
IS THERE ANYBODY OUT THERE? LATE ANTIQUE EXTRA MUROS BUILDINGS IN THE HINTERLAND OF ARGAMUM (TULCEA COUNTY, ROMANIA)

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Abstract: The paper features the ceramic and metal finds from three Late Antique buildings in the outskirts of Argamum. Extensive surveys conducted during the French ANR program "Orgamè, nécropole et territoire" (2010-2012) revealed clusters of potential constructions, followed by excavations which confirmed the existence of buildings in two of the previously investigated areas. These two buildings were fully excavated. Furthermore, our study includes a third building, which had been partially researched already in 2008. The ceramic material consists of transport vessels, containers and cook wares, and a few metal tools and stone objects. The studied inventory of the houses show that these constructions were built and used during the fourth c. CE, and abandoned sometime in the second half of the same century.

Rezumat: Articolul prezintă descoperirile din ceramică și din metal din trei clădiri aflate în afara orașului Argamum și dateate în Antichitatea târzie. În decursul programului francez ANR "Orgamè, nécropole et territoire", periegeze extinse (derulate între anii 2010-2012) au dezvăluit potențiale zone construite, urmate de săpături care au confirmat existența clădirilor în cel puțin două dintre aceste locuri. Aceste două clădiri au fost cercetate integral. Studiul include și materialul ceramic dintr-o a treia clădire, cercetată parțial în anul 2008. Materialul ceramic constă în vase de transport, recipiente și vase de gătit, la care se adaugă câteva unelte din metal și obiecte din piatră. Studiul inventarului arată că locuințele au fost construite și folosite în sec. al IV-lea p.Chr. și abandonate cândva în a doua jumătate a aceluiași secol.

Keywords: Argamum, Late Antique, extra muros, everyday life, pottery, metal finds.

Cuvinte cheie: Argamum, Antichitate târzie, extra muros, viață cotidiană, ceramică, obiecte din metal.

ORGAME/ARGAMUM

Argamum (Jurilovca, Tulcea County) is situated on a high limestone promontory - Capul Dolojman - which protrudes into the waters of Lake Razim (Fig. 1a). It is located about 60 km south-southwest of the opening of the St. George arm of the Danube, about 40 km north of the ancient city of Histria (as the crow flies) and 8 km west of Jurilovca in whose administrative territory it lies nowadays.

The first mention of the ancient Greek town of Orgame is found in Hecataeus of Miletus (Orgame polis epi to Istro)¹ dating from the late sixth or early fifth century BCE. A later epigraphic monument from Histria is the decree of the Roman governor

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¹ For further details on the toponymy of Orgame/Argamum, see Mănușu-Adameșteanu 1992.

Manius Laberius Maximus delimiting the territories of the two neighbouring cities, Histria and Argamum². In the sixth century CE³, Argamum is mentioned again as Argamo in the list of Procopius, *De Aedificiis* (IV, 11, 20), nowadays at Cape Dolojman, a promontory varying in height from three to 22 m.



Fig. 1a. Map of Argamum and its hinterland (© GoogleEarth).

THE FRENCH-ROMANIAN COLLABORATION ON RESEARCHING THE TERRITORY OF ARGAMUM

The materials presented within this article were discovered in three buildings in the proximity of the fortification of Argamum. During the French ANR program *Orgamè, nécropole et territoire*, between 2010 and 2012 a series of surveys (170.75 ha) and diagnostic excavations were carried out in order to determine the evolution of the occupation and use of the land, both near the ancient city and in its hinterland. In the proximity of Argamum, these surveys revealed numerous clusters of pottery and construction materials indicating 17 potential edifices (Fig.1b, the yellow dots represent the potential clusters)⁴. Two of these buildings (from here onwards Building 1 and 2), at a distance of 0.2 km from each other and 1 km, respectively 800 m from the Late Antique

² ISM I, nr. 68, 191, 198.

³ All dates are CE from here onwards, unless mentioned.

⁴ Baralis *et alii* 2011, 230; Baralis *et alii* 2012; Lungu *et alii* 2012.

fortification, were fully excavated and confirmed the hypothesis⁵. The third edifice was discovered during a rescue excavation in 2008 (Building 3) and was partially revealed, close to the so-called *Extra Muros* sector (from here onwards EM)⁶ (Fig. 1a).

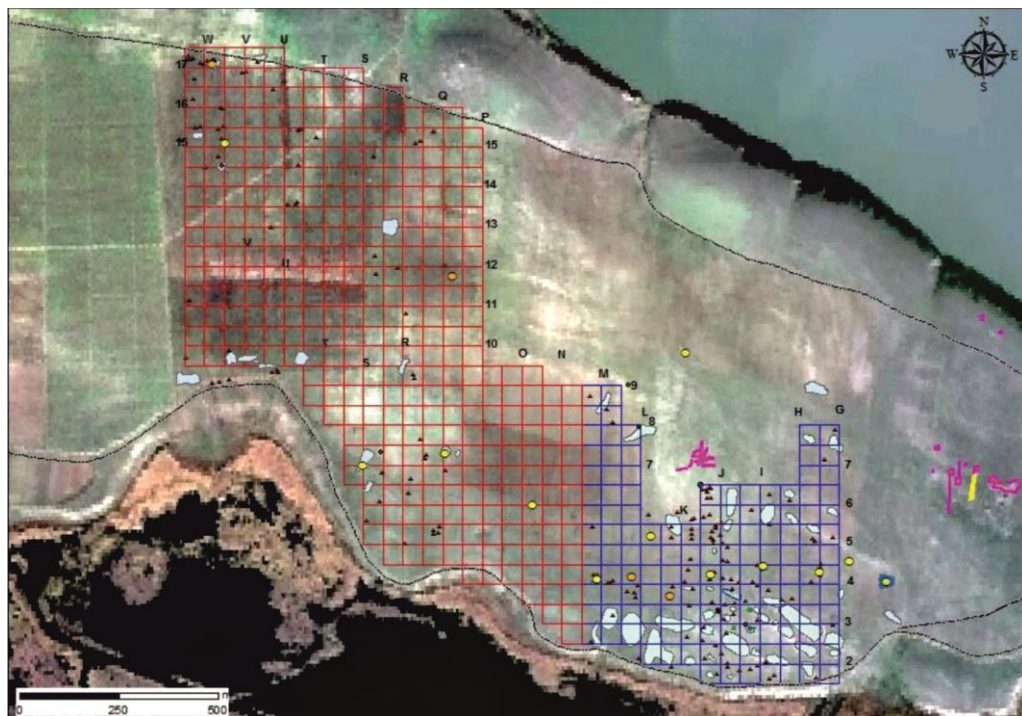


Fig. 1b. Surveys at Argamum (P. Labouteiller in Baralis *et alii* 2011).

All three constructions featured in this paper⁷ were built from stones and earth, with the walls collapsed and forming a compact layer of debris. The layers of hummus and debris were mixed together due to the intensive agricultural activities. During the excavations we could only determine one layer of occupation. Traces of adobe were also discovered, but very few tiles, indicating that the roofs might have been made from perishable materials. Concerning the interior spaces, the first fully excavated building (Building 1, Fig. 2) consisted of a single living space, while Building 2 (Fig. 3) revealed the trace of a compartmentation through an adobe wall. Both constructions

⁵ Vasilica Lungu excavated one other similar building, 0.6 km from Building 1 and north to the *extra muros* Basilica, in 2006, see Dolea, Muşat 2012.

⁶ Baralis *et alii* 2011, 230; Baralis *et alii* 2012.

⁷ In the published reports the buildings were named Casa Romană I and II, see Baralis *et alii* 2011; Baralis *et alii* 2012; Dolea, Muşat 2012.

had mud floors. The main features of Building 1 were a central pit set with clay and fine pebbles and a small adobe oven. The residues recovered from the pit were identified as wheat - *Triticum aestivo/durum* and common knotgrass related to buckwheat - *Polygonum aviculare*⁸, indications as to consumption habits⁹. The remains of ash and burned adobe indicate that a small rectangular oven functioned in the proximity of the pit. Concerning Building 2, not so well preserved, it seems to have had a special area for crafts and/or repairs, as tools and semi-finished stone materials were discovered. This building too preserved traces of a fireplace and few sherds from large storage containers (*dolia*). Building 3 was only partially excavated revealing only two walls, offering very little insight about its plan (Fig. 4).



Fig. 2. Building 1, view from South.

⁸ Analysis by Tsvetana Popova (National Archaeological Institute and Museum at Sofia, Science Academy of Bulgaria).

⁹ So-called naked wheat, *Triticum durum* is thought to have been used to make *pastili*, a sun dried cake and bread (Thurmond 2006, 20, 32, 62); from *durum* the Romans also made a porridge called *tragum* (Pliny, NH 18.76). *Polygonum aviculare* is a common weed on agricultural lands used for medicinal purposes and feeding birds and animals (Panțu 1906, 307; Scarlat, Tohăneanu 2003, 386-387).



