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ȘCOALA DOCTORALĂ „ISTORIE. CIVILIZAȚIE. CULTURĂ”**

A biography of the settlement from Cârломănești, Buzău County
(2ndc. BC-1stc. AD)

- Abstract -

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Cluj-Napoca
2023

SUMMARY

1. Motivation	3
2. Why „biography”?	5
3. Terminology	7
4. History of research at Cârломănești	9
4.1 First mentions in documentary archives of Cârломănești - Cetățuia	9
4.2 The beginning of field surveys and the systematic excavations	11
4.3 Discussion on the field documentation	12
4.4 Technique of excavation	13
4.5 Geographic environment. The evolution of natural and anthropic landscape	16
4.6 Non-invasive investigations	23
4.7 Significant results of the research. The scientific dissemination	25
5. History of research of the settlements in the area of interest	29
5.1 Classification of sites	30
5.2 Tipologia structurilor de locuire din așezări	31
6. An analyses of residential structures from Cârломănești	33
6.1 Stratigraphy	33
6.2 Large edifices	35
6.2.1 The edifice with apse – Cpl. 1 in V3bN – V4bS	37
6.2.2 The construction with alignments of pillars	45
6.2.3 The rectangular edifice inscribed in the apsed perimeter in E2dN	48
6.3 Buildings with multiple functions	58
6.4 Other types of structures - Depositions	71
6.5 Domestic structures (houses)	73
6.6 Pits	78
6.7 Functional areas	98
6.7.1 Storage	99

6.7.2 Working areas. Domestic and artisanal activities	99
7. Construction techniques and materials	118
7.1 Clay	118
7.2 Wattle and daub – recipe and technique	120
7.3 Wood	122
7.4 Stone	126
8. An analyses of the hearths from Cârломănești	128
8.1 Decorated hearths	134
8.2 Simple hearths	144
9. Use and organization of space at Cârломănești	150
9.1 Delimiting the area. Role of the palisade	150
9.2 The use of the inner area of the settlement	152
9.3 Consacrated areas	153
10 Cult areas – Typology	159
10.1 Occupation and domestic space at other contemporary sites. Domestic space between ritual and profane. Other examples of buildings	177
10.2 Hierarchy of space – Interior-Exterior relationship	192
10.3 Of communities and territory. Looking for a landscape – pattern	194
10.4 The abandonment of occupied space	198
11. The chronology of Cârломănești	200
11.1 Numismatic finds	200
11.2 Observations of the monetary circulation	204
11.3 The fibulas from Cârломănești - Cetățuie	208
11.4 Other type of adornments	216
11.5 Glass artefacts	221
11.6 Bowls with in-relief decoration	224
11.7 Amphoras	226
11.8 A few considerations of the chronology of the site	228
12. Conclusions	231
More conclusions: „Dava” seen through the archaeological finds	240
13. ANNEXES:	248

13.1 Catalogue of hearths from Cărlomănești	248
13.2 Selective catalogue of pits from Cărlomănești	259
13.3 Catalogue of hearths from Pietroasa Mică, Grădiștea, Ocnîța, Bordușani, Vlădiceasca	267
13.4 Functional areas: Bordușani, information for a case-study	272
13.5 Buildings with apse in Pre-Roman Dacia	277
13.6 Bibliography	279
13.7 Illustration	301

Chapter 1. Motivation

The present thesis aimed to integrate in a coherent set of information, a complex series of data resulting from two moments of archaeological research at Cârломănești – Cetățuia, Buzău County. The first moment is represented by the excavation seasons carried out in the 1970s. The second one, represents the recent excavations, resumed in 2001, still ongoing. Cârломănești – Cetățuia represented an important settlement from the end of the 3rd century. BC until the middle of the 1st century. Subsequent to his archaeological research on this site, Mircea Babeș proposed a chronology of the Geto-Dacian civilization and a model for defining the Dava-type settlements.

In the economy of the work, an important place was granted to the processing of the excavation documentation resulting from the campaigns carried out in 1967, 1972-1974, 1979-1981. The documentation was entrusted to me for study and dissemination by Professor Mircea Babeș, who directed the excavations at this site and was the main coordinator of the scientific of the research for over 25 years.

I saw the documentation as the background of the Cârломănești – Cetățuia story, woven on multiple intersecting plans: coordinating the excavation and its development; "search and discovery" as a moment of direct, tactile intervention on the remains in the field, carried out rigorously, based on the excavation technique; establishing the recording methods and the actual "writing" of the documentation. This is one of the key moments in the interpretation of the "reality in the field"; processing and organizing artefacts according to the contexts of discovery. Only then their re-contextualization begins. Having become an artefact, the object whose life had had ended at one point (lost, fragmented, deposition, abandonment), resumes its biography by the photography, measurement, description, drawing, inventory, restoration, inclusion in a typological group, exhibition, etc.

As archaeology is continuously written and rewritten, both from the fragments resulted from field work and publications, supplemented with the results of interdisciplinary studies, this thesis is the result of some personal choices, made with responsibility and respect for the work done by the others.

Chapter 2. Why "biography"?

Settlements are the expression of human occupation. They are special anthropic areas, appearing following the appropriation of virgin territories and their inclusion in an anthropized hinterland. Archaeological investigations in a settlement leads to sometimes partial but multiple images. Their overlapping can outline moments of settlement life in time and in various modes. Parts of the biography of a settlement are the moments suggested by the overlapping constructions, the change of destination/functioning of an area, improvements and repairs, the loss/destruction or deposition of objects that for the archaeologist become guiding fossils. Following the association of typical artefacts, assigned to a clear chronological scheme, with the artefacts included in a relative chronology, not only the internal chronology of the settlement is refined. Thus, temporal moments are individualized, parts of the material biography of the settlement.

