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DATING GRAVE NO. 97 FROM VĂLCANI IN THE LIGHT OF NUMISMATIC AND RADIOCARBON RESEARCH – CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CHRONOLOGY OF H.1¹

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Keywords: 10th–11th century necropolis, material culture, Arpadian coin, radiocarbon, H.1

Abstract: The early medieval burial site near Vălcani (Timiș County) was discovered alongside other archaeological elements dating from the Neolithic era to the Modern Age. The funerary site, dated to the 10th–11th centuries, exhibits greater variety than the earlier one from the 7th century, which was excavated in the same spot, and is the largest in the Banat region. The coin discovered in grave 97 from Vălcani was issued during the reign of Stephen I (1000–1038). The radiocarbon analysis of the grave was performed to obtain a more precise dating, given that the coin in the grave provides a reliable terminus post-quem, which also serves as a means to verify the radiocarbon results. The radiocarbon analysis of the human skeleton offered a conventional date of 1060±18, placing the death of the individual from grave 97 between the years 900 and 1030. The calibration in the Oxcal 4.4 Interface program indicated a 95.4% probability that the year of death was between 900 and 1025, respectively with a 68.3% certainty between the years 989–1021. The calibration results suggest a high probability of dating at the end of the 10th century and the first quarter of the 11th century. However, since we know with certainty that the coin was issued in the 11th century during the reign of Stephen I, the dating in the 10th century must be disregarded. The comparative analysis of the radiocarbon dating and the terminus post-quem thus captures a very narrow chronological sequence of approximately 20 years, which is of special importance both for the burial site and for grave 97, in particular with regard to Stephen's H.1 type coins, in relation to the theories propounded in the extant literature and discussed in the paper. It can be concluded that the H.1 coins were likely minted following the coronation of Stephen I, most plausibly during the first decade of the 11th century, a result that challenges and invalidates several earlier hypotheses in the literature.

Cuvinte-cheie: necropolă secolele X–XI, cultură materială, monedă arpadiană, radiocarbon, H.1

Rezumat: Siturile funerare medievale timpurii de lângă Vălcani (județul Timiș) au fost documentate alături de alte elemente arheologice care datează din neolitic până în epoca modernă. Necropola din secolele X–XI a evidențiat o mai mare varietate a situațiilor arheologice decât cea cercetată în același loc și datată în secolul al VII-lea, fiind, totodată, cea mai mare din Banat. Moneda din mormântul 97 este o emisiune a lui Ștefan I (1000–1038). Analiza cu radiocarbon a mormântului a fost efectuată în scopul obținerii unei încadrări cronologice mai precise, având în vedere că moneda oferă un terminus post-quem sigur, verificând fiabilitatea datării cu radiocarbon. Astfel, proba din scheletul uman indică, în mod convențional, 1060±18, ceea ce plasează moartea individului din mormântul 97 între anii 900 și 1030. Calibrarea în programul Oxcal 4.4 Interface a indicat, cu o probabilitate de 95,4%, intervalul morții între anii 900 și 1025, respectiv cu o certitudine de 68,3% între anii 989–1021. Astfel, calibrarea oferă o mare probabilitate de datare la sfârșitul secolului al X-lea și în primul sfert al secolului al XI-lea. Având în vedere certitudinea că moneda a fost emisă în secolul al XI-lea în timpul domniei lui Ștefan I, datarea din secolul al X-lea nu poate fi luată în considerare. Analiza comparativă a datării cu radiocarbon și a termenului post-quem obținut pe cale numismatică indică astfel o secvență cronologică foarte restrânsă, de aproximativ 20 de ani, care are o importanță deosebită atât pentru situl funerar, cât și pentru mormântul 97, în special în ceea ce privește moneda tip H.1 a lui Ștefan I, în raport cu teoriile propuse în literatură și discutate în lucrare. Se poate concluziona că emiterea monedelor tip H.1 poate fi plasată după încoronarea lui Ștefan I, cel mai probabil în primul deceniu al secolului al XI-lea, rezultat care contrazice o mare parte din ipotezele anterioare din literatură.

INTRODUCTION

The technological and scientific revolution of the late 20th and early 21st centuries² has significantly advanced archaeological research through the integration and application of new methods and technologies, such as radiocarbon dating, dietary analysis, and strontium and oxygen isotope studies. The results of these analyses are regarded as scientific *hard facts*. However, scientific investigations should not necessarily be explicitly accepted or mechanically applied; their

¹ Project no. TKP2021-NKTA-24 has been implemented with the support provided by the Ministry of Innovation and Technology of Hungary from the National Research, Development and Innovation Fund, financed under the TKP2021 funding scheme.

² See Narayanamurti, Tsao 2021.

validity must be analyzed and confronted with other data. These considerations are particularly relevant to chronology, which serves as a fundamental pillar of archaeological research.

One of the primary purposes of chronology is to establish the temporal evolution of relationships within and between human groups, as cultural reflections. Achieving this objective remains challenging, particularly due to the difficulty in distinguishing the synchronic and diachronic nature of these complex relationships using traditional archaeological methods. Coin dating, however, provides a reliable *terminus post-quem*, and is therefore considered one of the most accurate methods for establishing chronological sequences. Furthermore, the *terminus post-quem* offered by coins can serve as a means to verify the accuracy of radiocarbon dating, that is, of a *hard fact/hard data*.

METHOD

To better understand the temporal evolution of a cemetery with a large number of investigated graves, such as the site at Vălcani (196 graves³), we employed radiocarbon analysis. Samples were collected both from graves dated to the 10th century based on their inventories (graves 3, 16, 17, 73, 91, 172), and from graves dated to the 11th century (graves 9, 97, 176). The samples were taken from human skeletons, with the exception of grave 91, where two samples were taken, from both human and horse remains. The physicochemical processing of the bone samples involved the destruction of exogenous and endogenous organic carbon, the subsequent graphitization of the carbon dioxide trapped in the inorganic matrix in the CHS-AGE 3 system (IonPlus, CH) and the acquisition of radiocarbon data in the Walton Cockcroft Tandetron 1 MV accelerator. These procedures were carried out in the laboratory of the *HUN-REN Atommagkutató Intézet* / Institute for Nuclear Research in Debrecen, Hungary.

Given the particular importance of the radiocarbon results from grave no. 97, this grave was analyzed individually for a more detailed interpretation.

GENERAL DATA REGARDING THE 10TH–11TH CENTURY FUNERARY SITE FROM VĂLCANI

Archaeological features dating from the Neolithic to the Modern Ages have been unearthed near Vălcani between 2019 and 2020. Two early medieval funerary sites have been excavated in the area. The earliest site is characterized by a heterogeneity of grave orientations (E–W, NE–SW, NNE–SSW, W–E, SSW–NNE) and contains 36 graves. Notably, this site represents the first Early Avar-period funerary site south of the Aranca River to contain niche graves. Based on the artefact types (Szentes-type Páhipusztá-subtype earrings, wire bracelets with prolate ends, beads), the funerary site could be dated to the second third of the 7th century AD⁴.

