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SOMMAIRE – CONTENTS – INHALT

STUDIES

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND EPIGRAPHICAL NOTES

REVIEWS

RESEARCH PROJECTS

ABOUT THE USE OF THE SO-CALLED CLAY "BREADCAKES" IN THE MILIEU OF THE EARLY SLAV SETTLEMENTS (6TH–7TH CENTURIES)

Ioan Stanciu[1]

Abstract: *During the 6th–7th centuries, the so-called clay "breadcakes" invariably emerge only within settlements assigned to the Early Slavs, clustering on a vast area to the north and north-east of the Carpathians (south the Pripyat river, then in the upper Vistula basin), and, at considerable distance, in the Romanian Plain, by the lower Danube. Another significant cluster, with an intermediate areal distribution, is found in the upper Tisza basin. During the same period, however to a much reduced extent, they are recorded within settlements located to the east of the Carpathians, from Dniester river westwards. Their shape resembles that of today's dough bread, however such comparison does not necessarily justify their semblance of actual bread copies. Regarding the very similar prehistoric clay items, they were supposedly used for heating or boiling liquids (preheated "breadcakes" might have been put inside pottery or other material-made vessels). The items from the 6ht–7th centuries might have been used similarly, yet, still, the house ovens of the time provided sufficient opportunities for heating or boiling liquids. Though not often, one of the clay "breadcakes" side (the visible side) bore signs incised in the raw paste, usually in the shape of a cross. These clay "breadcakes" have perfect analogies in the south-Danubian Thraco-Dacian environment and, in a period much closer to our times, in the specimens from the site at Dinogetia-Garvăn, by the lower Danube (their dating to the 11th–12th centuries is however, disputable). Close precedents of the 6th–7th centuries clay "breadcakes" seem to be those known, during the late stage of the Cerneahov culture, by its northern periphery, including specimens exhibiting the crosslike sign (in these cases, not many, the initial dating should be reviewed). Clay "breadcakes" were lengthily and recurrently explained as simulacra of the actual bread, and as such, certain magic-religious practices were referenced. To that effect, many scholars maintain that the clay "breadcakes" displaying the cross-shaped or other signs are consistent with the symbols rendered on kolaches (they are deemed pagan symbols, perpetuated under the Christianity cover) frequently used until these days in the traditional settings of the south-Danubian and eastern Slavs or with the Romanians. This might be the main reason to support the comparison between at least some of these clay "breadcakes" and the actual bread, made of dough. Thus, the regional distribution of the settlements where this clay object was identified evidences for the 6th century and first half of the 7th century certain significant cluster areas of the early Slav inhabitancy and most likely, certain directions of the Slavs' migration of the time*[2].

Keywords: *clay "breadcakes" (6th–7th centuries), oven in the pit houses, magic-religious practices (?), early slavs – migration, Upper Tisza region.*

Within the settlements dated mainly to the 6th and first half of the 7th century, spread across a wide territory in Central-Eastern and Eastern Europe, up to the lower Danube,

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[2] A version in Romanian of this paper was delivered in 2011 to the editors of *Marmaţia* journal (The County Museum of History and Archaeology of Baia Mare).

commonly believed to have already been colonised by the Slavs at that time, the so-called clay "breadcakes" appear in relation with house ovens[3]. We are dealing with an apparently less significant inventory category that has only recently become the obvious focus of analyses, emphasizing the possible interpretation of the "breadcakes" as the expression of magic-religious practices, but also as a probable indication of the territory of origin and the directions of the Early Slavs' migrations[4].

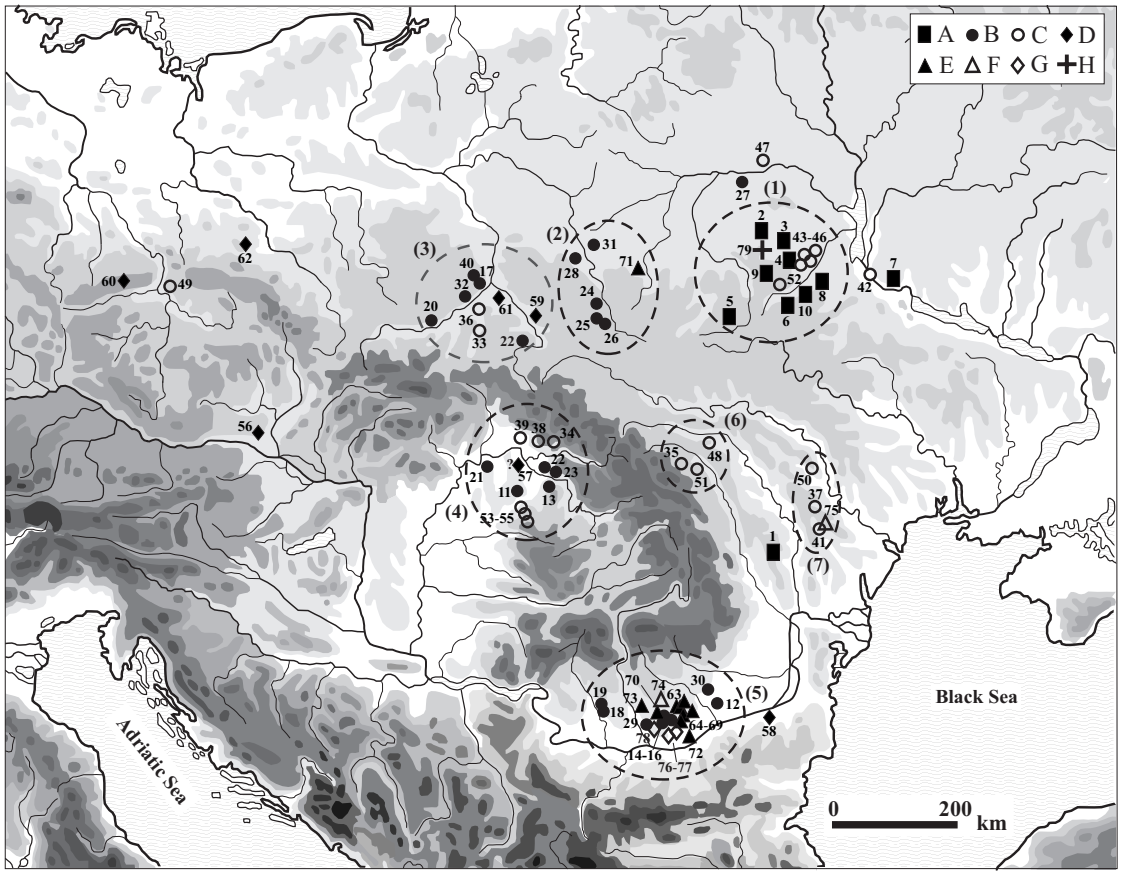

Fig. 1. Clay "rolls" and "breadcakes": their distribution of discovery locations. A – Clay "breadcakes" (type III) at the Northern periphery (with the exception of Bârlad-Valea Seacă) of the Chernyakhov culture (3rd century – early 5th century). B – Clay "breadcakes" (type III) in relation to ovens carved in a clay block or simple clay ovens (the second half of the 5th century – the first half of the 7th century). C – Clay "breadcakes" (type III) in relation to stone ovens stone-encircled hearth (6th century – the first half of the 7th century). D – Clay "breadcakes" (type III) alongside ovens of an unsure type or belonging to different features (6th century – first half of the 7th century). E – Clay "rolls" (types I and II) in relation to ovens carved in a clay block (6th century – first half of the 7th century). It is likely that at least in some of the cases, clay "breadcakes" are present, but have remained unnoticed. F – Clay "rolls" (types I and II) in relation to stone ovens (6th century – the first half of the 7th century). G – Clay "rolls" (type I) in relation to kilns for firing pottery (6th century). H – Clay "breadcakes" (type III) in incineration graves (?) (the 6th–7th centuries or the 8th–9th centuries). The correspondence between the numbers and locations is indicated in Appendix 1.

[3] The direct relationship between these fired clay objects and heating apparatus is underlined by their scarcity in house fillings and the entirely isolated presence in the culture layer. Their emergence within a cremation grave at Suemcy (Ukraine, south the lower Pripyat river), dated with uncertainty (the 6th–7th centuries or 8th–9th centuries) (see RUSANOVA 1973, 27, 41; PARCZEWSKI 1993, 84 n. 1) is still curious. Nevertheless, such clay objects are not recorded in other cremation graves in the area said to have been colonised by the Early Slavs (the largest cemetery of the kind, at Sărata Monteoru in Muntenia, is the most indicative example to this effect).

[4] STANCIU 1998; BIALEKOVÁ 1999; STANCIU 2001.

The latest ongoing research should have revealed that find spots are more numerous relative to those recorded in Appendix[5] and Fig. 1, however, already known find spots seem to cluster in a few regions of the said area: (1) south the lower Pripyat river, in the Ukrainian region Zhitomir (the focal point of the distribution seems to be the Teterev river basin); (2) additionaly, in Ukraine, westwards, in the western part of Volhynia, primarily in the upper basin of western Bug river; (3) in south-east Poland, on upper Vistula and San rivers; (4) in upper Tisza river region, to the north (Zakarpattia region in north-western Ukraine) and south (there, with the focal point in the lower Someş river basin) the upper river segment; (5) the central part of the Romanian Plain, on the lower Danube. They (both items and sites) are markedly less present on upper Prut and Siret rivers (6) and between the mid segments of Dniester and Prut rivers (7). Morever, it is noteworthy that westwards, the emergence of the clay "breadcakes" is entirely isolated, cluster areas non-exceeding upper Vistula to the north of the Carpathians and Bodrog river, to the south of these mountains (Fig. 1).

Their shape alludes to that of circular "breadcakes", which is where the name adopted in the archaeological jargon originated from[6]. Obviously, the shape similarity does not necessarily mean that they intended to make clay versions of the real bread (dough bread). Sometimes, clay "breadcakes" are mistakenly associated with "clay rolls"[7], significantly larger items of different shapes, also discovered in relation to interior ovens, however whose function must have been different[8]. Regarding the material coming from upper Tisza river, in general, shape and size differentiations between all these clay objects require their division into two primary types or groups, namely clay "rolls" (type I) and the so-called "breadcakes" (type III), the latter almost without exception having the appearance of buns (Fig. 2)[9]. Clay items, though isolated, of sizes similar to

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[5] More recent find lists: STANCIU 1998, 236–238; BIALEKOVÁ 1999, 57–62; STANCIU 2001, 136–138. This record adds to the list published by Darina Bialeková finds from mainly upper Tisza area and the Romanian Plain.