Fig. 3. Building 2, view from South.



Fig. 4. Building 3, view from South.

THE CERAMIC MATERIALS FROM THE THREE LATE ANTIQUE CONSTRUCTIONS

The ceramic inventory recovered during the excavations is not rich and consists of well-known types of few amphora fragments, containers, and cooking wares, but nonetheless relevant for both the chronology of the buildings and for understanding the occupation and use of space. Thus, the finds are featured according to their respective place of discovery, e.g., Building 1, 2, and 3, and each lot according to category (transport, drinking vessels, cook ware, etc.) and typology.

Building 1

The excavation in Building 1 revealed few amphora fragments (Fig. 5/nos. 1-5). The first two are residuals, fragment no.1, type Dressel 1 C, transported wine or even fish products during the second to the first century BCE.¹⁰ The second is a tall base from an Aegean Dressel 24 *similis* type oil amphora, dated to the second-third centuries¹¹. Other types of early Roman materials were numerous among the finds recovered during the field surveys, including various south Pontic amphorae and fine wares from the Pontic area and Asia Minor. The survey materials suggest the possibility that the area was inhabited during the second and third centuries, although not necessarily in the direct vicinity of the two fully excavated buildings. The early Roman pottery fragments from the hummus layer of Building 1 can be explained by the archaeological level close to the surface and the fact that the whole area underwent extensive agricultural labour. The only Late Roman amphorae fragments consist of a base and body fragment from a south Pontic variant of a LRA 1 amphora for wine¹², a type previously discovered at Argamum¹³ and a rim of a so-called bag-shaped amphora frequently found in the Pontic region during the fourth century¹⁴. The rest of the amphora finds belong to the very common LRA 2 type, transporting likely oil, but

¹⁰ Bezecky 2010, 83.

¹¹ Opaïț, Paraschiv 2013, 323; Opaïț, Ionescu 2016, no. 81 at Callatis with fabric; Honcu, Stănică 2019, 219, fig. 3/6 and see also the extensive references for finds in Moesia; Opaïț, Tsaravopoulos 2011, 288, fig. 14/a-b. For a broad discussion on the type, see also Opaïț 2007.

¹² Opaïț, Ionescu 2016, Pl. XVIII/106; Kassab Tezgör 2020, 41, 87-89, suggesting several production sites in the southern Black Sea area starting with the second half of the fourth century.

¹³ Opaïț 2021, 324, Figs. 6-7, also associated with type Böttger II-4/Opaïț D-II, some produced at Amastris and referencing other finds at Tomis, Telița, Histria, Topraichioi, Murighiol, Iatrus, Odessos, Dionysopolis and other sites on the northern coast; Grigoraș, Panait 2021, 89, Plate III for fabrics at Tropaeum Traiani.

¹⁴ Opaïț *et alii* 1991, 256, no. 73, Pl. 30/3 at Topraichioi; Opaïț 2014 for a discussion on this type and its variants.

also possibly wine or other goods¹⁵. Although rims and bases of this type of amphora were discovered within Buildings 2 and 3, several body sherds were found scattered in the area of the central pit that contained the above-mentioned cereal remains in Building 1. The other fragments of containers come from table amphorae and pitchers, two rims and a flat base (Fig. 5/nos. 6-7). The cook ware includes the most shards, from five varieties of pots (Fig. 66) - **type 1**¹⁶: nos. 8-13, **type 2**¹⁷: no. 14, **type 3**¹⁸: no. 15, **type 4**¹⁹: no. 16, **type 5**²⁰: no. 17, all with traces of exposure to fire, most discovered in the proximity of the small oven. No table ware shards were identified.

*Amphorae*²¹ (Fig. 5/1-5)

1. Amphora Dressel 1C. 0,35-0,45 m. D. 14 cm, Hp 4.6 cm. Straight rim, rolled; fine fabric 2.5YR5/6 red, with fine white inclusions; self slip.
2. Amphora Aegean Dressel 24. S4, exterior, under debris, 0 - 0,20 m. D. 2.5 cm, Hp. 6 cm. Tall foot; fine fabric 7.5YR 6/6 reddish yellow; with white and black inclusions; self slip.
3. Pontic Amphora. S2 Nord, 0-0,20 m. Hp. 24.6 cm. Lower conical half foot; coarse fabric 2.5YR 5/8 red, with white and red inclusions.
4. Amphora type LR A 1. S 3, 0,25-0,50 m. Hp 6.7 cm; Fragmentary ring foot; coarse fabric 2.5YR 4/6 red, with various white and red inclusions.
5. Bag-shaped amphora. Northern wall. D. 8 cm; Hp.3.1 cm. Fragmentary inwards rim, with exterior groove; fine, sandy fabric 10YR 6/4 light yellowish-brown, with fine white inclusions.

¹⁵ Karagiorgou 2001 for a broad overview and discussion on the production, use, re-use and commerce with LRA transport vessels.

¹⁶ Bogdan Cătănciu, Barnea 1979, Fig. 162/5.1, 5.13; Opaîţ 2004 type IX/X; for overview see Bădescu 2021, 143-144, as type Riley 1979, D 250, at Halmyris, Histria and Tropaeum Traiani during the 4th-5th centuries.

¹⁷ Opaîţ 2004 type IX/X; Bădescu 2021, 148, type Bruckner 28, with references to numerous sites in Scythia.

¹⁸ Topoleanu 2000, 109, Pl. XXIX/250, first half of the fourth century with analogies at Tropaeum Traiani and Histria; Opaîţ 2004, type V and at Independenţa – Opaîţ 1991b, 193, Fig. 27/160.

¹⁹ Bogdan Cătănciu, Barnea 1979, Fig. 162/5.11; Topoleanu 2000, 113, Pl. XXXI/272 as type Bruckner 27 and Kuzmanov II; Opaîţ 2004, type V; Bădescu 2021, Pl. 108/45-47.

²⁰ Kuzmanov 1992, type II; Opaîţ 2004, type III; Bădescu 2021, Pl. 110/69-70 as types Opaîţ III-B.

²¹ The catalogue for pottery finds is organised as following: category, main type, context, D.= diameter, Hp.= height preserved, description. We would like to extend our gratitude to A. Opaîţ, Ş. Honcu and B. Grigoraş for insights into the amphorae typology and some of the fabric photos.

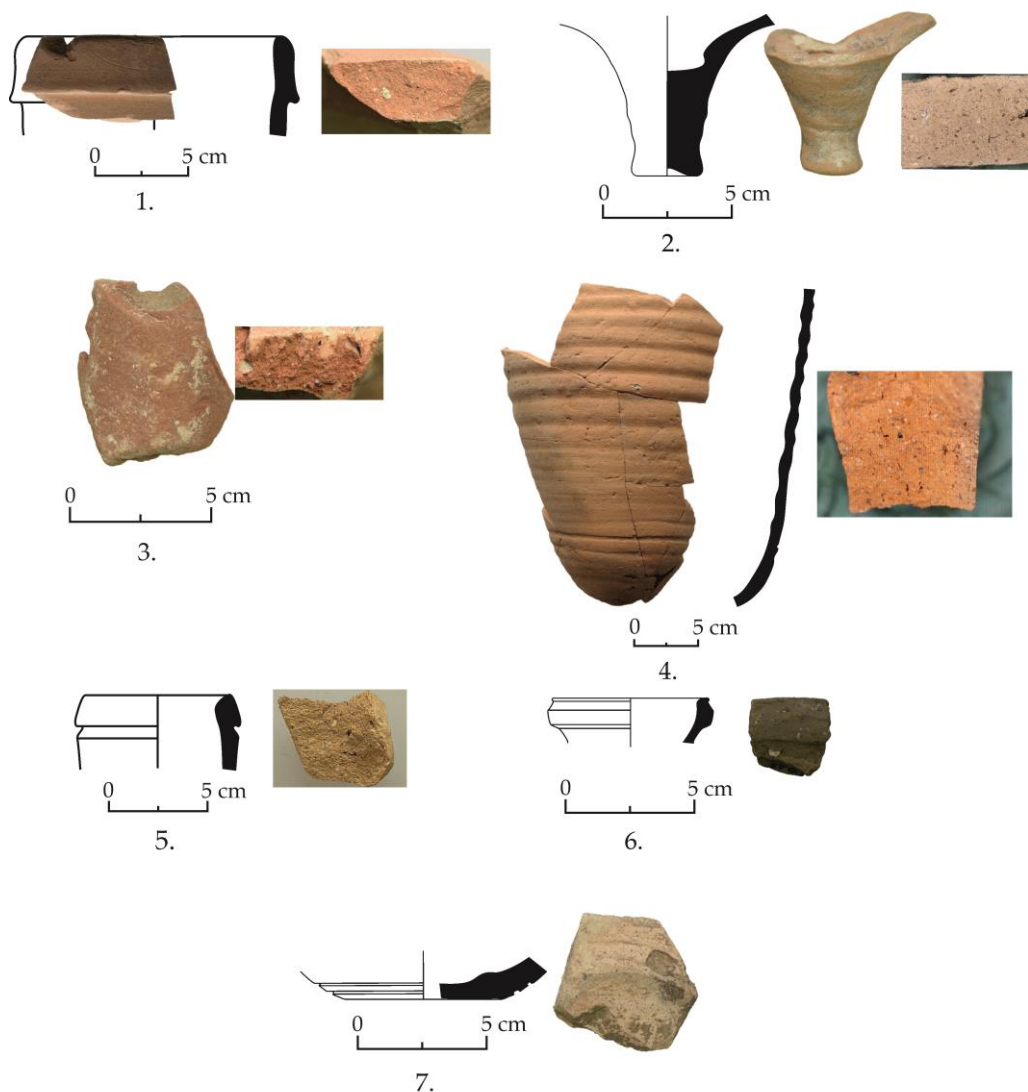


Fig. 5. Ceramic inventory from Building 1: amphorae nos. 1-4; drinking vessels nos. 5-7.

