

## The *Tardenoisian* in Romania – a false problem?

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**Rezumat:** Prezența tardenoasianului (de tip nord-vest pontic sau central-est European) pe teritoriul României a fost acceptată ca un adevăr arheologic necontestat de peste 50 de ani. Prezentul articol își propune să demonstreze că lucrurile sunt mult mai complexe, pornind de la însăși definirea termenului de tardenoasian, trecând prin caracteristicile și etapele sale de evoluție (niciodată clar definite) și sfârșind cu dovezile arheologice care ar putea susține sau infirma prezența lui. Articolul este structurat în trei părți: o scurtă istoriografie a tardenoasianului (ca epocă preistorică) —atât în context european cât și pe plan românesc, o trecere în revistă (cronologică) a cercetării arheologice și a principalelor rezultate obținute și o a treia parte de discuții și concluzii. La baza lucrării stă catalogul siturilor tardenoasiene de pe teritoriul României, întocmit pe baza materialelor publicate. Catalogul nu se dorește o prezentare exhaustivă a siturilor ci mai degrabă o sinteză a problemelor apărute, atât în domeniul săpăturilor cât și în al cel al analizării materialului rezultat și al publicării sale. Coordonatele principale care au stat la baza întocmirii materialului au fost: tipul cercetării arheologice, tipul de material arheologic rezultat (în cazul tardenoasianului acesta este predominant litic), încadrarea culturală a sitului și criteriile care au stat la baza acestei încadrări.

Un număr de 50 de situri (cu 71 de puncte) au fost atribuite în literatura de specialitate tardenoasianului. Cele 50 de situri sunt geografic repartizate astfel: Transilvania —7, Muntenia —2, Moldova —25, Dobrogea —16. Situația este dictată în mare măsură de stadiul cercetării: în Transilvania, de la periegezele/sondajele efectuate de C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor în nord și de la săpăturile lui Al. Păunescu la Ciumești, nu s-a mai întreprins nici un alt tip de cercetare legată de mezolitic (tardenoasian). În Moldova și Dobrogea, numărul mai mare de situri identificate se datorează șantierului de la Bicz (și periegezelor întreprinse atunci), respectiv construcției canalului Dunăre-Marea Neagră.

Dintre cele 71 de puncte, 65 au fost atribuite strict tardenoasianului. Restul de șase, datorită stratigrafiei deranjate sau a lipsei de piese așa-zis tipice, ar putea fi neolitice sau gravetiene. Din catalog însă, observăm că într-un număr de cazuri, mai ales în Dobrogea, descoperirile tardenoasiene sunt însoțite de fragmente ceramice atribuite neoliticului (mai ales de tip Hamangia). Numărul de situri cu atribuire controversată ar putea fi deci mai mare. Dacă toate siturile ar fi într-adevăr tardenoasiene raportul între tardenoasianul central-est european și cel pontic ar fi de 11 la 60.

Dincolo de numărul de situri identificat, trei alți factori influențează major rezultatele și mai ales calitatea descoperirilor: 1. Tipul de cercetare arheologică (descoperire întâmplătoare, cercetare de teren, sondaj, săpătură sistematică), 2. Suprafața cercetată și 3. Bogăția inventarului (în cazul tardenoasianului nu putem vorbi, așa cum am văzut, decât de un inventar litic).

Ar mai fi de remarcat slaba publicare a materialului (cu excepția celui rezultat din săpăturile lui Al. Păunescu care este publicat integral). De cele mai multe ori inventarul este publicat selectiv, acordându-se preferință pieselor tipice deosebite, fără măcar a se preciza numărul total descoperit și nici măcar suprafața cercetată. La aceasta se adaugă faptul că cca. 97% din publicații sunt în limba română, ceea ce le face greu accesibile cercetătorilor străini.

Ca o nouă ipoteză de lucru articolul propune studiul siturilor pe regiuni de mai mică întindere, având astfel avantajul studiului în detaliu a un număr mic de situri și a unei mai bune observări a eventualelor lor caracteristici comune. Împărțirea în cele două mari zone de influență —la un studiu atent al descoperirilor arheologice— pare cel puțin arbitrară. Patru mari grupe de situri par să se contureze, în stadiul actual al cercetării: un prim grup în nord-estul Moldovei (jud. Iași, Vaslui poate și Galați), un al doilea în Dobrogea de sud (jud. Constanța), un al treilea în nord-vestul Transilvaniei și un al patrulea în centru țării (Sita Buzăului, eventual Lapoș și LARGU).

În încheiere nu putem decât să ne dorim ca lucrurile să înceapă să se schimbe, înțelegând prin aceasta un nou tip de abordare a problemei industriilor litice microlitice (de preferat termenului de tardenoasian), trecând de la o rapidă încadrare a unui sit în una din cele două 'arii culturale' postulate la grupuri regionale mai restrânse, dar acordând o mai mare atenție caracteristicilor particulare ale acestora.

**Cuvinte cheie:** Tardenoisian, etape de evoluție, industrii litice microlitice.

**Keywords:** Tardenoisian, chronological background, microlithic industries.

### I. Introduction: The emergence and development of the *Tardenoisian*

#### I.1. The European background

From the very beginning of the prehistoric studies (G. de Mortillet 1869, 1872) scholars noticed a huge cultural difference between the Paleolithic and the Neolithic Ages, then blamed on

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the different climate of the two ages. Thus, the idea of a *hiatus* existing in between them came into being. For some authors it was merely the result of our lack of knowledge (G. de Mortillet 1874), for others the fact that Europe was considered, climatically speaking, 'inhabitable' prior to the Neolithic (A. Roujou 1869, F.A. Forel 1870, E. Cartailhac 1872, 1873, J.D. Clark 1936, 1958 — after J.-G. Rozoy 1978, p. 20). But there were also archeologists who sensed the existence of an intermediate period (A.F. Marion 1866). The dispute ended with the appearance of the *Azilian*, but one must note that the *Azilian* did not cover the entire period of the postulated *hiatus*.

The first microliths were uncovered in Charmes, France, by Abbey Nyd, but were left unpublished. More were mentioned later by J.S. Browne (1877), E. Doigneau (1884), A. de Mortillet (1885) as they became a rather common find and were initially designated as Neolithic. The term *Tardenoisian*<sup>1</sup> was only later introduced (G. de Mortillet 1883) so that together with the *Azilian* they would completely cover the *hiatus* period. Integrated to the archeological vocabulary by 1897, the Tardenoisian stayed as part of the Neolithic until the late twenties of the XX century. Meanwhile, J.A. Brown suggested for the armatures he found at Mount Vhyndia (India) the term *Mesolithic*.

The main directions of development in the European prehistory —connected of course to the evolution of the Tardenoisian— will be presented below, as considered extremely important for the understanding of the Romanian Tardenoisian phenomenon<sup>2</sup>.

At the beginning of the XX century (1910–1960) two ideas dominated the prehistoric studies: *the migration idea* (the most important thing was the geographical origins of a certain lithic industry...) and the idea of a *diagnostic tool*.

A second direction, initiated in 1945 and lasting until after the 1970-ies, brought the trend of inventory lists and multiple diagnostic tools. The migration idea was then replaced by a '*fan-like, extensive diffusion*' (J.-G. Rozoy 1978, p. 23), leaving behind it a long propagation wave, to last until the Chalcolithic and the Bronze Age (obviously only as a tradition). This was also the moment when specialized typologies for the Mesolithic appeared, first the one of D. de Sonneville-Bordes (1953), followed by J.-G. Rozoy's in 1969.

At the end of the 1970-ies the idea of '*late/retarded populations*' came into being, exemplified in certain areas by the survival of Tardenoisian groups until after the appearance of the Neolithic communities. The idea could be accounted for if one looked at the disturbed and unclear contexts of the archeological finds, as it was the case in the Parisian area, or, for Romania, in the multi-level sites of Moldavia.

At the present moment, the European Mesolithic research focuses on the identification and the detailed study of regional cultural groups.

## **I.2 The evolution of the Tardenoisian (terminology and concept) in Romania**

The Tardenoisian was introduced to the Romanian archeological vocabulary by C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor (1931, p. 403–406; 1941, p. 1–12), following the discovery of some microliths in Oltenia, considered by the finder as Mesolithic. They had been produced by some local Mesolithic communities, named by C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor *cleanovian* and *plopșorean*, thus

<sup>1</sup> This is not the place for an extensive discussion on the terminology used for these lithic industries. Different schools of archeology refer to them differently. In Romania, as already seen, the term 'Tardenoisian' is used. For Bulgaria and Turkey, recent archeological literature seems to prefer the term 'chipped stone assemblages' (I. Gatsov 2000, I. Gatsov, M. Ozdogan 1999) but earlier literature refers to them as 'Epi-Paleolithic' or 'Mesolithic'. The Hungarians coin them as 'microlithic lithic industries' (R. Kertesz 1996). It is also the term the author of the present paper would prefer. For J.K. Kozłowski and St. Kozłowski, the equivalent of the Central-European Tardenoisian (in the Romanian sense of the word...) is 'Western Mesolithic'. Strictly by 'Tardenoisian' the two archeologists mean only the Mesolithic of Beuron-Coincy type and the Mesolithic on the Lower Rhine. The so-called north-west 'Pontic' Tardenoisian is, in their view, made up of two regional groups: the Central-Eastern European Mesolithic and the Crimean-Caucasian Mesolithic (J.K. Kozłowski, St. Kozłowski 1979, p. 53, 61-62). Not to create further complications, throughout the present article the term 'Tardenoisian' will be used in the classical sense of the Romanian archeology, despite the fact 'microlithic lithic industries' would much better describe the situation.

<sup>2</sup> The main data was taken after J.-G. Rozoy (1978, p.22-23).

entering a dispute with N.N. Moroşan who saw them as a '*local Tardenoisian group*' (N.N. Moroşan 1932, p. 3) and D. Berciu who initially (1939a, p. 4) claimed them to be *Capsiano-Tardenoisian*<sup>3</sup> and later in 1939, 1941, 1942, *Swidero-Tardenoisian*<sup>4</sup> (D. Berciu 1939b, p. 92–93; 1941, p. 14–15; 1942, p. 590–591).

The same author (D. Berciu) split the European Tardenoisian into the *Azilo-Tardenoisian*, to be found in Western Europe, and the *Swidero-Tardenoisian* for the eastern part of the continent. According to the ideas of the time, it was during the Tardenoisian that pottery was introduced and '*thus, agriculture, domestication of animals leading to breeding of animals as a daily occupation, as well as pottery making appeared prior to the Neolithic Age*' (D. Berciu 1939, p. 15).

Research was almost frozen during WWII and the 1950–ies saw field surveys and excavations taking place mainly in Moldavia and north–western Walachia<sup>5</sup>, with the Moldavian digs triggered by the opening of the large Biczaz project (started in 1952 and reaching its peaks in 1954–1956 and 1957–1958).

The term '*Tardenoisian*'—bearing the meaning of today— was not used until the beginning of the 1960–ies. Prior to that moment, archeologists had settled for the term of '*Swidero-Tardenoisian*' of Gravettian tradition at Cremenea–Malu Dinu Buzea (C.S. Nicolăescu–Ploşor 1956, p. 34, C.S. Nicolăescu–Ploşor *et alii* 1959, p. 35) and Sălaci (C.S. Nicolăescu–Ploşor, E. Kovacs 1959, p. 41).

It is worth noting that although excavations took place in sites later considered crucial for the Mesolithic Age, the lithic industry, predominantly microlithic, was initially attributed to the Upper Paleolithic (at Târnuşor —C.S. Nicolăescu–Ploşor *et alii* 1959b, p. 22; Cremenea Malu Dinu Buzea, În Poieniţă —1959a, p. 53, 54) and in a few cases to some '*pre-pottery microlithic industries*' (Galoşpetreu, Valea lui Mihai —C.S. Nicolăescu–Ploşor, E. Kovacs 1959, p. 41).

One was this can be accounted for is probably the attempt of C.S. Nicolăescu–Ploşor<sup>6</sup> (in the 1950–ies) to deny the existence of the Mesolithic as a self-standing prehistoric age, considered by him '*to have lacked substance*', and to see the '*Proto-Neolithic connected natural and organic to the Epi-Paleolithic, a direct link with no intermediate phase*' (C.S. Nicolăescu–Ploşor 1954, p. 69). The same author underlined that '*. in the present stage of the research... the passage from the Upper Paleolithic is done directly into the Early Neolithic, based on the microlithic Late Magdalenian background, tightly connected to the eastern traditions*' (C.S. Nicolăescu–Ploşor 1954, p. 70).