[6] For the terms used in the specialty literature: *hlebetz* (Czech, Slovak); *hlebki* (Polish); *hlibki* (Ukrainian); *hlebtzy* (Russian); *krăgče* (Bulgarian); *tönerne "Brote"/Ton"brötchen"* (German); *"pâinişoare" de lut* (Romanian) (BIALEKOVÁ 1999, 43).

[7] *Val'ky*, *konusy* in Russian bibliography (BIALEKOVÁ 1999, 43–44), *vălătuci* in that Romanian (for instance, DOLINESCU-FERCHE 1974, 65, 71, 73). The term was translated from Romanian into French by *rouleaux d'argile* (for instance, DOLINESCU-FERCHE 1984, 130, 138 Fig. 13) and into German by *Tonklumpen* (STANCIU 1998, 215, 217). In agreement with the large shape variability of these fired clay objects (in fact, this is not precisely the case) and their priority role in the construction of clay ovens, Darina Bialeková proposes the appoximate term of *brikety* (Slovak)/*Brikette* (German), a loan translation of the French *briquette* (BIALEKOVÁ 1999).

[8] A clear distinction between clay "breadcakes" and "clay rolls": STANCIU 1998; BIALEKOVÁ 1999. Various explanations, occasionaly disputable, were given in relation to the purpose of the "clay rolls": placed onto the oven or even inside, they built up and radiated heat (for instance, CONSTANTINIU/PANAIT 1963, 84; DOLINESCU-FERCHE 1974, 94; STANCIU 1998, 223; BIALEKOVÁ 1999, 46); glued together with clay, they were used in the construction of the oven dome (BARAN 1963, 355; BARAN 1972, 206–226; RAPPOPORT 1972, 230; COMŞA 1975, 336; RUSANOVA 1976, 47; GAVRITUHIN 1993, 103–104); sometimes "clay roll" fragments, mixed with clay, were used to repair the damaged oven dome (DOLINESCU-FERCHE 1974, 94); they might have reinforced the inner structure of the ovens carved in a native clay block (DOLINESCU-FERCHE 1986a, 132; DOLINESCU-FERCHE 1995, 165, 166 Fig. 2); they were placed vertically among the vessels put inside the oven for firing (ROSETTI 1934, 212; DOLINESCU-FERCHE 1969, 120, 123 Fig. 7); supposedly, clay rolls might have provided support for the cooking pots placed inside the oven or for meat pieces put to grill (DOLINESCU-FERCHE 1974, 94); might have also served a decoration function, placed in a certain manner above the oven (DOLINESCU-FERCHE 1995, 163, 170–172, 173 Fig. 9); one may assume that occasionally, the clay addition (chamotte) in the fabric of certain vessels comes from crushed clay rolls. Hence, actual circumstances show that clay rolls fulfilled various functions, the most important being very likely, that to build up and radiate heat inside the house (heat regulator role). With no further details, one may believe they supplied stone in regions where such material was lacking (which is applicable in north-west Romania, at least).

[9] A first classification attempt of the material in north-west Romania, now simplified: STANCIU 1998, 218 Fig. 1; STANCIU 2001, 125 Fig. 1. Less clay rolls and more "breadcakes" in the systemisation of the known items

clay "breadcakes" (7–14 cm long), however in different shapes, which ultimately at least sometimes may be explained as image variability of dough bread clay versions, could be included in type II. Within type III ("breadcakes"), variant III. 1 is categorically dominant (Fig. 2).

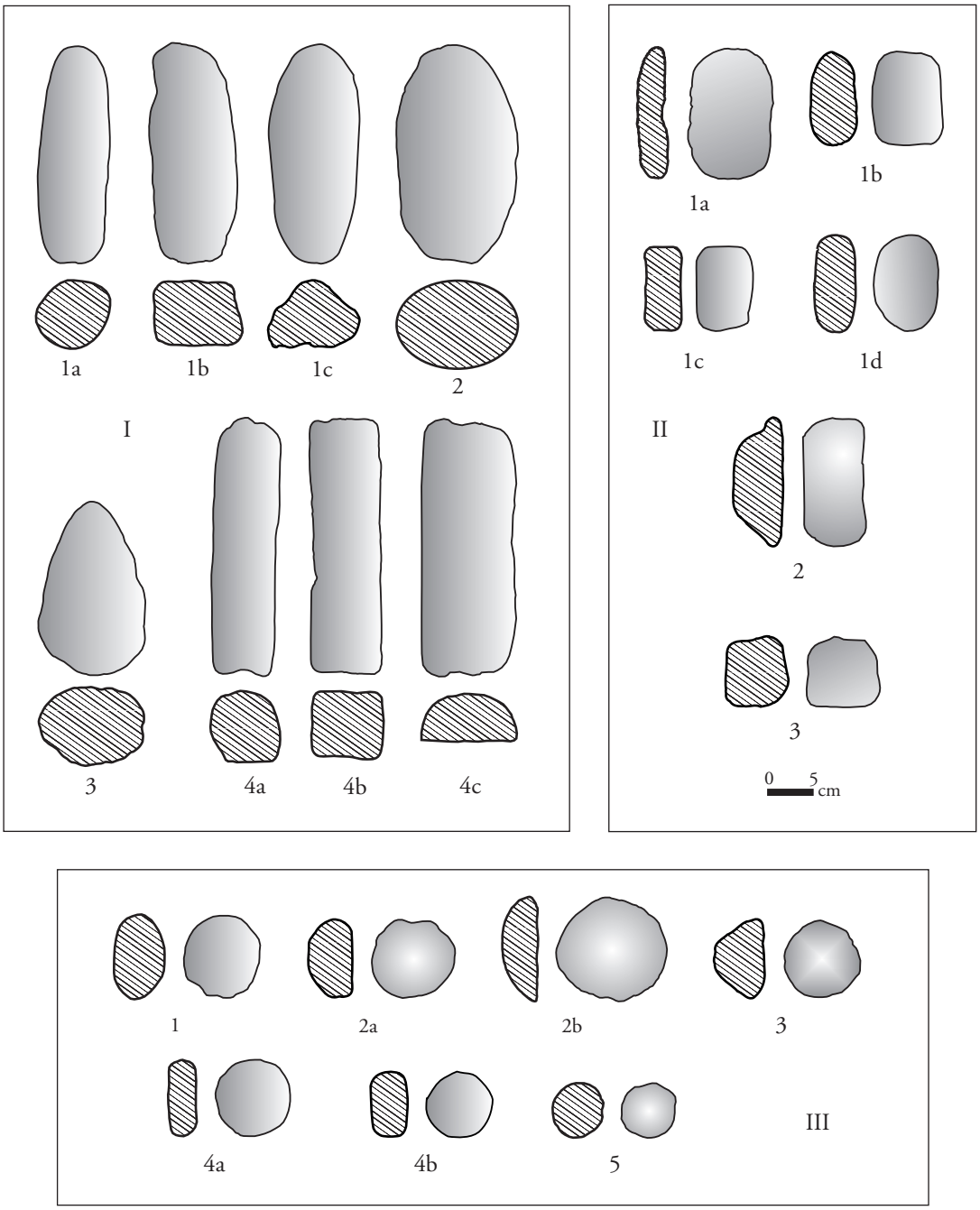

Fig. 2. Clay items which appear in connection to ovens (North-Western region of Romania): I – clay "rolls", II (?), III – clay "breadcakes".

coming from the settlements in the north-Carpathian segment of Vistula river, of types and variants identical to those in north-west Romania (PODGÓRSKA-CZOPEK 2006, 104 Fig. 13, 105).

One of the already made remarks was that unlike clay "rolls", which at least in north-west Romania appear only in relation with clay ovens (rarely in relation with ovens carved in a native clay block later remade in stone, the case of some features in the settlements on Zalău valley), clay "breadcakes" associate with both clay and stone ovens. These objects might have served from the very beginning a distinct function as they were discovered almost without exception in connection with fire installations inside the houses, in the majority of the cases above the clay block (ovens carved in a native clay block) or the stone oven (Fig. 3–4).

Within the same territory, by contrast to clay rolls, "breadcakes" usually have finer fabric and appearance (whether well sorted native clay, with no mixture, or occasionally in mixture with fine sand, rarely with even small pebbles) however, in the "breadcakes" case, the better controlled firing, hence the higher resistence of the fired fabric and last but not least, the more carefull modelling were definitely important as well[10]. This puts further emphasis on the different purposes of the two object categories, in what the intent of those making them is concerned. The diameter of most of the "breadcakes" is very similar, between 7–9 cm, with only a very few exceeding (up to 11.8 cm) or below (5–6.9 cm) these values. Very small, flat specimens with a diameter below 5 cm and the appearance of "roundels" are rare. In connection with the numerical presence of various variants in the overall material, at least in the settlement at Lazuri–"Lubi tag" (north-west Romania, Satu Mare county), variant III.1 "breadcakes" is noteworthy predominant. The same settlement seems to illustrate the choice of certain families for other variants. Thus, variant III.2a is best recorded in houses 1 and 14; house 20 within the same settlement is noticeable by four specimens of variant III.4a; houses 1a, 11 and 17 call attention to items in variant III.4b, while most specimens of variant III.5 emerge in house 26. In addition, type II.1c items are known only in house 1. Most likely, most of the "breadcakes" exhibiting signs (occasionaly, the same) associate, not by accident, in certain houses: 5 specimens in house 11 at Lazuri; there still, three items bearing cross-shaped signs appear in house 19 as well; two specimens in each of houses 11 and 28 in the settlement at Zalău–"Bul. M. Viteazul" (north-west Romania, Sălaj county).

Alongside clay "rolls", "breadcakes" were found on the oven or fallen on the floor at its base, within the oven and rarely in other parts of the house. In houses 11 from Lazuri–"Lubi tag" and 25 from Zalău–"Bul. M. Viteazul" (north-west Romania), it is almost certain that some were found *in situ*, in the first case set on the clay block behind the opening from the upper part of the oven (Fig. 3), and in the second case, four complete specimens were located in the same position, in the north-western corner of the stone oven, and another two in the north-eastern corner (Fig. 4). Infrequently, complete or fragmentary items together with smaller pieces of clay "rolls" reinforced that layer of earth found under rebuilt hearths (Lazuri, houses 18, 19, 21; Zalău–"Bul. M. Viteazul", house 25), but other data on their practical functions in relation to the oven[11] or of a different nature are unknown (neither is their shape suitable for such uses). Due to their small size and circular shape, they are not recommended building materials for clay ovens. Moreover, for size considerations, their use as room air heaters (subsequent pre-heating) is less likely, too.

