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**Funerary Practices in Europe, before and after the  
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UNION of the PRE-  
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PENTRU CULTURĂ,  
CULTE ȘI  
PATRIMONIUL  
CULTURAL NAȚIONAL  
AL JUDEȚULUI SIBIU  
(DJCCPCNJS)**

## **Funerary Practices in Europe, before and after the Roman Conquest (3<sup>rd</sup> century BC-3<sup>rd</sup> century AD)**

### **Proceedings of the 8<sup>th</sup> International Colloquium of Funerary Archaeology**

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## ABREVIATIONS

ArchHung	= Archaeologia Hungarica, Budapest
ActaMN	= Acta Musei Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca
Analecta Archaeologica Ressoviensia	= Analecta Archaeologica Ressoviensia, Institut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego
Analele Banatului	= Analele Banatului, Muzeul Banatului, Timișoara.
AOP	= Apxeологически открытия и разкопки (Archaeological Discoveries and Excavation)
Apulum	= Apulum, Acta Musei Apulensis, Alba Iulia
Archaeologia Bulgarica	= Archaeologia Bulgarica, Sofia
ArheologijaSofia	= Arheologija na Muzeite i Institut Arheologij, Sofia
ArhMold	= Arheologia Moldovei, Iași
BerRGK	= Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Frankfurt am Main
CAMNI	= Cercetări Arheologice, Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București
CAANT	= Cercetări arheologice în aria nord-tracă, București
CCAR	= Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România, București
CercetArh	= Cercetări Arheologice, Muzeul Național de Istorie a României
Crisia	= Muzeul Tării Crișurilor Oradea
DACL	= Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et liturgie - Paris
EAIVR	= Preda, C. (ed.). <i>Enciclopedia Arheologiei și Istoriei Vechi a României</i> , București: Editura Enciclopedică
EphNap	= Ephemeris Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca
GodišnikSeverna	= Godišnik na Muzeite ot Severna Bălgarija, Veliko Tărново
Helis	= Helis. Archaeological Museum and Institute Sofia. Museum Historical – Isperih
ИБАИ	= Известия на Българския археологически институт (Bulletin of the Bulgarian Institute of Archaeology)
ИНМВ	= Известия на Народния музей – Варна (Bulletin of the National Museum in Varna)
Istros	= Istros, Muzeul Brăilei, Brăila
IzvestijaSofia	= Izvestija na Arheologhičeski Institut, Sofia.
IzvestijaVarna	= Izvestija na Narodnija Muzej (Izvestija na Varnenskoto Arheologičesko Družestvo), Varna
JahrbRGZM	= Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz
JRMES	= Journal of Roman Military Equipment Studies
Litua	= Litua, Muzeul Județean Gorj, Târgu-Jiu
MCA	= Materiale și cercetări arheologice, București
MÉFRA	= Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Antiquité, Paris-Roma
Peuce	= Peuce, Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale, Tulcea
PG	= J.-P. Minge, Patrologiae ccursus completes, series Graeca - Paris
Pontica	= Pontica, Muzeul de Istorie Națională și Arheologie, Constanța
Przeglad Archeologiczny	= Przeglad Archeologiczny, Poznan-Wroclaw
RESEE	= Revue des études sud-est Europenes, Bucarest.
Sargetia	= Sargetia. Acta Musei Devensis, Deva.
SCIV(A)	= Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche (și Arheologie), Institutul de Arheologie "V. Pârvan", București.
SlovArch	= Slovenska Archeológiya, Nitra
Sovietskaja Archeologija	= Sovietskaja Archeologija, Moskva
Sprawozdania Archeologiczne	= Sprawozdania Archeologiczne, Krakow
Starinar	= Starinar. Institut Archéologique. Beograd
Starini	= Starini. Journal of Balkan Archaeology, Sofia
Thracia	= Thracia, Institute of Thracology, Sofia
Thraco-Dacica	= Thraco-Dacica. Institutul Român de Tracologie, București

## **Introduction**

The 8<sup>th</sup> International Funerary Archaeology Colloquium, on the topic of “Funerary Practices in Europe, before and after the Roman Conquest (3<sup>rd</sup> century BC - 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD)”, held in Sibiu, between October 4 and 7, 2007, can be considered a success, from several perspectives.

The colloquium set out to analyze funerary phenomena from the Europe of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC – 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD in order to seize both the elements of continuity and those of discontinuity in the funerary practices of some peoples before and after the Roman conquest.

The choice of year, topic and location of the colloquium was influenced by several major events: the first was the celebration, in 2006, of 1900 years since the Roman conquest of Dacia; the second was the fact that Sibiu was, in 2007, the European Capital of Culture; the third was that The National Brukenthal Museum was celebrating 190 years since it has opened up its collections to the visitors. We could add that the 7<sup>th</sup> International Funerary Archaeology Colloquium, also held in Sibiu (6-9 October 2005) has enjoyed a resounding success, partly due to the publishing of the proceedings in 2006.

The 2007 colloquium has brought together 30 researchers from 9 countries (Romania, the Republic of Moldova, Ukraine, Bulgaria, Greece, F.Y.R. Macedonia, Serbia, the Czech Republic and Poland), who have held 20 lectures, very diverse, in terms of geography, chronology or ethnic focus. Thus, the lectures held concerned a large geographical area – from the north of the Black Sea to the center of Europe and from Poland to Greece – and were on Thracians, Illyrians, Celts, Greeks, Romans etc. Also, the lectures approached various aspects of the funerary phenomena, ranging from tomb construction to tomb chronology, from rites and rituals to inventory and offerings etc. The elements of continuity or the changes in the funerary practices of various peoples as a result of the Roman conquest turned out to be particularly interesting. Intense and fruitful discussions took place after the lectures, as did exchanges of pieces of information and publications between the participants.

We also need to point out that the lectures held were published right away, in widely-used languages, which will secure their fast diffusion in the international scientific environment.

The volume was prepared for publishing at the Museum of Braila, so we owe thanks to the colleagues Dana Smasnov and Roberto Tănasache for the help with that.

All in all, we can therefore conclude that the lectures and the discussions held at the colloquium, plus the publishing of the studies in widely-used languages and in excellent conditions, have made this scientific event a success, as it contributed to the enrichment of our view on the various aspects of the funerary domain.

**Dr. Valeriu Sîrbu**

President of the IUPPS 30<sup>th</sup> Commission

**Prof. Sabin Adrian Luca**

General Manager

The National Brukenthal Museum

## PROJECT “NECROPOLIS POROLISSENSIS” METHODS AND PERSPECTIVES<sup>1</sup>

Ágnes Alföldy-Găzdac, Szilamér Pánczél, Lóránt Vass,  
Cristian Găzdac, István. Bajusz, Nicolae Gudea (Romania)

**Key-words:** interdisciplinary methods, funerary anthropology, funerary enclosures, ritual purification, ethno-cultural structures

**Abstract.** The Project “Necropolis Porolissensis” is an international collaboration that emphasizes the interdisciplinary character of the research. The project involves scientists from different domains: archaeology, topography, geophysics, anthropology, archaeometry. The proceeding of the data coming from the old excavations side by side with new investigations is going to reveal different aspect of the funerary anthropology and the phenomenology of space at the Roman site of Porolissum. The recent excavations revealed two funerary constructions. Analyzing the grave type (ritually burnt grave pits) associated with rectangular and circular funerary constructions it is presumable an Illyro-Thracian presence in this settlement.

The present paper does not intend to analyze the results of the research carried out in the Roman graveyard from *Porolissum* (Moigrad and Jac, Sălaj County, Romania), but rather to present alternative research methods in the funerary archaeology and to emphasize the possible applications in the reconstruction of the ethnical and social structures of an ancient town.

The project “Necropolis Porolissensis” is an international collaboration that points out the interdisciplinary character of the research. In order to identify special features of the funerary anthropology in the Roman cemetery of *Porolissum*, this work involves scholars from different fields, different institutes from Romania and abroad. The team consists of archaeologists from different institutes from Transylvania (Institute of Archaeology and Art History from Cluj-Napoca, “Babeș-Bolyai” University from Cluj-Napoca, National History Museum of Transylvania from Cluj-Napoca and History and Art Museum from Zalău), of geophysicists from the “Eötvös Loránt” University from Budapest and specialists of human remains and archaeometry from the University of London. This collaboration between various scholars from different institutes intends to facilitate and to improve the analysis and interpretation of the results by processing recorded data at these specialized institutes. At the same time, this interdisciplinary team wants to underline detailed features of the funerary anthropology and not only the “traditional” archaeological aspects.

The project has three main aims. In the primary stage of research, the most important task is to collect, to correlate the results of the old excavations, and to identify their location on the field. This work involves a broad documentation and presumes at the same time the processing of the artefacts coming from this site. Our next aim is to observe the phenomenology of space with the help of field walking and geophysical survey and by relating the results to a digital terrain model (DTM) of the cemetery's area. Through the creation of a geographic information system (GIS) our aim is to identify the relation between graves, funerary architecture, the terrain and other constructions of the archaeological complex. The third objective is the analysis of the excavated funerary contexts and the related finds by appealing to the typological, anthropological, zoo-archaeological, archaeometrical and archaeological analyses.

*Porolissum* is one of the few urban sites in Roman Dacia that has not been disturbed by any modern settlement or constructions. In the Roman time it was an important military centre of the north-western

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<sup>1</sup> For the period between October 2007 – October 2010 the project will be financed by the UEFISCSU, Program Idei, Grant Nr. 516 and since 2005 we have received generous financial support from the Fornetti Romanaia SRL, the Communitas Foundation and from the History and Art Museum of Zalău.

defensive system<sup>2</sup>. The civil settlement established around the big auxiliary fort on the Pomet hill received the rank of *municipium* during the reign of Septimius Severus<sup>3</sup>. As the epigraphically evidence shows, the population of this economically flourishing settlement was ethnically heterogeneous<sup>4</sup>. The cemetery is situated outside the settlement, close to the village of Jac, on the hill called Ursoieş. Graves have been identified on both sides of the imperial road which goes southwards, through Romita, to Napoca (today Cluj-Napoca).

The first excavations in the cemetery were undertaken by Marius Moga in 1949. The documentation as well as the artefacts coming from this excavation is lost. Ten years later, another team, led by M. Macrea, continued the research in this area. They identified and documented many graves, marking them on a general sketch plan<sup>5</sup>. Due to the lack of topographical coordinates, the exact location on the terrain of the old trenches is difficult. Fortunately, most of the artefacts collected in the excavations from 1958-1959 were deposited in the collections of the National History Museum of Transylvania, and are under processing.

The geophysical survey undertaken in 2006 by the colleagues from the Faculty of Geophysics from Budapest has prospected an area of approximately 1 ha of the cemetery. Based on the geo-magnetism results several cremation graves, the imperial road going out from the city and two funerary constructions with stone edifice could be mapped<sup>6</sup>. The underground walls show significant positive traces on the magnetic anomalies' maps which is due to the fact that they were constructed of volcanic stones. The volcanic rocks come from the quarry Măgura Hill, in the close vicinity. They bear a very strong magnetization as well as the cremation graves. The geophysical prospection will continue in the following years when it will be applied to the whole area of the cemetery.

Field walking was an alternative method to estimate the area of necropolis. Taking a walk on hills it was possible to identify further finds related to burial contexts: a funerary lion, a balustrade from a funerary enclosure and a grave with cremation urn. These discoveries emphasized the supposition that the whole area of the Ursoieş hill was covered by the Roman necropolis (see the area marked with **P** on Fig. 1).

The archaeological excavations from 2007 where focusing on the research of the structures identified by the geophysical measurements. They revealed a 9.5m x 3.9m rectangular funerary enclosure (Funerary precinct nr. 1) and as the magnetometric measurements showed, the walls were partially disturbed by modern interventions (Fig. 2-3)<sup>7</sup>. The enclosure was built with volcanic stones and a few sandstone and brick fragments and had three cremation graves heavily destroyed by erosion. Grave 1 and 2 had a burnt edge of rectangular shape. The remaining inventory of the graves was poor and consisted of pottery vessel fragments and grave 2 had a burnt 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD coin. Further artefacts were found outside of the graves and consisted of: pottery vessel, glass vessel and ceramic lamp fragments. These finds could come from the destroyed parts of the graves. A group of stones displayed near the entrance could indicate a possible foundation of a gravestone.

Through the magnetometric prospection we identified also a circular stone enclosure (Funerary precinct nr. 2)<sup>8</sup>. This one could have been noticed right under the thin topsoil. The circular enclosure (6.9 x 6.6m in diameter) was built of volcanic rocks, a few limestone and sandstone fragments, and occasionally brick, linked without any bonding material (Fig. 4, 6). Because the state of preservation of the enclosure was good the original height of the stone wall could not have been much higher than the preserved remains. In the centre of the circular enclosure appeared the burnt edges of a rectangular grave pit (Fig. 5). The thin layer of ashes, charcoals and the charred bones were spread over the whole pit. The inventory of the grave

<sup>2</sup> For the military role of *Porolissum* see: Gudea 1989, p. 51 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Ardevan 1998, p. 67.

<sup>4</sup> For this issue see: Paki 1988, p. 215-226; Gudea 1989, p. 182-187.

<sup>5</sup> The results were summary published by Macrea, Protase, Rusu 1961, p. 361-390; Gudea 1989, p. 148-156.

<sup>6</sup> The publication of the results from the magneto metrical survey is forthcoming.

<sup>7</sup> Bajusz *et alii* 2008a

<sup>8</sup> Bajusz *et alii* 2008b

consisted of pottery vessel and burnt metal fragments<sup>9</sup>. On the south-eastern part of the enclosure a rectangular sandstone construction (1,5m x 1m) was added, and used possibly as a pedestal (Fig. 7)<sup>10</sup>.

In conclusion, some preliminary remarks can be made on the social status and ethnic-cultural attribution of the graves.

No doubt, stone funerary constructions suggest a certain financial prosperity which usually goes with a privileged social rank. This stands especially in the case of the circular funerary enclosure, which had probably a low mound, destroyed by erosion. The single grave discovered inside, the dimensions of the ring as well as the well shaped pedestal in the front of them suppose a special treatment of the deceased and the intention to be distinguished from the other graves. At the same time it will also emphasize the higher social status of the deceased<sup>11</sup>.

In both cases mentioned above (Funerary precinct nr. 1 and 2) the burnt margins of the grave pit and the thin charcoal layer reveal that the grave is not *bustum* type one, they were rather ritually purified<sup>12</sup>. This grave type is known in the references as the Mala Kopašnica-Sase type I<sup>13</sup>. It is known from the provinces of the Lower Danube and the Balkan peninsula. In a recent study Alexander Jovanović has shown that 70 % of the graves from *Moesia Superior* belong to this type<sup>14</sup>. Furthermore, the Mala Kopašnica-Sase grave type appears in *Pannonia Inferior*, *East-Dalmatia* and *Macedonia*, too. They are all present in necropolises of large urban centres, as well as those of the rural settlements. At the present state of research the scholars consider that these graves indicate a native character and they belong probably to the partially Romanized native Illyrian population<sup>15</sup>.

The rail of the sacred space of the burial with stone (rectangular or circular) enclosure is spread throughout the Roman Empire<sup>16</sup>, but it could reflect different cultural traditions. Similar funerary constructions came to light from cemeteries in *Moesia Superior* in Sase<sup>17</sup> and Guberevac<sup>18</sup> belonging to the Illyrian culture sphere. In this cases stone rings, probably holding up a small mound<sup>19</sup> are surrounded ritually purified graves.

Many years ago the scholars have observed the connection between the distribution in *Dacia* of the graves of the Mala Kopašnica-Sase type and the presence of Illyrian groups or persons in several settlements

<sup>9</sup> The finds from the excavations are not discussed here; they are under processing and will be the topic of forthcoming studies.

<sup>10</sup> A funerary inscription fixed mounted in a similar pedestal from *Alburnus Maior* (today Roşia Montană) has been recently published, (Timofan, Barbu 2007, p. 187, fig. 5). Other several more found at the same site will be published soon (information from Sorin Cociş).

<sup>11</sup> Wigg 1993, p. 118.

<sup>12</sup> Some scholars consider these graves as belonging to the *bustum* type. Serious arguments (thin charcoal layer, frequently reduced size of the graves, unequally burnt margins) bring serious doubts on this theory (Babės 1970a, p. 182; Babės 1970b, p. 728-729). Garašanin tent to see the burn margins a sign for carrying the rests of the pyre when they are still burning (Garašanin 1968, p. 31). More recently, some scholars expressed the hypothesis that a lustration of the grave area and its ritual purification by fire could explain the unequally burnt grave pits (Jovanović 2000, p. 205-206).

<sup>13</sup> Type I. is characterized by simple rectangular or oval grave pit with burnt edges, type II. has a burnt stepped grave pit, type III. has an oval or round grave pit without signs of ritual purification, see Garašanin 1968, p. 28.

<sup>14</sup> Jovanović 2000, p. 206.

<sup>15</sup> Jovanović 2000, p. 210.

<sup>16</sup> Similar stone enclosures, sometimes catered with a plinth for a funerary monument, are known from: *Aquilea*: Reusser 1987, p. 239-249; *Augusta Treverorum*: Gose 1961, p. 196-199, Tab. 35/1-2; *Wehringen (Raetia)*: Walke 1963, p. 122-123, Annex 6; *Cambodunum*: Krahe 1963, p. 117-119, Annex 5.

<sup>17</sup> Srejović 1965, p. 14, Pl. I/1-3, Map

<sup>18</sup> Here two funerary enclosures were found. One is of rectangular shape and the other one circular. In each of them graves of the Mala Kopašnica-Sase type were placed (Garašanin 1968, p. 8, n.17-21).

<sup>19</sup> Burial mounds delimited with stone walls appear frequently in the western provinces as well as in *Pannonia*. A part of them reflects local (Celtic) customs; others point out an Italian influence (Wigg 1993, p. 122; Palágyi-Nagy 2000, p. 168-169).

of Roman Dacia such as *Apulum*, *Ampelum*, *Porolissum*, Cincis, Moreşti, *Romula*<sup>20</sup>. Recently, a study by S. Nemeti dedicated to the burial customs of Thracians and Illyrians in the province of Dacia has supplemented the list of sites and summarize the topic<sup>21</sup>. He observed the conservative attitude of these populations in the field of funerary customs manifested through the specific form of incineration that may help us to figure out their ethical origin<sup>22</sup>.

Despite the multitude of the Mala Kopašnica-Sase graves found in Dacia, the type I. of this category associated with circular funerary constructions remains still a particular feature. These graves fenced with stone rings had appeared in the mining centre from *Alburnus Maior*. Here the recent archaeological investigations confirmed the significant presence of Illyrian population. In several funerary districts of this settlement graves surrounded with coarse stone ring of different dimensions were found<sup>23</sup>. We shall mention other good analogies in the mining zone *Ampelum*, where the excavations in the 19<sup>th</sup> century carried out on Boteş and Poduri hills revealed several burial mounds, some of them with a circular or rectangular enclosure<sup>24</sup>. The graves researched systematically by G. Téglás had a rectangular shape and a consistent ash layer inside<sup>25</sup>. Going further, another important mining zone is Cincis (county of Hunedoara), where in the neighbourhood of a *villa rustica* a cemetery with 16 ritually burnt graves was discovered<sup>26</sup>. Eleven of graves were placed inside 10 stone-rings.

One observation what we can make is that the distribution of these special treated graves in Dacia seems to be connected to the populations specialized in mining. Another question still open to debate, is whether these graves represent real tumuli, and if so, can they be considered a Thracian influence? Simple oval or round grave pits surrounded by stone rings and holding small mounds are known from *Moesia Superior* (e.g. Višegrad<sup>27</sup> and Drasan<sup>28</sup>). They have been attributed to the Thracian population. It looks like that some Illyrian and Thracian tribes have clearly influenced each other. A relevant example is represented by the case of *Dardaniens* and *Pirustae* documented by the name studies, too<sup>29</sup>. Based on the analyze of the burial customs practiced by the recently revealed circular funeral monument situated in the “Basil Cosma” site (*Alburnus Maior*) the archaeologists have observed the same characteristics: the interference of the Thracian monumental tumuli and the Thracian *busta* in steps with the graves of Mala Kopašnica-Sase type I<sup>30</sup>. Such a combination between Thracian burial constructions and Illyrian customs could be presumed in the case of the circular funerary complex from *Porolissum*.

On the basis of the epigraphic evidence the name studies reveals the fact that *Porolissum* was an “international” settlement. Regarding his ethnical structures the East and Celtic elements were primordial. It must be mentioned, that the number of inscriptions, and therefore the number of proper names known from *Porolissum* are limited<sup>31</sup>. Surprisingly none of the names have Illyrian derivation, only one person,

<sup>20</sup> Garašanin 1968, 29-30; Babeş 1970a, 197-198.

<sup>21</sup> He has added to the catalogue the necropolises of *Alburnus Maior*, Ighișu, Sighișoara, Lechința de Mureș, Obreja, Soporul de Câmpie, Bratei, Brad. Nemeti, Nemethi 2003, p. 410-435.

<sup>22</sup> Nemeti, Nemethi 2003, p. 437-439.

<sup>23</sup> Funerary district at Hop Găuri: Moga et alli 2003, p. 215, grave 6; p. 216 grave 5; p. 220 grave 1; p. 227 grave 9. In one case there were excavated a rectangular funerary construction with rectangular shaped, burnt grave pit; dimensionally reduced stone rings were found also at the funerary district of Tăul Cornei: graves nr. 161, 223, 245, 253, 256, 265, 266, 300, see *Alburnus Maior III* (forthcoming).

<sup>24</sup> Lukács 1879, p. 14-19; p. 350-355; Téglás 1890, p. 1-44; Téglás 1893, p. 408-412; Protase 1971, p. 104-107.

<sup>25</sup> He considered that these graves are *bustum* type ones (Téglás 1890, p. 22; Téglás 1893, p. 409). In 1938 the investigations were continued by O. Floca, who excavated 6 similar mounds. Curiously he has not seen any sign of burn on the grave pits. Automatically he has attributed them to the native population! (Floca 1936-40, p. 170).

<sup>26</sup> Floca 1965, p. 189, he considers on the grounds of the burned margins of the grave pits that they are *bustum* type one.

<sup>27</sup> Dremsizova-Nelčinova 1980, p. 19, fig. 2; p. 25, fig. 8.

<sup>28</sup> Mašov 1975, p. 42-44, fig. 1-3.

<sup>29</sup> Nemeti, Nemethi 2003, p. 435; The Dardanian area in particular is the contact zone between Illyrians and Thracians (Mócsy 1974, p. 65).

<sup>30</sup> Simion, Apostol, Vleja 2004, p. 81-82.

<sup>31</sup> Approximately 100 inscriptions, including 73 persons, have been analysed by Adela Paki, 1988, p. 215.

*Mucianus*, could have been of Thracian or Dacian origin<sup>32</sup>. In reality, the ethnical composition of the city was probably much more diversified as the epigraphy could display. No doubt, the presence of the graves of the Mala Kopašnica-Sase type is a proof of an Illyro-Thracian presence at the military and commercial centre of *Porolissum*, even tough, at the moment, no epigraphic evidence supports this theory.

We hope that the processing of the old data and further researches at the necropolis *Porolissum* will contribute to better understanding of the ethnical and social structures of this site.

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<sup>32</sup> Paki 1988, p. 219, p. 222; Gudea 1989, p. 183.

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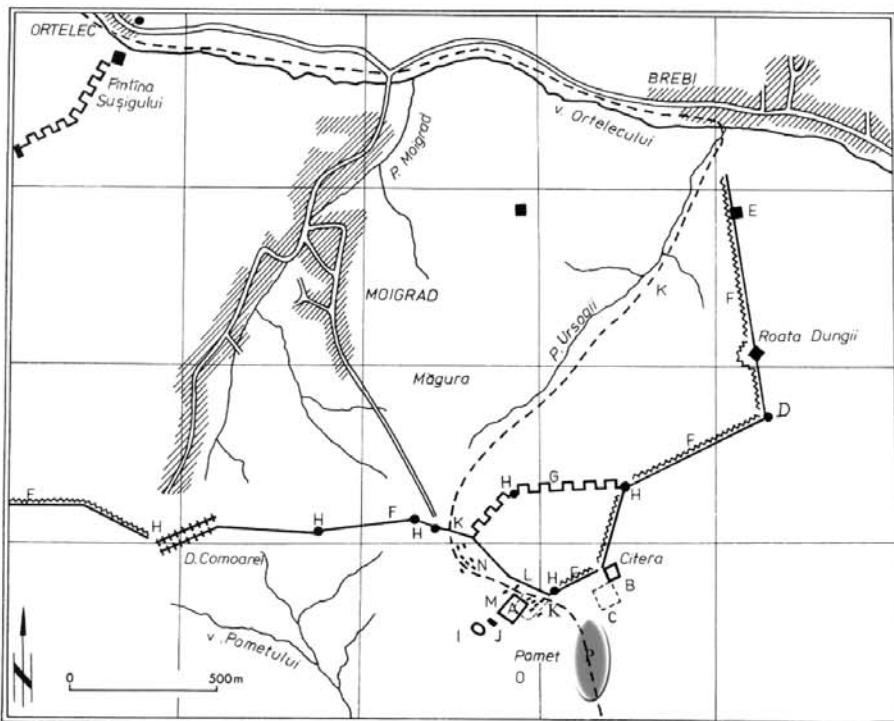


Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

Fig.1. General sketch of the archaeological complex at Porolissum (after N. Gudea).  
Fig.2. Funerary precinct nr. 1.

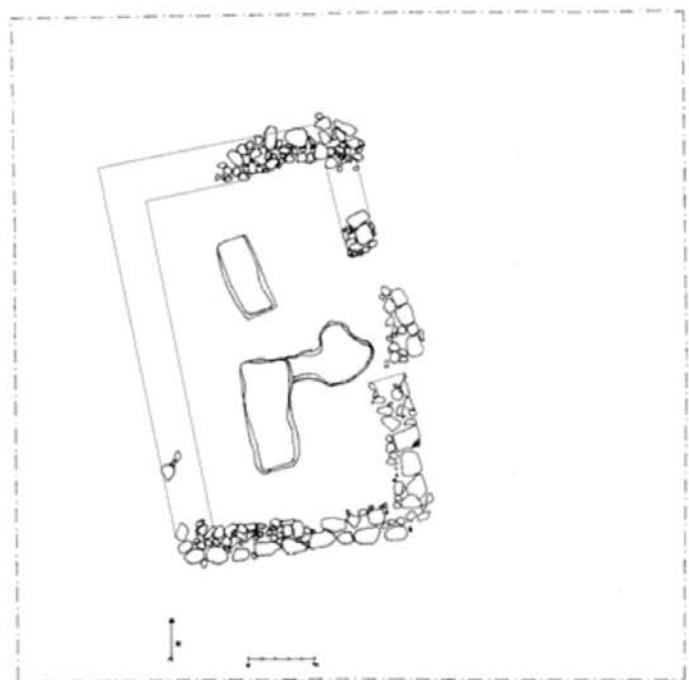


Fig. 3.

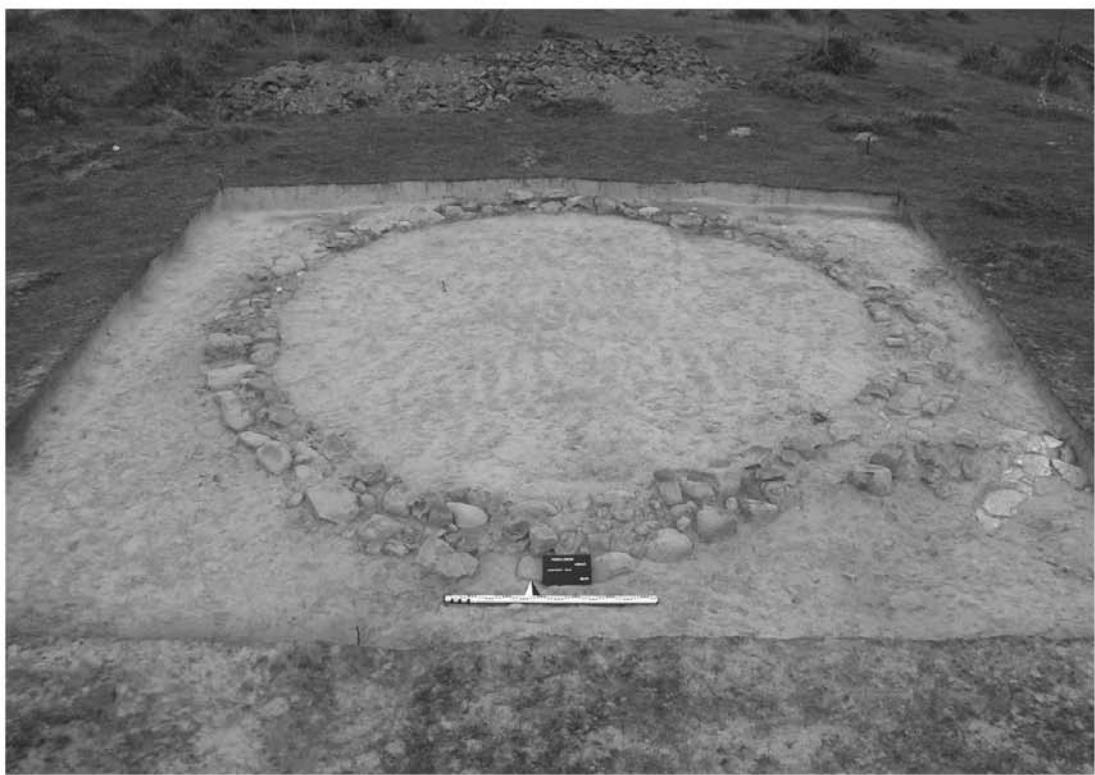


Fig. 4.

Fig.3. Plan of the funerary precinct nr. 1.

Fig. 4. Funerary precinct nr. 2 during excavation.

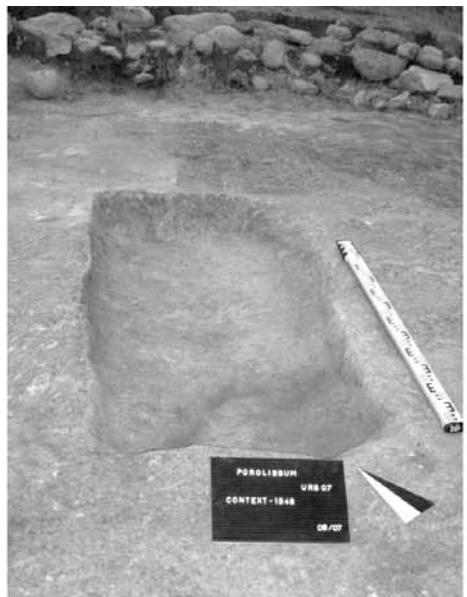


Fig. 5.



Fig. 7.

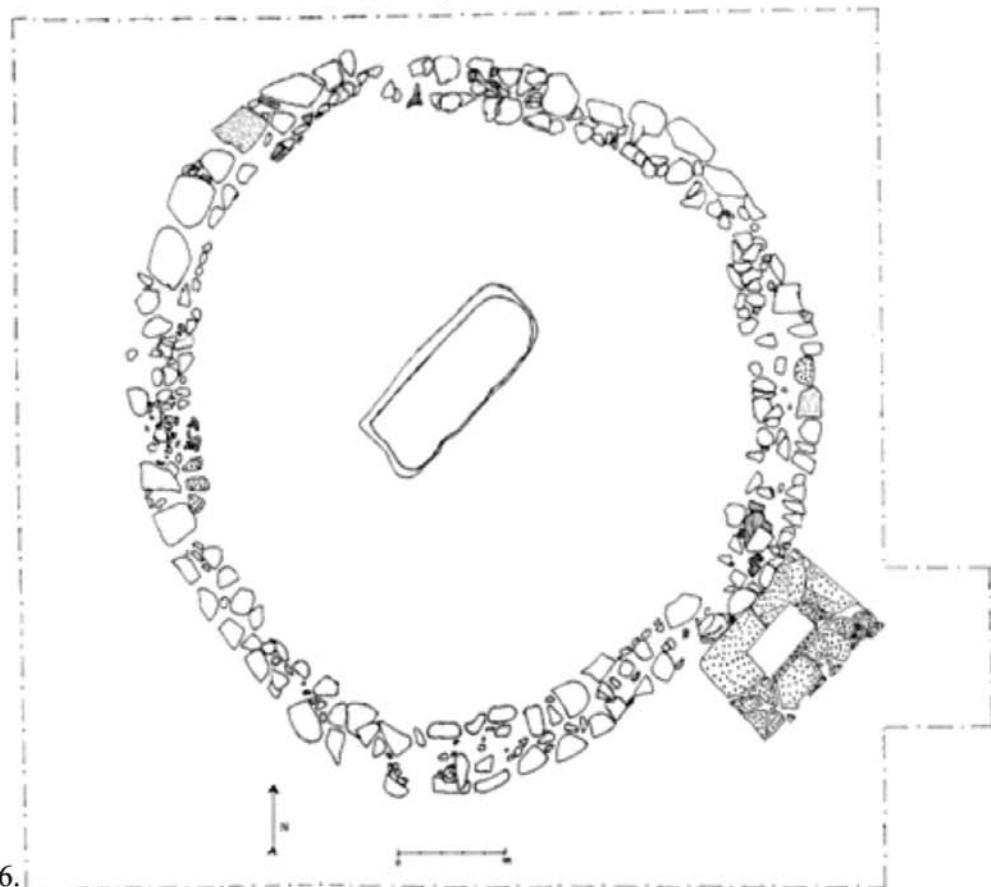


Fig. 6.

Fig. 5. The grave from the funerary precinct nr. 2.

Fig. 6. Plan of the funerary precinct nr. 2.

Fig. 7. The sandstone structure at the funerary precinct nr. 2.

## ANNEAU D'OR AVEC CAMEE PROVENANT DE LA TOMBE DES MARTYRS DE DUROSTORUM DU DÉBUT DU IV S.

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**Key-words:** *cameo, grave, martyr, Durostorum*

**Abstract.** The Palaeo-Christian symbolism embodied by the anchor, standing for the faith and hope, along with the fishes – a representation of Christ himself (since ΙΧΘΥΣ means a fish in the Greek language) and the formula Ἰησοτός Χριστός Θεοῦ Υἱός Σωτήρ interpreted by the early Christians as **Jesus Christ the Son of God and Our Saviour**, is beyond any doubt. The text ZHGAW is accepted as a conjunctive form of the verb Ζάω = “to live” in the second person singular and therefore could be translated as “I will live”, “May you live!” or just “Live!”. If this interpretation of the text is treated in parallel with the semantics of the fishes and the anchor it would be appropriate to offer “Live with trust, faith and hope in Christ – the Son of God and Our Savior” as a final version of the deciphering.

Les sources écrites témoignent de 12 martyrs paléochrétiens de Durostorum – Silistra qui ont subi la mort de martyr entre la fin du III s. et 362.<sup>1</sup> Il y avait des explorateurs qui pensaient que cela était un mythe et leur argument était l'absence de monuments archéologiques du début du IV s. qui pouvait illustrer ce culte<sup>2</sup>. Les dernières années, grâce aux recherches archéologiques, la carte topographique paléochrétienne de Durostorum s'est enrichie de nouveaux objets - un martyrium avec trois arcossoliums dans la nécropole de la ville<sup>3</sup>, trois basiliques paléochrétiennes<sup>4</sup>, un palais épiscopal<sup>5</sup>, une dizaine de sépulcres et de tombes du III – IV s<sup>6</sup>. Parmi tous ces objets c'est la **tombe avec l'anneau paléochrétien de Silistra qui mérite notre attention**.

Au cours des actions de construction en 1988 dans la partie sud-est de Silistra, dans les limites de la nécropole antique (fig. 1) et dans une proximité immédiate de la frontière bulgare-roumaine, on a découvert une fosse ovale, creusée profondément dans le terrain avec les dimensions suivantes: longueur 4.90 m, largeur 1,85 m et profondeur du terrain contemporain 3.95 m (fig. 1-F, 2). Au fond de la fosse on a trouvé des os brûlés de quatre individus humains. Parmi eux on a découvert un anneau d'or massif avec un camée aux dimensions 2,01/1,7 cm. Sur le camée est représentée une ancre, flanquée de deux poissons. Sous l'ancre il y a une inscription en langue grecque ZHGAW (ou bien ZHGALI) (fig. 3, 4). Exactement cette

<sup>1</sup> H. Delehaye. Saints de Thrace et de Mésie. Bruxelles, 1912, p. 265-268; H. Delehaye. *Les origines du culte des martyrs*, Bruxelles, 1933, p. 248-249; H. Delehaye. *Sanctus. Essai sur le culte des saints des saints l'Antiquité*. Bruxelles, 1927, p. 190; R. Pillinger. *Das Martyrium des Heiligen Dasius*. Wien, 1988; E. Popescu , Martirii și sfintii in Dobrogea. *Studii teologice*. XLI, 1989, p. 72-75; Г. Атанасов. Христианският Дуросторум - Дръстър. Доростолската епархия през Късната античност и средновековието /IV-XIV в./. Варна – Велико Търново, 2007. с. 15-46; Г. Атанасов. Доростолските мъченици от 304 г. – Духовна Култура, 5, 2004, с. 7-10; Г. Атанасов. Св Емилиян Доростолски († 362 г.) – Последният раннохристиански мъченик в Мизия. – В: *Civitas divino-humana в чест на професор Георги Бакалов*. С. 2004, с. 203-218.

<sup>2</sup> R. Constantinesco. Les martyrs de Durostorum. - RESEE, 5, 1 – 2, 1967, p. 14-19.

<sup>3</sup> Г. Атанасов. За късно античния мавзолей-митирий в Дуросторум-Силистра и за доростолските мъченици Св. Св. Св. Максим Дада и Квинтилиан. – Сб. Добруджа, 20, 2002, с. 55-65; Г. Атанасов. Христианският Дуросторум – Дръстър..., с. 49-55.

<sup>4</sup> Г. Атанасов. Христианският Дуросторум – Дръстър..., с. 96-102.

<sup>5</sup> G. Atanasov. Le palais des évêques de Durostorum des V-e – VII-e siècles. – *Pontica XXXVII – XXXVIII*, 2004 – 2005, p. 275 – 287.

<sup>6</sup> Р. Иванов, Г. Атанасов, П. Доневски. *История на Силистра*. Т. 1. *Античният Дуросторум*. Силистра-София, 2006, с. 243-260, 308, 380-397.

trouvaille curieuse et précieuse nous aide à préciser la date de la tombe en masse et elle nous suggère les événements au cours desquels la tombe est faite. En première place je veux poser un accent sur la sémantique et la popularité de l'ancre et des poissons dans la culture et la symbolique paléochrétiennes. D'après l'apôtre Pierre l'ancre signifie la vie dans le Royaume de Dieu – la vie avec le Christ en éternité et béatitude. St. Ignatio l'accepte également, mais il la lie à la foi et à l'espérance qui la déterminent symboliquement<sup>7</sup>. Les poissons sont le symbole traditionnel du Christ parce que derrière l'abréviation ΙΧΘΥΣ (en grecque poisson) les premiers chrétiens lisent la formule Ἰησοῦς Χριστός Θεοῦ Υἱός Σωτῆρ - Jésus Christ, le Sauveur<sup>8</sup>. En même temps il n'existe pas un texte antique qui peut nous donner un déchiffrement exact de la combinaison de l'ancre, flanquée de poissons. Quand même nous savons la parabole évangélique de Jésus Christ qui régale 5000 de ses adeptes avec deux poissons (Mathieu; 14, 17-21). Les compositions connues de l'ancre et des poissons les plus vieux sont sur une plaque de marbre et sous une épitaphe des catacombes de Priscilla en Rome de II s<sup>9</sup>. La tradition des gravures de l'ancre et des poissons sur des épitaphes continue sans interruption pendant les III et IV s<sup>10</sup>. Cette scène est présentée le plus souvent sur des gemmes et des camées de III – IV s<sup>11</sup>. Il s'agit de cent de monuments du Proche Orient, de l'Europe de Sud et de l'Afrique du Nord et leur énumération est inutile. Je vais montrer seulement quelques des analogues les plus proches de la trouvaille de Silistra - des anneaux des III – IV s. des collections de Musée Britannique, du Cabinet des médailles à Paris, du Musée de Tourin et des exemplaires d'Egypte dans la collection de Garucci<sup>12</sup>. Comme le camée de Silistra sur ces monuments existent des textes grecques et latins) des noms, des formules gnostiques etc. On ne peut pas facilement déchiffrer le texte ZIGAW qui accompagne l'ancre et les poissons du camée de Silistra. Dans sa première moitié peut être se cache le mot ZIG/EC/ - ZHGEC – la forme de conjonction du verbe Ζάω<sup>13</sup> (vivre, deuxième personne de singulier) et on peut le traduire comme „Je vais vivre”, „Que tu vives!”, „Vives!”. Le plus souvent nous voyons cette forme dans l'expression ζήγες ἐν Θεῷ (Vive avec Dieu). On peut supposer que sur les places limitées des gemmes et des camées les textes de cette sorte sont abrégés. Et si nous ajoutons au texte la sémantique de l'ancre et les poissons, nous pouvons proposer le déchiffrement suivant „Vives avec espoir, foi et espérance en Jésus Christ – notre Sauveur!”<sup>14</sup> Il est remarquable que peut être vers la fin du IV s. on commence de remplacer l'ancre par la croix. Aux II – III s. et même vers la première moitié du IV s. les chrétiens ignorent la croix dans les arts plastiques parce qu'ils l'acceptent comme l'arbre des tortures<sup>15</sup>. Ayant en vue cela, je pense que la date la plus convaincante de l'anneau avec le camée de Silistra est vers la fin du III – le début du IV s. Le fait que l'anneau était découvert dans la tombe de personnes tuées, brûlées et enterrées à la hâte suppose qu'il s'agit de la mort violente des premiers chrétiens. Ceux sont des chrétiens parce qu'un d'eux porte à sa main un anneau avec un symbole chrétien incontestable. Malgré que ces

<sup>7</sup> F. Cabrol, H. Leclercq. Ancre. – DACL. 1. Paris, 1924, col., 1909-2117; Real-Encyclopädie der christlichen Altertümer (RECA). I. 1883, S. 53 – 54.

<sup>8</sup> F. Dölger. IXΘΟΣ. – In: Antike und Christentum, I. Münster, 1929, S. 5; DACL, XIV, Paris, 1953, col. 1246; RECA. I, S. 516 – 518.

<sup>9</sup> E. Bock. R. Goebel. Die Katakomben. Stuttgart, 1930, S. 20-21, taf. 156; F. Cabrol, H. Leclercq. Op. cit., col. 2015-2017, fig. 569, 571; F. Dölger. IXΘΟΣ. Die Fisch – Denkmäler in der frühchristlichen Plastik Malerei and Kleinkunst. Münster, 1927, Taf. 170.

<sup>10</sup> F. Cabrol, H. Leclercq. Op. cit., col. 2015-2017, fig. 568-570.

<sup>11</sup> O. Dalton. Catalogue of Early Christian Antiques in the British Museum. London, 1901, p. 6, pl. II; F. Dölger. IXΘΟΣ. Die Fisch ...., S. 262-264., Taf. 208; DACL, VI, Paris, 1924, col. 799-826.

<sup>12</sup> DACL, VI, col. 802, 820, 824-826, № 4928, 4955, 4974, 4975, 4979, fig. 49, 84, 85, 86, 88; P. Finney. The Earliest Christians of Art. New York-Oxford. 1994, fig. 6, 69; B. IO. Юрочкин. Древнейшие изображения кресла господня. B: Православные древности Таврики. Киев, 2002, с. 21-28, рис. 10.

<sup>13</sup> За една подобна формула виж: RECA., I, S. 51.

<sup>14</sup> Le text est consulté par prof. E. Popescu et prof. V. Gerasimova.

<sup>15</sup> A. Frolov. Le culte de la relique de la Vraie Croix à la fin du IV-em et au début du VII-em siècles. – *Byzantinoslavica* XXII, 2, 1961, p. 322-323.

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personnes soient tuées, elles sont enterrées dans la nécropole de la ville. Cela signifie qu'à Durostorum on observe la loi romaine qui garantie le droit de tombe et des funérailles même aux criminels<sup>16</sup>.

Il est très difficile de préciser la date exacte de l'exécution des quatre martyrs, mais cette date est avant l'an 311, quand Gallerius proclame son édикte de la tolérance vers les chrétiens. En même temps il n'existe aucun équipement de martyr ou de commémoration. Cela nous donne l'idée que peut être la tombe de ces premiers chrétiens reste inconnu à leurs descendants. Autrement dit, après le triomphe du Christianisme en 313, au cours des constructions en masse des martyriums sur les tombes des martyrs, sur cette place devait y avoir un aussi. Cela signifie que la décapitation des quatre martyrs peut être datée une dizaine d'années avant l'an 313. Leur identification est aussi hypothétique. En lisant les hagiographies des martyrs de Durostorum nous voyons que cinq d'eux sont tués séparément (St. Dasius, St. Emilien, St. Julius, St. Issyhius, et St. Calinicus), trois d'eux sont tués ensemble (St. Maximus, St. Dada et St. Quintilianus) et quatre sont tués par couples – St. Marcianus avec St. Nikandrius et St. Valentinianus avec St. Paciceratus<sup>17</sup>. Nous savons des sources écrites que les deux derniers (St. Valentinianus avec St. Paciceratus) avec leurs femmes au 24 Avril 304<sup>18</sup>. Mais on peut seulement deviner si exactement ces quatre saints sont enterrés dans la tombe avec l'anneau d'or de la nécropole de Durostorum.

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<sup>16</sup> H. Delehaye. Les origines ..., p. 48-49; A. Grabar. *Martyrium. Recherches sur le cult de reliques et de l'art chrétien antique et Moyen âge*. I. Paris, 1946, p. 49. À propos de la tradition du III s. et du début du IV s que les chrétiens et les martyrs soient enterrés dans des nécropoles païennes. voir. R. Krautheimer. Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture. In: *The Pelican History of Art*, 4, 1981, p. 33 – 37.

<sup>17</sup> Г. Атанасов. *Християнският Дуросторум – Дръстър...*, с. 49-55.

<sup>18</sup> H. Delehaye. *Sanaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*. Bruxellis, 1902 col. 627; Menologium Graecorum Basili Porphyrogeniti. (PG, 117), col. 420; H. Delehaye. Saints de Thrace et..., p. 268-271; R. Constantinesco. Op. cit., p. 8-10; Г. Атанасов. *Доростолските мъченици от 304 г....*, с. 7-8.

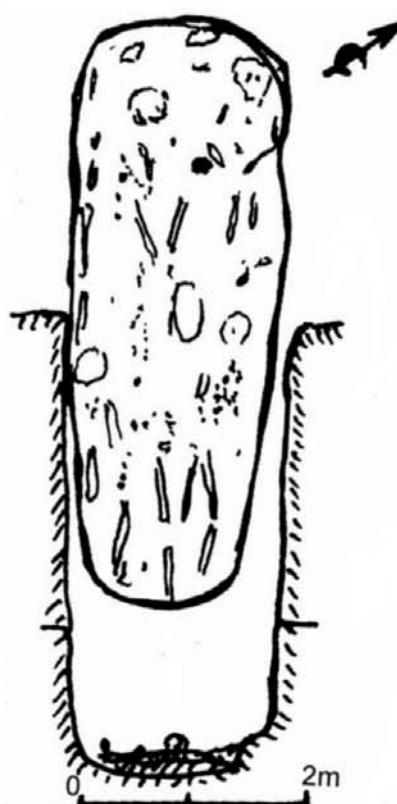
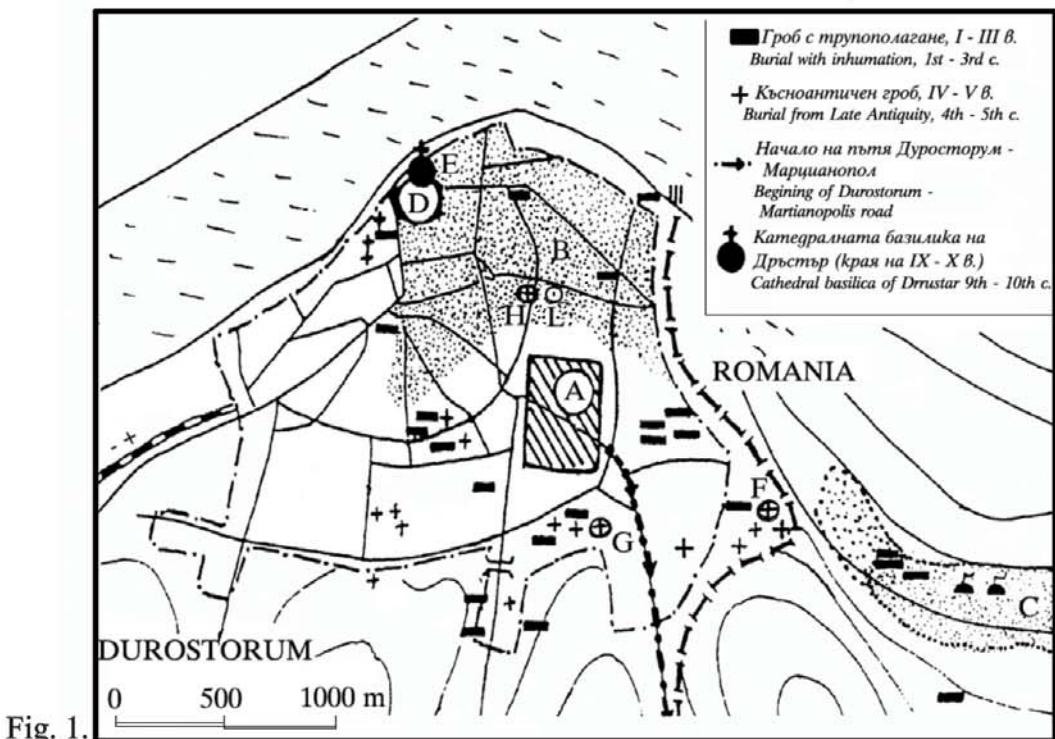


Fig. 1. Le plan de Durostorum paléochrétienne de IV s. A. le camp de legion. B. Canabe. C. Vikus. D. Castle. F. la tombe avec l'anneau paléochrétienne

Fig. 2. La tombe avec l'anneau paléochrétienne

Fig. 3 et 4. Anneau d'or avec camée

**LES ENCLOS QUADRANGULAIRES EN POLOGNE**  
**IV<sup>e</sup> siècle avant. J.-C. – II<sup>e</sup> siècle après J.-C.**

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**Key-words:** *enclosures, La Tène, Poland, funerary rites.*

**Abstract.** *The rectangular enclosures are one of the types of fitting outs from the La Tène necropolises. They consist of a triangular ditch delineating the inhumation or cremation tomb, which wasn't always a closed space. The size of the enclosure ranges from a few meters to more than 20 meters. There are rectangular enclosures in most of the territory of the La Tène culture. Similar enclosures are also present in 15 sites in Poland. The purpose of this presentation has been to introduce the rectangular enclosures discovered in Poland. Based on their features, these structures fall into two categories. The problem of the chronological interval of two centuries has allowed for raising the question on the reemergence of a funerary rite.*

Les enclos quadrangulaires constituent l'une des variantes des tombes de la culture celtique. La pratique de délimiter une tombe avec une fosse quadrangulaire existait déjà au I<sup>er</sup> âge du Fer, surtout dans la région du bassin inférieur du Rhin (Gedl 1985, 171-176).

A partir des observations dans les nécropoles celtes, on suppose que les enclos entouraient les tombes de personnes privilégiées, notamment les guerriers ensevelis avec une panoplie complète (Benadik 1960, 99, 101). La présence d'un fossé (ou plutôt d'une construction dont ce fossé est résidu) devrait souligner le statut social du défunt (Gedl 1985, 168). Les enclos quadrangulaires sont présents également sur les terres polonaises (Fig. 1). De taille variée, ils sont tous<sup>1</sup> de type fermé, c'est à dire sans passage permettant l'accès à l'intérieur. Les références de base sur ce sujet sont les articles de Marek Gedl, publiés il y a plus de vingt ans (Gedl 1984, 1985). Plusieurs constatations de M. Gedl restent valables mais, grâce aux découvertes des deux dernières décennies et à l'analyse de la documentation des fouilles anciennes, le nombre et la diversité des structures quadrangulaires ont nettement augmenté. Marek Gedl avait dénombré huit sites à enclos quadrangulaires (dont seulement un site de la culture celtique). Aujourd'hui, il faut ajouter à cette liste huit autres sites, dont trois de la culture celtique. On voit alors la nécessité de compléter les constatations de M. Gedl, bien que je veuille souligner la qualité de ses conclusions et des résultats de ses fouilles menées à Kietrz. Ce site est une nécropole de plus de 3000 tombes, qui renferme des sépultures de la culture prélusacienne (un faciès locale de la culture des tumulus), de plusieurs phases de la culture lusacienne et un nombre beaucoup plus limité de tombes de la culture celtique et de celle de Przeworsk. Plusieurs enclos et fosses y ont été découverts dans les zones où les sépultures datent de la période de La Tène et de celle des influences romaines (Fig. 2). On a repéré onze enclos quadrangulaires complètement conservés, les restes de deux autres enclos et trois fosses allongées, dont l'une (n° 2989) a été explorée entièrement alors que les deux autres sont seulement partiellement connues (n° 2977, 2978a et b). Ces enclos et ces fosses sont répartis dans trois zones. Une première concentration est située à proximité des tombes à incinération de la culture celtique et de la culture lusacienne tardive, et la seconde près de tombes de la culture de Przeworsk de la période des influences romaines. La troisième zone, avec une longue fosse (n° 2989), dont la largeur atteint 2,20 m, a été découverte à côté des sépultures celtiques à inhumation. Sans aucun doute, ces structures en creux sont plus récentes que les tombes de la culture lusacienne de l'âge du Bronze et du I<sup>er</sup> âge du Fer, qui ont été recoupées par certains enclos.

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<sup>1</sup> Cette constatation se rapporte aux structures documentées entièrement et les enclos fouillés partiellement.

### **L'enclos 1493**

L'enclos était de forme quadrangulaire et d'environ 850-880 cm de côté. Ainsi, la fosse mesurait-elle environ 90 à 100 cm de largeur et jusqu'à 85-100 cm d'épaisseur (Fig 3 : A). Son remplissage, surtout dans leurs parties septentrionale et occidentale, a livré quelques fragments d'os brûlés et de la céramique non identifiée. L'enclos en question contenait quatre trous de poteaux, disposés en carré et distants de deux mètres de longueur. À l'extérieur, à l'est de l'enclos, trois fosses circulaires ressemblant aux structures dans l'enclos ont été documentées. Le remplissage de l'une de ces fosses a livré quelques fragments d'os brûlés. À proximité de cet enclos, dans la couche d'humus, on a trouvé l'arc d'une fibule en forme d'un personnage tenant un oiseau et s'appuyant sur un quadrupède (chien ? lion ?) (Fig. 3 : B).

### **L'enclos 2068**

Cet enclos était de forme carrée et d'environ 800 cm de côté (Fig. 4). La fosse ainsi délimitée mesurait 90 à 130-135 cm env. de largeur et jusqu'à 65 cm d'épaisseur. Au centre de l'enclos, un trou de poteau, et dans sa partie occidentale, deux tombes celtes à incinération ont été découverts (tombes n° 2545 et 2546) (Fig. 5).

### **L'enclos 2680**

Il n'a été que partiellement documenté. L'un de ses côtés mesurait environ 600 cm, et un autre 485 cm (Fig. 6). Le reste de l'enclos, qui se tenait plus haut, avait été complètement érodé. Dans l'emprise supposée de celui-ci, on a documenté trois trous de poteaux (2638, 2680a, 2944) et cinq tombes à incinération, dont deux de la culture celtique (n° 2929 et 2954) (Fig. 7) et trois de la culture lusacienne (n° 2624, 2637, 2931). On y a aussi découvert une structure ressemblant à une tombe à incinération, avec un petit vase lusacien, mais dépourvue d'ossements (n° 2930) et une tombe dont la chronologie et l'appartenance culturelle n'ont pu être établies (n° 2953).

Les autres structures sont beaucoup moins bien connues. L'enclos 2976, d'environ 340 par 350 cm, n'a pas livré de mobilier archéologique, exactement comme l'enclos 2978 où seule une fosse de 440 cm a pu être documenté. La structure 2977, également enregistré partiellement, n'a livré qu'un fragment de bronze fondu. Dans la partie sud-ouest de la nécropole de Kietrz, une fosse (n° 2989) d'environ 55 cm env. de profondeur et entre 70-220 cm de largeur, qui se trouvait approximativement le long de l'axe nord-sud a été trouvée. Dans sa partie la plus profonde, on a observé la présence de boue caractéristique d'un milieu humide, ce que laisse supposer que la fosse ouverte est restée exposée à la pluie pendant un certain temps. Dans son remplissage se trouvaient notamment des fragments de torchis, du bronze corrodé, des scories du fer et quelques os brûlés. La céramique provenant de cette fosse peut être attribuée aux cultures lusacienne et celtique. À proximité, des tessons de la culture de Przeworsk et de la céramique médiévale ont été découverts, mais leur rapport avec la fosse n'est pas certain. À part les enclos quadrangulaires les plus typiques, un enclos circulaire (n° 1946) a aussi été observé à Kietrz (Fig. 8 : A). La structure et le remplissage de sa fosse rappellent les autres enclos de la nécropole. Le remplissage de la fosse contenait une tombe à incinération et un tesson de céramique tournée (Fig. 8 : B2) et, dans l'espace ainsi délimité, une tombe celtique à inhumation a été découverte (n° 1945) (Fig. 8 : B1). Près de l'enclos n° 1946, se tenait un autre enclos circulaire (n° 2561). Il mesurait entre 580 et 600 cm de diamètre mais il ne contenait aucun mobilier. Les enclos de Kietrz, datés à la période des influences romaines seront présentés plus loin.

Dans la même enclave de la culture celtique en Haute Silésie, on a aussi découvert un autre enclos quadrangulaire. Cette structure a été mise au jour fortuitement, sur l'habitat de Nowa Cerekwia, site éloigné de 7 km de Kietrz. Pendant les fouilles, on l'a interprété comme une tombe à incinération installée dans une maison. Une nouvelle analyse de la documentation menée à la fin des années 1950 a démontré qu'il s'agissait d'un enclos quadrangulaire, de 600 cm de côté (Fig. 9 : A) (Bednarek 1994). La fosse mesurait 100 cm de largeur et 20-25 cm de profondeur. Autour de celle-ci, mais pas partout, des fragments de torchis portant des empreintes de natte, des rondins empilés ainsi que les trous de piquet ont été retrouvés. Une tombe à incinération se situait dans la partie centrale de l'enclos. Dans l'urne remplie d'os, trois fibules en fer du type Münsingen ont été trouvées (Fig. 9 : B). Dans l'enclos, surtout aux environs de sa fosse, de nombreux autres objets ont été mis au jour, notamment des fragments de bracelets en verre bleu foncé, en sapropélite et en fer, une fibule du type Mötschwill, une boucle de ceinture zoomorphe, une gouge, une alène, les polissoirs en pierre, plusieurs centaines de tessons de céramique graphitée, tournée et modelée à la

main, ainsi que plus de 1500 os de faune (Czerska 1963, 289-291; Bednarek 1994). La chronologie de l'ensemble du mobilier est large. Les fibules provenant de la tombe sont de la phase LT B2, ainsi que l'urne qui trouve des analogies en proche Moravie (Čížmář 1975, Obr. 6:7). Selon Marek Bednarek, la totalité du mobilier démontre le fonctionnement de l'enclos jusqu'à LT C1b et peut-être même jusqu'à la phase LT C2, ce que peut suggérer la découverte de la fibule du type Mötschwill (Bednarek 1994, 500, 501). Comme cela a été mentionné plus haut, cet enclos se trouvait dans l'habitat. Cet emplacement, à l'écart des autres structures sépulcrales, suggère la position sociale particulière du défunt. Selon M. Bednarek, cette structure était un lieu pour les rites religieux (Bednarek 1994).

Les enclos quadrangulaires présentés brièvement ci-dessus trouvent des analogies dans les régions proches de Bohême, de Moravie, de Slovaquie et d'Autriche, où des structures semblables ont été découvertes à Černouček, Domamyslice, Vícelimice, Horný-Jatov-Trnovec nad Vahom, Bajč-Vlkanovo et à Pottenbrunn (Benadik, Vlček, Ambros 1957, 21, 23, 27, 28; Abb. 6, 7; Čížmář 1973; 1975; Gedl 1985; Bednarek 1994; Ramsl 2002, 117; Brnić, Sankot 2005). Au même groupe, il faut aussi ajouter l'enclos de Ménföcsanák (Hongrie) (Horváth, Kelemen, Uzsoki, Vadász 1987). Selon le mobilier archéologique, les plus anciens enclos celtiques d'Europe Centrale ont été fondés à la phase LT A et cette datation corrobore les résultats des analyses <sup>14</sup>C (Brnić, Sankot 2005, 62). Des structures semblables sont aussi connues en Angleterre (Yorkshire) (Stead 1961), en France et en Allemagne, surtout dans la zone incluant la Bourgogne, la Champagne, l'Alsace et la Rhénanie (Schwarz 1962; Chossenot 1997, 167-255; Barral 1992; Bouthier 1992; 2002; Guillier 1992). Les tombes en enclos ont aussi été documentées en Italie du Nord (Ortalli 1995). Dans certains cas (p. ex. Bouy, Ville-sur-Retourne [France], Nordhorn, Ldkr. Grafschaft Bentheim [Allemagne]) les enclos quadrangulaires (parfois associés à des enclos circulaires) s'appuient l'un contre l'autre, en formant une sorte de réticule (Roymans 1990, 228-232; Both 2006).

En Pologne, on observe la présence d'enclos quadrangulaires non seulement dans le milieu de la culture celtique « pure », mais aussi dans les autres unités culturelles, où les éléments laténiens sont plus ou moins marqués. Ces enclos se trouvent aussi en Petite Pologne, sur le territoire occupé par un groupe mixte, comprenant des éléments de la culture celtique et de celle de Przeworsk et nommé groupe de Tyniec. Dans la phase récente du groupe de Tyniec, vers la fin du I<sup>er</sup> siècle av. J.-C., on observe aussi certaines influences transcarpathiques, provenant du milieu de la culture de Púchov. Il s'agit de céramiques mais aussi des techniques appliquées à la construction des maisons. Des enclos quadrangulaires ont été découverts récemment aux environs de Cracovie, à Zakrzowiek, à proximité d'un habitat du groupe de Tyniec. Cette découverte est actuellement étudiée par les membres de Krakowski Zespół do Badań Autostrad<sup>2</sup>.

Une structure très intéressante a été mise au jour pendant les travaux liés à la construction d'un combinat métallurgique avec quartier d'ouvriers dans les années 1950 à proximité de Cracovie. Pendant plusieurs années, on a mené des travaux de sauvetage sur les terres du village de Pleszów et une structure ressemblant un enclos a été documentée. Malheureusement, plusieurs parties de cet enclos ont été fouillées à différentes périodes et les responsables des travaux ne se sont pas rendus compte du caractère particulier de cette structure comme les études récentes de Paulina Poleska l'ont révélé (Poleska 2006, 218-222). A Pleszów, (aujourd'hui Kraków Nowa Huta-Pleszów, site 17) il s'agit d'une structure nettement plus vaste qu'un enclos sépulcral typique, quoique plus petite que les enceintes du type *Viereckschanzen*. On y a repéré deux fosses parallèles de 22 m de longueur écartées d'environ 25 m, et partiellement conservées. Les fosses avaient originellement 40-60 m de longueur. L'une de ces fosses mesurait entre 90 et 140 cm de largeur et l'autre environ 90-100 cm. Le remplissage était homogène, avec des petits fragments de charbons de bois, du torchis, et sporadiquement des cendres. Le mobilier céramique était constitué par environ 500 tessons. Entre les enceintes se trouvait un groupe de structures, liées vraisemblablement à l'enclos supposé. La structure la plus grande est un creusement de 500 par 90-160 cm. Son remplissage contenait de la

<sup>2</sup> Une équipe constituée par l'Institut d'Archéologie et d'Etnographie de l'Académie polonaise des Sciences (Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk), l'Institut d'Archéologie de l'université Jagellonne (Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego) et le musée archéologique de Cracovie (Muzeum Archeologiczne Kraków). Je tiens à remercier ici Mgr Mgr Ryszard Naglik, Justyna Rodak et Tomasz Rodak pour leur concours et leurs informations.

céramique datable de LT C1b jusqu'aux premières décennies de I<sup>er</sup> siècle après J.-C. On y a identifié aussi quelques fragments de céramique plus ancienne, peut-être provenant d'amas secondaires. Le remplissage renfermait également un fragment de bracelet en bronze, les os humains d'au moins 2 personnes (dont une jeune femme) et presque 400 os de faune, surtout les membres et les crânes de boeufs, de cheval et de chien (individu adultes), ainsi que des jeunes porcs et caprinés. On a identifié aussi des os de cervidés. Certains os, surtout de bovidés, portent les traces de feu et d'enlèvement de la chair. Il semble que trois autres anfractuosités remplies de charbon du bois, torchis et d'os de faune soient aussi à mettre en relation avec cetteenceinte. À l'intérieur de l'enclos supposé se trouvaient une tombe de chien (structure n° 489) et les restes d'une construction semi enterrée (structure n° 557). Il est possible, qu'un grand bâtiment (n° 542) ait fonctionné avec ces fosses allongées. C'était une construction de 650 cm sur 620 cm, dont les remblais contenaient une riche série de céramique, les fragments de bracelets en verre et en sapropélite, plusieurs os de faune domestique et quelques os de faune sauvage. La datation de la totalité du mobilier corrobore la chronologie de l'enceinte. Tout ce complexe de structures se trouvait à 150-200 m d'un habitat du groupe de Tyniec et il n'a pas été réaménagé jusqu'au Haut Moyen Age (Poleska 2006, 218-222). L'enclos de Pleszów possède certains traits communs avec les *Viereckschanzen* connus de Champagne, d'Allemagne du sud, de Bohême et de Moravie. Il s'agit surtout d'une ressemblance générale de la forme et de l'emplacement par rapport aux habitats. Contrairement aux exemples cités, l'enclos de Pleszów est plus petit et le remplissage de la fosse contient une quantité de mobilier considérable. Dans les *Viereckschanzen* on ne retrouve le plus souvent pas beaucoup de mobilier et dans l'espace qu'ils délimitent il n'y a pas d'autres structures. Comme le remarque Günther Wieland, les fosses profondes auxquelles on donne souvent une signification rituelle, pouvaient être plutôt de simples puits, et ne posséder qu'un rôle rituel secondaire (Wieland 1996, 46-54). Vu la ressemblance du mobilier, l'enclos de Pleszów possède des analogies avec des sanctuaires de type belge (Brunaux 1986, 16-28). Ces sanctuaires, par exemple à Gournay-sur-Aronde, ont livré des structures semblables. Dans le remplissage des fosses qui entouraient le complexe, des os humains et de faune ont été mis au jour et ils sont interprétés comme des offrandes ou les résidus de rites ayant eu lieu dans l'espace sacré. À Gournay, mais aussi à Libenice en Bohême on a découvert des tombes de chiens, des fosses liées au culte chtonien et les reliques de constructions interprétées comme des « temples ». (Brunaux 1986 ; Green 1992, 108-110 ; Ménier 2006). Il faut souligner que l'enclos de Pleszów était situé dans la zone où on a enregistré quelques traces de sépultures du début du développement du groupe de Tyniec, notamment une tombe avec épée et chaîne métallique de fourreau de la phase LT B2. Cet emplacement peut suggérer que l'enceinte était en rapport avec un culte des ancêtres. Vraisemblablement on l'a érigé à LT C1b à l'endroit où un habitat et une nécropole des premiers colons ont fonctionné antérieurement. L'enclos a été fréquenté jusqu'à la fin de la colonisation du groupe de Tyniec au début de I<sup>er</sup> siècle ap. J.-C. P. Poleska suppose que cette structure peut être mise en relation avec les enclos quadrangulaires celtes et qu'elle constituerait le chaînon liant ces constructions aux enclos de la culture de Przeworsk. La présence d'enceintes quadrangulaires à Małopolska (Petite Pologne) mérite une attention particulière en raison de la faible quantité de sépultures connues. En effet, à partir de la phase LT C2, la population du groupe de Tyniec, comme plusieurs peuples en Europe, a adopté un rite funéraire que nos méthodes de recherches ne réussissent pas à déceler. Le même rite a subsisté jusqu'au changements d'ère, quand un habitat et une nécropole de la culture de Przeworsk ont été fondés à Kryspinów, à proximité des terres occupées par le groupe de Tyniec.

La nécropole de Kryspinów, comptant 120 tombes env., datant de la fin du I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.C. à la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.C., est le plus grand site sépulcral de la région de Cracovie alors que dans d'autres régions de la Pologne nous connaissons des nécropoles de la culture de Przeworsk qui ont plusieurs centaines de tombes (Godłowski 1972 ; 1977 ; 1995, 123-126). La vallée de la Vistule aux environs de Cracovie possède des sols très fertiles et tout son terrain était exploité pendant la première moitié du I<sup>er</sup> millénaire. De nombreux ateliers de potiers ont aussi fonctionné et la disproportion entre les habitats et les nécropoles sur ce territoire ne peut pas être expliquée comme le résultat de lacunes dans la recherche. Il semble que ce phénomène est lié aux traditions celtes qui ont subsisté dans le milieu de la culture de Przeworsk, bien que des influences daces ne puissent pas être exclues. Les courants venant du territoire du groupe de Tyniec sont d'ailleurs bien visibles à Kryspinów (rappelons que dans le groupe de Tyniec, les éléments de la culture de Tyniec sont

bien marqués surtout à la phase LT D2). La céramique peinte a été découverte aussi bien dans les habitats que dans les nécropoles. Dans ce contexte, l'apparition d'une dizaine d'enclos quadrangulaires dans la nécropole de la culture de Przeworsk à Kryspinów mérite l'attention (Fig. 10). Cinq enclos contenaient des sépultures, toujours très modestement équipées (tombes n° 8, 20, 35, 42, 73). Dans le remplissage des fosses, on a découvert de la céramique de la culture de Przeworsk et du groupe de Tyniec, du torchis et des petits fragments d'objets en bronze et en fer. Les concentrations d'os brûlées et des tâches noires ont été trouvées dans les fosses des enceintes n° 8 et 42. À l'intérieur de certains enclos (n° 20, 33, 36), les fosses étaient dépourvues d'ossements. Dans la structure n° 42, les traces de trous de poteaux ont été découvertes. Ces enclos sont datés de la phase de transition A3/B1 jusqu'au stade B2. Ils ressemblent fortement aux enclos celtiques, mais en Pologne, la population celtique a pratiqué un rite funéraire différent depuis au moins 150-200 ans ! Neuf autres enceintes proviennent de la nécropole de la culture de Przeworsk de Szarbia, situé à 25 km au nord-est de Cracovie (Naglik 2002). On y a localisé une nécropole où, à côté des enclos quadrangulaires, se trouvent des tombes simples à incinération. Une tombe princière du début de l'époque des influences romaines a été aussi découverte<sup>3</sup>. La datation de la nécropole est comprise entre les phases B1 et B2/C1 selon H. J. Eggers. Les enclos quadrangulaires y sont concentrés. Ils ont des dimensions variables, de 360 par 400 cm à 800 par 730 cm. La largeur des fosses est de 45 à 115 cm (le plus souvent 70-90 cm), et leur profondeur atteint de 55 à 100 cm. Toutes les fosses ont une section en forme de « V » et dans leurs parties inférieures la séquence des couches est visible. Les parties supérieures sont homogènes, le plus souvent de couleur brune ou noire. Dans un seul cas (la tombe n° 16 dans l'enclos 1) on a observé la présence d'une sépulture à l'intérieur de l'enceinte. Dans cinq enclos, à chaque fois dans les parties méridionale ou occidentale de la fosse, des concentrations d'os humains incinérés ont été trouvées en compagnie de mobilier brûlé et des restes du bûcher. Les fosses des enclos 11, 15 et 84 contenaient chacune une tombe, alors que les enclos 1 et 3 en possédaient deux. Ailleurs dans le remplissage des fosses, et à des profondeurs variées, ont été mis au jour des os brûlés et du mobilier dispersé. Les analyses anthropologiques démontrent que, le plus souvent, ces remplissages contenaient les ossements d'au moins deux individus. Ces données sont parfois confirmées par le mobilier. Les tombes 3, 11 et 15 renfermaient les pièces métalliques de caisse et des clefs, typiques des tombes féminines et dans la tombe 3, une pointe de lance, un manipule et un rasoir, des objets typiquement masculins.

Les enclos quadrangulaires sont aussi connus dans d'autres sites de la culture de Przeworsk du sud de la Pologne. La plus grande enceinte, de 12 sur 11,5 m, provient de Gościeradów (Fig. 11 : A). À l'intérieur, trois tombes ont été découvertes. Leur mobilier n'était pas riche, il était constitué de céramique et de boucles de ceinture (Fig. 11 : B ; 12) (Nieweglowski 1982). À Zawada, une structure beaucoup plus petite a été découverte. Dans la fosse, il y avait deux urnes tournées (cette technologie n'était pas trop répandue à cette période dans la culture de Przeworsk). L'une de ces urnes contenait, à part des os brûlés, un aureus de Néron et les fragments d'un peigne en os. La seconde renfermait des fibules, des parures en argent doré et en bronze ainsi que des perles en verre. Dans le remplissage de l'enclos, près du bord septentrional, des tessons de sigillée, une alène et les fragments d'une fibule ont été mis au jour. La chronologie de ces découvertes permet de dater l'enclos à la phase B2/C1 (environ la 2<sup>ème</sup> moitié du II<sup>e</sup> siècle ap. J.-C.) (Michalski 1981).

L'enclos suivant, malheureusement partiellement conservé, provient de Górkia Stogniewska. Il mesurait 820 cm par 800 cm (Kaczanowski, Madyda-Legutko, Poleski 1982). La largeur de la fosse atteignait 67/70-80/90 cm environ. Dans la fosse, deux concentrations d'os brûlés et des tessons ont été trouvés. Le mobilier provenant de l'enclos est constitué de céramique et des fragments d'une fibule A. 67.

Une autre enceinte quadrangulaire a été découverte à Michałowice (Kaczanowski, Madyda, Poleski 1984). Elle mesurait 600 cm de côté, et la largeur de la fosse était de 10 à 35 cm. Son remplissage contenait de la céramique et du charbon du bois. L'enclos de Michałowice est daté à la phase de transition A3/B1, vers le changement d'ère.

Une enceinte quadrangulaire de 820 cm par 800 cm a été mise à jour à Trójczyce, au sud-est de la Pologne. La fosse de cet enclos mesurait 60 cm de largeur et 90 cm de profondeur. Cette structure, datant de

<sup>3</sup> La présence d'une autre tombe princière est supposée.

la phase B2 de la période des influences romaines, est vraisemblablement en relation avec la nécropole de la culture de Przeworsk (Koperski 1972).

Sur l'habitat néolithique de Mierzanowice, au moins trois enceintes furent découvertes et interprétées ensuite comme des cabanes néolithiques, bien que leur remplissage contienne de la céramique de la culture de Przeworsk, mélangée avec de la céramique néolithique. Deux de ces enclos (n° 5 et 20) mesuraient 900 cm de côté, et le troisième (n° 7) 1000 cm de côté. Les fosses avaient en moyenne 60 cm de largeur et 75 cm de profondeur (Wrotek 1962; 1963; 1964). Les enclos ont recoupé des tombes de la culture des Gobelets en entonnoir et de celle de la Céramique cordée.

