

# **MOUNTAIN GUARDIANS. PREHISTORIC AND GETIC COMMUNITIES AND FORTRESSES CONTROLLING THE MERIDIONAL CARPATHIANS IN NORTHERN OLTENIA (ROMANIA)**

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**Abstract:** In this contribution, there are presented the fortified settlements and fortresses of the Bronze Age, Early Iron Age and Getic time in Northern Oltenia. There are also considered elements that attested the interest of the communities of those times for controlling the commercial routes, the passes of the Meridional Carpathians towards Transylvania, as well as the subsoil resources (ores and salt).

## **Introduction**

Regarding its administration, the Northern Oltenia is included in two counties – Gorj to the West and Vâlcea to the East. If we refer to its geographical position, the Western and Northern side of Oltenia is separated from the neighbouring territories – Banat and Transylvania – by the Meridional Carpathians. The Southern side is separated from North-Western Serbia and North-Eastern Bulgaria by the Danube. The Jiu and Olt Rivers cross this territory from North to South, the latter one being the one that separates Oltenia and Muntenia and gathers an amount of tributaries – Gilort, Olteț, Motru, Amaradia, Chivădaru, and Hința etc.

## **The Bronze Age**

The Bronze Age in Northern Oltenia is rather disappointing represented, if we think about the existence of some fortified settlements that would dominate some micro-regions, or strategic points identified in the field. In turn, in the regions full of rich resources of the soil, like ore or salt, as well as on the spots situated along the course of the rivers Jiu, Olt, Olteț, Ciocardia, that controlled the access from South to North and even further through the mountains, towards Transylvania, some settlements could be documented and, in some cases, they were even archaeologically investigated.

All these unfortified settlements were situated on the higher and middle terraces of the rivers, and lesser on their lower ones, on foothills, in the proximity of springs, while some other traces could be detected even in caves. In the North-Western side of Oltenia, namely in Gorj County, spots with Early Bronze Age habitation traces, respectively those of the Glina culture were discovered at Aninoasa, Baia de Fier-*Muierilor Cave*, Bălești-*Linia a Doua*, Borăscu, Bumbști, Călugăreni-*La Mormiți*, Căpreni, Dănești, Ionești-*La Bordele*, Seaca-*Capul Dealului*, Turbarea-*La Podișor* and *În Poeniță* (Gherghe 2001, p. 74; Schuster, Fântâneau 2005, p. 39-45; Calotoiu 2007a; Calotoiu 2009a; Calotoiu 2011a; Calotoiu 2012a, p. 15-25; Calotoiu 2012c; Tulugea 2012, p. 143-156; Gherghe 2015, p. 25-26). The same type of sites were identified also in North-Eastern



Oltenia, in Vâlcea County, at Arsanca, Băile Govora-*Sanatoriul Militar* and *Dumitrescu*, Bârsești, Bistrița-*Haiducilor Cave*, Blănoi-*La Răzoare*, Bugiulești, Buleta-*Valea Buleta*, Călimănești-*Cozia Veche*, Călina-*Dealul Protești*, Ciunget-*Laptelui Cave*, Drăgășani-*Capul Dealului*, Fumureni-*Dealul Sâlii*, Govora-*Poeni-Fabrica de Pâine*, Gurișoara and *Runcuri-Strada Eroilor*, Horezu, Marcea-*Canton*, Popești-*În Față*, Râmnicu Vâlcea-*Copăcelu*, Căzănești-*Cărămidărie*, Căzănești-*Platformă*, Căzănești-*Gura Văii*, Schela, Turcești, Urși-*La Grigoriță* and *La Blocuri* (Petre-Govora 2001, p. 13; Tulugea 2008, p. 95; Calotoiu 2012b, p. 92).

The number of Glina settlements in the North-eastern region of Oltenia is even higher than in other regions of the province, a fact that was determined, in our opinion, by the presence on the surface of the soil, but also underneath, of the salt and salty waters. We need to say that, most of the settlements were of small size, with a relatively thin archaeological layer, if being detected at all and this had comprised a small number of complexes (constructions – especially above ground ones and domestic pits). The large majority of settlements had a seasonal character, mostly being used just during the warm seasons, which were more appropriate for the exploitation of the rock salt, or to its extraction from the salt springs.

The emphasized mobility of the human groups, the structure of their communities, made possible that the fortified settlements and even the wider settlements, that would comprise a large number of people, to be unnecessary at that time. The small number of major funerary monuments indirectly confirmed this fact. The only graveyard discovered in Northern Oltenia is the one from Vârtopu-Ciuperceni (Calotoiu 2003a; Calotoiu 2003b; Calotoiu 2004; Calotoiu 2006a; Calotoiu 2009b; Calotoiu 2007; Calotoiu 2012a, p. 26-40; Calotoiu 2012c; Schuster 2005; Calotoiu, Cotorogea 2011b; Tulugea 2012, p. 154-156).

This situation is almost identical in the Middle and Late Bronze Age, when, in the region were present the communities of the Verbicioara culture. Their evolution over an extended period of time and several phases (according to some specialists existing five such phases) had resulted in a more consistent number of settlements in the Gorj County: Aninoasa, Baia de Fier-*Muierilor Cave*, Călugăreni-*La Mormiști*, Căpreni, Ceplea-*Valea Satului* and *Biserica Dacilor* (Phase IV - LBA), Ciocadia (Phase V - LBA), Logrești-Moșteni, Pârâu Boia-*Scutaru Mic* (Phase IV - LBA), Polovragi-*Mănăstire* (Phase IV - LBA), Telești-*Moroleasa* (Phase IV - LBA), Teleștii de Sus-*Câmpul lui Băcu* (Phases IV-V - LBA), Turbarea-*Săliște* (Phase IV - LBA), *Balta Floricăi*, *La Comoară*, *Pajiște* and *Oacheșul* (Calotoiu 1994; Calotoiu 1996; Calotoiu 2009a; Calotoiu 2010a; Calotoiu 2010b; Calotoiu 2012a, p. 42-77; Calotoiu 2012b, p. 91; Calotoiu, Mărgineanu 2004; Calotoiu, Mărgineanu 2006; Crăciunescu 2004; Crăciunescu 2005, p. 133-154; Calotoiu, Cotorogea 2014; Tulugea 2012, p. 143-156; Gherghe 2015, p. 24, 27-29).

A similar situation could be encountered in Vâlcea County: Băile Govora-*Gătejești* (Phase V - LBA), Bârsești (Phases I-II), Bercioiu-*Ruda*, Bugiulești, Bujoreni (Phase V - LBA), Buleta-*Biserică*, Bunești (Phases IV-V - LBA), Călina-*Dealul Protești*, Dobrușca (Phase III), Ferigile, Fișcălia, Fumureni-*Valea Mamului*, Govora Sat-*Huidu* (Phase V - LBA), *Curtea lui Pandele Stoica* (Phase IV - LBA), *Valea Băștioarei*, *Ștefan Marica*, *La Mănăstire*, *Runcuri* and *Ciobea*, Goranu (Phase V - LBA), Grădiștea-*Dealul Muierii* (Phase IV - LBA), Groșerea, Măgura (Phase V - LBA), Mrenești-*La Fântână*, Obislavu (Phase IV - LBA), Ocnele Mari-*Cărpiniș* (Phase V - LBA), *Valea Goruneilor* (Phases IV-V - LBA), Orlești-*Valea Sâlei* and *Bălți* (both Phase V - LBA), Prundeni-*La Plutonier* (Phase V - LBA), Râmnicu Vâlcea-*Copăcelu* (phases IV-V - LBA), Căzănești-*Săveasca* (Phases I-V - LBA), Căzănești-*Cărămidărie* (Phase V - LBA), Slătioara (Phase IV-V - LBA), Socu (Phase IV - LBA), Țeica, Valea Mare-Bălcești (Phases IV-V - LBA), Zăvideni-*Dealul Zăvoiașu*



(Phase V - LBA), *Zlătărei-Biserică* (Phase III) (Berciu 1976; Crăciunescu 2004, p. 16-55; Crăciunescu 2005b, p. 133-154; Petre-Govora 2001, p. 14-16; Tulugea 2008, p. 95). It could be observed that, during the first phase of this culture (I-III), namely in the Middle Bronze Age, the number of settlements was rather small. Subsequently, in the Late Bronze Age (Phases IV-V), probably due to a replete of some communities from the proximity of the Danube, at the same time with the Western penetration of the Gârla Mare groups, the density of the spots with Verbicioara habitation traces had increased in number.

That Northern Oltenia was important for the Bronze Age communities is a fact documented by „mining” tools, like stone hammers with a central groove (Petre-Govora 1968; Petre-Govora 1995, p. 33; Schuster 1998; Popescu *et alii* 2004, p. 67-70; Blăjan, Panait 2007; Tulugea *et alii* 2009, p. 40; Schuster, Tuțulescu 2011; Tulugea 2012, p. 143-144, 150-151, 156), discovered at Amărășești, Bătășani, Berislăvești, Herăști-Dealul Cărămidă, Logești, Mateești, Râmnicu Vâlcea-Căzănești-Fabrica de Cărămidă, Tălpășești (Pl. V/3-6).

The „warrior” activity of those who had inhabited the analysed region was confirmed by the presence of metal and stone weapons. For some of them, would be given examples at the end of the presentation, referring to the Early Iron Age. With regard to the stone items – weapons & prestige objects, there are to be mentioned here especially the battle-axes from Bolboși, Mrenești (Pl. V/1-2, 7) and the mace-heads (Schuster *et alii* 2015), discovered at Govora Sat, Ocnele Mari-Ocnița, Orlești-Sâlea, Râmnicu Vâlcea-Copăcelu-Valea Râii and Căzănești-Săveasca (Pl. VI/1-6).

### The Early Iron Age

The first period (Ha A) of the Early Iron Age in Northern Oltenia was characterized especially by small, unfortified settlements, some of them considered of Vârtop type, some other of Ferigile type (Lazăr 2005; Lazăr 2006; Lazăr 2008; Lazăr 2010b) - Băile Govora-Hința and Gătăjești (?), Bârsești-Biserică (?), Brezoi-Podul lui Lazăr, Costeni, Govora Sat-Treime, Mănăstirea Govora and Poieni, Ocnele Mari-Cărpiniș, Valea Goruneilor, Valea Sărată (?) and Ștrand, Pricopoaia-Valea Sâla, Râmnicu Vâlcea-Copăcelu and Căzănești-Săveasca, Râureni, Rogojelu-Mină, Seaca, Teiuș, Tismana, Țeica (Petre-Govora 1970; Petre-Govora 1971; Petre-Govora 1995, p. 53-54, 60, 62-63; Petre-Govora 2001, p. 17-18; Calotoiu *et alii* 1987, p. 44; Gherghe 2001, p. 67; Lazăr 2009a; Lazăr 2011a; Tulugea 2012, p. 107-108; Tulugea 2013, p. 131-132; Cărăbiși 2015b, p. 33-34; Terteci 2015, p. 310; Terteci 2017; Terteci 2018a) and the Râureni type necropolises (Terteci 2018b).

However, for that period, it was also mentioned an oval-shaped fortification, used as a refuge (Pl. I/1-2), with two entrances, situated in the range of the localities Obislavu (Vâlcea County) and Măru-Dealul Muierilor (Gorj County) (Marinescu, Munteanu 1985; Calotoiu *et alii* 1987, p. 41-44; Gherghe 2001, p. 48, 97; Terteci 2015, p. 313; Terteci 2018a, p. 132-135). By its location (400 m altitude), it dominated to the East the basin of the Olteț River, to the West the Amaradia Valley and to the North the Gilort Valley (Calotoiu *et alii* 1987, p. 41). The defensive system consisted of an earthen rampart (with a width of 5 m, a preserved height of 0.80/1.00 m, which was probably of about 2.5/3.00 m) (Terteci 2018a, p. 134), composed of earth, stones and wood (arranged on two earth-bound stone blocks, a 4 m wide earth bank and vertical, horizontal and longitudinal wood beams between them, and on the west side containing large clay bricks), being endowed on its upper side with a palisade.

For the Middle Hallstatt, during the Basarabi Culture, there were relatively few finds. Subsequently, in its later time, based on some authors, it seems that two cultural ranges had



crystalized in Northern Oltenia. These were related, but also had specific peculiarities (Lazăr 2006): Ferigile (regarding the necropolis see Vulpe 1967) in the region of Vâlcea and Telești in the Târgu Jiu Depression (regarding the necropolis from Telești-Drăgoiești – see Calotoiu 2000; Calotoiu 2002; Calotoiu 2003c; Calotoiu 2005; Calotoiu 2006b; Calotoiu 2012a). Amongst the later discoveries, the sites from Romanești-*Groapa de Împrumut* (Colțeanu *et alii* 2018, p. 167-168), Valea Deșului (Calotoiu 2012b, p. 94) and the burial from Râmnicu Vâlcea-*Copăcelu* could be mentioned.

