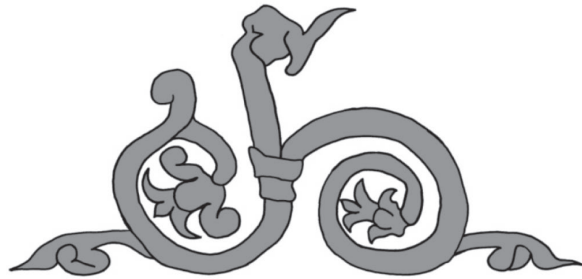


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Contents

Radu Pop, Călin Ghemiș Contributions to the Knowledge of Parietal Art in North-Western Transylvania. the Discoveries from Ileanda (Sălaj County).....	7
Florin Gogâltan, Victor Sava, Lucian Mercea Sântana “Cetatea Veche”. Metal and power.....	21
Péter Polgár Anzeichen der Metallbearbeitung bei einer Fundstelle in der Gemarkung von Sopron.....	73
Cristian Ioan Popa A Bronze-Age Hoard Discovered in Ampoița (Alba County).....	81
Victor Sava, Dan Matei Prehistoric and Second-fourth-century Discoveries on the Present-day Territory of Aradu Nou District, in the City of Arad.....	89
Cosmin Mihail Coatu, Adrian Socaci Des monnaies antiques appartenant a une collection privee.....	123
Iosif Vasile Ferencz Dacian Objects from Ardeu in the Collection of the MNIR.....	135
Cristian Constantin Roman Landmarks in the Development of Carthographic Representations of the Dacian Settlement in Ardeu (Municipality of Balșa, Hunedoara County).....	145
Alexandru Berzovan Considerations on “Troianul” in Țara Zarandului.....	161
Petru Ureche The Bow and Arrow during the Roman Era.....	183
Erwin Gáll Two 10–11 th century arrow-heads from the environs of Kotori/Cattaro – Herceg Novi/Castelnuovo. Archaeology (?) and art-dealing in the Balkans.....	197
Erwin Gáll From the fortress of Stephen I (997–1038) to the centre of ‘lord Gelou’. Dăbâca (germ.: Dobeschdorf; hung.: Doboka) in the nationalist myths in the 20th Century.	203
Luminița Andreica Implications of a tibia and fibula fracture in the secondary adaptation of the skeleton of an individual discovered in Nădlac “Lutărie” (Arad County).....	247
Florin Mărginean, George P. Hurezan, Augustin Mureșan The Medieval Church in the Village of Secaș (Arad County) and its Vestiges.....	253

Florin Ciulavu

The Monetary Reform of Vladislav II of Walachia (1447–1448; 1448–1456). Survey of research.....259

Corina Toma

A Monetary Hoard Discovered in the Settlement of Cristur (Bihor County). Aspects on the Monetary circulation of Thalers in Crişana during the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century.....279

Abbreviations.....299

From the fortress of Stephen I (997–1038) to the centre of ‘lord Gelou’. Dăbâca (germ.: Dobeschdorf; hung.: Doboka) in the nationalist myths in the 20th Century.

Erwin Gáll

Abstract: Researching archaeological site of Dăbâca beginning in the early 60's in the 20th century were conducted with preconceptions, as the centre of ‘lord Gelou’ was thought to have been discovered before the start of the excavations, which is an impassable way from a scientific point of view. According to the archaeological and numismatic finds, the fortification built in/after the first third of the 11th century, but the fortress system reached their peak in the 12th century. This is clearly shown by the coins found in the graves in Fortress Area IV, Tămaş's garden and the cemetery of Boldăgă/Boldogasszony, as well as in diverse structures of the settlement. The 13th saw a decline of the central fortress as a political and administrative center.

Keywords: Dăbâca, 11th century, 12th century, Transylvanian Basin, political-military and administrative center.

1. The topographic location of Dăbâca

The village of Dăbâca is situated 30 kms northwest of Cluj-Napoca, by the stream called Lonea/Lónya, which flows into the River Someş 10 kms away from this place. One side of the mountain called Nagyhegy, which is situated southwest of the village (529 m above sea level) made the valley of the stream Lónya so narrow that it is a vantage point of the pass. The road in the narrow valley, squeezed between two hills, in the middle of the village takes a sharp turn to the left. The old fortress district was in the area curbed this way¹. The two hills are gradually declining towards northwest. The shape of the fortress is similar to a pie with a sharp angle and an arc at the end, pointing towards north-north-east. Both sides are well defensible, sloping in 25°–45°. The early medieval fortress district was built in this place with a number of villages and churches around it.

2. Research history. The interpretation of the Dăbâca fortress complex in the scientific literature

In Hungarian historiography it is widely accepted to connect the fortress of Dăbâca to King Stephen I and to date it to around 1000², and to trace back the name of the fortress and the county to the name of the war ‘lord Dăbâca’, who defeated Gyula, based upon one single written source. It is not a new phenomenon in Hungarian historiography at all, as it was interpreted in a similar way already in the synthesis written by Hóman and Szekfű between the two World Wars³. This was adopted by Károly Crettier in his historical-archaeological work on the fortress⁴, who derived the name Dăbâca from the old Hungarian proper name *Dob* to which the diminutive suffix *-ika* was added⁵. Contrary to this, in 1900, in their monography on County Szolnok-Dăbâca Károly Tagányi, László Réthy and József Kádár trace back this place name to the old Slavonic word *dluboku*, *duboka*⁶. Four decades after Crettier's study was published, György Györffy explained the place name Dăbâca with the name of a steward of King Stephen I who was called Dobuka⁷. According to Gyula Kristó, the army of King Stephen I was

¹ It was first mentioned in an archeological-topographic context as the ruins of a castle: Könyöki 1906, 292.

² Benkő 1994, 169.

³ Hóman-Szekfű 1935, Vol. I., 211.

⁴ Crettier cites six more Doboka place names in the Carpathian Basin. A place named Doboka is also known in County Bacău, in Moldva. Crettier 1943, 197–208; Madgearu 2001, 167.

⁵ Crettier 1943, 197.

⁶ Tagányi-Réthy-Kádár 1900, Vol. III. 320.

⁷ Anonymus: *Sunad f. Dobuca nepos regis*. SRH. I. 50. According to György Györffy, Doboka already existed in the 10th century. Györffy 1987, 66–67; Györffy 1970, 242. On dating the work of Anonymus to a time after King Béla III, see:

led by *Dobuka* against Gyula, and the king gave this territory to him⁸. As we can see, there are two theories in connection with the name of Dăbâca in Hungarian historiography and linguistics: the old Slavonic theory, which was championed before Trianon (1900) and the other theory set up between the two World Wars. If one intends to give an objective interpretation of the *Hungarian* origin, which also appeared in the historical discourse, the question has to be put whether it is not a disguised incarnation of the Hungarian national frustration appearing after Trianon⁹. Certainly, in lack of linguistic knowledge, we cannot discuss this problem, but if we keep to the archaeological points of view (and we can only do that) the problem of whether this place name can be traced back to a Hungarian or an old Slavonic name is irrelevant.

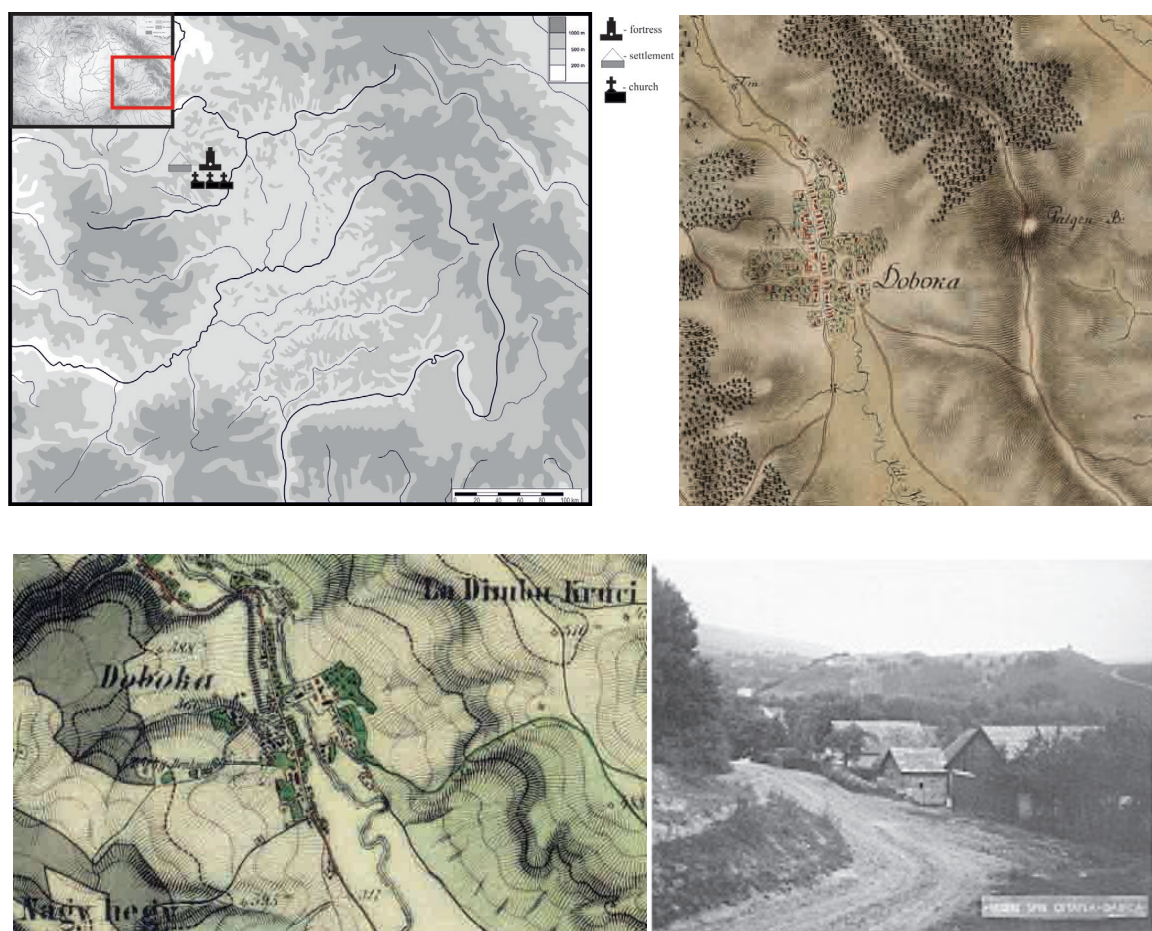


Fig. 1. Dăbâca on the 1st and 2nd military maps, respectively the fortress from the north-west direction (1964)

After 1945, the Romanian Communist Party, which took over like in Hungary and also in Central- and East Europe, promoted the official Soviet doctrine in the education. However, after 1956 (clearly in connection with the Hungarian revolution), Romanian historiography returned to the nationalist concepts of the era between the two World Wars¹⁰, but from this era on, in a complementary way, they tried to make use of the results of archaeology to support the theory of Daco-Romanian continuity¹¹. All this was in close connection with the political changes: Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej and Nicolae Ceaușescu were promoting a secession from Moscow against the pro-Moscow faction after 1956 (so to say as a consequence of the Hungarian Revolution!) the members of the Romanian (nationalist) elite of the pre-WW II era, who were imprisoned in the earlier period, were released after 1958, to 1964.

Madgearu 2010, 177–182.

⁸ Kristó 2002, 91.

⁹ A similar attitude of historians was characteristic of the experts of the era between the two World Wars. As an example, Iorga's theory can be mentioned, according to which the Székelys were originally Romanians who became Hungarians. Nicoleta Iorga, *Neamul Românesc*, October 1919.

¹⁰ The fact that by 1958 the Soviet army left Romania can be in connection with this.

¹¹ Boia 1999, 152; Ciupercă 2009, 134.

The course of events reached an upheaval in 1964, with the famous *Declaration of Independence* of the Romanian Workers’ Party, which meant that Romanian communism exchanged ‘internationalism’ with nationalism¹².

The committee of historians set up in 1955 played an important role in shaping science policy concerning history¹³, and the synthesis called „*Istoria României*” was published by them in 1960. In contrast with Roller’s work published in 1948¹⁴, they support the theory of Daco-Romanian continuity in this work, condemning Roesler’s emigration theory. As opposed to the pre-WW II era, one of the characteristic features of the new Romanian nationalism, revived by the communists¹⁵, was that after 1955 the experts supporting the theory of continuity played an important role and the archaeological finds were made use of to support the theory of continuity (it is another problem to what extent it can be used for that purpose). ‘As written sources had mostly been exhausted, Romanian historiography invested all its efforts in archaeology’- wrote Lucian Boia¹⁶. The concrete plan was/must have been that the gap between 271 and the establishment of the two Principalities was to be filled with archaeological sources, which was to prove Daco-Romanian continuity and that Romanians are an ‘*autochthon*’ people. Therefore the excavation started in Dăbâca provide clear evidence of nationalist science policy, this excavation, which was funded with a considerable sum, was part of this scientific policy plan. Besides discovering the past, the excavations in Dăbâca were mainly started to achieve the aims of science policy, and the ‘findings’ were predictable. After four years of excavations, which covered only a small part of the fortress complex, the team led by Ștefan Pascu declared that Dăbâca was the centre of ‘*Lord Gelou*’, dating the first phase of his reign to the 9th century¹⁷. The excavations must have been very important to the contemporary Romanian scientific elite in Transylvania: they were visited several times by Constantin C. Daicoviciu, the chairman of the committee set up in 1955 (several photos of these events have been identified by us in the museum in Cluj)¹⁸. According to the various documentations in the museum in Cluj, there were at least ten archaeologists in the team led by Pascu.



Fig. 2. Picnic at the archaeological excavation in Dăbâca (1968)

Therefore the Dăbâca project was part of the science policy plan of the new Romanian nationalism revived by the communists in the 60’s, on the other hand, it was also a prestige contest between Romanian science in Transylvania (whose best-known figures were Constantin C. Daicoviciu and Ștefan Pascu) and in București, whose main representative was Ion Nestor (it was a widely known that the relationship of Ion Nestor with Constantin C. Daicoviciu was not ideal by far). Ștefan Pascu’s careerist ambitions also contributed to the fact that Dăbâca was declared to have been the centre of

¹² Boia 1999, 76.

¹³ Madgearu 2007, 297, 305.

¹⁴ „...Încă din perioada interbelică începe să se facă, ce-i drept timid, apel la informațiile arheologice, care ar fi trebuit să completeze insuficiențele sursei literare”. Ciupercă 2009, 134.

¹⁵ Boia 1999, 152.

¹⁶ Pascu *et al.* 1968, 153–202.

¹⁷ Pascu *et al.* 1968, 153–202.

¹⁸ „Și de data aceasta, ca și totdeauna când este vorba de o cercetare de seamă, acad. C. Daicoviciu, directorul instituțiilor de cercetare și muzeale din Cluj, a fost mobilizatorul, sfătuitoarea și îndrumătorul atent și priceput de fiecare zi a cercetărilor de la Dăbâca...” Pascu *et al.* 1968, 153.

'*Lord Gelou*', since it might have come in useful for the Cluj historian, who had an important position in the national-communist organisation, to improve his prestige this way (in 1974 he became a member of the Academy of Romania). The long lasting effect of this article published in 1968, which was written by several authors, is clearly shown by the fact that except for the works of a few experts (dating the fortress complex to a later period¹⁹) it has taken roots in Romanian history, archaeology, and even in the general knowledge of ordinary people that '*the history of Dăbâca goes back to the 9th century*', and what is even more unfortunate, as a symbol of the *mixed argumentation*, the fortress of '*Lord Gelou*' became part of common knowledge, not to mention the vulgar level of school books. Alexandru Madgearu tried to 'move' this central fortress of Gelou's to Cluj-Mănăştur, but it seems that this other attempt based upon a *mixed argumentation* did not have any effect on Romanian historiography²⁰.

It can be stated that the excavations in Dăbâca started in the 60's of the last century began with preconceptions since the method of research is not to be tolerated as after three seasons of excavations the leading archaeologists assessed the archaeological finds from the fortress complex of Dăbâca as the signs of the political-military centre of the legendary *Gelou*, the leader of the Slavs and Vlachs based upon one single written record (Chapters 24–27 of the *Gesta* by Anonymus) although Anonymus himself does not know about Dăbâca²¹.

Disproving this interpretation of Dăbâca, in György Györffy's paper, in a note István Bóna refuted the chronology of Dăbâca set up by Pascu and his team, although unfortunately it has left hardly any traces in the archaeological literature and is almost completely unknown in Romanian archaeology²².

From the early 90's on, a relentless attack was started against nationalist-communist historiography led mainly by the best-known figures of the Bucharest school, Lucian Boia and Radu Popa (Boia was followed by the Cluj, Sorin Mitu), unfortunately, it only yielded some concrete results in history, or to be more exact, in a part of it²³. Radu Popa and Lucian Boia gave a severe criticism of the attitude and conception of the Romanian researchers in the 70's and '80's and the scientific deductions of these researchers which were doubtful in many cases²⁴. Radu Popa's criticism was the most clear cut: in his 1991 article, the Bucureşti archaeologist, who originally comes from Transylvania, called Ştefan Pascu „an amateur” and his writing „romantic”²⁵.

The most appropriate evaluation of the trend of historiography in the 50's and 60's was given by Lucian Boia²⁶ concerning Daco-Romanian continuity: '*As written records had mostly been exhausted, Romanian historiography invested all its efforts in archaeology*'²⁷.

As a result of Lucian Boia's work as a professor, an editor and a coordinator, two books were published on the myths of national-communism and its distorting effects²⁸, however, concerning its methodological and general consequences, it made hardly any impact on Romanian medieval archaeology.

It can be confirmed that the new ways pioneered by Radu Popa and Lucian Boia hardly made any impact, and the publications by other representatives of the Romanian archaeology that reached the international level are marginal, and are not known by Romanian archaeologists, let alone by the public²⁹. It poses another problem that the findings of archaeology, due to its methods and characteristics, are/were not understood by the vast majority of historians.

Taking all this into consideration, it is not surprising at all that in the third volume of the series *Dăbâca* is still mentioned as the fortification of *Gelou* at the end of the 9th and the beginning of the 10th centuries³⁰.

¹⁹ Horedt 1986, 127; Rusu 1998, 5–19; Madgearu 2001, 162. However, A. Madgearu does not attempt to refute the tales of Anonymus, but he shifted the sites of these tales and the legendary great battles creating new myths.

²⁰ A. Madgearu argues that Anonymus did not mention Doboka, therefore no battle could have taken place there. Madgearu 2001, 165.

²¹ Bóna 1998, 20.

²² Bóna 1970, Note 315. In Romanian literature we could only find any reference to Bóna's note in Madgearu's work. Madgearu 2001, 162, Note 14.

²³ E. g. these findings have not been incorporated in school books, the contemporary Romanian and Hungarian language history books are practically the doctored, blunted versions of the books used in the 80's of the last century.

²⁴ On the connection of Romanian national-communism with archaeology, see: Boia 1999, 144–149.

²⁵ Popa 1991, 159, 165, Note 51.

²⁶ On the disputes on Romanian ethnogenesis in the 50–60's, with lots of information, see: Măgureanu 2007, 289–321.

²⁷ Boia 1999, 152.

²⁸ *Miturile Comunismului Românesc* 1998.

²⁹ Niculescu 2002, 209–234; Harhoiu 2004, 149–167; Niculescu 2007, 127–159.

³⁰ I. R. 2010, 244–245.