Les deux enclos quadrangulaires suivants datant de cette phase ont été mis au jour à Kazimierz Mała. Ce site, malheureusement non publiée pour l'instant, se trouve à 2 km d'un habitat riche à Jakuszowice (Naglik 2002, 153). Un autre enclos provient de Pełczyska, mais les études ne sont pas terminées (Rudnicki 2005).

L'enclos quadrangulaire suivant, renfermant plusieurs tombes, a été retrouvé à Korytnica en 2004. La chronologie relative de tombes et d'enclos n'est pas établie définitivement. La datation préliminaire indiquait la transition des phases A3/B1, mais il semble qu'il faut la corriger vers la phase B, même plutôt subphase B2 de la période des influences romaines<sup>4</sup>.

Des enclos quadrangulaires de la culture de Przeworsk ont également été découverts dans la nécropole de Kietrz. Ils sont datés à la phase ancienne de la période des influences romaines, tandis que le stade précédent de cette nécropole est lié à la culture celtique, au plus tard à la phase LT C1. Sur le Plateau de Głubczyce où se trouve cette nécropole, nous ne disposons pas non plus de traces confirmant l'existence d'établissements de LT finale. L'enclos n° 1588 est de forme carrée, et il mesure 750 cm de côté. La fosse, comme toujours à section en V, possédait un remplissage très homogène. Cette enceinte a renfermé ou recoupé quatre tombes à incinération de la culture lusacienne (n° 1320, 1570, 1573 et 1775) et une tombe à inhumation (1579). Dans sa partie centrale, une tombe riche de la culture de Przeworsk a été découverte (n° 1512) (Fig. 13). Son inventaire était composé d'une situle romaine, d'une puisette, une passoire, de fragments de vaisselle en verre, de pièces métalliques de la caissette, d'un couteau et de la céramique indigène. La totalité du mobilier permet de dater l'ensemble clos à la phase B2 de la période des influences romaines. L'enceinte quadrangulaire suivante (n° 3186) avait 800 cm de longueur. La fosse mesurait 35 à 60 cm de large et 50 cm d'épaisseur. Lors du creusement de cette fosse, une tombe de la culture lusacienne a été recoupée (n° 3186a). À l'intérieur de cet enclos se trouvaient une tombe à incinération de la culture lusacienne (n° 3469), une tombe riche de la culture de Przeworsk (n° 3567) et la fosse (n° 3572). Le mobilier de la tombe (n° 3567) était constitué par des fragment de vaisselle romaine en bronze, du verre fondu, trois fibules, une clef en fer, des pièces métalliques de la caissette, de l'argent fondu (peut être le résidu d'un bracelet) et de la céramique. Les enclos n° 1588 et 3186 sont datés de la phase ancienne de la période des influences romaines. Les deux enceintes suivantes de Kietrz (n° 600 et 760) étaient dépourvues des tombes qui puissent être datées de la période des influences romaines, mais le remplissage de leurs fosses a livré de la céramique de la culture de Przeworsk (et aussi de la céramique de la culture lusacienne d'âge du Bronze). L'enclos n° 600 mesurait 650 cm par 670 cm, et la largeur de fosse était de 80-90 cm. Dans l'espace délimité par les fosses, deux tombes à incinération ont été trouvées, mais leur identification culturelle et leur datation n'étaient pas possibles en raison de l'absence totale de mobilier. L'enclos n° 760 était un carré de 860 cm de côté, avec une fosse de 50-60 cm de largeur et 20 cm de profondeur. A l'intérieur on a découvert une tombe détruite de la culture lusacienne, vraisemblablement dégradée pendant la fondation de l'enceinte. Dans trois cas (n° 2976, 2977, 2978), les structures étaient vides et le remplissage de leurs fosses ne contenait pas de mobilier. Ces enceintes étaient situées dans la zone contenant les sépultures de la période des influences romaines, éloignée à quelques centaines de mètres de la zone « celtique ».

Parmi les enclos quadrangulaires présentés ci-dessus on peut distinguer deux groupes : les enceintes de la culture de La Tène, datées généralement de la phase LT B2 et les structures semblables de la culture de

<sup>4</sup> Je dois cette information à la bienveillance de Mgr Andrzej Przychodni (Wojewódzki Urząd Ochrony Zabytków w Kielcach), directeur de fouilles à Korytnica que je tiens à remercier pour son concours.

Przeworsk, datées le plus souvent à la phase B2 de la période des influences romaines (sauf les enceintes de Kryspinów et de Michałowice qui sont datées au changement d'ère). Les fosses de Kraków Nowa Huta-Pleszów (qui ne sont pas l'enclos quadrangulaire typique) se situent entre ces deux groupes. Les deux groupes principaux fonctionnent avec un écart d'au moins 150-200 ans, pendant lequel les populations aux traditions celtes pratiquent un rite funéraire insaisissable pour les archéologues. Est-ce que l'apparition des enclos dans la culture de Przeworsk est le reflet des traditions conservées au sein du groupe de Tyniec, ou bien ce phénomène se manifeste-t-il suite aux influences successives provenant d'autres régions de la culture celtique, où les enceintes sépulcrales ont subsisté jusqu'à la romanisation ? Il faut rappeler que les enclos en question constituent une forme de tombe répandue dans la partie occidentale de la Celtique au I<sup>er</sup> siècle av. J.-C. Dans les nécropoles trévires, on a découvert des enclos variés datés de la fin de la période celtique et du début de la période romaine. Ces structures ont surtout été mises au jour en Allemagne, à Wederath-Belginum (Haffner 1971; 1974; 1978 ; 1989), mais aussi à Feulen (Schendzielorz 2006, 163, 171, 224, 225, 230, 232, 318, 319, Abb. 98, 101). À Hoppstädt-Weiersbach des enceintes quadrangulaires (n° 120 et 121) ne contenaient du mobilier (Gleser 2005, 77, 683, 684). Ces enclos, datés au changement d'ère et au début du I<sup>er</sup> siècle ap. J.-C., sont aussi connus en Bohême, dans les nécropoles de Třebušice et de Stehelčeves (Motyková-Šneidrová 1977, 239-248; Motyková 1981, 344, 345, 378-381, Fig. 2).

Il faut souligner que le développement et l'évolution de la culture de Przeworsk n'ont pas été provoqués par une impulsion « laténisante » unique au début de sa formation, mais qu'ils ont été suscités par des contacts répétitifs avec le milieu celtique jusqu'à sa chute. Ce phénomène est confirmé par la présence d'importations celtes dans les inventaires de la culture de Przeworsk de toute la période préromaine. Parmi ces importations, des objets provenant de l'ouest, comme une fibule du type Langtown Down à Kraków Nowa Huta-Pleszów, sont également présents (Poleska 2005, 152). Néanmoins, nous n'avons aucune preuve actuellement de l'adoption des éléments du rite funéraire de la Celtique occidentale. La répartition des importations occidentales ne démontre pas de concentration dans la partie méridionale de la Pologne, où les nécropoles à enclos quadrangulaires sont présentes. Il est difficile aussi d'évaluer le rôle du groupe de Tyniec dans la prolifération des enclos quadrangulaires en Pologne méridionale, parce qu'ils sont aussi rares dans son territoire.

Il reste encore une possibilité d'adoption par la population de la culture de Przeworsk de l'habitude de limiter l'espace au moyen d'enclos quadrangulaires. On ne peut pas exclure que cette façon d'aménager les nécropoles ait été empruntée dès le début de développement de cette culture, parallèlement à la variante dominante, constituée par des tombes simples, à incinération et avec mutilation du mobilier. Malheureusement, on ne dispose que d'une seule prémissse qui pourrait confirmer cette hypothèse. Les résultats des recherches sur la nécropole de la culture de Przeworsk à Ciecierny en Haute Silésie peuvent servir ici comme indice. Ce site, situé sur l'itinéraire venant du sud, atteste la présence d'une population indigène à la phase A1 (~ LT C1b, LT C2) relativement proche de l'enclave celtique de Basse Silésie (Martyniak, Pastwiński, Pazda 1997). La nécropole était sérieusement endommagée par les labours et l'état de conservation du mobilier est médiocre suite au niveau élevé des eaux entre les couches géologiques, mais on a réussi à documenter les fragments de fosses interprétées comme les résidus d'un enclos quadrangulaire (Fig. 14). Cette structure a été documentée uniquement sur une longueur de 3 m. Selon les auteurs de la monographie du site, cet enclos a pu être détruit par les tombes plus récentes, suivis par l'érosion de la colline où se trouvait la nécropole. L'enceinte supposée était située à proximité de la zone qui divisait deux parties de la nécropole. Elle est peut-être à mettre en relation avec la fondation du site, parce que toutes les tombes de la phase la plus ancienne (A1) se trouvent au nord-ouest de l'enclos et aucune ne le recoupe pas. La structure observée est recoupée par les tombes de la phase A2 et A3 de la période préromaine (respectivement ~ LT D1 et LT D2). Peut-être qu'à cette époque, les éléments délimitant l'enclos n'étaient plus visibles ? Il faut pourtant remarquer que, dans le cas des sites de la culture de Przeworsk, on observe que les enclos quadrangulaires sont soit seuls soit accompagnés par des tombes contemporaines, et qu'on n'en a jamais retrouvé avec des tombes nettement plus récentes. L'enclos hypothétique de Ciecierny constituerait alors le lien attestant l'adoption par la population de la culture de Przeworsk d'un trait typique de la culture celtique, qui est l'enterrement des morts dans des structures délimitées par des fosses quadrangulaires. Parallèlement aux habitudes les plus simples du rite funéraire,

comme l'incinération accompagnée de la mutilation du mobilier, cet élément a du être adopté avant les changements profonds dans le milieu celtique à LT C2. Ce serait aussi un argument supplémentaire pour supposer la formation de la culture de Przeworsk à la II<sup>e</sup> moitié du III<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. Il semble que sur les terres polonaises à la période des influences romaines on observe la survivance de traditions celtes notamment visibles par la présence des enclos quadrangulaires. Dans ces enceintes, on trouve des tombes avec un mobilier opulent, mais ce ne sont pas les sépultures des personnes ayant le statut le plus élevé dans la société. Les « tombes princières » ont un mobilier beaucoup plus riche et il faut les relier à l'horizon des tombes du type Lubieszewo (Lübzow). Seulement dans des cas particuliers (Giebültów, Sandomierz-Krakówka) les tombes très riches dépassent le schéma typique des sépultures « princières » (Nosek 1961 ; Kokowski, Ścibor 1990 ; Dobrzańska, Wielowiejski 1997).

Les recherches menées sur les enclos quadrangulaires d'Europe Occidentale ont amenées plusieurs propositions de restitution de ces structures (Villes 1999 ; 2000). On y voit les « maisons des morts » ou seulement des toitures simples, où la fosse servait à différencier la zones des morts de celle des vivants (Fig. 15 : 1, 2). Selon certaines restitutions, la fosse serait le témoin d'une palissade (Fig. 15 : 3, 4). Dans le cas de l'enclos de Nowa Cerekwia, des fragments de torchis arborant des empreintes de natte et de troncs démontrent l'existence d'une clôture ou d'un mur. Certains chercheurs sont pourtant d'avis que la fosse observée ne devrait pas constituer les restes de la construction en élévation (Villes 1974 ; 1999 ; 2000). Selon M. Gedl (1984), la séquence stratigraphique de Kietrz permet de supposer qu'elles restaient ouvertes et exposées aux intempéries. M. Mackensen fait des constatations identiques à propos de la nécropole de la période romaine de Kempten (Allemagne) (Mackensen 1978, 127-131). R. Naglik, qui a dirigé les recherches à Szarbia, a remarqué que les couches visibles dans les sections des fosses de ce site sont assez semblables à la microstructure naturelle du sol géologique dans lequel elles sont creusées. Cela pouvait se produire après le comblement des fosses, selon la densité variable du remplissage. Dans les fosses, un effet de drainage pourrait avoir eu lieu, ce qui aurait ainsi restitué la structure laminaire du remplissage (Naglik, 2002).

Certaines des tombes présentées ci-dessus possédaient un mobilier relativement riche, mais dans les autres, aucun mobilier n'était présent ni dans le remplissage des fosses, ni dans l'espace délimité à l'intérieur. On peut alors estimer que l'identification de toutes ces structures comme les tombes des personnes à position sociale particulière, (les ancêtres-fondateurs des lignages etc.) n'est pas toujours correcte. On peut effectivement supposer cette signification dans le cas d'enclos de Nowa Cerekwia, où l'on observe la fréquentation de sa zone pendant un certain temps après les funérailles<sup>5</sup>, mais il semble que les structures vides documentés quelques kilomètres plus loin, à Kietrz, jouaient un rôle différent. Il est donc possible que les enclos quadrangulaires, présents sur une longue durée sur les vastes territoires de l'Europe (surtout celtique et ensuite post-celtique), témoignent de rites et de croyances différents. Ils peuvent être les restes de structures variées, dont une partie consistait en constructions en bois et/ou en terre (ou même, comme à Černouček en Bohême, en bois et en pierre), et les autres se manifestaient seulement sous la forme des fosses qui délimitaient la sépulture.

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<sup>5</sup> Une pratique similaire, consistant à fréquenter la tombe pendant un certain temps, a été observée dans le cas des sépultures riches de Clemency et de Goeblingen-Nospelt. Pendant plusieurs années, autour de ces tombes on a pratiqué des rencontres (festins ?) qui ont laissé des traces sous la forme d'ossements incinérés de faune. À Goeblingen-Nospelt, on déposait aussi des monnaies dont la datation s'étale sur 150 environ (Metzler-Zens, Méniel 1999, 434).

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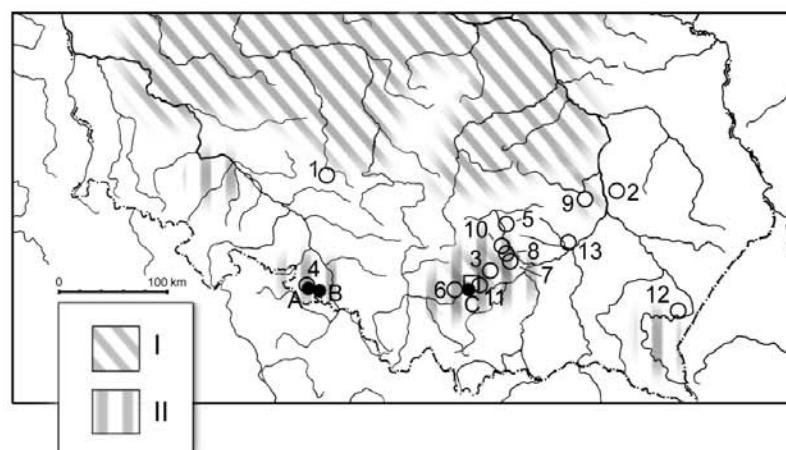


Fig. 1. Les enclos quadrangulaires en Pologne.

I-Culture de Przeworsk; II-culture celtique et groupe de Tyniec;  
Les enclos quadrangulaires en Pologne.

- Les enclos quadrangulaires de la culture celtique et du groupe de Tyniec: A-Kietrz (au moins 3 enclos); B-Nowa Cerekwia (un enclos); C-Podłęże (au moins un enclos);
- enclos de Pleszów;
- Les enclos quadrangulaires de la culture de Przeworsk : 1-Ciecierny ? (un enclos) ; 2-Gościeradów (un enclos) ; 3-Góryka Stogniewska (un enclos) ; 4-Kietrz (au moins six enclos) ; 5-Korytnica (un enclos) ; 6-Kryspinów (dix enclos) ; 7-Kazimierza Mała (deux enclos) ; 8-Michałowice (un enclos) ; 9-Mierzawowice (trois enclos) ; 10-Pelczyska (un enclos) ; 11-Szarbia (neuf enclos env.) ; 12-Trójczyce (un enclos) ; 13-Zawada (un enclos).

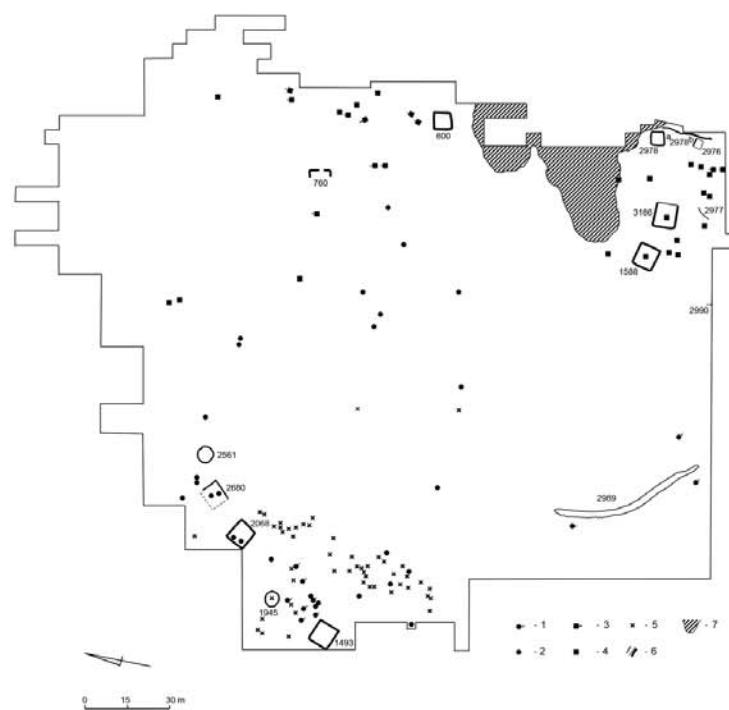


Fig. 2. La nécropole de Kietrz. Plan général simplifié. 1 - tombe à inhumation de la culture celtique ; 2 - tombe à incinération de la culture celtique ; 3 - tombe à inhumation de la culture de Przeworsk ; 4 - tombe à incinération de la culture de Przeworsk ; 5 - tombe à incinération de la culture lusacienne ; 6 les fosses et les enclos ; 7 - zone abîmée. Selon Gedl (1984).

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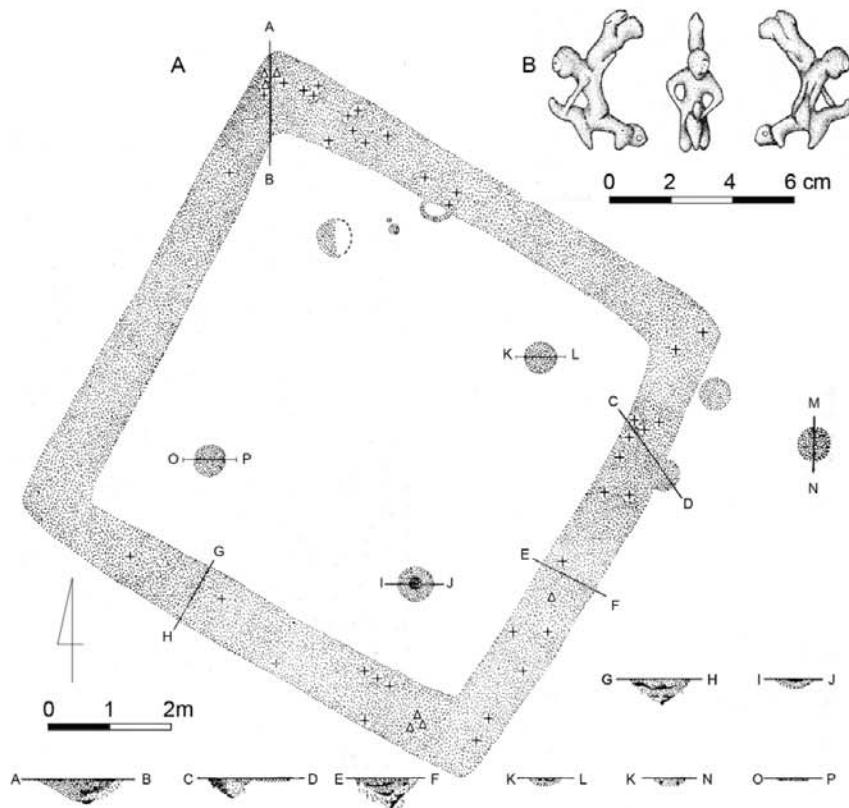


Fig. 3. A : Kietrz, enclos 1493. B : l'arc d'une fibule en bronze. Selon Gedl (1984).

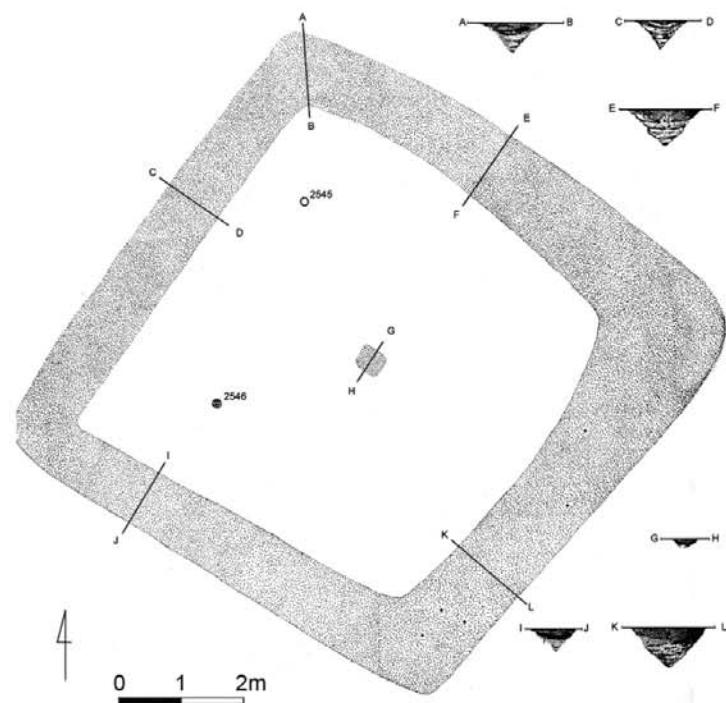


Fig. 4. Kietrz, enclos 2068. Selon Gedl (1984).

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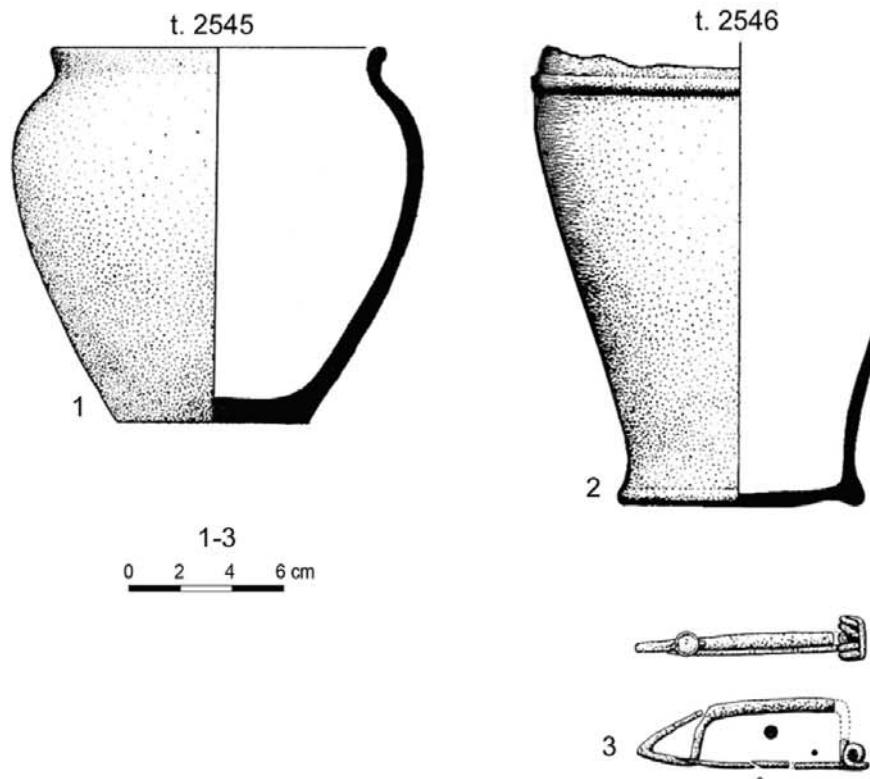


Fig. 5. 1 - Kietrz, tombe 2545; 2 Kietrz, tombe 2546. Selon Gedl (1984).

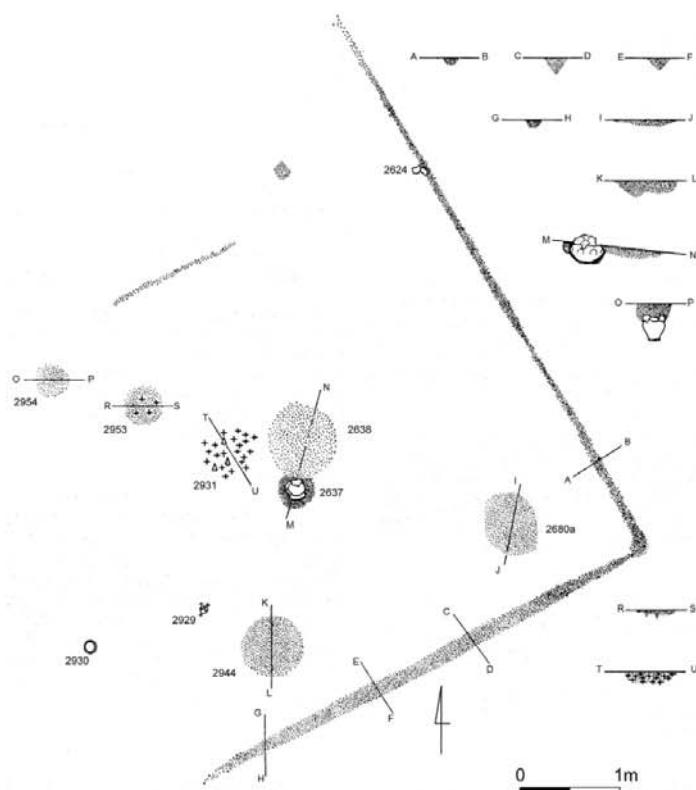


Fig. 6. Kietrz, enclos 2680. Selon Gedl (1984).

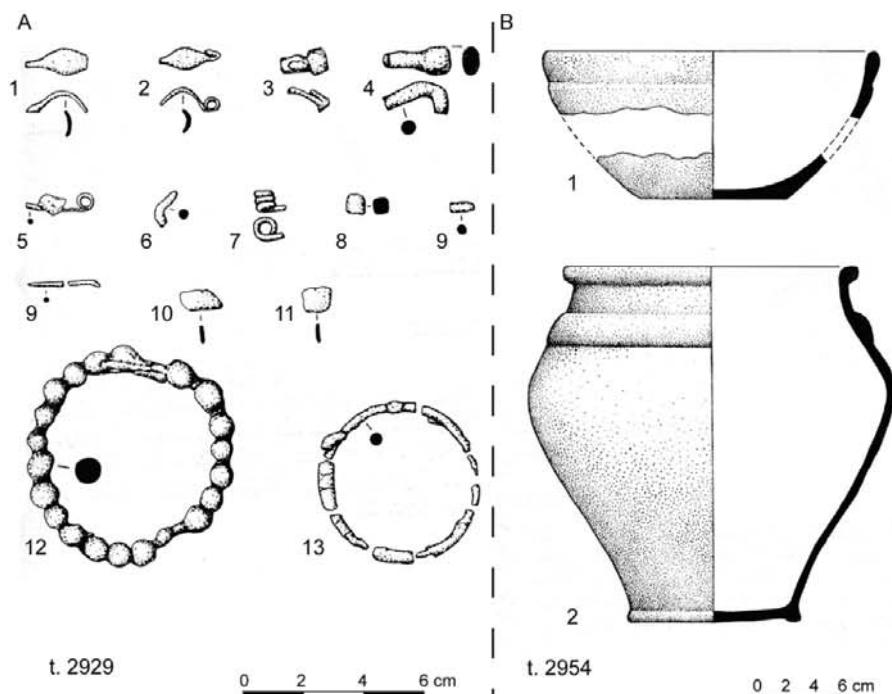


Fig. 7. A : Kietrz, tombe 2929, 1-13 : fer; Kietrz, tombe 2954, 1, 2 - céramique. Selon Gedl (1984).

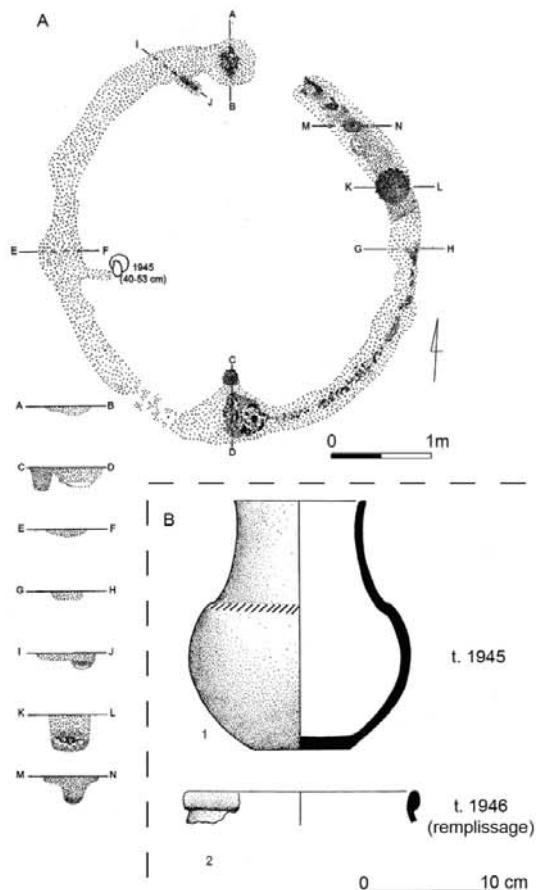


Fig. 8. A : Kietrz, enclos 1946. B : 1 urne de la tombe 1945 ; 2 - mobilier du remplissage d'enclos (tombe 1946). Selon Gedl (1984).

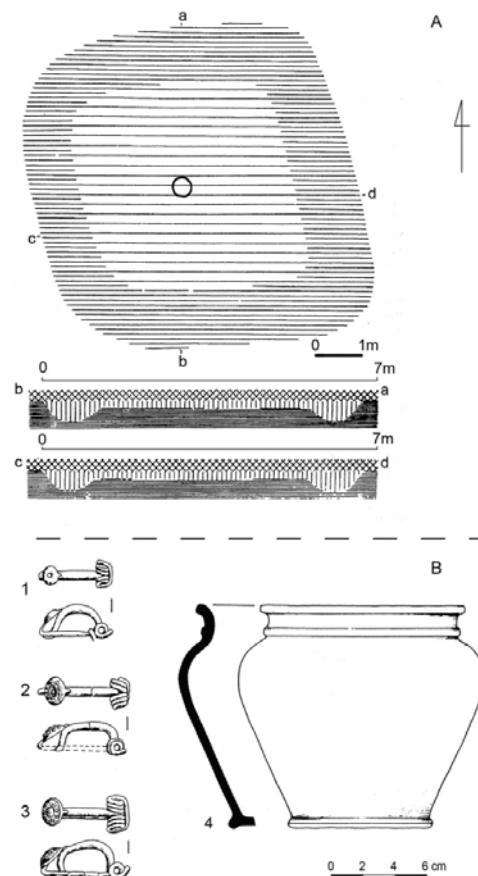


Fig. 9. Nowa Cerekwia. A : plan d'enclos. B : mobilier de la tombe. 1-3 fibules en fer ; 4 urne. Selon Bednarek (1994).

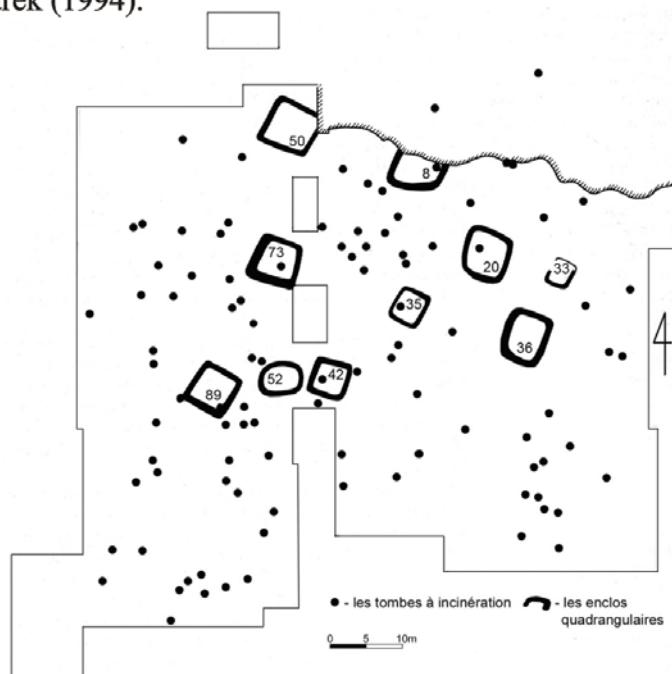


Fig. 10. La nécropole de Kryspinów. Plan général simplifié. Selon Godłowski (1995)

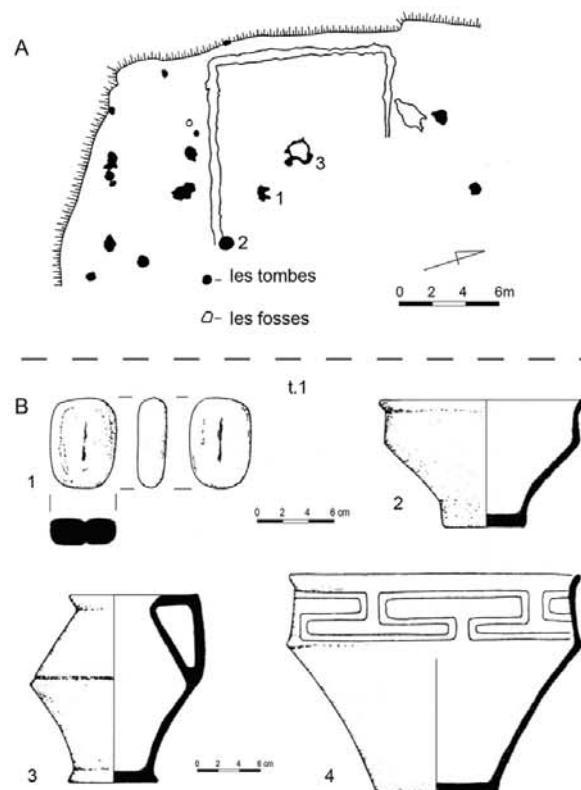


Fig. 11. La nécropole de Gościeradów. A : plan général. B : mobilier de la tombe 1. 1- polissoir en pierre ; 2-4 céramique. Selon Gedl (1984).

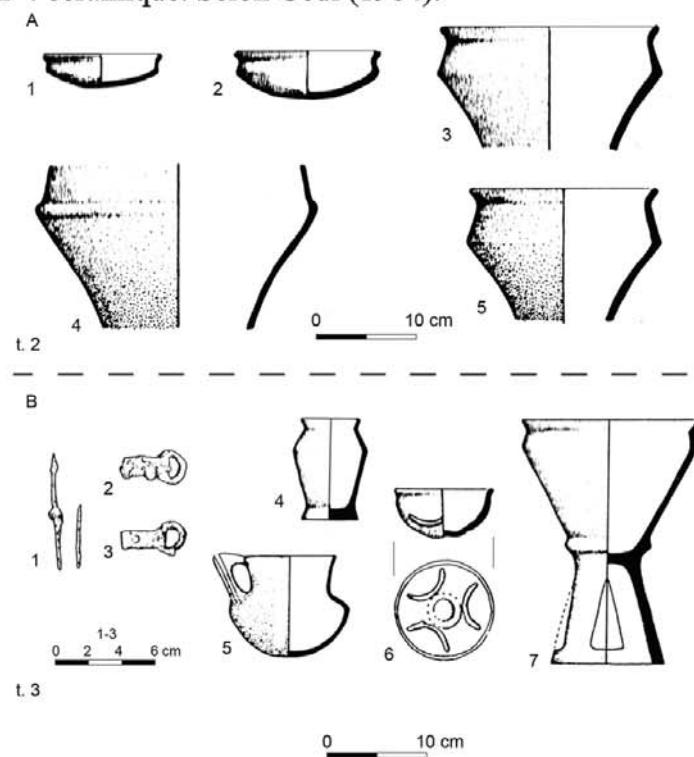


Fig. 12. La nécropole de Gościeradów. A : tombe 2. 1-5 céramique. B : tombe 3. 1 - objets en fer ; 2, 3 boucles de ceinture en fer ; 4-7 céramique. Selon Niewęglowski (1982).

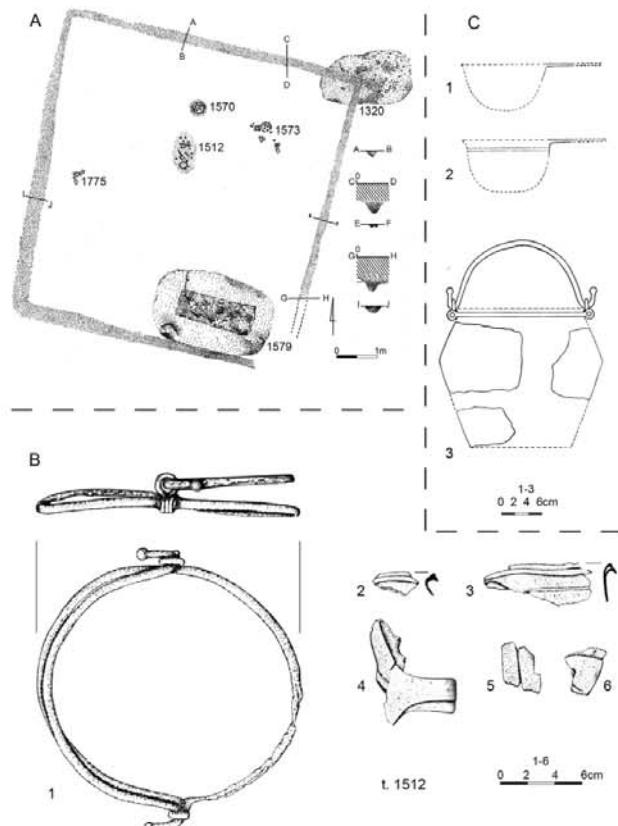


Fig. 13. A : Kietrz, enclos 1588. B - Kietrz, tombe 1512. 1-6 la vaisselle métallique. C les reconstructions de la vaisselle métallique. Selon Niewęglowski (1982).

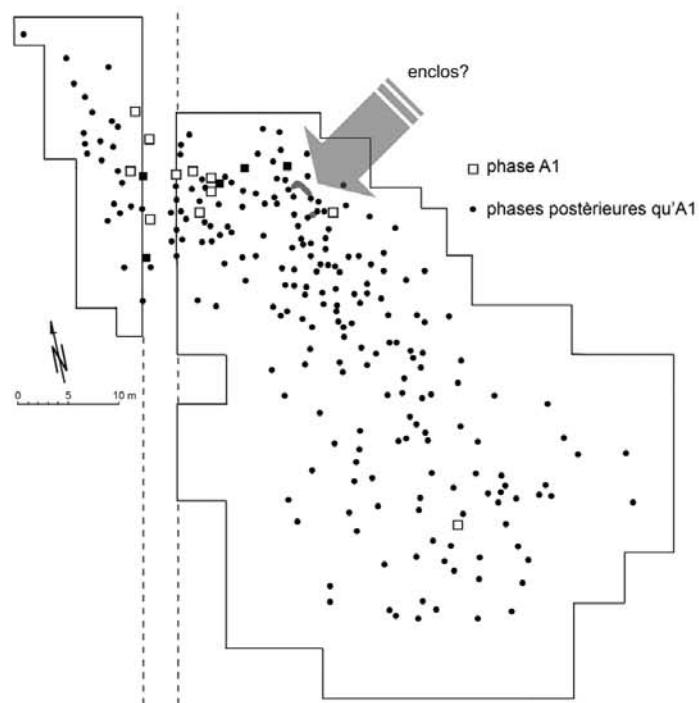


Fig. 14. La nécropole de Ciecierny. Plan général simplifié. Selon Martyniak, Pastwiński, Pazda (1997)

## **TRADITION OF ETHNIC IDENTITY IN THE FUNERAL RITES DURING THE HISTORY OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE: THE CASE OF THRACE**

**Jan Bouzek (Czech Republik) and Lidia Domaradzka (Bulgaria)**

**Key-words:** Thrace, Romans, funeral customs, inscriptions.

**Abstract.** The tradition of funeral customs in Thrace, which in the Roman times preserves that of previous generations of Thracian aristocracy is not an isolated phenomenon; it has parallels in other parts of the Roman empire, e.g. in some parts of Gallia, in Galatian in Asia Minor, in peripheral areas of Syria etc. The paper should investigate the traces of these funeral traditions in archaeological material and the corpus of inscriptions and try to contribute to clear some less known aspects of this particular phenomenon.

Historical, cultural and ethnic identities were formed by the individuals who felt themselves part of them and even nowadays the individual people depend on intentional dimensions of human self-definition. Modern nations are basically different from the ancient ethnic groups, which were more dependent on their leaders, on family relations, on the systems of clients etc., but also old nations were expressions of intentional self-classification of their members and their neighbours who contributed to the self-definition of the former. The ethnic entity was a communicative expression of particularity (specificity) of individual groups, as self-representation of the group as different from its neighbours. Ethnic identity had its roots in the language, in the oral tradition, in the religion, rituals and in common symbolic codes of the particular nation (cf. Assmann 1999; Assmann—Friesse, eds. 1998). The more general identity (and its classification in Classical Antiquity) was mainly based on the language and on particular religious approaches to the reality, but these general units only had limited value. They indicated only very general feeling of belonging to a specific cultural sphere. Such large unifying factors were the Greek identity of the Hellenized Eastern Mediterranean, and the Latinized identity of the western provinces of the Roman Empire. Even less so this general identity was felt by the Celtic speaking populations from Spain to Anatolia, or by the Thracians with the Geti and Dacians, who all spoke similar language. The more specific identity was based on the tribal groups with (real or fictive) common ancestry or on local common background. The first was especially important unifying phenomenon for nomadic, seminomadic and other peoples without urban culture), while the story of the foundation of a city or a tribal sanctuary which was more stressed by the peoples with urban civilisation or with those approaching this stage, like the ethnoi in Greece or the more advanced Thracian tribes.

Particular language and particular religious traditions were decisive factors for the preservation of ethnic identity in an alien milieu and in the melting pot, as was for non-Latin and Non-Greek ethnic identities the civilisation of the Roman Empire (Mitchell - Greatrex, eds, 2000). Ancient literary sources, such as a speech by Chimerios – a rhetor, who lived from 300 to 380 AD – gives us interesting evidence on the Thracian element in 4<sup>th</sup> century diocese of Thrace. The speech, entitled Epithalamios eis Seberon, was written by the rhetor for the wedding of one of his students – Severos. The bride was a Thracian noble woman originating from Philippopolis. Chimerios, glorifying the genealogy of the bride, highlights her royal Thracian origin. According to the cited author her origin in its outermost roots reaches to the local Thracian rulers and her relatives up to Chimerios' times (4<sup>th</sup> c. AD) have leading posts in the society and administration of the urban life of Thrace (Himer. Or., IX, 13, p. 83, 150 – 157) (Velkov 1958, 737).

The source quoted shows us how the bride, a noble Thracian woman, citizen of Philippopolis in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. AD, takes pride in her origin and demonstrates consciousness of her Thracian identity.

In the Roman army, the first two centuries of the Roman Empire bring enough evidence on military units composed from ethnic groups, but later their numbers diminish and change step after step into another categories, composed of barbarian neighbours of the Empire – foederati and other allies with alien identities

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(Pohl– Reimitz, eds. 1998). This situation apparently reflects the loose of ethnic identity in most part of the Roman Empire, as reflected in other testimonies as well; while later the alien elements penetrating the Roman territory kept on their particular identities more rigidly. We can find data about many Thracians, citizens of the Eastern Balkan lands, who are the addressees in the issued decrees edited by emperor Diocletian during his journey in Moesia and Thrace and in other legislative sources, e.g. Ziparus from Durostorum (294 AD), Aurelia Zania Antipatra from Philippopolis (293 AD), Doles from Heracleia (294), Bitthus (294), Auluzanus (293), Mucatralis (293), Diza (293), Dizo miles (290), Flavius Rumitalus (293 – 304) from unattested? Unnamed cities.

An argument for the preserved consciousness of a Thracian identity are the attestations of persons with leadings posts in the temporal power, in the clergy and in the army with Bessic origin in the historical, hagiographical works in the period between IV and VI centuries AD as well as in the epigraphic monuments. A list of soldiers and military functionaries from Salsobia gives us interesting information about the ethnic structure in 4<sup>th</sup> century Scythia Minor. The list contains 33 names of soldiers (circitores, castricani, equites, bisexarii, exarchi) which, according to their ethnic origin, can be divided in the following groups: 22 Latin, 2 Greek, 5 Semithic, 1 Dacian (Popescu 1976, no. 272).

Traditions of indigenous funeral customs and beliefs in proper way to proceed to afterlife in Thrace and in other Roman provinces with strong indigenous traditions represent a phenomenon showing the importance of local and family traditions for keeping the ethno-cultural identity notably in Thrace, Galatia, Egypt, Syria and Gaul. There was a big difference in this respect between provinces, where the old social structure was completely destroyed (like in Dacia, Moesia, Germania, North Africa), and those, where the Romans took over the power in less warfare way. In the latter, the Romanization (respective Graecization) did not replace completely the local languages. The rather peaceful annexion had to respect to some extent the local social structures and traditions. The local population in them was in better position. It could continue more closely in their particular way of life and to some extent conserve the traditional structures of their pre-Roman social systems and stratification.

The tradition of funeral customs in Thrace, which in the Roman times preserved the burials under tumuli in cemeteries with continuity of burials from Hellenistic (and even earlier) period, is a testimony that the Thracian religious identity of previous generations of Thracian aristocracy was not lost in the Imperial period. Though very characteristic for Thrace, the continuity of burial customs on long-living cemeteries there is not an isolated phenomenon. It has parallels in other parts of the Roman Empire, e.g. in the provinces of Gallia, in Galatia in Asia Minor, in Syria etc. Famous ancestors were important for the upper class social structure in Rome itself; many senatorial and other families until the end of Classical antiquity represented themselves by famous ancestry. The provincials copied the system of Rome itself, while stressing their particular aristocratic origin in the frame of their province, like in Galatia (Strobel 1998).

The good ancestry counted in the social life of the Roman provincial society in all areas, in which the old pre-Imperial structure to some extent persisted and was inaugurated into the new situation. Besides this - even in the frame of the Roman Empire in general - religious particularities were part of tradition which was allowed as an enrichment of the Roman official pantheon (besides the official cult of Roma and the emperors) and was also kept by those who anxiously tried to keep at least part of the old dignity and power, the traditional identity.

The cults integrated into the pantheon of polytheistic Roman empire were not only tolerated, but considered by many – even in the official politics of the state – useful means to enhance the importance of Roman Empire by getting support for Rome also from divinities of all countries conquered; the conquered gods had to support Rome, its universal power in the ancient world. So e.g. the structure of the koinon Galaton, with three ethnoi: von Ankyra (Tektosagoi) of Pessinus (Tolstobogii) and Tavium (Trocni) is well known from the inscriptions of the priests of Roma and Augustus at Ankyra. In this province the Galatian aristocracy kept much of their political positions – as tetrarchoi and priest also the three Galatian ethnoi kept their identities until the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D. The cult of Zeus Bussurigios (Zeus with royal mouth) received dedications from all ethnoi. His temples, apparently connected with the cult of Kybele, as Aurelius Sentamus from Dalapopze in this place founded in 218 AD, other dedications date from mid 3<sup>rd</sup> century. Zeus Bussumaros was known also in the province Dacia Superior. Much of the Galatian religion was also

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taken over from the previous Anatolian population, as Kybele – Kubaba with her main sanctuary at Pessinus. Celtic names were common in Galatia until the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD. Tombstones from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century mentioning Celtic names are rather common in Galatia. Also the tombs of the Galatian aristocracy with tumuli continued here long into the Roman Empire (Strobel 2006). (Celtic names attested in the region of Montana, Bulgaria – see the article of A. Fetotov in *Orpheus*, 2007?)

In Pannonia several Celtic ethnoi kept their identity also until the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD: in some vici Celtic pottery was produced in the traditional way until the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. About Boi, Eravisci and other Celtic civitates we are informed from funeral and dedicatory inscriptions and from scenes and symbols on their funeral stelae. Women usually wear the traditional costumes, while men are dressed in Roman fashion. Representations of heads remind one of earlier Celtic masks, astral symbols are common, boar hunts and attributes of Essus and Cerunnos known from some stelae. Torques is also represented, as well and funeral wagons, the last mentioned are most common in the territory of the Eravisci (Petres 1975, 1990).

Even more often are the traditional female dress representation on the funeral stelae in Noricum (Garbsch 1965), a province in which much tradition from the preceding kingdom. Noricum had rather smooth transition from the Roman protectorate to province at the time of Augustus. As in other parts of the conglomerate of the Roman Empire, women were usually more traditional in their wear, while men, who had to be more in the public and negotiate with the Roman administrative, and adopted the Roman dress fashion more quickly.

Similar traditional elements can be traced in French Gaul, in Iberia and in other Roman provinces as well (cf. Pearce-Millet-Struck., eds. 2000). In the East, notably Syria shows much local tradition in burial customs; the most apparent examples being Palmyrean funeral monuments and those in the Hauran region of the province Arabia (Colledge 1976; Parlasca 1982). But even more apparent is the keeping of the local tradition of cult and funeral representations in Egypt, whose traditional religion disappeared only with the spread of Christianity during the Late Roman times. The rich corpus of Anatolian funeral stelae, of which those from Galatia have been mentioned above, also preserved much from the earlier tradition in Anatolia, though being more Hellenized already in the Hellenistic times.

In Thrace, the Thracian Hero-Rider is the most apparent example of the religious tradition outliving the pre-Roman period, being followed by the tumulus graves, of which more are known from the Roman times than from the previous Classical and Hellenistic periods, as shown in many individual cemeteries (e.g. Kančeva.Ruseva, Velkov, Veselin 1996) and discussed in the series of colloquia on funeral archaeology, of which this colloquium is the Vth. Interesting is also the survival of the Thracian language until the end of Classical Antiquity, best documented by the existence of the *Biblia Bessica* (cf. Bouzek 2005, 138-144, with bibl.; Oppermann 2006).

As our globalised world has many traits common with the development under the Roman Empire, again we may use history as *magistrum vitae*: how was the resistance of national languages and cultural traditions, identities, in the Roman Empire. How deep were the roots of these traditions? Against the nationalistic development, which was especially strong in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and continued still in the past century, and which still some minor ethnic groups continue to develop as latecomers in the Balkans and elsewhere, the globalizing trend appears to be much stronger. If the next generation would consider the European mosaic of nation's worth of being kept, it is not without interest to know how their early predecessors kept their traditions in the melting pot of the Roman Empire.

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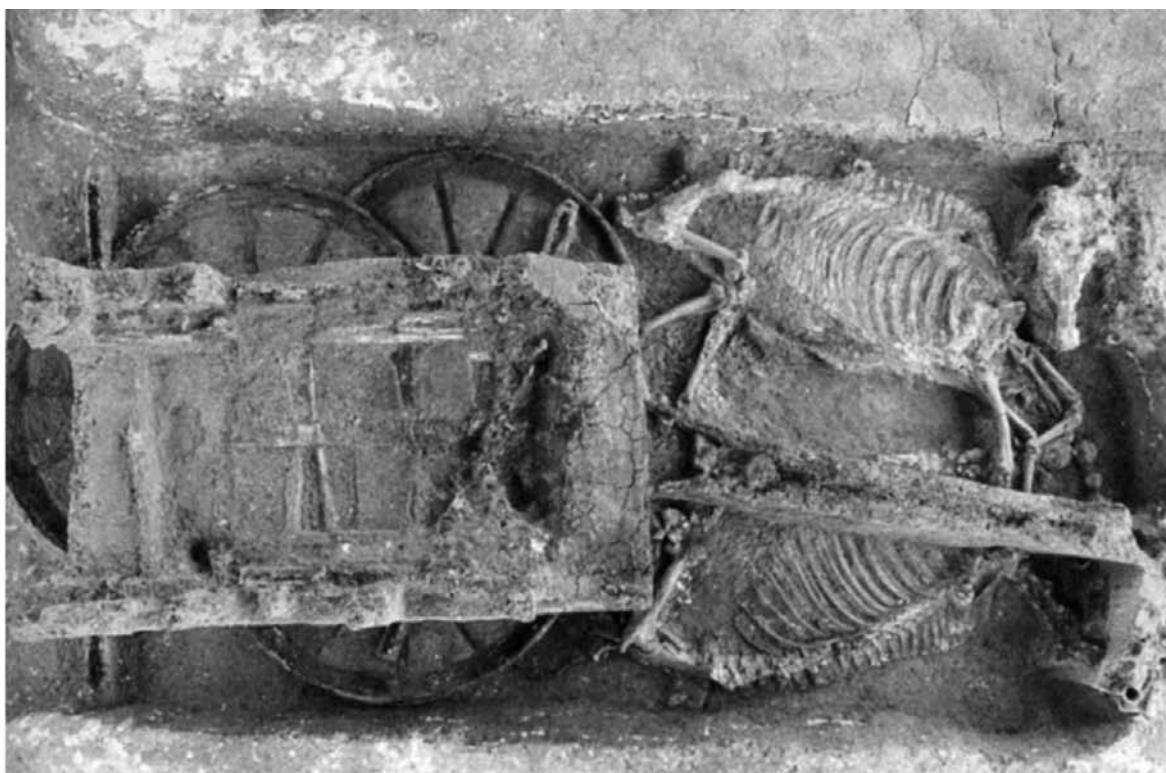


Fig. 1. Tumulus of Mikri Doxipara Zoni, Wagon C (after Triantaphyllos, Terzopoulou 2006).

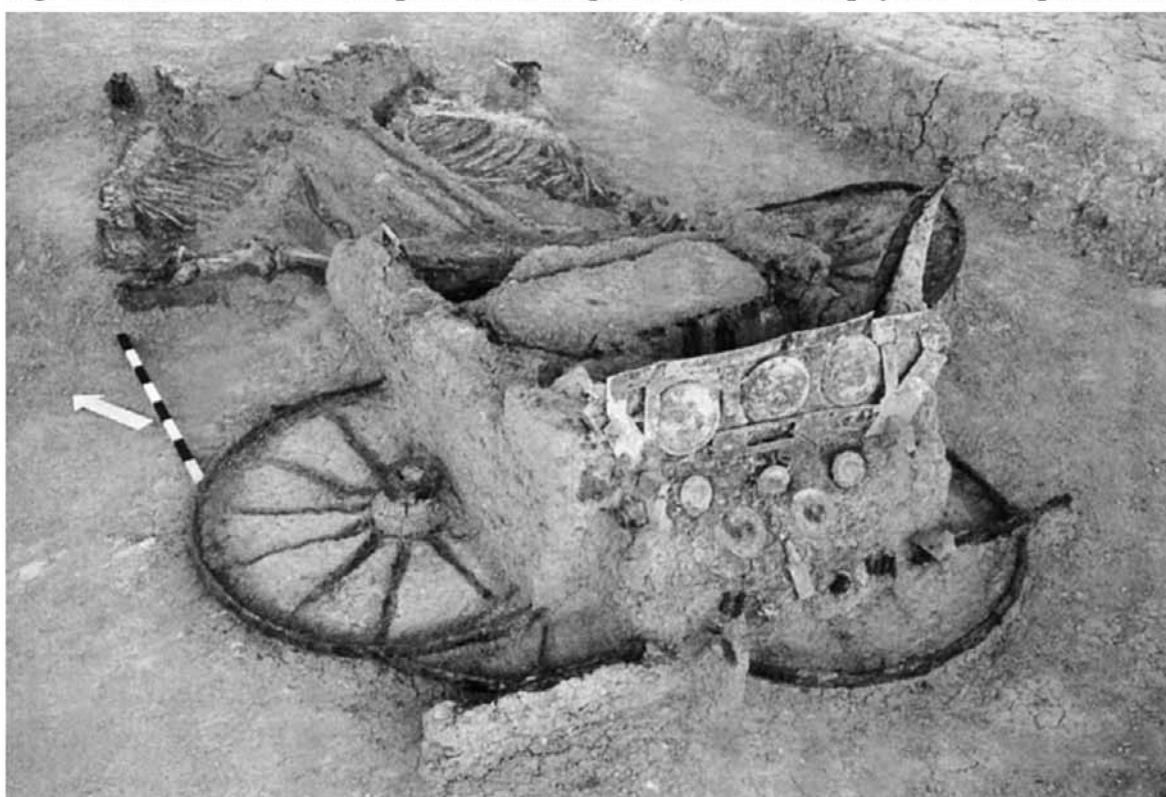


Fig. 2. Tumulus of Mikri Doxipara Zoni, Wagon B (after Triantaphyllos, Terzopoulou 2006)



Fig. 3. Horse burial in the tumulus of Ladi (after Trantaphyllos Terzopoulou 2006).

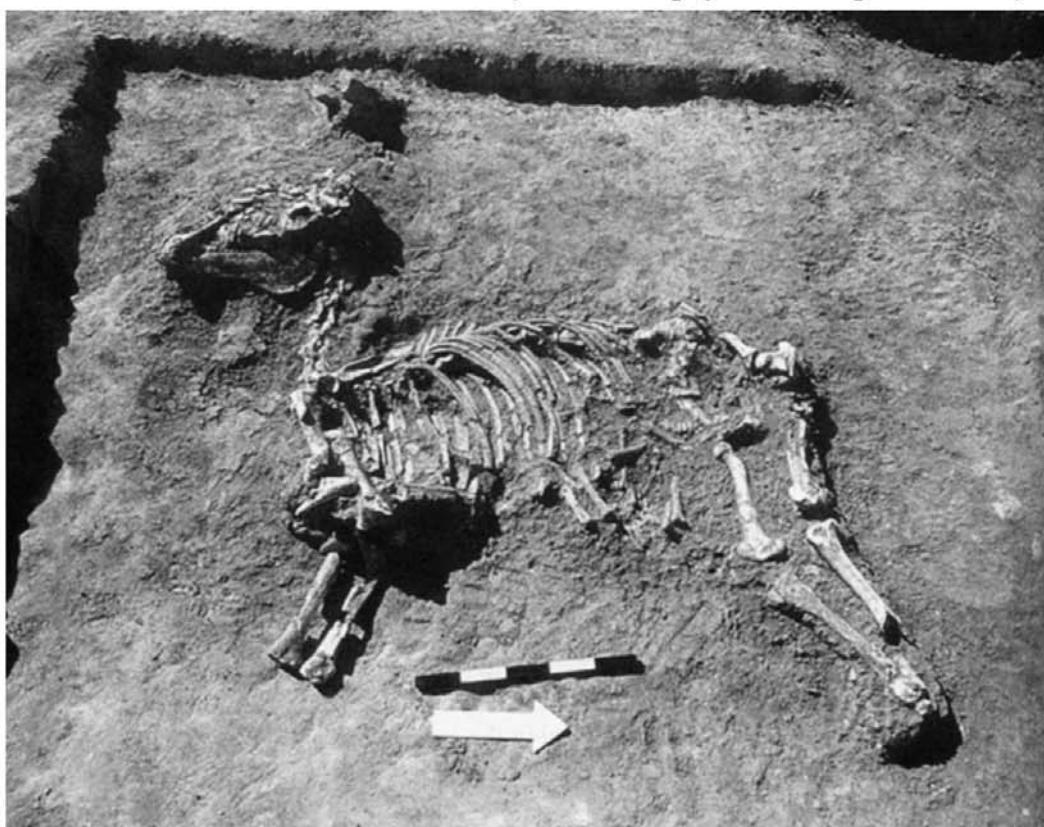


Fig. 4. Horse burial in the tumulus of Rigion (after Triantaphyllos Terzopoulou 2006).

## **LA TÈNE C1 FUNERARY DISCOVERIES ON THE MIDDLE MUREŞ COURSE**

**Iosif Vasile Ferencz (Romania)**

**Key words:** Celts, La Tène, Transylvania, Mureş River, Funerary

**Abstract.** According with the archaeological discoveries, on the Middle Mureş Course, during the La Tène C1 phase, we know a clear Celtic presence. Many of the archaeological artifacts had been discovered fortunately, that's why our knowlegements about life, society and the history of the people who lived in the area are not so extensive.

We do not know the exactly number of graves in none of the cemeteries and generaly speaking we know just a few informations about them. In accordance with the informations about the discoveries, we can say that in the area we found both rites of burials: cremation and also inhumations.

### *1. Middle Mureş River Course*

The Transylvanian Intracarpatical area is a large one and it includes the area we are studying. Although in this paper our aim is mainly the Middle Mureş River, some aspects of the civilization from the Second Iron Age mean the connection with a larger area, including the whole Transylvania.

The area which is in our interes in this paper, is a verry well individualized one, speaking about the geographical and historical point of view (Pl. I). The northern limit of the reserched space being established in the Luna commune, Cluj County and the second, towards west is on the area of Săvărşin, Arad County. Generaly speaking, the aspect of the relief is characterized by plains along the rivers, and hills. The area is very good for agriculture and it is considered as one of the Celts penetration way in Transylvania (Nestor 1041-1942, p. 457; Rusu, Bandula 1970, p. 35).

Through the Mureş Valley the main trades between the Transylvanian basin and central european parts these ways being also the main way of acces used by different populations who came to Transylvania, among who were the Celts (Ferencz 2007, p. 19-26).

### *2. Carachteristic traces of La Tène C1 phase on The Middle Mureş Course*

Acording with the archaeological discoveries, on the Middle Mureş Course, during the La Tène C1 phase, we know a clear Celtic presence (Pl. I). Many of the archaeological artifacts have discovered fortunately, that's why our knowlegements about life, society and historical events of the people who lived in the area are not so extensive, but there are enough for us to make some considerations.

So, we can count today the amplacements of some shure settlements, belonging to the La Tène C1 phase, in the area of the next localities: Aiud (Ciugudeanu 1978, p. 39, nr. 44; Takács, Bogdan 1997, p. 94, note 8; Ferencz 2007, p. 40, 56-57), Gligoreşti (Gogâltan, Aldea, Ursuţiu 1996, p. 51-52; Găgâltan, Aldea, Ursuţiu 2004, p. 66, 69, 74, Pl. II; Ferencz 2007, p. 41, 55), Sebeş (Horedt and all 1967, p. 19-25; Crişan 1969, p. 273, nr. 261; Horedt 1965, p. 59; Crişan 1966, p. 74; RepAlba, p. 167, nr. 4; Ferencz 2007, p. 44-45, 56), Şeuşa (Crişan and all 1997, p. 27-40; Paul, Ciută 1998, p.74-76; Ferencz, Ciută 2000, p. 22-50; Ciută and all 2000, p. 101; Ciută and all 2001, p. 239-242 ; Ferencz, Ciută 2005, p. 239-254; Ferencz 2007, p. 45-46, 55) and Vințu de Jos (RepAlba, p. 207, nr. 1 b; Plantos 2000, p. 87-96; Ferencz 2007, p. 47-48). Another settlement dated with probability in the same chronological phase was investigated at Lancrăm, near Sebeş (Popa, Totoianu 2000, p. 51-134; Popa, Simina 2004; Ferencz 2007, p. 55-56). In the same time, we know some isolated discoveries of archaeological artefacts belonging to La Tène C<sub>1</sub> phase, that indicate the presence of the Celts in the area of the middle Mureş River Valey. A good example for that asempion is the silver fibula discovered in a cave, at Ohaba Ponor (Nicolăescu-Plopşor and all 1957, p. 46-47, fig. 5, 6; Feencz 2007, p. 43-44, Pl. 105/3).

***Acta Terraes Septemcastrensis, VI, 1, 2007******3. Funerar discoveries belonging to La Tène C<sub>1</sub> phase on The Middle Mureş Course***

Some other archaeological discoveries could indicate the presence of some necropolies, or just isolated funerary complexes. This are the cases of the discoveries from Aiud (Crișan 1973, p. 51; Crișan 1974, p. 71-92; Ferencz 2007, p. 37-40, 75-77), were we have certain informations about two necropolies. Other places where the discoveries indicate a cerain necropolies is Blandiana village (Aldea 1976, p. 415-421; Aldea, Ciugudean 1985, p. 37-43; *RepAlba*, p. 60, nr. 3; Ferencz 2007, p. 40-41, 77-78).

In some other cases, some isolated discoveries could indicate some funerary discoveries (Pl. II, 3, Pl. IV). This are the cases of the artefacts belonging to Jidvei (Crișan 1973, p. 58; *RepAlba*, p. 114, nr. 2; Roska 1942, p. 313, nr. 8; Roska 1944, p.73 nr. 146; Ferencz 2007, p. 42), Şona (Crișan 1973, p. 62, nr. 70 a, b; *RepAlba*, p. 183, nr. 11 d; Petică 1994, p. 33; Ferencz 2007, p. 46), Uroi (Popescu 1941-1944, p. 183; Popescu 1944, p. 648; Roska 1944, p. 58, nr. 7; Crișan, 1973, p. 64; Ferencz 2007, p. 47, 114-115), and Veteł (Roska 1942, p. 301, nr. 52; Roska 1944, p.73, nr. 64; Popescu 1944, p. 648; Crișan 1973, p. 67, nr. 80; Ferencz 2007, p. 47, 119).

With just a singular exception, at Aiud (Herepey 1901, p. 76, 96, pl. XXI, 222-223; M. Roska 1944, p. 66, 35; Crișan 1973, p. 51, Crișan 1974, p. 71-92; *RepAlba*, p. 22-23, nr. 11a; Ferencz 2007, p. 38-39, 76), all of the funerary discoveries on the middle Mureş valey, belonging to La Tène C<sub>1</sub> had made fortunately. We do not know the exactly number of graves in none of the cemeteries and generally speaking we know just a few informations about them. In spite of the lach of discoveries, in accordance with the informations about them, we can say that in the area the funerary discoveries had both rites of burials: cremation and also inhumations.

On the middle Mureş course were identified the necropolis from Aiud and Blandiana to which it could be add some materials which could be included in the inventory objects category discovered in different kind of places. The number of this types of archaeological sites known till now are less numerous on the middle Mureş in comparison with those coming from settlements. The archaeological artifacts found as grave goods are represented by weapons, harness pieces, jewelry, accesories for clothes and potteries vessels. Sometimes there was found also some kind of implements, represented only by scissors. There are missing some artifacts with prestigious value (graves with helmets or chariots or women's graves with many jewelry for example), all of them are usual. The vessel with anthropomorphic handles discovered at Blandiana (Pl. III), could be an exception, but we don't know anything about it's context.

Also it has to be notice that any kind of necropolis known in our area of interest has not been researched as a result of a systematic investigation, till now.

The most numerous discoveries known until now in our area of interest are contemporary with the graves framed in III and IV horizons from Pișcolț (Pl. II, Pl. III, Pl. IV). About the dating of the end of this stage are necessary some words. The final moment of the cemetery and of the sub-phase C<sub>1</sub> in that area was somewhere around 120-130. The end of sub-phase C<sub>1</sub> was placed, in other parts of Central Europe between 190-175 B.C, one of the dating being between 185-170. The same moment in Transylvania was placed in the first part of the II Century B.C. As it can be noticed, the very late dating done by J. Nemeti is against the others chronological systems. Although in nowadays west and northwest Romania it is possible that the Celtic presence to continue along the C<sub>2</sub> sub-phase.

***4. Conclusions***

Our knowledge about funerary discoveries belonging to La Tène C<sub>1</sub> phase, on the Middle Mureş Course area are just a few. But there are very important for us to understand social and politic events involved the population who lived in those times. The La Tène C<sub>1</sub> phase has ending in the same time with the presence of the Celts on the area with the presence of the Celts in the first part of the II<sup>nd</sup> Century B. C. (Ferencz, Ciută 2005, p. 240-241, 245; Ferencz 2007, p. 159).

The next period is specific for some other civilization which have characteristics who had been observed in the believes and in the ideas about the after life (Sîrbu 1993, p. 37), but also in the material civilization. In western and central Europe, starting with La Tène C<sub>2</sub> horizon had been developed the *oppida civilization* (Ferencz 2007, p. 159), wich is characterized by archaeological with Celtic inventories. In Transylvania the rural civilization continues and fortified settlements and fortress appeared (Ferencz 2007,

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p. 159, nota 1231). From these sites inventory are missing almost entirely Celtic materials (Rustoiu 1999, p. 189-203).

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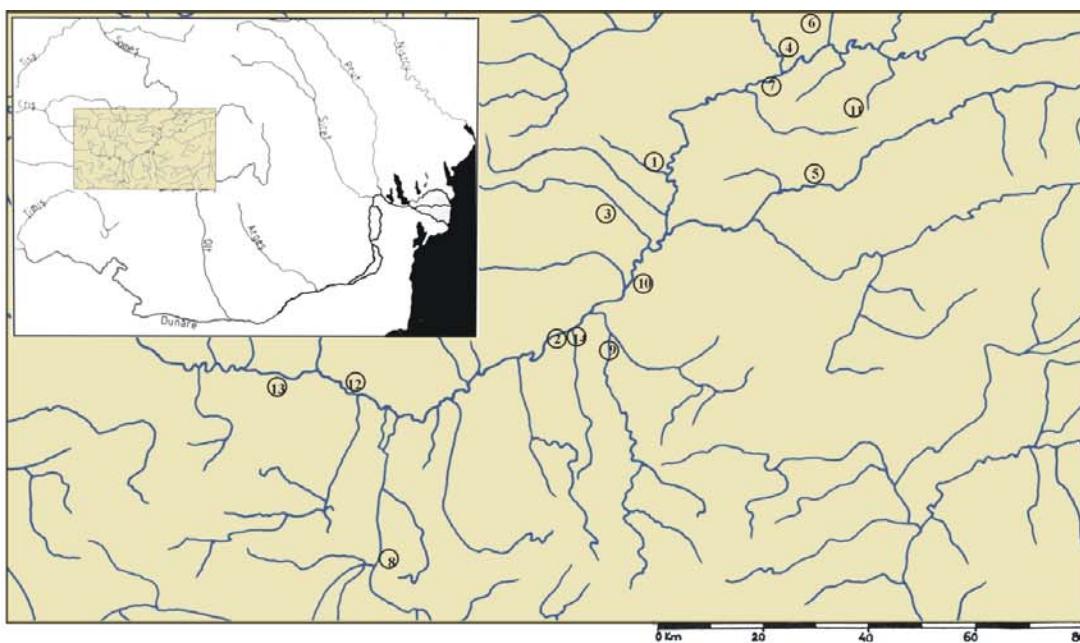
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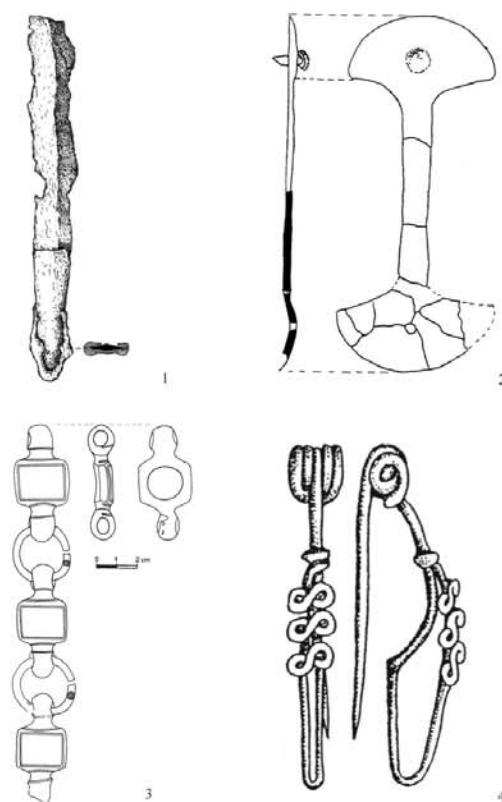
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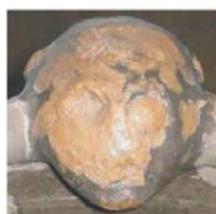
Pl. I. Discoveries belonging to La Tene C1 from the middle Mureş area. 1. Aiud; 2. Blandiana; 3. Craiva; 4. Gligoreşti; 5. Jidvei; 6. Luncani; 7. Noşlac; 8. Ohaba Ponor; 9. Sebeş; 10. Şeuşa; 11. Şona; 12. Uroi; 13. Vețel; 14. Vințu de Jos.



Pl. II. Some artefacts with chronological value provided from funerary discoveries from the middle Mureş area. 1. Fragmentary sword from Aiud; 2. Shield handle from Blandiana; 3. Fragmentary bronze belt from Vețel; 4. Silver fibulae from Ohaba Ponor.



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Pl. III. Vessel with anthropomorphic handles discovered at Blandiana.



Pl. IV. Ankle ring with big semioval lobes from Uroi.

**FUNERARY PRACTICES AND GRAVE TYPES OF 2<sup>ND</sup>- 3<sup>D</sup> C. AD  
IN THE ROMAN CEMETERIES OF MARCIANOPOLIS  
(DEVNYA, BULGARIA)**

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**Key-words:** *Marcianopolis, funeral practices, Roman time.*

**Abstract.** Excavations conducted at the cemeteries of Marcianopolis, a major Roman city of Moesia Inferior Province, revealed both typical and some unusual funeral practices used by local citizens. Most of burials were made by inhumation and only a few by cremation. The funeral practices at Marcianopolis show a diversity, which was due to its multi-ethnical population and various traditions in the city.

Ever since its localization in early 19<sup>th</sup> century, the ancient city of Marcianopolis in Moesia Inferior (in Northeastern Bulgaria) has always attracted the minds and efforts of many scholars because of its long and most successful history. During 2<sup>nd</sup>-3d c. AD it was a major Roman economical, military and administrative centre, which benefited a lot due to its closeness to the Western Black Sea coastline and well organized road system in the region. After late 3<sup>d</sup> c. AD when the city was appointed for capital of the newly established Late Roman province of Moesia Secunda, Marcianopolis had its second boom-time in Late Antique period, mainly during 4<sup>th</sup>- mid5<sup>th</sup> c. AD (Gerov 1975, 49-72). Now its ruins are covered over by the contemporary town of Devnya. According to Iordanes, the city was established under Trajan at the beginning of 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD most probably shortly after AD 204-205 and was named after Emperor's sister Marcia or Marciana (Iord. Get. 93; Amm. Marc. XXVII, 4, 12; Dexipp., fr. 25 (Jacoby). Some sparse finds suggest a much earlier occupation of the site too – a long time before the Romans occupied the Balkan Peninsula and incorporated its main parts in the provinces of Moesia and Thracia (Minchev 2004, p. 215-235 and bibl.).

The excavations of the ancient ruins started as early as late 19<sup>th</sup> century if we do not have in mind some unofficial research made at the site by the Russian occupation troops during Russian-Turkish War of 1828-1829 (Gerov 1975, S. 52-53 and bibl.). The research of the site was carried out continuously up to present days with some disturbances during and between the two Great Wars in 20<sup>th</sup> century (Gerov 1975, S. 49-72 and bibl.; Ангелов 1999, c. 5-7).