Drinking vessels (Fig. 5/6-7)

6. Jug Opaïț 2004 type II. S 3 exterior, 0.20-0.30 m. D. 6 cm, Hp. 1.7 cm. Thick, slightly flaring rim from a coarse fabric 7.5YR 5/3 brown, with white inclusions; plain. Similar to Bădescu, Clianțe 2015, 215, Fig. 3, no. 1 as Opaïț 1996, type IVC.

7. Table amphora/pitcher (?). S 3, 0.35-0.50 m. D. 6 cm, Hp. 1.7 cm. Fragmentary flat base, slopping grooved wall; coarse fabric 5YR 8/3 pink, with gray and red inclusions; plain.

Cook ware (Fig. 6/8-18)

8. Pot Opaîţ 2004 type IX/X. S1, debris, 0.20-0.50 m. D. 12/14 cm, Hp. 8.8 cm. Flaring rim with inner concavity, concave wall, one preserved handle; coarse fabric 2.5YR 5/6 red; numerous inclusions; exposure to fire.
9. Pot Opaîţ 2004 type IX/X. S1, debris, 0.20-0.50 m. D. 14 cm, Hp. 8.1 cm. Two fragments with a flaring rim and inner stop, concave wall, one preserved handle; coarse fabric 2.5YR 5/8 red, numerous inclusions; exposure to fire.
10. Pot Opaîţ 2004 type IX/X. S 1, debris, 0.35-0.50 m. D. 12 cm, Hp. 7.4 cm. Two fragments with flaring rim with inner stop, concave wall with one rib; coarse fabric 2.5YR 6/8 light red, with inclusions.
11. Pot Opaîţ 2004 type IX/X. S1, oven. D. 11, Hp. 3.8. Fragmentary flaring rim with inner stop, slopping wall; coarse fabric 7.5YR 4/3 brown, with inclusions; exposure to fire.
12. Pot Opaîţ 2004 type IX/X. Bulk. D. 13/14 cm, Hp. 2.7 cm. Fragmentary flaring rim with inner stop, slopping wall, with trace of a handle; coarse fabric 2.5YR 6/8 light red, with inclusions; exposure to fire.
13. Pot Opaîţ 2004 type IX/X. S1, western half, 0.20-0.40 m. D. 12 cm, Hp. 4.1 cm. Two fragments of a flaring rim and slopping wall; coarse fabric 5YR 5/8 yellowish red, with inclusions; exposure to fire.
14. Pot var. Opaîţ 2004 type IX/X. Bulk. D. 14 cm, Hp. 4.5 cm. Pot with a flaring rim with an exterior rib, slopping wall with a rib; coarse fabric 2.5YR 4/3 reddish brown, with inclusions; exposure to fire.
15. Pot Kuzmanov I/Opaîţ 2004, type V. S 4, southern profile. D. 8 cm, Hp. 1.8 cm. Flaring rim; coarse fabric 7.5YR 4/4 brown, with inclusions; exposure to fire.
16. Pot. S3, 0.40-0.42 m. D. 8 cm, Hp. 2.4 cm. Flaring rim, slopping wall; coarse fabric 5YR6/8 reddish yellow, chunky, with inclusion; exposure to fire.
17. Pot Opaîţ 2004 type III. S 2, 0.20-0.30 m. D. 12 cm, Hp. 2.7 cm. Flaring, concave rim, slopping wall, trace of a handle; coarse fabric 2.5YR 5/8 red, with white inclusions.
18. Pot. Between Z1 and bulk, 0.40-0.44, under debris. D. 8cm, Hp. 1.8 cm. Flat base, steep wall; coarse fabric 2.5YR 5/8 red, with inclusions; exposed to fire.

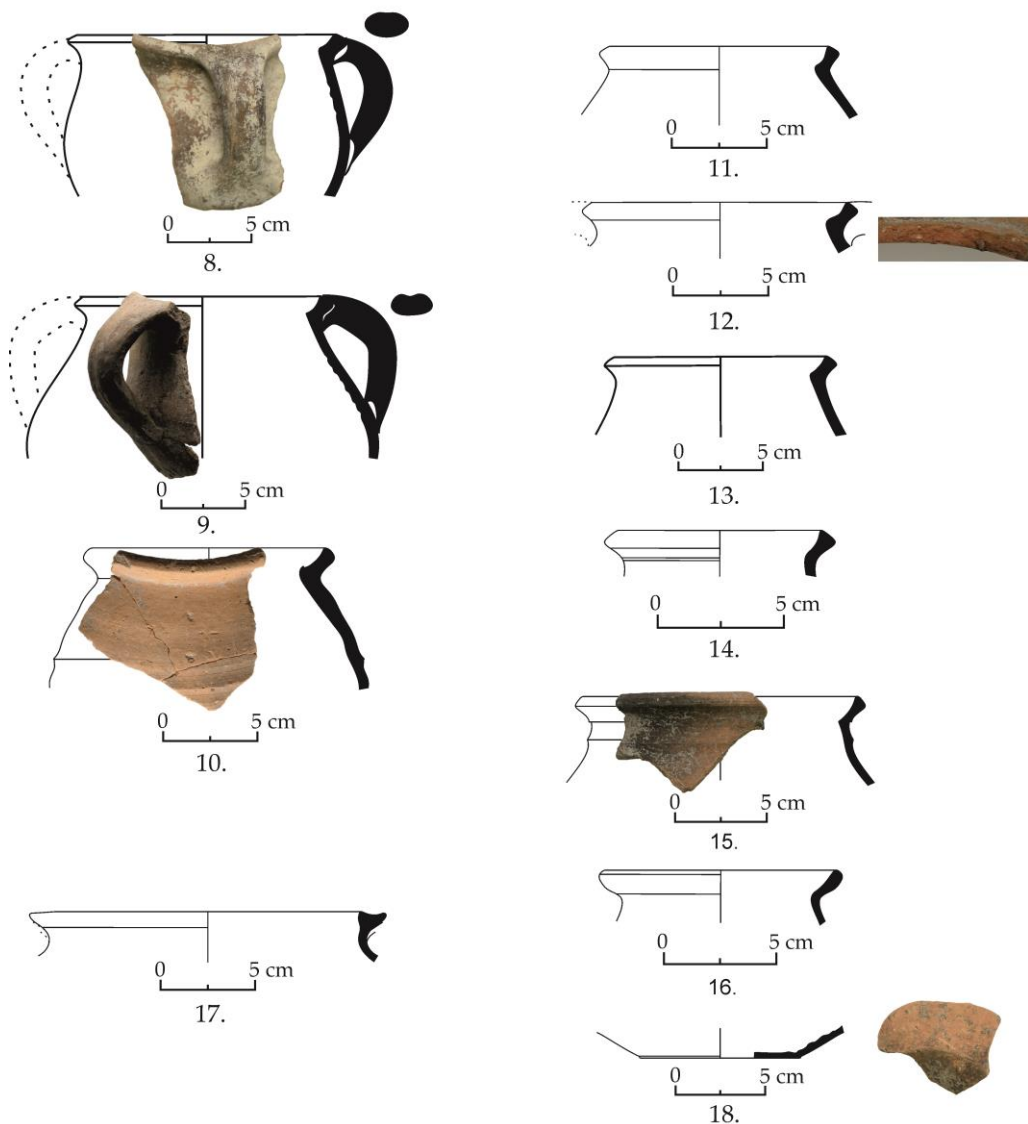


Fig. 6. Ceramic inventory from Building 1: cooking wares.

Building 2

The pottery from Building 2 is a bit more diverse (Fig. 7). The amphora finds consist mainly of LRA 2 fragments, including rims and one base (Fig. 7, nos. 19-21) with

features suggesting an early dating in the fourth century²² and another rim from an earlier Dressel 24 *similis* type of amphora. By comparison to the previous edifice, the containers represent a more diverse picture. Fragment no. 23, type Böttger II comes from a table amphora produced mostly during the first centuries in workshops, such as those from Butovo and Pavlikeni, and later at Telița, Halmyris and in Moesia Secunda²³. Unlike that from Building 1, this inventory includes tablewares, one fine pitcher (no. 24) and two LRC fragments from Western Asia Minor (nos. 26-27). The cookware includes four new pots – **type 1**²⁴: no. 28, **type 2**²⁵: nos. 29, **type 3**²⁶: nos. 30-31, **type 4**²⁷: no. 32), all coarse, adding new forms to the assemblage from Building 1. Several body shards from large and medium sized *dolia* vessels were discovered, including a base (no. 35), indicating that this space also served for temporary storage²⁸.

