



Black Sea World

# NOMADS AND NATIVES BEYOND THE DANUBE AND THE BLACK SEA 700–900 CE

By

**SERGIU MUSTEAȚĂ**

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**NOMADS AND NATIVES BEYOND THE DANUBE  
AND THE BLACK SEA: 700–900 CE**

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## **CONTENTS**

List of Illustrations .....	vi
List of Abbreviations .....	viii
Acknowledgements .....	xviii
Introduction .....	1
Chapter 1. Sources.....	7
Chapter 2. Habitation .....	17
Chapter 3. Economy .....	67
Chapter 4. Spiritual Life.....	166
Chapter 5. Society .....	191
Conclusions.....	236
Bibliography.....	244
Index .....	301

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

### **Tables**

Table 1. Archaeological records from Carpathian-Danubian region (eighth–ninth centuries).....	271
Table 2. Funeral data records from Carpathian-Danubian region (eighth–ninth centuries).....	271
Table 3. The number of cemeteries based on funerary rites.....	271
Table 4. The number of the graves from biritual cemeteries by regions and rites.....	272
Table 5. The number of the graves from incineration cemeteries according to regions and rites.....	274
Table 6. Recorded coins and hoards from Carpathian-Danubian region (eighth–ninth centuries).....	275
Table 7. Record of the Arabic coins (eighth–ninth centuries).....	276
Table 8. The Byzantine coinage from Carpathian-Danubian region (eighth–ninth centuries).....	279
Table 9. The structure of Hoard Cleja, Bacău county, Romania.....	280
Table 10. Distribution of Byzantine coins according to place of discovery, nominal, mint, and emperor.....	281

### **Charts**

Chart 1. Distribution of archaeological sites from the eighth–ninth centuries. ....	285
Chart 2. Distribution of funerary records (sites) from the eighth–ninth centuries.....	285
Chart 3. The number of cemeteries according to rites.....	286
Chart 4. Distribution of the coins according to origins.....	286
Chart 5. Distribution of the Byzantine coins according to emperors.....	287
Chart 6. Distribution of the Western European coins according to rulers.....	288
Chart 7. Distribution of the Byzantine coins from the Cleja Hoard. ....	288

### **Maps**

Map 1. The research area.....	289
Map 2. Map of the eighth–ninth-century sites. ....	290
Map 3. Settlements from the eighth–ninth centuries.....	291
Map 4. & 4a. Hillforts from the eighth–ninth centuries. ....	292
Map 5. General map of funerary records from the eighth–ninth centuries.....	294

Map 6. Map of cemeteries records from the eighth–ninth centuries.....	295
Map 7. General map of isolated coins and hoards from the eighth–ninth centuries.....	296
Map 8. Map of Byzantine coins from the eighth–ninth centuries.....	297
Map 9. Map of Arabic coins and hoards from the eighth–ninth centuries.....	298
Map 10. Map of the Western European coins from the eighth–ninth centuries.....	299

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<b>AAC</b>	Acta Archaeologica Carpathica, Cracovia, Polonia, I, 1958, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>AAH</b>	Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest, Hungary, I 1951, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>AARMSI</b>	Analele Academiei Române, Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice, București.
<b>AB</b>	Analele Banatului. Muzeul Banatului, Timișoara, Romania, I (1981)—Serie Nouă, Arheologie-Istorie, I, 1991, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>ABr</b>	Analele Brăilei, Muzeul Brăilei, Romania, I, 1929–XII, 1940, S.N., I, 1994, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>ACTA</b>	Acta, Muzeul Național Secuiesc, Sf. Gheorghe, Romania, I 1995, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>AD</b>	Analele Dobrogei, Constanța, Romania, S.N., I, 1995, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>ADU</b>	Archeoložični Doslidženija na Ukrainsi, Kiev, Ukraine, I, 1967, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>AE</b>	Archaeologiai Értesítő, Budapest, Hungary, I, 1866, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>AH</b>	Archaeologia Hungarica, Budapest, Hungary (serie monografij), 1–3, 1926–1928.
<b>AHN MNH</b>	Annales historico-naturales Musei nationalis hungarici, Budapest.
<b>AI</b>	Archaeologia Iugoslavica, Belgrad, I, 1954, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>AIA AŞU</b>	Arhiva Institutului de Arheologie al Academiei de Științe a Ucrainei, Kiev.
<b>AIA RM</b>	Arhiva Institutului de Arheologie din Republica Moldova, Chișinău, Moldova.
<b>AIII A.D. Xenopol"</b>	Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie "A.D.Xenopol," Iași, România, I, 1964, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>AIIC</b>	Anuarul Institutului de Istorie din Cluj, România, I-II, 1958–1959, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>AIM</b>	Archeologičeskie Issledovanija v Moldavii, Kišinev, 1968–1969 (1972)–1986 (1992).
<b>AISPDPM</b>	Archeologičeskie Issledovanija Srednevekovych Pamjatnikov Dnistrovsko-Prutskogo Meždureč'ja, Kišinev.
<b>AIU</b>	Archeologičeskie Issledovanija na Ukraine, Kiev, Ukraine, I (1967)–IV (1972).
<b>AKM</b>	Archeologičeskaja Karta Moldavii, Kišinev, 1 (1973)–8 (1976).
<b>Aluta</b>	Aluta. Anuarul Muzeului Județean Covasna, Sf. Gheorghe, Romania, I, 1969, <i>sqq.</i>

