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ARCHAEOLOGY AND NATIONALISM. THE ENDLESS STRUGGLE  
FOR DĂBÂCA (G.: DOBESCHDORF; H.: DOBOKA<sup>1</sup>)  
THOUGHTS ON RESEARCH DEVELOPMENT AND  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL REALITIES

*The excavation of Dăbâca castle started in the early 1960s. The contextualization of the results was heavily influenced by ideological preconceptions since the fortification was identified as the political-military centre of legendary “lord Gelou” by archaeologists, based on the material of only three seasons of archaeological research and a written source from a much later period. According to the archaeological and numismatic finds, the fortification was built in/after the first third of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, but the castle system reached the peak of its life in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. This is clearly demonstrated by the coins those were found in the graves in Castle Area IV, A. Tămaş’s garden and the graveyard of Boldăgă/Boldogasszony, just like by the diverse structures of the settlement. The transformation of the castle as a political and administrative center can be dated to the late 13<sup>th</sup> century. It seems that the changes in Dăbâca’s role were not the result of the Mongolian invasion, and can be traced back to other, both administrative and political reasons.*

*A múlt század ’60-as éveiben kezdődött dobokai ásatások eredményeinek értékelése prekonceptiókkal súlyosan terhelt volt, az ásatásvezető régészek három ásatási idény után Doboka várkomplexumából származó régészeti leletanyagot, mint a legendás Gelou dux katonai-politikai központjának hagyatékát értékelték. Az azonosítás alapja egyetlen, sokkal későbbi írott forrás volt. A régészeti és a numizmatikai anyag alapján a 11. század első harmadában vagy kevéssel ezután épült vár, illetve a területén létrejött települési struktúrák fejlődésének csúcspontja a 12. század. Ezt a IV. vártérség, illetve az A. Tămaş kertjében és a Boldogasszony temetőjének sírjaiból előkerült pénzermék, valamint a település különböző szerkezeti egységei pontosan azonosíthatóvá teszik. A várközpont, mint politikai-katonai és adminisztrációs centrum átalakulásának kora a 13. század második felére tehető. A dobokai vár szerepének megváltozása nem a tatárjáráshoz köthető, más, adminisztrációs és gazdasági okai lehettek.*

Keywords: Dăbâca, castle, hillfort, fortification, cremation cemetery, churchyard, settlements, 7<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries

Kulcsszavak: Doboka (Dăbâca), vár, hamvasztásos temető, templomkörüli temető, telepek, 7–13. század

### Introduction

The topic of the present paper is a specific and quite complex site at Dăbâca (Cluj County, Romania). The complexity of the site causes some terminological problems. The location is a medieval fortified settlement with still surviving spectacular ramparts. According to the existing Hungarian terminology such sites, former royal centres are usually called castle ac-

ording to their Medieval Latin term *civitas* (11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> centuries) or *castrum* (from the 13<sup>th</sup> century onward, MORDOVIN 2010, 78). Therefore in this paper I will use terms castle and stronghold for the whole site.

Except for the minor excavation of Károly Crettie in 1942, it has been more than five decades since the plan excavations had begun in the valley of *Lonea* (Hungarian: Lóna) creek – which is part of the *Someşul Mic* (Little Someş) Valley – at the Dăbâca

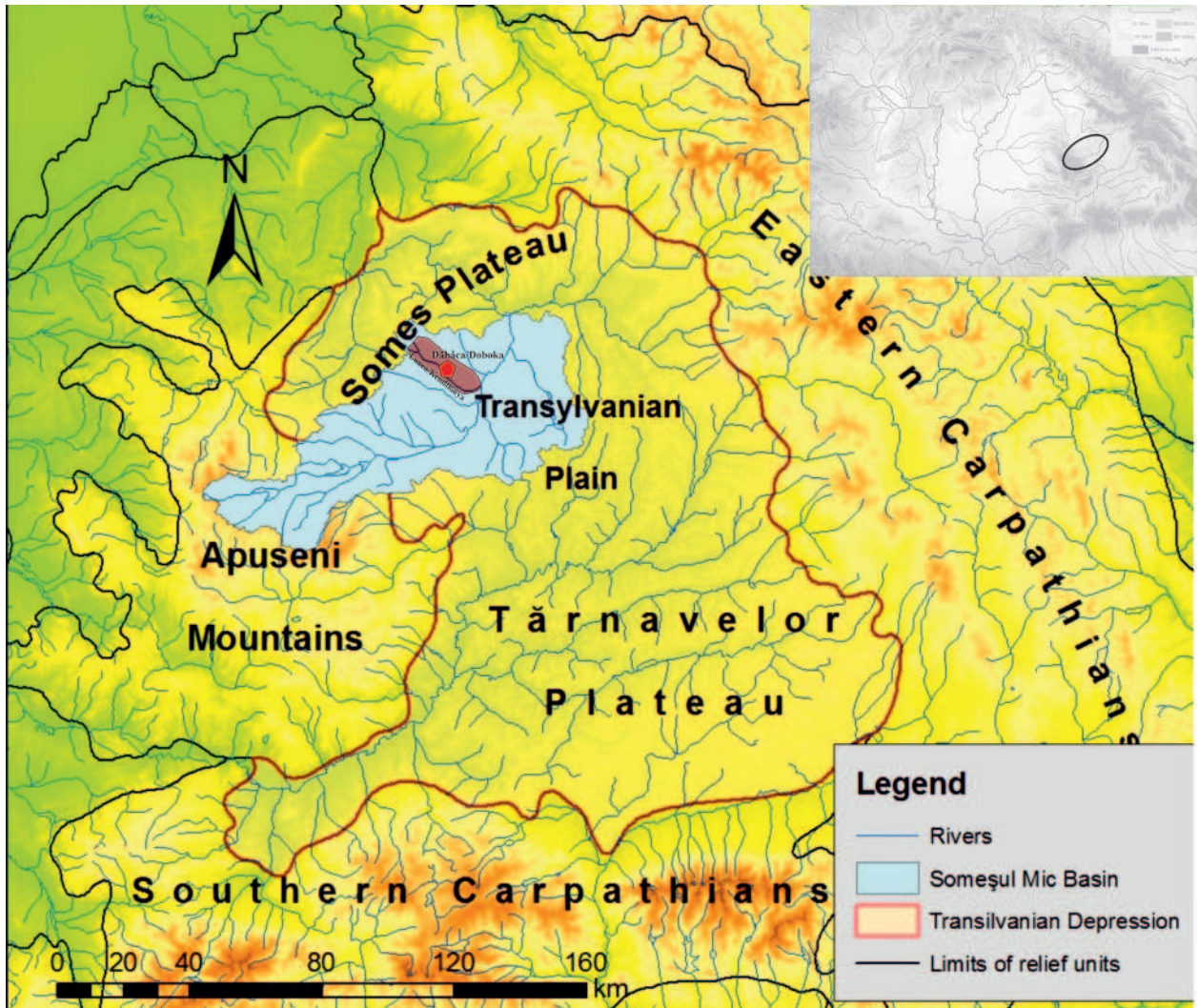


Fig. 1 The Valleys of Someșul Mic and Lonea in the Transylvanian- and in the Carpathian Basin  
 1. kép Kis-Szamos medencéje és Lóna/Kendilóna az Erdélyi- és a Kárpát-medencében

castle, that was defined as such by József Könyöki already in 1906.

Compared to other Central and Eastern European power centres, the state of archaeological research and theoretical processing of Dăbâca (along with the other Transylvanian medieval power centres) is among the last on a scientific scale. The present paper aims to discuss the phases of research history of Dăbâca.

*The topographical characteristics of Dăbâca and its natural resources*

Between Gilău and Dej, the *Someșul Mic* River carved a valley into the sedimentary layers of the

Transylvanian Basin at an altitude between 232 and 400 meters. The valley is relatively wide, reaching 4–5 kilometres width in certain points; however it tends to contract very abruptly (PERȘOIU 2010, 56). Its relief is marked by a wide floodplain (known as *Lunca Someșului*) superimposed by six–eight terraces, thus making it an ideal area for human settlement (PERȘOIU 2010, 56). The *Someșul Mic* Valley divides multiple geographical units. From the north it is bordered by the southern portions of the Someș Plateau (*Podișul Someșului*) comprising of a sedimentary structure and by the Hills of Cluj, respectively Dej (*Dealurile Clujului*, *Dealurile Dejului*). The latter consists of rounded hills with an average height of 500–600 meters fragmented by the

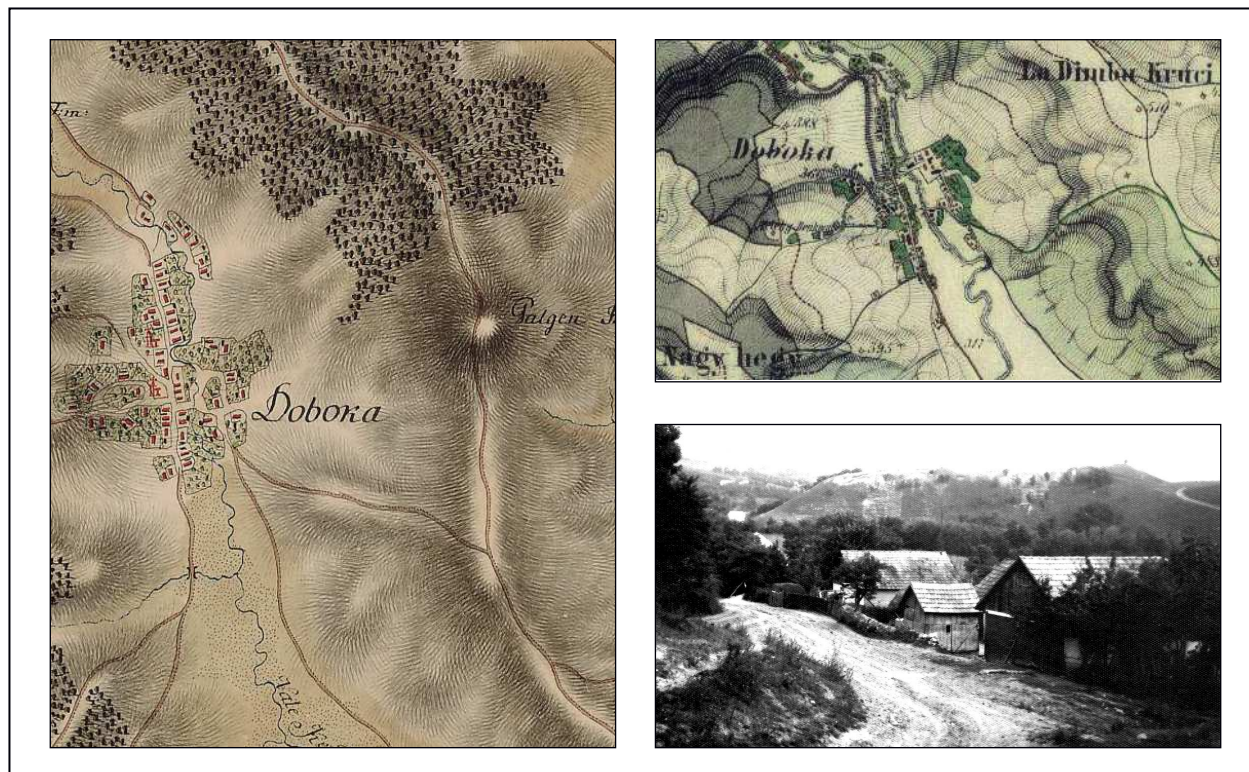


Fig. 2 Dăbâca on the First and Second Military Surveys, and the castle from the northwest (1964)  
2. kép Doboka az I. és II. katonai térképen, illetve a vár északnyugatról (1964)

numerous northwest–southeast oriented valleys of the main tributaries (e.g. Nădaș, Părâul Chinteniilor, Feiurdeni, Borșa, Lonea, Lujerdiu) from the left side of Someșul Mic (PERȘOIU 2010, 56).

The *Someșul Mic* Valley is approximately 150 kilometres long starting at the spring of the *Someșul Cald* (Warm Someș). The river springs from two separate locations in the Bihar Mountains. The larger of the two is the *Someșul Cald*, the smaller is called *Someșul Rece*. These two rivers converge at the lake of Gilău, where from the river continues its path as the *Someșul Mic*. Starting from Gilău, the river continues its way eastward in a larger valley. It crosses Cluj-Napoca and turns north at Apahida, and after leaving behind Bonțida and Gherla, it runs into the *Someșul Mare*. Altogether fifteen streams of various sizes run into the *Someșul Mic* along its path; Dăbâca is located in the valley of one of these streams called *Lonea* (Fig. 1).

The village is located 30 kilometres northwest of Cluj-Napoca. The *Lonea* flows into the Someș River 10 kilometres from this point. Owing to the

position of the mountain called *Nagyhegy* (Great Mountain/Hill), situated southwest of the village with an altitude of 529 m.a.s.l., the valley of the *Lonea* is extremely narrow; thus it forms this part of the valley an excellent vantage point over the pass. The road in the narrow valley, squeezed between two hills, takes a sharp turn in the middle of the village. The old castle district was situated in the area of this curvature.<sup>2</sup> The two hills gradually decrease in altitude towards the northwest. The shape of the castle resembles a pie with a sharp angle with an arc at the end, pointing towards to the north-northeast. Both sides are well defendable, sloping at 25°–45° degrees. The early medieval castle district was built in this place with a number of villages and churches around it.

The castle was built at approximately the middle of the 20 kilometres long, narrow valley of the *Lonea River* (Fig. 1–2). It can be argued that the site selection was connected to the fact that admittedly the *Lonea* valley was covered by dense beech forest during the Early Middle Ages, which in conjunction with the high discharge of the stream, re-

sults in an ideal place for human settlement. Due to the absence of excavations and field survey, hitherto there is no reliable information regarding the demography of this area in the Early Middle Ages.<sup>3</sup>

The location of the castle must have a direct connection with its strategic geographical location. The Lonea River is almost perpendicular on the Meseş mountain range that is situated between the Someş and the Crasna rivers. Following a westward direction towards the Meseş Mountains, the terrain gradually rises from 316 meters at the foot of the stronghold to 330 meters at the castle's level, further on at the nearby valley road (some 700 meters away towards the southeast) and at the end of the village. It rises further to 335 meters and eventually to 343 meters some 1200 meters away from the castle (Fig. 2).

*Interpretations concerning the name “Dăbâca” in the Romanian and Hungarian historical literature*

The link between the fortification of Dăbâca<sup>4</sup> and the activity of King Stephen I is almost generally accepted in the Hungarian historiography of the last decades and, therefore the date of the fortification's construction is dated around 1000 AD. Furthermore, based on a single written source, the name (BENKŐ 1994, 169) of both the fortification and the county derives from the name of a commander in the service of the King named *Dobuka* who defeated *Gyula*/the *gyula*.<sup>5</sup> However, this was not the only interpretation in Hungarian historiography: the very first explanation of the name *Dobuka* can be linked to the physician and linguist Sámuel Gyarmathi. The Transylvanian scientist writes the following in his work, entitled *Vocabularium* (published in Vienna in 1816): “Doboka, Comitatus Doboka in Transilvania D(almatice) dubokka voda *aqae altitude*” According to Gyarmathi, the name is of Slavic origin and it is identical with the Croatian-Dalmatian adjective *duboka* which means the depth of the water or deep water (quoted by MELICH 1927, 240). Almost a century later, László Réthy also interpreted the name of *Doboka* as an ancient Slavic word and associated it with the adjective *dubok* that – according to him – meant “*deep valley between high mountains*” (TAGÁNYI et al. 1900, III. k. 320).

The idea of the Hungarian origin of the fortification's name was published in the first volume of

*A Magyar Nemzet Története az Árpád házi királyok alatt* (The History of the Hungarian Nation in the time of the Árpadian kings), Gyula Pauler traces back the name *Doboka*, as well as the names of *Kolozs* and *Torda*, to personal names (PAULER 1893, I. k., 71); although – unlike Gyarmathi – Pauler did not provide any linguistic explanations, since this was not the goal of his work. According to Dezső Pais *Doboka* as a personal name could have been widely spread in the Middle Ages, because it occurs several times in the written sources, and also in the settlement names of the Carpathian Basin (PAIS 1926, 112). Following the work of Gyarmathi the first truly linguistic analysis can be linked to János Melich, published in 1816. Melich originates the name *Doboka* from the ancient Hungarian given name “*Dob*”, applying the diminutive suffix ‘-ika’ to it (GOMBÓCZ–MELICH 1916, 1373–1374; MELICH 1927, 245). Moreover, he also gathered all of the *Doboka* settlement names of the Carpathian Basin in his study in 1927 (he mentions five of them) and also looked up all the sources that are in connection with *Doboka* as a given name (MELICH 1927, 244). Based on the research of Melich, in the overall historical synthesis published in the volume written by Bálint Hóman and Gyula Szekfű in the inter-war period, the *Dăbâca* (*Doboka*) settlement name was evaluated similarly (MELICH 1927, 240–245; HÓMAN–SZEKFŰ 1935, Vol. I., 211).

According to the previous work by Zoltán Gombocz and János Melich, this approach was adopted by Károly Crettier in his historical-archaeological work on the fortification;<sup>6</sup> he also derived the name *Dăbâca* from the old Hungarian proper name “*Dob*” to which the diminutive suffix *-ika* was added (CRETIER 1943, 197).

Three decades after the study of Crettier, György Györffy explains the settlement name *Doboka* with the given name of Stephen I *comes* (*ispán*), while he thinks the word *dluboka* – citing the studies of Miklosich and Melich – is developed from the ancient Slavic word *glambokъ* (GYÖRFFY 1970, 232: note 315). According to Gyula Kristó, the army of Stephen I during the campaign against Gyula was led by *Dobuka*, to whom King Stephen I donated the surrounding territories and the name of the fortification can be deduced from this act (KRISTÓ 2002, 91).

Recently Katalin Fehértői drew attention to the imaginary of some Hungarian historians in connection with the naming of *Doboka*, which – in her

Year	Hungarian historiography	Romanian historiography
1816	GYARMATHI: <i>duboka</i> → mély víz (deep water)	
1893	PAULER: reminiscent of a personal name	
1900	RÉTHY: <i>dluboku, duboka</i> → mély völgy (deep valley)	
1916, 1927	MELICH: <i>Dobuka</i> → <i>dob + ika</i>	
1935	HÓMAN–SZEKFŰ: <i>Dobuka</i>	
1942	CRETIER: old hungarian <i>dob + -ika</i>	
1963		IORDAN: <i>dluboku, duboka</i>
1968		PASCU ET AL.: <i>dluboku, duboka</i>
1975	GYÖRFFY: <i>Dobuka</i>	
1986		
2005		MADGEARU: <i>dluboku, duboka</i>
1994	KOSZTA: <i>Doboka</i>	
1994	BENKŐ: “ <i>névadója...Doboka volt</i> ” (“denominator... was Doboka”)	

Table 1 Interpretations related to the name of Dăbâca (Dobuka, Doboka)

1. táblázat Doboka helynévvel kapcsolatos értelmezések

opinion – lacks any realistic historical basis. At the end of her study she argues the Slavonic origin of the name (FEHÉRTÓI 2001, 15–28).

Following Fehértói, Loránd Benkő also argued that the romanticist *Anonymus* created the name of Csanád’s father at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century from the name of another Doboka, at Boglár, in the Transdanubian region, but *Anonymus* must have been influenced by the fact that the fortification of Doboka was well-known all over in the Hungarian Kingdom. According to Benkő, *Dobuka* mentioned in the *gesta* was not a real historical person and there is no point in supposing any connection with the fortification of Dăbâca (BENKŐ 2003, 396).

Summarising the theories, there are two main approaches on the origin of the name of Dăbâca in the Hungarian historiography and linguistics: the theory of the ancient Slavic origin, and the theory that traces back the name to a Hungarian chieftain given name.

In the Romanian scholarly literature the possibility of the Hungarian origin of the name does not occur, its undoubted Slavic origin – linked with the word *dluboku, duboka*, – was asserted, even though there was no explanation given as to how it appeared in the Romanian language in the form used today: Dăbâca/Dăbîca (IORDAN 1963, 106).<sup>7</sup>

The evolution of the Dăbâca settlement name in the literature is summarised in Table 1.

#### *The state of research regarding the castle of Dăbâca*

##### *The so-called “pre-modern” theories*

Scholarly theories regarding Dăbâca castle can be traced back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Károly Hodor, in accordance with the approach of the era on the Dacian and Roman past, takes into account the possibility of a Dacian fortification that – according to him, – was rebuilt later by the *Dabauk* family in 1002 (HODOR 1837, 606, 611). Referring to Kőváry, one cannot regard Dăbâca as a medieval “town” (*in urbem Dobuka*), the author considers the term *urbs* (KŐVÁRY 1866, 85) incorrect and misleading, suggesting that Dăbâca functioned as a royal castle in the first centuries of its existence, later becoming a private domain. Gyula Pauler also regards it as a castle (PAULER 1893, I. k., 150), but as an archaeological topographic site it was identified first by József Könyöki, who mentioned it as a ruined fortification (KÖNYÖKI 1906, 292). In the volume edited by Hóman and Szekfű, Dăbâca is regarded as a royal estate residence around the era when King Stephen I died (HÓMAN–SZEKFŰ 1935, 208); however, in the same volume the authors mention it as

the residence of the border bailiff, the Transylvanian (HÓMAN–SZEKFŰ 1935, 213) centre of “*Erdőelvi Szoltán*”. Basically these theories could only be the varied approaches and interpretations – in terms of their nature and quality – of the written sources.

#### *The first archaeological excavations in Dăbâca*

Probably as a result of Vasile Pârvan’s (MAR 2003, 634) influence, the Romanian archaeological research was not interested at all in the Migration Period and early medieval archaeology between the two world wars (CIUPERCĂ 2009, 134). This explains the fact that the small-scale excavation of Károly Crettier in 1942 represents the introduction of the archaeological research of the Dăbâca castle. Whether there were, or there were not Hungarian science policy driving forces of the excavations in 1942 (given the common interests of science and politics that could be experienced in that era), is not clear in Crettier’s articles. Crettier lists the finds classified to various epochs (CRETIER 1943, 200–201) from the territory and surroundings of the Castle. The survey of the territories of the Castle Areas I–III (CRETIER 1943, Fig. 2) were carried out with the leading of Crettier; besides they cut through the upper level of the rampart of Castle Area II of which they made several illustrations and descriptions (CRETIER 1943, 205–206, Fig. 5–7). The dating of Crettier – certainly by the influence of his tutor, Márton Roska – follows the axiomatic dating method that was preferred in that era. Thus the chronological periods are the followings: 1. prehistoric earthwork, 2. Árpáadian Age “dam” castle (after Crettier: “*gátvár*”) or “tile” Castle (11<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries), 3. stone castle (15<sup>th</sup> century–beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century) (CRETIER 1943, 207). The so-called prehistoric earthwork is a theoretical construction of Crettier. Although prehistoric earthwork could exist, we would refer to the fact that Crettier done his dating mechanically in this chronological division – as a consequence of Roska’s authority,<sup>8</sup> all what he had done is based on only the research of the upper part of the rampart’s structure. Crettier’s excavation was a sort of introduction to the archaeological research.

#### *“Impetuous science policy”. Romania after 1945*

For the correct assessment of the situation subsequent to 1955–1956 and the start of the first archaeological investigations of early medieval fortifications, such as the one at Dăbâca which was

primarily linked with one of the hypothetical Romanian centres of power of the time, one needs to briefly address the issue of Romanian science policy and intellectual elite in the interwar period (for an extensive perspective on the issue see: BOIA 2011). Romanian archaeology displayed an almost complete lack of interest in the research of the Migration Period and early medieval archaeology during that period (CIUPERCĂ 2009, 134). The reason for this situation relies in the fact that Vasile Pârvan and his successors were exclusively interested in the Roman and so called Geto-Dacian era (STROBEL 1998a, 61–95; STROBEL 1998b, 207–227). This peculiarity of Romanian archaeology can be connected with the significant centralisation, based on the French model, which basically restricted the scientific initiative to the central authority in Bucharest. The research effort concerning the early medieval and medieval period in Transylvania, commenced during the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, was essentially cut short between 1920 and 1940 (GÁLL 2010, 289; GÁLL 2013a, 76–78).

The region of Northern Transylvania, which was formerly reintegrated into Hungary in 1940, was once again adjudicated to Romania in conformity with the Paris Treaty from 1947 (BĂTFOI 2004). The changes did not produce any significant commotion, due to the fact that the structures of administration from the pre-war period were initially left in place (BOTTONI 2014, 55). At the same time, the new situation imposed a series of concessions towards the Hungarian minority, exemplified by the considerable judicial, linguistic, and cultural autonomy for the members of the Hungarian community between 1945 and 1949 (BOTTONI 2014, 56, 90). A tell-tale example in this regard is the case of the “Bolyai University” from Cluj, which at that time was the only such institution in Europe that functioned exclusively in a minority language (BOTTONI 2014, 56). The situation changed drastically in 1948, when the state took over the minority institutions and the ecclesiastical schools, but also the possessions of the historical churches were nationalized (BOTTONI 2014, 90).

The cosmopolitan, mainly Muscovite features of Romanian science policy of that time were abandoned around 1955, following the removal from office of Mihail Roller,<sup>9</sup> who had been in charge with the cultural and scientific policy of the state until then (BOIA 1999, 123–125). All these were

in a close connection with the political changes: Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej and Nicolae Ceaușescu were promoting a secession from Moscow after 1956. Therefore, the members of the Romanian (nationalist) elite of the pre-WW II Era, who were imprisoned in the earlier period (because they did not agree with the communists before 1947), were released after 1958 (BOIA 1999, 76; BOIA 2011). The course of events reached their peak in 1964, with the famous *Declaration of Independence* of the Romanian Workers' Party, which meant that Romanian communism shifted internationalism to nationalism (BOIA 1999, 76).

Up to this day, the criticism of Roller was based on a nationalist perspective (this is the case with Boia's book as well), moreover his merits regarding the patronization of early medieval archaeological research in post-war Romania were totally ignored. Later on, the main reproach against Roller was that he overemphasised the role of the "Slavic" population, though his judges had forgotten that for example Kurt Horedt, a leading archaeologist of the time, used the term *slawische Zeit* for the period between the 7<sup>th</sup> and the 10<sup>th</sup> centuries in the Carpathian Basin (HORED T 1986, 59–110). Furthermore, other leading historians such as Gottfried Schramm and Karl Strobel underscored the principal role played by the "Slavs" during the aforementioned centuries (SCHRAMM 1997, 31–47; STROBEL 2005–2007, 81–90). The true incentive of Roller's critics was connected to his successful efforts in obstructing the nationalists within the Communist Party. This movement was mainly based on the ideology of Romanian neo-nationalism of the interwar period that was resuscitated and reorganized within the framework of the Communist Party. By the integration of prominent historians and archaeologists whom previously set aside following the end of the war (for example: Constantin C. Giurescu, Ioan Lupaș, Silviu Dragomir, Silviu Fotino, Constantin C. Daicoviciu, Ion Nestor), historical discourse was placed in the service of the national-communist ideology (BOTTONI 2010, 151, 233, 276; OPRIS 2004; OPRIS 2006). This historical and archaeological discourse was focusing on the importance of the "autochthonous" population as a reaction to Roller's concept, based on the primordial role of the "Slavs" in this region.

The *Committee of Historians*, founded in 1955 played an essential role in the evolution of the na-

tional-communist science policy (BOTTONI 2010, 151–152; MĂGUREANU 2007, 297, 305). An overall work, called *Istoria României* has to be linked to this activity. In this volume, in contrast with Roller's work (published in 1948), the historians of the Committee supported the theory of the Daco-Romanian continuity, condemning a much earlier "migration theory" formulated by Austrian historian Robert Rösler yet in 1871 (MĂGUREANU 2007, 289–321).<sup>10</sup>

As opposed to the pre-WW II Era, one of the characteristic features of the new Romanian nationalism after 1955 revived by the communists (BOIA 1999, 152), was that the experts supported the theory of continuity thus the archaeological finds were interpreted as a fundament of this theory (it is another problem to what extent the archaeological material can be used as a basis for this). "As written sources had mostly been exhausted, Romanian historiography invested all its efforts in archaeology" – wrote Lucian Boia (BOIA 1999, 152). One of the central figures of this theory and the entire movement was the scholar Constantin C. Daicoviciu, together with the group of intellectuals coagulated around him in Cluj.<sup>11</sup>

One of the main goals of historians and archaeologists affiliated with the national-communist historical discourse was to fill the gap between 271 AD, the abandonment of the Roman province of Dacia, and the establishment of the two Romanian Principalities with archaeological sources, which was to prove the Daco-Roman continuity; thus this would confirm that the Romanians are the "native" people in this region (NICULESCU 2002, 216–220).<sup>12</sup>

A further important objective of the newly formed Romanian early medieval archaeology, which completely lacked the experience of castle-excavations, was to substantiate the state structures described by the chronicler *Anonymus* from an archaeological point of view (POPA 1991, 166). The work of *Anonymus* had already been employed as a source in historical research as early as the 18<sup>th</sup> century (1746) (CSAPODI 1978, 7–34; MITU-MITU 2014, 80–88; SZABADOS 2006, 174–177; TÓTH 2013, 593–617). The research apparently resulted in the identification and excavation of several castles, settlements, and cemeteries belonging to the so-called "pre-feudal" Romanian state structure, which predated the so-called "feudal" Hungarian Kingdom – from the perspective of the involved archaeologists. This effort was a direct continuation of 19<sup>th</sup> century



Fig. 3 Picnic at the archaeological excavation in Dăbâca (1968). Constantin C. Daicoviciu in the middle  
3. kép Régészeti piknik Dobokán (1968), középén Constantin Daicoviciu

Romanian nation-building, which attempted to push Romanian statehood back in time as far as possible (ȚIPLIC 2007, 24). The first effects of this policy were already felt in 1960 by publishing the work entitled “History of Romania” (*Istoria României*, Vol. I.) in which these results and arguments were already presented (DAICOVICIU et al. 1960, 775–808). The somewhat sarcastic remarks of István Bóna in 1998, namely that Transylvania is the “cradle of castle research” must be understood in the context of the exaggerations of Romanian nationalist archaeology (BÓNA 1998, 31).

