

ACTA TERRAE SEPTEMCASTRENSIS

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CULTURAL NAȚIONAL
AL JUDEȚULUI SIBIU

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*The Society of the Living –
the Community of the Dead
(from Neolithic to the Christian Era)*

Proceedings of the
7th International Colloquium of Funerary Archaeology

Editors: Sabin Adrian LUCA, Valeriu SÎRBU

Sibiu, 2006

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Le VIIe Colloque International d'Archéologie Funéraire

**« La Société des vivants, la communauté des morts
(depuis le néolithique jusqu'à l'époque chrétienne) »**

Sibiu, le 6-9 octobre 2005

Le Colloque s'est proposé d'analyser l'une des plus importantes et fascinantes relations, évidente dès les débuts de l'humanité, à savoir celle entre la « société des vivants » et « la communauté des morts ».

L'analyse de ce phénomène pour plus de cinq millénaires nous a permis d'observer autant les éléments de continuité, visibles surtout au niveau des mentalités, que ceux de discontinuité, visibles dans les formes concrètes de manifestation, reflétés dans la manière de traiter les défunt, mais aussi le mobilier ou les offrandes déposées auprès d'eux.

On a présenté des communications portant sur ce phénomène depuis le néolithique, les âges du bronze et du fer, l'antiquité classique et jusqu'au Moyen Âge ancien. Les auteurs ont fait référence à une aire géographique très vaste, depuis Antikithira dans la Méditerranée, au sud, jusqu'au centre de la Pologne, au nord et la zone du Don, à l'est, jusqu'aux Carpates Occidentales, à l'ouest. Au-delà de certaines « constantes », saisissables dans les mentalités, les manières concrètes de comportement des communautés humaines avec les défunt sont très intéressantes, explicables d'ailleurs si l'on tient compte qu'il s'agissait des communautés se trouvant à l'aube de la civilisation, ensuite le monde gréco-romain et les peuples « barbares » contemporains (Thraces, Celtes, Scythes, Germains), arrivant jusqu'aux peuples chrétiens du Moyen Âge ancien. Les discussions portées après la présentation des communications ont eu, très souvent, des résultats fructueux, car on y a nuancé les problèmes abordés.

Une trentaine de chercheurs de Roumanie, Bulgarie, Grèce, République Tchèque et Pologne y ont soutenu des communications ; nous sommes désolés que, pour des raisons objectives, les archéologues de la République de Moldavie et d'Ukraine n'aient pas pu prendre part, mais ils ont envoyé leurs travaux afin d'être publiés.

Il est important que ces communications soient à la disposition de tous ceux qui s'intéressent à ce phénomène, car on les publiera en un volume et présentera sur Internet.

Bien que ce soit la première fois où ce colloque n'a pas lieu dans la zone du Bas Danube, le choix de la ville de Sibiu s'est avéré heureux, et nous disons cela pour plusieurs raisons. Toutes les institutions et les personnes de cette merveilleuse ville, impliquées dans l'organisation, méritent nos sincères félicitations et remerciements. Parmi eux, nous devons remercier en particulier le professeur Sabin Adrian Luca qui a eu un rôle essentiel dans la réussite du colloque et dans la publication des travaux. La visite faite dans le célèbre Musée Brukenthal, ainsi que l'excursion documentaire, qui a permis la connaissance du paysage et de monuments importants dans le voisinage de Sibiu, ont heureusement complété ce colloque. Les hôtes ont fait la promesse d'organiser aussi le futur colloque, en 2007, l'année où la ville de Sibiu sera la capitale culturelle d'Europe.

À signaler la fréquence des trois derniers colloques d'archéologie funéraire, à Brăila (2003), Buzău (2004) et Sibiu (2005).

Valeriu SÎRBU
Président de la XXX^e Commission de UISPP

Einleitung

Zwischen 6.-9. Oktober 2005, veranstaltete unseres Forschungszentrum (das Institut zur Erforschung und Verwertung der siebenbürgischen Kulturerbe in europäischen Kontext) das 7. Internationale Kolloquium für Grabarchäologie "Die Gesellschaft der Lebendigen, die Gemeinschaft der Toten – aus der Jungsteinzeit bis in der christlichen Ära". Es war, nämlich, das dritte Treffen zu dieser Thema, das in Rumänien, unter der Schirmherrschaft der 30. UISPP- Kommision (*Bestattungsritus und -Ritual*), stattfand. An der Veranstaltung haben Forscher aus Länder Mittel- und Südosteuropas teilgenommen, mit interessanten Themen bezüglich der Bestattungsbräuche unterschiedlicher Bevölkerungen, seit der Jungsteinzeit und bis im Frühmittelalter.

Im Monat Oktober des Jahres 2007, wann Sibiu/Hermannstadt, zusammen mit Luxemburg, zu Kulturhauptstadt Europas sein wird, werden wir wieder diesen Treffen veranstalten.

Wir hoffen, daß der vorliegende Band für die wissenschaftlichen Anliegen der 30. UISPP-Kommision repräsentativ ist.

Prof.univ.dr. Sabin Adrian LUCA

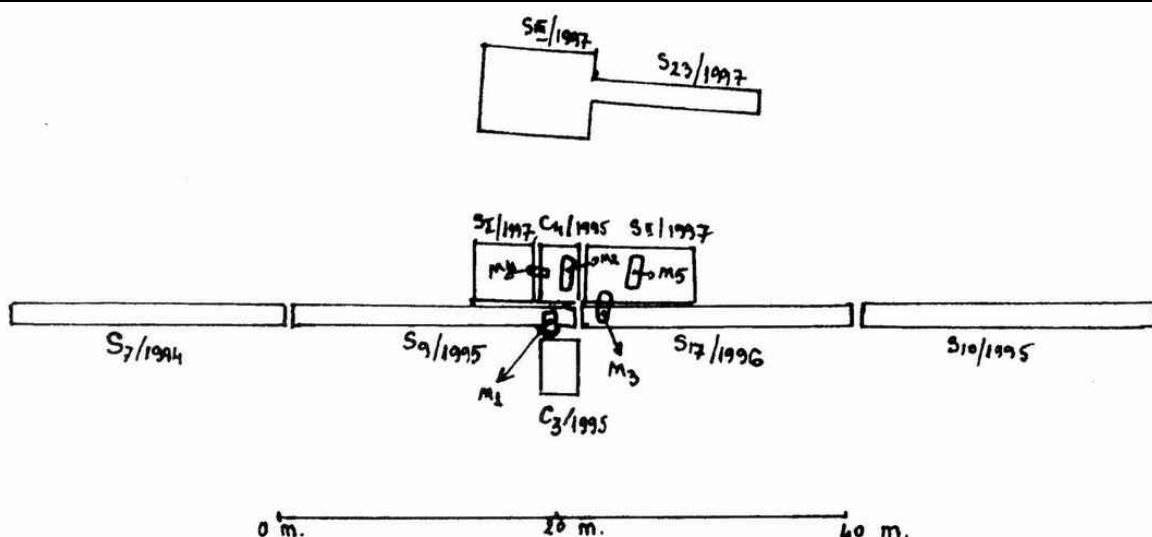
**Direktor des Institutes zur Erforschung und Verwertung der siebenbürgischen
Kulturerbe in europäischen Kontext**

LA NECROPOLE APPARTENANT À LA CULTURE TURDAS TROUVÉE A ORĂŞTIE-DEALUL PEMILOR, LE LIEU DIT X₂

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L'habitat néolithique situé sur la première terrasse non-inondable de la rivière de Mureş, à l'est de la ville d'Orăştie, est connu par les archéologues dès l'année 1991 (le site archéologique a été redécouvert lors d'une exploration du terrain entreprise dans le printemps de l'année 1991 par Z. K. Pinter, Aurelian Cosma et l'auteur de ces lignes. La première découverte du site Turdaş est due au professeur Nicolae Adam il y a 30 ans. Les premières mentions concernant les complexes archéologiques découverts sur la terrasse nommée par nous *Dealul Pemilor* ont été faites en 1993 (Luca, Cosma 1993), les publications ultérieures consacrant cette dénomination dans la littérature de spécialité (Luca, Pinter 1994; Luca 1994; Luca 1995a; Luca 1995b). Maintenant il y a aussi une monographie de cet habitat de la culture Turdaş (Luca 1997b).



Plan 1. La zone centrale du site archéologique d'Orăştie-Dealul Pemilor, le lieu dit X₂. La nécropole néolithique (2).

Les niveaux de cet habitat sont contemporains (Orăştie I et II), en grande partie, avec le niveau II (intermédiaire) de Turdaş-Luncă, à l'exception du cas où le nouveau niveau de Orăştie peut être partiellement plus tardif que le niveau II (supérieur) de Turdaş.

Les quelques matériaux ostéologiques ramassés dans les complexes approfondis de Orăştie-Dealul Pemilor, lieu dit X₂ et leur datation C¹⁴ nous permettent de fixer, du point de vue chronologique, au moins une partie de la stratigraphie de Turdaş-Luncă. Les échantillons ont été prélevés des complexes d'habitation approfondis, clos, du site archéologique dans la proximité du municipie d'Orăştie, la chaumière B₁/1992-1993 et la chaumière nommée B₂/1994. Ces complexes appartiennent au niveau ancien du site Turdaş d'ici.

Pour la recherche intégrale d'un profil stratigraphique de la station on a tracé la magistrale I, orientée nord – sud. Même si cette section a atteint environ 300 m de long, nous ne pouvons pas sectionner tout le site de Turdaş.

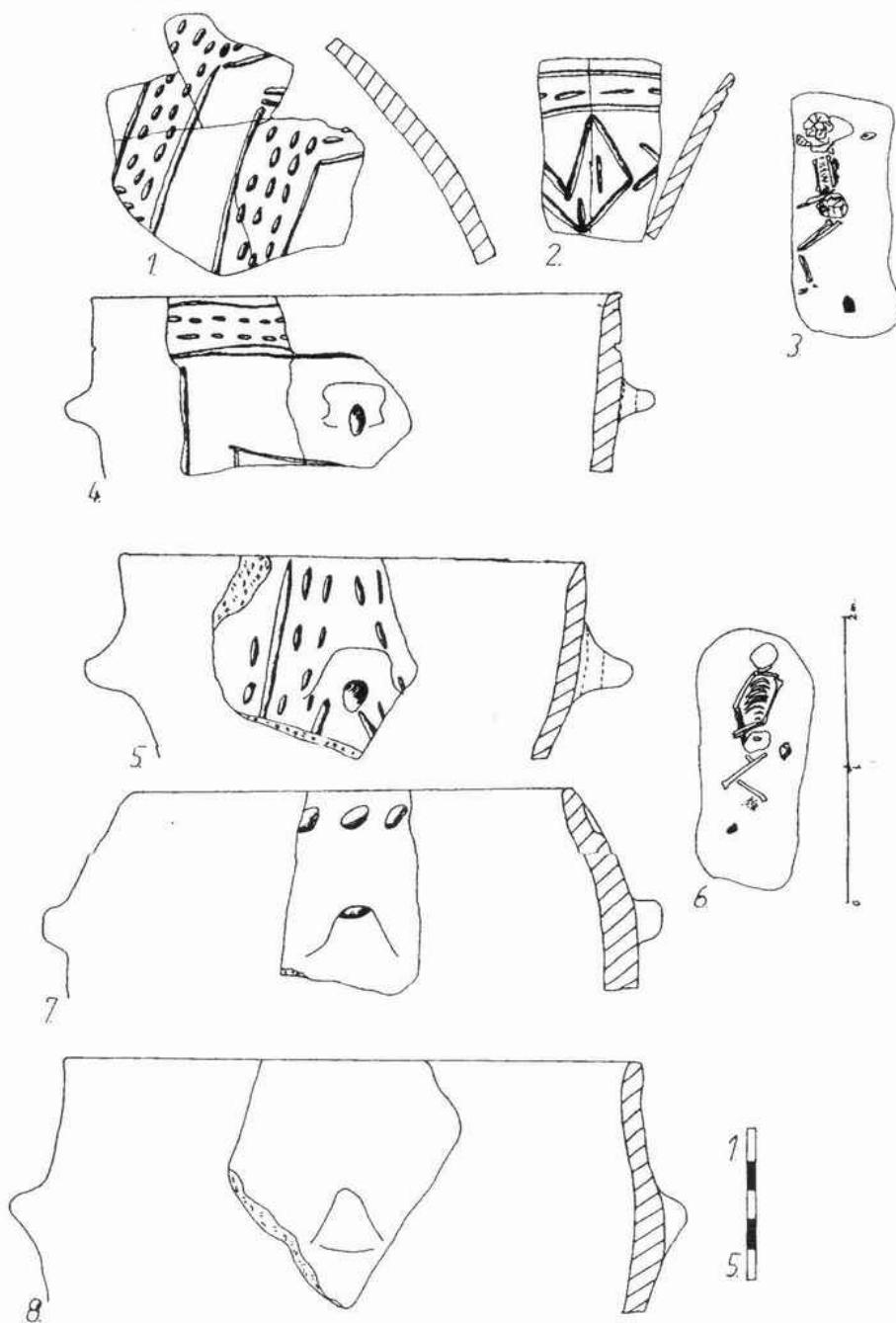


Fig. 1. Les tombeaux M₁₋₂. Céramique trouvée dans les tombeaux.

Les observations stratigraphiques faites à la suite de la recherche systématique de la magistrale M I, nous déterminent à affirmer que, au milieu de la zone habitée, se trouve un endroit sans habitations, au moins dans la phase ancienne (voir plan 1).

Dans cet endroit nous avons découvert des fosses de tombeaux, qui, selon nous, signalent la présence d'une nécropole néolithique (le cimetière 2, parce que le cimetière 1 est daté au début du II^e millénaire – Luca, Pinter 1994).

Les tombeaux découverts dans le cimetière 2 (nécropole néolithique – Luca 2000) ont les caractéristiques suivantes:

TOMBÉAU M₁ / 1995 (fig. 1/6; plan 1)

Le tombeau appartient, selon toutes les probabilités, à un adulte de sexe masculin. La fosse dans laquelle a été mis le défunt a été découverte dans la partie méridionale de la section S₉/1995, le carreau 13. Pour la recherche complète du monument archéologique on a pratiqué, dans le profil de la section, une cassette de 1/1,30 m. La fosse dans laquelle on a mis le décédé avait une forme rectangulaire et elle a été exécutée, par hasard, sur la place d'une fosse de pieu / poteau, chronologiquement antérieure. À la suite de son tassemement, il y a une différence de profondeur entre la tête (0,90 m) et le bassin et les jambes du squelette (1,15 m). Le squelette était orienté E-O, la tête vers l'est et le regard vers le nord. Dans la fosse, le cadavre a été couché sur la droite, les jambes fléchies sous le bassin. Les bras du défunt ont été posés devant le bassin. La position générale du décédé est demi-accroupie.

Dans le remblai de la fosse on a découvert des fragments céramiques brûlés secondairement – probablement, au cours du banquet funéraire – (fig. 2/2-6, 8-10), des os d' animaux, brûlés ou passés par le feu, une pièce d'une tablette-amulette, appartenant – probablement – au décédé (fig. 2/1) et des morceaux de charbon. Sur le niveau d' excavation de la fosse on a découvert de l' ocre rouge, qui était également répandu, dans la zone des os des jambes et de la tête du défunt. Le mauvais état de conservation des os ne nous a pas permis de distinguer s'ils ont été couverts ou non de pigment rouge. Enfin, on a pu constater l' existence d'une offrande de viande au dos du squelette (une omoplate provenant d' un grand animal) et quelques pièces de silex sur le niveau d' utilisation de la fosse.

TOMBÉAU M₂ / 1995 (fig. 1/3; plan 1)

Le tombeau appartient à un adulte et il a été découvert dans la cassette C₄/1995. La fosse du tombeau est orientée E-O, le défunt ayant la tête vers l'est, le regard vers le nord. Le corps a été mis sur la droite, les mains au devant du bassin et les genoux fléchis, la position générale du squelette étant demi-accroupie. La fosse du tombeau est rectangulaire aux coins arrondis, la profondeur à laquelle le squelette a été découvert étant de 1,15 m. Sur toute la superficie du niveau d' utilisation de la fosse on a découvert de l' ocre rouge. L' offrande alimentaire a été posée derrière la tête (de grands os, provenant des parties charnues de bovidés (?)). Sur la tête on a découvert un grand morceau de charbon et un vase (fig. 2/7). Les os du squelette sont très mal conservés.

Le remblai du tombeau contenait des fragments de vases brûlés secondairement, probablement pendant le banquet funéraire (fig. 1/1-2, 4-5, 7-8), charbon, ocre rouge (?) ainsi que des fragments d'os d' animaux.

TOMBÉAU M₃ / 1996 (fig. 3, plan 1)

Il appartient, selon nous, à un adulte de sexe masculin. Le squelette est orienté E-O, la tête orientée vers l'est et le regard vers le nord, dans une position demie-accroupie sur la droite. Les bras du défunt sont posés devant le bassin, vers les paumes il y a un vase (V₁ – fig. 3/2) et devant la tête, une hache en pierre polie, sa position suggérant qu'elle a été tenue dans la main, sa longueur approximative étant, en conséquence, de 0,40-0,50 m (T₁ – fig. 3/4). Devant la tête se trouvaient un vase (V₂ – fig. 3/5) et l' offrande alimentaire représentée par un os d' un grand animal, la partie sélectionnée provenant d'une zone charnue. Derrière la tête on a découvert une autre hache en pierre polie, mise comme si elle était portée au dos, dans la ceinture (T₂ – fig. 3/3).

La fosse dans laquelle était mis le défunt est rectangulaire, aux coins arrondis. Dans son remblai on a découvert des fragments de vases brûlés secondairement à l' occasion du banquet funéraire, des fragments d'os d' animaux (quelques-uns aux traces évidentes de passage par le feu) et des traces d' ocre rouge. Nous mentionnons que c'est le seul tombeau pour lequel nous avons des observations stratigraphiques sûres: les restes d'une plate-forme d' habitation réalisée en pierre de rivière, appartenant au niveau supérieur, couvrent partiellement la fosse du tombeau, qui – en conséquence – appartient au niveau inférieur. Mais il faut être de suite circonspect, car cette observation reste à être confirmée.

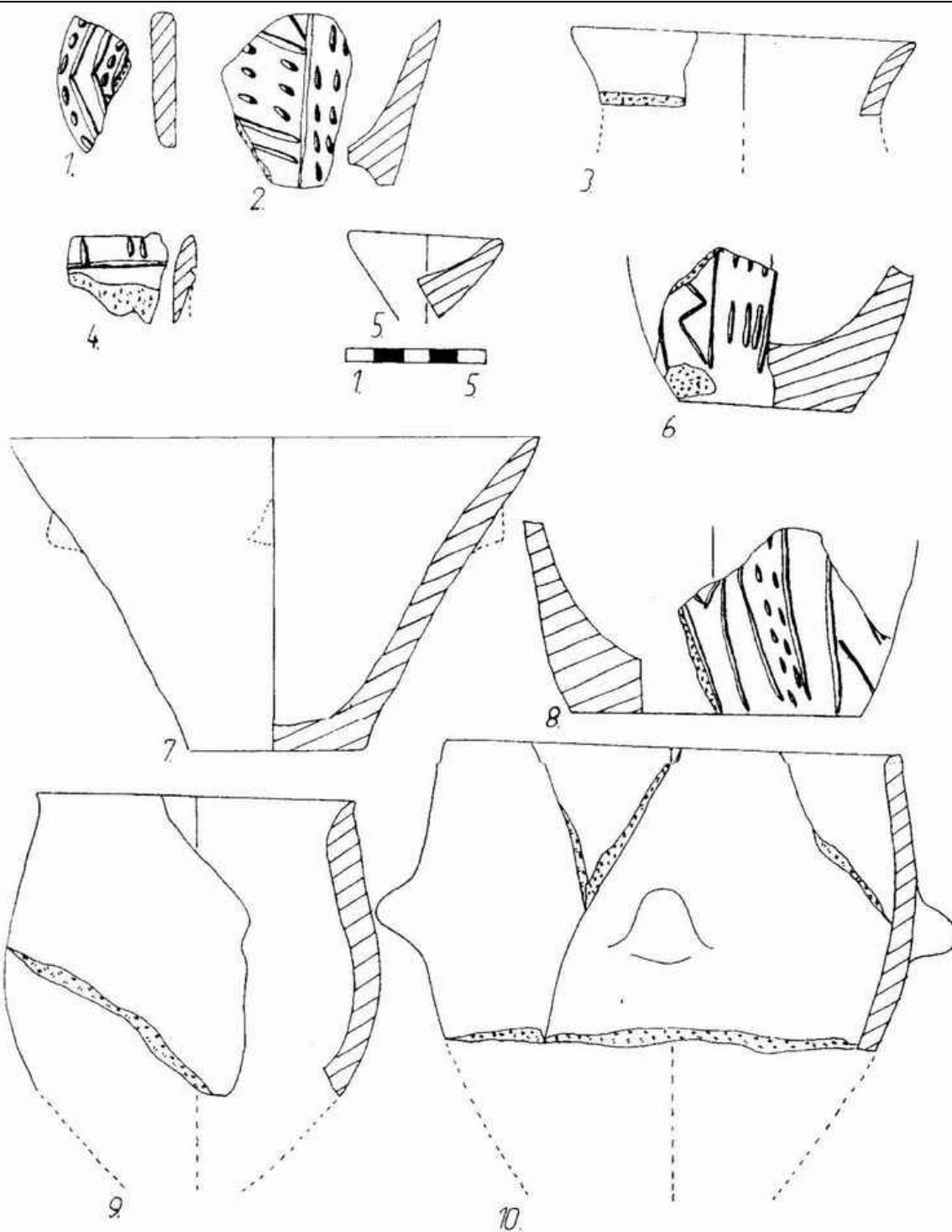


Fig. 2. Les tombeaux M₁₋₂. Céramique trouvée dans les tombeaux.

TOMBÉAU M₄ / 1995, 1997 (cénotaphe)

Le monument a été découvert en deux reprises successives, pendant les années 1995 et 1997, Sa fosse est rectangulaire aux coins arrondis et ne contient pas les restes d'un squelette humain. Le fond de la fosse est couvert de charbon et d'ocre rouge. Les fragments céramiques découverts à côté des restes d'os d'animaux suggèrent l'étape du banquet funéraire. La fosse-cénotaphe est orientée nord-sud, perpendiculairement sur la direction générale d'orientation des autres tombeaux.

TOMBÉAU M₅ / 1997 (cénotaphe)

Il a les mêmes caractéristiques que le tombeau M₄ / 1995, 1997, à l'exception du fait qu'il est orienté E-O et que le fond de la fosse n'était pas soigneusement creusé.

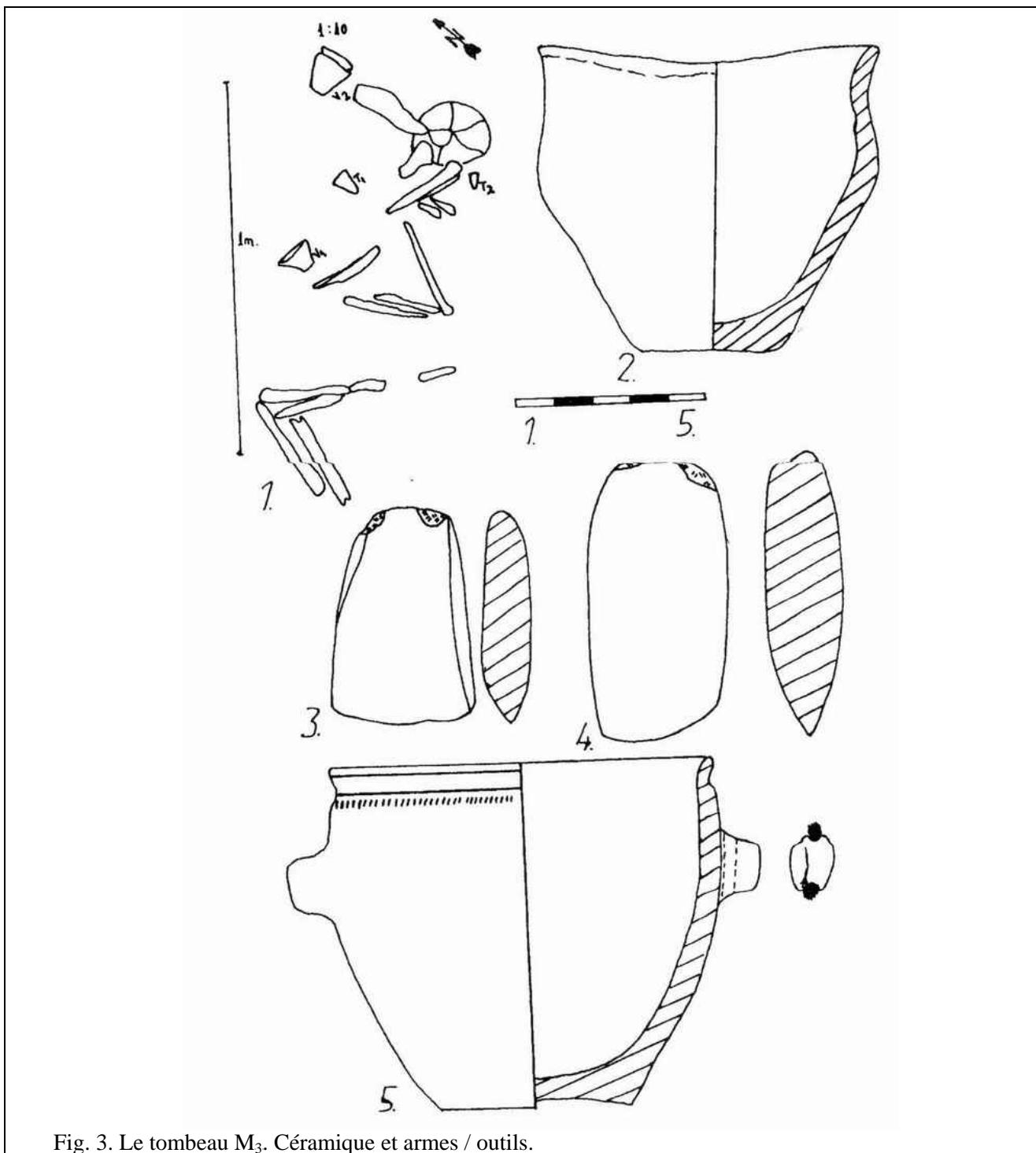


Fig. 3. Le tombeau M₃. Céramique et armes / outils.

Après avoir parcouru la description des 5 tombeaux, nous pouvons mettre en ordre quelques idées essentielles, qui donnent les caractéristiques de la nécropole néolithique (Numéro 2) de Orăştie-Dealul Pemilor, *lieu dit X₂*:

- 80 % des fosses des tombeaux sont orientées dans la direction E-O;
- toutes les fosses sont rectangulaires, aux coins arrondis, en raison de la technologie et des outils d'excavation de ces temps-là;
- dans le remblai des fosses nous avons trouvé du charbon, de l'ocre rouge (dans les tombeaux à squelette ceci se trouve abondamment à la tête, au milieu et à l'extrémité des jambes), des os d'

animaux (parfois passés par le feu) et des fragments de vases cassés pendant le banquet funéraire et passés, partiellement, par le feu;

- quelques décédés ont aussi des vases comme mobilier funéraire – dans les tombeaux M₂₋₃ – (d'habitude dans la zone de la tête ou des mains), des haches en pierre polie (dans la main ou au dos – M₃) et des outils de silex dégrossis (M₁);

- les squelettes sont orientés, sans exception, E-O, la tête vers l'est et le regard vers le nord;

- la position des squelettes est demi-accroupie, les décédés étant couchés sur la droite, les genoux fléchis.

Sur la surface de l' habitat néolithique de cet endroit on a découvert, de même, en positions stratigraphiques difficilement à expliquer, les suivants:

- dans la couche de culture on a découvert, avec intermittence, des os humains passés par le feu ou des fragments de calotte crânienne. Leur apparition nous fait penser à une forme de cannibalisme usé par la communauté néolithique d'ici. Il faut également prendre en considération l' opinion selon laquelle il y avait des rites parallèles d'enterrement, parmi lesquels celui d'exposer le défunt sur une plate-forme pour se décharner – dans la chaumière B₂ / 1994 on a découvert, dans le second horizon d'utilisation, deux calottes crâniennes découpées au-dessus des sourcils, utilisées soit comme récipients à boire, soit à d'autres fins, qui nous échappent.

Nous ne croyons pas que quelques données stratigraphiques soient de trop. La chaumière B₁/1992-1993 a été découverte à l' occasion de la fouille dans la section S₂/1992 et la cassette C₁/1993. La section S₂/1992 a eu les dimensions de 20/1,5 m et a été tracée sur l' axe de la magistrale stratigraphique I à 20 m sud-est de la section S₁/1992. En 1993, la liaison entre les deux sections a était faite en traçant et fouillant la section S₃/1993. La couche de culture appartenant à la culture Turdaş a jusqu'au 0,45 m d'épaisseur. Les principaux complexes surpris dans la section sont la demeure approfondie B₁/1992-1993, la demeure de surface L₃/1992-1993 et la tranchée 1 (Luca 1997b, p. 23). Dans la demeure L₃/1992-1993 on a découvert un complexe de culte important pour comprendre la relation homme – divinité dans le néolithique (Luca 1994, p. 363-367; Luca 1997b, p. 65-67).

La cassette C₁/1993 a été tracée et fouillée pour découvrir intégralement la chaumière B₁/1993. Elle a eu les dimensions de 6/4 m (Luca 1997b, p. 26).

La demeure approfondie a, sur le niveau antique de marche, un lit de pierres et est excavée à une profondeur maximale de 2,40 m. Sa forme est ronde. La fosse de la chaumière a été excavée en plusieurs marches, irrégulières, ayant les dimensions de 1,15; 1,55; 1,75; 2,10 et 2,40 m. La demeure L₃/1992-1993 a modifié la stratigraphie naturelle et a perturbé le mode de remplissage du complexe approfondi, par ses fosses et les tranchées de fondation et qui sont excavées partiellement à l' intérieur du niveau de la demeure du niveau ancien.

La chaumière B₁/1992-1993 a plusieurs niveaux de remplissage. Dans ce complexe on a découvert aussi des morceaux massifs d'adobes qui montrent que les parois de la chaumière ont été crépies avec une grosse couche d'argile, spécialement aux jonctions des poutres (Luca 1997b, p. 30, plan 2 a-b, 3 a-b). La preuve pour la datation à l'aide du charbon radioactif (fig. 2) a été prélevée du plancher du premier niveau de marche/construction de la chaumière et consiste en un fémur massif de *Bos*. La date obtenue porte la sigle Deb. 5762 ± 60 BP. La date calibrée de la preuve est 4768-4582 CalBC.

Deux autres preuves ont été prélevées d'une demeure-chaumière semblable comme construction et appartenant au même niveau stratigraphique. La chaumière B₂/1994 a été découverte dans la section S₆/1994. Celle-ci a eu les dimensions de 20/1,5 m et a été tracée en prolongeant la section S₂/1992, comme partie intégrante de la magistrale I. La couche de la culture a environ 0,40 m d'épaisseur dans la section S₆/1994, mais s'épaissit dans la zone des complexes majeurs. En plan horizontal, on a surpris, à l' extérieur de la chaumière B₂/1994, trois autres fosses (Luca 1997b, p. 24, plan 4a-c).

Pour la recherche intégrale de la chaumière B₂/1994 on a pratiqué la cassette C₂/1994, ayant les dimensions suivantes: le côté est, 5,56 m, le côté méridional, 5 m, le côté occidental, 3,75 m et le côté septentrional, 5 m (Luca 1997b, p. 26, plan 4 et plan 1). La réalisation de cette cassette a permis la recherche presque intégrale du complexe approfondi d' habitation.

La chaumière se présente sous la forme d'une fosse ronde, ayant des marches d' accès vers l' intérieur dans la partie sud-est, une concavité dans la partie nordique et une marche ménagée dans la terre jaune d' à peu près 4 m², découverte à une profondeur de 1,73 m, qui peut représenter un "lit", un "canapé" pour dormir. La profondeur maximale du complexe d' habitation est de 2,15 m (Luca 1997b, plan 4c). À ce complexe est liée – par le niveau du commencement de la fosse excavée dans l' antiquité – une autre fosse, qui se trouve dans la partie occidentale de la cassette, creusée de même en marches, jusqu'au niveau de 0,86 m. Vers le nord on a découvert une autre fosse, creusée jusqu'à 1,80 m et, de même vers le nord, il y a encore une fosse, creusée jusqu'à la profondeur de 1,83 m. Les trois complexes peuvent appartenir au système de fondation de la chaumière B₂/1994.

La demeure approfondie a deux niveaux de réutilisation/aménagement. Le premier correspond à la plus ancienne excavation de la fosse, qui est arrivée jusqu'à 2,15 m. Après que la première chaumière a été colmatée, on a pratiqué un aménagement à 1,20 m de profondeur, qui représente le second niveau de marche de ce complexe. Après que le second niveau d' aménagement a été colmaté, la fosse restée a été utilisée pour déposer des restes ménagers, car elle contenait des matériaux archéologiques du niveau supérieur. Maintenant, on procède à un niveling de l' ancienne demeure par les habitants du niveau plus récent de ce site, à savoir Turdaş (Luca 1997b, p. 31).

De cette chaumière on a récolté deux preuves pour l' analyse de charbon radioactif du niveau de marche de la seconde chaumière/aménagement d' habitation, trouvée à 1,20 m de profondeur. Ces preuves consistent en deux portions de calotte crânienne, coupées (découpées) avec précision au-dessus des arcades oculaires et utilisées – selon toutes les probabilités – comme récipients pour la consommation des liquides, pour libations ou – pourquoi pas ? – comme des outils pour creuser des fosses dans la terre. Ce ne serait pas une situation particulière, car on sait bien que l'on avait fait de tels récipients de crânes humains. Mais la situation est inédite, vu l' apparition de ces deux pièces dans un complexe clos du néolithique roumain.

Nous remarquons que le découpage précis des calottes crâniennes au-dessus des arcades oculaires, en poursuivant une ligne imaginaire vers la base du crâne, montre l' intention directe de l' homme néolithique pour fabriquer les deux récipients. La cause pour laquelle on les a réalisées reste difficile à expliquer. Il peut s'agir de la communication entre les vivants et les morts/les ancêtres, mais le geste peut aussi être mis en relation avec un certain type de relation avec une communauté ennemie. Il peut être, également, un geste simple, pratique/usuel, les deux calottes pouvant être le plus accessible récipient, donc la signification cultuelle est seulement présumée, la plus vraisemblable restant seulement l' explication pratique, selon laquelle avec ces coquilles on buvait des liquides ou on faisait des libations, la libation étant – de toute façon – un geste situé entre le sacré et le profane.

La preuve numéro 1 (fig. 4) de B₂/1994 porte le sigle Deb. 5775 et a la valeur de 5790 ± 55 BP. La date C¹⁴ calibrée de la calotte humaine découpée est de 4734-4549 CalBC.

La preuve numéro 2 (fig. 6) de B₂/1994 porte le sigle Deb. 5765 et a la valeur de 6070 ± 70 BP. La date C¹⁴ calibrée de la calotte humaine découpée est de 5044-4895 CalBC.

La première chose qui frappe à ces dates est que la preuve numéro 2 a 300 ans de plus que la preuve numéro 1, même si elles ont été prélevées du même niveau de marche et gisaient une à côté de l' autre. Cette réalité nous oblige à réflexion. La différence de temps tellement grande peut être due, d' abord, à une erreur de prélèvement / manipulation liée au facteur humain contemporain. Mais l' erreur peut être due aussi à l' homme préhistorique, qui aurait pu utiliser une des deux calottes pour une période plus longue. Le crâne de la preuve 2 peut représenter un ancêtre plus ancien que le crâne de la preuve 1, sa calotte étant utilisée plus longtemps pour faire des libations ou pour boire. Le crâne de la preuve 2 peut être gardé, pour des raisons inconnues pour nous, une période plus longue par les habitants de Turdaş ou bien il est possible que l'un des crânes ait été apporté d' un autre habitat ou d'une nécropole plus ancienne, parce qu'il représentait l' ancêtre

commun et connu de la famille. De toute façon, la différence de 300 ans entre les deux crânes reste un signe d'interrogation, en particulier parce que la preuve 2 est aussi plus ancienne – plus de 200 ans – que la preuve la plus ancienne du point de vue stratigraphique de Orăştie-Dealul Pemilor, lieu dit X₂, c'est-à-dire celle qui a été prélevée de la chaumière B₁/1992-1993 (fig. 5: Deb. 5762 = 5825 ± 60 BP; 4768-4582 CalBC).

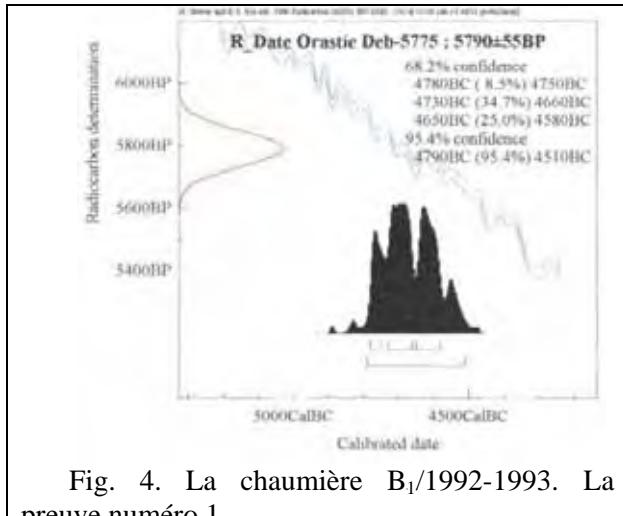


Fig. 4. La chaumière B₁/1992-1993. La preuve numéro 1.

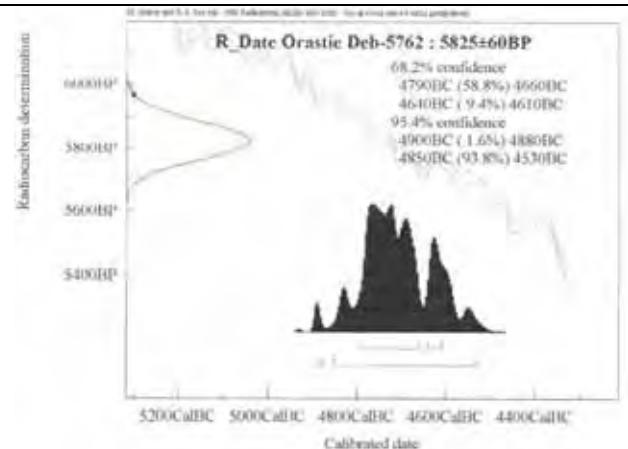


Fig. 5. La chaumière B₂/1994. La preuve numéro 3.

En comparant cette dernière preuve (fig. 5: Deb. 5762 = 5825 ± 60 BP; 4768-4582 CalBC) à la preuve numéro 1 de B₂/1994 (fig. 4: Deb. 5775 = 5790 ± 55 BP; 4734-4549 CalBC) nous observons une différence d'à peu près 30-35 ans BP ou 50-55 ans CalBC, ce qui peut être en accord avec l'observation stratigraphique selon laquelle la preuve récoltée au fond de la chaumière B₁ / 1992-1993 est plus ancienne que la preuve récoltée du second niveau de réaménagement de la chaumière B₂/1994. De toute façon, le niveau ancien/inférieur d'Orăştie peut être daté, avec la générosité qui s'impose, vers 5800 BP ou 4700-4660 CalBC (fig. 7), c'est-à-dire à un horizon chronologique Vinča C (Horváth 1991, p. 259-273, Fig. 4-5; Hertelendi, Horváth 1992, p. 3, Fig. 4; Papathanassopoulos et al. 1996, p. 28-29, fig. 3) et à la fin de la culture Tisza I (Horváth 1991, p. 270; Hertelendi, Horváth 1992, p. 865).

Nous pouvons comparer ces dates avec d'autres, qui proviennent de l'habitat de Foeni (département de Timiș), obtenues dans le même laboratoire, mises à notre disposition par la bienveillance du collègue Fl. Drașovean. Elles montrent qu'il y a une contemporanéité relative entre l'ancien niveau d'Orăştie, l'habitat de Foeni (la haute phase ou la phase classique ?) et le niveau II (intermédiaire) de l'habitat de Turdaș (dans la composition duquel se trouvent aussi des matériaux archéologiques non-peints du type Foeni et qui est contemporain – selon toutes les apparences – avec le niveau ancien d'Orăştie). De nouveau, les dates sont contemporaines avec la culture Vinča, phase C.

Pour confirmer les trois dates C14 de Orăştie-Dealul Pemilor, lieu dit X₂, nous avons prélevé et expédié une preuve au laboratoire de *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Arbeitsbereich Ur- und Frühgeschichte ¹⁴C-Labor* à Berlin. Par malheur, il a été supprimé et la preuve n'a pas pu être exploitée du point de vue scientifique.

Après une dizaine d'années de l'apparition de la synthèse citée au début de l'article concernant la datation absolue des cultures néolithiques et énéolithiques (Dumitrescu 1968) sont arrivées aussi les premières dates C¹⁴ pour la culture Petrești, dues à la recherche du site archéologique de Daia Română-Părăuț (3950-3760 av. J.-C. – Paul 1977, p. 15-26, 24; Paul 1981, p. 231; Paul 1992, p. 131). Transformées en années BP, ces dates sont 5900-5710 BP.

Les fouilles archéologiques systématiques de ce site ont été effectuées pendant les années 1967-1968 et 1971 (Paul 1981, p. 202; Paul 1992, p. 139-140; Paul 1995, p. 106), le plan publié montrant que l'on a pratiqué 7 sections et 4 cassettes (Paul 1981, p. 199, Abb. 2; Paul 1995, p. 143), sans avoir publié trop de choses concernant les complexes clos découverts à cette occasion.

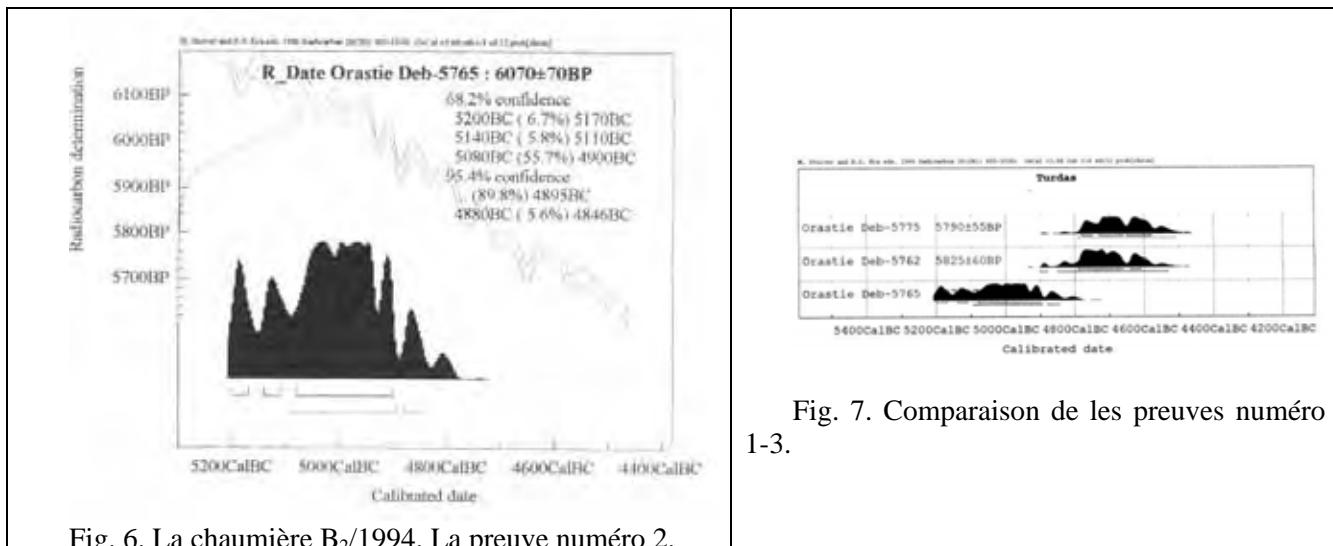


Fig. 6. La chaumière B₂/1994. La preuve numéro 2.

Fig. 7. Comparaison de les preuves numéro 1-3.

Les dates C¹⁴ obtenues à cette occasion sont caractéristiques pour la phase A de la culture Petrești, contemporaine – selon l'auteur – avec les phases II (partiellement) et III de la culture Precucuteni (Paul 1977, p. 24). L'auteur cité utilise sans interruption et redoublement les mêmes dates pour indiquer le lieu de la phase haute de la culture Petrești dans le contexte de l'énéolithique roumain.

Nous avons plusieurs observations à faire concernant ces dates et leur signification chronologique et culturelle.

La stratigraphie du site archéologique de Daia Română-Părăuț est extrêmement complexe, car ici existent au moins 4 niveaux et 7 sous-niveaux (I = Turdaș; II = Vinča B₂; II₁-II₄ = Petrești A; III₁-III₂ = Petrești A-B – Paul 1981, p. 202-203; Paul 1992, p. 139-140; Paul 1995, p. 106). Nous n'insistons pas dans cet article sur le fait que nous avons montré à maintes reprises que la culture Turdaș ne commence *pas plus tôt que la fin de la phase B₂ de la culture Vinča*, c'est-à-dire qu'il faut revoir la chronologie relative du site et de la culture en discussion, mais j'insiste, surtout, sur les caractéristiques de la stratigraphie de Daia Română-Părăuț, qui est – sans doute – extrêmement dynamique. Il nous est difficile à croire que le niveau d'où l'on a récolté les preuves, environ 20 cm d'épaisseur, a 200 ans. Cette observation est valable seulement si les preuves C¹⁴ proviennent de mélanges de couches. Cela est possible, parce que – comme on peut constater en étudiant les profils – les preuves n'ont été récoltées que partiellement des complexes clos (Paul 1981, Abb. 5).

Toutes les preuves ont été récoltées de S V / 1971 (Paul 1981, Abb. 4-5; Paul 1992, fig. 8-9). Cette section a été tracée vers le milieu de l'habitat (Paul 1981, Abb. 2; Paul 1992, pl. IIa; Paul 1995, p. 143, Taf. II). Il est difficile à comprendre le fait que l'orientation de la section est parfaitement nord-sud en deux des publications citées (Paul 1981, Abb. 2; Paul 1992, Pl. IIa) et nord-ouest – sud-est en une autre publication du même auteur (Paul 1995, p. 143, Taf. II). Le Nord et le Sud ne sont pas orientés dans la même direction! On se demande lequel des plans du site archéologique de Daia Română-Părăuț est réel et correspond à la situation dans le terrain ?

Il n'y a nulle part dans les textes signés par l'auteur mentionné, de références exactes aux dates C¹⁴ de Daia Română-Părăuț. On ne nous dit pas quelles sont les caractéristiques stratigraphiques (profondeur, complexes, section, carreau, couche etc.) et les techniques (l'ancienneté de chaque date avec ±, quelle est la composition du matériel organique prélevé et quelle sont les dates en elles-mêmes). En passant, soit dit, dans un des articles que nous avons cités, nous découvrons que les preuves auraient été analysées à Berlin (Paul 1981, p. 231). Nous ne savons pas combien de preuves on a prélevées et quelles sont leurs données techniques. En consultant l'illustration jointe à cet article, nous constatons qu'il peut s'agir de 5 preuves C¹⁴ (Paul 1981, Abb. 5), chose contredite dans un autre texte du même auteur, où nous découvrons, par l'illustration aussi, qu'il pourrait s'agir de 6 preuves (Paul 1992, fig. 8-9). Que ce soit 5 ou 6 preuves, nous n'avons aucune autre donnée ou

interprétation, que les années établies par l'auteur pour le commencement de Petrești, 3950-3760 av. J.-C. Nous ne savons pas comment on est arrivé à ces dates, mais 200 ans pour une couche de 20 cm, comme il résulte de l'étude des profils publiés par I. Paul, nous semble trop. En comparaison, les 2 m de stratigraphie d'ici devraient avoir 2000 ans!

Enfin, pour conclure ces observations, dans l'article publié dans la revue *PZ* (Paul 1981, p. 233) on dit que si nous sommes d'accord avec le fait que l'étape Vinča-Turdaş de Tărtăria est datée 3000/2900-2700 av. J.-C. (en se rapportant à la chronologie orientale, utilisée en ce moment), le début de la phase Petrești A de Daia Română se trouvait vers l'année 2700 av. J.-C. (4650 BP n.n.). Toutes ces observations, ainsi que d'autres, personnelles, indiqueront – selon le même auteur – que le Petrești avait duré 3500-600 ans, c'est-à-dire approximativement entre les années 2700 av. J.-C. (2600) et 2100 av. J.-C. (2000). Le parallélisme partiel de la culture Petrești avec la II^e phase de Troie (2400-2100 av. J.-C. – Paul 1981, p. 233-234), cela nous donne une image plastique sur le mode de penser de l'auteur, parce que, dès ces temps-là, on pensait que Troie II était beaucoup plus tardif.

On a publié aussi récemment une partie des dates d'après lesquelles I. Paul s'était inspiré quand il avait fait les affirmations citées dans les lignes précédentes. Elles ont été publiées grâce à Madame Z. Kalmar (Kalmar-Maxim 1999, p. 133) et sont les suivantes: 5900 ± 100 BP (Bln. 1197); 5835 ± 100 BP (Bln. 1199) et 5710 ± 100 BP (Bln. 1201). En les comparant, nous arriverions aux dates limite pour la couche Petrești A de Daia Română proposées par le professeur I. Paul (3950-3760 av. J.-C.), 5900-5710 BP.

Un embarras chronologique et – peut-être – méthodologique survient quand nous comparons ces dates (5900 ± 100 BP – Bln. 1197; 5835 ± 100 BP – Bln. 1199 et 5710 ± 100 BP – Bln. 1201 – valables pour la culture Petrești, la phase A, selon I. Paul) à celles d'Orăștie (5790 ± 55 BP – Deb. 5775; 6070 ± 70 BP – Deb. 5765 et 5825 ± 60 BP – Deb. 5762), valables pour la fin de la culture Turdaş.

On peut constater que l'une des phases tardives de la culture Turdaş – mais non pas dans la plus tardive, parce que, à Orăștie les complexes d'habitation approfondis sont couverts, parfois, par des demeures de surface qui peuvent être encadrées de même dans la culture Turdaş ! – est contemporaine avec la phase A de la culture Petrești, cela étant un argument pour le fait que les plus hauts éléments technologiques Petrești déjà formés viennent d'une autre zone géographique – le Banat. Plus tard, les hauts éléments Petrești transforment décisivement les communautés Turdaş vers la nouvelle culture. Ce scénario pourrait donner raison aux auteurs de la théorie non-autochtoniste de la genèse de la culture Petrești, c'est-à-dire au collègue Fl. Drașovean, qui cherche la genèse de cette culture transylvaine dans le groupe Foeni de Banat (Drașovean 1991, p. 209-212; Drașovean 1994a, p. 139-170; Drașovean 1994b, p. 1-45; Drașovean 1994c, p. 409-425; Drașovean 1995, p. 53-137; Drașovean 1996). Les éléments Foeni de Transylvanie sont le mieux mis en évidence à Mintia-Gerhat (Drașovean, Luca 1990, p. 7-18), mais aussi dans les nouvelles fouilles de Turdaş-Luncă (Luca 2001: niveau II – intermédiaire).

De toute façon, le problème reste ouvert et n'est pas un des plus simples à résoudre.

Au contraire, d'un autre point de vue, on pourrait croire que les dates C¹⁴ de Daia Română sont contemporaines à celles d'Orăștie et cela par une possible erreur d'interprétation des couches d'où proviennent les preuves du site archéologique recherché par le professeur Paul. Les profils V/1971 (?) (nous avons mis le signe d'interrogation, car dans une publication on trouve le sigle S V/1961 et dans une autre le sigle S V/1971) montrent que les dates ont été prélevées de la couche la plus ancienne et du fond de quelques complexes de la couche immédiatement supérieure. Puisque Turdaş est au moins le premier niveau de Daia Română – selon les affirmations de I. Paul –, nous nous demandons si les preuves ne sont pas, éventuellement en totalité, Turdaş, tout comme nous le montre aussi leur comparaison avec les dates C¹⁴ d'Orăștie, les matériaux archéologiques ainsi-dits haut Petrești étant très semblables à ceux du groupe Foeni-Mintia.

Par la suite, nous essayerons de définir l'intervalle absolu de temps nécessaire pour le développement de la culture Turdaş.

Si pour la fin de la culture nous avons les dates d' Orăştie, vers l' année 5800 BP, qui ne peuvent pas trop prolonger le moment final de cette culture (50 ans, peut-être), nous pensons qu'il y a aussi des niveaux Turdaş plus récents. Pour le commencement de la culture la situation est plus compliquée.

Les seules dates C¹⁴ qui peuvent être utilisées pour exemplifier le début de la culture Turdaş sont celles de Zau de Câmpie. Elles sont publiées par Z. Kalmar (Kalmar-Maxim 1999, p. 133). Nous rappelons les dates: 6230 ± 55 BP (Ly. 8934), 6185 ± 55 BP (Ly. 8932), 6104 ± 55 BP (Ly. 8933) et 6050 ± 55 BP (Ly. 8934). L'habitat de Zau de Câmpie est encadré, selon ces dates, entre les années 6230-6050 BP. Une moyenne de ces dates serait 6142 BP. Nous avons fait cette moyenne, parce que le premier niveau (ou les premiers niveaux) appartient à la culture Lumea Nouă et le suivant (ou les suivants) à la culture Turdaş. Faute d'autres possibilités d'évaluation – et cela parce qu'on n'a pas publié intégralement et systématiquement les résultats des nouvelles recherches – nous croyons que la plus probable date pour le début de la culture Turdaş d' ici est 6100 BP, surtout que Z. Kalmar propose comme date présumée pour la fin de la culture Lumea Nouă 6100 80 BP, provenue de Parța (Kalmar-Maxim 1999, p. 133), considérant que la culture du Banat peut être contemporaine avec la culture transylvaine.

Ensuite, nous utiliserons, jusqu'à l' apparition de nouveaux arguments, la date de 6100 Bp qui, pour le commencement de la culture Turdaş en Transylvanie, nous semble la plus adéquate.

Dans un travail récent (Mantu 1998), l' auteur M. Mantu, de Jassy, mentionne des dates qui pourraient s'encadrer autant dans la chronologie relative, que dans celle absolue de la culture Turdaş. On connaît qu'elle est partiellement contemporaine avec la culture Precucuteni. Dans le travail mentionné on dit que pour la phase Precucuteni II il existe une date C¹⁴ à Poduri-Dealul Ghindaru (3870 ± 50 b.c., c'est-à-dire 5820 BP) (Mantu 1998, p. 112). Cette date, à côté de celles obtenues pour Gumelnita A₁ (3800-3700 av. J.-C., c'est-à-dire 5750-5650 BP) (Dumitrescu 1972, p. 25-44; Dumitrescu 1974, p. 23-39), montre le possible point final de la culture Turdaş. Ici il faut tenir compte aussi de la date-cadre d' Orăştie (5800 BP), comme un moment dans lequel les hautes communautés Petreşti coexistent (?) pour quelque temps avec les communautés Turdaş.

En cumulant toutes les dates existantes jusqu'à présent, nous croyons que le moment chronologique absolu le plus vérifique pour l' évolution de la culture Turdaş, dans ce stade bibliographique et de connaissance des dates C¹⁴, est de 6100-5900 BP, presque identique avec celui de la culture Precucuteni – par exemple – 4250-3900 av. J.-C. (Mantu 1998, Fig. 29), c'est-à-dire 6200-5850 BP. Tenant compte qu'il faut ajouter au moins 50, sinon 100 ans aux limites du terme supérieur et inférieur absolu de la culture Turdaş (Petreşti A étant contemporain (?), d' après les dates C¹⁴, avec le Turdaş tardif), nous pouvons affirmer que les dates absolues pour le moment Turdaş "propre" de Transylvanie sont 6100-5900 BP, pour le dernier an, plus sûrement 5800 BP ou - plus possible – 5850 BP, en même temps que le moment de l' apparition des éléments Foeni-Mintia.

Enfin, il faut constater que ces ans C¹⁴ (6150) 6100-5900 (5800) BP sont encadrés dans les dates générales de la phase C de la culture Vinča (Papathanassopoulos et al. 1996, p. 28-29, Fig. 3; Horváth 1991, Fig. 4-5; Hertelendi-Horváth 1992, Fig. 4). Cela indique un moment évolué de la phase C, après Vinča C₁ ou, en meilleur cas, en même temps que la fin de cette phase, ce qui est confirmé seulement en partie par les résultats de la chronologie relative (Lazarovici 1981, p. 169-196; Lazarovici 1987, p. 3-35; Lazarovici 1994, p. 62-100; Draşovean 1991, p. 209-212; Draşovean 1994c, p. 409-425; Draşovean 1995, p. 53-137; 1996; Luca 1988-1991, p. 141-156; Luca 1996, p. 21-28; Luca 1997a, p. 252-262; Luca 1997b).

D'ailleurs, cet encadrement chronologique absolu est confirmé aussi – comme encadrement chronologique relatif – par des études publiées jadis (Breuning 1987, p. 120, Abb. 25 – jusque vers l'année 4000 av. J.-C. quand pourrait se développer aussi la culture Turdaş – la fin de Vinča C₂) ou très récemment (Schier 2000, p. 193-195, Fig. 6-7 – 4800 est l' année générique pour la fin de la

phase qui se développe à Vinča, à la profondeur de 6,4 m, c'est-à-dire en pleine phase C₂). Ces dernières remarques confirment encore une fois notre conviction que la fin du phénomène Turdaş est contemporaine, en général, avec la fin de la phase C₂ de la culture Vinča.

La nécropole néolithique d' Orăştie est très importante pour approfondir nos connaissances sur les réalités ethno-culturelles des communautés contemporaines et qui peuvent être encadrées dans la culture Turdaş, surtout que les seules nécropoles du néolithique transylvain, celles d' Iclod (Lazarovici 1991), ne sont pas totalement publiées.

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ABRÉVIATIONS BIBLIOGRAPHIQUES

AB(SN)	– Analele Banatului (serie nouă) , Timișoara.
ActaMN	– Acta Musei Napocensis , Cluj-Napoca.
ActaMP	– Acta Musei Porolissensis , Zalău.
AIIACN	– Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj-Napoca , Cluj-Napoca.
Apulum	– Acta Musei Apulensis , Alba Iulia.
AEM	– Archaeologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Österreich (-Ungarn) , Wien.
AVSL	– Archiv des Vereines für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde , Hermannstadt –
Kronstadt.	
Banatica	– Banatica , Reșița.
BHAB	– Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Banatica , Timișoara.
BJ	– Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn (im Landschaftsverband Rheinland) und des Vereins für Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande , Köln.
BMA	– Bibliotheca Musei Apulensis , Alba Iulia.
BMN	– Bibliotheca Musei Napocensis , Cluj-Napoca.
CA	– Comori arheologice , București.
CB	– Caiete Banatica – seria arheologie , Reșița.
CCA	– Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice , București.
CCDJ	– Cultură și Civilizație la Dunărea de Jos , Călărași.
Corviniana	– Corviniana. Acta Musei Corvinensis , Hunedoara.

- DaciaNS – **Dacia. Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne, Nouvelle Série**, Bucureşti.
- DP – **Documenta Praehistorica**, Ljubljana.
- FMU – **Fundamenta. Monographien zur Urgeschichte**, Köln.
- ForVL – **Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde**, Sibiu.
- Germania – **Germania. Anzeigen der Römisch-Germanischen Kommision des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts**, Frankfurt am Main.
- IDR – **Inscriptiones Dacie Romanae**, Bucureşti.
- PA – **Patrimonium Apulense. Anuar de: arheologie, istorie, cultură, etnografie, muzeologie, conservare, restaurare**, Alba Iulia.
- PZ – **Prähistorische Zeitschrift**, Berlin.
- Radiocarbon – **Radiocarbon. An International Journal of Cosmogenic Isotope Research**, Tucson, Arizona.
- RB – **Revista Bistriței**, Bistrița.
- RTIH – **Rélation Thraco-Illyro-Helleniques**, Bucureşti, 1994.
- Sargetia – **Sargetia. Acta Musei Devensis**, Hunedoara.
- SCIV(A) – **Studii și comunicări de istorie veche (și arheologie)**, Bucureşti.
- SIBan – **Studii de istorie a Banatului**, Timișoara.
- StComB – **Studii și Comunicări Brukenthal**, Sibiu.
- StUnivBB – **Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai, seria Historica**, Cluj.
- SV – **Studii vîlcene**, Râmnicu Vâlcea.

DÉCOUVERTES D'OSSEMENTS HUMAINS DANS DES ÉTABLISSEMENTS GUMELNITSA SITUÉS AU NORD-EST DE LA PLAINE ROUMAINE

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I. Le stade des recherches

Il est bien connu que les pratiques funéraires de la culture Gumelnitsa sont extrêmement variées, comme en témoignent les grandes nécropoles de Varna, Devnija et Durankulak (Debois, Otte 2005 : 115). Néanmoins, outre les pratiques funéraires ordinaires, les fouilles archéologiques ont dévoilé une série de données qui attestent aussi certaines pratiques qui ne sont pas conformes aux règles funéraires habituelles, telles les inhumations dans les établissements (sous et parmi les maisons), les dépôts de crânes et d'os humains disparates dans les fosses ou les zones ménagères (Sîrbu 1993 : 34 ; 2003 : 48).

Il est également évident que, dans le cas de la culture Gumelnitsa, il existe une grande discordance entre le grand nombre d'établissements et le nombre réduit de nécropoles et tombes (Lazăr 2002).

Une chose à remarquer est que, au nord-est de l'aire culturelle de Gumelnitsa, située au nord-est de la Plaine Roumaine, les nécropoles ne sont pas documentées (Debois, Otte 2005 : 115) (*Fig. 1*). Nous avons, en revanche, beaucoup d'informations sur les découvertes de squelettes entiers d'hommes, parties de squelettes d'hommes, crânes et os d'hommes isolés/séparés (*Fig. 1*), la plupart des squelettes appartenant à des personnes de sexe féminin ou des enfants en très bas âge.

Certains auteurs considèrent que l'inhumation des parties de squelettes humains dans l'établissement représente une pratique funéraire (Chapman 1980 : 80), ce qui pourrait signifier que l'absence des nécropoles Gumelnitsa au nord-est de la Plaine Roumaine serait « remplacée » par la présence des tombes dans les établissements (Comşa 1960).

Nous considérons qu'il est nécessaire d'affirmer que nous partageons le point de vue conformément auquel les inhumations dans les établissements et les dépôts de crânes ou bien les os humains disparates ne sont pas des pratiques funéraires normales (Sîrbu 2003 : 48 ; Lazăr, Soficaru 2005 : 307), puisque, dans l'aire culturelle Gumelnitsa il existe aussi des nécropoles, qui sont des espaces destinés aux décédés.

La signification de ces pratiques non-funéraires s'avère difficile à déchiffrer. La tentative de les expliquer et interpréter est une démarche complexe qui doit tenir compte de l'analyse complète et détaillée du contexte archéologique, de l'analyse anthropologique des os, comme le démontrent les résultats des recherches scientifiques entreprises par Valeriu Sîrbu (1993, 2003) et Cătălin Lazăr (Lazăr 2002 ; Lazăr, Soficaru 2005). Selon nous, l'étude de ces situations archéologiques particulières et très diverses ne devrait pas tenter une explication généralement valable, mais essayer de déchiffrer chaque catégorie de découvertes, tout en utilisant les données dont on dispose. Nous avons besoin, dans l'actuel stade de la recherche, d'analyses détaillées et d'interprétations nuancées et non pas de généralisations.

II. Analyse des découvertes

1. Principales catégories de découvertes archéologiques

Afin d'avoir une image claire des découvertes il faut tenir compte autant des types de dépôts archéologiques et contexte archéologique, de ceux-ci que des données de l'analyse

anthropologique. Alors que l'un des trois types d'information manque, notre image ne peut refléter la réalité qu'en une moindre mesure.

a) Dépôts de corps humains dans l'établissement

Les dépôts de corps humains en connexion ont été identifiés dans, sous et parmi les habitations. Nous présentons les cas concrets suivants :

- dépôts d'enfants sous le plancher des maisons, dans les établissements de Căscioarele – «Ostrovel» (Dumitrescu et al. 1983), Bordușani – «Popină» (Bălceanu 1997 : 93 - 95; Vasile 2003 : 96) (*Fig. 2*), Hârșova – «Tell» (Popovici, Rialland 1996 : 56) (*Fig. 3/1*), Vidra (Comşa 1960 : 12) et Chitila (Boroneanț 1987) (*Fig. 3/2*) ; à Hârșova, la présence des fécales dans la zone rectale et la position contractée du squelette sont une preuve de la mort violente du défunt (Popovici, Rialland 1996 : 56) ; l'un des enfants trouvés à Bordușani et celui de Hârșova souffraient de maladies qui produisaient des malformations (Vasile 2003 : 96, 101 ; Popovici, Rialland 1996 : 56) ;
- dépôts d'adultes entre les maisons ont été identifiés à Bordușani – «Popină» (Bălceanu 1997 : 93 - 95 ; Vasile 2003 : 97 - 98) (*Fig. 2*) et Vidra (Comşa 1960 : 12) ; à Bordușani, les squelettes découverts appartiennent à des femmes, et sur l'un d'eux on a identifié des déformations provoquées par le nanisme (Bălceanu 1997 : 94) ; à Bordușani – «Popină» (Bălceanu 1997 : 94 - 95 ; Vasile 2003 : 98 - 99), Chitila (Boroneanț 1987) (*Fig. 3/2*), Suceveni – «Stoborani» (Dragomir 1996 : 187 – 188) ont été trouvés des parties de corps humains en connexion ou non, dans ou parmi les demeures ; dans ce cas, la majorité des parties de squelette ne sont pas en connexion, ce qui pourrait s'expliquer par le dépôt seulement de ces parties du corps ;
- inhumations de corps humains entiers dans des fosses, situations pareille à celle des tombes dans les nécropoles, car nous y signalons la présence des offrandes : on a découvert également une fosse dans l'établissement de Năvodari - L'île «La Ostrov», où deux squelettes étaient déposés (l'un, au fond de la fosse, couvert d'une couche de pierres, sur laquelle était un second squelette d'homme, entouré d'offrandes) (Voinea 2004 – 2005 : 24) (*Fig. 4*); au centre de l'établissement de Bolgrad, dans une fosse au fond de laquelle était aménagé un lit de pierres, se trouvait un enfant entouré d'offrandes, tandis que sous lui il y avait un crâne entier et des fragments d'un autre crâne qui appartenaient à des adultes (Dragomir 1996 : 188 - 189).

b) Dépôts de crânes et fragments de crânes

Dans cette catégorie de découvertes se trouvent :

- dans l'établissement de Căscioarele – «Ostrovel» on a découvert trois crânes – deux entiers, dans une maison, associés au foyer de celle-ci (Dumitrescu 1965 : 223) et un crâne sans mandibule trouvé dans une fosse (Dumitrescu 1986 : 78) ;
- dans l'établissement de Bolgrad, un crâne d'adulte se trouvait sous le squelette d'un enfant (Dragomir 1996 : 188-189) ;
- des fragments de calottes crâniennes ont été trouvés dans les établissements de Gumelnița (Dumitrescu 1966 : 56), Vidra (Comşa 1960), Suceveni (Dragomir 1996 : 189), Bolgrad (Dragomir 1996 : 188 – 189 ; Dolukhanov et al. 2002 : 44), Căscioarele – «Ostrovel» (Lazăr, Soficaru 2005 : 302) ; il faut dire que les fouilles récentes de Bolgrad ont mis au jour, dans une zone à déchets ménagers, un fragment de crâne (os pariétal gauche) portant d'évidentes traces d'intervention anthropique – trois petits

orifices, 1,5 – 3 mm de diamètre et traces d'instruments tranchants sur la face exocrânienne (Dolukhanov et al. 2002 : 44) (*Fig. 5*) ;
- une mandibule d'homme a été trouvée dans la couche culturelle de l'établissement de Pietrele – «Gorgana» (Vulpe et al. 2003 : 230).

c) *Os et fragments d'os humains disparates*

Des os ainsi que des fragments d'os d'hommes se trouvaient dans maints établissements, en fosses et zones ménagères, parmi des restes d'os d'animaux. Certes, le contexte archéologique n'en est pas funéraire (Sîrbu 1993, p. 22, 33-34), puisque plusieurs os portent des traces de manipulation ou intervention. Il est clair que les habitants des établissements où ces os d'hommes ont été trouvés, les avaient traités tout comme les os d'animaux, en les jetant ensemble dans les fosses ou zones à déchets ménagers.

On a identifié des os humains disparates dans les établissements Gumelnitsa de Căscioarele – «Ostrovel» (Lazăr, Soficaru 2005 : 299 – 302), Gumelnitsa (Dumitrescu 1966), Hârșova – «Tell» (Popovici, Rialland 1996 : 56), Însurăței – «Popina I» (Moise 1999), Bordușani – «Popină» (Bălteanu 1997 : 94 - 95 ; Vasile 2003 : 99 - 100), Sultana (Lazăr, Soficaru 2005 : 305), Măriuța (Moise 2001 : 201), Tangâru (Comşa 1960), Chitila (Boroneanț 1987), Năvodari – L'île «La Ostrov» (Moise 2000-2001 : 155), Suceveni (Dragomir 1996 : 189).

L'analyse faite par C. Lazăr et A. Soficaru sur les os humains disparates découverts dans l'établissement de Căscioarele – «Ostrovel» a relevé le fait que sur la plupart des os longs (des fémurs en particulier) il y a des incisions, casses et égratignures qui sont le signe d'une intervention humaine délibérée. Ces interventions ont été faites avec des outils tranchants dans la zone d'insertion des muscles dans le but de les enlever (Lazăr, Soficaru 2005 : 310). Néanmoins, ce type d'analyse du matériel ostéologique se trouve à ces débuts.

Afin d'avoir une image plus complète des données, il est bon d'affirmer que D. Moise a mis en évidence la présence des os humains disparates dans les établissements de Năvodari et Însurăței, tout en les séparant de ceux appartenant aux bêtes.

2. Analogies

Pour les catégories de découvertes présentées ci-dessus, nous trouverons les meilleures analogies dans l'aire de la culture Cucuteni, des établissements datant des phases Cucuteni A et Cucuteni B.

On a identifié des dépôts de corps humains en établissements, dans des fosses creusées à cet effet, à Dobroșeni, Veremenie (Bolomey 1983 : 163 - 165), Scânteia (Mantu et al. 1994 : 90 - 92), et en particulier à Traian – « Dealul Fântânilor » (Dumitrescu 1957 : 97 - 103).

Dans les établissements de Poduri (Monah et al. 2002 : 243), Drăgușeni (Bolomey 1983 : 159 - 161), Scânteia (Lazarovici et al. 2003 : 297 - 299) et Cucuteni – «Cetățuia» (Mantu et al. 1994 : 87 - 88) on a mis au jour des fragments d'os humains et des crânes.

Ce n'est pas par hasard que les situations archéologiques décrites ci-dessus se rencontrent aussi dans le milieu culturel Cucuteni que dans la zone nord-est de l'aire culturelle Gumelnitsa puisque la présence dans les établissements des squelettes et des os d'hommes épars se combine avec l'absence des tombes et des nécropoles.

III. Opinions et interprétations

Je voudrais affirmer dès le début, que l'absence des nécropoles n'est pas remplacée par la présence des squelettes d'hommes et des os humains épars dans les établissements non plus. Les inhumations de corps humains ou des parties de corps dans les établissements *ne sont et ne doivent pas être considérées une pratique funéraire normale* (Sîrbu 1983 : 33-34 ; 2003 : 21-22).

1. *L'inhumation d'un corps humain*, même en connexion, dans un établissement, ne saurait être un enterrement (Sîrbu 2003 : 21-22). La place d'une sépulture est dans un cimetière et non pas dans

un établissement. Aussi tenterons-nous de déchiffrer la signification de certaines inhumations de corps humains ou d'os d'hommes disparates dans les établissements :

- les inhumations d'enfants et d'adultes sous et parmi les habitations pourraient être considérées des sacrifices humains à la fondation des maisons ou des établissements (Marinescu – Bîlcu 1997 : 173 ; Popovici, Rialland 1996 : 56) ; on a aussi interprété ces dépôts comme des sacrifices humains dédiés au culte de la fertilité (Dumitrescu 1957 : 105 - 107) ; quelle que soit la signification de ces réalités archéologiques, il est important de savoir que les interventions avant ou après le décès, visibles sur certains squelettes prouvent que les inhumations dans les établissements ne sont pas des tombes (Bolomey 1983 : 165) ;

- plusieurs squelettes d'enfants et d'adultes découverts dans les établissements portent les traces de maladies dont les conséquences sont des handicaps physiques ou psychiques et cela nous fait nous demander s'ils n'expriment pas des pratiques eugéniques (Popovici, Rialland 1996 : 56).

2. *L'inhumation des parties du corps humain ou des os d'hommes disparates* n'est pas le résultat des pratiques funéraires. Le principal argument en est le contexte de la découverte – dans la couche archéologique, parmi les parois écroulées des maisons et surtout parmi les déchets ménagers. Le contexte archéologique témoigne plutôt de l'indifférence à l'égard des défunt et non pas le souci pour les os humains (Bolomey 1983 : 169).

V. Sîrbu, étudiant les pratiques funéraires de La Tène, a mis en évidence la même situation archéologique. La présence dans les établissements des os humains épars s'explique par le fait qu'ils y sont arrivés à la suite de leur manipulation par les gens et sont étroitement liés à la pratique de l'étalage/décomposition en tant que rite funéraire (Sîrbu 1993 : 33 - 34). Il se pourrait bien que les défunt fussent déposés dans des endroits spécialement aménagés où on les laissait/quittait pendant l'accomplissement des rituels funéraires «de passage» mais, après cela, les corps perdaient leur sacralité et étaient négligemment traités (Sîrbu 1993 : 33 - 34).

Selon nous, l'explication s'applique à l'énéolithique également et, en particulier, à la l'aire culturelle Gumelnitsa. L'argument, à cet égard, est la présence, dans la nécropole de Varna, des *tombes du type D*, dans lesquelles on avait inhumé de nouveau des parties de squelettes en non - connexion, auprès desquels se trouvaient en guise d'offrandes, différents objets et des figurines anthropomorphes brisées, en particulier (Ivanov 1989 : 51 - 53). C. Renfrew expliquait cette situation par le fait que l'on décharnait plusieurs membres de la communauté avant de les inhumer à l'intérieur de la nécropole (Renfrew 1989 : 57).

Nous sommes d'avis que ces tombes qui ne contiennent que de parties de squelettes inhumées une seconde fois, doivent s'ajouter aux cénotaphes et tombes aux masques d'argile à visages humains des grandes nécropoles de Varna et Durankulak. Toutes ces tombes sans squelettes ou avec peu d'ossements humains en non-connexion sont des indices de la pratique de l'étalage/décomposition en tant que rite funéraire, en parallèle avec l'inhumation dans les nécropoles.

3. *La découverte de crânes et fragments de crânes* a été mise au compte d'un culte du crâne en liaison avec celui des aïeux. Cette assertion s'appuie sur les preuves de ce culte dans le néolithique anatolien et égéen.

Dans ce cas nous partageons l'opinion de C. Lazăr qui observe que le traitement appliqué aux crânes des établissements Gumelnitsa ne ressemble pas à celui appliqué aux crânes et fragments de crânes découverts en Anatolie, qui étaient déposés dans des endroits spécialement aménagés dans les habitations ou les sanctuaires (Lazăr, Soficaru 2005 : 308).

Pour ce qui est des crânes et des fragments de crânes, nous nous trouvons, le plus probablement, devant des pratiques sacrificielles (Dumitrescu 1965 : 224 ; Lazăr, Soficaru 2005 : 309).

4. Dans le cas *des os d'hommes, crâniens et post – crâniens, qui portent des traces d'intervention post-mortem*, nous partageons l'opinion d'Alexandra Bolomey et nous croyons qu'ils sont liés à la pratique de l'anthropophagie (Bolomey 1983 : 169)

Nous considérons aussi que ce sont des pratiques tout à fait spéciales, à caractère rituel, et qui ne sauraient être niées.

Nous ne pourrions, à présent, généraliser cette interprétation à tous les os humains épars, mais pour les os longs de Căscioarele – «Ostrovel» et le fragment de crâne de Bolgrad, cette explication ne saurait être exclue. Les fémurs humains trouvés à Căscioarele – «Ostrovel» ont des traces d'incision dans la zone d'insertion des muscles au but évident de les enlever (Lazăr, Soficaru 2005 : 310). Sur le fragment de crâne de Bolgrad on voit bien trois orifices exécutés après le décès pour accéder au cerveau et aussi les traces d'instruments tranchants sur la face exo-crânienne de l'os, en vue d'enlever le scalp (Dolukhanov et al. 2002 : 44 - 45).

5. Il ne faut pas, dans l'actuel stade de la recherche, chercher une seule explication pour une pareille diversité de découvertes et contextes archéologiques. Nous sommes persuadés qu'il faudrait interpréter ces découvertes en fonction du contexte archéologique.

Selon nous, chaque catégorie de traitements appliqués soit aux squelettes entiers d'hommes soit aux os disparates, constitue un certain type de pratiques spéciales qui, à leur tour, si elles sont bien/correctement expliquées, nous donnent la possibilité de décrypter les conceptions (religieuses, mythologiques, sociales) qui se trouvent à la base de ces pratiques.