<b>AM</b>	Arheologia Moldovei. Academia Română, Filiala Iași, Institutul de Arheologie Iași, București, Romania, I, 1961, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>AMIAP</b>	Anuarul Muzeului de Istorie și Arheologie Prahova, Ploiești, Romania, I (9), 1991, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>AMM</b>	Acta Moldaviae Meridionalis. Anuarul Muzeului Județean "Ștefan cel Mare," Vaslui, Romania, I, 1979, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>AMN</b>	Acta Musei Napocensis. Publicația Muzeului de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca, Romania, I, 1964, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>AMNIM</b>	Anuarul Muzeului Național de Istorie a Moldovei, Chișinău, Moldova, I (1992), II (1995), din 1995 Tyragettia, III, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>AMP</b>	Acta Musei Porolissensis. Anuarul Muzeului de Istorie și Artă Zalău, Romania, I, 1977, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>AMV</b>	Acta Musei Varnaensis, Varna, Bulgaria, I, 2000, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>Analele ANTIM</b>	Analele Asociației Naționale a Tinerilor Istorici din Moldova, Chișinău, Moldova, I, 2000, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>Angustia</b>	Angustia. Revista Muzeului Carpaților Răsăriteni, Sf. Gheorghe, Romania, I, 1996, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>AnH</b>	Anthropologia Hungarica, Budapest, Hungary.
<b>ANSMN</b>	The American Numismatic Society, Museum Notes, 1–33, 1946–1988.
<b>Antaeus</b>	Antaeus, Communicationes ex Instituto Archaeologico Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest, I, 1958, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>AO</b>	Archeologičeskie Otkrytija, Moscova, Rusia (URSS), I–II, 1949, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>Aolt</b>	Arhivele Olteniei. Academia Română, Institutul de Cercetări Socio-Umane "C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor" Craiova, Romania, S.N. I, 1981, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>AP</b>	Archaeologia Polona, Varšovia, Polonia, I, 1958, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>AP URSR</b>	Archeologični Pam'jatki URSR, Kiev, Ukraine, I–II (1949)–XIII (1963).
<b>APOO</b>	Archeologičeskie pamjatniki Odesskoj oblasti (spravočnik), Odessa, Ukraine.
<b>Apulum</b>	Apulum, Acta Mvsei Apvlensis, Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia, Romania, I, 1939–1942, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>AR</b>	Archeologické Rozhledy, Praga, Čehia.
<b>AR</b>	Archeologické Rozhledy, Academia de Științe a Čehoslovaciei, Praga, Čehia, I, 1949, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>Arch</b>	Archeologija, Institutul și Muzeul de Arheologie a Academiei de Științe din Bulgaria, Sofia, I, 1959, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>Archeologija</b>	Archeologija, Institutul de Arheologie al Academiei de Științe din Ukraine, Kiev, I, 1947, <i>sqq.</i>

<b>Archeologija SSSR</b>	Archeologija SSSR, Moscova, URSS, 1–5 (1964)–1–27 (1983).
<b>ArchP</b>	Archeološki Pregled, Belgrad, Serbia, I, 1959, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>Argesia</b>	Argesia. Studii și comunicări. Muzeul Județean Argeș, Pitești, Romania, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>ArhB</b>	Archaeologia Bulgarica, Sofia, Bulgaria.
<b>Arhiva MC</b>	Baza de date Monumentele Arheologice din Republica Moldova, Arhiva Ministerului Culturii al Republicii Moldova.
<b>ArhM</b>	Arheologie Medievală, Romania, I, 1996, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>AS</b>	Archeologičeskij Sbornik. Gosudarstvennyj Ermitaž, Sankt-Petersburg (Leningrad), I, 1959, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>AŞUI</b>	Analele Științifice ale Universității "Al. I. Cuza" din Iași, Romania.
<b>ATS</b>	Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis, Universitatea "Lucian Blaga" Sibiu, Institutul pentru cercetarea și valorificarea patrimoniului cultural transilvănean în context european, Romania, I, 2002, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>AUO SIA</b>	Analele Universității Oradea, Seria Istorie-Arheologie, Oradea, Romania.
<b>AV</b>	Arheološki Vestnik, Acta Archaeologica, Institutul de Arheologie, Academia de Științe a Sloveniei, Ljubljana, I, 1950, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>Balcanoslavica</b>	Balcanoslavica, 1, 1971.
<b>Balkania</b>	Balkania, I, 1937.
<b>Banatica</b>	Banatica. Muzeul Banatului Montan, Reșița, Romania, I, 1971, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>BASEE</b>	Bulletin d'Archéologie Sud-Est Européenne, București, Romania.
<b>BAŞRSSM</b>	Buletinul Academiei de Științe al RSS Moldovenești, Chișinău.
<b>BCMI</b>	Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice, București, România, I, (1908)–XLI (1972), din 1970, XXXIX, Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice.
<b>BCTS</b>	Bulletin of the Center for Transylvanian Studies, Cluj-Napoca, Romania, I, 1991, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>BHAB</b>	Biblioteca Historica et Archaeologica Banatica, Timișoara, Romania.
<b>BHR</b>	Biblioteca Historia Romaniae, București, Romania, I (1964)–XXVII (1970).
<b>BMGS</b>	Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies.
<b>BMI</b>	Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice, București, Romania, I, 1971, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>BR</b>	Budapest Régiségei, Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, I, 1889, <i>sqq.</i>