The idea was revived in 1957 (C.S. Nicolăescu–Ploşor 1957, p. 56), 1959 (C.S. Nicolăescu–Ploşor, M. Petrescu–Dâmboviţa *et alii* 1959, p. 63) and 1960 (Fl. Mogoşanu 1960, p. 128). It was this same pretended continuity between the Upper Paleolithic and Neolithic that made C.S. Nicolăescu–Ploşor react promptly and justified when rejecting D. Berciu's theory on the Aceramic/Pre-ceramic Neolithic, a dispute that was to last almost a decade (D. Berciu 1958, p. 91–100, C.S. Nicolăescu–Ploşor 1959, p. 221–237)

So, it was considered normal at that moment that with the existence of an Epi-Paleolithic (seen as an integrated part of the Upper Paleolithic), chronologically catching up with the Neolithic

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<sup>3</sup> During this period the European Tardenoisian was seen as emerging from '*the Capsian facies of the North of Africa*' (D. Berciu 1932, p. 4).

<sup>4</sup> The Swiderian was then considered part of the Tardenoisian also, as were all Mesolithic European groups.

<sup>5</sup> C.S. Nicolăescu–Ploşor, Fl. Mogoşanu, I. Pop, Al. Păunescu conducted digs and field surveys in the Buzău area at Cremenea (Malu Dinu Buzea, În Poieniţă, La Deluţ, La Roate, between 1956 and 1957 (1959, p. 51–56). So did I.T. Dragomir in north-eastern Walachia at Largu (1959, p. 475–484). In north-western Transylvania, C.S. Nicolăescu–Ploşor and E. Kovacs identified new sites at Valea lui Mihai, Galoşpetreu, Sălaci (1959, p. 51–56). As for Moldavia, N. Zaharia, located the site at Ghireni, following some field surveys along the Prut Valley (1952–1956).

<sup>6</sup> Ironically, it was Nicolăescu–Ploşor himself who, in 1929, had introduced the Mesolithic concept to the Romanian archeology, connecting it to his discoveries from Ploşor, Cleanov and Sălcuţa in Oltenia (C.S. Nicolăescu–Ploşor 1929, 1931).

<sup>7</sup> The discussion turned to be a political issue and drifted away from archeology when Ploşor, based not on scientific but political reasons, attacked Fr. Bordes' typological approach and supported the methods of the Soviet archeology (C.S. Nicolăescu–Ploşor 1954, p. 69).

(see J.–G. Rozoy's observations presented in the Introduction of the article), to be no place left for the Mesolithic microlithic industries. They were part, as already shown, either of the Final Paleolithic or the Aceramic Neolithic.

The *Tardenoisian* started to shape in the 1960-ies, when the same C.S. Nicolăescu–Ploșor made reference to some north–west 'Pontic' lithic industries from S.S.R. Moldavia (C.S. Nicolăescu–Ploșor 1960, p. 179) which he considered as Early Neolithic (a chronological framing common to all Europe at the time). This *Tardenoisian*, considered Ploșor, should have been looked for in Romania also, on '*the sand dunes<sup>8</sup> in southern Moldavia*'. The European stereotype (the Tardenoisian seen as tightly connected to the sand dunes...) influenced the thoughts in the Romanian archeology. Accordingly, the north–western Tardenoisian seemed to have penetrated coming from Crimea (the migration theory). Strangely enough, the 'History of Romania' (1960, vol. I, p. 179) told us differently –'*the Azilian and the Tardenoisian seem to have come from the south*'.

During the next period of time, archeological research was intensified and so the number of archeological sites attributed to the *Tardenoisian* increased: Gâlma (Al. Păunescu, I. Pop 1961, p. 33–36<sup>9</sup>; 1962, p. 154–158), Ocna Sibiului (I. Paul 1962, p. 193–203)<sup>10</sup>, Lapoș (Fl. Mogoșanu, M. Bitiri 1961, p. 212–216<sup>11</sup>, Fl. Mogoșanu<sup>12</sup> 1962, p. 145–151; 1964, p. 337–350).

Prior to 1965 only seven sites had been excavated: **Cremenea, Gâlma–Roate** (Merișor), **Costanda–Lădăuți, Lapoș, Erbiceni, Ripiceni, Ciumești** (Al. Păunescu 1965, p. 27) but by 1987, 27 more had been detected in Dobrogea and Moldavia (Al. Păunescu 1987, p. 11) and six more in Transylvania and Walachia. The main excavated sites were **Ripiceni Izvor** (Al. Păunescu 1965, p. 5–31; idem 1978, p. 317–334; idem 1983, p. 187–195; idem 1981, p. 187–195), **Erbiceni** (Al. Păunescu 1981, p. 187–195), **Mitoc** (M. Bitiri Ciortescu 1973, p. 23–36; idem 1987, p. 207–233; M. Bitiri–Ciortescu, M. Cârțumaru 1978, p. 463–479; M. Bitiri–Ciortescu, M. Cârțumaru, P. Vasilescu 1978, p. 33–43), **Berești, Băneasa** (M. Brudiu 1971, p. 361–375; idem 1974) in Moldavia and **Cuza–Vodă, Târgușor, Albești** (Al. Păunescu 1987, p. 11–19; idem 1990, p. 317–333, idem 1999) in Dobrogea. Starting with the 1960-ies no Mesolithic excavation took place in Transylvania.

A catalog with the present day state of research was drafted using all available publications. It comprises 50 sites (with 71 different excavation locations) where the authors of the respective digs identified finds assigned to the *Tardenoisian*.

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As the number of detected sites increased, so did the complexity of the matter. A series of problems occurred, many of them still to be faced. The first of them was the undecided cultural assignment of the Tardenoisian. Was it part of the Epi-Paleolithic or of the Mesolithic? The question might appear irrelevant or even a false problem, but taking into account the present day definitions of the two terms and comparing them to what they meant 40 years ago, the discussion gains importance. Without getting into too much detail, generally speaking, the Epi-Paleolithic is seen as the final phase of the Upper Paleolithic, tightly linked to it especially in what the lithic industries and the type of economy are concerned. As for the Mesolithic, a clear definition (although rather long...) is given by Steve J. Mithen (1994, p. 133): *How can we summarize the*

<sup>8</sup> The underlining belongs to the author.

<sup>9</sup> As pot sherds appeared in the respective layer, the finds were initially attributed to the Neolithic.

<sup>10</sup> I. Paul considered the six artifacts as '*rather Neolithic*' (I. Paul 1959, p. 197-198).

<sup>11</sup> The Tardenoisian layer was initially attributed to a '*neolithized Campignan*' (Fl. Mogoșanu, M. Bitiri 1961, p. 222). The archeological context was rather unclear: '*The microliths lie at the base, and in the upper part (of the layer) there are microliths mixed with pot sherds and polished axes*' (Fl. Mogoșanu, M. Bitiri 1961, p. 223).

<sup>12</sup> The existence of the Tardenoisian was admitted and three separate sites were identified as overlapping on the same spot: one was attributed to the Campignan, the second to the Tardenoisian and the third to the Starčevo-Criș Neolithic, all three seen as a continuous succession of habitations. Fl. Mogoșanu supported the idea of a co-existence and mutual influence between the Epi-Paleolithic (Tardenoisian) and Neolithic communities (a theory that he applied also for the Iron Gates area, but where the issue was the co-habitation between the Mesolithic population of the Schela Cladovei group and the Starčevo-Criș Neolithic one (Fl. Mogoșanu 1978, p. 335-352).

*Mesolithic age? Was it the glorious finale to hunter-gatherer adaptations in Europe or the prelude to the social and economic systems of later prehistory? Or, was it a play within itself, requiring reference neither to what went before, nor after, for its identity? Perhaps we should try to see it as all three: a period with many complex threads which we are just beginning to unravel and understand. If we need a single image to characterize the Mesolithic we cannot choose a particular environmental type, settlement system or socio-economic organization. These all varied markedly across Mesolithic Europe and through time. The only constant we have is at the level of the individual forager making decisions about which tools to produce, which resources to exploit, and which alliances to form. Such decisions were made on the basis of imperfect information about the options available, under the influence of the society's traditions, and with the creativity that is inherent to the human mind. It was from such decisions, from the many intended and unintended consequences that the social and economic structures of the Mesolithic emerged. It was these day-to-day, indeed minute-to-minute, decisions—made as Mesolithic foragers went about their daily business—that created one of the most critical periods of transformation in European prehistory.*

Based on the terms employed to characterize the Tardenoisian, three historical stages can be identified in the history of the Romanian archeology. The first one (triggered by C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor's article in 1954) denied the Mesolithic as a prehistoric age and therefore, the Tardenoisian became Epi-Paleolithic (C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor 1965, p. 717; C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor, Al. Păunescu, Fl. Mogoșanu 1966, Al. Păunescu 1966, p. 319; M. Brudiu 1971, p. 363; idem 1974, p. 7, M. Cârciumar, Al. Păunescu 1975, p. 317; M. Chirica, Gh. Enache 1984, p. 317). In the 1970-ies, following C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor' death, a part of the researchers considered that the Epi-Paleolithic and the Mesolithic were in fact the very same thing, and the Tardenoisian was then framed as '*either Epi-Paleolithic or Mesolithic*' (Al. Păunescu 1978, p. 280; idem 1979a, p. 239; idem 1979b, p. 507; Vl. Dumitrescu 1971, p. 88). With the '80-ies (although some thin voices had been previously heard as well) the Tardenoisian became almost unanimously accepted as a Mesolithic *facies* (Vl. Dumitrescu 1972, p. 9; Al. Păunescu 1980, p. 540; idem 1981, p. 479; idem 1993, p. 151 and the synthesis volumes in 1999, 2000, 2001; Vl. Dumitrescu, Al. Bolomey, Fl. Mogoșanu 1982, p. 29–55).

Once the cultural setting was more or less agreed upon, a new question occurred: the origins of the Tardenoisian. Things appeared to be pretty simple at the beginning: two large areas were defined, the first located to the north–west and respectively the south–east of Transylvania, as part of the central–European Tardenoisian area and the second, covering north–east of Moldavia, the north–west of Walachia and the Dobrogea, part of the north–west 'Pontic' type of Tardenoisian—fig.6 (Al. Păunescu 1964, p. 331; idem 1980, p. 53; Vl. Dumitrescu 1971, p. 88; Vl. Dumitrescu, Al. Bolomey, Fl. Mogoșanu 1982, p. 48).

The first group comprised the sites in the counties of Satu–Mare (**Ciumești**<sup>13</sup>), Bihor (**Galoșpetreu, Valea lui Mihai**), Covasna (**Cremenea, Lădăuți, Merișor**) and Sibiu (**Ocna Sibiului**). For the second group there were the sites in the counties of Botoșani (**Draxini, Ghireni, Hănești, Icușeni, Ipotești, Manoleasa, Miorcani, Mitoc, Ripiceni**), Suceava (**Topile**), Vaslui (**Brădești, Horga, Țuțcani**), Iași (**Balș, Bălteni, Belcești, Cornești, Erbiceni, Mihail Kogălniceanu, Probotă, Stornești, Totoești, Țigănași**), Buzău (**Largu**), Prahova (**Lapoș**), Galați (**Bălăbănești, Băneasa, Berești**), Tulcea (**Gărvan, Luncavița**), Constanța (**Albești, Brebeni, Cuza–Vodă, Lespezi, Lumina, Medgidia, Remus Opreanu, Sibioara, Straja, Șipotele, Târgușor, Țibrinu**).

The north–west Pontic Tardenoisian seemed to have penetrated from the east (C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor 1964, p. 320) and '*developed on a local Epi-Gravettian background mixed with elements from adjacent areas*' (Al. Păunescu 1964, p. 329; idem 1965, p. 27; idem 1979, p. 249; idem 1981, p. 505; idem 1987, p. 21; idem 1993, p. 52; idem 1999, p. 62; Vl. Dumitrescu 1971, p. 88). On the other hand, the Tardenoisian from Maramureș represented an '*expansion of the Central–European one*' (C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor 1964, p. 320) which, at his turn, developed (in

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<sup>13</sup> Fl. Mogoșanu had suggested for this site the term of '*Tardeno-Neolithic*' (1964, p. 347).

Western Europe) on a Perigordian and Magdalenian background (Al. Păunescu 1964, p. 329; idem 2001, p. 89).

