https://doi.org/10.2298/STA2171021G
UDC: 903/904"634/653"(498.5) Original research article

HASKEL J. GREENFIELD, University of Manitoba and St. Paul's College,
Department of Anthropology and Judaic Studies Program, Winnipeg
ALEKSANDAR KAPURAN, Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade

SIZE DOESN'T MATTER: FOENI-SĂLAŞ, A SMALL MULTI-PERIOD SETTLEMENT IN THE ROMANIAN BANAT

e-mail: Haskel.Greenfield@umanitoba.ca

Abstract. – Systematic archaeological excavations at the multicultural site of Foeni-Sălaş in the Romanian Banat conducted during the first half of the 1990s uncovered evidence that the site was inhabited during the Early Neolithic, Copper, Bronze, Early Iron, Late Antique and Medieval Ages. This paper summarises the cultural history of the settlement at the site and describes the relevant deposits and material culture in each period.

Key words. – Early Neolithic, Eneolithic, Bronze Age, Early Iron Age, Romano-Dacian, Medieval

In 1992, as the embargo on the former Yugoslavia was imposed, the joint excavations at Blagotin by Dr. Svetozar Stanković and Haskel Greenfield were interrupted (even though we continued to work as private individuals with the Blagotin team through 1992–95). As a consequence, Greenfield was forced to work outside of the country. He was very fortunate to be able to find an archaeological site across the border in Romania, due to the good graces of Florin Draşovean and Horea Ciugudean, that was comparable in size (small), shape (round), and time period (Early Neolithic) to Blagotin. By moving to Romania, he was able to test the model that he and Stanković developed, based on the results of the Blagotin excavations, that Early Neolithic settlements were spatially organised as a series of pit houses around a larger, more central one. The results of the two excavations have largely been supported and changed the way in which the organisation of settlements in Early Neolithic society are viewed.[1]

As discovered during the excavations at Blagotin, Early Neolithic settlements are best understood when investigated with large horizontal excavations. One has to focus on excavating the areas between pit houses (not only on the pit houses) in order to recover the larger pattern of settlement at the site, even within a single period. Since most stratigraphy at such sites is laterally displaced over time, there tends to be little build-up of superimposed strata. As a result, the site of Foeni-Sălaş was extensively investigated within a spatial framework. It is a relatively small and shallow site with no evidence of lateral displacement of stratigraphy within each period.

The site of Foeni-Sălaş in southwest Romania, almost on the border of Serbia, is best known for its Early Neolithic occupation, which has been reported upon elsewhere.[2] It was originally thought that the occupational sequence at Foeni-Sălaş largely consisted of an Early Neolithic settlement. However, during surface collections and excavations, evidence for various other settlement phases was uncovered, albeit of a more ephemeral nature. These are presented here. In this paper, we present for the first time the entire culture historical sequence at the site. First, the location and environment surrounding the site of Foeni-Sălaş are described. Second,

[1] Greenfield 2000; Greenfield, Jongsma-Greenfield 2014; 2018; Greenfield, Jongsma 2006.

[2] Greenfield, Draşovean 1994; Greenfield, Jongsma 2008; Greenfield, Lawson 2020.

Manuscript received 9th February 2021, accepted 3rd September 2021

Fig. 1. Banat region and geographic location of the Foeni Sălaş site

Сл. 1. Области Баната са позицијом локалитета Фоени Салаш

the history of research, and methods and techniques of excavations are presented. Third, each period and the associated deposits (loci and pits) are described. Fourth, some of the more important artefacts are presented and described. Finally, the significance of investigating small sites such as Foeni-Sălaş in the larger region is discussed.

Site location and environment

The archaeological site of Sălaş is located in the Romanian Banat, approximately 2.4 km north of the centre of the modern village of Foeni (hence, the name Foeni-Sălaş) and the Romanian border with Serbia (20°51′32.05″ long. east, 45°31′13.76″ lat. north, and 80 m ASL) (Fig. 1). It is southwest (45 km) of the capital of the county, Timişoara.

The site is located in the Torontal Plain, which is a broad alluvial plain between the Timiş and Bega Rivers. It is situated on the right bank of the Timişat stream, which is a tributary of the Timiş (Fig. 2). Surrounding the site are low lying wetlands and old stream meanders and channels. The Timişat has been straightened and channelled and lies roughly to the east of the site. It used to bend around the southern edge of the site. Mostly sandy, loamy, clay soils heavily affected by the fluctuating water table are superimposed over Pleistocene loess across the plain surrounding the site. The culturally sterile loess underlies all cultural deposits at the site. With the draining of the wetlands in the 19th century, the area was transformed into a region dominated by modern agricultural activities, which ultimately impacted preservation at the site.[3] There is little to none of the indigenous vegetation preserved surrounding the site.

[3] Greenfield, Draşovean 1994, 47.

Fig. 2. Google earth ortogonal photo of the location of Foeni Sălaş site (red arrow)

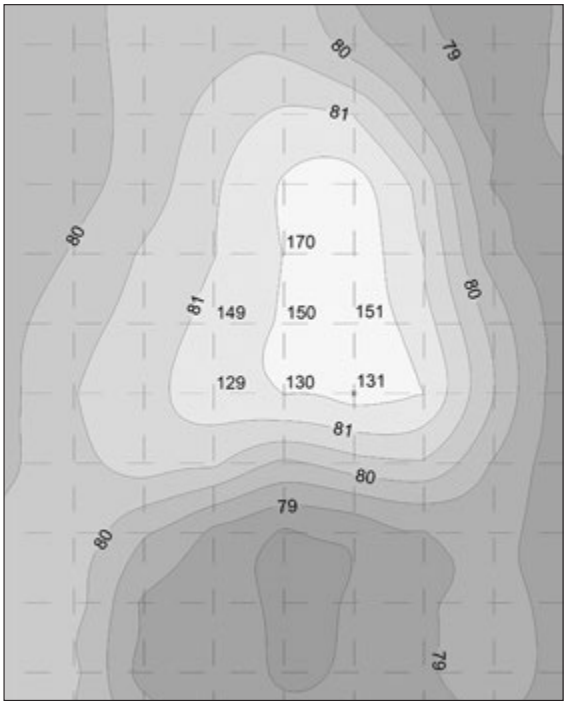
Сл. 2. Google earth ортоїонална фошоїрафија са йозицијом локалишеша Фоени Салаш (црвена сшрелица)

Modern agriculture has also transformed the site in recent years. Not only was the site continually under cultivation throughout the 20th century,[4] deep ploughing (30–50 cm) by the Romanian State occurred in the 1970s that mixed most of the upper strata at the site, creating a thick plough zone (30 cm). Based on plough marks found to a depth of 50 cm, it is clear that the deep ploughing affected some parts of the site to a great depth.[5] It is also clear that the elevation of the site was higher before the modern era of ploughing sheared off the topmost occupational deposits.

The site can be characterised as a roughly circular, low-lying (tell-like) mound that is visible even in satellite photos (Figs. 2, 3). The accumulation of superimposed strata is a depositional pattern reminiscent of the many larger tell sites in the region.[6] The mound is slightly elevated above the level of the rest of the plain since it is on a low natural hill that rises above the surrounding plain. The mound gently slopes down to the plain to the north and west, while more rapidly into the Timişat stream channel that borders it to the east. At one point in the past, the stream bent around the southern edge of the site. While the site is relatively flat, there is a slight dip between the north-eastern and south-western parts of the site. The occupational area on the rise covers an area c. 2,000 m².

The modern climate of the region can be characterised as warm continental with hot and wet summers and cold and drier winters. The winter is relatively warm (in comparison to points farther north) because the damp warm winds from the Mediterranean offset the cold and dry winds from the east and north.[7]

[4] Greenfield, Draşovean 1994, 46.
[5] Greenfield, Draşovean 1994.
[6] Hofmann *et al*. 2012; Schier, Draşovean 2004.
[7] Pounds 1969.



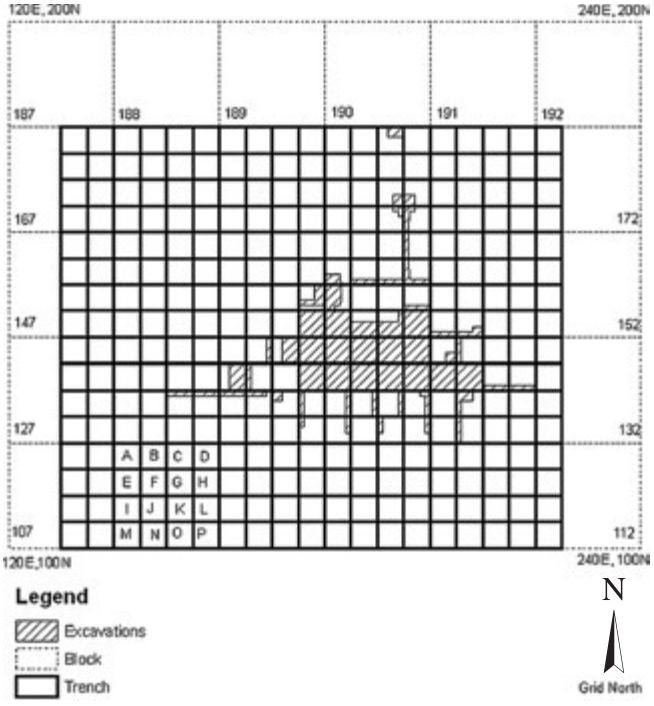


Fig. 3. Topographic map of Foeni Sălaş
Fig. 4. Quadratic grid system employed at Foeni Sălaş

Сл. 3. Тойоīрафска маīа локалиīеīа Фоени Салаш
Сл. 4. Квадараīна мрежа која се кориīила īриликом исīраживања локалиīеīа Фоени Салаш

History and nature of research

Florin Draşovean (Museum of the Banat) was the first to investigate the site when he noticed two concentrations of surface remains: 1) Metal Ages and 2) Early Neolithic Starčevo-Criş.[8] It was on his recommendation that we embarked upon our research at the site. Haskel Greenfield, in collaboration with Florin Draşovean, directed the large-scale spatially-oriented excavation at the site from 1992–1994 to investigate the Starčevo-Criş settlement at the site. A consequence of this excavation was the discovery of many deposits from later periods. This report describes the entire sequence for the first time.

Prior to and during excavation, several techniques were used to discern the extent of settlement in each period. These included surface collection, coring/auguring, and geomagnetic surveys. Each of these allowed a glimpse into the nature and extent of the settlement history in general, but also individual deposits. For example, towards the completion of the excavation, coring identified the location of the final and unexcavated Early Neolithic pit house (Locus 50) at the site (Fig. 17).

The surveys and excavations ultimately allow us to demonstrate that Foeni-Sălaş is a multi-period site with occupations or uses that include Modern (19–20th cent. AD), Medieval (10–11th and 14–15th cent. AD), Late (Daco-) Roman (2–5th cent. AD), Early Iron Age (Hallstatt B and D), Middle Bronze Age (Verbicioara), Eneolithic (Cernavodă III – Baden and Kostolac), and Early Neolithic (Starčevo-Criş) deposits. All deposits, except for the Early Neolithic, were dated with respect to the local culture historical sequence.[9]

For provenance purposes, the site was divided into a nested quadratic block system (Fig. 4). The larger Block (e.g., 150) measured 20x20 m, within which were a series of 5x5 m Trenches (A-P), within which were 1x1 m Quads (1–25), starting at the north-western corner and moving from left to right. Each 1x1 m unit can be identified to an exact spatial coordinate (e.g., excavation unit 150C2 represents Block 150, Trench C, and Quad 2).

[8] Greenfield, Draşovean 1994, 48.
[9] Dumitrescu *et al.* 1983; Luca *et al*. 2011.

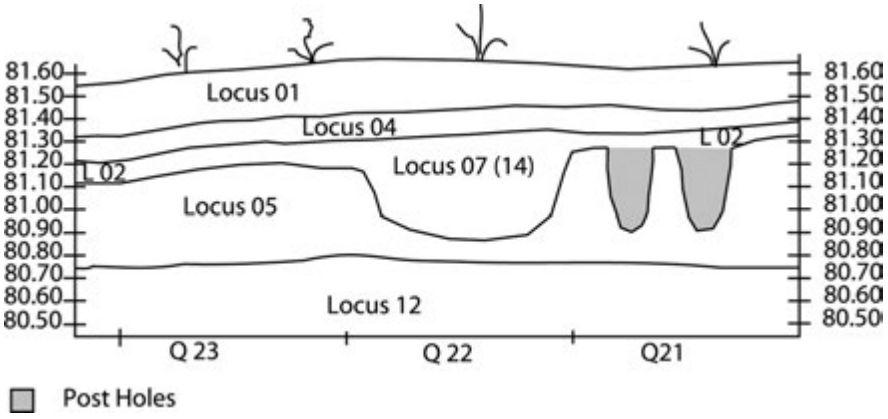


Fig. 5. Stratigraphic section of Loci 0, 1,2,4,5 and 12 in sequence at Foeni Sălaş

Сл. 5. Стратиграфија локуса 0, 1, 2, 4, 5 и 12 на делу локалитета Фоени Салаш

Each quad was excavated down to the sterile Pleistocene loess soil and, at times, deeper. The heavily disturbed plough zone was shovelled as 1x5 m units, as the cultural debris was mixed and the primary context lost. All artefacts were recovered and catalogued. Natural, undisturbed soils were excavated using shovels and trowels when finer work was required. Excavators followed the natural stratigraphy as much as possible, but used arbitrary levels when soil changes could not be discerned or where deposits became too thick. Artefacts were pedastaled *in situ* as much as possible and were collected only after being drawn and photographed (Fig. 25). Soils were dry sieved using a 0.5 cm² mesh (1992), but this was later replaced by a larger 1 cm² mesh (1993–1994) since the soil was very clayey and clogged the smaller mesh. Numerous soil samples were taken for water sieving and flotation, particularly when charcoal and ash deposits were noticed, but also when there were none, to ensure that there was little bias in deposit selection.

The term locus (pl. *loci*) is used here as a depositional unit with sedimentary and/or cultural/behavioural integrity. Each major deposit (e.g., pit, pit house, pansite stratum, etc.) is assigned a unique Locus number (e.g., Locus 1 is the plough zone). These may be subdivided if there are separate phases or episodes discernible in the deposit (Locus 7.1/upper; Locus 7.2/middle, Locus 7.3/basal deposits within Locus 7).

Site taphonomy

Two major sources of disturbance exist at the site, modern ploughing and rodents. All loci had evidence of extensive rodent activity, especially those with high organic content. Rodent disturbances were recorded and potentially intrusive artefacts that had drifted down into earlier deposits were removed from the analysis as much as possible.[10]

The second major disturbance was modern and ancient ploughing. As noted above, this mostly extended to 30 cm below the surface, but occasionally extended to 50 cm. It sheared off the top of the mound. The site continued to be under cultivation during the period of our research. These activities destroyed and/or disturbed much of the post-Neolithic deposits since they were higher up. The deeper Early Neolithic cultural layer was fortunately mostly undisturbed by ploughing.[11] As a consequence of the ploughing, the post-Neolithic deposits are largely preserved as *in situ* hot spot concentrations just beneath the plough zone. Since the storage and/or midden pits and pit houses extend deeper than the plough zone, they are better preserved and discussed here (Figs. 6, 12).

The third major disturbance source is later occupations. Later pits and other features intruded into and destroyed parts of earlier deposits.[12] The EIA is the second most extensive settlement at the site since it completely overlies the earlier settlements. In turn, the Medieval ploughing, fortification, and pits also destroyed anything earlier that lay beneath. Only the Late (Daco-) Roman pit house (Locus 38) at the northern end of the site did not destroy anything since it was beyond the limits of the earlier settlements (Fig. 11).

[10] Greenfield, Draşovean 1994, 56.

[11] Greenfield, Draşovean 1994, 57, 60–63.

[12] Greenfield, Draşovean 1994, 71–72.

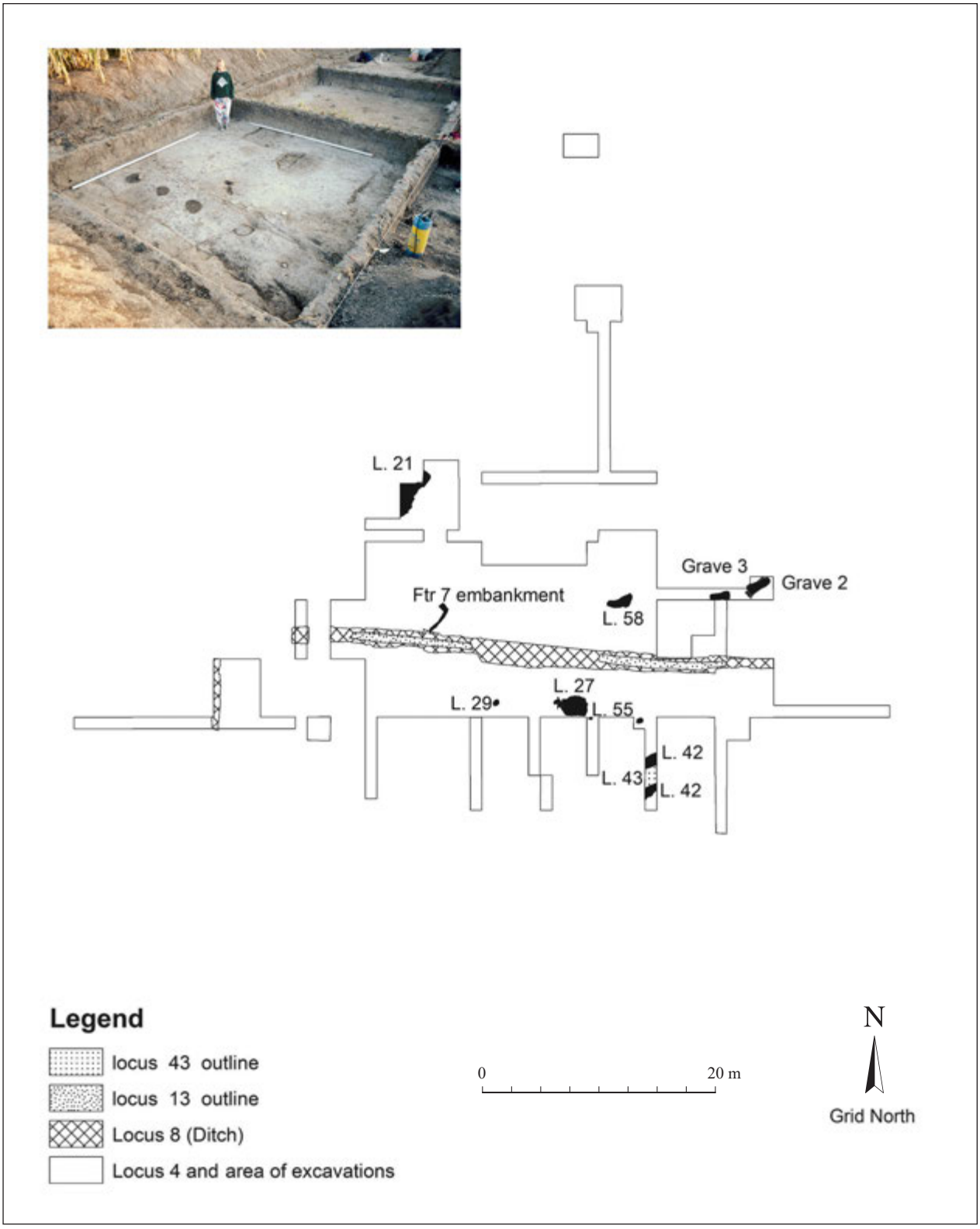


Fig. 6. Location of excavated Medieval features (lower) and photo of Medieval fortification ditch with postholes (Locus 8) and outline of Daco-Roman pit features 4, 5, and 8 in Trench 130A (upper) at Foeni-Sălaş

Сл. 6. Позиције истражених целина из средњег века (доле), фотографија одбрамбеног рова са стубовима (Locus 8) и границе Дачко-римског укопаног објекта 4,5 и 8 у сонди 130А (горе) на локалитету Фоени Салаш

Cultural horizons

There are five pan-site horizons in descending order from the surface: Locus 1 (plough zone), 4 (Medieval plough zone), 2 (Early Neolithic Starčevo-Criş), 5 (post-Pleistocene humus), and 12 (sterile Pleistocene loess).[13] Each are described separately within their relevant temporal contexts (Fig. 5). There are no pan-site horizons from the intervening periods (Eneolithic, Bronze Age, EIA, and Late Roman).