Therefore, one may consider that the Cârломănești is the result of the effects of occupation in the 2nd-1st centuries BC. The material remains uncovered are part of the sum of the actions / biographies of the people who founded the settlement, lived on the plateau known today as Cetățuia. The material traces of the constructions indicate different moments of operation, stratigraphically attested on three, up to five development levels, which subsequently followed each other in the investigated areas of the settlement.

The present approach is not a monographic work. It was intended to be a contribution to the image of the La Tène period settlement in Cârломănești and its evolution.

It is an attempt at a coherent presentation of some of the residential structures that I have been able to outline and describe, some for the first time since their discovery. Much of this result came of the assembling the mosaic represented by the archive of the site. I have also added a number of information from the excavations in which I participated directly.

I see the biography of Cârломănești as a mosaic of possible biographies (of archaeological contexts – constructions, hearths and pits; of artefacts – crucibles, statuettes, fragments of glass and bone, ceramics), which by association lead to the individual, and to the functioning of the community. This is the formula that justifies the chosen title. The result is not complete and cannot be, because this is not a monograph. The result can be compared with a series of "cliché images" such as those obtained when taking a photograph.

Chapter 3. Terminology

This chapter lays emphasis on the main historiographical moments related to the research of the settlements of the Second Iron Age. Theoretical approaches related to the use of ethnonyms and the possibility of identifying the presence of ancient populations on specific artefacts have evolved. They are based on legitimate questions related to the manner direct connection can be established between an artefact and an ethnonym, but also on the possibility of assuming an ethnonym, by a population from Antiquity, as part of group identity. The literature dealing with this subject is extraordinarily vast, with in the context of identity constructs and crystallization of social memory, in modern ethno-nationalist (e.g. Dacism) and postmodern – transnational contexts.

Chapter 4. History of research at Cârломănești

This introductory part of the chapter is organized into seven sub-chapters, as follows:

4. 1 Early documentary mentions of Cârломănești - Cetățuia

The discovery of the Pietroasa Treasure in 1837 brought Buzău County to the attention of the academic world at the end of the 19th century. On important personalities such as Alexandru Odobescu, the "Cloșca cu puii de aur/The hen ioth the golden chicks" exerted great fascination and represented the factor triggerin the initiation of various projects for the unravelling of the archaeological and constructed heritage of Muntenia and Moldova.

For an initial theoretical inventory of places with historical potential, Odobescu drafted in 1870 the Archaeological Questionnaire approved by the Ministry of Public Instruction. The answers received from the Buzău County made up a significant file. It was then that the first description of the site from Cârломănești was recorded. The local teacher from Gura Nișcovului described "a natural mound (...) that bears the name Cetățuia and in which (...) some sherds were found...". The story raises Odobescu's interest who envisage a "*Campaign project for archaeological explorations in the Buzău district in the summer of 1871*", at "Movila cu cetate/the mound with a fort". Although the exploration did not take place, the description of the Cetățuia remains

accessible, and was included in the Great Geographical Dictionary of Romania, by Bazil Iorgulescu, the author of the volume on the Buzău County (1892).

In 1900, the topographical engineer Pamfil Polonic undertook an "archaeological and historical excursion" in Buzău County, sent by the director of the National Museum of Antiquities, Grigore G. Tocilescu, who wanted to catalogue and map the places with known archaeological finds/vestigis. A description and a first topographic sketch resulted from this approach.

4.2 The beginning of fieldwork and the systematic excavations

The site at Cârломănești was chosen by Mircea Babeș based on the information from the institute's archive and the recommendations of I. Nestor, V. Zirra and C. Preda. The first series of campaigns took place between 1972 and 1981, as a collaboration between the Institute of Archeology in Bucharest and the Buzău County Museum.

The second series of campaigns started in 2001 and continues to the day, operating on the basis of the above mentioned institutional joint project.

4.3 Field documentation

The documentation archive of Cârломănești resulted from the two stages of field research, specified previously. The quantitative difference between the two sets is major at the level of the photographic archive, with digital photography tipping the balance towards the 21st century.

The descriptive documentation consists of: site logs, notebooks with the inventory lists of the archaeological materials collected. The graphic documentation (more than 400 plans, covering several times the researched surface of more than 1400 square meters) has a major role in the proposed approach, which aims to identify the internal evolution of the occupation space, the synchronic relations between structures and archaeological complexes.

4.4 Excavation technique

The excavation technique employed was adapted by M. Babeș after that used at the Lebanese site of Kamid-el-Loz excavated by Rolf Hachmann. The surface of the site was divided into equal areas of 10 x 10 m, separated by 1 m wide baulks. To establish the internal structure of the residential complexes and the stratigraphic relationships between them, sectioning was used.

4.5 Geographic environment. The evolution of the natural and anthropic landscape.

For the present approach, I have chosen to make a complete presentation of the micro-area where Cârломănești - Cetățuia is located. Understanding its place in the landscape and the evolution of the settlement attributed to the Geto-Dacian population has geographical, geological, cartographic information components as well as data on changes in the local ecology / ecotope.

The Cetățuia Plateau is an erosion outlier of the high terrace of the Buzău River, located in the northwest of the Romanian Plain. The area is characterized by temperate continental climate.

Geologically, the area belongs to the Wallachian Platform, defined locally by the Cârdești Formation. A massive deposit of Cârdești gravels is located stratigraphically at the base of the plateau and represented a source of easily excavated construction material.

The vegetation characteristic of the area falls on the border between the hill forest floor and the silvo-steppe area. The evolution of the local landscape was illustrated by extensive archaeozoological studies, complemented by palynological and carpological ones.

I followed the evolution of the micro-zone on various cartographic documents: the Bauer map (1778); the Specht map (1790); the von Fligely map; the Szathmary map (1864); Shooting Directory Plan (recorded 1894 and 1896; printed 1943); topographic sketch P. Polonic (1900); the topographic plan developed in the 2000s in the Stereo 70 system. To these data we have added the identification of the paleo-channels of the Buzău River (visible on satellite photos) and the information on the human activities carried out in the area in the pre-industrial era, found in documents from the 19th century.