Unfortunately, the main features of the Tardenoisian were given only by its rich lithic inventory, predominantly microlithic, comprising geometric shapes (trapezes, semi-crescents, triangles), pyramidal, prismatic or spindle-like cores; typical tools were rounded or semi-circular side-scrapers (on flakes and more seldom on blades), truncated, backed or retouched blades, *La Gravette* points (especially in Moldavia) (Vi. Dumitrescu 1971, p. 88; M. Brudiu 1971, p. 67; Vi. Dumitrescu, Al. Bolomey, Fl. Mogoșanu 1982, p. 47). Flint was used as the main raw material in Moldavia, Dobrudja and south-east Transylvania, with obsidian and flint employed in the north-west of Transylvania.

The north-west Pontic Tardenoisian extended across the Romanian boundaries and the Siret river, with major sites at Grebeniki, Ghirovo, Poznanka, Orlovka, Dovjanka (P.I. Borisovski 1964, p.10), Frumușica, Kazanka, Varvarovka IX, Sărățeni, Mirnoe, Dobrojani (Al. Păunescu 1965, p. 28; idem 1981, p. 506; idem 1999, p. 62), and across the Danube, to the north-eastern Bulgaria at Pobiti kamenii (M. Brudiu 1971, p. 68).

As for the Central-European Tardenoisian, analogies were seen with the sites at Barca I (Oriental Slovakia), Mačanske Vrške, near Seredi (south-west Slovakia), and with the ones in the Tisza Plain (Hungary) and Trans-Carpathian Ukraine (Al. Păunescu 1965, p. 27; idem 1975, p. 336; idem 2001, p. 89).

After having followed its birth and evolution, we naturally wonder about the final of the Tardenoisian. Two ideas circulated —1) a parallel evolution, for a while, of the Final Tardenoisian and the Early Neolithic (including a possible assimilation of the former by the latter) and 2) a possible Tardenoisian tradition preserved through the Neolithic, noticeable in the Neolithic lithic industries. Generally speaking, the ideas could be framed within the third stage of Rozoy's scheme.

In 1964, Fl. Mogoșanu talked about the '*assimilation of some Neolithic elements by the Tardenoisian tribes*' (Fl. Mogoșanu 1964, p. 347). Al. Păunescu identified at first a Tardenoisian background for the Neolithic (at Drăghiceanu, Al. Păunescu 1964b, p. 28), then a development of the Early Neolithic lithic industries from the Tardenoisian (Al. Păunescu 1965, p. 332, footnote 26; idem 1979, p. 525) and later on, a survival of a pure Tardenoisian or an Aceramic Neolithic until the arrival of the Hamangia groups (Al. Păunescu 1978, p. 200). This hypothesis was later modified to the assimilation of the Tardenoisian groups or at least to the existence of some contacts between them and the Hamangia people (Al. Păunescu 1980, p. 540). The phenomenon included (also at a later moment) Moldavia, where '*it was possible that some communities on the Siret, the Lower Danube, the Dnepr to continue their existence up to the Neolithic times with the one at Soroca possibly making a shift towards the Aceramic Neolithic*' (Al. Păunescu 1981, p. 508). Contrary to the opinion of Vi. Dumitrescu (1982) that a connection between the local Neolithic and the Tardenoisian could not exist (Vi. Dumitrescu, Al. Bolomey, Fl. Mogoșanu 1982, p. 48), Al. Păunescu would persist, to his last publications, in the idea of a Tardenoisian tradition in the Early Neolithic and also in the persistence of the Tardenoisian communities until after the appearance of the Neolithic ones. (Al. Păunescu 1999, p. 62; idem 2000, p. 50; idem 2001, p. 89).

Such ideas were induced, in most cases, by the unclear stratigraphy. For an important number of sites, small pottery fragments, heavily corroded, were found in the so-called Tardenoisian layer – Erbiceni, Ripiceni, Costanda (Al. Păunescu 1966, p. 327), Lapoș (Fl. Mogoșanu, M. Bitiri-Ciortescu 1961, p. 223; D. Mărgărit, M. Sandu 1998, p. 49; Gh. Olteanu 1996, p. 34).

## II. The archeological research and its outcome – an assessment

The catalogue presented at the end of the paper resulted out of the available archeological publications and attempted to incorporate all the sites that were considered and remained attributed to the Tardenoisian in Romania. The list comprises 50 sites with 71 excavation sectors/locations. The main criteria considered while drafting the catalogue were: **1) the type of research** (extensive excavation, small area excavation, field survey, accidental discovery); **2) type of resulted finds** (lithics, pottery, faunal or floral remains, human remains,

etc); **3) cultural attribution** (Central–European Tardenoisian, North–West ‘Pontic’ Tardenoisian, Gravettian, Early–Neolithic, etc); **4) criteria employed for the cultural attribution** (the typology of the lithic industry, the stratigraphy, existence of pottery, etc); **5) absolute chronology** (where available). Other information considered relevant was marked as ‘**Observations**’. The catalogue does not claim to be an exhaustive source of data for the respective sites, but to summarize and systematize the existent information, in order to assess the state of the research. As it only reviews the existing data, it does not include any remarks on the typology or the technology of the lithic inventory (it is not discussed whether the assignment of a certain tool to a certain typological group was correct or not, nor the implications of certain types of retouches, percentages etc). These could be attempted only after the lithic finds were studied attentively once again.

The 50 sites are scattered as follows: Transylvania —seven, Walachia— two, Moldavia — 25, Dobrogea —16. The distribution is heavily determined by the state of the research: since the field surveys and the small scale digs of C.S. Nicolăescu Ploșor to the north of Transylvania and after Al. Păunescu’ s excavations at Ciumești, no other Mesolithic (Tardenoisian) research took place. For Moldavia, we owe the important number of sites largely to the Bicz project (and to the field surveys at the time). As for Dobrogea, a main role was played by the construction of the Danube–Black Sea Canal.

Tab. 1. The main data in the catalogue — the archeological sites with lithic industries typologically assigned to the Tardenoisian.

Site	Number of tools	Number of blanks	Total number of lithics	Cultural group	Type of research	Surface (m2)
Albești	106	338	444	NW	F,TP	
Balș	unknown	unknown	unknown	NW	F	
Bălăbănești	unknown	unknown	unknown	NW	F	
Bălteni	unknown	unknown	unknown	NW	F	
Băneasa I	7	unknown	unknown	NW	SE	
Băneasa II	15	12	27	NW	SE	
Belcești–Pe Loturi	1	0	1	NW	F	
Belcești–Ruși	3	unknown	unknown	NW	F	
Belcești–Scarchi	unknown	unknown	unknown	NW	F	
Berești layer II	90	68	158	NW	SE	132
Brădești	5	unknown	unknown	NW	F	
Brebeni	1	11	12	NW	F	
Ciumești–Pășune	105	1192	1297	CE	SE	30
Cornești	1	1	2	NW	F	
Cremenea–În Grădiniță	0	18	18	CE	TP	2
Cremenea–Malu Dinu Buzea	162	4544	4706	NW	SE	311
Cuza Vodă–Dealul Bulgăriței	5	33	38	NW	F	700–800
Cuza Vodă–NE border of the cemetery	unknown	unknown	unknown	NW	F	
Cuza Vodă–Cariera Veche	134	522	656	NW	F, TP	9
Cuza Vodă–eastern border of the quarry	31	99	130	NW	F	
Draxini	unknown	unknown	unknown	NW	F	

Erbiceni	338	3262	3660	NW	F, SE	315
Galoșpetreu	unknown	unknown	unknown	CE/N	F	
Gârvan	12	88	100	NW	F, TP	
Ghireni I	10	21	31	NW	F, TP	
Ghireni II	0	unknown	unknown	NW	F	
Hănești	0	2	2	NW	AD	
Horga	unknown	unknown	unknown	NW/G	AD	
Icușeni	154	494	648	NW	F, TP	
Ipotești	0	3	3	NW	AD	
Lapoș	272	956	1228	NW	SE	1200
Largu–dune no. 1	14	128	142	NW	F	
Largu–dune no. 3	3	9	12	NW	F	
Lădăuți	46	34404	34450	NW	SE, TP	128
Lespezi	2	3	5	NW	F	
Lumina	13	0	13	NW	F	1500
Luncavița	6	unknown	unknown	NW	F	
Manoleasa	unknown	unknown	unknown	NW	TP	
Medgidia–La Potcoavă	1	6	7	NW	F	
Medgidia / La Plopi	160	752	912	NW	F	
Medgidia / monument of the Serbian heroes	3	10	13	NW	F	
Merișor–Deluț	1	11	12	CE	TP	15
Merișor–Liziera Otecu	11	164	175	CE/EG	TP	
Merișor–Roate	184	57489	57673	CE	SE	278
Merișor –În botul Otecului	0	5	5	CE	TP	5
Merișor–Poarta Cremenii	0	168	168	CE	TP	8
Merișor–Chicherăului Valley	unknown	unknown	unknown	CE	F	
Mihail Kogălniceanu	3	20	23	NW	F	
Miorcani	0	1	1	NW	F	
Mitoc–Valea Izvorului	15	25	40	NW	SE	
Mitoc–Valea lui Stan	unknown	unknown	50–60	NW	SE	
Ocna Sibiului	1	5	6	CE/N	SE	15
Poarta Albă–next to the pump station	7	13	20	NW	F	
Probota	8	5	13	NW	F	
Remus Opreanu	5	19	24	NW	F	
Ripiceni–Izvor	690	9577	10267	NW	SE	3950
Sibioara	2	29	31	NW	F	
Stornești	unknown	unknown	unknown	NW	F	
Straja	25	125	150	NW	F, TP	
Șipotetele	1	6	7	NW	F	
Târgușor–La Adam	unknown	unknown	unknown	NW	SE	
Târgușor–La Grădină	unknown	unknown	unknown	NW	SE	
Târgușor–Urs	unknown	unknown	unknown	NW	F	

Topile	0	1	1	NW	F	
Totoești	1	unknown	unknown	NW/G	F	
Țibrinu I	9	19	28	NW	F	100
Țibrinu IA	3	3	6	NW	F	
Țigănași	unknown	unknown	unknown	NW	F	
Țuțcani	unknown	unknown	unknown	NW	F	
Valea lui Mihai	unknown	unknown	unknown	CE/N	F	

Where CE – Central European Tardenoisian, NW – North–West ‘Pontic’ Tardenoisian, EG – Epi-Gravettian, G – Gravettian, N – Neolithic, AD – Accidental Discovery, F – Field survey, TP – Test Pits, SE – Systematic Excavations.

Lacking almost entirely any other archeological finds but lithics, they became the main indicator for the cultural attribution. Type-lists were drafted and the directing tools were identified (putting us in the second stage in Rozoy’s scheme). Only four sites (Ciumești, Erbiceni, Horga, Ocna Sibiului) provided faunal remains (poorly preserved), two provided traces of charcoal (Ciumești and Erbiceni) and only one (Ciumești) a small human bone (a skull fragment) destroyed following the <sup>14</sup>C dating. It is also worth observing that Horga and Ocna Sibiului provided a very small number of lithic finds, thus making their cultural attribution at least suspicious — Tardenoisian or Gravettian, respectively Neolithic. Also, both at Ciumești and Erbiceni, the Tardenoisian layer contained some small pottery fragments making it possible that some soil disturbance to be the explanation for the appearance of the faunal remains.

Calcinated lithic finds were identified on five sites – Albești, Cuza Vodă (Cariere Veche, La Poarta Dealului Bulgăriței), Lădăuți, Largu (dune no.1), Medgidia (Straja) – offering the opportunity to postulate the existence of some hearths, seemingly destroyed by water and soil degradation processes.

The number of sites for which lab tests/analyses were undertaken is incredible small: radiocarbon —three sites (Ciumești, Erbiceni<sup>14</sup>, Lapoș<sup>15</sup>), mineralogical— one site (Costanda–Lădăuți), pollen —three sites (Costanda–Lădăuți, Gâlma Roate, Cremenea), granulometry —one site (Costanda – Lădăuți), palinology —two sites (Albești, Erbiceni).

Summarizing, 61 locations were culturally attributed based uniquely on the lithic artifacts, following ‘techno–typological’ studies. It must be noted though that a classification of the sites based only on the frequency of implement types can not be simply or directly linked to their cultural traditions or to the environment in which the respective communities developed (F. Djindjian, J. Kozłowski, M. Otte 1999, p. 96).

Another important feature is the non-existence of sites with more than one Tardenoisian layer. There are sites where the Mesolithic is overlapped by Neolithic, Bronze or medieval layers but there is none where two different horizons could be differentiated, not even for sites with extremely rich lithic finds, such as Ciumești and Erbiceni. And still, stages of development for the evolution of the Tardenoisian were postulated.