One conclusion that can be drawn is that the excavation of Dăbâca organised with considerable financial effort, was an essential tool of Romanian neo-nationalist science policy. Furthermore, a significant aspect, pointed out by Adrian Andrei Rusu (RUSU 2005, 49), should be mentioned here as well. Namely, that the art historian Virgil Vătășianu criticised the lack of research concerning the castles belonging to the “native” population after 1000 AD (VĂTĂȘIANU 1959, 9). Based on this information, it appears as that the research of Dăbâca castle and moreover, the research of the entire Transylvanian early middle ages was affected in a complex way by the personal influence of Virgil Vătășianu and Constantin C. Daicoviciu. Daicoviciu at that time was already a member of the Romanian Academy of Sciences and thus in the position to finance the excavations that would provided material evidence for the historical claims of the archaeologists in Cluj. This gives quite peculiar image of the contemporary scholarly background in which the unfounded claims of an art historian are adopted by an ancient historian who, in turn, empowers the medieval historian Ștefan Pascu to lead an early medieval excavation.

These particular excavations were extremely important to the contemporary scholarly elite of Transylvania: they were visited several times by Constantin C. Daicoviciu,<sup>13</sup> the chairman of the Committee (several photos of these events have been identified in the museum in Cluj-Napoca, see Fig. 3). According to the documentations from the National Museum of Transylvanian History, there were at least eight archaeologists in the team led by Ștefan Pascu, namely Mircea Rusu, Petru Iambor, Nicolae Edroiu, Pál Gyulai, Volker Wollmann, Ștefan Matei, Gheorghe Lazarovici and Ioana Hica).

Aside from this, the Dăbâca project also entailed another significant aspect, namely the long-lasting strife between the Transylvanian historians, whose leading figures were Constantin C. Daicoviciu and Ștefan Pascu, and the historians from Bucharest, spearheaded by Ion Nestor. It was quite well known fact that the relations between Daicoviciu and Nestor were less than cordial.<sup>14</sup>

Summarising, this is the political and scientific context what the start of the Dăbâca project and the archaeologist team from Cluj-Napoca (officially led by Ștefan Pascu but *de facto* under the supervision of Mircea Rusu) should be regarded and evaluated.

#### *The evolution of interpretations of Dăbâca in the archaeological literature*

##### *The interpretations of Dăbâca after four years of excavations*

The political background and the lack of scientific basis of the Dăbâca excavations were clearly revealed in the report, published by the archaeologists only four years after the beginning of the research. This publication verified almost all subsequent interpretations regarding the subject.



The long lasting and dominant affect of this article becomes immediately clear by the fact that the theory saying “the history of Dăbâca goes back to the 9<sup>th</sup> century” has taken root deeply in Romanian history, archaeology, and even in the general knowledge of lay people. Moreover, what is even more unfortunate, as a symbol of the “mixed argumentation” Dăbâca as “*Lord Gelou’s castle*” became part of common knowledge, including the lower level school books (MADGEARU 2005, 113).

The archaeological field documentation is of an extremely poor quality, often reminding of early 19<sup>th</sup>-century amateur archaeological sketches (see GĂLL-LACZKÓ 2013b, Pl. 3, 6–8). As it was pointed out by Florin Curta and Alexandru Madgearu, the report is full of contradictions (see CURTA 2001, 148, note 38; MADGEARU 2005, 116) making it impossible to decide whether the statements can be considered valid. Perhaps the most serious problem of the excavations is the fact that in most of the cases the archaeological features were neither drawn nor photographed. What is more, the few photographs that were taken are of an almost unusable quality and without providing any scientific details. The case of the 12<sup>th</sup> century fire striker that had been misinterpreted as a sword cross-guard until 2013 (!) (GĂLL-LACZKÓ 2013a, 90, 4. kép) speaks for itself in this problematic context. It is also still uncertain if any layouts or ground plans were drawn as there is no trace of such documentation in the archive of the National Museum of Transylvania. Therefore, the only source for any data on archaeological features of the site is the descriptive part of the archaeologists’ diary (see Radu Popa’s study discussed later). Furthermore, according to the authors, the Areas I–III in the castle were cut by a single, 234 meters long trench, although the illustration in the article includes only a 174 meters long trench, comprising of the ditches belonging to Areas I and II. The illustration of the stratigraphy is almost unusable rendering several of the authors’ statements questionable.

Since only a part of the finds were published, the existing publications are representing low professional standards and numerous unfounded historical claims regarding the site. The main argument of the report has more to do with nationalist science policy than archaeology, linking the castle to the legendary 9<sup>th</sup> century figure of *Gelou*, but without any relevance and reference. Naturally, the narrative based on the “pre-feudal” Romanian statehood and

aimed to satisfy the Romanian nationalist political regime. Daicoviciu took advantage of these political circumstances by manipulating both the state institutions and the field team working at Dăbâca. As it can be expected, topics as the questions of any centralised power behind or the origin of the technical know-how needed to create similar constructions were never formulated. Moreover, the whole argumentation was reduced to use of a couple of sentences from the *gesta* of *Anonymus*.

As a conclusion, it is clear that the excavations at Dăbâca castle from the very beginning (1960’s) were heavily influenced by fictional theories and preconceptions allowing the archaeologists to evaluate the hillfort as a 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> century political and military seat of the legendary lord *Gelou*, ruler of the “Valachians” and the “Slavs”. This statement was based on the archaeological material collected only in the first four years of excavations and on a single historical source, dated to the reign of King Béla III (KORDÉ 1994, 241; VESZPRÉMY 2009, 100–113; VESZPRÉMY 2010, 102). Furthermore, it is also important to highlight that the chapters 24–27 of the *Gesta*, that somehow refer to Transylvania, do not mention Dăbâca at all,<sup>15</sup> proving that the link between the site and the character of *Gelou* was created on a peremptory decision of the research team. Summarising, the report published by the first Dăbâca research team is a bizarre example of implantation of fictitious historicism into an archaeological context.

#### *The interpretations concerning Dăbâca after 1968*

Regardless our approach, the aforementioned article defines heavily the various interpretations concerning Dăbâca up to present days since this is the only known documentation that was based on those observations made during the excavations. Therefore, it is the only direct and primary source on the archaeological features. Consequently, the researchers were compelled to rely exclusively on the documentation that has been published in the article, irrespectively of their attitude towards the theories and approach expressed in the report.

#### *The Hungarian reaction: the interpretation of István Bóna*

The first critical standpoint of the Hungarian archaeological community was formulated by István Bóna, although his views were not expressed

in a formal review but in a comment included in a footnote. This is highly regrettable because the arguments of Bóna stayed almost completely unnoticed in the archaeological literature.<sup>16</sup> In his short critic, Bóna pointed out the mistakes of Pascu's team, starting from the inaccurate contextualisation of the information obtained from the second-hand sources – e.g. the false information according to the Draßburg-type bell-shaped pendants, along with Draßburg-type beads wrongly said to be discovered in Prerow, to the problem of invalid dating. Based on the Draßburg hoard, Bóna called the attention to the fact that the bell-shaped pendants are dated to the turn of the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries, not to the 9<sup>th</sup> century, similarly to the rectangular section collars and the twisted collars, as well as the rectangular and polygonal section finger rings and also the crescent-shaped pendants. In other words, Bóna exposed the huge flaws in the dating of the fort complex, which none of the excavators wished to take into consideration or at least comment on.

The lack of reaction was also characteristic to the Hungarian scientific community, in particular to the prominent medieval historian and Transylvanian-born György Györffy. According to his somewhat inconsequent argumentation, the castle of Dăbâca must have already existed in the 10<sup>th</sup> century (GYÖRFFY 1987, 66–67). By all these data, it becomes clear that István Bóna stood alone against the nationalist mythology of the Romanian archaeologists and the disinterest of the Hungarian historians (BÓNA 1998, 14–15).

#### *The “canonical” interpretation (1968–1989)*

During the last two decades of the communist regime the publication, prepared by Ștefan Pascu and his colleagues, was canonised by the Romanian historical and archaeological research. This is understandable considering that the publication fit well into the scientific policy of the Ceaușescu national-communist regime,<sup>17</sup> and that the excavations benefited from the support of Constantin C. Daicoviciu, whose power and influence in academic level and scientific policymaking reached its peak during the last years of his life. Following the death of Daicoviciu (27<sup>th</sup> May 1973), who was also known by the nickname “the Chameleon” (ARMBRUSTER 1993, 310), his role and post was taken over by Ștefan Pascu, who a year later was

also elected to the member of the Romanian Academy.<sup>18</sup> Still every paper on Dăbâca in Romania had to be in consonance with the thesis elaborated by Pascu and his team.<sup>19</sup> Alternative interpretations or even the possibility was not even considered. Romania truly passed through an “Orwellian period”.

#### *The revolt of Radu Popa and Lucian Boia*

The political changes occurred in 1989 albeit failed to produce a radical shift of mentality in the Romanian society, eased the way for the widest extension of freedom of thought and speech. The social and socio-psychological fermentation, which advanced at a slow pace, could be noticed first in certain groups of intellectuals, mainly in the large urban centres. Regarding Dăbâca, in the new social and political context the works of two specialists brought change in the interpretations. An indirect but considerable affect can be attributed to the works of Lucian Boia during the 1990's concerning Romanian historical myths (MCR 1998) while the 1991 work of archaeologist Radu Popa on the subject had a direct impact on the research of medieval Dăbâca (POPA 1991, 153–188). A common feature of both authors is the harsh criticism of 1970–80's Romanian scholarly attitudes and perspectives, and the often doubtful conclusions drawn by the respective scholars.<sup>20</sup>

Popa firmly rejected the dating proposed in the 1968 paper for the Dăbâca castle, pointing out the fact that it was meant to be in line with Pascu's thesis published in his volume in 1971. Popa noticed correctly that the narrative constructed around Dăbâca was meant to be the archaeological “base” (completely lacking other sources) for the theory conceived by Pascu regarding the existence of a 9<sup>th</sup> century so-called *Transylvanian Voivodeship* with its political centre at Dăbâca (POPA 1991, 167–168, note 51). Pascu, cited by Popa in his paper, claimed that: “*a fost fără îndoială o cetate voievodală la sfârșitul sec. IX și la începutul sec. X*” (“there certainly had to be a voivode's castle at Dăbâca at the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century”; POPA 1991, 172, translated by the author). The archaeological and historical proof for Pascu's assertion was based on the paper published in 1968, which – as shown above – proved nothing, prompting Popa to label Pascu an “amateur” and his work as being “romantic” (POPA 1991, 159, 167–168, note 51).

Despite his correct and pertinent observations on Dăbâca, Popa's work was still under the influence of 19<sup>th</sup> century nationalism,<sup>21</sup> and the clichés regarding the 9<sup>th</sup> century use of castles (which he does not elaborate on) (POPA 1991, 167) originating from the 18<sup>th</sup> century historiography, largely based on the interpretation of *Anonymus*. We can never decide whether these clichés were truly advocated by Popa or they were simply used to ward off any national-(post)communist attacks.

*“One swallow does not make a spring”. Adrian Andrei Rusu and the dating of Dăbâca*

Adrian Andrei Rusu represents a basically different approach within Romanian archaeology. It is important to point out at the very beginning that since he has grown up in Mediaș (German: *Mediasch*, Hungarian: *Medgyes*), Rusu is proficient in both German and Hungarian languages, which fact always had a considerable impact on his approach.<sup>22</sup> Rusu's perception on medieval castles and earthworks is not evaluated according to the contemporary political borders, which would be absolutely counterproductive, but his understanding is shaped by the medieval political, economic and cultural structures. This is true for both his 1998 paper and the 2005 monographic study, in which he succeeds in integrating the research concerning Transylvania into the wider context of 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century castle-research (RUSU 1998, 5–19; RUSU 2005, 94–98). One could say that this is the first instance when – abandoning the nationalist isolationism (RUSU 2005, 88) – medieval Transylvania is discussed in the context of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom, in the Romanian archaeological literature. Concerning the issue of the castles and other fortifications, Rusu brings up the case study of Dăbâca several times as a result of Romanian medieval archaeology's state, for which he dedicates an entire subchapter (RUSU 2005, 46–54). In his view, the incorrect interpretations regarding Dăbâca are resulted by the institutional disorganisation and also the negative effects of national-communist science-policy (RUSU 2005, 90–91), just as well the isolationism of Romanian specialists who continue to shape their approach and attitude according to Romania's present-day borders (RUSU 2005, 53, 88). Regarding the dating of Dăbâca, Rusu pointed out firmly the total lack of evidence for the existence of the castle before the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Moreover, the author asserted that

based on the coins, the second phase of the castle can be dated to the mid 11<sup>th</sup> century (RUSU 2005, 82–83, 91). Furthermore, Dăbâca – along with other Transylvanian fortifications – was an important military outpost of the Hungarian Kingdom during the whole Hungarian Middle Ages (RUSU 2005, 94–95).

*After Popa: a gradual return to the 1968 interpretations of Ștefan Pascu?*

Unfortunately, the new perspectives and interpretations, developed by Radu Popa and Lucian Boia, were almost unnoticed in the Romanian early medieval archaeology. Therefore, the much-needed breakthrough was only limited and this had a profound impact on the research regarding Dăbâca.

In the period following the work of Radu Popa, apart from the exceptional case of Adrian Andrei Rusu, not a single archaeological analysis has been undertaken regarding the subject at hand for nearly a decade, excluding the historical works that integrated the archaeological results (POP 1996; SĂLĂGEAN 2006). The first analysis, which came after Rusu's monography, was actually a review of the history of research written by Florin Curta, who at that time was already resided and worked in the USA.<sup>23</sup>

Florin Curta's analysis called *“Transylvania around 1000”* refers to Dăbâca. It seems that Curta was trying to defend Pascu's research team and he considers István Bóna's note as an attack against Romanian archaeology. Curta's critic of Bóna is hard to understand: without any references, Curta attributes to Bóna something he had never written (the exact source of the sentence attributed to Bóna is not cited either).<sup>24</sup> As opposed to the argument of Curta, it was actually István Bóna, who wrote it in *The history of Transylvania* that there must have been a “Slav” settlement and cemetery in Dăbâca in the 8<sup>th</sup> century: *“Avar koriak, ám későbbiek a Dobokán talált urnasírok is, az egyik urnáról tudjuk, hogy szabad kézzel készült, ugyanott a másikat – szórt hamvasztásos temetkezést (?) – lapos indás díszítésű avar; öntöttbronz csüngős övverete viszont már a 8. század vége felé utalja...”* (“The urn graves at Doboka are from the late Avar period. One of the urns is reported to be hand-made; another cremation grave – with scattered ashes (?) – dates from the late 8<sup>th</sup> century, for it yielded an Avar cast bronze belt decoration, with a flat, tendril-patterned pendant”) (translation of the author)

<i>Site</i>	<i>Year of excavations</i>	<i>Number of graves and foundations of churches</i>	<i>Number of excavated graves</i>	<i>Another complexes</i>
Castle Area I–III	1964	–	–	1 pit house
Castle Area IV	1964	Graves 1–35	35	
Castle Area IV	1965	Graves 36–106	71	6 pit houses, 5 houses
A. Tămaş's garden	1966	Graves 1–10, 11–28, 29–37	37	2 pit houses, oven
A. Tămaş's garden	1967	foundation of church, Graves 38–60, 61–71	32	
The work of PASCU et al. 1968, 153–202				
Castle Area IV	1968	foundation of church, Graves 107–150	44	
Boldâgă/Boldogasszony	1968	Graves 1–42	42	
Castle Area IV	1969	Graves 151–284	134 (144)	
Branişte/Branistye	1972	cremation graves (pits cremation, cremation in urn)	?	4 pit houses
Branişte/Branistye	1973	cremation graves	?	
Castle Area I–IV	1973			3 pit houses, 7 houses (?), iron workshop?, wall of castle, 2 ovens
Castle Area IV	1973	Graves 295–303, 310–325	25	
Boldâgă/Boldogasszony	1975	foundations of churches, Graves 43–103	63	
Castle Area IV	1976	Graves 326–425, 427–436	110	
Castle Area IV	1977	Graves 437–482	46	
Boldâgă/Boldogasszony	1977	Graves (1–105)	?	
A. Tămaş's garden	1980	a few graves	?	1 pit house
Boldâgă/Boldogasszony	1982	Graves 104–131	29	
Castle Area IV	1986	Graves 483–490	8	

Table 2 The present stage of the excavated archaeological sites  
2. táblázat A feltárt régészeti lelőhelyek kutatási helyzete

(BÓNA 1988, 181). Surprisingly, Curta defends the Dabâca research team, highlighting that one does not necessarily have to see the influence of politics in their interpretation (*nota bene* the consequences of Romania's national-communist politics for the

archaeological research are acknowledged by many Romanian archaeologists, starting with the excellent article published by Radu Popa in 1991) and that they did not live up to the complexity of the research (although at least nine researchers partici-

pated in the excavation, as it has been mentioned above) (CURTA 2001, 148; CURTA 2002, 274).

Opposite to Curta, Radu Popa, Ion Chicideanu and Adrian Andrei Rusu heavily criticised the course of Romanian historical and archaeological research in the period of the 1960s and 70s (CHICIDEANU 1993, 227–228; RUSU 2005, 14–26, 94–98) and this critical reassessment was later continued by Lucian Boia (BOIA 1999, 76–78).

Compared to Curta's paper, Alexandru Madgearu's work can be described as even more eclectic. His critical stance is encouraging at the beginning, although he – surprisingly – rather turns gradually back to the interpretations of Pascu. In some cases he is criticising Pascu's theories, but otherwise his attitude is ambiguous (MADGEARU 2005, 114–115). A step forward can be seen in the fact that the end of the first phase of Dăbâca is dated to the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, overturning Pascu's theory (MADGEARU 2005, 116), although a few lines later the beginnings of the castle are again linked with the activity of lord *Gelou* (MADGEARU 2005, 116–117). Again, the first phase of the castle represented as a very long phase (MADGEARU 2005, 127).

In the same year was finally published Petru Iambor's thesis synthesizing the results of the excavations of the early castles (Iambor died in 2003). Dăbâca is presented in this volume just as forty years ago, in the 1968 paper (IAMBOR 2005, 117–126). In the next synthesis on medieval castles by Ioan Marian Țiplic, the earth and timber stronghold of Dăbâca is also included in the analysis. The beginning of the work is more than promising,<sup>25</sup> although later the author reasserts the fact that there must have been castles in Transylvania at least from the mid-10<sup>th</sup> century (ȚIPLIC 2007, 25, 128), despite the almost complete lack of proof in this sense; except the “mixed argumentation” (BÁLINT 1995, 246–248; NICULESCU 1997, 63–69; BRATHER 2006, 23–72) based on a phrase from *Anonymus* and the existence of some toponyms. The paragraph at the end of the work refers to the emergence of the so-called *nation ultrasilvanum* by the 10<sup>th</sup> century and its connection to a series of hypothetic fortifications that are hitherto unidentified on the site and neglect any historical reality.<sup>26</sup> According to Țiplic, on the contrary to the “Pannonian region”, castles were built in Transylvania during the 10<sup>th</sup> century. The author, however, fails to even cite such works that are analysing this question in a macro-regional con-

text (BÓNA 1998; WIECZOREK–HINZ 2000) and proposed a totally different interpretation from them. In connection with Dăbâca, Țiplic is extremely critical of Pascu and his team,<sup>27</sup> although in reality he himself endorsed the dating proposed by them, published in 1968. In the second part of his work, Țiplic adopts Pascu's typology without any critical stance, the only change is in the dating of the first phase of Dăbâca: he rather dates it to the 10<sup>th</sup> than the 9<sup>th</sup> century (ȚIPLIC 2007, 128–134). The theory of Țiplic is closely connected to the question raised by Pascu regarding a hypothetical 10<sup>th</sup> century “*Transylvanian Voivodeship*” which was already rightfully dismissed by Radu Popa.

The best example showing how the article on Dăbâca archaeological research (1968) and the science policy of the 1960s are ingrained in present day Romanian historical research is the recently published edition of *The History of the Romanian People* in which the separation of “autochtons” and “migrators” does not seem to reflect any changes in the concept compared to the 80s.<sup>28</sup> Taking this into consideration, it is not at all surprising that in the third volume of the series, Dăbâca appears as the headquarter of *Gelou* and is dated to the turn of the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries (IR 2010, 244–245). A similar perspective is present in a volume published in Western Europe and the USA,<sup>29</sup> and in other articles, which is clearly an expression of a nationalist perspective centred on the idea of the modern Romanian political unity. According to Laurențiu Rădvan, Dăbâca was already an urban settlement in the 9<sup>th</sup> century (*sic!*), although there is no reference or even any evidence for this. It is worth mentioning that historian László Kóváry was already in 1866 against the use of the term *urbs* as city in the case of 11<sup>th</sup> century Dăbâca, just like Adrian Andrei Rusu (RUSU 2005, 340).

Later on, Dan Băcuet in his paper advocated the return to the dating and interpretations proposed by Pascu and his colleagues (BĂCUEȚ-CRIȘAN 2014, 176).

#### *The dating of Dăbâca in Hungarian archaeology after 1989*

After the change of the political system in Eastern Europe, Hungarian archaeology continued along the same lines it had been following until 1989. Gyula Kristó considered and dated Dăbâca as the centre of a county of Saint Stephen and the centre of the

Transylvanian Episcopate (KRISTÓ 1988, 402–411; KRISTÓ 2002, 106, 121, 126). According to György Sándorfi, fortifications with wide foundations, and among them Dăbâca, must have been built in the 10<sup>th</sup> century (SÁNDORFI 1989, 25). In his answer to Sándorfi's article István Feld pointed out the fact that the castles could not have been built in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, therefore the same holds for Dăbâca (FELD 1990, 131–132).

In connection with Dăbâca, it was István Bóna, who articulated the clearest ideas in Hungarian archaeology. Bóna's highest achievement was that he did not analyse the phenomenon of fortification building from the peripheral point of view of the so called "nation state archaeology", but after analysing the fortifications all across Europe and the Carpathian Basin, he came to the conclusion that one cannot talk about building fortifications in the time of the Hungarian Conquest (BÓNA 2001, 89), and all this was part of the political-military phenomena of the foundation of the western type state. Bóna deals with the 10<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup>-century fortified royal centres, including those in Transylvania, however, in his work Dăbâca is mentioned only in a half sentence (BÓNA 1998, 32, 34). In his last article, nevertheless, he clearly proposes a later dating (BÓNA 2001, 89). Nevertheless, Elek Benkő in *Korai Magyar Történeti Lexikon* (The Historical Lexicon of the Early Hungarian History) returns to Györffy's historical theory in connection with Dăbâca, saying that the castle already existed in the 10<sup>th</sup> century and it could have been the centre of the clan near the salt mine in Sic (Hungarian: *Szék*) (BENKŐ 1994, 169).

After the death of Bóna (2001), Hungarian archaeology ceased to be active and integrative in the research of Transylvanian castles of the early centuries of the Hungarian Kingdom.<sup>30</sup> After several years, Maxim Mordovin had to rely on the archaeological observations of Pascu's paper (MORDOVIN 2010; MORDOVIN 2013, 123–150), which clearly shows that concerning the interpretation of the fortified centre in Dăbâca, only new excavations can bring any professional advancement.

*Some final thoughts on the history of the research of the castle complex in Dăbâca*

All in all, the archaeological excavations carried out in Dăbâca from 1964 lasted more than twenty years including shorter breaks (Table 2). Finally, three

churches were excavated that were renovated and rebuilt several times (Castle Area IV, A. Tămaş's Garden, and the Church of Boldogasszony) together with 871 burials in three graveyards around them (most of the burials can be dated to the 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries) and sections of settlements that were inhabited in different periods from the Stone Age to the 16<sup>th</sup> century. In several places the ramparts of the medieval fortification, made of soil and wood, were cut and its profile was treated as an absolute chronological reference point.

At the end of our analysis of the research history, the following statements can be made.

The Romanian archaeological works on Dăbâca, except for those by Radu Popa and Adrian Andrei Rusu, and partially Florin Curta and Ioan Marian Țiplic, are based on the same questionable theoretical 19<sup>th</sup> century nationalist construction that relies on the *Gesta* of Anonymus. This is a striking contemporary example of *mixed argumentation*, which is incorrect from a methodological point of view. No other aspect of the analysis of the castle complex in Dăbâca was raised: a) What power factors could have created a political structure in the peripheral regions of the Khaganate that would have been able to build fortifications and concentrate human workforce? b) Is the know-how of castle building a local invention or was it imported? And if it was imported, where from and how was it brought to the northwestern part of Transylvania in the 9<sup>th</sup> century?

Although Radu Popa and Adrian Andrei Rusu made huge progress towards eliminating the non-scientific attitude formed in between the 1950s and 1980s, which was based on the nineteenth-century nationalism, their "revolt" could only have had a limited effect. If we take into account the last period (2010–2015), we can only talk about recurring to the interpretation of the preliminary article of 1968 (and Pascu's edition in 1971) (PASCU 1971, 47) in the case of significant part of Romanian archaeology. At the same time, Miklós Takács drew our attention to the fact that fitting the findings of medieval archaeology to the historical narrative is a phenomenon not exclusively characteristic of Romania, but it fits in the discourse of the elite intelligentsia of the states in the Balkans and Southeastern Europe. The same phenomena can be observed in several countries in Southeastern Europe as it is well-known that one or several archaeological sites, noted as highly important, were excavated according to previously

defined interpretations; moreover, the discourse on national history was based on them, although they are not able to hold water in the face of the given narrative. Similarly to Dăbâca, the castles of Komani in Albania, Prilep in Macedonia, Prevlaka in Montenegro and Ras in southeastern Serbia became the objectives of these historical narratives (TAKÁCS 2011, 6).

*Archaeological analysis: from an archaeological point of view – from an archaeologist's point of view*

Any conclusions concerning the excavations in the castle can only be drawn carefully, due to the present stage of research described above. During the twenty years of work only small areas of the castle were excavated, not more than an estimated 15%. On top of this, the documentation of the excavations is also poor, in several cases they do not exceed the level of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and in other cases (such as the excavation in 1980) no documentation has remained, just some notes. Unfortunately, at the moment it can be stated that the quality and the documentation of the excavations in Dăbâca site only reach Research Level 1 in Sebastian Brather's chart (BRATHER 2006, 27, Fig. 1), so it does not meet the requirements of Level 2, where structures, social-economic relations should be analysed. In this phase of the research it would be problematic to draw any conclusion apart from the typology of the finds and their chronological analyses. Unfortunately, this situation cannot be changed as the bones were buried back into the ground at the beginning of the 1990s by Petru Iambor (GÁLL 2011; GÁLL 2013c, 135–186; GÁLL 2013d, 248–328; GÁLL-LACZKÓ 2013b, 53–74), moreover, the archaeozoological material excavated in different places of the settlement (pit dwellings, pits etc) have not been included in the inventory. For this reason, we can only aim to systematize the (mainly chronological) information we have. At this stage the only thing that can be stated is that the site has not been lost for archaeology, but we need modern and accurate research methods.

*The dating of the castle. The type and accuracy of the archaeological data (Fig. 5, Fig. 30)*

The conflict concerning the Dăbâca castle revolved mainly around its chronology, however, this ques-

tion was of secondary importance as everyone was interested in the question whether it was *Gelou* or *Dobuka* whose centre it was. In the following I would like to treat only the possible datings of the archaeological finds without explaining historical events by archaeological means and opportunities. The reason is quite obvious: it is possible in the case of exceptional contexts, but the material from Dăbâca is not satisfactory by far and archaeology can mainly and almost exclusively explain only phenomena and not events.

According to the authors of the 1968-paper, the castle was inhabited first in the 9<sup>th</sup> century, when the “earthworks” of Castle Area I, III and IV were (already) used together with the ditches, which were parallel chronologically, so they operated in a defense system simultaneously. This statement is questioned by the fact that we have only illustrations of the stratigraphic positions in the case of Castle Area I, but no documentation on Castle Areas III and IV can be found in the study. According to the authors, we can count with two sub-phases of Phase 1 in the small Castle Areas I, III, and IV, whose end was dated to the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, based upon *Anonymus*. Regarding the technical reasons and their reality, it has to be noted that the stratigraphy published (PASCU et al 1968, Pl. II) cannot be followed in most cases or can hardly be followed, but the important aspects can be observed on it.

*The walls of Castle Area I*

*The palisade of Castle Area I (Fig. 10–12.)*

Castle Area I is the most significant part from the author's point of view.

Based upon the descriptions done by Pascu and his co-authors, and according to the stratigraphic illustration of *Pl. II*, the first sub-phase of Phase 1 must have been a fortification with palisade walls. According to the drawing, the places of the palisades were levelled in Sub-Phase 2 and the foundation zone of the earthwork was widened. According to the interpretation of the authors, we can only count with a so called “earth fortification” in Sub-Phase 2 (the criticism on the 19<sup>th</sup> century definition of “earth fortification”, see BÓNA 1998, 22–23). However, there is no observable evidence for such reconstruction nor for its dating. Most probably all the stratigraphical

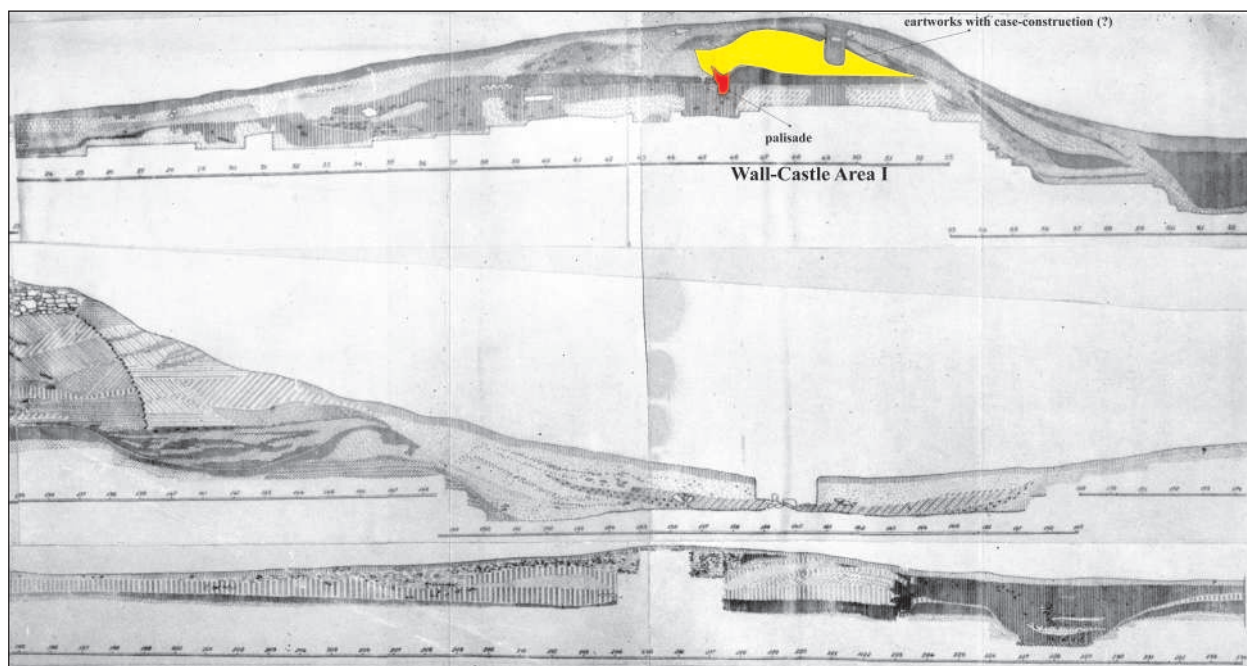


Fig. 4 The southern wall of Castle Area I (re-drawn after PASCU et al. 1968, Pl. II)  
4. kép Az I. vartérség déli fala (újra rajzolva Pascu et al. 1968, Pl. II nyomán)

details described by the archaeologists and presented on the section drawing are organic parts of the ramparts with case-construction of the Phase 2 (Fig. 4).

