab. 2002, 19-20, Pl. I-II). Probably it has a rectangular shape, with the dimensions of 6,5 x 3,5 m (part of the house is outside the investigated area). The house is facing House 5, the Northeastern wall being common.

The floor was partly suspended in the area of the north – eastern wall and was built on a structure of thick beams, the ends of which were leaning upon the wall. The burning of the beams also determined the burning of the floor and the wall that was supporting them. While the beams were burning the floor collapsed.

The pieces of the floor daub from the southern area are thoroughly burned. Their upper surface is flat, but most of them present on their lower surface imprints of thick beams with rectangular section. In the central area of the house the floor daub was not preserved, but here pottery fragments, which got inside through the open spaces, have been discovered. 0,8 m long, 0,2-0,3 m wide and 0,15-0,2 m thick rectangular beams were used in the construction the floor. The beams were placed parallel to each other, perpendicularly on the long sidewalls of the house.

They were covered with a mixture of clay, gravel and vegetal remains, putting together the floor, which was later thoroughly evened. The beams were placed on the soil only after the terrain was levelled.

We don't exclude the possibility that this house might be just another room of House 5.

**House 21.** It was discovered in c. A-B/11-14 and it was affected in the upper part by the disposal of the floor of House 5 (Pl.III/5). The house has rectangular shape, its corners being slightly rounded off; its dimensions are 3,8-4 x 2,5-3 m and it is facing north-west / south-east.

*The floor* is made of local settled gravel, presenting the traces of a remaking (Pl.III/6,7).

*The walls* have been dug in the local stony earth, and have been covered with two or three layers of daub. The wall was built with organic remains and straws, which burned down, leaving a whitish pigment. In the area facing the surface of the earth the daubs are thicker. From place to place the southern wall was cut by the mole holes. The southern wall is well preserved, its height being somewhere between 25-38 cm. The Southeastern corner was destroyed, but just beside it, one of the thick daubs, probably a result of the latter remaking, has been preserved.

The eastern area is weakly preserved. After the remaking, the angle between the floor and the wall became round. The pit house was perforated by mole holes and by bigger animals, which disturbed the adobe.

In the area of the pit from the Northeastern corner the floor was strongly settled. Fragments of the walls, with imprints of very short wattle, similar to those from the edge of the house, have fallen into the pit.

*The roof* was built with organic material because traces of burning have been found under the ruins.

In the Northeastern area of the house a supply pit was discovered dug in the local rock. The pit has a circular opening with the diameter of 0,8 m and the depth of 0,6-0,8 m from the level of the floor. In the opening of the pit fragmentary preserved pottery and a whole pot, a tureen, have been found. In the pit there was a supply pot (Pl.III/8).

As it concerns the houses of this level, which corresponds to the *Cucuteni-Ariușd A<sub>2</sub>* faze, it can be observed that the building of House 5 took place shortly after House 21 was set on fire.

#### ***Eneolithic Păuleni I level***

**Complex 17.** (Pl. V/1) It was discovered in c. C-D / 11-13, covering a surface of 5 x 2,5-3 m in the eastern area of House 5. The content of the complex is composed by loosed earth with lots of ashes, in which archaeological material belonging to the Cucuteni-Ariușd Culture was found. The black, glazed pottery, belonging to the early faze of the culture, is characteristic for this complex. Beside these, a large quantity of animal bone remains, roebuck horns, carbonised wood and copper objects were found.

Sadly the complex was only investigated on a small surface, a large area of it being under House 5 and under the rampart, in the area still not researched. In this

faze of the research we have no data regarding its shape. After the 2004 campaign we observed that House 5 is superposed on this level, and the archaeological material discovered in the two complexes is different from a stylistic point of view. In its perimeter several hearts were found, disposed directly on the floor.

### **The material culture**

The inventory of the houses is represented by the completely or fragmentary preserved ceramics pots, manufactured of all types of ceramics (fine ceramics, representing 14 % – fine sand; semi fine ceramics, representing 50 % – sand, finely pounded ceramics fragments; rough ceramics, representing 36 % – sand, pebble, pounded ceramics fragments), objects made of burned clay, copper, stone, bone or horns.

The repertory of ceramics manufactured of fine paste consists of small, medium and large pots, with a very thin body, which sounds when it is tapped. Cups, pots with spherical bodies, ladles, bowls and tureens are part of this category of ceramics.

The category of ceramics for common use consists of a large range of vessels, especially large supply pots, support-pots, fruit dishes, pots in the shape of a truncated cone and double truncated cone, bowls, tureens, lids etc. The large vessels have handles of different shapes and applied buttons.

The decorative style is associated with the ceramics shapes and categories. In a restricted proportion we can find incised, grooved, alveolated, applied, slips ornaments and then those that are painted. The common ceramics is smoothed or well smoothed, generally burned oxidantly, the dominant colours being brown, brick-red, yellowish and reddish, but it is rarely ornamented. The painting is applied on a black, red or reddish background, with a brush, using white, brown, black or red colours.

The anthropomorphous plastic art represents an essential chapter in the *Cucuteni-Ariuşd Culture* (Monah 1997). At Păuleni Ciuc there have been discovered approximately 80 pieces (whole or fragmentary), belonging to some feminine statuettes and figurines. Most of them are manufactured of clay, in combination with pounded ceramics fragments, well smoothed and burned oxidantly.

The statuettes are generally ornamented with incised lines in the areas that mark the limits of the body parts (legs, buttocks, the sex, delimit the body from the legs), or rarely on the entire surface of the piece, forming geometrical motives (triangles, rhombus, etc.). Sometimes the breasts, the navel, the knee and the ankle are represented by small conical prominences, applied to the surface or pinched out of the paste of the piece. The statuettes have been very well smoothed, sometimes even polished, and on 2-3 fragments traces of painting may be seen.

Of an exceptional artistic value are the two feminine statuettes of large dimensions, of over 25 cm, discovered in House 5, one on the floor (Plate V/2) and the second one underneath the floor, fallen between its cracks (Plate V/1). These express the feminine sensitivity and refinement through the suppleness of the body, the ornamented position, the bending of the arms towards the back, the shape of the

legs, the emphasized sexual characteristics and the quality of the polished surfaces. Such pieces are extremely rare not only in the Transylvanian area of the *Cucuteni-Ariuşd Culture*, but even in the entire area of the culture.

In the *Cucuteni-Tripoliĵe Eneolithic*, where thousands of feminine statuettes are known, the differences between the state of obesity and that of pregnancy are very well outlined, though the majority of the plastic art represents the woman in the completeness of her physical beauty (Chirica, 1999, 110).

Different miniature objects were made out of burned clay (cups, discs, cones, reels), but also larger pieces (spindle whorls, quadrilateral cups, roundels, reels, pintaderas), a special category being represented by fragments of *miniature altars* or *altar tables*.

Out of these altar-tables (votive altars) one has been preserved almost entirely, and it was made of clay in combination with fine sand. The piece was moulded in two pieces: the table with four legs, united to each other, and the goblet of conical shape, its interior being empty. The altar was discovered nearby a hearth, probably being used in some magical-religious practices. Through its artistic aspect this piece is rare in the *Cucuteni-Ariuşd Culture*.

We also signal the fact that such pieces appear in the early Neolithic, through the discoveries from Gura Baciului. Votive miniature altars were used for: day-by-day illumination, as J. Nandriş suggested; for cultic illumination; in burning the animal fat; burning the offerings; for keeping the fire (Lazarovici, Maxim, 1995, 148; fig. 29/1-4).

Typologically the altars can be classified in three large groups: 1 – altars with three legs; 2 – altars with four legs; 3 – altars with no legs. In its turn each group is sub-divided in other sub-groups. The altars know a true explosion of variants under the influence of the *Vinĉa Culture* and of the *Starĉevo-Criş Culture's IIIB/IVA* stage, characterized by polychrome painting. These pieces are a good example of unity and diversity, of cultural-spiritual unity on large distances (Maxim 1999, 62; Anexes 9-14).

The bearers of the *Precucuteni Culture* inherited or took over this practice of altar models and miniature tables, decorated them with their own motifs, in a self specific manner, thus making them almost unrecognizable. Some pieces belonging to the *Precucuteni III* phase may resemble, in some measure, the altars belonging to the *Gumelniţa Culture* (Marinescu-Bîlcu 1974, 106, Fig. 91/1-7).

The discovery of some sanctuaries in the settlements of the *Cucuteni Culture*, or of some miniature clay-models of a high artistic value, gave the possibility of partially reconstructing the spiritual life of this culture and of the place these magical-religious rituals took place in (Magda-Mantu 1998, 58).

In the investigated surfaces there have been discovered a clay votive altar and other 8 fragments belonging to *miniature tables*, of different dimensions (tables and legs): 2 table legs, broken at their base, but with a fragment of the table preserved at their top; 5 fragments of legs, separately preserved; 1 fragment from a table.

The legs were disposed in the corners of the table; they have conical shape, with an approximate dimension of 10-20 cm. On one of the legs, on its exterior surface, traces of painting may be seen, and on the interior of the table, vertical finger tracings are visible.

The small tables had quadrilateral shape, with the sides slightly arched, or sometimes arched inwardly, with the margins raised. The 2 fragments of miniature tables discovered at Păuleni have the corners slightly rounded. The discovered miniature tables were moulded of clay in combination with pounded ceramics fragments.

In the *Cucuteni Culture* this type of pieces was generally interpreted as altars; they differ as shape, dividing into three groups: triangular, with three legs; quadrilateral, with four legs; circular, with three or four legs. In their turn, these three groups have been subdivided, according to the functional criteria, and according to the ritual practice, in other subgroups: with plane body, like a small table for solid offerings; deepened, like a vessel, for liquid offerings; massive, with a central container (Nițu 1972, 51).

The altar-tables and the plates were used for representing, in miniature, sacred scenes (Gimbutas 1989, 116).

Though the investigation of the Eneolithic complexes from Păuleni Ciuc – Ciomortan is still going on, we wanted to add the discovery of these models of *altars* and *miniature altar tables* to the scientific circuit, because of their importance in knowing the magical-religious practices of the bearers of the *Cucuteni-Ariuşd Culture*, especially in the intra- Carpathic area.

### **Models of miniature tables discovered in the houses**

#### **House 5:**

*Leg (Miniature table)* (Plate VII/4; Plate X/3), moulded of clay in combination with pounded ceramics fragments. The middle part of the leg is the only preserved fragment of the piece. It has circular section, with the surface well smoothed. The burning was oxydant. Preserved H: 62 mm; GR: 47 mm; Ad: -2,48 m; Inv. No: 11290.

*Leg (Miniature Table)* (Plate VII/2; Plate X/2), moulded in clay in combination with pounded ceramics fragments. The leg fragment is the only preserved fragment of the piece. It has the shape of a truncated cone, with plane base, and slightly oval section in the upper part. It is well smoothed and painted on the brick-red – yellowish substance with brown lines, which form geometrical angles disposed with their vertex downwards (the painted lines have a width of 5-6 mm). On the inside there can be seen traces of human prints, vertically disposed on the surface of the leg. The burning was oxydant. Preserved H: 98 mm; LA: 42 mm; GR at the base: 30 mm; Ad: -2,9 m; Inv. No: 11499.

*Leg (Miniature table)* (Plate VII/1; Plate X/1), moulded in clay in combination with pounded ceramics fragments. The leg is the only preserved fragment of the piece. The altar was moulded of several clay pieces (the legs separately, the table), pasted together afterwards. The leg has a circular section in the lower part, with plate base, and a triangular shape with rounded corners in the upper part. It is

smoothened; oxidant burning. Preserved H: 101 mm; GR: 45 mm; Ad. -2,6 m; Inv. No: 11680.

*Leg (Miniature table)* (Plate VII/5; Plate X/5), moulded in clay in combination with pounded ceramics fragments. The leg and a small part of the table are the only preserved fragment of the piece. The piece was moulded of several clay pieces (the legs separately, the table), pasted together afterwards. The leg was positioned in the corner of the table, the exterior sides are straight and the inside is slightly rounded. The lower part of the leg has a circular section, with a plane base. The upper part has a triangular section, with a slightly arched side. It is smoothened; oxidant burning. Preserved H: 187 mm; GR: 40 mm; Ad.: -2,45 m; Inv. No: 7037.

*Miniature table* (fragment) (Plate VI/3; Plate IX/2; Plate XI/3), moulded in clay in combination with pounded ceramics fragments. The table fragment and the upper part of a leg are the only preserved fragments of the piece. The table has a rectangular shape, with arched sides, its surface is slightly concave and it has on its side a step (formerly broken). The leg is applied in the corner of the table, it has straight exterior sides, and the interior side is slightly rounded. It is smoothened; oxidant burning. Preserved H: 90 mm; GR table: 14 mm; GR leg: 40 mm; preserved L: 140 mm; preserved LA: 115 mm; Ad. -2,25 m; Inv. No. 5009.

#### **House 16:**

*Altar – table (votive miniature altar)* (Plate VIII/1; Plate IX/1), moulded in clay in combination with fine sand, in two pieces (table and goblet). The table has 4 small legs which are united with each other through small, slightly asymmetrical triangles. The legs are slightly widened. The table of the panelling is slightly in relief. The goblet has the shape of a truncated cone, with the rounded and slightly widened edges. At the middle the piece has a perforation as big as the base of the goblet. The surfaces are well smoothened (they show traces of painting ?); oxidant burning; it has brick – red – yellowish colour. H: 80 mm; Dg: 105 mm; D perforation: 48 mm; GR side: 5 mm; Inv. No: 8768.

#### **Miniature tables discovered outside the houses**

*Leg (Miniature table)* (Plate VII/3; Plate X/4), moulded in clay in combination with pounded ceramics fragments. The fragment of the leg is the only preserved fragment of the piece. The leg was probably disposed at the corner of the table; it has straight exterior sides. It has rectangular section, it was smoothened and the burning was oxidant. Preserved H: 78 mm; GR: 32 mm; Ad. -0,6-0,7 m; Inv. No. 5452.

*Miniature table* (fragment) (Plate VI/1; Plate XI/1), moulded in clay in combination with pounded ceramics fragments. The upper part of the leg is the only preserved fragment of the piece. The leg is positioned at the corner of the table, having a triangular section. The table probably had a rectangular shape, with the corners slightly rounded, and a straight surface. It is smoothened; oxidant burning. Preserved H: 49 mm; GR leg: 26 mm; GR table: 18 mm; preserved L: 64 mm; preserved LA: 47 mm; Ad. -0,6-0,7 m; Inv. No. 5008.

*Miniature table* (fragment) (Plate VI/2; Plate XI/2), moulded in clay in combination with pounded ceramics fragments. The part of the table is the only

preserved fragment of the piece. The table probably had a rectangular shape, the surface is straight and on the exterior side it has a prominence, perforated in the middle. Nearby the prominence the edge of the table is prolonged with a triangle with the vertex facing downwards. It is smoothened; oxidant burning. Preserved H: 40 mm; GR table: 16 mm; preserved L: 75 mm; preserved LA: 65 mm; Ad. -0,25-0,35 m; Inv. No.: 5007.

#### **General considerations regarding the *Cucuteni-Ariuşd Culture***

In the V-IV millenniums B.C. Eastern Europe, area of cultural convergences, knew an exquisite flourishing of the Eneolithic civilisation. The *Cucuteni – Ariuşd – Tripolie Culture* distinguished itself among the brilliant creations from the area. The name of *Cucuteni – Ariuşd – Tripolie Culture* was given after the discoveries made in the eponym stations from *Ariuşd* – Covasna county, nearby Sfântu Gheorghe; *Cucuteni* – Iaşi county, nearby Târgu Frumos, and *Tripolie* – from Ukraine, not far away from its capital, Kiev. There are over 1800 settlements recorded as belonging to the *Cucuteni Culture*, to which we can add other 500 between the Prut and Nistru rivers (Dumitrescu 1954; Marcu 1976, 73-95; Emódi 1980, 429-43; Monah, Cucuş 1985, 15; Cucuş 1998; Cavruc 1998; A. László 1988, 121-135; Magda-Mantu 1998a, 83-100; Dîmboviţa & colaboratori 1999; \*\*\* 1999; Popovici 2000; Marinescu-Bîlcu, Bolomey 2000; Petrescu-Dîmboviţa, Văleanu, 2004).

In the natural development of the *Cucuteni Culture* (considered by some to have gotten to a pre-urban state from the point of view of the settlements, to an extension and complexity of the diffusion of products, ideas, pottery forms and techniques in the domain of its manufacture, and in the one of the copper smelting), a series of external influences stepped in, which, combined with the internal ones, produced major mutations within the Eneolithic communities (Dumitroaia 2000, 19).

In some settlements from *Ariuşd*, in Southeastern Transylvania, simpler or more complex fortification systems have been elaborated, being composed of ditches (sometimes paved), stone or earth ramparts (sometimes with stone only in their middle), palisades and fences. These systems generally have well defined correspondents in the *Cucuteni A* faze settlements from Moldavia, regarding the way the settlements are fortified (A. László 1993, 49).

The settlements of the *Cucuteni-Ariuşd Culture* from Transylvania are situated on the high terraces found nearby the Olt and Black River (except Târgu Mureş, where the settlement was situated nearby the Mureş river), or on the safe hills, naturally protected from two or three directions (László 1911; Roska 1943). Where the land did not offer these natural protection elements, the settlements were fortified.

There are known the so-called “*pair settlements*” placed on both sides of the river, at an approximate distance of 1-2 km, as for example: Olteni “*Cetatea Fetii*” – Olteni “*În Dosul Cetăţii*”; Ariuşd “*Dealul Tyiszck*” – Bod “*Dealul Popilor*” and other such settlements. Most of the settlements are placed at altitudes between 500-



650 m, except the once from Păuleni Ciuc (882 m), and their surface covers no more than 1 hectare.

Nearby the settlements there are many mineral water springs, and in some cases even springs with slightly salted water (Olteni, Vâlcele, Ariuşd), which were surely used back then as well. The meadows, but as well the high terraces, offered very good conditions for practicing agriculture and breeding.

Many archaeologists have given their opinions, along the time, upon the genesis of the *Cucuteni Culture*, and thus, today there exists a more or less complete unanimous opinion, being given the fact that some chains of the constitution process haven't been completely made clear (Magda-Mantu 1998, 33; E. Comşa 1988, 115-119).

Thus, some authors consider that the cultural aspect of the communities which belong to the first sub phase (*Cucuteni A<sub>1</sub>* or *Protocucuteni*), constituted in the central area of western Moldavia, in the area of *Precucuteni III Culture*, from where it spread to the south – east of Transylvania and towards the east, is characterised by the pottery painted in two or even three colours, being painted before being burned, as well as by the persistency of the incised ornament of precucutenian tradition (\*\*\*) 2001, 165).

The beginning of the process of transformation of the *Precucuteni Culture* into *Cucuteni Culture*, surprised in the settlement from Poduri, Bacău County, may be placed into the *Late Precucuteni II* phase (white painting on red substance, before burning). The *Late Precucuteni III* level from the same settlement was followed by an intermediary strata, with three superposed habitation levels, one of them being considered as the marking point of the beginning of *Cucuteni Culture*. Due to the new ornamentation technique of the pottery, the Romanian archaeologists talk about a new culture, conventionally called *Cucuteni*, though it is the same population we are talking about. This transformation, which took place in such a short time (in approximately 50 years), is nowhere else such obvious as at Poduri (Magda-Mantu 1998, 33; Monah & colab. 2003, 36).

As it concerns the chronological placing of Păuleni I and II levels and *Ariuşd-Cucuteni A<sub>1</sub>* and *A<sub>2</sub>*, there are many recent statistical analyses upon these materials (Lazarovici & colab. 2000, 103-130; 2002, 19-40; Gheorghe Lazarovici, Cornelia Magda-Lazarovici, *Analize statistice pe ceramica cucuteniană de la Olteni, Păuleni și Ruginoasa*, Arheometrie XV, 2003, 14-15, Decembrie, Țaga; Gheorghe Lazarovici, 2002, *Prelucrări matematice cu privire la siturile cucuteniene de la Păuleni Harghita și Ruginoasa*. În: Simpozionul *Cercetări interdisciplinare în neoneoliticul din Moldova: Realizări și perspective, dedicat centenarului nașterii savantului Vladimir Dumitrescu*, Iași, 15 iunie 2002; Lazarovici, 2003, 217-231). As a matter of fact when Vl. Dumitrescu determined the *Cucuteni A<sub>1</sub>* faze he took into account such materials as those from Izvoare (R. Vulpe 1956, 53-93) and Frumușica from Moldavia (\*\*\*) 1960, 62, fig. 11/2-3; Dumitrescu 1963, 69-73; Dumitrescu 1968, 28-29; Dumitrescu 1979, 17-19), materials which appear in the Păuleni I and II levels, but also at Tg. Mureș, Olteni (Lazarovici, Maxim, Meșter, Radu 1997, 669-687), in the old and new diggings, and at Ariuşd (László 1924, 1-

24; XXX 1960, 61-65; Zaharia, Székely 1988, 101-115; E. Comşa 1988, 115-119), Leţ (Lazarovici 1998, 19), Ciucsângiorgiu (Lazarovici, Maxim, Crişan, Pal 1989-1993, 221-228; Maxim 1999, 112) and Bod (Costea 1995, 25) in Transylvania (Lazarovici 1996, 35-36; Lazarovici 2003a, 16-17).

Although it is not our intention to create regionalisms in the *Cucuteni* Culture (Lazarovici, Buzea 2004, 43-49), this fact has been underlined by Iuliu Paul (*Petreşti Culture* – Paul 1992) and others, and we cannot do otherwise but state that the earliest and most numerous *Cucuteni* A<sub>1</sub> materials are in Transylvania.

The two cultures (*Petreşti* and *Cucuteni*) developed under the sign of a partial synchronism, with a certain specific which consists in the fact that each of the *Petreşti Culture* phases preceded in time the phases of *Cucuteni Culture*, the *Cucuteni B phase* continuing its development long after the ending of the development process of the *Petreşti Culture B phase* (Luca & colab. 2004, 113).

Some archaeologists from the Republic of Moldavia exclude the active contact between the bearers of the *Precucuteni* and *Cucuteni* cultures with those of the *Petreşti* culture, admitting the spontaneous apparition of the polychrome pottery in the area of the local tribes as result of gaining experience in time in the technology of manufacturing and burning of the paste, and as well in its decoration (Bodareu 2004, 59).