By now, only a relatively little part of ancient city's four cemeteries has been properly investigated and studied. They expand about 600 m to the East and over one km to the West of the city fortress walls (Минчев, Георгиев 1979, c. 101-111; Ангелов 1985, 55-62; Ангелов 1987, c. 161-162; Ангелов 1988, c. 123-124; Ангелов 2002, c. 118-119 and bibl. & data by unpublished ones), while to the South the cemetery limits are not clear yet. It seems that it goes probably also at a length of at least two or three hundred meters south of the wall (Ангелов 1983, c. 84-88). A smaller city cemetery (or a continuation of the West one?) was localized in North-West direction too (fig. 2), where probably mostly Roman and some Late Roman graves covered by tumuli were situated (Ангелов 1982, c. 99-102 and bibl.). In the Eastern and Western necropolises graves of both Roman, Late Antique/ Early Byzantine periods (e. g. 2<sup>nd</sup>- late 6<sup>th</sup> c. AD) have been found, while the South and probably the Northwest ones were maybe in use mostly if not only during Roman time (2<sup>nd</sup>-3d c. AD).

The number of graves of Roman period (2<sup>nd</sup>-3d c. AD) excavated so far at all four cemeteries is about one hundred, but not all of them have been published properly and quite a few of them (excavated in the late 80-ies of 20<sup>th</sup> century) are not published yet. Nevertheless these, which the scholarly world is

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familiar with, help enough to offer a general review of the funerary practices, which the citizens of Marcianopolis used during this period.

During these two centuries, which mark the most powerful Roman rule in the region funerary traditions in the city cemeteries included both inhumation and cremation. The local people practiced inhumation to a considerably higher degree, while cremation was in use quite rarely, if not an exception. The later one was practiced by some citizens in a peculiar way too.

All graves of Roman Period are orientated in North-South or Northeast-Southwest direction. Some of them were covered by tumuli of various sizes and heights. The tumuli-graves were beyond any doubt an important symbol of the social status of buried persons, but some of them maybe indicate their ethnic identity i. e. they belonged to some local citizens of Thracian origin in particular. Social status is proved also by some grave types, the diversity and richness of some burials. They consist usually of pottery, pottery lamps and glass vessels while in some occasions various bronze vessels, bone objects of daily life, gold jewelry, folded chairs are included too.

According to all available data of published excavations in all three cemeteries, the following types of inhumation have been recorded.

1. INHUMATION accomplished in a simple grave-pit of rectangular or trapezoid shape (figs. 3-4). By some graves the pit corners are rounded. Sometimes the graves have no visible traces of cover over. Maybe for the purpose wooden planks were used occasionally, which under environmental circumstances of the region are hardly to distinguish in the local soil. New or secondary used roof tiles covered quite often these graves (fig. 3). Their orientation is usually North-South, or Northeast-Southwest, which depends obviously on the time of the year the burial was made. The head of the buried person is generally set to the South, the arms laid by the body (skeleton). The grave goods/ funerary gifts (if any!) are laid either by the feet, next to the body or occasionally by the head (Минчев/ Георгиев 1979, с. 104, № 1, табл. VII/ 1; с. 108, № 28, табл. IX/ 28, etc.). Sometimes there are coins set in the mouth or laid by the hand (held in it?). This funerary practice started in 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD and continued well into the 4<sup>th</sup> c. AD, at least until the middle of the century and maybe later too.

2. INHUMATION accomplished in a simple grave-pit of rectangular or trapezoid shape covered by a tumulus (fig. 5). Their orientation is mainly Northeast-Southwest, the head probably set to the South. Funerary gifts are deposited by the feet. They are dated to 2<sup>nd</sup>- early 3d c. AD (Ангелов 1982, с. 102 and unpublished ones).

3. INHUMATIN accomplished in a grave-pit of rectangular shape marked at one long side by secondary used bricks or roof tiles (fig. 6). They are usually inserted at its Eastern side. The grave orientation is North-South or Northeast-Southwest. The head is set to North/ Northeast, the hands laid along the body. If there are funerary gifts, they are enclosed by the feet or by head (Минчев/ Георгиев 1979, с. 109, № 35, табл. X/ 35 and unpublished ones).

4. INHUMATION accomplished in wooden coffin enclosed within grave pits of rectangular shape (fig. 7). Their orientation is also North-South or Northeast-Southwest. They have either no cover above, apart from the coffin's planks or occasionally there are tiles laid over the coffin. The head of the buried person is usually set to the North/ Northeast, the arms laid by the body (skeleton). Funerary gifts occur usually by the feet or occasionally out of the coffin (Минчев/ Георгиев 1979, с. 108, № 30, табл. XI/ 30).

5. INHUMATION accomplished in rectangular tombs made of stone slabs and covered by flat roof of similar slabs (figs. 8-10. Usually the covering slabs are carefully worked out but sometimes they were left roughly cut, or there are secondary used ones including older gravestones with inscriptions and relief. The orientation of the tombs is East-West or Northeast-Southwest. The floor may be either of plain or rammed ground soil, or made of bricks or of stone slabs. The body lays with its head set to North/ Northeast, the hands laid by the body. Grave goods/ funerary gifts are enclosed either by head or feet but also by both head and feet. Occasionally these tombs may have a rectangular entrance almost square in shape cut in its North side, where from during secondary burials the next body was placed in. Very rarely the walls are covered carefully by one-colour plaster coating. These tombs were often used secondary or several times (up to five skeletons have been found within a tomb!). It means they were marked in some way on the surface, most probably by gravestones. The tombs of this type were covered usually (if not always, which is difficult to

6. INHUMATION accomplished in rectangular tombs constructed of limestone slabs and covered by a triangular roof, made also of two large stone slabs (fig. 11). The floor is often deliberately flattened using rammed soil or clay. Their orientation is East-West or Northeast-Southwest. The bodies were laid with their heads to the North. Several tombs were in fact family graves used more than once, which indicate some sort of mark on the surface. It is quite possible this was done by means of a gravestone. Funerary gifts are usually laid by the feet. When secondary burial was accomplished the bones and grave goods of the previous one were transmitted to the Southern part of the tomb (Ангелов 1983, c. 85-86, табл. I/ 1).

7. INHUMATION accomplished in tombs constructed by bricks fixed by means of mortar (fig. 13). They are rectangular in shape and made of locally produced bricks. The floor is often made of large (0.47 x 0.47 x 0.07 m) or ordinary Roman type bricks (0.35 x 0.35 x 0.04 m). Some of the tombs are vaulted while some other ones were covered by specially made very large and thick roof tiles. The tombs are orientated East-West or Northeast-Southwest (Ангелов 1983, c. 84-85, табл. I/ 2-4 and unpublished ones).

8. INHUMATION accomplished in stone sarcophagus with triangular roof, each part cut of a single piece of stone (figs. 14-15). They are made either of local limestone or of imported Proconesian marbles. Some of the Proconesian sarcophagi have *tabula ansata* on their front side, while some other ones have apart from it roof decoration in relief imitating roof tiles. The locally produced ones follow the fashion of the imported ones but are usually of smaller dimensions. Some of them have decoration on the front walls and on narrow side of the cover, either engraved or in relief. The decoration is connected with the business of buried person and his religious beliefs (Ангелов 1983, c. 84-85, табл. IV/ 2-4).

9. INHUMATION accomplished in wooden coffin within a stone sarcophagus (fig. 16). Its orientation is Northeast-Southwest and the body was laid with his head to the South. Funerary goods were deposited in the north section of the coffin while all collected bones of previous inhumation in the same sarcophagus were deposited its Southern part. There was a tumulus erected over the sarcophagus. Tombs of this type are dated to 3d c. AD (Ангелов 1982, 99-102, табл. 1).

There are only a few cremation burials discovered so far in the Roman cemeteries of Marcianopolis. They present some peculiarities of this practice, which hardly could be traced anywhere else in Bulgaria. They occur occasionally in the West cemetery of the ancient city and mainly in the South one, where also most of the Thracian tumuli-graves have been excavated a long time ago. All cremation burials in Marcianopolis are dated mostly between mid- 2<sup>nd</sup> and early 3d c. AD.

10. CREMATION accomplished in wooden coffin within a simple rectangular grave pit (fig. 19). The body was laid with its head to the North and hands on the belly. Pebbles covered the grave floor entirely. The tomb-shape is trapezoid and it was dug out in the ground according to that of the coffin. The later fits tidily in the pit. The tomb was orientated North-South. The coffin and its flat roof was made of wide wooden planks, fixed by iron nails. A not very large funeral pile of solid wooden beams was erected and fired over it. The walls as well as the tomb floor and all surrounding area were heated to red by the very high temperature of inside fire. According to the found relatively rich funerary gifts it was dated to second first half of 3<sup>d</sup> c. AD. They gifts were laid in the Northern part of the tomb and by the hands (Минчев/ Георгиев 1979, c. 106, № 12, табл. VI/1 and VIII/ 12).

11. CREMATION accomplished in rectangular tomb made of bricks and covered by flat roof of wooden planks fixed by nails. The tomb was orientated East-West, but according to the very rich funerary gifts found in, it was dated to second half of 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD. The floor of the tomb and the surrounding area were heated to red by the very high temperature of inside fire. Human bones mixed with ashes and coals were found scattered all over the floor, while the funerary gifts were laid patiently in the eastern part of the tomb.

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They suggest a male burial in the tomb, which was covered by a large tumulus too (Ангелов 1986, 63-66, табл. I/1; ).

12. CREMATION accomplished in wooden coffin within a rectangular tomb constructed by bricks (fig. 20). The tomb is orientated East-West with slight deviation. It has a floor made of rammed soil and the tomb was covered by flat roof made of stone slabs. The floor and walls of the tomb and the surrounding area were heated to red by high temperature of the fire in. Male human bones mixed with ashes and charcoal was found over the floor offering no sure data about original position of the head (to the south?). Two groups of rich funerary gifts were added after the body was burned and laid next to it – in the middle and in the northeastern corner of the brick tomb. Never mind of its orientation, according to the found funerary gifts the burial was dated to mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD (Nenova, Angelov 1999, pp. 49-59).

13. BURIAL accomplished in a stone cist-grave (fig. 21a). So far, only one cist-grave of rectangular shape and made of local limestone was found *in situ* in the Western cemetery of the ancient city. It was constructed immediately next (added) to a traditional tomb made of stone slabs and using its north wall for south one of the cist. Unfortunately, this interesting grave is not published yet apart from a plan and photo of both tombs and no data of the cist content are available. A date of 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD was suggested for both tombs (Ангелов 1999, c. 51) probably based on the funerary gifts found in.

14. Another evidence for a possible cist grave in the shape of a small sarcophagus is an unpublished cover of small dimensions. It has triangular roof and acroteria in the corners made just in the way the large sarcophagi were produced. The cover is carefully made of local limestone. It was found in the necropolis not *in situ* but reused in a much later burial. Therefore, we cannot be sure if this cover was originally upper part of a real cist-type grave, an *osteothecue*, or a small sarcophagus intended for child burial (Ангелов 1999, c. 49, no illustration). Under circumstances, only a general date of 2<sup>nd</sup>-3d c. AD may be suggested for the type.

Most of the listed funerary practices and fourteen types of graves, which occur in the cemeteries of Marcianopolis, especially all inhumation ones have been traced in other Roman city- and village cemeteries of 2<sup>nd</sup>-3d c. AD in Bulgaria (in the provinces of Thracia and Moesia Inferior) and beyond in the Roman empire. They occur in general during same time duration and some of them continued to be accomplished also in Late Antique-Early Byzantine period.

An exception in the Roman cemeteries of Marcianopolis appeared to be the practice of cremation on the site within a coffin and within a stone-build tomb (figs. 19-20). These peculiar types of burials seem to have been accomplished mostly during earlier times of city existence: ca mid- to second half of 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD. It was allegedly applied by burials of mostly (if not only) male persons of Thracian origin. Only one similar burial occurs so far in Bulgaria, namely in a mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD Thracian tumulus-grave in Maglizh by Kazanlak, in Southern Bulgaria (Гетов 1969, c. 45).

Quite unusual is also the combination of stone-built grave with a cist-grave next to it constructed in the same way (fig. 21)

Therefore, this peculiar burial practice may have a straight connection to the Thracians, which settled in Marcianopolis. They came over to the city of possibly from its vicinity, where this population originated from. The roots of this Roman time practice of burial of the local people are going most probably farther back in time – in some ancient Thracian funerary practice of Hellenistic or of even much earlier period.

The excavation of ancient cemeteries of Marcianopolis will continue in the future too. I do hope that they will add some new information on the subject studied here. Nevertheless, even now the diversity of funeral practices, which its citizens accomplished during 2<sup>nd</sup>-3d c. AD reflect the multi-ethnic culture combining traditional habits of the local population and influences of the newcomers to this area. Later on, after adopting the Christianity in 4<sup>th</sup> c. AD, the funerary practices partially changed became amalgamated and reduced in diversity. By that time, due to early adopting of this religion in the area, there is no way to distinguish the differences among the burials of local people which had various ethnic or regional origins.

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Fig. 1. Map of Western Black Sea coast and the layout of Marcianopolis.

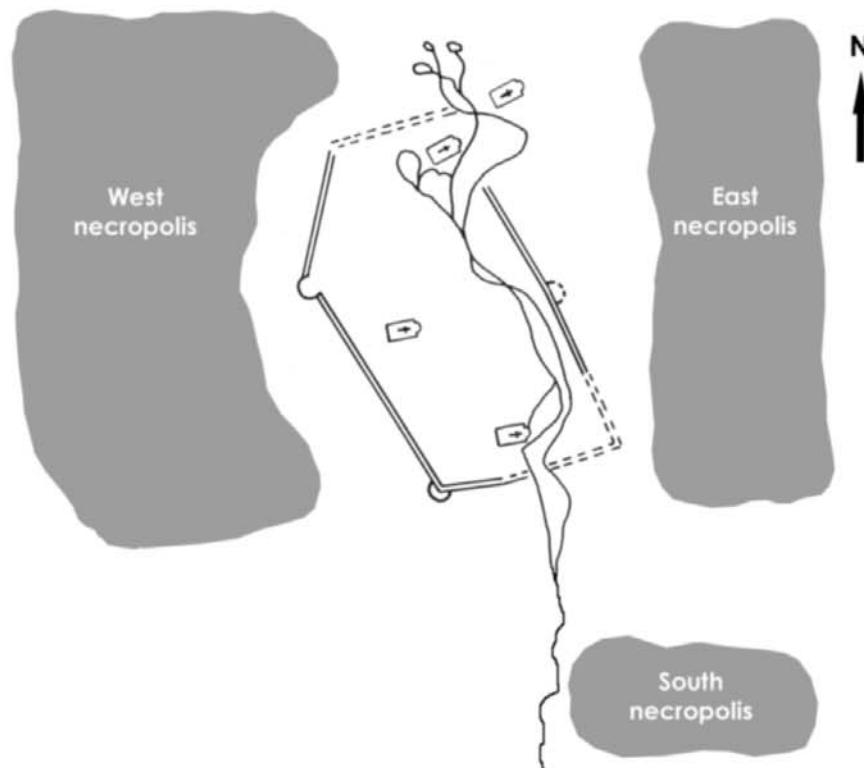


Fig. 2. Map of Late Roman Marcianopolis and its ancient cemeteries.

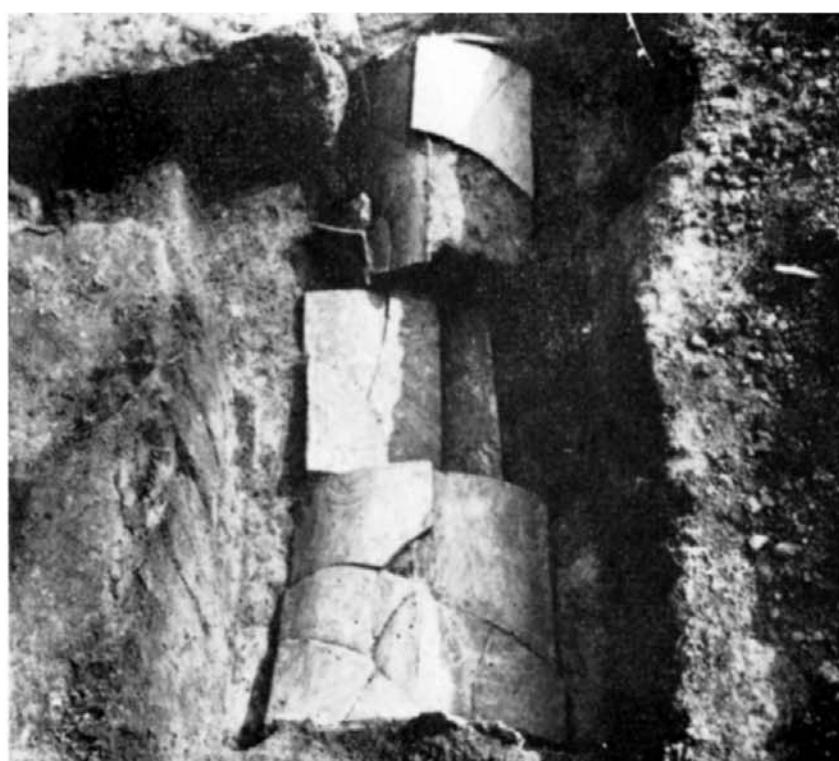


Fig. 3. Inhumation accomplished in a simple grave-pit covered by roof tiles.

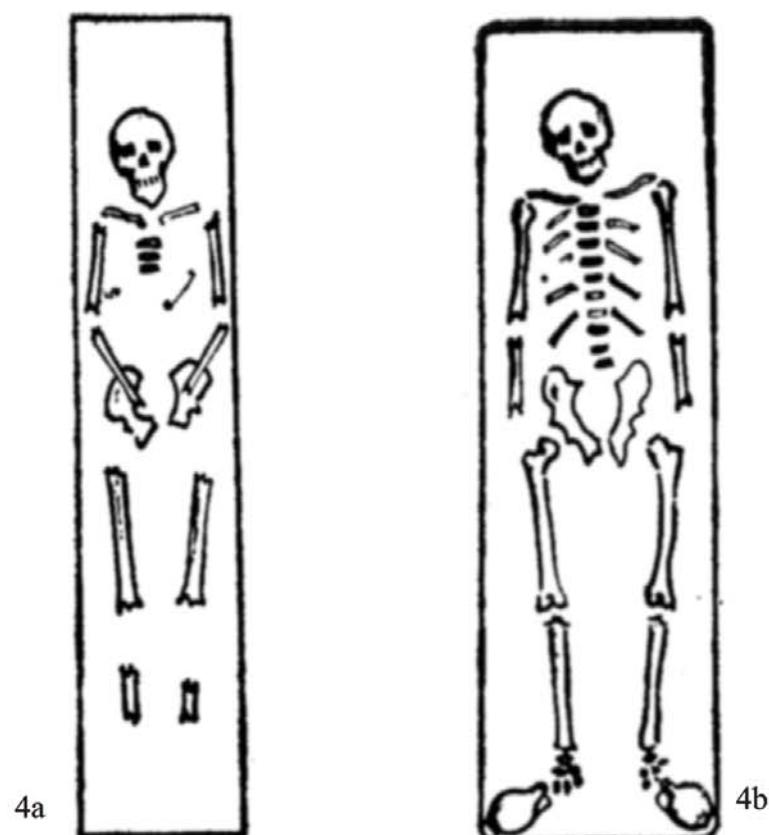


Fig. 4a-b. Sketches of simple grave pits with different layouts of the bodies.

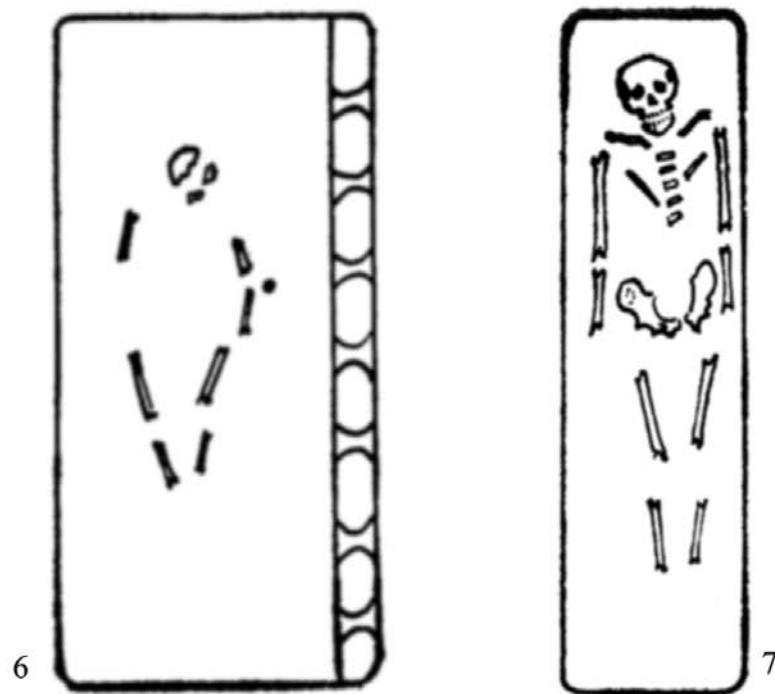


Fig. 6. Inhumation burial accomplished in a grave-pit marked at one long side by bricks.  
Fig. 7. Inhumation burial accomplished in grave-pit with a coffin in.

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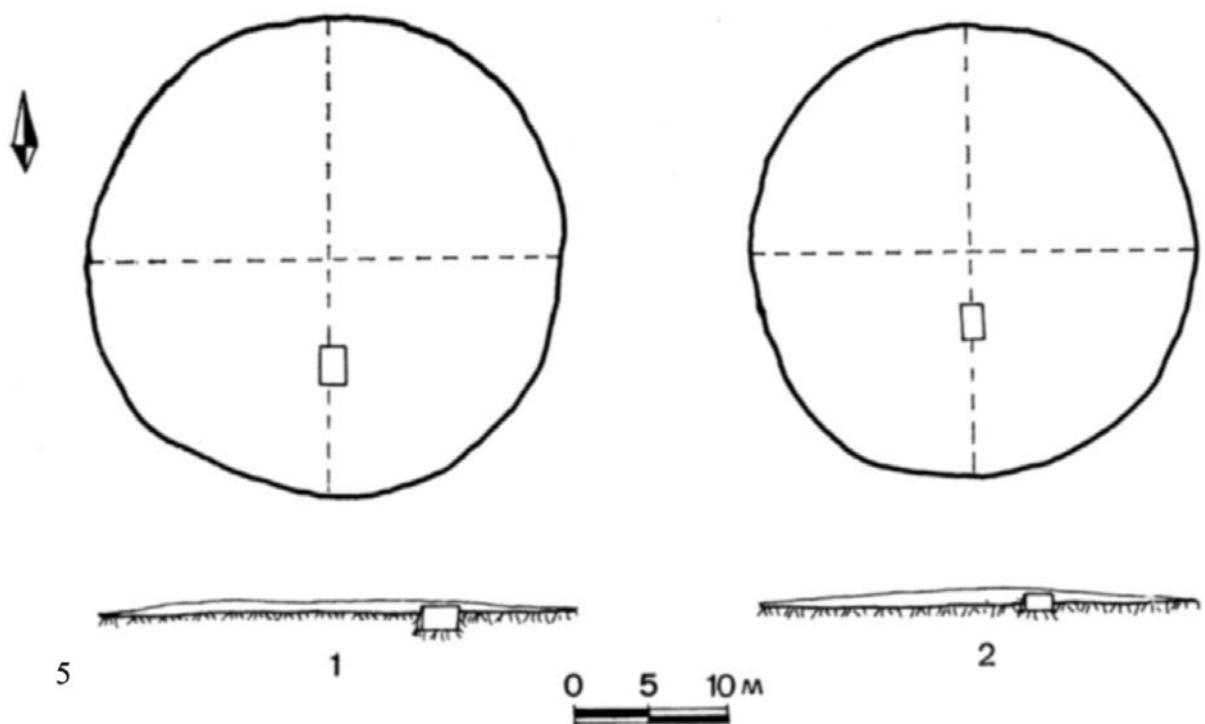


Fig. 5. Inhumation burial accomplished in simple grave-pit covered by tumulus (plan and cross-sections).

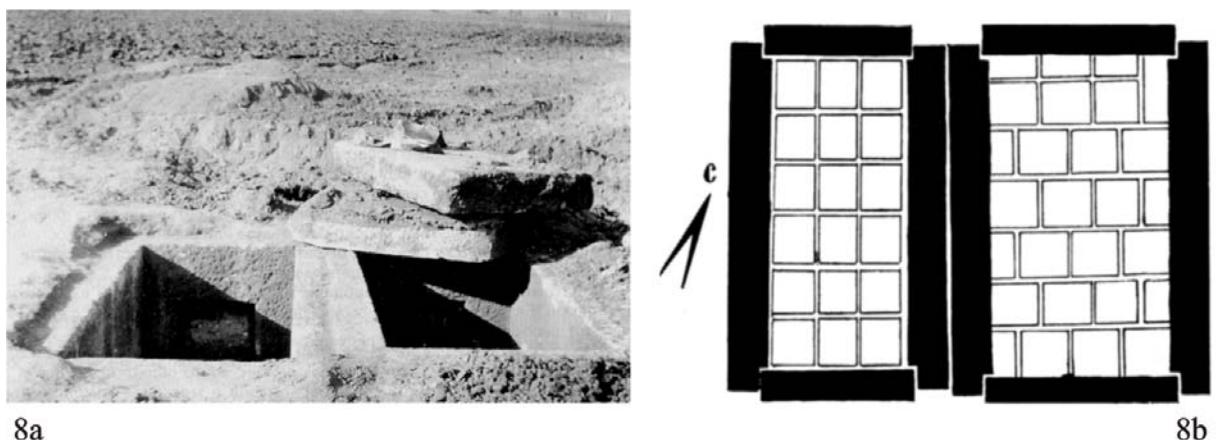


Fig. 8 a-b. Twin tombs made of limestone slabs with flat stone roof used for inhumation burials.

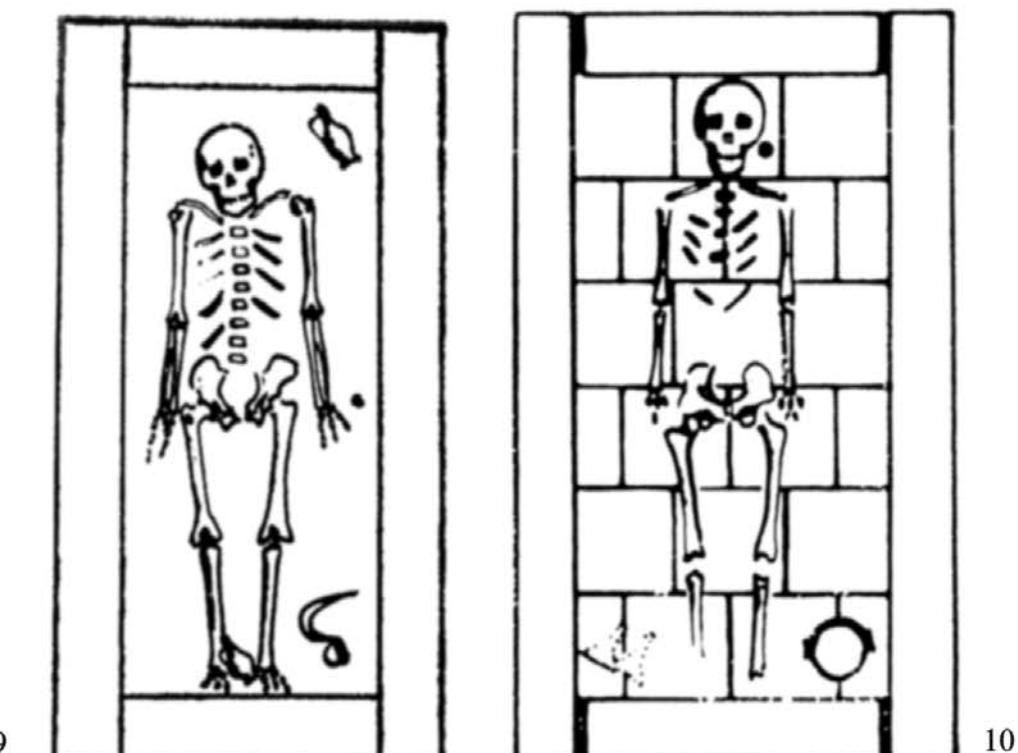


Fig. 9. Inhumation burial accomplished in a stone tomb with flat roof (sketch).  
Fig. 10. Inhumation burial accomplished in a stone tomb with flat roof and floor made of bricks (sketch).

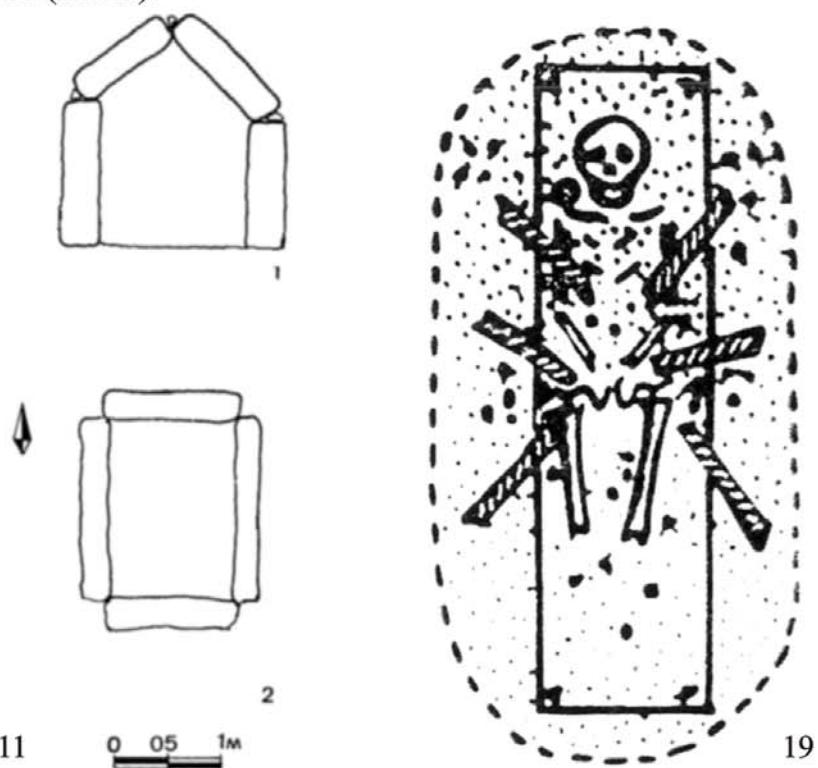
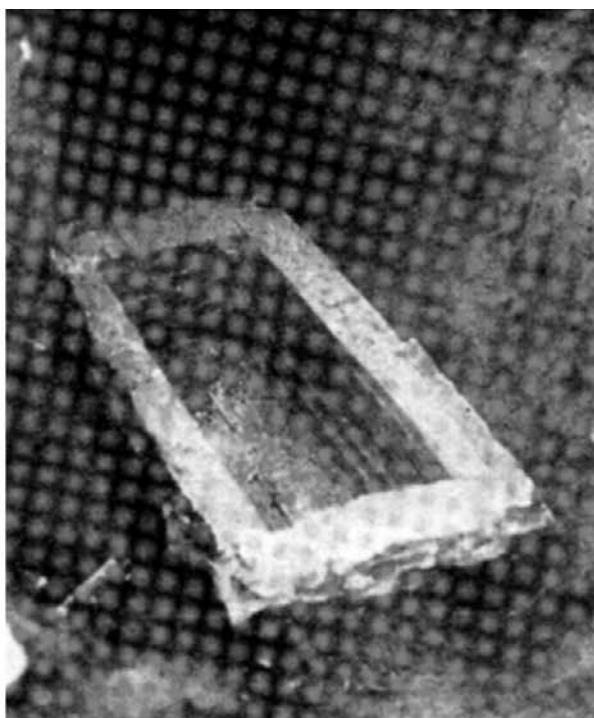
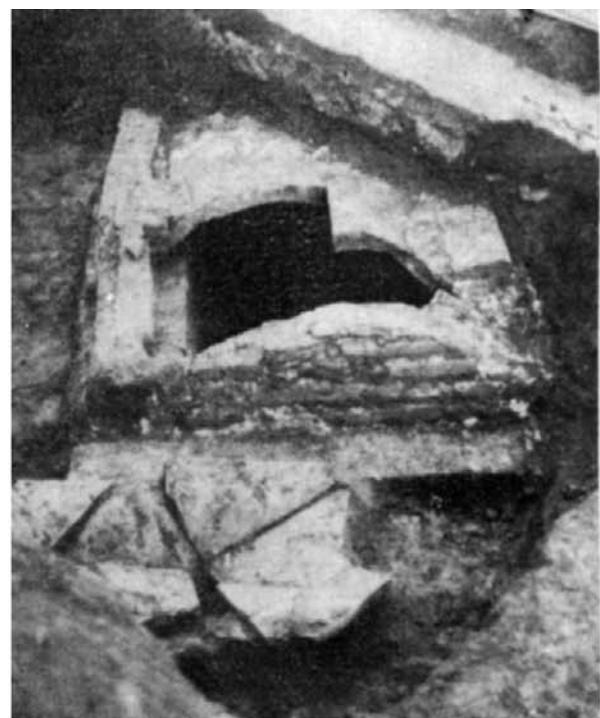


Fig. 11. Stone-made grave with triangular-shaped roof used for inhumation burial.  
Fig. 19. Cremation burial accomplished in situ within wooden coffin.



12



13

Fig. 12. Grave constructed by bricks and used for inhumation burial.

Fig. 13. Grave used for inhumation, constructed by bricks and covered by special large roof-tiles.



14



15

Fig. 14. Imported sarcophagus of Proconesian marble with *tabula ansata* used for inhumation.

Fig. 15. Unfinished sarcophagus of Proconesian marble with roof-like decorated cover used for inhumation burial.

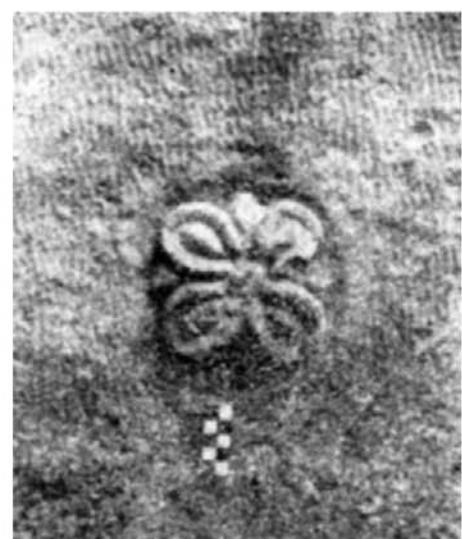
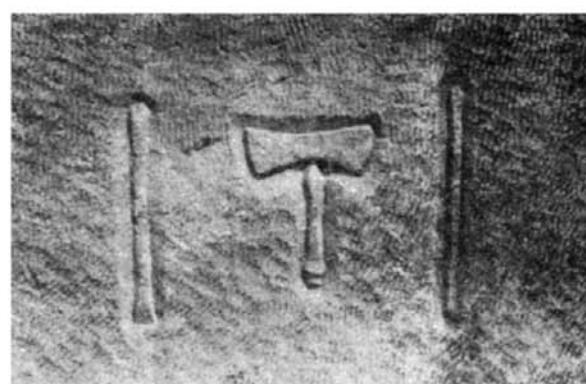
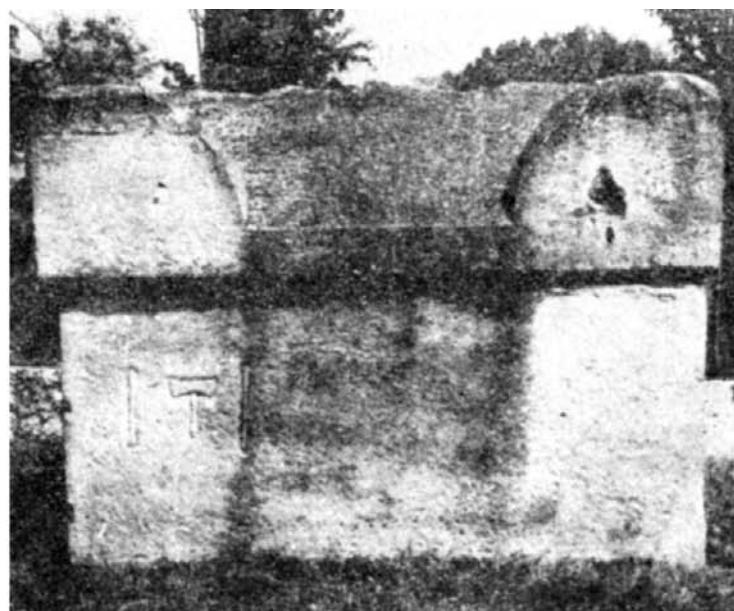


Fig. 17. Detail photos of engraved decoration: stone-mason's tools, a Gorgon and rosette.



18

Fig. 18. Double inhumation burial in stone-made tomb.

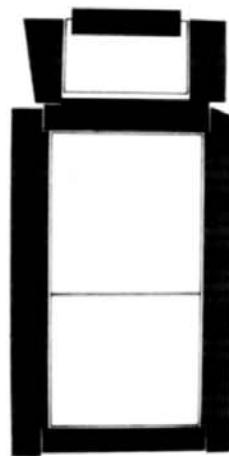


Fig. 19. Cremation burial accomplished *in situ* within wooden coffin.



20

Fig. 20. Cremation burial accomplished *in situ* within a brick-built tomb.



21

Fig. 21. Stone-made cist grave constructed next to a stone-made tomb.

**CONTRIBUTIONS MADE TO THE STUDY OF THE BURIAL RITE  
PERFORMED BY THE COMMUNITIES INHABITING EAST  
OF THE CARPATHIANS IN 3<sup>RD</sup> C. B.C. - 3<sup>RD</sup> C. A.D.**

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**Key-words:** *East Carpathians, funerary practices, biritualism.*

**Abstract.** Despite this axiom, the analysis of the funerary rite and ritual known at the communities East of Carpathians in the I millennium BC – the first half of the I millennium AD, represents a special interest as it allows to highlight certain similarities, in some cases up to perfect match, caused probably by some genetic, religious links or traditions characteristic to the historic period. The detailed analysis of the whole ensemble regarding the funerary practices will facilitate establishing whether biritualism and other rituals were common phenomena for the communities from the entire Central and South-Eastern Europe or if it was a tradition particular only to certain ethno-cultural groups from this area.

According to specialized literature a burial rite presents the most conservative aspect of any ethno-cultural group. A burial rite reflects only those completely formed phenomenon which deeply penetrated in the daily use of a community thus becoming traditions.

As a rule practice of most funeral rituals is connected either with the existence of social differences or with penetration of foreign tribes. Most frequently, transfer from an inhumation to an incineration rite and vice versa is caused by the fact that population who changed had other religious views, customs and traditions, etc. It is believed that one single funeral rite is typical of a community irrespective of its population and territory size. Thus, yet in the 20<sup>ies</sup> of the past century Vasile Pârvan prestigious Romanian scientist launched the idea that "...incineration as a general rule ..." is typical for the "La Tène Getae", which is in fact "...a continuation of the local Bronze Age IV"<sup>1</sup>.

Notwithstanding these suppositions, archaeological investigations of the monuments from various regions of the east of the Carpathians space produced a considerable number of material that unambiguously prove the predominance of biritualism in the burial rite in both 2<sup>nd</sup> half of 1<sup>st</sup> Millennium BC - 1<sup>st</sup> half of 1<sup>st</sup> Millennium AD. Analysis of the materials from the necropolises showed many similarities in some cases identities due to common religious views or certain customs typical of the epoch or historical epochs.

Incineration prevails in the early 4<sup>th</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC. Out of 72 burials excavated at the necropolis of Hansca, 64 had been performed by incineration and only 8 by inhumation. Out of over than 900 early burials known today, 693 burials which constitute 77,22% had been performed by incineration and 207 burials, i.e. 22,78% by inhumation. In the incineration rite prevails burial in urns with or without cover<sup>2</sup>. Necropolises where calcined bones are buried in the bottom of the grave constitute the majority.

There are two types of inhumation burials according to the alignment of the deceased: in a horizontal or rare fetal position. In some of the necropolises there are inhumation burials which contain poor or no inventory at all. In others like those from Poienești, Agighiol, Peretu, etc. the deceased were accompanied by a rich array of personal possessions such as gold, silver, bronze, weapons, imported vessels, etc.

No differences had been found in the way they were interred. Both incineration and inhumation burials were discovered in the tumular necropolises or flat inhumation graves. There are cases when in one tumulus there are both incineration and inhumation burials. It demonstrates that undoubtedly a ritual rite wasn't influenced by the social status of the deceased.

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<sup>1</sup> V. Pârvan, *Getica. O protoistorie a Daciei*, București, 1982, p. 631-632.

<sup>2</sup> I. Niculiță, *Pogrebal'nyj obrjad getov v IV-III vv. do n.e.*, Sovetskaja Arheologija, 2, Moskva, 1973, str. 27-44.

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A similar situation has been observed in 2<sup>nd</sup> – 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC: 125 burials discovered to present day show that the majority of the burials had been performed by incineration in either hand-made or wheel-turned urns, i.e. 92,5%<sup>3</sup>. Burials by inhumation constitute only 13,6% and like in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC with funerary inventory or without it which is also typical of burials by incineration.

Biritalism also exists in different correlations in 1<sup>st</sup> half of 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD. Thus at the necropolis of Budești, 372 burials discovered had been performed by inhumation prevailing over those by incineration: 132 (35,5%) incineration graves and 240 (64,5%) inhumation graves<sup>4</sup>. By contrast/On the contrary, at the necropolis of Dănceni, 388 burials have been discovered: 236 (70%) of them had been performed by incineration, 99 (29,2%) by inhumation and 3 (0,8%) are cenotaphs<sup>5</sup>. At the necropolis of Văleni I<sup>6</sup> of 1<sup>st</sup> half of 2<sup>nd</sup> c. - mid. 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD 578 burials have been discovered: 470 (81,31%) incineration burials and 108 (18,69%) inhumation ones<sup>7</sup>.

In other cases, correlation between the number of incineration and inhumation burials isn't that evident. At the necropolis of Valea Seacă of 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD, 547 burials have been discovered: 295 (53,78%) of them had been performed by incineration, 245 (44,78%) by inhumation and 7 (1,27%) are cenotaphs<sup>8</sup>. About the same correlation of the incineration and inhumation burials is observed at the necropolises of Văleni, Mălăești, Băltata<sup>9</sup>, etc.

The incineration rite performed in or without urns is roughly similar to that of the last centuries of 1<sup>st</sup> millennium AD. This fact has been supported by archaeological data. At the necropolises of Budești incineration burials in urns constitute 59,8% and burials containing calcined bones which had been put directly in the grave without an urn constitute only 24,2%<sup>10</sup>. At the necropolis of Mălăești only one of 10 burials had been performed by inhumation<sup>11</sup>. At the necropolis of Dănceni out of 236 incineration burials only 47 (19,9%) burials contained urns<sup>12</sup>.

At the necropolis of Valeni I 255 (54%) incineration burials had urns and in 212 (45%) burials the calcined bones had been put in the grave<sup>13</sup>. The situation is similar to that of 3<sup>rd</sup> c.-1<sup>st</sup> c. BC. Funerary inventory contained in both incineration and inhumation burials include artifacts typical of the respective cultural chronological periods.

Based on the analysis of archaeological materials we can draw a conclusion that irrespective of age, sex, social status biritalism was practiced over both cultural chronological periods of 3<sup>rd</sup> – 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC – 1<sup>st</sup> -3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD.

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<sup>3</sup> *Etnoku'ltturnaja karta territorii Ukrainskoj SSR v I tys. n. e.* Kiev 1985, str. 35.

<sup>4</sup> E.A. Rikman, *Etñičeskaja istorija naselenija Podnestrov'ja i prilegajuščego Podunova'ja v pervyh vekah n.e.*, Moskva, 1975, str. 263-266; Vlad Vornic, *Așezarea și necropola de tip Sântana de Mureş-Černjachov de la Budești*, Chișinău, 2006, p. 161.

<sup>5</sup> I.A. Rafalovič, *Dančeny. Mogil'nik Černjahovskoj , kul'tury III-IV vv. n.e.*, Kišinev, 1986, str. 8.

<sup>6</sup> Ion Ioniță, Vasile Ursachi, *Văleni. O mare necropolă a dacilor liberi*, Iași, 1988, pag. 84.

<sup>7</sup> Ibidem, p. 97.

<sup>8</sup> Vasile Palade, *Așezarea și necropola de la Bârlad-Valea Seacă, secolele III-IV*. Monografie, București 2004, pag. 86.

<sup>9</sup> E.A. Rikman, *op. cit.*, str. 263-301.

<sup>10</sup> Vlad Vornic, *op. cit.*, pag.163.

<sup>11</sup> G.B. Fedorov, *Malaëtskij mogil'nik*, în: *Materialy i Issledovan'ja po Arheologii SSSR*, nr. 82, str. 284.

<sup>12</sup> I.A. Rafalovič, *op. cit.*, str. 9-10.

<sup>13</sup> Ion Ioniță, Vasile Ursachi, *op. cit.*, pag. 85.

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## BUSTA IN MOESIA INFERIOR\*

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**Key-words:** *busta, Moesia Inferior, pyre, burial, grave-goods.*

**Abstract.** The author tries to define the main characteristics of *busta* found in Moesia Inferior. Grave goods are separately discussed for each cemetery. The chronology of the *busta* from Moesia Inferior covers the first three centuries AD (climax in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD), with a unique survival of this funerary ritual, in the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD. At this moment of the research, the arguments are in favor of the hypothesis that in Moesia Inferior, *busta* represent a burial custom imported from the Roman world, but it is premature to formulate an answer about the region where *busta*-cremation type came from.

### I. Number and diffusion

According to the data gathered so far in the specialized literature, the *busta* represent the most numerous types of cremation graves in Moesia Inferior during the 1<sup>st</sup> - 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD (176 graves of this type published until now, with data that allow us to assess their main characteristics).

Let's add to these 176 graves the *busta* excavated at Tropaeum Traiani and Butovo, but unpublished, just a few notes (CCA 1983-1992, 119, respectively Pisarev 1977, 203 and note 3). I haven't taken into consideration, neither the number, nor the characteristics of the 54 *busta* identified in Galați, Dunărea district, unpublished (CCA 1983-1992, 33). The archaeologists found this type of burials in Barboși area too, but I am not aware whether all the complexes have been published. What we already know is that the *busta* are rarer comparatively to the graves with the remains from the pyre deposited in a pit. Their characteristics are the pit shape, simple or with stepped sides, and the burning of the pit, so intense that the pit edges seem 10-25cm bigger (Sanie 1981, 81-82 and 224; Sanie 1994, 158). The destroyed *busta* with stepped pits, covered by *tegulae* are also present in Krušeto (Pisarev 1981, 34). Other unpublished *busta* are those discovered in Vladislavovo, today part of Varna city (information from Al. Minčev). If we take into account also the complexes mentioned above, then the total number of *busta* in Moesia Inferior reaches today at least 234. Still, I chose to let aside at least 58 possible graves of this type incompletely published, because I considered the numerical data would allow us a too great limit for error in the present paper. Consequently, I calculated the percentage from 176, which, I must repeat, represent the number of *busta* published so far, with certain data, at least partially.

Nevertheless, a shadow of uncertainties is cast on the relatively great number of Moesia Inferior *busta* published until now. These questions refer to the absence of mainly important details concerning the situation of the funerary structures either being tombs with identical cremation and burial place (*busta*), or graves with the remains of the pyre cremation deposited in a pit (McKinley 2000, 39-40). The missing details for most of the *bustum*-burials in Moesia Inferior concern the burning of the pit and the amount of cremated bones. There are no data whatsoever concerning the burning of the pit in the case of 123 funerary complexes that the researches authors name *busta* (Capidava three graves; Carsium **T.4 M.2**; Histria **T.XLIV**; Niculițel; Noviodunum T.Bădila **M.1, 2, 4, 5, zone e M.2, T.XXX M.3, 7, 8, 9, T.II-A M.3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 14, 15, 16**, T.XXVII-A M.3, 4, T.XXVIII-A M.2, 3, 4, T.XXIX-A M.1, 2, 3, T.XXII-A M.1, 2, 3, T.XXXIII-A M.1, T.II-B M.2, 3, 4, T.V-B M.1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, T.I-C M.1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, T.II-C M.1,

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**3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13; Tomis M.459, 106, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 3, 12, 15; Džuljunica M.1, 2, 3, 4; Kokodiva two graves; Krušeto M.1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9; Mogilec M.1, 2, 3, 4; near Odessos; Sredina M.6; Stražica M.3, 4, 6, 7; Tutrakanci M.2; Dionysopolis; Callatis Constanței Str.-two graves, Dobrogea II district-one grave; Vardim; Tegulicum three graves).**

Theoretically, the typological frame of all the graves mentioned above is uncertain and one should not take them into consideration as far as the characteristics of the Moesia Inferior *busta* are concerned, but this would diminish drastically the number of *busta* at only 53. Still, I have taken into account these graves, relying on the authors opinion, who considered them *busta*; further more, an excessive caution would damage even more the general uncertain image of the tombs dated in the Principality period found in Moesia Inferior, because for most of them the publishers haven't even specified the funerary rite (Oța 2003, 135-150). However, the lack of details for 64 tombs from the 123 ones is due also to the field situation, because the tombs have been either plundered since the ancient times (underlined in the enumeration) or devastated in more recent periods (bolded in the enumeration).

I have made an exception for the eight tombs in the necropolis in Kragulevo, seen by the author as *busta* (M.1, 25, 35, 36, 42, 43, 59, 65). I have not taken into account these structures for a number of reasons: the absence of detailed information about the burning of the pit and the amount of cremated bones, but especially the very small dimensions of the pits (0,40-0,70m in diameter, 0,20-0,40m in depth). As the pits dimensions of the eight complexes are comparable with the 16 tombs where the remains of the cremation at *ustrina* were deposited in the pit, discovered in the same cemetery, I thought right to exclude them of the present analysis, moreover the burning of the pit is present equally in the funerary complexes with the pyre cremation remains deposited in a pit found in Moesia Inferior (Oța 2003, 34).

Out of the 176 *busta* discovered in Moesia Inferior, only two are, at least in the present stage of the research, isolated graves (Bărăganu and Breșnica), the other 174 structures of this type are found in 23 cemeteries. Numerically speaking, the diffusion by necropolises (Pl. I) is unequal. Most of the *busta* come from the cemeteries of Noviodunum (where there is the maximum number of *busta* found in a Moesia Inferior necropolis, 67) and Galați-Barboși (62). The cemetery in Tomis reveals a pretty big numerical gap in comparison with the two necropolises already mentioned (28). As for the most of cemeteries where this type of tomb is to be found, the number of *busta* varies between 1 and 10, as it follows: Krušeto (10 graves), Carsium and Histria (7 graves each), Stražica (6 graves), Džuljunica, Callatis and Capidava (5 graves each), Mogilec and Tropaeum Traiani (4 graves each), Tegulicum (3 graves), Durostorum, Tutrakanci, Sredina, Ljublen, Kokodiva (2 graves each), Marcianopolis, near Odessos, Dionysopolis, Vardim, Niculițel (one grave each).

## *II. Characteristics*

Most of the *bustum*-burials discovered on the territory of Moesia Inferior are covered by tumuli - at least 121 (Barboși M. without number and tumulus with ring-M.1; Bărăganu; Callatis the tomb situated at the western limit; Histria T.XXVII, T.XXX, T.XXXXVI M.1, 2, T.XLIV; all the complexes of this type at Capidava; Carsium; Džuljunica; Ljublen; Mogilec; Sredina; Stražica; Tutrakanci; Tegulicum; all the *busta* found at Noviodunum, except for M.2-zone e, T.XXVII M.3 and 4; Breșnica; Dionysopolis; all the *busta* discovered at Krušeto; together with an unspecified number of this kind of burials, destroyed, at Vladislavovo). Due to the fortuitous discovery or to the destructions, the tumular character of 11 burials remains uncertain: Noviodunum T.XXVII M.3, 4; Niculițel; Vardim; Kokodiva both complexes; Galați-Dunărea M.1, 2, 5, 7; near Odessos (the tomb is situated at the bottom of a natural elevation). 44 *busta* are flat (Barboși M. 6 on the western side of the fort, M.6-in fact, situated outside the tumulus with ring; Histria-two complexes of Z2 area; Noviodunum M.2-zone e; all the *busta* found in Tomis; Marcianopolis M.12; Callatis Constanței Str.-two *busta*, Horia Cloșca și Crișan Str.-M., Dobrogea II district-M.; Durostorum M.1, 8; Tropaeum Traiani M.1, 3, 4, 8) and the tombs of this type from Butovo as well. Only two *busta* were found in tumuli previous to the Roman period (Capidava M. 2; Histria T.XLIV).

For most of the cases (110 at least), the pit shape belongs to the type "with stepped sides" (in fact, two pits overlapped, the upper one bigger): Barboși western side of the fort-M.6, tumulus with ring-M.1, Galați M.1; Bărăganu; Callatis tumular grave; the five *busta* of Capidava; Carsium T.3 M.2 (Pl. II/1), T.6 M.1; Histria T.XXXXVI M.2, T.XLIV; Niculițel; Noviodunum T.Bădila M.1, 2, T.VI M.6, T.XXV M.8,

T.XXVI M.9, T.XXI M.10, T.XXX M.1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, T.II-A M.9, 11, 14, 15, T.XXVII-A M.1, 2, 3, 4, T.XXVIII-A M.2, 4, T.XXIX-A M.1, 2, 3, T.XXXII-A M.1, 3, T.II-B M.2, 3, 4, T.V-B M.1, 2, 5, 6, 8, T.I-C M.1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, T.II-C M.3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 12, 13; Tomis M.466, 106, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 3, 12, 15; Džuljunica M.1, 2, 3, 4, 6; Krušeto M.1, 2 (stepped only on one side), 3, 4, 5, 6, 8; Ljublen M.1; Mogilec M.1, 2; Stražica M.4, 6; Tutrakanci M.1; Callatis Horia, Cloșca and Crișan Str.-M.; Durostorum M.8; Tropaeum Traiani M.8. The *busta* from Butovo and those destroyed from Krušeto as well have stepped sides. I am not sure about the same pit shape for five structures (Barboși near the tumulus with ring-M.6, Galați M.7; Tomis I.G.Duca Str.-the third grave; Krušeto M.7, 10). 37 graves had a simple pit (Galați M.2, 5; Carsium T.2 M.1 (Pl. II/2), 3, T.3 M.1, T.4 M.1; Histria T.XXVII, T.XXX, T.XXXVI M.1, the two *busta* of Z2 area; Noviodunum T.Bădila M.4, 5, T.XXXII-A M.2, T.V-B M.9, T.II-C M.1, 10, 11; Tomis M.35; Krušeto M.9; Ljublen M.2; Marcianopolis M.12; Mogilec M.3, 4; near Odessos M.1; Sredina M.5, 6; Stražica M.1, 2, 3; Tutrakanci M.2; Brestnica; Durostorum M.1; Vardim; Tegulicum three graves). The destructions as well as the incomplete publication don't allow me to know the shape of 24 pits (Barboși M. without number; Carsium T.4 M.2; Noviodunum zone e M.2, T.II-A M.3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 16, T.XXVIII-A M.3, T.XXXIII-A M.1, T.V-B M.3, 7; Tomis M.459; Kokodiva both *busta*; Stražica M.7; Dionysopolis; Callatis Constanței Str.-two graves, district Dobrogea II-M.; Tropaeum Traiani M.1, 3, 4).

The relation between the shape of the pit and the flat or tumular fitting out of the *bustum*-burials in Moesia Inferior is marked by the predominance of the tumular tombs, either for the pits with stepped sides (85 pits covered by tumuli in comparison with 31 flat), or the simple pits (32 pits covered by tumuli and only 5 flat).

I have to mention some particular cases of fitting out the pit. The special examples are in Nicuilițel (a pit with a threshold at the northeastern side), Tropaeum Traiani M.8 (the northern edge of the pit is apse-shaped, 0,44m the apse radius), Mogilec M.1 (the southwestern side apse-shaped - Pl. II/3). The pit covered by T.XXX of Histria (Pl. III) is a unique type for the early Roman graves in Moesia Inferior. The cremated surface had 3,15-2,50m in diameter, but the pyre consisted of two long pits crossing, 3,00 and 2,10m in length and 0,40m width. The two long pits were symmetrically limited at each end by four small, circular, irregular pits, 0,20-0,30m deep and a medium diameter of 0,40-0,60m. The remains of the intense cremation (consisting mainly in cremated bones, charcoals, a thick layer of ash, clods of burnt earth and a part of the grave goods) have been put in the long pits, especially in the northern, southern, and western sides. In the small marginal pits, serving probably for stabilizing the pyre, were found a few cremated bones, a little fragment of charcoal, little ash, nails, and pink-violet paint, according to the author. The rest of the funerary inventory was deposited all around the tomb, at some distance. The author considered as funerary fireplace a small circular burnt area, but without remains of charcoal or inventory, situated in the zone of the grave goods deposited after the cremation.

There are different dimensions of the pits, depending on the fitting out, either simple or with stepped sides. As far as the simple pits are concerned, the range of dimensions is larger than for the pits with stepped sides. The smallest dimensions of the *busta* with simple pits can be found at Stražica (1,00x0,90/1,20m for M.1, 2 and 1,20x1,20m for M.3). Most of the simple pits had the length between 1,79-2,50m, the width between 0,40-2,30m and the depth between 0,30-0,50m. Only two *busta* with simple pits are bigger, both of them in the tumular necropolis of Histria: T.XXVII (3x1,15m) and T.XXX (3/2,10x0,40m). As for the *busta* with stepped sides, the smallest one is M.8 at Durostorum (the upper pit 1,15x0,78m, the lower one 1,15x0,23m, total depth 0,60m). The great majority of *bustum*-burials with stepped sides, for which there are published data, are grouped relatively compactly as for the dimensions: the upper pits had lengths between 1,95-2,85m and width between 1,00-1,90m, while the bottom pits had lengths between 1,30-2,60m and width between 0,30-1,60m. Their depths are between 0,45-1,20m. Only a few tumular tombs were bigger: T.VI M.6, T.XXV M.8, T.XXVI M.9, T.XXI M.10 from Noviodunum (3x1,50m), T.XXXII-A M.1 of the same necropolis (3,35x1,85m, and the bottom pit depth between 0,30-0,55m) and the tumular tomb of Callatis (2,50x4,00m the upper pit and 2,75x0,45m the bottom one, total depth 0,90m).

It is difficult to establish the frequency of the different axes of orientation because, in the absence of an anthropologist, the orientation of the corpse is very rarely noticed. Then, most of the orientations are

taken for the pits. Due to this reason, I considered together the orientation of the body as well as the orientation of the pit (Pl. VI). In only 17 cases (9,65%), one could remark or assume the body orientation. The dominant orientation is E-W (six deceased - Histria T.XXXVI M.1, both complexes of Z2 area; Noviodunum T.II-A M.16, T.XXXII-A M.1; Sredina M.5), followed, in decreasing order, by the orientations N-S (four dead - Callatis tumular grave; Noviodunum T.XXIX-A M.2, T.V-B M.5; Marcianopolis M.12), V-E (two cases - Noviodunum T.XXIX-A M.1; Brestnica), NW-SE (two dead - Noviodunum T.XXVII-A M.3, T.V-B M.3), NE-SW (Carsium T.2 M.1), SW-NE (Capidava M.2), S-N (Noviodunum T.I-C M.3).

Unfortunately, for 112 *busta*, out of which 61 destroyed, there are no data published about the way the tomb was covered. After the cremation, the pyre was usually covered with earth - 30 tombs (Barboșî western side of the fort-M.6, tumulus with ring M.1; Capidava-the four *busta* of T.7 and T.8; Carsium T.2 M.1, 3, T.3 M.1, 2, T.4 M.1, T.6 M.1; Histria T.XXXVI M.1, 2, the two *busta* of Z2 area; Noviodunum T.Bădila M.4, 5, T.XXX M.3, 9, T.XXVII-A M.2, T.II-B M.3, T.I-C M.2; Tomis M.466; Džuljunica M.6; near Odessos M.1; Brestnica; all the *busta* of Tegulicum). It is also possible that the 51 *busta* not destroyed, but for which the authors don't mention the existence of a special roof, to have been covered with earth too (then the number of *busta* with no special roof is 85). The pyre was covered with a special roof in 34 cases. The most frequent are the roofs made of clay tegulae or bricks, sometimes combined with curved and hollow roofing tiles, set gable-wise - 11 *busta* (Niculițel; Noviodunum T.Bădila M.1, 2, T.VI M.6, T.XXV M.8, T.XXVI M.9, T.XXI M.10, T.XXX M.2, T.XXVII-A M.1 (Pl. IV/1), 3, T.V-B M.5). The same tiles or bricks, put horizontally served to build a cover for four tombs (Noviodunum T.XXX M.7, T.II-B M.2 (Pl. IV/2); Stražica M.4, 7). The roofs made of flat tiles of nine *busta* (Noviodunum zone e-M.2, T.II-A M.7 - the presence of the cover is not certain, but in the inventory of the tomb the tiles were mentioned, so I interpreted them as the remains of a roof, T.V-B M.6, 8, T.I-C M.4; Tomis M.459, 33, 35; Vardim; plus the destroyed *busta* of Krušeto) could not be recuperated any more or there are no published details. The other *bustum*-burials revealed a great diversity for the tomb cover, almost every one being a particular case. Large *tegulae* or fragments of tiles and stones covered two graves (Barboșî near the tumulus with ring-M.6; Ljublen M.2). Two other complexes were covered by clay roof or ceramic slabs linked with mortar (Histria T.XXVII, respectively Noviodunum T.XXIX-A M.1). Some remains of roofs made of wood were found in T.XXX M.1 of Noviodunum and M.1 of Tutrakanci. A layer of little pebbles covered M.1 from Ljublen, while a combination between a marble sarcophagus roof and a stone slab covered the tumular grave of Callatis (Pl. IV/3). I have to make a special mention for two graves: Bărăganu and Durostorum M.1. In both cases, the grave revealed a more elaborated protection, consisting of a box made of limestone slabs and blocks, with a flat roof at Bărăganu (Pl. IV/4) and a box made of bricks with a vaulted roof at M.1 in Durostorum (Pl. IV/5).

Except for three *busta*, the information about the construction of the funerary pyre is almost completely missing. Taking into consideration the setting of the charcoals on the step separating the upper and the bottom pit of T.XXXVI M.2 from Histria (Pl. V/1), the pyre was made of three wood tiers, two longitudinal and one transversal. The dead found in the funerary complex of Brestnica was also cremated on a pyre consisting of three wood tiers, 10-11cm of diameter, but put only horizontally. The body found in Marcianopolis M.12 (Pl. V/2) was first put in a coffin made of large wood boards. Then the coffin was deposited in the pit and over it, was made a pyre of thick wood, 10-12cm of diameter. The case of the 55 *busta* where iron nails have been found seems to me less clear (Barboșî the western side of the fort-M.6, tumulus with ring-M.1, Galați M.1; Bărăganu; Carsium T.2 M.1; Histria T.XXXVI M.1, Z2 area-M.; Noviodunum T.Bădila M.1, T.XXX M.1, 3, T.XXVII-A M.2, 3, T.XXVIII-A M.2, T.XXIX-A M.1, 2, T.II-B M.2, 3, T.V-B M.1, 2, 5, T.II-C M.1, 6, 8, 11, 12, 13; Tomis M.17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 3; Džuljunica M.2, 3; Mogilec M.1, 4; near Odessos M.1; Sredina M.5, 6; Tutrakanci M.1, 2; Vardim). These nails were supposed to be the remains of the funerary couch or the coffin with/in which the dead have been cremated or even remains of the pyre. In most of the cases, the authors' assumptions may be true (although it would be necessary to have more details about the nails burning, their number and position). Nevertheless, we might have questions about certain situations, as long as there are very few nails: one (Galați M.1; Noviodunum T.XXVII-A M.2), two (Noviodunum T.II-A M.9, T.XXVIII-

A M.2), three (Mogilec M.4), or the nails are made of other material than the iron, more precisely bronze (Noviodunum T.II-C M.13). Besides the use of nails at the pyre assembling or the coffin making, one could also suppose they come from certain grave goods, as the wooden toilet cases, or even from the wooden roof of the grave (Getov 1970, 4).

In case of *bustum*-burials the corpse is cremated on the spot, consequently, the cremated bones are mingled with remains of the cremated pyre or with burnt grave goods. Unfortunately, for most of the tombs of this type (118), the authors couldn't notice or did not publish details concerning the treatment of the cremation remains. For the other 56 *busta* of Moesia Inferior, the rule was the following: the cremation remains were on the spot, spread in the pit (38 cases: Barboși the western side of the fort-M.6, the tumulus with ring-M.1, near the tumulus with ring-M.6; Callatis tumular grave, Horia, Cloșca and Crișan Str.-M.; all the seven *busta* of Carsium; Histria T.XXX, T.XXXVI M.1, 2, Z2 area-two graves; Noviodunum T.VI M.6, T.XXV M.8, T.XXVI M.9, T.XXXI M.10; Tomis M.466, I.G.Duca Str.- the second grave; Džuljunica M.1, 2, 3; Ljublen M.2; Marcianopolis M.12; Mogilec M.1, 2, 3, 4; Sredina M.5, 6; Tutrakanci M.2; Brestrnica; Tropaeum Traiani M.8; Vardim). There is not a unitary treatment for the 20 cases where the remains of the dead cremation have been gathered in one place. The remains of the cremation have been gathered near the eastern side of the lower pit, protected also, together with the grave goods, by a stone box with a roof (Bărăganu); gathered in the middle of the pit (near Odessos M.1); wrapped up in a linen (Noviodunum T.XXVII-A M.1, T.II-B M.2); or assembled in one place, no other details (Tomis M.459). The authors specify that in 14 other graves (I placed them in the same category with the 20 graves previously mentioned), the remains of the cremation were put together in the lower pit (Krušeto M.1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8; Ljublen M.1; Stražica M. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6; Tutrakanci M.1), although I could not totally reject the hypothesis of them belonging to the category of the complexes where the cremation remains are spread (because the apparent setting out could be, in fact, the result of the pyre falling during the burning). Remains of the cremation were noticed in the northwestern part of the pit at Galați M.2.

Although the burning type of the pit is one of the main criteria in defining and differentiating the *busta* from the tombs with the cremation remains at the *ustrina* deposited in a pit, it was not thoroughly studied. The authors published 123 complexes placed in the category of *bustum*-burials, but they did not specify anything about the pit burning (see *supra*, section I). The only thing they are specifying is that 10 other structures had a burnt pit: Krušeto M.6, 7, 10; Barboși near the tumulus with ring-M.6; Marcianopolis M.12; Stražica M.1, 2; Tropaeum Traiani M.1, 3, 4. Either from the authors' description, or from the published grave plans, the burning of the walls can be characterized as strong for 13 *busta*: Capidava M.2, 5; Histria T.XXVII, XXX, T.XXXVI M.2 (Pl. V/1); Noviodunum T.XXX M.1, 2, T.XXVII-A M.1, 2; Tomis I.G.Duca Str.- the third grave; Callatis tumular grave, Horia, Cloșca and Crișan Str.-M.; Barboși tumulus with ring-M.1. For 23 *busta*, the thickness of the walls burning varies between 2-7cm: Galați M.1, 2, 5, 7; Bărăganu; Histria Z2 area-M.; Carsium T.2 M.1 (Pl. II/2), 3, T.3 M.1, 2, T.4 M.1, T.6 M.1; Tomis M.466; Durostorum M.8; Tropaeum Traiani M.8; Noviodunum T.VI M.6, T.XXV M.8, T.XXVI M.9, T.XXXI M.10; Tutrakanci M.1; Ljublen M.1, 2; Brestrnica. The thickness of the burning area is not always uniform, as there are also zones of the pit less burnt, such as the end (Histria T.XXXVI M.1) or the bottom (Histria Z2 area-M.7). At Sredina, the walls of the M.5 pit are here and there burnt to red. For seven complexes, the layer consisting of burning remains varies between 5 and 15cm (Džuljunica M.6; Barboși the western side of the fort-M.6; Histria T.XXX (Pl. III); Durostorum M.1; Carsium T.2 M.1, T.4 M.1; Tomis M.466).

The stratification of the pit content was noticed in 12 cases: Carsium T.2 M.1 (Pl. II/2), T.3 M.1, T.4 M.1, T.6 M.1, Histria T.XXXVI M.1, 2, Tomis M.466, near Odessos M.1, Noviodunum T.VI M.6, T.XXV M.8, T.XXVI M.9, T.XXXI M.10.

Another essential criterion for the distinction between *busta* and graves with the cremation remains at the pyre deposited in a pit, the amount of cremated bones and remains of the burning, is less studied than the burning of the pit. The amount of cremated bones was not at all considered separately of the other remains of the burning, such as ash, coal, or the remains of the grave goods. It seems to deal with a great quantity of cremation remains in 13 tombs (Barboși M., near the tumulus with ring-M.6, tumulus with ring-M.1; Tomis I.G.Duca Str.- the third grave; Krušeto M.6; Durostorum M.1; Callatis tumular grave; Bărăganu; Carsium T.2 M.1, T.4 M.1, T.6 M.1; Noviodunum T.XXX M.3; Sredina M.6), while the layer of

cremation remains in T.2 M.3 of Carsium is rather thin. Only for two complexes of Galați, the amount of the recuperated cremated bones has been weighed: 44,183 g (M.1, neither charcoal nor ash are present) and 21,746 g (M.2), but both *busta* have been partially destroyed in recent period.

I have analyzed on another occasion the post-funeral practices associated with the *busta* dated in the 1<sup>st</sup> - 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD, found in Moesia Inferior (L. Oța, in *Dacia*, N.S. 2008, in press), that is why I am now going to enumerate them: remains from funerary feasts (Carsium T.3 M.1; Noviodunum T.XXXI M.10; Ljublen M.1, 2; Histria T.XXVII, T.XXXVI M.1, 2; possibly Carsium T.3 M.2 and T.4 M.1; Noviodunum T.II-C M.1); pottery deposits (Carsium T.3 M.2; Breșnică; Histria T.XXVII; possibly Noviodunum T.Bădila M.1, T.XXX M.1); traces of burning (Vardim; Breșnică; Histria T.XXX); lamps deposits (Carsium T.4 M.1, T.6 M.1); cult site (Ljublen M.1, 2); dog skull (Ljublen M.1); pavements (Noviodunum T.V-B M.1, T.II-C M.1).

### *III. Grave goods and chronology*

From the beginning, I have to draw the attention about the remarks concerning the inventory of *busta* in Moesia Inferior during the Principality period as being subjected to a degree of uncertainty. It is due to the funerary ritual going on: the cremated corpse remains were left on the spot, consequently, the cremation place becomes the tomb. During the burning, some grave goods might have been irremediably damaged.

In spite of this error margin, the inventory of the *bustum*-burials found in Moesia Inferior is rather numerous to allow certain general remarks. Only 35 *busta* out of 176 (19,88%) had no grave goods, but 25 graves (bolded) have been destroyed in different periods, then initially, they might had an inventory whatsoever (Galați **M.5, 7**; Noviodunum T.Bădila M.5, T.XXX **M.8, T.II-A M.8, 14**, T.XXVIII **M.3, 4**, T.XXII-A **M.2, 3**, T.XXIII-A **M.1**, T.II-B M.4, T.V-B **M.3, 7, 8, 9**, T.I-C **M.1, 2, 5, 7**, T.II-C M.1, **3, 4**, Tomis **M.106, 15**, Krušeto M.1, 5, 7, **9, 10**, Stražica M.2, Tropaeum Traiani M.1, 3, 4, 8).

Regarding the 141 complexes with grave goods, the first place of frequency belongs to pottery (109 graves). The other categories are much less frequent than pottery: lamps (39 tombs), coins (38 graves), adornments (37 tombs), glass vessels (33 tombs), fruits and pine or fir cones (25 tombs), household tools (22 graves), toilet implements (20 tombs), personal dress items (20 tombs), metallic vessels (14 tombs), weapons (12 graves).

From the beginning, I'll operate the distinction between the types of cemeteries: of the Roman towns, of the Greek towns, of the Roman forts and/or the nearby settlements, of the rural communities. I have to operate with this distinction, on one hand, because of the settlements juridical status and, on the other, because the rather great number of *busta* in Moesia Inferior makes almost impossible (and ultimately even useless) their undifferentiated, in the lump treatment.

1. The archaeologists found *busta*, at least until now, only in the cemeteries of four towns founded by the Romans. The more are in Noviodunum (67 graves of this type - 67% of the discoveries published so far). Four of the 10 funerary complexes excavated near Tropaeum Traiani, at the place named "Valea Mare", are *busta*. Unfortunately, in the absence of numerical information, I am not able to estimate the frequency of the *bustum*-burials in the necropolises excavated on the hills at north, northeast and east of the ancient town. Two *busta* have been discovered at Durostorum and only one at Marcianopolis (a surprising small percentage of the total number of discoveries at my disposition - 2,38%). There were no grave goods in many *busta* of Noviodunum (21), but this absence might be the consequence of plundering or destructions. Pottery was the most frequent inventory in the tombs of the mentioned cemetery. The rule was that of a small number of ceramic vessels - one vessel (13 certain tombs, 20 if we take into account the complexes revealing pottery fragments) or two (10 certain tombs, 18 if we take into consideration the ceramic fragments too). In four cases, were found more vessels in a tomb (two graves with three vessels each, two with four and five vessels). Four graves had not pottery as inventory. Typologically speaking, two shapes obviously dominate - jugs (19 tombs), and mugs (18 graves), eight times associated. The rest of the vessel types are rather exceptionally present: *amphorae* (six *busta*), bowls (four *busta*), pots, and clay *unguentaria* (in two complexes each), *turibulum* (one grave). Lamps were found in 14 *busta*, one in each grave, as a rule (nine cases). The same singularity regards the coins (eight tombs out of ten, with a coin each). As for the adornments (nine *busta*), they were, besides one (association between a necklace and a finger ring)

deposited one in each grave, but their typology is more varied - necklaces, rings (in three tombs each), hairpin (two complexes), earrings (one case), and bracelet (one uncertain case). The metallic vessels are mainly toilet vessels - cylindrical vessels (three) and ointment pots (three), deposited, as a rule, one in each grave (besides T.XXIX-A M.1, with two ointment pots). The frequency of other categories of grave goods is rather small: glass vessels (five *busta*), personal dress items (five), toilet implements (five), fruits (especially nuts, but also figs and dates - four cases, associated once with cones), household tools (three), and weapons (two). The most frequent combination of grave goods in the *busta* of Noviodunum is between pottery and lamps (13 times), followed, in equal proportion, by the association pottery-adornments and pottery-coins (nine times each). Almost equal in number are the combinations pottery-dress items (five times), pottery-toilet implements (five), pottery-lamps-coins (four), and pottery-fruits (four). The general image of the grave goods found in *busta* at Noviodunum is modest. 37 *busta* revealed a number of grave goods from 1 to 4, mainly pottery vessels, not associated with other categories of items (12 cases) or associated with lamps (10 cases). Only nine *busta* contained, as grave goods, 5 to 10 items (T.Bădila M.1, T.XXVI M.9, T.XXX M.1, 2, T.II-A M.6, T.XXIX-A M.1, T.V-B M.6, T.II-C M.9, 11). Five tombs are very interesting. First of all, there are the two graves with weapons (T.XXX. M.1 and 2). The weapon owners underline even after their death the connection to the Roman army (Petculescu 1998, 154). The two mentioned tombs belong to the category of the few *busta* with a lot of grave goods, which do not fit, although not ostensibly, in the general category of modest grave goods. The same observation could be applied to the other three *busta* - the graves represent an exception, but they are not ostensibly displaying the fortune and/or the social status through an unusual gathering of grave goods or valuable items. The vessels called by a modern term "ointment pots" (deposited in T.Bădila M.1 and T.XXX-A M.1) are in fact semi-luxury products, but functional, used in the every day life of certain provinces of the Empire, such as Belgium, Germany, Pannonia, Moesia, Thrace, Hispania, deposited in the grave as items of special significance for the dead (Marti 1996, 990-1000). Even the necklace of T.XXIX-A M.3 belongs to a widely distributed type of necklaces, those of "*hormoi*" type (Popović, Donevski 1999, 43; Ruseva-Slokoska 1991, 44-55). For all the *busta* of Moesia Inferior it is difficult to operate with the distinction between the primary grave goods and the secondary grave goods, because either of the state of preservation, or the lacks in the publication. Coming back at Noviodunum, I have to make a first remark: the deceased did not always wear the jewelry, because in four cases, the adornments were found on the step separating the upper and the bottom pit - necklaces, rings and earrings, all made of gold. Besides the jewelry, on the step of the pit were found pottery (dominant), glass vessels, a golden *fibula*, buckles, a mirror, a *strigilis*, and a knife. There are eight such graves with the items deposited on the pit step (T.XXX M.2, T.XXIX-A M.1, 3, T.II-B M.3, T.II-C M.6, 9, 10, 13). The grave goods of two other complexes have been deposited over the tomb roof (T.XXX M.2 - burnt glass beaker, and T.V-B M.6 - *amphorae*, mugs and clay *unguentaria*).