According to the authors, Sub-Phase 2 is dated by the Guarding Road (*Rond de piatră*), which cannot be traced in any surviving documentation and its stratigraphic connection with Sub-Phase 2 of Phase 1 is limited. The only proof of the destruction of Sub-Phase 2 of Phase 1 of Castle Area I are the two fire places (“*2 vetre de foc*”), which, however, cannot be interpreted as burnt or destruction layers but may indicate two houses. Consequently, these two fire places cannot prove that the castle was destroyed. No evidence can be found as to which archaeological phenomenon the pendants found around the fire place belong.

*Castle with case-construction (Castle Area I) (Fig. 5, Fig. 9, Fig. 12)*

The description of the earthwork with case-construction interpreted as Phase 2 (PASCU et al. 1968, 161) is in accordance with the castle type observed in other regions of the Carpathian Basin (see the last analysis: MORDOVIN 2013, 135–142). According to the published stratigraphy (PASCU et al. 1968, Pl. II),

after the presumed palisade was pulled down and levelled, the area in front of the castle with case-construction was filled with pebbles, probably to stabilise the case construction, which was filled with stones, earth etc. The finds from its fillings datable to the 11<sup>th</sup> century (collar and bracelet with rhomboid cross section, fingerring with multiangular cross section, hooked arrow head, deltoid arrow head with short cutting edge, frets) were dated to the 10<sup>th</sup> century, however, their Transylvanian counterparts (except for the deltoid arrow head) can only be detected from the 11<sup>th</sup> century, to be more exact the second quarter of it (GÁLL 2013a, Vol. I., 670, 686–687, 695–696, 884–886). Particularly the hooked arrow head is characteristic since it can only be dated from the second quarter of the 11<sup>th</sup> century in the Carpathian Basin (GÁLL 2011, 51, note 157) (Fig. 13, 6–9, Fig. 14, 1). All this means that two types of fortifications can be reconstructed in Area I following each other in time: the first – less probable – stronghold with palisade walls was followed by the earthworks with case-construction. No analysis can be done on Area III and the hypothetical Area IV, which were dated to the same era as the Area I by the authors, for lack of stratigraphic documentation.



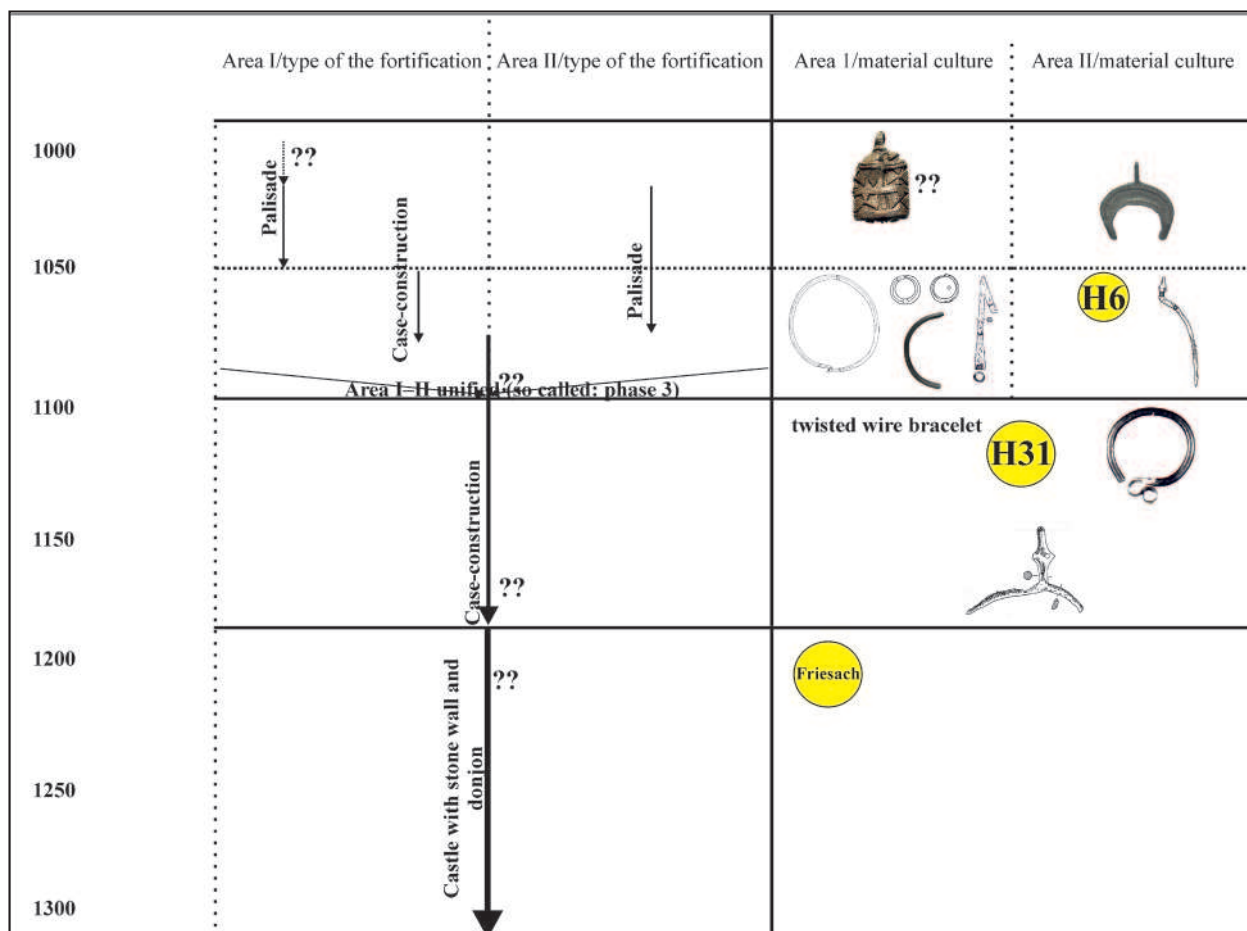


Fig. 5 The phases of Castle Areas I–III and the finds that date them  
5. kép A vár használati fázisai és a kelező leleteik

### *The palisade of Castle Area II (Fig. 5, Fig. 9, Fig. 12)*

The picture drawn by the archaeologists is even less understandable in the case of the palisade in the Area II. The authors themselves admit to not understanding the method of the construction of the earthwork (PASCU et al. 1968, 163). They applied the observations made at the Moravian Staré Město to the features of the ramparts in Area II in Dăbâca, although there are no visible connections between the well documented remains of the Great Moravian fortification and the unclearly and confusingly documented Dăbâca.

The pit dwelling under the palisade was dated to the 9<sup>th</sup> century by pottery, although pottery of the 8<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries could be dated – probably – more exactly only after thorough regional research. The dating of the later pit dwelling crossing the earlier one is completely uncertain, too. It was dated to the time the palisade was used, but the

authors were also very uncertain when they dated it based upon the observation that the “earth layer that filled it” “starts from the palisade”, but unfortunately they did not illustrate it. Moreover, it is questionable, how certain can we be when we connect the lunula-shaped pendant (Fig. 13, 1) found in the filling of the pit dwelling to this object. This item, whose close parallels are known from the Carpathian Basin, can be dated to the second half of 10<sup>th</sup> century and the 11<sup>th</sup> century (PETKES 2013, 214), i. e. it is impossible to connect it to a certain event. Based upon the many parallels, Peter Orseolo’s coin of Type *H6* found in the soil of *Case B*, which is the same age as the walking level of the palisade – although no documentation is provided to prove it – dates it to the mid-11<sup>th</sup> century. What may it date among the interpretable archaeological features in real? The construction time or only the period when it was used? To put it

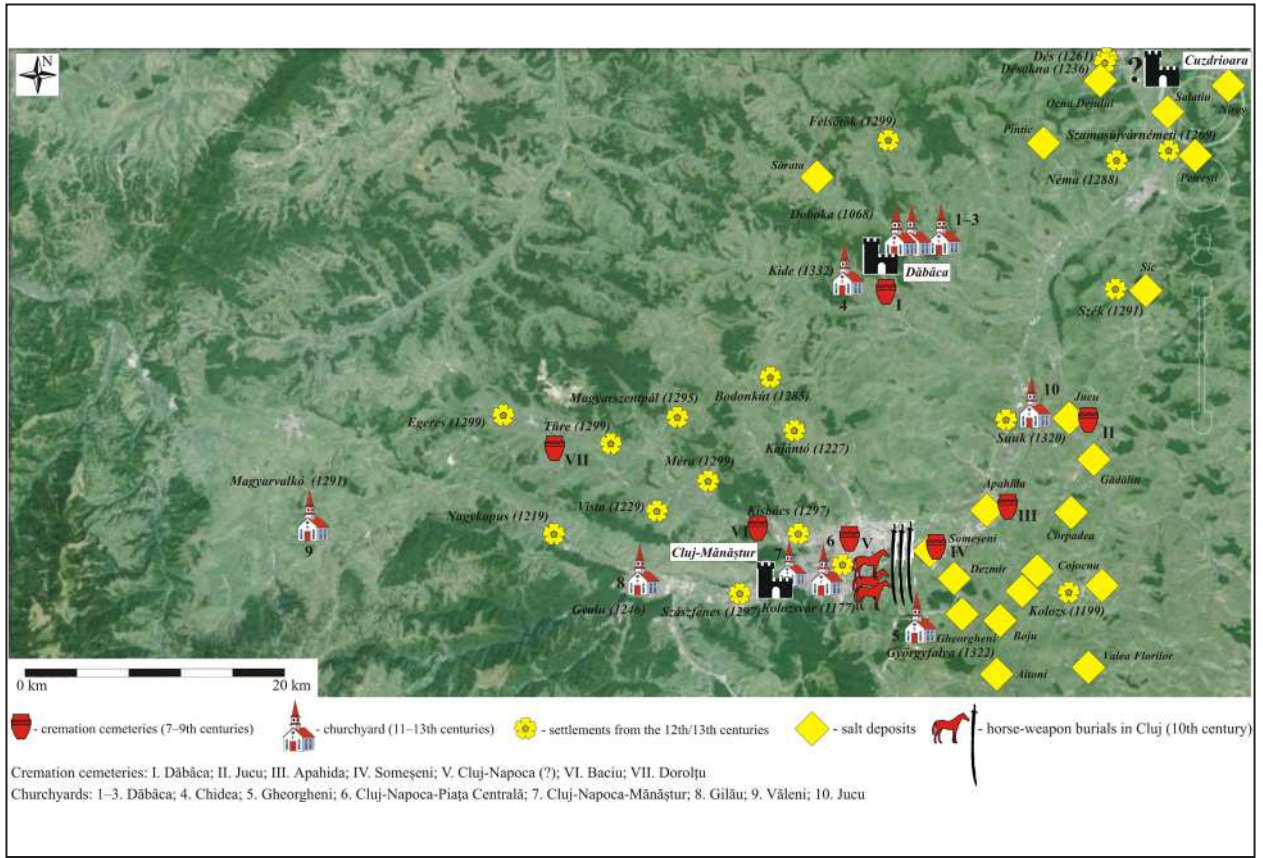


Fig. 6 Archaeological sites in the basin of the Someșul Mic dated to the 7<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries  
(Original map: Google Earth)

6. kép A Kis-Szamos medencéjéből ismert 7–13. századi lelőhelyek (Eredeti térkép: Google Earth)

simply, we have no exact data concerning the time when the palisade was in use, but it is certain that whatever it was – it was in use in the middle of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. At the same time – according to the authors – a spur of Type Ruttkay B/2 was found in the same stratum, which is dated to the first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century and the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century (RUTTKAY 1976, 349–350, Abb. 72). In Poland the same type of spurs is dated from the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century (HILCZEROWNA 1956, 36–37, 40–41).

*The combined castle with case-construction in Castle Areas I–II (Fig. 5, Fig. 9, Fig. 12)*

According to Pascu and his team the Areas I and II were combined in the third phase of the castle, eliminating the earthworks with case-construction of the Area I, creating a new uniform rampart along the common fortification line. However, its representation is doubtful (PASCU et al. 1968, Fig. 2c) as the fortification was cut at only one place,

so such a complex reconstruction is questionable at the moment. It is clear that the castle with a similar case-construction can be dated to the 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> centuries as a braided bracelet and a lock ring with S-shaped end was found in the filling of the earthwork of the Area I and a coin of Type *H31* of King Coloman I (1095–1116) was found in the southern earthwork of the Area II (Fig. 15, 10). Also in the case of this phase the archaeologists distinguished two sub-phases, although their description is confusing in many cases due to the lack of documentation. Certainly, it is quite obvious that these ramparts had to be repaired regularly due to the wooden construction, but it is not enough reason to suppose an “attack” (“*atac*”) (PASCU et al. 1968, 165). Based on the pottery and the spur, this phase was supposed to have been destroyed at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century with no detailed explanation. In the case of the ceramics, the items mentioned were not published and the spur is of type Ruttkay B/3,

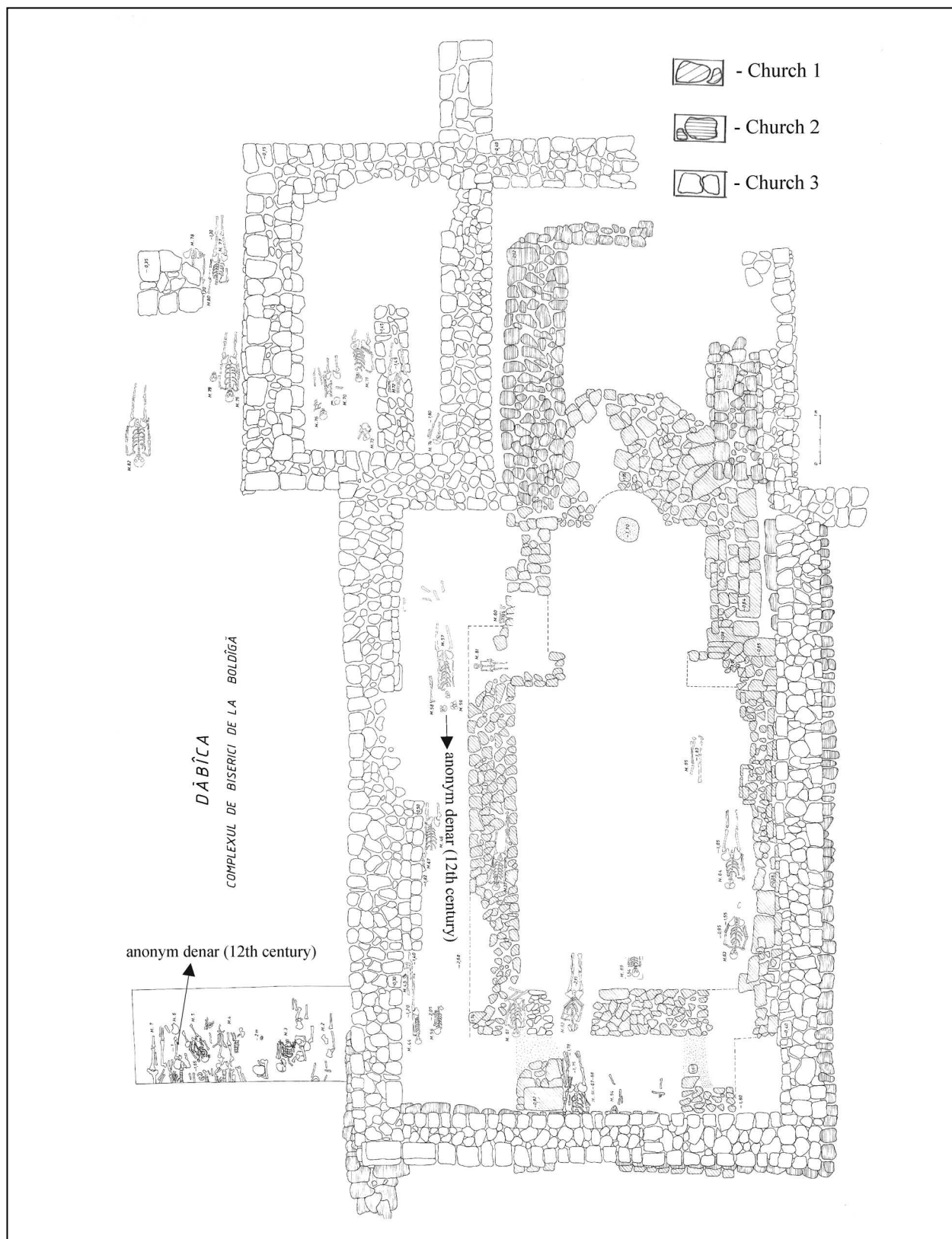


Fig. 7 Dăbâca-Boldăgă/Boldogasszony: church and churchyard  
7. kép Doboka-Boldogasszony: templom és a temető

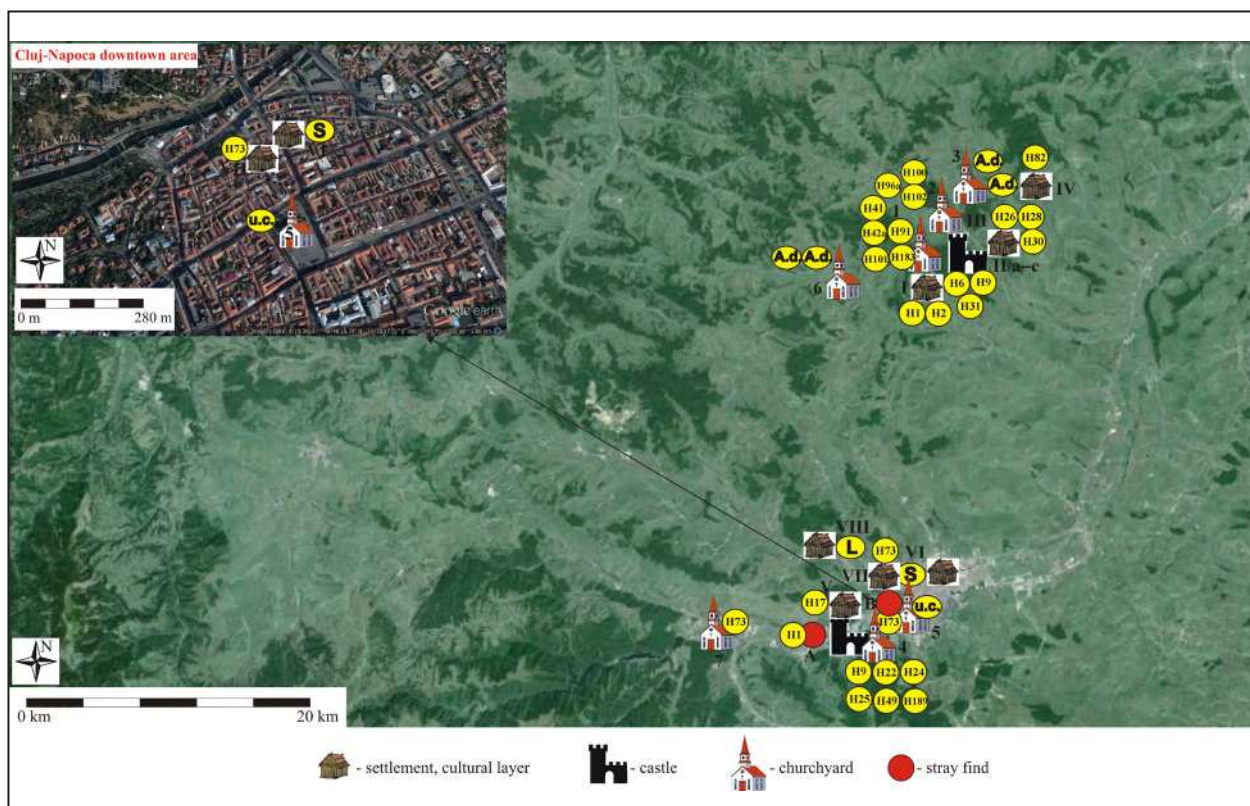


Fig. 8 Coins from the 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> centuries from the Someșul Mic Valley  
8. kép 11–12. századi érmék a Kis-Szamos völgyében

which was dated to the 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries (RUTTKAY 1976, 349–350, Abb. 72).

#### *The stone castle of Castle Areas I–II (Fig. 12)*

The authors of the paper distinguish two phases in the case of the stone castle existed in the 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries, but this dating is treated with care by Adrian Andrei Rusu (RUSU 2005, 99). Also in this case, anything more exact can only be stated after further research.

#### *The palisade of Castle Area III*

We have no documentation on the palisade of the Area III. The only information available from the inventory book of the National Museum of Transylvanian History is that the *H9* coin of Andrew I (1046–1060) was found in the northeastern corner of the rampart. Not far from here to the north, in the backfill of the ground heap, next to a fire place, two *H1* (Fig. 15, 9) and *H2* coins of King Stephen I were discovered. At the moment it seems that the pali-

sade or another type of fortification of the Area III was in function in its first phase, in the second third or in the middle of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Nothing more can be said about the palisade of Castle Area III.

Thus, with a lot of reservations, the following statements can be made concerning the fortress palisades of Castle Areas I, II and III:

1. The fortification with palisade walls built in stage one was in Castle Area I. To date them, the authors of earlier papers have cited the granulated pendants as evidence, but their connection with the palisades of Castle Area I is not proved (Fig. 13, 2–5). It is strange that inside the castle, on the so called “Watch Road” (“*rond de piatră*”) only the “fire places” refer to any burnt strata of the castle, i. e. the castle was not burned down as is stated by the authors. As István Bóna already drew attention to it (and following him, Kurt Horedt among others), these granulated pendants date from the 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries and their closest counterpart is from Draßburg dating from the middle of the 11<sup>th</sup> century (BÓNA 1964, 164–166; BÓNA 1970, note 316;

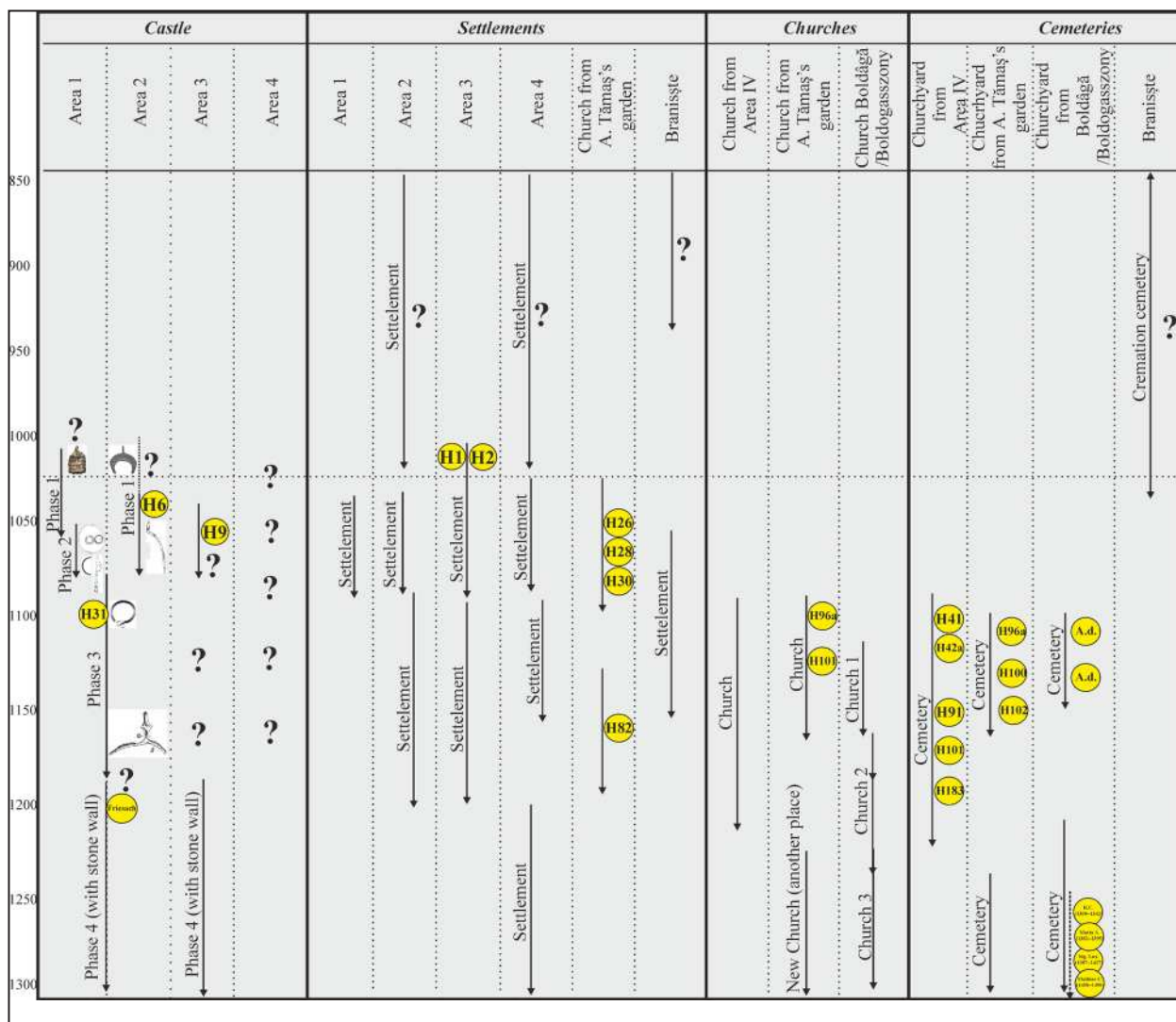


Fig. 9 Chronological phases of the archaeological sites in Dăbâca  
 9. kép Doboka régészeti lelőhelyeinek időrendi fázisai

HOREDT 1986, 127, Abb. 53, 7–10). The castle with palisade walls did not have two phases as opposed to what has been popularised in the literature.

2. In the Area I, the palisade was replaced by small ramparts with case-construction, according to the description and partly the stratigraphic illustration (PASCU et al. 1968, Pl. II). Its dating – to the mid-11<sup>th</sup> century, after the palisade walls – is beyond doubt. Its southern walls were pulled down when the Area I was connected with the Area II, forming a castle with case construction.

3. The palisade built in the Area II can be dated to the same period, although it cannot be excluded that it dates from a later period. According to the

authors, it dates later from the stratigraphic point of view, but unfortunately it cannot be followed on *Pl. II*. At the walking level – if it was documented accurately – a coin of Type *H6* of Peter Orseolo dates the existence of the castle to the mid-11<sup>th</sup> century.

4. According to Pascu and his team, at a given point, the Areas I and II were connected into a somewhat larger fortification with a similar case construction. Its building time is also questionable as, according to the authors, only its second sub-phase was dated (with the *H31* coin of King Coloman I); consequently, the castle with a case construction stood before that. However there is no clear evidence for such building history and creation of such an evo-

lutional process of the earthworks. The main problem is that there is no available documentation, which would enable to evaluate different “Areas” of the site simultaneously.

5. The construction of the stone castle cannot be dated unambiguously, but most probably it cannot be later than the 13<sup>th</sup> century, based upon a 19<sup>th</sup> century “catastrophe concept” (RUSU 2005, 99). The date of construction is still an open question, therefore this issue requires further archaeological research (Fig. 5).

At least, there is stratigraphic documentation on the earthworks and the defense ditches of the first two areas. Nevertheless, on the earthworks of the Areas III and IV we only have written documentation that is difficult to follow. The first question, or rather doubt, is: on what basis was the earthwork of the Area II dated to the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century? Unfortunately, the paper does not shed light on it (PASCU et al. 1968, 159–163). It is stated that a fortress with palisade walls was built here, but its connection with the first rampart of the Area I is doubtful. In a similar way, there is no evidence of the existence of an earthwork in Castle Area IV (PASCU et al. 1968, 161). The rest of the paper does not clarify whether or not Castle Area IV had a contemporaneous palisade with those of Castle Areas I, II and III and whether later the fortress with case construction were used.

Therefore, in our opinion, the small castle built at the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century in Castle Area I was later completed with the palisade of Castle Area II. It seems that a castle wall with case construction was built in Castle Area I some time in the middle or the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, then later Castle Areas I and II were united into a single castle with a similar case construction, probably also in the second half or at the end of that century. The stone walls and later, in the 13<sup>th</sup> century the donjon were built on it. Their dating is similarly doubtful.

