MEDIEVAL HERITAGE FROM TÂRGȘORU VECHI. AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL OVERVIEW OF 50 YEARS OF RESEARCH

"Only ruins of churches, which rise solitarily, illustrate today where the flourishing Târgşor of the 15th century was..." (Giurescu 1943, p. 443).

Andrei Măgureanu, Bogdan Ciupercă, Alin Anton*

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Abstract: One of the important Wallachian medieval towns, Tårgsoru was, at a certain moment, the most involved in the commercial relations with Braşov. Due to this Tårgsoru was first mentioned in medieval documents 600 years ago. Its medieval ruins, and the vestiges of three churches in particular, were those to first draw the attention of historians and architects. The archaeologists started their work here more than half a century ago. Those investigations succeeded to give us a better understanding over many aspects of the old town of Tårgsor. In the present paper we try to briefly present the development of the archaeological research at the site, to identify the investigated medieval monuments and to draw a possible scenario for the chronological evolution of the medieval town.

Rezumat: Târgșorul a fost unul dintre importantele orașe muntene medievale și, la un moment dat, cel mai implicat în relația comercială cu Brașovul. Datorită acestui fapt Târgșorul apare menționat în documente încă de acum 600 de ani. Ruinele medievale existente aici, dintre care se remarcau vestigiile a trei biserici, au atras mai întâi atenția istoricilor și arhitecților. Acum mai bine de o jumătate de veac au început cercetările arheologice la Târgșoru Vechi. Acestea au reușit să contureze mai bine diferite aspecte ale vechiului Târgșor. În lucrarea de față se încearcă prezentarea, succintă, a felului cum a evoluat cercetarea, care au fost monumentele investigate precum și o posibilă evoluție cronologică a orașului medieval.

Half a century ago archaeological research was starting at Târgșoru Vechi.¹ It was only one of many archaeological sites that were part of a scientific programme undertaken by the "Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology. Since then, the medieval town of Târgșor came to light and revealed some of its secrets.

One of the oldest towns of Wallachia, Târgșoru is mentioned in documents since 1413, when Mircea the Elder issued an obligation to pay the fish custom tax to merchants from Brașov, in *Novum Forum.*² In another document, given in 1424 by Dan II, to confirm the document of Mircea the Elder, the equivalence *in Traxsor videlicet in Novo Foro* is mentioned, which certifies that *Novo Foro* is in fact Târgșor, a name conserved till today.³

At the beginning of the 16th century, Târgșoru appears in the list of voivodal towns. This mention dating from 1517, in a document of Neagoe Basarab, is related again to the commercial relations between Wallachia and Brașov.⁴ The same document attests the fact that Târgșoru was at that time one of three towns that had the right of deposit (*ius stapuli*, Stappelrecht).⁵

The commercial importance of Târgșor comes out also from the fact that from here depart, in 1502, a number of 83 saleable transports to Brașov, more than those from Câmpulung or Târgoviște.⁶

Despite of all those commercial rights and privileges, Târgșor, that once was part of a strategic line of settlements,⁷ stops evolving in the 17th century and slowly disappears.⁸

At the beginning of the 20th century ruins of three churches were still visible in the former area of the medieval town. In 1908 N. Iorga published a description of the portraits of the churches founders and their

* Andrei Măgureanu, "Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology, Bucharest, e-mail: arheologiemedievala@yahoo.com. Bogdan Ciupercă, Alin Anton, Prahova County Museum of History and Archaeology Ploiești.

⁴ Bogdan 1902, p. 152, no. CLIII.

⁸ Petrescu-Sava 1937, Potra, Simache 1969.

Caiete ARA 4, 2013, p. 91-106.

Excerpt from ARA Reports 4, 2013.

¹ For an overview see Damian *et alii* 2007, pp. 177-182.

² Bogdan 1902, p. 5 (only Romanian translation); Bogdan 1905, p. 5 (Slavonic text and Romanian translation).

³ Giurescu 1943, p. 441.

⁵ Cantacuzino 2011, p. 32.

⁶ Giurescu 1973, p. 171.

⁷ Harhoiu 1997, p. 23.



Fig. 1. Position of main investigated medieval structures.

families.⁹ But the real interest for the medieval heritage of Târgșor grows after C.C. Giurescu publishes the inscription that mentions Vlad Țepeș ("the Impaler") as founder of one of the churches.¹⁰ It remains till today the single mention of Vlad Ţepeș as church builder.

Consequently, short notes on the Târgșor churches start to be published approaching the monuments from an architectural point of view.¹¹ Large considerations on the medieval town buildings and activities, based on documents, were published as well.¹²

Soon, archaeology came to make its contribution to the understanding of the medieval town of Târgșoru Vechi, and to present its results is the purpose of this paper.¹³

Course of archaeological research

In 1956, after a good documentation on what Târgșoru represented in medieval time, a field investigation was done by a team of archaeologists, fact that allowed identification of those areas with "most numerous and representative archaeological finds".¹⁴ Most probably after this field evaluation of archaeological potential the site was divided in five sectors, noted from A to E, in order to facilitate research organization.

Soon after, the actual research started by excavation in trench I from A sector (Fig. 1). This was placed in the most promising area, identified during previous field investigation. Here are two of the churches (Fig. 2) and many fragments of walls, parts still visible from the buildings that were part of the voivodal court and, later, of Turnu monastery.