Out of the 71 sites (fig. 1), 65 were assigned strictly to the Tardenoisian (Central European —seven and North–West ‘Pontic’ —58). The other six, because of disturbed stratigraphy and the lack of typical implements, could also be Neolithic or Gravettian (three were seen as Central European or Neolithic, one was assigned either to the Central European Tardenoisian or the Epi-Gravettian and two were considered as either North–West ‘Pontic’ or Gravettian). It is obvious, looking in the Catalogue, that in a number of cases, especially for Dobrogea, the Tardenoisian finds were joined by pottery fragments (the Neolithic Hamangia culture). Thus, the number of disputed sites could be a lot larger.

Contrary, if all the sites were really Tardenoisian there would be 11 sites assigned to the Central–European group and 60 to the North–West Pontic one (fig. 2). It is easily seen that the

<sup>14</sup>There are four controversial radiocarbon dates but only GX – 9417; 7850 215 BP was accepted by Al. Păunescu (1998, p. 303), see also the catalogue.

<sup>15</sup> For Lapoș the radiocarbon dates were also disputed, see the catalogue.

former group is heavily under-represented, largely because of the rather poor research in the Transylvanian area.

Leaving aside the state of the research, three other factors strongly influenced the results and especially the quality of the discoveries: 1. The type of the research; 2. The size of the surveyed area; 3. The complexity of finds (artifacts and ecofacts, but as mentioned above, for the Tardenoisian we are largely dealing only with lithic artifacts).

Considering the type of the research, the situation is presented in Table 2 and fig.3:

Tab. 2. The type of archeological research.

Type	AD	F	TP	F, TP	F, SE	SE	SE, TP
CE	0	3	5	0	0	3	0
NW	3	38	1	4	1	10	1

Where AD – Accidental Discovery, F – Field Survey, TP – Test Pits, SE – Systematic Excavation, CE – Central European Tardenoisian, NW – North-West 'Pontic' Tardenoisian.

Given the small number of sites assigned to the Central-European group, figures concerning them are statistically irrelevant. For the second group, the number of sites identified following field surveys (38 out of 60) is extremely large when compared to the sites actually excavated (10 out of 60). And even for these 10 cases, only for three sites the size of the excavated surfaces is known (Ripiceni, Erbiceni, Berești) and only in one instant (Ripiceni) it is large enough to be considered relevant –3950 m<sup>2</sup>.

Figure 5 shows the comparative situation between field surveys and excavations (test pits were also included) between 1950 and 2000. Digs are generally predominant and we can even interpret the significance of the spikes on the graphic: 1955–1961 was the period of the Bicaz project, 1060–1965, 1970–1975 were the years of Al. Păunescu's intense excavations at Ripiceni and 1981–1985 represented the research years of V. Chirica while drafting regional archeological repertoires. As it can be easily observed, after 1985 almost any 'Mesolithic' archeological activity ceased, with the exception of the site of Lapoș, reopened between 1993 and 1999 by M. Cârciumar.

As for the field surveys, the two peaks are represented by Al. Păunescu's activity during the Ripiceni excavations, while the second illustrates the efforts of M. Brudiu in Dobrogea during the Canal project and those of V. Chirica in Moldavia, while elaborating the Archeological Repertoires and digging at Mitoc. All field surveys stopped in 1997.

In what the lithic inventory is concerned (predominantly microlithic, but this is hardly a Tardenoisian feature...) the situation presents itself as follows (fig. 4): for 23 sites the size of the inventory is unknown (not published), four sites provided over 10 000 lithic artifacts, 3 sites range between 1000 and 10 000 artifacts, there are 12 for the category between 100 and 1000 lithic finds, 16 between 10 and 100 (in fact none provided more than 50 finds) and there are also 13 sites with less than 10 artifacts uncovered. It is easily observed that the third part of the information concerning the size of the inventories is unknown. There are only seven sites with an important number of artifacts, but in exchange 20 sites are extremely poorly represented. As for the 13 sites with less than 10 artifacts, they can hardly be taken into consideration, and their attribution to the Tardenoisian (when typical implements are absent as it was the case at Brebeni, Cuza-Vodă, Luncavița, Sibioara, Merișor (Sub Deluț) or we are talking only about one or two artifacts –Topile, Miorcani, Hănești) is more than debatable.

Another curious fact is the incredible small number of tools for the Central-European group sites (when compared to the total number). The lack of tools was connected by Al. Păunescu to an inter-community exchange of goods (Al. Păunescu 1961, p. 34; idem 1962, p. 155; idem 1966,

p. 327<sup>16</sup>). Even if one accepts that perishable goods were taken in exchange, given the scarcity of tools in all cases, one might wonder who and where were located the communities receiving them and why are they still unknown to us.

### III. Conclusions

As stated before, the aim of the present paper was not only a mere review of the sites and the artifacts but an attempt to evaluate the present day situation of the Tardenoisian question. Without minimalizing the importance of previous research it is clear that the problem is more complex than it might seem at a first glance.

Reconsidering the problem of the Mesolithic—and especially of the Tardenoisian—for the whole past century, one might notice a parallel between the Romanian archeological ideology and the European trends of the time. However, at the very beginning of the sixth decade differences started to appear: while Europe moves forward leaving behind a number of ideas such as those of migrations, 'late populations', generalization of the Tardenoisian, in Romania things froze. Unfortunately, not only in pure theory. If the Mesolithic (and this time we are not talking only Tardenoisian) had received little attention prior to the sixties, from that moment on it almost completely disappeared from the archeological landscape. Very little was excavated (one, at most two sites every year) and in locations where the Tardenoisian was considered as a 'byproduct', with the Paleolithic as the Primadonna.

A second problem is that the features of the 'Tardenoisian' have never been properly defined, nor the differences with other cultural groups; it has never been shown how the Central European group differentiated from the North–West Pontic one. What received the utmost attention were the categories of implements, sometimes the raw material, the areas presumed 'of origin', the links with the neighboring sites (but without a real comparison between the archeological finds of two different sites...). A techno-typological study, establishing a reduction sequence, refittings etc. was never attempted as the Romanian approach to the study of lithic industries was always a static, not a dynamic one<sup>17</sup> (F. Djindjian *et alii* 2000, p. 86).

Even the division of the lithic industries into the two groups (Central European and North–West 'Pontic') was rather vague. Geographically, the sites of the two groups are at large distances and more, right in between the two main groups there are two 'sub-groups' which do not share the features of any of the larger defined areas: the first sub-group includes the sites at Sita Buzăului and forms apparently a regional *facies* of the Transylvanian Tardenoisian (Al. Păunescu 2001, p. 89) while the second, located in north–western Walachia is represented by the sites at Lapoș and Largu, seen by the same author as the very north–western limit of the 'Pontic' Tardenoisian (Al. Păunescu 1999, p. 62). However the last two mentioned sites display huge differences compared to the rest of the north–west 'Pontic' Tardenoisian, as we shall discuss further on.

Maintaining the idea of J.–G. Rozoy on the identification and study of regional groups, the author of the present paper suggests that a narrower grouping of sites would be more beneficial, as '*defining types (and categories) is essentially regional*' (J.–G. Rozoy 1978, p. 32). Even more, '*it is necessary that the criteria changes during the research, especially when we move from one region to another*' (J.–G. Rozoy 1978, p. 31). The microlithic industries of Moldavia and Transylvania should not necessarily be compared looking merely for different or similar features. '*The quantitative structures of the lithic tools vary with the territory and chronology, as expressions of regional differences of the cultural traditions and of the way of living*' (F. Djindjian, J. Kozłowski, M. Otte 1999, p. 96).

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<sup>16</sup> '*The scarcity of entire typical tools [...] such objects were traded and the same happened with similar goods in the large workshop-sites at Gâlna-Roate and Cremenea*' (Al. Păunescu 1966, p. 327)

<sup>17</sup> '*Their examination (of the finds)- could be a static one, taking into account their morpho-technical attributes (butt, dorsal side, ventral side, shape) and dimensions (morpho-metrical analysis). A different approach, also called dynamic approach, deals with the reconstruction of a debitage product or support, based on various technical stages of the debitage within the operational chain. The reconstruction of the operational chain/reduction sequence is based on refitting and experiment*' (F. Djindjian, J. Kozłowski, M. Otte, 1999, p. 86).

In my approach, one first regional group might include the sites in north–eastern Moldavia (Botoșani, Suceava and Iași counties —fig. 6), also tied to the sites in Ukraine and the Republic of Moldavia. As for the earlier hypothesis of ‘Crimean origins’, one might wonder whether we were talking about diffusion or migration. As there is no answer for the moment, the question stays open.

A second group could be represented by the sites in Dobrogea (departments of Constanța, Tulcea and possibly Galați). At the present moment the scattering pattern of the sites and the type of implements resemble the ones in north–west Bulgaria and Turkey, also on the Black Sea Coast. (I. Gatsov, M. Özdoğan 1997, I. Gatsov 2000). The sites in Dobrogea, with hardly any systematic research, pose many questions in what the cultural attribution is concerned. Some might rather belong to the Hamangia Neolithic than to the ‘Tardenoisian’.

A third area gets shaped around Sita Buzăului with possible connections to Lapoș and Largu. The two locations at Largu provided insufficient finds, they were collected from the surface of the sand dunes and the site was destroyed. At Lapoș the stratigraphy is unclear and raises questions as to the association of pottery with the microliths.

The interpretation of the Lapoș site changed greatly in time. In the first publication, the existence of the Tardenoisian was not noticed (Fl. Mogoșanu, M. Bitiri 1962). Fl. Mogoșanu remarked the lack of connection between the finds at Lapoș and those from Cremenea (Fl. Mogoșanu 1962, p. 149), but a certain resemblance of the side-scraper types to the ones at Ripiceni. Al. Păunescu initially considered it part of the Sita Buzăului regional group (Al. Păunescu 1965, p. 27). He maintained his opinion during the ‘80-ies but in his impressive volume on the Paleolithic and Mesolithic south of the Carpathians he framed Lapoș as one of the Tardenoisian sites at the western limit of the Pontic area. This opinion was equally shared by M. Brudiu (1974, p. 69), who classified Costanda–Lădăuți within the same cultural area.

Excavations at Lapoș were resumed in 1993 by a team led by M. Cârțumaru<sup>18</sup>. If in 1994 a number of four implements resulted from the dig were assigned to the Tardenoisian on a ‘*morpho-typological basis*’ (M. Cârțumaru, C. Beldiman, C. Căpiță 1994, p. 49), in 1999 the excavators changed their view suggesting that there was no evidence supporting the existence of a Tardenoisian layer on the respective site (M. Cârțumaru, M. Anghelinu, O. Cârțina 2000, p. 54)<sup>19</sup>. The matter would remain open until the archeological material is published or new excavations take place. We also consider that a re-evaluation of the archeological finds uncovered by Fl. Mogoșanu is a must.

A fourth regional area of the microlithic industries could be located in north–western Romania (departments of Bihor and Satu Mare), keeping the earlier considerations concerning its ties with the sites in Hungary and Slovakia. Recent research (after 1989) indicated a high density of Upper Paleolithic and Mesolithic sites on the Tisza Valley (thus including the Romanian ones too), suggesting the existence of a regional Mesolithic *facies* (M. Otte, P. Noiret 2001, p. 411; R. Kertész 1996, p. 5–65). According to R. Kertész (1996), the Mesolithic in the Tisza Valley could be considered as a variation of the local Epi-Gravettian and of the Western Mesolithic techno-complex<sup>20</sup>.

As for the site at Ocna Sibiului, until new excavations take place, it can be crossed out from the list of Mesolithic sites, given the scarcity of finds, which I. Paul assigned ‘*rather to the Neolithic*’.

One can not miss the extremely poor state of publication of the archeological finds (with the exception of those of Al. Păunescu, published completely). Even for the happy cases when something did get printed, the information refers mainly to the lithic artifacts, presented in a

<sup>18</sup> The excavations took place between 1993 and 1999 when Lapoș was turned into a training site for the students of the Valahia University in Târgoviște. The largest part of the archeological material is still unpublished. The little information one can find comes from the annual excavation reports (referring mainly to the stratigraphical context) and from a series of papers presented at Târgoviște in 1996.

<sup>19</sup> The stratigraphical interpretation of Lapoș appears difficult, as it has already been mentioned, considering the disturbed stratigraphy. But it is impossible not to note that, according to Fl. Mogoșanu the area of the Tardenoisian ‘settlement’ was rather extensive, making the question on the existence of the Tardenoisian site one disputable problem...