### *The function of the castle*

In his book, Gyula Kristó discusses the establishment of the secular administration of the Hungarian Kingdom, the Transylvanian counties and *comitatus castrensis* at length (KRISTÓ 2002, 119–133). To the best of our knowledge, the first *counties* and *comitatus castrensis* were founded in the Transdanubian region (KRISTÓ 2002, 120), but after Gyula was

defeated in 1003, at least two such counties were established in the Transylvanian Basin, one in the north and one in the south and they were later divided into several counties of smaller size (in Northern-Transylvania: Dăbâca/Doboka, Cluj/Kolozs/Kolos, Crasna/Kraszna, Turda/Torda) (KRISTÓ 2002, 125). Based on this, Kristó raises the question as to which of the 4–5 earth-wooden castles known in the Transylvanian Basin could have been the centre of the Northern-Transylvanian county established in the early 11<sup>th</sup> century? Was it Dăbâca or Cluj (KRISTÓ 2002, 125–126)? According to Kristó, Dăbâca must have been the centre of the county because *Dobuka*, who was the father of *Csanád*, played an active role in defeating *Gyula*.

Our counter arguments are not based on historical sources but on archaeological and topographic data: 1. The first phase of the Dăbâca castle, which can be dated to the first third of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, is a small fortress with triangular palisade walls (approximately 50×50×10 m), as opposed to the much larger fortress excavated in Cluj-Napoca-Mănăştur (220×100 m) (BÓNA 2001, 84). 2. From a topographic point of view, Dăbâca was built in a much more isolated place, which must have been far from the salt mines and the trade routes of salt that must have been transported on the River Someş. According to Éva Balázs, the ancient salt transporting route led from the Roman Napoca along the valley of the Nadăș Stream towards the Sălaj and the Tisza region (BALÁZS 1939, 18). 3. The churchyard cemeteries in Dăbâca date from later than the necropolises in Cluj-Napoca-Mănăştur and the finds in them are much poorer also (GÁLL 2013e, 183, Fig. 35–36). 4. From a strategic point of view, such as the Roman road, the region of Cluj is situated in an important junction; it is clearly shown by the cemeteries dating from the time of the Hungarian conquest. If we take into account the 10<sup>th</sup> century cemeteries, we can observe a concentration of the graves with weapons of the “conquering Hungarians” in present day Cluj (GÁLL 2013a, Vol. I., 826–831, 910–915; GÁLL 2013b, 461–481), as opposed to the valley of the Lonea, where no finds are known that could be dated similarly. Compared to this, the geographical location of Dăbâca is completely peripheral (Fig. 6). Therefore, on the contrary to Gyula Kristó’s opinion, we think that based upon the listed arguments, the centre of a Northern-Transylvanian county in the first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century must have been Cluj.



Fig. 10 The castle complex of Dăbâca. The structure of the settlement in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, based upon archaeological data (E. Gáll–N. Laczkó)

10. kép. Doboka várkomplexuma. Településszerkezet a régészeti adatok alapján a 12. században (Gáll E.–Laczkó N.)

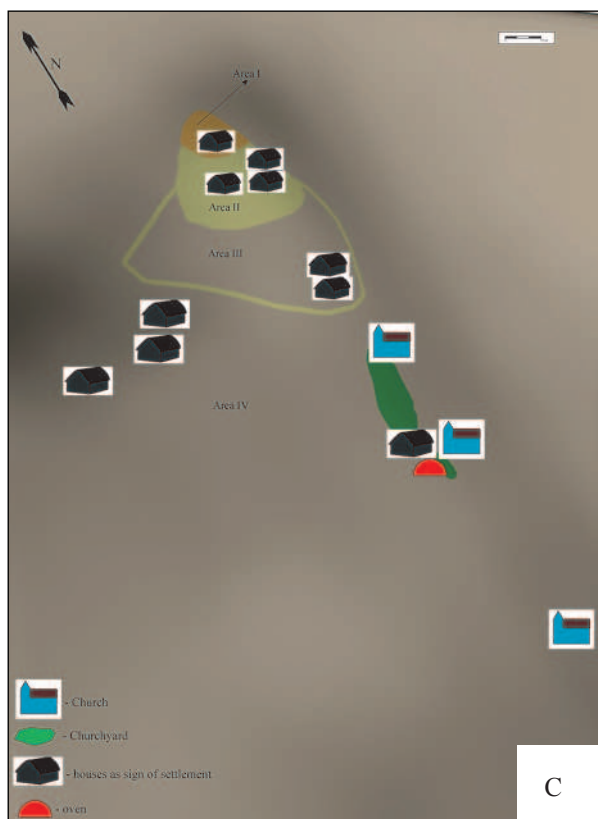


Fig. 11 3D reconstruction of the settlement structure of the 12<sup>th</sup> century Dăbâca (N. Laczkó)  
 11. kép 12. századi Doboka településstruktúrájának 3D rekonstrukciója (Laczkó N.)

### Sections of the settlement(s) in Dăbâca (Fig. 29–33)

When researchers tried to analyse Dăbâca, one of the problems was caused by the fact that they tried to date the sections of the settlement that was inhabited in parallel with the castle, they could not or did not want to separate the excavated sections of the settlement from the castle. Above we tried to clarify the dating of the castle and we try to follow this method here.

First of all, misdatings are quite clear in the following cases. The archaeologists dated the phenomena excavated in Trench 7 in Braniște, which is a place in the southwestern section of Castle Area IV, to the 9<sup>th</sup> century, although imprinted patterned (linear punch model) ceramics were also found there (MNIT. Inv. no. F. 17035–17041), which supports a dating to the 11<sup>th</sup> century. By this, we do not mean to say that there was no settlement stratum dating from the 9<sup>th</sup> or the 10<sup>th</sup> century in Braniște, we only

want to highlight that in Trench 7, where at least one cremation burial is known, we can probably talk about a settlement section dating from the 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Another clear case is the kiln, excavated on the so-called *Fellecvar*, which is on the opposite hillside, but in an unknown place. The finds are dated to the 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries, although they might be dated also to the 11<sup>th</sup> or even the 12<sup>th</sup> centuries (see Fig. 27–28).

Based on the published and unpublished finds, the following statements can be made.

1. Some pit houses and ground level houses from the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries were found in the north-western part of the wall of Castle Area II and Area IV. The existence of the latter ones is quite doubtful because it cannot be verified by the illustrated documentation. At any rate, it can be stated that this settlement had no connection with the 11<sup>th</sup> century fortress.

2. Apart from the above mentioned finds that are dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the village sections found in the southeastern part of the Area III and in the northwestern part of the Area IV are also to be dated to the 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> century. I would like to draw attention to the southeastern part of Castle Area IV, i. e. the pit house found in the churchyard cemetery, where a jug with grooves on its neck was registered. It is not impossible that in this case we can suppose an earlier, 10<sup>th</sup> century settlement. Two pit houses of a similar settlement section are known from the garden of A. Tămaș.

3. The problem of the house S1/IV/1965 has to be mentioned too, which was dated to the 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries by the authors without providing any documentation (PASCU et al. 1968, 168). According to the authors, the house can be divided into two sections, it consisted of two rooms covering 8×8 m, but apart from these two lines, no other data are given. In our opinion, it is not enough at all to accept the fact that such a house existed in Dăbâca. Although it is true that there are examples of buildings with different functions that consisted of two rooms in the 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries (*house*: Visegrád, Bratislava, Esztergom, Nagytálya; *workshop*: Pásztó, Bátmonostor), but in these cases archaeological documentations are available (MESTERHÁZY 1991, 72–76). This uncertainty is increased further by the finds excavated in the supposed house.<sup>31</sup>



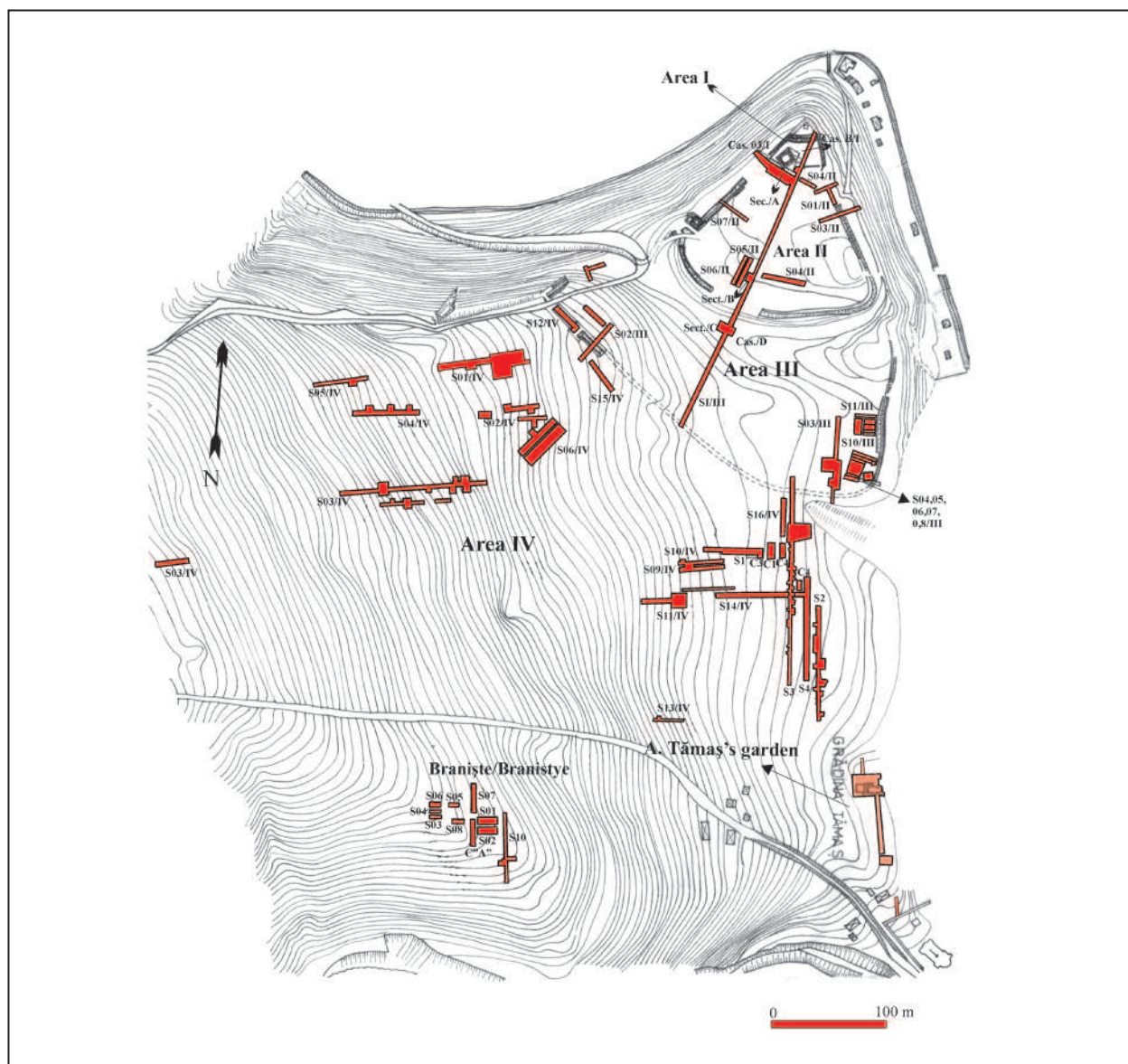


Fig. 12 The present stage of the excavations in the castle complex of Dăbâca  
 12. kép A dobokai várkomplexum régészeti kutatásának helyzete

As the authors mention, “Byzantine, glazed ceramic shards” together with strike-a-light (Fig. 15, 5) (GÁLL 2011, 53), green glazed (?) ceramic fragments (Fig. 15, 3–4), two spurs ornamented with guilt plates (?) (Fig. 15, 1–2),<sup>32</sup> the fragment of a cross (Fig. 15, 6) and iron knives are known from the house. Nevertheless, the only documentation we have is a superficial list of the finds. Concerning the finds excavated in the house, it remains undecided what belonged originally to the house and what was found in the fill of the pit. However, even

if the above mentioned objects were found on the walking level, thus dating the house, the typo-chronology would not allow it to be dated to the 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries, but to a much later date, partly based on the two spurs (10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries) (COSMA 2004, 192–193), but mainly upon the two strike-a-lights that can rather be dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

It should be emphasized once again that all this may be true only if the finds belong to the same place and time, but in the documentation there is no evidence of it. From a methodological point of



Fig. 13 Cultural layers. 1-9: Dăbâca-Castle Area I; 10: Castle Area II  
 13. kép Kultúrrétegek. 1-9: Doboka I. vartérség; 10: II. vartérség

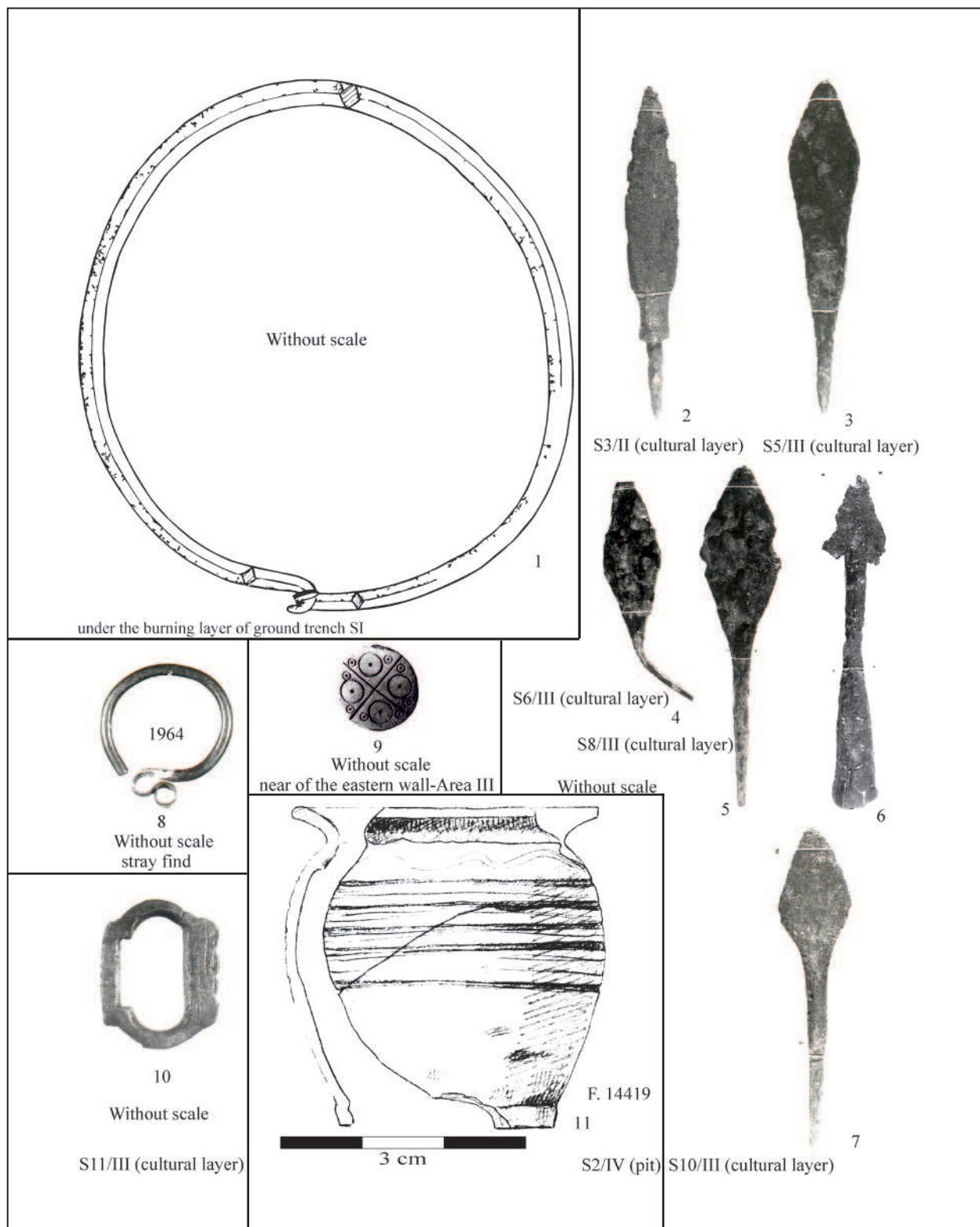


Fig. 14. Find material. 1: Dăbâca-Castle Area I; 2: Castle Area II; 3-7, 9-10: Castle Area III; 11: Castle Area IV; 8: Stray find (by E. Gáll)

14. kép Leletek. 1: Doboka I. vartérség; 2: II. vartérség; 3-7, 9-10: III. vartérség; 11: IV. vartérség; 8: Szórvány (Gáll E.)

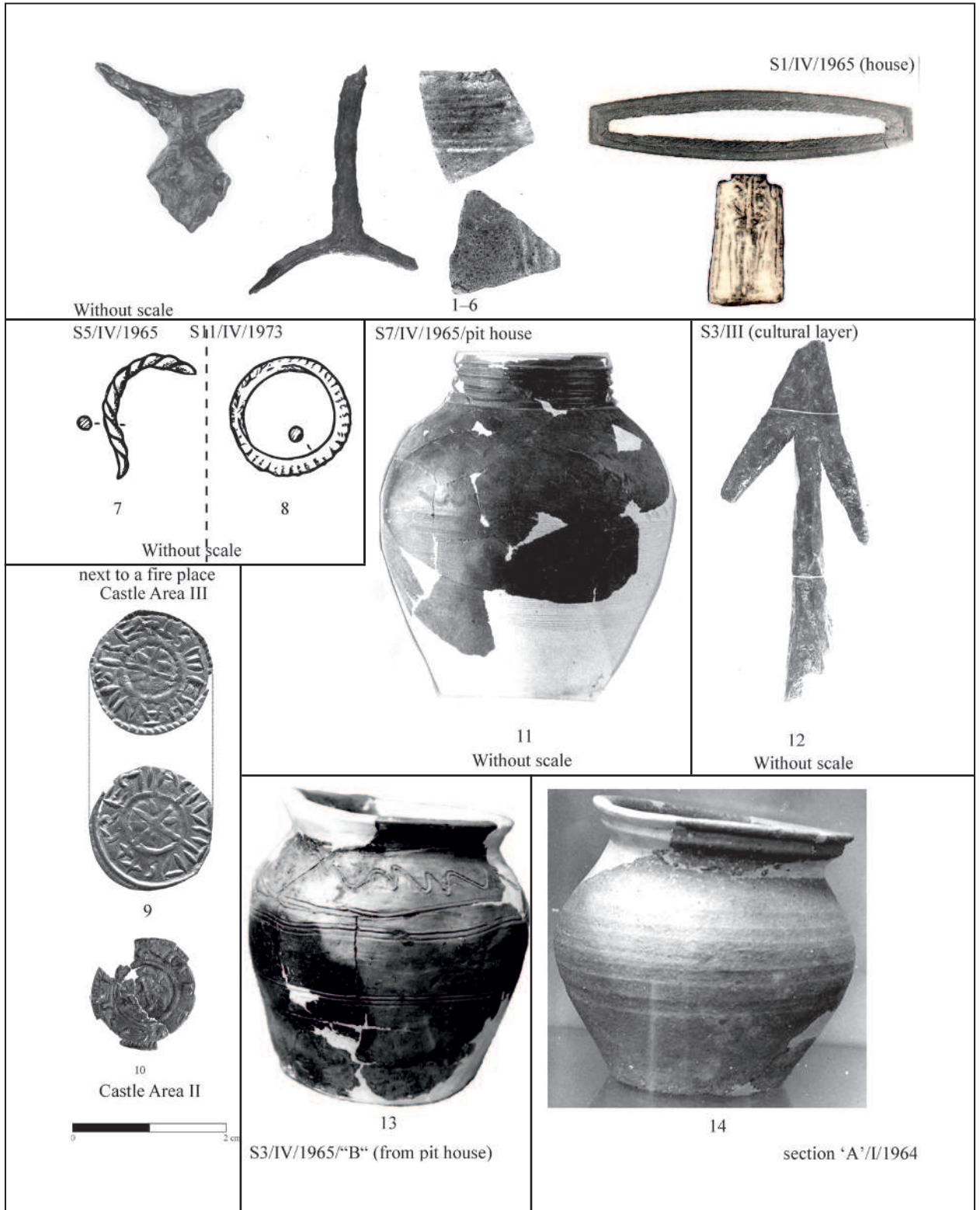


Fig. 15 Find material from Dăbâca. 1–8, 11, 13: Castle Area IV; 14: Dăbâca-Castle Area I; 10: Castle Area II; 9, 12: Castle Area III

15. kép Dobokai leletek. 1–8, 11, 13: IV. vartérség; 14: I. vartérség; 10: II. vartérség; 9, 12: III. vartérség

view, it would be far fetched to consider three or four ceramic shards as the evidence of Byzantine connections (certainly they cannot be excluded either), whose dating is at least doubtful, as their chronological classification is not clear. Therefore, it is more than dangerous to list the finds from this house as one archaeological unit, and methodologically, it is a major mistake to envision the presence of Byzantine Christianity in the 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries.

4. In Castle Areas III and IV settlement sections dating to the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century and the 12<sup>th</sup> century are documented. Based upon this, we can state that the territory covered by the medieval Dăbâca in the 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries was considerably great.

5. Some concrete settlement features of a later period were found in the churchyard cemetery, precisely a house and a pit house that can be dated to the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

To clarify and classify this issue, we summarize the settlement phenomena in Dăbâca including their topographic position and dating in Table 3 (see in appendix).

#### *Early medieval cremation cemetery (Fig. 23–25)*

The cemetery of cremation burials have also been excavated south of the place of the castle (for the syntheses of the cremation cemeteries – 7–9<sup>th</sup> centuries – in the Transylvanian basin see: HOREDT 1976, 35–57; HOREDT 1979, 385–394; BÓNA 1988, 181–183; ȚIPLIC 2003, 9–22). Using improper methods in a small area, nine or ten cremation burials (1972, 1973) with scattered ashes were excavated by probe-like excavations south of the fortress, at a height of 353 m above sea level, near a stream called Braniște (Branistye). The cemetery is right next to the dwelling pits of the settlement dating from the 7<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> centuries (trenches S3 and S6). However, it is possible that the fifteen graves with scattered ashes and a grave with an urn mentioned by Kurt Horedt are the real data because Horedt, who worked in Cluj in the 1970's, must have had quite correct information on all these (HOREDT 1979, 387. Tab. 2) (Fig. 23–25).

Unfortunately, no find has been published, but the ceramic finds discovered in the cremation burials with scattered ashes date this cemetery to the 8<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> centuries. As most of this area remained untouched, there are good prospects on carrying out better and more accurate excavations in the future.

This site, together with other cremation cemeteries, was dated to the 7–9<sup>th</sup> centuries by Kurt Horedt and Ioan Marian Țiplic, although his dating is based upon other Transylvanian cemeteries (HOREDT 1979, 387, Tab. 2; ȚIPLIC 2003, 18, Tab. 1). István Bóna dated them to the 7<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries (BÓNA 1988, 183).

The dating of a big part of the burials with scattered ashes, those with urns and the mounds with scattered ashes known in the Valley of the *Someșul Mic* is similarly doubtful (Apahida, Baciu, Căianu, Cluj-Napoca, Dorolțu, Jucu, Someșeni) (GĂLL-LACZKÓ 2013b, 67). Part of the finds in Someșeni can firmly be dated to the 8<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> centuries, in contrast with the rest of the finds whose dating is more than doubtful (MACREA 1958, 351–370).

There are two major groups of cremation burials in the *Someșul Mic Valley*, the group of cremation burials with scattered ashes and that of the burials with urns (the rites themselves) (GĂLL-LACZKÓ 2013b, 65, Fig. 7). In our opinion, cremation burials in mounds (Apahida, Someșeni) do not only fall in the category of customs but they are also the elements of social representation, whose *mnemonic* and visual effects – the latter of which comprises the effect of changing the landscape – are important to represent the status (EFFROS 2003, 122). Nevertheless, creating a mound was also an economic issue, as 14–20 m high mounds might involve some kind of stratified society with layers forcable to work, which would clearly indicate a relative picture of a social structure. To our mind, its social prestige must not be underestimated in a microregion like the *Someșul Mic Valley* (GĂLL-LACZKÓ 2013b, 63–66).

#### *The churches in Dăbâca*

##### *The church in Castle Area IV (Fig. 16, Fig. 17)*

The spiritual centre of the Christian cemetery is the church. However, in spite of most other sites it was not found in the middle of the cemetery in Dăbâca, but in its eastern part of the site. The church is 11.5 m long and 6 m wide was excavated almost on the northeastern edge of the plateau (MATEI w.y., 8). The orientation of the church is E/NE–W/SW, which was in accordance with the orientation of medieval churches (SZATMÁRI 2005, 28). The foundation level of the church was detected 25–30 cm deep of the modern ground, and

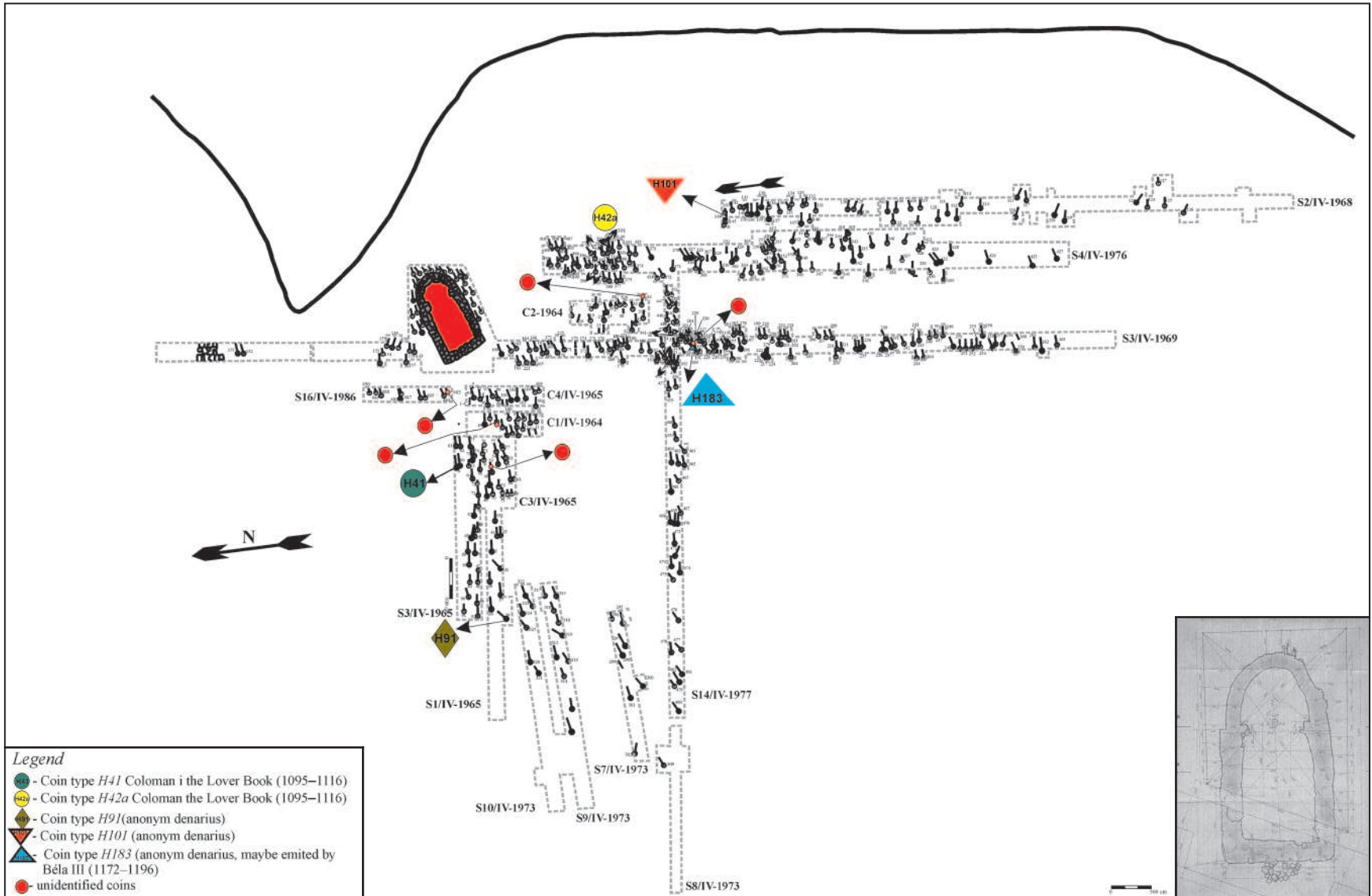


Fig. 16 Coins found in the churchyard cemetery in Dăbâca-Castle Area IV  
 16. kép Doboka IV. vártérség templom körüli temetőjéből előkerült pénzérmék

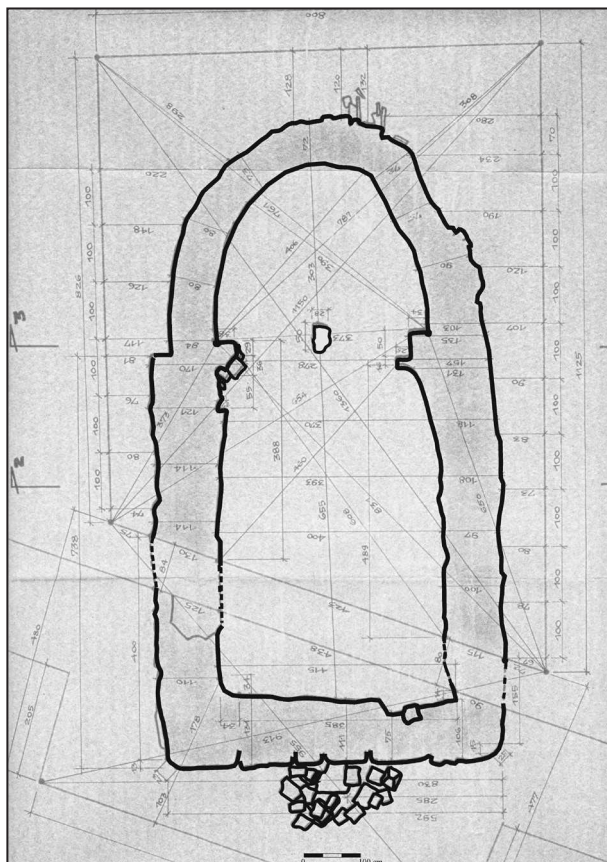


Fig. 17 Dăbâca-Castle Area IV: the church of the cemetery from the 11th–13th centuries  
17. kép Doboka IV. vártérség: a 11–13. századi temető temploma

before the excavations, during agricultural landworks, a large number of limestone fragments were unearthed from the foundation of the church.