Their deposits and remains are incorporated into or truncated by the Medieval Locus 4, and the artefacts are not in primary contexts, except in pit features that survived below them. The only features to remain intact from the earlier periods are found below the Medieval plough zone.

Cultural deposits by period

All deposits were assigned to a period based on their stratigraphic connections and position, as well as the typo-chronological analysis of associated artefacts. In some cases, the majority of artefacts would suggest that the deposit belonged to an earlier period. We generally used the latest artefact found in the deposit's assemblage as a key to its dating. However, given the presence of rodent activity, some of the later artefacts were removed from the analysis since they clearly did not belong to the layer in which they were found (e.g., EIA material in Early Neolithic deposits). The advantage of a spatially oriented excavation is that strata could be directly and physically traced from trench to trench across the excavation area.

A. Modern era

The modern era is represented by two loci (0 and 1). Locus 0 is the surface of the site and is the phase from which all surface collections were made. Locus 1 is the thick (30cm) pan-site modern plough zone horizon and overlies all earlier deposits The latest material in these deposits is from the 19th and 20th centuries AD, but a mixture of cultural debris from all periods is present in both deposits.[14]

B. Medieval (Fig. 6)

The Medieval occupation extends across the site with a pan-site locus, two houses, and several pits. It was approximately 10–20 cm in thickness. The material culture of some of the deposits suggests a date in the 10–11th century AD for the major Medieval occupation at the site, but there is a hint also of a later Medieval occupation (14/15th century).

Locus 4 was likely created through Medieval ploughing. The characteristic greyish colour of the sediment is likely caused by the mixing of whitish ash and black soot from the burning of crops in fields, which was then ploughed under. It contains a mixture of all the post-Neolithic deposits on the site. All of the deposits from this period are linked to *Locus 4,* as it is the Medieval pan-site locus. In some places, Locus 4 could be subdivided into an upper (Sub-Locus 4.1) and lower locus (Sub-Locus 4.2).[15] Any features within this locus were destroyed and the remains scattered by Medieval ploughing, as occasional plough marks are discernible. All of the features in it were destroyed and the remains are not in the primary context.

Locus 8 is a Medieval fortification ditch that extends across the site in an east-west direction and then turns to the south at a right angle to continue in a north-south direction to the westernmost edge of the site (Fig. 24).[16] There is evidence that the ditch is actually a foundation trench for a wooden stockade, since wooden post holes of regular size have been found systematically spaced inside along its length, as well as large pieces of carbonised timber segments (Fig. 6).[17] It is clear that the ditch was created as part of a large wooden palisade, the posts of which were placed upright in the ditch, which was then filled. Many of the large wooden posts burned down, leaving carbonised remains of their form. The ditch disturbed all earlier deposits beneath it. The ditch is divided into 2–3 phases of fill. The lower two sub-loci are found throughout the spatial extent of the locus. The uppermost sub-locus is largely confined to the area around Trench 131F. *Sub-locus 8.1* is the upper fill (greyish brown); *Sub-locus 8.2* is the basal fill (brown); and *Locus 13* is a thin yellowish brown sediment that was found immediately above Sub-locus 8.1 at the eastern end of the site, but without any associated ceramics. It was not observed anywhere else and may be more modern in origin.

Locus 21 is a semisubterranean structure (house) with straight walls, a 90º corner, and a line of postholes around the perimeter that marked the location of wooden (wattle and daub) walls along the sides. No interior

[13] Greenfield, Draşovean 1994, 62–64.

[14] Greenfield, Jongsma 2008.

[15] Greenfield, Draşovean 1994, 62–63.

[16] Locus 8 was incorrectly assigned to the Early Iron Age in the Greenfield, Draşovean 1994 publication, p. 72.

[17] Greenfield, Draşovean 1994, 64–65.

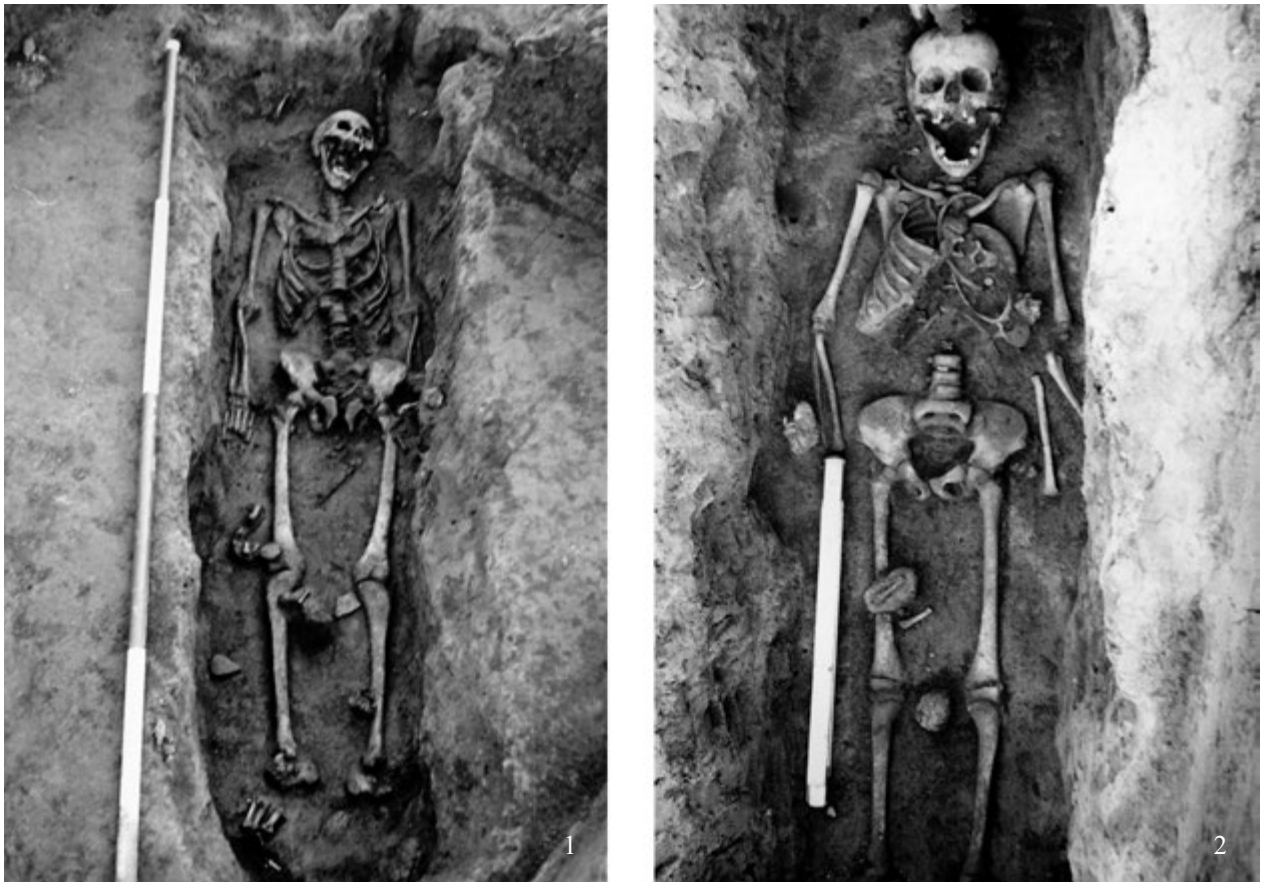


Fig. 7. 1) Grave 2; 2) Grave 3

Сл. 7. 1) гроб 2; 2) гроб 3

division was observed. There are some associated remains (ceramics, bone, shell, etc.). The few Medieval ceramics clearly indicate its period of occupation.

Locus 27 is a late Medieval semisubterranean structure surrounded by post holes and there are two parts: a bowl-like and elliptically-shaped fired (burnt) daub floor and a hearth area. There is a series of possible post holes surrounding the perimeter (but these could be rodent holes). The superstructure is largely destroyed. The few ceramics point to a Late Medieval occupation. There are also animal bones and daub.

Locus 29 is a small storage pit that extends down from Locus 4. There are no associated ceramics. Based on its stratigraphy and differences in shape to earlier pits, it is considered to be Medieval in origin.

Locus 42 is a semisubterranean house complex with associated postholes and a fired clay floor similar to that in Locus 38. Its complete shape was not determinable since only a section was excavated in a transect that cut through the deposit.

Locus 43 is a small pit that cuts through the centre of Locus 42 that may have been initially used for storage, but later filled with rubbish debris.

Locus 55 is a large unfired clay base that may have served to anchor a post for a small pit. It is tentatively assigned to the Medieval period based upon its stratigraphy, architecture, and association with Medieval artefacts. It has been given a separate locus designation from the surrounding Locus 4 based on the digital analysis of daub remains in the lab.[18]

Locus 58 is a small pit dug through Loci 24 and 30. It was also not recognised as a separate locus during excavation. It contains a cluster of Medieval ceramics and a very large round grindstone.

Feature 7 is a rectilinear bedding trench with very few associated remains.

[18] Jongsma 1997.

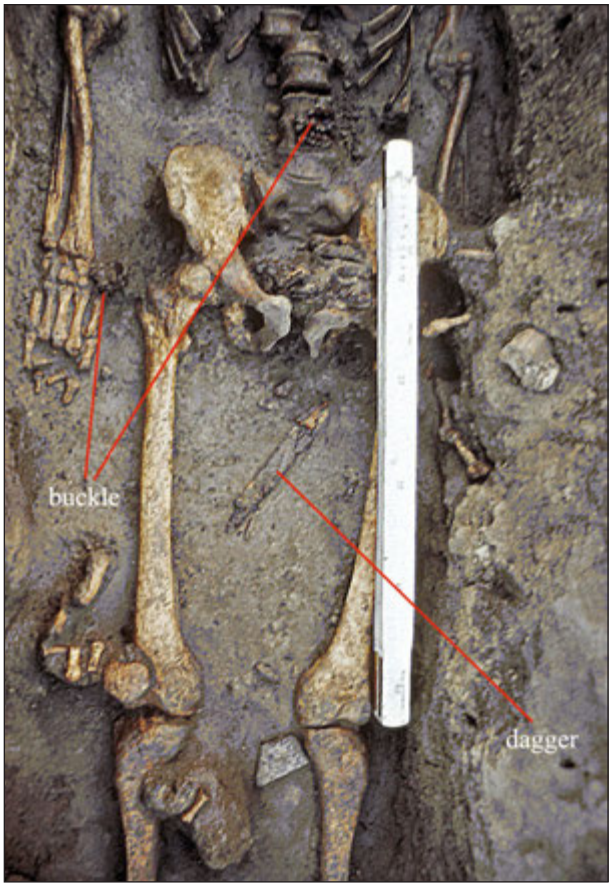


Fig. 8. Detail of grave 2 with metal finds

Сл. 8. Детаљ гроба 2 са прилозима од метала

Two Medieval graves were found on the eastern edge of the site. Grave 2 is very close to the modern surface (Figs. 7/1, 8). Erosion and ploughing brought it close to the surface, since it is on a sloping surface. The grave is dug into the post-Pleistocene sterile soil horizon (Locus 5) and filled with very dark brown sediment. It contained the osteological remains of a fully articulated middle-aged male skeleton, possibly someone with martial roles since weapons were buried with him, lying on his back. The feet were pointed northeast, but some bones were disturbed by rodents. The grave goods include weapons (metal spear and dagger) and metal clothing paraphernalia (a metal fibula, belt buckle, and a strip of metal around the waist that may have been from a belt) (Fig. 8). All of the grave goods are in the Museum of the Banat (Muzeul Banalui, Timişoara) depot and we have yet to observe the results of their conservation. The grave was oriented southwest (head) to northeast (feet) in terms of the site grid, or east (head) and west (feet) for true north. The face was mostly facing straight upwards, but learning slightly in the direction of true east. The area where the feet were located was disturbed by rodents, who dragged part of the foot bones for a small distance into a rodent tunnel. These were, however, recovered as well.

Grave 3 is a burial located very close to Grave 2, on the eastern edge of the site. The skeleton was laid in a manner that was very similar to that of Grave 2 (Fig. 7/2). It was heavily disturbed since some of the elements were not fully articulated. The burial is thought to be that of an adult woman who was possibly pregnant at the time of death, since some infant remains were found within the thorax. The skeleton was oriented with the feet pointing toward grid west and the head toward grid east, or true northwest (head) to southeast (feet). The direction of the face appears to have been oriented toward true east.

C. The Late Roman period (Fig. 9)

The Late Roman (also known as Daco-Roman) occupation is small and mostly limited to the southwestern quarter of the site. These deposits appear to be from a 3–5th century AD occupation. There was no clear Late Roman horizon as it was incorporated into and disturbed by the Medieval plough horizon (Locus 4). A number of Late Roman loci were preserved below Locus 4, which were identified and excavated.

Locus 35 is deep bell-shaped storage pit with a shelf or ledge around the bottom (as if to support some kind of wooden base) that was 15 cm above the bottom, clay-lined floor. Ceramics, a metal knife and a circular object, mammal and fish bones, snail shells, and charcoal were found within.

Locus 38 is a small square-shaped semisubterranean house with a clay floor, with postholes around the perimeter and an oven in the southern end. There was a low density of remains (including ceramics, bone, carbonised wood, and metal – Fig. 12).

Locus 46 is a deep bell-shaped storage pit with very few remains and a concentration of carbonised soil at the bottom.

Feature 4 is a circular bell-shaped storage pit that is cut by Feature 5. It was used secondarily as a midden after the initial function was abandoned. A metal bell and bobbin were recovered from the fill along with Daco-Roman ceramics (Fig. 6).

Feature 5 is a circular bell-shaped storage pit that intrudes into Feature 4. It was used secondarily as a midden after the initial function was abandoned. The top was destroyed by locus 4 (Fig. 6). It contained mostly

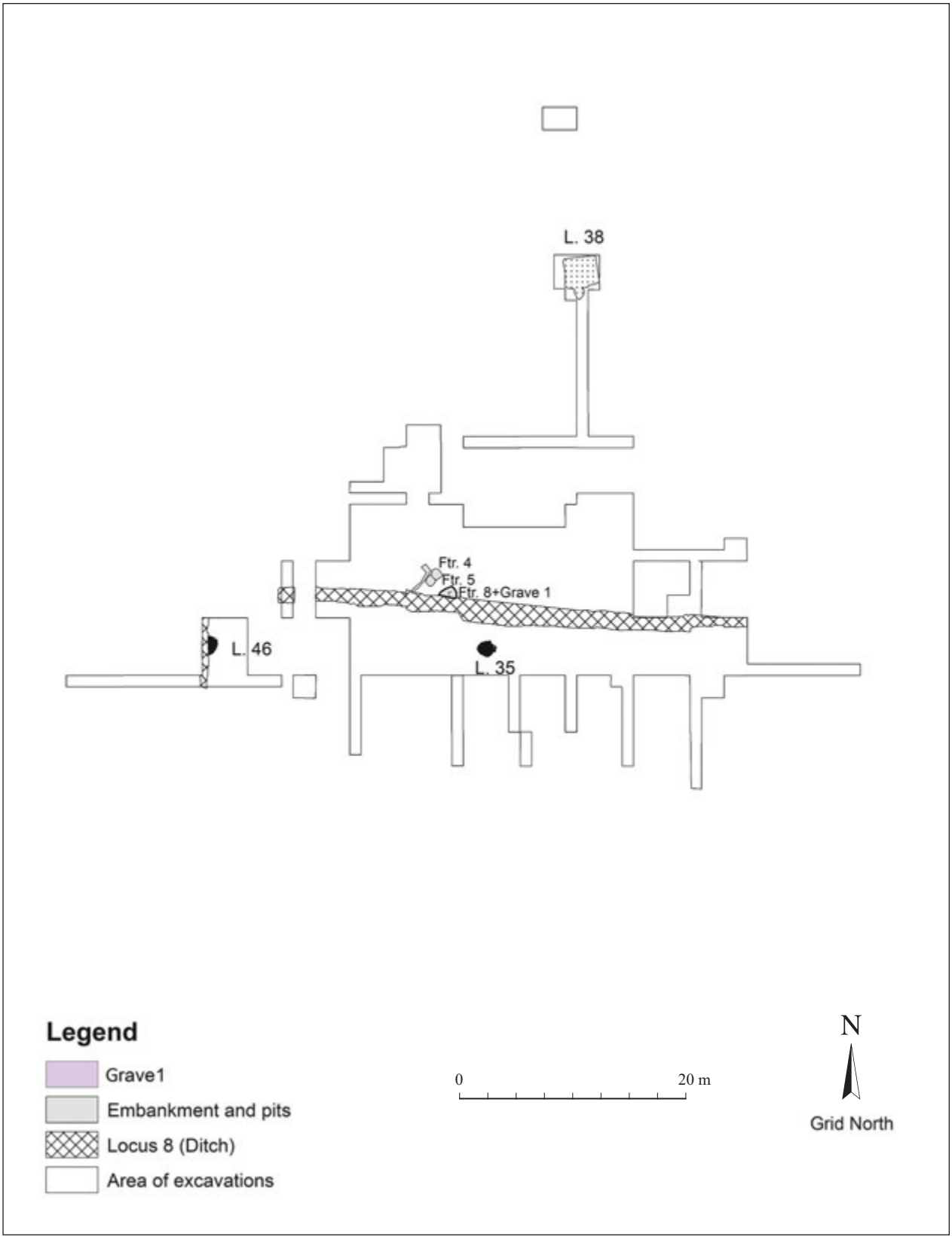


Fig. 9. Daco-Roman loci at Foeni Sălaş

Сл. 9. Локуси са дачко-римским налазима на локалитету Фоени Салаш

Daco-Roman (and a few EIA and Early Neolithic) ceramics, and animal bone.

Feature 8 is a circular bell-shaped storage pit with an infant burial in the fill (Grave 1) (Fig. 10). It was used secondarily as a midden after the initial function was abandoned. It is partially cut by Locus 8 (Fig. 6).