The cucutenian communities from between the Nistru and Prut rivers had close relationships with the Balkan-Danubian tribes and with the north – Pontic ones. In the Ruseşti Noi I settlement there have been discovered fragments of a pot that has sand in its paste, as degreasing substance, and it is decorated with imported graphite, belonging to the *Gumelniţa Culture*, and in the cucutenian anthropomorphous plastic art the influences of the *Gumelniţa Culture* may be sensed (Sorokin 1994, 80).

Thanks to the interpenetration of the two large cultural areas from the space between the Oriental Carpathians and the Danube, and also to the advance of the *Cucuteni* A<sub>1</sub> culture towards the Northeastern part of Muntenia, and the extension of *Gumelniţa Culture*, A<sub>1</sub> phase in the south of Moldavia, the south of the Republic of Moldavia and Ukraine, a cultural aspect of synthesis was formed between the two contemporary cultures. This aspect, or the *Stoicani-Aldeni* cultural aspect, is structurally defined not only through the cultural elements characteristic to the two cultures, but also through the elements resulted after their final synthesis (Dragomir 1996, 12).

As it regards the starting point of the *Cucuteni* Culture originating from *Precucuteni III*, idea accepted by some of our colleagues (recently by Dan Monah) from Basarabia and Ukraine, we cannot ignore the fact that in Transylvania we lack *Precucuteni III* discoveries, but more important they are not present in the early *Ariuşd* settlements. These would plead for an *Ariuşd* group or for a genesis under the influence of the *Petreşti* Culture, *Foeni* group, for the *Ariuşd-Cucuteni* complex. As a matter of fact the discoveries of *Gumelniţa* type are late, at least from the comparative stratigraphy's point of view, as the C14 results confirm it. The genesis of the *Gumelniţa* Culture originating from *Boian* is an opinion which should be

revised, the polished black pottery, the white painting, that *Gumelnița A<sub>1</sub>*, mentioned and never demonstrated convincingly, should belong to the same process, maybe later, which gave birth to the Copper Age in Transylvania and in the rest of the territory. The Neolithic genesis of these civilizations (*Gumelnița, Sălcuța, Petrești, Cucuteni*) could allow the elimination of the term of Eneolithic, which thus has no real support. The syntheses that can be observed among the Neolithic civilisations and those newly come belong to a local, regional process of synthesis, which only has consequences here and there, as for example in Ukraine (Lazarovici, Buzea 2005 (under Publishing)).

#### **Abbreviations**

L = length; LA = Width; Ad. = depth; H = height; D = diameter; GR = thickness; m = metre; mp = square metre; mm = millimetre; Inv. No. = Inventory Number; c = small square; S.I = surface I.

*Translated by Andrea Chiricescu*

## Explanation of the plates

### **Plate I. Păuleni Ciuc-Ciomortan „Dâmbul Cetății”, Harghita County.**

1. Geographical position
2. Păuleni – Ciomortan Settelement. General Plan

Legend: a – fortification ditch; b – bog; c – forest; d – trenches excavated by Z. Szekely; e - trenches excavated in 1999 – 2002; f – inner line of the fortification wall; g – connecting wall; i – ridge of the defence wall; k – field road; l - contour lines; m - trenches excavated in 2003 – 2005

### **Plate II. Păuleni Ciuc-Ciomortan „Dâmbul Cetății”, Harghita County. Cucuteni-Ariușd Culture.**

1. General view upon the site (view from the south)
2. General view upon the site (view from the west)

### **Plansa III. Păuleni Ciuc-Ciomortan „Dâmbul Cetății”, jud. Harghita. Cultura Cucuteni-Ariușd.**

- 1 – House no. 5, 2003 campaign. View from the west
- 2 - The delimitation of the archaeological complexes in S. I, 2004 campaign.
- 3 - The floor of house no. 5. View from the east
- 4 - House no. 21 and House no. 5 - Impressions left in the ground by longitudinal beams.
- 5 - House no. 21, superior level. View from the north
- 6 - House no. 21, view from above
- 7 - House no. 21, general view
- 8 - House no. 21, supply pit. Detail

### **Plate IV. Păuleni Ciuc-Ciomortan „Dâmbul Cetății”, Harghita County. Cucuteni-Ariușd Culture. S. I, c. A-D/9-14.**

1. The plan of house nr. 5, rooms A and B

Legend: a – area researched in 1999  
b – rough cast of the floor  
c – pottery  
d – stone  
e – post-hole  
f – grinder  
g – rough cast of the wall  
h – bone / horn  
i – yellow-green rocky soil  
j – remains of burned wood  
k – reconstruction of the floor beams

**Plate V. Păuleni Ciuc-Ciomortan „Dâmbul Cetății”, Harghita County. House no. 5. Cucuteni-Ariuşd Culture. Statuettes of large dimensions made of burned clay.**

1 – Feminine statuette – fragmentary remains

2 – Feminine statuette with her arms in adoration

**Plate VI. Păuleni Ciuc-Ciomortan „Dâmbul Cetății”, Harghita County. Cucuteni-Ariuşd Culture. Burned clay.**

1-3 Miniature Tables

**Plate VII. Păuleni Ciuc-Ciomortan „Dâmbul Cetății”, Harghita County. Cucuteni-Ariuşd Culture. Burned clay.**

1-5 Miniature Tables (legs)

**Plate VIII. Păuleni Ciuc-Ciomortan „Dâmbul Cetății”, Harghita County. Cucuteni-Ariuşd Culture. House no. 16. Burned clay.**

1 – Altar

**Plate IX. Păuleni Ciuc-Ciomortan „Dâmbul Cetății”, Harghita County. Cucuteni-Ariuşd Culture. 1. House no. 16; 2. House no. 5. Burned clay.**

1 – Altar

2 – Miniature Table (reconstruction)

**Plate X. Păuleni Ciuc-Ciomortan „Dâmbul Cetății”, Harghita County. Cucuteni-Ariuşd Culture. Burned clay.**

1-5 Miniature Tables (legs)

**Plate XI. Păuleni Ciuc-Ciomortan „Dâmbul Cetății”, Harghita County. Cucuteni-Ariuşd Culture. Burned clay.**

1-3 Miniature Tables

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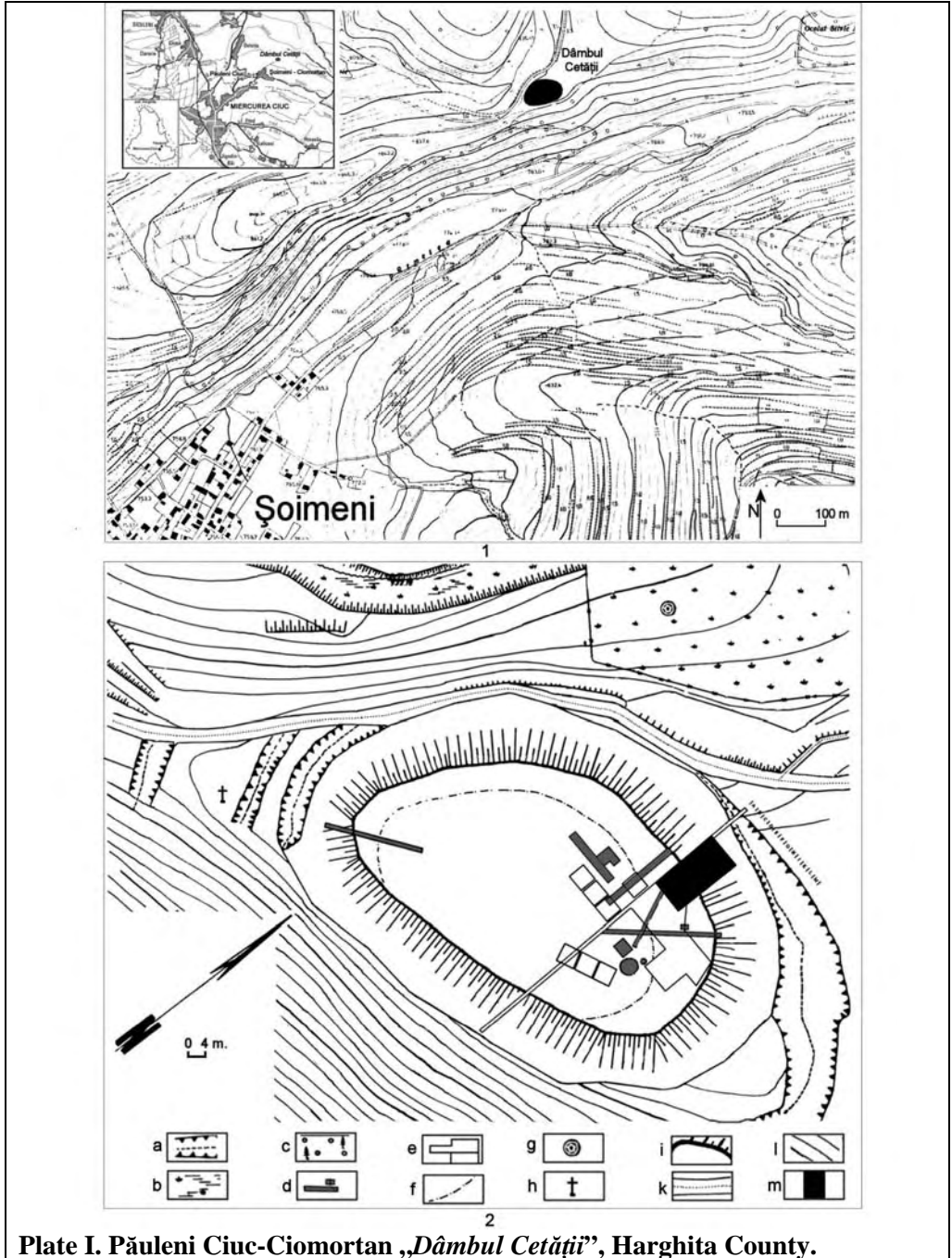
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**Plate II. Păuleni Ciuc-Ciomortan „Dâmbul Cetății”, Harghita County.  
*Cucuteni-Ariuşd Culture.***



Planșa III. Păuleni Ciuc-Ciomortan „Dâmbul Cetății”, jud. Harghita. Cultura Cucuteni-Ariuşd.

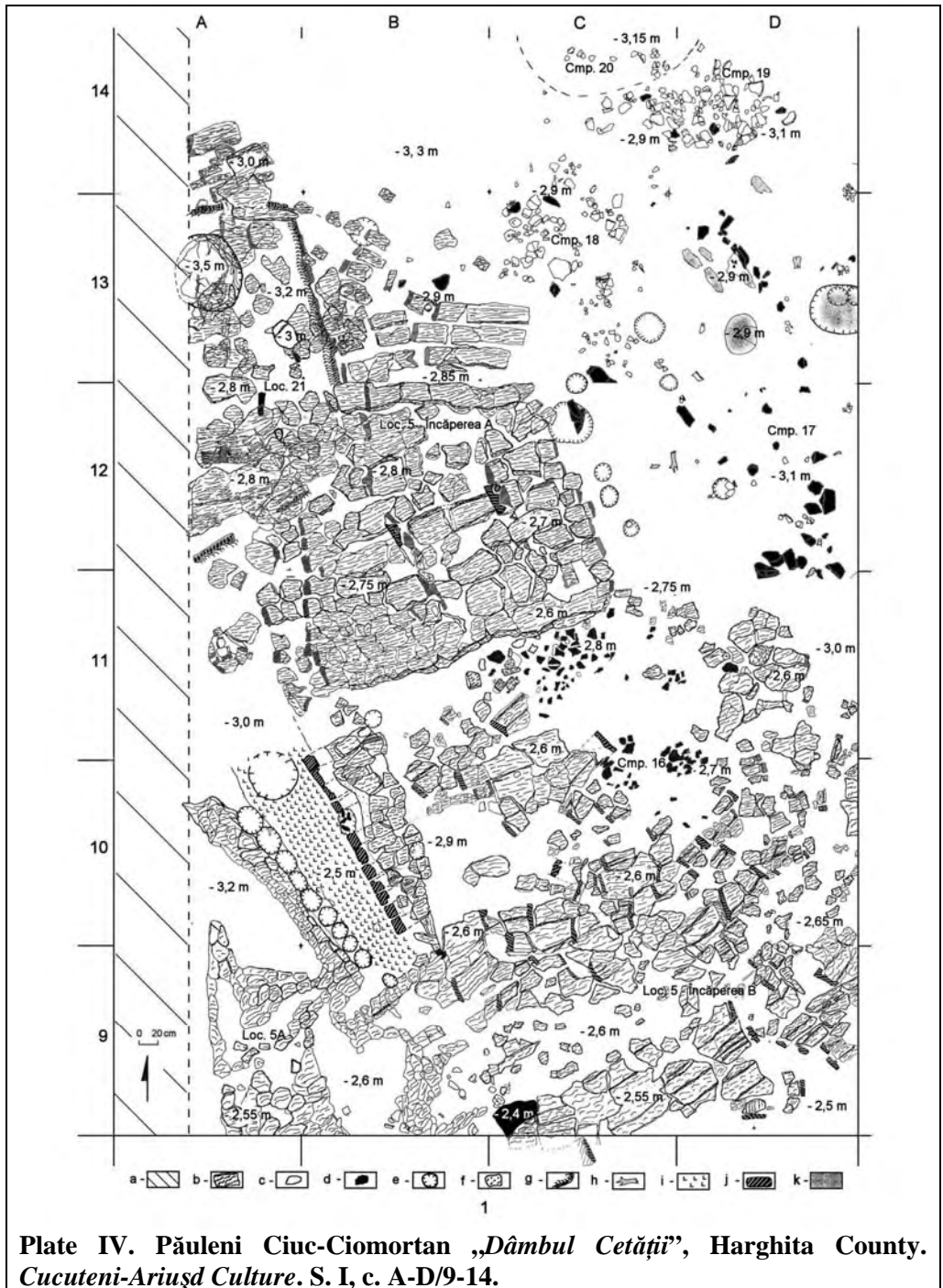




Plate V. Păuleni Ciuc-Ciomortan „Dâmbul Cetății”, Harghita County. House no. 5. Cucuteni-Ariuşd Culture. Statuettes of large dimensions made of burned clay.



Plate VI. Păuleni Ciuc-Ciomortan „Dâmbul Cetății”, Harghita County. Cucuteni-Ariușd Culture. Burned clay.

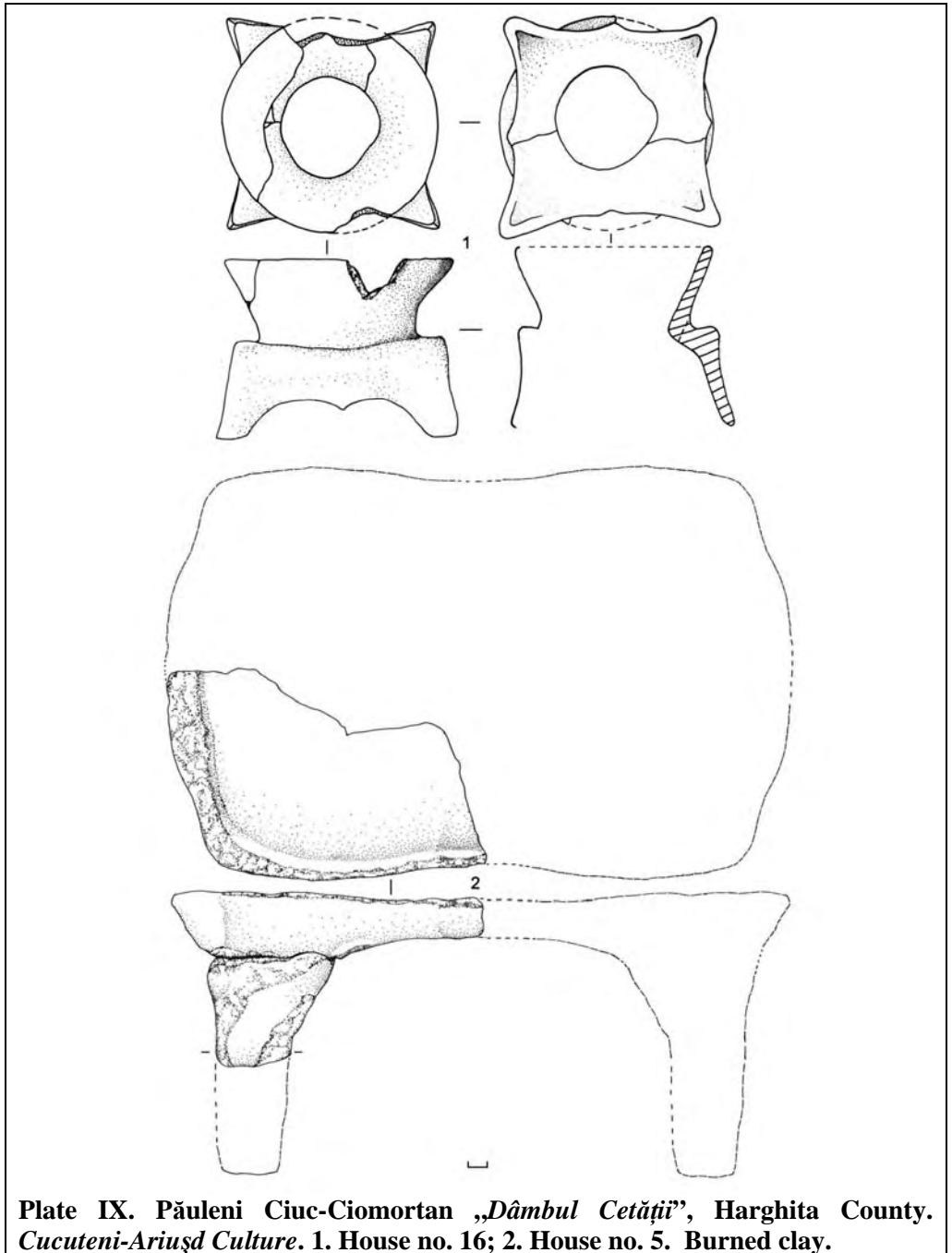




Plate VII. Păuleni Ciuc-Ciomortan „Dâmbul Cetății”, Harghita County. Cucuteni-Ariuşd Culture. Burned clay.



**Plate VIII. Păuleni Ciuc-Ciomortan „Dâmbul Cetății”, Harghita County. Cucuteni-Ariuşd Culture. House no. 16. Burned clay.**



**Plate IX. Păuleni Ciuc-Ciomortan „Dâmbul Cetății”, Harghita County. Cucuteni-Ariușd Culture. 1. House no. 16; 2. House no. 5. Burned clay.**

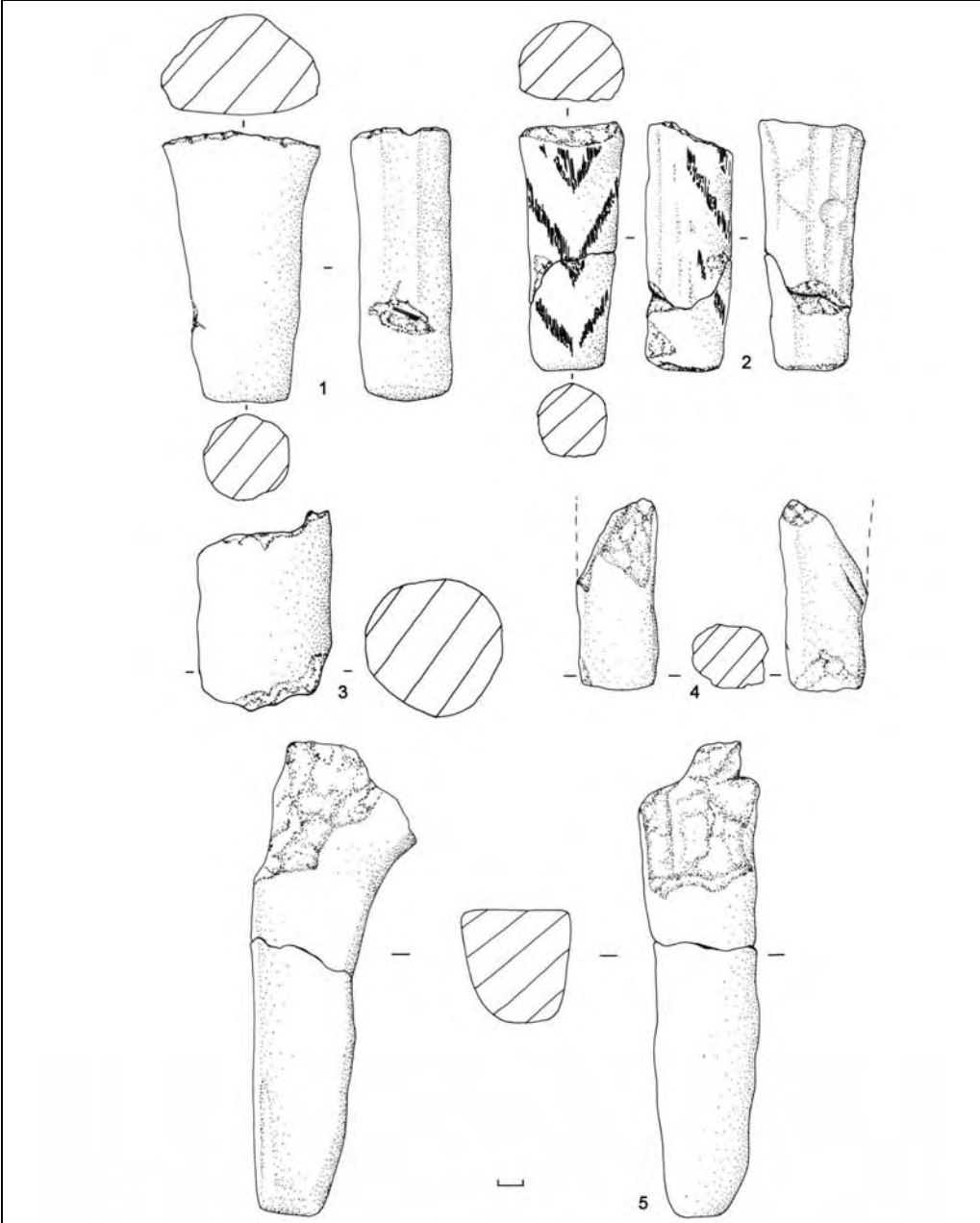


Plate X. Păuleni Ciuc-Ciomortan „Dâmbul Cetății”, Harghita County. Cucuteni-Ariuşd Culture. Burned clay.