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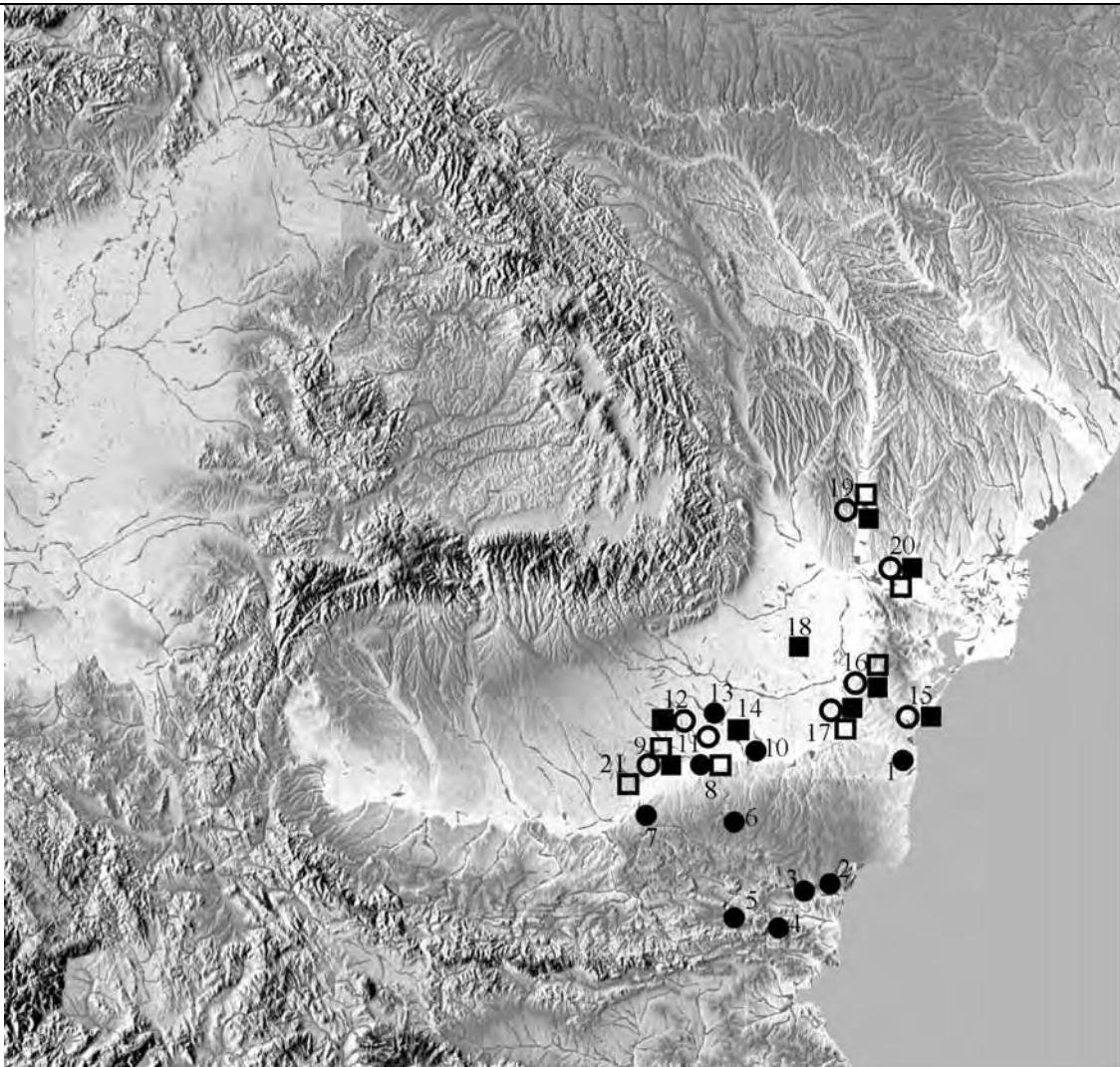


FIG. 1 Carte de découvertes

Legende: ● Necropoles

□ Dépôts de crânes

○ Dépôts de corps humains
en connexion

■ Os humains disparates

Localités: 1. Durankulak, 2. Varna, 3. Devnija, 4. Goljamo Delčevo, 5. Ovčarovo,
6. Kubrat, 7. Ruse, 8. Gumelnitsa, 9. Căscioarele, 10. Boian - "Vărăştii", 11. Vidra,
12. Chitila, 13. Măriuța, 14. Sultana, 15. Năvodari, 16. Hârșova, 17. Bordușani,
18. Însurăței, 19. Suceni, 20. Bolgrad, 21. Pietrele

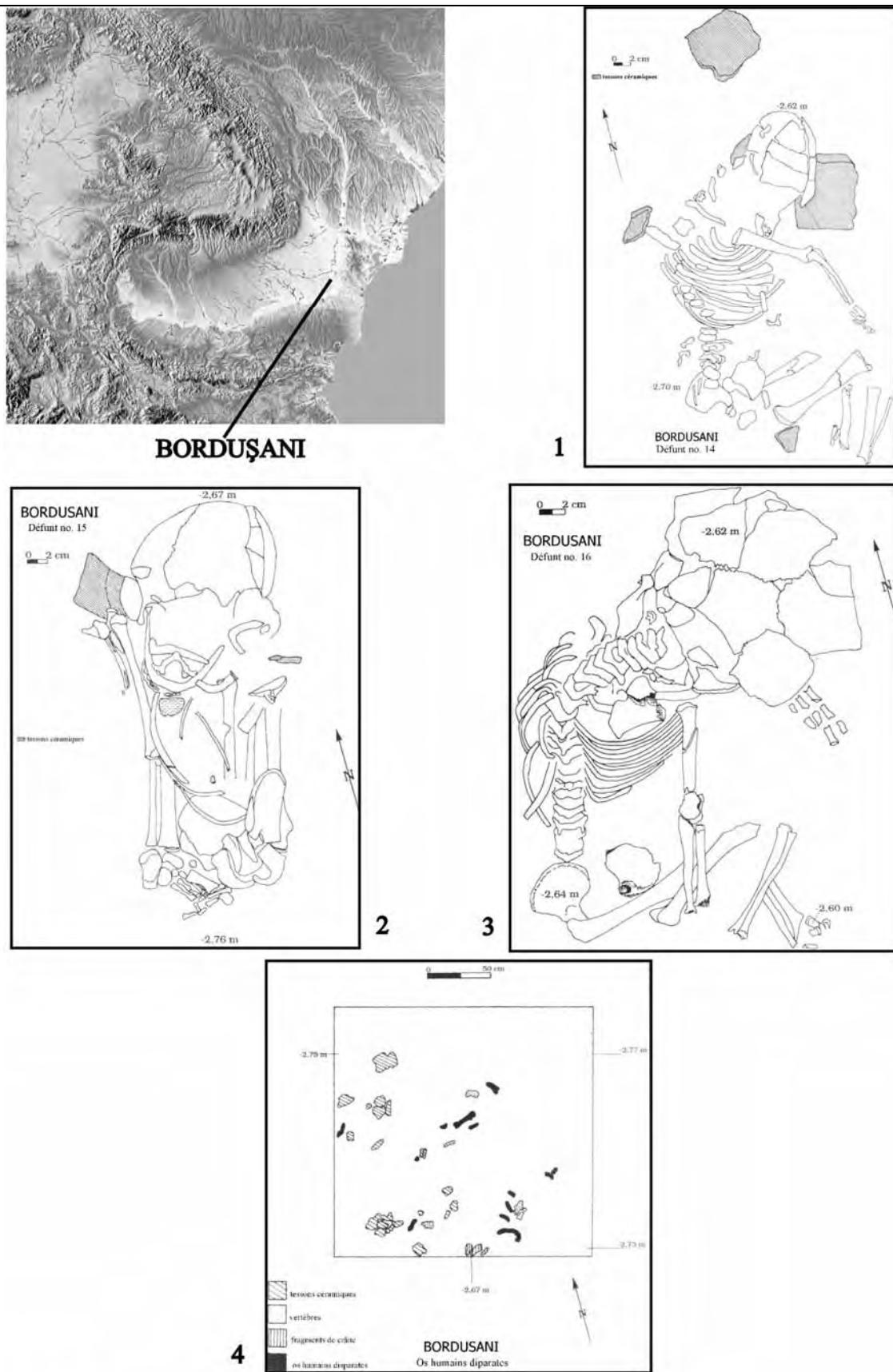


FIG 2. Bordușani - "Popină" (apud Marinescu - Bîlcu et al. 1997)

1. - 3. Inhumations de corps humains dans l'établissement

4. Os et fragments d'os humains disparates

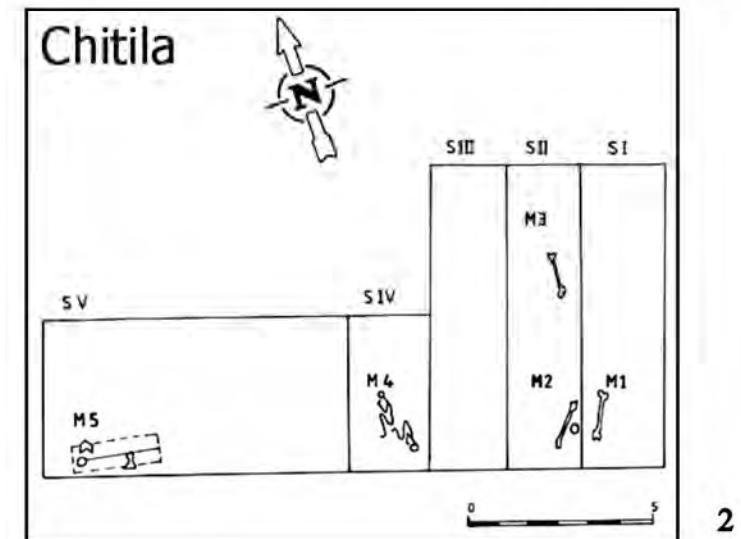
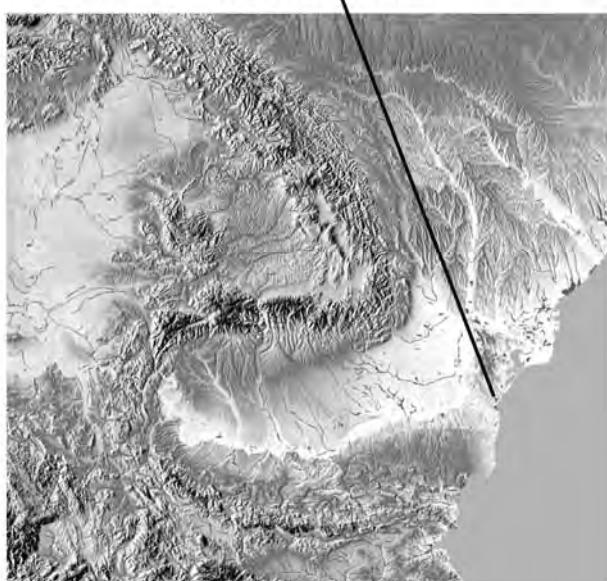


FIG. 3 Os humains découvertes dans des établissements
1. Hărșova - "Tell" (apud Popovici, Rialland 1996)
2. Chitila - "Fermă" (apud Boroneanț 1987)

NĂVODARI - Insula "La Ostrov"
TAŞAUL LAKE



1



2

FIG. 4 Năvodari - "La Ostrov" (apud Voinea 2004-205)

1. Dărăcănu no. 1
2. Dărăcănu no. 2

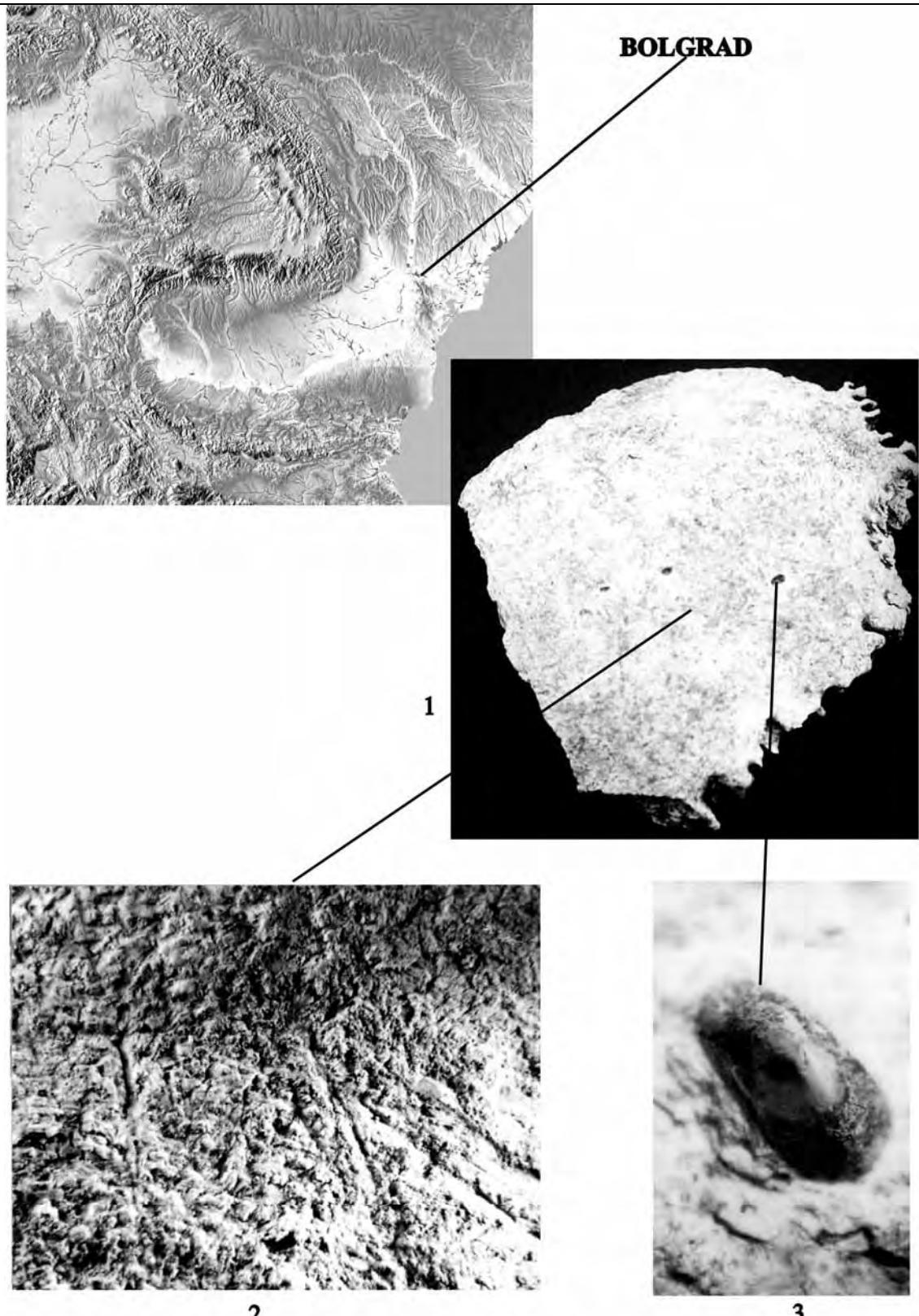
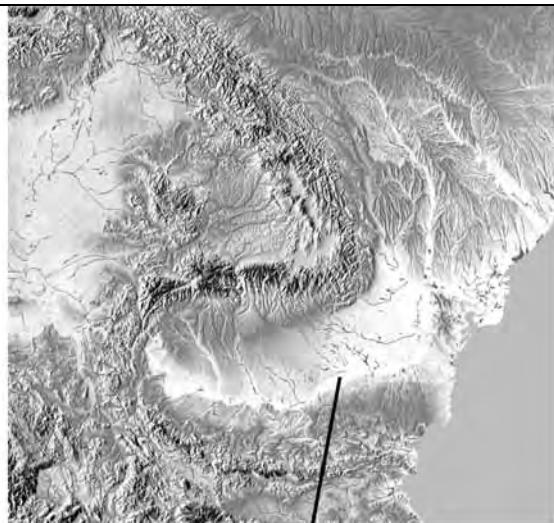
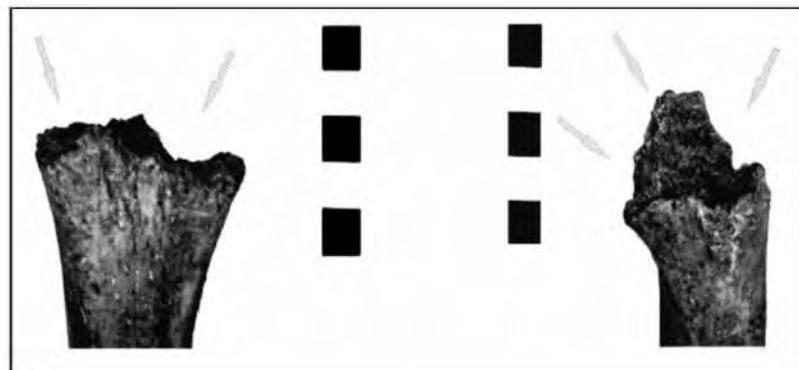


FIG 5 L'établissement Gumelnitsa de Bolgrad, Ukraine (apud Dolukhanov et al. 2002)

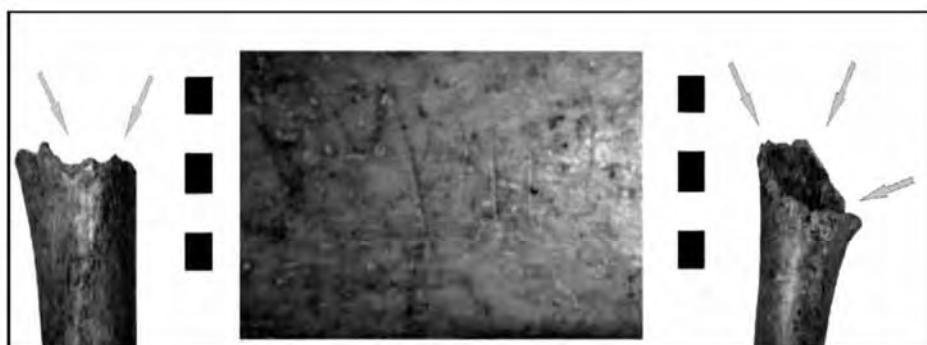
1. Un fragment d'os pariétal gauche humain découvert dans l'établissement
2. Des marques laissées par un object contondent sur la face exocrânienne de l'os pariétal humain
3. L'un des trois orifices exécuté pour accéder au cerveau



CĂSCIOARELE-“Ostrovel”



1



2

FIG 6 L'établissement Gumelnitsa de Căscioarele - “Ostrovel”

(apud Lazăr, Soficaru 2005)

1. Os humain cassé

2. Des incisions et des égratignures faites sur un os humain

ZU DEN FRÜHBRONZEZEITLICHEN SIEDLUNGEN UND BESTATTUNGEN IN SÜDRUMÄNIEN

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Ohne uns weiter eingehender mit der viel diskutierten Problematik des Anfangs der Frühbronzezeit auf dem Gebiet Rumäniens zu beschäftigen (diesbezüglich s. unter anderen: Roman 1986; Vulpe 1995; 1997; 2001; Schuster 1997; 1999; 2005), sei gesagt, dass uns das von Petre Roman (1986) erarbeitete chronologische Bild immer noch am einleuchttesten erscheint. Deshalb zählen wir die Funde von Zimnicea, Olteniţa-*Calomfirescu*, Călăraşii-*Mircea Vodă* und Mlăjet (Roman 1986, S. 30, 35. F. Burtănescu 2002, S. 307: ist der Meinung, dass diese Funde nicht dem Start sondern der Endstufe der Frühbronzezeit angehören.) zum Beginn der Bronzezeit im Raum zwischen den Südkarpaten und der Donau.

In all den genannten Fundorten (Alexandrescu 1974; Morintz 1978, S. 90 und Abb. 51/4; Roman 1986, S. 35), genauso wie auch in zeitgleichen südlich der Donau: Turnava (Roman 1986, S. 30, 35), Laliče (Nikolova 1993, S. 562; 1994, S. 133; 1995, S. 274; Alexandrov 1994, S. 86), Selanovici (Nikolova 1994, S. 133; 1999, S. 59), Batin (Stančev 1989; Nikolova 1999, S. 56 f.; 2001, S. 73 f.), handelt es sich um Nekropolen oder einzelne Gräber. Trotz den Bemühungen Siedlungen, die zeitlich und kulturell diesen Bestattungen angehören, auszugraben, gibt es zurzeit keinen Fund der die Existenz dieser beweisen könnte.

In Zimnicea und Batin, beide Nekropolen, die erste am linken, die zweite fast gegenüberliegend am rechten Donau-Ufer, als auch die weiteren Bestattungen zeugen davon, dass in jenem Milieu die Verstorbenen sowohl in Grabhügel wie auch in Flachgräbern gelegt, oder, viel seltener, nur ihre Einäscherungsreste deponiert wurden. Die kulturelle Einheit äussert sich hauptsächlich nicht durch die Bestattungsform, sondern viel eher durch die Grabbeigaben (Schuster 2003, S. 109 ff.). Diese Tatsache führte einige Forscher (Motzoi-Chicideanu and Olteanu 2000, S. 23 ff.) dazu, nicht von einer Kultur oder kulturellem Horizont zu sprechen, sondern von Funden des Zimnicea-Typs.

În der Vorgeschichte ist solch ein einseitige Erscheinungsmodalität, d.h. nur Bestattungen ohne Siedlungen, keine Seltenheit. Das sowohl im Unteren Donau-Becken, als auch in anderen Gebieten Südosteuropas. Es stellt sich die Frage, wo sind die Siedlungen „versteckt“? Die Gräberfelder von Batin und, hauptsächlich, Zimnicea, sind gar nicht so klein. Die die ihre Toten hier zur ewigen Ruhe gesetzt haben, mussten irgendwo wohnen. Hat ihre die Wirtschaftsform – Viehzüchter, die auf ständiger Suche nach Weideflächen waren – sie dazu bewogen keine „klassischen“ Siedlungen, mit etwas solideren Häusern, die heuer archäologisch zu finden sein müssten, zu erbauen? Nicht auszuschliessen ist, dass die genannten Nekropolen Anziehungsort für mehrere Menschengruppen waren, die ihre Verstorbenen am Landweg oder sogar auf dem Wasser, möglicherweise auch auf längeren Distanzen, hintransportiert haben. Weiter könnte es genauso wahr sein, dass in Zimnicea, so wie uns das Grabinventar offenbart, die reicheren der Gemeinschaften bestattet wurden und in Batin die ärmeren.

Wenn für die kulturellen Anfangerscheinungen die Siedlungen fehlen, so ist es genau umgekehrt im Falle der wichtigsten südrumänischen frühbronzezeitlichen Glina-Kultur. Das relativ große Verbreitungsgebiet in Rumänien (Roman 1976; Schuster 1994; 1997; 2000b), im Osten vom Mostiștea-Tal bis zum Eisernen Tor im Westen, war Heimat von über 350 (bis jetzt erortet)

Siedlungen. Allein im Raum Argeș-Dâmbovița-Ialomița wurden rund 200 Siedlungen gefunden (Schuster 1997, S. 83 f.). Auch in Oltenien und Bulgarien wuchs nach neusten Forschungen ihre Anzahl erheblich (Nica 1996; 1998. Abb. 1; Alexandrov, Sirakov, Petkov und Gajdarska 1998; Ridiche 2000; 2001).

Der Großteil der Siedlungen sind der Kategorie der Weiler zuzuordnen. Ihre innere Struktur ist uns teilweise unbekannt. Meistens sind die Häuser ohne jedwelchen klaren Siedlungsplan erbaut worden. Zum Bautyp gehören Erdhütten und Oberflächenhäuser (Schuster 1997, S. 34 ff.; 1999, S. 325 f.; 2000a, S. 14 f.).

Zu den Siedlungsorten zählen Fluss- und Seeterrassen, sowie auch ehemalige neo-äneolithischen Tells (Schuster 1996; 1997, S. 29 f.; 1999, S. 325; 2000a, S. 11 f.). Fassen wir nur Muntenien ins Auge, so sind z.B. Siedlungen dieser Kategorie in Bila, Florești-Stoenești, Letca Veche, Bolintin Vale, Vărăști, Pițigaia (Schuster 1997, S. 171, 191, 194, 202, 214) oder an den Seen: Greci, Cernica, Căscioarele-*Mănăstirea Cătălui* (Schuster 1997, S. 185 ff., 193 f.), auf Hochterrassen der Flüsse: Mihăilești-*Tufa*, Varlaam, Schitu-*La Conac* und *Gaura Despei*, Morărești (Schuster 1997, S. 195 ff., 204 ff., 211 ff.); auf neo-äneolithische Tells: Glina, Tangâru, Drăgănești-Olt, Schitu-*Măgura lui Boboc* (Schuster 1997, S. 178 ff., 207 f.) zu finden.

Es wurden weiter auch Siedlungsplätze auf Fluss- und Seeinseln ausgesucht. Das bekannteste Beispiel ist die ehemalige Donau-Insel Ostrovul Corbului (Roman 1985; 1986; 1988a; 1988b; 1996; 1998; Nikolova 1999, S. 231 f., 234), die im Gebiet des Eisernen Tores liegt. Nicht zu vergessen sind auch die Siedlungen dieser Art in Cămineasca, Siliștea Snagovului, Grădiștea Făurei (Schuster 1996, S. 13; 1997, S. 185, 188, 208). Ansiedlungsorte waren desgleichen auch Höhlen - Baia de Fier-Peștera Pârcălabului und Peștera Muierii, Ciunget-Lotru, Haiducilor (alle in Oltenien; Roman 1976, S. 28; Petre-Govora 1995, S. 29).

Der Großteil der Siedlungen wurde nicht befestigt, aber ihre Umgebung bot fast in allen Fällen einen natürlichen Schutz. In Muntenien wurden in Odaia Turcului, Crivăț und Orbeasca de Sus Wehranlagen (Graben und Wall) entdeckt (Schuster 1997, S. 190, 199 ff.; 2000a, S. 12). Eine mögliche Erklärung für den Bau der Wehranlagen in den zwei letztgenannten Ortschaften, während der klassischen Stufe der Kultur (II. Phase), wäre das Eindringen einiger Gruppen der Jamnaja-Kultur, die entlang der Donau von Osten nach Westen zogen.

In den letzten fünf Jahrzehnten wurde die nötige Aufmerksamkeit den Bestattungen der Glina-Kultur von den Archäologen, welche sich einnehender mit dieser kulturellen Erscheinung beschäftigt haben, geschenkt. Als Sebastian Morintz und Dinu V. Rosetti über die archäologischen Forschungen in dem Gebiet der Stadt București schrieben, wurde auch auf die Entdeckung von Fundeni-*Ziduri între Vii* hingewiesen (Morintz und Rosetti 1959, S. 22). Gemäß ihren Informationen, lag das Flachgrab in einem ehemaligen Werder des Fundeni-Sees. Der Tote wurde im linken Hocker, mit den Knien in der Nähe des Gesichtes gefunden. Neben dem Schädel und den Füßen fand je ein Gefäß kleiner Dimensionen seinen Platz. Die Ausrichtung des Grabes war Südwest-Nordost.

Der Fund wurde trotz der spärlichen Daten von den zwei erwähnten Gelehrten der Glina-Kultur zugeordnet. Cristian Schuster (1997, S. 47 f.; 1999, S. 329; 2003, S. 112) drückte einige Zweifel aus, während Radu Băjenaru (1995, S. 183) den Fund von Fundeni-*Ziduri între Vii* nicht der Reihe der sicheren Glina-Bestattungen zufügte.

Die Informationen bezüglich dem Fund in București-*Fundeni Ziduri între Vii* sind unzureichend um ein klares Bild zu gestalten und dadurch muß die kulturelle Zuordnung der Bestattung unter Fragezeichen gesetzt werden.

Im Jahr 1968 veröffentlichten Sebastian Morintz und Barbu Ionescu ihre Forschungsergebnisse rund um die Stadt Oltenița (Bezirk Călărași). Unter diesen wurden auch die Glina-Gräber von Chirnogi-*Șuvîja lui Ghițan* (Gemeinde Căscioarele) erwähnt (Morintz, Ionescu 1968, S. 105). Diese Zuweisung entpuppte sich später als falsch. Berechtigterweise sprach Valeriu Leahu anhand der Grabbeigaben (Tassen) von einem Tei-Fund (Leahu 2003, S. 123).

Nach Done Șerbănescu und George Trohani (1975, S. 531; 1978, S. 26 f.) gehört die Nekropole von Chirnogi-*Grădiștea-Făurei* (Gemeinde Chirnogi, Bezirk Călărași), die auf einer Insel des

Mostiștea-Sees geortet wurde (Schuster 1997, S. 188), der Frühbronzezeit, möglich Glina-Kultur, an. Hier konnte eine Metallaxt aufgelesen werden. Da die uns zur Verfügung stehende Informationen spärlich und unklar sind, sind wir gezwungen diese Zuordnung zwar aufzuzählen aber stark in Frage zu stellen. Genauso wie der *Glina-Tumulus* bei Fântânele-Movila Motoroiu, Gemeinde Cojasca, Bezirk Dâmbovița.

Die Bestattungen in den Grabhügeln in Verbița (Bezirk Dolj) wurden von Dumitru Berciu und Petre Roman (1984) als Glina-Funde betrachtet. Diese Hypothese wurde u.a. auch von Cristian Schuster (1997, S. 48; 1999, S. 329) als einleuchtend eingestuft.

So wie die jüngsten Neuwertungen der Forschungsergebnisse beweisen (Comșa 1998, S. 20 f.; Nikolova 1999, S. 232; Schuster 2003, S. 112), ist von einer Hügelgrabgruppe der Grubengrabkultur zu reden. Die hier gefundene Keramik hat zwar einige Ähnlichkeiten mit Gefäßen aus den Glina-Siedlungen von București-Fundeni und Crivăț (Schuster 1997, Abb. 60/4), aber aussagkräftige Analogien sind südlich der Donau (Sitagroi Vb, Dubene IIC) oder im Vinkovci-Milieu zu finden. Wahrscheinlich handelt es sich auch im Falle des Hügelgrabes von Hărlets (Bulgarien) um einen gleichartigen Fund.

Einleuchtend für Verbița ist auch der Silberring aus dem Grab des *Tumulus II* (Berciu, Roman 1984, Abb. 1/3; Schuster 2003, Abb. 3/3), der nach Eugen Comșa (1998, S. 20 f.) auf eine Jamnaja-Begrabung hinweist. Offene oder geschlossene Ringe aus einfachem und dünnem Draht aus Siber (Goran-Slatina, *Tumulus 15*; Kalugeritsa; beide in Bulgarien), Kupfer (Gurbănești), Elektron (Emenska-Höhle, Bulgarien), sind für diese kulturellen Erscheinung an der Unteren Donau keine Seltenheit (Nikolova 1999, S. 303 ff. mit älterer Lit.).

Wenn die Knochenreste des *Bos Taurus* im *Tumulus III* wahrhaftig zum Grabinventar gehört haben, so wäre dieses kein Einzelfall für Jamnaja-Bestattungen. Florentin Burtănescu (2003, S. 109, 116, 119) erinnert an die Tierknochen, die in Bestattungen von Chercăcosu (Vogelknochen) oder Glăvănești Vechi gefunden wurden. Auch östlich vom Pruth wurden Fleischagaben in den Gräbern verzeichnet (Kaiser 2003, S. 226 ff. und Abb. 83-84).

In Drăgănești-Olt-Corboiaca, im neolithisch-äneolithischem Tell von hier, wurden mehrere Gräber gefunden. Die von Marin Nica und seinen Mitarbeitern neu aufgenommenen Forschungen führten zur Entdeckung einer Bestattung (Grab 3), die der Glina-Kultur zugeordnet wurde. 1993-1994 wurden weitere Gräber erforscht: *Gräber 4* (Nica, Schuster, Zorzuoliu 1995, S. 12 und Abb. 1/2; 3; 6/1-6).

Heute ist klar, dass die Nekropole von Drăgănești-Olt nicht der frühbronzezeitlichen Glina-Kultur angehören kann. Dieses wurde durch die Grabungen bestätigt (Nica, Schuster, Zorzuoliu 1995, S. 19; Schuster 1997, S. 48; 2003, S. 112; Nikolova 1999, S. 57 f.; 2001, S. 69 f.). Schwerwiegender in dieser Schlussfolgerung sind die Grabbefunde (Tiefe, Schichtlage) und – beigaben. Zu diesen letzten gehört das kupferne Fleischbeil (Nica, Schuster, Zorzuoliu 1995, Abb. 15/6), welches Analogien in Petrești, Fărcașu de Sus-Săliște, Timișoara, Varna hat. Sehr wahrscheinlich muß der Friedhof von Drăgănești-Olt dem späten Äneolithikum (Sălcuța IV) zugewiesen werden und nicht, wie neulich versucht wurde, der Cernavodă III-Kultur (M. Nica; heute wurde auf diese letzte Zuordnung verzichtet!).

Der Fundumstand in Căscioarele-Cotul Cătălui führte dazu, dass Radu Băjenaru (1995, S. 183) der Meinung war, dass diese Bestattung die einzige wäre die sicher der Glina-Kultur zuzuweisen ist. Cristian Schuster äußerte schon 1997, wie auch in weiteren Beiträgen (Schuster 1997, S. 47 f.; 2003, S. 112) sein Mißtrauen bezüglich der kulturellen Zuordnung des Grabes. Das gleichartige archäologische Material, welches sowohl in der Grabfüllung, als auch rings um die Grube und oberhalb ihr entdeckt wurde, spricht eher von einer späteren Bestattung in einer ehemaligen Glina-Siedlung. Möglicherweise geschah das sogar in den Überresten eines gewesenen Hauses. Nicht zu vergessen ist weiter, dass außer dem gebrannten Lehmbewurf und den Scherben, typisches Allgemeingut für Siedlungsspuren, auch Tierknochen, abstammend von verschiedenen Arten, die zwar auf einen Totenschmaus hindeuten könnten, aber durch die Mannigfaltigkeit der Tiersorten (Rind, Schaf und Ziege, Schwein, Wildschwein, Hirsch, Hund) wahrscheinlicher von Siedlungsabfällen reden lässt, gefunden wurden.

Ein sehr interessanter Fund wurde in letzter Zeit von Gheorghe Calotoiu in Vârtopu-Vârtoapele, Gemeinde Ciuperceci, Bezirk Gorj gemacht (Calotoiu 2003a; 2003b; 2004). Publiziert wurden die Ergebnisse der Forschungen von neun *Tumuli*.

Für die Gefäßformen und -verzierungen fand der Ausgräber Analogien im Geschirr mehrerer Glina-Siedlungen sowohl in Oltenien als auch in Muntenien, aller Kulturstufen (Calotoiu 2003a, S. 33 f.).

Wenn die Funde von Vârtopu-Vârtoapele wirklich der Glina-Kultur angehören, erhebt sich die Frage ob die Entdeckung von Govora Sat-Runcuri (Petre-Govora 1995, S. 23 und Abb. 5/4) nicht neu eingeschätzt werden muß. In der Glina IIb-Siedlung von hier wurde ein Brandgrab in einer Urne, die sich ihrerseits in einer Steinkiste befand, ans Tageslicht gefördert. Die Fundumstände und weitere zusätzliche Informationen erlaubten Cristian Schuster (1997, S. 48; 2003, S. 113) die postulierte kulturelle Zuweisung anzuzweifeln. Im Lichte der neusten Kenntnisse bezüglich Glina-Bestattungen, war dieses Brandgrab ein Vorläufer der späteren (Glina III) unter *Tumulus*? Schwer eine wahrheitstreue Antwort zu geben!

Wird ein Abschlußstrich des bis jetzt gesagten bezüglich den Bestattungen, die entlang der Forschungsgeschichte der Glina-Kultur zugewiesen wurden, gezogen, fällt folgendes auf: - die Toten fanden ihre ewige Ruhe in Körper- und Brandgräber; - in die erste Kategorie sind Flach- und Hügelgräber einzuschliessen; in der zweiten nur Hügel- und Kistengräber (?); -die Ausrichtung der Körpergräber ist äußerst verschieden: Südwest-Nordost (Bucureşti-Fundeni Ziduri între Vii), Nord-Süd und Nordnordost-Südsüdwest in Verbiţa, Nordost-Südwest in Căscioarele, West-Ost in Drăgăneşti-Olt; - die Position der Verstorbenen war Rückenhocker mit nach rechts gehockten Füßen in Verbiţa und in linker Hockerlage in den weiteren Orten; - auch die Stellung der Arme/Hände war verschieden: in Verbiţa *Tumulus I* - linke Hand gestreckt am Körper, rechte auf dem Becken, *Tumulus II* – linke Hand gestreckt am Körper, rechte auf der Brust, *Tumulus III* - beide Arme gebogen, die linke Hand auf der Brust, die rechte auf dem Becken; Căscioarele - linke Hand unter dem Schädel, die rechte auf der Brust; Drăgăneşti-Olt *Grab 3* - beide Arme gebogen und mit den Händen vor dem Kinn, *Grab 4* - beide Arme gebogen und mit den Händen vor dem Gesicht (Mund), *Grab 5* - linke Hand entlang des Körpers ausgestreckt, rechter Arm gebogen und in dessen Handfläche befand sich eine Axt; u.s.w.; - die Grabbeigaben sind veraschiedenartig: Gefäße, Flachbeil, Silberring, Tierreste, Schneckengehäuse. Die Position dieser Grabbeigaben in der Grube war nicht einheitlich: neben den Füßen, den Händen, der Wirbelsäule etc.

Wie es aus dem Gesagten ersichtlich ist, kann eigentlich recht wenig über die Glina-Bestattungen ausgesprochen werden, und das im Gegensatz zu den Siedlungen.

Als Petre Roman (1986, S. 39) sich eingehender über die Frühbronzezeit in Rumänien äußerte, erwähnte er unter den kulturellen Erscheinungen seiner FBZ IIb-Stufe auch die Steinkistengräber aus dem Nordwesten Munteniens. Anhand des schriftlichen Nachlasses von Sebastian Morintz setzten wir uns unsererseits mit dieser Problematik auseinander (Schuster 1997, S. 126 ff.; 1999, S. 45 f.; 2003, S. 118 f.). Der von P. Roman (1986, S. 39) geschaffene Begriff Steinkistengräberfunde wurde von uns mit dem des Horizontes der Bestattungen in Steinkistengräber ersetzt (Schuster 1997, S. 130). Auch dieser wurde seinerseits neulich von Ion Motzoi-Chicideanu und G. Olteanu (2000, Anm. 18) in Frage gestellt und durch Dâmboviţa-Muscel-Gruppe ersetzt, eine Bezeichnung, die sich rein auf geographische Koordinaten bezieht (Motzoi-Chicideanu und Olteanu 2000, S. 21).

Die Funde gehören ausschließlich in die Reihe der Gräber oder kleinen Nekropolen. Bei der Analyse der Forschungsergebnisse ist zu bemerken, dass von Hügel-, Flach-, Körper- und Brand-, Erwachsenen- und Kindergräbern gesprochen werden muss. Diese Vielfalt in der Bestattungsweise spricht für eine Verschiedenheit der Menschengruppen. Anscheinend waren diese nur kulturell „verwandt“ (Schuster 2003, S. 119), aber in den Bestattungsbräuchen herrschten trotzdem Unterschiede vor. Unklarheiten bestehen auch bezüglich der relativen und absoluten Chronologie des Horizontes (Schuster 1997, S. 130 f.). Anfangs glaubten die Archäologen eine Verbindung der muntenischen Kistengräber mit den ähnlichen Schneckenberg B-zeitlichen aus dem Burzenland und Südostsiebenbürgen zu sehen. Aber auch mit den Grabfunden von Verbiţa, eine Tatsache, durch die

der Kistengräberhorizont mit der Glina-Kultur verbunden wäre. Aber wie wir schon präzisiert haben, werden die Grabhügel von Verbița in den letzten Jahren der Jamnaja-Kultur zugeordnet.

Nach P. Roman (1986, S. 39) sind die Steinkistengräber jünger als Schneckenberg B und stellen möglicherweise eine letzte Stufe der Glina-Kultur oder die älteste Phase der sich gerade bildenden Monteoriu-Kultur dar. Analogien können weiter mit den Steinkistengräbern aus Muntenien (Homericiu, Pruneni, Bisoca, Năeni – Grab 2) aufgestellt werden, die aber Monteoriu IC4- oder Năeni-Keramik beherbergten (Schuster 1997, S. 131). I. Motzoi-Chicideanu und G. Olteanu (2000, S. 51) sind der Auffassung, dass ihre Dâmbovița-Muscel-Gruppe mit den Monteoriu-Frühstufen zeitgleich ist, aber eine längere Evolutionszeit, die bis 2200 v. Chr. reicht, besaß (Chicideanu und Olteanu 2000, S. 48).

Was erstaunlich für diese kulturelle Erscheinung ist, ist die Abwesenheit klarer Ansiedlungsspuren. Eine einzige Fundstelle – in Dealul Frumos – könnte eventuell als mögliche Siedlung betrachtet werden (Chicideanu und Olteanu 2000, 19 f. und Abb. 9).

Wie festzustellen war, bezogen wir uns auf die wichtigsten drei frühbronzezeitlichen Äusserungen in Südrumänien. Bei allen diesen gibt es einen krassen Bruch im „normalen“ Gleichgewicht Siedlungen – Bestattungen. Wenn in der Anfangs- und Endeperiode uns fast nichts über die Siedlungen bekannt ist, sondern nur hinsichtlich den Bestattungen, so ändert sich das Bild 180° im Falle der Glina-Kultur. Diesmal kennt man genügend über die „*Welt der Lebenden*“ (Siedlungen, Häuser), während fast alle ihre Bestattungen mit Härte in Frage zu stellen sind.

Welches die Ursachen dieses einseitigen Gleichgewichtes sein mögen, ist schwer zu urteilen. Spielte der Lebenswandel – Nomadismus (herumstreifende Viehzüchter) oder die Sesshaftigkeit, die bevorzugte Wirtschaftsform (aber fast alle genannten frühbronzezeitlichen Gemeinschaften trieben eher Viehzucht und seltener primitive Landbearbeitung), die schwankenden Lebensbedingungen (Veränderung des Klimas), die Weltanschauung eine Rolle? Oder aber ein bisschen von jedem dieser Faktoren? Vielleicht geben uns die zukünftigen Forschung den nötigen Aufschluss!

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THE ETERNITY OF THE BURIAL RITE. THE THRONE AND THE SITTING DECEASED

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A number of attempts were made in recent years to systematize the enormous source base on burial rites in ancient Thrace. The numerous aspects of the Thracian burial were united in a coherent system under the concept of immortalization (Гергова 1996). Nevertheless, there remained aspects, notably the burials in sitting position, which only recently attracted the attention of researchers (Гергова 2000, 2002, 2004).

A reason for the marginalization of this interesting aspect is the circumstance that the examples from the Thracian area are not numerous and have not been well documented. Among them are the graves mentioned by F. Kanitz, which are made of slabs or bricks resembling little rooms in which the skeletons are in sitting position, from the village of Shipkovo, Yasenovetz area near Kazanluk, the information about a sitting skeleton in the biggest of the three Rahmanlii tumuli (Шкорпил, 1898, p. 35, 126), as well as the 13 sitting burials discovered below an earth and stone embankment in Tumulus 8 near the village of Gela, Menyov Kamak locality, Smolyan district, dated to the 7th-6th century BC. Two individuals are buried in the centre of the tumulus, surrounded by the remaining eleven who are seated on niches in the rocks (information of V. Naydenova and K. Kissyov).

The archaeological research in recent years provided evidence that makes it possible to approach the examining of the issue of the genesis, development and content of this type of burials. The models of chairs-thrones and the real stone thrones discovered in the interior, as well as themes in the painted decoration of tombs, are indisputably closely connected with the theme.

R. Tomlison treats the stone thrones in the Macedonian tombs as important evidence that men and women did not use beds but were seated during the ritual feasts. That author associates this practice with the influence and with the traditions of Thrace, indicating the iron models of chairs from the necropolis in Sindos (560-510 BC) (Fig. 1). The cited models are just an element of a specific complex of models of tables and chairs, of chariots loaded with wood, of two-wheeled chariots in which horses modelled from clay are harnessed and accompanied by a third riding horse, of platforms for firewood and skewers depicting ritual scenes (Tomlison 1993). Some authors perceive in its formation the influence of the Cretan-Mycenaean traditions or of Egypt, and only the fragmentary influence of Thrace (Соколовска 1997, 55, 62).

The genetic link of this phenomenon with the much earlier traditions of the incrusted ware culture from the Late Bronze Age along the course of the Lower Danube was indicated by D. Gergova (Valeva, Gergova, 2000, 188-189). This culture belongs to a society with a clear religious doctrine and symbolism, which are represented in the burial rites, as well as in the diversity of the labrys models, lozenges and astragals, of male and female idols, thrones and tables, chariots pulled by swans, ornithomorphic vessels, boats, etc. Grave 310 from the necropolis near the village of Orsoja containing an urn with charred bones and a clay throne with a female anthropomorphic idol on it is of special interest. The monuments discovered suggest a link with the idea about the triunity through the cult of the Great Goddess-Mother and of the twins: the lunar Artemis and the solar Apollo, who periodically headed north, to the lands of the Hyperboreans. Both the myth about the Hyperboreans and that about the reincarnation, about the child deity Dionysos Zagreus, are connected with that culture (Бонев 2002, Шалганова 2001) (Fig. 2).

Comparative analysis of the asynchronous Late Bronze Age necropoleis from the lands along the Danube and those from the Early Iron Age from Macedonia (Sindos) indicate that the grave complexes with cult objects or scenes – the earlier ones made of clay and the later ones of iron – represent a small percentage of the total number of discovered graves, being found in burials of individuals belonging to different gender and age groups (Шалганова 2001, 2002). Out of eight graves with such models in Sindos, one is the grave of a child, three are female and four are male (Tomlinson 1993). This circumstance suggests that the placing of cult objects in the graves is predetermined by the specific social and religious status of a specific social group that can most probably be referred to as priestly or royal-priestly (Гергова 2002).

It would be logical to assume a common ideological and ethnic-cultural tradition of that ritual phenomenon. A common doctrinal model with already established norms and burial practices finds a similar material expression and demonstrates a lasting and long-term manifestation. The character of the encrusted ware culture and its links with the Cretan-Mycenaean world, as well as the existence of Thracian personal names and toponyms in texts in Linear A and Linear B scripts from Minoan Crete, emphasise the special closeness between the two cultures and presuppose the probable presence of the same ethnic and cultural elements in the lands along the Danube River and on the Island of Crete. (Порожанов 1998, 15-23). However, the spreading of these innovations in the material and spiritual sphere both in the Balkans and in the Mediterranean region was apparently due to the infiltration of the carriers of the Late Bronze Age culture to the south, to the lands of Thrace and Macedonia.

What was actually the role of the throne in cult and burial practices?

According to the tradition, the initiation of Pythagoras took place in the cave of the Idean Zeus in the Dikte Mountain on the Island of Crete. He had to spend three times nine days there, and only then he was granted the right to look at the throne of Zeus that was specially draped for the deity every year. According to Porphyry, Pythagoras hammered an inscription on the throne: "Here died and lies buried Zan, who was called Zeus." Zeus himself ousted another divine creature from the same tomb, because the text goes on: "Here died and lies buried Pikos, who is also Zeus." Apparently, the deceased who was laid to rest there temporarily blended with the divine nature of the deity. However, that myth had another – matriarchal – form as well. History suggests that Pythagoras took the Orphic rites in all their freshness from Crete into Italy.

A seated child was depicted on some of the images of the throne occupied by the symbol of Zeus (Harrison 1977, 57-59). The initiation ceremony for those who are to be initiated – thronosis or the act of sitting – in the Great Eleusinian Mysteries is described in connection with the initiation of Herakles. The scenes depict the initiated individual covered and barefoot, sitting on a strangely shaped chair, covered by a sheepskin, often with heads and horns. The link between the thronosis and the Great Eleusinian Mysteries is also evident from Homer's hymn to Demeter, who, coming to Eleusis, performed the act that was to be repeated by the persons initiated in her mysteries. Silent and with lowered eyes, she sat on a chair covered with a sheepskin, hiding her face behind a fan (Burkert 1983, 267-268).

The finds from Thrace, Macedonia and Greece suggest that precisely the matriarchate variant of the myth was characteristic of the Balkans. The clay model of the Great Goddess-Mother is placed on the throne from grave 310 from Orsoja. Grave stelae and Hellenistic tombs like the one in Eretria (with two thrones, two beds and a chest) in which ten individuals have been buried (Kurz and Boardmann. 1971, 183) and Vergina – the tomb with the stone throne below the Bella tumulus (Andronikos 1984, 34-37) (Fig. 3), as well as the biggest tholos-tomb in Macedonia, which belonged to a cremated woman aged about 70 years, most probably the mother of Philip II, Eurydice, dated to 344 BC, suggest that the throne was predominantly associated with female burials. The stone throne in the tomb of Eurydice is decorated with splendid painted scenes, among which there are also Hades and Persephone in a quadriga. Their cult, which was not popular among the Greeks, is closely connected with the beliefs of the Macedonians in life after death. The cremation burial performed here was a royal burial.

In the central scene in the Kazanluk tomb, which depicts a marital union or a funerary feast, the ruler is sitting on a stool without a back. The throne is occupied by the female figure – the wife, a hypostasis of the Great Goddess-Mother (Живкова 1973) (Fig. 4). This scene, the cited “little rooms” near the village of Shipka, as well as some of the so-called funerary beds that have sizes smaller than is necessary for placing a human body to rest, and symmetrical head rests found in tombs in the necropolis of Shipka-Sheyново, e.g., Shoushmanetz, (Иванов 2005, in press), give grounds to assume that this practice was known in the area of Southern Thrace as well.

The prevailing female burials on a throne suggest that this most representative form of the “immortalization rites” is connected with persons initiated in and related to the servicing of the cult of the Great Mother-Goddess. The Orphics perceived the burial as identical with the initiation, therefore they had special burial practices that concerned only the initiated individuals (Harrison 1980, 597-599).

What do we know about the tribes in the regions in which this practice has been documented? The localisation of the necropolis in Sindos presupposes a link with the Thracian tribe of the Sintioi mentioned in the most ancient layer of Homer’s epic works, who lived along the lower course of the Strymon River and in the Aegean islands. According to Philochoros (3rd century BC), the Sintioi were Pelasgians, whereas according to Eratosthenes, they were given that name because they were magicians and because they discovered dangerous herbs (Лазова 1977). It was precisely the sacred language of the Sintioi that was spoken in the Island of Samothrace as well (Маразов 1998, 45). According to Porphyry, they were given that name because they were the first who started making weapons that wound people, and they were also the first brigands. Their migration, together with the other Thracian tribes, started from a common territory that could be localized during the Late Bronze Age along the Danube, from where they penetrated both to the south and to the east, into the Northern Black Sea region, where they gave the name to the Sindoi (Лазова 1977, 141-145). During the Early Iron Age, the Sindoi occupied the coastal strip from Taman almost to Novorossiysk, and they ruled in the strategically located delta of the Kuban River (Федоров 1983, 43-46).

At the end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Early Iron Age, ceramics, cult objects and items of clothing appeared in the Northern Black Sea region and in the Caucasus, which carried the characteristics of the Late Bronze Age cultures from the Lower Danube and the Carpathian-Danubian basin, forming the basis of some of the leading forms during the Early Iron Age in the Caucasus. The penetration of these elements apparently occurred both by land, directly to the east along the Pontic coast, and by sea (Гергова 1986; Гергова in press).

Burials in seated position, as well as secondary burials, began to be practiced in the Caucasian dolmens, which are much earlier than those in Thrace, in the late second and early first millennium BC (Марковин 1966, 294), which became customary for the later slab-like dolmens and especially for the sophisticated multi-element constructions (Марковин 1966, 226-227, 230). The preservation of this tradition in the 7th-4th century BC as well has been attested in the Gelendjik necropolis with subtumular dolmens. The tradition of building stone tombs and later brick tombs in the region along the Kuban River is associated precisely with the Sindoi (Каменецкий 1989, 232-233).

The tradition of the sitting deceased can be illustrated by the chairs, found in some Crimean barrows like Besh-Oba IV, dated to middle to third quarter of the 4th century BC (Скоры 2005, 14)

The mausoleum-heroön of King Skiluros, discovered in Scythian Naples, is the most eloquent example of the power of that tradition during the next centuries as well. The tomb of King Skiluros is built of stone, two more graves are found above it, and above them there is a building of packed clay. The construction was part of the reconstruction between 130 and 125 BC of the entire Southern Palace with a representative outer appearance. A belt to prevent battering-ram attacks was subsequently built, and the facade was altered. The death of King Skiluros and his transferring in seated position to the throne funerary bed in the stone tomb in 114-113 BC coincided with the first stage of the military campaign of Mithridates. Eight more burials were performed here in 113-112 BC. It is known (Herod. IV, 71) that the representatives of the Scythian aristocracy were mummified in a different way: their bodies were treated with resin and wax, and their entrails were

taken out. It is assumed that King Skiluros was mummified in sitting position, and that he was kept somewhere else before he was reburied in that tomb (Зайцев 2003, 59.61). One of the three reconstructions of the sitting posture is with legs crossed under the body. Three horses were sacrificed as an offering and one of the wives of the deceased ruler was buried with him. The pedestal on four legs had a façade decorated with two frontally sitting fantastic animals and two corner columns. Its probable length was 1.40-1.45, i.e., smaller than the length of a normal human body (Fig. 5).

The sacrificial table found in the sanctuary of the Acropolis in Pantikapaion with inscription to Ditagoia, from Senamotis, the daughter of Skiluros, as well as hermae of Ditagoia and Hekate in the palace megaron of the Scythian Naples, suggest that the higher Bosporan aristocracy had its own cult complex of the principal female deity Ditagoia (Artemis-Hekate), who was worshipped by the representatives of the royal family of Skiluros (Зайцев 2003, 28-29).

The relicts of the language of the Sindoi, which have been preserved in the language relicts, characterize them as carriers of the ancient Indian spoken language, as a fragment of the Proto-Indian tribes that migrated at the end of the second millennium BC across the Caucasian mountain passes into Southern Asia (Федоров 1983, 46). In this light, it is of special interest to note the similarity between some of the megalithic monuments of the Caucasus and India (Dekan Peninsula), the substitution of the inhumation burial by the secondary burials – a change so significant that the memory was preserved in the literary monuments of Hindustan even until the 11th-12th century, as well as the appearance of iron (Марковин 1978, 294-296).

The linguistic relicts, the tribal names and the specific burial rites in Thrace and their spreading to the East added new arguments in support of the hypothesis about the spreading of the burial in seated position as an element of an ideological doctrine in the process of the great migrations in the transition to the Iron Age, as well as about the role of the Sintioi in these processes (Гергова 2002).

Another localisation of seated deceased individuals directs the attention to the Apennines. Satrianum – the only city comparable to Rome in its significance – was founded during the Early Iron Age between the bays of Tarento and Salerno in Southern Italy, in “Diana’s Valley.” Cremation and inhumation burials have been discovered in the necropolis, as well as the bodies of deceased individuals buried in “Buddha-like” sitting position and holding a cup in their hands, with three skewers, under the body of three of them. Researchers attribute the diversity of the burial practices in the necropolis to the appearance of families in different places (Ross-Holloway 1970, 7, 201-207). The ceramic finds in the necropolis – black and burnished pottery, with corded decoration or ornamental motives consisting of small circles linked with tangents – demonstrates exceptional closeness with the ceramic types in Thrace from the same period. The toponym Satrianum also suggests Southwestern Thrace, in the Pangaion region, between the Strymon and Nestos rivers, and in the area of the Western Rhodope Mountains that abounds in sanctuaries, where the Satrai, through their priestly clan of the Bessoi, dominated the famous sanctuary of Dionysos. Vladimir Georgiev derives the not very certain etymology of the Satrai from the Old-Ind. ksatra-m – power, strength, ksatriya-h – master, prince, nobleman, etc. (Георгиев 1977, 93, Спиридов 1989, 52-53) During the migration movements in the late second and early first millennium BC, they probably also took part in the dislocation of the Thracian tribes.

New evidence from the Celtic area broadens the range of their propagation and provides a fuller idea about the stages of that specific burial practice. The best known examples are from Acy-Roman in the Ardennes, where one of the sacred forests of the Celtic druids, in which they performed their oracles, is located. A D-shaped space surrounded by a trench was discovered in the centre of the cult area of a settlement dated to the 2nd-1st century BC. Cattle are buried in its southern part and horses in its northern area. Below the terrace of an ensemble of five rectangular constructions, 19 young men were buried seated, with heads between their stretched legs, in the early 3rd century BC. Their bodies were dried in 75 cm wide wooden containers until the soft tissues became dry, then they were re-buried once again for the final drying, and finally they were inhumated. Three other men were buried along one line in adjacent square pits oriented to the rising sun. The coffins were placed in upright position, as if the deceased were alive.

A bronze statuette of a seated man with crossed legs, together with ritually destroyed weapons from the sanctuary de la Baure (Seine-en Marne) dated to the 4th-1st century BC (Lambot 1998), a skeleton in sitting position of a young man aged about 20 years, without signs of violence, dated with 14C between 400 and 200 BC, discovered in 1992 below a 1st century dwelling on the Geneva Plateau (Haldimann et Moinat, 1999), as well as two similar graves in front of a Gallic-Roman sanctuary from the late 1st century BC in Avenches, suggest again the sacral context of these burials in the Celtic area. These burials are interpreted as human sacrifices or as burials of professional priests (Lambot 1998, Green 2002, 129-135).

More than 30 images of a sitting deity with legs crossed below his body are known from the Celtic world, just as the Buddha is often depicted in Indian art in a posture of meditation with crossed legs. Among these images there is also the deity with antlers from the Gundestrup cauldron, which is believed to be a work of some workshop in Northern Thrace and one of the most interesting examples of contacts in the sphere of the cult between the Lower Danubian basin and Northern Europe (Schutz 1983, 292-296).

How are the similarities in these burial rites between the eastern and the western part of prehistoric Europe to be treated? Was that a phenomenon of independent appearance among the throngs and the Celts, or a manifestation of permanent relations in the area of religious notions and practices?

Ancient authors like Diodorus, Ammianus Marcellinus and others were surprised to learn that the idea of individual immortality was known to the Celtic druids as well. Therefore, they transformed them into members of the closed Pythagorean societies, claiming that the real philosophy was created by the barbarians. According to the Alexandrian sources, the Celtic druids were initiated into the Pythagorean faith precisely by the mythical king, priest and god of the northern Thracian tribe of the Getae, Zalmoxis (Piggott 1987, 98, 113-116; Dana, Ruscu 2000, 232-233).

It is known that the religious reform of Orpheus was precisely one of the factors for the shaping of the specific features of Thracian culture in the late second and early first century BC. The new teaching about the immortality of the soul began to spread persistently, through schools and disciples in newly-established sanctuaries and cult places. Zalmoxis, who preached the ideas about immortality, was not only a predecessor of Pythagoras (according to Herodotus), but he also carried the wisdom of Egypt. For more than a millennium the priests in the Getic society played a remarkable role in the education in supreme wisdom of those who had the noblest descent, persuading them to worship certain deities and sacred places, and thus to dominate both the ordinary people and their kings.

These data give grounds to assume that the similar elements in the burial rites of Thracians and Celts concerning those who were initiated and serviced the cult were most probably the consequence of a shared or very close religious system that had spread not only during the infiltration of its carriers into the strategic regions of the Mediterranean and Europe, but also deliberately during the first millennium BC (Гергова 1987, 1996).

Burials in a sitting position definitely had their significance and tradition in the hierarchic system of immortalization rites that had been firmly established in Thrace and were indisputably linked with Orphism, which was preserved during the subsequent millennia as well. The ancient nature of that tradition can also be noted in the circumstance that the images of a throne in the Roman catacombs were known only from the tombs that were connected with the Old Testament.

The surprising force of the tradition of burials in sitting position in the Thracian area can be perceived from the fact that it was practiced until the mid-20th century in the Central Rhodope Mountains. Initially they were in the centre of the village and later they were moved to the cemetery. After a stipulated period of 3, 5 or 7 years, the bones of all deceased people from the village were re-buried, with the exception of the priest, whose burial was conducted according to a different practice. The funerary procession went in a circle around the entire village and the deceased priest was carried on a special stretcher. Then he was buried seated on a chair and holding

a book in his hand in front of the church in which he had officiated in his lifetime (Райчевски 1992).

This late example focuses attention on the circumstance that burial on a chair was an element of such burial practices that involved the mandatory re-burying of the bones of the deceased individuals. The actual unearthing of the bones and their taking out was performed only by women until the mid-20th century. They did not use any instruments or tools, they merely patted the earth in a special way with their hands, which made the bones appear on the surface. These skills were passed from mother to daughter. The re-burying of the bones after divining from their color, their washing, the including of the skull in a special feast, as well as the placing of the relics in the ossuary culminated after the filling up of the ossuary-tomb with its piling over with a tumular embankment.

This tradition, preserved and accepted in the Christian rites until modern times, again reveals the exceptional role of women, or if they are interpolated in the direction of the earlier throne period – in the ritual system of immortalization. The re-burying of parts of the skeleton, as one of the essential elements of the burial rites, is associated with the need to free the soul from the confinement of matter or of the body. Therefore, it may be assumed that the stone thrones in the Hellenistic tombs were an extremely important element in the burial practices of the initiated individuals and in their immortalization.

The present study was aimed at focusing attention on this insufficiently known aspect of the burial practices, which was also poorly attested in archaeological finds. The sophisticated and hierarchically structured system of immortalization rites in which burials in sitting position had their own special social and religious meaning, which was established and was characteristic of Orphic Thrace during the second and first millennium BC, preserved its traditions for two more millennia as well even during the period after the adoption of Christianity till modern times.

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Fig. 1. Models of iron table , throne and chariot from Sindos.



Fig. 2. Clay models of various objects from the Incrusted Ware culture and detail from grave 310 Orsoja.



Fig. 3. Stone throne from the Bella tumulus in Vergina.



Fig. 4. Central scene from the Kazanluk tomb.

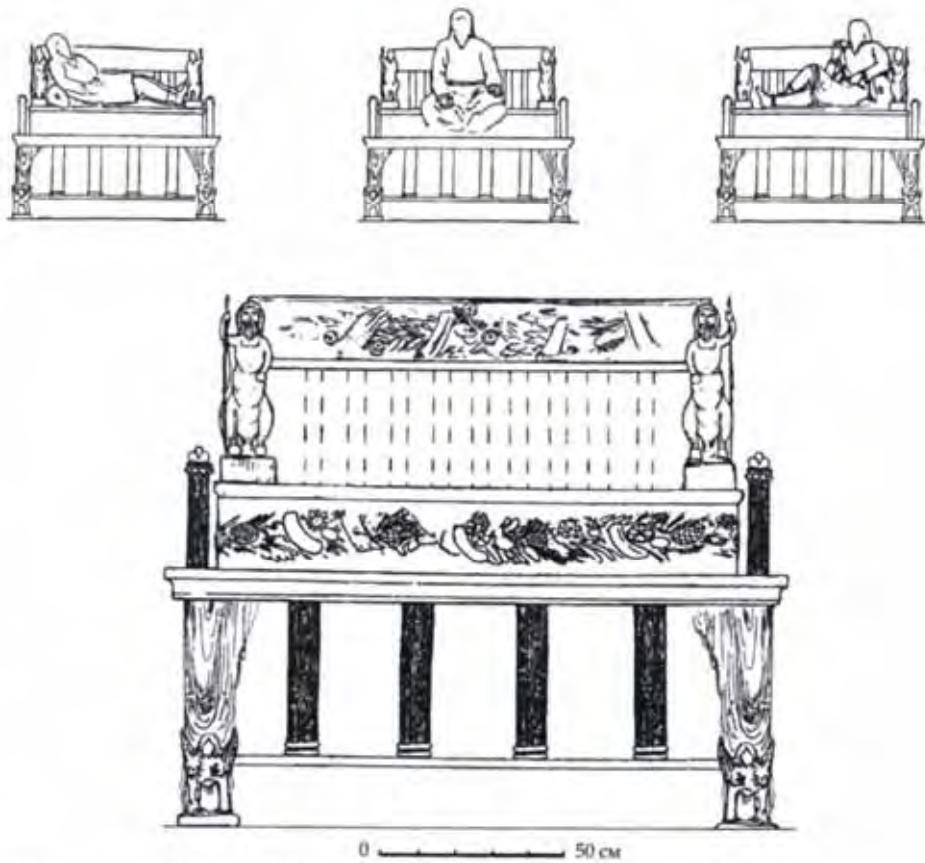


Fig. 5. Reconstruction of the burial of Skiluros.

SCYTHIAN MATERIAL CULTURE

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Traditionally the notion **material culture** involves a total combination of objects made by man to satisfy vital needs of a particular society. Since material culture is a mechanism for adaptation of a society to fit specific natural and social conditions, it actually represents nearly all aspects of life of an ancient ethnic group. These are natural environment, level of socio-economic and political development, surrounding and relations with neighboring ethnic groups.

Two sources are available for studying the material culture of Scythians – written and archaeological ones. They complement each other nicely. While the former mainly addresses the early period of Scythian history, the latter gives an accurate account of the period of state formation and prosperity.

Scythians had no written language, there are no records available. Books of Ancient Greek authors are the only source of obtaining information. And nine volume “History” by Herodotus is the most conceptual one. He visited the Northern Black Sea Area in the fifth century B.C. and provided us with fairly accurate and detailed picture of Scythian life, traditions and customs.

So Scythians (as Ancient Greeks called them) are Persian-speaking nomads. Their state was formed on the principles of expansionist war policy and exploitation of the enslaved tribes and nations. Nomadic cattle-breeding was their main activity, the basis of their economy. That influenced all aspects of their life as mobile belligerent horsemen and primarily their **houses**. According to Herodotus (IV, 46, 127) Scythians did not build towns and fortresses, cart was their house. It made Scythians invincible to their enemies. In case of a halt or external menace they arranged their carts in a circle making a kind of fortress camp. Nomads lived in felt tents set up on carts; those were four- or six-wheeled vehicles. They were arranged like houses and had two or three compartments. Felt cover provided strong protection from wind, rain and light. Such wheeled houses were commonly drawn by two or three pairs of oxen. Remains of disintegrated carts can be found in some graves of Scythian aristocracy. Wheels had wooden hubs and spokes and also iron tires (Fig.1, 1,3-4). Rectangular bodies made of planks had low sides with multicolored painting. The upper part (felt cover) has never been preserved unlike metal decorations – bronze plates of various shapes on cover as well as bronze poletops (Fig.1, 2) at the corners and in the center (Бессонова, 1981; Мелякова, 1981; Болтрик, 1997; 1998; Болтрик, Савовский, 1991).

Since Scythians had no settlements, burials are the only comprehensive archaeological sources. It mainly concerns those of aristocracy as they are the reserves of most characteristic and unique samples of material culture. We recognize Scythian material culture by the so called triad - arms, bridle and animal-style works of art - peculiar to that very ethnic group.

Arms and armor. Life and social organization of Scythians, especially early in their development, were fully determined by war. According to Herodotus, Scythia is a state where everyone is a mounted archer (IV, 46), that is a warrior. Due to permanent involvement in wars, particularly raids to Asia Scythians enriched their military experience and created their own weaponry. Bow and arrows were commonly used for attack. **Arrowheads** were found almost in every grave (their number varied from few pieces to several hundreds). At that time, arrowheads were mainly cast in bronze. But iron, bone and wooden ones of various shapes and sizes also existed (Fig.2, 2). Those made of bone and wood were used for hunting while metal ones for fighting. Wood staffs 45-84 cm long were sometimes color-striped. Rather small (only 60-70 cm)

bow was made of wood, bone and tendons. Since the bow is rarely found its shape could be inferred only by pictures on works of art. (Fig.2, 3). A special sheath of wood and leather - a **quiver** - was used to keep and carry bow and arrows. Scythian aristocracy commonly used **gorytos** - sheathes decorated with gold plates (Черненко, 1981).

Spears and javelins were rather popular (Fig.2, 4). Short ones (up to 2 m long) were used for close combat and throwing, while long ones (up to 3 m long) were used for mounted battle (Мелюкова, 1964).

Swords and **daggers**, the so called acinaces, were of vital importance to Scyths. Their length averaged 50-60 cm, the longer ones up to 1 m, the majority of them being double bladed (Черненко, 2002). Throughout Scythian period only shapes of sword pomme and guard have undergone changes (Fig.2, 5-7). **Scabbard** for carrying sword was made of wood and leather often with gold decoration.

Scyths were also armed with **battle-axes** (Fig.2, 1), **maces** and **hammers**.

Protective equipment of Scythians. Its basic piece was a leather shirt with small metal (iron or bronze) plates sewn on fabric like fish scales. **Brigandine** might be long or short, sleeved or sleeveless. It was light and did not hamper easy movement, it provided a warrior strong protection. Sometimes brigandine was supplemented with **shoulder straps**. **Belt** was an integral part of the armor; it consisted of metal scales and served the dual function of protecting and fastening nearly all arms, whetstone, whip and cup.

To protect head they used **helmet**. At first, it was cast (Cuban type), later a lighter forged Greek type appeared and since 5 century B.C. iron-scale helmet came into common use. **Cuisses** and **greaves** served for lateral and front leg protection, they covered side and front parts (leaving back parts uncovered as scales could hamper riding). In the fifth century B.C., much more lightweight and effective Greek type **greaves** appeared to protect shins. **Shields** were good protection means. Made of wood and leather, they differed in shape, had solid or scaled covering and were often decorated with ornamental plates (Черненко, 1968; 2002). Full range of protective equipment rarely occurs (Fig.3, 1-2). One was found in a grave near village Gladkovshina (Cherkasy Region). It took 3233 iron plates-scales to produce full equipment and its weight totaled 25 kg (Григорьев, 1994; Мінжулін, 1991).

Women so-called **Amazons** constituted the major portion of all warriors. Virtually all ancient authors mentioned them in their books on the Northern Black Sea Area. I would like to cite some of them (Pomponi Mela (I, 19 (114), Hippocrates (24) and Philostrates). **Amazons** were skilled horsewomen, served in the army, took part in mounted attacks. Bows, arrows, spears, javelins, axes and lassos were their weapons. Their protective equipment was just a small light shield (cavalry shield). According to archaeological evidence – every fourth grave with arms was that of woman. Thus women formed 25% of Scythian army. They had no pieces of protective equipment. It suggests that they were not involved in infantry actions (Фиалко, 1991; 2005).

Throughout Scythian history, cavalry dominated over infantry. Hence vital importance of **horse** for Scyths.

Horses were commonly buried with ceremonial harness, riding horses with saddles on, most often with bridle. But the latter was not preserved except for metal elements – iron **bits** and bronze **cheek-pieces** (Fig.4, 1). In the course of time they underwent transformations became more intricate. Often bridles were decorated with bronze, since the fourth century those were mostly gold ones (Fig.4, 2-4) (Болгрик, Фиалко, 2005).

As to household goods, primitive **hand-made pottery** – pots and bowls were the most common (Fig.5, 8). Bronze cauldrons and wooden bowls can be assigned to Scythian ware proper. **Bronze cauldrons** (Fig.5, 7) are uncommon, they differ in size (Степи..., 1989) and mark tombs of military elite. Only men could have **wooden bowls** with gold appliqué (Fig.5, 1-2). They were attached to the belts, used as common ware and proved their courage. A warrior had to kill some enemies and show personal heroism to be awarded with such a bowl (Фиалко, 2004).

Since the fifth century B.C. Greek **black-glaze pottery** came into use. Those were mainly different in shape cups for drinking, bowls and quite rare vessels for cosmetics. Large **kraters**

(Fig.5, 3) for mixing wine and water were found only in two graves – they marked nomarch graves (Фиалко, 2004-a). **Metal** (bronze, silver and gold) Greek ware, such as kylixes, vases (Fig.5, 4-5) and drinking horns, have found wide application. Rich graves contained set of metal ware – basin, jugs, sieves and vases (Фиалко, 1996). Wine was brought and kept in **amphoras**.

For women the most typical *implements* were bone spindles and metal needles; of *toilet articles* – mirrors, combs (Fig.6, 5-6), boxes for jewels; of *jewelry* - glass beads or metal necklaces, ear-rings, bracelets, rings (Fig.6, 1-4). Men also used jewelry – more often pendants and rings, rarely bracelets and ear-rings (Степи..., 1989; Кузнецова, 2002; Фиалко, 1999).

There were three styles in Scythian decorative art:

I. Geometric style – was mainly used to decorate ware (Fig.5, 6-7) and not so often dress, ritual poletops and bridles. That style was characteristic of earlier period (Фиалко, 2002).

II. Animal style – is unique. Features peculiar to this style are: 1) *method of modeling object surface* (Fig.7, 3); 2) *method of accentuating features* (Fig.7, 1); 3) *method of zoomorphic transformations* (Fig.7, 4). Commonly Scythians made pictures of deer, elk, gout, wild boar, panther, lynx, lion, eagle and griffin. As a rule those were pictures of single animals. At the end of the fifth century B.C., *attack scenes* appeared (Fig.7, 2). Main functions of these pictures are to protect their owners. This style was characteristic throughout Scythian period (Переводчикова, 1994).

III. Antropomorphic style – is connected with pictures of heroes and Gods (Fig.7, 5-6). It is characteristic of: 1. *sketchiness*; 2. *low artistic level*; 3. *combination with animal pictures*. It appeared at the end of the fifth century B.C. (Бессонова, 1983).

Of a special interest are **stone stela**. Some of them bear portrait features (wide or long face, moustache, beard) and sharp image of different objects (arms, bowls, drinking horns, belts), other give only a silhouette without details (Ольховский, Евдокимов, 1994; Белозор, 2002).

These stela are interpreted quite differently as an image of God, king, heroized deceased Scythian or heroized forerunner of Scythians.

Works of ancient art give us an idea of Scythian appearance and clothes (Fig.8, 1-3). Only once we restored dress based on archaeological materials from Vishneva Mogyla. Girl's dress consisted of: 1. long white shirt; 2. dark-red skirt; 3. black vest with fur trimming; 4. red leather shoes; 5. colored glass beads (Прилипко, Болгрик, 1991). Women wore long shirt-like dress with belt and long-sleeved fur-trimmed overcoat. They had leather shoes with gold ornaments. Women wore various hats supplemented with shawl. Men wore long belted jackets, sometimes with fur trimming, wide trousers and short soft-leather boots. Head was mostly covered with bashlyk. All clothes were decorated with different gold plates (Ключко, 1984; 1991; Фиалко, 2001).

As for **hair style** – men had long hair sometimes with cropped forelock. Most of them had beard and moustache. With respect to women we know little from few pictures on sewn gold plates – young girls and women plated their hair, while married and elder women covered their hair with head-dress (Rolle, 1991).

And now a few words about **works of Ancient Greek art** from the Scythian monuments. Those unique things were created by Greeks with regard for tastes of Scythians either as presents or for sale. Buried with the deceased those works hardly escaped looting and destruction. Artistic values of artifacts prevail over their worth in the weight of precious metals. The well known **gold pectoral from Tovsta Mogyla** weighs 1.125 kg (Мозолевский, 1979). I'll mention most popular works of Ancient Greek art from the Scythian monuments. There are: **Gold pectoral from Tovsta Mogyla** – chest decoration (Fig.9) and series of **Gold cups from Hajmanova Mogyla, Kul-Oba, Chastyy barrow** with scenes of everyday life; **Gold torque from barrow Kul-Oba**, with ends decorated with Scythian horsemen (Мозолевский, 1983); **Silver amphorae from Chertomlyk** with scenes of horse taming (Алексеев, Мурзин, Ролле, 1991); **Gold comb from Solokha** (Fig.10) (Манцевич, 1987) and **Gold cone-shaped object** from barrow **Perederiyiva Mogyla** (Моруженко, 1992) with combat scenes; **Gold cone-shaped object from Bratolyubovskiy barrow** (Кубышев, 1996) with horse heads. Besides unique artifacts series of **Gold gorytos (from Chortomlyk, Melitopolkiy, Illinetskiy and Yelizavetovskiy barrows)** with scenes from Achilles life is also known.

Besides so called **Gold microsculpture from Oguz** should be mentioned – small three-dimensional details of composite ornaments (Fig.6, 2) (Boltrik, Fialko, 1996). Due attention should be given to numerous **Gold plates** for dress decoration. All these works marked belonging their owners to the definite level of social structure (Фиалко, 1999-a).