[10] In general, same remarks were made regarding the clay out of which these items (clay rolls and "breadcakes") were modelled in the case of other settlements, i.e. paste with no additions (ZAKOŚCIELNA/GURBA 1993, 20), clay mixed with crushed glass pieces, small pebbles or sand (PODGÓRSKA-CZOPEK 1991, 34). Within the settlements by the lower Danube, the clay seems identical with that of the vessels, namely mixed with sand, small pebbles or crushed potshards (DOLINESCU-FERCHE 1974, 93; CONSTANTINIU/PANAIT 1963, 84).

[11] According to Suzana Dolinescu-Ferche, clay "breadcakes" may be explained in relation to the oven construction, however justification is missing, except for the circumstances in house 17 at Dulceanca IV, where spherical "breadcakes" were purposefully arranged on the oven hearth in two overlapping layers (DOLINESCU-FERCHE 1995, 172–173, 173 Fig. 9).

Fig. 3. The oven of dweling no. 11 of the settlement from Lazuri–"Lubi Tag", with the position of the clay "breadcakes"

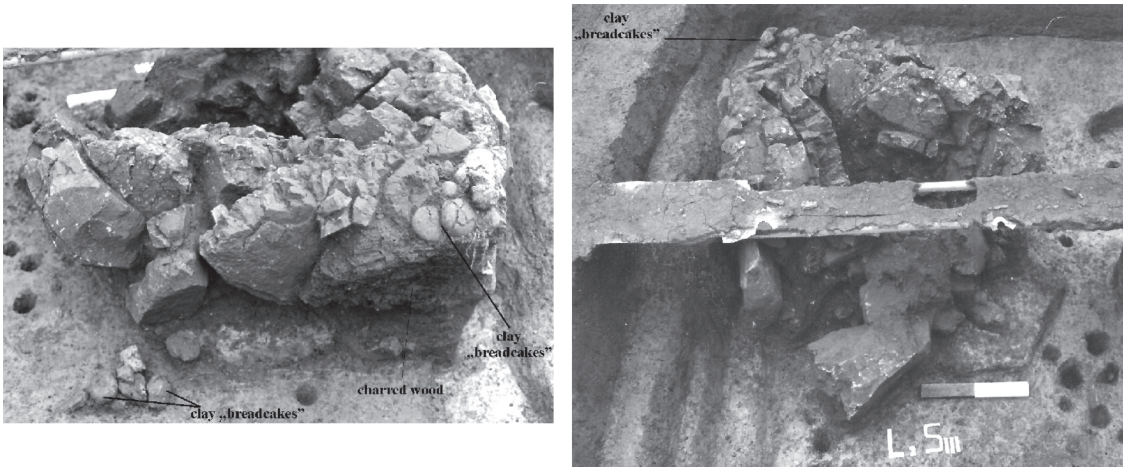

Fig. 4. The oven of dweling no. 25 from the settlement from Zalău–"Bul. M. Viteazul 104–106", with the position of the clay "breadcakes".

It is often presumed that clay "breadcakes" or similar stone items discovered sometimes in prehistoric settlements were used during the process of food preparation, including for heating or boiling liquids (introduced in clay vessels or recipients made of other materials); ethnographic analogies seem to confirm such use[12]. The explanation is entirely plausible; however, there are no traces on the clay items that could eventually be interpreted in terms of this use[13]. Moreover, the interior ovens of the 6th–7th centuries provided all facilities for preparing food, regardless of the manner, above the oven on the coals inside or even in vessels placed on the floor, just near the front part (the latter in case

[12] DIETRICH 2010, 33, 37 (Appendix 2), 40 Pl. 2 (with bibliographical references). For the lack of perforations or notches allowing for their handling with the aid of a stick, for instance (taken directly from the live coal or pre-heated, from the oven), they might have been moved by using cloth or leather pieces.

[13] For instance, if meat was grilled on a regular basis on these pre-heated clay "breadcakes", one should assume that this would have led to the formation of an organic crust (as sometimes appearing on inner or even outer pot surfaces). Similarly, if inserted into recipients for meat boiling, especially.

slow cooking was intended). Prehistoric clay "breadcakes" do not present marks pointing to direct contact with fire[14], while secondary firing marks may only rarely be noticed on those from the 6th–7th centuries also.

The usually finer fabric, the more careful moulding and mostly the signs on their visible side might account for the role of "oven adornments" arranged on the clay block (ovens carved in a native clay block) or even on the stone oven, perhaps bearing the meaning of symbols of the particular family. Primarily those that display signs on their visible side could be among the few indicators of elements of spiritual life, beliefs and magic-religious practices. Still, specimens exhibiting such signs are few, in the settlement at Lazuri–"Lubi tag" with only 17 items out of 180, which is slightly over 9 percent.

The assessment of the quantitative presence (number of specimens) of clay rolls and "breadcakes" in each of the houses in the settlement at Lazuri–"Lubi tag" yielded relative results only. On one hand, though both object categories appear in connection with ovens and not with the filling of the features, the number of the items originally in use is uncertain, while on the other hand, the preservation state of the clay rolls is always poorer (most often only fragments were identified). Thus, one may note that in the overall material, "breadcakes" seem to be numerically represented at least on a par with clay rolls, which would rather suggest they served whatever practical use (Fig. 5)[15]. In different features, the estimate number of "breadcakes" varies between 1–28 specimens. Nonetheless, there are also other settlements similar to that at Lazuri (north-west Romania), like for instance those at Dulceanca in the Romanian Plain, Gropşani in south Oltenia or the upper Vistula river region (Grodzisko Dolne), where "breadcakes" are not at all missing from the houses' inventories.

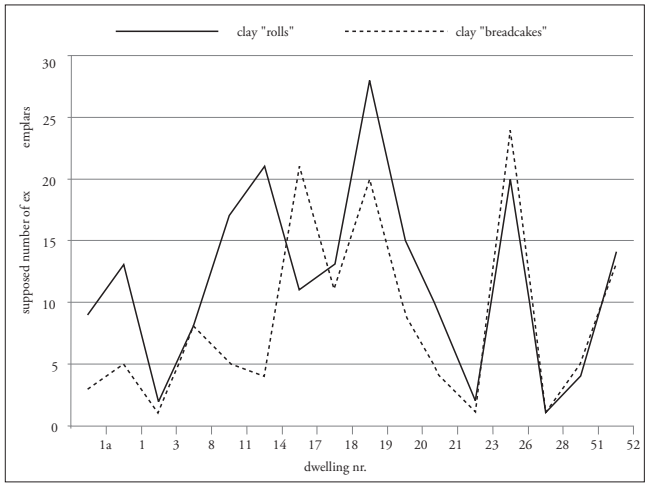

Fig. 5. The quantitative distribution of the clay "rolls" and clay "breadcakes" in the settlement from Lazuri–"Lubi tag".

Certain authors deemed them "toy-breads"[16], at other times the possibility they may be otherwise understood, however still within the context of ludic-ritualistic manifestations, has not been dismissed[17]. Still, they have a stereotypical, unattractive shape, are much too numerous and even within same houses, their relation to the fire installation is enabled (at least for the perspective of a current judgement, why would have the toys been kept on the oven?), and the abstract signs they sometimes display do not make any sense in the case of toys. A possible comparison is even that to the various clay representations (animals, anthropomorphic, others), from prehistory or the Early Middle Ages, which cannot be toys (or at least not always), being unearthed in graves, ritual pits, including some dug under the oven or in other

[14] DIETRICH 2010, 33.

[15] Of the total estimate of 338 specimens, type I (clay rolls) represents 42%, "breadcakes" (type III) 54%, and type II, 4%.

[16] MONGAIT 1955, 128; CHIŞVASI-COMŞA 1958; BARNEA 1967; TEODOR 1984, 35; TEODOR 2011, 46–47 (such interpretation should be excluded in this case however, it is believed they were more likely used in magic-religious practices).

[17] STAMATI 2000, 372–374.

parts of the house[18]. Irregularly, clay "breadcakes" associate inside the same house with either anthropomorphic or zoomorphic figurines[19].

The possibility that the breads (flat breads, kolaches) made of dough were transposed in clay is supported by an argument difficult to reject. Besides the overall resemblance of the shape, there are repeated situations when the marks appearing on both materials are identical[20] (Fig. 6–7). The understanding of "breadcakes" as symbolic objects (objectified tools of certain beliefs and magic-religious practices) is grounded in the observation, formulated on several occasions, in relation with the various communities and periods, about the acknowledged connection between the dough from which bread is prepared on one hand, and the clay from which vessels or other objects are kneaded on the other, ultimately, the two materials, when appropriated to the human body, being definable as seats of the spirit[21]. The tie between these "breadcakes" and the fire installation ought to be reminded, the oven being entrusted with a key position in the old customs pagan faiths, the entire corner of the house where it was situated being invested with sacred meaning[22]. Lastly, the majority of those interested in these apparently small and insignificant objects have alluded to the possible symbolical meanings: mantic actions, magic-religious practices in direct relation to the symbolism of the bread itself, domestic or funerary rituals[23].

The most interesting items are those that bear various marks, often applied by incisions in the raw paste, yet again a significant fact, repeated on more exemplars, often originating from different archaeological sites (Fig. 6–10). A first group of items comprises those bearing incised a crosslike sign or – from a different view (they are circular in shape) – in the shape of letter "X" (ultimately, it may be understood as *crux decussata* too) (Fig. 6). Nevertheless, such incisions recurrent on some pottery vessels' walls account for the intent to render a "classical cross". Closest precedents of the clay "breadcakes" from the second half of the 6th century and the first half of the following century displaying this sign are found in the Chernyakhov culture environment (Fig. 6/9, 10), however much earlier specimens dated to the second half of the 1st millennium BC are also known in the south-Danubian Thracian setting (Fig. 6/18, 18–23). Amongst, (those known to us) two specimens were found in a grave at Kabyle-Iambol (Bulgaria), forming beside other items, as presumed, a so-called "magical kit" (Fig. 6/22, 23)[24].

Five "breadcakes" exhibiting the sign were identified in the settlement at Lazuri. Still there, another two may bear similar incisions, however they are uncertain since the specimens are fragmentary (Fig. 6/1–7). One specimen in the settlement at Dulceanca IV shows a finger-made or tool-imprinted cross, identical to that on a "breadcake" from Golod'ki (Chernyakhov culture), from which it differentiates only by the circular notches in the arms' junction area (Fig. 6/8, 9). Although insufficiently visible, on the specimen in house 20 at Lazuri shallow notches seem to have been attempted in-between the arms of the cross, similar to those on certain older items (Fig. 6/18) or on items dated to the 11th or 12th centuries (Fig. 4/11–13). Possibly, a similar cross would be that on the fragment in house 11 (Fig. 6/7). Simple crosses or crosses with circular

[18] SÂRBU 1993 (for the Thraco-Dacian setting); TENTIUC 1996–1997; TEODOR 1997, 305 (the early medieval period).

[19] The settlement at Lozna (Siret river upper basin), most recently dated to the end of the 7th C (TEODOR 2011, 32/house 35, 33/house 36 – with illustration references). If the fired clay figurines were only toys, one might wonder why were some of the children deprived of them since they were easily made, their modelling being rather rudimentary.

[20] STAMATI 2000, 368, 393 Fig. 15.

[21] For instance: GHINOIU 1992; STAMATI 2000, 368–369; MESNIL/POPOVA 2002a, 250.

[22] For instance: ŠALKOVSKÝ 2001, 93, 105–106; STAMATI 2000, 366–367; MESNIL/POPOVA 2002a.

[23] MONGAIT 1955, 128; VINOKUR 1969; VINOKUR 1972; RUSANOVA 1976, 50; GAVRITUHIN 1993, 103; ZAKOŚCIELNA/GURBA 1993, 14; STANCIU 1998; STAMATI 2000.

[24] See SÂRBU 1993, 140 No. 10, 175 Fig. 20.

or oval signs between the arms' space are precisely rendered on dough kolaches (Fig. 6/16, 17). Three of the items at Lazuri were found in the same house (No. 19), two come from house 11 and one each from houses 8 and 20. In the case of house 11, other three items exhibit various signs (Fig. 10/3, 4, 6). Such an areal distribution suggests that sign – bearing "breadcakes" clustered in certain houses, occasionally the preference for a certain "symbol" being obvious, like the cross on the three specimens in house 19 and the two items in house 11.

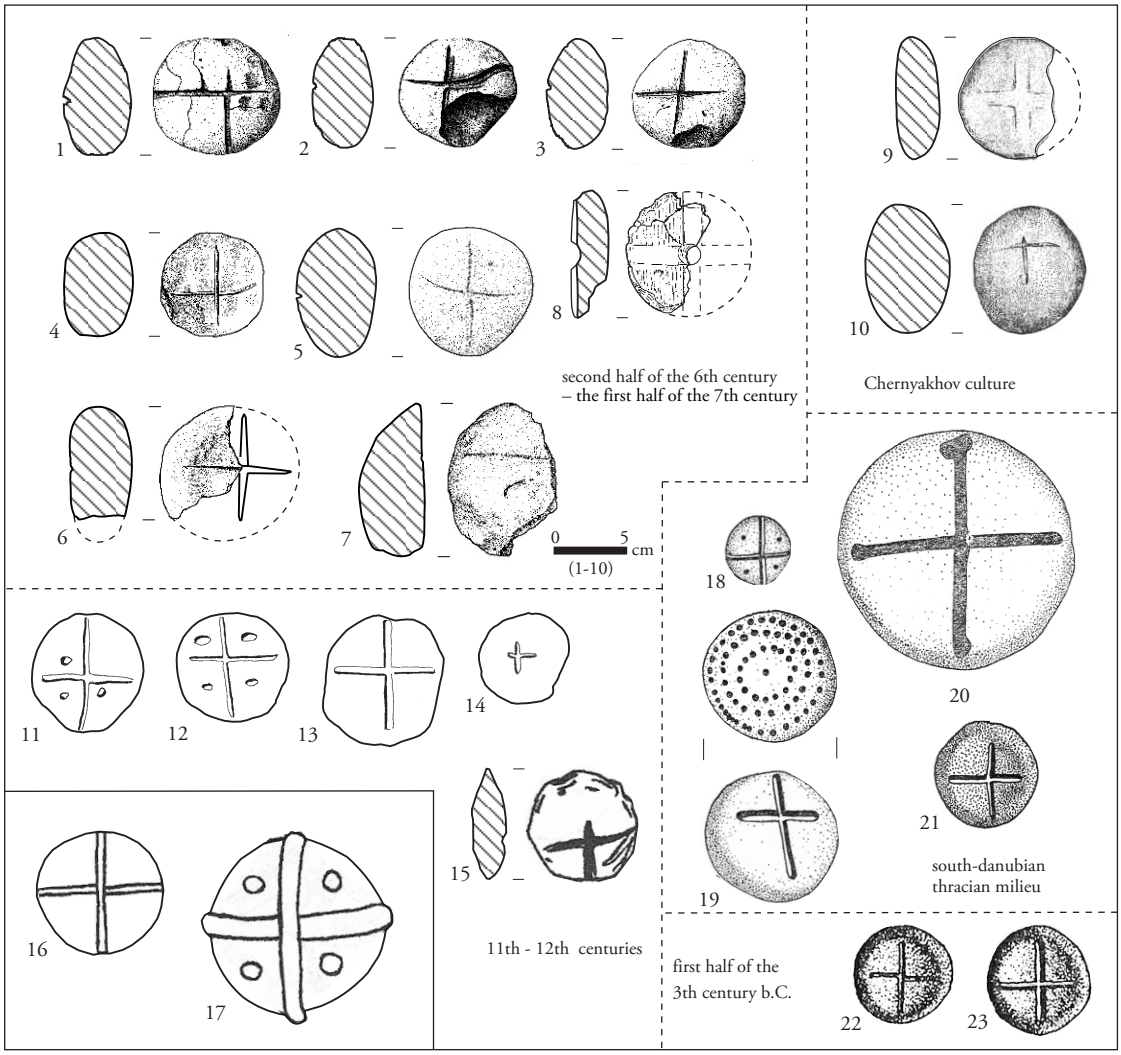

Fig. 6. Burnt clay "breadcakes" (1–15, 18–23) and dough breads (16, 17) with cruciform signs. 11–21 are not drawn to scale, but the proportions amongst the items have been preserved. Lazuri-Lubi tag: dwelling 19 (1–3); dwelling 8 (4); dwelling 20 (5); dwelling 11 (6, 7). Dulceanca IV (8, after DOLINESCU-FERCHE 1992). Golod'ki (9, after VINOKUR 1969). Korostyshev (10, after VINOKUR 1969). Dinogetia (Bisericuţa-Garvăn) (11–14, after BARNEA 1967). Hansca (15, after STAMATI 2000). Sevtopolis (18–21, after SÂRBU 1993). Kabyle-Iambol (22, 23, after SÂRBU 1993). 16–17, after STAMATI 2000.

Crosslike signs on pottery were most often interpreted, in reference to the period between mid 6th and mid 7th century, from the Christian view of the symbol[25]. Indeed, finds cluster in the extra-Carpathian Romanian area (partially, south-east and south Transylvania), with regions

[25] Most recently: TEODOR E./STANCIU 2009.

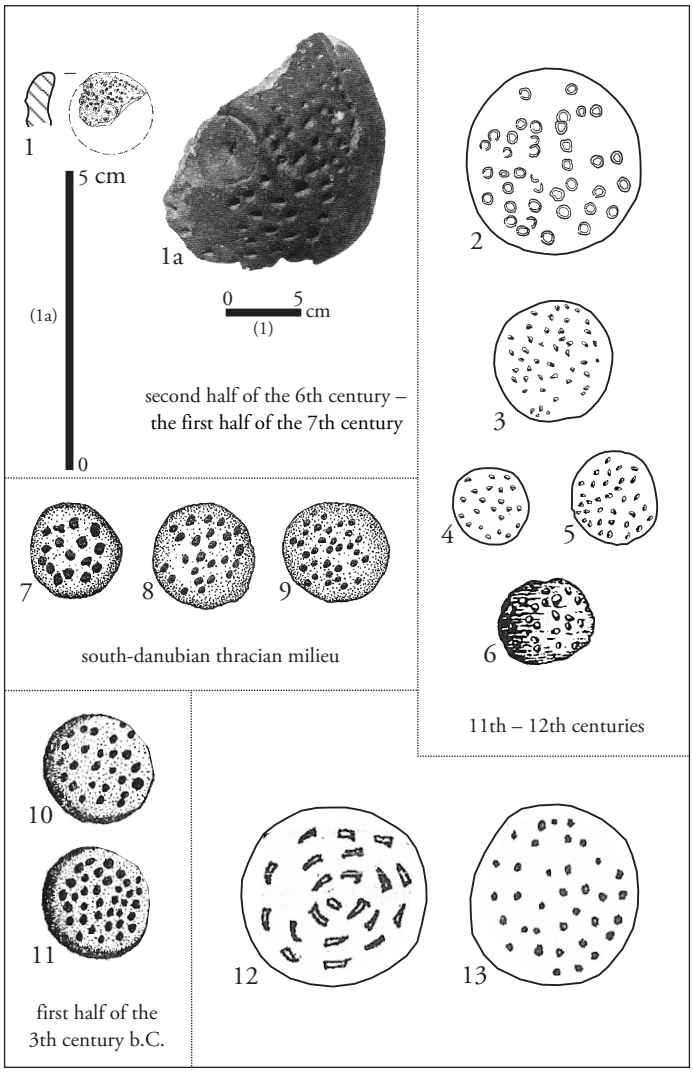

Fig. 7. Burnt clay "breadcakes" (1–11) and dough breads (12, 13) which exhibit alveoli, "nips" or double circles. 2–13 are not drawn to scale, but have been proportions amongst the items have been preserved. Roztoky (1, 1a, after KUNA/PROFANTOVÁ ET AL. 2005). Dinogetia (Bisericuța-Garvăn) (2–5, after ȘTEFAN 1967). Staraia Ryazan (6, after MONGAIT 1955). Sevtopolis (7–9, after SÂRBU 1993). Kabyle (10, 11, after SÂRBU 1993).

closer or even of contact with the Late, already Christian Roman world[26]. Still, even during this period, the sign appears in identical form in places located at great distance one from another[27]. In any case, the crosslike signs, either decorative or symbolic, have a history which is much previous to the Christianity[28], the already mentioned south-Danube examples (displayed on clay "breadcakes" as well) confirming the remark even in a closer region. Crosses exhibiting circular or oval signs in-between the arms, as shown on dough kolaches or the clay "breadcakes" from Dinogetia (Fig. 6/11, 12, 17), may be recorded starting with at least the second half of the 2nd millennium BC[29].

The group of "breadcakes" bearing alveoli, "pinches" or double circles is illustrated by a single specimen dated to the 6th–7th centuries (the settlement at Roztoky), however those broadly dated during the 11th–12th centuries are more numerous (Fig. 7/1–6). Once again, the similar clay items in the Thracian environment are worth mention here (Fig. 6/7–11), and overall, their resemblance with the signs on clay breads is striking (Fig. 7/12, 13).