The *busta* from the other cemeteries of Roman towns in Moesia Inferior are characterized by the same general image of the lack of ostentation. Nevertheless, the lack of the grave goods in the four complexes of this type discovered in the necropolis of "Valea Mare" near Tropaeum Traiani may be accidental, due to the recent destructions. There was nothing but a coin in the unique *bustum* found so far in the cemetery in Marcianopolis. The two *busta* of Durostorum point out the same association of grave goods, coin-jewelry, but the adornments are rather modest (Popović, Donevski 1999, 62).

2. The considerations about the grave goods of the *busta* discovered in cemeteries of the Roman forts in Moesia Inferior are overshadowed either by parsimonious details or photos, or by a useless review. For example, out of 77 *busta*, discovered in four cemeteries of this type (62 at Galați-Barboși, 7 at Carsium, 5 at Capidava and 3 at Tegulicum), only 16 could be used (the complexes of Carsium, eight *busta* at Barboși-Galați, and one at Capidava).

Although with reserves due to the present state of the publication, the inventories of the *busta* found in three cemeteries of the Roman forts in Moesia Inferior (Barboși-Galați, Capidava, Tegulicum) are as modest as the inventories of *busta* found in the cemeteries of Roman towns. The most frequent category of grave goods is, again, pottery (ten complexes, at least, of all the three sites), followed by fruits and cones (five complexes, all in Capidava), lamps (at least three tombs at Barboși and Capidava) and coins (the same, but in all the three cemeteries), jewelry (two graves at Barboși), household items (the same). The other

categories are, for the time being, singular: glass vessel (one grave at Barboş), metallic vessel (likewise), and toilet items (one grave at Capidava). Except for the necropolis in Tegulicum, the weapons are missing.

I let aside on purpose the tumular necropolis of Carsium. The authors of excavations attributed it to a Daco-Roman settlement ("La Moără"), while the flat necropolis belonged to the population of the fort (Buzdugan et al. 1998-2000, 450). Nevertheless, I am convinced this assumption is partially true. Certainly, the grave goods of the seven *busta* in Carsium are deposited following different rules than the similar complexes of the Roman forts or towns in Moesia Inferior. The most frequent category is here again, the pottery (found in all *busta*), with a great variety of shapes: jugs (three tombs), *amphorae* and jars (two tombs each). The small jug, the mug, the pot, the bowl, the rushlight and the lid are singular. Besides the great variety of pottery shapes, another difference consists in the presence, as a rule, of many vessels in a grave (four tombs with two vessels each, one with four vessels and one with seven). The pottery is followed in frequency by the fruits (nuts, dates, peanuts), sunflower seeds, and fir cones, found in six complexes (except for a destroyed grave). Coins are always associated with pottery and fruits (five *busta*). In all the four *busta* with lamps, these were associated with pottery, fruits, and coins. Jewelry and dress items were found in three *busta*, toilet implements in two and household objects in one. Other grave goods are: glass *unguentaria* (two cases), bronze ointment pot with *strigilis* (one case). An outstanding difference could be noticed between the *busta* in Carsium and the complexes of the same type found in the cemeteries of Roman towns and forts of Moesia Inferior: the great number of grave goods discovered in the tombs from Carsium. With one exception, which should not be generalized (T.4 M.2 - destroyed almost completely), the rest of the graves with cremation *in situ* had between 6 and 15 grave goods. A few remarks can be made concerning the moments of the funerary ceremony when the items have been deposited. The fruits and the cones of all the six tombs are carbonized. In four *busta* the position of the grave goods is relevant for at least two moments of the burial (T.2 M.3, T.3 M.1, 2, T.4 M.1). The burnt categories of grave goods in the four complexes are the fruits, the jewelry and the dress items, the glass or clay vessels, the lamps and the coins. Once the cremation was over, only clay vessels were deposited, either in the pit or in the filling earth: five *amphorae* (from two complexes, without any association whatsoever), two jugs (from two complexes, one associated with a single-handle mug). The tumular necropolis in Carsium may be characterized and assigned to a certain type by a series of arguments: the ostentatious grave goods, the mixture of autochthonous items (hand made pottery) and Roman ones, the adoption of certain grave goods specific to the Roman world (coins, lamps, toilet vessels and items), a relatively small number of burials (10), the dominance of *busta* (seven), the spatial and layout distinction from the other cemeteries found at Carsium, the presence of very few tombs all along a large time span (from the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD to the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD). In my opinion, only a part of the population of the military *vicus* near the auxiliary fort has been buried in the tumuli from Carsium, maybe those with a high social status, if we take into account the raising of tumuli and the individual pyre, which needed more effort and space (Struck 2000, 85-86).

3. The general image of the *busta* in the necropolises of the Greek towns in Moesia Inferior has its own features. In the absence of a thorough publication of the numerous funerary discoveries, it is difficult to determine the proportion of the *bustum*-burials. If we consider the number of complexes published so far, the percentage is small in all the cemeteries of the Greek towns: five *busta* at Callatis (5%), seven at Histria (3,22%), 28 at Tomis (5% - information from C. Chera).

Waiting for a more detailed publication, I can make only few remarks about the *busta* found in Callatis. The pottery remains the most frequent type of grave goods, but more than one vessel is found in each grave (at least, two). By its abundant and expensive grave goods and by the burial layout (*bustum* covered by a marble sarcophagus roof, under a tumulus) the tumular grave displays a unique wealth among the *busta* found in Moesia Inferior.

As far as the number of grave goods is concerned, the seven *busta* of Histria may be classified in two groups: one group, made of four tombs, all of them in the tumular necropolis (T.XXVII, T.XXXVI M.1, 2, T.XLIV), with less grave goods (3-4 items) and another group of three complexes, one tumular and two flat (T.XXX, Z2 area-M., M.7) with a number of goods between 10 and 15. Pottery and glass vessels are the most frequent categories of grave goods (each of them in four complexes). Present equally in both groups, the glass *unguentaria* (the only type of glass vessel present in the *busta* from Histria) have been deposited at

least in number of two, except for Z2 area-M.7. The pottery seems to be rather the attribute of the group with numerous goods, the only exception being T.XXXVI M.1. The rule was to put more than one vessel: two (one case), three (two tombs), nine (one grave). The personal dress items (four cases) were found predominantly in the graves of the group with less numerous items. The other categories common to both groups are: adornments (three tombs), household tools (three tombs), cones and fruits (three tombs), and coins (two tombs). The toilet items (three graves), the lamps (two cases), a writing implement, and a metallic vessel (each in one grave) are rather specific to the second group. In four of the seven *busta* of the necropolis in Histria were discovered both burnt grave goods and items deposited after the cremation. The cremated inventories were the glass *unguentaria*, the adornment or dress items, the toilet or household items, the cones, and a writing implement. The most consistent part of the funerary inventory was deposited either during the process of filling the two flat *busta* pits (pottery associated in one case with a glass one and a metallic one), or put near the funerary complex, in the case of the tumular *busta* (clay vessels, associated with lamp and burnt mirror, little glass *amphora*). Regardless the number of the grave goods, all the seven *busta* of Histria express a high status, either through the layout of grave, accompanied (T.XXVII, T.XXXVI M.1, 2) or not (T.XLIV) by the remains of the funerary feast, or through the abundant grave goods (the complexes of the Z2 area), or through the combination of the two features (T.XXX).

Compared to the previous cemeteries, the 28 *busta* of Tomis reveal different grave goods. The most frequent category is the pottery (19 tombs), deposited particularly one in a tomb (12 cases) or two (five tombs) and exceptionally three or four. The amount of the pottery shapes is the following: bowls (seven tombs), jugs (six), clay *unguentaria* (five), mugs (three), *amphora* (one), lid (one). The lamps have been found in 11 tombs, mostly one in a tomb (10 cases). A particular feature of the necropolis in Tomis is the great number of glass vessels (10 tombs): one in a tomb (seven cases), two (one grave), three (two tombs). Typologically speaking, the jugs and beakers are predominant (four, respectively three graves), but the fire has destroyed a great number of glass vessels and it is impossible for us to reconstruct their initial shape. The most frequent associations are pottery-lamps and glass vessels-pottery (eight times for each). The less frequent grave goods are the adornments (three tombs), toilet implements (two), household tools (one) or metallic vessels (one), while the coins, the personal dress items and the weapons are missing. In two complexes, there was a cremated pinecone in each, while in two other *busta* (M.32, 33) was meet the association between the cremated eggshells and nuts. The modesty of grave goods (21 tombs with 1-4 items) may be only apparent if we take into consideration the great number of destroyed tombs (20). There are just four *busta* revealing a rich amount of grave goods, between 6-19 items (M.459, 466, 24, 25). It would seem, at a first approach, that these four *busta* might be linked to a special status, but I have two arguments against it: their dating in the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD and the presence, in a complex less important in number (I.G. Duca Str. - the third grave), of a set, Nuber G type (Canterbury), consisting of a bronze jug and *patera*. Taking into account that the mentioned tomb belongs to the same period as the four complexes with numerous grave goods, I'm asking myself whether in the necropolis at Tomis, the differences in the funerary inventories are not due to a change of mentality which, during the 2<sup>nd</sup> - 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD, moved to a standardization of the grave goods, the possible social or financial status being expressed in a way unavailable for the archaeologists.

I have not taken into account until now the only *bustum* found so far at Dionysopolis, because, although topographically it belongs to a Greek town, the grave goods (14 clay vessels, bronze vessels, weapons) justify its belonging to a group of *busta* from rural cemeteries.

4. The mentioned group of *busta* found in rural cemeteries consist of the funerary complexes of Bărăganu, near Odessos, Ljublen, Tutrakanci and Brestrnica. They form a group because they have common features that differentiate them from the rest of *busta* in Moesia Inferior: grave markers as tumuli (Bărăganu, Ljublen, Tutrakanci), a heap of rocks (Brestrnica) or a higher hill (near Odessos); small number of burials (one at Bărăganu and Brestrnica, two at Ljublen and Tutrakanci, three near Odessos); territorial dissociation by isolation (Bărăganu, Brestrnica, near Odessos) or isolation and wall enclosure (Ljublen); exceptional amount of goods in the grave (more than 15 items, except for M.1 near Odessos); emphasizing rather the glass vessel (Bărăganu, Tutrakanci M.1 - both of them with 11 vessels, deposited after the cremation) or the

pottery (Tutrakanci M.1 - 24 vessels, Brestnica - 13 vessels, the biggest ones deposited after the extinction of fire) than the items the deceased was wearing; the presence of weapons.

A few remarks are necessary about the weapons in the *bustum*-burials of Moesia Inferior. Most of the *busta* found in rural cemeteries (Bărăganu, Ljublen M.1, near Odessos M.1) revealed spearheads, as a sign, probably, of the status, like the burials before the Roman conquest (Vulpe 1976, 194, 201, 208). Two other *busta*, one from the rural milieu (Tutrakanci M.1) and one from the cemetery of a Greek town (Dionysopolis) are characterized by the combination between two military traditions - local (the spearhead) and Roman (the sword). The swords characterize the majority of *busta* with weapons found in Moesia Inferior: three in rural cemeteries (Brestnica, Džuljunica M.3, Kokodiva-one grave) and two in the Roman urban milieu (Noviodunum T.XXX M.1, 2). The weapons found in the complexes of Brestnica, Džuljunica and Ljublen are burnt, while those of Bărăganu and Tutrakanci M.1 have been deposited, with the majority of the grave goods, after the extinction of the fire. Coming back to the rural burials under question, I may assume that local leaders have been buried inside. Only two of them might have had relations with the Roman army (those buried at Brestnica and Tutrakanci M.1).

The complexes of Džuljunica, Krušeto, Mogilec, Stražica, Sredina and Vardim form another group of rural *busta* with the following distinctive features: small number of burials (between 4 and 10); most of the burials are covered by tumuli (the exception is Vardim); usually all the funerary complexes are grouped in one tumulus (Džuljunica, Krušeto, Stražica, Mogilec); *busta* is the dominant burial type (the unique tomb type at Krušeto and Mogilec; 85,71 % at Stražica; 55,5% at Džuljunica; except for Sredina 25%). Nevertheless, the grave goods are gathered following certain rules, great diversity in the first place, comparing not only the necropolises, but inside the same cemetery. The communities from Stražica and Krušeto deposited in the tombs inventories modest in number (between 1 and 4 objects) and value as well. In the six *busta* of Stražica the grave goods reveal very little variety: three complexes had pottery followed in frequency by the household tools (two graves), adornment items (one grave) and coin (one grave). None of the 10 *busta* of Krušeto had pottery or coins (although my observations might be uncertain because of the tombs destructions). The grave goods categories are more diversified than at Stražica, but one could find them only in one complex: glass vessel, brooch, spindle-whorl, lamp, and toilet case, except for the adornment items, characteristic for two graves (bell and earring associated with a fragment of hairpin). The communities from Mogilec and Džuljunica had different rules for the grave goods deposits. There are more items deposited than in the graves of the two communities previously mentioned (between 3 and 7 items, with one exception). In all the *busta* of Džuljunica was found pottery (out of the regular two vessels, one was a *kernos*), followed in frequency by adornments (four tombs), coins (three tombs), glass vessel, household tool and weapons (each one in a complex). The association between a clay vessel, an adornment item, and a coin is the most frequent (three graves). Three of the four *busta* found in Mogilec contained pottery, always associated with a coin (which is normal, because all the *busta* contained coins as grave goods). The *kernos* vessel is predominant as pottery type. The other categories of grave goods are jewelry (three tombs), household items (two tombs), and glass vessels (one tomb with two vessels). The clay or glass vessels were deposited after the cremation of the body. The *busta* found in Vardim and Sredina have more than one vessel: four at Vardim, three at Sredina M.5 and two at Sredina M.6. As they were not published in detail, the tomb of Niculițel (a bead and a coin as grave goods) and the two *busta* of Kokodiva (both characterized by the association between the pottery and the glass vessels, and one by weapons too) could not be integrated in one group or another.

The chronology of the *busta* from Moesia Inferior covers the first three centuries AD, but in unequal proportion. 17 complexes of this type, discovered in the cemeteries of Greek towns (Tomis and Histria), cemeteries of Roman towns (Noviodunum), or in the cemeteries of the military *vici* near the auxiliary forts (Carsium) may be dated in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. Nevertheless, *busta* from Moesia Inferior reach their chronological and territorial climax in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD (54 complexes), and particularly in the second half (20 complexes) or the end of the century (16 tombs). In the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD the number of *bustum*-burials decreases (13 complexes), and they are concentrated in the rural necropolises (Mogilec, Ljublen, Džuljunica, Niculițel), their presence being scarce in the cemeteries of Roman towns (Noviodunum, Marcianopolis) or in the cemeteries of Roman forts (Barboși). The province Moesia Inferior is unique, for

the time being, for a phenomenon without analogies whatsoever: the survival of this funerary ritual, though exceptional, in the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD, in a rural necropolis (Kragulevo), where the ritual did not seem to be attested during the early Roman period. M.72 of the mentioned necropolis has stepped sides, while the grave goods consist of pottery (three vessels), a lamp, and 17 copper coins, the most recent dating from Constantius II (337-361 AD).

#### *IV. Origin of busta in Moesia Inferior*

There are two directions in the discussion about the origin of *busta* in Moesia Inferior. The prevalent one considers the *busta* of the Roman period as a continuation of a funerary rite of Greek origin (Alexandrescu 1966, 259, 264-267; Babeş 1970, 195-196; Barbu 1971, 65-66; Lungu, Chera 1986, 94; Struck 1993, 89). The other direction, in a minority for the time being, considers the *busta* as a funerary custom brought from the Roman world (Petculescu 1995, 114; Simion 1994, 93-94). I am not going to insist over the discussions concerning the origin of *busta* in the rest of Europe, viewed as a renaissance of older traditions (Struck 1993, 86-90), an Illyrian or Thracian custom (Garašanin 1968, 27-34; Jovanović 2000, 209-210; Srejović 1962-1963, 85-88), a tradition brought in Pannonia from the Rhineland (Sagi 1954, 111), a custom appeared when the southeastern part of Gallia or Britannia became Roman provinces (Bel, Tranoy 1993, 109; Struck 1993, 91).

Due to some obvious differences, it is difficult to assume the existence (as P. Alexandrescu tries to do - 1966, 264-266) of a direct filiation between the *busta* dated in the Greek period and those of Roman period in the tumular necropolis of Histria. Unlike the Roman period *busta*, the Greek period tombs with cremation *in situ* are not so deep, the form is rather irregular, and the burning goes beyond the pit area. In contrast with Histria, the Roman period *busta* of Tomis cemetery have the same features (Barbu 1971, 65-66; Bucovăla 1967, 119) and, at least in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, similar grave goods, in comparison with *busta* dated in the Greek or Hellenistic period.

The attempt to solve the origin of *busta* from Moesia Inferior must take into consideration the characteristics of this burial type, synthesized as follows:

1. in the Roman period, the *busta* in Moesia Inferior are particularly concentrated in the cemeteries of Roman towns (74 tombs of this type in 4 cemeteries) or in the necropolises of the Roman forts and the auxiliary *vici* (77 tombs in 4 necropolises), consequently 151 *busta* in all (at least, for now), in comparison with 80 *busta* in the cemeteries of Greek towns (41 tombs in 4 necropolises) or rural cemeteries (39 tombs in 15 sites);

2. in the cemeteries, the *busta* percentage is small, in general, except for two - Noviodunum and Barboşi-Galaţi;

3. chronologically speaking, the *busta* cover the first three centuries AD;

4. in most of the *busta*, the grave goods are modest in number and value;

5. although pottery is predominant, there are also Roman grave goods, as lamps

(39 *busta* in 11 sites, 22,51%), coins (38 *busta* in 18 sites, 21,59%), glass vessels (33 tombs in 14 sites, 18,75%), metallic vessels (14 tombs in 9 sites, 7,95%), strigils (11 *busta* in 8 sites, 4,54%);

6. most of the post-funeral practices, specific to the Roman world are associated with *busta* (pottery deposits, foodstuff remains, traces of burning, lamps deposits).

The six characteristics mentioned above, as well as the differences and similarities between the Roman and Greek *busta* of Histria, respectively Tomis, are altogether arguments to elucidate the origin of *busta* in Moesia Inferior. There is not a single answer for all the cemeteries in this province, all the more if we consider the different ethnic background, at least at the beginning of the Roman period (Greek, native or born after the colonization). My strong belief is, at least for now, that the continuity of this funerary custom from the Greek period is valid only for the *busta* in Tomis. As for the necropolis in Histria, I think we could speak about a revitalization, starting to the Roman period, of the funerary custom of cremation *in situ*, used by a part of the population, in order to emphasize their special status.

Nevertheless, this funerary custom is, for most of the *busta* in Moesia Inferior, imported from the Roman world. This hypothesis of a Roman import could be easily accepted for the necropolises in the towns founded by the Romans (Noviodunum, Tropaeum Traiani, Durostorum, Marcianopolis) or cemeteries of Roman forts and/or the military *vici* (Galaţi-Barboşi, Carsium, Capidava, Tegulicum). I think that, for the

tombs found at Dionysopolis and Bărăganu, we are dealing with an integration of the dominant civilization values in the traditional system of the dominated civilization, until they became new status symbols (N. Wachtel, *apud* Schucany 2000, 123), in the first period of the province. Besides other features, the cremation is used, as a distinctive element of the social status during the following centuries too (near Odessos, Tutrakanci, Brešnica, Ljublen) with a unique extension in the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD (Kragulevo). Besides the funerary custom of cremation *in situ* as a status marker, in the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD, it seems that *busta* were adopted on a large scale (at least as a cremation tomb type) in several rural cemeteries (Džuljunica, Krušeto, Stražica, Mogilec, Sredina, Vardim).

Certainly, if I assumed that *busta* represent, for the majority of the necropolises in Moesia Inferior, a funerary custom imported (or even passed through the Roman filter, in the case of the revitalization in Histria), I have to determine, more accurately, the area of the Roman Empire where the cremation *in situ* came from. It is not an easy thing to do.

In the colonization of the rural territory of Moesia Inferior, the military element was essential (at least, based on the epigraphic evidence) (Avram 2007, 98; Mrozewicz 1982, 127; Suceveanu 1977, 37-75; Suceveanu, Barnea 1991, 39-54, 104-112). Among the military colonists, the Italic element and of the western provinces of the Roman Empire is predominant until the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD (Mrozewicz 1982, 128). The Italic element dominates as well the legions in the Balkan provinces (Matei-Popescu 2006, 395). Let's add the preponderant presence of the auxiliary troops of Gallic or Germanic origin in the forts near which *busta* have been found in Moesia Inferior (Gudea 2005; Matei-Popescu 2001-2002). The weak sides of this demonstration consist in ignoring, at least for the time being, the proportion of the military and the civilian colonists in the diffusion of cremation all along Moesia Inferior, and that Noviodunum was a station of *classis Flavia Moesica* whose soldiers had also Oriental origin (Petculescu 1995, 114). The grave goods found in *busta* from Moesia Inferior have some general similarities with those found in the group of *busta* from North Italy, characterized by the presence of coins, lamps, glass *unguentaria*, personal dress items and a small number of clay vessels (Struck 1993, 86-87). The predominant kind of pits with stepped sides could be imported from a relatively homogenous group of tumular tombs found in *castella* all along the Danube and belonging, most probably, to the immigrants who came from the Rhine region or to the Treveri from the auxiliary troops (Struck 1993, 88 and 92). The great number of pottery in the *busta* in Moesia Inferior is a common feature with the *busta* from the Rhine region, where one can often find this Romanized burial custom (Struck 1993, 87-88). It would seem easy to interpret the matter on the basis of toponymical signs of Celtic origin - Noviodunum (the greatest number of *busta* in Moesia Inferior) and Durostorum (Falileyev 2005, 291; Guyonvarc'h 1968, 201-208; Guyonvarc'h 1974, 83-85). Still, the toponyms seem not to have anything to do with the Celts presence in the territory under discussion (Falileyev 2005, 295). In the southeastern Gallia, the *busta* represent a practice unknown to the local traditions, being interpreted like a consequence of the Romanization, but with a limited success (Bel, Tranoy 1993, 109). Like in Moesia Inferior, the cemeteries with *busta* in Gallia have different grave goods - poor, such as Vatteville-la-Rue (Lequoy 1987, 59) and Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux (Bel 1987, 37) or surprisingly various and numerous, such as Vayssiére *l'Hospitalet-du-Larzac* (Vernhet 1987, 88). In Gallia, as well as other provinces of the Empire, the poorness and the homogeneity of the grave goods are linked to the Romanization (Fasold 2000, 189; Struck 2000, 92). It is perhaps a paradox, but the *busta* found in Moesia Inferior are not too much resembling to the rich *busta* belonging to the Thracian aristocracy (Lichardus et al. 1996, 67, 70).

It is, for the time being, premature to formulate an answer about the region where *busta*-cremation type came from in Moesia Inferior, because the signs are vague. At this moment of the research I can only say the arguments are in favor of the hypothesis that in Moesia Inferior, *busta* represent a burial custom imported from the Roman world.

#### **Catalogue:**

##### **1. Barboși-Galați**

- M. without number (Dragomir 1991, 237-238);
- on the western side of the fort-M.6 (Sanie 1981, 82);

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- tumulus with ring-M.1 (Dragomir 1981, 74, 84, 85, 86);
  - near tumulus with ring-M.6 (Dragomir 1981, 76, 83);
  - Dunărea district M.1 (Țentea 2006, 50, 57; CCA campania 2004, 155), M.2 (Țentea 2006, 50, 57; CCA campania 2004, 155), M.5 (Țentea 2006, 51; CCA campania 2004, 155), M.7 (Țentea 2006, 51; CCA campania 2004, 155);
  - Roman cemetery (Sanie 1981, 81-82, 224; Sanie 1994, 158; Situri 1983-1992, 11);
- Notice: all the graves discovered in the Barboși-Galați area belong, in fact, to a single large necropolis (Țentea 2006, 52-53). As there is not an unitary numbering of all the complexes discovered, I had, in order to facilitate the references, to keep the names of Galați and Barboși, without meaning I am referring to two distinctive cemeteries.

**2. Bărăganu**

- “Cearul Bărăganu” T.I (Bărbulescu, Ocheșeanu 1990, 227 no.51; Irimia 1987, 117-126);

**3. Brestnica**

- “Goliama mogila” M. (Agre, Dičev 2000, 35-48);

**4. Butovo**

- unpublished graves (Pisarev 1977, 203 and note 3);

**5. Callatis**

- tumular grave (Alexandrescu-Vianu 1970, 290-291 no.17; Irimia 1966, 24-29 nos.14-15-16; Mușețeanu 1994, 201 no.78; Preda 1965, 233-251; Simion 2003, 87 no.57);
- Constanței Str.-2 graves (CCA campania 2003, 182);
- Dobrogea II district-M. (CCA campania 2005, 215);
- Horea, Cloșca și Crișan Str.-M. (CCA campania 2004, 219);

**6. Capidava**

- T.7 M.2 (Cheluță-Georgescu 1979, 179, 180), T.8 - 3 graves (Cheluță-Georgescu 1979, 181-182), tumular grave (CCA 1993, 13-14);

**7. Carsium**

- “stația PECCO” T.2 M.1 (Buzdugan et al. 1998-2000, 430, 442-443, 446, 447-448, 449), T.2 M.3 (Buzdugan et al. 1998-2000, 430-431, 439-440, 444, 446, 447, 449), T.3 M.1 (Buzdugan et al. 1998-2000, 432, 438-439, 440, 442, 445, 449), T.3 M.2 (Buzdugan et al. 1998-2000, 432, 440, 442, 445, 449; Paraschiv 2002-2003, 190 and 194 no.20), T.4 M.1 (Buzdugan et al. 1998-2000, 433-434, 440, 444, 447, 449), T.4 M.2 (Buzdugan et al. 1998-2000, 434), T.6 M.1 (Buzdugan et al. 1998-2000, 435, 449);

**8. Dionysopolis**

- M. (Vagalinski 1993, 24);

**9. Durostorum**

- Vasil Kolarov Str. M.1 (Popović, Donevski 1999, 11-12, 21-22, 61-62), M.8 (Popović, Donevski 1999, 12, 22);

**10. Džuljunka**

- M.1 (Pisarev, Stanev 1987, 17-18), M.2 (Pisarev, Stanev 1987, 18), M.3 (Pisarev, Stanev 1987, 18-19), M.4 (Pisarev, Stanev 1987, 19), M.6 (Pisarev, Stanev 1987, 20-22);

**11. Histria**

- tumular necropolis T.XXVII (Alexandrescu 1966, 210-213; Rădulescu 1976, 103 no.3 c; Suceveanu 2000, 78 nos.1-2, 145-146 no.10, 152 no.9, 161 no.1, 174 no. 1), T.XXX (Alexandrescu 1966, 197-201; Suceveanu 2000, 10 no.1, 63-64 no.2, 73 no.21, 87 no.17, 163-164 no.1, 169 no.1), T.XXXVI M.1 (Alexandrescu 1966, 201-202; Suceveanu 2000, 63 no.1, 85 nos.1-2), T.XXXVI M.2 (Alexandrescu 1966, 202), T.XLIV (Alexandrescu 1978, 340);
- flat necropolis Z2 area M. (Coja 1974, 35-45; Suceveanu 2000, 105 no.37, 146 no.11, 146-147 no.12), M.7 (Coja 1975, 551-559; Suceveanu 2000, 104 no.33, 111 no.23, 151 no.5, 151-152 no.6);

**12. Kokodiva**

- “Sanatoriuma” 2 graves (Minčev 1985, 12-13);

**13. Krušeto**

- "Sazlăka" M.1 (Pisarev 1981, 34), M.2 (Pisarev 1981, 34), M.3 (Pisarev 1981, 34), M.4 (Pisarev 1981, 34), M.5 (Pisarev 1981, 34), M.6 (Pisarev 1981, 34-35), M.7 (Pisarev 1981, 35), M.8 (Pisarev 1981, 35), M.9 (Pisarev 1981, 35), M.10 (Pisarev 1981, 35);

**14. Ljublen**

- "Gjuljuva" M.1 (Ovčarov 1979, 33-34), M.2 (Ovčarov 1979, 34-35);

**15. Marcianopolis**

- eastern cemetery M. 12 (Minčev, Georgiev 1979, 106);

**16. Mogilec**

- T. II M.1 (Ginev 1986, 19-21), M.2 (Ginev 1986, 21), M.3 (Ginev 1986, 21-23), M.4 (Ginev 1986, 23);

**17. Niculițel**

- M. (Baumann 1973-1975, 114; Baumann 1983, 78; Baumann 1991, 123);

**18. Noviodunum**

- T.Bădila M.1 (Simion 1977, 125, 128, 130, 133; Simion 1996, 113-124), T.Bădila M.2 (Simion 1977, 125, 130, 133), T.Bădila M.4 (Simion 1977, 125, 128, 133), T.Bădila M.5 (Simion 1977, 125, 133);

Notice: The distance between the barrow and the Roman town, and the similarities regarding the layout and the inventories of graves found in T. Bădila seems to argue that the tumulus belonged to the cemetery of the Roman town than to a necropolis of a *villa rustica*, as G. Simion supposed (1977, 124, 132).

- zone e-M. (Bujor, Simion 1961, 396);
- tumular necropolis T.VI M.6 (Bujor 1960, 528, 533; Bujor, Simion 1961, 393, 395), T.XXV M.8 (Bujor 1960, 536; Bujor, Simion 1961, 393, 395), T.XXVI M.9 (Bujor 1960, 528, 533; Bujor, Simion 1961, 393, 395), T.XXXI M.10 (Bujor 1960, 529, 533, 535; Bujor, Simion 1961, 393, 395), T.XXX M.1 (Simion 1994-1995, 124-125, 132), T.XXX M.2 (Simion 1994-1995, 125, 131), T.XXX M.3 (Simion 1994-1995, 125), T.XXX M.7 (Simion 1994-1995, 126), T.XXX M.8 (Simion 1994-1995, 126), T.XXX M.9 (Simion 1994-1995, 126-127), T.II-A M.3 (Simion 1984, 76), T.II-A M.4 (Simion 1984, 76), T.II-A M.6 (Simion 1984, 76), T.II-A M.7 (Simion 1984, 76), T.II-A M.8 (Simion 1984, 77), T.II-A M.9 (Simion 1984, 77), T.II-A M.11 (Simion 1984, 77), T.II-A M.14 (Simion 1984, 77), T.II-A M.15 (Simion 1984, 77), T.II-A M.16 (Simion 1984, 77), T.XXVII-A M.1 (Simion 1984, 77), T.XXVII-A M.2 (Simion 1984, 77), T.XXVII-A M.3 (Simion 1984, 77), T.XXVII-A M.4 (Simion 1984, 77-78), T.XXVIII-A M.2 (Simion 1984, 78), T.XXVIII-A M.3 (Simion 1984, 78), T.XXVIII-A M.4 (Simion 1984, 78), T.XXIX-A M.1 (Simion 1984, 78; Simion 1996, 11; Simion 2000-2001, 389), T.XXIX-A M.2 (Simion 1984, 78), T.XXIX-A M.3 (Simion 1984, 78), T.XXIX-A M.1 (Simion 1984, 79), T.XXIX-A M.2 (Simion 1984, 79), T.XXIX-A M.3 (Simion 1984, 79), T.XXIX-A M.4 (Simion 1984, 79), T.XXIX-A M.1 (Simion 1984, 79), T.II-B M.2 (Simion 1984, 80), T.II-B M.3 (Simion 1984, 80), T.II-B M.4 (Simion 1984, 80), T.V-B M.1 (Simion 1984, 80, 83-84), T.V-B M.2 (Simion 1984, 80, 84), T.V-B M.3 (Simion 1984, 80), T.V-B M.5 (Simion 1984, 80), T.V-B M.6 (Simion 1984, 80, 84), T.V-B M.7 (Simion 1984, 80), T.V-B M.8 (Simion 1984, 80), T.V-B M.9 (Simion 1984, 80), T.I-C M.1 (Simion 1984, 80), T.I-C M.2 (Simion 1984, 80), T.I-C M.3 (Simion 1984, 81), T.I-C M.4 (Simion 1984, 81), T.I-C M.5 (Simion 1984, 81), T.I-C M.6 (Simion 1984, 81, 86), T.I-C M.7 (Simion 1984, 81), T.II-C M.1 (Simion 1984, 81), T.II-C M.3 (Simion 1984, 81), T.II-C M.4 (Simion 1984, 81), T.II-C M.6 (Simion 1984, 81), T.II-C M.8 (Simion 1984, 81), T.II-C M.9 (Simion 1984, 81-82), T.II-C M.10 (Simion 1984, 82), T.II-C M.11 (Simion 1984, 82, 83), T.II-C M.12 (Simion 1984, 82), T.II-C M.13 (Simion 1984, 82);

**19. near Odessos**

- "Vladislav Varnenčik" Park M. (Mirčev 1969, 223-224);

**20. Sredina**

- "Detskite grobišta" T.2 M.5 (Torbatov 1992, 98-101), T.3 M. 6 (Torbatov 1992, 101);

**21. Stražica**

- "Mogilkite" M.1 (Pisarev 1977, 202), M.2 (Pisarev 1977, 202), M.3 (Pisarev 1977, 202), M.4 (Pisarev 1977, 202-203), M.6 (Pisarev 1977, 203), M.7 (Pisarev 1977, 203);

**22. Tegulicum (Vetren)**

- 3 graves (Teodorescu, Mateescu 1916, 49);

**23. Tomis**

- Jupiter Str. M.459 (Bucovală 1968 a, 132-133 nos.273-274; Bucovală 1968 b, 279-294; Covacef, Chera 1977, 196 no.15; Minčev 1988, 53 no.14);
- I.G.Duca Str. M.466 (Bucovală 1968 b, 269-279; Covacef, Chera 1977, 191-192 no.1; Minčev 1988, 52 no. 1, 54 no.16; Minčev 1990, 74-75 no.19), the third grave (Bucovală 1968 b, 294-302);
- western necropolis M.106 (Bucovală, Pașca 1988-1989, 142),
- Mircea Str. M.17 (Lungu, Chera 1986, 91), M.27 (Lungu, Chera 1986, 92), M.28 (Lungu-Chera 1986, 92), M.34 (Lungu, Chera 1986, 92), M.35 (Lungu-Chera 1986, 92, 111);
- București Str.-1 Decembrie 1918 Blvd. M.18 (Lungu, Chera 1986, 91, 97, 107, 109), M.19 (Lungu, Chera 1986, 91, 107, 113), M.20 (Lungu, Chera 1986, 91, 97, 105, 107, 109, 113), M.29 (Lungu, Chera 1986, 92);
- Cuza vodă Str.-M.Kogălniceanu Str. M.23 (Lungu, Chera 1986, 91, 105, 107, 113), M.24 (Lungu, Chera 1986, 92, 105, 109);
- 1 Decembrie 1918 Blvd. M.21 (Lungu, Chera 1986, 91, 103, 105, 107, 113), M.22 (Lungu, Chera 1986, 91, 105, 107, 113), M.25 (Lungu, Chera 1986, 92, 109, 113; Minčev 1990, 75 no.20), M.31 (Lungu, Chera 1986, 92), M.32 (Lungu, Chera 1986, 92, 109), M.33 (Lungu, Chera 1986, 92, 109), M.37 (Lungu, Chera 1986, 93);
- Castanilor Str. M.26 (Lungu, Chera 1986, 92, 105, 107, 109, 113), M.30 (Lungu, Chera 1986, 92, 103);
- Piața Griviței M.36 (Lungu-Chera 1986, 93);
- G. Enescu Str. M.3 (CCA campania 2006, 133), M.12 (CCA campania 2006, 133), M.15 (CCA campania 2006, 134);

**24. Tropaeum Traiani**

- "Valea Mare" M.1 (CCA campania 2003, 18), M.3 (CCA campania 2003, 18), M.4 (CCA campania 2003, 18), M.8 (CCA campania 2003, 19);
- Roman cemetery (Cronica 1983-1992, 119);

**25. Tutrakanci**

- "Katrandžijata" M.1 (Lazarov, Mitkov 1993, 64-76; Lazarov 2001, 40-41 nos.60-64), M.2 (Lazarov, Mitkov 1993, 77-80);

**26. Vardim**

- M. (Vălov 1965, 32-33).

**Tombs considered by the authors of the discoveries as *busta* but not I:**

**27. Kragulevo**

- M.1 (Vasilčin 1996-1997, 61), M.25 (Vasilčin 1996-1997, 63-64), M.35 (Vasilčin 1996-1997, 65), M.36 (Vasilčin 1996-1997, 65), M.42 (Vasilčin 1996-1997, 66), M.43 (Vasilčin 1996-1997, 66), M.59 (Vasilčin 1996-1997, 67), M.65 (Vasilčin 1996-1997, 68).

**Tombs that I have not taken into account:**

**Asparuhovo**-lost grave plans (Lazarov 1992, 81-86);

**Carsium** T.1 M.1-destroyed (Buzdugan et al. 1998-2000, 428), T.5 M.1-destroyed (Buzdugan et al. 1998-2000, 435, 446);

**Gura Canliei** M.1, 3-uncertain funerary character (Papasima 1997, 305, 310, 312);

**Noviodunum** T.XXX M.4-superficial burning (Simion 1994-1995, 125);

**Radanija**-incomplete description (Gerasimov 1946, 242);

**Tomis**, Mircea Str. and 1 Decembrie 1918 Blvd. M.38-40-uncertain chronology (Lungu, Chera 1986, 93), Cuza vodă Str.- summary description (Papuc 1974, 307);  
**Tutrakanci** M.3-uncertain funerary character (Lazarov, Mitkov 1993, 64).

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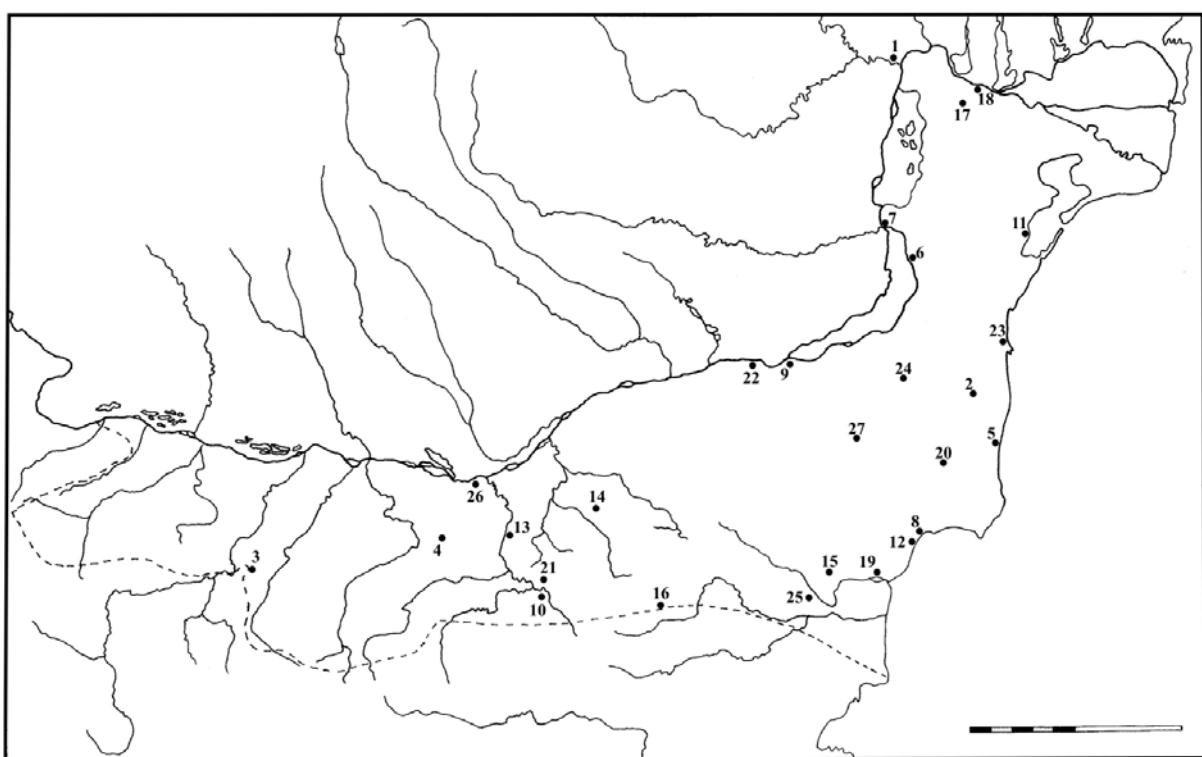
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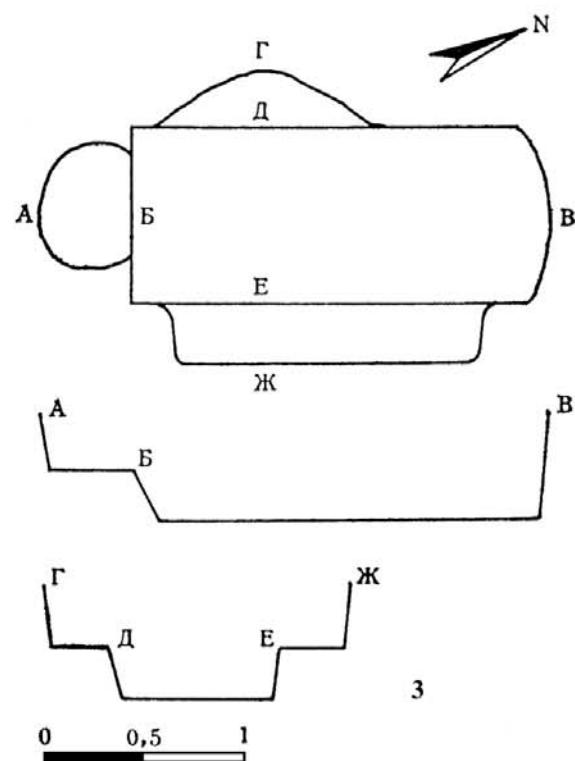
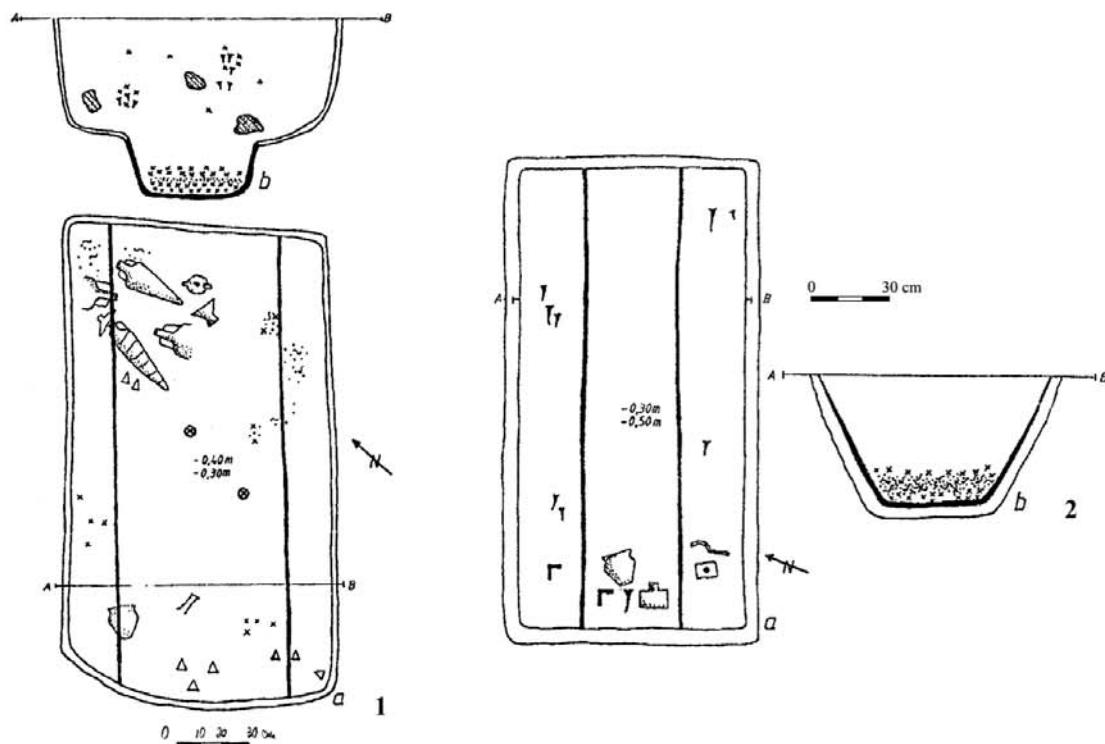
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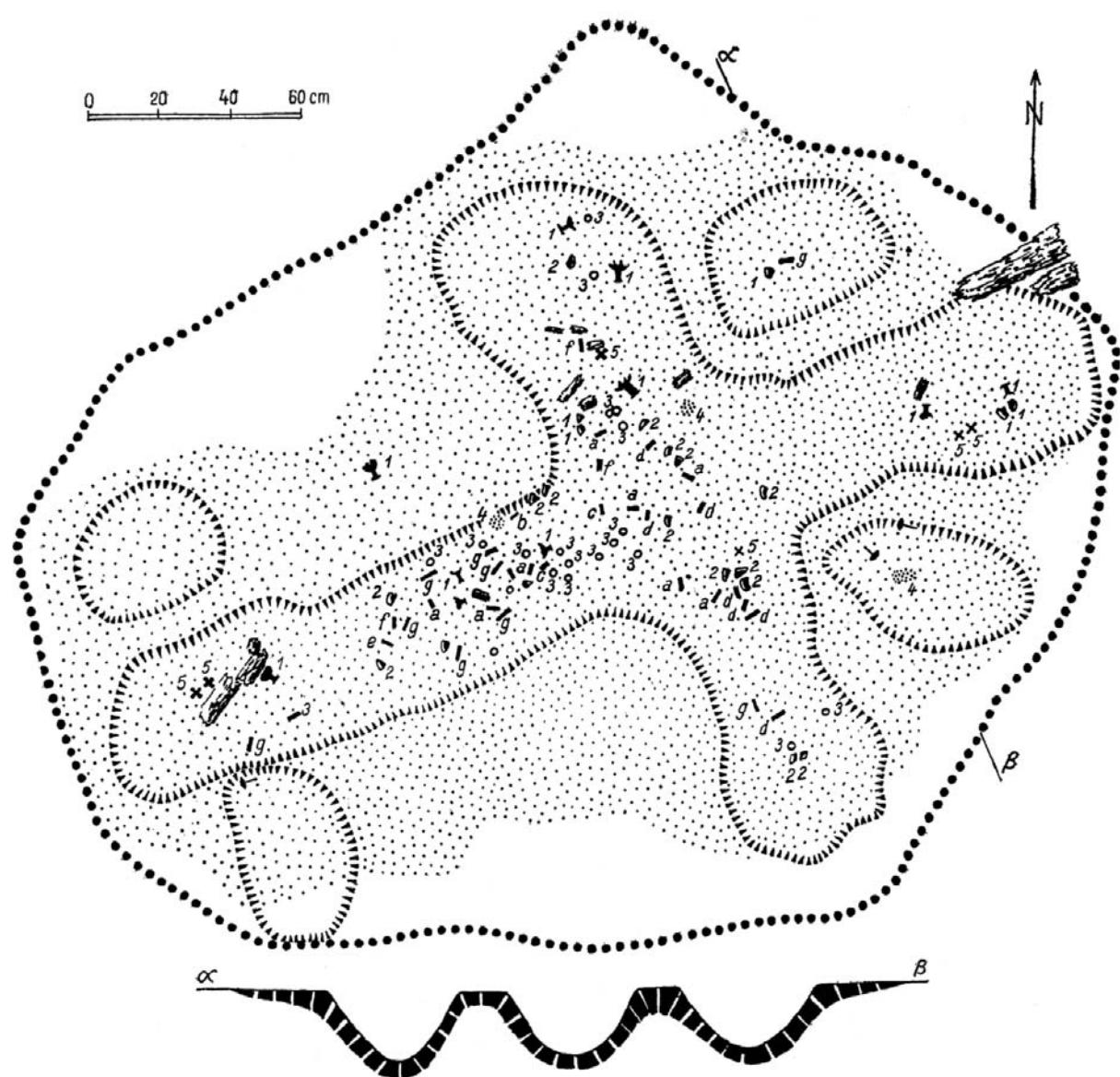
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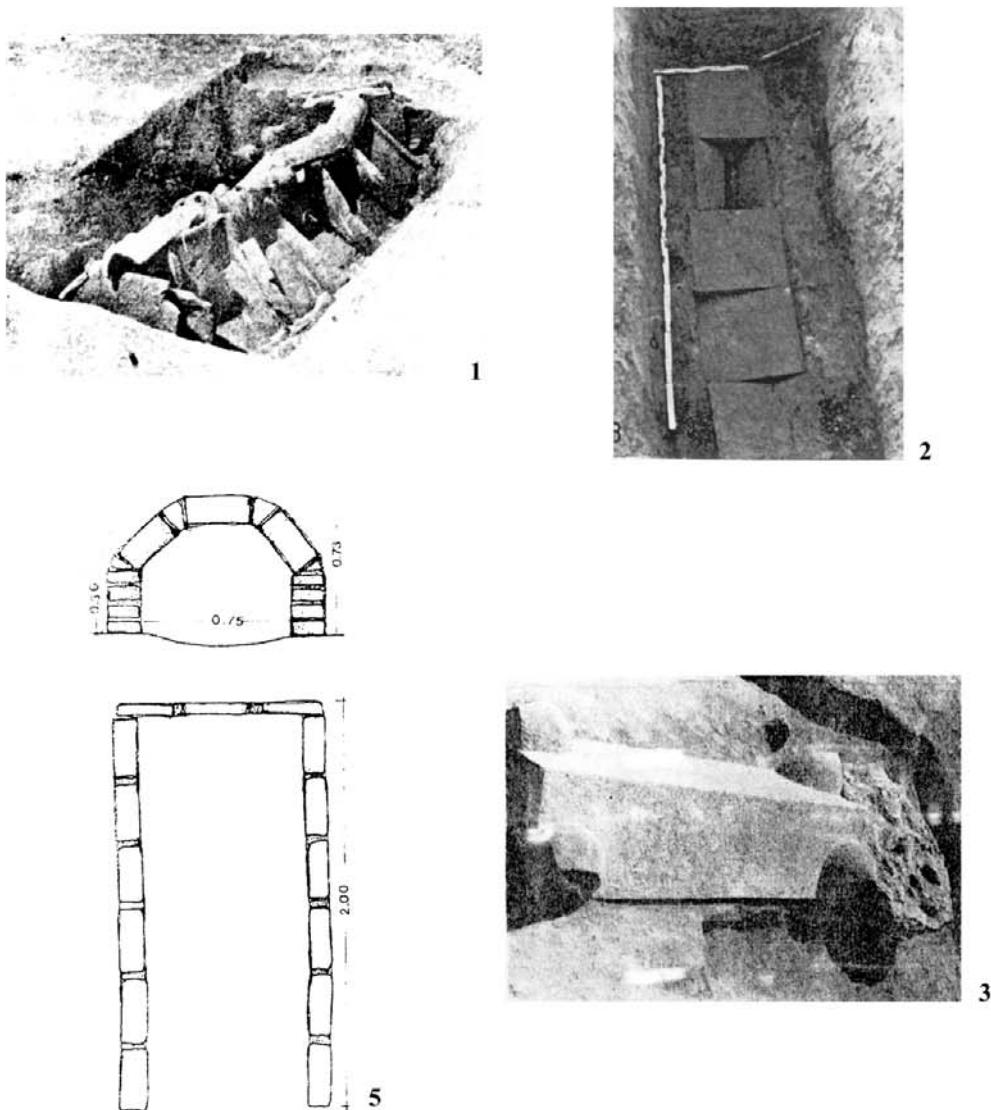
Pl. I. Busta in Moesia Inferior.



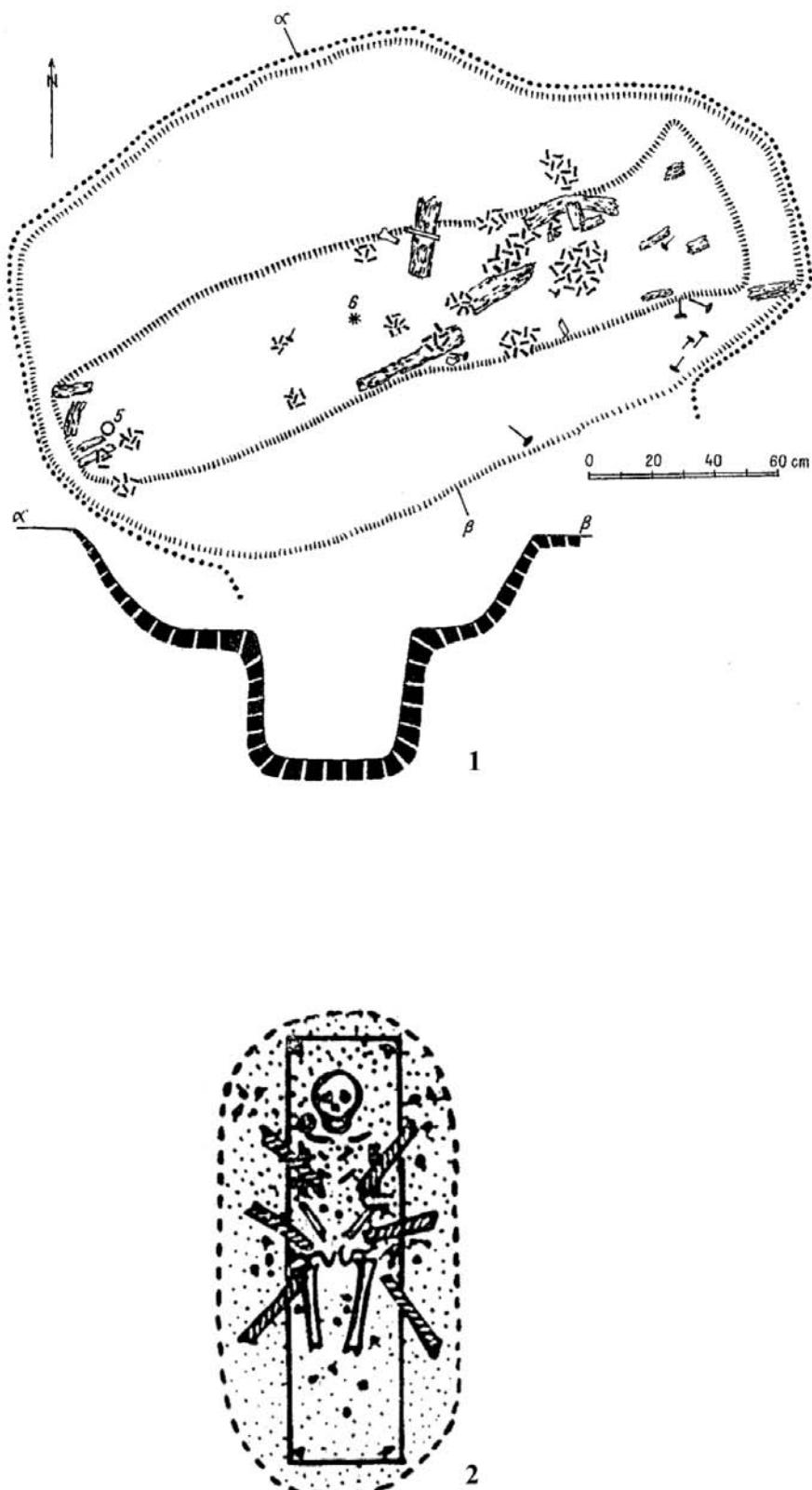
Pl. II. 1. Carsium T.3 M.2 (after Buzdugan et al. 1998-2000, fig.7/2); 2. Carsium T.2 M.1 (after Buzdugan et al. 1998-2000, fig.6/3); 3. Mogilec M.1 (after Ginev 1986, fig.4).



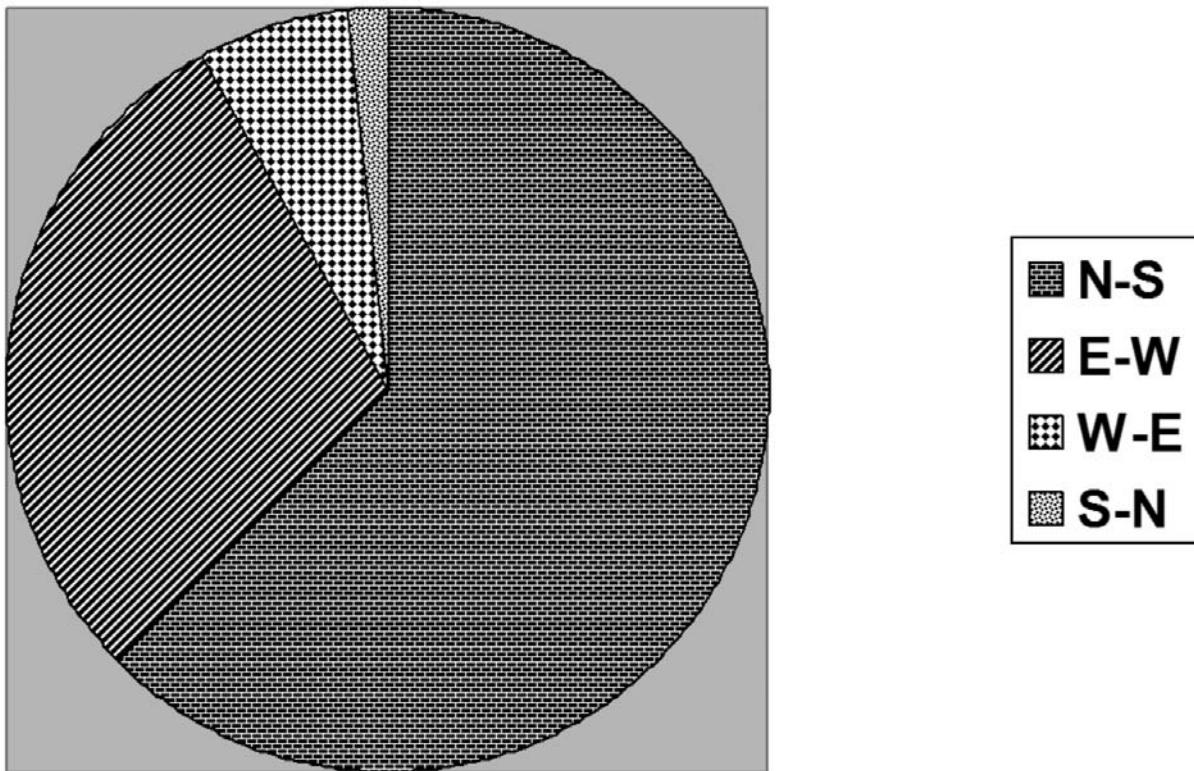
Pl. III. Histria T.XXX (after Alexandrescu 1966, fig.40).



Pl. IV. 1. Noviodunum T.XXVII M.1 (after Simion 1984, pl.VIII/5); 2. Noviodunum T.II-B M.2 (after Simion 1984, pl.VIII/3); 3. Callatis (after Preda 1965, fig.2); 4. Bărăganu T.I (after Irimia 1987, fig.1); 5. Durostorum M.1 (after Popović, Donevski 1999, fig.2).



Pl. V. 1. Histria T.XXXVI M.2 (after Alexandrescu 1966, fig.43); 2. Marcianopolis M.12 (after Minčev, Georgiev 1979, fig. VIII/12).



Pl. VI. Orientation of busta in Moesia Inferior.

## THREE MONUMENTAL TOMBS FROM WESTERN LOCRIS AND AITOLIA (CENTRAL GREECE)

(Late Classical / Early Hellenistic – Roman Imperial periods)\*

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**Key-words:** monumental tombs, Central Greece.

**Abstract.** The monuments, which will be discussed in this paper, did not attract the attention of archaeologists for many decades, even though they were well-known to the locals. As the accepted terminus ante quem non of Greece's Roman Occupation is 146 BC [occupation and destruction of Corinth] the previously mentioned monuments are dated to the late 4th c. BC, and thus can be discussed in this colloquium. We present the up to date results of our research.

During the years 2005-2006, the 10<sup>th</sup> Ephorate of Classical Antiquities (Delphi Region, Central Greece) decided to reconsider ancient monuments of Central Greece that were found, described [and partially excavated] by well known archeologists of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century – namely N. Pappadakis and E. Mastrokostas. Mrs Rozina Kolonia, at that time Ephor of the Antiquities and director of the Museum of Delphi took an active interest in monuments, such as the Macedonian tomb of *Pente Oria*, the Macedonian tomb of *Artotina* as well as the Heroon of *Malandrino*. The above monuments, which will be discussed in this paper, did not attract the attention of archaeologists for many decades, even though they were well-known to the local inhabitants.

As the accepted terminus ante quem non of the Roman occupation of Greece is 146 BC (with the occupation and destruction of Corinth) the previously mentioned monuments are dated to the late 4th c. BC, and thus can be discussed in this colloquium (fig. 1, map).

We present the up to date results of our research:

1. In the area called “*To Pal'ati tou Vassilia*” (“The King's Palace”) (fig. 2, map), not far from the modern village *Pente Oria* (fig. 3) (identified as the ancient Locrian town of *Tritaia*), we excavated a monumental tomb of the Late Classical / Early Hellenistic period, that belongs to the type known as “**Macedonian tomb**”<sup>1</sup>. We cleared the area around it and we cut off the trees that had grown inside the monument (fig. 4). The monument's superstructure, along with its *entablature* and part of its façade were uncovered.

The tile fragments that were found on top of the three huge stone slabs (fig. 5) covering the tomb, suggest that the tomb was originally covered with a wood-and-tile roof.

The tomb consists of two chambers and belongs to a type of funerary building that originates from Northern Greece – yet well-known among Central Greek populations<sup>2</sup>. The tomb's relatively tall superstructure and its facade which supports rectangular bas-relief decorative patterns (fig. 6, 7, 8) is a reminiscent of the decoration of the “*The house with the coloured stuccos*” in Pella, Macedonia<sup>3</sup> – and, also, of the “*fake-doorleafs decoration*” pattern of the Macedonian tomb at *Leukadia / Mieza*<sup>4</sup> (fig. 9).

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\* The accepted terminus ante quem non of the Roman occupation of Greece is 146 BC [occupation and destruction of Corinth]

<sup>1</sup> Pappadakis 1920-21, p. 151

<sup>2</sup> Pappadakis 1920 – 21, p. 153, Skorda 1984.

<sup>3</sup> Akamatis 2003, p.27.

<sup>4</sup> Romiopoulou 1997, pl.20

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The “wave-pattern of cella walls” (*γεισοειδές κύμα*) of the monument’s superstructure, that would have ended to a NE anta-wall capital [now missing], presents a shape very similar to a capital found in the area of *Ammon Zeus temple* in Chalkidik’ē, Makedonia<sup>5</sup> (fig. 10).

The above elements, along with the fine work presented in every detail on the monument, provide evidence towards a Northern Greek workshop that would have travelled along with the Macedonian army, during the South Greek campaigns of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (3<sup>rd</sup> - or probably 4<sup>th</sup> *Sacred Wars*) – building monumental tombs for the dead among high military officers. If we would like to be more accurate, we could place them immediately after the 338 BC destruction of Amphissa by Philippus and the punishment of the Locrians<sup>6</sup>.

This should be the case for the *Artotina tomb*, too.

2. In the area called “*Chonoklissia*” (Buried Church) (fig. 2, map), near modern village of *Artotina* (fig. 11), we performed a survey around a funerary monument that belongs to the same type as the *Pente Oria* tomb<sup>7</sup>. The tiles that were found (fig. 12) suggest that, in this case too, a wood-and-tile roof was used to cover the tomb. This time there were no stone slabs – but instead, a semi-cylindrical roofing (fig. 13) bordered by a rectangular walling, and surrounding the shaft, in which the structure was originally founded (fig. 14).

The *Artotina* Macedonian tomb is a one-chamber tomb, with a monumental, corridor door to the left – and a window to the right [the door area (fig. 15) was excavated in 1969<sup>8</sup>].

It has been known to the archaeologists since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century – but the reported stone benches (*κλίναι*<sup>9</sup>) of its interior are no longer visible (because of various debris gathered there) (fig. 16). The *west-slope ceramics*<sup>10</sup> once visible in the surrounding area – along with the tomb’s position away from the ancient settlement reported by Pappadakis<sup>11</sup> – but situated on a hill supervising a road that leads from Aetolia to Coastal Lokris, suggest a military tomb – and a dating similar to the *Pente Oria* tomb.

3. In the search for architectural features that could justify the date attributed to these tombs, we could refer to:

A) ...”Tomb 1” of *Dion*, Macedonia, dating to the late 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, didn’t have a semi-cylindrical roof, but a flat-top, made of stone slabs (similar to the *Pente Oria*’s tomb). Its excavator argues that this type of roof reflects the monumental buildings of its era<sup>12</sup>, something that endures the impression of a monument erected for an important person. We should bear in mind that “group A” of the “Macedonian” tombs found in Eastern Macedonia, is consisted of flat-roofed tombs<sup>13</sup>.

B) “Macedonian” tombs with facades of Doric order and jabs instead of columns (fig. 17, *Aggista*), that tend to be dated to the late fourth century BC<sup>14</sup>.

C) Workshops, that are specialized in the construction of “Macedonian” tombs, have already been identified in late fourth century Macedonia and thus, it is natural to assume that the elaborate *Pente Oria* tomb can be accredited to one of them<sup>15</sup>.

D) Many one-chambered, cylindrical roofed “Macedonian” tombs, such as the *Derveni-C* tomb<sup>16</sup>, that present a door bordure similar to the *Artotina tomb*, and are dated to the late 4<sup>th</sup> and / or the early third c.

<sup>5</sup> Petsas 1975, p.85, pl.1

<sup>6</sup> A.Kallegia 2003, p.34

<sup>7</sup> Pappadakis 1920-21, p.153

<sup>8</sup> P.Vokotopoulos 1969, p.242-3: «είσοδος τετειχισμένη προς την οποίαν οδηγεί διάδρομος»

<sup>9</sup> K.Sismanides 1997, p.25, pl.1

<sup>10</sup> Pappadakis 1920 – 21, p.153, «μελαμβαφή με γραπτών κισσών»

<sup>11</sup> Pappadakis 1920-21, supra – a *Κόμη Βοιμέων*

<sup>12</sup> D.Pandermalis 2000, p.14

<sup>13</sup> Ch. Koukouli - Chrysanthaki 2000, p.28-9, *the Argilos tomb*.

<sup>14</sup> K.Sismanides 2000, p.25, *the Aghia Paraskevi tomb*, M.Tsimbidou-Avlonitou, p.45, 108, *the Phoenix and Aghios Athanassios tombs*

<sup>15</sup> Chryssostomou 2000, p.12 –Pella

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BC. The “irregular trapezoidal” masonry of the *Artotina* tomb points towards a late 4<sup>th</sup> century BC chronology.

4. In the area called *Asprovryssi* (“White Fountain”), not far from the modern town of *Malandrino* (fig. 2, map) the cemetery of the ancient polis of *Fyskeis* is located. *Fyskeis* used to be (as early as the 4<sup>th</sup> c.BC) the capital of Western Locris.

E.Panayotopoulos, a retired Guard of the Department of Antiquities, showed us the field where, in 1950, the archaeologists L. Lerat et E. Mastrokostas excavated the foundations of a building which the local tradition attributed to the temple of *Athena Ilias* – a goddess worshipped by the *Fyskeans*, and known from a number of inscriptions found in *Malandrino* and published by Mastrokostas.

We excavated the (remaining) first level of a *krepis* / foundation of a wall belonging to a building that would be dated not later than the 1<sup>st</sup> half of 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC (as the *gamma shaped crambons* that connect the stones suggest) (fig. 18). The preparation of the stones and the signs of *anathyrosis* on them – suggest that the interior of this structure was to be found to the south, even though there is no other part of the foundation preserved (fig. 19).

The dimensions of the uncovered foundation stones are similar to those of the *first treasury house* to the east of the ancient theatre of Delphi, whose crambons are also of the “*gamma*” type. So, we opened an test trench in the spot where we expected to find the center of a hypothetical building, with the same dimensions of this particular treasury (i.e. 6 X 5,5m.). Inside this new trench we discovered the remnants of a funerary fire – with bone fragments and a fragment of a *fine ware* bowl of Roman Imperial period<sup>17</sup>.

If we suggest, as Lerat did<sup>18</sup> – and under the light of our new finds – that we are dealing with the foundations of a *funerary monument*, then the uncovered *krepis* should be described as the base of a sculptural *syntagma*, standing on top of an important *Heroon*, of the *polis’* cemetery. This monumental tomb was re-used as a tomb centuries after its first sepulchral use – something that points towards a *population – tradition* stability through Classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods in this part of Central Greece.