The funerary site dating to the 10th–11th centuries exhibits significantly greater diversity compared to the earlier one. The 196 unearthed graves represent the most extensive funerary site in the western part of present-day Romania. The majority of the graves were oriented, with minor variations, predominantly W–E, while some were E–W.

The remains of the deceased, particularly their arms, were found in a wide range of positions. Horse burials were documented in ten cases, while in four instances only horse harnesses (stirrups, cheek bits, strap buckles) were deposited in the graves. In some cases, animal remains – likely sheep bones – were placed in the graves as food offerings⁵.

In a similar way to the ritual practice, the material culture record of this era is rather heterogeneous, as evidenced by the diversity of jewellery types (earrings, lock rings, finger rings, bracelets), weapons (bows, quivers, arrowheads), horse harness accessories (pear- and trapeze-shaped stirrups, horse bits, strap buckles), tools (needle cases, needles, strike-a-lights), and coins issued by the Árpáadian kings. Certain aspects of the material culture reveal connections to the Late Avar Period. Based on the occurring artefact types and particularly the coins issued in the 11th century AD, the funerary site was in use from the last decades of the 10th century AD to the 1070s.

Certain questions, such as the cultural origin(s) of the associated micro-community(ies) and the nature of their migration (specifically, whether were they new people/s arriving from the East or rather acculturated Late Avar-period communities) remain unresolved at this stage of research. We expect that the strontium isotope and DNA analyses will provide the requisite answers.

The main characteristic of the cemetery is the rather high number of horse burials (graves no. 22, 27, 53, 54, 91, 107, 113, 122, 145, 161), accounting for 5.07% of the total graves. However, this percentage would likely be significantly

³ Previous publications of the finds from Vălcani mentioned 197 graves, however, in light of more recent research, one grave previously considered to be dated to the 10th–11th centuries is actually dated to the 7th century.

⁴ Ormándy 1995, p. 157–158, 2. kép 1, 7. kép; Balogh, Pásztor 2015, p. 581–648; Lőrinczy, Rácz 2014, p. 149, 162, V. t. 4, 8.

⁵ Kovács 2013a, p. 511–604 (with bibliography).

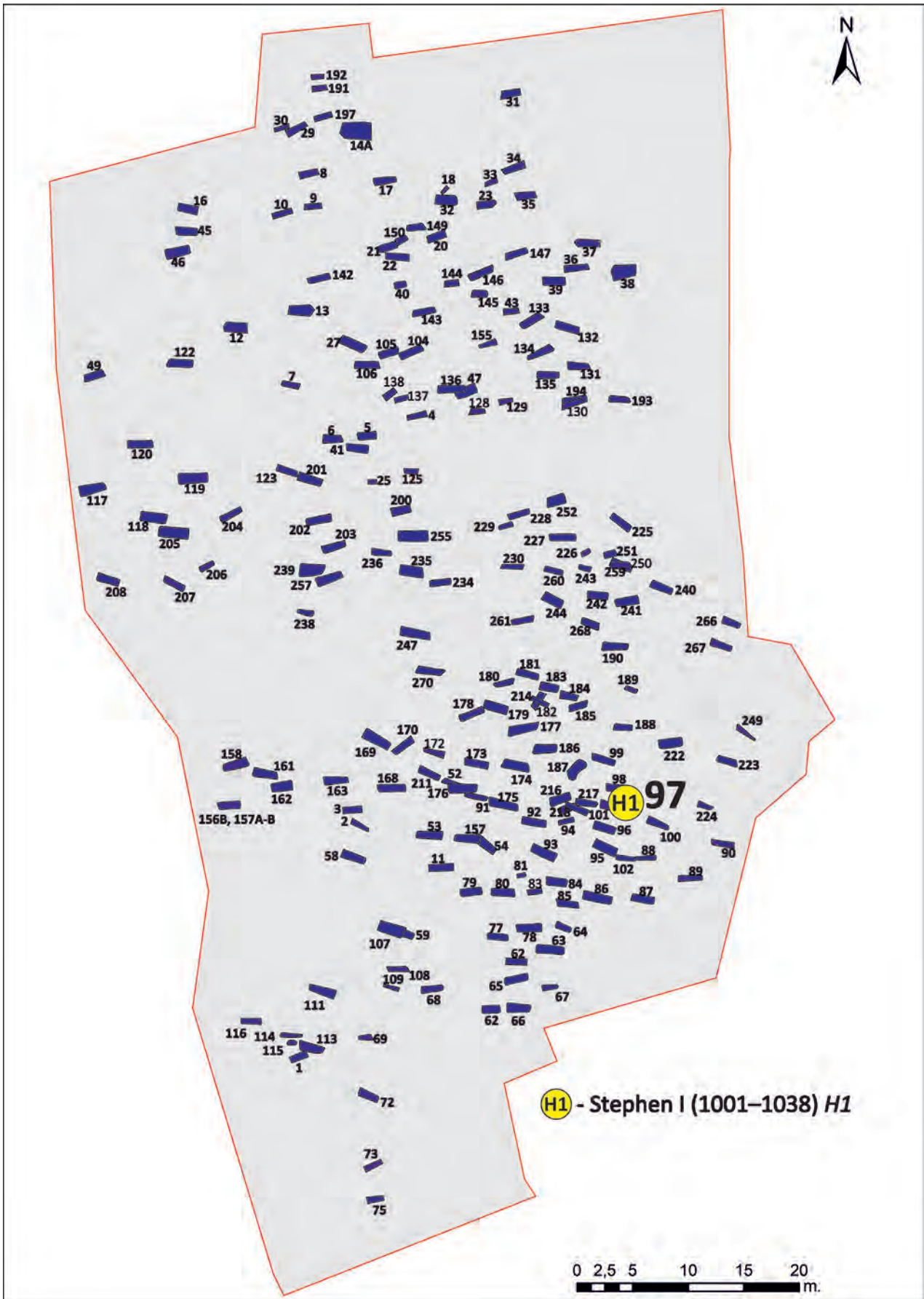


Figure 1. Vălcani. Survey map of the 10th-11th century funerary site.

higher if the exact number of graves from the *pagan* phase of the necropolis were known. This situates Vălcani within the broader phenomenon of horse burials, specific to the 10th century⁶ and the first half of the 11th century, a nomadic cultural habitus⁷.

The early medieval burial site also contains seven coins discovered in six of the 197 graves investigated (Fig. 1). Their distribution is as follows: grave no. 38 – an unidentified half coin; grave no. 97 – a coin from Stephen I (1000–1038), type H.1 (Fig. 2/1, Fig. 4); grave no. 99 – a coin from Stephen I, type H.1; grave no. 176 – a coin from Andrew I (1046–1060), type H.9; grave no. 78 – two coins from Solomon (1063–1074), one type H.15 and one type H.17; grave no. 90 – Solomon, type H.17; grave no. 161 – an unidentified quarter coin.