Above incisions are completed by those in the shape of hatches delimiting a rhombic or rectangular field known only on 11th–13th centuries clay "breadcakes" (Dinogetia-Garvăn and Staraia Ryazan; Fig. 8/1–3), however the design may be identified at least on several ocassions on 6th–7th centuries hand-made pottery (Fig. 8/5–6). The design is so scarce that it may not be interpreted as a common pottery decoration, although in the case of a pot from Siladice-Bodoš I (Slovacia) it associates with decoration elements taken over from the slow wheel-thrown pottery[30].

[26] TEODORE/STANCIU 2009, 129, 146 Fig. 1.

[27] PARCZEWSKI 2001, 16 Fig. 1.

[28] For instance, WALLIS BUDGE 1968, 337–341.

[29] WALLIS BUDGE 1968, 338. The practical purpose of the crosslike incisions on the Roman bread, as occasionally depicted: it was easily broken into four pieces (with references, STAMATI 2000, 372, 394 Fig. 16).

[30] FUSEK 1994, 364 Pl. L/4.

A clay "breadcake" from Staraia Ryazan, with one of the sides entirely covered by hatches was deemed toy, a dough bread copy made in clay, notched for aesthetic reasons and easy breaking (if this were the case, then this interpretation underlines the intention to imitate proper bread) (Fig. 8/3)[31].

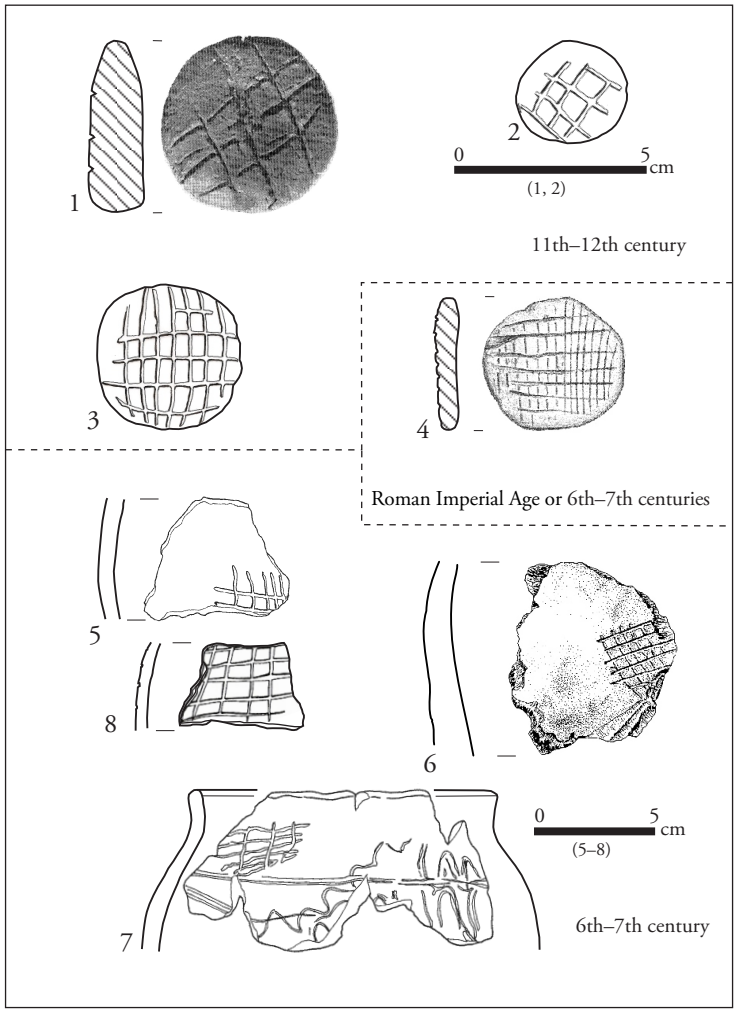

Fig. 8. Clay "breadcakes" displaying incised hachures (1–4) and analogies on hand-made pottery (5–7). 3, 4 not drawn to scale. Beregdaróc (4, after PINTYE 2010). Dinogetia (Bisericuța-Garvăn) (1, 2, after CHIȘVASI-COMȘA 1958 and BARNEA 1967). Staraia Ryazan (3, after MONGAIT 1955). Cucorani (5, after TEODOR 1978); Lazuri–"Lubi tag" (6, 8). Siladice-Bodoš I (7, after FUSEK 1994).

In exchange, "breadcakes" with circular notches, sometimes associated with central perforations (Fig. 9) are known only in settlements dated to the 6th and first half of the 7th century. The specimens with a central notch on one of the sides (two specimens from Korchak[32], one at Hanska, possibly with a later dating[33], another from house 28 in the settlement at Zalău–"Bul. M. Viteazul") are more numerous. Other three specimens in the same settlement at Zalău, suggesting human or animal masks, have each two circular notches (imitating eyes?), associated in two cases with a perforation the middle (a mouth?) (Fig. 9/5–7). Further more, exemplifying the preference for certain patterns, two similar items

[31] WORONIN 1959, 246.
[32] RUSANOVA 1973, 86 Pl. 34/4, 6.
[33] STAMATI 2000, 390 Fig. 11/2.

emerge in house 11 at Zalău–"Bul. M. Viteazul" (Fig. 9/5, 6), and other two are from house 28 in the same settlement (Fig. 9/3, 7).

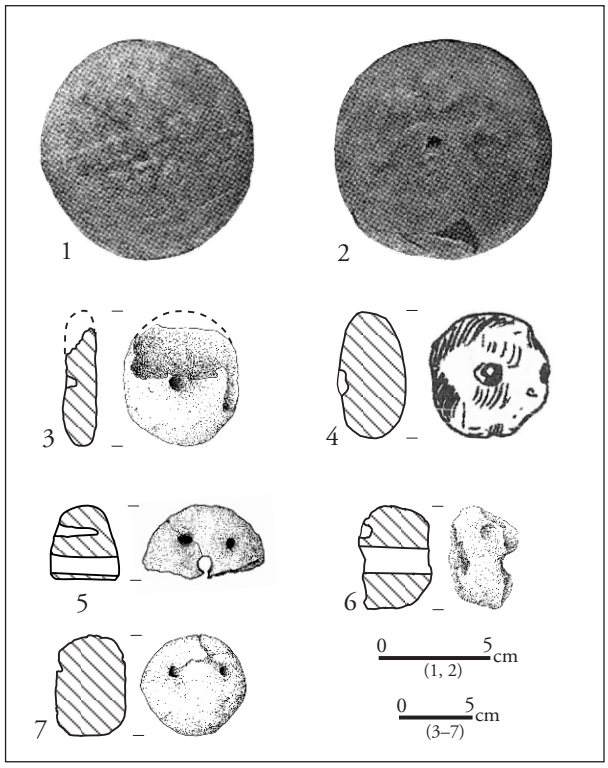

Fig. 9. Clay "breadcakes" displaying dents and circular perforations. Korchak (1, 2, after RUSANOVA 1973). Zalău–"Boul. M. Viteazul": dwelling 11 (5, 6); dwelling 28 (3, 7). Hansca (4, after STAMATI 2000).

Other signs appear on other complete or fragmentary "breadcakes" in the settlement at Lazuri: incisions similar to runes (Fig. 10/1); other similar to hooks (Fig. 10/2); short, angular lines, (Fig. 10/3); slightly curving or straight line dividing the suface of the item into two halves (Fig. 10/4, 5, 8); two divergent lines, slightly deepened, traced by finger or a tool (Fig. 10/6). Their significnce, unless the decorative effect was sometimes sought, is obscure.

If the dating is accurate (3rd–4th centuries), one of the earliest emergence of clay "breadcakes" during the 1st millennium AD is that from a large-sized building, interpreted as a sanctuary (3rd–4th centuries), from Lepesovka (Ukraine, the Khmel′nyts′kyi region), by the northern edge of the Chernyakhov culture, delimitated on the outside by a row of hearths onto which and surrounding which "breadcakes" were found[34]. The specimens recorded at Slobodishche, Korostyshev, Golod'ki, Markushe, Rodeanske, Jitintzy etc., in the Ukrainian region Zhitomir, often exhibiting crosslike signs similar to those on some of the items at Lazuri[35], are contemporary and come from the same cultural environment. A grave belonging to the Chernyakhov culture from Perejaslav Hmelnitzkyi (the region of the Middle Dnieper) contained such an item[36]. Another item comes from a pit house researched at Nesluhov (Ukraine, district of Lvov) and most likely provided with an oven carved in a native clay block, which was found beside hand-made pottery (deemed Early Slav) and wheel-made pottery also, the feature being broadly dated to the 4th century until early 5th century[37]. A fragment from such a clay "breadcake" is known in a house within the settlement at Zimne 4 (north-western Ukraine), the proposed dating being to the second half of the 5th – first half of the 6th century[38]. A feature from Suemcy (Zhitomir area) consisted of a vessel with calcified human bones, twelve "breadcakes" being placed around it (dated to the 6th–7th or 8th–9th centuries)[39]. "Breadcakes" have been encountered in relation to houses, but also "next to graves" at Teterevka I (also in the Zhitomir region). A crosslike sign was incised on some of them, similarly to the specimens at Lazuri (Fig. 6)[40]. Two "breadcakes", with a cross inscribed in a circle on one of the sides, together with domestic

[34] TIHANOVA 1963; VINOKUR 1972, 118.
[35] VINOKUR 1969, 54–55, 56 Fig. 4/1; VINOKUR 1972, 118–119.
[36] VINOKUR 1972, 118–119.
[37] CIGILIK 1996, 298 Fig. 4/10.
[38] GAVRITUHIN 1993, 106 Fig. 5/3.
[39] RUSANOVA 1973, 27, 41; PARCZEWSKI 1993, 84 n. 1.
[40] RUSANOVA 1973, 35–36 No. 9.

animal bones, potshards and amulets come from the early medieval hillock at Echimăuţi (the Republic of Moldova), being discovered in relation with a construction interpreted as a pagan place of worship[41]. The clay "breadcakes" from Staraia Ryazan, decorated with hatches and dots were dated to the 11th–13th centuries (Fig.: 7/6; 8/3)[42] (Appendix; Fig. 1).