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<sup>16</sup> P.Themelis-I.Touratsoglou 1997, p.93, 96-7, M.Tsimbidou-Avlonitou, supra, the Phoenix and Aghios Athanassios tombs

<sup>17</sup> Hayes 1972, pl.64,3

<sup>18</sup> Lerat 1952, p.123ff

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A.D. = ARCHAEOLOGIKON DELTION magazine

E.H. = EPTA HEMERES-KATHIMERINI, 22.10.00 (magazine) A. E. = ARCHAEOLOGIKE  
EPHEMERIS, 1984 (magazine)

P.A.E. =PRACTICA TES ARCHAEOLOGIKIS ETAIREIAS, 1975 A' (magazine)

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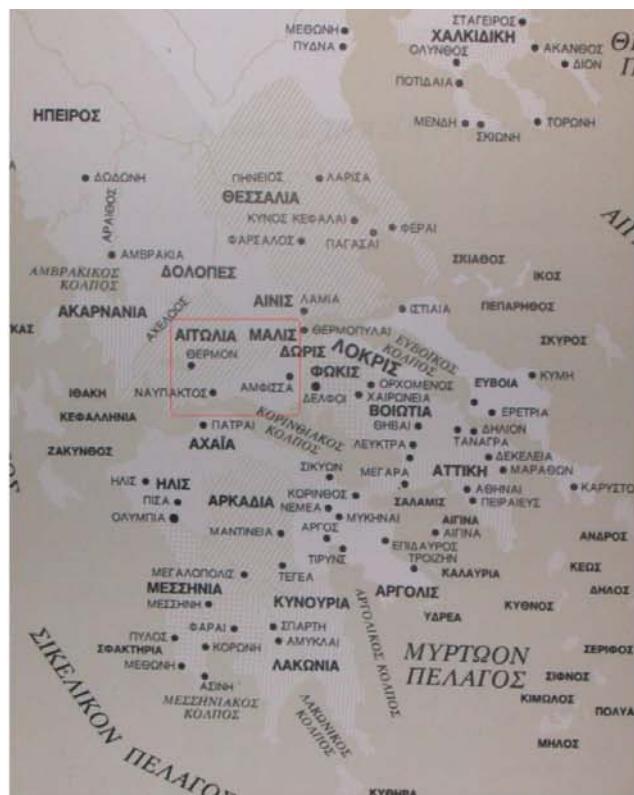


Fig. 1



Fig. 3



Fig. 2



Fig. 4

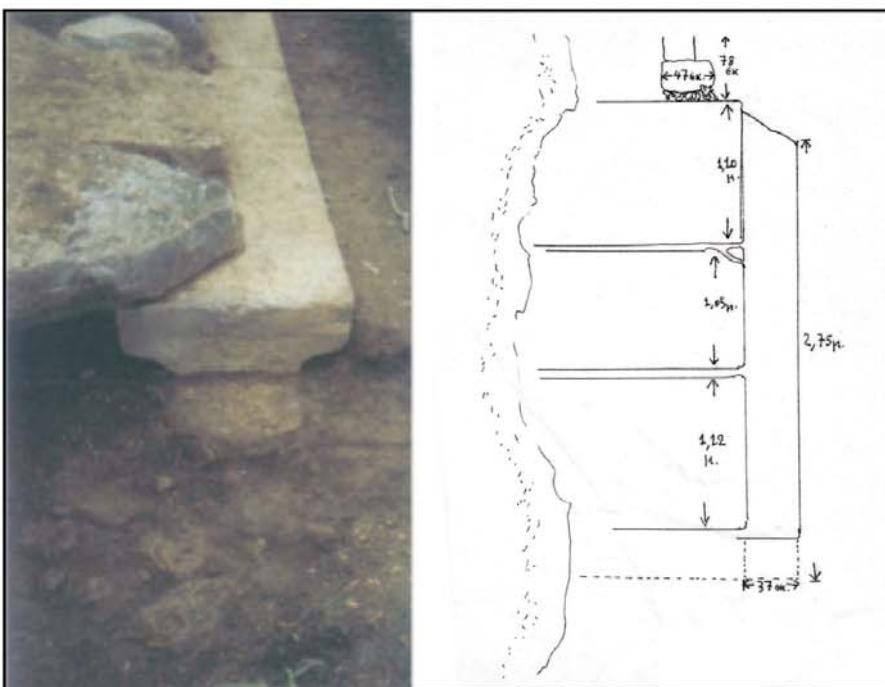


Fig. 5

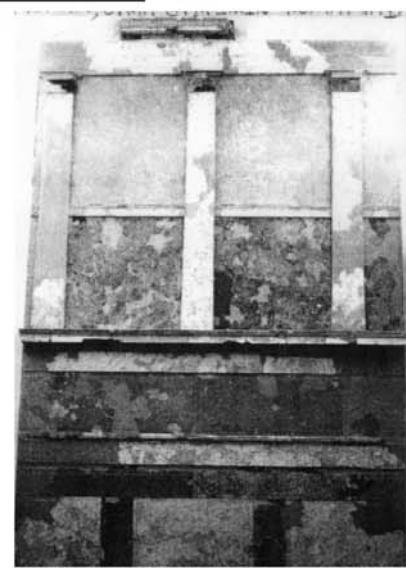


Fig. 6

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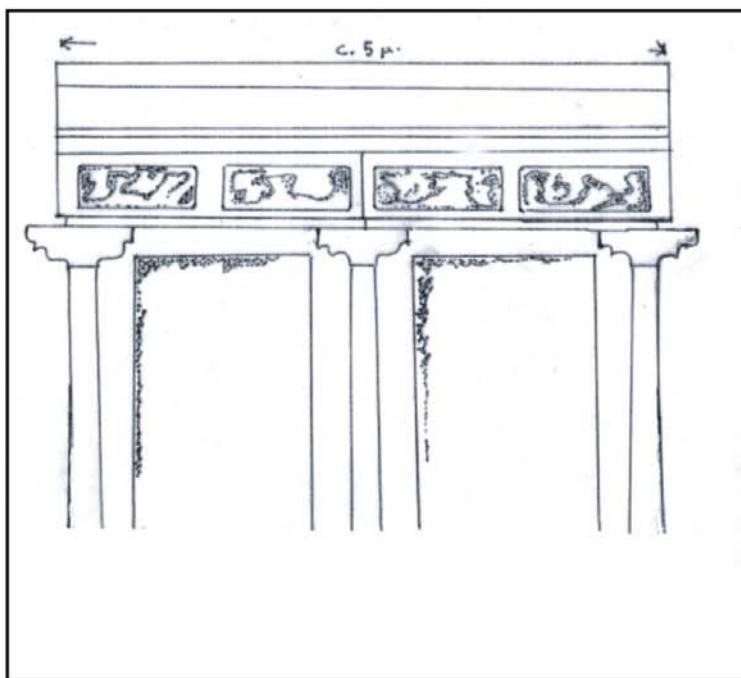


Fig. 7

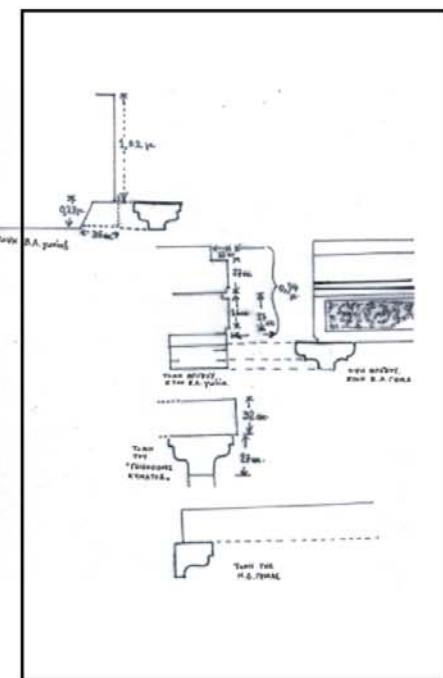


Fig. 8

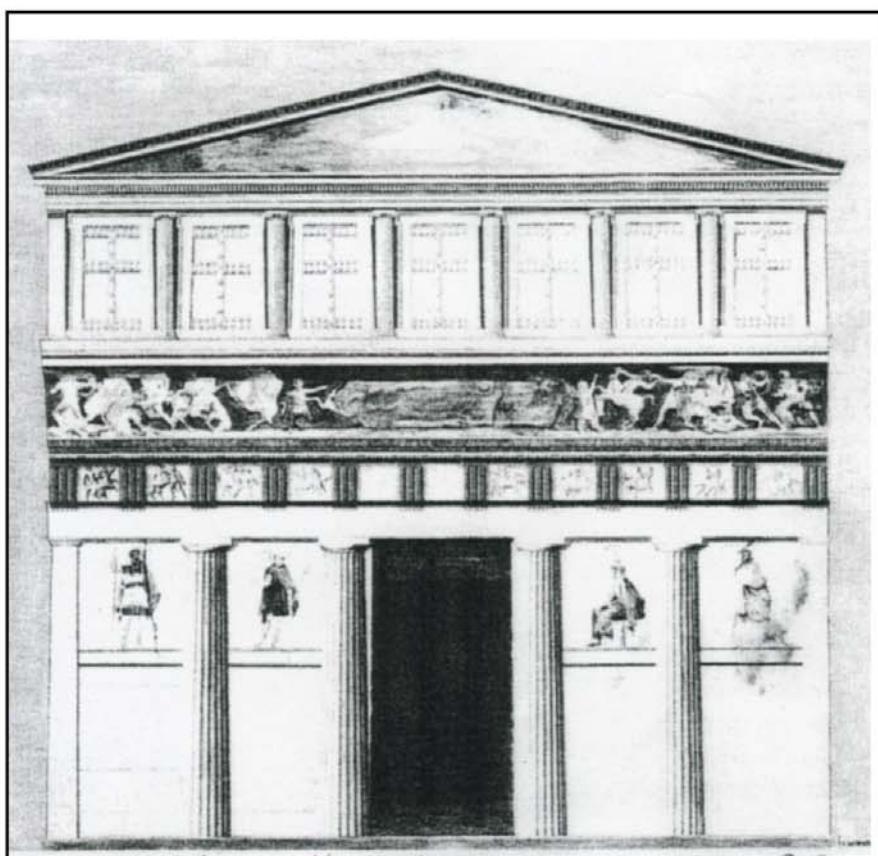


Fig. 9

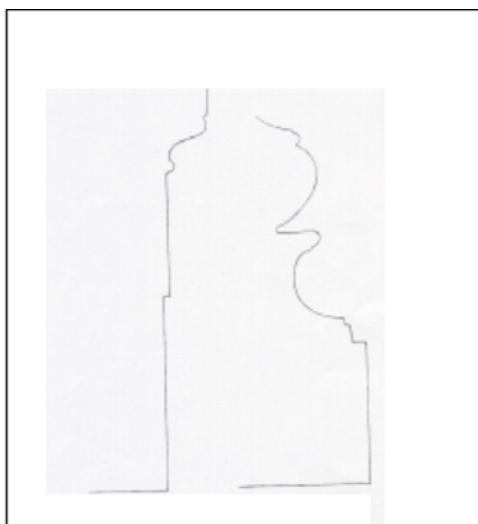


Fig. 10



Fig. 11



Fig. 12



Fig. 13



Fig. 14

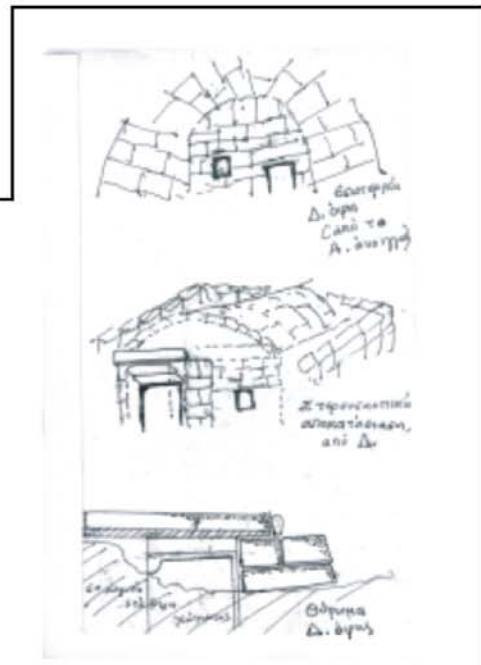


Fig. 15

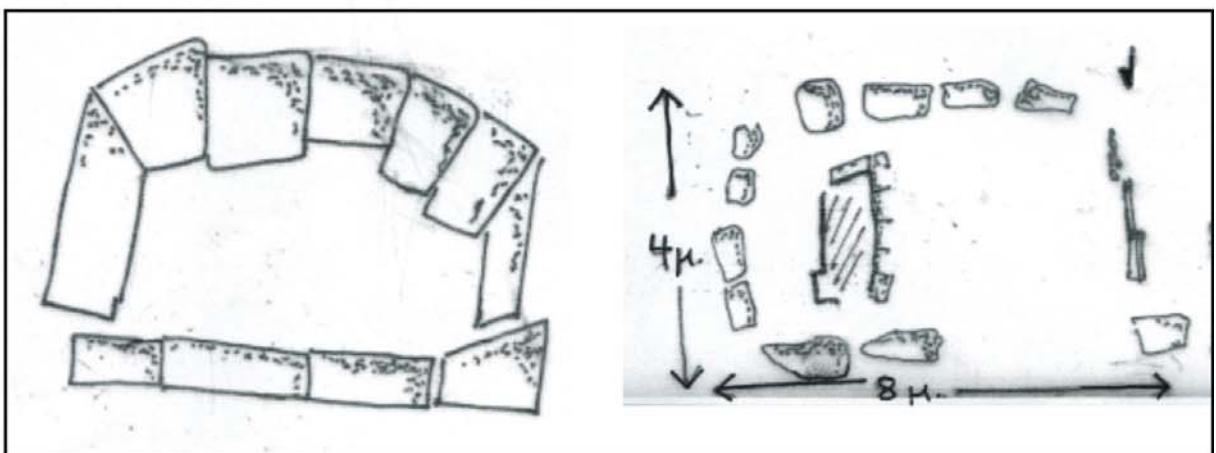


Fig. 16a. Section

Fig. 16b. Plan

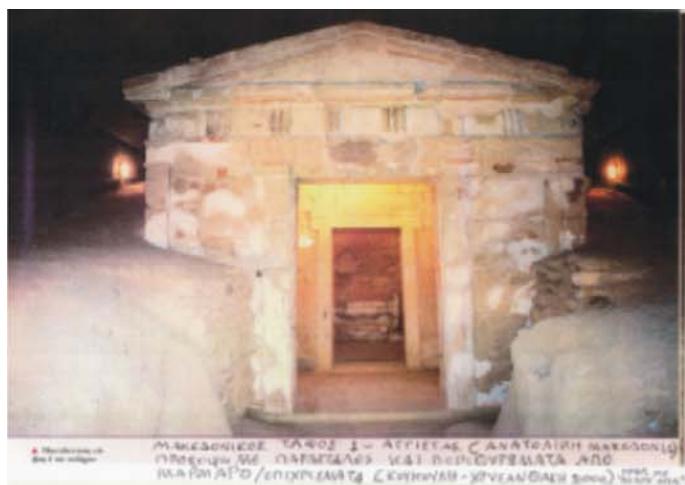


Fig. 17



Fig. 19

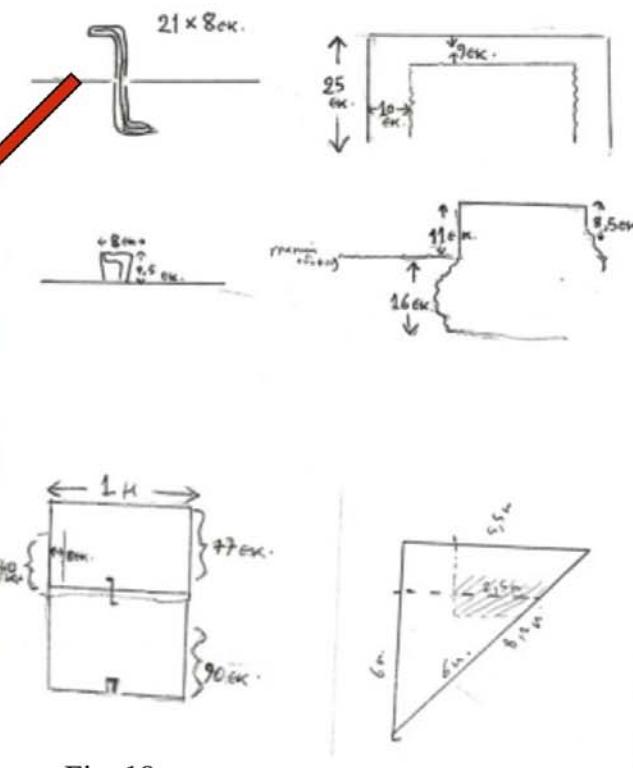


Fig. 18

## **LE RITE FUNERAIRE DE NECROPOLES LATENIENNES EN BOHEME**

**Pavel Sankot (R  p. Tch  que)**

**Key-words:** Bohemia, necropolises, funerary rite, La T  ne, 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC

**Abstract.** While the formation period of the La T  ne civilization during 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC being characterized by the clear domination of the cremation rite is the result of a local tradition, its next phase, during the first half of 4<sup>th</sup> c. – first half of 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, reveals the phenomenon of the flat inhumation tombs, somewhat similar to the necropolises of the Upper Rhine region.

The method of the funerary rite between the second half of 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC and 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD continues to elude our understanding, given the total modification of the funerary rite, in connection to the arrival of civilization of the oppida.

### **0. Introduction**

En cas de la Boh  me, c'est 脡 dire de la partie occidentale de la R  publique tch  que actuelle, tandis que la partie orientale est connue sous le nom de Moravie, situ  e dans le voisinage du territoire slovaque se trouvant encore plus 脂 l'Est, il s'agit du territoire d  limit   en grande partie par les conditions naturelles de tous les points cardinaux – au sud vers l'Autriche par la r  gion des Monts Novohradsk  , au sud-ouest par les monts   sumava (Forêt noire) le s  parant de la Bavi  re, au nord-ouest par les monts M  tallif  res le s  parant de la Saxe, au nord par les monts des G  ants le s  parant de la Sil  sie, 脿 l'orient par la r  gion des Hauteurs tch  co-moraves.

Ces faits ont influenc   substantiellement en plus le processus de formation des groupes culturels pr  historiques et de ce fait il faut 脂ler le sujet abord   dans un cadre chronologique plus large de la seconde moiti   du premier mill  naire avant J.-C., car de cette mani  re il est possible de comprendre le sens de l'  volution de la p  riode du III<sup>e</sup> si  cle avant J.-C., et de ses diff  rents aspects y compris le rite fun  raire.

### **1.0. Aspect historique**

Le d  but de la seconde moiti   du premier mill  naire avant J.-C. est une p  riode d'une diff  rentiation r  gionale tr  s marqu  e des faci  s culturels dans le domaine suivi (Mich  lek 1990, 19, Holodn  k-Waldhauser 1984, fig. 8). Le rite fun  raire pr  dominant est l'incin  ration, d  pos  es sous les tumulus ou dans les fosses plates. L'av  nement de premi  res tombes 脿 inhumation est li  e aux tombes richement 膿ip  es sous les tumulus connues surtout dans la partie du sud et du sud-ouest du pays (Sankot 2006, 144). Dans la partie nord du pays en la mati  re n'y sont observables que dans les r  gions de la Boh  me centrale et du nord-ouest, soit dit dans la r  gion traditionnelle de la civilisation de Bylany. Il s'agit des tombes 脿 inhumation individuelles, correspondant ainsi au caract  re des tombes individuelles sous les tumulus. Gr  ce aux recherches r  centes il est possible de ce fait de pr  ciser l'aspect des tombes 脿 inhumation avec le mobilier provenant du V<sup>e</sup> si  cle avant J.-C., et les ´ l  ments du rite fun  raire de la tradition hallstatienne, tels que la position blottie des individus enterr  s et l'orientation de leur corps avec la t  te vers le Sud-ouest (Koutecky 1968, 400 ff., Abb. 43-44). Elles diff  rent des ensembles suivants des tombes plates 脿 inhumation provenant des IV et III<sup>es</sup> si  cles avant J.-C., soit des p  riodes LT B1 脿 LT C1.

Environ 600 n  cropoles ont 脚 jusqu'   nos jours identifi  es dans la r  gion de la Boh  me de ce complexe, situ  es avant tout dans la moiti   nord du pays dans la plaine d'Elba (Labe) et formant 3 concentrations spatiales de base, cela veut dire celle de nord-ouest, celle centrale et celle orientale du pays, dans le cadre desquelles il 脚tait possible de suivre les dizaines des concentrations (mini)r  gionales (Waldhauser 1987, 31-32, Abb. 2).

Si on connaît les cas de petits groupes des tombes situ  s dans les r  gions plus ´ lev  es plus au sud de la r  gion mentionn  e, on peut envisager soit des preuves des activit  s de prospection, soit des signes

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d'utilisation continue des voies de communications autrefois fréquentes, liant d'une manière traditionnelle la moitiée du nord du pays avec la région danubienne située plus vers le sud (Sankot 2003).

Une seule de ces nécropoles désormais découvertes, celle de Jenišův Újezd, district de Teplice, totalise 135 tombes environ, tandis que les autres nécropoles comportent un nombre de 50 tombes environ ou n'y figurent que les tombes individuelles. Grâce aux recherches récentes et à la nouvelle étude de la documentation plus ancienne, un module contenant 50 – 70 tombes environ en tant qu'une unité standard, correspondant à une unité du site d'habitat du caractère de ferme, utilisée plusieurs générations durant, se matérialise. Il en ressort de plus en plus nettement le fait que la tâche des recherches à venir consiste dans la compréhension des disproportions de l'intensité du peuplement de nombreuses régions, par exemple d'une densité des nécropoles apparemment moindre constaté pour les régions traduisant un degré plus bas de l'industrialisation actuelle (Holodňák 1987), mais en plus dans l'évaluation du contexte de fouilles compte tenu des résultats des recherches spatiales récentes (Holodňák 1991, Abb. 2).

## **2.0. Structure du rite funéraire**

### **2.1. Topographie des nécropoles**

La position topographique peut être influencée nettement par les conditions locales. Pour le territoire de la Bohême elle ne dépasse pas en général l'altitude de 350 m au-dessus de la mer (Holodňák 1988, 84, Waldhauser 1987, 32), étant donné que dans quelques régions grâce à leur caractère plat leur altitude s'abaisse à 185-200 m (Sedláčková-Waldhauser 1987, 134), ailleurs elle varie surtout entre 200 - 350 m (Holodňák 1988, 39). En général il s'agit pour la plupart des endroits surélevés par rapport au terrain avoisinant, éloignés de 200 - 300 m des courants d'eau, le long desquels les sites d'habitat respectif sont étalés, séparés l'un de l'autre par les domaines sans occupation (Holodňák 1988, 87). Il s'agit des lieux situés dans la plaine avec une qualité élevée de la terre agricole, offrant les conditions optimales pour la production végétale et animale (Waldhauser 1987, 32). Les conditions climatiques y répondent pleinement (Holodňák 1988, 40).

L'objectif d'emplacement de la nécropole dans le paysage à l'endroit surélevant le site d'habitat est déductible en plus du fait que les tombes les plus anciennes de nécropole comme Radovesice et Jenišov Újezd sont situées dans la partie plus élevée de la nécropole, au-dessus des tombes de la période de la fin de l'usage de la nécropole (Waldhauser 1978, 190, Waldhauser 1987, 46). Cette tendance traduit selon notre avis un caractère général, car elle peut être prouvée dans de nombreux sites, même partiellement détruits - exemple la nécropole de Makotřasy, où les tombes de l'horizon LT B1 figurent dans la partie de la nécropole plus élevée par rapport aux tombes de la période LT C1 (Čízmář 1978, 118 ff.).

En dehors de cela un rôle important a été joué sans doute par le respect des besoins sanitaires, cela veut dire l'emplacement éliminant le risque d'inondation ou la proximité directe du site d'habitat (Sedláčková-Waldhauser 1987, 158-159, Waldhauser 1999, 21). Une question à part constitue de ce fait la révélation de la présence des corps humains entiers, enterrés dans les structures d'habitat, et cela non seulement des nouveau-nés, mais aussi des adultes dans une forme intacte ou les seules parties de ceux-ci, sous forme des ossements incultes ou traités par exemple en forme de rondelles.

#### **2.1.2. Forme de la nécropole, son organisation interne et l'évolution spatiale**

L'organisation interne des nécropoles révèle de nombreux traits communs. La disposition des tombes constitue soit une seule concentration d'une forme irrégulière avec un nombre élevé de tombes (Kutná Hora-Karlova, Jenišův Újezd), soit celle peu nombreuse au contraire (Tuchomyšl, Stránce, Dobšice), quelques nécropoles traduisent une concentration de base nombreuse avec les petits groupes de tombes ou avec les tombes sporadiques dans les environs (Makotřasy, Tišice). Dans de nombreux sites (Dolní Dobrá Voda, Letky, Radovesice I, Prague 6-Ruzyně) une tendance est constatée vers le regroupement des tombes en deux concentrations spatiales (Waldhauser 1999, 17, 219).

La disposition de nécropoles et de groupe de tombes individuelles, aussi que la présence de tombes isolées, éloignées de quelques centaines de mètres, indiquent une hiérarchie de types de sites d'habitats (les nécropoles plus nombreuses correspondant avec des sites d'habitats de longue durée, les petits groupes de 10 – 20 tombes avec des sites d'habitats à court terme) aussi que le potentiel des rapports sociaux et de parenté. De cette manière le plan de la nécropole à Dobšice est interprété de la part de H. Sedláčková et J. Waldhauser (1987, 160) en tant que la nécropole de la population de deux fermes.

Un problème y consiste dans l'organisation des tombes d'après l'âge et le sexe des défunt, révélé exceptionnellement dans le cas de la nécropole d'Andelfingen (Schaaff 1966), ce qui ne se manifeste sur le territoire de la Bohême que dans la nécropole de Tišice et seulement d'une certaine mesure (Turek 1997, 244, fig. 2), en cas d'autres localités ce fait est difficilement révélateur.

En cas des tombes individuelles on ne peut pas exclure les motifs rituels de cette disposition isolée (Pauli 1975).

Le procédé d'élargissement en fonction chronologique des nécropoles peut être sans doute suivi plus simplement en cas des nécropoles disposant d'un plus grand nombre des tombes. Par exemple à Jenišův Újezd la plus ancienne partie de la nécropole se trouve dans la partie orientale de la nécropole et la nécropole a été élargie par étapes vers le sud-ouest et plus tard vers le nord (Sankot 1978, 82-84, Waldhauser 1978, 187-190). La nécropole de Makotřasy (Čižmář 1978, 130) a été élargie dans le sens N – S. Analogiquement à cela sont disposées les tombes dans la nécropole de Radovesice I (Sedláčková-Waldhauser 1987, 160) constituant une concentration plus ancienne au nord et une concentration plus récente au sud de la nécropole.

Grâce à l'orientation prédominante N-S les plans de nombreuses nécropoles révèlent une disposition en rangée plus ou moins régulière. Ce but d'une disposition en ligne a conduit en cas de la nécropole de Letky même à la création des lignes perpendiculaires l'une à l'autre grâce à l'orientation distincte d'une partie des tombes (Waldhauser 1987, Abb. 15).

### **2.1.3. Désignation des tombes à la surface**

Un fait frappant en cas des nécropoles est une absence d'interférence des tombes. Celui-ci peut être interprété par un marquage original à la surface, disparu plus tard, et cela soit sous forme de monticule formé par le déblais, peut-être d'une forme ronde ou ovale (Filip 1956, 290, Waldhuser 1987, 49) ou par les stèles en bois. En dehors de la tradition plus ancienne de stèles en pierre de la période hallstattienne (Šaldová 1971, 105) ce fait est indiqué par les traces des poteaux directement dans le remplissage ou dans les bords de la fosse tombale (Pleinová 1974, 454, Tab. I/3, Waldhuser 1987, 50). Il importe de mentionner une observation intéressante de B. Benadík (1963, 355) sur le pillage constaté pour les tombes récentes dans les nécropoles laténiques en Slovaquie et sur leur destruction rituelle partielle, étant donné que les parties de leur mobilier important sont restées sur place lors de la destruction du squelette. On peut supposer qu'une intervention intentionnelle a été orientée d'une part vers les tombes avec le marquage existant au moment donné par un matériel d'origine organique, et d'autre part vers les tombes richement équipées et marquées différemment.

## **2.2. Fosse tombale**

### **2.2.1. Forme de la fosse tombale**

Les tombes à inhumation sont déposées en Bohême d'une manière standard dans une fosse tombale rectangulaire aux parois verticales et au fond plat. La statistique de leurs dimensions dans la nécropole de Makotřasy conduit M. Čižmář (1978, 130-131) à la conclusion d'une différence majeure entre les dimensions des fosses tombales masculines, féminines et enfantines, lesquelles en dehors de la grandeur de la dépouille pouvaient être dictées par le besoin de l'emplacement de la panoplie du guerrier ou de l'expression de la position sociale du défunt. Pas contre d'après H. Lorenz (1978b, 72) il découle de l'évaluation des dimensions des fosses tombales dans la plus grande nécropole de Jenišův Újezd que leurs dimensions d'une longueur de  $220 \pm 20$  cm, d'une largeur de  $80 \pm 10$  cm et d'une profondeur de  $50 \pm 30$  cm, soit d'un volume de 2-3 mètres cubes dépendent directement de la grandeur du corps des défunt, éventuellement de l'emplacement de la panoplie du guerrier. Néanmoins une certaine variabilité des dimensions peut-être conditionnée aussi par l'aspect régional du rite funéraire - d'une manière générale les dimensions des fosses tombales en Bohême diffèrent nettement des tombes d'une largeur plus importante de la région de la Slovaquie, de la région transdanubienne et de l'Autriche (Lorenz 1978a, 59), conditionnée par le dépôt des objets en céramique dans la tombe le long du corps ou des pieds du défunt.

### **2.2.2. Aménagement de la fosse tombale**

#### **2.2.2.a. Aménagement de la fosse tombale moyennant la pierre**

Ce procédé sous forme de constructions complètes en pierre est connu de la région de l'Autriche avoisinant, tandis qu'en Bohême les tombes dont la fosse révèle l'utilisation de la pierre s'avèrent

exceptionnelles, ne couvrant que les 5% des tombes fouillées. Il s'agit cependant des tombes datées à la période entière des tombes plates des IV et III<sup>es</sup> siècles avant J.-C. avec l'équipement de différents types. En dehors de quelques sites découverts en Bohême centrale (Bureš 1987, 20) et en Bohême du nord-ouest (Budínský-Waldhauser 2004, 82) manifestant une représentation plus forte des pierres dans le remplissage de la fosse tombale, dans les autres sites les tombes rares contenant de la pierre sont situées surtout à la périphérie des nécropoles. Cela pourrait être occasionnellement expliqué par les pratiques rituelles, en tant que la solution du problème des défuns dangereux d'après l'interprétation de L. Pauli (1975, 179), tandis que l'interprétation relevant du domaine social (Waldhauser 1987, 52) n'est pas univoque sans étude complémentaire. Au contraire on peut supposer l'utilisation des pierres pour aménagement de fonds des tombes à l'aide des éléments en bois.

### **2.2.2.b. Aménagement de la fosse tombale moyennant les éléments en bois**

Les conclusions de H. Lorenz (1978a, 57 ff.) sur l'utilisation exceptionnelle des éléments en bois lors de l'aménagement interne des fosses tombales datant des IV et III<sup>es</sup> siècles avant J.-C. en Bohême reposent sur les données provenant des publications plus anciennes. Les recherches modernes constatent une utilisation marquée du bois lors de l'aménagement des fosses tombales (Filip 1956, 294), et cela non seulement sous forme de traces des plaques en bois, et du revêtement en planches des parois et du fond (Filip 1956, 294, 296, 381, Čižmář 1978, 131, Sedláčková-Waldhauser 1987, 162, Bureš 1987, 20), indiquée en plan des cercueils (Turek 1997, 238 ff.) ou de leur profil (Rybová-Soudský 1962, 121, fig. 21a) ou de différentes variantes soi-disant sarcophages en bois, creusés ou découpés des troncs de l'arbre (Waldhauser 1987, 49-52). Lors de la fouille de la nécropole de Radovesice les traces de ces cercueils ont été constatés même en cas de 47% tombes presque (Waldhauser 1987, 51, Budínský-Waldhauser 2004, 83-84).

Même si en Bohême les preuves des aménagements plus onéreux en bois des fosses tombales, révélés par contre en Slovaquie (Benadik 1975), font pratiquement défaut, la recherche minutieuse de la nécropole de Kutná Hora-Karlov (Valentová 1993, 625 ff.) a apporté la connaissance de toute la gamme d'autres formes d'utilisation non seulement du bois sous forme de poteaux dans les parois des fosses, dans les angles et dans le fond des fosses tombales, dans les traces des lignes plus foncées délimitant le contours de l'inhumation ou dans les traces des surfaces rectangulaires à proximité du corps du défunt, couverture de la fosse tombale par une couche en bois brûlé ou formée de branches de petites dimensions, mais en plus les acquisitions de l'utilisation d'autres matériaux organiques.

### **2.2.2.c. L'utilisation d'autres matériaux organiques**

Les traces des autres matériaux organiques pouvaient être identifiées pratiquement exclusivement grâce à la pénétration des produits de corrosion, suite auxquels ont été pétrifiés les fragments des brindilles du chêne provenant du fond de la fosse tombale, conservés par exemple sur le fourreau de l'épée de la tombe de Hostomice III/67 (Budínský 1974, 362). Suite à la fouille à Kutná Hora-Karlov ont été détectés en dehors de toute la gamme des fragments organiques les supports entières de l'origine organique, sur lesquelles le corps ou la tête du défunt étaient disposés (Sankot-Valentová 2002, 385, ill. 2-3).

Les problèmes y relatifs touchent aussi la question des textiles. Les résidus des tissus sont récemment identifiés même en cas de moitié des tombes et leur identification sur les pointes de lances ou la position des fibules dans les environs de la tête (Valentová 1993, 641 ff.) ou en dehors du corps, près des pieds, soutien les réflexions, basées sur les observations antérieures sur l'utilisation du textile (Budínský-Waldhauser 2004, 84-85), d'après lesquelles le tissu a été utilisé en dehors des parties du costume pour l'emballage des parties de l'équipement des tombes et de la dépouille entière.

## **2.3. Déposition de la tombe**

### **2.3.1. Déposition du corps**

Les tombes à inhumation sont déposées en Bohême d'une manière standard en position allongée, cela veut dire en position naturelle anatomique, les bras le long du corps et la tête orientée vers le nord (Lorenz 1978a). Tant qu'on constate les seules différences dans la position de différentes parties – bras et jambes, il peut s'agir selon l'analyse du matériel anthropologique des suites de l'état de santé, d'une déformation causée par les maladies professionnelles (Čižmář 1978, 140) ou d'un procédé rituel lors de la déposition dans la tombe (Waldhauser 1978, 167). En cas d'une position distincte du corps entier cependant

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en liaison avec un équipement minimal ou évidemment intentionnellement déformé et avec l'emplacement fréquent en dehors du centre de la nécropole, L. Pauli (1975, 140 sq.) envisage les anomalies dictées par les causes sociales – souvent en cas des tombes à l'équipement minimal. En ce qui concerne la région de Bohême, sont connues les tombes masculines, exceptionnellement d'un enfant, avec la position de l'individu enterré sur le ventre, de Libčeves, Libkovice, Radovesice en Bohême du nord-ouest et de Tišice en Bohême centrale (Dvořák 2002, 14-15).

**2.3.2. Orientation**

D'après H. Lorenz la Bohême fait tout comme la région voisine de Bavière et de Silésie suite à l'orientation N – S partie du soi-disant domaine Rhénanie- Danube (Lorenz 1978b, 103-105, le même auteur 1978a, 76). Les écarts de l'orientation du squelette entier du sens N – S ont d'après J. Filip (1963, 155) trait aux différences de l'orientation pendant les saisons de l'année, aux causes sociales ou aux différences régionales. J. Waldhauser (1978, 171-172) lie les écarts de l'orientation prédominante N – S à l'origine exogène des défunt ou aux conditions atypiques de leur mort.

Parmi les écarts d'orientation existant en Bohême on remarque surtout le second le plus fréquent sens de la déposition du corps de défunt avec la tête vers l'ouest (Filip 1956, 292, Lorenz 1978b, 72, Bureš 1987, 19), cela veut dire l'orientation prédominant d'après H. Lorenz (1978a, 63 ff.) surtout dans la région de la Champagne. Contrairement à cela en Moravie voisine on constate l'orientation de la tête vers l'est même en cas de plus de 80% des tombes de guerriers (Čižmář 1972, 78), courante autrement dans la région de Bade-Wurttemberg (Lorenz 1978a, 68).

**2.4. Déposition de l'équipement du défunt****2.4.1. Déposition de l'équipement personnel****2.4.1.a. Déposition des armes**

Une définition détaillée des groupes de tombes selon le caractère de leur équipement, faite par J. Waldhauser (1978, 146 ff., le même auteur 1987, 38 ff.), permet de suivre les questions des démarches rituelles lors de la déposition de l'équipement personnel du défunt et des offrandes dans les différents types de tombes.

Malgré certaines différences de détail, l'équipement le plus uniforme est constaté pour les tombes avec les armes. La base de son équipement uniforme comportant une épée, une lance, un bouclier et un ceinturon prend naissance dès la période du V<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C. (Sankot 2003, 52), avec l'avènement des nécropoles plates des IV –III<sup>es</sup> siècles, un changement majeur avait cependant lieu au niveau matériel, rituel et social. L'usage de la catégorie des coutelas typiques prend fin, les épées et autres parties de l'équipement ne font plus objet d'une déformation rituelle, les épées ne sont plus réservées au groupe étroit de l'élite militaire et deviennent plus accessibles, de ce fait le nombre des tombes avec les épées atteint en moyenne même 20% (Lorenz 1986, 284).

En général la déposition de l'épée et de la lance le long du côté droit du corps prédomine. Mais une étude détaillée permet d'identifier de nombreux cas de différences, marquées concernant l'emplacement de l'épée au niveau de la jambe, du bassin ou de l'épaule et on révèle les cas de la déposition de la lance brisée, soutenue par la position de la douille non loin de la pointe, les cas de la disposition de la lance à travers le cors ou du côté gauche du corps (Charpy 1978, 16 ff., Abb. 12, Budínský-Waldhauser 2004, 87-89). Cette gamme diversifiée de possibilités reflète sans doute les pratiques rituelles et les visions idéologiques, reliant certaines groupes locaux ou professionnels de guerriers au cours de la durée de la civilisation laténienne et perceptibles dès son début (Sankot 2003, 48-49) jusqu'à sa période finale (Haffner 1989).

**2.4.1.b. Déposition des bijoux**

Suite à l'usage du costume, lequel est représenté dans sa forme complète dans l'équipement les tombes des femmes adultes avec la combinaison de bracelets, du ceinturon organique ou plus tard métallique, les anneaux de cheville, éventuellement les torques, la région de la Bohême fait partie du soi-disant domaine Rhénanie-Danubie (Rhein-Donau-Kreis). Suite à l'incorporation des brassards et l'usage des bracelets non seulement en bronze, mais par une efficacité meilleure du costume en sapropélite ou en fer il caractérise sa région orientale (Lorenz 1980, 134 ff.).

Nos conclusions existant sur la structure de l'équipement des tombes à inhumation, faisant allusion à de nombreuses régularités de structure formelle, mais en plus en ce qui concerne le contenu, lorsque les

formes de bijoux concrètes sont liées à certaines groupes de tombes, délimitées non seulement par les critères anthropologiques du sexe et de l'âge, mais évidemment socialement aussi, sont en contradiction avec les avis sceptiques de l'absence de toute règle de l'équipement des tombes et le rôle déterminant des pratiques funéraires, lorsque d'après de nombreux chercheurs l'aspect définitif de la tombe était formé par l'ensemble des actes rituels sans égard à la situation sociale originale du défunt (Jud 1998, 142). Les éléments des actes rituels étaient perceptibles dès les études des collections plus anciennes et ils constituent un des apports majeurs de nouvelles recherches. Ils peuvent être suivis lors de différentes démarches liées aux déformations rituelles ou suite à une déposition non fonctionnelle des parties du costume. Malgré ces démarches on peut constater que ces parties du costume rituellement traitées sont de nouveau déposées dans l'équipement des tombes (Sankot-Valentová 2002, 387, ill. 8-10, Waldhauser 1999, 169). La cause de cette remise pouvait être due aux conventions existant d'une façon permanente.

#### **2.4.1.c. Déposition des autres parties de l'équipement**

Contrairement aux régions, dans lesquelles d'autres catégories d'objets tels qu'instruments étaient déposés dans les tombes datées des IV–III<sup>es</sup> siècles avant J.-C., ces cas courants par exemple dans le bassin des Carpates (Lorenz 1978a, 92 ff.), en Bohême ils ne sont représentés qu'exceptionnellement. Les trouvailles des pierres à aiguiser sont exceptionnelles aussi et les deux cas proviennent de la Bohême orientale: Chotěšice, distr. de Nymburk (Sedláčková-Waldhauser 1987, 141) et Sobčice, distr. de Jičín (Píč 1902, fig. 6/1).

Le dernier groupe important d'objets de l'équipement des tombes comporte donc les amulettes (Waldhauser 1999, 79 sq.). La série des fusaiolles ou des perles, y compris la fusaiolle dans la tombe 10 de la nécropole de Radovesice II, est connue du costume des tombes féminines du début de l'horizon de Duchcov (Sankot 2007, 311), évidemment en tant qu'une réminiscence de la mode de la période hallstattienne finale et du début de La Tène. La fonction d'amulette est aussi attribuée par I. Pauli (1975, 131, 133) aux objets en ambre jaune et étain – les perles en ambre jaune sont connues de Jenišův Újezd 11, 101, 131, Makotřasy, Kutná Hora 27. L'épingle en bronze de la tombe de Kutná Hora-Karlov 20 provient vraisemblablement de l'Allemagne centrale, la coquille de la tombe de Milčice 2 est de l'origine méditerranéenne. La fonction d'amulette peut être liée avec la déposition des coquillages d'anodonte de la tombe de Červené Pečky, éventuellement l'usage d'un colorant rouge dans la tombe de Letky 36 et Kutná Hora-Karlov 45. Analogiquement à cela un caractère d'amulette ressort des rouelles en étain avec les jantes dans la tombe de Kutná Hora-Karlov 27 ou une rouelle en bronze dans la tombe de Velvary.

#### **2.4.2. Déposition des offrandes – os animaliers, des vases céramiques et récipients en bois**

La présence des os animaliers (du porc, du chevreuil), courante par exemple dans le bassin des Carpates (Lorenz 1978a, 92 ff.), est lors de l'absence totale dans la partie centrale et du nord-ouest du pays prouvée dans quelques nécropoles en Bohême orientale, éventuellement dans la région de Silésie voisine (Waldhauser 1978, 172, Budínský-Waldhauser 2004, 97).

Par analogie même l'habitude de déposer les vases céramiques dans les tombes où ils autrement font défaut commençait à s'imposer en Bohême pendant la période LT B dans la partie orientale du pays, dans le voisinage oriental du territoire morave et pendant la période LT C seulement dans la région nord-ouest de la Bohême. Même si on constate en général que la présence de la céramique est documentée surtout dans l'équipement des tombes avec les armes et dans les tombes des femmes adultes à équipement riche (Waldhauser 1978, 172-174, Abb. 73-76), une étude plus détaillée devrait évaluer le rite de déposition de formes simples d'écuelles, confectionnées à la main, exceptionnellement présentes dans le milieu des nécropoles sans céramique en Bohême, contrairement au rite de la déposition d'une série relativement plus nombreuse de hautes formes céramiques tournées (en forme de terrines, de situles, en forme de bouteilles, de jattes au profile en S, de gobelets – Waldhauser 1999, 76 ), déposées couramment dans les tombes de la région morave avoisinante.

Ce qui importe dans le cadre du rite de la déposition des offrandes dans les tombes dans les récipients, ce sont les signes d'utilisation des récipients en bois, dont les formes d'ensemble sont bien connues de la région du site éponyme de la civilisation laténienne, mais dans les régions sèches on ne jouit que de la possibilité de suivre les seules allusions de leur présence (Sankot-Valentová 2002, 385, ill. 1). Malgré cela nous sommes de l'avis que l'utilisation des récipients en bois était d'une importance majeure

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au sein du rite des nécropoles laténienes provenant des IV –III<sup>es</sup> siècles avant J.-C., ce qui découle de la découverte d'une garniture en bronze à Brno-Maloměřice, initialement décorée le corps d'un récipient en bois. Celui-ci a été déposé dans la partie centrale, réservée à ce dépôt dans la nécropole (Čižmárová 2005, fig. 3, 89-96). Une situation analogique peut être mentionnée concernant la nécropole de Libčice-Letky en Bohême centrale, où à son tour dans la partie centrale réservée, un dépôt des récipients, cette fois-ci en céramique (Waldhauser 1987, 105, Abb. 15/A), a été déposé.

**2.5. Rapport du rite funéraire à inhumation et à incinération**

Toutes les données susvisées sont jusqu'ici liées aux conclusions de l'analyse des tombes à inhumation. Les données relatives aux tombes à incinération sont d'une qualité réduite non seulement suite au caractère destructif de l'incinération, mais aussi suite à l'aspect moins clair y relatif de l'architecture tombale et d'autres éléments du rite funéraire. Tout cela complique souvent la datation du rite funéraire à incinération et la connaissance exacte de son procédé.

D'après la connaissance actuelle dans la plupart des régions de la Bohême du nord dans les nécropoles des périodes LT B1 - LT C1 aucun passage du rite à inhumation vers le rite à incinération n'a pas lieu (Waldhauser-Salač 1977, 59). Malgré cela l'idée de Jan Filip (1956, 302 ff.) sur l'avènement successif du rite funéraire de l'incinération a été reprise récemment encore (Waldhauser 1976, 146 ff.). Le rite d'incinération devait successivement prévaloir et devenir exclusif pour la période tardive de la civilisation laténienne. D'après notre avis il importe de refuser complètement cette idée, parce que lors de l'analyse critique des données sur les tombes à incinération, recueillies systématiquement par J. Waldhauser (1976, 146-147), la plupart des ensembles peut être datée soit à la période antérieure, soit postérieure aux nécropoles plates des IV –III<sup>es</sup> siècles avant J.-C., éventuellement elle indique les résidus des tombes locales de la tradition plus ancienne en Bohême du sud ou les groupes nouveaux liés à l'occupation vraisemblablement proto-germanique dans la partie du limite nord du pays. En plus, les ensembles vérifiables - Úhřetice (Sankot 2006), Třebohostice (Michálek 1985, 290) et Sobčice (Pič 1902, 171) d'après leur caractère et leurs types d'objets semblent être d'une origine exogène avec la datation à la fin du III<sup>e</sup> et au début du II<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C. L'origine exogène ne peut être exclue même concernant les exemples restants - tombe de Kadaň-Jizerka, en cas du groupe de 3 tombes à incinération de la nécropole Radovesice I, citées par J. Waldhauser (1987, 111 ff.) et elle s'avère vraisemblable en cas de la tombe 28 à Kutná Hora-Karlov, divulguée par J. Valentová (1993, 641, fig. 5/1-7). Le rite à inhumation s'avère donc une forme obligatoire et exclusive jusqu'à la fin de l'utilisation des nécropoles plates au cours de la première moitié du II<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C. De ce fait même en cas de son changement de principe en connexion avec l'avènement de la civilisation des oppida pendant la période de LT C2, il faut envisager un motif radical, lequel comme en cas d'un changement de base datant du début du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C. ne puisait pas son origine dans le milieu local.

**3.0. Synthèse**

Un changement substantiel lié à la fin de la période LT A au début du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C. et à l'avènement de la période LT B1 est marqué par nouvelles formes de la culture matérielle et par une nouvelle forme du rite à inhumation répandu à l'époque déjà dans des régions situées à sud-ouest de la Bohême, dans les régions du Rhin central et du Haut Rhin et les régions respectives. Elle y est documentée dès le milieu chronologique antérieur à la fin de la période LT A. En ce qui concerne la compréhension de ce changement, on fait bien l'idée d'échange de l'élite régnante, ayant dicté à la population locale un nouveau modèle d'une structure sociale et en plus de l'idéologie et de la culture matérielle (Gojda et al. 2000, 44). Dans ce sens on peut accepter l'idée de H. Lorenz (1978b) de la „laténisation“ de la région de la Bohême.

Un complexe nouveau des nécropoles plates utilisées pendant les IV et III<sup>es</sup> siècles avant J.-C. est formellement caractérisé par les règles fixes du rite à inhumation, par l'absence de la céramique, par les conventions régissant l'équipement des tombes. De nouvelles observations signalisent le respect de ces conventions malgré la pratique de nombreux actes rituels. Au niveau de la culture matérielle le mobilier de la période LT B manifeste une provenance locale, constituant successivement le contenu de la première phase, du soi-disant style plastique.

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Depuis le III<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C., cela veut dire depuis la phase plus récente de la période LT B2, une forte influence de la région danubienne grossso modo, entremise par le territoire de la Moravie se fait sentir. Au niveau de la culture matérielle elle est marquée par la propagation de nouvelles technologies, entremenant par les importations et les influences de la région du bassin des Carpates, permettant une transition vers un niveau plus élevé de la production artisanale et vers une nouvelle organisation presque industrielle de la production et les changements sociaux respectifs (Sankot 2007). Le mobilier de Bohême est représenté par la gamme multiforme comportant les produits d'origine entièrement locale, représentés fidèlement par les bracelets en sapropélite, des produits locaux de la seconde phase du style plastique, fabriqués sur la base des technologies reprises (série des anneaux de cheville à oves, imitation du filigrane et de granulation) et des importations directes. En ce qui concerne le domaine social, ce phénomène apporte une somptuosité nettement élevée du costume ou de l'équipement des tombes de la couche régnante de la société de l'époque (vraisemblablement de l'élite rurale). Le rite à inhumation est maintenu d'une manière conservatrice jusqu'à l'horizon final des nécropoles plates. Le nouveau phénomène de la déposition de la céramique dans quelques nécropoles dans la partie orientale du pays est repris de la région de Moravie. Compte tenu du fait qu'il s'agit d'un phénomène limité à quelques sites, mais y concerne les tombes différentes, il ne peut pas être considéré comme les preuves fortuites de part et d'autre du commerce ou de la mode individuelle, mais en tant que l'expression de l'identité de certains groupes de la population laténienne. D'autant plus que le caractère de l'équipement même des tombes sporadiques dans notre milieu d'un caractère presque exotique, exprime l'importance de l'identité de leurs porteurs dans la pratique des rites funéraires.

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## **GRAVES WITH ROUND STONE WREATHS FROM THE ROMAN IMPERIAL PERIOD IN EASTERN MACEDONIA**

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**Key words:** roman imperial period, mountains, necropolises, round stone wreaths, cremation.

**Abstract.** The research has been situated in the region of Eastern Macedonia, on the mountains: Ograzden, Plachkovitsa and Osogovo. The mayor characteristic of these several recently discovered necropolises is that they appear on high altitude, ranging 800 m, up to 1.400 m above sea level. The period in which they are present is taking almost three centuries, from the end of the 1 AD till the end of the 3 AD. The graves are only with cremated deceased, and the cremations were done on the exact place of the burial. The grave pits were framed with wreath of stones, mostly with circular form, but they also appear in ellipsoid or rectangular form. Above them were raised small mounts with diameter of 0,80 m to 10 m, with height of 1 m. The burial inventory is very rich. Mostly there are ceramic vessels done on a pottery wheel, characteristic for the entire Balkan region and wider from the period of the roman domination. We are giving special attention on the pottery done on hand, which is conservative feature of the older traditions of the population from the territory of Macedonia. The presence of the weapons is surprisingly big, especially on the necropolises settled on Ograzden and Plachkovitsa, as well as the ritual of its melting before it was put as a burial offering.

Until only six years ago the mountain regions of eastern Macedonia were almost completely unexcavated. There were no or only scarce data for the life in these regions during the ancient period. All known information was based on incomplete research. With the first archaeological excavations in 2001 which were taken in the proximity of the city of Delchevo i.e. on the Osogovo mountain, there were discovered for the first time considerable archaeological remains of settlements and necropolises from the Roman Imperial Period with types of graves as mentioned in the title of this presentation. The scientific interest was intensified on the Plackovica mountain and particularly in 2003 with the systematic excavations on the Ograzden mountain near Novo Selo at the utmost south-east of Macedonia, which resulted in extraordinarily interesting and significant scientific discoveries that enriched and to a great extent changed our knowledge about life during the Roman rule in Eastern Macedonia (Fig.1).

With our excavations we have for the first time discovered on the territory of R. Macedonia round stone wreaths from the Roman Imperial Period framing one grave only, which is not necessarily a part of a small mound or together with other graves it is framed into a mound large in size but small in height.

The first two necropolises were discovered in the proximity of the villages of Dramche and Bigla. Both of them are at 800m above sea level, on the north-east slopes of the Osogovo mountains. At the site of Chiflik near Dramche, at 10 km northeast of Delchevo we discovered a necropolis comprised of small round tumuli 0.5m high, with a diameter ranging from 4 to 10 meters. This was the first discovery of this type of graves in the Republic of Macedonia. A part of this necropolis was destroyed more than 20 years ago when a road was built. In 2001 and 2002 the remaining of all 21 graves were explored. A mutual characteristics of these tumuli is that they were formed of amorphous river stones heaped on the grave, while the round wreath of each of the graves was formed of large stones. The rite of cremation was employed in all of them. In the middle part of each tumulus there was a shallow hole for the pyre onto which the deceased were burnt together with their clothes, jewelry and other belongings. After the cremation the burnt remains were supplemented with a large number of ceramic vessels, sometimes with glass ones, then coins and weapons (spears and knives) if the deceased was a male (Fig.3), and after that the grave was heaped with stones. Under these tumuli there is, in the most cases, only one burial, but there are several cases where the same grave was used again. The most specific was tumulus No19 (Fig.2), under which 9 graves were found, each

framed with a stone wreath. The analysis of the archaeological material has shown that this necropolis existed from the middle of the first century until the end of the third century. The best testimonies for dating are the coins, for instance the denarii from the reign of Neron, Trajan, Vitelius, Domitianus. There are also a large number of bronze coins from almost all emperors of this period. The discovered ceramic vessels are different in form, but common for the whole territory of the Roman Empire, such as jugs, chalices with printed ornaments, amphoras and plates. What is more specific is the presence of a large number of vessels made by hand, in form more similar to the vessels from prehistoric iron and bronze era, than to the ancient ones.

Very much similar to this necropolis is the small necropolis discovered at the site of Kozarnik near the village of Bigla, at 20km east of Delchevo. Here also we discovered burials under short tumuli, made of broken stones, with dimensions similar to the previously described. We explored 4 tumuli at this site, and we should emphasize that under one of the tumuli there were even 9 graves with cremation, while the other tumuli covered one to two burials. The grave supplements are to a great extent identical with those found in the necropolis near Dramche, which leads us to the conclusion that this necropolis existed in the period between the middle of the first and the end of the third century. In the proximity of both necropolises we discovered the settlements where the people lived. They are small settlements of open type, vicus, but due to lack of time and funds they have not been explored yet.

The necropolis of Gushterova Chukarka at the site of Crveno Pole (Fig.4) on the Ograzhden mountain near Novo Selo, is the most completely explored of all. The necropolis is located on a high dominant easily perceptible hill (Fig.5). From the north and the east the hill inclines steeply to the river bank, to the west via a mild saddle it is connected to the neighboring hill, to the south it descends deeply to the very foot of the mountain. Where nature was not protective enough, in order to be completely separated from everyday life, to the south and to the west it was enclosed by a wall. Thus, this space is not only a natural phenomenon - it does not consist of natural elements only- it has been subdued by man in accordance with his needs and thus transformed to serve his essential requirements which arise from his life philosophy. It was not an accident that the hill of lizards was chosen to be the place where life changes into eternity. By its climatic and other natural features this hill is unique in its surroundings. This was enough for the ancient people to give the hill a new dimension, namely they employed it for religious purposes. After heavy rains the surrounding peaks of Crveno Pole are clothed in thick mist, but Gushterova Chukarka bathes in the sun. And vice versa: when there is sun on the surrounding hills, there are clouds rising from the hill where eternity follows mortality.

The necropolis comprises an area of about 5000m<sup>2</sup>, of which about 750m<sup>2</sup> (Fig.6) have been treated so far in the course of two exploring campaigns. 86 graves have been excavated, 82 of which are relevant for scientific analysis.

The pits are dug in the humus and most often in the rock which is the basic component of the entire hill. They are rectangular or elliptical in form (Fig.7) with dimensions depending on the age of the deceased: from 0.70 to 2.45m in length and 0.65 to 1.10m in width. The pits are relatively shallow, with depth ranging between 0.15 and 0.42m. They are with varying orientation: most often they are oriented in the NW-SE direction (26 of them), SW-NE (18), N-S (17), W-E (12), while we cannot precisely determine the orientation of 9 graves due to various damages.

In 8 cases the cremation of the deceased was not conducted in the grave pit. These grave pits do not contain remains from charred beams, cinder or ashes - only osteological remains were found. At this stage of excavation of the necropolis we still have not discovered the ustrina: the place where the deceased from these graves were cremated. The rest of the graves are of the bustum type, i.e. the funeral pyres were placed in the same pits where the deceased were buried. First, the shorter beams were arranged across the pits, then the thicker and the longer beams were placed along the previously dug grave pit (Fig.8). In order to keep the pyre stable, it was fixed by means of vertical pickets. Nails were also used to fix the pyre, so a great number of these were found in the graves. The remains of charred beams and the great quantity of ashes in the pits point to the fact that it was a large pyre with thick beams, which made an excellent basis for a big fire.

Although the pits are with varying orientation, it is evident that there was a tendency to place the deceased on the pyre so that to overlook the sunrise or the solar eclipse. The deceased was descended onto

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the pyre in his garments only and probably with his personal jewellery. The fact that the accompanying objects are preserved in a good condition tells us that they were placed in the pit after the cremation. Only the small nails, used to fasten the leather shoes - kaligi, are preserved in their anatomic position - the sole means by which we determine the orientation of the deceased during the cremation rite. The deceased was exposed to a strong fire, which resulted in not very well preserved osteological remains the size of barely 1-2 centimeters; some of the graves have no osteological remains at all.

It is certain that in some of the graves, where we found a large quantity of cinder and ashes but no remains of charred beams, the fire was let to burn down completely. But in the greater number of cases, there are charred remains on the bottom of the grave pit that had been placed on the first row of the pyre. These charred remains may mean that the fire extinguished leaving the beams unburnt as there was a large quantity of ashes from the massive pyre. But it is very much probable that some of the pyres were extinguished immediately after the cremation was performed (Agre, Di~ev, 2000, p.36). It was confirmed by the anthropological analysis of the preserved osteological material, which showed that the osteological remains suffered some malformations due to having been treated with a liquid. In none of the graves the cremation was not separated from the cinder and ashes; on the contrary, the remains are mixed with the cinder and ashes all over the grave pit, so that we cannot think of a posthumous washing of the bones, especially if we have in mind that they have been preserved only in fragments. It is scarcely probable that these malformations might be the consequence of a ritual splashing or extinguishing the pyre with wine. We prefer to conclude that these malformations have to do with the fact that the pyre was extinguished with water. This often used to be the case when the deceased was buried in the same place where he had been cremated, although the burial was more often conducted with sand or earth rather than water (Pisarova 1995, p.21).

However, we should point out that in two of the graves the bones were separated from the cinder. In grave 44 above the remains of unburnt beams we found a ceramic vessel into which there were minimal remnants from a skull, a rib, a femur, a tibia and a fibula. The cremation remains probably belong to a graceful woman of about 50 years of age. The vessel is hand-made, with height of 24.5cm; it has the shape of an elongated cone, with a semicircle shoulder that turns into a cylindrical neck (Fig.9). The rim is protruded to the outside; it is ring-like and profiled. The vessel has two strip-like handles that start from the shoulder and end beneath the ring of the rim. The handles are decorated with two mildly profiled ribs and each has two nipple-like applications on the bow. The bottom is circular and concave. Average facture with a sand mixture, well-baked, light brown in colour. The large quantity of cinder and ashes and the unburnt beams testify to the fact that the cremation was executed at the same place where the urn was afterwards buried.

In grave 67 we also found a hand-made ceramic vessel. The absence of beams and cinder tells us that the cremation had been performed somewhere else and then the urn was placed in the grave pit. This vessel is 24.5cm high; it is biconical in shape, with a larger nether cone (Fig.10). Its bottom is flat and a little emphasized, its rim is wide and unprofiled. It has two small, thick horseshoe-like handles. It is massive, with rough facture, made of non-cleaned clay with a mixture of mica and it has non-homogenous brown colour. Although the scarce osteological remains do not allow sexual differentiation of the deceased person aged about 40, the accompanying objects undoubtedly prove that it was also a woman that was buried in this urn.

Despite the fact that both vessels were fragmented and devastated, it is certain that they were used as urns. The cremated remains of the deceased, women in both cases, were discovered under the vessel fragments. The pits did not contain osteological material.

Only 5 of the graves did not contain grave supplements. But as they were later susceptible to devastation, it is very much likely that some gifts were left in them after the cremation.

The closest family members left to the deceased objects that reflected their economical, social or even hierarchical status of his life on earth. They believed that the soul of the deceased lived at the place where the grave was, that is why they left not only jewelry and weapons but also all the life necessities such as money, food and drink.

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Most numerous are the ceramic vessels (Fig.11). They can be found in all of the graves that contain grave supplements. They were probably placed as grave supplements which served to hold the food and drink intended for the deceased. They were descended into the grave after the rite of cremation was over and after the pyre was cooled down to a great extent. They are various in shape and type. Some of them were made on a potter's wheel but there are also some hand-made specimens. There are small chalices and glasses with one or two handles, plates of various depth and some larger pots. These small chalices with two vertical handles are the most frequent grave supplement, which makes us think that during the burial ceremony the people drank wine and then left the chalices into the graves after they had filled them with the same drink again.

There is a considerable number of fragmented ceramics found everywhere in the grave - from the top to the bottom - which may mean that certain type of ceramics did not function as grave supplements but was used during the rite of cremation. The fact that the fragments are a bit burnt by the fire confirms by all means that the vessels were being broken during the cremation rite, i.e. they were probably thrown directly onto the pyre while the deceased was being cremated (Brusić 1985, p.143). In almost all cases it is a hand-made ceramics of rough texture. The breaking of vessels as part of the burial rite and the burial ceremony is not an unknown phenomenon at the area around Crveno Pole in almost all periods of the history. Evidence for the oldest rite of breaking vessels in Macedonia was found at the necropolis of Klucka - Hipodrom near Skopje; namely a great number of fragmented ceramics were discovered there dating from the transition period between the Bronze and the Iron Age (Mitrevski 1997, p.34). This rite continued in the following period. Although with a somewhat changed burial tradition - the deceased were only inhumed - the rite of breaking the vessels continued in the Iron Age at the tumular necropolises near the village of Karaorman, which is in the Stip region (Mikulčić 1961, p.55). Broken ceramic fragments were also found at the tumuli in Dabici - Sopot near Veles (Mitrevski 1997, p.94), located in various places on the tumuli, or grouped among the graves and stones. We do not think it would be difficult to interpret the symbolic meaning of this rite. The breaking symbolized the release of the soul from the body and easier or faster departure to eternal life.

Very often there are vessels which are positioned with their bottoms up (Fig.12). These are usually chalices with two vertical handles made on a potter's wheel, but there are also plates, hand-made glasses with or without handles, and hand-made pots. No matter how many of them are in the grave, only one specimen is positioned with its bottom up. The exception to this rule can be seen in grave 77 where two hand-made pots are stuck one into the other with their bottoms up; anyhow they are not into the grave but onto the tombstone construction. Also, in grave 64 there are two small chalices placed with their bottoms up and they are covered by a large fragment of a hand-made vessel with a horseshoe-like handle. The custom of placing the vessels with their bottoms up was very common in South-Eastern Europe in the course of all the civilization periods, from the Late Neolithic and the Early Eneolithic (Hoti 1994, p.183-203) up to the period that this text is concerned with; the custom is connected with the so called Old European cultures, i.e. the domestic people. In the complex of the akin cultures of Vucedol-Kostolac in Croatia and Serbia, as well as at the site of Vinica from the culture Gumellnita in Bulgaria, these vessels were placed over the head, the stomach or the hips of the inhumed (Hoti 1994, p.184-186). The oldest specimen of such a vessel in Macedonia, placed with its bottom up, has been discovered in the necropolis of Treskavec near Prilep (Mikulčić 1966, T.XXVII, fig.37b) and it is from a much later date, from the Hellenic period. From the Roman Imperial period there is only one specimen of a revolved vessel - it has been found at the tumulus Sreden Rid, village of Bigla, near Delcevo (Jovanov 2004, p.23, fig.24), where the burial ceremony was conducted with cremation. In Bulgaria there are several specimens from this period. In grave № 7/77 from the necropolis near the village of Drasan, region of Vraca, there are two revolved vessels (Mačov 1975, p.42). In tumulus VII, near the village of Visegrad, region of Krdzali, there were two burial ceremonies with cremation. In both cases the cremated remains from the deceased were piled and covered with deep plates (Dremzisova-Nelčinova 1980, p.24). The example from the necropolis of Viminacium in Serbia is the most similar to the previous specimen - namely the cremated remains used to be placed in urns and then the urns were turned with their bottoms up (Zotovih, Q.-Jordovih 1990, p.77, 85, 102). The explanations why the vessels were turned upside down are various, but mainly there are two: to keep the food (Hoti 1994, p.186) longer and to prevent the deceased from turning into a vampire. If those were vessels for keeping the food

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only, we would encounter them a lot more often, because the revolved vessel was intended to prevent the evil from the deceased, i.e. to prevent the souls of the dead to return to the earth (Hoti 1994, p.190). But let us not forget that this was the case in the Late Neolithic and Eneolithic period, when the deceased were inhumed. The vessels from these periods were positioned over the head of the deceased (in Vucedol) or over their stomach, as was the case in Gradac and Vinica. Our cases and all the above mentioned are from the Roman Imperial Period, when the deceased were cremated. There is no skeleton and we cannot determine neither the position of the skull nor that of the stomach, i.e. it was impossible to place the vessel over the vital organs. Nevertheless, in tumulus VII near the village of Visegrad, region of Krdzali, in both graves the cremated remains were gathered and covered with a deep plate. The discovered urns in the necropolis of Viminacium are in the same position. However, we must ask ourselves why this type of burial, with turned vessels and urns, is so rare. In the necropolis near the village of Desan out of 34 graves only one grave contains revolved vessels; in the necropolis near the village of Visegrad there are 20 tumuli, but only in one of them the cremated remains are piled under a deep plate. In the necropolis in Viminacium there are 292 graves with cremation, 15 of which contain the cremated remains in urns, and only four of the urns are placed with their rim down. Of the remaining 11, only two are covered with deep plates (Zotović, Q.-Jordović 1990, p.100, 108) . We ask ourselves, does this phenomenon have to do with a certain ritual connected with life after death; were the members of the community afraid only of certain individuals, perhaps priests or magi? Perhaps the deceased whose cremated remains were piled under a plate were extremely evil; or they did not depart willingly, and therefore the living members of the community had to take care of preventing them from revenge (Zotović, Q.-Jordović 1990, p.190)?

Very often, weapons were also placed as grave supplements (Fig.13). Most numerous among them are the knives and the spears. The spears almost always go in a pair, except in one case. And always with other type of weapon. They are always accompanied by battle knives, while in three cases they are accompanied by axes and in one case only by a sword (Fig.14). According to its position, it is very likely that the weapon was placed in the grave after the cremation, although the physical condition of the specimens discovered in graves 20 and 59 may lead us to think that the weapon was on the pyre together with the deceased or was placed in the grave while the pyre was still hot. All the graves containing weapon also contain bronze rings which served to fasten the weapon, plus there are other parts of the waist set, most often represented by buckles and saltaleones. The other sword of the Ringknaufschwert type was found in grave 72 (Fig. 13, 1) together with two ceramic weighs for a loom. A pair of similar weighs was also found in grave 70. The scarce remains from the cremation make it difficult to determine the sex of the deceased; however we are certain that in the first case it was a man, although the weighs interfere with the image of the proud warrior who did not allow to have his sword bent. On the other hand, the anthropological analysis of grave 70, with a dose of reserve, led us into the conclusion that a woman was buried in it, which may be presumed by the accompanying objects, especially by the absence of weapon. The weapon specimens are characterized by the fact that they had been disabled before being placed in the graves. This is especially true for the spears, battle knives and one of the swords (Fig.13, 2). The weapon was either bent (Fig.13, 2,4) or, when this action was impossible, its top part was simply cut off (Fig.13, 3). The message is obvious: those who chose Gushterova Chukarka for their eternal habitation believed that they departed to a better world. They believed in a peaceful life after death where weapons would not be used.

Some elements of the burial rite at the necropolis are common throughout the site of Crveno Pole as far as the birth of civilizations, but the act of bending the weapons before being put into the graves is not analogous to anywhere else on the territory of Macedonia or abroad. It was by no means an unknown act; on the contrary, it was very much in practice, but the regions that might have been influential are distant from our site both in place and time. The Taurisians, that inhabited the central and the eastern parts of present Slovenia and north-west Croatia, did this bending of weapons throughout the period of the late (Božić 1987, p.887). More precisely, this custom was very common in the necropolises in south-west Romania: as far back as 170/160 - 50 years BC (Sîrbu, Arsenescu 2006, p.167).

One more peculiar custom at the necropolis of Gushterova Chukarka is the placing of clay weaving weighs as grave supplements. The peculiarity was even greater when we discovered that the weighs were

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placed not only in female graves, but also in a male grave where beside the weights we found a typically male status symbol: a sword of the Ringknaufschwert type. This was of course challenging enough to be put into this work, particularly because we have not still come up with a reasonable explanation. It is by all means a rare phenomenon. The only analogy that the author of this study managed to find was from Pelagonija (In western Macedonia), during the Hellenic-Roman period (Mikulčić 1996, p.80).

We are surprised by the absence of jewellery (Fig.15); earrings, of which one is golden , were found in only three of the graves; in twelve graves we found 11 bracelets, all of them in fragments. Most probably the jewellery was with the deceased during the cremation and did not survive the fire. The presence of melted pearls made of glass paste, which were found in some of the graves, encourages this supposition. Men also used to wear bracelets: in grave 70 we found a bracelet together with the weapon set. In some of the graves where we are sure that women were buried we found knives as grave supplements. These are usually small arched knives (Fig.13,7-8), different from the battle ones as they were neither bent nor had their tops cut off. The keys, which speak of the right to the new home or protection in case of danger (Demo 1985, p.123), although in small number, were found in women's graves only. The fibulas, which are also very rare but which were by all means on the pyre, can be seen both in male and female graves.

Coin were found in 16 graves (Fig.16); their overall number is 21. The leaving of coins as a tax for Haron and it has already been treated and explained as a common practice in the necropolises. For instance, Aristophanes in his work Frogs (140, 270) speaks of a tax of two oboli, while authors of a later date mention one obolus or a coin put in the mouth of the deceased. Most often there is only one coin in the grave; one grave only contains two specimens, while two graves have three coins each. They are bronze and silver. They were burning together with the deceased, but were also placed in the grave after the cremation was finished, as part of the burial rite. The oldest coins date back from the second half of the I century - they are silver denarii from the reign of the Emperor Domitian; the coins from the reign of Hadrian, Antonius Pius, Julia Maisa, Julia Mamaia, Mark Aurelius, Septimius Severus, Probus and Aurelian are evidence that this necropolis was also used in the course of the II and III century AD.

In two graves we also found remains from animal bones. In grave 45 the bones were discovered above the layer with cremation remains, while in grave 52 the bones were burning on the pyre together with the deceased, so their remains were mixed with the remains of the deceased. We are very much certain that in the first case the bones were leftovers from the burial feast, while in the second case it is very likely that the deceased was burnt together with his pet.

Almost regularly in all of the graves we discovered nuts: walnuts and hazelnuts. It is hard to determine whether they were leftovers from the burial feast or were left as grave supplements. But the fact that they are whole may lead us to think that the nuts were left to the deceased. As a matter of fact, the leaving of such fruits in the graves was noticed in the West necropolis in Stobi, but only in the graves with cremation that originate from the Augustian period (Wesolowsky 1973, p.134). One closer analogy can be found in the tumulus of Studena Cesma, in the region of Delcevo (Јованов 2004, p.28).

After the burial ceremony was completed, the pit was filled with earth and then a stone wreath was formed around the grave pit. That is why some grave pits do not share the same orientation with their wreaths. This is particularly true with the elliptical wreaths. Very often the grave pits are eccentrically positioned in regard to their circular wreaths (Fig.17). The hypothesis that the grave pits were first filled with earth and the stone wreath was formed afterwards can be confirmed with the fact that very rarely the cremation layer touches the level of the wreath. Almost regularly there is a layer of 0.10-0.40m of earth between the cremation remains and the stone wreath. In 14 graves this space is filled with stones too. Stones also serve as a filling in the 4 graves with rectangular wreaths. The rest of the wreaths are filled with one row up to three layers of stones. Most often these are fillings with no specific ordering; however at grave 78 they are almost radially arranged (Fig.18). In almost all of the cases there are fragments of broken vessels among the stones, while at grave 77 there are two entire vessels placed one into the other with their bottoms up.

Certain grave pits are located under the stone wreaths, which is evident by the discovery of grave supplements after the removal of the stone wreaths. The filling with earth of the space enclosed with the stone wreath opens another dilemma which will be treated further in this text. The stone wreaths are most

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often circular in form. Rarely did we come across elliptical ones and very rarely, in 4 cases only, we saw rectangular stone wreaths. They are composed of round stones, limestone rock or stones broken off the sand rock, which is the basis of the hill where the necropolis lies. They are of different size, which depends on the size of the grave pits. The circular wreaths are with diameter ranging from 0.70 to 4m, of which the wreath of grave 27 is almost ideally circular. The elliptical wreaths are 0.70 to 2.90m long and up to 2m wide. The rectangular ones have dimensions of 1.60m in length and 0.85m in width. It is also possible for two graves, each with its own stone wreaths - most often elliptical in form - to possess a mutual circular wreath. Such is the case of graves 21 and 22, but their mutual wreath was damaged in devastations of a later date.

The main dilemma is: whether at Gushterova Chukarka, the necropolis with cremation burial rite, the deceased were buried in flat graves or small tumuli raised above the stone wreaths? One year after discovering grave 27, which appeared immediately after removing the surface layer not thicker than 5cm, the stones from the wreaths composed of sand rock began to disintegrate, which means that they cannot endure in open air under atmospheric influence. Grave 27 has a dominant position in the necropolis - practically the necropolis spreads around grave 27. However, grave 27, whose wreath is 4 meters in diameter and a grave pit of almost 2m of length, showed only 37 shoe nails as grave supplements. The case is similar with grave 71, which has a wreath diameter of 3.50m and a grave pit with dimensions of 2.45x1.10m - the grave also appeared very soon after digging and only shoe nails and a knife fragment were found in it as grave supplements. There are more examples of this kind: sometimes the wreaths are damaged and the cremation layer is very shallow, almost under the very surface. The grave supplements found in the graves, even when the stone wreaths are damaged, were always discovered under a layer of stones or under a layer of earth which is at least about 20cm thick. These facts make us think that there were small tumuli raised above the stone wreaths. In the course of time the tumuli were, due to various reasons, leveled to the stone wreaths or a little above them. The reasons may be seen in the fact that this area was used as farming land, plus the necropolis often was misused by illegal diggers. The density of the graves only and the stone wreaths touching closely to each other speak in favour of some other conclusion - that those were in fact flat graves with stone wreaths arranged around the grave pit.

In the Republic of Macedonia, the new way of inhuming, with circular stone wreaths around the graves was first used in Pelagonija (western Macedonia), at the famous tumulus from "Visoi", in Beranci, near Bitola. The wreath was formed around the central grave - a cist with a bowed inhumed deceased, and it dates back from the transitional period between Bronze and Iron Age (Митревски 1997, p.103). This way of burial continued with certain variations in the Iron Age, particularly in eastern Macedonia, in the area around Stip (Нацев, Јованов 1996, p.45-46) and to its north, in the proximity of Veles. Those grave are tumuli which regularly have several inhumations within one stone wreath. Although all of the burials in these tumuli are with inhumation, the way of forming the grave pit is very much similar to the way grave pits in Gusterova Cukarka were formed. The greatest similarity can be noticed with the burials in the small tumuli from the necropolis of "Krivi Dol", in Radanje near Stip (Митревски 1997, p.90) and especially with the burials in "Dabici", in Sopot near Veles (Митревски 1997, p.93-94). The grave pits were enclosed with stone wreaths, most often elliptical and rectangular in form, then were covered with earth and amorphous stones to form a small tumulus. All this was organized within a circular area marked with the mutual stone wreath above which the mutual tumulus was raised. Near the end of the Iron Age the tumular way of burying was left and cremation was accepted as a dominant sepulchral ritual. However, the forms of grave constructions were not left, particularly during the Classical and the Early Hellenic period, when the large pits filled with a great quantity of ashes and cinder were marked with stone wreaths and covered with earth and amorphous stones to make irregular rectangles or ellipses. This happened very often in Pelagonija (Mikulčić 1966, p.61). These forms continued during Augustan time, not only in Pelagonija (Mikulčić 1966, p.80), but also in Stobi (Mikulčić 1973, p.74) when they appeared for the first time. However, Stobi is much more relevant for our study, as here during the Augustan period the stone wreaths appeared again (Mikulčić 1973, grave 21, p.74; Wesolowski 1973, grave 95, p.110; graves 260, 273, p.135) Because of the intense use of the necropolis in the following periods, all of the 4 graves that we discovered were damaged by the later burials. The damages are especially evident in the stone wreaths, so that we are not able to say whether small tumuli were raised above the grave pits. We are now approaching the Roman Imperial Period, the

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temporal frame of existence of the necropolis Gushterova Chukarka at the site of Crveno Pole. Until a few years ago these cremation burials under small tumuli enclosed by stone wreaths were completely unknown in Macedonia. The first data came from the excavations in 2001-2002, when 5 tumuli from the area of Pijanec, region of Delcevo (Jovanov 2004, p.11), were excavated, while in 2003 several circular grave constructions were discovered from the surroundings of Kriva Palanka. This was the year when systematic excavations were begun at the site of Crveno Pole too.

This way of burial was long ago noticed in the wider region. In 1961-62 Romanian archaeologist Floka O. excavated at the villa rustica near Cincis, region of Hunedoara, and discovered 17 graves 10 of which are with circular stone wreaths and small tumuli (Floca 1965, p.163-194), which dated back from 2-3 century AD (Floca 1965, p.192). In 1971-71 near the village of Drasan, region of Vraca, in west Bulgaria an overall number of 34 graves were discovered, 33 of which were with a cremation rite (Машов 1975, p.41-49). All of the grave pits were encircled with circular, elliptical or rectangular stone wreaths. Although tumuli are not mentioned, it is very likely that they had been destroyed in the course of time, as the space where the necropolis lies was for a long time used as a farming land and was treated with farming machinery (Машов 1975, p.41). This was also the case with the tumular necropolis near the village of Visegrad, region of Krdzali, in south Bulgaria, where all of the 20 explored tumuli possess stone wreaths (Дремзисова-Нелчинова 1980, p.18-26), especially the smaller ones which have a diameter of several meters and whose height does not exceed 0.70m. With the excavations from 1999-2001 at the necropolis in the village of Zabel, region of Trnsko, in west Bulgaria, a part of a flat necropolis was explored, the grave pits of which were encircled with circular, elliptical and rectangular wreaths (Владимирова-Паунова 2003, p.215-225). Excavators also mention some tumuli as part of the necropolis, but they have not explored them yet, so that we do not have a precise description of their size. All of these necropolises from the territory of the Republic of Bulgaria date back from 2 until the first half of the 4 century AD.

At this stage of exploration, when scarcely 12% of the overall necropolis has been treated, it is difficult to speak about the social organization or the concentration of the graves (Fig.19). Nevertheless, just one look at the plan of the necropolis bears evidence that it did have its own rules upon which it was organized. It is beyond doubt that the most appreciated burial spot was at the very peak of the hill, particularly the space around grave 27, which is the largest of all the excavated graves. All around it there are densely arranged grave constructions with stone wreaths one next to another. This is the place where the richest graves have been discovered, with abundance of weapons. It is upon us to find out with our further explorations whether the members of the military aristocracy used to be buried here. However, even now we are certain that the several graves whose wreaths are arranged in a row were the burial place of one and the same family, or at least of very close relatives. There are a few more similar situations, which is undoubtful evidence about the family principle (beside the hierarchical one) upon which this necropolis was organized.