So the evolution of Romania archaeology in the past 23 years can be best described by the following observations: 1. Part of it including the majority of the works discussing the early period of the Middle Ages (the so called Sarmata–Hun–Germanic era) approaches the level of Central European archaeology³¹; 2. One can see a considerable degree of disinterest shown towards the Avar era, the 9th–10th centuries and the researches concerning the Árpád era – without any major projects, only a few archaeologists do research into this period; 3. The revival of *postsecular nationalism* (whose different forms – keeping the Dacian and Roman traditions – can be recognised in various meetings) does not have a good influence on the archaeology of the period of the Early Middle Ages in Romania; 4. Some representatives of the nationalist-communist historiography retained their positions after 1990 and some researchers representing the same level have been put in good positions in the fields of education and research.

In the 90's one of the most greatest Hungarian archaeologists of the 20th century, István Bóna, treated the fortress of the early Árpád era and the Transylvanian border fortress, which were considered the corner stones of all fortress researches, in detail. In his synthesis on fortress, he discusses each Transylvanian fortress, however, Dăbâca is mentioned only in a half sentence³². In his last article in 2001, he clearly proposes a later dating: *“Dobokavár többször átépített kisméretű (9 és 14 m hosszú) templomairól egyelőre csak azt lehet tudni vagy sejtteni, hogy egyik sem korábbi a XI. század közepénél, vagyis nem államalapítás koriak. A zavarosan leírt, zavaros vázlatokon ismertett alaprajzok nyomán a templomok története mindaddig értelmezhetetlen lesz, míg a körülöttük feltárt 800 temetkezés rétegvizsgálatai és leletei nincsenek közzétéve.”* (*‘Of the small size (9 and 14 m long) churches of Doboka fortress, which were reconstructed several times, we can only know or suppose that none of them are older than the mid-11th century, so they were not built at the time when the Hungarian state was founded. The history of the churches, which were described confusingly based upon confusing schedules, cannot be interpreted until the layers of the 800 graves excavated around them and the finds are published.’*)³³.

In his *‘Transylvania around 1000’*, Florin Curta's history of the research touches on the problem of Dăbâca, but his standpoint is not clear enough. Read through several times, it seems as if Curta was trying to defend Pascu's research team, and concerning Dăbâca, he considers István Bóna's note as an attack against Romanian archaeology. As opposed to this, it was István Bóna, who wrote it in *‘The history of Transylvania’* that there was a Slavonic settlement and its cemetery in the 8th century in Dăbâca³⁴. Curta's criticism on Bóna is hardly understandable as he attributes something to Bóna which Bóna never wrote in any of his works (the exact source of the sentences attributed to Bóna is not cited either!)³⁵. Surprisingly, Curta defends the Dăbâca research team, pointing out that one does not necessarily have to see the influence of politics in their interpretation (the consequences of Romania's national-communist politics for the archaeological research are acknowledged by many Romanian archaeologists, starting with the excellent article published by Radu Popa in 1991³⁶) and that they did not live up to the complexity of the research (although at least 10 researchers participated in the excavation, as has been mentioned above)³⁷.

The best example showing how the 1968 article and the science policy of the 60's are ingrained in present day Romania science is the recently published new edition of *‘The History of the Romanian*

³¹ We think of the works by Alpár Dobos, Radu Harhoiu, Alexandru Niculescu, Coriolan Opreanu, Ioan Stanciu.

³² Bóna 1998, 34.

³³ Bóna 2001, 89.

³⁴ *„Avar koriak, ám későbbiek a Dobokán talált urnasírok is, az egyik urnáról tudjuk, hogy szabad kézzel készült, ugyanott a másikat – szórt hamvasztásos temetkezést (?) – lapos indás díszítésű, avar, öntöttbronz csüngős övverete viszont már a 8. század vége felére utalja...”* (*‘The urn graves at Doboka are from the late Avar period. One of the urns is reported to be hand-made; another cremation grave — with scattered ashes (?) — dates from the late 8th century, for it yielded an Avar cast bronze belt decoration, with a flat, tendril-patterned pendant’*). Bóna 1988, 181.

³⁵ *„Bóna sustinea că nu există nici un fel de materiale databile în secolul al IX-lea și că până și cele databile în secolul al X-lea sunt foarte puține. În același timp, el îi acuza pe arheologii români de a fi ascuns acele materiale ce ar fi contravenit interpretării fortificației de la Dăbâca, drept capitala lui Gelu. De fapt materialele publicate până acum, fie chiar și atât de deplorabil, conțin și piese databile în secolul al IX-lea...”* (*‘Bóna claimed that no ninth- and very few tenth-century artifacts were found on the site. He also accused Romanian archaeologists of hiding the evidence that did not match their interpretation of Dăbâca as Gelou's capital city. In fact, the evidence published so far, albeit poorly, does contain evidence of a ninth century occupation of the site’*). Curta 2002, 274.

³⁶ Popa 1991, 153–188.

³⁷ Curta 2002, 274.

People'³⁸ in which the separation of 'autochthons' and 'migrators' does not seem to reflect any changes in the conception compared to the 80's³⁹.

Unfortunately, since the change of the political system no field research has been carried out in *Dăbâca*. This indifference can be traced back to several reasons, but the most important is the fact that at present the early medieval archaeology is not represented by project or institutions, but by a few people⁴⁰. Since then no considerable breakthrough has been made in the research of the churchyard cemeteries in *Dăbâca*, only the publication of the results of the excavations in Fortress Area IV and some parts of the churchyard cemetery in A. Tămaş's garden can be considered any progress. Drawing the conclusion, all the Romanian archaeological works concerning *Dăbâca* are based on the same very uncertain and questionable 19th century nationalist construction, which can be traced back to a note by Anonymus in his romantic *gesta*, in terms of their methodology, it is an example of the incorrect *mixed argumentation*, which is not to be followed.

Scientific-political, political and supposedly personal interests and careerist considerations all played a part or worked as the driving forces behind the start of the excavations in *Dăbâca* in the 60's. It may also explain that later, as the results were not satisfactory from the given point of view, the starting pace of research slackened and gradually phased out. The last excavation in 1986 was led by Petru Iambor and the results was only the excavation of eight graves, representing the disinterest shown towards the site in the 80's.

In this brief research history, which in many cases is not so relevant in our research, one can draw three conclusions:

1. *Dăbâca* perfectly demonstrates the concepts, interpretations and vision of the expert who lived in the various eras in the 20th century;

2. in the interpretation of *Dăbâca* historical narrative and linguistic data have played the main role so far, archaeology has played an auxiliary part, being reduced to providing arguments for different historical theories⁴¹.

3. Scientific-political, political and supposedly personal interests and careerist considerations all played a part or worked as the driving forces behind the start of the excavations in *Dăbâca* in the 60's. It may also explain that later, as the results were not satisfactory from the given point of view, the starting pace of research slackened and gradually phased out. The last excavation in 1986 was led just by a one archaeologist, Petru Iambor and the results was only the excavation of eight graves, representing the disinterest shown towards the site in the 80's.

Unfortunately the past political manipulations have had a great 'career' in national-communist Romania⁴², and *Dăbâca* is a sad symbol of this.

3. The present state of research in the site of *Dăbâca*

As has been mentioned, from 1964 on there were archaeological excavations carried out in *Dăbâca* with shorter intervals, which took more than 20 years. During these excavations three churches were excavated which were renovated and rebuilt several times (Fortress Area IV, A. Tămaş's Garden, and the Church of Boldăgă/Boldogasszony) together with 871 graves in three cemeteries around them (most of the graves were dated back to the 11th–13th centuries) and sections of settlements that were inhabited in different periods from the stone age to the 16th century. In several places the ramparts of the medieval fortification made of soil and wood were cut and its profile was treated as an absolute chronological reference point.

The time and quantity of the excavations are shown in the chart below:

³⁸ It is telling that the names of Lucian Boia, Radu Harhoiu, Sorin Mitu, Alexandru Niculescu and Adrian Andrei Rusu are missing from the group of the most important figures of contemporary Romanian science.

³⁹ The titles of the chapters of the synthesis excellently indicate this attitude: „Raporturile populației autohtone, cu migrații”, „Populațiile migratoare pe teritoriul Daciei”. This is reflected by the bibliography too, which is divided into an 'autochthon' and a 'migratory' part. I. R. 2010, 667, 712, 787, 873–884, 884–896.

⁴⁰ Similarly: Țiplic 2011, 148–154.

⁴¹ Niculescu 1997, 64.

⁴² In this aspect one cannot cite enough Radu Popa's criticism from 1991.

Site	Year of excavations	Number of graves	Number of excavated graves	Another complexes
Fortress Area IV	1964	Graves 1–35	35	1 pit house
Fortress Area IV	1965	Graves 36–106	71	6 pit houses, 5 houses
A. Tămaş's garden	1966	Graves 1–10, 11–28, 29–37	37	2 pit houses, oven
A. Tămaş's garden	1967	foundation of church, Graves 38–60, 61–71	32	
Fortress Area IV	1968	templom alapja, 107–150. sír	44	
Fortress Area IV	1969	151–284. sír (284–294)	134 (144)	
Braşişte/Branistye	1972	cremation graves (pits cremation, cremation in urn)	?	4 pit houses
Fortress Area IV	1973	295–303., 310–325. sír	25	3 pit houses, 7 houses, iron workshop?, wall of Fortress, 2 ovens
Boldăgă/Boldogasszony	1975	foundation of churches, graves	?	
Fortress Area IV	1976	Graves 326–425, 427–436	110	
Fortress Area IV	1977	Graves 437–482	46	
Boldăgă/Boldogasszony	1977	Graves (1–103)	?	
A. Tămaş's garden	1980	pit house	1	1 pit house
Boldăgă/Boldogasszony	1982	Graves 106–134	29	
Fortress Area IV	1986	Graves 483–490	8	

Fig. 3. The present stage of the excavated archaeological sites

It is a serious deficiency that the bones found in the cemeteries could not be identified. According to Tudor Sălăgean, at the beginning of the 90's the bones were buried again in the ground by Petru Iambor somewhere in Dăbâca (either in the fortress or near it). Even if we managed to identify the bones and to publish one of the sites in a small monography⁴³, unfortunately, the loss of the bones is an irreparable damage. A modern, scientific analysis of the population in the old Dăbâca can only be done after new and successful excavations.

4. Churchyard cemeteries, settlements and the fortress complex in Dăbâca

Any conclusions concerning the excavations in the area of the fortress can only be drawn carefully, due to the present stage of research described above. During the 20 years of work only a small area of the fortress was excavated, not more than an estimated 20% (Pl. 3). On top of this, the documentation of the excavations is also poor, in several cases they do not exceed the level of the 19th century, and in other cases (such as the excavation in 1980) no documentation has remained, just some notes. Therefore the great conclusions that can be read in the article written in 1968 and in Petru Iambor's paper of 2005 (and based upon them, in several other papers) must be considered in a more relative way. To draw such overall conclusions, the excavation of the whole site would be required with a much more accurate documentation! Unfortunately, at the moment it can be stated that the quality and the documentation of the excavations in the Dăbâca site only reach Research Level 1 in Sebastian Brather's chart⁴⁴, so it does not even meet the requirements of Level 2 (structures, social-economic relations). In this phase of the research it would be problematic to draw any conclusion apart from the typology of the finds and their chronological analyses. Unfortunately, this situation cannot be changed as the bones were buried back in the ground at the beginning of the 90's by Petru Iambor, moreover, the archaeozoological material excavated in different places of the settlement (pit dwellings, pits etc) have not been included in the inventory. For this reason, we can only aim to systematize the information we have (mainly chronological). At this stage the only thing that can be stated is that the site, since only around its 20% have been excavated, has not been lost for science, but we need more modern and responsible research methods.

⁴³ Gáll 2011.

⁴⁴ Brather 2006, 27, Fig. 1.

Fortress

First of all, it is important to clarify some misconceptions concerning the beginnings of the *fortress*, as the excavating experts dated the first phase of the fortress to the end of the 9th century, and its destruction was considered as the result of the fight between *Gelou* and Tuhutum/Töhötöm. But in burning layer 1 in Fortress Area I some items were found which are impossible to be dated to the 9th or even the 10th century. In Section A, which was opened next to Trench 1 in 1964 pendants with granulated ornaments⁴⁵, (Pl. 4. 2–5) and from foundation ditch 1 neck-and bracelets with rhomboid cross section and a ring with multiangular cross section were found⁴⁶, (Pl. 4. 6–8, Pl. 5. 1) which cannot be dated before the first half of the 11th century. The hooked arrow point, which was found along with the necklet with multiangular cross section, is usually known from the second half of the 11th century and the 12th century finds⁴⁷. (Pl. 4. 9) It can be stated that none of these objects can be dated earlier than the 11th century and the hooked arrow point is from a later period. Similarly, the pit house that was classified by the excavators to the second phase also belongs to this layer. A lunula shaped pendant was found in its backfill. (Pl. 4. 1) The ground heap in Fortress Area III was used parallel with Fortress Area I, which is supported by statgraphic measurements. The H9 coin of Andrew I (1046–1060) was found in the north-eastern corner of the ground heap. Not far from here, in the backfill of the ground heap, next to a fire place two H1 (Pl. 6. 9) and H2 coins of King Stephen I were discovered. At the moment it seems that the fortress was burned in its first phase, in the second third or in the middle of the 11th century.

After the destruction of the earth-wooden fortress, a new fortification with cassette-structure, was built in Fortress Areas I and II, so the original small fortress was extended. On its walking level, in Section B an H6 coin of Peter Orseolo (1038–1041, 1044–1046) was found along with a spur (Pl. 4. 10). The ground plan of the fortress suggests that it was built in the time of Andrew I and was destroyed at the end of the 11th century.

The third phase of the fortress is to be date to the end of the 11th century, in its stone and ground heap a coin Coloman The Possessor Of Books (1095–1116) was discovered (Pl. 6. 10), which cannot be identified any closer, and according to the excavators it was destroyed at the end of the 12th century (phase III). From our point of view it is not important, but according to the excavators in the site of the destroyed fortress a stonewall was built, which was destroyed by the Mongolians in 1241 but later was rebuilt. (phase IV. 1–2).

Sections of the settlement

When researchers tried to analyse Dăbâca area district, one of the problems was caused by the fact that they tried to date the sections of the settlement parallel with the fortress, they couldn't or did not want to separate the excavated sections of the settlement from the fortress. Above we tried to clarify the dating of the fortress and we try to follow this method here. Based on the published and unpublished finds, the following statements can be made:

1. Some pit houses and ground level houses of communities from the 8th and 9th centuries were found in the north-western part of Braniște Fortress Area IV and under the wall of Fortress Area II. As is supposed by Ioan Stanciu, the existence of the latter ones is quite doubtful because it cannot be verified by the illustrated documentation. At any rate, it can be stated that this settlement had nothing to do with the 11th century fortress. It is most likely that this population could have been related to the 11th century population, it may be indicated by the considerable number of Slavonic place names known around Dăbâca.

2. Apart from the above mentioned finds that are dated to the 11th century, the village sections found in the southeastern part of Fortress Area III and in the north-western part of Fortress Area IV are also dated to the 11th century. I would like to draw attention to the southeastern part of Fortress Area IV, i. e. the pit house found in the churchyard cemetery, where a jug with grooves on its neck was registered. It is not impossible that in this case we can suppose an earlier, 10th century settlement. Two pit houses of a similar settlement section are known from the garden of A. Tămaș.

⁴⁵ Bóna 1970, Note 315.

⁴⁶ Gáll 2008, I. K. 199–208, 216–260.

⁴⁷ Gáll 2008, I. K. 329; Pascu *et al.* 1968, Fig. 4.16; Bordi 2006, 91–97.

3. We think it necessary to discuss the finds excavated in the surface dwelling house S1/IV/1965, as the authors mention 'Byzantine, glazed ceramic shards' together with a strike-a-light (?) (Pl. 6. 5)⁴⁸, green glazed (?) ceramic fragments (Pl. 6. 3–4), two spurs ornamented with gilt plates (Pl. 6. 1–2)⁴⁹, the fragment of a cross and iron knives. (Pl. 6. 6) In our opinion it remains doubtful as the only documentation we have is a superficial list of the finds. Concerning the finds excavated in the house, it remains undecided what belonged originally to the house and what was found in the fill. However, even if the above mentioned objects were found at walking level, thus dating the house, the typochronology would not allow it to be dated to the 9th–10th centuries, but to a much later date, partly based on the two spurs (10th–11th centuries)⁵⁰, but mainly upon the two strike-a-lights (which can rather be dated to the 12th century). It should be emphasized once again: all this may be true only if the finds belong to the same place and time, but in the documentation there is no evidence of it! From a methodological point of view, it would be far fetched to consider three or four ceramic shards as the evidence of Byzantine connections (certainly they cannot be excluded either), whose dating is at least doubtful, as their chronological classification is not clear. Therefore it is more than dangerous to list the finds from this house as one unit, and methodologically, it is a major mistake to envision the presence of Byzantine Christianity in the 9th–10th centuries.

4. In Fortress Areas III and IV settlement sections dating to the second half of the 11th century and the 12th century are documented. Based upon this, we can state that the territory covered by the medieval Dăbâca in the 11th–13th centuries was considerably great.

5. Some concrete settlement features of a later period were found in the churchyard cemetery (as a sign of the discontinuity of the population!), to be more exact a house and a pit house that can be dated to the end of the 13th century and the 14th century.

To clarify and classify this issue, we have summerized the settlement phenomena in Dăbâca including their topographic position and dating in the following table:

Position of fortress area	Topography	Pit houses	House	Other settlement features	Finds	Dating
Braniște	S3, S6, S7/1972	4 pit houses		holes	fragments of clay pottery, 'Avar' belt end (Pl. 5. 12), coal, arrowhead with three edges (Pl. 5. 11), burnt pieces of bones	8 th century
Fortress Area I	section „A” / 1964			fire place under the burning layer of the palisade (1, 25 m deep)	pendants with gilt silver granulated ornaments (Pl. 4. 2–5), iron plough, wood gouger, rhomboid arrowheads	first half of 11 th century
Fortress Area I	section „A” / 1964				clay pottery (Pl. 6. 14), fragments of clay pottery, spurs, Friesach coin	13 th century
Fortress Area I	section „B” / 1964	1 pit house			lunula shaped pendant from the backfill (Pl. 3. 1)	first half of 11 th century
Fortress Area I				the burning layer of ground Section I	neck-and bracelet with rhomboid cross section, finger ring with multi-angular cross section, hooked arrowhead (Pl. 4. 5–8; pl. 5.1)	first half of 11 th century
Fortress Area I				Donjon	fragments of clay pottery, horseshoes, spurs, arrowheads, coins	13–14 th centuries
Fortress Area II	S2/II/1966–1976			cultural layer	fragments of clay pottery (Pl. 18. 2)	11–12 th centuries
Fortress Area II	S3/II/1973		2 houses		fragments of clay pottery	second half of the 11 th century

⁴⁸ Mentioned as the cross-guard of a sword of type X Petersen, based upon a 1968 article. Gáll 2011, 53.

⁴⁹ Unfortunately, as a 'result' of the restoration, such ornamentation cannot be seen on them.

⁵⁰ Cosma 2004, 192–193.