Some authors agree with the view according to which the frequent presence of clay rolls and "breadcakes" during the 6th–7th centuries is obvious in the early Slav setllements comprising Prague or Korchak pottery from north-west Ukraine, respectively south Bielorussia, even in an early stage, namely the second half of the 5th–6th centuries, the oldest finds clustering in the upper Bug river region[43]. Since the dating of the horizon to the second half or last third of the 5th century is still debatable[44], this view seems to be insufficiently grounded. It is certain that in the 6th century and first half of the following century, the groups already marked in Fig. 1 may be identified, however recent data deem numbers (1) – (5) more consistent. Although we are dealing with older finds, respectively contexts, whose dating is worth checking, the ones in the Zhitomir region should be noted as possibly the oldest, namely from the late Roman imperial period (related to the late Chernyakhov culture). Even this feeble argument was exaggeratedly placed in the support of the idea on the supposed involvement of Chernyakhov culture in the structuring of the early Slav civilisation[45]. Additionally, other authors suggested there is a link between these finds and those of the early Slav period, supposing there were certain contacts between the early Slav environment and the late Chernyakhov culture with the east-European Barbaricum of the time[46].

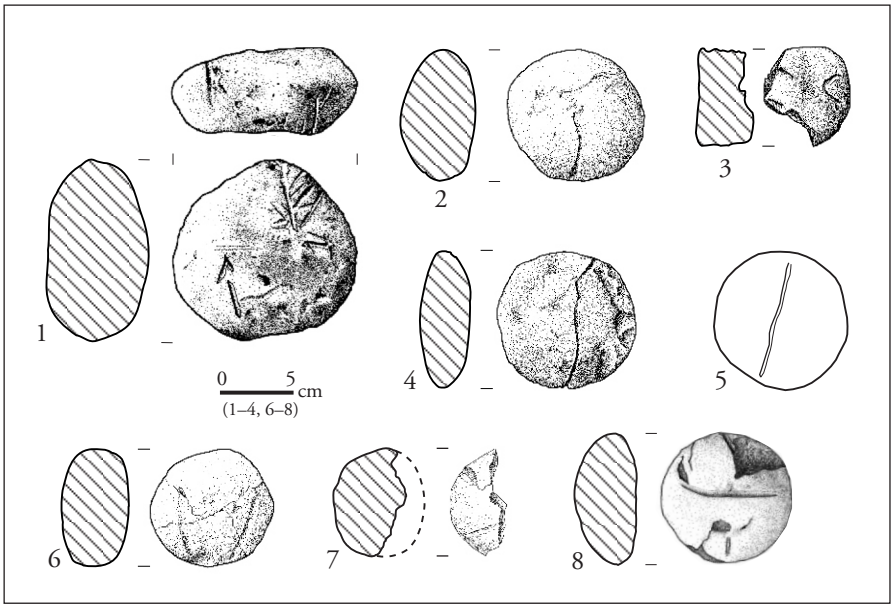

Fig. 10. Clay "breadcakes" displaying other incised marks. The second half of the 6th century – the first half of the 7th century (1–4, 6, 7). 9th–10th century (5). Lazuri–"Lubi tag": dwelling 1a (1); dwelling 3 (7); dwelling 11 (3, 4, 6); dwelling 14 (2). Dinogetia (Bisericuţa–Garvăn) (5, after BARNEA 1967).

41 See CHIŞVASI-COMŞA 1958, 425.

42 MONGAIT 1955, 128 Fig. 89.

43 PARCZEWSKI 1993, 84; BIALEKOVÁ 1999, 54, 66.

44 CURTA 2001, 236–246.

45 After BIALEKOVÁ 1999, 46 (with several bibliographical references).

46 BIALEKOVÁ 1999, 66. In the settlement at Beregdároc (north-eastern Hungary, close to Someş river flow area into Tisza river, hence in a region where the early Slav inhabitancy from the second half of the 6th century – first half of the 7th century is well documented) several clay "breadcakes" were dated to the Roman period (for instance, Fig. 8/4), however it is possible they belonged to a horizon subsequent the inhabitancy there (PINTYE 2010, 131 Fig. 31, 135 Fig. 35/5).

On the Romanian territory, precedents of clay "breadcakes" dated to the 6th–7th centuries are unknown. Associated to clay rolls and ovens carved in a native clay block, they become specific to the settlements in the central part of the Romanian Plain (by the lower Danube), dated to the 6th century (commonly in the second half) and, overall, in the first half of the 7th century[47]. East of the Carpathians, where stone ovens are the main fire installation type, clay "breadcakes", except for the settlement at Lozna, seem to have been found isolated and in few numbers (Appendix; Fig. 1). A group of settlements contemporary to those in the Romanian Plain or southern Oltenia, with houses, ovens carved in a native clay block and clay items similar to those under discussion, may be delimited in north-west Romania on the lower Someş (in the settlements on Valea Zalăului, only "breadcakes" are known in connection to stone ovens) and north-east Hungary (Fig. 1 and 11; Appendix).

Likewise the north-east Slav environment, a rather interesting reemergence of the "breadcakes" by the lower Danube is recorded in the early medieval settlement at Dinogeţia (Bisericuţa-Garvăn), where 16 specimens are known, the majority decorated (on one side), with crosses and alveoli placed in a more or less ordered manner. Though they were not identified in certain stratigraphic contexts, it was suggested they date from the 11th–12th centuries, being explained as bread-shaped toys (Fig.: 6/11–14; 7/2–5; 8/1, 2; 10/5)[48]. In north-west Romania, a later emergence of the "breadcakes" may be noted in the settlement at Turulung-Vii (one specimen), placed in the second half of the 7th century – first half of the 8th century[49]. Though few, "breadcakes" (whether fragmentary or even complete) and clay rolls fragments, items identical in shape to those found in other places in relation to the ovens inside the early Slav houses, were identified in houses or domestic facilities in the settlement at Aghireş–"Sub păşune" (Sălaj county, south-west the city of Zalău, close to the early Slav settlements in this city part), being assigned to the 7th–9th centuries, 10th–11th or 13th–14th centuries[50].

Clay-modelled objects, identical or similar to the 6th–7th centuries "breadcakes", are known in the eastern part of the Carpathian basin and the adjacent eastward and southward regions as early as prehistory[51], but also after the early Slav period[52], being most often explained as clay versions of proper breadcakes and related to certain beliefs and magic-religious practices. As already noted (though such finds are few and often accompanied by insufficiently clear information), clay "breadcakes" were found even in funerary contexts or in relation to facilities designed for the religious cult (the Chernyakhov culture setting and the early medieval period as well).

It is difficult to answer the inquiry into why only a small part of the "breadcakes" bears these signs, their more or less different role being presumable. At any rate, their purpose as potential objects involved in a belief system and magic-religious practices can be explained by the association with the actual bread as "simulacrums of sacrifices or sacrifices of simulacrums", but also as ritual oblation[53].

Medieval sources from the Slavic world repeatedly mention magical bread in a funerary context with reference to the old pagan practices (it is true though that rarely, as noted above, clay "breadcakes" were found even in earlier graves)[54]. In manifestation forms of the Slavic and

[47] DOLINESCU-FERCHE 1979, 222–223; DOLINESCU-FERCHE 1995.

[48] CHIŞVASI-COMŞA 1958; BARNEA 1967.

[49] STANCIU/BADER 2003, 147 Pl. II/2.

[50] BĂCUEŢ-CRIŞAN ET AL. 2009: 280 Pl. 180/1, 2; 289 Pl. 189/5; 291 Pl. 191/4; 317Pl. 217/2; 321 Pl. 221/3. All "breadcakes" belong to type III.1.

[51] SÂRBU 1993; STAMATI 2000, 363–364; MONAH 2002, 89–90, 95; DIETRICH 2010, 33 (with references).

[52] CHIŞVASI-COMŞA 1958; BARNEA 1967; STAMATI 2000, 365.

[53] VĂDUVA 1992.

[54] Dough products are offered to the dead (*navi*) returning home (BRÜCKNER 1923, 190–191). In 11th–12th centuries Russia, the belief that the ancestors dwell the houses, or in a series of domestic gods, whose residence

traditional Romanian civilisations still perceptible in contemporary times, there is an entire set of magic-religious practices in the context of which the bread or the kolache (a Slavic term in the Romanian language – "colac") have an important role. Most frequently, breads of small sizes, the classical shape being that of an infant, are baked when the religious holiday of "The forty martyrs" (of Sebaste) is observed. On some of the breads there are protuberances or dents, having an apotropaic function (guarding children from illnesses, especially chickenpox)[55], as can also be observed on the clay "breadcakes" on several occasions (alveoli, notches or concentric circles; Fig. 7). The comparison of the clay "breadcakes" which could imitate a human face (Fig. 9/5–7) with the dough breads made in occasion of the same celebration and intended for the deceased – "the known and unknown, forgotten or unforgotten, visible and invisible" – often in the shape of a human face with ears and a nose, but without eyes[56]. During the whole year there are other occasions, also related to the cult of the forefathers, when small breads are made from dough. There are kolaches for the living with the symbolism for the living community, but also kolaches for the dead, as important entities for the stable relationship with the supernatural forces or the ancestors[57].

It would be of importance if one confirmed possible real (ethnographic) existent situations that would record the use of clay "breadcakes" in ritual practices as proper bread replacement. One may assume that with the aid of the clay "breadcakes" deposited on the oven as a substitute of those from dough, the support of the divinity could be beseeched for the real, edible bread by means of a magical sympathetic action[58]. The "X" or a crosslike sign (incision or made by applied strips of dough) appear on some of the kolaches, explained in contemporary communities as a symbol of the Christian cross, but which in fact could have the meaning of the old symbol of multiplication[59]. We would think about those clay "breadcakes" on which this sign is displayed repeatedly from this perspective (Fig. 6). The oven itself must have been left with something in return for the baked bread, an offering in exchange for the benevolence of supernatural forces, probably an old god of fire[60].

Eventually, the purpose of these clay "breadcakes" remains obscure, even though various explanations, as seen above, have been already given on several ocassions. Likewise prehistoric items (similar configuration and size), pre-heated in the oven then inserted in clay vessels or recipients made of other material, they might have been used in heating or boiling liquids (certain varieties of brewages). The signs displayed on some of them (if we agree to their symbolic significance) do not exclude such domestic use. Possibily on certain occasions, when the profane mixed with magic– religious practices, food was associated with a spiritual context. The crosslike sign (present on items from different, great distanced time periods) seems to be represented more frequently on the current dough kolaches, assimilated under the significance of the Christian symbol, however the original (pagan) meaning seems to have been that of multiplication, of prosperity in general. Hence, they might have intended to associate the content of this symbol to food via the sign-bearing clay "breadcakes".