<b>BSNR</b>	Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române, București, I (1904)–XXXVI (1942).
<b>BSRR</b>	Buletinul Societății Regale Române, București, Romania.
<b>Buridava</b>	Buridava. Studii și Materiale, Muzeul județean Vâlcea, Romania.
<b>BV</b>	Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter, München, Germania.
<b>Byzantinobulgarica</b>	Byzantinobulgarica. Institutul de Istorie, Academia de Științe, Bulgaria, I, 1961, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>Byzantinoslavica</b>	Byzantinoslavica, Praga, Cehia, I, 1929, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>Byzantion</b>	Byzantion. Revue Internationale des Etudes Byzantines, I, 1924, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>CA</b>	Cercetări Arheologice, Muzeul Național de Istorie, București, Romania, I, 1975, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>CAB</b>	Cercetări Arheologice în București, Romania, I, 1963.
<b>Carpica</b>	Carpica, Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Artă, Bacău, Romania, I, 1968, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>CCDJ</b>	Cultură și Civilizație la Dunărea de Jos, Muzeul Dunării de Jos, Călărași, Romania, I, 1985, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>CH</b>	Crana Hungarica, Budapesta, Hungary.
<b>CI</b>	Cercetări istorice, București, Romania.
<b>CLIO</b>	Clio. Almanah Istoric, Chișinău, Moldova, I, 1998.
<b>CMM</b>	Casopis Moravského Muzea. Acta Musei Moraviae.
<b>CN</b>	Cercetări Numismatice, Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București, I, 1978, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>CNA</b>	Cronica Numismatică și Arheologică, București, Romania, I (1920)–XX (1945).
<b>Corviniana</b>	Corviniana. Acta Musei Corvinensis, Muzeul Castelul Corvineștilor, Hunedoara, Romania, I, 1995, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>Crisia</b>	Crisia, Oradea, Romania, I, 1971, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>Crișana</b>	Crișana Antiqua et Mediaevalia, Universitatea din Oradea, România, I, 2000, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>Cugetul</b>	Cugetul, Chișinău, Moldova.
<b>Cumidava</b>	Cumidava, Muzeul Județean Brașov, România, I, 1967, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>Dacia N.S.</b>	Dacia. Recherches et découvertes archéologiques en Roumanie, București, I, (1924)–XII (1948). Nouvelle Série: Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne, București, Romania, I, 1957, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>Danubius</b>	Danubius, Muzeul Județean de Istorie Galați, Romania, I, 1967, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>DB</b>	Drevnosti Bospopra, Meždunarodnyj ežegodnik po istorii, arheologii, epigrafike, numizmatike i filologii Bospora Kimerijskogo, Institut Arheologii Rosijskoj Akademii Nauk, Moscova, I, 1997, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>DEEC</b>	Dobrudža. Études Éthno-culturelles, Sofia, Bulgaria.

<b>DJZ</b>	Drevnosti Iugo-Zapada SSSR, Chișinău, RSSM.
<b>DKM</b>	Drevnjaja Kul'tura Moldavii, Chișinău, Moldova, 1974.
<b>Dnestr</b>	Dniestr, Kișinev, Moldova.
<b>Dobrudja</b>	Dobrudja. Sbornik, Istoriceski Muzei v Dobric i v Silistra, Varna, Muzei, Bulgaria, I, 1981, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>DOP</b>	Dumbarton Oaks Papers, Washington, DC, USA, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, DC, Columbia County, I, 1941, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>DPM</b>	Dalekoe Prošloe Moldavii, Kișinev, 1969.
<b>DR</b>	Destin Românesc, Chișinău-București.
<b>Drobeta</b>	Drobeta, Muzeul Regiunii Portilor de Fier, Drobeta-Turnu Severin, Romania, I, 1974, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>EAIVR</b>	Enciclopedia Arheologiei și Istoriei Vechi a României, București.
<b>EAZ</b>	Ethnographisch-Archäologische Zeitschrift, Berlin, Germania, I, 1960, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>EB</b>	Études Balkaniques, Sofia, Bulgaria, I, 1964, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>EBPB</b>	Études Byzantines et Post-Byzantines, București, Romania I (1979)–III (1997).
<b>EN</b>	Ephemeris Napocensis, Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie și Istoria Artei, Cluj-Napoca, Romania, I, 1991, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>ERGA</b>	Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, New York.
<b>FS</b>	Frühmittelalterliche Studien.
<b>FVL</b>	Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde, Rumänische Akademie, Institut für Gesellschaftlich-Humanistische Fprschungen Hermannstadt, Sibiu, I, 1958, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>GPSKV</b>	Graha za proučavanje spomenika kulture Vojvodine, Novi Sad, Serbia.
<b>GSAD</b>	Glasnik Srpskog Arheološkog Društva, Beograd, Serbia, I, 1985, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>HBN</b>	Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik, Hamburg, Germania.
<b>Hierasus</b>	Hierasus, Anuarul Muzeului Județean Botoșani, Romania, I, 1978, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>Historca</b>	Historca, Centrul de Științe Sociale din Craiova, Romania, I, 1970.
<b>HYALM</b>	Helsingin yliopiston arkeologian laitos moniste, Helsinki, Finlanda.
<b>Ialomița</b>	Ialomița, Materiale de istorie agrară a României, Muzeul Județean Ialomița, Slobozia, Romania.
<b>INMV</b>	Izvestija na Narodnija Muzej—Varna, Bulgaria, I, 1965, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>Interacademica</b>	Interacademica, București, Romania, I, 2000, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>IP</b>	Istoričeski Pregled, Belgrad, I, 1959, <i>sqq.</i>