Amphorae (Fig. 7/19-22)

19. Amphora LRA 2. South extension. D. 10 cm, Hp. 7.8 cm. Four fragments of concave rim, flat on top; coarse fabric 7.5YR5/4 brown and 2.5YR 5/6 red; numerous inclusions; yellowish coating.
20. Amphora LRA 2. East-west bulk, 0.40/5. D. 10 cm, Hp. 6 cm. Rounded rim, slopping neck; fine fabric 7.5Y R7/6 reddish yellow, fine white inclusions; self slip.
21. Amphora LRA 2. S 2, 0.30 m. D. 2.6 cm, Hp. 1.9 cm. Small, pointy base, slopping wall; coarse fabric 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow, with white and red inclusions; yellowish coating.
22. Dressel 24 *similis* (?), similar to Opaîț 1991a, 254, no. 15, Pl. 15/3. South extension, S1. D. 11/12 cm, Hp. 2.6 cm. Thick and sharp rim; coarse fabric 2.5YR 5/6 red; white and red inclusions; yellowish coating.

²² For a recent overview on typology and chronology featuring finds from Tropaeum Traiani, see Grigoraș, Panaite 2021; for the base see Opaîț 1991a, Pl.14 and Honcu, Stănică 2017, 316, no. 13 with references.

²³ Opaîț 2004, 5; Biernacki, Klenina 2015, 101-102.

²⁴ Topoleanu 2000, 104, Pl. XXVI/226, 4th-5th centuries; var. Opaîț 2004, type X; Bădescu 2021, Pl. 111/80.

²⁵ var. Opaîț 2004, type XIV; Bădescu 2021, 156-157, as type Bruckner 27 starting with the fifth century (?).

²⁶ var. Opaîț 2004, type XI.

²⁷ var. Opaîț, 2004 type XIII; Bădescu 2021, Pl. 100/26.

²⁸ For a variety of small and medium-sized storage vessels see Grigoraș 2018, with analogies for our base at Murighiol, Topraichioi and Iatrus, third-fourth centuries.

Drinking vessels (Fig. 7/23-25)

23. Table amphora Böttger II/ Opaiț 2004, type 2a, Pl. 3/3 at Telița. South extension, 0.30 m. D. 9 cm, Hp. 2.6 cm. Straight, grooved rim; fine fabric 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow; fine white inclusions; self slip (Opaiț 2004, Pl. 3/3).
24. Pitcher (lekythos) Opaiț 2004 type III-A. 0.25 m. D. 10 cm; Hp. 1.6 cm. Grooved rim, slopping and ribbed wall; fine fabric 10YR 8/4 very pale brown; dull red slip.
25. Pitcher – Opaiț 1996, type IV/Opaiț 2004, Pl. 3/2-3/Bădescu 2021, Pl. 133-16. S 3, 0.30 -0.50 m. Fragmentary skewed, slightly flaring rim with a fragmentary handle, coarse fabric 7.5YR 5/3 brown, with white and reddish inclusions.

Table ware (Fig. 7/26-27)

26. LRC dish. S 3, 0.24 m. D. 7 cm, Hp. 1.4 cm. Fragmentary low ring base; fine fabric 2.5YR 5/8 red, with mica and fine white inclusions; red slip.
27. LRC dish. S 3, 0.34 m. D. 8 cm, Hp. 1.1. Fragmentary low ring base; fine fabric 2.5YR 4/8 red, with fine white inclusions; red slip.

Cookware (Fig. 7/28-34)

28. Pot var. Opaiț 2004 type XIII. S 3. D. 14 cm, Hp. 2.8 cm. Fragmentary rim with inner concavity and fragmentary handle; coarse fabric, dark gray, very burnt.
29. Pot var. Opaiț 2004 type XIV. S 3, 0.30-0.50 m. D. 12 cm, Hp. 2.3 cm. Fragmentary rim with inner concavity and fragmentary handle; coarse fabric 5YR 5/4 brown, with numerous inclusions; exposure to fire.
30. Pot var. Opaiț 2004 type XI. C. 5G, 0.78 m. D. 12 cm, hp. 2.7 cm. Fragmentary everted rim, coarse fabric, black, very burnt.
31. Pot var. Opaiț 2004 type XI. C. E7-8, 0.40 m. D. 12 cm, Hp. 1.9 cm. Fragmentary rolled rim, coarse fabric, black, very burnt.
32. Pot var. Opaiț 2004 type XI. S 3, c. M 4-5, 0.30-0.36 m. Fragmentary flaring rim, coarse fabric, gray, exposed to fire.
33. Pot. C. 4N, 0-0,20 m. D. 4.5 cm, Hp. 1.7 cm. Fragmentary flat base, coarse fabric 5YR 5/4 reddish brown; exposed to fire.
34. Pot. S 1, 0.25 m. D. 17 cm, Hp. 6.5 cm. Flat base, coarse fabric, dark brown and black, exposed to fire and deformed.

Storage (Fig. 7/35)

35. Medium sized *dolium*, Grigoraș 2018 Type I A. C. E8-9, 0.36 m, debris. D. 16 cm, Hp. 7 cm. Flat base, slopping wall, coarse fabric, 5YR 5/6 yellowish red.

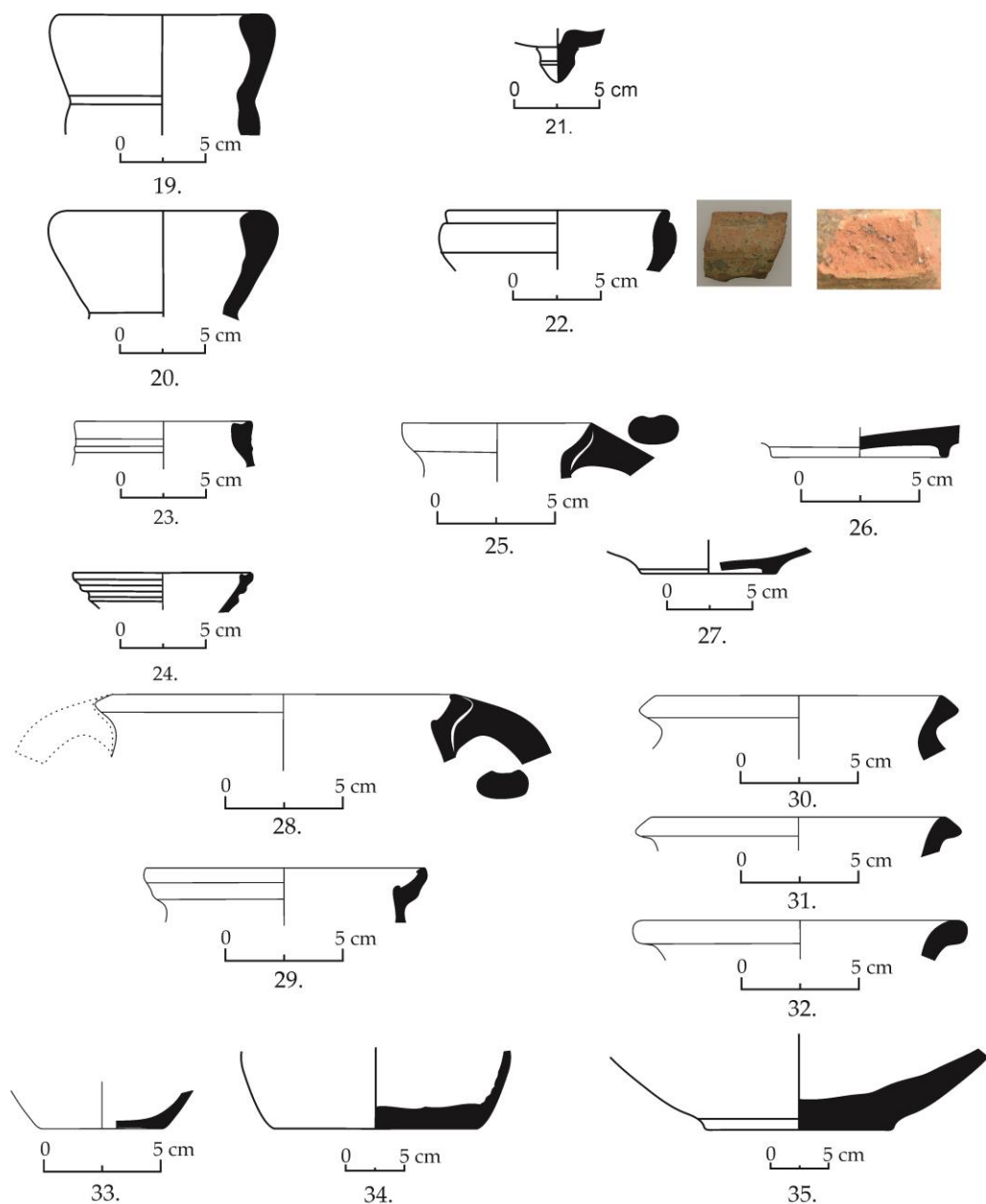


Fig. 7. Ceramic inventory from Building 2: amphorae nos. 19-22; drinking vessels nos. 23-24; LRC table ware nos. 25-26; cooking wares nos. 28-34; *dolium* no. 35.