4.6 Non-invasive investigations. Field surveys

The archaeological excavation were preceded and accompanied by extensive field surveys carried out in the area identified as the hinterland of the settlement at Cârломănești-Cețățuia. These were carried out in 1974, 2004 and 2010 and allowed the mapping of the identified sites.

For planning purposes and the non-destructive identification of the residential structures, magnetometry and resistivity investigations were used, carried out in 2004 and 2010. Traces of intense occupation on the entire surface of the plateau, the existence of an internal organization and the preponderance of a certain orientation were indicated by features with their long axis aligned approximately in the N-S direction.

4.7 Main result of the research. Scientific dissemination

The variety and expressiveness of the materials uncovered, the residential structures and the archaeological contexts identified have become the subject of important publications in the study of the Second Iron Age in Romania. M. Babeș elaborated in 1975, a synthesis study on the chronology of the Geto-Dacian culture, based on the discoveries from Cârломănești. A still unique discovery in the space assigned to the Geto-Dacian communities has also entered the scientific circuit, that is the Cârломănești type statuettes. A synthetic presentation of the site, the Cârломănești entry, is included in the first volume of the Encyclopedia of Archaeology and Ancient History of Romania, 1994. Another synthetic study, also by M. Babeș, published in 2010, suggested a set of nine "verifiable and quantifiable criteria" that give "a clear content to the modern, conventional concept of *dava*". These are "briefly listed and illustrated in the light of research from Cârломănești".

The investigated remains of certain large buildings made the subject of other publications. One was authored by myself and discusses a structure with a rectangular plan, consisting of 5 alignments, each with 5 post holes. This was identified based on the analysis and interpretation of the site documentation from 1972-1973. A second article, signed together with my colleague S. Matei, discusses our research in the central area of the plateau, where we documented the foundation of an edifice with a rectangular-plan and an apse to the NNW. Together with some of the constructions identified in the settlement, we have also published the decorated hearths discovered here. A part of the early discovered pottery from Cețățuia made the subject of the doctoral thesis of S. Matei, defended in 2010 (and yet unpublished). The monetary hoard consisting of Vîrteju-București type pieces was metallographically investigated using the XRF method and then published by the Th. Isvoranu in collaboration with M. Babeș and E.-M. Constantinescu. The few coins resulting from the excavations after 2000, were

analysed metallographically and numismatically. Various adornments and jewelry of precious metal, alongside part of the monetary treasure, were included in a presentation of Cârломănești in the catalog of the exhibition *Ancient Gold and Silver of Romania* in 2013.

Important interdisciplinary studies related to habitat and paleoeconomy include the publications of M. Carciumaru (1977, 1983) and the archaeo-zoological analyzes of St. Udrescu (1977) and Georgeta El Susi (2013, 2020).

The excavation reports published annually in the *Chronicles of Archaeological Research* together with volumes of edited works focusing on the Geto-Dacian settlement from Cârломănești and the relevant archaeological materials discovered here.

Chapter 5. History of research: the settlements in the area of interest

The degree of investigation of the settlements in pre-Roman Dacia is still uneven. In many cases, the known data is limited only to field surveys, the systematically investigated areas are small, often with the information disseminated no longer in monographic publications; it is limited also to reporting exceptional artefacts, and chrono-typological studies. Many times, the small areas investigated, the poor state of preservation of the remains and the complexity of the archaeological contexts discovered triggered difficulties in the interpretation and correlation between the structures and the settlement space. The way of presenting the excavation documentation is diverse and sometimes insufficient, making it difficult to obtain a coherent picture.

However, several researchers have suggested classifications of the settlements, based on various criteria: geographical location, the type and presence of the fortification system, or the economic, social, religious and political character.

In the economy of the present paper, an important role belongs to the bibliography published after the 1970s, signed by I. Glodariu, Al. Vulpe, M. Babeș, V. Ursachi, M. Gumă, F. Medeleț, N. Conovici, G. Trohani, and after the 90s by V. Sîrbu, C. Schuster, V. Zirra, A. Rustoiu, G. Florea, D. Spînu, and D. Mandescu. During this period, a series of synthestic works regarding Dacian architecture, civil, military and especially religious, were published.

Chapter 6. Residential structures at Cârломănești

Following archaeological excavations, ca 20% of the area attributed to the Geto-Dacian occupation was investigated. The La Tène layer was identified up to the present boundary of the plateau. The archaeological depositions have undergone changes due to environmental and anthropogenic factors.

6.1 Stratigraphy

The multi-stratified site at Cetățuia is characterized by a massive anthropogenic deposit (between 1.70 - 3.20 m thick). It consists of a stratigraphic succession attributed to the early and late phases of the Monteoru culture and the Second Iron Age. The La Tène period structures were identified and described by M. Babeș (1975, 1994) as pertaining to two chronologically distinct stages. The first one was characterized as a short-term occupation from the 4th-3rd centuries BC as indicated by the reduced presence of residential structures and the rarity of ceramic material. The second deposition, more consistent, was attributed to a *dava*-type settlement that operated during the period of 2nd – 1st c. BC.

The stratigraphic differences recorded on the profiles of the investigated areas illustrate different degrees of use of the space, the frequency of features and detail the construction and human activity.

6.2 Large structures

At Cârломănești, the traces of several large buildings were discovered. They are published unevenly in a descriptive manner and with limited or non-existent illustration, although documentation exists in the site's archive. A part of the present study is dedicated to the analysis of the construction traces whose construction and operation can be linked to the public, community level. Their planimetry, also known from other discoveries from contemporary settlements, links them to a cult functionality.

Following the description and analysis of the construction techniques, the dimensions of the investigated buildings, I tried to link them to other known discoveries, in the intra- and extra-Carpathian area. The result of these comparisons should provide data on the constructive norms existing, but also on the existence and role of exceptions. The latter, associated with other discoveries from Cârломănești, could open the way to some interrogations on the elements of specificity and local identity.