<b>Istros</b>	Istros, Buletinul Muzeului Brăilei, Romania, I, 1934, S.N., I, 1980, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>ITSR</b>	Istorie și Tradiție în Spațiul Românesc, București, Romania, I, 1995, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>IAN MSSR</b>	Izvestija Akademii Nauk MSSR, Serija Obščestvennych nauk, Kišinev, (1969)–(1991).
<b>IMF AN SSSR</b>	Izvestija Moldavskogo Filiala Akademii Nauk SSSR, Kišinev.
<b>JRA</b>	Journal of Roman Archaeology, An International Journal, 1, 1988, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>Karpatika</b>	Karpatika, Užgorod, Ukraine.
<b>KSIA</b>	Kratkie Soobščenija Instituta Archeologii AN SSSR, Moskva, URSS, 1 (1940)–185 (1972).
<b>KSIIMK</b>	Kratkie Soobščenija Instituta Istorii Material'noj Kul'tury Akademii Nauk SSSR, Moskva, I, 1939 <i>sqq.</i>
<b>KSOAM</b>	Kratkie Soobščenija Odesskogo Archeologičeskogo Muzeja, Odessa, Ukraine, 1961 (1963)–1963 (1965).
<b>Litua</b>	Litua. Studii și Cercetări, Complexul muzeal al județului Gorj, Tîrgu-Jiu, Romania, I, 1978, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>MA</b>	Memoria Antiquitatis, Acta Mvsei Petrodavensis, Revista Muzeului de Istorie Piatra-Nemăț, Romania, I, 1969, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>MAIET</b>	Materialy po Arheologii, Istorii i Etnografii Tavrii, Simferopol', Ukraine, I, 1990, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>MAPP</b>	Materiali z Archeolgii Pivničnogo Pričernomor'ja, Odessa, Ukraine.
<b>Marisia</b>	Marisia, Studii și Materiale, Muzeul Județean Mureș, Târgu-Mureș, Romania, I, 1965, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>Marmatia</b>	Marmatia, Muzeul județean Maramureș, Baia Mare, Romania, I, 1969, V–VI (1979–1981).
<b>MASP</b>	Materialy po Archeologii Severnogo Pričernomor'ja, Odessa, Ukraine, I (1957)–IX (1983).
<b>MIA</b>	Materialy i Issledovanija po Archeologii SSSR, Moscova-Leningrad, URSS. I (1940)–187 (1972).
<b>MIAE MSSR</b>	Materialy i Issledovanija po Archeologii i Etnographii MSSR, Kišinev.
<b>MI</b>	Magazin Istoric, București, Romania, I, 1967, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>MIA Ju-Z</b>	Materialy i Issledovanija po Archeologii Jugo-Zapada SSSR, Moscova, URSS.
<b>MN</b>	Muzeul Național, Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București, I, 1974, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>MO</b>	Mitropolia Olteniei, România.
<b>Mousaios</b>	Mousaios. Buletin Științific al Muzeului Județean Buzău, Romania, I (Studii și cercetări de istorie Buzoiană), Mousaios—II, 1978, <i>sqq.</i>

<b>MP</b>	Muzeul din Pitești. Studii și comunicări. Istorie-științele naturii, Romania, I, 1968.
<b>MPK</b>	Muzei i Pamjatnici na Kul'turata, Sofia, Bulgaria.
<b>MSM</b>	Marisia. Studii și Materiale, Târgu-Mureș, Romania; I, 1965, <i>sqq</i> .
<b>MSS</b>	Memoriile Secțiilor Științifice, București, Romania.
<b>NK</b>	Numizmatikai Közlöny, Budapest, Hungary.
<b>OIKM</b>	E.A. Rikman, Rafalovič, I.A., I.G. Hîncu, <i>Očerki istoriei kul'tury Moldavii (II–XIV vv.)</i> , Kišinev, 1971.
<b>Oltenia</b>	Oltenia. Studii și comunicări, Muzeul Olteniei, Craiova, Romania.
<b>OV</b>	Orheul Vechi, Buletin Istorico-Arheologic, Chișinău, Moldova, I, 1998.
<b>PB</b>	Patrimonium Banaticum, Direcția pentru Cultură, Culte și Patrimoniul Cultural Național al Județului Timiș, Timișoara, Romania, I, 2002, <i>sqq</i> .
<b>Peuce</b>	Peuce, Studii și cercetări de istorie și arheologie, Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale, Tulcea, Romania, I, 1971, <i>sqq</i> .
<b>Pontica</b>	Pontica, Muzeul de Istorie Națională și Arheologie Constanța, Romania, I, II, 1968, 1969 (Pontice), III, 1970, <i>sqq</i> .
<b>Potaisa</b>	Potaisa, Studii și comunicări, Turda, Romania, I, 1978, <i>sqq</i> .
<b>RA S.N.</b>	Revista Arheologică, Chișinău, Moldova, I (1993), II (1998) din 2005 S.N., nr. 1, <i>sqq</i> .
<b>RB</b>	Revista Bistriței, Complexul Muzeal Bistrița-Năsăud, România, File de istorie, I, (1971)–VI (1989), VII, 1993, <i>sqq</i> .
<b>RESEE</b>	Revue des Etudes sud-est européennes, Editions de l'Académie Roumaine, I, 1963, <i>sqq</i> .
<b>RGR</b>	Revista Geografică Română, București, Romania.
<b>RI</b>	Revista de Istorie, București, Romania.
<b>RIM</b>	Revista de Istorie a Moldovei, Chișinău.
<b>Rist</b>	Revista istorică, București, Romania, S.N., 1990, <i>sqq</i> .
<b>RMMI</b>	Revista muzeelor și monumentelor istorice, București, Romania.
<b>RMV (RVM)</b>	Rad Vojvođanskih Muzeja, Novi Sad, Serbia, 1, 1952–35, 1993. Rad Muzeja Vojvodine, Novi Sad, Serbia 36, 1994, <i>sqq</i> .
<b>RRH</b>	Revue Roumaine d'Histoire, București, Romania, I, 1962, <i>sqq</i> .
<b>SA</b>	Sovetskaja Archeologija, Moscova, I (1936)–XXIX–XXX (1959), din 1957 apare trimestrial—1 (1992), începând cu nr. 2, 1992—Rosijskaja Archeologija, <i>sqq</i> .
<b>SAA</b>	Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica, Universitatea "Al.I. Cuza," Iași, I 1983 <i>sqq</i> .
<b>SAAw</b>	Studien zur Archäologie der Awaren, Innsbruck, Austria.