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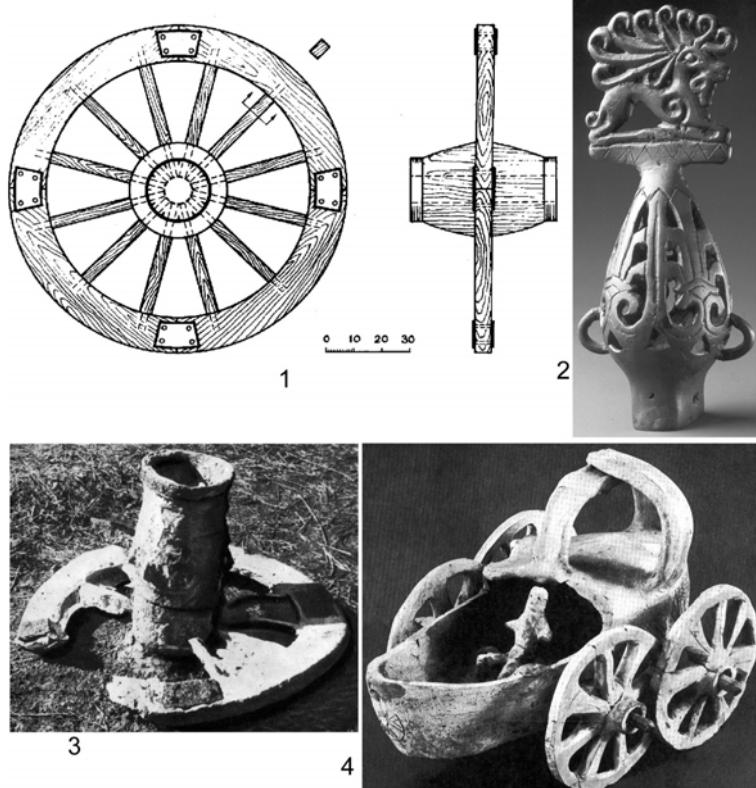


Fig. 1. Carts: details of carts – wheels (1, 3) and poletop (2); clay model (4).

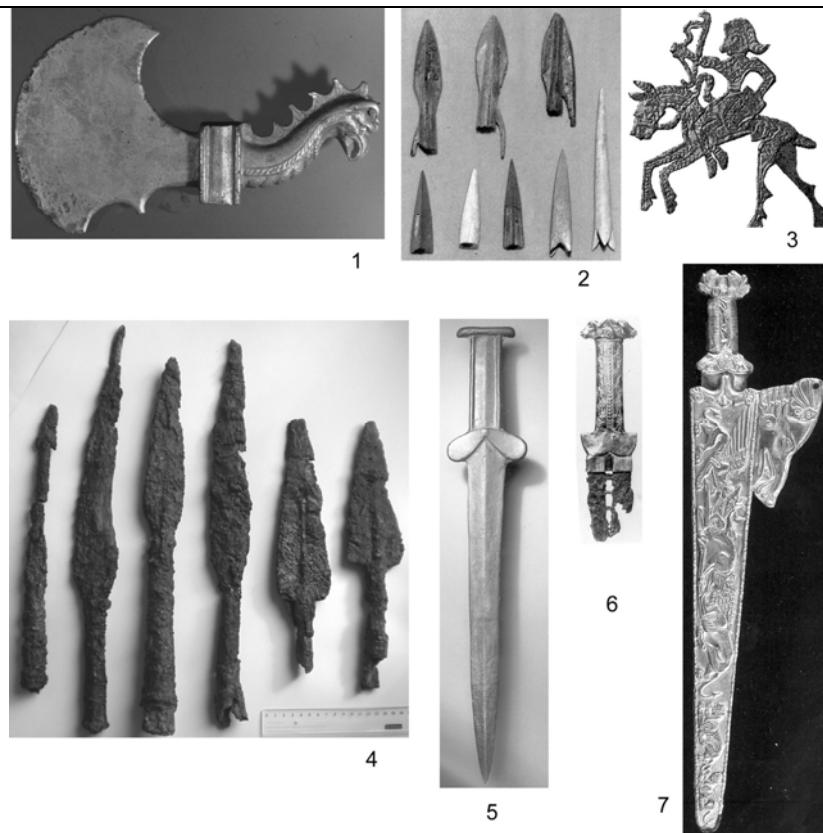


Fig. 2. Offensive arms: battle-axe (1); arrows (2), picture of bow and gorytos on work of art (3); spears and javelins (4); swords and daggers (5-7).



Fig. 3. Reconstruction of full armor (by D. Shevchuk): 1 – kurgan near village Gladkovshina; 2 - kurgan near village Schuchinka.

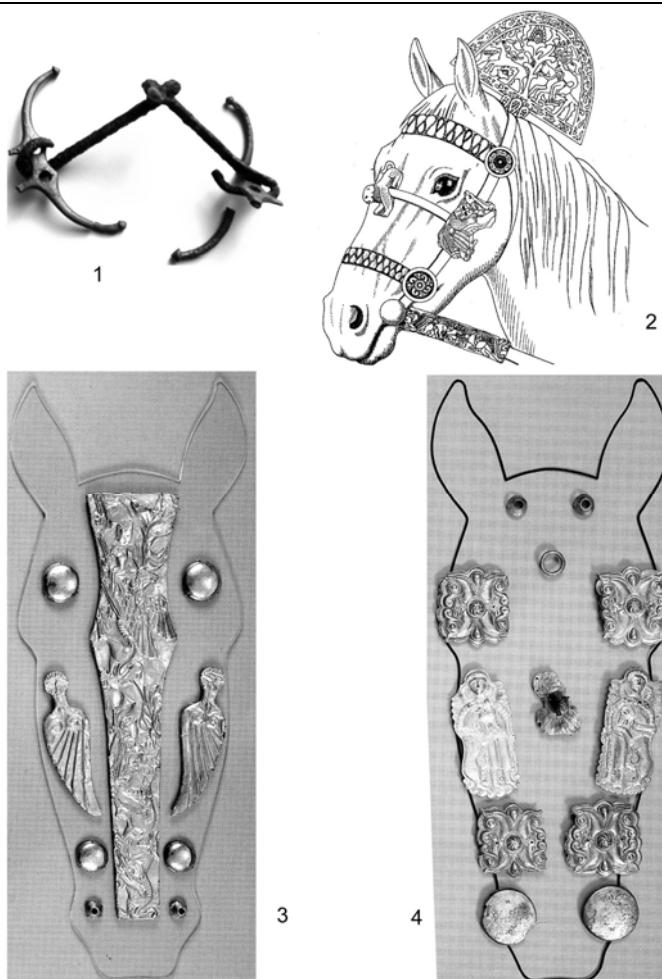


Fig. 4. Horse bridle: bits and cheek-pieces (1); ornaments of bridles (3-4); reconstruction of bridle from kurgan near village Gjunivka (by Ju. Boltrik) (2).

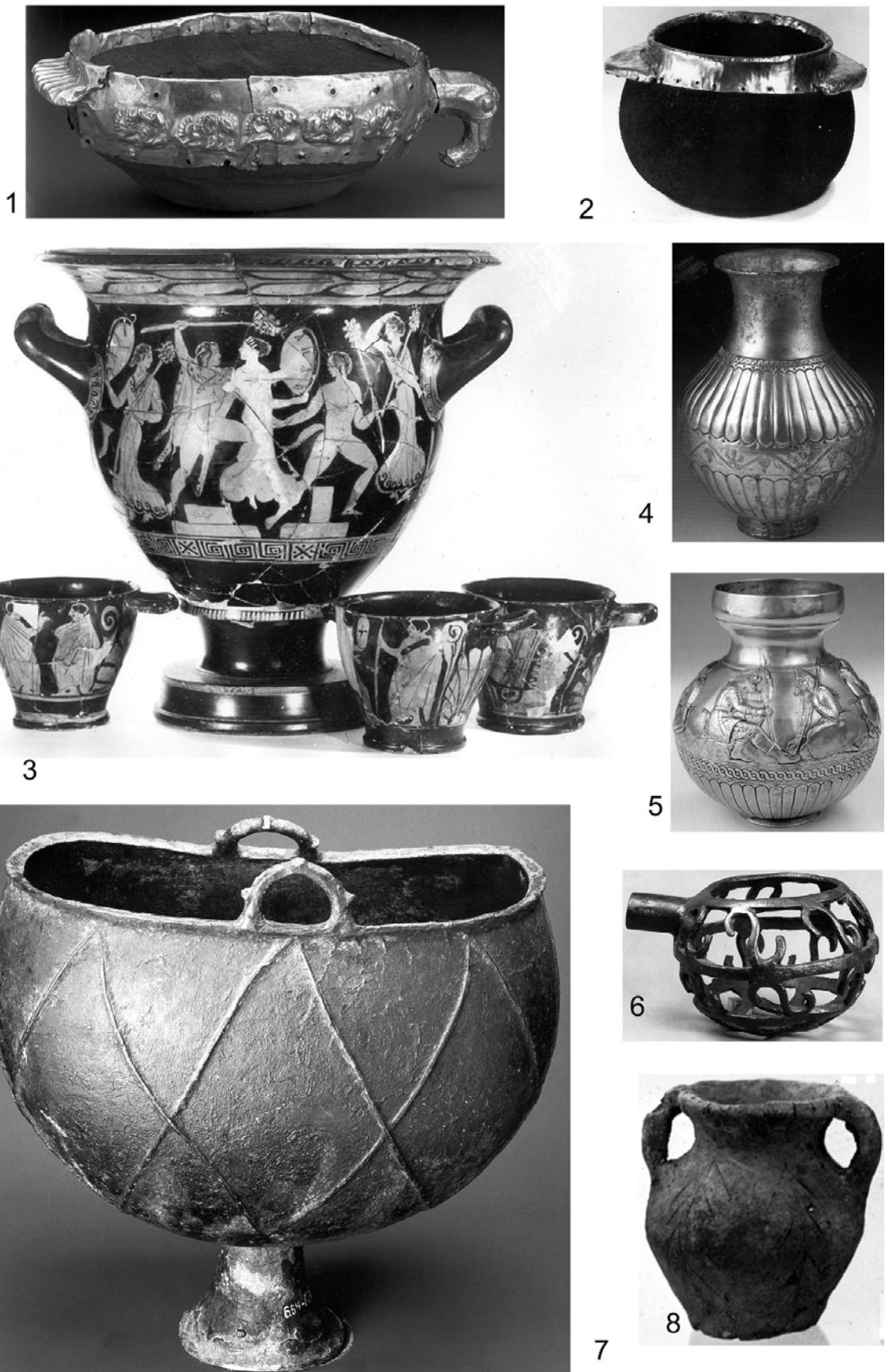


Fig. 5. Ware: wooden bowls (1-2); black-glaze pottery (3); foreign metal ware (4-5); bronze ladle (6) and cauldron (7); hand-made pottery (8).



1



2



5



3

4



6

Fig. 6. Toilet articles: mirror (5) and comb (6); adornments: ear-rings (3), metal necklace (2), rings (4).



Fig. 7. Decorative art: animal style (1-4); anthropomorphic style (5-6).

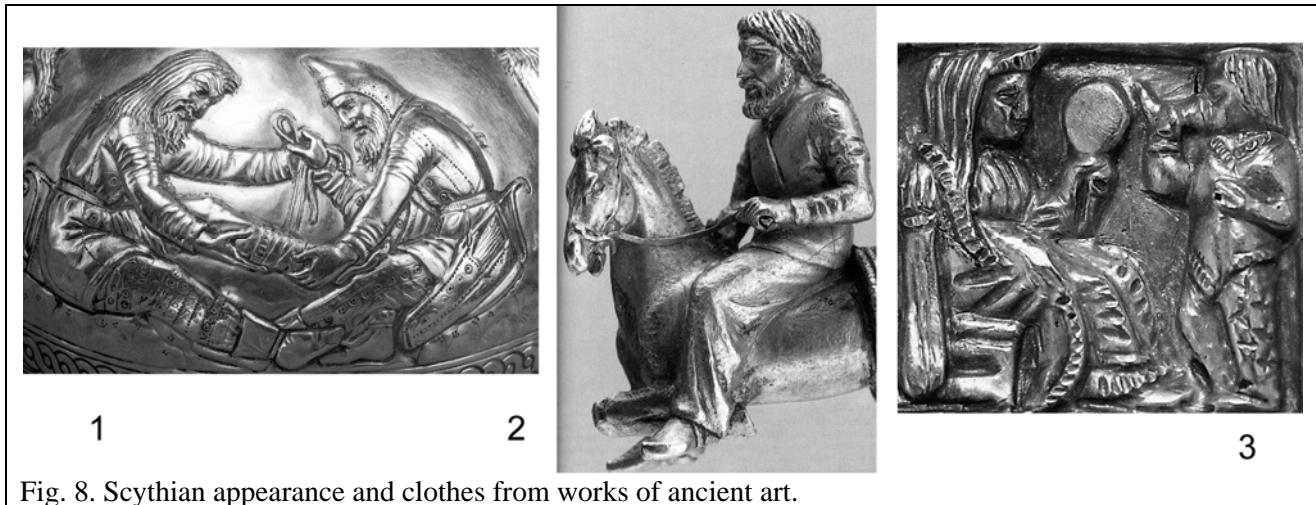


Fig. 8. Scythian appearance and clothes from works of ancient art.



Fig. 9. Gold pectoral from Tovsta Mogyla.



Fig. 10. Gold comb from Solokha.

**BARROWS OF THE SCYTHIAN TSARS
IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 4TH CENT. B.C.
(A SEARCH FOR HISTORICAL FACTS)**

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The present level of knowledge about the structure of steppe giant mounds as well as determination of the fact of simultaneous existence of their submound burial assemblies permit widening the information field available from the study of elite Scythian mounds (Fig.1). On the one hand, it is necessary because all the highest burial mounds of steppe Scythia, being very densely arranged both in time and in space, are almost completely studied. On the other hand, wide "noticeability" of these relics has led to attempts of revision of their ethnic attribution. I. Marasov assumes that Low-Dnieper burial mounds of the Khomyna Mogila (Khoma's grave) type belong to the Thracian nobles (Marasov 1988). R. Ismagilov believes that the whole assembly of the "Low-Dnieper catacomb culture of the 5th and 4th cent. B.C." was left by the early Sarmatians (Ismagilov 1994, 71). That is why we think it necessary to face the problem of attribution of the Scythian tsars' graves provided that most researchers are inclined to see existence of the single state power in the Northern Black Sea area in the 4th cent. B.C.

A brilliant conception advanced by B.N. Grakov on transformation of the Scythian society in the reign of tsar Atei who is treated as a unifier of Scythia (Grakov 1950, 9-18) still has its adherents and opponents. A conclusion which was based on a sagacious guess about the interrelation between pictures showing Heracles with a lion and ideas about origination of the new branch of the Scythian tsars from Zeus via Targitaus-Herakles and, in fact, purposeful appropriation of this symbolic picture either by Atei or by his clan (Grakov 1950, 12), has been supported by a ponderable argument after the discovery of Atei's coin.

This conclusion has been verified by a thorough mythological analysis of pictures and Scythian toreutics carried by D.S. Raevsky (1977, 164-170). The conclusions made by B.N. Grakov have been supported in the frames of historical analysis and developed by D.B. Shelov (1965, 18-19; 1971, 54-63), A.M. Khasanov (1975, 238-245), F.V. Shelov-Kovedyaev (1984, 146-147), V.I. Pavlenkov (1999, 194-196). They give Atei functions of the tsar who completed integration of Scythia as a whole under the guidance of the single central power and in whose reign the development of the Scythian state had reached its zenith.

Another version treats Atei a local leader of the Scythians in Dobrugea. This opinion has many adherents, among them there are D.P. Kallistov (1969, 125-130), P. Alexandresku (1967, 91), V.A. Anokhin (1973, 39-40), E.V. Chernenko (1987, 81), S.I. Adrukh (1995, 75-80) and other.

Sharing the views of B.N. Grakov in this discussion, we suggest our own indirect arguments and version that one of eminent tsar's burial mounds is the grave of Atei. Comprehending that this assumption is very hypothetical because historical information is rather disperse and scarce, we still think it possible to propose our version. Besides, the process of chronological ordering of tsar mounds initiated by M.I. Rostovtsev and developed by the next generations of researchers (Rostovtsev 1925, 405, 432, 455; Brashiinskij, 1965, 89 – 109; Onajko 1970, 9-54) has been

recently given a powerful incentive due to a series of suggestions made by A.Yu. Alekseev (1981, 75-83; 1984, 65-75; 1987, 28-39; 1992; 1993, 72-75; 2003). Such scientists as S.Yu. Monachov (1993, 68-70; 1999; 2003). and S.V. Polin (1993, 79-80; 1994, 105) have also contributed to refinement of dates of great Scythian graves.

The works mentioned permit narrowing significantly a range of the most probable mounds of tsars proper, which makes it possible to construct a rather strict logic chain of relics. Pull-value information available on assembly Ohuz permits attributing it with confidence to not numerous group of tsars' graves. That is why recognizing the largest three graves of the Scythian steppe as tsar graves (without quotation marks) we have to determine the time and succession of their appearance. The latest datings of Chortomlyk and Alexandropol' state their chronological horizon as 340-320 and 325-300 B.C., respectively, and determine, in our opinion, the following tendency of their sequence: Chortomlyk – Ohuz – Alexandropol'. However, operations with absolute dates destroy at times this chronological chain. That is why it is expedient to use differentiating features when determining succession of these barrows.

There is a steady statement for the 4th cent. B.C. on existence of four tsars' graves proper, i.e. we add mound Solokha to our chain. This 18 m high mound erected for two stages yields twice-thrice to giants of the second half of the 4th cent. B.C. if taking into account labour expenditures, but in comparison with burial mounds of its horizon it may be referred with confidence to the range of tsars' sepulchers. It is known at present that there are no more graves of such size in the steppe and forest-steppe zones of East Europe except for Tsarsky (tsar's) mound on the Bosphorus. One more indirect argument in favour of our chain is location of graves in space on one line, on a section of 126 km (from Ohuz in the south to Alexandropol' in the north), i.e. on the so-called "tsar's road". That direction was probably the most important thoroughfare of Scythia and served a place for burying the most outstanding public figures: there were found the largest mounds of the Steppe (Deev, Kozel, Rogachik, Lemeshev, barrows near vil. Bolshaya Znamenka (№ 13 in particular); in the right-bank Dnipro territory there are, probably, Tovsta and Nechai Mogilas) (Boltryk 1990, 38-41).

Limiting a range of relics we need to exclude the Nechai Mogila from the number of pretenders to the rank of tsar's sepulcher, thought this grave is the largest one among unexcavated mounds of the Ukrainian steppes, its height (16,2 m) permits comparing it with graves Kozel and Tsimbalka which represent the next social stage. All other graves, the so-called "tsar's" ones, irrespective of the significant wealth of their burial stock, are not taken into account because labor expenditures for their construction yield greatly to the range of graves mentioned above. Volumes of Ohuz, Chortomlyk, Alexandropol' are 117, 82,4 and 77,5 thou. m³ respectively, whereas Kozel and Bolshaya Tsimbalka, the closest to them by the height, are 33 and 32 thou. m³. The next group of mounds consists of Zhovtokam'ianka, Lemeshev, Krasnokuts'ky, Babina, Gaimanova, Tovsta and Chmyreva Mogilas which volumes of barrows 7-8 times yield volumes of tsars' mounds. It is interesting that Ohuz exceeds its neighbors in the group just by the volume of Kozel and Bolshaya Tsimbalka. In our opinion this difference is to be associated with the presence of the Northern grave in Ohuz. This grave caused construction of additional bank according to the social rank of the deceased.

Between the time of construction of Solokha (late 5th and early 4th cent. B.C.) and the rest of tsars' graves there is a chronological gap of fifty years or even more. This fact, striking as it may seem, may be explained if compare the mentioned chronological niche with the supposed period of Atei's reign. Most probably the second grave of Solokha was a burial place of Atei's predecessor (Mancevič 1987, 118; Alekseev 1992, 127, 162; 2003, 227, 229 -235) and the existing gap in time between Solokha and three other giant graves formed as there was no need to make sepulchers because tsars did not die. So, that mound of these three ones of tsars of the second half of the 4th cent. B.C. which was erected the first is to be treated as Atei's grave. Besides, it is advisable to analyze three burial assemblages with allowance for narrative information about the tsar.

Let us discuss each of graves-pretenders separately. Mound **Chortomlyk** is studied most thoroughly and nevertheless, irrespective of numerous works devoted to it, this archaeological

assembly still remains obscure. The careful analysis of findings reveals certain facts which change its traditional comprehension.

1. At present asynchronism of an assembly of findings in Chortomlyk is proved convincingly (Alekseev 1987, 32; Alekseev, Murzin, Rolle 1991, 130). Existence of two burial assemblies in the mound is scarcely responsible for this fact. We think that the Northern grave of Chortomlyk is not an independent structure but a complex entry pit which served a beginning of a powerful inclined dromos to chamber 5, i.e. main entrance to the central part of the grave. Let us note that the dromos was considered as a robber-made hole from the time of I.E. Zabelin and all next generations of researchers apprehended that error as a proved fact (D.M. Anučin expressed not unfounded doubts on the occasion of this predatory way. He believed this underground passage 1,1 m in section – as it was considered – linked up underground habitation of “tsar and tsarina” with surface; besides it was used for bringing in the grave goods or for passing away soul of dead. He also pay attention to the passage of Chortomlyk which “was blocked up with stones from the outside and that was closed with two heavy slabs” (Anučin, 1909, 63-68)). The authors of the monograph devoted to Chortomlyk could not avoid that erroneous view. That is why we think it necessary to add arguments to our statement.

Prior to the latest study of Ohuz long dromoses were traditionally treated as secondary structures which joined a subsidiary entry pit with a burial chamber of the central grave, which is obviously seen in dromoses of Alexandropol' and Zhovtokam'ianka. But Ohuz trustworthily shows a principle of existence of two synchronous entries to one burial structure: via a long dromos from the south and via a ramp from the west. This fact made it possible to consider the outline and sequence of formation of burial structures with long dromoses in another aspect. They were single underground burial systems made at early stages of formation of mounds and the entrance to the dromos was made beyond the bounds of primary embankment.

W. Herz, who made working drawings when completing excavations of Chortomlyk, had observed regularity in planning of its burial structures. He marked that the system of proportions of the Northern grave was analogous to proportions of the Central grave and he supposed that they were constructed under instructions of the same “architect” (Herz, 1997). This observation becomes clear if treat the Northern grave as a complex entry pit which crowned the northern end of the dromos. Besides, the outlines of Chortomlyk show that the width of the “robber’s hole” (i.e. dromos) coincides with the width of the upper part of the central pit, which adds to observations of W. Herz. It is very interesting that crosses of the “robber’s hole” of Chortomlyk almost coincide with crosses of the dromos in Ohuz in their shape and dimensions. So, considering the “robber’s hole” as a dromos, we obtain in the outline of Chortomlyk an element which we lacked previously and which significantly throws light to the situation around chamber 5.

There are similar long dromoses in most of significant graves of the second half of the 4th cent. B.C. In some graves they are treated as secondary passages (Alexandropol', Zhovtokam'ianka), in other type – they were not identified (Verkhny Rogachik, Tolstaya Mogila), in some graves they were not studied (Kozel, Krasnokuts'ky mound). The “robber’s holes” in other mounds ought to be revised critically as well. In most cases they were dromoses (either horizontal or inclined) though, really, in the course of time they were used by robbers as water which penetrated to these passages decamouflaged the entry holes. The acceptance of the principle of simultaneous erection of the structures with long dromoses excludes one of the steady archaeological “legends” on the striking ability either of ancient builders or of robbers to hit their underground passages precisely in the definite parts of previously built underground structures and retaining with that the general symmetry of the primary structure. Reverting to Chortomlyk it ought to be mentioned that, as attribution of burial places of the subordinate persons and horses to the Central grave is indubitable, this relic is to be treated as a synchronous assembly constructed for one person.

2. The burial assembly of Chortomlyk is the most “Scythian” of all three assemblies, it contains none elements of other cultures or borrowings. Certain amount of antique imports in the stock is in line with this statement as for the 4th cent. B.C. it had been already a stable burial tradition. This fact

is expedient to be compared with narrative information on the preference shown by the Scythian tsar to traditions of his people (Plutarch, Aphorisms... 16; 2,3).

3. The authors of the monograph devoted to Chortomlyk have driven themselves in captivity of the attractive version advanced by D.A. Machinsky and A.Yu. Alekseev that the achemenidian sword found in the mound is a diplomatic gift made by Alexander of Makedon. The version is based on the authors' comprehension of Arrian's data (IV, 15/1), which in the end influenced determination of the general date of the assembly.

Being a unique thing, the sword repeatedly attracted attention of specialists. Having studied that finding, A.Yu. Alekseev has marked that the cover made of thin golden plate and the blade are asynchronous and made in different cultural traditions. The fact of their combination the researcher has explained as the secondary use of the cast achemenidian cover of the 5th cent. B.C. when trimming the Scythian blade of the 4th cent.B.C. (Alekseev 1984a, 40,41). Attribution of the sword cover to the achemenidian art is proved not only by the mode of pictures, but, as R.S. Minasjan states, by the procedure of its performance (Minasjan 1997). He adheres to the version on the secondary use of the more ancient cover for the Scythian blade of the 4th cent. B.C.

In opinion of E.V. Chernenko there is one essential feature in the sword hilt which is not known in the ancient east and archaic arms but is intrinsic to Scythian swords of the 4th cent. B.C. It is a part of the golden cover of the hilt, "a cuff", which is lower than the cross and covers the upper part of the blade. A tracery blade is typical only of the Scythian assemblies of the 4th cent. B.C., i.e. it is much younger than the sword cover. The sword from Chortomlyk is included by E.V. Chernenko to a list of the Scythian trophies in the war against Darius (Chernenko 1984, p.48-50).

Thus, all researchers are inclined to the opinion that a new blade and a cuff made of gold foil were mounted to the old hilt. The version treating the sword as a gift can hardly be accepted as the sword looking as it was when it was excavated could not get to Scythia. Tracery blades and cuffs typical only of the Scythian relics of the 4th cent. B.C. could be made only by native craftsmen. Besides, as we know from information made by E.V. Chernenko, the cuff bears traces showing its wear and this confirms that the sword was brought to the grave after the long-term use and in an altered form.

Then, taking the version of E.V. Chernenko who treats the sword as a trophy of war, we may explain the fact of its availability in the grave. Probably, the sword was a relic of the kin and the old-age tsar so highly appreciated that arm of his youth that ordered to renew it as the blade was worn or on some other reasons.

4. Bronze-made kettles look rather archaic in the Chortomlyk assembly. The typological classification of Scythian kettles of the Black Sea coast area suggested by N.A. Bokovenko shows one of kettles from Chortomlyk looking like those from Solokha and Raskopana Mogyla, the second – like those from the Upper Dnipro and Dnipro-Rudnensky assemblies, the third – like kettles from Kelermes and Kostel (Bokovenko 1990, p. 171, fig. 52). So, the analogies refer these findings to the 6th-5th cent., or at least to the early 4th cent. B.C.

The monograph devoted to Chortomlyk clearly shows a tendency to balance "contradictions" and to diminish slightly the archaism of kettles confining them to the 4th cent. B.C. It is mentioned there that the kettles resembling those from Chortomlyk were brought to the grave far from being new. Apropos, a kettle from the Northern grave has such pattern that it integrally blends with a kit of kettles from chambers 5 and 1. It is worth mentioning that they left safe kettles near the tsar, and kettles with traces of repair beyond his chamber, i.e. in the Northern grave and in chamber 1.

The archaism of kettles may be attributed completely to the personality of the main deceased. If we take into account that it was a person of a rather old age who inherited those things (an analogy with Solokha), there will be no contradictions in this situation.

5. A tendency of arrangement of horses in the submound space which may be treated as a system of outstripping proofs attracts attention when comparing all three tsar burial assemblies of the second half of the 4th cent. B.C. So, if we take horses from Chortomlyk arranged in three separate graves, it will be anachronism with respect to Ohuz and even more to Alexandropol' as it continues traditions of Solokha and of other more ancient graves. We ought to remember that some

horses from Chortomlyk were, probably in the dromos ("the robber's hole"). In Ohuz most of horses was brought to the dromos and in Alexandropol' only one horse was left in a separate pit at the level of the ancient surface, other 20 or 16 horses were put to the dromos. It worth mentioning in this aspect mound Zhovtokamianka, where in line with a tradition a separate horse's grave was made on a burial way and was left empty and horses were put in the dromos.

As to *Ohuz* we wish to mention that it has reflected brightly a combination of features intrinsic to both the Scythian and Bosporian burial rites, which is not typical of such relics. We have in mind: the Bosporian stone-made sepulchre which is included to the Scythian burial structure; existence of a splendid antique sarcophagus in the Northern grave instead of a wicker coffin or a stretcher; golden adornments of high artistic merit which are unique for Scythia and which analogues take their origin from rich Bosporian sepulchres; combination of the Scythian and Greek decorative elements in adornment of the hearse; appearance of tracery samples in the kit of golden applicative adornments. As a whole, Ohuz is the most Hellenistic relic among the graves of the Scythian tsars.

Thracian bridle kits which are not represented in Chortomlyk but are present in other assemblies of later periods make Ohuz somewhat younger. As other assemblies we mean Khomina and Chmyreva graves, Kozel, Krasnokutsky mound, mound № 11 near. vil. Gyunovka and mound № 2 near vil. Bolshaya Znamenka. They all belong to the latest third of the 4th cent. B.C.

The schemes suggested (Fig. 2.) visually demonstrate the likeness of the structures with long dromoses. As Ohuz is under these conditions a key relic, let us analyze certain our observations relating to it. It is beyond all doubts that the Central burial mound is a complex structure of the same period with two entries. A short entry (the so-called ramp) was used to arrange subordinate people in the niches of the pit; a long dromos was used to carry the main person to be buried. The situation found in Ohuz may be extrapolated to other graves taking into account the following details of the ceremony:

1. proportions and dimensions (length) of long dromoses (Zhovtokam'ianka – 20, Alexandropol' – 29, Chortomlyk – 31, Ohuz – 36 m);
2. the beginning and the end of the dromos are in the mid of the butt-end wall of the entry pit and a chamber, except for Alexandropol' as there was used an angular principle;
3. in the section dromoses of Ohuz, Chortomlyk and Alexandropol' are practically identical;
4. an inclination of the long dromos relative to the axis of the chamber is 13-15° in all mounds of concern, which may be an evidence of the certain rule and an attribute of the previous outlaying of the subgrave space;
5. a grave of a guard near the end of the dromos, i.e. near the entry to the chamber;
6. the presence of horses in the dromos;
7. location of additional kettles in an entrance pit;
8. a fire-pot left near the entrance to the chamber.

Alexandropol' traditionally treated as a relic of a turning-point between two centuries was referred to the period between the last third and last quarter of the 4th cent. B.C. (Alekseev 1986, 35-37; 2003, 270; Monachov 1993, 69-70; 1999, 432-438). It has become a habit to comprehend this relic as such which consists of two or even of three burial assemblies (Rostovcev, 1925, 428-430; Mozololevs'kyj, 1979, 154). We are deeply convinced that Alexandropol' is a single synchronous assembly of underground structures aimed to ensure in the proper way a transit of the most important person in the state to the other world. There are many facts which confirm the synchronism of the whole assembly.

1. Coincidence and coordination of depths of entry pits and dromoses with allowance for the fact that the long dromos is horizontal and the burial chamber itself has an inclined floor (here and after regarding Alexandropol we shall use the materials of Scientific archives Institute of the history of material culture Russian Academy of Sciences p. 1, arch. 561, 1,7,8).

2. A slight detail on the sections of undergrounds, namely, an inclination of the floor at the very small part of the burial chamber in a point of its contiguity with a long dromos, demonstrates that it

was impossible to make that part of the floor inclined after construction of the chamber. This fact confirms that the chamber and the long dromos were made simultaneously.

3. Mutual arrangement of axes of both dromoses which make an angle of 110° is in favor of synchronism of the assembly of the Central burial structure in Alexandropol'. Similar indices are observed in Ohuz, Chortomlyk, Zhovtokam'ianka. That coincidence could not be occasional and confirmed preliminary laying out of the submound surface prior to erection of the initial embankment.

4. Indivisability of the Central burial structure is confirmed by the so-called robbers' holes (the 5th and 6th according to the plan) which, taking their start in angles of the chamber, then embraced it by symmetrical arcs. It worth mentioning that entry orifices of the western hole coincided precisely with the floor level in the chamber with allowance for its inclination. When the edge of the eastern hole get to a narrow contiguous part of the long dromos (gallery 7) at the level of its floor not breaking the grave of a "guard", its southern edge was "by 1,5 arshins (1,06 m) higher than the floor of the catacombs" (Drevnisti 1866, 13). The holes can hardly be associated with robbers as they do not discord with the general scheme of underground structures and, moreover, the soot on the vault in the eastern hole shows that there burned a wick lamp which is to be treated as an element of the burial ceremony. The fact that entry orifices of the southern hole do not coincide in height may show that the eastern hole might be made prior to the western hole when the floor of the chamber had not yet been dropped by 1,5 arshins and the chamber was not looking as a completed one. The North-Eastern grave performed additional functions with respect to the Central one. It is confirmed by both the planigraphic analysis and conformity of the grave size with a rather unpretentious burial place of a man of "large stature and strong figure" (Drevnisti 1866, 23). This impression gets even stronger due to the presence of large hearse and a pit-bophre 4 m deep. So, this grave does not break the chronological sequence of the whole assembly of Alexandropol'.

Summing up the review of all three burial assemblies we think it necessary to emphasize that irrespective of the rather obvious chronological sequence Chortomlyk – Ohuz – Alexandropol', they are very close in time, which is a certain historical phenomenon.

Proceeding from the fact of existence in Scythia of the 4th cent. B.C. of a rather verified range of four graves which belonged to tsars and basing on the minimum fifty years long gap between Solokha and three other giant mounds we shall try to represent our own version taking into account narrative information.

Solokha is the burial place of Atei's predecessor, Atei himself was buried in the earliest of the three mounds mentioned. In our opinion it is Chortomlyk. We need to note here that we believe Atei was the tsar who had completed integration of the whole Scythia under the segis of the single central power. It was under his reign that development of the Scythian state reached its acme and the general-Scythian political and administrative centre was made in the Kamenka site on the Dnipro river (Grakov 1954, 22-24, 57).

We are prone to accept this version taking into account that various written sources represent Atei as an equal partner of Philip Macedonsky (see Plutarch, Aphorisms of tsars and commanders, 16, 1, 2; Pompius Trog, IX, 2) and numerous records of him in written works of Greek and Latin authors had hardly been made if he would be an insignificant governor of one of the regions in Scythia.

In the monograph devoted to Chortomlyk the authors practically approached the comparison of Atei's sepulchre with that burial assembly, but they did not dare to develop that hypothesis as they were in captivity of another version (Alekseev, Murzin, Rolle 1991, 136-138, 141, 142). In contrast to them we believe Chortomlyk is such a mound which is most of all the sepulchre of Atei, as reasons mentioned above, when we have described our version, find quite convincing confirmation.

In our opinion the acknowledgement that the Northern grave is a constituent part of an entry pit to the Central burial structure of Chortomlyk, i.e. the beginning of the main entrance to tsar's burial-vault, attaches quite other meaning to the finding originating from this place. It is a silver bowl on the bottom of which two lines of Greek letters are inscribed (it would be reminded that black-lacquer basin that was found in Vth burial chamber of Chortomlyk had graffiti "A" on it's

outside (Alekseev, Murzin, Rolle 1991, 82)). We think it possible to treat the first line as the name of Atei. In fact, it is written either with an error or with a will to show the Scythian pronunciation. Nevertheless that spelling is rather similar to the representation of Atei's name on his coins of the late series (Fig.4).

Then, if Atei was buried in Chortomlyk, to whom we should refer the Central burial structure of Ohuz? It is necessary in this case to pay attention to information of Pompius Trog that Atei promised Philip to adopt him as a son and to make him the heir but having quarreled with him he declared that he did not need any successor when his own son was alive (IX, 2, 4). So, if there was a son, most likely he inherited the father and became a tsar after Atei's death. Taking into account the old age of Atei, his son might be not younger than 65-75 years and that is why a chronological interval between the time of construction of Chortomlyk and Ohuz was so negligible. The year of the death of Atei's successor probably corresponds to the statement of Arian (Campaign of Alexander the Great, IV, 15, 1) that during the embassy of the European Scythians to Alexander Macedonsky to Middle Asia in 329-328 B.C. the tsar of Scythia died and the throne passed to his brother. Apparently, Ohuz is to be attributed to that date, thought, quite possible, there was an intermediate data.

The Bosporian properties of Ohuz ought to be attributed to the political alliance between the Scythians and Bosporian tsar Leuconus I (390-348) (Polien, 6, 9, 4) which might be concluded in the first quarter of the 4th cent. B.C. Atei needed that alliance, possible, for ensuring the success of his expansion to the Balkans and supported the alliance by the dynastic marriage of his son to one of Bosporian princess. This version is confirmed, in our opinion, by the following conclusions: the Northern grave of Ohuz was a burial place of an old woman, probably tsar's wife; her age corresponds to the supposed age of Atei's son; the burial stock includes golden crepundia (Fialko 1994, 121-124). Undoubtedly, those crepundia given to that woman as adornment and an amulet when she was a child were brought to Scythia as her dowry. Only Bosporian relics have certain finding corresponding to those things and there are none such things in the Scythian relics. The same with recherche ear-rings adorned with sphinxes: only rich Bosporian sepulchers have their analogs. So, we may comprehend the presence of the antique burial vault in the Scythian grave. Probably, the wife of the late tsar asked Bosporian workers to construct the burial vault with the aim to immortalize the memory of his husband as Arthemisia did.

If we shall take into account information of Arian that the late tsar was succeeded by his brother, in this case also we may suppose the elderly age of the new tsar. Probably, long-term rule of Atei and his elderly age caused further gerontocratization of the Scythian succession to the throne. That very fact is demonstrated by the chronological proximity of tsars' graves in the second half of the 4th cent. B.C. The elderly age of the deceased buried in Alexandropol' confirms this fact as well.

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Abbreviations

ASGE	– Archeologičeskij sbornik gosudarstvennogo Ermitaža
KSIIMK	– Kratkije soobščenija Instituta istorii material'noj kultury
MIA	– Materialy i issledovanija po archeologii SSSR
SA	– Sovetskaja archeologija
SAI	– Svod archeologičeskich istočnikov
SGE	– Soobsčnija gosudarstvennogo Ermitaža
VDI	– Vestnik drevnej istorii



Fig.1. A map of location of burial monuments of the Scythian aristocracy in the steppe Dnipro territory.

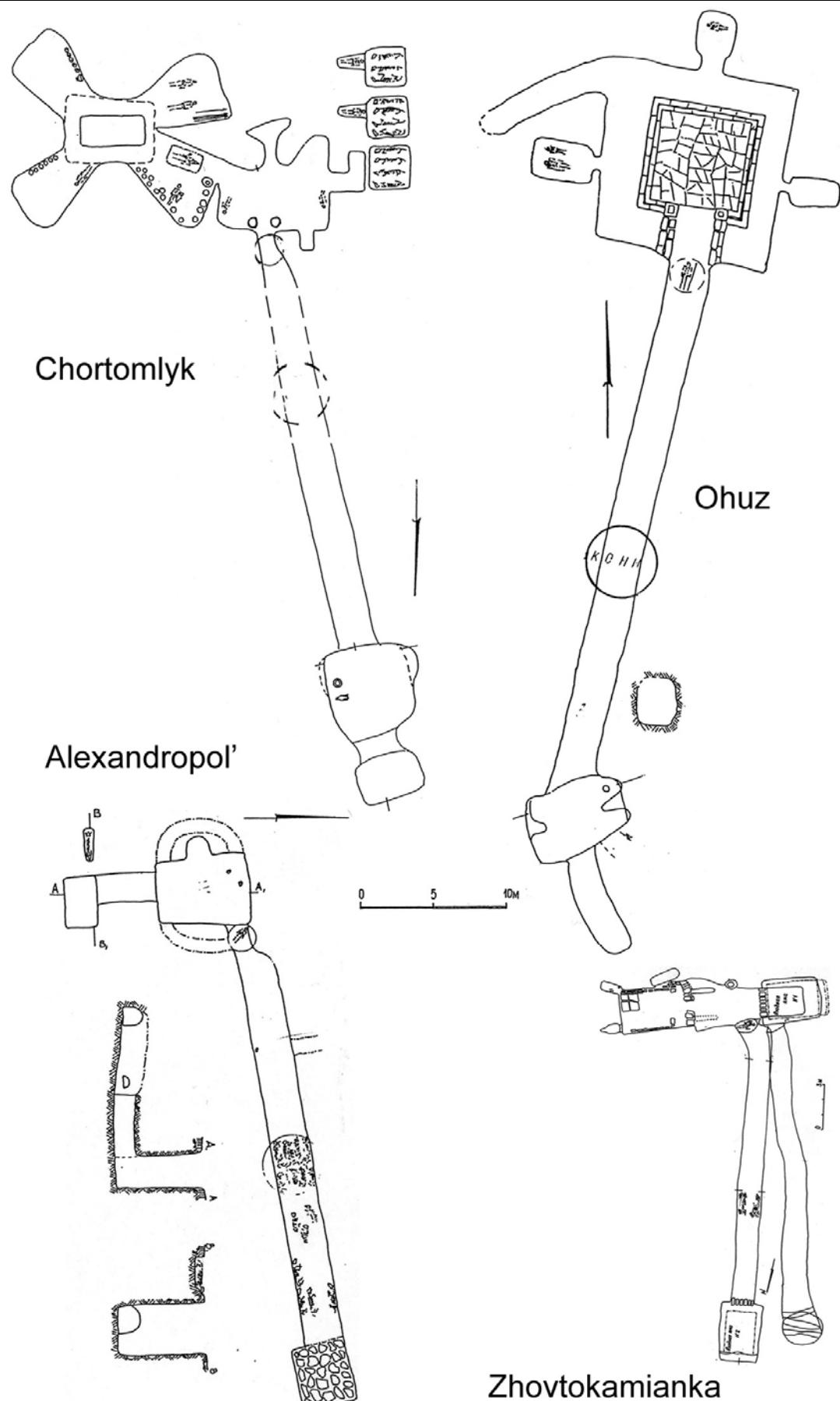


Fig.2. Schemes of central burial structures: Chortomlyk, Ohuz, Alexandropol' and Zhovtokamianka.

Solokha		Chortomlyk	Ohuz	Alexandropol
Volume of kurhan – 52000 cubic m	The time of Atei's rule	Volume of kurhan – 84000 cubic m	Volume of kurhan – 52000 cubic m	Volume of kurhan – 77500 or 47000 cubic m
Orik?		Atei?	?	?
400-380 BC	? -339 BC	340-320 BC	330-300 BC	320-290 BC

Fig.3. Scheme of succession of Scythian royal barrows of the 4 cent. BC.

1	A bowl from Chortomlyk	AATAA
2	Atei's coin (the second series) - 345-339 BC	ΑΤΑΙΑ
3	Atei's coin (the first series) - 364-346 BC	ΑΤΑΙΑΣ
4	In old Greek authors - 1 – 2 AD	ΑΤΕΑΣ

Fig.4. Spelling of nomin Atei.

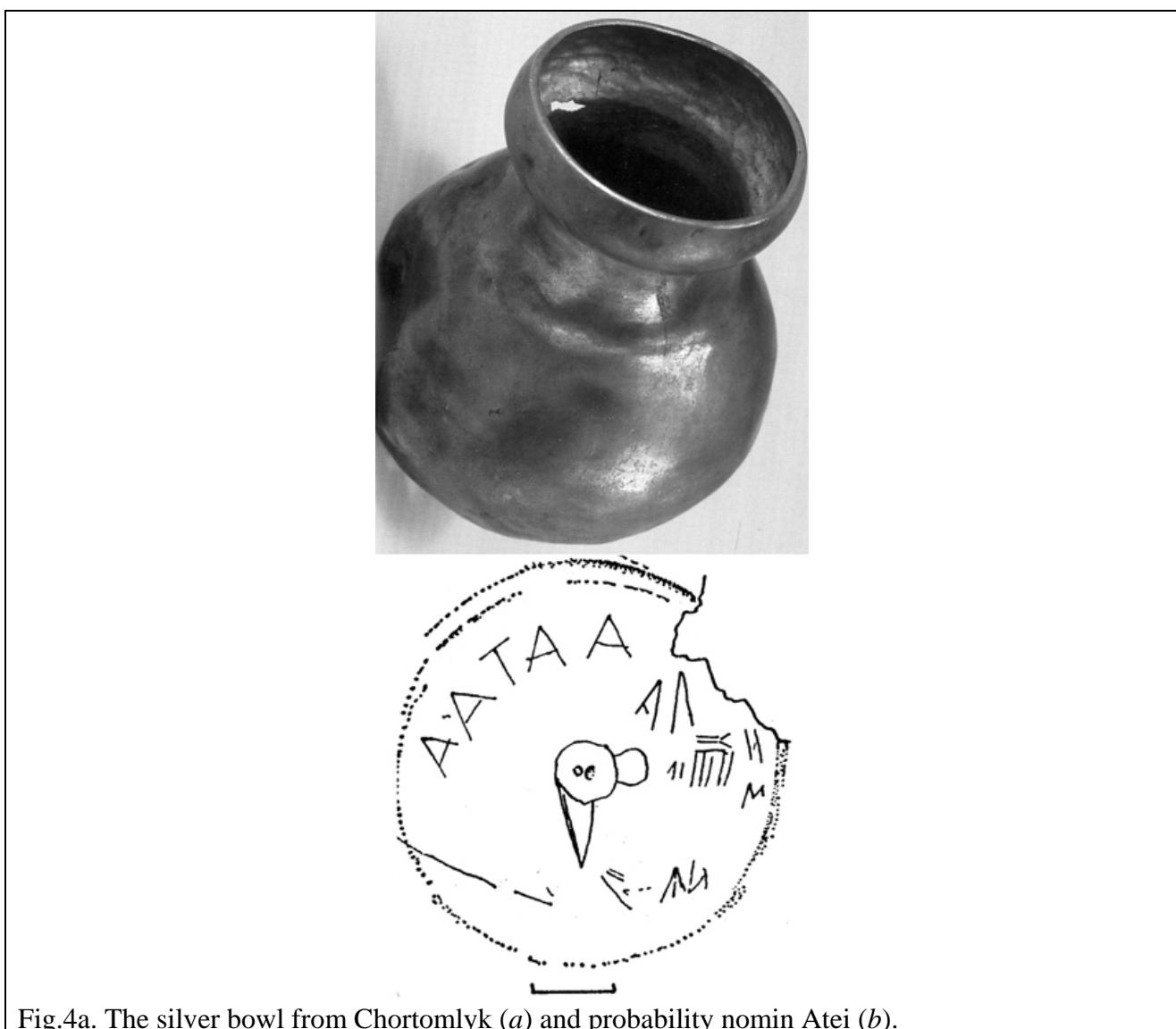


Fig.4a. The silver bowl from Chortomlyk (a) and probability nomin Atei (b).

SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN CENTRAL THRACE, 6TH – 3RD CENTURY B.C.

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Part I

The clues to understanding the social structure in central Thrace south of the Haeumus can be seen – from the archaeological points of view - in the settlements and their pattern and in the graves and cemeteries. Thracian Early Iron Age forts were already known in the southern Thracian mountains from the early 1st millennium B.C., but their traces consist only of fortifications and of some rock carvings with solar symbols. They served as cult and assembly centres, similar to those sanctuaries in Greece which were the centres of Greek *ethnoi* in the non-poleis parts of Greece (cf. also Gotsev 1997). But since the 6th century B.C. the structure of settlement in Thrace did not consist of small villages and temporarily settled hillforts only; it was more sophisticated than was supposed by earlier scholarship (Balabanov 1986, Čičikova 1985).

Hecataeus and Herodotus knew of several cities of Thracians in the Chalcidice and east of it, notably those of the Edonians. We know only some of their cemeteries, e.g. Sindos. Little is known of similar early Thracian urban settlements in Bithynia and Mysia, but they were already called cities by the early Greek historians (Herod. II,2, 23, I, 24, I, 124,2 and 126,1). Those situated east of the Vardar – Axios seem to have developed from earlier settlements on the *toumbas*, *selištne mogili*, like Kastanas, Assiros and the Toumba of Thessaloniki (Cf. esp. the series of the Kastanas publications edited by B. Hänsel). New excavations have revealed more of them in Chalcidice (Bouzek 1997, 79-80, 246-249). Koprivlen may have had a history similar to Assiros and Kastanas. There are imports of Greek 6th century pottery there similar to what is found in comparable sites further south, and also a Late Bronze Age predecessor (Božkova et alii 1998, Delev et alii 2000). The small daughter cities of main Greek apoikias, on both the Aegean and Black Sea coasts, were called emporia. These emporia were usually something half-way between a village and a city. They were situated in the chora of the Greek cities (as seen around Histria and Olbia), but in early times the chora was rarely – as Ettore Lepore would say – *territorio cittadino*, but a mere *zona di influenza*.

The Thucydidean towers” were apparently small forts with some military and governmental function, but not yet real towns, as their industrial and trade activities were very limited. While Nebettepe of Plovdiv in view of its size – before the time of Philip II - was probably one of the *thyrseis*, Vasil Levski and the fort on the Mandren lake (Balabanov 1984, 1986) were places where influential *reguli* lived and had their representative manors. Pistiros after its monumental fortifications built in the third quarter of the 5th century B.C. became an undoubtedly urban structure, with *kleroi*, a regular network of streets and *insulae*. The Vetren tumulus situated only a few hundred meters from Pistiros (Venedikov 1946) and dated ca. 400 B.C. shows exactly the same technique of working stone as was used in the Pistiros city wall of the 5th century (Fig. 2). As this is the time of the rise of the monumental tomb construction in Bulgaria south of Stara Planina, stonemasons from Pistiros may well have been teachers of local Thracian artisans, and the nobleman buried in the Vetren tomb the local *regulus* who enabled the Greeks to found the emporium there. Pistiros had not only a regular city plan with streets surrounded by colonnades, but also a sophisticated sewage system (Fig. 3). From the famous inscription and from graffiti we know that it

also had some kind of self-governing body, a city council (Bouzek et alii, eds. 1997, 2002). The two kinds of loom weights, testify to two traditions of textile working. The fiddle-shaped weights are only known from Thracian sites, not from Greek cities; they were probably made by Thracian women; most of the weights known from Pistiros were of the fiddle-shaped class. Also the altars of baked clay found there have parallels in Thracian cities (esp. Seuthopolis) but they were not usual in Greek towns. As we know from the chemical analysis of C.W. Beck, some fat with jasmin and rose oil was applied on them, like in the Hindu sanctuaries today.

As for burials, the beginnings (6th-5th century B.C.) is marked by elaborate shaft graves containing exceptional objects of gold and silver (esp. Duvanli and Kaloyanovo); they were means of representation of the aristocracy before a more stable system of royal and princely administration could be established. A good parallel to the rich graves of the Duvanli region is the manor house at Vasil Levski, built of soft dressed stone and covered with glazed tiles. The late 5th century in Thrace is marked by the transition from shaft cist graves to tomb chambers constructed on the surface under tumuli – heroa, in which persons of the uppermost class were buried and their memory worshipped. The way from forts and villages to towns lasted longer. The emporion Pistiros is a Greek foundation, though Greeks and Thracians lived there together. The citizens, *cittadini*, had to have laws and assemblies. The Pistiros inscription was for the Greeks, but also Thracians could see and read it publicly. The phenomenon of public inscriptions shows that the community of citizens was based on written laws and a juridical system; this is even more important characteristic of a city than urban planning (Archibald 1998).

M. Domaradzki in his small book Emporion Pistiros II and in his contribution to the colloquium Pistiros and Thasos in 1998 mentioned several places, where an emporion may have existed due to some particular finds. One of his candidates is Arzos near Kalugerovo, on the right bank of the river Sazlika, where several dozens commercial lead documents of pre-Roman date have been found according to V. Gerasimova, but they are in private collections and not accessible to study. The second is Kočerinovo. A number of important objects from this village are in the collection of D. Dimitrov at Pernik, but, again, no scientific excavation has ever been made there.

The tumuli with cremations and inhumations at Akandžievo show Attic lekythoi in some grave offerings. While the tumuli were normal in Thrace, the custom of last ointment of the dead body while lying in the grave was typical for the Greeks; Thracian burial ritual was different. The sanctuaries were religious centres and meeting points of those tribal units who did not develop cities even in Greece. There were also various special political relations between the Thracians and the Greek cities. Maroneia for example enjoyed a special position in relation to the Odrysian empire, for which it minted coins.

The monumental tombs were built for heroes, mediating between the world of the living and the deities. This situation reminds one of the Etruscan *lucumones*, who had tombs of similar construction (Naso, A. 1995).

The social classes parallel to Dacian *pileati* and *capillati* apparently existed also in central Thrace south of the Haemus, and the clients depended on the chiefs, though the *Gefolgschaft* system enabled social mobility to able warriors. After the Celtic campaign, the rich graves of warriors, like the one uncovered at Plovdiv, show again that in this part of Thrace the system also enabled cooperation between Thracians and Celts; some of the latter were apparently accepted into Thracian society, though others founded the Tylis kingdom or the tribal principedom of the Scordisci.

Seuthopolis as a new foundation was a real city with a regular plan, fully urban also when compared with Greek poleis, but with Thracian specifics like the hearth-altars, a phenomenon also known from Pistiros, and with a royal palace (Dimitrov – Čičikova 1987). Kabyle was slightly different due to its geographical position but it too was a real city at least from the time of Philip II. Velkov 1982). Pernik (Krakra, Čangova 1981; Domaradzki-Taneva 1998, 29-33) is still less well known, but its urban character cannot be doubted; its fortification is similar to that of Amphipolis, later in execution than that of Pistiros first phase. The situation of Nebettepe of Plovdiv is even less known, but the city may well have existed here already before Philip II.(cf. Domaradzki-Taneva 1988, 22-29). Other urban centres of the 4th century B.C. existed in Simeonovgrad (Asara) and

Mezek (Kaleto), but they are much less known archaeologically. The manor house situated by the Mandren lake and investigated by P. Balabanov has already been mentioned among the Thucydidean *thurseis*.

North of the Haemus, the first well-known Thracian city is Sborjanovo (Stoyanov 2000), which flourished in the 3rd century B.C. Its fortifications (Fig. 4) indicate its special importance, but the interior of the city is only partly known, and it was not built in the regular (Hippodamean) urban system. Several – probably more modest – parallels to Sborjanovo exist in SE Rumania, but Sborjanovo may best be considered the capital of the royal dynasty of the Geti whose cemetery was situated in Sveštari. The Šumen settlement may also have been urban in character, but it has not been investigated enough to provide clear evidence, and it is probably later than Bobata near Osmar (Domaradzki-Taneva 1998, 42; Antonova 1995). There was another important site in the area on the hill Carevec (Domaradzki-Taneva 1998, 43). The urban centres were connected by a system of roads (Fig. 5). They did not become independent political units with free citizens like the Greek poleis; they were dependent on the system of local kingdoms and dynasties, with the exception of Kabyle (the city minted its own coins). Urban centres where Thracians lived, often with some Greeks, existed in some parts of the Aegean coast fairly early, and later on the Black Sea coast (like Tyrzis on Cap Kaliakra, Balkanska 1980, Velkov 1982)) and on a larger scale in inland Thrace south of Stara Planina at least from the 4th century B.C. As in Italy or in other parts of the Classical world, the Thracians too adopted urban life from their Greek neighbours.

Thracians formed a substantial part of the population of Greek poleis in Thrace, notably in their choras, and Thracian aristocrats often received citizenship in Greek towns and sometimes even higher honours. The system did not change substantially with the conquest of Thrace by Philip II, and in Lysimachus' time, even after the Celtic campaigns the system of tribal dynasts and aristocratic subreguli survived until the Roman conquest. In Hellenistic times, Thrace was a country participating intensively in the development of the Hellenistic koine in many respects. Because of its high level of cultural development, it could preserve many of its old traditions in religious beliefs and in burial customs even as a Roman province (Cf. now a similar survey by Ch. Popov, 2002).

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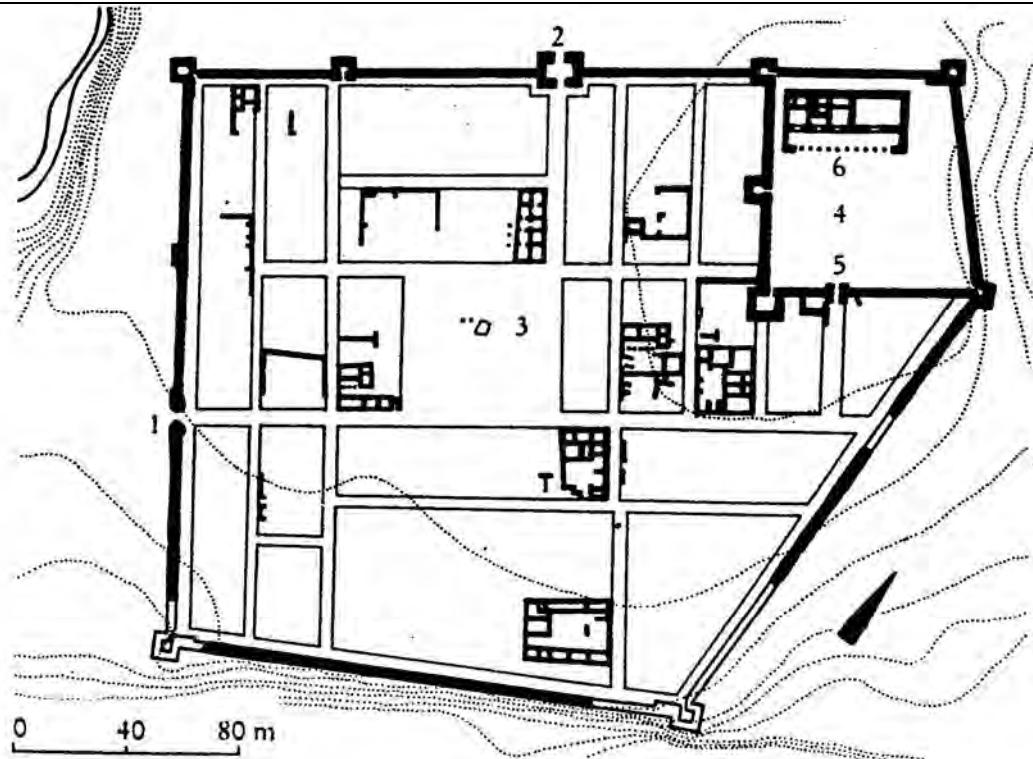


Fig. 1. Seuthopolis, plan of the city, 1-2 gates, 3 agora, 4 citadel, 5 gate to citadel, 6 palace.
After Dimitrov-Čičikova . Thracian City of Seuthopolis, 1977

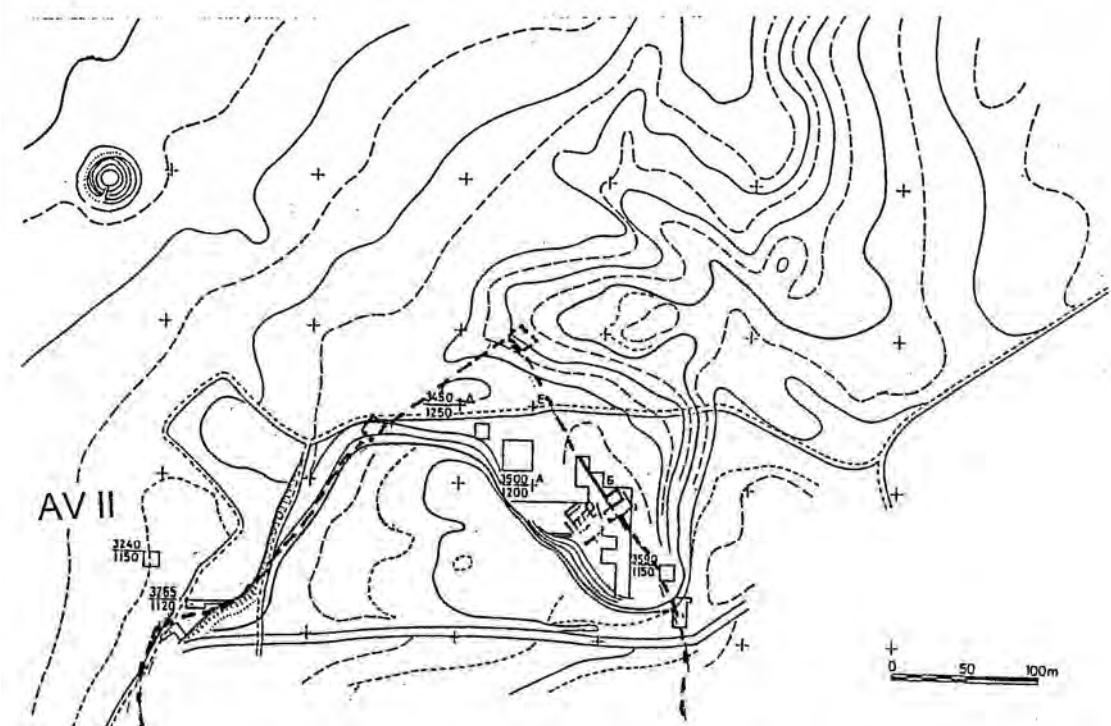


Fig. 2. Pitsiroi, plan of the emporion, After Bouzek et alii, Archaeologia Warszawa 52
(2001), Fig. 1.

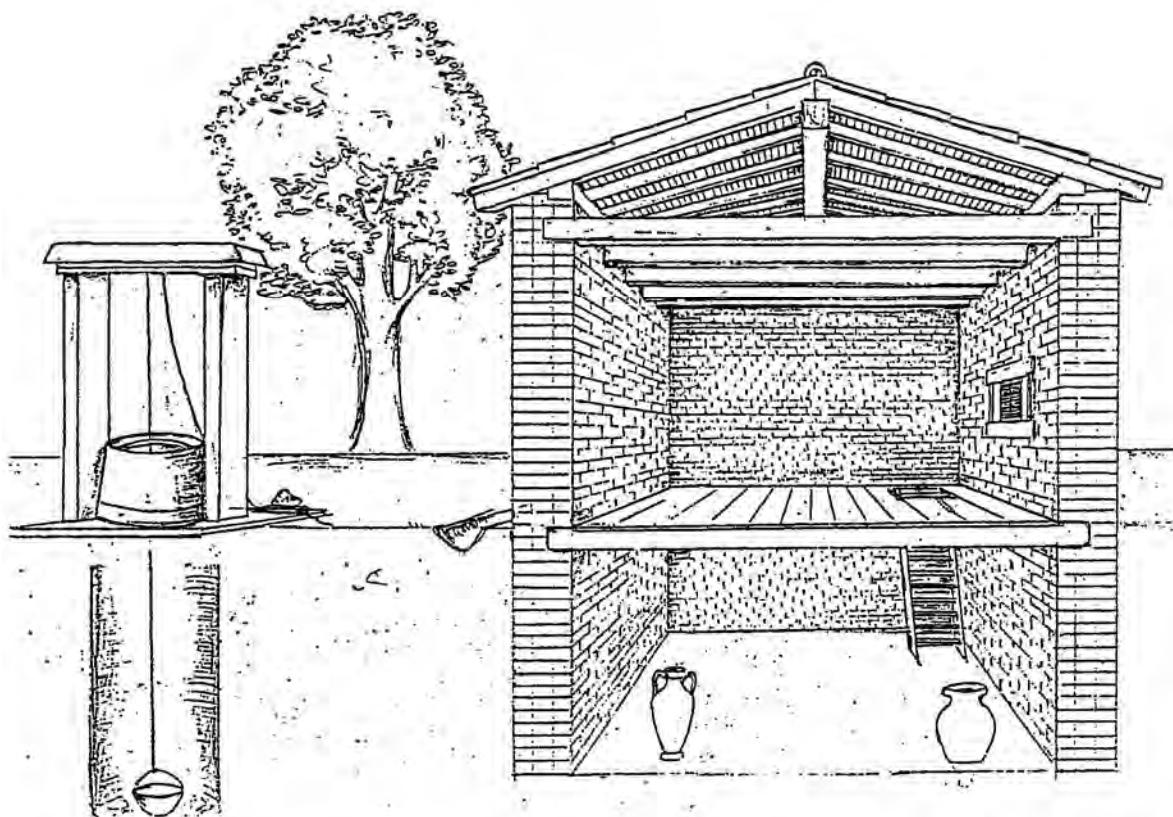


Fig. 3. Pistiros, reconstruction of excavated part of extramural Oikos B. After Pistiros II.

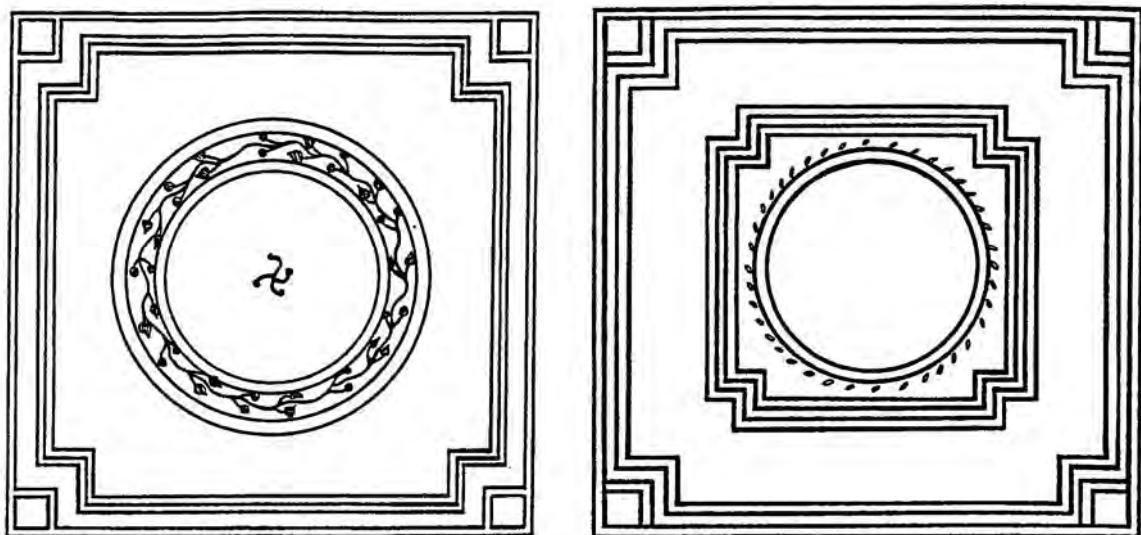


Fig. 4. Seuthopolis . examples of decorated altars, after Dimitrov-Čičikova . Thracian City of Seuthopolis, 1977.

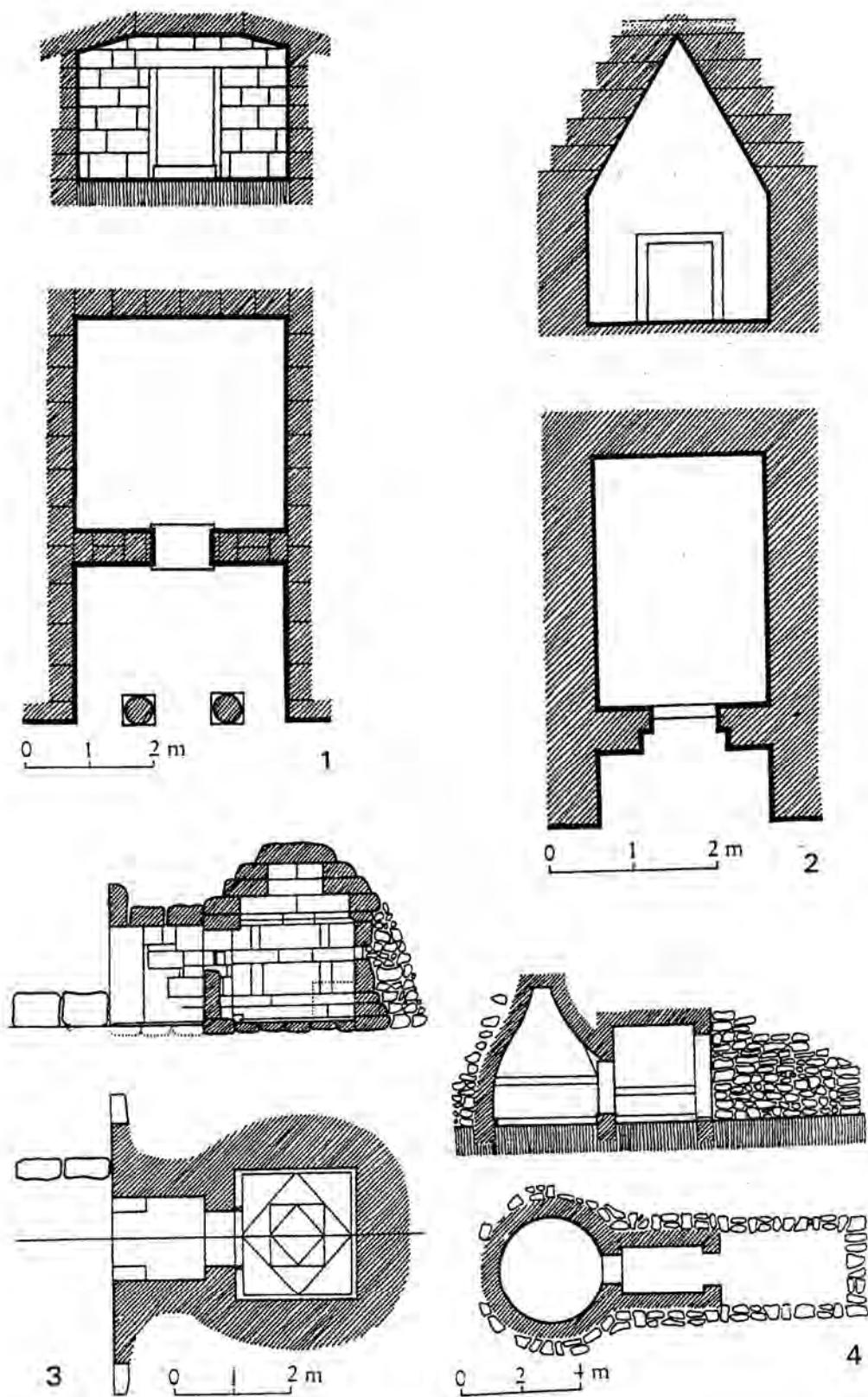


Fig. 5. Thracian tombs: 1 Staroselec, 2 Vetren, 3 Plovdiv, Filip's railway station, 4 Kazanlăk.

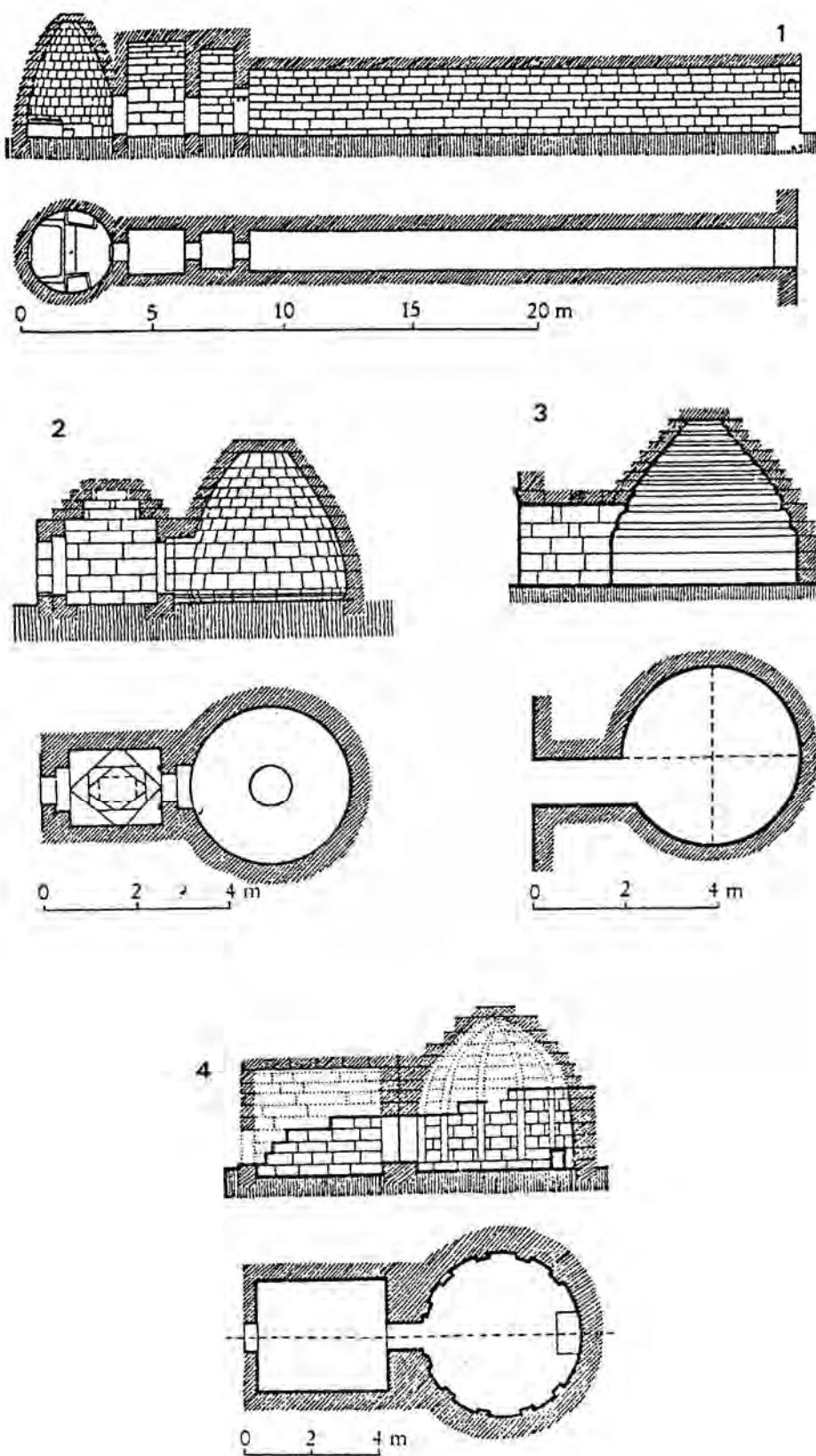


Fig. 6 . Thracian domed tombs: 1 Mal Tepe near Mezek, 2 Vălcopol, 3 Raklica, 4 Kirklareli (Lozengrad), 4th – 3rd century BC.

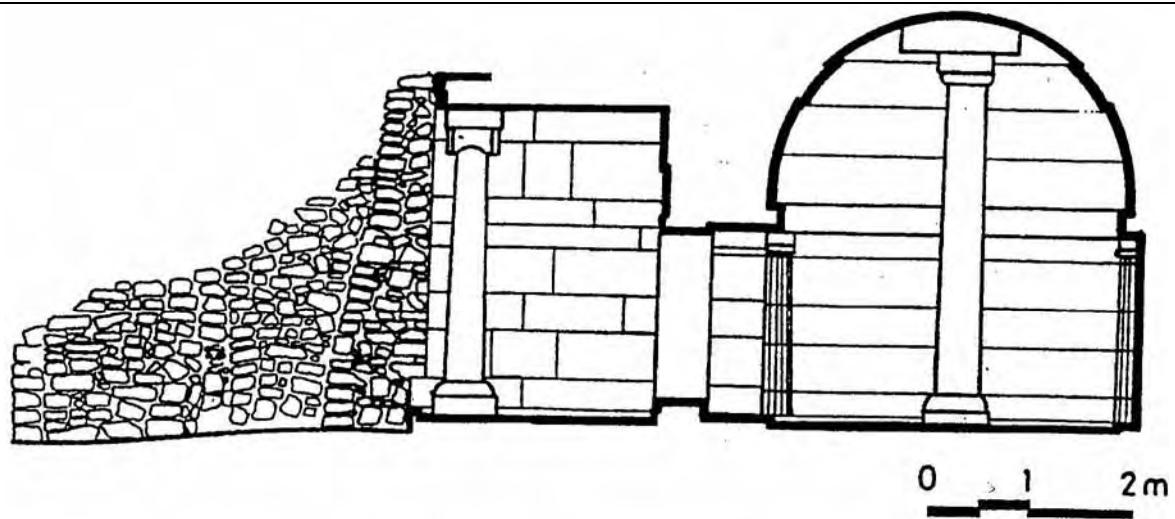


Fig. 7 . Longitudinal section of the Šušmanec tumulus, after Rousseva 2000.