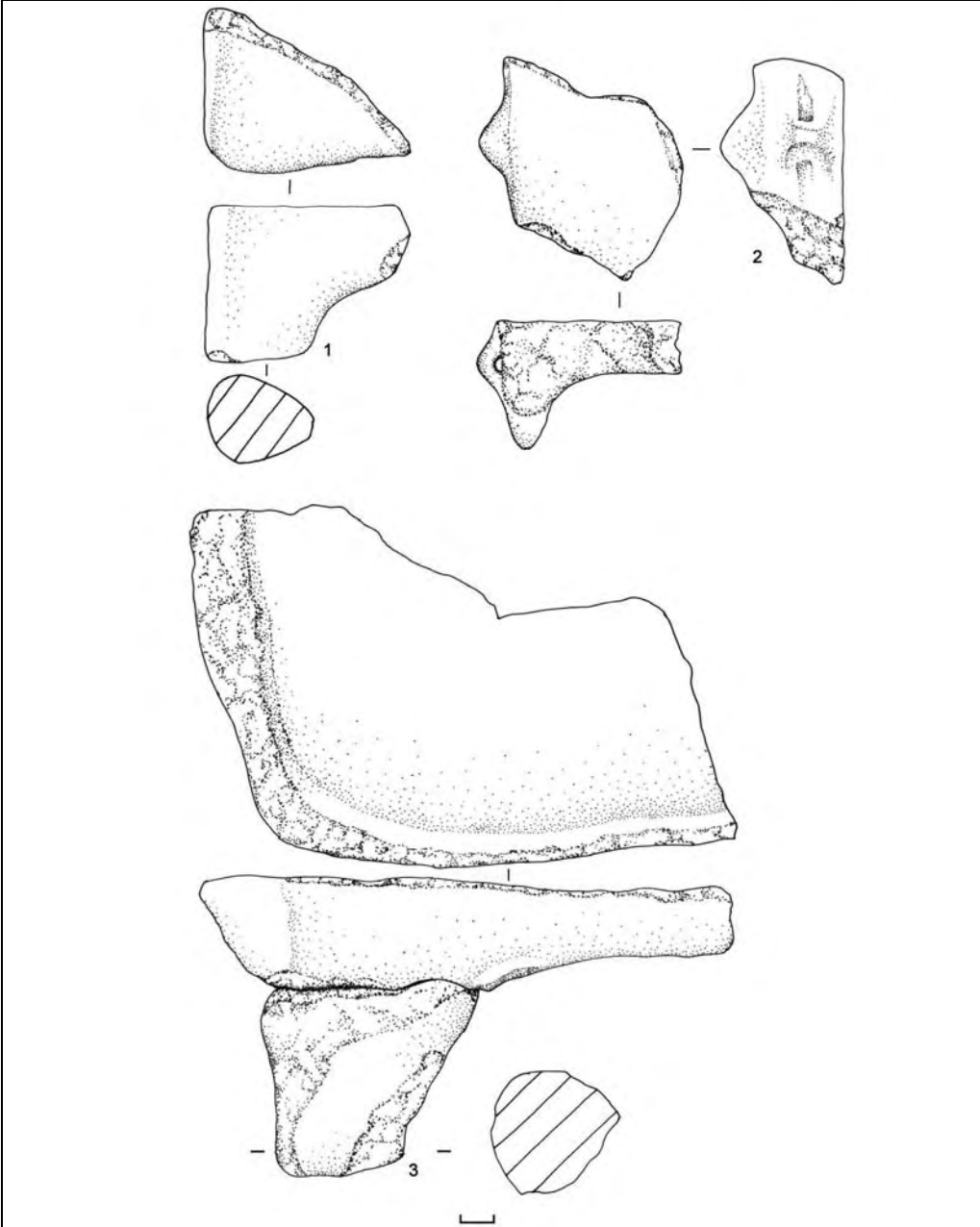


Plate XI. Păuleni Ciuc-Ciomortan „Dâmbul Cetății”, Harghita County. Cucuteni-Arșud Culture. Burned clay.



**EINIGE BEMERKUNGEN BEZÜGLICH DER GRABSTELE EINES  
AUGUSTALS AUS ULPIA TRAIANA SARMIZEGETUSA**

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*CÂTEVA OBSERVAȚII CU PRIVIRE LA STELA FUNERARĂ A UNUI  
AUGUSTAL DIN ULPIA TRAIANA SARMIZEGETUSA*

*-rezumat-*

*Stela funerară a augustalului L. Cassius Marcio de la Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, decedat la vârsta de 70 de ani și a fiicei sale, Cassia Cassiana, care a trăit 19 ani, ridicată evlaviosului soț și evlavioasei fiice (coniugi et filiae piissimis) de către Cassia Rufina, este decorată în partea inferioară cu doi struți, imagine care ar putea sugera mai curând prezentarea unor astfel de "păsări de peste mare" în amfiteatru de către augustal, în calitate de munerarius, decât o origine africană a acestuia. De altfel, Cassius este un getilicium de origine orientală, care provine de la denumirea scorțoșoarei în unele limbi semitice. În partea superioară a stelei, motivul celor doi grifoni care flanchează o rozetă turbionară simbolizează, pe de o parte, nădejdea renașterii într-o altă lume, sub protecție solară, pe de altă parte sugerează însăși rostul augustalilor în lumea romană, anume acela de "păzitori ai ordinii universale", garantată de patriotismul supușilor, organizat prin cultul imperial, al lui Augustus și al Romei. Monumentul se datează, după L. Țeposu-Marinescu, în prima jumătate a sec. II, iar după C. Ciongradi în perioada severiană.*

Es ist wohlbekannt daß man, in der Grabkunst der provinzialrömischer Gesellschaft, auf dem epigraphischen und bildlichen Ausdruck des Status der Vertreter der Eliten besteht; die Grabdenkmäler und, manchmal, die Grabinventare enthüllen aber auch die Gedanken der Menschen bezüglich der Bedingung des Leibes und der Seele nach dem Tode (Bărbulescu 1994, 167). Meistens, in der provinzialrömischer Kunst, der Sozialstatus ist durch bedeutungsvolle Szenen aus der täglichen Tätigkeit des Verstorbenen oder, ganz einfach, durch sein Apparaturbild angegeben, in gewisse Stellungen und mit verschiedenen Attribute (Tracht, Auszeichnungen, Instrumentar etc.), die mit dem Status von *matrona*, *virgo*, *iuvenis* oder *infans* verbunden sind, beziehungsweise, für die Männer, diejenige, die für ihre Magistratur, Rang oder Beschäftigung spezifisch sind. Seltener aber ist der Sozialstatus des Verstorbenen durch symbolische Darstellungen suggeriert, häufig

durch das "heraldische" Bild der für seinen Status spezifischen Attribute oder, manchmal, sogar durch mythologische Szenen, die mit dem symbolisch gebildeten Selbstbild verbunden sind.

Ein gutes Beispiel, auf dem man weniger bestanden hat, bildet die Grabstele des im Alter von 70 Jahren gestorbene Augustals L. Cassius Marcio aus Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa und seiner 19jährigen Tochter, Cassia Cassiana, die von Cassia Rufina für den frommen Gatte und die fromme Tochter (*coniugi et filiae piissimis*) errichtet wurde (Abb. 1) (IDR, III/2, Nr. 398; cf. Téglás 1893, 252, Nr. 5; Florescu 1926-1927, 85, Nr. 11, Abb. 11; Țeposu-Marinescu 1974-1975, 250sq., Abb. 2; Alicu et alii, 1979, 177sq., Nr. 523, Taf. CLXIII; Țeposu-Marinescu 1982, 110, S 33, Taf. II; Ciongradi 1999, 158sq., fig. 4; Sonoc 2003, 149). Das zur Zeit im Nationalmuseum für Geschichte Rumäniens aus Bukarest (Inv. Nr. 38 938) aufbewahrte Denkmal, dessen oberen Teil, indem der Giebel durch einem kleinen, mit einer Rosette verzierten und von zwei gegeneinanderstehenden, unter eine Pranke je ein Rad haltenden Greifen flankierten Medaillon durchgedrungen ist, die doppelte Funktion des Relieffeldes und der Bekrönung erfüllt (Țeposu-Marinescu 1974-1975, 250), gehört der Kategorie der nichtfiguralen Grabstelen mit eingeschlossener dreieckförmigen Bekrönung (I B4, in der von L. Țeposu-Marinescu hergestellte Klassifizierung) zu (Țeposu-Marinescu 1982, 110), wird in der ersten Hälfte des 2. Jh. datiert (Țeposu-Marinescu 1974-1975, 252); laut C. Ciongradi, die glaubt daß diese Grabstele einem von südlich der Donau herkunftigen Typus zugehört, gibt es aber kein Argument für eine so frühe Datierung dieses Denkmals, das mehrere Ähnlichkeiten mit der Verzierung des severianischen Nymphaeums aus dem *forum vetus* aus Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa haben soll (Ciongradi 1999, 159). In ihrem unteren Teil, die nicht die Aufmerksamkeit der Forscher anzog, die sich mit diesem Denkmal beschäftigt haben, ist die Grabstele mit der Darstellung zweier Vögel verziert, von denen behauptet wurde, daß sie Pfauen seien (IDR, III/2, Nr. 398). Diesen Vögel, bezüglich der L. Țeposu-Marinescu bemerkte daß sie weiden (Țeposu-Marinescu 1982, 110), fehlt der für der Pfau so charakteristische Schweif und, mehr als das, sie haben lange Beine und Hälse, so daß, unserer Meinung nach, es eher um Stauße, wie es auch C. Ciongradi vermutet (Ciongradi 1999, 158), als um Kraniche, Störche oder andere einheimische Teichvögel oder um Ibisse handelt (IDR, III/2, 398, Abb. 321); ohne sich direkt auf diesem Denkmal zu beziehen, obwohl es das einzige aus Dakien ist von dem es handeln könnte, erwähnte, trotzdem, O. Floca die Strauße zwischen die Vögelarten, die paarweise auf den Grabdenkmäler von hier dargestellt sind (Floca 1968, 119). Diese Darstellung könnte, höchstwahrscheinlich, mit einer Anspielung auf die Vorführung von Strauße in der Arena, anlässlich einiger vom Verstorbenen, als *augustalis*, im Amphitheater von hier veranstalteten Tierhetzen (*venationes*) zusammenhängen (Sonoc 2003, 149), indem bekannt ist, daß sich die Veranstaltung von *ludi* und *epula*, sowie andere evergetischen Taten, unter den Verpflichtungen der Augustalier zählen (Ardevan 1998, 244). Der für einen "Vogel vom Übersee" gehaltete Strauß, der für Afrika spezifisch ist und den die Römer erst nach den punischen Kriege kennengelernt haben, wurde oft in *venationes* benutzt,



wobei er von Hunde angegriffen wurde, wie das auf griechischen Kolonialmünzen zu sehen ist (Nollé 1992-1993, 76sq., Abb. 15d,e). Es ist weniger wahrscheinlich, daß diese Tierdarstellung für eine mögliche Anspielung auf einer nordafrikanischen Herkunft jenes Augustals gehalten werden kann, wie es wir, zum Beispiel, bezüglich jener Person behauptet haben, der ein Denkmal gehörte, dessen Basis (Geschichtesmuseum aus Turda, Kr. Cluj, Inv. Nr. 2 595), mit einem möglichen Bild eines solchen Vogels, bei Alburnus Maior entdeckt wurde (Abb. 8) (Milea 1971, 439 und 441, Abb. 4; Jude, Pop 1972, 18, Nr. 30, Taf. XVI/1-3), weil, im Fall des L. Cassius Marcio, könnte es, dann, höchstwahrscheinlich, um einen Freigelassenen handeln, dessen *praenomen* und *gentilicium*, wie auch das *nomen gentile* seiner Gattin, bei der Befreiung, vom Namen deren Herren übernommen wurden (Ciongradi 1999, 158sq.), während, wenn es um einen freigeboenen Bürger handelt, eher mit einer griechisch-orientalischen Herkunft zu rechnen ist (Gostar 1956, 63; cf. Sonoc 2003, 149), die, eventuell, auch vom *cognomen* angedeutet wird (Sonoc 2003, 149), als mit einer nordafrikanischen Abstammung.

Das *nomen gentile* des Augustals zählt sich unter den Anthroponymen deren Herkunft bestritten ist, obwohl es in der klassischen Zeit in der Onomastik einer alten Plebejergens häufig war, was als Folge hatte, daß einige Forscher die orientale Herkunft der Träger dieses Namens bezweifelt haben (Sanie 1975, 157sq.; Sanie 1981, 227; cf. Russu 1968, 468. Ein erstes Repertoire mit *Cassii* aus Dakien: Kerényi 1941-1942, Nr. 573-577 und 586-591). Es wurde bemerkt, daß diesem *nomen* häufig entweder Namen griechischer oder orientalischer Faktur oder ein anderes *gentilicium* hingefügt werden oder daß seine Träger orientalischen Gottheiten verehren (Sanie 1975, 158; Sanie 1981, 227), sowie daß er manchmal auch als *cognomen* benutzt wurde (Sanie 1975, 158; Paki 1988, 359, Anm. 24). I. Piso behauptet daß sowohl das *nomen Cassius*, wie auch sein Derivat, das *cognomen Cassianus*, im griechisch-orientalischen Milieu verbreitet sind (Piso 1975, 165sq.), während A. Paki, die sich auf die Bevölkerung von Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa bezieht, haltete alle Träger dieses *nomen gentile* für aus den Orientprovinzen des Römischen Reiches gekommen zu sein (Paki 1988, Abb. 1, Tab. 6, Nr. 15); es gibt auch eine entgegen gerichtete Meinung, laut der die griechische Namengebung der Augustalier, hauptsächlich die *cognomina*, mit deren Freigelassenenstellung verbunden sei, indem sie diese nicht für eine Andeutung der Volkszugehörigkeit, sondern, eher, für eine der Sozialstellung haltet (Ardevan 1998, 246), auch wenn mit Vorbehalte, wegen der philhellenischen Mode der ganzen römischen Gesellschaft (Ardevan 1998, 246; cf. Jacques 1984, 524sq.; Piso 1991, 323-325). Es wurde angenommen, daß die Herkunft dieses *gentilicium* ein von der kleinen, ostlich von Kreta liegenden dorischen Insel Kasos abgeleitetes Ethnikon wäre, ein Theophorikum, das von Zeus Kasios stammt (Sanie 1975, 158; Sanie 1981, 227sq.; cf. Robert 1963, 179) oder, endlich und wahrscheinlicher, ein orientalisches *cognomen*, dessen weibliche Form (*Cassia*) die Bedeutung von "Zimmt" hat und einschließlich im jüdischen Milieu bekannt ist, sei es in arameische Rechtschreibung (*QSY'H*), wie in der Bibel, für eine der Tochter des Hiob, Kezia (*Hiob*, 42:14), deren Namen in den griechischen Übersetzungen zu

*Κασσία* wird, sei es in hebräische Rechtschreibung (*KSY'H*), auf eine jüdische Grabinschrift aus Pannonien (Sanie 1981, pp. 162 und 228; Sanie 1996, 7; cf. Sanie 1975, 158). Dieses orientalische Anthroponym kommt bei Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa auf der griechischen Inschrift eines im 2. Jh. dem Theos Hypsistos Epekoos gewidmeten Altars vor (IDR, III/2, Nr. 223; IMRER, I, 142, Nr. II.D; Gudea 1999-2000, 199sq., Nr. 3.6), die im Kontext der synkretistischen Strömung jener Zeit betrachtet werden muß und dessen Dedikantin, Aelia Cassia, wie es S. Sanie annimmt, eine jüdische Zugehörigkeit haben soll (IMRER, I, 142; Sanie 1996, 4sq.; cf. Sanie 1975, 158; Sanie 1977, 140; Sanie 1981, 162 und 228), ein Gedanke der sich die jüdischen Historiker aus Rumänien angeeignet haben (IMRER, I, 142; Sanie 1996, 4sq.) und, mit Vorbehalte, auch C. C. Petolescu (Petolescu 1995, 108; Petolescu 2000, 268), während N. Zugravu (Zugravu 1997, 98) und N. Gudea (Gudea 1999-2000, 184-192) ihn aber in einem weiteren Kontext annahmen haben, vor allem weil es bemerkt wurde, daß die Widmungen an dieser Gottheit hauptsächlich in jene Orte vorkommen, in den es auch Erwähnungen von jüdischen Gemeinschaften, von Proselyten und von Halbproselyten gibt (Sanie 1981, 161; cf. Gudea 1999-2000, 187-190), die ihren Kult in der Diaspora verbreiten (Sanie 1981, 157 und 249); sonst, ebenfalls bei Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, wo N. Gudea das Vorhandensein jüdischer Elemente für möglich haltet (Gudea 1999-2000, 189 und 191, Abb. 1), ist auch ein, einiger Meinungen nach, ebenfalls im 2. Jh. datierten Ringstein bekannt, in dem das Akronym *AGVLA* graviert ist, also die Initialien einer berühmten biblischen Stelle, mit der Bedeutung "*Du bist in Ewigkeit mächtig, o, Herr!*", die im Hebräischen ausgesprochen wird (*'TH GYBWR LWLM 'DWNV*) (IMRER, I, 142, Nr. II.C; cf. Neugebauer 1851, 40; Horedt 1982, 34, Anm. 4; Sanie 1981, 161; Gudea, Ghiurco 1988, 174, B.c.4; Gudea 1999-2000, 195, Nr. 2.2. Für diese Gemme wurden auch andere Datierungen vorgeschlagen: im 2.-3. Jh. (Gudea, Ghiurco 1988, 174) oder im 3. Jh. (Gudea 1999-2000, 195). Ihre Inschrift ist auch als *A(iath) G(adol) U(e) L(eolam) A(donai)* gelesen: Horedt 1982, 34, Anm. 71; Gudea, Ghiurco 1988, 174; Gudea 1999-2000, 195). Bei Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, die *Cassii* sind zahlreich und zählen sich zwischen den Familien, die die Priesterwürde eines *augustalis* monopolisiert haben (Paki 1990, 160). Ausser Cassia Cassiana und Cassia Rufina, die Tochter, beziehungsweise, die Gattin des Augustals L. Cassius Marcio (IDR, III/2, Nr. 398), ein L. Cassius ... ist auf der für Ulpia Chelido errichtete Grabstele erwähnt (IDR, III/2, Nr. 446), ein Cassius Marinus kommt auf einer Liste von *sacerdotes* eines Tempels vor, neben anderen Leute, mit palmyrischen Namen (IDR, III/2, Nr. 20) und Cassius Maximus, *augustalis coloniae*, widmet ein mithraisches Relief (IDR, III/2, Nr. 278). Cassia Rogata, eine römische Bürgerin, ist die Gattin des Valentinus *qui et Pontinianus, Augusti verna* (IDR, III/2, Nr. 453). Bei Germisara ist ein Bruchstück eines Grabdenkmales bekannt, das für Cassia Sura errichtet wurde, die, ebenfalls, griechisch-orientalischer Herkunft sei (IDR, III/3, Nr. 250; cf. Gostar 1956, 62, Nr. 2, Nr. 2; Țeposu-Marinescu 1982, 150, S 208), indem das *cognomen Sura* ihre Zugehörigkeit zum griechisch-syrischen Milieu andeuten könnte. Bei Micia, ein Orientaler scheint, unserer Meinung nach, Cassius

Rufus zu sein, der einen Altar für Iupiter Hierapolitanus errichtet (IDR, III/3, Nr. 97), also für eine aus Syrien, aus der Stadt Hierapolis, der alte Mabbog und heutiger Membidj stammende Gottheit. Hingegen, anderer Meinungen nach, bei Alburnus Maior, soll Cassia Peregrina illyrischer Herkunft sein, nur weil sie die Gattin eines Illyres war, nämlich des Bisius, der Sohn des Scenobarbus war (IDR, III/3, Nr. 418). Ebenfalls bei Alburnus Maior, auf einer in einer Stolle des Bergwerkes *Hl. Simeon* aus dem Berge Cârnicul Mare entdeckten *tabula cerata*, ist Servilius C(a?)ssius Zeuge beim Abschluß eines Vertrages, vielleicht eine Anleihe betreffend (IDR, I, Nr. 32 (= TabCerD II): 17 September 159), während in einem Gründungsvertrag eines Wucherervereines (*societas danistaria*), der im Bergwerk *Hl. Ekaterina* aus dem Berge Letea gefunden wurde, zwischen den Gründer zählen sich Cassius Frontinus und Secundus, *servus actor* des Cassius Palumbus (IDR, I, Nr. 44 (= TabCerD XIV): 28 März 167). Eine Hypothese von H.-Chr. Noeske folgend (Noeske 1977, 330), glaubt V. Wollmann daß diese letztgenannten *Cassii* aus Alburnus Maior mit Cassia Peregrina verwandt waren (Wollmann 1996, 174) und alle diese *Cassii* mit denjenigen aus Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa (Wollmann 1996, 174 und 177). Im ausgehenden 2. Jh. oder, eher, im beginnenden 3. Jh. (Bărbulescu 1987, 68; cf. Piso 1980, 128, Anm. 22), der Centurio C. Cassius Vitalis aus der Legio V Macedonica hat bei Potaissa einen Altar dem Deus Fortis Phoebus Apollo Parthicus gewidmet (Russu 1968, 468, Anm. 35; cf. Russu, Milea 1964, 31 (Addenda, Nr. 1)). Wahrscheinlich in der ersten Hälfte des 3. Jh. (Bărbulescu 1987, 69), ein anderer Centurio derselben Legio, Cassius Severinus, der von I. I. Russu für einen Italiker gehalten wurde (Russu 1968, 468), hat dem Iupiter Optimus Maximus einen Weihaltar gewidmet, der als Fuß des Opfertisches in der alten (im Jahre 1721 gebauten) Holzkirche aus Lunca Mureşului (Kr. Alba) wiederbenutzt wurde (Russu 1968, 466-469, Nr. 13, Abb. 12). In der Kleinen Walachei (Oltenien), bei Cioroiu Nou (Gem. Cioroişi, Kr. Dolj), ist eine im 2. Jh. datierten, dem M. Cassius Herculanus zugehörnde Grabstele bekannt (Abb. 2), die zwischen dem Reliefsfeld und dem Inschriftsfeld, einen Fries mit Kämpfe zwischen Tiere aufweist (IDR, II, Nr. 147; cf. Florescu 1942, p. 27, Nr. 22, Abb. 14; Russu 1979, 222sq., Nr. 11, Abb. 11), auf dessen Bedeutung wir zurückkommen werden, wegen seinem möglichen Zusammenhang mit der Würde eines *augustalis*, die der Verstorbene innehatte.

