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Any correspondence will be sent to the editor:

Museum Arad

Piata George Enescu 1, 310131 Arad, RO

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This volume is dedicated to the memory of Egon Dörner (1925–1993)

A handwritten signature in blue ink, reading "Egon Dörner".

The archaeological research state of the 9/10–11th centuries in Moldova (Romania). Some thoughts on funerary places and stray finds (axes)¹

Erwin Gáll

Abstract: The archaeological research of the 10th–11th century Moldova is really backward for many reasons. For this reason, in this paper could only aim to set up a chronological order of the finds. The relative chronological system used in the Carpathian Basin and in parts of Bulgaria and in some aspects in whole Central-Eastern Europe is to be applied to the finds from Moldova, which has certain limitations and poses certain threats, but at the moment we cannot see a better point to start from. On the base of the relative chronological system used in other regions in the Eastern Europe we can classification the funerary places and the stray finds in 3 chronological groups. However, we have to emphasize that the funerary places/graves have been found in Eastern Moldova and the axes as stray finds, in the largest quantities, were found in Western Moldova. What does this archaeological data base mean? Does it indicate a difference in life style or manifestation a cultural difference? These are the great questions of the research in the future.

Keywords: Moldova (Romania), 9/10–11th centuries, funerary places, stray finds, axes.

Introduction

The archaeological research of the 10th–11th century Moldova² is really backward for many reasons³. Of course we do not to say that no there were not archaeological researches at all, as our list of the sites would refute this statement. But it can be said that even in Romania the archaeological research in the land of Moldova of the 9/10–11th centuries is the most left behind, not to speak of a comparison with the region of Central and Eastern Europe. On *Annex 1* the level of this research can be accurately traced research as far (clearly we cannot talk about cemeteries, only about graves and group of graves) the size of the excavation is concerned.

As far as the research level, standard of these excavations are concerned we have no data in the most of the cases (except for the sites of Probota and Holboca), not to mention the anthropological and archaeozoological analysis that apart from one case (Probota Grave 7⁴) are completely missing from the current analyzes. However, due to the lack of archaeological analyses there is no such chronological system as in the case of the Carpathian Basin concerning the cemeteries, let alone settlements. In the future there should be done more for the complex processing of archaeological resources as well as publishing the results.

We could assert our database primarily thanks to the efforts of two researchers (Victor Spinei and Dan Gheorghe Teodor), whose work it cannot be disregarded (see Annex 1 and Annex 2).

¹ English translation: László Oláh, Erwin Gáll. Our short analysis aims to analyse the cemeteries and stray finds found in the territory of Moldova belonging to present Romania. We were forced to renounce to analyse the settlements, since they can be dated just within very broad limits of time. Dedicated to the 150th anniversary of the Romanian Academy.

² Victor Spinei provides a good geographical description on the area east of the Carpathian Mountains: Spinei 1985, 13–44.

³ Among these reasons one could mention the uninterested attitude of the experts and the ethnicizing point of view dictated by mainstream science policy. Boia 1997, 76, 123–125. It follows from these reasons that no archaeological synthesis comprising this region and comparing with region of Muntenia/Greater Wallachia has been published so far. Ioniță 2005. The new funerary sites are Păulești (1 grave) and Strejnicu (1 grave). Frânculeasa *et al.* 2012, 139–163.

⁴ 'Studiul antropologie, făcut de către prof. Olga Necrasov, a stabilit că scheletul omenesc din acest mormint prezintă caractere mongoloide'. Zaharia, Zaharia 1962, 605.

Theoretical approaches

If the issue of 'ethnic' identity is called 'hot potato' by some sociologists (who can study the manifestations of this horizontal identity in real life)⁵, the judgement of this issue is obviously even more problematic in the case of archaeology⁶. The possibilities to identify 'ethnic' identities in the distant past are limited and what we are interested in, namely their connection with the archaeological sources and the possibility to detect them, are even more relative. Therefore I am skeptical about the attempts made by historians who used archaeological finds to support their historical constructions. This sceptical and careful attitude is even more relevant in the case of the Moldova finds from the 9th/10th and 11th centuries, whose research (see Annex 1) shows a lot of deficiencies. Therefore this paper could only aim to set up a chronological order of the finds.

The analysis

This short analysis of ours cannot be comprehensive due to the present state of research. Therefore we would like to concentrate on some important aspects. First of all, the relative chronological system used in the Carpathian Basin and in parts of Bulgaria and in some aspects in whole Central-Eastern Europe is to be applied to the finds from Moldova, which has certain limitations and poses certain threats, but at the moment we cannot see a better point to start from. To give an example of these: bits with the single-piece bar are dated to the second part of the 10th century in the Carpathian Basin, but it is questionable whether we can date all the finds of this type similarly east of the Carpathians?

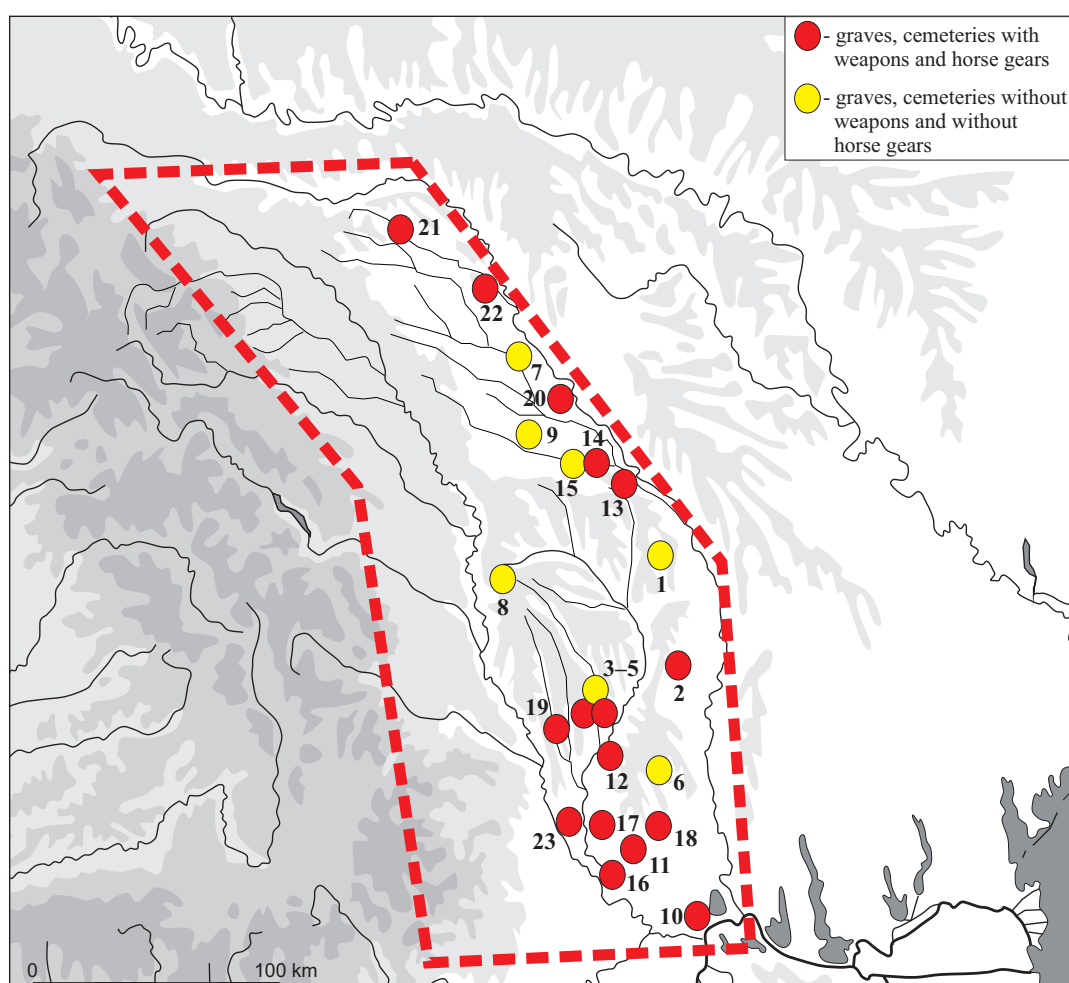


Fig. 1. The burial sites in Moldova in 9/10th–11th centuries (for the numbering of the sites see Annex 1).

⁵ Malešević 2004, 1.

⁶ According also to Sebastian Brather, archaeology cannot be used to identify 'ethnic' groups, which opinion the author of these lines can only agree with. Brather 2002, 152–156.

In the first step, we tried to give an overall review of the graves and cemeteries whose documentation is available for us. It must be emphasized that no cemetery has been excavated and the biggest burial site contains only 11 graves! The situation is not only complicated by the fact that we can just talk about the findings of small excavations, but as the finds excavated in those cemeteries or graves have not been published, some of them cannot be dated exactly or in some cases they cannot be dated at all due to a lack of data. Based upon the dates in the table below, it must be stated that these burial finds do not constitute a unified category.

This review of research history makes us emphasize the most important advice: we would like to warn everyone not to set up any historical hypothesis due to the present state of the researches. The elements of dating are first of all the weapons and horse gears, respectively some various types of the jewellery.

There are 4 sites that can be dated to the 10th century generally. 6 sites can be dated to the second half of the 10th century and 7 sites can be dated to the 11th century. There is a find that cannot be dated with certainty and in 6 cases we have no data at all.

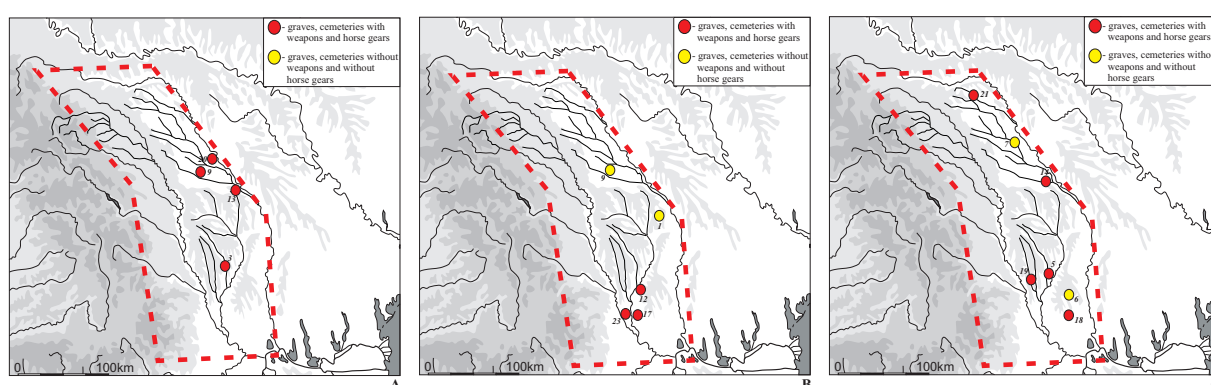


Fig. 2. The burial sites in Moldova: A. 10th century; B. second half of the 10th century; 11th century (for the numbering of the sites see Annex 1).

