

# The changing image of the Early Slavs in the Rumanian historiography and archaeological literature. A critical survey.

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“No historical problem should be studied without studying ... the history of historical thought about it”. (*Collingwood* 1939, p. 132).

“The practical limitations on our knowledge of the past are not inherent in the nature of the archaeological record; the limitations lie in our methodological naiveté, in our lack of development for principles determining the relevance of archaeological remains to propositions regarding processes and events of the past”. (*Binford* 1968, p. 23).

“Nu cred că este o poziție științifică justă a se declara că nu avem a ne preocupa de alogeni, ci doar numai de băștinași (care? și cum îi identificăm concret, arheologic, în fiecare perioadă cronologică?). Desigur, nu avem a ne preocupa numai de alogeni, de ei și pentru ei înșiși, decât în măsura în care sîntem obligați a ne aduce contribuția la istoria și arheologia universală.

[“I don’t think it’s scientifically speaking right to declare that we should not be concerned with the migratory, but only with the native population (which one? and how should we identify it by archaeological means in each chronological sequence?). Naturally, we have to be concerned with the migratory populations, with them and for themselves only when we have to bring our contribution to the universal history and archaeology”.] (*Nestor* 1969, p. 5).

While dwelling in his 1905 oration for the reception into the Rumanian Academy upon “the influence of the Slavonic element on the genesis of our nationality”<sup>1)</sup> and finishing his speech by assuming that it would be historically impossible to imagine the Rumanian people without the absorption of the Slavonic elements by the Romanic population during the 6th—10th centuries, the attitude of the Rumanian historian *Ioan Bogdan* could have been considered as a necessary corrective of the “Romantic phase of the Rumanian historiography’s childhood”, in terms of *Ranke’s* critical requirement: “wie es eigentlich gewesen”<sup>2)</sup>. However the conception of the distinguished fellow of the Rumanian “critical school” should not be underestimated. By this marked desire to “seek everywhere only for the truth” he also meant a general impulse to refurbishment. He believed that the Rumanians would have been the

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<sup>1)</sup> Bogdan 1905, p. 21.

<sup>2)</sup> Bogdan 1894, p. 39. For *Ranke’s* critical method and the interpretation of his famous statement, see *Nipperdey* 1988, p. 217 and *Gilbert* 1990, p. 34.

only non-Slavonic people in Europe, excepting Lithuanians (“litvanii”), which have been directly and continuously influenced by the Slavs<sup>3</sup>), who “settled down among us and lived together with us”, thus generating the original features of the ancient Rumanian civilization. *Ioan Bogdan* noticed that the study of the Early Slavs (“slovenii”) has been systematically ignored or declined by some of “our national historians”<sup>4</sup>).

At that particular time, the study of this subject was indeed still in a ‘pre-critical’ phase. One was unable to separate the Early Slavs from “later” ones (Serbs or Bulgarians)<sup>5</sup>), generally labelled “șchei”, a term which is still considered to designate as place-name an early Slavonic settlement<sup>6</sup>). On the eve of the Enlightenment age, *Dimitrie Cantemir* included the Early Slavs in the larger group of Barbarian peoples (“varvarii”) together with the Huns, the Bulgarians and the Serbs, who would have determined a general movement of the native population to the sheltered areas in the mountains (“și de acolo să sprijenirea și să apăra”). This idea seems to prelude *Xenopol’s* famous theory of the circumstances in which the Rumanian people continued to live during the Great migration<sup>7</sup>).

The quest for national identity of the Enlightenment Rumanian historians of the so-called “Transylvanian school” (Școala ardeleană) linked history to the national political movement. Therefore a new image of the Slavs emerged. While quoting from “De bello Gothico” the story of the phoney *Chilbudios* (“Hilbudie”), *Gh. Șincai* ‘translated’ the ethnic names, in order to demonstrate that the partner of the false *Chilbudios*, who actually inspired all this intrigue was a “Rumanian slave of the Antes”<sup>8</sup>). However, it was *Șincai* who deduced from the fact that, according to *Procopius*, *Justinian* had conveyed to the Antes the Roman fortress of Turrus (which he located in Turnu by simply translating the Latin place-name), that the Early Slavs, together with the Antes and the Huns, had occupied Wallachia, Moldavia and South Bessarabia as early as 548. No modern historian seems to follow *Șincai’s* reasoning, notwithstanding that *Gh. Șincai* thought that “what is now Wallachia” has been dominated by the Early Slavs at that particular time when the Avars have

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<sup>3</sup>) Bogdan 1894, p. 14.

<sup>4</sup>) Bogdan 1905, p. 21.

<sup>5</sup>) Iorga 1937, p. 301: the Rumanian people still use to designate all Southern Slavs, including Bulgarians, as “Serbs” and their respective language as “Serbian” (“sîrbește”). See also Iorga 1930b, p. 42 und p. 44: “Il y eut très longtemps en Dacie des Șchei non roumanisés, qui ont donné leur nom à la Șcheia près de Roman en Moldavie, au faubourg de Șcheia près de Suceava et à celui des Șchei près de Brașov-Kronstadt.”

<sup>6</sup>) Moise 1972, p. 365: the village Șcheau near Bascov (Argeș county); see also Fischer 1985, p. 144.

<sup>7</sup>) Cantemir 1943, p. 37; see *Xenopol* 1985, pp. 220—221.

<sup>8</sup>) *Procopius*, *Bellum Gothorum*. Ed. H.B. Dewing. III, 14, 12—21; *Șincai* 1978, p. 98; see more on the ethnocentrism and nationalism of *Șincai’s* chronicle in *Tomuș* 1965, p. 202. *Procopius’* story occurred also in *Laurian* 1873, p. 139.

extended their domination on “the other side of ancient Dacia”<sup>9</sup>). Nevertheless *Gh. Şincai*’s attitude was very close to *Cantemir*’s, since he still considered the Early Slavs as Bulgarians (“sub numele de sloveni se înţeleg bulgarii”<sup>10</sup>).

The premise of the study of the Early Slavs could thus explain *Bogdan*’s extremely critical statements. The role that the Early Slavs played in Rumanian history has also been emphasized by *A. D. Xenopol*, the first historian who enunciates the later widely used idea that the Slavs influenced the Rumanian people more than other Barbarians<sup>11</sup>). Although he designated Slavs with the same term (“slovenii”), the historian from the Iaşi University first put into new terms the problems of the relations between these “different Barbarians” and the native population. The Slavs, driven by the Goths, the Huns and the Avars to the mountains, *Xenopol* argued, should not be considered as “invaders”, but, on the contrary, as “desperadoes”, looking for rescue, rather than for plunder<sup>12</sup>). Accordingly, they have become “suffering mates of the Rumanian people”, a fact that could explain the special relationship between them, very much like the relationship between two convicts undergoing the same penal servitude<sup>13</sup>). In terms of Rumanian historiographical tradition, it is noteworthy that this argument would largely be used later in the very different political circumstances of the implementation of the Communist regime, which will oddly allow the reevaluation of the “Romantic heritage” of Rumanian historiography, without making any reference to the author of these ideas, who was viewed as a historian of the “bourgeois-landlords’ regime”. It should however be emphasized that prior to the historiographical issues of the “critical school”, the first treatise of Rumanian history that *Xenopol* published, tried to put an end to the exaggerated beliefs of those who had regarded as “an outrage upon the Rumanian nationality” any attempt to demonstrate the Slavonic influence on the Rumanian people; he attempted to explain these judgements in terms of political circumstances in which the Rumanian national movement originated and matured<sup>14</sup>).

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<sup>9</sup>) Şincai 1978, p. 103: “Aci socoteşte cât rău n-au suferit strămoşii românilor, când de sub unii varvari treceau sub alţii.” (And imagine how much have endured the Rumanian people’s ancestors, as they get free from these Barbarians, only to become subjects of the others). On the identification of Turris with Turnu, see Laurian 1873, p. 141. The first who located Turris in Turnu by means of archaeological record was Grigore Tocilescu (1902, pp. 248—249). More on Turris, in Bolşacov-Ghimpu 1969, pp. 686—687. According to modern historians, the episode of the false *Chilbudios* should have occurred in 545 or 546 (Bonev 1983, p. 109f.).

<sup>10</sup>) Şincai 1978, p. 98; Tomuş 1965, p. 211. See also Laurian 1873, p. 144.

<sup>11</sup>) Xenopol 1985, p. 247.

<sup>12</sup>) Xenopol 1985, p. 249.

<sup>13</sup>) Ibidem.

<sup>14</sup>) Xenopol 1985, p. 258: “Acum, însă, naţionalitatea noastră este recunoscută de toţi, nu mai avem nevoie de asemenea meşteşuguri pentru a o dovedi.” (But our nationality is now largely recognized and therefore we don’t need any such artifices to prove it). Nevertheless *Xenopol* regretted (“din nenorocire”) that the words “Sclauinum Rumunnense”, which have been read by

A. D. Xenopol took into consideration an impressive amount of historical data; he located Turris in Turnu Măgurele and identified Ilibakios with Ialom-*î*ta, and noticed, like Gh. Șincai, that the fact that this river name has been preserved up to present day shows that the Slavs occupied Wallachia “long before 591”<sup>15</sup>). The Slavonic influence would have been introduced by some “mild elements, looking for a peaceful, quiet life”<sup>16</sup>), although Byzantine sources may describe the Slavs in very contradictory ways (mild, with harmless mores, but also cruel and causing fearful slaughter). According to Xenopol, the Slavs had had an important influence on agriculture, since almost half, if not more of the agricultural terms are of Slavonic origin. The high frequency of Slavonic place-names in the mountains could only be explained by an early occupation of this area during the general movement of the local population from the mostly endangered regions to the mountains. While concerned with Steinthal’s and Lazarus’s studies in ethnopsychology, A. D. Xenopol ascribed the “outburst of the Rumanian people’s poetical genius” to the Slavonic influence, since Rumanian folklore seems to be very similar to the Slavonic one and several Rumanian tales and legends may have a Slavonic origin<sup>17</sup>).

Many of Xenopol’s ideas will be followed by Dimitrie Onciul, who was more concerned with the beginning of the general, southern movement of the Slavs to the Danube. According to him, this movement has been caused by the Slavonic occupation of the entire area surrounding the Carpathian mountains at that particular time when the Carpathian basin was occupied by both Ostrogoths and Gepidae<sup>18</sup>). It was indisputable for D. Onciul that the starting moment of this movement should have corresponded to the migration of the Avars<sup>19</sup>). The Rumanian historian consequently foreshadowed the debate with striking nationalistic issues, which would later arise after Jan Peisker would publish his works<sup>20</sup>). Dimitrie Onciul emphasized also that the study of the Early Slavs is of major relevance for the theory of Rumanian people’s continuity, since they would have been assimilated not only by Rumanians, but also by Hungarians<sup>21</sup>).

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B. P. Hasdeu in *Jordanes* and enthusiastically used in order to prove the existence of Rumanian settlements in Slavonic times, have been in fact wrongly read (Xenopol 1985, p. 265, note 11).

<sup>15</sup>) Xenopol 1985, p. 250.

<sup>16</sup>) Ibidem, p. 249.

<sup>17</sup>) Ibidem, p. 259 and p. 263.

<sup>18</sup>) Onciul 1968, p. 290. The way D. Onciul imagined the ethnic and historical changes in Central and Eastern Europe, especially the idea of the replacement of Germanic (Gothic) settlements by Slavonic ones, would be considered nowadays as a very modern perspective. Onciul 1968, p. 681, note 7; see Brătianu 1988b, p. 249; compare with Godlowski 1979, p. 321.

<sup>19</sup>) Onciul 1968, p. 290 and p. 497; see also p. 682, where he stated straight forwardly that the Slavs were subjects of the Avars.

<sup>20</sup>) Peisker 1905; Preidel 1952; Pritsak 1983. On the attitude of the Rumanian archaeologists, see below, p. 253—254.

<sup>21</sup>) Onciul 1968, p. 290 and 682; also p. 497. Because of the ‘admigration’,

## The changing image of the Early Slavs in the Rumanian historiography

The problems of the migration of the Early Slavs to the Lower Danube and of their settlement in the Balkan Peninsula first occurred in *Nicolae Iorga's* work, who not only dealt with them in his general surveys of the Rumanian history, but also wrote some special studies. He therefor used a particular method, namely the so-called "twofold method" ("metoda dublă"), which meant an equal consideration of contemporary sources and historical similitudes. For instance, according to *Theophanes* or to *Theophylactus Simocatta*, during the 7th century, the population on the Lower Danube would have been organized in Danubian "Romaniae" which have been conducted not by some *Flaccitheus*, *Ferduruchus*, *Friedrich* or another Germanic chieftain, but by Slavonic kings<sup>22</sup>). Among these kings, *Mouso-kios* had been attacked and captured by the Byzantine army because of his drunkenness, like prince *Bogdan III*, who have been murdered in 1451 at a feast in Reuseni by *Peter Aron's* soldiers. The Romans themselves, while celebrating their victory, narrowly escaped of being slaughtered by the Slavs, very much like *Matthias Corvinus's* army on the Christmas evening at Baia (1467), "car l'histoire est pleine de scènes semblables, qui reviennent"<sup>23</sup>). On the other hand, the Slavs plundered on the southern bank of the Danube, in Thracia, just as *Michael the Brave's* soldiers would do, by audaciously attacking the Turkish provinces as far as to the walls of Andrinople. *Piragast* was trying to defend the Danubian fords against the Byzantine army, very much like the Rumanian princes during the Middle Ages<sup>24</sup>). In spite of these peculiar arguments, *Iorga* proposed interesting clues to the Early Slavs' migration to the Lower Danube. He first noticed that the Slavs not only have attacked the Byzantine Empire, but had also recruited in the Byzantine army and referred to the 300 Antes fighting for the Romans in Italy against the Ostrogoths and the Antes mentioned as fighting for the Byzantine army against Persians<sup>25</sup>). He also emphasized that a Slavonic settlement in the North-Danubian regions could only be accepted after 527, as the first invasions of the Slavs, Huns and Antes were reported<sup>26</sup>). As for the reasons for the Slavonic migration to the Lower Danube, *Iorga* gave an interesting

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the Rumanians in Dacia could more rapidly and easily assimilate the Slavonic element. See Ursulescu 1977, p. 97.

<sup>22</sup>) Iorga 1984, p. 35; see Costăchel 1970, p. 502.

<sup>23</sup>) Iorga 1937, p. 313.

<sup>24</sup>) Iorga 1937, p. 314 ff. and p. 321: the ethnohistorical distribution on the Rumanian territory at the time of the Avars' and Slavs' migration seems to be very similar to the one in the Bronze Age.

<sup>25</sup>) Ibidem, p. 302, relying on C. Jireček's arguments. More on this problem, in *Procopius*, *Bellum Gothorum*, ed. H.B. Dewing V 27, 2; see Bonev 1983, p. 112.

<sup>26</sup>) Iorga 1937, p. 303, who noticed that the "Getae" mentioned by *Comes Marcellinus* in 517 and 530 should have been Avars, since they are described as horsemen. This early dating (by A.D. 530) will later occur in Maria Comşa's works (*Istoria* 1960, p. 728; Comşa 1974, p. 306; 1975a, p. 171; 1979b, p. 199; 1987, p. 219; 1989, p. 265).

explanation, arguing that this movement southward has been determined not by some “popular initiative”, but by the plans of the Byzantine Empire to cover the Danubian frontier against Barbarians, thus creating for the Slavs an opportunity and a status very similar to that of the Goths during the 4th century<sup>27</sup>).

Probably influenced by *D. Onciul*, but also by the arguments of the new debate on the relationships between Avars and Slavs, *Iorga* later ascribed the Slavonic movement to the khagan’s will and interests. He is the only Rumanian historian quoting the significant appellation given by *Fredegar* to the Slavs fighting for the Avars (“befulci”) and the first who quoted the information reported by *Pseudo-Caesarius* on the Danubian Slavs<sup>28</sup>). He considered the Slavs as “Avars’ slaves” and consequently compared them with the subjects of the Mongolian khan<sup>29</sup>). According to him, there were two groups of Early Slavs: the Russians’ ancestors, who came from the Steppes, settled down in Central Moldavia and established good relations with the khagan of the Avars in Pannonia; the Slavs who settled down in the Wallachian Plain and were still non-obedient and “democratic” in *Procopius*’ terms<sup>30</sup>). The latter were led by some “petits seigneurs locaux”, who fought with the Byzantine armies of *Priskos*, in order to defend the Avarian positions in Scythia Minor<sup>31</sup>). Without making any other distinction between these two Slavonic groups, *Iorga* noticed however the differentiation – “qui est réelle” – made by *Jordanes* between Sclaveni and Antes and supposed that these two peoples were not of same origin and sometimes fought each against other<sup>32</sup>). While laying stress on place-names, *Nicolae Iorga* located the Antes on the basis of the village Antina in Romanați county, although he himself has formerly accepted the derivation of its name from the ancient place-name Altina<sup>33</sup>). In

<sup>27</sup>) *Iorga* 1930a, p. 7f.; 1937, p. 303: the Slavs on the Lower Danube have been used against the Huns, “qui sont des Avars”, although there is no evidence of an ‘anti-Avarian’ or ‘pro-Byzantine’ attitude of the Slavs in the Wallachian Plain, so much the less of the ones settled down in the Balkans during the first decades of the 7th century.

<sup>28</sup>) *Iorga* 1937, p. 304. For the Slavs fighting for the Avars, see *Pohl* 1988, p. 114f. The information reported by *Pseudo-Caesarius* and explained by *Iorga* in that meaning that ‘Physonitai’ were “the ancient Fossatenses”, the native villagers, “les anciens indigènes romans”, will later be used by *Istoria* 1960, p. 728. See *Costăchel* 1970, p. 503. Latin sources (*Jordanes*, *Paulus Diaconus*, *Fredegar*) were also used by *P. Cancel* in his 1920 reading course at the Philosophy & Humanities Department of the Bucharest University, together with other Greek (*Procopios*, *Agathias*, *Menander*, *Theophylactos*, *Constantine Porphyrogenetos* and “*Miracula S. Demetrii*”) and Oriental sources (*John of Ephesus*). See *Cancel* 1920, p. 110.

<sup>29</sup>) *Iorga* 1937, p. 321f. According to *Al. Bărcăcilă*, the Antes or the Slavs were at the Avars’ mercy (*Bărcăcilă* 1939/1942, p. 205).

<sup>30</sup>) *Iorga* 1937, p. 321f.

<sup>31</sup>) *Ibidem*.

<sup>32</sup>) *Ibidem*, p. 323.

<sup>33</sup>) *Ibidem*, p. 301 and 307 note 3.

order to determine the borders of the Slavonic territory in the North-Danubian area, the Rumanian historian adopted the conclusions of *Robert Roesler*, *Theodor Mommsen*, and *Liubomir Niederle*, who have already located 'ciuitas Novietunensis', reported by *Jordanes* in connection with the southern border of the Slavonic territory, in Noviodunum (sic) on the Middle Danube and the lake Mursianus, in Pannonia<sup>34</sup>). On the basis of place-names, *Iorga* determined also through the co-ordinates of the 'slatine'-line (Slatina in Maramureş, Slatina on the Olt river) and the 'slănicuri'-line (Slănic in Bacău county, Slănic in Prahova county), a large Slavonic 'island'. According to him, the territory occupied by the Slavs in the North-Danubian area reached the Carpathian mountains and the river Olt. It would thus be possible to determine the geographical position of the two "Slavonic broad roads", the former between the Moldavian Sub-Carpathians and the massive Slavonic concentration in Galicia, Podolia, and Russia, the latter across the Banat province<sup>35</sup>). On the basis of these two main Slavonic streams and taking into account the concentration of Slavonic place-names around the main Danubian fords, *Iorga* thought that the Slavs have crossed water by the fords of Porțile de Fier and Isaccea<sup>36</sup>). The idea of the concentration of Early Slavonic finds around the main fords would later play an important role in that theory, which assumes that the Slavs have had no influence on the genesis of the Rumanian people, since they did not settle in the North-Danubian area, but constantly had the intention to cross water<sup>37</sup>).

As for the characteristics of the Slavonic settling in the Balkans, *Nicolae Iorga* emphasized the important difference between Roman and Barbarian ways of life. While *Petros* has found on the Lower Danube *castella* in which the Romanic population still held its territory as a "Romania" as contrasted with Barbaricum, the Slavs used to live in a democracy "que Jean Jacques Rousseau aurait admirée"<sup>38</sup>). Like *Xenopol*, *Iorga* imagined a peaceful settling of the Slavs in the Balkans and thus contrasted the "fierce Barbarians" with the mild Slavs. He consequently referred to the one-sided influences exerted by the Romanic population upon Slavs (as for instance, in agriculture) and to their unsuccessful attempts to assimilate it. According to *Iorga*, what happened on a linguistic scale after the migration of the Early Slavs was nothing more but "un simple changement de nom, sous l'influence de la dépendance politique"<sup>39</sup>). In other terms, even the political stability in the North-Danubian area, as reported ca. 600 by Byzantine

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<sup>34</sup>) Ibidem, p. 298.

<sup>35</sup>) *Iorga* 1930a, p. 14 f.

<sup>36</sup>) Ibidem, p. 5; *Iorga* 1937, p. 343; *Costăchel* 1970, p. 502, who considers *Iorga*'s supposition as a fact supported by the archaeological evidence.

<sup>37</sup>) *Teodor* 1978, p. 38, who makes reference to the fords across the Prut and the Upper Siret rivers.

<sup>38</sup>) *Iorga* 1930a, p. 2; 1937, p. 306, who quotes the *Strategikon*, in order to define the specific features of this democracy: lack of order (ἄτακτοι) and of political life (ἄναρχοι), non-obedient people (οὐδὲ τάξιν γινώσκουσιν).

<sup>39</sup>) *Iorga* 1930a, p. 2; 1937, p. 306 and 344.

authors in connection with the Slavs, proceeded only from the native population, since the Slavs were unable to deracinate or denationalize it. As a matter of fact, *Iorga* argued, *Mousokios* is not a name, but a title which probably belonged to the king and one should relate it to the name of the Musakia Plain in Albania and to the name of the Moldavian medieval dynasty, Mușat<sup>40</sup>). This is most likely the origin of that τόπος in the Rumanian archaeological literature concerning the problems of the Early Slavs' migration, which assumes that the names of the three Slavonic military chiefs reported by *Theophylactos Simocattes* in connection with *Priskos*' and *Petros*' campaigns (*Ardagast*, *Mousokios*, and *Piragast*) would derive from the Dacian names of the three main rivers in southeastern Romania (Argeș, Buzău, and Prut)<sup>41</sup>). Even the funerary feast from which *Mousokios* had come dead drunk, prior to be captured by Roman soldiers, would reveal Christian customs adopted by the Slavonic 'king' from the religion of his "associés romans"<sup>42</sup>).

It is not difficult to identify in these arguments not only the τόπος of historical studies of the early Communist regime, which insisted on the peaceful infiltration of the inoffensive Early Slavs<sup>43</sup>), but also the other side of this theory, which appeared namely in the early 1980s, trying to eliminate all Slavonic influence on the Romanic population<sup>44</sup>). At the same time, thanks to his intuition, the Rumanian historian proposed a rather modern perspective on some of the problems of the Slavonic migration. According to him, the Slavonic 'democracy', as described by *Procopius* or by the author of the *Strategikon*, should be seen as a specific way of life as contrasted to the Roman one. The social structure of the Slavonic groups in the North-Danubian area was entirely adapted to a rather hostile environment, as reported by *Jordanes* ("Hi paludes siluasque pro ciuitatibus habent" – *Getica* 5, 35) and its main feature was a permanent hindrance

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<sup>40</sup>) *Iorga* 1937, p. 307 and p. 313; see also p. 312: *Ardagast* is a name of Germanic origin, as indicated by its final root and by a comparison with *Arदारिच* and *Radagais*.

<sup>41</sup>) This τόπος first occurs in *I. Nestor's* work (*Nestor* 1970a, p. 104), followed by *Teodor* 1972a, p. 110; *Cihodaru* 1972, p. 6; *Teodorescu* 1980, p. 82; *Teodor* 1981a, p. 21.

<sup>42</sup>) *Iorga* 1937, p. 313.

<sup>43</sup>) *Roller* 1947, p. 79; see *Georgescu* 1991, p. 25.

<sup>44</sup>) *Teodor* 1969b, p. 300: the Slavs adopted elements of material culture from the native population which was superior to theirs ("care le era superioară"), but were unable to slavonicize the native communities, since the traditional culture of the latter has not been influenced by the Slavs. 1973a, p. 140: the Slavs were unable to contribute to the material culture of these regions; see also 1984b, p. 138; 1978, p. 49: the Slavs conducted only accidentally to the genesis of some local cultural aspects; 1981a, p. 21: the presence of the Slavs could not fundamentally change the main features of the local civilization; 1983a, p. 221: the evolution and completion of the *Costișă-Botoșana* culture was neither impeded, nor influenced by the Slavs.



of the consolidation of the king's authority. *Iorga* emphasized these characteristics by referring to the epithet ἄναρχοι used by the author of the *Strategikon* with reference to the Slavs. This decentralized, rather segmentary social structure relates to the so-called "sociétés sans État" (*Pierre Clastres*) and represents one of the most important arguments of the now in vogue debate on the ways in which large areas in Central and Southeastern Europe became Slavonic<sup>45</sup>).

*Iorga* located the Slavonic groups by the end of the 6th century in that area of the Wallachian Plain, where river names are of Slavonic origin (Ialomița, Prahova, Ilfov, in which he identified the ancient Ilvakia<sup>46</sup>), Neajlov and Glavacioc) and consequently thought that the homeland of the Early Slavs should be sought in Transylvania, where they would have belonged to the "Sarmatian confederation"<sup>47</sup>). Their movement toward south would have been determined by the migration of the Avars, but the Slavs have crossed the Danube only with Byzantine assistance, by the fords of Banat and Northern Dobrogea<sup>48</sup>).

Without declining the idea of an early settling of the Slavs in Dacia soon before the 6th century, *Constantin C. Giurescu* thought that the presence of the Sclaveni and the Antes in the North-Danubian area should be interpreted not only as a political supremacy, but also as a real occupation, although the bulk of these Slavs "fortunately" crossed the Danube<sup>49</sup>). The Rumanian his-

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<sup>45</sup>) More on the Slavonic segmentary society, in Pohl 1988, p. 126f. See Durkheim 1893, p. 266f. and Clastres 1977, p. 159—186. A very similar interpretation gave *Gh. Brătianu* (Brătianu 1988b, p. 249); he inferred that the Slavs were unable to govern themselves and therefore always needed to be ruled by foreign political factors (Samo, the Bulgarians, the Vikings, or the Avars). See also Pritsak 1983, p. 363ff.; for the modern perspective on *Procopius'* testimony and the influence of *Hippocrates'* and *Aristotle's* theories on it, see Benedicty 1965, p. 53f., p. 61—64 and p. 70.

<sup>46</sup>) *Iorga* 1937, p. 315.

<sup>47</sup>) *Ibidem*, p. 297: the Slavs probably came from Transylvania, since the bulk of Slavonic place-names with no corresponding meaning in the Rumanian language has been recorded in this region. But long before *Iorga's* arguments, *P. Cancel* identified the primitive homeland of the Slavs by means of linguistic arguments in the area between the Carpathian mountains and the Vistula, Pripyat and Dniepr rivers — a location very similar to the one accepted nowadays on the basis of archaeological arguments — and even noticed that the southern border of the Slavonic territory had included the provinces of Kiev and Podolia and therefore also Bukovina. See *Cancel* 1920, p. 26; cf. *Godlowski* 1983, p. 258f.; *Parczewski* 1991, p. 676ff.

<sup>48</sup>) *Iorga* 1930a, p. 17; 1937, p. 303, where he noticed that the Slavs used to live near the Byzantine cities of Ulmetum and Adina, which could support the idea of a Slavonic penetration into the Balkans across Dobrogea. *Iorga* accepted the dating of the Slavonic settlement in the Balkans proposed by *Robert Roesler* (*ibidem*, p. 304). See *Nestor* 1963, p. 42f.

<sup>49</sup>) *Giurescu* 1935, p. 218. After World War II, this position fundamentally changed: the Slavs would have settled down in massive groups in Dacia only in the second half of the 6th century (*Giurescu* 1973, p. 123; *Giurescu &*

torian took for the first time into account the program and the theory labelled by *Ioan Bogdan* in 1905 and tried to include them in a general theory on the genesis of the Rumanian people. He thus combined the interpretation of *Bogdan's* arguments (later reinforced by *Ovid Densusianu*) in a general theory of the “twofold assimilation” of Romance peoples: first, the absorption of local native populations by the Roman element and then the absorption of migratory elements by the Romanic populations<sup>50</sup>). Therefore, the fact that the Slavs played in Romania the same role as the Germanic tribes in the Western countries notwithstanding, the two elements were neither of same ratio, nor of equal quality<sup>51</sup>). This “deep interference of the Slavs” has been denied and its consequences for the study of the Rumanian Middle Ages have been ignored only because of “interests of non-historiographical nature”<sup>52</sup>). According to *Giurescu*, historiography is neither a political weapon, nor a propaganda medium and it should be reinstated in its former position and role: to reconstruct accurately the historical facts<sup>53</sup>). It is apparently an echo of *Bogdan's* historical thought and it should be consequently very interesting to follow the thought's evolution of one of the latter's most brilliant students. Accordingly, if we could refer the fact that *Giurescu* assumed later that the Slavs produced wheeled pottery only because “our ancestors” taught them to do so<sup>54</sup>) to the results of the archaeological investigations, which became ‘explosive’ in the mid-1970s<sup>55</sup>), it is much more difficult to explain changes in the ratio of Slavonic words in the Rumanian language, “without taking into account the circulation's and the production's indices” from 2/5 in 1935<sup>56</sup>) to 1/6 (16.41 %) in 1973/1975 (“according to a reckoning of 1942”)<sup>57</sup>). Similar

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*Giurescu* 1975, p. 177), while all reflections on the lucky Rumanian people having got rid of these Barbarians naturally vanished.

<sup>50</sup>) *Giurescu* 1975, p. 7.