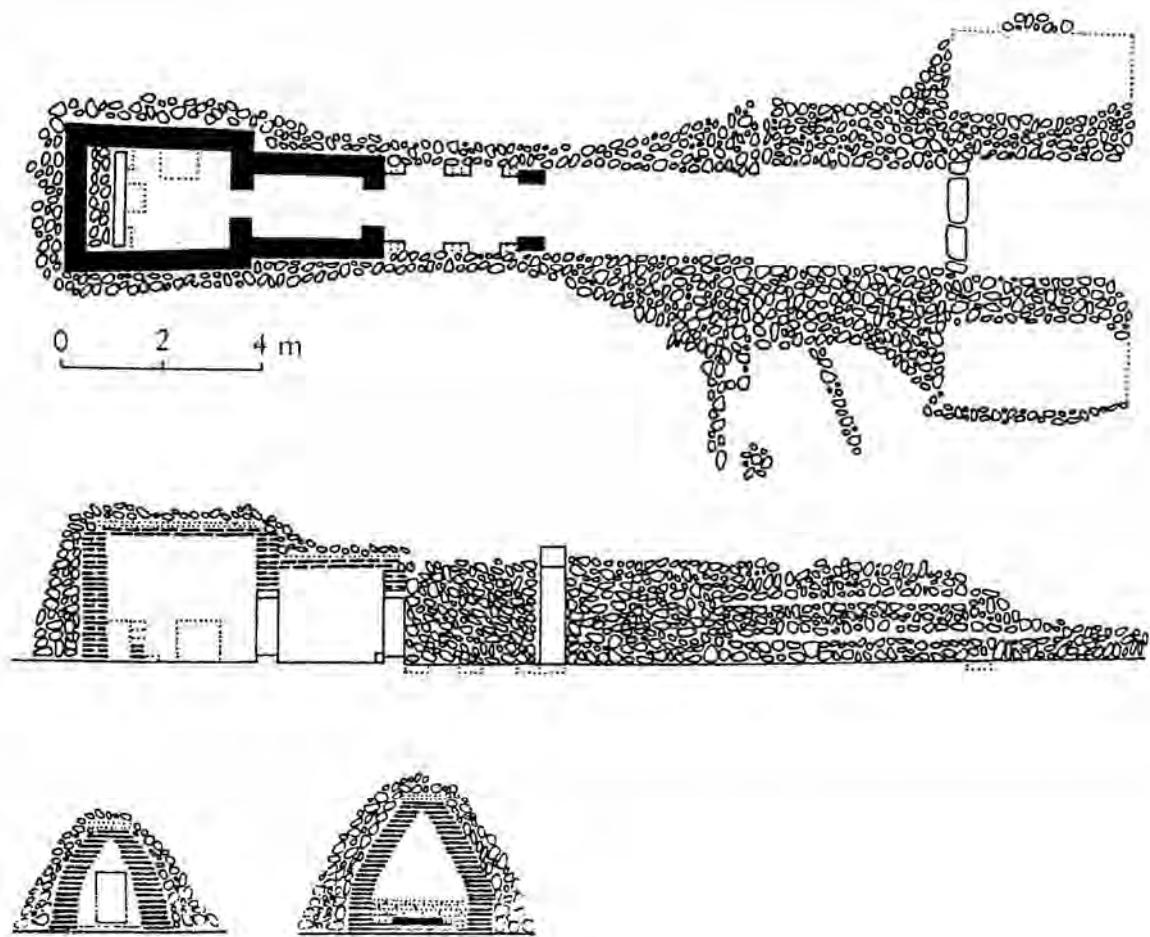


Fig. 8 . Măgliž, Thracian tomb, 3rd century BC.

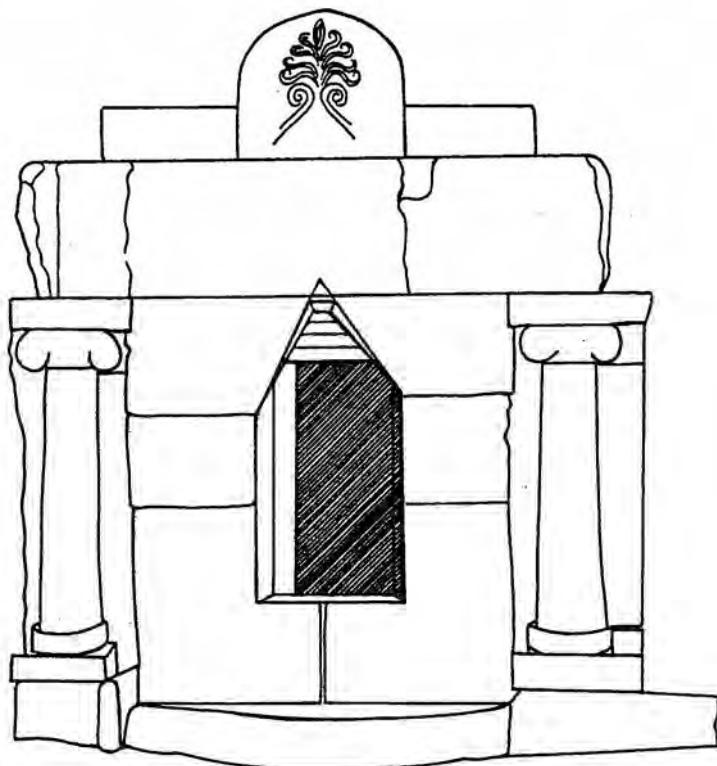


Fig. 9 . The front of the tomb of Gonemisadze; after a postcard published by the Shumen museum.



Fig. 10. Decoration of the amphora-rhyton from the Panajurište hoard, after Bouzek,
Thrákové 1990.

Part II

The review of epigraphic evidence, of over 140 epitaphs from 6th /5th c. B.C.-3rd c. B.C. give us the opportunity to make interesting observations on the ethno-social structure of the population. From the Greek colonies on the Black Sea we have about 130 epigraphic monuments (in *IGBulg.* I, V – *passim*). They are predominantly dedicated to Greek citizens of the colonies, but there are a few exceptions, giving us interesting information about Thracian liberated slaves (in Mesembria, e.g. *IGBulg* I, 334 novies) or about women bearing Greek names, but with Thracian patronyms (e.g. *IGBulg* I, 438, Apollonia). There are only about ten inscriptions from the Thracian inland dating from the abovementioned period. One of them is dedicated to a noble Thracian woman: it is a recently discovered unique epitaph, written on an architrave from the tomb of a noble Thracian named Gonimasedze. It was found in the surroundings of the village Smyadovo, Shoumen district, in modern northern-east Bulgaria. The inscription reads: “Gonimasedze, wife of Seuthes” and dates back to the end of 4th c. B.C. and the beginning of 3rd c. B.C.) (Atanasov, Nedelcev 2002, 550-557) (Fig. 1).

We do not have on our disposal any other funerary monuments from the area and the period in consideration. But we have some evidence about personal names of some representatives of the population in the biggest centre from the region north of Haemus, the Thracian fortified settlement, regularly excavated near the village of Sboryanovo (Stoyanov 2002, 207-221; Stoyanov 2003, 413-424). Some personal names are attested on ca.20 graffiti on pottery sherds, discovered on the site. One of them is Teres (Fig. 2), known as a Thracian king’s name, but, obviously spread and fashionable amongst the common people as well. The other one is Skakas, unattested in other epigraphic monuments neither in Thrace, nor in other areas, probably a personal name with a local origin (Fig. 3).

On the south of the Haemus mountains the epitaphs are eight. The earliest one is an epitaph of Antiphanes, son of Cherandros (the end of 5th c. B.C.-the beginning of 4th c.B.C. found near Parvenec, Plovdiv region) (SEG 1996, 483; Domaradzka 1993, 57, no. 6) (Fig. 4). These rare epichoric names, and particularly Herandros, suggest the presence of a citizen of Eretria on the island of Euboea, or, more probably, of Thasian colony Stryme. Judging by these rare epichoric names and particularly by one of them – Herandros, we can make highly probable suggestions concerning the origin of the deceased, mentioned in the inscription. The latter name is documented only once on Eretria, in an epitaph dating from early 4th century B.C (*IG XII*, fasc. IX, no. 371) and recently, in the epitaph of Northern Greek polis Stryme, a Thasian colony (*LGPN* vol. IV, Stryme?, V/IV BC, *IThrakAigE128*).

The highest concentration of discovered epitaphs (3), dating back to the 4th c. BC, is in the site of Pistiros (Fig 5 a, b). They are all epitaphs of Greeks from the poleis Maroneia and Apollonia (Fig. 6). The presence of traders from these Greek poleis in Pistiros, as well as from Thasos, is also attested in the famous Vetren inscription (Velkov, Domaradzka 1994: 1-15; Chankowski, Domaradzka, 1999: 247-252; Domaradzka 1999: 347-358). It is certainly not a coincidence that in Pistiros and its immediate area we have increased usage of Greek with Ionic forms in the abovementioned period. Due to the evidence from these finds, both inscriptions and graffiti (see Domaradzka 2002, 209-228) from Pistiros, we can propose some preliminary remarks on the prosopography and onomastics of the site. At this stage of research we possess ca. 22 proper names that could be divided in two groups – 16 are of Greek origin (for the Greek names see Bechtel, 1917; Pape, Benseler, 1911; *LGPN* vol. I-IV) (Fig. 7), while the other six are of Thracian origin (Detschew, 434-437) (Fig. 8). The first group in alphabetic order is as follows:

1. Antipatros
2. Athenagores (Fig. 7:1) (*LGPN* I, sv. (1-3) Chios, or (4) Samos, the name is particularly well represented in 5th to 5th c. BC Thasos (5-11); see Poulloux 1954, 282 ff., esp. Catalogue 1, *theoroi* of the Classical period, (col. iv, 38, 48).
3. Delios (Fig.7:2) (Pape, Benseler, 1911, 286)
4. Phillipides (Fig. 7:2) (*ibidem*, 162)

5. Ekataios
6. Eroxeneios
7. Eukte from Euktes or Euktemon (masculine names) or Eukt(e) (feminine) (Fig. 7:4;5)
8. Eor— from Eortios (m.) or Eorte (f.) (Domaradzka 1996, p. 91, Fig. 6.1:6, Pl. XXVIII: 6.2.1)
9. Dionysios (Fig.7:3)
10. Dionysios Diotrepheos Apolloniates (Fig. 5a)
11. Diotrephe, father of Dionysios
12. Kerdon (Fig.7:6)
13. Maron (Fig.7:7) (IGBulg. III 2, no. 1812, 1821, but dated to the Roman era; see Manov 1993, 40-49 for the graffito from the Classical period from Nessebar).
14. Mheidies (Domaradzka 2002, 223, Fig. 9.5:48)
15. Pril(los?) (Fig.7:8, 9)
16. someone son of Metrophon Metrophon (Domaradzka 1996, Pl. XXVIII: 6.1; eadem 1999, 347-358).

The second group comprises the names:

1. Ebryzelmis (Fig.8:5)
2. Seuthes (Fig.8:1, 2, 4)
3. Seuthes MH – (Fig.8:1)
4. Spokes (Fig.8:3)
5. Teres (Fig.8:5)
6. Tar(sas) or Tar(as) (Fig.8:4)

The analysis of the data provided by the graffiti from Pistiros placed in connection with other epigraphic and archaeological evidence from this site shows a good example how invaluable information could be extracted from these materials. The collecting of graffiti from various archaeological centers in Thrace dated from the pre-Roman epoch, and their comparison with the relatively less but tending to enlarge in number monuments on stone from the same period, could enable us to understand better the development of Greek script and language during the Classical and Early Hellenistic times, the religious beliefs, thoughts and other unknown elements of everyday life of the common people in Thrace.

Elements of funeral customs of both Greeks and Thracians have been found in the surroundings of Pistiros. The above-mentioned funeral inscriptions discovered in Pistiros suggest the possible existence of a flat necropolis used by Hellenic population. The vaulted tomb near Pistiros and the tomb near Belovo are evidence of the funeral customs characteristic of a Thracians. The situation concerning the necropolis (14 mounds dated from the 5th to the 3rd c. BC) in the Ilovitzata locality near the village of Akandzhievo (Fig. 9) is however, more complicated. (Domaradzki 2003, 105-114; Gizdova 2005, 115-122) (I would like to acknowledge here the opportunity I was given by Ms. N. Gizdova to get acquainted to the pottery and the *graffiti* from the *necropolis* in Akandzhievo; the article regarding the results of the research of this necropolis is forthcoming in volume 38 of the Bulletin of the Archaeological Institute). The element distinguishing it from the rest of the Thracian necropoleis in the region is burial inventory. The graffiti on imported (Fig. 10 a) and on local wheel-made vessels (Fig. 10 b) add to the picture of elements unusual for Thracian graves from the region in this period. It is thanks to the results from the excavations of Pistiros that the ethnic interpretation of the necropolis near the village of Akandzhievo became possible. We have an excellent example of the sophisticated cultural processes in Pistiros and its surroundings (Domaradzki 2003, 105-114).

It can be concluded that a number of ethnic and professional groups lived in the Thrace as indicated by the variety of the terms used in the Vetren inscription. Pistiros of the Vetren inscription was a permanent settlement. Archaeological finds and epigraphic data suggest that inhabitants from Greek poleis along with the Thracians have both lived in Pistiros for a long time and have died there. The inhabitants of Pistiros kept close relations with the Oracle of Dionysos and were subjects to the Thracian ruler.

The material culture that comes to light in Pistiros is comparable to that of the poleis which were Greek colonies while its stone architecture, reminding that of Thasos, is a clear proof of the wealth and affluence of its citizens who, in the 5th-4th centuries BC, strove after the model of material and cultural life in the Greek centres.

We have another two epitaphs from the Chirpan region, from Spasovo and Saedinenie, containing Greek names- Diotimos son of Sozis (IGBulg III.2, 1639) and a fragmentary inscription (dated from IV c. B.C.)(IGBulg III.2, 1635). A piece of a funeral epigram is found in Taja, Kazanluk region (III c. B.C., about Spartokos and his beautiful horses), which is probably dedicated to a Thracian nobleman (IGBulg V, 5612 bis=1730). From Alexandrovo, Haskovo region, originates a newly discovered epitaph, a graffito, tidy and hardly visible written by an unknown Thracian and dedicated to a friend or a relative of his, who had recently passed away (Kitov 2004, 42-51; Sharankov 2005, 29-35). It was incised on the wall-paintings in the round chamber right across the entrance and placed at a high of ca. 1.70 m above the floor of the chamber (Sharankov 2005, 29). The two-line epitaph is redacted in the style of the Greek funerary inscriptions of the epoch and reads: “Kozimases chrestos”. The personal name Kozimases is a two-root name of Thracian origin. Its first component Kozi- and variants Kozei-, Kosi- is attested with several examples (Sharankov 2005, 29-30; Dechev 1957, 249; see also in Domaradzka 2005 a, 299, fig. 7 a graffito reading KOZI, inscribed on the bottom of a grey local wheel-turned vessel from the settlement site near the village of Lessovo, Jambol region, dating to the 4th c.BC).

These are all evidence of the complex processes leading to mutual influence between co – inhabiting Thracians and Greeks, which led not only to hellenisation of the Thracian ethnos in the Greek colonies, but also to the acceptation of many aspects of the Thracian culture from Greek colonizers, living in Thrace. It is because of those epigraphic monuments that ordinary people originating from Greek poleis such as traders, sculptors, artists, craftsmen, masons and representatives of various professions, for whom we could only hypothesize that they found their new home-land in Thrace, are now coming into light. What remains for us is the hope that in the future archeological and epigraphic evidence will further enrich our knowledge about the ethno-social structure of the population in Thrace in the Classical and Hellenistic period.

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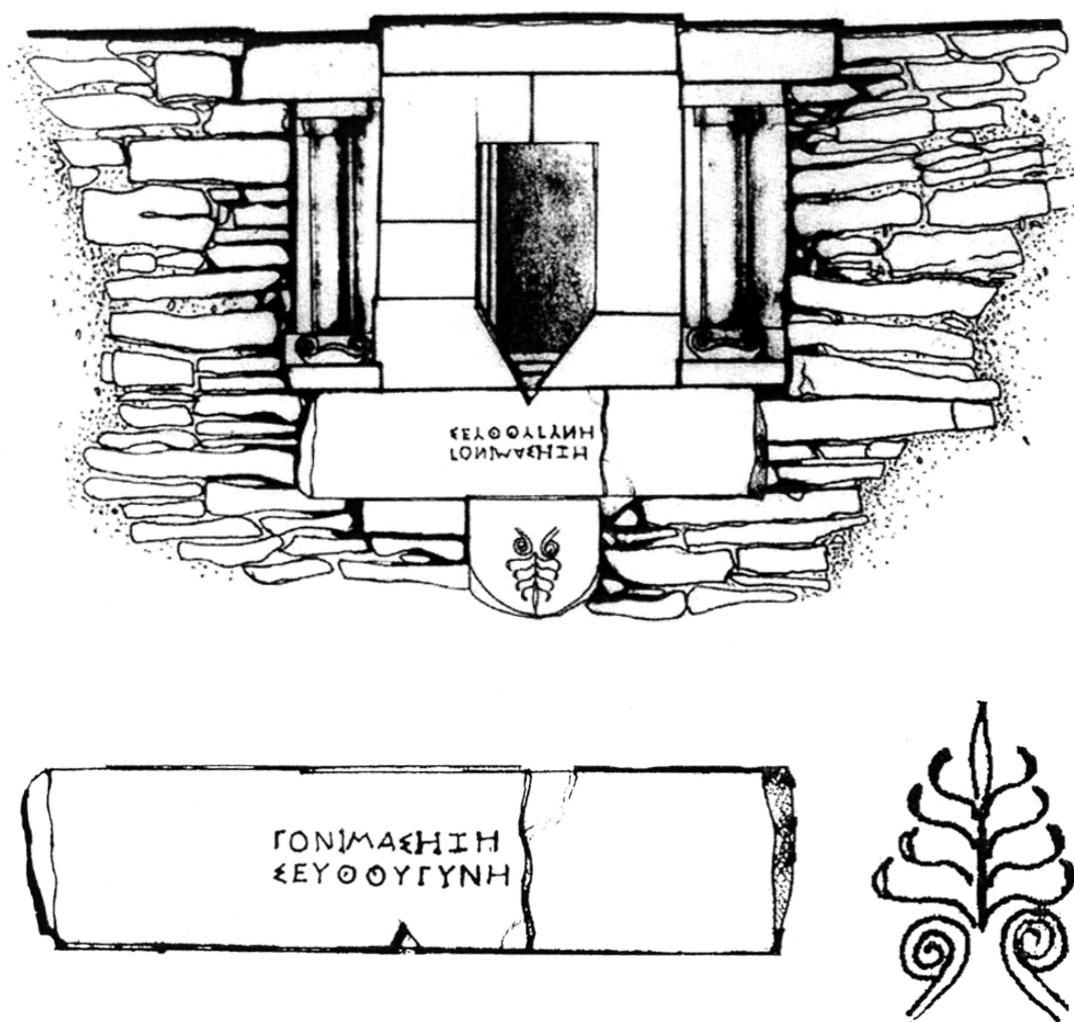


Fig. 1. Smyadovo, Shoumen district.
Epitaph of Goni Maseze, wife of Seuthes (4th c. BC). (after Atanasov&Nedelchev).



Fig. 2. Sboryanovo. Graffito with Thracian name Teres.

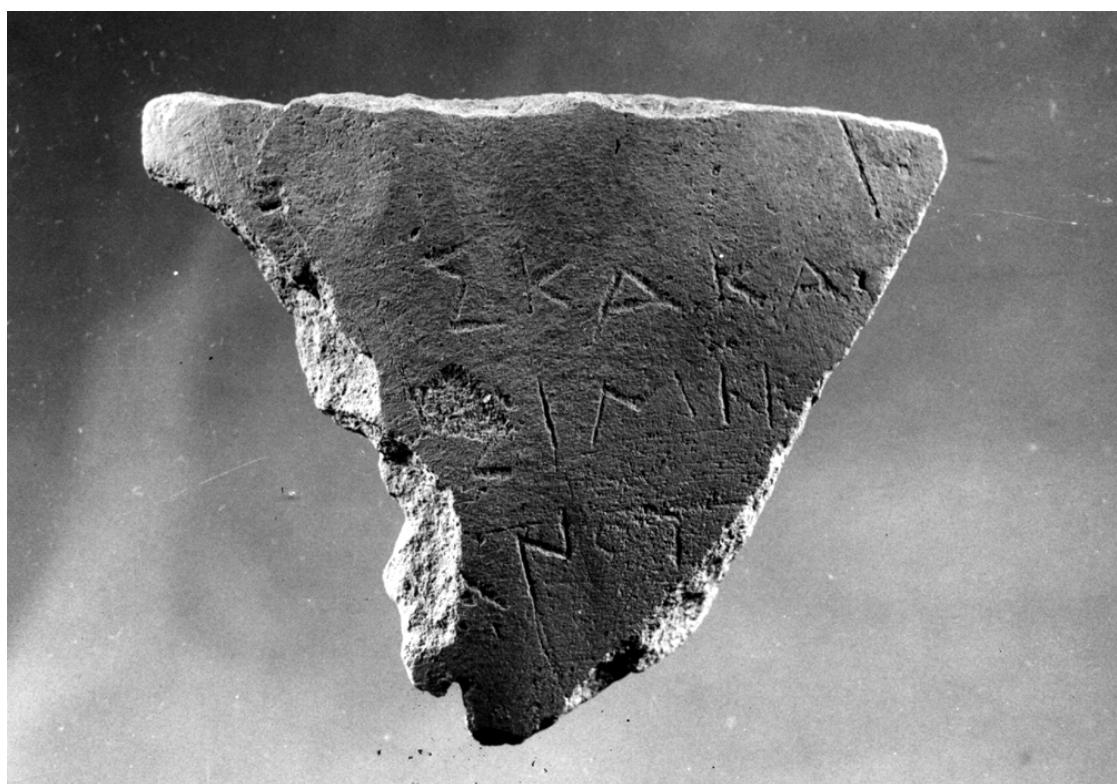


Fig. 3. Sboryanovo. Graffito with local names.



Fig. 4. Parvenec, Plovdiv region. A stele of Antiphanes, son of Herandros (5th-4th c. BC).

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ
ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΕΟΣ

Fig. 5. Funerary inscriptions from Pistiros.

a) Funerary monument of Dionysios, son of Diotrephe (4th c. BC)

(discovered and published by V. Dobrusky, end of the 19th c., facsimile by E. Kalinka)



b) Epitaph of the son of Metrophon (early 4th c. BC)

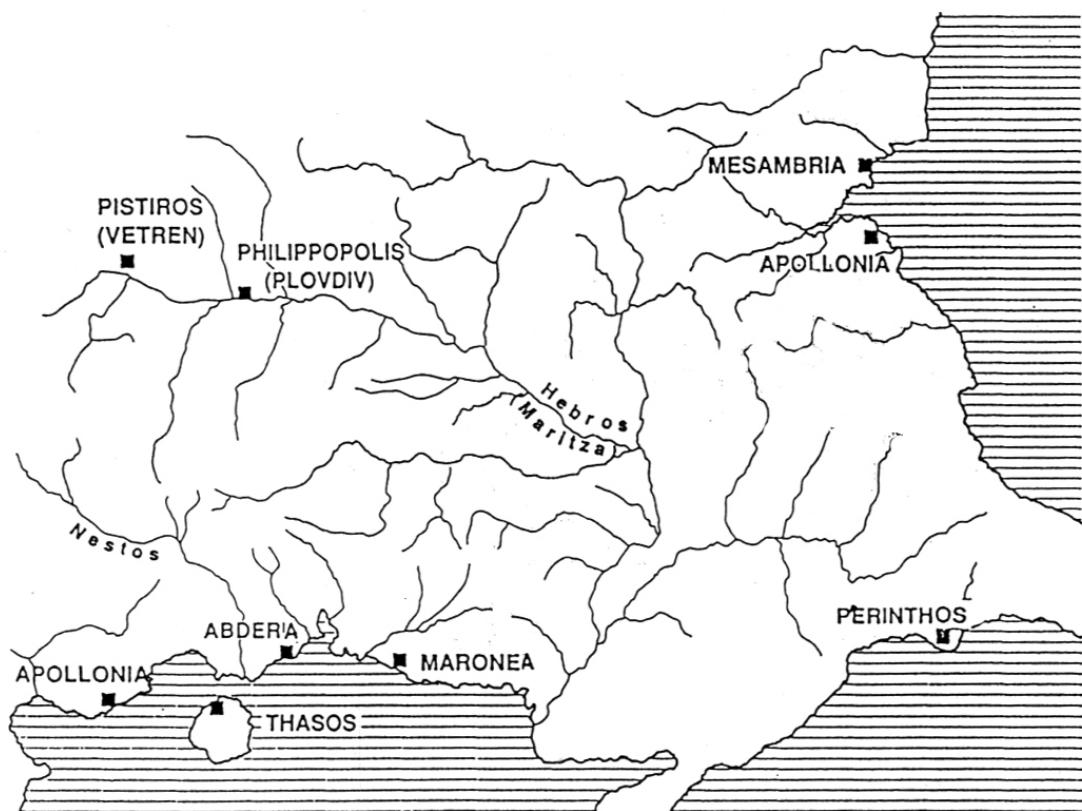


Fig. 6. Map of Thrace.

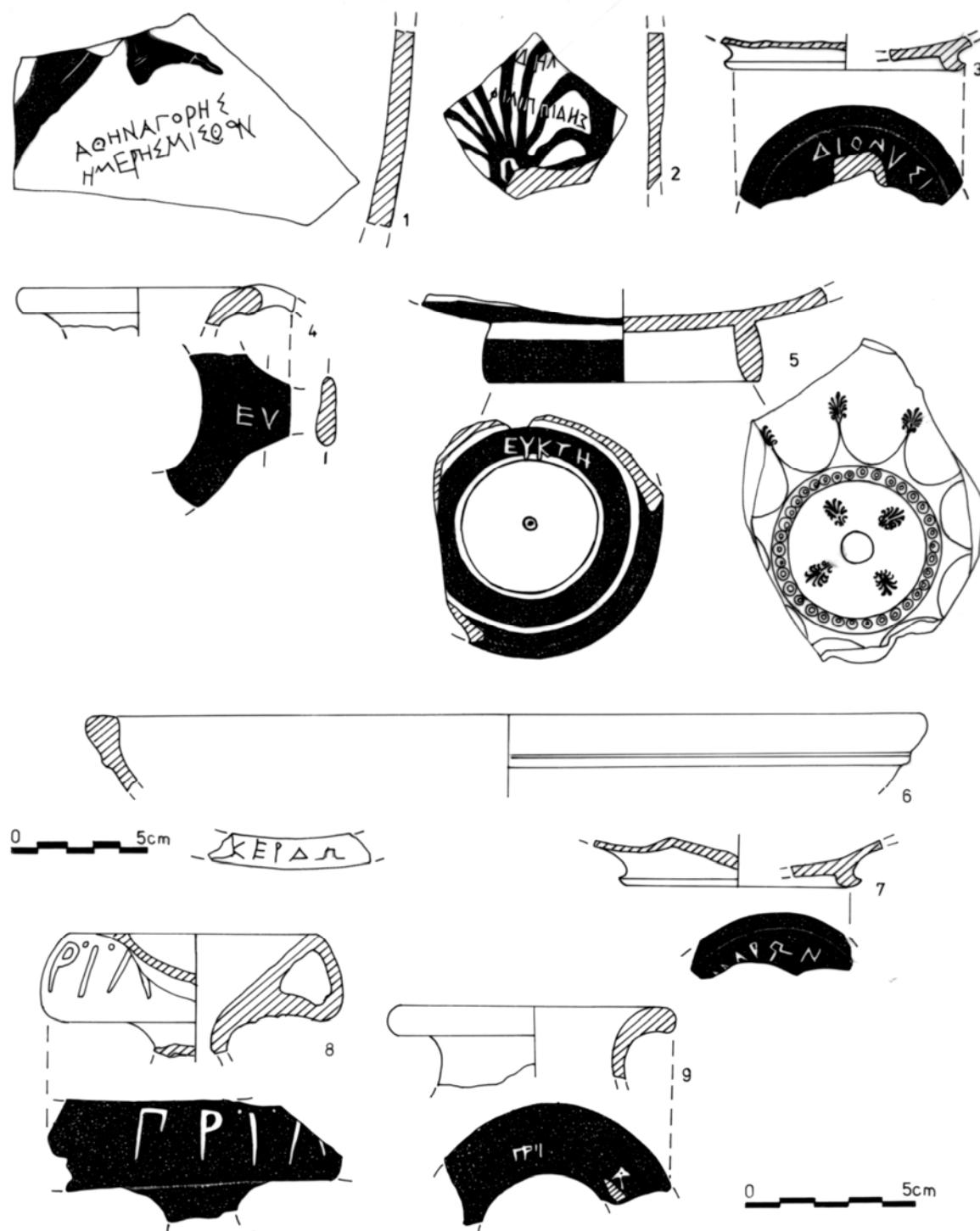


Fig. 7. Pistiros. Graffiti with Greek personal names.

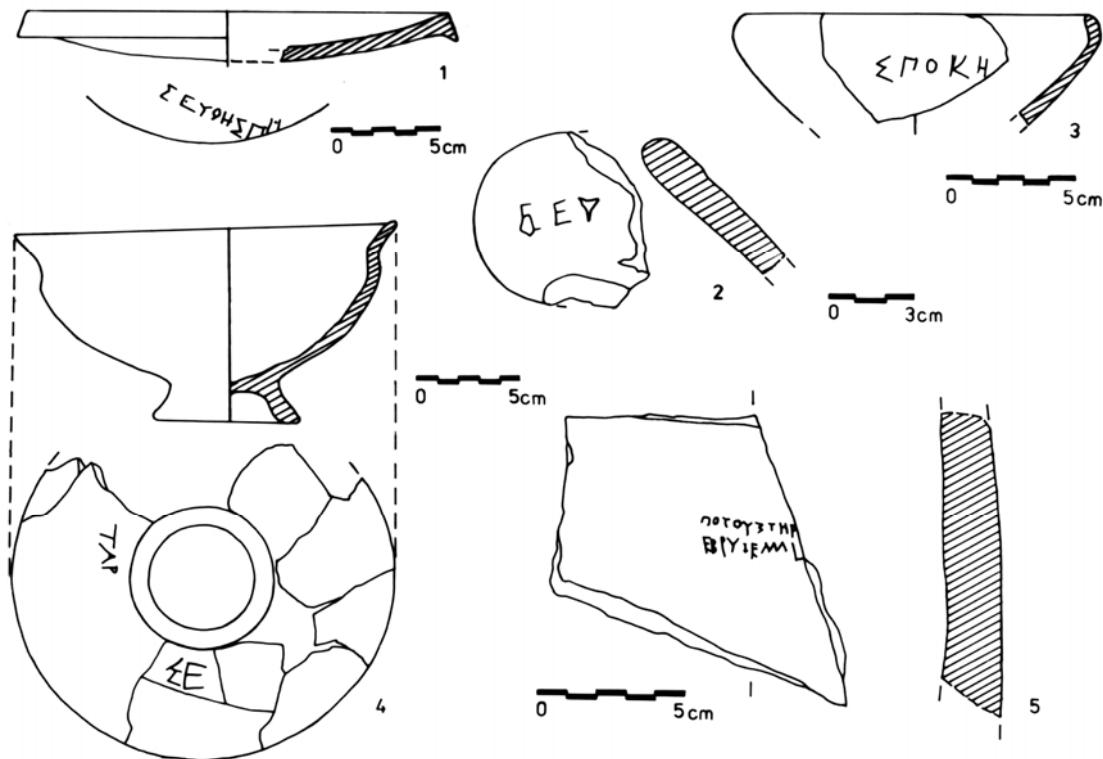


Fig 8. Pistiros. Graffiti with Thracian names.



Fig. 9. Pistiros, Akandzhievo and contemporary sites.

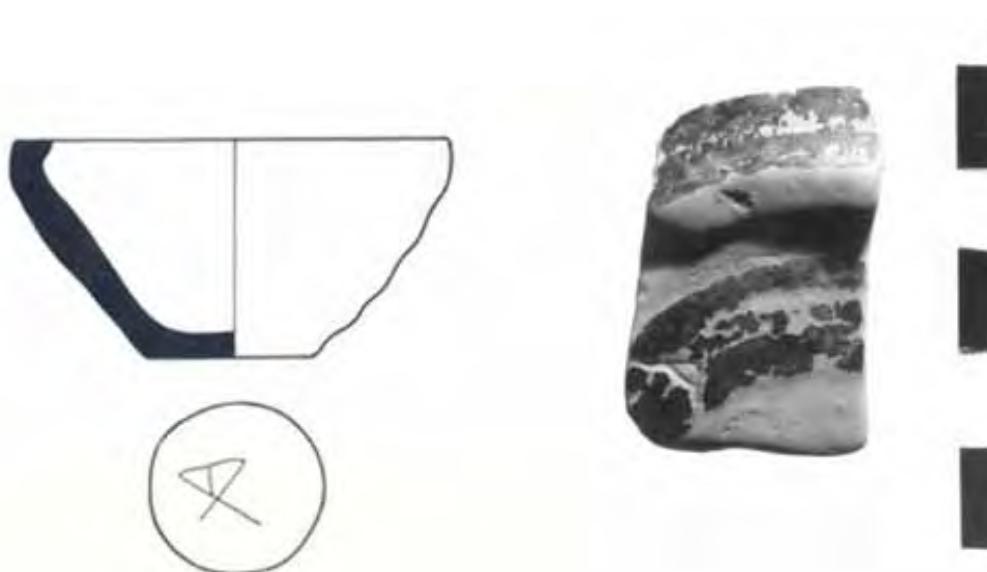


Fig. 10. Akanzhievo. Graffiti:

a) on local vessels.

b) on imported pottery

**GODDESSES OR MORTALS.
SOME REMARKS ON THE ICONOGRAPHY AND SYMBOLISM
OF THE FEMALE HEADS ON RED FIGURE VASES
FROM THE NECROPOLIS OF APOLLONIA PONTICA**

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The paper focuses on a group of representations on red figure vases, found in course of the excavations of the necropolis of Apollonia Pontica, which were periodically carried out during the 40th and the 90th years of the 20th century. The depicted iconographic pattern represents one of the most frequently occurring schemes, which occupy the vase repertoire of the 4th century B.C., whereas their overwhelming number should be explained with the fact, that they are represented often on lekythoi - the most common funeral inventory in the 5th and 4th century graves of the necropolis. The rest of the pottery shapes on which they occur are pelikes and lekanis' lids, found in various complexes. While the pelike was found within an offering place together with about 30 intact and broken red-figure vases and local pottery shapes, the lekanis' lids constitute most often the inventory of the offering pyres in the necropolis.

In spite of the various archaeological contexts, there are several common features to all images. These are the simple subject schemes and the relatively cursory style of depiction.

The iconographical pattern represents a female head or bust, rising out of the earth. The woman is usually depicted in profile, wearing a veil, *sakkos*, ribbon, or with an uncovered head with a *kekryphalos*.

The iconographical variations consist of one or two female heads appearing in combination with floral motifs (fig. 1), or with smaller human figurines in long himatia (fig.2). The third group represents a pair of female heads with an ellipsoidal object in between (fig.3).

The iconographic schema is far not unique for the late 5th and the 4th centuries B.C. vase-painting repertoire. It was attested on a range of red-figure vases attributed to the so-called "Kerch style", which were found in Olynthos and in the cities along the coast of Pontus Euxinus. However, the most numerous examples originate from *Magna Graecia*. The latter differs from the west-Pontic examples in their more detailed iconography, comprising additional sets of figurines or decorations, such as stylized acanthus leaves, various objects (box, alabastron, phiale, mirror etc.) and sometimes Erotes, represented with the female heads. Despite of the details, the identification of the central female image seems to be rather puzzling matter (complete survey in Hodza 2000, p. 199-207 with references; last in Hurschman 2003, p. 35). The presence of Erotes or a floral decoration appears as an argument for the identification of the image as Aphrodite (LIMC II², p. 111, N 1107). Although this statement provokes certain hesitations in regard to the fact that the Eros figure is often represented also in scenes of the Kore – Persephone's *anodos* (Roscher 1884-1886, col. 1342-1343).

Thus the Russjeva's hypothesis that we are dealing here rather with an Eros-Thanatos or Eros-Jakchos (Belov 1970, p. 70-72; Russjaeva 1979, p. 79), who is semantically related to the chthonic goddess, seems more reasonable. In addition there are certain attempts at establishing a relationship between the floral motifs, combined with the female busts and the Scythian "snake-goddess", whose image is very popular as depicted on Scythian works and as a research-object as well (last in Hodza 2000, p. 204-206 with references).

On the contrary the most prominent tendency in the last-years issues disputes against the “divine” identification of the personage. The Hurschman’s hypothesis is based on the analysis of twelve similar images on vases from the collection of the Dresden museum with South-Italian origin. He states that despite of the plenty of iconographic details, the attempts at concretization of the image or at recognition of any divine features are controversial if not impossible. Further he claims they portray rather a summarized idea of the feminine, emphasizing on the presence of different objects - mirror, basket, box, alabastron, phiale, ball, or of specific head dress and jewelry, which marked their peculiarity (Hurschman 2003, p. 35). Despite of the respect to the author’s arguments, it seems rather speculative to state decidedly, that the semantic of the depicted objects should be limited only within their everyday meaning.

It is a matter of fact that the simple motif of the female head (bust) has been born as a result of reduction of more developed figural schemas, but the point at issue is to determine their character and contents. In any case every statement would be rather ambiguous, but the method of approach should be based on the specific iconographic details, on the vase-shapes and on their function within particular archaeological and cultural-historical context. Furthermore it seems reasonable to examine the subject by comparison with similar motifs representing satyr’s or Amazon’s heads, often accompanied by horse and griffin *protomes* (fig.4) and also Artemis’ busts, occurring within the vase repertoire of South-Italia, the North-Pontic coasts (Beazly 1963, N 994.106; 994.107; 994.108; 994.109; Carpenter et al. 1989, 312 Oakley 1997, fig. 32B, Pl. 89B; fig..31B, pl.89C; pl.89D; pl.89E) and the West-Pontic cities, including Apollonia itself (last in Lazarov 1990, p.67, N 21).

As distinct from the previous group, the latter are clearly characterized as divine, semi-divine, or mythological personages, while the reduced iconographic motifs were extracted probably from the scenes treating of common mythological themes or of the circles of the deities. In much the same manner as mentioned, the images of the female heads in combination with different objects, floral motifs or Erotes are closely related to the multi-figural compositions depicting women, holding or operating with different objects, unfolded on various kind of vase-shapes. Nevertheless, it seems unlikely to consider the abbreviation of these schemas and the presence of particular details as unintentional practice. Despite of some authors’ hesitations concerning the identification of the female images, there is no doubt that they should be interpreted beyond the scope of the reality, in the realm of the “fantastical never-world”, “von der keine Geschichten mehr zu erzählen sind”, according to Giuliani’s words (1995, p. 87).

Besides this, it ought to be mentioned, that one of the special feature of this type of images lies in the manner of representation of the heads (busts) as rising out of the earth. This fact gives sufficiency of reasons to the hypothesis, that they convey probably the idea of the transition from one world to the other. Thus the images acquire a new semantic nuance with certain divine (chthonic) connotations rather, than the reflections of the everyday life.

In support I would like to adduce some examples of the classical attic vase painting, depicting the *anodos* of Kore – Persephone in Eleusinian context and the rare iconographic type of goddess, rising out of the earth. The latter is defined clearly as Ge mostly by the subject-matter of the scenes, representing her either in the moment of the Erichthonius birth, or battling in the Gigantomachy (Beazly 1963, 580.2, 1615; 1012.1; Beazley 1989, pl. 263; Reeder et al. 1995, p. 290-291, 294-295; LIMC II², N 1158, 1163, 1165).

In regard to the remarks offered so far, it is clear that the simplified iconographic schemata of the female heads rising out of the earth on the Apollonia vases and on the previously mentioned examples from other Greek colonies, will cause always uncertainty by the interpretations of the depicted person – either as a mortal woman or as a goddess, which will probably remain a crux of matter for the future studies on the problem. This fact determines also the variety of optional interpretations of the image, which bears clear rendered chthonic characteristics though (thereon in Stall’ 1989, p. 148-149).

However the lack of concretization gives reasons to the statement that the scenes were not intended to define any particular goddess, but rather to convey certain abstraction, implied in the

simplified manner of representation. Coming to the point of the iconographic details, it must be said, that the plant (the palmette, the sprout, the acanthus leaf etc.) could gain a multi-purpose meaning, conveying the idea of the nature's renewal – ascribed to the scope of activity as of Demeter – Persephone and of Aphrodite and Ge as well. On the other hand the motif should be considered as attaching additional characteristics to the image, which pertain to the idea of the continual renewal of the cycle Life – Death – Beyond and Rebirth.

It is therefore likely to state, that those messages are most appropriate just to the context of the funeral, where the vases were situated. Their impact lies in the semantic abstraction of the images/ideas - visualized by means of the reduced schemata. In any case herein is the influence of the Hellenic iconography of the chthonic goddesses Persephone, Aphrodite and Ge clearly perceivable – which all reflecting in a sense the idea of the pre-polis Great Goddess Mother. Despite of the clearly attested iconographical influence of the attic vase painting, the manner of the Apollonian scenes is more relevant to the South-Italian and Scythian representations – which are empty of mythological interpretation, but abounding in their symbolical meaning.

To the sequence of the images discussed so far belongs a group of terra-cotta figurines, which represent heads (or busts) of women. Their faces are depicted frontally, with underneath an empty flat piece of terracotta. One of them was found in an infant grave from the third quarter of the 5th century B.C., whereas the other was situated in a group of several objects, without any traces of funeral practice, which could be considered as belonging to the second quarter of the 4th century B.C. (fig. 5) Regardless of the chronological gap between them, they are characterized through the archaizing features of the female face. The same chronological gap was observed in relation to the analogues examples, found quite in amount in graves in South Italy and Sicily (Maaskant – Kleibrink 1989, p. 18 – 19). The details of the representations here – as in the other cases, do not support explicitly the identification of the personage, but the conclusion of the author that they may represent terracotta editions of the colossal heads on vases, gives reason for treating on them similarly like their red-figure analogies. The further statement that "the symbolism involved is clearly that of the dead, or the daemon, rising out of the earth; and there are indication that they served the dual role of the chthonian divinities" (Maaskant – Kleibrink 1989, p. 19 with references), appears in support of the hypothesis offered above.

If I take the risk of going farther on – it seems not impossible to consider the image-idea of the female head rising out of the earth on the Apollonian vases as related to the epigraphically attested *Ge Chthonia*, who appears in a 5th - 4th (?) century lapidary inscription from the city. The name of the goddess seems to represent the most universal Hellenic concept of the procreative and destructive energy, embodied in the image of the Great Goddess Mother, whereas the epithet gives prominence to one of her ambivalent sides – the dark, obscure nature, which could be perceived probably also as a source of the Bliss in the Beyond. The motivation lies in the single literary analogue of the name and the epithet – the fragments of the Pherecydes' Theogony, explaining both by means of the story about the *hieros gamos* between Zeus (Zas) and the dark subterranean Chthonia, being transformed into Ge (the visible Earth) after wrapping her marital cloak (Diog. Laert. I.119; Grenfeld-Hunt Greek Papyr. Ser. II. No 1, p.23).

This philosophically developed concept corresponds to the later stoic and neo-platonic vision of the Goddess' duality, but probably conveys the orphic perception of her in so far as the same phenomenon is attested in the Orphic hymns and in the literary records of the oral orphic doctrine on the golden funeral lamellae (Zuntz 1971; last in Fol 2002, p. 104-106; 170 –202).

However it would be very hazardous to argue for the equation of the epigraphically attested Ge Chthonia with the above-analyzed images on the red-figure vases from Apollonia. We are dealing here rather with a possible reflection of the concept denoted as *Ge Chthonia* on the territory of the West-Pontic city. The motivation of such statement lies in the possible interpretation of the representations of the female heads as a code of the divine transition from the chthonian (the invisible in Beyond) to the visible (corporeal) entity of the goddess appearing in the realm of the terrestrial world.

In the light of the hypothesis offered so far, it seems to me reasonable to establish a relationship

between the first and the second group of images – the latter representing two mirror images of female heads with an ellipsoidal object in between. The arguments lie not only in the quite similar iconographic scheme, but also in the assumption that the double images reflect the two sides of the goddess' integrity, which have been particularized in the scenes. The details distinguishing this group of scenes from the previous are the necklace and the earrings, depicted in relief and gilding and the ellipsoidal object, which sometimes has been outlined by a red line and always painted in white, as the faces of the women as well. This manner adds certain statuary effects to the images (see fig.3).

Despite of the additional attributes, the identification of the personages is as problematical as the previous. The suggestions offered so far are none too variegated, supporting rather the conventional hypotheses, in generally arguing for the *anodos* of the chthonic deity (a review thereon in Reho 1992, p. 38, № 36 with references). In it has been noted also, that the interpretation of the image depends apparently on identification of the ellipsoidal object – varying between a mirror and a *tympanon* as attributes of Aphrodite and respectively of Kore-Persephone (Reho 1992, p. 86-87, n. 2). Although I don't find it necessary to go into details concerning the problem to what extent is it reasonable to consider both objects as strongly defined denotations of the one or the other goddess. Regardless of the generalized representation as it is, it seems very doubtful to consider it as a *tympanon*. The examination of the scenes known so far creates the impression that the ellipsoidal object has been depicted after one and the same manner. There are only minor details distinguishing the particular scenes – either the representation of an entire and oblong ellipse, or an almost semi-elliptical shape, both sometimes decorated with a relief gilded pearl on the top. Despite of the generalized representation as it is, it seems very doubtful to consider it as a *tympanon*. The main argument thereon is the lack of any asymmetry of the image – appearing to be a common characteristic of similar objects depicted on red-figure vases, which is usually rendered either by means of the double contour, or the slight, but visible inclination of the ellipse. This is the close-up, in which the object is supposed to be positioned as corresponding to the female heads, rendered in profile.

There are more reasons for the identification of the object as a mirror, because of its pictorial analogies drawn from other types of scenes. As an argument supporting this view could serve the mirror-repeated female images and the more general conclusions in the realm of their chthonic meaning. Although there are some iconographic considerations, that could bring its cogency in question. One of them is the manner of depiction of the ellipsoidal object, which is – in some cases, represented as a semi-ellipse, suggesting that the object raises out of the earth likewise the female heads.

Further analogies of the style and manner of representation of the ellipsoidal object, depicted on the Apollonia vases provide a range of pictorial compositions with an “*omphalos*” according to Robinson (citation after Venedikov et al. 1963, p. 100-101), which characterizes either the *topos* of Delphi, or marks the funeral monument around which the plot-action of the composition is set (further comments in Reho 1992, p. 78-79, № 156, 158 –161 with literature). Since the object is very often decorated with garlands or ribbons, it is also likely to presume, that similar idea is implicit in the relief gilded pearl on the top of the ellipsoid object on the Apollonia lekythoi. Even if this hypothesis might be short of arguments, the point is that we are dealing here with a similar reduced and generalized abstraction of the image, as in the case of the previous discussed group. Therefore it admits of a range of various interpretations, first in connection with the iconographic type of the proviso denoted Ge Chthonia. In support of this hypothesis appear the iconographic similarities with the *omphalos* in a Delphic, which denotes in generally the sacral center of the earth (Ge) (Pind. Pyth. 4).

Further possibility to analogize the ellipsoidal object pertains to a group of scenes, representing Eleusinian themes, where similar detail appears. Within the compositions - in which the main personages of the Eleusinian myth take part, an object with a shape similar to that of the Apollonian lekythoi occurs (Clinton 1992, fig. 17, 19, 57, 58-59). This is the semi-ellipse, described by Clinton as “something, that appears roughly carved below and round and lump-like on top” (after Clinton

1992, p. 78). Usually a sitting female figure is represented there - it is obviously Demeter, as it was said, and the object itself was defined by Clinton as the Αγήλαστος Πίτρα - the “Mirthless rock”, where the goddess rests awaiting the return of her daughter from the Hades’ depths (Clinton C. 1992:78-82).

There is one more optional interpretation of the ellipsoidal object on the Apollonia lekythoi – the ΦΙερός Λύθος, which also represents an emblematic realia in the Eleusinian mysteries, but depicted in a different moment of the ritual action (Clinton 1992: Appendix 6, 121 –125 with epigraphic and pictorial parallels). The latter does not contradict in any case the previous hypothesis, but rather alludes to it through the typologically identical shapes of the stones – ΦΙερός Λύθος, Αγήλαστος Πίτρα and the *omphalos*, which manifest the idea of the sacred center.

However it would be speculative to proceed on the statement that the twin-images from the second group should be regarded in relationship with the Hellenic hypostases Demeter and Kore-Persephone, at lest because of the lack of clearly rendered subject, or symbol’s definition. Second the possibility to discuss the “double appearance” in the light of the idea of the dual essence of Ge Chthonia (the Great Goddess Mother), the concept of which has been developed later in the images of Mother and Daughter within the Eleusinian rituals and their pictorial representation, remains also quite controversial. The reason of the apprehensions is the assumption, that the Eleusinian etiology represents a late phenomenon of “increasing closeness between two originally remote goddesses” (Yanakieva 1996, p. 29). Nevertheless it seems not impossible to consider their appearance on the red figure vases as a reflection of the Eleusinian ideology, which has been clearly developed by the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. and probably gained in popularity in the periphery of the Greek world as well.

Hereto there are additional supporting materials from the necropolis of Apollonia evidencing if not explicitly of the riteness of Eleusinian type, at least of existence of similar notions on the territory of the city in the 4th century B.C. The examples known so far are not numerous, but there are enough reasons to presume that their number will increase provided that all of the excavated objects as from the necropolis and from the city as well, would be published soon. For the time being, the earliest example of this type is a late 6th – early 5th century B.C. terracotta group, representing Demeter and Persephone (Venedikov et al. 1963, p. 227, № 803; Dremsizova-Nelchinova et al. 1971, p. 22, № 1). The second one dates from the 4th century B.C. and represents the goddesses just in the moment of their reunion after Persephone’s ascending from Hades (fig. 6).

The subject itself represents one of those climaxes within the Eleusinian rituals, which have been constantly depicted on vases, *pinakes* and relieves. It constitutes obviously a part of the overt riteness, being the supreme moment of the etiological narrative. Despite of the scarce of written records referring to the essence of the Eleusinian rituals, the scene of the reunion could serve as a manifestation of the triumph over the Death, which is a privilege only of the initiated.

Similar meaning is implied in a scene on a red-figure lekythos, uncovered during the large-scale archaeological campaign at the end of the 40th years of the 20th century. It was dated in the 360-350 B.C. and attributed to the so-called Apollonia Painter - one of the famous representatives of the Middle Kerch style (Venedikov et al. 1963, p. 92-94 № 36, N 13-16; Metzger H. 1965, p. 41, N 39; last in Lazarov 1991, p. 123-124, N 55). As distinguished from its statuary analogue, the scene represents a multi-figural composition, which was defined last by Clinton as the moment of “the reunion very soon after the return when Demeter sits on her throne with Kore on her lap, flanked by Eubouleus, her escort, and Hermes, symbol of the journey” (1992:84).

I would not dwell on the discussion concerning the personages taking part in the scene, but only on some deductions, proceeding from the author’s inference. It is obvious that the discussed subject-matter was not intended to represent the riteness but rather scenes from the Eleusinian mythological narrative. In some of the cases they are dealing with unfolded scenes, while in the other – with reduced iconographic schemas. The latter characterize the scene on the Apollonia lekythos, representing a flashback of a whole mythological action, whereas the static character of the composition expresses the pure symbolism of the moment.

The latter gives rise to the problem concerning the relation between the images and the function

of the objects –either vases, or terracotta figurines. It is beyond question, that the detailed study as on the scenes and on the context where they have been found, could give support to one or the other hypothesis and a key to understanding of their symbolical meaning. Thus the interpretation of the materials from the necropolis of Apollonia Pontica should remain speculative. However, the fact of their situation in funeral context considers them as relevant to the Eleusinian scenes. Thus the moment, which has been represented, was probably intended to stir the synopsis of its co-experience within the time-space continuity of the Death.

This suggestion allows to be complicated indeed with the interpretation of the symbolical meaning of the white-colored figures of Demeter and Kore and the snakes from the Triptolem's chariot, but we have to face once again the risk of speculation, at least because of the scarce knowledge of the symbolism of the colors. Therefore it is risky, but far not impossible to claim that the existence of such type of artifacts as grave offerings in a limited number of burial complexes is an evidence of a presence of a few citizens, who have been initiated in the mysteries.

Regardless of the fact, that this hypothesis works on a limited number of examples from the necropolis of Apollonia Pontica, known so far, it comes the iconographic analysis of a large number of Eleusinian vases in support, which excludes their profane usage at all, but sustaining explicitly their character of votive or grave offerings belonging to persons, who have been initiated in the mysteries (Schwarz 1985, 313).

Last, but not least, despite of the problematical identification of the images, I would like to consider them as a striking example denoting the presence of the chthonian female deity – the Great Goddess mother, bearing the idea of the expectation of the reunion and the bliss in the Beyond. It is also possible to perceive certain Eleusinian connotations, which are implicit in the repeatedly depicted images of female heads, although their identification with the Eleusinian goddesses should not be accepted peremptory, at least because of the vague iconographical and subject definition. However, they may allude to the epigraphically attested Ge Chthonia as an old-Greek denotation of the non-literary idea of the Great Goddess Mother, whereas the pictorial examples reflect probably to the dual essence of the divinity.

If I venture to suggest farther on, there is one more hypothesis possible. In case of accepting the statement that the iconographic schema of the female head rising out of the earth reflected the idea of the *anodos* of a chthonic personage, than the meaning of the mirror-images could be regarded as a representation of the dead (initiated in the mysteries mortal women?), laying to the rest in the grave together with the lekythoi as a funeral gift. Unfortunately the absence of any anthropological analysis concerning gender and age of the deceased makes the hypothesis a priori although very speculative.

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Fig. 1. Red figure lekanis'lid and lekythos with female heads and floral decoration, 4th century B.C., necropolis of Apollonia Pontica.

Fig. 2. Red figure lekythos and pelike with female heads and small human figurine, 4th century B.C., necropolis of Apollonia Pontica.



Fig. 3. Red figure lekythoi with female heads and an ellipsoidal object, 4th century B.C., necropolis of Apollonia Pontica.



Fig. 4. Red figure pelike with Amazon head and horse and griffin protomes, 4th century B.C., necropolis of Apollonia Pontica.



Fig. 5. Terra-cotta busts, third quarter of the 5th century B.C. and second quarter of the 4th century B.C., necropolis of Apollonia Pontica.



Fig. 6. Terra-cotta group representing Demeter and Persephone, 4th century B.C., necropolis of Apollonia Pontica.

**ANTIKYTHERA:
THE EARLY HELLENISTIC CEMETERY OF A PIRATE'S TOWN**

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Antikythera is a small, promote, infertile island (SE of the Peloponnese and Kythera, NW of Crete) [pl. 1] and in its rocky terrain today live no more than 30 people during the winter. The strong winds (especially the north ones) combined with the steep shores and the absence of natural harbour make difficult the access to the island. Antikythera is the ancient *Aigila* or *Aigileia* with a sanctuary of Apollo (under the hill of the acropolis at the beach of Xeropotamos, in the N part of the island) [pl. 2] where in 1880 was discovered a headless statue of Apollo inscribed in its base (Stais 1889, p.237-242. Petrocheilos 1987, p.31-42). The island is known due to the shipwreck of 1st century B.C., just off its eastern shores, where was found in the beginning of the 20th century, the Antikythera mechanism and the bronze statue, the *ephebos* (adolescent) of Antikythera, all of which are exhibited in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens. The level of the sea is subsided at about 3 meters from the Hellenistic era (this is visible in the rocky shores; where the rock is dark colored indicates the ancient sea level), so we can imagine the modern beach of Xeropotamos being under the water. There, also, was the ancient harbour, probably, hidden (Tsaravopoulos 1997, p.105-108) (as in the case of Phalasarna) behind the foot of the hill offering shelter from the strong winds and protection from enemy ships. There is also an ancient shipshed, cut in the rock, in the northern part of the acropolis.

At the site of *Kastro*, on the hill, above the beach of Xeropotamos, [pl. 3] stand the remains of an impressive acropolis (fortified by two rows of enceinte walls of the 5th and 4th century B.C., inner and outer, in the isodomic style which encircle the plateau of the acropolis). The walls are, in many cases, well preserved, reaching a height of 4 to 6 meters. So far, trials there have revealed traces of a pirate's community. The 3rd century B.C. is the time that the settlement in the acropolis (it is more like a fortified pirate's camp actually) reached its peak. It seems that the acropolis settlement was under the command of Phalasarna (a pirate harbor town of western Crete) at least in the 3rd century B.C. according to the finds. Bronze coins of Phalasarna are of the most common finds as well as amygdaloid sling bullets. Extremely interesting is a sling bullet inscribed –ΠΑΡΑ ΦΑ(ΛΑΣ)ΑΡΝΙΩΝ-, which means: this sling bullet is thrown by the people of Phalasarna. It is reasonable, then, to believe that the inhabitants were active at the time of Cretan piracy in the Aegean. Western Crete and especially Phalasarna appeared on good terms with Sparta in the first quarter of the 3rd century B.C. (Karafotias 1998, p.106), but at the same time Rhodes was threatened by the coalition of Sparta with the Cretan states (Karafotias 1998, p.109). That's why, during the 3rd century B.C., when *Rόδιοι προεστάναι ἐδόκουν των κατά θάλατταν* (*Rhodians were considered the leading power in the Aegean Sea*) (Polybius IV. 47.1), attacked Antikythera according to a votive inscription in Rhodes Museum that mentions an expedition against *Aigila* (Clara Rhodos II, 1932, p.169-170). It may be a connection of that event with a destruction layer of

the western outer wall of the acropolis in the first half of the 3rd century B.C. The final destruction of the settlement took place at 67 B.C., by the Romans (Caecilius Metellus destroyed Cretan pirate states including Phalasarna), who managed to suppress piracy in the Mediterranean world in the 1st century B.C., to be inhabited again in the 4th - 5th century A.D.

The cemetery lies on a gentle slope at about 300m SE of the Acropolis (extra muros) in a rocky terrain in wild vegetation and poor soil. The cemetery of Antikythera is not organized in the sense that other early Hellenistic cemeteries are, since no clustering of graves is observed. No traces of an ancient road or passage have been identified so far, although there was probably some kind of passage from the East slope of the acropolis leading down to the graves. No traces of enclosure have been identified as well. There is a modern wall south of the graves in which lots of ancient cover slabs were reused. The graves lack a common orientation. Their orientation is dictated by the morphology of the ground (as in the case of many other Hellenistic cemeteries as Samos, Veroia, Thera and Phalasarna) (Tsakos 1977, p.416). No conclusions can be drawn by the stratigraphy of the graves due to the disturbance and the only chronological clue comes from the finds.

The modern name of the area is *mnemata* (the greek word for graves) so it is not surprising that all of the tombs are plundered (totally or partly). It is also possible that ancient intruders looted the tombs. Human bones are scarce and badly preserved due to the soil conditions and particularly to the opening of the graves. Although no skeletons have been found the absence of traces of intense burning in the graves makes clear that the majority of the burials were inhumations.

So far, 21 graves have been identified that can be classified by their architecture into three types: rock cut graves that take advantage of natural cavities (11), shafts cut in the rock (7) with a ledge for the cover slabs and *tefrodochoi* (2) small rectangular hollow cuts in the rock with a small, round hole in the middle to receive the ashes of the dead. The architectural type of the shaft is common for the early Hellenistic period (Giannikouri et.al. 2000, p.63), but those of Antikythera are quite elaborated, often having a ledge on their four or three sides. In Phalasarna the majority of the hellenistic graves are built cists but among them there are 2 shafts cut in the rock (Niniou-Kindeli 1981, p.401, Hadjidaki 1987, p.566-567, Hadjidaki 1990, p.355-361). Shafts cut in the rock with ledge for cover slabs or tiles have been also found in the cemetery of Echinos in Fthiotis, central Greece, which covers a period from the end of the 5th century B.C. to mid 3rd century B.C. (Bougia 2005, p.149). The dimensions of the Antikythera shafts [pl. 4] are usually ca 2m.-2.30m. long, 0.80m.-1.10m. wide and their depth varies from 1 to 1.50m. In two cases (tombs nos. 1, 2 and 13, 14) shafts are next to each other, forming pairs, but it is not clear if the reason for that is a special relationship of the dead or just the fact that there was a cavity under that part of the natural rock (so it would be easier to cut graves there). The rock cut graves of Antikythera [pl. 5] often take advantage of natural cavities and they were cut in a way so the people, who made them, were saving effort. Usually rounded openings in the rock lead to a "chamber" no deeper than 2m and no longer and wider than 1.50m. In some of these openings there, as in the shaft graves, there are ledges in order to support cover slabs. The natural rock is sandstone but is not always easy to cut. There is a good parallel from the classical period at the Lavrion mines. Considering that a worker in the mines could cut about 8 cubic meters of marble (that is harder than limestone) per day, if he worked the whole day (Konophagos 1980, p.195), we can figure out that the opening of 3-4 cubic meters for a "chamber" like those in Antikythera would demand 1 or 2 days of work. The technique used for the cutting of the rock is evident in a case where we have an attempt of cutting a tomb that was never finished. In order to cut the rock they opened 2 channels. Then they hit the sides of each channel with a hammer and a chisel so that it gets bigger (Konophagos 1980, p.194).

The finds come from three graves that had already been opened but not completely looted. Tomb no.13 contained, in its lowest stratum, just above the bedrock, six unguentaria (3 intact and parts of 3 other) and a lamp, all have been probably found in situ, where the skeleton is presumed to have been. The first unguentarium T.13.1 [pl. 6], the smallest of all, is black-glazed and its height does not exceed 7 cm. Its appearance makes possible that is of an Athenian origin (Anderson-Stojanovic 1987, p.114. Sparkes, Talcott 1970, p.340, pl.63 for two parallels: nos. 1491,

1492, black-glazed, height ca. 7 cm. dated to 325-300 B.C.). The second one [pl. 7] is an undecorated pseudamphora, almost 14 cm high. The shape of the vessel belongs to the general type (conical, low stem, globular body) of the end of the 4th century and the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. (Triantaphyllopoulou 2005, p.62, pl. 138). The coarse, yellowish with dark inclusions, fabric of the vessel has no parallels among the other known examples of the type (Giannikouri et.al. 2000, p.65-66). It is considered that these vessels are miniature imitations of Cypriot amphorae (Bougia 2005, p.151). Unguentarium T.13.3 [pl. 8] is a greyish one with red bands applied on the belly, shoulder and neck of the vessel. Parallels are found in the North Cemetery of Corinth, dated to the early third century B.C. (Blegen et.al. 1964, p.291, pl76 nos. 491-10, 491-11. Young 1951, p.129, pl.54a no. 13.5). Rotroff (Rotroff 1984, p.258), Sparkes and Talcott (Sparkes, Talcott 1970, p.191-192) pointed out the dependence of gray unguentaria on Cypriot prototypes. Imitations of Cypriot bichrome V amphorae in a rather coarse fabric appear in Greece by the late 4th and early 3rd centuries B.C. where being made in the finer, gray unguentarium fabric. A black-glazed lamp [pl. 9] discovered together with the unguentaria, inscribed on its nozzle with –ΔΩ-. It is possible that the incised letters on the nozzle correspond with the first two letters of the owner's name albeit they usually are interpreted as the letters from the lamp-maker's name (Howland 1958, p.4; note that there is no proven instance of a lamp-maker's name appearing on a lamp before the second half of the 2nd century B.C.). The lamp belongs to the type 25A of the Athenian Agora (ring-shaped base slightly concave on the outside), covering a chronological period from the middle of the second quarter of the 4th century to the first quarter of the 3rd century B.C. (Howland 1958, p.67-69, pl.38; see for example no.272 which is dated to 340-310 B.C.). The rock-cut tomb no.20 contained a kantharos [pl. 10]. The tomb was plundered with the intruders leaving only that vessel in a depth of 1.05m at the south corner. The kantharos is dated to ca. 275 and comes from a Korone's workshop (Rotroff 1997, p.244, pl.2; kantharoi of that height, 13-15 cm., began to be made more commonly around 275 B.C., ibid. p.84). Finally, there is a lead sling-bullet coming from tomb no.10. The tomb was plundered but it seems that the plunderers did not recognise or did not see the sling-bullet while they were digging, so as a result it was found high in the filling of the grave. The sling bullet, if it is a burial gift (probably is one), is a very important find not only indicating that there was buried a light armed soldier together with his arms. More important is that we are, now, able to prove the provenance of two other sling bullets (the one inscribed –ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ- and the other –ΑΙΝΙΣ- or –ΑΦΝΙΣ-) in Oxford Museum, said to be found in graves at Antikythera (Foss 1975, p.40-44. Tsaravopoulos, forthcoming).

It is not easy to make a chronological distinction out of the grave types. Due to the small number of grave gifts recovered so far, we are not yet able to distinguish different periods of use in the cemetery nor are we if the graves were used for multiple burials. If that is not the case, it proves extremely difficult to see how a cemetery of 20-30 graves served a community of 500 or more people for two hundred years. We do know that the periods of use of the cemetery covered at least the late 4th to mid-3rd centuries B.C. It may be that the cemetery correlates with the earliest period of habitation on the acropolis. Communities below the threshold of 350-500 members are not, normally, associated with systems or organization involving ascribed status and social stratification (Morris 1987, 145). In our case, things might be different, since we are talking about a pirate city. Usually, it is accepted that the social character and structure of a community, as well as, its size and social stratification is reflected to the character and structure of its burial ground. Therefore, one could suggest that by the late 4th to mid-3rd centuries B.C. the social character of the people on the island was different than in later periods. Perhaps, the island was not at that time occupied by Cretan pirates. It may be that less attention was given to the dead in a piratical community where death was no stranger. If that is the case, we can explain the lack of graves dated from the second half of the 3rd down to the 1st century B.C. Another explanation could be that the people occupying the acropolis of Antikythera were buried back in Phalasarna.

At the moment, only speculations can be done because of the disturbance of the graves and the extraction of the grave goods. Until the present point, the customs identified conform more or less

to those known elsewhere but with significant local variations due to the terrain and, possibly, the character of the community. Further investigation into tombs should allow the local customs to be defined more clearly.

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Plate 1.

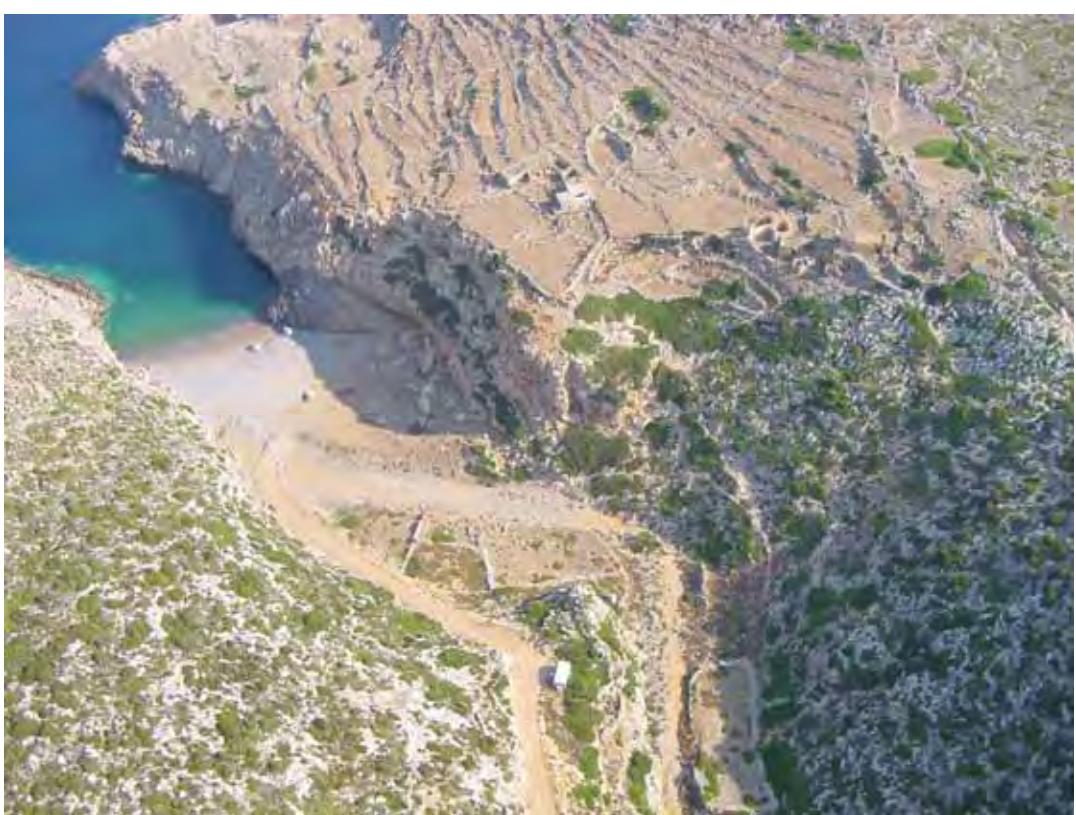


Plate 2.

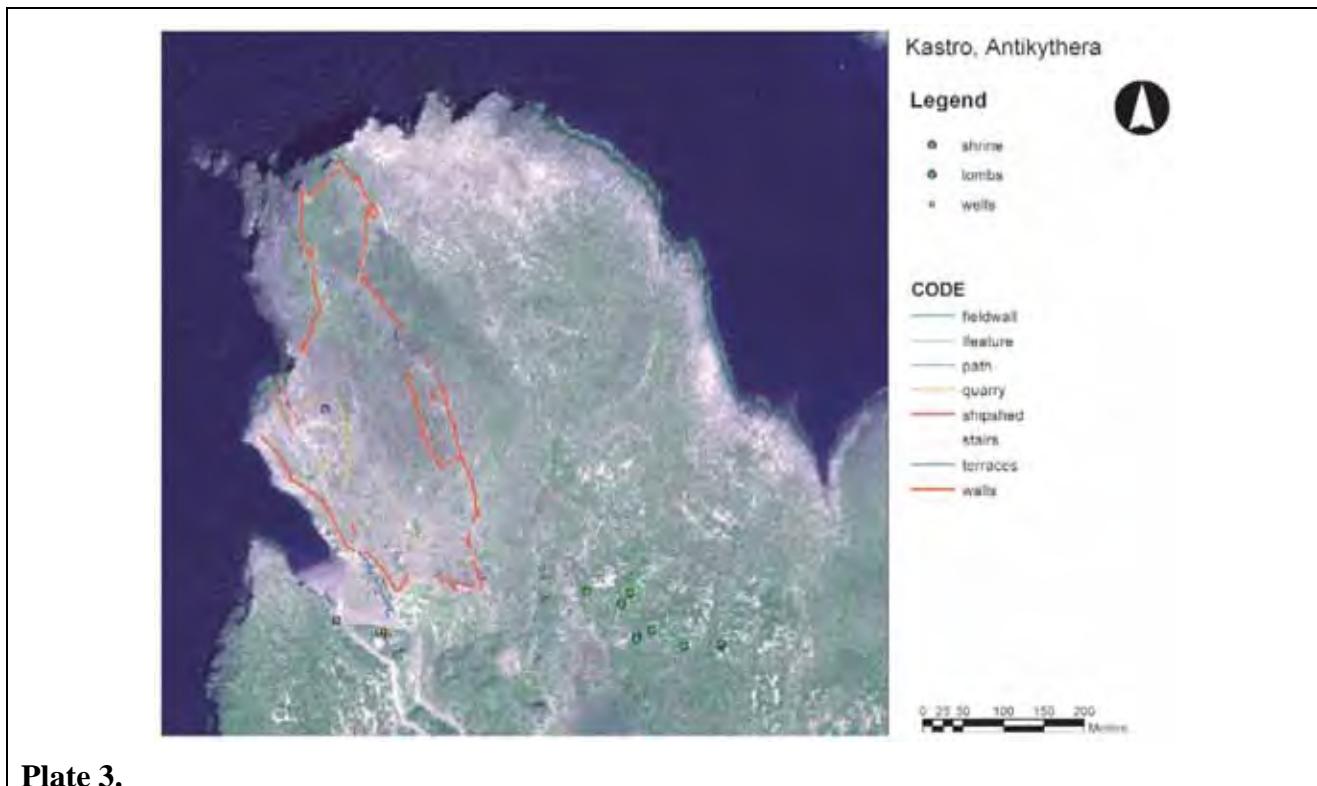


Plate 3.

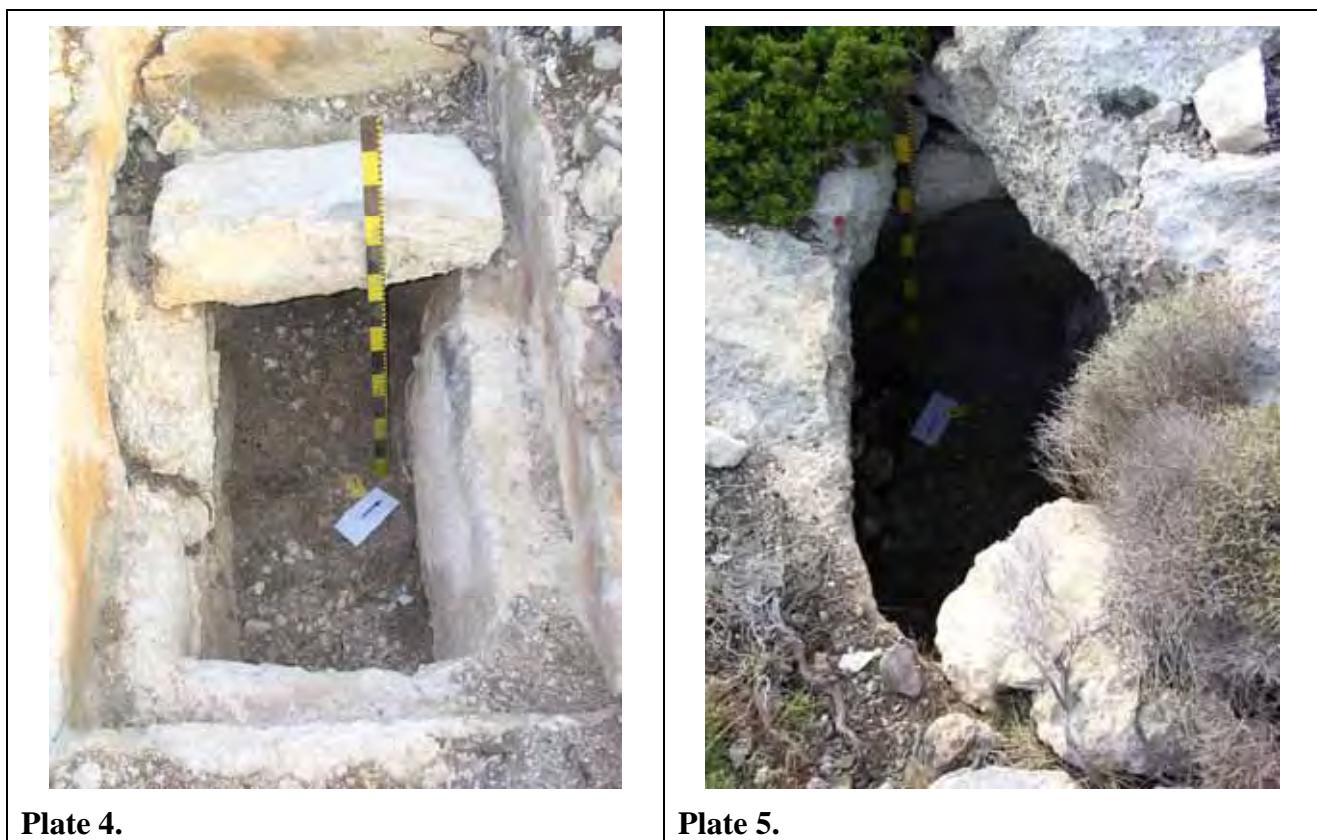




Plate 6.



Plate 7.



Plate 8.



Plate 9.

**HABITATS ET NECROPOLES CELTIQUES
AU NORD-EST DE LA TRANSYLVANIE
(IV^E-II^E SIECLES AV. J-CH.)**

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Comme on le connaît, l'expansion celtique a également atteint vers la fin du IV^e siècle av. J-Ch. les territoires roumains, plus exactement de la Transylvanie et du Banat. Les Celtes y ont pénétré par la Panonie, dans la Vallée du Someș et surtout du Mureș où ils se sont installés pour une période d'environ un siècle et demi. Les dernières statistiques indiquent dans les régions du Nord et Sud de la Roumanie la présence d'environ 280 points où l'on a trouvé des habitats, des cimetières et des matériels isolés spécifiques.

Une des zones les plus riches en découvertes celtes est le Nord-Est de la Transylvanie qui, du point de vue administratif, inclut le territoire du département de Bistrița-Năsăud. Les complexes funéraires s'avèrent être le témoignage le plus clair de la présence celtique dans ces contrées. On a identifié un nombre de 9 cimetières céltiques dans les localités: Archiud, Cepari, Dipșa, Galații Bistriței, Șopteriu, Orosfaia, tandis qu'à la limite du village de Fântânele on a repéré encore 3 pareils lieux d'enterrement. À part les cimetières connus, dans la zone de Bistrița on a découvert également toute une série de matériels, très probablement provenant toujours des complexes funéraires, dont les lieux d'apparition restent à être vérifiés. On n'a pas prouvé l'existence des tombes isolées. Partout où l'on a découvert par hasard des matériels spécifiques aux complexes funéraires, les recherches ultérieures ont démontré l'existence de certaines nécropoles de plus ou moins étendue.

La situation est tout à fait différente si l'on se rapporte aux habitats de la période respective. On a révélé des traces d'habitat celtique dans le périmètre actuel des localités de Bistrița, Vermeș, Herina, Matei, Țigău ou Micești de Câmpie, mais pour le moment, elles se limitent uniquement à l'apparition sporadique de la céramique celtique, modelée à la roue, parfois associée aux fragments travaillés à la main. Il n'y a aucune preuve concernant le lieu d'emplacement des habitats afférents aux cimetières sus-mentionnés et indiqués sur la carte. On a abouti à une situation, en quelque sorte anormale: d'une part un grand nombre de cimetières examinés et d'autre part le manque évident d'information concernant les habitats de la même période.

D'ailleurs pour toute l'aire intracarpatische, les habitats des III^e-II^e ss. av. J-Ch. restent une grande inconnue. Partout le nombre des habitats examinés ou identifiés par des sondages ou recherches de surface est plus réduit que celui des cimetières. Une possible explication serait que les nécropoles sont plus faciles à identifier et que les fouilles ont offert la chance de récolter un matériel archéologique riche et varié, ce qui a maintenu l'intérêt des archéologues. Or ce n'est que pendant les dernières années que les recherches directionnées ont commencé à cueillir des dates qui promettent d'offrir, à un avenir non pas trop lointain, une image réelle sur l'habitat de cet espace.

Dans les conditions où les recherches dans les habitats font défaut, certaines dates quant à la densité et au mode de vie de la population celtique établie dans ces contrées peuvent être détachées justement si l'on se rapporte à la dimension des nécropoles de la période respective et si l'on examine le contenu des tombes. C'est une possibilité difficile à son tour à être mise en œuvre. On se réfère bien sûr à la publication partielle des complexes funéraires examinés et au manque total des déterminations anthropologiques pour les tombeaux d'inhumation.

Pour le moment, les meilleurs indices sont offerts par le nombre et l'interprétation des éléments qui définissent la nécropole de Fântânele, le point « Dâmbul Popii ». C'est aussi le plus grand des cimetières connus, où l'on a enregistré environ 100 tombes¹. Tout en partant de la constatation que l'encadrement chronologique des complexes recouvre dans le temps toute la période où la présence celtique dans la Transylvanie a été prouvée, plus exactement depuis la fin du IV^e siècle av. J-Ch. jusqu'à une certaine période de la première moitié du II^e siècle av. J-Ch., environ 150 ans, on ne pourrait qu'admettre qu'au cimetière correspond un habitat à population réduite, ayant, en permanence, tout au plus quelques dizaines de membres.

À l'heure actuelle, à Fântânele a lieu la recherche d'une nouvelle nécropole celtique identifiée dans le point « La Gâta ». À partir de l'année 1999 on a découvert 16 tombes d'incinération dans la fosse et 4 d'inhumation. La plupart des objets trouvés datent du Latène B₂ (début du III^e s. av. J-Ch.), mais il y en a aussi qui appartiennent au Latène moyen.

Dans le périmètre de la nécropole d'Archiud on a découvert seulement 11 complexes funéraires Latène qui n'ont pas été dérangés, mais leur disposition, de même que les matériaux de facture celtique trouvés dans les fosses datant de la période ultérieure, à savoir de l'époque des migrations, ont fait que le nombre initial des tombes celtiques soit estimé à environ 40-50². Même dans ces conditions, une communauté ayant 50 tombes, rapportée à un siècle et demi d'existence ne peut pas être grande.

On connaît le même nombre réduit de tombes pour les autres nécropoles. À Orosfaia où l'on a la certitude des recherches définitives, on a découvert 13 tombes, toutes datant du Latène C₁³. Dans ce cas il y a deux possibilités: ou bien l'habitat auquel appartenait le cimetière a existé seulement pendant cette période du Latène, ou bien la surface examinée est devenue lieu d'enterrement après que le périmètre d'un vieux cimetière employé antérieurement a été épuisé. Si la dernière hypothèse est correcte, il serait normal de trouver quelque part dans le voisinage, certains complexes funéraires plus anciens appartenant à la même communauté.

D'autre part, les habitats semblent être situés à petite distance l'un de l'autre. La preuve est qu'à Fântânele on a établi trois points à découvertes funéraires contemporaines sur une distance qui ne dépasse pas 5-6 km, respectivement « Dâmbul Popii », « Livadă » et « La Gâta », tout près se trouvant aussi l'endroit des autres apparitions du même type dans la limite du village de Zoreni. Par conséquent, le grand nombre des cimetières sur une surface restreinte nous indique aussi une concentration des communautés celtes, ces dernières ayant en échange, comme on l'a déjà remarqué, une population réduite.

Il est à remarquer que ce moyen de disposition des habitats est fréquemment rencontré dans d'autres régions habitées par les Celtes pendant les IV^e-II^e ss. av. J-Ch. Les recherches ont prouvé l'existence de certaines communautés formées de petits groupes humains, proches entre eux, de 10 à 15 personnes par génération, étant, selon toutes les apparences, la cellule de base de cette époque-là. On vivait habituellement dans de petits hameaux qui ne comptaient, de règle, plus de cinq habitations contemporaines, normalement disposées d'une manière irrégulière⁴.

Toujours en se rapportant à d'autres zones, on a une image sur le type d'habitations appartenant aux habitats celtiques. On a la certitude que ces habitations ont été faites en fonction du climat, de la nature du relief et, à la fois, des matériaux de construction offerts par la région où ces habitats étaient situés. Pour le territoire de la Transylvanie, les recherches archéologiques prouvent que les

¹ Quant à la nécropole de Fântânele – «Dâmbul Popii» voir: I. H. Crișan, *La nécropole de Fântânele et son importance pour le problème des celtes de l'Europe Centrale*, dans *Alba Regia*, XIV, 1975, p. 185-186; idem, *Începutul Latène-ului la daco-geți*, dans *Marisia*, VII, 1977 p. 67-84; Șt. Dănilă, *Primele săpături în necropolă de epocă La Tène de la Fântânele*, dans *SCIVA*, 29, 1978, 2, p. 257-275.

² G. Marinescu, C. Gaiu 1983, *Săpăturile de la Archiud „Hânsuri”* (com. Teaca, jud. Bistrița-Năsăud), dans *Materiale și cercetări arheologice*, 1983, p. 132-134.

³ L. Vaida, *The celtic cemetery from Orosfaia (Bistrița-Năsăud county)*, dans *Les celtes et les thraco-daces de l'est du bassin des carpates*. Les actes du colloque national qui a eu lieu à Bistrița le 16-17 octobre 1998, Bistrița, 2000.

⁴ V. Kruta, *Celții*, București, 2001, p. 110.

Celtes vivaient dans des huttes de forme ovale ou rectangulaire, à une ou deux pièces, couvertes de bois ou de pailles⁵.

Les inventaires funéraires sont en mesure à offrir aussi un plus d'information concernant les occupations quotidiennes des membres des communautés et à confirmer une stratification sociale. Dans les nécropoles celtes se distinguent surtout les tombes de guerriers. La richesse des complexes prouvent que ceux qui portaient des armes avaient une position privilégiée représentant le plus probablement les chefs des habitats respectifs. À la différence de ceux-ci, il paraît que la plupart des Celtes se soient occupés de l'agriculture et de l'élevage du bétail, ce qui est facile à supposer vu les sols fertiles existant dans les zones où la présence celtique est prouvée.

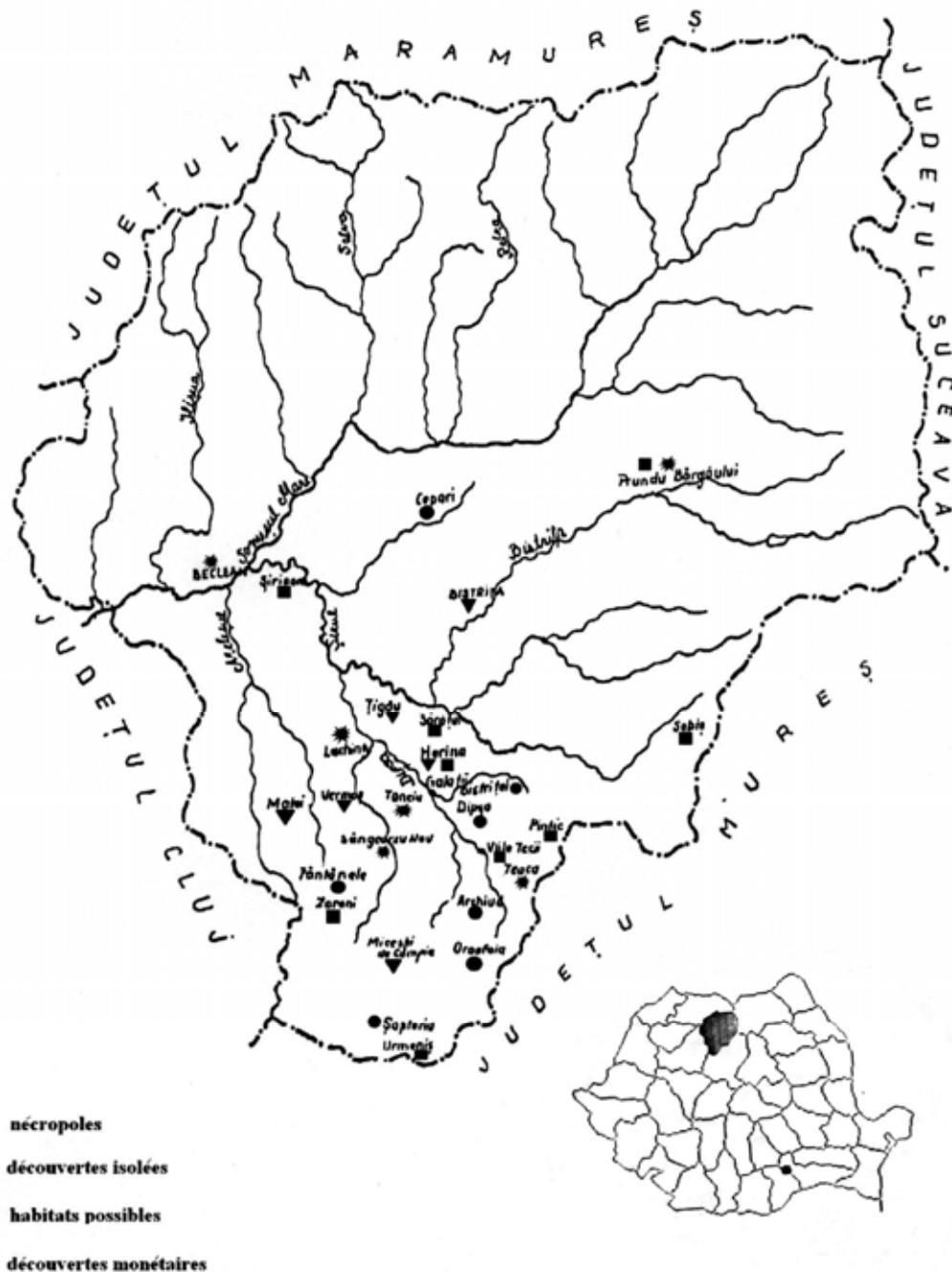
Parmi les découvertes celtes il y en a qui indiquent qu'on pratiquait aussi d'autres métiers. On pense, en premier lieu, à une des pièces trouvées dans la nécropole de Galați Bistriței⁶, interprétée comme instrument chirurgical, solution ultérieurement contestée. Même si l'objet en question représente ce qu'on a initialement soutenu ou bien on a affaire à une autre occupation différente de celle de cultiver la terre. De même, les fuseaux découverts dans la nécropole de Fântânele - « Dâmbul Popii » prouvent qu'on pratiquait des métiers domestiques (le filage, le tissage)⁷, et les os d'animaux sauvages des tombes prouvent qu'on pratiquait la chasse. Qu'il y ait eu des individus occupés, totalement ou partiellement avec d'autres activités c'est une certitude, mais pour le moment, les traces archéologiques ne nous permettent pas de les préciser.

⁵ VI. Zirra, *Locuirile din a doua epocă a fierului în nord-vestul României*, dans *Satu Mare. Studii și comunicări*, II, 1980, p. 39-84.

⁶ St. Dănilă, *Inventarul unor morminte de incinerație din sec. III-II î.e.n.*, dans *Din activitatea muzeelor noastre*, Cluj, 1955, p. 94.

⁷ Idem, *Primele săpături în necropolă de epocă La Tène de la Fântânele*, p. 268, fig. 9/2.

Le département de Bistrita-Nasaud.
Carte de repartition des découvertes archéologiques.
(IV-II siècles av. J-Ch.)



**SETTLEMENTS AND NECROPOLES
FEW CONSIDERATIONS ON THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES
ON THE MIDDLE COURSE OF MUREŞ RIVER
BELONGING TO LA TÈNE B₂-C₁**

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1. General considerations

For a period which started in the second half of IVth Century B.C., in western part of Romanian and inside the Carpathian Arch, as a result of archaeological researches, are known elements of material culture alien to this territories till then (Crișan 1971, p. 154-157; Crișan 1977, p. 19-30; Németi 1986, p. 71-76; Crișan et al. 1995, p. 35-37; Ferencz, 1998, p. 215-226; Rustoiu 2000, p. 182-184; Rustoiu 2002, p. 55; Rustoiu 2005, p. 57-65). At this time, the opinions referring to this moment are not unanimous, some authors considering that the beginning of that phenomenon must be placed at the beginning of the third Century B.C. (Kruta 1990, p. 263). Anyway, the archaeological situation and the events which determined this state is considered of result of seating here of some Celts communities (Crișan 1971, p. 154-157; Crișan 1977, p. 19-30; Németi 1986, p. 71-76; Crișan et al. 1995, p. 35-37; Ferencz, 1998, p. 215-226; Rustoiu 2000, p. 182-184; Rustoiu 2002, p. 55; Rustoiu 2005, p. 57-65).

The historical sources which are known today didn't register in writing the events which we are referring to, that is why the informations we have are not enough to recreate the history and life of communities established in the area we have mentioned. The contact between this population and the local ones is reflected in taking over of some material culture elements which can be observed in archaeological discoveries.

The researches look on Transilvania during the last years have registered progresses in knowing this period. Among other things had been shown the fact that the Celts were in this area till the first half of second Century B.C. (Ferencz, Ciută 2005).

The attempt of reconstitute the modalities in which the relations between communities have been developed is quite difficult having only the method we know till now. For all that, some of researches suggested hypothesis in this way, supporting the idea of mixed communities who lived inside the settlements during the next period, trying to complete the lacks of researches (Rustoiu, Rustoiu 2000, p. 184; Popa, Simina 2004, p. 62).

In our opinion we consider that in this moment we do not have enough elements for supporting the idea that the communities belonging to those categories of populations were lived together inside the same settlements. We don't have motives to doubt the presence of Celts in the territories mentioned above, also we can't doubt the contact between those two civilisations which is indicated by some of material culture elements alien to Celts in other territories with an archaeological context surely belonging to the Celts. But the inhabiting within the same settlements of those two populations can not be supported only by the presence of pottery made by hand. The presence of those two ceramic species, together inside the archaeological complexes may be interpreted as an argument for the contact between these two populations in a certain geographical area, but this assumption raises some questions to which having these poor informations today, it is impossible to answer. To this situation it can be add the finding concerning the literary attestation of the name „dacians” only during the second Century B.C. (Caesar, BG, VI, 25, 1), when the material culture from the territory belonging to the dacians had a different aspect in comparison with that known from

the period when the Celts where there. As we said, the material culture element of the populations who lived inside the area we've mentioned above wen the celts come it can be estabilished in actual stage of researches (Popa, Totoianu 2000, p. 76; Popa, Simina 2004, p. 66). That is why we think that the terms of „*celto dcians*” or „*dacian/celts*” as Ion Horațiu Crișan suggested (Crișan, 1966, p. 76.) or the new formula „*discoveries with celto-dacians or dacian-ceitic character*” (Popa, Totoianu 2000, p. 72; Popa, Simina 2004, p. 62) are not right and they do not reflect an historical reality. The authors above evoited to use one of those terms admiting the subyectivity of this kind of terminology (Popa, Totoianu 2000, p. 72; Popa, Simina 2004, p. 62). In the same paper they prefered to use the term of „*celto-dacian horizon*” (Popa, Totoianu 2000, p. 74; Popa, Simina 2004, p. 64). The utilisation of syntagm „*celtic-dacian*” or „*dacian-ceitic material culture*” can be easiar accepted, but even in this case are some problemes concerning the terminology. We are talking about the utilisation of term „*dacian*” before that appeared in the literary sources The utilisation of the word „*dacian*”, in this kind of terminology contradicts the theory according to wich „... the Transylvanian area entered concomitant in the sphere of interest of the Celts and Getaes populations from extra – Carpathians area at the begining to La Tène period ...” (Popa, Simina 2004, p. 66).

Our oppinion consist in the fact that the difficulties in the understanding the situation are given by the actual stage of researches. We think that is very important the example given by the stage of researches from North-West of Romania, were the invstigations made during the last decades have given some answers to many questions.

For the Middle Mureș area and for the whole intra – Carpathian area we think that is important the image of the nowledge level as it can be seen of the graphics present in Plate III. We also think that the following researches will establish exactly the characteristics of the relations between the populations who have lived inside the Charpathian Arch durig the first stages of the second Iron Age. Till than it is proper to use a terminology less subiective like that of *material culture of La Tène Type* to design objects characteristics to the Celts. The pottery made by hand considered as being characteristic to local population may be placd in the category of *materials belonging to the Second Iron Age*. This term *Second Iron Age* is neutral and dos not implied any kind of considerations on the ethnic character of the population or the populations who spread this goods.

During the last years our invstigations aimed a reduced geographical area, delimitated by the Middle Course of Mureș (Plate II), area considered as one of the Celts penetration way in Transylvania (Nestor 1041-1942, p. 457; Rusu, Bandula 1970, p. 35). From this point of view we have tried to stablish the main life aspects of the human communities which lived within this territory in the earliest stages of the Second Iron Age at according to the documents we have today. The result of our investigations is not satisfactory, but at this moment we have a few elements wile offer us a base for the next investigations.

2. Society of living people

Discoveries wihc offer us informations on daily life of comunities are those coming from settlements. The inhabitance of populations who lived in Transylvania in earliest stages of the Second Iron Age is less known. Some monographies and papers work published during the last years gave the possibility to be known a series of elements wihc give us the possibility to recreat a sketch of general elements of this problems (Popa, Simina 2004; Crișan 2000; Ferencz 1997; Popa, Totoianu 2000; Rustoiu 2000; Rustoiu 2002).

Concerning the emplacement of inhabitings wihc are dating at this chronological horizon, Ianos Németi come up to the conclusion that, from a general point of view, the settlements are placed on the river terraces, especialy on plane and that in broken areas, on hils, the Celts penetrated the territories only along the rivers (Németi 1990, p. 54). To the same conclusion come up Aurel Rustoiu concerning theterritories situated in Northern and Western part of nowdays Romania (Rustoiu 2002, p. 50-51).

Examine the relief of area we are lizing choosed of the communities of the Second Iron Age, for the emplacement of the settlements presents clear similitudes with the situation documented in area researched by those two researchers.

Today are Known thirteen points with discoveries wich documentate the existence of this kind of sites (Plate IV). The settlements documented till now inside the Middle Course of Mureş River area and the other discoveries are dissposed on waterside or on the rich terraces of Mureş River or of other tributarries. A different situation has registered at Gligoreşti, were has populated a grindus formated in the area situated at the confluence of the Arieş River with Mureş River (Gogâltan et al 1996, p. 51-52; Gogâltan et al 2004, p. 66, 69, 74). All of these have a strong rural character, their emplacement in areas proper for agriculture being natural if we take into consideration that we are talking about a population formated by husbandmaen and breeders (Popescu 1960, p. 233; Crişan 1977, p. 26, 31; Németi 1990, p. 54).

The „open” character of these settlements represents an element characteristic for the historical period we are refering to. Fortified settlements are not known in this period nither in intracarpian area or in North-West Romania, as it has been noticed (Németi 1990, p. 54). Although in same situations it may be say that were taken some measures to stop the attacks. May be in this way it is possible to interprete the situation of the settlement found at Gligoreşti - „La Holoame” (Gogâltan et al 1996, p. 51-52; Gogâltan et al 2004, p. 66, 69, 74, Pl. II).

The dwellings discovered till now in the area we put into attention are deep in earth, by cottage type and semi-cottage type, and they could be framed in the typologie establish by Ioan Glodariu (Glodariu 1983, p. 10). The shape of the holes are rectangular, circular, in some cases wer found pole traces, poles wich suported the roof. A good example in this way is the dwelling disovered at Şeuşa (Ferencz, Ciută 2000, p. 24, Pl. IV ; Pl. VII), or another one of those partialresearched at Lancrăm - „Glod” (Popa, Totoianu 2000, p. 53, Fig. 3; Popa, Simina 2004, p. 38, Fig. 7). The pole traces were discoverd also when were researchd some dwellings contemporary to those mentioned above in adiacent areas (Popa, Simina 2004, p. 52).

The plan of dwellings known til now in the area we aimed adopt in some cases a rectangular shape with rounding corners like that from Lancrăm (Popa, Totoianu, p. 62 ; Popa, Simina 2004, p. 52) or from Şeuşa (Ferenz, Ciută 2000, p. 24). at Gligoreşti has ben researched a pithouse habing almost a circular shape (Aldea et al 1998, p. 22). There were little deep and one of those had th walls made by wattling stick with clay, other were made by boards or beads (Ferencz, Ferencz 2001, p. 40). The roofs wer made by reed, club rush or straws and it was elied on a wood structure and it is part of the conical group or two waves and eaves was probably till down (Ferencz, Ferencz 2001, p. 42). It can't be excluded the possibility of the existence of some roofs having a shringle cover (Ferencz, Ferencz 2001, p. 42). The materials wich were used were those which were easy to fiind, a comoun situation in all areas inhabited by Celts (Adouze, Buchsenschutz, p. 53). Materiile prime din categoria celor vegetale (lemn, nuiele, stuf etc.) precum și lutul au avut ponderea cea mai mare în utilize (Adouze, Buchsenschutz, p. 53-57).

From the dates we have in this stage of researches we may say that the heating of the roos was made with the keep of some instalations made by stone and ay be with some hearths with upper rims (Ferencz, Ferencz 2001, p. 43).

The iluminate was dowe may be in a natural way, through some oppenings made in roof or in walls or through the entrance area (Ferencz, Ferencz 2001, p. 43-44).

Concerning the houses arrangements within the settlements, the site from Ciume ;ti offer us important dates. Inside this site the houses were builtd to a relative big distance one from other (about 60-120 meters). They were grouped by two or three (Zirra 1980, p. 69), showing a certain preferences in choosing the place for houses. This kind of observations or other which show some preoccupaiions for the sistematisation of inner space of some dwellings had not ben observed till now inside the site researched dated on the first stages of La Tène period, those documented on Middle Mureş not being an exception (Ferencz, Ferencz 2001, p. 45). We think that this situation reflect the actual stage of researches, the next investigations wile give us new elemetsin this way.

The materials discovered inside the settlements are represented by the pottery made by hand and by potter weel and some other made by metal, bone or glass.

3. The community of those who are sleeping

It is accepted that by the term of „necropolies” we understand the burials in special areas, by verry known rules (Babeş 1988, p. 17). In nowdays Romania are known many necropolis and isolated graves belonging to the Celts. There are placed especially in Transylvania and in Northen parts, in Crişana or on Inferior Mureş Course. A catalogue of the sites of this kind was made bz Ion Horațiu Crișan (Crișan 1971, p. 152, Fig. 1). In Oltenia are known funeral complexes which inventorz contains Celtic objecs. But these are considered elements characteristics to an another cultural phenomenon, known in archaeological literature as *Padea-Panagiurski Kolonii group* (Sîrbu 1993, p. 24-26).

Inside Carpathian Arch, also in North-West of our countrz, the Celtic necropolis ar moustlz plane and biritual. Thez have inhumation grave and also incineration graves, with the cremation remains deposited in urns or right in the pit of the grave (Crișan 1971, p. 153; Crișan 1971a, p. 72). The biritualism characteristic to the Celtic necropolis from Transzlvania and Eastern Hungaria is known even at the moment we the Celtic civilisation penetrated those areas, beeing mentained till their disapearence, from this aeas (Zirra 1975, p. 48 ; Nemeti 1988, p. 49-73; Nemeti 1988, p. 75-114 ; Nemeti 1992 p. 59-112 ; Nemeti 1993, p. 117-129).

On the Middle Course of Mureş River were identified necropolis at Aiud (Crișan 1973, p. 50-51; Crișan 1974, p. 71-96) and Blandiana (Aldea 1975, p. 415-42; Aldea, Ciugudean 1985, p. 37-43), and other materials wich maz be considered as funerar inventorz objects discovered in some localities (Plate V). The number of this kind of sites known till nowis inferior on the Middle Mueş, in comparison of those coming from settlements. Although it has to be noticed that anz of these necropolis known in our area of interest has not been researched in a sistematicl way.

The existence of two necropolis at Aiud is a fact less common not being singular. This situation is at Pişcolt, Satu Mare County (Nemeti 1986, p. 77). The meaning of the fact is explained bz establish in that area and neighbourhood inhabited bz Celts, of a new wave of Celts from those who fought in Balcanic Peninsula (Nemeti 1986, p. 76-77). In the same waz it may be explained the presence of that two necropolis at Aiud.

Analizing the funerar discoveries on the Middle Course of Mureş it can be observed that the graves may be dated on Early La Tène (Ferencz 1998, p. 225; Rustoiu 2005, p. 64). The presence of the Celts in the area, as the funerar complexes suggest, may be documented till La Tène C.

Concerning the inventories, we may noticed the objects made by pottery were found moustly inside the graves. This kind of objects are: helmets (il: Hateg, Silivas, Aiud), swords, one of those being special (Aiud); special pottery vessels (Blandiana) or other kind of pieces (Aiud, bracket). The wealth, rank and position in society which some of dead persons had durring their lives are presumed by the presence of some objects plate with golden small leaf (the sword with dragon pairs and the bracket from Aiud which is not kept). Other objects made of ordinary metals or of pottery suggest the belonging to the graves inventories where were burried persons situated on a lower social scale (Pl. VI).

4. Conclusions

Although are only few informations given by archaeological researches they help us to trace the most important features of the material civilization of the human communities who lived in the area situated on the Middle Mures, within La Tene B-C. Also it can be distinguished some social and religious life aspects or magical elements, some aspects of the relationshios between living persons and dead persons. To complete a part of gaps we have refrences to the discoveries from the adiacent areas. Thus the stratificated structure of communities is documented by the diffrences between the graves inventories. As we have said before some of the gold pieces belonging the funeral inventory also indicates these diffrences, the dominating class being represented by warriors as certified the graves form Aiud, Blandiana or Silivas.

It is most difficult to observe this in settlements maybe because the dwellings were not similar and the inventory were not very different. However the small number of settlements entirely or partial researched inside the Carpathian Basin represents an obstacle for the communities everyday life reconstitution. However we may say about this communities that they lived in small villages (maybe like that one from Moreşti, where were identified 6 dwellings or like that one from Ciumesti with 9 dwellings).

In some cases the necropoles were placed on an dominated point like this one from Blandiana.

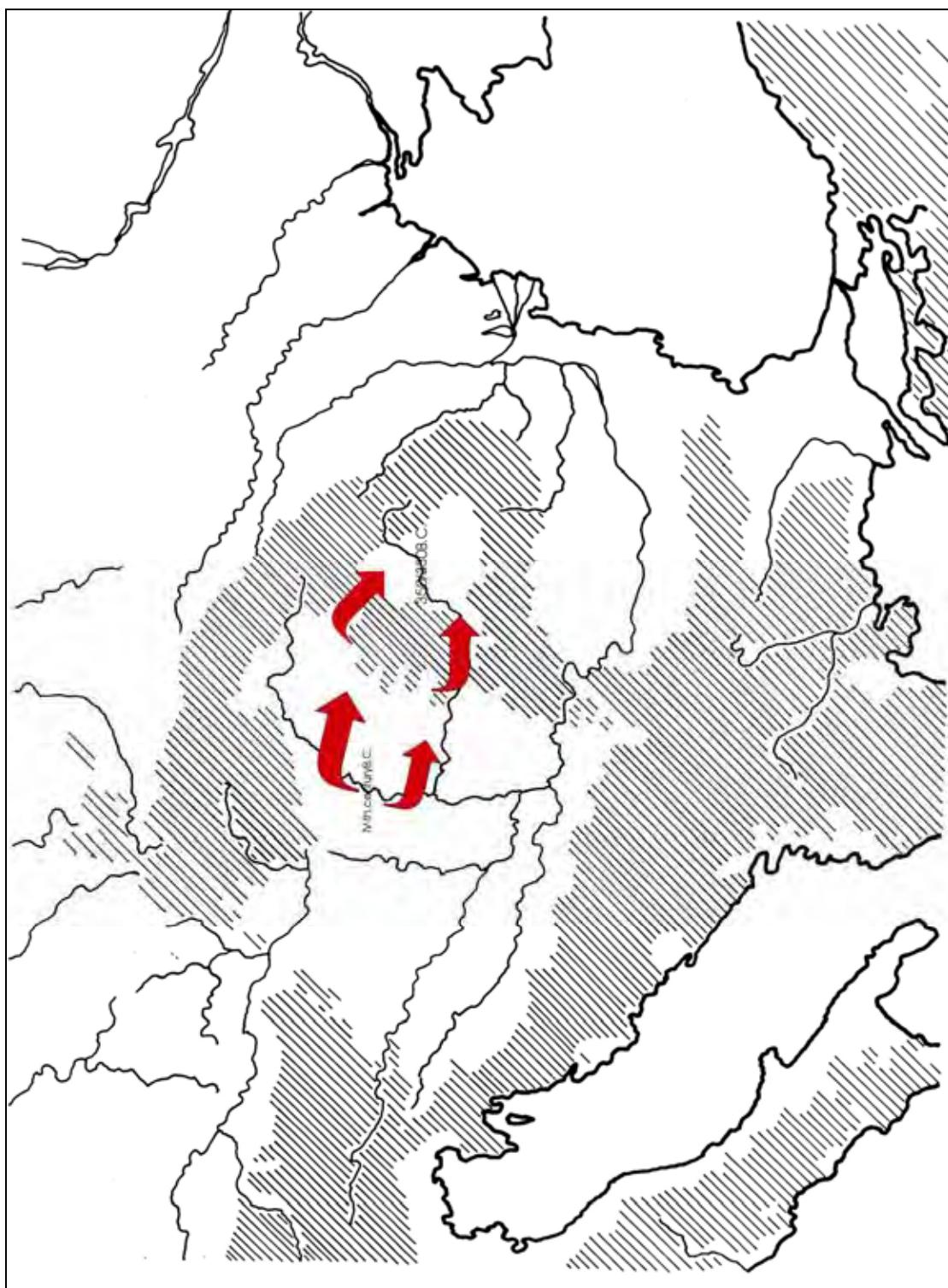
Because of small number of researched sites we can not say if this represents a general aspect which characterize the spacial relationship between settlements and necropoles. We may say that in actual NW Romania, Ianos Nemeti observed this aspects in many situation. We believe that the fact is not accidentally, it could reflect the habit of these populations and could also be an expresion of the respect which the living people owed and gave to dead people.

It is not possible to do a comparison between funeral furniture and archaeological inventory belonging to the space destinated for the living persons because of the small number of informations we have. However, through reference to discoveries made in other areas and using in a proper way the information we have, it is possible to be realised some studies.

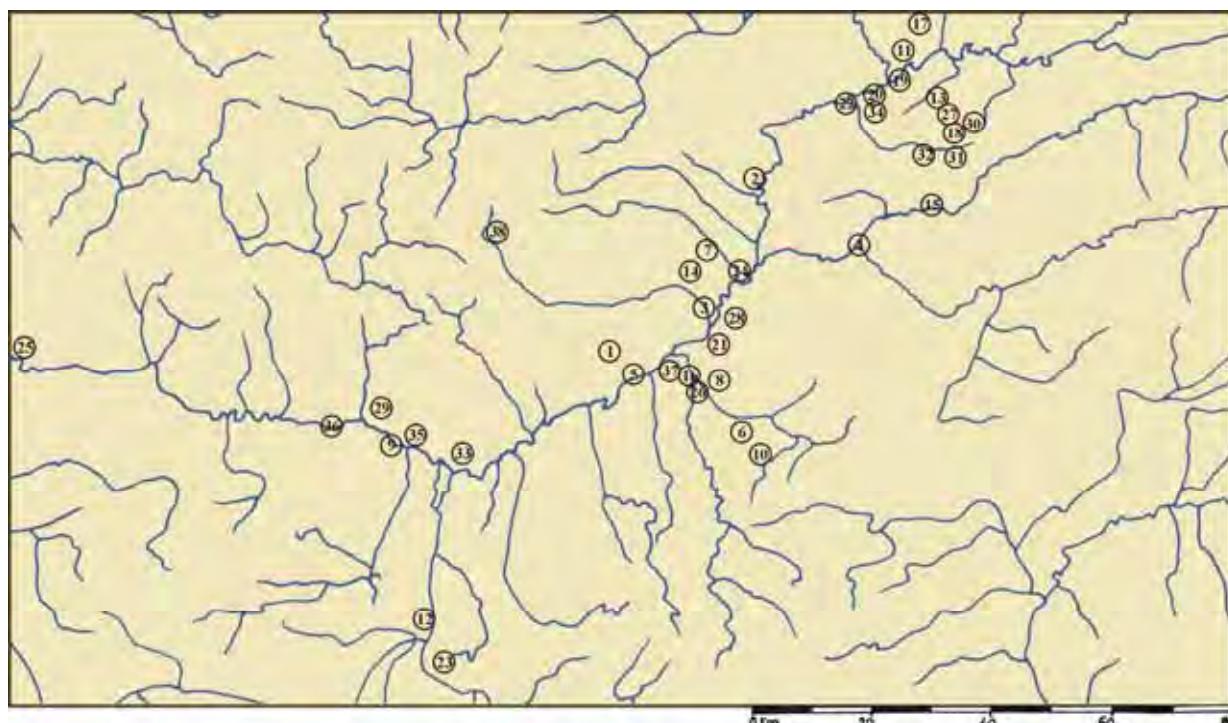
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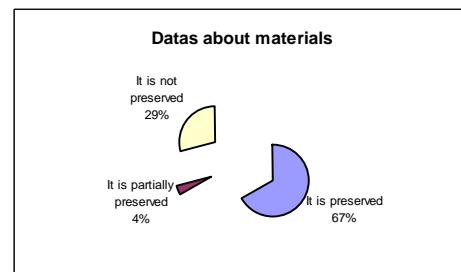
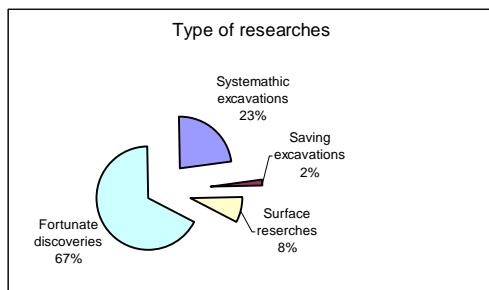
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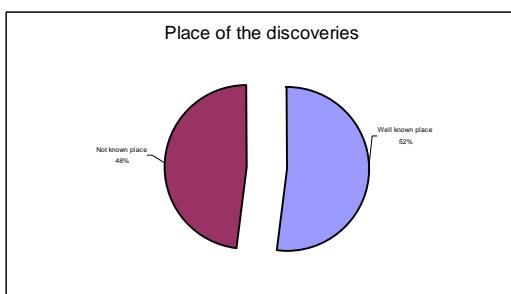
Pl. I. The stages of Historical Celts migrations towards East.



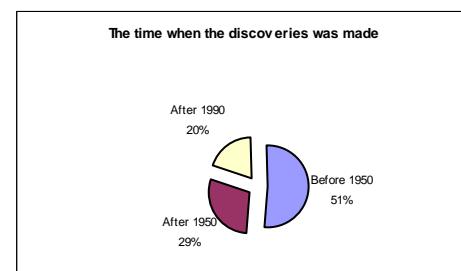
Pl. II. Discoveries dated on Early and Middle La Tène from the area of Middle course of Mureş River. 1. Acmariu; 2. Aiud; 3. Alba Iulia; 4. Blaj; 5. Blandiana; 6. Câlnic, 7. Craiva; 8. Cut; 9. Deva; 10. Gârbova; 11. Gligoreşti; 12. Haţeg; 13. Heria; 14. Ighiu; 15. Jidvei; 16. Lancrăm; 17. Lunca Târnavei; 19. Micoşlaca; 20. Noşlac; 21. Oarda de Jos; 22. Ocna Mureş; 23. Ohaba Ponor; 24. Peţelca; 25. Săvărşin; 26. Sebeş; 27. Silivaş; 28. Şeuşa; 29. Şoimuş-Bălata; 30. Şona; 31. Şpălnaca; 32. Turdaş (Alba); 33. Turdaş (Hunedoara); 34. Uioara de Jos; 35. Uroi; 36. Veţel; 37. Vinţu de Jos; 38. Zlatna.



1.



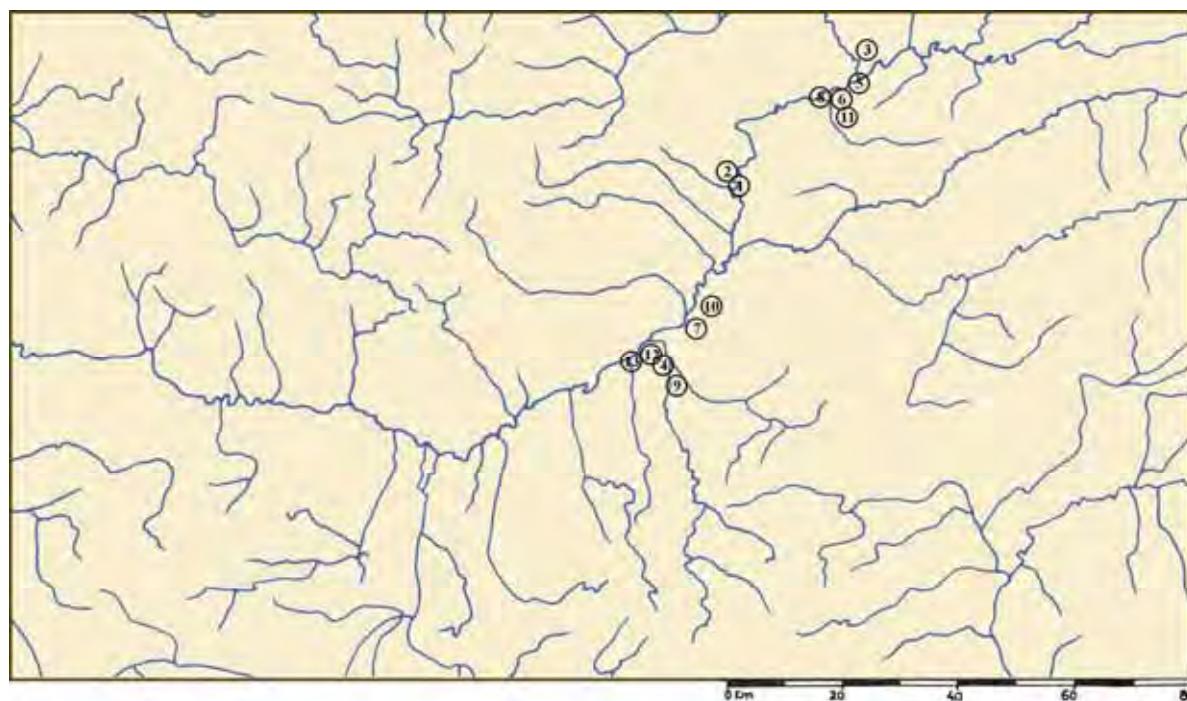
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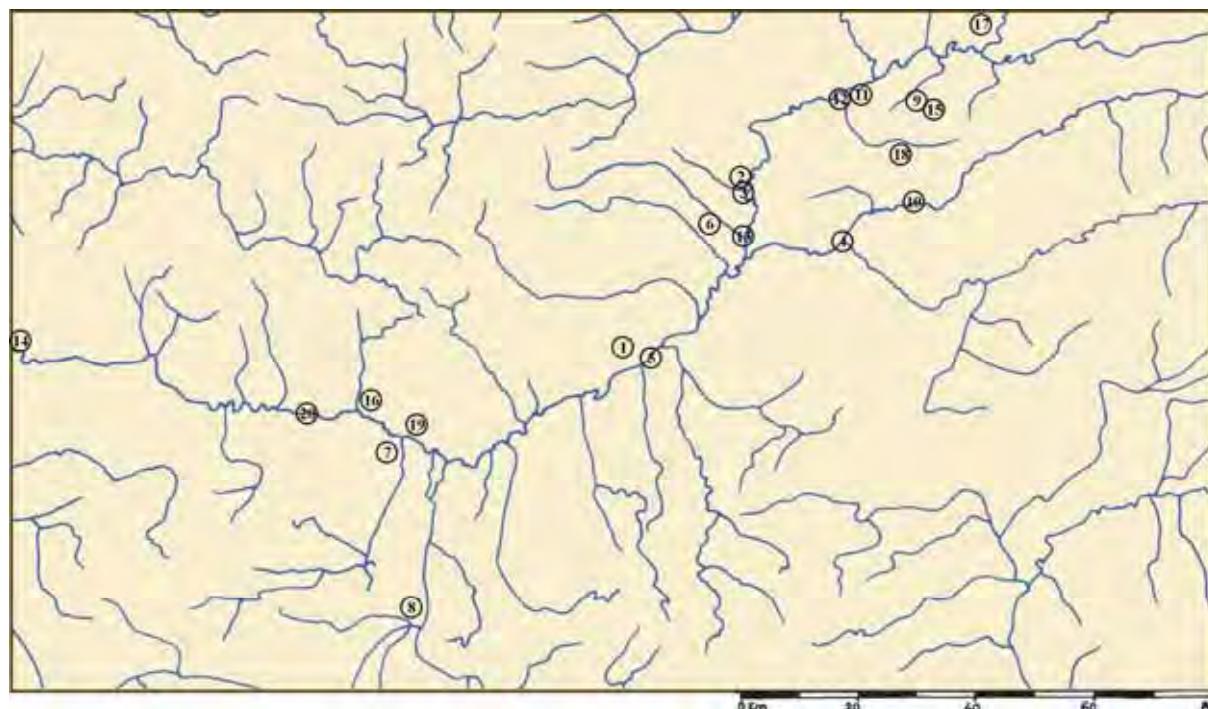
3.

4.

Pl. III. The actual stage of knowing Early and Middle La Tène on Middle course of Mureş River.



Pl. IV. Settlements dated on La Tène B and C, on Middle course of Mureş River: 1. Aiud - „Microraiion III”, 2. Aiud - „Sub Pădure”, 3. Gligoreşti - „La Holoame”, 4. Lancrăm - „Glod”, 5. Micoşlaca, 6. Noşlac, 7. Oarda - „Cutină”, 8. Ocna Mureş, 9. Sebeş - „Podul Pripocului”, 10. Şeuşa - „La Cărarea Morii”, 11. Uioara de Jos, 12. Vințu de Jos - „În râpa terasei dinspre Sibișeni”, 13. Vințu de Jos - „Lunca Fermei”.



Pl. V. Celtic funerary discoveries on Middle course of Mureş River: 1. Acmariu, com. Blandiana, jud. Alba2, 3. Aiud, jud. Alba4. Blaj, jud. Alba5. Blandiana (Blandiana, Cârna), jud. Alba6. Craiva, com. Cricău, jud. Alba7. Deva, jud. Hunedoara8. Hațeg, jud. Hunedoara9. Heria, com. Fărău, jud. Alba10. Jidvei, com. Jidvei, jud. Alba11. Noşlac, com. Noşlac, jud. Alba12. Ocna Mureş, jud. Alba13. Petelca (oraş Teiuş), jud. Alba14. Săvârşin, jud. Arad15. Silivaş, com. Hopârta, jud. Alba16. Şoimuş-Bălata, com. Şoimuş, jud. Hunedoara17. Şona, com. Şona, jud. Alba18. Turdaş, com. Hopârta, jud. Alba19. Uroi, (oraş Simeria) jud. Hunedoara20. Vețel, com. Vețel, jud. Hunedoara



Pl. VI. Some representatives archaeological materials discovered in funerar complexes situated on Middle course of Mureş River.

**PANOPLIE DE GUERRIER ET TOMBE DE GUERRIER.
PROBLEME DE LA PERTINENCE DES TROUVAILLES SEPULCRALES
(D'APRES DES EXEMPLES DE CULTURE DE PRZEWORSK
A LA PERIODE PREROMAINE PRECOCE)**

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La présente étude est consacrée au problème de la valeur représentative des panoplies de guerrier illustrée avec les trouvailles de la culture de Przeworsk dans la période préromaine précoce, c'est à dire à partir du milieu du III^e siècle av. J.C jusqu'au début du I^{er} siècle ap. J.C. (la culture de Przeworsk se développait dans la partie centrale et méridionale de la Pologne également dans la période postérieure, jusqu'au début du V^e siècle après J.C. Voir : Dąbrowska 1988 ; 1988a; 2003; Kokowski 2003, où la bibliographie antérieure). La culture de Przeworsk s'était formée sous l'influence des Celtes sur le substrat indigène, et il ne faut pas négliger le rôle important, quoique difficile encore à estimer, des courants venus des milieux de la culture de Jastorf. Selon une opinion générale, les tribus des Bastarnes et des Sciri ont traversé les terres actuellement polonaises en se dirigeant vers le bassin du Prut et du Siret, où ils ont créé une culture nommée de Poienești-Lukaševka. Tout comme les peuples celtes établis en enclaves, entre autres dans le sud de la Pologne et en Bohème, la population de culture de Przeworsk pratiquait la crémation. Sur le bûcher, à côté du mort, on plaçait de la céramique, certains outils et quelques armes que l'on détruisait rituellement après la crémation et mettait dans la tombe. Contrairement à la culture celtique, où, à partir de la phase LT C2 s'était répandu un rite funéraire insaisissable avec des méthodes archéologiques actuelles, le rite de la crémation et de la destruction de l'équipement funéraire s'était maintenu sur le territoire actuellement polonais jusqu'à la période des Grandes Migrations.

Les matériaux sépulcraux sont considérés comme une source primordiale des données pour la connaissance de plusieurs cultures archéologiques. Cette opinion est certainement due au fait que les trouvailles provenant d'habitats sont moins riches, il est difficile de le dater avec précision, leur analyse est pénible et ses résultats sont le plus souvent moins spectaculaires. Face à une telle disproportion, on est rapidement tenté de se former une opinion sur un fait culturel d'après les trouvailles sépulcrales, en prêtant une attention moindre aux résultats obtenus suite à une recherche sur les habitats. De cette façon, les matériaux sépulcraux deviennent-ils une source essentielle d'informations concernant la différenciation économique, la structure sociale, etc. d'une population donnée. Les inventaires funéraires sont pris presque comme un miroir du monde des vivants de l'époque.

Très souvent, la richesse de l'équipement funéraire est traitée comme une indication directe de statut économique. On admet par exemple, qu'une personne près de laquelle on a trouvé quatre fibules était plus riche que celle qui n'en avait qu'une ou deux. Un tel raisonnement peut paraître juste, mais il néglige certains facteurs qui peuvent rester en rapport avec l'équipement funéraire indépendamment du statut économique du mort. Il suffit de mentionner quelques circonstances, comme la saison, par exemple, durant laquelle la cérémonie funéraire avait lieu. Il est fort possible que, quand la crémation s'était déroulée dans une saison froide, la dépouille ait été habillée dans plusieurs couches de vêtements, tandis qu'en été, on pouvait déposer le corps en habits plus légers, avec moins de fibules.

La différenciation des modèles de l'armement dans les matériaux sépulcraux a servi d'élément utile à la reconstruction des relations sociales dans la plupart des travaux sur les nécropoles de la culture de Przeworsk à la période préromaine précoce et à la période des influences romaines, par exemple sur les sites de Domaradzice, Młodzikowo, Wesółki, Wymysłowo ainsi que dans les

travaux théoriques (Jasnosz 1951, p. 280-282; Kostrzewski 1954, p. 271, 272; Gąssowski 1957, p. 25; Dymaczewski 1958, p. 416-421, 429-432; Marciniak 1959, p. 50, 51, 55-57; Kietlińska 1963, p. 29-33; Dąbrowscy 1967, p. 78-80, Tab. E). Dans les recherches menées par K. Godłowski, la variété quantitative et qualitative de l'équipement des tombes de la culture de Przeworsk accompagnée d'une analyse planigraphique constituaient un élément primordial de la reconstruction des structures sociales. Déjà dans ses premières travaux, K. Godłowski soulignait l'importance de la présence, dans les tombes, de l'armement et des éperons comme indice crucial permettant la distinction d'une partie des tombes masculines (Godłowski 1956, p. 202; 1957, p. 301-303; 1960, p. 70-84, Plan 3).

Ainsi, les panoplies trouvées dans les tombes deviennent objet de la reconstruction de l'image de guerrier d'une culture étudiée, et les différences entre panoplies en question semblent être parfois à l'origine des conclusions trop avancées sur les « formations » supposées. En principe, ces « Waffenkombinationen » sont élaborées de deux façons.

Une première méthode consiste à distinguer plusieurs modèles d'armement, propres respectivement aux lanciers, à ceux qui se protègent par un bouclier, aux guerriers armés complètement, aux chevaliers, etc.

Un autre problème est posé par les combinaisons des armes, dites „Waffenkombinationen” soumises aux études concernant la coexistence et l'exclusion des éléments de l'armement dans les inventaires sépulcraux, parfois en liaison avec l'analyse planigraphique de la nécropole.

Les premières tentatives de la reconstruction des structures familiales à partir d'une planigraphie des nécropoles ont été entreprises par R. Hachmann qui avait examiné les matériaux de la nécropole de la culture d'Oksywie à Rzadz (actuellement Grudziądz-Rzadz) (Hachmann, 1951; 1956/57). Les panoplies présentes dans les inventaires analysés par R. Hachmann constituent un des critères servant à la reconstruction des structures sociales et des liens de parenté. R. Hachmann a aussi essayé de définir la variété de l'équipement des tombes provenant d'autres sites de *Barbaricum* européen, entre autres Grossromstedt, Kr. Apolda, (Allemagne), Kyrkbacken, Melly by, Stora Ro et Bankälla (Suède) (Hachmann 1956/57, Tab. 1-3; 1961).

Les méthodes élaborées par R. Hachmann étaient ensuite appliquées par d'autres chercheurs qui travaillaient sur la culture de Przeworsk (Marciniak 1957, p. 156-160; Ryc. 185; 1959; Okulicz 1971; Dąbrowska 1973). Le problème des panoplies de la culture de Przeworsk a été récemment étudié par B. Kontny (2001; 2002; 2002a) qui a minutieusement analysé la fréquence de l'apparition de catégories respectives de l'armement. Il s'est référé à la méthode appuyée sur le diagramme de Czekanowski, et ensuite il a présenté les résultats de son analyse sous forme des tableaux et des diagrammes. Les études concernant l'analyse planigraphique et la variété des panoplies présentes dans les inventaires sépulcraux de *Barbaricum* européen ont été menées aussi par les autres chercheurs qui continuaient et approfondissaient les études de R. Hachmann.

Les trouvailles provenant d'une nécropole située dans le bassin de l'Elbe à Hamfelde, Kr. Herzogtum Lauenburg, ont servi à M. Kunst de principe de distinction des groupes de tombes aux inventaires variés, qui ont été analysés ensuite en fonction de l'âge du mort. (Kunst 1978). La coexistence des types d'armes différents dans les tombes découvertes dans le bassin de l'Elbe et datés à la période ancienne des influences romaines a constitué un sujet de recherche de T. Weski (1982). W. Adler, analysant l'armement trouvé dans les nécropoles situées dans la région de la basse Elbe a construit des schémas planigraphiques en prenant en considération la localisation des tombes avec les armes dans les cimetières (entre autres sur les sites de Ehestorf-Vahrendorf, Kr. Harburg, Hamburg-Langenbek, Hamburg-Marmstorf et Putensen, Kr. Harburg). Il a aussi essayé de distinguer les types de panoplies et de définir leur variation dans les aspects géographique et chronologique (Adler 1993, 106-135). Les recherches de H. Schirnig et de W. Adler s'appuyaient sur les trouvailles du déclin de la période préromaine précoce (Stufe 1 selon Adler) et de la période des influences romaines (Schirnig 1965; Adler 1993, p. 101-181). Parfois, à côté des armes on prend en considération encore d'autres éléments de l'équipement. Wolfgang Adler, par exemple, en créant des « classes » des guerriers, a distingué des « barbus », en prêtant ce nom aux morts dont les tombes ne contenaient pas de rasoirs (Adler 1993). En s'appuyant sur les modèles d'équipement, on

construit des comparaisons statistiques entre les nécropoles respectives, et entre les cultures. Ainsi observe-t-on les transformations de modèle de l'équipement à travers les stades chronologiques respectifs.

Une autre méthode, appliquée le plus souvent pour compléter la première, consiste à ce qu'on analyse la fréquence de co-apparition de types particuliers d'armement. Pour ce faire, parmi toutes les tombes contenant des armes, on distingue par exemple celles avec des épées, et ensuite, en considérant un ensemble ainsi délimité comme fermé (100%), on détermine la fréquence de l'apparition d'une épée conjointement avec une pointe de lance, d'une épée avec des pièces métalliques de bouclier ou bien d'une épée comme l'unique élément d'armement. Les résultats ainsi obtenus sont comparés avec des données relatives à d'autres cultures, ou bien on observe les transformations dans la perspective chronologique.

M. Biborski dans son étude consacré à la typologie et à la chronologie des épées de la culture de Przeworsk de la période des influences romaines et du début de la période des Grandes Migrations, a présenté en détail la structure des panoplies contenant cette arme (Biborski 1978, 138-143). Une méthode analogique a été appliquée par P. Łuczkiewicz, qui a décrit la variété typologique et chronologique des épées utilisées par la population de la culture de Przeworsk à la période préromaine précoce (Łuczkiewicz 1997, p. 197).

La présence des épées dans les tombes celtiques a été analysée en détail par R. Pleiner (1993, p. 39-59). Il a présenté plusieurs tombes provenant des territoires celtiques (France, Suisse, Allemagne, Bohème Slovaquie, Hongrie, Yougoslavie, Roumanie). Pleiner a étudié aussi bien la fréquence des tombes avec des épées et leur pourcentage par rapport aux tombes masculines sans armes que les combinaisons de la co-présence des épées avec d'autres catégories d'armes (Pleiner 1993, p. 46, 47, 49, 50; Tabl. 2-4). Le problème de la coexistence des catégories différentes d'armes dans les tombes contenant des pièces métalliques de boucliers provenant du *Barbaricum* européen de la période préromaine précoce et de la période des influences romaines a été étudié par N. Zieling (1989, p. 361-368).

Les méthodes présentées ci-dessus sont des moyens fréquents et traditionnels permettant une analyse statistique de base ; il faut pourtant signaler que le procédé mentionné n'est pas libre d'influences des facteurs supplémentaires qui peuvent, d'une façon notable, modifier le résultat final de recherches sur la composition des panoplies.

Effectivement, il existe plusieurs phénomènes qui, selon une conception classique de H. J. Eggers conduisent au remplacement de la culture vivante (*die lebende Kultur*) par une culture morte (*die tote Kultur*), découverte ensuite au cours des fouilles (*die wiederentdeckte Kultur*) (Eggers 1951). Une complication supplémentaire est due à une inclination naturelle à compléter une culture découverte avec des thèses ou des opinions propres aux « écoles » archéologiques par exemple « New Archaeology » ou Gender Studies.

Il ne faut pas oublier que le même phénomène constaté dans les matériaux funéraires peut être expliqué différemment. Prenons comme exemple les tentatives d'interpréter les panoplies trouvées dans les tombes de la période de La Tène ancien. Les différences entre les panoplies provenant des nécropoles du bassin de la Marne et de la Moselle et celles de la région du haut Rhin et du haut Danube a attiré l'attention entre autres de U. Osterhaus i H. Lorenz (Osterhaus 1966; Lorenz 1986). Selon Osterhaus, les différences dans les panoplies relèvent des façons différentes de combat; dans les bassins du haut Danube et du haut Rhin domineraient les « formations » proches de phalange grecque, tandis que la population qui a laissé des cimetières sur la Marne et sur la Moselle formerait des petits « groupes de combat », composés de guerriers équipés d'armes d'hast et dirigé par les chefs qui utiliseraient des épées. H. Lorenz prétendait pourtant, que les différences dans l'équipement des tombes de la phase de La Tène ancien reflétaient des traditions funéraires différentes, et non pas la variété réelle de l'armement (Lorenz 1986, p. 284).

Nous passons maintenant aux facteurs qui font qu'il ne faut pas, à notre avis, traiter les panoplies connus des sites sépulcraux comme source de reconstructions directes des « formations » militaires d'une culture donnée. Nous nous servirons d'exemples provenant de la culture de Przeworsk. Nous voulons pourtant souligner que la majeure partie des remarques ci-dessus a un

caractère universel et reste d'actualité aussi par rapport à d'autres cultures de l'époque antique. On connaît à présent vers 2000 tombes de la culture de Przeworsk datant de la période préromaine précoce. Ce nombre permet donc d'observer certains phénomènes ou tendances saisis à l'aide de méthodes statistiques. La présence des armes dans les tombes constitue un des traits caractéristiques de la culture de Przeworsk pendant toute la durée de cette unité culturelle. La coutume de déposer l'armement dans les tombes provenant des cultures de *Barbaricum* de l'Europe Centrale est considérée comme un des éléments empruntés à la culture de La Tène (Dąbrowska 1988, 1988a). Selon les estimations données par T. Szustek, qui a analysé l'équipement de presque tous les ensembles liés à la culture de Przeworsk de la période préromaine précoce, publiés avant 2000, environ 17,1% des tombes datées à la phase A1 et à la phase A2 contenaient des éléments d'armement, tandis qu'à la phase A3 ce quota a augmenté jusqu'à 23,9% (Szustek 2000, p. 51, 52). D'après un autre chercheur, A. Błażejewski, l'armement entrait dans l'équipement d'environ 25% des ensembles funéraires trouvés en Silésie et datant de la période préromaine précoce, surtout des phases A1 et A2 (Błażejewski 1998, p. 159).

Il faut rappeler que la présence des objets militaires dans une tombe peut ne pas découler forcément des croyances et des idées résultant d'un seul domaine de la vie spirituelle propre à la culture analysée. On ne peut pas exclure que la coutume, que nous observons dans les trouvailles archéologiques, de déposer des armes dans les tombes reflète en réalité plusieurs croyances relatives aux différentes sphères de la vie spirituelle.

Il semble que la présence de l'armement dans les tombes peut témoigner d'au moins deux éléments des croyances s'appuyant sur des motivations distinctes :

1. Les armes constituaient une des marques du statut social et matériel du défunt. Cet équipement doit être probablement interprété comme une marque de soin apporté au mort pour lui garantir les conditions convenables dans l'au-delà. L'armement mis dans la tombe appartenait vraisemblablement au mort, mais sa composition pouvait ne pas être représentative par rapport à la panoplie propre à une société donnée (Czarnecka 1990, p. 89, 90 ; Godłowski 1992, p. 71).

2. Les armes étaient liées au rite funéraire et elles pouvaient avoir un rôle magique assurant la protection contre le pouvoir (supposé) du défunt. Cette fonction est parfois attribuée aux objets aigus et tranchants enfouis dans la cavité funéraire (Liana 1968 ; Czarnecka 1990, p. 67, 68, 90, 91). Les objets utilisés aux besoins d'un tel rite n'appartenaient pas nécessairement au défunt. On ne peut pas exclure que parfois le fait de mettre dans une tombe un bouclier ou ces fragments ait pu avoir une signification apotropaïque, liée à sa fonction de pièce d'arme défensive (Kontny, 2002, p. 109). Nous pouvons donner comme exemple une coutume, observée à l'époque moderne chez les montagnards caucasiens Khevsoures. Après la mort des hommes de la famille, les femmes portaient des fragments de cottes de maille cousus à leurs vêtements (Borawski 2002). Dans ce cas-là aussi, les pièces des armes défensives placées sur le bûcher pouvait ne pas appartenir au mort.

La possibilité de reconstruire les ensembles d'armes utilisées par la population établie sur les terres polonaises dans la période préromaine précoce à partir des trouvailles d'armes dans les ensembles funéraires de la culture de Przeworsk est conditionnée par plusieurs facteurs.

Un de ces facteurs est constitué par les principes de l'équipement funéraire propre aux membres particuliers de la population d'une culture précise, en fonction du sexe, de l'âge, du statut social, de la position dans le groupe guerrier, etc. Les possibilités de la reconstruction des principes qui déterminaient le rite funéraire dans l'antiquité sont très limitées. Il est très difficile de restituer les principes qui déterminaient par exemple, dans quel cas une panoplie complète était accordée à une personne très jeune, pourquoi les femmes étaient ensevelies avec des armes (une série d'analogies ethnographiques démontrant une incompatibilité formelle entre le sexe de la personne morte et le type de dons funéraires qui l'accompagnaient dans la tombe a été établie par T. Malinowski (1967)). Pourtant, le plus souvent, on observe une co-relation entre un armement modeste (le plus souvent constitué par une seule pointe de lance) et le jeune âge du défunt. Les tentatives d'expliquer ce phénomène admettent que les jeunes guerriers étaient les plus souvent équipés uniquement en

arme d'hast et une panoplie complète conviendrait plutôt à des hommes mûrs (Kunst 1978, p. 88-92; Czarnecka 1990, p. 109). Malgré plusieurs essais, les archéologues n'arrivent pas à reconstruire une partie, probablement importante, des coutumes funéraires. Il n'est pas exclu que certains qualités des tombes et de leur inventaire ne soient interprétées autrement que leur signification primitive (Kontny, 2001, p. 92).

Un autre facteur dont dépendent nos possibilités de reconstruire une panoplie due au guerrier de culture de Przeworsk reste le rang varié des catégories d'armes particulières, dont seulement quelques-unes pouvaient être traitées comme attribut de la position sociale qui justifiait l'équipement de la tombe d'un guerrier. Il semble que l'absence quasi totale de pointes des flèches ainsi que de projectiles de fronde dans les tombes de la culture de Przeworsk peut être interprétée comme un indice en faveur d'une hypothèse selon laquelle l'arme de ce type aurait un autre rang, probablement inférieure à celui d'épées, de boucliers et de lances. Dans quelques ensembles, on a trouvé seulement un ou quelques pointes de flèches, ce qui peut suggérer que selon les principes de *pars pro toto*, le carquois et peut-être aussi l'arc n'a pas été mis dans la tombe, les flèches devant représenter un équipement complet.

Un élément encore, qui pourrait avoir une influence sur la reconstitution à partir des trouvailles sépulcrales de panoplies utilisées par la population de culture de Przeworsk est apporté par le savoir sur les coutumes locales de l'équipement funéraire.

Celles-ci seraient probablement limitées seulement à la population exploitant une nécropole donnée. La richesse des dons funéraires dépendait certainement de la possibilité d'utilisation du fer. Les nécropoles, dans lesquelles dominent les tombes équipées uniquement en céramique et les autres, où l'on rencontre seulement quelques menus objets en fer isolés, étaient vraisemblablement utilisées par les populations moins riches qui n'avaient pas la possibilité de mieux s'équiper, n'ayant pas les moyens d'acquérir un nombre important d'objets en métal, tels que des armes en fer, des outils ou des récipients en bronze.

En plus, dans certains cimetières, on remarque l'absence de quelques catégories d'armement. À Konarzewo, on n'a découvert qu'un seul exemplaire d'arme offensive – une épée à deux tranchants isolée ; il n'y a pas non plus d'umbos, quoique dans quelques tombes on ait trouvé des rivets correspondant à ceux qui servaient habituellement à fixer les umbos (Siciński 1988). À Varsovie-Wilanów, on a identifié 17 tombes contenant des armes de la période préromaine précoce, mais dans aucune d'elles, on n'a trouvé de trace quelconque d'un armement défensif – ni d'umbos, ni même de rivets isolés. Selon les critères admis par J. Marciniak, 13 parmi 17 tombes de Varsovie-Wilanów contenant des armes, doivent être considérées comme des tombes riches ou très riches (Marciniak 1957, p. 159, 160). En même temps, dans la nécropole citée, on n'a pas trouvé d'umbos, de manipules ni même de rivets isolés qui correspondaient aux rivets de boucliers.

À Zagorzyń, parmi 15 tombes de la période préromaine précoce, dans une seule (tombe 14), on a rencontré un umbo (Dąbrowski 1970). À notre avis, la structure des trouvailles dans les nécropoles mentionnées permet de prétendre que la population qui les utilisait se servait de boucliers dépourvus d'umbos en métal, ou bien que ces populations observaient un rite selon lequel on ne plaçait pas de boucliers ou de leur fragments dans les tombes.

Ce phénomène doit être lié ou bien à l'influence des traditions funéraires locales qui menaient à l'élimination des pièces métalliques de bouclier, ou bien avec un modèle d'armement de protection pratiqué qui se composait de boucliers fabriqués uniquement à partir de substances organiques (nous connaissons des nécropoles celtes où on a observé une telle situation, comme par exemple à la nécropole de Kamenin en Slovaquie (Filip 1956, p. 417)) (Marciniak 1957, p. 159, 160; Kietlińska 1963, p. 31).

Le phénomène de la différenciation régionale de panoplies se laisse observer aussi dans la période des influences romaines. Pour la région entre Opole et Strzelce Opolskie, dans les inventaires des tombes datées à la phase B2/C1, même relativement riches, on constate l'absence presque générale d'épées, que l'on trouve par ailleurs dans les cimetières plus modestes situés sur d'autres terrains occupés par la population de culture de Przeworsk (Kaczanowski 2001, p. 59).

Un autre facteur qui réduit la précision de nos estimations concernant la reconstruction de panoplies typiques pour la culture de Przeworsk à la période préromaine précoce est le fait que la population de cette culture pouvait utiliser des armes fabriquées entièrement en matières organiques. Les boucliers dépourvus de pièces métalliques ne peuvent pas être identifiés, ce qui rend difficile l'établissement du quota des guerriers munis de boucliers. Si l'on avance une telle hypothèse, on peut admettre que le nombre de guerriers équipés de boucliers était en réalité supérieur au résultat découlant de la fréquence de l'identification de pièces métalliques dans les tombes (Hachmann 1967/57, p. 15; Czarnecka 1990, p. 106).

D'autre part, le nombre trop élevé de pointes de lances isolées peut être à l'origine d'une surestimation du nombre de guerriers, tandis qu'une partie de telles trouvailles pouvait être déposée dans les tombes pour des raisons magiques (Liana 1968, *passim*; Pełka 1987, p. 27). Rappelons aussi que les tentatives d'évaluer le quota des chevaliers à partir du nombre d'éperons ou de mors en fer trouvés dans les tombes peuvent être vaines ou trompeuses, parce que, comme on le sait, ces objets ne sont pas nécessaires à l'équitation.

Le contenu des ensembles funéraires et, ce qui s'en suit, la pertinence des panoplies qui en font partie et qui sont soumises à une analyse dite de combinaison d'armes sont étroitement liés au caractère du rite funéraire.

L'incinération avait lieu dans des endroits isolés, dits *ustrinum*. Après l'incinération (et, parfois, après l'extinction du bûcher avec de l'eau, ce qui semble être confirmé par l'aspect des ossements conservés mais fortement déformés par la suite d'un changement violent de température), les restes humaines et l'équipement étaient retirés du bûcher et lavés. A ce moment-là, on détruisait une partie de l'équipement, on tordait les épées, on écrasait les douilles de fers de lances, etc. Ensuite, les cendres étaient déposées dans une urne ou, plus souvent encore, directement dans la cavité funéraire et accompagnées de l'équipement du défunt. Nous devons prendre en considération une situation tout à fait plausible que parfois on ne prêtait pas le soin de transférer minutieusement, du bûcher jusqu'à la tombe, les ossements brûlés ou les éléments de l'inventaire. On peut supposer l'existence de telles circonstances à partir de certaines trouvailles provenant de la culture de Przeworsk de la période des influences romaines, par exemple les résultats de l'analyse d'une structure interprétée comme lieu de l'incinération à la nécropole de Korytnica. Pendant l'exploration de cette structure, on a trouvé, entre autres, des fragments de fibules et d'autres objets métalliques constituant probablement des restes d'incinérations successives et qui n'ont pas été déposés dans la cavité funéraire. Un transfert inexact, incomplet des restes de l'incinération dans la tombe est confirmé par la présence des fragments d'un même *sigilé* dans plusieurs inventaires funéraires (Tyszler 1999, p. 69, Skowron 2005, analyses inédites de A. Przychodni). Dans la nécropole de la culture de Przeworsk à Kuny datant de la période des influences romaines, dans l'*ustrinum* 1, on a trouvé, entre autres, un éperon, un fragment d'épée à un tranchant, un fragment de couteau, deux pointes de lances ainsi qu'une pièce métallique d'un fourreau (Skowron 2005).

En tenant compte des faits mentionnés, on ne peut pas exclure que pendant la destruction rituelle de l'équipement du guerrier, certains menus objets comme par exemple des rivets d'umbos ou des pièces métalliques de fourreaux d'épées à un tranchant, aient pu être omis lors du nettoyage du bûcher et rester dans *ustrinum* pendant l'incinération d'un autre guerrier et se retrouver ensuite dans l'inventaire d'une autre tombe faisant partie de la nécropole utilisée par une population donnée.

Il se peut que la présence des rivets isolés (rappelant ceux de bouclier) dans quelques tombes à Konarzewo puisse être liée avec un transfert rapide et mal fait d'une partie seulement de l'inventaire funéraire contenant des pièces métalliques de bouclier. A la nécropole de Glinki, dans trois tombes, on a découvert des pièces métalliques de fourreau de l'épée à un tranchant, et l'arme même n'a pas été retrouvée.

Il ne faut pas oublier non plus, qu'une partie des tombes découvertes pouvait être partiellement détruite (volontairement ou par hasard) et que ce fait n'a pas toujours été correctement interprété pendant l'exploration dont les résultats, parfois, ne se laissent plus vérifier à partir de publications et d'archives.

Puisque le point de départ d'une analyse des panoplies est constitué par des tombes à l'équipement relativement riche, qu'il est souvent plus facile de dater, ses résultats risquent d'être peu précis. Une grande partie des tombes plus modestes et dépourvues d'indicateurs chronologiques ne se laisse pas dater exactement et, par conséquent, les tentatives d'estimer l'évolution des proportions entre les tombes riches et les tombes modestes s'avèrent insatisfaisantes.

Les facteurs mentionnés ci-dessus limitent d'une façon notable la possibilité de reconstruction des panoplies utilisées par la population de culture de Przeworsk, aussi bien dans la période préromaine précoce que dans celle des influences romaines. A notre avis, les estimations concernant le pourcentage des « formations de guerriers » respectives et établies à partir du matériel puisé dans les tombes contenant des armes sont chargées d'importantes déformations qui résultent de différences de coutumes liées au rite funéraire. On ne devrait pas reporter directement les proportions de données concernant les types d'armement à la réalité d'avant plus de deux mille ans. Les données obtenues comme résultat de l'analyse des panoplies propres à une culture ne peuvent pas être comparées sans restrictions aux matériaux relatifs à une autre unité culturelle, ni constituer un point de référence à ces derniers.

Pourtant, il faut se poser la question suivante : les statistiques montrant la fréquence de types d'armes particulières et de catégories d'armement sont-elles inutiles ? Certainement pas.

La différenciation des panoplies permet de formuler des remarques générales, relatives à quelques faits sociaux concernant la population de culture donnée, comme, par exemple, l'observation de la présence d'un groupe social dont les membres étaient ensevelis avec une panoplie tout entière, la part des importations qui se laissent identifier dans l'équipement et leur accessibilité aux représentants des couches sociales plus modestes et sont trouvées dans les tombes moins équipées, etc.

La variété des panoplies illustre, dans certaine mesure, les tendances générales dans les transformations de l'armement, tendances dépendant sûrement aussi bien de la propagation progressive du fer, que de l'évolution des méthodes de combat. De même, il ne faut pas oublier qu'en dehors des inventaires funéraires fermés qui contiennent des armes, nous ne disposons d'aucunes données qui permettraient de reconstruire les panoplies de la population de culture de Przeworsk dans la période préromaine précoce. Et, en fin de compte, les analyses de la co-existence et de l'exclusion mutuelle de quelques catégories de trouvailles permettent de vérifier certaines hypothèses concernant leur destination. Un bon exemple est fourni par le problème dit de couteaux longs, traités parfois comme une arme. Par rapport à la culture de Przeworsk, ce terme servait à définir les couteaux de longueur moyenne de 20-25 à 35 cm. On formulait des opinions relatives à leur destination militaire, se référant habituellement à des analogies dans d'autres cultures, aussi dans celle des Daces. On prétendait que le problème de fonction des objets de ce type pourrait être soumis à une analyse fondée sur la co-existence des différentes catégories d'armes (Tableau 1) (Bochnak 2003, p. 8, 9; Tab. 1).

Parmi 18 tombes avec des couteaux, 16 contenaient des armes. Une analyse de la co-présence des couteaux longs dans les tombes contenant des armes montre que les couteaux ne sont pas exclusifs en relation avec aucune des catégories d'objets militaires : ils apparaissent dans les tombes avec des épées à un ou deux tranchants, mais ils se trouvent aussi dans celles qui sont équipées en fer de lance et umbo et l'autres, contenant un seul fer de flèche. Les couteaux considérés apparaissent aussi dans les tombes dépourvues d'armes. La co-présence des couteaux avec toutes les catégories d'armes semble indiquer que leur fonction devait différer du rôle qu'avaient ces objets militaires, vu que les cas de co-présence, dans la même tombe, des armes de la même catégorie (sauf les fers de lance et les fers de flèche) sont extrêmement rares.

Dans cette tentative de définir la fonction des couteaux longs, la présence des ossements d'animaux dans certaines tombes avait une importance capitale. On ne peut pas exclure une hypothèse selon laquelle les couteaux serviraient par exemple d'un outil à dépecer un animal, nécessaire aussi bien chez soi qu'à la chasse. Un couteau à plusieurs fonctions constituait probablement un élément supplémentaire de l'équipement de guerrier, mais on manque des preuves pour affirmer qu'il avait une fonction d'arme, égale à celle d'une épée ou d'une lance. La présence

d'un couteau dans une tombe peut servir d'indice de la fonction sociale du mort, mais la vérification d'une telle hypothèse n'est pas possible actuellement (Bochnak 2003).

L'inventaire avec un couteau	Épée	Umbo	Pointe de lance	Chronologie
Ciecierzyn, t. 70;	À deux tranchants	●	●	A2/A3
Kraszewo, t. 13;	À deux tranchants	●	●	A2
Dobrzankowo, t. 32;	À un tranchant	?	●	A2
Kamieńczyk, t. 156;	À un tranchant	●	●	A3
Lemany, t 36		●	●	A3
Niechmirów-Mała Wieś, t. 484;		?	●	A3
Oblin, t. 128a;		●	●	A2
Siemiechów, t. 67;		●	2 pointes de lance+flèches	A3
Wesółki, t. 36;		●	●	A3
Warszawa-Wilanów, t. 3;			2 pointes de lance	A2/A3
Dobrzankowo, t. 12;			●	A2
Bełcze, t. 2;			●	A1
Ciecierzyn, t. 53;			●	A2
Ciecierzyn, t. 63;			●	A3
Osnówka, tombe;			●	A3/B1 ou B1
Ciecierzyn, t. 12;			flèches?	A1/A2
Varsovie-Wilanów, t. 90;				A2
Zadowice, t. 154;				A1

Tableau 1. Co-présence des couteaux longs dans les tombes contenant des armes.

L'étude des ensembles d'armes peut apporter des résultats fort intéressants, aussi quand dans les analyses de « Waffenkombinationen », nous ne prendrons pas en considération que la présence même d'une catégorie d'armes dans le sens général (épée, lance, etc.), mais quand nous nous concentrerons sur la co-existence des types concrets d'objets militaires.

Prenons comme exemple les umbos à l'appendice, assez fréquents dans la culture de Przeworsk de la période préromaine précoce, et rencontrés aussi dans d'autres régions du *Barbaricum* de l'Europe centrale. On suppose que ces umbos pouvaient être utilisés dans le combat aussi comme une arme offensive. Un tel emploi de l'umbo à ergot dans la période romaine est confirmé par Tacite, dans un fragment relatif aux guerriers bataves faisant partie des auxiliaires dans la bataille de Mons Graupius en Calédonie à l'an 83 (*Tacitus, De vita et moribus Iulii Agricolae*, 36) (Godłowski 1992, p. 80 ; Adler 1993, p. 247 ; Kontny 2001, p. 120).

L'action de piquer et de repousser l'ennemi avec un bouclier peut être efficace dans une lutte à proche distance, corps à corps, mais elle perd de son importance quand les adversaires sont un peu éloignés les uns des autres, comme par exemple quand ils utilisent des épées et la plupart des coups sont des larges coupures larges.

Mais, la façon offensive d'utiliser des umbos à appendice peut-elle se refléter dans les panoplies trouvées dans les tombes ?

Parmi 16 tombes de la culture de Przeworsk contenant des umbos à ergot, dans deux seulement se trouvaient aussi des épées à deux tranchants, et à chaque fois, il s'agissait des objets à une lame étroite et un pointe aiguë, adaptée à fêrir des coups à l'estoc pendant le combat, aussi corps à corps. Cette tendance, ou plutôt régularité est aussi visible sur un échantillon plus vaste. Sur le territoire du *Barbaricum* de l'Europe centrale, les umbos à ergot se trouvent habituellement dans les ensembles contenant des épées à un tranchant, on les rencontre aussi dans les tombes sans épées. Les épées à deux tranchants apparaissent le plus souvent dans les tombes contenant des umbos dépourvus d'ergot (Bochnak 2004, p. 25). La fonction offensive des umbos à ergot dans le combat corps à corps est nettement confirmée par le fait que les objets de ce type n'apparaissent presque jamais dans les trouvailles contenant des éperons. Parmi 144 tombes avec des umbos à ergot, provenant de tout le terrain du *Barbaricum* européen de la période préromaine précoce, trois à peine contenaient aussi bien des fers de boucliers que des éperons.

A titre de conclusion, nous pouvons avancer une affirmation de l'utilité de méthodes statistiques dans les analyses de panoplies. Il faut pourtant retenir que l'image que nous créons uniquement à partir des matériaux sépulcraux est fortement déformée et qu'elle ne correspond pas à la réalité d'autrefois. Il faut admettre qu'une tombe de guerrier n'est qu'un reflet faible et illusoire d'une panoplie de guerrier.