For the 10th century the most important elements of dating are the pear-shaped stirrups with asymmetrical rectangular strap loop (Grozești)⁷, (Pl. 2/10) iron bits with rectangular sectioned side-bars (Grozești) (Pl. 2/7)⁸, rhomboid- and deltoid arrowheads (Grozești, Probota) (Pl. 2/1–6, 9)⁹, knives (Grozești, Probota) (Pl. 1/6, Pl. 2/8), quiver (Probota) (Pl. 1/5)¹⁰, simple lock rings (Probota, Bârlad “Parcul de odihnă”) (Pl. 1/1–2, pl. 4/6)¹¹, rattlers (Bârlad “Parcul de odihnă”) (Pl. 4/1–5)¹², lyre shaped buckle (Erbiceni)¹³.

The elements of material cultures which characterized the second half of the 10th century and first half of the 11th century are: buttons (Arsura) (Pl. 4/1–6)¹⁴, earrings (Arsura) (Pl. 4/7–8)¹⁵, bows (Banca) (Pl. 3/Grave 1: 1–4, Grave 2: 1–2)¹⁶, arrowheads (Banca) (Pl. 3/Grave 1: 5–6, Grave 2: 5–7)¹⁷, little circle disc (Banca) (Pl. 3/Grave 1: 10–11)¹⁸, bits with single piece bar (Grivița-NV satului, Matca, Umbrărești) (Pl. 2/1)¹⁹.

⁷ Spinei 1985, 113, Fig. 29/10. Type *Pe2a1* after Gáll 2015, Pl. 1/2a1 dated in the first part of the 10th century. Another references: Révész 1996, 43–46.

⁸ Spinei 1985, 113, Fig. 29/7. Type 3b after Gáll 2013, Vol. II, 324. táb.

⁹ Zaharia, Zaharia 1962, Fig. 8/3–5; Spinei 1985, Fig. 29/1–6, 8.

¹⁰ On the structure of the quivers in the 10th century, see: Révész 1985, 35–53.

¹¹ Spinei 1985, 113, Fig. 27/6; Szőke 1962, 35; Révész 1996, 79–80. Types 1a–1b after Gáll 2013, Vol. II, 307. táb.

¹² Spinei 1985, 113, Fig. 21/1–5. On the rattlers in the Carpathian Basin: Szőke 1962, 59–61; Kovács 1998, 150–151, 153, 32. jegyzet.

¹³ Nițu et al. 1959, 536, Fig. 6/4. For their datings, see: Révész 1989, 513–541.

¹⁴ Spinei 1985, Fig. 14/1–6.

¹⁵ Teodor 1968, 237–238, Fig. 25/1–2; Spinei 1985, Fig. 14/7–8. For their datings, see: Szőke 1962, 46; Giesler 1981, 120–124; Gáll 2013, Vol. I, 666.

¹⁶ Maxim-Alaiba 1987, 236, Fig. 1/1–5.

¹⁷ Maxim-Alaiba 1987, 236, Fig. 1/12, 15–18.

¹⁸ Maxim-Alaiba 1987, 236, Fig. 1/8–9.

¹⁹ Spinei 1985, 113, 118, Fig. 30/9, fig. 31/12; Spinei 2009, Fig. 32/9. Type 2a after Gáll 2013, Vol. II, 324. táb.

For the 11th century the most important elements of dating are the cast, square sectioned bracelets (Bârlad “Moara lui Chicoș”) (Pl. 5)²⁰, openworked pendant ornaments (Berești, Todireni) (Pl. 4/1–2, pl. 4/1–3)²¹, twisted finger ring (Holboca) (Pl. 1/12)²², twisted bracelet (Călărași)²³, arrowheads (Holboca) (Pl. 1/9–11), quiver (Holboca) (Pl. 1/1–3)²⁴, bow (Holboca) (Pl. 1/4–8)²⁵, iron cauldron (Pogonești) (Pl. 5)²⁶, bits with single piece bar (Bârlad “Moara lui Chicoș”)²⁷, simple bridle bit (Pogonești)²⁸. As we mentioned, the bits with single piece bar are dated to the second part of the 10th century in the Carpathian Basin, but it is questionable if we can apply similarly east of the Carpathians? However, we have to mention that in Muntenia/Greater Wallachia also were dated in/from the second half of the 10th century, but on the base of the finds in the Carpathian Basin²⁹. So this is the paradoxal situation.

Geographically the burial sites are clustered along the lower reaches of the River Siret and the River Prut (Annex 1: sites 2, 3–5, 6, 10, 11, 12, 16, 17, 19, 23), and the upper and middle reaches of the River Prut (Annex 1: 1, 7, 9, 13, 14, 15, 20, 21, 22). At the moment we know that weapons and horse gears have been found in 16 out of the 23 burial sites, so it can be stated that the burials of that age were characterized by weapon furnishings and the symbolization of horses, even though the present stage of research is so poor. The weapons found in the graves are bow bones, the iron parts of quivers and arrow heads. The other weapons are missing from the graves in Moldova.

We need to say something about one aspect of the burial customs, which in many cases were misinterpreted, namely their orientation. The W-E orientation evaluated as ‘*Christian orientation*’³⁰ kind of orientation is in fact characterizing all the unearthed burials from the territory of Moldova, regardless of whether we are speaking about horse-armed or unarmed graves is, even more for example the burial without weapons of Erbiceni “Dealul Cimitirului” has N-S orientation.

As can be seen, the burial sites have been found in all cases in the eastern half of Moldova, between the Prut and the Siret. So far we have no find excavated west of the River Siret, which will have to be explained in the future. In conclusion we may say that pagan customs in the 10th century continued to be practiced in 11th century. On the concrete aspects of Christianity (primarily the *churchyards*) in the funerary rites in Moldova in the 10–11th centuries we can not talk.

In the framework of our chronological charts we tried to illustrate the possibilities of dating the sites dated using the dating methods that are used in the Carpathian Basin, with the remark that all of this should be checked and improved with 14C’s analysis in the future (see also Pl. 5).

The archaeological finds are completed with an object category that no one has drawn attention to so far, namely axes (Annex 2). Axes are completely missing from the finds excavated in the cemeteries, and an axe was found only in one grave in Wallachia too (București-Tei)³¹, respectively two in Republic of Moldova/Bessarabia (Echimăuți, Orheiul Vechi)³². However, a great number of axes have been found as stray finds and in depots that can be dated to the 9/10–11th centuries. But they do not cover the same region as the graves described above and they have mainly been found in Western Moldova, west of the River Siret as is indicated on our map. In connection with these items that can be classified into three categories, the question may arise as to what can account for their geographical distribution (see Pl. 6–8).

²⁰ Spinei 1985, 113, Fig. 31/3–4. For their datings see: Szabó 1978–1979, 19, 31, 12. ábra; Giesler 1981, 120–124, Taf. 53; Type 2d after Gáll 2013, Vol. II, 311. táb.

²¹ Spinei 1985, 110–111, Fig. 27/9–11, 13.

²² Nestor et al. 1952, 96, 108. For their datings see: Szőke 1962, 97; Giesler 1981, Taf. 53. In the Transylvanian Basin: Gáll 2013, Vol. I, 695.

²³ Teodor 1997, 62. Their chronologycal analyses, see: Giesler 1981, 121–124, 137–151.

²⁴ Nestor et al. 1952, 96, 108. We can date the circle decorated quiver plates in the Carpathian Basin to the second part of the 10th century. Gáll 2013, Vol. I, 735.

²⁵ Nestor et al. 1952, 96, 108.

²⁶ Spinei 1985, 115, Fig. 34/12.

²⁷ Spinei 1985, 115, Fig. 30/8.

²⁸ Spinei 1985, 115, Fig. 30/8.

²⁹ Ioniță 2005. In the Carpathian Basin an analysis on this bit type, see: Petkes 2012, 231–246.

³⁰ For example: Teodor 1997, 39, 62.

³¹ Morintz, Rosetti 1959, 11–47.

³² Teodor 2003, Fig. 1.

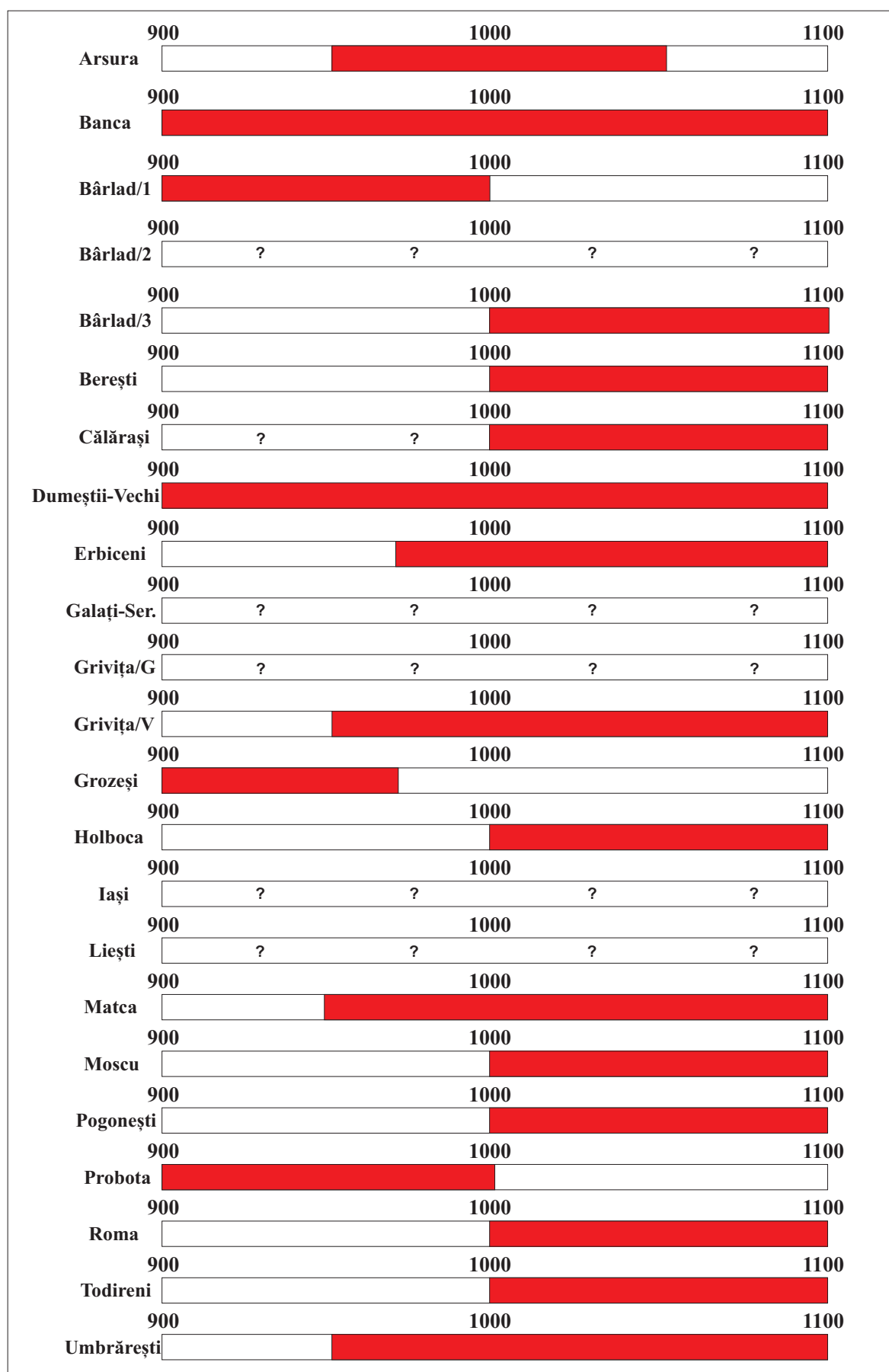


Fig. 3. The relative chronology of the cemeteries and the stray finds in the 10–11th centuries in Moldova as result of our analyses.