6.2.1 The edifice with apse

The remains of this building, located in the central part of the settlement, consist of a foundation with a complex layout. The foundation consists of a trench filled with battered yellow clay. The ditch covers a rectangular perimeter, with an inner wall and an apse to the N. Four pits for corner pillars were visible. To the south, the plan shows an intermediate area (porch), and to the north a pavement made of gravel. The identification of several postholes, on the excavation plans from 1979-1981, makes plausible the existence of an *deambulatorium* surrounding the building. This structure delimits the consecrated area, from the rest of the settlement. A constructive analogy of this type is at Popești, where a line of postholes was noted around the apse edifice, at close distances to those recorded in Cârломănești. For a comparative look at the apse constructions in pre-Roman Dacia, we have drawn up a Catalogue, attached in the Appendices (subchapter 13.6)

Of the interior design of the building, only the massive, elevated hearth, located in the center of the rectangular room of the apse building, has been preserved. No materials were discovered that could be considered part of the inventory of the apse edifice. This construction belongs to the last level of development in this area of the settlement.

6.2.2 The construction with alignments of pillars

The last occupation layer, on the E side of the settlement, was definitely dominated by 25 columns – pillars that made up the construction with alignments of pillars. It was investigated between 1972-1973. The postholes identified were described in most cases as "circular surfaces containing river boulders", due to the identification of only the level of the bases. The building that I was able to identify and for which I made a planimetric restoration, consisted of 5 x 5 alignments of posts. With about 1 m between the postholes the temple with orthogonally arranged wooden pillars-columns measures approximately 9 x 9 m.

Discoveries of this type are concentrated in SW Transylvania. The construction with alignments of pillars from Cârломănești is the most south-eastern discovery in the extra-Carpathian area, relative to the area of the Orăștie Mountains.

6.2.3 The rectangular edifice inscribed to the apse

This construction consists of two complex stone structures (foundation bases), which belong to the penultimate level of development on the E side of the settlement. It was overlapped and affected by the construction described above.

The first of the structures follows a linear route, oriented N-S. The perimeter of the foundation develops semi-circularly, towards the E, the described radius measuring approx. 9 m. In the perimeter of the apse, the foundation of another room with a rectangular plan is inscribed. Two sides were recorded, to the W and N. On each was the opening of an entrance. There was a stone pavement inside the rectangular room. On the N side, in the area of the apse, we identified the *in situ* presence of 3 hearths. All were cut when digging pits for the post alignments of the later building.

Studying the site archive allowed me to get an idea on the construction technique and materials used. Also, I identified the existence of a rich inventory, located in both areas of this construction. The description of its layout plays an important role in identifying the functionality of the built space.

Thus, inside the building, food was prepared and consumed (3 hearths and specific categories of vessels) and grains were stored (pithoi). The activities carried out also included the processing of fibers and hides. The distribution of the archaeological materials in the three interior areas also indicated the presence of some objects belonging to women (adornments) and men (adornments, knife, sharpening stone, spur, and bite). The spur and the saddle attest to the presence of a horseman, and together with the clay anthropomorphic statuettes, the attribution of this building to a "warrior" who probably also performed the function of "officer of the sanctuary" becomes plausible.

6.3 Buildings with multiple functions

The approach to analyse these constructions is a difficult and time-consuming one, as it involves bringing together information related to the artefacts discovered in these spaces. The categories of artefacts and their arrangement provides data about the perception of space: interior - exterior, public / community *versus* private / individual, functional / specialized. The archaeological documentation at my disposal allowed only for modest reconstructions, fragments of the reality of the interiors of the buildings from Cârломănești. However, the analysis carried out on the excavation documentation of the rectangular building inscribed in the apse perimeter, which I presented above, is an illustration of the unexpected results obtained from the processing of the site archive. A building that the specific plan typologically would have integrated to cult constructions, it became clear that a lot of daily activities were carried out, generally attributed to domestic spaces in homes.

6.3.1 The rectangular building on areas E1cS - E1cN – E1dN

This building is located on the E of the settlement, to the S of the rectangular building in the apse perimeter. Its first description dates back to 1975: the construction was destroyed by fire and this was interpreted as the end of occupation and the abandonment of the settlement. The remains of construction appeared as a compact, rectangular agglomeration, with the collapsed walls, made up of large pieces of daub.

There are no traces that the remains were tampered with after the fire. That is why the reconstruction of the distribution of objects inside the burned construction has the valences of a photographic frame stop. This last moment provides a lot of information that is part of the biography of this construction.

Among the fired remains of this building, inside it, as well as outside, in the immediate vicinity, fragments of the statuettes were found scattered or grouped, representing a collection with a unique character in pre-Roman Dacia.

The distribution of the pottery around the 4 hearths suggests a division of the interior space, not according to function, but as if used by 4 groups of people. It is therefore possible that it is evidence of a shared house, rather used by an extended family (2 generations). Inside, animal hides were processed, spinning and weaving was taking place, as indicated by the presence of spindles, weights, and looms. Tools and other metal artefacts are missing, with a few modest exceptions.

The special character of the building resides in its dimensions, its orientation to the N and especially from the presence of the 4 hearths. The presence of the ornamented one is an indication of individual/family worship practices and illustrates the manner domestic and ritually defined spaces overlapped and complemented each other.

M. Babeş considered that the end of the operation of this construction following a fire can be linked to the "final date" of the abandonment of the settlement, somewhere in the middle of the 1st century, as indicated by the presence in the ruins, of three coins of the Vârteju – Bucharest type.

6.3.2 Building Cpl. 17/V4bS

This represented the remains of a rectangular building, slightly recessed, with a battered clay floor, and two hearths. One of them was decorated and was in the N half of the building. The other, simple, was laid directly on the floor, to the South. Between the combustion structures, a few ceramic fragments were scattered.