<b>SAB</b>	Studia Archaeologica Brunensis, Sborník Prací Filozofické Fakulty Brnenské Univerzity, Masarykova Univerzita v Brně, Slovacia, I, 1960, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>SAI</b>	Archeologija SSSR, Svod Archeologičeskich Istočnikov, Moscova, URSS.
<b>SAnt</b>	Slavia Antiqua, Poznań, Polonia, I, 1954, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>Sargetia</b>	Sargetia. Acta Musei Devensis. Buletinul Muzeului județean Hunedoara, Deva, Romania, I, 1937, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>SB</b>	Studia Balcanica, Sofia, Bulgaria, I, 1970, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>SC</b>	Studii și comunicări. Arheologie-Istorie, Muzeul Brukenthal, Sibiu, Romania, I, 1956, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>SCA</b>	Studii și Cercetări Antropologice, Academia Română, București.
<b>SCEI</b>	Studi și Comunică de Etnografie-Istorie, Muzeul județean de Etnografie și istorie locală, Caransebeș, România, I, 1975, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>SCIM</b>	Studii și cercetări de istorie medie, București, I, 1950.
<b>SCIV (A)</b>	Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche, București, Romania, I, 1950, <i>sqq.</i> (since 1974 Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche și Arheologie).
<b>SCN</b>	Studii și Cercetări de Numismatică, București, Romania, I, 1957, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>SCŞ</b>	Studii și Cercetări Științifice, Cluj, Romania, I (1950)—VIII (1957).
<b>SE</b>	Sovetskaja Etnographija, Miskva, URSS.
<b>SIB</b>	Studii de Istorie a Banatului, Timișoara, Romania.
<b>SJ</b>	Südosteuropa-Jahrbuch.
<b>SIAn</b>	Slavia Antiqua, Poznań, Polonia, I, 1948, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>SIArch</b>	Slovenská Archeológia, Archeologickej Ústav Sav, Revista Institutului de Arheologie al Academiei Slovace de Științe din Nitra, Slovacia, I, 1953, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>SlovNum</b>	Slovenká numizmatika, Slovenská Akadémia Vied, Bratislava, Slovenia, I, 1970, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>SM</b>	Satu Mare, Studii și Comunicări, Muzeul Județean Satu Mare, Romania, I, 1969, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>SMIM</b>	Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie, Institutul de Istorie "Nicolae Iorga," Romania.
<b>SMPTIP</b>	Studii și Materiale privitoare la trecutul istoric al jud. Prahova, Ploiești, România, I, 1968.
<b>SMTM</b>	Studii și Materiale. Muzeul Regional Tg. Mureș, Romania, I, 1965.
<b>SN</b>	Sovetskaja Nauka, Moscova, URSS.
<b>SP</b>	Severnoe Pričernomor'e, Materialy po archeologii, Kiev, Ukraine.

<b>SPDPM</b>	Srednevekovye Pam'jatniki Dnestrovsko-Prutskogo Meždureč'ja, Kišinev, Moldova.
<b>SPIK</b>	Svod pamjatnikov istorii i kul'tury Moldavskoj SSR. Severnaja zona. Maket, Kišinev, RSSM.
<b>SRMUM</b>	Sbornik Rabot Molodyh Učénnyh Moldavii, Kišinev.
<b>SS</b>	Sovetskoe Slavyanovedenie, Moscova, URSS.
<b>ST</b>	Sympozia Thracologica, Bucureşti, Romania.
<b>StArch</b>	Studia Archaeologica, A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve, Szeged, I, 1995, <i>sqq</i> .
<b>Stratum Plus</b>	Stratum Plus, Vysšaja antropologičeskaja škola, Sankt-Petersburg–Chişinău, I, 1997, <i>sqq</i> .
<b>StSach</b>	Studien zur Sachsenforschung, Hildesheim, Germania, I, 1979, <i>sqq</i> .
<b>Studii</b>	Studii, Revistă de știință și filosofie, Bucureşti, Romania, I, 1949.
<b>SUBB</b>	Studia Universitas Babeş-Bolyai, Series Historia, Cluj-Napoca, I, 1956, <i>sqq</i> .
<b>Suceava</b>	Suceava, Studii și Materiale—Istorie—I,II,III, 1969, 1971, 1973; Suceava-Anuarul Muzeului Județean—IV, V, VI–VII, VIII, IX, X, XI–XII, XIII–XIV, XV, XVI, 1977–1989; Suceava-Anuarul Muzeului Bucovinei—XVII–XVIII–XIX, 1990–1991–1992, XX, 1993; Suceava-Anuarul Muzeului Național al Bucovinei—XXI, 1994, <i>sqq</i> .
<b>TD</b>	Thraco-Dacica, Bucureşti, Romania, I (1976)—IX (1988), S.N., I, (1989) <i>sqq</i> .
<b>TD SPIPI</b>	TD SPIPI, Moscova, USSR.
<b>TGE</b>	Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Ermitaža, Sankt-Petersburg, Russia.
<b>TGIKM</b>	Trudy GIKM, Moscova, URSS.
<b>TGIM</b>	Trudy GIM, Moscova, Rusia (URSS), I, 1926, <i>sqq</i> .
<b>Tibiscus</b>	Tibiscus. Istorie-Arheologie, Muzeului Banatului Timișoara, Romania, I (1970)–V (1979).
<b>TOR</b>	Tidskrift för arkeologi—Journal of Archaeology, Uppsala, Suedia, 1, 1948, <i>sqq</i> .
<b>TR</b>	Transylvanian Review, Cluj-Napoca, Romania.
<b>Tyragetaia</b>	Tyragetaia, Muzeul Național de Istorie a Moldovei, Chişinău, Moldova, III, 1996 <i>sqq</i> .
<b>UZ IIJaL MF</b>	Učennye Zapiski II JaL MF AN SSSR, Moscova.
<b>AN SSSR</b>	
<b>VAH</b>	Varia Archaeologica Hungarica, Budapest, Hungary, I, 1986, <i>sqq</i> .
<b>VAHD</b>	Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju Dalmatinsku, Croația.