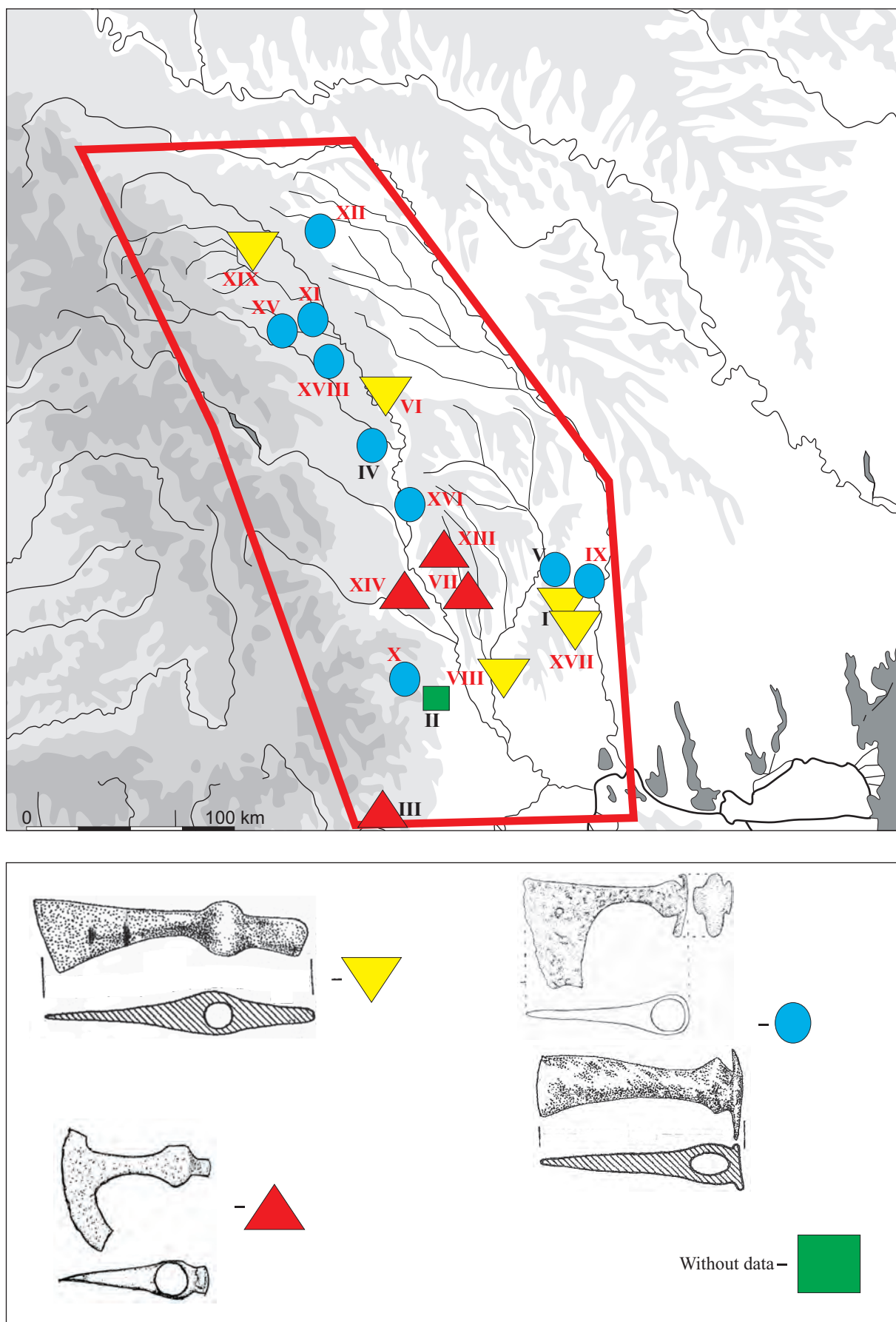


Fig. 4. The area covered by 10th–11th centuries axes in the territory of Moldova (for the numbering of the sites see Annex 2).

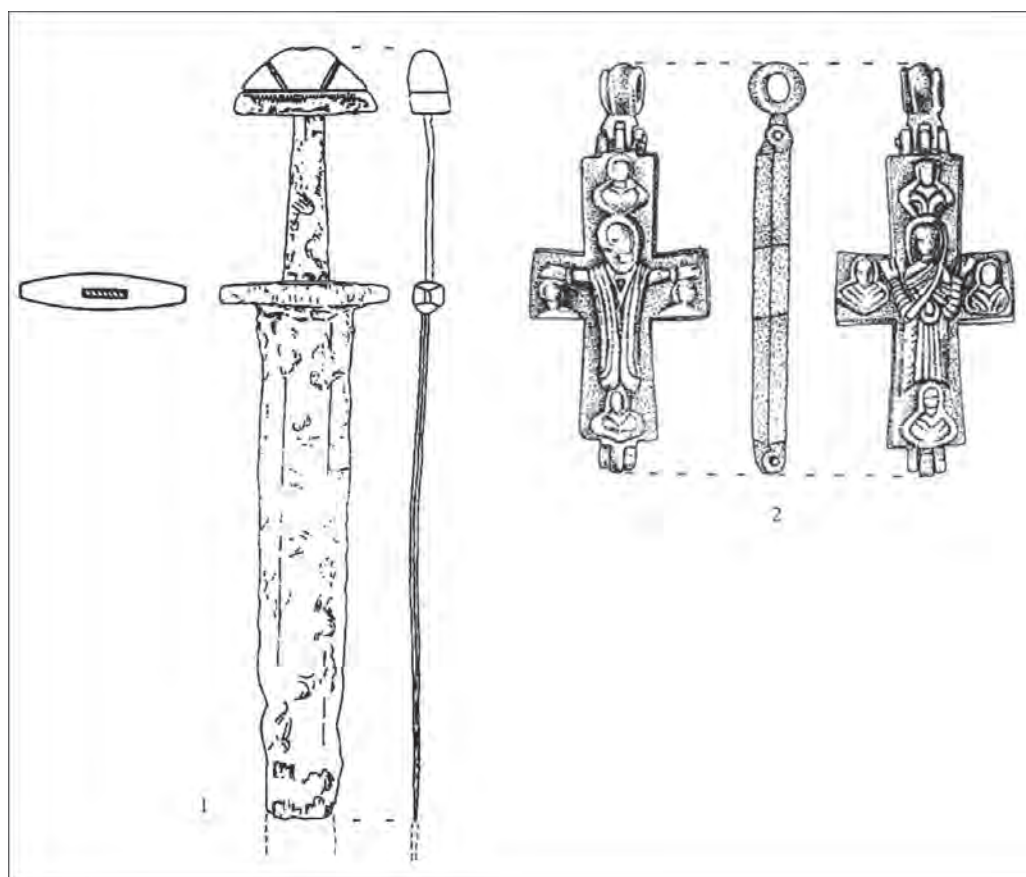


Fig. 5. 1. Pașcani; 2. Șuletea (after Spinei 2009, Fig. 9/13, Fig. 21/1).

Taking into consideration the fact that axe with a handle support (Pl. 6/3–4, Pl. 7/1–3, Pl. 8/2–3, 5) is known from the territory of the Kievan Rus' and Scandinavia in great numbers shows that in the future a greater emphasis should be laid on the research of the connection of these two areas³³.

This is also underlined by such finds as the sword of type Petersen S or Geibig combination type 11 found near Pașcani³⁴. The cross dating from the 10th–11th centuries found in Șuletea underline the southern influences, respectively commercial relations³⁵.

Conclusions

1. Due to the present stage of research, no exact deductions can be made based upon the cemeteries. The fact that cemeteries have only been registered in Eastern Moldova raises questions.

2. In connection with the graves with or without weapons we have no documentation to construct a Christian or a pagan world. To be more exact, based upon these 10th–11th centuries cemetery finds neither of them can be supposed. It is useless to seek Christians until the signs of Christianity such as a church appears.

3. Most graves excavated so far are oriented W-E (also most graves with weapon and horse furnishings), but some graves without weapon furnishings are oriented N-S with lyre shaped buckles in them. From all this it can also be concluded that W-E orientation burials often mentioned in the archaeological literature should not be automatically assessed as 'Christian', because this orientation in fact it is typical for the great majority of the era's weapons/horse and without weapons/horse graves in the whole Central and Eastern Europe.

4. The fact the cemeteries/graves have been found in Eastern Moldova and axes in the largest quantities in Western Moldova begs the question: what does this archaeological data base mean? For

³³ They were used also in the areas of north-western Russia, Poland, Estonia, East Prussia from the beginning of the 11th century. Paulsen 1956, 27.

³⁴ Spinei 2009, Fig. 9/13. On the dating of this sword type, see: Petersen 1919, 182; Geibig 1991, 54–56, 144, Abb. 39.

³⁵ Spinei 2009, Fig. 21/1.