Building 3

The ceramic material from the partially excavated Building 3 consists of some LRA 2 amphora fragments, table amphorae and pitchers, a casserole²⁹ (no. 41), five types of cooking pots – wheel and hand made pots (**type 1**³⁰: no. 42, **type 2**³¹: no. 43, **type 3**³²: no. 44, **type 4**³³: nos. 45-48, **type 5**³⁴: no. 49), a pan (no. 50) and a lid³⁵ (no. 51). However, the LRA 2 amphora fragment no. 36 is a later variant of the type, dating to the end of the fourth century³⁶, possibly even to the fifth³⁷.

Amphorae (Fig. 8/36-37)

36. Amphora LRA 2. S IV South. D. 10 cm, Hp. 13.5 cm. Rounded, flaring rim, slopping wall and fragmentary handle; coarse fabric and 2.5YR 5/6 red, with white inclusions and fine mica; yellowish coating.
37. Amphora LRA 2. S IV South, room 1, US 2, 0.40-0.55 m. D. 10 cm, Hp 5.4 cm. Rounded rim, interior concavity, coarse fabric 5YR 5/6 red, with white inclusions.

Drinking vessels (Fig. 8/38-40)

38. Table pitcher type Opaït 1991b, Fig. 36/313; Opaït 2004, Pl. 4/3. S IV South, room 2, US 2, 0.17-0.34, debris. D. 13 cm, Hp 5.2 cm. Straight, ribbed rim and tall neck, a fragmentary handle, coarse fabric 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow.
39. Lekythos-type, var. Opaït 2004, type III/ Kuzmanov 1985, K76-77. S IV, room 2, US 2, 0.17 m. D. 7 cm, Hp 4.7 cm. Rounded rim, ribbed, tall neck, one handle; coarse fabric 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow.
40. Lekythos (?) Opaït 1991a, Pl. 38.10; Opaït 2004, type III-A. S IV south, room 1, 0.55-0.66 m. D. 6/7 cm, Hp 3.7 cm. Straight rim with inner concavity, tall, ribbed neck; fine fabric 5YR 8/2 pinkish white, with traces of dull red slip.

²⁹ See Opaït *et alii* 1991, Pl. 50/4; Topoleanu 2000, 119, Pl. XXXV/301-302, with references at Histria and Tropaeum Traiani.

³⁰ Kuzmanov I-3; Scorpan 1976, Pl. XXVI/7 at Histria, sixth century; Topoleanu 2000, 115, Pl. XXXIII/283-284 starting with the second half of the fifth century; var. Opaït 2004, type X; Bădescu 2021, Pl. 99 with variants.

³¹ Opaït 2004, type I; Bădescu 2021, Pl. 116/127-137.

³² Topoleanu 2000, 106-107, Pl. XXVII/235 as type Kuzmanov IV, fourth century.

³³ Bogdan Cătănciu, Barnea 1979, Fig. 217/5.2; Kuzmanov II; Topoleanu 2000, Pl. XXX/257-260, Pl. XXXIV/298; Opaït 2004, type IV.

³⁴ For analogies, see Bădescu 2021, Pl. 121-122 at Capidava and Histria.

³⁵ Opaït *et alii* 1991, Pl. 41/8; Bădescu 2021, Pl. 127/4 as type Bruckner 3-4.

³⁶ Grigoraș, Panaite 2021, Pl. XI/61 at Tropaeum Traiani, end of the fourth century,

³⁷ Pieri 2007, 87, Fig. 45, types LRA 2A and 2B starting with the fifth century and well into the sixth.

Cooking ware (Fig. 8/41-51)

41. Casserole type Topoleanu 2000, 119, Pl. XXXV/301-302. S IV south, room 2, US2, 0.17-0.34 m. D. 17 cm, Hp 1.5 cm. Flat rim, slightly concave body, with a side flange; coarse fabric 5YR 5/6 yellowish red, with inclusions.
42. Pot Kuzmanov I-3; Opaî 2004 type X. S IV south, room 1, US2, 0.34-0.41m. D. 17 cm, Hp 5.8 cm. Fragmentary flaring rim, inner stop, slopping wall; coarse fabric 5YR 5/6 yellowish red.
43. Pot Opaî 2004, type I. S IV south, room 1, US 2, 0.40-0.55 m. D. 14 cm, Hp 4.3 cm. Fragmentary rounded and flaring rim, coarse fabric light gray with white inclusions, plain.
44. Pot Topoleanu 2000/ 235; Var. Bruckner 28. S IV, US 1. D. 10 cm, Hp 2.4 cm. Inwards, grooved rim, coarse fabric 4YR 4/4 reddish brown.
45. Kuzmanov II/ Pot Opaî 2004, type IV. S IV, US 1. D. 14, Hp. 3.5 cm. Fragmentary horizontal rim with central groove, one handle, coarse fabric 2.5YR 5/6 red, with inclusions and exposure to fire.
46. Pot Opaî 2004 type II/III Kuzmanov II. SIV south, room 1, US 2, 0.34-0.41 m. D. 18 cm, Hp 2.9 cm. Fragmentary inwards rim, with central groove, slopping wall; coarse fabric 5YR 5/4 reddish brown.
47. Pot Opaî 2004 type II/III. Kuzmanov II SIV south, room 1, US 2, 0.34-0.41 m. D. 14 cm, Hp 1.8 cm. Fragmentary inwards rim, with central groove, slopping wall; coarse fabric 5YR 5/4 reddish brown.
48. Pot Opaî 2004 type II/III Kuzmanov II. S IV south, US 1, surface, 0-0,17 m. D. 12 cm, Hp 2.3 cm. Fragmentary horizontal rim with central groove, trace of one handle; coarse fabric 5YR 5/4 reddish brown.
49. Pot. S IV south, room 2, US 2, 0.17 m. D. 12 cm, Hp 2.2 cm. Fragmentary handmade rounded rim, with one handle and relief decoration; coarse fabric 7.5YR 5/2 brown,
50. Pan Kuzmanov I/ Opaî 2004, type III. S IV, room 2, US 6, 0.34-0.40 m. D. 22/24 cm, Hp 2.4 cm. Fragmentary horizontal and grooved rim, straight wall, one handle; coarse fabric 7.5YR 5/6 strong brown.
51. Lid. S IV, surface. D. 14 cm, Hp 1.5 cm. Fragmentary rounded rim, slopping wall; coarse fabric 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow.