<sup>20</sup> We are talking about what the traditional Romanian archeology coined as the area of influence of the Central-East European Tardenoisian.

selected manner, with priority given to 'typical' tools, sometimes without mentioning the total number of uncovered artifacts or the total surface of the excavated area. More than 97% of the publications are in the Romanian language, making them almost inaccessible to foreign researchers.

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The present article only suggested a starting point and a few working hypotheses. But it must be obvious that the study of smaller regions gives the advantage of a more thorough research and a better observance of common or different features between sites.

In the end, one can only wish that things should start changing, meaning by this a shift towards a new approach in the matter of lithic industries (much to be preferred to the term of 'Tardenoisian industries', non-existing, in fact), a change from the rapid cultural framing of a certain site into one of the two postulated 'cultural areas' to small size cultural groups and more attention given to the regional characteristics.

### **Catalogue of archeological sites considered as Tardenoisian**

**1. Albești, Constanța county** (Al. Păunescu 1979, p. 511–512; idem 1987, p. 16–22; idem 1990, p. 3–4; 1993, p. 151–153, idem 1999, p. 70–76).

**Location: La Cetate**

Type of research: field survey, test pits.

Type of remains: microliths —444 (106 tools).

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: stratigraphy, artifact typology and size, the presumed climate of archeological horizon.

Observations: the site covered approx. 4–5000 m<sup>2</sup>; 13 calcinated lithic artifacts; pot sherds (IV–I centuries BC) also occurred.

**2. Balș (Tg. Frumos), Iași county** (V. Chirica, Gh. Enache 1983, p. 17–19).

**Location: the Harapu Farm**, 8 km west of Tg. Frumos

Type of remains: lithics of a 'Tardenoisian aspect'– sidescrapers, geometric shapes (trapezes).

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: typology.

Observations: archeological finds only partly published (8 artifacts, V. Chirica, Gh. Enache, 1983–1984, fig. 4/26).

**3. Bălăbănești, Galați county** (M. Brudiu 1971, p. 372; idem 1974, p. 150; Al. Păunescu 1998, p. 315).

**Location: Chilieni hill**

Type of research: field survey.

Type of remains: lithics (flint artifacts–flakes, microlithic endscraper).

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian ? (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: unclear, probably typology (M. Brudiu 1971, p. 372; idem 1974, p. 150).

**4. Bălteni (Proboța), Iași county** (Al. Păunescu 1998, p. 285; V. Chirica, M. Tanasachi 1984, p. 332 (I); N. Zaharia, M. Petrescu–Dâmbovița, E. Zaharia 1970, p. 269).

**Location: Unchetea hill, Moșanca hill** —at the eastern border of the village

Type of research: field survey?

Type of remains: lithics–flint artifacts.

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: typology?

Observations: unknown number of finds.

**5. Băneasa, Galați county** (M. Brudiu 1971, p. 370; idem 1974, p. 131–132; Al. Păunescu 1979, p. 520; idem 1981, p. 505; idem 1998, p. 351–352).

**5.1. Location: The well of Toader Bușilă (Băneasa I)**

Type of research: systematic excavations.

Type of remains: few lithic artifacts (flint), predominantly microlithic.

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: typology ?

Observations: unknown number of finds; small number of tools (Al. Păunescu 1998, p. 351–352).

**5.2. Location: The Gemenii well (Băneasa II)** (M. Brudiu 1974, p. 131–132; Al. Păunescu 1979, p. 520; idem 1981, p. 505; idem 1989, p. 151; idem 1998, p. 351–352).

Type of research: systematic excavations.

Type of remains: lithics predominantly microlithic– 27 flint artifacts.

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: typology, artifact size.

Observations: similarities to Berești–Dealul Taberei, Băneasa I.

## **6. Belcești, Iași county**

**6.1. Location: centre of Ruși village** —(V. Chirica, M. Tanasachi 1984, p. 52; V. Chirica, Gh. Enache 1983–1984, p. 16; Al. Păunescu 1998, p. 288).

Type of research: field survey.

Type of remains: 3 microlithic sidescrapers and *other finds* (V. Chirica, M. Tanasachi 1984, p. 52).

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW) (Epi-Paleolithic).

Criteria for cultural attribution: typology.

Observations: also traces of Criș and Cucuteni habitations (V. Chirica, M. Tanasachi 1984, p. 52(I); V. Chirica, Gh. Enache 1983–1984, p. 16); Al. Păunescu considered it identical to the location **Pe Loturi** (see next).

**6.2. Location: Pe Loturi, next to the sand quarry** (V. Chirica, M. Tanasachi 1984, p. 52; Al. Păunescu 1998, p. 288).

Type of research: field survey.

Type of remains: one flint microlithic trapeze.

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW) (Epi-Paleolithic).

Criteria for cultural attribution: typology.

Observations: Criș, Cucuteni, Latene, IV century archeological traces (V. Chirica, M. Tanasachi 1984, p. 52(I); V. Chirica, Gh. Enache 1983–1984, p. 16); Al. Păunescu considered it identical to 6.1 Centre of Ruși village.

**6.3. Location: Scarchi** (V. Chirica, M. Tanasachi 1984, p. 52; V. Chirica, Gh. Enache 1983–1984, p. 16; Al. Păunescu 1998, p. 288).

Type of research: field survey

Type of remains: microliths, some finds show *patina*

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW)

Criteria for cultural attribution: typology, artifact size.

Observations: artifacts occurred in several locations; some could typologically be assigned to the Gravettian; the location, defined by Chirica *et alii.* as a *Tardenoisian site providing trapezes, microlithic sidescrapers and spindle-like cores*, was overlapped by a Cucuteni B layer.

**7. Berești, Galați county** (M. Brudiu 1971, p. 61–375; idem 1974, p. 132–134; idem 1979, p. 293–298; Al. Păunescu 1979, p. 520; idem 1981, p. 505; idem 1984, p. 250, 252; idem 1986, p. 74; idem 1990, p. 226, idem 1998, p. 352–358; V. Chirica 1989, p. 120–121).

**Location: Dealul Taberei, layer II**

Type of research: systematic excavations, 132 m<sup>2</sup>.

Type of remains: lithics, predominantly microliths —158 artifacts within two features (130, respectively 28).

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (M. Brudiu) (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: stratigraphy, typology, tool size.

Chronology: Holocene?

Observations: the site was destroyed by natural factors and agricultural works; poor finds; chronologically could be placed prior to Icușeni–Ripiceni–Erbiceni, possibly synchronous to Băneasa I–II (Al. Păunescu 1998, p. 358).

**8. Brădești (Vinderei), Vaslui county** (M. Brudiu 1971, p.70; idem 1974, p. 150; Al. Păunescu 1998, p. 333).

**Location: Ursoaia–Mânăstirea hill**

Type of research: field survey.

Type of remains: lithics (flint, gritstone, gravel boulders).

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: artifact size?

Observations: the site has been destroyed by agricultural works.

**9. Brebeni (Corvin), Constanța county** (Al. Păunescu 1987, p. 6; idem 1999, p. 78).

**Location: La Văcărie**

Type of research: field survey.

Type of remains: microliths (flint) —12 artifacts.

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: tool size.

Observations: ,directing artifacts' are missing (Al. Păunescu 1999, p. 78).

**10. Ciumești (Sanislău), Satu Mare county** (Al. Păunescu 1964, p. 321–336; idem 1970, p. 31–33,148; idem 1989, p. 151–152; idem 2001, p. 503–511; Prošek 1959, p. 145–148).

**Location: Pășune**

Type of research: systematic excavations in a sand dune, 30 m<sup>2</sup>.

Type of remains: lithics, predominantly microlithic (97%, flint, obsidian, quartz, gritstone); faunal remains, charcoal, ochre, fragment of parietal human bone.

Cultural attribution: Central European Tardenoisian (CE).

Criteria for cultural attribution: typology, tool size.

Chronology: GrA–21701: 7320±60 BP.

Observations: other cultural remains were uncovered assigned to the Neolithic, Bronze, Dacian, Early Medieval ages; techno–typological similarities to Barca I, Mačanske Vřške, Dolná Sreda (Al. Păunescu 2001, p. 511).

**11. Cornești (Miroslava), Iași county** (V. Chirica, M. Tanasachi 1984, p. 236(I); V. Chirica, Gh. Enache 1983–1984, p. 17; Al. Păunescu 1998, p. 292).

**Location: Tarlăua Fermă–Podul la Dancăș**

Type of research: field survey.

Type of remains: 2 microlithic flint flakes.

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: unclear, probably typology.

Observations: archeological remains belonging to the Noua culture.

**12. Cremenea (incorporated to Întorsura Buzăului), Covasna county** (C.S. Nicolăescu–Ploșșor, I. Pop 1959a, p. 29–34; idem 1959b, p. 51–56; C.S. Nicolăescu–Ploșșor 1938, p. 66–67; Al. Păunescu 1966, p. 319–324; M. Cârciumar, Al. Păunescu 1975, p. 315–318, 328–329; M. Roska 1924, p. 305–306; idem 1925, p. 188; idem 1926, p. 306, 332 (I); idem 1930, p. 95–96; idem 1942, p. 275–276; idem 1956, p. 166–174; E. Patte 1934, p. 383–384).

**12.1. Location: Malu Dinu Buzea**

Type of research: systematic excavations, 311 m<sup>2</sup>.

Type of remains: lithics.

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (CE).

Criteria for cultural attribution: typology, tool size, raw material.

Observations: contemporary to Merișor. Aurignacian and Schneckenberg remains were also uncovered.

**12.2. Location: În Grădiniță** (Al. Păunescu 2001, p. 371).

Type of research: test pits, 2 m<sup>2</sup>.

Type of remains: lithics —18 flint blanks.

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (CE).

Criteria for cultural attribution: stratigraphy.

Observations: layer succession identical to the one at Malu Dinu Buzea (Al. Păunescu 2001, p. 371).

**13. Cuza–Vodă (Castelu), Constanța county**

**13.1. Location: Cariera Veche**, at the eastern limit of the 'Caolinul Medgidia' quarry (Al. Păunescu 1987, p. 6–7; idem 1999, p. 104–107).

Type of research: field survey.

Type of remains: 130 flint microlithic artifacts– (31 typical).

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: typology, tool size ,and to a certain extent, the stratigraphy' (Al. Păunescu 1999, p. 104, 107).

Observations: the site was completely destroyed by the quarrying (Al. Păunescu 1999, p. 107).

**13.2 Location: Cariera Veche** (Al. Păunescu 1987, p. 6–11; idem 1990, p. 228–231; idem 1989, p. 151; idem 1999, p. 111–112).

Type of research: field survey (finds came out of the quarry), test pits 9m<sup>2</sup> (4+5).

Type of remains: flint microliths —656 finds (134 tools).

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: stratigraphy, typology and tool size.

Observations: 30 calcinated finds; Neolithic, Bronze and Roman pot sherds were also identified; (Al. Păunescu, 1999, p. 109); 2 lithic artifacts were seen as Aurignacian.

**13.3. Location: La Poarta Dealului Bulgăriței**, E–NE of the village cemetery (Al. Păunescu 1999, p. 120–121).

Type of research: field survey (700–800 m<sup>2</sup>).

Type of remains: 38 flint microlithic finds.

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: typology.

Observations: 4 heavy calcinated artifacts.

**13.4. Location: to the NE limit of the village cemetery** (Al. Păunescu 1999, p. 120–121).

Type of research: field survey.

Type of remains: microliths (flint).

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: –

Observations: 300 m SW of ‚Dealul Bulgăriței‘; the archeological finds are poor lacking the typical tools; the two locations could be contemporary (Al. Păunescu 1999, p. 120–121).

**14. Draxini (Bălușeni), Botoșani county** (Al. Păunescu, P. Șadurschi, V. Chirica 1976, p. 47(I); Al. Păunescu, P. Șadurschi 1988, p. 347; Al. Păunescu 1998, p. 113).

**Location: La Siliște**

Type of research: field survey ?

Type of remains: ‚a few flint artifacts among which a microlithic sidescraper‘ (Al. Păunescu, P. Șadurschi, V. Chirica 1976, p. 47(I); Al. Păunescu 1998, p. 113).

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian ? (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: typology.

**15. Erbiceni, Iași county** (N. Zaharia 1965, p. 289; idem 1961, p. 28, 30; N. Zaharia, M. Petrescu-Dâmbovița, E. Zaharia 1970, p. 219; Al. Păunescu 1964, p. 321–333; idem 1979, p. 520–522; idem 1970, p. 31–33, 145–147; idem 1980, p. 540–541; idem 1981, p. 479–493; idem 1984, p. 241, 253; idem 1998, p. 295–303; V. Chirica, M. Tanasachi 1984, p. 139–140 (I)).