A series of metal weapons (Ghelmez 1976; Buzdugan 1976; Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1977; Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1981; Oancea, Gherghe 1981; Calotoiu 2000a; Calotoiu 2002; Calotoiu 2003; Calotoiu 2005; Calotoiu 2006b; Popescu *et alii* 2004; Crăciunescu 2005a; Crăciunescu 2007; Bratu 2009; Lazăr 2009b; Lazăr 2010a; Lazăr 2011b; Tulugea 2012, p. 143-144, 147-148, 152-153; Băjenaru 2013, p. 29-31, 55, 62, 76, 145, 215), assigned to the Bronze (Glina and Verbicioara cultures) and Early Iron Ages, were discovered at Andreești, Bălcești (sword – Pl. XI/5), Berbești (battle axe – Pl. VII/1, celt – Pl. XII/1), Blănoi-*La Răzoare*, Boișoara (battle axe – Pl. VII/2), Bolboși (battle axes – Pl. VII/4, 6), Copăceni (celt – Pl. XII/2), Crețeni (battle axe – Pl. VII/3), Drăgășani, Drăguțești, Ferigile (spear heads, battle dagger, *akinakes* – Pl. XIV/1-2, XV/1), Găujani, Govora Sat, Greblești-*În Delușel*, Grui (in the riverbed of the Valea Gruului Creek; bronze sword – Pl. XI/3), Mateești (sword – Pl. XI/2), Olănești-*Valea Argelelor*, Peștișani (battle axe – Pl. VII/5), Pietreni, Prundeni (sword – Pl. XI/1), Rudari, Slătioara-*Stogșorul* (sabie), Șerbănești (disk-shaped axes – Pl. XIII/3-6), Telești-Drăgoiești (Pl. XVI/1-5), Zăvideni (sword – Pl. XI/4). In fact, the single/isolated metal items, or deposits (Govora Sat, Greblești, Drăguțești, Ferigile, Iezureni, Sacoți, Socu, Vierșani, Țeica – Pl. VIII/1-3, IX/1-5, XII/3a-b, XIII/1-2, XIV, XV), had drawn the most probable communication routes used in those times in Northern Oltenia, based upon the spots where they were found. By using those routes, some objects from Transylvania, or from Central Europe could reach on various spots (Mödlinger 2013; Horn, Kristiansen 2018). Moreover, they confirm that metallurgy was used in that region (Lazăr 2013), as attested by autochthonous or maybe even by itinerant artisans, as documented by the stone moulds from Logrești (Pl. IX/6-9).

### The Getic Period

The most recent archaeological investigations had shown that between 5<sup>th</sup> (?)/4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, a power centre had functioned on the middle and upper course of the Jiu River (Gherghe 1987; Gherghe 2001, p. 90, 117; Cărăbiși 2015a, with lit.; Cărăbiși 2015b, p. 68, 71, 81-101). A series of fortified sites, situated on the river bank, but also on its tributaries (*Bâzdâna-La Cetate* and *Cucuiova*, *Cârligei-Cărpiniș*, *Bucovăț-La Jidovii*, *Voița*, *Coțofenii din Dos-Cetatea Jidovilor*, *Stoina-Dealul Cetății* – from the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC?, *Toiaga* – beginning with the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC?, *Țicleni* – 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC?), had controlled the route from the Danube to the Carpathians. Around this power centre had probably gravitated parts of the settlements of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC from the today Gorj County (Gherghe 1986b; Gherghe 2001, p. 15-16, 28, 104; Calotoiu 2012a, p. 172; Calotoiu 2012b, p. 92): *Albeni* (?), *Alimpești*, *Aninoasa*, *Arcani*, *Baia de Fier-Florile Albe Cave*, *Decebal's Cave* and *Muierilor Cave*, *Boroșteni*, *Roșia de Amaradia*, *Runcu-Cheile Sohodolului*, *La Bulboc* and *Varnițele Părăsite*, *Spahii-Dealul Spihaiului*, *Topești*, *Valea Deșului*.

More to the North of the Getic fortifications of the de 2<sup>nd</sup>/1<sup>st</sup> c. BC - 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD in the Gorj region is the one from *Polovragi* (Pl. III/1-2). There, at the altitude of 950-1000 m, on the *Padeș* Mountain, on the left bank of the *Olteț* River, a system of fortifications (two fortresses and partly fortified terraces) were investigated (Marinescu 1972a; Marinescu 1972b; Marinescu 1977; Bușilă,



Vulpe 1974; Calotoiu *et alii* 1987, p. 52-58; Calotoiu 2012a, p. 134-138; Calotoiu 2012b, p. 91; Gherghe 2001, p. 94; Tulugea 2012, p. 169-170; Cărăbiși 2015b, p. 111-113). These were meant to control the middle course of the Olteț, as well as the access through the Meridional Carpathians in the North, towards Transylvania, at the fortresses in the region of Orăștie and Middle Mureș. On an elevation - *Cetățuia* (little fortress) – a permanent fortress with rectangular outline was discovered (acropolis). This had two construction phases, the first with sides of 18 m (South), 19 m (North) 8 m (East) and 9 m (West), having the entrance in the North-Western corner of the Northern side. This was protected by a wall, made of broken rocks (limestone) and yellow clay, covered with a layer of intentionally burnt clay. The fortress was set to fire at a certain moment and, in its second construction phase would have a wall that also incorporated a stonewall with a thickness of about 2 m, made of limestone blocks, crystalline rock and grit stone, some of them being fashioned. The fortification from *Cruces lei Unreached* was protected on its Eastern side by a small wall (1 m height and 5 m width), while on its Northern one, more exposed to assaults, by another one, with a height of about 2 m and a width of 10 m, both of them being raised during the second construction phase of the assembly from Polovragi (probably after the year 50 BC). Its starting point was possibly at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, while the final one was somewhere during, or after the reign of king Burebista (around the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC).

The Westernmost fortification in Northern Oltenia was found at Vârț. This had the role of controlling the course of the Jiu River (Berciu 1939, p. 352-353; Calotoiu *et alii* 1987, p. 59-60; Gherghe 1997, p. 89; Gherghe 2001, p. 120-121; Calotoiu 2012b, p. 94; Cărăbiși 2015b, p. 73). Three defending waves made of earth and a defending ditch were characteristics of this fortress on the *Dealul Cioaca cu Bani/Cetate*. Constructed in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, it ceased its existence in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD. It is interesting that, on each side of the road that leads towards the fortification, a cremation burial in pit was unearthed (Gherghe 2001, p. 121; Gherghe 2015, p. 98).

If those two mentioned fortifications had singular positions in the environment, apparently grouped in two „cores” there are arranged, at least geographically speaking about their position, those from Țicleni, Socu and Vierșani, respectively Stoina, Căpreni and Cetatea-Logrești. At Țicleni, on the spot *Piscu Cetății/La Comandă*, on a plateau that dominates the surroundings by its height of 45 m, was probably raised a fortification in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC and functioned until the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, which had the role of controlling the Cioiana Valley (Gherghe 1986b, p. 111-112; Gherghe 2001, p. 117-118; Calotoiu *et alii* 1987, p. 60-81; Calotoiu 2012a, p. 140-141; Calotoiu 2012b, p. 94: considers that it belongs to the 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC; Gherghe, Ciucă 1998, p. 38; Cărăbiși 2015b, p. 71). The archaeological investigations had shown that the defending system had consisted of a ditch with an opening of 6 m, a wall with a height of 2-3 m and a width of 7-8 m. Another fortification that was probably in use almost in the same period was discovered behind the church situated on the hill *Piscul Cerului* from Vierșani (Gherghe 1986b, p. 101; Gherghe 2001, p. 122; Calotoiu 2012b, p. 94). This one had also a defending wall made of earth and a ditch. At Socu, commune Bărbătești the fortification with wall and palisade was placed on a spot that made possible control of the access along the Gilort River (Calotoiu *et alii* 1987, p. 65; Gherghe 2001, p. 109-110; Calotoiu, Hortopan 2008; Calotoiu 2012a, p. 146; Calotoiu 2012b, p. 92; Cărăbiși 2015b, p. 114-116). Considering that the civilian settlement in its proximity had functioned between the 2<sup>nd</sup> - 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, it was dated in the same time. As we see, all fortifications had ceased their existence somewhere in the 1<sup>st</sup> C. BC. Also on the Upper Gilort, at Novaci (Gherghe 2001, p. 82; Calotoiu 2012b, p. 90; Cărăbiși 2015b, p. 43), another fortification might have existed, but, unfortunately, there is no exact information about it.



Its dimensions and importance by the one from Stoina (Gherghe 1987; Gherghe 1997, p. 90; Calotoiu et alii 1987, p. 58-59; Calotoiu 2012a, p. 138-139; Calotoiu 2012b, p. 90-91) dominated the second fortification „core”. On the spot *Via lui Negurici / Dealuleen* some time ago, archaeological investigations were initiated, but they became very intense in the past few years.

Not far away from the Stoina fortification, namely at Căpreni-Dealul Cetății/Piscul Cetății, another fortification was found, with an earthen wall and brick walls (Gherghe 1986b, p. 90-92, 96-98, 102-103; Gherghe 1997, p. 71; Gherghe 2001, p. 37; Calotoiu et alii 1987, p. 58; Calotoiu 2012a, p. 138; Calotoiu 2012b, p. 88). With an earthen wall was also endowed the fortification which was not archaeologically studied, but which was probably dated in the same period with the one from Cetatea-Logrești (Gherghe 1986b, p. 102).

For the analysed zone there are also other settlements/fortresses which were fortified with ditch and earthen wall like those from Bâlteni, Șiacu-*La Cetate* with a wall on a side, and others, like Toiaga, defended by ditch and wall (Gherghe 1986b, p. 107; Gherghe 1997, p. 83; Gherghe 2001, p. 113, 117; Calotoiu et alii 1987, p. 97; Calotoiu 2012a, p. 141; Calotoiu 2012b, p. 93-94; Cărăbiși 2015b, p. 69). Unfortunately, the information is unclear, because no checking in the field had been done until now. For Toiaga, situated on the left bank of the Amaradia Creek and dated widely between 4<sup>th</sup>? -2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, the existence of a ditch with wall was also suggested (Gherghe 2001, p. 117).

Unfortified Getic fortresses were documented and partly investigated in the Gorj at Albeni, Alimpești, Amărăști, Arcani, Baia de Fier-*Florile Albe Cave Decebal's Cave* and *Muierilor Cave*, Bengești-Valea Mare, Birnici, Borăscu, Boroșteni, Broșteni-*La Cetate*, Bumbesti Jiu-*La Cetate* (under the Roman *castrum* raised there), Căpreni-*La Târg*, Cărbunești (around 200 BC, Ocnia-Cărbunești type), Cătunele-*Pârâul Chivădar* (under the roman *castrum*?), Cocoreni-C.A.P., Costeni, Curțișoara (?), Dobrița (deposit of sickles and scythes), Fărcășești-*Rogojelu-Mină*, Grozești, Ionești-*La Bordele*, Lelești-*Valea Hula*, Pârâu Boia-Siliște, Piscoiu-*Harbuga Tătărească* (?), Poiana, Polovragi-*Mănăstire*, Romanesti-*Groapa de Împrumut* (traces also dated between 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD), Roșia de Amaradia-*Ușile lui Traian*, Runcu-Cheile *Sohodolului*, *Siliște*, *Captare*, *Gureni* and *Pârcălabul Cave*, Sâmbotin-*Castrul Roman*, Socu-Cioaca *Boaia*, Spahii-*Pajiște* and *Câmpul Spahiului*, Șiacu, Telești-*Livezile Mici* (burial from the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, with a mingled inventory, with both Getic and Celtic objects), Topești-*Cetățuie*, Valea Deșului, Valea Perilor-*Pârâul Chivădar* (under the Roman *castrum* from Cătunele), Vierșani-*Piscul Cerului* (Popilian 1970, p. 65; Tudor 1978, p. 271; Bușilă, Vulpe 1974; Preda 1978; Gherghe 1980; Gherghe 1986b, p. 92, 98-99, 107; Gherghe 1997, p. 48-51, 57-61; Gherghe 2001, p. 15-18, 26, 28, 33, 36-38, 44, 53, 56-57, 62, 70, 74, 77, 91-94, 103-104, 106, 117, 119; Gherghe 2015; Berciu 1981; Calotoiu et alii 1987, p. 51; Gherghe, Calotoiu 1992; Calotoiu 2012a, p. 172-182; Calotoiu 2012b; Tulugea 2012, p. 169-171; Cărăbiși 2015b, p. 13, 16-19, 29, 31, 42, 54, 56, 60-68, 72-74; Colțeanu et alii 2018, p. 148-168).