The archaeological research at Târgșoru preserves its survey character in the 1957 campaign, as well. The main purpose remains to "establish the limits of the medieval town".¹⁵ This is why the trench I A was prolonged on the other side of the Ploiești – Târgșoru Vechi road, in order to find the East limit of the medieval town.¹⁶ In this new sector of the trench, called I A-b, archaeologists noticed the lack of medieval structures and the presence close to surface of a geological layer of pebble, fact that prohibited the inhabitation of this area.¹⁷

Based on the data from trench I A, that helps establish an East limit of the medieval site, the attention was turned to finding another limit, this time to the West. So, a new trench, II A, was excavated 150 m west from trench I A.¹⁸

- ¹⁴ Diaconu *et alii* 1959, p. 620.
- ¹⁵ Popescu *et alii* 1960, p. 727.
- ¹⁶ Ibidem, loc. cit.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 730.

⁹ Iorga 1908, pp. 4-5.

¹⁰ Giurescu 1924, pp. 74-75.

¹¹ Drăghiceanu 1924, p. 75; Ghika-Budești 1930, pp. 34-35; Crețeanu 1967, p. 152.

¹² Petrescu-Sava 1937; Potra, Simache 1969.

¹³ This overview takes into consideration only published information.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 729.



Fig. 2. 1. Antonie Vodă's Church; 2. "White Church"; 3 "Red Church".

- ²⁰ Popescu 1960, p. 188, no. 66.
- ²¹ Popescu 1962, p. 210, no. 81.

The third campaign, from the year 1958, was the last one when the intrusive survey was done. This time, even the research from previous year trench II A was not successful in finding a city limit; new trenches were opened in the south part in order to obtain "a completion of the stratigraphic information with the reason to increase the research in this sector".¹⁹

As we already mentioned, the 1958 archaeological campaign was the last to have a survey nature. In the following year the discoveries dated in the 4th century, the Sântana de Mureş – Cerneachov cemetery, represent the main aim of archaeologists, the number of inhumation graves and cremation graves identified being mentioned in a short note. In the same note, the medieval structures were nearly left unmentioned: "excavations were done in the area of $15^{th} - 17^{th}$ centuries structures, as well".²⁰

The situation of the research of medieval ruins seems even worse in the notations of the 1961 campaign: "the 1961 research was centred on the study of the 3rd-4th centuries cemetery".²¹ This situation can be a result of the involvement of Mr. N. Constantinescu in the archaeological research from Târgoviște, in the same year.²² Still, some stratigraphical small investigations were done in the North-West corner of the medieval enclosure, and they identified a chronological phase dated in the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries.²³

Despite of the situation from 1961, the following campaign seems to represent a returning to the first aims of the research from Târgşoru Vechi: medieval structures. This time the attention was turned to the area where the ruins of voivodal court were. Here "researches on large areas in the area of princely court" were carried out "in order to see the chronology of the structures".²⁴ Due to those researches some important conclusions were reached: there was a church of Vlad Ţepeş, but it remained undiscovered; the first enclosure was dated to the 16th century; the tower-gate was identified.

¹⁹ Popescu *et alii* 1961, p. 730.

²² Constantinescu 1964, p. 238.

²³ Popescu 1962, p. 211.

²⁴ Popescu 1963, p. 464, no. 110.

Those researches continued in 1963 as well. It was the moment when some "stone structures from the 15th-16th and 17th-18th centuries" were discovered, but with no other details.²⁵

A new turning point was the year 1964, moment when, next to the activities from the voivodal court, archaeological researches were started in the D sector. Even if the medieval structures were not the main purpose of the excavations, these were represented by the 1st millennium AD settlements. The inauguration of the researches in this area lead to the discovery of one of the largest part of the medieval town investigated at Târgşoru Vechi. At that time, in 1964, just four dwellings and several pits were identified.²⁶

The research in D sector continued in 1965. In the same year the research at the so called White Church, began.²⁷ Unfortunately for the medieval monument, under the porch a roman bath was discovered. So, starting from 1965, this *thermae* represented the main goal of excavations, while medieval structures were still investigated in D sector.²⁸

1964 represents the last archaeological campaign within the voivodal court. From this point on, the research will be limited to some consolidation works as those from 1967 or to small areas due for stratigraphical clarifications, such as those from 1968.²⁹ Nevertheless, in the first year of the '70 an archaeological team starts the research of a church ruin, found next to the present day modern road, known as Vladislav's church form then on.³⁰ Unfortunately, this research will be soon abandoned, despite the fact that the exploration was not finished. In the following years, the attention of the research team was focused on the 3rd and 4th century cemetery. So, during the researches from the area of Sântana de Mureş – Cerneachov cemetery, in 1972-1975, numerous medieval structures like dwellings and pits from 15th-17th centuries were also found.³¹ The last half of the 8th decade of the 20th century was characterized by a single archaeological purpose: the roman monuments (fort and bath). The research of the medieval structures was, once again, neglected.³² This state was perpetuated in the '80 and '90 when the main objectives of the researches from Târgşoru Vechi was the Sântana de Mureş – Cerneachov cemetery.³³ In spite of this situation, medieval structures continued to be found, due to the fact that the medieval town overlapped the ancient cemetery.