**Location: Sub budăi în fânașul de pe șes**

Type of research: field survey, systematic excavations – 315 m<sup>2</sup>.

Type of remains: 3 features containing lithics (3660 artifacts –338 tools, 77,6% microlithic), few faunal remains (bones, teeth, shells), charcoal and burnt soil (Al. Păunescu 1998, p. 296–297).

Cultural attribution: evolved Tardenoisian of north–west ‚Pontic‘ type (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: stratigraphy (?).

Observations: pollenological analysis; disputed radiocarbon dates GX–9417: 7850±215 BP (bones), GrN–16993: 3400±40BP (snail shells), GrN–16993: 4840±50BP (snail shells, mussel shells). Only the first date was accepted by Al. Păunescu (1998, p. 303); techno–typological similarities to Icușeni, Ripiceni–Izvor.

**16. Galoșpetreu (Tarcea), Bihor county** (Al. Păunescu 2001, p. 433; C.S. Nicolăescu–Ploșor, E. Kovacs 1959, p. 40–41; N. Janos 1999, p. 33; B. Jungbert 1979, p. 396–397).

**Location: unknown II, within village limits**

Type of research: field survey.

Type of remains: lithics-obsidian (cores, blades, sidescrapers on fragmented blades).

Cultural attribution: pre-ceramic microlithic industry (C.S. Nicolăescu–Ploșor, E. Kovacs 1959, p. 40–41); possibly Tardenoisian (Ciumești) or Neolithic (Berea) (Al. Păunescu 2001, p. 433) (CE).

Criteria for cultural attribution: typology.

**17. Garvăn (Jijila), Tulcea county** (Al. Păunescu 1979, p. 507–508; idem 1987, p. 3; idem 1999, p. 69; E.Comșa 1953, p. 750–751).

**Location: ‚In Bugeac‘**, at the foothill of Crăcanele hill

Type of research: field survey.

Type of remains: microlithic (flint), 100 artifacts (12 tools).

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: typology and tool size.

Observations: poor typology (Al. Păunescu 1999, p. 69); three calcinated finds; Roman, Migration, Medieval Age pot sherds (Al. Păunescu 1987, p. 508).

**18. Ghireni (Coțușca), Botoșani county**

**18.1 Location: La Hârtoș la Balta Sărată** (Al. Păunescu 1973, p. 9; idem 1998, p. 113–114; Al. Păunescu, P. Șadurschi, V. Chirica 1976, p. 87–88 (I); N. Zaharia, M. Petrescu–Dâmbovița, E. Zaharia 1970, p. 242).

Type of research: field survey, test pits.

Type of remains: lithics (31 flint implements).

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: typology, raw material?

Observations: a few finds, made of blue flint with *patina* were assigned to the Lower Paleolithic.

**18.2 Location: La Livadă/ La Livadă în Balta Lată** (Al. Păunescu 1987, p. 11, nota 1; idem 1999, p. 115, Al. Păunescu, P. Şadurschi, V. Chirica 1976, p. 88).

Type of research: field survey.

Type of remains: lithics —a few flint finds.

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: typology.

**19. Hăneşti, Botoşani county** (Al. Păunescu 1973, p. 9; idem 1998, p. 115; Al. Păunescu, P. Şadurschi, V. Chirica 1976, p. 139 (I)).

**Location: La Moviliţă**

Type of research: accidental discovery.

Type of remains: lithics —2 flint pieces.

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: typology.

Observations: The remains attributed to the Tardenoisian was recovered from '*the soil excavated in the migration necropolis*' (Al. Păunescu, P. Şadurschi, V. Chirica 1976, p. 139 from the III–IV centuries; Cucuteni pot fragments were also noted (Al. Păunescu, P. Şadurschi, V. Chirica 1976, p. 139).

**20. Horga (Epureni), Vaslui county** (Al. Păunescu 1998, p. 335; Gh. Coman 1980, p. 132, information Gh. Coman 1981).

**Location: To the northern limit of the village**

Type of research: accidental discovery (landslide).

Type of remains: lithics (sidescrapers, endscraper, flakes), sometimes microlithic; many faunal remains.

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW)?, Gravettian? (Al. Păunescu 1998, p. 335).

Criteria for cultural attribution: typology (microlithic sidescrapers).

**21. Icuşeni (Vorona), Botoşani county** (Al. Păunescu, P. Şadurschi, V. Chirica 1976, p. 301, 303; Al. Păunescu 1979, p. 239–251; idem 1981, p. 503–504; idem 1989, p. 151; idem 1998, p. 117–120).

**Location: Poiana Eroilor**

Type of research: field survey, test pits.

Type of remains: lithics (648 microlithic finds, flint and other rocks).

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian of north–west 'Pontic' type (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: stratigraphy (?)<sup>21</sup>, typology (tools and armatures).

Observations: techno–typological similarities to Erbiceni and Ripiceni Izvor (Al. Păunescu 1998, p. 117–120).

**22. Ipoteşti (Mihai Eminescu), Botoşani county** (O. Şovan, I. Ioniţă, P. Şadurschi, 1983 – information, Al. Păunescu 1998, p. 121).

**Location: In the courtyard of Mihai Eminescu's memorial house**

Type of research: systematic excavations.

Type of remains: 3 finds of grey–black flint.

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian? (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: typology of a spindle–like core.

Observations: the excavations took place in the II–III AD Dacian settlement.

**23. Lădăuţi (incorporated to Întorsura Buzăului), Covasna county** (C.S. Nicolăescu–Plopşor 1959, p. 54; Al. Păunescu 1964, p. 35; idem 1965, p. 27; idem 1966, p. 324–327; idem 1970, p. 145; idem 2001, p. 373–377; M. Cârciumar, Al. Păunescu 1975, p. 316–325).

**Location: Costanda**

Type of research: systematic excavations —120 m<sup>2</sup>.

Type of remains: lithics 93% microlithic —34 450 finds (46? tools) made of flint, gritstone, quartzite.

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian.

Criteria for cultural attribution: stratigraphy and techno–typology.

Observations: one single cultural layer; calcinated finds were noted; the large quantity of *debris* was seen as the consequence of '*a small flint processing workshop*'; there are Bronze pottery fragments.

**24. Lapoş, Prahova county** (Fl. Mogoşanu, M. Bitiri–Ciortescu 1961, p. 215–226; Fl. Mogoşanu 1960, p. 127–128; idem 1962, p. 145–151; idem 1964, p. 337–350; idem 1969, p. 5–12; idem 1978, p. 118–121; Al. Păunescu 1970, p. 25–26, 136–137, 220; idem 1979, p. 512–517; M. Cârciumar, C. Beldiman, R. Dobrescu,

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<sup>21</sup> The artifacts were found in three layers not deeper than 0.40 m (Al. Păunescu 1998, p. 117). Soil formation processes are unknown.

A. Cozma 1994, p. 35–36; M. Cârciumar, C. Beldiman 1994, p. 380; M. Cârciumar, C. Beldiman, C. Căpiță 1995, p. 49–50; M. Cârciumar 1996, p. 425; M. Cârciumar, R. Dobrescu 1996, p. 71; M. Cârciumar, R. Dobrescu, 1997, p. 377; M. Cârciumar, R. Dobrescu, C. Căpiță 1997, p. 33–34; M. Cârciumar *et alii* 1999, p. 62–63; M. Cârciumar *et alii* 1996, p. 32–33; Gh. Olteanu 1996, p. 34–35; O. Cârșina 1996, p. 6–38; D. Mărgărit, M. Sandu 1998, p. 49–55; M. Cârciumar, M. Anghelinu, O. Cârșina 2000, p. 53–54).

**Location: Poiana Roman**

Type of research: systematic excavations.

Type of remains: lithics, predominantly microlithic (flint) —1228 finds (272 typical) and approximately other 9500 finds from M. Cârciumar's excavations, unpublished.

Cultural attribution: Evolved Tardenoisian (Al. Păunescu 2001, p. 127) (CE).

Criteria for cultural attribution: typology, size.

Observations: small size 'settlement'; , *although, stratigraphically the lithic finds were uncovered mixed with other types (e.g. the Aurignacian ones or pot fragments), they belong, both techno-typologically but also dimensionally to the Tardenoisian, probably a middle stage* (Al. Păunescu 2001, p. 127); the radiocarbon dates were not accepted and were considered as too recent both for the Tardenoisian and for the Aurignacian; a Cris Neolithic layer was also noted.

**25. Largu, Buzău county**

**25.1. Location: Cornul Malului, dune no. 1** (I.T. Dragomir 1957, p. 300–301; idem 1959, p. 475–476; Al. Păunescu 1979, p. 517–518; idem 2000, p. 114–115).

Type of research: field survey.

Type of remains: 142 microlithic flint finds (14 typical).

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: typology, size.

Observations: no archeological context, the finds came from three sandy layers of the dune; 8 calcinated artifacts (Al. Păunescu 1979, p. 518).

**25.2. Location: La Calentir, dune no. 3** (Al. Păunescu 1979, p. 518)

Type of research: field survey.

Type of remains: 12 microlithic flint finds.

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: typology, size.

Observations: 1 km away from dune no. 11.

**26. Lespezi (Dobromir), Constanța county** (Al. Păunescu 1987, p. 6; idem 1999, p. 132).

**Location: North of the village**

Type of research: field survey.

Type of remains: 5 microlithic flint finds.

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: typology, size.

**27. Lumina (incorporated to Constanța), Constanța county** (M. Brudiu 1985, p. 13–16, 20–23; Al. Păunescu 1990, p. 224–226; idem 1999, p. 136).

**Location: Peninsula**

Type of research: field survey — 1500 m<sup>2</sup>.

Type of remains: lithics – 20 implements (M. Brudiu 1985, p. 14).

Cultural attribution: rather Final Gravettian than Tardenoisian? (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: typology and retouch manner (M. Brudiu 1985, p. 13–16, 20–23).

Observations: the number of finds appears different as reported Al. Păunescu and M. Brudiu (13 vs. 20); 60% are sidescrapers, no geometric shapes; *'until now, the discoveries made in Dobrogea are different from the one in the south of Moldova where the microlithism is excessive'* (M. Brudiu 1985, p. 21–22).

**28. Luncavița, Tulcea county** (Al. Păunescu 1999, p. 69–70).

**Location: La Ceair**

Type of research: field survey.

Type of remains: microlithic and middle size lithic finds (flint), 6 tools and an unknown number of flakes, bladelets and cores.

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian ? (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: not specified.

Observations: few lithic artifacts, no 'diagnostic tools' (Al. Păunescu 1999, p. 70).

**29. Manoleasa, Botoșani county** (Al. Păunescu 1998, p. 121–122).

**Location: Hârtop–Coasta Saivanelor–La Agra**

Type of research: test pits.

Type of remains: lithics (flint).

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian ? (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: stratigraphy, typology.

Observations: one Gravettian and one Dacian layer were also noticed: the small scale excavations were undertaken to expose the Dacian II–III AD settlement (Al. Păunescu 1998, p. 121).

**30. Medgidia, Constanța county**

**30.1 Location: West to the stadium – ‘La plopi’** (Al. Păunescu 1987, p. 11–16; idem 1989, p. 151; idem 1990, p. 228–232; idem 1999, p. 166–169).

Type of research: field survey on a limited area.

Type of remains: flint microliths —912 items (160 tools).

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian of north–west ‘Pontic’ type (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: typology, size.

Observations: 100 calcinated finds (or showing traces of burning); the site was destroyed: no other traces of habitation were noted; marked similarities to Icușeni, Cuza–Vodă, Ripiceni Izvor, Erbiceni (Al. Păunescu 1999, p. 168)<sup>22</sup>.

**30.2 Location: La Potcoavă** (Al. Păunescu 1987, p. 11, nota 1; idem 1987, p. 4, 6; idem 1999, p. 174).

Type of research: field survey on a limited area.

Type of remains: 7 flint microliths (one *encoche flake*).

Cultural attribution: possibly Tardenoisian of north–west ‘Pontic’ type (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: typology, size.

**30.3. Location: To the western limit of the Serbian heroes’ monument** (Al. Păunescu 1987, p. 4, 6; idem 1999, p. 170).

Type of research: field survey.

Type of remains: 13 lithic finds (flint).

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: unknown.

Chronology: typology, size.

Observations: no Neolithic remains were noticed.

**31. Merișor (incorporated to Întorsura Buzăului), Covasna county;** other names: Crăciunești, Gâlma, Valea Brădetului

**31.1. Location: Sub Deluț (Deluț)** (Al. Păunescu 2001, p. 387).

Type of research: test pits, 15 m<sup>2</sup> (7+8).