For the Vâlcea range, the vestiges of the 4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century BC are scarce. It is known about settlements at Căciulata-*Cozia Veche*, Govora-*Runcuri*, Râmnicu Vâlcea-*Dealul Capela*, *Dealul Cetățuia*, *Dealul Petrișor*, *Dealul Troian* and *Alexandru Sahia Street*, Râureni (Moscalu 1968; Petre-Govora 1995, p. 62-63; Petre-Govora 2001, p. 24-26; Gherghe 2001, p. 101; Tulugea 2012, p. 170; Cărăbiși 2015b, p. 19, 57-58), but there is no information about fortified sites.

In turn, later on, the respective region was dominated by the complex of fortifications and civilian settlements from Ocnia-*Buridava* (Berciu, Iosifaru 1980; Berciu, Iosifaru 1983; Berciu



1981; Berciu *et alii* 1983; Berciu *et alii* 1985; Berciu *et alii* 1986; Berciu *et alii* 1987; Berciu *et alii* 1988; Berciu *et alii* 1989; Berciu *et alii* 1990; Berciu *et alii* 1991; Berciu *et alii* 1992; Berciu *et alii* 1993; Cărăbiși 2015b, p. 103-111). Over there, three fortresses were documented (noted *Fortress 1*, *Fortress 2* and *Fortress 3*) (Pl. IV/1-3). The first of them was raised on the *Dealul Cosota* (*Cosota Hill*), on an artificial plateau (with probable dimensions of 100 x 50 m), fortified to the North by the earth remained after the levelling of the plateau, upon which a palisade was made. On the Eastern and Southern sides, an earthen and wooden wall was erected, being conceived of two lines of pillars, placed into a ditch carved in stone and having an earthen *emplecton*. This first operation was done in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, afterwards being continued with the inclusion within the fortified perimeter of the *Terraces I-III*. In order to do that, another wooden and earthen wall was made, while on the Western side two towers were raised, on this side being possible the access towards the fortress.

With regard to the *Fortress 2*, there is just scarce information. This was discovered on a plateau and on a terrace situated not far away from the *Fortress 1*. In turn, *Fortress 1* was constructed with a single purpose, of serving as a refuge fortress, being defended by a palisade and a tower with a watchtower. These later fortifications had functioned beginning with the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC and, together with *Fortress 1*, until the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD-beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD, meaning until 101-102, when Oltenia was conquered by the Romans.

About other fortified settlements/fortresses of the Vale larger Basin of the Lot, there is not too much data. It is known that at *Roești-Râpa Cotoman-Râpa Căzănești* had functioned a fortress, which occupied several terraces and had three earthen walls (Gherghe 1997, p. 74-75; Gherghe 2001, p. 102; Tulugea 2012, p. 170; Cărăbiși 2015b, p. 58). Other fortifications had also existed according to some researchers (Gherghe 2001, p. 54, 58, 69; Gherghe 2011, p. 116-117; Cărăbiși 2015b, p. 29, 71), and they had a circumference of about 400 m, being defended by wall and palisade at *Dăești* (earthen wall), *Drăgășani*, *Obislavu-Măru-Dealul Muierii* (this one being a continuation of the fortification dated in the Early Iron Age that ceased its functioning during the Roman-Dacian war between 101-102) and at *Tetoiu-Piscul cu Jidovi/Piscu Șasa*.

Around the *Buridava* complex and the other fortifications, a series of some other settlements had gravitated, these being unfortified ones. Of these, we mention *Băbeni-Dealul Rumânilor*, *Băile Govora-Gătejești*, *Bârsești-Biserică*, *Budești-Pârâul Sâmnicel* and *Barza*, *Bujoreni-La Culă*, *Buleta-La Plută* and *Valea Buletei*, *Călimănești-Căciulata-Cozia Veche*, *Călina-Dealul Hureanu*, *Frânțești*, *Govora Sat-Poieni*, *Sub Chilimii*, *La Stejar*, *Mănăstirea Govora*, *Runcuri*, *Coasta Teiușului* and *Valea Gurișoarei*, *Ionești Govorei* (under the roman *castrum*), *Mihăiești-Biserică*, *Ocnele Mari-Dacian Buridava-Fundătura Cosotei*, *Copăcelu-Gogiu* and *Valea Răii*, *Orlești-Nisipoasa*, *Valea Bisericii* and *Valea Sâlei*, *Oteteliș-Lângă Moară*, *Pricopapoaia-Valea Sâla* and *In the garden of the inhabitant Sîia*, *Râmnicu Vâlcea-Căzănești*, *Dealul Viilor*, *Dealul Capela*, *Dealul Cetățuia*, *Dealul Petrișor* and *Dealul Troian*, *Stolniceni*, *Țeica* (Moscalu 1968; Petre-Govora 1970, p. 476-481, 485-486, 488; Tudor 1978, p. 286-287; Preda 1978; Berciu 1981; Berciu *et alii* 1985; Petre-Govora 1995, p. 59-66; Petre-Govora 2001; Gherghe 1997; Gherghe 2001, p. 20-21, 31-33, 38, 45, 49-50, 63, 68, 74, 86, 89-90, 97, 112, 118-119; Tulugea 2012; Cărăbiși 2015b, p. 14, 18-19, 23, 32-35, 50-51, 57-58).



Salt exploitation and trade was a major economic activity, a fact that was confirmed by a series of tools specific to it, uncovered at *Buridava* (Berciu 1981, p. 31, 152; Berciu *et alii* 1993, p. 156; Schuster *et alii* 2010, p. 264; Schuster *et alii* 2012). In order to back up this hypothesis could be also added the density of the settlements around the perimeters with salt and salted springs. The Dacians did not neglect either the iron ores in the region. Traces of its extraction could be detected at Baia de Fier, in the *Decebal's Cave*. Most probably, part of this might have been reduced on the Valea Galbenului, on the spot *La Băi*, as pointed out by the ore mound identified there (Gherghe 1986b, p. 92; Gherghe 2001, p. 17-18; Calotoiu 2012a, p. 172-173).

The commercial capitalization of the subsoil resources and not only, the connections among various settlements and fortifications, but also with others from the neighbouring regions (Transylvania, Southern Oltenia, Banat), was accomplished by using terrestrial and aquatic routes (Olt, Jiu). Possible traces of some Dacian roads were documented at Becheni, along the course of the Tismana River, at Călnic (overlapped by the Roman one), Fărcășești, Hălângești-*Dealul Muierii* (on the *Sucidava-Sarmizegetusa Regia* route), Poiana (on the left bank of the Jiu River), Ponoare-*Dealul Muierii*, Roșia de Amaradia-*Ușile lui Traian*, Sârbești, Sohodol, Vârț (Toartă 1973, p. 23, 25, 29-33, 219-220; Gherghe 1986b, p. 90-91, 99, 105; Gherghe 1997, p. 121, 123-127, fig. 9; Gherghe 2001, p. 25, 38, 62, 71, 95, 103, 106, 110; Calotoiu *et alii* 1987, p. 85; Calotoiu 2012a, p. 173-174, 176, 178-181; Calotoiu 2012b, p. 88, 90-94). Another road was also found on the *Terasa V (Terrace V)* of the fortification complex from *Buridava*.

The coin hoards, or isolated coins<sup>1</sup>, discovered in various Geto-Dacian sites, but also in locations that are mostly situated on the terraces along the Geto-Dacian roads in Northern Oltenia,

<sup>1</sup> The finds from Amărăști (Roman denars of the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), Aninoasa (Aninoasa-Dobrești type; 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), Arcani (Philip II type; 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC; and recently, a hoard of Republican and Imperial denars - 104 BC - 86-88 AD), Baia de Aramă (Banat type), Băbeni, Bărbătești-*La Cochintu* (Republican coins, some of them date at 134 BC), Bătășani (silver tetradrahmas), Bălteni, Bârzeiul de Gilort (Dobrești type), Benești (tetradrachma imitation after Philip II; 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), Bistrița (tetradrachma imitation after Philip II; 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), Bogdănești (Adâncata type diadrahmas; 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), Brezoi-*Valea lui Stan* (Koson type; 42 BC), Broșteni, Bugiulești-*Mondănești* (tetradrachma imitation after Philip II; 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC) and *Hotar* (Larissa-Apollo type Larissa type and Philip II type), Bunești-*Gătejeștii de Bunești-Drumul Sării* (Prundu-Jiblea type and Janus Head type), Buzești (Philip II type, Adâncata type, Chereluș type), Cartiu (Philip II type, Philip III type), Călimănești-*Valea Puturoasa* (tetradrahmas of „horseman with bird” type), Călina-*Lințoiu* (tetradrachma issued by Patraos, king of Paeonia - 335-315 BC), Căpreni-*La Târg* (Roman Republican denars), Cărbunești (Ocnița-Cărbunești type; issued around 200 BC), Câmpofeni (posthumous Philip II tetradrachma), Ciutești (Adâncata-Mănăstirea type), Cojani (imitations after Philip II type, Aninoasa-Dobrești, type, Aninoasa group), Cornetu (drachma Dyrrachium, Roman Republican denars; 268/240-75 BC), Cornișani (Aninoasa-Dobrești type), Costeni (Geto-Dacian coins), Costești-*Mănăstirea Arnota* (posthumous Filip II, 318-308 BC), Cucești (tetradrahmă Philip II type), Damian (Roman Republican coins), Dăești (Roman Republican coins, around 82-19 BC), Dobriceni, Drăgășani (Prundu-Jiblea type), Fărcașul-*Piscul Șasa*, Fântânele, Frâncești, Gavodarva (Roman denar from the Caesar's time), Găgeni (Tulghieș-Mireșu Mare type), Gătejești (Jiblea type), Glodeni (?), Govora Băi (discoveries in three places: *Inuri* - Janus Head type, *Ograda Bătrână* - Janus Head type, and unknown - Aninoasa-Dobrești type), Govora-*Inuri* and *Ograda Bătrână* (Janus Head type), Govora Sat (Janus Head type, around 200 BC), Grădiștea (Roman Republican coins), Jiblea Veche-*Vârful Brăonii* (Prundu-Jiblea type, Adâncata-Mănăstirea



the same like the metal objects of the Bronze and Early Iron Ages, show that the same commercial routes had been used since Prehistory, until the Roman times. The buried hoards attested, among others, the conflict periods like the one of *Burebista* or, more recent ones, the military activities existing between the Dacian king *Decebalus* and the Roman Emperor *Domitianus* between 87-88 AD, as demonstrated by the finds from Arcani (Stroiești forest), Vâlcan Pass, Poiana. In the mentioned time, the army of *Cornelius Fuscus* had crossed the Danube at *Drobeta* and, in the spring of 87 had started his march towards the Dacian fortresses in the Orăștie Mountains, grouped on two column, one crossing through the hilly region of the Pericarpatian in Mehedinți and the other along the Jiu River, towards the Vâlcan Pass (Petolescu 2014, p. 109; Marinoiu 2018, p. 231). It is not excluded that, also at that time, the fortification from Vârț might have been abandoned.