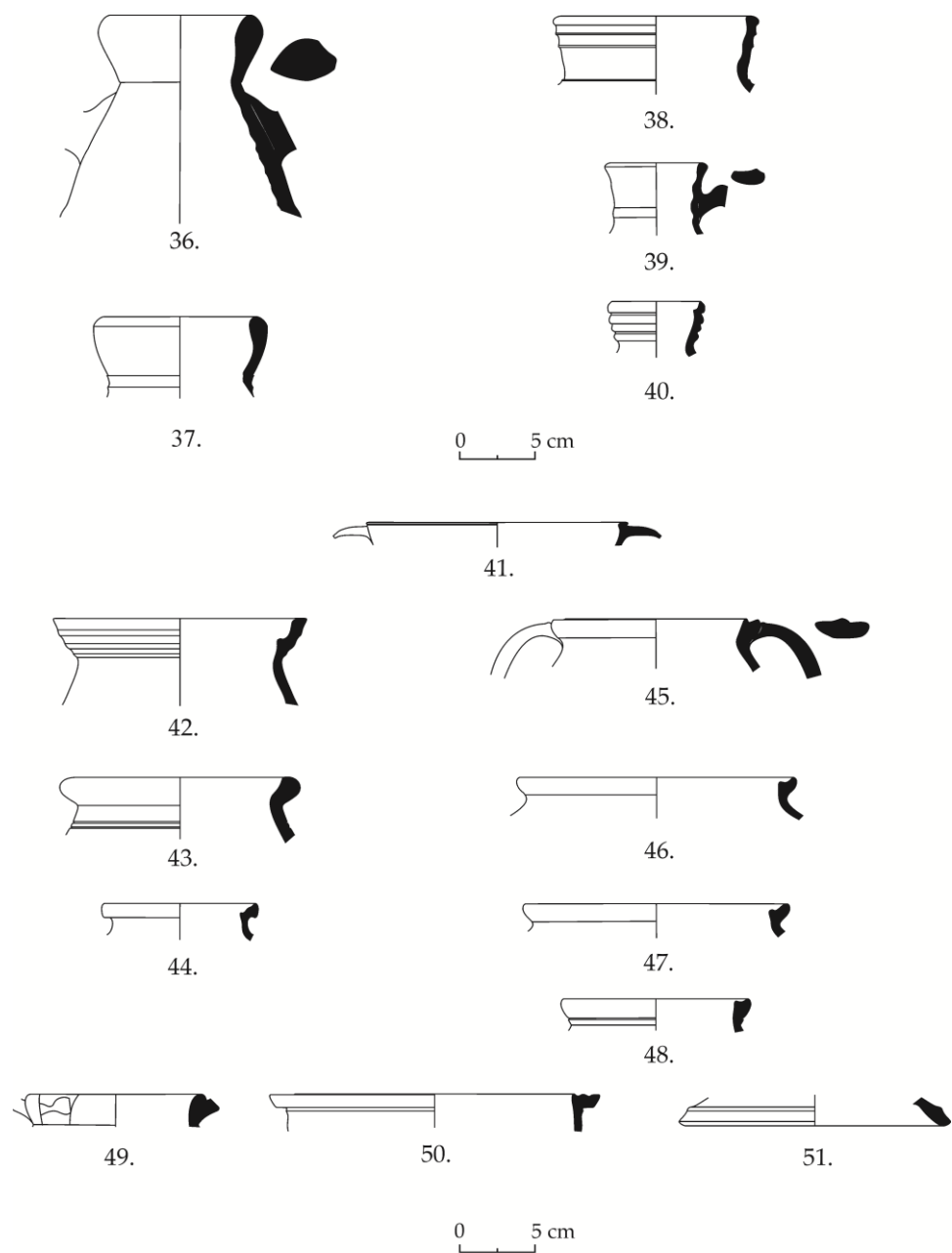


Fig. 8. Ceramic inventory from Building 3: amphorae nos. 36-37; drinking vessels nos. 38-40; table ware no. 41; cooking wares nos. 42-51.

Stone and metal finds

Apart from the pottery, the other finds from these buildings consist of one coin (Building 1), one copper alloy strap end or harness fitting (Building 2), some iron tools (Building 2), and a few hand mills (Building 1 and 2). The stone finds, mortars and projectiles were already published in a previous study³⁸. Nevertheless, the hand mills are included in the general overview and discussion on the buildings and their functions. Below the finds are briefly described according to their material in the following order: stone, copper-alloy, iron finds.

Stone finds / Hand mills

Eight fragments from four different stone hand mills were discovered, one in Building 1 and three in Building 2. Some of the fragments, cut from local rocks, were unfinished, suggesting that they were locally made³⁹.

Copper-alloy objects (Fig. 9/52-53)

52. Copper-alloy coin. The only coin discovered in Building 1 is a bronze issue of Valentinian I (364-375), from Thessaloniki⁴⁰ (Fig. 9/52). It seems that similar issues are among the most frequent among the hoard discovered at the *EM* sector⁴¹, while other coins issued between 368 and 378 are numerous within the total finds at Argamum⁴².
53. Strap end or horse harness fitting (more probably the latter) made of leaded bronze⁴³. Drop shape with stylised palmette or *fleur-du-lys* in open work decoration (Fig. 9/53). Technique of production: cast open work. Dimensions⁴⁴: L=4.6 cm; W=2.8 cm; T=0.3 cm. Dating: Roman period. Analogy: Wickenden 1988, 253, Figure 4. 18 – not identical, but within the same type. Radman-Livaja 2008, 296, 1-7 – not identical, but within the same type.

Iron objects (Fig. 9/54-57)

Several other iron fragments from potential tools were discovered, but their state of preservation makes their classification difficult. The current list of iron finds represents a strict selection of identifiable pieces.

³⁸ Streinu 2017.

³⁹ Streinu 2017, 265-266.

⁴⁰ We would like to express our gratitude to Theodor Izvoranu (IAB) for the information on the coin.

⁴¹ Iacob 2003, 114.

⁴² Iacob, Mănucu-Adameşteanu, Poenaru Bordea 1999, 208.

⁴³ Based on the XRF analyses performed by Dragoş Mirea (Bucharest Municipality Museum).

⁴⁴ The catalogue for metal finds is organised as following: L=length, W=width, T=thickness, H=height.

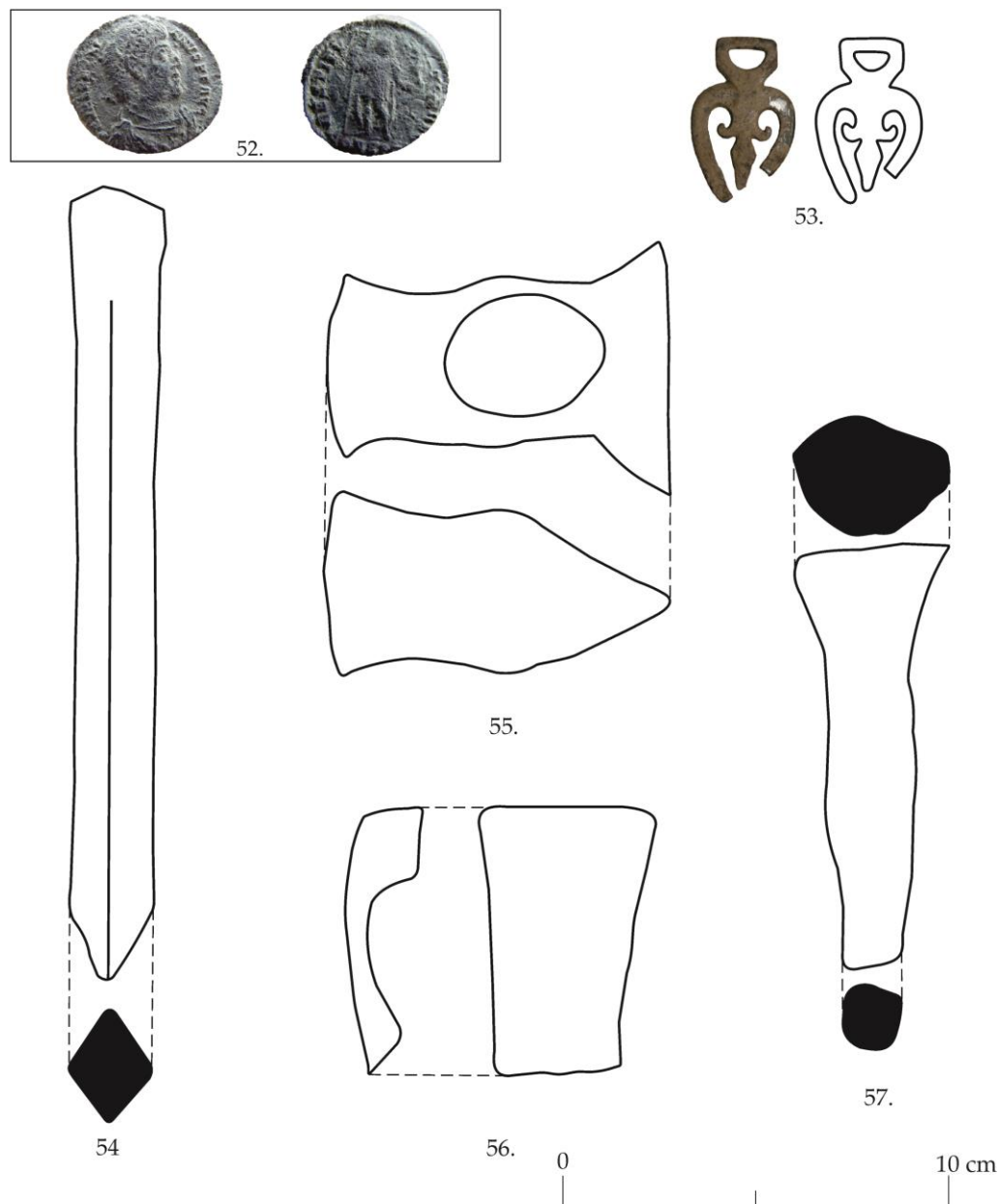


Fig. 9. 52. Coin issued by Valentinian I, discovered in Building 1 (no scale). Selected metal inventory from Building 2: 53. Bronze strap end or horse harness fitting; 54. Iron chisel; 55. Iron hammer; 56. Iron chisel or axe fragment (?); 57. Iron wedge (?) or punch (?).

Twelve thin straight flat iron band fragments that were discovered within the same context are worth mentioning. Together they might compile a single blade (saw or knife) of circa 35 cm long, 2.8-3.5 cm width and 0.5-0.7 cm thick. Yet the fragmentary condition does not allow a more exact classification.