The burial rite at the necropolis of Ghusterova Chukarka at the site of Crveno Pole is an image of the "contemporary" idea of life after death, containing a whole value system derived from everyday life, in the temporal frame from the end of 1 until the end of 3 century AD. Let us not forget, however, the specific living conditions that were closely connected to the geographical and cultural area of Crveno Pole. Accepting influences that were close to their sensibilities, into which they recognized themselves, the inhabitants of Crveno Pole built their own original sepulchral rhetoric. But the fundaments of this rite, the whole metal and spiritual system of those people, were based on strong conservatism kept in their collective memory, which was waiting for a good moment to come back as a dominant form of expressing their centuries-old beliefs and traditions. Thus we come back at the starting postulate of our text: The burial, together with the belief in "afterlife" and the customs that accompany it belong to those, basically conservative, events that have been handed down from generation to generation and have remained unchanged in the course of hundreds even thousands of years.

Dragulevo is a plateau on the Ograzhden mountain at 1400 m above sea level where in 2003 we discovered the last necropolis of this type. With the surface prospections done at this site we registered 3 locations abundant in remains from the late Roman Imperial Period and late ancient history (Fig.20). The archaeological excavations carried out in 2007, immediately after the excavations at Crveno Pole, although

small in size gave impressive results. The necropolis where the excavations were done is unfortunately a part of a mountain road, which has caused a considerable damage leaving only the grave pits. Although none of the stone wreaths was wholly preserved, the quantity of stones and their position offer enough evidence for us to assume that they were arranged around grave pits.

Here also, as in the previously presented necropolises the deceased were cremated and buried at the spot of cremation, in irregular rectangular or in elliptical pits (Fig.21). The cremations were not so intensive, which results in larger osteological remains, particularly from the longer bones of the skull. This, together with the grave orientation, which is most often W-E, might announce the value system to follow. The deceased were wealthy, if we judge from the artifacts discovered as grave supplements (Fig.22). The male graves are abundant in weapons (Fig.24,1-5), represented by spears and axes, while the female graves are of course full of jewellery (Fig.25,1-3) and ceramics (Fig.24,6-10). It is usual that the small vessels were put into the larger ones (Fig.23). The quantity of coins is very impressive; they are found in both male and female graves and were usually left in leather bags. 26 coins in a single grave speak of a great economic power and a high social status of those who were buried here.

The material from the excavated graves, primarily the coins of the reign of Gordian, speak for the time being that the necropolis was in use in the second half of the 3 century, although certain ceramic materials and certain coins that have not been conserved yet may lead to the conclusion that the necropolis was also used during the first half of the 4 century AD.

In the end, we will mention the necropolis of Crkvishte on the mountain of Plachkovica. It has not been excavated yet, but let us hope to begin with excavations there next year. The surface prospection showed that it was a necropolis identical in its characteristics with those previously mentioned. The artifacts excavated at the necropolis of Crkvishte also contribute to this conclusion (Fig.26).

All of the necropolises that are the subject to our interest and are part of this presentation are located very high above sea level: both necropolises on the Osogovo mountain are at 800m, while the necropolises on Plachkovica and Ograzhden are at 1400m above sea level. They are separate micro-geographic regions located in the deep bosom of the mountain with carefully chosen habitations, usually spread around several hills in a row, protected by high peaks that slope down to the south. This enables a whole day exposure to the sun and protection from the north winds, particularly in the winter period. In the proximity of all of the site there are several springs, or smaller rivers, around the valleys of which there are pastures and fertile land. The surrounding higher mountains are grown in thick woods rich in all kinds of game and rich in wood that can be used both for construction and heating. The necropolises are usually located on dominating hills that can be easily seen from all around. In addition to this, they are always very close to the settlements. All of them are parts of complex archaeological sites, with settlements and refugiums in their proximity. But for the time being, only at the site of Crveno Pole the excavations of the necropolis have been accompanied with the excavations of the settlement and its economic part. The results speak of a well organized community. Together with the settlement of Dragulevo and Crkvishte, they continued to exist in the following centuries as well, which can be testified by the new necropolises that are either in their proximity or are mixed with the older ones. Here the deceased were buried in graves that were dug in the rock, as deep as 1.50m, with stone cysts to mark the grave, with perfectly smoothed pit walls, almost hermetically closed, with finely chiseled stone plates (Fig.27). Their orientation is W-E, with not a single exception. The deceased were buried here after the inhabitants accepted Christianity. They were orthodox; they did not leave any supplements in their graves. They presented before God with the richness of their souls.

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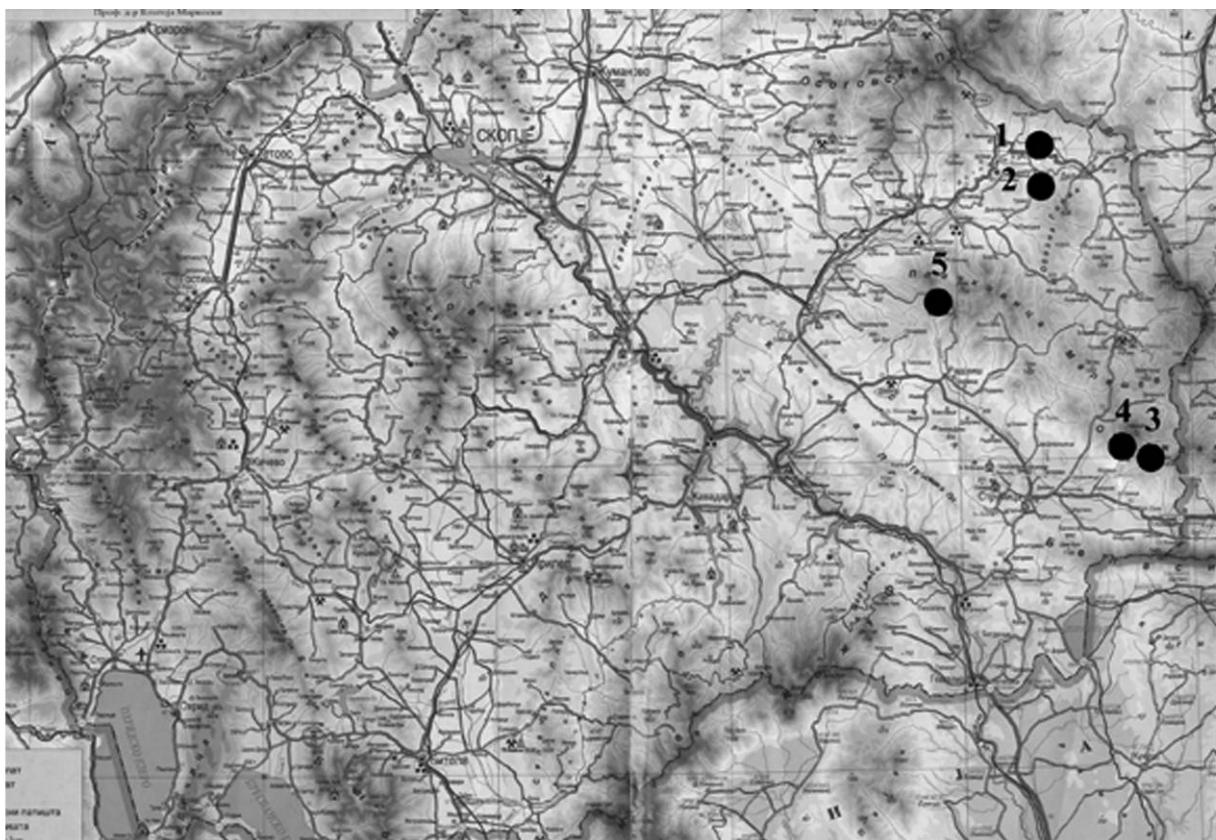


Fig.1. Graves with round stone wreaths:

- 1.Dramche, 2.Bigla, 3.Crveno Pole, 4.Dragulevo, 5.Crkvishte.



Fig.2. Tumulus No 19, Dramche



Fig.3.pottery vessels (1-4) and weapons (5-7) from Dramche



Fig.4. Site of Crveno Pole



Fig.5. Necropolis of Gushterova Chukarka

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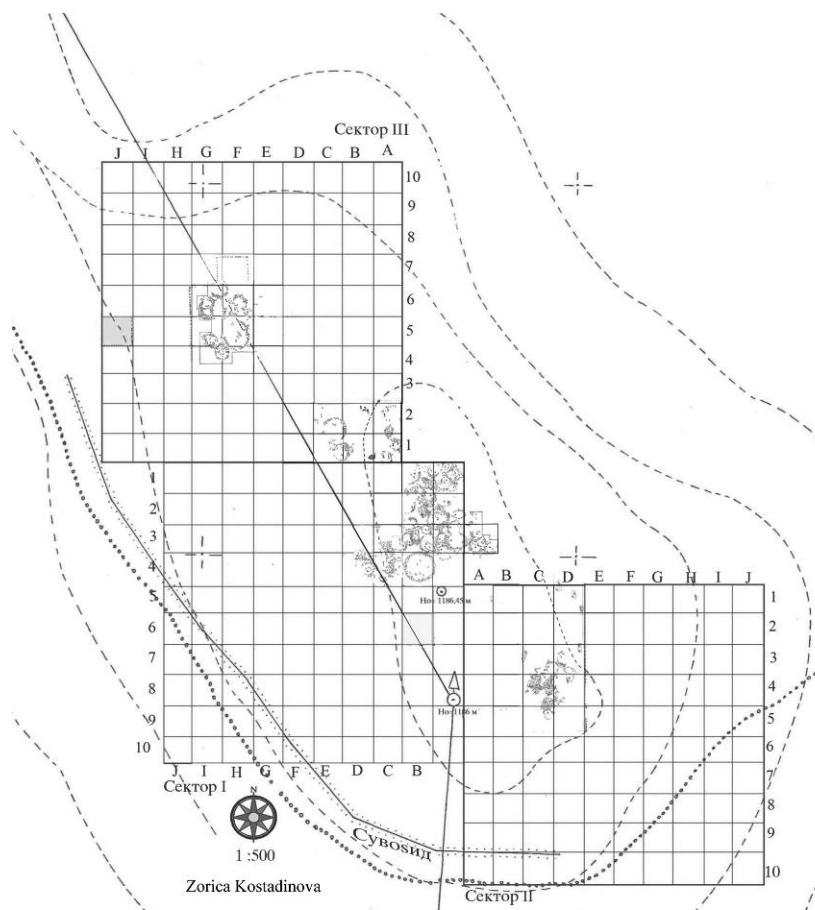


Fig.6.Crveno Pole, plan of necropolis



Fig.9. Urn from grave 44

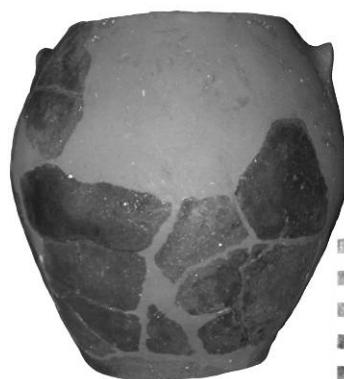


Fig.10.Urn from grave 67



Fig.7. Grave pit

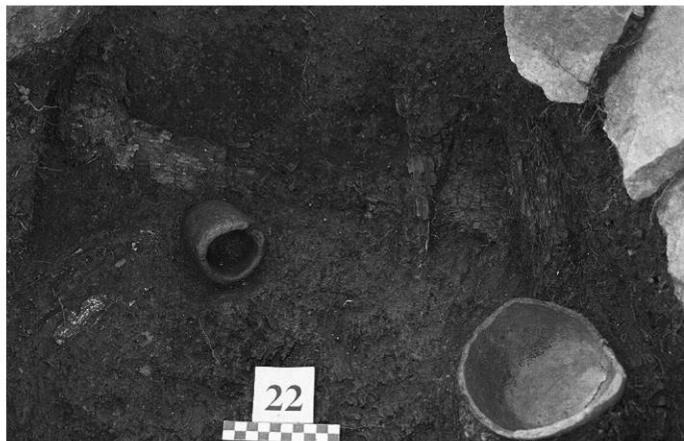


Fig.8.Funeral pyre

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Fig.11.Crveno Pole, hand-made pottery (1-3) and pottery made on a potter's wheel (4-5)

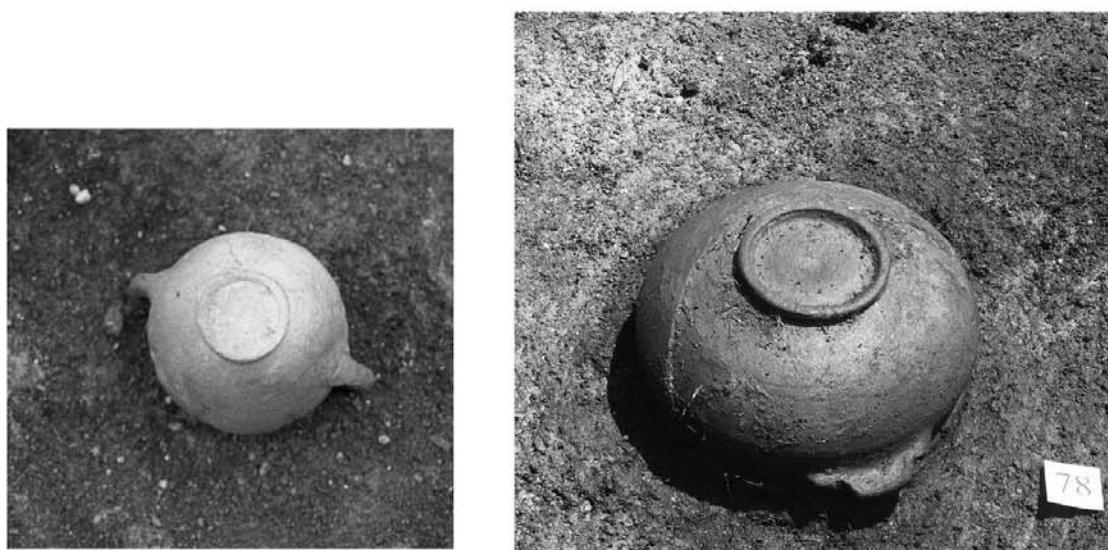


Fig.12.vessels with their bottom up

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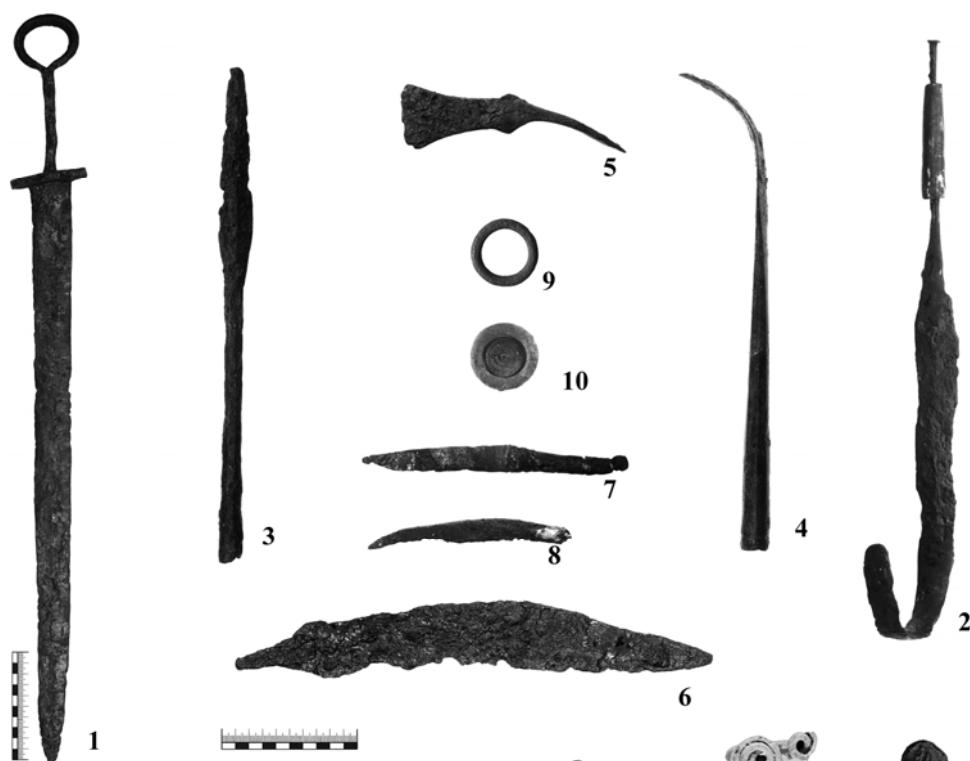


Fig.13.Crveno Pole, weapons from necropolis



Fig.14.grave 22a



Fig.15.Jewellery



Fig.16.Coins



Fig.17.Eccentrically positioned grave pit



Fig.18.Grade 78, almostradially arranged stone wreath

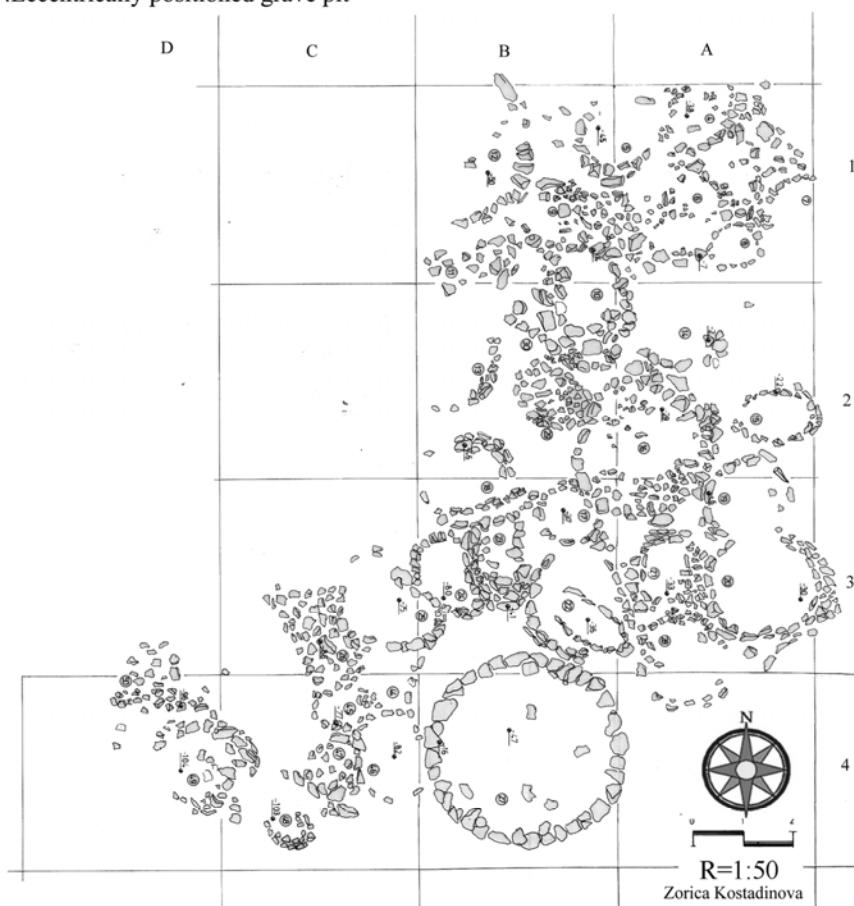
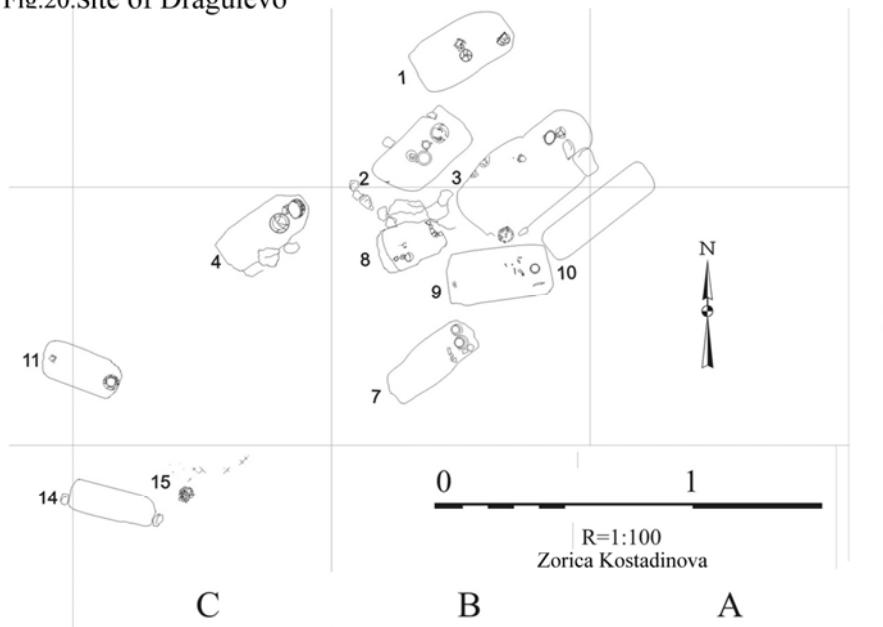


Fig.19.Concentration of the graves

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Fig.20. Site of Dragulevo



3

2

A

B

C

1 Fig.21. Plan of necropolis

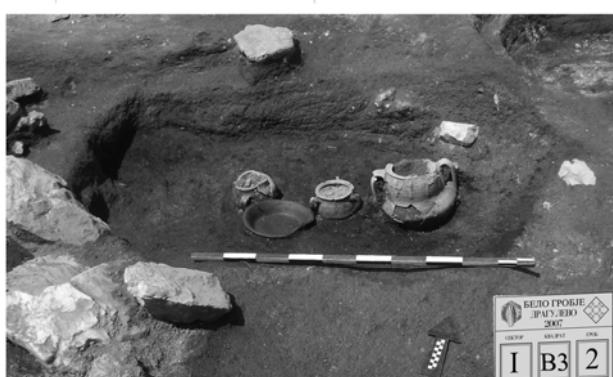


Fig.22. Grave No 2



Fig.23. Small vessels were put into the larger ones



Fig.24.Dragulevo, weapons (1-5), pottery (6-10)

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Fig.26.Object found in Crkviste

Fig.25.Dragulevo, jewellery (1-3), coins (4-6)

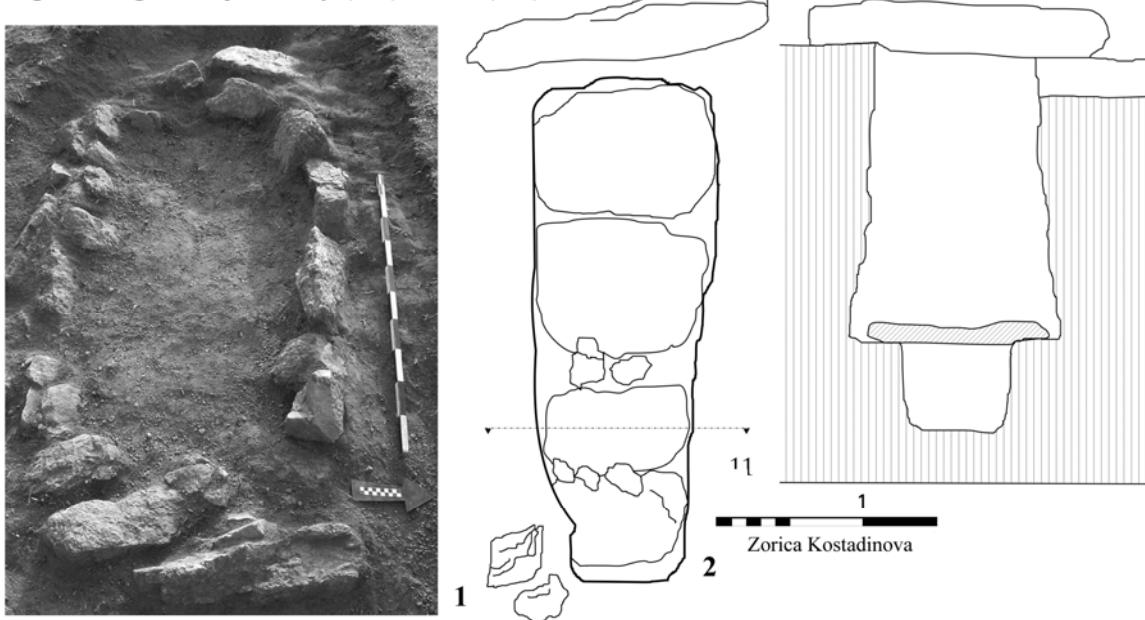


Fig.27.Crveno Pole, necropolis of Spasov Rid, 1.grave 6, 2.grave 4

## **FUNERARY PRACTICES IN THE NECROPOLISES BELONGING TO THE ANCIENT COMMUNITIES AT ALBURNUS MAIOR**

**Paul Damian, Mihaela Simion (Romania)**

**Key-words:** Roman Period, cremation, bustum.

**Abstract.** The exploitation and economic site at Roşia Montană evolved and the gentes ex toto orbe romana arrived in here, allured by the mirage of the gold. The fact that in most of the necropolises from Alburnus Maior there are elements that indicate a very heterogeneous funerary configuration might reopen the debate on the means by which the auriferous zone was economically colonized.

Situated in the centre of the region known as “the auriferous quadrilateral”, within a perimeter in the western Carpathians where the main economic activity is strongly linked, since ancient times, to the exploitation of the auriferous deposits, Roşia Montană (*Alburnus Maior*) occupies a distinctive place among the Roman period sites in the Dacia province (Pl. 1.).

Roşia Montană became known to the scholars of the Antiquity due to the chance discovery, during the 18<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> c. of the wax coated tablets, unique category of artefacts found in rather uncertain conditions, inside the historic mining galleries<sup>1</sup>. Information regarding the ancient gold mining centre was completed over time by a number (about 75) of epigraphic monuments<sup>2</sup>, also brought to light without a certain archaeological context.

An investment mining project in the auriferous perimeter of Roşia Montană has determined a series of actions related to the rescue of the archaeological and historical heritage in the area, as well as a program aiming to present to the public this heritage via an ambitious editorial program and a new museum.

There is neither the place, nor the time of the present topic to allow a review of the various discoveries pertaining to the Roman period which have practically determined in the last few years the reconsideration of the site's history<sup>3</sup>. Probably the most spectacular domain in which the preventive archaeological researches from Roşia Montană brought an important contribution is the funerary one. The large scale excavations undertaken in the last six years at Roşia Montană (ancient *Alburnus Maior*) made possible a series of clarifications regarding the funerary behaviour of the ancient communities who resided and worked in the area in Roman times. There have been investigated, up to now, five cremation necropolises (Hop-Găuri<sup>4</sup>, Pârâul Porcului/Tăul Secuilor<sup>5</sup>, Tăul Cornii<sup>6</sup>, Tarina<sup>7</sup>, Jig - Piciorag<sup>8</sup>) and two funerary areas (Carpeni<sup>9</sup> and Szekely<sup>10</sup>) comprising more than 1,450 funerary structures. (Pl. 2.).

<sup>1</sup> The number of initial finds must have been over 40, but those identified with certainty to date are 32 (3 having been lost over time, but after publication), the actual pieces being included today in the collections of the museums in Aiud (2 parts of a triptych), Bucharest (2 tablets), Cluj (11 tablets, of which 6 unpublished), Sebeş (one unpublished ), Budapest (13 tablets), and those of the Battyaneum Library in Alba Iulia (one tablet) and of the “Timotei Cipariu” Library in Blaj (2 tablets). The unanimously accepted opinion among specialists is that they were placed for safe keeping in inaccessible mine galleries, at a time of crisis, probably related to the Marcomanic incursions into Dacia during 167-170 AD. Tudor 1957, pp. 31-40; Macrea 1969, p. 69; Daicoviciu, Piso 1975, pp. 159-163.

<sup>2</sup> IDR III/3, pp. 374-422.

<sup>3</sup> See Alburnus Maior I, Alburnus Maior II, and Alburnus Maior III.

<sup>4</sup> CCA 2001 (2002), pp. 210-211, no. 173/3; pp. 254-257, no. 182; pp. 261-262, no. 185; pp. 262-263, no. 186; pp. 264-265, no. 188; pp. 263-264, no. 187; pp. 265-266, no. 189; CCA 2002 (2003), pp. 254-256, no. 182; CCA 2002 (2003), pp. 105-106, no. 63; Alburnus Maior I, 2003, pp. 45-80; 81-122; 123-148; 149-192; 193-251; 501-505; 505-507; Alburnus Maior II, 2005.

<sup>5</sup> Alburnus Maior I, Bucharest 2003, pp. 31-33, CCA 2004 (2005), 187; CCA 2005 (2006), 158.

<sup>6</sup> Alburnus Maior I, Bucharest 2003, pp. 31-33, CCA 2002 (2003), p. 92- 104, Alburnus Maior III.

<sup>7</sup> Alburnus Maior I, Bucharest 2003, pp. 31-33, CCA 2003 (2004), 264-280; CCA 2004 (2005), 187.

Prior to the field researches from Roşia Montană, the archaeological literature upon the cremation graves from the Lower Danube and – sometimes – Thracia provinces was influenced in a significant manner by the typological framework proposed by Milutin Garašanin<sup>11</sup>. Thereby the cremation graves have been directly assigned to this typology without any subsequent interpretation.

The systematic or the rescue archaeological researches undertaken in this type of sites all across Europe have determined – as a direct consequence – the setting up of a standard of the morphological types related to the cremation graves<sup>12</sup>. In the same time, the experimental archaeology focussed, due to the specific problems raised by the interpretation of this type of graves, on the clarification of certain aspects linked to the assignation of the rite variant. Thus, a series of experiments were made in order to reconstruct certain elements of the ritual performed on the cremation moment. Following these experiments and their results, the use of the previous terminology (i.e.: “grave with the pit ritually purified”) becomes at least obsolete, in the absence of further archaeological, scientific and experimental arguments<sup>13</sup>.

The cremation rite is a funerary practice common for most of the traditional societies and implies a process in – at least – two stages. The first one consists of the physical act of the cremation, being the last “chapter” of the ritual performed to expel the deceased from the community of the living ones. The second one is related to the “voyage” of the deceased into the community of the dead ones, being the first “chapter” of the rituals performed to integrate the deceased to his new condition.

Both sequences are rather difficult to be observed by strict archaeological approaches, but there can be identified based on a combined analysis of the information provided both by the heedful archaeological observation and the careful interpretation of the disposal manner for the funerary inventory. On other words, this approach refers to the morphology of the graves, strictly seen as funerary arrangements (structures), together with their internal stratigraphy and the artefacts’ position inside the grave.

This is why, on the current stage of research one can define, following the analysis for the funerary complexes from Roşia Montană, the following technical categories:

**a) graves with cremation on site (the area where the cremation was performed corresponds with the one of the grave itself) - *bustum*.**

On this case one can distinguish two different situations, respectively:

**a.1. The graves with burned step-pit**

On most cases the pit’s walls are vertical or slightly widened outwards (having a trapezoidal shape in section), the platform is flat and the lower level is rectangular. We could also observe an adaptation of the funerary pit’s layout to the soil’s geomorphologic structure and to the slope’s configuration. Thus there are situations when the pits’ walls are vertical or slightly widened out, but the platform isn’t perfectly flat. These cases are determined by the geomorphologic composition of the layer in which the grave’s pit was dug in, this being the case of the layer containing blocks of grit stone. In other cases the pit was dug on the natural slope, which caused a difference between the levels of the grave’s limits.

These pits’ dimensions vary between 1.42–3.60 m in length, 0.92–1.95 m in width, the layer containing the cremation remains being laid evenly, usually on the lower level. On the platform there can be found traces of charcoal mixed with ashes and burnt bones. In some cases the lower level is marked with stones set on its contour.

***Case study – Grave no. 198 from the Pârâul Porcului/Tăul Secuilor necropolis (Pl. 3)***

Rectangular pit, with slightly bent walls, flat bottom; stepped pit; lenght = 2.20 m; width = 1.35 m (upper level); lenght = 0.47 m; width = 0.40 m (lower level); depth = 0.55 m. Orientation: NW–SE. The pit was burned (discontinuous burning – 0.04 m thick – on the side walls).

The cremated bones are laid in a compact layer on the lower level, without being separated from the remains of the pyre (consistent deposit of charcoal, carbonized beam fragments and cremated bones). The

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<sup>8</sup> CCA 2003 (2004), 262-264, 264-267, CCA 2004 (2005), 297-298.

<sup>9</sup> Alburnus Maior I, 2003, pp. 387-431, 433-446, 447-467.

<sup>10</sup> Alburnus Maior I.

<sup>11</sup> Garašanin 1968, pp. 5-35.

<sup>12</sup> Bechert 1980, pp. 253-258; Nierhaus 1969, pp. 250-253; Bridger 1993, pp. 349-420.

<sup>13</sup> Binford 1963, pp. 98-110; Gaitzsch, Werner 1993, pp. 17-40; McKinley, 1994, pp. 339-342.

layer's thickness ranges between 0.16-0.19 m. Burn marks, a thin layer of charcoal, ashes and fragments of burnt bones – larger than any discovered in other funerary complexes so far – have been observed on the platform. The grave's inventory was laid either directly on the cremated remains, or on the lower level's limit – on the filling (on the platform) –, after which the complex was “sealed”.

**Inventory:** ceramics: two cups with leg, two plates, two lamps; glass: one *unguentarium*; iron: seven spikes, two nails, three tacks, one unidentified iron object.

**a.2. The graves with burned rectangular pits.**

This type of pit usually has smaller dimensions and has two sub-types, according to their profiles:

- a) with walls slightly widened out and a flat bottom (trapezoidal in section);
- b) concave pits.

The former type is predominant and most graves discovered in the analysed necropolises fit to this description.

The walls and the pit's bottom have – in most cases – an orange-red burned crust of variable thickness (1–4 cm), according to the intensity of the fire they were subjected to, the soil's characteristics and different external factors (like atmospheric conditions, volatile substances or the quantity of wood used in the cremation process). In some cases the burn on the walls isn't consistent or continuous. The layer of cremated remains on the pit's bottom also had a variable thickness (from 1–2 cm up to 30–40 cm).

**Case study – Grave no. 200 from Pârâul Porcului/Tăul Secuilor necropolis (Pl. 4.)**

Rectangular pit with slightly bent walls, trapezoidal shape in cross-section and a flat bottom. length = 1.80 m; width = 0.98 m; depth = 0.30. Orientation: NE–SW. The pit was burned (discontinuous burning, 0.03–0.04 m thick).

The cremated bones mixed with charcoal are laid on the lower level, in a layer 0.06–0.12 m thick. There have not been observed any traces of intermediary treatment of the cremated remains, which were deposited without being separated from the remains of the pyre (consistent deposit of charcoal, ash fragments and minute cremated bones fragments laid evenly on the pit's bottom). The grave's inventory was laid either directly on the cremated remains, after which the complex was sealed.

**Inventory:** ceramics: three pitchers, one *turibulum* and three lamps; iron: one spike, two nails and three tacks.

**b) Structures for the disposal of the incinerated bones, separated or not from the remains of the funerary pyre (graves which do not correspond to the place where the body was cremated) – graves with burning at *ustrinum*.**

Also in this case one can distinguish the following two distinctive situations:

**b.1.** A first case is the one when the cremated remains – possibly subjected to an intermediary treatment of partial separation from the burnt wood – were laid directly in the pit, after which the funerary complex was covered.

**Case study – Grave no. 132 from Tăul Cornii necropolis (Pl. 5.)<sup>14</sup>**

An irregular pit, with slightly bent walls, having a concave shape in cross-section; uneven bottom. Length = 2.00 m; width = 0.90 m; depth = 0.51 m; orientation: NV–SE. Not burnt pit.

The fragments of cremated bone are laid – without being separated from the pyre's remains (compact level of charcoal, fragments of burnt bones, ashes and filling earth). The thickness of the cremation remains' level is 0.24 m, being evenly distributed on the pit's bottom.

**Inventory:** ceramics: one *turibulum*, one cup, one lid, one lamp; iron: three spikes, three nails and four tacks.

**b.2.** The second situation is the one of the *graves with the cremation remains deposited in certain types of recipients*. There have been defined two sub-types of such recipients: the ceramic (urns) recipients and the stone (*cistae*) recipients<sup>15</sup>.

**Case study – Grave no. 237 from Pârâul Porcului/Tăul Secuilor necropolis (Pl. 6.)**

Rectangular pit, with slightly bent walls; having a concave shape in cross-section. Length = 1.52 m;

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<sup>14</sup> Apud Alburnus Maior III, pl. 106.

<sup>15</sup> With a special remark that this type of burial, namely the one in *cista* is a rare one among the graves found in the necropolises from *Alburnus Maior*, in comparison with the other described types.

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width = 0.90 m; depth = 1.08 m; orientation: NNE–SSW. Grave with the cremated remains laid in an undecorated stone *cista* with a ridged cover (L= 1.04 m, w = 0.56 m; h = 0.30 m). Unburnt pit.

Inside the *cista* was not identified any distinct layer of cremated remains, due to the taphonomic conditions (the recipient's filling consisted of water and mud), with the exception of a tooth. The complex's inventory was distributed inside the *cistae* (coin, *unguentarium*), as well as outside.

**Inventory:** ceramics: two lamps; glass: two *unguentaria*; bronze: coin; iron: six spikes, three nails, one tack and one unidentifiable object.

The presence of external structures or layouts of the graves' pits is one of the characteristics of these necropolises. Thus we came across both the simple form of the girdle, as well as that of the funerary precinct. Also, on a certain number of cases was observed the presence of the tumular arrangements (especially in the Pârâul Porcului/Tăul Secuilor necropolis).

In conclusion, on all the necropolises from Roşia Montană are present the following elements:

- a) *bustum* incineration graves with step-pit;
- b) the tumular structure of certain exterior layouts;
- c) the combination of the *busta* and *ustrina* variants within the same funerary site.
- d) the frequent presence of exterior layouts – stone rings.

The typology of incineration graves within the Roman necropolises dating from the imperial period in the Danubian provinces<sup>16</sup> has consecrated the variant of Mala Kopašnica–Sase<sup>17</sup> classification (types I, II and III) for this category of greave types. In Roman Dacia, such funeral complexes have been researched at Cinciş<sup>18</sup> and in the Boteş – Corabia necropolises<sup>19</sup> etc. South of the Danube, the presence of this ring type structures in such associations is a characteristic of the necropolises in the east of Moesia Superior, with instances such as Zavoj<sup>20</sup> (near Pirot), Namanjci (Sveti Nicola)<sup>21</sup>, Rudnik<sup>22</sup> etc. Particular significance must be given to the association between step-pits and tumular layouts with or without ring type structures within the necropolis at Pârâul Porcului/Tăul Secuilor, Tăul Cornii, Hop Găuri and Jig - Piciorag. In the provinces of Moesia Inferior and Thracia, *bustum* graves seem to form the dominant rite starting with the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. Step-pit graves<sup>23</sup>, in connexion with tumular layouts, are a constant presence both in the necropolises of Greek towns and in those pertaining of the Roman towns in Dobroudja<sup>24</sup>. Such funerary complexes have been researched in the necropolises at Noviodunum<sup>25</sup>, Carsium<sup>26</sup>, Histria<sup>27</sup>, Tomis<sup>28</sup>, Callatis<sup>29</sup>, Capidava<sup>30</sup> etc.

On the present territory of Bulgaria over 200 burial sites from the Roman age were identified, counting approx. 1000 tumuli<sup>31</sup>. Likewise, a similar archaeological situation is that recorded in the part of former Moesia Inferior province laying nowadays in Dobruja. We must mention the fact that in these provinces, unlike the situation recorded in Pannonia, Dalmatia, Macedonia and part of Moesia Superior, this type of grave appears in connection with tumular layouts of various dimensions, with or without elaborated funerary

<sup>16</sup> Identified under the generic term *Illyricum*.

<sup>17</sup> Garašanin 1968, pp. 5-34.

<sup>18</sup> Floca, Valea 1965, pp.163-194.

<sup>19</sup> Floca 1941, pp. 93-95; Wollmann 1996, pp. 225-226.

<sup>20</sup> Pejić 1992, pp. 50-79.

<sup>21</sup> Jovanović 2000, p. 208

<sup>22</sup> Jovanović 2000, p. 208

<sup>23</sup> Classified by P. Alexandrescu under the JaaVI type according to the analysis of the tumular necropolis at Histria. Alexandrescu 1966, pp. 133-294.

<sup>24</sup> Barbu 1977, pp. 204-214.

<sup>25</sup> Simion 1998, pp. 172-175, p. 188, fig. 13.

<sup>26</sup> Buzdugan *et al.* 2002, pp. 425-456.

<sup>27</sup> Alexandrescu 1966, p. 205

<sup>28</sup> Barbu 1971, pp. 46-49; Lungu, Chera 1986, pp. 89-111.

<sup>29</sup> Preda 1965, pp. 233-235, fig. 2/1, 2/2.

<sup>30</sup> Cheluță–Georgescu 1979, pp. 179-182.

<sup>31</sup> Vulćeva 1998, p. 644.

constructions. Although some funerary monuments of this type are also present in Moesia Superior<sup>32</sup>, the association between the *bustum* graves and the tumular configuration of the funeral monument seems to be characteristic of those in Moesia Inferior and Thracia. In fact, in a classification, A. Jovanović considers that the *busta* tumular graves with step-pit represent a distinct category, namely that of “Thracian” grave type<sup>33</sup>. According to this author, the system represents the Romanised version of the old burial traditions specific of Thracian–Dardanian–Missian<sup>34</sup> cultural horizon. The statistic analysis undertaken upon the elements which pertain of the funeral rite, namely of the cremation system, in the funeral incineration complexes dating from the Roman period that have been researched so far on the territory of Moesia Inferior indicate a percentage of 64% for the *bustum* grave type<sup>35</sup>. A similar situation is recorded in Thracia, with the mention that the percentage of graves with on site cremation is slightly higher (67%)<sup>36</sup>.

The configuration that resulted from the mapping of the tumular graves with step-pit indicates their grouping along the main watercourses. These nuclei were associated by some researchers with the administrative structures in the Roman period, where the former aristocracy of Thracian origins, in a context historically linked with the reorganization of the Balkan Peninsula<sup>37</sup>, asserted itself once more.

The western limit of the expansion of the *busta* type burials of “Thracian” origins seems to be that marked by the Južna Morava valley. Other possible nuclei are located in the Struma valley (with notable examples at Pautalia<sup>38</sup> and Kadin Most<sup>39</sup>), along the lower valley of the river Iskăr (region of Sofia, Samokov), as well as along the valley of the Iantra and its affluents, around present-day localities Veliko Tărnovo, Džuljunica<sup>40</sup>, Krušeto<sup>41</sup> and Strajica<sup>42</sup>, as well as in the zone of Butovo. The most frequent occurrences of this type of burial in connection with tumular graves is recorded in the area described by the hydrographical basin of the Mariča (Stara Zagora–Augusta Traiana<sup>43</sup>, Mericleri<sup>44</sup>, Plovdiv–Philippopolis<sup>45</sup>, Kabyle<sup>46</sup> etc.).

It is interesting to note the fact that for the above mentioned examples, regardless of the geographic position, all these sites are dated between the last quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD and the first years of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.

The fact that in most of the necropolises from Alburnus Maior there are elements that indicate a very heterogeneous funerary configuration might reopen the debate on the means by which the auriferous zone was economically colonized.

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<sup>32</sup> Gračanica (Ulpiana) — tumular grave, *busta*, with step-pit, dating from the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD – first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. Likewise, burials of this type have been researched in the Južna Morava valley, in the region near Niš (Brestovac and Nozrena). Tumular complexes from the Roman period, so far left uninvestigated, were signalled in the same region at Krupak, Staničenje, Blato, Kalna, Knez Selo, Malošišta etc. Jovanović 1981, p. 15; Jovanović 2000, p. 207. The tumuli in the Niš region are situated, from the point of view of the ancient ethnic configuration, in the region dominated by anthroponyms of Thracian origins. Papazoglu 1969, p. 160.

<sup>33</sup> Jovanović 2000, pp. 207-208, fig. 21.5.

<sup>34</sup> Jovanović 2000, pp. 207-208, fig. 21.5.

<sup>35</sup> Vulčeva 1998, p. 651, fig. 3.

<sup>36</sup> Vulčeva 1998, p. 651, fig. 3.

<sup>37</sup> This complex phenomenon can be accounted for by the new direction adopted by imperial politics, namely reorganizing the administrative and military structures, a direction initiated by Trajan and finalised by his successor, Hadrian. For this problem see Suceveanu, Barnea 1991, *passim*; Gerov 1988, pp. 116-126, 137-189, all with their respective adjacent bibliographies.

<sup>38</sup> Jovanović 2000, pp. 207-208, fig. 21.5.

<sup>39</sup> Jovanović 2000, pp. 207-208, fig. 21.5.

<sup>40</sup> Jovanović 2000, pp. 207-208, fig. 21.5.

<sup>41</sup> Jovanović 2000, pp. 207-208, fig. 21.5.

<sup>42</sup> Pissarew 1977, pp. 201-205.

<sup>43</sup> Jovanović 2000, pp. 207-208, fig. 21.5.

<sup>44</sup> Aladzov 1965, pp. 77-128.

<sup>45</sup> Plovdiv, Concev 1960 p. 21.

<sup>46</sup> Getov 1982, p. 40.

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The exploitation and economic site at Roșia Montană evolved and the *gentes ex toto orbe romana* arrived in here, allured by the mirage of the gold, transforming the area into a structure suggestively described by Vasile Pârvan as “Californian cities of international civilisation”.

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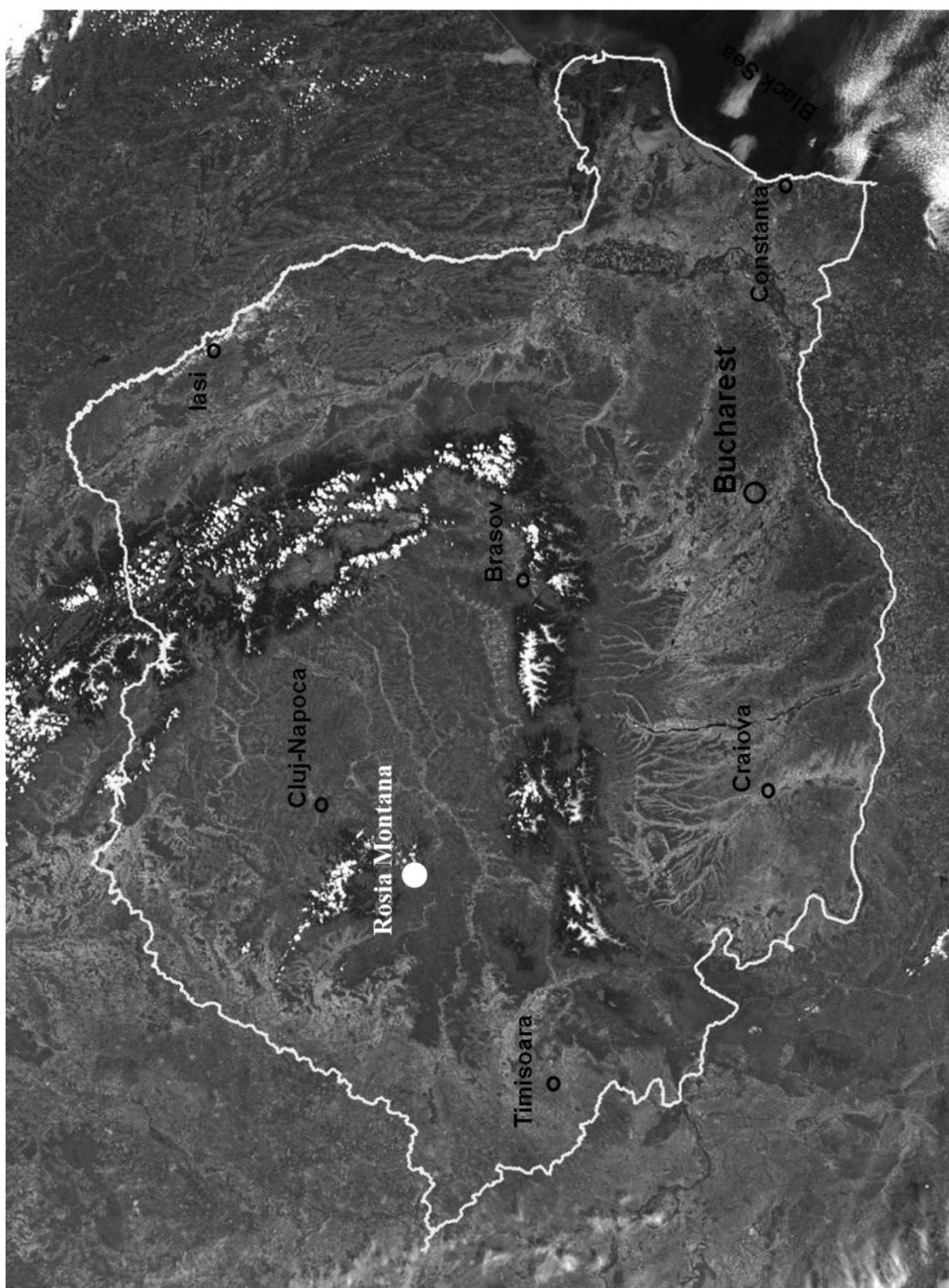
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#### **ABBREVIATIONS**

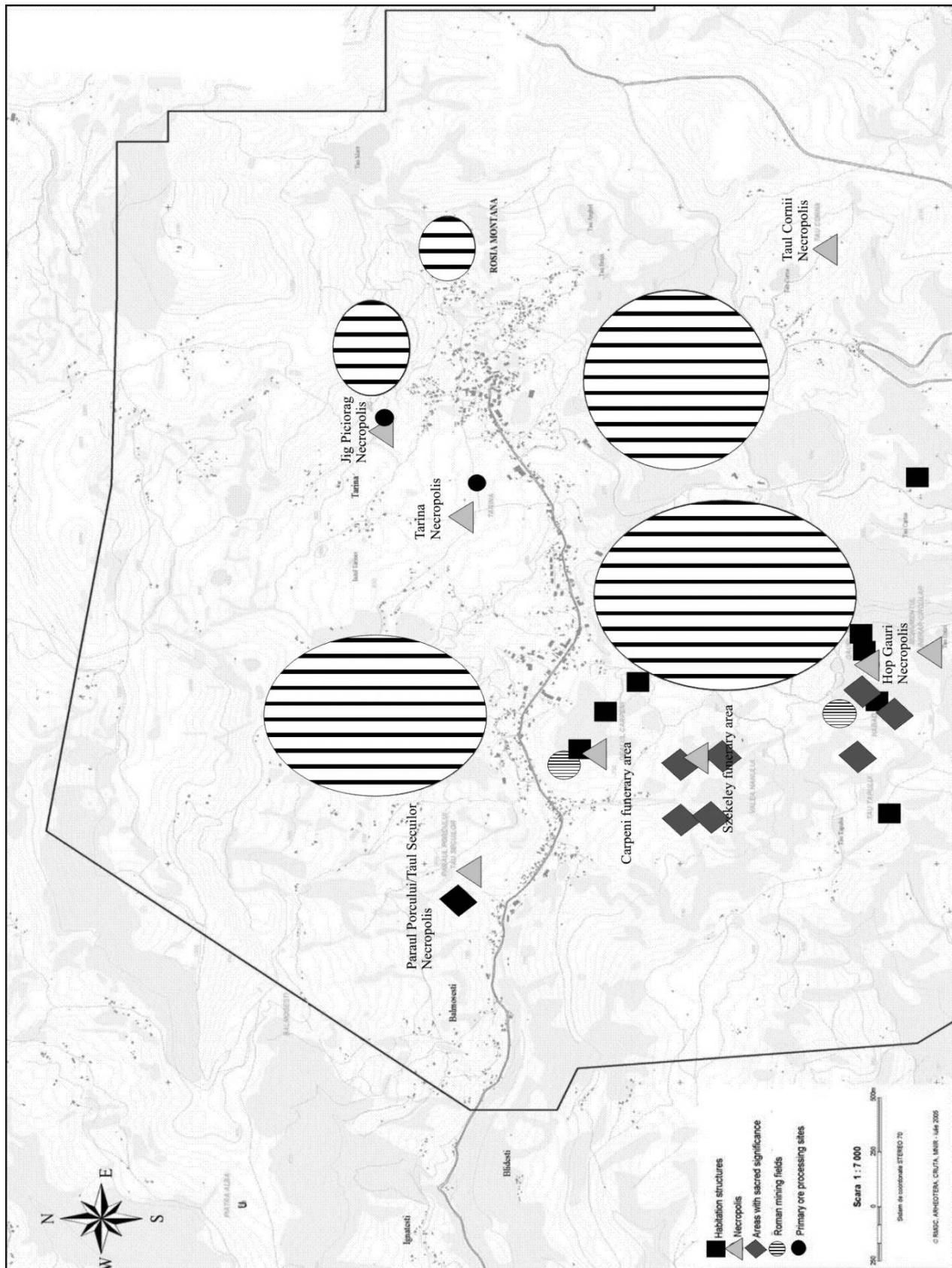
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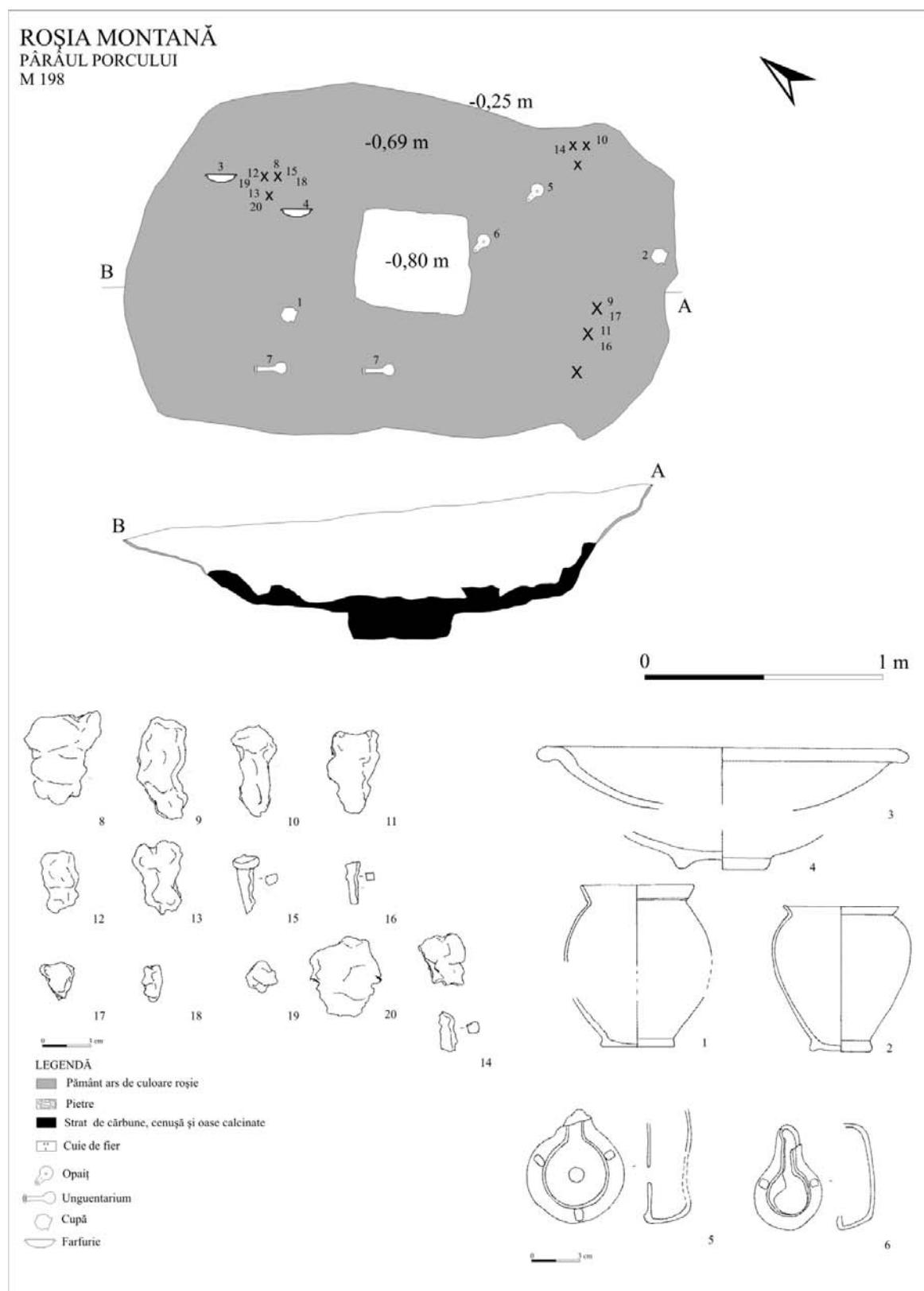
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Pl. 1. Localization of the Rosia Montană site, Alba County.

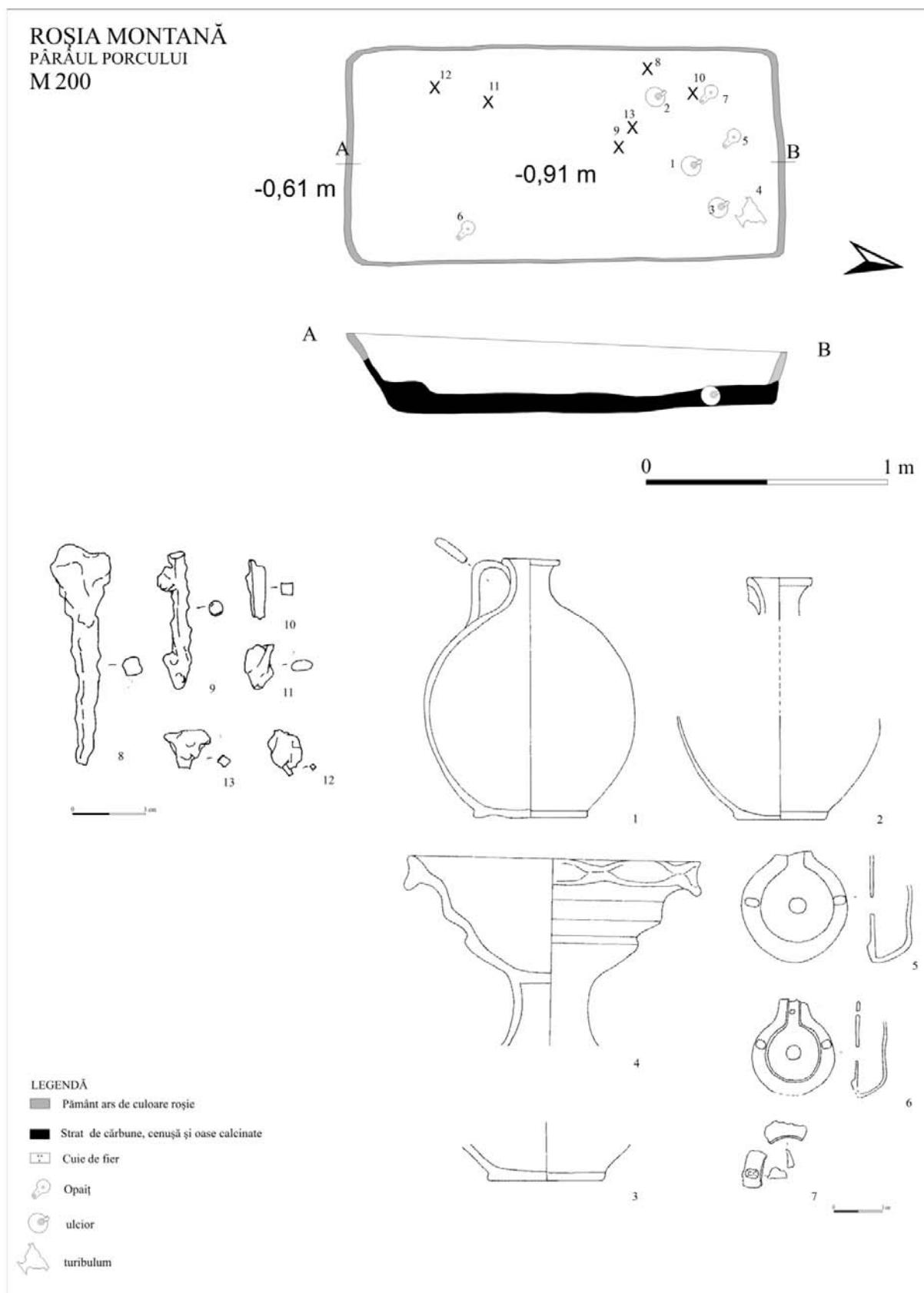


Pl. 2. Archaeological sites identified on the territory of Roșia Montană commune, Alba County.

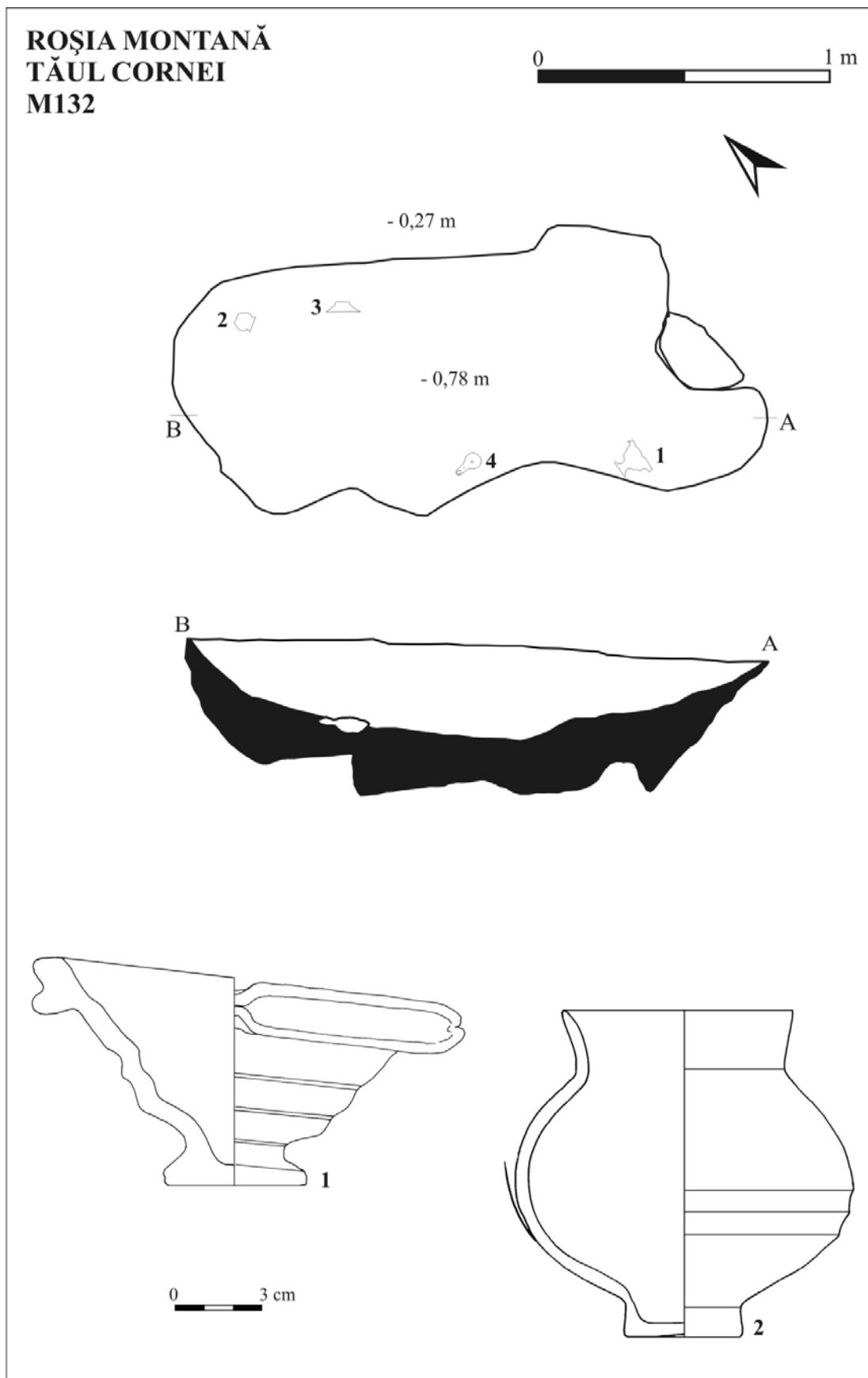


Pl. 3. Grave no. 198 from the Pârâul Porcului / Tăul Secuilor necropolis.

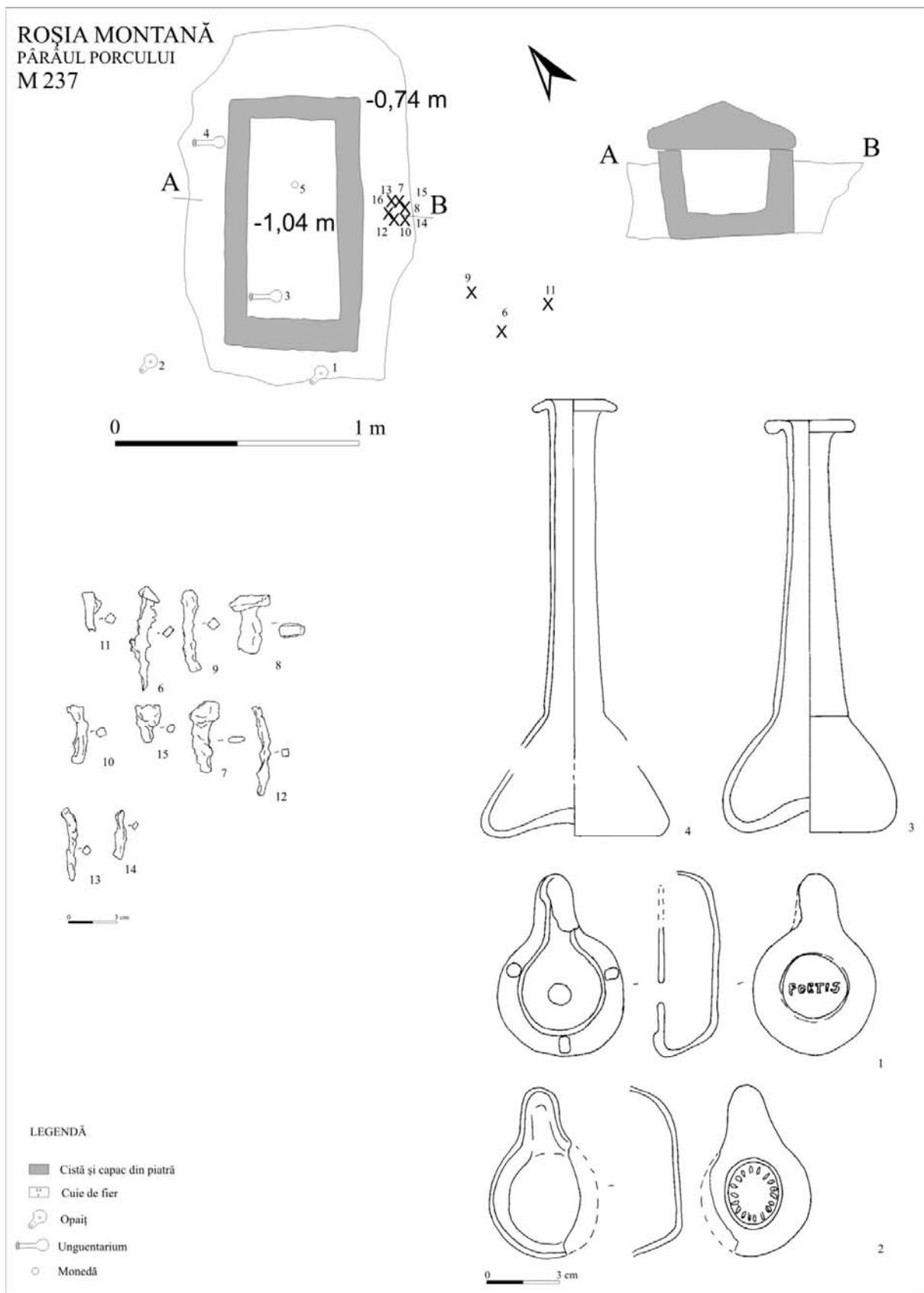
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**Pl. 4. Grave no. 200 from the Pârâul Porcului / Tăul Secuilor necropolis.**



Pl. 5. Grave no. 132 from the Tăul Cornii necropolis.

**Acta Terraes Septemcastrensis, VI, 1, 2007****Pl. 6. Grave no. 237 from the Părâul Porcului / Tăul Secuilor necropolis.**

**TOMBS OF DACIAN WARRIORS (2<sup>ND</sup> - 1<sup>ST</sup> C. BC) FOUND IN  
HUNEDOARA-GRĂDINA CASTELULUI (HUNEDOARA COUNTY)**

**Valeriu Sîrbu, Sabin Adrian Luca, Cristian Roman (Romania)**

**Key-words:** graves, warriors, children, inventory, Dacians.

**Abstract.** The research and analysis of the items here has yielded valuable data on the profound changes experienced by the Geto-Dacian funerary ideology and practices, namely, on the way the dead were handled based on their age, sex and social status. The anthropological, paleozoological analysis, together with the weaponry found in three complexes, stand proof of the presence of Dacian warriors, including knights.

**General data on the site.** One has found here, from the second Iron Age, 31 deposits with human bones, 7 item deposits and 5 agglomerations of materials, plus a number of isolated items (Luca 1999, p. 66-79; ill. VIII-IX; Luca *et alii* 2003, p. 143-144, ill. 64; 2004, p. 142-144, ill. 29; Sîrbu *et alii* 2005, p. 178-179; 2006<sub>1</sub>, p. 176-177; 2006<sub>2</sub>, p. 187-207; 2007). No pits were dug for the tombs. Instead they used, like they had before, the naturally occurring nooks in the dolomite. No unifying norms for depositing or orienting the dead were perceived. The 31 human deposits contained 53 individuals, 5 of which were cremated and 48 inhumed, and the complexes showed a number of features not found in ordinary tombs. Out of the 53 individuals, 38 are less than seven years old (20 of which were under one year!), only one is seven-to-fourteen years old and only 14 individuals, 9 of which were inhumed and 5 cremated, were over 14; all of the 38 children under seven years of age were inhumed. Of the inhumed dead, it was only in 25 cases that whole skeletons were found, whereas isolated bones from various body parts were found in 22 other situations. One skeleton had no skull.

The number of individuals in each deposit fluctuated, from one to six, regardless of whether they had been inhumed or cremated or whether there were entire skeletons or just isolated bones. The sex of the individuals could be determined in only 22 of the cases, 12 of which were male and 10 females, and one could perceive associations with certain kinds of items. One has found a rich and varied inventory, with wearable items accounting for most of it, obviously, but certain characteristics depended on the age, sex and state of skeleton; for instance, it was only in two cremation tombs that pottery was found, whereas weapons appear only in the tombs that include adults.

The complexes with human bones can be dated back to 150/125 BC-106 AD, but one can notice some differences. All the cremation tombs and only one inhumation tomb (C33Dead17) are from 150/125 – 50/25 BC, whereas all of the eight tombs with fibulae from 40/50-106 AD are children inhumation tombs (Sîrbu *et alii* 2007, fig. 69). As for the rest, the inventory makes it difficult to come up with a narrower dating.

Based on the whole of the data gathered, we can estimate that, between mid-2<sup>nd</sup>-middle/end of 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, one has found regular tombs here, almost all of them adult cremation tombs, whereas only children inhumation tombs can be dated, with certainty, back to 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, which is not characteristic of a regular necropolis. The relatively high number of dead, in a period when we are facing a “tomb vacuum” for almost the entire area inhabited by the locals (Babeş 1988, p. 5-22; Sîrbu 1993, p. 21-36), the lack of unifying norms for orienting and depositing the skeletons, the extremely high number of small children (almost 80% of the total) and the fact that almost half of the individuals are represented solely by isolated bones – the analysis of all these facts has yielded important data on the profound changes experienced by the Geto-Dacian funerary ideology and practices during 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC-1<sup>st</sup> c. AD.

During the excavations of the important site from Hunedoara – *Grădina Castelului* (Sîrbu *et alii* 2007), one has found 3 complexes that consist of the vestiges of Dacian warriors (C12, C70 and C71). Although they were recently published in a volume dedicated to the site (Sîrbu *et alii* 2007, p. 24-25, 48-49, 195-196, fig. 7/5; 13/15; 14/6, 13; 34/9-11; 12; 42-44, 73-74), a separate analysis is required because C71 was found after the volume had been edited and it was only included in an *Addenda* (Sîrbu *et alii* 2007, p. 195-6) and because more detailed observations on the rituals, inventory and the importance of the discoveries are in order.

### **The warrior tombs**

#### **Complex no.12; S.V, cass. 2; -(35-40)cm.**

**Context of the discovery.** The dead and the inventory were found at the depth of 0.32-0.35m, on an area of the stone that was relatively flat, on a thin layer of soil and broken dolomite; the bones, spread on a surface of 0.35-0.40m, were protected by dolomite blocs arranged in a circle and were covered with soil and broken dolomite. The inventory was found in various areas of the fitting out: the spearhead was west of the cremated bones, oriented SSW, while the curved battle knife was under it; the metal, bone and glass items were on top of or among the cremated bones; the fruit bowl fragments were above the dead, on a layer of soil 4-5 cm thick (Fig. 1/1-2).

The recovered cremated bones are from all of the body parts; one noticed that the vertebrae are less touched by the fire, which means the dead was not cremated lying on his back.

Therefore, in the funerary deposit, the items were placed following certain rules: the weapons were west of the cremated bones, with no traces of burning, while the fruit-bowls had been broken elsewhere and were deposited in fragments over the dead and the rest of the inventory.

As shown by the anthropological analysis, the recovered cremated bones, from all of the body parts, belong to a male 21-22 years of age. The cremation took place elsewhere and the bones of the dead were selected carefully, as there was no trace of the pyre in the deposit.

#### **Anthropological analyses (Soficaru, Comșa, Stan 2007, p. 93).**

The skeleton was cremated. The femoral wall has a maximal thickness of about 8mm and a very well outlined *linia aspera*, so it is possible that the individual could have been a male.

Cranial fragments (parietal, temporal, occipital) could not be identified, some of them being warped by the fire. The maxilla could be also recovered and reconstructed. The margins of the anthropin aperture have been destroyed. On its right half, a part of the first permanent molar was preserved. The palate was deepened. Together with that bone there were the ascending ramus of the mandible, partly destroyed.

Out of the spine, four fragmentary vertebrae and vertebral apophyses have been found. Rib fragments and metacarpals were also found.

The hip bone was represented just by small fragments. In depth, it could be observed that the bone was not highly affected by the action of the fire, maintaining its natural appearance and color.

From the long bones just diaphysis of the humeri, radii, ulnae, femora and tibiae could be recovered. Separately, two epiphyses have been identified, one of them of a humerus and the other one of a radius.

One of the pubic symphysis which was preserved in good conditions indicated an age of about 21-22 years.

It is interesting to mention here that the vertebrae were hardly affected by fire, so we can infer that the individual was not laid on its back while being burnt on the pyre.