The biological sex of the deceased in grave no. 97, a 14–19-year-old *juvenis* oriented W–E, could not be determined. According to measurements taken during the research, his body length from skull to heel was 140 cm. The deceased was positioned lying on his back, his right arm and forearm stretched alongside the body, and the right forearm slightly bent, the hand resting on the pelvis. The grave inventory consists of the pierced coin used as a medallion, which was discovered on his neck, an iron awl, two bracelets, and a massive twisted gorget⁸.

TYPOCHRONOLOGICAL DATING OF THE GRAVE INVENTORY

Although the coin provides a reliable *terminus post-quem*, it is equally important to analyze the related materials identified in this grave. In the case of the twisted bronze gorgets, their dating in the second half or the end of the 10th century is accepted; however, the massive/heavy ones are dated to the 11th century⁹ (Fig. 3/5). In the case of Vălcani, this older observation is itself supported by the dating of the coin itself, as well as by the Kovács 3b type bracelet with zoomorphic decoration, which has also been exclusively dated to the early 11th century¹⁰ in older finds (Fig. 2/3, Fig. 3/4). Together, these artefacts reinforce the chronological framework suggested by the coin and confirm the grave's dating within the early 11th century.

DATING THE H.1 COIN IN NUMISMATIC RESEARCH

The coin discovered in grave 97 at Vălcani (Fig. 4) is a perforated coin of Stephen I (1000–1038), which is listed as position no. 1 in Hungarian coin catalogues, both in Réthy's catalogue¹¹ from the 19th century and in subsequent ones from the second half of the 20th century¹².

The coin displays an obverse with an equal-armed cross with triangular wedges in between the arms in a beaded circle, the arms of the cross integrated into the circular legend + STEPHANVS REX. The reverse displays the same cross in a linear circle and the legend + REGIA CIVITAS. It has a diameter of 18 mm and weighs 0.60 grams.

This coin type has been known since the early 18th century¹³, and until the mid-1960s it was considered to be the only coin minted by Stephen I. However, the discovery of new coin types from his reign – the LANCEA REGIS¹⁴ type or the PRESŁAVVA CIVITAS¹⁵ type – has reignited discussions about the H.1 coin, particularly regarding its chronological placement within the sequence of Stephen I's monetary issues.

According to the research of King Stephen I's coinage, the literature reveals a number of resolved issues as well as elements that still remain unresolved.

It has been established that the beginning of the Hungarian mint was modelled after the Bavarian mint¹⁶, particularly in terms of iconography¹⁷. The obverse of the Hungarian coins features a cross and legend similar to those found on Bavarian coins, while the reverse displays a legend resembling that of the Regensburg mint: REGINA CIVITAS, which evolved

⁶ Kovács 2013a, p. 511–604 (with bibliography).

⁷ Szenthe, Gáll 2022.

⁸ Blaskó *et alii* 2023.

⁹ Szőke 1962, p. 116–120, pl. 53; Kovács 1994, p. 115.

¹⁰ Kovács 1994, p. 131, Abb. 31/3b.

¹¹ Réthy 1899, p. 11, CNH. I.1.

¹² Huszár 1979, p.31, H. 1; Unger 1997, p. 61, MÉ. 1.

¹³ Bel 1817, p. 69, tab. IV, III.

¹⁴ Gedai 1975, p. 85–90.

¹⁵ Hatz 1965, p. 79–85.

¹⁶ Hóman 1916, p. 172–175.

¹⁷ Huszár 1938, p. 343.

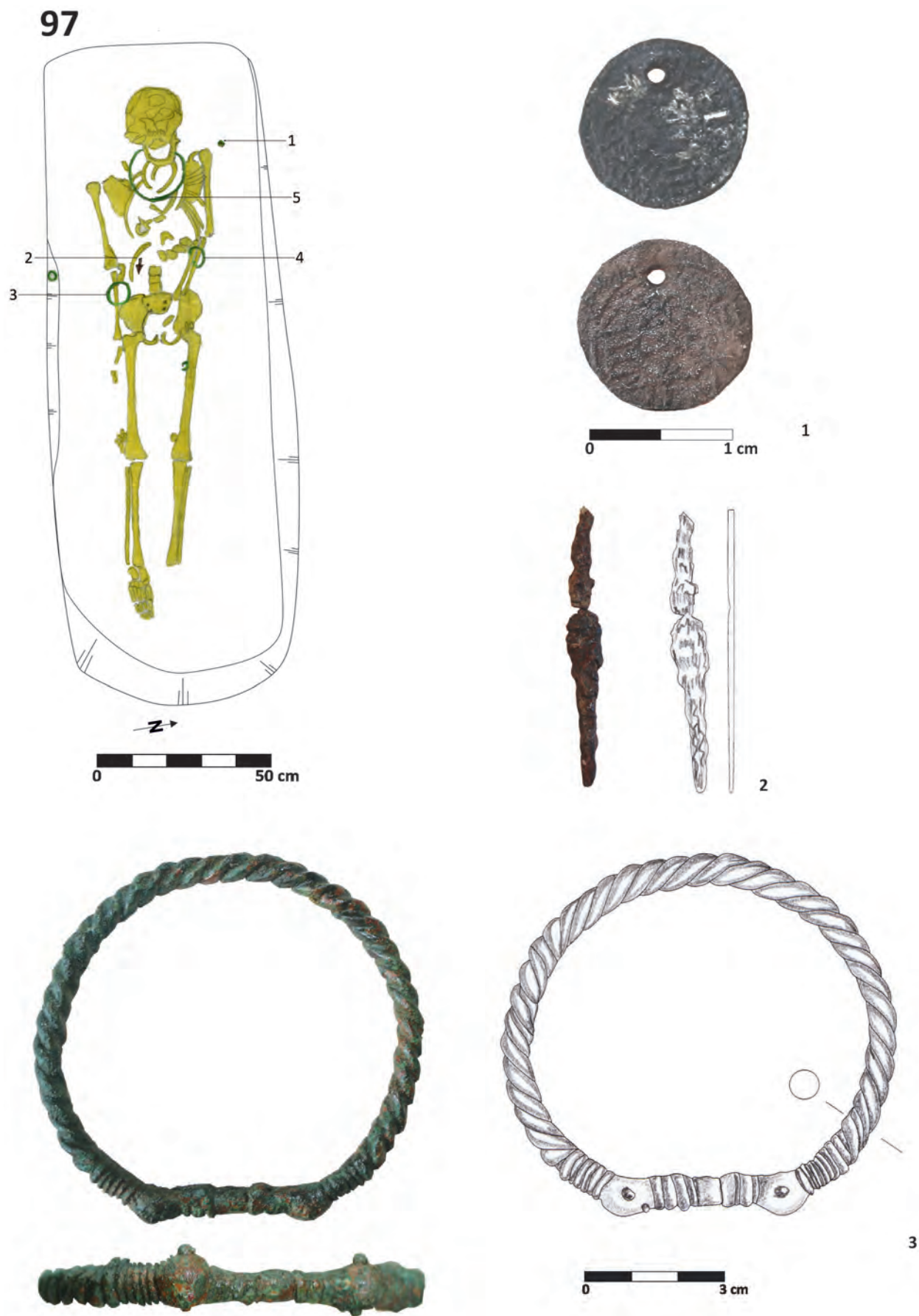


Figure 2. Vălcani. Funerary inventory of grave no. 97.