The foundation of the nave and the presbytery was made of stones placed in mortar. In the foundation of the western and northern walls eight stoneslabs were found that have the size of 0.75–0.8×0.40–0.45 m. Cross patterns with equal and unequal stems were engraved on their sides that would suggest to regard them as tombstones (LÖVEI 2005, 77–83).

The foundation of the nave is 1.25 m, the presbytery is only 0.75–0.80 m wide. The large amount of carved limestone fragments, on which the western foundation of the nave was partly constructed, must have played a role in the construction of the entrance (Fig. 17).

The cemetery must have been used before the construction of the church, which is proved

by a burial destroyed by the foundations of the presbytery. It cannot be excluded that the engraved limestone slab found in front of the entrance are of similar origin with those engraved pyramidal stone slabs, which were found in the wall of the church of Boldâgă/Boldogasszony (MATEI w.y., 7). The existence of a wooden church before the stone building cannot be excluded either.<sup>33</sup>

#### *The church excavated in Alexandru Tămaș's garden<sup>34</sup>* (Fig. 19)

The church (and its graveyard) excavated in Alexandru Tămaș's garden seems to show some close chronological and perhaps other connections with the cemetery in Castle Area IV, both dated to the late 11<sup>th</sup> century. The church and its cemetery are approximately 250 m away, at the southeastern end of the plateau.

Before starting our analysis, we would like to dispel some false information on Churches 1 and 2 that became widely known in scientific literature. This is the result of a mistake made after the excavations (IAMBOR 2005, 188). It was noteworthy that in Ștefan Matei's manuscript of 1996 discussing A. Tămaș's garden, the term "church" ("biserică") is used mixed with the word "churches" ("biserici"). According to Matei's text: "*the foundation of Church 2 was removed and taken away by the local people*" ("*...totalitatea fundației bisericii a II-a au fost scoase de către localnici...*") (translated by the author). The main problem with this interpretation is that Matei does not give any explanation that why the foundation of Church 1, registered 60 cm deep below the floor level, was not removed by the locals. This confusion was completely clarified in 2012: in the original documentation, the remains of only the foundations of one church were documented, the foundation of the so called Church 2 is completely missing. The following question arises: what caused this confusion? It could have happened that after thirty years the two 1.5 m long church (?) walls, excavated northwest of the church, might have caused some confusion in the memories of the colleagues.

The church excavated in A. Tămaș's garden (in the literature called Church 1) was small: the nave of the church was 4.3 m long and 4 m wide, and the presbytery was 2.6 m. The foundation of the apse and the nave was registered at 125 cm below the groundlevel of 1966–1967. The foundation of the

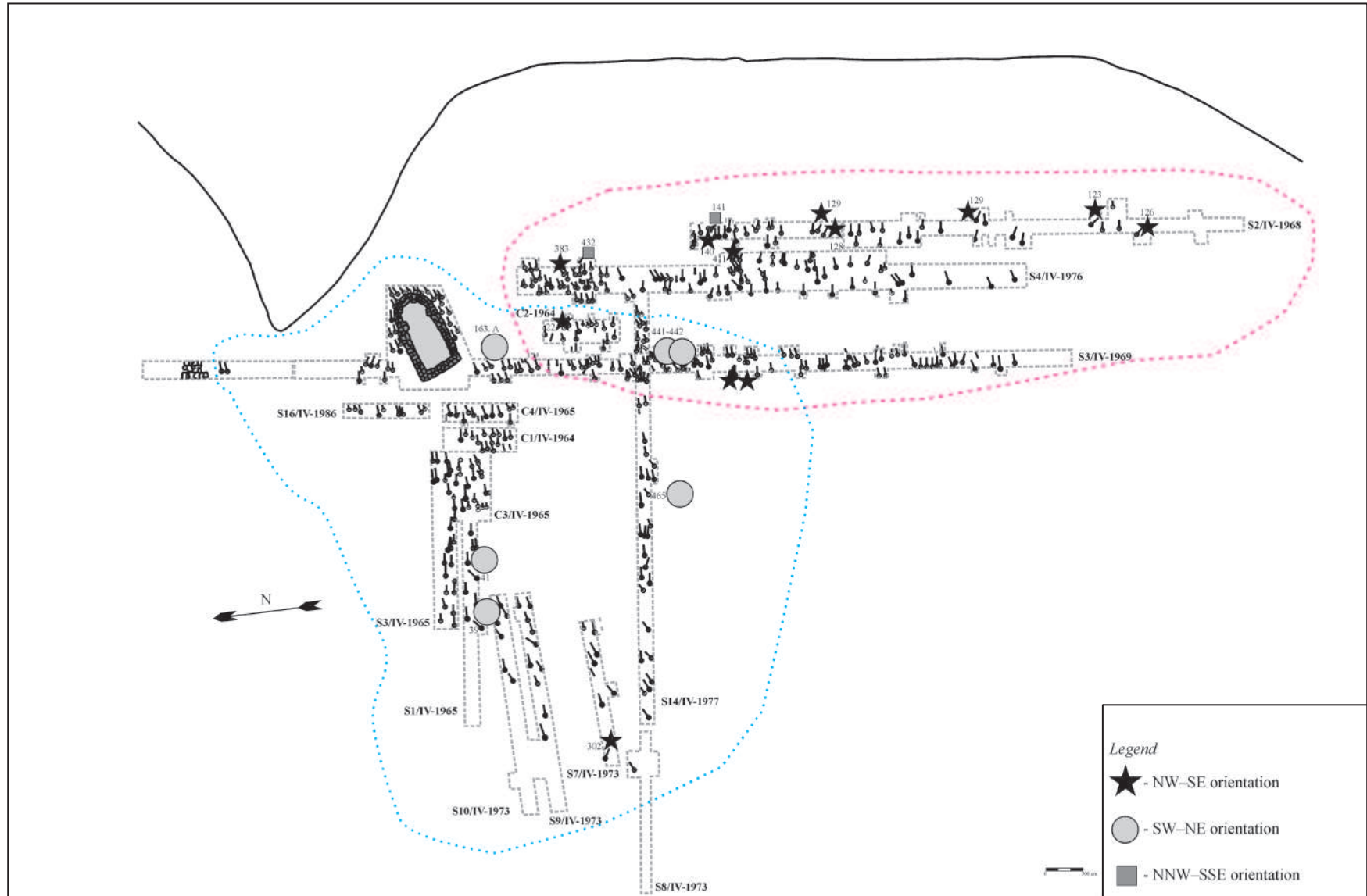


Fig. 18 The NW-SE, NNW-SSW and SW-NE orientations registered in the churchyard cemetery in Dăbâca-Castle Area IV  
 18. kép Doboka IV. vártérség templom körüli temetőjében regisztrált ÉNy-DK-i, ÉÉNy-DDK-i és DNy-ÉK-i tájolások



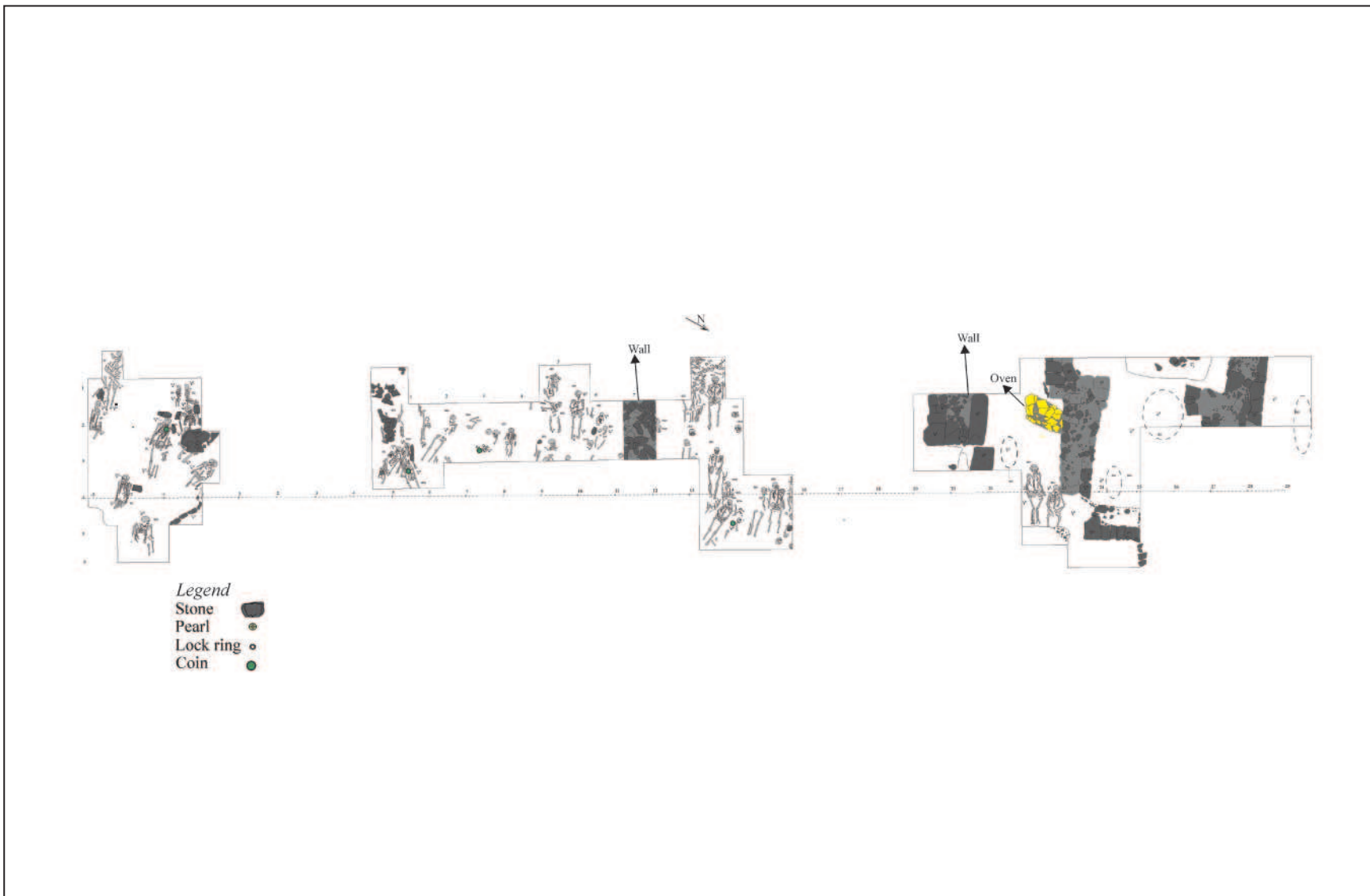


Fig. 19 Dăbâca – the map of the cemetery in A. Tămaș’s garden (N. Laczkó)  
 19. kép Doboka-A. Tămaș kertjének temetőterképe (Laczkó N.)



Fig. 20 Dăbâca—the coins registered in the graves in A. Tămaș's garden. 1: Grave 2; 2: Grave 12; 3: Grave 15; 4: Grave 26; 5: Excavation Trench II – 9,20 meters; 6: near to the Grave 38; „Treasure”: 1–8; Pit house/1980: 1–2. kép Doboka-A. Tămaș kertjében előkerült sírokban regisztrált érmék. 1: 2. sír; 2: 12. sír; 3: 15. sír; 4: 26. sír; 5: II. kutatóárok – 9,20 méternél; 6: a 38. sír mellett; „Kincs”: 1–8; Gödörház/1980: 1

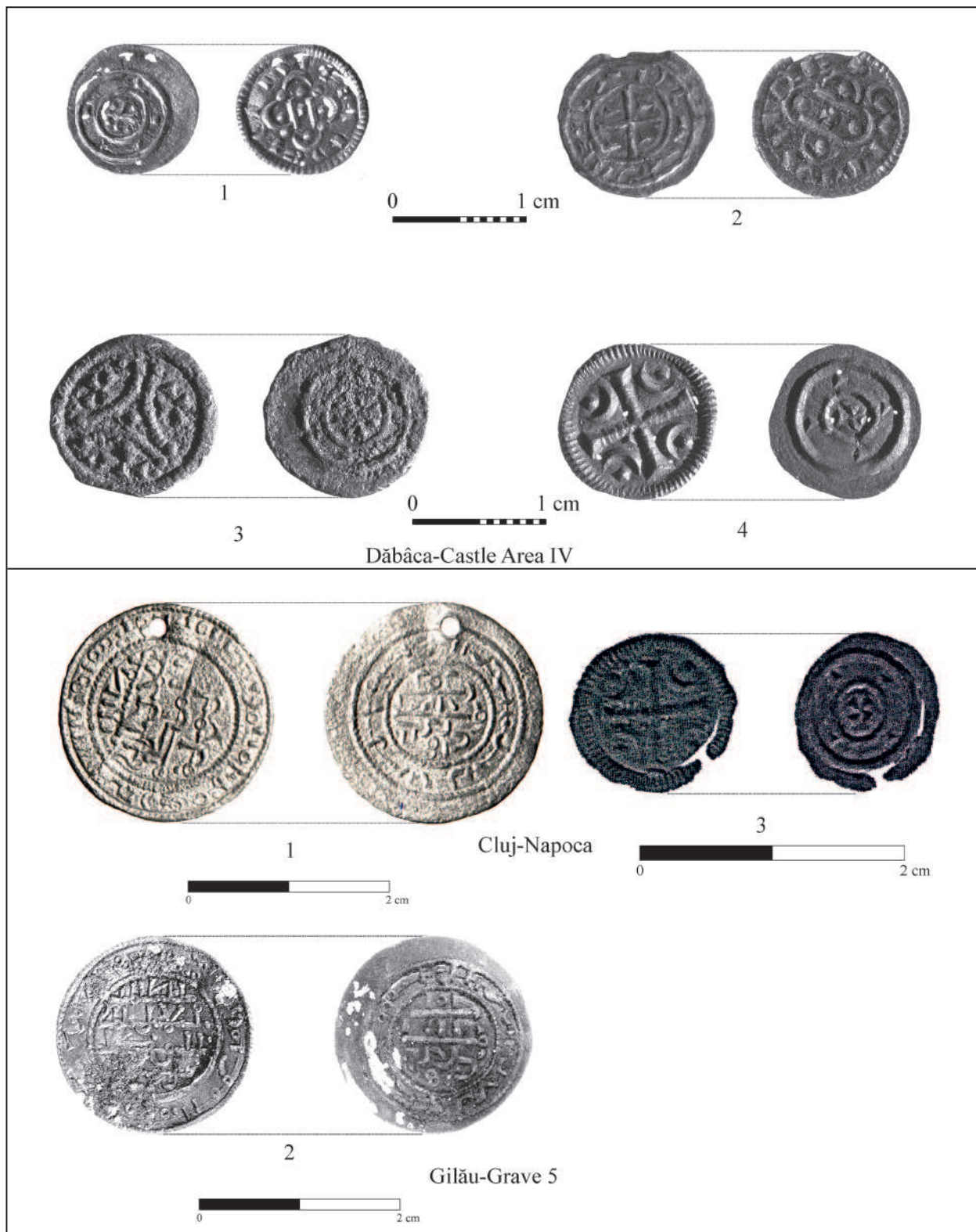


Fig. 21 Dăbâca-Castle Area IV. 1: Grave 391; 2: Grave 79; 3: Grave 39; 4: Grave 145; Cluj-Napoca-the yard of the University of Veterinary Medicine: 1; Cluj-Napoca-Deleu street: 2; Gilău-the castle of George II Rákóczy: 3  
 21. kép Doboka-IV. vártérség 1: 391. sír; 2: 79. sír; 3: 39. sír; 4: 145. sír; Kolozsmonostor-Állatorvos egyetem udvara: 1; Kolozsvár-Deleu/Barátok utca: 2; Gyalu-II. Rákóczy György kastélya: 3

nave and the apse was made of stone using yellow clay as bonding material. In some places, mainly on the outer part of the wall, some carved stones were also used together with uncarved stones, which were put in a mortar bed containing a lot of sand and lime. The foundation of the walls is not wider than 1 m and the walls are approximately 80 cm wide.

The structure of the church is very characteristic for the first centuries of the Hungarian Middle Ages. Eight similar churches are known from Békés County and at least three more from Transdanubia (SZATMÁRI 2005, 41, kép; VALTER 2005, 146, 164–165, 169, 50. kép, 77. kép, 87. kép).

Unfortunately, the construction of the church cannot be dated precisely, based on only its groundplan; it must have been built some time in the 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> centuries. In 2005 Petru Iambor mentioned eight coins of King Ladislaus I (1077–1095) that were found on the ground level of the so-called Church 2 (*pe nivelul de călcare, în exteriorul bisericii* (II.-m.n.), *pe latura de nord*) (IAMBOR 2005, 187). However, based on the archival data (Archive of the National Museum of Transylvanian History), the ground level of Church 2 as the location of the coins can be excluded (GÁLL 2013d, 251–259) (Fig. 20, 1–8). Nevertheless, the coins found in the graves of the cemetery (which will be discussed later) may underline that the church could not have been built before the time of King Ladislaus I.

#### *The church of Boldâgă/Boldogasszony (Church 2) (Fig. 7, Fig. 22)*

Three construction phases of the church are revealed in *Subcetate/Váralja* (Foot of the Castle). The first phase is dated to the earliest period among the churches excavated in Dăbâca. Its later dating is attested by a 12<sup>th</sup> century anonym denarius found in Grave 57 or according to the identification of Eugen Chirilă, a coin minted in the time of King Stephen II (1116–1131). Unfortunately, it is hard to follow or use the documentation; therefore it must be treated with care.<sup>35</sup> Nonetheless, before the time of this church, in the same area, there must have been a churchyard cemetery with a wooden church or a stone-built church located in the close proximity; this is clearly shown by the skeletons in Graves 66, 67, and 68, which were buried on top of one another and may have been disturbed when the tower was built. Similarly, the

infant skeleton in Grave 60, in front of Church 1 may provide evidence for this situation. The time when Church 2 was built, which was much larger than Church 1, is also doubtful. Regarding Grave 6, which has been dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> century by a denarius of King Géza II (1141–1161), it cannot be considered as an evidence for dating by its location because it might have been part of group of graves around the Church 1. Although Church 3 is dated to later times, it was of similar proportion, and probably it was still used in the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries. The data of the churches are described in Table 4 (see in appendix).

#### *Churchyard cemeteries (Fig. 16; Fig. 18; Fig. 19, Fig. 20, 1–6; Fig. 21, 1–4)*

In Dăbâca the churches and the graveyards around them were found in three different places between 1964 and 1968 and it became clear that they were used in different ages.<sup>36</sup>

The graveyard of the Castle Area IV – despite the insufficient results of the excavations, seems to have surrounded the church in a U shape (Area IV). Only a part of the graveyard has been excavated so far, the remaining parts are still under the ground. Based on the length of the trenches of the excavation, we managed to identify the southern, western, and partly the northwestern edges of the cemetery with some approximation. This allows us to suppose that the cemetery extends in a semicircle towards west. South of the cemetery, Trench S13/IV made it clear that the cemetery did not reach that far (see Fig. 16; Fig. 18).

The church and its cemetery in A. Tămaș's garden were excavated about 160 m away in the south-eastern end of the plateau. The churches of *Boldâgă/Boldogasszony* and the cemeteries belonging to them were used in several eras (several times in the 11<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries with discontinuities) were excavated in *Subcetate/Váralja* (see Fig. 7, Fig. 10–12).

With all their local features, the churchyard cemeteries excavated in Dăbâca show a common chronological feature: the coins used as *oboli* date the burials to the 12<sup>th</sup> century in all cases. The oldest *oboli* were found in Castle Area IV, but they are the coins of type *H41* and *H42a* of King Coloman, which were minted in the 12<sup>th</sup> century (see the list of the graves with *oboli* in Table 5). By analysing the coins found in the *Someșul Mic* Valley, we came to the conclusion that the integration of communities,

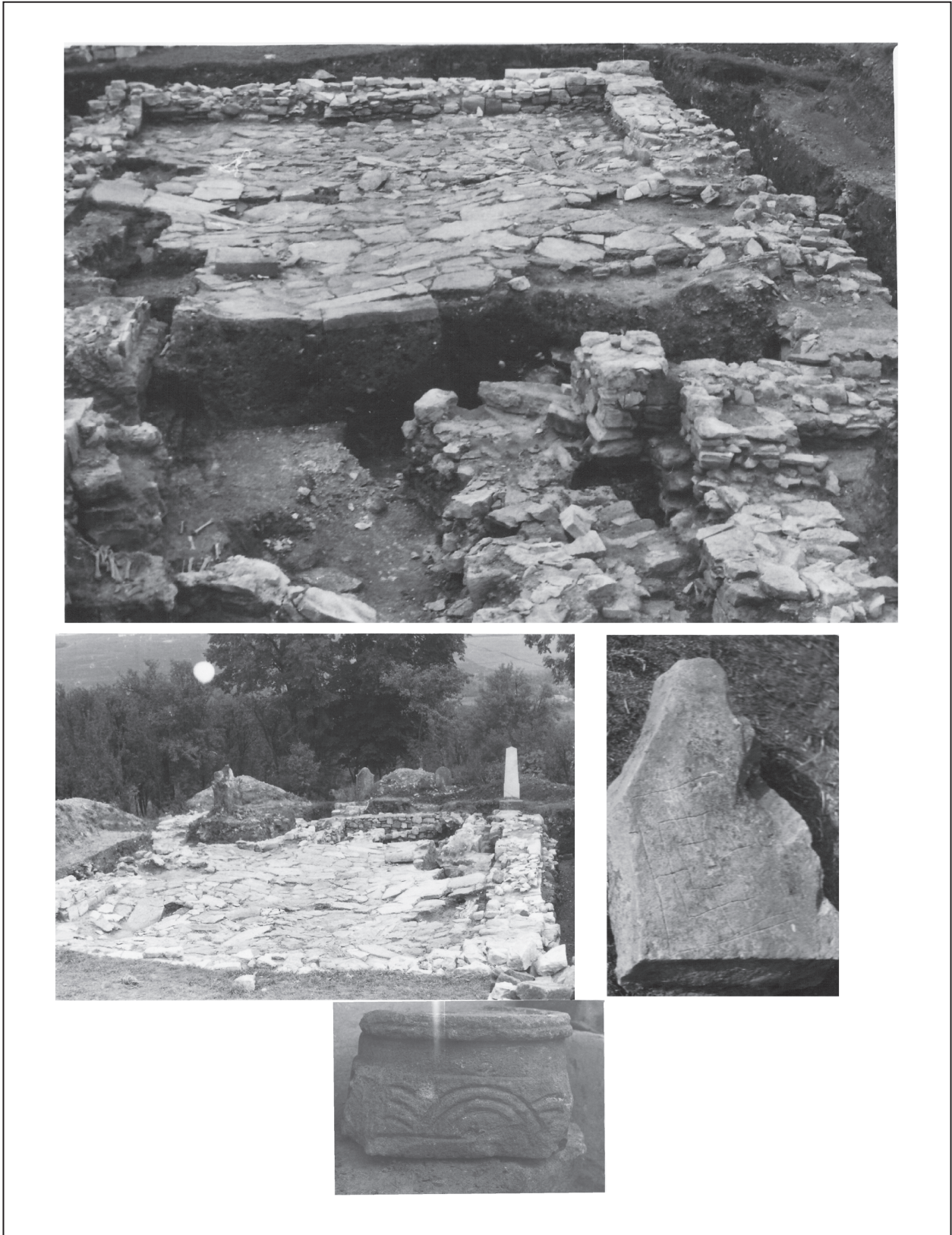
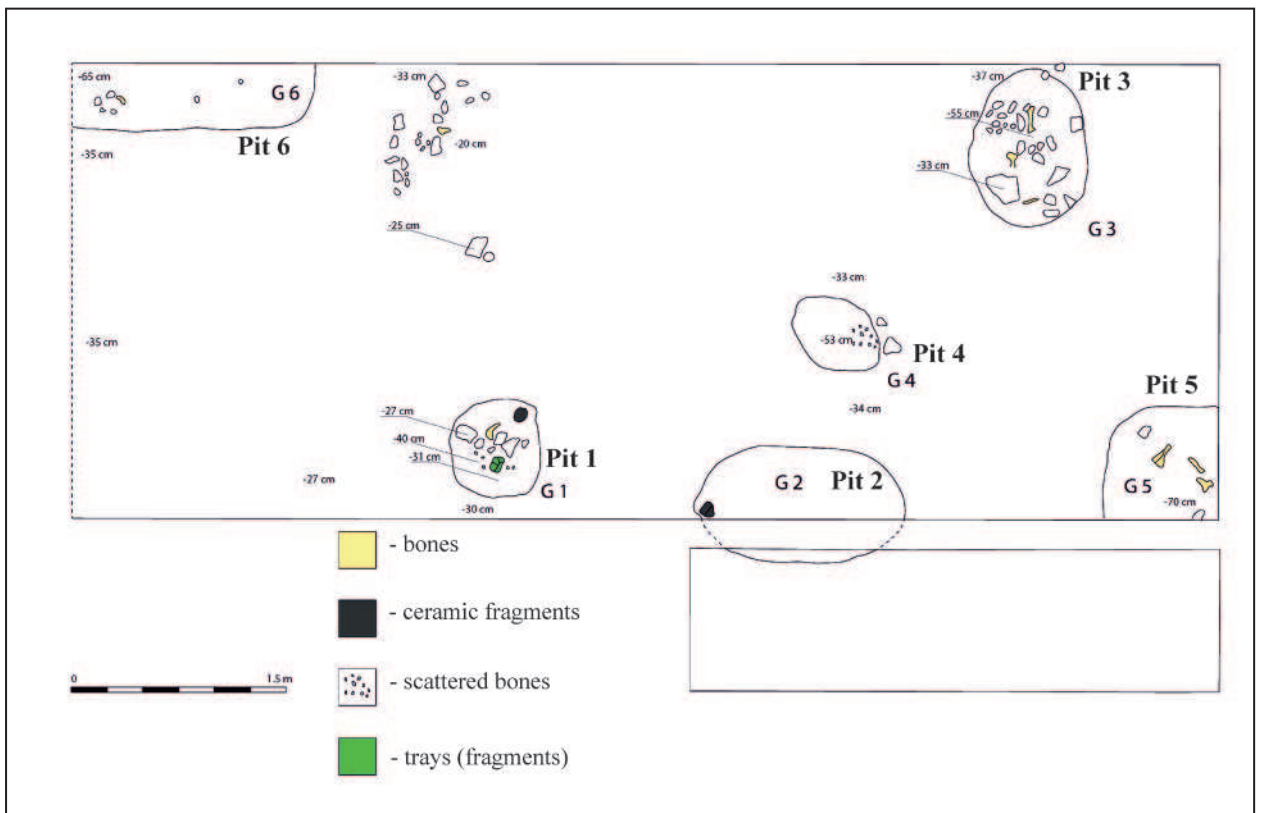
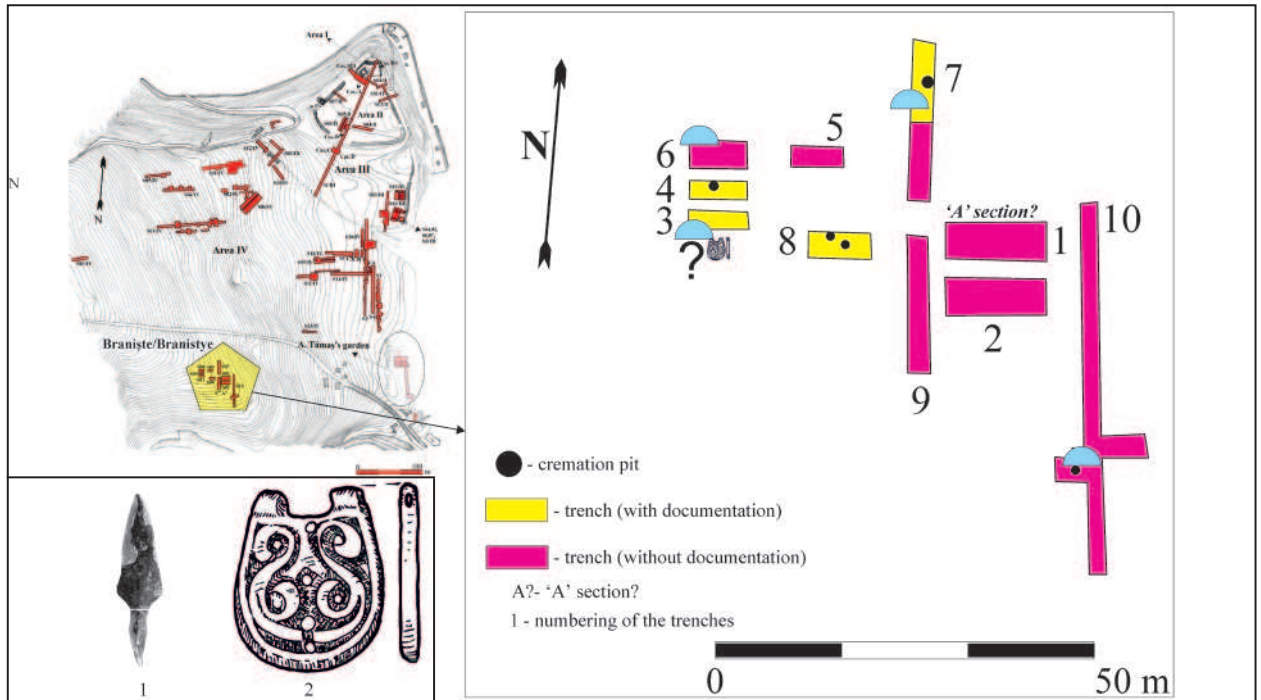


Fig. 22 Dăbâca-parts of the church of Boldâgă/Boldogasszony (drawn by E. Gáll)  
22. kép Doboka-Boldogasszony templomának részletei (szerkesztette: Gáll E.)