<sup>51</sup>) *Giurescu* 1935, p. 210; 1973, p. 123, who prudently recognized the importance of the Slavs. *Giurescu & Giurescu* 1975, p. 177, where the Slavonic element is ranked third (“de-abia în al treilea rând”) among all components of the Rumanian ethnogenesis, although its importance should not be underestimated.

<sup>52</sup>) *Giurescu* 1935, p. 246.

<sup>53</sup>) *Ibidem*, p. 248.

<sup>54</sup>) *Giurescu & Giurescu* 1975, p. 178.

<sup>55</sup>) Nevertheless, according to the most respected Rumanian archaeologist of these years dealing with such a problem and largely recognized as the charismatic, most authorized leader of the Rumanian archaeological school, the Slavs would have begun to produce slow-wheeled pottery in the 7th century (*Nestor* 1969b, p. 144). It was generally admitted that the wheeled pottery found in Moldavian settlements of the 6th—9th centuries would have belonged to the native population, although it could have been also utilized by the Slavs, during their living together (*Teodor* 1969b, p. 282).

<sup>56</sup>) *Giurescu* 1935, p. 229: the ratio of Slavonic words in the Rumanian language is even higher than the one of Latin words.

<sup>57</sup>) *Giurescu* 1973, p. 126; *Giurescu & Giurescu* 1975, p. 126; no source for this statistics is indicated.

changes occurred in the arguments about the main features of the Slavonic settling in the North-Danubian area. According to “new inquiries made without any preconceived judgement” prior to year 1935, the Slavs would not have been peaceful, since they came into Dacian territory as conquerors and systematically refused to obey the Avarian khagan, as the *Dauritas* incident clearly shows. These arguments vanished in *Giurescu*’s historical writings of the 1970s, in which he concentrated rather on the average height of the Slavs, on their blond-russet hair and their blue-grey eyes, which would have been apparently similar to the aspect of Germanic people, or on their main occupations (breeding cattle and primitive agriculture). As for the relations between Slavs and Avars, *Giurescu* argued, they could frequently change from cooperation (as for instance for the siege of Constantinople) to war<sup>58</sup>). While concerned only with the historical aspects of this problem, *Giurescu* thought that the subordination of the native population to the Slavs could be deduced from the special, social meaning of the term “rumân” (serf) and from the Slavonic name of the Rumanian medieval landlords (the boyars)<sup>59</sup>). *Giurescu* proposed also new dates for some events in the history of the Early Slavs on the Lower Danube<sup>60</sup>) and noticed that the considerable Slavonic influence in toponymy and vocabulary could only be explained by a large settling of Slavonic people. He emphasized that by means of demographic growth (including Roman prisoners), the Romanic population overwhelmed the Slavs and because of the Slavonic origin of the term ‘nevastă’ (wife), it should be assumed that an important role in this assimilation has been played by Romanic women<sup>61</sup>). It is very interesting that none of these arguments, which first ap-

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<sup>58</sup>) *Giurescu* 1935, p. 216 and 235; 1973, p. 123; *Giurescu & Giurescu* 1975, p. 175 and 177. However, the Slavonic tribes occupied Dacia just as Franks occupied Gaul, Lombards Italy, Visigoths Spain and Suebians Portugal. See *ibidem*, p. 181. For how the Slavs really looked like and for the influence of the “environmental theory” on *Procopius*’ testimony (which was taken without any reference by *C. C. Giurescu*), see *Benedicty* 1965, p. 58.

<sup>59</sup>) *Giurescu* 1935, p. 238; *Giurescu & Giurescu* 1975, p. 182f., who exaggerated assuming that *John of Ephesus*’s testimony, according to which the inhabitants of the conquered countries were allowed to seed and harvest, if they would have left a part of their products to the conquerors, refers not to only the Avars, but also to the Slavs. See *John of Ephesus*, hist. eccl. 6, 45, ed. Brooks, p. 259; *Michael the Syrian* 10, 21, ed. Chabot, p. 362. For arguments against this viewpoint, see *Brătianu* 1988b, p. 256 f.

<sup>60</sup>) *Priskos*’ expedition against *Radogost* (= *Ardagast*) in 591 (actually 593, see *Whitby* 1988, p. 158), *Petros*’ campaign against the Avars in 602 (*Giurescu* 1935, p. 220; actually not *Petros*, but *Priskos* defeated the Avars in Banat, in 599, cf. *Pohl* 1988, p. 158) or against the Slavonic prince *Pirogost* (= *Piragast*) in 592 (actually 594, see *ibidem*, p. 143), the territory of whom is located with good reason in Teleorman region, since “it’s just in front of the river *Asemus*” (*Giurescu* 1973, p. 124; *Giurescu & Giurescu* 1975, p. 178). *Giurescu* erroneously dated the Avars’ embassy to *Dauritas* after *Bayan*’s expedition (*Giurescu* 1935, p. 219).

<sup>61</sup>) *Giurescu & Giurescu* 1975, p. 185.

peared in 1935, was followed by other historians or archaeologists and that the historical outline as drawn in “Istoria românilor” was less popular than *Iorga’s* arguments in “Histoire des Roumains et de la romanité orientale”, which was published only two years later. This unusual situation could only be explained by the polemic and the political confrontation between the two Rumanian historians in the early Restoration’s years, as the “New school” attempted to resume the controversy between old and young historians<sup>62</sup>).

More concerned with the general research on Slavonic “antiquities” and history<sup>63</sup>), *Gh. I. Brătianu* was the first Rumanian historian who noticed that the Antes are probably the same as the An-tsai reported by Chinese annals of the second century A. D. and as the Alans, thus suggesting a possible supremacy of Iranian aristocracy on Slavonic tribes, a theory which is largely accepted by modern scholars, including Soviet authors<sup>64</sup>). The Rumanian historian thought that by the end of *Justin II’s* reign, the Slavs had invaded the Balkans and that under *Justinian’s* successors the entire East-Carpathian area up to the Danube had become a Slavonia, just as it had formerly been a Gothia. As a matter of fact, resuming *Iorga’s* arguments, *Brătianu* located the lake Mursa (in fact Mursianus) in the swampy region near the confluence of Sava and Danube and the city of Novietunum, which is mentioned by *Jordanes* in connection with the limits of the Slavonic territory, in Neviodunum in Pannonia Superior. He argued that this location was suggested by *Michael the Syrian*, according to whom the Sclaveni were a “Western people”<sup>65</sup>). In order to bring out the debate on the ethnic ascription of the Ipotești-Cîndești culture, I think it would be interesting to note that *Brătianu* already emphasized that the Avarian khagan found to the Sclaveni against whom he fought in 578 not only plunder, but also a lot of Roman prisoners<sup>66</sup>). *Brătianu* deduced from the history of the Avarian-Slavonic relationships that they could permanently change. If subordinated to the Avars, the Slavs should be considered as an intermediary ruling class between Avars and local population<sup>67</sup>).

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<sup>62</sup>) Gorovei 1985, p. 336—338; Zub 1989, p. 171 f.

<sup>63</sup>) See Žak 1979, p. 920.

<sup>64</sup>) Brătianu 1988a, p. 78; Brătianu 1988b, p. 253, who relied upon G. Vernadsky’s work. More on this problem, in Pritsak 1983, p. 397; Pohl 1988, p. 96; see also Balint 1989, p. 84—92.

<sup>65</sup>) Brătianu 1988a, p. 78; 1988b, p. 249; see Pohl 1988, p. 368, note 19. Mursa is at the confluence of Danube with Drava, not Sava. For the Slavs as “Western people” in *John of Ephesus’s* chronicle, see Pigulevskaya 1970, p. 214.

<sup>66</sup>) Brătianu 1988a, p. 79. The term used by *Menander the Guardsman* (πολυχρήματος) refers actually not only to gold, but also to prisoners. See Pohl 1988, p. 69 and *Menander the Guardsman*, fragment 21.54. Ed. by R. C. Blockley. Liverpool 1985, p. 104.

<sup>67</sup>) Brătianu 1988b, p. 256, see also idem, *Chestiunea Mării Negre*. Univ. of Bucharest 1942, p. 225—229.

## The changing image of the Early Slavs in the Rumanian historiography

At the end of this short survey of the main arguments of the Rumanian historians before World War II referring to the migration of the Early Slavs to the Lower Danube, it would be now possible to draw some conclusions:

1. The new interest in this subject was mainly a reaction against the Romantic historiography and its idea of how national identity and consciousness should be rejuvenated, and held close ties with the general focus on the Rumanian specific, national features which was determined toward the end of the last century by the critical approach of the Junimea school<sup>68</sup>).

2. At the same time as the Rumanian historiography required this historical 'revival', it emphasized that this problem should be investigated with new, modern and appropriate methods, which should be concerned not only with written sources, but also with linguistic arguments, such as place-names. Consequently, Rumanian historians systematically ignored the archaeological approach<sup>69</sup>).

3. The predominant linguistic arguments (largely because of the development of Slavic philology) determined a specific analysis pattern, which sometimes disregarded historical facts.

4. Despite some remarkable conclusions based on historical sources (thanks to *Iorga's* work), Rumanian historians generally ignored important information provided by other authors, such as *John of Ephesus*, *Menander the Guardsman*, *Theophylactos Simocattes* or the author of the *Strategikon*. In order to improve this situation, which was mostly a matter of late publication of the main sources, some Rumanian historians (especially *Iorga*) tried to apply intuitive methods. Nevertheless they realized an almost entire reconstructive outline of the historical framework.

5. Much less concerned with the chronology of the migration of the Early Slavs to the Lower Danube, Rumanian historians rather focused on the relationships between local population and these "different Barbarians" and emphasized their specific features. Although several dates would have been revised by more recent research, the general perspective did not change and many of those τόποι which have been issued before World War II survived in the literature of the 1950s and 1960s: the Slavs as a peaceful or, on the contrary, as an aggressive and destructive people; the cooperation between Romanic and Slavonic population in contrast with the relations between the native population and other migratory peoples; the role of the Slavs in the agricultural life of local village communities; the relatively rapid assimilation of the Slavs.

6. Because of linguistic, but especially because of political barriers, in spite of some attempts to establish closer contacts with the Soviet historiography,

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<sup>68</sup>) On nationalism in the 19th century historiography, see more in Zub 1989, p. 215—224.

<sup>69</sup>) *V. Pârvan* dealt only tangentially with the problems of the relations between Dacian-Romans and Slavs in *Pârvan* 1974 (p. 37—42), but he had already planned in 1906 to draw a great trilogy on the beginnings of the Rumanian history, in which the third part, after "Getica" and "Roman Dacia", would have been the "Early History of the Slavs" (*Protoistoria slavilor*). See *Mitrea* 1983, p. 850 f.

the Rumanian historians failed to use Russian research work on the history of the Early Slavs<sup>70</sup>).

Very few changes after World War II affected this pattern of interpretation, but finally the research concentrated almost exclusively on the relation between Slavs (with their better social organization and their higher civilization) and native population. The overrating of the role Slavs played in the national history should not be considered as a particular trait of the Rumanian historiography<sup>71</sup>), because it usually reveals the political circumstances in which Communist regimes came into power in Eastern Europe under Moscow's protection. As for the methods used, there was apparently no change until the late 1950s, since Rumanian historiography was still dominated by historical and linguistic arguments, when it was not pure propaganda<sup>72</sup>). While labelling *Xenopol's* or *Iorga's* work as "quantitative progresses", the new "historical front" followed — without any reference to its author — *Ioan Bogdan's* argument that no Rumanian people could be accepted without interference of the Slavs<sup>73</sup>). The Slavistic trend was largely supported by the Communist leaders and by their Soviet counsellors<sup>74</sup>), who assigned important tasks to the archaeological investigations, without taking into account unexpected failures. As the Institute for History and Philosophy of the Rumanian Academy first assigned all archaeologists and historians to study the penetration of the Slavs into the Lower Danube, no corresponding layer with positive Slavonic artifacts from the 6th—7th centuries has been found in *Dinogetia*, although excavations on this site had begun long before World War II<sup>75</sup>). In spite of profuse excavations at several sites, which would later be considered as representative for the Rumanian archaeology, the analysis of the archaeo-

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<sup>70</sup>) Zub 1989, p. 130f. The Rumanian historians seem to have ignored not only *Khvoika's* studies on the "culture of the urn-fields" (*kultur' polei pogrebenii*), as the Chernyakhov culture first occurred in the archaeological literature (*Khvoika* 1901), but also *Spitsyn's* studies on the 'Antes' antiquities' (*Spitsyn* 1928, p. 492—495). Be also reminded however that even in USSR, archaeological or historical Slavs-oriented studies were issued mainly after the war (*Rybakov* 1948, p. 46—119; also 1953).

<sup>71</sup>) See *Balint* 1987, p. 191.

<sup>72</sup>) *M. Roller, Sarcini noi în studiul istoriei României, Studii* 1 (1948) p. 130f. See *Lăzărescu e. a.* 1954, p. 188: "Prin veacul VI începe să se desvolte la noi epoca numită de *I. V. Stalin* "semifeudală"... (By the 6th century begins in our country the era *I. V. Stalin* called "semifeudal"...). The excavations which started in 1954 on the territory of Bucharest were expected to bring important data for a "better comprehension of the historical development of the city, a subject entirely neglected by the bourgeois-landlord regime's historiography". (*Lăzărescu e. a.* 1954, p. 173).

<sup>73</sup>) *Roller* 1947, p. 79; *Constantinescu-Iași* 1954, p. 45. See *Georgescu* 1991, p. 25f., for the attitude of linguists, such as *Iorgu Iordan, Al. Rosetti, Emil Petrovici, and Al. Graur*.

<sup>74</sup>) *Georgescu* 1991, p. 27.

<sup>75</sup>) *Pătrunderea* 1950, p. 69 and p. 73.

logical record began only in the late 1960s<sup>76</sup>). Before any attempt to put all these data into order, Rumanian archaeologists had no doubts about the “deep Slavonization” of several Rumanian regions during the 6th—10th centuries<sup>77</sup>). As he first coined in 1951 the phrase “Slavonic pottery”, *K. Horedt* thought that “during a long period of ethnogenetic changes and crossings, the most important event was the penetration and the expansion of the Slavs, which determined the social and historical evolution”<sup>78</sup>). While introducing the new archaeological concept, which would be highly valued by Rumanian archaeologists, *K. Horedt* noticed that it represents not only a chronological delimitation relating to pottery of the 7th—12th centuries, but also an ethnic index, since this pottery has to be mostly ascribed to Slavonic tribes, although it could have been sometimes utilized by native population or by several other “mounted people”<sup>79</sup>).

It is not my purpose to deal with the problem of the Slavs as reflected by the Rumanian historiography after World War II, but only to focus on the subject of their migration to the Lower Danube, as reported by the Rumanian archaeological literature. One of the most important topics of this debate is the chronology of the earliest Slavonic infiltrations on the territory of modern Romania: it occurs more than 70 times in the investigated studies, which is supposed to confirm the new importance accorded to the chronological aspects of the problem. By the end of the 1950s, two different solutions seemed to be valid. The first one has been introduced mainly by *Ion Nestor*, who thought that an effective, massive settling of the Slavs prior to the second half of the 6th century was unthinkable<sup>80</sup>). Without actually rejecting other possible infiltrations prior to this period, *Nestor* simply noticed that the archaeological evidence was not in a position to support an earlier dating<sup>81</sup>). According to him, the argument of an earlier settling of the Slavs (e.g. by the end of the 5th century) in Wallachia and Moldavia was only a consequence of the attempts made by *Niederle*'s school to demonstrate a large expansion of the Slavs in their primitive homeland<sup>82</sup>). Taking into account that historical sources made no reference to

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<sup>76</sup>) The excavations in Sărata Monteoru-“Poiana Scoruşului”, conducted by *I. Nestor* (later with his assistant, *Eugenia Zaharia*) started in 1937; the excavations in Suceava-Şipot began in 1953, the site in Hlincea was closed an year later. See Florescu, Daicoviciu & Roşu 1980, p. 303, p. 323 and p. 188. The Archaeological Institute in Bucharest (nowadays the Archaeological Institute “V. Pârvan”) appeared also in 1956.

<sup>77</sup>) Popa 1988, p. 49, with reference to Horedt 1956b.

<sup>78</sup>) Horedt 1951, p. 190.

<sup>79</sup>) Ibidem.

<sup>80</sup>) Nestor 1959, p. 49 and p. 53: the earliest Slavonic settlement in Transylvania should be dated ca. 630; see also 1965, p. 147: the Slavs did not settle down in Transylvania before the first third of the 7th century.

<sup>81</sup>) Nestor 1962, p. 1434.

<sup>82</sup>) Nestor 1965, p. 148. For a short survey of older theories on the homeland of the Early Slavs, see Brătianu 1988b, p. 249.

regions from which started the Slavonic attacks in the mid-6th century and the fact that the first positive evidence from which one could infer that the Slavs used to live in Wallachia is *Bayan's* Avarian expedition against them in the early years of *Tiberius II's* reign — *Nestor* refused to accept anything but “only a scant possibility that some Slavonic groups could have settled down in Moldavia and Wallachia as soon as the first half of the 6th century”. A large and decisive settling of the Slavs in the East- and South-Carpathian area, which could have facilitated the interference of the Slavonic element in the genesis of the Rumanian people, could only be accepted from that moment when the Avars appeared at the Lower Danube, that is after 560<sup>83</sup>). There is also no archaeological evidence of any early presence of the Slavs in the Balkan Peninsula during the 6th century<sup>84</sup>).

The earliest Slavonic finds in Romania, which would be those particularly discovered in the small site at Suceava-Șipot, were dated by means of the curved fibula and the bronze earring-pendant of Dneprovian type<sup>85</sup>), just after the Gepidae' defeat of 567<sup>86</sup>). Many of the Rumanian archaeologists dealing with this problem took *Nestor's* deductions as certainly irrefutable statements.

<sup>83</sup>) Nestor 1965, p. 148f.: the year 560 represents a “maximum concession”. 1973, p. 30: it is no question of Slavonic presence in our country before the moment when the Avars advanced in the district westward of the Prut.

<sup>84</sup>) Nestor 1969b, p. 142 and p. 141: the Slavs settled down in the regions southward of the Danube “d'une manière générale” before the moment when the Proto-Bulgarians under *Asparuch* moved into the north-eastern area of the Balkan Peninsula.

<sup>85</sup>) The fragment of a bronze pendant of Martynovka type has been actually found in Suceava-Parc, not in the settlement of Suceava-Șipot: see Dan Gh. Teodor, in *Materiale și cercetări arheologice* 9 (1970), p. 377. The fibula found in Suceava-Șipot is considered to have “son analogie exacte” in the 3d cemetery in Bratei, which has been dated after 567, thus implying a similar dating for the small settlement in Suceava (Nestor 1973, p. 30). In fact, no such artifact is known from Bratei, while on the other hand the fibula from Suceava should be compared with brooches found in Gorosheva (Teodor 1992, p. 147 fig. 6/7), Rashkov (Baran 1986, p. 91 fig. 7/1), Selishte (Rafalovici & Lăpușnean 1974, p. 131 fig. 9/2), Butimanu (unpublished, Museum of Art and History of the City of Bucharest, inv. nr. 1599F) and Budureasca (Teodor 1992, p. 147, fig. 6/3). But none of these brooches was apparently known to *Nestor*, who died in 1974. However, there is still no evidence to support the dating of the cemetery uncovered in Bratei, since it has not yet been published.

<sup>86</sup>) Nestor 1973, p. 31: this dating is confirmed by the finds in Filiaș and Poian, where similar brooches were found together with a Byzantine fibula and a late-Gepidic (“gépérique tardif”) earring. But the curved fibula in Poian does not belong to the same stratigraphical unit as the Byzantine one (actually a so-called “gegossene Fibel mit Scheinumwicklung”); see Székely 1992, p. 263 ff., p. 266, fig. 15/1 a—b (dwelling house no. 19) and p. 269, fig. 17/6 (dwelling house no. 20).



## The changing image of the Early Slavs in the Rumanian historiography

Some of them even outbid the late dating of Slavonic finds and emphasized the destruction interface between native settlements in the East-Carpathian area in the first half of the 6th century and Slavonic habitation, which would have determined former's cessation<sup>87</sup>). But this argument was quickly abandoned because it would apparently be to the detriment of the theory of natives' continuity<sup>88</sup>). Together with the idea of dating the earliest Slavonic artifacts only after the middle of the 6th century<sup>89</sup>), a new, later dating of the "second phase of the Costișa-Botoșana culture" was introduced, since it has been ascribed to the Romanic, native population<sup>90</sup>). Beginning with the 1970s, the dating of the earliest Slavonic artifacts on the territory of Romania began to gradually move into the late 6th century and the early 7th century. By the mid-1970s the dating of the earliest Slavonic finds in the first decades of the 7th century was already viewed as confirming *Nestor's* intuition<sup>91</sup>). As a matter of fact, while considering *Nestor's* argument concerning the connection between the presence of the Slavs and the advance of the Avars in the steppes north of the Black Sea, it was easy to also admit the settling of the former in the East- and South-Carpathian area only after 560<sup>92</sup>).

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<sup>87</sup>) Mitrea 1968, p. 257; Teodor 1969a, p. 191: many of the native settlements disappeared by fire during the third quarter of the 6th century.

<sup>88</sup>) Mitrea 1980, p. 116: in all recorded cases, the Slavonic settlement does not imply any destruction or interruption of the native settlement.

<sup>89</sup>) Székely 1970, p. 136: Transylvania was already affected in the 6th century by the Slavs' migration; 1971, p. 129: the Slavs settled down in the Pîrîul Negru valley, at Poian and Cernat, as early as the mid-6th century. Preda 1972, p. 382: the precise date of the Slavs' advance in the South- and East-Carpathian area is still difficult to define. Teodor 1972a, p. 108: the first Slavonic tribes settled down in the East- and South-Carpathian area in the second half of the 6th century, while smaller groups could probably have come earlier, by the middle of this century. Horedt 1973, p. 191: the archaeological evidence for the advance of the Early Slavs should be dated by the mid-6th century. Teodor 1978, p. 36: "we agree" that the Slavs' migration became important only in the second half of the 6th century. See also 1979, p. 819; 1981b, p. 37; 1983b, p. 109; Mitrea 1980, p. 115; 1984, p. 43; 1985, p. 165; Bârzu & Brezeanu 1991, p. 213. Teodor 1980a, p. 66; the Slavs settled down in the East- and South-Carpathian area by the mid, but mainly by the end of the 6th century.

<sup>90</sup>) Mitrea 1987, p. 283.

<sup>91</sup>) Ferenczi 1970, p. 565; Teodor 1972b, p. 34; 1973b, p. 202; 1978, p. 40; 1989, p. 207; 1991, p. 33. For numismatical arguments, see Preda 1972, p. 223. Mitrea 1974/1976, p. 87: Slavonic artifacts in Davideni occur only in the later settlement phase, which is supposed to confirm *Nestor's* 1959 hypothesis; see also Mitrea 1978, p. 218.

<sup>92</sup>) Mitrea 1970, p. 358. The massive Slavonic penetration occurs already in the 7th century, according to the abstract treatise of Rumanian history (*Istoria* 1971, p. 77). Coman 1979, p. 196; see Székely 1972, p. 56: the Slavs could settle down in Transylvania only after 568, when Transylvania was conquered by the Avars (?). Mitrea 1972, p. 16: "anyway after 560". Teodor 1973a,

In the early 1980s, the earliest date of the Slavonic migration to the Lower Danube has already been moved into the last decades of the 6th century<sup>93</sup>) or even later for neighboring regions (Dobrogea, Transylvania or the Balkans)<sup>94</sup>). It is worthless to emphasize the lack of chronological accuracy of this argument, taking into account that it largely relies on the dating of pottery finds, which are in turn dated on the basis of curved fibulae.

At the same time and in contrast with this argument, *Maria Comşa* maintained beginning with the mid-1960s an earlier dating in the first half of the 6th century, without however declining the penetration of some splinter-groups prior to this period, although there is no archaeological evidence to support it<sup>95</sup>). By 527 (i.e. by the end of *Justin I's* reign and the beginning of *Justinian's* reign), the Slavs settled down in the forest-steppe regions of South-Eastern Wallachia<sup>96</sup>). The attempt to eliminate the apparent contradiction between the early reported presence of the Slavs and the late dating of the Slavonic artifacts of the Ipoteşti-Cîndeşti culture offered an unexpected support to this chronological argument. The fact that an early Ipoteşti-Cîndeşti layer “with no Slavonic artifacts at all, which has been dated in the 5th century” appeared in Tîrgşor seemed to adjust archaeological evidence to literary sources<sup>97</sup>). It is evident that with few exceptions, arguments of the advocates of one theory were generally ignored by the other's ones, which gives readers of the Rumanian archaeological literature regarding this problem the odd impression of a “deaf dialogue”. A bitter, but also useless polemic between authors of these two theories occurred in the periodical of the Archaeological Institute, *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche*. *Ion Nestor* was denying any possible early division of the Slavonic tribes on the basis of their general Prague

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p. 136: the massive settlement of the Slavs in the district north of the Danube “*certainly* happened under Avarian control, late enough after 568”. For numismatical arguments, see *Toropu* 1976, p. 142. This tendency to a later dating of the earliest Slavonic artifacts has already been observed in Polish literature, see *Parczewski* 1988, p. 128.

<sup>93</sup>) *Teodor* 1981a, p. 19, who followed the demonstration of 1969a, p. 190. See also 1984b, p. 132; 1985, p. 53; 1983a, p. 217: the end of the Costișa-Botoșana culture could only be dated ca. 570, when the first certain early Slavonic artifacts occurred. For the utmost opinion, see *Teodor* 1984a, p. 65: between 585 and 600. For numismatical arguments, see *Butnariu* 1983/1985, p. 215.

<sup>94</sup>) For Dobrogea see *Ștefan* 1965, p. 102 and the utmost position of *Diaconu* 1979, p. 167: the end of the 7th-beginning of the 8th century. For Transylvania see *Horedt* 1958b, p. 110; *Harhoiu* 1987, p. 128. For the Balkans see *Diaconu* 1989, p. 319.

<sup>95</sup>) *Istoria* 1960, p. 728; *Comşa* 1974, p. 306: in the 530s, several groups of Sclaveni or Antes lived in the regions near the Danube; see also 1973a, p. 198; 1970a, p. 327: some Slavs (“un anumit procent de slavi”) settled down in the Byzantine provinces as early as the end of the 6th century and the early 7th century.

<sup>96</sup>) *Comşa* 1975a, p. 171; 1978, p. 109; 1987, p. 219; 1989, p. 265.

<sup>97</sup>) *Diaconu* 1978, p. 524.

pottery type with all its variants, which occur in all regions where the Slavs lived. Assuming that they have not left these regions just after the Prague phase, he supposed that the Slavonic primitive culture would have been similar in several areas, without losing sight of regional “dialects” of the Prague type. *Nestor* noticed that the problem of the division of the three main Slavonic groups is a linguistic and historical matter and archaeology has nothing to do but look forward to accurately reconstruct the date and the circumstances in which this separation did occur. He emphasized that all finds in Romania confirm the local development of an archaic, Slavonic basis of the Prague type<sup>98</sup>). *Maria Comşa* retorted by pointing out *J. Poulik*’s argument of a general diffusion of the Prague-type pottery and emphasized that the Zhitomir-Korchak-type pottery is just its variant, which confirms the existence of early regional “dialects” of the Prague-type, already discovered by *J. Poulik*, not by Prof. *I. Nestor*<sup>99</sup>). She dwelt upon the specific features of the “Slavonic pottery” in the South- and East-Carpathian area, which seems to be more similar to the Zhitomir-Korchak type, than to the Prague type. It would be thus possible, *Maria Comşa* argued, to separate different Slavonic groups and cultures<sup>100</sup>). The ideological underlying assumptions of this polemic debate appeared in the conclusion of these arguments. According to *Maria Comşa*, the Eastern Slavs or the Antes (which were thought to be the ancestors of the Russians) would have created not only the civilization of the following period in Moldavia (the so-called Hlincea I-Luka Raykovetskaya culture), but would have also settled from the very beginning down in the entire eastern area of the Balkans and thus would have launched the genesis of modern Bulgarian people<sup>101</sup>).

The archaeological literature also focused on the topic of the location of the primitive Slavonic homeland and further on the directions of Slavonic penetration into Rumanian territory. While attempting to eliminate the apparent contradiction between the early recorded Slavonic presence on the Lower Danube and the dating of the earliest Slavonic artifacts, *Ion Nestor* first issued the argument that the historical data regarding the expeditions of the Slavs in the first half of the 6th century refer to simple raids and do not imply decisive settlement of the Slavs in the East- and South-Carpathian area. According to him, it is possible that after each raid, Slavonic warriors turned back to their settlements on the eastern bank of the Prut river or even beyond Dniester river<sup>102</sup>). At the same time, while rejecting the claims of the Soviet

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<sup>98</sup>) Nestor 1959, p. 57. See 1961, p. 447: he argues that an early division (e.g. during the 6th—7th centuries) of the Antes and the Sclaveni could hardly be accepted.

<sup>99</sup>) Comşa 1960a, p. 159 f.

<sup>100</sup>) Ibidem, p. 161 f. See Istoria 1960, p. 739. See more on this problem, in Comşa 1971b, p. 1111.

<sup>101</sup>) Comşa 1960a, p. 163: the last investigations on the history of the Early Slavs have been recorded in the Soviet history treatise. More on the Slavs, the genesis of the Rumanian people and the modern history of the Rumanian-Russian (Soviet) relationships, in Georgescu 1991, p. 28—31.

<sup>102</sup>) Nestor 1961, p. 431; 1965, p. 148: when *Jordanes* wrote his “Getica”,

historiography to ascribe the Sîntana de Mureş-Chernyakhov culture to the Slavs<sup>103</sup>), *Dan Gh. Teodor* believed that by the middle of the 5th century, the southern border of the Slavonic territory was not going beyond the Uzh, Terev and Ros rivers on the right bank of the Middle Dnieper, i.e. not beyond the border between steppe and forest-steppe<sup>104</sup>). The movement toward south and south-west of the population living in this area would have reached the Rumanian East-Carpathian regions, a fact which convinced Rumanian archaeologists to pay attention to *Jordanes'* text. According to him, the southern border of the Slavonic territory would have reached the city Novietunum and the lake Mursianus, which *Dan Gh. Teodor* identified with Noviodunum/Isaccea and the river Buzău<sup>105</sup>). In order to support his theory that the primitive Slavonic homeland in the first decades of the 6th century was far beyond the river Dniester, he located the mysterious fortress Turris, mentioned by *Procopius*, in Tyras/ Cetatea Albă/ Belgorod Dnestrovski<sup>106</sup>), although many other historians and archaeologists prefer to identify it with Turnu (Măgurele),

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that is until the mid-6th century, the Slavs lived in the regions eastward of the Prut river; their raids against the Byzantine empire started in this particular area. See Ştefan 1965, p. 103: the Slavonic raids did not start from the Prut or Dniester regions, but from the Wallachian Plain. See also 1968, p. 353.

<sup>103</sup>) Teodor 1969a, p. 188; 1972a, p. 106; 1973b, p. 202 (where he finally mentioned the author of this argument — *Ion Nestor*); 1978, p. 35; 1975, p. 157: after every raid the Slavs returned to their homeland, which was far more eastward, beyond the river Bug; see also 1980c, p. 78. For the anti-Russian attitude of the Rumanian historiography during this period, see Georgescu 1991, p. 103f. See N. Ceauşescu, *România pe drumul construirii societăţii socialiste multilateral dezvoltate*. Vol. 14, Bucharest 1977: p. 320: some migratory peoples settled down near (“în vecinătatea”) our country. For the relations between the Early Slavonic culture and the Sîntana de Mureş-Chernyakhov culture, see Struve 1986, p. 307; Godlowski 1979, p. 322f.; Balint 1988, p. 80.

<sup>104</sup>) Teodor 1972a, p. 109; 1978, p. 35. The idea that the Slavs were looking for an environment very similar to their homeland's one in the forest-steppe regions is a favorite topic in *Maria Comşa's* work (Comşa 1986, p. 139; 1987, p. 226; 1989, p. 265; see also Teodor 1978, p. 40).

<sup>105</sup>) Teodor 1972a, p. 106: “... we are forced to admit ...”; 1978, p. 35 (where he mentioned the author of this idea, namely *Ion Nestor*); see also 1985, p. 53. However *Nestor* (Nestor 1965, p. 148) skeptically considered the possibility of an identification of the ethnic situation as recorded by *Jordanes* (“*Getica*” V 34—35). See Bolşacov-Ghimpu 1969, p. 688 note 15; Pohl 1988, p. 97; see also *Istoria* 1960, p. 729f. The identification of the city Novietunum with Noviodunum was rejected by *Gh. Ştefan* (Ştefan 1965, p. 101).

<sup>106</sup>) Teodor 1981a, p. 19: Turris, which has been identified with Tyras near the Danubian mouths by many (other) authors. Among them, one could only find *A. A. Bolşacov-Ghimpu* (Bolşacov-Ghimpu 1969, p. 688f.), but this identification has been already suggested by *Gh. Brătianu* (Brătianu 1988b, p. 254), who seems to be ignored by both authors.

Barboși<sup>107</sup>), or Pietroasele<sup>108</sup>). It is difficult to understand how exactly could the Slavs have controlled the territory around a city located at the Dniester estuary, if they were not supposed to go beyond the limit between steppe and forest-steppe. One should also be reminded that the hypothesis of the location of Early Slavonic settlements on the eastern bank of the Dniester is closely related to another argument of the same author, namely that the Slavs did not cross the Danube to settle down in Dobrogea, which would have been “still firmly defended by the Byzantine Empire”<sup>109</sup>). But the presence of the Slavs in Dobrogea was supported even by *Ion Nestor*, who relied upon the strong evidence of *Procopius* (“De aedificii” IV, 7) and emphasized the role of the two fortresses Ulmetum and Adina, repaired by *Justinian* in order to repulse the raids of the Slavs living in their neighborhood<sup>110</sup>). Later on the argument that the Slavs would have crossed the Danube by the ford of Silistra was largely embraced because of Slavonic finds uncovered by Bulgarian archaeologists in this area<sup>111</sup>). In an attempt to retort to *Maria Comșa*’s arguments, who maintained the idea of three successive Slavonic migration waves during the 6th—7th centuries (i.e. the bearers of the Prague-Korchak culture, who have been identified with the Sclaveni, the bearers of the Pen’kovka culture, who have been identified with the Antes and the Slavonic group moving southward or down inside the Carpathian basin during *Herakleios*’ reign)<sup>112</sup>) (fig. 1), *Dan Gh. Teodor* emphasized that many Slavonic waves are out of the question. On the contrary, one could assume that there were many ways, by which the general Slavonic migration reached the territory of present-day Romania. According to him, the concentration of Slavonic finds in Northern and Eastern Moldavia, but also in the north-eastern and eastern regions of the Wallachian Plain, could indicate the first Slavonic penetration into North-

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<sup>107</sup>) Bolșacov-Ghimpu 1969, p. 686 (with all references). Among those who located Turris in the Galați district, let us mention *C. Jireček*, *V. N. Zlatarski* and *Maria Comșa*. See *Istoria* 1960, p. 731 note 3: a tower was discovered in Barboși in 1959, which has been dated in the 4th—6th centuries. As far as I know, there is no such archaeological record found in Barboși.

<sup>108</sup>) Rusu 1978, p. 123, who argues that it is just near the important Slavonic cemetery at Sărata Monteoru; 1980c, p. 148; 1980b, p. 196; 1981, p. 21 note 12.

<sup>109</sup>) Teodor 1980a, p. 66; 1981b, p. 37; 1981a, p. 19; 1982, p. 38; 1991, p. 33; see 1972b, p. 39. At the same time, *Dan Gh. Teodor* supported the opposite argument, namely that the Slavs settled down in Dobrogea by the mid-6th century (1972a, p. 113; on the opposite idea in the same article, see 1972a, p. 111); see *Petre* 1963, p. 349.

<sup>110</sup>) Nestor 1961, p. 431; however according to the same author Slavonic settlements are rather scarce in Dobrogea in the 7th century (1970a, p. 105).

<sup>111</sup>) Teodor 1972a, p. 111; 1972b, p. 39; Diaconu 1979, p. 166f.: in almost all the cases, migratory peoples preferred to cross the Danube by the Silistra ford, thus avoiding Dobrogea. See also 1981, p. 217; 1989, p. 319 note 1.

<sup>112</sup>) Comșa 1973a, p. 223; 1978, pp. 109—112; see 1960b, p. 185: the Slavs gradually penetrated in four successive waves.

Eastern Moldavia, coming from the western Ukrainian regions across the Upper Bug, Dniester and Prut rivers, then along the Siret river up to the Wallachian Plain; a second way of penetration would have started in the area between Middle Bug, Middle Dniester and Middle Prut rivers, through Bessarabia and then to Central and Southern Moldavia or to the central area of the Wallachian Plain<sup>113</sup>) (fig. 2). Related to this way should have also been the penetration of some Slavonic splinter-groups in South-Eastern Transylvania and in Maramureş<sup>114</sup>). A penetration of the Slavs in Banat seems to be unthinkable<sup>115</sup>).

The features of this population movement are another major topic of the archaeological literature. The advocates of the two theories unanimously agreed on the primitive appearance of Slavonic culture and civilization<sup>116</sup>). Even so, while from the very beginning, the Slavs, which were not considered a wandering, nomad population<sup>117</sup>), nor an aggressive one<sup>118</sup>), but, on the con-

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<sup>113</sup>) Teodor 1972a, p. 110 and p. 113: the main direction was north-east, along the Siret valley; 1972b, p. 37 f.; 1979, p. 820. 1973b, p. 209: the Horgeşti hoard should be connected with this direction; 1978, p. 38: the direction of the Slavonic migration seems to be indicated by Baltic and Late Germanic influences which occur in early Slavonic civilization. 1984b, p. 132: motives on pots found in Dodeşti indicate a penetration of some cultural elements with Ugrian-Finnish, Baltic and Germanic influences from east; see 1985, p. 56.

<sup>114</sup>) Teodor 1979, p. 823; 1980d, p. 78; 1985, p. 56.

<sup>115</sup>) Mărghitan 1985, p. 184: the Slavonic group with pottery of Prague-Korchak type "crossed only a narrow area in the western Banat".

<sup>116</sup>) Nestor 1958, p. 377; 1969b, p. 143; 1970a, p. 108; Comşa 1970a, p. 328; Dolinescu-Ferche 1984, p. 145; Mitrea 1973, p. 52; 1974/1976, p. 87; 1980, p. 117; Teodor 1969a, p. 197; 1972a, p. 111 f. (where he mentioned *Niederle's* opinion about this problem); 1973a, p. 140: "a surprisingly primitive civilization for this period of time"; 1975, p. 159, with a far more striking cultural-historical, evolutionary perspective: "Any expert will consider it evident that, in its whole, the archaic Slav civilization in the 6th and 7th centuries was far below the level reached by the local Daco-Roman society, on the territory north of the Lower Danube". See 1978, p. 49 (where he criticizes *Maria Comşa's* and *C. Daicoviciu's* opinions); 1980a, p. 66; 1981b, p. 38; 1981a, p. 20 f.; 1982, p. 40: the lower level of development reached by the Slavonic material culture; 1984b, p. 133 and p. 138; 1985, p. 56; 1989, p. 208; 1991, p. 60. Among all 60 references to this topic, 16 have been recorded in *Dan Gh. Teodor's* articles, especially between 1972 and 1982, with an annual highest rate of 4 references (among them, 3 occur in *Teodor's* work) in 1980.

<sup>117</sup>) Comşa 1974, p. 305: this is the main argument against *Nestor's* opinion that the raids of the Slavs started far away from the Danubian frontier; see also 1973a, p. 198.

<sup>118</sup>) Dolinescu-Ferche 1979b, p. 174 (where she relies upon the lack of fortified settlements or weapons amongst funeral goods); 1984, p. 145.

## The changing image of the Early Slavs in the Rumanian historiography

trary, a peaceful<sup>119</sup>) and numerous people<sup>120</sup>), passed for settlers<sup>121</sup>), beginning with the early 1970s, if not earlier, the archaeological literature laid stress on the migratory<sup>122</sup>), conquering Slavs<sup>123</sup>), which should not be considered as peaceful<sup>124</sup>), nor a numerous people<sup>125</sup>), since they could not settle in the conquered territories. The Slavonic settlements have been rather temporary, since Slavs permanently moved southward. The obvious trend in the 1980s was thus to locate the primitive Slavonic homeland as far beyond the territory of modern Romania as possible, and to make them cross the Danube as quickly as possible; therefore Rumanian archaeologists made every effort to drive the dating of the settlements of the Slavs north of the Danube close to year 602, in order to diminish as much as possible their influence on native population<sup>126</sup>). Generally speaking, the approach of the Rumanian archaeological literature still preserved its contradictory appearance. *Ion Nestor* probably represents the most representative situation with regard to this. He first supported the argument of the migration which led to the Slavonic presence on Rumanian

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<sup>119</sup>) Comşa 1974, p. 307; 1973a, p. 217; 1975a, p. 173.

<sup>120</sup>) Daicoviciu 1968, p. 89: “the great Slavonic people”; see 1956, p. 10: “the considerable Slavonic contribution to the genesis of Rumanian people”.

<sup>121</sup>) Nestor 1961, p. 433: just after 560 appeared a new phenomenon — the colonization of large areas in Moldavia and Wallachia with groups of Slavonic peasants; 1970b, p. 174 and p. 176. But in the same year, *Nestor* supported the opposite viewpoint according to which the presence of some Slavonic chieftains does not mean a massive colonization, but rather a military supremacy (1970a, p. 104). Teodor 1975, p. 160: the migration of the Slavs in the regions outside the Carpathians had “the appearance of a real colonization”; 1980d, p. 78: the penetration and the settlement of the Slavs seem to be a real colonization entirely organized by the Avars.

<sup>122</sup>) Nestor 1961, p. 429: the Slavs reached the territory of Romania as a result of a migration; see 1965, p. 147; Coman 1979, p. 197.

<sup>123</sup>) Comşa 1973a, p. 197: “Landnahme”.

<sup>124</sup>) Teodor 1969a, p. 191 (where he mentioned the fires which put an end to native settlements by the time of the Slavs’ migration); 1975, p. 160; 1985, p. 60; 1989, p. 208. 1980d, p. 78: former studies have erroneously considered the penetration of the Slavs as peaceful; see 1981b, p. 37; 1981a, p. 20. 1982, p. 38: “indubitably”, there is no question of a peaceful Slavonic migration. 1983b, p. 109: just like any other migration, the Slavonic penetration was not a peaceful one.

<sup>125</sup>) Nestor 1963, p. 46: there is no question of great armies, but only of thousands of Barbarians; only in the last decades of the 6th century did Byzantine sources record great armies with figures clearly, but also significantly exaggerated (about 100,000 warriors). Bârzu & Brezeanu 1991, p. 213: a “Slavonic tide”, which would have been spread on the entire Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic area, is unthinkable.

<sup>126</sup>) Teodor 1978, p. 40; see 1981a, p. 20, where he reproduces *Procopius*’ statements about the “pitiful huts” and the dispersion of Slavonic habitation.

territory, and found it reasonable to consider this presence as a colonization; later he should have felt the uncomfortable contradiction in which he was caught and in 1970 agreed to summarily revise his attitude. While emphasizing the “military domination”, rather than the “colonization”, *Nestor* now strengthened the antinomic nature of this “archaeological” approach. New dichotomous topics appeared: ‘peaceful vs. aggressive Slavs’, ‘numerous vs. small people’, etc. The diminishment of the analytical nature of the archaeological approach and a striking increase of its rhetorical force are indicated by the frequency of persuasive terms (like “în mod eronat”, “indubitament”, “surprinzător”, etc.). The subject standardization which determined many of the Rumanian authors (such as *Dan Gh. Teodor*) to use the same topics or even the same sentences in many articles, made very easy any commuting in the other member of this antinomy. It is evident that by means of periodical repetition of the same topics by many authors, the persuasive effect seriously increased and could even give the impression of an attempt to ‘restore’ historical truth. The discursive nature of this archaeological literature, which frequently wanders from the subject, supported the feeling that after years of “erroneous interpretation” of the archaeological and historical data, time has come to say “nothing but the truth”, which belongs obviously to the opposite theory<sup>127</sup>). I think it is not by accident that this attempt to rejuvenate the values of the critical approach caused Rumanian authors to refer so insistently to the “incipient stage of research” of the years 1953—1963, which would apparently have led — like once “the Romantic phase of the Rumanian historiography’s childhood” and the political circumstances of the national movement — to erroneous conclusions<sup>128</sup>).

Another topic with a dichotomous distribution in the Rumanian archaeological literature are the consequences of the Slavs’ migration to the Lower Danube. Although he rejected the hypothesis of a general settling of the Slavs in the conquered territories, *Aurelian Petre* nevertheless admitted the destructive nature of the Slavonic migration, with special reference to Dobrogea<sup>129</sup>). The Slavs are supposed to be responsible for the destruction of the Ipotești-Cîndești settlements on the left bank of the Danube<sup>130</sup>). But the “catastrophic scenario” was rapidly abandoned, because it obviously ran counter to the continuity theory, since it presumed the cessation of native

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<sup>127</sup>) For the methods of these ideological changes used in the project of the Rumanian history treatise (1976), see Georgescu 1991, p. 102 f.

<sup>128</sup>) Teodor 1978, p. 39 (where he mentioned Comșa 1958, 1959, 1960a, Matei 1959a, Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1954, but also Nestor 1959). A similar attitude could be found by *A. Petre* (Petre 1980, p. 364), who tried to explain the overstated contribution of the Slavs to the genesis of the Rumanian people as reported by *Nestor*’s work by means of the general knowledge in this particular field at that particular moment (1959), but noticed also that it “témoigne aussi en dernière analyse de l’objectivité avec laquelle débutaient ces recherches”.

<sup>129</sup>) Petre 1963, p. 352.

<sup>130</sup>) Diaconu 1966, p. 489; 1979, p. 166. For the destruction of native settlements in Moldavia, see Mitrea 1968, p. 257; Teodor 1969b, p. 191.



habitation. Therefore in the early 1980s a new argument appeared, which supported this theory, while still preserving the idea of the destructive consequences of the Slavs' migration. Thus the massive penetration of the Slavs into East- and South-Carpathian area would have disturbed "more than formerly accepted" the "peculiar and upward" development of the local civilization<sup>131</sup>). Even the Romanization would have been slowed down, although naturally not interrupted by the advance of this new migratory people<sup>132</sup>). The hoards of Movileni, Cudalbi, Horgești, Gropeni, Unirea, and Plumbuita, which were supposed to have been buried during this period, should support this idea<sup>133</sup>). The fact that this argument related to the continuity theory was repeatedly underlined: despite a general slowing down of the upward evolution of native population, the Slavs "have had neither the time, nor the necessary power to change the elements, the direction and the fulfillment of the genesis of Rumanian people"<sup>134</sup>). The origins of this new attitude should be sought on the one hand in the topic of the 'primitive Slavonic culture', which was greatly used between 1978 and 1982, but on the other hand, in *Nestor's* opinion announced in the Rumanian history treatise published in 1970, that the Slavs have caused a general deterioration of the living standard and of the material culture (slowing down of the crafts' and trade's development, general trend toward rural life and economy), as they have settled down in Dacia<sup>135</sup>). He explained by means of this depression the preponderance of hand-made pottery in native settlements and the return to ancient funerary customs (cremation burials)<sup>136</sup>).

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<sup>131</sup>) Teodor 1980a, p. 66; 1980d, p. 78; 1981b, p. 37; 1982, p. 40; 1989, p. 208; 1991, p. 33 and p. 60.

<sup>132</sup>) Teodor 1980d, p. 83.

<sup>133</sup>) Teodor 1981a, p. 20; 1982, p. 40; 1991, p. 33. For arguments against this theory, see Chiriac 1980, p. 255 f.

<sup>134</sup>) Teodor 1984b, p. 135. See also 1982, p. 38: "Bien que la pénétration et l'installation temporaire des Slaves dans les régions extracarpathiques de la Roumanie au cours de la seconde moitié du VI-e siècle n'aient pas eu, indubitablement, un caractère pacifique, la vie des communautés villageoises autochtones s'est poursuivie avec intensité, malgré les effets négatifs évidents que les nouveaux mouvements démographiques — enrégistrés pendant cette moitié du VI-e siècle et pendant le siècle suivant — ont eus sur les forces productives locales affectant, du reste, tout l'espace carpatho-ponto-danubien". This is purely groundless reasoning, since it is obviously impossible to understand which are the "negative effects" of the Slavs' migration, since local village communities could not only survive, but also grow up. However the same author recently admitted that the Slavs determined "for a while" ("pentru un anume timp") some social, economic, cultural, and ethnolinguistic changes (1989, p. 207).

<sup>135</sup>) Nestor 1970a, 104, who would be followed in this direction especially by *Ioan Mitrea* (Mitrea 1980, p. 121). According to the utmost consequence of this argument, the Slavs would have determined a general regression to prehistory (Bârzu 1988, p. 243; Bârzu & Brezeanu 1991, p. 213).

<sup>136</sup>) See Zaharia 1969, p. 120, who emphasized the fact that the advance

There is also an opposite opinion, which has been hardly fought by the former's advocates, according to which the migration of the Slavs was not a destructive one since it is almost impossible to presume both a general destruction layer in local Romanic settlements and the continuity theory<sup>137</sup>). As this opinion offered a much more fitting match with both archaeological record and historical evidence, there were some of the advocates of the opposite opinion, who more or less explicitly accepted it, thus supporting two contradictory theories at the same time<sup>138</sup>). Accordingly by the mid-1980s also occurred the idea that the Slavs did not fundamentally change the local civilization<sup>139</sup>), since they did not settle down on Dacian territory, but only represented a thin and discontinuous 'layer', very different of the continuous 'stratum' of the Romanic, native population<sup>140</sup>). Nobody took into consideration a middle course, which admitted the Slavs' contribution to the genesis of a new, rather heterogenous ethnic synthesis, which is represented by the so-called Ipotești-Cîndești culture<sup>141</sup>).

However, Rumanian archaeologists seem to consider Early Slavonic culture itself as a cultural mixture and to emphasize all possible influences of neighboring nations upon Slavs. Before their advance into Rumanian territory, the Slavs would have received such influences from the Late Germanic population (from which they would have taken the curved fibulae<sup>142</sup>) and some pottery types<sup>143</sup>), from the Bal-

of the Slavs in our country only partially ("numai în parte") changed the material culture. See also Bârzu & Brezeanu 1991, p. 213; Barnea 1971, p. 219.

<sup>137</sup>) Dolinescu-Ferche 1974, p. 131; 1979a, p. 228; 1979b, p. 172; 1984, p. 138 and p. 145. This argument has been followed by *Ioan Mitrea* (Mitrea 1980, p. 116, who thus abandoned his former, opposite opinion — 1968, p. 257). See Petre 1987, p. 112: "Ni détruites, ni conquises par la poussée slave, ces cités des marches (sic!) de l'Empire continuent à assurer, au moins par (sic!) un demi-siècle, les cadres traditionnels de la vie et de la culture romaine."

<sup>138</sup>) Teodor 1983a, p. 221; see 1982, p. 40.

<sup>139</sup>) Dolinescu-Ferche 1980, p. 431; Mitrea 1985, p. 164; 1988, p. 186. This argument took advantage of the fact that the precise moment of the Slavonic advance seems to be archaeologically speaking imperceptible (Comșa 1975a, p. 173; Leahu 1965, p. 69).

<sup>140</sup>) Mitrea 1989, p. 417.

<sup>141</sup>) Rusu 1978, p. 124; 1980c, p. 149; the new culture synthesis, which includes "das Spezifikum dieser ethnisch (sic) verschiedenen Völkerschaften"; 1980b, p. 198; 1980a, p. 258; 1981, p. 23. For a similar attitude, see Herrmann 1979, p. 53; Kurnatowska 1974, p. 55; Pohl 1988, p. 121.

<sup>142</sup>) Petre 1966, p. 258, who followed *Nestor's* conclusions, according to which the curved, so-called 'Slavonic' fibulae emerged from Germanic prototypes in Crimea, from the Gepidae or the Lombards or from mixed garrisons in Byzantine cities on Lower Danube.

<sup>143</sup>) Teodor 1972a, p. 112 and p. 113 (cultural elements of Late German origin); 1978, p. 38 and p. 44 (motifs of vertical or sloping incised lines); see 1984a, p. 45. According to *Dan Gh. Teodor*, artifacts of Przeworsk type occur

tic<sup>144</sup>) or the Finnish-Ugrian populations<sup>145</sup>). Their raids across Byzantine borders would have been organized and conducted by Proto-Bulgarians<sup>146</sup>). Even their migration to the Lower Danube would have been determined by the Avars, since the Slavs were supposed to have been their subjects<sup>147</sup>). The advance of the Avars would have created a political situation greatly favorable to the Slavs' migration, which consequently could not begin before the

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not only in Moldavia (Suceava-Șipot, Botoșana II, Cucorăni, Dodești, Bacău) and in the Wallachian Plain (Bucharest-Străulești, Bucharest-Militari), but also in Bulgaria (Popina, Tărnovo, Haskovo) or even in Greece, in the Slavonic cemetery at Delphi (1978, p. 46 and note 211: for the Slavonic cemetery in Delphi, he relies upon *J. Werner's* and *I. Nestor's* (verbal?) informations). It is odd that the author didn't notice that this *ignoratio elenchi* could be used in order to support the idea of a rather conservative, primitive Slavonic culture (see Nestor 1969b, p. 142), but also an early dating of its penetration to the Lower Danube, because of the contradiction with the argument that the Slavs immediately adopted the natives' local civilization (for the argument of the absence of 'pure' Slavonic settlements, see Teodor 1978, p. 48f.) and with the idea of their rapid assimilation by Romanic population (1973a, p. 139; 1978, p. 48). As for the Slavonic presence in the Balkan Peninsula, it could be supported if such be the case only with the cemetery in Olympia, because there are no known Slavonic finds in Delphi, so much the less mentioned by either *J. Werner* or *I. Nestor*. See Weithmann 1978, p. 239f. For other details, see Pohl 1988, p. 110f. For the problem of the relationships between Przeworsk and Korchak-Zhitomir cultures in the Polish and Soviet literature, see Balint 1989, p. 80 (with all references).

<sup>144</sup>) Comșa 1971, p. 1111 (tulip-shaped pots); Teodor 1972a, p. 112 (Tushemlia-type pots); 1978, p. 38 and p. 47: according to *N. P. Tretiakov* and *I. P. Rusanova*, the northern Kolochin culture should be ascribed to a Slavonic-Baltic population. See Teodor 1984a, p. 45. For the ethnic ascription of the Tushemlia-Kolochin culture, see Balint 1989, p. 78f. (with all references).

<sup>145</sup>) Teodor 1972a, p. 112: Nevolino-type pots; see also 1984a, p. 45.

<sup>146</sup>) Nestor 1970a, p. 102; the Slavs crossed the Danube in 551 only with the support of the Gepidae. This argument was followed by *Dan Gh. Teodor* (Teodor 1973a, p. 136; 1975, p. 157). The later Slavonic elements, which appeared after 680 should not be explained in terms of a new migration wave, but in terms of some Slavonic splinter-groups pushed westward by the Proto-Bulgarians' advance (Teodor 1980a, p. 68; 1981b, p. 38; 1989, p. 208). The presence of the same East-Slavonic elements of Roman-Borshevo type should be explained by the "general plan of organization" of the Avarian power in the East-Carpathian area (Teodor 1985, p. 62).

<sup>147</sup>) Comșa 1960b, p. 179; 1974, p. 309: the Avars conquered the Sclaveni in Southern and Western Banat, but failed to submit other Slavic tribes. See Dolinescu-Ferche 1979b, p. 174; Comșa 1973a, p. 218: the cremation burials at Dorolțu, the curved fibulae in Banat, Western and Eastern Wallachia should all be ascribed to some Slavonic or Slavonic-Germanic people dominated by the Avars (see Comșa 1973c, p. 316: burials with horse skeletons).

moment when the Avars appeared on the Lower Danube and later settled down in Pannonia, that is by the end of the 6th century<sup>148</sup>). Even after their settling down in the East- and South-Carpathian area, the Slavs would have been utilized by the Avars “comme troupes de manoeuvre”<sup>149</sup>) in their expeditions south of the Danube<sup>150</sup>). This topic was widely utilized in the Rumanian archaeological literature mainly between 1975 and 1985 (11 of the 25 recorded references), but archaeologists overlooked the fact that historical sources referring to the relations between Slavs’ migration and Avars’ advance into Europe could support any attempt to define more accurately the chronology of each of them, but could hardly explain their particular reasons. Rumanian archaeologists seem to be unaware of the fact that the southern movement of the Slavs had already begun by the time the Avars appeared at the Lower Danube, although it had been highly influenced by the new political situation which appeared after 568<sup>151</sup>). On the eastern border of the territory dominated by the Avars, the Slavs who occupied Wallachia had actually never been under the former’s control, in spite of all attempts to subdue them<sup>152</sup>). However, the khagan used to consider them as his subjects and even bade them to operate south of the Danube<sup>153</sup>). This special and extremely variable relationship was merely ignored, a fact which should be related to the topic of ‘the Slavonic contribution to the genesis of the Rumanian people’. As a matter of fact, one could infer from the subordination of the Slavs by the Avars that the former could not influence the native population, since they were more or less under Avarian surveillance<sup>154</sup>). Therefore, unlike the topic of the ‘Slavs migration determined by the Avars/the Slavs as Avars’s subjects’, the topic ‘independent Slavs/the Slavs as Avars’ allies/close contact between Slavs and Avars’ was raised mainly before 1975 (10 of the 13 recorded references)<sup>155</sup>).

<sup>148</sup>) Nestor 1970a, p. 103; Teodor 1972a, p. 110, who follows *Nestor’s* arguments; Teodor 1973a, p. 137; 1978, p. 36; 1981a, p. 19f.; 1985, p. 53; 1989, p. 207; Bârzu 1979, p. 84; Mitrea 1980, p. 115.

<sup>149</sup>) Nestor 1963, p. 65.

<sup>150</sup>) For the Antes as Avars’ allies, see Rusu 1978, p. 123; 1981, p. 21. However, see *Menander the Guardsman*, fragment 5.3 (ed. R. C. Blockley. Liverpool 1985, p. 50) and *Theophylactos Simocattes* 8, 5, p. 293, ed. de Boor. See Bonev 1983, p. 116ff. For the “Western Slavs” as khagan’s subjects, see Rusu 1978, p. 127; 1981, p. 25.

<sup>151</sup>) For this problem, see *Nestor’s* explanations (Nestor 1961, pp. 432f.; 1965, p. 149). More details on this problem, in Pohl 1988, pp. 117—120.

<sup>152</sup>) In spite of *Bayan’s* expedition in 578, the Slavs under Ardagast were able to make on their own the raid of summer 585 (Pohl 1988, p. 84). For more details on *Bayan’s* expedition, see Istoria 1960, p. 731; Comşa 1975a, p. 199; Rusu 1978, p. 126.

<sup>153</sup>) In 581, see *John of Ephesus* 5, 25, p. 248f., ed. Brooks. In 586, see *John of Ephesus* 6, 25, p. 248, ed. Brooks. In 592, see *Theophylactos Simocattes*, 6, 3, p. 266, ed. de Boor. See Pohl 1988, p. 208.

<sup>154</sup>) Istoria 1960, p. 732; see Rusu 1978, p. 123 and p. 126; 1981, p. 25.

<sup>155</sup>) It should be noted that this topic occurs mainly in *Nestor’s* articles, who

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An important topic of the archaeological literature on the Slavs' migration are their relations with the Byzantine empire and civilization. While "desperately besetting" and gradually conquering every Byzantine fortress in Dobrogea<sup>156</sup>), thus leading to the "abolishment of the Byzantine domination in North-Eastern Bulgaria", but oddly not in Northern Dobrogea<sup>157</sup>), the Slavs have been recruited in the Byzantine army<sup>158</sup>) or used as labor force by the Byzantine administration in order to build the wall at Niculițel<sup>159</sup>). They have been eventually overwhelmed by the Byzantine civilization<sup>160</sup>). Although some artifacts of "certain Byzantine origin" are supposed to have been brought in the East-Carpathian area by the Slavs, who could have got them during their frequent raids into the Byzantine provinces<sup>161</sup>), before their advance in the Central and South-East-European district, "the Slavs have had no contact with the Roman civilization at all", which could have possibly influenced them<sup>162</sup>).