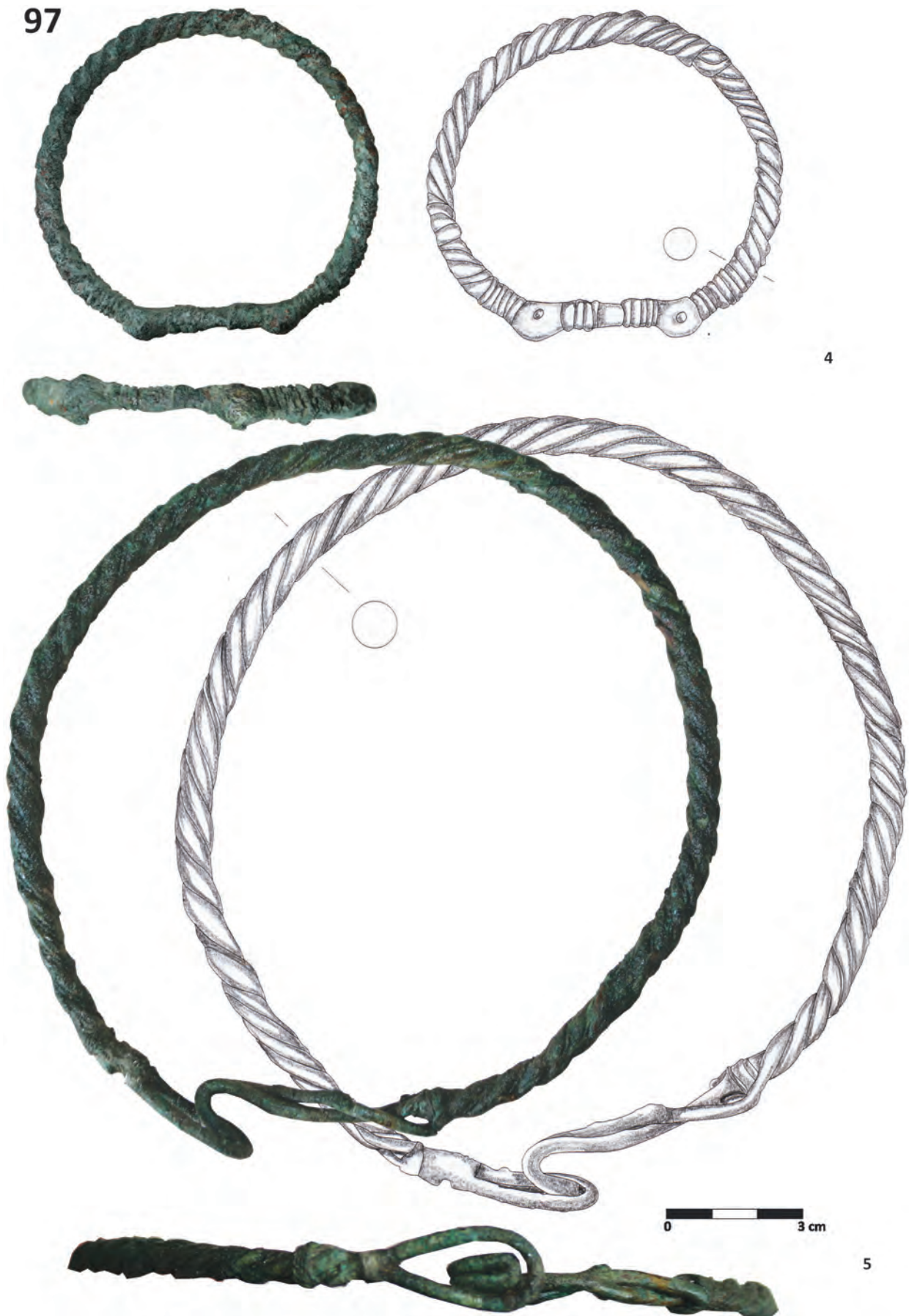


Figure 3. Vălceni. Funerary inventory of grave no. 97.

into REGIA CIVITAS¹⁸. However, Hungarian coins also exhibit unique characteristics arising from their minting technique¹⁹: the central cross extends into the cross that forms the beginning of the circular legend on both sides of the coin, or the letters P, N and R on the obverse and the letters G, C and T on the reverse, which appear as continuations of the arms of the central cross.

The identification of the issuing mint for the H.1 coin, based on the reverse legend REGIA CIVITAS, remains one of the unresolved aspects of this coin type. The prevailing standpoint in the literature, first proposed by Hóman Bálint in 1916, posits that the precise identification of the mint is not possible at present; it may have operated either in Esztergom or Székesfehérvár²⁰.

Regarding metrological data, the average weight of H.1 coins is 0.80 grams²¹, while the average weight of clipped ones is 0.64 grams²². In more recent analysis, the average silver content of these coins has been determined to be 90.7%²³. In the case of the coin from grave 97 at Vălceni, given the high degree of wear, it is likely that its silver content is lower than the average. Establishing the average weight of H.1 coins from cemeteries is challenging primarily because the publication of materials from such sites, especially older research, generally lacks technical data on the coins. Therefore, establishing an average weight of H.1 coins from graves would require a comprehensive review of the available material. For example, in the medieval cemetery in Alba Iulia, Brândușei Street – where, like in Vălceni, the most recent coin is of Solomon – the average weight of ten H.1 coins with available technical data is 0.535 grams²⁴.

The H.1 coin type is often encountered in 11th century burial sites, some of which also extend into the next century. In the geographical area of the Criș/Körösök, Tisza, and Danube rivers, such coins are found at: Oradea²⁵, Biharkeresztes-Ártánd²⁶, Komádi²⁷, Körösszegapáti²⁸, Magyarhomorog²⁹, Várşand³⁰, Békéssámson³¹, Gerendás³², Csanytelek (Dilitor³³, Siróhegy³⁴), Csongrád (Bukrospart³⁵, Kádár-tanya³⁶, Mámaidűlő³⁷, Maté-tanya³⁸), Deszk³⁹, Hódmezővásárhely (Kopáncs⁴⁰, Rárós⁴¹), Nagytóke⁴², Pusztaszer⁴³, Szentés-Kistőke⁴⁴, Senta⁴⁵, and Hodoni⁴⁶ (Fig. 5).

Since the discovery of the aforementioned coin type(s) of Stephen I, the literature has debated aspects regarding their chronological order. Subsequent research, particularly in light of the LANCEA REGIS (H.2) type, has led to the conclusion that the H.1 type is likely the second coin issue of Stephen I.