#### **Inventory (Sîrbu *et alii* 2007, p. 24-25, fig. 34/9-11; 35).**

a) iron spearhead (L = 310mm, L. tip = 200mm, D. orifice = 23mm; MCC-Inv. A4734), with a long, slightly truncated body, the tip shaped like a willow's leaf and a median nervure (Fig.1/1; 3/8);

b) iron knife (L = 134mm; MCC-Inv. A4686) with a curved blade and a gush channel near the edge, triangular in section, short handle, rectangular in section, with an orifice and a bolt for affixing (Fig. 1/1;3/6);

c) round bronze chain link (D = 20x19mm, MCC-Inv. A4653), rhombic profile (Fig. 3/3);

- d) round bronze chain link ( $D = 20\text{mm}$ ; MCC-Inv. A4675), with defects from when the metal was cast, oval in section (Fig. 3/2);
- e) bead ( $D = 17\text{mm}$ ,  $H = 12\text{mm}$ ; MCC-Inv. A4673), made of whitish glass, with a cylindrical orifice, painted blue and with “ribbed” decorations (Fig. 3/1);
- f) bone handle ( $L = 70\text{mm}$ ,  $D = 10\text{mm}$ ,  $d = 8\text{mm}$ , MCC-Inv. A4683), cylindrical, with an orifice on the inside, decorated with motives consisting of two concentric circles with a dot in the middle, made by incisions, probably passed through fire (Fig. 3/7);
- g) fragment from a similar handle, in terms of material, shape and decoration, but with a larger diameter (Fig. 3/4);
- h) fragmentary iron item, probably a buckle tongue ( $L = 43\text{mm}$ ; MCC-Inv. A4663), with a round and rectangular profile (Fig. 3/9);
- i) fragmentary iron item, probably a buckle tongue ( $L = 49\text{mm}$ , MCC-Inv. A4655), with a round and oval profile (Fig. 3/5);
- i) a fruit-bowl’s cup ( $D = 230\text{mm}$ ), made of semi-fine clay, hand-modeled, put through reducing burn, gray in color (Fig.3/10);
- j) fruit bowl’s cup ( $D = 300\text{mm}$ ), made of semi-fine clay, hand-modeled, put through reducing burn, gray in color (Fig. 3/11).

One interesting aspect is the variety of the items - types, materials and uses - but suggesting a warrior’s inventory.

**Offering (?)**: burnt mammal bones, including the molar of a goat or sheep.

**Dating**: 125-51/25 BC.

#### **Complex no. 71 Dead 31; S.X, c.4; -(24-36)cm.**

**Discovery context.** In a natural nook in the dolomite, on top of a very thin layer of black-grayish, granulated soil, at a depth of 0.20-0.36m, one has found the following: an urn-mug, a lance head, a dagger in its scabbard, a decorative belt buckle and, on the edge of the nook’s opening, a belt buckle (Fig. 2).

The nook’s filling consisted of black-grayish, granulated soil too, in which small fragments of wood coal were found. The upper part of the nook was covered with layer of small fragments of crushed dolomite, spreading over the native rock on the northern and southern sides. The upper part of the deposit was affected by a medieval fitting out nearby, which could also explain, probably, the situation with the decorative belt buckle.

Based on the stratigraphy, one can reconstitute some of the ritual: one has deposited the lance head, without the wooden part, to the east of the urn, and then, on top of it, put the dagger, still in its sheath, both of them with the tip to the south; from the belt, made of some organic material, only the buckle remained, which was pointing up because of the depositing of the urn-mug on it; the soil pressure broke the upper part of the mug and some of the bones fell north-east of it; the mouth of the mug, except for area with the handle, had been broken previously, as there aren’t any of the missing fragments in the fitting out. One has found a decorative belt buckle on the edge of the nook that, obviously, also belongs to this complex.

**Anthropological analyses** (Andrei Soficaru). Almost all bones are white-blue and some cranial fragments are black.

Bones inventory: a) about 80 fragments from skull are preserved, with dimensions of 1 to 5cm (frontal, parietals, occipital, temporals, zygomatics, and sphenoid), b) there are 6 fragments from the mandible and one of them (preserved from mental protuberance to left second molar) has 3 dental alveoli, c) there are 2 maxilla fragments (right side), from first incisor to second molar, d) there also are 10 teeth fragments (incisors and molars), vertebral column = the axis (with entire dens), 2 cervical vertebrae, and 14 fragments of vertebral arches, e) 4 diaphysis fragments, possibly from the humerus, were identified from the long bones.

Sex determination: male (nuchal line, mental protuberance, supraorbital margin).

Age estimation: mature (coronal suture closed, deformed vertebral bodies, bony development on axis dens).

**Inventory.**

a) *The urn* consists of a mug (preserved H. = 149mm; H. with handle = 160mm; D. max. = 146mm; D. bottom – 64mm; MCC-Inv. A5039), wheel-modeled, made of fine clay, put through reducing burn, gray in color; its bottom is ring-like, prominent, the body is bi-truncated, with the shoulder at an angle, the neck is tall, the handle is slightly raised, shaped like a band, almost semi-circular in section, attached at the shoulder and the mouth (Fig. 9/3; 10/4). The edges of the upper part of the mug are dull, compared to those broken by soil pressure, meaning the vessel was ritually broken prior to the bones' being deposited; in fact, the parts missing from the mug's mouth were not found in the nook.

b) *Lance head* (L = 355mm; L tip = 245mm; D. orifice = 15mm; Weight = 210gr.; MCC-Inv. A5033); obviously, only the tip was deposited, because the wooden part did not have enough room in the nook; the item has the socket long and truncated, with two attaching orifices that are symmetrical and oval, with the active part shaped like a willow's leaf a more prominent median nervure close to the socket (Fig. 7; 10/3).

c) *Curved dagger*, well preserved (L = 275mm; L handle = 95mm; L tip = 185mm; D. button = 21x20mm; Weight = 85gr; MCC-Inv. A5034) (Fig. 8; 11); the handle is rectangular in plane and in section, with three oval attaching orifices, endowed with two hose, one slightly oval and with a button at the outside end, while the one next to the blade is flattened, both of them decorated with rings that are circular in relief; the blade is curved, triangular in section, with a deep groove close to the handle ("blood gush groove"); close to the middle, where the groove gets interrupted, the blade is adorned, by stamping, with two birds, probably eagles, marked at the middle and the extremities with three rings.

d). *Dagger scabbard* (L = 145mm; max. W = 34mm; D. button = 10mm; Weight = 40gr; MCC-Inv. A5035). Only the lower metallic part from the outside was preserved, made out of an iron plaque with the margins curved towards the inside and a truncated button at the end; the rest of the item, made of wood or leather, disintegrated (Fig. 8; 11)

d). *Belt buckle* (D = 56x54mm; Weight = 35 gr; MCC-Inv. A5036) is rectangular in plane and in section, with the corners rounded and the attaching end shaped like a hook (Fig. 9/2; 10/1). The buckle's pin (L = 50mm; Weight = 5gr), also iron, is truncated in plane and circular in section.

f) *Decorative belt buckle* (L = 144mm; W. max = 46mm; thickness of iron sheet = 1.5mm; thickness of plates, iron plus bronze = 3mm; Weight = 40gr; MCC-Inv. A5038) (Fig. 9/1; 10/1). The iron plate with the edges slightly arched, getting narrower towards the hook, whose tip is broken, while only half of the attaching hinge, at the other end, used to attach it to the belt by means of an iron chain mail, is preserved. Out of the ornamented bronze sheet, covering the iron plate, only certain portions have survived, with the most complete one being next to the hook; the decoration, made in the *au repoussée* technique, consists of five transversal embossed lines, preserved solely next to the hook, as the edges of the sheet and the middle of the item is marked by two embossed lines and, on the edges, one has made oval "semi-circles" consisting of two embossed lines; they were probably ornamental, since they take up the entire surface of the item. Based on the shape and decoration, the item is characteristic of the Dacian horizon from 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> century BC (Babeş 1983, p. 196-221).

**Complex 70, Deposit no. 70; S22-S24; -(28-30)cm.**

**Context of the discovery.** Natural nook in the dolomite (D=0.28-0.30m), irregular in shape, where one found two areas with burned fragments from a mail shirt, shield, probably a shield and a bridle bit; plus burned bones from a horse and a pig. The nook showed intense black traces of fire, which were in strong contrast to the white dolomite (Fig. 1/3).

Filling: black soil, containing plenty of ash and wood charcoal.

Based on the aspect of the depositing area and the manner in which the items were preserved, the cremation obviously took place elsewhere, separate from the dead, and only some of the horse and pig bones, as well as of the items, were deposited here.

**Animal bones** (El Susi 2007, p. 108). The sample contains about 130 burnt remainders, with slightly different coloring. Thus, from a former grouping that includes thirty fragments of black colour; six pieces are clearly from two or three thoracic horse vertebrae. The other twenty four bones are also from a

horse skeleton, given the same pigmentation as the six pieces. Unfortunately, the heavy damage inflicted by fire was an impediment to establishing their belonging to spine as well; as a result, the twenty five fragments were included in a group - bones from a large-size species - in our case, quite probably, horse. It looks like the vertebrae suggest a slaughtered animal over the age of 4-5 years (given the bone compactness). The second grouping of fifteen burnt fragments, ashen-white in color, suggests a small animal. Among them, one identified just one pig rib. It could be that the other fourteen are also from a pig; in any case, they were included in the category – bones of a small-sized species.

**Inventory.** One has identified the remains of a mail shirt, a shield, and, probably a bridle bit and a helmet, but there also other iron fragments from items that are difficult to identify; if the cremation had taken place in the nook, then the bottom and walls should have had traces of burning too, not just the areas that came in contact with the burned materials and the remains of the still-smoking fire.

a) *Chain mail shirt* made of iron, cut into small fragments, probably with a chisel, as one can notice traces of cuts on one, two, three or four of sides of the pieces preserved, and only a small part of the remains, folded, were put in the nook (Fig. 5;12). The chain mail fragments were not placed on the dead at the time of the cremation, as they chain mails preserved their initial shape, which means they were not exposed to strong fire; the traces of cremated bones on some of the chain mail fragments are the result of their being deposited in nook over the still hot cremated horse and pig bones. The chain mails are short and round (D = 5.5-6mm, W. thread = 1.5mm), both in plane and in section, and the weaving is one widespread at the time

b) *Iron shield umbones*. There are relatively many pieces (over 40), but very small, and their features (shape, thickness, number of layers, folding technique) mean they are from an *umbones*, probably hemispherical, or from the connection and attaching elements of the shield (rivets, edge) (Fig. 4/1; 6/1, 2, 13, 16; 11/11). Although the *umbones* fragments are very small, including those from the item's curvature, meaning it is very difficult to approximate its diameter, we believe it is around 10 cm).

c) *Helmet* (?). There are a few iron-sheet fragments, from a single sheet, that stick together, including one with a hinge, which could constitute an attaching element between the calotte and the mobile cheek-piece of a helmet.

d) *Bridle bit* (?). One has found a few fragments, including something that could be the end of a bridle (Fig. 4/5; 6/4), a potential indication of a bridle bit, which would make sense, given that the deposit includes horse bones.

There are also several small iron fragments, whose piece of origin is very difficult to identify.

What is interesting is that all the items had been fragmented and only parts of them were deposited in the nook, together with remains from the still-smoking fire. Since burnt horse and pig bones were found in the deposit, perhaps the fire remains are from their cremation.

Based on the closeness, complementary character and chronology of complexes C70 and C71, we can conclude they are both the vestiges of a knight. Also illuminating is the fact that the items deposited form a knight's war gear: the lance and the dagger are the offensive weapons, the chain mail shirt, the shield and, possibly, the helmet, are the defensive gear, a bridle bit and some wearable items.

With the help of both complexes, we can partially reconstitute the rituals.

The horse and the pig were cremated elsewhere, separate from the dead, while their remains were deposited in a nook, together with some of the intentionally fragmented chain mail shirt, shield and, possibly, a helmet and a bridle bit.

The dead, in turn, was cremated elsewhere, separate from his fighting equipment, and the burned bones, carefully selected (there are missing bone legs) were deposited in a mug, with the upper part broken, which was then deposited in another, relatively close nook.

### **Analysis of the discoveries**

**Location.** The three complexes were discovered in the southern part of the human and item deposits, namely in the south-western (C12) and south-eastern (C70, C71) corners (Sîrbu *et alii* 2007, p. 235, fig. 21).

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One has not found any traces of tumuli or special fitting outs; it was only in C12 that we find a circular fitting out made of boulders of dolomite.

**Rite and rituals.** Both the dead and the animal offerings were cremated separately elsewhere, as there are no traces of the pyre on the *Grădina Castelului* plateau. The vertebrae of the dead in C12 were slightly singed and the dead in C71 does not have any leg bones, meaning there was some selection involved for the bones of the dead on the pyre. In C70, one could notice that the remains of the pyre, on which the horse and pig were cremated, were deposited still smoking in the nook.

While the bones of the dead in C12 were deposited directly in the pit, those in Complex C71 were deposited in the urn first. In both C12 and C71, it should be mentioned, the lance heads and daggers were deposited on top of one another, with the tips towards the south.

The lances, dagger and curved fighting knife, present next to the dead, are in one piece and do not show any traces of burning or deterioration. It was only part of the fighting gear – the chain mail shirt, the shield, the helmet (?) and the bridle bit found next to the cremated horse that are fragmentary and deposited partially.

**Age and sex.** In both cases, the anthropological analyses have shown that we are dealing with adult men, something confirmed by the inventory found, characteristic of warriors. In fact, whenever weapons were found in the tombs and anthropological analyses were made, we are dealing with adult men (Sîrbu 1994, p. 133).

**Offerings.** In C12, we have found cremated mammal bones, including some from sheep/goats, and, in C71, from a pig.

**The inventory** found in the three complexes is diverse: a) offensive weapons – two lances, a sheathed dagger, a curved knife, b) defensive gear – a chain mail shirt, a shield, perhaps a helmet as well, c) clothing accessories – a decorative belt buckle, a belt buckle, plus what could be another two belt buckles, d) adornments – a glass bead, e) pottery – a mug and two fruit-bowls, f) bridle bit (?), g) miscellaneous – two bone handles and two bronze chain links. All in all, therefore, one has found around 20 items.

We will speak in more detail only about a few types of the items with a higher typological, chronological and, eventually, ethnic relevance.

**Chain mail shirts**, such as the one on C70D7, were found in the Dacian tumuli from Cugir-T2 (Crișan 1980, p. 81-87), Popești-T2, T3 and T4, Radovanu, Poiana-Gorj and Cetățeni (Vulpe 1976, p. 201, 208, fig. 15/1, 18/6-8), namely both in south-western Transylvania and in Oltenia or Walachia, in tombs from the second half of 2<sup>nd</sup> c.-1<sup>st</sup> c. BC. Many instances from 2<sup>nd</sup> - 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC were found in tombs of the Panaghiurski Kolonii group from north-western Bulgaria (Torbov 2004, p. 57-69). Also, on the upper Tisa, in the necropolis from Zemplin, Tumulus 3, cremation tomb 78, belonging to an adult, one has found a chain mail shirt (Budinský-Krička, Lamiová-Schmiedlova 1990, p. 255, fig. 20a-b); the inventory is that of a Dacian warrior from the last decades of 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC – first decades of 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD. Since the chronology and diffusion of this type of item for the Celts and Dacians were recently discussed by Aurel Rustoiu (2006, p. 49-52), we believe there is no point in delving on them.

Although the **curved daggers** (*sica*) of this type are rather numerous (Nicolăescu-Plopșor 1945-1947, p. 17-33, ill. I/6; III/3, 5-6; V/11; Wozniak 1974, p. 98-104; Popović 1989-1990, fig. 3/23; Sîrbu, Rustoiu 1999, p. 80, fig. 4), there are few items that were found whole, decorated and sheathed by means of systematic research. One has found 25 instances, in 20 localities, in the Geto-Dacian area north of the Danube (Sîrbu, Rustoiu 1999, p. 80, fig. 4, plus the new discoveries). The local origin of this weapon is proven by its presence in the Thracian area for almost half a millennium, from 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC (Domaradzki 1986, p. 227) to the representations on Trajan's Column or on artifacts dating back to after the Roman conquest (2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD), such as the plate discovered in Gârla Mare (Stângă 1996, p. 241, fig. 10/5, 11). Of these items, we would like to mention just those from Călărași, Cetate, Orodol (Nicolăescu-Plopșor 1945-1947, ill. I/6; III/3, 5, 6; V/11), Corcova (Sîrbu, Rustoiu, Crăciunescu 1999, fig. 2), from Oltenia, or Sofronievo, Altimir and Tărnava, from north-western Bulgaria (Wozniak 1974, fig. 10/3, 4; Teodossiev, Torbov 1995, fig. 21) and Ezerče (Radoslavna 2005, p. 277-283), next to Razgrad. Special attention should be paid to the decoration on the blades of these weapons, probably showing two affronté vultures, next to solar symbols (Fig. 8;11/1d). The presence of these affronté birds on the blades of the Geto-Dacian fighting knives

(Wozniak 1974, p. 100, fig. 10/1-4) was interpreted as a symbolic element in the ideology of the Dacian warriors and, therefore, as another argument for the cult role played by these weapons (Rustoiu 2002, p. 57-61). In fact, there is the well known scene of Decebal's suicide with a curved dagger, rendered very dramatically on Trajan's Column (scene CXLV).

The **lance heads** are among the most common weapons found in the tombs from 2<sup>nd</sup> – 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC (Fig. 7; 10/3 since north of the Danube alone one has found over 60 instances, in more than 30 localities (Sîrbu, Rustoiu 1999, p. 80, fig. 8, plus the new discoveries). As for the items found here, we only want to remind the reader that they were deposited whole, not burned, not warped and without their wooden part.

As for the type of the iron **shield** found here, it is difficult to come up with some of the details, given the highly fragmentary state of the item; however, the presence of fragments with indications of curvature, including with the edge, points to a hemispherical *umbones*; there are also fragments from the outside edge, the rivets and the universal iron (Fig. 4/1, 3, 11; 6/1-2, 13, 16-17)). The number of shields found north of the Danube is not high, being under 10 (Sîrbu, Rustoiu 1999, p. 81, fig. 5). Various types of shields were found in Dacian tumular tombs, such as in Cugir (Crișan 1980, p. 85) and Popești-T4 (Vulpe 1976, p. 201, fig. 14/5), as well as in the group of flat tombs of the Padea-Panagiurski Kolonii type (Sîrbu, Rustoiu 1999, p. 81, fig. 4) or in the Przeworsk culture (Bochnak 2006, p. 100, fig. 6).

The **decorative belt buckle** found here is type II, under the typology established by Mircea Babes (1983, p. 214-215, 219-220, fig. 10); we also need to call attention to the similar item found in Simeria, in the bed of the river Strei (Pădureanu 2002-2003, p. 101, ill. I), not far from our item in Hunedoara. All in all, the some 25 decorative belt buckles from the Geto-Dacian group, of type I or II, were found in almost 20 sites, the large majority of them settlements or fortresses, but also in some “fields of pits” (Orlea, Sighișoara, Șura Mică), tombs (Hunedoara) or sacred enclosures (Pietroasa Mică-*Gruiu Dării*) (Babes 1983, p. 196-221, plus the new discoveries). North of the Danube, one has found items similar to those from Hunedoara in Simeria, Sighișoara, Ostrovul Șimian, Orlea, Vlădiceasca, plus Altimir south of the Danube (Babes 1983, fig. 10).

Since the main issues related to these types of items were analyzed in very much detail in the synthesis study by Mircea Babes (1983, p. 196-221), we only want to call attention to the fact that their diffusion area (southern part of Transylvania and Moldavia, then Oltenia and Walachia) and their chronology (second half of 2<sup>nd</sup> c. – 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC) correspond to the only area from which we have evidence of Dacian tombs, flat or tumular.

**Pottery.** The number of ceramic vessels from 2<sup>nd</sup> - 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC is not very high, because many tombs were chance discoveries and these items were broken and dumped.

The mug used in C71 (Fig. 9/3; 10/4) is a type encountered rather often with the Dacians, either as an urn or as an offering vessel, wheel-modeled, as in Corcova (Sîrbu, Rustoiu, Crăciunescu 1999, p. 218, fig. 4/2), Brad (Ursachi 1975, p. 254, fig. 336/3; 355/5) and Chirnogi (Şerbanescu 2006, p. 168-170, fig. 4/3-6), or hand-modeled, such as in Turburea-Spahii (Gherghe 1978, p. 17, fig. 3), Teleac (Moga 1982, p. 87-91), Blandiana (Ciugudean 1980, p. 428, fig. 4/1) or Zimnicea – C10M118, C14M1, C15M56 (Alexandrescu 1980, fig. 26/1, 2, 4). These vessel shapes are characteristic of the Dacian pottery of 2<sup>nd</sup> – 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC and encountered often in all the types of sites from this period.

Also, the two **fruit-bowls** (Fig. 3/10-11) are characteristic of the Dacian pottery of this period and are sometimes found in tombs as well, especially in the tumular ones, as is the case in Cugir (Crișan 1980, p. 83), Popești (Vulpe 1976, p. 194-202, fig. 3/2; 7/8; 10/1) ori Lăceni (Moscalu 1977, p. 333, fig. 3/1-2; 4/1).

Similar mugs and fruit-bowls, hand- or wheel-modeled, were found nearby, in the settlement in Hunedoara-Sânpetru (Sîrbu *et alii* 2007, p. 153, fig. 59/5; 60/4; 61/4, 6; 62/1; Sîrbu, Mariș 2008), as well as in other places on the territory of the Hunedoara municipality, so there is no doubt they are from the local Dacian community.

Since we have very few fragments from the helmet and the bridle bit, it is difficult to say what their type was and, consequently, what their analogies were.

There aren't many helmets found north of the Danube and they include those discovered in the tumular tombs from Cugir (Crișan 1980, p. 85) and Popești (Vulpe 1976, p. 201, fig. 12/1).

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On the other hand, **the bridle bits** found in the tumular or flat tombs is rather high and we speak here of only three discoveries nearby, namely Cugir (Crișan 1980, p. 82), Călan (Rustoiu, Sîrbu, Ferencz 2001-2002, p. 113, fig. 4) and Blandiana (Ciugudean 1980, p. 425-432). Although the elements preserved do not offer enough for identifying the type, it probably was a bridle bit of Thracian origin, as found in the many Dacian tumular or flat tombs (Wozniak 1974, p. 109, fig. 11/10-17; Werner 1988; Zirra 1981, p. 115-172; Rustoiu, Sîrbu, Ferencz 2001-2002, p. 113-114, 116-117).

Based on the origin of the items discovered, we believe six of them are Dacian (pottery, dagger with scabbard, curved knife and decorative belt buckle), as the rest of the artifacts are “supranational” goods. Suffice to reopen the issue of the item deposit found in Veliki Vetren, where one has found complete sets of weapons, military gear, clothing accessories and harness items (Stojić 2003, p. 31-86).

We need to make clear that these tombs are not the only ones found in *Grădina Castelului* because, from the second half of 2<sup>nd</sup> c-first half/mid-1<sup>st</sup> c. BC we have C18Dead13a, C30Dead16a, C33Dead17, C34Dead18, which is evidence of a well documented tomb landscape for this period. Save for one case (C33Dead17 – inhumed adolescent), we are always dealing with inhumed adults, but without any representative inventory (Sîrbu *et alii* fig.37/2, 10).

From Complex 21 Deposit 2, we have two sword accessories: a) a scabbard fragment from a bronze Celtic sword of the “pencil-case” type, (Sîrbu *et al.* 2007, p. 43-44, fig. 41/10), called that way because a part of it slid in the other, dated back to La Tène D (Zachar 1974, fig. 5/2, 7; tab. 1); we know of many similar instances in the south of Gallia, but also in areas that are closer, such as tomb 108 from the necropolis in Zemplin (Budinský-Krička, Lamiová-Schmiedlova 1990, p. 260, ill. XV/30), and b) an iron item shaped like and “S”, from a sword sheath’s armor (Sîrbu *et alii* 2007, p. 43-44, fig. 41/12), used for reinforcing it close to the guard, with many analogies among items from La Tène C2-D (Zachar 1974, fig. 5/3, 5; tab. III/4; Łuczkiewicz 2006, p. 36, fig. 5/3).

Two other deposits, C24D4 and C25D5 (Sîrbu *et alii* p. 45-47, fig. 39; 41/9-10), containing both weapons and wearable or harness items, are probably from 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC too.

All of the weaponry items with a narrower dating, belonging to the second half of 2<sup>nd</sup> c-1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, were found together with adult dead or in deposits and they document the presence of warriors here.

The presence of these Dacian warrior tombs, next to other tombs, deposits and isolated Dacian deposits and items from 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> c. BC are evidence of the existence of local communities in the area. In fact, the lack of Celtic discoveries from the Hunedoara valley, as well as other valleys from southern Transylvania (Sîrbu 2007<sub>1</sub>, p. 149-150) and the presence of Dacian materials from 4<sup>th</sup> - 3<sup>rd</sup> c. right in *Grădina Castelului* (C22Pit1, C46Dep6) point to the presence of Dacians in the area even during this period (Sîrbu *et alii*, p. 47-48, 50-51, fig. 41/5-8; 14).

Although one has produced some new data on the situation from the middle Mureş during 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC-1<sup>st</sup> c. AD (Ferencz 2006, p. 113-128; Gheorghiu 2005), it still leaves unsolved many of the major problems connected to the history of this area, in particular the relations between the Dacians and the Celts.

Discoveries with this sort of weapons are known from tumular tombs, such as those in Popeşti, Radovanu, Lăceni or Cugir (Vulpe 1976, p. 193-215; Moscalu 1977, p. 329-337; Crișan 1980, p. 81-87; Babeș 1988, p. 5-8; Sîrbu 1994, p. 123-160), as well as in the flat ones from the Padea-Panagiurski Kolonii area in northern Bulgaria, north-eastern Serbia, southern Romania and south-western Transylvania (Nicolăescu-Plopșor 1945-1947, p. 17-33, ill. I-V; Zirra 1971, p. 223-227, fig. 23; Wozniak 1974; Dimitrova, Gisdova 1975, p. 39-87; Popović 1989-1990, p. 165-176; Sîrbu 1993, p. 22-25; 71-79; Sîrbu, Rustoiu 1999, p. 77-91; Theodossiev 2000; Rustoiu 2002, p. 11-61; Torbov 2004, p. 57-69; Sîrbu, Arsenescu 2006, p. 163-186). The area with flat Dacian tombs from 2<sup>nd</sup> - 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC kept expanding as the research went, the clearest example being the tombs in Chirnogi (Şerbănescu 2006, p. 165-179) and Ezerče (Radoslavna 2005, p. 277-283).

Since many have analyzed the problems associated with these tombs, especially those cited earlier, we need not discuss them yet again. We only want to make a number of observations. It has generally been considered that the tombs with similar items south of the Danube belong the Scordiscians and that those north of the river are from the Dacians, but the analysis of the whole of the discoveries points, maybe, to another reality.

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The discoveries between the Balkans and the Danube be they “field of pits”, such as in Bagachina (Bonev, Alexandrov 1996, p. 39-50, fig.74-105, ill. XXX-XLVII) or Russe (Varbanov, Dragoev 2007, p. 243-264), or treasures, such as in Galice (Nikolov 1988) or Jakimovo, or other types of items characteristic of the lay or warrior aristocracy (large fibulae with knots and multi-spiral silver bracelets, daggers with eagles), prove that the Geto-Dacians represented the main demographical and political forces in the area during 2<sup>nd</sup> – 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC (Sîrbu 2006, p. 102). Of course, the presence of Scordiscian communities from the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. until mid-1<sup>st</sup> century BC, in particular in north-western Bulgaria and north-eastern Serbia, next to the Thracian ones, is visible in a number of discoveries (Wozniak 1974, p. 76, map 2; Sladić 1986; Popović 1989-1990, p. 165-176; 2000, p. 83-111).

Things are much clearer north of the Danube, where the archaeological inventory from settlements, fortresses or cult sites is almost entirely Dacian, with the Celtic items (graphite vessels, wearable items, mostly fibulae) accounting for no more than 0.5% of the total (Sîrbu, Arsenescu 2006, p. 167-170). That's the way it is with most of the settlements and fortresses in Socol (excavations by Caius Săcărin), Stenca Liubcovei, Divici (Gumă, Rustoiu, Săcărin 1997, p. 401-427), Schela Cladovei (Boroneanț, Davidescu 1968, p. 253-260), Gropșani (Popilian, Nica 1998, p. 43-95), Sprâncenata (Preda 1986), Spahii (Gherghe 1978, p. 15-31), Ocnița (Berciu 1981) or in the Căscioarele area (Sîrbu *et alii* 1996), not to mention southern Transylvania, a region with many Dacian settlements and fortresses (Daicoviciu, Ferenczi, Glodariu 1989).

When the ethnic character of some archaeological discoveries from the area is analyzed, one must, first and foremost, take into account the archaeological material from other settlements, fortresses or cult sites because some categories of inventory from tombs, such as weapons, wearable items or prestige goods are “supranational”.

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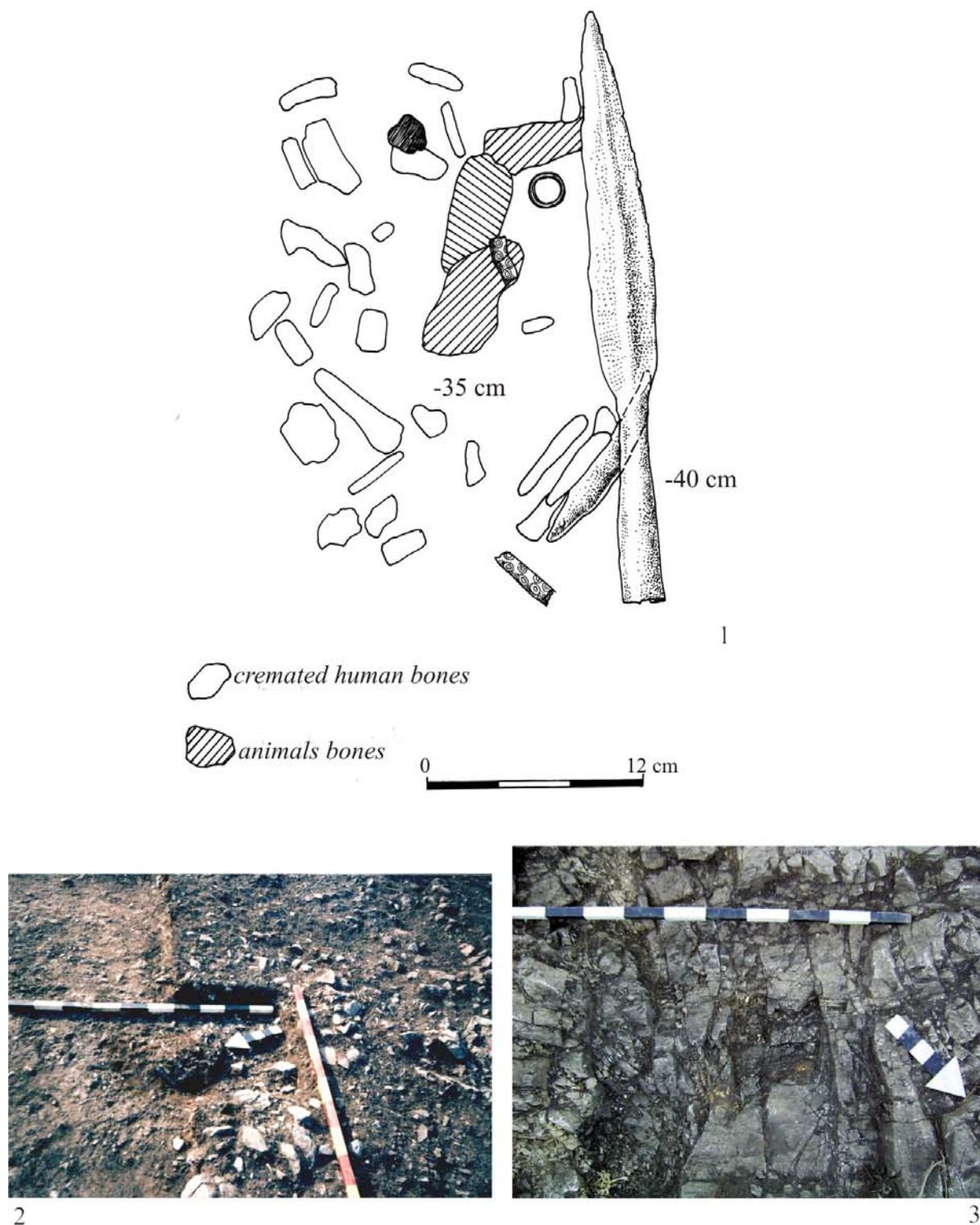


Fig. 1. Hunedoara-The Castle's Garden.. Complexes nos. C12 D7 (1-2), C70 (3).

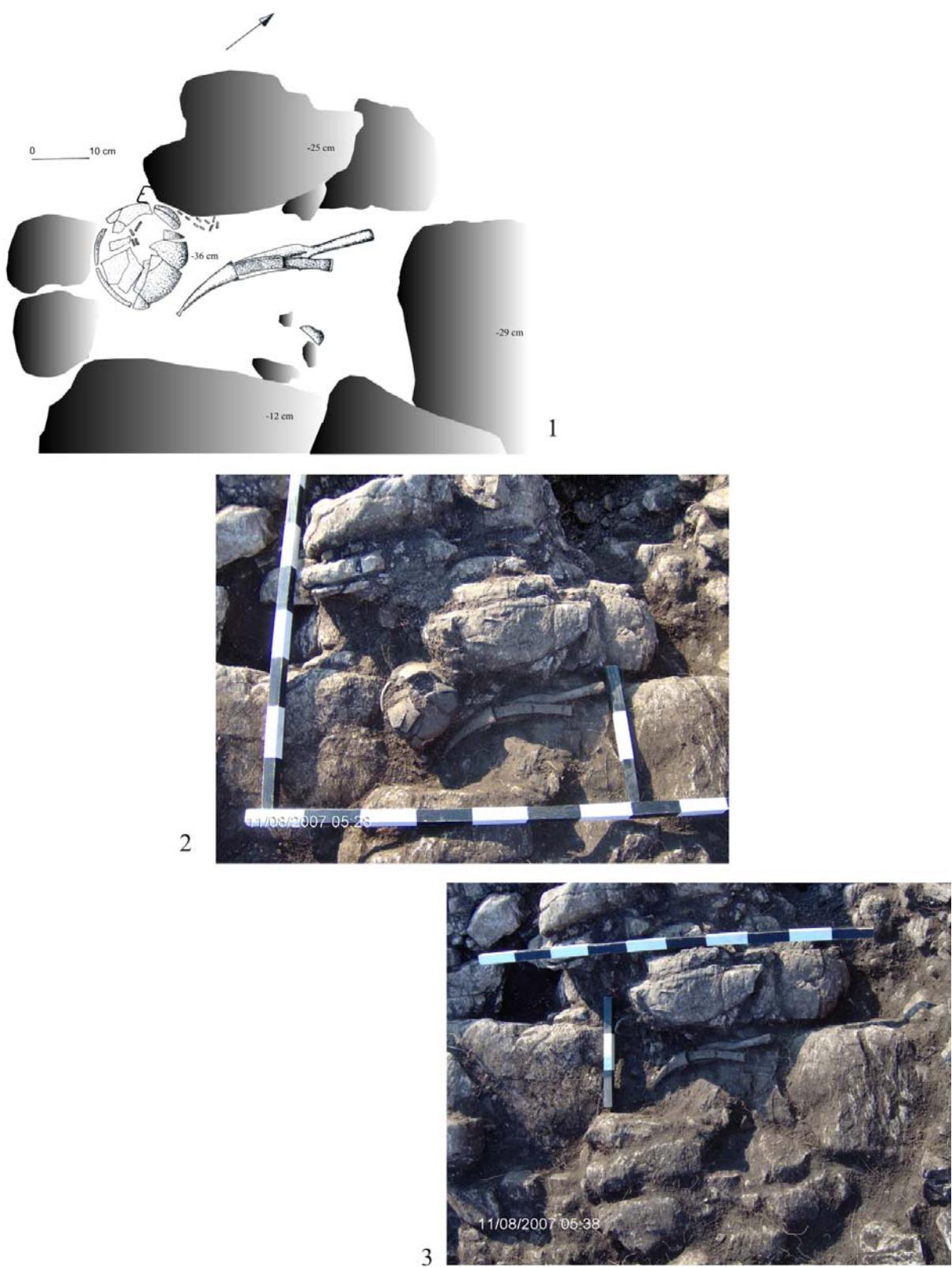


Fig. 2. Hunedoara-The Castle's Garden. Complexe no. C71D31.

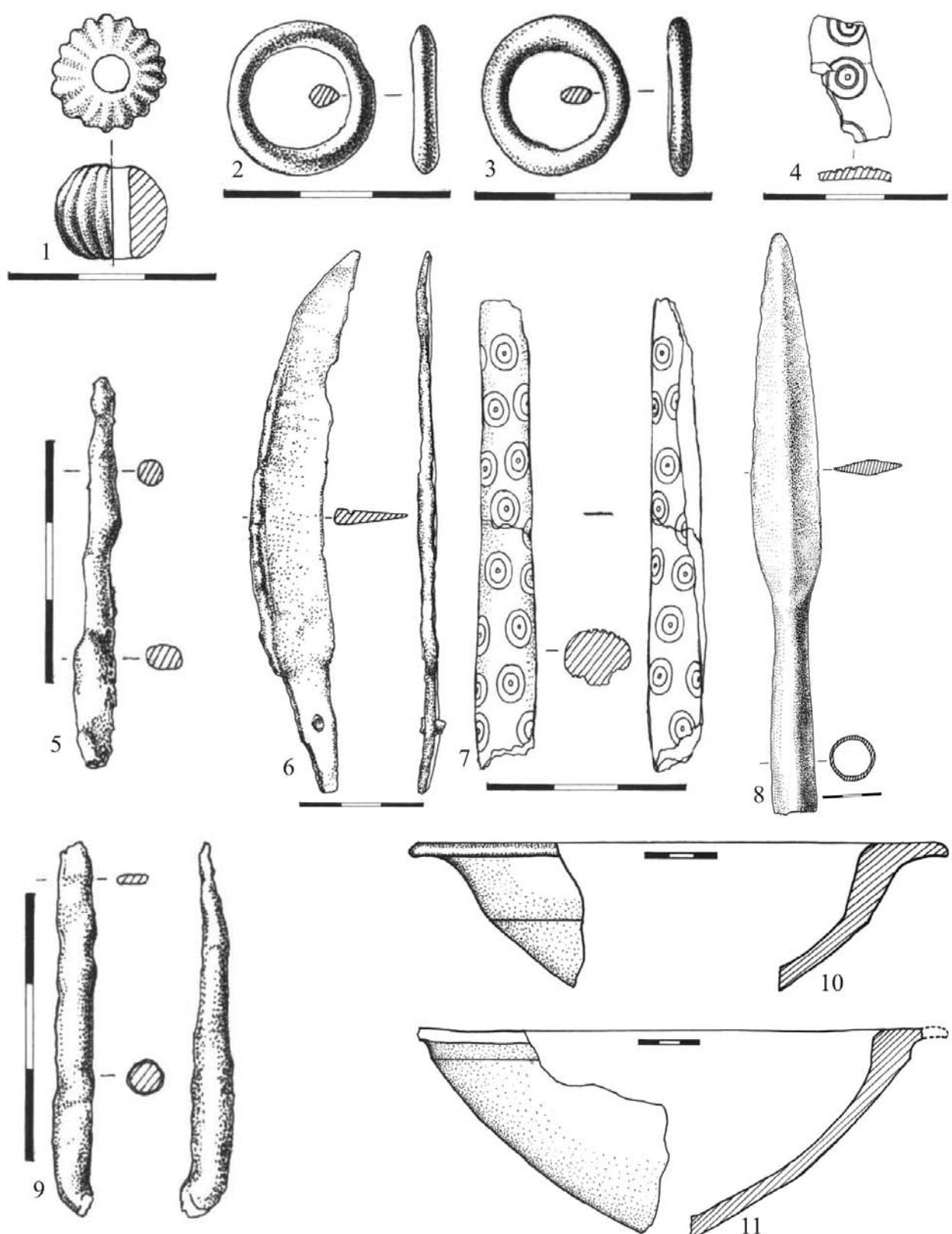


Fig. 3. Hunedoara - *The Castle's Garden*. Complexes nos. C12 D7.  
1 glass, 2-3 bronze, 5-6, 8-9 iron, 4, 7 bone, 10-11 pottery.

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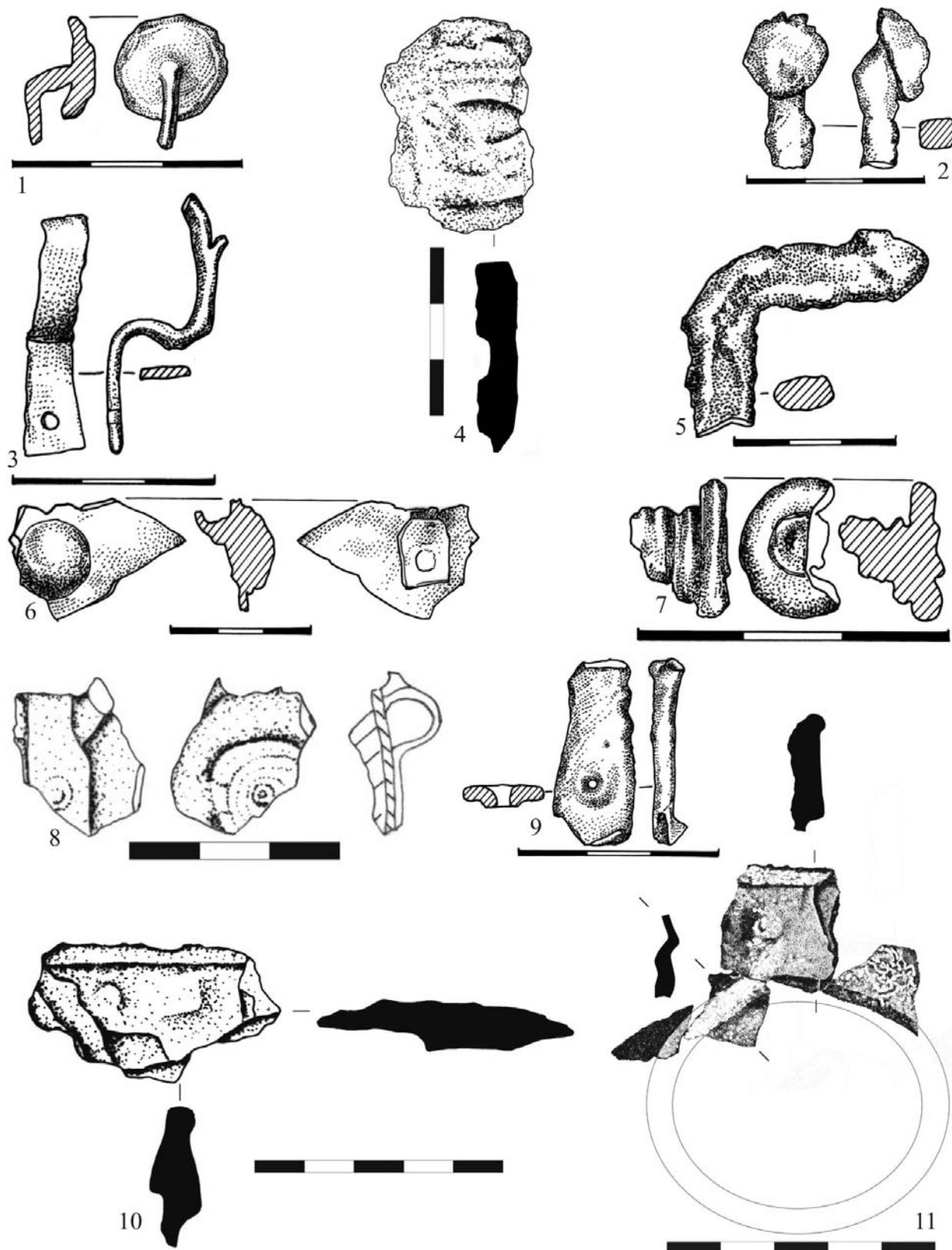


Fig.4. Hunedoara-The Castle's Garden. Complexe no. C70 Deposit 7.

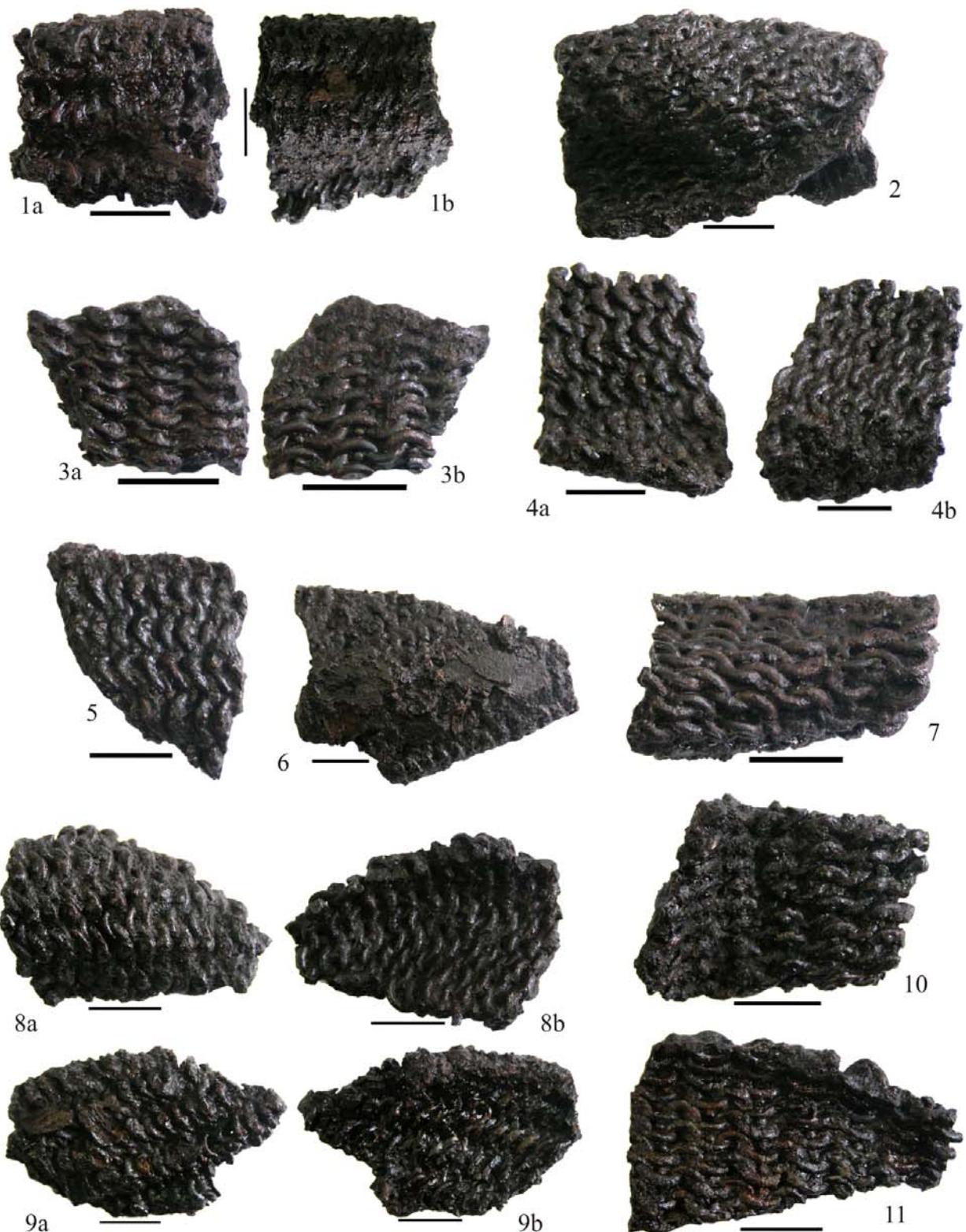


Fig. 5. Hunedoara-The Castle's Garden. Complexe no. 69, Deposit 7.  
Fragments of the iron mail shirt.



Fig. 6. Hunedoara-The Castle's Garden. Fragments of the mail shirt, bridle bit, and *umbones* of shield.

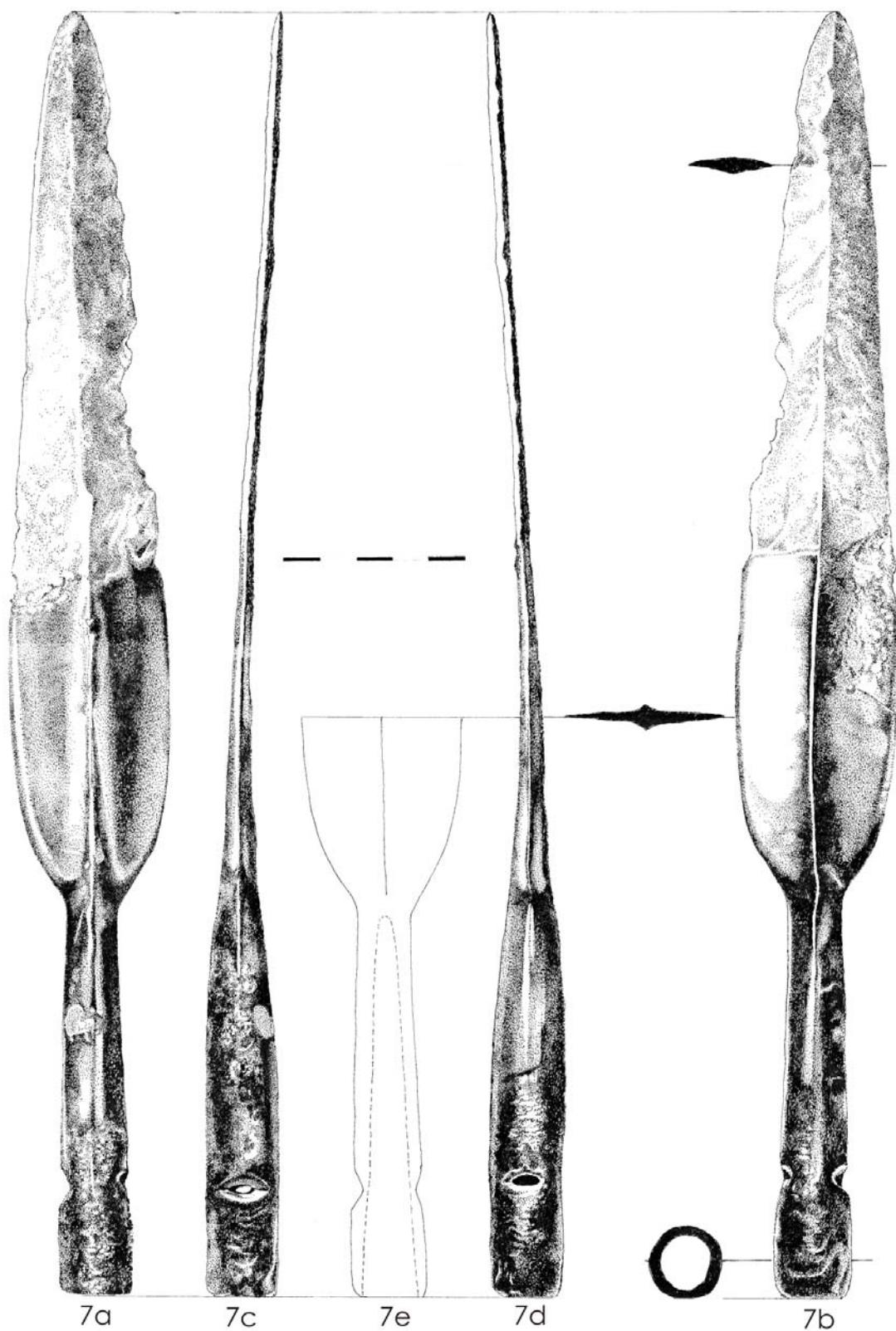


Fig. 7. Hunedoara-The Castle's Garden. Complexe no. C71D31. Iron spearhead.

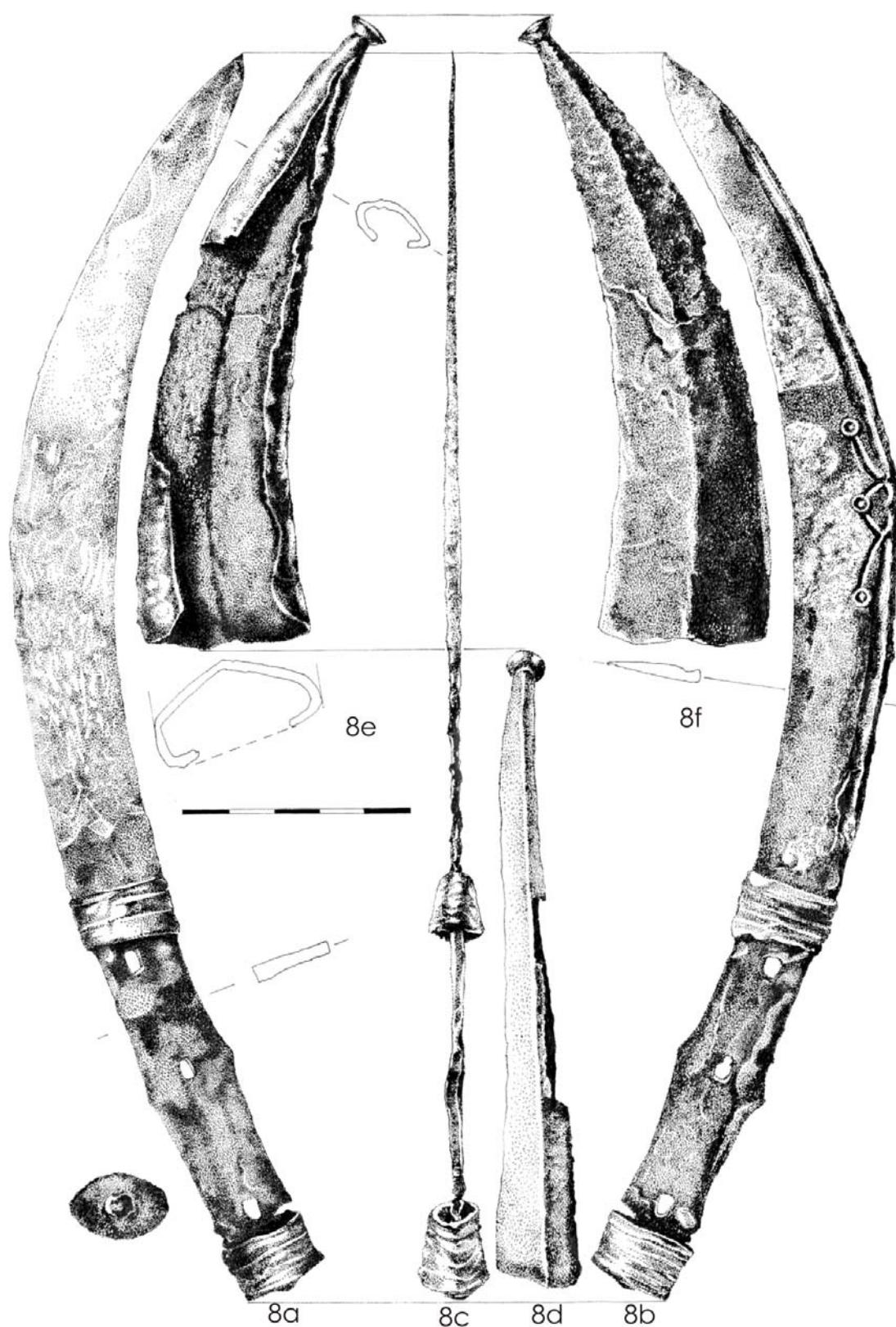


Fig. 8. Hunedoara-The Castle's Garden. Complexe no. C71D31. Iron scabbard dagger.

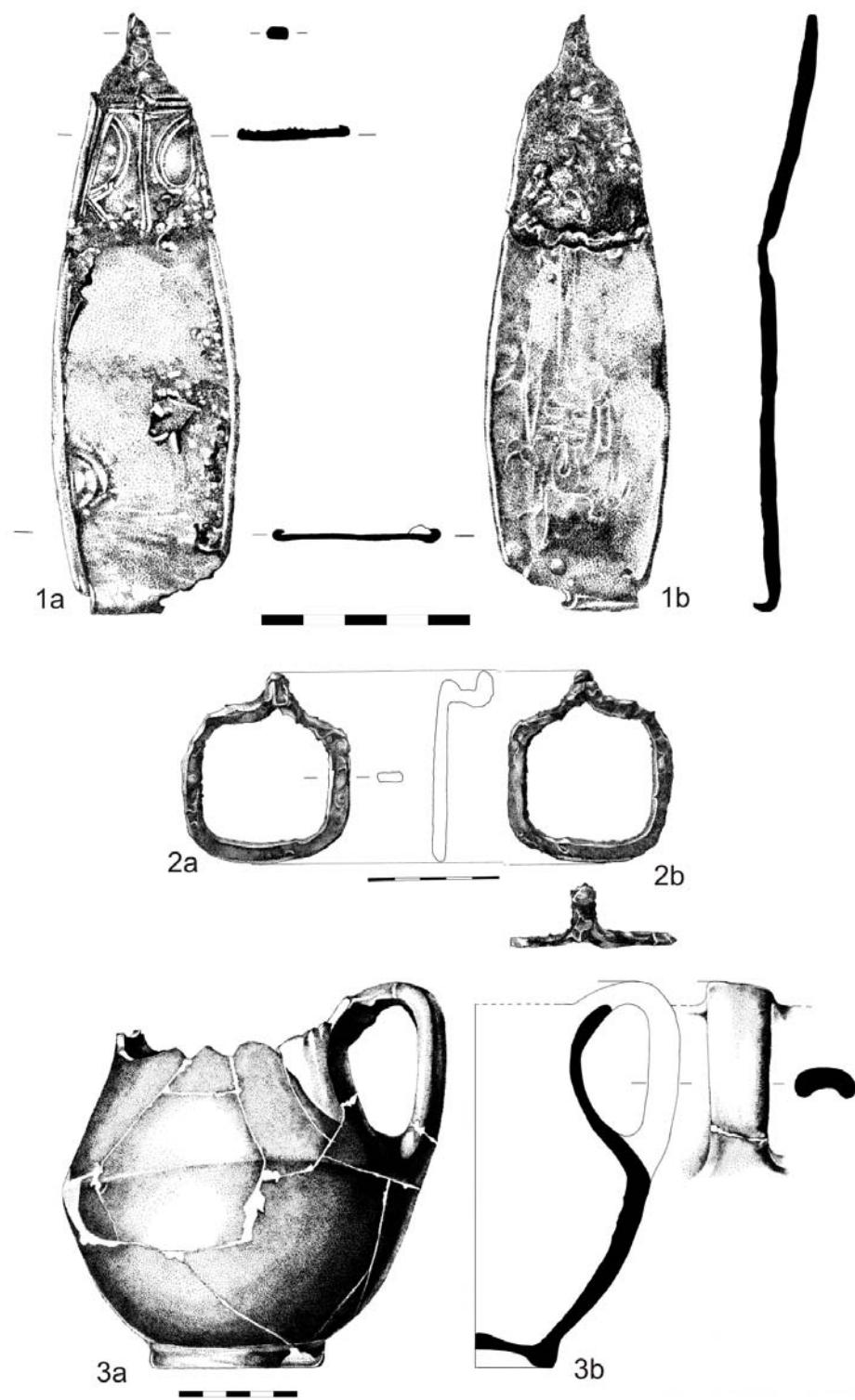


Fig. 9. Hunedoara-The Castle's Garden. Complexe no. C71D31. Iron and bronze buckle (1), iron buckle (2), pottery jug (3).

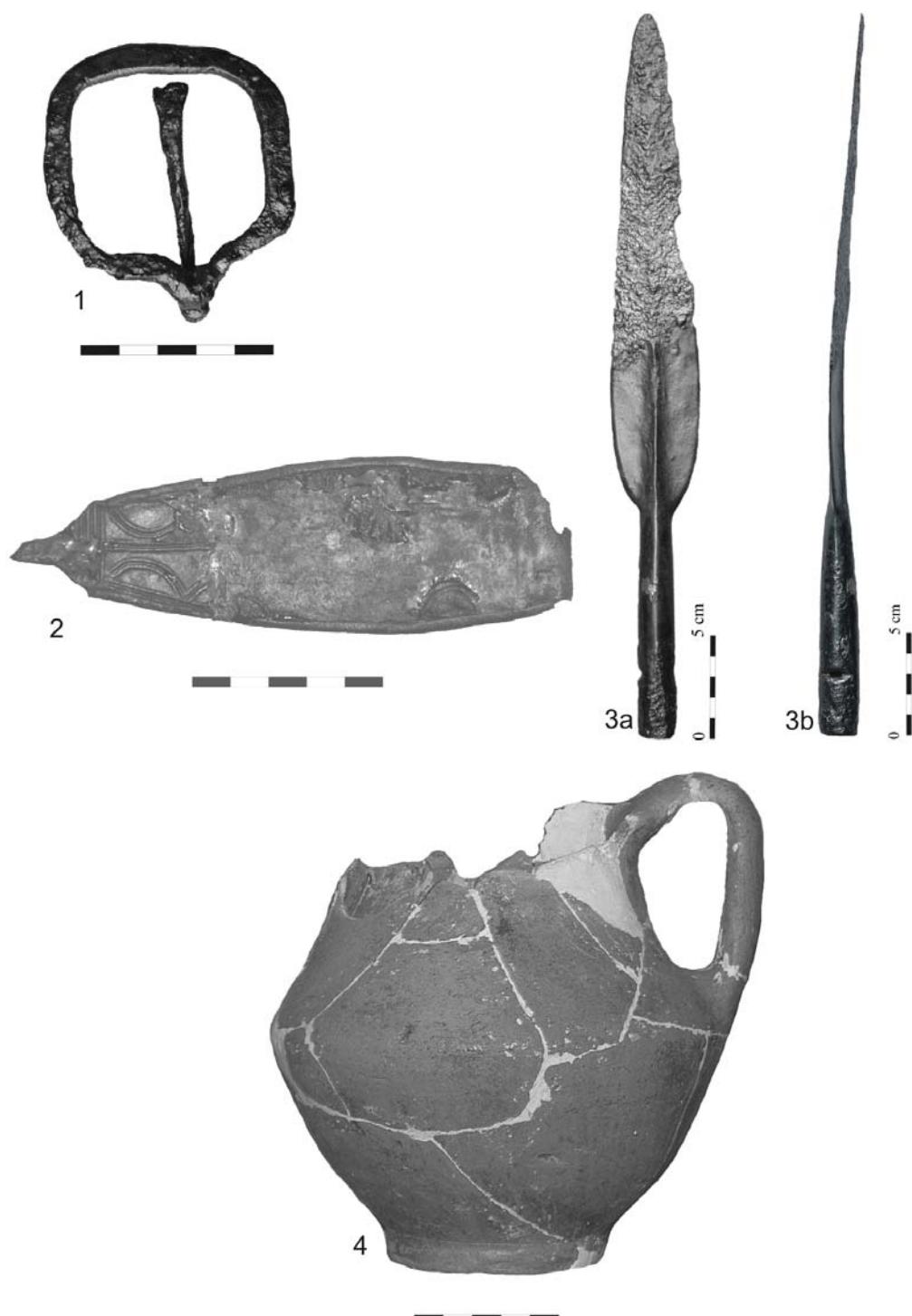


Fig. 10. Hunedoara-The Castle's Garden. Complex no. C71D31. Iron buckle (2), iron and bronze buckle (2), iron spearhead (3), jug (4).

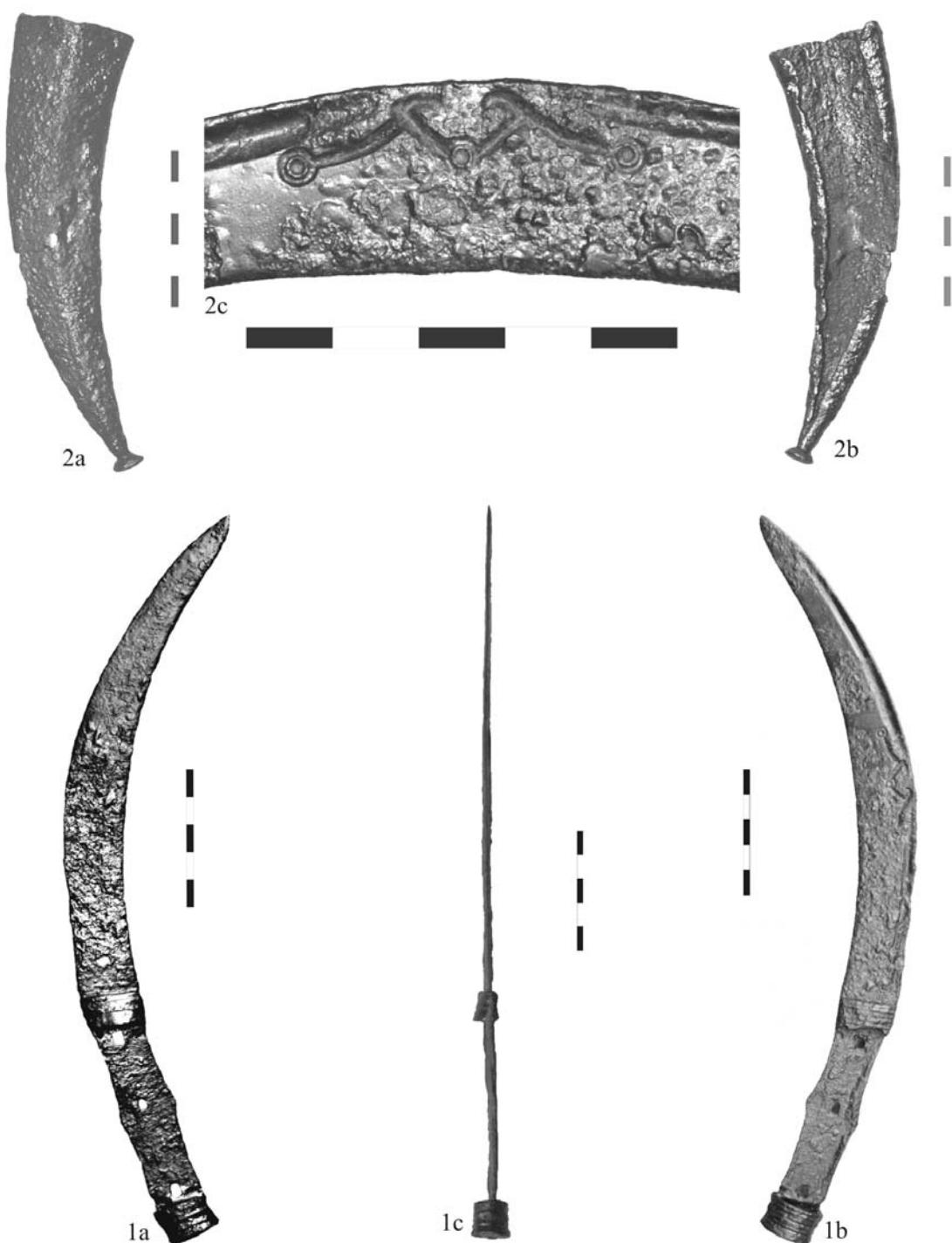


Fig. 11. Hunedoara-The Castle's Garden. Complex no. C71 D31. Dagger (1), scabbard dagger (2).

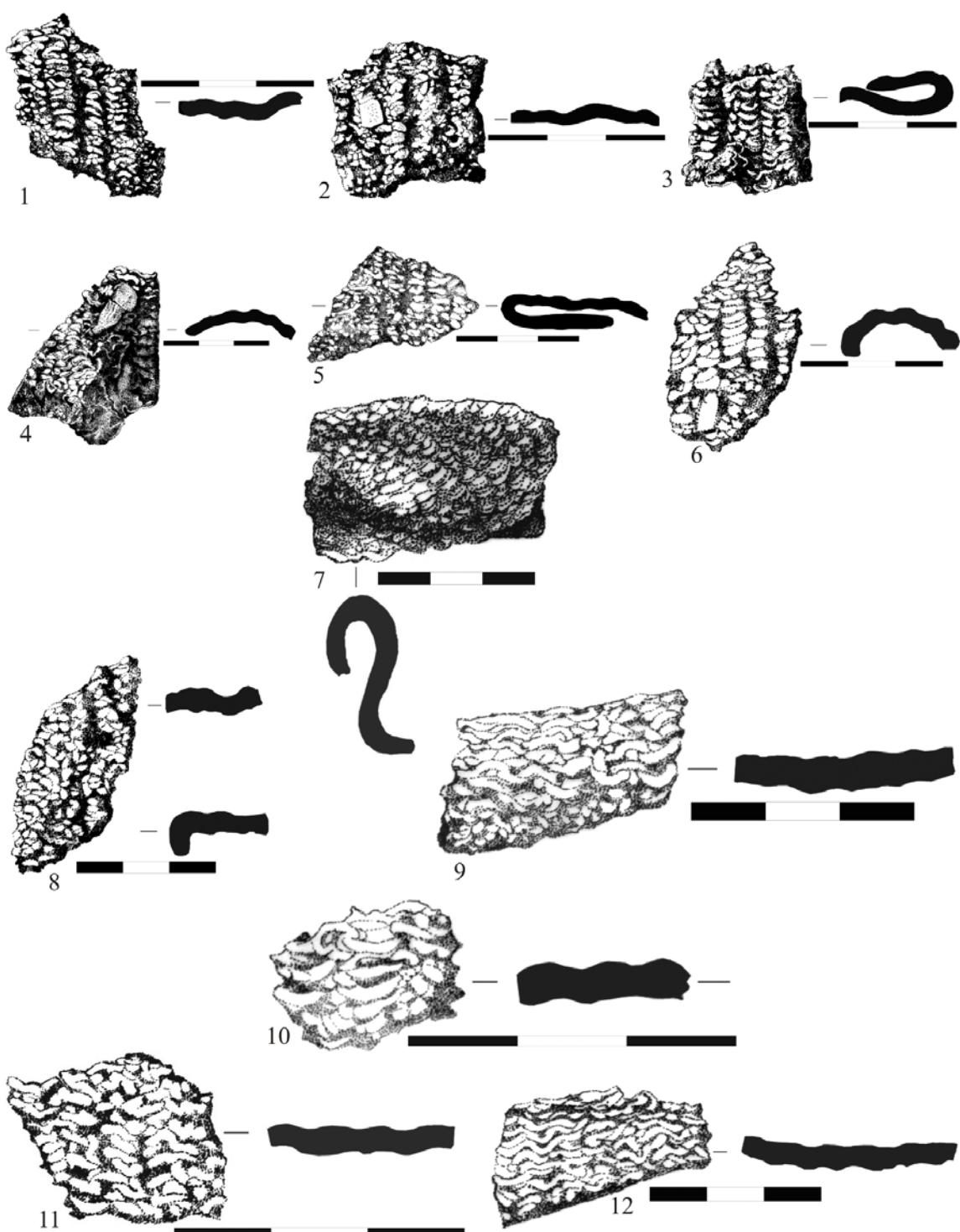


Fig. 12. Hunedoara-The Castle's Garden. Complexe no. 69, Deposit 7. Fragments of the iron mail shirt.

## GRÄBERLOSE TOTEN, TOTENLOSE GRÄBER. EINIGE BETRACHTUNGEN ZUR FRAGE DER KENOTAPHEN AUS DEN PROVINZIALRÖMISCHEN GRÄBERFELDER AUS DAKIEN

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**Key-words.** *cenotaph, cemetery, dead, the Province of Dacia.*

**Abstract:** The cenotaph is a tomb without a dead in it, meaning it is a fitting out (rarely isolated) within a cemetery that has all the features of a tomb but no human bones. However, we are not always dealing with a real dead and a real death. Sometimes, one can also set up cenotaphs when having the symbolic burial of a member of the community that, as a result of an initiation, miraculous save from a deadly peril or some other event has gained a new identity or become a new man. It can also be meant to consecrate the area the necropolis is occupying. The instances that do not fall in the category of cenotaphs are the partial burials (burials of body parts, usually the skull), the total or partial re-inhumations, the human bones found in non-funerary contexts or the cremation tombs containing a symbolic amount of cremation remains, to the extent that they are from the cremation of a human body

Das Kenotaph ist ein totenloses Grab, spich eine seltener isolierte Gestaltung in einem Gräberfeld, das die Merkmale eines Grabes aufweist, aber in dem die menschlichen Gebeine fehlen<sup>1</sup>; nicht immer handelt es sich aber um einen tatsächlichen Verstorbenen, um einen tatsächlichen Tod, sondern Kenotaphe können manchmal auch dann errichtet werden, wenn es zu einer symbolischen Bestattung eines Mitgliedes der Gemeinschaft gegriffen wird, der durch Einführung, durch die wunderbaren Rettung aus einer Todesgefahr oder aus einem anderen Grund eine neue Identität erhalten hat, der zu einem neuen Mensch geworden ist. Weil der archaischer Mensch gegenüber den Verstorbenen Ehrfurcht hatte, wie gegenüber den Götter<sup>2</sup>, ist der Absatz des lebenlosen Leibes im Grab für unentbehrliech gehaltet, um die Seele des Verstorbenen ihre Ruhe zu finden und die Lebendigen nicht mehr belästigen zu können<sup>3</sup>; deswegen, bei Tomis, im 2. Jh.,

<sup>1</sup> Sîrbu 2003, p. 15. Deswegen, können für Kenotaphe nicht die teilweisen Bestattungen (eines gewissen Körperteiles, gewöhnlich des Schädels), die vollständigen oder teilweisen Umbeerdigungen, die Gebeine, die in Kontexte die keinen Bestattungscharakter aufweisen entdeckt wurden und die Einäscherungsgräber, die nur eine symbolische Menge von Brandschutt beinhalten (falls dieser doch von der Einäscherung einer menschlichen Leiche stammt) gehaltet werden. Unserer Meinung nach, ist es sinnlos zu glauben, daß solche symbolische Gräber hätten noch notwendig gewesen oder, noch mehr, daß sie der spezifische Grabtypus einer Gemeinschaft sein könnten, wenn der Bestattungsbrauch die Verstreutung des Brandschuttes auf dem Feld oder seiner Ablagerung in Gewässer oder in anderen Orte (Sümpfe, Baumhöhlen, Grotten) voraussah. Andernfalls, aus der Hinsicht des römischen Sakralrechtes, der Ort in dem der Kopf bestattet ist, wird, im Unterschied zu jenem einer zeitweiligen Bestattung des Verstorbenen, für einen *locus religiosus* gehaltet (Voelkl 1964, p. 17), also auch im Fall der Zergliederung des Leichnams wird dieser für das richtige Grab gehalten (Sonoc 2007, p. 141sq.). Al. Stănescu hat nachgewiesen (Stănescu 2003, pp. 95-97) daß nur das eigentliche Grab (*sepulchrum*), das den Leib oder die Gebeine des Verstorbenen beinhaltet, zu einem unantastbaren, durch gewisse Verbote geschützte *locus religiosus*, *extra commercium* wird, im Unterschied zum Kenotaph, das ein verkaufbarer und schenkbare Erbgut bleibt; Florentinus, der in der beschriebenen Weise das *sepulchrum* definierte, nennt das Kenotaph *monumentum memoriae causa factum* (*Digestae*, XI, 7, 37, 1). Gewiß aber, nicht alle Bestimmungen des römischen Rechtes bezüglich der Kenotaphen hatten eine allgemeine Gültigkeit, genau so wie auch die Inschriften, die sich in unterschiedlichen Formen, einschließlich durch die Widmungsformel, auf die Bewahrung der Gedächtnis an den Verstorbenen beziehen, standen nicht unbedingt an solchen symbolischen Gräber. Zu unterschiedlichen symbolischen und gerichtlichen Aspekte bezüglich der Errichtung der provinzialrömischen Gräber aus Rumänien: Sonoc 2007.