<b>Valachica</b>	Valachica, Studii și Materiale de Istorie și Istorie a Culturii, Muzeul Județean Dâmbovița, Târgoviște, România, I, 1969, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>VAMZ</b>	Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu, Croatia.
<b>VCB</b>	Visnik Centru bulovinoznavstva, Chernivtsi, Ukraine, 1, 1993, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>VDI</b>	Vestnik Drevnej Istorii, Moscova, Rusia (URSS), I, 1937, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>VSC</b>	Vrancea. Studii și Comunicări, Focșani, Romania, I, 1978, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>VV</b>	Vizantijskij vremennik, Institut vseobčej istorie, Akademia Nauk Rossii, I, 1947, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>VAN SSSR</b>	Vestnik Akademii Nauk SSSR, Moscova, URSS.
<b>WA</b>	Wiadomości Archeologiczne, Bulletin Archéologique Polonais, Varšovia, I, 1873, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>Zargidava</b>	Zargidava, Revistă de Istorie, Bacău, Romania.
<b>Ziridava</b>	Ziridava, Studii și Cercetări, Muzeul județean Arad, Romania, I, 1967, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>ZNMB</b>	Zbornik Narodnog Muzeja u Beogradu, Serbia, I, 1956/57, <i>sqq.</i>
<b>ZOAO</b>	Zapiski Odesskogo Archeologičeskogo Obščestva, Odessa, Ukraine, I, 1960.
<b>ZOID</b>	Zapiski Odesskogo Obščestva Istorii i Drevnostej, Odessa, Ukraine.
<b>ZRVI</b>	Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta, Beograd, I, 1960, <i>sqq.</i>

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Sergiu Musteață

## INTRODUCTION

THE EARLY MIDDLE Ages are of special importance for European history, as this period marks the genesis of many peoples, of state formation, and of the affirmation of feudal relations. This work spans almost two centuries, from the end of the seventh until the late ninth century. During this time a series of political, military, economic, social, and religious transformations took place. The lower chronological limit is marked by the migration of the Bulgars south of the Danube (680/681), and the upper limit coincides with the movement of the Hungarians from the Eastern European steppes to the Carpathian Basin (895/896). This span includes significant events in the history of Central and Southeastern Europe. The Avar Kaganate controlled not only the Pannonian Steppe but also some regions east of the Tisza up to the Western Carpathians, which has been proven by the Avar graves and cemeteries identified in these areas. The Bulgarians' settlement south of the Danube and the creation of a new political power changed political realities in the region and directly contributed to the distancing of relations between Byzantium and the North-Danube regions. The situation in the ninth century directly affected the so-called political silence in the Carpathian-Danubian regions (Map 1). Political reshuffling in the North-Danube areas began with the liquidation of Avar power and was followed by the division of spheres of influence between the Franks, the Moravians, and the Bulgarians. The appearance of the Hungarians at the mouth of the Danube and their conflicts with the powers and populations in the region led to the establishment of their control over the Pannonian Steppe and some other regions east of the Tisza in the late ninth century and beginning of the tenth century.

*Geographical Boundaries.* The appearance and evolution of human beings was and is closely linked to natural factors, but human interactions with the natural environment have still only been modestly investigated.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, during historical research, it is necessary to know the peculiarities of the geographical environment (relief, hydrography, climate, vegetation, etc.) and their connections with the anthropic factor.<sup>2</sup>

The research is geographically bounded by natural landmarks, such as the Tisza, Danube, and Dniester Rivers to the west, east and south, to the southeast by the Black Sea coast, and to the north by the northern Bukovina region (Map 1). This area is known in the literature as the *Carpathian-Danubian region*, as the *Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic*

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<sup>1</sup> V. Cucu, *Geografia populației și așezărilor umane*, 2nd ed. (București, 1981); F. Röthlisberger, *1000 Jahre Gletschergeschichte der Erde* (Aarau: Sauerländer, 1986); M. G. Bell and M. J. C. Walker, *Late Quaternary Environmental Changes: Physical and Human Perspectives* (London: Longman, 1992); T. H. Van Andel, *New Views on an Old Planet. A History of Global Change*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

<sup>2</sup> K. W. Butzer, *Archaeology as Human Ecology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); J. C. Drăgan and Șt. Airinei, *Geoclimate and History* (Roma: Nagard, 1987); C. Evans and T. O'Connor, *Environmental Archaeology: Principles and Methods* (Stroud: Sutton, 1999).

space or as the *northern region of the Lower Danube*. At the same time, the space included in this work is not separated from neighbouring territories, especially since the regions to the east of the Carpathians fall within the context of the North-Pontic and East-European steppes, while those from the west fall within the extensive areas of the Pannonian Steppe.

The Carpathian-Danubian space is a macro-territorial system, the result of a long paleogeographical evolution, and a component part of the European continent, having Central and East-European, Balkan and Pontic interferences.<sup>3</sup> In this part of Europe, several forms of reliefs conjoin, such as seashores, plains, plateaus, hills, and depressions, and these constitute the morphological structural steps of the area (mountains, hills and plateaus, and plains, including coastal platforms). Thus, the geographical environment in the north of the Lower Danube is quite varied and complex.<sup>4</sup> The geo-system of the region is thus a harmonious unity of geological, relief, hydrographical network, socio-economic, and human-ordered elements (Map 1).

The landscape is determined by the geological structure of the region, the result of a continuous development process that influenced the formation of other elements of the environment (the hydrography, soils, flora and fauna, human settlements, economy etc.). The component parts of the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic geographical macro-system are proportional, symmetrical, and concentrically disposed towards the Carpathians. From the territorial point of view, we can distinguish seventeen geographical regions: the Eastern Carpathians, the Curvature Carpathians, the Southern Carpathians, the Banat Mountains and the Western Carpathian Mountains, the Transylvanian Plateau (Depression), the sub-Carpathians, the Hills of Banat, the Hills of Crișana and Sylvania, the Moldovan Plateau, the Getic Plateau, the Mehedinți Plateau, the Dobrogea Plateau, the Western Plain, the Romanian Plain, the Delta, and the coastal platform (Map 1).<sup>5</sup> The diversity of the relief directly influences human activities carried on its surface.