Byzantine-Slavonic relations are only the setting of the main topic of the Rumanian archaeology, namely the relations between Slavs and the native, Romanic population. Until 1969 (8 of 19 recorded references) Slavs have been considered political and military rulers of the local population<sup>163</sup>), which would have been influenced by their culture<sup>164</sup>), and have been viewed as the third element in the genesis of Rumanian people, an argument which represented the "official" attitude of Rumanian historians in the first years of the Communist regime<sup>165</sup>). Just after 1971, the political supremacy

died in 1974, although most references have been recorded in his articles before 1965.

<sup>156</sup>) Mitrea 1974, p. 62.

<sup>157</sup>) Diaconu 1966, p. 489; 1971, p. 200.

<sup>158</sup>) Comșa 1974, p. 315: the Slavs were used in the frontier units (*limitanei*); see also 1970a, p. 327: Slavs as *limitanei* at Dinogetia; Diaconu 1979, p. 166. According to C. Daicoviciu, even those "refougoi Romaioi" recorded by 'Strategikon' 9, 3, 21, which should not be considered as "Vlachs of the Wallachian Plain", were rather Slavonic deserters, who have joined the Byzantine army (Daicoviciu 1971, p. 191).

<sup>159</sup>) Comșa 1970a, p. 327 and p. 330 note 24.

<sup>160</sup>) Diaconu 1966, p. 489; see Diaconu & Roman 1967, p. 9.

<sup>161</sup>) Teodor 1969a, p. 194.

<sup>162</sup>) Teodor 1972a, p. 112; 1978, p. 45: there is no evidence in the Slavonic culture of the 5th—7th centuries of any element, which could support the idea of early contacts with the Roman or Roman-Byzantine civilization before the 6th—7th centuries.

<sup>163</sup>) Nestor 1957, p. 294: the Slavonic group which settled down "à demeure" in Sărata Monteoru ruled over a large area; see also 1970a, p. 104; also Ștefan 1968, p. 353 and Teodor 1975, p. 168.

<sup>164</sup>) Horedt 1956b, p. 108; Comșa 1965, p. 164; see Bârzu 1979, p. 84 f. and p. 88 and the arguments against her ideas in Lica 1980, p. 716.

<sup>165</sup>) The origin of this argument should be sought in C. C. Giurescu's work (see above, p. 234). See also Daicoviciu 1956, p. 10; Daicoviciu, Petrovici & Ștefan 1960, p. 114 (reminiscence of the τόπος 'the Rumanian language

of the Slavs rapidly faded<sup>166</sup>), as well as their influence on the Romanic population<sup>167</sup>). Rumanian archaeologists passed over in silence or discarded the Slavonic contribution to the genesis of the Rumanian people<sup>168</sup>).

The Slavs would have been influenced by the local civilization, an influence which was supposed to be embodied in barrel-shaped, many-sided spindle-whirls<sup>169</sup>) or wheel-made potsherds reutilized in order to manufacture spindle-whirls<sup>170</sup>), in the names of Slavonic chieftains which have been taken from the local Christian population<sup>171</sup>), in hand-made pottery of better paste with finer composition<sup>172</sup>), or in clay ovens<sup>173</sup>). Plainly superior to the Slavonic primitive culture, since it would have represented a higher level of development, beyond all comparison with the Slavonic one, Romanic civilization would have overwhelmed the newcomers<sup>174</sup>), which would have been finally

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appeared only after the assimilation of the Slavs', which occurred first in *Bogdan's* work); Condurachi 1964, p. 33; Berciu 1976, p. 9. For Popa & Harhoiu 1989, p. 270, there is no possibly exact answer to this question.

<sup>166</sup>) Dolinescu-Ferche 1979b, p. 174: the Slavonic political nuclei with possibly full economic and political power on local population have not been found.

<sup>167</sup>) Teodor 1969b, p. 300; Sâmpetru 1971, p. 241; Teodor 1973a, p. 140; 1978, p. 49; 1981a, p. 21; 1983a, p. 221; 1984b, p. 138; Dolinescu-Ferche 1980, p. 431; Mitrea 1985, p. 164; 1988, p. 186.

<sup>168</sup>) Teodor 1973a, p. 140; 1980b, p. 111; 1984, p. 135; Mitrea 1980, p. 122; see Teodorescu 1971, p. 115: "... the Romanic nature of the Ipotești-Cîndești culture represented the new element, which by virtue of dialectics would finally win."

<sup>169</sup>) Matei 1962, p. 153; and 1959a, p. 431.

<sup>170</sup>) Matei 1989, p. 43.

<sup>171</sup>) Cihodaru 1972, p. 2, who thinks that the name of 'king' *Daurentios* came from *Laurentios*, due to a "scribe's mistranscription".

<sup>172</sup>) Ignat 1973, p. 254, who relies upon the finds in Rus-Mănăstioara.

<sup>173</sup>) Bârză 1979, p. 85, who relies upon finds in Botoșana II and Suceava-Șipot.

<sup>174</sup>) Teodor 1973a, p. 140; and 1974, p. 109; see also 1975, p. 160; 1980a, p. 66; 1981b, p. 38. Mitrea 1974/1976, p. 87: this situation is supposed to confirm *Fr. Engels's* idea ("Anti-Dühring") regarding the relations between the backward conquerors and civilized conquered people. See Mitrea 1980, p. 121, who rejects the arguments of *G. B. Fedorov*, according to which the local population would have adopted the Slavonic material culture, and, on the contrary, assumed that the newcomers benefitted of the cohabitation with the native population. The idea occurs also in the 'party's papers', as for instance those issued at the plenary session of the central committee of the RCP (June 1982). It was stated that the study of the Rumanian people's origin and continuity was "the basis of every ideological, theoretical and political-educational activity" of every true Communist; therefore, it seems to be decided once for all that migratory peoples did nothing but adopt the local, higher civilization (see N. Ceaușescu: *Expunere cu privire la stadiul actual al edificării socialismului în țara noastră, la problemele teoretice, ideologice și ale*

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assimilated. Because of this rapid assimilation it would be very difficult to separate the original early Slavonic artifacts<sup>175</sup>). From the very beginning Slavs would have been 'contaminated', which is the reason why Rumanian archaeologists failed to find any 'pure' Slavonic settlements. This argument, issued by *I. Nestor* in 1962<sup>176</sup>), would be regularly utilized in the archaeological literature mainly after 1971 (16 of the 20 recorded references)<sup>177</sup>), although its primary meaning altered through its extension to the entire Rumanian territory.

The dissolution of the cultures bearing traditions of the Roman Imperial period precedes everywhere in Central and Eastern Europe the emergence of the Early Slavonic culture, which is considered to be, despite all apparent similitude with preceding cultural patterns, an entirely new culture<sup>178</sup>). Its

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activității politice, educative a partidului, prezentată la plenara lărgită a CC al PCR, 1—2 iunie 1982. Bucharest 1982, p. 15). However, this "new direction" has been established very much earlier, since *Ceaușescu* was already glibly explaining to participants to the second International Congress of Thracology (1976) that "migratory peoples" have not brought with them a higher civilization, but on the contrary they found it here, in this country and therefore adopted it (N. *Ceaușescu*, *România pe drumul construirii societății socialiste multilateral dezvoltate*. Vol. 13, Bucharest 1977, p. 484).

<sup>175</sup>) *Teodorescu* 1964, p. 499; *Teodor* 1973, p. 139: the assimilation started slowly in the 7th century, but it was already finished in the first half of the 9th century; see also 1978, p. 79 and p. 48. Just few years later, the assimilation has already finished by the beginning of the 8th century (*Mitrea* 1980, p. 120; *Zaharia* 1982, p. 87). For the opposite, former opinion, see *Nestor* 1962, p. 1435: Slavonic artifacts still occur in the 9th—10th centuries (and 1964, p. 405, but also *Mitrea* 1974/1976, p. 80 and *Teodor* 1975, p. 165).

<sup>176</sup>) *Nestor* 1962, p. 1435: in Moldavia ("in Suceava and in some other places") there are however Slavonic settlements of the 6th—7th centuries with no local influence. This idea will be abandoned after 1971, the settlements of Suceava (Parc and Șipot) being considered as already reflecting the beginning of the assimilation of the Slavs by the Romanic, native population of this area (*Matei* 1989, p. 44, who relies upon *Teodor's* arguments). See also *Nestor* 1964, p. 402: 'pure' Slavonic settlements without any local contamination are unthinkable in Transylvania or Wallachia.

<sup>177</sup>) *Zaharia* 1969, p. 120; *Teodor* 1969b, p. 300, who follows *Nestor's* conclusions referring to the East-Carpathian area, although the latter's arguments are rather supporting the opposite idea (see above, note 176). Beginning with 1973, nobody seemed to remember the author of this τόπος: *Teodor* 1973a, p. 137; 1975, p. 160; 1978, p. 40; *Petrescu-Dîmbovița* 1973, p. 172; *Dolinescu-Ferche* 1974, p. 131; *Toropu* 1976, p. 145; because of the lack of 'pure' settlements, data referring to the presence of the Slavs in Moldavia are quite scarce; *Dolinescu-Ferche* 1979b, p. 174; *Coman* 1979, p. 196; *Teodor* 1980d, p. 78; 1980b, p. 113; 1985, p. 58; *Petre* 1980, p. 372; *Rusu* 1980b, p. 198; *Dolinescu-Ferche* 1984, p. 174; *Mărghitan* 1985, p. 184.

<sup>178</sup>) *Godlowski* 1979, p. 322; see *Struve* 1986, p. 313.

archaeological identification relies mainly on three formal criteria, still generally considered by almost all archaeologists in East-European countries as specific only to the Slavonic culture: the pit-house with stone oven, the earthenware vessels of Prague-Korchak type and the cremation burials<sup>179</sup>). It is therefore important to peruse the opinions of Rumanian archaeologists on this subject.

The rectangular pit-house with post-holes was considered in the early 1970s as a major specific feature of the Slavonic culture, while archaeologists insisted on the distinction from dwellings of the native population during the same period, which were considered to be pit-houses without post-holes<sup>180</sup>). The specific dwellings of the Slavs would have occurred in the Cîndești settlements of Northern and Northeastern Wallachia or in the Costișa settlements in Central and Northern Moldavia. The stone oven, which is usually built in one of its corners, would have occurred in Suceava-Șipot and was considered to be a specific artifact of the Early Slavs' settlements in Romania<sup>181</sup>). Unlike native population or inhabitants of the Byzantine provinces, the Slavs would have always built a stone oven in their pithouses<sup>182</sup>). They seem to ignore the concave hearth with all sides bounded with clay<sup>183</sup>), but there are also opposite opinions, which ascribed to the Slavs both clay oven, excavated in an earthen block<sup>184</sup>) and open hearth<sup>185</sup>), and considered that stone oven ("vatra-pietrar"), which would have been recorded in Bezid for the 4th century, in Bratei for the 5th—6th centuries and in Dinogetia for the 6th century, could therefore not be ascribed to the Slavs, who preferred to utilize in "their archaic period on the territory of Romania" the open hearths, such as found in Suceava or Ipotești<sup>186</sup>).

As for burial rites, Rumanian archaeologists unanimously ascribed to the Slavs the cremation funeral rite (urn without lid or simple cremation grave)<sup>187</sup>)

<sup>179</sup>) Struve 1986, p. 308; see more recently, Fusek 1992, p. 295.

<sup>180</sup>) Comșa 1973a, p. 205; Mitrea 1980, p. 120; Teodor 1978, p. 40; 1979, p. 820; 1985, p. 56.

<sup>181</sup>) Comșa 1959, p. 66; Istoria 1960, p. 738: the Slavonic group living in pit-houses with stone ovens or hearths used a pottery very similar to the Prague type, curved fibulae and cremation burials.

<sup>182</sup>) Comșa 1974, p. 315 note 67: Romans used to live in stone-houses or wooden huts with open hearths; 1970a, p. 326: dwellings with stone ovens of the settlement outside the city walls in Dinogetia would have belonged to some Slavonic splinter-group. 1973a, p. 198: dwellings with stone hearths of specific Slavonic nature occur already in the first phase of the Botoșana settlement. See Bârză 1979, p. 85.

<sup>183</sup>) Teodor 1978, p. 40; 1985, p. 56.

<sup>184</sup>) Comșa 1973a, p. 205; see Balint 1989, p. 82.

<sup>185</sup>) Nestor 1961, p. 448, who relies upon excavations at Nezvisko.

<sup>186</sup>) Székely 1974/1975, p. 45.

<sup>187</sup>) Nestor 1953, p. 86: cremation burials represent a strong evidence for the Slavonic origin of the population buried in Sărata Monteoru; also 1958, p. 377; Comșa 1959, p. 65, who relies upon graves found in Sărata Monteoru



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and even emphasized some specific rituals<sup>188</sup>). Only recently, just after 1971, a new argument appeared, according to which the Slavs would have not brought the cremation burials, but only caused the general return to ancient rites of Dacian origin<sup>189</sup>).

Among all artifacts, Rumanian archaeologists ascribed more likely to the Slavs the knives<sup>190</sup>), the flint steels<sup>191</sup>), the whetstones and the hand mills<sup>192</sup>), the cylindrical or barrel-shaped spindle-whirls<sup>193</sup>), the bone or antler awls<sup>194</sup>), but also the "Avarian", three-edged arrow-heads<sup>195</sup>). According to some Rumanian archaeologists, earrings with star-shaped pendant do not appear in Early Slavonic sites<sup>196</sup>). Their Slavonic origin is therefore still doubtful. Without any doubts, however, the bronze earring pendant of Martynovka type found in a dwelling house in Suceava-Parc has been assigned to the Slavs<sup>197</sup>). Although one should not overlook the

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and Balta Verde. See *Istoria* 1960, p. 738 and Comşa, Rădulescu & Harţuchi 1962, p. 658. See also Dolinescu-Ferche & Ionescu 1970, p. 427; Ferenczi 1970, p. 572 (finds in Dorolţu); Rusu 1971, p. 719; 1973, p. 192; Horedt 1973, p. 191; Teodor 1988, p. 80 (finds in Lozna-Străteni and Cîndeşti). Even when the necropolis at Sărata Monteoru began to be assigned to the Ipoteşti-Cîndeşti culture, some of its graves still continued to be viewed as belonging to a Slavonic population, see Comşa 1968, p. 360 and 1973a, p. 206; Nestor 1969b, p. 145: "sans que ce rite et ces rituels soient (sic!) à l'époque exclusivement slaves".

<sup>188</sup>) Nestor 1960, p. 510: rocks inside the grave (see Comşa, Rădulescu & Harţuchi 1962, p. 658). Mitrea 1962, p. 644: cremation urn with cow or horse jowl lid. Comşa 1973c, p. 316: cremation graves with horse skeletons in Band and Unirea-Vereshmort.

<sup>189</sup>) Barnea 1971, p. 219; Bârzu 1979, p. 85.

<sup>190</sup>) Teodor 1978, p. 41, who relies upon artifacts found in Suceava-Şipot, Botoşana, Cucorăni, Iaşi-Crucea lui Ferent, Bacău-Curtea Domnească; Mitrea 1980, p. 120; Teodor 1983a, p. 217.

<sup>191</sup>) Condurachi 1964, p. 31; Teodor 1978, p. 41; 1983a, p. 220.

<sup>192</sup>) Teodor 1978, p. 41: handmills found in Suceava-Şipot and Botoşana.

<sup>193</sup>) Ibidem, p. 41; 1984a, p. 71; Mitrea 1980, p. 120. However, some many-sided, barrel-shaped or plate-shaped spindle-whirls are supposed to signalize local, native population (Matei 1962, p. 153; 1989, p. 43).

<sup>194</sup>) Teodor 1978, p. 41; 1984a, p. 71; Mitrea 1980, p. 120.

<sup>195</sup>) Petre 1963, p. 322; for other arrow-heads, see Teodor 1978, p. 41; 1983a, p. 220; Mitrea 1980, p. 120.

<sup>196</sup>) Comşa 1971a, p. 385; see however 1959, p. 71 and 1972b, p. 212. Earrings with star-shaped pendant occur in Sărata Monteoru (Nestor 1969a, p. 25). The fact that these earrings occur not only in the cremation burials of Sărata Monteoru, but also in the graves of the 3d cemetery at Bratei seems to signalize a rather "universal fashion" (Harhoiu 1987, p. 128; see Balint 1987, p. 187).

<sup>197</sup>) Teodor 1970, p. 377. Nestor 1961, p. 435: this is a specific artifact of the Slavonic centers on the Middle Dnieper, which could be dated on the basis of the Martynovka treasure in the 6th century, but rather in the 7th century.

similitude between the artifact found in Suceava-Parc and some elements of the deposit found in Martynovka, Rumanian archaeologists seem to ignore all considerations regarding “Antes’ antiquities” diffusion in the Carpathian basin during the early Avarian period and the arguments of their later dating<sup>198</sup>). The Martynovka deposit itself is no longer considered to be a Slavonic find, taking into account the striking typological and chronological relations with the Malaya Pereschepina treasure<sup>199</sup>). The curved fibulae, which have been assigned more than any other artifacts to the Early Slavs, especially before 1965 (13 of 35 recorded references)<sup>200</sup>), gave rise to an interesting debate in which reluctance and significant delineations should not be overlooked, if one is trying to understand the very meaning of the Early Slavs’ problem in the Rumanian archaeological literature<sup>201</sup>).

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See Nestor 1966b, p. 144: the Martynovka type “clasps” are the only specific Slavonic jewel which spread out from the Dnieprovia area. Although 1961 this “clasp” seemed to have been found in Suceava-Parc, it already ‘moved’ in 1969 to Suceava-Șipot, in order to support the later dating of this Slavonic (or, later, native, during the assimilation of the newcomers) settlement: Matei 1989, p. 44; Teodor 1978, p. 41 and 1983a, p. 220. Comșa 1973a, p. 213: these “clasps” seem to relate to the diffusion of the Pen’kovka pottery.

<sup>198</sup>) Balint 1980/1981, p. 142 f.; 1989, p. 92: the dating in the first half of the 7th century is based not only on the dating of the curved fibula and of the belt-clasps, which are very similar to those found in the Crimean cemeteries at Suuk Su and Skalistoe, but especially on the silver jug with bottom stamp of 569—578 and an inscription dated in 577.

<sup>199</sup>) Balint 1989, p. 92, with all references.

<sup>200</sup>) Horedt 1954, p. 216 (referring to the brooches found in the cemetery at Morești). See Werner 1950, p. 170. See also Horedt 1958b, p. 111; Comșa 1959, p. 71: specific jewel of Slavonic women; Nestor 1959, p. 50: the concentration of these artifacts in the Wallachian Plain emphasizes their Slavonic origin (also 1964, p. 401). See Comșa 1960a, p. 160; 1961, p. 107; 1965, p. 163; Constantiniu 1965, p. 97. Brooches found in Suceava-Șipot, Sărata Monteoru, Bucharest-Dămăroaia, Iași-Crucea lui Ferent, became chronological markers for the dating of the Early Slavonic culture in the East- and South-Carpathian area (Nestor 1961, p. 434 ff.). For the fibulae found in Transylvania, see Condurachi 1964, p. 31.

<sup>201</sup>) Istoria 1960, p. 731 and p. 735: the fibulae found in Dinogetia, Histria, Suceava-Șipot, Iași-Crucea lui Ferent, Vutcani and Budești relate to the raids of the Antes, but it seems also possible that some of the brooches found in Bucharest-Tei, Bucharest-Dămăroaia, Căscioarele, Plenița, Lazu (?), Orlea, Vela, Vîrtop have been used by the local, native population. Nestor 1961, p. 440, who hesitated to ascribe the fibula found in Dinogetia to a layer which was supposed to support the idea of an early Slavonic settlement in Dobrogea during the second half of the 6th century. *Ion Nestor* noticed for the first time that brooches found in grave B 42 at Piatra Frecaței, but also earlier fibulae found in Bulgaria, Serbia or Crimea should also be taken into account in the debate on the Slavonic or non-Slavonic origin of these artifacts: Nestor 1961, p. 440—447 and 1965, p. 149; Werner 1960, p. 117.

## The changing image of the Early Slavs in the Rumanian historiography

As *Ion Nestor* radically changed the interpretation of these artifacts on the basis of the excavations at Bratei and assumed that curved fibulae have been created and worn by Germanic people, from which they have been later taken by the native population and by the Slavs<sup>202</sup>), many Rumanian archaeologists entirely ignored this new argument of the charismatic leader of the Rumanian archaeological school and continued to ascribe these brooches to the Slavs<sup>203</sup>). The consequences of these arguments issued in his last years of life by the former Vice-president of the International Association for Slavic Archaeology appeared very much later, namely at the end of the 1970s and in the early 1980s<sup>204</sup>).

Pottery was also one of the major controversial topics. Many Rumanian authors ascribed to the Slavs a new pottery manufacturing technique, which is supposed to utilize a paste with pounded potsherds in composition. This new technique would have been characteristic to those Slavs, who settled down on the territory of modern Romania and brought the Zhitomir-Korchak type, while other Slavonic tribes in Central Europe would have used most likely the Prague pottery type<sup>205</sup>). Hand-made pots with fingerprints from the smoothing operation are also considered to be specific early earthenware vessels<sup>206</sup>). The Slavonic pottery in the 7th century would have been represented

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<sup>202</sup>) Nestor 1969b, p. 143; 1973, p. 30. For a critical viewpoint on *Nestor's* attitude change of 1968 at the Mostar symposium, see Petre 1987, p. 170 note 173.

<sup>203</sup>) Teodor 1969b, p. 300, who however followed *Nestor's* conclusions regarding the absence of any 'pure' Slavonic settlements; see also Ferenczi 1970, p. 566; Teodor 1970, p. 109; 1973b, p. 205; 1979, p. 817; 1983a, p. 220; 1984a, p. 65; Comşa 1972a, p. 36; 1973a, p. 215; 1973d, p. 216; 1975a, p. 172 and p. 192; 1976, p. 111; Horedt 1973, p. 191; 1986, p. 92 and p. 95; 1987, p. 13; Matei 1989, p. 44.

<sup>204</sup>) Teodor 1978, p. 42: some of the curved fibulae found in Moldavia relate to some early Slavonic splinter-groups; 1985, p. 56: brooches of Dnieprovian type and the miniature fibulae have been spread to the Slavs by the Romanic and Germanic populations. Harhoiu 1987, p. 128: curved fibulae with 7 knobs are rather an item of an "universal fashion"; see Balint 1980/1981, p. 142f.; 1987, p. 187.

<sup>205</sup>) Comşa 1960a, p. 160, who relies upon pots found in Suceava-Şipot and Sărata Monteoru; Teodorescu 1964, p. 499: this technique seems to be specific to the eastern area of the Ipoteşti-Cîndeşti culture; Comşa 1965, p. 163, who explains the diffusion of this technique by the very migration of the Antes; see Dolinescu-Ferche 1974, p. 128; Mitrea 1980, p. 117. See also Dolinescu-Ferche 1967, p. 133 (lack of evidence regarding this technique in Sfinţeşti and Dulceanca); Comşa 1970a, p. 323; 1971b, p. 1111; Teodor 1978, p. 42; Dolinescu-Ferche 1979a, p. 225: pots of this type occur only in a recent phase, "au point même que quelques unes s'intégreraient dans le répertoire morphologique développé de la céramique du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle"; Teodor 1984b, p. 45, who relies upon artifacts found in Dodeşti.

<sup>206</sup>) Nestor 1961b, p. 144: this technique should not be exclusively ascribed to the Slavs. Teodorescu 1964, p. 497: the "B-technique" with specific verti-

by pots with relatively high rims decorated with fingerprints or notches<sup>207</sup>). Ordinarily without any motif, Slavonic pottery is nevertheless sometimes decorated with incised vertical or crossing lines, with a “wormshaped broken line”, concentric circles under the lip or a simple rib in bold relief. All these ornaments have been associated with influences exerted on the Slavs before their penetration into the East-Carpathian area<sup>208</sup>). These criteria seemed to be sufficient, since many authors ascribed to the Slavs not only particular pottery types, but also individual vessels, such as found in Budureasca, Tîrghsor<sup>209</sup>), Suceava-Şipot, Botoşani, Cucorăni, Iaşi-Crucea lui Ferent, Fălciu<sup>210</sup>), Bucharest-Ciurel<sup>211</sup>), Bucharest-Militari, Bucharest-Băneasa and Bucharest-Mihai Vodă<sup>212</sup>), Izvoare-Bahna<sup>213</sup>), Bacău-Curtea Domnească, Davideni, and Ştefan cel Mare<sup>214</sup>), in an attempt to draw a typological framework, which was expected to make possible the separation of the artifacts of migratory peoples from those of the native population. Many of these pots were considered as belonging to the Korchak-Zhitomir, Prague, Pen'kovka or Kolochin types. The former occurs in the archaeological literature mainly after 1971 (13 of the 25 recorded references) replacing the Prague type for which references have been made mostly between 1958 and 1965 (11 of the 25 recorded references). The Prague type pottery<sup>215</sup>) would have penetrated in the

cal fingerprints (“vîrci”) inside the pot, thick and “often ogive-shaped” (?) bottom.

<sup>207</sup>) Matei 1959a, p. 421; Dolinescu-Ferche 1974, p. 117: this is not the case in Dulceanca; see Székely 1974/1975, p. 45.

<sup>208</sup>) Teodor 1969a, p. 192: artifacts of Tushemlya-Kolochin type belonging to a Slavonic-Baltic population; 1972b, p. 39; 1973b, pp. 209f.; 1978, p. 44: motifs of vertical or sloping incised lines, which should be ascribed to the contacts between Slavs and the Przeworsk culture in south-eastern Poland and sub-Carpathian Ukraine; 1979, p. 820; 1984b, p. 45.

<sup>209</sup>) Teodorescu 1964, p. 497 and fig. 3/4.

<sup>210</sup>) Teodor 1969b, p. 285; 1973b, p. 205.

<sup>211</sup>) Comşa 1965, p. 163: similar artifacts found in Pritluky, Lanzhot, Siladice and Igolomia; 1973a, p. 202.

<sup>212</sup>) Comşa 1973a, p. 202.

<sup>213</sup>) Mitrea 1978, p. 216.

<sup>214</sup>) Idem, 1980, p. 77 and p. 118: the egg-shaped pots (type A 1 c).

<sup>215</sup>) Comşa 1958, p. 78; Matei 1959a, p. 412; Nestor 1959, p. 50 (pots found in Sărata Monteoru); Comşa 1960b, p. 176 (pots found in Bucharest-Mihai Vodă, Curtea Veche and Suceava-Şipot); Nestor 1961, p. 433; Comşa 1974, p. 314 (pots found in Piatra Frecăţei); Teodorescu 1964, p. 499 (specific feature of the western area of the Ipoteşti-Cîndeşti culture); Comşa 1965, p. 163; Constantiniu 1965, p. 97; Leahu 1965, p. 69; Horedt 1966, p. 32 (pots found in the graves at Noşlac); Comşa 1968, p. 356 (pots made of paste with sand in composition); Zaharia 1969, p. 120; Comşa 1970a, p. 326 (pot found in Capidava); Sâmpetru 1971, p. 241 (cremation burial with urn at Satu Nou-“La Armane”); Székely 1972, p. 56; Comşa 1978, p. 112 (the later Prague type pottery occurs in Sarasău, Crăciuneşti and Biharea); Diaconu 1979, p. 225; Dolinescu-Ferche 1984, p. 137. The first who separated the

South-Carpathian area very much earlier than the Korchak-Zhitomir type which has been associated with a north-eastern influence<sup>216</sup>). References to the Pen'kovka type pottery have been made first by *Maria Comşa*, then largely used in order to prove the same eastern influence<sup>217</sup>) assigned to the Antes<sup>218</sup>). The Pen'kovka culture would have been followed by the Suceava-Şipot culture or at least by its steppe component<sup>219</sup>). As for the Kolochin type pottery, it would have been widespread in Moldavia during the second half of the 6th century and is considered to be proof of a northern influence of Baltic origin exerted upon Slavs, prior to their advance into the East-Carpathian area<sup>220</sup>). All these considerations are particularly lacking clear-cut criteria for pottery analysis, and arbitrary classification thus makes ineffectual any attempt to separate specific Slavonic features<sup>221</sup>).

two pottery types with corresponding different techniques, diffusion and dating was *Maria Comşa* (1960a, p. 159; 1973a, p. 205). For an earlier dating of the Prague type pottery, see Dolinescu-Ferche 1979a, p. 225.

<sup>216</sup>) *Istoria* 1960, p. 734; *Comşa* 1960b, p. 176; 1960a, p. 159; 1974, p. 306; 1971b, p. 1111; 1973a, p. 205; 1987, p. 220; *Teodor* 1969a, p. 191; 1969b, p. 285; 1971a, p. 121 (pots found in Iaşi-Crucea lui Ferent); 1971b, p. 56; 1972a, p. 107; 1972b, p. 34; 1973b, p. 205; 1974, p. 103; 1978, p. 39; 1983a, p. 217; 1984a, p. 65; 1984b, p. 45; 1985, p. 56; *Teodorescu* 1964, p. 497; *Zaharia* 1969, p. 120; *Ferenczi* 1970, p. 565; *Mitrea* 1970, p. 363; 1972, p. 16; 1974/1976, p. 87; 1980, p. 77; *Székely* 1971, p. 134; 1972, p. 56; *Dolinescu-Ferche* 1979a, p. 225; 1984, p. 137; *Mărghitan* 1985, p. 184.

<sup>217</sup>) *Comşa* 1974, p. 314: pots found in Piatra Frecăţei; 1970a, p. 323: pots found in Dinogetia-Garvăn; *Teodor* 1971a, p. 121: pots found in Iaşi-Crucea lui Ferent; 1972b, p. 34. See also 1972a, p. 108; 1974, p. 103; 1975, p. 159; 1978, p. 44f.; 1979, p. 820; 1983a, p. 217; *Comşa* 1973a, p. 213: pots found in Suceava-Şipot, Cucorăni, Tîrpeşti, Bacău-Curtea Domnească; *Teodor* 1973b, p. 208: pots found in Botoşana (see *Teodor* 1984a, p. 65); *Mitrea* 1974/1976, p. 87: pots found in Davideni; *Butnariu* 1983/1985, p. 215.