Eine grosse Anzahl von *Cassii* kommt bei Apulum vor. In einer Soldatenliste, die wegen der Häufigkeit des Gentiliz *Aurelius*, vom ausgehenden 2. Jh. und bis im beginnenden 3. Jh. datiert wurde, ist Cassius Senecio erwähnt (IDR, III/5-2, Nr. 451; cf. Wollmann 1970, 166-169, Nr. 2, Abb. 2; Wollmann 1972), während im ausgehenden 2. Jh. oder im 3. Jh., aber wahrscheinlich nicht später als der Herrschaft Caracallas, auf eine andere Liste, auf der auch viele *cognomina* peregriner Faktur vorkommen, ist Cassius Valens genannt (IDR, III/5-2, Nr. 452; cf. Băluţă, Russu 1982, 117 und 119, Nr. 2, Abb. 2). Ein verschollenes Grabdenkmal, das im 16. Jh. in der Kirche aus Vurpăr (Kr. Alba) von Mezerzius gesehen wurde, hat Cassia Ponticilla der Cassia Saturnina, ihre Patrone, errichtet (IDR, III/5-2, Nr. 510). Ein *centurio* der Legio XIII Gemina, C. Cassius C. f(i)lius

Coll(ina tribu) Proculeianus, der wahrscheinlich im 2. Jh. einen Altar dem Iupiter Optimus Maximus gewidmet hat, stammt der Inschrift nach aus Epiphania, ohne daß es klar sei, ob es um die Stadt aus Kilikien oder um diejenige aus Syrien handelt (IDR, III/5-1, Nr. 140; cf. Zefleanu 1943-1945, 97sq., Nr. 1, Abb. 1; Russu 1959, 889, Nr. 26); seine orientalische Herkunft ist, also, unbestreitbar.

Abgeleitet von *Cassius/Cassia* ist das durch einen der Victoria bei Kajtasovo (neben Bela Crkva, Serbien), vom *eques* Vaternius Cassianus, aus dem Numerus S(yrorum ?), gewidmeten Altar (IDR, III/1, Nr. 2) und durch das bei Micia, von P. Aelius Cassianus für P. Aelius Ianuarius, P. Aelia Dionisia, P. Aelius Germanus und P. Aelius Dionisius errichtete Grabdenkmal (IDR, III/3, Nr. 156) belegte *cognomen Cassianus/Cassiana*. Ebenfalls bei Micia, C. Pomponius Cassianus, *praefectus Cohortis II Flaviae Commagenorum*, ist auf 3 Altäre erwähnt (IDR, III/3, Nr. 78; IDR, III/3, Nr. 79; IDR, III/3, Nr. 151), darunter 2 dem Iupiter Optimus Maximus gewidmet sind (IDR, III/3, Nr. 78; IDR, III/3, Nr. 79). Bei Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, wie wir das schon angemerkt haben, ist Cassia Cassiana die Tochter des Augustals L. Cassius Marcio (IDR, III/2, Nr. 398), während C. Mettius Cassianus, *duumvir coloniae*, einem Altar dem Aesculapius und der Hygia für die Gesundheit mehrerer Leute, Mitglieder seiner Familie (Aelia Flora, Mettius Protenus, Mettius Cassianus und Mettia Flora) errichten läßt (IDR, III/2, Nr. 153).

In den griechischen und römischen Inschriften aus dem dobrudschanischen Teil der Provinz Moesia Inferior ist der Name *Cassius* weniger häufig. Bei Tomis, ein *katálogos*, wahrscheinlich aus der ersten Hälfte des 3. Jh., erwähnt Kyronas, Sohn des Kasios (*sic!*) (ISM, II, Nr. 468 (18)), was also die sonst wohlbekannte Übernahme dieses semitischen Namens in der griechischen Namengebung belegt, woher wir auch glauben daß sie als plebejaner *gentilicium* in der lateinischen eingedrungen ist. Die anderen Belege aus diesem Gebiet gestatten uns keine andere Schlußfolgerungen bezüglich der Volkszugehörigkeit der Leute die diesen Namen tragen, als daß es um romanisierte Individuen handelt, vor allem um Veteranen. So, bei Vicus Petra (Camena, Gem. Baia, Kr. Tulcea), unter anderen dörflichen Magistrate, nennt eine Einweihungsinschrift eines öffentlichen Bades den Cassius Primitivus, *quaestor vici* (ISM, V, Nr. 222). Bei Troesmis, ein *album* mit ehrhaft entlassenen Soldaten (*honesti missio*) aus dem Jahre 134 erwähnt die folgenden Veteranen: Cassius Longinus, ein anderer Cassius Longinus, Cassius Valens, Cassius Germanus und Cassius Vi... (ISM, V, Nr. 137). In der Umgebung der Festung Noviodunum, auf einem Altarbruchstück aus dem 2. Jh., kommt auch der Name des Cassius Numidicus vor (ISM, V, Nr. 270), eher ein Veteran, der gegen den Numider oder in Nordafrika kämpfte, als ein Nordafrikaner numidischer Herkunft.

Also, das *nomen gentile Cassius/Cassia*, beziehungsweise jene *cognomina*, die aus diesen abgeleitet sind, *Cassianus* und *Cassiana*, scheinen auch in Dakien von romanisierten Leute getragen zu sein, die aus dem griechisch-orientalischen, vor allem aus dem griechisch-syrischen Milieu stammen, aber vielleicht auch von Palmyrer und, einigermaßen, höchstwahrscheinlich, von hellenisierten Juden. Für

eine nordafrikanische Herkunft (eher im erdkundlichen als im ethnischen Sinne) der Träger dieses Namens, die doch möglich ist, gibt es keine ausreichende Beweise.

Auch in anderen Provinzen scheint die Lage derjenigen aus Dakien ähnlich zu sein; die *Cassii* sind, oft, Italo-Orientaler, die ihre Herkunft sei es durch die Namengebung, sei es durch den Vorzug für gewisse Type von Grabdenkmäler, mit einer für die orientalische Welt spezifische Ornamentik verraten. So, bei Carnuntum, im 3. Jh., eine Grabstele mit der Darstellung einer mit dem Schiff *Felix Itala* reisender Familie, belegt die Augustania Cassia Marcia, Gattin des M. Antonius Bassilides, *frumentarius* der Legio X Gemina (CSIR Österreich, I/3, Nr. 331); dem Namen nach, beide Gatten scheinen eine italisch-orientalische Herkunft zu haben. Zeitgenössisch, wahrscheinlich, mit dieser Familie, Cassius Dio, der bekannte Historiker griechischer Sprache, der zweimal Konsul und Prokonsul Afrikas, sowie Statthalter Pannoniens war, stammte aus Bithynien, aus Nicaea, wo er als Sohn des Senators Cassius Asclepiodatus auf der Welt kam, während nach seiner Mutter er mit dem *Chrysostomus* spitzgenannten Rätor und Philosophen Dio aus Prusa verwandt war (Millar 1964; cf. Dumitraşcu 1999, 29sq.); der griechische Historiker, von dem wir behaupten können, daß er nur anscheinend romanisiert war, weil seine Zuneigung gegenüber Rom der Ausdruck der Loyalität eines hohen Beamten war, ist aber ein gläubiger Heide, dessen Antisemitismus auf die Juden und die Syrer abzielt (Dumitraşcu 1999, 29sq.). Bei Mainz-Weisenau, zwei aus Mediolanum stammenden und in der Legio XIV Gemina sich eingereihten Geschwister, der Veteran M. Cassius und C. Cassius, hatten ein prächtiges Grabdenkmal, mit einer pyramidenförmigen Bekrönung, während die Inschrift auf einem Architekturgebälk dieser Gebäude von einem Greif flankiert ist (Andrikopoulou-Strack 1986, 122 und 166, MG 9, Taf. 30a), der eine gute Parallele im Greife auf dem Grabdenkmal frühaugusteischer Zeit aus Scansano hat (Andrikopoulou-Strack 1986, 122). Der Grabdenkmal der beiden *Cassii* aus Mainz-Weisenau wird in der Zeit des Aufenthalts der erwähnten Legio (13-43 u.Z.) in jenem Ort datiert (Andrikopoulou-Strack 1986, 122).

Friese mit Kämpfen zwischen Tieren, die derjenigen auf der Grabstele des Augustals M. Cassius Herculani (IDR, II, Nr. 147; cf. Florescu 1942, 27, Nr. 22, Abb. 14; Russu 1979, 222sq., Nr. 11, Abb. 11 (die zweite Hälfte des 2. Jh.)) ähnlich sind, kommen auch in anderen Balkan- und Donauprovinzen vor, zum Beispiel in Pannonien, bei Savaria, auf dem in der ersten Hälfte des 1. Jh. datierten Grabdenkmal einiger vielleicht aus Aquileia stammenden Sempronii (Abb. 6) (Mócsy, Szentlélek 1971, 106sq., Nr. 116), auf der Grabstele eines jungen Mannes aus Walbersdorf (Österreich), das im 1. Jh. u.Z. von seiner Freigelassene errichtet wurde (CSIR Österreich, I/5, Nr. 8) und auf derjenigen, ebenfalls im 1. Jh. datierten, der Geschwister Cenumarus und Gnatila, Kinder des Sacio, die bei Leithaprodersdorf (Österreich) entdeckt wurde (CSIR Österreich, I/3, Nr. 279). Wir werden versuchen zu sehen, welche die symbolische Bedeutung dieser in Moesia Superior häufig vorkommenden Szenen (Alexandrescu-Vianu 1977, 384) sein könnte und in welcher Maß kann angenommen werden, daß der Tierfries dieser Grabstele eine Anspielung auf die von jenem Augustal, als *munerarius*,

vorgeführten *venationes* darstellen könnte. Andernfalls, eine solche Hypothese suggeriert auch der Vergleich mit dem Status der Verstorbenen, für die zwei Grabstelen mit Friese dieser Art in Moesia Superior errichtet wurden: bei Kostolac (Serbien), diejenige des C. Cornelius Rufus, *decurio* und *augur* des Munizipiums Aelium Viminacium (Abb. 3) (Spasić 1996a, 149, Nr. 18 (ausgehendes 2. Jh.-beginnendes 3. Jh.)) und diejenige des T. Baebius Eutychus, *augustalis* desselben Munizipiums (Abb. 4) (Spasić 1996b, 159, Nr. 13 (ausgehendes 2. Jh.-beginnendes 3. Jh.)).

Auf dem Giebel der erwähnten Grabstele aus Leithaprodersdorf (CSIR Österreich, I/3, Nr. 279) ist ein Hahn dargestellt, also ein im allgemeinen chtonisches Tier, aber manchmal auch Sonnentier, der die Entschlossenheit und die Wachsamkeit und, in der Kosmogonie, das Element der Luft symbolisiert (Sanie 1995, 152). Laut einem durch die Vermittlung der Pythagoreiker in Griechenland schon im 6. Jh. v.u.Z. eingedrungenen persischen Glauben, das die Etrusker, die es von hier übernommen haben, den Römern überlieferten (Cumont 1949, 410), ist der Hahn ein böseabwehrender Vogel, gutes Zeichen, dessen Schrei das Morgengrauen ankündigt, die Dunkelheit und die Angst der Nacht zerstreut (DS, I, 345, s.v. *cocoş*) und die Dämonen vertreibt (Cumont 1949, 405sq.), wofür er zu einem die seeleführende Hypostase des Hermes/Mercurius suggerierenden Attribut geworden ist (Pâslaru 1998, 125; cf. Bărbulescu 2003, 261), aber vielleicht auch zu einem Sinnbild der Auferstehung, weil er am frühen Morgen die Schlafenden aufweckt. Hingegen, im unteren Teil der Grabstele aus Walbersdorf, unterhalb des Inschriftfeldes, sind zwei Kampfhähne dargestellt, links von diesen ein kleiner Hund und über sie fliegt ein Vogel, Darstellungen die für als miteinander nicht zusammenhängend gehalten werden, wie auch die Darstellungen des Tierfrieses (CSIR Österreich, I/5, Nr. 8); unserer Meinung nach, gerade unter dem Einfluß dieser von den Amphitheatervorführungen eingeflößten Friese, im unteren Teil dieser Stele wurden aber sowohl die Kampfhähne, wie auch die anderen Lieblingstiere der beiden Geschwister dargestellt. Auf dem Tierfries oberhalb des Inschriftfeldes der im 1. Jh. datierten Grabstele der Familie des Ti. Claudius Surus (Abb. 7), die bei Neunkirchen (Österreich) entdeckt wurde, sind zwei streitende Kampfhähne dargestellt und, seitlich, beiderseits, je ein Panther, der bereit ist auf diesen zu springen (CSIR Österreich, I/5, Nr. 15). Als Protagonist von Tierhetzen, der Hahn kann, also, in der provincialrömischen Grabkunst auch eine ganz andere Deutung als die symbolische haben.

Im römischen Dakien die Jagdszenen und, vor allem, die Darstellungen von Kämpfe zwischen Tiere sind aber selten (Hica-Cîmpeanu 1977, 230); ohne wieder auf denjenigen des Tierfrieses der Grabstele des Augustals M. Cassius Herculanus aus Cioroiu Nou (IDR, II, Nr. 147; cf. Florescu 1942, 27, Nr. 22, Abb. 14; Russu 1979, 222sq., Nr. 11, Abb. 11) zu bestehen, die, sowohl von dem Stil her, wie auch aus der Hinsicht des sozialen Milieu dem der Verstorbene zu zugehören scheint, mit den Grabstelen mit solchen Darstellungen aus Moesia Superior, auf dem anderen Ufer der Donau, in Verbindung gebracht werden kann, werden wir die Bedeutung dieses Motivs auf den anderen Grabdenkmäler aus Dakien analysieren. Bei

Apulum, auf einer Lateralseite einer pyramidenstumpfförmigen Bekrönung mit gebogenen Seiten, ist eine Jagdszene mit einem auf der Beute springenden Hund bekannt (Piso, Blăjan 1995-1998, 231, Nr. 10, Abb. 4/5 und 6/2), während bei Napoca, auf einem Grabdenkmalbruchstück (unserer Meinung nach, aus einer Sarkophagwand), sind zwei Hunde die ein Tier (Fuchs?) angreifen dargestellt (Macrea 1969, 418; Tudor 1969, 66; cf. Covaciu 1926-1928, 221, Nr. 6, Abb. 3; Hica-Cîmpeanu 1977, 228-230, Abb. 5/1; Bodor 1987-1988, 219, Nr. 36, Abb. 16) und, ebenfalls hier, auf einer Grabdenkmalbasis, Windhunde die einem Hase verfolgen (Bodor 1987-1988, 219, Nr. 35; cf. Daicovicu 1929, 311; Daicovicu 1933-1935, 198-200 und 204-206, Abb. 3; Hica-Cîmpeanu 1977, 226, Nr. 3, Abb. 4/1); beide Denkmäler aus Napoca wurden in der Spätantike wiederbenutzt, um Sarkophagdeckel zu improvisieren. Die Darstellungen auf diesen letzten Denkmäler erinnern an den Szenen mit Hasen angreifenden Hunde, die vor allem auf der dalmatischen Küste häufig sind (Mano-Zisi 1982, 103), die aber, vereinzelt, im 1. Jh. u.Z. auch in Pannonien, sogar im einheimischen Milieu vorkommen, wie die erwähnte Grabstele der Geschwister Cenumarus und Gnatila, die Kinder des Sacio, aus Leithaprodersdorf (CSIR Österreich, I/3, Nr. 279), sowie auf der Grabstele des Legiovetarans M. Attius ... bei Oberwaldbauern (Österreich) (CSIR Österreich, I/5, Nr. 5 (1.-2. Jh.)) oder auf der erwähnten Grabstele der vielleicht aus Aquileia stammenden Sempronii aus Savaria (RIU, 1, Nr. 64; Mócsy, Szentlélek 1971, 106sq., Nr. 116), die, der symbolischen Darstellungen starkes orientalisches Einflusses (gegeneinanderstehende Greifen mit *rhyton* unterhalb des Inschriftfeldes und Seegreifen auf dem Giebel) nach, könnten einem italisch-orientalisches Milieu zugehören. Auf der Aussenseite der Wand einer *aedicula* aus Cristești (Kr. Mureș) ist aber ein Löwe dargestellt, der ein Pferd erlegt (Hica-Cîmpeanu 1977, 230; Husar, Man 1996, Taf. V/5); diese Darstellung suggeriert, unserer Meinung nach, daß das von Hunde gejagte oder von einem Raubtier erlegte Tier eine Allegorie stoischer Faktur des gewaltsamen und unvermeidbaren Charakters des Todes ist, genau so wie die Darstellungen von Löwen, die unter den Pranken einen Tierkopf halten (Alexandrescu-Vianu 1970, 277) oder diejenige des verschlingenden Ungeheuers (die Sphinx – Renard 1950; Vlassa 1980. Zum Motiv der Sfinx in der provinzialrömische Kunst aus Dakien: Ardevan 1989; Renard 1968; Moga, Sântimbrean 1996 –, der Greif, die verschiedenen Wassermonstren). Gerade durch das Vorkommen einiger Szenen mit Kämpfe zwischen Tiere, darunter auch die hasenjagenden Hunde, die sehr ähnlich denjenigen auf der Grabstele des M. Cassius Herculanus und auf den erwähnten Grabstelen aus Moesia Superior sind, in einem klaren allegorischen Kontext (der von den Darstellungen der Eroten und der Victorien), auf dem um 1837-1842 bei Romula oder bei Sucidava entdeckten "Ghika- Sarkophag" (Abb. 5) (Hica-Cîmpeanu 1977, 230 – wo falsch behauptet wird, daß der Sarkophag bei Celei oder bei Reșca um 1937-1942, also ein Jahrhundert später als wirklich, enteckt worden sein soll –; Gramatopol 1982, 169; Gramatopol 2000, 204sq.; cf. Berciu 1978, Abb. 84), der aber, obwohl er ihn als Vergleichstück vorbringt, von O. Floca schlecht bekannt war, halten wir für unbegründet die auf einer ebenso oberflächliche Kenntnis eines der beiden

erwähnten Denkmäler aus Napoca (das, andernfalls, von ihm fehlerhaft beschrieben wird, wegen der Verwechslung mit demjenigen mit Windhunde, die einen Hase jagen) beruhenden Meinung des angeführten Verfassers, daß die Jagdszene, der er, aber mit Vorbehalte, eine einfache verzierende Rolle zuschreibt, ohne irgendwelche symbolische Bedeutung wäre (Floca 1941, 67sq.). Aus dieser Perspektive, im Fall der Grabstele des Augustals L. Cassius Marcio und seiner Tochter, erzielt die Darstellung der sorgenlos weidenden Strauße eine komplexere, moralisierende Bedeutung: diese Vögel versinnbildlichen diejenige, die sich ihres Leben erfreuen und den Tod nur als eine ferne Gefahr wahrnehmen, ohne besorgt zu sein, daß sie unvermeidlich ist und sie jene jederzeit treffen kann.

Sehr interessant ist auch die restliche symbolische Ornamentik der Grabstele dieses Augustals aus Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa. *Die Blume*, deren Kelch, als Sinnbild des passiven Prinzips, den Regen und den himmlischen Tau empfängt und so zu einem horizontalen und passiven Rezeptakel wird, ist die Ergänzung der vertikalen und aktiven Symbole, beziehungsweise der himmlischen Handlungen, während *die Öffnung der Blume*, in der der Übergang vom Allgemeinen zum Eigenen und umgekehrt stattfindet, stellt den Ausbruch und die Entwicklung der ganzen Offenbarung dar (Benoist 1995, 79). Durch Duft und Farbe, versinnbildlicht die Blume ein oberes Prinzip, dessen Offenbarung dem Allgemeinen die Dauerhaftigkeit sichert, trotz dem zeitweiligen Charakter der besonderen Elemente (Schütze 1972, 52). Genau so wie andere blumenförmige und runde Bilder, deren Aufblühen die Entwicklung der Offenbarung und die Verwicklung der vorrangigen Möglichkeiten darstellt, ist *die Rosette* oder *das Rad* ein Sinnbild der Welt (Benoist 1995, 67 und 79); laut einigen Meinungen, die sie als aus einem Kreis stammend betrachten, stellt *die Rosette* ein Sternsymbol dar (Berciu 1969, 168), also eine mögliche Anspielung auf eine himmlische Unsterblichkeit. Bei Apulum, eine *strudelförmige Rosette*, die sehr ähnlich derjenigen auf dem Grabdenkmal des Augustals L. Cassius Marcio und dessen Tochter ist, ziert den Giebel der Grabstele des Mucasenus, Sohn des Cesorinus (CIL, III, Nr. 1195), ein Reiter thrakischer Herkunft aus der Leibwache des Konsularstatthalters, was dieses Denkmal nach der letzten administrativ-territorialen Umorganisation Dakiens datiert, höchstwahrscheinlich im ausgehenden 2. Jh. Unserer Meinung nach, kombiniert die strudelförmige Rosette die Symbolik der Rosette mit derjenigen der *Doppelspirale*, ruft die beiden komplementären Bewegungen, die evolutive und die involutive, des Lebens und des Todes wach (Benoist 1995, 77).

*Der die strudelförmige Rosette umringende Kranz* hat eine komplexe Bedeutung. Obwohl einige Verfasser schätzen daß dieses Sinnbild zu einer einfachen Grabverzierung geworden ist (Bodor 1987-1988, 216), *der Kranz*, als Anspielung auf die *dona militaria*, ist, vor allem im norisch-pannonischen Gebiet, im militärischen Milieu bevorzugt (Isac, Diaconescu 1980, 119 und 134sq.; cf. Schober 1923, 169sq.; Rusu 1979, 187, Anm. 93), wo er also eine erfolgreiche Karriere versinnbildlichen soll (Harl, Lörincz 2002, 48). Auf der Grabstele eines Kaiserpriesters kann er, wahrscheinlicher, genau so wie die oberhalb des Deckels



der Kiste des im ausgehenden 4. Jh. v.u.Z. datierten hellenistischen Grabes mit Papyrus aus Kallatis entdeckten Kränze, für ein Zeichen der priesterlichen Würde gehalten werden (Pippidi 1969, 131); er verlieh dem opfernden Priester einen sakralen Charakter und hatte den Sinn, die bösen Einflüsse zu entfernen (Mauss, Hubert 1997, 68). Der Kranz könnte aber auch ein Zeichen der Unsterblichkeit darstellen (Alexandrescu-Vianu 1970, 277).