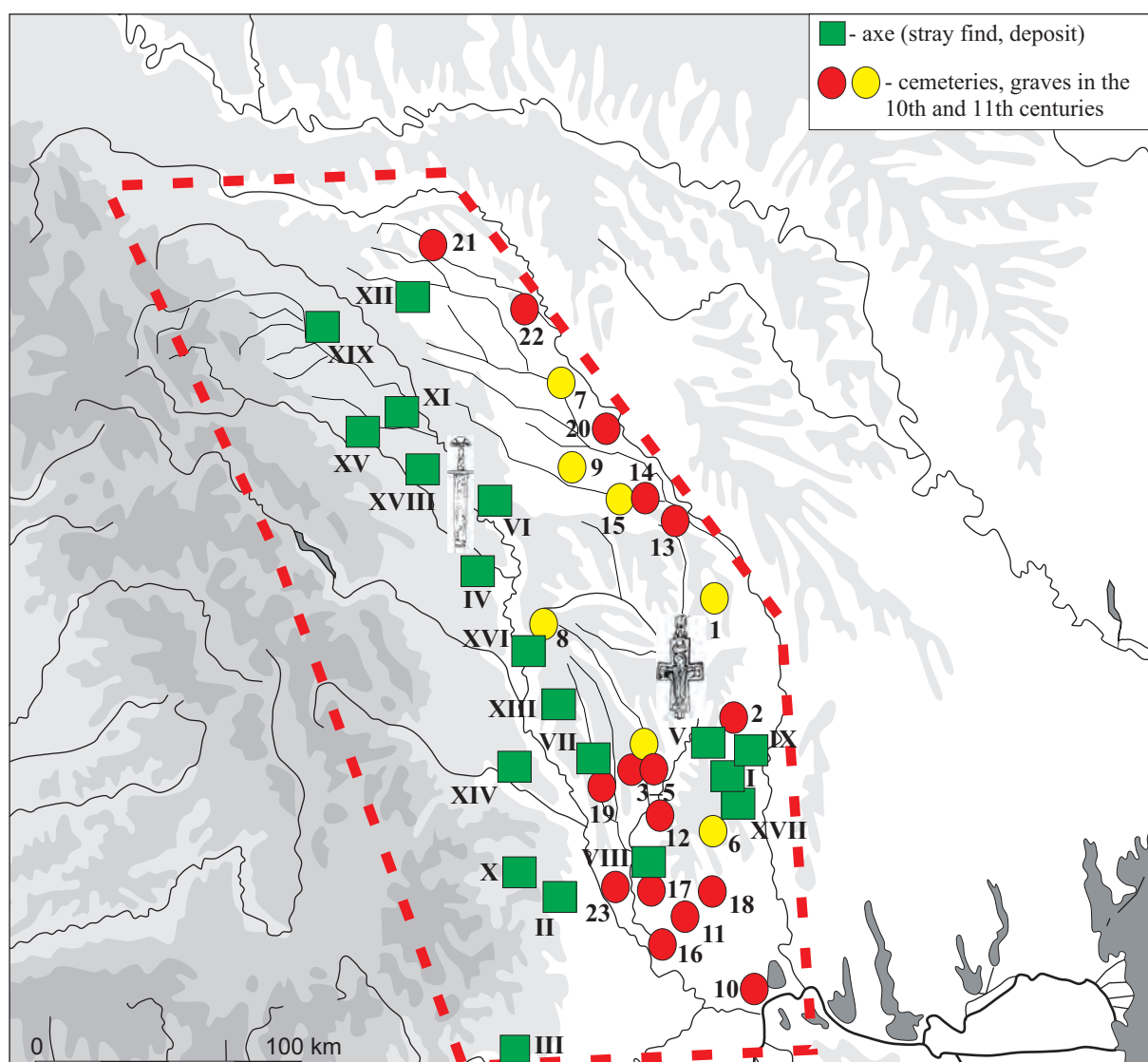


Fig. 6. 10th–11th centuries burial sites and the finds containing axes (for the numbering of the sites see Annex 1 and Annex 2).

sure, a significant parts of the axes were found in the area of Subcarpathians, so there are easily noticeably topographical differences that can be observed between the geographical occurrence of these two groups. Does it indicate a difference in life style or manifestation a cultural difference? It would be important to clarify, at least partially if these axes derive from a settlement or from grave annexes. These are the great questions of the research in the future.

5. There were lot of questions in the history of the research about the ‘eastern Hungarian’³⁶ of 9th century. In this regard, in the Hungarian archaeology occurred ideas that there are known finds from the territory of Moldova characterized as ‘Hungarian finds’ that were dated at the end of the 9th century respectively to the 10th century (Grozești, Probotă Grave 7 and from Wallachia, București-Tei)³⁷. From these finds only one – the Probotă Grave 7 – was explored by a specialist, and on the basis of the partial horse burials nature of the graves they thought it is ‘Hungarian’ kind of burial. However, this is far from being a conclusive evidence³⁸, as the unearthed attachments from the grave neither count as evidence.

³⁶ Türk 2010, 262–306.

³⁷ A.H. 1996, 438–439.

³⁸ Partial horse burials (type Bálint II) (Bálint 1969, 107–114) are known not only in the Carpathian Basin, but also from the territory of Bulgaria, respectively in the case of Saltovo-Maiaki culture burials as well. On these problems, see: Türk 2010, 283, Note 198 with bibliography.

6. Finally, a thought from Moldova towards the Carpathian Basin! In our opinion, to search for ‘conquering Hungarians’³⁹ in the 10th century in Moldova or in Wallachia is similar to the search for the grave of Attila, Bayan or Árpád at the moment in the Great Plain. We can identify burials as those of the 9th–10th centuries ‘Hungarians’ if we want to! But can we do this?...

Erwin Gáll

Vasile Pârvan Institute of Archaeology, Bucharest
Bucharest, ROU
ardarichus9@yahoo.com

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³⁹ The archaeological inheritance of the ‘conquering Hungarians’ should not be regarded as ethnospecific but as a regional cultural ‘conglomeration’ which was characteristic of the Carpathian Basin in the 10th century. The archaeological finds that have been left for us from the 10th century Carpathian Basin, mainly finds from cemeteries, are not the relics of a big community with a uniform identity, and definitely not the relics of an ethnic group. The very subjective narrative sources themselves speak of a population in the 10th century that spoke at least two languages, but there are several sources which report the rapid ‘structural integration’ of the slavophone population. In more detail: A. H. 1996, 38; Bálint 2005, 37–56; Gáll 2013a, Vol. I, 637–640, 821–824, 880–881, 900–903, 905–907.

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Annex 1. The list of the necropolises in Moldova (10–11th centuries)

Funerary site (with bold: cemeteries with weapons and harness)	County	no. of the graves	with weapon, horse and/or harness	Orientation	Dating	Bibliography
1. Arsura-Cețățuia Mogoșești (Pl. 4/1–8)	Vaslui	11		W–E	the second half of the 10 th century/first half the 11 th century	Teodor 1968, 237–238; Teodor 1997, 39.
2. Banca-Gara (Pl. 3)	Vaslui	2	X	W–E	the second half of the 10 th century/11 th century	Spinei 1985, 110; Maxim-Alaiba 1987, 236, Fig. 1.
3. Bârlad-Parcul de odihnă (Pl. 4/1–6)	Vaslui	1		?		Spinei 1985, 111, Fig. 27/6.
4. Bârlad-Dealul Țuguieța	Vaslui	?	X	?	10 th century (?)	Spinei 2009, 285, Fig. 4.
5. Bârlad-Moara lui Chicoș	Vaslui	?	X	?	the end of the 10 th century/11 th century	Spinei 1985, 111, Fig. 30/8, fig. 31/3–4.
6. Berești-Râpa Sârbilor (Pl. 4/1–2)	Galați	?		?	10 th –11 th centuries	Spinei 1985, 111, Fig. 27/9–10.
7. Călărași-Primărie	Botoșani	1		W–E	11 th century	Teodor 1997, 62.
8. Dumeștii Vechi-marginea de nord-vest a satului	Vaslui	1		NW–SE	10 th –11 th centuries	Teodor 1970, 114–115, Fig. 7/2.
9. Erbiceni-Dealul Cimitirului	Iași	1		N–S	the second half of the 10 th century/11 th century	Nițu et al. 1959, 536, Fig. 6/4; Teodor 1978, 79, Fig. 44/3.
10. Galați-Seromgal	Galați	2 and other graves (?)	X	?	10 th –11 th centuries	Spinei 2009, 285, Fig. 4.
11. Grivița	Galați	4	X	?	10 th –11 th centuries (?)	Spinei 2009, 285, Fig. 4.
12. Grivița-NV satului (Pl. 2/1)	Vaslui	1	X	WNW–ESE	10 th –11 th centuries	Spinei 1985, 113, Fig. 27/6.
13. Grozești-teritoriul satului (pl. 2/1–10)	Iași	1	X	?	first half of the 10 th century	Spinei 1985, 113, Fig. 29/1–10.
14. Holboca-Movilă (Pl. 1/1–12)	Iași	2	X	W–E	first half of the 11 th century	Nestor et al. 1952, 96, 108; Spinei 1985, 114, Fig. 29/1–10.
15. Iași-Fabrica de cărămizi	Iași	1		?	9/10 th –11 th centuries	Teodor 1997, 104.
16. Liești	Galați	?	X	?	9/10 th –11 th centuries	Spinei 2009, 285, Fig. 4.
17. Matca	Galați	1	X	?	9/10 th –11 th centuries	Spinei 2009, 285, Fig. 4.
18. Moscu	Galați	1	X	?	11 th century	Spinei 1985, 114, Fig. 31/14, fig. 49/3.
19. Păhnești	Vaslui	3		W–E	10 th –11 th centuries	Spinei 1985, 109–110; Spinei 2009, 283–284.
19. Pogonești	Vaslui	1	X	?	11 th century	Spinei 1985, 115, Fig. 27/7–8, fig. 30/7.
20. Proboța-Moșanca (Pl. 1/1–6)	Iași	1 (+1?)	X	W–E	10th century	Zaharia, Zaharia 1962, 603–605.
21. Roma	Botoșani	4	X	?	9/10 th –11 th centuries	Spinei 2009, 286, Fig. 4.
22. Todireni-vatra satului (Pl. 4/1–3)	Botoșani	2	X	?	11 th century	Spinei 1985, 117, Fig. 27/11–13.
23. Umbrărești	Galați	1	X	?	the second half of the 10 th century/first half the 11 th century	Spinei 1985, 118, Fig. 31/5–13.

Annex 2. The list of the axes in Moldova (9/10–11th centuries)

Archaeological sites	County	Character of the find/finds	Dating	Bibliography
I. Bârlălești-Stanția (Pl. 6/1)	Vaslui	stray find	10 th –11 th centuries	Coman 1980, 30, Fig. 154/1.
II. Câmpineanca-Via I.A.S.	Vrancea	deposit?	10 th –11 th centuries	Teodor 1997, 63.
III. Dragoslaveni-La Aguzi (Pl. 6/2)	Vrancea	deposite	10 th –11 th centuries	Comșa, Constantinescu 1969, 425–435.
IV. Dulcești-la vest de sat (Pl. 6/3)	Neamț	cultural layer	10 th –11 th centuries	Aleexianu–Scorțanu 1987, 159–160.
V. Fedești (Pl. 6/4)	Vaslui	stray find	10 th –11 th centuries	Spinei 1985, Fig. 10/1.
VI. Fotin Enescu-Drobotă-Vișoara (Pl. 6/6)	Iași	stray find	10 th –11 th centuries	Chirica, Tanasachi 1984, 213, Fig. 9/6.
VII. Găiceana-vatra satului (Pl. 6/5)	Bacău	stray find	10 th –11 th centuries	Artimon 1989, 217, Fig. 2/1, 2.
VIII. Gărbovăț-Arcaci (?) (Pl. 6/7)	Galați	deposit (?)	9/10 th century	Florescu et al. 1967, 75; Spinei 1985, Fig. 11/14; Teodor 2004, Fig. 4/3.
IX. Giurcani (Pl. 7/3)	Vaslui	stray find	10 th –11 th centuries	Rotaru 2008, 6, Fig. 9.
X. Jariște-marginea estică (Pl. 7/1)	Vrancea	stray find	10 th –11 th centuries	Paragină 1978, 82–83, Fig. 2.
XI. Liteni-teritoriul satului (Pl. 7/2)	Suceava	stray find	10 th –11 th centuries	Emandi 1981, 35.
XII. Mateeni-Dealul Țară	Botoșani	stray find	10 th –11 th centuries	Teodor 1972, 112, Fig. 7/1.
XIII. Nănești-vatra satului (Pl. 7/4)	Bacău	stray find	10 th –11 th centuries	Teodor 1978, 77, Fig. 30/2.
XIV. Orbeni-centrul satului (Pl. 8/1)	Bacău	stray find	10 th –11 th centuries	Artimon 1989, 217, Fig. 1/1, 2.
XV. Pleșești-teritoriul satului (Pl. 8/2)	Suceava	stray find	10 th –11 th centuries	Emandi 1981, 37.
XVI. Prăjești (Pl. 8/3)	Bacău	stray find	10 th –11 th centuries	Teodor 2004, 192, Fig. 4/6.
XVII. Sărățeni-în fața școlii generale (Pl. 8/4)	Vaslui	stray find	10 th –11 th centuries	Coman 1980, 190, Fig. 154/4.
XVIII. Siliște Nouă (Pl. 8/5)	Suceava	stray find	10 th –11 th centuries	Spinei 1985, Fig. 10/5.
XIX. Suceava-zona suburbană (Pl. 8/6)	Suceava	stray find	10 th –11 th centuries	Matei 1963, 33; Emandi 1981, 35, Fig. 1/2.