54. Iron chisel with a pointed spear-shaped head and a diamond point scraper. Dimensions: L=20.4 cm; W=2.2 cm; H.min.=0.4 cm; H.max.=2.4 cm. Dating: Roman period. Analogy: Humphreys 2018, 461, Figure 244, Type G.
55. Iron hammer with two different working surfaces, with one wide rounded flat end while the other part ends in an even wider, yet in profile wedge-shaped cutting edge. It has an oval central hole for the handle. Dimensions: L=8.8 cm; W.min.=3.7 cm; W.max.=6.4 cm; H.min.=0.3 cm; H.max.=4.7 cm. Dating: Roman period. Analogy: Pleiner 2006, 91, Figure 40. 2.
56. Iron chisel or axe fragment (?). Dimensions: L=6.9 cm; W.min.=1 cm; W.max.=1.8 cm; H.min.=3 cm; H.max.=4.1 cm. Dating: Roman period. Analogy: Pleiner 2006, 91, Figure 40. 1.
57. Iron wedge (?) or punch (?) with one of the ends flat and rounded that continues with a narrowing body. Most probably, the working edge is broken. Similar tools are used in woodworking and blacksmithing as well. Dimensions: L=10.9 cm; W.min.=1.5 cm; W.max.=4.1 cm; H.min.=1.6 cm; H.max.=4 cm. Datation: Roman period. Analogy: László 2011, 164, Plate 5. 2.

OVERVIEW

Concerning information about exchanges, based on the transport vessels, Aegean LRA 2 amphorae are the most frequent⁴⁵. Fragments of this type, dated to the fourth-sixth centuries, were discovered during previous excavation at Argamum, a rather large quantity of 58 finds only within the *EM* sector⁴⁶, of which some are also earlier variants⁴⁷. The extended excavation in the *EM* sector revealed layers of occupation from the second-third to the fourth centuries. The late Roman materials discovered are much more diverse, including well known Pontic amphorae (types Kuzmanov XV and XIV, Opaït B-V) and Aegean LRA 1 and 3 transport vessels⁴⁸. The only few fragments of LRA 1 amphorae discovered can be explained by the fact that the

⁴⁵ For discussion on the origin of this type, see Opaït 2004, 11; Opaït, Tsaravopoulos 2011, 318; Biernacki, Klenina 2015, 105.

⁴⁶ Paraschiv 2006, 308 and footnote 265; Bădescu 2021, 56-57 and footnote 561 with the references.

⁴⁷ Paraschiv 2006, Pl. III, base no. 52; Bădescu 2021, 65.

⁴⁸ Paraschiv 2006.

settlement was abandoned by the time this type of container began to spread, in the second half of the fourth century⁴⁹. This latter conclusion seems also appropriate for the three Buildings featured here, considering that only one fragment of a Pontic variant of LRA 1 was discovered in Building 1. A reasonable observation in our case is that LRA 1 and LRA 2 amphorae are usually found together and the presence of LRA 2 presupposes the existence of LRA 1, while the opposite is not always the case⁵⁰. Thus, it makes even more sense to assume that the scarcity of Aegean LRA 1 finds means that they were not yet fully introduced into the distribution chain.

The ceramic material from the three Buildings is largely dated to the fourth century, although at this stage it is difficult to state whether the inhabitation of all three buildings was contemporary. The most frequent transport vessel is the LRA 2 amphora, followed by some examples of regional (Black Sea) containers. While the LRA 2 fragments from Building 1 point to a fourth century dating, the ones from Building 3 are later variants that span to the fifth. As stated earlier, there are no table wares discovered in Building 1, however, there are finds from the other two buildings, mainly for serving liquids. The coarse cooking wares are common shapers for this period, are likely local, sharing similar fabric and with traces of use. The assemblages from all three Buildings are appropriate for inhabited spaces, where foodstuff is stored and processed.

Later Roman materials, associated with the *annona*, such as LRA 1 and LRA 2 amphorae, were also discovered during the excavation at the fortification (so called SIG sector)⁵¹ and within the nearby fortification at Bisericuța⁵². Their presence can be related to the organization of the supply chain on the limes, not excluding the possibility of secondary trade with these goods. For example, at the beginning of the fourth century, an average of 54.000 men has been estimated for the *limitanei* in the Danubian provinces, in need of supplies, not counting the *comitatenses*⁵³, prompting the imports into the provinces.

Late Antique occupation of land at Argamum – what we know so far

As discussed above, Argamum is mentioned in Procopius' list of cities rebuilt by emperor Justinian (IV, 11, 20) as *Argamo*. Few remains dated to the Roman era were discovered within the (Late) Antique urban area. Up to now, the data suggests a

⁴⁹ Paraschiv 2006, 320.

⁵⁰ Karagiorgou 2001, 154, the author also suggests that the Cilician merchants were the prime transporters of the military *annona* to the Danubian provinces, with certain privileges.

⁵¹ Mănuclu-Adameșteanu 2004, Fig. 4, LRA 1 and 2, as well as other Later Roman fragments.

⁵² Barnea *et alii* 2001, 123, LRA 1.

⁵³ Karagiorgou 2001, 152.

(series of) massive geological event(s) that resulted in the collapse of the cliff⁵⁴. Therefore, sometime in the fifth-sixth century the surface of the city had to be reduced. It seems the sixth century fortification line followed the previous one(s) with the exception of the eastern part of the so-called Justinian reconstruction⁵⁵.

Systematic excavations were initiated in 1926 by Paul Nicorescu. He uncovered two Christian basilicas, the Late Antique fortification walls, and a large edifice identified by him as a *praetorium*⁵⁶. After a long pause, the excavations were resumed under Maria Coja in 1965 and continued until today. It is worth mentioning that, in general, much information regarding the stratigraphy correlates with the architectural phases, yet the material culture uncovered at Argamum is still awaiting publication. Therefore, our present article aims to bring more data regarding Argamum's hinterland occupation in the fourth century and to integrate these results within the general (local and regional) picture.

The first Late Antique fortification was most probably built at the end of the third - beginning of the fourth century, ushering in a new urban plan⁵⁷. Furthermore, it is very plausible that the city suffered some damage due to the Gothic invasion (366-369) which was repaired afterwards⁵⁸. Nevertheless, the majority of the city's excavated remains belong to the sixth century when the fortification was rebuilt on a massive scale. Most of the urban space enclosed by the new fortification wall was occupied by the Christian basilicas and few residential areas, which led to the assumption that there must have been an *extra muros* settlement, where part/most of the inhabitants resided⁵⁹.

Apart from the previously discussed *EM* sector, archaeological excavations closer to the late fortification revealed traces of habitation that comprises one building with three compartments. Built from large sized calcareous blocks and with a paved interior, it also showed traces of an earlier building (a dismantled wall), as well as remains of a tumulus tomb. A hoard of 200 bronze pieces facilitated the dating of this building to the second half of the fourth century and the first half of the fifth century⁶⁰. Although extended excavations were not pursued in this area, this discovery might suggest that

⁵⁴ Chirvasie 2011.

⁵⁵ Mărgineanu Cârstoiu, Apostol 2017, 81, 93.

⁵⁶ Nicorescu 1944, 97.

⁵⁷ Hypothesis based on the stratigraphic finds around the so-called *praetorium*, Mănucu-Adameşteanu *et alii* 1995, but also by earlier excavations of Maria Coja (Coja 1972, 41-42).

⁵⁸ This phenomenon is very well documented within the province, similar interventions being observed for other urban centres such as Histria and Tropaeum Traiani, see Suceveanu, Barnea 1991, 166.

⁵⁹ Coja 2005, 2, 5, 36-48.

⁶⁰ Iacob 2001, 119.

the *extra muros* habitation moved closer to the fortified enclosure in the second half of the fourth century and continued in the first half of the following century.

However, the most relevant for our discussion here is the Roman settlement – the *EM* sector, west of the city, which spanned from the second to the fourth centuries, while later the area shifted towards a necropolis. First researched in 1968 by Maria Coja, excavations resumed in 1973 by Marieta Gheorghiiă and Liviu Petculescu, continued in 1977 by Mihaela Mănucu-Adameşteanu and starting with 1994 followed by Mihaela Iacob and Dorel Paraschiv. All traces of habitation stopped here in the late fourth century and the area was repurposed as necropolis for the late Roman city⁶¹. Several buildings were identified and most of the coins discovered were issued starting with Constantine's reign and ending with Valens'⁶². The excavations in this sector showed traces of habitation and numerous ceramic finds dated from the fourth century – LRA 1 and 2 amphorae, Kuzmanov XV fragments, table wares from Asia Minor⁶³. Considering these materials, it becomes apparent that the Buildings 1-3 are contemporary with the *EM* settlement. However, there are some notable differences, which raise further questions. Firstly, in each case the planning is different, but even more so if we compare all three Buildings' general features with the paved edifices in the *EM* sector. Secondly, the *EM* sector revealed a rather compact settlement, while our Buildings 1 and 2 are spread out at a distance from each other, a feature also apparent when considering all the clusters identified during surveys. Thirdly, the materials recovered from excavating Buildings 1-3 are scarce by comparison with the quantity and variety of finds from the *EM* sector.