<sup>218</sup>) *Comşa* 1975a, p. 172; 1976, p. 111; *Dolinescu-Ferche* 1979a, p. 225.

<sup>219</sup>) *Comşa* 1973a, p. 214; same argument in *Kurnatowska* 1977, fig. 1; *Prikhodnyuk* 1983, p. 183. See *Balint* 1989, p. 84 and p. 130. For arguments against the idea that this culture would have belonged to the Slavs, see *Balint* 1980/1981, p. 131f.

<sup>220</sup>) *Teodor* 1969a, p. 192; 1972a, p. 108; 1972b, p. 29: pots found in Suceava-Şipot, Cucorăni and Dodeşti; see also 1973b, p. 209, who relies upon pots found in Botoşana; 1978, p. 44; *Mitrea* 1974/1976, p. 87; 1980, p. 119: the motifs of the Kolochin type pottery would later occur associated with fingerprints on the rim; *Teodor* 1983a, p. 217; 1984a, p. 65.

<sup>221</sup>) Compare to the analysis made by *M. Parczewski* on the pottery from early Slavonic settlements in Poland, who utilized the 6-dimensions set for an accurate description of the pot (rim diameter, bottom diameter, largest diameter, total height, height of the largest diameter and distance between rim and largest diameter). This set have been issued by *I. P. Rusanova* (*Parczewski* 1988, p. 34f.; see *Rusanova* 1976, p. 10) and later adopted by *J. Hasegawa* (*Hasegawa* 1973). For a short survey of the application of mathematical-

Without typological or terminological accuracy, the problem of the ethnic identification was naturally dependent only upon political opportunity: first considered as specific Early Slavonic artifacts<sup>222</sup>), the clay pans later became vessels borrowed by the Slavs from the local, native population of the East-Carpathian area<sup>223</sup>).

Among all sites in Romania, Sărata Monteoru was most frequently related to the Slavs, especially before the 1970s. First considered as belonging to the Slavonic tribes settled in North-Eastern Wallachia<sup>224</sup>), the great cremation necropolis was assigned beginning with the early 1970s to the Ipotești-Cîndești culture, i.e., to the Romanic, native population<sup>225</sup>). Same theory in the case of the settlement at Suceava-Șipot: in 1958, “Slavonic monuments” found on this site were considered as very similar to the Eastern Slavonic monuments found on the territory of USSR<sup>226</sup>), but in 1971 the artifacts at Suceava-Șipot

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statistical methods for the analysis of the Slavonic pottery, see Tirpakova & Vlkolinska 1992, p. 183—186. With the only exception of *Rusanova*'s work, mentioned by Dan Gh. Teodor, no other major classification work is known to Rumanian authors. For criticism of facile identification of pots with peoples and of the validity of concepts as basic as the archaeological culture, see Kramer 1977 and Shennan 1978.

<sup>222</sup>) Comșa 1958, p. 78: artifacts found in Bucharest-Mihai Vodă, Bucharest-Curtea Veche, Tg. Secuiesc; 1960a, p. 178: artifacts found in Morești and Moldovenesti; Bako 1962, p. 455: artifacts found in grave 42 in Band; Diaconu & Roman 1967, p. 9: artifacts found in Insula Banului. See Comșa 1968, p. 358; 1973a, p. 206; 1975b, p. 339.

<sup>223</sup>) Mitrea 1980, p. 79.

<sup>224</sup>) Nestor 1953, p. 86; 1961, p. 437; 1962, p. 1434 (see Werner 1960, p. 170). Comșa 1959, p. 65; 1960b, p. 176; Matei 1959b, p. 579; Istoria 1960, p. 734; see also Rusu 1973, p. 192; 1978, p. 123; 1980a, p. 257; 1980b, p. 197; 1980c, p. 148; 1981, p. 22.

<sup>225</sup>) Nestor 1970b, p. 176, who explains this attitude change by the reconsideration of the problem of the Slavonic curved fibulae. This attitude change occurs later in *Teodor*'s work: in 1972 curved fibulae found in Sărata Monteoru were supposed to be chronological markers for the earliest dating of the Slavs' migration in the East- and South-Carpathian area, while 13 years later in Sărata Monteoru occurred only “some isolated graves or groups of graves” which could possibly have belonged to the Slavs (*Teodor* 1972b, p. 37; 1985, p. 60).

<sup>226</sup>) *Teodor* 1958, p. 527; Nestor 1962, p. 1435; Slavonic settlements in Suceava-Șipot and “in some other places” have no local cultural elements; see 1970b, p. 175; Matei & Nicorescu 1962, p. 747: the settlement in Suceava-Șipot should be considered as the oldest Slavonic settlement on the territory of modern Romania. Nestor 1965, p. 149: the earliest Slavonic artifacts have been found in Suceava-Șipot, and 1969b, p. 144; *Teodor* 1972a, p. 107; 1972b, p. 34; 1975, p. 158; 1978, p. 38. In 1964 in Suceava-Șipot already appeared the signs of the period in which the Slavonic culture would have been “tout juste influencée par la culture locale” (Nestor 1964, p. 403, who relies upon

already proved that besides the foremost native component, there were also some Early Slavonic elements. Their mixture would have led to a local variant of the Korchak culture, the so-called Șipot-Nezvisko culture, which is supposed to confirm the continuity theory<sup>227</sup>). Once the precedent was set, this enhancing approach was used for other settlements, which have been first assigned to the Slavs, but in which no early Slavonic artifact would later be found<sup>228</sup>).

Permanently wandering, bearing a rather primitive culture and living in temporary settlements in which, even if they are archaeologically imperceptible, they would not have influenced in any way the native population, the Slavs could only lead to demographic increase of the “Romanic village communities”<sup>229</sup>), without altering the structure of these economic and social units of the local population<sup>230</sup>). While first the Slavonic influence at least in the agricultural life has been one of the favorite topics of the Rumanian historiography and linguistic literature<sup>231</sup>) and Slavs have been

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*M. D. Matei's* conclusions of 1962 and upon some other, but “encore inédites” excavations of *Dan Gh. Teodor*).

<sup>227</sup>) Teodor 1971b, p. 1119; Nestor 1973, p. 31: in Suceava-Șipot, pottery of the native population does not make default. Teodor 1973b, p. 202: the early Slavonic artifacts in Suceava-Șipot are “toutes, sans exception, associées à des matériaux archéologiques autochtones”. I think this attitude is mostly evident in *M. D. Matei's* case, who first excavated these settlements: he first considered Suceava as a specific Slavonic settlement and even noticed that there is no evidence of a local influence on these Slavs, so much the less of an assimilation process. Later he assumed that among all pottery artifacts, there are some potsherds, which seem to belong to wheel-made pots. This evidence should confirm that the Slavs adopted them from a population they found here and to whom the wheeled pottery would have been customary. The conclusion of this odd reasoning is that “the relations between the inhabitants of the settlement at Suceava-Șipot and this population positively and rapidly influenced the development of their material culture” (Matei 1989, pp. 44 f.).

<sup>228</sup>) For Ipotești, see Nestor 1961, p. 447 (“a pure Slavonic pithouse”) and 1965, p. 149; cf. Dolinescu-Ferche 1979, p. 172: archaeological layer with no Slavonic artifact. For Iași-Crucea lui Ferent, see Teodor 1973b, p. 205: the earliest Slavonic settlement of the mid-6th century (also 1978, p. 60 note 138; 1979, p. 817). By the time of the publication of the Iași-Crucea lui Ferent site, the same author proposed for this site a dating between the last quarter of the 6th century and the first decades of the 7th century (1971a, p. 121).

<sup>229</sup>) Dolinescu-Ferche 1974, p. 130; 1979b, p. 173.

<sup>230</sup>) Dolinescu-Ferche 1984, p. 145.

<sup>231</sup>) For a general survey of *Emil Petrovici's* opinion about the Slavs' migration, who would have occupied the best places for agriculture and would have thus influenced the agrarian economy of Rumanian people, “who have first been mountaineers”, see Russu 1981, p. 219f. See also Comșa 1959, p. 67; 1980, p. 181; *Istoria* 1960, p. 738; 1971, p. 77.

considered as bringing in the East- and South-Carpathian area a highly developed agriculture<sup>232</sup>), the increasing number of agricultural tools found in settlements of the 7th—10th centuries was later, namely during the 1970s and the 1980s, no more considered as an argument for the Slavonic presence, since “despite some current opinions”, the Slavs would have had, “as everybody knows”, a rather primitive agriculture<sup>233</sup>). Following C. Antonius’s conclusions, *Sergiu Haimovici* assumed that the Slavonic groups which advanced during the second half of the 6th century into the East-Carpathian area were mainly “swine breeding people” and emphasized that among all animal remains in the settlements of the 6th—7th centuries, pork bones are always ranked second in number after bovine bones, which would clearly show the presence in all settlements of the native, cattle breeding population<sup>234</sup>).

Neither did crafts develop too much in the early Slavonic culture<sup>235</sup>), since the Slavs gave birth to a “wooden civilization” in *Niederle’s* terms<sup>236</sup>), although other authors noticed that those Slavs who had come from the northern regions had relatively high-developed methods for smelting local ores, either in simple pits or in special iron-smelting furnaces<sup>237</sup>).

The continuous wars would have stimulated the Slavonic tribes to join in larger tribal unions, conducted by military chieftains. According to many Rumanian authors, the ‘democracy’ mentioned by *Procopius* with regard to the Slavs does not mean what formerly *Iorga* thought, but rather a military democracy, a Marxist concept for that particular form of organization in which the power of the chief is controlled by both warriors’ assembly and elders’ council<sup>238</sup>). During the 6th—7th centuries, the patriarchal village community would have moved into a territorial one; at the same time would have appeared the first social stratification, which seems to be proved by golden, silver or gilded silver artifacts found in cremation graves at Sărata Monteoru<sup>239</sup>). The Slavonic village communities would have been very similar to the local ones, a fact which is reflected by the co-existence in the same settlement or even in the same dwelling of both Slavonic and native artifacts<sup>240</sup>). A

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<sup>232</sup>) Comşa 1975a, p. 182.

<sup>233</sup>) Teodor 1969a, p. 197; 1972a, p. 111; 1980d, p. 78; 1985, p. 56; 1975, p. 160: even artifacts newly discovered in USSR prove that the agriculture of the Slavs was a primitive one.

<sup>234</sup>) Haimovici 1984, p. 313 f.; 1986/1987, p. 258.

<sup>235</sup>) Teodor 1975, p. 162; 1980d, p. 78.

<sup>236</sup>) *Idem*, 1978, p. 49: some artifacts found in Ukraine referring to metal-working have been “too easily assigned to the Slavs”; 1984b, p. 133: there is no agricultural or artisan’s tool in the Slavonic settlements of the 8th—9th century.

<sup>237</sup>) Olteanu 1978, p. 301, who relies upon artifacts found in Udeşti.

<sup>238</sup>) *Istoria* 1960, p. 748; see Nestor 1964, p. 402: tribal social organization.

<sup>239</sup>) *Istoria* 1960, p. 750; see Comşa 1975a, p. 177: the village community became the main social organization form of the Slavs by the mid-6th century.

<sup>240</sup>) Comşa 1967, p. 435.



few years later, Slavs settled down in Dacia, who would have belonged to tribes detached from their original structures, would be considered as adopting under the influence of the “proto-Rumanians” the social organization of the village community with its “old local traditions”<sup>241</sup>). On the contrary, Slavs who settled down in the former Byzantine provinces would have preserved their ancient kinship structures, without joining the Byzantine village communities, because in the Byzantine Empire the fields would have still belonged to inherited private property<sup>242</sup>). The artifacts belonging to the Slavs which have been found in local settlements should naturally be ascribed to some splinter Slavonic families, which would have been accepted by means of exogamy by the local village community. Without any historical arguments referring to the social and political organization of the local population and without any attempt to draw a sociological definition of the “Romanic village community”, many Rumanian authors even assumed that those Slavs had been accepted by the local communities under certain circumstances, “according to the rules of the Daco-Romanic village community”, i.e. after that the newcomers would have learned local language and adopted local material culture<sup>243</sup>). At the same time and with the same kind of arguments, the Slavonic ‘kings’ *Dauritas*, *Ardagast*, *Piragast* and *Mousokios* or other anonymous chieftains, whose residence would have been signalized by casting moulds for jewels or crosses, became leaders of “valley principalities” (“cnezate de vale”)<sup>244</sup>). *Ion Nestor* suggested that the names of these ‘kings’ have stemmed from the Dacian names of the rivers in the eastern part of the Wallachian Plain and thus prolonged *Iorga*’s argument<sup>245</sup>). Whatever origin these names might have, the new order established by the Slavs on the Lower Danube would have secured the political stability for a very long time<sup>246</sup>). Since there is no historical evidence of a longer existence of these political and military structures, they should have been only temporary<sup>247</sup>).

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<sup>241</sup>) Nestor 1970a, p. 104; see Teodor 1978, p. 46; 1975, p. 165 and p. 169; 1980d, p. 78 and p. 113; 1985, p. 56.

<sup>242</sup>) Rusu 1979, p. 196. For the opposite opinion, see Dolinescu-Ferche 1984, p. 145 and note 147.

<sup>243</sup>) Teodor 1984b, p. 133.

<sup>244</sup>) Comşa 1975a, p. 197; 1978, p. 109 and p. 114—116; 1986, p. 139; Teodorescu 1980, p. 82 and p. 84: the political entities conducted by *Ardagast*, *Mousokios* and *Piragast* “représentent les preuves de la réaffirmation des traditions politico-organisationnelles autochtones, ayant à la base des confédérations de communautés en ‘pays’”.

<sup>245</sup>) Nestor 1970a, p. 104; see *Iorga* 1937, p. 307. The analogy between *Mousokios* and Muzakia Plain in Albania has been followed by Cihodaru 1972, p. 6. See also Teodor 1972a, p. 110; 1981a, p. 21; Teodorescu 1980, p. 82.

<sup>246</sup>) Cihodaru 1972, p. 2, who relies upon *Menander*’s testimony; see *Menander the Guardsman*, fragment 21.55f. (ed. R. C. Blockley, Liverpool 1985, p. 194).

<sup>247</sup>) Dolinescu-Ferche 1979b, p. 174; 1979a, p. 230; 1984, p. 145.

As stated above, even referring to the social organization, the opinions of Rumanian authors, when not fallacies, preserved the same dichotomous distribution: on the one hand, the Slavs are viewed as a civilizing people, disposed to agrarian occupations and organized in territorial communities, which will later develop in larger political structures inherited by the first Rumanian medieval principalities; on the other, the topic of the ‘Slavonic primitive culture’ allowed large digressions on the social and economic development of the early Slavonic civilization and on the superiority of the local village community, which is supposed to give a fair explanation for the swift assimilation of the Slavs, strictly according to the “rules of the Daco-Roman village community”. The Rumanian archaeological literature seems to ignore all modern approaches to this subject, whether of historical<sup>248</sup>) or anthropological perspective<sup>249</sup>), thus reducing its area of interest to a viewpoint which is in most cases overlooking the historical data.

Does this approach reflect the real stage of the Rumanian research in this field or rather an ideological paradigm? It is well known that archaeological interpretations are used by social groups to enhance the group’s self-confidence by making its success appear natural, predestined and inevitable, to inspire and justify collective action and to disguise collective interests as altruism. Archaeology is therefore used to providing groups and whole societies with mythical charters. It grows in a political environment where some people consider it as “useful” and others as “dangerous”. *Alain Schnapp’s* investigations on Nazi Germany show that in this particular case the state was trying to regain as soon as possible the factitious neutrality of the archaeologists. Several other examples, as for instance the fact that the contribution of the Ugrian-Finnish populations to the ethnogenesis of the Slavs ‘changed’ in conformity to the evolution of the Soviet-Finnish relations in the 1970s, lead to a similar conclusion<sup>250</sup>). As for Rumania, this is a meaningful question, since it has already been observed that the historiography of the Communist regime becomes more and more rhetorical, while using discriminations and deliberately ignoring what was merely inappropriate, in accordance with the political opportunity (*ars politicae dicendi*)<sup>251</sup>).

Therefore I will try in the following lines to measure the ideological charge of the Rumanian archaeologists’ opinions regarding the Early Slavs. I choose enough topic segments to allow the identification of the meaning-indices and

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<sup>248</sup>) Ditten 1978, p. 73—160; Pritsak 1983, p. 353—432.

<sup>249</sup>) Pohl 1988, p. 125f.; see Wenskus 1977; Arutyunov & Khazanov 1981, p. 671ff.

<sup>250</sup>) Schnapp 1981, p. 81f.; see also Arnold 1992, p. 36f. Plumet 1984, p. 44f. (with many other references); Blakey 1983, p. 7: Eastern Europe archaeologists demonstrate the greatest consistency between their interests and the production of state ideology. See Trigger 1989, p. 15. For the issues of the South-African archaeologists under apartheid, see Hall 1988, p. 62ff.

<sup>251</sup>) Georgescu 1991, p. 132.

the accurate recording of the evaluative charge<sup>252</sup>). I noticed that for *Maria Comșa*, the most frequent topic is 'the Prague type pottery' (12 references), followed by 'the curved fibulae' and 'the Korchak type pottery' (11 and 8 references) (fig. 3). The curved fibulae occur also regularly in *Nestor's* articles (8 references), although not so often as the 'late dating of the Slavs' advance to the Lower Danube (second half of the 6th century)' (10 references) (fig. 8). *Ion Nestor* ranked 'Prague type pottery' as only fourth in importance (5 references), after 'Suceava-Șipot, specific Slavonic settlement' or 'Sărata Monteoru, specific Slavonic cemetery' (each 6 references). A similar topic structure show the articles of *Dan Gh. Teodor* and *Ioan Mitrea* (fig. 10 and 7). As stated above, both authors placed the highest value on the late dating of the Slavs' migration (24 and 10 references), followed by the 'primitive Slavonic civilization' (23 and 4 references) and the 'Korchak-Zhitomir type pottery' (20 and 5 references). It is noticeable that this pattern of topic frequency is closer to the one in *Nestor's* articles than to the pattern of *Comșa's* work. Similarly in the articles of *Kurt Horedt*, curved fibulae are ranked first, then 'Slavonic toponymy is the oldest' and 'late dating'<sup>253</sup>). A significant discrepancy show only *Suzana Dolinescu-Ferche's* articles, where the most frequent topic is 'Slavs did neither destroy nor interrupt the settlements of the native population' (5 references) (fig. 5), while for *Petre Diaconu* it is much more important that the Slavs did not settle down in Dobrogea and that they did cross the Danube by the ford near Silistra (4 references) (fig. 4). *Mircea Rusu* ranked first the Slavonic necropolis at Sărata Monteoru (7 references), then the 'dependency of the Slavs upon the Avars' and 'the Slavonic contribution to the new cultural synthesis in the South- and East-Carpathian area' (each 5 references) (fig. 9). A comparison of the lowest values reveals also significant parallels. *Maria Comșa* is less concerned with the 'primitive civilization of the Slavs', with the fact that the Slavs assimilated the Dacian population and that they influenced both Romanic and Avarian peoples, but also with their archaeologically imperceptible presence. In contrast, *Ion Nestor* referred only once to the immediate contact between native population and Slavs, to the fact that the Slavs were neither colonizers nor numerous or sedentary people; he ascribed only once the necropolis at Sărata Monteoru to the Ipotești-Cîndești culture, and similarly assumed that the Slavs utilized the wheeled pottery during the 7th century; he ascribed to the Slavs the pottery made of paste with pebbles in composition and the open hearths; he referred only once to the fact that the Slavs determined the decreasing living standard in the North-Danubian region and that they had been later assimilated in Moldavia than in other areas (fig. 8). *Dan Gh. Teodor* and *Ioan Mitrea* echoed many of these topics of lowest value, particularly 'the wheeled pottery utilized by Slavs', 'the regressive cultural effects' and 'the late assimilation during the 10th century in some Mol-

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<sup>252</sup>) For the methods of the evaluative assertion analysis, see Bardin 1991, p. 209—213. See also the annexed sample of work.

<sup>253</sup>) A similar topic structure occur also in *Székely's* work: 'late dating' (5 references), 'Prague type pottery' and 'Korchak-Zhitomir type pottery' (each 2 references).

davian areas' (fig. 10 and 7). *Suzana Dolinescu-Ferche* paid little attention to the late advance of the Slavs to the Lower Danube, to the fact that they became sedentary, but still remained conservative, to their adaptation to the local social structures, and to the absence of Slavonic influences on the civilization of the native population (fig. 5).

It is worthwhile to look at the progression of these attitudes. It is interesting that *Maria Comşa* preferred the following topics between 1958 and 1964: 'Prague type pottery', 'curved fibulae', 'Sărata Monteoru, specific Slavonic cemetery', 'cremation burials, specific Slavonic feature', 'the Slavs as sedentary people', 'the agriculture was the main occupation of the Early Slavs', 'the Slavs were dependant upon the Avars', 'the early division of the Slavonic tribes', 'the Slavs assimilated the Dacian population', 'the Slavs imposed hard taxes to the local population'. Beginning with 1964, new topics appeared in her work: 'the Slavs acquired great political power', 'the peaceful and sedentary Slavs', 'the Slavs influenced both Romanic and Avarian populations', 'the Slavonic village community', 'the Slavs lived together with the natives'. In the early 1970s, *Maria Comşa* produced new topics such as 'the amalgamation of the Slavs and the natives', 'the primitive Slavonic culture', 'the conquering Slavs', 'the pit-house with post-holes', 'the clay oven', 'the Martynovka type clasps', 'the archaeologically imperceptible Slavonic presence' and the 'valley principalities' (fig. 11).

*Ion Nestor* generated between 1953 and 1958 topics such as 'cremation funeral urn', 'Sărata Monteoru, specific Slavonic cemetery', 'cremation pit-grave', 'the political domination of the Slavs', 'the primitive culture of the Slavs'. Beginning with 1959, he preferred 'Slavonic contribution to the genesis of the Rumanian people', 'the contacts between Slavs and Avars', 'the Prague type pottery', 'the curved fibulae' and the 'late dating of the Slavs' migration'. A new group of themes appeared in 1961/1962, when *Nestor* engendered 'the Slavs as migratory people, but also as colonizers' and emphasized that the Slavs always returned in their former territories eastward of the Prut river, that they were not dependant upon the Avars, that they crossed the Danube in Dobrogea and that there is no 'pure' Slavonic settlement. The following topics appeared only in 1970 and only for each of them: 'the Slavs were not colonizers', 'the cemetery of Sărata Monteoru belongs to the Ipoteşti-Cîndeşti culture', 'the Slavs determined the lowering of the living standard' and 'the Slavonic kings had Dacian names' (fig. 14).

It follows that *Maria Comşa* and *Ion Nestor* used almost the same topics between 1953 and 1968, laying more stress on the Prague type pottery, the curved fibulae, the cemetery at Sărata Monteoru, the supremacy of the Avars upon Slavs, the political domination of the Slavs upon native population and their symbiosis. In contrast, they seem to prefer different values of the dichotomous topics, e.g. 'early division vs. no division', 'early dating vs. late dating', 'sedentary vs. unstable people', 'tribal organization vs. village communities'. Nevertheless both authors changed their topic patterns and spawned some new topics, such as 'primitive Slavonic culture' or 'disastrous effects of the Slavs' migration'. It should be remembered that while *Maria Comşa* refused to abandon topics like 'conquering Slavs', 'early linguistic influence upon the native population' or 'valley principalities', *Ion Nestor* placed more stress on

the unsubstantial archaeological evidence of the Slavonic presence: the cemetery at Sărata Monteoru no more belongs to the Slavs, nor could one accept a general Slavonic settling and, as a matter of fact, the Slavonic chieftains used to have local names of Dacian origin. *Dan Gh. Teodor* and *Ioan Mitrea* properly reutilized many of *Nestor's* arguments, but paid much more attention to the devastating effects of the Slavs' migration in the East- and South-Carpathian area, which would have caused the break of the local habitation, and focused on the fact that the Slavs have returned in their homeland across the river Dniester. The Slavs are now much more influenced by the local civilization than before, since the two authors resuscitated the idea generated in the early 1960s by *Ion Nestor*, according to which no 'pure' Slavonic settlement has yet been discovered. *Dan Gh. Teodor* and *Ioan Mitrea* accent now the 'primitive civilization' of the Slavs, with more stress on agriculture and crafts. By the beginning of the 1970s appeared the first references to the directions of the Slavs' migration on the Moldavian territory, to the influences of the northern peoples upon the Slavs and to a possible, early settling of the Slavs at Iași-Crucea lui Ferent. In the second half of this decade, a slight and gradual change of this pattern ranked first topics like 'the lack of any influence upon the genesis of the Rumanian people' or 'the primitive social organization of the Early Slavs' (while emphasizing in contrast the superiority of the local organization). Topics that originated 10 years before were still in use in the early 1980s: 'the dependency of the Slavs upon the Avars', 'the temporary settling of the Slavs on the Rumanian territory', 'the permanent migration of the Slavs', 'the devastating effects of their presence on the local civilization'. The Slavs are now unable to influence the evolution of this civilization, since they represent only a scant demographic layer in contrast with the bulky appearance of the native population. Therefore they should have been immediately absorbed during the genesis of the Rumanian people (fig. 13, 15). A similar topic pattern ensued at the same time from *Suzana Dolinescu-Ferche's* articles (fig. 12).

The chronological distribution of the following dichotomous topics: 'late vs. early dating'; 'disastrous or disturbing effects vs. non-devastating or non-disturbing effects'; 'the Slavs caused important changes in the local civilization vs. they didn't change anything at all in the local civilization'; 'migratory, non-numerous, conquering, aggressive, and non-colonizers vs. sedentary, numerous, peaceful, and colonizers'; 'dependency upon Avars vs. independent toward the Avars'; 'political domination, influence upon the Romanic population, participated to the genesis of the Rumanian people vs. no political domination, influenced by the Romanic population, no participation to the genesis of the Rumanian people'; 'political organization and stability vs. lack of political organization and political instability, — features an important increase of frequency of the positive values in the years 1970—1976 and 1978—1983 (fig. 16—22). If there is general agreement that the 'decade of the false legends' of the Rumanian historiography during the Communist regime began with the "RCP's Program for the Building of the Multilaterally Developed, Socialist Society and Romania's Advance to Communism", which has been adopted at the 11th Congress of the Party (1974), then it could be assumed that this noticeable increase in the frequency of those opinions, which

exaggerate the role of native population in contrast with the Slavs, could only be explained by the ideological pressure introduced at the time of this congress. In any case, it should be noticed that the “Program” contains an important idea, which recurrently occurs in the archaeological literature: the migratory peoples (including Slavs) are responsible for serious “lagging behind” (“serioase rămîneri în urmă”) of the general development of productive forces and civilization in this country<sup>254</sup>). It is much more difficult to interpret the second peak of frequency, in the early 1980s, but it is very tempting to relate it to the exaltation of the Thracian-Dacian origin of Rumanian people around 1980, as the Communist regime organized the pompous 2050th anniversary of the centralized independent Dacian state under *Burebista*. It should be noticed also that during this particular period, topics issued ten years before were reutilized in a sharper, more nationalistic way.

At the end of this study, it is possible to draw the final conclusions:

1. In a very different manner, as compared to Rumanian historiography before World War II, the changing image of the Early Slavs in the archaeological literature of the last 50 years seem to have been one of its major subjects, which has been highly biased by the ideological paradigm.

2. Mostly because of this ancillary position, but also because of impressive material conditions offered by the new political regime to the general development of social sciences, the Rumanian archaeological literature very rapidly

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<sup>254</sup>) Congresul al XI—lea al PCR, Bucharest 1975, p. 619. For the interpretation of this section, see Georgescu 1991, p. 76 and p. 103. By the mid-1970s, when the Slavs were neither nomads, nor aggressive, but rather peaceful colonizers, they were thought to have worked and lived together with the Rumanian people (a dim recollection of *Bogdan's* argument), while fighting side by side for freedom and independence, for social justice and a better life (N. Ceaușescu, *România pe drumul construirii societății socialiste multilaterale dezvoltate*. Vol. 14, Bucharest 1977, p. 320). In the following years, as the image of the Slavs entirely changed, migratory peoples were blamed for serious obstruction of the general development in Romania and the political discourse already began to utilize the topics concocted previously for that aim by the archaeological literature (N. Ceaușescu, *Expunere cu privire la stadiul actual al edificării socialismului în țara noastră, la problemele teoretice, ideologice și ale activității politico-educative a partidului, prezentată la plenary largită a CC al PCR, 1—2 iunie 1982*. Bucharest 1982, p. 14; *idem*, *Revoluția socială și națională în istoria României*. Bucharest 1984, p. 14; cf. Teodor 1980a, p. 66; *idem*, 1980d, p. 78; 1981b, p. 37; 1982, p. 40; 1989, p. 208; 1991, p. 33 and p. 60). For the “new staff policy” which accompanied these political changes and determined the retirement of *C. Daicoviciu* and *Al. Rosetti*, see Georgescu 1991, p. 83f. This is the particular period in which Western countries recorded the first attempts of Communist Romania to revive its “Roman, Western” history: Reader’s Guide for literature and publications did no more list “Rumania” (with Slavonic connotations), but “Romania”. For these changes, as reflected by the American press, see Harrington & Courtney 1988, p. 115f.; cf. Harrington 1992, p. 280ff.

accumulated between 1950 and 1990 an enormous amount of archaeological data<sup>255</sup>), but was less concerned with its processing and archaeological or/historical interpretation. The lack of general knowledge referring to similar archaeological evidence from Ukraine, Poland and Bulgaria, but in some particular cases also from Romania, induced a striking stiffness of the interpretation, which was greatly stimulated by the topic standardization imposed under ideological pressure.