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DACIAN SETTLEMENTS AND NECROPOLISES IN SOUTHWESTERN ROMANIA (2ND C. B.C.-1ST C. A.D.)

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The analysis of the relations between the “world of the living” and the “afterworld” in this region and period is extremely interesting, as it shows a series of original features: a) there are funerary vestiges only between 170/150 – 50 BC; after that period, they are lacking until the Roman conquest (106 AD), b) taking into consideration the funerary inventory, we could assign these vestiges to warriors, especially horsemen, as long as we have only a few pieces of information about the after-death treatment of the rest of population; c) the settlements and the fortresses continue their existence all along this period, which is after the graves become “invisible”. d) although funerary vestiges and settlements are known in the entire region, only in exceptional cases could the two be linked to one another.

That's why we are going to speak first about the funerary discoveries and the settlements and, in the end, we'll try to give an explanation. Our analyses will take into account only those elements of the vestiges useful to the topic of this colloquium.

The **geographical area** we are referring to includes the regions of Banat, Oltenia, West Walachia and southeastern Transylvania (*Fig. 1*); however, we'll take into account the discoveries of other areas as well, namely southern and northern Danube, in order to make some analogies and comparisons.

The **period** under analyses is about three centuries (200 BC – 106 AD) long, when deep changes took place in the beliefs and the funerary practices of the Geto-Dacians (Sîrbu 1985, p. 89-126; 1993; 2002, p. 374-393; Babeş 1988, p. 3-32)

The analysis of the funerary vestiges from this time and place has generated different, sometimes even contradictory opinions, on their cultural or ethnic origin. They were attributed to the Celts (Nicolăescu-Plopşor 1945-1947, p.17-33, Popescu 1963), Thracians (Nikolov 1990, p. 14-26) or to mixed communities of Dacians and Celts (Zirra 1971, p.234;1976, p. 181; Sîrbu 1993, p. 25). The documentary background available at one point in time or the meddling of political and ideological factors in the interpretation of history for half a century account for some of this confusion.

The items found in Gruia allowed V. Pârvan (1924, p. 35-50) to analyze the pieces of information available from ancient historians on the developments in the Lower and Middle Danube area over the last three centuries before the pre-Christian area. V. Pârvan said in the published work on the vestiges identified at Gruia that the Celts were already present in the Middle Danube region, namely the area between Belgrade and Vidin, around the middle of the fourth century BC, which pushed the Thracians and Illyrians farther east (Pârvan 1924, p. 43-46). V. Pârvan dated the tombs in Gruia to the middle of the 3rd century BC and believed he was dealing with Celts that Brennus left behind in Moesia to fight the Gets and Triballi, on the occasion of the Balkan expedition (278-277 BC). One should note that urn cremation tombs from the 4th-5th centuries BC were found in Gruia (Crăciunescu 1999, p.46).

The study by C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor, the one that brought to the archaeologists' attention the vestiges from Oltenia, marked a fresh beginning in the investigations on the correct identification of items belonging to the collections of local museums (Nicolăescu-Plopșor 1945-1947, p.17-33). He emphasized how the warrior tombs represented north-Danubian group that included Celtic-type items but also noted the presence of Thracian artifacts (curved daggers, bridle bits and hand-made vessels) (Fig. 2-4).

Vlad Zirra made an essential contribution to the research on Celtic vestiges, as his study continues to be a basis for the typological-chronological analysis of La Tène items found in the Carpathian-Danubian space (Zirra 1971, p. 171-238).

Given the presence of many well-structured and dated settlements and necropolises present inside the Carpathian arc (Zirra 1971, p. 171-238), an increasingly interesting issue is the emergence of Celtic archaeological vestiges, but at a later date and south of the Carpathians, visibly concentrated in southwestern Romania.

The two categories of vestiges are not only in different areas and date back to different time periods, but also have different histories.

The presence of bracelets with Steckverschluss closing systems (Fântânele, Murgeni) or simple with bolded ends (Copșa Mică, Șeica, Archiud, Fântânele), of early Dux fibulae (Fântânele, Murgeni) stand proof of the presence of Celts here from as early as Lt. B1 – Lt. B2, namely from the last third of the 4th century – beginning of 3rd century BC (Zirra 1991, p. 177-184; Rustoiu 2005, p. 45-64).

The Celtic vestiges are concentrated in the Transylvanian plateau and plain, plus the upper Someș basin, whereas the surrounding valleys (Hațeg, Hunedoara, Făgăraș, Bârșa, Sf. Gheorghe and Ciuc) do not have any necropolises or settlements but only tombs or isolated items (Sîrbu 2006, fig. 1-2); on the other hand, these valleys, and then Banat and Maramureș, have included Dacian findings – true, just a few so far (Sîrbu 2006).

This suggest that the Celts occupied the territory between Mureș and Someș, west of the Apuseni Mountains, and the plains and plateau in the intra-Carpathian space, plus the valley in the upper basin of Someș (Zirra 1974, p. 138-164; Vaida 2004, p. 375-392; Voinescu 2001).

There are no findings of Celtic vestiges of this type in Transylvania after the 2nd century BC (the lack of *oppida* centers is revealing to that end), but the causes of their disappearance are not yet clear. On the other hand, the Dacian findings in this area increase in number starting with the middle of the 2nd century BC.

It is difficult to admit that the Dacians assimilated the Celts, since the Celtic vestiges preserve their characteristics until the end, and the inventory of the Dacian settlements and fortresses from the 2nd – 1st centuries BC shows decreasing Celtic influences. Perhaps, the Celts' migration to the west followed both internal causes and the growing power of the Dacians. The advancement of the Dacian warrior from the southwestern Carpathians may have played a part here (Rustoiu 2002, p. 25-40), an issue that will be dealt with towards the end. It may also be that the Bastarns' settling in north-central Moldova around 200 BC (Babeș 2001, p. 522-529) pushed the Dacians there towards Transylvania.

The documentation available at present allows one to date the Celtic findings to 330/220 – 170/160 BC, but the Celts may have stayed west of the Apuseni Mountains until the second half of the 2nd century BC.

The specialized literature, from Zenon Woźniak's work, still uses the concept of the "Padea – Panagjurski Kolonii group" to designate, from a cultural-archaeological point of view, the vestiges in Bulgaria (in particular the northwestern region), northwestern Serbia and southwestern Romania (Woźniak 1974). Some of the first discoveries of this type, found in the two eponymous localities - Panagjurište and Padea (V. Zirra 1971, p. 234, reference 303 and fig. 23/16, 18, 20, 22, 26, 29), point here to a cultural aspect of the second iron age in the region in question. Still, these are not among the most spectacular findings, such as the one in Panagjurište (Najdenova 1967, p. 70-74); Dimitrova, Gisdova 1974, p. 321-331; 1975, p. 39-87).

Funerary discoveries

Flat tombs. We are dealing with 40 discoveries with more than 90 confirmed tombs, most of them fortuitous, including a necropolis – Spahii, small groups of graves, such as Cetate (Nicolăescu-Plopșor 1945-1947 p. 19-20) or Cepari, Corlate (Nicolăescu-Plopșor 1945-1947, p. 22-23), Gruia (Pârvan 1924, p. 35-50; Nicolăescu-Plopșor 1945-1947, p. 26), Padea (Zirra 1971, p. 234, footnote 303), Chirnogi (Şerbănescu 2000, p. 34-35) isolated tombs or only isolated objects, mainly weapons (Nicolăescu-Plopșor 1945-1947, p. 17-33; Zirra 1971, p. 222-228, Abb. 23; Sîrbu, Rustoiu 1999, p. 77-91).

Sometimes, even systematic excavations (Rast) did not find any cremated bones but only inventory items (Tudor 1968, p. 517-526), meaning we could be dealing here with either cenotaphs or votive deposits.

A real necropolis was identified at Turburea-Spahii and Remetea Mare.

Salvage excavations in Turburea-Spahii (Gorj county) revealed some 30 flat cremation tombs, almost all of them in-pit cremation. Only one tomb is a case of urn cremation (M10) but there may have been others among those destroyed. Several item and glass items were published, which might be the inventory of 9 tombs: weaponry and harness gear (at least one LtD1 iron sword, spearheads, the blade of a curved knife, a LtD1 spur, a bridle bit, the fragments of a shield umbo (?), all of them iron, then some clothing accessories and jewelry (the extremities of a torques made of silver sheet, the fragment of a bronze fibulae, a white-yellowish glass pearl, a fragment from blue glass bracelet with a white zig-zag decoration and a fragment from a situla vessel. The area of the necropolis yielded several ceramic vessel fragments, most of them hand made (including the mug-urn), but also fragments of wheel-made pottery. The vestiges of the settlement were observed nearby, one contemporaneous with the necropolis, also destroyed by farming works. Some of the items from the inventory of the complexes were saved (Gherghe 1978, p. 15-31)

Salvage excavations in Chirnogi (Călărași county) found 6 flat in-pit cremation tombs, which stand proof of the existence of such vestiges significantly farther down the Danube. Two of the tombs, probably warrior tombs, were the sites of harness gear, pieces of a bronze helmet and an iron bracelet with three oves, while the other four tombs had only a wheel-made Dacian little mug, all of the same type, deposited on top of the bones (Şerbănescu 2000, p. 34-35)

In Remetea Mare (Timiș county), Florin Medeleț researched a necropolis with 17 tombs (16 cremation, one inhumation) plus 3-4 destroyed tombs. Three or four were tombs of cremation in urns with lids, which were hand-made vessels that can be attributed to the Dacians, plus an inhumation tomb with an assortment of Illyric female items. We might be dealing with a community having a majority of Scordiscians, arrived here after the Balkan expedition but that did not last here long, because the inventory is from a narrow timeframe (about 270 – 240 BC) (as noted by the late colleague Florin Medeleț and by Aurel Rustoiu).

Although this necropolis is from the same period as the Celtic vestiges from Transylvania and the western Apuseni Mountains, namely before the discoveries from the “Padea-Panagiurski Kolonii” group in southwestern Romania, its presence in Banat and apparently belonging to the Scordiscians led us to believe it should be taken into account. Obviously, it is only after the findings here are published that we can compare them thoroughly with the vestiges in Transylvania and Oltenia.

Another representative item is the flat cremation tomb in Corcova (Mehedinți county), the site of a gray wheel-made mug-urn and of a funerary inventory consisting of folded and burnt weapons (a long sword in its scabbard, a curved dagger in a decorated scabbard, a spearhead – all of them iron), a porringer and two La Tène C iron fibulae, highly deformed (Stîngă 1992, p. 154; Sîrbu, Rustoiu, Crăciunescu 1999, p. 217-229) (Fig. 6).

We will shortly introduce some of the characteristics of these findings.

Exterior shape – only flat graves.

Funerary rite - cremation exclusively.

Rituals. 80% of the discoveries revealed the in-pit cremation, while in a small number of cases they used urns (Padea, Corcova, Gruia, Spahii, Slatina); usually, a few cremated bones were deposited. The cremation of the dead took place elsewhere; only at Spahii we might have identified

the pyre (Gherghe 1978, p.16-17), but it might also be the cremation of the offering since no human bones were found in the area .

Sometimes the pits, usually circular, were burnt, and the objects were passed through fire and folded, especially the weapons.

The recuperated funerary inventory consists mainly of weaponry, harness gear, then clothing accessories and jewelry, very seldom, pottery vessels (Nicolăescu-Plopșor 1945-1947, p. 17-33; Zirra 1971, p. 134-137; Sîrbu, Rustoiu 1999, p. 77-91; Sîrbu, Rustoiu, Crăciunescu 1999, p. 217-229)(*Fig. 2-4*).

One often finds that the weapons, the large ones in particular (the sword, spearhead and shield), have been folded and placed on the pyre together with the dead. It remains to be seen the extent to which this part of the ritual can differentiate the Thracians from the Celts, given that this practice is also documented in late Halstatt necropolises (Vulpe 1967 pl. 20/4, 22/11, 16, 20/9).

The offensive weapons are the long swords (about 27 items in 21 localities), knives, spears (about 50 items in 27 localities) and curved daggers (about 22 items in 18 localities), while the shields make up the defensive ones (Sîrbu, Rustoiu 1999, p. 80-81) (*Fig. 2/1-12; 3/1-3, 5-8; 4/1, 3, 5*).

As a rule, the harness gear consists of Thracian-type bridles, but there are other types too (Zirra 1981, p. 124-128; Werner 1988, p. 81-101) (*Fig. 2/13; 3/4*).

The jewelry and the clothing accessories, especially the fibulae, which are not that numerous or varied, are, for a change, important chronological guides because they date from the Lt. C2 – Lt. D (Popović 1991, p. 319-324; Sîrbu, Rustoiu 1999, p. 82-84) (*Fig. 4/4, 6-7*).

The belts found at Corlatele (*Fig. 4/11*), the bronze and iron buckles (Babeş 1983, p. 196-221), the beads and the glass bracelets form another category of objects.

There are not that many pottery vessels and they are all of Dacian origin, which could be explained either by their not being recuperated during the fortuitous discoveries, although their presence has been mentioned, or their looking less spectacular than the weapon gear. While one found in Oltenia either hand-made jars and typical Dacian jugs, or jugs and plates found also in Scordiscian territory (Sîrbu, Rustoiu 1999, p. 84), all the Transylvanian vessels are hand-made and are characteristic of the Dacians, be they jars and jugs (Ciugudean 1980, p. 425-432; Moga 1982 p. 87-91).

Chronology. The analysis of the funerary inventory of all these discoveries shows their dating in the Lt. C2-D1, namely between 170/160 – 50 BC.

As in more than 70% of the discoveries, weaponry, military equipment and harness gear were found, we might assume they were warriors, mainly horsemen (Nicolăescu-Plopșor 1945-1947, p.17-33; Sîrbu, Rustoiu 1999, p. 88); unfortunately, a small number of cremated bones were recuperated and we have so far only three anthropological analyses, made by Alexandra Comşa, two from Blandiana and one from Tărtăria, consequently all we could do is to issue general considerations.

Tumular tombs. In the same region as the flat tombs, tumular graves have been unveiled - all of them cremation and belonging to adult males - in Oltenia, Poiana (Berciu 1934, p. 25; Vulpe 1976, p. 208), western Wallachia - Lăceni and Orbeasca de Sus (Moscalu 1977, p. 329-340) and southwestern Transylvania as well, Cugir (Crișan 1980, p. 81-87) (*Fig. 6*) and Călan (Rustoiu, Sîrbu, Ferencz 2001-2002, p. 111-127). The objects found inside the tumular tombs, similar to those of the flat ones, plus, sometimes, helmets and mail shirts, allow us to assume that they belonged to aristocrat horsemen (Vulpe 1976, p. 193-215; Babeş 1988, p.5-8; Sîrbu 1994, p. 83-121; Rustoiu 1994, p. 33-37). The pottery vessels are Dacian, but sometimes we found Hellenistic imports. Such tombs have also been unveiled in the rest of Wallachia and Moldavia and they date from the 1st century BC in the south of the Carpathians and southwestern Transylvania and from the 1st century AD in Moldavia (Vulpe 1976, p. 193-215; Babeş 1988, p.7; Sîrbu 1994, p.135). After assessing the situation of these tombs near the residential Dacian centers, the Dacian or Hellenistic origin of the pottery vessels and the majority of the metallic objects, we may conclude they buried there Dacian warrior aristocrats.

A large number of tumular tombs are concentrated south of the Danube in the same period. Often, they make up actual necropolises, such as in Altimir, Gorna Malina, Tărnava (Theodossiev, Torbov 1995, p. 11-58) or the ones around the city of Vraca (Theodossiev 2000)

The tradition of building tumuli is already recorded in the late bronze age and early iron age in the Thracian and *Autariat* inhabitation area (Theodossiev 2000, p. 26), but this type of funerary monument is no longer present in the Oriental Celtic world of the 3rd-1st centuries BC (Todorović 1968, p. 16-18), which suggests either that the tumuli may belong to the local populations – Thracian and Dacian, or that they adopted the practice from them.

“Non cremated human bones in non funerary contexts”. Another interesting thing is the presence of “non cremated human bones in non funerary contexts” all over the excavated area. We are talking here about entire skeletons, parts of skeletons and isolated bones - of the skull or any other part of the body (*Fig. 7*). They have been unveiled in the settlements of Divici, Ostrovul Șimian, Celei, Ocnitsa; and we’ll add to all these the Orlea “field of pits” containing 23 individuals (Comşa 1972, p. 65-78). Similar findings are known all over the Geto-Dacians’ inhabitation area, being a characteristic of the “graveless period”, a situation that can be met in other cultural regions too.

They don’t belong to the category of common graves, as long as their features are obviously different: they are not found in necropolises, but inside the settlements, in isolated pits or cult places; there are no rules in the depositing and orientation, skeleton parts or isolated bones make up a large percentage of it, several entire skeletons are in abnormal positions or bearing traces of violence, there are a lot of children but no old people, and there are no traditional inventories (Sîrbu 1986, p. 91-108; 1993, p. 31-36, 86-100; 1997, p. 193-221; Babeș 1988, p. 13-16).

The recent discoveries in Hunedoara – *Castle’s Garden* show some unusual characteristics. We are dealing with only 24 inhumed deceased, comprising almost 36 individuals, with a number of unusual features: no graves were dug for the dead, instead the cavities present in stone were used, the dead are all children, there is no consistent manner of depositing or orienting the dead, most of them were deposited in one piece, but there are also skeletons that are missing parts or some are just skull or postcranial bones, the inventory consists mostly of clothing items and weapons and there is no pottery. Only three cremated deceased were found, all of them young, between 16 and 22 years old, one of them being a warrior; the findings date back to 40/50 – 106 BC. (Sîrbu, Luca, Roman, Purece 2005, p.18-19; more on this in the present volume).

The settlements and the fortresses

Countless settlements, fortified or not, and fortresses, dating from the 4th –3rd centuries BC and the 2nd century BC – 1st century AD are present south of the Carpathians and north of the Iron Gates. As we are referring now only to the 2nd century BC – 1st century AD, allow us to recall some of them: Socol (excavations Caius Săcărin), Stenca Liubcovei, Divici (Gumă, Rustoiu, Săcărin 1997, p. 401-427)(*Fig. 8*), and Schela Cladovei (Boroneanț, Davidescu 1968, p. 253-259), on the left bank of the Danube, north of the Iron Gates, Celei, Gropșani (Popilian, Nica 1998, p. 43-95), Sprâncenata (Preda 1986), Bâzdâna (Tătulea 1984, p. 92-110), Spahii (Gherghe 1978, p. 15-31) and Ocnița (Berciu 1981) in Oltenia, Cugir (Crișan 1980, p. 8), Costești, Piatra Roșie (Daicoviciu 1954), Șeușa (Ferencz, Ciută 2000, p. 22-29) and Lancrăm (Popa, Simina 2004)(*Fig. 11*), in southeastern Transylvania.

The inventory of these settlements is almost entirely Dacian, and the Celtic objects represent less than 0.5% (graphite vessels, jewelry, clothing accessories, especially fibulae). Certainly, Hellenistic and Roman imports have also been found in the sites, but they are not representative for our analysis, their importance is only chronological. Two exceptional objects, maybe of Celtic or Gallo-Roman origin are the mask of Ocnița (Berciu 1981, p. 100-101) and the bust of Piatra Roșie (Daicoviciu 1954, p. 117-118, fig. 37-38).

Among these sites, we intend to introduce Ocnița, with two cultural complexes: the underground chamber no. 2, which contains a rich and varied inventory - weaponry, harness gear, jewelry and clothing accessories, anthropomorphic figurines and pottery vessels, many of them painted (Berciu 1981, p. 80-96)(*Fig. 10*) and pit nr. 125, with 28 entire objects (rushlight cups, jars,

shield umbo, dagger scabbard, fibula etc.) (Berciu, Iosifaru, Diaconescu 1993, p. 149-156) (*Fig. 9*). As one can see, only certain objects are similar to those discovered in graves (spear and arrow heads, bridle, shield umbo, fibula).

Special attention should be paid to the fortified settlements around the Scordiscian inhabitation area, such as the sites in Židovar and Mihailovac, fortified with a ditch and defense vallum. The archaeological inventory here, dating back to the 2nd-1st centuries BC (and, perhaps, 1st century AD) is made up mostly of pottery, clothing accessories and jewelry (in particular fibulae), knives and harness gear, which have their counterparts in the region of the La Tène civilization. However, some of the items could be classified as being made in the La Tène fashion, but not characteristic to the Celtic civilization. Namely, the curved knives or LtD spurs are part of the items that the Celts borrowed from the inhabitation areas in the northern and northwestern Balkan Peninsula (Božić 1984, fig. 3).

It also worth noticing that the fortified settlements in Židovar and Mihailovac include quite a few Dacian vessels (about 10% of all the items in Židovar), probably because of the tight trade relations between the two peoples, as well as of a Dacian ethnic presence in the Scordiscian environment. The kinds of vessels characteristic of the Dacians and Scordiscians (Popović 2000, p.83-111) are different enough to be able to tell them apart in the sites in this region, meaning one could compile rather reliable statistics of their presence in the various types of discoveries. Southern Banat, right next to the Danube (Popović 1989-1990, p. 165-176), is an area rather consistent in cultural-archaeological terms, meaning Danube, around the Iron Gates, does not seem to have constituted a political border.

It is obvious that the fortified settlements in southern Romania are Dacian. Based on the documentation available, no positive cultural, archaeological or ethnic classification is possible for the fortified centers in northwestern Bulgaria. For the time being, no fortresses with the stone wall characteristic of the northern Dacian world have been called attention to, such as those in the Carpathian mountains (Glodariu 1983, p. 75-130; Antonescu 1984, p. 99-174), although some scholars do mention the presence of fortifications on mountaintops in northwestern Bulgaria (Theodosiev 2000). What the occurrence of objects also present in the Scordiscian La Tène area in this region points to is the existence of an active trading life in the Balkans, beyond the sometimes unstable borders of a number of political entities of late antiquity.

Final considerations

The studies made so far call for a analysis of the vestiges in two distinct parts: a) 170/160 – 50 BC, a period that includes many fortresses and settlements, as well as necropolises; b) 50 BC – 106 AD, with countless fortresses and necropolises, but none of the common funerary vestiges.

For the first period, the archaeological excavations attest one remarkable reality: the graves from a large area - northwestern Bulgaria, northeastern Serbia and southeastern Romania - show rather similar funerary inventories: long swords, battle knives, Celtic type belt chains, Dacian type daggers and bridles, plus spearheads and shields, in the so-called Padea – Panagiurski Kolonii group.

Nevertheless, certain differences of zone exist. South of Danube, namely in northeastern Serbia, jewels and Scordiscian-type vessels are dominant, and in northwestern Bulgaria, the findings are either Thracian, Illyrian or Dacian. However, when it comes north of the river, most of the objects, pottery vessels in particular, are of Dacian origin.

However, the rites and the rituals are different. While in the south of Danube there are not that many tumular and flat inhumation graves altogether, there are only cremation flat graves associated with inventories of this type north of the river.

These findings show standardization of weapons (spear-sword-shield and, pretty often, knives, then bridles), in particular for the cavalry, which might indicate a collaboration between the Dacian, Scordiscian and Illyrian aristocracies of the region during their plundering expeditions to the South or fight against the Roman offensive in northern Balkans.

The archaeologists considered these graves belonged to mercenaries because such objects have also been found in areas farther away (the northern and western coasts of the Black Sea).

In order to establish the ethnical and cultural origins of the funerary vestiges, we have to take into consideration the settlements, fortresses and cult places of the region. On the northern bank of the Danube, mainly near the Iron gates, a series of cities and fortified settlements have been discovered (Socol, Divici, Stenca Liubcovei), which “fortified” the big river, and this means the masters of the place lived here.

A number of Dacian vessels have been found in Scordiscian fortified settlements (Mihailovic and Zidovar), sometimes in significant amounts (10% at Zidovar) (Gavela 1952). How can we explain their presence? Either through the commercial relations between the two peoples, or an effective Dacian presence in Scordiscian territory, in southern Banat, nears the Danube. In the Iron Gates zone, both banks of the Danube are similar as far as the archaeological remains are concerned, which might suggest the Danube was neither ethnically, nor politically, a frontier. It is obvious that the fortified settlements of the northwestern Bulgaria or southern Romania are not linked to the Scordiscian population. The presence of Scordiscian-type objects found also in La Tène area indicates nothing else but intense commercial exchanges in the Balkans, beyond the frontiers, unstable often, of certain political entities of the late Antiquity.

We must recall that the Scordiscian materials, Celtic, in general, are very rare in the northern Danube settlements, less than 0.5%

The presence of some tumular tombs, with a similar inventory as in the whole northern-Danube area, near the Dacian residential centers, demonstrates the existence of a local military aristocracy.

If we take into consideration the archaeological realities of the northern Danube, we could conclude that the remains should be attributed to the Dacians. There is no archaeological evidence to attest the existence of Scordiscian settlements and necropolises at north of Danube but, certainly, there might be some isolated Scordiscian tombs.

Illuminating to that end is the discovery in Veliki Vetren, on the Juhor Mountain in Serbia, were one found a chest containing some 14 sets of weapons, harness gear, jewelry and clothing accessories characteristic of knights, items of types usually found in the tombs of that period (Stojić 1999, p. 105-107). This discovery stands proof of the fact that such classes of items circulated wide areas and various peoples, and they cannot be used as final arguments in attributing vestiges from this area to certain ethnic or cultural groups.

Still, other historical realities are important in this respect: the Scordiscian power was destroyed by the Roman expansion by the end of the 2nd – beginning of the 1st century BC, while Dacian power increases significantly starting from the beginning of the 1st century BC. Thus, it is difficult to accept the Scordiscian domination north of Danube, which is proved neither by written sources, nor by the archaeological vestiges. Moreover, there is archaeological evidence for the existence of powerful Dacian communities south of Danube, one of them in the region between Lom and Iskăr.

For example, an important cult place was revealed at Bagačina, consisting of several pits (the so-called “field of pits”), with abundant and varied votive deposits. The countless vases (jars, jugs, cups, kantharoi, in relief decorated bowls) are typical to the Dacian pottery of the 2nd – 1st century BC (Bonev, Alexandrov 1996, p. 39-41, fig. 8) (Fig.12). The findings, some of them from earlier periods, attest the existence of powerful Dacian communities nearby. Unfortunately, very few settlements from the region have been excavated, which is why most of the vestiges are the result of fortuitous funerary discoveries.

The “fields of pits” containing deposits such as the one at Bagacina are attested in almost all the Geto-Dacians’ inhabitation area for this period (Sîrbu 1993, p. 96-100; 1997, p. 193-221).

Also important are the discoveries consisting of typical Dacian silverwork items, sometimes even in treasures, such as those in Galice (Fettich 1953, fig. 5-12) or Jakimovo (Milčev 1973, p. 1-14). We are dealing with stemmed cups, *mastos* vessels, figurative *phalerae*, fibulae with bulges or multi-spiral bracelets made of plates with zoomorphic extremities, all of them made of silver, sometimes gilded. Such items are characteristic of the north-Danubian Dacian elite, in particular the Transylvanian one.

All these types of sites (settlements, cult sites, some tombs, possible mountaintop fortifications) and artifacts (pottery, clothing accessories, several categories of weapons and harness gear, silverwork items) suggest that the 2nd-1st centuries northern Bulgaria could be classified as part of the “classic Geto-Dacian culture”.

The findings in the Iron Gates region stand proof of the existence, by 200 BC, of a warrior aristocracy, cavalry in particular, with standardized weaponry and equipment. By the middle of the 2nd century BC, such findings appear in Oltenia and western Wallachia, and by the end of the same century, in southwestern Transylvania.

The tumular tombs in southwestern Romania, as well as in the rest of Wallachia date from the end of the 2nd – beginning of the 1st century BC. The inventory of the settlements and the funerary objects, in all these categories of graves, the pottery vessels in particular, indicate we are dealing with Dacians. Perhaps it is not fortuitous at all that most of the tombs with weapons are dated in the first half of the 1st century BC, a period of Dacian expansion, mainly under Burebista’s reign (Crișan 1975).

The migration of these “southern warriors” to southeastern Transylvania could have caused the departure of the Celts. It is not by chance that the Geto-Dacians established in the region their political, military and religious center – at Grădiștea de Munte (Sarmizegetusa Regia) and built the most impressive fortification system in the autochthonous society (Glodariu *et al.* 1996).

The vestiges found in the settlements and the necropolises of this place and period are not relevant when we have to assess the relations between the “world of the living” and the “afterworld” or the “world of the dead”.

We have also have settlements and necropolises for the first period, 170/160 – 50 BC, but a number of other issues arise. Based on their content, we could say the warriors, horsemen in particular, were buried in these tombs, but what we don’t know is how they treated the other kinds of dead (common people, women, children, old people). Certain findings, such as those including buckles, are part of typically feminine objects. Only at Spahii could we state the association of the settlement with its own necropolis; as for the rest, we should be glad to note the existence, for the same place and time, of funerary vestiges together with settlements and fortresses. Due to the fact that warriors were buried in those graves, it is difficult to compare their inventory with the settlements’ because the outcome would be irrelevant: in the first case, it is an inventory that belonged to a single category (warriors), while in the second, it is an inventory necessary to all the community members.

Thus, we have the following evidence and reasons for assigning the flat funerary remains to the Dacians and not to the Scordiscians: all the cities, settlements and tumular graves in the northern Danube are Dacian, some of their objects, especially the vessels, are typically Dacian, while a series of offensive and defensive weaponry represent standardized battle sets, common on a geographical area much larger and including different populations.

b) The situation becomes more serious in the last century and a half previous to the Roman conquest, a period with lots of fortresses and settlements, but no funerary vestiges. The lack of tombs is a common phenomenon all over the Geto-Dacian inhabitation area (as in certain zones of the Celts), and it could not be explained either by the lack of researches or by Herodotus’ (IV, 94) statement about Thracians knowing how to become immortal!

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ABREVIATIONS

ActaArchHung	= Acta Archaeologica Hungarica, Budapest
ActaMN	= Acta Musei Napocensis, Muzeul Național de Istorie al Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca.
Apulum	= Apulum. Acta Musei Apulensis, Alba-Iulia.
ArheologijaSofia	= Arheologija na muzeite i institut arheologij, Sofia
Arhiva Someșană	= Arhiva Someșană, Muzeul Grăniceresc Năsăudean, Năsăud.
BAR	= British Archaeological Reports, Oxford
CAANT	= Cercetări arheologice în aria nord-tracă, București
Dacia, (N.S.)	= Dacia. (Nouvelle Série). Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne, Bucarest.
File de istorie	= File de istorie, Muzeul județean Bistrița, Bistrița-Năsăud
Istros	= Istros. Muzeul Brăilei, Brăila.
Litua	= Litua, Muzeul Județean Gorj, Târgu-Jiu
PBF	= Prähistorische Bronzefunde, München
Sargetia	= Sargetia. Acta Musei Devensis, Deva.
SCIV(A)	= Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche (și Arheologie). Institutul de Arheologie "V. Pârvan", București.
Starinar	= Starinar. Institut Archéologique. Beograd
SympThrac	= Symposia Thracologica. Institutul Român de Tracologie, București
Thracia	= Thracia, Institute of Thracology, Sofia
Thraco-Dacica	= Thraco-Dacica. Institutul Român de Tracologie, București
Ziridava	= Ziridava. Muzeul județean Arad

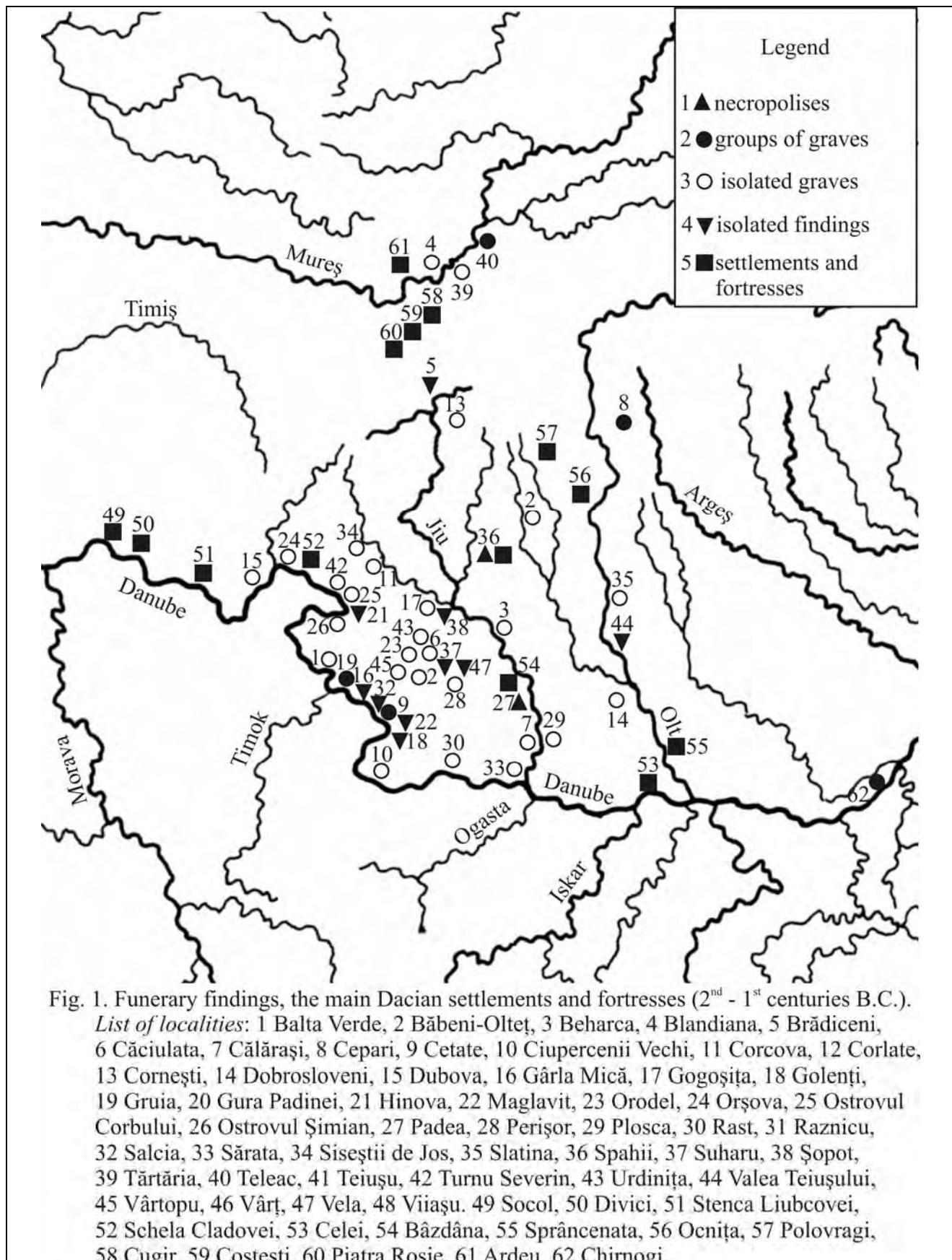


Fig. 1. Funerary findings, the main Dacian settlements and fortresses (2nd - 1st centuries B.C.).

List of localities: 1 Balta Verde, 2 Băbeni-Olteț, 3 Beharca, 4 Blandiana, 5 Brădiceni, 6 Căciulata, 7 Călărași, 8 Cepari, 9 Cetate, 10 Ciupercenii Vechi, 11 Corcova, 12 Corlate, 13 Cornești, 14 Dobrosloveni, 15 Dubova, 16 Gârla Mică, 17 Gogoșita, 18 Golenți, 19 Gruia, 20 Gura Padinei, 21 Hinova, 22 Maglavit, 23 Orodel, 24 Orșova, 25 Ostrovul Corbului, 26 Ostrovul Șimian, 27 Padea, 28 Perișor, 29 Plosca, 30 Rast, 31 Raznicu, 32 Salcia, 33 Sărata, 34 Siseștii de Jos, 35 Slatina, 36 Spahii, 37 Suharu, 38 Șopot, 39 Tărtăria, 40 Teleac, 41 Teiușu, 42 Turnu Severin, 43 Urdinița, 44 Valea Teiușului, 45 Vârtopu, 46 Vârť, 47 Vela, 48 Viiasu. 49 Socol, 50 Divici, 51 Stenca Liubcovăi, 52 Schela Cladovei, 53 Celei, 54 Bâzdâna, 55 Sprâncenata, 56 Ocnîa, 57 Polovragi, 58 Cugir, 59 Costești, 60 Piatra Roșie, 61 Ardeu, 62 Chirnogi.

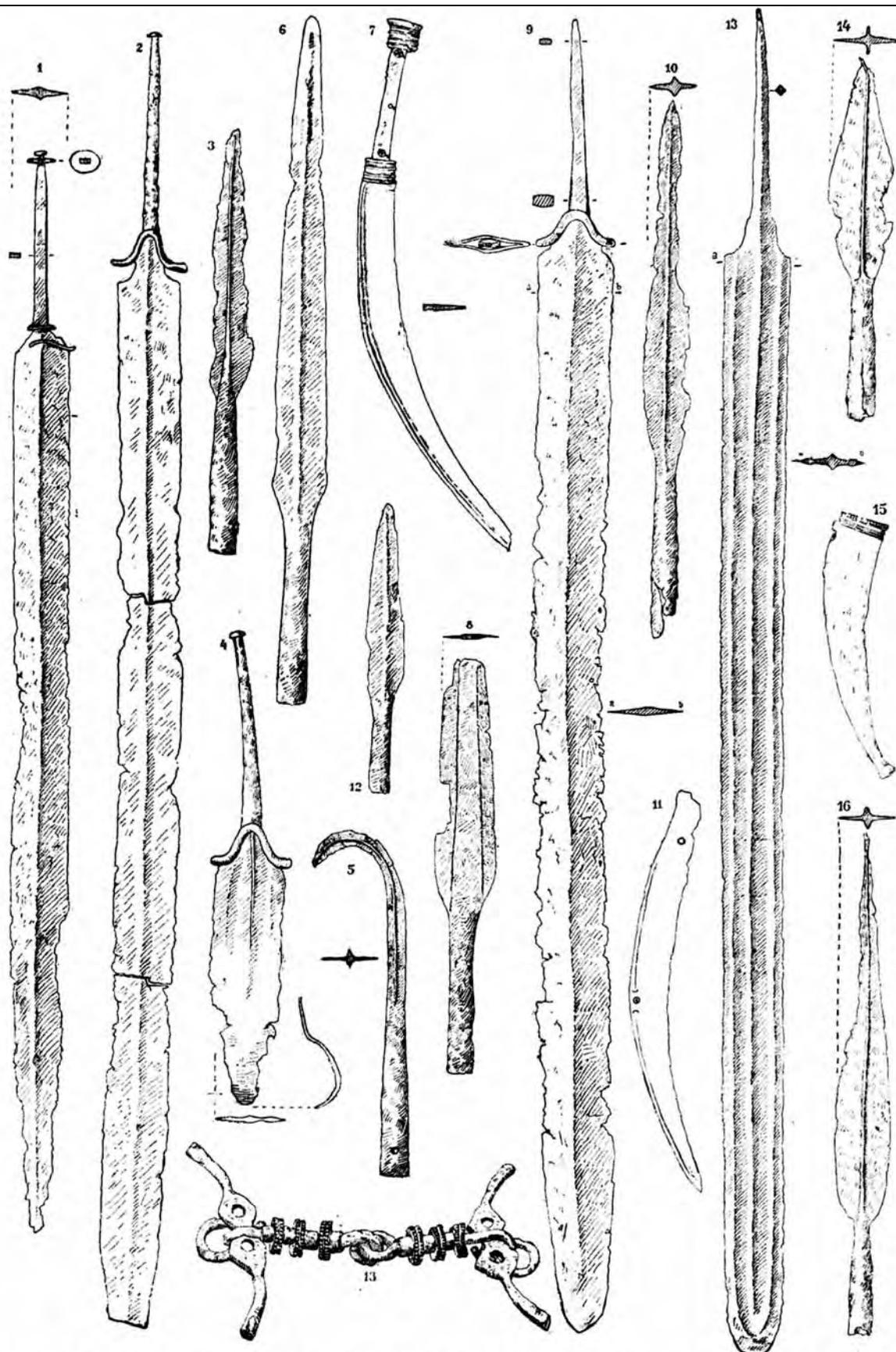


Fig. 2. Celtic objects found in Oltenia (after C.S. Nicolăescu - Plopșor 1945-1947).

1 Gârla Mică; 2, 4, 5 Gogoșita; 3 Raznicu; 6-7 Golenți; 8 Hinova; 9 Șimian;
10-12, 15 Șisești; 13 Turnu-Severin; 14, 16 Vârtopu.

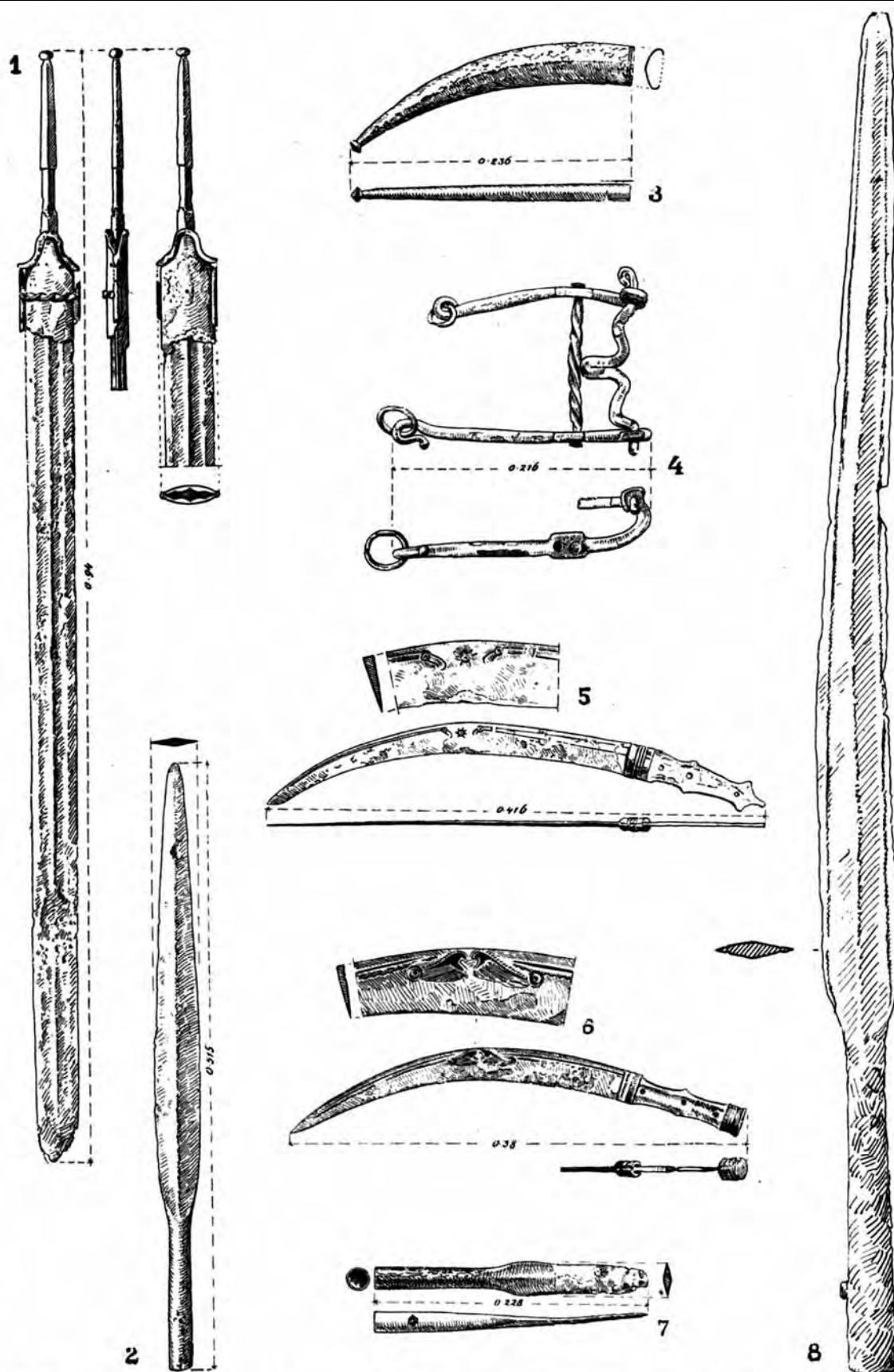


Fig. 3. Celtic objects found in Oltenia (after C.S. Nicolăescu - Plopșor 1945-1947).
1,4-5, 7 Orodel; 2-3, 6, 8 Cetate.

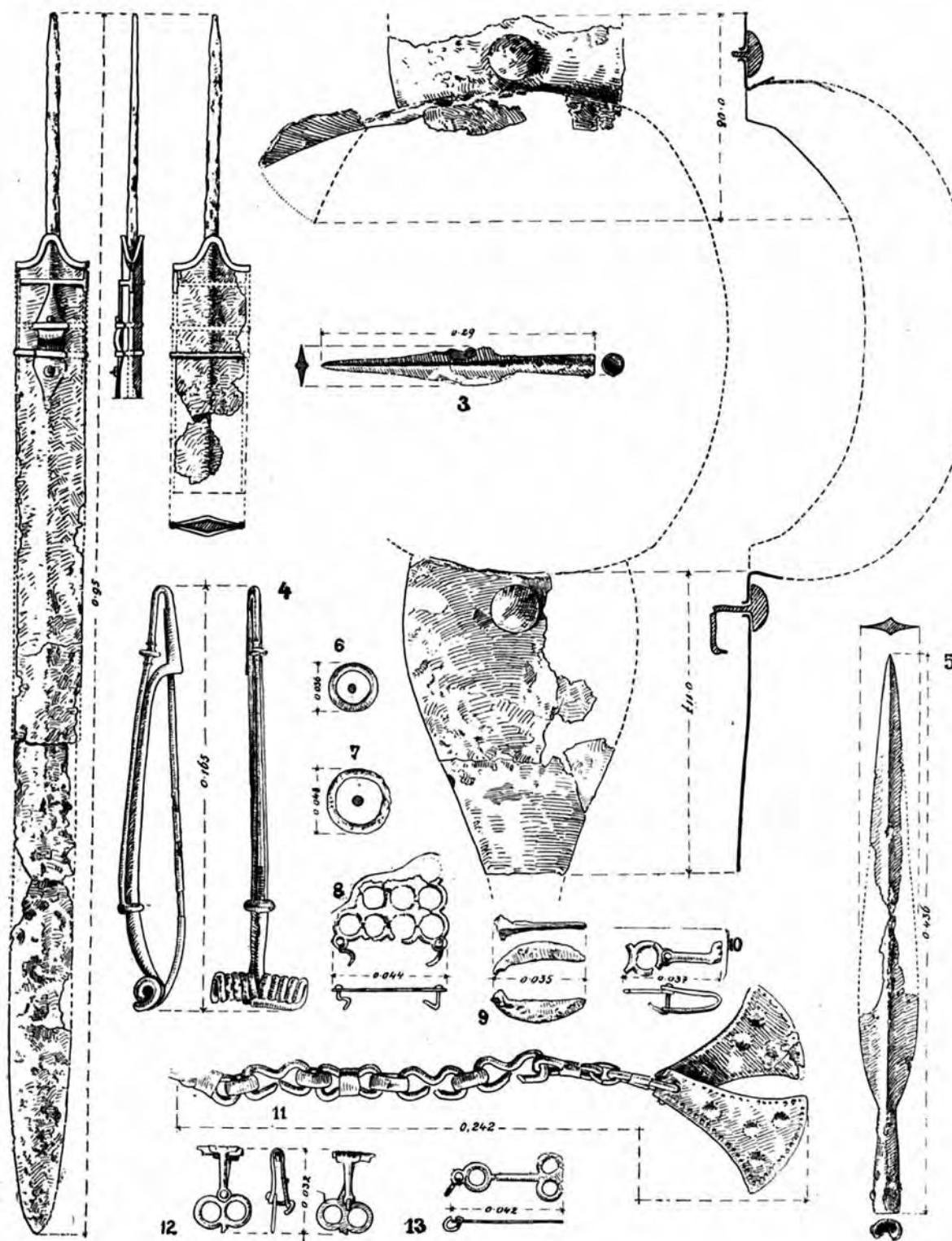


Fig. 4. Celtic objects found in Oltenia (after C.S. Nicolăescu - Plopșor 1945-1947).
 1-13 Corlate.

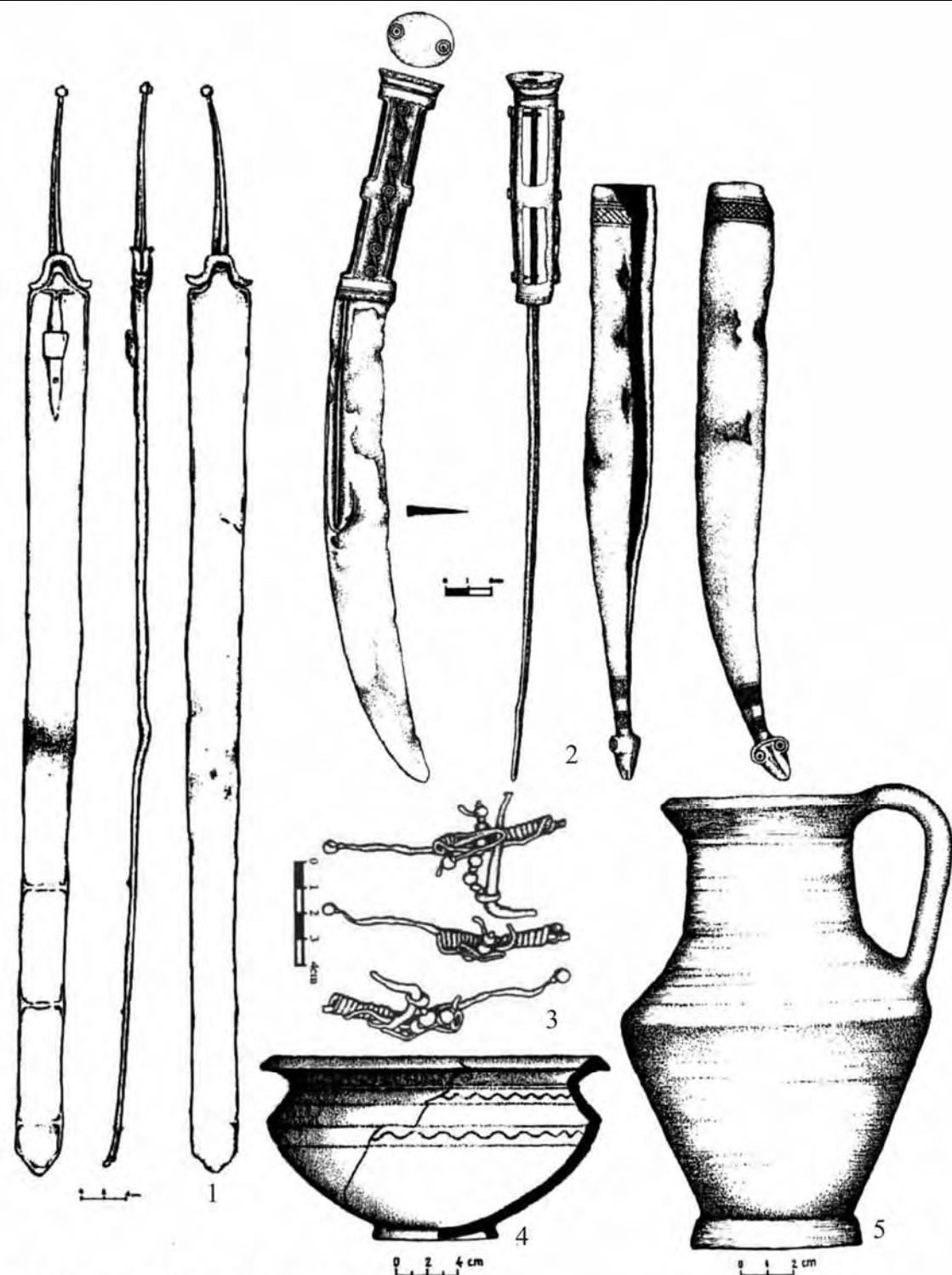


Fig. 5. Corcova. Objects from the flat tomb.
(after V. Sîrbu, A. Rustoiu, G. Crăciunescu 2000).

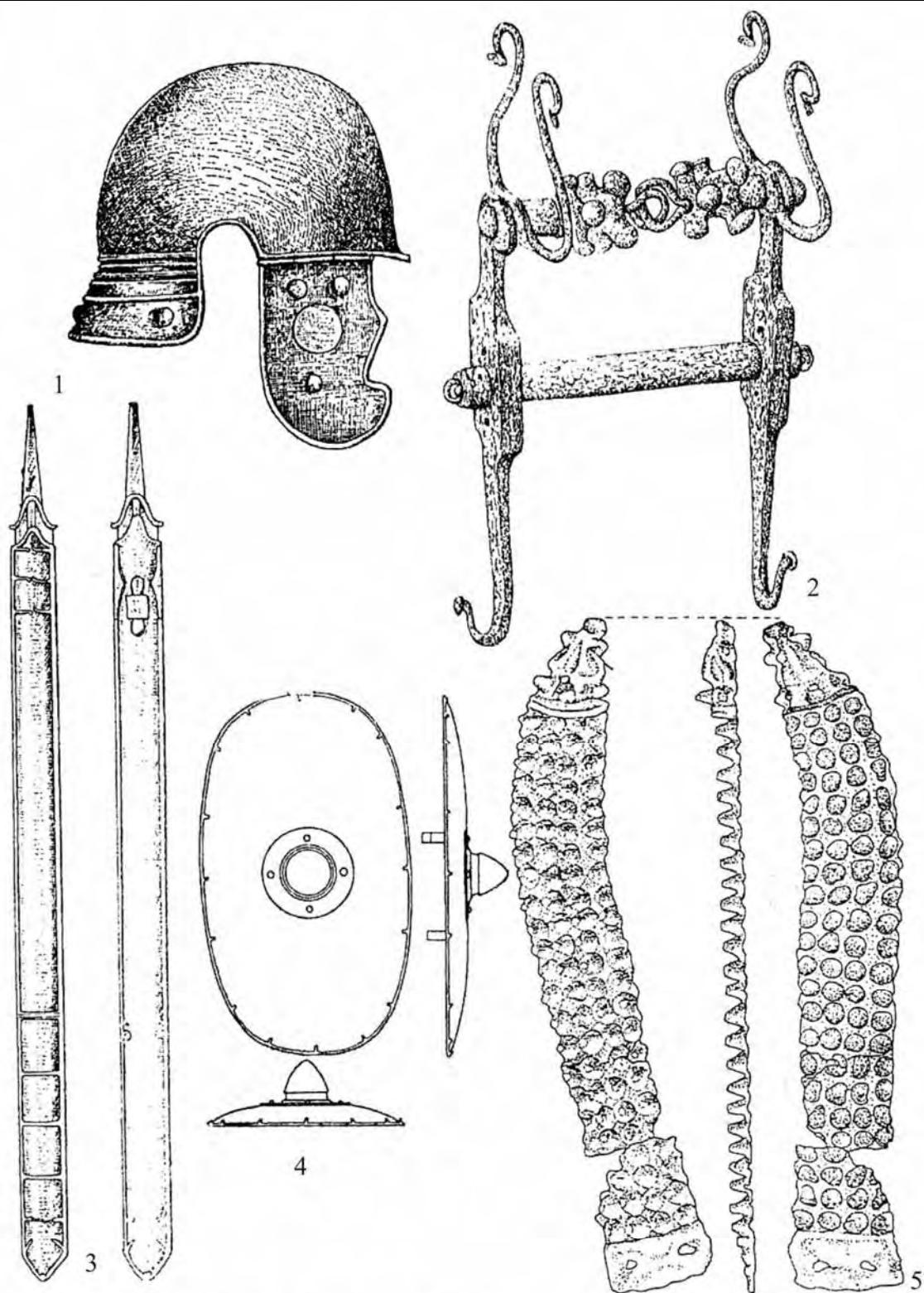


Fig. 6. Cugir - objects found in the Tumulus no. 2; 1-4 iron, 5 gold.
(after I. H. Crișan 1980).

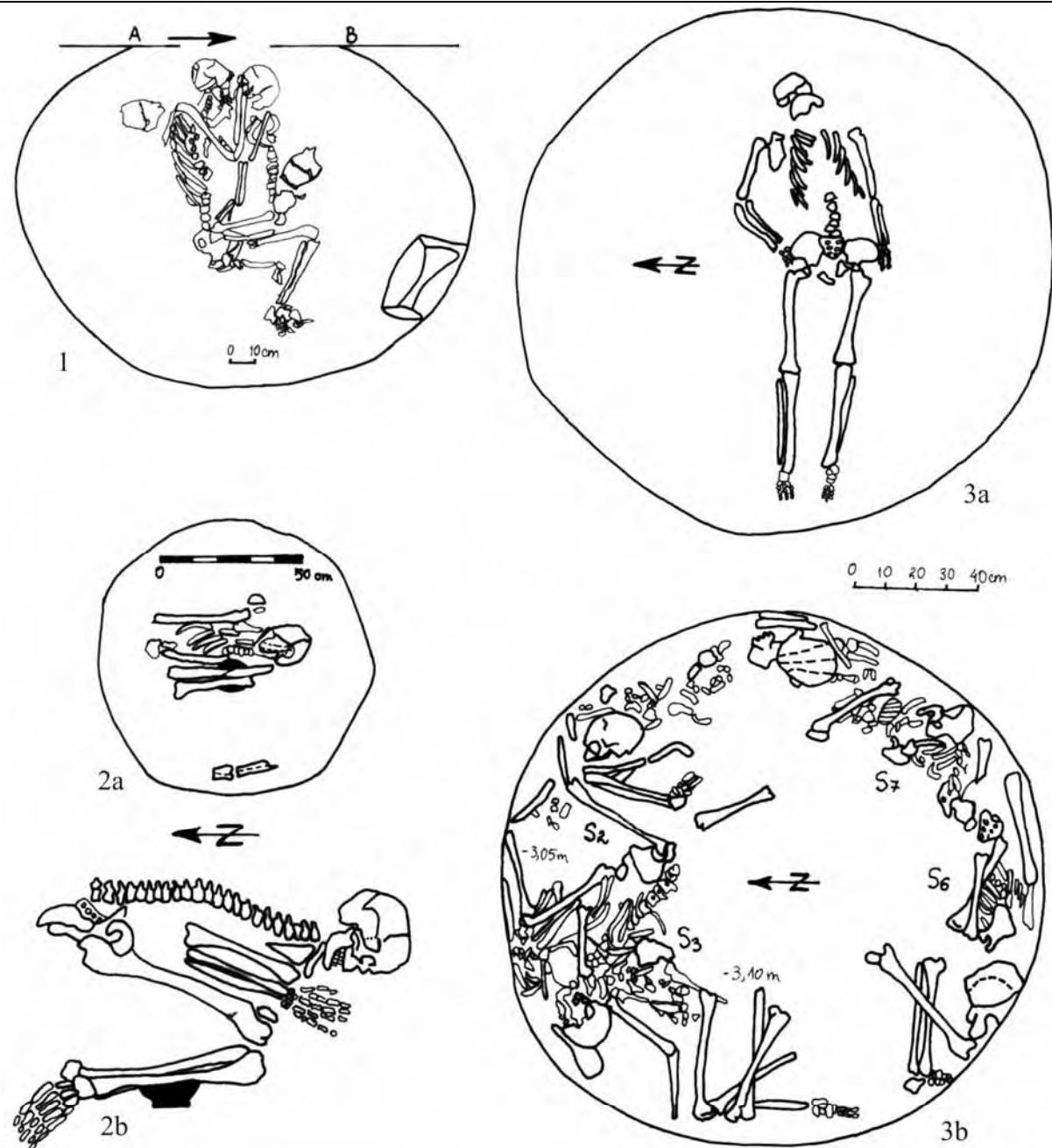


Fig. 7. Human skeletons in a non-funerary context:
1 Căscioarele, 2 Dulceanca, 3 Orlea.
(after V. Sîrbu 1993, S. Dolinescu-Ferche 1974; E. Comşa 1972).

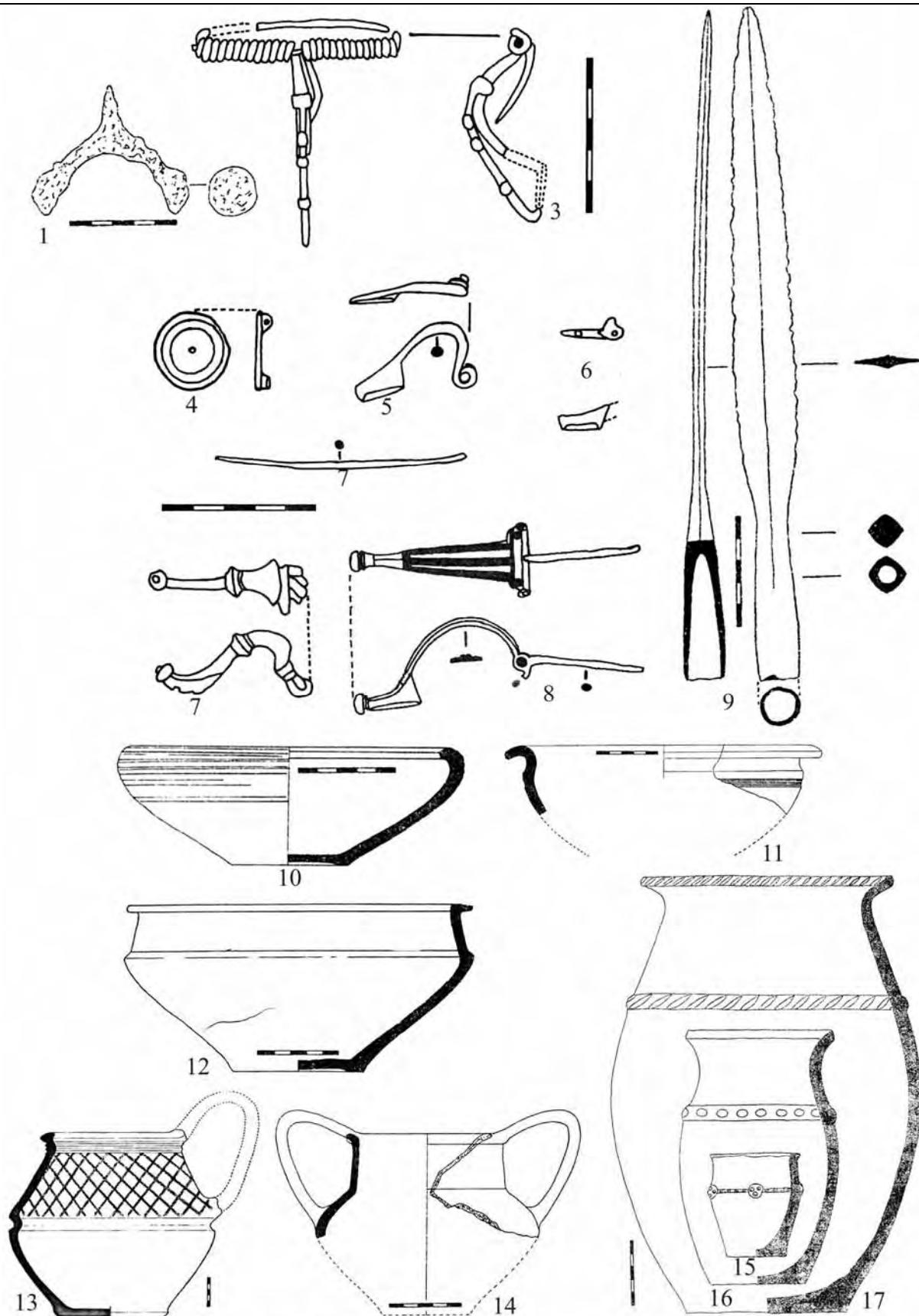


Fig. 8. DIVICI - Grad (Caraș-Severin County). Different metallic objects (1-9) and pottery vessels (10-17) (after M. Gumiă 1987, M. Gumiă, A. Rustoiu, C. Săcărin 1995; 1997).

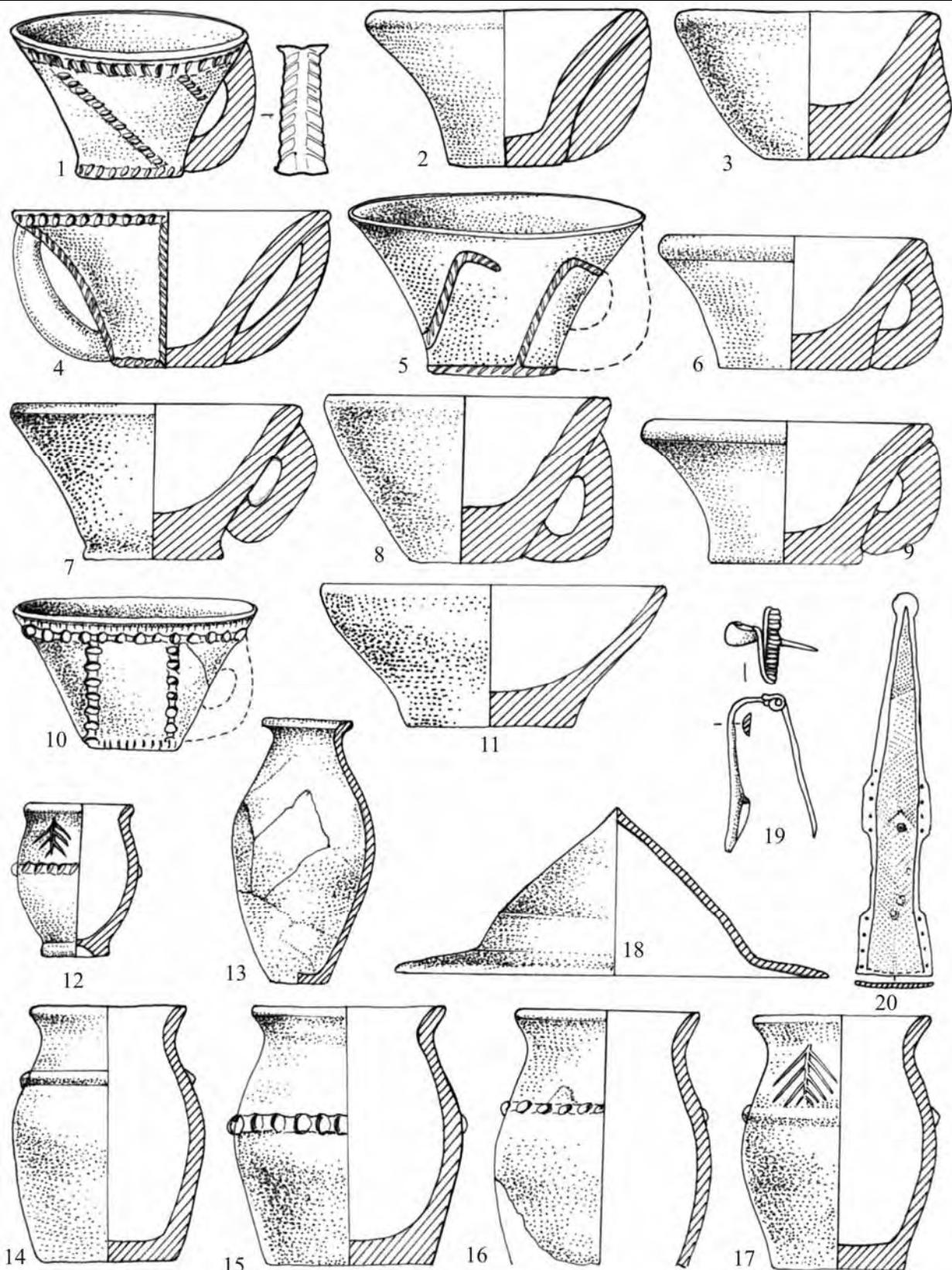


Fig. 9. Ocnița (Vâlcea County). Objects found in Pit no. 105. 1-10 Rushlight-cups, 11 porringer, 12, 14-17 jars, 13 storage vessel, 18 shield *umbo*, 19 fibulae, 20 dagger appliqué. 1-17 pottery, 18-20 iron. (after D. Berciu, M. Iosifaru, M. Diaconescu 1993).



Fig. 10. Ocnita (Vâlcea County) - Fortress 1 - underground chamber no. 2. Dacian vessels
(after D. Berciu 1981).

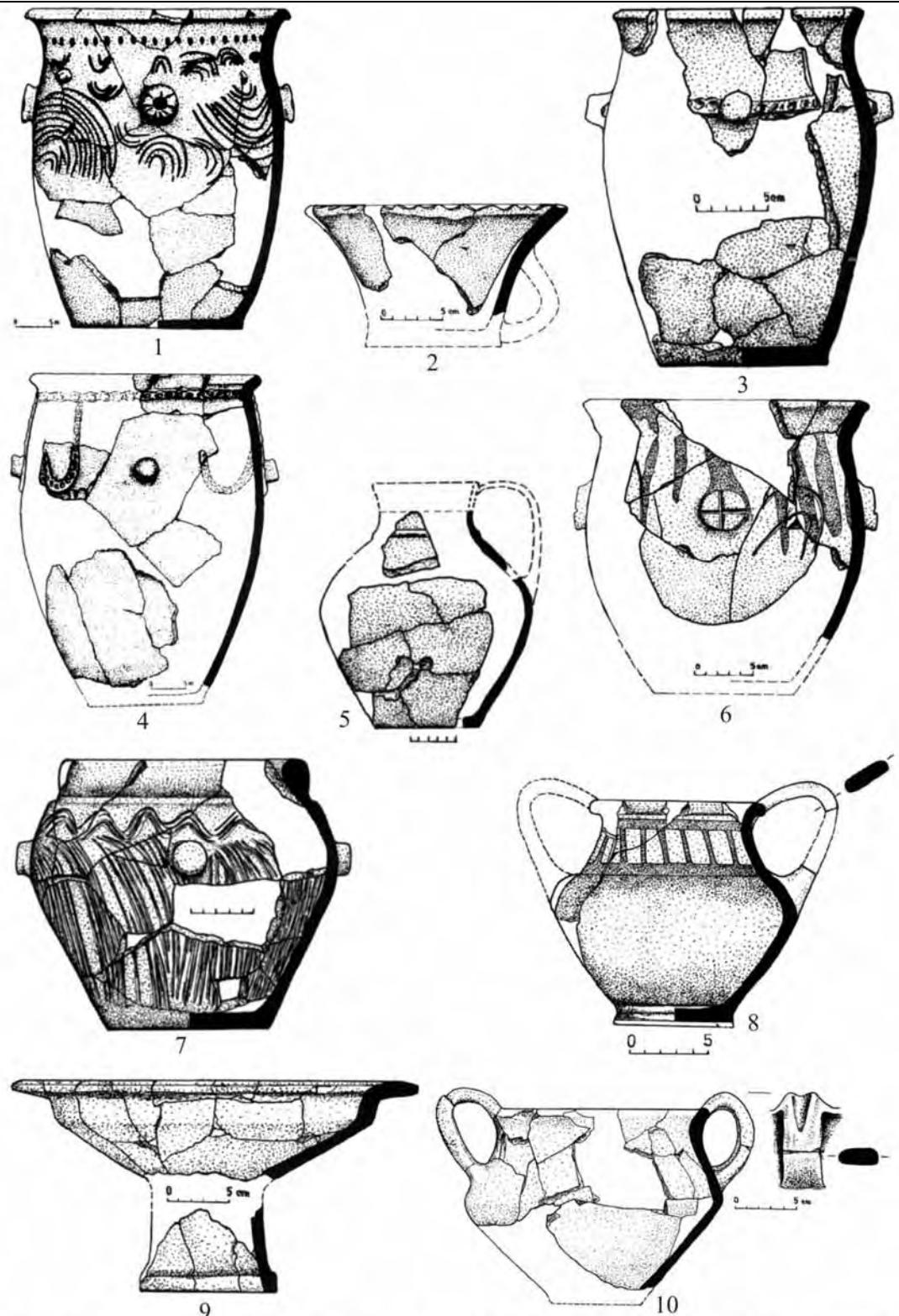


Fig. 11. The Dacian settlement of Lancrăm - *Glod* (Alba County). Different types of vessels from the pit nr. 4. (after C. I. Popa, N.-M. Simina 2004).

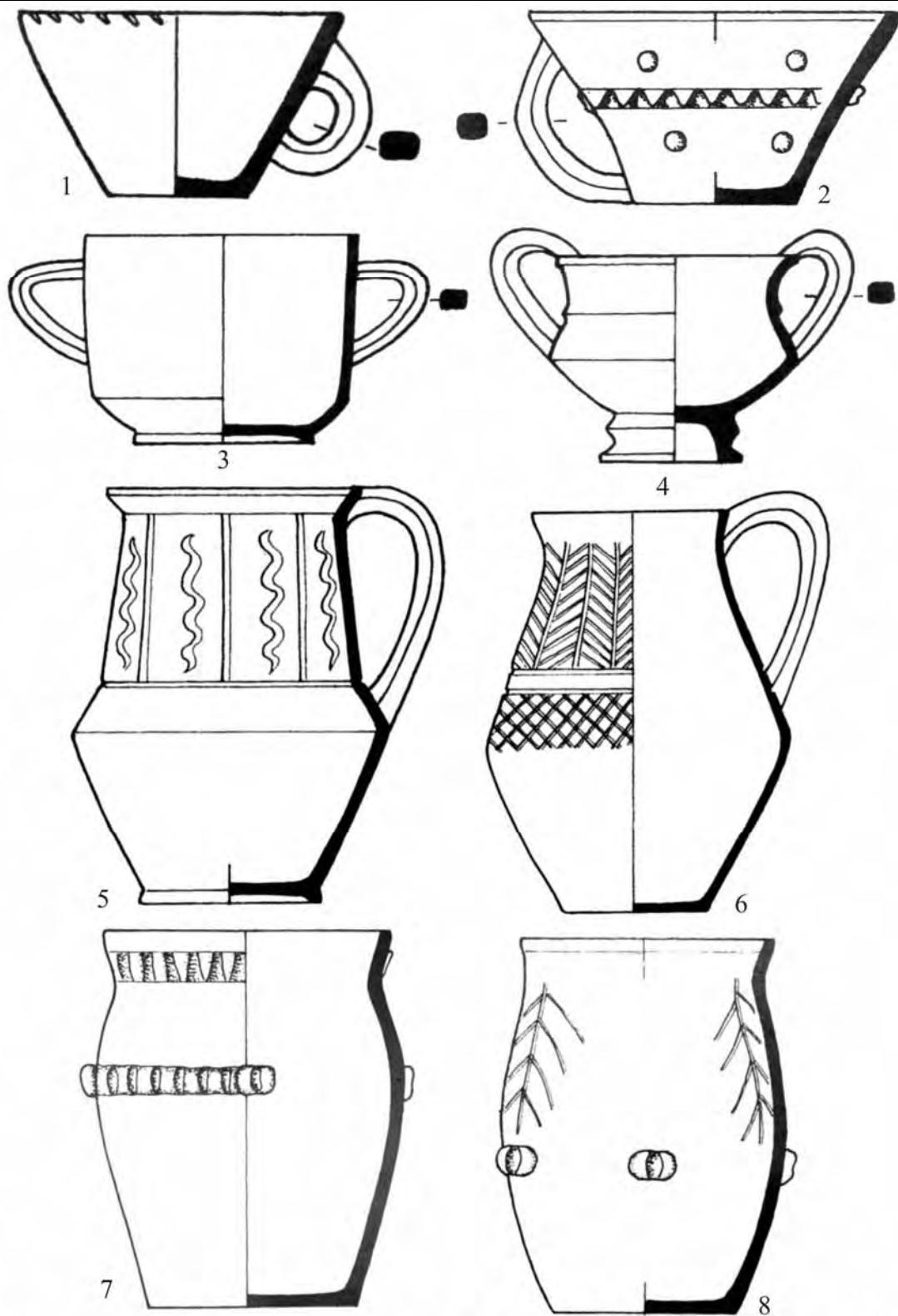


Fig. 12. Bagacina (Bulgaria). Different types of vessels: 1-2 rushlight cups, 3-4 kantharoi, 5-6 jugs, 7-8 jars (after A. G. Bonev, G. Alexandrov 1996).

**DACIAN SETTLEMENT AND CHILDREN NECROPOLIS OF HUNEDOARA.
AN UNIQUE DISCOVERY IN THE DACIAN WORLD.
ARCHAEOLOGICAL APPROACH**

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In the first part, we'll refer to Hunedoara-*Grădina Castelului* and Hunedoara-*Sânpetru*, two very important sites for the knowledge of some aspects concerning the relations between “the world of the living” and “the community of the dead” at the Dacians.

The two zones with vestiges are very close, but on different forms of relief: the settlement, on the *Sânpetru* hill and the valley of the Cerna river, the ritual inhumations of children (“the sacred necropolis”) and the votive deposits of objects, on the *Grădina Castelului* Plateau (Fig. 1/1-2) (Luca 1999, p. 48-55, pl. VI-IX; Luca et al. 2003, p.143-144; 2004, p.142-144; Sîrbu et al. 2005₁, p. 179-182; 2005₂, p. 21-22). Thus, we have the opportunity to know the life of certain communities on different levels, from the daily activities to the spiritual life.

I. Hunedoara.

Ia. Grădina Castelului - “the children necropolis”

The deposits of children are situated in the highest part of a dolomite plateau, partially damaged by the building of the Corvin Castle (Fig. 1/1-2). The geological analysis (made in 2004 by geologist Eugen Orlandea), pointed out the existence, in the ancient times, of a rocky plateau, with peaks and cavities and the absence of human arrangements for the children deposits means they used the cavities already existent in the dolomite (Fig. 1/3-6). The zone with dead people seems to be on the SW – NE direction, grouped on nuclei, probably individualized not only topographically, but also by the types of inventories (Fig. 4).

Sometimes we couldn't establish the initial position of the children bodies because of their damaged condition, but also because of their young age. Some children have been put lying on their backs; others crouched on the right or on the left, usually covered with stones (Fig. 2, 3). The deceased are differently orientated, in fact towards all the cardinal points (Fig. 2, 5).

The deposits are never superposed, nor crossed, which might indicate the inhumations made in a brief period of time, when the stones over them were still well marked.

In most of the cases we are dealing with babies, with very fragile bones, consequently the skeletons are severely damaged, partly because their being close to the surface exposed them more to the environmental factors.

Another finding consists of 25 deposits containing at least 39 individuals, 36 inhumed and 3 cremated. In each of 14 deposits there were only one individual, in each of four deposits, two individuals (in M13 a cremated and inhumed bodies was buried), in each of three deposits, three individuals (in M16, two inhumed and one cremated children), and in a single case, four babies (M12) (3 deposits of children are not yet analyzed) (the anthropological analyses made by Alexandra Comşa and Andrei Soficaru will be thoroughly presented in a book about the site).

All the 36 inhumed bodies were of children, 18 of them being less than one year old, 25, less than two years old, 30, less than six years and only one was an Infans II. None of the three cremated bodies was a child, but only young or adults.

In two deposits, (M13 and M16) there are inhumed new - born children and cremated teenagers.

One of the problems we are dealing with remains the condition of the skeletons in the deposits. Taking into account the young age of the children, we could assume that some of their bones disappeared as a result of their fragility. Sometimes, we found skeletons without skulls (M16) or just parts of skulls (M19, M20). In certain cases, the findings consisted of isolated bones from different parts of the body and one could wonder whether they are the outcome of the initial deposits, intentional or not, or provoked by ulterior disturbing. We must point out they couldn't come from the previous deposits, Basarabi culture (9th – 8th centuries B.C.) because all the discoveries of this period are only adults and not children. If there were some exposing/decomposition rituals of the corpses, previous to the inhumation, then it might be possible that some isolated bones had arrived by chance in the ulterior deposits (Sîrbu 1993, p. 31-36).

One couldn't notice traces of violence on the skeletons, but these little children could have been killed by means leaving no trace on the bones, such as strangling, choking, poisoning etc.

The inventory is rich and varied enough, but differentiated, not only by the individuals, but also by the nuclei of dead. The inventory location is varied as well: a part of the jewels and clothing accessories is placed by the bodies in normal positions, while others, form the same categories of objects, have been found around the skeleton, but under the covering stones. It is possible that afterwards, some objects might have been moved from their original position.

The clothing accessories and the jewelry are represented by high profile fibulae, beads, pendants, earrings, rings, appliqués, links (*Fig. 6*). The weapons consist of a knife and two arrow heads, near the skeletons, plus an iron spear head and a fragment of a bronze sword scabbard, found in the deposits area. To all these, one can add the iron and bronze tools and instruments. There was no pottery vessel near the children.

According to the fibulae and coin, we may consider the deposits to date from the second half of the 1st – beginning of the 2nd century A.D., namely until Dacia was conquered by the Romans (106 A.D.). There are a lot of inhumations whose inventories couldn't be situated in a short period of time, but grosso modo, only in the 1st century B.C. – 1st century A.D.

Moreover, it is possible that many of the children deposits took place in a very short period of time, and the cause could be an exceptional event (the wars between the Dacians and the Romans, the young warrior's death of the Grave 7?). It is obvious that the deposits belong to the pre-roman Dacia, by the rituals practiced, as well as by the whole of the types of objects unveiled so far in the area.

We came to the conclusion that the inhumations found so far – 24 deposits with minimum 36 individuals, have a number of unique, unusual characteristics among the discoveries of human bones in the Geto-Dacians world (Protase 1971, p.15-82 ; Babeş 1988, p. 3-32; Sîrbu 1993, p. 21-45; 1997, p. 193-221; 2002, p. 374-393): a) all the dead are children (*Infans I*), b) no norms of deposit and orientation have been discerned, c) skeletons are missing parts (skull, legs) or only parts of skulls, d) they did not dig pits in the rock, they just used the cavities already there and the children have been covered with stones, e) an apparent paradox between the wealth of body inventory (fibulae, jewelry) and the absence of pottery vessels, f) weapons put near certain babies.

There are three cremation tombs; the first one is Grave 7 belonging to a young man, about 21-22 years old, a warrior probably; his inventory is rich and varied and not burnt, so it was not on the pyre with the corpse: a spear head, a curved dagger, two links, a little bead, two decorated objects

made of bone, two cups in fragments (*Fig. 7*); near the tomb, a denary from Trajan emperor (100 A.D.) (*Fig. 7/4*).

The two other cremation tombs belong to a young of 14 years old at least (M16 A) and to a person whose age is undeterminable, but it is not a child (M13A).

Some deposits of objects and animal offerings existent only in certain zones make this site a very special one.

Thus, on the southern and southwestern sides, we found, at different periods of time, three isolated groups of objects, which couldn't be attributed to an individual, but which are, obviously, in connection with the people inhumed in the place (*Fig. 4*). We intend to present the wealthiest, which contains jewelry and clothing accessories (*Fig. 8*); a rest of fabric on a button may mean it was torn off the clothes.

The fourth group of objects contained also two middle La Tène iron fibulae; consequently, it is not contemporary to the deposits of children.

On the northern and northwestern sides, we identified a number of animal bones groups, sometimes with rare fragments of Dacian vessels or children skulls.

Unfortunately, the northern part of the plateau have been destroyed, so we couldn't know if this kind of deposits has been made in these areas too.

In some children inhumations, animal bones have been found, usually not cremated. The most frequent are the cattle, the pigs and sheep, but there are also horses and dogs; more than 70% of the bones fragments come from the dry or less fleshy parts (El Susi 2004, p. 331-333).

No habitation or domestic arrangements were found in the skeleton area, so the small number of Dacian pottery fragments and the compact agglomerations of bones found might indicate certain ritual practices performed at the burials. We must also say that, due to the dominant position of the plateau, these materials couldn't be there by chance, as there is a ravine between the settlement nearby and the area with inhumations of children.

To draw a conclusion, we are dealing here with four types of complexes: a) inhumations of children, with inventory, b) only three cremation tombs of *Iuvenus* or young warrior, c) deposits of objects, d) deposits of animal offerings, which suggest certain rituals performed and

Ib) The settlement on the Sânpetru Plateau and the Southeastern terraces

Sânpetru Plateau. It's a high plateau, with steep slopes, dominating the surrounding area (*Fig. 1/2*); that's why, at all times, human communities settled in this area. Unfortunately, the site was destroyed, on one hand, by the burials in the modern cemetery, and on the other, by the various utilities.

An impressive vallum can also be seen on half of the plateau limits, a vallum erected, probably, in the early Middle Ages, because in its structure were found Coțofeni materials dating from the Bronze Age, Basarabi, Dacian and from the 9th –10th centuries AD (Sîrbu, Mariș 2006). They used earth from the settlement to build the fortification, and the consequence was the destruction of the archaeological layers and the existent complexes.

The small number of archaeological material found in the complexes or layers, stand for the existence of a Dacian settlement in the 1st century BC- 1st century AD. Unfortunately, the damages we've already mentioned have seriously altered the site, so the most part of the vestiges are either destroyed or broken up.

Terrace. On the occasion of the sewerage system and buildings constructions in the city, near *Castle Garden*, on the bottom of the *Sânpetru hill*, a lot of archaeological material dating from Dacian period has been found, such as a wide range of pottery, mainly jars, cups, jugs and rushlights (Luca 1999, pl. VIII-IX ; Sîrbu, Mariș 2006).

Ic. Few remarks. In the end, we have to make a few remarks.

This “children necropolis” is, so far, a unique monument in the Dacian world. That's why it is difficult to find the significance of the children burials, deposits of objects and animal offerings, which mean, undoubtedly, complicated rituals.

We couldn't actually know whether only the local Dacian community of the neighborhood has deposited the children and the objects (less probable), or the deposits are the result of some exceptional events in the communities on a larger area. In both cases, we wouldn't know how they treated most of the community members after their death (adults and old, men or women), and the situation is the same for all the Geto-Dacian society (Sîrbu 1986, p. 106-108; 1993, p. 39-40; Babeş 1988, 5-22); as, for a large part of the Celts (Waldhauser 1979, p. 124-156; Wilson 1981, p. 127-169).

If the children have been deposited in a short period of time, as seem to indicate the situation in the field and the chronology of the objects, then we are rather dealing with an exceptional situation provoked either by the young warrior's death (of the tomb nr. 7) – a high rank person (less probable), or a very serious event, the Daco-Roman wars. Taking the last hypothesis as true, then it might be a sacrifice of children in the benefit of a Dacian warrior god who could help them in the battle with the Romans; in this case, the Trajan emperor coin found wouldn't be accidental. Otherwise, we couldn't understand why a lot of children have been sacrificed, children who probably didn't belong to the nearby Dacian community.

We'd like to precise once again that, in the main Dacian habitation area there is no necropolis of the common people dating from the 1st century AD (Sîrbu 1986, p. 106-108; 1993, p. 39-40; Babeş 1988, p. 5-22), thus it is rather improbable that the children deposits, with so many different characteristics, may be considered an usual necropolis.

We could assume, of course, that we are dealing here with the cemetery of a Dacian community, discovered by chance. However, this is more unlikely, as on one hand, the deposits of adults, men or women, are missing, and on the other, the parts of the skeletons found suggest there is not an ordinary necropolis.

The excavations made on the Grădina Castelului plateau stressed out an interesting aspect, namely its usage as a deposit place during many historical epochs. We identified a number of deposits (objects and humans) dating from the Basarabi culture period (Luca et al. 2004, p. 142-144; Sîrbu et al. 2005₁, p. 179-182). As we know, the human inhumations in Basarabi culture are always of adults (three deposits), either entire skeletons, parts of skeletons or even isolated human bones.

We found deposits of vessels, either entire or broken *in situ*, other categories of objects, but we want to remark the presence of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines, small clay objects of different shapes, types of objects extremely rare in other sites of the Basarabi culture (Gumă 1993, p. 269-270; Ursuţiu 2002, p. 73; Sîrbu 1999, p. 153). In a pit we found a complete Dacian vase, dating from the 4th – 3rd centuries B.C. as well as deposits of objects containing two iron fibulae of middle La Tène (end of the 3rd – beginning of the 2nd centuries B.C.).

It is worth reminding that on this plateau there were no habitation complexes *in situ* (huts, dwellings, workshops, pits, fireplaces) of any period, so all the objects found come from intentional deposits.

On the terrace at the bottom of the Grădina Castelului plateau, situated at the confluence of the Cerna and Zlaştî rivers, we unveiled also some vestiges dating from the Basarabi and Dacian periods (Luca 1999, p. 48-51, 65-79, pl. VI – IX), some of them having an obvious cult function: a pit containing an inhumed horse and the dismembered skeleton of an adult man (Sîrbu 2004, p. 736-737, fig. 9/1), a pit with a skeleton of a man, about 50 years old, with traces of cremation and entire vessels (see the article of Dragoş Diaconescu, in the present volume), plus a Dacian pit in which there was an undamaged storing vessel, with a massive iron loop on the mouth (Sîrbu, Mariş 2006).

II. Final considerations.

In the second part, we will speak about the discoveries made in the settlements, in the isolated pits near the settlements and the agglomerations of pits outside the settlements, the so-called “fields of pits”(Sîrbu 1993, p. 31-36). We'll take into consideration the actual children burials but also the “non-cremated human bones in non-funerary contexts”, phrase that stands for all skeletons, parts of skeletons and isolated human bones found in non-funerary contexts (Sîrbu 2003, p. 21, 30-33).

This comparative analysis is absolutely necessary for a better understanding of the common elements of the “children necropolis” from *Grădina Castelului*, as well as those different from the “human bones in non funerary contexts” found in other sites.

Such discoveries appeared in almost the entire inhabitation area of the Geto-Dacians (*Fig. 9*), more numerous in certain zones, but it is difficult to state whether they reflect a historical reality or just a stage of the research (Sîrbu 1986, p. 91-108; 1993, p. 31-36; 86-100; 1997, p. 196-301; Babeş 1988, p. 13-16). Anyway, we can say that it is a general phenomenon for the Geto-Dacian society, present all along the period under analysis.

Most of the skeletons come from the settlements – 48 individuals, from the “fields of pits” – 21, and 9, from the isolated pits (Sîrbu 1997, p. 197, fig.1, 3, 4). We unveiled 6 children in the dwellings or pit houses, deposited in pits, under the stairs or the floor. Nevertheless, the greatest number of children – 35, has been found in the pits inside the settlements; usually, a single child was buried, but at Brad (Ursachi 1980-1982, p. 112-116, 122-123) (*Fig. 10/3-4*) and Celei (Sîrbu 1993, p. 88-89), there are more than one buried in the same place.

However, we have to admit that human skeletons have never been found under or near the sanctuaries–edifices in the Dacian society (Sîrbu 1993, p. 31-36), with only one exception, at Cârlomăneşti, where was found a child mandible (Babeş et al. 2005, p. 108). Nevertheless, parts of skeletons, even rare skeletons or isolated bones have been unveiled in certain sacred enclosures of different zones of the Geto-Dacian territory, such as Pietroasa Mică – *Gruiu-Dării*, Buzău County (Dupoi, Sîrbu 2001, p. 62-63, fig 123, plus the latest findings) and Măgura Moigradului, Sălaj County (Sîrbu 1993, p. 97; Pop, Matei 2001, p. 253-277) and they are linked to ritual acts and not to ordinary graves of the communities.

We found in most of the cases, one skeleton in one pit – 46 individuals, two skeletons in a pit – 7 cases, 3-4 skeletons in a pit, 5 cases. There are some situations when the children are together with youth and adults, so the number of bodies in a pit is bigger, such as Sighișoara-Wietenberg , 7 (Horedt, Seraphim 1971, p. 18-19, 67-69; Sîrbu 1993, p. 98-99, fig. 58-59; Rustoiu 1997, p. 71-76), Orlea, 8 (Comşa 1972, 65-78) (*Fig. 11*), and Berea, 16 (Zirra 1980, p. 68-69, fig. 56/1-2).

Most of the skeletons were complete – about 40, while some have been put in abnormal positions; there are situations when large parts of the bodies are missing and that couldn't be explained by post-hoc damage, and there are only isolated cranial or post cranial human bones (Sîrbu 1993, p. 32-33; 1997, p. 197, fig. 1, 3). Nevertheless, it is often not too clear whether the missing parts of the skeletons are due to environmental factors later on or to the initial deposit.

For almost all the cases there were Infans I – 69, in two cases, Infans II; moreover, there were a lot of babies, sometimes twins, such as at Orlea (Nicolăescu-Plopşor, Rişcuţia 1969, p. 69-73) . In settlements, there were usually only children, while in the “fields of pits” there are also teenagers and adults in the same pit. The majority of the skeletons found in non-funerary contexts belong to children.

Objects that could be classified by certain criteria, as it happens for the ordinary tombs, did not accompany these skeletons of children. Only a few of them have had clothing items or accessories (fibulae, pendants, earrings, beads) and, exceptionally, other categories of items and offerings (Sîrbu 1993, p. 32, 86-100).

The children skeletons are dated all along the 4th century B.C. – 1st century A.D., but there are important differences, where the number of individuals and the context of their discovery are concerned. Thus, if from the 4th – 3rd centuries B.C., there are only 6 findings with 13-14 individuals, from the 2nd century B.C.-1st century A.D., there are 18 findings with more than 60 individuals (Sîrbu 1997, p. 196-198, fig.1). Although the early discoveries come from different geographical areas, we must remark they are either from the settlements, or from the pits near the settlements, but never from the “fields of pits”.

Such “fields of pits” date from the 5th – 3rd centuries B.C. and are known on the right bank of the Danube, mainly in the southern Balkans, but they date from the 2nd – 1st centuries B.C. as well (Bonev, Alexandrov 1996, p. 39-41, fig. 8; Tonkova 1997, p. 592-611; 2003, p. 479-505; Georgieva 2003, p. 313-322).

Taking into consideration all their characteristics, we could say that these deposits of children in non-funerary contexts are not ordinary graves, but the result of preferential inhumations (the reasons are hard to decipher) or probably, human sacrifices.

The issue gets even more complicated in the 2nd century B.C.-1st century A.D., when there are very few ordinary graves, and the number and variety of skeletons in non-funerary contexts are much higher.

While the common funerary vestiges are drastically diminishing, the non-cremated human bones in non-funerary contexts (settlements, isolated pits, “fields of pits”) are significantly increasing (Sîrbu 2002, p. 378-385). There are about 25 discoveries with about 200 individuals, children, youth and adults, men and women (Sîrbu 1997, p.206, fig. 1).

Isolated graves and necropolises are known only at the outskirts of the Dacian territory, in certain areas and following the contacts with other populations (Babeş 1988, p. 16-22; Budinský-Krčíka, Lamiova-Schmiedlova 1990, p. 245-354; Sîrbu 1993, p. 24-28, 39; 2002, p. 379-381; Sîrbu, Rustoiu 1999, p. 77-91).

It is difficult for us to consider these discoveries as ordinary tombs, because their characteristics are different: they are not in necropolises, no unitary rules of depositing or orientation, a high percentage of skeleton parts or isolated bones, the complete skeletons are in strange positions, most of them are children, no old people, no traditional inventories (Babeş 1988, p. 13-16; Sîrbu 1993, p. 31-36).

The major difficulties arise when we try to identify the causes of these essential changes in the funerary beliefs and practices, as well as the causes of a special treatment for certain corpses.

In some cases, we have enough proofs to speak about human sacrifices, in others, of ritual inhumations, but some of the human remains seem to be the outcome of certain practices of exposing/decomposition of the corpses – the isolated human bones or the skeleton parts inside the settlements or in the pits at their outskirts (Sîrbu 1997, p. 199-201). The thorough observations on the field and the anthropological analyses could answer all these questions.

The babies and children represent the majority of the inhumations and for them too, the causes may be different.

However, whenever there are a number of children in one pit, sometimes accompanied by adults, with traces of violence on the bones or in strange positions, we can speak about human sacrifices. Taking into account their young age (babies or very little children), the signs of violence may not be visible, because they could be put to death very easily without letting any trace on the skeleton – strangulation, poisoning, drowning.

We have to say another thing: we have no knowledge of cremated children deposited in settlements or in outside pits with domestic filling.

The inhumations of children from the previous (5th – 3rd centuries B.C.) or ulterior (2nd – 3rd centuries A.D.) periods have other characteristics.

As we have already stated, the inhumation is a rare rite in the 5th – 3rd centuries B.C. (less than 5% of all), and most of the inhumed bodies are adults; the small number of children graves can be found in flat necropolises, with a poor inventory (when it exists) (Protase 1971, p. 76-82; Sîrbu 1993, p. 41-42). We must mention there are also cremated children in those necropolises, but, because of little anthropological analyses, we cannot estimate their number, whether they reflect the rate of infant deaths, and the reasons for their being deposited in non-funerary contexts (settlements or pits outside the settlements).

As far as the 2nd – 3rd centuries A.D. are concerned, the situation is much clearer, for the Dacia Province and for the free Dacians as well.

First of all, there are neither children inhumations outside the necropolises, nor “macabre pits”.

Secondly, the inhumation is the rite almost exclusively practiced for the children. For instance, out of the 250 inhumation tombs of the free Dacians in the Eastern Carpathians, only 10 belong to adults (Bichir 1973, p. 29-44 ; Ioniță, Ursachi 1988, p.84-89; Sîrbu 1993, p. 43-44). The percentage is similar to the local population under the Roman domination where 112 of 116 inhumation tombs are for children! (Sîrbu 1993, p. 45).

The inhumations of *Grădina Castelului* are similar to the ordinary tombs by the careful deposit of the dead and the presence of a relatively rich inventory (particularly fibulae, jewelry, but weapons as well), and to the deposits in non-funerary contexts by the presence of children exclusively, by the absence of deposit and orientation rules, by the absence of certain parts of the bodies etc

Even if a lot of unanswered questions remain concerning the motivations and the significance of the deposits discovered on the *Grădina Castelului* plateau, first of all because it is the only site of this type excavated so far, we are persuaded that the exhaustive publication of the findings will substantially enrich our knowledge about the spiritual life of the Geto-Dacians.

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ABREVIATIONS

Apulum	= Apulum, Acta Musei Apulensis, Alba-Iulia
BIA	= Bulletin, Institute of Archaeology, London
CCAR	= Cronica Cecetărilor Arheologice din România, Bucureşti
Dacia, (N.S.)	= Dacia, (Nouvelle Série). Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne, Institutul de Arheologie "V. Pârvan", Bucarest
MemAntiq	= Memoria Antiquitatis, Acta Musei Petrodavensis, Piatra Neamț
Sargetia	= Sargetia. Acta Musei Devensis, Muzeul Civilizației Dacice și Romane, Deva

RevMuz	= Revista Muzeelor, Bucureşti
SlovArch	= Slovenská Archeológia, Nitra
SCIV(A)	= Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche (și Arheologie), Institutul de Arheologie
"V. Pârvan", Bucureşti.	
StCom Satu Mare	= Studii și comunicări, Muzeul județean Satu Mare, satu Mare
Thracia	= Thracia, Institute of Thracology, Sofia.

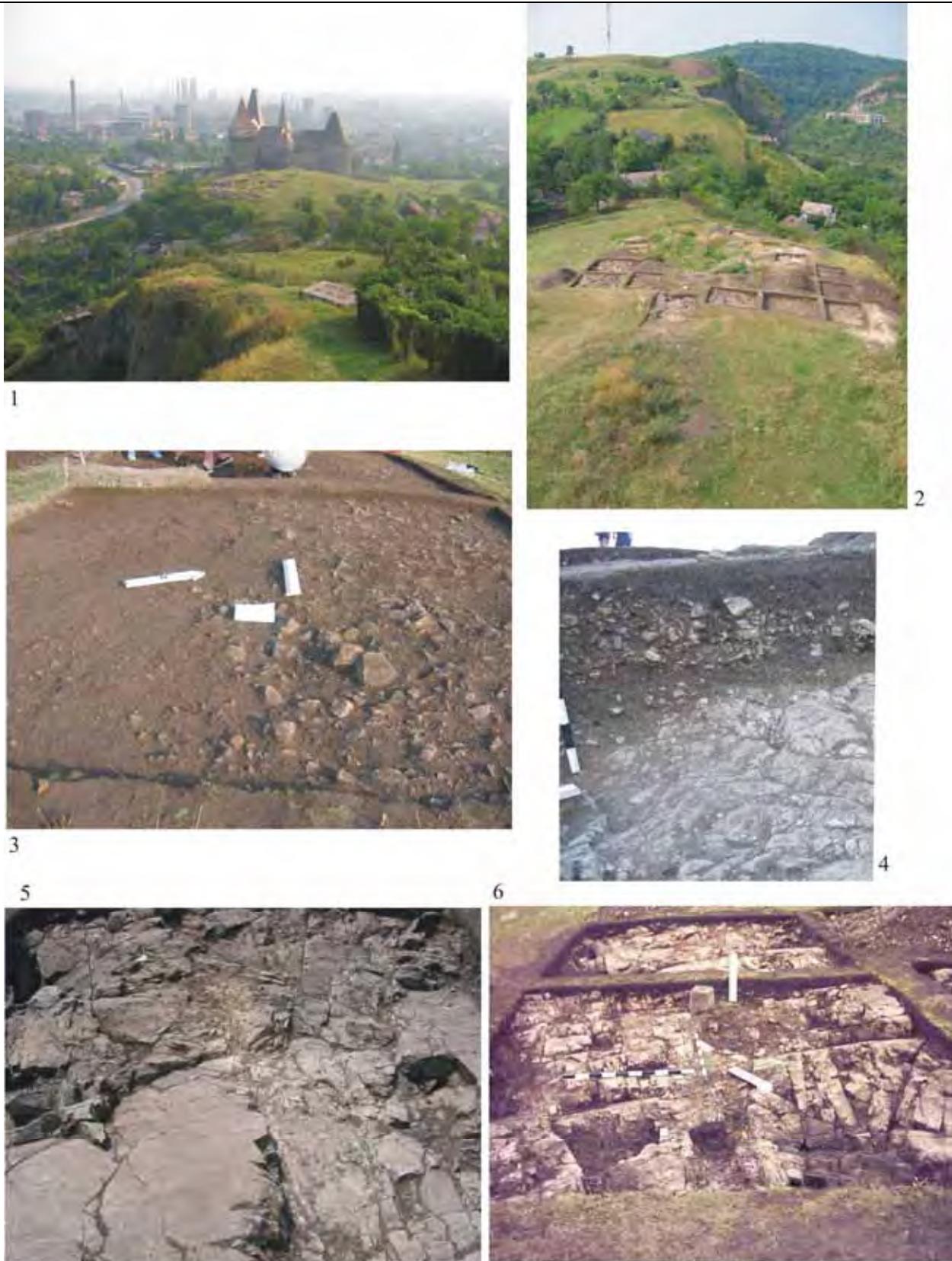


Fig. 1. Hunedoara - *Grădina Castelului* (Castle Garden), Hunedoara County. 1-2 General view,
3 Surface S18 - the layer under which are deposited the dead and the objects,
4 Surface S20 (stratigraphy), 5-6 Surfaces S22 and S24: dolomite and cavities with graves
and deposits of objects.

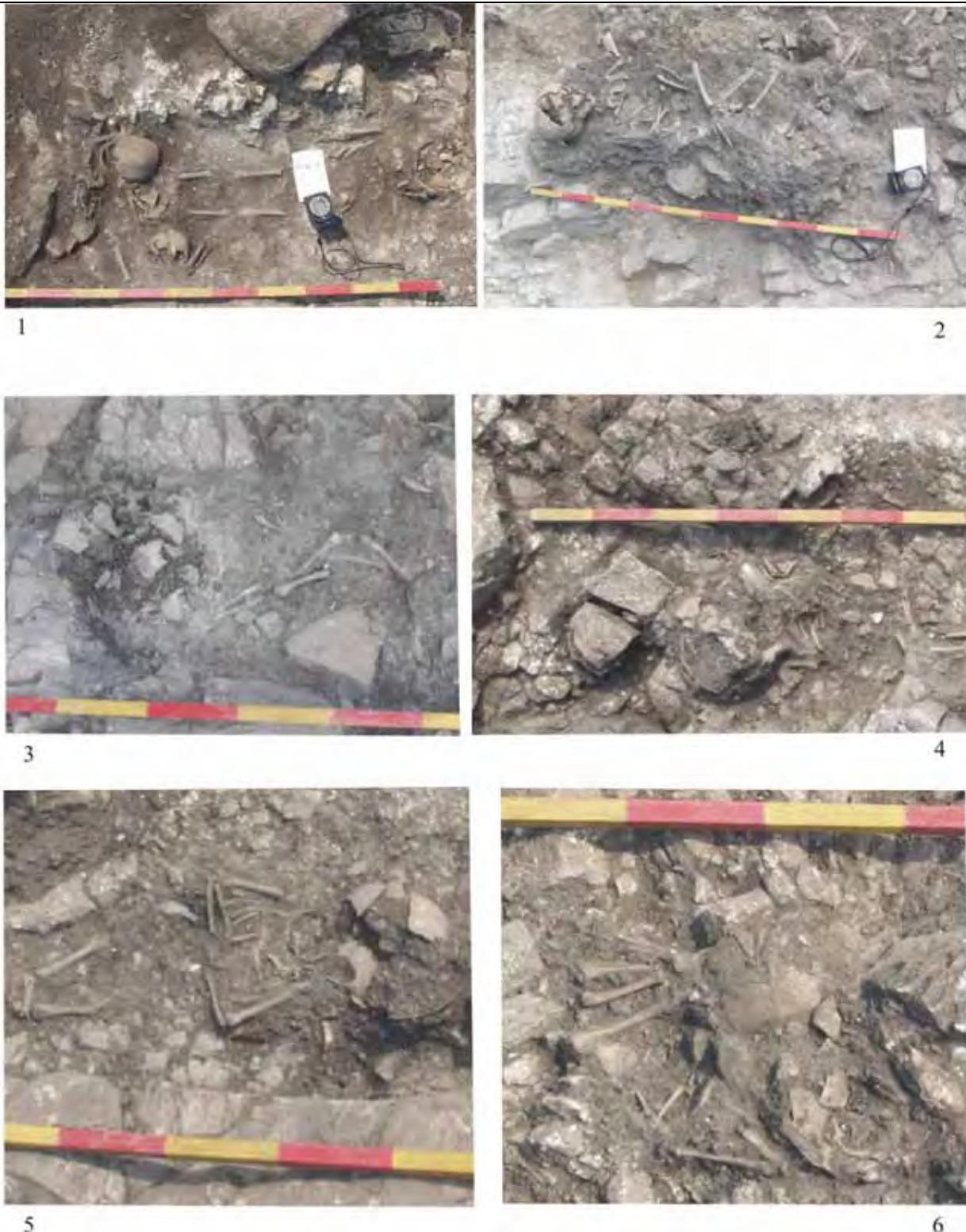


Fig. 2. Hunedoara - *Grădina Castelului* (Hunedoara County). Children graves nr. 1-6.



Fig. 3. Hunedoara - Grădina Castelului (Hunedoara County). Children graves nr. 19, 20, 23.

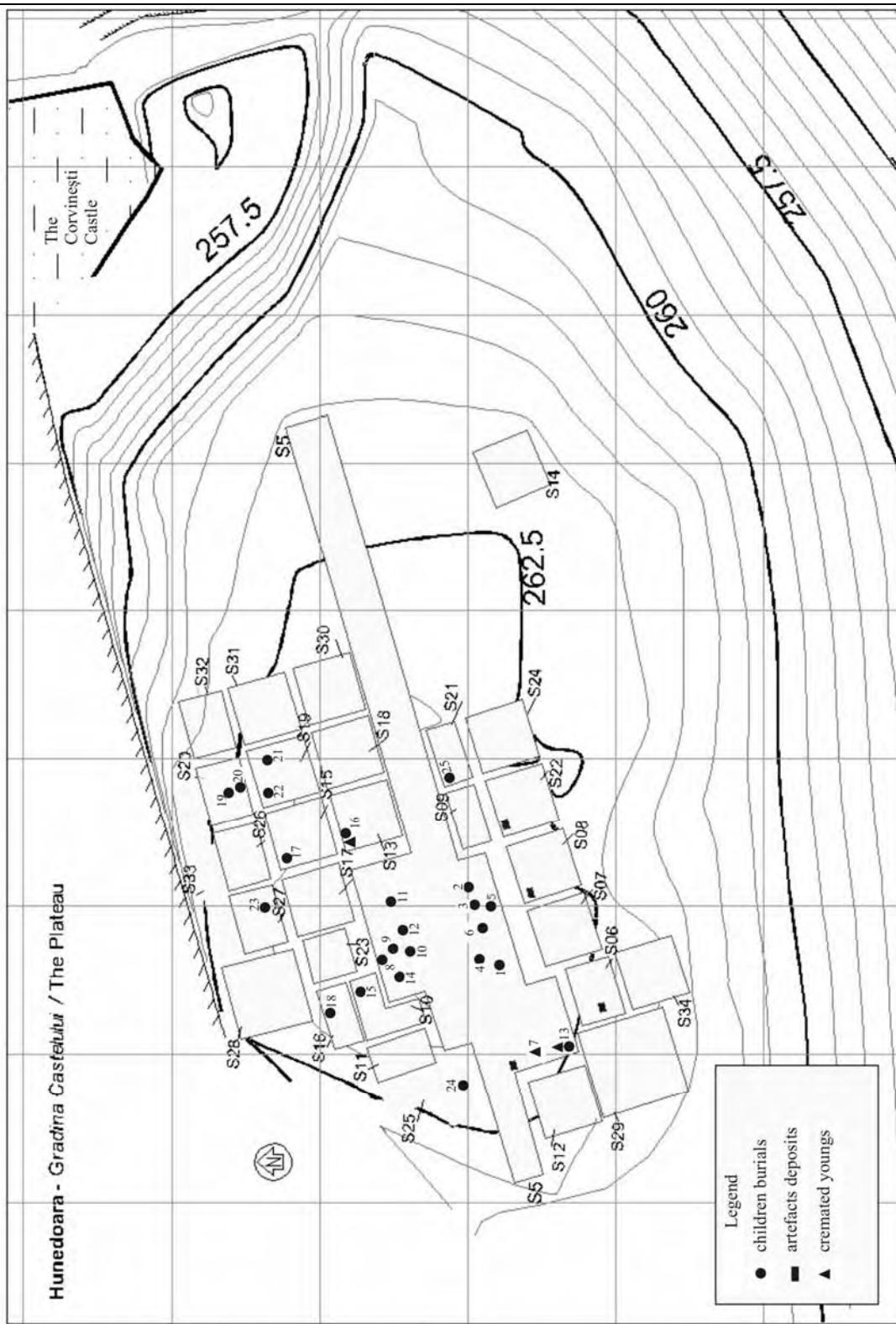


Fig. 4. Hunedoara - Grădina Castelului / The Plateau.

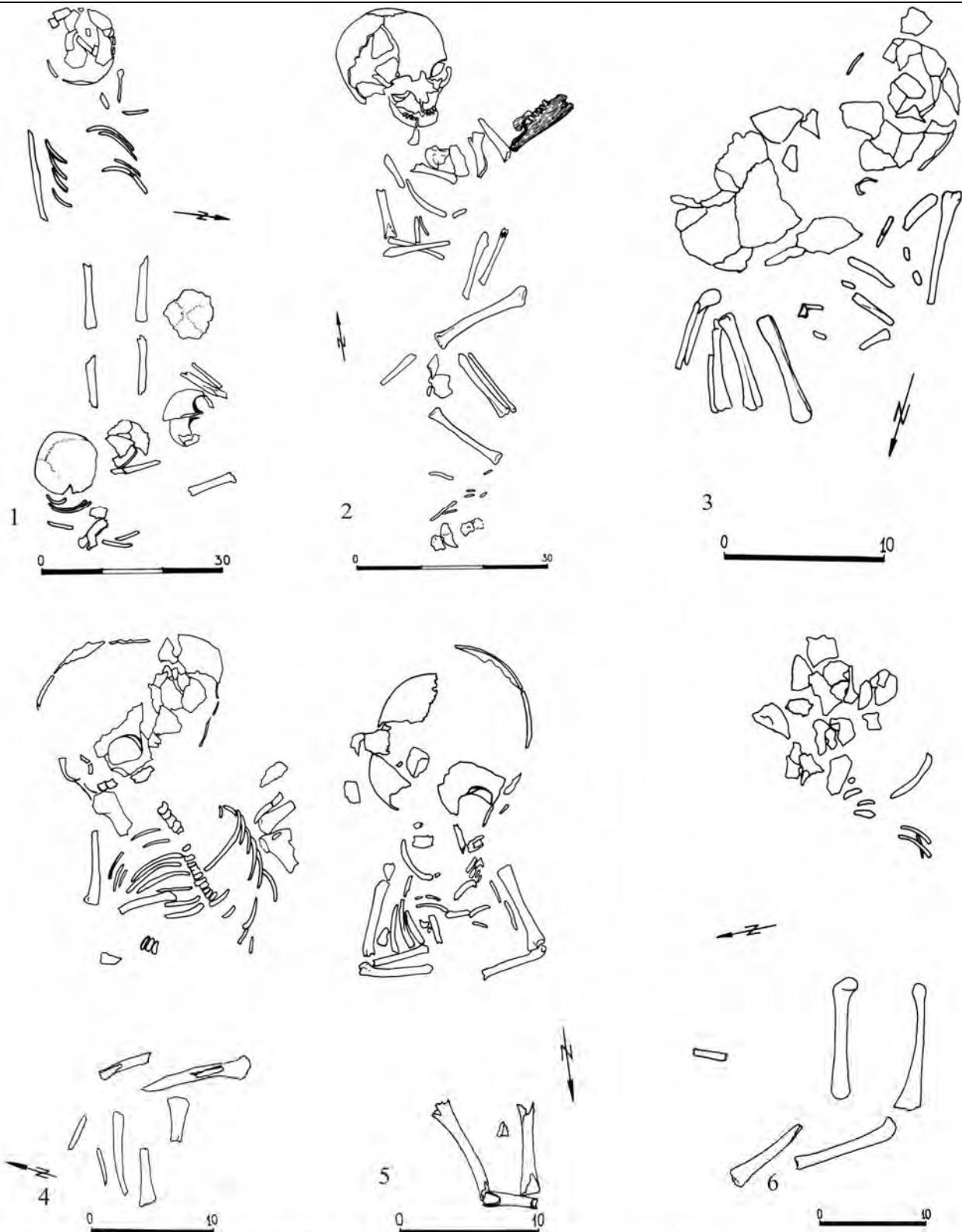
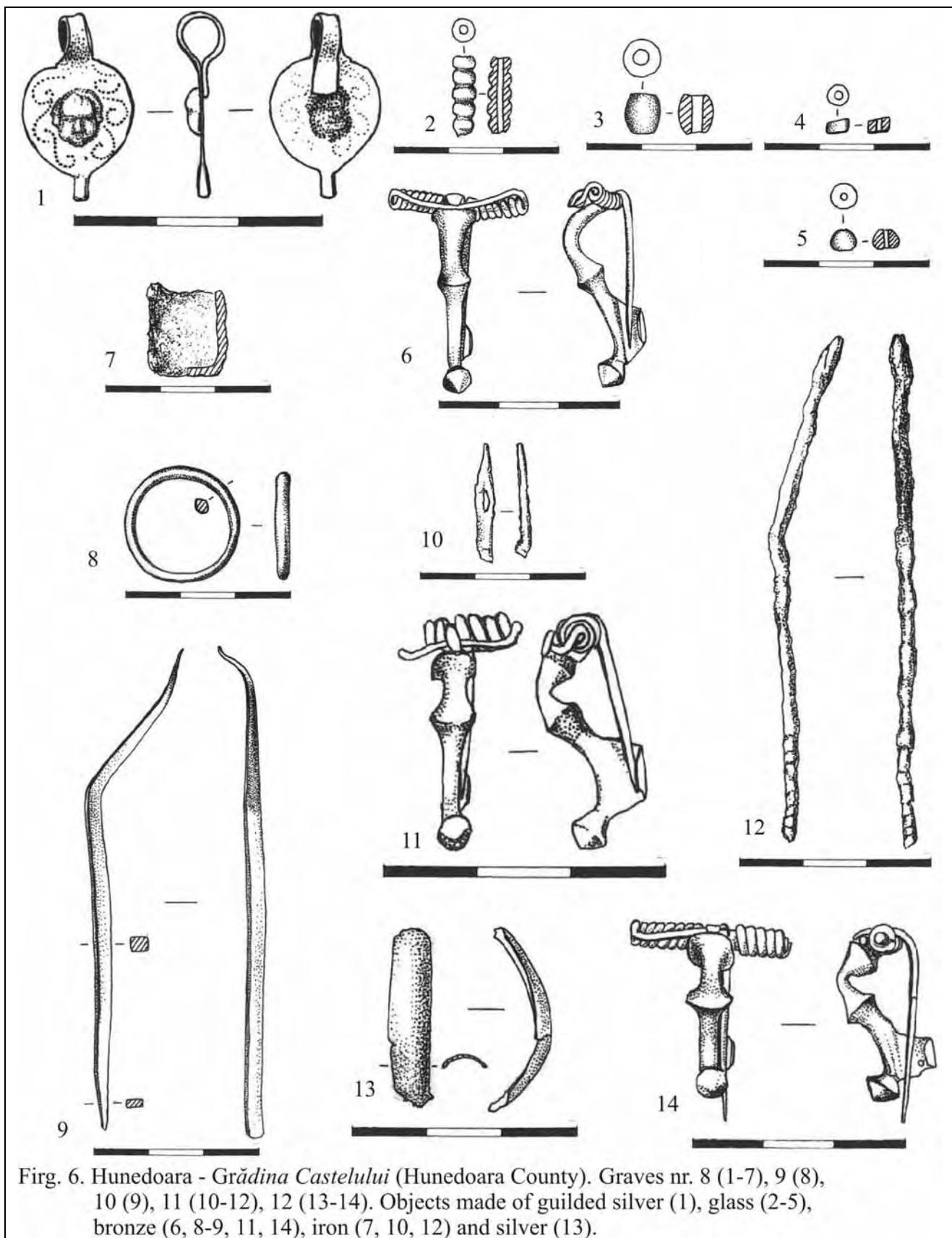


Fig. 5. Hunedoara - Grădina Castelului / The Plateau. Graves nr. 1-2, 4-6, 24.



Firg. 6. Hunedoara - Grădina Castelului (Hunedoara County). Graves nr. 8 (1-7), 9 (8), 10 (9), 11 (10-12), 12 (13-14). Objects made of gilded silver (1), glass (2-5), bronze (6, 8-9, 11, 14), iron (7, 10, 12) and silver (13).

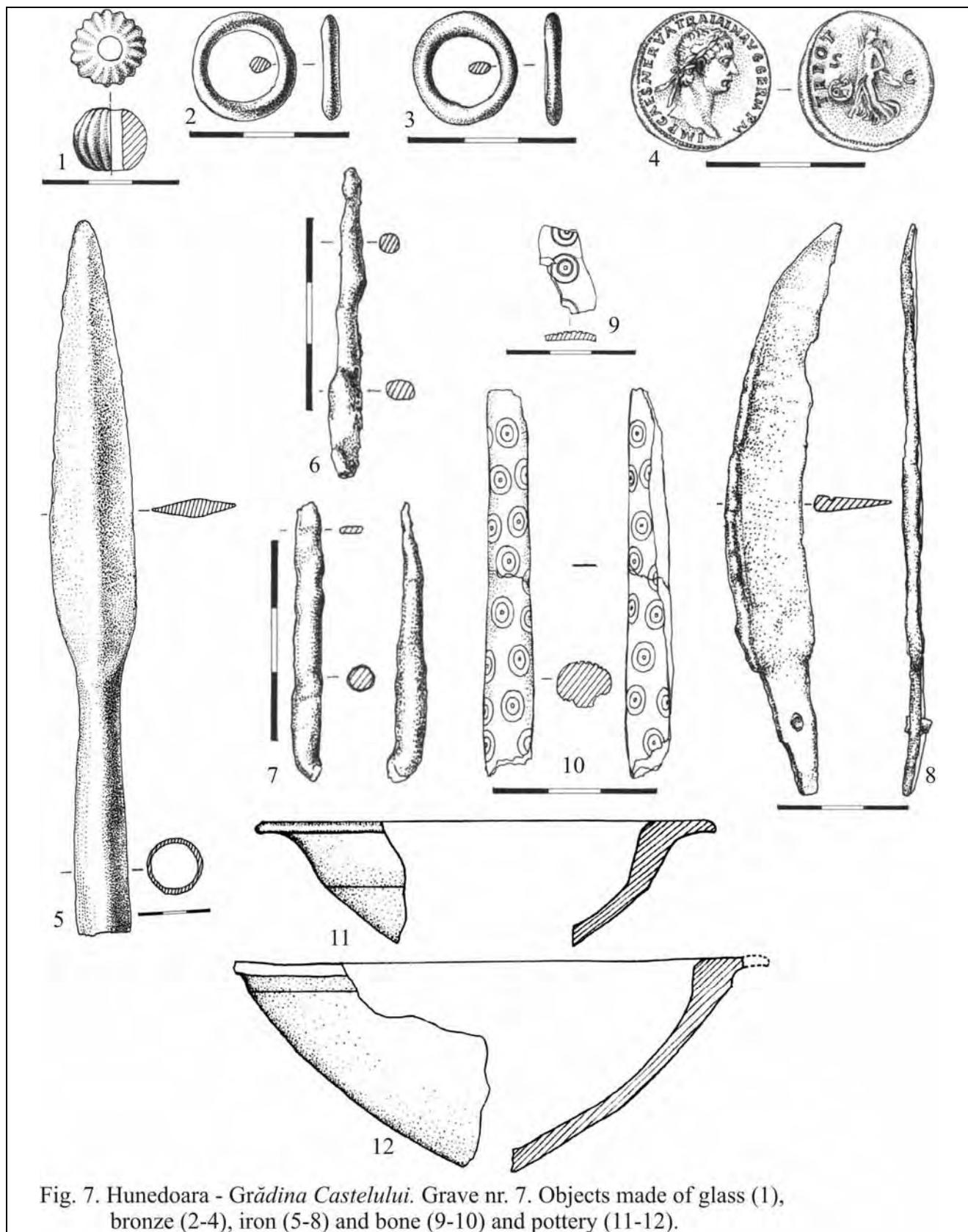


Fig. 7. Hunedoara - Grădina Castelului. Grave nr. 7. Objects made of glass (1), bronze (2-4), iron (5-8) and bone (9-10) and pottery (11-12).

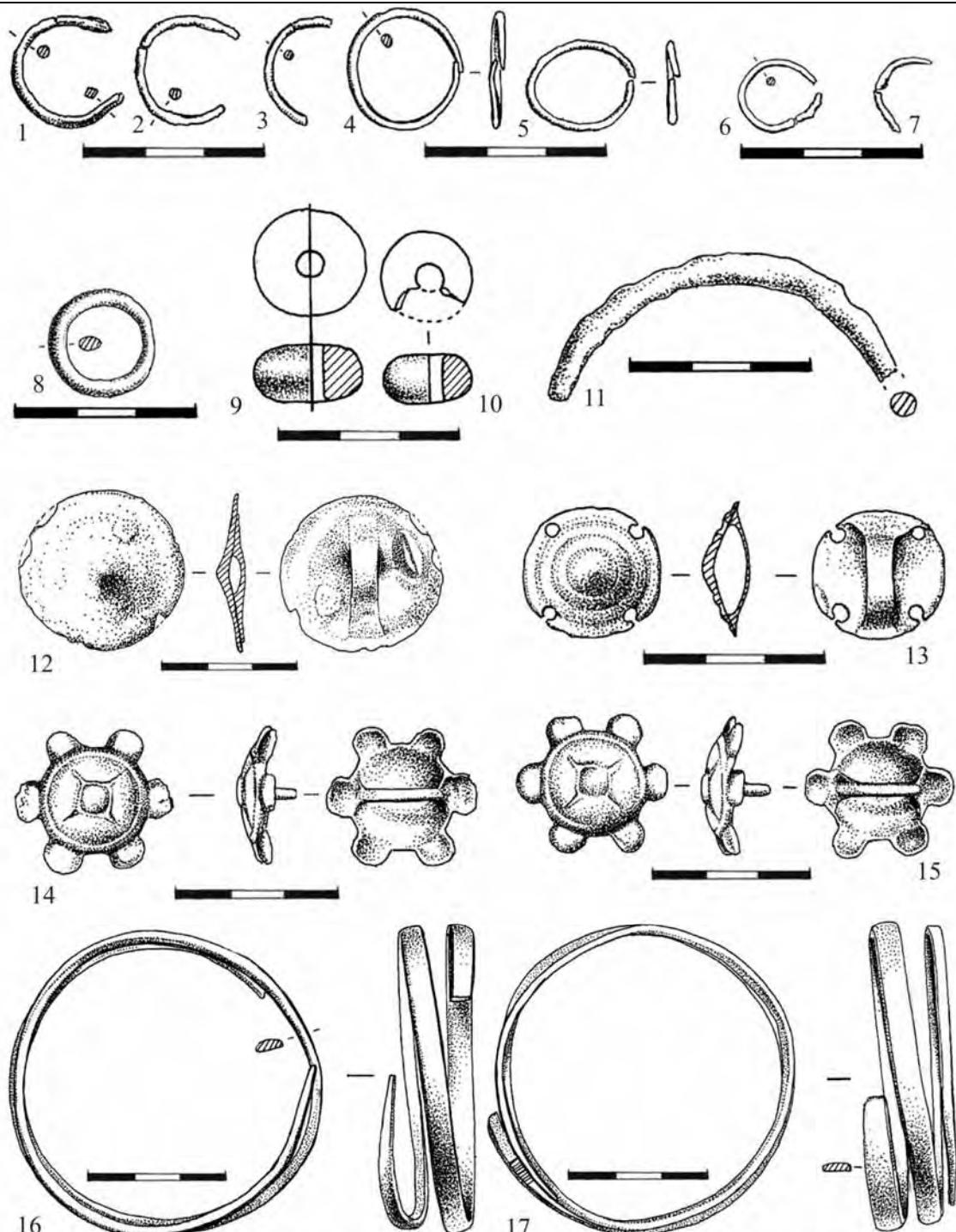


FIG. 8. Hunedoara - *Grădina Castelului* (Hunedoara County). Necropolis. Deposit of objects (C25).
1-5, 8-9, 13-17 bronze, 6-7, 11-12 iron, 10 glass.

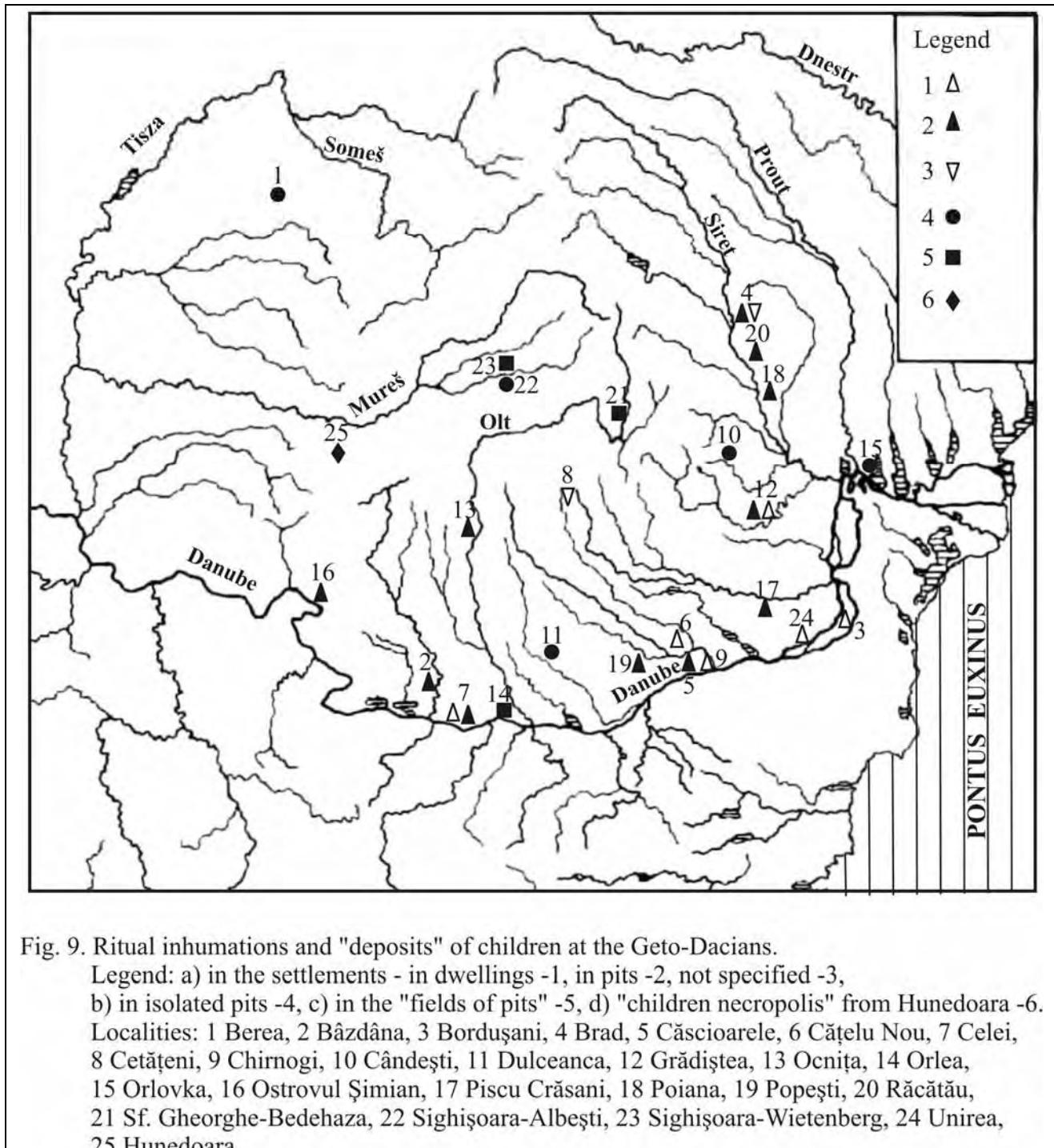


Fig. 9. Ritual inhumations and "deposits" of children at the Geto-Dacians.

Legend: a) in the settlements -1, in pits -2, not specified -3,
 b) in isolated pits -4, c) in the "fields of pits" -5, d) "children necropolis" from Hunedoara -6.
 Localities: 1 Berea, 2 Bâzdâna, 3 Bordușani, 4 Brad, 5 Căscioarele, 6 Cățelu Nou, 7 Celei,
 8 Cetăteni, 9 Chirnogi, 10 Cândești, 11 Dulceanca, 12 Grădiștea, 13 Ocnița, 14 Orlea,
 15 Orlovka, 16 Ostrovul Șimian, 17 Piscu Crăsan, 18 Poiana, 19 Popești, 20 Răcătău,
 21 Sf. Gheorghe-Bedehaza, 22 Sighișoara-Albești, 23 Sighișoara-Wietenberg, 24 Unirea,
 25 Hunedoara.

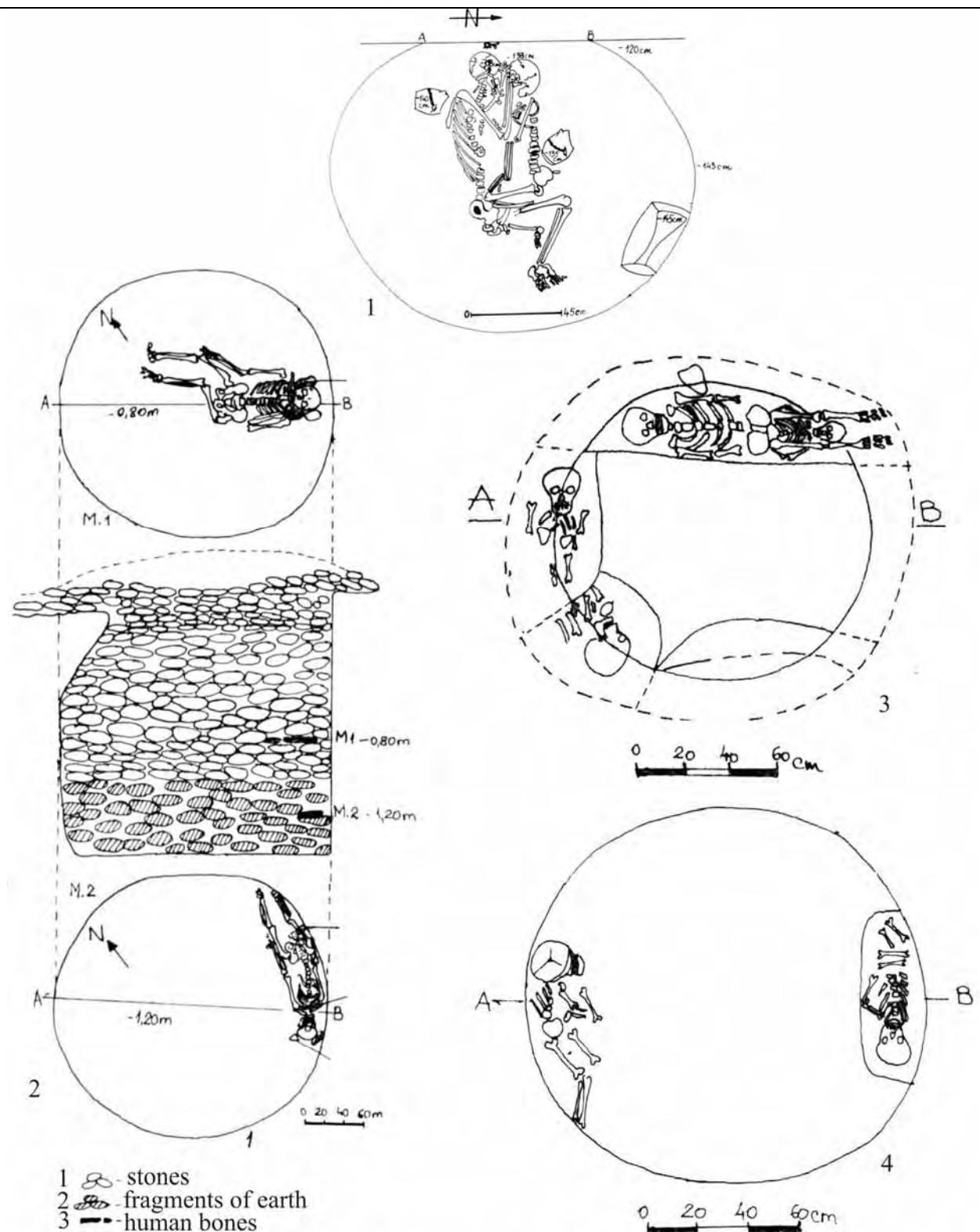


Fig. 10. Children inhumations in the settlements of Căscioarele (1), Ocnița (2) and Brad (3-4) (after V. Sîrbu 1993; D. Berciu 1981; V. Ursachi 1995).

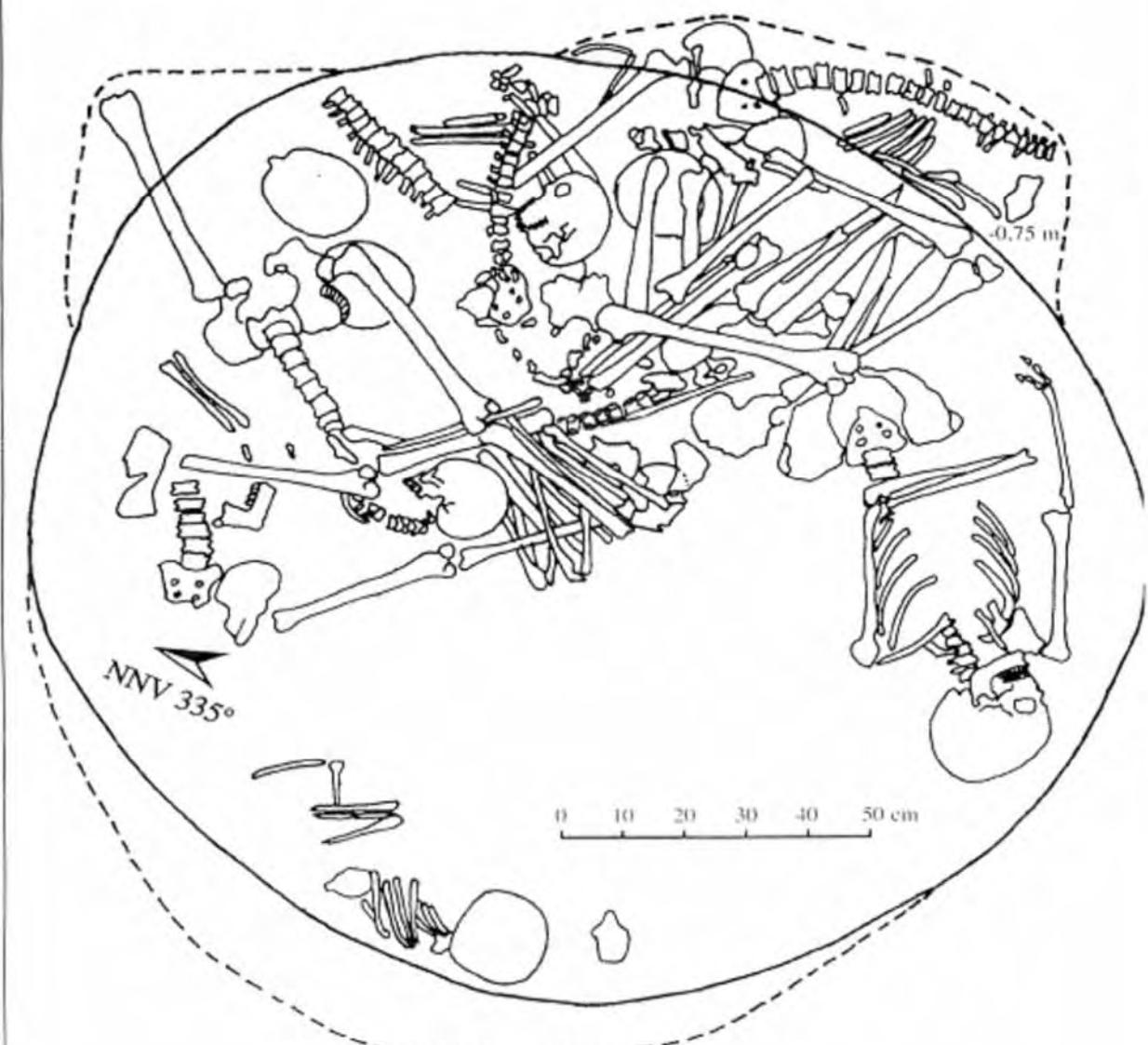


Fig. 11. Orlea (Olt County). Pit nr. 3 (after E. Comşa 1972).

ERZ UND SCHLACKE IN PROVINZIALRÖMISCHEN GRÄBER AUS DAKIEN

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Aus römischen Dakien stammen einige Gräber, in den, als Beigaben, Erz oder Schlacke gelegt wurde, was uns zu glauben machte, daß sie einiger Metallbearbeiter zugeschrieben werden könnten (Sonoc 2000, p. 97sq., Anm. 80). Eigentlich, auch wenn die meisten dieser Gräber in Gebiete mit Minerallagerungen vorkommen (*Abb. 1-3*), ist nur auf dieser Basis schwierig zu präzisieren ob es um Bergleute handelt, wie es die meisten Verfasser behauptet haben (Wollmann 1996, p. 229; cf. Floca 1965, p. 192; Olteanu 1983, p. 81; Floca, Valea 1994, p. 56; Pîslaru, Bărbulescu 2003, p. 24) oder um das gewonnene Erz bearbeitenden Metallurgisten, wie es wir vermutet haben, um so mehr weil, wegen den Transportschwierigkeiten, die Metallgewinnung gerade in den Bergbaugebiete erfolgte und weil, anderseits, es angenommen wird, daß die Gewinnung und die Bearbeitung des Erzes unterschiedliche, spezialisierte Tätigkeiten waren, die von unterschiedlichen Leute durchgeführt wurden (Noeske 1977, p. 346). Die älteste Erwähnung eines solches Grabes stammt aus dem mittleren 19. Jh. und es handelt um das rätselhafte Grab aus Sighișoara-Kulterberg (Kr. Mureş) (Fabritius 1862, pp. 290 und 300), in dem unzählige schwarze, leicht durchschneidbare Kugelchen von Bohnenerz (Eisenoxyhydrat), nach J. M. Ackners Bestimmung, gefunden wurden, die von der Größe einer Erbse bis zu einer Haselnuss waren (Fabritius 1862, p. 290).

Alle andere ähnliche Funde aus Dakien stammen, ebenfalls, aus Einäscherungsgräber. Im Gräberfeld von Brad-Muncelu (Kr. Hunedoara) fand man verbrannte Quarz- und Erzstücke, die, wie es scheint, bei der Einäscherung dem Verstorbenen beigegeben wurden, "in einem für die im Bergbau tätigen spezifischen Kontext" (Wollmann 1996, p. 229); jüngst, wurde festgestellt daß, aus mineralogischer Hinsicht, der in den Gräber entdeckte Quarz demjenigen aus der Goldader Michaeli der Ausbeutungsstelle Ruda-Barza (Wollmann 1996, p. 188, n. 168; Nemeti, Nemeti 1999, p. 186; Nemeti, Nemeti 2003, p. 419), aus der Nähe des Gräberfeldes, entspricht. Quarzstücke, die man ebenfalls mit der Bergbautätigkeit der Verstorbenen in Zusammenhang gebracht hat, wurden in einigen Gräber aus dem im *Hop* genannten Punkt befindlichen Gräberfeld aus Alburnus Maior (Moga et al. 2003, p. 211). Wir teilen aber diese Meinung nicht auch in was die in einigen Gräber entdeckten Feuersteinstücke betrifft; wir glauben daß diese zum Anzünden des Scheiterhaufens benutzt wurden, genau so wie ähnliche Funde aus anderen provinzialrömischen Gräberfelder aus Dakien, zum Beispiel im Gräberfeld *Apulum I*, in jenem aus Cincis (Kr. Hunedoara) oder in denjenigen der norisch-pannonischen Ansiedler aus Cașolt (Kr. Sibiu) und Calbor (Kr. Brașov)). Trotzdem, aus der Beschreibung der entdeckten Gräber und Grabinventare, nur in einem einzigen Fall sind uns Einzelheiten bekannt; es handelt um ein Grab mit einem Scheiterhaufen ungewöhnliches Aspektes (*Abb. 6*), der als eine deszentrierte rechteckige Form oder als rautenförmig beschrieben wird und dessen Inventar weibliches Aspektes, unter anderen, auch ein bipyramidales Quarzstück, 6 *turribula*, 5 Öllämpchen, einen Krug und einen quadratischen Bronzespiegel beinhaltete (Moga et al. 2003, p. 202sq. (Grab Nr. 88)). Ebenfalls bei Alburnus Maior, im Grab Nr. 1 aus dem Einäscherungshügelgräberfeld aus der Gegend *Orlea – Tăul Secuilor*, wurden "durch Verbrennung einiger metalhaltigen Stoffe entstandene Konglomerate" entdeckt (Nemeti, Nemeti 2003, p. 412sq.).

Im Gräberfeld aus Cincis-Rovine (Kr. Hunedoara) (*Abb. 4*) wurden Limonitklumpen in den Gräber Nr. VII, Xa und XV (Floca 1965, pp. 180, 182, 184; cf. Floca, Valea 1994, pp. 47 und 49) entdeckt; beim Grab Nr. Xa, ausser mehreren Hakennägel, Schuhnägel, Bruchstücke von römischen

und handgeformten Gefäße und von 3 Krüge, wurde aber auch eine Grabstele aus Sandstein (*Abb. 5*) entdeckt, mit der Darstellung zweier Frauen (Floca 1965, p. 182sq., Abb. 21; cf. Floca, Valea 1994, p. 49, Abb. 21), während im Grab Nr. XV, ausser keramischen Bruchstücke (darunter auch von einer Öllampe), auch Hakennägel, ein Feuersteinsplitter, ein Krug, eine Messerklinge und eine Öllampe (Floca 1965, p. 184; Floca, Valea 1994, p. 50), von lokaler Nachahmung (Floca 1965, p. 190; Floca, Valea 1994, p. 54). Im Grab Nr. VII wurden die Bruchstücke von 3 Krüge entdeckt, andere römische und handgeformte keramische Bruchstücke, ein eisernes Glied, ein Hakennagel und ein Feuersteinsplitter (Floca 1965, p. 180; Floca, Valea 1994, p. 47sq.). Nicht weit, bei Hunedoara-*Grădina Castelului*, sollte man in den 70-er Jahren des 20. Jh. ein noch unveröffentlichtes "dakisches Einäscherungsgrab" mit Fibeln aus dem 2. Jh. entdeckt haben, auf dessen Urne ein teilweise reduziertes Eisenerzstück gelegt wurde, das sich im Eisenmuseum aus Hunedoara befindet und vom Chemiker N. Chindler, im chemischen Labor der *S. C. Siderurgica S. A.* untersucht wurde (Ioan 2000, p. 46sq.; cf. Ioan 1999). Im Grab Nr. X-14 aus dem Einäscherungshügelgräberfeld der norisch-pannonischen Kolonisten aus Cașolt (Kr. Sibiu) wurden Stücke von Eisenschlacke gefunden (Macrea, Berciu 1955, p. 597); in diesem Grab wurde aus den Beigabegefäße einen Dreieck gebildet (Macrea, Berciu 1955, p. 596), was, vermutlich, durch gewisse magische Vorstellungen erklärt werden könnte. So wie das auch M. Pîslaru bemerkt hat (Pîslaru 2003, p. 81), es ist schwer zu präzisieren ob der innerhalb dieses Dreieckes entdeckte Assus von M. Aurelius Caesar (Macrea, Berciu 1955, p. 597), wurde hier beabsichtigt gelegt, vielleicht ebenfalls gemäß einiger magischen Rituale oder, dagegen, ob die beigegebenen Gefäße wurden, ebenfalls gemäß den Vorschriften eines magischen Rituals, so gelegt, auf der Stelle wo die als "Charonsbolus" gegebene Münze gefallen ist; also, auch wenn nicht nur diese Legeweise der Gefäße, sondern auch ihre Verbindung mit der Beigabe von Schlacke in diesem Gräberfeld ungewöhnlich sind, bleibt aber, im jetzigen Forschungsstand, der auch von anderen Verfasser bemerkte (Pîslaru 2003, p. 63, Nr. 61), doch nicht erklärte Zusammenhang zwischen der Lage der Münze und die eigenartige Lage der Gefäße schwer zu deuten. Jedenfalls, der Genderanlage des Inventars des Grabes Nr. 88 aus dem Gräberfeld von Alburnus Maior, aus dem *Hop* genannten Ort und nach der beim Grab Nr. X aus dem Gräberfeld aus Cincis entdeckte Stele, scheint es daß, wenigstens in dieser beiden Fälle, könnte man eine gewisse Verbindung feststellen, zwischen dem Geschlecht des Verstorbenen und dem Brauch, Erz in den Gräber beizugeben; leider, wegen der mangelhaften Auskünfte bezüglich der anderen provinzialrömische Gräber aus Dakien, in den Erzbeigaben gefunden wurden, ist schwer zu präzisieren ob es, tatsächlich, ein Zusammenhang zwischen diesem Brauch und der Geschlecht des Verstorbenen gibt, auch wenn V. Wollmann war der Meinung, daß die Gräber mit Quarzstücke von Brad-Muncelu wahrscheinlich einiger mit dem Bergbau beschäftigten Männer zugehören könnten (Wollmann 1996, p. 188, n. 168).

Vom im römerzeitlichen Gräberfeld aus Cincis-Rovine, entdeckten Material behauptete St. Olteanu daß es "*den ärmliche materiellen Zustand, während ihrer Lebenszeit, der dakischen Bergleute*" andeuten würde, während die in Gräber beigegebenen Eisenerzstücke als Symbol der Beschäftigung des Verstorbenen im Diesseits betrachtet wurden, indem man *tale-quale* verschiedene Funde, aus unterschiedlichen archäologischen Kontexte verschiedener archäologischen Fundorte, die unterschiedlicher geschichtlichen Zeiten und unterschiedlicher Bevölkerungen zugeschrieben werden können anführte, alles aber mit der offensichtlichen Absicht, neue "Beweise" des Fortbestandes der "dakisch-römischen" Bevölkerung (sprich der dakischen aus der provinzialrömischer Zeit und der romanischen aus der Spätantike!) und deren Zivilisationsniveau zu bringen (Olteanu 1983, p. 81, Anm. 86-87). Die veröffentlichten Zeichnungen des keramischen Materials, das im erwähnten, laut den Archäologen die das untersucht haben, einiger gegenüber dem in der Ausbeutung des Eisenerzes tätigen Besitzer der naheliegenden *villa rustica* in Abhängigkeit befindlichen Daker zugehörende Gräberfeld (Floca 1965, p. 192; Floca, Valea 1994, p. 55sq.) entdeckt wurden, sind aber, wie wir das schon behauptet haben (Sonoc 2000, p. 98, Anm. 80), zu unklar um richtig sagen zu können, ob es tatsächlich um dakische Keramik handelt oder um diejenige, die von den illyrisch-pannonischen Ansiedler verbreitet wird, indem die letzte Möglichkeit, auch aufgrund einiger Elemente des

Bestattungsbrauches, glaubhafter scheint (Univ. Doz. Dr. D. Popa (Lucian Blaga- Universität aus Sibiu), der dieses Gräberfeld den illyrischen Ansiedler zugeschrieben hat (Popa 2001, p. 53), ist der Meinung daß, wegen der Lage der Verzierung mit Alveolengürtel auf dem Körper des Gefäßes, die bis zur Zeit veröffentlichten handgeformten keramischen Materialien aus Cincis (Floca 1965, Abb. 19-20; Floca, Valea 1994, Abb. 19-20) nicht aus der Zeit der römischen Herrschaft in Dakien stammen, sondern vorgeschichtlich sind, nämlich aus der Bronzezeit. In den provinzialrömischen Gräber von hier, sollen sie sich dann in Sekundärlage befinden); jedenfalls, laut der Meinung der Ausgräber, derjenige, der in der Villa wohnte, "hatte dieselbe Zugehörigkeit wie die restliche Bevölkerung", die das Gräberfeld benutzte, auch wenn von dieser "er sich doch unterscheidet hat, durch seinen Sozialstand und die weitere Annahme der Lebensweise der römischen Besatzer" (Floca 1965, p. 192; Floca, Valea 1994, p. 56), was, unserer Meinung nach, auch die Chancen vermindert, daß es um einen Daker handeln könnte, weil die Gelände mit Mineralreichtümer nach der Eroberung *patrimonium Caesaris* geworden sind und einiger *conductores* verpachtet wurden, die, mit Sicherheit, nicht der einheimischen Bevölkerung zugehörten und weil der im Grab III gefundene Goldring (Floca 1965, p. 173, Abb. 10; Floca, Valea 1994, p. 46, Abb. 10) beweist, daß es bei Cincis-Rovine, vielleicht, um einen römischen Ritter handelt, was sehr gut auch mit dem Vorhandensein der als hier entdeckt erwähnten Statuen übereinstimmt (Floca 1965, pp. 171-173; Floca, Valea 1994, p. 44sq.). In diesen Bedingungen, auch wenn es war ist, daß in keinem dakisch-römischen Gräberfeld skulpturelle und epigraphische Grabdenkmäler entdeckt wurden (Protase 1994, p. 38), überrascht nicht mehr, daß das Gräberfeld aus Cincis, von dem L. Mărghităn vollkommen unrichtig behauptet, daß "*in absolut keinem der Hügelgräber, in dem dakische Gefäßbruchstücke vorhanden waren, wurde wenigstens ein Steininschriftbruchstück oder Teil eines Skulpturdenkmäles entdeckt*", für die Widerspiegelung eines den Geto-Daker eigenen Bestattungsbrauches gehalten wurde, der nicht gestattet hat, Denkmäler aus dauerhaften Materialien um den Kisten mit Einäscherungsreste zu errichten und daß man auch versuchte, durch keine überzeugende Beweise und durch mißbrauchliche Auslegungen, den Gedanke zu beglaubigen, daß die im Gräberfeld aus Micia zwischen den Körpergräber (*die einzigen, die als den römischen Ansiedler zugehörend betrachtet wurden und von den behauptet wird, daß man bei ihnen Inschriften und Skulpturdenkmäler gefunden hat!*) entdeckten Einäscherungsgräber der dakischen Bevölkerung zugehören (Mărghităn 1979, p. 135); es wird nicht geachtet, daß im Gräberfeld aus Micia wenigstens die Hypothese des Vorhandenseins von Hügelgräber nicht besprochen werden konnte (weil es dafür das geringste Anzeichen fehlt!) und, übertreibend, wird zu einer übermässigen Vereinfachung zugegrifen, die aber für die Behauptung, um jeden Preis, einiger politisch-historiographischen Thesen günstig ist, auch wenn deren "Argumente" künstlich hergestellt werden, während die Verschiedenheit der Bestattungsbräuche kann durch unterschiedliche kulturellen und religiösen Überlieferung erklärt werden und das Fehlen der Steindenkmäler vor allem durch sozial-ökonomischen Gründe. Jüngst, I. Nemeti und S. Nemeti sind der Meinung daß die Lage von Eisenerz-, beziehungsweise Limonitstücke in den Gräber von Cincis und von Quarzstücke in den Gräberfeldern von Brad-Muncelu und von Alburnus Maior, aus dem Punkt *Hop*, spricht für die Zuschreibung dieser Gräberfelder den illyrischen Bergleute (Nemeti, Nemeti 2003, p. 421); aber, so wie das unterschiedliche Verfasser bemerkt haben (IDR, III/3, p. 426sq.; Popa 2001, p. 53; cf. Popa 2002, p. 43), einschliesslich I. Nemeti und S. Nemeti, die bei Brad entdeckten Grabstelen belegen auch das Vorhandensein einiger thrakischen Elemente, nämlich dardanischer Herkunft, also aus dem illyrisch-thrakischen Interferenzgebiet (Nemeti, Nemeti 1999, p. 187). Ebenfalls, wurde bemerkt, daß die Grabinschriften bei Brad auch Elemente orientalischer Herkunft belegen (Wollmann 1996, p. 187), aber es handelt um Leute die hier für ihre Familienangehöriger Grabdenkmäler errichtet haben und, vorläufig, wissen wir nicht ob auch sie hier bestattet wurden; V. Wollmann ist aber der Meinung, daß in der Gemeinschaft illyrischer Herkunft, die schon vor der Kolonialisierung einen fortgeschrittenen Romanisationsgrad hatte, diese thrakischen und orientalischen Elemente integriert und assimiliert waren (Wollmann 1996, p. 187sq.).