Figure 4. Vălceni. The H.1 type coin from grave no. 97.

¹⁸ Gedai 2016, p. 691.

¹⁹ Vadász 1978, p. 3–9.

²⁰ Hóman 1916, p. 174.

²¹ Hóman 1916, p. 208–209, 600; Huszár 1938, p. 348; Kovács 1997, p. 34–35.

²² Kovács 1997, p. 35.

²³ Tóth 2004, p. 41, tab. II.

²⁴ Gáll 2013, p. 116–152.

²⁵ Gáll 2013, p. 387–400.

²⁶ Mesterházy 1990, p. 50–57.

²⁷ Kolozsi 2012, p. 262–263, no. 251.

²⁸ Nepper 2002, p. 122–127.

²⁹ Kovács 2006, p. 218–219.

³⁰ Gáll 2013, p. 207–225 (with bibliography).

³¹ Fehér *et alii* 1962, p. 23, no. 76.

³² Dienes 1965, p. 158, no. 9; Bálint 1991, p. 221, no. 81.

³³ Széll 1941, p. 245–255.

³⁴ FÉK 1962, p. 28, no. 167.

³⁵ Fehér *et alii* 1962, p. 29, no. 187.

³⁶ Bálint 1991, p. 217, no. 44.

³⁷ Bálint 1991, p. 216, no. 46a.

³⁸ Bálint 1991, p. 216, no. 46.

³⁹ Fehér *et alii* 1962, p. 31, no. 222.

⁴⁰ Fehér *et alii* 1962, p. 40, no. 397.

⁴¹ Fehér *et alii* 1962, p. 40, no. 405.

⁴² Fehér *et alii* 1962, p. 56–57, no. 728.

⁴³ Fehér *et alii* 1962, p. 63, no. 841.

⁴⁴ Fehér *et alii* 1962, p. 73, no. 1013 – however, the identification of the coin is not certain.

⁴⁵ Kovács 2013b, p. 259, no. *32.

⁴⁶ Gáll 2013, p. 228–235.

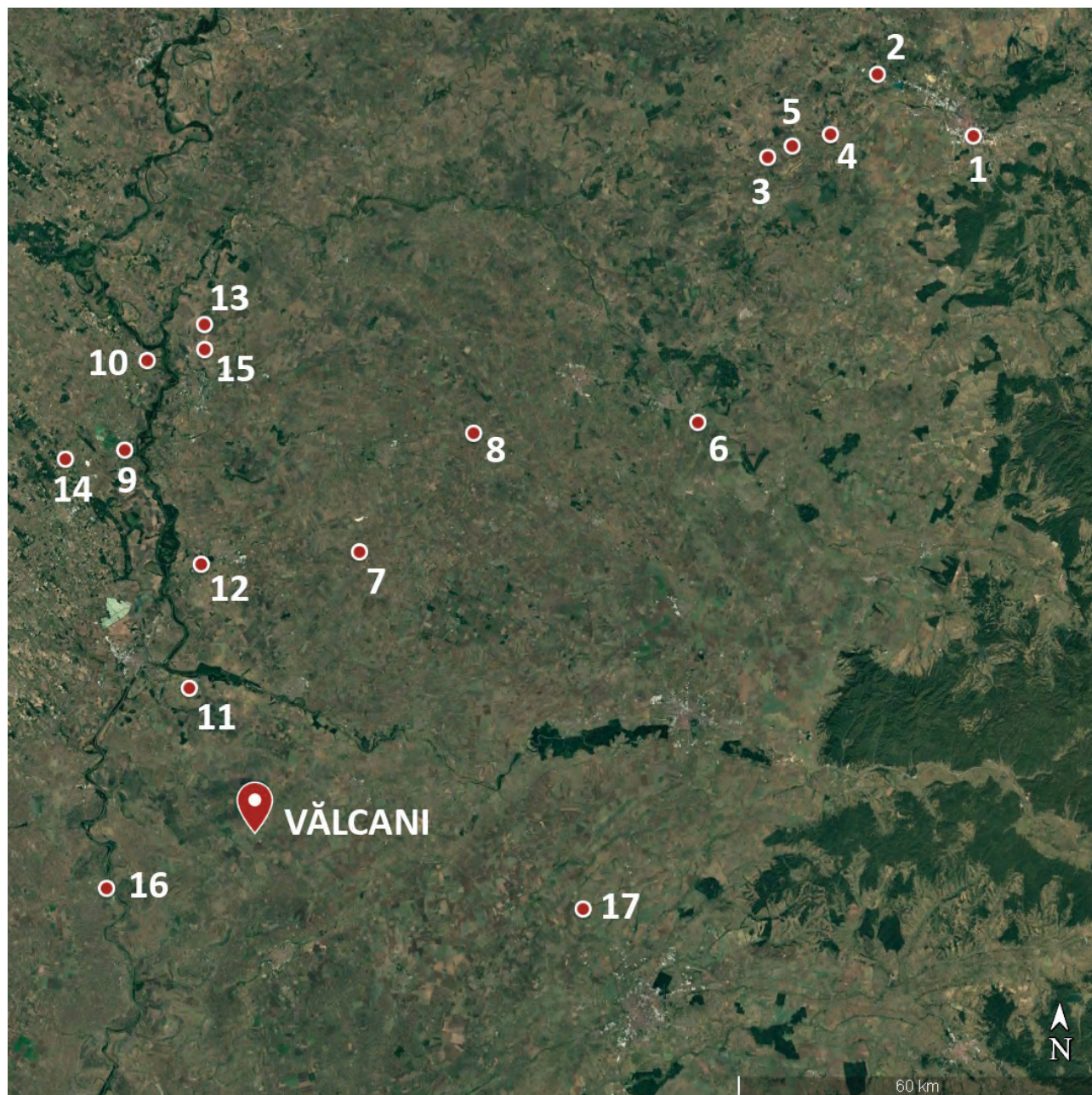


Figure 5. Map of burial sites containing H.1 type coins in the vicinity of Válcáni.

1. Oradea (Biharea County, Romania); 2. Biharkeresztes-Ártánd (Hajdú-Bihar County, Hungary); 3. Komádi; 4. Körösszegapáti (Hajdú-Bihar County, Hungary); 5. Magyarhomorog (Hajdú-Bihar County, Hungary); 6. Várşand (Arad County, Romania); 7. Békéssámsón (Békés County, Hungary); 8. Gerendás (Békés County, Hungary); 9. Csanytelek (Dilitor, Siróhegy) (Csongrád-Csanád County); 10. Csongrád (Bukrospart, Kádár-tanya, Mámaidűlő, Maté-tanya) (Csongrád-Csanád County); 11. Deszk (Csongrád-Csanád County); 12. Hódmezővásárhely (Kopáncs, Rárós) (Csongrád-Csanád County); 13. Nagytőke (Csongrád-Csanád County); 14. Pustaszer (Csongrád-Csanád County); 15. Szentcsanak (Csongrád-Csanád County); 16. Senta (North Banat District, Serbia); 17. Hodoni (Timiş county, Romania).