Of course, the guardians of the regions rich in salt and iron ores had also assured their army and adequate military organization. Without knowing its exact details, we have the information that the „*militaries*” were found in the settlements and fortifications (Broșteni-*Biserica Dacilor*: fragmentary chain mail; Ionești: spear point) (Gherghe 1986b, p. 102; Gherghe 2001, p. 30; Calotoiu 2012a, p. 173; Calotoiu 2012b, p. 87; Cărăbiși 2015b, p. 42) but also in necropolis/burials (Băbeni: swords; Bălănești, *Loturile I* and *II*: curved knives (daggers) / *sica*, the sheath of a small knife, a spear point; Cornești-Bălava-*Locul lui Ioan Dănău*: a double edged sword, fragments of a sword sheath, o *sica* of C type and two fragments of a shield *umbo* – Pl. XVI/6; Ionești?: spear point; Racovița: sword of Celtic type, a *sica*, a pleated spear point – Pl. XVI/7; Socu-Bărbătești: - Pl. XVI/8-9; Spahii-*Câmpul Spahiului*: spades/swords - in *Burial no. 11* / almost intact, spear points - *Burial nos. 5,11,13* and *17*, knives - *Burial no. 17*, sheath and *umbo* fragments; Vârț: little knife,

type, „horseman with bird” type, Alexander the Great-Philip III-Arideus type), Livezi, Lunca (Roman Republican coins), Magherești (Adâncata-Mănăstirea type, Rădulești-Hunedoara type), Ocnele Mari-*Dacian Buridava* (Ocnița-Cărbunești type, Vârteju-București type, roman denars from Augustus), Părăușani (Roman Republican denars), Petrești de Jos (Philip II type), Pietrarii de Sus (Aninoasa-Dobrești type), Plopșoru (Philip II type), Poiana (hoard with adornments and Getic coins dated between 124 BC-81 AD and Roman Republican denars), Polovragi (Roman Republican denars, Dacian silver coins), Popești-Popești (Philip II type), Popești-Sinești (Adâncata-Mănăstirea type), Racovița-*Ciocanul* (Roman Republican denars), Râmnicu Vâlcea-*Gara CFR* (Janus Head type, Philip II type, Philip III type), *Răureni* (issued by Abydos town; 320-280 BC) and two other unknown places, Rogojelu (Philip II type), Rogojina-*Piscul Cerului* (Vârteju-București type), Roești (Roman Republican denars, 124/103-43 BC), Roșia de Amaradia (Getic coins from 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), Rovinari-*Poiana* (Getic silver adornments and Roman Republican coins), Scundu (Prundu-Jiblea type; 102/100 BC), Socu-Bărbătești-*Sub Coasta Mare* (tetradrahmas issued by Thasos), *Livada C.A.P.* (Roman Republican denars) and in an unknown place (Aninoasa-Dobrești type), Suseni-*Vărăria* (Roman Republican denars), Ștefănești (tetradrachma of Philip II type), Telești (Republican and Imperial denars), Tetoiu (Getic coins), Turbarea (tetradrahmas issued by Patraos, king of the Paeoni), Valea Deșului (Dacian coins, 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), Vierșani (Vârteju-București type), Zătreni-*Vâlceaua Dobreștilor* (Dacian and Roman Republican denars - 150-75 BC). See Preda 1973, p. 32, 34-35, 38-41, 72-73, 104, 145-149, 156, 162, 166-167, 172, 173, 176-177, 238, 274, 276, 280-282, 205, 327, 345, 406, 433, 435-436; Mărghitan 1976, p. 69-70; Tudor 1978, p. 27-29; Calotoiu *et alii.* 1987, p. 115; Gherghe 1986b, p. 91, 95-96; Gherghe 1997, p. 50; Gherghe 2001, p. 16, 21-25, 27, 31-38, 44-45, 47-48, 52-54, 56, 58, 62-64, 67, 76-79, 91-92, 94-96, 98-99, 101-103, 109, 114, 116, 119, 124; Petre-Govora 2001, p. 26; Părpăruță 2005; Tulugea 2012, p. 162-173; Spănu 2012, p. 239, pl. 103-105; Calotoiu 2012b; Marinoiu 2017; Marinoiu 2018.



spear point) (Nicolăescu-Plopșor 1948, p. 18, pl. 1/1-2; Popescu 1963, p. 407-410, fig. 4/2, 5/2; Moscalu 1977, p. 335, fig. 8/2; Sîrbu 1993, p. 78; Gherghe 1997, p. 60; Gherghe 2001, p. 20, 46-47; Gherghe 2015, p. 68, 71, 73, 75-76, 90, 97-98, pl. 5/1, 6/2-4,6,8, 7/1-4, 8/1-2; Cărăbiși 2015b, p. 27, 127-129, 136-141; Sîrbu, Borangic 2015, p. 369-390; Sîrbu, Borangic 2016a, p. 33-34/122-123, 75/154, 91/182; Sîrbu, Borangic 2016b, p. 337, fig. 3/1; Marinoiu *et alii* 2016; Borangic 2017, p. 153; Spânu 2018).

The area of Gorj was (also) the place, as previously considered by some archaeologists, where the contacts between the Getae and the Celts could be archaeologically detected. Possible Celtic intrusions were considered the burials from *Cornești-Bălava*, since the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, containing a double edged Celtic sword, an iron knife, another long sword (?), fragments of a sword sheath and two *umbo* pieces (Popescu 1963; Gherghe 1986b, p. 93-94; Gherghe 1997, p. 46-47; Gherghe 2001, p. 46-47; Gherghe 2015, p. 97; Calotoiu 2012b, p. 89) and the one of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC from *Telești-Livezile Mici*, that contained a Celtic belt (Calotoiu *et alii* 1987, p. 120-122; Gherghe 2001, p. 116; Gherghe 2015, p. 98; Calotoiu 2012b, p. 93).

Petre Gherghe (2015, p. 104), after the research from Spahii, had considered that, „*there are enough arguments that could proof that all cremation burials of the II-I c. a.Chr. discovered until now in Oltenia and which did not contained among their grave goods pottery or Celtic coins could be considered, without reluctance, as belonging to the Geto-Dacians*”. Other specialists shared the same opinion, as they considered that (Sîrbu, Borangic 2015, p. 378-379; Sîrbu, Borangic 2016a, p. 47/137; Borangic 2017, p. 189-190); those who wore *sica* were autochthonous, meaning Dacians. In fact, it was mentioned that „*for the Northern Danube region, the inventories of Padea - Panaghiurski Kolonii type had belonged to the Dacians and the hypothesis of a migration of the Danubian knights towards South-Western Transylvania could not be sustained any further*” (Sîrbu, Borangic 2016, p. 46/137). Another opinion refers to the find from Bălănești considering that this „*represents some of the links of a multi-directional mobility developed even without the contribution of Rome in the late period of La Tène...Regardless their ethnicity, the deceased from Bălănești had revealed a cosmopolite cultural identity*” (Spânu 2018, p. 216).

What Getic/Dacian tribes had inhabited the Northern part of Oltenia is insufficiently known for the moment. More information is available for the Vâlcea region, which, most probably, was under the ruler ship of the *Buridavensi*, about whom the geographer *Ptolemaeus had spoken* (Berciu 1981, p. 155; Petre-Govora 2001, p. 22). In addition, the name of some settlements remains unknown. It is possible that Arcani will have been *Arcina*, *Drăgășani Rusidava* (Gherghe 2001, p. 17, 58).

### Some conclusions

Even if our analysis had a synthetic character, it still enables us to advance several conclusions:

- Northern Oltenia, by its position as a meditation region between this province and Transylvania was, during the Bronze and Early Iron Ages, but also in the Getic times, a focus area for various communities that crossed Oltenia, which assured the connection between the Danube Valley, the territories South of it and between this river and the Meridional Carpathians;
- Taking into account that in those times Oltenia was covered by forests in most of its part, especially on its Northern side, the routes by which this communication could be done was the terrestrial one, along the large rivers – Olt and Jiu being also navigable with flat bottom boats.



- Still, not only the strategic role was important, but also the richness of the subsoil – salt and copper or copper ores -, that attracted different human groups. The archaeological research had enabled, as mentioned above, the discovery of traces and tools that attested the activity of salt extraction, but also that of the ores, as well as their processing.

- In the Bronze Age, in the region of salt and ore exploitation, it was no need of raising fortified settlements, this probably being due to the type of organization for those communities (restrained groups, based on large families with blood ties, very mobile, in permanent movement, pastoral economy, with its need of pasture for animals, lack of a specialized "personnel" in resource exploitation). They rather preferred to establish some seasonal settlements. Subsequently, this picture had changed;

- Together with the Early Iron Age, fortified settlements had started to be raised, like the one from Obislavu-Măru. These, by their location, had dominated the various micro-regions and access routes to the North. This trend had become even clearer for the Geto-Dacians who, due to their higher level regarding the social, political, military and religious development, had initially established fortified settlements. Subsequently, they raised true fortresses (*dava*) (Gherghe 1997, p. 61-99), around whom unfortified settlements had gravitated. These latter ones, in most of the cases, didn't have a seasonal character, like in the previous periods;

- The fortified settlements and *dava* in Northern Oltenia were to be found in places where, besides their strategic-military and commercial value (Vârț, Vierșani, Socu, Șiacu, Țicleni, Stoina, Toiaga, Roești, Dăești, Drăgășani, Tetoiu), they facilitated and imposed a certain domination and control over some territories with resources (Obislavu-Măru, *Buridava*, Polovragi); the fortifications were „backed up” by unfortified settlements, which, most probably, had served the first ones; these were even larger than previously found, thus expressing the sedentary character of those communities;

- If, in the 4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, as shown by the recent stage of the research, *dava* were situated mostly on the Jiu river; subsequently – 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> c. BC – „the weight centre” seems to have moved towards Northern Oltenia determined by the politico-military dynamics, but also by what happened in the neighbouring territories, especially South of the Danube and in Central Europe;

- Petre Gherghe (1997, p. 75-77) had noticed the existence of two types of fortifications for Oltenia: of *barred promontory type* – attested in North of the province at Stoina – and of *circular type* – with ditch, with ditch and palisade (Roești), with ditch and wall (Toiaga, Căpreni), with ditch, wall and palisade, with stone or simple earthen wall (Polovragi, *Buridava-Ocnița*). According to Vlad Cărbăși (2015b, p. 80), "*the choosing of fortification elements might be rather connected with the natural configuration of the terrain, construction materials existing in the region or, on the contrary, brought from somewhere else and, not at the least, with the prestige conferred by the monumental structure of a fortification*".

- The archaeological investigations had resulted in the conclusion that some of the fortified settlements had ceased their existence earlier (third c. BC). Others, the same like the *dava* constructed later, had lost their role, by case, together with the military activity of king *Burebista*. This latter one had led to the crumble of the smaller Dacian kingdoms and their unification into a state with large power and dimensions, to the action of *Sextus Aelius Catus*, to the battles between the king *Decebalus* and Emperor *Domitianus*, to the confrontations that took place during the first Dacian-Roman War (101-102 AD) – Vârț and *Buridava*. This aspect was also valid for the remaining Oltenia: Bârca, Bâzdâna, Bobaița, Botoșești-Paia (?), Brabova, Bucovăț, Cârlichei, Celei etc. (Gherghe 2001, p. 23-24, 27-28, 31, 39-41, with lit.). The fact that the military barriers on the



Jiu River (the fortress from Vârț) and Olt River (*Buridava*) were annihilated had permitted the access of the Roman armies through the mountains towards Transylvania. In fact, for its strategic value, but probably also for its economic one, East of *Dacian Buridava*, close to the Olt River, a *castrum* was raised, right after the year 102 which, together with the one built in Transylvania, at the crossing of the Olt River through the mountains, had controlled the Turnu Roșu Pass, thus cutting off the connection assured by Oltenia for the Dacian kingdom of *Decebalus*, with the Danube (Schuster 2013).