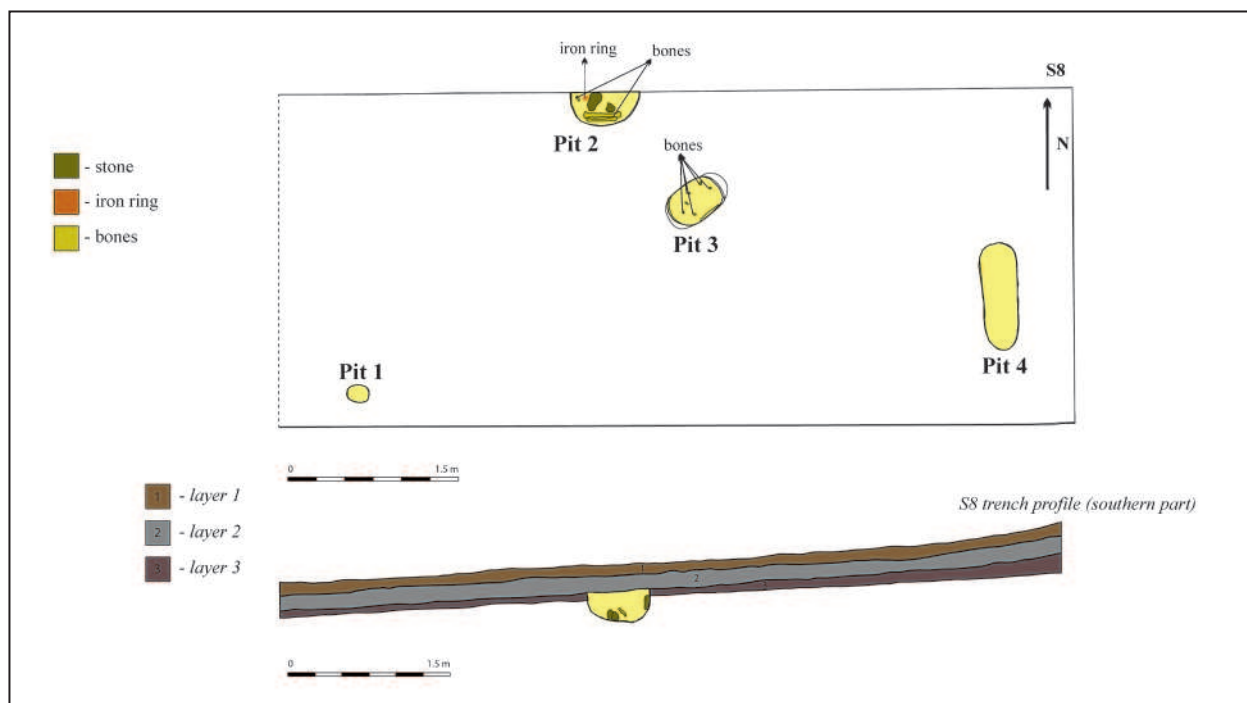


Fig. 25 The ground plan of Section S03 (Branîște) (excavation from 1973) (N. Laczkó)  
25. kép Branîște (Branistye), az S03 kutatóárok alaprajza (1973-as ásatás) (Laczkó N.)

the expansion of the area of settlements, the construction of Christian institutions and the appearance of western type state organisation can be connected to the name of King Ladislaus I (1077–1095); however, the formation of the settlement-network and the centres in the *Someșul Mic* Valley can be dated earlier (Table 6, Fig. 8).

Concerning their typology and functionality, these finds do not differ from other finds excavated in cemeteries elsewhere in Transylvania. However, it does not mean that such a uniformity of the material culture was characteristic of Transylvania and the Hungarian Kingdom. It is only a consequence of the disappearance of the “exiled” pagan burial customs, which resulted in the simplification and puritanism of rites. Also the so-called Christian Puritanism was interpreted in different ways in different communities: in some cemeteries less jewellery was found, in others more. In some 12<sup>th</sup> century burials swords were found (such as Sighișoara-Stadium) (PINTER 2007, 37), which attests that the old customs were preserved in some cases. Therefore, we cannot talk about a complete cultural discontinuity, but it is a fact that the most important cultural features of the 10<sup>th</sup> century pagan people, such as the buri-

als with horses or weapons, can hardly be documented from the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century onwards (GÁLL 2013a, Vol. I, 637–639, 192. kép). Nevertheless, this archaeological phenomenon does not necessarily mean the spread of Christian spirituality, but another way of propagating the social prestige of the elite. From the 11<sup>th</sup> century on, it was the Christian church and its norms that meant the system of ethic codes of elitism, which was in great contrast with the forms of pagan customs.

### Conclusions

Based upon the walls of the fortress area, the settlement sections, churches and cemeteries analysed above, the following conclusions can be drawn (see also former publications of the author: GÁLL 2011).

1. The excavations have covered only a small section of the fortress complex so far (Fig. 12).
2. It is impossible to connect the settlement sections dated to the 8<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> centuries with the fortress, which was built in the early 11<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 29).
3. The small fortress built of soil and wood in

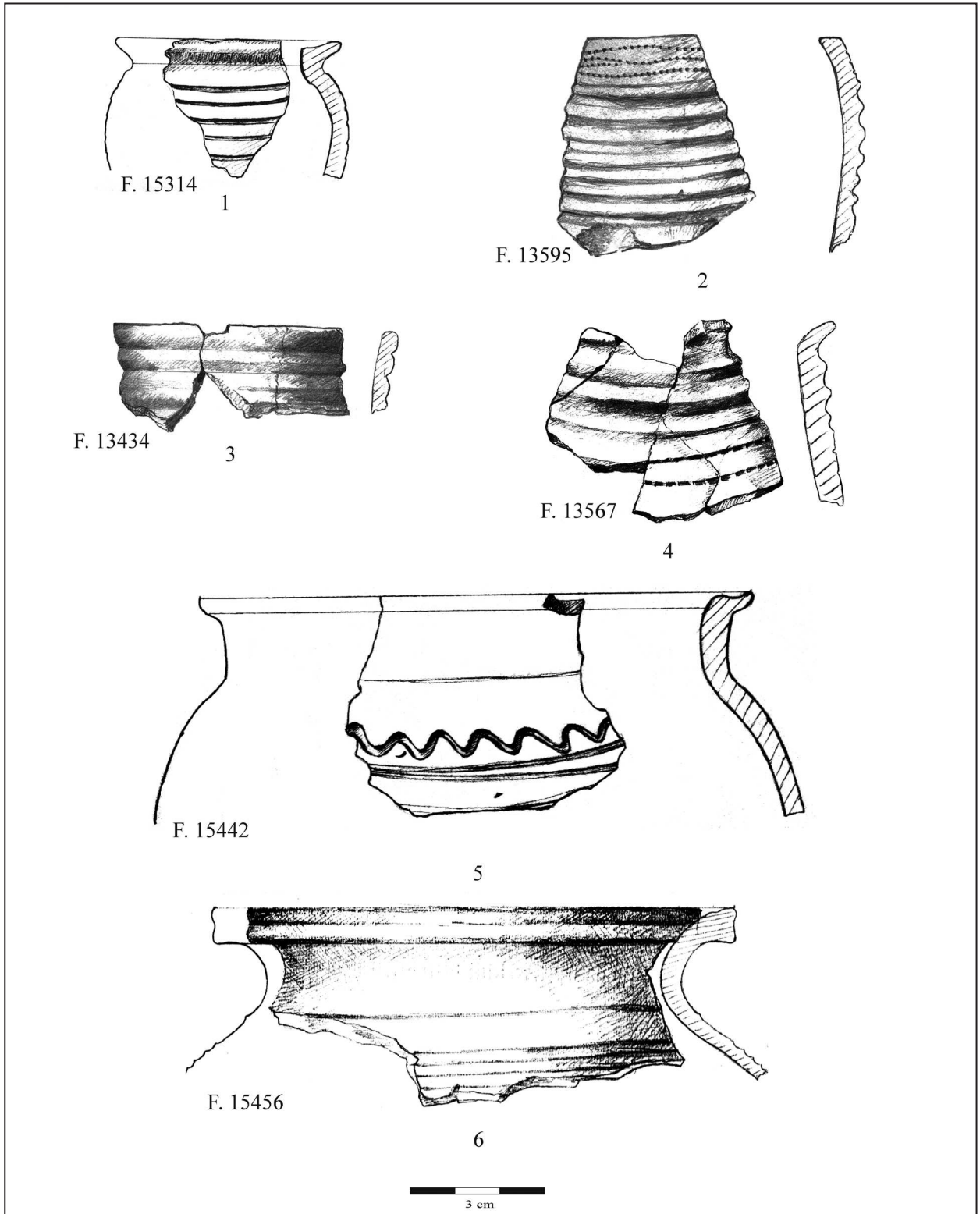


Fig. 26 Dăbâca-Castle. 1: Area IV/S5/1965; 2: Area III/S3/1966; 3: Area II/S2/1966–1976; 4: Area IV/S1b/1965; 5: Area IV/S3/1965; 6: Area IV/S3/1965  
 26. kép Doboka-Vár. 1: IV. vartérség/S5; 2: III. vartérség/S3/1966; 3: II. vartérség/S2/1966–1976; 4: IV. vartérség/S1b/1965; 5: IV. vartérség/S3/1965; 6: IV. vartérség/S3/1965



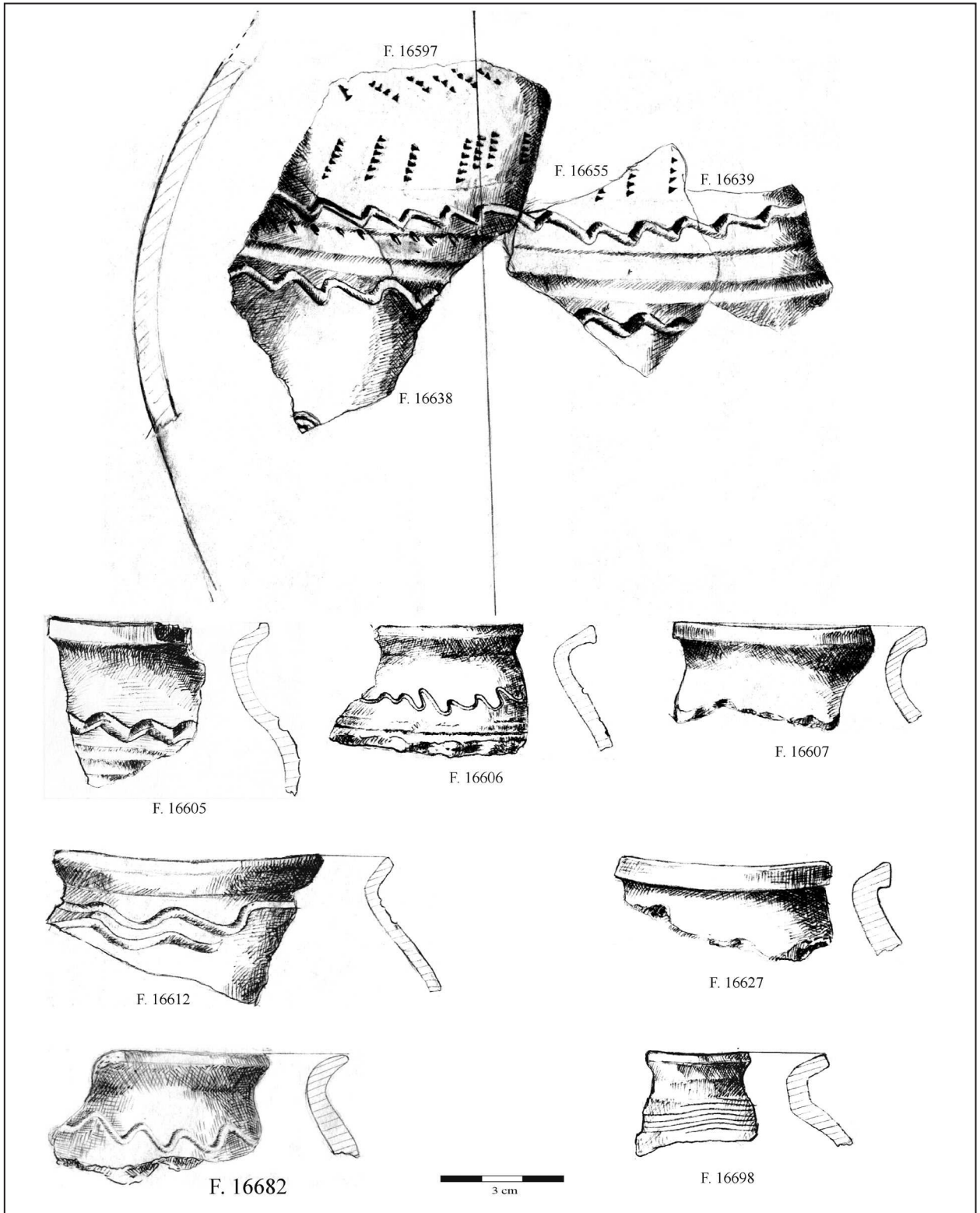


Fig. 27 Dăbâca-Fellecvar, pottery making furnace (ceramic finds)  
27. kép Doboka-Fellecvar, edényégető kemence (kerámialeletek)

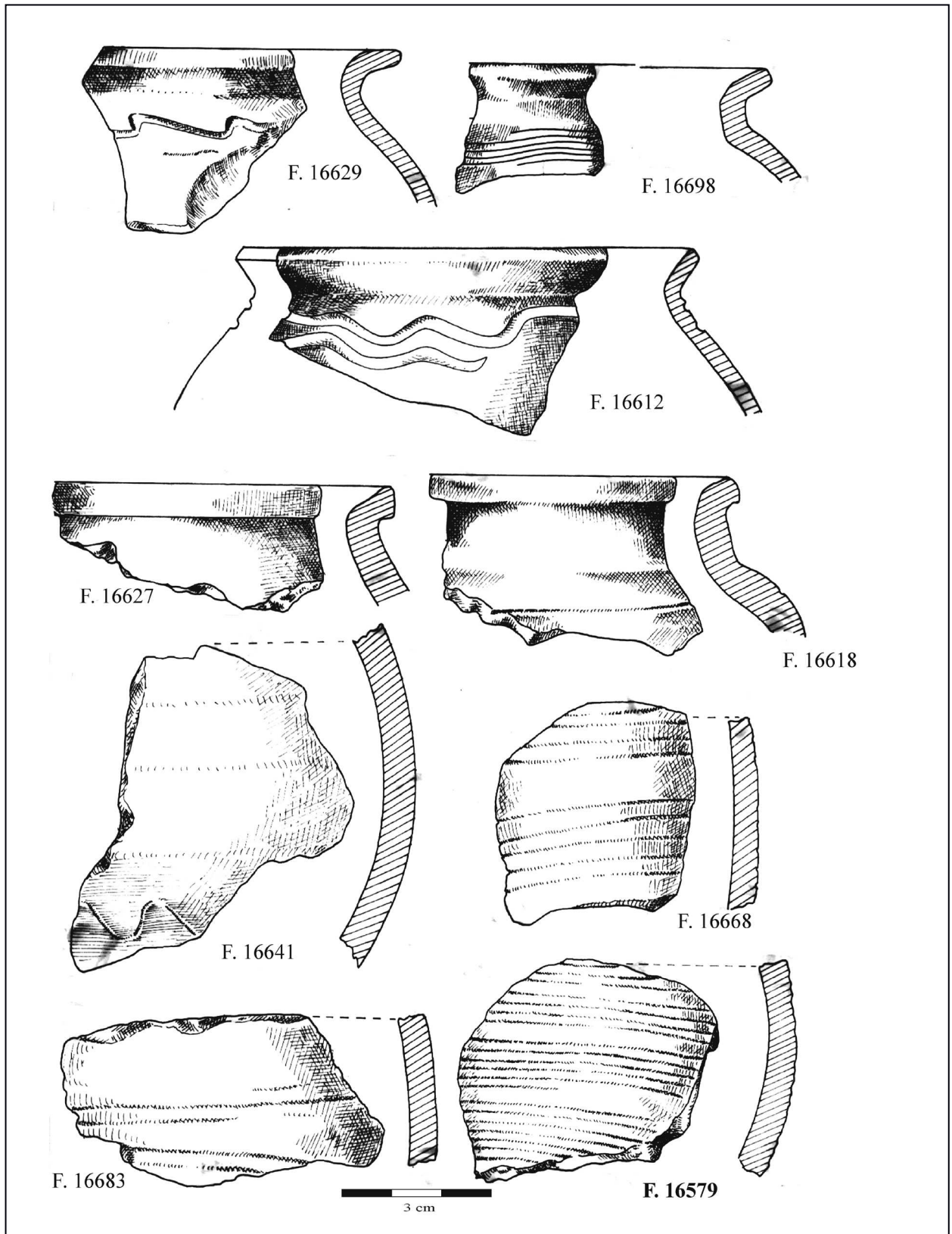


Fig. 28 Dăbâca-Fellecvar, pottery making furnace (ceramic finds)  
 28. kép Dobok-Fellecvar, edényégető kemence (kerámialeletek)

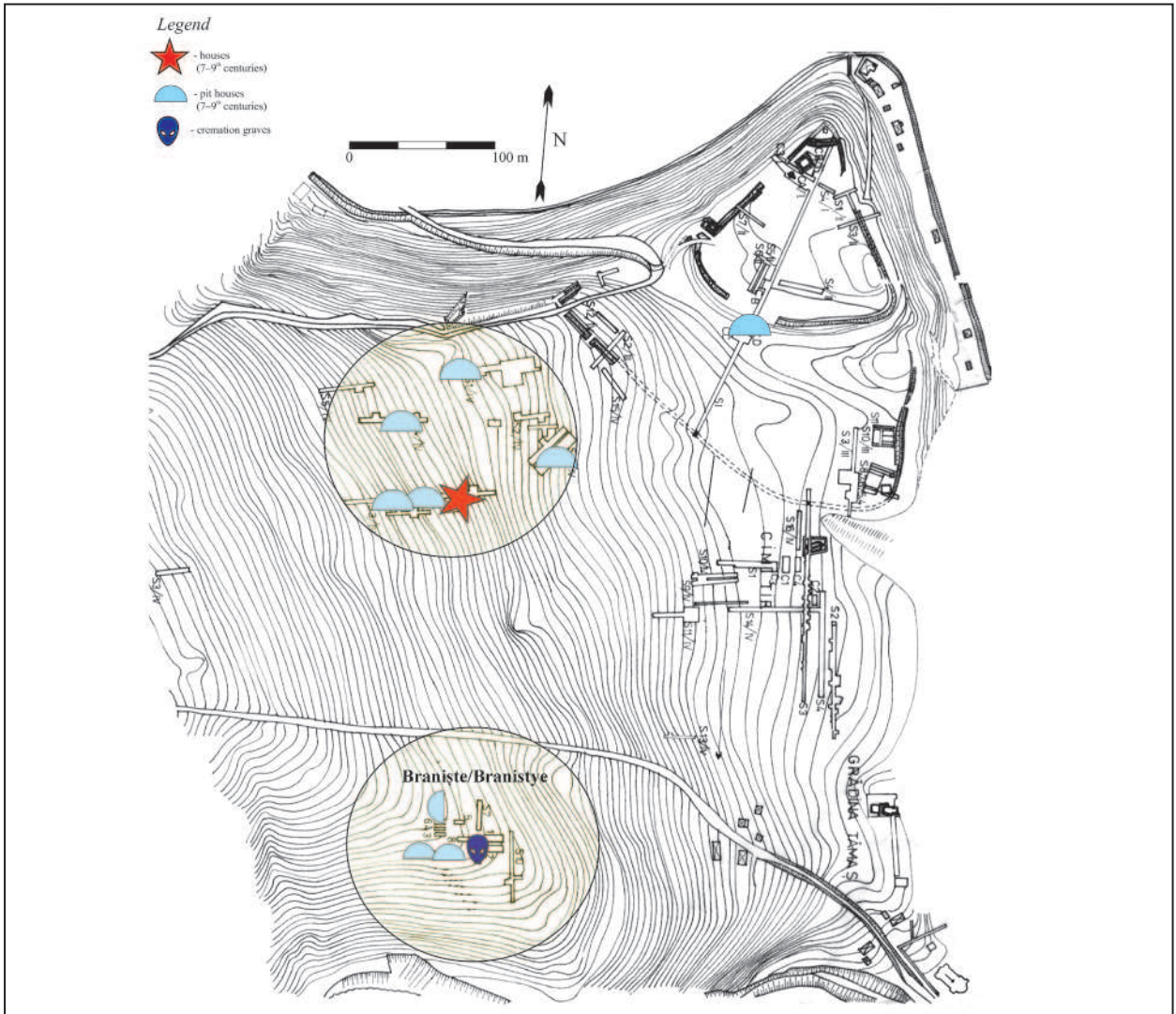


Fig. 29 7<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> century archaeological complexes in Dăbâca  
29. kép Doboka 7–9. századi régészeti objektumai

the first third of the 11<sup>th</sup> century was reconstructed and enlarged in/after the middle of the century, making it a wood and soil fortification, which was rebuilt again at the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. This fortification is mentioned as “*urbs Dobuka*” in 1068.

4. At the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, during the reign of King Ladislaus I, considerable immigration must have taken place as the above mentioned necropolis in Castle Area IV and A. Tămaș’s garden was opened around the end of that century.

5. There is a problem that raises a question yet to be answered. If only the cemetery of the 8<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> settlement section is known and the churchyard

cemeteries can only be dated from the 12<sup>th</sup> century on, how can we explain the lack of cemeteries of the 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> century settlements and that of the population of the 11<sup>th</sup> century fortress? It can be explained by two reasons:

The 1<sup>st</sup> reason. On the one hand, it is not clear for us why the period of cremation burials should be terminated in the 8<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> centuries as for instance in Dăbâca there is clear evidence of cremation burials in a much later period than the magical time limit in the 9<sup>th</sup> century, which has not been proved yet. Nevertheless, an even greater mistake would be to fix this chronological system artificially to the archaeological periodisation of other

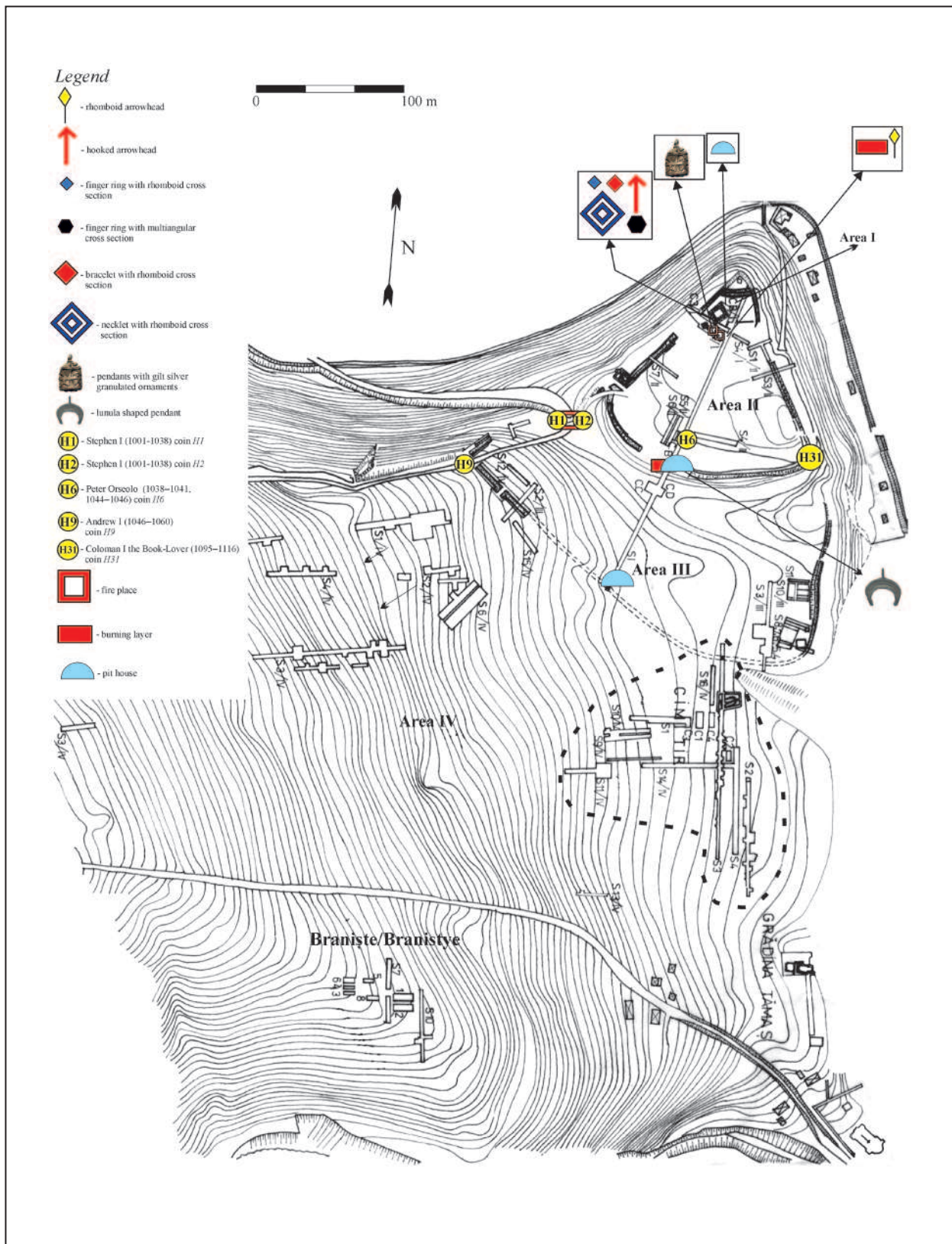


Fig. 30 The dating elements of the 11<sup>th</sup> century castles and settlements  
 30. kép A 11. századi várerődítések és település komplexumok keltező elemei

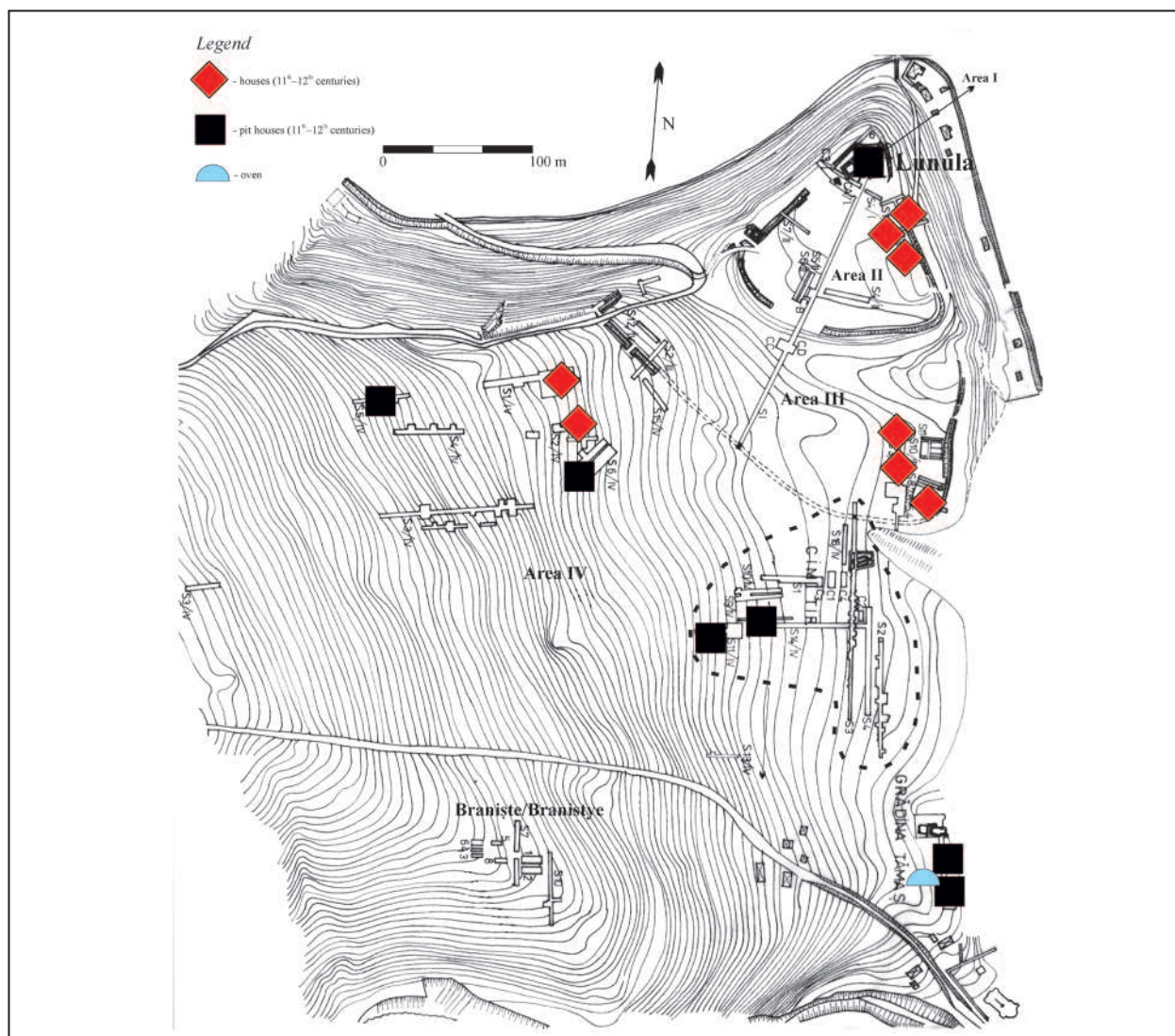


Fig. 31 Settlement structures in the 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> century Dăbâca  
31. kép 11–12. századi dobokai településstruktúrák

regions (in the first instance to the Great Plain). In the greater part of the archaeological interpretations, the disappearance of the cremation burials was linked to the downfall of the Avar Khaganate, an archaeological phenomenon was explained by a political-historical event. So, without the minimal archaeological evidence, the population of cremation cemeteries was made to disappear from the archaeological maps – because the Avar Khaganate fell down.

In this case the following questions arise: 1. What happened to this population? (no one has answered this so far); 2. Why and how should the disappearance of a political structure result in the

disappearance of a population (based upon the technical realities of the early Middle Ages)?