*Der Greif* ist ein Motiv orientaler Herkunft, das von den Griechen durch die Vermittlung der kretischen und der mykenischen Kultur übernommen wurde und das in der griechisch-römischen Grabkunst zu einem Sonnensinnbild der Macht und der Wachsamkeit wird, wegen dem Glauben, laut dem dieses fabelhafte Tier, das im Lande der Skythen und des unter einer ewigen Sonne in postexistentiellen Frieden lebende Volk der Hyperboreer wohnt, das Gold des Nordens oder den Krater des Dionysos hütten würde (Jobst s.a., 375; \*\*\* 1990, 162, s.v. *грифоны, грифы* (A. A. Taho-Godi); cf. Sanie 1995, 160sq.; Sîrbu, Florea 2000, 173); als geflügelter Löwe mit Adlerschnabel, ist er, gleichzeitig, ein unterirdisches Ungeheuer, das die 3 Elemente verbindet: die Luft, das Feuer und die Erde (Benoist 1995, 107), manchmal auch das Wasser (Andrikopoulou-Strack 1986, 122). Im griechisch-iranischen Milieu der nördlichen Küste des Pontus Euxinus, begleitet der Greif die Große Göttin, deren Heiligtümer sich in nahezu allen griechischen Städte der Taman Halbinsel befanden und die sei es mit Aphrodite, sei es mit Artemis Agrotera, sei es, häufiger, mit Demeter und Kore verwechselt wurde (Alexandrescu 1966, 85). Häufig in der römischen Grabornamentik, als Wächter des Grabes, das er gegen der Zerstörung hütet und so die ewige Ruhe des Verstorbenen sichert (Andrikopoulou-Strack 1986, 123), wird also der Greif zu einem *agathodaimon*. Obwohl, in der vorrömischen Zeit, dieses tiergestaltige Ziermotiv von Persien bis Italien verbreitet ist, sind die Einzelheiten seiner Verbreitung noch zu wenig erklärt, auch wegen einiger Datierungsschwierigkeiten (Gawlikowski 1979, 69sq.). In Ägypten, stellt der Greif den siegreichen Pharao dar und wird so zu einem böseabwehrenden Sinnbild, während in Mesopotamien ist er das Symbol des Addad, der Gott des Donners oder stellt er einen Vermittler zwischen den Menschen und die Götter dar, aber erwirbt er auch eine böse Bedeutung in der assyrischen Glyptik (Sanie 1995, 161). Im vorrömischen Dakien, das Motiv des Greifes, das auf einer im 4.-3. Jh. v.u.Z. der Phaleren aus Surcea (Kr. Covasna) und auf einer im 1. Jh. v.u.Z.-1. Jh. u.Z. datierten *lunula* aus Buridava vorkommt (Sîrbu, Florea 2000, 173, Abb. 37/1 und 45/1; cf. Sanie 1995, 160, Taf. XLVIII/2 (Buridava); Florea 1995-1996, 58, Abb. 5/4 (Surcea)), ist aus dem hellenistischen und später römischen Bildschatz übernommen, aber mit einer veränderten symbolischen Bedeutung, die den Gedanke der aggressiven Kraft (Sîrbu, Florea 2000, 173sq.) oder, laut S. Sanie, die königliche Macht suggeriert (Sanie 1995, 161). Mit einer böseabwehrende Funktion, auf einer zur Zeit verschollenen Grabstele aus Apulum, die für den aus Antiquaria (Baetica) herköftigen C. Sentius C. f(ilius) Sulp(icia tribu) Flaccus, Veteran der Legio XIV Gemina Martia Victrix, *decurio* der Kolonie Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa errichtet wurde, hütten zwei Greifen die Bildnisse der Verstorbenen (IDR, III/5-2, Nr. 574; cf. Wollmann 1977,

678; Bianchi 1985, 268, Nr. 89); laut I. Piso, soll diese Grabstele in der ersten Hälfte des 2. Jh. datiert werden und soll der Verstorbene zu der ersten Welle der in Dakien niedergelassenen Ansiedler zugehören (IDR, III/5-2, Nr. 574).

In der griechisch-römischen Mythologie, ist der Greif mit Apollo, Dionysos und Nemesis verbunden (Andrikopoulou-Strack 1986, 122; Jobst s.a., 375; cf. Sanie 1995, 161; Opreanu 1996, 191), während in der palmyrischen sind die Greifen an dem Wagen des Sonnengottes Malagbel eingespannt (Gawlikowski 1979, 171, Abb. 73; cf. Drössler 1976, 184). Deswegen, mit Rücksicht auf der höchstwahrscheinliche griechisch-orientale, vielleicht sogar griechisch-syrische Herkunft des L. Cassius Marcio, glauben wir daß die Darstellung der Greifen kann auch mit dem Glauben in Zusammenhang gebracht werden, daß die Seelen der Toten die Sonne auf ihren Himmellauf begleiten (Chiş 2003, 248), vor allem weil, seit der Zeit des Augustus, ist, in der Ikonographie der öffentlichen römischen Denkmäler, der Greif mit dem Gedanke der kaiserlichen Apotheose verbunden (Sîrbu, Florea 2000, 173) und weil die Fahrt ins Jenseits auch auf einen Greif reitend möglich ist, wie es W. Vollgraff bemerkte (Pippidi 1969, 203, Anm. 96). Andernfalls, mit der auf dem Larenaltar aus Vatican dargestellten Apotheose Caesars beginnend, glaubte man daß die apotheosierten Verstorbenen in einem Wagen zur Sonne geführt werden und später, mit der Verbreitung des Mithraskultes, ist meistens der Wagen von der Sonne selbst gelenkt, auch wenn Pferde oder geflügelte Pferde eingespannt sind (Pippidi 1969, 151sq., Anm. 55-56). Neben den Göttinnen Fortuna und Victoria, sowie reitenden Dioskuren, Löwen und Adler, kommen im ausgehenden 1. Jh. die Greifen auch in der Ornamentik eines nabatäischen Grabes aus Petra vor, das unter dem Name von *el-Chazne* bekannt ist und von den Forscher dem arabischen König Haretat (Aretas) IV zugeschrieben wird (Gawlikowski 1979, 119). In Pannonien, bei Margarethen am Moos (Österreich), zwei gegeneinanderstehenden Greifen, deren Schweife in Ranken enden, sind auf der im 2.-3. Jh. datierten Grabstele des M. Valerius Taurus dargestellt, auf der, oberhalb der Inschrift, es eine Szene mit einem Löwe gibt, der über ein auf dem Boden liegenden Mensch springt (CSIR Österreich, I/4, Nr. 410); sowohl die Bedeutung dieser Darstellungsweise der Greifen, wie auch der Zirkusszene sind schwierig zu auslegen. Diese Darstellungsweise der Schweife der Monstren ist aber nicht einzigartig in Pannonien, weil auf einem von der zweiten Hälfte des 2. Jh. und bis im beginnenden 3. Jh. datierten Grabdenkmal aus dem Gebiet des Plattensees (Ungarn), der Schweif eines Delphins kelchförmig endet und jener eines anderen Seeungeheuer (Seetiger oder Seegreif) die Form eines Blattes nimmt (CSIR Ungarn, VIII, Nr. 115). Hingegen, die Greifen, die mit einem *kantharos* verbunden sind, wie in der zweiten Hälfte des 1. Jh. u.Z. auf einer Bekrönung aus Trier (Deutschland) (Andrikopoulou-Strack 1986, 122sq. und 197, U 36, Taf. 30b) oder auf einem im 1.-2. Jh. datierten Grabdenkmal aus Neunkirchen (Österreich) (CSIR Österreich, I/5, Nr. 18), beziehungsweise mit einem *rhyton* auf dem Grabdenkmal der Sempronii aus Savaria, in der ersten Hälfte des 2. Jh. (Mócsy, Szentlélek 1971, 106sq., Nr. 116), macht sie zu Hüter des Getränkes aus dem Gefäß, sprich der ewigen Quelle des Wachsens und des Lebens, das dem

Verstorbenen im Jenseits die Unsterblichkeit sichert, sei es in Zusammenhang mit den dionysischen Mysterien, wie es H. Jucker glaubt, sei es mit denjenigen des Mithras, laut der Meinung von H. G. Horn (Andrikopoulou-Strack 1986, 123). Andererseits, der während der Kaiserzeit mit Nemesis häufig verbundene Greif, der unter den Pranken ein Rad hält (Téglás 1893, 252; Ciobanu 1989, 276), als Sinnbild des wechselnden Schicksals, kann mit der von einigen neuplatonische Denker, wie Proclus und Iamblichos, behauptete Verantwortung der Dämonen in der Aufteilung des Schicksals oder des Glückes in Zusammenhang gebracht werden, auch wenn schon seit dem 6. Jh. v.u.Z. das mit dem Glück verbundene Glauben sich mit dem Kult einiger Gottheiten, wie Agathodaimon, Agathe Tyche, Fortuna überschneidet (Timotin 1997, 89), die, eigentlich, Abstraktionen der mit den Dämonen früher verwechselten Konzepte darstellen (Timotin 1997, 88). Diese Symbole des Anspruches, das Schicksal der Menschen zu beherrschen, könnte, eventuell, aus individueller Hinsicht, durch das Vertrauen im günstigen Los des emporgekommenen Freigelassenen erklärt werden, der aber, genau so wie Trimalchio, im Petrons *Satyricon*, seine Vergangenheit doch nicht leugnet, beziehungsweise, aus sozialer Hinsicht, durch dessen Stolz, als Kaiserpriester und "Gewährmann" der Behörden, das Schicksal der Menschen, sogar einiger mit einer ehrenhafter Herkunft als seiner, beeinträchtigen zu können.

So, versinnbildlicht das Motiv der zwei Greifen, die eine von einem Kranz umringte strudelförmige Rosette flankieren, einerseits die Hoffnung einer Wiedergeburt in einer anderen Welt, unter dem Schutz der Sonne, andererseits suggeriert das, eigentlich, gerade die Rolle der Kaiserpriester in der römischen Welt, nämlich jene der "Hüter der Weltordnung", die durch dem Kaiserkult, des Augustus und Roms organisierten Patriotismus der Untertanen gesichert wird.

### Literaturabkürzungen

- ACMIT - Anuarul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice, Secția Transilvania, Cluj.
- ActaMN - Acta Musei Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca.
- AEM - Archaeologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich(-Ungarn), Wien.
- AIACN - Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj-Napoca, Cluj-Napoca.
- AISC - Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice, Cluj – Sibiu.
- Apulum - Apulum. Acta Musei Apulensis, Alba Iulia.
- Archaeus - Archaeus. Studii de istorie a religiilor, București.
- AEM - Archaeologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Österreich(-Ungarn), Wien.
- ATS - Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis, Sibiu.
- BAR - British Archaeological Reports.
- BCȘS - Buletinul cercurilor științifice studențești, Alba Iulia.
- BJ - Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseum in Bonn (im Landschaftsverband Rheinland) und des Vereins von Altertumsfreunde im Rheinlande, Köln.
- CIL - Corpus inscriptionum Latinorum, Berlin.
- Crisia - Crisia, Oradea.
- CSIR - Corpus signorum Imperii Romani.
- CSIR Österreich, I/3 - Marie-Louise Krüger, *Die Reliefs des Stadtgebietes von Carnuntum. II. Teil: Die figürlichen Reliefs*, Wien, 1970.
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Abb. 1. Grabstele des L. Cassius Marcio. a. Lichtbild (nach C. Ciongradi).



Abb. 1b. Grabstele des L. Cassius Marcio. Zeichnung (nach IDR, III/2).



Abb. 2. Grabstele des M. Cassius Herculanus (nach IDR, II).



Abb. 3. Grabstele des C. Cornelius Rufus (nach D. Spasić).



Abb. 4. Grabstele des T. Baebius Eutyclus (nach D. Spasić).



Abb. 5. Der "Ghika- Sarkophag" (nach D. Tudor).

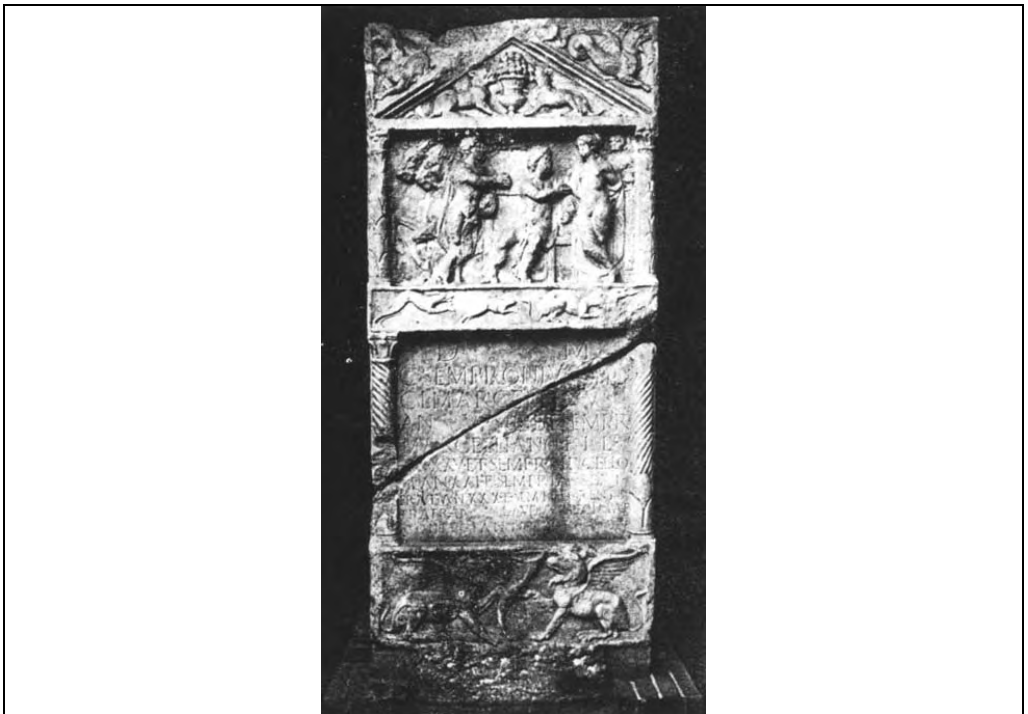


Abb. 6. Die Grabstelle der Sempronii aus Savaria (nach RIU, 1).



Abb. 7. Die Grabstele des Ti. Claudius Surus (nach CSIR Österreich, I/5).

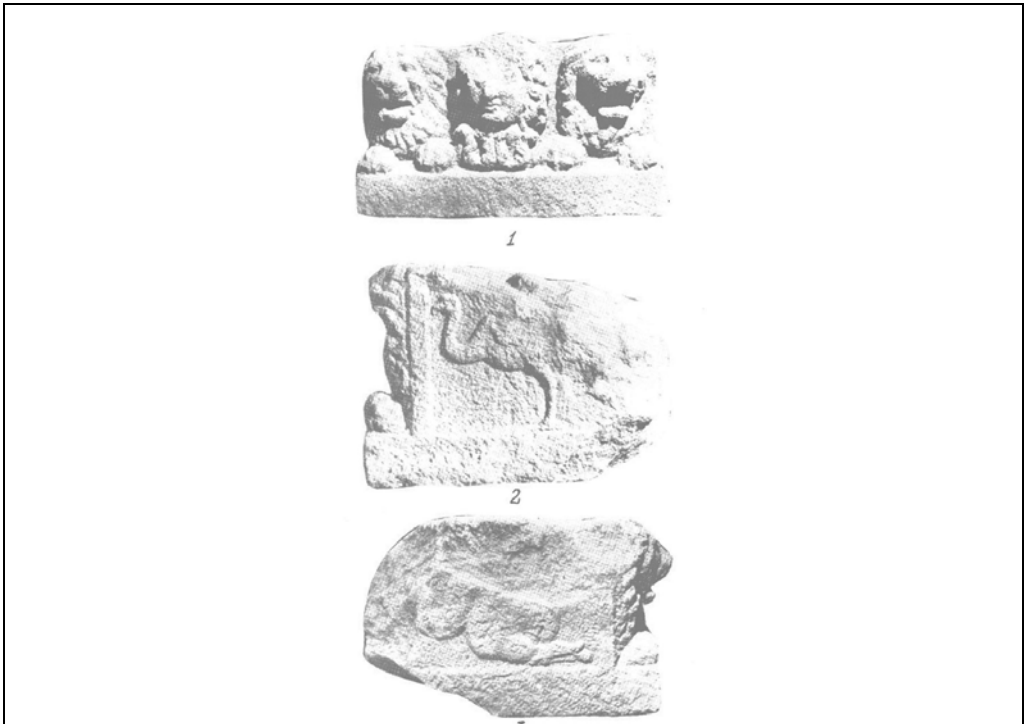


Abb. 8. Basis eines Grabdekmalns aus Alburnus Maior (nach M. Jude, C. Pop).

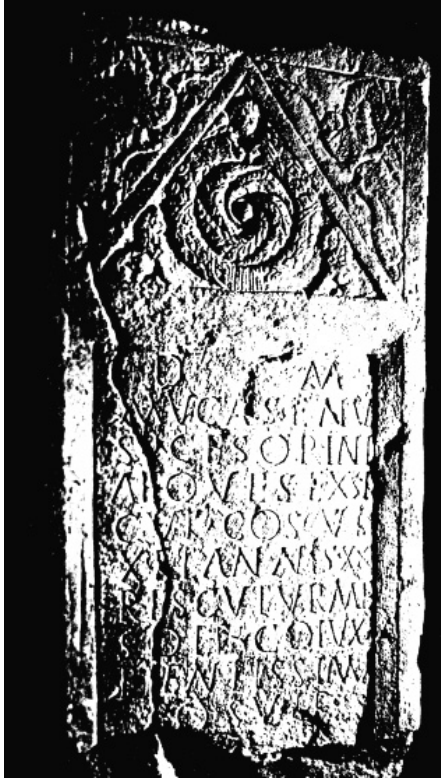


Abb. 9a. Grabstele des Mucaseus, Sohn des Cesorinus (nach IDR, III/5-2). Lichtbild.

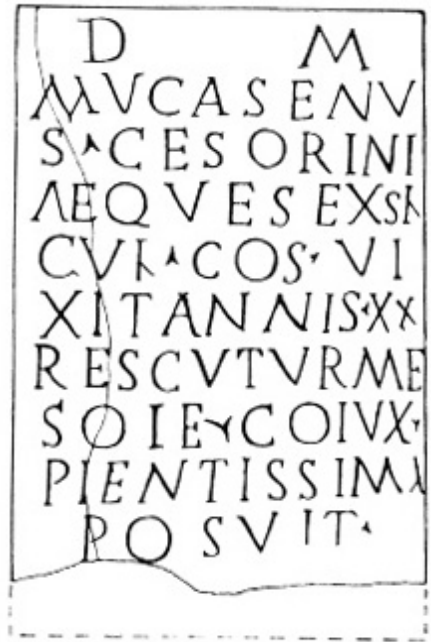


Abb. 9b. Grabstele des Mucaseus, Sohn des Cesorinus (nach IDR, III/5-2). Die Inschrift.

**A ROMAN GROUP OF COINS  
FROM VÂLCEA COUNTY MUSEUM**

**Silviu Istrate PURECE,**  
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*UN GRUP DE MONEDE ROMANE IMPERIALE DIN COLECȚIA  
MUZEULUI JUDEȚEAN VÂLCEA*

*-rezumat-*

*În colecția Muzeului Județean Vâlcea, între numerele de inventar 14024-14033, au fost înregistrați 10 denari romani imperiali achiziționați de la doctorul Ploscaru Constantin din Rm Valcea în 1997.*

*Monedele au fost emise de împărații: Vespasianus 1, Antoninus Pius 1 (din care 1 pentru Faustina I), Commodus 1, Septimius Severus 6 (dintre care 1 pentru Iulia Domna și 3 pentru Caracalla) și Caracalla 1, la Roma (vezi tabelul și graficul).*

*În urma analizei lotului de monede putem să facem câteva observații:*

- 1. monedele se grupează într-un interval cronologic nu foarte întins;*
- 2. se poate constata o unitate din punct de vedere a nominalului, lotul conținând numai denari;*
- 3. monedele sunt puțin circulate, un anumit grad de uzură constatându-se în cazul monedelor anterioare domniei lui Septimius Severus.*
- 4. lotul nu conține monedă realizată din aliajele cuprului, deși aceasta este foarte frecventă în cadrul descoperirilor izolate.*

*În urma unei analize comparative putem observa că structura tezaurului de la Pădureșu este sensibil apropiată de cea a lotului nostru, în timp ce fragmentul de tezaur de la Gâr bou, se eșalonează pe un interval cronologic aproape identic cu cel al acestuia.*

*În concluzie, considerăm că nu este deloc imposibil ca grupul de monede intrat în colecția numismatică a Muzeului Județean Vâlcea să provină dintr-un tezaur (cea mai facilă cale de obținere a monedei romane de argint), ce s-ar fi putut încheia cu monedă aparținând lui Elagabalus. Structura lotului, tipul de nominal, aspectul monedelor, precum și unitatea sa ne face să ne gândim la o astfel de posibilitate.*

Vâlcea County Museum has registered in its numismatic assemblage, between the numbers 14024-14033, 10 roman imperial denars bought in 1997 from dr. Ploscaru Constantin from Vâlcea.

The catalogue of the coins:

#### 1. VESPASIANVS

Av. IMP CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG; Rv. COS-VII

RIC II, no.: 99a, Roma, 76, D, A: 6, weight: 3,12g, size: 19,3x17,4mm.

Description: Eagle on cippus with head to left.

Head to right, laureate.

Inventar number: 14027.

#### 2. ANTONINVS PIVS: FAVSTINA I

Av. DIVA-FAVSTINA; Rv. AETER-NITAS

RIC III, no.: 351, Roma, after 141, D, A: 6, weight: 2,82g, size: 18,5x16,3mm.

Description: Providentia standing left, veil blown out behind head, holding globe.

Bust to right.

Inventar number: 14030.

#### 3. COMMODOVS

Av. [M C]OMMODVS-ANTON AVG P[IVS]; Rv. [PMT]RP VIII-IMP VI COS III PP

RIC III, no.: 72, Roma, 183-184, D, A: 12, weight: 3,43g, size: 17x15,5mm.

Description: Minerva advancing right brandishing javelin and holding shield at feet, right, owl.

Head to right, laureate.

Inventar number: 14028.

#### 4. SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS

Av. SEVERVS AVG-PART MAX, Rv. VIRT-AVGG

RIC IV/I, no.: 171a, Roma, 200-201, D, 6, weight: 3,32g, size: 19x18,6mm.

Description: Virtus standing left, holding Victory and resting on shield, spear against left arm.

Head to right, laureate.

Inventar number: 14024.