The question of when Stephen I began minting his H.1 type coins has given rise to several theories. Those proposing the most recent dates suggest that this event occurred in the latter half of his reign. Based on estimates of the centralization of power within the Kingdom of Hungary, coin finds, and supposed similarities with the coinage of Mieszko II of Poland (1025–1031), some scholars argue that these coins were minted only after 1025⁴⁷. Another hypothesis also proposes the year 1025, again in connection with Poland, but this time in relation to the control gained over the northern parts of the Kingdom of Hungary – implicitly over the silver mines – supposedly after the reign of Boleslaw I of Poland (992–1025)⁴⁸.

⁴⁷ Turnwald 1966, p. 21, 27; Turnwald 1968, p. 25, note 5; Turnwald 1969, p. 6.

⁴⁸ Hlinka 1968, p. 71.

Other scholars propose that this control was established a few years earlier, suggesting that minting began around 1020⁴⁹. Kenneth Jonsson, based on the analysis of coin hoards from Scandinavia, Germany, Poland and Hungary, concluded that minting began in 1018⁵⁰ or that “it may well have started after 1020”⁵¹; a dating that has been adopted by other authors⁵². The year 1018 or even a “few years earlier”⁵³ has also been suggested on the basis of coin circulation north of the Kingdom of Hungary. Other approaches suggest that minting began after the introduction of Byzantine-style taxation (*fumarium/kapnikon*) in Hungary, placing the start of minting between 1018 and 1020⁵⁴. This view has led other Hungarian numismatists to consider that H.1 coins were minted around 1020⁵⁵, or during the second decade of the 11th century⁵⁶, between 1015 and 1020⁵⁷. Earlier attempts to date this coin type – at a time when it was the only known type – linked the beginning of coinage to the founding of the Kingdom of Hungary⁵⁸, placing it in the first years after Stephen’s coronation⁵⁹, or even as early as 1001⁶⁰.

The use of Stephen I’s coins as burial objects in graves has also been debated. While some authors have placed the practice only towards the end of his reign⁶¹ or at an uncertain point – perhaps even beyond his reign – others refrained from offering a specific timeline, arguing that this practice cannot be accurately dated even at the decade level, nor can the period between the minting of H.1 coins and their placement in graves be estimated⁶².

¹⁴C DATING OF GRAVE 97

Radiocarbon dating has only recently become a widely used method in the archaeological research of the 10th–11th centuries.

The sample from the human skeleton in grave 97 conventionally indicates 1060±18, placing the death of the individual, a *juvenis* (14–19 years old), between the years 900 and 1030. Calibration in the *Oxcal 4.4. Interface* program indicates a 95.4% probability that the year of death occurred between 900 and 1025, respectively with a 68.3% certainty that it occurred between 989 and 1021.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF ¹⁴C WITH THE NUMISMATIC MATERIAL

The calibration of the radiocarbon data suggests the highest probability for a chronological range spanning from the end of the 10th century to the first quarter of the 11th century. However, given the certainty that the coin found in the grave was definitely minted by Stephen I (1000–1038) in the 11th century, the dating in the 10th century cannot be taken into consideration. Therefore, we proposed comparing the calibrated radiocarbon data with the *terminus post-quem* provided by the coin issued by the first king of the Árpád dynasty.

THE SOCIO-BIOGRAPHICAL DATA OF THE INDIVIDUAL FROM GRAVE NO. 97

Based on the results of the ¹⁴C analysis of the 14–19-year-old individual and the typo-chronological analysis of the associated finds, grave no. 97 was most likely dug in the first quarter of the 11th century, approximately between the years 1005 and 1025. This timeframe also suggests that the life course of the *juvenis* person, based on available scientific data, likely began around 990–1005. Therefore, it is inferred that the individual’s life ended between about 1005 and 1025. By narrowing down these chronological intervals, three main chronological variants can be illustrated (Fig. 6-7).

⁴⁹ Kupa 1976, p. 24.

⁵⁰ Jonsson 1988, p. 100–101.

⁵¹ Jonsson 2002, p. 64.

⁵² Hunka 2013, p. 17.

⁵³ Suchodolski 1990, p. 172.

⁵⁴ Györfly 1974, p. 39.

⁵⁵ Gyöngyössy 2006, p. 228.

⁵⁶ Gedai 1972, p. 24; Gedai, 1973, p. 70.

⁵⁷ Gedai 1988, p. 695–696; Gedai 1990, p. 10; Gedai 2002, p. 36; Gedai 2014, p. 26; Gedai 2016, p. 695, 704.

⁵⁸ Réthy 1899, p. 7.

⁵⁹ Hóman 1916, p. 175, 189.

⁶⁰ Huszár 1938, p. 337; Huszár 1968, p. 208.

⁶¹ Gedai 1972, p. 24.

⁶² Gedai 1988, p. 694; Kovács 1988, p. 688–689; Kovács 1997, p. 50, note 297.

CONCLUSIONS

Based on the above, the following conclusions can be drawn:

1. The individual aged 14–19 could only have been buried in the 11th century, as indicated by the H.1 coin. Thus, if Stephen I was crowned king in 1001, *the burial took place between 1001 and 1025*, or perhaps even *as early as 1021*, most likely during the second decade of the 11th century.

2. Given the signs of wear on the coin, it must have been in circulation for some time after it was minted and before being placed in the grave. This observation supports the accuracy of the radiocarbon analysis data.

3. For the *H.1 coins*, the importance of the radiocarbon results lies not only in this being the first dating of a coin of Stephen I from an 11th-century burial, but also in the fact that this coin type is very likely to date from the early years of Stephen I's reign.

The comparative analysis of the radiocarbon dating and the *terminus post-quem* of the coin captures a very narrow chronological sequence of only 20 years, which is of particular importance for both the cemetery and grave no. 97, especially with regard to the H.1 coins of Stephen I, in light of theories discussed in the literature.

It can be concluded that the H.1 type coin – the most common coin of Stephen I found in both cemeteries and coin hoards – was most likely minted after the coronation of Stephen I, thus in the first decade of the 11th century. This conclusion contradicts much of the existing literature, but supports the earlier theories of scholars such as Réthy, Hóman, and Huszár.