Finally, the explanation of the 6th–7th centuries clay "breadcakes" as objects which within the context of magic– religious practices became the substitute of real bread may not be fully supported. There is a shape similarity with that of the bread in general, however more significant

was the house, preferably the oven section was very much still alive (NIEDERLE 1926, 131). In the Romanian traditional civilisation setting, in connection to funerary customs, kolaches were baked for the departed souls, however non-integrated in the other world, for those departed and integrated, but also for souls returned in ocassion of certain celebrations (VĂDUVA 1996, 72). For the importance of these offerings: MESNIL/POPOVA 2002b.

55 MESNIL/POPOVA 1997, 301–303.

56 MESNIL/POPOVA 2002b, 114.

57 MESNIL/POPOVA 1997, 298–314 Fig. 1–10, 322–328.

58 STAMATI 2000, 369.

59 VĂDUVA 1996, 72.

60 VĂDUVA 1996, 65; STAMATI 2000, 367.

are the identical or very similar signs exhibited by both some of the clay "breadcakes" (including specimens in the so-called "magical kit" from the Thraco-Dacian environment) and the dough kolaches, the latter used as tools of magic– religious practices, mainly funerary, in the traditional Romanian and Slav settings. In the period subsequent the 7th century, clay "breadcakes" are recorded only sporadically, hence their emergence in the 11th–12th centuries precisely in the Byzantine fortress at Dinogetia-Garvăn (in Dobruja, on the lower Danube), displaying again signs identical to those on dough kolaches, is surprising.

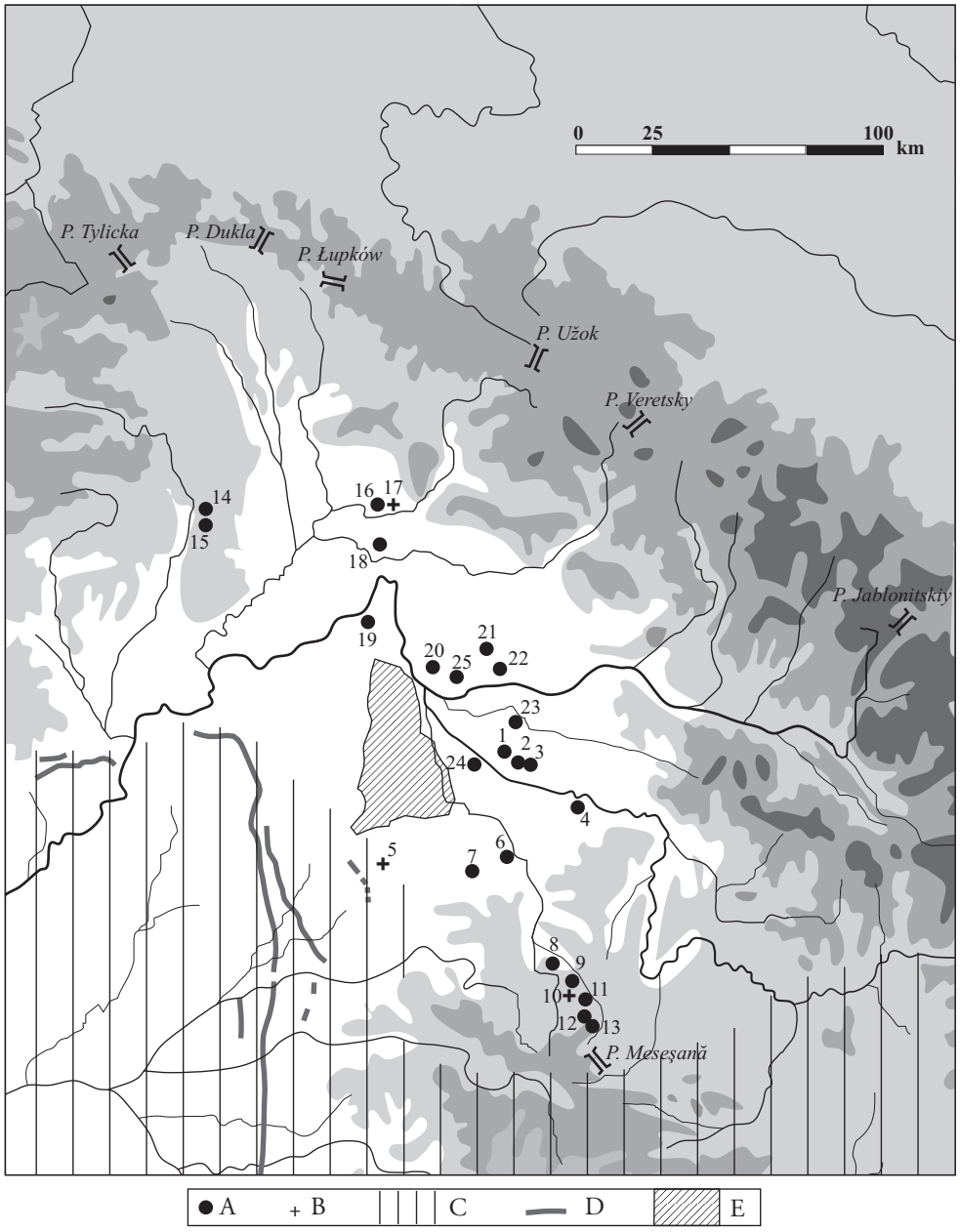

Fig. 11. Early Slavic Settlements (A) and funerary findings (B) (6th century – the first third of the 7th century) in the Superior Tisa Basin (see also: FUSEK/OLEXA/ZÁBOJNÍK 2010, 352 Fig. 16). C – the North-Eastern border of the gepid Kingdom and possibly of the territory found under the control of the Early Avar Khaganate as well. D – the so-called "Sarmatian walls". E – the former swamp Ecedea. The correspondence between the numbers and locations is indicated in Appendix.

Regarding the 6th century and the first half of the following century, the opportunity to record these clay "breadcakes" (only occasionally associated with the so-called "clay rolls") within settlements illustrating on a vast area a cultural environment whose uniformity, as archaeological occurrence, cannot be contradicted is rather interesting: inhabitancy rural by excellence, pit houses, with clay or stone ovens, hand-made pottery, cremation funerary ritual, overall, an economic model and social structures presumably less evolved[61]. Either objects fulfilling, at least sometimes, a certain practical role in the daily life or tools of magic– religious practices (but always in relation to the fire installation), clay "breadcakes" highlight similar forms and trends of daily life structures.

At least in the lower Tisza region, we are dealing with an archaeological environment, whose precedents are missing, that provides an entirely different image compared to the manifestations known there in the late Roman imperial period and good part of the 5th century[62]. This is a territory[63] located by the north-eastern periphery of the Carpathian basin (in the close vicinity, however outside the Gepid kingdom, then the early Avar Khaganate) where, according to the current knowledge, inhabitancy was lacking or is vaguely recorded during the last two thirds of the 5th century. Therefore, a local genesis of the cultural horizon in question, commonly related to the early Slavs, is impossible to prove.

For the 6th century and the first third or half of the 7th century, the overall available data evidence an entire series of settlements and a few flat cremation grave cemeteries[64] in the upper Tisza area, hence inhabitancy seems to have evolved spatially from north (the passes over the Northern Carpathians) to south-east (the Transylvanian basin), by-passing the former Ecedea moorland in Someş river flow area into Tisza river (Fig. 11). Just north the Carpathians, on the direction of the passes crossing the mountain chain, inhabitancy comparable to that in the upper Tisza basin was identified in the upper Vistula basin, however there too, local precedents have not been clarified yet[65]. Similarly to the group of clay "breadcakes", the same archaeological environment is determinable in the same period farther to the north-east, on the upper-mid segment of the western Bug river and in the Zhitomir region from northern Ukraine[66]. Indeed, local precedents were not proven with sufficient certainity in either of the mentioned regions. Hence, the debate concerning the Slavs' territories of origin is still unresolved in the speciality literature, however undeniably, the archaeological horizon of the second half of the 5th century–7th century, which was related to them, is not rooted in the north-eastern periphery of the Carpathian basin. Available archaeological data rather show, as also evidenced by the clay "breadcakes" dissemination, that in the north-eastern part of the Carpathian basin and the northern vicinity, the horizon in question records a population arrived from the north-east (the early Slavs).

Appendix (clay "rolls" and "breadcakes" – list of finds)

A. Clay "breadcakes" (type III) by the northern periphery (except for Bârlad–Valea Seacă) of the Chernyakhov culture (3rd C – early 5th C).

1. Bârlad-Valea Seacă (Bârlad Municipality, Vaslui county – Romania): PALADE 1993, 332 fig. 3/1, 333.

2. Golod'ki (Zhytomyrs'ka oblast' – Ukraine): VINOKUR 1969, 56 Fig. 4.

3. Jitintzy (Zhytomyrs'ka oblast' – Ukraine): VINOKUR 1969, 55.

4. Korostyshev (Zhytomyrs'ka oblast' – Ukraine): VINOKUR 1969, 56 Fig. 44.

[61] For instance, PARCZEWSKI 1993, 124.

[62] In the case of eastern Slovakia, the last third of the 5th century is believed to be the start of the discussed horizon, put in relation to the emergence of the first Slavs (more recently for instance, FUSEK/OLEXA/ZÁBOJNÍK 2010).

[63] The Ukrainian region hither the Carpathians, north-west Romania, north-east Hungary and eastern Slovakia.

[64] FUSEK/OLEXA/ZÁBOJNÍK 2010, 352 Fig. 16.

[65] For instance, PODGÓRSKA-CZOPEK 2006.

[66] For analogies to this effect of complete (hand-made) vessels from north-west Romania: STANCIU 2010.

5. Lepesovka (Khmel'nyts'ka oblast' – Ukraine): TIHANOVA 1963; VINOKUR 1969, 54–55, 56 fig. 4/1; VINOKUR 1972, 118–119.
6. Markushe (Zhytomyrs'ka oblast' – Ukraine): VINOKUR 1969, 55.
7. Pereyaslav-Khmel'nyts'kyi (Kyivs'ka oblast' – Ukraine): VINOKUR 1972, 118–119.
8. Preajyv (Zhytomyrs'ka oblast' – Ukraine): VINOKUR 1969, 56 Fig. 4.
9. Rodeanske (Zhytomyrs'ka oblast' – Ukraine): VINOKUR 1969, 55.
10. Slobodishche (Zhytomyrs'ka oblast' – Ukraine): VINOKUR 1969, 56 Fig. 4.