Fortress Area II	S3/II/1973		1 houses		fragments of clay pottery	11–12 th centuries
Fortress Area II	excavation trench – 37 meters, depth: 66 cm		under the house floor	cultural layer	arrowhead (Pl. 5. 2)	11–12 th centuries
cultural layer of Fortress Area II					one spur, some iron knives, arrow heads	second half of 11 th century
Fortress Area II	section „B”			walking level	Peter Orseolo (1038–1041, 1044–1046) – coin of <i>H6</i> ’s type	second half of 11 th century
Fortress Area III				upper cultural layer	one spur	second half of 13 th century
Fortress Area III	S3/III/1966			well (?)	fragments of clay pottery ¹ (Pl. 18. 1)	11–12 th centuries
Fortress Area III	S3/III/1973		2 houses		fragments of a clay cauldron ²	first half of 11 th century
Fortress Area III	S3/III/1973 depth: 66 cm			cultural layer	arrowhead (Pl. 6. 12)	11–12 th centuries
Fortress Area III	S3,5,6, 8/III/1973			Iron workshop?		first half of 11 th century
Fortress Area III	S5/III/1973/excavation trench – 12–14 meters, depth: 66 cm			cultural layer	arrowhead (Pl. 5. 3)	11 th century
Fortress Area III	S6/III/1973/ excavation trench – 13 meter, depth: 15 cm			cultural layer	arrowhead (Pl. 5. 4)	11 th century
Fortress Area III	S6–8/III/1973		1 house ³		fragments of clay pottery	first half of 11 th century
Fortress Area III	S6–8/III/1973			fortress wall		first half of 11 th century
Fortress Area III	S6–8/III/1973			fortress wall	one spur	13 th century
Fortress Area III	S8/III/1973/ excavation trench – 4 meter, depth: 20 cm			cultural layer	two arrowheads (Pl. 5. 5–6)	11 th century
Fortress Area III	S10/III/1973			cultural layer		12–13 th centuries
Fortress Area III	S10/III/1973/ excavation trench – 1 meter, depth: 50 cm			cultural layer	arrowhead (Pl. 5. 7)	12–13 th centuries
Fortress Area III	S10B/III / 1973			oven	fragments of a clay cauldron, spurs, iron nails, iron knives	12 th century
Fortress Area III	eastern wall			cultural layer	button made of bone (Pl. 5. 9)	12 th century
Fortress Area III	?			cultural layer		13–14 th centuries
Fortress Area IV Northwest	S1/IV/1965	1 pit house	1 house ⁴		fragments of clay pottery, one rim is patterned	9 th century
Fortress Area IV NW	S1/IV/1965		1 house		strike-a-light, two spurs, fragments of green glazed pottery, a fragment of a cross, iron knives	first half of 11 th century
Fortress Area IV NW	S2/IV/1965		1 house		rhomboid arrow head, animal bones, iron slag, fragments of clay pottery, copper wires	first half of 11 th century

Fortress Area IV NW	S3/IV/1965	2 pit house			fragments of clay pottery, clay pottery (Pl. 6. 13)	8–9 th centuries
Fortress Area IV NW	S3/IV/1965		1 house			9 th century
Fortress Area IV NW	S4/IV/1965		1 house		fragments of clay pottery	8–9 th centuries
Fortress Area IV NW	S5/IV/1965	1 pit house			hair-ring, S-ended lockring with twisted wire (Pl. 6. 7), two iron knives, a bone showing signs of work	first half of 11 th century
Fortress Area IV NW	S6/IV/1965	1 pit house			fragments of clay pottery, animal bones, iron knives, the iron hinges and handles of wooden buckets,	9 th century
Fortress Area IV NW	S6B/IV / 1965	1 pit house			green fragments of glazed clay pottery	first half of 11 th century
Fortress Area IV Southeastern part	S7/IV/1973	1 pit house			pottery with grooved neck (Pl. 6. 11)	first half of 11 th century?
Fortress Area IV SE	S7/IV/1973			cultural layer	fragments of clay pottery	13–14 th centuries
Fortress Area IV SE	S8/IV/1973	1 pit house			fragments of clay pottery	first half of 11 th century
Fortress Area IV SE	S8/IV/1973		1 house	furnace	fragments of clay pottery, spurs	13–14 th centuries
Fortress Area IV SE	S11/IV / 1973	1 pit house		furnace	fragments of clay pottery, a spur, finger ring with incised pattern (Pl. 6. 8)	12–13 th century
Fortress Area IV SE				cultural layer		13–14 th centuries
the garden of A. Tămaş	S1/1966	2 pit houses				11 th century
the garden of A. Tămaş	S2/1966			oven ⁵		11 th century
the garden of A. Tămaş	1980	1 pit house			Coin H82 (Pl. 11. 1)	12 th century
Dăbâca-Boldăgă	S4/1b/1966–1976 (excavation trench – 4–8 meters, depth: 0,50–0,70 cm)			cultural layer	fragments of clay pottery (Pl. 18. 3)	12 th century

Fig. 4 The settlements phenomena in Dăbâca

Table footnotes:

¹ MNIT. F. 13595.² Takács 1986.³ Part of the house was levelled when the castle wall of Fortress Area 3 was built.⁴ He cut the pit house.⁵ The bigger part of the oven was destroyed when the shrine of Church was built.⁶ After L. Huszár's system. Huszár 1979.⁷ After L. Huszár's system. Huszár 1979.⁸ After L. Huszár's system. Huszár 1979.⁹ After L. Huszár's system. Huszár 1979.

Churches and cemeteries: Fortress Area IV, Alexandru Tămaş's garden and Boldăgă/Boldogasszony

On the southeastern side of the Dăbâca fortress complex and in Subcetate/Váralja, churches and the cemeteries around them were excavated in three places. Besides a cemetery with cremation burials with scattered ashes has also been excavated south of the fortress. The trend remained the same as in the case of the settlement sections: they tried to date the churches (or the (imagined) first phase of their construction) to the ninth century.

4. 1. An 8th–9th century cemetery with cremation burials with scattered ashes

Using improper methods, in a small area by probe-like excavations 10 or 15 cremation burials with scattered ashes were excavated south of the fortress, near a stream called Braniște (Branistye)⁵¹, right next to the dwelling pits of the settlement dating from the 7th–9th centuries (Pl. 19–20).

Unfortunately, no find has been published, but the ceramic finds discovered in the cremation burials with scattered ashes date this cemetery to the 8th–9th centuries. On the other hand, it seems that the settlement found not far from these graves and in the western ground of Fortress Area IV can be dated to a later period. As most of this area remained untouched, there are good prospects at carrying out better and more accurate excavations.

The graves, as far as they can be identified in the documentation, were excavated in Casette 'A' and in Section 8. Unfortunately, there is documentation on the excavated Section 10 and the so called area only in 4 cases. Therefore it is possible that the 15 graves with scattered ashes and the 1 grave with an urn mentioned by Kurt Horedt are the real data as the Saxon archaeologist, who worked in Cluj in the 70's, must have had quite correct information on all these. As not the whole cemetery, only part of it was excavated, its dating is doubtful and the disappearance of cremation burials in the whole Transylvanian Basin in the 9th century can be considered a hypothesis that has not been proved⁵².

The dating of a big part of the burials with scattered ashes, those with urns and the mounds with scattered ashes known in the Valley of the Little Someș is similarly doubtful. Part of the finds in Someșeni can firmly be dated to the 8th–9th centuries, in contrast with the rest of the finds whose dating is more than doubtful.

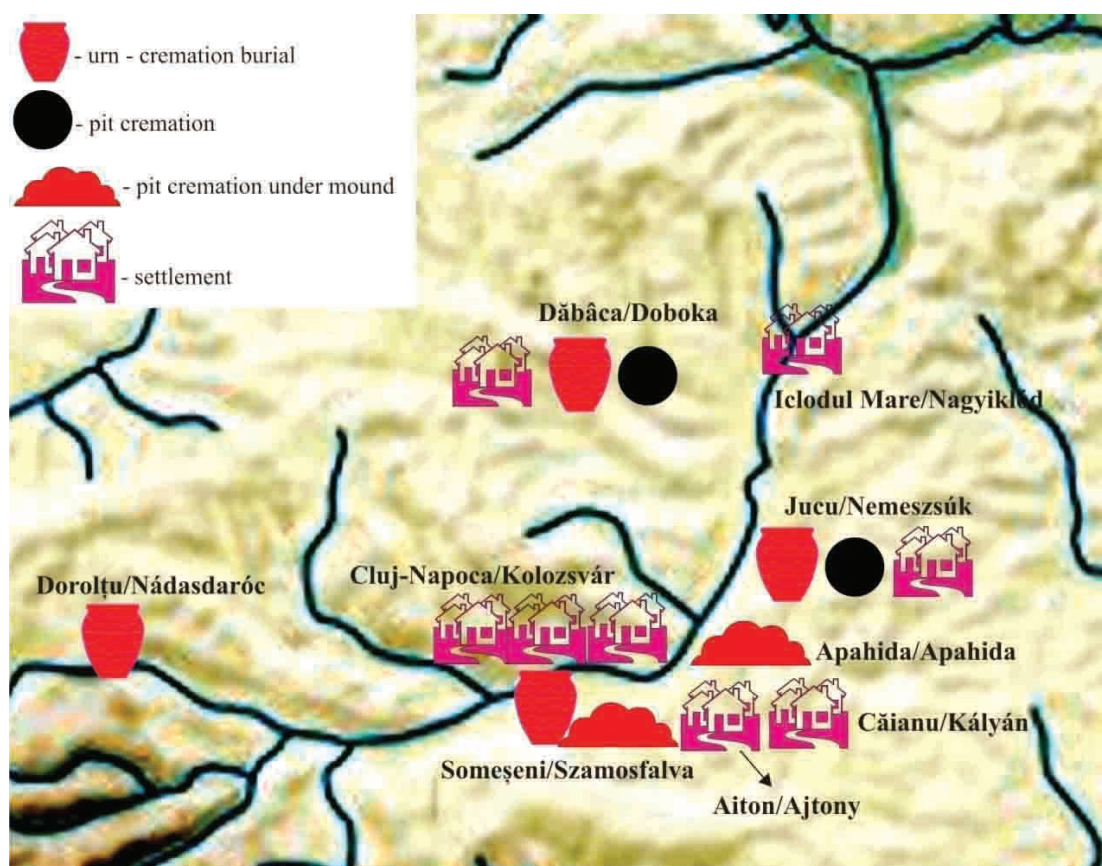


Fig. 5. Population in the 7–9th centuries in Little Someș Valley

As can be seen above, in the microregion of the valley of the Little Szamos, a considerable amount of settlements and cemeteries with cremation burials⁵³, dated to the 7th – 9th centuries are known and

⁵¹ Kurt Horedt mentions 15 graves, we could identify 10 cases in the documentation.

⁵² For example they were known in Poland as late as the 11th century. Jażdżewski 1951, 91–191; Miśkiewicz 1969, 241–302.

⁵³ Aiton: RepCluj 1992, 22; Dăbâca: Horedt 1976, 48; Căianu: RepCluj 1992, 22; Cluj-Napoca: RepCluj 1992, 121, 143, 149; Dorolțu: Horedt 1976, 48; Ferenczi 1970, 565–570; Iclodul Mare: RepCluj 1992, 237; Jucu: Ioan Stanciu's informations;

the *Slavonic* place names in the Little Someş Valley can be connected to this⁵⁴. However, the 10th century cemeteries with poor furnishings and a great number of graves are completely unknown but as an isolated archaeological phenomenon, the cemeteries of the population in Cluj, whose great proportion was buried with their weapons, appeared⁵⁵. This phenomenon leads us to think that there must have been a connection between the population with cremation burials (Slavs) and the conquerors arriving in the 10th century, this could explain the complete lack of the cemeteries with poor grave furnishings and a great number of graves (there was no immigration or settling in the 10th century besides the warrior class), on the other hand, it also explains the various Slavonic place names around Cluj. As we see it, in the 10th century the conquering Hungarians did not *slay* this population but *integrated* them into the economic-political-military structure of the age, certainly as a conquered population. That is what makes us think that it would be a huge mistake to draw the chronological line of cremation burials at the 9th century in Northern Transylvania (in fact without any evidence!). In our opinion, the population exercising these burial rites lived to see the Hungarian conquest and the early Árpád era, they were integrated in the structures of the Árpád era and were converted to the Christian religion. Based upon this, we think that in the future it would be necessary to check the dating of cremation burials by ¹⁴C analyses.

4. 2.a. The churches in Dăbâca⁵⁶

The church in Fortress Area IV

The spiritual centre of the (Christian) cemetery is the church⁵⁷. However, (in spite of most other sites) in Dăbâca it was not found in the middle of the cemetery, but in its eastern half. The simple small church, which was called funerary chapel by the excavating archeologists due to its small size, was excavated almost on the northeastern edge of the plateau⁵⁸. The orientation of the church is ENE–WSW with the shrine on the eastern side and the nave in the west, which was in accordance with the orientation of medieval churches⁵⁹. The foundation of the church was detected 25–30 cm deep, and before the excavations, during agricultural landworks, a large number of limestone fragments were unearthed from the foundation of the church. The church is 11.5 m long and 6 m wide at the entrance.

The foundation of the nave and the apsis was made of stones placed in mortar made of lime and sand. In the foundation of the western and northern walls 8 stoneslabs were found whose size was 0.75–0.8 × 0.40–0.45 m. On their sides engraved cross patterns with equal and unequal stems are to be seen and we cannot cross out the possibility that originally they were tombstones⁶⁰.

The foundation of the nave is 1.25 m wide, by contrast that of the transept is only 0.75–0.80. The large amount of carved limestone slabs, on which the western foundation of the nave was partly constructed must have played a role in the construction of the entrance (Pl. 7).

The cemetery must have been used before the construction of the church, which is underpinned by the upper part of a skull found in the grave that was destroyed below the foundation of the shrine. It cannot be ruled out that the engraved limestone slab found in front of the entrance, similar engraved pyramidal stone slabs were found in the wall of the church of Boldâgă/Boldogasszony⁶¹ (Pl. 10). The possibility of the existence of a wooden church before this church cannot be excluded either⁶².

The church can be dated to the 12th century based upon the coins found in the cemetery around it.

The church excavated in Alexandru Tămaş's garden

The church (and its cemetery) excavated in A. Tămaş's garden seems to show some close chronological and perhaps other connections with the cemetery in Fortress Area IV, both being built in the

Someşeni: Macrea 1958, 351–370.

⁵⁴ Herepei 2004, 13.

⁵⁵ The last analysis of this phenomenon: Gáll 2013d, 461–481.

⁵⁶ In lack of the knowledge of fine art and architecture, we try to do a limited analysis of the church. We have made use of Ştefan Matei's manuscript to describe the church. Matei w.y., 6.

⁵⁷ Rush 1941.

⁵⁸ Matei w.y., 8.

⁵⁹ Szatmári 2005, 28.

⁶⁰ Lővei 2005, 77–83.

⁶¹ Matei w.y., 7.

⁶² On wooden churches and their mention in written records see: Németh 2002, 84–91.

late 11th century. The church and its cemetery excavated in A. Tămaş's garden were found approximately 250 m away, at the southeastern end of the plateau.

Before starting our analysis, we would like to dispel some false information on churches I and II that became widely known in scientific literature. This is the result of a mistake made several decades after the excavations: it was first published in Ştefan Matei's manuscript in 1996 and then in Petru Iambor's PhD thesis⁶³. It was noteworthy that in Ştefan Matei's manuscript of 1996 discussing A. Tămaş's garden, the term „church” (biserică) is used mixed with the word „churches” („biserici”) allowing us to suppose that 30 years after the excavations one of the leaders of the excavations was not sure of the number of the excavated churches. This assumption is supported by the fact that in Matei's text there is a strange sentence: *the foundations of Church 2 were removed and taken away by the locals*’ („totalitatea fundației bisericii a II-a au fost scoase de către localnici”). The main problem with this interpretation is that Matei does not give any explanation of why the foundations of Church 1, which were registered 60 cm deep, were not carried away by the locals. In 2012 this confusion was completely clarified: by identifying the original documentation drawn on graph paper in 1966, it came to light⁶⁴ that the remains of only the foundations of one church were documented, the foundations of the so called Church 2 are completely missing. The question arises: what caused this confusion? It is difficult to answer. It can have happened that after 30 years the two 1.5 m long church (?) walls excavated north-west of the church might have caused some confusion in the memories of the aging colleagues.

The church excavated in A. Tămaş's garden (in the previous literature called Church 1) was small, the nave of the church was 4.3 m long and 4 m wide, and the apsis of the church was 2.6 m. The foundation of the apsis and the nave was registered at 125 cm compared to the walking level of 1966–1967. The foundation of the nave and the apsis is made of stone and yellow clay was used as bonding material. In some places, on the outer part of the wall, some carved stones were also used together with natural stones, which were put in a mortar bed containing a lot of sand and lime. The foundations of the walls of the churches are not thicker than 1 m and the walls are approximately 80 cm thick.

The structure of the church is characteristic of the Árpád era, however, its rectangular apsis represents a rarer form. From the collection of Imre Szathmári we know of 8 churches from County Békés and in Ilona Valter's collection there are 3 such cases⁶⁵.

Based upon its shape, a more exact date cannot be given as to its building, it was some time between the 11th and 14th centuries. In his work published in 2005, Petru Iambor mentioned 8 coins of King Ladislaus I (1077–1095) in a treasure find and they were found on the walking level of the so called Church II („pe nivelul de călcare, în exteriorul bisericii (II.-m.n.), pe latura de nord”). However, according to the documentation in the museum in Cluj, 9 coins were found and their connection as a part of a treasure is more than doubtful, but one thing is for sure: based upon the above mentioned data, the walking level of Church II as the finding place of the treasure can be crossed out.

In the coin collection of the Museum of Cluj we found the following data concerning the 9 coins from 1967:

1. a denarius of type H28 from the excavated section, 43 cm deep (it was found on 2 September 1967). Diameter: 1.4 × 1.32 cm. Weight: 0,509 grams. ENTM. N. 97940 (Pl. 11. 5).
2. a denarius of type H28 from the excavated section, 60 cm deep (it was found on 2 September 1967). Diameter: 1.3 cm. Weight: 0,603 grams. ENTM. N. 97936 (Pl. 11. 2).
3. a denarius of type H28 from the northern wall of the excavated section, 60–80 cm deep (it was found on 4 September 1967). Diameter: 1.5 cm. Weight: 0,588 grams. ENTM. N. 97937 (Pl. 11. 3).
4. a denarius of type H28 from the excavated soil, approx. 60–80 cm deep (it was found on 4 September 1967). Diameter: 1.55 × 1.5 cm. Weight: 0,562 grams. ENTM. N. 97939 (Pl. 11. 4).
5. a denarius of type H28 from the northern slope of the excavated section, 60–80 cm deep (it was found on 5 September 1967). It was not included in the inventory.
6. a denarius of type H26 from the excavated section, 80 cm deep (it was found on 4 September 1967). Diameter: 2.1 × 2.0 cm. Weight: 0,880 grams. ENTM. N. 97938 (Pl. 11. 6).

⁶³ Iambor 2005, 188.

⁶⁴ Its publication, see: Gáll 2013b; Gáll 2013c.

⁶⁵ Szathmári 2005, 41: kép; Valter 2005, 146, 164–165, 169, 50. kép, 77. kép, 87. kép.

7. a denarius of type *H30* from the excavated section, 85 cm deep (it was found on 4 September 1967). Diameter: 1.6 × 1.5 cm. Weight: 0,549 grams. ENTM. N. 97941 (Pl. 11. 7).

8. an unidentified type of denarius from the excavated section 85 cm deep (it was found on 5 September 1967). Diameter: 1.0 cm. ENTM. N. 97942 (Pl. 11. 8).

9. a denarius of type *H28* from the excavated section, 90 cm deep (it was found on 5 September 1967). Diameter: 1.5 cm. Weight: 0,593 grams. ENTM. N. 97935 (Pl. 11. 1).

Drawing the conclusion, the coins found in the section that was excavated in 1967 do not date the so called Church II, they do not even date any closed archaeological object. Nevertheless, the coins found in the graves of the cemetery (which will be discussed later) may underline that the church could not have been built before the time of Ladislaus I.

The church of Boldâgă/Boldogasszony

Three phases of the construction of the church in Subcetate/Váralja (Foot of the Fortress) are known. Its first church is dated to the earliest period among the churches excavated in Dăbâca. Its later dating is attested by a 12th century anonym denarius found in Grave 57 or according to the identification made by Eugen Chirilă, a coin minted during the reign of King Stephen II (1116–1131). A confused

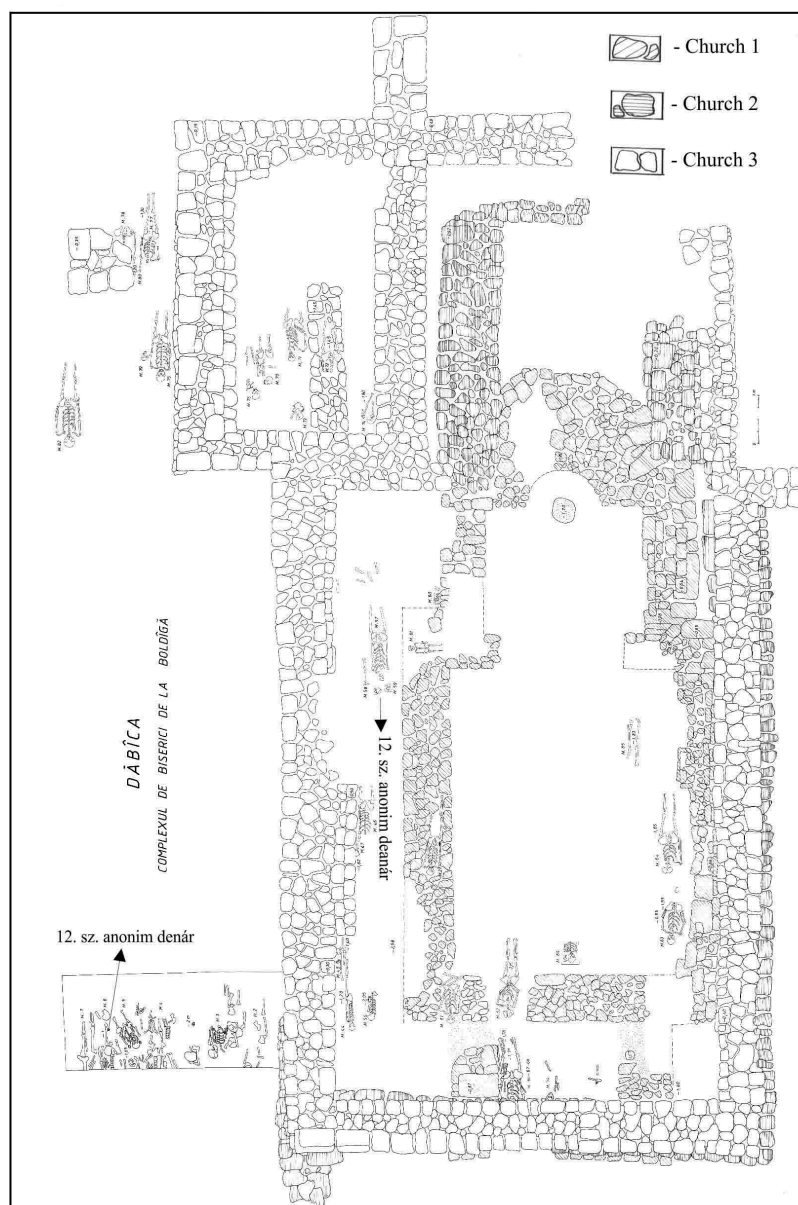


Fig. 6. Dăbâca-Boldâgă/Boldogasszony: church and churchyard

documentation that is hard to follow or use and therefore it must be treated with care⁶⁶. Nonetheless, before the time of this church, there must have been a churchyard cemetery (with a wooden church or the church being somewhere else); this is clearly shown by the skeletons in Graves 66, 67 and 68, which were buried on top of one another and may have been disturbed when the tower was built (if the tower was not built later!). Similarly, the infant skeleton in Grave 60, in front of Church 1 may provide evidence of this. The time when Church 2 was built, which was much bigger, is also doubtful. Grave 6, which has been cited by the excavating archaeologists and is dated by a 12th century denarius to the time of King Géza II (1141–1161), cannot be considered evidence as according to its location, it might as well have belonged to the group of graves dug around Church 1. Church 3, which was of similar proportions, dates from a much later time, probably it was still used in the 16th–17th centuries.

The data of the churches described are the following:

Church	Length	Width	Inner length and width of the nave	Foundation	Width of its foundation walls
Fortress Area IV	11,50 m	6,00 m	6,00 × 4,00 m	lime+sand, stone	1, 25; 0,75 – 0,80 m
A. Tamás's garden	6,90 m	cca. 4,80 m	4,30 × 4,00 m	clay, stone, carved limestone	0,80 m
Boldâgă/ Boldogasszony Church 1	13,19 m	5,75 m	6,10 × 4,75 m	lime+sand, stone	1,00 m
Boldâgă/ Boldogasszony Church 2	17,70 m	?	13,00 × 8,00 m	lime+sand, stone	?
Boldâgă/ Boldogasszony Church 1	19,70 m	?	cca. 13,00 × 8,00 m	lime+sand, stone	1,25 m

Fig. 7. The dimensions and the foundations of the churches in Dăbâca

4.2.b Churchyard cemeteries

Although in an indirect way, the place a community chooses as its burial place is also part of the burial customs. The burial customs mainly reflect the emotional reactions of the family members, relatives and the community when someone passes away, and the most important condition of the quality and the quantity of the grave furnishings was the wealth of the individual, the family or the community, certainly in most cases it was closely related to the social status of the deceased. It is expressed clearly with the quality and quantity of the *ritual sacrifices, weapons, clothes and jewellery* placed in the grave. We have to bear in mind that the quantity of the objects and sacrifices largely depends upon the political or economic situation in a region, the significance of the roads crossing it, or whether it is in a central or periferial situation and to all these the occasional foreign presents (!) should be added, which are palpable in some cases and might indicate the political significance of a person or a family.

In Dăbâca, churches and cemeteries around them used in different ages, were found in three different places between 1964 and 1968⁶⁷.

The cemetery around the church built not far from Fortress Area IV despite the insufficient excavations seems to have surrounded the church in a U shape (Area IV).

As the excavations were carried out by means of trenches, the site map reveals the fact that only part of the cemetery has been excavated so far, the other part of it remained underground. Based on the length of the trench, we managed to identify the southern, western and partly the northwestern edges of the cemetery with some approximation. It allows us to suppose that the cemetery extends in a semicircle towards west. South of the cemetery, Trench S13/IV made it clear that the cemetery did not reach so far (Pl. 8).

⁶⁶ Here, I also cite the opinion of Tamás Emődi, who is an architect and that of the archaeologist Antal Lukács. Hereby, I would like to express my acknowledgement to them.

⁶⁷ On the summary of the research of churchyard cemeteries in the Carpathian Basin, see Ritoók 2010, 473–494. On the analysis of the churchyard cemeteries in the Transylvanian Basin, see Gáll 2013a.

The cemetery trench, which can be observed in many of the cemeteries of the Árpád era, was not found or cannot be found in Dăbâca. But it must have been separated by a hedge from the village that was found in Fortress Area IV and was probably inhabited well into the 12th century.

The density of graves in the cemetery is not equal. They are the most frequent west, south-west, south, southeast of the church (Graves 1–35, 94–106, 153–190, 332–334, 375–377, 379–380, 382–383, 385–410, 432–433). Here it occurs frequently that graves are dug on top of one another, or part of the skeletons from the destroyed graves were placed in new graves, in many cases only the skulls. So graves were the most densely dug in the area near the church.

Out of the dense cemetery zone to the southwest, south and east of the church, graves peter out, hardly any superposition can be registered here, and graves are structured more or less in rows. A most interesting observation can be made in connection with the group of graves on the southern edge of the 1968 trench: here a completely separated group of graves can be observed without any grave furnishings (Graves 123–127). In this case the question arises whether a *genetic* or *sociological* relationship can be supposed between the members of this group. Similar questions might arise in connection with the edges of the cemetery, where separated groups of 2–4 graves are to be observed (Pl. 7).

The church and its cemetery in A. Tămaş's garden were excavated about 160 m away in the south-eastern end of the plateau. The churches of Boldâgă/Boldogasszony and the cemeteries belonging to them used in several eras (several times in the 11th–18th centuries but certain discontinuities were also registered) were excavated in Subcetate/Váralja (see Pl. 1A–B, pl. 2).

With all their local features, the churchyard cemeteries excavated in Dăbâca show a common chronological feature: the coins used as *oboluses* date the burials to the 12th century in all cases. The oldest boluses were found in Fortress Area IV, but they are the coins of type *H41* and *H42a* of King Coloman the Book-lover, which were minted in the 12th century. The list of the graves with *oboluses*:

Site-grave number	The years when the king who issued the coin reigned	Coin type (<i>H</i> ⁶)	Weight	Skeleton	Position in the grave
Dăbâca-Area IV Grave 1	?	?		Infans I (?)	Next to the left of the skull
- Grave 34	?	?	–	adultus-maturus	on or in the skull
-Grave 39 (Pl. 12. 3)	Anonym denarius	<i>H91</i>	0,402 gr.	juvenilis	in the mouth
-Grave 53	?	?	–	adultus-maturus	on mandible
-Grave 79 (Pl. 12. 2)	Coloman The Possessor Of Books (1095–1116)	<i>H41</i>	0,248 gr.	adultus-maturus	in the mouth
-Grave 145 (Pl. 12. 4)	Anonym denar	<i>H101</i>	0,262 gr.	?	the skull
-Grave 188	III. Béla (1172–1196)	<i>H183</i>	–	Infans II	in the mouth
-Grave 190	?	?	–	juvenilis	in the mouth
-Grave 391 (Pl. 12. 1)	Coloman The Possessor Of Books (1095–1116)	<i>H42a</i>	0,100 gr.	adultus-maturus	behind the destroyed skull
-Grave 483	Anonym denarius	?	–	Infans?	in the mouth
Dăbâca-A.Tămaş' garden-Grave 2	Anonym denarius	?	?	maturus	on the right part of the chest
- Grave 12A	Anonym denarius	<i>H100</i>	0,298 gr.	infans	near the skull
- Grave 15	Anonym denarius	<i>H102</i>	0,269 gr.	?	near the skull
- Grave 26B	Anonym denarius	<i>H96a</i>	0,155 gr.	?	in the place of the skull
Dăbâca-Boldâgă Grave 6	Anonym denarius	?	–	?	in the mouth
- Grave 57	Anonym denarius	?	–		in the mouth

Fig. 8 Oboluses in the graves and their positions

By analysing the coins found in the Little Someş Valley, we came to the conclusion that the integration of communities, the expansion of the area of settlements, the construction of Christian institutions and the appearance of western type state organisation can be connected to the name of Saint

Ladislav I (1077–1095), however, the formation of the network of settlements and the centres in the Little Someş Valley can be dated earlier:

Obolus		Settlement/Cultural layer		Stray find	
<i>Site-grave number</i>	<i>King/Coin type (H⁷)</i>	<i>Site</i>	<i>King/Coin type (H⁸)</i>	<i>Site</i>	<i>King/Coin type (H⁹)</i>
Dăbâca-Area IV Grave 1	–	Dăbâca -out of fortress	H1, H2	Cluj-Napoca-Mănăstur-George II Rákóczi's bust	H1
- Grave 34	–	Fortress Area II	H6	Cluj-Napoca- Veterinary University (Pl. 12. 1)	H73
-Grave 39	H91	Fortress Area III	H9	Chinteni	Ladislav I (1077–1095)
-Grave 53	–	Fortress Area III	Coloman The Possessor Of Books (1095–1116), anonym denar		
-Grave 79	H41	Dăbâca-A.Tămaş's garden („Treasure”) (Pl. 11. 1–8)	H26 (1), H28 (6), H30 (1),? (1)		
-Grave 145	H101	Dăbâca-A.Tămaş's garden pit house/1980 (Pl. 11. 1)	H82		
-Grave 188	H183	Cluj-Napoca-Mănăstur-(pit house)	H17		
-Grave 190	–	Cluj-Napoca-Sora shopping centre	Solomon (1063–1074)		
-Grave 391	H42a	Cluj-Napoca-Deleu street (Pl. 12. 3)	H101		
-Grave 483	?				
Dăbâca-A.Tămaş' garden-Grave 2	–				
- Grave 12A	H100				
- Grave 15	H102				
- Grave 26B	H96a				
Dăbâca-Boldăgă Grave 6	–				
- Grave 57	–				
Cluj-Napoca-Mănăstur Grave 1	H49				
- Grave 10	H22				
- Grave 32	H24				
- Grave 41	H25				
- Grave 64	H189				
- Grave 75	H22				
- Grave 112	–				
- Grave 124	H22				
- Grave 130	H9				
Gilău–5 (Pl. 12. 2)	H73				
Chidea-unknown number of grave	Béla II (1131–1141)				
Chidea-unknown number of grave	Ladislav II (1162–1163)				

Fig. 9. Coins from the 11th–12th centuries from the Little Someş Valley

The finds from Dăbâca, which is dated to the 11th–13th centuries, comprises fashion commodities common in the Hungarian Kingdom and in Central-Eastern Europe⁶⁸. Similarly to other objects, the jewels of this era cannot symbolize more than a jewel of any kind could: fashion, commerce, social status. These object probably signify the same things in this cemetery too.

⁶⁸ Részletes elemzésüket a IV. vártárségi temetőben ld.: Gáll 2011, 31–44.

In lack of bones, the use of these fashion commodities and our related analysis cannot be supported with anthropological researches. As has been shown above, the objects cannot be connected to a gender, only their functionality bears with gender symbolism.

This observation of ours is demonstrated in the table below:

<i>Finds</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Male</i>
Tin ballheaded hairpin (Grave 172)		•	
Plain hairpin-in a ribbon, on a band bracelet (Grave 322)	•		
Hair-rings used as lockrings			•
Hair-rings used as ear rings		•	
Hair-rings in a ribbon	•		
String of pearls	•		
Rings		•	

Fig. 10. The social gender symbol of the functionality of objects

Concerning their typology and functionality, these finds do not differ from other finds excavated in cemeteries elsewhere in Transylvania. However, it does not mean that such a uniformity of the material culture was characteristic of Transylvania and the Hungarian Kingdom. It is only a consequence of the disappearance of the ‘exiled’ pagan burial customs, which resulted in the simplification and Puritanism of rites. Certainly, we have no idea of what customs could have been preserved by Christianity that left no archaeological trace. Also the so called Christian Puritanism was interpreted in different ways in different communities: in some cemeteries less jewellery was found, in others more. In some 12th century burials swords were found (such as Sighișoara-Stadium⁶⁹), which attests that the old customs were preserved in some cases. Therefore we cannot talk about a complete *cultural* discontinuity, but it is a fact that the most important cultural features of the 10th century pagan people such as the burials with horses or weapons can hardly be documented from the beginning of the 11th century on. As has been indicated elsewhere, this archaeological phenomenon does not necessarily mean the spread of Christian spirituality, but another way of propagating the social prestige of the elite. From the 11th century on, it was the Christian church and its norms that meant the system of ethic codes of elitism, which was in stark contrast with the forms of pagan customs.

Some observations on the churchyard cemeteries in Dăbâca:

1. Based upon the burial customs observed and analysed, the cemeteries in Dăbâca can clearly be classified in literature as ‘*churchyard cemeteries*’⁷⁰, and whose presence in the Transylvanian Basin is the most important archaeological ‘sign’ of the expansion of Christianity institutionalised by the Hungarian Kingdom.

2. Based upon the customs of the population of the cemetery in Fortress Area IV in Dăbâca, one can clearly suppose a Christian – pagan syncretism.

3. The fact that there is a small number of graves also raises the question if it could have been the burial place of a 12th century clan, which is supported by the size of the church excavated here in A. Tămaș’s garden (compared to the cemetery in Fortress Area IV) and the topographic location too.

4. The distribution and concentration of the various burial customs within the cemetery in Fortress Area IV seem to show that this population was heterogeneous in terms of its mentality, customs and identity.

5. By mapping the different burial customs, the above mentioned cemetery can be divided into two zones: the north-eastern and the south-western zones. Can this phenomenon hide two different populations⁷¹?

6. Based upon the burial customs, genders as an issue of the social-cultural construction cannot be traced any more as opposed to the burial customs of the pagan era. Nevertheless, concerning

⁶⁹ Pinter 2007, 37.

⁷⁰ On the summary of the research of churchyard cemeteries in the Carpathian Basin, see Ritoók 2010, 473–494. The list and map of churchyard cemeteries in Transylvania, see Gáll 2013a, Pl. 1a, Fig. 4. (u.pr.)

⁷¹ Gáll 2011, 29.

the church of Boldâgă/Boldogasszony and the churchyard cemetery around it, we suppose that this community was the last to arrive in this area.

5. Conclusions

Based upon the walls of the fortress area, the settlement sections, churches and cemeteries analysed above, the following conclusions can be drawn:

1. The excavations have covered only a small section of the fortress complex so far.
2. It is impossible to connect the settlement sections dated to the 8th–9th centuries with the fortress, which was built in the early 11th century.
3. The small fortress built of soil and wood in the first third of the 11th century was reconstructed and enlarged in/after the middle of the century, making it a wood and soil fortification, which was rebuilt again at the end of the 11th or the beginning of the 12th century. This fortification is mentioned as *urbe Dobuka* in 1068.
4. At the end of the 11th century, during the reign of King Ladislaus I, considerable immigration must have taken place as the above mentioned necropolis in Fortress Area IV and A. Tămaş's garden was opened around the end of that century.
5. There is a problem that raises a question yet to be answered. If only the cemetery of the 8th–9th settlement section is known and the churchyard cemeteries can only be dated from the 12th century on, how can we explain the lack of cemeteries of the 10th–11th century settlements and that of the population of the 11th century fortress? It can be explained by two reasons:
 - a. on the one hand, it is not clear for us why the period of cremation burials should be terminated in the 8th–9th centuries as for instance in Dăbâca there is clear evidence of cremation burials in a much later period than the magical time limit in the 9th century, which has not been proved yet.
 - b. on the other hand, the 11th century cemetery (where the *comes* of Dăbâca could have been buried) has not yet been identified, and this can only be explained by the present stage of the excavations.
6. Concerning the connection between the church in Tămaş's garden and the churchyard cemetery, it is supposed that in Tămaş's garden the graves were dug in the time of its Church. Building a new and much bigger church is a clear sign of a bigger community (immigration?), it was the time when graves appeared in the south-eastern plateau of Fortress Area IV. The cemetery around the church in Tămaş's garden was used on, and certainly, it remains a question what the relationship of these two communities was. Can we talk about social differences? Christian burial customs make the analyses of this kind impossible and the lack of bones excludes the possibility of any research into this problem.
7. The cemeteries excavated so far are dated to the end of the 11th century and the beginning of the 12th century. The cemetery in Fortress Area IV can surely be dated between the end of the 11th century and the beginning of the 13th century and the 61 graves excavated in Tămaş's garden and at least 30 graves in the cemetery of Boldâgă/Boldogasszony date from the end of the 11th century through the 12th century as far as the first half of the 13th century⁷². However, only a small portion of the settlement material that has been excavated so far can be connected to these graves. The location of the settlement(s) can be defined only by further researches and excavations.
8. A great archaeological example of the discontinuity of the collective memory, which indicates a change of the population, can be observed in the case of the cemetery in Fortress Area IV: in the 13th–14th centuries those who built a house on the surface and a dwelling pit disturbing the graves did not know about the existence of the cemetery, which shows a break in the culture and the population which occurred in the first half of the 13th century.
9. The retrospective analysis of the research team of the Dăbâca project cannot be done scientifically. Despite the huge gaps, the authors insisted on discussing the fortification system, the settlements, the churches and the cemeteries at the same chronological level, which renders the whole enterprise a scientific utopia.
10. Based upon the findings of the researches done so far, the following chronological evolution of the Dăbâca fortress complex can be drawn up:

⁷² The later burial horizon in the cemetery of Boldâgă belongs here.

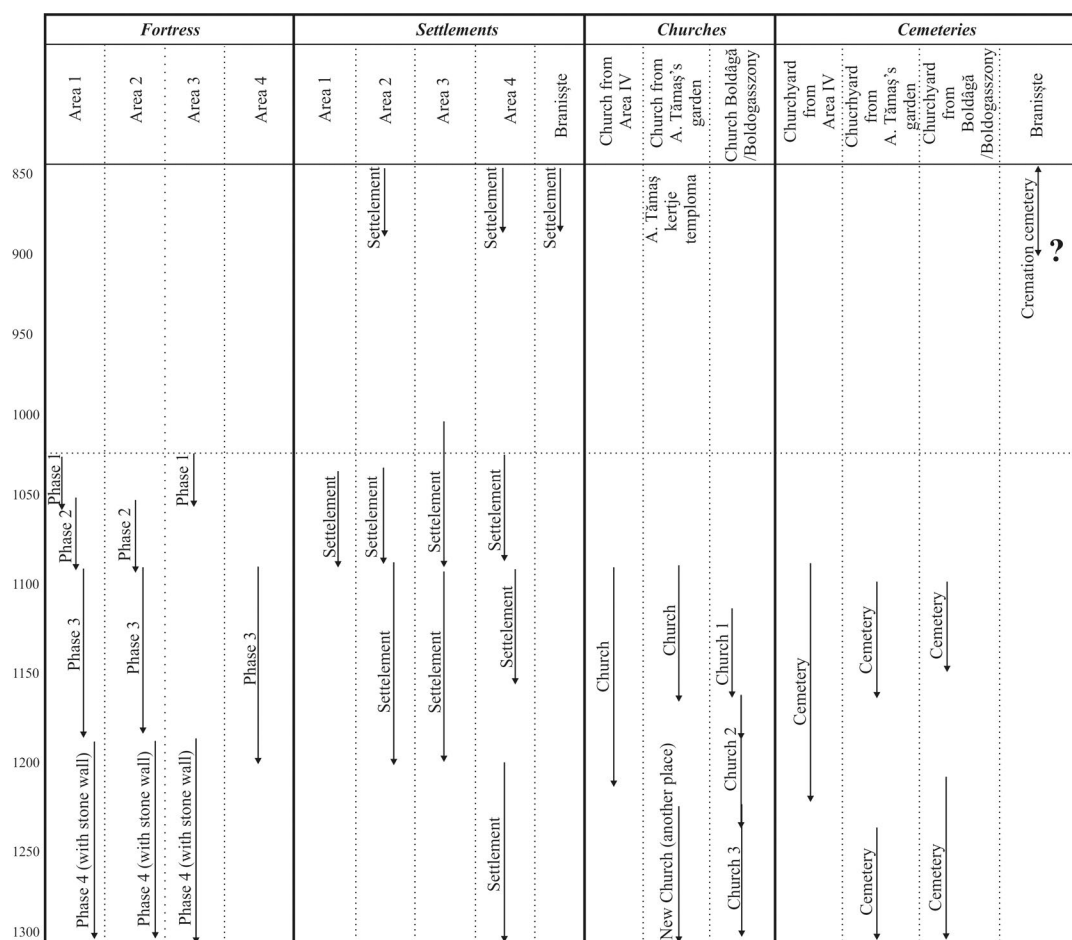


Fig. 11. Chronological evolution of the Dăbâca fortress complex

6. A (historical) hypothesis: the 'failure' of Dăbâca

According to the archaeological and numismatic finds, the fortification built in/after the first third of the 11th century and the settlement system reached their peak in the 12th century. This is clearly shown by the coins found in the graves in Fortress Area IV, Tămaș's garden and the cemetery of Boldăgă/Boldogasszony.

The 13th century saw a decline of the central fortress as a political-military and administrative centre. We would not say that the downfall of the centre in Dăbâca can be the result of the Mongolian raid, it can be traced back to other, both administrative and political, reasons (too). As a working hypothesis we propose that the decline in its significance as a centre may be explained by the eastward expansion of the system of settlements in this county as the county received its final shape in the 12th–13th centuries. This observation of ours seems to be supported by the fact that no 13th century coin has been found in the three cemetery sections, the latest one is a coin of Béla III (1172–1196)⁷³. Most of the settlement phenomena excavated so far can be dated to the 11th–12th centuries. Certainly, we do not want to consider these data to be of absolute value, but the numismatic gap in the 13th century (not at all just in cemeteries) requires further explanation in the future. Nevertheless, this can only be proved or refuted by extended interdisciplinary researches.

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⁷³ Gáll 2011, 27–28.

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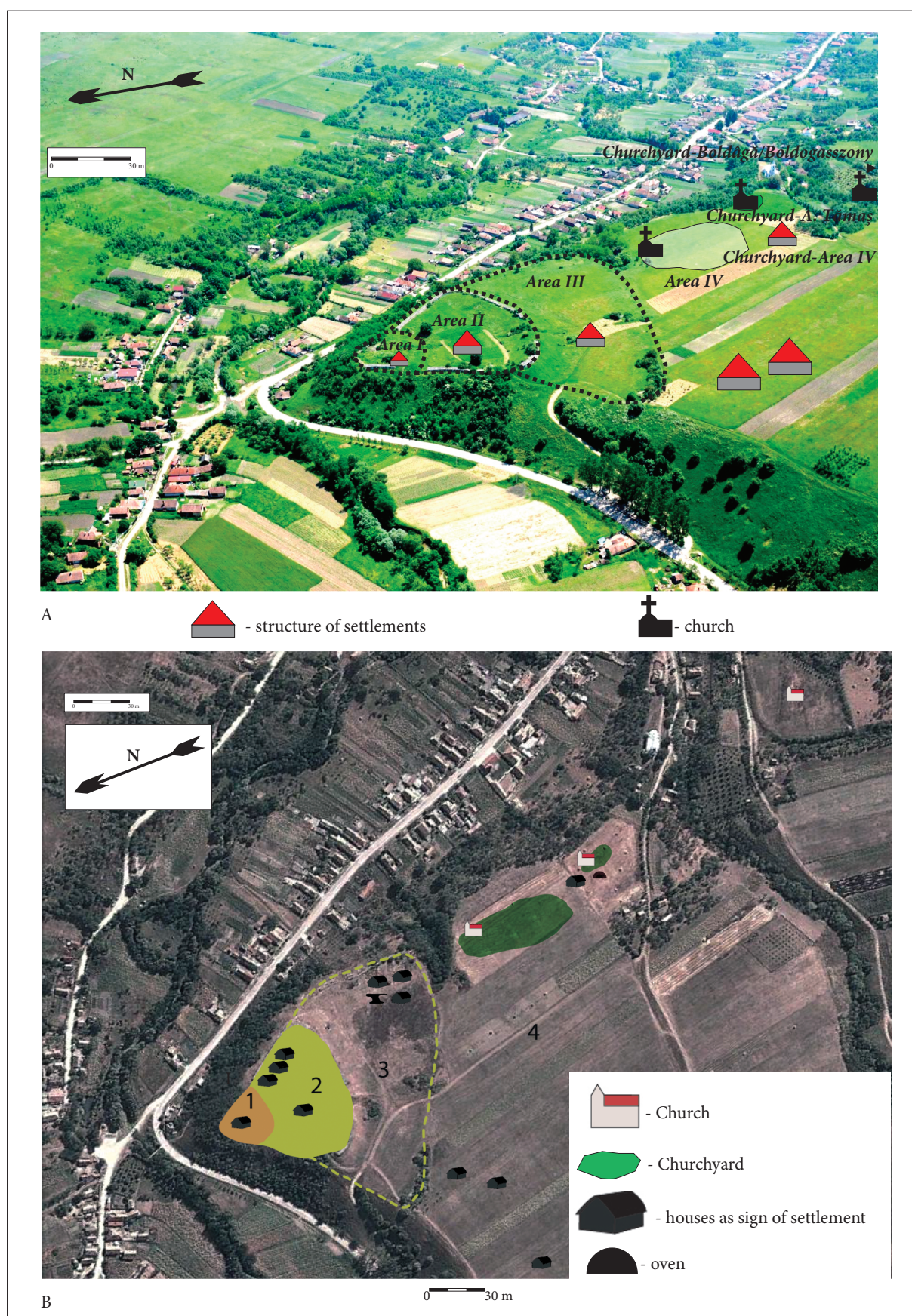


Plate 1. A–B. The fortress complex of Dăbâca. The structure of the settlement in the 12th century, based upon archaeological data (drawn by E. Gáll and N. Laczkó).

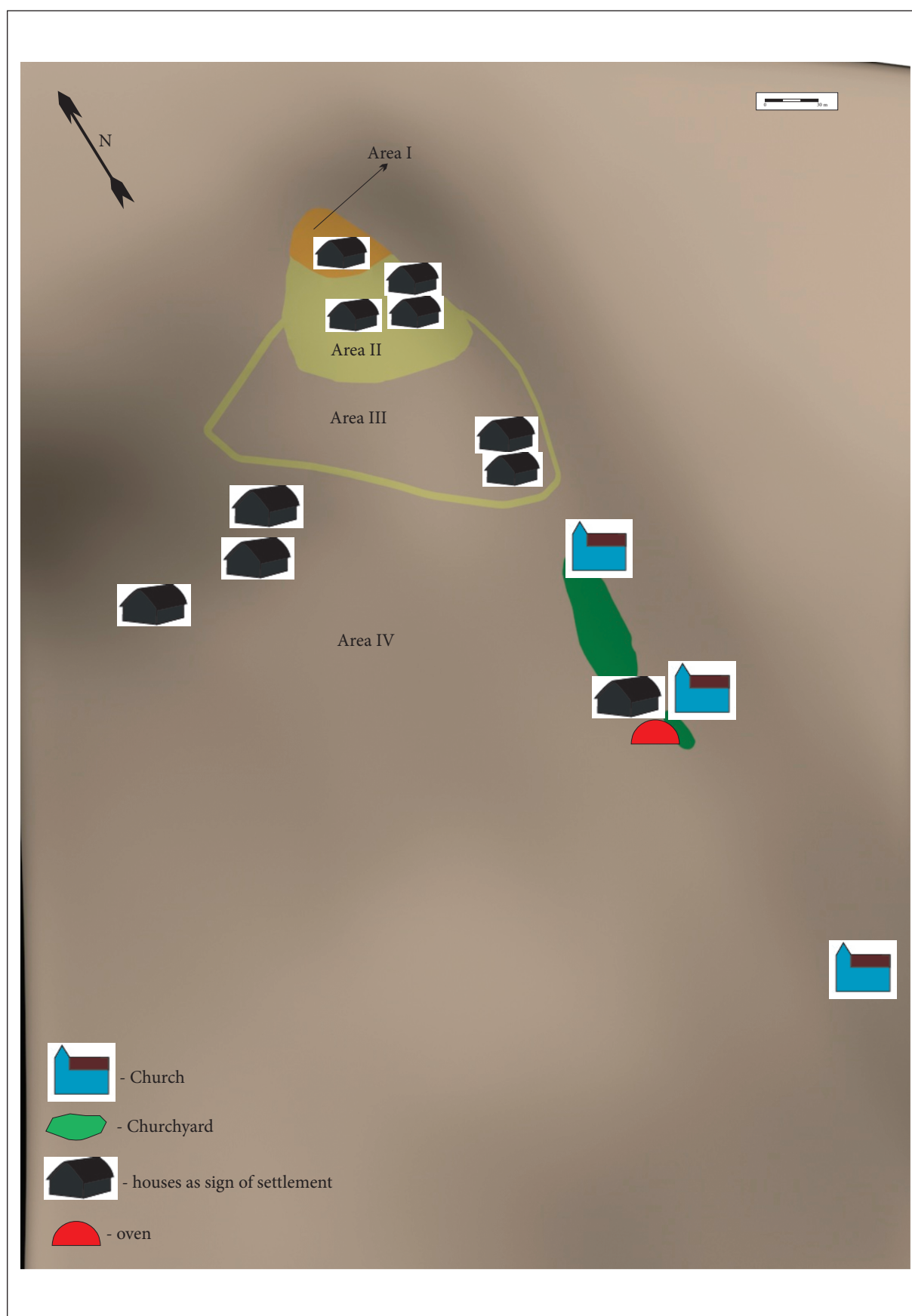


Plate 2. A 3D reconstruction of the settlement structure of the 12th century Dăbâca (drawn by N. Laczkó).

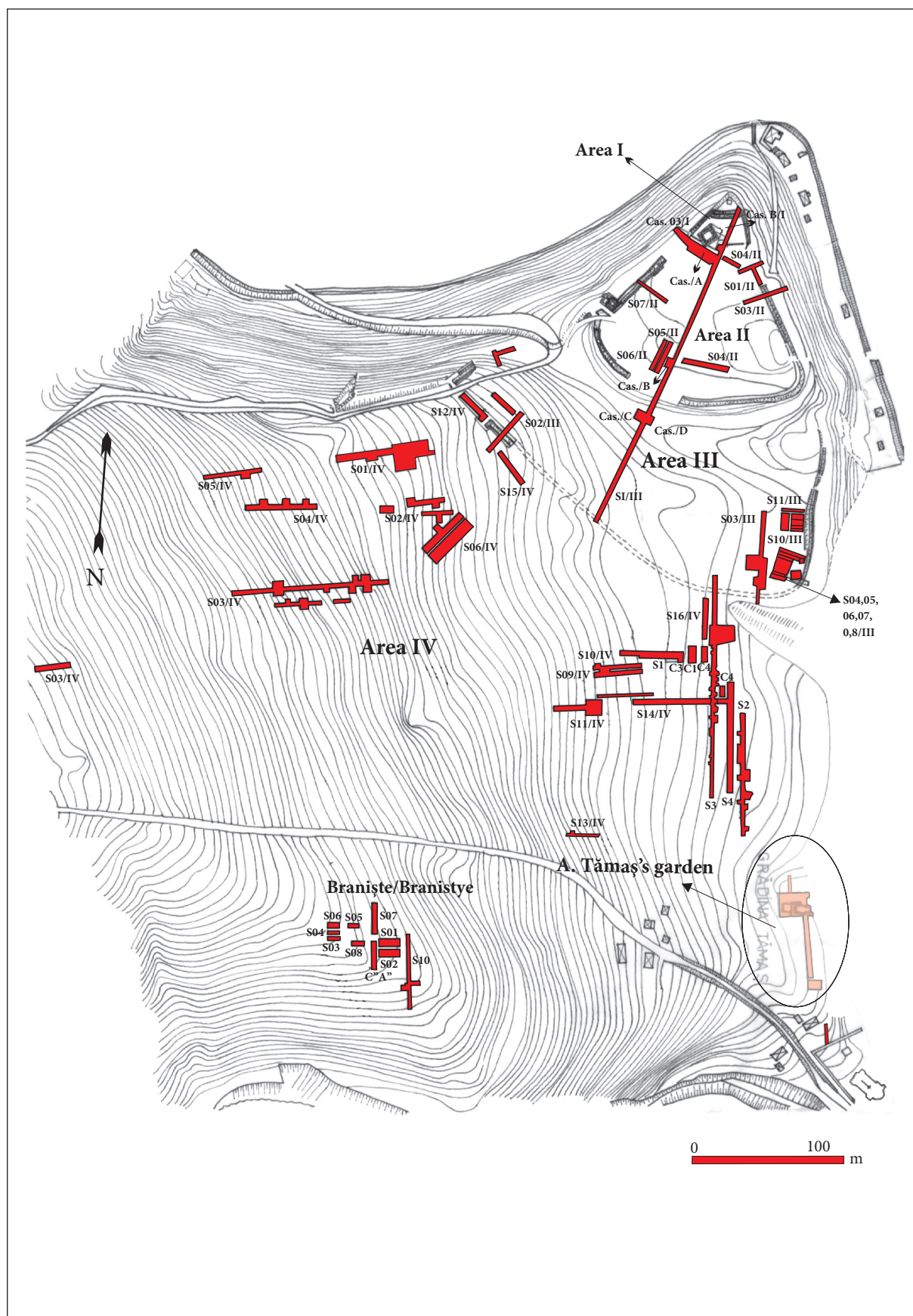


Plate 3. The present stage of the archaeological excavations in the castle complex of Dăbâca (drawn by E. Gáll).

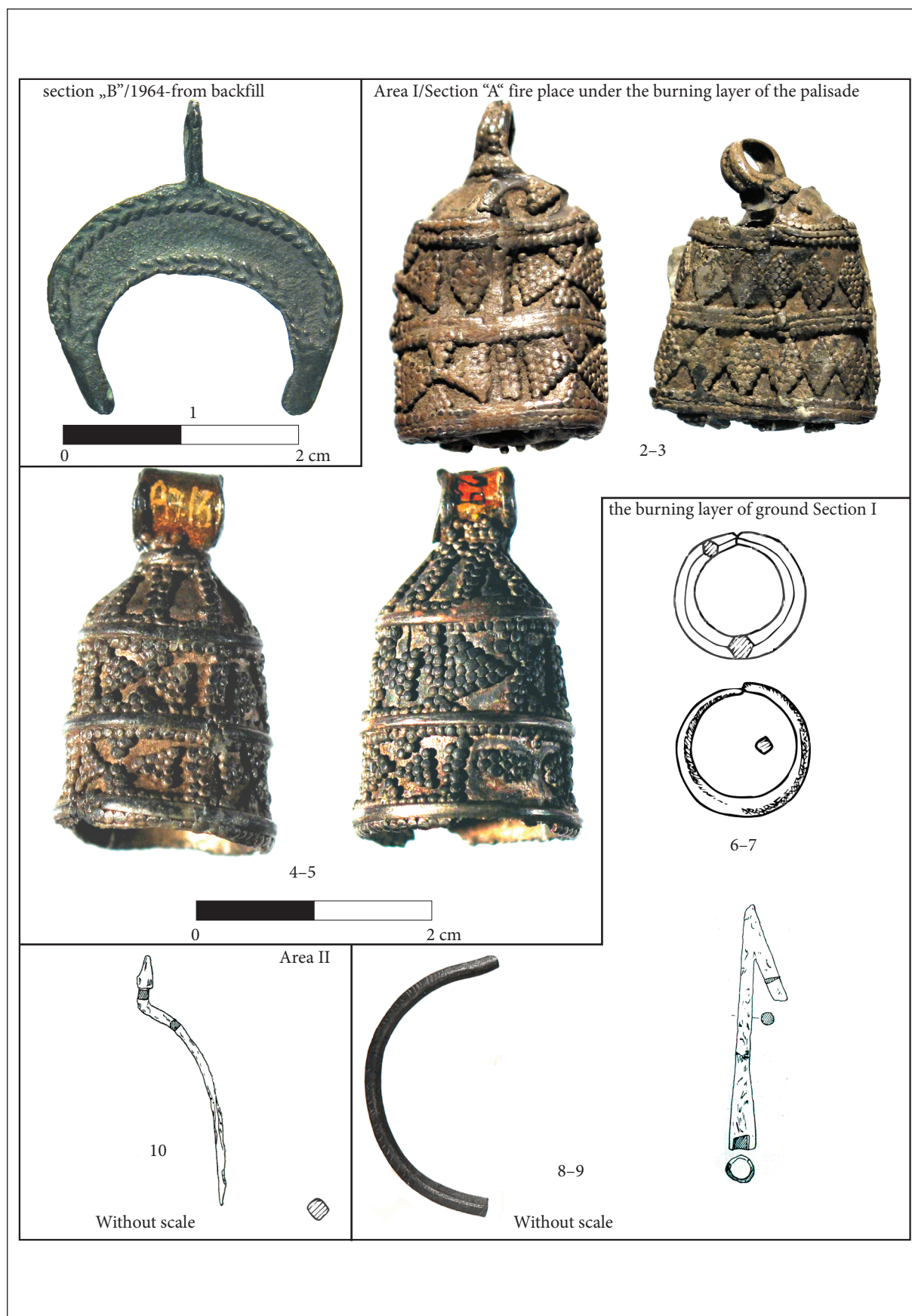


Plate 4. Dăbâca-Fortress rea I: 1-9; the cultural layer of Fortress Area II: 10 (drawn by E. Gáll).