Located in the central part of the settlement, this construction was overlapped by the apse building and cut by its foundations. Based on the stratigraphic sequence and archaeological material associations, it can be dated to the first half of the 1st c. BC.

6.3.3 Building Cpl. 18/V4bS

This building pertains to the first occupation layer of the settlement. It is a surface structure, with two moments of use, illustrated by the restoration of the floor and the two hearths inside. During the first phase, the decorated hearth (with a double incised border) was located to the S and was rebuilt without decoration. During the second phase, the hearth was rebuilt to the north and was decorated with meander decoration.

From the surface of the feature (from the debris and from the interior), resulted a small number of bone fragments, when compared to the dimensions of the construction. This indicates that the interior had been cleaned frequently, and bone and food debris removed.

The same as with the building Cpl. 17/V4bS, Cpl. 18/V4bS also partially overlapped a construction, the one containing hearth Cpl.10, removed when the apse building was erected. The foundation trenches affected the remains of earlier constructions, including the decorated hearth in the Northern half of Cpl. 18.

6.4 Other types of structures - Depositions

Structure Cpl. 25/V4bS was a deposition consisting of two parallel rows of stones and sherds from large vessels, with a compact agglomeration of ceramic fragments in between. It had a rectangular shape, with the long axis oriented N-S. The entire surface of the feature was overlapped, but undisturbed, by the apse building. This fact is another proof of the existence in the central area of the settlement, of a consecrated space. The deposition is the result of a series

of successive-predetermined actions, the agglomeration of sherds indicating this fact by its position and by the ceramic material contained (over 1000 sherds). A human mandible, a fibula and a fragment of a decorated hearth fragment probably have a particular significance for its functionality. Faunal remains were studied and anthropological and carpological analysis were undertaken on a number of carbonized seeds, collected from this feature. From the surface of the feature (from the debris and from the interior), a small number of bone fragments resulted, when compared to the dimensions of the construction. This indicated that the interior had been cleaned frequently, with the bone and the food debris removed.

6.5 Domestic buildings (houses)

The analysis of the constructive characteristics and of the intra-site location of the constructions is a need in the study of settlements. The residential buildings identified on the Cetățuia plateau are mostly surface constructions or with shallow foundations. The reduced use of stone (a few parts of the foundation and fragments of pavements), the preponderance of clay and wood as construction materials, the repeated reuse of space, are factors that decreased the number of structures identified archaeologically, in whole or in part. I could reliably identify (planimetrically) 6 houses. A few others, at least four more, are suggested by the presence of fragments of floors or postholes in the wooden superstructure. Another construction that was probably a house, was partially investigated, in the southern part of the settlement. It belongs to the last level of development and was destroyed by a strong fire.

6.6 Pits

An important and defining feature of the investigated La Tène period settlements is the presence of pits. They numerically dominate the other types of archaeological complexes. Their presence is explained by the multiple functionality they have.

In 2015, Judy Joy, the renowned British specialist in the Iron Age, dedicated an article to the "biography of pits". He proposes the notion of "object as itineraries", as an alternative to "object biography". Marking the biography of objects through the three main moments, appearance/birth – life – death, does not boil down to a fixed scheme. Accumulations from the biography of objects / structures also occur in the case of inert, or inactive, static objects. Based on this theoretical approach, I tried to identify functionalities of some of the researched pits in Cârломănești. As complementary case studies, I analysed such complexes researched in the contemporary settlements of Bordușani, Brad, and Vlădiceasca.

6.6.1 The pits from Cârломănești

The individual presentation of the pits led to the compilation of a short Catalogue attached at the end of the work (13.2). The included pits have a descriptive complex record as complete as possible. Features are ordered according to their location on the area of the settlement. Where possible, I have tried to establish the possible functionality(s): clay mining pits; storage pits; household pits. There are at least 5 other features that contained fragments of Cârломănești type statuettes in their filling, which raises questions about a possible cult functionality.

In order to illustrate the preponderance of pits, I have drawn up a series of graphs and plans with their distribution in the investigated areas in Cârломănești. Based on the density of pits, the intensity of use of the space and the evolution of the way of use can be observed. Also, based on the numerical distribution of the osteological remains identified in the infill of the pits,

a specific distribution of areas with high meat consumption resulted, even a certain proportion according to species (domestic or wild mammals).

Given that most of the buildings identified in the settlements are surface constructions,, initial functionality of the majority of medium and large pits is to obtain the necessary land for the construction of new constructions and for levelling the surfaces after their cleaning.

6.6.2 Case study. The Brad pits

Starting from the studies of Hill (1995) and Joy (2015), whose theoretical theoretical value has been confirmed by studies on contexts and important batches of materials, I have tried to outline moments of the "ideal biography" of some pits, as well as schemes of possible operating scenarios. The observations on the functionality of the pits in the Brad settlement are supplemented with several others regarding contexts from Poiana, Popești, Bucureșii Noi, etc.

6.7 Functional areas

In the settlement on the Cetățuia, buildings with public and/or private purpose were identified, as well as several spaces with different functional purposes. Their identification and their relation to the general plan of the settlement, suggests that the processing and craft production areas were integrated among the other construction

6.7.1 Storage

In the southern part of the settlement, two possible storage spaces were researched - annexes, as well as the pit where a buried pithos was found..

6.7.2 Working areas. Domestic and artisanal activities

Inside the settlement, so far only one building has been discovered, inside which mainly bone and horn processing activities were carried out. No structures intended for artisanal activities, specifically built, were identified. However, there are areas that, through the specific inventory present, can be assigned to some working areas (groupings of clay weights). The high number of spindles and the slaughter of sheep/goats of 2-3 years of age, indicate the breeding of animals and for obtaining wool fibers.

6.7.2.1 Workshop for horn and bone processing

This represents a unique structure, investigated in 1979-1981. Located in the central part of the settlement, it extends to the E, to the current edge of the plateau. It functioned on the same layout level as the Building with apse perimeter and rectangular room and probably, the home of Cpl. 17/V4bS. The activity here could also have taken place outdoors, in a predefined space, marked by the presence of an irregular stone pavement. The profiles show two levels of layout, through paving. We identified the workshop based on concentrations of materials (bones, horn). There was little pottery on the assigned surface.

6.7.2.2 Evidence of the existence of a bronze processing workshop in Cârломănești. Intra-site localization problem

Two discoveries that indicate the probable operation of a bronze and silver processing workshop are two pits located in the southern area of Cârломănești.

To identify this structure, we used the models proposed for the identification of bronze processing workshops of S. Cociș, Rustoiu, Sârbu. In summary, the workshop would be that archaeological context that involves constructions with specific layouts (furnaces, hearths...), in which there are present crucibles, tools, patterns, ingots, parts being processed, waste and residues, all in one place being the material expression of a technological process, of operational

chains. I exemplified with cases of workshops and tools, discovered at Radovanu - Gorgana II; Poiana; Grădiștea; etc. Starting with the contexts related to bronze processing and from the analysis of the crucibles discovered at Cârломănești, I managed to make a series of inferences on the capacity of the complete crucibles from Grădiștea, Poiana, Brad or Brănești-Vadu Anii. Carrying out some XRF analysis on the containers from Cârломănești, revealed traces of metal that allow these containers to be linked to the production/melting of bronze alloys, or with a significant silver content.

Chapter 7. Materials and construction techniques

The identification of materials and construction techniques used at Cârломănești indicated the adaptation to local resources and specific local elements. Each individual material has been described in relation to possible ways of use. Where possible, I have identified the source of provenance. I presented examples of the use of clay, stone, and wood observed in the remains of the constructions on Cetățuie.

Chapter 8. An analysis of hearths from Cârломănești

One category of remains, which mark the known archaeological landscape of the settlement, is represented by hearths. Combustion structures have a central and ordering role inside the building where they operate, they allow the identification of coherent and well-fixed sequences of behaviour over time. They can be related both to domestic use and to the public, community level. In this case, their presence generates areas with ritual functions in the settlement.

Because making a hearth transforms the gestures and knowledge of the individual involved in moments in time, which determine the "biography" of the combustion structure. Knowing gestures and knowledge is important, so I listed them in order. They are followed by the identification of the main moments, in time, from the biography of a hearth: creation, time of operation, repairs / restorations, end of operation through abandonment / accidental destruction / intentional dismantling.

The presence of intra-site hearths is of particular value in tracking the evolution of occupied areas and the intensity of habitation. I illustrated the situations in settlements such as Poiana, Sprâncenata, Popești, Vlădiceasca – Ghergăul Mare, Ocnița.

I have described the combustion structures according to their constructive characteristics, and for the six decorated hearths I have presented analogies of the technique and decoration. In addition to these, numerous fragments of the decorated crusts were collected from various contexts and from the culture layer. Starting from these, we were able to propose the reconstruction of the original setting and we observed different modes of distribution in the investigated areas.

Chapter. 9 Use and organization of the settlement space at Cârломănești

In this chapter I tried to clarify the relationships between the contemporary residential structures located on the Cetățuia plateau, to identify some functionalities and uses of the settlement space. The presence of the La Tène layer to the edge of the plateau, confirms the erosion due to environmental and anthropogenic factors and indicates modest changes in the ancient limits of the settlement during the 2nd-1st c. BC.

9.1 Delimitation of space.

The role of the palisade A clear delimitation of the space is induced by the presence of an artificial "barrier", clear demarcation, visible and easily recognizable by all. The perimeter

constructions determine the appropriation of the space for the inhabitants inside and signal this to the others. Elements of a palisade were identified on the west side of the settlement, located in the most easily accessible area.

9.2 Use of the internal space of the settlement

Inside Cârломănești, areas dedicated to the community's public worship activities were identified. The way of using the space surrounding the investigated cult edifices is marked by the presence of large pits. All these pits contain an important number of ceramic fragments and bone remains and in some cases fragments of zoomorphic and anthropomorphic statuettes.

9.3 Consecrated spaces have been highlighted by the relationships between large constructions, contemporaneous or earlier; as well as between these and other types of structures (buildings, agglomerations of materials, hearths, pits). Contexts and stratigraphic relationships have been described for each individual building. I have added analogies and comments related to the distribution of sanctuaries in pre-Roman Dacia, with an emphasis on the intra-Carpathian space.

Chapter 10. Places of worship – Typologies

It is a large chapter in which I presented, sometimes with critical amendments and additions, the various proposals suggested over time, in relation to edifices attributed to the cult in pre-Roman Dacia. I mentioned the attempts to establish the origin of the apse constructions and the controversy on their functionality. The various typologies of edifices attributed to religious practices are supplemented by proposals for the classification of places of worship, which I reviewed.

10.1 Patterns of housing and domestic space in contemporary settlements. The domestic space between the profane and the ritual. Other buildings

In order to refine this type of observations, I considered it necessary to complete with information obtained from the study of some contemporary settlements. I resorted to a case study, from Bordușani - Popină because I believe that the author of the excavation and his monographic publication, G. Trohani, managed to provide an articulated array of information regarding the evolution and specifics of the settlements of the La Tène. Thus, I was able to highlight a pattern of the way of organization and operation of the interior space of the dwellings in Bordușani. What attracts attention is the overlapping of the domestic and the cultic, inside the same building. Associated with the hearths are numerous grinding stones, which indicate a high share of grain in the diet of the local community. The quasi-absence of large supply vessels is noteworthy. It is possible that this absence was made up for by the arrangement of storage pits. The activity of stock/storage is also one of control of food and grain resources. At Bordușani, control over meat resources was also practiced, as indicated by the archaeozoological study carried out.