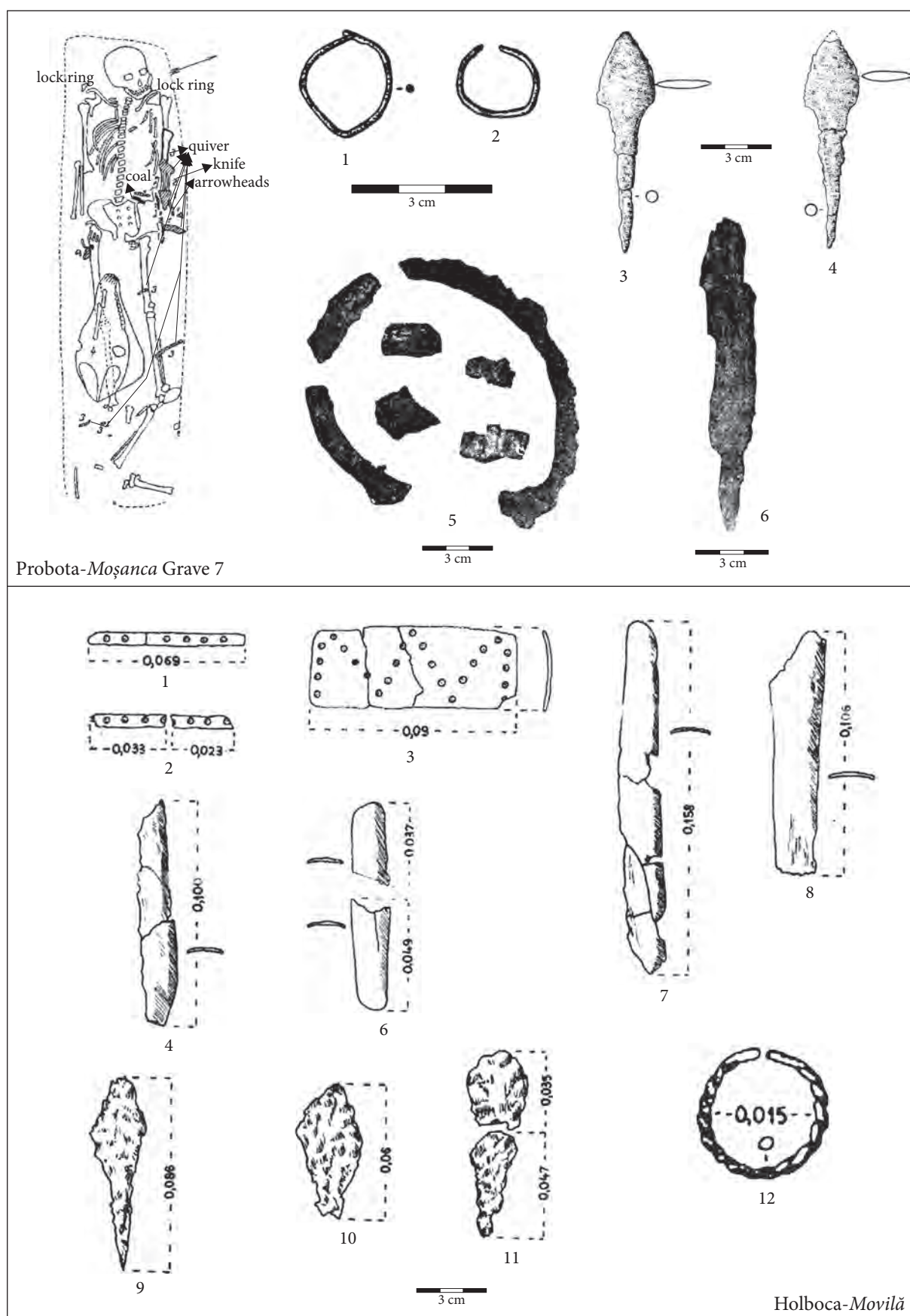
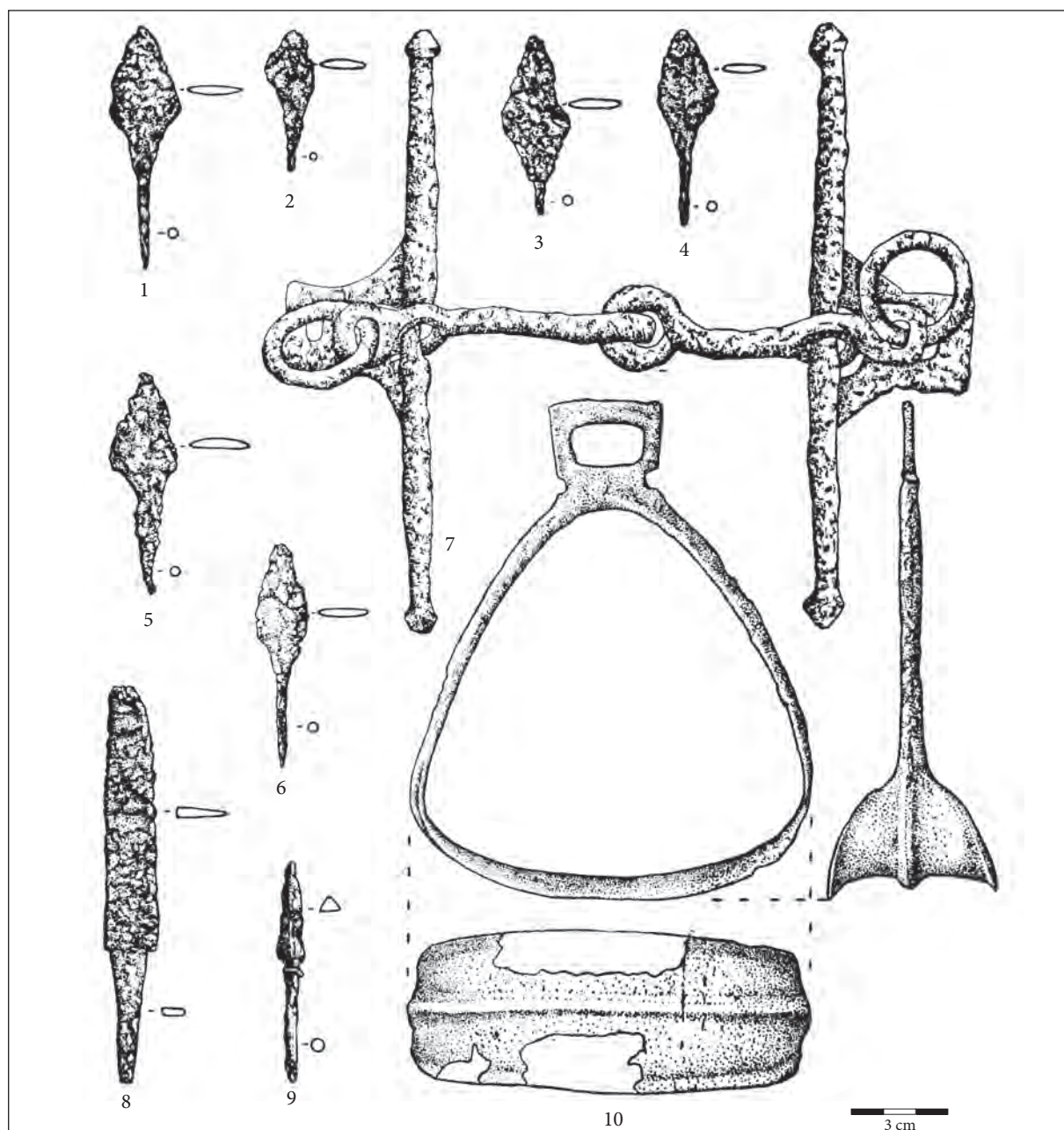
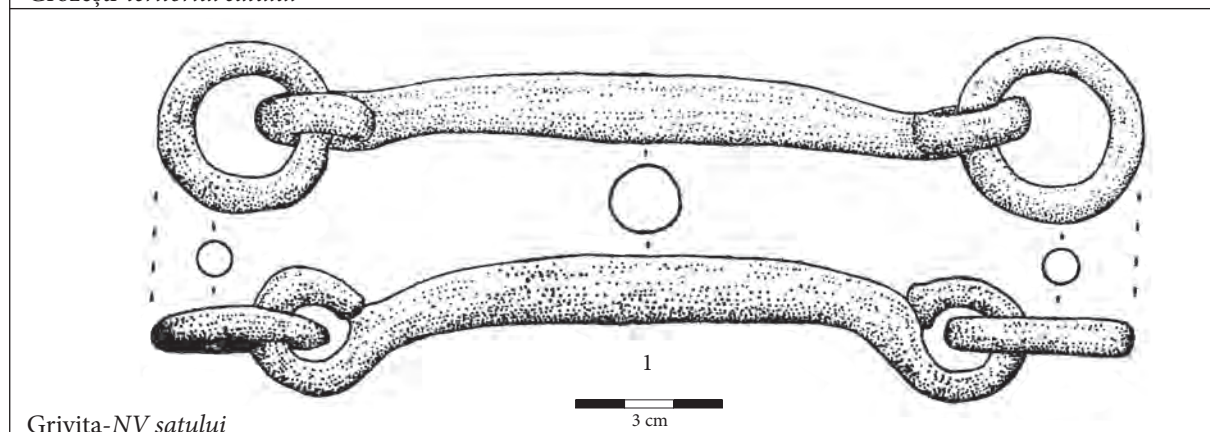