Type of remains: lithics (flint).

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: stratigraphy.

Observations: poor typology.

**31.2. Location: Poarta Cremenii** (Al. Păunescu 1962, p. 156; idem 2001, p. 387).

Type of research: test pits (8 m<sup>2</sup>).

Type of remains: flint finds —168 flakes.

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: stratigraphy, raw material, technology (Al. Păunescu 1962, p. 156).

Observations: ‘*workshop*’(?) (Al. Păunescu 2001, p. 387; idem 1962, p. 156).

**31.3. Location: Roate (În Roate)** (C.S. Nicolăescu–Ploșor, I. Pop 1959, p. 51; Al. Păunescu, I. Pop 1961, p. 33–35; Al. Păunescu 1962, p. 153–156; idem 2001, p. 378–387; M. Cârțumaru, Al. Păunescu 1975, p. 315–318, 333–334).

Type of research: systematic excavations —278 m<sup>2</sup>.

Type of remains: flint lithic finds coming from ‘workshops’ – 57 673 items.

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: typology, size.

Observations: small number of tools —184, there are no armatures, microburins or spindle–like cores; atypical Neolithic and Bronze Age pot fragments (Al. Păunescu 1961, p. 35; idem 2001, p. 378–379).

**31.4. Location: În Botul Otecului** (Al. Păunescu 2001, p. 387).

Type of research: test pits, 5 m<sup>2</sup>.

Type of remains: 5 flint finds.

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW).

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<sup>22</sup> Not even the main groups of implements are identical.

Criteria for cultural attribution: not specified, probably typology.

**31.5. Location: Liziera Otecu** (Al. Păunescu 2001, p. 387–388).

Type of research: test pits.

Type of remains: lithics (flint, gritstone).

Cultural attribution: Epi-Gravettian – Early Tardenoisian (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: not specified, probably typology.

Observations: the almost total absence of the main tool types (Al. Păunescu 2001, p. 388).

**31.6. Location: Valley of Chicherău creek and adjacent valleys** (Al. Păunescu 2001, p. 388–389).

Type of research: field survey (collections).

Type of remains: mixed lithic finds.

Cultural attribution: Aurignacian, Gravettian, Tardenoisian ? (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: typology.

**32. Mihail Kogălniceanu (Țigănași), Iași county** (N. Zaharia 1955, p. 900; idem 1961, p. 27; N. Zaharia, M. Petrescu–Dâmbovița, E. Zaharia 1970, p. 252; V. Chirica, M. Tanasachi 1985, p. 435 (II); Al. Păunescu 1993, p. 205, Al. Păunescu 1998, p. 311).

**Location: La Hatie, la Hotar**

Type of research: field survey?

Type of remains: lithics —23 flint microliths.

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: typology.

Type of remains: Paleolithic, Precucuteni and Cucuteni A.

**33. Miorcani (Rădăuți–Pрут), Botoșani county** (Al. Păunescu, P. Șadurschi, V. Chirica 1976, p. 211–212; Al. Păunescu 1998, p. 125).

**Location: Pustoaia**

Type of research: field survey.

Type of remains: a flint pyramidal core.

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian? (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: core typology.

**34. Mitoc, Botoșani county**

**34.1. Location: Valea Izvorului, Dealul Sărăturii** (C.S. Nicolăescu–Ploșor, N. Zaharia 1959, p. 35–36; N. Zaharia 1961, p. 18–19; M. Bitiri–Ciortescu 1965a, p. 8–10; eadem 1965b, p. 436–440; eadem 1973, p. 27–35; eadem 1987, p. 207–233; N. Zaharia, M. Petrescu–Dâmbovița, E. Zaharia 1970, p. 276; M. Bitiri–Ciortescu, M. Cârciumar, V. Vasilescu 1978, p. 463–479; idem 1981, p. 3–19; idem 1980, p. 65–75; M. Bitiri–Ciortescu, M. Cârciumar, V. Vasilescu 1979, p. 33–41; M. Cârciumar 1980, p. 126–131; N.N. Moroșan 1938, p. 60; Al. Păunescu, P. Șadurschi, V. Chirica 1976, p. 191; Al. Păunescu 1989, p. 135; idem 1993, p. 193; V. Chirica 1990, p. 163–171; idem 1988, p. 11–22; D. Monah, Șt. Cucuș 1995, p. 105–109).

Type of research: systematic excavations.

Type of remains: lithics (40 items).

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: depth of finds, techno-typology, flint *patina*, size.

Observations: four habitation layers: Musterian, Aurignacian, Tardenoisian, Cucuteni B.

**34.2. Location: Valea lui Stan** (P. Istrati 1979, p. 83–89; idem 1981, p. 7–13; D. Monah, Șt. Cucuș 1985, p. 120; V. Chirica 1989, p. 46–48).

Type of research: systematic excavations.

Type of remains: lithics – 50–60 flint items.

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: typology, tool size.

Observations: the Mesolithic and Paleolithic finds were mixed together (?); uncertain stratigraphy.

**35. Ocna Sibiului, Sibiu county** (I. Paul 1962, p. 197–198, Al. Păunescu 2001, p. 310–311).

**Location: La Roghină**

Type of research: test pits, 15 m<sup>2</sup>.

Type of remains: 6 flint finds (3 microlithic, 2 tools), bone fragments impossible to determine.

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian? (Al. Păunescu), Neolithic (I. Paul).

Criteria for cultural attribution: stratigraphy, typology, tool size (rounded sidescraper, pyramidal core).

Observations: 'a temporary settlement' (Al. Păunescu 2001, p. 310); also remains from the Petrești culture and medieval times.

**36. Poarta Albă, Constanța county** (Al. Păunescu 1999, p. 184; idem 1987, p. 6; idem 1990, p. 228).

**Location: Next to the pump station**

Type of research: field survey.

Type of remains: flint microliths —20 items.

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: typology, tool size.

Observations: no Hamangia Neolithic remains; the site was destroyed during the works at the canal.

**37. Proboța, Iași county** (N. Zaharia, M. Petrescu-Dâmbovița, E. Zaharia 1970, p. 271; V. Chirica, M. Tanasachi 1985, p. 329 (II), Al. Păunescu 1998, p. 315).

**Location: Dealul Porcului**

Type of research: field survey?

Type of remains: flint microliths (with *patina*) —13 items.

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: typology, tool size.

Observations: Cucuteni B Neolithic traces in proximity; the site provided a few lithic finds considered as Aurignacian (Al. Păunescu 1998, p. 315).

**38. Remus Opreanu (incorporated in Medgidia), Constanța county** (C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor *et alii* 1959, p. 1; Al. Păunescu 1987, p. 6; idem 1999, p. 186–187).

**Location: NNE to the village**

Type of research: field survey.

Type of remains: lithics (flint) —49 items out of which 24 microlithic.

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: techno-typology, tool size.

Observations: no Hamangia Neolithic traces; 25 finds showing *patina* were assigned to the Musterian.

**39. Ripiceni, Botoșani county** (N.N. Moroșan 1938, p. 33–52; Al. Păunescu 1965, p. 5–32; idem 1970, p. 31–33, 108–111, 113–119, 146–147, 217; idem 1964, p. 321–336; idem 1976, p. 5–8; idem 1978, p. 317–333; idem 1983, p. 187–195; idem 1984, p. 235–264; idem 1987, p. 87–100; idem 1993, p. 11–178; Al. Păunescu, P. Șadurschi, V. Chirica 1976, p. 225–228, V. Chirica 1995, p. 105–109).

**Location: Izvor**

Type of research: systematic excavations —3950 m<sup>2</sup>.

Type of remains: lithics (flint) from '*workshops*'—10267 items (690 tools).

Cultural attribution: Evolved Tardenoisian of north-west 'Pontic' type (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: typology (traditional Epi-Gravettian pieces but also abundant habitation traces from post-Paleolithic ages (Cris, Horodiștea, Noua, Hallstatt, Dacian) overlapping directly the Tardenoisian, lying at its turn directly on Gravettian IIb. The Tardenoisian had been badly disturbed by rodent tunnels and no faunal remains were assigned to it (Al. Păunescu 1998, p. 168); the percentage of microliths is of only 62%; close similarities to Icușeni and Erbiceni (Al. Păunescu 1998, p. 265); the site is nowadays under water.

**40. Sibioara (Mihail Kogălniceanu), Constanța county** (Al. Păunescu 1999, p. 194; Matei 1985, p. 137).

**Location: Livada**

Type of research: field survey.

Type of remains: predominantly microlithic (flint) finds— 31 items (2 tools).

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: typology, tool size.

Observations: scarcity of tool types (Al. Păunescu 1999, p. 194).

**41. Straja (Cumpăna), Constanța county** (Al. Păunescu 1999, p. 194–195; idem 1978, p. 277–282; idem 1987, p. 4–6; idem 1990, p. 228; idem 1979, p. 510–511).

**Location: La Stănișor/ La lac la Stănișor**

Type of research: field survey, test pits.

Type of remains: flint microliths— 150 finds (25 typical).

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: stratigraphy, typology, tool size.

Observations: the site covers approximately 4000 m<sup>2</sup>; 2 calcinated finds (Al. Păunescu 1979, p. 511); Metal and Byzantine Age pottery.

**42. Stornești (Sinești), Iași county** (V. Chirica, M. Tanasachi, 1985, p. 369 (II), Al. Păunescu 1998, p. 317).

**Location: La Livadă**

Type of research: field survey?

Type of remains: lithics (flint), unknown number of finds, three large and middle size.

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: typology.

**43. Șipotele (Deleni), Constanța county** (Al. Păunescu 1999, p. 195–196; idem 1987, p. 6).

**Location: Canaraua Pustnicului**

Type of research: field survey.

Type of remains: 7 flint microliths.

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: typology (the type of one core!!!), tool size, the lack of Neolithic remains.

Observations: abundance of post-Neolithic remains (pottery, stone walls) (Al. Păunescu 1999, p. 120–121).

**44. Târgușor, Constanța county** (Al. Păunescu 1999, p. 201; idem 1979, p. 508; idem 1987, p. 3–4; idem 1990, p. 228).

**44.1. Location: La Grădină**

Type of research: systematic excavations, test pits.

Type of remains: lithics (flint) – large number of microlithic finds.

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: typology, tool size.

Observations: the Mesolithic layer is at times directly overlapped by the Hamangia Neolithic one; the site covers approximately 1000 m<sup>2</sup>; unknown number of finds; the remains are scattered in small concentrations situated at some distance one from the other (Al. Păunescu 1999, p. 201); the excavation were made by paleontologists and the results are only partially published.

**44.2. Location: La Adam** (Al. Păunescu 1999, p. 202–210; idem 1979, p. 4; idem 1980, p. 531,536; idem 1987, p. 4; idem 1990, p. 215–232; idem 1989, p. 134, 145; P. Samson, C. Rădulescu 1959, p. 199–204; idem 1962, p. 282–320; idem 1971, p. 629–636).

Site type: cave.

Type of research: systematic excavations.

Type of remains: lithics (flint?).

Cultural attribution: Mesolithic (P. Samson 1959, p. 199–204), Tardenoisian (Al. Păunescu 1979, p. 510; idem 1999, p. 208) (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: not specified.

Observations: excavation undertook by paleontologists: the 'Mesolithic' finds are not published (Al. Păunescu 1999, p. 205) with the number of finds unknown; two layers had been assigned as 'Aceramic' Neolithic (P. Samson C. Rădulescu 1959, p. 199–204); the lithic remains seem to show similarities to the ones from Târgușor – La Grădină; two other cultural layers were present: Hamangia and Gumelnița Neolithic.

**44.3 Location: Urs**

Al. Păunescu (1979, p. 508) suggested the existence of a Tardenoisian horizon in certain areas, based on the presence of some flint microliths.

**45. Topile (Valea Seacă), Suceava county** (V. Chirica, Gh. Enache 1983–1984, p. 18).

**Location: Catargi Hill**, on the area of the Gravettian site

Type of research: field survey.

Type of remains: one flint spindle-like core.

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: core typology.

**46. Totoești (Erbiceni), Iași county** (N. Zaharia 1961, p. 30; Al. Păunescu 1998, p. 326; V. Chirica, M. Tanasachi 1984, p. 146 (I)).

**Location: Dealul Totoeștilor**

Type of research: field survey.

Type of remains: lithics (flint, sometimes with *patina*), black schist backed bladelet.

Cultural attribution: Epi-Paleolithic? (N. Zaharia 1961, p. 30)/Tardenoisian?/Evolved Gravettian (Al. Păunescu 1987, p. 326; V. Chirica, M. Tanasachi 1984, p. 146).