Storing some materials involves keeping them for a longer period of time and generally in large quantities. This function was performed by some of the pits dug in the Cârломănești settlement. Some of these had specific arrangements, steps or edges spared to support a lid. Storage in large vessels (pithoi, dolia) was also carried out, identified in a single context in the S part of the settlement. In other contemporary resorts, this was a common practice: Piscu Crăsani, Radovanu, Popești.

I tried to answer the question related to the definition and clear delimitation of the spaces inside the settlements, using two examples. At Radovanu-Gorgana II, in the same investigated area, there were a dwelling-sanctuary, a dwelling-workshop, as well as a cult pit. The compound

terms used to describe the discovered structures and the proximity relationship between them suggest that there is no separation of spaces by function in the settlement. At Popești, A. Vulpe talked about the identification of an elite residential district. In the complex of buildings defined in this way, there are spaces for storing and preparing food, structures defined as dwellings, workshops and an apse sanctuary.

A defining element of the domestic space are the hearths. That is why I followed the relationship between the interior of the residential structures published as dwellings and the hearths discovered, in the settlements of Bragadiru, București Noi, Chirnogi, Vlădiceasca, Popești. Another case study resulted, which is based on 45 combustion structures (13.3 Catalog of hearths discovered at Pietroasa Mică, Grădișteea, Ocnița, Bordușani, Vlădiceasca). I followed the relationship between the arrangement of hearths in relation to their shape and dimensions, which allowed me to identify the existence of some local constructive traditions. I also managed to make some observations on the dynamics of use and space on the intensity of living inside the settlement from Cârломănești and on the "acropolis" from Popești.

10.2 Hierarchy of space – interior – exterior relationship

The discussion on *dava* type settlements also has a component that concerns the hierarchization of space. The architectural and inventory presences determine functionality, subsumed under terms such as: acropolis, terraces, civil settlement, central settlement. They distinguish between a space (political/religious/sacred - extraordinary) and a common space (civil/profane/everyday living - ordinary). The research carried out in the Cetățuia microzone clearly indicates that the dwelling on the investigated plateau was only one of the components defining the *dava* settlement. The cartographic study and interdisciplinary analyzes allowed the identification of a space - lanscape, particularly generous in terms of resources. The establishment of the hinterland and the area of influence of the *dava* type settlement on the surrounding land is also suggested by fortuitous finds (coin hoards, funerary finds).

10.3 On communities and territory. In search of a landscape - pattern

Deciphering the components of a housing complex, in the present case the verification in the territory of the relationship between settlements and possible burial areas, remains a difficult one. The approach was conditioned by the quality of the cartographic sources, supplemented by the results of archaeological research or accidental discoveries. The result is hindered in most cases by natural and anthropogenic changes to the surfaces of the studied microzones. I tried to establish the existence of the hinterland of the settlements from Poiana, Popești, Radovanu, Piscu Crăsani, Sprâncenata.

Dava-type settlements, structurally, contain an assemblage consisting of a central, altitudinally dominant area, conventionally called the "acropolis", an open civil settlement or delimited by a nearby "light" fortification, a tumulus necropolis and an adjacent territory, vast, in which dependent/satellite settlements are present. In the case of the Cârломănești settlement, the pattern can only be partially recognized, it is more discrete, while at Popești, for example, is more pronounced and complex.

10.4 Abandonment of the occupation area

Following the research at Cârломănești, two areas inside the settlement (in E and S) were identified that can be considered abandoned. The signs of the abandonment of an occupied area are represented by the remains left *in situ* of some buildings that ended their life violently,

usually as a result of arson. If they stratigraphically belong to the last occupation level of the settlement, then it can be related to the moment of abandonment.

Chapter 11. Chronology of the Cârломănești site

Mircea Babeș suggested a method for establishing the chronology of settlements in pre-Roman Dacia. He started from the consideration of each resort as a "sealed feature" and the combinatory analysis of the dating elements, aiming at obtaining a chronological scheme. As a case study, at Cârломănești, indicator pieces, such as coins, fibulas, pieces of clothing and jewelry, certain ceramic shapes, local and imported products were used. I have presented these categories of pieces, complete with the latest discoveries.

Along with the chrono-typology, I considered it important to make clarifications about the place of discovery of the mentioned pieces.

In an attempt to see how Cârломănești fits into the relationship of commercial exchanges and the manifestation of authority, I resorted to mapping the monetary types discovered in the settlement. The distribution of known coins in Cârломănești allowed the formulation of some observations on monetary circulation, especially in the area of Muntenia.

As a result of the excavations carried out so far in Cârломănești, a number of 16 fibulae have been found, of which 8 specimens are discovered in safe contexts. The pieces are presented in a descriptive catalog and were identified based on the typologies developed by A. Rustoiu, D. Spânu, V.V. Zirra.

Another important category of wear and adornment is belt buckles. Four examples are known (two from the pits and two from inside the Building with a rectangular room inscribed in the apse perimeter). We used the typologies drawn up for these pieces by M. Babeș, A. Rustoiu, respectively Mițja Guștin.

The glass pieces discovered in Cârломănești are represented by beads and containers (containers and bowls). They appeared in most of the investigated areas, but a higher presence is found in the central area of the settlement. Archaeometric analyzes were also carried out for these materials, which nuanced the techno-typological description. For their production, a Romanian glass recipe of the natron type was used, as well as recycled glass.

So far, about 100 fragments of bowls with relief decoration have been discovered in the settlement on Cetățuie. They present decorations frequently found on such vessels, discovered in contemporary settlements in Muntenia. I have chosen to present three special fragments in that they are decorated with monetary effigies. Such pieces have also been discovered in Snagov, Popești and Piscu Crăsani and have a special significance. The images printed in the patterns with which these bowls were produced, definitely belong to some coins that were in circulation.

The image of these containers, associated with the consumption of wine, in a convivial environment, gives the act of drinking multiple meanings. The monetary image can be seen as a symbol of authority or economic power, it even signals the ability to mint money. The printing of the coin, on a fine ceramic container (with a complicated production technology) probably used for wine consumption, turns the bowl into an indicator of social status.