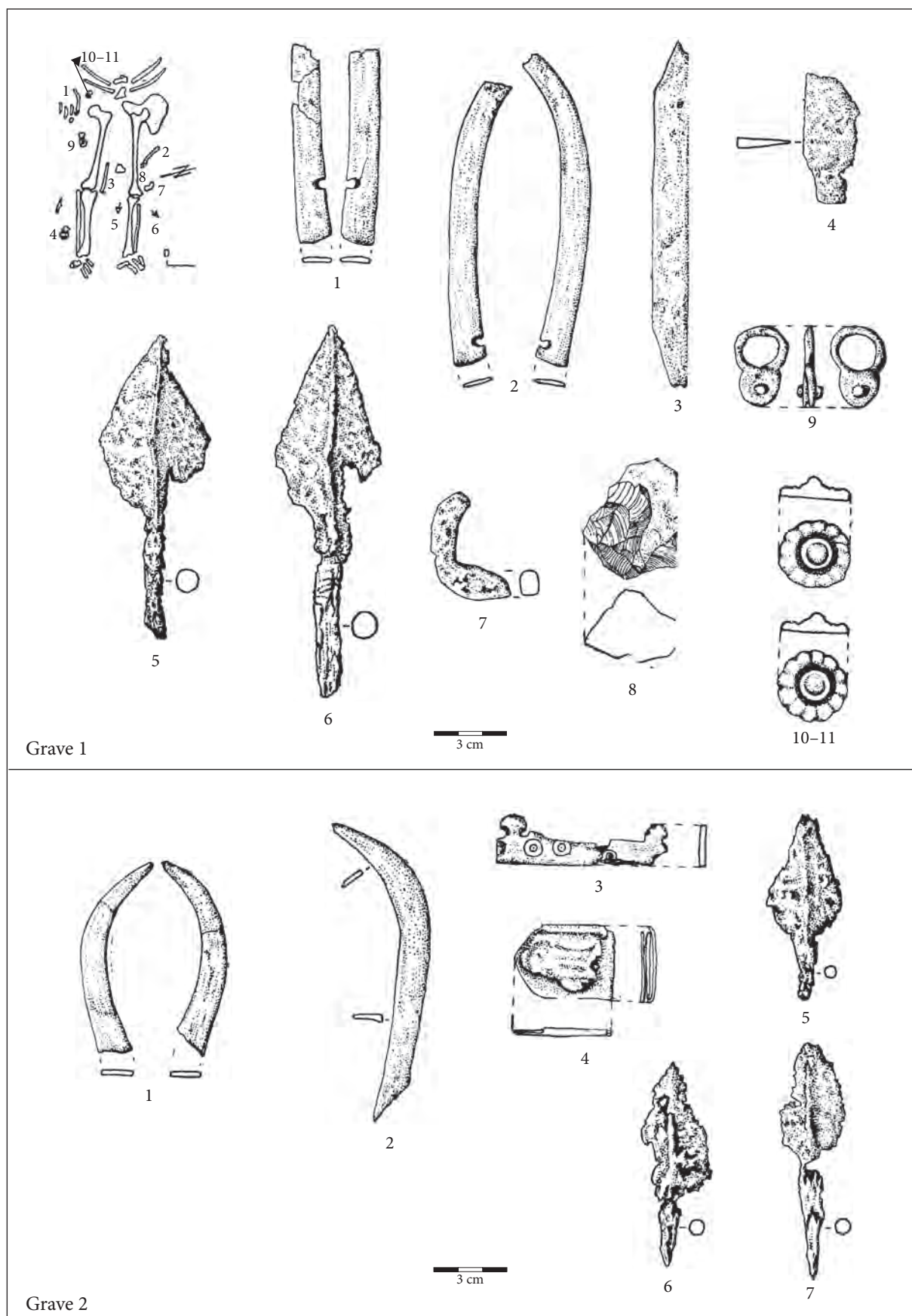
Plate 1. 1–6. Probota-Moșanța; 1–12. Holboca-Movilă.



Grozești-teritoriul satului



Grivița-NV satului



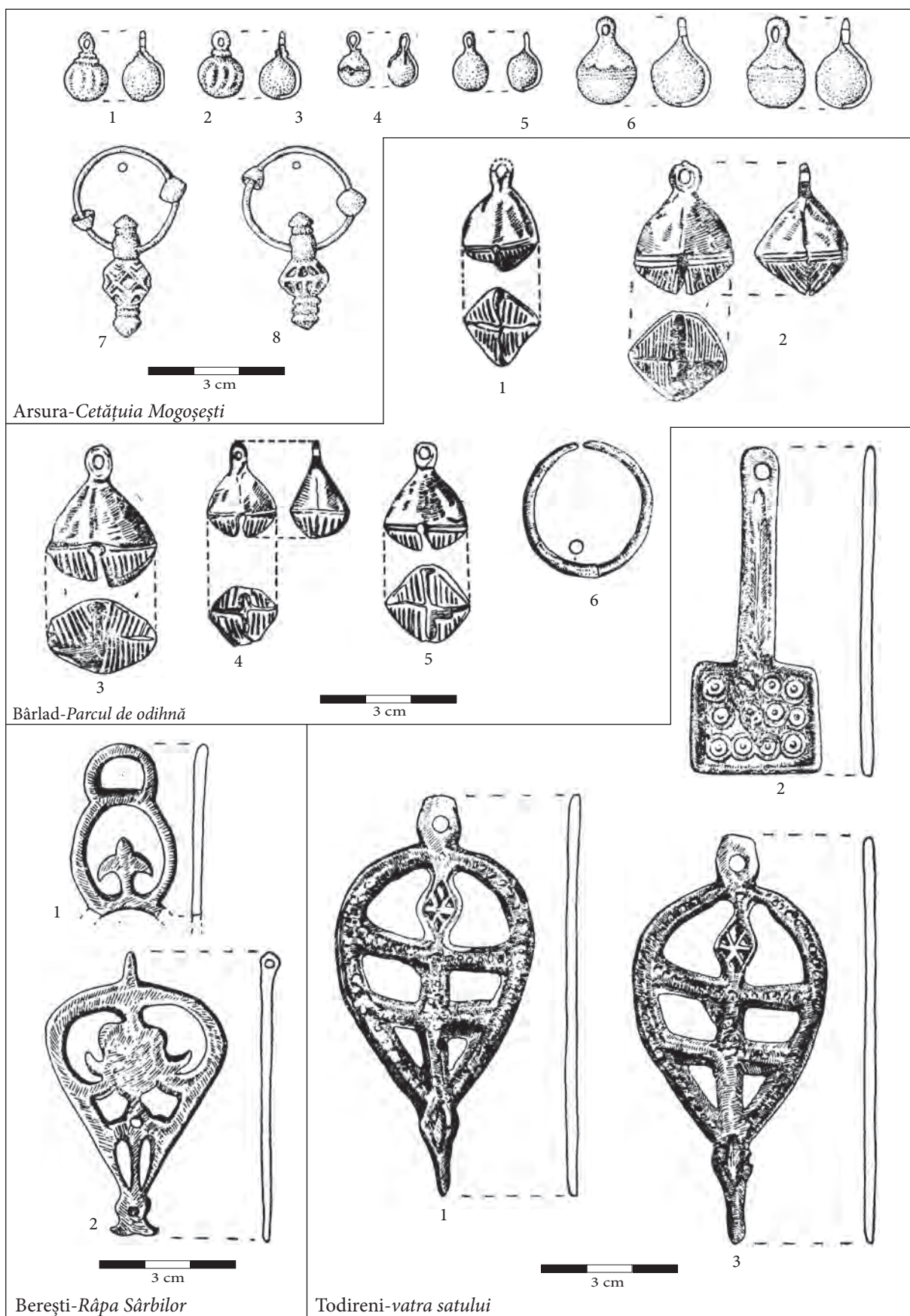


Plate 4. 1–8. Arsura-Cetățuia Mogoșești; 1–6. Bârlad-Parcul de odihnă;
1–2. Berești-Râpa Sârbilor; 1–3. Todireni-vatra satului.

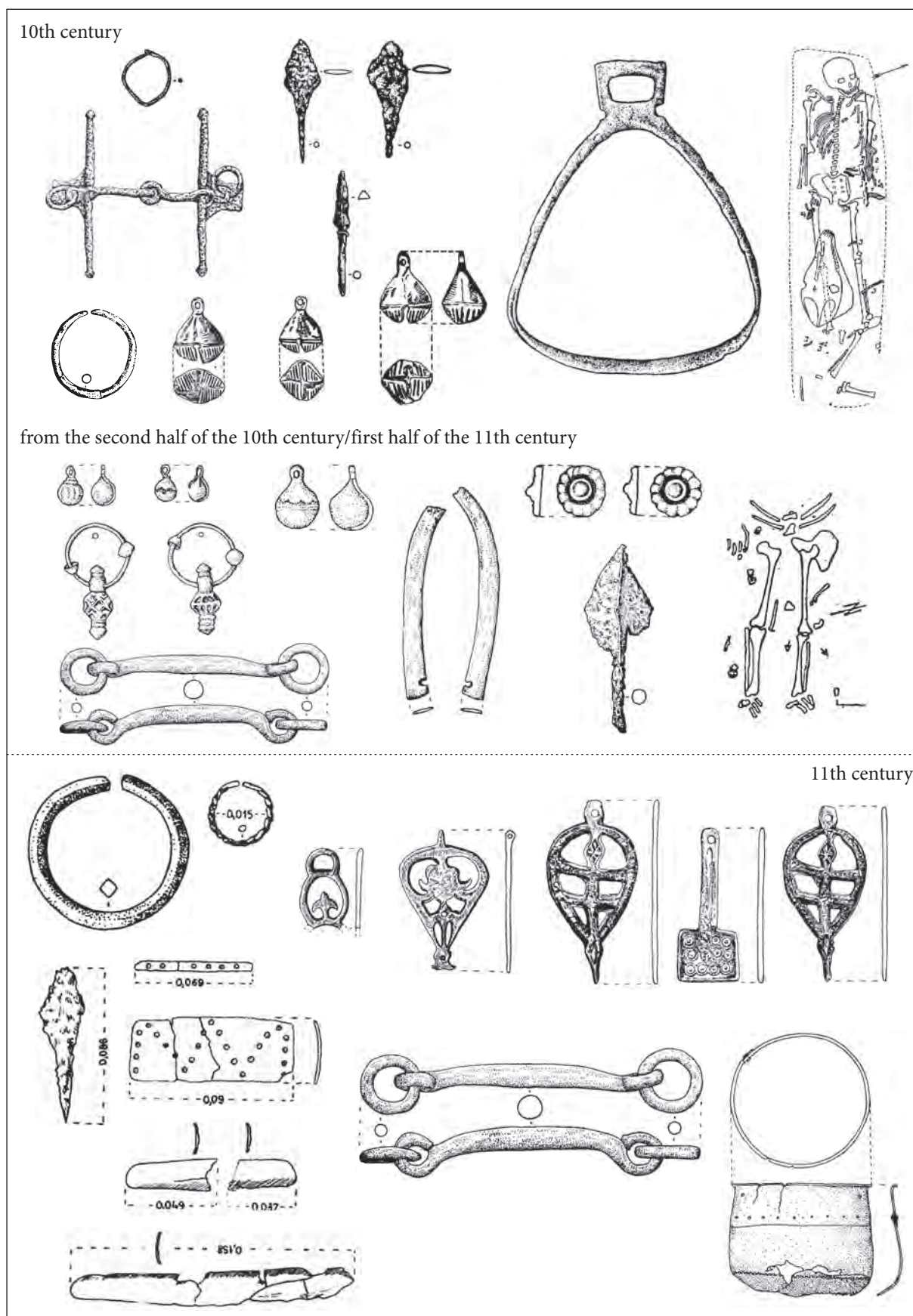


Plate 5. The relative chronology of the cemeteries and the stray finds in the 10–11th centuries in Moldova.