B. Clay "breadcakes" (type III) related to ovens carved in a native clay block or simple clay ovens (second half of the 5th C – first half of the 7th C).
11. Acâş (Satu Mare county – Romania): NÉMETI/SZÖCS/GINDELE 2001.
12. Bucureşti-Vitan (Bucharest Municipality – Romania): ŞTEFĂNESCU 1971.
13. Culciu Mare (Satu Mare county – Romania): STANCIU 1999, 147 Pl. 3/3, 4.
14. Dulceanca I (Teleorman county – Romania): DOLINESCU-FERCHE 1974, Fig. 73/1–4, 95 Fig. 103.
15. Dulceanca II (Teleorman county – Romania): DOLINESCU-FERCHE 1986a, 134 Fig. 7/13–16, 144 Fig. 17/24, 149 Fig. 23/16.
16. Dulceanca IV (Teleorman county – Romania): DOLINESCU-FERCHE 1992, 138 Fig. 7/1–5, 8, 145 Fig. 14/6, 6, 22, 147 Fig. 16/2, 151 Fig. 20/5–8, 10, 11, 15.
17. Grodzisko Dolne 22 (woj. Podkarpackie – Poland): PODGÓRSKA-CZOPEK 2006, 105.
18. Gropşani-Gura Gurgotei (Olt county – Romania): POPILIAN/NICA 1998, 169 Fig. 17/house 9/4, 6, 172 Fig. 20/house 11/25, 26/house 13/7, 174 Fig. 22/house 17/6.
19. Gropşani-Ovrei (Olt county – Romania): POPILIAN/NICA 1998, 219 Fig. 67/house 5/10, 11.
20. Igołomia 1 (woj. Małopolskie – Poland): DOBRZAŃSKA 1998, 94 Pl. I/2, 3.
21. Kisvárda (Szabolcs-Szatmar-Bereg megye – Hungary): ISTVÁNOVITS 2001, 172 Fig. 10.
22. Lazuri-Lubi tag (Satu Mare county – Romania): STANCIU 1998−1999, for instance: 215 Pl. IV/6, 7, 216 Pl. V/1–7, 219 Pl. VIII/2–8.
23. Lazuri-Râtul lui Béla (Satu Mare county – Romania): novel specimens.
24. Nesluhov (L'vivs'ka oblast'– Ukraine): CIGILIK 1996, 298 Fig. 4/10 (house dated to the 4th C – early 5th C?).
25. Ripnev 2 (L'vivs'ka oblast'– Ukraine): BARAN 1963, 355; BARAN 1965, 374; BARAN 1972, 208–226.
26. Ripnev 3 (L'vivs'ka oblast'– Ukraine): BARAN 1963, 355; BARAN 1965, 374; BARAN 1972, 208–226.
27. Struga 1 (Brest oblast – Belarus): VERGEI 1993, 80 Pl. III/15–20, 82 Pl. V/21, 23.
28. Świerszczów Kolonia (woj. Zamość – Poland): ZAKOŚCIELNA/GURBA 1993, 21 Pl. I/e, i, 23 Pl. III/e, f, 24 Pl. IV/b, e.
29. Vedea (Teleorman county – Romania): DOLINESCU-FERCHE 1986b.
30. Vlădiceasca-Snagov (Ilfov county – Romania): SANDU/MIU 1996.
31. Zimne 4 (obl. Volyns'ka oblast'– Ukraine): GAVRITUHIN 1993, 106 Fig. 5/3.
32. Złota 3 (woj. Podkarpackie – Poland): URBANIAK 2005, 632 Pl. III/4–6.

C. Clay "breadcakes" (type III) related to stone ovens stone-encircled hearth (6th C – first half of the 7th C).
33. Bachórz (woj. Podkarpackie – Poland): fragment examined (1995) in the deposit of the Institute of Archaeology Jagiellonian University of Krakow, courtesy of Professor Michał Parczewski.
34. Berehovo (Zakarpats'ka oblast' – Ukraine): PENIAK 1988, 179–181.
35. Botoşana (Suceava county – Romania): TEODOR 1984, 105 Fig. 26/2.
36. Czudowice 2 (woj. Podkarpackie – Poland): KOCIUBA 2006, 118 Pl. IV/8.

37. Dănceni (Ialoveni district – the Republic of Moldova): RAFALOVICH/GOLCEVA 1981, 129 Fig. 4/7.
38. Dedovo 3 (Zakarpats'ka oblast' – Ukraine): CHERKUN 1994–1995, 70 Fig. 3/10–14, 72 Fig. 4/5–7.
39. Galoch (Zakarpats'ka oblast' – Ukraine): PENIAK 1986, 277, 278 Fig. 2/9; PENIAK 1988, 177 Fig. 2/9.
40. Grodzisko Dolne 3 (woj. Podkarpackie – Poland): PODGÓRSKA-CZOPEK 1991, 35 Pl. I/5, 8, 36 Pl. II/11–19 etc.
41. Hansca-Limbari/Căprăria (Ialoveni district – the Republic of Moldova): RAFALOVICH/GOLCEVA 1974, 150 Fig. 2/6, 9.
42. Kyiv (Kyivs'ka oblast' – Ukraine): RAPPOPORT 1975, 25; BIALEKOVÁ 1999, 60 No. 11.
43. Korchak I (Zhytomyrs'ka oblast' – Ukraine): RUSANOVA 1973, 32–35 No. 1, 86 Pl. 34/4, 6.
44. Korchak VII (Zhytomyrs'ka oblast' – Ukraine): RUSANOVA 1973, 32–35 No. 1, 86 Pl. 34/4, 6.
45. Korchak VIII (Zhytomyrs'ka oblast' – Ukraine): RUSANOVA 1973, 32–35 No. 1, 86 Pl. 34/4, 6.
46. Korchak IX (Zhytomyrs'ka oblast' – Ukraine): RUSANOVA 1973, 32–35 No. 1, 86 Pl. 34/4, 6.
47. Kojan Gorodok (Brest oblast – Belarus): BIALEKOVÁ 1999, 60 No. 10.
48. Lozna-Străteni (Botoşani county – Romania): TEODOR 1997, 305 fig. 2/16; TEODOR 2011, 46–47, 134 Fig. 51/11–19, 21–22, 136 Fig. 53 (here dated most early by the end of the 7th C).
49. Roztoky (okr. Praha-západ – Czech Republic): KUNA/PROFANTOVÁ ET AL. 2005, 470 Fig. 220/2.
50. Scoc–Trebujeni (Orhei district – the Republic of Moldova): TEL'NOV 1988, 106 Fig. 4/11.
51. Suceava-Şipot (Suceava county – Romania): TEODOR 1978, 166 Fig. 7/2.
52. Teterevka (Zhytomyrs'ka oblast' – Ukraine): RUSANOVA 1973, 35–36 No. 9.
53. Zalău–Bul. M. Viteazul 104–106 (Sălaj county – Romania): unpublished.
54. Zalău–Dromet 1 (Sălaj county – Romania): unpublished.
55. Zalău–Farkasdomb (Sălaj county – Romania): unpublished.

D. Clay "breadcakes" (type III) alongside ovens of an unsure type or belonging to different features (6th C – first half of the 7th C).
56. Břeclav-Pohansko (okr. Břeclav – Czech Republic): BIALEKOVÁ 1999, 57 No. 1a.
57. Csenger–Sanykertből (Szabolcs-Szatmar-Bereg megye – Hungary): FÁBIÁN/PINTYE 2008, 3 (specimens published as Neolithic clay loom weights?).
58. Garvan (okr. Silistra – Bulgaria): BIALEKOVÁ 1999, 57 No. 1a.
59. Łazy 2 (woj. Podkarpackie – Poland): PARCZEWSKI 1998, 140 Fig. 4.
60. Libušin (okr. Kladno – Czech Republic): BIALEKOVÁ 1999, 57 No. 6.
61. Wola Buchowska 21 (woj. Podkarpackie – Poland): PARCZEWSKI 1998, 142 Fig. 5/1, 2.
62. Żukowice pod Glogowem (woj. Dolnośląskie – Poland): BIALEKOVÁ 1999, 62 No. 29.

E. Clay "rolls" (types I and II) related to ovens carved in a native clay block (6th C – first half of the 7th C). Likely, at least in some cases, clay "breadcakes" are present, but have remained unnoticed.
63. Brăneşti–Vadu Anei (Ilfov county – Romania): TEODOR E. 1998–2000, 127, 165 Pl. 8/c.
64. Bucureşti–Ciurel (Bucharest Municipality – Romania): DOLINESCU-FERCHE 1979, 192 Fig. 7, 194 Fig. 9, 195 Fig. 11/4, 5, 204 Fig. 20–24.
65. Bucureşti–Foişor (Bucharest Municipality – Romania): TURCU/MARINESCU 1968.
66. Bucureşti–Militari (Bucharest Municipality – Romania): ZIRRA/CAZIMIR 1963, 56.
67. Bucureşti–Pantelimon 3 (Bucharest Municipality – Romania): TURCU 1971.

68. Bucureşti–Str. Soldat Ghivan (Bucharest Municipality – România): DOLINESCU-FERCHE 1981.
69. Bucureşti/Străuleşti-Lunca (Bucharest Municipality – Romania): CONSTANTINIU/PANAIT 1963, 84, 94, 96–98.
70. Olteni (Teleorman county – Romania): DOLINESCU-FERCHE 1974, 109–110.
71. Podrize (Volyns'ka oblast' – Ukraine): BARAN 1972, 205–206 No. 60; RUSANOVA 1976, 47.
72. Radovanu (Ilfov county – Romania): COMŞA 1975.
73. Sfinţeşti (Teleorman county – Romania): DOLINESCU-FERCHE 1974, 110, 111, 113.

F. Clay "rolls" (types I and II) related to stone ovens (6th C – first half of the 7th C).
74. Bucureşti–Căţelu Nou (Bucharest Municipality – Romania): LEAHU 1963, 38.
75. Hansca–Limbari/Căprăria (Ialoveni district – the Republic of Moldova): RAPPOPORT 1975, 22–23.

G. Clay "rolls" (type I) related to kilns for firing pottery (6th C).
76. Bucureşti–Dămăroaia (Bucharest Municipality – Romania): ROSETTI 1934, 211 Fig. 6/6, 212.
77. Bucureşti–Sf. Ioan cel Nou (Bucharest Municipality – Romania): TEODORESCU 1972, 76 Fig. 1.
78. Dulceanca I (Teleorman county – Romania): DOLINESCU-FERCHE 1969.

H. Clay "breadcakes" (type III) in cremation graves (?) (6th–7th C or 8th–9th C).
79. Suemcy (Zhytomyrs'ka oblast' – Ukraine): RUSANOVA 1973, 27, 41; PARCZEWSKI 1993, 84 n. 1.

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