3. Without any precise criteria for ethnic ascription and without any critical attempt to define the 'ethnic ascription' itself<sup>256</sup>), the archaeological presence of the Slavs and their relations to the local population were viewed through the general concept of culture as a body of shared ideas, values and beliefs, artifacts being products of these shared ideas. Culture was supposed to change only when ideas, values and norms are changing, that is mainly because of migration. Temporal changes within sites over short periods of time became hence crucial for answering questions of a rather historical nature. As they perceived the need for increasingly tight controls over chronological variation, Rumanian authors were mainly concerned with the dating of the Slavs' migration and with the constructing of a time-space grid. While still focusing on a cultural-historical paradigm, they emphasized the largely accepted Slavonic cultural pattern (pit-house with stone oven + Prague-Korchak type pottery + cremation burials), but failed to extend their concern with change to the properties of the cultural systems that lead to the acceptance of innovations coming from outside. In spite of the abundance of archaeological evidence, continuously published in Rumanian periodicals, and of *Nestor's* wish to gradually sort artifacts of the migratory peoples and ultimately to separate the natives' cultural pattern, Rumanian archaeologists did nothing but use historical data to "put flesh on the archaeological skeleton<sup>257</sup>)."

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<sup>255</sup>) According to a preliminary reckoning I made in 1991, there are 1048 archaeological contexts already published and commonly dated in the 5th—7th centuries: 409 dwellings, 23 ovens, 3 kilns, 10 hearths, 2 furnaces and 583 graves (32 cremation burials), which have been found on 318 different sites. This represents a considerable database, taking into account that in a general analysis of the Early Slavonic culture in Poland, *M. Parczewski* utilized only 120 contexts discovered on 32 different sites (especially dwellings, but also 9 cremation burials). See Parczewski 1988, p. 128. There are important "white spots", as for instance the great cremation necropolis in Sărata Monteoru, with more than 1500 graves, excavated by *Ion Nestor* beginning with the early 1950s, later by his assistant, *Eugenia Zaharia*. The cemetery is still unpublished. See for more references to this cemetery in Fiedler 1992, p. 74—88. However, beginning with the early 1970s, many important settlements were more or less accurately, but completely published. *Suzana Dolinescu-Ferche* was the first Rumanian author to do so (Dolinescu-Ferche 1974: p. 18f., p. 22, pp. 63—90). See also 1979a; Teodor 1984b, Székely 1974/1975, Ignat 1973, etc.

<sup>256</sup>) See Harhoiu 1987, p. 128; Balint 1987, p. 188; Pohl 1988, p. 117.

<sup>257</sup>) Flannery 1974, p. 5ff.; Binford 1968, pp. 5—14; see more on the culture-historical archaeology, its roots and goals, in Trigger 1989, pp. 148—

4. The noteworthy, dichotomous nature of the conclusions of the Rumanian archaeological literature, because of the influence of the culture-historical paradigm (native vs. migratory peoples), but also because of the *τόποι* displayed by the political propaganda (civilized vs. barbarian peoples, progress vs. decay etc.) created a specific image of the ‘Barbarians’, particularly of the Slavs, which is still in use among Rumanian archaeologists. This polarization of the archaeological explanation makes ‘official theories’ still highly attractive and obstructs any attempt to introduce critical perspectives.

5. Many of the topics issued by *A. D. Xenopol*, *Ioan Bogdan* or *Nicolae Iorga* have been selected and reutilized, in order to make them suitable for the newly accumulated archaeological evidence. But the fact that Rumanian archaeologists showed limited interest for special historical literature referring to this particular subject made futile this reappraisal of the Rumanian historiography. It should be considered as an attempt to merely justify ideological adherence, rather than true concern with historiographical heritage.

Hence it could be assumed that after 90 years *Bogdan’s* demand is still without any answer. Together with the fade-away of *Ranke’s* core of objectivity, the study of those who “settled among us and lived together with us” during the 6th—10th centuries seems to permanently vacillate between an alluring definition of the “original features of the ancient Rumanian culture” and *historia ancillae politicae*.

#### **Evaluative assertion analysis of the archaeological interpretations of the Early Slavs’ culture. A sample of work.**

Created in 1956 by *Saporta*, *Osgood* and *Nunnally* (C. E. Osgood, “The representational model and relevant research methods”. In: *Trends in content analysis*. Ed. I. de S. Pool, Chicago: University of Illinois Press 1959), the evaluative assertion analysis (EAA) is expected to measure the attitude of the speaker referring to the objects on which he or she is making assertions and it is based namely on a ‘representational’ perspective on language (according to which the language represents, i.e. directly reflects the one who utilizes it). An attitude could be considered as a nucleus or an unconscious matrix, which could be generated and measured by means of a considerable set of descriptions and evaluations (Bardin 1991, p. 209). Its main attributes are direction and intensity, which means that the analysis should focus on the evaluative assertions of a text.

I selected 16 titles from the references’ list and utilized the evaluative index given by the attitude object (AO), i.e. ‘the (Early) Slavs’, the evaluative common-meaning terms (cm) and the verbal connectors (c), which are supposed to associate the attitude object with the common-meaning terms. After selection of the assertions with AO ‘Slavs’ and evaluative charge, I transformed them into the

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206, according to whom the culture-historical approach is still dominant in many countries, because it could be used to bolster the pride and morale of nations or ethnic groups, especially in countries where appeals for national unity are being made to counteract serious internal divisions.



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most elementary form, in order to obtain affirmative simple assertions based on a rudimentary syntactic combination (agent-action-complement).

After each verbal connector and each common-meaning term have received their corresponding negative or positive direction, I measured its intensity by means of a 7—wide range intensity scale (from +3 to —3). The verbal connectors received positive values each time the verb was relating agent to its complement. A higher intensity (+3 or —3) has been recorded each time the verbs ‘a fi’ (to be) or ‘a avea’ (to have) or their synonyms (e.g. ‘a se afla’) occurred in indicative mood. A middle intensity (+2 or —2) has been recorded for verbs indicating the imminence, the incomplete or probable nature or the evolution (‘a perturba’, ‘a determina’, ‘a aduce’, ‘a interveni’, ‘a participa’, ‘a refuza’, ‘a provoca’, ‘a exercita’, ‘a frâna’, ‘a putea’). Finally a lower intensity (+1 or —1) has been recorded for each unspecified or hypothetical relation (‘a pătrunde’, ‘a adopta’, ‘a se stabili’, ‘a se infiltra’, ‘a înainta’, ‘a face eforturi’). I assigned the same values to the common-meaning terms, according to their favorable or unfavorable character toward AO ‘Slavs’. One should remember that these values are determined in their particular context.

By multiplying the values associated with each verbal connector and with each common-meaning term and by adding all the results found in an article, one could get the article’s ratio. The favorable or unfavorable attitude recorded is then measured by means of a quotient between the sum of the (cm x c) products and the analyzed assertions’ product for each article and the wide range index of the scale (3). In order to compare the resulting attitudes, all figures have been represented on a 7—wide range scale (from +3 to —3) (fig. 23). The conclusions are as follows:

a) unlike many other authors, *Maria Comşa* had a constantly favorable attitude toward AO ‘Slavs’.

b) while expressing in the 1960s a rather neutral attitude, *Ion Nestor* suddenly issued outstanding negative statements in the early 1970s; he would be followed by *Dan Gh. Teodor*, who would also reutilize topics with the same evaluative charge during the early 1980s. The most unfavorable attitude against AO ‘Slavs’ has been recorded in *Ligia Bârzu’s* and *Gh. Coman’s* articles.

c) a rather neutral, although sometimes negative attitude has been recorded in *S. Dolinescu-Ferche’s* articles. At the same time, although apparently reproducing topics used by *Dan Gh. Teodor*, *Ioan Mitrea’s* attitude toward AO ‘Slavs’ was in 1980 a rather favorable one.

### Bârzu 1979

80: slavii au (+3) o cultură extrem de rudimentară (—3)= —9

84: slavii se află (+3) într-o netă inferioritate față de autohtoni (—3)= —9

85: slavii au (+3) o cultură extrem de rudimentară (—3)= —9

85: slavii (determină) (+2) decăderea (civilizației din spațiul carpato-danubian) (—2)= —4

85: slavii au (+3) o insuficientă diviziune a muncii (—2)= —6

85: slavii au (+3) o agricultură primitivă (—2)= —6

Total: —43; unfavorable —2.39

**Coman 1979**

197: slavii au (+3) o ceramică grosieră și primitiv executată (—2)= —6  
208: slavii nu au (—3) așezări pure (+3)= —9  
208: slavii sunt (+3) migratori (—3)= —9  
208: slavii nu sunt (—3) organizați în triburi teritoriale (+2)= —6  
Total: —30; unfavorable —2.50

**Comșa 1973**

197: slavii exercită (+2) influență inegală (+1)= +2  
198: slavii nu sunt (—3) nomazi (—3)= +9  
215: slavii devin (+2) sedentari (+3)= +6  
217: slavii pătrund (+2) pașnic (+3)= +6  
Total: +23; favorable +1.90

**Comșa 1974**

305: slavii sunt (+3) o populație sedentară (+3)= +9  
305: slavii nu erau (—3) o populație nomadă (—3)= +9  
307: slavii au înaintat (+1) în mod pașnic (+3)= +3  
308: slavii se infiltrează (+1) treptat, insesizabil (—1)= —1  
309: slavii sunt (+3) supuși avarilor (—3)= —6  
313: slavii nu provoacă (—2) tulburări de mare amploare (—3)= +6  
316: slavii sunt (+3) mai capabili (+2)= +6  
Totale: +17; favorable +0.71

**Dolinescu-Ferche 1974**

130: slavii au (+3) o cultură materială inferioară (—2)= —6  
131: slavii se infiltrează (+1) treptat (—1)= —1  
131: slavii nu au (—3) așezări “curate” (+3)= —9  
131: slavii nu sunt (—3) distrugători (—3)= +9  
Total: —7; unfavorable —0.58

**Dolinescu-Ferche 1979**

172: slavii nu sunt (—3) distrugători (—3)= +9  
174: slavii nu au (—3) așezări pure (+3)= —9  
175: slavii sunt (+3) controlați de avari (—2)= —6  
175: slavii nu sunt (—3) tributari avarilor (—2)= +6  
175: slavii nu au (—3) formațiuni politice stabile (+2)= —6  
Total: —6; unfavorable —0.40

**Mitrea 1980**

116: slavii nu sunt (—3) distrugători (—3)= +9  
117: slavii nu trăiesc (—3) izolați (—3)= +9  
121: slavii au (+3) o cultură primitivă (—3)= —9  
121: slavii sunt (+3) asimilați rapid (—2)= —6  
122: slavii nu participă (—2) la etnogeneză (+1)= —2  
Total: +1; favorable +0.06

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### **Nestor 1961**

429: slavii sunt (+3) migratori (—3)= —9  
433: slavii nu sunt (—3) supuși dominației avarilor (—2)= +6  
433: slavii intervin (+2) în etnogeneză (+1)= +2  
Total: —1; unfavorable —0.10

### **Nestor 1963**

45: slavii sunt (+3) jefuitori (—2)= —6  
46: slavii nu sunt (—3) numeroși (+2)= —6  
49: slavii nu sunt (—3) capabili de viață urbană (—2)= +6  
49: slavii nu sunt (+3) agricultori (+2)= +6  
65: slavii sunt (+3) supuși dominației avarilor (—2)= —6  
66: slavii sunt (+3) curajoși (+3)= +9  
Total: +3; favorable +0.17

### **Nestor 1970**

102: slavii nu se așează (—2) în mod durabil în Dacia (+2)= —4  
104: slavii sunt (+3) în minoritate în Oltenia și Muntenia (—2)= —6  
104: slavii nu au avut (—3) răgaz pentru organizare tribală (+2)= —6  
108: slavii au adus (+2) o cultură arhaică (—1)= —2  
Total: —22; unfavorable —1.47

### **Teodor 1969**

191: slavii nu se stabilesc (—2) în mod pașnic (+3)= —6  
197: slavii nu aveau (—3) un stadiu mai avansat de civilizație (+2)= —6  
197: slavii practicau (+2) agricultură cu metode primitive (—2)= —4  
199: slavii adoptă (+2) repede (civilizația locală) (+2)= +4  
Total: —12; unfavorable —1

### **Teodor 1975**

159: slavii au (+3) o civilizație primitivă (—3)= —9  
160: slavii au pătruns (+1) ca și colonizatori (—2)= —2  
160: slavii nu au pătruns (—1) în mod pașnic (+3)= —3  
162: slavii nu cunosc (—2) tehnici înaintate de olărit (+2)= —4  
162: slavii au abandonat (+2) propria lor cultură arhaică (—1)= —2  
168: slavii percep (+2) tribut de la localnici (—2)= —4  
Total: —24; unfavorable —1.33

### **Teodor 1978**

40: slavii nu au (—3) așezări pure (+3)= —9  
40: slavii au (+3) așezări temporare (—2)= —6  
42: slavii au (+3) o ceramică modelată neîngrijit (—2)= —6  
49: slavii au (+3) forțe de producție slab dezvoltate (—2)= —6  
49: slavii nu au avut (—3) o agricultură prea dezvoltată (+2)= —6  
Total: —33; unfavorable —2.20

**Teodor 1980**

- 78: slavii au perturbat (—2) dezvoltarea ascendentă a localnicilor (+2)= —4  
78: slavii au (+3) o cultura arhaică (—1)= —3  
78: slavii au (+3) un stadiu de dezvoltare mai puțin avansat (+1)= +3  
78: slavii nu au (—3) așezări necontaminate (+3)= —9  
78: slavii se stabilesc (+1) ca și colonizatori (—2)= —2  
78: slavii sunt (+3) dependenți de avari (—3)= —9  
Total: —24; unfavorable —1.33

**Teodor 1982**

- 38: slavii nu pătrund (—1) în chip pașnic (+3)= —3  
40: slavii aveau (+3) o cultură inferioară (—2)= —6  
40: slavii nu erau (—3) numeroși (+2)= —6  
41: slavii adoptă (+1) civilizația superioară locală (+3)= +3  
Total: —12; unfavorable —1

**Teodor 1984b**

- 133: slavii aveau (+3) un nivel inferior de dezvoltare social-economică (—2)= —6  
133: slavii (aveau) (+3) forțe de producție rămase mult în urmă (—3)= —9  
133: slavii se aflau (+3) pe o treaptă inferioară din punct de vedere social-economic (—2)= —6  
133: slavii se aflau (+3) într-un stadiu inferior de dezvoltare (—2)= —6  
133: slavii fac eforturi (+1) de a se integra (obștilor locale) (+2)= +2  
135: slavii nu au avut (—3) forța de a modifica etnogeneza (+2)= —6  
138: slavii nu au putut (—2) să contribuie la etnogeneza (+1)= —2  
Total: —37; unfavorable —1.54

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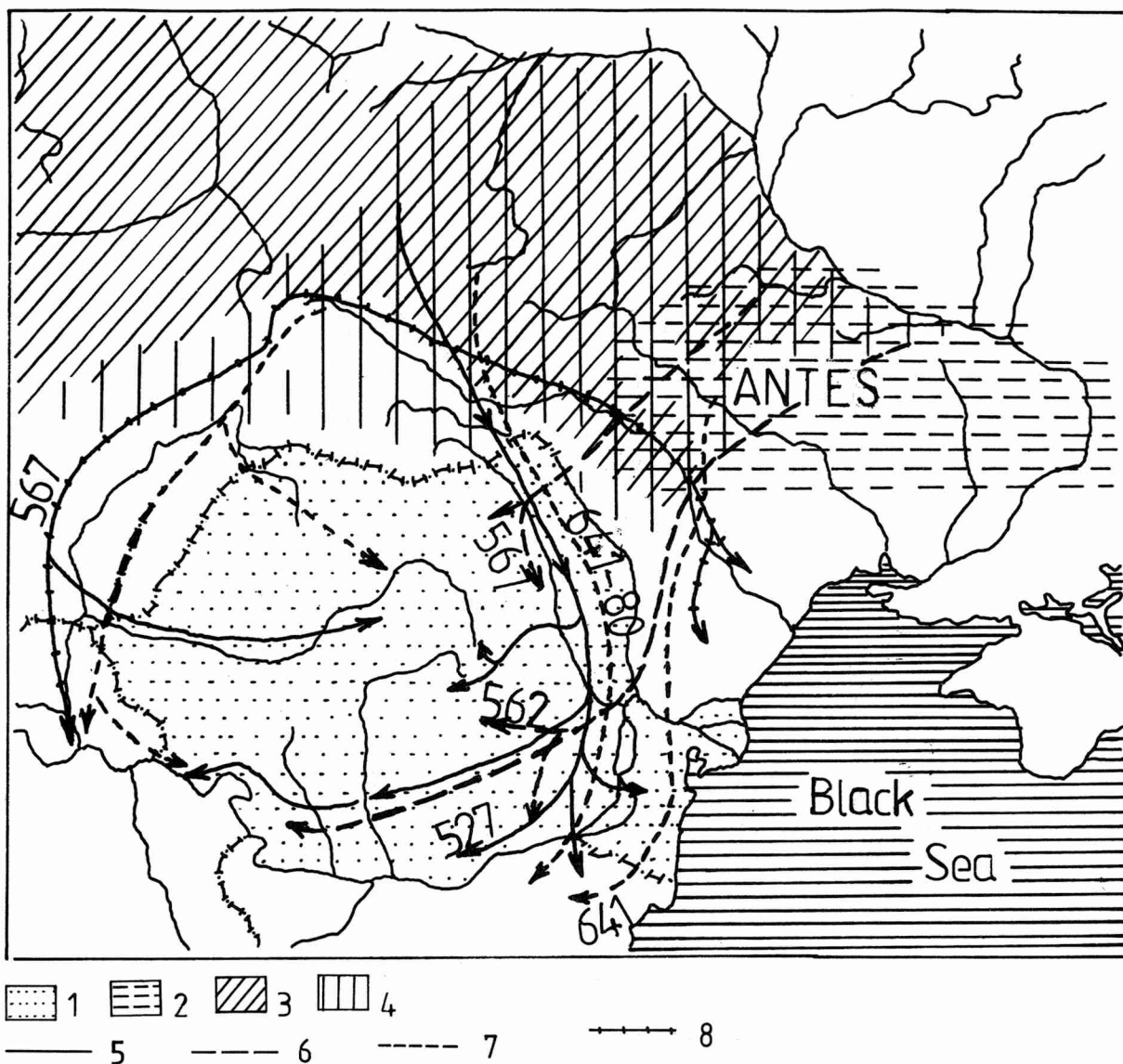


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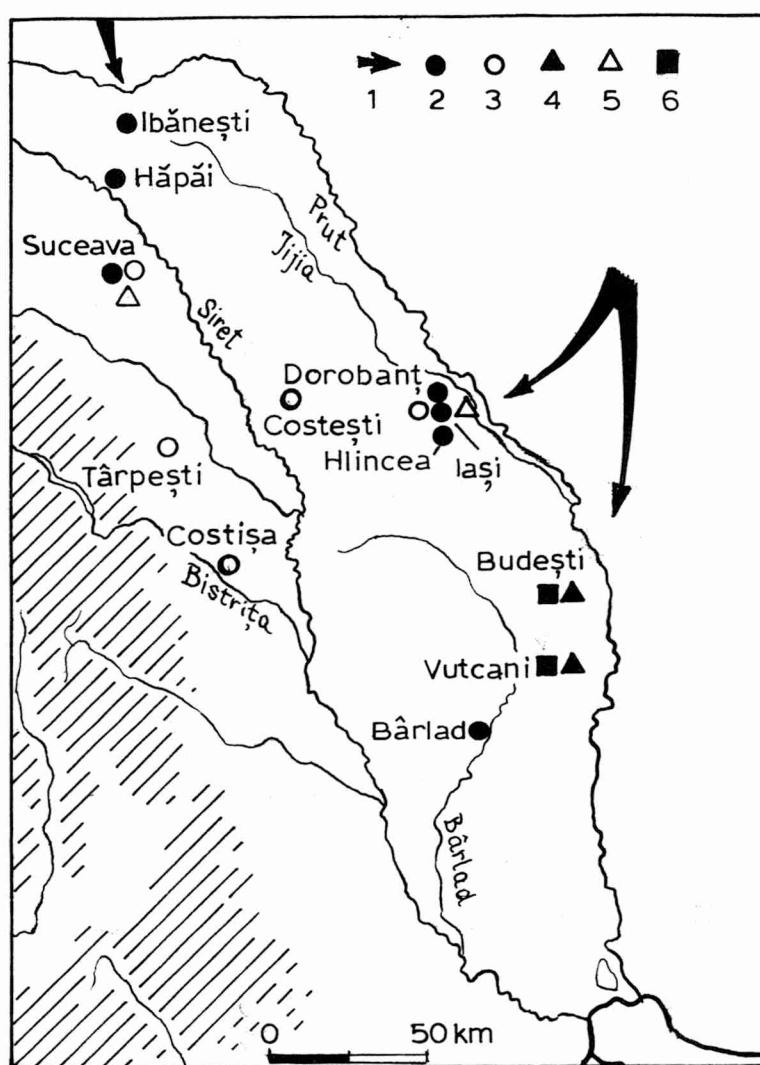
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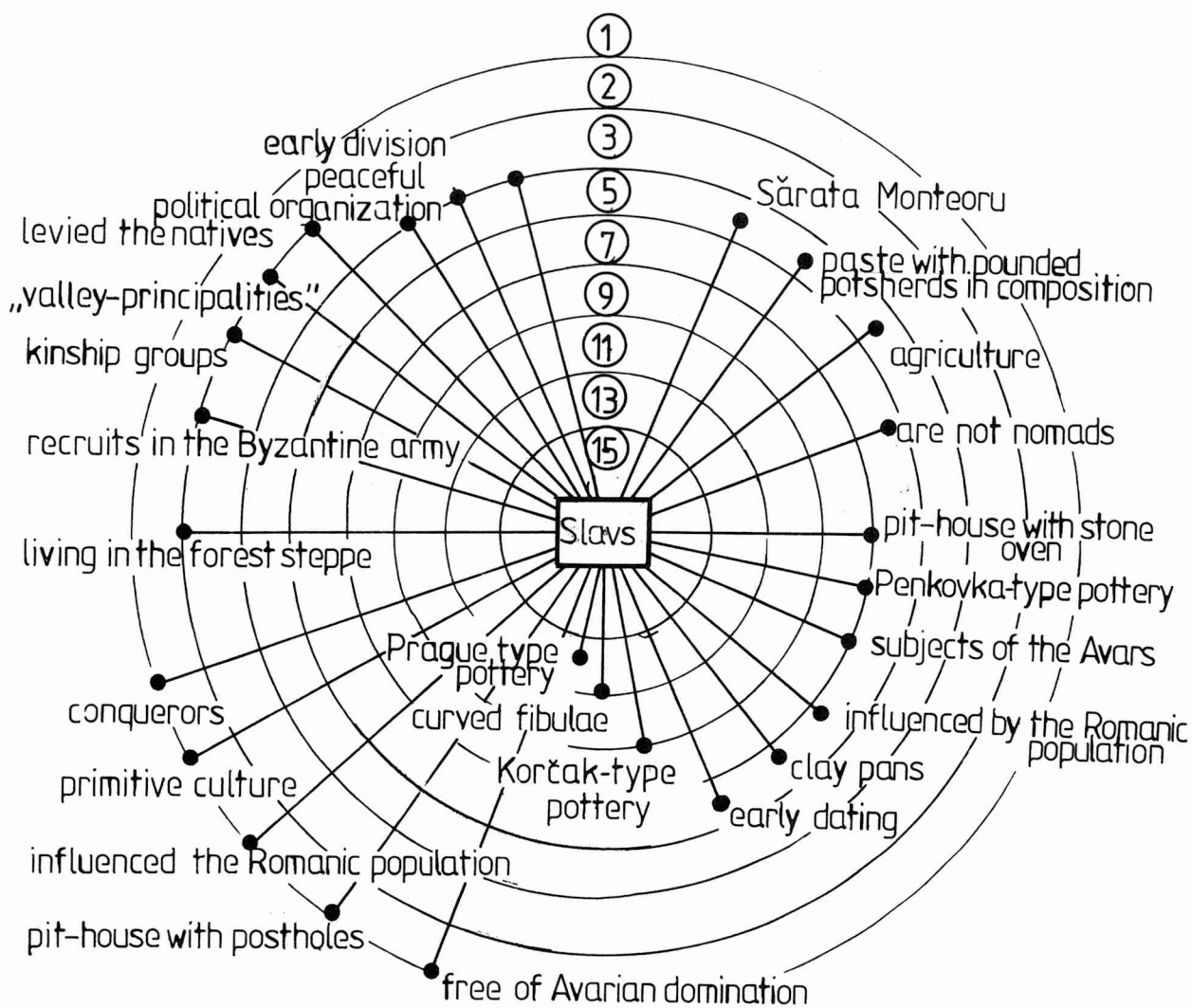
**1. Waves of the Slavs' migration on the territory of Romania**

(after Comşa 1973a, p. 222, fig. 15): 1 — native population; 2 — diffusion area of the Pen'kovka culture; 3 — diffusion area of the Prague-Korchak type pottery; 4 — diffusion area of the Luka Raykovetskaya culture; 5 — migration wave of the Slavs with Prague-Korchak type pottery (Sclaveni); 6 — migration wave of the Slavs with Pen'kovka type pottery (Antes); 7 — migration wave of the Slavs with Prague-Korchak type from the Terev river; 8 — first Avarian wave in Pannonia (567—568).



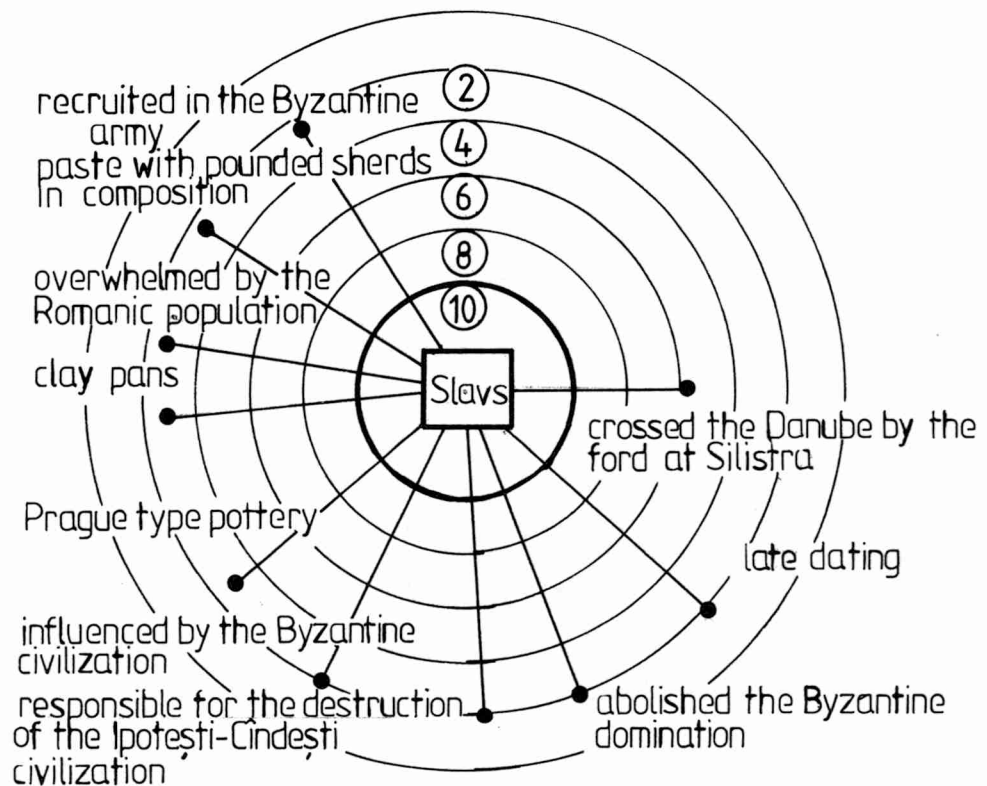
**2. Main directions of the Slavs' migration in the East-Carpathian area** (after Teodor 1966, pl. LV): 1 — direction of the Slavs' penetration; 2 — settlements from the 6th—7th centuries; 3 — curved fibulae; 4 — settlements from the 7th century; 5 — cemeteries from the 7th century; 6 — curved fibulae from the 7th century.