Grave 1 is an infant human burial found in the bottom of a bell-shaped storage pit (Feature 8). The skeletal remains of the infant were found two-thirds of the way down the pit (Fig. 10). The bones of the skeleton were in proper anatomical position. The child was laid on its right side, in an extended position. The face was turned to face downwards. The right arm was extended. The left leg was also extended, but the right leg was bent. The skeleton was oriented toward the northeast, but the skull was face-down. The top of the cranium pointed towards the north. While no grave goods directly accompanied the burial, the usual range of discarded artefacts (pottery, intact grindstone, etc.) were found inside the pit. A large shed red deer (*Cervus elaphus*) antler was carefully placed on the very bottom of the pit, below the level of the juvenile burial. A large grindstone was found above the level of the burial inside the pit. No remains were found directly on the level of the burial. However, this careful placement of objects both above and below the burial suggests a ritual or cultic character for the deposit in general.

Fig. 10. Daco-Roman pit and Grave 1

Сл. 10. Дачко-римска јама са гробом 1

D. Early Iron-Age (Hallstatt) (Fig. 12)

The Early Iron Age occupation is represented by the Hallstatt B culture complex (1000–800 BCE). It extends across the entire southern half of the site. The entire Early Iron Age Horizon was incorporated into, and the top of the Early Iron Age pits was cut off by, Locus 4, the Medieval plough zone. Some of the Early Iron Age pits that intruded into and disturbed the Early Neolithic horizon included some Starčevo-Criş ceramics. The Early Iron Age is the second largest occupation at the site. The following loci were identified from the Early Iron Age.

Locus 11 is a small storage pit. A large ceramic vessel was found in the bottom.

Locus 15 is a small (1 m diameter) circular pit that extends down through the earlier Early Neolithic deposits (Locus 7) and into the Pleistocene loess (Locus 12) (Fig. 2).[19] It was sealed by Locus 4. White lines of ashy clay were found inside the pit. Carbonised animal and plant remains indicate that it was used for heating objects to high temperatures (Fig. 23). It was originally reported as a Vatin culture feature (Greenfield and Drasovean 1994), but reanalysis of the ceramics (below) suggest that it belongs with the Iron Age part of the settlement.

Locus 18 is a large pit, probably used as a semisubterranean house with two rooms, since the floor appears to have been divided into two sections. It is associated with a storage pit (Feature 3).

Locus 22 is a small pit. Its function is ambiguous.

Locus 28 is a small circular storage pit surrounded by postholes. The postholes indicate that it may have been for a small superstructure. There are few ceramics in this locus.

Locus 30 is a large semisubterranean house dug into the centre of a Starčevo-Criş pit house (Locus 24). It is filled with occupational debris (ceramics, bones, grindstones, etc. – Fig. 22).

Locus 31 is a small circular bell-shaped storage pit with mostly carbonised remains. It was probably used for grain storage.

Locus 32 is a small oval storage pit with very few remains associated with it. It is filled with a series of micro-strata of blackened soil, probably indicating the presence of burnt grain.

Locus 33 is a small oval storage pit for a large pithos on the bottom. It is filled with ceramic and other remains. The top was disturbed by ploughing as only the base remains.

[19] Greenfield, Jongsma 2008, fig. 10.

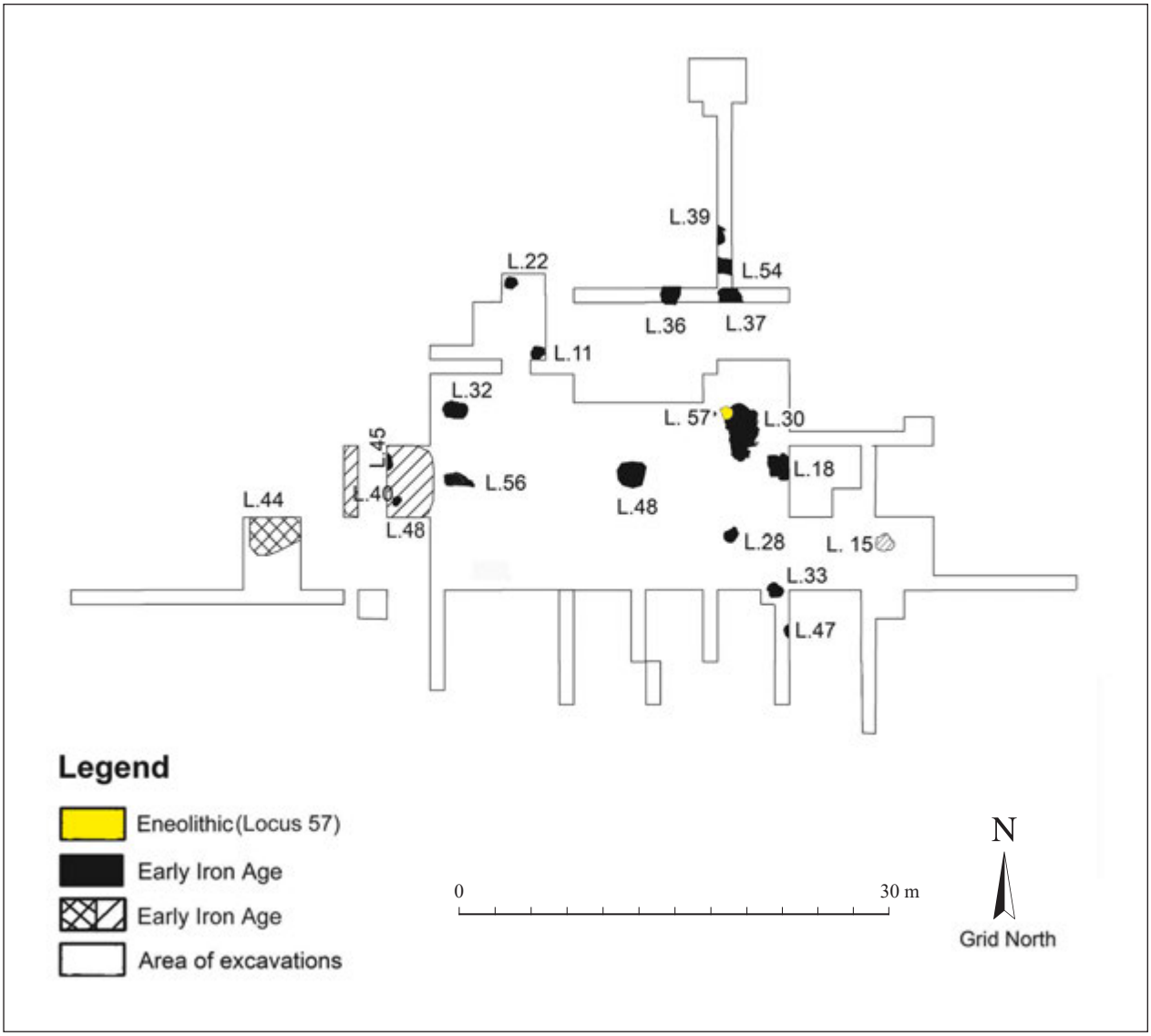


Fig. 11. Position of Eneolithic, Bronze and Iron Age features and loci at Foeni Sălaş

Сл. 11. Позиције објеката из енеолита, бронзаног и старијег гвозденог доба на локалитету Фоени Салаш

Locus 36 is a very small oval and shallow pit with few remains, probably used as a midden.

Locus 37 is a small pit with few remains and was probably used as a midden.

Locus 39 is a small circular pit filled with an assortment of different artefact types including wall daub, animal bones, Hallstatt ceramics, and a small grindstone, which were thrown in haphazardly. It probably had a secondary use as a midden.

Locus 40 is a large semisubterranean house with several associated postholes, an oven, and concentrations of wall and floor daub.[20] This locus is cut by Locus 8, the Medieval fortification ditch. While there are mostly Hallstatt remains in this locus, there are also a number of Starčevo-Criş ceramics as it intruded into the western edge of Locus 23. This locus was divided into 2 sub-loci. *Sub-locus 40.1* is the upper stratum, possibly wall and roof spills, and light grey in colour. *Sub-Locus 40.2* is the lower stratum and floor level. The remains of collapsed (wall?) daub separates the two sub-loci.

[20] Jongsma 1997.

Fig. 12. Daco-Roman pit house (Locus 38)

Сл. 12. Дачко-римска полуземуница (локус 38)

Locus 44 is a large semisubterranean house. As with Locus 40, there are some intrusive Starčevo-Criş remains because it disturbed an underlying Starčevo-Criş deposit (Locus 41). There are two sub-loci: *Sub-locus 44.1* is the upper and is probably the remains of the fallen roof and wall. *Sub-locus 44.2* is the basal fill. The loci are separated by fallen wall daub.

Locus 45 is a small storage pit that cut into Locus 40. There are few remains and it is likely a slightly later EIA storage pit.

Locus 47 is a small midden filled pit found beneath and pre-dating Locus 40.

Locus 48 is a small midden filled pit that extended down from the base of Locus 40.2. It was likely originally a storage pit associated with the overlying structure.

Locus 54 is a small ellipsoid storage pit that had a secondary use as a midden. It is filled with a concentration of ceramic and animal bone remains.

Locus 56 is a small, but deep, midden filled pit that extends down into the underlying Starčevo-Criş deposit (Locus 23). It is filled with burnt debris (ceramics, animal bone, and charcoal) and is interpreted as a fire pit.

Feature 3 is a small pit (0.5 m wide) containing the base of a very large *pithos* (storage jar). The base was placed in a shallow hole, likely for stability, at the eastern edge of Locus 18 (too small to be illustrated on plan).

E. Middle Bronze-Age (Fig. 11)

The Bronze Age is represented by a small number of finds characteristic of the Early and Middle Bronze Age. Some of the finds lay mixed in with the pre-Classical Metal Age cultural layers on the site. There was no clear Bronze Age horizon.

In previous reports, the ceramics from this horizon were originally identified as from the Vatin culture.[21] However, we now think that it is more appropriate to assign this material to the Verbicioara cultural complex, since the potsherds have characteristic decoration found

[21] Greenfield, Draşovean 1994, 64.

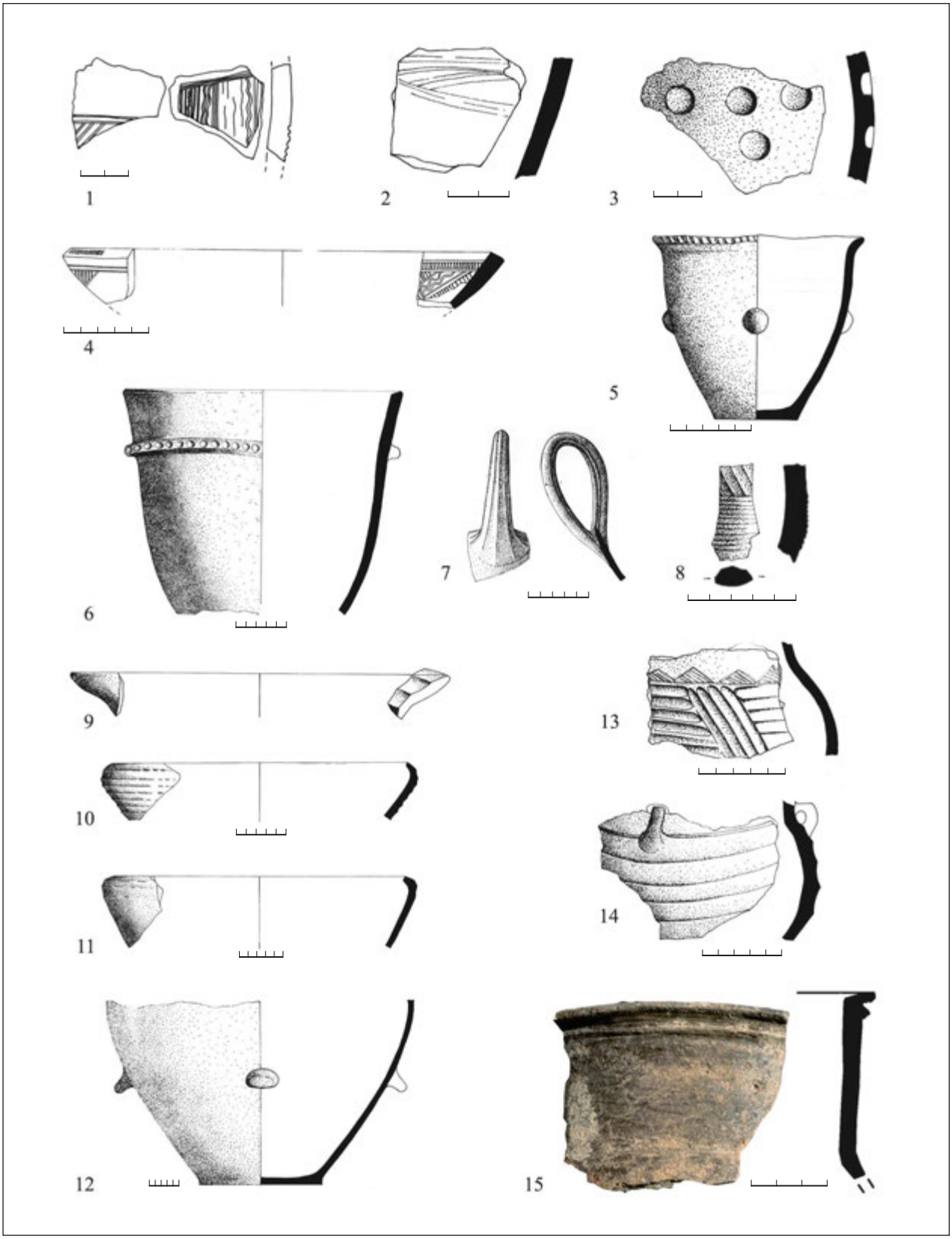


Fig. 13. 1–4) Verbicioara pottery; 5–14) Kalakača pottery; 15) Hallstatt D pottery

Сл. 13. 1–4) Вербичоара керамика; 5–14) Калакача керамика; 15) керамика финалної Халштата

on Bronze Age Verbicioara ceramics. For example, a fragmented conical bowl decorated both on the inner and the outer surface (Fig. 15/1) with motifs that are well known from the Early Bronze Age Makó culture.[22] There are also parts of vessels whose shape suggests that they were lids of urns for incinerated deceased, typical of the Late Bronze Age.[23] These vessels are decorated with incisions and one of the most dominant motifs are hatched triangles (Fig. 15/4). The remaining Bronze Age finds are represented by a typical potsherds decorated with rows of incised lines (Fig. 15/2) and finger imprints (Fig. 15/3).

F. Eneolithic (Fig. 11)

The Eneolithic is represented by a few ceramics of the Cernavodă III–Boleráz complex (Figs. 15, 16). There was no clear Eneolithic horizon. While there were some scattered remains found in Loci 1 and 4, only a single small feature was eventually identified and excavated – *Locus 57*. It is a small Černavodă III–Boleráz pit in the north-western peripheral corner of Locus 30 (Fig. 22), which was identified during post-excavation laboratory analysis of the cluster of distinctive ceramic finds. No sedimentary distinction could be made from the surrounding soil.

G. Early Neolithic (Fig. 17)

The earliest evidence of occupation at the site derives from the Early Neolithic Starčevo-Criş occupation. The largest number of loci were identified from this phase of occupation.

Locus 2 is a Starčevo-Criş cultural horizon outside of structures and pits. It is the first cultural horizon on the site and ranges from 20 cm in thickness, and usually extends c. 40–60 cm below the surface. The Starčevo-Criş occupants of the site changed the colour and texture of Post-Pleistocene Locus 5 horizon to become Locus 2.

Locus 7 was the first pit house complex to be discovered on the site (Fig. 24). The structure appears to enclose a trapezoidal area about 5x4 m and is dug into Locus 5. This locus seems to be a combination of three stratigraphically differentiable sub-loci (7.1/14, 7.2/16 and 7.3/17), each of which is discussed below. Stratigraphically, it is possible to reconstruct the following sequence within locus 7. Locus 17 represents the initial basal occupation. Then the pit was abandoned and filled with locus 16 refuse. Locus 14 probably represents the final silting in of the pit, with washed in cultural residue, after site abandonment.

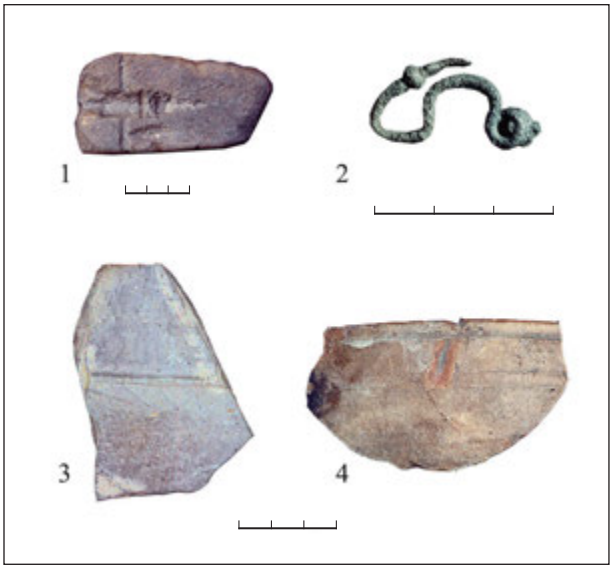


Fig. 14. 1) Stone casting mould; 2) La Téne fibula; 3–4) Daco-Roman pottery

Сл. 14. 1) Камени ливачки калуп; 2) Фибула из Ла Тена; 3–4) Дачко-римска керамика

· **Sub-Locus 7.1** (originally Sub-locus 14) – This is the upper fill of the Locus 7 pit house complex. Stratigraphically it connects to Locus 2 and is sealed by Locus 4. Sub-locus 14 represents the upper fill of the locus 7 pit complex. The nature and density of remains in this level seems to represent the collapse of the superstructure after abandonment and the disposal of new material into the still open depression. It eventually filled up and the top is truncated by Locus 4.

· **Sub-Locus 7.2** (originally Sub-Locus 16) – This is the middle fill of the Locus 7 pit house complex. It is a rubbish fill level. It is found stratigraphically below Locus 14 and above Locus 17. It is a kidney bean-shaped midden deposit, distinguishable by its unique fill – a large quantity of snail shells (almost 10,000), mixed with a smaller percentage of mussel shells, Starčevo-Criş ceramics and mammal and fish bones. This deposit appears to be the phase after abandonment when the depression was colonised by snails going through the aestivation phase.[24] This pattern is seen in almost all of the other pit house

[22] Kalicz 1984, 96, taf. XX.
[23] Kapuran 2019, 15.
[24] Evans 1972.

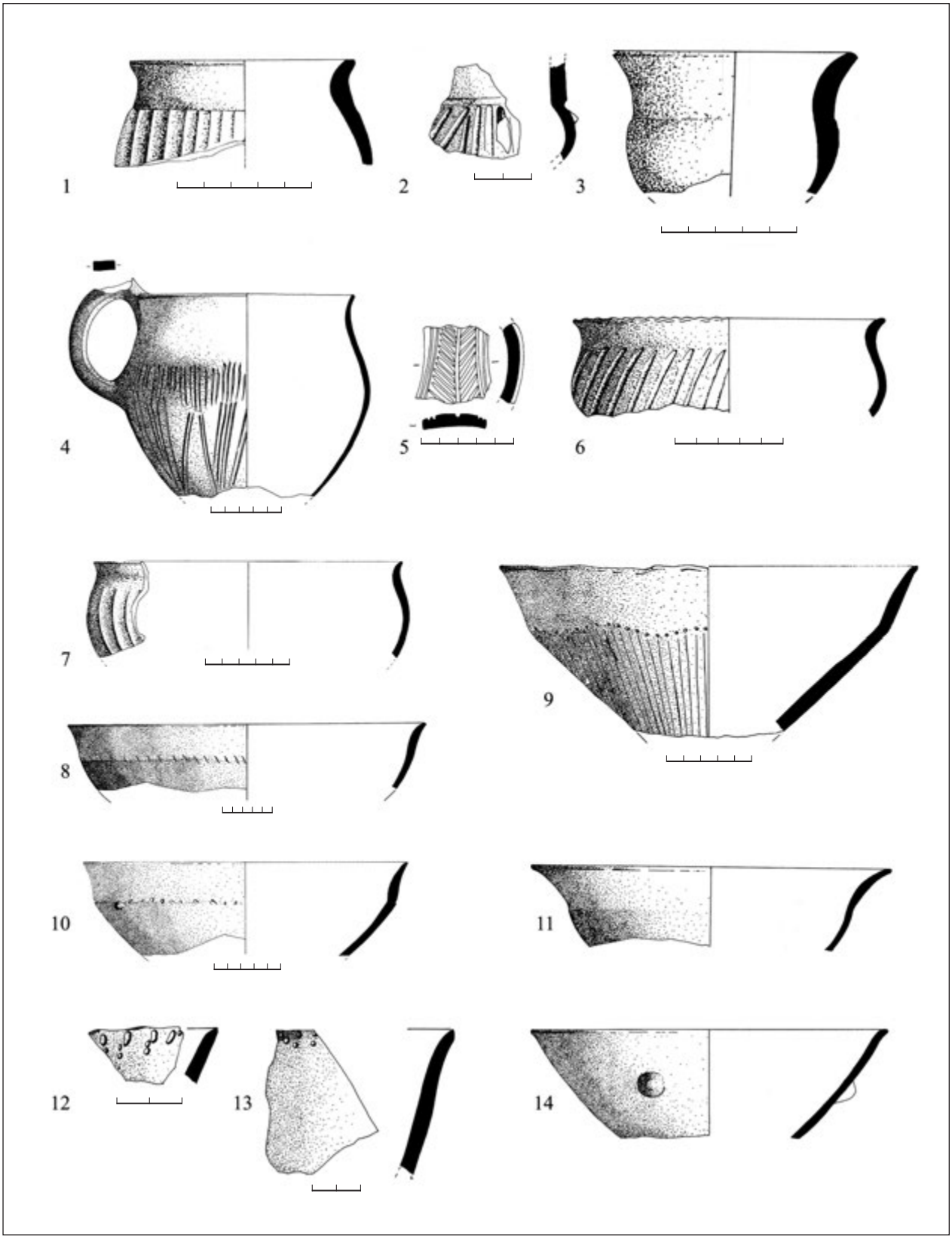


Fig. 15. 1–11) Černavoda III – Boleraz Pottery; 12–14) Kostolac pottery

Сл. 15. 1–11) Чернавода III – Болераз керамика; 12–14) Костолачка керамика

deposits (Loci 10, 23, 24, 50), but to a lesser extent in Locus 41. The shells are almost always unbroken and they are stuffed into every corner of the dwellings and often extend deep into the dirt sides of the structure and into rodent holes. They are concentrated in the middle horizons of the pit houses. All of this suggests that it is unlikely that people ate them and then discarded them within the pit-houses, and then continued to walk on the shells without breaking them. As is well known, snails will aestivate in nutrient rich deposits.[25] Pit houses are an ideal microenvironment for snails to aestivate.

· **Sub-Locus 7.3** (originally Sub locus 17) – This is the basal fill of the pit house feature. It represents the floor and living horizon of the pit house complex. There is a bench cut into the side of the structure on one side, a ramp going down into the pit house from the surface, a hearth, post holes and other features associated with this horizon (Fig. 24).

Locus 10 is the second trapezoidal shaped pit house complex that is dug into Locus 5. It is without any perceptible micro-stratigraphy. This is probably because it was relatively shallow and most of the upper deposits were cut off by Locus 4.

Locus 23 is the largest Starčevo-Criş pit house complex on the site (Fig. 21). It is in the centre of the semicircle of peripheral Early Neolithic pit houses on the site. It is much larger than all the rest. It is a large circular structure, 12 m in diameter, with postholes around its perimeter and within. The internal stratigraphy follows the same tripartite pattern to that already discussed for Locus 7 (Locus 23.1/upper; Locus 23.2/middle; and Locus 23.3/basal). The locus was disturbed near the centre by an EIA pit (called the Locus 23 hearth in the notes – Locus 56) and the Medieval fortification ditch (Locus 8). Within the pit house, a large dome-shaped oven and a large central fire pit were part of the basal horizon (Locus 23.3). It is filled with an abundance of ceramics, loom and other weights, stone tools, faunal remains, and snail shells (Figs. 18, 20, 25). There is a large shelf area toward the northern side of the pit house, where large numbers of vessels were likely kept.

Locus 24 is the third peripheral pit house complex (Fig. 22). It was also trapezoidal in shape, with a hearth or fire pit at the southern end. It was partially mixed and heavily disturbed by an EIA pit house (Locus 30) and an Eneolithic pit (Locus 57). It is also trapezoidal in shape, 7 x 6 m., aligned N-S x E-W.

Locus 25 is a small (c. 1 m diametre) storage pit filled with storage ceramic vessels. It was found in a small depression in the middle of the open area on the southern half of the site. It is stratigraphically connected to Locus 2, but it extends deeper into Locus 5.

Locus 41 is the fourth peripheral pit house complex discovered at the site. It was badly disturbed by EIA pits. It had a very low density of remains within it. A few postholes and a central fire pit were observed. This is the only one of the Starčevo-Criş pit houses not to be filled completely and intensely with debris.

Locus 50 is the remains of the fifth peripheral Starčevo-Criş pit house. It was not excavated because it was found on the last day of the final field season during auguring of the area between Loci 10 and 41, where it was suspected that another structure would be located, based on the distance between each of the peripheral pit houses. Its shape (trapezoidal), depth (2 m), date (Starčevo-Criş), and contents (snail shells, animal bones, and Starčevo-Criş ceramics) were determined through the recovery of artefactual remains and sediments in the auger. It contains snail shells, animal bones, and ceramics. It is, thus, similar in size, shape, and content to the best preserved of all the peripheral pit houses (i.e., Loci 7 and 10).

Locus 51 is the remains of a large circular-shaped feature with postholes around its perimeter located in the middle of the settlement. It contains a small concentration of daub, ceramics and loom weights, but with very few animal bones. It was found within Locus 2 and is, in effect, a surface deposit. Even though a number of possible post holes were associated with it, it was not given a separate locus designation at the time since the data were collected as part of Locus 2. The presence of loom weights and absence of food debris suggests that it may have possibly functioned as a weaving hut. If surface huts are from a later phase of the Early Neolithic, then this structure may be from a slightly later Starčevo-Criş occupation on the site. However, its presence within the single Early Neolithic pan-site horizon argues against this. Also, there is no evidence of reoccupation of the pit houses or of any overlap in the construction of later Early Neolithic pit houses with earlier ones.

Locus 52 is the remains of a possible livestock enclosure. It is in the southern half of the open area south of Locus 23. It includes a perimeter line of post holes on the eastern and northern edges of the extremely compacted light coloured soil surface. It is rectilinear in shape. We interpret it as a possible livestock enclosure

[25] Ellis 1969; Zhadin 1952.

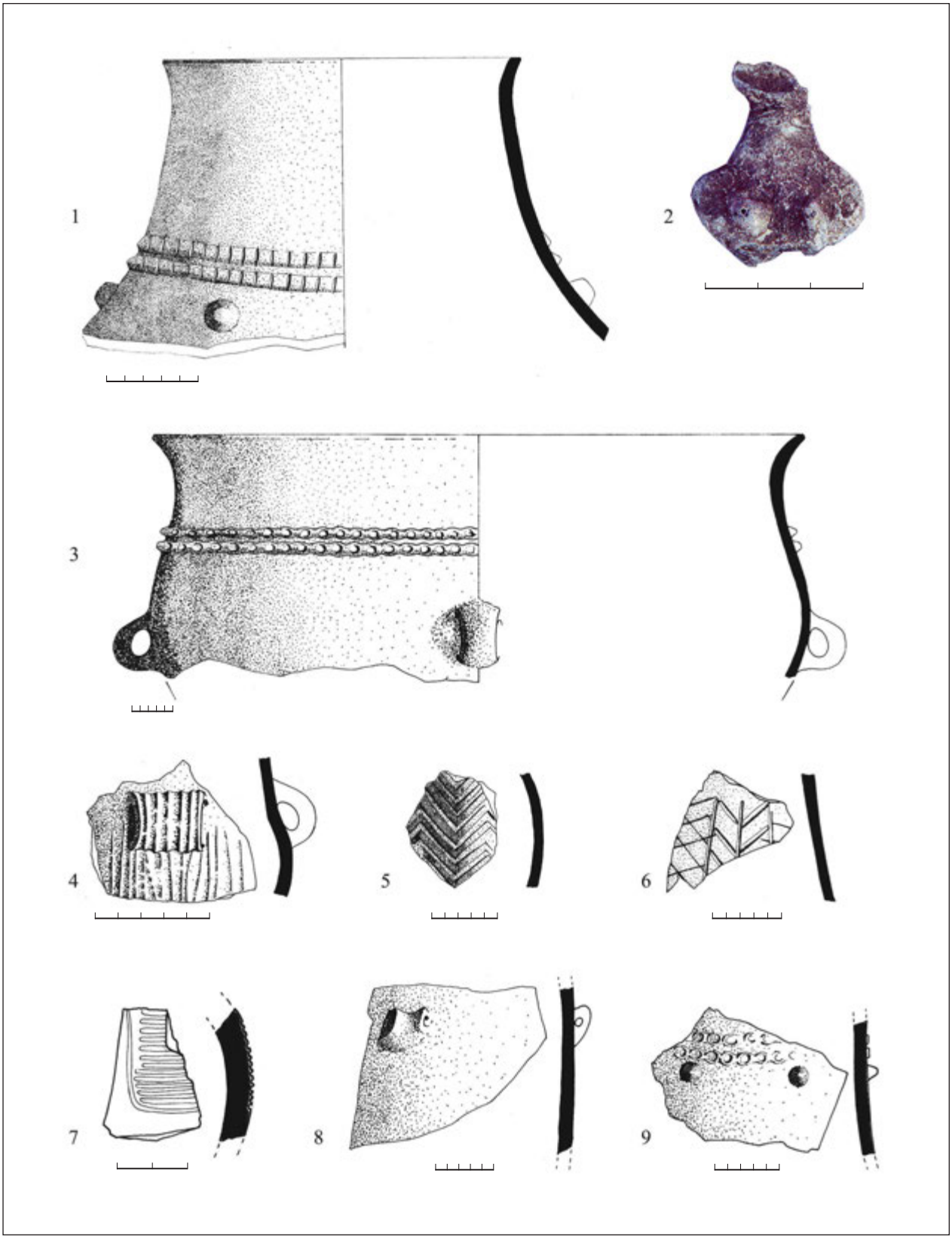


Fig. 16. 1–3, 8) Černavoda III – Boleraz Pottery and figurine; 4–7) Kostolac pottery

Сл. 16. 1–3, 8) Чернавода III – Болераз керамика і figurin; 4–7) Косшолачка керамика

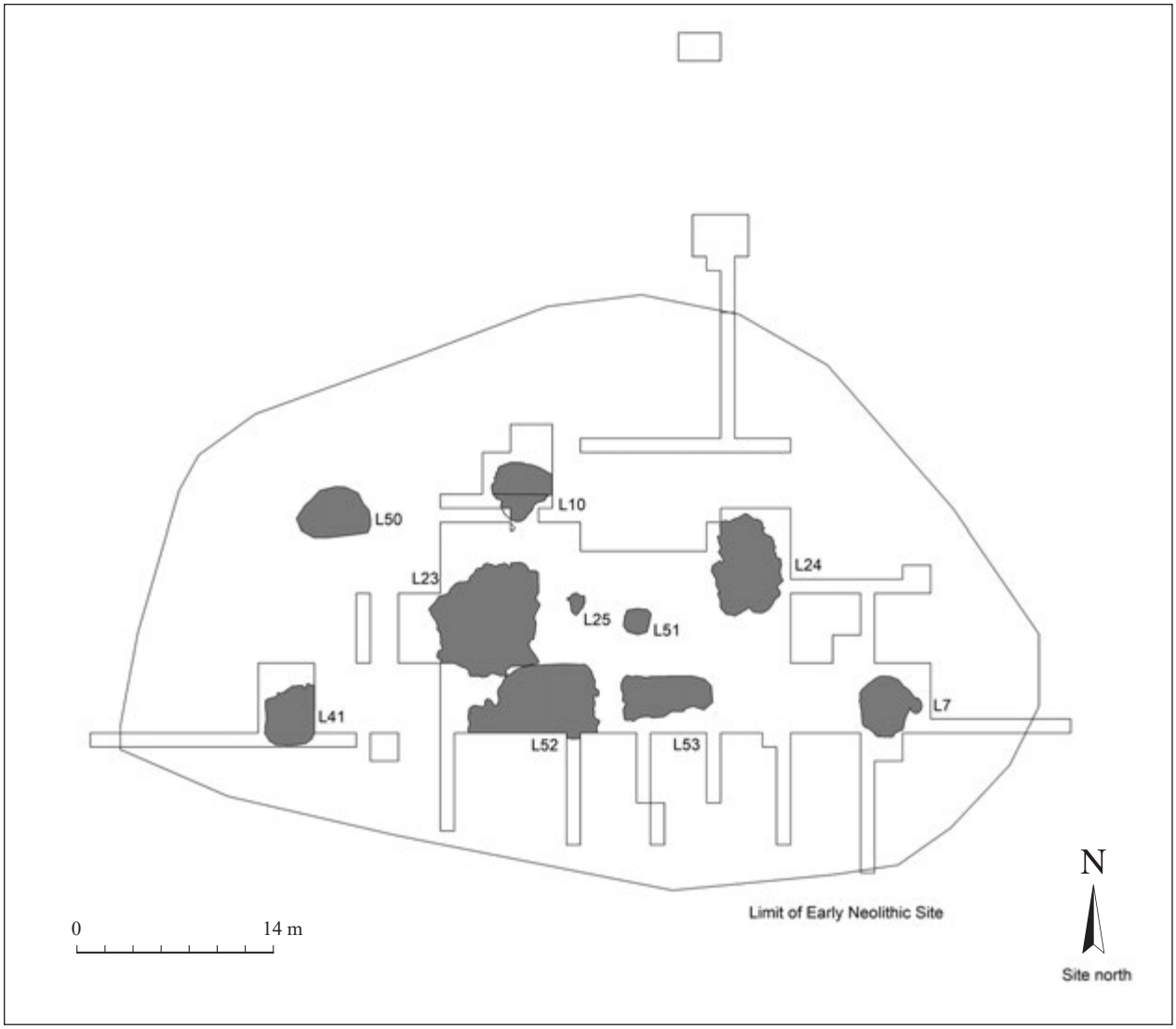


Fig. 17. Early Neolithic loci at Foeni Sălaş

Сл. 17. Локуси из раної неолита на локалитету Фоени Салаш

because of the extreme compaction and very uneven surface (with large up and down pockets, as if cattle were trampling within it) of the sediment within the perimeter of post holes. While it was originally excavated as part of Locus 2, it is now recognised as a separate locus.

Locus 53 is an ellipsoid surface concentration of daub without any associated architectural features or other artefact concentrations, also in the southern half of the settlement. It is thought to represent the remains of a surface or above-ground small wattle and daub structure, possibly for storage, because there is very little evidence of food remains associated with the locus. It was originally excavated as part of Locus 2, but it is now recognised as a distinct locus.

Feature 6 is a small (50 cm wide) circular (possible) storage pit associated with and at the edge of Locus 10 (too small to be illustrated).

H. Post-Pleistocene

Locus 5 is the early post-Pleistocene humus that formed during the Mesolithic. It is found across the site and is always stratigraphically beneath Locus 2. A low frequency of Starčevo-Criş ceramics filtered down into this locus through rodent activity and other natural processes.

I. Pleistocene

Locus 12 is the culturally sterile Pleistocene loess that underlies the post-Pleistocene Locus 5. This stratum is found across the site. There is no evidence of occupation at the site in this period.

Ceramics and other material culture

In this section, the important ceramic finds from the Eneolithic, Bronze and Iron Ages are presented and discussed.

A. Medieval (Fig. 6)

The youngest cultural horizon at the site most likely belongs to the Medieval period. Locus 4 (Medieval pan-site plough zone horizon) and various storage pits contain material that suggest a 10–11th century date. However, there is also evidence of a later Medieval occupation (14–15th cent.) at the site, based on two graves on the eastern periphery of the site (Graves 2 and 3) (Fig. 7). Grave 2 belongs to a middle-aged male. Weapons (metal spear and dagger) and metal clothing paraphernalia (two iron belt buckles and a strip of metal around the waist, probably from a belt) are interred with him (Fig. 8). It is likely that he had a martial role, considering the weapons buried with him. There are clear analogies for the pieces of weaponry, especially the spear, that suggest that the grave dates to the 14–15th century AD.[26]

Grave 3 is very similar to Grave 2, except that it belongs to a woman and foetus/new born infant. It was disturbed, since some osteological elements are not fully articulated (Fig. 7). Few objects were found in the grave that can be assigned to more than a general Medieval date. However, given the stratigraphic position, and similar orientation and location of the two graves, they probably date to the same occupation at the site.

The fortification ditch (Locus 8) appears to date from this period (Figs. 6, 21 and 24). The presence of four bricks (three in Trench 130A and one in 129C at the top of the locus) and late Medieval ceramics (e.g., in Trench 130G, quads 1–5) all point to a Late Medieval date for this locus.

B. Late Roman (Fig. 9)

The Late (Daco-) Roman cultural horizon belongs to the Common Era (AD) and contains archaeological material characteristic of Daco-Roman dominance in the territory of south-eastern Pannonia. The bulk of the pottery is characteristic of classic Late Roman wares that would date to the 3rd–5th centuries (Figs. 14/3, 4).

In this phase of occupation, at the northern end of the site, there is a rectangular semi-subterranean structure (Locus 38; Fig. 12). It is a pit house with a superstructure made of wattle-and-daub and a gabled roof since there are vertically positioned post-holes around the perimeter and supporting the interior as well. A domed oven was erected on one side at the level of the sunken portion of the house. The geomorphology and the types of soil within the Pannonian Plain favours the construction of such semisubterranean structures. They are found also at Bregovi–Atovac in Kuzmin,[27] in Čelarevo,[28] Bečej[29] and the site of Ušće Jakomirskog Potoka in the Iron Gates.[30] Such dwellings are distributed in a wide area across Eastern Europe in regions settled by Slavic populations during the Late Classical and Early Medieval periods.[31]

In the south-western section of the site, a number of Daco-Roman pit features were uncovered. They were originally bell-shaped storage pits, since some were lined with clay (Figs. 6, 9, 10). They contained typical later Classical remains, including broken ceramic vessels, grindstones, and a metal bell. However, they are largely filled with rubbish (bones and carbonised remains). In general, they are thought to date to the Late Classical period.

However, there are hints of an earlier Late Roman presence at the site. In this horizon, a fragment of a red bowl with an emphasised rim was found (Fig. 14/4), that is made according to La Téne period standards.[32] Such a dating is in accord with the presence of the infant burial (Grave 1 in Feature 6) (Fig. 10). Skeletal burials of infant and juvenile humans are especially common within Early Classical or Daco-Roman settlements from the 2nd and 1st centuries BC. This practice continued until the 2nd century AD.[33] The careful placement of the infant burial in Grave 1 with its face down in the storage pit at Foeni-Sălaş with goods above and below it suggests a careful mortuary ritual. It may be argued that the taphonomy of the skeleton suggests that

---

[26] Lalović 1982, t. I/2; Peković 2006, 123, и.б. 26838; Vetnić 1983, 141, t. II/116.

[27] Brukner 1995, 144, Пл. 145.

[28] Stanojević 1987, 122–123, t. 127.

[29] Milošević 1997, сл. 72, сл. 210/d.

[30] Stanojević 1986, 238, fig. 237/236.

[31] Šalkovský 2001, karte 6.

[32] Brukner *et al*. 1987, t. 26, 21–29.

[33] Popović, Kapuran 2011; Sîrbu 2003, 145; Sîrbu, Dăvîncă 2014, 295.

the individual was thrown next to one of the pit walls rather than laid in it as in a grave, which is the case at the site of Mokranjske Stene.[34] Within the Dacian culture region, the sacrifice of children is recorded at numerous sites. Sîrbu and Dăvîncă consider this phenomenon to be a "*sacred area of the field-of-pits type*".[35] This suggests that both a slightly earlier and later Dacian occupations existed at the site.

C. Iron Age (Fig. 11)

At least two phases of the pre-Classical Iron (Early and Late) Age are present at the site. The earlier phase, with the most intense occupation, is represented by finds of the Early Iron Age Gornea-Kalakača (Hallstatt B/C, Bosut III) cultural group.[36] Coarse ware vessels and pottery with highly polished surfaces are particularly noticeable. The pottery of the Kalakača group is primarily characterised by fine ware decorated with channels or a combination of channels and incised motifs (Fig. 13/13). In terms of types of vessels, conical bowls with an inverted rim decorated with channels are dominant (Figs. 13/10, 11), followed by rims of pots decorated with channels on the inner surface (Fig. 13/9). Some of the beakers and pots are likewise decorated with channels (Figs. 13/13, 14). The coarse ware pottery is represented by bell-shaped pots decorated with incisions (Figs. 13/5, 6) or modelled and decorated bands (Fig. 13/6).

A fragment of a large ceramic pot is decorated with four tongue-shaped handles on the lower cone and could belong to the final phase of the Early Iron Age (Hallstatt D?) (Fig. 13/12). A second large ceramic vessel fragment of a rim and vertical neck at the lower level could also belong to the final phase of the Early Iron Age. It is similar to the previously described vessel with four tongue-shaped handles (Fig. 13/15).

A portion of a copper or bronze casting mould was found in the Early Iron Age horizon that was most likely used for the production of a cylindrical spear-butt (for balance) with hafting perforation (Fig. 14/1). An almost identical find of a spear-butt was found within Grave 2 of Mound 1 at the Sinjac Polje necropolis, near Bela Palanka.[37]

Forms and the manner of pottery decoration suggest that the genesis of the Kalakača culture is based on pottery in the Late Bronze Age Gava culture complex.[38] Tasić considers that the origin of the Kalakača cultural complex was from a Thraco-Cimmerian influence from the East.[39] Kalakača settlements are found in the territories of Srem, south-western Bačka, central and southern Banat, Iron Gates, and part of the Serbian Danube Region.[40] The finds from Foeni-Sălaş indicate it was most likely part of the Kalakača cultural complex. In Serbia the complex is characterised by the appearance of cross-shaped axes (Ärmchenbeil) made of iron and the emergence of new technologies in the production of iron objects (iron axes within the mass grave at the site of Gomolava and Layer IIa at the site of Bosut-Gradina).[41]

A piece of jewellery recovered at the site suggests that the site was briefly occupied during the Early/Middle La Téne period (4th–3rd century BC). It is an iron fibula with a back-bent foot decorated with a thickening (a pearl) of the Duchcov-Münsingen type (Fig. 14/2). During the 4th century BC, Celtic tribes from Central Europe settled the Carpathian Basin, eastern Transylvania, and the Danube Region.[42] Such fibulae are similar to numerous finds at the Pişkolt and Pećine necropolises that have been dated to the end of the 4th and beginning of the 3rd centuries BC.[43]

D. Middle Bronze Age (Fig. 13)

Several decorated potsherds indicate that the site was also utilised during the Middle Bronze Age or the Verbicioara culture. The Middle Bronze Age is represented by ceramics decorated significantly differently than the Eneolithic. The Bronze Age period is represented by a fragmented conical bowl decorated both on the inner and outer surfaces (Figs. 13/1, 3). This type of ceramic find is characteristic of the Early Bronze Age Makó culture, although similar vessels have been recorded within the Late Bronze Age context as well.[44] It has been suggested that such vessels were utilised as lids for urns containing cremated human remains.[45] The decoration is comprised of incised motifs of straight and wavy lines, as well as the dominant motif of hatched

---

[34] Popović, Kapuran 2011.

[35] Sîrbu, Dăvîncă 2014, 295.

[36] Greenfield, Draşovean 1994; cf. Gumă 1983; Gumă 1993; Medović 1988.

[37] Kapuran *et al*. 2015, fig. 7/5.

[38] Medović 1994, 46.

[39] Tasić 1983, 114–115.

[40] Medović 1988, 429.

[41] Medović 1990, 27.

[42] Jovanović 2010, 165.

[43] Jovanović, Kapuran 2018, 17–19; Zirra 1991, 179, fig. 171.

[44] Kalicz 1984, 96, taf. XX.

[45] Kapuran 2019, 15.

inverted triangles (Figs. 13/1, 3) and finger impressions (*impresso*) (Fig. 13/3).

While Gumă considers that the Verbicioara culture from the Middle Bronze Age is undefined in the Banat and that it most likely represents a variant of the Crvenka-Corneşti or Vatin culture,[46] our opinion is different. We think that there is a cultural connection between Phase II of the Verbicioara culture[47] and the Iron Gates Region and its hinterland, especially with the regions of the Negotin and Timok river valleys.[48] For example, an almost identical bowl decorated with incised motifs both on the inner and the outer surface was recorded at the site of Kot I in Metovnica, near Bor,[49] while the finger impressed decoration and decoration with rows of incised lines is quite common for the Timok Valley during the Middle Bronze Age.[50]

E. Eneolithic (Fig. 12)

The Eneolithic horizon at the site of Foeni-Sălaş is mostly represented by ceramics typical of the Cernavodă III–Boleráz complex. However, one has to recognise the difficulty of identifying small numbers of loose ceramic fragments to specific archaeological cultures. Furthermore, when trying to identify the cultural groups of the Middle Eneolithic within the southern parts of the Carpathian Basin, there is the issue of permeation between ceramic forms and ornamental techniques represented in finds of the Cernavodă III-Boleráz, Baden, and Kostolac cultural groups.[51] The problem is made even more difficult to resolve considering that only one sealed context was recognised from the Eneolithic at the site of Foeni-Sălaş and that most of the Eneolithic finds were found mixed in with material from the later stages of prehistory at the site. Some scattered remains of Eneolithic pottery were found in Loci 1 and 4. Only one small Cernavodă III–Boleráz feature was eventually identified and excavated – Locus 57. It is a small pit in the north-western peripheral corner of Locus 30, which was identified during post-excavation laboratory analysis of a cluster of distinctive ceramic finds (Figs. 11, 22). No sedimentary distinction could be made from the surrounding soils.

Based on the stylistic and typological characteristics of the Eneolithic pottery found at Foeni-Sălaş, two different regional cultures characteristic of the second phase of the Eneolithic period in this region are present – the Cernavodă III–Boleráz and Kostolac cultures. We assign the material to these cultures based on the significant similarities in forms and decorations to the aforementioned cultural manifestations. Considering that none of the most characteristic elements of the Baden culture vessels were found in the assemblage (e.g., amphora-shaped pithoi, one-handled cups with an emphasised lower portion of the recipient (onion-shaped) or vessels such as *sosieras* or *askoi*), we consider that the material is from the second phase of the Eneolithic at the site (i.e., the Kostolac culture).

Ceramics of the Cernavodă III–Boleráz culture at the site are represented by globular cups with one handle that can be decorated with vertical or oblique channels and incised lines (Figs. 15/1, 2, 6, 7). Cup handles are commonly rectangular in cross-section and undecorated. One almost completely preserved cup represents a typical example of vessels common for the culture (Fig. 15/4).[52] Save for the cups, finds of storage pots represented by amphora-type pots and S-profiled *pithoi* are also characteristic for the Cernavodă III–Boleráz cultural group (Figs. 16/1, 2). The pithoi are usually decorated with cork-like applications and modelled bands decorated with incisions or *impresso* ornaments (Figs. 16/1, 2, 8). Among other finds common for the Cernavodă III–Boleráz culture are tunnelled handles that can be either undecorated or decorated with grooves (Figs. 16/3, 7). Biconical bowls with thickened (Fig. 15/11) and wide everted rims are uncommon and, unlike the examples typical for the Cernavodă III–Boleráz horizon, do not possess inner surfaces decorated with vertical channels (Fig. 15/11).[53] Biconical bowls with wide everted rims usually possess an emphasised junction of cones on the belly (Fig. 15/8–10). Bearing in mind that the decorated vessels are more suitable for cultural attribution, the number of bowls decorated with imprints on the rim or on the junction of the cones is higher.[54] Such bowls are characterised by the decoration of the lower cone with vertical strips of incised lines (Fig. 15/9).[55]

Only one fragmented anthropomorphic figurine (Fig. 16/2) was recorded within the Eneolithic horizon at the site of Foeni-Sălaş. Judging by the flat cross-section and the representation of extremities and sexual

[46] Gumă 1997, 120–121.
[47] Crăcuinescu 2004, 216–218.
[48] Kapuran 2009.
[49] Kapuran, Jovanović 2013, 4, сл. 3/2.
[50] Kapuran *et al*. 2016, t. 3/5,7; 5/9.
[51] Tasić 1994, 30.
[52] Ecsedy 1978, taf VII/1, taf. XI/2; Tasić 1995, 48, XV/43.
[53] Krstić 1986, 150, fig. 110.
[54] Bulatović, Milanović 2020, fig. 189.
[55] Tasić 1983, сл. 3/6.

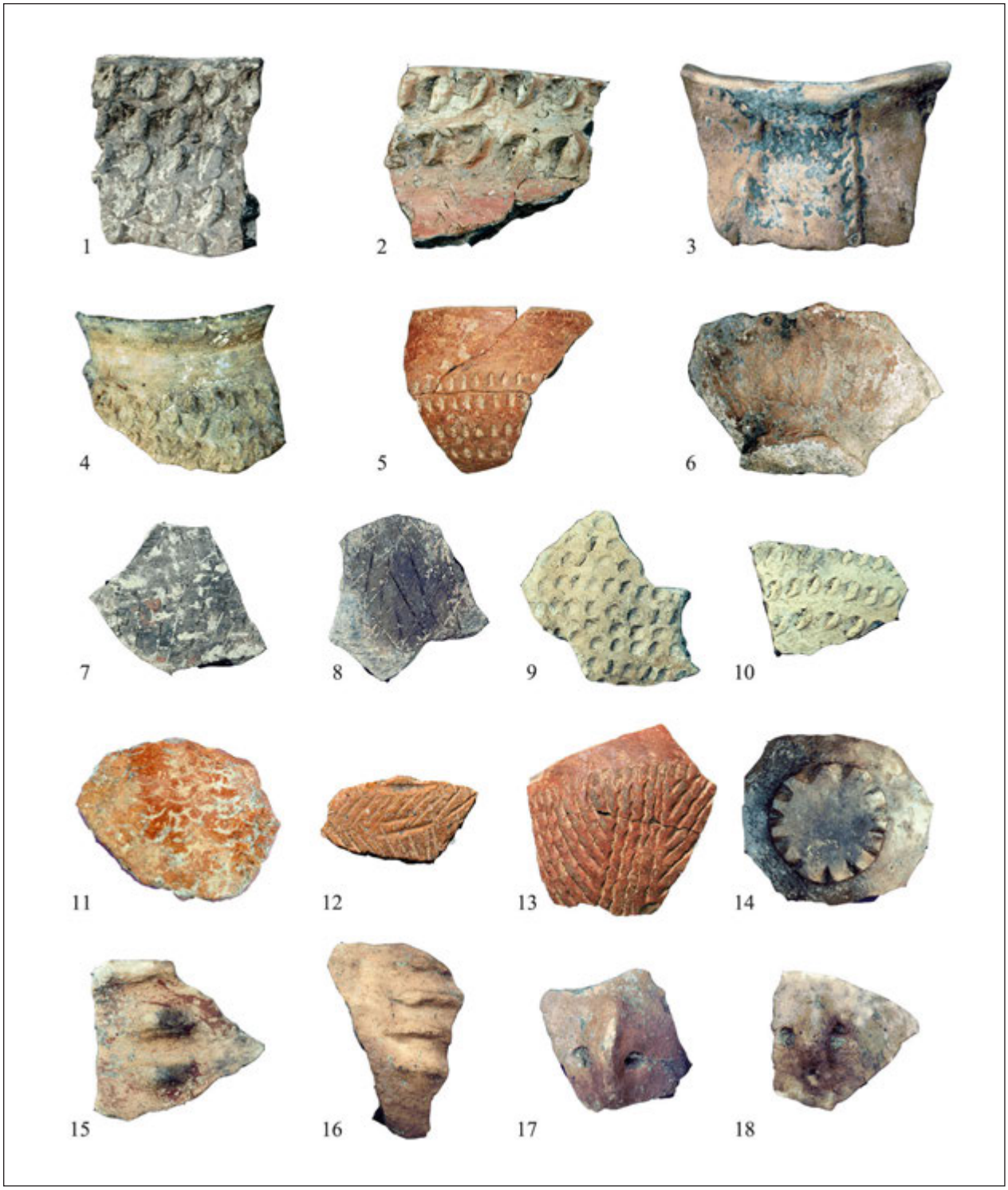


Fig. 18. 1–2) Early Neolithic finger tip impressions; 3) bas-relief of wheat motif; 4, 5, 9, 10, 11) finger tip and nail impressions; 11) shell incision prints; 6) rough decorated surface; 7–8) incised parallel lines; 12–13) herring bone; 14) rosetta style base; 15–16) horizontal lug handles; 17–18) vertical perforated lug handles

Сл. 18. 1–2) Рано неолитска керамика украшена штипањем; 3) мотивом класа; 4, 5, 9, 10, 11) штипањем и утискивањем ноктом; 11) украшавање шкољком; 6) прстима оирубљена површина посуде; 7–8) урезане паралелне линије; 12–13) мотив рибље кости; 14) розета декорација дна посуде; 15–16) хоризонтално моделоване дршке; 17–18) вертикално моделоване и бушене дршке

Fig. 19. 1–2) Early Neolithic white painted ware; 3, 4, 10) finger indentations on rims; 9) horizontal lug handle; 5, 6, 7, 8) undecorated pottery

Сл. 19. 1–2) Рано неолитска бело сликана керамика; 3, 4, 10) штипање прстом по ободу; 9) хоризонтално постављене дршке; 5, 6, 7, 8) недекорисана керамика

characteristics, the figurine can be attributed to the Cernavodă III–Boleráz culture.[56]

A younger phase of the Eneolithic at Foeni-Sălaş is represented by a few ceramics attributable to the Kostolac or Coţofeni culture group. These include vessels decorated with pricks or incisions filled with white incrustation (Figs. 15/12, 13). Some of the ceramic wares are decorated with zig-zag grooving, an incised net-shaped motif, or the so-called pine-twig motif (Figs. 16/5,6), which possess analogies found within the preceding Cernavodă III–Boleráz-Baden culture.[57] Two items of ceramic found at the site are characteristic of the Kostolac culture – a pot sherd fragment decorated with rectangular metopes filled with horizontal rows of incised lines (Fig. 16/7) and a small and sharp S-profiled cup (Fig. 15/3).

F. Starčevo-Criş (Fig. 17)

The Early Neolithic occupation at Foeni-Sălaş is represented by the Starčevo-Criş culture. Stylistically, the site has connections with other Starčevo-Criş sites from the area: such as Timişoara-Fratelia, Cuina Turcului I, Gura Baciului, Ocna-Sibiului, and Lepenski Vir IA.[58]

Ceramics from the Early Neolithic horizon have been typologically dated to the Starčevo-Criş IIA phase based on the presence of white painted wares typical of this phase present in the assemblage (Fig. 19/1–2). Painted ware is typologically associated with the IIA phase.[59] Further, most of the ceramics contain Starčevo-Criş IIA stylistic motifs, although possibly some IIB stylistic motifs are present. The lack of barbotine decoration implies a relatively early date for the ceramic assemblage in the traditional Starčevo-Criş chronological system.[60] Recently, it has been suggested that Foeni-Sălaş should be attributed to the preceding Starčevo-Criş IC (and possibly earlier), since such motifs are also present in earlier phases of the culture.[61]

In recent years, the Starčevo-Criş culture from this region has been dated much earlier. Based on calibrated radiocarbon sequences, it appears to now date from 6100 to 5400 cal. BC,[62] which is much earlier than previous analyses.[63] While later dates were originally published for the site,[64] it is thought now that the Early Neolithic occupation at Foeni-Sălaş dates to the very end of the 8th and beginning of the 7th millennium BP.[65] and different than earlier analyses.

The pottery contained chaff or sand temper, but not mixed together. The archaeometric analyses showed only ceramics tempered with plant matter, and very occasionally not tempered at all.[66] In general, the ceramics are monochrome, red-slipped, globular in shape, with pseudo-barbotine decoration on vessel bodies and fingernail impressions and pinches on the rims (Figs. 19/4, 5, 9–11). There is a limited range of decorations and shapes, which is typical of such Starčevo-Criş settlements.[67]

Wide-mouth globular vessels dominate the assemblage (Fig. 19/3). The most diagnostic shapes are open bowls, wide-mouthed jars, and narrow-necked globular pots. Bowls appear to dominate (Figs. 19/5, 6) followed by open-mouth jars (Figs. 19/3, 4). There are very few plates, which are, in reality, nothing more than shallow bowls. Most of the assemblage is highly fragmented. Only a single complete vessel was recovered. Some of the pottery is very well burnished and very well fired with chaff and sand tempers, but most are simple and undecorated (Fig. 19/6).[68] Bases can be simple globular, flattened, or more fancy, such as the rosetta-shaped (Fig. 19/14).

Most of the Early Neolithic ceramic wares are simple undecorated red-painted monochrome wares (Figs. 18/4–7, 9). Many also have a simple roughened surface as decoration (Fig. 19/6). There is a limited repertoire of decorative motifs, including finger-nail impressions on the body or rim (Fig. 18/3), finger pinching in the shape of wheat (Fig. 22/3), finger pinching on a roughened surface (Fig. 18/10), finger pinching in parallel lines (Fig. 18/1, 2), finger pinching in the shape of wheat and with crossed vertical and horizontal lines (Fig. 18/3), finger-nail impressions (Fig. 18/1, 2), incised parallel lines (Fig. 18/7, 8), punctates (Fig. 18/9),

---

[56] Roman 2001, taf. ½.

[57] Uzelac 2002, T. 48/44; T. 25/41,43,44.

[58] Ciută 2005; Lazarovici 1984, 62; Lazarovici, Maxim 1995; Paul 1995; Păunescu 1979; Spataro 2004; 2011a; b; Srejović 1972; Vlassa 1980.

[59] Lazarovici 1977; 1979; 1984; Milojčić 1949; 1950.

[60] Arandjelović-Garašanin 1954; Dimitrijević 1974; Garašanin 1973; 1983; Lazarovici 1984; Spataro 2019c, 45.

[61] Meadows 2019, fig. 1.7; Spataro 2019b, 91, table 93.15, fig. 91.97.

[62] Meadows 2019, 38–40; Spataro 2019b, 91, table 93.15, fig. 91.97.

[63] Biagi, Spataro 2005; Ehrich, Bankoff 1992; Manson 2008; Whittle *et al*. 2002.

[64] Greenfield, Jongsma 2008, 117–118.

[65] Spataro 2004, 42.

[66] Spataro 2019a, 93–98.

[67] Greenfield, Draşovean 1994; Spataro 2019b; c.

[68] Greenfield, Draşovean 1994; Spataro 2004.

Fig. 20. 1–2) Early Neolithic zoomorphic figurines; 3–4) altars; 5–6) amulets; 7) weight; 8–9) bollas

Сл. 20. 1–2) Ранонеолитске зооморфне фигурине; 3–4) жртвеници; 5–6) амулети; 7) тег; 8–9) калеми

herring bone (Figs. 18/12, 13), shell incisions (Fig. 18/11), and plastic ribs with finger impressions and a roughened surface with a spout at the rim (Fig. 19/8).[69]

Most handles on the ceramic wares are in the form of lug handles. They are very functional since they enhance carrying or suspending pots. They are designed to stabilise hanging a pot from a post or for carrying. A piece of rope can be easily strung through a vertical hole (Figs. 18/17. 18) or between two horizontal lugs (Fig. 18/15), or as part of a net between three vertically oriented bumps (Figs. 19/8, 22/16). The chronological differences (if any) between each of these decorative motifs is still to be worked out.

A study of the ceramic fabric from the Early Neolithic ceramics at the site suggests that they were produced from local clay sources[70]. There were various other kinds of Early Neolithic artefacts found in this horizon. Some examples include zoomorphic figurines (20/1, 2), altars (Figs. 20/3, 4), amulets (Figs. 20/5, 6), weights of varying kinds and sizes (Fig. 20/7), and bolla-shaped objects (Fig. 20/8, 9). The function of such objects is still under investigation.

Discussion

In this section, each of the settlement phases at Foeni-Sălaş will be discussed in their larger regional context.

A. Medieval

The entire site was occupied during the Medieval period. Several features were found during this period on the northern half of the site, outside of the stockade, including several houses, both above and below ground (Loci 21, 27, and 42), some kind of bedding trench (Feature 7), a few storage pits (Loci 29, 43, and 58), and a large unfired clay base (Locus 55).

The presence of a stockade and a warrior burial in the southern half of the site suggests that the Medieval period in this region was a time of stress and instability. A large stockade was built across the southern half of the site, as evidenced by the foundation ditch and large postholes within it. While only the northern and western sides of the ditch were excavated, it clearly continued beyond the excavation area. The presence of two burials at the eastern edge of the site, just outside of the stockade, one of which is clearly that of a warrior (Grave 2), considering the elaborate grave goods (metal spear, sword, knife, buckle, belt, and fibula), and the presence of the stockade, suggest that the site was a small fortification during this period.

The evidence from the pit houses, storage pits, burials and the like all suggest that families were present on the site during the Medieval occupation. Whether the stockade was a place to retreat to or live within is not clear, or even if it was for keeping livestock safe from marauders. The presence of families is likely given that the second burial (Grave 3) is thought to be that of an adult woman, who was possibly pregnant at the time of death, since it also includes the remains of an infant. In this period, the site was probably an important bastion against the instability sweeping through the region.

The occupants supported themselves by herding domestic livestock, fishing, and grain cultivation, as evidenced by faunal remains, grindstones and the like.

B. Late (Daco-) Roman

By the time of the Late Roman occupation of the region, the local population had been assimilated, laying the groundwork for the continued use of a Latin-based language (Romanian) into modern times. The site was occupied during the 3–5th centuries AD, and overlapped with the period when the Roman Empire withdrew to the south.

The Dacian occupation at Foeni-Sălaş is small and concentrated into two sections of the site: The southwestern quarter seems to be an area that was used initially for grain storage and subsequently for rubbish disposal, and even a burial. A number of bell-shaped storage pits were found (Loci 35 and 46, Features 4, 5, and 6). After their function as storage pits ended, they were filled with rubbish of various kinds, including ceramics, metal and other objects, mammal and fish bones, snail shells, and charcoal, and even an infant burial (Grave 1). In contrast, the only house found was at the northern end of the site (Locus 38), which was a semi-subterranean wattle-and-daub rectilinear structure with a clay floor and an oven in the southern end.

Give the presence of only a few storage pits, a single structure, and the low density of remains, the site appears to have been occupied at this time by what might have been a single family or household. It would appear that they supported themselves by herding domestic livestock, and cultivated grains in the

[69] While the ceramic analysis of the Early Neolithic assemblage was supposed to be conducted by the Romanian team, unfortunately, it was never conducted. This is a summary description of the wares, based on our observations and previous publications (e.g., Greenfield, Draşovean 1994).

[70] Spataro 2019:46

surrounding fields, given the faunal remains and artefacts (grindstones).

C. Early Iron Age

The Early Iron Age occupation at Foeni-Sălaş is represented by the mature Hallstatt C culture complex (800–600 BCE). The Hallstatt settlement covers most of the southern half of the mound. It covers the same area that is covered by the Early Neolithic settlement. It was heavily disturbed by modern and Medieval ploughing, except for some of the deeper pits and pit houses filled with ceramics, animal bones, and grindstones.

It extends across most of the site, except for the far northern part where there is only Medieval. It is clearly a settlement since there are several semisubterranean houses (Loci 18, 30, 40, and 44) with subdivisions and wattle-and-daub walls and built features (e.g., internal walls, internal posts, and hearths) spread across the site. In addition, there are a number of small circular storage/ rubbish pits (Loci 11, 15, 22, 28, 32, 33, 36, 37, 39, 45, 47, and 48; Feature 3) ellipsoid (Loci 54 and 56), and bell-shaped pits (Locus 31). They were filled with all kinds of artefactual and ecofactual remains afterwards. Agriculture was an important part of the economy, as reflected in the fauna and the presence of grindstones.

Given their widespread distribution across the site with no evidence of one Iron Age pit cutting into another, it is unlikely that they were sequentially occupied. Furthermore, there is no evidence of laterally displaced stratigraphy in this stratum, thereby suggesting that this was a relatively brief occupation by only a few families. We might suggest that this was a small settlement with buildings for four families during this period, who were herding livestock, cultivating grain, and occasionally fishing or shellfish collecting to feed their families.

D. Early and Middle Bronze Age

There is no evidence of permanent settlement at Foeni-Sălaş during this period. The overall dearth of remains from this period suggest that the site had been

Fig. 21. Early Neolithic pit house (Locus 23) and Medieval fortification ditch (Locus 8)

Сл. 21 Ранонеолитска земуница (локус 23) и средњевековни фортификациони ров (локус 8)

Fig. 22. Photograph of Early Iron Age Locus 30 being excavated within the Early Neolithic Locus 24 (outlined in sediment)
Fig. 23. Basal sediment and remains in Middle Bronze Age Locus 15

Сл. 22. Фотографија локуса 30 из старијег гвозденог доба истраживаног унутар рано неолитског локуса 24 (границе се виде у седименту)
Сл. 23. Дно јаме из средњег бронзаног доба са налазима у локусу 15

visited, albeit only briefly, and probably by a very small group or just an individual.

There is no other evidence of other Bronze Age occupation at the site, although there is a large contemporary settlement only 500 m to the north.[71]

E. Eneolithic

The situation at Foeni-Sălaş during the Eneolithic period is similar to that of the Bronze Age. There are very few ceramic remains and these are mostly scattered in Loci 1 and 4. Only a single small pit (Locus 57) from the Cernavodă III–Boleráz culture was found in the north-western corner of Locus 30 (Fig. 22), and it was only identified during post-excavation laboratory analysis of the cluster of distinctive ceramic finds. No other features were found.

The small number of finds and single intact deposit from the Eneolithic found at Foeni-Sălaş that can be attributed to the Cernavodă III–Boleráz (i.e. Kostolac or Coţofeni) cultural horizon suggests that there was no significant occupation at the site. It was probably visited a few times as pastoralists moved across the region during their seasonal rounds. Although it was considered that the Baden and Kostolac cultures represent mutually related manifestations,[72] Nikolić suggests that they are quite different in terms of material culture.[73] Within the Balkan Peninsula, the Kostolac culture encompasses the regions to the west (the courses of the Drava, Sava, Danube, and the Great, and South Morava Rivers), while the Coţofeni culture encompasses the areas farther east (Transylvania, Banat, Oltenia, and parts of Muntenia).[74] At one point during the second half of the 4th millennium BC, the bearers of the Coţofeni culture began settling into the region that extended from Transylvania to the south-eastern parts of the Carpathian Basin and north-eastern Serbia.[75] N. Tasić proposes that the Cernavodă III culture extended across Muntenia and Oltenia to the southern Banat region, probably along the Danube drainage.[76] Furthermore, he considers the territory of north-eastern Serbia as the point of symbiosis between the Kostolac and the Coţofeni cultures.[77] However, as previously noted, the small number of potsherds that could be attributed to

[71] Florin Draşovean, pers. comm. year 1992.
[72] Garašanin 1973, 234.
[73] Nikolić 2000, 80.
[74] Roman 1976, 70.
[75] Boyadziev 1988, 360.
[76] Tasić 1983, 57.
[77] Tasić 1982, 27.

Fig. 24. Basal horizon of Early Neoltihic Locus 7 pithouse (bottom-middle), Middle Bronze Locus 15 pit (middle), and Medieval Locus 8 fortification ditch (top)
Fig. 25. Artefact density in locus 23

Сл. 24. Дно локуса 7 са йолуземуницом из раноī неолийа (на средини слике), локус 15 из средњеī бронзаноī доба (средина слике) и средњевековни одбрамбени ров локус 8 (на īорњем делу слике)
Сл. 25. Расйоред арйефакаша у локусу 23

both cultures recorded at the site of Foeni-Sălaş does not provide sufficient evidence for a precise attribution to either the Kostolac or Coţofeni culture.

The Cernavodă III–Boleráz culture, which Nikola Tasić considers to be the substrate for the later development of the Baden culture,[78] is found across a broad swath of Central and South-eastern Europe. Its disposition in the Vojvodina region extends across the eastern parts of the Serbian Banat region to the Romanian border, which is in direct proximity to the site of Foeni-Sălaş. To a certain degree, the culture exists in the central Bačka and Srem regions.[79] Medović is one of the pioneering researchers of this culture in Serbia, as a result of his research at the settlement site of Brza Vrba near Kovin (1969–1971). This initiated the discovery of several finds attributed to this culture in the depot of the Vršac museum.[80]

Save for the Vojvodina region, finds attributed to the Cernavodă III culture have been recorded in the Iron Gates, in Korbovo,[81] the site of Bubanj-Staro Selo near Niš,[82] and Kosovo (the site of Gladnice near Priština). The new phase of research at Bubanj (2008–2014) resulted in the *in situ* discovery of a completely preserved Cernavodă storage pot in Cultural Horizon IV possessing characteristics of the Cernavodă III–Boleráz-Baden culture,[83] which is almost identical in size and decoration to the example from Foeni-Sălaş (Fig. 16/1). The absolute date for this phase of the eponymous site is c. 3400 BP.[84] Aside from the territory of

78 Tasić 1983, 30.
79 Tasić 1983, 31.
80 Medović 1976, 105 abb. 101; Uzelac 2002, 55.
81 Krstić 1986.
82 Bulatović, Milanović 2020, 168; Milanović 2013.
83 Bulatović, Milanović 2020, fig. 158/151.
84 Vander Linden, Bulatović 2020, 240, fig. 220, tab. 216.

Serbia, this cultural group extended across the Romanian Banat, Lower Danube region in northern Bulgaria, and the Struma Valley.[85]

F. Early Neolithic

The Starčevo-Criş occupation is the most extensive and intense, other than the Early Iron Age at the site. The Starčevo-Criş settlement covers most of the site, with the exception of the northern plateau, where only a Dacian house was found. For the most part, the settlement faces south toward the old stream channel that ran along the southern perimeter of the site. Most features are large pits, which are interpreted as semisubterranean houses, though some appear to be remains of surface structures. Five of these large pit features (Loci 7, 10, 24, 41, and 50) are mid-sized and arranged in a semicircle around the perimeter of the settlement. Each of the pit house features had peripheral and internal post holes and a hearth. One also had a domed oven toward the north-western corner (Locus 23). In the centre of the semi-circle of pit house features, there is a large open space filled with another, even larger, semisubterranean house (Locus 23), a small pit (Locus 25), a large surface feature surrounded by post holes with a low artefact density and packed dirt (Locus 52), and a large surface concentration of bone and ceramics (Locus 51).

There is only a single Early Neolithic pan-site stratum, and it stratigraphically connects to all the Early Neolithic features on the site. The presence of only a single Early Neolithic pan-site horizon and the absence of any evidence of reoccupation of any of the pit houses (such as hearths in the middle or upper horizons) or overlap in the construction of later Early Neolithic pit houses with earlier ones argues against multiple occupations during this period at the site. There is also evidence that the site was not occupied year-round or for any great length of time. The fauna and the absence of significant quantities of charcoaled grains suggest that it may have been a winter occupation at the site. Consequently, it is suggested that the site was a single limited occupation.[86]

Each of the pit houses has a similar stratigraphic sequence: a basal (living) horizon with a lower density of debris, a middle fill with dense debris, and an overlying deposit with lower densities of remains. All of the features are associated with the basal horizon (e.g., postholes, hearths, ovens, etc.). Interestingly, the density of remains in the living horizon tends to be the lowest. After the abandonment of the living horizon, the pits were filled with a middle horizon consisting of refuse and superstructure collapse. The pit then became the focus for rodents and other scavengers. The end of the middle horizon probably represents the collapse of the roof. This was followed by a final silting in of the pit (with washed in cultural residue) which occurred after site abandonment. Similar sequences are seen at Blagotin[87] and much further afield.[88] Thus, the multiple horizons within the pits represent living, abandonment fill, and subsequent architectural collapse rather than reoccupations from a slightly later settlement during the Early Neolithic.

The shapes of the mid-sized pit-houses are relatively constant, enclosing 5 x 4–6 m (20–30 m²) trapezoidal areas. The location of perpendicular postholes in the walls of the pits implies the presence of low walls that would have met low, sloping roofs. The size of each of the smaller pit-houses implies that they were occupied by a nuclear or small extended family.[89] Each structure would have housed no more than a single nuclear family, except for the large central pit house which might have housed two such families. Thus, the settlement is likely to have been occupied by 50 or fewer people.

The Early Neolithic occupation at Foeni-Sălaş has a single, thin pan-site occupation stratum (Locus 2). There is no evidence of later Starčevo-Criş structures cutting into earlier ones. Daub architecture and the construction of durable structures are almost completely absent. Simple semisubterranean huts were constructed and occupied for a short period of time. Floors were not specially constructed or plastered. Floors were simply the bottoms of the pits dug into the post-Pleistocene and Pleistocene sediments. The people of Foeni-Sălaş invested little time or effort in modifying or improving their living areas. The settlement seems to have been abandoned relatively soon (likely a few months only) after the pit houses were constructed. After the pit-dwellings were abandoned, the area between the pit houses was mostly cleaned up and the pit houses were filled up with this debris and that from the collapse of the superstructure. Given there is no evidence of stratigraphic accumulations of multiple occupation levels above the basal level, it is likely that they were not reoccupied nor used as middens by neighbouring structures, since

[85] Alexandrov 1995, 253–254.
[86] Greenfield, Jongsma 2008, 122.
[87] Greenfield, Jongsma-Greenfield 2014.
[88] Hayden 1997.
[89] Naroll 1962; Wiessner 1974.

they all seem to have been abandoned around the same time. There is no evidence of subsequent occupation of the site during this period, since none of the pit houses overlap. This suggests that it was a relatively short-term occupation, probably only of a season or two.

Conclusion

Our research at Foeni-Sălaş demonstrates that it was occupied intermittently and probably only briefly at various times over the past 8,000 years. Occupation began during the Early Neolithic (Starčevo-Criş, c. 6100 BC), it was then abandoned until the Eneolithic (Cernavodă III–Baden and Kostolac, c. 3000 BC), abandoned again until the Middle Bronze Age (Verbicioara, c. 1600 BC), abandoned yet again until the Early Iron Age (Hallstatt C, c. 600 BC), and again abandoned until the Late Roman period (3–5th cent. AD), and again until the Medieval (10–11th and 14–15th cent. AD). It was finally abandoned as a settlement afterwards, and only used for agricultural purposes in the modern era (19–20th cent. AD). It was occupied initially (Early Neolithic) and probably only for a few seasons as an early farming settlement by several families living in pit houses, herding domestic livestock (cattle and sheep, primarily), hunting and fishing, but only a little, and gathering wild plants. In the Eneolithic and Middle Bronze Age, it was likely only briefly visited, given the paucity of material and deposits (one pit in each and some sporadic finds). During the Early Iron Age, it once again became a settlement where several families likely lived in semisubterranean dwellings. Similarly, during the Late Roman period, it was a small settlement where only a few families likely lived, given the number of bell-shaped storage pits and semisubterranean dwellings. During the Medieval period, it appears to have become some kind of fort since a stockade was built on the southern half of the site and much of the site was levelled by ploughing (both of which destroyed much of the earlier settlements). Two burials, of which one was certainly a warrior, are associated with this phase of occupation. In the modern era, it was used for agriculture by the inhabitants of the village of Foeni, but was severely impacted by the modern ploughing regime that extended to a depth of almost 50 cm in places.

The importance of the various occupations at Foeni-Sălaş is that:

1. It teaches us about the spatial and economic organisation of early farming communities (Early Neolithic) – that we should not use a Mediterranean or Near Eastern model. They lived in semisubterranean (pit) houses that were spatially distributed around a larger central one, a pattern unique to the Central Balkans. There is no longer a debate about the existence of pit houses in the literature.[90] Their presence in not only the Early Neolithic[91] but also in later periods extending almost up to modern times is now an accepted fact. This stands in contrast to the debate that continued throughout the 1990s about the nature of the earliest architecture in the region.[92]

2. It teaches us about the economic organisation of early farming communities. In the Central Balkans, an essentially Near Eastern/Mediterranean complex of domestic plants and animals were readapted to a temperate Central European environment.[93] As part of that, the animal and plant spectra changed from a Near Eastern to Central European pattern. This set the stage for the next phase of European colonisation by early farmers, since food producing economies rapidly spread throughout much of the rest of temperate Central, Western and Northern Europe following the conclusion of this process.[94]

3. It teaches us that to reconstruct the internal social and economic organisation of a single settlement, large horizontal excavations are required. Only by documenting the *in situ* distributions of features and artefacts can their spatial relationships begin to be interpreted. Before the work at Foeni-Sălaş, such a programme had never been undertaken at a Starčevo-Criş-Körös culture early agricultural site, where 75% of the site was investigated. It requires the excavation of not only the features filled with artefacts, but also the empty spaces in between, in order to see the exact boundaries within and around the settlement area. The excavations at Blagotin had this important goal originally in mind, but the depth of the stratigraphy (and the cultural embargo) made this impossible.