After studying the history of ideologies, it is not difficult to pinpoint the root of this theory, but it cannot be connected to the early Middle Ages but to the specific thinking of the 19<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> centuries, or to be more exact to a modern myth, the myth of ‘unity’. According to this train of thought, the state – the nation – the micro-community – the individual all form an undividable (much more biological) unit. We are approaching Orwell and his 1984, the implantation of the role of modern states into other historical ages. However, it has nothing to do with the power struc-

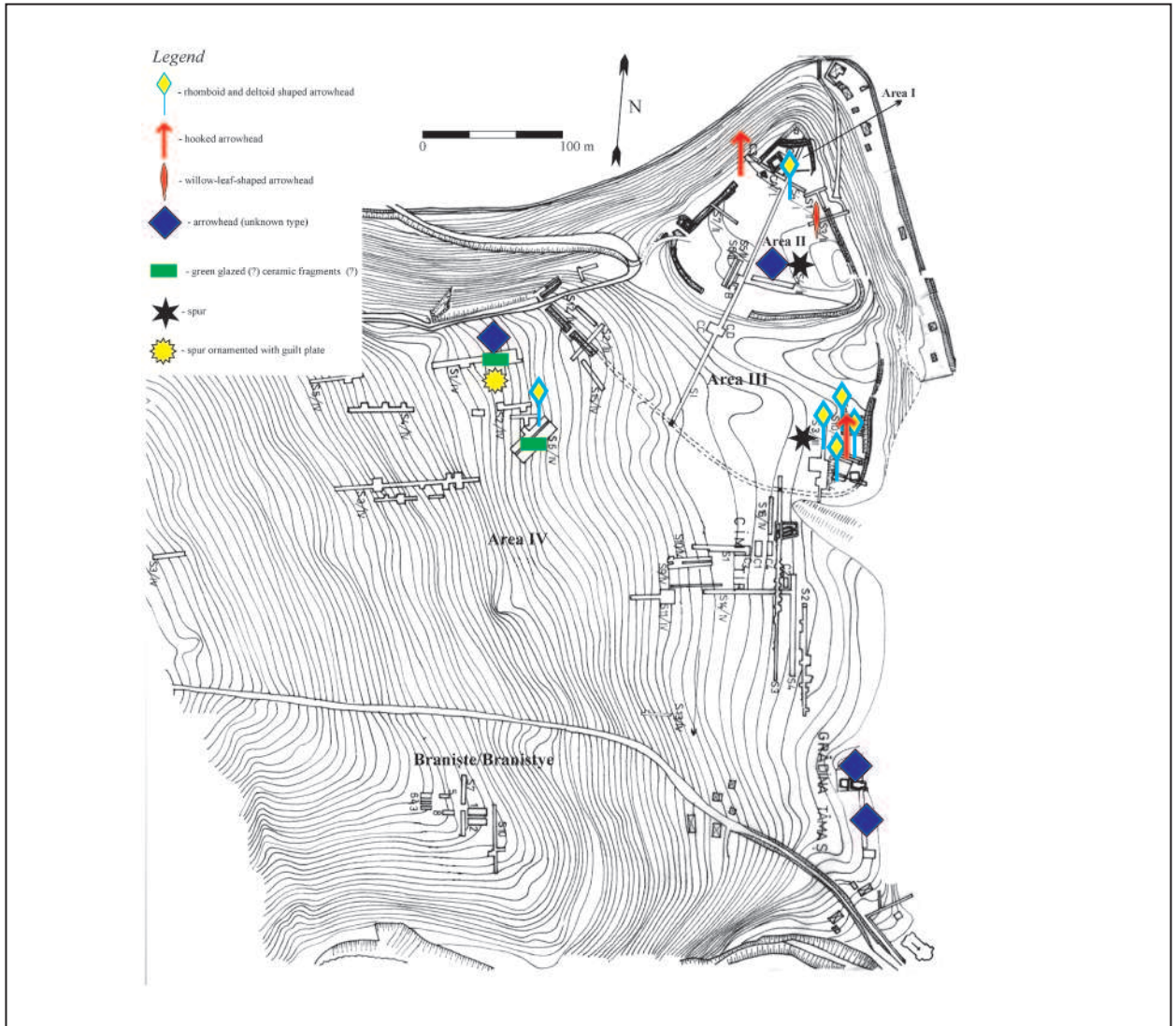


Fig. 32 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> century armour and harness in the castle complex in Dăbâca  
 32. kép 11–12. századi fegyverzet és lószerszámok a dobokai várkomplexumban

tures of the early Middle Ages and their (technical) possibilities. To draw the conclusion, as an evenly feasible (or, even more plausible) narrative, we can suppose that this population leaving behind cremation burials saw the Hungarian conquest and the early Árpád era and as a result they were integrated into the structures of the Árpád era and they were converted to Christianity and became “Hungarians”. Therefore one can hardly speak about archaeological-funerary markers after the 10<sup>th</sup> century, everything became uniformed under the reign of the Árpád dynasty, similarly to the phenomenon that took place in the late Avar age – 8<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore, in our opinion, the chrono-

logy of the cremation cemeteries along the River *Someșul Mic* should be thought over again, and their chronological sequence should be checked by <sup>14</sup>C tests. And above all, new excavations should be carried out in the microregion.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> reason. On the other hand, the 11<sup>th</sup> century cemetery (where the *comes* of Dăbâca could have been buried) has not yet been identified, and this can only be explained by the present stage of the excavations.

6. Concerning the connection between the church in Tămaș’s garden and the churchyard cemetery, it is supposed that in Tămaș’s garden the graves were dug in the time of its Church. Building a new and

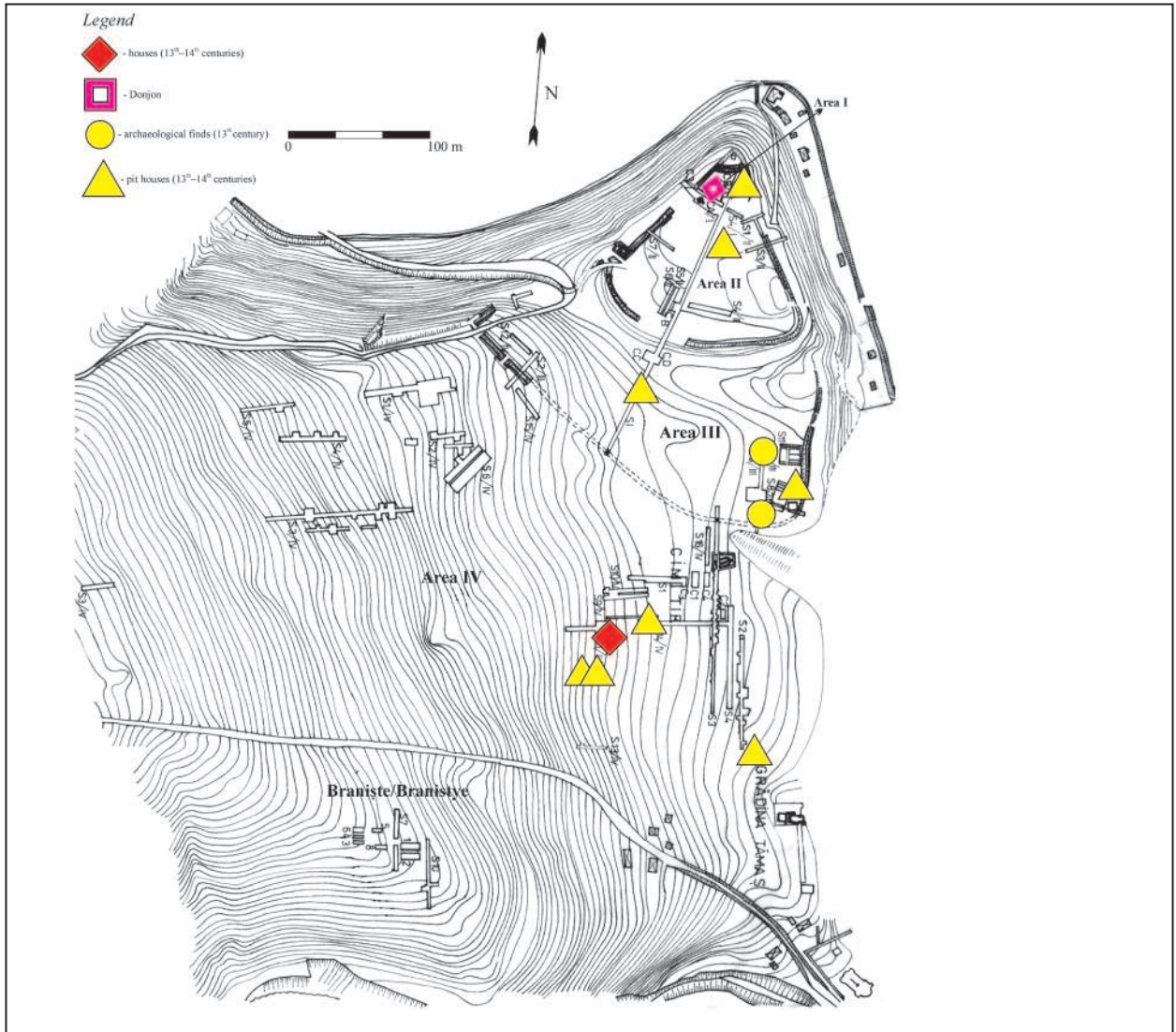


Fig. 33 Settlement structures in the 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> century Dăbâca  
33. kép 13–14. századi dobokai településstruktúrák

much bigger church is a clear sign of a bigger community (immigration?), and it was the time when graves appeared in the southeastern plateau of Castle Area IV. The cemetery around the church in Tămaș's garden was used on, and certainly, it remains a question what the relationship of these two communities was. Can we talk about social differences? Christian burial customs make the analyses of this kind impossible and the lack of bones excludes the possibility of any research into this problem.

7. The cemeteries excavated so far are dated to the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. However, only a small portion of

the settlement material that has been excavated so far can be connected to these graves. The location of the settlement(s) can be defined only by further researches and excavations.

8. The retrospective analysis of the research team of the Dăbâca project cannot be done scientifically. Despite the huge gaps, the authors insisted on discussing the fortification system, the settlements, the churches and the cemeteries at the same chronological level, which renders the whole enterprise a scientific utopia.

9. Based upon the findings of the researches done so far, a chronological evolution of the Dăbâca fortress complex can be drawn up displayed in Fig. 9.

<i>Position of castle area</i>	<i>Topography</i>	<i>Pit houses</i>	<i>House</i>	<i>Other settlement features</i>	<i>Finds</i>	<i>Dating</i>
Braňšte	S3/1972	1 pit house (?)			fragments of clay pottery, "Avar" belt mount (?) (Fig. 23, 2), coal, arrowhead with three edges (Fig. 23, 1), burnt pieces of bones	8 <sup>th</sup> century
Braňšte	S6/1972	1 pit house			-	?
Braňšte	S7/1972	1 pit house (?)		cultural layer	fragments of clay pottery (MNIT. Inv. no. F. 17035–17118)	11–12 <sup>th</sup> centuries
Braňšte	S10/1972	1 pit house			clay pottery	9 or 11 <sup>th</sup> century
Castle Area I	section "A" /1964			two fire place? (1, 25 m deep)	pendants with gilt silver granulated ornaments (Fig. 13, 2–5), iron plough, wood gouger, rhomboid arrowheads	first half of 11 <sup>th</sup> century
Castle Area I	section "A" /1964				clay pottery (Fig. 15, 14), fragments of clay pottery, spurs, Friesach coin	13 <sup>th</sup> century
Castle Area I				under the burning layer (?) of ground trench SI	collar and bracelet with rhomboid cross section, finger rings with rhomboid and multiangular cross section, hooked arrowhead (Fig. 13, 6–9; Fig. 14, 1)	first half of 11 <sup>th</sup> century
Castle Area I				Donjon	fragments of clay pottery, horseshoes, spurs, arrowheads, coins	13–14 <sup>th</sup> centuries
Castle Area II	section "B" /1964	2 pit houses			lunula shaped pendant from the backfill of the second pit house (Fig. 13, 1)	9–10 <sup>th</sup> centuries (?), first half of 11 <sup>th</sup> century
Castle Area II	S2/II/1966–1976			cultural layer	fragment of clay pottery (MNIT. Inv. no. 13434) (Fig. 26, 3)	11–12 <sup>th</sup> centuries
Castle Area II	S3/II/1973		2 houses		fragments of clay pottery	second half of the 11 <sup>th</sup> century
Castle Area II	S3/II/1973		1 houses		fragments of clay pottery	11–12 <sup>th</sup> centuries
Castle Area II	S3/II/1973: excavation trench – 37 meters, depth: 66 cm		under the house floor	cultural layer	willow-leaf-shaped arrowhead (Fig. 14, 2)	12 <sup>th</sup> century
Castle Area II				cultural layer	one spur, some iron knives, arrowheads	second half of 11 <sup>th</sup> century
Castle Area II	section "B"			walking level	Peter Orseolo (1038–1041, 1044–1046) – coin of <i>H6</i> ʒ type	second half of 11 <sup>th</sup> century



Castle Area III				upper cultural layer	one spur	second half of 13 <sup>th</sup> century
Castle Area III	S3/III/1966			well (?)	fragments of clay pottery (MNIT. In. no. F. 13595) (Fig. 26, 2)	11–12 <sup>th</sup> centuries
Castle Area III	S3/III/1973		2 houses		fragments of a clay cauldron <sup>37</sup>	first half of 11 <sup>th</sup> century
Castle Area III	S3/III/1973 depth: 66 cm			cultural layer	arrowhead (Fig. 15, 12)	11–12 <sup>th</sup> centuries
Castle Area III	S3,5,6, 8/III/1973			Iron workshop?		first half of 11 <sup>th</sup> century
Castle Area III	S5/III/1973/excavation trench – 12-14 meters, depth: 66 cm			cultural layer	deltoid shaped arrowhead (Fig. 14, 3)	11 <sup>th</sup> century
Castle Area III	S6/III/1973/ excavation trench – 13 meter, depth: 15 cm			cultural layer	arrowhead (Fig. 14, 4)	11 <sup>th</sup> century
Castle Area III	S6–8/III/1973		1 house <sup>38</sup>		fragments of clay pottery	first half of 11 <sup>th</sup> century
Castle Area III	S6–8/III/1973			fortress wall		first half of 11 <sup>th</sup> century
Castle Area III	S6–8/III/1973			fortress wall	one spur	13 <sup>th</sup> century
Castle Area III	S8/III/1973/ excavation trench – 4 meter, depth: 20 cm			cultural layer	two arrowheads (Fig. 14, 5–6)	second half of 11 <sup>th</sup> century
Castle Area III	S10/III/1973			cultural layer		12–13 <sup>th</sup> centuries
Castle Area III	S10/III/1973/ excavation trench – 1 meter, depth: 50 cm			cultural layer	arrowhead (Fig. 14, 7)	12–13 <sup>th</sup> centuries
Castle Area III	S10B/III/1973			oven	fragments of a clay cauldron, spurs, iron nails, iron knives	12 <sup>th</sup> century
Castle Area III	eastern wall			cultural layer	button made of bone (Fig. 14, 9)	12 <sup>th</sup> century
Castle Area III	?			cultural layer		13–14 <sup>th</sup> centuries
Castle Area III	northwestern corner of the rampart			cultural layer	Andrew I (1046–1060) – coin of <i>H9</i> 's type	second half of 11 <sup>th</sup> century
Castle Area III	northwestern part of the castle			next to a fire place	Stephen I (1001–1038) – coins of <i>H1</i> and <i>H2</i> 's type (Fig. 15, 9)	first half of 11 <sup>th</sup> century

Castle Area IV Northwest	S1/IV/1965	1 pit house	1 house <sup>39</sup>		fragments of clay pottery, one rim is patterned	9 <sup>th</sup> century
Castle Area IV NW	S1/IV/1965		1 house?		strike-a-light, two spurs, fragments of green glazed pottery, a fragment of a cross, iron knives	first half of 11 <sup>th</sup> century? 12 <sup>th</sup> century?
Castle Area IV NW	S1b/IV/1965				fragment of clay pottery (MNIT. Inv. no. F. 13567) (Fig. 26, 4)	11–12 <sup>th</sup> centuries
Castle Area IV NW	S2/IV/1965		1 house?		Rhomboid shaped arrow head, animal bones, iron slag, fragments of clay pottery, copper wires	first half of 11 <sup>th</sup> century
Castle Area IV NW	S2/IV/1965			meters 51–53: a pit	clay pottery (MNIT. Inv. no. F. 14419) (Fig. 14, 11)	10–11 <sup>th</sup> centuries
Castle Area IV NW	S3/IV/1965	2 pit house			clay pottery (Fig. 15, 13)	8–9 <sup>th</sup> centuries
Castle Area IV NW	S3/IV/1965		1 house?			9 <sup>th</sup> century
Castle Area IV NW	S3/IV/1965			meters 20–24	fragment of clay pottery (MNIT. Inv. no. F. 15442) (Fig. 26, 5)	13–14 <sup>th</sup> centuries
Castle Area IV NW	S4/IV/1965		1 house?		fragments of clay pottery	8–9 <sup>th</sup> centuries
Castle Area IV NW	S5/IV/1965	1 pit house			S-ended lock ring with twisted wire (Fig. 15, 7), two iron knives, a bone showing signs of work	first half of 11 <sup>th</sup> century

Table 3 Settlement phenomena in Dăbâca, the archaeological material and their dating  
3. táblázat Doboka (r.: Dăbâca) telepjelenségei, leletanyaga és azok keltezése

<i>Church</i>	<i>Length</i>	<i>Width</i>	<i>Inner length and width of the nave</i>	<i>Foundation</i>	<i>Width of its foundation walls</i>
Castle Area IV	11.50 m	6.00 m	6.00×4.00 m	lime+sand, stone	1.25; 0.75 – 0.80 m
A. Tamás's garden	6.90 m	cca. 4.80 m	4.30×4.00 m	clay, stone, carved limestone	0.80 m
Boldâgă/ Boldogasz- szony Church 1	13.19 m	5.75 m	6.10×4.75 m	lime+sand, stone	1.00 m
Boldâgă/ Boldogasz- szony Church 2	17.70 m	?	13.00×8.00 m	lime+sand, stone	?
Boldâgă/ Boldogasz- szony Church 3	19.70 m	?	cca. 13.00×8.00 m	lime+sand, stone	1.25 m

Table 4 Dimensions and the foundations of the churches in Dăbâca  
4. táblázat A dobokai (r.: Dăbâca) templomok méretei és alapozásuk

<i>Site-grave number</i>	<i>The years when the king who issued the a coin reigned</i>	<i>Coin type (H<sup>42</sup>)</i>	<i>Weight</i>	<i>Skeleton</i>	<i>Position in the grave</i>
Dăbâca-Area IV Grave 1	?	?		Infans I (?)	Next to the left of the skull
- Grave 34	?	?	–	adultus-maturus	on or in the skull
-Grave 39 (Fig. 21, 3)	Anonym denarius	H91	0.402 gr.	juvenilis	in the mouth
-Grave 53	?	?	–	adultus-maturus	on mandible
-Grave 79 (Fig. 21, 2)	Coloman the Book-lover (1095–1116)	H41	0.248 gr.	adultus-maturus	in the mouth
-Grave 145 (Fig. 21, 4)	Anonym denar	H101	0.262 gr.	?	the skull
-Grave 188	Béla III. (1172–1196)	H183	–	Infans II	in the mouth
-Grave 190	?	?	–	juvenilis	in the mouth
-Grave 391 (Fig. 21, 1)	Coloman the Book-lover (1095–1116)	H42a	0.100 gr.	adultus-maturus	behind the destroyed skull
-Grave 483	Anonym denarius	?	–	Infans ?	in the mouth
Dăbâca-A. Tămaș' garden-Grave 2	Anonym denarius	?	?	maturus	on the right part of the chest
- Grave 12A (Fig. 20, 1)	Anonym denarius	H100	0.298 gr.	infans	near the skull
- Grave 15 (Fig. 20, 2)	Anonym denarius	H102	0.269 gr.	?	near the skull
- Grave 26B (Fig. 20, 3)	Anonym denarius	H96a	0.155 gr.	?	in the place of the skull
Dăbâca-Boldăgă Grave 6 (Fig. 20, 4)	Anonym denarius	?	–	?	in the mouth
- Grave 57	Anonym denarius	?	–		in the mouth

Table 5 Oboli in the graves of Dăbâca and their positions  
5. táblázat Érmék obulus szerepben a dobokai sírokban

<i>Obolus</i>		<i>Settlement/Cultural layer</i>		<i>Stray find</i>	
<i>Site-grave number</i>	<i>King/Coin type (H<sup>43</sup>)</i>	<i>Site</i>	<i>King/Coin type (H<sup>44</sup>)</i>	<i>Site</i>	<i>King/Coin type (H<sup>45</sup>)</i>
1. Dăbâca-Castle Area IV Grave 1	–	I. Dăbâca-out of castle	H1, H2	A. Cluj-Napoca-Mănăstur-George II Rákóczi's bust	H1

- Grave 34	–	II/a. Dăbâca-Castle Area II	<i>H6</i>	B. Cluj-Napoca-Veterinary University (Fig. 21, 1)	<i>H73</i>
-Grave 39	<i>H91</i>	II/b. Dăbâca-Castle Area II	<i>H31</i>		
-Grave 53	–	II/c. Dăbâca-Castle Area III	<i>H9</i>		
-Grave 79	<i>H41</i>	III. Dăbâca-A. Tămaș's garden ("Treasure") (Fig. 20, 1–8)	<i>H26 (1), H28 (6), H30 (1), ? (1)</i>		
-Grave 145	<i>H101</i>	IV. Dăbâca-A. Tămaș's garden pit house/1980 (Fig. 20, 1)	<i>H82</i>		
-Grave 188	<i>H183</i>	V. Cluj-Napoca-Mănăstur-(pit house)	<i>H17</i>		
-Grave 190	–	VI. Cluj-Napoca-Sora shopping centre	<i>Solomon (1063–1074)</i>		
-Grave 391	<i>H42a</i>	VII. Cluj-Napoca-Deleu street (Fig. 21, 3)	<i>H101</i>		
-Grave 483	?	VIII. Chinteni-Pallag	Ladislaus I (1077–1095)		
2. Dăbâca-A. Tămaș' garden-Grave 2	–				
- Grave 12A	<i>H100</i>				
- Grave 15	<i>H102</i>				
- Grave 26B	<i>H96a</i>				
3. Dăbâca-Boldâgă Grave 6	Anonym denar (A.d.)				
- Grave 57	Anonym denar (A.d.)				
4. Cluj-Napoca-Mănăstur Grave 1	<i>H49</i>				
- Grave 10	<i>H22</i>				
- Grave 32	<i>H24</i>				
- Grave 41	<i>H25</i>				
- Grave 64	<i>H189</i>				
- Grave 75	<i>H22</i>				
- Grave 112	–				

- Grave 124	H22				
- Grave 130	H9				
5. Cluj-Napoca-Piața Centrală Grave B/1948	Unidentified coin (u.c.)				
6. Chidea-unknown number of grave	Béla II (1131–1141) Anonym denar (A.d.)				
-unknown number of grave	Ladislaus II (1162–1163) Anonym denar (A.d.)				
7. Gilău Grave 5 (Fig. 21, 2)	H73				

Table 6 Coins from the 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> centuries from the Someșul Mic Valley  
6. táblázat 11–12. századi érmék a Kis-Szamos völgyében

### Notes

- Dăbâca's original name in the medieval sources is *Dobuka* (1068), *Dobka* (1265), *Dobokawarfolva* (1279), *Dubucha* (1306), *oppidum Doboka* (1513), *Doboka* (1545), *Dobuka*, *Doboka*. TAGÁNYI et al. 1900, 319. In contemporary Hungarian *Doboka*, in German *Dobeschdorf*. However, in the study I will use its present day name, Dăbâca.
- It was first mentioned in an archeological-topographic context as the ruins of a castle: KÖNYÖKI 1906, 292.
- According to the *RAJ* Catalogue, the only archaeological find from the *Lonea valley* is a fragment of a ceramic kettle found at Cubleşu Someșani (Hungarian: Magyarköblös). Apart from this, not a single archaeological site is known from the 7–12/13<sup>th</sup> centuries except from Dăbâca. RAJC 1992, 172.
- Anonymus: *Sunad f. Dobucaneposregis*. SRH 1999, I. 50; GYÖRFFY 1975, 112. For the dating of Anonymus' works subsequent to the age of Béla III, see: MADGEARU 2009, 177–182.
- On the Hungarian conquerors dignity names, see GYÖRFFY 1959; LIGETI 1979, 259–273; MORAVCSIK 1984, 32–33; KRISTÓ 1993; SZABADOS 2011, 173–190.
- Crettier cites six more *Doboka* place names in the Carpathian Basin. CRETTIER 1943, 197.
- PASCU et al. 1968, 153. However the slavic origin of the Dăbâca settlement name found by MADGEARU 2005, 119 also in county Bacău, *Doboca* (*Doboca*: IORDAN 1963, 106), it is questionable, because it occurred in a settlements territory populated by Hungarian *csango*'s, respectively only its Hungarian sound form was found (*Doboka*).
- "..Those points, which were suitable for defense in the prehistoric age, retained this property also in the historical era. That is why, that on many prehistoric, fortified places there were built more advanced Castles in the Midle Age". Roska w.y. (preface). Quoted: CRETTIER 1943, 201.
- Mihail Rolleris regarded as a cosmopolitan, Muscovite communist intellectual and academician with great hostility in present-day Romania. RUSU 2010, 906.
- Eduard Robert Rösler was an Austrian historian. His name we can associated to the vlach (in our day day is associated exclusively to Romanians, as macrogroup) migration theory: RÖSLER 1871.
- The question regarding the proportion of Hungarians and other nationalities, is yet to be determined.
- "We have here two kinds of people, one socially coherent, with all the attributes of human excellence, the other unstable, with no true essence and, therefore,

- nu future. To this image the Romanian archaeological research has made an important contribution by setting as a paramount research goal the separation of the finds indicating the local population from those of “migrators” in order to distinguish our past from theirs, to reveal stages of social and economic development (...), assuming that ethnic identity precedes and informs social reality...” NICULESCU 2002, 216.
- 13 One sentence of the article of 1968 also refers to this: “*Și de data aceasta, ca și totdeauna când este vorba de o cercetare de seamă, acad. C. Daicoviciu, directorul instituțiilor de cercetare și muzeale din Cluj, a fost mobilizatorul, sfătuitorul și îndrumătorul atent și priceput de fiecare zi a cercetărilor de la Dăbâca...*” (“In this case too as always when it came down to a significant research, acad. C. Daicoviciu as the head of museum and the research institutions of Cluj was the main supervisor and councillor for each and every day of the excavations from Dăbâca”). PASCU et al. 1968, 153.
  - 14 One of the main episodes of the conflict was marked by Constantin Daicoviciu’s paper in which the author rejects the prospect of Daco-Roman continuity in the area outside of the Carpathian Arch, arguing that romanisation is unachievable in regions without Roman rule. According to the same author the so-called “Dridu culture” south of the Carpathian Arch cannot be described as “Romanian”. DAICOVICIU 1971, 187–195.
  - 15 BÓNA 1998, 20. According to Al. Madgearu’s argument as well, the fact that *Anonymus* does not mention Dăbâca (*Doboka* or *Dobuka*), means that no important battle ever took place there, see: MADGEARU 2005, 113.
  - 16 BÓNA 1970, footnote no. 315. Bóna’s comments were almost entirely ignored in the Romanian archaeological literature, being cited only in the works of Radu Popa and Alexandru Madgearu: POPA 1991, 168, note 51; MADGEARU 2005, 114, note 6.
  - 17 The following publications are essential to understand the question: BOIA 1999, 144–149; BOIA 2013, 71–74; NICULESCU 2002, 213–221; NICULESCU 2007, 127–159.
  - 18 It is also widely known that Ștefan Pascu played a prominent political role, being a member of the Central Comity of the Romanian Communist Party: *Academia Română: Membrii Academiei din 1866 până în prezent* (21.04.2016).
  - 19 Concerning the psychology of the Romanian society, Lucian Boia’s description is highly revealing: “*Méreteiben és hatékonyságában a hazugság megdöböntő volt*” (“The quantity and the efficiency of the lies were astonishing” translation of the author). BOIA 2013, 86.
  - 20 Concerning the relationship of Romanian national-communism and archaeology, see: BOIA 1999, 144–149.
  - 21 The work of Radu Popa still reflects to a great extent the outdated attitude according to which there is a strict concordance between large communities (ethnic groups) and a specific material culture (this attitude was criticized for example by Sebastian Brather. BRATHER 2002, 152–156). This is also illustrated by his use of later ethnic denominations which he projects back to the studied period. It also seems that the author does not take into consideration the fact that societies in every age are subject to processes of acculturation, assimilation and integration, different influences triggered by different mechanisms that impacted the individuals of each society. Furthermore Popa’s theory (published elsewhere too) that, the ‘*Români*’ (‘Romanians’) fled from the *Ungurii* (“Hungarians”) to different regions of the Carpathian Basin during the 10–12<sup>th</sup> centuries cannot be sustained. This hypothesis is dismissed by the great number of Slavic toponyms of the inner Transylvanian basin in contrast with the lack of Romanian toponyms, for which the aforementioned author did not put forward any explanations. POPA 1991, 170; SCHRAMM 1997, 31–47; KRISTÓ 2002, 190–201.
  - 22 Radu Popa’s situation is similar, a native of Sighișoara (German: Schäßburg, Hungarian: Segesvár), he was acquainted well with both German and Hungarian.
  - 23 From a technical point of view Curta’s map is surprisingly incomplete considering that less than 10% of the sites are illustrated, not to mention the fact that the castles, cemeteries and stray finds are illustrated in an undifferentiated manner, thus causing confusion. Furthermore, the question remains why were the *Partium* region and the *Banat* included under the label “*Transylvania*”? Moreover Curta’s use of the present-day political borders tends to reflect current political situations and not those from around the year 1000 AD. See CURTA 2001, 143: map.
  - 24 “Bóna claimed that no 9<sup>th</sup> and very few 10<sup>th</sup> century artifacts were found on the site. He also accused Romanian archaeologists of hiding the evidence that did not match their interpretation of Dăbâca as Gelou’s capital city. In fact, the evidence published so far, albeit poorly, does contain evidence of a 9<sup>th</sup> century occupation of the site” (CURTA 2001, 148).
  - 25 The generation subsequent to 1968, as correctly noted by Țiplic, is essentially an exponent of 19<sup>th</sup> century nationalism and nation-building. ȚIPLIC 2007, 24. In my view however, the influence of 19<sup>th</sup> century nationalism does not account for the essential faults in the research such as the lack of the excavation documentation and the gross manipulation of the chronology, especially by pushing back the dating of the site. As noted above, the valid answer for this situation was already given by Radu Popa. On the na-

- tionalism, see GELLNER 1983; ANDERSON 1991.
- 26 “*Apariția fortificațiilor în Transilvania se identifică cu momentul nașterii natio ultrasilvanum, ele reprezentând un element prin care spațiul transilvan s-a deosebit esențial de spațiul panonic*” (“The emergence of fortifications in Transylvania concurs with the birth of the *natio ultrasilvanum*, as an element which essentially distinguished the Transylvanian region from the Pannonian one”) (translation of the author). ȚIPLIC 2007, 26. Based on a thorough research of the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries, it can be asserted that the funerary aspects which characterize Northern Transylvania are radically different from those of Southern Transylvania, the former is related with the Upper Tisza region, while the latter displays a clear connection with the Great Plain region. GÁLL 2013a, Vol. I., 587–845, 869–925.
- 27 “*Orisipă incontestabilă de eforturi financiare și umane pentru o așa penibilă realizare!*” (“Undoubtedly a great dissipation of financial and human resources for such a pathetic result”) (translation of the author). ȚIPLIC 2007, 99.
- 28 The titles of the chapters of the synthesis excellently indicate this attitude: “*Raporturile populației autohtone, cu migratorii*” (“The relation of the autochthon people with migrators”), “*Populațiile migratoare pe teritoriul Daciei*” (“Migrator peoples on the territory of Dacia”). This is reflected by the bibliography too, which is divided into an “*autochthon*” and a “*migratory*” part. I. R. 2010, 667, 712, 787, 873–884, 884–896.
- 29 RĂDVAN 2010, 81. In assertions such as the following: “[...] *Urban centres in Transylvania are of particular interest to us because of the close economic and political links they had with towns in Wallachia and Moldavia.*” Unfortunately the author does not specify exactly what he means.
- 30 Certainly all this was done at a theoretical level, as they could not carry out field research or new excavations.
- 31 PASCU et al. 1968, 169. Recently Dan Băcucț Crișan published a whole article on this house, but apart from the two-line long description, he did not provide any other documentation. His dating is the same as that of the excavators. BĂCUCȚ-CRIȘAN 2014, 173–182.
- 32 Unfortunately, after the restoration such ornamentation cannot be seen on them.
- 33 On wooden churches and their mentioning in written records see: NÉMETH 2002, 84–91.
- 34 We have made use of Ștefan Matei’s manuscript to describe the church. MATEI w.y, 6.
- 35 Here, I also refer the theory of Tamás Emödi architect and Antal Lukács, archaeologist. Hereby, I would like to express my gratitude to them.
- 36 On the summary of the research of churchyard cemeteries in the Carpathian Basin, see for example RITÓÓK 2010, 473–494; VARGHA 2015. On the analysis of the churchyard cemeteries in the Transylvanian Basin, see GÁLL 2013e, 135–250.
- 37 TAKÁCS 1986.
- 38 Part of the house was levelled when the wall of Castle Area 3 was built.
- 39 It cut the pit house.
- 40 The bigger part of the oven was destroyed when the shrine of Church was built.
- 41 MNIT. Inv. no. 16572–165718.
- 42 After L. Huszár’s system. Huszár 1979.
- 43 After L. Huszár’s system. Huszár 1979.
- 44 After L. Huszár’s system. Huszár 1979.
- 45 After L. Huszár’s system. Huszár 1979.