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ABREVIERI / ABRÉVIATIONS / ABBREVIATIONS

- AA – Archäologischer Anzeiger. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Darmstadt, München, Tübingen–Berlin
(A)ARMSI – Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice, București
ACD – Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debrecenensis, Debrecen
ActaArchHung – Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
ActaHistArt – Acta historiae artium Academiae scientiarum Hungaricae, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapesta
ActaMN – Acta Musei Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca
ActaMP – Acta Musei Porolissensis, Zalău
AÉ – L'Année épigraphique, Paris.
AIIA Iași – Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie „A. D. Xenopol”, Iași
AIIC – Anuarul Institutului de Istorie „George Barițiu”, Cluj
AJBA – American Journal of Biological Anthropology
AJPA – American Journal of Physical Anthropology
AK – Archaeologiai Közlemények, Pest
AnSt – Anatolian Studies, British Institute of Ankara
AnUCDC – Analele Universității Creștine „Dimitrie Cantemir”
AnUVT – Annales d'Université « Valahia » Târgoviște, Section d'Archéologie et d'Histoire
AO – Arhivele Olteniei, Craiova
ArchBulg – Archaeologia Bulgarica, Sofia
ArchÉrt – Archaeológiai Értesítő, Budapest
Argesis – Argesis. Muzeul Județean Argeș. Pitești
ArhMed – Arheologia Medievală
ArhMold – Arheologia Moldovei, Iași
AȘUI – Analele Științifice ale Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza”, Iași
Az Érem – Az Érem kiadványai, Budapest
Banatica – Banatica. Muzeul Banatului Montan, Reșița
BARBrSer – British Archaeological Reports. British Series, Oxford
BARIntSer – British Archaeological Reports. International Series, Oxford
BCMI – Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice
BerRGK – Bericht der Romisch-Germanische Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Frankfurt am Main
BibIstroPontica-P – Biblioteca Istro-Pontica. Seria Patrimoniu, Tulcea
BJ – Bonner Jahrbücher – Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn, Bonn
BMC – *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, Londra: I, *Augustus to Vitellius*, 1923; II, *Vespasian to Domitian*, 1930; III, *Nerva to Hadrian*, 1936; IV, *Antoninus Pius to Commodus*, 1968; V, *Pertinax to Elagabalus*, 1950 (H. Mattingly); VI, *Severus Alexander to Balbinus and Pupienus*, 1962 (R.A.G. Carson).
BMI – Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice, București
BMJT – Buletinul Muzeului Județean Teleorman, Alexandria
BSNR – Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române, București
Buridava – Buridava. Studii și materiale, Muzeul Județean „Aurelian Sacerdoțeanu”, Râmnicu Vâlcea
CA – Cercetări Arheologice. Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București
Caiete ARA – Caiete ARA. Asociația Arhitectură, restaurare, arheologie, București
Carpica – Carpica. Complexul Muzeal „Iulian Antonescu” Bacău
CCA – Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România
CEpR – Cronica Epigrafică a României
Cerclst – Cercetări Istorice, Iași
CICSA – Centrul de Istorie Comparată a Societăților Antice, Facultatea de Istorie, Universitatea din București
CIL – *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, I–XVII, Berlin
CN – Cercetări Numismatice. Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București
CNM, V.1 – *Corpus Nummorum Moldaviae*, vol. V.1, Chișinău
CRAI – Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres. Comptes rendus des séances de l'année ...
Crisia – Crisia. Muzeul Țării Crișurilor, Oradea

- Dacia – Dacia / Dacia Nouvelle Série. Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne. Académie Roumaine. Institut d'archéologie « V. Pârvan », Bucarest
- Danubius – Danubius. Revista Muzeului de Istorie Galați
- DHA – Dialogues d'histoire ancienne, Institut des Sciences et Techniques de l'Antiquité
- Documenta Praehistorica – Documenta Praehistorica, University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts, Department of Archaeology, Ljubljana
- EphemDac – Ephemeris Dacoromana, Roma
- EphemNap – Ephemeris Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca
- ERSIR – *Enciclopedia reprezentanților scrisului istoric românesc*, I – V, V. Spinei, D. N. Rusu (coord.), Suceava, 2021
- FolArch – Folia Archaeologica. A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Évkönyve. Annales Musei Nationalis Hungarici, Budapest
- Fontes I – *Fontes Historiae Daco-Romanae – Izvoarele istoriei României*, I, București, 1964
- Fontes II – *Fontes Historiae Daco-Romanae – Izvoarele istoriei României*, II, București, 1970
- FSI – Forensic Science International
- Glasnik – Glasnik. Srpsko Arheološko Društvo (Journal of the Serbian Archaeological Society), Belgrad
- Hierasus – Hierasus. Muzeul Județean Buzău
- HOMO – HOMO. Journal of Comparative Human Biology, Stuttgart
- Ialomița – Ialomița. Studii de cercetări de arheologie, istorie, etnografie și muzeologie, Slobozia
- IDRE – C. C. Petolescu, *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae. Inscriptiones externae – Inscriptions externes concernant l'histoire de la Dacie*, I-II, București, 1996-2000
- IGB – G. Mihailov, *Inscriptiones graecae in Bulgaria repertae*, vol. I-V, Sofia, 1956-1970
- IGLR – E. Popescu, *Inscripțiile grecești și latine din secolele IV–XIII descoperite în România*, București, 1976
- IGRR – *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas pertinentes*, publiées par R. Cagnat, J. Toutain, G. Lafaye, Paris, 1906-1927
- IJP – International Journal of Paleopathology
- ISM – *Inscriptiones Daciae et Scythiae Minoris antiquae. Series altera: Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Graecae et Latinae – Inscriptiile din Sythia Minor*: I. *Inscriptiones Histriae et vicinia – Histria și împrejurimile* (Dionisie M. Pippidi), București, 1983; II. *Tomis et territorium – Tomis și teritoriul său* (Iorgu Stoian), București, 1987; III. *Callatis et territorium – Callatis et son territoire* (Alexandru Avram), București – Paris, 1999; IV. *Tropaeum – Durostorum – Axiopolis* (Emilian Popescu), București – Paris, 2015 ; V. *Capidava – Troesmis – Noviodunum* (Emilia Doruțiu-Boilă), București, 1980; VI.2. *Supplementa 2. Tomis et territorium – Tomis et son territoire* (Alexandru Avram, Maria Bărbulescu, Livia Buzoianu), București – Paris, 2018
- Istros – Istros. Muzeul Brăilei „Ferdinand I”, Brăila
- IzvestijaVarna – Izvestija na Narodnija Muzej (Izvestija na Varnenskoto Arheologičesko Družestvo), Varna
- JAHA – Journal of Ancient History and Archaeology, Cluj-Napoca
- JAS – Journal of Archaeological Science, Amsterdam
- JAT – Journal of Ancient Topography
- JFS – Journal of Forensic Studies
- JITE – Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics
- JHE – Journal of Human Evolution
- LRBC – *Late Roman Bronze Coinage A.D. 394-498*, Londra, 1965: I, *The Bronze Coinage of the House of Constantine A.D. 324–346* (P. V. Hill, J. P. C. Kent); II, *Bronze Roman Imperial Coinage of the Later Empire A.D. 346–498* (R. A. G. Carson, J. P. C. Kent).
- MarNero – Il Mar Nero. Annali di archeologia e storia, Roma
- MemAnt – Memoria Antiquitatis, Piatra Neamț
- Marmatia – Marmatia. Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Arheologie Maramureș, Baia Mare
- MCA – Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice, București
- MCSEE – Monedă și comerț în Sud-Estul Europei, Sibiu
- MEFRM – Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge, Rome
- MER – *Catalogue des monnaies de l'Empire romain*. II. J.-B. Giard, *De Tibère à Néron*, Paris, 1988 ; III. J.-B. Giard, *Du soulèvement de 68 après J.-C. à Nerva*, Paris-Strasbourg, 1998
- MFMÉ-SA – A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve – Studia Archaeologica, Szeged
- MIR – *Moneta Imperii Romani*. 14. B. Woytek, *Die Reichsprägung des Kaisers Traianus (98–117)*, I–II, Wien, 2010; 18. W. Szaivert, *Die Münzprägung der Kaiser Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus und Commodus (161–192)*, Wien, 1986.
- Mousaios – Mousaios. Buletinul Științific al Muzeului Județean Buzău
- MuzNaț – Muzeul Național, Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București
- Numizmatičar – Numizmatičar. Casopis za anticki i stari jugoslovenski novac, Belgrad