4. It teaches us that a good place to live in the Early Neolithic continued to be a good place to live in later periods. The slight rise on which the Early Neolithic settlement was constructed provided not only better drainage and viewpoints than in the surrounding plain, but also a close proximity to a running water course (Timişat). The small area at the top of the natural mound

[90] Ehrich 1977.
[91] Bogdanović 1988.
[92] Bailey 1999.
[93] Greenfield 1993; Whittle 1996.
[94] Bogucki 1988; 1996.

restricted the spread of the settlement in all periods, which led to the creation of stratigraphically superimposed deposits (or a small tell-like feature). This is very different to the pattern described for many settlement areas in the plains, where there is a laterally displaced stratigraphy on terraces overlooking water courses.

5. It teaches us that even small insignificant sites can yield important information about the history and nature of settlements in a region, which have far reaching implications. Through the investigation of the single phase of Early Neolithic occupation at Foeni-Sălaş, it has been possible to delineate and finally understand the spatial organisation of an Early Neolithic settlement. The Early Neolithic settlement was spatially organised as a peripheral semi-circle of semisubterranean dwellings around a larger semisubterranean dwelling and other open-air features (e.g., livestock enclosure). This circular pattern around a larger pit house is a pattern that we have long argued was the case with other sites, such as Blagotin and Vinča,[95] but the deep stratigraphic sequence covering half of Blagotin and all of Vinča defeated even the most valiant attempt to excavate it thoroughly enough to confirm this hypothesis. This is a completely different settlement pattern than one sees in the more Mediterranean littoral of South-eastern Europe or in Central Europe, where buildings were rectilinear and above ground, for the most part. Similarly, the presence of a Medieval fortification at Foeni-Salas shows that it was likely an important way-station and redoubt that does not show up in any historical texts. The ephemeral presence of the Eneolithic and Bronze Ages at the site are just as revealing with regard to the absence of permanent occupation at the site.

6. It teaches us that flat sites, as opposed to those with a thick and deep stratigraphy, are just as, if not more, important to investigate, since they allow for large-scale horizontal exposures, where the entire settlement system can be delineated. Most research on intra-settlement organisation in this region has focused on reconstructing culture historical sequences that rely upon the stratigraphic sequences found in tell-like sites. However, flat, open sites, when exposed in large horizontal excavations, allow for the systematic investigation of spatial relationships. The entire settlement can be sampled or exposed in each phase of occupation. Consequently, the spatial distribution of activity areas within sites becomes apparent. Excavation in small or large isolated trenches never allows for stratigraphic relationships or behavioural interpretations to be adequately established. Unfortunately, flat sites are disturbed by later processes, such as ploughing and rodent activity, not to speak of later occupations. Archaeologists must learn to recognise and account for such process if they wish to reconstruct the spatial processes of behaviour within a settlement. Only afterwards, can they begin to generalise and compare the results with the wider region.

In conclusion, Foeni-Sălaş is a small multi-period site located in the Romanian Banat, near the border with Serbia. Despite its small size, it has allowed us to understand the evolution of human settlement in this region, from the first farmers until nearly modern times. Small settlements can provide complementary information regarding the larger, better known settlements that archaeologists often prefer to investigate. However, one should not judge the importance of settlements based on their size. It is not the "size that matters", but the quality of information that can be gleaned to increase our understanding of human adaptations to a region.

Acknowledgements

We graciously thank the following institutions and individuals who contributed to the research leading to this publication of the data from Foeni-Sălaş. Funding for the excavations at Foeni-Sălaş between 1992 and 1994 was provided through a grant to Haskel J. Greenfield from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (Ottawa), International Research and Exchanges Board (Washington, DC), the National Academy of Sciences (Washington, DC), and the Museum of the Banat, Timişoara, Romania. Permits for the excavation were obtained through the efforts of Florin Draşovean and the Museum of the Banat-Timişoara, whom we thank for permission to excavate and report on the site. The excavations were directed by Haskel Greenfield (with occasional visits by the Romanian co-director, Florin Draşovean); the lab director was Tina Jongsma-Greenfield; and photography was by Zev Greenfield. The Post-Neolithic ceramic culture historical analysis was carried out by Dimitrije Madas, while Alexander Kapuran conducted the post-Neolithic ceramic typological analysis.

The excavation team included Viktor Aćimović, Dušan Borić, Bonnie Brenner, Vali Cediea, Dan Leopold Ciobotaru, Lisa Challinor, Stuart Cox, Vladan Čurić,

[95] Greenfield 2000; Greenfield, Jongsma-Greenfield 2014; Greenfield, Jongsma 2006.

Elizabeth Dinan, Sandra Jezik, Aleksandar Kapuran, Ian Kuijt, Hani Khalidi, Megan Mare, Iosif Moravetz, Mark Paxton-Macrae, Silviu Saftu, Alexandru Szentmiklosi, Boban Tripković, and a host of other Romanian, Serbian, and Canadian students, professionals, and labourers. Michaela Spataro made very cogent comments on the manuscript, which allowed it to be significantly improved. Finally, we graciously thank once again our host and hostess in the village (the late Deian and Marietta Amici and their family), Liviu Chira (who owned the land), and the people of the village of modern Foeni, who opened their world to us.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Alexandrov 1995 – S. Alexandrov, The Early Bronze Age in western Bulgaria: periodization and cultural definition. In *Prehistoric Bulgaria. Monographs in World Archaeology No. 22*. D. W. Bailey, I. Panayotov (eds.). Madison, Wisconsin: Prehistory Press 1995, 235–270.

Arandjelović-Garašanin 1954 – D. Arandjelović-Garašanin, *Starcevečka Kultura*. Ljubljana: Universitet v Ljubljana 1954.

Bailey 1999 – D. W. Bailey, Pit-huts and surface-level structures: the built environment in the Balkan Neolithic. *Documenta Praehistorica (Ljubljana)* 25, 1999, 15–30.

Biagi, Spataro 2005 – P. Biagi, M. Spataro, New observations on the radiocarbon chronology of the Starčevo-Criş and Körös cultures. In *Prehistoric Archaeology & Anthropological Theory and Education*. L. Nikolova, J. Fritz, J. Higgins (eds.). Salt Lake City: International Institute of Anthropology 2005, 35–50.

Bogdanović 1988 – M. Bogdanović, Architecture and structural features at Divostin. In *Divostin and the Neolithic of Central Serbia*. A. McPherron, D. Srejović (eds.). Pittsburgh, PA: Department of Anthropology, University of Pittsburgh 1988, 35–142.

Bogucki 1988 – P. Bogucki, *Forest Farmers and Stockherders: Early Agriculture and its Consequences in North-Central Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1988.

Bogucki 1996 – P. Bogucki, The spread of early farming in Europe. *American Scientist* 84, 1996, 242–253.

Boyadziev 1988 – Y. Boyadziev, Radiocarbon dating from southestern Europe. In *James Harvey Gaul in Memoriam*. M. Stefanovich (ed.) Sofia: James Harvey Gaul Foundation 1988, 349–370.

Brukner 1995 – O. Brukner, Римска насеља и виле рустике (Rimska naselja i vile rustike). In *Археолошка истраживања дуж аутопута кроз Срем (Arheološka istraživanja duž autoputa kroz Srem)*. З. Вапа (Z. Vapa) (ed.) Нови Сад (Novi Sad): Pokrajinski Zavod za Zaštitu Spomenika Kulture 1995, 137–174.

Brukner, Dautova-Ruševljanin, Milošević 1987 – O. Brukner, V. Dautova-Ruševljanin, P. Milošević, *Počeci romanizacije u jugoslovenskom delu provincije Donje Panonije*. Novi Sad: Matica srpska, Odeljenje za društvene nauke 1987.

Bulatović, Milanović (eds.) 2020 – A. Bulatović, D. Milanović, *Bubanj – The Eneolithic and the Early Bronze Age Tell in Southeastern Serbia, MPK Band 90*. Wien: OREA, Austrian Accademy of Science Press 2020.

Ciută 2005 – M. Ciută, *Începturile Neoliticului Timporiu în Spaţiul Intracarpatic Transilvănean. Bibliotheca Universitatis Apulensis XII*. Alba Iulia: Universitatis Apulensis 2005.

Crăcuinescu 2004 – G. Crăcuinescu, *Cultura Verbicioara în jumătatea vestică a Olteniei*. Craiova: Editura Craiova 2004.

Dimitrijević 1974 – S. Dimitrijević, Problem stupnjeva starčevačke kulture s posebnim obzirom na doprinos juznopanonskih nalazista rejsavanju ovog problema. *Materijali (Beograd)* 10, 1974, 59–122.

Dumitrescu, Bolomey, Mogoşanu 1983 – V. Dumitrescu, A. Bolomey, F. Mogoşanu, The prehistory of Romania from the earliest times to 1000 BC. In *The Cambridge Ancient History Volume III, Part I: The Prehistory of the Balkans; and the Middle East and the Aegean World, Tenth to Eighth Centuries B.C.* J. Boardman, I. E. S. Edwards, N. G. L. Hammond, E. Sollberger (eds.). Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press 1983, 1–74.

Ecsedy 1978 – I. Ecsedy, Die funde der spätkuperzeitlichen Boleraz-gruppe von Lánycsók. *Janus Pannonius Muzeum Evkönyke (Pécs)* 22, 1978, 163–183.

Ehrich 1977 – R. Ehrich, Starčevo Revisited. In *Ancient Europe and the Mediterranean*. V. Markotić (ed.) Warminster, England: Aris and Phillips, Ltd. 1977, 59–67.

Ehrich, Bankoff 1992 – R. Ehrich, A. Bankoff, Geographical and chronological patterns in East Central and Southeastern Europe. In *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology*. R. Ehrich (ed.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1992, 375–394.

Ellis 1969 – R. A. Ellis, *British Snails: A Guide to the Non-Marine Gastropoda of Great Britain and Ireland, Pleistocene to Recent*. Oxford: Clarendon Press 1969.

Evans 1972 – J. G. Evans, *Land Snails in Archaeology*. New York: Seminar Press 1972.

Garašanin 1973 – M. Garašanin, *Praistorija na Tlu SR Srbije, 2nd edition, vol. 1 (Palaeolithic, Mesolithic, Neolithic, Eneolithic, Bronze Age)*. Belgrade: Srbska Književna Zadruga 1973.

Garašanin 1983 – M. Garašanin, The Stone Age in the Central Balkans. In *Cambridge Ancient History, vol. 3.1. The Prehistory of the Balkans; and the Middle East and the Aegean World Tenth to Eighth Centuries BC*. J. Boardman, I. E. S. Edwards, N. G. L. Hammond, E. Sollberger (eds.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1983, 75–135.

Greenfield 1993 – H. Greenfield, Zooarchaeology, taphonomy, and the origins of food production in the Central Balkans. In *Culture and Environment: A Fragile Co-Existence. Proceedings of the 24th Chacmool Conference.* R. W. Jamieson,

S. Abonyi, N. A. Mirau (eds.). Calgary: Archaeological Association, University of Calgary 1993, 111–117.

Greenfield 2000 – H. Greenfield, Integrating surface and subsurface reconnaissance data in the study of stratigraphically complex sites: Blagotin, Serbia. *Geoarchaeology* 15, 2000, 167–201.

Greenfield, Draşovean 1994 – H. Greenfield, F. Draşovean, An Early Neolithic Starčevo-Criş settlement in the Romanian Banat: preliminary report on the 1992 excavations at Foeni-Sălaş. *Annale Bantului: Journal of the Museum of the Banat (Timişoara, Romania)* 3, 1994, 45–85.

Greenfield, Jongsma-Greenfield 2014 – H. Greenfield, T. Jongsma-Greenfield, Subsistence and settlement in the Early Neolithic of temperate SE Europe: a view from Blagotin, Serbia. *Archaeologia Bulgarica* XVIII, 2014, 1–33.

Greenfield, Jongsma-Greenfield 2018 – H. Greenfield, T. Jongsma-Greenfield, Feasting during the Early Neolithic of the central Balkans: the fauna from Blagotin, Serbia. In *Social Dimensions of Food in the Prehistory of the Eastern Balkans and Neighbouring Areas. Proceedings of the International Conference at the Heidelberg Academy of Sciences, Heidelberg, 30th April – 2nd May 2015*. M. Ivanova, B. Athanassov, V. Petrova, D. Takorova, P. W. Stockhammer (eds.). Oxford: Oxbow Book 2018, 109–140.

Greenfield, Jongsma 2006 – H. Greenfield, T. Jongsma, The spatial organization of Early Neolithic settlements in temperate southeastern Europe: a view from Blagotin, Serbia. I. In *Space and Spatial Analysis in Archaeology*. E. C. Robertson, J. D. Siebert, D. C. Fernandez, M. U. Zender (eds.). Calgary: University of Calgary Press 2006, 69–79.

Greenfield, Jongsma 2008 – H. Greenfield, T. Jongsma, Sedentary pastoral gatherers in the Early Neolithic – architectural, botanical, and zoological evidence for mobile economies from Foeni-Salas, SW Romania. In *Living Well Together? Settlement and Materiality in the Neolithic of South-East and Central Europe*. D. W. Bailey, A. Whittle, D. Hofmann (eds.). Oxford: Oxbow Books 2008, 108–130.

Greenfield, Lawson 2020 – H. Greenfield, K. S. Lawson, Defining activity areas in the Early Neolithic site of southeastern Europe: a spatial analytic approach with ArcGIS at Foeni-Sălaş (southwest Romania). *Quaternary International* 159, 2020, 4–28.

Gumă 1983 – M. Gumă, Contribuţii la cunoaşterca culturii Basarabi in Banat. *Banatica* 7, 1983, 65–138.

Gumă 1993 – M. Gumă, *Civilizaţia Primei Epoci A Fierului În Sud-Vestul României*. Bucureşti: Institutul Român de Tracologie 1993.

Gumă 1997 – M. Gumă, *Epoca Bronzului în Banat*. Timişoara: Editura Mirton 1997.

Hayden 1997 – B. Hayden, *The Pithouses of Keatley Creek: Complex Hunter-Gatherers of the Northwest Plateau*. Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace College Publishers 1997.

Hofmann, Moetz, Müller (eds.) (2012) – R. Hofmann, F. K. Moetz, J. Müller (eds.), *Tells: Social and Environmental Space. (Proceedings of the International Workshop "Socio-Environmental Dynamics over the Last 12,000 Years: The Creation of Landscapes II" 14th–18th March 2011 in Kiel), Volume 3*. Bonn: Verlag Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH.

Jongsma 1997 – T. Jongsma, Distinguishing Pits from Pit Houses: An Analysis of Architecture from the Early Neolithic Central Balkan Starčevo-Criş Culture through the Analysis of Daub Distributions. In *Anthropology*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba 1997.

Jovanović 2010 – Б. Jovanović, Походи Источних Келта на хеленистичку Грчку и Малу Азију *Глас CDXIV Српске академије наука и уметности, Одељење историјских наука Београд* (B. Jovanović, Pohodi istočnih Kelta na helenističku Grčku i Malu Aziju, *Glas CDXIV Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti, Odeljenje istorijskih nauka, Belgrade)* 15, 2010, 161–172.

Jovanović, Kapuran 2018 – B. Jovanović, A. Kapuran, *Early La Téne Pećine Necropolis*. Beograd: Belgrade Institute of Archaeology 2018.

Kalicz 1984 – N. Kalicz, Die Makó-Kultur. In *Kulturen der frühbronzenzeit des Karpatenbeckens und Nordbalkans*. N. Tasić (ed.) Beograd: Balkanološki Institut 1984, 93–108.

Kapuran 2009 – A. Kapuran, O uticajima Vatina i Verbičoare na nalazima gamzigradske kulturne grupe, *Starinar* 59, 2009, 53–70.

Kapuran 2019 – A. Kapuran, *Velebit: A Tumulus Culture Necropolis in the Southern Carpathian Basin (Vojvodina, Serbia). BAR International Series 2942*. Oxford: BAR 2019.

Kapuran, Blagojević, Bizjak 2015 – Kapuran, Blagojević, Bizjak, Settlements and necropolises of the Early Iron age along the middle course of the Nišava River, *Starinar* 65, 2015.

Kapuran, Jovanović 2013 – A. Kapuran, И. Jovanović, Археолошка истраживања праисторијских локалитета у околини Бора у 2012 и 2013 години. *Зборник радова музеја рударства и металургије Бор* (A. Kapuran, I. Jovanović, Arheološka istraživanja praistorijskih lokaliteta u okolini Bora u 2012 i 2013 godini. *Zbornik radova muzeja rudarstva i metalurgije Bor*) 13/15, 2013, 1–16.

Kapuran, Živković, Štrbac 2016 – A. Kapuran, D. Živković, N. Štrbac, New evidence for prehistoric copper metallurgy in the vicinity of Bor. *Starinar* LXVI, 2016, 172–192.

Krstić 1986 – D. Krstić, Vajuga-Korbovo, Compte – rendu des foullies exécutés en 1981. In *Ђердапске Свеске (Cahiers des Portes de Fer) III*. V. Kondić (ed.) Београд (Beo-

grad): Археолошки институт, Народни музеј и Одељење за археологију Филозофског факултета у Београд (Arheološki institut; Narodni muzej; Odeljenje za arheologiju Filozofskog fakulteta u Beogradu) 1986, 148–151.

Lalović 1982 – A. Lalović, Srednjovekovno oružje iz Narodnog Muzeja u Zaječaru i Zavičajnog Muzeja u Knjaževcu. *Zbornik muzeja rudarstva i metalurgije, Bor* 2, 1982, 69–84.

Lazarovici 1977 – G. Lazarovici, *Gornea Preistorie*. Resita: Muzeul de Istorie al Judetului Caras-Severin 1977.

Lazarovici 1979 – G. Lazarovici, *Neoliticul Banatului*. Cluj-Napoca: Bibliotheca Musei Napocensis 1979.

Lazarovici 1984 – G. Lazarovici, Neoliticul timporiul din Romaniae. *Acta Musei Porolissensis (Zalau, Romania)* 8, 1984, 49–104.

Lazarovici, Maxim 1995 – G. Lazarovici, Maxim, *Gura Baciului*. Cluj-Napoca: Musei Napocensis 1995.

Luca, Suciu, Dumitrescu-Chioar 2011 – S. A. Luca, C. Suciu, E. Dumitrescu-Chioar, Starčevo-Criş culture in western part of Romania – Transylvania, Banat, Crisana, Maramures, Oltenia and western Muntenia: repository, distribution map, state of research and chronology. In *The First Neolithic Sites in Central South-east European Transect: Early Neolithic (Starčevo-Criş) Sites on the Territory of Romania*. S. A. Luca, C. Suciu (eds.). Oxford: BAR 2011, 7–17.