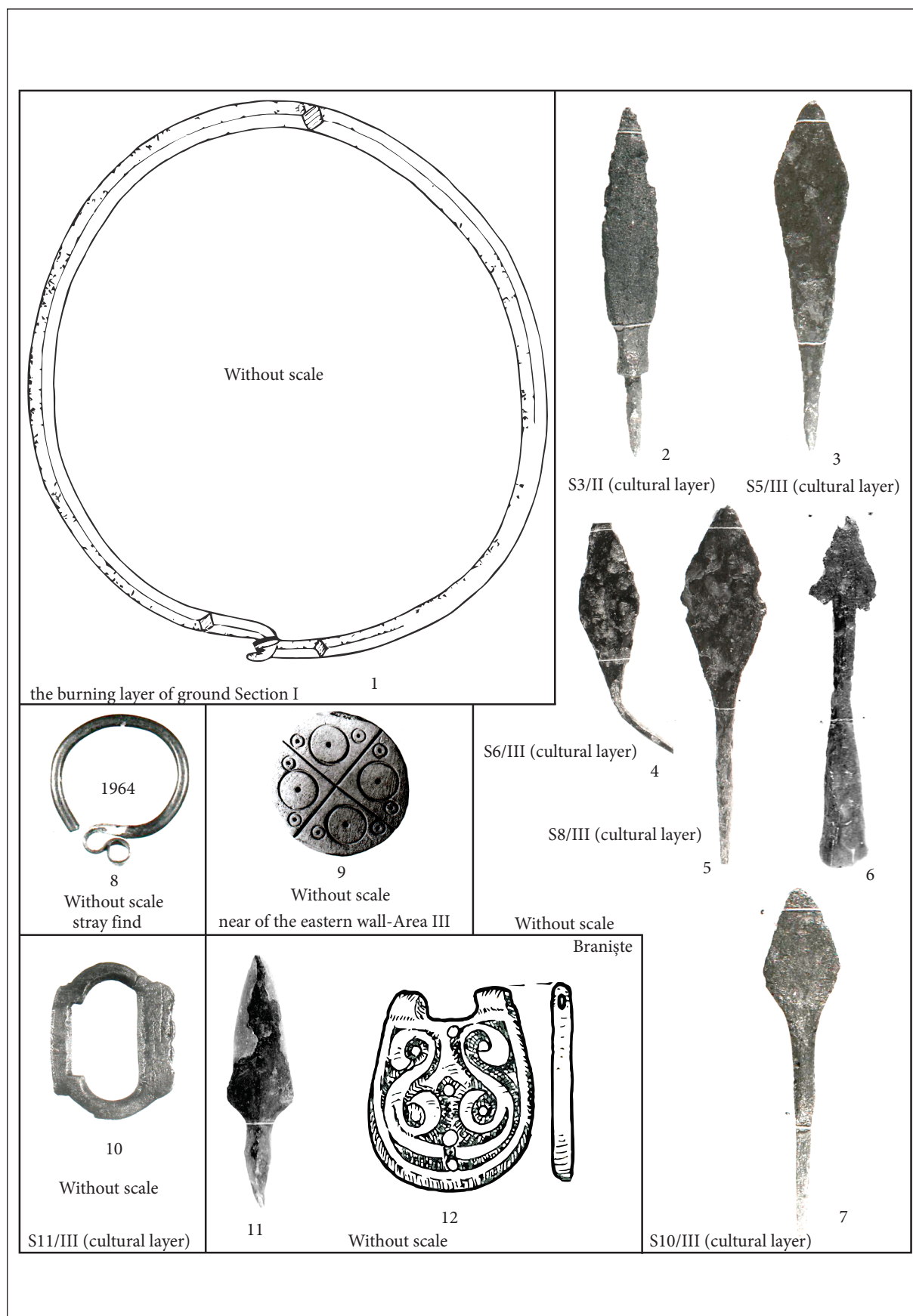


Plate 5. Dăbâca-Fortress Area I : 1; Fortress Area II : 2; Fortress Area III: 3–7, 9–10; Braniște: 11–12; Doboka-stray find: 8 (drawn by E. Gáll).

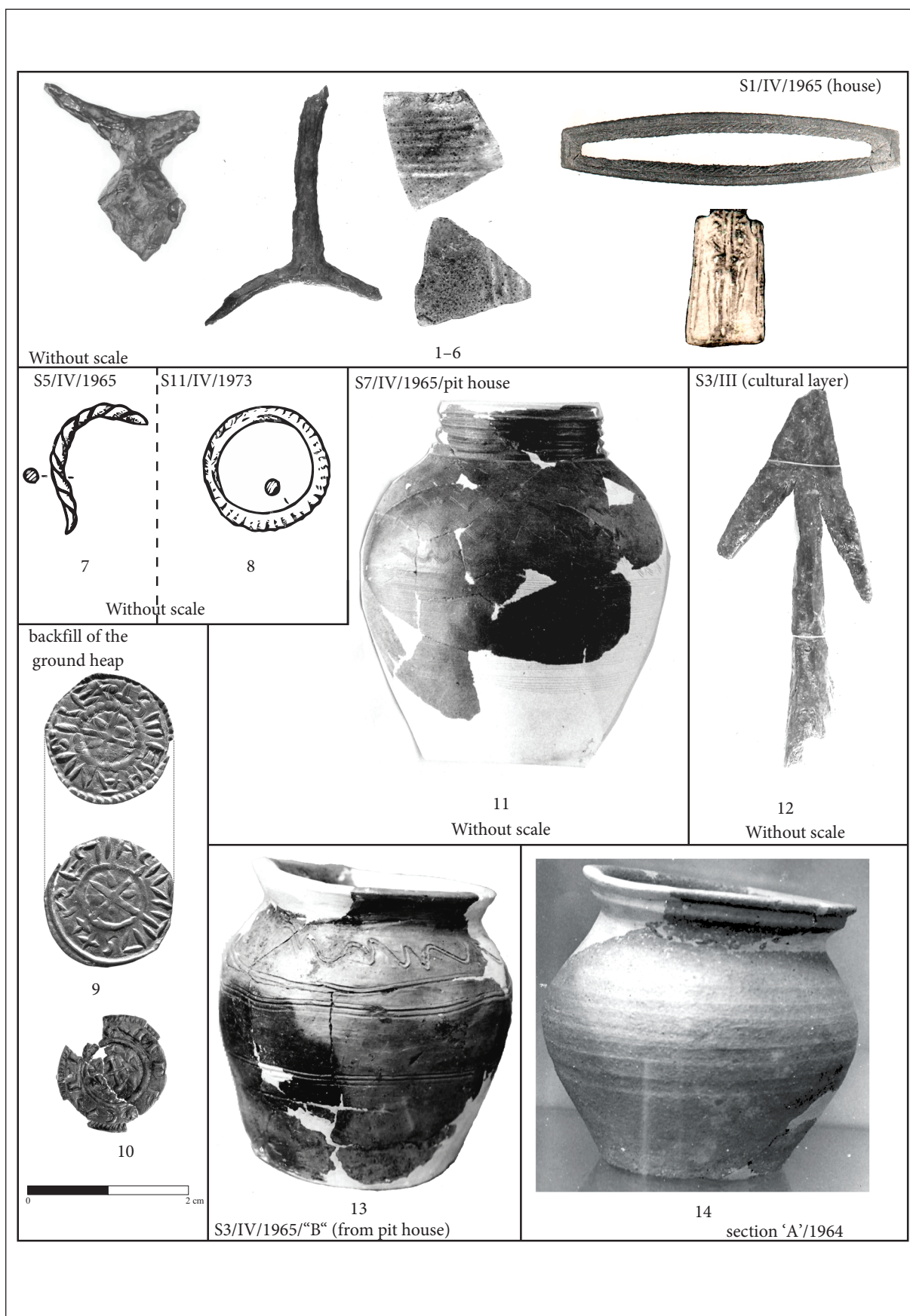


Plate 6. Dăbâca-Fortress Area III: 12; Castle Area IV: 1-8, 11, 13-14; outside the castle: 9-10 (drawn by E. Gáll).

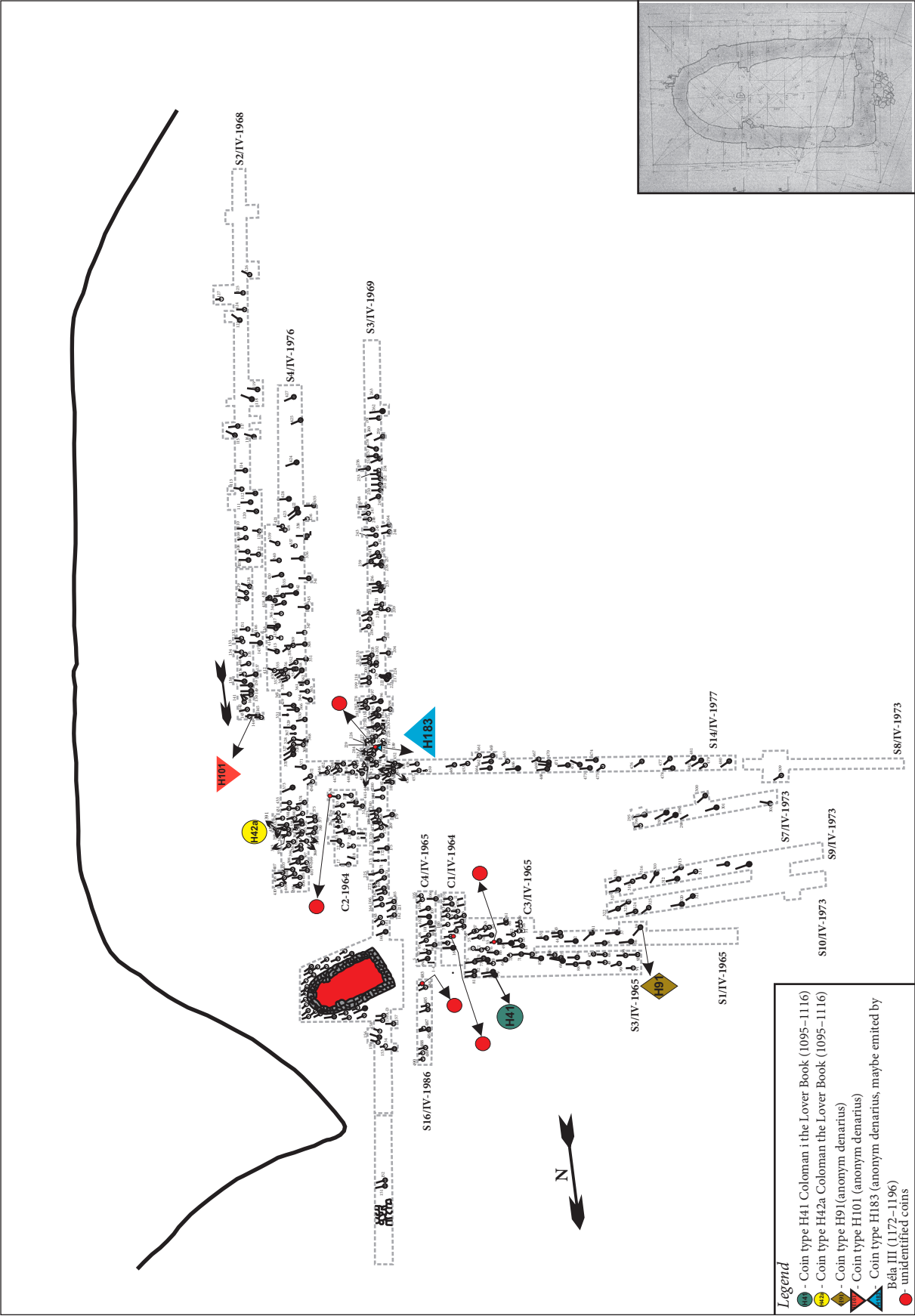


Plate 7. Coins found in the churchyard cemetery in Dăbâca-Fortress Area IV (drawn by E. Gáll).



Plate 8. The NW-SE, NNW-SSW and SW-NE orientations registered in the churchyard cemetery in Dăbâca-Fortress Area IV (drawn by E. Gáll).

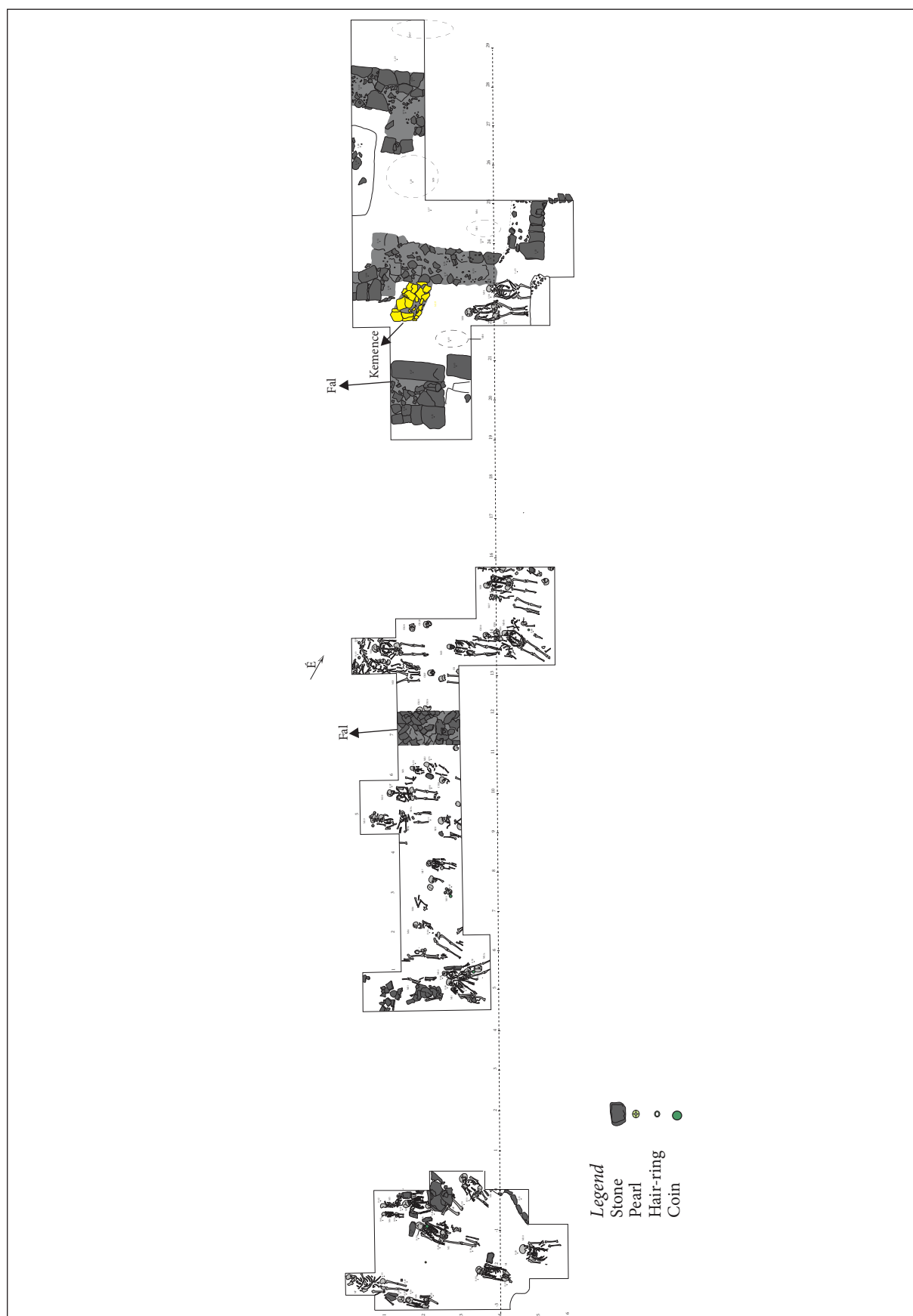


Plate 9. Dăbâca – the map of the cemetery in A. Tămaș's garden (drawn by N. Laczkó).



Plate 10. Dăbâca-parts of the church of Boldâg (Boldogasszony) (drawn by E. Gáll).



Plate 11. Dăbâca-the coins registered in the graves in A. Tămaș's garden: Grave 2: 1; Grave 12: 2; Grave 15: 3; Grave 26: 4; Excavation Trench II – 9,20 meters: 5; near Grave 38: 6; „Treasure”: 1–8; Pit house/1980: 1 (drawn by E. Gáll).



Plate 12. Dăbâca-Fortress Area IV, Grave 391: 1; Grave 79: 2; Grave 39: 3; Grave 145: 4; Cluj-Napoca-the yard of the University of Veterinary Medicine: 5; Gilău-the castle of George II Rákóczy: 6 (drawn by E. Gáll).