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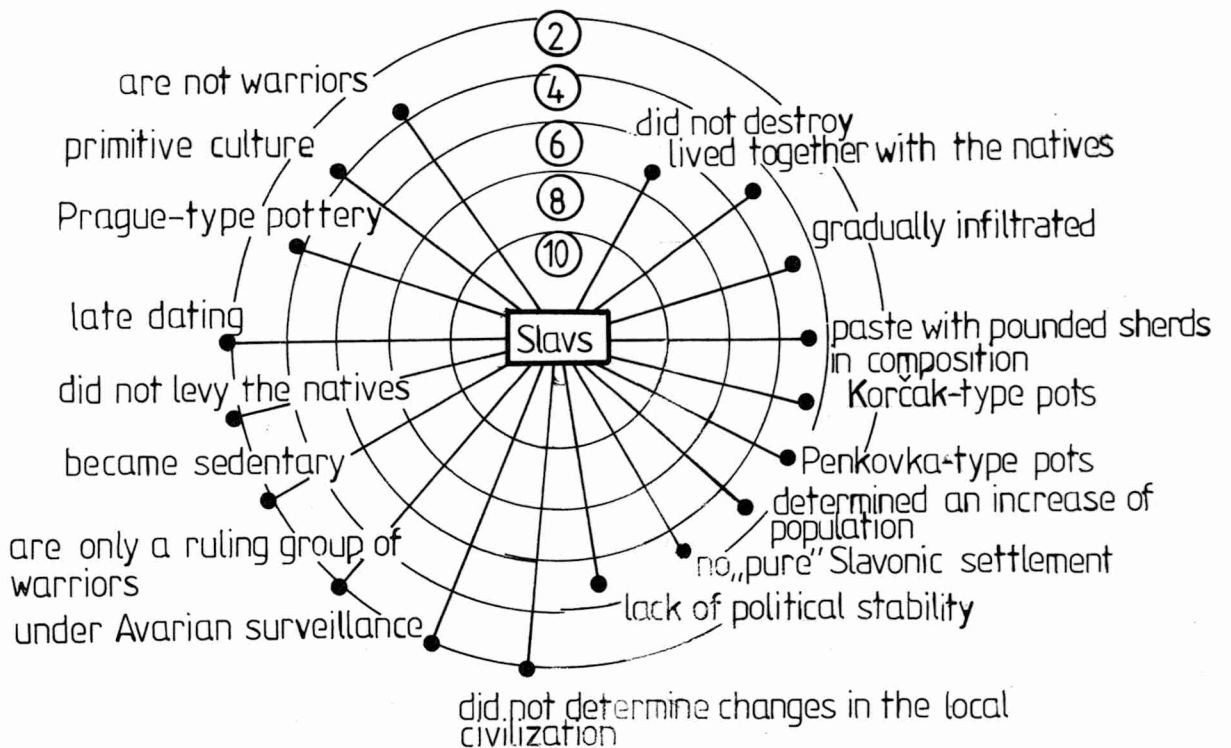


**3. Topics about the Early Slavs in Maria Comşa's works**  
(numbers show references).

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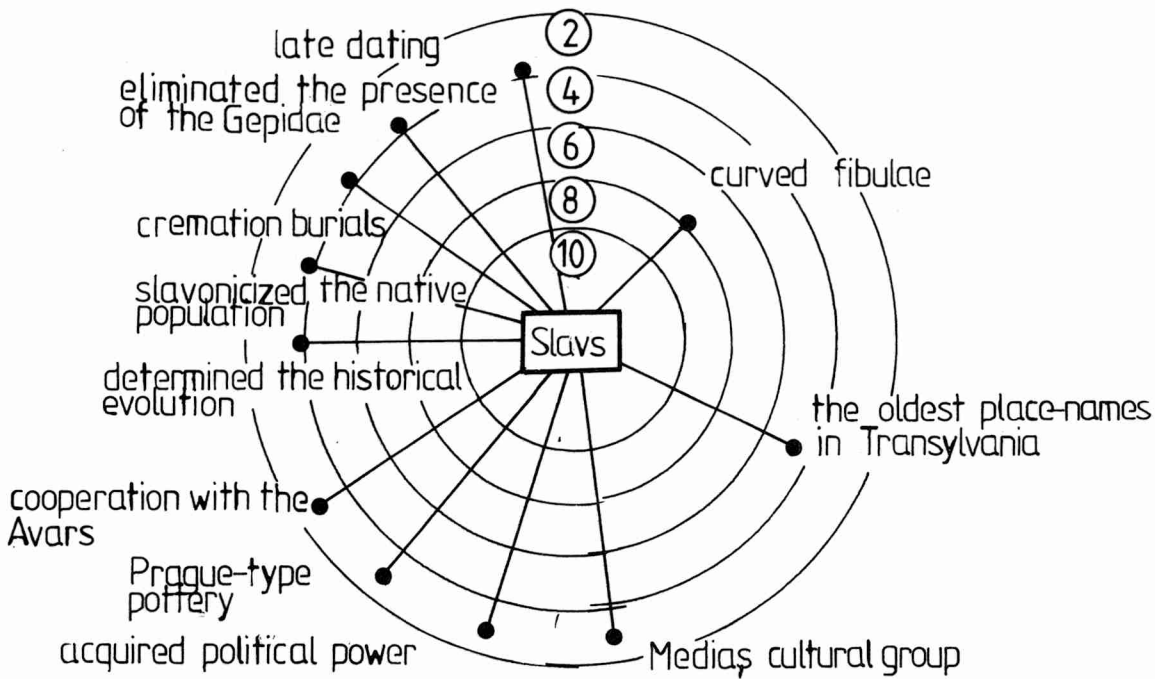
### 4. Topics about the Early Slavs in Petre Diaconu's works (numbers show references).



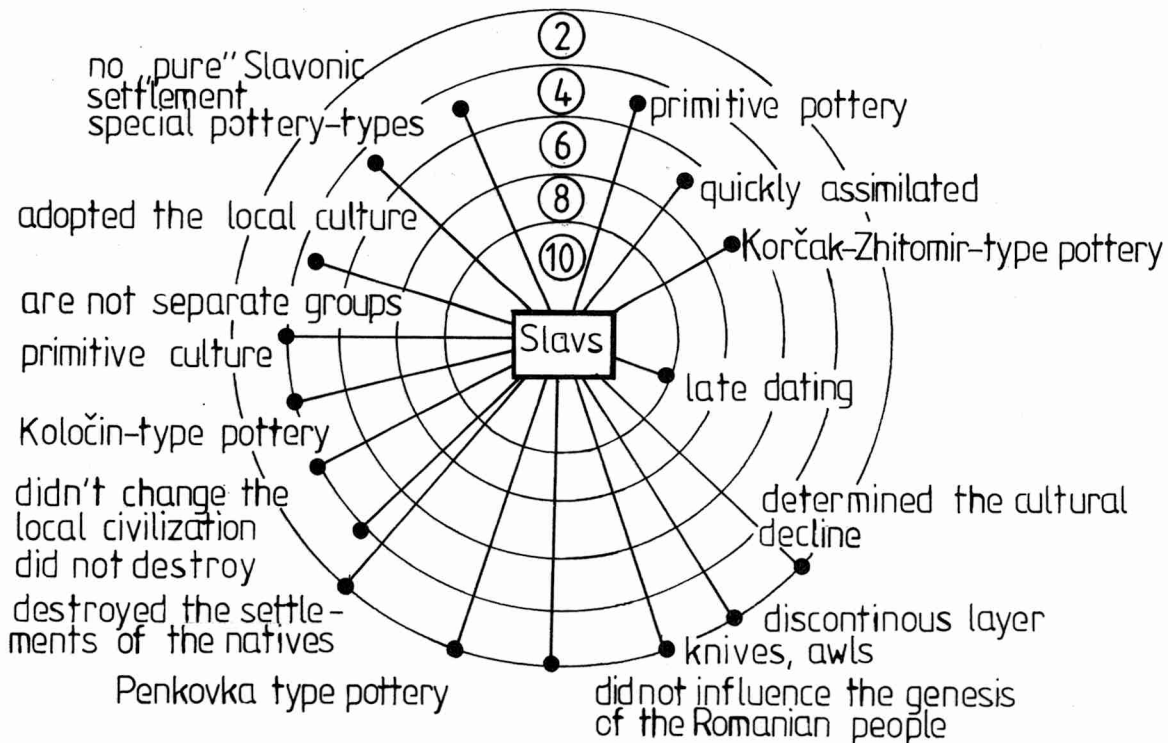
### 5. Topics about the Early Slavs in Suzana Dolinescu-Ferche's works (numbers show references).



The changing image of the Early Slavs in the Rumanian historiography

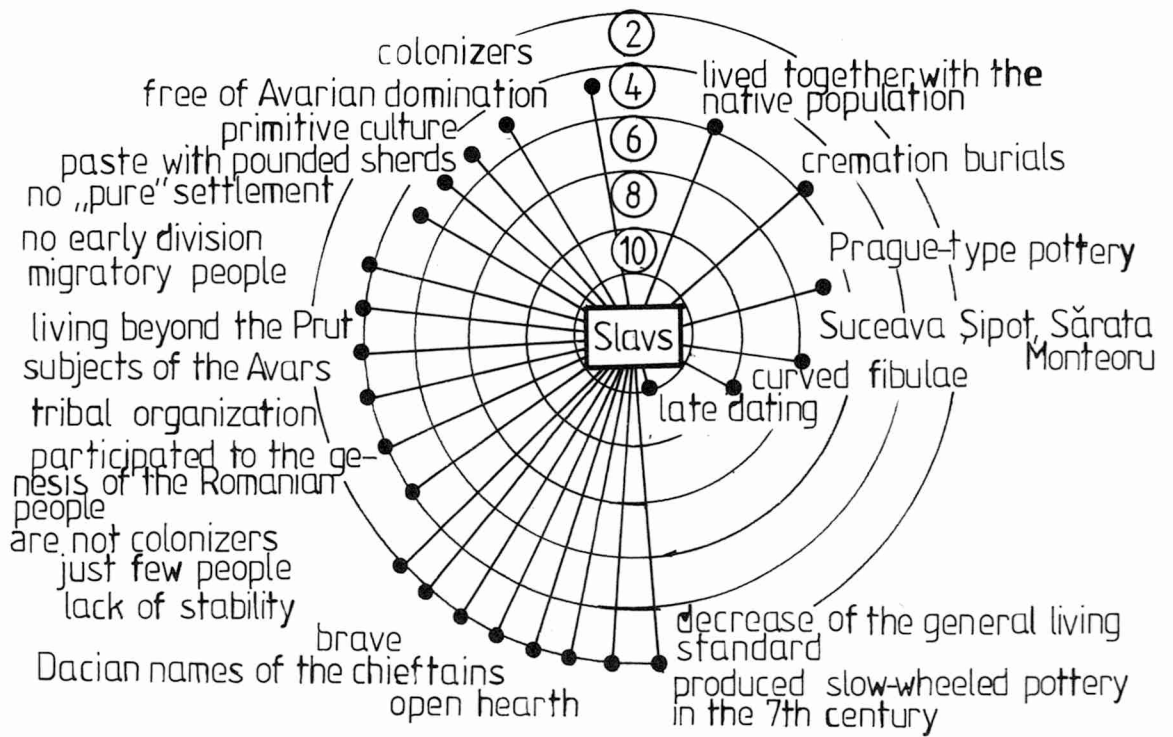


**6. Topics about the Early Slavs in Kurt Horedt's works**  
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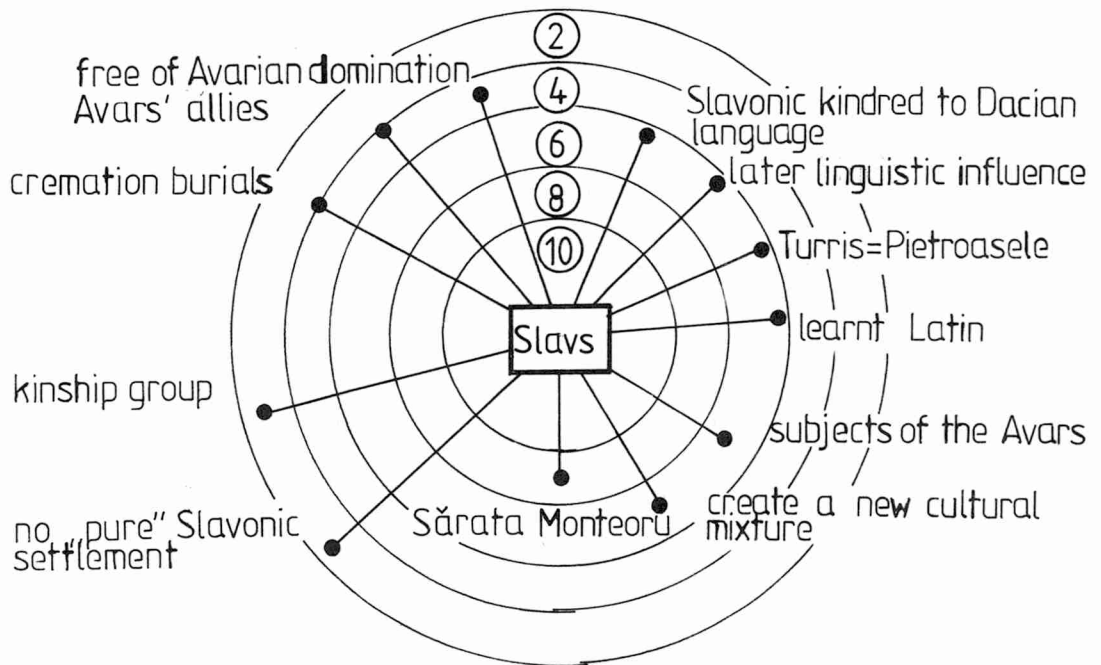


**7. Topics about the Early Slavs in Ioan Mitrea's works**  
 (numbers show references).

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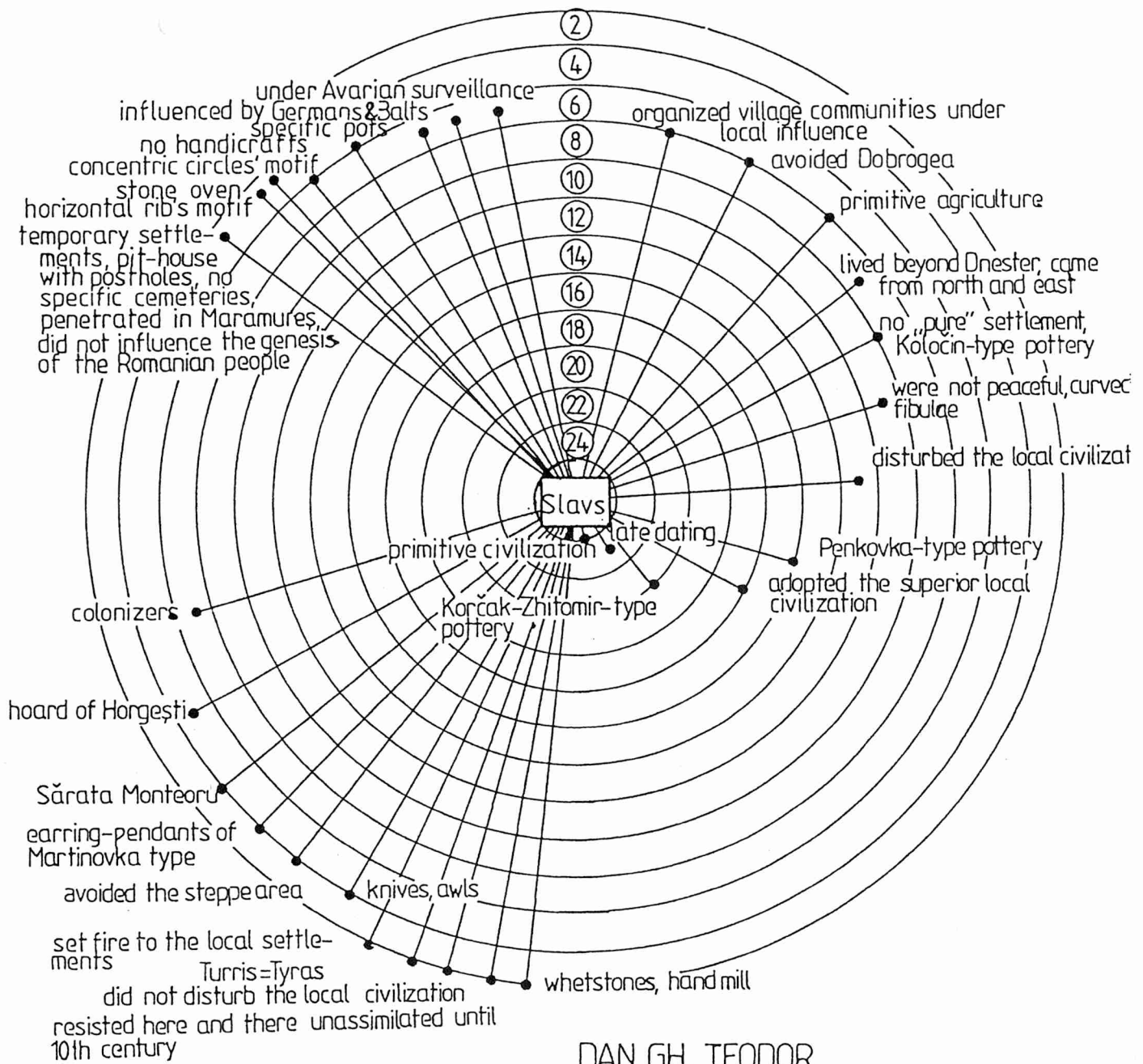


**8. Topics about the Early Slavs in Ion Nestor's works**  
(numbers show references).



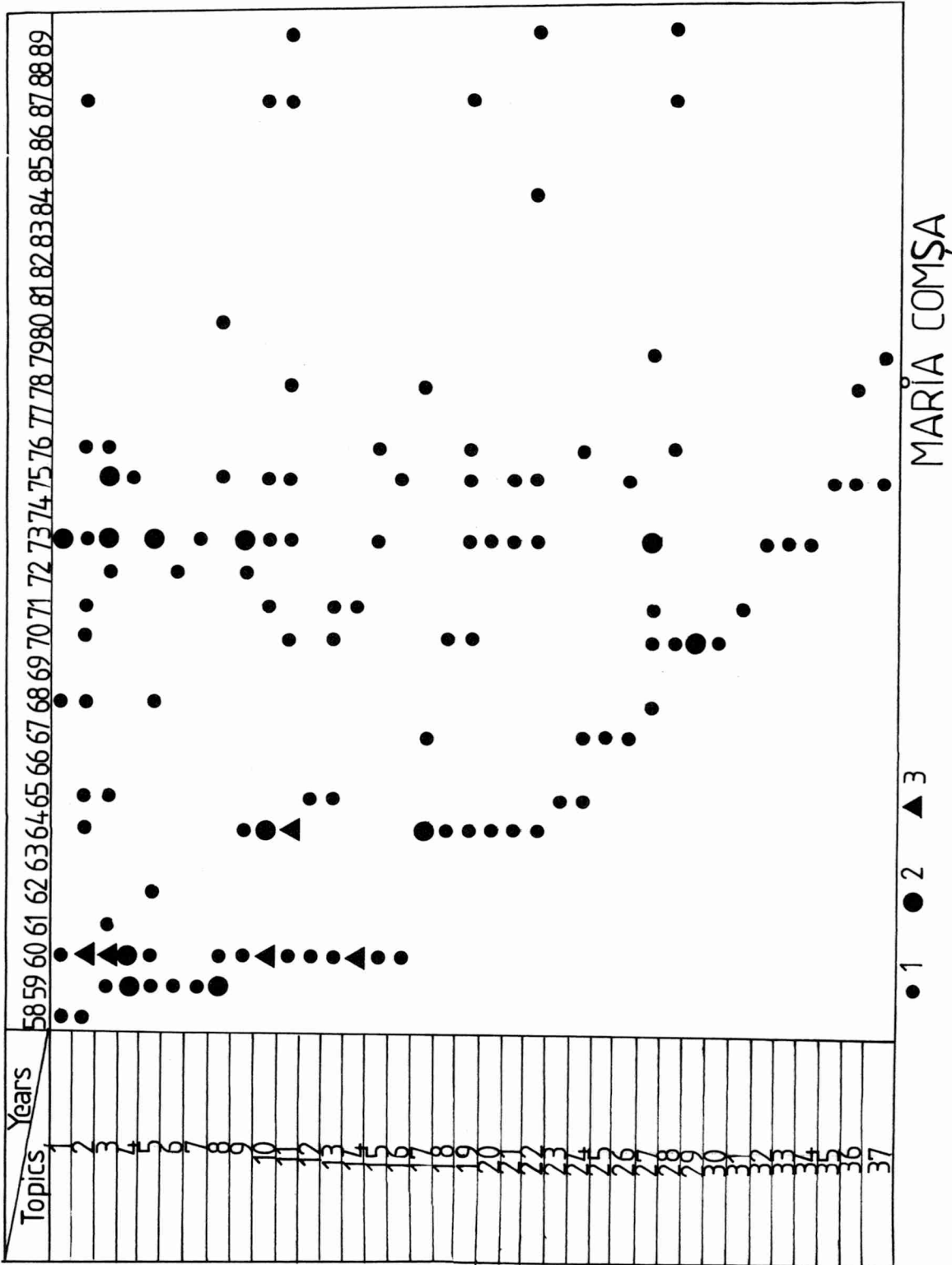
**9. Topics about the Early Slavs in Mircea Rusu's works**  
(numbers show references).

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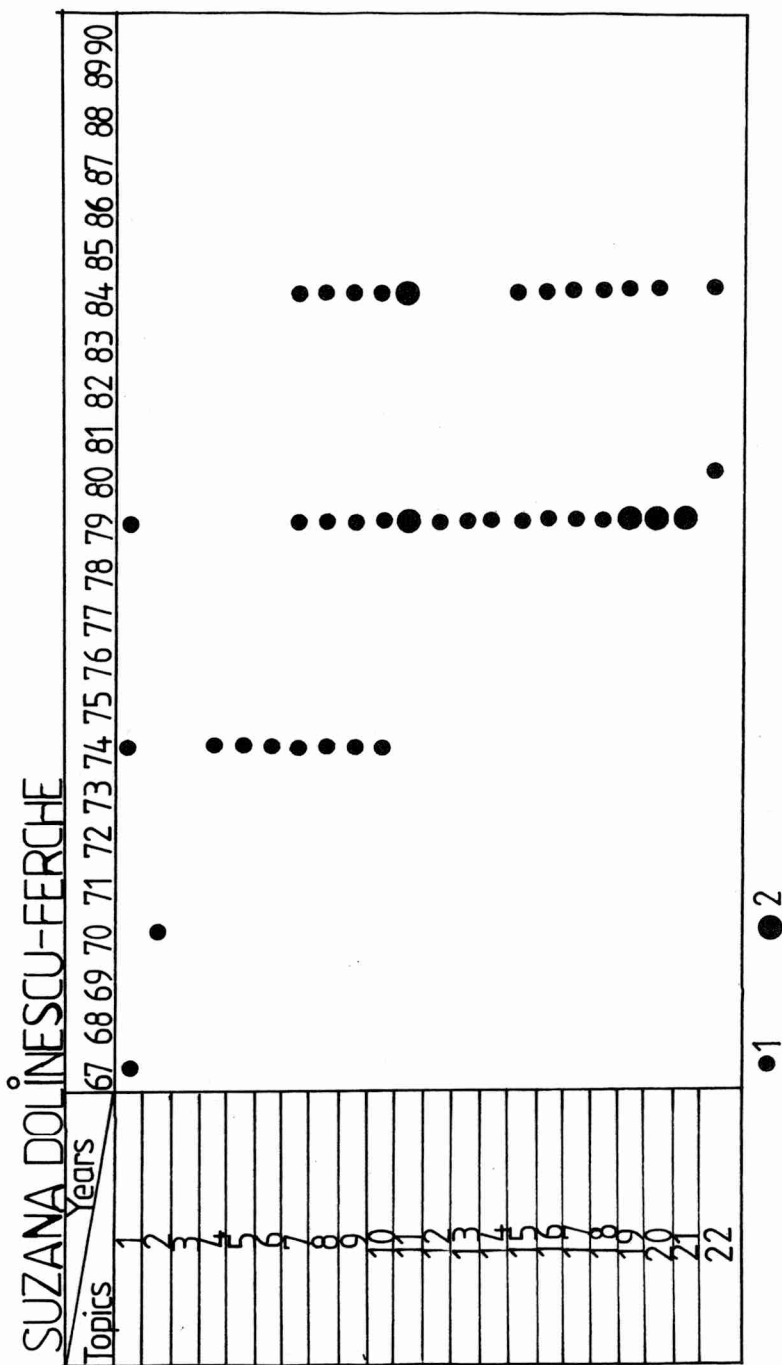


DAN GH. TEODOR

10. Topics about the Early Slavs in Dan Gh. Teodor's works (numbers show references).



**11. Chronology of the main topics about the Early Slavs in Maria Comșa's works:**  
 1 — clay pans; 2 — Prague type pottery; 3 — curved fibulae; 4 — Sărata Monteoru, specific Slavonic cemetery; 5 — cremation burials; 6 — earrings with star-shaped pendant; 7 — the Slavs became sedentary people; 8 — the Slavs had agricultural occupations; 9 — dependant upon the Avars; 10 — Korchak type pottery; 11 — early dating; 12 — assimilated the Dacian population; 13 — paste with pounded potsherds in composition; 14 — early tribal division; 15 — assimilated by the local population; 16 — levied taxes; 17 — had increasing political power; 18 — recruited in the Byzantine army; 19 — Pen'kovka type pottery; 20 — plunder raids; 21 — peaceful people; 22 — sedentary people; 23 — influence upon the Romanic population; 24 — lived in the natives' settlements; 25 — influence upon the Avarian population; 26 — territorial village communities; 27 — influenced by the Romanic population; 28 — lived together with the natives; 29 — used as labor force by the Byzantine administration; 30 — primitive culture; 31 — assimilated the Baltic population; 32 — conquerors; 33 — pit-house with post-holes; 34 — clay oven; 35 — archaeologically imperceptible; 36 — valley principalities; 37 — linguistic influence.

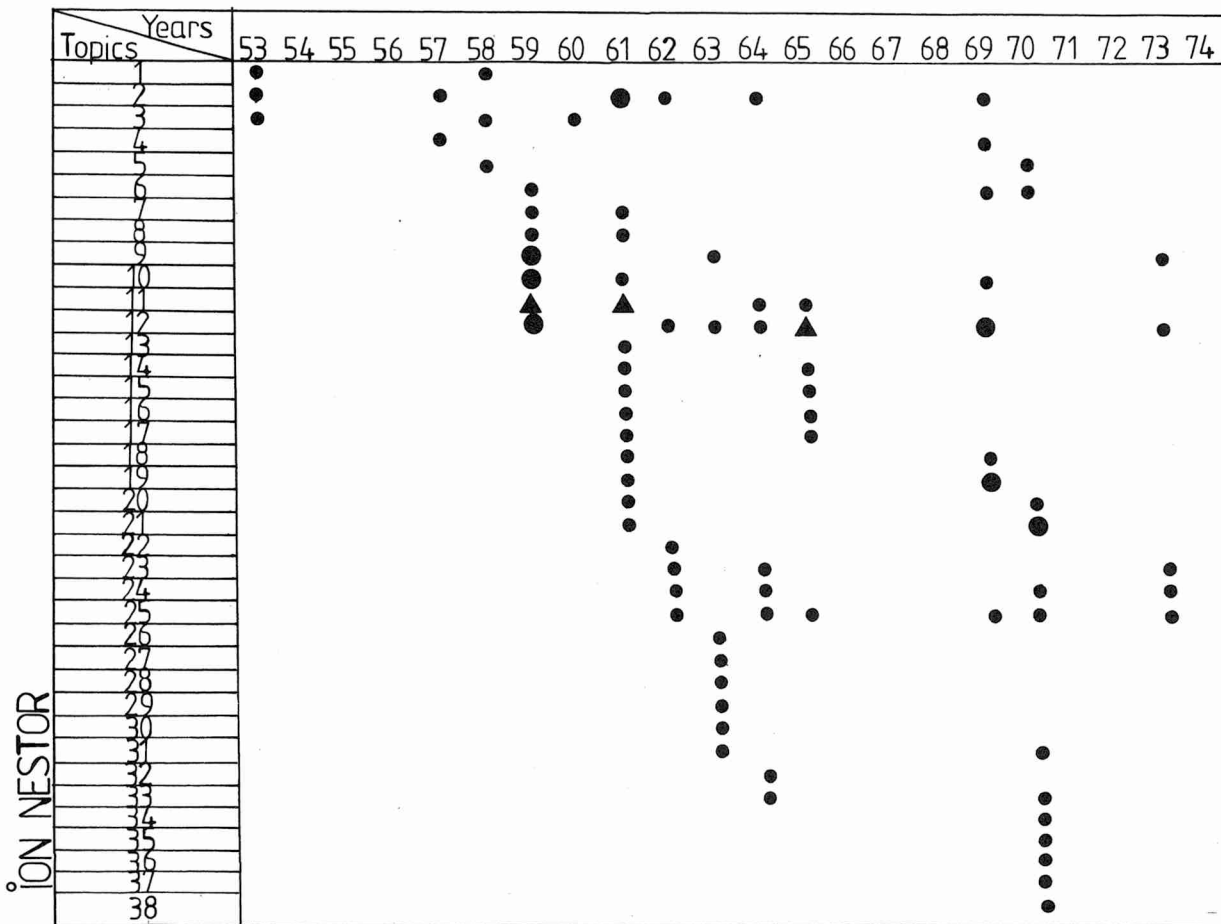


**12. Chronology of the main topics about the Early Slavs in Suzana Dolinescu-Ferche's works:**

1 — paste with pounded potsherds in composition; 2 — cremation pit-graves; 3 — warriors' leadership; 4 — became sedentary; 5 — notches on the rim; 6 — lived together with the natives; 7 — gradually penetrated; 8 — demographic contribution; 9 — no 'pure' Slavonic settlements; 10 — did not destroy; 11 — late dating; 12 — under Avarian surveillance; 13 — adapted themselves to the local communities; 14 — did not levy taxes; 15 — were not warriors; 16 — Prague type pottery; 17 — penetrated in Dobrogea; 18 — Korchak type pottery; 19 — Pen'kovka type pottery; 20 — political instability; 21 — no influence upon the natives; 22 — conservative.