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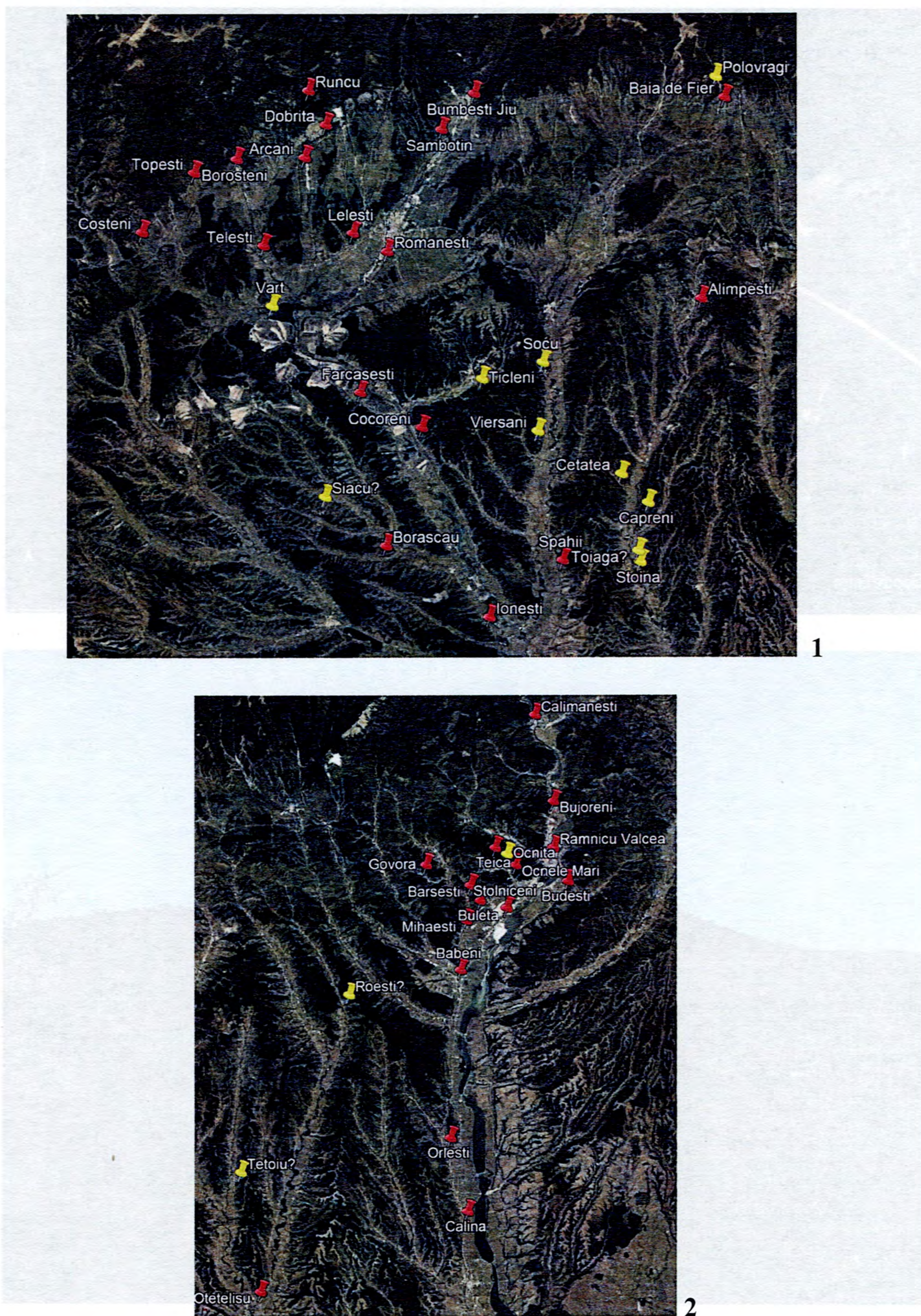
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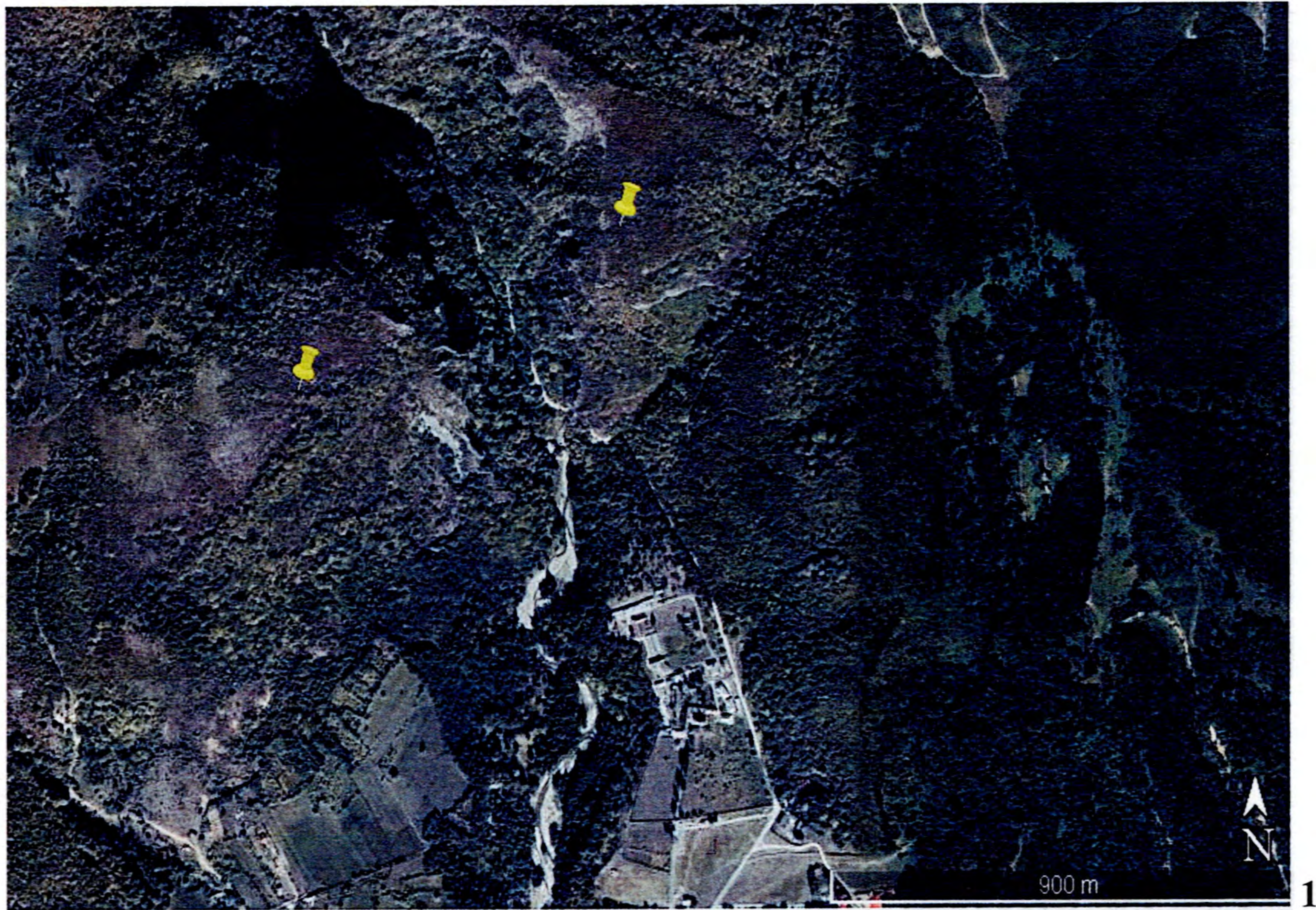
**Pl. I.** Early Iron Age fortress from Obislavu: 1 = image from the satellite, 2 = image from the southwest (photo by V. Sîrbu).





Pl. II. Goro-Dacian fortresses (yellow) and open settlements (red): 1 = Gorj County, 2 = Vâlcea County.





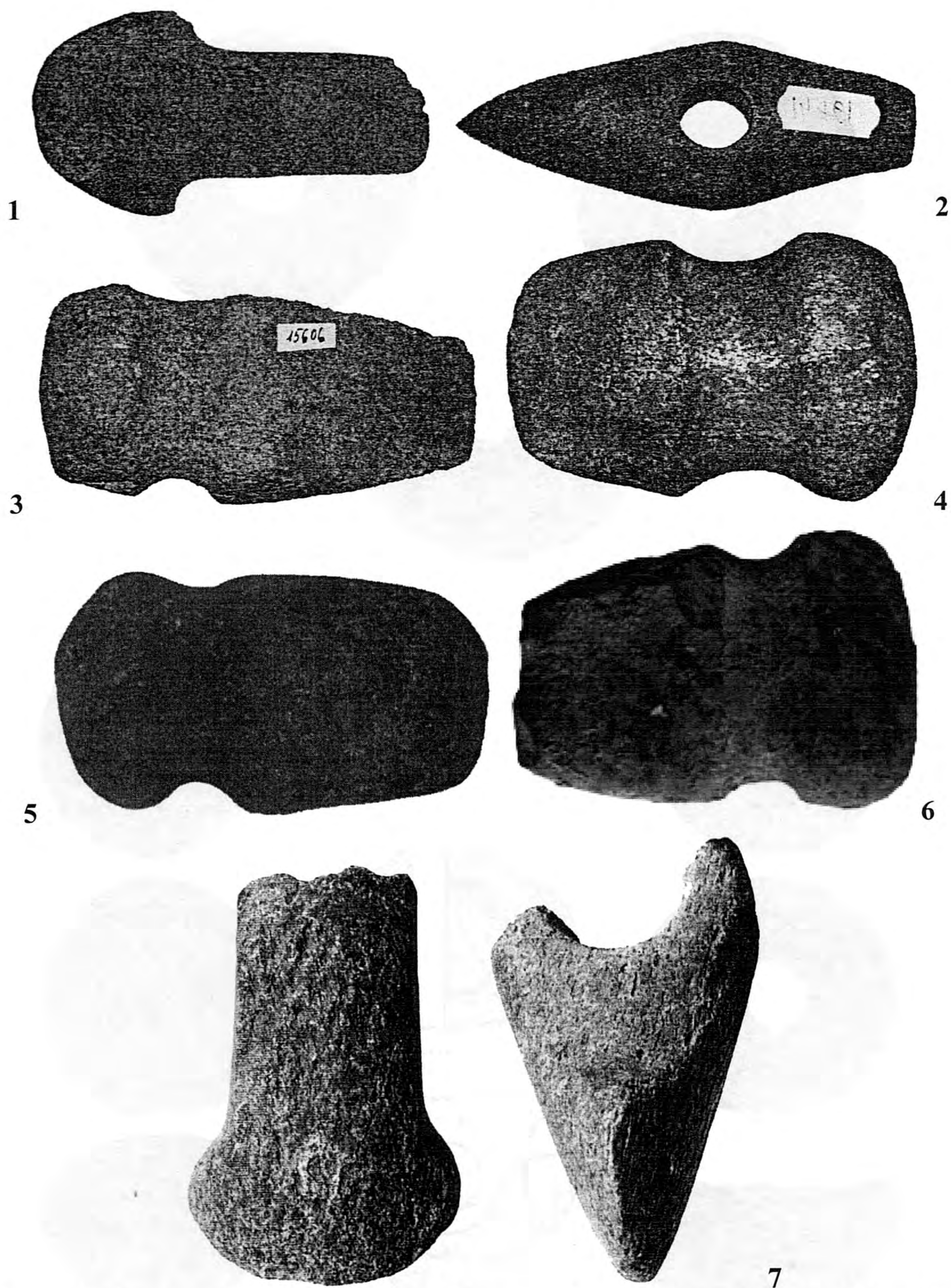
**Pl. III.** Polovragi. The two Dacian fortresses (yellow): 1 = satellite view, 2 = view from the south (photo by C. Schuster).





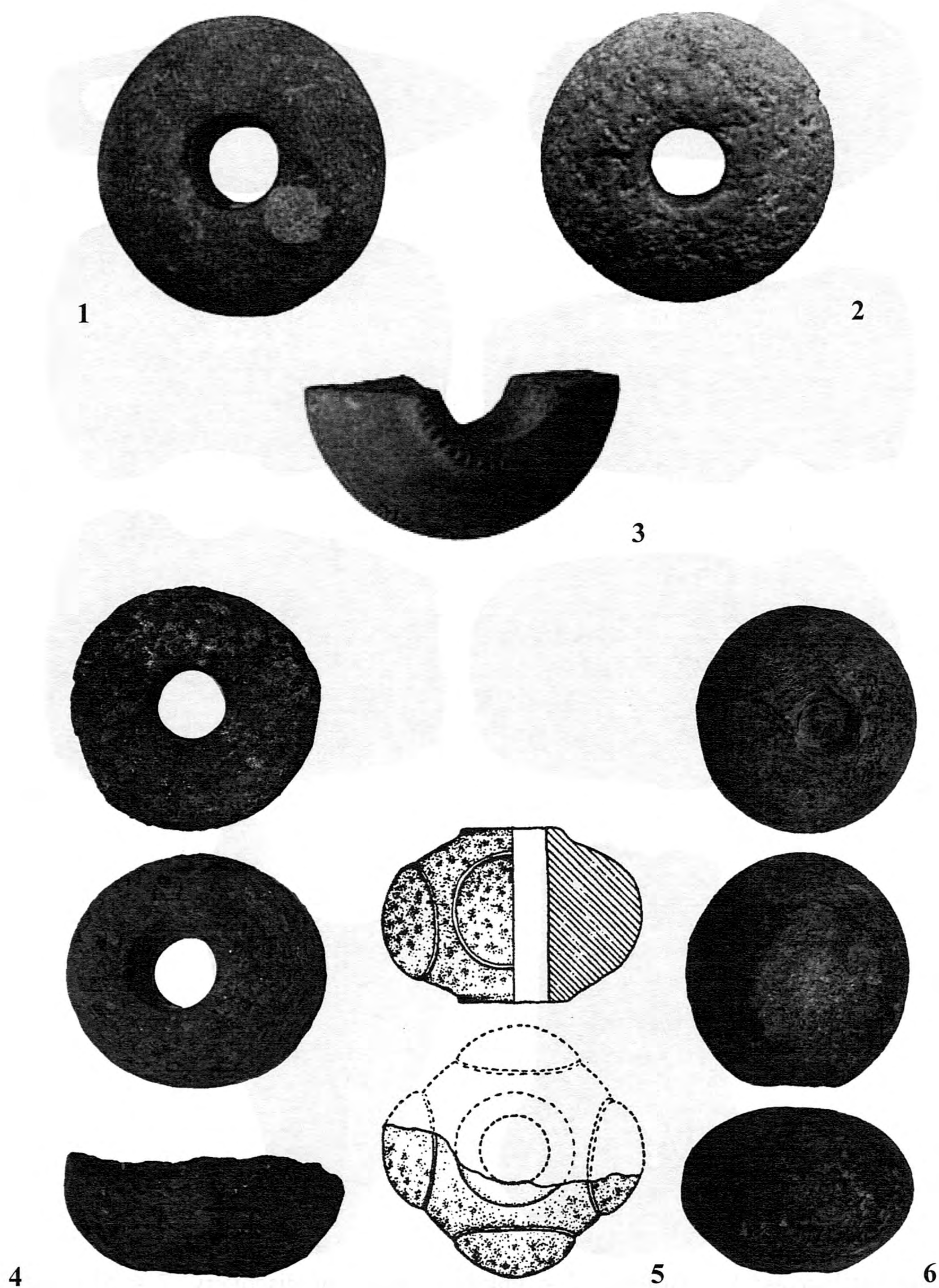
Pl. IV. Ocnîța-Buridava: 1 = satellite view of the fortresses and civil settlement, 2-3 = view from the *Fortress 1*.