#### 5. SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS

Av. SEVERVS-PIVS AVG, Rv. FVNDAT-OR-PACIS



RIC IV/I, no.: 265, Roma, 200-210, D, 6, weight: 3,11g, size: 18,1x18,7mm.

Description: Septimius, veiled, standing left, holding branch and roll.

Head to right, laureate.

Inventar number: 14026.

#### 6. SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS: IVLIA DOMNA

Av. IVLIA-AVGUSTA, Rv. FELI-C-I-TAS

RIC IV/I, no.: 551, Roma, 196-211, D, 12, weight: 2,82g, size: 18,4x19,5mm.

Description: Felicitas standing left, holding caduceus and scepter.

Bust to right.

Inventar number: 14025.

#### 7. SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS: CARACALLA

Av. M AVR ANTONI-NVS CAES; Rv. [SE]CVRITAS PE-RPETVA

RIC IV/I, no.: 2, Roma, 196, D, A: 12, weight: 2,81g, size: 17,3x16,7mm.

Description: Minerva with aegis on breast, standing left, resting right hand on shield and holding spear in left hand.

Bust to right, draped, cuirassed.

Inventar number: 14033.

#### 8. SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS: CARACALLA

Av. M AVR ANTO-NINVS CAES; Rv. SPEI PERPETVAE

RIC IV/I, no.: 5, Roma, 196, D, A: 5, weight: 2,53g, size: 18x17mm.

Description: Spes advancing left, holding flower and raising skirt.

Bust to right, draped, cuirassed.

Inventar number: 14032.

#### 9. SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS: CARACALLA

Av. ANTONINVS-PIVS AVG; Rv. PONTIF TRP-VIII COS II

RIC IV/I, no.: 83, Roma, 206, D, A: 6, weight: 3,32g, size: 19,3x18,6mm.

Description: Marte in military dress, standing left, resting right hand on shield and holding spear.

Head to right, laureate.

Inventar number: 14031.

#### 10. CARACALLA

Av. ANTONINVS PIVS-AVG BRIT; Rv. PMTRP XV-COS III PP

RIC IV/I, no.: 193, Roma, 212, D, A: 6, weight: 3,13g, size: 19,5x17,8mm.

Description: Serapis wearing polos on head, standing front, head left, raising right hand and holding transverse sceptre.

Head to right, laureate.

Inventar number: 14029.

As we can notice from the above list of coins, the group of coins is quite compact. Coins were issued by the emperors: Vespasianus 1, Antoninus Pius 1 (from which 1 for Faustina I), Commodus 1, Septimius Severus 6 (from which 1 for Iulia Domna and 3 for Caracalla) and Caracalla 1, in Roma (see the table and the graphic).

The majority of the pieces of this group belong to the Severian Dynasty (7 coins) and represent 70% from the total amount of coins. By analyzing the graphic we can observe that the group of coins is highly unitary not only concerning the minting time, but also the type of coin, all of doctor Ploscaru's coins being denars. It is interesting how this group of coins reached in the doctor's numismatic collection (now belonging to the Vâlcea County Museum). It is very strange why he didn't sell any bronze coins to the Museum, because it is well known that the roman imperial bronze ones are the most frequent depicted coins in the isolated discoveries from Dacia. What is remarkable is that the coins are very well preserved. Most of them don't have any sign of wear (this is a specific situation for a hoard Mitrea, B., 1971, p. 124; Purece S. I., 2005, p. 23 etc.). All these arguments make us draw the conclusion that the coins have not stayed a long period of time in circulation, except the denar minted by Vespasianus.

Taking into account that the coins have been issued in a relative close succession, considering their state of preservation and the fact that they are only denars, we can assume the possibility of getting them from a hoard by doctor Ploscariu. After all, this is most common way of obtaining large amounts of roman silver coins. It is possible that these coins were part of a hoard that was probably ended with a coin issued by Caracalla or one of his successors.

It is interesting to see if there are any structure similarities between our group of coins and any hoards ended with coins minted by Caracalla or his successors. An eventual analogy may give us another clue to sustain our supposition that the coins are part of a monetary deposit.

Unfortunately, we can not compare our lot of coins with the only hoard discovered in the Roman Dacia, the hoard from Enoșești, Olt County (Suciu V., 2000, p. 37), finished with Caracalla coins (Suciu V., 2000, p. 89). Unfortunately, this hoard is presently lost but there are some opinions which claim that it was hidden during the reign of Elagabalus (Preda C., 1992-1993, p. 112). The only thing left to do is to compare our group of coins with the hoards ended with coins from Elagabalus.

One of the largest hoards from Roman Dacia was found at Pădurețu (Vâlcea County). This hoard hasn't been sufficiently published; we have just some lapidary remarks about the repartition of the coins by emperors (Preda C, 1992-1993, p.

112). Unfortunately, our effort to establish the details about this repartition failed because we don't have any piece of information about the numbers of the catalogue and because in the hoard preliminary study there isn't a separation between the coins issued by Septimius Severus for Caracalla, Geta and Iulia Domna and the coins minted by Caracalla for himself, Geta and Iulia Domna. The only way to compare them to Pădurețu hoard is to take the coins issued during the reigns of Septimius Severus and Caracalla as a whole and not by emperors. In the case of Pădurețu hoard, from the total of 4942 coins (Preda C., 1992-1993, p. 110), 4328 were minted for Septimius Severus' family, representing 87,58%. The coins issued before the reign of Septimius Severus totalize 584 pieces, which represent 11,82% and the coins minted after the death of Caracalla totalize 30 pieces, which represent 0,60%.

As belonging to Dacia, besides the great hoard discovered at Castranova (Dolj County) (Protase D., 1965, nr. 25), but lost at the time, we can also take into consideration one single hoard ended with coin from Elagabal. We are talking about the hoard found at Frâncești (Vâlcea County) (Depeyrot G., Moisil D., 2004). The Frâncești hoard has a different structure in comparison with the Pădurețu hoard. From a total of 1365 coins (Depeyrot G., Moisil D., 2004, p. 3), 1342 are anterior to the Septimius Severus reign period, representing 98,32% and just 22 are from Septimius Severus and Caracalla, which represent 1,61%. The hoard is ended with a coin minted by Elagabalus, which represent 0,07%.

It is interesting to study the coins which were preserved from the Gârbou (jud. Sălaj) hoard, in spite of the fact that this hoard was found in Transylvania. The oldest coins are from Vespasianus and the latest from Elagabalus, therefore coins minted not long after Caracalla's reign (Suciu V., 2000, p. 39).

Going back to our group of coins, we can observe that the pieces dated in Septimius Severus and Caracalla's reigns represent 70% and the previous ones represent 30%.

Taking into consideration the data above, one can notice the following things:

- two out of the three hoards ending with coins from Elagabalus found in Oltenia came from Valcea County (the historians have not reached yet a conclusion regarding the date when this hoards were hidden) (Găzdac C., 2002, vol. I, p. 61).

- the Pădurețu hoard seems to have the same structure like that of our group of coins, while the coins of the Gârbou hoard were issued almost during the same period.

In conclusion, we mention the possibility that the coins possessed by the museum were once part of a hoard that ended with coins from Elagabalus. The structure of the pieces, the fact that there are only denars, their state of preservation and their close issuing succession, are all arguments sustaining this possibility.

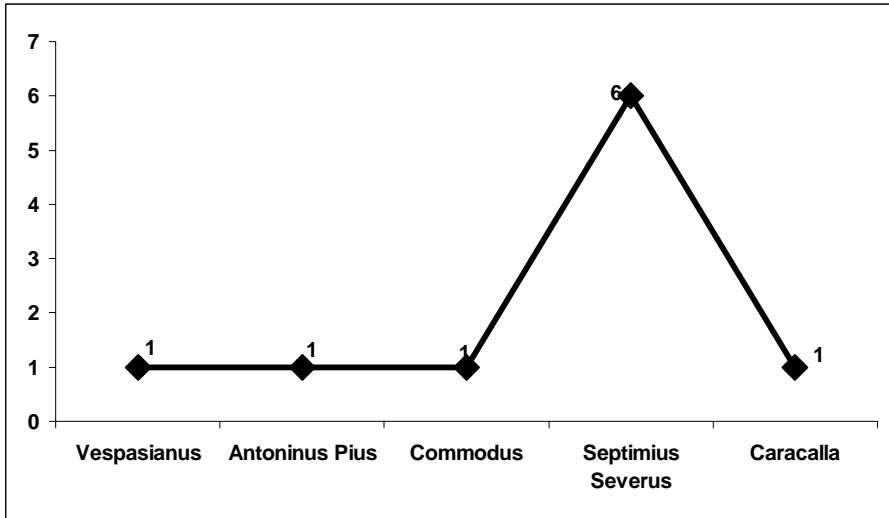
### Abbreviations

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- Găzdac C., 2002, Cristian Găzdac, *Circulația monetară în Dacia și provinciile învecinate de la Traian la Constantin I*, Cluj-Napoca, 2002
- Mitrea, B., 1971 Bucur Mitrea, *Un document numismatic din a doua jumătate a secolului al III-lea: tezaurul de monede romane imperiale de la Olteni (jud. Vâlcea)*, în SCN, V, 1971
- Preda C., 1992-1993 Constantin Preda, *Tezaurul monetar roman imperial de la Pădurețu, jud. Vâlcea*, în BSNR, 140-141, 1992-1993
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- Purece S. I., 2005 Silviu Istrate Purece, *Tezaurul de la Stănești*, București, 2005
- Suciu V., 2000 Viorica Suciu, *Tezaure monetare din Dacia romană și postromană*, Cluj-Napoca, 2000

### GROUP STRUCTURE BY EMPERORS

Issuer	Reign period	Principal issuer coins number	Secondary issuer coins number	Total number	Entrances coefficient by year	%
Vespasianus	10	1	-	1	0,1	10
Antoninus Pius	23	-	-	1	0,04	10
Faustina I		-	1			
Commodus	13	1	-	1	0,07	10
Septimius Severus	18	2	-	6	0,33	60
Iulia Domna		1	-			
Caracalla		-	3			
Caracalla	6	1	-	1	0,16	10
<b>Total</b>	-	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>10</b>	-	<b>100</b>

### GROUP STRUCTURE BY EMPERORS



### CATALOGUL FOTOGRAFIC AL MONEDELOR



	
<p>3. COMMODVS Inventar number: 14028.</p>	<p>4. SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS Inventar number: 14024.</p>
	
<p>5. SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS Inventar number: 14026.</p>	<p>6. SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS: IVLIA DOMNA Inventar number: 14025.</p>
	

	
<p>7. SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS: CARACALLA Inventar number: 14033.</p>	<p>8. SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS: CARACALLA Inventar number: 14032.</p>
	
<p>9. SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS: CARACALLA Inventar number: 14031.</p>	<p>10. CARACALLA Inventar number: 14029.</p>





**A STONE OVEN FROM THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES DISCOVERED  
AT HUNEDOARA-GRĂDINA CASTELULUI**

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*UN CUPTOR DE PIATRĂ DIN EVUL MEDIU TIMPURIU  
DESCOPERIT LA HUNEDOARA-GRĂDINA CASTELULUI*

- rezumat -

*În timpul cercetărilor arheologice dela Hunedoara-Grădina Castelului, cercetări reîncepute în 1996 de către Prof. univ. dr. Sabin Adrian Luca, a fost descoperit un cuptor construit din blocuri de calcar dolomitic. Această instalație de foc era prevăzută cu un șanț cu lățimea de circa 1 m, ce permitea cel mai probabil accesul la cuptor și o groapă, aflată în imediata apropiere, pentru depozitarea cărbunilor de lemn și a cenușei. Din demontarea cuptorului și lângă acesta, în umplutura șanțului, au fost descoperite patru vase ceramice întregibile, ce datează (având în vedere caracteristicile lor) acest complex arheologic în a doua jumătate a secolului al X-lea – prima jumătate a secolului al XI-lea. Funcționalitatea acestui cuptor, considerăm noi, este una casnică (cel mai probabil folosit pentru gătit), ceea ce poate veni în sprijinul ipotezei conform căreia în această zonă a existat o așezare aparținând acestei perioade.*

The thorough archeological research works from Hunedoara – conducted in the *Grădina Castelului* (the research team was set up by univ. prof. dr. Sabin Adrian Luca starting with 1996 and the authors of this study were a part of it. We hereby express our gratitude towards our professor for his kindness in offering us these materials to be brought to public attention and for his outermost useful advice), have continued in the year 2001 as well, when the 16 x 4 meter sized trench S IV/201-2002 (plan 2) was opened and placed in the south-eastern side of the site (plan 1). On this occasion two complexes were identified, chronologically assigned to the Early Middle Ages period (Luca et alii. 2002, 154. The dating the authors then proposed was the 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> century p.Chr.). Among these, the oven C<sub>1</sub>, as we will call it, was situated in the south-western half of the surface (plan 2A), showing a size of 1,54 x 1,20 meters (plan 3B, picture 4) and the appearance of a stone agglomerate made of dolomitic limestone blocks of medium and large sizes (50 x

24 centimeters were the sizes of the largest stone) lying on dark brown – reddish spongy soil (plan 2B, number 10; picture 2). The oven presented an access pit in the shape of an approx. 1 meter wide ditch set crosswise on the development of the digging (plan 3B), showing a spongy dark brown – reddish filling material with intrusions of black-ashy or brown soil. In 2001, the proper fire installation was revealed in proportion to 80%, the remaining 20% being incorporated in the longitudinal profile on the north-eastern and south-western direction. The respective profile was straightened in 2002 – we illustrated the second profile line by means of a pointed route (plan 2A, 3B) – and this led to the discovery of the part included here (plan 2A, 3B; picture 5).

After dismantling the "stone structure" level by level (plan 3A a, b, c) in order to understand its construction type better, as well as after emptying the access pit, we found four completable vessels (sketch I, II; picture 8-11) and multiple ceramic fragments from the Iron and the Bronze Age (not illustrated), the latter being in secondary position since the setting up of the respective fire installation implied the "cutting" of a deepened complex containing ceramic fragments from the early Iron Age (plan 3B), of a level belonging to the Bronze Age and of the sterile soil layer from an archaeological view-point (plan 2B).

The interior of this oven showed the sizes of 0,80 x 0,80 meters and the fireplace was shaped like a slight bottom in the sterile soil, with an appreciatively circular shape with a diameter of 60 centimeter (picture 7) and filled up with ash (plan 3A c).

Next to the oven at approx. 1 m distance to the east we discovered a cavity of 1,50 x 0,90 meters with a depth between 0,10 – 0,25 meters compared to the level where it was found (plan 3B), whose filling material was made up of ash and very little ceramic and osteological fragments.

At a distance of about 2,20 meters from the C<sub>1</sub> oven towards the north-eastern end of the S IV surface, an agglomerate of three stones was found (plan 3B; picture 6) – which we called C<sub>2</sub> – (bearing a strong resemblance to the C<sub>1</sub> stones), next to them being placed a completable vessel (sketch III/5) and a jaw bone belonging to a herbivorous mammal of medium height, the present complex also "cutting" like the previous one the level belonging to the Bronze Age. Considering the presence of nine similar stones (plan 2A) in a distance of about 1,50 meters to this complex to the east, lying on a yellowish grainy soil (which used to be the filling levels of a medieval moat dated in the 18<sup>th</sup> century based on the discovery of a coin issued in 1760) (Level with number 6 in plan 2B), we have strong evidence to believe that the layout and the usage of the respective moat affected the C<sub>2</sub> complex to a large extent.

No dwelling elements were found, which could have belonged to the respective fire installations, but there are such fire installations placed next to dwellings (Coman 1970, 164 in Moldova at Spinoasa-Iași, Suceava, Hlincea, Botoșana; Theodor 1996, 80), at the periphery of settlements (Theodor 1996, 80) or in areas especially designed for kilns (Theodor 1978, 106; a similar area of this type identified in Epureni-Vaslui).

Since we cannot appreciate the architecture of the C<sub>2</sub> complex (fragmentary), the C<sub>1</sub> oven offers us enough data to issue some opinions on the construction type of this fire installation.

The collapsing type of the “stone structure” (plan 3B; picture 4) and the clues after its dismantling (plan 3A) indicate that the respective fire installation used to be part of a kiln type made of wood in the shape of a horseshoe, with a vault made of stone as well and glued with clay, with a slightly hollowed fireplace, bearing good analogy features to the extra Carpathian space (Coman 1970, 164; Diaconu-Vilceanu 1972, 6; Theodor 1996, 81), with an annexed access pit and a nearby cavity used as ash storage place.

Speaking of the utility of this fire installation, relying on its above mentioned features, we may state that this is not a heating device, since it does not belong to a dwelling. We also consider that the present oven could not serve as an ore reduction kiln, since it does not bear the characteristics of that certain installation type (Olteanu 1983, 90-91, 93) and no tubes or fragments of blowing clay tubes serving were found, as well as any iron slag traces were missing from the entire complex (annexes inclusive), as happened in the case of other ovens used in this purpose (Olteanu 1983, 90; Țeicu-Lazarovici 1996, 102) and last but not least, the clay structure serving as glue to the stones of the oven and the soil in the fireplace area showed no trace of having been exposed to very high temperatures (over 1000° C) (Olteanu 1983, 93). This installation could have been used to burn ceramics, since the access pit was specific to ceramic kilns equipped with a grate, a fire room and a burning room (there is no such case), called „the potter pit”, where the vessels to be burned and part of the necessary fuel were deposited (Olteanu 1983, 84), but there are further arguments sustaining that handmade vessels used to be burned in simple ovens (Theodor 1996, 107). In case of the C<sub>1</sub> oven, its access pit was shaped like a narrow ditch, where the storage of a part of the necessary fuel and of the vessels to be burned would have turned this “stone structure” into an installation relatively difficult to use. The fact that the access pit layout might have served for the prevention of possible fires, which could have endangered the nearby settlement is a mere supposition at this time. Very good arguments supporting the idea regarding the usage of the present oven for cooking rely on the fact that two of the vessels (sketch I/2; sketch II/2) identified in the respective complex suffered a secondary burning, which slightly deformed them, and two of them show the above mentioned crust on the inside, which proves that at least those respective vessels were exposed to relatively high temperatures. It is interesting to observe that the two slightly deformed vessels were exposed to a secondary burning only on one side, which leads us to the theory that they were placed on the warmth source only with this side. This argument and the lack of any portable fireplace fragments, which could facilitate the total introduction of vessels inside of the oven, takes us to the assumption that food was boiled in the area towards the oven aperture, therefore the lateral heating of the vessels, idea which was considered before (Diaconu-Vilceanu 1972, 68).

From the typological view-point, this kind of oven is an extremely frequent presence during the 6<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> century (Theodor 1996, 81), never missing from any settlement in the 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> century (Theodor 1978, 105). The ceramic material discovered within the C<sub>1</sub> and C<sub>2</sub> complexes consists of the fragments of five completable vessels (sketch I/1, 2; sketch II/1, 2; sketch III/5; picture 8-11), medium-sized (Țeicu-Lazarovici 1996, 36; classification criteria of the vessels: their height, the short ones measuring 10-12 centimeters, the medium-sized ones up to 25 centimeters, and the high ones above 25 centimeters) (the shortest measures 14, 5 centimeters and the highest 20 centimeters). Four of these vessels are processed on a slow speed wheel, one showing spatula traces on the inner part (sketch I/2), slightly burned, belonging to the semi-fine category, sand and gravel used as degreasing substances (small mica fragments show up, but in our opinion these come from the storage place where the degreasing sand was extracted, since mica was not a material the respective potters used deliberately), dark colored, from grey to black pieces, grey and brown-grey, two of these vessels (sketch I/1; sketch II/2) presenting on the inner wall a thin crust (of about 0,5 millimeters), carbonized. The fifth vessel is being assigned to the fine category, with big grained sand as degreasing substance, processed on the fast speed wheel, of brown color with grey pieces.

From the point of view of their shape, all five vessels fit the jar-vessel (Horedt 1951, 211; XXX 1954, 220; Popa 1961, 227; Comșa 1963, 109; Aldea-Ciugudean 1981, 148) or pot-jar (Anghel 1968, 473; Diaconu-Vîlceanu 1972, 71, 73; Theodor 1996, 59) types, with a few insignificant differences. Therefore, the mouth diameter of the vessel in sketch I/1, picture 8, is larger than that of the bottom, its body is kind of bulging out (the maximal development diameter of the vessel body is 2 centimeter larger than the mouth diameter), the shoulders are slightly flattened, the neck is relatively high and the rim strongly widened and rounded up with no potter mark on the bottom, the latter being slightly deepened thanks to the support it was placed on during the manufacture process.

The mouth diameter of the vessel in sketch I/2, picture 9, is also larger than that of the bottom, but this resides on the fact that the difference between these two values is not as big as in the case of the previous vessel, the shoulders are a little bit more preminent, the neck shorter, the rounded rim not as wide, and the height is a half centimeter shorter, this vessel being less slender, but with a higher capacity.

The vessel bears no potter marks either, showing a slight hollow. In case of the vessel in sketch II/1, picture 10 we cannot speak of potter marks on the bottom, because the bottom is missing. The rim is strongly widened, the shoulders flattened, and the strongly bulging out globular body indicates a rather big difference between the diameter of the mouth and that of the bottom, even if the latter one is missing. This globular shape of the vessel body could be a result of the fast speed wheel usage and of a good quality paste used in the manufacture process. The last of the vessels discovered in oven C<sub>1</sub> (sketch II/2) shows a relatively slender shape, the mouth diameter being larger than that of the bottom, with a widened rim showing a straight cut, the neck is not very high, the shoulders are flattened and the body

relatively bulged out (the maximal development diameter of the vessel body is 3 centimeters larger than the mouth diameter), presenting no potter mark on the bottom as well. The vessel discovered near the remains of oven C<sub>2</sub> is the slimmest of them all (the proportion between its height and its maximal development diameter of the body is the largest). The neck is short, the shoulders flat, the body slightly bulging out, the bottom slightly hollowed and the presence of a potter mark could not be confirmed or infirmed since the remains of the bottom of this vessel only consist in a small-sized fragment.

Considering the ornaments, we noticed the presence of simple winding lines (two by number and designed in large, carefully traced and deep waves), placed on the vessel shoulder, associated with fewer (sketch I/1) or more frequent (sketch II/2) horizontal lines, traced deep, which partly cover the body of the vessel. Then some deep horizontal lines appear, placed rarely on the vessel's body, covering it entirely (sketch II/1). A strip of horizontal lines on the shoulder of the vessel can further be observed, delimited in the upper part by a simple winding line (sort of carelessly designed, in short waves), and in the lower part by a winding, larger strip, made up of two waving lines (sketch I/2). The ornament present on the vessel from C<sub>2</sub> consists of two strips of winding lines, made up of five waving lines, carefully executed, but not deep, completed in the lower part of the vessel with horizontal lines, some superficially traced.