Criteria for cultural attribution: unknown.

Observations: unknown number of finds.

**47. Țibrinu (Mircea Vodă), Constanța county** (Al. Păunescu 1987, p. 38; idem 1999, p. 213).

**47.1. Location: I – On the right bank of the lake**

Type of research: field survey (100 m<sup>2</sup>).

Type of remains: flint microliths– 28 items (9 'tools').

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: typology, tool size .

Observations: no other habitation traces; inventory poor in 'tools' (Al. Păunescu 1999, p. 213).

**47.2. Location: IA – On the right bank of the lake** (Al. Păunescu 1987, p. 4; idem 1999, p. 214).

Type of research: field survey.

Type of remains: flint microliths– 6 finds (3 'tools').

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: typology, tool size.

Observations: no other habitation traces.

**48. Țigănași, Iași county** (V. Chirica 1987, p. 11, footnote 1; V. Chirica, Gh. Enache 1983–1984, p. 17).

**Location: Pe Deal la Raiu**

Type of research: field survey.

Type of remains: flint microliths; sidescrapers are predominant but no geometric shapes (V. Chirica, Gh. Enache 1983–1984, p. 17).

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: typology.

Observations: 'a rich site'.

**49. Țuțcani (Mălușteni), Vaslui county** (Al. Păunescu 1998, p. 348; N. Zaharia, M. Petrescu-Dâmbovița, E. Zaharia 1970, p. 356; information N. Zaharia 1980).

**Location: unknown**, probably SE of the village in Igești

Type of research: field survey.

Type of remains: lithics (flint): pyramidal and spindle-like cores.

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW).

Criteria for cultural attribution: typology (pyramidal cores).

Observations: the cores were considered identical to those at Erbiceni and Ripiceni (Al. Păunescu 1998, p. 348).

**50. Valea lui Mihai, Bihor county** (C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor, E. Kovacs 1959, p. 40–41; C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor 1938, p. 80; Al. Păunescu 2001, p. 447).

**Location: unknown**, within village area

Type of research: field survey.

Type of remains: lithics – microlithic sidescrapers, fragmented blades.

Cultural attribution: Tardenoisian (NW) or Early Neolithic.

Criteria for cultural attribution: not specified.

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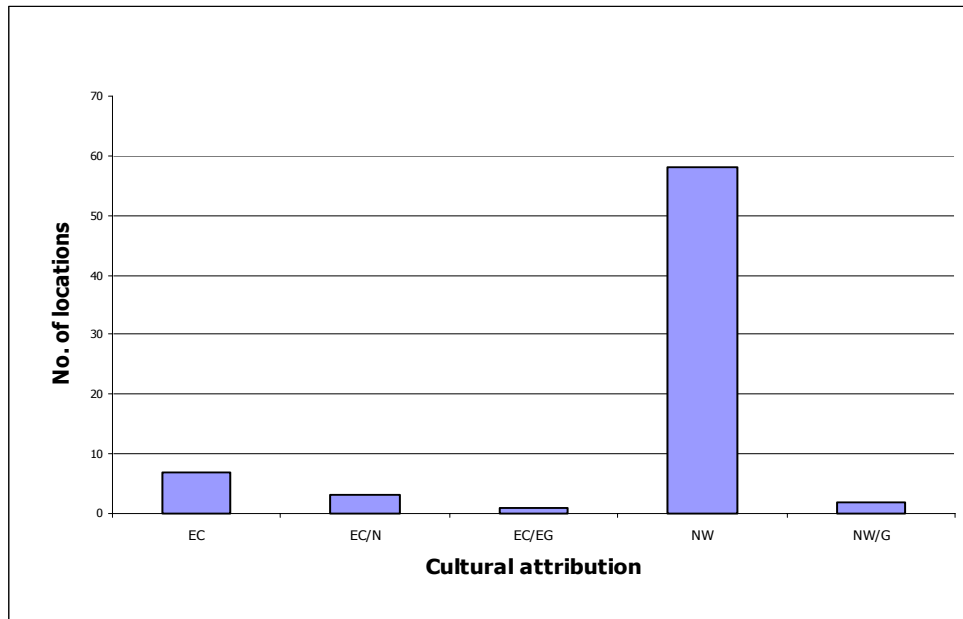


Fig. 1. The main site groups according to the cultural attribution.

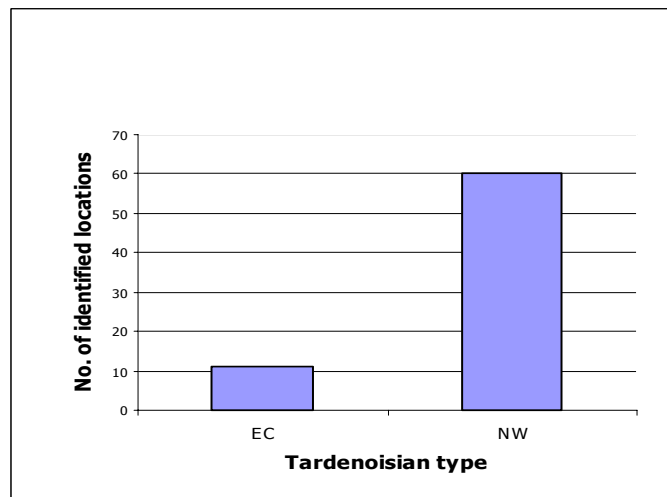


Fig. 2. The North–West 'Pontic' Tardenoisian locations *versus* the Central–East European ones.

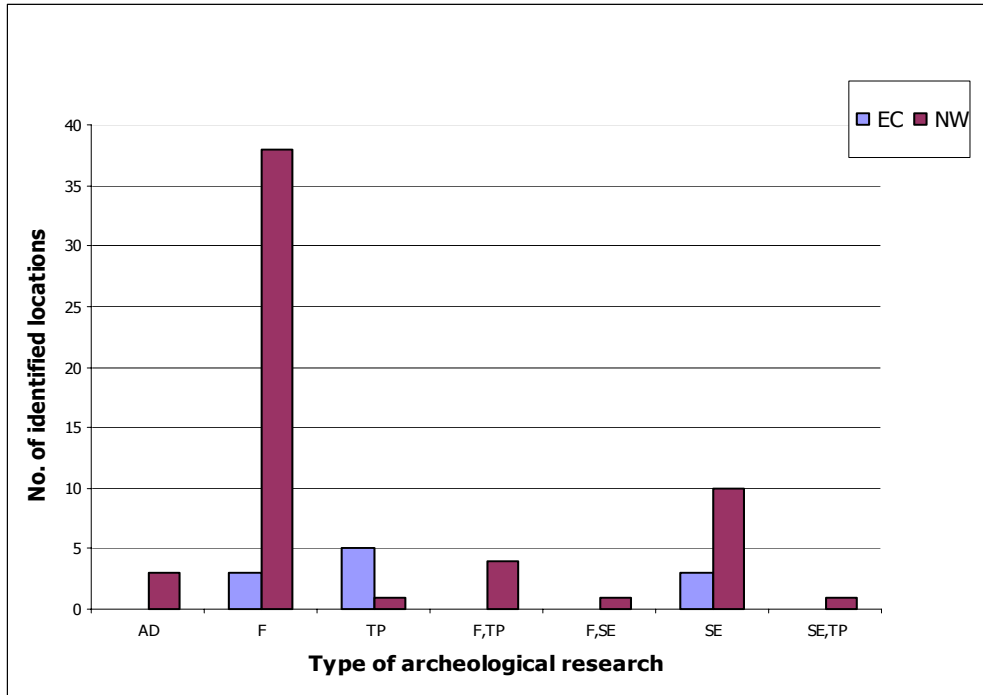


Fig. 3. NW Tardenoisian versus CE Tardenoisian – a comparison of the research types.

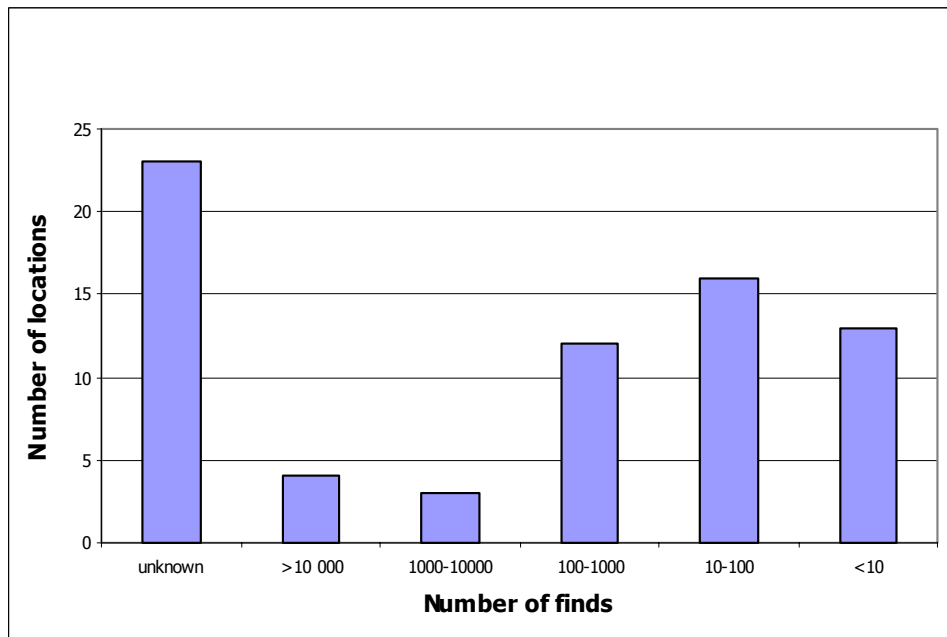


Fig. 4. The Tardenoisian sites grouped according to the number of finds.

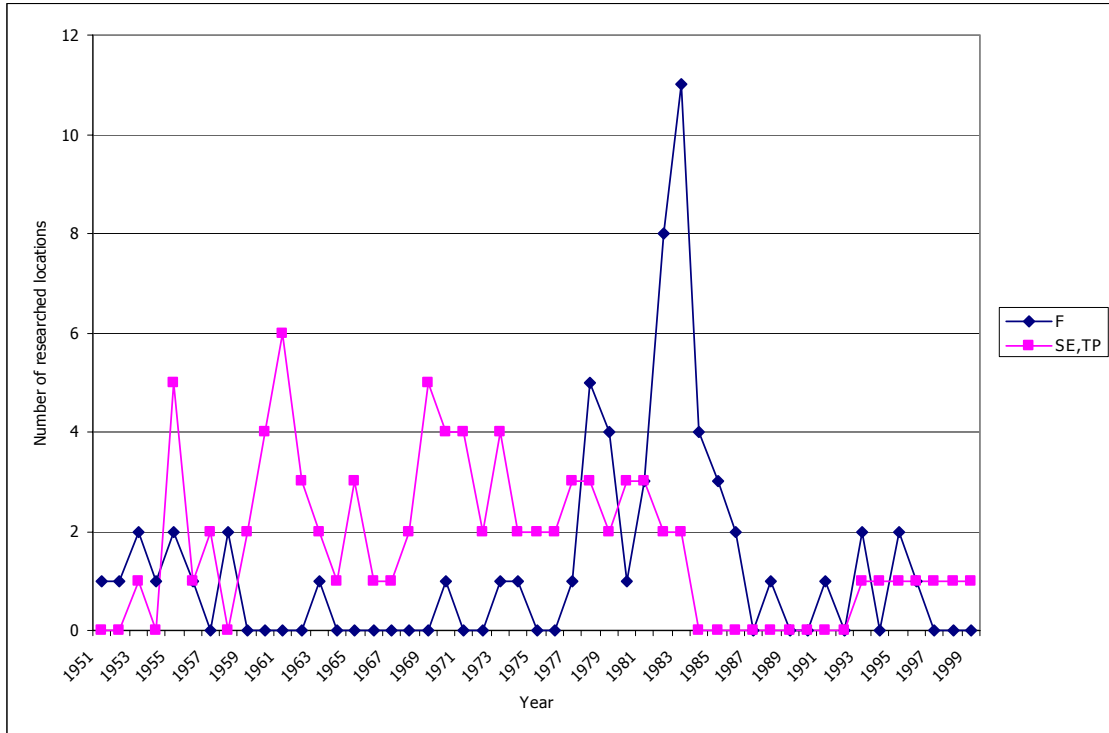


Fig. 5. Archeological excavations *versus* field surveys – evolution in time.



Fig. 6. Romania – map of Tardenoisian sites.