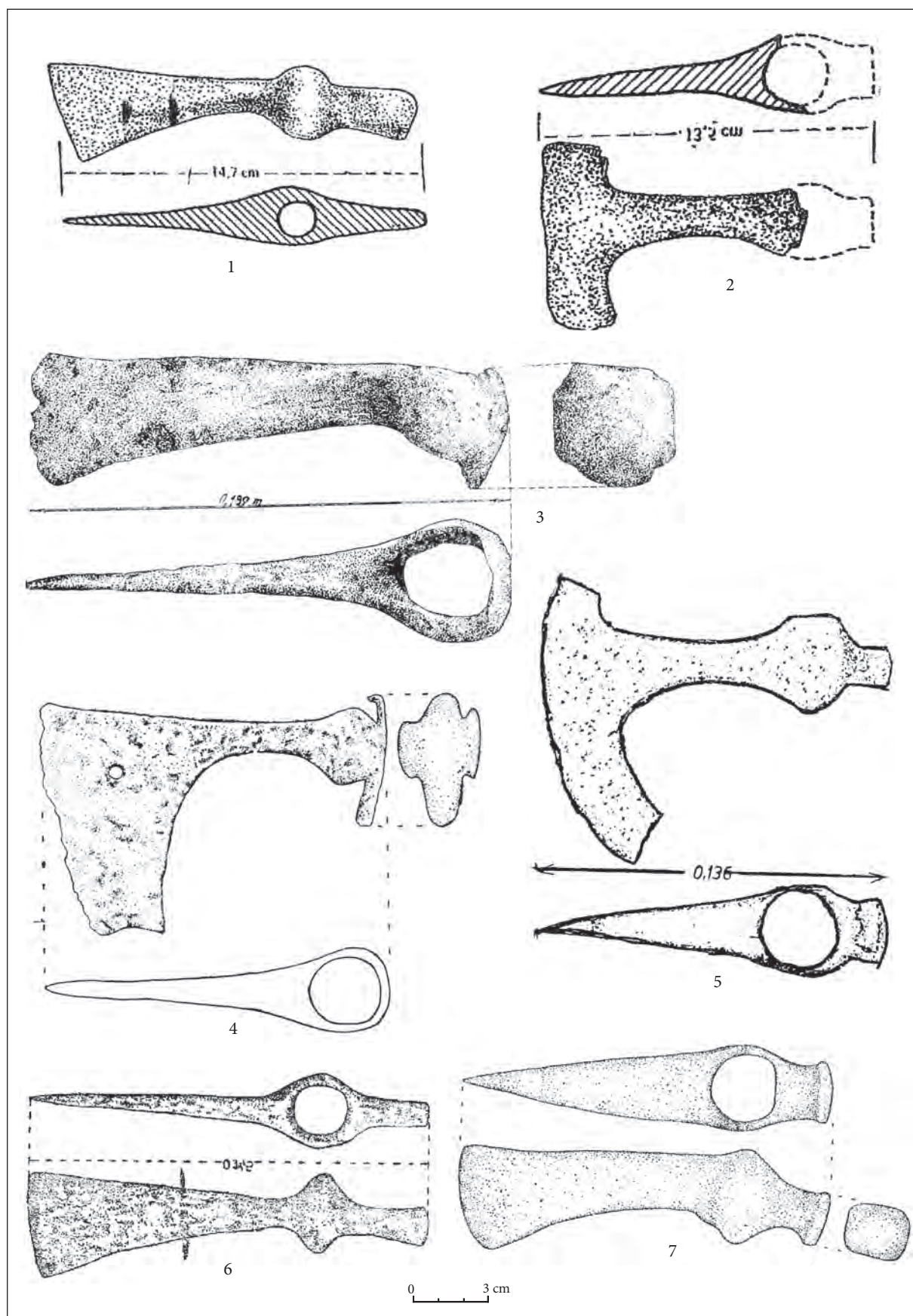


Plate 6. 1. Bărlălești-Stanția; 2. Dragoslaveni-La Aguzi; 3. Dulcești-la vest de sat; 4. Fedești;
5. Găiceana-vatra satului; 6. Fotin Enescu-Drobotă-Viișoara; 7. Gârbovăț-Arcaci.

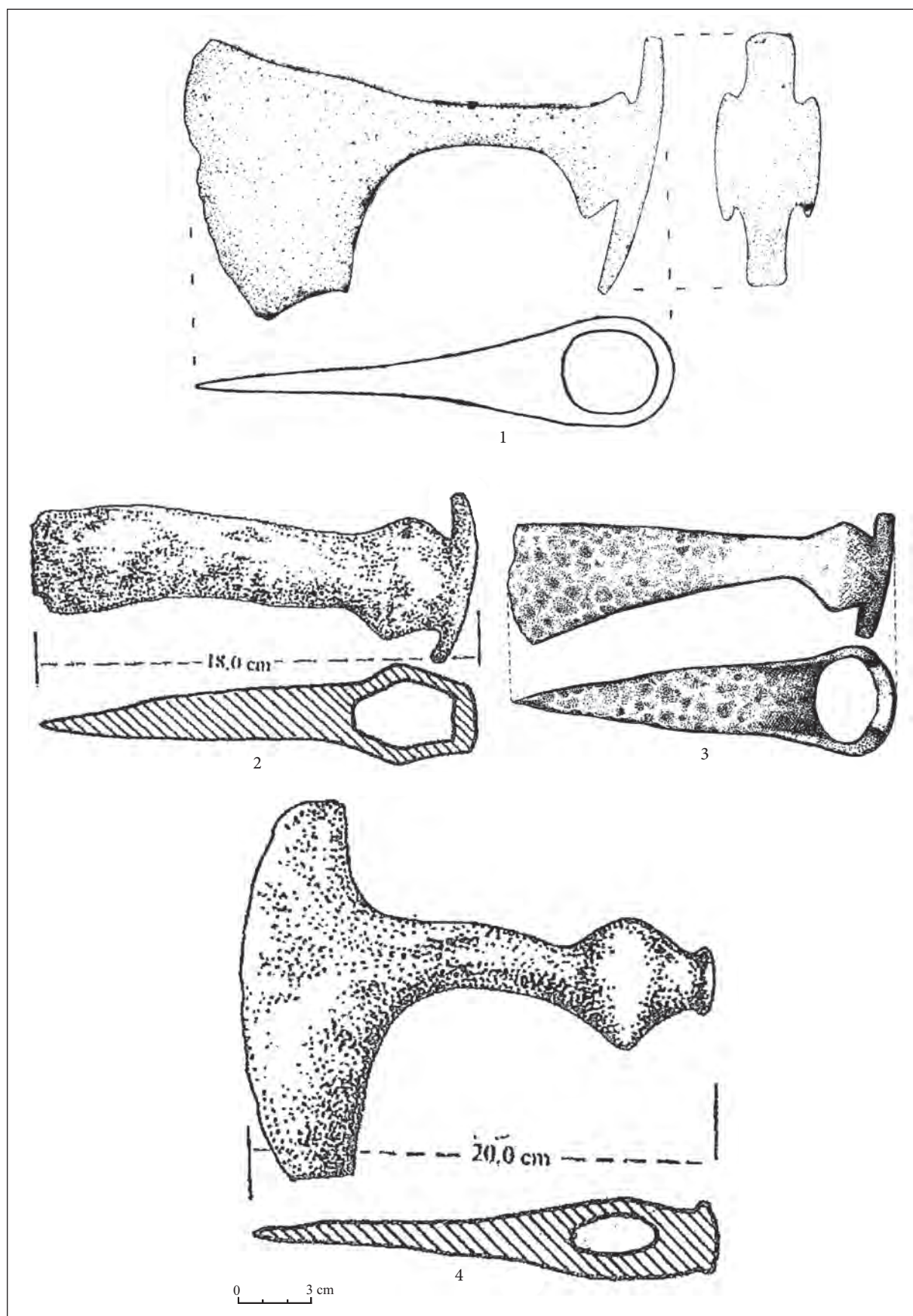


Plate 7. 1. Jariștea-marginea estică; 2. Liteni-teritoriul satului; 3. Giurcani; 4. Nănești-vatra satului.