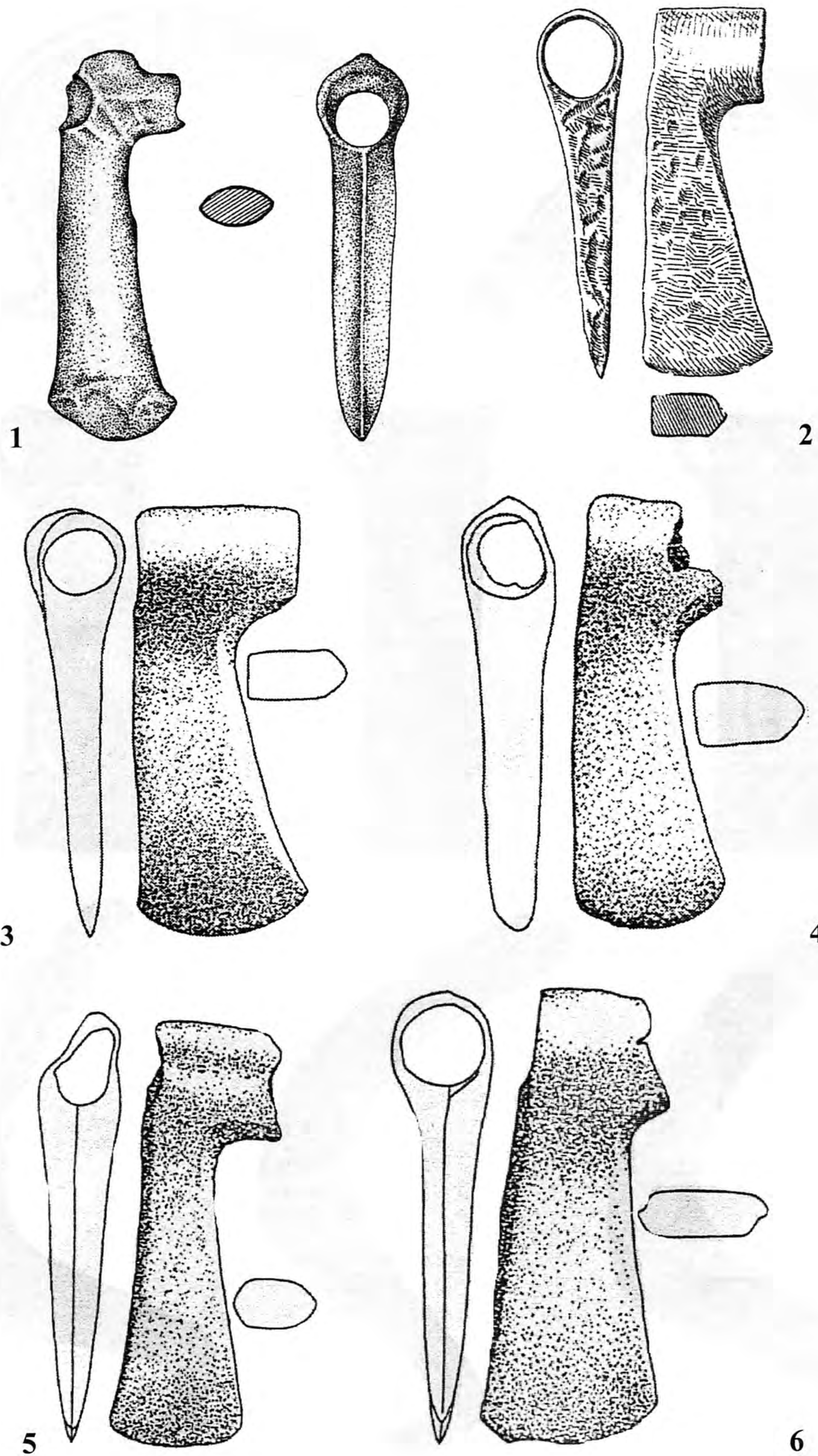
Pl. V. Stone battle-axes: 1 = Bolboși, 2 = unknown place of discovery, 7 = Mrenești; Mining hammer-axes: 3 = Tălpășești, 4 = Logești, 5 = Berislăvești, 6 = Râmnicu Vâlcea-Căzănești-Fabrica de Cărămidă. 1-4 after Chițonu *et alii* 2011, 5 after Iosifaru, Stan 2012, 7 after Blăjan, Petrescu 3009. 6 photo by Ion Tuțulescu. Different scales.





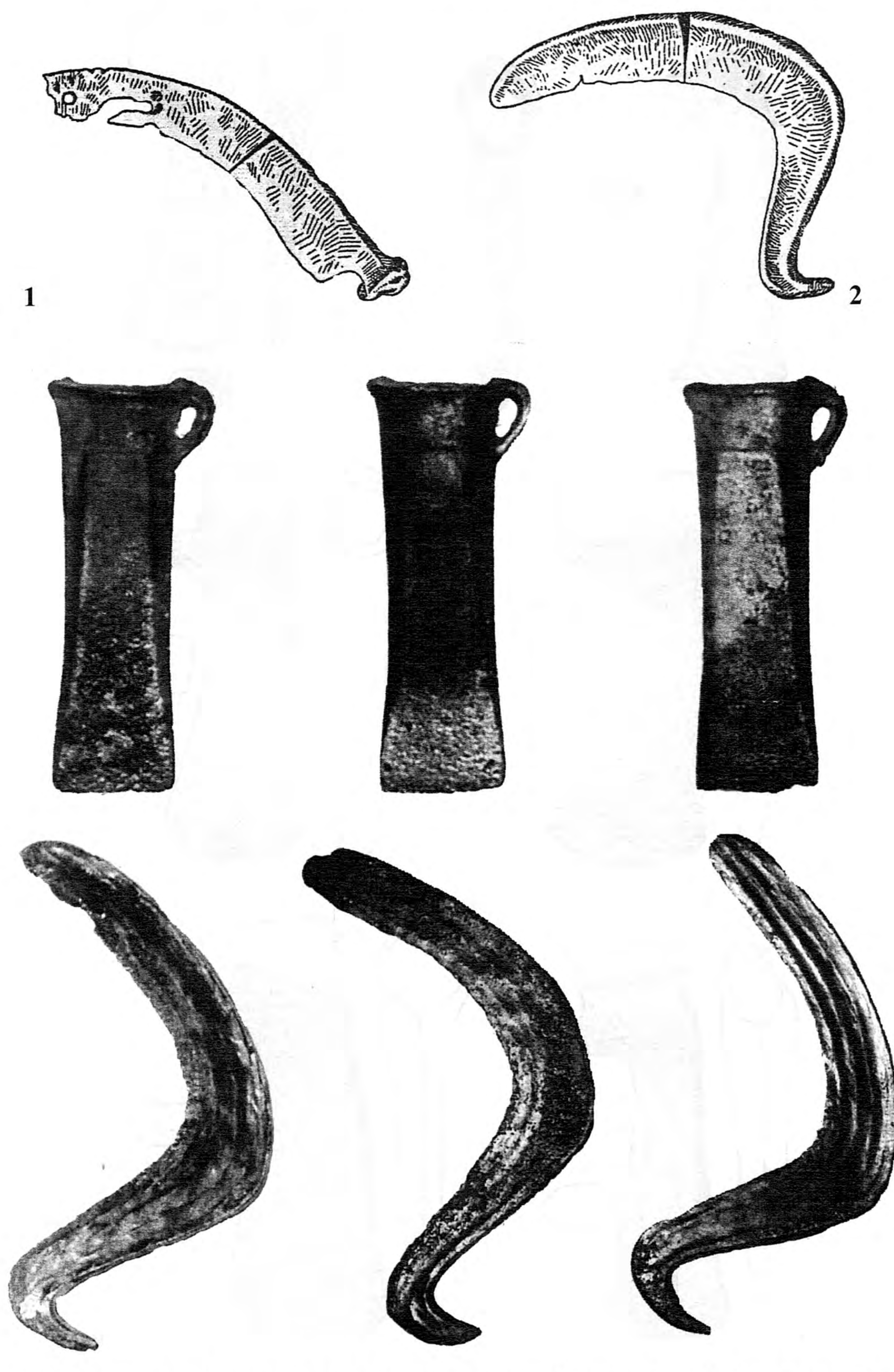
Pl. VI. Stone mace-heads: 1 = Râmnicu Vâlcea-Copăcelu-Valea Răii, 2, 5 = Govora Sat, 3 = Râmnicu Vâlcea-Căzănești-Săveasca, 4 = Orlești-Sâlea, 6 = Ocnele Mari-Ocnița. 1-4 after Schuster *et alii* 2015, 5 after Petre-Govora 1995. Different scales.





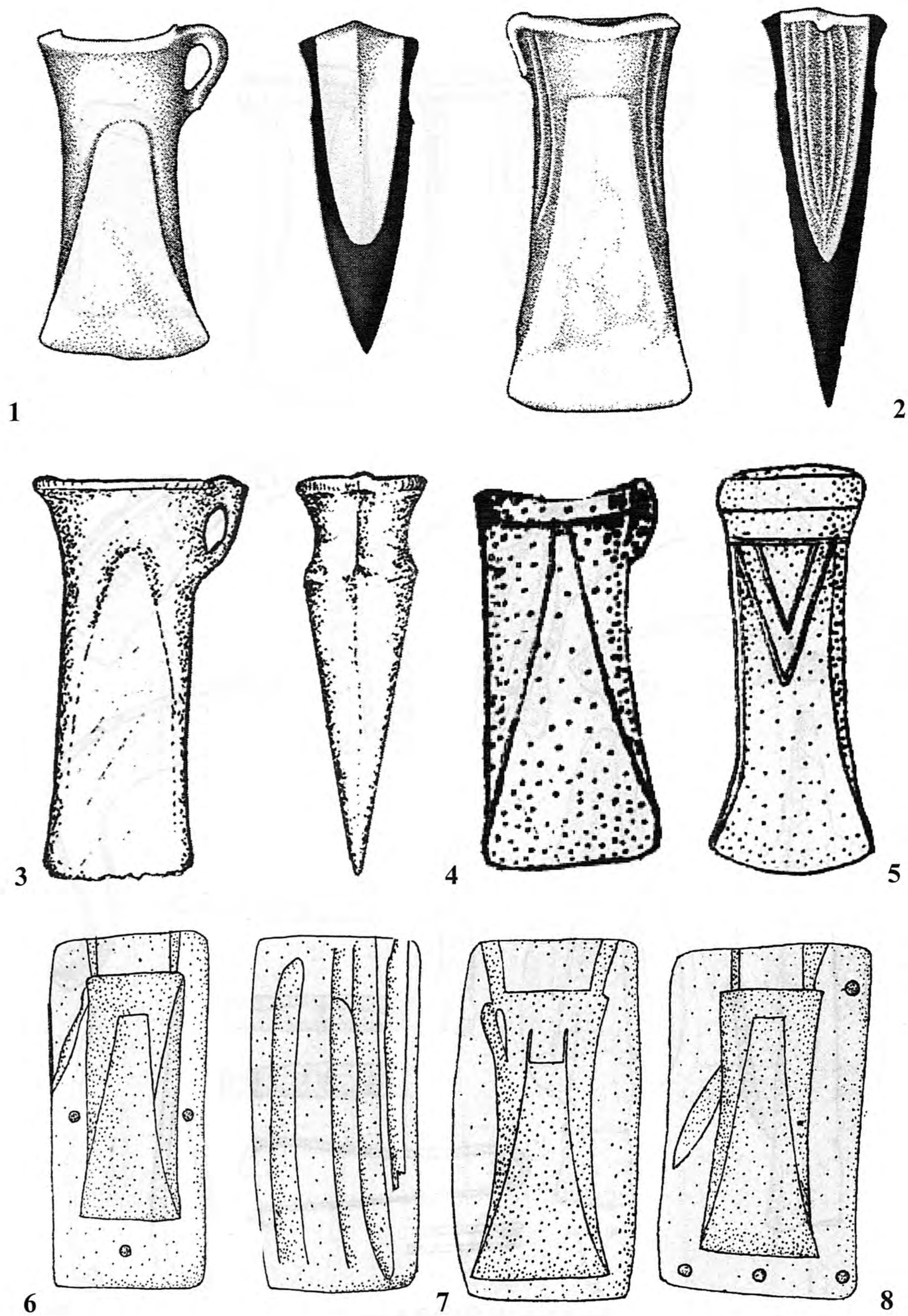
Pl. VII. Metal axes: 1 = Berbești, 2 = Boișoara, 3 = Crețeni, 4,6 = Bolboși, 5 = Peștișani. 1 after Petre-Govora 1995, 2 after Ghelmez 1976, 3-6 after Vulpe 1970. Different scales.