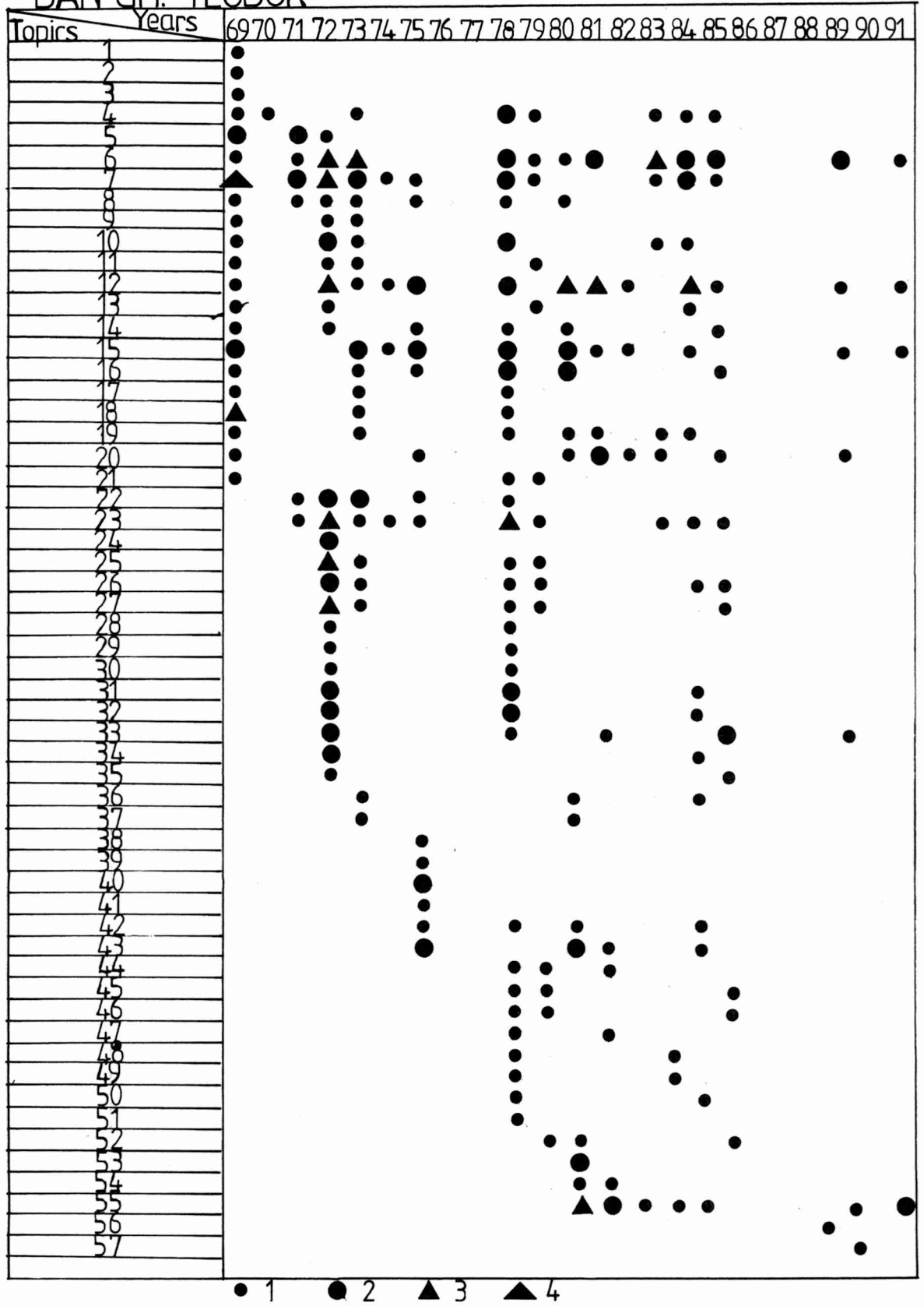
The changing image of the Early Slavs in the Rumanian historiography



14. Chronology of the main topics about the Early Slavs in Ion Nestor's works:

1 — cremation in urn-graves; 2 — Sărata Monteoru, specific Slavonic cemetery; 3 — cremation in pit-graves; 4 — political domination; 5 — primitive culture; 6 — early splinter groups; 7 — no early division; 8 — participated to the genesis of the Rumanian people; 9 — contacts with the Avars; 10 — Prague type pottery; 11 — curved fibulae; 12 — late dating; 13 — open hearth; 14 — migratory people; 15 — returned into their homeland eastward of the Prut river; 16 — are not Avars' subjects; 17 — Ipotești, specific Slavonic settlement; 18 — Martynovka type clasps; 19 — paste with pounded potsherds in composition; 20 — penetrated into Dobrogea; 21 — colonizers; 22 — assimilated in the 8th—9th centuries; 23 — no 'pure' Slavonic settlements; 24 — symbiosis; 25 — Suceava-Șipot, specific Slavonic settlement; 26 — were not numerous; 27 — plundered; 28 — are not sedentary people; 29 — lived in village communities; 30 — brave people; 31 — subjects of the Avars; 32 — later assimilation (10th century); 33 — tribal organization; 34 — did not colonize; 35 — conducted by the Proto-Bulgarians; 36 — Sărata Monteoru does not belong to their culture; 37 — determined the lowering of the standard living; 38 — chieftains' names of Dacian origin.

DAN GH. TEODOR

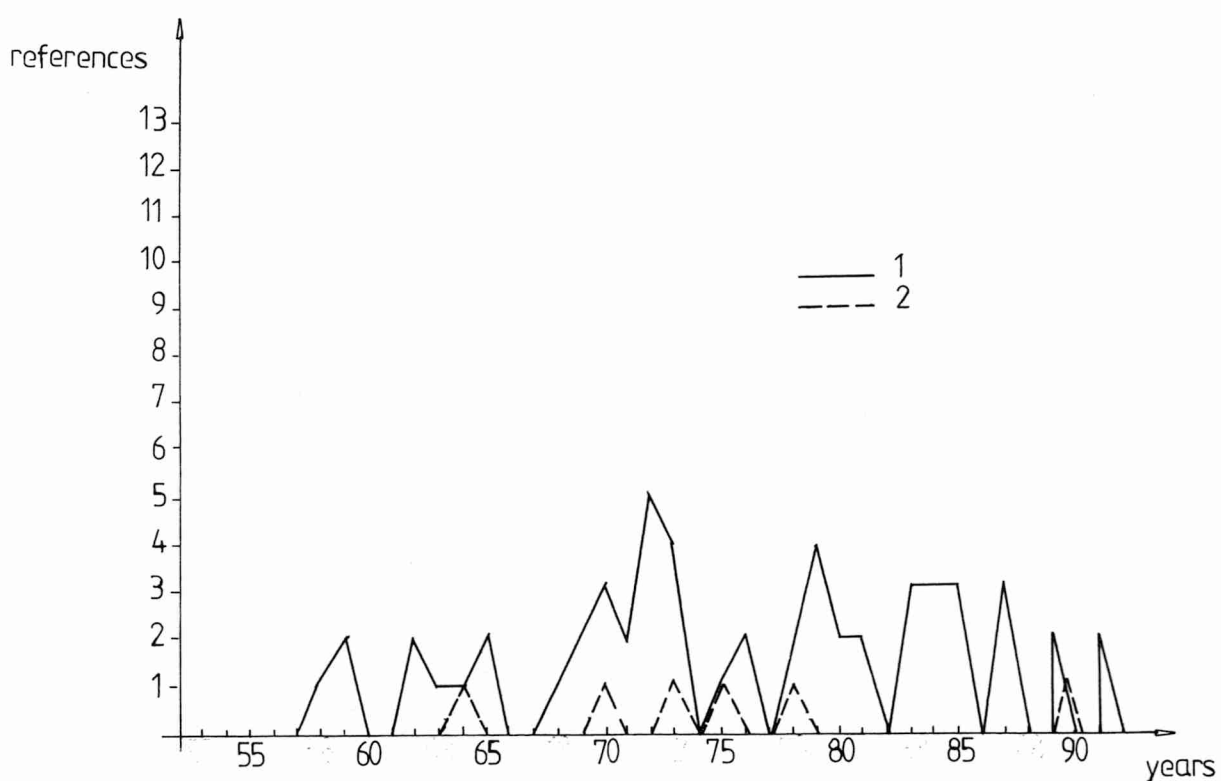




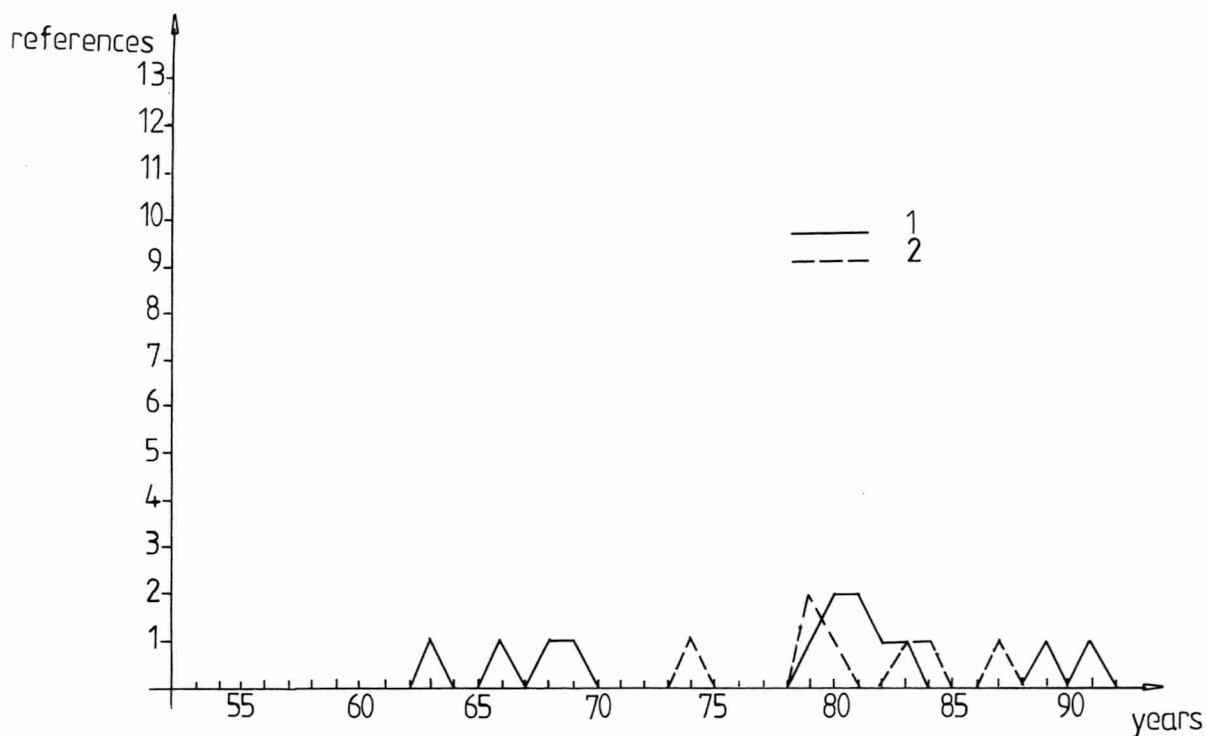
**15. Chronology of the main topics about the Early Slavs in Dan Gh. Teodor's works:**

1 — set fire to the local settlements; 2 — used wheeled pottery during the 7th century; 3 — brought Byzantine artifacts with them; 4 — curved fibulae; 5 — the Şipot-Nezvisko culture; 6 — late dating; 7 — Korchak-Zhitomir type pottery; 8 — returned into their homeland eastward from the Dnieper river; 9 — Horgeşti hoard; 10 — Tushemlya-Kolochin type pottery; 11 — concentric circles under the rim; 12 — primitive civilization; 13 — vertical incised lines; 14 — primitive agriculture; 15 — adopted the local culture; 16 — no 'pure' Slavonic settlements; 17 — worm-shaped line; 18 — specific pots; 19 — no influence upon the natives; 20 — were not peaceful; 21 — rib in bold-relief; 22 — Suceava-Şipot, specific Slavonic settlement; 23 — Pen'kovka type pottery; 24 — settled down in Dobrogea; 25 — Iaşi-Crucea lui Ferent, specific Slavonic settlement; 26 — penetrated from east; 27 — penetrated from north; 28 — did not penetrate in Dobrogea; 29 — lived in Pripyat swamps; 30 — no Byzantine influences; 31 — influenced by the Balts; 32 — influenced by the Late Germanic people; 33 — took advantage of the Avars' migration; 34 — influenced by the Ugrian-Finnish people; 35 — Sărata Monteoru, specific Slavonic cemetery; 36 — did not participate to the genesis of the Rumanian people; 37 — later linguistic influence; 38 — remained unassimilated until the 10th century; 39 — paid taxes to the Avars; 40 — levied taxes; 41 — military domination; 42 — no crafts; 43 — tribal communities; 44 — temporary settlements; 45 — no specific cemeteries; 46 — pit-houses; 47 — permanently moving; 48 — knives; 49 — Martynovka type clasps; 50 — awls; 51 — finds concentrated around the fords; 52 — penetrated in Maramureş; 53 — assimilated during the genesis of the Rumanian people; 54 — dependant upon the Avars; 55 — disturbed the local civilization; 56 — cremation burials; 57 — determined ethnic changes.

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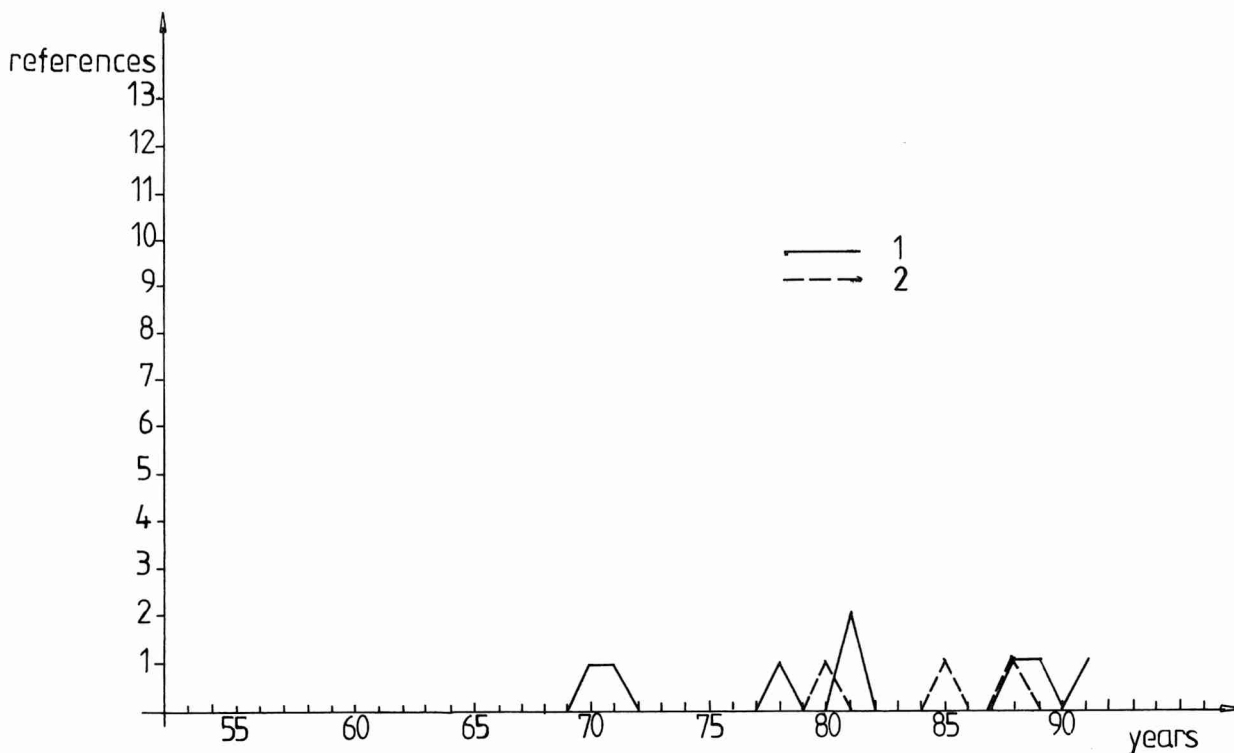


**16. Evolution of the dichotomous topic 'late dating (1) vs. early dating (2)' in the Rumanian archaeological literature.**

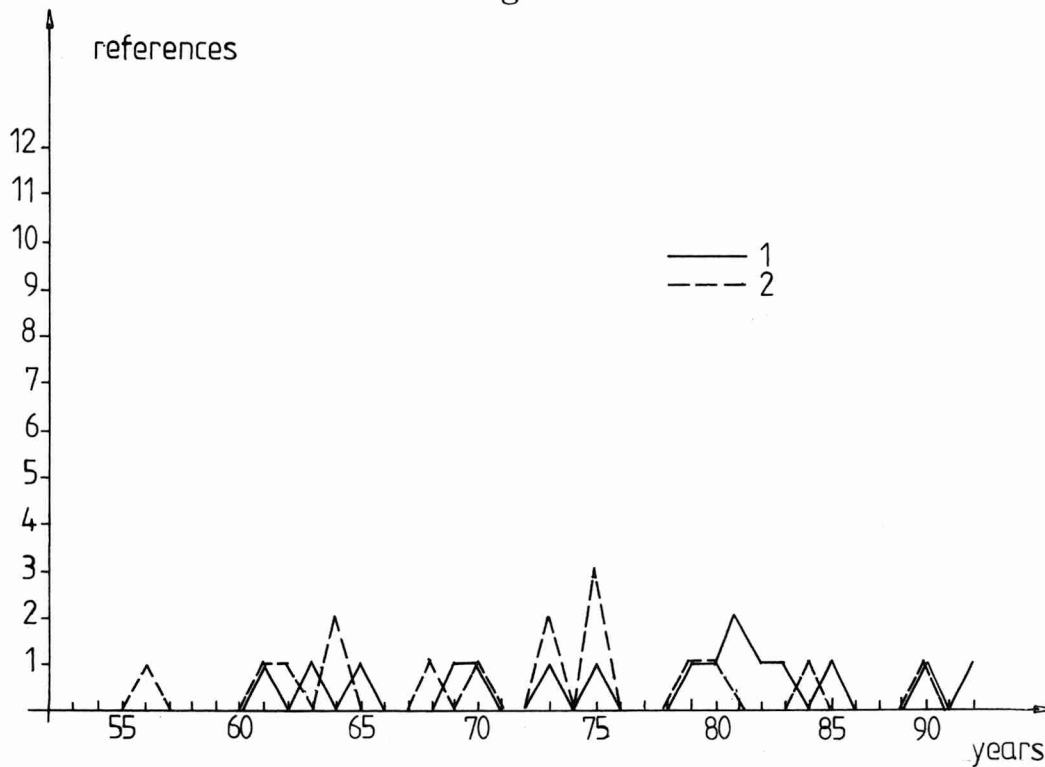


**17. Evolution of the dichotomous topic 'destroyed and disturbed (1) vs. did not destroy and did not disturb (2)' in the Rumanian archaeological literature.**

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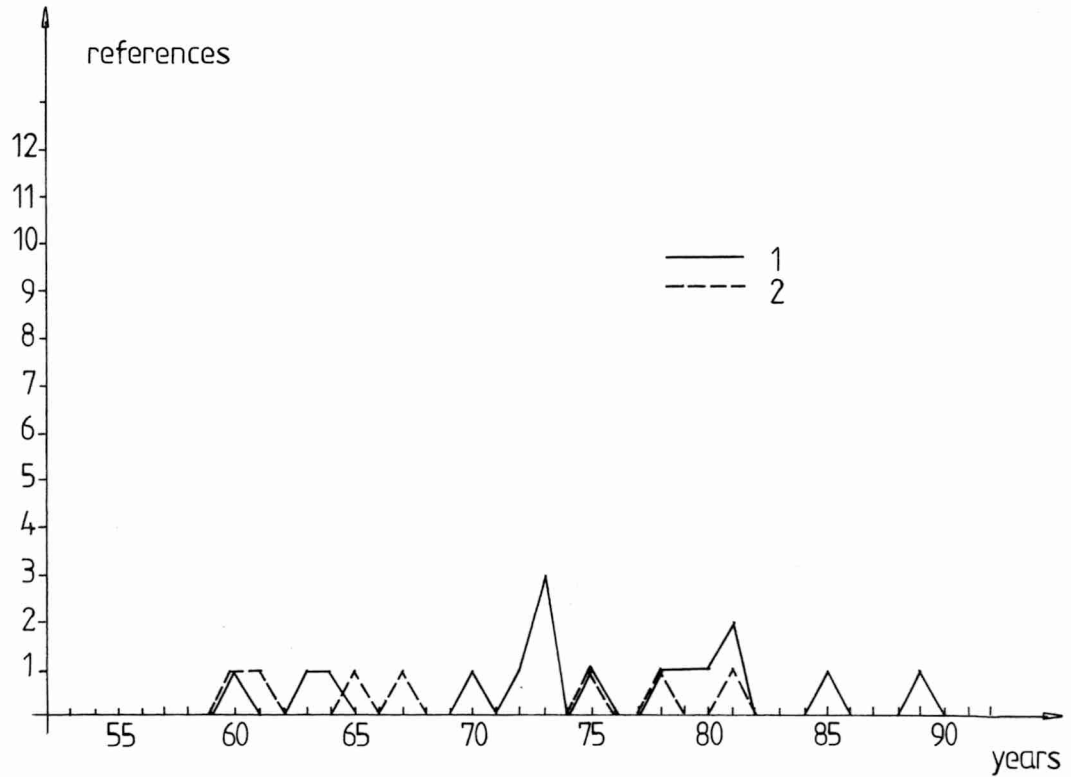


**18. Evolution of the dichotomous topic 'did not change the local civilization (1) vs. determined important changes in the local civilization (2)' in the Rumanian archaeological literature.**

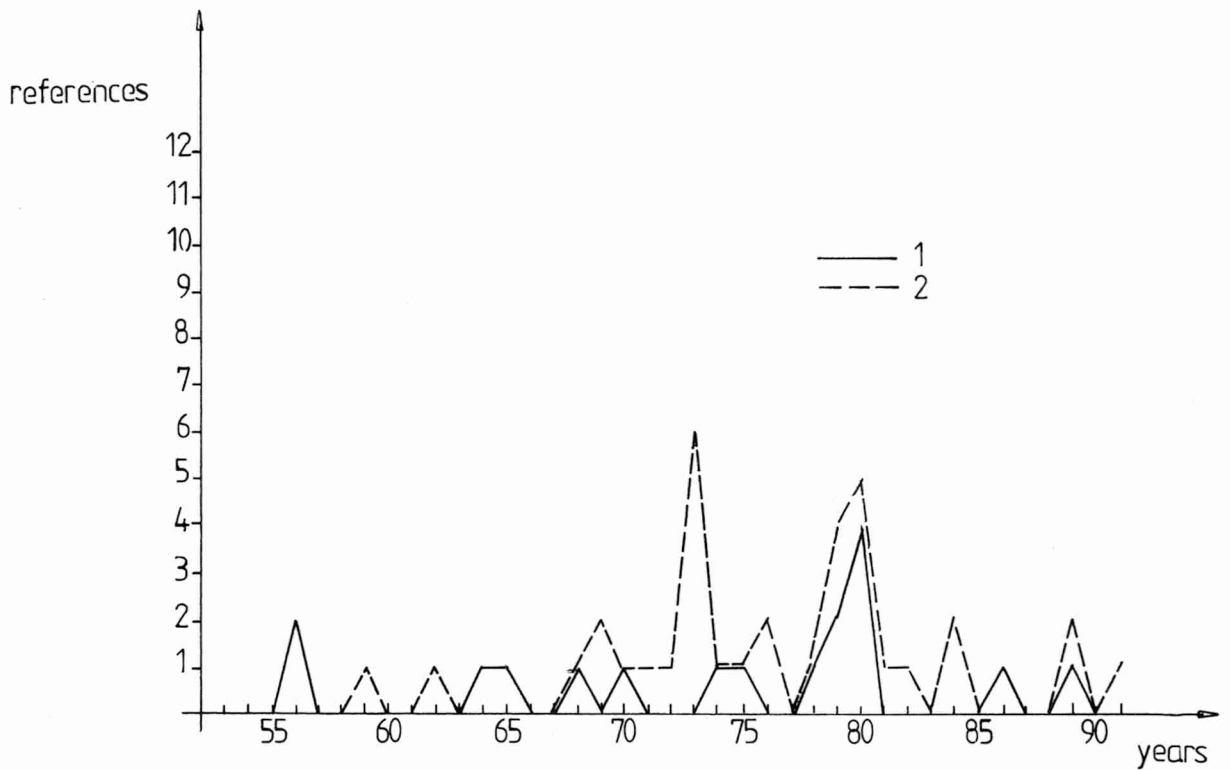


**19. Evolution of the dichotomous topic 'migratory people/not numerous people/conquerors/not peaceful people/not colonizers (1) vs. not nomads/numerous/not warriors/peaceful/colonizers (2)' in the Rumanian archaeological literature.**

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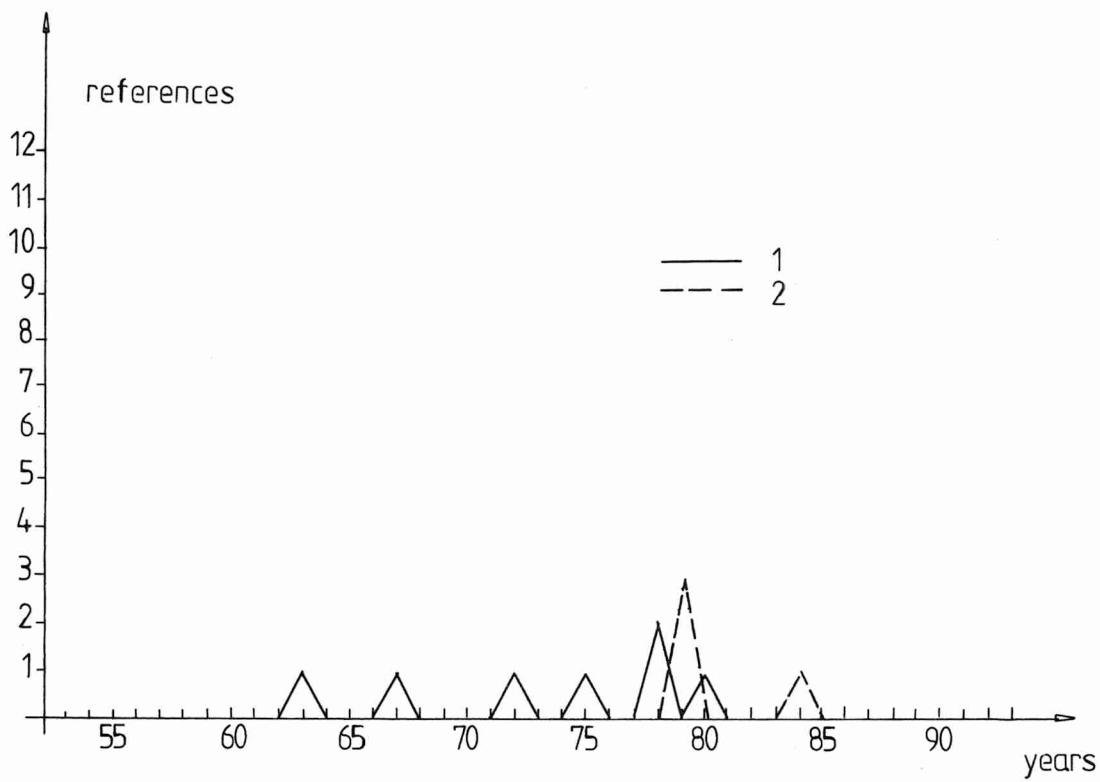


**20. Evolution of the dichotomous topic 'dependant upon the Avars (1) vs. not dependant upon the Avars (2)' in the Rumanian archaeological literature.**



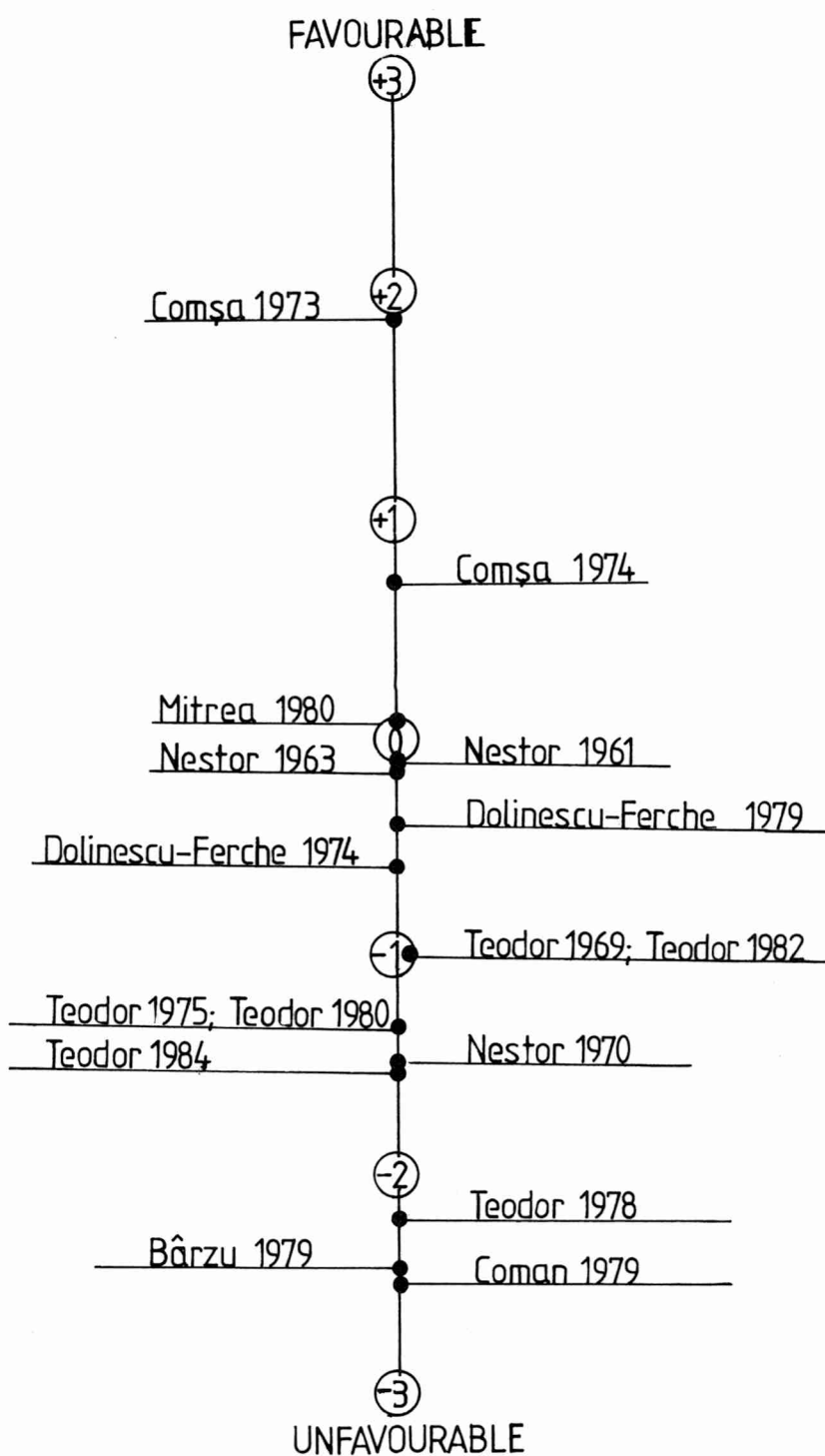
**21. Evolution of the dichotomous topic 'political domination/influence upon the Romanic population/participated to the genesis of the Rumanian people (1) vs. no political domination/influenced by the Romanic population/did not participate to the genesis of the Rumanian people (2)' in the Rumanian archaeological literature.**

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**22. Evolution of the dichotomous topic 'political organization/political stability (1) vs. no political organization/political instability (2)' in the Rumanian archaeological literature.**

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23. Evaluative attitude scale for AO 'Slavs' of 16 titles referring to the Early Slavs' migration to the Lower Danube.