Nevertheless, the 2001 campaign ended with a generous desideratum: to gather data for a hypothetical reconstruction of the medieval town.³⁴ So, at that moment it was considered necessary to finish the investigation of the second medieval enclosure and to restart exploration of the areas from the north and east sides of the voivodal court. In those areas, the field-walking, next to some small intrusive investigations, a massive presence of medieval artefacts was founded. Next to those researches from B sector, in 2003 the investigations were resumed, after a break of 30 years, in D sector, as well.³⁵

A new turning point in the investigation of the archaeological heritage, especially the medieval one, was the resurrection of Turnu Monastery in the first years of the 21st century. This fact brings again in attention the medieval monuments of the first enclosure, because of the existence of an architectural project of volumetric reconstruction of the monastery buildings on their medieval place. So, in 2005, but more sustained from 2009, a project of information recovery starts, regarding the old investigations of the '60. This project is carried on to this day.³⁶

- ²⁷ Popescu 1966, pp. 723-24, no. 117.
- ²⁸ Popescu 1967, p. 534, no. 96.
- ²⁹ Popescu 1968, p. 694, no. 119; Popescu 1969, p. 497, no. 152.
- ³⁰ M. Babeş 1971, p. 390, no. 176.
- ³¹ Morintz 1973, p. 394, no. 158 (1972); Stoia 1975, p. 302, no. 183 (1973-1974); 1976, p. 283, no. 123 (1975)
- ³² Stoia 1978, p. 361, no. 131 (1977); Stoia 1979, p. 367, no. 121 (1978); Stoia 1980, p. 368, no. 133 (1979); Stoia 1981, p. 376, no. 120 (1980).
- ³³ Barnea 1989, p. 310; Barnea 1990, p. 322; Barnea 1991, pp. 262-263.
- ³⁴ Niculescu *et alii* 2002, pp. 313-314.
- ³⁵ Niculescu *et alii* 2004, pp. 341-343.
- ³⁶ Măgureanu, Ciupercă 2011, pp. 127-132.

²⁵ Popescu 1964, p. 562, no. 87.

²⁶ Popescu 1965, p. 599, no. 82.

Voivodal Court

In 1962 began the research in the area of the first medieval enclosure. In this respect, a long main trench, that crossed both medieval enclosures, was projected on an East-West direction. This trench was supposed to provide stratigraphical information to help plan the rest of the research. On this occasion the tower-gate of the first enclosure was identified, as well as a trench, interpreted as a 16th century artificial channel of Leaota River, abandoned when the second enclosure was built.³⁷

Unfortunately, beside of a synthetic article issued in 1969, no other publication of the medieval monuments was published. Nevertheless, this article has some important data that allow us to make a picture of the evolution of this part of the medieval town that was the princely court and, after a while, the monastery.

An important observation for the beginnings of the medieval inhabitation on the erosion mound that dominates the area was that a stratigraphic layer with materials from the 14th and 15th centuries was discovered in all trenches.³⁸

According to N. Constantinescu, the first chronological phase of the voivodal court was marked by a church, built by Vlad Ţepeş. This supposition was based only on the founding inscription and on a stratigraphic layer that contains debris of a destroyed construction.³⁹ The location of this church remains unknown until today. Regrettably, for this early phase no other buildings were mentioned or described.

In a period that followed the construction of Vlad Ţepeş's church, but before building the walls of the first enclosure, is to be placed the construction of the voivodal house.⁴⁰ This was a large, 15 x 20 m rectangular structure developed on a North-South main axis. This building was just partly researched, on its North side only small investigations were carried on. Probably to this epoch can we ascribe a brick pavement from the trench B IV, found to the East from the voivodal houses and dated on stratigraphic bases to 15th century.⁴¹

The 16th century brings the building of the wall of the first enclosure. Its chronology was based on a coin struck by Ferdinand I (1527-1564) found on the pavement of the tower-gate. This moment was associated to the reign of Neagoe Basarab, a moment when Târgșor came to be mentioned as a voivodal residence.⁴² Nevertheless, the fact that in 2012 we discovered, under the pavement of the tower-gate, in an inhumation grave, a coin from the middle of the 16th century, raises some doubts as to the date of the enclosure in the first half of the 16th century. Soon after the building of enclosure walls, a construction was erected on the west side.⁴³

According to the author of the researches from the '60, everything changed dramatically in the 17th century, when a church was built by Antonie and Turnu monastery appeared in documents.⁴⁴ It is the moment when a building was erected on the East side, near the tower-gate. In the same time the building from the west side was rebuilt and the voivodal house was reconfigured and transformed in a hegumenal house.

The last major transformation of the building ensemble from Târgșor happened at the beginning of the 18th century when the second enclosure was built.⁴⁵ In the same time new buildings were erected on the north side, in the area between the two enclosures.

Other repairs and small interventions can be dated in the final phase of existence of Turnu monastery. It was a phase of poverty, which preceded the complete abandon of the area.⁴⁶

Regrettably, the research was cut off suddenly, so many problems rest to be solved in the future. Perhaps the investigation of the north side of the voivodal house may bring new data about the picture of the voivodal court in the 15th and 16th centuries, before the first enclosure wall was built.

⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 92, document from 1517.

³⁷ Constantinescu 1969, p. 86.

³⁸ Ibidem, loc.cit.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 90-92.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 94 and footnote 13.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 86.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 93.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 95-96.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 97.