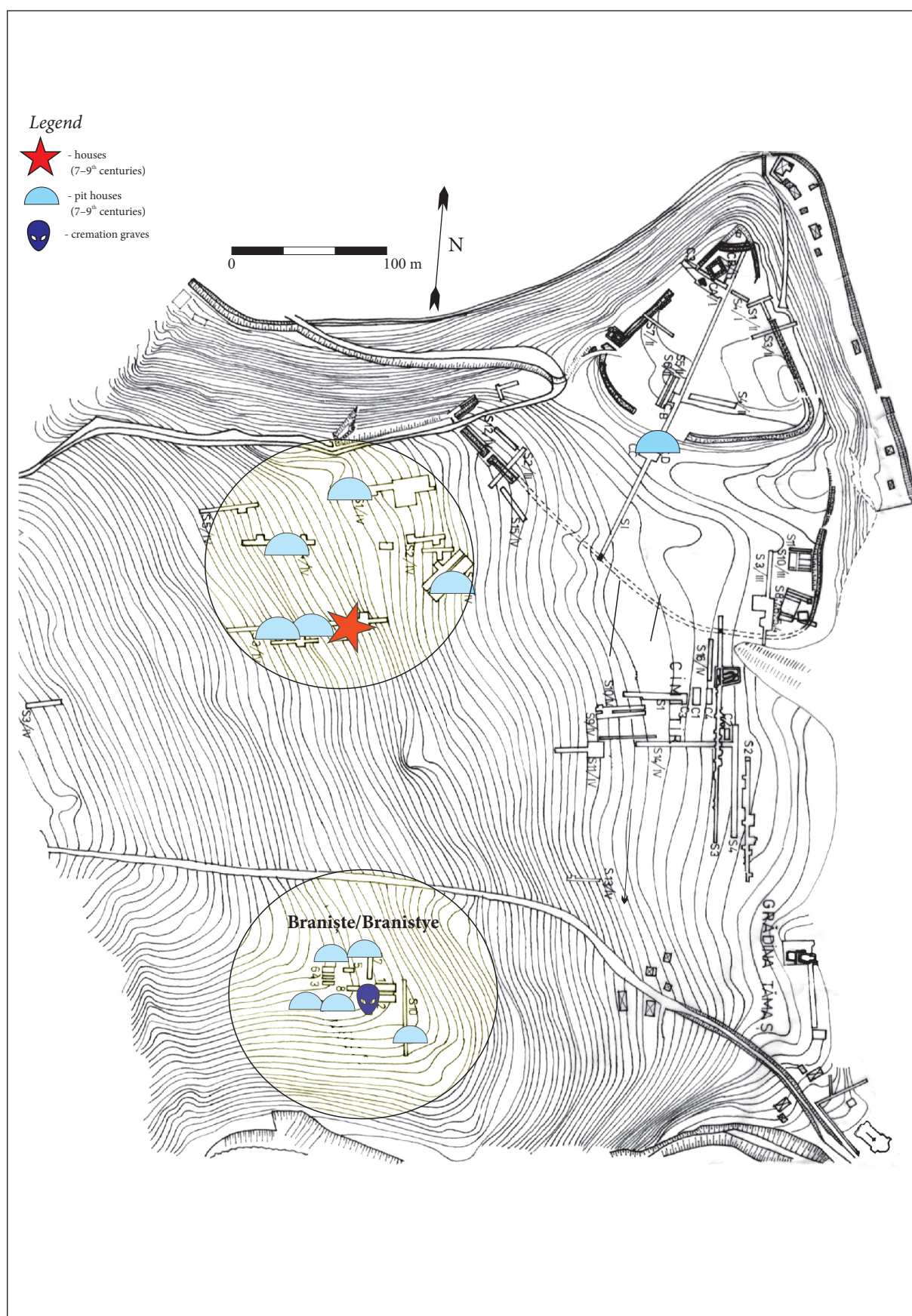


Plate 13. Dăbâca: 7th–9th century finds (drawn by E. Gáll).

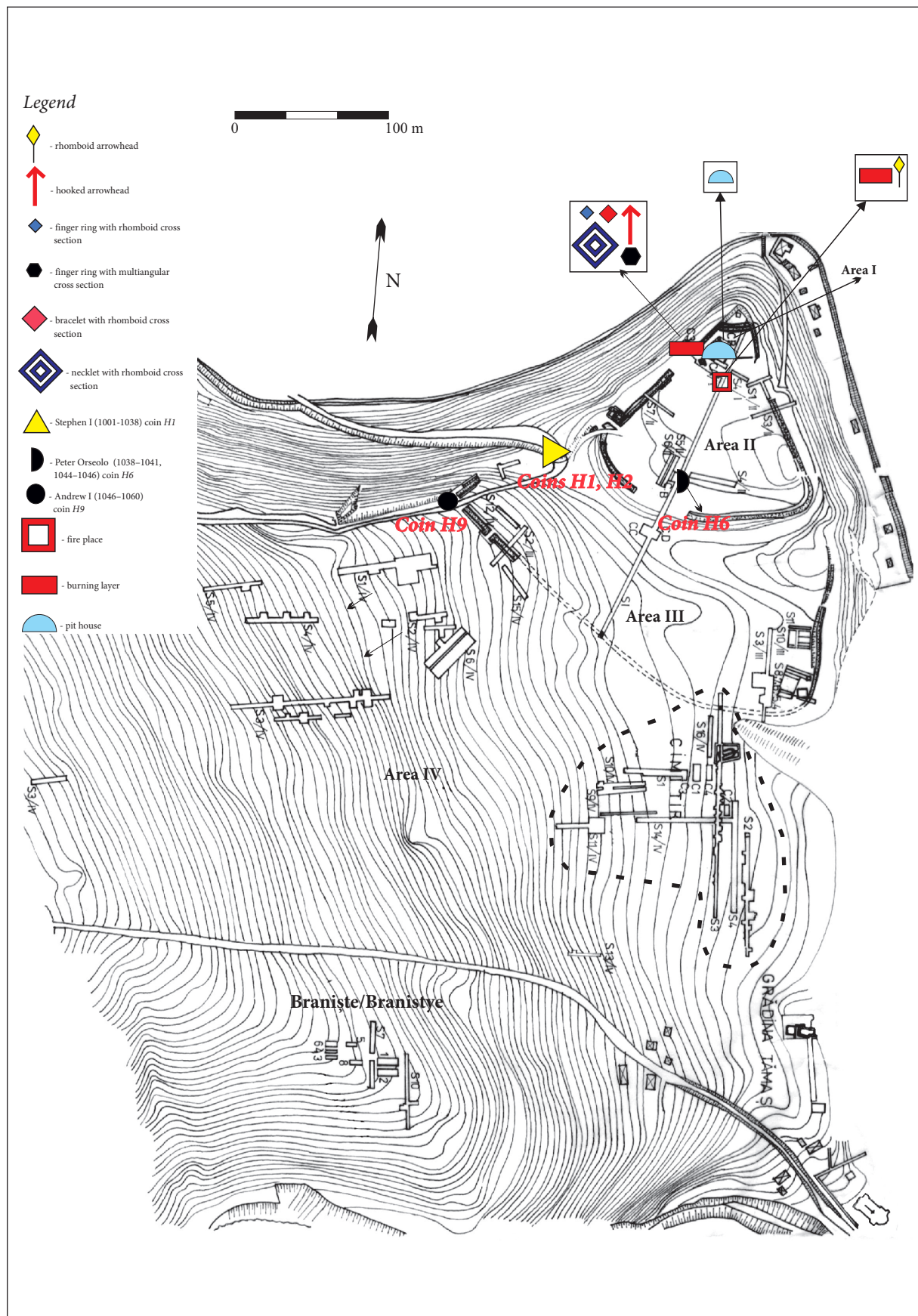


Plate 14. The elements dating the 11th century castle (drawn by E. Gáll).

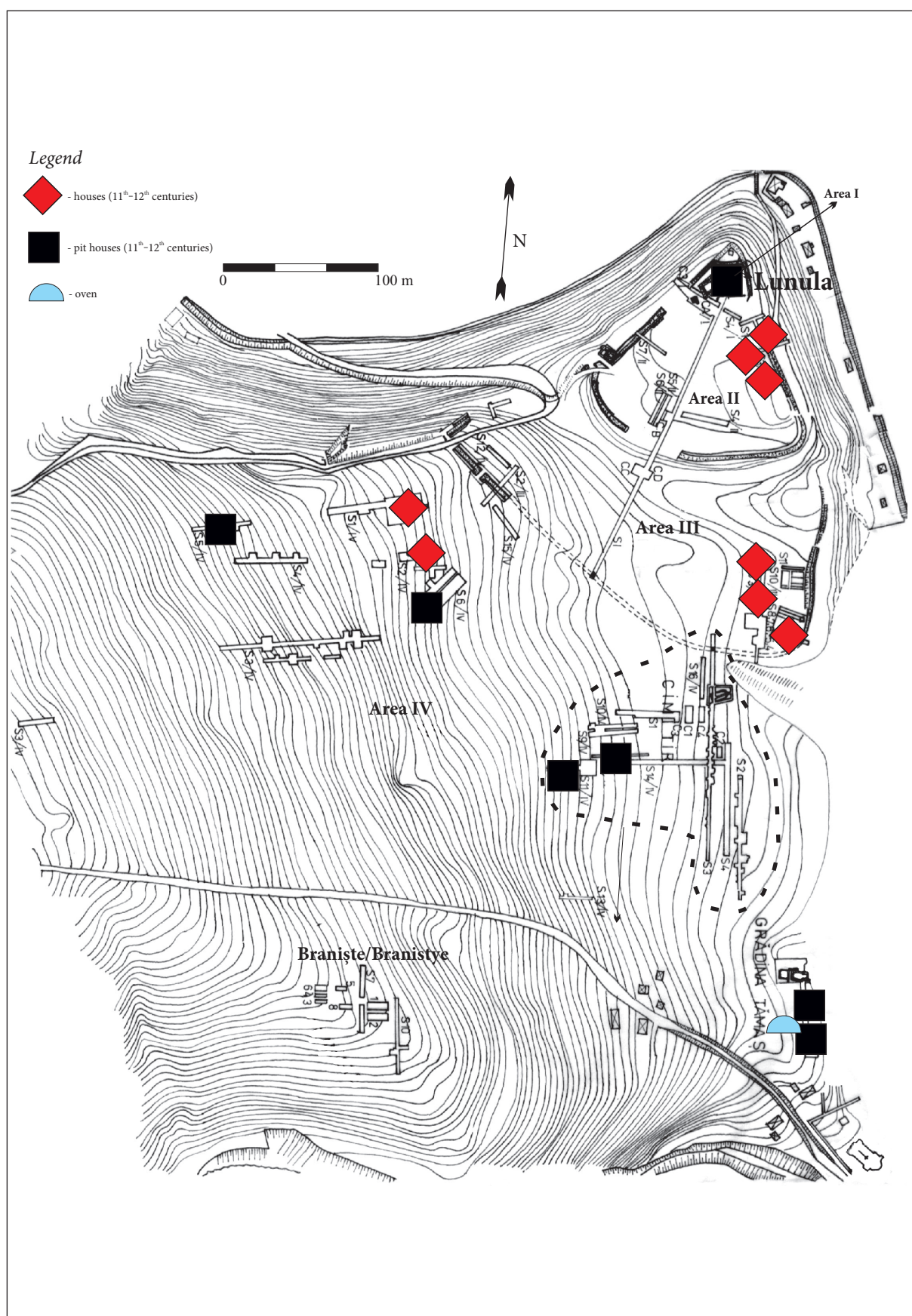


Plate 15. The structure of the settlement in the 11th–12th century Dăbâca (drawn by E. Gáll).

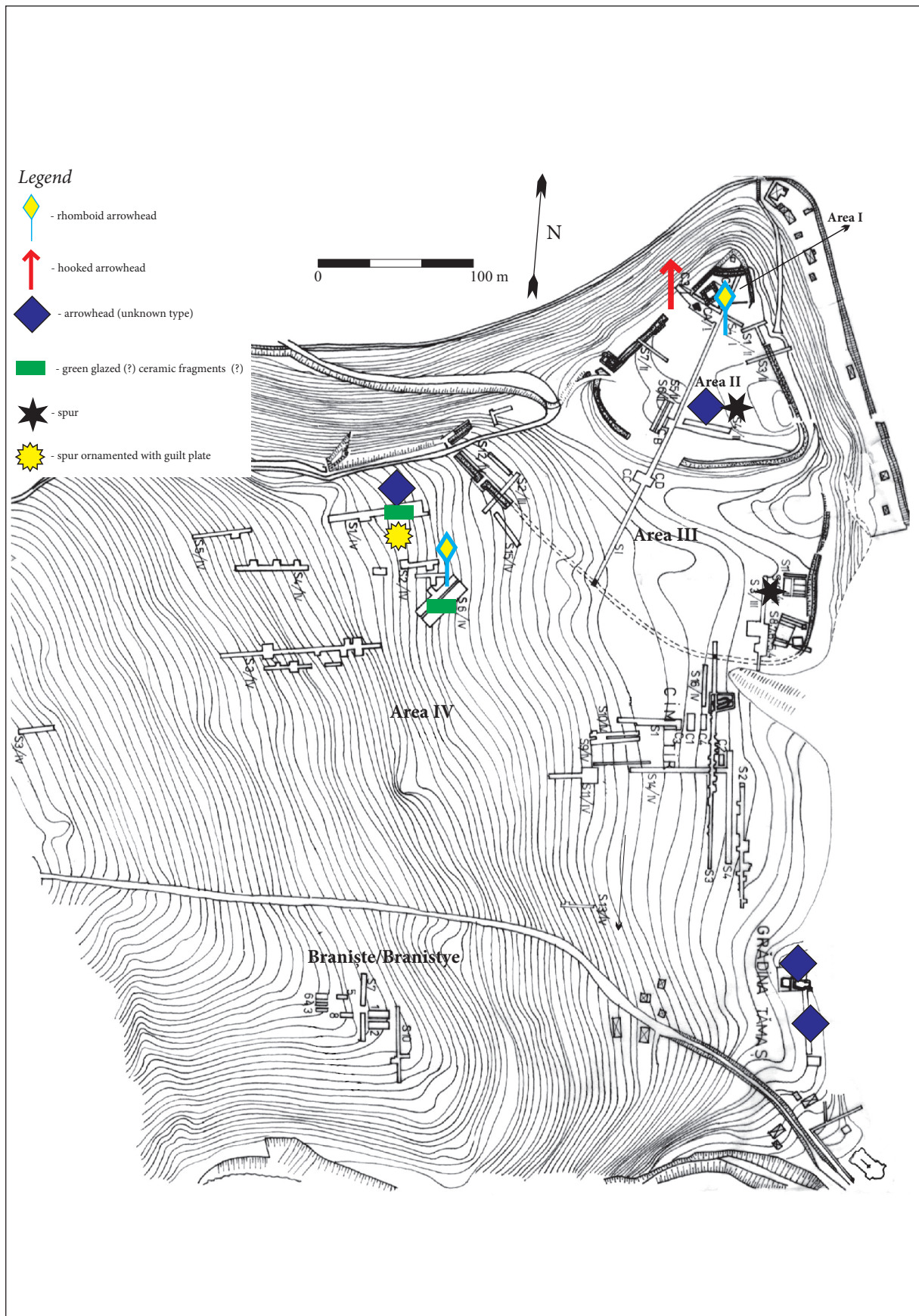


Plate 16. 11th –12th century armour and harness in the castle complex in Dăbâca (drawn by E. Gáll).

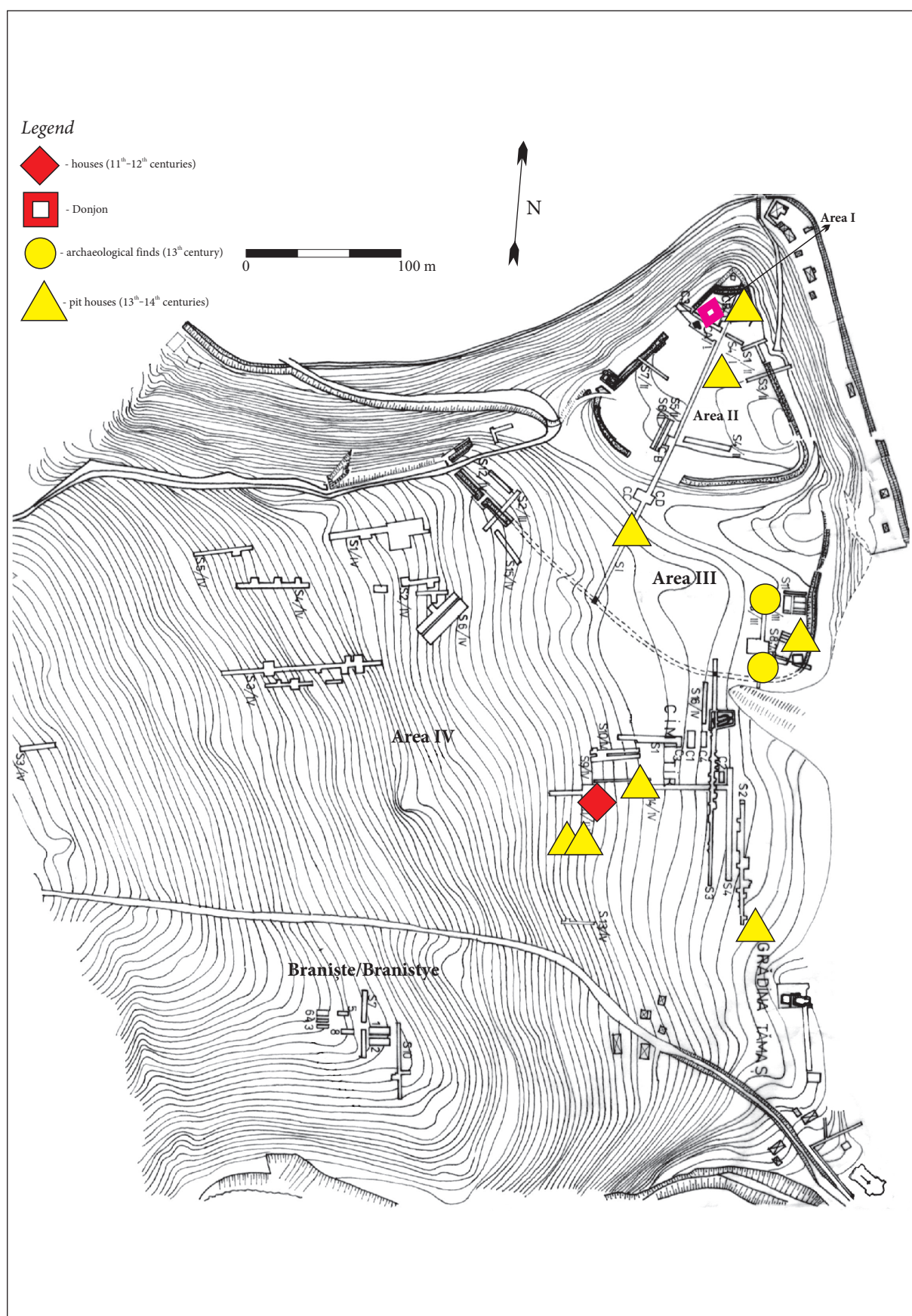


Plate 17. The structure of settlements in the 13th–14th century Dăbâca (drawn by E. Gáll).