<sup>2</sup> De Coulanges 1984, I, p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> Sîrbu 2003, p. 15; cf. De Coulanges 1984, I, pp. 27 und 35.

behauptet die Grainschrift eines Kindes, der Sohn eines *centurio*, daß die Errichtung des Grabes die Möglichkeit bildet, den Verstorbenen zu ehren und gleichzeitig, den Jammer der Überlebenden zu stillen (*semper gemens, sepulcro honoravit deliniens suos merores*)<sup>4</sup>. Auch die Römer glaubten daß die überwiegende Mehrheit der Unbestatteten (*insupelti*), sei es sie hingerichtete Verbrecher, Selbstmörder, arme Leute, Ertränkten oder fern vom Heimat im Krieg gefallenen Soldaten waren, nach dem Tode zu Wiedergänger wird, die ihres Recht an einer Bestattung zu erwerben versuchen, auch wenn dieses ihnen versagt wurde<sup>5</sup>. In solchen uralten religiösen Vorstellungen, laut denen, im Unterschied zu denjenigen, die die Fortführung der Existenz in einer unterschiedlichen oder parallelen Welt behaupten, die Seele weiter in seinem Haus, das Grab, in dem sie geschlossen wurde weiter lebt<sup>6</sup>, hat ihre Ursprung sowohl die Errichtung von Kenotaphen<sup>7</sup>, wie auch das Vorhandensein des Grabinventars und der verschiedenen Grabbeigaben, die auch nach dem Tode nötig sind, daß diese keine Rückkehrgründe mehr habe<sup>8</sup>, um die Lebendigen noch durch Krankheiten und furchtbaren Erscheinungen zu quälen<sup>9</sup>. Als Ausdruck dieses Glaubens in den unglückbringenden Kräfte der gräberlosen Toten, die verurteilt sind, durch das Diesseits umherzirren, die auf dem Territorium Rumäniens schon seit der Jungsteinzeit belegt ist<sup>10</sup>, aber häufig auch in der ausgehenden Bronzezeit, in den Gräber der Träger der Žuto Brdo – Gârla Mare- Kultur zu sein scheint<sup>11</sup>, sind solche symbolische Gräber sowohl in den provinzialrömischen Gräberfelder aus den dakischen Provinzen, wie auch im benachbarten barbarischen Milieu bekannt und einige Forscher schreiben ihnen sogar die Rolle zu, die Gräberfelder in denen sie vorkommen einzuweihen<sup>12</sup>, eine Hypothese die wir für annehmbar halten nur wenn in einem Gräberfeld solche Gräber vereinzelte oder sehr seltene Befunde sind und/oder sie sich durch Inventare auszeichnen, die anzunehmen erlauben, daß ein solcher Komplex das symbolische Grab eines mythischen Vorfahren darstellen könnte, so wie im Fall desjenigen eines keltischen Häuptlings aus Ciumești (Kr. Satu Mare)<sup>13</sup>. Die Kenotaphen fehlen weder im getischen Milieu, im 5.-3. Jh. v.u.Z., noch in der klassischen dakischen Zivilisation, im 2. Jh. v.u.Z. – 1. Jh. u.Z.<sup>14</sup>. Bei den mit den dakischen Provinzen benachbarten barbarischen Bevölkerungen, sind Kenotaphe sowohl im freien dakischen, wie auch im sarmatischen Milieu bekannt und in der Spätantike auch bei den Träger der Sântana de Mureş – Černjychov- Kultur. Im karpischen Gräberfeld aus Văleni (Kr. Neamț) wurden 2 Gräber (Nr. 381 und 382) entdeckt, in denen weder in den Urnen, noch in den Gruben Brandreste gefunden wurden, während in einem anderen Grab (Nr. 460) nur einige Holzkohlenbruchstücke, so daß alle für Kenotaphe gehalten wurden<sup>15</sup>. Kenotaphe kommen im sarmatischen Milieu sowohl in der Republik Moldawien, bei Corpaci (Hügel Nr. 8)<sup>16</sup>, wie auch in Rumänien, bei Bucov (Kr. Prahova)<sup>17</sup> vor. Im Gräberfeld der Träger der Sântana de Mureş – Černjychov- Kultur aus Bârlad-Valea Seacă (Kr. Vaslui), wo 547 Gräber untersucht wurden, wurden 7 Kenotaphe entdeckt, deren Inventare aus 1-5 Keramikgefäße und, in einem einzigen Fall (Grab Nr. 366), aus einer kleinen Glasperle bestehen und nur in einem einzigen Fall (Grab Nr. 542) wurden auch Fleischbeigaben von Caprovinen abgesetzt<sup>18</sup>; interessant ist die Tatsache, daß alle Gruben dieser Gräber nordsüdlich orientiert waren und daß eines der Gräber (Nr. 159) bei einem Ende eine Stufe hatte<sup>19</sup>, genau so

<sup>4</sup> ISM, II, 218 (54): *semper gemens sepulcro honoravit deliniens suos merores*.

<sup>5</sup> Capdecomme 2003, p. 36.

<sup>6</sup> Chiș 2003, p. 334.

<sup>7</sup> Capdecomme 2003, p. 37.

<sup>8</sup> Sîrbu 1993, p. 21; cf. Frazer 1935.

<sup>9</sup> De Coulanges 1984, pp. 26-29.

<sup>10</sup> Luca 1998-1999; Luca 2006.

<sup>11</sup> Cultura Gârla Mare, p. 2.

<sup>12</sup> Sibișteanu 2000, pp. 63-66.

<sup>13</sup> Sibișteanu 2000, p. 64sq. Die Beschreibung dieses interessanten archäologischen Komplexes: Rusu, Bandula 1970.

<sup>14</sup> Sibișteanu 2000, p. 73sq.

<sup>15</sup> Ioniță, Ursachi 1988, p. 85.

<sup>16</sup> Sibișteanu 2000, p. 66.

<sup>17</sup> Bichir 1998, p. 44; cf. Bichir 1972, p. 144.

<sup>18</sup> Palade 2004, p. 149.

<sup>19</sup> Palade 2004, p. 149.

wie bei einigen im sarmatischen Milieu häufigen Körpergräber, woher sie auch von den Träger der Sântana de Mureş – Černjychov- Kultur übernommen wurden<sup>20</sup> und die, in einigen Gräberfelder aus dem norpontischen Gebiet der Träger der erwähnten Kultur, sogar den vorherrschenden Typus darstellen<sup>21</sup>. Äußerst wichtig ist die Tatsache daß, dank der großen Anzahl der in diesem Friedhof untersuchten Gräber, die Häufigkeit der symbolischen Bestattungen kann in diesem Fall mit einer sehr großen Wahrscheinlichkeit gerechnet werden; sie ist von 1,27 %. Obwohl wir nicht zu einem Vergleich mit anderen Gräberfelder derselben Kultur aus dem Territorium Rumäniens greifen und auch keine Vergleiche mit ähnlichen Befunde aus anderen kulturellen Milieus, sei es barbarische oder römische, machen können, die große Anzahl der in diesem Friedhof untersuchten Gräber macht uns zu glauben daß das Ergebnis der wirklichen Lage im Milieu der Träger der Sântana de Mureş – Černjychov- Kultur doch sehr nahe sei, auch wenn V. Vornic der Meinung ist, daß einige der als Kenotaphen beschriebenen Komplexen, die im birituellen Gräberfeld aus Budeşti (R. Moldawien) entdeckt wurden eigentlich Körpergräber seien, die durchgewühlt wurden oder deren Skelette verfallen sind<sup>22</sup>. Später, verschwinden die Kenotaphen in den nordpontischen Steppen und selbst auf dem heutigen Boden Rumäniens, praktisch, für eine recht lange Zeitspanne. Im Frühmittelalter, sie werden für ein für die Petschenegen spezifische Element gehaltet, das bei anderen Spätwandervölker türkischer Herkunft nicht vorkommt<sup>23</sup>. Auch wenn die Ausbreitung des Christentums die Abnahme der Häufigkeit der Kenotaphen, die weiter nur mit den heidnischen Gräber miteinander vorkommen und, endgültig, selbst deren Verschwinden als Wirkung hatte<sup>24</sup>, überlebten einige Spuren der Bräuche, die das Entstehen der symbolischen Gräber verursacht haben oder die mit ihren Vorhandensein verbunden sind und können selbst in der gegenwärtigen Gesellschaft der Länder, deren vorherrschende Religion das Christentum ist und selbst in einigen Formen der Manifestation des politischen Kultes erkannt werden.

Auch wenn, vorläufig, eine Synthese der recht zahlreichen, aber unausreichend bekannten Auskünfte bezüglich dieser besondere Gräberkategorie, sei es aus dem barbarischen, sei es aus dem provinzialrömischen und spätromischen Milieu aus dem Territorium Rumäniens noch fehlt, glauben wir daß es festgestellt werden kann, daß, im allgemeinen, die Kenotaphen die unterschiedlichen hier vorkommenden Typen von Einäscherungs- und Körpergräber treu nachahmen, gerade weil ihrer Sinn war es, ein symbolisches Grab und, höchstwahrscheinlich, eine symbolische Bestattung zu sichern, üblich einem Verstorbenen, dessen Leib, aus unterschiedlichen Gründe, nicht mehr eingeholt werden konnte oder der fern gestorben ist, ohne daß, laut der Kenntnis oder den Annahmen der Überlebenden, ihm eine Bestattung gemäß den traditionellen Normen zuteil wurde, die ihm endgültig von dem Diesseits trennen sollte und seine Integration ins Jenseits zu sichern sollte. Es ist auch der Fall des einzigen Ertrunkenen, der in Dakien epigraphisch belegt ist, nämlich Aurelius Volusianus aus Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, der wie es scheint in einem Seeunheil (*cal[amitate] m[ar?]i o[presso?]J*) im Alter von 16 Jahren untergegangen ist<sup>25</sup>.

Im nördlichen Gräberfeld der Stadt Romula, war die deckellose Urne des Grabes Nr. 187 lehr, so daß es angenommen wurde, daß es sich wahrscheinlich um ein Kenotaph handeln könnte<sup>26</sup>. Die Gräber Nr. 38 und Nr. 39 aus dem dakisch-römischen Gräberfeld aus Locusteni (Kr. Dolj) wurden für Kenotaphe gehaltet, weil die verbrannten Knochen fehlten<sup>27</sup>; unserer Meinung nach, könnten auch die im dakisch-römischen Gräberfeld aus Enisala (Kr. Tulcea) in Moesia Inferior entdeckten 4 Urnen ohne verbrannten Knochen so gedeutet werden<sup>28</sup>.

Im Einäscherungsgräberfeld aus dem Punkt *Hop* von Alburnus Maior, zwei Gräber mit rechtwinkliger steinernen Einrichtung, die den Umriß einer Grabgrube nachahmen, aber in denen keine Brandspuren

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<sup>20</sup> Vornic 2006, pp. 171 und 252.

<sup>21</sup> Magomedov 1987, p. 41.

<sup>22</sup> Vornic 2006, p. 160.

<sup>23</sup> Baran, Kozlovskij 1991, p. 236.

<sup>24</sup> Musteaţă 2005, p. 105.

<sup>25</sup> IDR, III/2, 390.

<sup>26</sup> Babeş 1970, p. 187.

<sup>27</sup> Popilian 1980, pp. 19 und 55.

<sup>28</sup> Babeş 1971, p. 22, Anm. 20.

entdeckt wurden (Nr. 82 und 151), wurden ebenfalls für Kenotaphe gehaltet<sup>29</sup>. Im Grab Nr. 151 von hier, der eine ovale Grube hatte, wurden keramische Buchstücke und ein Bruchstück eines *lacrimarium* auf einem Pflaster aus unbehauenem Stein abgelagert und mit einer anderen Schicht von unbehauenen Steinen bedeckt<sup>30</sup>; Brandspuren wurden aber nicht gefunden und so wurde das Grab für ein Kenotaph gehaltet<sup>31</sup>. Dieses symbolische Grab mit bepflasterter Grube könnte als die Nachahmung eines *ustrinum* betrachtet werden, auf dem der Verstorbene eingäschert werden sollte, während die an einem oberhalb des Grabes, der verbrannten Knochen oder selbst der Leiche errichteten steinernen *podium* erinnernde Deckung mit Steinen könnte die Furcht gegenüber dem Geist des Toten ausdrücken, der umherzuirren verurteilt war, bis er, durch eine symbolische Bestattung, im Jenseits festgehaftet werden konnte. Aus der Hinsicht der rituellen Bedeutung, die Errichtung eines *podium* oberhalb des Grabes oder der verbrannten Knochen im Fall einiger provinzialrömischen und spätromischen Typen von Einäscherungsgräber aus Dakien ist dem in den dakisch-römischen und spätromischen Gräberfelder aus Dakien und in einigen barbarischen Gräberfelder aus der Nähe der dakischen Provinzen vorkommenden Bedecken einiger beerdigten Verstorbenen mit Steinen ähnlich, auf dem wir aber hier nicht bestehen können. Wir erinnern nur daß ein unsicheres, inventarloses Grab aus demselben Gräberfeld aus Alburnus Maior, das ebenfalls mit einer rechtwinkliger Plattform aus unbehauenem Stein bedeckt wurde<sup>32</sup>, auch für ein mögliches Kenotaph gehaltet wurde<sup>33</sup>. Ebenfalls hier, oberhalb eines Grabes mit Einäscherung *in situ*<sup>34</sup>, sowie eines Grabes eines *ustrinatus*<sup>35</sup>, wurden steinerne Plattformen entdeckt, die aber als Aufschüttungen betrachtet wurden; eine ähnliche Deutung wurde auch einer Anhäufung von Steinen gegeben, die das Grab Nr. 7 aus einer ebenfalls bei Alburnus Maior, aber in der nordwestlichen Seite des Berges Carpeni untersuchten Gräbergruppe bedeckte<sup>36</sup>. Es könnte sich, offensichtlich, nur um die Reste der Aufschüttung einiger zerstörten, vielleicht nicht sehr hohen Hügelgräber handeln; die steinerne Aufschüttung, die symbolisch einen oberhalb des Grabes errichteten künstlichen Berg darstellt, der so zu einem Sinnbild der senkrechten Stellung, der *axis mundi*, also zu einem Anhaltspunkt im Raum geworden ist<sup>37</sup>, könnte aber auch in diesem Fall dieselbe Rolle haben, die unglückbringende Rückkehr der Seele des Verstorbenen ins Diesseits zu verhindern, vielleicht aber auch jene, seinen Sozialstatus zu betonen und das Grab gegen eventuellen Plünderer besser zu beschützen, obwohl auch einige Beziehungen mit gewissen Glauben bezüglich der Lage des Jenseits nicht ausgeschlossen werden können.

Es ist aber schwer zu sagen, ob eine inventarlose *U*-förmige Einrichtung aus auf der Kante gelegten Ziegelsteinen, die in einem der in 1969 untersuchten Hügel aus dem südlichen Gräberfeld aus Romula (der gegen das Ende des 2. Jh., vielleicht selbst in der ersten Hälfte des 3. Jh. datierte Hügel Nr. III) entdeckt wurde<sup>38</sup>, für ein Kenotaph oder nur für einen Herd zur Vorbereitung des Totenmahles gehaltet werden kann. Mit Rücksicht aber auch auf die recht kleiner Nahe vom Ort auf dem der Scheiterhaufen des Grabes Nr. 1 errichtet wurde<sup>39</sup>, aber auch auf die Tatsache, daß es in diesem Hügel auch eine sekundäre Bestattung (ein Körpergrab mit einer aus Ziegelsteinen gebauten Grabzelle), sowie auch ein Scheiterhaufen zur Durchführung von Gußopfer und eine damit verbundene Brandschicht, die aus einer Grube mit Asche und Holzkohlen, aber ohne Inventarelemente besteht, sowie auch andere 3 Orte mit Spuren vom rituellen Brand gibt<sup>40</sup> und auch auf die Bemerkung, daß in den Hügelgräber aus diesem Gräberfeld jedem Grab eine

<sup>29</sup> Moga et alii 2003, p. 210.

<sup>30</sup> Moga et alii 2003, p. 208, Abb. 36/1-2 (Grab Nr. 151).

<sup>31</sup> Moga et alii 2003, p. 210.

<sup>32</sup> Moga et alii 2003, p. 202 (Grab Nr. 82).

<sup>33</sup> Moga et alii 2003, p. 210.

<sup>34</sup> Moga et alii 2003, p. 200 (Grab Nr. 52).

<sup>35</sup> Moga et alii 2003, p. 202 (Grab Nr. 76).

<sup>36</sup> Rusu-Bolindeț et alii 2003, p. 392, Abb. 14/2.

<sup>37</sup> Sîrbu 2004, p. 45.

<sup>38</sup> Leahu 1975, pp. 200-207.

<sup>39</sup> Leahu 1975, Abb. 6.

<sup>40</sup> Leahu 1975, pp. 200-208.

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Brandschicht entspricht<sup>41</sup>, ist es unserer Meinung nach wahrscheinlicher, daß es sich in diesem Fall doch um einen Kenotaph handelt, das eine Variante der Gräber der *ustrinati* nachahmt, deren verbrannten Überreste, ungeachtet ob sie bevor in einer Urne abgelagert wurden oder nicht, in einer aus Steinplatten oder aus Ziegelsteinen gebauten Kiste bestattet wurden.

Bei Lechința (Kr. Mureș), im Punkt *Săliște*, wurde in 1951, auf den steilen Abhänge vom Fluß Mieresch/Mureș her ein größeres, mit Gürtel und Wellenlinien verziertes Gefäß rotschwärzlicher Farbe entdeckt, das mit Asche gefüllt war und in dem sich 2 eisernen Sicheln, Bruchstücke eines unbestimmbaren eisernen Gegenstandes (vielleicht ein Messer?), ein Wetzstein, ein spitztes Bein und durchgebrochene bronzenen Gürtelanteile mit Spuren blauer Emaille befanden<sup>42</sup>; obwohl alle Gegenstände Brandspuren aufwiesen, wurden keine eingäschereten menschlichen Überreste gefunden, so daß das Bestattungscharakter des aufgrund der emaillierten Gürtelanteile im 2.-3. Jh. datierten Fundes nicht gerade sicher ist und, deswegen, kann er nur mit Zurückhalten in der Gruppe der provinzialrömischen Einäscherungsgräber eingestuft werden<sup>43</sup>. Laut A. Husar, der es einem Soldaten keltischer Herkunft zuschreibt, soll das Grab aus der ersten Hälfte des 2. Jh. datieren<sup>44</sup>, auch wenn, von der Struktur des Grabinventars her, scheint es eher einem Veteranen zugehört zu haben, der sich nach der *honesta missio* mit der Landwirtschaft beschäftigt haben mag. Es könnte sich, unserer Meinung nach, um ein Kenotaph handeln, den aber einige Verfasser wahrscheinlich im 4. Jh. zu datieren möchten, indem sie behaupten, daß in diesem Punkt auch Gräber aus dem 4. Jh. und aus dem 6. Jh. bekannt sind<sup>45</sup>.

Für ein mögliches Kenotaph oder für eine mit Gedächtnis- oder mit magischen Rituellen verbundenen Ablagerung (weil die Lage der Gegenstände scheint den Wunsch anzudeuten, gewisse magisch-religiösen Vorschriften zu beachten<sup>46</sup>) können die Waffen und die Anteile militärischer Ausrüstung (ein Langschwert, ein Kurzschwert, ein Schwertscheidenbügel, eine Lanzespitze, eine Speerspitze und ein unvollständiger Dolchgriff) gehaltet werden, die in einer bei 1,22 m unter der gegenwärtigen Bodenoberfläche und 2,5 m nordwestlich von einem Einäscherungsgrab aus dem Gräberfeld einer ländlichen, um einen *castellum* entwickelten Siedlung aus Desa (Kr. Dolj) liegende Grube entdeckt wurden, dessen Umriß aber nicht bestimmt werden konnte<sup>47</sup>. Auch wenn der Vergleich mit dem oben beschriebenen Komplex aus Lechința verlockend scheint, glauben wir doch daß auch dieser wahrscheinlich in Dakien einmaliger Fund, der aber mit den manchmal in den barbarischen Gräberfeldern vorkommenden Kultgruben in Zusammenhang gestellt werden kann, nicht für ein eigentliches Grab gehalten werden kann.

In einem der im Jahre 1957 im Einäscherungsgräberfeld der norisch-pannonischen Ansiedler aus Cașolț (Kr. Sibiu) untersuchten Hügel wurde keine Spur der Verbrennungsstelle oder der spezifischen Materialien, die auf dieser vorkommen (Holzkohlen, Brandschutt, verbrannte Knochen) gefunden wurde, sondern nur ein As von Faustina Senior (wahrscheinlich aus der Zeit 141-161), obwohl der Hügel (LVIII-65), in dessen Auffschüttung keramische Bruchstücke aus mehreren Gefäße und eine ganze, mit der Mündung nach unten gelegte Schüssel entdeckt wurden, sich eindeutig durch seine Ausmaße (die Durchmesser von 7,55x6,16 m und die Höhe von 0,50 m) im Gelände auszeichnete<sup>48</sup>. Das Vorhandensein der Keramik und der Bronzemünze zeigt daß ein durch das symbolische Charakter der Bestattungen erklärbare vereinfachte

<sup>41</sup> Leahu 1975.

<sup>42</sup> Horedt 1958, p. 21sq., Abb. 4; Vlassa 1965, p. 34.

<sup>43</sup> Horedt 1958, p. 22. N. Vlassa datierte dieses Grab im 2. Jh. (Vlassa 1965, p. 34).

<sup>44</sup> Husar 1999, p. 266.

<sup>45</sup> Macrea, Crișan 1964, p. 356, Nr. 60a.

<sup>46</sup> Sowohl die Lanzespitze, wie auch die Speerspitze sind ungefähr ostwestlich, mit der Tülle nach Osten orientiert, während das Langschwert mit der Spitze nach West-Nordwesten und mit der Schneide leicht gehoben und das Kurzschwert mit der Spitze neben dem Griff des Langschwertes abgelegt wurden, über deren südlichen Schneide, so daß der Griff des Kurzschwertes über denjenigen des Dolches liegt, der allem Anschein nach das zuerst im Grab abgelegte Stück war. Die Lanzespitze lag westlich der Schwerter und die Speerspitze südlich von diesen, vor der Klinge und des Griffes des Kurzschwertes. Der Schwertscheidenbügel wurde auf der Klinge des Kurzschwertes, dem Griff nahe entdeckt (Gherghe, Ridiche 2006, p. 151).

<sup>47</sup> Gherghe, Ridiche 2006, p. 151.

<sup>48</sup> Macrea 1959, p. 407sq.

Bestattungsritual stattgefunden hat, wie es das Fehlen an Spuren von Holzkohlen, Asche und verbrannten Knochen andeutet<sup>49</sup>. Auch andere armen Bestattungen aus demselben Gräberfeld, wie jene aus dem Hügel XLIV-86<sup>50</sup> wurden so gedeutet, auch wenn es bemerkt wurde, daß die Gräberplünderung ein anderer Grund der Armut des Grabinventars sein könnte<sup>51</sup>.

Zwei mögliche Kenotaphen, die aus der Hinsicht der Riten, die sie suggerieren könnten, sehr interessant sind, scheinen im östlichen, im Hattert des Dorfes Iaz (Kr. Caraş-Severin) liegendes Gräberfeld der Stadt Tibiscum untersucht gewesen zu sein. Das Grab Nr. 4 aus dem durchgewühlten Hügel Nr. 2, in dem aber die Resten einer Amphore und zumindest eines großen Gefäßes ziegelroter Farbe entdeckt wurden, unter diesen und oberhalb dieser Hohlziegelbruchstücke gefunden wurden, scheint sich bei ca. 2,10 m östlich des Zentrums des Hügels befunden zu haben, der über die Grube einer hallstattzeitlichen halbeingetieften Wohnung errichtet wurde, oberhalb der die römische Schicht eine inventarlose Mülde aufzuweisen scheint<sup>52</sup>, die unserer Meinung nach höchstwahrscheinlich der Senkung der von dem Vorhandensein der darunter befindlichen Grube verursacht wurde zu verdanken sei. Eine weniger betonte, grabungslose Vertiefung (Grab Nr. 4), deren mit dunkelbrauner Erde gefüllte Grube ist hier aber besser umgerissen, wurde auch in der Mitte des Hügels Nr. 3 entdeckt und neben ihr lag ein Ziegelsteinbruchstück, während um sie, auf einer Oberfläche von ca. 4 m<sup>2</sup>, die Reste von 3 Krüge ziegelroter Farbe, die dem in diesem Gräberfeld bekannten Typus zugehören (von denen aber nur einen, in der Nähe dessen eine Bronzemünze von Hadrianus gefunden wurde, eingeholt werden konnte), die als Anteile desselben Grabinventars betrachtet wurden, weil alle erwähnten Materialien in derselben Tiefe lagen<sup>53</sup>. Das muldenförmige Aussehen der Grube und die keramischen Bruchstücke, die ordnunglos um ihr lagen, machen uns zu glauben, daß es sich hier eher um eine symbolische Bestattung, um ein Kenotaph handelt, genau so wie im Fall des Grabes Nr. 4 aus dem Hügel Nr. 2, auch wenn, indem es keine Spur von Einäscherung gab, die beiden Gräber von R. Petrovszky als Körpergräber gedeutet wurden<sup>54</sup>, eine Meinung mit der wir nicht einverstanden sind, weil sie auf der Entdeckung von menschlichen Knochen und nicht auf deren Fehlen fußen sollte.

Hingegen, ist es schwierig zu präzisieren ob die im Grab Nr. 4 und im Hügel Nr. 3 entdeckten Hohlziegelbruchstücke, sowie die anderen Bruchstücke von Backsteinmaterialien (Ziegelstein, Ziegel, Hohlziegel), die als Streufunde in derselben Schicht gefunden wurden<sup>55</sup>, außerhalb der Stadt weggeworfene Abfälle, die nachher mit der Erde aus der die Hügel errichtet wurden hier gebracht wurden (was weniger wahrscheinlich scheint) oder Überreste einiger Grabeinrichtungen sind, wie jenen aus den nordafrikanischen Gräberfeldern mit Körpergräber, wo bei Sfax (Tunesien) die Amphorenbestattungen mit einem Dach aus kleineren Ziegel oder aus Scherben bedeckt waren<sup>56</sup>, während bei Tahadart, im 3.-4. Jh., die Amphorenbruchstücke als Hohlziegeln bei einem Grab mit aus Ziegeln improvisierter Sarkophag benutzt wurden<sup>57</sup>. Weil es keine Gebeine, kalziniert oder nicht, gefunden wurden, könnte die Amphore die Rolle einer symbolischen Bestattung einer Leiche in einer Amphore oder Ablagerung der Brandüberreste in einem solchen als Urne verwendeten Gefäß spielen. Körperbestattungen in Amphoren sind auf der dalmatischen Küste bekannt<sup>58</sup>, während die Benutzung der Amphore als Urne kommt vereinzelt im Milieu der freien Daker aus der Großen Walachei (Muntenien), bei Rusciori (in der Nähe von Scorniceşti, Kr. Olt)<sup>59</sup> vor und häufiger in Moesia Inferior, bei Galați-Tirighina (Kr. Galați)<sup>60</sup>, weil hier ein *castellum* irgendwann im 2. Jh.,

<sup>49</sup> Macrea 1959, p. 408.

<sup>50</sup> Macrea 1959, p. 408.

<sup>51</sup> Macrea 1959, p. 413.

<sup>52</sup> Petrovszky 1979a, p. 207; Petrovszky 1979b, p. 81, Abb. 2.

<sup>53</sup> Petrovszky 1979a, pp. 207 und 209, Taf. III.

<sup>54</sup> Petrovszky 1979a, p. 209.

<sup>55</sup> Petrovszky 1979b, pp. 77 und 79.

<sup>56</sup> Brøndsted 1928, p. 152, Abb. 150.

<sup>57</sup> Ponsich, Tarradell 1965, pp. 55 und 102, Taf. XV/2, Abb. 34.

<sup>58</sup> Brøndsted 1928, pp. 145-149, Abb. 145 und 148; Patsch 1907, Spalte 18sq., Abb. 9-10.

<sup>59</sup> Bichir 1984, p. 18 (Grab Nr. 11).

<sup>60</sup> Sanie 1981, p. 81.

so M. Brudiu, zu einem Amphorenlager wird<sup>61</sup>. Wahrscheinlicher scheint es, daß die Amphore eine Beigabe darstellt, wie im sarmatischen Kenotaph aus Bucov (Kr. Prahova)<sup>62</sup>. In was die Hohlziegel betrifft, es besteht die Möglichkeit ihrer Benutzung zur Errichtung einer symbolischen Urne; die Verwendung der Hohlziegel um eine Urne zu improvisieren ist bei Rheinzabern (Grab Nr. 9) bekannt<sup>63</sup>. Aussgeschlossen soll aber auch nicht die Möglichkeit werden, daß es bei Tibiscum Hügelgräber mit aus Ziegelmaterial improvisierten Sarkophage, eventuell mit aus Amphorenstücke oder Hohlziegel improvisierten Gußopferröhren gegeben hat; das aus Hohlziegel improvisierte Gußopferrohr ist in der ligurisch-provensalische Gegend belegt, im Fall eines körperbestatteten Kindes von Tauroentum (Madrague de St. Cyr-sur-Mer), das im ausgehenden 2. Jh. – beginnenden 3. Jh. datiert wird<sup>64</sup>, eines Grabes aus der Mitte des 2. Jh. aus Pieve del Finale<sup>65</sup> und im Gräberfeld von Dunes (Poitiers), bei zwei Gräber: Nr. 52, aus dem ausgehenden 1. Jh. u.Z.<sup>66</sup> und Nr. 96, mit einem zweischenkligen Ziegeldach<sup>67</sup>. Die Einäscherungsgräber mit Gußopfereinrichtungen sind sehr zahlreich bei Carthago<sup>68</sup>, im Milieu der Freigelassenen und der Sklaven griechisch-orientalischer Herkunft<sup>69</sup>. Im westlichen Gräberfeld aus Potaissa, wo zahlreiche afrikanische Elemente belegt sind, die sich hier vor allem mit der Herrschaft des Septimius Severus beginnend niedergelassen haben<sup>70</sup> und wo der Anteil der ägyptischen und nordafrikanischen Kulte im örtlichen Pantheon viel über demjenigen ins gesamte Dakien liegt<sup>71</sup>, wurde ein Grabgefäß mit wahrscheinlich nicht zufällig zerbrochenen Boden entdeckt, das eine sich zusammengekauerte Frau mit einem Krug in den Händen darstellt, von dem es gehaltet wird, daß wenn es auf dem Grab gesetzt war, ließ durch einen rituellen Akt zum Verstorbenen die beinhaltete Flüssigkeit durchfließen, um dessen Durst zu stillen<sup>72</sup>. Diese alpine, keltisch-ligurische, nordafrikanische oder griechisch-orientalische Einflüsse können bei Tibiscum nicht überraschen, sondern wären sogar durch die ethnische Zusammensetzung der Zivilbevölkerung und der hier stationierten Truppen erklärbar sein<sup>73</sup>.

In einer aus Ziegelsteinen gebauten, von O. Floca in 1939 untersuchten Grabzelle mit bepflasterter *locus* (Nr. 2) wurde eine große Menge von Asche und Holzkohle entdeckt<sup>74</sup>, aber die Tatsache, daß es das Vorhandensein der kalzinierten menschlichen Knochen nicht erwähnt wurde, machte I. Andrițoiu zu meinen, daß dieses Grab schwierig in einer besonderen Kategorie der Einäscherungsgräber einzustufen sei<sup>75</sup>. Unserer Meinung nach, könnte es sich, ganz einfach, um einen *ustrinatus* oder um ein Kenotaph mit aus Ziegelsteinen gebauter Grabzelle handeln. Andernfalls, Gräber von in aus Ziegelsteinen gebauten Grabzellen bestatteten *ustrinati* sind noch in Dakien bekannt: es handelt sich um eine nichtpräzisierte Anzahl von Gräber, die im birituellen Hügelgräberfeld aus Sucidava entdeckt wurden, darunter auch eines, das vor dem Jahre 150 u.Z. datiert ist<sup>76</sup> und um ein Grab mit medizinischem Instrumentarium (Nr. 2/1969) aus dem östlichen Teil des südlichen Gräberfeldes aus Potaissa<sup>77</sup>, in dem die vermiengten stark kazinierten Knochen eines *maturus* I-II männliches Geschlechtes und eines *infans* I-II (9-11 Jahren), wahrscheinlich

<sup>61</sup> Brudiu 1981, p. 63.

<sup>62</sup> Bichir 1998, p. 44; cf. Bichir 1972, p. 144.

<sup>63</sup> Wolski, Berciu 1972, p. 106, Anm. 6.

<sup>64</sup> Wolski, Berciu 1972, p. 113sq.

<sup>65</sup> Wolski, Berciu 1972, p. 114.

<sup>66</sup> Wolski, Berciu 1972, p. 115, Abb. 6a.

<sup>67</sup> Wolski, Berciu 1972, p. 115, Abb. 6b.

<sup>68</sup> Wolski, Berciu 1972, p. 110.

<sup>69</sup> Wolski, Berciu 1972, pp. 116 und 119.

<sup>70</sup> Bărbulescu 1994, p. 57.

<sup>71</sup> Bărbulescu 1994, p. 169.

<sup>72</sup> Bărbulescu 1996, p. 143, Abb. 2/2; cf. Țigăra 1960, pp. 203sq. und 209, Abb. 6; Bărbulescu 1994, p. 168, Abb. 36; Bărbulescu 2003, pp. 276 und 278, Abb. 18.

<sup>73</sup> Benea, Bona 1994, p. 74sq.; Benea 1999, p. 55.

<sup>74</sup> Floca 1941, p. 46.

<sup>75</sup> Andrițoiu 1979b, p. 272, Anm. 8.

<sup>76</sup> Toropu, Tătulea 1987, p. 88.

<sup>77</sup> Milea et alii 1978, pp. 203-205, Anm. 2 (Grab Nr. 2); Wolska 1999, pp. 247-249, Abb. 7 (das Grab wurde hier als Grab Nr. 4 beschrieben).

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ebenfalls männliches Geschlechtes gefunden wurden, von denen angenommen wurde, daß sie infolge einer Seuche gestorben sind und zusammen eingeäschert wurden<sup>78</sup>. Die Gräber der in aus Ziegelsteinen gebauten Grabzellen bestatteten *ustrinati* sind, unserer Meinung nach, unter dem doppelten Einfluß der Körpergräber mit aus Ziegelsteinen gebauten Grabzellen und der Gräber der in *ossaria* bestatteten *ustrinati* entstanden.

Es gibt aber auch Kenotaphen die einige Beziehungen mit dem Ritus der Körperbestattung suggerieren. Bei Enisala wurden auch 2 knochenlosen Gräber (Nr. 38 und 40) entdeckt, deren Bestattungsritus infolgedessen nicht sicher bestimmt werden konnte, aber die, weil in ihnen longitudinal geschnittenen Topfhälften gefunden wurden<sup>79</sup>, Körperbestattungen unter Gefäßbruchstücke sein könnten<sup>80</sup>, deren Skelette nicht mehr erhalten geblieben sind oder, eventuell, Kenotaphen von Individuen, die so bestattet werden sollten. Von der Grabeinrichtung her, den Körperbestattungen ähnliche Kenotaphe wurden bei Romula sowohl im flachen nördlichen Gräberfeld, wie auch im südlichen Hügelgräberfeld entdeckt<sup>81</sup>. Sie beinhalteten einen Holzsarg oder eine aus Ziegelsteinen gebauten Grabzelle, in denen oder in der Nähe von denen als Beigaben Charonsmünzen oder ein oder zwei keramischen Gefäße abgelagert wurden<sup>82</sup>. Unter den im nördlichen Gräberfeld aus Romula entdeckten 4 Kenotaphe, ist das Grab Nr. 121 zu bemerken, in dem eine Bronzemünze und ein kleiner, von 6 den Umriß des Sarges andeutenden Nägel umgekreisten Krug mit Holzkohlen gefunden wurde<sup>83</sup>. Einer der von V. Leahu im südlichen Gräberfeld der Stadt Romula in 1969 untersuchten Hügelgräber beinhaltete nur eine aus Ziegelsteinen gebautete Grabzelle. Diese, mit der langen

<sup>78</sup> Wolska 1999, p. 249. Das Grab wurde im 2. Jh. und bis in der ersten Hälfte des 3. Jh. datiert (Milea et alii 1978, p. 205), aber, neulich, aufgrund der Umdeutung des Inventars eines anderen Grabes aus demselben Grabkomplex, das sie zwischen dem ausgehenden 2. Jh. und in der ersten Hälfte des 3. Jh. datiert hat, nimmt W. Wolska eine Datierung der hier entdeckten Steinsarkophage in der ersten Hälfte des 3. Jh. an und, mit Rücksicht auf die Analogien aus Israel und Jordaniens, hat sie diese einer reichen jüdischen Familie zugeschrieben, die unter dem Einfluß einiger für das jüdische kosmopolite Milieu aus der Diaspora spezifischen Bestattungstraditionen lag, in der aber, so wie es die Gräber von *ustrinati* belegen, durch Heirat auch Individuen anderer Herkunft, wahrscheinlich griechisch-orientalischer, eingedrungen sind, darunter einige, die vielleicht dem militärischen Milieu zugehören (Wolska 1999, pp. 250-255). Die Heirat zwischen Juden und Fremden ist aber verboten und dieses häufig mißachtete Verbot wurde für eine Ursache der von den Juden gelittenen Unglücks gehalten (*Numeri; Exodus*, 23:32; *Deuteronomium*, 7:3; *Josua*, 23:12; *Richter*, 3:6; *ibidem*, 14:3; 3 *Könige*, 11:1-13; *ibidem*, 16:29-34; *Esra*, 10; *Nehemia*, 10:30; *ibidem*, 13:23-30); laut dem Sakralrecht, die nichtjüdischen Frauen, ungeachtet ihres Alters und selbst wenn sie vergewaltigt wurden, machen sich für geschlechtliche Beziehungen mit Juden der Todesstrafe strafbar, weil sie für unrein, für Sklavinnen, für Fremden und für Prostituierten und, im Fall der Bekehrung zum Judentum, nur für Prostituierten gehalten werden, während der Jude, der freiwillige geschlechtliche Beziehungen mit einer nichtjüdischen Frau hat, muß ausgepeitschet werden (Shahak 1997, p. 170sq.). Unserer Meinung nach, ist es deswegen möglich, daß die in der aus Ziegelsteinen gebauten Grabzelle bestatteten Verstorbenen nur Sklaven dieser Familie gewesen sein sollen. Andernfalls, die jüdischen rituellen Vorschriften bezüglich der von unterschiedlichen Krankheiten und der Berührung mit Kranken oder mit den für vom Aussatz betroffen gehaltenen Gegenstände verursachten Unsauberkeit (*Levitikus*, 13:15; 22:4; *Deuteronomium*, 24:8) und selbst jene bezüglich der Berührung mit den menschlichen Leichen (*Levitikus*, 21:2, 11; *Numeri*, 6:6-12; *ibidem*, 19:11-22; *ibidem*, 31:19; *Ezechiel*, 44:25; *Jesus bar-Sirah*, 34:27) können nicht eine glaubwürdige Erklärung für die Einäscherung dieser Verstorbenen darstellen, auch wenn diese von einer ansteckenden Krankheit betroffen waren, weil für die rechtläubigen Juden die Einäscherung kein charakteristischer Bestattungsbrauch ist (Abrudan, Cornișescu 1994, p. 143; Semen 1997, p. 105.) und weil die Verbrennung des Körpers für eine Verschärfung der Todesstrafe gehalten wird, die nur über die Ruchlosen und die Verfluchten, wie die unzüchtigen Priestertöchter (*Genesis*, 21:9), die jüdischen Frauen, die mit den heidnischen Fremden geschlechtlich verkehrt haben (*Genesis*, 38:24), aber auch über die Ungläubigen (*Iov*, 20:26) und über die Feinden (*Amos*, 2:1), das heißt über die feindlichen Fremden und über die durch den Ausschluß aus der Gemeinschaft diesen gleichgesetzten Individuen verhängt wurde, indem das Feuer sowohl das Sinnbild des göttlichen Zornes gegenüber den Ungläubigen (*Deuteronomium*, 32:22; *Jeremia*, 15:14; *ibidem*, 17:4) und der Verbrecher (*Genesis*, 19:24-25), wie auch das Mittel durch dem die Götzen zerstört werden (*Deuteronomium*, 7:25; *ibidem*, 12:3; *1 Chron.ik*, 14:12) ist.

<sup>79</sup> Babeş 1971, p. 24, Anm. 17.

<sup>80</sup> Pentru semnificația acestui tip de morminte de inhumare: Sonoc 2006b; Sonoc 2006c.

<sup>81</sup> Tătulea 1994, p. 126; cf. Babeş 1970, p. 173; Leahu 1975, pp. 198-200.

<sup>82</sup> Tătulea 1994, p. 126sq.

<sup>83</sup> Babeş 1970, p. 173.

Achse auf der Richtung Nord – Süden orientiert, war quaderförmig und ihre Seitenwände bestanden aus je 8 Reihen von Ziegelsteinen, die mit deren Länge parallel mit der langen Achse des Grabes auf den langen Seiten des Grabes und mit dessen kurzen Achse auf seinen kurzen Seiten gelegt wurden, so daß die Dicke der Wände mit der Breite der Ziegelsteine gleich ist<sup>84</sup>. Die langen Seiten wurden aus abwechselnden Reihen von je 4 Ziegelsteinen mit Reihen von je 3 Ziegelsteinen, an deren Enden je ein halbierter Ziegelstein lag<sup>85</sup> und die kurzen Seiten aus einem zwischen je einem halbierten Ziegelstein liegenden Ziegelstein gebaut<sup>86</sup>. Der Boden der Grabzelle (*locus*) wurde durch die Nebeneinanderlegung von je 5 Ziegelsteinen errichtet und der Deckel (*operculum*) wurde aus 4 Reihen von in Stufen gelegten Ziegelsteinen gebaut, so daß ein falsches Gewölbe, auf Kragträger entstand<sup>87</sup>. Die Ausmaße des Sarkophages betragen 1,81x1,06x0,74 m<sup>88</sup>. Er ist mit den aus Ziegelsteinen gebauten Grabzellen der Körpergräber sehr ähnlich, wie zum Beispiel mit jenem der Sekundärbestattung aus dem Hügel nr. III aus demselben Gräberfeld, der sich von ihm nur durch dieses unterscheidet, daß für den *locus* je 8 Ziegelsteinen nebeneinander gelegt wurden<sup>89</sup>. Auch in diesem Fall, genau so wie bei anderen Gräber aus demselben Gräberfeld, wurde eine Brandschicht entdeckt<sup>90</sup>, die in Zusammenhang mit der rituellen Reinigung der Ruhestätte gestellt wurde<sup>91</sup>. Im südostlichen Gräberfeld der Stadt Napoca, in zwei Fälle, waren die aus Ziegelsteinen und Ziegeln gebauten Grabzellen (sei es ungeschändet, sei es von ungeeigneten Ausmaße für die Ablagerung einer Leiche) vollkommen lehr, wofür sie für Kenotaphe gehalten wurden<sup>92</sup>. Bezüglich einer inventarlosen Grube von hier, die nur feine Asche beinhaltete, konnte nicht präzisiert werden, ob es sich um einen mit einem Grabmahl verbundenen rituellen Verbrennungsort oder um ein Grab handelt<sup>93</sup>; weil die Knochenbruchstücke fehlen, die niemals bei der Einäscherung verschwinden, glauben wir das es sich eher um ein Kenotaph handelt. Bei Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, teilweise über einer aus Ziegelsteinen gebauten, skelettlosen Grabzelle mit starken Spuren von Sekundärbrand, deren Inventar aus einer Öllampe bestand und von der angenommen wurde, daß es sich um einen Kenotaph handelt, wurde gebaut das Postament einer *aedicula* aus dem links des Tales des Drașcov liegendes "Mausoleums", das eigentlich eine Grabanlage (*loculus*) ist<sup>94</sup>.

Trotzdem, gibt es häufig die Gefahr, verschiedene andere Kategorien von archäologischen Komplexe, die Kultgruben vor allem, für Kenotaphe zu halten. Bei Apulum, anlässlich der zwischen dem 21. August – 31. Oktober 2002 und dem 21. April – 15. August 2003 auf der Calea Moților durchgeführten Bergungsgrabungen, wurden 2 einfache, im gewachsenen Boden ausgehobenen Gruben rechteckiger Form ohne menschlichen Überreste entdeckt, die beiden für Kenotaphe gehalten wurden, darunter eine (Schnitt S 17/2003) ein Grabdenkmal beinhaltete, beziehungsweise eine Grabpinia, ein Säulebruchstück und einen Adler aus Kalkstein<sup>95</sup>. Unserer Meinung nach, könnte es sich hier um Gruben handeln, in denen die Überreste einiger aus unbekannt gebliebenen Gründe zerstörten Denkmäler abgelagert wurden, um sie von der Profanierung zu hüten. Wie es erst in der letzter Zeit bemerkt wurde, viel bedenklicher, mit allen Folgen für den Ernst der obsessiven, andernfalls häufig stark ideologisierten Debatten bezüglich des Fortbestands der einheimischen Bevölkerung und der Rolle des dakischen Elements in der Entstehung des rumänischen Volkes, ist der Verusch einiger rumänischen Archäologen<sup>96</sup>, für Gräberfelder die dakischen

<sup>84</sup> Leahu 1975, p. 198.

<sup>85</sup> Leahu 1975, p. 198.

<sup>86</sup> Leahu 1975, pp. 198 und 200.

<sup>87</sup> Leahu 1975, p. 200.

<sup>88</sup> Leahu 1975, p. 200.

<sup>89</sup> Leahu 1975, p. 204sq.

<sup>90</sup> Leahu 1975, p. 200; cf. Tătulea 1994, p. 127.

<sup>91</sup> Tătulea 1994, p. 123; cf. Leahu 1975, p. 196.

<sup>92</sup> Hica 1999, p. 100.

<sup>93</sup> Hica 1999, p. 99.

<sup>94</sup> Daicoviciu, Alicu 1984, p. 86; Daicoviciu et alii 1974-1975, p. 230.

<sup>95</sup> Dragotă, Rustoiu 2003, p. 133.

<sup>96</sup> Berciu 1977; Berciu 1981.

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Kultgrubenfelder zu halten, auch wenn in diesen archäologischen Komplexe die menschlichen Knochen fehlen oder stellen weniger als 50 % der Knochenmenge dar<sup>97</sup>.

Von einer in einem Sektor mit Einäscherungsgräber am nordwestlichen Rand des östlichen Gräberfeldes der römischen Siedlung Micia entdeckten rechtwinkligen, aus Steinen errichteten Anhäufung (2,40x0,70 m), unterhalb der aber kein Inventarstück lag, wurde behauptet, daß es ein Kenotaph (Grab Nr. 15) darstellen soll<sup>98</sup>. Trotz aller Schwierigkeiten, einen solchen Fund richtig zu deuten, bleibt aber für ein Kenotaph gerade das Fehlen des Grabinventars und jedes Elementes des Bestattungsritus überraschend. Auch wenn es keine detaillierte Beschreibung dieser Einrichtung und auch nicht der hier entdeckten Materialien gibt und obwohl I. Andrițoiu behauptet hat, daß bis in jenem Stand der Forschungen (1978) der Ort wo die Leichnamen eingeäschert wurden noch nicht entdeckt geworden ist<sup>99</sup>, glauben wir daß dieser Komplex doch ein *ustrinum* sein könnte, eine Hypothese die auch durch dessen Lage am Rand des Gräberfeldes unterstützt wird, was andernfalls auch ein Grund für die Seltenheit der Entdeckung solcher Komplexe während der archäologischen Untersuchungen aus Dakien sei, die sehr selten auf die peripherischen Zonen der provinzialrömischen Gräberfelder hinzielten und die, wegen einer stark ideologisierten Forschungspolitik<sup>100</sup>, sich überhaupt nicht die vollständige Untersuchung der dieser Gräberfelder, mit der Ausnahme einiger dakisch-römischen Nekropolen und, jüngst, einiger Friedhöfe aus dem Gebiet der Goldausbeutungen aus den Westkarpaten vorgenommen haben.

Schwieriger ist es zu sagen, in welcher Maß einige in der Nähe einiger römischen Befestigungen oder Beobachtungspunkten (*burgi* oder *specula*) entdeckten rituellen Komplexe, in denen keine menschlichen Knochen vorhanden sind, für Kenotaphe gehalten werden können, vor allem weil, auch wenn einige davon während der archäologischen Ausgrabungen gefunden wurden oder, im Fall einiger anlässlich der jüngsten Bodengestaltungsarbeiten vorkommenden Zufallsfunde, die von Archäologen gesehen werden konnten, die betreffenden Auskünfte meistens kurzgefasst, konfus und ohne graphische und photographische Dokumentation sind. Es wird also behauptet, daß 1 km westlich vom römischen *castellum* aus Vârtop (jud. Gorj) und 50 m östlich vom Fluß Schiel/Jiu zu Tage römische Ziegelsteine kamen, die, laut den Ergebnisse einer von V. Marinoiu, Gh. Calotoiu und D. Ionescu durchgeföhrten Probegrabung, von einem römischen, ostwestlich orientiertes Grab stammen (der für ein Kenotaph gehalten wurde), aus dem, wegen seiner teilweisen Zerstörung durch die landwirtschaftlichen Arbeiten, nur ein Teil erhalten geblieben ist<sup>101</sup>. Ein in 1988 bei Voila (jud. Brașov), im Punkt *În Unghi* entdecktes "Grab in Grube"<sup>102</sup> hatte als Inventar nur 2 Bruchstücke aus einem Gefäßboden und Holzkohle und ursprünglich für ein dakisches Kenotaph gehalten wurde, das etwas früher als die römische Eroberung sei<sup>103</sup>, ist neulich mit Wahrscheinlichkeit einem Bewohner der Provinz Dakien zugeschrieben<sup>104</sup>, obwohl provinzialrömische Materialien (einige keramische Bruchstücke) nur auf der *Tabla lui Mereșug* zu Tage kamen<sup>105</sup>, wo das Vorhandensein eines Beobachtungspunktes angenommen werden könnte.

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<sup>97</sup> Sirbu 2003, p. 15.

<sup>98</sup> Andrițoiu 1979a, p. 228.

<sup>99</sup> Andrițoiu 1979a, p. 228.

<sup>100</sup> Sonoc 2006a; Sonoc 2006d.

<sup>101</sup> Marinoiu, Calotoiu 1997, p. 48.

<sup>102</sup> Costea 1989, p. 493; Popa 2002, p. 218, Nr. 732.2.

<sup>103</sup> Costea 1989, p. 497.

<sup>104</sup> RepArBv, I, p. 145, Nr. 75.

<sup>105</sup> RepArBv, I, p. 145, Nr. 75; Popa 2002, p. 218, Nr. 732.1; cf. Costea 1989, p. 497, Taf. 7/2,4.

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Abb. 1. Die Urne des Grabes Nr. 38 aus dem dakisch-römischen Gräberfeld aus Locusteni (nach G. Popilian).

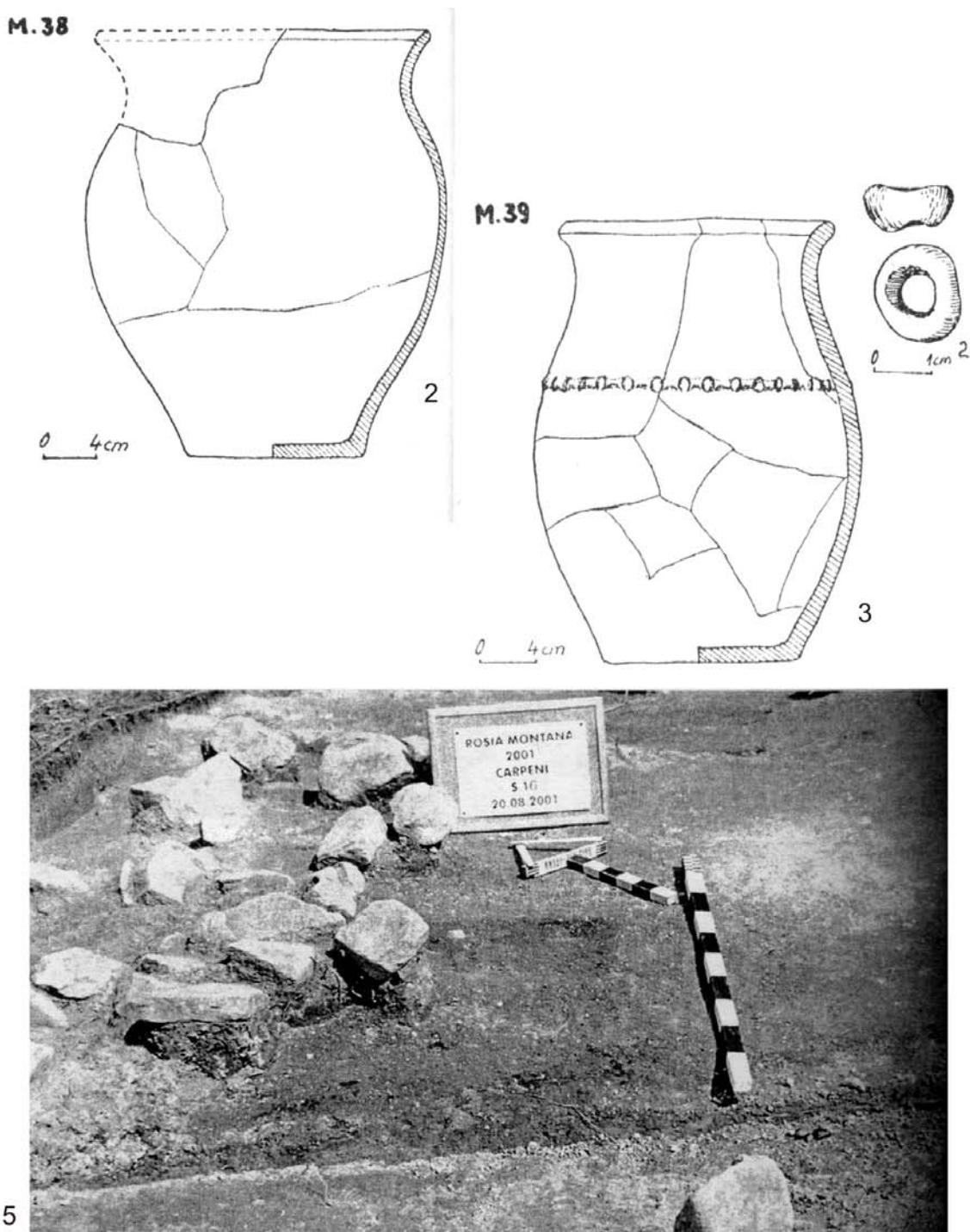


Abb. 2. Das Inventar des Grabes Nr. 39 aus dem dakisch-römischen Gräberfeld aus Locusteni (nach G. Popilian).

Abb. 3. Das Inventar des im Punkt Săliște von Lechința entdeckten Grabes (nach K. Horedt).

Abb. 5. Das Grab Nr. 7 aus dem auf dem Berge Carpeni befindlichen Gräberfeld aus Alburnus Maior (nach Rusu-Bolindet et alii).



4.1



4.2

Abb. 4. Das Grab Nr. 151 aus dem im Punkt Hop befindlichen Gräberfeld aus Alburnus Maior (nach Moga et alii).

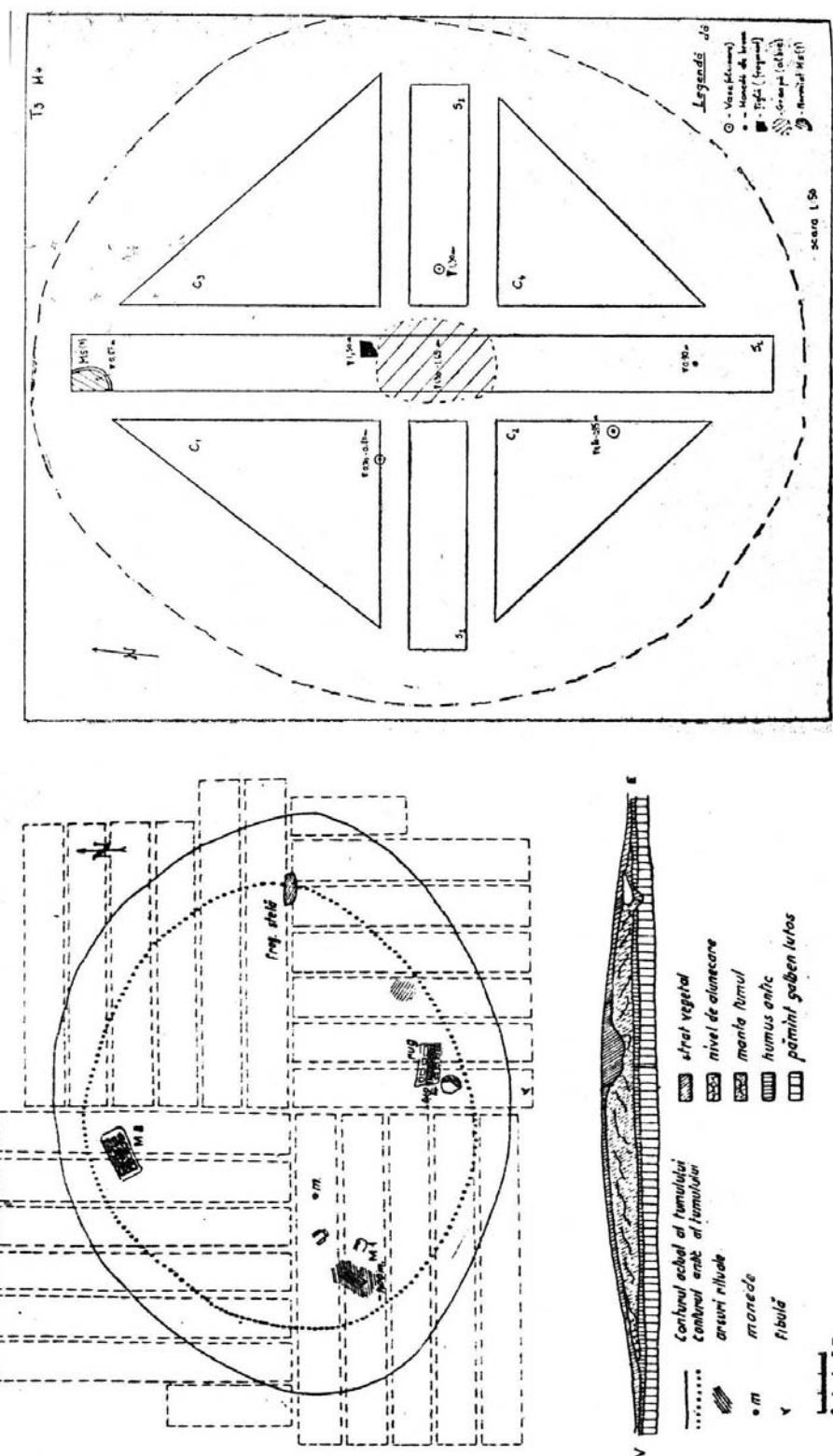
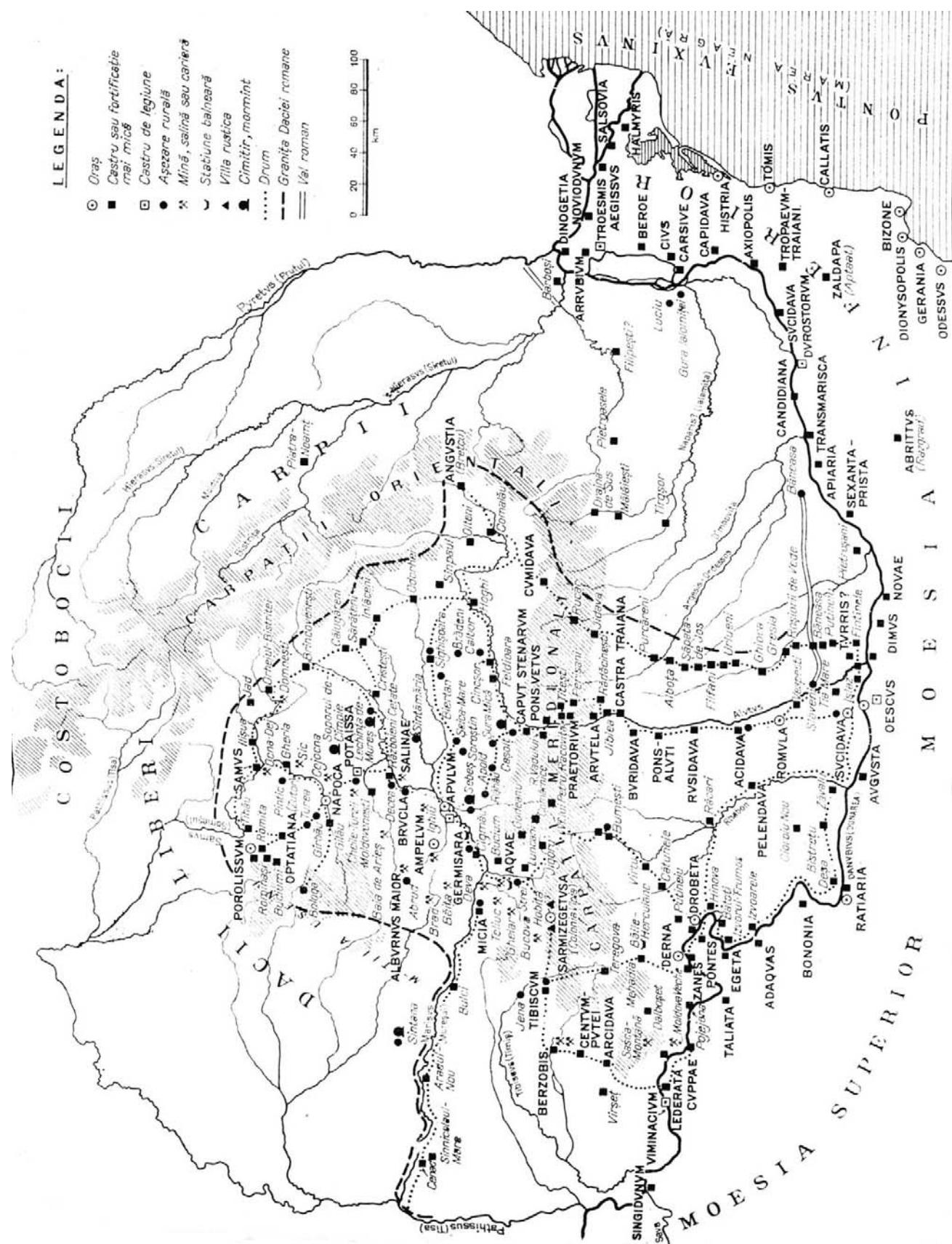


Abb. 6. Der Hügel nr. 3 aus dem östlichen Gräberfeld von Tibiscum (nach R. Petrovszky).  
 Abb. 7. Der Hügel III aus dem südlichen Gräberfeld von Romula (nach V. Leahu).



## SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ASPECTS OF THE BURIAL "KRAJČINOVIĆI-SLANA VODA" (SOUTH-WEST OF SERBIA, MIDDLE OF II C. B.C.)

Radmila Zotović (Serbia)

**Key-words:** necropolis, celtic, helenistic and domestic material

**Abstract.** The necropolis of Krajčinovići – Slana voda, with the twenty five half burned skelets of men and women, contents material, pottery, jewelery, weapons and bronze dishes of helenistic, celtic and domestic provenience. It is dated in the middle of the II century BC and in the cultural meaning is relevant with the transpassing from the second into the third phase of the celtic influence in Bosnia and Herzegowina by Marić. The circular position of the skelets with the legs to the center of necropolis and heads to the edge of it, without individual tombs and with regular order of archaeological material behinde them, tell about the changing of old, traditional way of burial in the unregular life condition, the war condition.

In the year of 1971 was found and researched the necropolis in the village Krajčinovići near the town Priboj in the western part of Serbia (fig. 1). The necropolis was on the locality "Slana voda" ("Salty water"), and until now this necropolis stays in the science as a find of "Krajčinovići - Slana voda". It was published partly (Zotović 1985), and was partly mentioned and descased in some articals (Parović-Pešikan 1988; Zotović 1987), but the presentation of the full importance of this necropolis, the social-economic positions on the way of touch and influence of the ilirian, celtic and helenistic world in the time before roman conquest, unfortunately was never done.

The necropolis was partly demaged by the building of the village's road. But the most of the necropolis was saved, and the position of the skelets and archaeological material which were behinde of the skelets were in regular order, so that it was possible to make conclusion that the position of the skelets in the whole necropolis was in the same regular position. The necropolis was in the shape of the circle, with the first level made of the small stones on which was than put 25 half-burned skelets of male and female sex, without individual tombs, with the legs to the center of necropolis and the heads to the edge of it. The tumul was covered with the stones, bigger in the central position and smaller to the edge of it (fig. 2). The material inside of the tumul were: pottery, the bronze dishes, jewelery and swords and weapons. Among the pottery are the pottery of the older iron age, celtic and helenistic provenience or influence. There were about 50 pottery dishes, and the most of them were putted from the both side of the head of the skelets. The most of the dishes were made on the wheel, made from the fine, clean earth, in the pane yellow or grey coulore, with the thin walls, which mostly belong to the material of helenistic and celtic provenience (fig. 3, 5/1-3, 7). The second group of the pottery made the examples of dishes made by hand, in which shape and work are noticeable the influence of older iron age pottery tradition (fig. 5). Among the bronze dishes are also the dishes of the helenistic influence, as well as in the jewelery made of silver. Among the silver jewelery were fibulae, rings, jewelery with the ends in the shape of the snake's head and the jewelery in the shape of filigran work with the granulae (fig.6, 9). The certain number of the swords can be distinguished as a celtic. The whole number of swords were about 60 iron swards (fig. 8). From the other material were mentioned fibulae made of bronze of the middle and late latene period (fig. 10), bracelets made also of bronze with the end in the shape of snake's head. From the other jewelery it should be mentioned necklace made of pasta with the pearls in different coulores, mostly the blue. The necropolis can be dated in the middle of II century BC.

The closest and in fact until now only one analogy with the necropolis „Krajčinovići-Slana voda“ are finds of two necropolis: Mahrevići by Čajniče and Vir by Posušje on the territory of nowdays Bosnia and Herzegowina. Mahrevići was excaveted in the very beginning of XX century (Truhelka 1909), and Vir later in the middle of XX century (Marić 1962). The common facts between these two necropolis with the

„Krajčinovići-Slana voda“ are the next: 1. the both necropolis were also partly destroyed by the action of the earth and village's working, 2. in the both necropolis were makeing burial of the man and women, 3. in Mahrevići dead were burned almost complitly, 4. the position of the heads and legs' and skelets in Mahrevići and Posušje show the certain and similar position like in Krajčinovići i.e. that they were put in necropolis with certain order, and 5. the archaeological materials found at Mahrevići and Posušje are similar with this from Krajčinovići. According to the material found in the tumul and the analogy with the material from Mahrevići and Vir, the necropolis Krajčinovići-Slana voda was dated in the middle of II century BC.

The importance of this necropolis is not only in the "mix" of the material of three cultural zone, but also in a few other points. On the first place is the fact that on the territory of the western Serbia since the end of V c. BC until the period of the beginning of the roman conquest, there were no archaeological finds. The necropolis of Krajčinovići-Slana voda was first of it, and shows that the territory of the western Serbia was settled in the pre-roman period. On the second place, the form of the new way of the burial (without the tombs in the tumul, but with the burial ritual which was made in the same time for all dead people), shows that this way of the burial appeared in the conditions of the hurry, in the war conditions, but not in a such hurry that they did not have the time for the burial ritual without certain order. Otherwise, they did not run and they did not leave the place of living. Also, there were no any traces of the living on the territory of the western Serbia until the very end of the I and the beginning of II century. Only traces of living from the first century are more on the south, on the south-west of Serbia and the north of Montenegro, near the nowdays towns Prijepolje i Pljevlja, where were found the necropolis from the I and later on to the beginning of IV century. Why we mention that? Becouse of the next facts: 1. the archaeological material from the necropolis from Komini near Pljevlja shows, althought from the early time of Roman conquest, autochtonic elements and the similar archaeological material and in some cases the way of burial with the far away territory of the middle part of roman province of Dalmatia, the territory of Japodi and later on Dalmati, 2. the all archaeological material including also the epigraphic from the period from I-IV c. on the territory of the western Serbia and north of Montenegro shows very long stays of tradition of older iron age (for example jewlery, pottery, cloths), and 3. the epigraphic material shows, especially from the surrounding of Pljevlja and Prijepolje, appearence and existing of celtic names. So, on the two necropolis around Pljevlja, socalled necropolis Komini I and II, archaeological material shows that the pottery from the period of I c. AD have the shapes which point on the older tradition of halshtat and latene period (Cermanović-Kuzmanović 1980, 231, 228-229). Also, on this territory there are appereance of the celtic pottery, as well as the possible symbiosis of celtic and ilirian cultural elements on the roman grave monuments, if we speak about the style on the relief presentation on it (Зотовић 1995, 83-88). Epigraphic material from this territory, which we can marked as a part of the eastern part of the roman province of Dalmatia, shows also the analogy with the epigraphic material from the middle Dalmatian coast, and with them made the group which Katičić named as the unique group of the south-east name's territory (Katičić 1962;1963). The appereance of the grave monuments in the shape of cube with the pyramide, which is characteristic only for the eastern part of the province of Dalmatia (to which also belongs with the similar cultural and ethnic characteristics the territory of the eastern part of nowdays Bosnia and Herzegovina), belongs also to the inheritance of the older mediteranian type of cipus which get another morphological picture in the time of the roman rule (Zotović 1995, 30-39; 199).

Marić made chronology of the celtic influence on the teritory of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the three phases: 1. from 370.-260. year BC, 2. from 260.-150. year BC and 3. from 150.-9. year BC (Marić 1963, 65). The picture of the second phase of celtic influence of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Marić has charackter of the stronger influence of the celtic and greek material, and at the end of this phase is the beginning of the roman conquest of certain part of the teritoriy of nowdays Bosnia and Herzegovina. The beginning of the third phase is the beginning of the stronger connection and communication with the Adriatic coast and becouse of that appereance the new elements in the cultural picture of Bosnia and Herzegovina. If we look on the cultural picture of necropolis Krajčinovići – Slana voda, this picture is relevant, as well as the dateing of the necropolis, with the cultural picture and dateing of transpassing the second into the third phase of Marić chronology and cultural relevants for Bosnia and Herzegovina. More than that, the territory

of western and south-western Serbia in archaeological meaning have analogies even in the period of older iron age with the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, not with the inner side of Serbia.

The closest analogy with Krajčinovići-Slana voda, Mahrevići and Posušje, point on the conclusion that such way of the burial can appeared as a way of the burial of the ethnic groups of similar material culture, as the modification of the older way of the burial, as the psychologically reaction of the population on the certain unregular conditions, in this case, the war. The social level of the population which made necropolis Krajčinovići-Slana voda was on the level of the possibility for the import of helenistic material as lacrimariums, the silver jewlery and the bronze dishes. Although they made hand-made pottery in the tradition of the older iron age, and also knew for the pottery made on wheel.

In the cultural meaning, the ethnic group of "Krajčinovići - Slana voda" is on the transpassing from the 2-nd to the 3-rd phase of the celtic influence in the Bosnia and Herzegovina (according to Marić), the period when the influence of the greek as well as the roman culture was remarkable. It is possible that this ethnic group also had the contact through the valley of the river Neretva with the cities on the south-east of the adriatic coast.

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Fig. 1. Map - the position of Krajčinovići

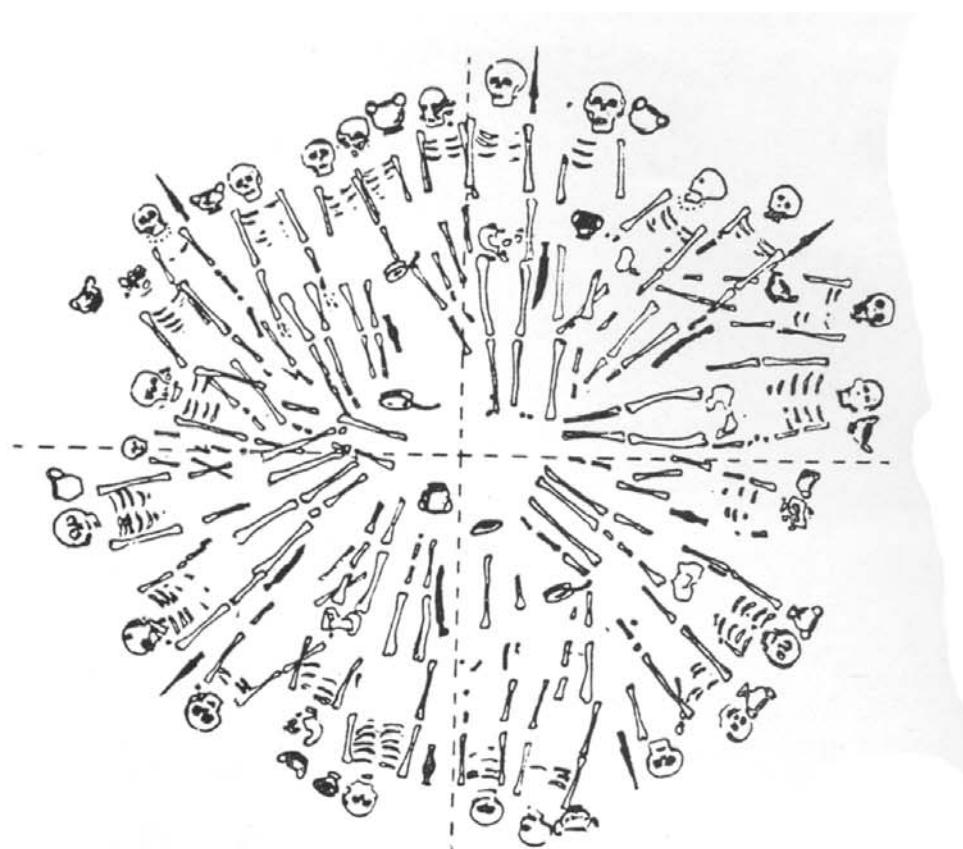


Fig. 2. Necropolis Krajčinovići Slana voda.



Fig. 3. Hellenistic pottery.



Fig. 4. Helenistic pottery: 1-3 Krajčinovići, 4 Mahrevići.



Fig. 5. Domestic shapes of pottery



Fig. 6. Bronze dishes.



Fig. 8. Weapons.



Fig. 9. Jewlery.

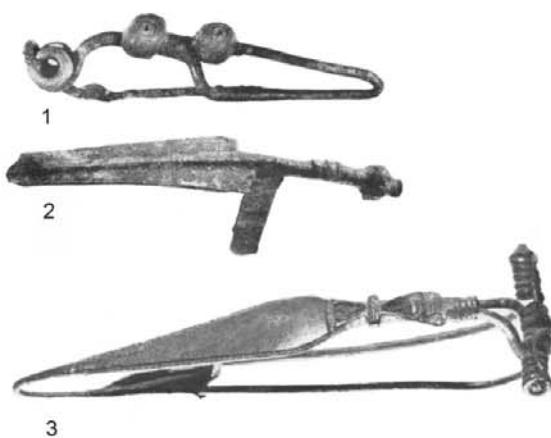


Fig. 10. Fibulae.