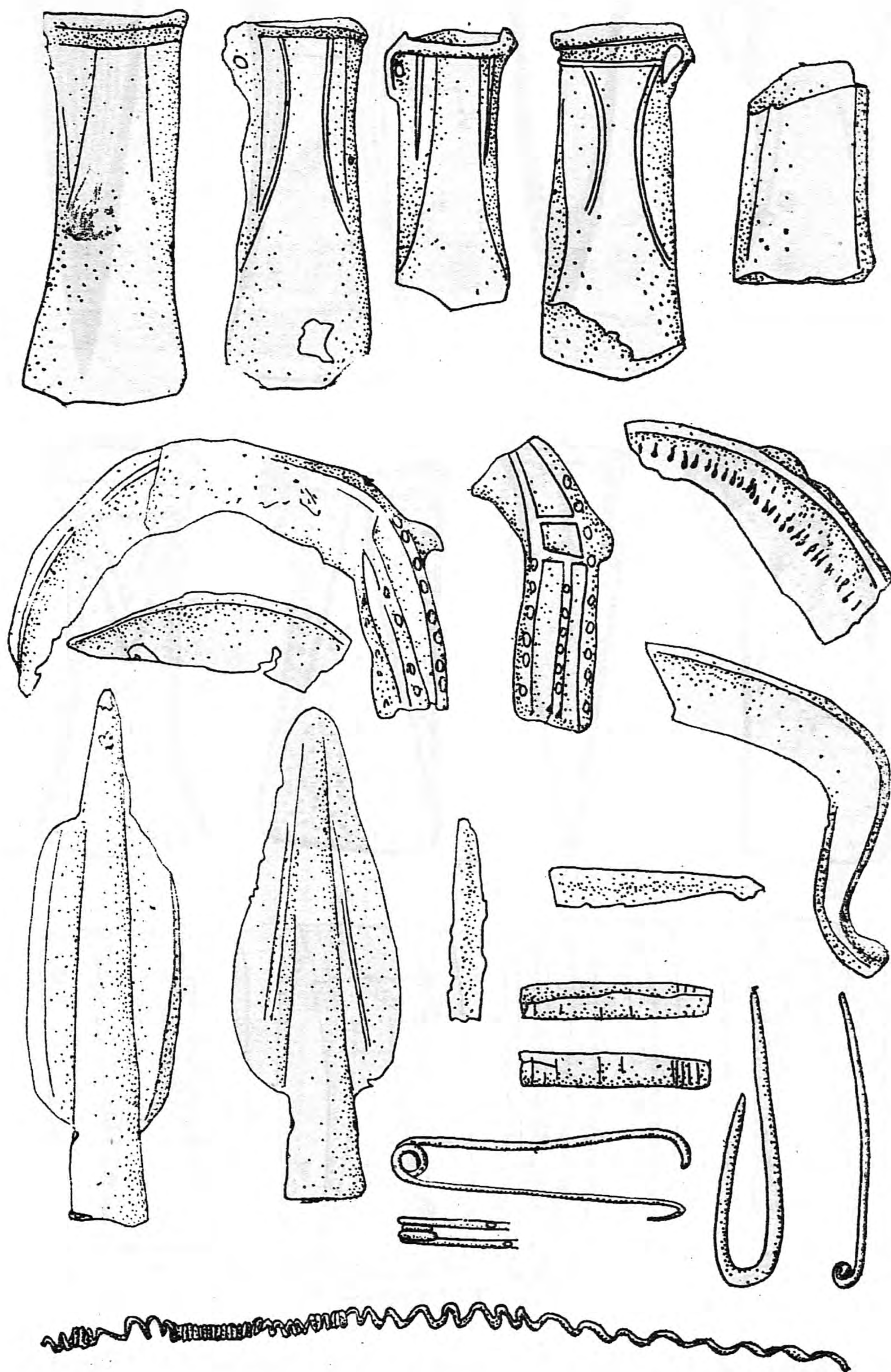
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**Pl. VIII.** Metal objects: 1 = Govora Sat, 2 = Greblești, 3 = Drăguțești. 1-2 after Petre-Govora 1995, 3 after Bratu 2009. Different scales.





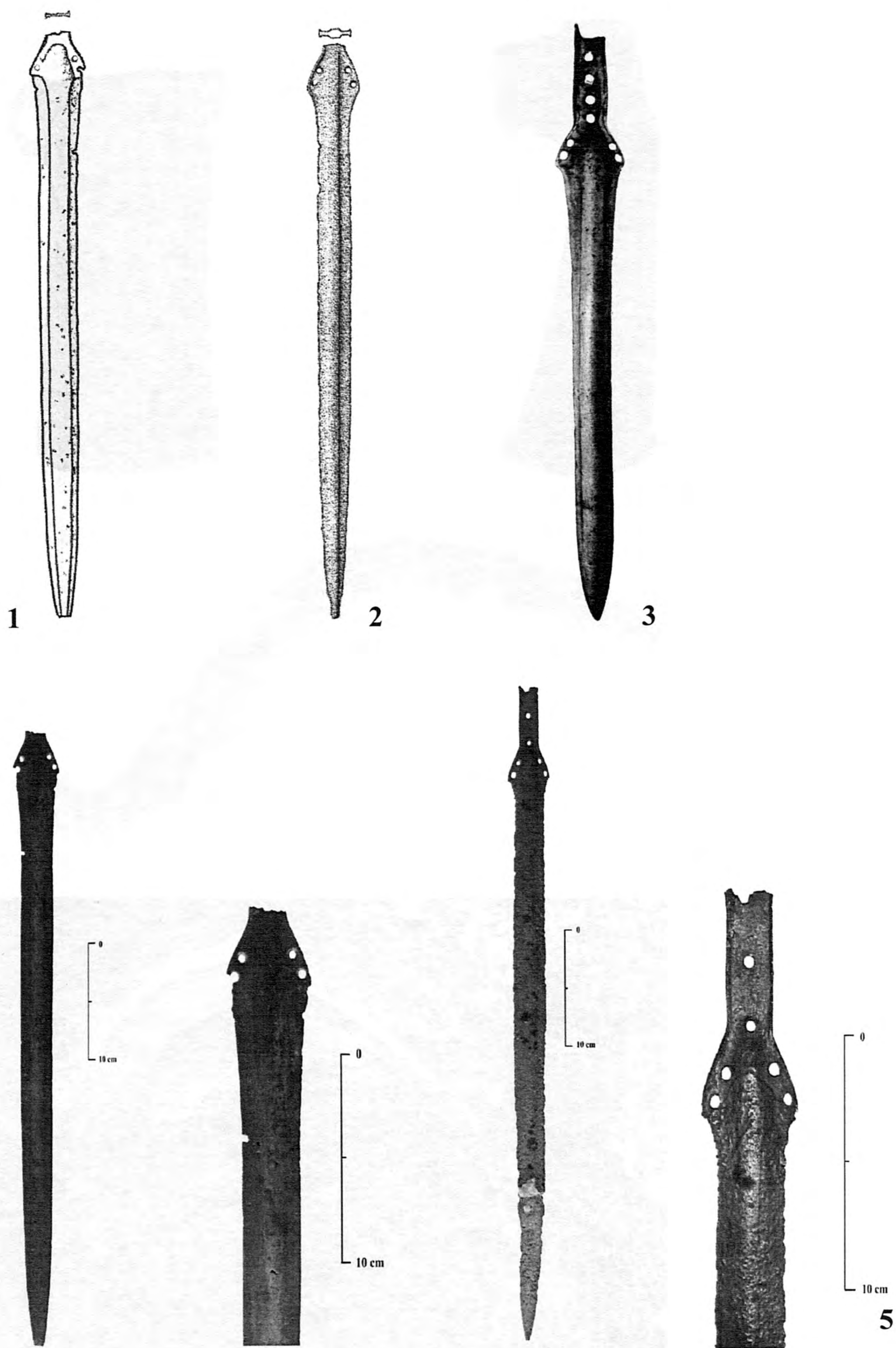
Pl. IX. Metal objects: 1-2, 4-5 = Socu, 3 = Vierşani. Stone moulds: 6-9 = Logreşti. 1-3 after Crăciunescu 2005a, 4-8 after Petrescu-Dîmboviţa 1977. Different scales.





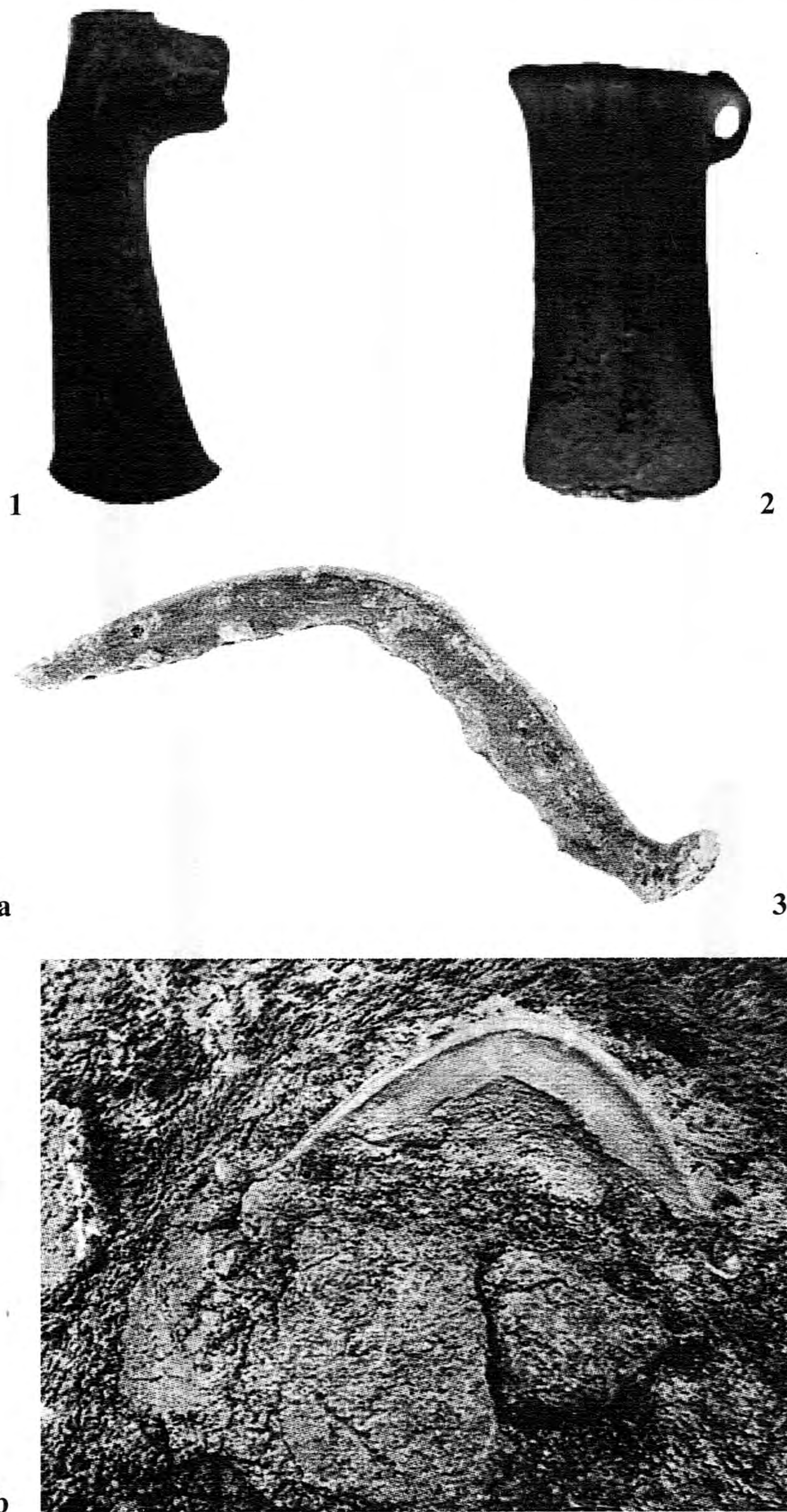
Pl. X. A part of the depot from Sacoți (after Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1977). Different scales.