The Carpathian Mountains form the backbone of a geographical macro-system. The Carpathians are part of the longest mountain chain in Europe<sup>6</sup> and are made up of two areas, the Beskid and the Danube-Pontic. They form a mountain range 1,500 km long and up to 180 km wide. The Carpathians are mountains of medium and low height, with an average height of 840 m, while peaks of over 2,000 m are rare and those exceeding 2,500 m are exceedingly rare. The average altitude oscillates in the east between 1,100 m and 1,300 m, 1,500–1,700 m in the south, and in the west between 800 m and 1,000 m. The circular shape of the Carpathians, enclosing the Transylvanian Depression, imposed a circular radial structure on the Carpathian-Danubian territory that influenced

<sup>3</sup> V. Dumitrescu, "Poziția geografică," *Geografia României* 1 (1983): 21–23.

<sup>4</sup> G. Posea, *Geografia fizică a României*, pt. 1, *Date generale. Poziție geografică. Relief* (București, 2003), 7.

<sup>5</sup> Posea, *Geografia fizică*, 28, 32.

<sup>6</sup> I. Ioniță, "Masivul Carpatic—un reper geografic de rezonanță în istoria Europei (mileniul I d. Hr.)," in *Studia Historica et Archaeologica in Honorem Magistrae D. Benea*, ed. M. Crînguș, S. Regep-Vlascici, and A. Ștefănescu (Timișoara, 2004), 217.

the organization of the socio-political and economic system of the region throughout its history. Thus, around the Carpathians, there is a large staircase of plateaus and plains, bounded by the medium quaternary of three rivers: the Tisza, the Danube, and the Dniester. The Carpathian passes and passages are not major forms of relief, but by facilitating circulation with the Carpathian regions they constitute an important feature of the evolution of habitats in the region.<sup>7</sup> The highlands include forested hills, depressions, and valleys that were deforested and cultivated, with some maintaining meadows and patches of woods. The hills, owing to fertile soils, grasslands, forest, and fauna resources, have been appreciated by the people factor since ancient times. From a strategic point of view the hills used to be a defensive zone, located between the mountain and the steppe regions; such as, for example, in the case of the Eastern Carpathians and the Ponto-Caspian steppes.<sup>8</sup> The plains are the lowest land area, with little or no slope. These plains stretch from the Trotuș and Delta to the Oaș Mountains, with a small break at the Danube Gorge. The Romanian Plain is linked with the Southern and Curvature Carpathians bounded by the Lower Danube Plain in the south and divided into the Gaetic Plain and the Eastern Plain (of Bugeac). In the north, the maximum elevation is approximately 250 m, and the average elevation of the Northern Plain is approximately 200 m, reduced to the south and east to a mere 10 m and 5 m respectively. The Tisza Plain (the Western Lowland, or Banat-Crisana), a component part of the Pannonian Basin, is influenced by the Western Mountains, the Banat Mountains, and the Tisza River.<sup>9</sup> The hydrographical network of the region is made up of rivers, lakes of various types, ground-waters, and the Black Sea. Most rivers originate in the Carpathian Mountains, collect in the Danube, and flow to the Black Sea, thus forming the Carpathian-Danubian network.<sup>10</sup> The rivers that cross the Carpathian-Danubian basin are grouped into several hydrographical networks: intra-Carpathian, extra-Carpathian, and trans-Carpathian. They have their sources mostly in the Carpathian and sub-Carpathian regions. The number of lakes in this area is quite large and they have various origins: ice, volcanoes, natural dams, or human activity. At the same time, we can distinguish several categories of natural lakes: mountainous, hill, plateau, plains, and sea.

The climate is one of the geographical factors that has a significant influence on the evolution of the natural and the anthropic environment of each region. The Carpathian-Danubian space is located approximately halfway between the Atlantic side of the continent and the conventional limit with Asia, which provides a temperate continental climate with four clearly marked seasons and a continuous change in the length of day and night. The location of the region at the junction of the western, eastern, northern, and southern climate brings warmer wet air from the west. In the winter, drier, frostier

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<sup>7</sup> Posea, *Geografia fizică*, 71.

<sup>8</sup> L. Bacumenco, "Structuri geospațiale în zona Codrii Orheiului și raporturile lor cu elementul antropic," *AM* 26 (2003): 181.

<sup>9</sup> Posea, *Geografia fizică*, 43.

<sup>10</sup> M. Botzan, *Apele în viața poporului român* (București, 1984), 20.

air comes from the east and in the summer, hotter and drier air. From the north comes cold and wet air, and from the south, the air brings drought in summer and warm air with rain in the winter.<sup>11</sup> The diversity of the landscape, especially that of the Carpathian chain, greatly influences the movement of air masses and thus generates large climatic differences (Map 1).

The problematic of the proposed subject is both pertinent and important, for this project addresses and completes different aspects of the history of the Carpathian-Danubian space in the eighth and the ninth centuries. Over the years it has lost none of its relevance; on the contrary, it has generated new and novel interpretations, visions, and, solutions for a number of issues concerning the lifestyle of the inhabitants to the north of the Lower Danube in the early Middle Ages. In 1978 Dan Gh. Teodor states: "The evolution of civilization in Moldova during the seventh and the ninth centuries was presented in the Romanian literature incompletely, due to the large number of archaeological findings from this era, it remained unpublished for a long time." From then until today many things have changed, but the problem of publication of archaeological materials remains actual and common to all states.<sup>12</sup>

The proposed issues are currently important, as they are not sufficiently addressed in contemporary historiography. Also, we should note that the geographical area proposed for research, has been the focus of attention from the great powers from the medieval period to the present, which has resulted in a different historical consideration and interpretation of historical and archaeological realities of these regions. The given subject of study, although it began to be intensely studied in the 1950s, still remains relevant and is complemented by new archaeological discoveries. In these circumstances, there is a need for a review and an overview of the history of the Carpathian-Danubian space in the eighth and ninth centuries based on a complex analysis of the historical sources available today. The lack of a work of synthesis covering the major archaeological discoveries on the territories between the Tisza and the Dniester, referring to this time, together with the numerous contradictions in the previous publications have confirmed the importance of what follows; a synthetic treatment regarding the history of the regions to the north of the Lower Danube during the eighth and ninth centuries.<sup>13</sup>

The purpose of this book is to re-examine the history of the Carpathian-Danubian region during the eighth and the ninth centuries. Thus, the central task is to provide an overview on the historical realities to the north of the Lower Danube over two centuries. Writing this book began from the desire to develop a synthetic study through which we will reconstruct the history of the Carpathian-Danubian region during the eighth and ninth centuries based on narrative, archaeological, and numismatic sources. The diversity of issues presented by such a study requires analysing the following topics in

<sup>11</sup> Posea, *Geografia fizică*, 19.