Manson 2008 – J. L. Manson, Approaches to Starčevo culture chronology. In *The Iron Gates in Prehistory*. C. Bonsall, V. Boroneanţ, I. Radovanović (eds.). Oxford: Archaeopress 2008, 103–114.

Meadows 2019 – J. Meadows, Radiocarbon dating and Bayesian chronological modelling. In *Starčevo Ceramic Technology: The First Potters of the Middle Danube Basin*. M. Spataro (ed.) Bonn, Germany: Verlag Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH 2019, 17–101.

Medović 1976 – P. Medović, Die Cernavoda III-kultur im Jugoslawischen Donaugebeit. In *Istraživanja*. B. Brukner (ed.) Novi Sad: Filozofski fakultet 1976, 105–110.

Medović 1988 – P. Medović, *Kalakača: Naselje Ranog Gvozdenog Doba*. Novi Sad: Vojvodjanski Muzej 1988.

Medović 1990 – П. Medović, Старије гвоздено доба у српском Подунављу (Starije gvozdeno doba u Srpskom podunavlju). In: *Господари сребра, Гвоздено доба на тлу Србије*. J. Јефтовић (ed.) Beograd: Народни музеј Београд (P. Medović, Starije gvozdeno doba u srpskom Podunavlju (Starije gvozdeno doba u Srpskom podunavlju). In: *Gospodari srebra, Gvozdeno doba na tlu Srbije. J. Jeftović* (ed.) Beograd: Narodni muzej Beograd) 1990, 23–31.

Medović 1994 – П. Medović, Генеза култура старијег гвозденог доба у Југословенском подунављу (Geneza Kultura Starijeg Gvozdenog Doba u Jugoslovenskom Podunavlju). In: *Културе гвозденог доба Југословенског Подунавља*. Н. Тасић (ed.) Београд: Балканолошки институт САНУ, Градски музеј Сомбор (P. Medović, Geneza kultura starijeg gvozdenog doba u Jugoslovenskom podunavlju (Geneza Kultura Starijeg Gvozdenog Doba u Jugoslovenskom Podunavlju). In: *Kulture gvozdenog doba Jugoslovenskog Podunavlja*. N. Tasić (ed.) Beograd: Balkanološki institut SANU, Gradski muzej Sombor) 1994, 45–50.

Milanović 2013 – D. Milanović, Cultural and chronological position of the Chalcolithic Horizons III and IV at Bubanj Site – excavations from 1954. *Archaeologia Bulgarica* XVII, 2013, 1–16.

Milojčić 1949 – V. Milojčić, *Chronologie der jungeren Steinzeit Mittel – und Sudosteuropas*. Berlin: Gebruder Mann 1949.

Milojčić 1950 – V. Milojčić, Körös-Starčevo-Vinča. In *Reinecke Festschrift*. Mainz 1950, 108–118.

Milošević 1997 – Г. Милошевић, *Становање у средњовековној Србији (Stanovanje u srednjevekovnoj Srbiji)*. Arheološki Institut: Београд (Beograd) 1997.

Naroll 1962 – R. Naroll, Floor area and settlement population. *American Antiquity* 27, 1962, 587–589.

Nikolić 2000 – D. Nikolić, *Kostolačka Kultura na Teritoriji Srbije*. Beograd: Filozofski Fakultet, Centar za Arheološka Istraživanja 2000.

Paul 1995 – I. Paul, Date I noi privind folosirea „scrierii" in civilizatiile neolitice carpato-danubiene. *Transilvania* 9, 1995, 43–45.

Păunescu 1979 – A. Păunescu, Cercetarile arheologice de la Cuina Turcului – Dubova (Jud. Mehedinţi). *Tibiscus* 5, 1979.

Peković 2006 – M. Peković, *Археолошка збирка Војног музеја у Београду*. Beograd (Београд): Arheološka zbirka Vojnog muzeja u Beogradu 2006.

Popović, Kapuran 2011 – P. Popović, A. Kapuran, La tombe de Mokranje. In *Archaeology: Making of and Practice: Studies in Honor of Mircea Babes and his 70th anniversary*. D. Mugureanu, D. Mandescu, S. Matei (eds.). Pitesti: Editura Ordessos Muzeul Judetean Argeş 2011, 297–304.

Pounds 1969 – N. J. G. Pounds, *Eastern Europe*. London, United Kingdom: Longmans, Green and Co. 1969.

Roman 1976 – Roman, *Cultura Coţofeni*. Bucureşti: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste Romania 1976.

Roman 2001 – P. Roman, Die Cernavodă III – Boleráz – Kulturerscheinung an der unteren Donau. In *Die Cernavodă III – Boleráz ein vorgeschichtliches phänomen zwischen dem oberheind und der unteren Donau*. P. Ronam, S. Diamandi (eds.). Bucureşti: Institut Roman de Tracologie 2001, 13–59.

Šalkovský 2001 – P. Šalkovský, *Häuser in der frühmittelalterlichen Slawischen welt*. Nitra: Instituti Archaeologici Nitriensis. Academiae Scientiarum Slovacae 2001.

Schier, Draşovean 2004 – W. Schier, F. Draşovean, Vorbericht über die rumänisch-deutschen Prospektionen und Ausgra bungen in der befestigten Tellsiedlung von Uivar, jud. Timis¸, Rumänien (1998–2002). *Praehistorische Zeitschrift* 79, 2004, 145–230.

Sîrbu 2003 – V. Sîrbu, Funerary practices in the Iron Age between Carpathians and the Danube. In *Sahranjivanje u bronzano i gvozdeno doba, Čačak: simpozijum, Čačak, 4–8 Septembar 2002*. B. Nevenka, V. Miloje (eds.). Čačak: Narodni Muzej 2003, 139–170.

Sîrbu, Dăvîncă 2014 – V. Sîrbu, D. Dăvîncă, The „field of pits" in the Geto-Dacian area (4th C. BC – 1st C. AD): sacred or profane space. *Mousaios (Buzău)* XIX, 2014.

Spataro 2004 – M. Spataro, Early Neolithic pottery production in the Balkans: Minero-Petrographic analyses of thee ceramics from the Stracevo-Cris site of foeni-salas (Banat, Romania). *Atti della Societ… per la Preistoria e Protostoria della Regione Friuli-Venezia Giulia (Trieste)* 14, 2004, 25–43.

Spataro 2011a – M. Spataro, A comparison of chemical and petrographic analyses of Neolithic pottery from south-eastern Europe. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 38, 2011a, 255–269.

Spataro 2011b – M. Spataro, Technological uniformity? Early Neolithic ceramic vessels, cult objects, net weights and daub production in Romania. In *The First Neolithic Sites in Central/South-East European Transect. Volume II: Early Neolithic (Starčevo-Criş) Sites on the Territory of Romania. British Archaeological Reports, International Series 2188*. A. L. Sabin, C. Suciu (eds.). Oxford: BAR 2011b, 37–45.

Spataro 2019a – M. Spataro, The earliest pottery of the Middle Danube Basin. In *Starčevo Ceramic Technology: The First Potters of the Middle Danube Basin*. Bonn, Germany: Verlag Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH 2019a, 17–101.

Spataro 2019b – M. Spataro, *Starčevo Ceramic Technology: The First Potters of the Middle Danube Basin*. Bonn, Germany: Verlag Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH 2019b.

Spataro 2019c – M. Spataro, The Starčevo potters. In *Starčevo Ceramic Technology: The First Potters of the Middle Danube Basin*. Bonn, Germany: Verlag Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH 2019c, 361–387.

Srejović 1972 – D. Srejović, *Europe's First Monumental Sculpture: New Discoveries at Lepenski Vir*. New York: Stein and Day 1972.

Stanojević 1986 – N. Stanojević, Embouchure du russeau Jakomir – Site d'Habitat médiévale. *Ђердапске свеске (Đerdapske sveske III), Београд (Beograd)* III, 1986, 238–244.

Stanojević 1987 – H. Stanojević, Насеља VIII-IX века у Војводини. *Рад војвођанских музеја Нови Сад* (N. Stanojević, Naselja VIII-IX veka u Vojvodini *Rad Vojvođanskih Muzeja,* Novi Sad) 30, 1987, 119–146.

Tasić 1982 – N. Tasić, Naselja bakarnog doba u istočnoj Srbiji. *Zbornik radova 2 muzeja rudarstva i metalurgije u Boru*, 1982, 19–36.

Tasić 1983 – H. Tasić, *Југословенско подунавље од индоевропске сеобе до продора Скита*. Нови Сад – Београд: Матица Српска и Балканолошки институт САНУ 1983.

Tasić 1994 – N. Tasić, *The Iron Age Cultures in the Yugoslav Danube Basin*. Belgrade: Balkanlõski Institut-Sana 1994.

Tasić 1995 – N. Tasić, *Eneolithic Cultures of Central and West Balkans*. Beograd: Драганић 1995.

Uzelac 2002 – J. Uzelac, Eneolit Južnog Banata. In Vršac: Gradski Muzej 2002.

Vander Linden, Bulatović 2020 – M. Vander Linden, A. Bulatović, Bubanj: the absolute chronology. In *Bubanj – The Eneolithic and the Early Bronze Age Tell in Southeastern Serbia, MPK Band 90*. A. Bulatović, D. Milanović (eds.). Wien: OREA, Austrian Accademy of Science Press 2020, 239–243.

Vetnić 1983 – S. Vetnić, Medieval weapons and implements deriving from the Middle Morava Basin. *Balcanoslavica (Prilep)* 10, 1983, 137–157.

Vlassa 1980 – Vlassa, Din nou despre poziçia stratigricÆ orizontului Gura Baciului I. *Marisia* 10, 1980, 691–697.

Whittle 1996 – A. Whittle, *Europe in the Neolithic: The Creation of New Worlds*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1996.

Whittle, Bartosiewicz, Borić, Pettit, Richards 2002 – A. Whittle, L. Bartosiewicz, D. Borić, P. Pettit, M. Richards, In the beginning: new radiocarbon dates for the Early Neolithic in northern Serbia and south-east Hungary. *Antaeus* 25, 2002, 63–117.

Wiessner 1974 – P. Wiessner, A functional estimator of population from floor area. *American Antiquity* 39, 1974, 343–349.

Zhadin 1952 – V. I. Zhadin, *Mollusks of Fresh and Brackish Waters of the U.S.S.R. (Keys to the fauna of the U.S.S.R., No. 46) (trans. the Israel Program for Scientific Translations, Jerusalem)*. Moscow: Zoological Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR 1952.

Zirra 1991 – V. Zirra, Les plus anciennes fibules lateniennes en Roumanie. *Dacia* 35, 1991, 177–184.

Haskel J. GREENFIELD, Aleksandar KAPURAN
Size Doesn't Matter: Foeni-Sălaş, a Small Multi-Period Settlement in the Romanian Banat (21–60)

Резиме: ХАСКЕЛ Ј. ГРИНФИЛД, Универзитет у Манитоби и Колеџ Св. Павла,
Департман за антропологију и јудаистичке студије, Винипег
АЛЕКСАНДАР КАПУРАН, Археолошки институт, Београд

ВЕЛИЧИНА НИЈЕ ВАЖНА: ФОЕНИ САЛАШ, МУЛТИКУЛТУРНИ ЛОКАЛИТЕТ У РУМУНСКОМ БАНАТУ

Кључне речи. – рани неолит, енеолит, бронзано доба, старије гвоздено доба, Римско-дачки период, средњи век

Након што су бившој Југославији уведене економске санкције и санкције у научној сарадњи (1992. година), заједнички пројекат Благотин, којим су руководили Проф. Хаскел Гринфилд и Др. Светозар Станковић, морао је званично бити прекинут, мада је незванично сарадња трајала све до 1995. године. Због таквих околности Х. Гринфилд је средства за истраживања усмерио на територију румунског Баната, где је захваљујући Флорину Драшовану (Музеј Баната) и Хореи Ћигудеану пројекат настављен на локалитету који је такође имао ранонеолитски хоризонт, а који је у литератури одраније познат као Фоени Салаш. Овај тел налази се неких 45 км југозападно од Темишвара, непосредно уз границу са Србијом.

Иако веома обећавајући, локалитет је у прошлости највише девастиран земљорадњом и нивелацијом земљишта у периоду након II светског рата. Док су остали културни хоризонти већином претрпели знатна уништења, слој старијег неолита је остао готово неоштећен. Културна стратиграфија осим раног неолита (Старчево–Криш) обухвата и енеолит (Чернавода III – Болераз и костолачка култура), бронзано доба (Вербичоара), старије (Калакача) и млађе гвоздено доба (Латен), римско-дачки хоризонт и средњи век. Ради лакшег сналажења локалитет је подељен системом квадрата на блокове 20 х 20 м, који су пак подељени на мање квадрате, сонде димензија 5 х 5 м (и даље на 1 х 1 м). Истраживане целине документоване су системом локуса и јунита, а земља је приликом ископавања просејевана, док су одређене целине и флотиране.

Треба нагласити да се према очуваности културних хоризоната локалитет слободно може поделити на ранонеолитски хоризонт, који је добро очуван, и постранонеолитске хоризонте, који су откривени у веома лошем стању. Период средњег века представљају два гроба и један угао одбрамбеног рова са стубовима, док је из периода касне антике документовано неколико затворених целина (јаме, од којих је у једној откривен скелет детета) и једна правоугаона полуукопана земуница. Старијем гвозденом добу припада убедљиво највећи број затворених целина у постранонеолитским хоризонтима локалитета. Материјал из млађег гвозденог доба, енеолита и бронзаног доба, осим у ретким затвореним целинама, местимично је налажен и у оквиру осталих културних хоризоната.

– Хоризонту средњег века припадали су локуси 4, 8 (одбрамбени ров), 21, 27, 29, 35, 38, 42, 43, 46, 55, 58, и гробови 2 и 3.

– Римско-дачком хоризонту припадали су локуси 35, 38, 46 и објекти 4, 5, 8 и гроб 1.

– Старијем гвозденом добу припадали су локуси 11, 18, 22, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 36, 37, 39, 40, 44, 45, 47, 48, 54, 56 и објекат 3.

– Средњем бронзаном добу припадао је локус 15.

– Енеолитском периоду припадао је локус 57.

– Раном неолиту припадали би локуси 2, 7, 7.1, 7.2, 7.3, 10, 23, 24, 25, 41, 50, 51, 52, 53 и објекат 6.

– Постплеистоценски хоризонт је формиран током мезолита и припадао би му локус 5.

– Плеистоцену припада локус 12.

Судећи према налазима материјалне културе, средњем веку припада мањи број керамичких уломака, за које су румунске колеге на основу прелиминарног увида у материјал сматрале да се могу сврстати у 10–11 век. Гроб у коме је сахрањен мушкарац, према аналогијама наоружања и опреме може да припада периоду 14–15. века, што се вероватно може рећи и за суседни гроб 3, у коме је сахрањена трудна жена. Нажалост, предмети од гвожђа из гробова однети су у Музеј у Темишвару, тако да никада нисмо ни били у могућности да видимо резултате конзервације.

Римско-дачки хоризонт је нешто боље сачуван, односно поред налаза керамике откривена је и једна правоугаона полуукопана земуница са калотастом пећи на једној њеној страни. Током касне антике на територији Панонске низије постоје бројни налази оваквих станишта, током различитих периода. Поменутом хоризонту припадала и једна култна јама на чијем се дну налазио цео јеленски рог а поред керамике и костију била је запуњена и фрагментима жрвњева, док је на средишњем нивоу откривен скелет детета, највероватније жртвованог, судећи по његовој тафономији и контексту налаза. В. Сирбу сматра да је жртвовање деце код Дачана трајало од 2. века пре н. е. до 2 века н. е.

Хоризонт млађег гвозденог доба на локалитету Фоени Салаш представљао је само један налаз, и то гвоздене фибуле типа Душов, која се датује у рани Латен, односно половину 4 века пре н. е. Хоризонт старијег гвозденог доба знатно је више заступљен, и то вероватно у две фазе: старијој, која припада Калакача култури, и млађој фази (Халштат Д). Осим што је налажена у слојевима са измешаним налазима, керамика овог периода претежно је откривена у оквиру мањих укопа, јама. Керамика је претежно добре фактуре, много више украшена канеловањем, а у појединим случајевима и урезаним мотивима, од којих издвајамо низове шрафираних троуглова. Груба керамика је припадала оставинском посуђу. За хоризонт Халштата Д везујемо и налаз калупа за ливење

перфорираног баланса за копље, који је, судећи према блиским аналогијама, највероватније био ливен у бронзи.

Због веома малог броја налаза, није било лако дефинисати хоризонт средњег бронзаног доба на локалитету Фоени Салаш. Њему припада само један укоп као затворена целина, а према начину украшавања керамике овај хоризонт највероватније можемо везати за Вербичоара културу.

Хоризонт енеолита поред дислоцираних налаза керамике у разним деловима локалитета био је највише заступљен у једној од јама (Локус 57). Као и у случају старијег гвозденог доба, налази керамике указују нам на постојање две фазе насељавања током бакарног доба. Старија је припадала култури Чернавода III – Болераз, док млађа фаза показује карактеристике костолачке културе. Најатрактивнији налаз из овог периода представља једна фрагментована антропоморфна фигурина.

Старији неолит на локалитету Фоени Салаш представља керамика са елементима карактеристичним за Старчево–Криш IIA и IIБ фазе, док барботин као декоративни елемент не постоји на керамици. Х. Гринфилд и Т. Јонгсма сматрају да се хоризонт старчевачке културе на овом локалитету односи на сам крај 8. и почетак 7. миленијума пре н. е. Керамика је претежно монохромна, грубе површине, лоптасте форме са ретким елементима псеудобарботина, утискивања или штипања прстима. Ретко су у декорацији посуда заступљене и танке урезане линије. Штипањем је формиран и рељефни мотив класа житарица, а неке од посуда су украшене и утискивањем школком као инструментом. Дршке су пластично моделоване као паралелно постављене траке, или су извучене из масе и перфориране. Осим обода или трбуха чак су и дна посуда била декорисана у неким случајевима. Од објеката из ранонеолитског хоризонта на локалитету, најважније откриће представља овална полуукопана земуница. Према резултатима геофизичке проспекције и археолошких ископавања на Фоени Салашу, организација насеља из овог периода на централном Балкану подразумева једну централну структуру око које се подижу и други стамбени објекти. Према траговима зооархеолошких и палеоботаничких налаза, јасно је да у економији заједница постоји доместификација животиња и биљака, која варира у зависности од географске позиције локалитета, од блискоисточног/медитеранског комплекса до централноевропског комплекса. Између ова два комплекса такође је приметна и разлика у доместификованим врстама животиња, током брзог ширења ранонеолитских фармера кроз Европу. Наша искуства са истраживања локалитета Благотин и Фоени Салаш уче нас да су за најбоље разумевање Старчево–Криш–Кереш локалитета неопходна истраживања у широким ископима да би се ухватила хоризонтална стратиграфија, а таква методологија није упражњавана пре истраживања на Фоени Салашу. Због тога се као исправан начин истраживања намеће методологија по којој се не истражују само стамбени објекти већ и простор око њих како би се утврдиле разлучите зоне унутар и око неолитског насеља. Требало је да и претходно предузета истраживања на Благотину имају овакав карактер, али су дубина културног слоја и културни ембарго међународне заједнице осујетили ова истраживања.