Based on the archaeological finds and features – e.g. the presence of a (storage?) pit including specific archaeobotanical remains, location, and the distances between known constructions, we can only assert that Building 1 was intended for temporary/limited habitation, potentially for agricultural purposes. The two types of seeds discovered in the pit attest to the cultivation of wheat, the preferred Roman grain for bread and derivatives⁶⁴. Furthermore, there are indications for certain types of cereal storage, namely, easily accessible storage vessels and facilities such as the amphorae, *dolia*, and small size pits in order to sustain individual families and/or storing seed grain for next year's sowing. These storage methods were effective for a

⁶¹ Iacob 1999, with further details about the excavation at the *EM* sector.

⁶² Iacob 1994.

⁶³ Paraschiv *et alii* 2013, 84-85, including a small excavation of a waste pit and the discovery of a hand mill; Iacob, Paraschiv 2015, 31; Paraschiv *et alii* 2015, 31, Point: *Baza arheologica*, also mentioning some early Roman finds.

⁶⁴ Columella, Book II.VI names several varieties of wheat: *robustus*, *siligo*, three-months wheat as a variety of *siligo*; Thurmond 2006, 16.

rather short to medium time in protecting the goods, depending on how well they were sealed and isolated⁶⁵. The high presence of cooking pots fragments in the proximity of a fireplace underlines the idea of a domestic use, most probably by an agrarian focused community.

Furthermore, the fragments of stone rotary handmills found in both Building 1 and 2 indicate on site cereal grinding. The unfinished fragments from Building 2 together with the specific wood- and stone-working tools, strengthen the theory that a small (domestic) workshop functioned here, as well. These tools could also indicate activities, which were necessary for various everyday demands (e.g. gather and process stone and wood materials for various small-scale purposes).

Argamum is among the smallest urban centres in the province, covering ca. 3 ha and with three Christian basilicas, this leaving a rather restricted area for actual living quarters. At approximately 2.5 km West from the fortified enclosure and close to the Late Roman Buildings, a Christian basilica (so-called Basilica IV) was discovered and excavated. Based on the finds its destruction was dated to the sixth century. There are no traces of a Late Antique necropolis in its immediate vicinity⁶⁶. No detailed publication of this building is yet available making it extremely hazardous to initiate any kind of suppositions about its relation to the fourth century settlement and/or the Late Roman necropolis. Nevertheless, analogies permit to date this basilica also earlier than the sixth century. Other well documented fourth and fifth century *extra muros* basilicas were researched at Histria⁶⁷ (*coemeterialis*), at Tropaeum Traiani (also *coemeterialis*), built at the end of the fourth century in an area already used as a necropolis during the previous century⁶⁸, at Axiopolis and Beroe (both with *martyria*)⁶⁹.

By comparison to the early Roman period, information about Late Antique rural settlements is scarcer, beyond the generally accepted theory that there is no more rural life after the fourth century⁷⁰. One other discovery is worth mentioning. During a rescue excavation along the road connecting Argamum and Jurilovca, a building was partially excavated, revealing a very rich assemblage of pottery fragments (LRA 1, LR A 2, Kuzmanov XV, south Pontic amphorae; LRC fine wares, together with coarse

⁶⁵ Curtis 2001, 325-326.

⁶⁶ Lungu 1994.

⁶⁷ Rusu-Bolindeț, Bădescu 2003-2005; Rusu-Bolindeț *et alii* 2014.

⁶⁸ Papuc 2018.

⁶⁹ Baumann 2015, 95-96.

⁷⁰ This theory of collapse of rural life in the fourth century has been argued by a number of specialists in some Roman provinces, extending the lifespan of such settlements to the fifth century, some even later, see Banaji 2001, Poulter 2002, 244-266; 2004, 223-253 in Bulgaria, Baird 2004, 217-246 in Konya valley, Turkey, Vanhaverbeke *et alii* 2004, 259 at Sagalassos, Alcock 1993 in Greece.

cooking wares, lamps and a storage vessel) and coins issued during the reigns of Valentinianus, Valens and Theodosius, placing the occupation of the building in the second half of the fourth century⁷¹, thus contemporary with our three Buildings.

Generally, there is ample evidence that most rural settlements end their existence sometime in the second half of the fourth century⁷². During the following century, a new pattern emerges: abandonment of previous settlements and occupying new grounds, either at shorter distances from fortifications or on higher grounds, depending on the landscape⁷³. To all this displacement was added a militarization of the countryside by building *burgi* in key locations⁷⁴. The *EM* settlement near Argamum is also abandoned in the second half of the fourth century, despite its proximity to the fortified centre, raising the question as to where the inhabitants moved/were displaced. The same approach to the occupation of land in proximity to the fortification was noticed at Histria, where excavations revealed traces of habitation – a monumental third century building, turned into a funerary area in the fourth century and used up to the beginning of the seventh century⁷⁵.

Although we do not know who the people were that occupied the hinterland of Argamum from the late third until the second half of the fourth century, we will try to draw some conclusions based on the archaeological and historical contexts.

It is relevant to highlight that the *EM* sector was a rather compact settlement in the immediate vicinity of Argamum, while Buildings 1-2 in our study were further away within the hinterland and their distribution was rather widespread. Therefore, we cannot assess that these Buildings were part of a cohesive and organised settlement, but rather one reflecting maybe a separation from the *EM* area itself. On the other hand, they might suggest an occupation of the plateau East to Argamum that might have been connected to an agrarian-based community, which seems likely.

We cannot be certain how the war with the Goths affected Argamum and its hinterland. Nor that the Gothic populations that were allowed to enter the Empire had

⁷¹ Iacob, Mocanu, Paraschiv 2010, 110-111.

⁷² Settlements at Telița – Amza, Sarichioi, Revărsarea, Telița – Valea Morilor; south-west of Babadag – Baumann 1995; *vicus Novus*(?) – Nuțu 2009; settlement at Baia – Paraschiv 2004; settlements in *regio Histriae*: β settlement – Lungu, Bounegru, Avram 1984 and at Fântânele – Suceveanu 1998; Acic Suat – Streinu 2017 and Baralis *et alii* 2017; fourth century settlement at Fântâna Seacă in the territory of Ibida – Honcu, Munteanu 2019; civil settlement at Durostorum – Damian, Băltăc 2007; as well as many other identified early Roman settlements briefly documented – see Baumann 1995 and Băltăc 2011.

⁷³ Lewit 1991 in Chapter 5 discussed at length the new situation from the fifth century based on archaeological finds.

⁷⁴ Băjenaru 2010; Poulter 2004, 244-247 in Bulgaria and Poulter 2013, involving the Goths.

⁷⁵ Dabîca, Pavel, Soficaru 2021.

something to do with the *extra muros* settlement. However, it is certain, that within this timespan, the *EM* sector and the hinterland of Argamum are occupied by several buildings. Furthermore, we can argue that Buildings 1 and 2 also had domestic functions, as temporary farmsteads, but they comprised various other functionalities, like cereal depositing, grinding, baking, wood, stone and possibly iron working. During the surveys and excavations, no allotments were noticeable to give us an idea of the dimensions of plots and estates. Possibly the distance from the city and the *EM* settlement made the inhabitants of Buildings 1 and 2 more self-sufficient and able to sustain themselves when inhabiting these edifices. It is peculiar that no agrarian tools were discovered until now, but the small “workshop” from Building 2 might have been used to repair some, if needed. Furthermore, the fact that these tools and tool fragments were left behind might indicate that the people had to leave in a hurry.

In addition, there is a lack of information about the status of the land, to whom it belonged and the legal prerogatives involved. Were the *EM* habitation and these clusters of Buildings a result of massive intra urban (re)organisation at Argamum? Alternatively, could it hint towards a sign of prosperous times when people could settle and safely spread across the hinterland? We will probably never know. We think that one possibility does not exclude the other. The balance in the empire changes after Hadrianopolis and new people were allowed to settle in the provinces. Their presence at Argamum is attested through the material evidence discovered during excavations, e.g. the Germanic tomb in the necropolis⁷⁶, but also in its proximity⁷⁷. However, these finds date from the fifth century to the seventh and we have no information about the people from the fourth century. Furthermore, we cannot draw a single conclusion when analysing the material legacy (be it mobile or immobile) of the people who lived in the area using the uncovered buildings for several generations (the ceramic materials span for a long period of time, e.g. LRA 2). Despite the many questions remaining, the present study brings new data regarding the occupation and use of Argamum’s hinterland during the fourth century and possibly beginning of the fifth. Not only does it reveal aspects of everyday life, occupations and domestic artisanal activities, but also hints at different approaches when dealing with the occupation of the land. Lastly, it shows patterns of consumption and economic connections through the uncovered material culture.

⁷⁶ Mănucu-Adameşteanu 1980, fifth century tomb.

⁷⁷ Nuţu, Iacob 2011, 209-211, a sixth-seventh century Pápá type of fibula attributed to the Avar population discovered in 1969 at Zimbru.

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