⁴⁶ Ibidem, loc. cit.

Antonie's church

Among the medieval structures, the church built by Voivode Antonie raised a special attention by its position inside the voivodal court and by its better state of conservation, being the best preserved church from Târgşoru Vechi (Fig. 3/1).

A special moment was when Giurescu first published a founding inscription (*pisania*) that mentions Vlad Țepeș as the founder (*By the Grace of God, I voievode ruler of Ungro-Valachia, the son of the great Voievode Vlad have built and completed the church on June 24, 1461*).⁴⁷ The presumed position of this inscription, over the entrance door of Antonie's church was the main reason for different authors to consider that the present day church was built by Vlad Țepeș or preserved some parts of it, at least. Anyway, the only researcher of this church from an archaeological point of view, N. Constantinescu, retained his doubts about this problem and considered that Ţepeș's church could be in the same area but was not Antonie's church.⁴⁸

It is a simple, single-nave church, with a polygonal apse of the altar and two domes over naos and narthex. In the North-West corner of the narthex, an interior stair leads to a bell tower. The monument was investigated by N. Constantinescu. In the '60 he made numerous trenches inside and outside the church.⁴⁹ Those excavations were never published. Just few pieces of information are mentioned in the article from 1969 about chronology and presence of a porch.

Even though research was considered finished and a restoration project was carried on in the first years of 21st century, a small trench opened in 2007 proved that there were enough remaining problems to explore. So, in the excavation made on the right side of the narthex, right under the modern floor, we found remains of some brick walls belonging to three crypts. All have a trapezoidal shape, having the small side to the East and a larger side to the West. Unfortunately, all crypts were disturbed, this being the reason that none of the human remains were found in anatomic connection.⁵⁰ The oldest crypt was that placed closer to the middle of the narthex. The other two were built using parts of this initial crypt. The funeral inventory of the crypts consists of fragments of clothing and floral shape bronze appliqués. A probable date of those crypts, based on the building year of the church and on the archaeological findings, can be 17th-18th centuries, at least for their final phase of utilization.

Other new archaeological data was gathered in 2010. This time the excavations were carried out in front of the church in the area were N. Constantinescu mentioned the existence of two porches.⁵¹ We completely excavate them and observed that both were built sometime after the church was finished.

The church, preserved in the way we can see it on old photos, did not have a porch. But as N. Constantinescu noticed, following V. Drăgiceanu, under the "ordinary mortar"⁵² that covered the walls, elements of an older masonry can be seen. So, those observations show us that the church suffered a series of transformations, some of them known from documents.

Summing up, the church was built around the year 1670 without a porch. Probably an intention to build one it was, but from unknown reasons it did not finished.⁵³ Somewhere, possibly at the beginning of 18th century, a first porch was added most likely when Constantin Brâncoveanu built the second enclosure and paint the church. Some important cracks in the foundations of the first porch point out to the idea that it was affected by an earthquake. This was probably the reason to demolish it and to build a new one, smaller, according to the financial possibilities of the monastery from that moment. That was happened between 1830 and 1840, after the earthquake from 1829.⁵⁴ Short after, somewhere at the middle of 19th century, this second porch was demolished and the façade of the church was daubed in the manner that N. Constantinescu founded in the '50.

⁴⁷ Giurescu 1924, pp. 74-75.

⁴⁸ Ibidem, pp. 93-98.

⁴⁹ Ibidem, p. 84.

⁵⁰ Anthropological analysis was carried on by Alexandra Comşa.

⁵¹ Constantinescu 1969, p. 90.

⁵² *Ibidem*, p. 84.

⁵³ There are some elongations of church foundation that sustain this idea.

⁵⁴ Constantinescu 1969, pp. 97-98.



3m



3m 1 the foundation of Antonie Vodă's church; 2. Sketch of the foundation

Fig. 3. 1. Plan of the foundation of Antonie Voda's church; 2. Sketch of the foundation of Vladislav I's church (drawn according to the archaeological report); 3. Plan of the foundation of "White Church" (redrawn after Ghika-Budești 1930, Fig. 159).

Vladislav's church55

Archaeological researches from 1991-1995 succeeded in identifying the foundations of a new church (Fig. 3/2).⁵⁶ This one has a single rectangular nave and a polygonal apse of the altar. The altar is separated from naos by a 0.60 m thick wall, made in the same time

with the main foundations of the church. The existence of a porch is suggested by a fragment of a wall adjoined to the West wall of the church and going to the west, outside the investigated area. The interior was covered by a brick pavement, re-laid after a powerful fire.

The foundations were made of cobble stone mixed with mortar, up to 1.20 m deep, set on a natural pebble layer. The thickness of the walls is generally 0.90 m, only the west side is 1m thick. The inside dimensions of the church, measured 12 m on the East-West axis and 4.90 m on the North-South axis. The apse of the altar is a recessed one. In the area of the altar, parts of elevation were still standing. Small fragments of elevation, made by an alternation of brick and stone courses, were conserved at a height of 0.70 m.

The way that elevation was built was considered similar to those from the Voivodal Church of Curtea de Argeș and from the church of Cozia Monastery, both dated in the 14th century. So, the church's shape

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⁵⁵ This church was presumed to be built by Vladislav I because in time of archaeological investigations a coin struck by this ruler was founded (unpublished and uncertain information).

⁵⁶ Diaconu *et alii* 1997, p. 109.

and the particularities of elevation of Byzantine tradition are elements to suggest that this can be the oldest monument from Târgşoru Vechi.⁵⁷

"White Church"

This church was first analysed from an architectural point of view by Ghika-Budești, in his laborious study on church architecture (Fig. 3/3). In his consideration, Ghika-Budești points to some stylistic elements and architectural particularities that can suggest a construction date in the 16th century, without excluding a possible date in the 17th century, as well.⁵⁸ A solid argument in favour of a construction in the 16th century document.⁵⁹ The text cites the content of *pisania* (founding inscription) and we see that the founding year was 7087 according to the Gregorian calendar. That means that the church was built in 1578-1579, when the ruler of Walachia was Mihnea II (Turcitu).

An archaeological approach began in 1964, when the church cemetery was discovered, as well.⁶⁰ But the emergence of a Roman bath in the area of the former porch detoured the investigations from the medieval monument to the Roman one. Nevertheless, this first campaign and the one from 1965 succeed to recognize elements that suggest a reconstruction of some elements of the church.⁶¹

A new research,⁶² dedicated this time to investigate the church, started in 1993. At that moment several trenches were opened on the north side of the naos.⁶³ The archaeological observations point to an idea that the monument had two construction phases. In the church cemetery⁶⁴ three layers of utilization were documented. The proposed chronology of those layers was between the 16th century and the 19th century.⁶⁵

Later, in 1994, the research continued in the trench opened perpendicular on the North apse of the naos. Here over 38 graves were identified, dated in the 16th-17th century, based on coins (1580) and other inventory objects like a gold ring. In the same year, a trench was opened inside the church in order to establish if there was another older church, possibly made of wood.

In the following year, 1995, two brick pavements have been identified.⁶⁶ Their positions related to the depth of identification and to the orientation of the main axis of the church were considered arguments for a date before the 16th century. So those pavements belong to another structure older than the church. An additional support to this idea comes from the stratigraphic observation that some of the graves overlap or affect those pavements. A new trench was opened outside the altar in 1996 and here emerged the oldest graves of the cemetery, dated in the 14th-15th centuries.⁶⁷ This was interpreted like a new argument in favour of the hypothesis of an older church, next to the already mentioned brick pavements.

In 1998, after a year of interlude, a new trench was opened in the porch area.⁶⁸ Here were discovered seven graves from the 16th-17th centuries. One of them was special: brick tomb with covering like stones. In this sector were found graves from the 15th century, as well.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 109; about this monument's chronology we have some doubts and hope that archaeological investigations will be published sometime.

⁵⁸ Ghika-Budești 1930, p. 34.

⁵⁹ Crețeanu 1967, pp. 152-153.

 ⁶⁰ Popescu 1966, pp. 723-24, nr. 117.
 ⁶¹ Popescu 1967, p. 534, pp. 96

⁶¹ Popescu 1967, p. 534, no. 96. ⁶² Diacopu *et alii* 1997a p. 109

⁶² Diaconu *et alii* 1997a, p. 109.
⁶³ Diaconu *et alii* 1994, p. 66.

⁶⁴ Barnea 1994, p. 384.

⁶⁵ In the 19th century document it was mentioned that was a priest that still celebrate in the church around 1840 and that the cemetery

was still in use; see Crețeanu 1967, p. 152.

⁶⁶ Diaconu *et alii* 1997a, p. 109.

⁶⁷ Diaconu *et alii* 1997b, p. 65.
⁶⁸ Diaconu *et alii* 1999.



Fig. 4. Exceptional discoveries from different graves.

Cemeteries

Medieval graves have been identified even from the earliest archaeological campaigns, like those found in the East corner of trench II A.⁶⁹ Here, more than 47 graves were investigated, most of them disturbed by modern interventions. In spite of the existence of a glass bead in the grave M 2, the rest of them respect the general picture of medieval cemeteries: no funeral inventory at all.⁷⁰

The chronological frame of this cemetery was established only on stratigraphic reasons because its poverty (Fig. 4). So, the oldest graves were dated in the 14th century, while the newest belong to the 16th century. The existence of a 14th century church was presumed on those chronological bases.⁷¹ But no other investigations were done in this cemetery neighbourhood.

A second cemetery was identified in 1958, moment when the area North from "White Church" was explored.⁷² More than 70 graves were investigated since then and a strange funeral behaviour was studied: deposit of human remains in pots. This particularity is unique for the medieval times, considering that the cemetery was dated in 15th-17th century.⁷³

Archaeological investigation of the voivodal court has brought to light another cemetery in the 1962 campaign.⁷⁴ In the first year 17 graves were investigated, other 100 being discovered since then, but none was published.

Medieval town

Structures of the medieval town, buildings, pits, pavements, were investigated in every trench, representing the most common finds (Fig. 5).

In the very first archaeological campaign, in 1956, a pit was studied that contained, beside pottery, a coin struck by Radu I (1377-1384).⁷⁵ This remains one of the oldest medieval structures, dating at the end of

⁷² Popescu *et alii* 1961, p. 643.

⁷⁵ Diaconu *et alii* 1959, p. 622.

⁶⁹ Popescu *et alii* 1960, p. 730.

⁷⁰ Popescu *et alii* 1960, p. 737.

⁷¹ Ibidem, loc. cit.

⁷³ Ibidem, loc. cit.

⁷⁴ Popescu 1963, p. 464, nr. 110.



Fig. 5. 1-2. 15th century stove tiles; 3. 16th century Iznik type pottery.

the 14th century or at the beginning of the 15th century. Other pits were largely dated either in the 15th-16th centuries, or in the 17th century.⁷⁶ In the same trench, two pavements were also investigated. Those two were separated by an earth layer that contained sherds from the 16th century. According to this stratigraphic situation, one pavement was dated in the 15th century, while the other in the 17th century.⁷⁷ To the west from the already mentioned structures, in the I A trench two pottery kilns and one metallurgical oven were investigated,⁷⁸ all from the 16th century.⁷⁹ In the same campaign, a 15th century dwelling, dated based on unglazed pottery, was identified South-West from voivodal enclosure.⁸⁰

Next year, more chronological indicators were founded. So, in trench II A, a layer with ceramics, mud bricks, burned stones and charcoal was dated in the 14th-15th century according to a Mircea the Elder coin.⁸¹ Other dwellings and pits, from 16th century were found, also.⁸² The *Grundriss* of trench II A allows us to notice some details regarding the medieval structures.⁸³ So, the dwellings have the same orientation, being parallel one to another. Three of them were built of wood, with rectangular section girders placed on all sides; post-pits were found, too. The floor was plane, made of compressed clay.⁸⁴

One of the 16th century coin-dated dwellings contains burned parts of a stove and round ornamental discs. Analysing the remains, it was concluded that the stove was made of pot-tiles bound with clay and decorated with ceramic discs.⁸⁵

A cellar was investigated in the close vicinity of the above mentioned dwelling, 1 m from its west side. It has a rectangular shape and the pit's walls were covered with wood. Having 1.80 m deep and a hall-entrance on the west side, this cellar was dated in 15th century.⁸⁶

⁸² Ibidem, loc. cit.

⁸⁶ Popescu *et alii* 1960, p. 735, Fig. 9.

⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 627.

⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 622-623.

⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 622.

⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 627 (coin struck by Rudolf II in 1590: Diaconu *et alii* 1959, fig. 12/3, so we believe that a date in 17th century could be more appropriate, more probably in the first half of the century).

⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 623.

⁸¹ Popescu et alii 1960, p. 730 (most probably it is about first half of the 15th century).

⁸³ *Ibidem*, p. 731, Fig. 4.

⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 732.

⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 735, Fig. 12/9.

But the wooden structures were not the only dwelling type discovered at Târșoru Vechi. Even from 1957 a stone building was investigated in trench II A. It had stone walls (0.50-0.60 m thickness) bound with lime mortar and a pavement of cobble stones.⁸⁷

Starting the archaeological research in the south part of the site, in 1958, was the opportunity to gather new data about the medieval town. So, in all six trenches there was no trace of 14th-16th centuries finds. This absence was explained either by a massive intervention in the 17th century, either by an interdiction to build in the close vicinity of the voivodal court.⁸⁸ Nevertheless, a 16th century dwelling and a pit containing iron tools were investigated in trenches opened north from *White Church*.⁸⁹ In the same area, two 16th-17th century masonry buildings and several pits were researched.⁹⁰

The year 1964 represents, as we already mentioned, a turning point in the archaeological researches from Târgșoru Vechi. It is the time when researches in D sector⁹¹ started, an area where a large surface of the medieval town will be investigated. In the first campaigns (1964-1967) only dwellings and pits dated in the 14th-15th centuries were identified.⁹² But in 1968, beside the common discoveries, like dwellings and pits, two 15th century pottery kilns were discovered.⁹³ Other uncommon discoveries were the wooden elements of a water mill during the excavations from sector I A.⁹⁴

A small difference in chronological aspects of the structures discovered in sector D can be sensed in the brief note concerning the 1969 campaign. This time all the archaeological complexes were dated in the 15th-16th centuries.⁹⁵

New mentions regarding medieval structures from sector B, area of Sântana de Mureș-Cerneachov cemetery, appear again in short notes after 1971. So, in 1972 campaign, issues dated in 15th-18th centuries were investigate.⁹⁶ Soon after, in the 1973-1974 campaigns, new structures from the same chronological frame as previously, such as several pits and two dwellings were excavated.⁹⁷ Some dwellings dated to the 15th century were investigated in the 1975 campaign as well.⁹⁸ The same situation continued for another decade. Between 1981 and 1990 extremely brief notes indicate that archaeological investigations were done mainly in the B sector and some medieval dwellings and pits were researched.⁹⁹

For the 1991-1997 archaeological campaigns there is some more data. In that period, the main goal of research was the Sântana de Mureș-Cerneachov cemetery, as well. But, next to 3rd-4th century graves, late medieval, 15th-17th centuries, structures were also documented: wooden dwellings, dumping pits, a cobble stone pavement.¹⁰⁰ In 1993, excavations were opened inside the second medieval enclosure, which overlaps the Sântana de Mureș-Cerneachov cemetery. As a consequence, five mortar pits were excavated and a cobble stone pavement. If the pits were interpreted in relation to the building moment of the second enclosure, the pavement was considered to be the road to the gate of the first enclosure.¹⁰¹

⁸⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 736.

⁸⁸ Popescu *et alii* 1961, p. 643.

⁸⁹ Ibidem, loc. cit.

⁹⁰ Ibidem, loc. cit.

⁹¹ Popescu 1965, p. 599, no. 82.

⁹² Popescu 1966, p. 724.

⁹³ Popescu 1969, p. 497, no. 152.

⁹⁴ Constantinescu 1969, p. 86.

 ⁹⁵ Popescu 1970, p. 516, no. 148.
 ⁹⁶ Morintz 1972, p. 394, pp. 158

 ⁹⁶ Morintz 1973, p. 394, no. 158.
 ⁹⁷ Stoia 1975, p. 302, po. 183

⁹⁷ Stoia 1975, p. 302, no. 183.
⁹⁸ Stoia 1976, p. 283, po. 123

⁹⁸ Stoia 1976, p. 283, no. 123.

⁹⁹ Barnea 1989, p. 310; Barnea 1990, p. 322; Barnea 1991, pp. 262-263.

¹⁰⁰ Diaconu *et alii* 1994, p. 66; Diaconu *et alii* 1997, p. 109; Barnea 1993, p. 405.

¹⁰¹ Barnea 1994, p. 384; Diaconu *et alii* 1994, p. 66.

In the 1997 campaign, in a surface opened outside the north-east corner of the second enclosure, emerged the wooden remains of a partially sunken building dated in 15th-16th centuries. Inside the structure, next to pottery sherds, some fragments from a stove were founded.¹⁰²

No dwelling will be discovered in the following campaigns. In 1999 only 19 pits were investigated. Those pits were either dumping ones, being used before the existence of the second enclosure, either mortar ones in relation with the building moment of the second enclosure.¹⁰³ More pits, over 30, were found in the 2001 campaign, from both categories, next to the cobble stone road and a brick pavement. The cobble stone surface can be another part of the road identified in 1993 campaign.

Summing up, trenches excavated in the space between the two enclosures, one from the end of 16th century and one, larger, from final years of the 17th century (beginning of the 18th century) helped to identify and conclude on the many building and reconstruction phases related to both enclosures next to a late 17th century paved road and a 16th-18th centuries culture layer (dwellings, pits and kilns).¹⁰⁴

A surprising discovery was the stone building from 2003. Found in the north-east corner of the second enclosure, in a surface opened for the Sântana de Mureș-Cearnechov cemetery, it was excavated in several campaigns. It was about foundations cast in trenches, containing stone and brick fragments. One was 4.7 m long and 0.60 m / 0.80 m thick, while the other 4.80 m long and 0.70 m / 0.90 m thick. In the space between those foundations two pavements were identified, one of cobble stone and the other of brick fragments. The west foundation was disturbed by the foundation of the enclosure wall. This relation indicates that the building must be dated sometimes before the end of 17th century, but not earlier than the 16th century, because under this stone structure, a 16th century wooden one was discovered.¹⁰⁵

From the excavations opened in the D sector, besides dumping pits, a special archaeological complex can be mentioned. Identified in 2004, this complex has a rectangular plan layout and a "U" profile. It continues in both directions outside the excavated area. Its trench aspect and its possible length point to an interpretation as a possible water channel, maybe with agricultural purpose.

Conclusions

Archaeological investigations from different areas of the medieval town emphasize some particularities in its evolving. So, during the centuries the town was flourishing and enlarging its boundaries, changing its size and destinations of its different areas.

In this respect we can mention some cases identified during archaeological excavations. So, in trench II A, a 17th century dwelling was investigated at only 4 m east of a 15th-16th centuries grave.¹⁰⁶ This situation of two different monuments belonging to antagonistic sides of town life suggest that the funeral space was abandoned at a certain moment and lost its sacral attributes, being reused some time later as a habitation area. A similar situation can be observed in the area of the voivodal court. Thus, the enclosure wall and the construction from the east side, near the tower gate, overlap some late 16th century graves.¹⁰⁷

We have mentioned only some examples of the dynamics of the medieval town, which changes the destinations of areas according to its momentary necessities. Some archaeological discoveries can help us make some assertions about a possible urban layout of the medieval town. In this respect, the ground plan of trench II A,¹⁰⁸ excavated in 1957 can be suggestive for a discussion about a street plan or urbanism. On this plan we can observe a certain lineament in positions of medieval structures. Sure, a certain question arises: this situation can be a reflection of certain intentionality about the planimetric layout of the houses in this neighbourhood of

¹⁰² Diaconu *et alii* 1997, p. 109.

¹⁰³ Diaconu et alii, 2000.

¹⁰⁴ Diaconu *et alii* 1997, p. 109.

¹⁰⁵ Niculescu et alii 2004.

¹⁰⁶ Popescu *et alii* 1960, p. 731, Fig. 4; p. 737.

¹⁰⁷ Constantinescu 1969, p. 90.

¹⁰⁸ Popescu *et alii* 1960, p. 731, Fig. 4.

the medieval town or this plan is a reflection of positions of the same owner's constructions.¹⁰⁹ If we take into consideration the basic description of Wallachian medieval towns, large gardens and a so called rural aspect,¹¹⁰ than is more likely to accept the second possible interpretation, constructions being too close to respect the literary image. Anyway, in both cases, we think that the position of the buildings can suggest a presence and orientation of a street.