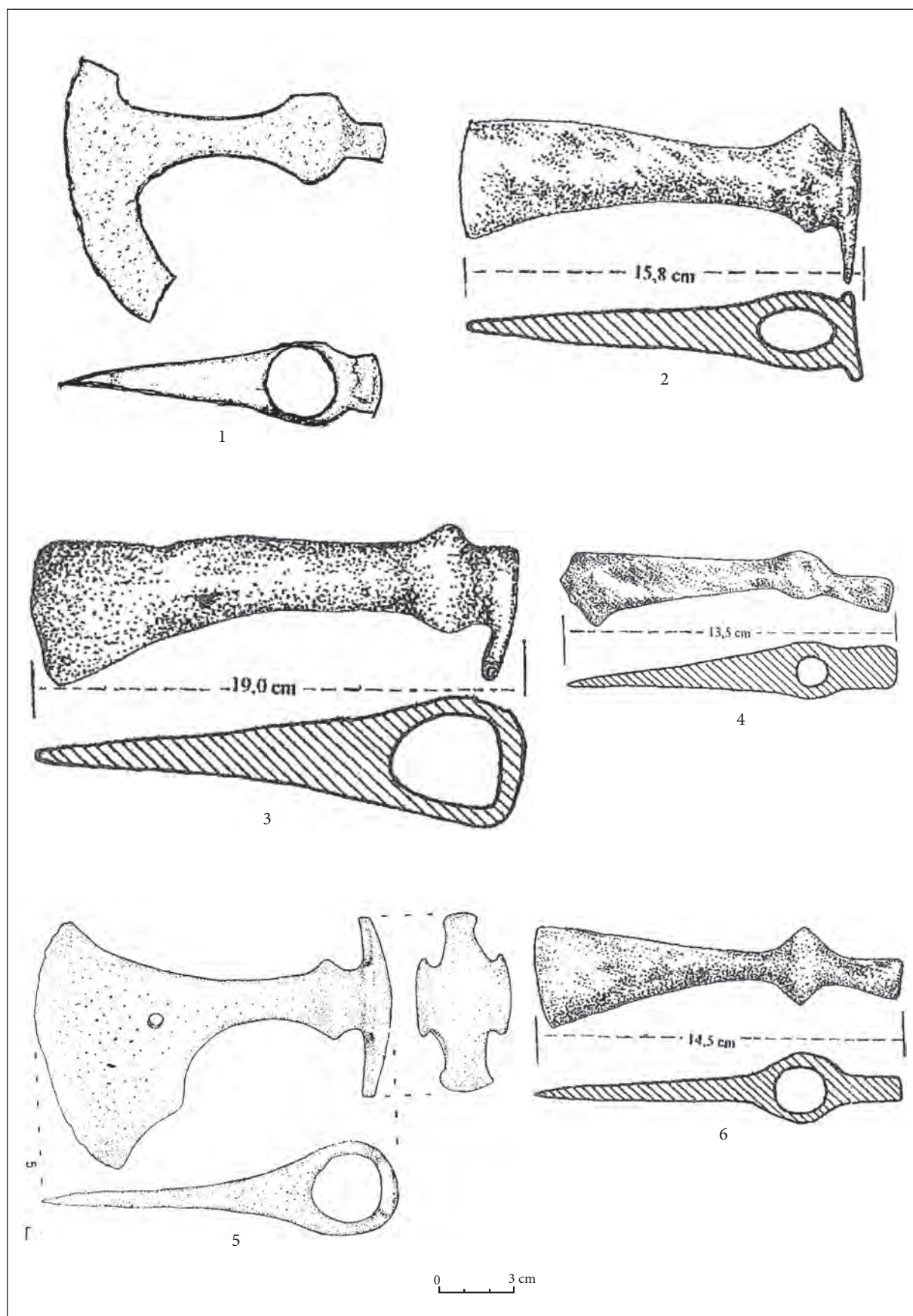


Plate 8. 1. Orbeni-centrul satului; 2. Pleșești-teritoriul satului; 3. Prăjești; 4. Sărățeni-în fața școlii generale; 5. Siliștea Nouă; 6. Suceava-zona suburbană.

Abbreviations

Acta Ant et Arch Suppl	Acta Antiqua et Archaeologica Supplementum. Szeged.
AAC	Acta Archaeologica Carpathica. Krakow.
ACMIT	Anuarul Comisiunii monumentelor istorice. Secția pentru Transilvania. Cluj.
ActaArchHung	ActaArchHung Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Budapest.
AEM	Archäologische Epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn.
AIIA Cluj	Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie. Cluj.
AMP	Acta Musei Porolissensis. Zalău.
ATF	Acta Terrae Fogarasiensis. Făgăraș.
ATS	Acta Terrae Septemcastrenses. Sibiu.
Agria	<i>Agria. Annales Musei Agriensis</i> . Az egri Dobó István Vármúzeum évkönyve. Eger.
AnB S.N.	Analele Banatului. Timișoara.
ArchÉrt	Archaeologiai Értesítő. A Magyar Régészeti és Művészettörténeti Társulat tudományos folyóirata. Budapest.
Arh. Pregled	Arheološki Pregled. Arheološko Društvo Jugoslavije. Beograd.
AM	Arheologia Moldovei. Iași.
AMN	Acta Musei Napocensis. Cluj-Napoca.
ArchRozhl	Archeologické Rozhledy. Praga.
ASMB	Arheologia Satului Medieval din Banat. Reșița 1996.
BAM	Brvkenthal Acta Mvsei. Sibiu.
BAR Int. Ser.	British Archaeological Reports. International Series. Oxford.
BCMI	Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice.
BerRGK	Bericht der RömischGermanischen Kommission, Frankfurt a. Main.
BHAB	Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Banatica. Timișoara.
BMB. SH	Biblioteca Muzeului Bistrița. Seria Historica. Bistrița Năsăud.
BMI	Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice, București.
BMN	Bibliotheca Musei Napocensis. Cluj-Napoca.
BMMK	A Békés Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei. Békéscsaba.
BMMN	Buletinul Muzeului Militar Național, București.
BThr	Bibliotheca Thracologica. Institutul Român de Tracologie, București.
CAB	
CAH	Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae. Budapest.
Carpica	Carpica. Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Arheologie Bacău. Bacău.
CAMNI	Cercetări Arheologice. Muzeul de Istorie al R. S. România/Muzeul Național de Istorie. București.
CCA	<i>Cronica cercetărilor arheologice (din România)</i> , 1983–1992 <i>sqq.</i> (și în variantă electronică pe http://www.cimec.ro/scripts/arh/cronica/cercetariarh.asp).
CCA 1995 [1996]	C. Stoica (red. și coord.), CCA. <i>Campania 1995. A XXX-a sesiune națională de rapoarte arheologice, Brăila, 2–5 mai 1996</i> . [București] [1996].
CCA 1996 [1997]	C. Stoica (red. și coord.), CCA. <i>Campania 1996. A XXXI-a sesiune națională de rapoarte arheologice, București, 12–15 iunie 1997</i> . [București] [1997].
CCA 1997 [1998]	C. Stoica (red. și coord.), CCA. <i>Campania 1997. A XXXII-a sesiune națională de rapoarte arheologice, Călărași, 20–24 mai 1998</i> . [București] [1998].
CCA 1998 [1999]	C. Stoica (red. și coord.), CCA. <i>Campania 1998. A XXXIII-a sesiune națională de rapoarte arheologice, Vaslui, 30 iunie–4 iulie 1999</i> . [București] [1999].
CCA 2000 (2001)	M. V. Angelescu, C. Borș, I. Oberländer-Târnoveanu (Ed.), CCA. <i>Campania 2000. A XXXV-a sesiune națională de rapoarte arheologice, Suceava, 23–27 mai 2001</i> . București 2001.

CCA 2001 (2002)	M. V. Angelescu, C. Borș, I. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, F. Vasilescu (Ed.), <i>CCA. Campania 2001. A XXXVI-a sesiune națională de rapoarte arheologice, Buziaș, 28 mai–1 iunie 2001</i> . București 2002.
CCA 2003 (2004)	M. V. Angelescu, I. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, F. Vasilescu (Ed.), <i>CCA. Campania 2003. A XXXVIII-a sesiune națională de rapoarte arheologice, Cluj-Napoca, 26–29 mai 2004</i> . București 2004.
CCA 2006 (2007)	M. V. Angelescu, F. Vasilescu (Ed.), <i>CCA. Campania 2006. A XLI-a sesiune națională de rapoarte arheologice, Tulcea, 29 mai – 1 iunie 2006</i> . București 2007.
CCA 2008 (2009)	M. V. Angelescu, I. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, F. Vasilescu, O. Cîrstina, G. Olteanu (Ed.), <i>CCA. Campania 2008. A XLIII-a sesiune națională de rapoarte arheologice, Târgoviște, 27–30 mai 2009 (= Valachica 21–22, 2008–2009)</i> . Târgoviște 2009.
CCA 2013 (2014)	Institutul Național al Patrimoniului (Ed.), <i>CCA. Campania 2013. A XLVIII-a sesiune națională de rapoarte arheologice, Oradea, 5–7 iunie 2014</i> . [București] 2014.
CCA 2014 (2015)	Institutul Național al Patrimoniului (Ed.), <i>CCA 2015. Campania 2014. A XLIX-a sesiune națională de rapoarte arheologice, Pitești, 28–30 mai 2015, Muzeul județean Argeș</i> . [București] 2015.
CRSCRCR	Coins from Roman sites and collections of Roman coins from Romania. Cluj-Napoca.
Dacia N.S.	Dacia. Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne. Nouvelle serie. București.
Danubius	Danubius – Revista Muzeului de Istorie Galați. Galați.
DDME	A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve. Debrecen.
DolgCluj	Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Nemzeti Érem- és Régiségtárából, Klozsvár (Cluj).
DolgSzeg	Dolgozatok. Arbeiten des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität. Szeged.
EphNap	Ephemeris Napocensis. Cluj-Napoca.
FADDP/GMADP	Führer zu archäologischen Denkmälern in Dacia Porolissensis/Ghid al monumentelor arheologice din Dacia Porolissensis.
FolArch	Folia Archaeologica. Budapest.
Forsch. u. Ber. z. Vor- u. Frühgesch. BW	Forschungen und Berichte zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Baden-Württemberg.
GPSKV	Gradja za proučavanje spomenika kulture Vojvodine. Novi Sad.
GSAD	Glasnik Srpskog Arheološkog Društva. Beograd.
HOMÉ	A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve. Miskolc.
JAMÉ	A nyíregyházi Jós András Múzeum Évkönyve. Nyíregyháza.
JahrbuchRGZM	Jahrbuch des RömischGermanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz.
Lohanul	Lohanul. Revistă cultural științifică. Huși.
MCA	Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice. București.
MCA-S.N.	Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice-Serie Nouă. București.
MA	Memoria Antiquitatis. Complexul Muzeal Județean Neamț. Piatra Neamț.
MFMÉ	A Móra Ferenc Múz. Évkönyve. Szeged.
MFMÉ StudArch	A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve, Studia Archaeologica. Szeged.
MN	Muzeul Național. București.
Opuscula Hungarica	Opuscula Hungarica. Budapest.
PamArch	Památky Archeologické. Praha.
Past and Present	Past and Present. Oxford.
PIKS/PISC	Die Publikationen des Institutes für klassische Studien/ Publicațiile Institutului de studii clasice. Cluj-Napoca.
PBF	Praehistorische Bronzefunde. Berlin.
PZ	Prähistorische Zeitschrift. Berlin.
Rev. Muz.	Revista Muzeelor, București.
RIR	Revista Istorică Română.
RMM-MIA	Revista Muzeelor și Monumentelor. seria Monumente istorice și de artă. București.
RMMN	Revista Muzeului Militar Național. București.
Ruralia	Ruralia. Památky Archeologické – Supplementum. Praha.
RVM	Rad Vojvodjanskih Muzeja, Novi Sad.
SCIV(A)	Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche. București.

SCN	Studii și Cercetări Numismatice. București.
SlovArch	Slovenská Archeológia. Nitra.
SIA	Studii de Istoria Artei. Cluj Napoca.
SIB	Studii de istorie a Banatului. Timișoara.
SKMÉ	A Szántó Kovács János Múzeum Évkönyve, Orosháza.
SMIM	Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie. București.
SMMA	Szolnok Megyei Múzeumi Adattár. Szolnok.
SMMIM	Studii și Materiale de Muzeografie și Istorie Militară. București.
Starinar	Starinar. Arheološki Institut. Beograd.
StCl	Studii Clasice, București.
StComBrukenthal	<i>Studii și comunicări</i> . Sibiu.
StudArch	Studia Archaeologica. <i>Budapest</i> .
StudCom	Studia Comitatus. <i>Szentendre</i> .
StudUnivCib	Studia Universitatis Cibiniensis. Sibiu.
StudCom – Vrancea	Studii și Comunicări. Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Etnografie Vrancea. Focșani.
StudŽvest	Študijne Zvesti Arheologického Ústavu Slovenskej Akadémie Vied. Nitra.
Symp. Thrac.	Symposia Thracologica. București.
Tempora Obscura	Tempora Obscura. Békéscsaba 2012.
Tibiscus	Tibiscus. Timișoara.
VAH	Varia Archaeologica Hungarica. <i>Budapest</i> .
Ziridava	Ziridava. Arad.
ZSA	Ziridava Studia Archaeologica. Arad.