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RÉGÉSZET ÉS NACIONALIZMUS, AVAGY DOBOKA ÖRÖK OSTROMA  
(R.: DĂBĂCA, G.: DOBESCHDORF).  
GONDOLATOK A KUTATÁS ALAKULÁSÁRÓL ÉS A RÉGÉSZETI REALITÁSOKRÓL

*Összefoglalás*

A Kis-Szamos vízgyűjtő medencéjéhez tartozó Kendilóna patak szűk völgyében található Doboka falu. A két domb közé szorított keskeny völgyben futó mellett, körülbelül a mai falu közepétől éles kanyart által bezárt területen feküdt az egykori várkomplexum. A vár alakja lekerekített csúcsú, hegyesszögű körcikkhez hasonlítható, amely É–ÉK felé mutat. Két oldala 25–45°-os lejtőt képez, kitűnően védhető. A kora középkori várkomplexum mellett számos települést hoztak létre és itt építettek számos templomot a kora középkorban. A vár és a mai falu nevét a jelenlegi magyar történetírás elsősorban a *Dobuka* névből, míg a román történetírás a régebbi magyar teória átvételével egy ó-szláv, *dhluboku*, *dhluboka*, szóból származtatja.

Doboka várával kapcsolatos tudományos elméletek egészen a 19. századig vezethetők vissza. Az akkor még *dák* várként számításba vett erődítményt (Hodor Károly) később már a Magyar Királyság váraként értékelték, illetve Szent István nevéhez kapcsolták (Köváry László, Könyöki József, Pauler Gyula, Hóman Bálint).

A vár első időrendjét – az első, kisméretű ásatás eredményeképpen – Crettier Károly vázolta. Roska Márton hatására az akkori korszak axiomatikus kezeltési módját követte, amelynek eredményeképpen

három fázist vázolt fel: 1. őskori földvár, 2. Árpád-kori „gátvár” vagy cserépvár (11–14. század), 3. kőfallal kerített vár (15–17. század elejéig).

A nagyobb méretű kutatás 1964-ben vette kezdetét, amikor elkezdődtek a tervásatások. Három ásatási idény után Doboka várkomplexumából származó régészeti leletanyagot értékelték.

1968-ban megjelent többszerzős cikk adta közre. Alapgondolata egyértelműen tudománypolitikai volt: a vár működésének kezdetei a 9. századra nyúlnak vissza, amit kapcsolatba kellett hozni az Anonymusnál szereplő *Gelou* „*quidam Blacus*” vezér központjával. Doboka vára, mint a „pre-feudális” román államiság bizonyítéka, tökéletesen megfelelt a nacionalista politikai rezsimek elvárásainak. Pedig az ásatás dokumentációja ilyen következtetéseket egyáltalán nem engedett volna meg, ugyanis az ásatás igen rosszul dokumentált (sokszor majdnem használhatatlan rajzokkal).

Annak ellenére, hogy viszonylag hamar született tudományosreakció Bóna István tollából, az 1968–1990 közötti román régész- és történészgeneráció lehorgonyozott e történeti interpretáció mellett, de fontos hangsúlyozni: talán nem is tehetett mást!

A Doboka-féle interpretáció alakulására 1990 után megváltozott politikai és kulturális kontextus-

ban két szakember munkái hatottak: közvetetten a mítoszromboló történész Lucian Boia '90-es években kifejtett munkássága, illetve közvetlenül a régész Radu Popa 1991-es dolgozata. Mindketten kemény bírálatot írtak a '70–80-as évekbeli romániai kutatói attitűdöt, illetve e kutatók sokszor kétes tudományos következtetéseit.

Adrian Andrei Rusu 1999-es cikkében, illetve a 2005-ös monográfiájában tökéletesen integrálja Erdély kapcsán az Árpád kori várkutatás európai és Kárpát-medencei eredményeit. Rusu kifejti, hogy Doboka vára – más erdélyi várakkal együtt – a Magyar Királyság politikai és katonai szervezetének fontos, kora Árpád kori erődítménye volt.

Elemzéseivel párhuzamosan, illetve utána gyakorlatilag csak olyan elemzések jelentek meg, amelyek megvédték Ștefan Pascu és csapata kérdéses eredményeit (Dan Băcucț Crișan, Florin Curta, Petru Iambor, Alexandru Madgearu, Laurențiu Rădvan, Ioan Marian Țiplic), sőt mi több – angol és román nyelven egyaránt – frontális támadást indítottak az addigra elhunyt Bóna István ellen (Florin Curta), egyenesen hazugsággal vádolva a magyar régészt. Az akkor és egészen napjainkig a felemás modernizációval és ún. „Nyugat” értékrendjének másolásával (hogyan Hankiss Elemért parafrázáljuk) küszködő, magyarországi és erdélyi magyar régészet sajnos mindebből semmit nem vett észre. Magyar részről – Bóna István hiányában – reakció nem született a mai napig sem.

A Doboka eredeztetésének kérdéses kiemelésénél fontos időrend tekintetében a stratigráfiai dokumentáció és a leírások alapján a következőket szögezhetjük le: 1. Az I. szakaszban fölépített cölöpfalás vár működött az I. vártérségben. Ennek keltezésére az eddigi tanulmányok minden egyes szerzője az ott talált granulációs csüngőket hozta fel bizonyítékként. Csakhogy ezek 10–11. századiak (Bóna István, Kurt Horedt) és stratigráfiai kapcsolatuk az I. vártérség paliszádjával nem bizonyított. Furcsa, hogy a vár belsőben, az ún. örúton („*rond de piatră*”) csak a „tűzhelyek” kellene bizonyítsák a vár égési rétegét, vagyis a várat nem égették fel, mint ahogyan a tanulmány szerzői állítják. A cölöpfalás várnak nincsen 2. fázisa, mint ahogyan elterjedt a szakirodalomban.

2. Az I. vártérségben a cölöpfalú erődítményt, a leírás és részlegesen a stratigráfiai illusztráció szerint (Pl. II), egyértelműen egy kisméretű kazettaszerkezetes fal váltja. Keltezése – a 11. század kö-

zepe tájára, a cölöpfalás paliszád után – egyáltalán nem kérdéses. A déli falait akkor szüntetik meg, mikor az I. vártérséget a II. vártérséggel egyesítik egy kazettaszerkezetes várba.

3. A II. vártérségben felépített cölöpfalú paliszád hasonlóképpen körülbelül e korszakra keltezhető, habár nem zárható ki későbbi datálása. A tanulmány szerzői szerint rétegtani szempontból későbbi, azonban sajnos a Pl. II-n mindezt nem lehet követni. A járósínten – ha biztosan volt dokumentálva – egy H6-os Orseolo Péter érme a vár működését biztosan a 11. század közepére keltezi.

4. A 12. század elejéig egyesítették az I., illetve a II. vártérséget, egy nagyobb, de ugyancsak kazettaszerkezetes várban. Ennek kezdeti ideje kérdéses, ugyanis a szerzők szerint csak ennek II. alfázisát keltezték (H31 Könyves Kálmán érmével), vagyis a kazettaszerkezetes vár már állt azelőtt.

5. Legalább ennyire kérdéses a kővár építésének is az ideje, amelyet későbbre, a 13. századra kelteztek. Építésének pontos idejét nem állapíthatták meg a szerzők, éppen ezért maga ez a kérdés is újabb, mindenképpen régészeti kutatásokat igényel.

Doboka várkomplexum elemzésével kapcsolatban az egyik komoly gondot az okozta, hogy az ásató régészek a településrészleteket mindenféleképpen a várkomplexummal párhuzamosan próbálták keltezni, éppen ezért egyáltalán nem figyeltek más aspektusokra. A vár területén eddig a 8/9–14. századra keltezhetően azonosítottak különböző településstruktúrákat, azonban mindez soha nem került komoly feldolgozásra.

A várkomplexum délkeleti oldalán, illetve a Váralján három helyen templomot, illetve ezek köré alapított temetőrészleteket párhuzamosan kutatták (IV. vártérség temploma és temetője, Alexandru Tămaș kertjében feltárt templom és temető, Boldogasszony/Boldâgă temploma és temetője). Ezen kívül a vártól délre feltártak még egy hamvasztásos temetőt (Braniște). Ahogyan a településrészleteket, úgy a templomokat (az építésük első fázisába vagy elképzelt első fázisába) is mindenképpen a 9. századra próbálták keltezni. A dobokai temetőka szakirodalomban „*templom körüli temetőnek*” nevezett jelenség körébe sorolhatóak. Elterjedésük az Erdélyi-medencében a legégyértelműbb régészeti „jele” a magyar királyság által intézményesített nyugati kereszténység

elterjedésének. Mindhárom dobokai templom körüli temető a 12. századra keltezhető elsősorban az érmek alapján (ld. a 8–9. kép), az A. Tămaş kertjében és Boldogasszony temetőiben azonban későbbi temetkezéseket is regisztráltak (14–15, 16–17. század).

A régészeti és a numizmatikai leletanyag alapján a 11. század első harmadában/után épült vár, illetve e területén létrejött településszerkezet fejlődésének csúcspontja a 12. század. Ezt a IV. vártérség, illetve az A. Tămaş kertjében és a Boldogasszony temetőjének sírjainak nagy száma, illetve az innen előkerült pénzérmék nagyon pontosan kirajzolják. A várközpont, mint politikai-katonai és adminisztrációs centrum átalakulásának kora a 13. századhoz köthető. Személyesen a dobokai központ hanyatlását nem feltétlenül kötnénk a tatárjáráshoz, ennek más, adminisztrációs

és gazdasági okai (is) lehettek. Mint munkahipotézis tesszük fel, hogy központi jelentőségének elvesztése nincsen-e kapcsolatban a vármegye településszerkezetének kelet felé való kiterjedésével, a vármegye területe ugyanis a 12/13. században állandósult. Ezt az észrevételünket az a tény is támogatni látszik, hogy a három temetőrészből *egyetlen* 13. századi érmét sem ismerünk, az utolsó III. Béla (1172–1196) nevéhez kapcsolható, azonban ismeretlen a településről származó 13. századi pénzek is! Az eddig feltárt települések zöme is 11–12. századi. Természetesen nem szeretnénk ezeket az adatokat abszolút értékűnek tekinteni, azonban a numizmatikai leletek 13. századi hiátusa (nemcsak a temetkezésekben) a jövőben mindenképpen magyarázatot kíván. Ezt a hipotézist azonban csak kiterjedt és sokrétű, interdiszciplináris kutatások igazolhatják vagy cáfolhatják.

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APPENDIX

János Gyöngyössi

HYPOTHETICAL RECONSTRUCTION PROPOSAL ON THE CONSTRUCTION PHASES  
OF THE CASTLE

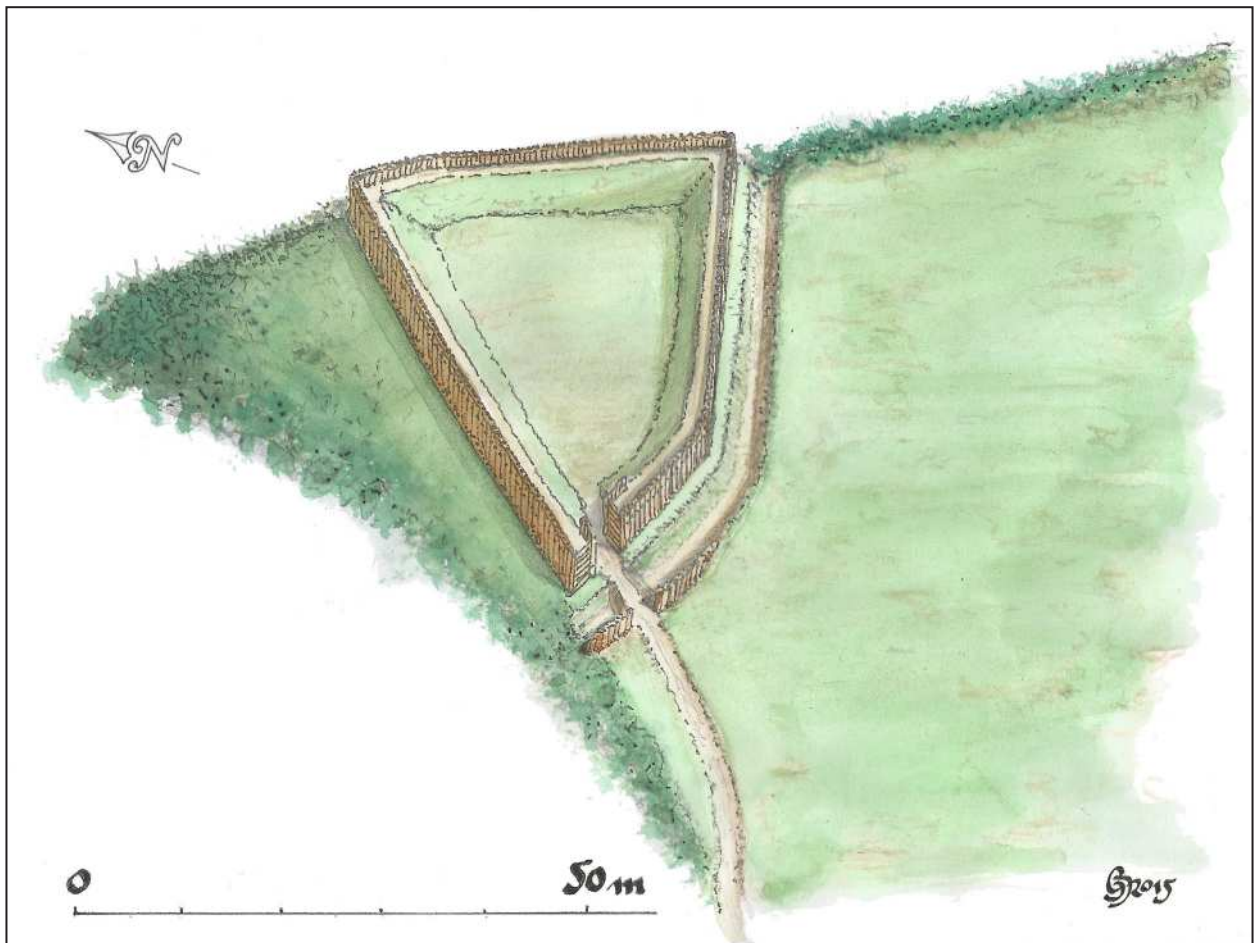


Fig. 1 Castle Area I (palisade walls)

1. kép I. vartérség (paliszádfal)

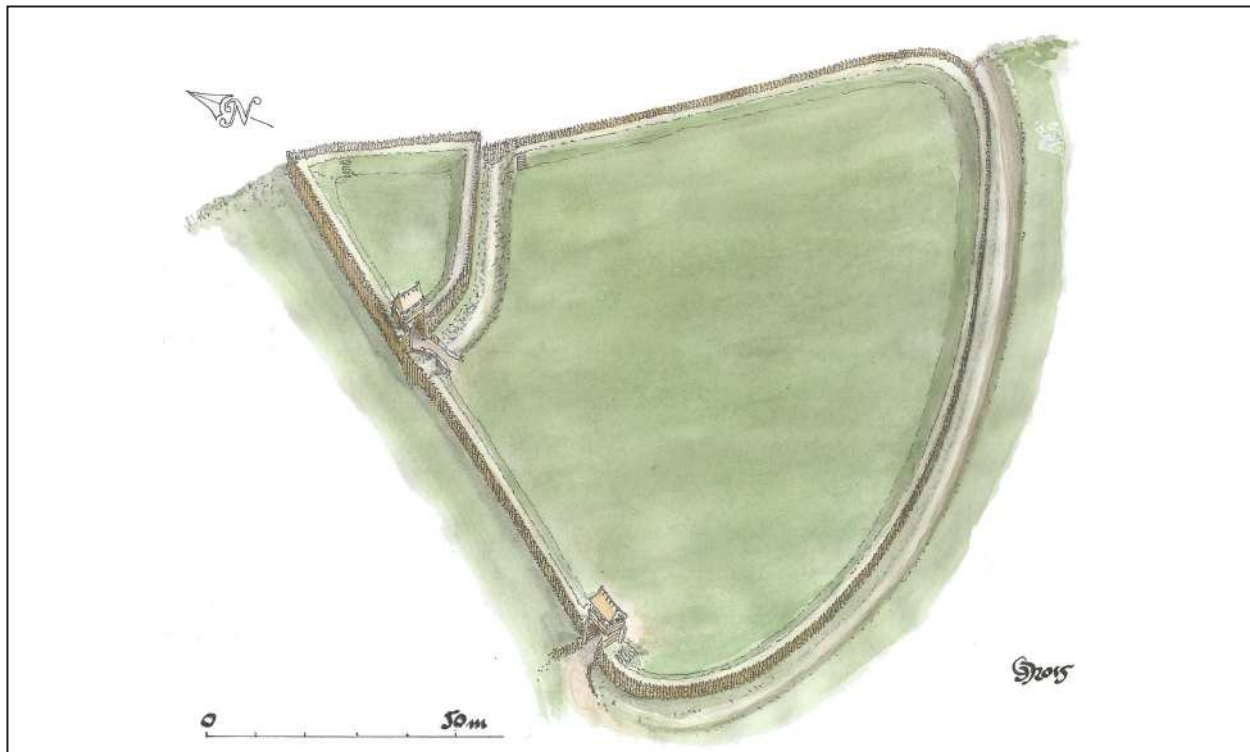


Fig. 2 Castle Area I and II (palisade walls)  
2. kép I. és II. vartérség (paliszádfal)

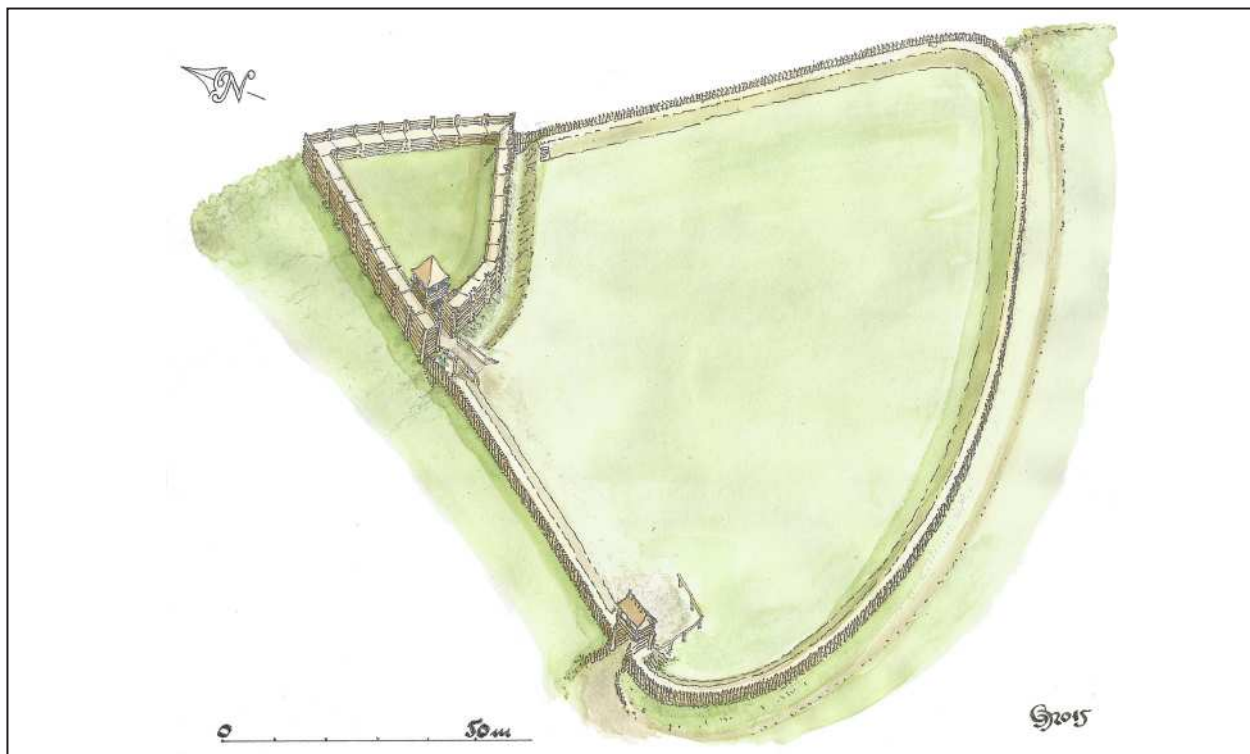


Fig. 3 Castle Area I (earthwork with case-construction)  
3. kép I. vartérség (kazettás szerkezetű földsánc)

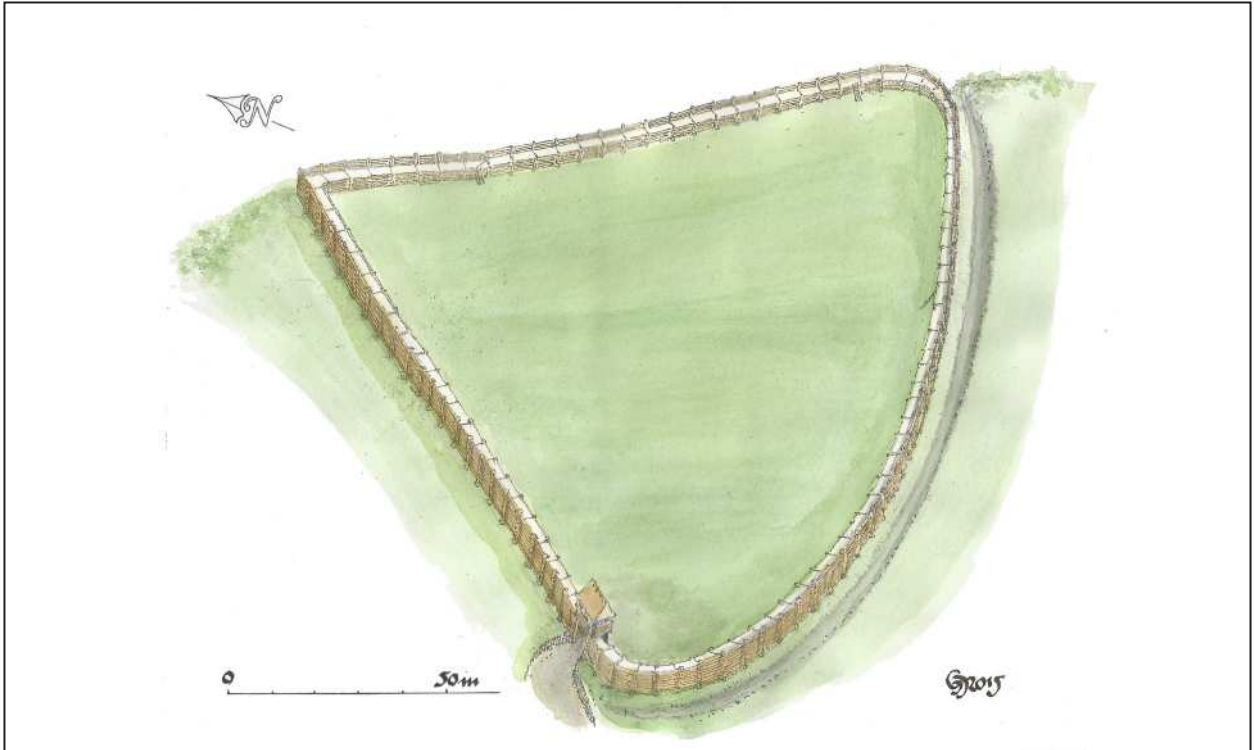


Fig. 4 Castle Area I-II (the unified castle with case-construction)  
4. kép I-II. vártérség (az egyesített, kazettás szerkezetű sánc);

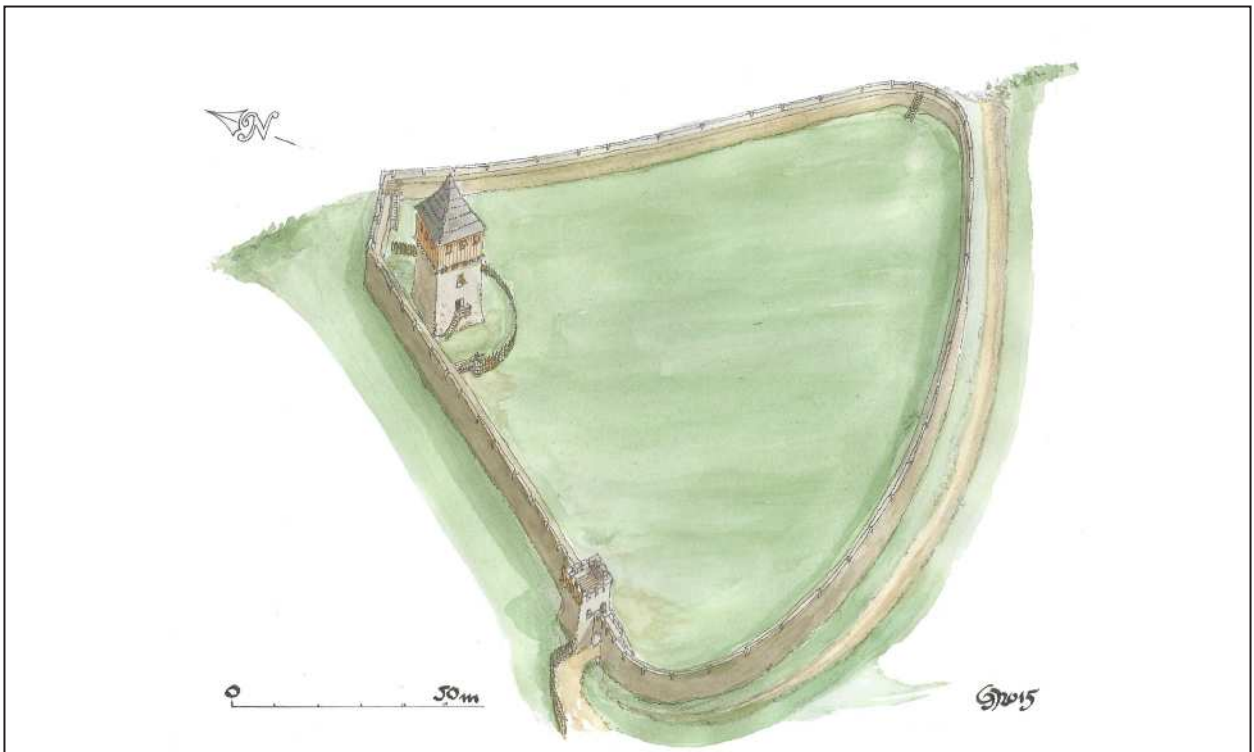


Fig. 5 Castle Area I-II (the stone fortress with donjon)  
5. kép I-II. vártérség (kőerőd donjonnal)