Another argument in favour of a certain street plan is given by the same IIA trench. This time we based our assumptions on the written description only, with no illustration being published.¹¹¹ So, in the archaeological report it is mentioned the existence of three cobble stone pavements. All have a parallel disposition one to another and the same north-south orientation. Their length is between 4 and 5 m, being, in our opinion, wide enough to be considered streets. The distance between them is variable. So, there are 40 m between the first pavement and the second one and almost 70 m between the second and the third one.

It must be noticed that the disposition of those streets was almost perpendicular on the axis of the formerly mentioned constructions. But such an urban arrangement, having a perpendicular network of streets is very unusual for a Wallachian medieval town, so it must be something else. More probably, based on the chronological differences, it is a testimony of a major change in the main axes of the town. So, the east-west axis suggested by the 16th century building lineament is no longer in use in the 17th century, when the paved street can be dated. Most likely this can be interpreted in relation with the major changing suffered by the voivodal court: the building of the new enclosure wall and the rebuilding on a new structure of the voivodal houses. This reorganization of the space of the voivodal houses can be reflected in a reorganization of the town itself, at least of the area in close vicinity with the court.

Anyway, one should not think too far, given the rather poor present archaeological arguments for such a discussion. Nevertheless, the medieval town of Târgșoru is likely to respect the general "rural" image of Wallachian towns, opened (not fortified), covering large space with a rare density of buildings and large gardens.¹¹²

Based on the chronology of the archaeological discoveries, an attempt to make suppositions on how the town developed over the centuries is hard to do. Large areas were not even prospected and a huge quantity of data is not published yet. The chronology of the archaeological structures, mentioned in brief notes in a summarized archaeological activity of the Institute of Archaeology, published in journals like Dacia or SCIV(A) must be taken with extreme caution.

One of the main arguments in this kind of enquiry is the chronology of the churches.

In the case of Bucharest, Dana Harhoiu observed that "the territorial organization principle of the city was that of the parish units, while the symbolic and formal expression of these units within the urban structure of those times was the exclusive privilege of churches".¹¹³

In the same manner, in the case of Câmpulung, Gh. I. Cantacuzino noticed that "the way how it was organized and its urban evolution can only be presumed taking into consideration the position and chronology of the churches".¹¹⁴ Moreover, it was observed that "churches marked the expansion of habitation and the population growth, which made necessary the enlargement of some churches next to building of some new ones".¹¹⁵ So, "the building order and transformation of these churches reflect the development of the city and the population growth, marking the expansion of the town".¹¹⁶

¹⁰⁹ Both interpretations are based on the chronology proposed in the archaeological report.

¹¹⁰ Harhoiu 1997, p. 34, "the society of the 16th – 17th centuries was rural in its essence even inside towns, where gardens and stables dictate the solar rhythm of peasant economy".

¹¹¹ Popescu *et alii* 1960, p. 736.

¹¹² Cantacuzino 2011, p. 22, p. 31 for Câmpulung; Harhoiu 1997, p. 34 for a general image of the medieval towns, showing "an apparent discontinue urban structure, rarefied, but with a certain regularity".

¹¹³ Harhoiu 1997, p. 31.

¹¹⁴ Cantacuzino 2011, p. 23.

¹¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 30.

¹¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 31.





Fig. 7. Position of the 15th century habitation areas.

A similarity in what concerns the rural aspect of a Wallachian town can be observed in the case of Târgoviște, too. Here "the streets have a winding track", "plots and houses being distributed in a larger volume, having parcels of 500-3000 sqm, generally used for agriculture, smaller plots (200-300 sqm) being in the commercial area".¹¹⁷

So, based on those observations on the development of Bucharest, Câmpulung and Târgoviște, towns that in the 16th century at least, were at a similar maturity level with Târgșoru Vechi, we think we can apply those models to our medieval town reality. So, in this respect, if we look at the distribution of churches investigated, we will see the following picture: a certain 15th century church in the A area, two possible 16th century churches in B and C areas and, again, a 17th century church in the A area (Fig. 6).

Based on those data it seems that the main part was area A, placed on a height that dominates the surroundings, due to three main facts: 1. the existence here of a church of Vlad Ţepeş; 2. the existence here of a voivodal court; 3. continuity in use of this area as main sacred space, by building the 17th century church and continuous attention of the Wallachian rulers for churches in this area. To this idyllic picture, new details can be brought by investigation to churches from E and F areas, next to clarifications on the church from D area.

Based on what we know from the published data, there could be two scenarios: a. a centrifugal development of the medieval town, with the centre in area A; b. a polycentric development with two different actors (voivodal court on one side, medieval town on the other side).¹¹⁸ In support of this second case one can quote the date of the church from D area, next to the chronology of the medieval structures from the town's neighbourhoods (Fig. 7), the one investigated on the right bank of Leaota River (sector D of the site), or that from the left bank (sector A of the site).

Whatever the case may be, in the 16th and 17th centuries (at least in the first half), we can archaeologically observe a general and uniform distribution of findings, covering a larger area than that occupied by the 15th century structures. Hopefully a future publication of existing data will bring more arguments in support of a better understanding of the significance of the medieval town of Târgşoru Vechi.

¹¹⁷ Constantinescu et alii 2009, p. 27.

¹¹⁸ This scenario with two different centers, a voivodal court and a town, seems to be similar to Câmpulung case (Cantacuzino 2011, p. 32).

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