Ceramic fragments assigned to the Early Middle Ages with very good analogies from the view-point of structure, shape and ornaments to the ceramics found in the two complexes, were discovered in Hunedoara - *Castle's Garden* during the previous research years (sketch III/1-3), but had no primary stratigraphical position and were involved in the later intervention works conducted in this area.

Arguments supporting the dating theory of these structures reside in the ceramic vessels discovered within the respective complexes, all of them resembling the so-called jar vessels from the point of view of their shape, medium-sized and varied, the vessels in sketch I/1 and sketch II/2 bearing good analogies to Alba-Iulia (Popa 1961, sketch I/6; a minimal correction is due regarding this vessel: in the frame of the respective study it is presented on sketch I/3), the vessel in sketch I/2 resembling with materials from the Transylvanian space (Horedt 1951, sketch X//; XIV/5), like the case of the vessel in sketch III/5 (Horedt 1951, sketch XIV/9) and the shape in sketch II/1 (Horedt 1951, sketch X/6), only possible by processing it on the fast speed potter wheel. Speaking of the rim profile, the rims are rounded up (sketch I/1, 2; sketch II/1), with on exception (sketch II/2), this one showing a straight cut. Analogies to the rim profiles presented in sketch I/1,2 and sketch II/1 can be found in Alba Iulia (Anghel 1968, fig. 4/7, 8), Hunedoara-*Grădina Castelului* (Sketch III/2, 3 of the present study; material located in the warehouse of the Corvinești Castle Museum in Hunedoara, nr. inv. A 3997, A 4462), and for the one in sketch II/2 there are similar structures in Alba Iulia (Anghel 1968, fig. 4/4) and Hunedoara-*Dealul Sânpetru* (Sketch III/4 of the present study; material located in the warehouse of the Corvinești Castle Museum in Hunedoara, nr. inv. A 4638).

The vessels in sketch I/1, sketch II/2 bear strong resembling features considering the ornaments (made up of winding lines places on the shoulder combined with horizontal lines which cover the lower part of the vessels) with materials from Alba Iulia (Popa 1961, sketch I/6; Anghel 1968, fig. 6/6, 9), Lechința de Mureș (xxx 1952, fig. 8/10), Morești (xxx 1954, fig. 10/6) and Hunedoara-Grădina Castelului (Sketch III/2 of the present study), and the ornament (made up of horizontal, relatively rare, incised lines, which cover the entire vessel body) present on the vessel in sketch II/1 also appears at Blandiana (Horedt 1966, abb. 11/9) and Moldovenești (xxx 1952, fig. 4/7), and the winding strip on the vessel in sketch III/5 bears good analogy features from this point of view with the ceramics from Alba Iulia (Anghel 1968, fig. 8/11, 13).

Speaking of chronological issues regarding the materials from Hunedoara-Grădina Castelului (sketch III/1-3) resulted after years of thorough research works, the materials offer much clearer dating elements with the appearance of sockets around the vessel's neck, associated with horizontal lines (sketch III/1) or slanting cuts (sketch III/3), these elements being looked upon as particularly specific to the ceramics from the 11<sup>th</sup> century, with no antecedents in the previous centuries (Anghel 1968, 209). Speaking of the structure and the accomplishment manner of the incised ornaments, these ceramic fragments bear analogy features up to identical elements with the ceramics discovered within the two complexes presented here, which argues one more the chronology of the respective structures.

The ceramic fragment from Hunedoara-Dealul Sânpetru has analogies with the materials from Alba-Iulia (Anghel 1968, fig. 4/4) speaking of the rim shape, and also of the ornament (Anghel 1968, fig. 6/8), made up of a strip of waving lines, considered typical to the centuries following the 7<sup>th</sup> century (Horedt 1951, 209). The ceramic fragment comes from a surface discovery, unfortunately the respective archeological site was not systematically researched so far and we have no complete information on its dating.

All these analogies with materials assigned to the period between the 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> century in case of those from Alba Iulia (Anghel 1968, 480), 10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> century from Morești (xxx 1954, 220), 11<sup>th</sup> century for Lechința de Mureș (xxx 1952, 327) and Moldovenești (xxx 1952, 318) as well as the considerations related to the ornament features of the Early Middle Ages (Horedt 1951, 208-211), allow us to set the chronology of the two complexes in the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century – the first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

Nevertheless strongly considering the insufficient current state of research works, the domestic functionality of oven C<sub>1</sub> gives way to the assumption referring to the presence of a settlement belonging to the above mentioned period of time situated close to this complex, a settlement whose location was suggested by other authors as well (Lupescu 2003, 8).

*English translation by Irina Ivanovici*

### Illustrations list

- Plan 1:** Topographical survey of Hunedoara-Castle's Garden, with the location of the S IV trench within the respective archaeological site.
- Plan 2:** A. General plan of the S IV trench, with the location of the C<sub>1</sub> and C<sub>2</sub> complexes.  
B. Vertical stratigraphy disclosed on the longitudinal profile in the north-eastern and south-western direction, in between meters 5 and 12
- Plan 3:** A. Dismantling of oven C<sub>1</sub> level by level (a., b., c.).  
B. Horizontal plan of the S IV trench (in between meters 5 and 12), with the location of the C<sub>1</sub> and C<sub>2</sub> complexes and the ash pit.
- Sketch I:** Ceramic vessels next to oven C<sub>1</sub> (1, 2).  
1 – completable vessel, of semi-fine category, dark brown-ashy color with dark grey pieces, sand, gravel and mica as degreasing substances, slight burning, processed on slow wheel, D g = 12 cm, D f = 8, 5 cm, H = 15 cm.  
2 – completable vessel, of semi-fine category, grey color (upper part), brown-ashy color (lower part), sand and gravel as degreasing substances, slight burning, secondary burning, processed on slow wheel, spatula traces on the inside, D g = 15 cm, D f = 10 cm, H = 14,5 cm..
- Sketch II:** Ceramic vessels next to oven C<sub>1</sub> (1, 2).  
1 – completable vessel, of semi-fine category, brown color with dark grey pieces, big grained sand as degreasing substance, a relatively good burning, processed on fast wheel, D g = 16 cm, H ≈ 17 cm.  
2 – completable vessel, of semi-fine category, grey color with black pieces (upper part), brown-ashy color (lower part), sand and gravel as degreasing substances, slight burning, secondary burning, processed on slow wheel, D g = 13 cm, D f = 10 cm, H = 20 cm.
- Sketch III:** Ceramic fragments discovered in Hunedoara- Castle's Garden in S<sub>2</sub>/1998, (1, 2) and S III/1999, (3).  
Ceramic fragment discovered in Hunedoara-Dealul Sînpetru (4).  
Ceramic vessel discovered next to the oven remains C<sub>2</sub> (5).  
1 –ceramic fragment, of semi-fine category, dark grey, gravel as degreasing substance, slight burning, processed on slow wheel, S 2/1998, square 6, depth 0,60-0,70 m, inventory no. A 3983.  
2 –ceramic fragment, of semi-fine category, dark grey (outer part), brown-ashy color (inner part), sand and gravel as degreasing substances, a relatively good burning, processed on slow wheel, S

2/1998, square 6, depth 0,80-1 m, inventory no. A 3997 and a not illustrated fragment from the same vessel, inventory no. A 3996.

3 –ceramic fragment, of the fine category, dark grey color (outer part), brown-ashy color (inner part), big grained sand as degreasing substance, good burning, processed on fast wheel, S III/1998, ditch filling material, inventory no. A 4462.

4 –ceramic fragment, of semi-fine category, dark grey (outer part), brown-ashy color (inner part), sand, gravel and mica as degreasing substances, a relatively good burning, processed on slow wheel, a fortunate discovery in Hunedoara-Dealul Sânpetru, 1973, inventory no. A 4638.

5 – completable vessel, of semi-fine category, brown-ashy color with black pieces, sand and gravel as degreasing substances, slight burning, processed on slow wheel, D f = 8 cm, H ≈ 18 cm.

**Picture 1:** S IV/2001-2002. Overview with the position of oven C<sub>1</sub>.

**Picture 2:** Oven C<sub>1</sub>. Image during excavation processes.

**Picture 3:** Oven C<sub>1</sub> when it was discovered. Front view.

**Picture 4:** Oven C<sub>1</sub> when it was discovered. High view.

**Picture 5:** Remains of C<sub>1</sub> uncovered in 2002, after rectification of the longitudinal profile of trench S IV.

**Picture 6:** Remains of oven C<sub>2</sub>. High view.

**Picture 7:** The fire place of oven C<sub>1</sub> resulted after dismantling of fire installation.

**Picture 8:** Vessel discovered in feature C<sub>1</sub>, corresponding to figure1, sketch I.

**Picture 9:** Vessel discovered in feature C<sub>1</sub>, corresponding to figure2, sketch I.

**Picture 10:** Vessel discovered in feature C<sub>1</sub>, corresponding to figure1, sketch II.

**Picture 11:** Vessel discovered in feature C<sub>1</sub>, corresponding to figure2, sketch II.



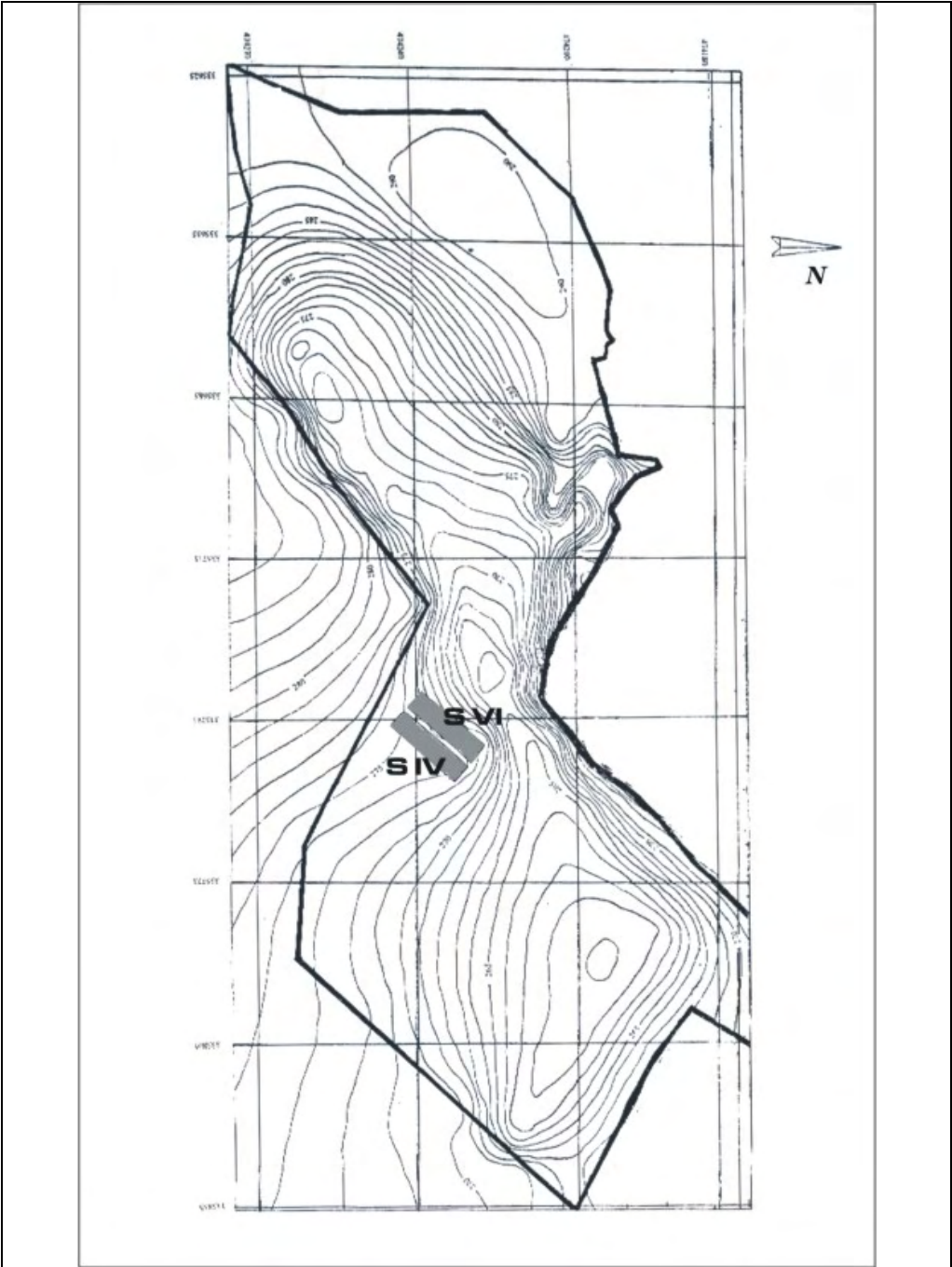
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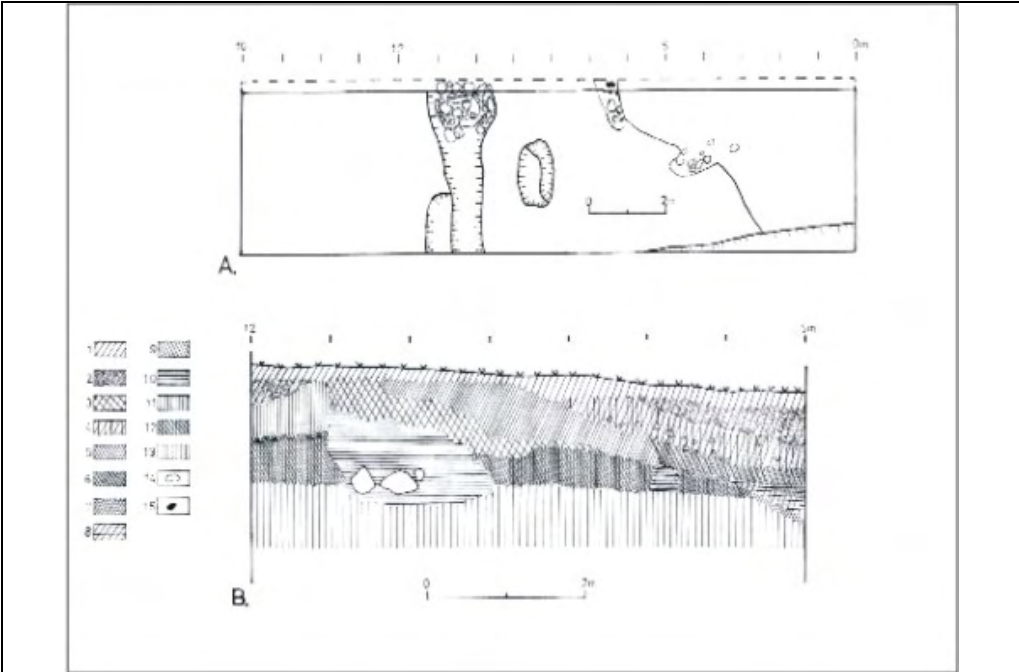
- xxx 1952 *arheologia unui sat medieval din Clisura Dunării*, Editura Banatica, 1996.
- xxx 1952 *Șantierul "Așezări slave în regiunile Mureș și Cluj"*, în SCIV III, 1952, 311-345.
- xxx 1954 *Șantierul arheologic Morești (reg. Tg. Mureș, Reg.Aut.Maghiară)*, în SCIV IV/1-2, 1954, 199-227.

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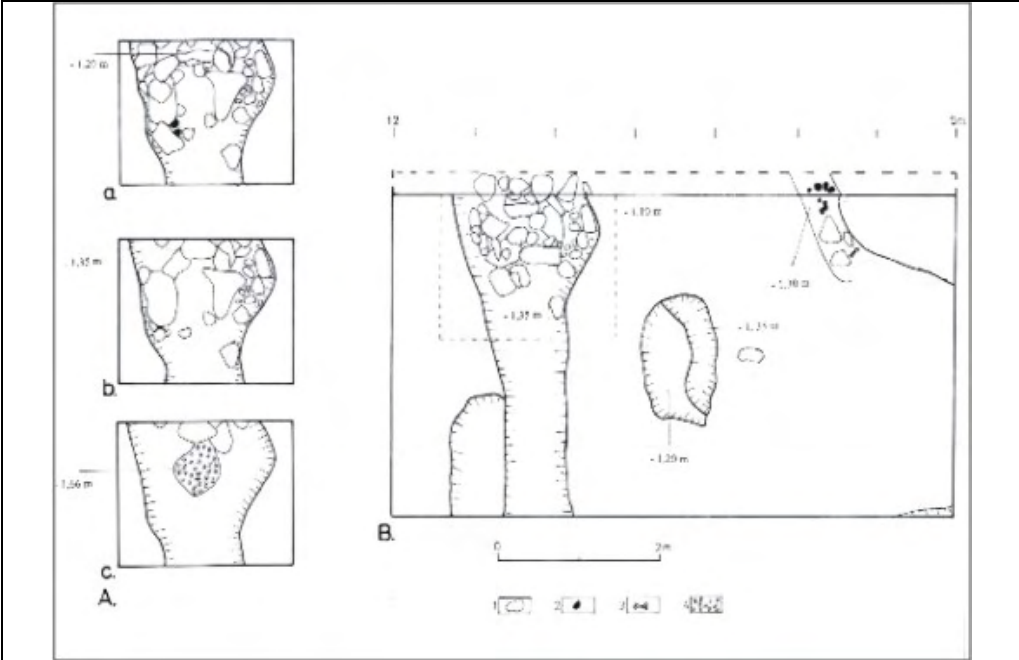
- Apulum - Apulum. Acta Musei Apulensis, Alba Iulia.
- CCA - Cronică Cercetărilor Arheologice
- Dacia N.S. - Dacia. Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne. Nouvelle Série, București.
- Danubius - Danubius. Muzeul Județean de Istorie-Galați, Galați.
- MT - Mediăvalia Transilvanica. Muzeul Județean Satu-Mare, Satu-Mare.
- SCIV - Studii și cercetări de istorie veche, București



Plan 1.



Plan 2.



Plan 3.



Picture 1.



Picture 2.



Picture 3.



Picture 4.



Picture 5.



Picture 6.



Picture 7.



Picture 8.



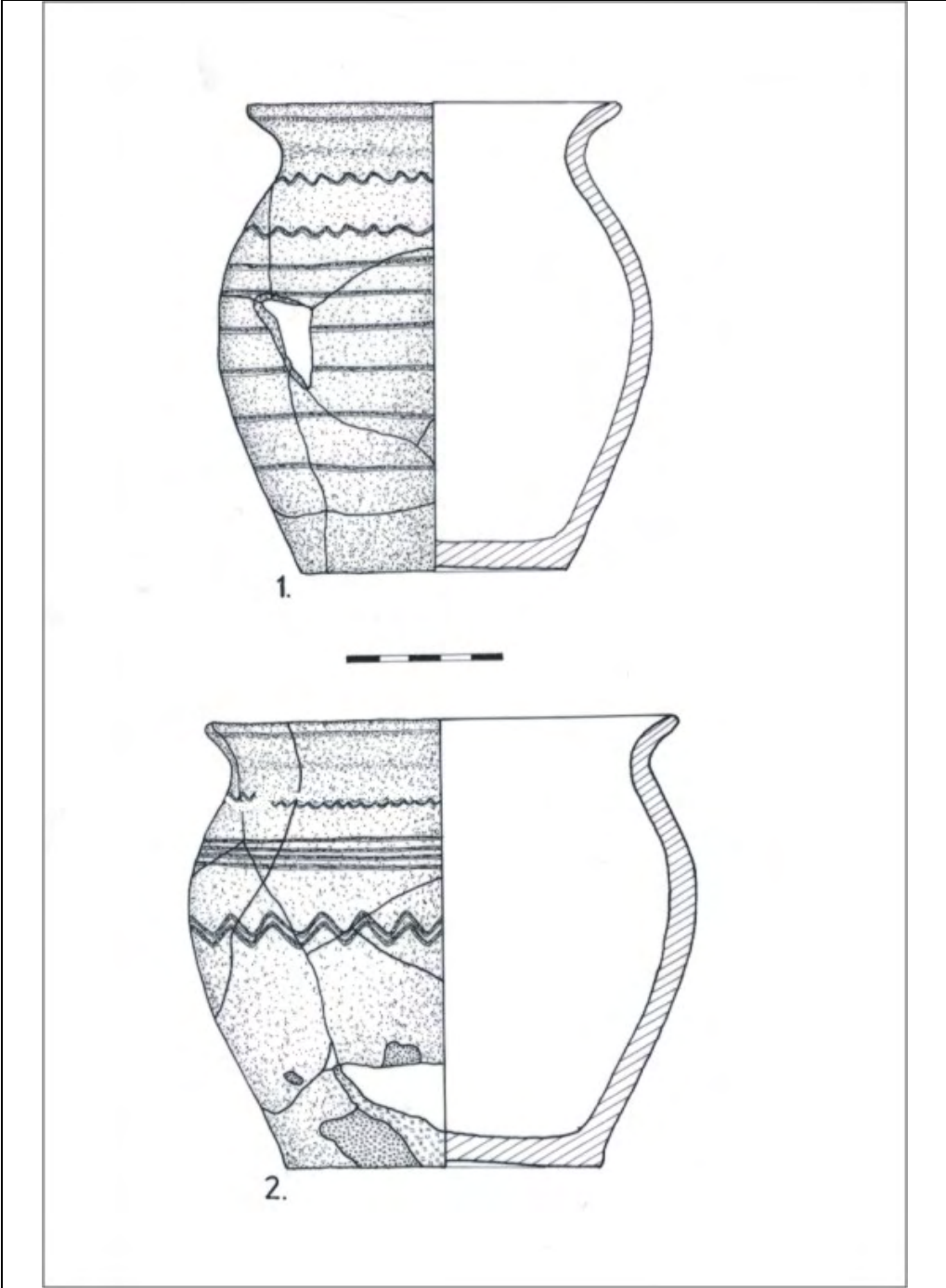
Picture 9.