<sup>12</sup> D. Gh. Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic în veacurile V–XI e.n.* (Iași, 1978), 67.

<sup>13</sup> A. Tvaari's contribution could be an example of such work: Andres Tvaari, *The Migration Period, Pre-Viking Age, and Viking Age in Estonia*, Estonian Archaeology 4 (Tartu: Tartu University Press, 2012).

succession: the historiography of the problem, the particularities of the human habitat, the reconstitution of economic occupations, the establishment of the features of spiritual life, the evolution of social relations, the chronological and ethnic affiliation of discoveries, the reconstitution of the political history of the region, and so on. The achievement of this goal, the objectives, and the proposed plan rely on examination of the composition of the repository of sites and archaeological findings from the Carpathian-Danubian regions during the eighth and ninth centuries. Thus, I will try to point out some issues related to the eighth and the ninth centuries, seeking to contribute thereby to the fixing of an image that would allow for an updated scientific interpretation of the early Middle Ages in the regions to the north of the Lower Danube (Map 1).

The study presents a reconstruction of the socio-economic, ethnic, cultural, and ultimately political history of the aforementioned area in the eighth and ninth centuries based on the analysis of the narrative and archaeological sources known so far. In this book, for the first time, the archaeological remains from the Carpathian-Danubian regions (Banat, Crișana, Maramureș, Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia, including Bukovina and Bessarabia) are presented as organic unities, which, despite representing inherent parts of a well-defined geographical area over several decades, have previously been dealt with separately, without generalizations performed at the macro-region level (Map 1). Thus, the work fills a substantial gap in the historiography and puts in a new light the historical and the archaeological issues relating to the eighth and ninth centuries.

In terms of technique and methodology, the realization of the work represents a critical and comparative analysis of the narrative, archaeological, and numismatic data regarding the Carpathian-Danubian regions in the eighth and ninth centuries. This work claims a broad and multifaceted analysis of data and historical phenomena in a clearly defined geographical and chronological framework, as well as the application of the methods of critical and comparative analysis of historical sources, statistical, cartographical, stratigraphic, and chronological data. The application of the above-mentioned methods has made it possible to reveal the general and special features of human habitats in the Carpathian-Danubian space during the eighth and ninth centuries.

In the absence of written sources that directly relate to the eighth and the ninth centuries, the main source base used is the results of archaeological investigations, which for decades have accumulated information about the lifestyle of the population in the Carpathian-Danubian space in the given period. Through modern methods of collecting and analysing historical data we have compiled the register of discoveries, comprising the majority of archaeological sites (settlements, hillforts, cemeteries, graves, and funerary findings of uncertain nature), as well as numismatic findings from the proposed area for the investigation chronologically assigned to the eighth and the ninth centuries. The repository was drawn up alphabetically and separately for each country (Romania, Moldova, Serbia, Ukraine, and Hungary), and comprises a total of 2,595 archaeological points (Table 1, Chart 1, Map 2). The obtained data were afterward analysed from the statistical, typological, and cartographical points of view.

The register of archaeological findings is the basis of this work. Recording them in a single database enabled us to perform a typological systematization (settlements,

hillforts, cemeteries, caves, cemeteries, and singular graves), combining the analysis of archaeological materials with the historical synthesis and generalization, while mapping these sites revealed regional groupings of settlements in the eighth and ninth centuries. The mapping of these records was realized with the help of computer programs, based on the exact geographical coordinates of each locality (latitude and longitude). Every point on the map corresponds to a contemporary village. The localities with many archaeological points are collapsed into one single point. In situations where points are part of the different typological categories, they are visible on each map, and in the case of settlements, they have to be combined with the register of discoveries.

Based on published archaeological data we are able to analyse and describe the peculiarities of human habitat (construction typology, economic occupations, rites, and rituals, etc.) in the Carpathian-Danubian in the eighth and ninth centuries. By comparison, I have tried to highlight certain characteristic features of one or another region because then we can discuss issues regarding the cultural and ethnic affiliations of these discoveries.

The importance of the subject lies in the elucidation of some significant and actual problems that have been insufficiently and incompletely researched to date.<sup>14</sup> Different aspects of the material and spiritual life of the inhabitants of the Carpathian-Danubian regions in the eighth and the ninth centuries and their relations with their neighbouring peoples have been analysed successively and in a complex way.

For the first time, the archaeological findings from the Carpathian-Danubian space, including the territories between the Tisza and the Dniester, which are now the component parts of the Republic of Moldova, Romania, Ukraine, Serbia, and Hungary, have been thoroughly analysed (Map 2).

I hope for this study to become a tool in advancing our historical knowledge of the region. The obtained results can be used in further research on the historical development of the territories to the north of the Lower Danube or in producing synthetic studies on the early Middle Ages in Europe.

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<sup>14</sup> Șt. Olteanu, *Societatea romanească la cumpănă de milenii (sec. VIII–XI)* (București, 1983); Șt. Olteanu, *Societatea carpato-danubiano-pontică în secolele IV–XI* (București, 1997).