Some of the amphora fragments discovered in the Cârломănești settlement are also related to wine. Only a few stamped amphorae have been discovered. Three anepigraphic stamps, dated in the first half of the century. I BC, have almost identical analogues in Popești.

The considerations on the chronology of the settlement must be seen in the conditions in which the objective of the present work rather aimed at recovering the image of some moments in the evolution of the settlement. These material manifestations took place in a chronological framework, which falls from the beginning of the century. II BC until the middle of the century. I Chr. Newer discoveries of pieces, the skeumorphic fibula, the glass vessels, indicate a presence in Cârломănești after the middle of the century. I BC, and it probably was. But it must be emphasized that, in the case of the late materials, there is still no investigated context and no habitation level that can be dated in this way, but only a few isolated pieces.

Chapter 12. Conclusions

The interior space of a settlement implies foundation, orientation, specific dimensions, organization, delimitation based on functional criteria, reuse, abandonment. These are the main moments in the operation of Cârломănești which represent visible, identified parts of its biography.

Although until now, almost a third of the surface of the settlement on the Cetățuia plateau has been investigated, the attempt to delimit the space based on the activities carried out in a given area, has not yet provided a clear result. It is certain that cult practices took place in the center and SE of the settlement, in buildings with a specific plan, or around decorated hearths. The performance of daily activities, the actual living, articulated around the "domestic hearths" was documented in all the surveyed areas. Attention is drawn to the small number of combustion structures identified in the southern part of the settlement.

The central location of the bone and horn processing workshop could be explained by the supply of raw material from the remains of animal carcasses used for offerings and communal meals, which will have been held nearby. In addition to this idea, it is possible that, in the building considered a workshop, part of the activities of cutting and deboning the carcasses took place.

The analysis of the architectural type and the dimensions of the buildings located on the eastern and southern edge of the settlement, indicates an ostentatious intention of the inhabitants of the Cetățuia, changing the perception of the landscape. Their maximum degree of exposure and visibility signals a stable social structure, developed by a community well adapted to its own landscape and integrated into the regional power network.

Other moments in the biography of the settlement are the "moments of the great fires", in which the surface buildings, erected from glue on the wooden structure, are destroyed. Analysing the archaeological contexts and the location in the settlement, I believe that the fires were accidental and did not affect other buildings.

The observations made on the Cârломănești settlement, from the point of view of internal organization and functioning and the way of insertion into the landscape, are supplemented with those that illustrate supra-territorial relations. This includes the relations that will have worked in the extra- and intra-Carpathian space: political and military relations (alliances), economic (local and long-distance trade and exchanges), social and cultural (the circulation of people associated with that of ideas and information type of know how...). Comparing the discoveries from Cârломănești with similar ones, through maps, places the settlement and its inhabitants in a series of theoretical spaces, defined by the existence at one time of several characteristics. Here I am referring to the circulation of money, of clothing and ornaments, to the distribution networks of amphorae and other imported products.

I sought to compare and illustrate through case studies, the position of the regional centres in the zonal networks of authority, charting the discoveries made in the hinterland of the settlements of Poiana, Popești and Radovanu. I verified and substantiated the idea of I. Glodariu, from 1982, on the relationship between the distribution of settlements that have a fortification system and the exercise of their control over neighboring areas, implicitly over trade routes. Following the maps, two distribution patterns emerged. One N-S, following the water valleys, the other, consisting of two lines of settlements (E-W). Their arrangement leaves the impression of a defensive, coherent structure.

The part entitled "Dava viewed through the prism of archaeological realities" includes definitions of this type of settlement, formulated by various authors (C. Preda, D. David, M. Babeș). Joining the principles of horizontal organization and hierarchical organization between settlements, as well as the anthropological comparison with the realities of the contemporary Celtic world, allows the formulation of some sets of characteristics for the settlement at Cârломănești.

This is a settlement of an aristocratic character, a central point given the area of the site, the thickness of the cultural layer, the presence of natural and anthropic defensive elements, the existence of buildings with a special character (shrines, workshops...), the outline of a hinterland marked by the presence of satellite settlements. The subsistence economy is an indicator of the quality of life of the community, of the variety and abundance of controlled resources, and reflects the way of its adaptation, relationship to the environment, and the human interventions over the latter.

An exceptional and unique form of manifestation of the local identity is represented by the zoomorphic and anthropomorphic statuettes of the Cârломănești type. Of important dimensions, sitting on pedestals/bases, they were produced to be exhibited. Their intentional destruction increases the complexity of the forms of manifestation of the local beliefs and cult practices, all the more so as only a "wild bestiary" is represented. The species modelled in clay are found among the animals hunted and eaten in Cârломănești. In contrast, the presence of riders wearing shields, possibly representations of warriors, treated in a similar manner, finds little confirmation when related to the panoply and military equipment. The recontextualization of these special objects, which became "artefacts" from the moment of their discovery, gives us the chance to supplement their biography, which had momentarily ended sometime in the middle of the 1st century BC at the time of their fragmentation, deposition and abandonment.

Undoubtedly, the presence of buildings with a specific plan and orientation, built from local materials as well as the Cârломănești-type statuettes, suggest a strong identity of expression, absent elsewhere. In the community there, a male authority manifested itself, bearing horseman and warrior attributes. They sometimes officiated within the community, in courtly rituals. Whether this local elite also functioned as a basileus is difficult to say with certainty. The fact that a unique inscription, on a vessel discovered at Cârломănești, fixed this very word, allows the formulation of a working hypothesis, especially if we also add the issuance of coins of the Vârteju-Bucharest type, with a local character (a specific technique and the cross-use of monetary moulds).

Therefore, it can be considered that the Cârломănești site is the result of the effects of

habitation in the 2nd century BC - 1st BC. The material traces discovered are part of the sum of the actions / biographies of the people who founded the settlement, lived in the space on the plateau called "Cetățuia" today.