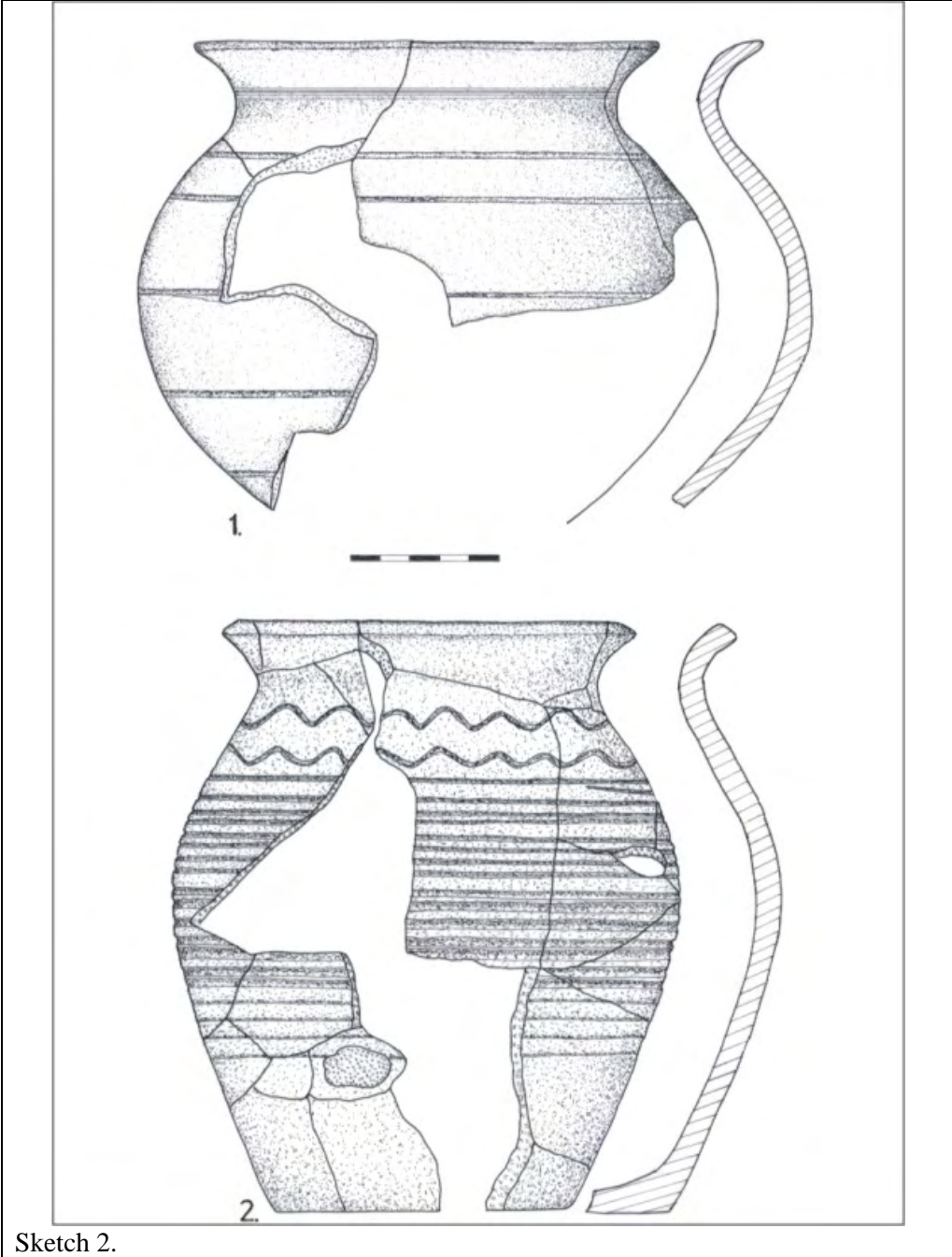
Picture 10.



Picture 11.

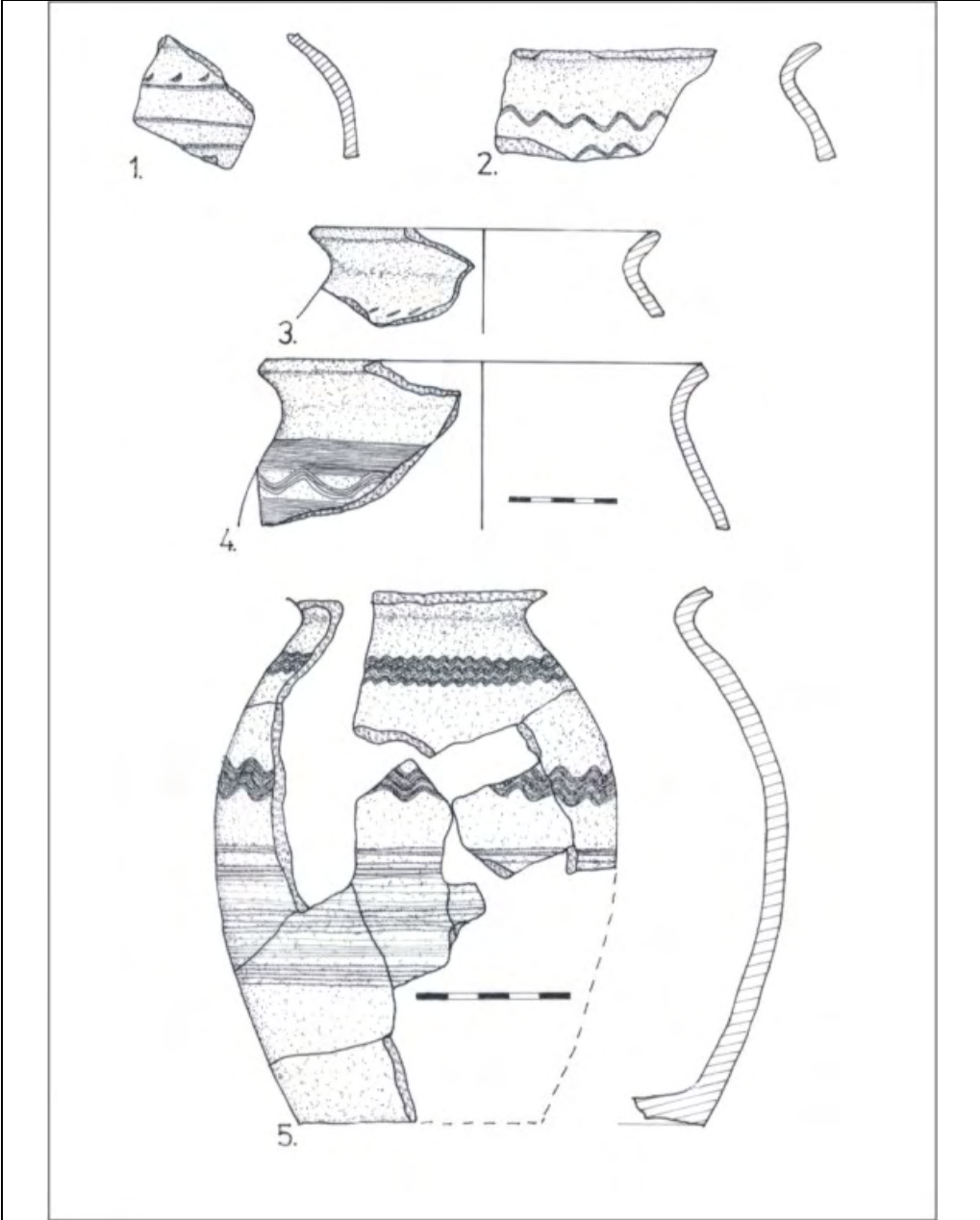


Sketch 1.



Sketch 2.





Sketch 3.



## LISTA ABREVIERILOR BIBLIOGRAFICE

<b>AAC</b>	Acta Archaeologica Carpathica, Cracovia
<b>AAASH</b>	Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae, Budapesta
<b>AARMSI</b>	Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile secțiunii istorice, București
<b>AB</b>	Analele Banatului, Timișoara
<b>ACMIT</b>	Anuarul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice, secția pentru Transilvania, Cluj
<b>ActaAntArch</b>	Acta Antiqua et Archaeologica, Szeged
<b>Acta MM</b>	Acta Moldaviae Meridionalis, Muzeul Județean Vaslui
<b>ActaMN</b>	Acta Mvsei Napocensis, Cluj Napoca
<b>ActaMP</b>	Acta Mvsei Prolissensis, Zalău
<b>ActaTS</b>	Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis, Sibiu
<b>Acta Valahica</b>	Acta Valahica, Târgoviște
<b>Actes du...</b>	Actes du IX <sup>e</sup> Congrès international d'études sur le frontières romaines, Mamaia, 6-13 septembrie, 1972, București – Köln – Viena, 1974
<b>AEMO</b>	Archäologisch-Epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn, Viena
<b>AH</b>	Archaeologia Historica, Brno
<b>AHA</b>	Acta Historia Artium, Budapesta
<b>AICUSUS</b>	Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane, Sibiu
<b>AIAC</b>	Anuarul Institutului de istorie și arheologie, Cluj-Napoca
<b>AIIA-Iași</b>	Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie „A. D. Xenopol”, Iași
<b>AISC</b>	Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice, Cluj-Napoca
<b>Alvta</b>	Alvta, Sfântu Gheorghe
<b>AM</b>	Arheologia Moldovei, Iași
<b>Anale UCDC</b>	Analele Universității Creștine «Dimitrie Cantemir», Seria Istorie, București
<b>Angustia</b>	Angustia, Muzeul Carpaților Răsăriteni, Sf. Gheorghe
<b>AnnuBritSchool Athens</b>	The Annual of the British School at Athens, Londra
<b>AO</b>	Arhivele Olteniei, Craiova
<b>AOASH</b>	Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae, Budapesta
<b>AÖG</b>	Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte, Viena
<b>APA</b>	Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica, Berlin
<b>APH</b>	Acta Poloniae Historica, Cracovia
<b>AP</b>	Archeologia Polski, Varșovia
<b>Apvlvm</b>	Apvlvm. Acta Mvsei Apvlensis, Alba Iulia
<b>ArchÉrt</b>	Archaeologiai Értesítő, Budapesta
<b>ArchIug</b>	Archaeologia Iugoslavica, Belgrad.
<b>ArchKözl</b>	Archaeologiai Közlemények, Budapesta

<b>ArchPolona</b>	Archaeologia Polona, Warszawa
<b>ArchRozhledy</b>	Archeologické rozhledy, Praha
<b>ArchSlovFontes</b>	Archaeologia Slovaca Fontes, Bratislava
<b>Argessis</b>	Argessis, Complexul Muzeal Județean Argeș, Pitești
<b>Археология</b>	Археология, Київ
<b>AȘUI</b>	Analele Științifice ale Universității „Al.I.Cuza” Iași
<b>AV</b>	Archeologia Veneta
<b>AVSL</b>	Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde, Sibiu
<b>BAI</b>	Bibliotheca Archaeologica Iassiensis, Iași
<b>Banatica</b>	Banatica, Reșița
<b>BAR</b>	British Archaeological Reports, Oxford
<b>BAHC</b>	Bibliotheca Archaeologica et Historica Corvinensis, Hunedoara
<b>BCȘS</b>	Buletinul Cercurilor Științifice Studențești, Universitatea «1 Decembrie 1918», Facultatea de Istorie, Alba Iulia
<b>BerRGK</b>	Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Frankfurt am Main
<b>BHAB</b>	Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Banatica, Timișoara
<b>BMA</b>	Bibliotheca Mvsei Apvlensis, Alba Iulia
<b>BMI</b>	Buletinul monumentelor istorice, București
<b>BMG</b>	Buletinul Muzeului Județean «Teohari Antonescu», Giurgiu
<b>BMN</b>	Bibliotheca Mvsei Napocensis, Cluj Napoca
<b>BSNR</b>	Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române, București
<b>BSSRG</b>	Buletinul Societății Regale Române de Geografie, București
<b>BT</b>	Bibliotheca Thracologica, București
<b>BullCorrHellénique</b>	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, Paris
<b>Bull IA</b>	Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology, University of London
<b>CA</b>	Cercetări Arheologice, București
<b>CAN</b>	Cercetări arheologice în aria nord-tracă, București, 1999
<b>Carpica</b>	Carpica, Bacău
<b>CB</b>	Caiete Banatica – seria arheologie, Reșița
<b>CC</b>	Codrii Cosminului, Suceava
<b>CCA</b>	Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice, București
<b>CCDJ</b>	Cultură și civilizație la Dunărea de Jos, Călărași
<b>ChG</b>	Chateau Gaillard, Gent
<b>CI</b>	Cercetări istorice, Iași
<b>CIL</b>	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
<b>CIMEC</b>	Institutul de Memorie Culturală, Ministerul Culturii și Cultelor, București
<b>CISAE</b>	Congrès International des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques
<b>CISPP</b>	Congrès International des Sciences Préhistoriques et Protohistoriques
<b>CN</b>	Cercetări Numismatice, București
<b>Corviniana</b>	Corviniana. Acta Mvsei Corvinensis, Hunedoara
<b>Crisia</b>	Crisia, Oradea
<b>CSIR</b>	Corpus signorum imperii Romani
<b>Dacia</b>	Dacia. Recherches et découvertes archéologiques en Roumanie, București
<b>DaciaNS</b>	Dacia. Recherches et découvertes archéologiques en Roumanie,

	Nouvelle série, București
<b>Danubius</b>	Danubius, Galați
<b>DER</b>	Din istoria Europei romane, Oradea
<b>DIR</b>	Documente privind istoria României, București
<b>DolgCluj</b>	Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Nemzeti Érem- és Régiségtárából, Klozsvár (Cluj).
<b>DolgSzeged</b>	Dolgozatok. Arbeiten des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität, Szeged.
<b>DRH</b>	Documenta Romaniae Historica, București
<b>EAZ</b>	Ethnographische-Archäologische Zeitschrift, Berlin
<b>Eirene</b>	Eirene. Studia Graeca et Latina, Praha
<b>EN</b>	Ephemeris Napocensis, Cluj Napoca
<b>Erasmus</b>	Erasmus. Revistă a Societății de Studii Istorice Erasmus, București
<b>ERAUL</b>	Études et recherches archéologique de l'Université de Liège, Liège
<b>ErdMúz</b>	Erdélyi Múzeum, Cluj-Napoca.
<b>ÉvkDebrecen</b>	A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve, Debrecen.
<b>ÉvkNyíregyháza</b>	A Nyíregyházai Jós András Múzeum Évkönyve, Nyíregyháza.
<b>ÉvkSzeged</b>	A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve, Szeged
<b>ÉvkSzekszárd</b>	A Szekszárdi Béri Balogh Ádám Múzeum Évkönyve=A Wosinsky Mór Múzeum Évkönyve, Szekszárd
<b>FAH</b>	Fontes Archaeologici Hungariae, Budapest.
<b>FolArch</b>	Folia Archaeologica, Budapesta
<b>ForVL</b>	Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde, Sibiu
<b>Germania</b>	Germania. Anzeigen der Römisch- Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Frankfurt
<b>GodišnjakSarajevo</b>	Godišnjak Centra za Balkanološka Ispitivanja Akademije Nauka i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo.
<b>Hierasus</b>	Hierasus, Botoșani.
<b>HK</b>	Hadtörténelmi Közlemények, Budapesta
<b>IDR</b>	Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae, București
<b>ILS</b>	Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae
<b>IOSPE</b>	B. Latischew, <i>Inscriptiones antiquae orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini</i> , St. Petersburg / Petrograd
<b>IPEK</b>	Jahrbuch für Prähistorische und Ethnographische Kunst, Berlin
<b>IPH</b>	Inventaria Praehistorica Hungariae, Budapesta
<b>ISM</b>	Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris, București
<b>Istros</b>	Istros. Muzeul Brăilei, Brăila
<b>Istro-Pontica</b>	Istro-Pontica, Tulcea
<b>ITSR</b>	Istorie și tradiție în spațiul românesc, Sibiu
<b>JelMagyarNemzeti Múz</b>	Jelentés a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapesta
<b>JKKCEB</b>	Jahrbuch der Kaiserlich Königlich Central Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmäler, Viena
<b>JNG</b>	Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte
<b>JournalHellStud</b>	Journal of Hellenic Studies, Londra
<b>JournalFieldArch</b>	Journal of Field Archaeology, Boston.
<b>JSK</b>	Jahrbuch des Siebenbürgischer Karpatenvereins, Brașov
<b>KözCluj</b>	Közlemények az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem-és Régiségtárából,

	Cluj.
<b>KVSL</b>	Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für sibenbürgische Landeskunde, Sibiu
<b>LNMDR</b>	The Late Neolithic of the Middle Danube Region, Timișoara
<b>LNTR</b>	The Late Neolithic of the Tisza Region, Budapesta – Szolnok
<b>Lucrări științifice</b>	Lucrări științifice ale Institutului Pedagogic Oradea
<b>MAGW</b>	Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien, Wiena
<b>Marisia</b>	Marisia. Studii și materiale, Târgu Mureș
<b>MatArchSlov</b>	Materialia Archaeologica Slovaca, Nitra
<b>MCA</b>	Materiale și cercetări arheologice, București
<b>Mem Antiq</b>	Memoria Antiquitatis, Muzeul Județean de Istorie, Piatra Neamț
<b>MFME-StudArch</b>	A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve. Studia Archaeologica, Szeged.
<b>MKKZEB</b>	Mitteilungen der Keiserlich Königlichen Zentralkommission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmäler
<b>MKÉ</b>	Múzeumi és Könyvtári Értesítő, Budapesta
<b>MI</b>	Magazin istoric, București
<b>MIA</b>	Materialy i issledovanija po arheologii, SSSR, Moscova-Leningrad
<b>MittArchInst</b>	Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Institutes der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Budapest.
<b>OmCD</b>	Omagiu lui Constantin Daicoviciu cu prilejul împlinirii a 60 de ani, București, 1960
<b>OrăștieFD</b>	Orăștie. Fragmentarium documentar. Orăștie (1995)
<b>OxfordJournal Arch</b>	Oxford Journal of Archaeology, Oxford
<b>PA</b>	Patrimonium Apulense, Alba Iulia.
<b>PAS</b>	Prähistorische Archäologie in Südosteuropa, Berlin
<b>PBF</b>	Prähistorische brozefunde, München
<b>Peuce</b>	Peuce, Tulcea
<b>PMJH</b>	Publicațiile Muzeului Județean Hunedoara, Deva
<b>Pontica</b>	Pontica, Constanța
<b>PoročiloLjubljana</b>	Poročilo o raziskovanju paleolita, neolita in eneolita v Sloveniji, Ljubljana.
<b>PPS</b>	Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society, Cambridge.
<b>Potaissa</b>	Potaissa, Turda
<b>PZ</b>	Prähistorische Zeitschrift, Berlin
<b>RadMV (=RadVM)</b>	Rad Muzeja Vojvodjane, Novi Sad (titlu schimbat din 1994)
<b>RadVM</b>	Rad Vojvodjanskih Muzeja, Novi Sad
<b>RégFüz</b>	Régészeti Füzetek, Budapesta
<b>RepArSb</b>	Sabin Adrian Luca, Zeno Karl Pinter, Adrian Georgescu, <i>Repertoriul arheologic al județului Sibiu (situri, monumente arheologice și istorice)</i> , Sibiu, 2003 (= <i>Bibliotheca Septemcastrensis</i> , 3).
<b>Rev Bist</b>	Revista Bistriței, Complexul Muzeal Județean Bistrița-Năsăud, Bistrița
<b>RI</b>	Revista istorică, București
<b>RIM</b>	Revista de istorie militară, București
<b>RIU</b>	Die Römischen Inschriften Ungarns, Budapesta
<b>RMMI</b>	Revista muzeelor și monumentelor istorice, București

<b>SAA</b>	Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica, Iași
<b>Sargetia</b>	Sargetia. Acta Mvsei Devensis, Deva
<b>SBAA</b>	Schriften der Balkankommissison. Antiquarische Abteilung, Viena
<b>SC</b>	Studii Clasice, București
<b>SCA</b>	Studii și cercetări de antropologie, București
<b>SCIV(A)</b>	Studii și cercetări de istorie veche (și arheologie), București
<b>SCN</b>	Studii și cercetări numismatice, București
<b>SCS</b>	Studii și cercetări științifice. Seria istorie-filozofie, Bacău
<b>SCSS</b>	Studii și cercetări științifice, Sibiu
<b>SCSMI</b>	Sesiunea de comunicări științifice a Muzeelor de Istorie, București
<b>SDT</b>	Siebenbürgische Deutsche Tageblatt, Sibiu
<b>SIT</b>	Studii de istorie a Transilvaniei. 1 (1994) Cluj; 2 (1995-1996), Cluj – Oradea
<b>CXM</b>	Сообщения Херсонесского Музея, Sevastopol
<b>SlavA</b>	Slavia Antiqua, Moscova
<b>SlovArch</b>	Slovenská Archeológia, Bratislava
<b>SMMIM</b>	Studii și materiale de muzeografie și istorie militară, București
<b>SRH</b>	Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum, I-II, Budapesta
<b>StComB</b>	Studii și comunicări Brukenthal (seria arheologie-istorie), Sibiu
<b>StComCar</b>	Studii și Comunicări de etnografie și istorie, Caransebeș
<b>StCom-Sf. Gheorghe</b>	Studii și comunicări, Sfântu Gheorghe
<b>StComSM</b>	Studii și Comunicări. Satu Mare, Satu Mare
<b>StUnivBB</b>	Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai, Cluj Napoca
<b>StUnivBBT</b>	Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai, Theologia graeco-catholica Varadiensis, Oradea
<b>SV</b>	Siebenbürgische Vierteljahrsschrift, Sibiu
<b>ThD</b>	Thraco-Dacica, București
<b>Tib-StComCar</b>	Tibiscum. Studii și Comunicări de etnografie și istorie, Caransebeș
<b>Transilvania</b>	Transilvania, Sibiu
<b>Tyragetia</b>	Tyragetia, Chișinău.
<b>UJ</b>	Ungarischer Jahrbuch, Budapesta
<b>UKB</b>	Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbüngen, Brașov – Sibiu
<b>UPA</b>	Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie, Bonn
<b>QSSK</b>	Quellen zur Seschichte der Stadt Kronstadt, Brașov
<b>VCRCC</b>	The Vinča Culture, its Role and Cultural connections, Timișoara (1996)
<b>ВДИ</b>	Вестник древней истории, Moskva
<b>ZbornikNM</b>	Zbornik Narodnog Muzeja. Archeologija, Beograd.
<b>Ziridava</b>	Ziridava, Arad
<b>ZfE</b>	Zeitschrift für Ethnologie und ihre Hilfswissenschaften; Organ der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, Braunschweig, Berlin
<b>ZSL</b>	Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde, Heidelberg





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- Sabin Adrian LUCA, *Ars historica archaeologicaque* p. 7
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