**Pl. XI.** Swords: 1 = Prundeni, 2 = Matești, 3 = Grui, 4 = Zăvideni, 5 = Bălcești. 1-2 after Lazăr 2011. 4-5 after Iosifaru *et alii* 2008, 3 photo by C. Schuster. Different scales.





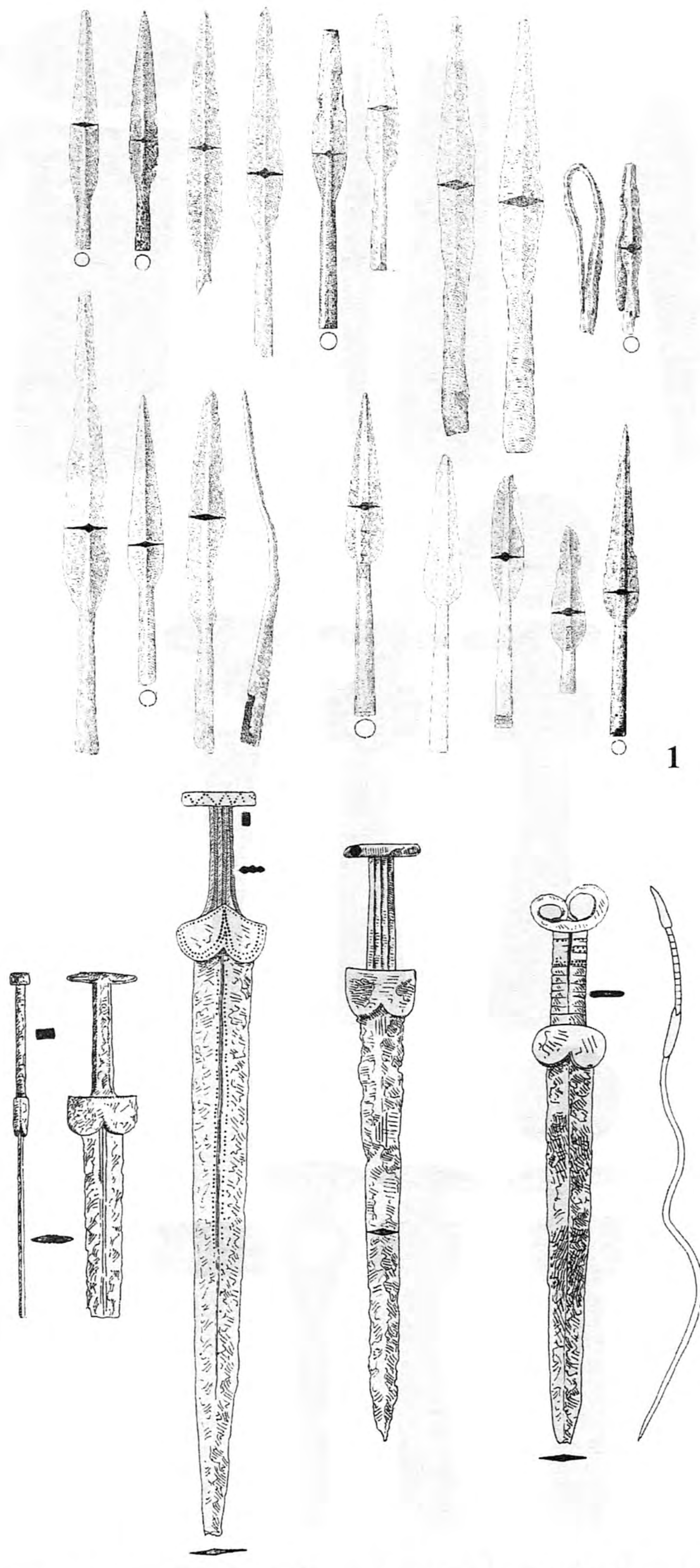
**Pl. XII.** Metal objects: 1 = Berbești, 2 = Copăceni, 3a-b = Iezureni. 1-2 photo by A. Nălbitoru-Mărăcine, 3a-b after Sana *et alii* 2016b. Different scales.





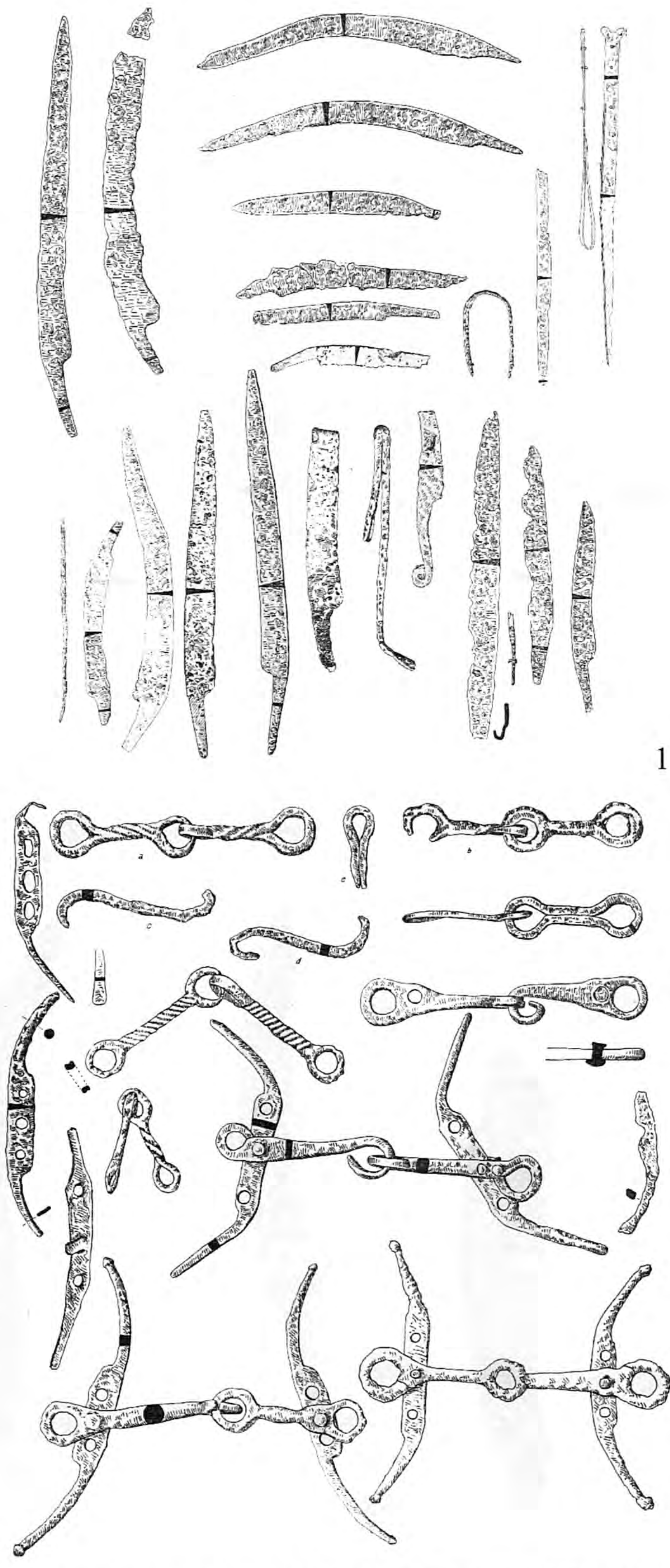
Pl. XIII. Metal objects: 1 = Țeica, 2 = Govora Sat, 3-6 = Șerbănești. 1-2 photos by A. Nălbitoru-Mărăcine, 3-6 after Soroceanu 2012. Different scales.





Pl. XIV. Ferigile: 1 = spear points, 2 = *akinakes*. After Vulpe 1967. Different scales.



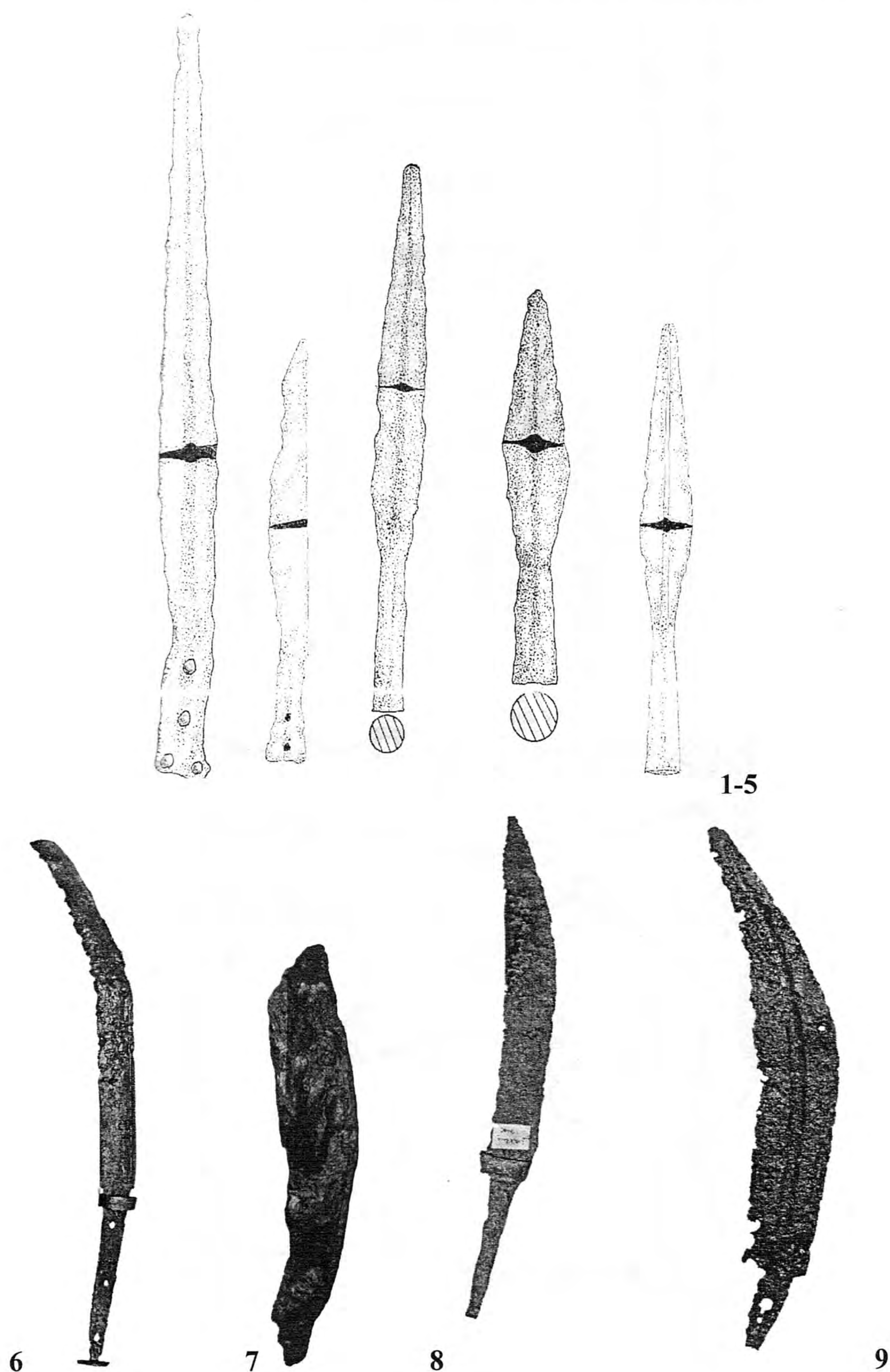


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Pl. XV. Ferigile: 1 = battle knives, 2 = bites. After Vulpe 1967. Different scales.





Pl. XVI. Metal weapons: 1-5 = Telești-Drăgoiești, 6 = Cornești, 7 = Racovița, 8-9 = Socu-Bărbătești. 1-5 after Calotoiu 2011b, 6-9 after Sîrbu, Borangic 2016a. Different scales.