Indem sie, eigentlich, ältere Meinungen wiederholen, glauben M. Pîslaru und M. Bărbulescu daß die Eisenerzstücke aus den Gräber aus Cincis, sowie die Feuerstein- und Quarzbruchstücke aus

den Gräber von Brad-Muncelă hatten den Sinn, den wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Status der sich mit dem Bergbau beschäftigenden Verstorbenen zu betonen, wofür sie diese Funde nicht für Beigaben halten (Pîslaru, Bărbulescu 2003, p. 24). Unserer Meinung nach, ist die Gruppe der Gräber mit rituellen Beigaben von Erz und Schlacke aus Dakien am wahrscheinlichsten mit sowohl für den Bergleute, wie auch für die Metallurgisten eigenen religiösen Vorstellungen verbunden, die aber nicht der einheimischen Bevölkerung spezifisch zu sein scheinen, sondern könnten eher von den Ansiedler hergebracht sein. M. Eliade (Eliade 1997), indem er der Glauben der uralten Bevölkerungen untersucht hat, stellte fest daß die Berggruben der Matrix der Mutter Erde symbolisch gleichgesetzt wurden, wo die Mineralien Embryos sind, die langsam wachsen und deren Ausbeutung war eine vorzeitig gemachte Operation, durch einen Eindring in einer heiligen Gegend, der, weil er das unterirdische Leben und die das beherrschenden Kräfte störte, erlag die Durchführung einiger Reinigungs- und Sühnerituale auf (Rustoiu 2002, p. 71). Die aus rituellen Hinsicht schwierigste Operation, mit der zahlreiche Tabus und Rituale verbunden waren, begann mit der Bearbeitung der Erze in den metallurgischen Öfen, während der der Handwerker die Natur ersetzte, um die Schwangerschaft dieser Embryos in der vom Ofen dargestellten künstlichen Matrix zu beschleunigen und zu vollendigen (Rustoiu 2002, p. 71). Als "Herren des Feuers", durch dessen Vermittlung sie anderswas schufen als es in der Natur gab, hatten, in den uralten Gesellschaften, die Metallurgen einen den Schamanen, den Heiler und den Zauberer ähnlichen Status und deren Fachkenntnisse, die als richtige Mysterien betrachtet wurden, waren initiatisch überliefert (Rustoiu 2002, p. 71).

Die rituelle Beigabe von Erz in Gräber könnte, unserer Meinung nach, die Hoffnung auf eine Wiedergeburt ausdrücken, durch die symbolische Gleichsetzung des bestatteten Verstorbenen mit dem Erz, das im Bauch der Mutter Erde wächst, die, laut einem uralten, aber sehr verbreiteten Glauben, die Menschheit auf der Welt gebracht hat (Eliade 1991, p. 130). Die soteriologische Idee der Wiedergeburt aus der Höhle, aus dem Schoß der Erde, ein Archetyp der sich sowohl in den esoterischen Spekulationen der Alchimisten bezüglich der Umwandlungen, die im *vas mirabile* stattfinden, aus dem der *filius philosophorum* herauskommt und in der Ikonographie der Geburt Jesus Christi in der Höhle in der ostchristlichen Kunst, wie auch im ägyptischen Jenseitsbuch *Amduat* wiederfindet (Schweizer 1999, pp. 28-31), kommen aus dem Glauben heraus, daß die Erneuerung und die Regenerierung unter dem Schutz der unter der Bedrohung der vorrangigen Dunkelheit, des Chaos und des Nichtseins bedrohten Unterwelt erfolgen, aber woher alle störende Einflüsse Diesseits beseitigt sind (Schweizer 1999, p. 29). Hingegen, glauben wir, daß die Grabbeigabe von Schlacke, die einen technologischen Rückstand darstellt, durch eine andere religiöse Vorstellung zu erklären wäre, laut der, aus symbolischer Hinsicht, die durch Einäscherung vom Körper getrennten Seele des Verstorbenen (Bichir 1984, p. 82; Bichir 1985, p. 12; Rohde 1985, p. 39sq.; Inel 2003, p. 43) dem durch Feuer gereinigten Metall gleichgesetzt wurde, während die Einäscherungsreste, die auf dem Ort der Einäscherung geblieben sind, mit der Schlacke, die neben diesen im Grab gelegt wurden. So, aus symbolischer Hinsicht, die Beigabe von Erz in Gräber hat dieselbe religiöse Bedeutung, die, laut der Logik der imitativen Magie, mit dem Gedanken der Wiedergeburt aus dem Leib der Mutter Erde, sprich mit dem emryonalen Zustand des Verstorbenen verbunden ist, wie die Beigabe von Kieferzapfen (Petculescu 1997, p. 216) oder, laut einem von G. Popilian nur suggerierten und leider unausreichend ausgewerteten Gedanken, mit der Beigabe von Kernfrüchte oder von Früchte mit vielen Samen (Datteln, Nüsse, vielleicht Eicheln, aber auch Feigen) (Popilian 1986, p. 98).

Die geringe Anzahl der Gräber mit rituellen Beigabe von Erz oder Schlacke, nicht nur in Verhältnis zu den im ganzen römischen Dakien entdeckten Gräber, sondern auch zur Gesamtanzahl der Gräber der Gräberfelder wo sie entdeckt wurden, deutet an, daß es um eine gewisse Kategorie von Individuen besonderes Status handelt, die sich von der restlichen Gemeinschaft durch eigene religiöse Bräuche unterscheidet, die, höchstwahrscheinlich, auf initiatische Weise überliefert werden. Anlässlich der archäologischen Bergungsausgrabungen, die in den Jahren 2002-2003 bei Alburnus Maior, beim Tempel T 2 aus Valea Nanului unternommen wurden, wurde ein der in ihren Eingeweide die Mineralreichtümer verbirgenden Göttin Terra Mater geweihter Altar entdeckt (Piso

2002-2003, p. 206sq., Nr. 9) und in einem *lucus* von hier, im *Hăbad* genannten Punkt, wurde ein Altar gefunden, der dem Sidus, das Symbol von Castor und Pollux, dem Kreis des bei der ewigen Regenerierung des ausgebeuteten Metalls wachenden Jupiter Dolichenus zugehörenden Helden geweiht wurde (Piso 2002-2003, p. 207sq., Nr. 10; cf. Wollmann 1985-1986, p. 285sq., Nr. 25, Taf. VIII). Ebenfalls im Godbergaugebiet der Westkarpaten, sind weitere 2 Altäre, die der Göttin Terra Mater gewidmet wurden, bei Ampelum bekannt (IDR, III/3, 330-331); hingegen, ein altar, der derselben Gottheit bei Micia gewidmet wurde, scheint mit einer *interpretatio Romana* der hellenischen Göttin Demeter verbunden zu sein (IDR, III/3, 137). Ebenfalls bei Micia, der kaiserliche Sklave Felix aus dem Zolldienst, der aus dem Amt eines *vikarius* in *statio Micia* zu jenem eines *villicus* in *statio Pons Augusti* befördert wurde, hat einen Altar für Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Terra Daciae und Genius Populi Romani et Commercii errichtet (IDR, III/3, 102). Bei Denta (Kr. Timiş) wurde eine Widmung des C. Kaninius Sabinianus an Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Iunona Regina, Minerva und Terra Mater entdeckt (IDR, III/1, 109); dieses hier in Sekundärlage befindliche Denkmal, wurde, wie es scheint, von einem *decurio* der Kolonie Mursa errichtet (Ardevan 1998, p. 361, R 47; cf. Petolescu 1987, p. 25sq.) und, infolgedessen, ist unsicher daß es aus dem Gebiet der Eisenerzausbeutungen aus dem Dogenecea Gebirge stammen könnte, obwohl es nicht auszuschliessen wäre, daß der erwähnte *decurio* in der Ausbeutung dieser Reichtümer oder im Eisenhandel zwischen Dakien und Pannonia Inferior involviert wurde. Auch bei Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa scheint es eine Widmung an Terra Mater bekannt zu sein (IDR, III/2, 338) und eine andere, an Diana und Terra Mater (IDR, III/4, 67), stammt aus Salinae, genau so wie die wohlbekannte Statue der Hekate Triformis (Abb. 7) (Petersen 1881a, p. 67sq.; Petersen 1881b; Gramatopol 1982, p. 132, Taf. III/15; Gramatopol 2000, p. 256, Abb. 127), was auch die Frage eines möglichen religiösen Synkretismus erheben könnte. Terra Mater, die auf der Rückseite einiger *numi metallorum* aus der Gegend der Silberausbeutungen aus Kosmaj (Serbien), südlich von Singidunum dargestellt ist, wurde vor allem in den Provinzen Dalmatien, Pannonien, Moesia Superior und Dakien verehrt, hauptsächlich in den Gebiete wo Mineralreichtümer ausgebeutet wurden und der einzige bekannte Tempel dieser Gottheit, aus Moesia Superior, von Rudnica, wurde gerade beim Eingang in der Gegend der Bergwerkausbeutungen (Crăciun, Sion 2003, p. 298). Andernfalls, zwischen Terra Mater oder Ge, die mit Hera und deren Tochter, Hekate, idäntifiziert wurde, der gelungen ist, sowohl Hera, wie auch, in Vorderasien, die Große Mutter zu ersetzen, gibt es, eine enge Beziehung, wie auch, anderseits, zwischen dem Kult der Hekate und jenem der Kabirer (Lazova 1997, p. 324sq.); diese waren auf der Insel Lemnos, deren Name von einem örtlichen Epitheton der thrakischen Grossen Göttin abgeleitet wird (Kotova 1998, pp. 312-314), als Söhne des Schmiedgottes Hephaistos verehrt (Giebel 1993, p. 94sq.) und deren Kult war mit jenem der Dioskuren, mit den sie manchmal auch verwechselt werden, eng verbunden (Giebel 1993, p. 92). Der Gedanke, daß der Tod ein zeitweiliger Rückzug im Hinblick auf die Wiedergeburt ist, wird auch durch einem im 5. Jh. v.u.Z. aufgenommenen Mythos belegt, laut dem die Jungfrau Hekate Angelos, die durch ihres Epitheton mit Demeter, aber vor allem mit Artemis Syrakousia verglichen werden kann, sich von dem Zorn ihrer Mutter in einem durch die Geburt eines Kindes oder durch das Vorhandensein einer Leiche enthüllten Ort versteckt hat (Lazova 1997, p. 324). Aus einem im Punkt *Hăbad* aus Alburnus Maior befindlichen *lucus* stammt aber ein der Göttin Aeracura von einem mutmaßlich aus Dalmatien oder Pannonien nach Dakien gekommenen Individuum, vielleicht keltisch-illyrischer Herkunft, Aelius Scenus, Sohn des Batala (?), gewidmeter Weihaltar (Wollmann 1985-1986, p. 276sq., nr. 16, fig. 17; Nemeti 2003b, p. 280, nr. 14. Für die verschiedenen Lesungen des Namens des Widmers: Nemeti 2003b, p. 275sq.). Diese infernale Gottheit, vielleicht keltischer Herkunft (Nemeti 2003b, p. 275), wurde in der Gegend von Aquileia und in Istrien unter dem Namen von *Aerecura*, *Hera Domina*, *Era* oder *Haera* verehrt und dem Kult des Dis Pater angeschlossen, kommt in Agri Decumates unter dem Namen *Aeracura* oder *Herecura* vor und wurde in Gallien *Erecura* genannt, während, als *Aeracura*, wurde sie für Iuno Inferna gehalten und dem Pluto, als Jupiter Infernus, angeschlossen (Nemeti 2003b, p. 274). Bei Sulzbach (Deutschland) ist sie neben Dis Pater thronend dargestellt, mit einem Obstkorb als Attribut (Nemeti 2003b, p. 274sq.), genau so wie einige Statuetten, die sie ebenfalls thronend darstellen, unter dem Einfluß der

Ikonographie der *Matres/Matronae* genannten Gottheiten, aber allein (Nemeti 2003b, p. 275), während im Dauphiné, auf einem Ziegelstein mit eingeritzter Zeichnung aus Roussas (Frankreich) ist sie von Horntiere begleitet, in einer durch die Inschrift *Fera com Era* erklärten Szene (Nemeti 2003b, p. 274). In Numidien, bei Thibilis, ist sie der Terra Mater und der Magna Deum Idaea angeschlossen (Nemeti 2003b, p. 274sq.). In Rom, im 4. Jh., in der Nähe der Katakomben des Praetextatus (Nemeti 2003a, p. 323), in einem synkretistischen heidnischen Milieu, wo die sabbazischen Manifestationen vorherrschen, auf der Freske aus dem Grab der Vibia, thront sie neben Dis Pater (Nemeti 2003b, p. 275), während im Hintergrund Fata Divina und Mercurius Psychopompos vorkommen (Wollmann 1985-1986, p. 277; cf. Nemeti 2003a, p. 322). Sie scheint Proserpina zu ersetzen und ihrer Namen wurde von Th. Mommsen mit "*Die Geldschafferin*" übersetzt (Nemeti 2003b, p. 275); aus etymologischer Hinsicht, scheint aber *Aeracura* eine Gottheit zu sein, die über die Vermehrung der Reichtümer, darunter auch der Erze, wie auch über die Bronze- und Kupferproduktion wacht, aber vielleicht auch über die Schätze. Deswegen, sind wir der Meinung, daß es eine Verbindung zwischen Terra Mater, beziehungsweise zwischen den Grossen Göttinnen, mit den sie identifiziert wurde und den Jenseitsvorstellungen der Gemeinschaften von Bergleute und Metallurgisten, in deren Gräberfelder Beigaben von Erz oder Schlacke gefunden wurden, festgestellt werden kann; auch wenn Terra Mater mag, manchmal, dem staatlichen Kult eingegliedert wurden sein, sie behält, trotzdem, ihres Spezifikum, so daß ihre Verehrung nicht ausschließlich mit dem Ausdruck der von den Behörden organisierten bürgerlichen Loyalität, durch die Manipulierung der Frommigkeit der mit dem Bergbau und der Bearbeitung des Metalls beschäftigten Bevölkerung in Verbindung gebracht werden soll.

Die ethnokulturelle Beobachtungen und die archäologischen Funde haben nachgewiesen, daß es nicht immer eine direkte und erzwingende Beziehung zwischen einer vorwiegenden Sonnenreligion und Einäscherung, beziehungsweise zwischen einer vorwiegenden Erdereligion und Beerdigung gibt (Sîrbu 2003, p. 18). Die Jenseitsvorstellung mit den die Beigaben von Erz und Schlacke verbunden sind, die in Dakien, im jetzigen Forschungsstand, alle aus Einäscherungsgräber stammen, schliessen weder das Glauben an einer tatsächlichen oder mystischen Wiedergeburt aus, noch an der Unterwelt oder an einem ewigen Himmelleben, eventuell neben den Dioskuren oder das durch deren Vermittlung erworben wird, aber auch nicht komplexere Formen, die durch die Kombination dieser Möglichkeiten entstanden sind, in den Bedingungen des für die Römerzeit spezifischen Synkretismus und des Einflusses der Mysterienkulte, die mit dem Gedanken der Wiedergeburt, der irdischen oder himmlischen Unsterblichkeit, der symbolischen Bedeutung des embryonalen Zustandes, des aus der Erde geförderte oder aus dem Himmel gefallenen Erzes oder mit der Geburt in Höhlen oder aus Felsen verbunden sind.

Die Untersuchungen von A. Rustoiu bezüglich der Krieger und Handwerker aus vorrömischen Dakien haben die Verbreitung einiger Technologien und Werkzeuge in einer beschränkten und geschlossenen Gruppe hervorgehoben, was das Vorhandensein einiger mit der Metallurgie verbundenen magisch-religiösen Glauben voraussetzt (Rustoiu 2002, p. 68-75), aber auch die enge Beziehung zwischen den "Handwerkerfamilien" und der militärischen und priesterlichen Aristokratie hervorgehoben (Rustoiu 2002, pp. 66-68), die, manchmal, sogar zu den Dienstleistungen einiger Fachleute fremder Herkunft, vor allem aus dem norisch-pannonischen Raum, aber auch aus dem griechischen Milieu zugreift (Rustoiu 2002, pp. 77-82). Genau so wie in anderen traditionellen Gesellschaften, in deren täglichen Leben die Magie eine wichtige Rolle hatte, kam im dakischen Königreich den Schmiede und den Goldschmiede eine besondere Stellung zu, nicht weil sie sehr zahlreich waren, sondern wegen der sozialen Bedeutung, die diese "Herren des Feuers" hatten (Sîrbu 2004, p. 25). Das deutet auch die in der Gegend der Hauptstadt des dakischen Königreiches, Sarmizegetusa Regia, entdeckte Eisenmenge (unbearbeitete Rohstoff, Werkzeuge, Waffen etc.) an, die dreimal grösser ist als diejenige, die im ganzen Raum zwischen Wien und Sofija entdeckt wurde, was belegt, daß der Gebiet der Gebirge von Orăştie / Broos zu einem der wichtigsten metallurgischen Zentren ausserhalb der griechisch-römischen Welt geworden ist (Sîrbu 2004, p. 22). Trotzdem, weder im vorrömischen Dakien, noch bei den freien Daker sind Gräber mit rituellen Beigaben von Erz oder Schlacke bekannt, so daß, wie es auch anlockend die Möglichkeit

wäre, ihn mit der Anwesenheit eines fremden Handwerkers in der an Eisenerz reichen Gegend des Poiana Ruscă- Gebirges in Verbindung zu bringen, glauben wir daß der zu wenig bekannte Fund aus Hunedoara-*Grădina Castelului* (die Fibeln wurden nicht veröffentlicht und wir könnten sie auch nicht sehen) stellt, eher, eine kultische Gabe dar, wie es auch der Kontext jenes Fundortes andeuten würde (Bei Hunedoara-*Grădina Castelului* wurden mehrere Beerdigungen von geopferten Kinder entdeckt, die bis 7 Jahren alt waren, die aber zwischen der zweiten Hälfte des 1. Jh. u.Z. und die römische Eroberung datiert werden. Die systematischen archäologischen Untersuchungen, die von der Lucian Blaga- Universität aus Sibiu (Univ. Prof. Dr. S. A. Luca), das Museum "Castelul Corvinilor" aus Hunedoara (C. Roman) und das Museum von Brăila (Dr. V. Sîrbu) durchgeführt werden, sind noch im Laufe. Auskünfte: S. A. Luca, C. Roman. Deswegen, haben wir eine Unschlüssigkeit bezüglich des tatsächlichen Fundortes des Grabes aus Hunedoara-*Grădina Castelului*, seiner Datierung und ethnischer Zuschreibung, sogar des Grabfundcharakters dieser Entdeckung und auch der Möglichkeit daß das teilweise reduzierte Erszstück aus einem Grab und nicht aus einem anderen Komplex stammen könnte. Die Primärquelle dieser unsicheren Auskünfte ist der ehemalige Archäologe T. Mariş, durch seine fehlerhaften Methoden der Dokumentation und der Veröffentlichung der archäologischen Funde, zu dem noch die ungeeignete Organisierung der Aufbewahrung dieser Funde von der ehemaliger Leitung des Museums aus Hunedoara hinzugefügt werden soll) und nicht ein einheimisches Grab aus dem 2. Jh., wie es behauptet wurde.

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ABRÉVIATIONS BIBLIOGRAPHIQUES

- AB(SN) – **Analele Banatului (serie nouă)**, Timișoara.
ActaMN – **Acta Musei Napocensis**, Cluj-Napoca.
ActaMP – **Acta Musei Porolissensis**, Zalău.
AIIACN – **Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj-Napoca**, Cluj-Napoca.
Apulum – **Acta Musei Apulensis**, Alba Iulia.
AEM – **Archaeologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Österreich (-Ungarn)**, Wien.
AVSL – **Archiv des Vereines für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde**, Hermannstadt –
Kronstadt.
Banatica – **Banatica**, Reșița.
BHAB – **Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Banatica**, Timișoara.
BJ – **Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn (im Landschaftsverband Rheinland) und des Vereins für Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande, Köln.**
BMA – **Bibliotheca Musei Apulensis**, Alba Iulia.
BMN – **Bibliotheca Musei Napocensis**, Cluj-Napoca.
CA – **Comori arheologice**, București.
CB – **Caiete Banatica – seria arheologie**, Reșița.
CCA – **Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice**, București.
CCDJ – **Cultură și Civilizație la Dunărea de Jos**, Călărași.
Corviniana – **Corviniana. Acta Musei Corvinensis**, Hunedoara.
DaciaNS – **Dacia. Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne, Nouvelle Série**, București.
FMU – **Fundamenta. Monographien zur Urgeschichte**, Köln.
ForVL – **Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde**, Sibiu.
Germania – **Germania. Anzeigen der Römisch-Germanischen Kommision des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts**, Frankfurt am Main.
IDR – **Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae**, București.
PA – **Patrimonium Apulense. Anuar de: arheologie, istorie, cultură, etnografie, muzeologie, conservare, restaurare**, Alba Iulia.
PZ – **Prähistorische Zeitschrift**, Berlin.
RB – **Revista Bistriței**, Bistrița.
RTIH – **Rélation Thraco-Illyro-Helleniques**, București, 1994.
Sargetia – **Sargetia. Acta Musei Devensis**, Hunedoara.
SCIV(A) – **Studii și comunicări de istorie veche (și arheologie)**, București.
SIBan – **Studii de istorie a Banatului**, Timișoara.
StComB – **Studii și Comunicări Brukenthal**, Sibiu.
StUnivBB – **Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai, seria Historica**, Cluj.
SV – **Studii vîlcene**, Râmnicu Vâlcea.

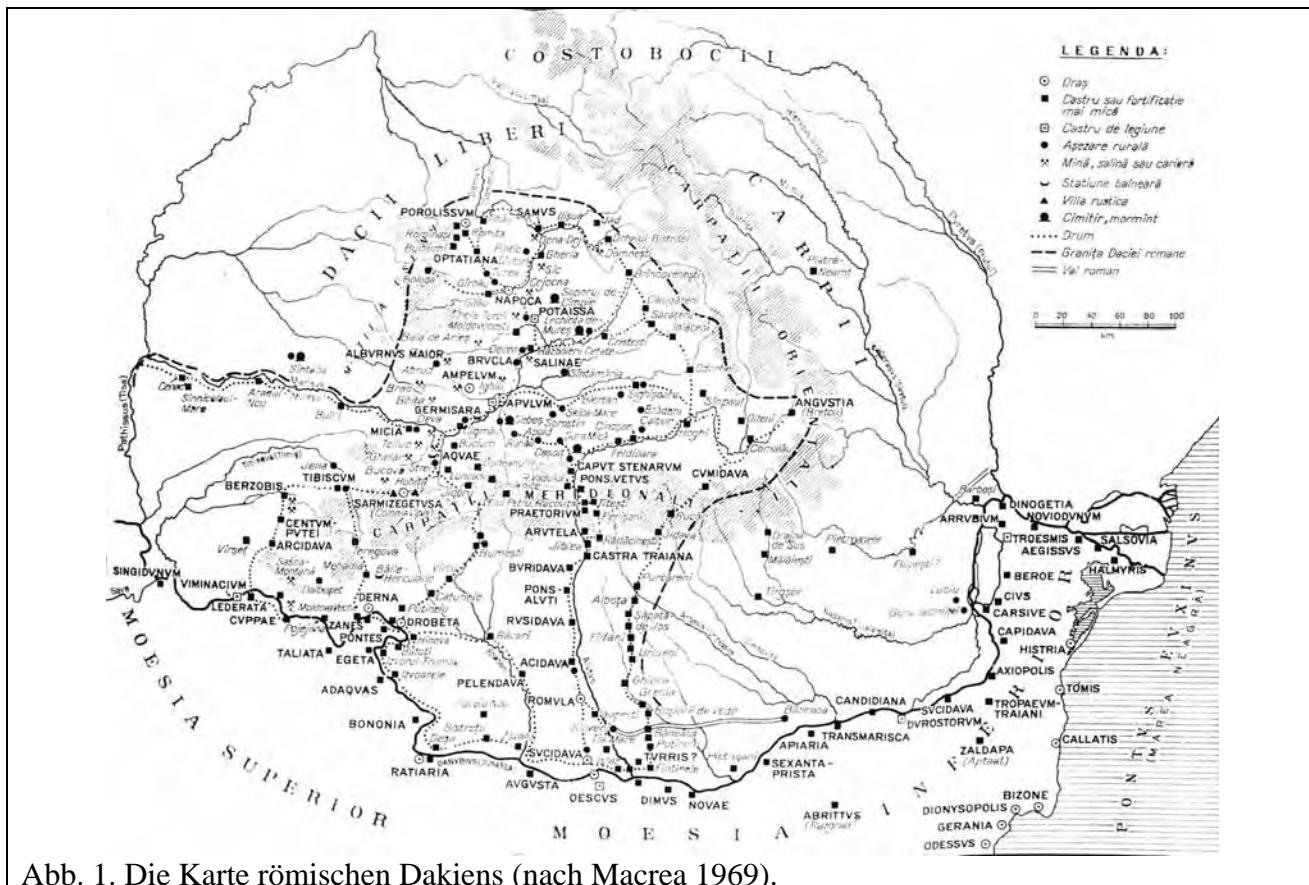


Abb. 1. Die Karte römischen Dakiens (nach Macrea 1969).

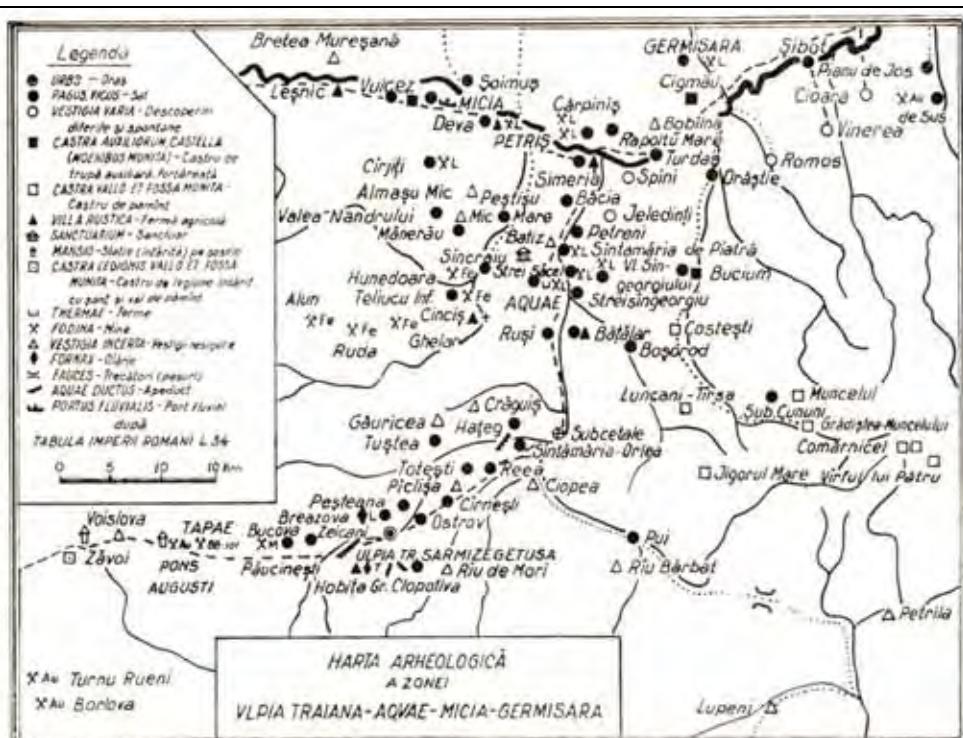


Abb. 2. Die archäologische Karte der Gegend Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa – Aquae – Micia – Germisara (nach Wollmann 1975).

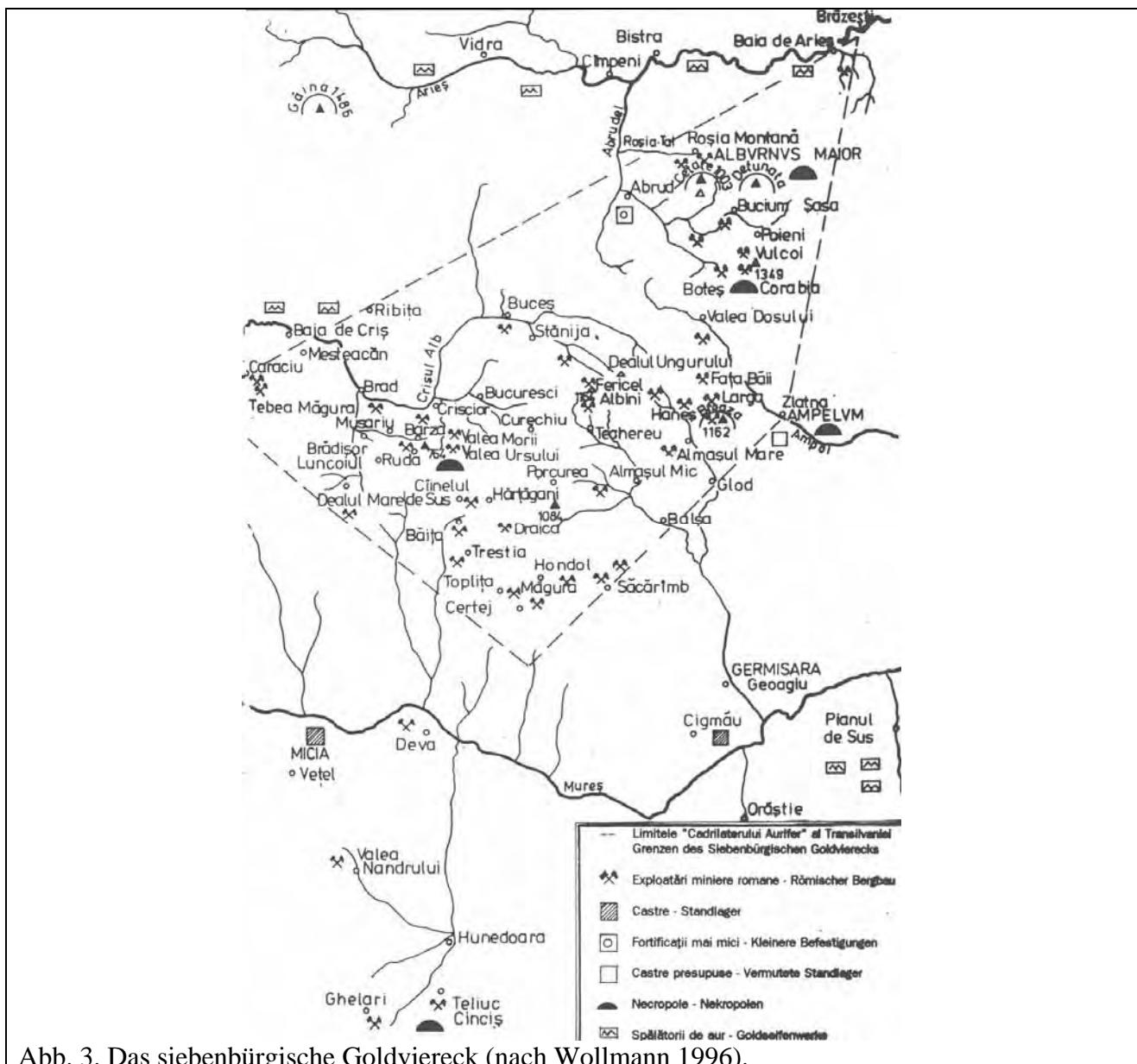


Abb. 3. Das siebenbürgische Goldviereck (nach Wollmann 1996).

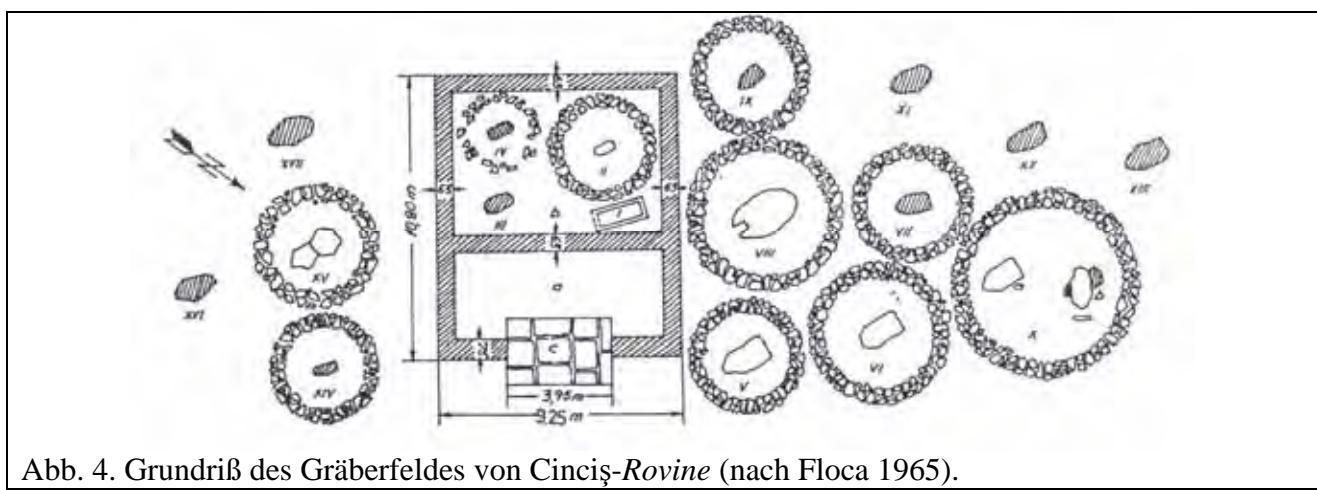


Abb. 4. Grundriß des Gräberfeldes von Cincis-Rovine (nach Floca 1965).



Abb. 5. Die beim Grab Nr. X des Gräberfeldes von Cincis-Rovine entdeckte Grabstele (nach Floca 1965).



Abb. 6. Das Grab Nr. 88 aus dem im Punkt Hop von Alburnus Maior befindlichen Gräberfeld (nach Moga et al. 2003).



Abb. 7. Die bei Salinae entdeckte Statue der Göttin Hekate. a. Lichtbild (nach Macrea 1969); b.-c. Zeichnungen. d. Detailzeichnung (nach Petersen 1881b).

THE BYZANTINE SETTLEMENT OF ANTIKYTHIRA (GREECE) IN THE 5TH – 7TH CENTURIES

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Introduction

The Greek island of Antikythira (the island's ancient name is *Aigilea*) lies in the south of Greece, half the distance between Kythira and Crete. This position provides the small island strategic importance because it is here that the sea currents from the Mediterranean and the Aegean seas meet. The modern trade sea routes connecting the Mediterranean and the Aegean pass south of the island even nowadays (Plate 1/ 1, 2).

The geomorphology of the island is as follows: an alternation of earth, rocky soil and an area of large lime slabs. This is the reason why landslides occur here and one can see how the ancient lime layer is overlapped by lime slabs (Plate 3/ 3). There are rocky areas and small terraces where the agriculture is subsistent.

The island has been inhabited since the Minoan era. Here several tombs have been found that date back to those times. No artifacts have been found dating from the Classic period probably because the inhabitants left the island. It is as late as the Hellenistic period, more precisely the 4th – 3rd B.C., that we find here a fortress of the pirates of *Aigilea* who are economically and militarily connected to Crete (quite a few coins minted at Phalasarna, Hellenistic fortress in the north-west of Crete, have been discovered – for more info please refer to the article of Tina Martis, Michalis Zoiopoulos & Aris Tsaravopoulos, ANTIKYTHERA: THE EARLY HELLENISTIC CEMETERY OF A PIRATE'S TOWN). The pirate activity of the people on the island goes on until the 1st century B.C. when Pompeius eliminates piracy in the Mediterranean (Plutarch, *Pompeius*, 24 - 30). As a result of the archeological excavations, it has been noted that there are no more artifacts dating after the end of the 1st century B.C. The island is no longer inhabited until the 5th century B.C. when the first elements of the Byzantine culture appear (we are speaking here about ceramics).

The Byzantine Settlement

After an approx. 400-year hiatus, the island is again inhabited starting the 5th century (Plate 2). The proofs are the archeological discoveries that date from this period of time, in particular pottery (Plate 3 / 2, 3) and graves. The ceramic fragments found in these areas date between 5th and 7th centuries: most of the amphora fragments are LR2 amphora fragments (Peacock & Williams 1986, class 43), Late Roman "C" Ware, (Hayes 1972, shape 9, p. 365, fig. 78/68 m; Atlante I 1981, p. 232, tavola CXVII / 15 dated 520 - 600). The settlement on the island in the 5th century can be combined with the information concerning the migratory invasions in mainland Greece during these centuries. The island was seen as a place safe from these perils.

The elements belonging to the Byzantine period (pottery, graves, and also wine presses) have been signaled in particular in the areas with terraces and where low-scale agriculture could be practiced (Plate 3 / 1):

- Harhaliana (the 5th – 7th centuries; graves and wine presses)
- Pera Harhaliana (the 5th – 7th centuries)
- Zampetiana (the 5th – 7th centuries; graves and wine presses)
- Patakiana (the 5th – 7th centuries)
- Galaniana (at the St. Miron monastery a coin from the times of King Leon IV (775-780) was found, as well as many ceramic Early and Middle Byzantine fragments.
- Batoudiana
- Xiropotamos (it is here that the Hellenistic fortress is; in the Byzantine period very few Byzantine ceramic fragments are signaled in this extremely difficult and rocky area).

Habitat Structures

Although in all the above-mentioned area graves and quite a few ceramic fragments have been found, no habitat structures have been found so far up to this level of our research (traces of homes or huts). Possible explanations could be:

1. The people lived in homes with a wooden structure elevation, possibly with a stone “above the ground foundation”, that is why the wood disappeared while the stone was re-used in the modern period for making terraces on the island.
2. The people lived in huts, but none has been found so far.
3. They lived in the caves of the area which had been used as graves in the Minoan period. It remains to be looked into whether these elements of the Byzantine culture can also be found in caves.

Despite the fact that at present there are 7 churches on the island, no Christian basilica has been discovered to date back to the Byzantine period. As at present the research is at an early stage it remains to be looked into first whether there was a basilica in the Galaniana area (our assumption that it is possible that the oldest Christian basilica may be here is based on the following arguments: there is the St. Miron monastery with the oldest modern church – it may be *memoria loci*, it is here that a coin from Leon's IV times in the 8th century was found, as well as the existence of a cave with water used in the church at present as well in the very vicinity of the monastery; we are hopeful that the future research will confirm or contradict this theory).

The stone dug wine presses discovered in Zampetiana and Harhaliana confirm the existence of habitat structures, and also agriculture and viniculture activities. These presses are very close to the graves in the Zampetiana area. (Plate 4 / 1, 2)

The Byzantine Necropolis

Up to the present day the graves in three more accessible areas have been excavated: Zampetiana, Harhaliana and Batoudiana in the centre of the island. Located in the north of the island, the first two areas are the richest as regards the 5th – 7th century Byzantine material and they are the places where most of the Byzantine graves have been signaled. This is why we believe that the most important 5th – 7th century settlements are here. The graves excavated so far in these areas are twelve. Five of them are in Zampetiana, and the remaining in Harhaliana.

The highest density of ceramic fragments is in the Harhaliana area where over 10 graves have been localized so far, among which seven have been excavated. All graves are dug in stone and are east – west oriented. Among the seven graves excavated in Harhaliana bone fragments were found in only five of them, the other two had been emptied and used most likely as water tanks by the locals.

Only four graves were found untouched of the total of twelve excavated graves, with the stone slabs on top.

Typology

Two types were identified depending on the execution of the grave:

1. with “*patura*”: a ditch at ground level which the stone slabs lean on (Plate 4 / 3).

2. with niche, the slabs that seal the grave are placed on a niche, then fixed into position with mortar (Plate 4 / 4).

Among the twelve excavated graves, the preparation of the grave bottom was noted in only one of them because during the digging of the grave a pit was made in the central area. In order to level the bottom of the pit, it was repaired with earth and pebbles (Plate 8 / 1, 2). In only ten of twelve graves bone fragments were found (in a grave excavated in 2005 only two skull pieces were found on the bottom of the grave, which makes us believe that the grave had been emptied at a certain moment, and it is difficult to say whether this had been done in the ancient days or at present).

Further we will present only a few of the graves where human bone pieces were found.

G1 (Plate 5 / 1): a child's grave (according to the analysis of the teeth, the child is 5 - 7 years old), dug in 2000 by Dina Papathanasiou. The grave is east-west oriented, head to the west, an *oenochoe* was placed at the child's feet (Plate 5 / 3) (Marrou 1999, p. 112 and Dennis 2001, p. 7, on the custom of taking food for the "voyage beyond" and Velkovska 2001, p. 21 – 45 on the Byzantine funeral ritual according to liturgical sources). In the abdomen area, towards the left shoulder blade, a bronze cross-shaped buckle was found (Plate 5 / 2) (analogy to Travlos, Frantz 1965, plate 43 / a, dated the 6th / 7th centuries). The bones are anatomically connected, which is indicative of the fact that the grave was untouched. Comparing the inventory with the inventory of the graves in a Samos cemetery, the grave is dated in the 6th / 7th A.D. For the dating of the *oenochoe* at the beginning of the 7th century, see Robinson 1959, p. 122, plate 35 / N2.

Dimensions: 1.07 x 0.32 and 0.35-0.50 m. deep

In the summer of 2003, the archaeological excavations went on in the region. North of the house of the Beltecos family, a group of five stone dug graves was discovered. Three of them were still covered with their slabs, so they had not been emptied, while the last two, in the south, had already been tampered with and were full of vegetation. The covered ones had lime slabs and the gap between the slabs was filled with pebbles and ceramic pieces. Two types of graves were represented in this group as well: with niche and with « *patura* ».

G2 (Plate 5/ 4): this is the furthest north, two adult skeletons were found. They were preserved well enough even though disturbed at places. Examining their positions, it seems that the dead had been placed one on top of the other – the width of the grave is very limited. We cannot be certain whether the burials had been made at the same time or there lapsed some time between one and the other.

Dimensions: 1.85 x 0.43 – 0.48 m., 0.70 m. deep

G3 (Plate 5/ 5): situated immediately south, smaller in size, it includes two children's skeletons, placed one at the side of the other. Under their heads there was a stone used as a « *pillow* ». Their position is indicative of the fact that they had been buried together.

Dimensions: 1.40 x 0.47, 0.32 m. deep

The other three graves contained poorly preserved bones and the total lack of inventory proves the economic difficulties of the period and the poverty of the settlement.

Other two graves were also excavated, situated south – west of the previous group.

The first (**G4**) included a group of three people, buried together, while the second was differently covered, with no *patura*, with only three cuts along the long sides.

The absence of inventory does not provide for the precise dating of the graves, but their vicinity with and typology similar to the graves dug in 2000 allow us to date them back to the same period of time (the second half of the 6th century – early 7th century).

G5 (Plate 6 / 1 - 3): this grave was dug in 2004, falls within type 2, with “*patura*”, contains three individuals placed one on top of the other. The bones are anatomically connected, with small exceptions at the feet area, but we believe that these interventions had been caused by roots, and not people. A moved mandible piece was found in the abdominal area possibly because of plant roots.

After the removal of the first individual, it could be noted that the feet of the other two overlapped. We should mention the fact that the bones are very badly preserved and breakable at the slightest touch. The wear of the teeth indicates that these are adults over 30 years of age.

The inventory of this grave includes only a pair of bronze earrings found in the head area on the bottom of the grave (Plate 6/ 4)

One of the earrings is one open hoop terminating in a cylindrical eyelet. A granulated bunch of grapes is affixed to the lower part of one earring (analogy in Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2002, p. 428, fig. 551 dated in the 7th century) (Plate 6/ 5).

Dimensions: 1.83 x 0.50 x 0.70 m

In 2005 we continued the excavation north of Harhaliana, in the same place where in 2004 we found grave 5 and where in the previous years Dina Papathanasiou had found a child’s grave. In this area another five graves were discovered.

G6 (Plate 7/ 1 – 4; 8/ 1 - 3): This is a grave with lateral niche for the covering stones (which were not found).

At a 0.40 m depth we found the first human bones: 2 phalanxes and a piece of skull (in the east side of the grave). Because of these three pieces we assumed that the grave had been disturbed. In the central zone we found a vertebra, and in the east area there were fewer bones, none of them in anatomical connection. We found connected feet bones and also teeth (these were all over the grave), long bones on the layer of the 0.45 / 0.55 m depth. Under this level skull and rib fragments appeared. Because of this fact we can state that the grave had been disturbed at a certain moment. No bones were found on the same layer, in the east side of the grave, but in the west area we did, most of them in the northern half, apparently in anatomical connection, 2 humeri and ribs. 30 cm. south of these bones we found 2 vertebrae in anatomical connection. The skull fragment that we collected had worn teeth with a cavity.

We think this grave contains only one individual, and the skeleton had been disturbed at a certain moment while some of the bones were still in anatomical connection (we found parts of the skeleton naturally connected). The bones had been moved in the north-west side of the grave. In the east half of the grave we found few small bones only.

The grave had been repaired with clay and small stones after its construction because, in the east half, the rock had cracked too much and had a hole (Plate 8 / 1, 2). The clay and rocks had been used to bring the bottom of the grave at the same level before the burial.

Dimensions: 1.90 x 0.50 m x 0.70m

Niche dimensions (width): 0.14 m.

G7 (Plate 8/ 4): 20 m. west of G6 we started to excavate another grave (with *patura*). At a 0.40 m. depth, stones and shards (small pieces very hard to identify) of Byzantine pottery were found. On the bottom of the grave, in the central zone, we found skull pieces. Because of this we can say that at a certain moment the grave had been used for another purpose (we do not believe that this grave had been robbed; if it had been robbed the bones would have been moved throughout the grave – it is possible that this grave had been used as a water tank in modern times).

Dimensions: 1.69 x 0.53 x 0.67 m. deep

Conclusions

All the graves on the island are dug in stone, and most of them had practical utility as they were used for multiple burials – containing two and even three individuals, which is attested by the archaeological discoveries; if the graves had been dug in the ground, the multiple burials would

have been very difficult. Currently we believe that these were family groups that controlled a certain area where they had their homes and outbuildings and where they buried their dead. For the 5th – 7th centuries such burials with several individuals in one grave are quite frequent (Nalpadis 2002, p. 537 - 537). Once the grave is dug and the first burial done, the grave is temporarily covered with stone slabs. When necessary, the slabs would be removed for the next burial. When they eventually believe there is no room left for other burials, they would put the stone slabs in place and seal the grave with mortar (Plate 9/ 1 - 3).

As to the discovered wine presses, we believe that they were jointly used by a family group. The analysis of the bones in the graves can clarify whether they were individuals of the same family. The analysis of the bones in each little necropolis can also clarify for us whether there were villages founded by a family / clan. As regards the discovered items, we refer here to the cross-shaped buckle, which type is encountered north of the Black Sea. We must detect where the item comes from and thus determine the economic connections of the island's inhabitants. The same must be done for the earrings (according to the analogy we found, they come from the mainland, probably by route of the Kythira island). The analysis of the metals the two objects are made of will hopefully clarify things for us. It is very important to find out whether the inhabitants of the island in the Byzantine period were religiously dependent on Crete or Kythira (now the island is under the Metropolitan Church of Kythira).

Although the presence of the cross-shaped buckle and the east-west orientation of the graves are indicative of the fact that the population was Christian, until the discovery of a potential basilica of the 5th – 7th centuries we are in doubt as to the religion of the locals. We must keep in mind that in the 4th century Greece is represented by only 3 bishops in the Niceea Council, that only one Christian basilica, the one in Epidavros, has been dated (Frantz 1965, p. 188) back to the same century, which is why the existence of a 5th – 7th century basilica on the island is highly unlikely.

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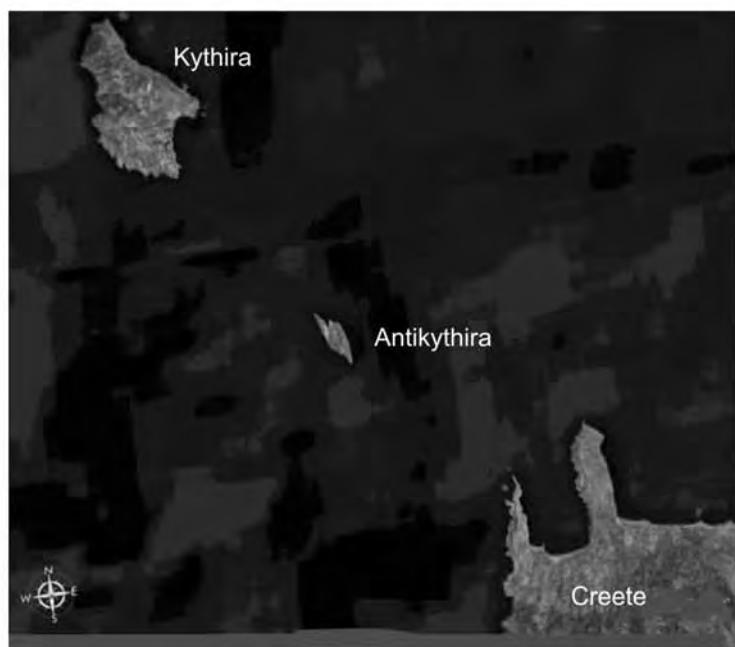
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1. General view of the Greece and Crete.



2. The Antikythira Island

Plate 1



1. The map of Antikythera Island

Plate 2



1. The Byzantine settlement from Patakiana



2. Late Roman C (found at Zampetiana)



3. Late Roman Amphora 2 from Potamos

Plate 3



1. The wine press from Zampetiana



2. The Byzantine graves from Zampetiana



3. Grave with 'patura' (type 1)



4. Grave with niche (type 2)

Plate 4



1. Grave 1, view from W to E.



2. Grave 1, buckle.



3. Grave 1, oenochoe



4. Grave 2, view from E to W.



5. Grave 3, view from E to W.

Plate 5



1. Grave 5, view from E to W; first individual.



2. Grave 5, view from E to W;
second and third individuals.



3. Grave 5, view from E to W; final.



4. Grave 5; the earrings.



5. The same type of earrings found
at Azoros, near Elasson, apud
Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2002, p. 428, fig. 551

Plate 6



1. Grave 6 at the beginning, view from W to E.



2. Grave 6; first layer of bones, view from W to E.



3. Grave 6; detail, skull and ribs, view from V to E.



4. Grave 6; detail, ribs and hip, view from V to E.

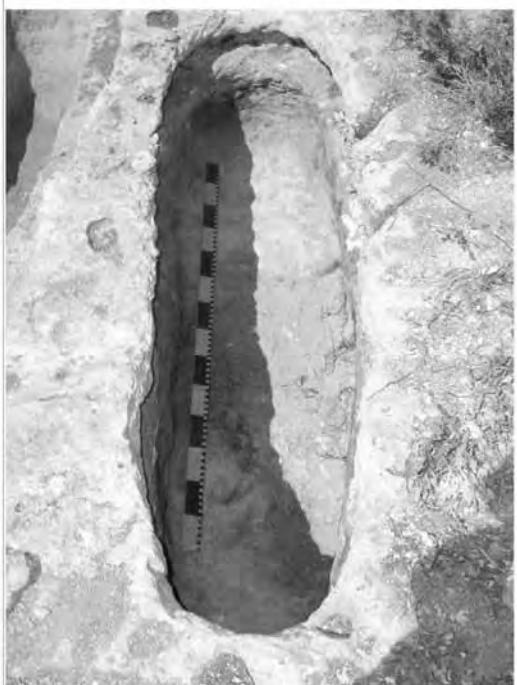
Plate 7



1. Grave 6, the pit from the center and bones.



2. Grave 6, the pit from the center and bones.



3. Grave 6, at the final, view from E to W.



4. Grave 7, view from W to E.

Plate 8



1. A grave covered with stone slabs.
View from W to E.



2. The point of sealing the slab with mortar.



3. The point of sealing the slab with mortar.

Plate 9

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SETTLEMENTS AND THE NECROPOLISES OF THE BANAT TERRITORY IN THE 11TH - 13TH CENTURIES

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For the Banat region territory, the archaeological research concentrated mainly in excavating the necropolises and less their contemporary settlements. Even if they did it, the material recuperated from the settlements is very little known for the chronological span we are analyzing. For example, at Cladova, on the northern bank of the Mureș River, the materials from the settlements are very summarily published, and the same situation is at Ildia- Oblița (Țeicu 2003 a, p. 9-22, Uzum 1989, p. 39-44). As for the Serbian Banat, the situation is better, because parts of the settlements have been published, but the contemporary necropolises are missing (Trifunović 1989-1990, p. 99-130, see also bibliography, Stanojev 1996).

We are aware that, in different places of the Banat region, pottery dated in a certain chronological period was found, but it has been published with drawings either in a small measure, or not at all (Barački, Brmbolić 1997, p. 209-228, Țeicu 1987, p. 317-345, Uzum 1979, p. 225-254, Țeicu 2003 f, p. 339-375, Țeicu, Lazarovici 1996, Luca 2005). Certain pottery groups too (clay cauldrons of Petchenegue type) of the Romanian region of Banat drew the scholars' attention (Takács 1986, Takács 1993, p. 447-482, Lukács 1984, p. 320-330, Diaconu 1956, p. 421-439, Diaconu 1994, p. 155-168). Unfortunately, they studied the objects as such and not in their relationship with the contemporary cemeteries. There is another issue as far as this kind of pottery is concerned, that is its deposit only in funerary complexes, at the northern Danube, in Banat, except for a grave at Svinia - 1004 river km, where was found a fragment of a clay cauldron (Boroneanț 1985, p. 113). The man interventions destroyed the necropolis and the contemporary settlement as well, such as at Moldova Veche-Rât necropolis (Uzum 1979, p. 225-254) and Reșița-Ogășele dungeon (Țeicu 1996, p. 6). Under the circumstances, analyzing the relationship between the settlements and the necropolises in the geographical area in question supposes some special procedures of study.

First of all, we need to define the funerary horizons with the ritual practices and their specific inventory, because there are particular cases, when the typical objects of a necropolis are not necessarily present in the settlement and vice versa (for example, at Ildia-Funii or Gornea-Căunița de Sus). Secondly, we have to localize the contemporary settlements, to inventory the objects recuperated from them, and then, to corroborate the chronological and typical information.

The chronology of the objects found in necropolises and settlements is very important for the period under analysis, as they stand for the contemporaneity of the necropolis and settlement, especially as the objects of the settlement are not necessarily present in the cemeteries.

Even following this method of analysis, we found extremely rare and critical dating of the 10th and first half of the next century settlements. Where necropolises exist, there are not, as a rule, settlements and this situation is due, in particular to the specific of the plain region of Banat, where steppe nomad populations settled, so they had not a fixed place to live in, while in the hill and mountain region, the necropolises of this chronological period have not been researched. That's why, we are going to discuss only the Bielo Brdo type necropolises, the south-Danubian horizon-2 of the eastern part of the region and those with austere inventory of the Angevine and post-Angevine periods.

From the 10th to the 14th centuries there are in Banat, several funerary horizons, and every one with its own features (Oța 2004, *Orizonturi funerare în Banatul istoric (secolele X-XIV)*, doctor's degree paper in manuscript, at the library of the Institute of Archaeology „V. Pârvan” in Bucharest.). We don't know yet the settlement for the Kötlach (at Deta) type funerary horizon. Besides, the settlements contemporary to the necropolises of the south-Danubian funerary horizon - 1, the graves with austere inventory (1) of the 10th century, those largely dated (2) in the 10th-12th centuries, the steppe horizon-2, the necropolises with austere inventory of the late Arpadian period, the Angevine and post-Angevine ones are either not excavated at all, or the results of the research are not adequately published. Let's add to all these, the graves without inventory, or those impossible to be assigned (the inventory is missing and the ritual characteristics are not relevant for connecting them with a certain funerary horizon). We are going to analyze the most representative, which are the steppe horizon-1, the Bielo Brdo type horizon, the south - Danubian funerary horizon-2.

There are not, for the time being, researched settlements corresponding to the necropolises of the steppe horizons 1 and 2. The situation is pretty similar for the Bielo Brdo type necropolises, where very few settlements are only partially excavated (In Banat, no settlement has been entirely excavated, but only partially, such as at *Cladova* or *Vladimirescu*). As for the 14th – 15th centuries' cemeteries, even end of 13th, the funerary inventory (jewelry and clothing accessories) is almost nonexistent. The funerary inventory consists, so far, in coins, rings, exceptionally, earrings (Ilia-Oblița, one tomb, Cuptoare-Sfogea, Grave 189, Reșița - Ogășele, Grave 15 - could be earlier according to the object typology), plaque necklaces (Cârnea-Dealul Bisericii- Grave 12), buttons necklaces (Obreja - Sat Bătrân, Grave 15), buttons (Reșița-Ogășele, Grave 24, Caransebeș-Center, Grave 8 from the crypt 5, Cuptoare-Sfogea, Grave 291), buckles (Gornea-Târcheviște, Graves 21 and 23), sword (Bucova- Stadion, Grave 1), knife (Gornea-Târcheviște, Grave 39) and pottery (Gornea-Târcheviște, Grave 11, Bucova-Stadion, Grave 1). The situations previously presented are exceptions, in comparison with the discovered necropolises and groups of tombs. The contemporary settlements are also very little researched and published (Țeicu 1998, p. 263, Fig.101, p. 264, Fig.102, p. 265, Fig.103, p. 266, Fig.104/3-4, p. 267, 268, 270-271, 277, Fig.107, p. 278, Fig.108, p. 279, Fig.109, p. 282, Fig.112, Țeicu 2003 e, p. 155-169, Țeicu 1987, p. 326, Fig.8, p. 330, p. 332, Fig.12, p. 340, Fig.17, p. 341, 342, Fig.18, Țeicu 2003 d, p. 107). The mentioned types of objects are not found, in the present stage of the research, in settlements, excepting, probably, the coins, such as at Cladova. Consequently, the only relevant cases are the necropolises of the south-Danubian horizon-2.

We chose, for the study, a number of necropolises from the south-Danubian horizon - 2 (end of 11th – beginning of 13th centuries for Banat region, Pl.1), Bielo Brdo (Pl.2) and the necropolises with austere inventory, of Angevine and post - Angevine periods (pl.3).

The first type of necropolis, with Byzantine tradition jewelry, continued to exist in Oltenia during the next centuries too, but in Banat, either they stopped their functioning, or there had been some changes in the funerary ritual of the jewelry deposits. In certain settlements, they continued to use the imported ceramics of south-Danubian tradition, but in comparison with the objects deposited in necropolises, the direct parallels are no longer possible, even if there is obvious in some cases, that the two kinds of sites functioned at the same time, such as Berzovia-Pătruieni (Țeicu 1996, p. 37-47, Țeicu 1998, p. 112, 123, 263, Fig. 101, p. 130-131, 264, Fig.102, p. 266, Fig.104, p. 178), Ilidia-Oblița and Săliște (Țeicu 1987, p. 327, 330, 332. Fig.12, Țeicu 1998, p. 265, Fig.103). It is hard to say, in the present state of the research, which was the relation between the necropolises of Ilidia-Cetate and Oblița on one hand and the settlement of Săliște, on the other.

We chose to study mainly the necropolises of the south-Danubian horizon-2 and their contemporary settlements because both types of sites are excavated, and furthermore, it is almost the only type of cemetery whose kind of inventory is present in the settlements too.

The main features of the above-mentioned funerary horizon consist in the presence of Byzantine tradition jewelry (diadems, temple earrings with one or two globular, biconical pendants, different types of beads, similar to those of the Bielo Brdo type funerary horizon, glass bracelets, twisted

bronze bracelets, with loops at both ends, rings decorated with anthropomorphic, zoomorphic and fantastic figurines, crosses, pectoral little crosses etc., sometimes together with those of Bielo Brdo type (hairpins with an end S-shaped folded). There is also a series of jewels common to both funerary horizons, such as simple hairpins, simple rings band-shaped, lens-shaped, or circular in section and beads. In both funerary horizons there are Byzantine coins or imitations, Hungarian, or central European coins. Very seldom, we found in settlements, bone plaques from the bow and arrowheads, which could be vestiges of the steppe cultural horizon. There are other features, like the absence of a funerary monument, the sporadic presence of ceramics inside the necropolises territory (Pottery discovered on the territory of the Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă (Țeicu 2003 b, p. 31-32) Nicolint necropolises (Radu, Țeicu 2003, p. 212-213). At the grave of Svința-Km. of the river 1004, in the tomb there was a fragment of a clay bucket.) and, very often, the deposit of corpses in the pit having one or the two arms curved from the elbow, while the palms rest on the clavicle or the neck.

The Byzantine tradition jewels and the Bielo Brdo type ones have been unveiled in graves and in necropolises as well Ilidia-Funii (At *Ilidia-Funii*, in the settlement, was discovered a temple earring with three circular mouldings around the ling, and in the necropolis, hairpins with a S-shaped ending. The settlement and the necropolis have been only partially excavated. In the necropolis of *Gornea-Căunița de Sus*, have been found jewels of Byzantine tradition (earrings with a circular moulding around the link, temple earrings with a biconic frame, finger rings with good analogies in the similar necropolises of the southern river, beads, bracelets made of bronze wires with loops at the endings) and Bielo Brdo type (hairpins with a S-shaped ending, simple hairpins), while in the contemporary settlement, fragments of glass bracelets, enameled pottery of Byzantine tradition (Țeicu 2003, p. 156), a finger ring, bone little plaques from the bow. At *Moldova Veche-Rât*, in the settlement, pottery fragments of the same tradition have been discovered (Țeicu 2003 e, p. 156, 157), and in a tomb, a pectoral little cross.), *Gornea-Căunița de Sus*. In the settlement of Ilidia-Funii a temple earring with three circular moldings around the link was found, while in the necropolis, hairpins with a S-shaped ending. The settlement and the necropolis have been only partially excavated. In the necropolis of *Gornea-Căunița de Sus*, jewels of Byzantine tradition have been discovered (earrings with a circular molding around the link, temple earrings with biconical frame, finger rings with analogies in the similar necropolises at the South of the river, beads, bronze bracelets with loops at the endings), as well as Bielo Brdo type (hairpins with an S-shaped ending, simple hairpins), while in the contemporary settlement, fragments of glass bracelets, enameled ceramics of Byzantine tradition (Țeicu 2003 e, p. 156), a finger ring, bone plaques of the bow. In the settlement of *Moldova Veche-Rât*, were fragments of pottery of the same tradition (Țeicu 2003 e, p. 156, 157) and in a grave, a pectoral little cross (Țeicu, Bozu 1982, p. 393-395).

Byzantine and Hungarian coins have been found in both necropolises (Velter 1997, vol. II, Repertoriul I, p. 7, XLIV/60, Țeicu, Lazarovici 1996, p. 85, Velter 1997, Repertoriul I, p. 9, Lazarovici, Maxim, Țeicu, Oprinescu 1993, p. 298, Țeicu, Lazarovici 1996, p. 85, 86, Fig.51. For grave 49, see Bălănescu 1993, p. 324, but wrongly printed 69 instead of 49. In 1989, they excavated only grave 65, and the grave 49 is the only one excavated and mentioned with a coin, probably Hungarian, in the article written by Lazarovici, Maxim, Țeicu, Oprinescu in 1993). A similar case seems to be the necropolis and settlement of Mehadia-Ulici, but, unfortunately, they were partially excavated and our information is collected from the 18th century mentions (Țeicu 2003 c, p. 95-105).

Due to the actual situation of the archaeological excavations, there are a small number of cases for study (Vladimirescu, Cladova-Cetate and Biserica din Vale, Ilidia-Funii, Gornea-Căunița de Sus, Zomoniță, Tărmuri, Tărcheviște, Mehadia-Ulici, Moldova Veche-Rât), but where we could establish a relation between the settlements and the necropolises, based on the objects recuperated.

The relative and absolute (based on the coins) chronology of the objects is already established, as well for those of the necropolises (Ota 2004, p. 142-259), than for the material of the settlements (Țeicu 2003 e, p. 155-169, Uzum 1979, p. 225-254, Țeicu 2003 a, p. 9-22, Țeicu 1987, p. 317-345, Țeicu 2003 f, p. 239-275, Trifunović 1989-1990, p. 99-130, Barački, Brmbolić 1997, p. 209-228,

Takács 1986, Takács 1993, p. 447-482). We are going to mention strictly the objects found in the settlements and necropolises as well.

There are very few objects that can establish a connection between the settlements and the necropolises, like: an earring with three circular moldings found in the settlement of Ilidia-Funii (Uzum 1989, p. 41, Fig.6), the glass bracelets of Gornea-Zomoniță (Teicu, Lazarovici 1996, p. 59, 61, Fig.31/1-3), a fragment of a bracelet made of twisted bronze wire, the same settlement (Teicu, Lazarovici 1996, p. 59), a circular buckle from the settlement of Berzovia-Pătruieni (Teicu 1998, p. 263, Fig.101/7).

The first object is analogue to another discovered at Banatska Palanka (Barački, Brmbolić 1997, p. 211). Similar jewelry, at the northern Danube, comes from the necropolises of Cuptoare- Sfogea-seven pieces (Teicu 1998, p. 160, Fig. 42/1-2, 4-6, 9), Gornea-Căunița de Sus-two pieces (Teicu 1998, p. 160, Fig.42/3) and Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă-three pieces (Graves 27, 33 and 37) (Teicu 1998, p. 160, Fig.42/10).

The glass bracelets, in fashion especially in the 12th century at the northern Danube, and probably at the end of the 11th and the 13th centuries too, different kinds of fabrication and colour, have typological analogies in the necropolises of Caransebeș-Măhala (Iaroslavski 1975, p. 361, 363), Cuptoare-Sfogea (Uzum 1987, p. 308, Fig.8/d, p. 309, Fig.9/a-d, p. 310, 311, Teicu 1998, p. 169, Fig.51/2, Uzum 1987, p. 308, Fig.8, p. 309, Fig.9, p. 310, 311), Moldova Veche-Malul Dunării (Féher et al. 1962, p. 54; Gohl 1914, p. 17; Sabău 1958, p. 290) and Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă Grave 17 (Teicu 1998, p. 156, Fig.38/12). The mentioned necropolises and groups of tombs belong to the south-Danubian funerary horizon-2.

The bracelets made of twisted bronze wires (One fragment comes from the settlement of Gornea-Zomoniță (Teicu, Lazarovici 1996, p. 59) are typical to the same South-Danubian horizon-2, with a similar chronology. At the North of the river, this kind of objects was found in the necropolises of Cuptoare-Sfogea, Gornea-Căunița de Sus and Șopotu Vechi-Mârvilă (Teicu 1998, p. 165, Fig.47, p. 166, Fig.48, p. 167, Fig.49).

Identical objects to the circular buckles found at Gornea- Târgheviște (Uzum 1975, p.136) and Cladova-Necropola din Vale (Excavations made by V. Boroneanț, P. Hurezan, P. Hügel, S. Oța) have been discovered in the settlement of Berzovia-Pătruieni (Teicu 1998, p. 263, Fig.101/7). Both necropolises are late cemeteries, with an austere inventory, Angevine and post-Angevine period (14th-15th centuries). The settlement dates from the same period.

The other types of objects of the settlements have not been found in the necropolises, except for the coins. The presence of the sickles and knives is not relevant in establishing a relation of contemporaneity between the settlements and the necropolises.

In the Banat of the Middle Ages, most part of the objects of a settlement could help to assess the chronological relation between the settlement and the necropolis, relation that is not necessarily of similarity for the common use objects as well as those for the funerary practices.

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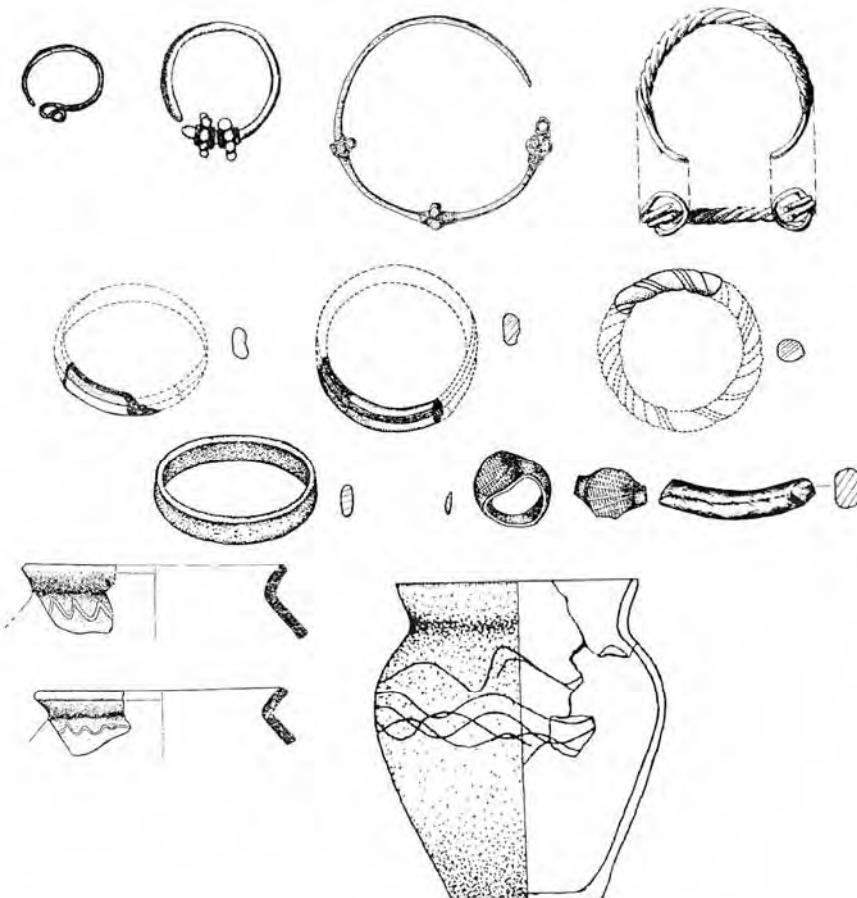
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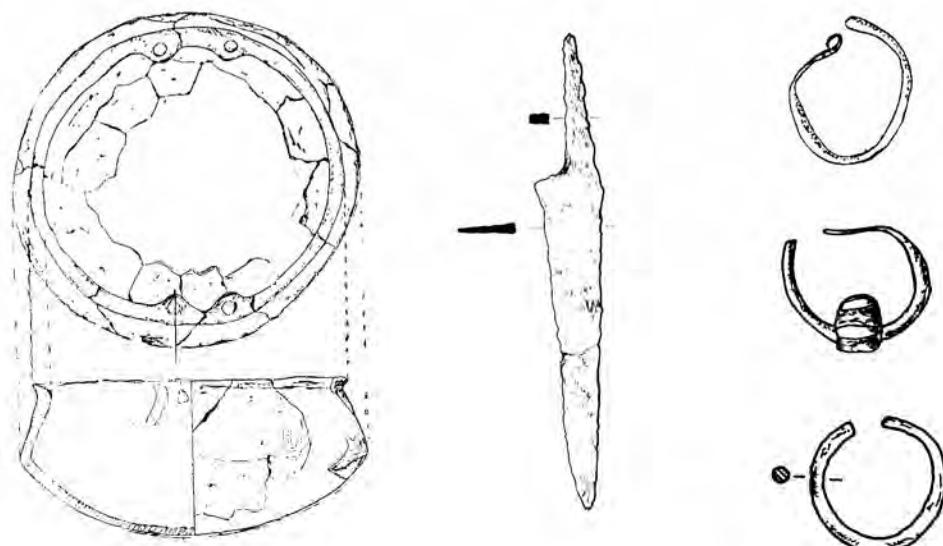
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AMN	- Acta Musei Napocensis, Cluj
A.S.M.B.	- Arheologia satului medieval din Banat, Reșița, 1996
CCA	- Cronica cercetărilor arheologice din România
MCA	- Materiale și cercetări arheologice, București
N:K.	- Numizmatikai Közlöny, Budapest
RAD	- Rad Vojvodjanskih Muzeja, Novi Sad
RMM-MIA	- Revista Muzeelor și Monumentelor, seria Monumente istorice și de artă, București
Rég. Tan.	- Régészeti Tanulmányok, Budapest
SCN	- Studii și cercetări numismatice, București
SCIVA	- Studii și cercetări de istorie veche, București
SCIVA	- Studii și cercetări de istorie veche și arheologie, București
V.A.H.	- Varia Archaeologica Hungarica

Crt. Nr.	Name of the locality	Material from the settlement	Material from the necropolis
The south-Danubian horizon of necropolises-2 and the excavated contemporary settlements			
1	Gornea-Căunița de Sus, Zomonița or Tărmuti	Glass bracelets, bone plaques of the bow, ring, arrowheads, knife, bone pricker with iron head	Twisted bracelets, finger rings, Byzantine type temple earrings, coins, beads, S-shaped links, hairpins
2	Ildia-Funii	Earrings with astragals, coins from Bela III, Manuel I Comnen (1143-1180), Alexios III Angelos (1195-1203), spurs with thorn, scissors, amulet tube of ornamented bone	S-shaped earrings, coins from the 11th-12th centuries
3	Moldova Veche-Rât	Coins from Alexios I Comnen (1081-1118), Bella III (1173-1196)	Pectoral little cross
4	Mehadia-Ulici	12th-13th centuries	Byzantine schipate coins, 12th century
Objects common to funerary horizon and contemporary settlements			
			
Pl. 1			

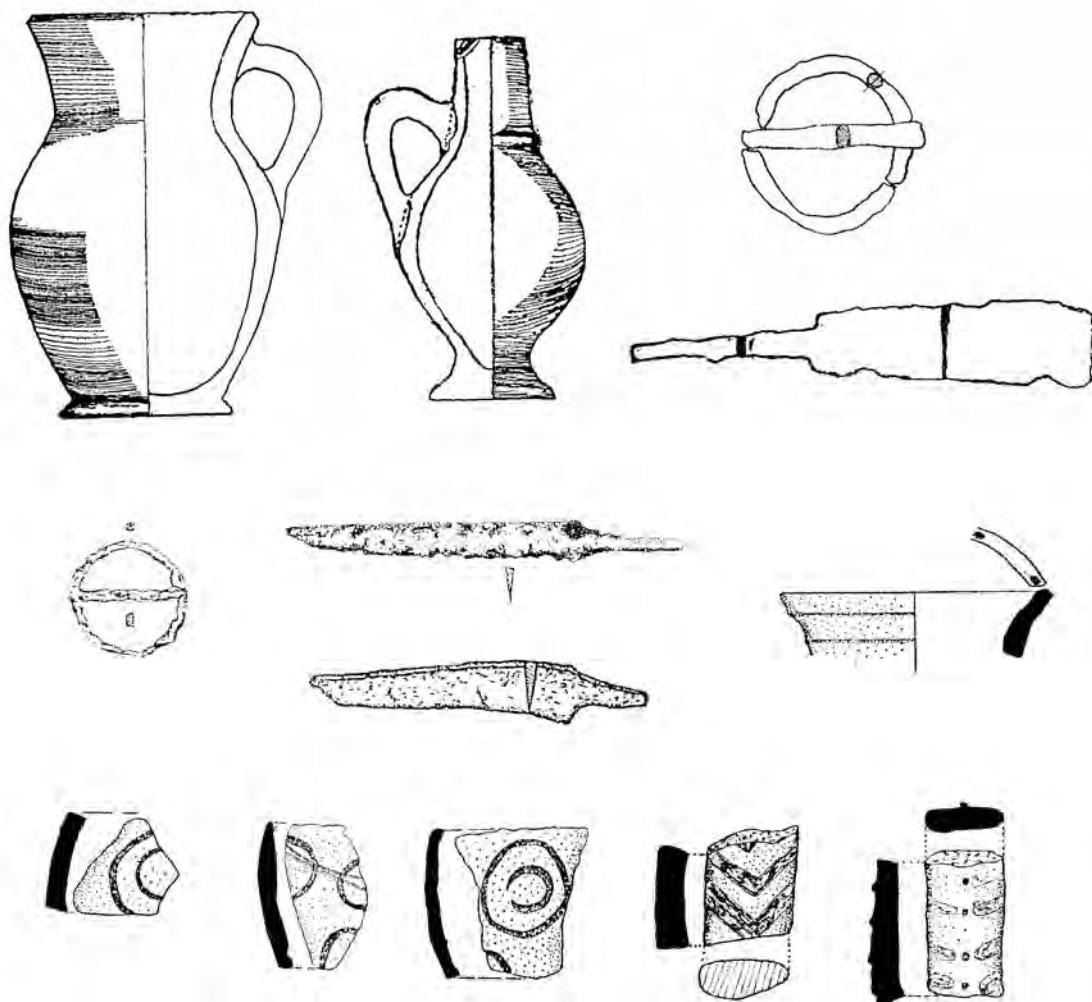
Crt. Nr.	Name of the locality	Material from the settlement	Material from the necropolis
The Bielo Brdo type funerary horizon and the excavated contemporary settlements			
1	Cladova-Dealul Cetății	Simple hairpins, ring with inscription, pottery, weaponry, iron cakes, bronze little plaques, various iron objects, coin from Bernhard (1202-1256), Ladislau IV Cumanul - 1290	S-shaped type hairpins, beads, simple links, rings, glass bracelet, coins from Bela II (1141-1162), Coloman (1095-1116), twisted ring
2	Vladimirescu-La Cetate	Clay cauldrons	S-shaped type links, copper bracelet, iron buckle, notched ring, iron ring

Objects common to funerary horizon and contemporary settlements



Pl. 2

Crt. Nr.	Name of the locality	Material from the settlement	Material from the necropolis
Funerary horizon with austere inventory, from Angevin and post Angevine period and settlements from the same period			
1	Gornea-Țârcheviște	-	Buckles, jug, enameled jar, ring, fragment of knife
2	Cladova-Biserica din Vale	-	Ring, buckle
3	Berzovia-Pătruieni	Buckle	Coin
4	Ildia-Săliște	Enameled pottery	-



Pl. 3