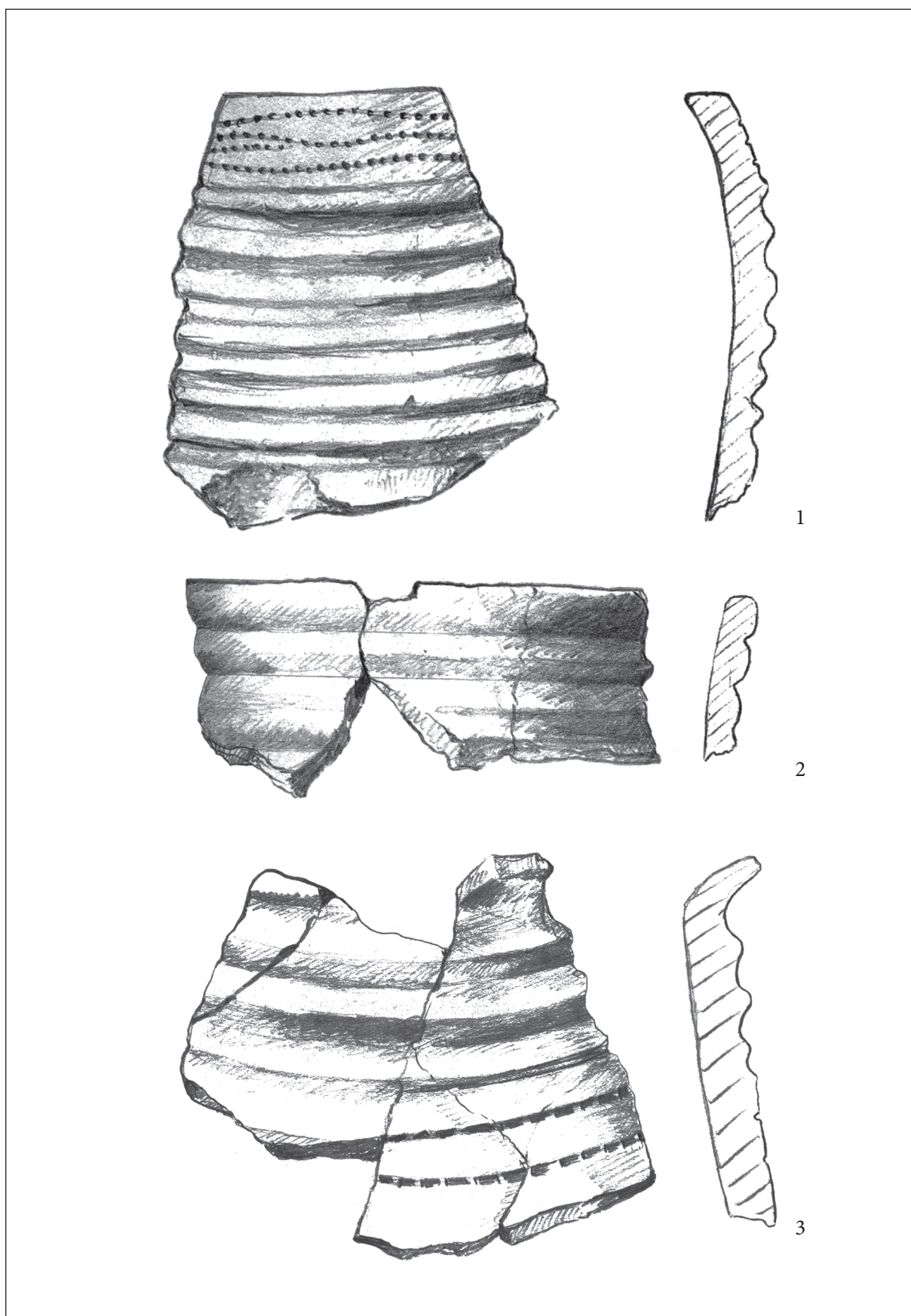


Plate 18. Dăbâca-Fortress: Area III/Section 3: 1; Area II/Section 2: 2; Dăbâca-Boldâgă SIV: 3 (drawn by N. Laczkó).

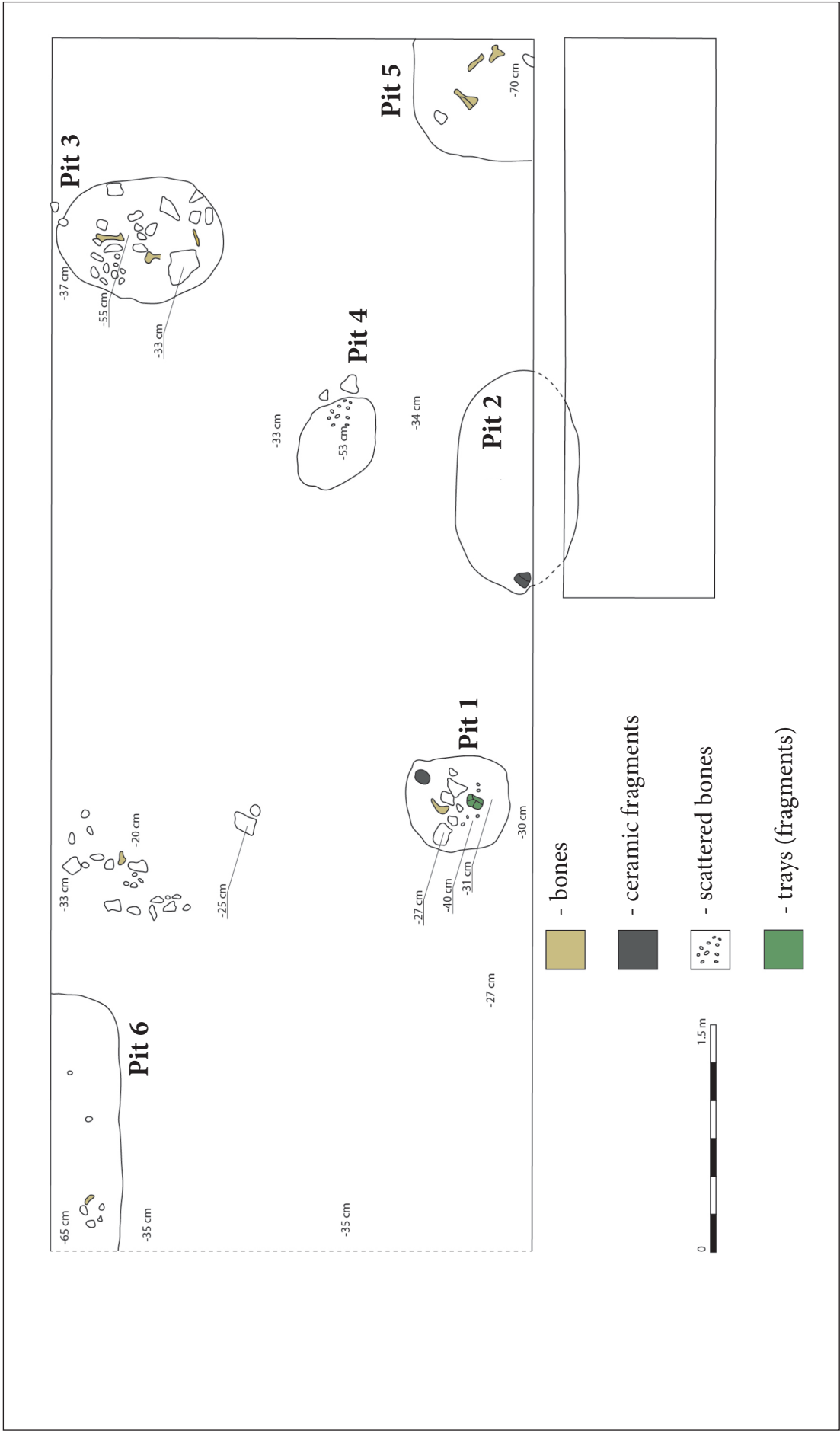


Plate 19. Dăbâca-Fortress: Area III/Section 3: 1; Area II/Section 2: 2; Dăbâca-Boldăgă SIV: 3 (drawn by N. Laczkó).

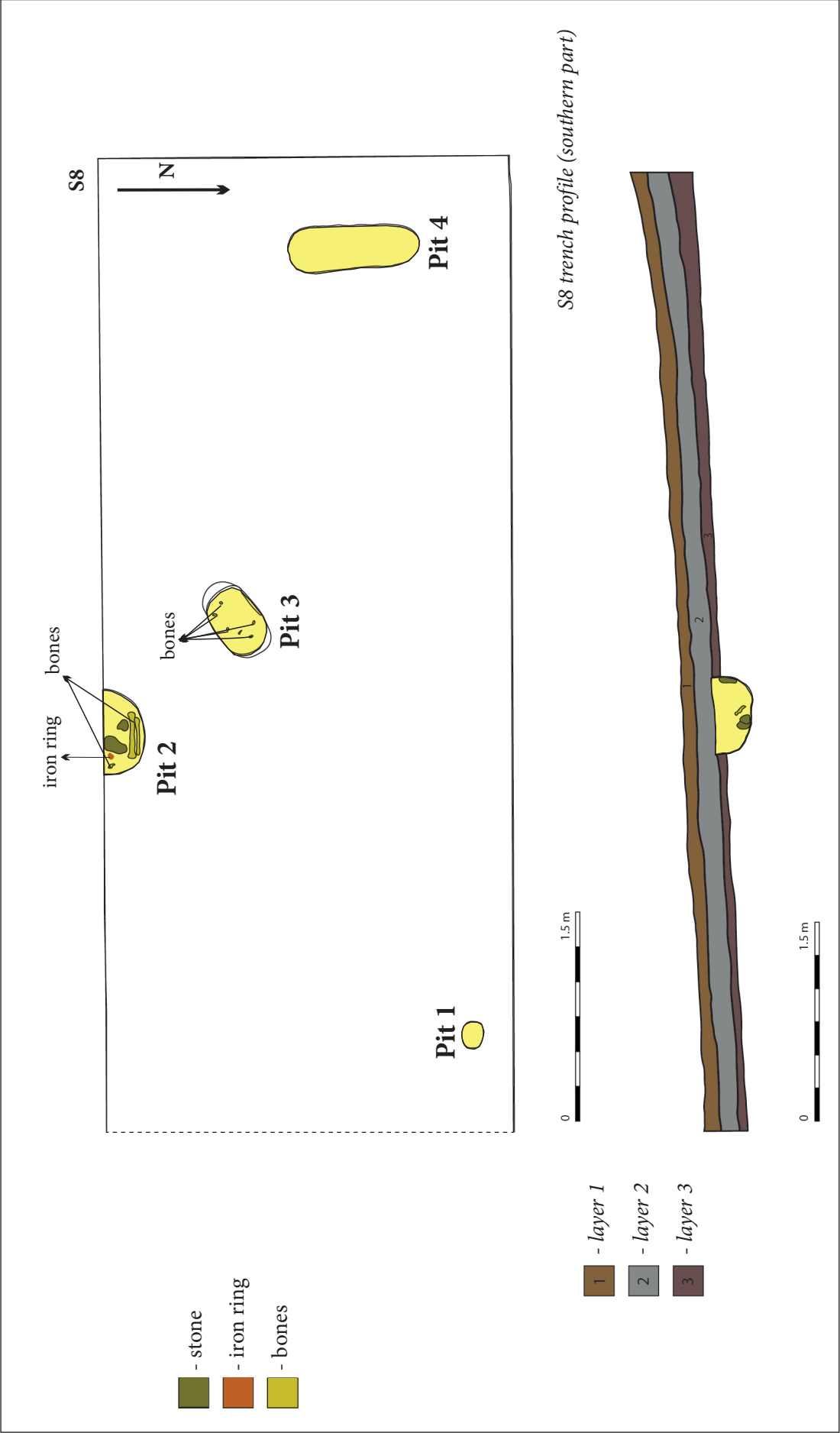


Plate 20. The ground plan of sections S03 (Branişte) (excavation from 1973) (drawn by N. Laczkó).

Abbreviations

AAC	Acta Archaeologica Carpathica. Cracovia.
AARMSI	Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice. București.
ACSSTU	Annals. Computer Science Series Tibiscus University. Timișoara.
ActaArchHung	Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Budapest.
AÉ	Archaeologiai Értesítő. Budapest.
AGGH	Acta Geodaetica et Geophysica Hungarica. Budapest.
AIINC	Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională Cluj. Cluj-Napoca.
AISC	Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice. Sibiu.
AJPA	American Journal of Physical Anthropology. New York.
Alba Regia	Alba Regia. Annales Musei Stephani Regis. Az István Király Múzeum Közleményei. Székesfehérvár.
AMN	Acta Musei Napocensis. Cluj-Napoca.
AMP	Acta Musei Porolissensis. Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Artă Zalău. Zalău.
AnB S.N.	Analele Banatului, Serie nouă. Timișoara.
Analele ANTIM	Analele Asociației Naționale ale Tinerilor Istorici din Moldova. Chișinău.
Apulum	Apulum. Alba-Iulia.
ArchKorrbl	Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt. Urgeschichte, Römerzeit, Frühmittelalter. Mainz.
ArhMed	Arheologia Medievală. Brăila, Reșița, Cluj-Napoca.
AS	Acta Siculica. Sepsiszentgyörgy/Sfântu Gheorghe.
ATS	Acta Terrae Septencastrensis. Sibiu.
AUVT	Annales d'Université Valahia Targoviste, Section d'Archéologie et d'Histoire. Târgoviște.
BAM	Brvkenthal Acta Mvsei. Sibiu.
BAR International Series	British Archaeological Reports, International Series. Oxford.
Banatica	Banatica. Muzeul Banatului Montan. Reșița.
BÁMÉ	A Béri Balogh Ádám Múzeum Évkönyve. Szekszárd.
BCȘS	Buletinul Cercurilor Științifice Studentești. Istorie-Arheologie-Muzeologie. Alba Iulia.
BerRGK	Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Frankfurt a. M. - Berlin.
BHAB	Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Banatica. Timișoara.
BSNR	Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române. Societatea Numismatică Română. București.
Caietele CIVA	Caietele CIVA. Cercul de Istorie Veche și Arheologie. Alba Iulia.
CCA	Cronica cercetărilor arheologice. București.
CCDJ	Cultură și civilizație la Dunărea de Jos. Muzeul Dunării de Jos. Călărași.
CN	Cercetări Numismatice. Muzeul Național de Istorie a României. București.
CNA	Cronica Numismatică și Arheologică, Societatea Numismatică Română. București.
Corviniana	Corviniana. Acta Musei Corvinensis. Hunedoara.
Crisia	Crisia, Muzeul Țării Crișurilor, Oradea.
Cumania	Cumania. A Bács-Kiskun Megyei Önkormányzat Múzeumi Szervezetének Évkönyve. Kecskemét.
Dacia N.S.	Dacia. Recherches et Découvertes Archéologiques en Roumanie, București; seria nouă (N.S.): Dacia. Revue d'Archéologie et d'Histoire Ancienne. București.
DMÉ	A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve. Debrecen.
DolgKolozsvar	Dolgozatok az Erdély Nemzeti Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából (Travaux de la section numismatique et archéologique du Musée National de Transylvanie). Kolozsvár/Cluj-Napoca.

DolgSzeged	Dolgozatok a Szegedi Tudományegyetem Régiségtudományi Intézetéből. Szeged.
Drobeta	Drobeta. Muzeul Regiunii Porților de Fier. Drobeta Turnu-Severin.
EME	Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület. Cluj-Napoca.
EphNap	Ephemeris Napocensis. Cluj-Napoca.
ETF	Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek – Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület. Kolozsvár/Cluj-Napoca.
Fdi	File de istorie, Muzeul de Istorie. Bistrița.
FolArch	Folia Archaeologica. A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Évkönyve. Annales Musei Nationalis Hungarici. Budapest.
Germania	Germania. Anzeiger der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Berlin.
História	História – történelmi folyóirat. Budapest.
HK	Hadtörténelmi Közlemények. Budapest.
HOMÉ	A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve. Miskolc.
Istros	Istros. Muzeul Brăilei. Brăila.
JAHC	Journal for the Association of History and Computing. Michigan University.
JahrbRGZM	Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums zu Mainz, Mainz.
JAMÉ	Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve. Pécs.
KL	Kartografické listy. Bratislava.
Korall	<i>Korall Társadalomtörténeti Folyóirat</i> . Budapest.
Közl	Közlemények az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából. Kolozsvár/Cluj-Napoca.
Lucrări	Lucrări Științifice. Istorie-Științe-Pedagogie, Institutul Pedagogic. Oradea.
GT	Geographia Technica. International Journal of Technical Geography. Cluj-Napoca.
Marisia	Marisia. Marisia. Studii și materiale. Arheologie – Istorie – Etnografie. Târgu-Mureș.
MCA	Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice. București.
MEKSB	A Miskolci Egyetem Közleménye. A sorozat, Bányászat. Miskolc.
MFMÉ StudArch	A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve. Studia Archaeologica. Szeged.
MFMÉ MonArch	A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve. Monumenta Archaeologica. Szeged.
MHB	Monumenta Historica Budapestinensia. Budapest.
MIM	Materiale de Istorie și Muzeografie, Muzeul de Istorie a Municipiului București. București.
MSW	Materialy Starozytne Wczesnosredniowieczne. Kraków.
MW	Materialy Wczesnośredniowieczne. Kraków-Wrocław-Warsawa.
NK	Numizmatikai Közlöny, Magyar Numizmatikai Társulat. Budapest.
NNT	Norsk Numismatisk Tidsskrift.
NZ	Numismatische Zeitschrift, herausgegeben von der numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. Wien.
OJA	Oxford Journal of Archaeology, Oxford.
OpHung	Opuscula Hungarica. Budapest.
PBF	Praehistorische Bronzefunde.
Potaissa	Potaissa. Studii și comunicări. Turda.
PZ	Prähistorische Zeitschrift. Berlin.
Régészeti Füzetek	Régészeti Füzetek. Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum. Budapest.
RÉSÉE	Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes. l'Institut d'Études Sud-Est Européennes de l'Académie Roumaine. București.
RI	Revista de Istorie, Institutul de Istorie „Nicolae Iorga”. București.
RM	Revista Muzeelor. Centrul pentru Formare, Educație Permanentă și Management în Domeniul Culturii. București.
RRH	Revue Roumaine d'Histoire, Academia Română. București.
Sargetia	Sargetia, Muzeul Civilizației Dacice și Romane Deva.

Savaria	Savaria – a Vas megyei múzeumok értesítője. Pars historico-naturalis. Szombathely.
SCIIVA	Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche (și Arheologie). București.
SCN	Studii și Cercetări Numismatice. Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”. București.
SCȘI	Studii și Cercetări Științifice. Istorie.
SIB	Studii de Istorie a Banatului. Universitatea de Vest Timișoara.
SlovArch	Slovenská Archeológia. Bratislava.
SMIM	Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie. Institutul de Istorie „Nicolae Iorga”. București.
SMK	Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei. Kaposvár.
SSCR	<i>Social Science Computer Review. North Carolina State University.</i>
Speculum	Speculum. Cambridge Journals Online. Cambridge.
StComCaransebeș	Studii și Comunicări. Etnografie. Istorie. Caransebeș.
StComSatuMare	Studii și Comunicări. Satu Mare.
Stratum plus	Stratum plus Journal. High Anthropological School University. Cultural Anthropology & Archaeology.
Studia Caroliensia	Studia Caroliensia. A Károli Gáspár Református Egyetem szakfolyóirata. Budapest.
Studia Comitatus	Studia Comitatus. Tanulmányok Pest Megye Múzeumaiból. Szentendre.
Századok	Századok. A Magyar Történelmi Társulat Folyóirata. Budapest.
Terra Sebus	Terra Sebus. Acta Musei Sabasiensis. Sebeș.
Thraco-Dacia	Thraco-Dacia. București.
Transilvanian Review	Transilvanian Review/Revue de Transylvanie. Cluj-Napoca.
TS	Történelmi Szemle. A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézetének Értesítője. Budapest.
UPA	Universitätsforschungen zur Prähistorische Archäologie. Bonn.
VAH	Varia Archaeologica Hungarica. Budapest.
VMMK	Veszprémi Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei. Veszprém.
World Archaeology	World Archaeology. London.
ZfA	Zeitschrift für Archäologie. Berlin.
Ziridava	Ziridava, Complexul Muzeal Arad. Arad.
ZMSW	Zeitschrift für Münz-, Siegel- und Wappenkunde. Berlin.