- Numizmatikai Közlöny – Numizmatikai Közlöny. A Magyar Numizmatikai Társulat, Akadémiai Klado, Budapest
- NZ – Numismatische Zeitschrift, Viena
- Oltenia – Oltenia. Studii și Comunicări, Craiova
- Paléorient – Paléorient: revue interdisciplinaire de préhistoire et de protohistoire du sud-ouest et de l'Asie centrale, Paris
- PBF – Prähistorische Bronze Funde, München – Stuttgart
- Peuce – Peuce. Studii și cercetări de istorie și arheologie, Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale „Gavrilă Simion”, Tulcea
- PME – H. Devijver, *Prosopographia militiarum equestrium quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum*, Leuven, I (A–I, 1976), II (I–V, 1977), III (1980; indici)
- Pontica – Pontica. Studii și materiale de istorie, arheologie și muzeografie, Muzeul de Istorie Națională și Arheologie, Constanța
- Przegląd Archaeologiczny – Przegląd Archaeologiczny, Institut Archeologii i Etnologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Wrocław
- PZ – Prähistorische Zeitschrift, Institut für Prähistorische Archäologie, Berlin
- RAASI – Revista de Arheologie, Antropologie și Studii Interdisciplinare, Institutul de Cercetări Bioarheologice și Etnoculturale, Republica Moldova
- RAN – Repertoriul Arheologic Național / National Archaeological Repository
- RCAN – Revista de Cercetări Arheologice și Numismatice, București
- RESEE – Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes. Academia Română. Institutul de Studii Sud-Est Europeene, București
- RevArh – Revista Arheologică, Chișinău
- RGZM – Barbara Pferdehirt, *Römische Militärdiplome und Entlassungsurkunden in der Sammlung des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums*, Mainz, I-II, 2004
- RI – Revista Istorică. Institutul de Istorie „Nicolae Iorga”, București
- RIC – *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, Londra: I², *From 31 BC to AD 69*, 1984 (C. H. V. Sutherland); II, *Vespasian to Hadrian*, 1926 (H. Mattingly, E.A. Sydenham); II.1, *From AD 69–96. Vespasian to Domitian*, 2007 (I. A. Carradice, T.V. Buttrey); II.3, *From AD 117–138. Hadrian*, 2019 (R.A. Abdy, P.F. Mittag); III, *Antoninus Pius to Commodus*, 1930; IV.1, *Pertinax to Geta*, 1968 (H. Mattingly, E.A. Sydenham); IV.2, *Macrinus to Pupienus*, 1938; IV.3, *Gordian III – Uranian Antoninus*, 1949 (H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, C. H. V. Sutherland); V.1, 1927 (reimprimat 1968; P. H. Webb); VII, *Constantine and Licinius A.D. 313–337*, 1966 (P.M. Bruun); VIII, *The Family of Constantine I A.D. 337–364*, 1981; X, *The Divided Empire and the Fall of the Western Parts A.D. 395–491*, 1994 (J.P.C. Kent)
- RMD – Margaret M. Roxan, *Roman Military Diplomas*, London: I. *Roman Military Diplomas 1954–1977*, 1978; II. *Roman Military Diplomas 1978–1984*, 1985; III. *Roman Military Diplomas 1985–1993*, 1994; Margaret M. Roxan, P. Holder, *Roman Military Diplomas IV*, 2003; P. Holder, *Roman Military Diplomas V*, 2006
- RMM-MIA – Revista Muzeelor și Monumentelor – Monumente Istorice și de Artă, București
- Romanoslavica – Romanoslavica. Asociația Slaviștilor din România, București
- RPC – *Roman Provincial Coinage*, Oxford (https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/search/map?volume_id=)
- RPC, VII.2 – *Roman Provincial Coinage. VII.2. From Gordian I to Gordian III (AD 238–244): all provinces except Asia*, Londra/Paris, 2022 (J. Mairat, M. Spoerri Butcher, cu contribuția M. Amandry, R. Bland, K. Butcher, J. Nurpetlian, U. Peter).
- RRH – Revue Roumaine d'Histoire, Bucarest
- SAA – Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica, Iași
- SCIA.AP – Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei. Seria Artă Plastică
- SCIV(A) – Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche (și Arheologie), București
- SCN – Studii și Cercetări de Numismatică, București
- SHA – *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, Teubner, Leipzig, 1965
- Simpozion Chișinău 2003 – *Simpozion de numismatică dedicat Centenarului Societății Numismatice Române (1903–2003)*, Chișinău, 26–28 noiembrie 2003, București, 2005.
- SMIM – Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie. Institutul de Istorie „Nicolae Iorga”, București
- SMMIM – Studii și Materiale de Muzeografie și Istorie Militară, București
- SNGCop 2 – *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish Royal National Museum*, Copenhaga, 1942–1969 (serie reeditată); II, *Thrace and Macedonia*, West Milford, 1982.
- SP – Studii de Preistorie, București
- StCl – Studii Clasice, București
- StratumPlus – Stratum Plus, Școala Superioară de Antropologie, Chișinău, St Petersburg, București
- Suceava – Suceava. Anuarul Muzeului Național al Bucovinei, Suceava
- SympThrac – Symposia Thracologica, București
- Syria – Syria. Archéologie, art et histoire. Institut Français du Proche-Orient
- TdE – Trabajos de Egiptología. Papers on Ancient Egypt, Universidad de La Laguna, Tenerife, Spania

Th-D – Thraco-Dacica, București

Tyragetia – Tyragetia. Anuarul Muzeului Național de Istorie a Moldovei, Chișinău

VAH – Varia Archaeologica Hungarica V. Redigit Csanád Bálint. Publicationes Instituti Archaeologici Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest

Valachica – Valachica. Studii și cercetări de istorie și istoria culturii, Complexul Muzeal Național „Curtea Domnească”, Târgoviște

ZPE – Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Bonn

ZRVI – Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta. The Institute for Byzantine Studies. Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrad