Funerary Practices in Central and Eastern Europe (10th c. BC - 3rd c. AD)

Proceedings of the 10th International Colloquium
of Funerary Archaeology
Tulcea, 10th - 12th of October 2008

Edited by
Valeriu Sîrbu and Radu Ştefănescu

Muzeul Brăilei Editura Istros
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Braşov County Council
Braşov County History Museum

Museum of Brăila

International Union of the Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences – 30th Commission

Association for Studies of Funerary Archaeology- Romania

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SUMMARY

ABREVIATIONS

Analele Dobrogei S. N.	= Analele Dobrogei, Serie Nouă, Constanţa
Archaeologia Iugoslavica	= Archaeologia Iugoslavica, Beograd
ActaMN	= Acta Musei Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca
AÉ	= Archaeologiai Értesitö, Budapest
Analecta Archaeologica Ressoviensia	= Analecta Archaeologica Ressoviensia, Institut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego
Analele Banatului	= Analele Banatului, Muzeul Banatului, Timişoara.
Apulum	= Apulum, Acta Musei Apulensis, Alba Iulia
Archaeologia Bulgarica	= Archaeologia Bulgarica, Sofia
ArheologijaSofia	= Arheologija na Muzeite i Institut Arheologij, Sofia
ArhMold	= Arheologia Moldovei, Iaşi
BerRGK	= Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Frankfurt am Main
CAANT	= Cercetări arheologice în aria nord-tracă, Bucureşti
CCAR	= Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România, Bucureşti
CercetArh	= Cercetări Arheologice, Muzeul Naţional de Istorie a României
EphNap	= Ephemeris Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca
Helis	= Helis. Archaeological Museum and Institute Sofia. Museum Historical – Isperih
ИНМВ	= Известия на Народния музей – Варна (Bulletin of the National Museum in Varna)
ISM	= Inscriptii în Scythia Minor
Istros	= Istros, Muzeul Brăilei, Brăila
IzvestijaSofia	= Izvestija na Arheologhičeski Institut, Sofia.
IzvestijaVarna	= Izvestija na Narodnija Muzej (Izvestija na Varnenskoto Arheologičesko Družestvo), Varna
MCA	= Materiale şi cercetări arheologice, Bucureşti
PBF	= Praehistorische Bronzefunde, Stuttgart.
Peuce	= Peuce, Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale, Tulcea
Pontica	= Pontica, Muzeul de Istorie Naţională şi Arheologie, Constanţa
Przeglad Archeologiczny	= Przeglad Archeologiczny, Poznan-Wroclaw
RESEE	= Revue des études sud-est Europenes, Bucarest.
Sargetia	= Sargetia. Acta Musei Devensis, Deva.
SCIV(A)	= Studii şi Cercetări de Istorie Veche (şi Arheologie), Institutul de Arheologie "V. Pârvan", Bucureşti.
SlovArch	= Slovenska Archeológija, Nitra
Sprawozdania Archeologiczne	= Sprawozdania Archeologiczne, Krakow
Starinar	= Starinar. Institut Archéologique. Beograd
Thraco-Dacica	= Thraco-Dacica. Institutul Român de Tracologie, Bucureşti
ЗРНМ	= Зборник радова Народног музеја, Чачак.
ЗНМ	= Зборник Народног музеја, Београд
ЗРНМ	= Зборник радова Народном музеја, Београд

INTRODUCERE

După un periplu de cinci ani „caravana" ştiinţifică a colocviilor funerare s-a reîntors la Tulcea...

A fost un colocviu cu o semnificaţie deosebită, din mai multe puncte de vedere.

Mai întâi, pentru că acesta a fost al zecelea colocviu de arheologie funerară organizat în 15 ani. Nu e puţin lucru dacă avem în vedere faptul că doar unul a fost organizat în Bulgaria (în 1993), iar restul în România (în 1995 la Tulcea - Brăila – Slobozia – Călăraşi, în 1997 şi în 2000 la Tulcea, în 2003 la Brăila şi Tulcea, în 2004 la Buzău, în 2005 şi 2007 la Sibiu, în 2008 la Bistriţa); se adaugă, firesc, prezentul colocviu de la Tulcea. La aceste manifestări ştiinţifice au participat cercetători din numeroase ţări europene şi, uneori, chiar de pe alte continente.

Remarcabil e faptul că s-au tipărit deja şapte volume ale colocviilor funerare, marea majoritate în condiţii grafice deosebite, cea ce a asigurat manifestărilor noastre ştiinţifice un deosebit prestigiu internaţional; al optulea volum, ce include comunicările de acum, va apare în 2008.

Aceste colocvii s-au desfăşurat sub egida Asociaţiei de Studii pentru Arheologie Funerară - România (ASAF) şi a Comisiei 30 a Uniunii Internaţionale de Studii Preistorice şi Protoistorice (UISPP). Între 1996-2006 Comisia 30 a UISPP s-a numit *Practici funerare în culturile protoistorice din Europa de Sud-Est,* iar din 2006, cu ocazia Congresului XV UISPP de la Lisabona, Comitetul Permanent a acceptat noua ei denumire - *Practici mortuare în Preistorie şi Protoistorie*, ceea ce indică o extindere nu numai geografică, dar şi cronologică a competenţei acesteia.

În al doilea rând, pentru că acest colocviu a fost dedicat d-lui Dr. Gavrilă Simion, fostul preşedinte al Asociaţiei de Arheologie Funerară (1996-2001) şi al Comisiei 30 a Uniunii Internaţionale de Studii Preistorice şi Protoistorice (1996-2000), cu ocazia împlinirii venerabilei vârste de 80 de ani. Fără aportul deosebit, până în 2003, al neobositului cercetător Gavrilă Simion această activitate laborioasă a comisiei noastre ar fi fost dificil de imaginat.

Tematica colocviilor a fost foarte variată, ea reflectând complexitatea problemelor pe care le impune atât cercetarea monumentelor funerare, cât şi relaţia lor cu habitatul, cu locurile de cult, cu mediul geografic ori cu resursele subsolului.

Prezentul colocviu a reunit 30 de prestigioşi cercetători din România, Rep. Moldova, Ucraina, Bulgaria, Grecia, Serbia, Cehia şi Polonia. Suntem convinşi, ca de fiecare dată, că aceste comunicări şi discuţiile care vor urma vor contribui la o mai profundă cunoaştere a practicilor funerare din Europa sec. X a. Chr. - III p. Chr.

Prof. Luiz Oosterbeek, secretarul general al UISPP, ne-a transmis salutul său şi urări de succes lucrărilor colocviului, regretând, totodată, faptul că n-a putut veni aici din motive obiective.

Suntem datori să mulţumim gazdelor noastre de la Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale Tulcea, îndeosebi directorilor Dr. Florin Topoleanu şi Dr. Gabriel Jugănaru, pentru organizarea acestui colocviu, cât şi prof. univ. dr. Ionel Cândea, directorul Muzeului Brăilei, şi Drd. Radu Ştefănescu, directorul Muzeului Judeţean de Istorie Braşov, care vor asigura publicarea, chiar în 2008, a comunicărilor.

Dr. Valeriu Sîrbu
Preşedintele Asociaţiei de Studii pentru Arheologie Funerară - România şi
al Comisiei 30 a Uniunii Internaţionale de Studii Preistorice şi Protoistorice

INTRODUCTION

Après un périple de cinq ans, la « caravane » scientifique des colloques sur l'archéologie funéraire revient à Tulcea...

Il s'agit d'un colloque dont l'importance est toute particulière, pour plusieurs raisons.

En premier lieu, c'est le dixième colloque d'archéologie funéraire organisé en 15 ans.

C'est une chose bien importante si nous tenons compte qu'un seul s'est tenu en Bulgarie (en 1993) et les autres en Roumanie (en 1995, à Tulcea - Brăila – Slobozia – Călăraşi, en 1997 et en 2000 à Tulcea, en 2003 à Brăila et Tulcea, en 2004 à Buzău, en 2005 et 2007 à Sibiu, en 2008, à Bistriţa) ; il s'y ajoute, certes, le présent colloque qui a lieu à Tulcea. De nombreux chercheurs de plusieurs pays européens, même d'autres continents, y ont participé. Ce qui est vraiment remarquable, c'est que nous avons déjà publié sept volumes des Actes de ces colloques d'archéologie funéraire, la plupart dans d'excellentes conditions graphiques, ce qui a assuré un prestige international ; le huitième volume, qui comprend les communications du présent colloque, paraîtra en 2008.

Ces colloques ont eu lieu sous l'égide de l'Association d'Études pour l'Archéologie Funéraire - Roumanie (ASAF) et de la 30^{e} Commission de l'Union Internationale d'Études Pré- et Protohistoriques (UISPP). Entre 1996 – 2006, la 30^{e} Commission de UISPP s'appelait *Pratiques funéraires dans les cultures protohistoriques en Europe du Sud-est,* et en 2006, lors du XV^{e} Congrès de l'UISPP, tenu à Lisbonne, le Comité Permanent a accepté sa nouvelle dénomination – *Pratiques mortuaires dans la Pré- et Protohistoire*, ce qui indique une étendue géographique et chronologique à la fois.

En deuxième lieu, ce colloque a été dédié au Dr. Gavrilă Simion, ancien président de l'Association d'Études pour d'Archéologie Funéraire (1996-2001) et de la 30^{e} Commission de l'Union Internationale d'Etudes Pré- et Protohistoriques (1996-2000), à son 80^{e} anniversaire. Sans l'apport tout particulier jusqu'en 2003, de l'infatigable chercheur Gavrilă Simion, cette activité laborieuse de notre commission serait difficile à imaginer.

La thématique des colloques a été très variée, reflétant la complexité des problèmes qu'imposent autant les recherches des monuments funéraires, que leur relation avec l'habitat, le lieu de culte, le milieu géographique ou les ressources du sous-sol.

Le présent colloque a réuni 30 chercheurs de Roumanie, Rép. de Moldavie, Ukraine, Bulgarie, Grèce, Serbie, Rép. Tchèque et Pologne. Nous sommes persuadés que les communications et les discussions contribueront à une meilleure connaissance des pratiques funéraires en Europe, aux X^{e} siècle av. J.-C.–III^{e} siècle ap. J.-C.

Le professeur Luiz Oosterbeek, secrétaire général de UISPP, nous a transmis son salut et son message, tout en souhaitant du succès aux travaux du colloque et exprimant son regret de ne pas pouvoir être présent.

Nous devons remercier nos hôtes de l'Institut de Recherches Eco-Muséales de Tulcea, en particulier les directeurs Dr. Florin Topoleanu et Dr. Gabriel Jugănaru, pour l'organisation de ce colloque, ainsi que Professeur Ionel Cândea, directeur du Musée de Brăila et Drd. Radu Ştefănescu, directeur du Musée d'Histoire de Braşov, qui vont assurer, cette année même, le financement pour la publication des travaux du colloque.

Dr. Valeriu Sîrbu
Président
de l'Association d'Études pour l'Archéologie Funéraire - Roumanie et
de la 30^{e} Commission de l'Union Internationale des Sciences Préhistoriques et Protohistoriques

THE DEAD AMONG THE LIVING IN THE BABADAG SETTLEMENT FROM NICULIȚEL–*CORNET* (TULCEA COUNTY, ROMANIA)*

Sorin Cristian Ailincăi (Tulcea – Romania)

Keywords: Early Iron Age, Babadag culture, complexes with human bones.

Abstract. The two preventive archaeological campaigns carried out in 1988 and 2000 the Babadag culture settlement at Niculițel–Cornet revealed numerous complexes containing human bones. The purpose of this article is to present an objective and detailed analysis of these discoveries, based on the drawings of the complexes, the complete archaeological inventory and the anthropological study of the human bones.

The situations encountered in this site contribute to adding new and important information regarding the practices of deposition of the dead in the Babadag culture settlements (11^{th}-7^{th} c. B.C.).

Introduction. The site from Niculițel–*Cornet* (Tulcea County) is situated in northern Dobrudja, in the vicinity of the Danube River, approx. 5 km west of Niculițel settlement, on a terrace bordering Gorgonel Lake in the north (Fig. 1/1-2).

The archaeological remains were endangered by the installation of methane gas pipes, thus two preventive archaeological campaigns were carried out in 1988 (Topoleanu, Jugănaru 1995) and 2000 (Simion 2001)[1].

Archaeological vestiges. The stratigraphical analysis reveals that beneath the 0.25 m thick arable soil there was the layer formed during the Roman era, under which lied the layer dated to the first Iron Age, 0.50 m thick. During the 2000 campaign, separately, without stratigraphic differentiation, towards the eastern extremity of the site (S XIII), a big size pit containing Neolithic pottery material that can be attributed to phase A_1 of the Gumelnița culture was investigated; near this pit, in S XI, another pit containing Hellenistic pottery was identified. If we also took in consideration the Pătulele type copper axe discovered in the same area (Ailincăi 2003-2005), we could also add the Middle Bronze Age to the above mentioned periods

Overall, however, the most consistent inhabitation belongs to the Early Iron Age. Approx. 200 pits that were completely or partially investigated during the two campaigns and several complexes that could be considered surface dwellings or huts can be attributed to this period. The archaeological inventory consists mainly of pottery, but we need to mention several other objects like: an instrument used for pottery stamp decoration (pintadera), a pair of bone cheek-piece, and a bronze bracelet.

The found material was not entirely published or studied according to each complex, but the authors of the investigation support the existence, in this settlement, of all three phases of the Babadag culture, even though most clues point exclusively to the dating to the 2nd phase (10^{th} – 9^{th} c. B.C.)

Pits containing human bones. There are eight pits containing human bones and they have been dedicated special studies (Jugănaru, Topoleanu 1994; Ailincăi, Topoleanu 2003).

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* I dedicate this article to Professor Gavrilă Simion, an enthusiast researcher of funerary archaeology and of the Iron Age at Lower Danube.

[1] The archaeological investigations from 1988 were lead exclusively by Dr. F. Topoleanu, who also coordinated the first part of the 2000 campaign, then the excavations were continued and concluded by dr. G. Simion.

However, due to inaccuracies in the initial publishing, some of new data and part of the analyses on some of the bones, we consider it necessary to reanalyze these data in the present study.

The catalogue of the finds:

1. *Pit no. 3, square 46, S I/1988* (Fig. 2/1) – The diameter of the upper part of the pit was 1.20 m and the diameter of the lower part was 1.70 m. The filling of the pit consisted of clean black earth and, on the bottom of the pit, on an agglomeration of pottery fragments there was a human skeleton on extended burial on the back, aligned NE-SW, its right hand on the thorax and the left on the abdomen. There is no anthropological data regarding this individual.

The pottery fragments discovered in the pit belonged to amphorae (Fig. 3/1-4; 4/1, 4-6), a bowl (Fig. 4/3), and a cup (Fig. 4/2). The stamped decoration represents a clue to dating the complex to phase II of the Babadag culture.

2. *Pit no. 4, square 52, S I/1988* (Fig. 2/2) – was partially identified in S I. In order to complete its investigation, the excavations were extended with an adjacent surface. The diameter of pit no. 4 was approx. 2 m. On the bottom of the pit, on an agglomeration of pottery fragments there was a skeleton on extended burial on the back, hands on the abdomen, aligned N-S, around which there were four skulls, bones of the upper and lower limbs and pieces of the thorax. There is no anthropological data regarding the individuals in this complex.

The pottery fragments discovered in the complex belong to cups (Fig. 5/1-6), bowls (Fig. 5/9-10; 6/1), amphorae (Fig. 5/7-8) and kitchenware (Fig. 6/2-4) that can be attributed to phase II of Babadag culture.

3. *Pit no. 12, square 76, S I/1988* (Fig. 7/1) – was partially investigated and was probably circular at the surface, with the maximum diameter of approx. 2 m. In section, the pit looked like an alveolus dug in the sterile soil, with sloping walls, and 0.30 m of depth. On the bottom of the pit the upper and lower limbs of a mature individual were found. The position of the bones suggests that the body was flexed. Among the bones, some atypical pottery fragments were also found. There is no anthropological data regarding this individual.

4. *Pit no. 45, squares 8-11, S IV/1988* (Fig. 7/2) – was partially investigated during the 1988 campaign and is relatively large, as on the western profile its width is 4.20 m. It was dug directly into the sterile soil up to a depth of 0.75m. In the SW, close to the bottom of the pit, several human bones without anatomical or with partial connection were identified. Initially, two skulls and bones from the upper and lower limbs were noticed. Near to these bones, to the north, there was an agglomeration of bones which seemed to have belonged to an individual in flexed position, aligned NE-SW. There is no anthropological data regarding these individuals.

The pottery fragments discovered at this site belong to cups (Fig. 8/3-4, 8), amphorae (Fig. 8/7), bowls (Fig. 8/1-2) and kitchenware (Fig. 8/5-6).

5. *Pit no. 1, C 4/C/2000* (Fig. 9/1) – was dug in the sterile soil; on the surface had an irregular in shape, but the stratigraphical profile showed it was shaped like a truncated cone. The depth of the ancient stepping level was 0.70m; E-W diameter was 1.80 m, and N-S diameter was 1.60 m. On the bottom of the pit several human remains from three individuals in partial anatomical connection were discovered. In the northern extremity of the complex the bones were covered with a layer of ashes and pottery fragments.

The anthropological analysis[2] identified remains from three individuals: *Skeleton #1* - female, 25-30 years old, showing signs of secondary kyphosis and scoliosis of the thoracic and lumbar spine; *Skeleton #2* - female, 14 years old, exhibiting signs of *hiperostoza porotica*, and *cribra orbitalia*; *Skeleton 3:* represented by the remains of the zygomatic process of the maxilla,

[2] The anthropological analysis of the preserved human bones from Niculițel–Cornet was carried out by M. Constantinescu and N. Mirițoiu (F. I. Rainer Institute of Anthropology, Bucharest). In this article we have used only concise data, as the full details of the analysis are presented in a separate article published in this volume.

the diaphysis of a femur with shattered metaphyses, the distal third of the right tibia diaphysis and a fragment from the left ischion. All these belong to an *infans I* individual.

The pottery discovered in this area belongs to amphorae (Fig. 10/3-5), cups (Fig. 10/1-2), bowls (Fig. 10/6) and coarse vessels (Fig. 10/7). On the bottom of the pit, on the same level with the bones, there were also several pieces of burnt clay preserving marks from twigs, a shoulder blade from an animal, probably a bovid, a fragment from a horn and other fragments from a two ear cup (Fig. 10/1). * *

The sections investigated during the two campaigns (1988 and 2000) were not measured topographically, therefore the layout of the excavations was reconstructed according to certain guide marks and notes made at the site. If our reconstruction is valid, then it is possible that the human bones found in *S IV/1988* and *C4/C/2000* is part of the same complex (Fig. 9/3).

6. *Pit no. 1, S VI/2000* (Fig. 9/2) – was almost circular in shape, with the N-S diameter of 1.55m; the earth in the filling was dark brown. In section, the walls were almost straight and the depth of the pit from the digging level was 0.75m.

On the bottom of the complex the investigators found the incomplete skeletons of two individuals flexed on the right side, hands to the chin. The skeleton from the south of the pit is missing the skull and is aligned ESE–WNW; its feet are under the skull of the second individual. It was probably a male, approx. 13-14 years old.

The second skeleton belonged to a female of approx. 14 years of age, and it was aligned SSW–NNW. Cause of death seems to have been at least two blows with a blunt object to the lateral side of the right parietal, which dislocated a fragment of the cranial vault and another blow in the back lateral side of the left frontal eminence and two other possible blows to the lateral side of the left parietal and glabella area.

Inside the pit there were also found a few atypical pottery fragments.

7. Pit no. 7, SVII/2000 (Fig. 11/1) – at the surface was circular, but in section it was shaped like a truncated cone; it was 1.20m deep. The diameter of the upper part was 0.80m, and the one of the lower diameter was 1.10m. On the bottom of the pit there was a human arm in anatomical connection, together with a big rock. There were only a few atypical pottery remains. There are no anthropological data available.

8. Dwelling no. 1, S K/2000 (Fig. 11/2) – was investigated in squares 4 and 5 of S K (4 × 12 m). It was almost circular in shape, with the diameter of 3.4m. Due to the large size and the numerous superstructure remains that showed traces of burning, the authors of the investigation considered that it was a hut-like dwelling. It was dug in the sterile soil up to a depth of 0.70m, with relatively straight walls. On the bottom of the dwelling, to its centre, there was a human skull surrounded by several bones belonging to four individuals:

Skeleton #1 – represented through parts of the scapula, clavicle, left ulna and right femur. The bones belong to an *infans II* individual, its age most likely to belong to the first part of the interval; its sex is undeterminable; *Skeleton #2* – of which only part of the left clavicle, left radius and right coxa were preserved, probably belonging to a female of 25-30 years of age; *Skeleton #3* – represented by a skull with old fragmentation. Its sex is difficult to determine, but some traits of the skull indicate a female individual; *Skeleton #4* – represented by a fragment of the frontal and the maxillae with old cracks. The exfoliation of the surface of the skull indicates exposure to high temperatures, but only ectocranially. It could be a young adult, or even an adolescent, of undeterminable sex.

In this complex, there were also found numerous fragments of pottery belonging to large amphorae (Fig. 12/1-2, 4-6), bowls (Fig. 12/7-9) and cups (Fig. 12/3) that can be dated to phase II of Babadag culture.

Analysis of the finds.

a. Surface layout (Fig. 13)

Even though the settlement was only partially investigated, we can assume, due to the low density of the complexes, that we have partially identified the S, SE and NW margins of the site. Thus we can observe that complexes containing human bones are more concentrated towards SE, where *pits nos. 3*, *4* and *12* from *SI/1988*, and also the complex formed by *pit 45/SIV/1988* and pit 1 from *C4/C/2000* were investigated. To the NW margin, the dwelling investigated in *SK/2000* was also identified. Close to each other are the two pits investigated during the 2000 campaign: pit. *1/SVI* and *pit 7/SVII*, situated in a highly concentrated area of archaeological complexes.

However, on the whole, we cannot distinguish a certain area used for such depositions. This is also applicable for the Babadag settlement (Ailincăi *et alii* 2005-2006), where such complexes are scattered all over the investigated area of the site.

b. The layout of the complexes

No similarities were found regarding the layout of the pits – shape, depth or dimensions. Overall, *pits nos. 3* and *12* from *S I/1988*, *pit no. 1/S VI/2000* and *pit no. 7/SVII/2000* are of relatively small dimensions and the walls are almost vertical or inclined. Practically, these complexes are not different from the pits considered to have been used as domestic waste pits or storing space.

The diameter of *pit no. 4/SI/1988* is approx. 2 m, but, comparatively, the complexes from *S K/2000* and *S IV/1988 – C4/C/2000* are much bigger and approx. 0.50m deep, revealing similarities with the complex containing human bones recently investigated in the pre-colonial level at *Orgame/Argamum*. Numerous adobe pieces with traces of twigs or reed (remains of a superstructure – walls, roof) were found in these complexes at Niculițel, which represents an argument for considering them structures similar to dwellings.

In one of our previous studies dedicated to this topic we pointed out that, in the case of some complexes containing human bones with partial or without anatomical connection, there were no marks of cuts or animal bites, therefore we assumed the existence of special closed spaces where the bodies were left to decompose before manipulation and deposition in another place. Continuing this idea, we can assume, with certain reservations, the big complexes at Niculițel–*Cornet* could have been used in this purpose.

c. The archaeological material discovered in the complexes

The archaeological material found in the complexes containing human bones consists of pottery (fragmentary in most cases) and animal bones. The pottery fragments come from different types of vessels, no particular category being predominant. The only vessel that was almost complete was the two ear cup discovered in *C4/C/2000*.

In *pit no. 12/SI/1988*, *pit no. 1/S VI/2000* and *pit no. 7/ S VII/2000* there were discovered only a few atypical pottery fragments, if compared with pit 4/SI/1988 where a large amount of pottery was found. The lack of domestic origin content in these pits may suggest that they were deliberately dug for the deposition of human bones.

The individuals in extended burial found in *pit no. 3/S I/1988* and *pit no. 4/S I/1988* make a special case: they were each deposited, probably deliberately, on an agglomeration of pottery fragments; while the bones in *C4/C/2000* were covered with a layer of ashes mixed with pottery and animal bones, which is similar to other cases encountered at Babadag (Jugănaru 2005, 33), *Orgame/Argamum* (Ailincăi, Mirițoiu, Soficaru 2003) or Satu Nou (Irimia, Conovici 1991, 53, 89, 91, 94).

d. The state of presentation and representation of the dead

From the overall discoveries in the site at Niculițel – *Cornet* we can notice that in the same or in a separate complex there are: complete or almost complete skeletons in anatomical connection; parts of a skeleton in anatomical connection; bones without anatomical connection.

Taking into consideration that at least the bones submitted to the anthropological analysis did not exhibit marks of dismembering with blunt objects, we could explain the state of partial anatomical connection of the bones through repeated interventions on the bodies at different stages of decay. It is possible that parts of the bodies deposited in these areas had been removed at different intervals and deposited separately. Thus, we can explain the isolated arm found in *pit no. 7/S VI*, and other similar situations encountered in the settlements from Early Iron Age at Tămăoani (Petrescu–Dîmboviţa 1953, László 1986, 68) and Satu Nou (Irimia, Conovici 1993, 53, 93). It is also possible that the skulls deposited separately in different contexts at Babadag (Jugănaru, Ailincăi 2003, 49), Jijila (Sîrbu, Ailincăi, Simion 2008, 51-52), Satu Nou (Irimia, Conovici 1993, 52-65, 89-97) or Garvăn (Jugănaru 2005, 34) had been subjected to a special treatment.

The upper maxilla and frontal bone fragments belonging to skeleton #4 from *SK/2000* constitute a special case. These fragments exhibit signs of exposure to high temperatures, which resulted in ectocranial exfoliation of the cranial vault and degradation of the maxilla. Endocranially there are no traces of fire, a proof that the skull was complete during the exposure to heat. We need to specify that no burning marks could be identified on the other bones discovered here, which indicates a different treatment of the skull of this individual. The lack of burn marks on the archaeological material found in the same complex excludes the possibility that the dwelling had been set on fire, and the layout of the bones indicates a deliberate deposition of the remains of the four individuals.

The complete human humerus (right upper limb) found in the filling of the pit investigated at *Orgame/Argamum* also exhibited burn marks. It was passed through fire, as the anterior side is black and posterior side is only brown, indicating that it did not undergo a complete calcination process (300-400° C) (Ailincăi, Mirițoiu, Soficaru 2003). These two situations known so far make more difficult the reconstruction of the treatment of the dead and suggest the complexity of the ritual.

e. Cause of death

Even though only a part of the bones were submitted to an anthropological analysis, the data available to us being limited to a few individuals, we must observe the perimortem violence marks visible on the skull of skeleton #2 from *pit no. 1/S VI/2000*. This is not a singular situation among the discoveries within the Babadag culture area, as the anthropologists have also reported cases of violent death for skeletons 5 and 6 from (Ailincăi, Mirițoiu, Soficaru 2003, 314-315) and for skull no.1 from the complex investigated within the entrenchments of the Babadag settlement (Jugănaru, Ailincăi 2003; Ailincăi *et alii* 2005-2006).

f. Age and sex data

From the analyzed bones we found out that they belonged to two children (*infans I* and respectively *infans II*), five females (two of approx. 14-15 years old, two other around 25-30 years of age and one of undeterminable age) and one male (13-14 years old), while the skull fragment with marks of burning from *SK/2000* belonged to an adolescent individual of undetermined sex.

g. Pathology

The anthropological analysis of some of the bones discovered at this site pointed out the existence of certain illnesses of or accidents occurred to the individuals deposited here. We mention here: deformations of the left humerus of skeleton #2 from *pit no. 1/ SVI/ 2000* due to congenital or traumatic causes occurred in the early years of life affecting the normal development of the bone; signs of secondary kyphosis and scoliosis at the level of the thoracal and lumbar spine of skeleton #1 from *C 4/C/ 2000*, whose diaphyses of the tibias and fibulas also show signs of inchoative periostitis; signs of *hyperostosa porotica* and *cribra orbitalia* in the case of skeleton #2 from *C 4/C/ 2000*.

Conclusion. The new data resulted from the cumulated study of the two archaeological campaigns; together with the anthropological data for a part of the human bones represent the motivation for undergoing this new analysis aiming to complete our knowledge of the behaviour of the Babadag communities towards the dead.

This study does not insist on the other macabre finds from the Babadag culture settlements, as they have been widely discussed in other articles (Sîrbu 1994; Sîrbu 1997; Irimia 2003; Ailincăi, Mirițoiu, Soficaru 2003; Ailincăi *et alii* 2005-2006). However, we need to point out that Niculițel–*Cornet* is the settlement with the most finds of this kind, after the site at Babadag. Even though contemporaneous and produced by the same human community, the complexes found here are varied and, as in other cases, the depositions are not standardized.

Translated by Cristina Ailincăi

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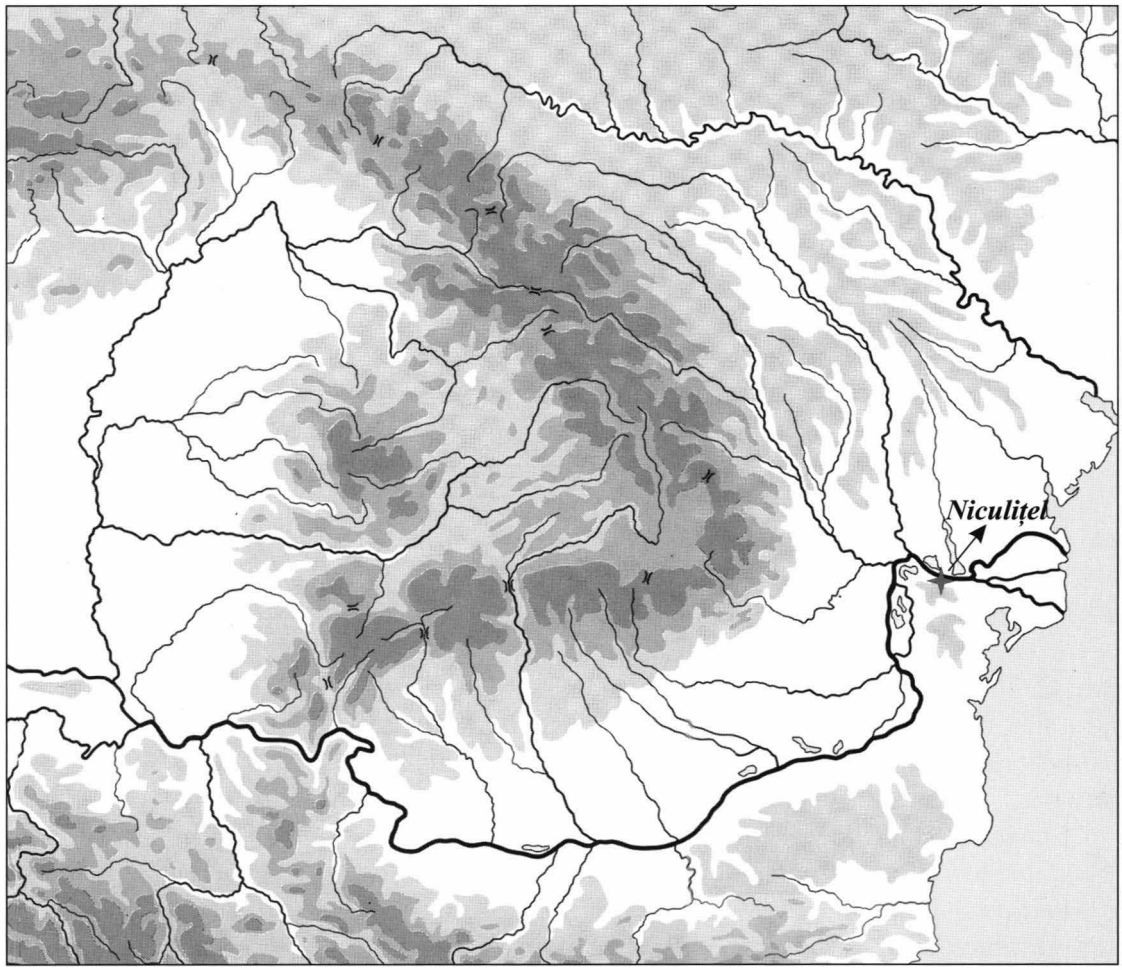
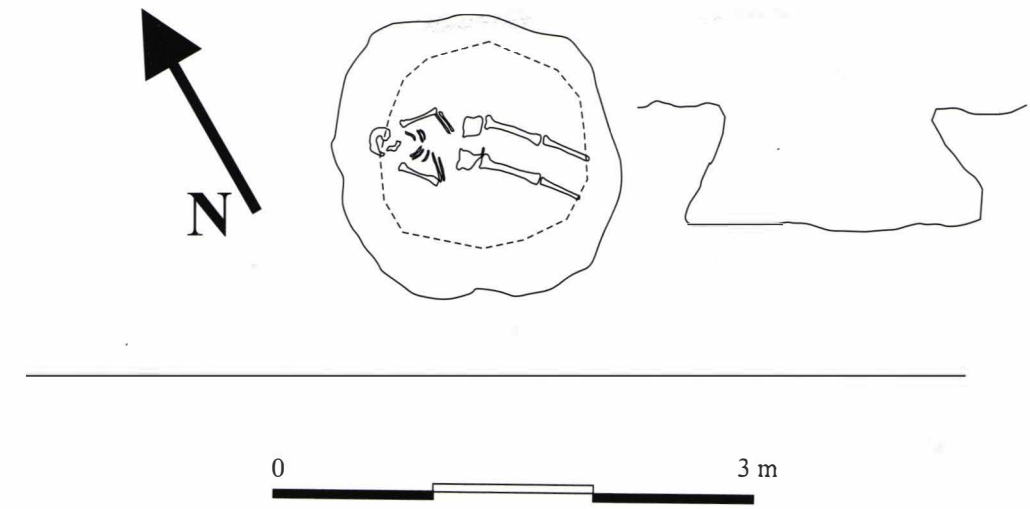


1

2

Fig. 1. Niculițel-*Cornet*
1. The geographic location of the site; 2. View from above.



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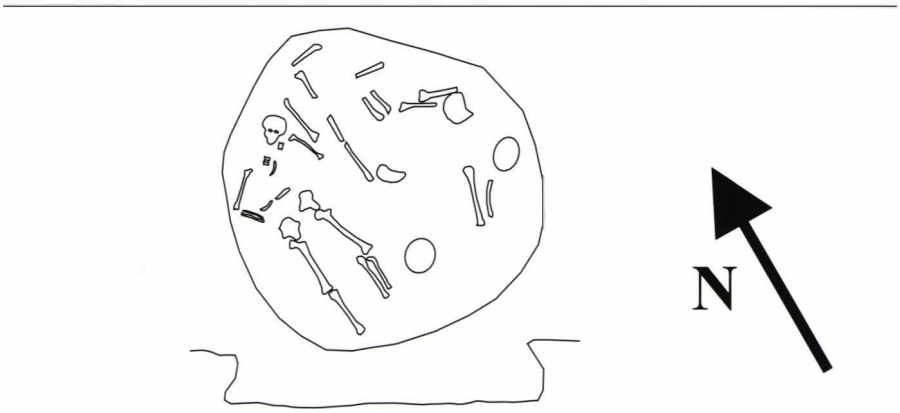

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Fig. 2. Niculițel-*Cornet* 1988.
1. *Pit no. 3, square 46, S I*; 2. *Pit no. 4, square 52, S I.*

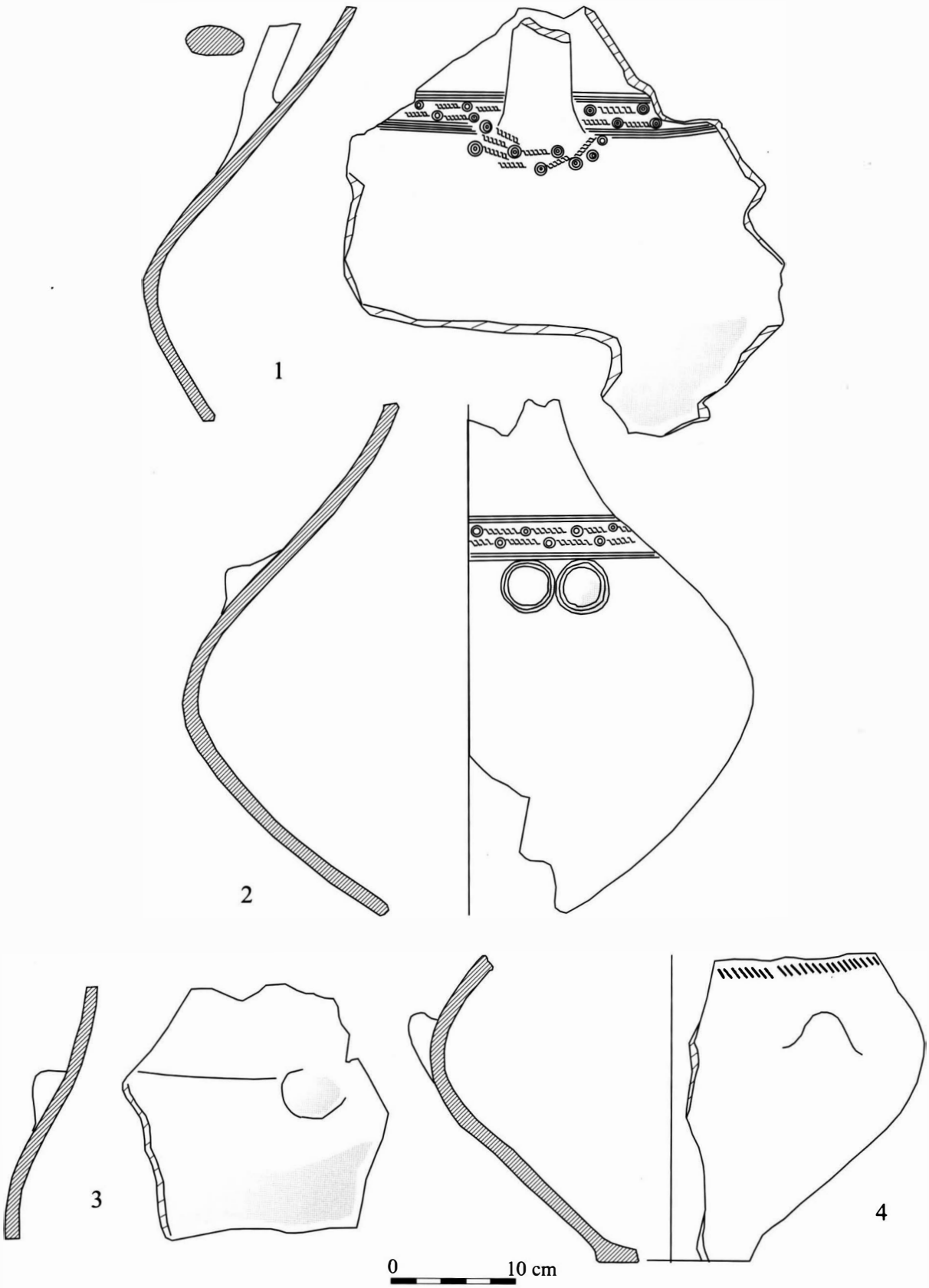

Fig. 3. Niculitel-*Cornet* 1988.
1-4. Pottery discovered in *Pit no. 3, square 46, S I.*

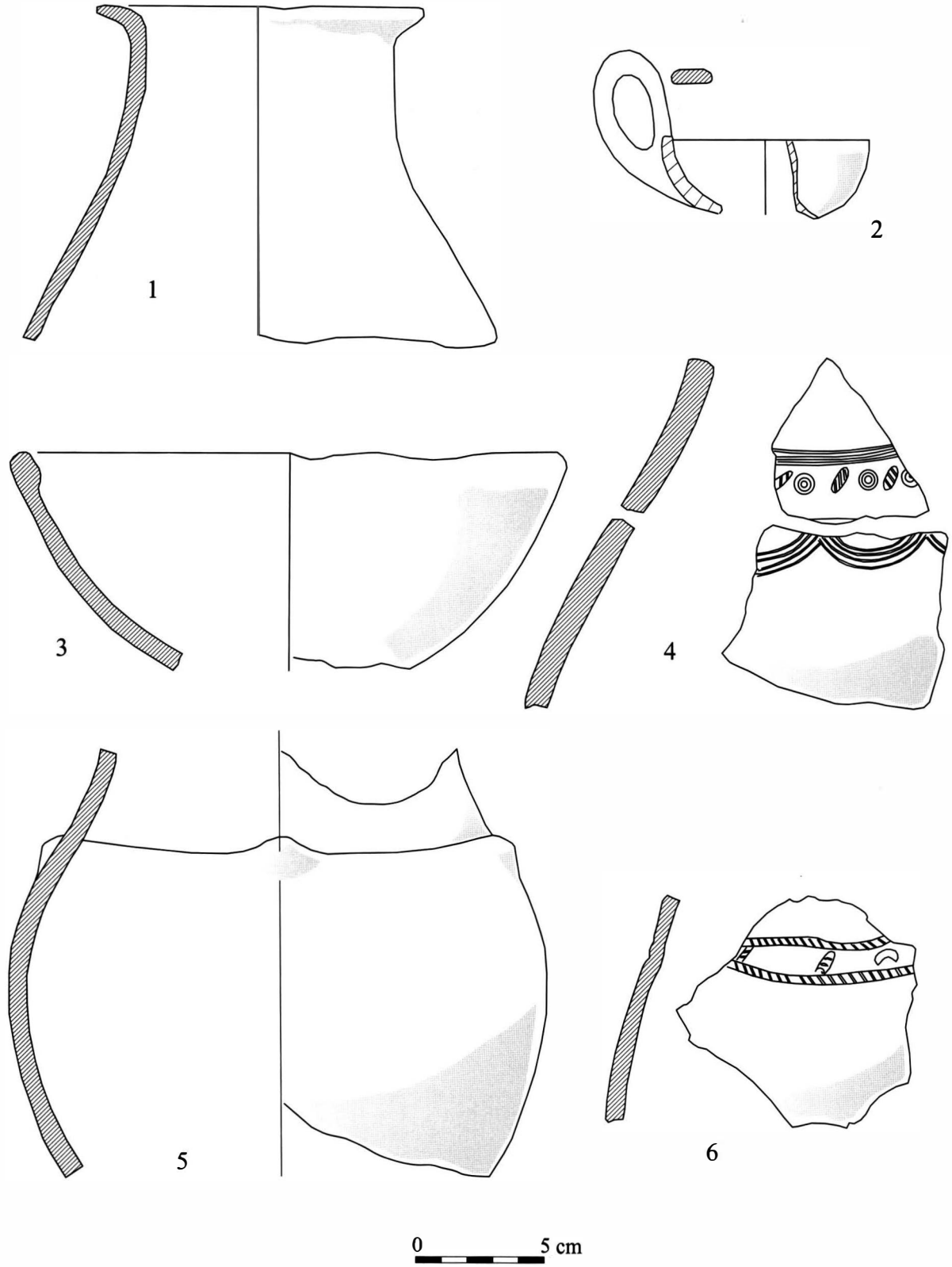

Fig. 4. Niculițel-*Cornet* 1988.
1-6. Pottery discovered in *Pit no. 3, square 46, S I.*

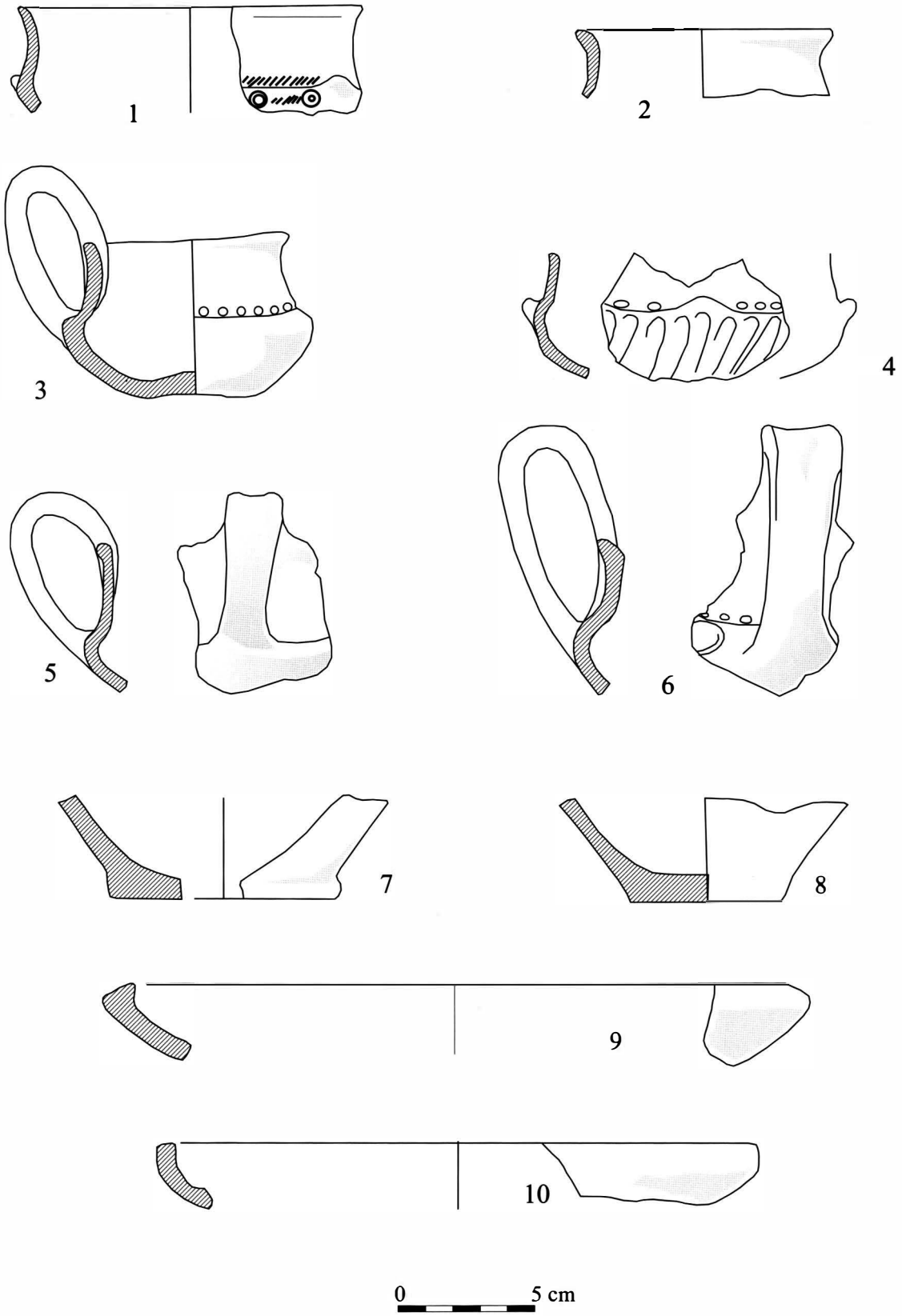

Fig. 5. Niculițel-*Cornet* 1988.
1-10. Pottery discovered in *Pit no. 5, square 52, S I.*

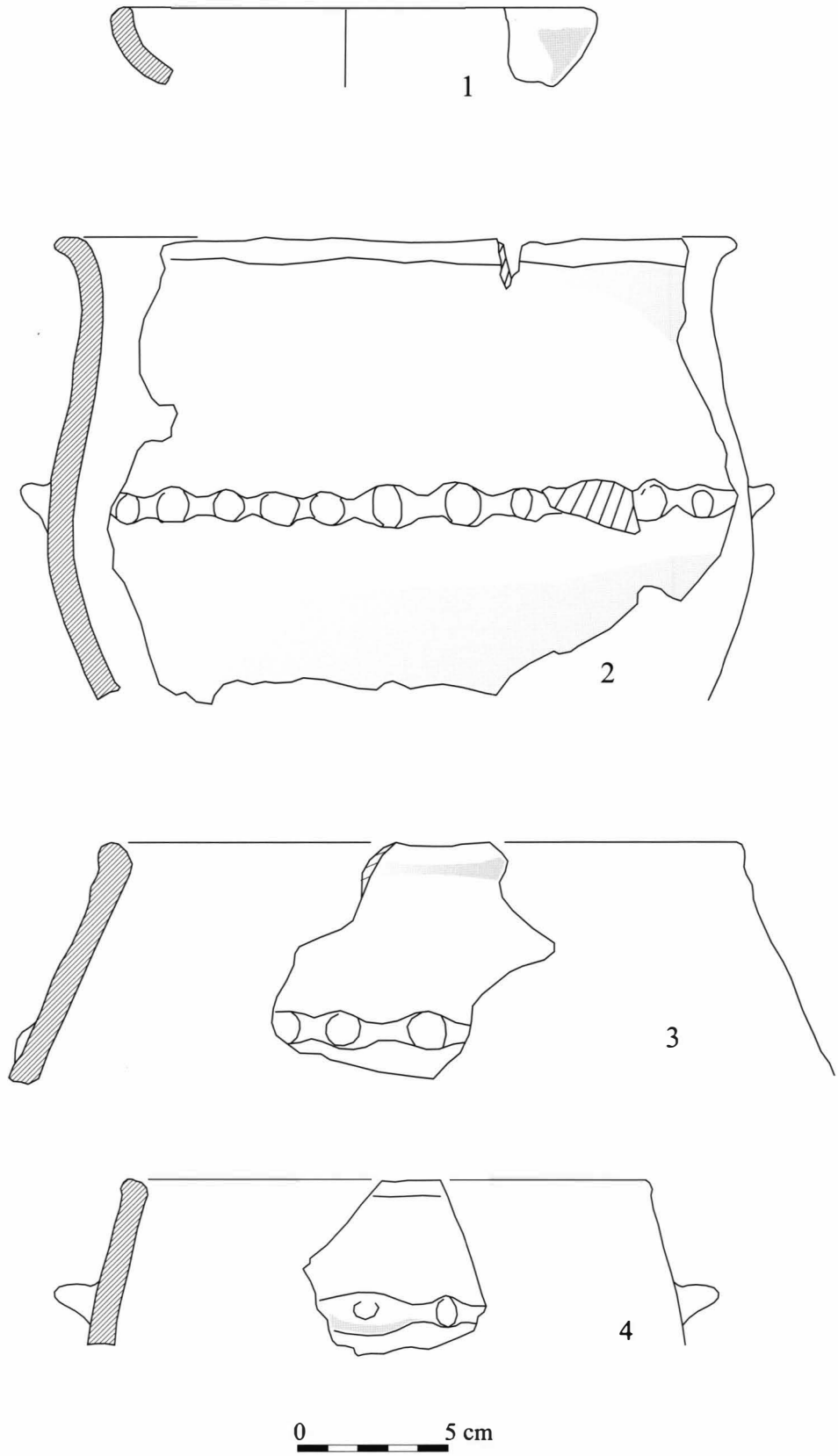

Fig. 6. Niculițel-*Cornet* 1988.
1-4. Pottery discovered in *Pit no. 5, square 52, S I.*

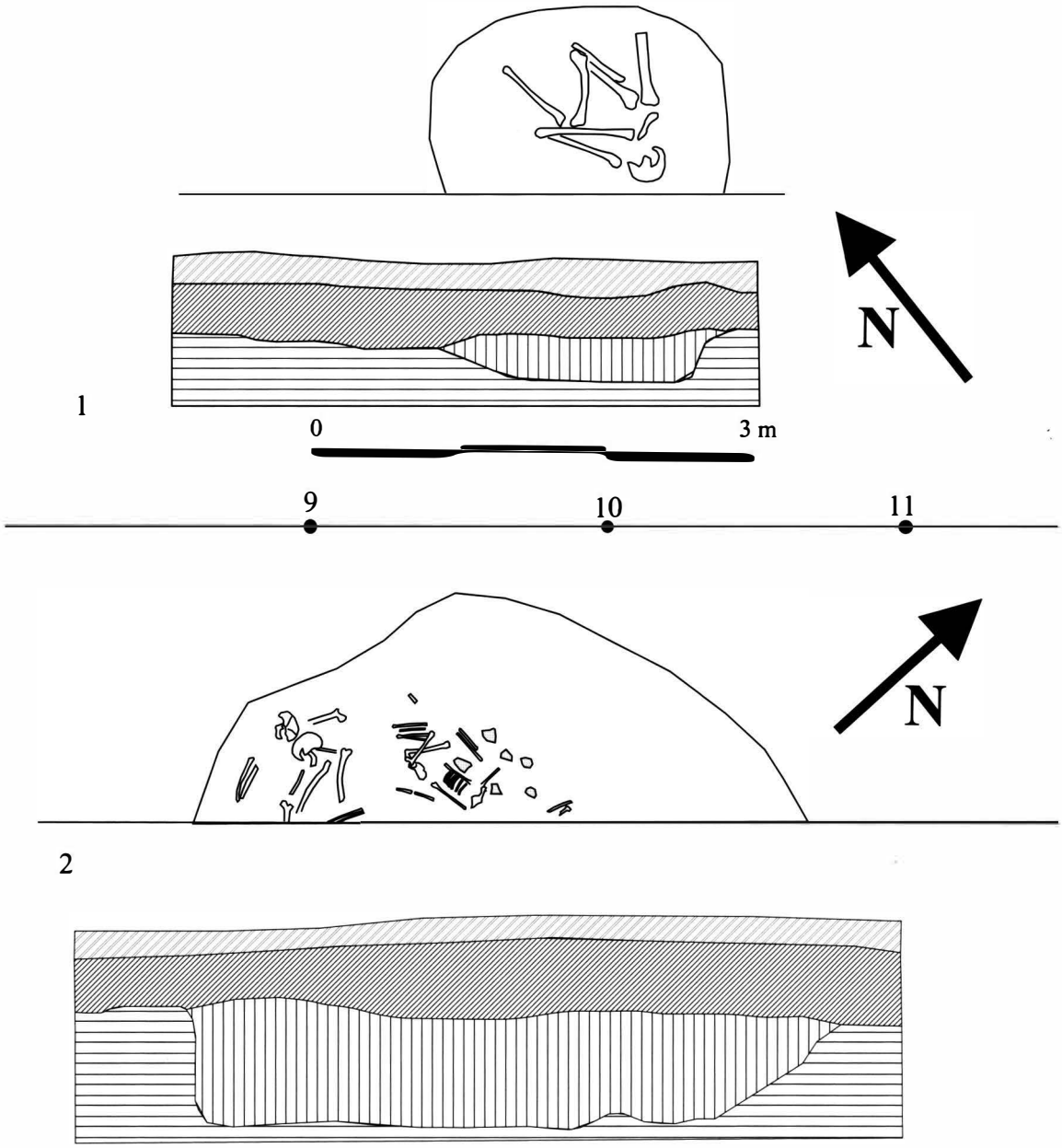

Fig. 7. Niculiţel-*Cornet* 1988.
1. *Pit no. 12, square 76, S I;* 2. *Pit no. 45, squares 9-11, S IV.*

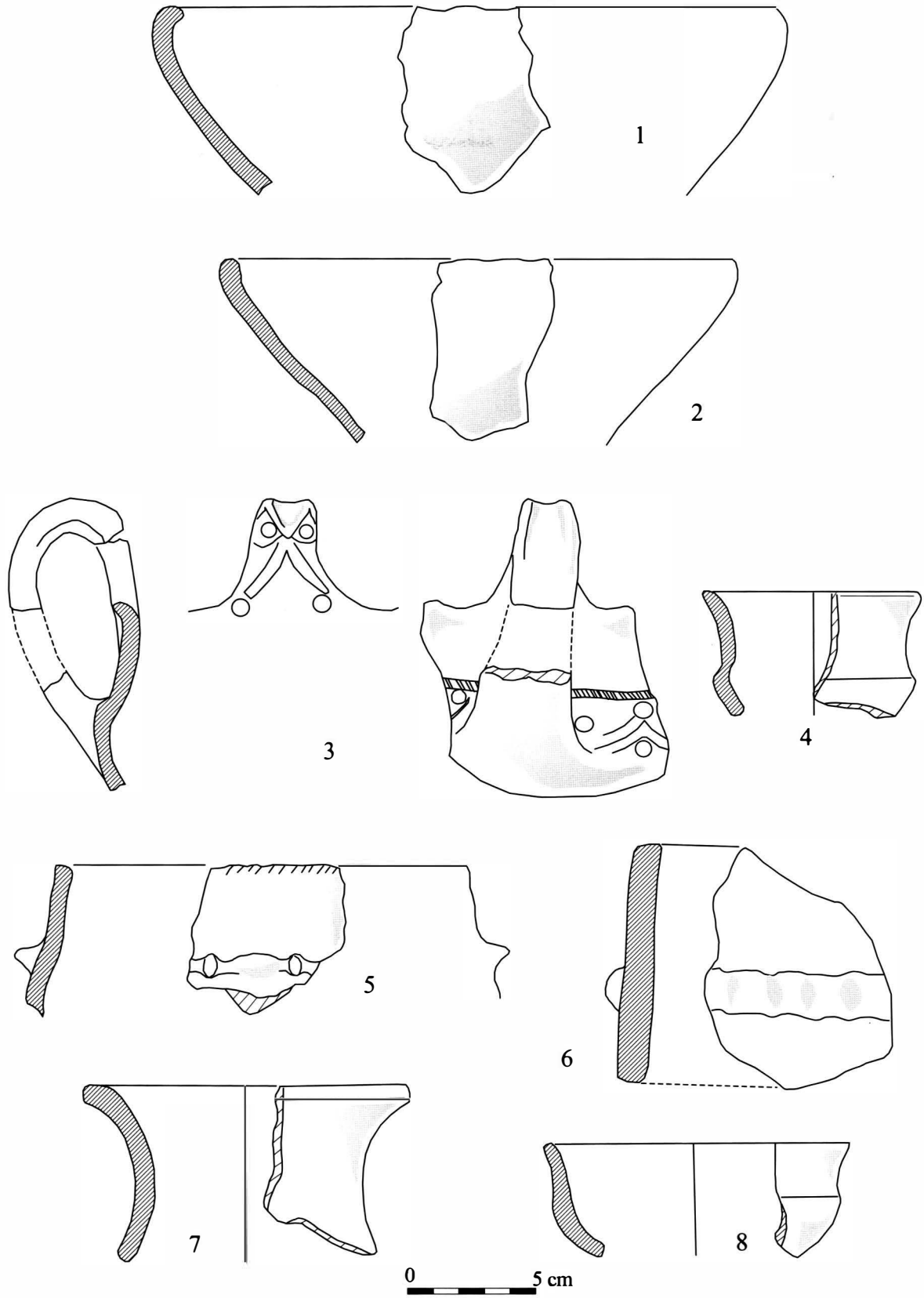

Fig. 8. Niculitel-*Cornet* 1988.
1-8. Pottery discovered in *Pit no. 43, squares 9-11, S IV*.

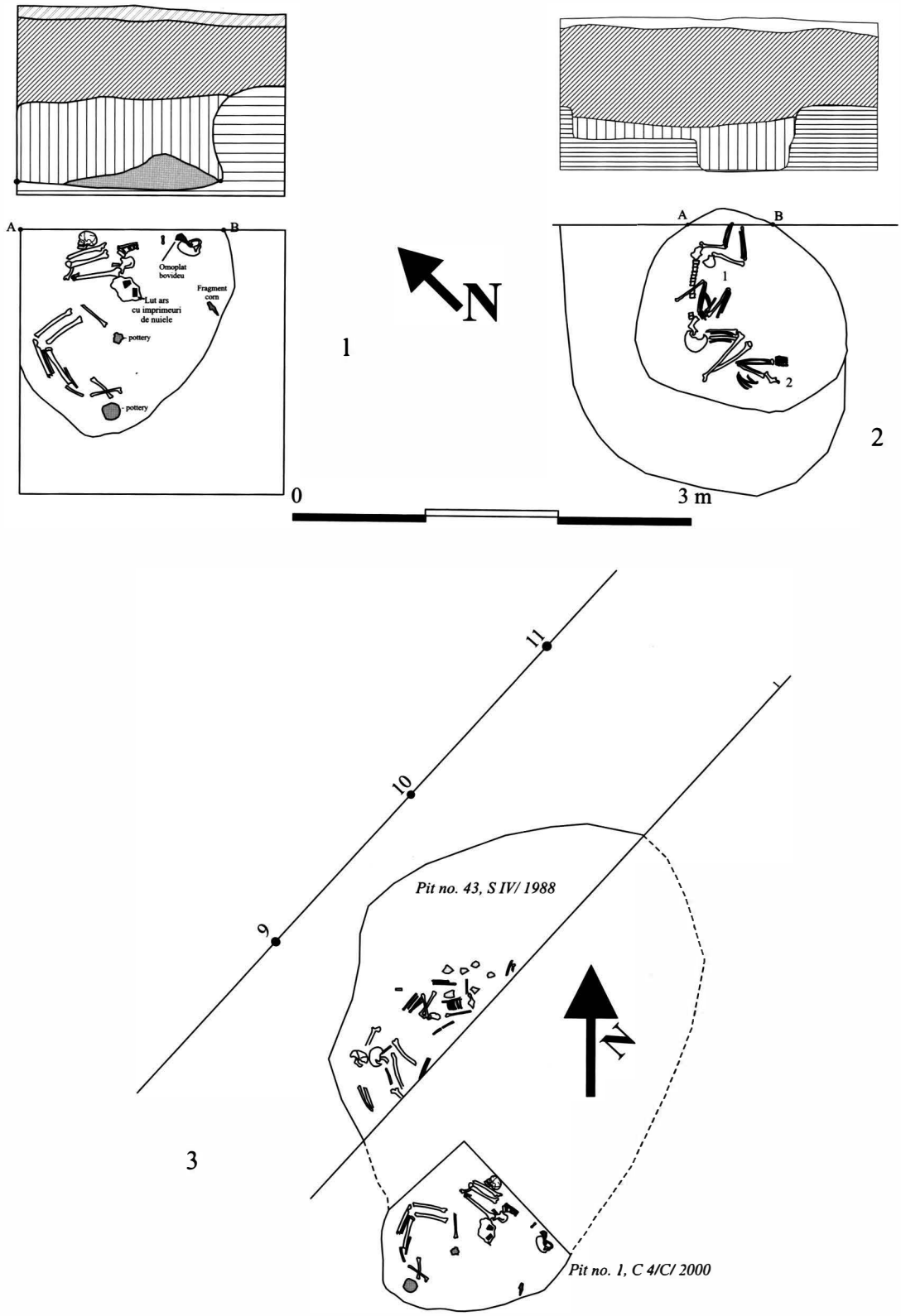

Fig. 9. Niculițel-*Cornet* 1988, 2000.
1. *Pit no. 1, C 4/C;* 2. *Pit no. 1, S VI;* 3. Possible graphical reconstruction of the discoveries from *S IV/1988* and *C 4/C/2000.*

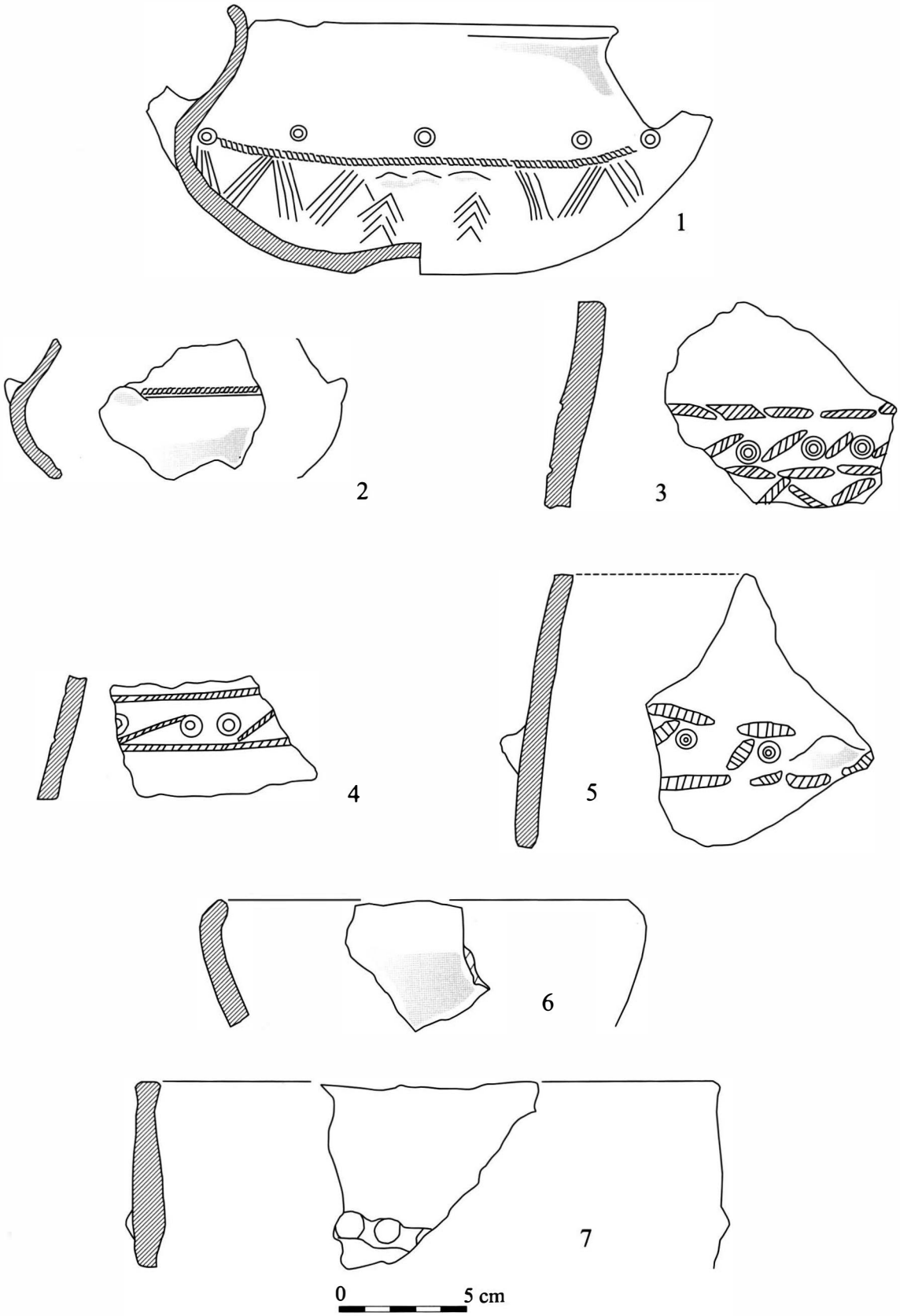

Fig. 10. Niculițel-*Cornet* 2000.
1-7. Pottery discovered in *Pit no. 1, C 4/C.*

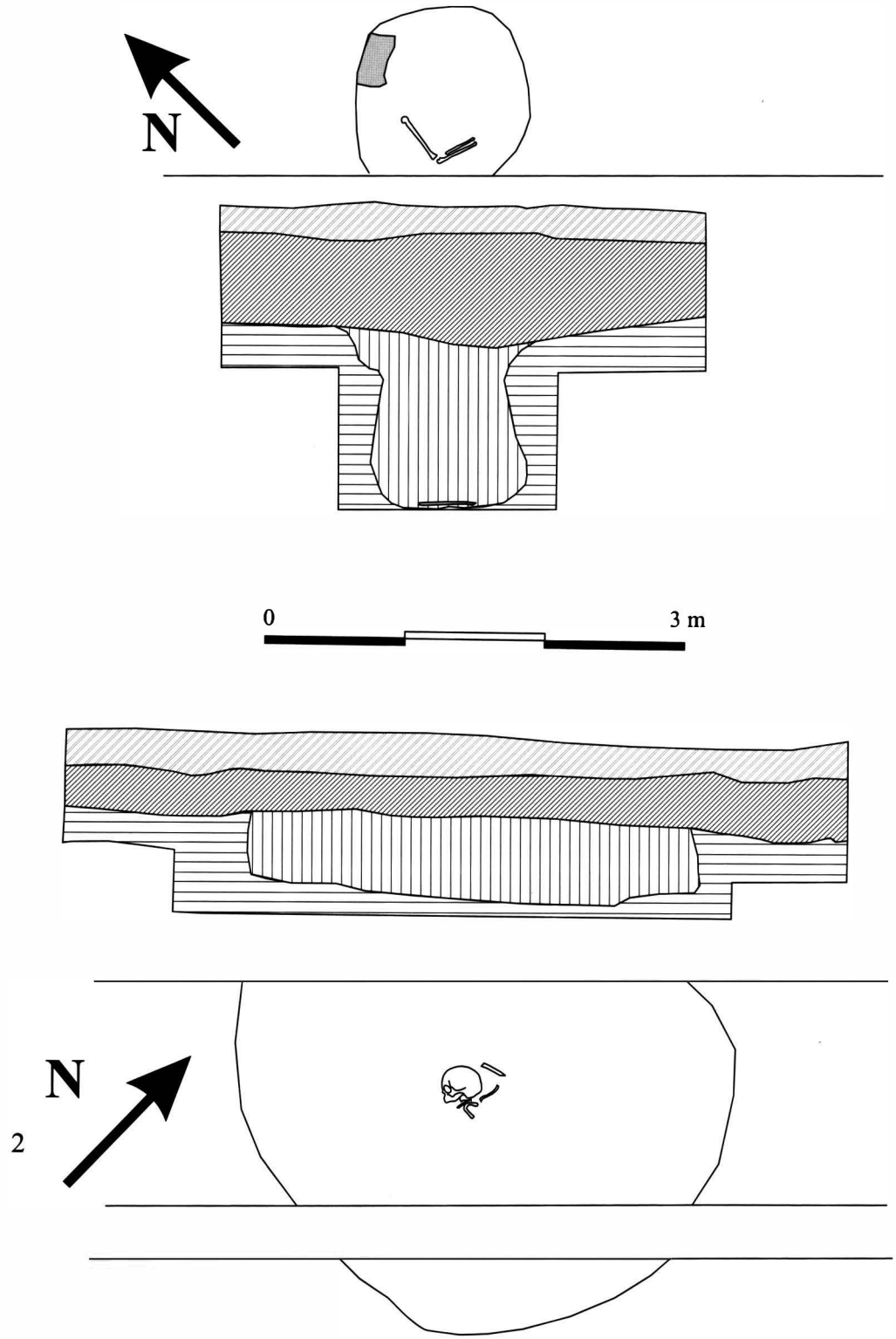

Fig. 11. Niculițel-*Cornet* 2000.
1. *Pit no. 7, S VI*; 2. *Dwelling no. 1, S K.*

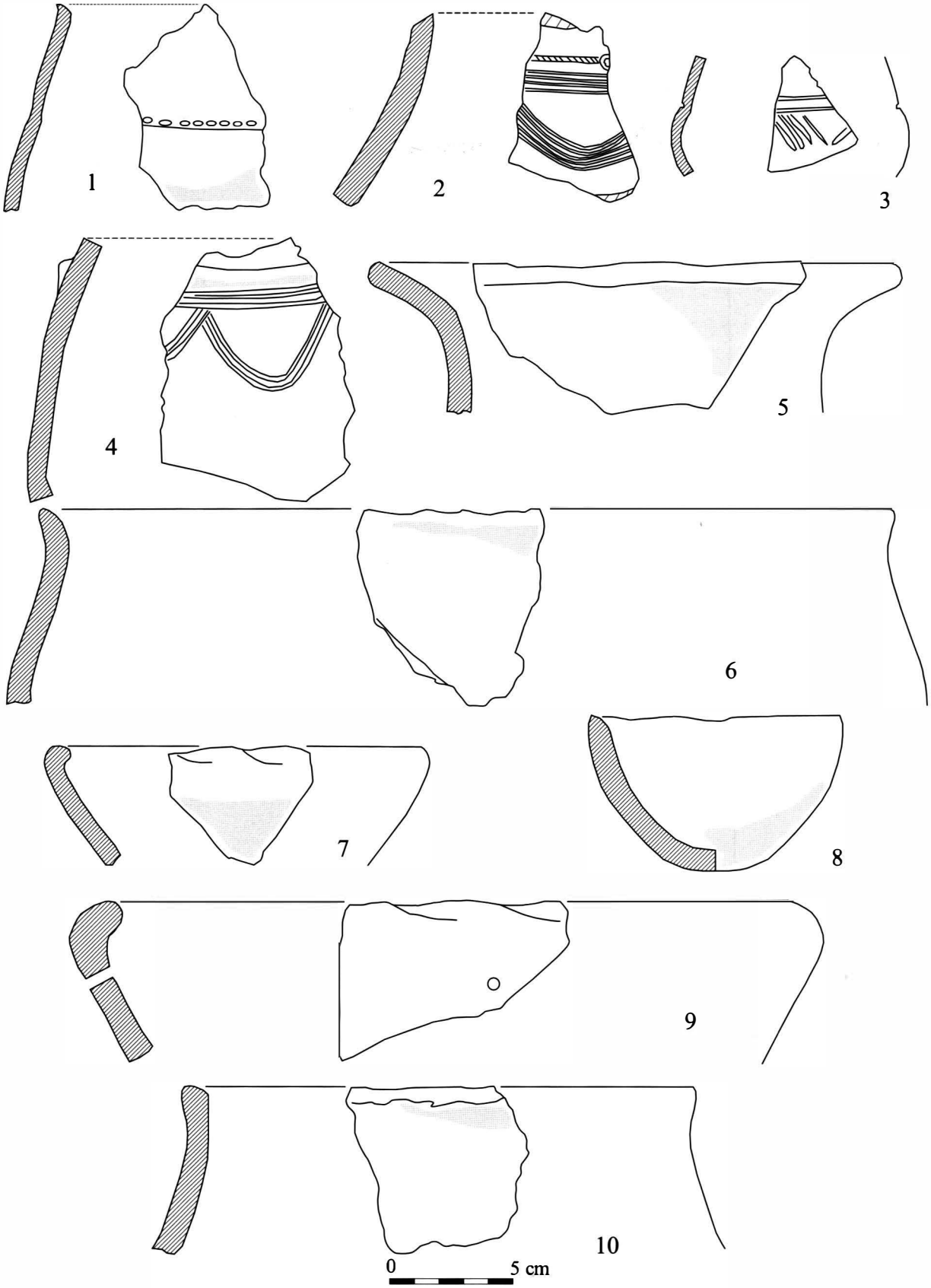

Fig. 12. Niculițel-*Cornet* 2000.
1- 10. Pottery from the *dwelling no. 1, S K.*

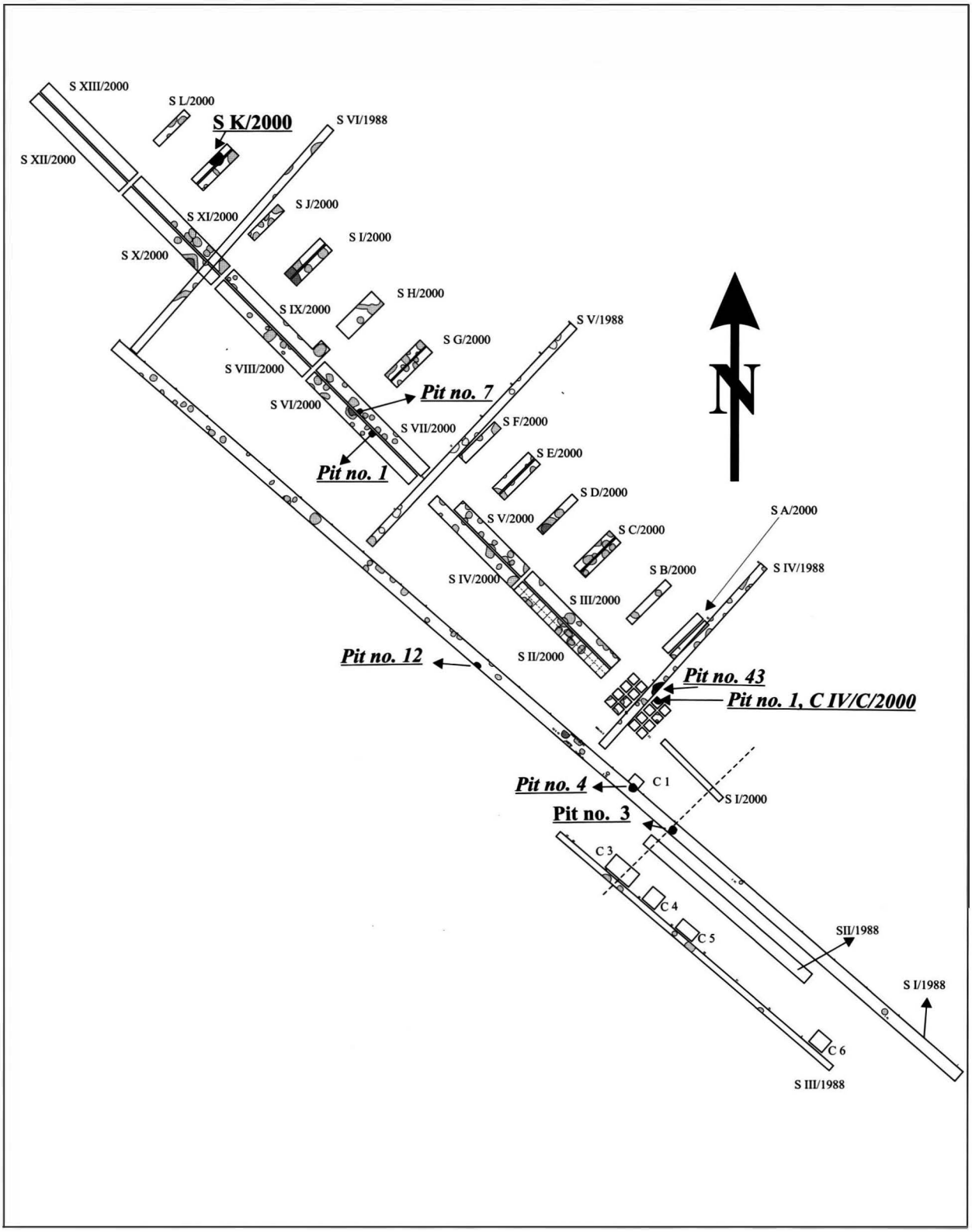

Fig. 13. Niculițel-*Cornet 1988, 2000.*
Graphic reconstruction of the investigation plan (with only the Early Iron Age discoveries).

STOLNICENI – A NEW ASPECT OF THE FUNERARY RITUAL AT THE GETIC POPULATIONS

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Keywords: graves, inhumations, tumuli sacred enclosure, Setae.

During the past few decades, the archaeological monuments of the Late Iron Age on the territory between the Carpathian Mountains and the basin of the Dniestr river, had taken the benefit of a notable scientific research and valorification. Therefore, by surveys, soundings or systematic excavations, more than 600 archaeological objectives could be investigated, being certainly assigned to the second half of the 1st millenium B.C.[1] In this context, a special care was given to the investigation of the fortified settlements, most of them located in the Central Moldavian Highland, with large depressions, plateaus or foothills of the upper terraces of the Siret, Pruth, Dniester and their tributaries. Here were identified and partly investigated the fortified monuments from Saharna[2], Hlingeni[3], Butuceni[4], Moşna[5], Arsura[6], Cotnari[7] etc., which provided important information, for a better knowledge of the history of culture and civilisation of the North Thracians, east of the Carpathian Mountains. Among the archaeological monuments of major interest we could also mention the one situated near the Stolniceni village, Hânceşti County, Republic of Moldova. This is a fortified precinct, located in the meridional part of the High Central Moldova, which is characterized by high, narrow and elongated hills, alternating with deep valleys, steep slopes, numerous pot-holes, precipices and flat bottom wide dales. Quarternary Age terraces are placed upon forest grey soils and clay, with sand insertions. On one of these terrases, 2 km south-east of Stolniceni, a precinct delimited by a defensive system, consisting in two moats and one ditch was found. Its height, with a maximal quota of 348 m, is part of the meridional extremity of the Codrilor (Forests) and was called „Fortress" (fig. 2-3). By the locals This is delimited by a hillock from the Cogâlnic valley and by the valey of the Vişina creek, whose waters run alog the western slopes where the precinct is located. Given the free access from the south-south-eastern and north-north-eastern sides, it was mandatory to raise another defensive system, shaped as a semi-circle[8]. Excepting a small portion on the western side, the surface of the terrace is covered with more than 20 mounds, with a height which varies between 40 and 70-80 cm (Fig. 1/ 1, 4-5). One of them was investigated, according to the information provided by P. Constantinescu-Iaşi, even since 1933 (Fig. 1/4). The sounding done by the up mentioned specialist was traced out upon two directions and was focused upon one of the central mounds, reaching up to the depth of 1,5 m. Among the vestiges found there, some hand-made ceramic fragments, sherds and handles, traces of a various pottery, with different

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[1] I. Niculiţă, *Severnye frakijcy*..., 1987, p. 7-9; S. Teodor, *Regiunile est-carpatice*..., 1999, p.....; T. Arnăut, *Vestigii* ..., 2003, p. 13-33.

[2] G. D. Smirnov, *Otčet*..., p. 9-33; T. Arnăut, Aşezarea..., 2000, p. 93-94; I. Niculiţă, A. Zanoci, A. Nicic, Les monuments..., SAA IX, 2003, p. 241-252.

[3] N. Gol'ceva, M. Caşuba, *Glinjeny*..., 1995, p. 6-10.

[4] I. Niculiţă, S. Teodor, A. Zanoci, *Butuceni* ..., 2000.

[5] A. Florescu şi Gh. Melinte, SCIV 19, 1968, 1, p. 129-134.

[6] S. Teodor, MCA 10, 1973, p. 53-60.

[7] A. C. Florescu, CI, S.N. II, 1971, p. 108-111, 111.

[8] V. Sârbu, T. Arnăut, CAAN-T 1, 1995 p. 381-395.

levels of burning were mentioned. There were also found two amphora fragments, belonging to distinct vessels, which are evidences for the existece of some Greek imports[9]. In the years after the 2nd World War, the soundings had been resumed, first by G. D. Smirnov and then also by G. B. Fedorov, being meant to identify the character of the monument. It was finally concluded that it was a fortified settlement, which functioned between the 4th-3rd centuries B.C.[10]

The importance and special features of the site near the Stolniceni village had enabled us to undertake systematic excavations. Two of the mounds have been studied by now.

Mound no. 2

It has a diameter of about 24 m and a height of 40 cm. In all, 17 skeletons had been unearthed, being buried according to the funerary inhumation rite. They were detected at various depths, between 0, 24 cm and 0,50 cm. Among these, 7 skeletons (butrials no. 2,3,5,6,11,16 and 17) were in anatomical connection, while in others, the bone position had undergone changes. This fact could be explained either by the action of the roots, given that the site is located in the forest, or by the intervention of the looters, as the case of the skeleton from burial no. 7. In 8 cases we have the deposition of the dead in a supine position, with the following orientations: burial no. 2 – east; burials no. 3, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 – south-east; burial no. 16 – north-east; burial no. 17 – north-west. The skeletons in burials no. 5 and 6 were laid in a flexed position, with their face to the right, namely to the west, with a northern orientation. In the case of the funerary complexes no. 8 and 15, just the human skulls had been detected. In any of the investigated burials could be defined the outline of the funerary pit. There are interesting the individuals in burials no. 10, 11, 12, 13,14, which were grouped together, from north to south, one near another (Fig. 2/1-2).

Archaeological inventory

Out of the inventory discovered in the mantle of the tumulus we could mention a large number of burnt clay pieces. They formed few agglomerations, which were put on the plan and counted. Seemingly, they were fragmentary hearths made of yellow clay, with sand and limestone as non-plastics. Due to their oxidant burning, they turned into red-red-brown color. Most of the fragments have a smooth surface, with a crust of white-yellowish color (with a thickness of 2-3 mm). It is interesting to note here that in the case of burials no. 2 and 7, de dead were partly laid upon the hearth aglomerations (no. 1 and 3). But, this time, the hearth fragments had their crust downwards.

Among the discovered artifacts we could mention the three-winged arrow points of Scythian type[11], made of bronze, harness pieces, like the link of a horse bit, knife and sickle blades, items made of animal antler, spindle-whorls but also and anthropomorphic statuette made of clay (Fig. 3/1-14; 4/1-7).

The pottery is rich in fragments of hand-made vessels, of clay paste mixed with chamote and sand. Among the basic categories and forms we could mention the truncated dishes with straight or slightly inverted rim, some of them bearing a handle shaped as a saddle or torsioned as a semi-circle. There are frequent fragments of pots, whose profile suggest the *bell* or *jar*-shape, with a straight or slightly inverted or everted rim. Most of the fragments are decorated with prominences shaped as a tongue or knob. As concerns the decoration, the majority of the cases bear a simple, alveolary or a notched belt. In general, we could talk about elements specific to the pottery of the archaeological monuments of the 7th-3rd centuries B.C., discovered east of

[9] P. Constantinescu-Iaşi, *Basarabia arheologică şi artistică*, Chişinău, 1933, p. 22.
[10] G. D. Smirnov, ANM, t. 3330, d. 87, p. 9-33. G. B. Fedorov, *Otčet* ..., 1950, p. 45-47.
[11] R. Vulpe, E. Vulpe, Dacia III-IV, 1927-1932, p. 332, fig. 113/1-14, 16, 30; S. Teodor, M. Nicu, S. Ţau, AM XXI, 1998, p. 88, fig. 40/1, 8.12, 15; T. Arnaut, *Vestgii* ..., 2003, p.120-121.

the Carpathian Mountains, like the settlements from Butuceni[12], Poiana[13], Stânceşti[14], Saharna[15] etc.

There were also found wheel-made ceramic fragments, of dark-grey color, made of a clay paste and sand as non-plastic, with a burning reach in oxygen. They come from handled cups. In the group of the wheel-made pottery we have also included the luxury imported ware, covered with black firnis, but also the amphora fragments of Tasoss, Sinope şi Heracleea Pontica. Out of the former ones come two neck fragments with englyphic stamp, which, according to the typological series, could belong to the 4th century B.C.

Mound no. 3

In mound no. 3, with a diameter of about 26 m and a height over 80 cm, 14 skeletons could be found. Among them, one belonged to an infant child. The child skeleton and the one from burial no. 9 were laid in a flexed position, with a western and respectively south-western orientation The skeletons in burials no. 4,5, 9 and 14 were displaced. As in the preceding situation, the dead had their head to the north (skeletons no. 7, 8, 10 şi 11). The deceased in burials no. 12 and 13 had their head to the south-east; those in burials no. 1 and 2 had a western orientation, while the one in burial no. 6 an eastern one (Fig. 6/1-4). Even this time, the deceased indiviuals were found at variable depths, between 0, 25 m and 0, 58 m, namely in the upper chernozem, without being possible to identify the outline of their pit. Towards the center of the tumulus, a layer of clay and sand could be traced, which also contained small particles of burnt matter. The respective layer had a diameter of 12,8 m (fig. 5/1). In its turn, it ovelapped, another layer, this time comprising ash, mixed with soot. Inside it, at the depth of 88/92 cm and 1,12 m distance south- south-west from the central axis of the tumulus, the hearth no. 3 was detected. Above it a clay layer burnt to red was found, with a thickness of 5-7 cm. The hearth is a compact mass of clay, with sand and intensely burnt pebbles as non-plastic, with a brick-like color. Its surface has a crust of 4-5 cm, of the same color. In plan, the installation has a rounded shape, with a diameter of 1,20 cm. Upon its surface, 138 hand-made ceramic fragments were found. Hearth no. 4 was detected at the depth of 90-92 cm. Its surface represents a crust with a thickness of 3-4 cm, whose color, as a result of organic components burning, had a variable gamut of white and grey nuances, reaching up to the blue. Beneath the crust, the hearth, made by a mixture of clay and sand, after burning, had taken the color of red (Fig. 5/2).

Archaeological inventory

The inventory found in the context of the mound no. 3 is varied, being represented by three-winged arrow points made of bronze, knife and sickle blades made of iron. We could also notice the gritstone for sharpening. There were also found glass beads, spindle-whorls, roundels, three-lobed clay items etc. (Fig. 7/1-3).

The ceramic material is represented by various categories of dishes and *bell-* or *jar-*shaped vessels, ornamented with an alveolary belt, interrupted by flattened prominences shaped as a tongue, all being specific to the pottery found in various monuments from the circumpontic space and chronologically assigned to the 5^{th}-3^{rd} centuries B.C. The truncated dishes, with a more or less flattened profile, with a straight or slightly inverted or everted rim, resemble those from the monuments of the same cultural range (Fig. 7/ 4, 6-9).

The receptacles coming from the vessels of grey color are also diverse, being mostly emphasized the category of the cups with band-like handle and ring-shaped bottom. There are also categories and forms of local pottery, of the 5^{th}-3^{rd} centuries B.C. The imports are

[12] I. Niculiță, S. Teodor, A. Zanoci, *Butuceni* ..., 2002, p. 213-215, fig. 87-89.
[13] R. Vulpe, S. Teodor, *Piroboridava* ..., 2003, p. 622, fig. 143, p. 627, fig. 148.
[14] A. Florescu, M. Florescu, Cetățile ..., 2005, fig. 81-87.
[15] I. Niculiță, A. Zanoci, T. Arnaut, Tyragetia, 2008, p.....

represented by amphora from Heracleea Pontica, Tasoss and Sinope[16]. A special interest is stirred by a fragmentary handle, with a stap of the *astynom Poseidonius* and with the eagle upon a dolphin, as an emblem. Such stamps belong to the second half of the 4th century B.C. (Fig. 7/5).

Conclusions

At the level of the recentmost research, carried out in the precinct from Stolniceni, the following thoughts still stand: the dead individuals from the two mounds (no. 2 and no. 3) were usually laid, at variable depths, between 0,25 cm and 0, 56 cm, namely in the surface layers; in several cases, the skeletons had traces of old fractures; the sounding done in the intertumular space did not make possible the find of the habitation complexes; the inventory discovered there belonged to the 5th-3rd centuries B.C., fact which points to the co-existence of all investigated complexes. The task of the following research is to establish the character of the mentioned precinct, which initially might have been a fortified settlement, thereafter being transformed into a cemetery, or fitted from the beginning as a space of sacred character.

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2

3

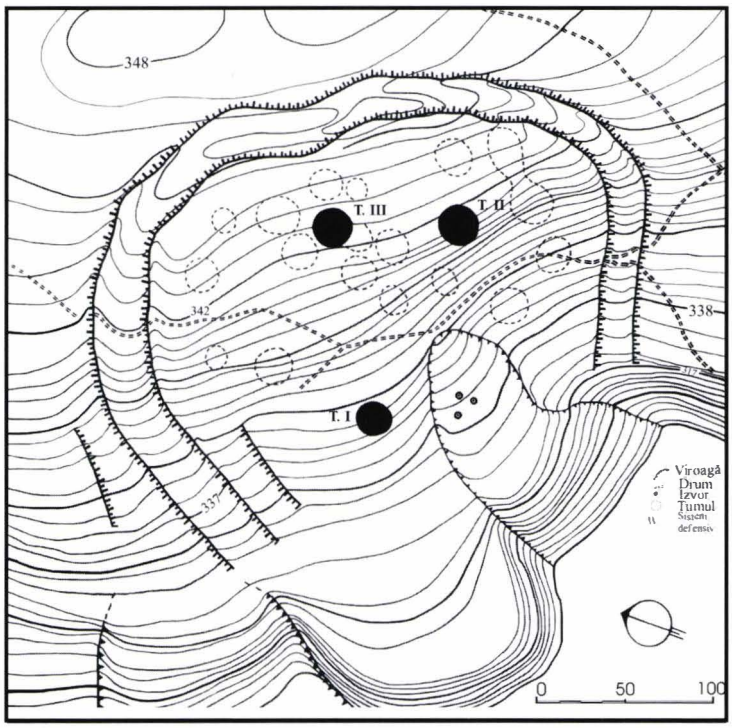

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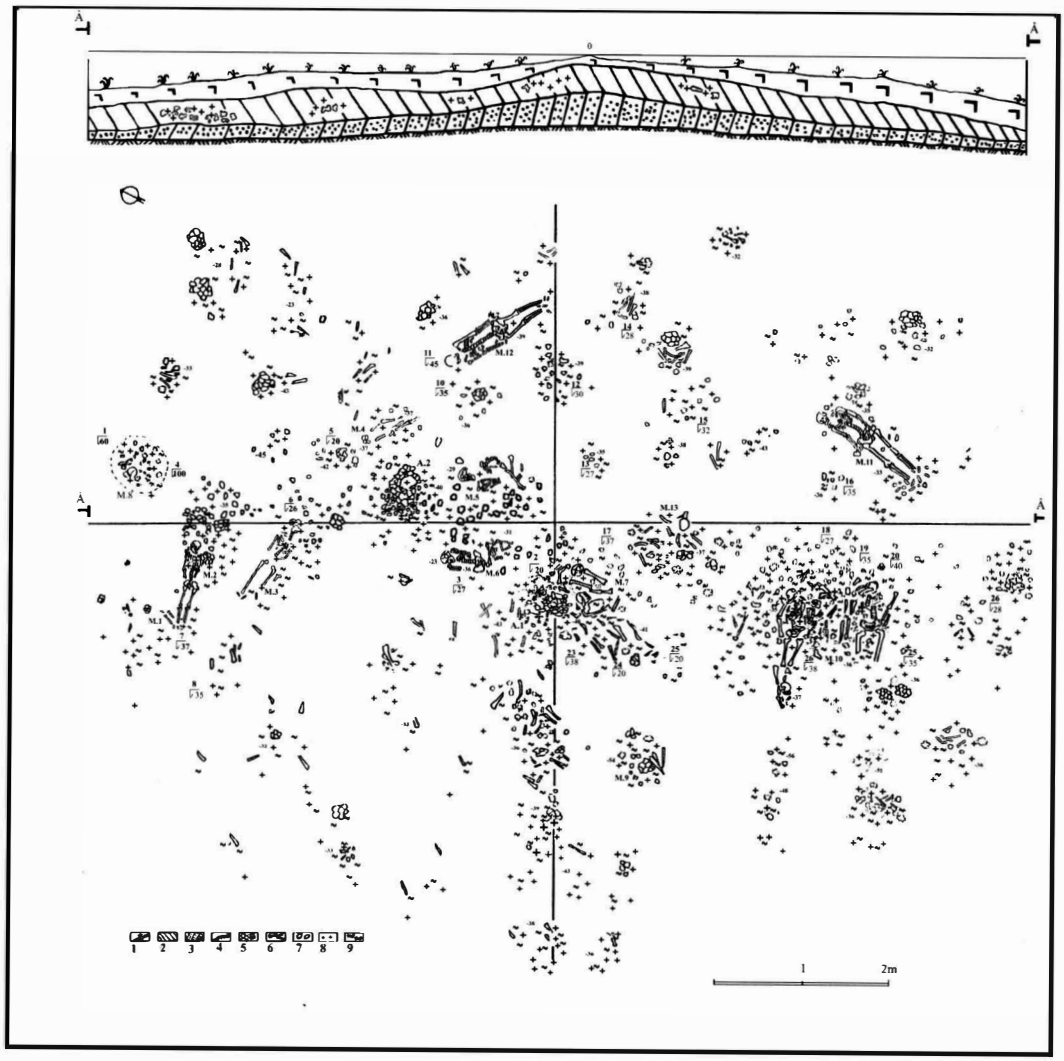
Fig. 1. Stolniceni-Cetate. 1- topography sketch; 2,3 - Western photo; 4 - photo tumulus I; 5 - defensive sistem`s photo.



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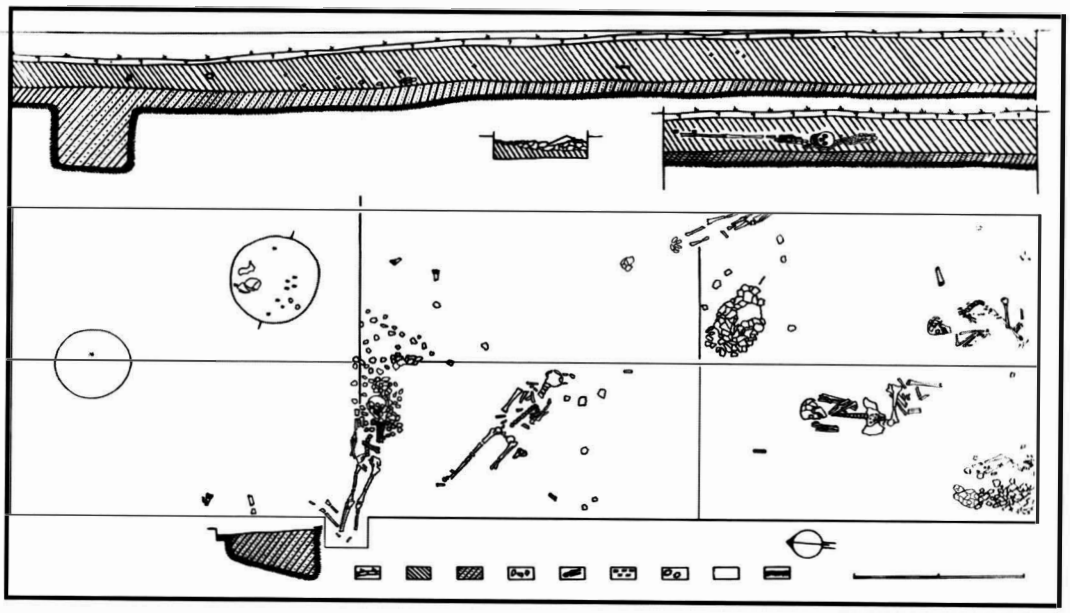

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Fig. 2. Stolniceni - Cetate. 1,2 - the II tumulul`s plan and profile.

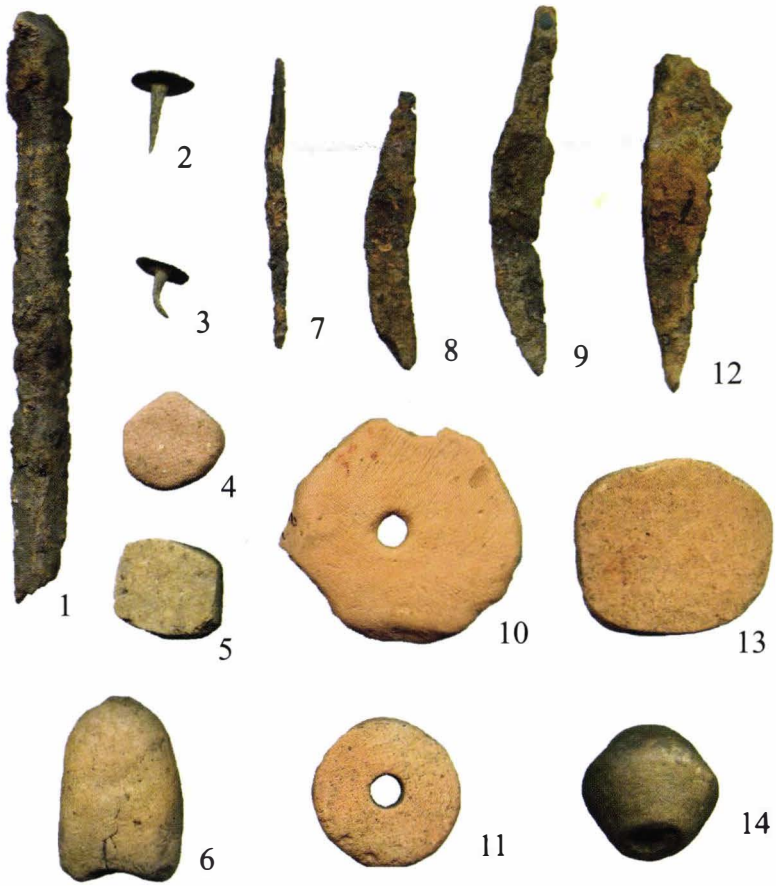

Fig. 3. Stolniceni-Cetate. 1-14 -the second tumulus`s inventory.

Fig. 4. Stolniceni-Cetate. 1-7 - the second tumulus`s inventory.

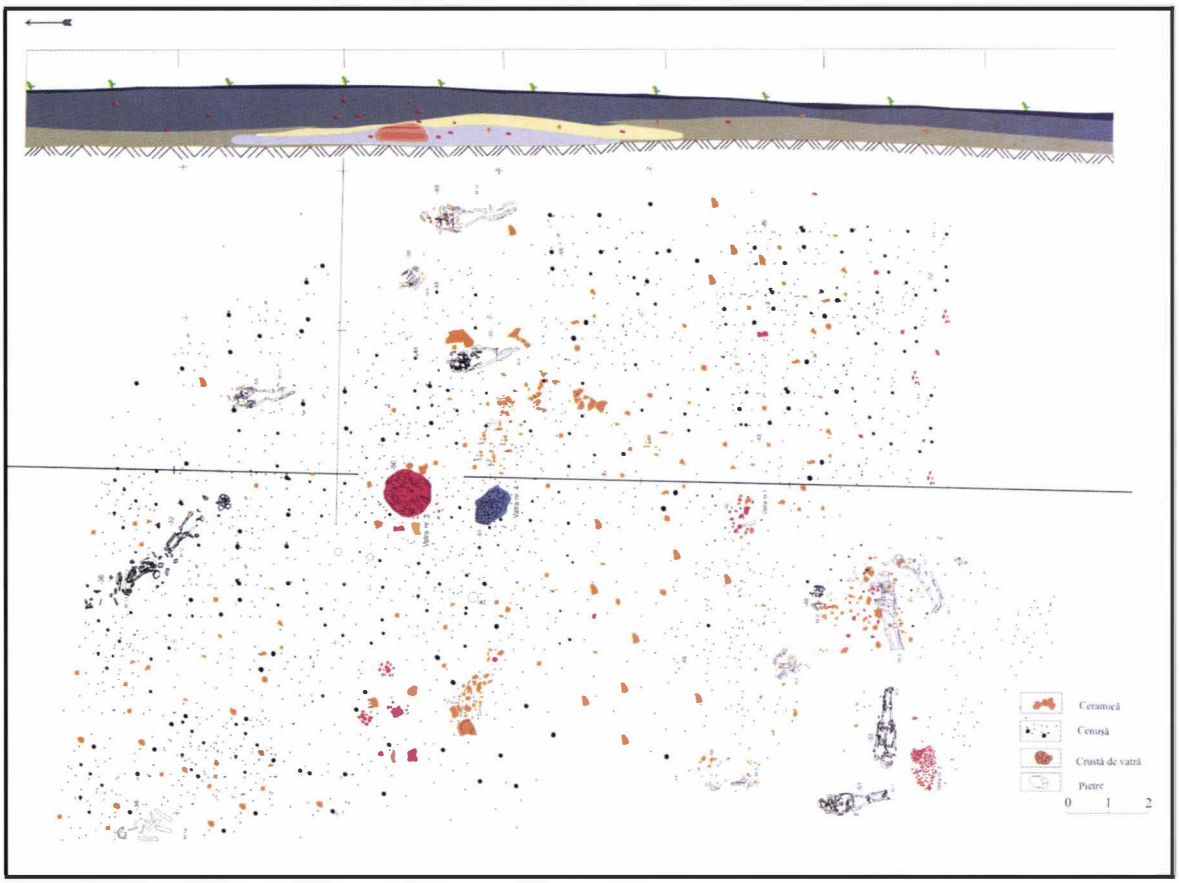

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Fig. 5. Stolniceni - Cetate. 1 - the III rd tumulus`s plan and profile; 2 - the hearth 3 and 4.

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Fig. 6. Stolniceni -2006. 1-4 the burials 1-4 from tumulus III.

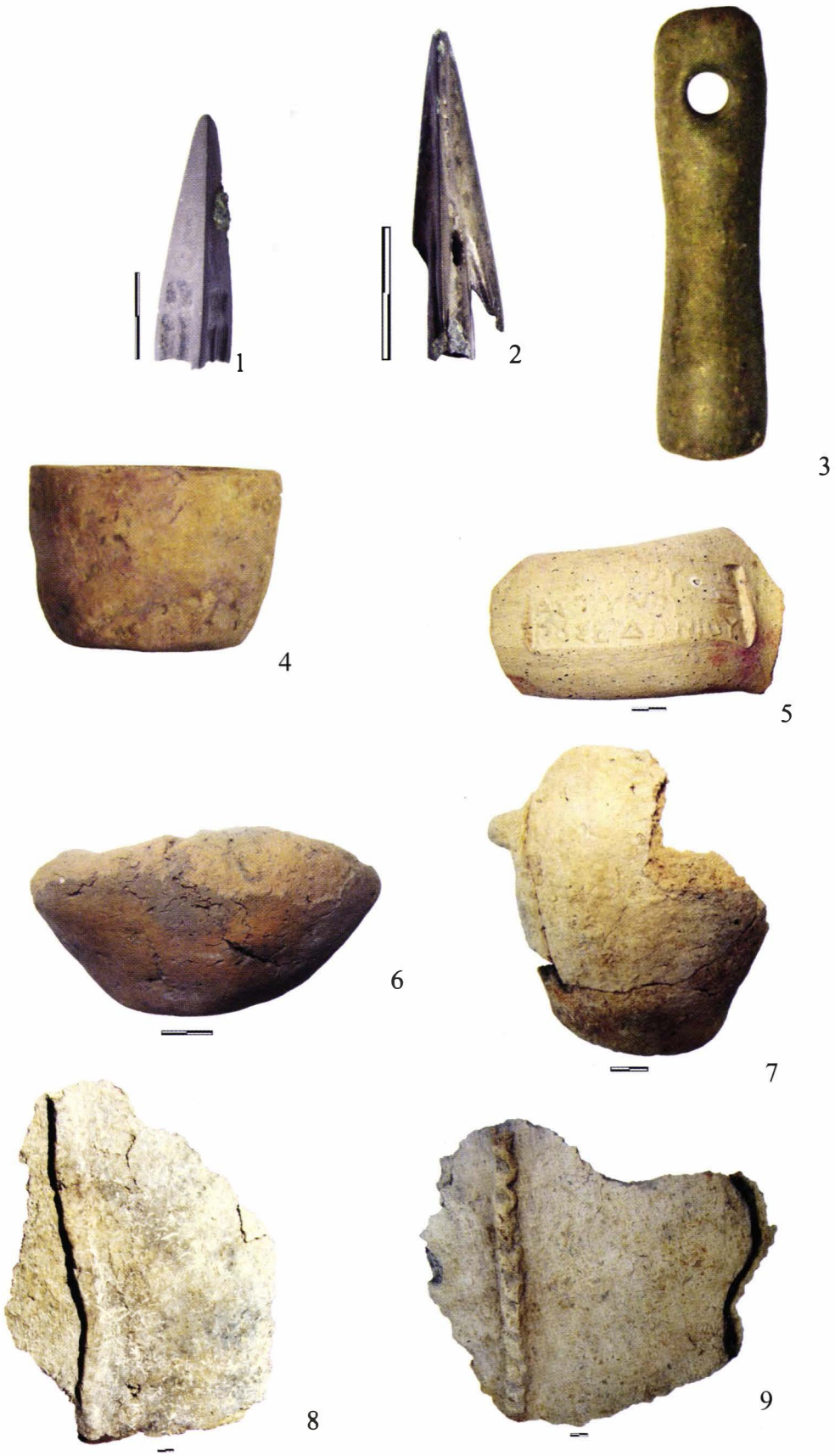

Fig. 7. Stolniceni - Cetate. 1-9 the inventory from tumulus III.

REPAS DES VIVANTS ET VIATIQUE DES MORTS - A PROPOS DE LA PRESENCE DES OS D'ANIMAUX DANS LES HABITATS ET DANS LES NECROPOLES DE LA CULTURE DE PRZEWORSK A LA PERIODE PREROMAINE

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Mots-clés: culture Przeworsk, habitat, nécropole, os d'animaux, période préromaine
Résumé. La composition des restes animaliers trouvés dans les habitats diffère de celle observée et dans les ensembles funéraires de la culture de Przeworsk. Dans les tombes, on identifie surtout les os d'ovicapridés, puis ceux d'oiseaux et de porcs. Dans les habitats, les os de bovidés dominent, suivis par les restes d'ovicapridés et de porcs. Le pourcentage élevé des os d'avifaune provenant des tombes humaines n'a pas de parallèles dans les habitats, tandis que les restes bovins, répandus dans les établissements, sont rarement identifiés dans les ensembles funéraires.

Dans les deux types de sites, on retrouve les os des mêmes espèces, mais on y observe les différences de quota des animaux respectifs. Ces différences peuvent résulter de facteurs idéologiques et/ou économiques.

Les données concernant la fréquence des espèces identifiées respectivement dans les habitats et dans les nécropoles de la culture de Przeworsk sont comparées avec les résultats obtenus et dans les sites de la culture de Poméranie et de la culture celtique qui, toutes les deux, ont joué un rôle essentiel dans la genèse de la culture de Przeworsk.

Les os d'animaux trouvés dans les habitats et dans les nécropoles constituent une source importante d'informations sur plusieurs aspects de la vie passée. De la vie quotidienne, mais aussi de la vie de l'au-delà, qui reste toujours dans la sphère des suppositions et hypothèses. En se basant sur les analyses archéozoologiques, on peut déterminer les données concernant l'alimentation des habitants, la composition du cheptel et la dynamique de ses modifications, ainsi que les conditions économiques. La qualité et la quantité de la viande consommée peut être évaluée par les rejets culinaires, à condition qu'ils restent associés plus ou moins précisément aux habitations (Méniel 2001, 40-48, 108-111). Il faut tenir compte de ce que les animaux domestiques du II^{e} âge du Fer étaient plus petits que les animaux d'aujourd'hui. D'aprés les calculs de Patrice Méniel, les porcs pesaient 70-80 kilos, les vaches et les chevaux 200 kilos environ, les moutons seulement environ 30 kilos. Les poids indiqués constituent un tiers (parfois même moins) de ceux de nos bêtes actuelles. De même, les quantités de viande (30-40% du poids vif) et de graisse (20-30%) obtenues sont assez modestes (Méniel 1987, 8-23, 69 ; 2001, 17). Les restes animaliers nous enseignent aussi sur les pratiques funéraires et religieuses, mais dans ce cas-là, les méthodes archéologiques ne permettent de documenter que les éléments de la culture matérielle, tandis que l'idéologie cachée derrière le mobilier reste inconnue. Une analyse de cette catégorie des sources archéologiques rencontre plusieurs difficultés, parfois déja à l'étape de l'identification des os non-humains, mais surtout dans les tentatives d'interprétation du phénomène de présence des animaux dans les tombes. C'est à cause de la médiocre conservation du matériel ostéologique, surtout dans les tombes à crémation, où les os animaliers incinérés peuvent être difficiles à déterminer et parfois même à distinguer. Dans la plupart des cas, l'archéologue n'a pas de compétences pour analyser les restes osseux. Assez souvent dans les publications des inventaires des tombes, on trouve seulement l'information que dans les sépultures étaient découverts des os d'animaux. Négliger certains éléments concernant l'état de

conservation d'os constitue trop souvent une faute professionnelle. Nous pensons ici surtout à la précision concernant la carbonisation ou la non-carbonisation des restes. Il manque aussi les données sur la localisation précise et la quantité des os. Souvent le matériel osseux est répertorié sans préciser s'il provient d'une urne, d'un autre récipient ou s'il a été trouvé directement au fond de la tombe. Il est rare que l'on trouve les informations précises sur l'âge des animaux et sur les parties du corps qui ont été déposées pendant la mise en tombe.

Souvent malheureusement, les os des animaux ne sont pas analysés ou bien les résultats de ces analyses ne sont pas publiés. En plus, fréquemment dans les publications, bien qu'on fournisse des résultats d'analyses anthropologiques, les informations sur la présence des os des animaux font défaut. Dans ces cas, il n'est pas clair si l'absence d'informations sur les os animaliers signifie le manque total de matériel osseux et que la population qui a utilisé une nécropole donnée effectivement ne pratiquait pas l'approvisionnement de ses morts en offrandes carnées ou si cette situation résulte d'une négligence dans les analyses archéozoologiques. Vu les remarques présentées ci-dessus, le postulat de la coopération entre les archéologues et les archéozoologues déjà sur le chantier devient évident, mais, malheureusement, encore trop souvent écarté pendant les fouilles polonaises. Il faut considérer les analyses spécialisées effectuées après les fouilles comme le minimum indispensable. La situation se présente mieux quant aux recherches effectuées sur les habitats, où les os de la faune attirent plus d'attention. Le matériel provenant des établissements est une source primordiale pour les analyses d'économie et il est étudié d'une façon plus complète.

Ces dernières années on observe une amélioration très nette dans le traitement du matériel archéozoologique. Les recherches deviennent pluridisciplinaires et les sources archéologiques sont étudiées d'une façon plus complète.

Nous commençons les considérations sur la composition des espèces d'animaux dans la culture de Przeworsk par la présentation du matériel provenant des habitats. Les restes de la faune proviennent de vingt et un habitats datés de la période préromaine (Liste 1) (Fig. 1). Ce nombre est très limité, parce qu'il est souvent difficile de dater les déchets qui peuvent être liés avec les différentes phases d'établissements. Parmi plusieurs habitats de la culture de Przeworsk, on a donc sélectionné les sites avec la situation chronologique la plus évidente. Les os de la faune trouvés sur ces sites sont principalement ceux d'animaux domestiques. Nous observons la domination des bovins, ensuite la présence marquée des caprinés et du porc (Fig. 2). Les vaches constituent 48,2% env. de tout le matériel faunique provenant des habitats de la culture de Przeworsk, les caprinés 19,7% et les porcs 13,6%. Il faut souligner que les os solides de vaches se conservent mieux que les restes des suidés ou des caprinés, donc les proportions entre ces espèces peuvent être déformées. Néanmoins, la position dominante du bétail paraît évidente. Les os des animaux domestiques sont les déchets post culinaires typiques, portant les traces du découpage. Le matériel est souvent très fragmenté et les seuls os relativement intacts sont ceux qui ont un rôle minimal dans la consommation: les tarses, les carpes, les métatarses et les métacarpes. Ce sont les parties du corps très peu musclées donc dépourvues d'une valeur culinaire marquée. La domination des os des caprinés sur ceux du porc est moins significative et parmi les habitats analysés il y a beaucoup de sites où les os de porc sont plus nombreux que les os des chèvres et des moutons. Dans l'habitat de Dobieszewice (Sobociński 1976, 59-60), les os du porc sont moins nombreux que ceux des caprinés, mais ils sont plus lourds et la consommation de la viande calculée à partir des déchets démontre que la viande de porc était plus fréquente dans le menu. Dans les habitats analysés, on abattait surtout des sujets adultes et bien développés, bien que nous y retrouvions aussi quelques restes d'animaux trés jeunes, âgés de quelques mois seulement. Le cheval est une autre espèce dont les ossements sont présents sur les établissements de la culture de Przeworsk. Les restes chevalins constituent 5,6 % env. du matériel faunique. L'élevage des chevaux offrait plusieurs avantages ; ils étaient utilisés non seulement comme un moyen de transport ou de communication, mais aussi dans le domaine

culinaire (Pyrgała 1973, 486). Les restes de chiens et les sépultures de chiens constituent un sujet un peu à part, mais très intéressant (Gabałówna 1956 ; Makiewicz 1970 ; 1993 ; 1994 ; Andrałojć 1986). Le pourcentage des os de chien atteint 4,1% env. de la totalité des découvertes d'os animaliers. Pendant les recherches archéologiques on a enregistré tous les éléments des squelettes des espèces analysés. Parmi les plus répandues nous trouvons des côtes, des mâchoires, des os du crâne, les métapodes et les métacarpes. On voit donc, qu'il s'agit aussi bien des fragments ayant une valeur culinaire élevée que des os aux valeurs limitées. On peut supposer que l'abattage avait lieu directement dans l'habitat. Les os des oiseaux, des poules et des oies domestiques ne sont pas répandus, ils constituent seulement 0,2%. Les os de volaille et de poissons ne sont pratiquement pas enregistrés dans le mobilier issu des habitats. Peut-être ces os, presque toujours très menus, étaient-ils dévorés par les chiens ou les porcs, mais il faut remarquer que la faible participation des os de volaille est observée aussi dans plusieurs habitats celtiques (Méniel 1987, 23-24, 76, 77 ; 2001). Les restes d'animaux sauvages constituent 8,6% env. de la totalité et dans cette catégorie on a enregistré des cerfs (surtout les fragments des cornes qui pourraient être utilisés comme une matière première), des castors, des biches, des élans, des sangliers, des poissons et dans les cas particuliers un lièvre, une grue, un aigle, un chat et un mollusque.

La situation sur les nécropoles est nettement différente. On a enregistré la présence des os d'animaux sur 24 nécropoles de la culture de Przeworsk de la période préromaine (Liste 2). Il semble que ce nombre soit réduit par rapport à la réalité et cela à cause des facteurs énumérés plus haut. La présence du matériel faunique a été observée surtout dans les tombes humaines à incinération, mais aussi dans les tombes à inhumation qui restent nettement minoritaires. Nous disposons du matériel issu de 114 tombes (Fig. 3). Parfois dans la même tombe il y avait des os des espèces différentes. S'il s'agit de la composition des espèces, dans presque 30 % de cas analysés (36 cas), nous pouvons seulement constater la présence d'os d'animaux, sans pouvoir les identifier où avec une identification douteuse. Dans les tombes humaines, on retrouve le plus souvent des os de caprinés – 37 fois, ensuite d'oiseaux, y compris la volaille – 28 cas, de porcs – 23 cas et seulement en quatrième lieu se placent les bovins avec 13 cas. Les os de chevaux apparaissent seulement dans 4 cas et ceux de chiens dans 3 cas. Les animaux sauvages : biche, lièvre, sanglier et peut-être renard - 9 fois. Vu l'absence d'analyses approfondies, il est impossible de préciser quelles parties du squelette ont été déposées dans les tombes. Selon quelques témoignages, il s'agissait surtout, quoique non seulement, des parties ayant une valeur culinaire. On a enregistré des fragments du tibia, du fémur, de l'humérus, du bassin, du crâne, de l'astragale ainsi que de métapodes et de métacarpes. Malheureusement, la série est trop petite pour pouvoir formuler des conclusions. Il ne s'agit certainement pas seulement des dons à caractère culinaire, puisque à Otłoczyn (Zielonka 1969, 184) à côté d'une tombe humaine, on a enterré le squelette complet d'un chien.

La plupart des tombes analysés sont des sépultures à incinération, nous disposons donc seulement de quelques exemples d'arrangement des os dans la fosse funéraire, enregistrés dans les tombes à inhumation. Dans la tombe de Biskupin (Balke 1969, 362) les os animaliers se trouvaient dans une jarre posée à proximité des jambes du défunt ainsi que directement au fond de la fosse funéraire. Des os dans une jarre déposée dans une sépulture ont été enregistrés aussi à Inowrocław, tombe 9 (Fig. 4) (Cofta-Broniewska, Bednarczyk 1998, 23). Dans ces deux cas, les os n'ont pas été incinérés. Les os d'animaux sont présents dans les tombes surtout dans les tombes masculines, mais on les trouve aussi dans les sépultures féminines et dans celles des enfants (dans ce dernier cas, on ne peut pas exclure que dans la plupart de ces tombes ont été enterrés des garçons).

Pour 114 tombes analysées, dans le mobilier de 40 (37,7% env.) il y avait de l'armement. Pour comparaison, selon l'estimation des différents chercheurs, les proportions générales des

tombes de la culture de Przeworsk avec l'armement, à la période préromaine, ne dépassent pas 25% (Szustek 2000, 51, 52, Błażejewski 1998, 159).

Si l'on analyse les relations entre la richesse du mobilier et la présence des os des animaux, en utilisant les critères proposés par Katarzyna Czarnecka (1990, 58-62), on remarque que les tombes riches constituent 19,3% de la totalité, les tombes à inventaire moyen – 69,3% et seulement 11,4% les sépultures pauvres (Fig. 5). Pour comparaison, les proportions générales des tombes de la culture de Przeworsk à la période préromaine sont : 17,4% pour les tombes riches, 57,4% pour les tombes à mobilier moyen et 25,3% pour les tombes pauvres (Czarnecka 1990, 59). Dans les tombes avec des restes fauniques, on observe alors une certaine sur-représentation des sépultures riches et sous-représentation des tombes pauvres, mais ce phénomène paraît tout à fait compréhensible.

La présence d'os d'animaux dans les tombes humaines est expliquée de plusieurs manières. Elle est soit considérée comme le témoignage de l'équipement des morts avec la nourriture qui devrait lui servir de viatique dans le monde au-delà soit comme des restes du repas funéraire consommé pendant la crémation, où les os ont été jetés dans le bûcher (Węgrzynowicz 1982, 203). On suppose que les fragments des animaux ou même les corps entiers étaient déposés sur le bûcher avec le défunt comme un sacrifice ou un don pour les divinités liées avec le feu ou avec le monde d'au-delà (Węgrzynowicz 1982, 176-177). Les os d'animaux trouvés dans les tombes sont considérés parfois comme un reflet des activités du défunt: berger, éléveur, etc., ou comme un témoignage de la richesse de quelqu'un qui a possédé p.ex. un troupeau de vaches. Il est aussi possible que les restes fauniques découverts sur les nécropoles témoignent des rites magiques liés à la cérémonie funéraire (Węgrzynowicz 1982, 203). Il faut également admettre que les parties de la chaire qui ne laissent pas de traces dans le matériel archéologique, comme les jarrets, la peau, les organes mous pouvaient jouer aussi un rôle dans les cérémonies funéraires. Selon certains chercheurs, ce sont surtout les parties non-comestibles qui ont été offertes aux divinités.

Dans la culture de Przeworsk à la période préromaine, on observe aussi quelques exemples de tombes d'animaux. Dans ces cas, dans la fosse il n'y a pas d'os humains, mais on trouve parfois du mobilier – de la céramique et des objets métalliques. Nous connaissons 10 tombes d'animaux provenant des nécropoles des humains (Liste 3). Il s'agit des tombes de bovins (4 cas), de porcs (2 cas), de caprinés (2 cas), d'oiseau (1 cas) et celui d'un animal indéterminé. Vu la présence de ces tombes dans les nécropoles et le type du mobilier typique pour les sépultures des humains, on peut supposer que les tombes en question peuvent jouer un rôle symbolique, p.ex. comme des cénotaphes.

Les tombes des animaux situées dans les habitats demandent une analyse distincte. Ce sont surtout les sépultures de chiens, mais on a enregistré aussi quelques tombes de caprinés, de porcs et de chevaux. Il s'agit surtout d'inhumations; les incinérations sont très rares. Les découvertes des tombes animalières sont liées souvent aux structures interprétées comme des sanctuaires et leur présence pourrait témoigner des pratiques cultuels et des sacrifices. En Pologne, les tombes de chiens se concentrent dans la région de Kujawy et elles ont été considérées comme éléments des influences celtiques (Cofta-Broniewska 1979, 185 ; Węgrzynowicz 1982, 245, 258, 259), mais on soulève aussi la présence d'autres courants culturels et cette hypothèse est bien étayée (Makiewicz 1993, 115, 116). Actuellement nous avons connaissance d'environ 250 tombes de chiens, dont la plupart doit être datée de la période préromaine ou au début de la période des influences romaines (Makiewicz 1993, 111). Les tombes de chiens enterrés à proximité des structures et interprétées comme des sanctuaires ont été découvertes à Inowrocław, à Janikowo et à Krusza Zamkowa (Cofta-Broniewska 1979 ; Makiewicz 1987 ; Bednarczyk 1988, 208-210 ; Cofta-Broniewska, Kośko 2002, 140-142). Dans la littérature archéologique on souligne souvent la présence de tombes d'animaux sur les établissements ayant un caractère artisanal ou dans les parties des habitats liées à la production.

Les sépultures de chiens ont été aussi découvertes dans les structures d'habitat, parfois au-dessus d'un foyer (Makiewicz 1970 ; 1993 ; 1994 ; Andrałojć 1986). Dans ce cas, elles sont interprétées comme des sacrifices de fondation, offertes pour assurer la prospérité. Peut-être que ces pratiques avaient aussi une autre signification symbolique, par exemple liée avec le rôle que jouait le chien dans une ferme, où il servait de gardien et de guide (Makiewicz 1993, 114, 115 ; Lepetz 1996, 148). On ne peut pas exclure que cette coutume ait aussi un caractère hygiénique ou émotionnel. D'ailleurs, quant aux tombes d'animaux découvertes dans les habitats, ce n'est que dans les sépultures de chiens que l'on trouve du mobilier ; des récipients en céramique, parfois contenant les os d'autres animaux (Fig. 6).

En résumant nos remarques, il faut constater l'évidence des différences dans la composition des espèces animales trouvées dans les habitats et les nécropoles de la culture de Przeworsk à la période préromaine. Nous constatons que la population de la culture de Przeworsk élevait des espèces qui ne se trouvent pas largement représentées dans les tombes.

Le rite funéraire de la culture de Przeworsk s'est formé sous l'influence de la culture de La Tène, on peut alors poser la question de savoir si les différences mentionnées plus haut trouvent des analogies dans le monde celtique ou si elles constituent un phénomène local, typique pour les populations habitant dans le bassin de la Vistule depuis l'âge du Bronze, comme la population de la culture lusacienne. Dans la culture lusacienne, on observe aussi bien les sépultures d'animaux et les tombes mixtes, où on déposait les corps des humains et des animaux entiers, ainsi que les tombes où les restes humains ont été accompagnés par les parties sélectionnées des animaux qui constituaient vraisemblablement les offrandes alimentaires (Węgrzynowicz 1982 ; Abłamowicz, Kubiak 1999). Il semble que les types de tombes avec des restes animaliers témoignent de différents rites et croyances et que seules les tombes humaines avec les parties des animaux restent comparables aux tombes de la culture de Przeworsk de la période préromaine. R. Abłamowicz et H. Kubiak ont répertorié 447 tombes de la culture lusacienne, où on trouve des parties d'animaux déposés comme dons pour les défunts. Les tombes sont datées de la II phase d'âge du Bronze à la période de La Tène, mais elles sont les plus nombreuses d'entre la III-IV phase d'âge du Bronze à la phase Hallstatt C. Dans les phases tardives leur nombre diminue nettement. Quant à la présence des espèces d'animaux, dans 216 cas (48,3%) c'étaient les caprinés, suivis par les bovins (73 tombes, 16,3%), et par les oiseaux, surtout domestiques (57 tombes, 12,8%). À la quatrième position se placent les porcs (53 tombes, 11,9%), ensuite les chevaux et les chiens (chacun dans 16 tombes, soit 3,6%) (Abłamowicz, Kubiak 1999, 94, 95, Diagramme 39). La fréquence des oiseaux domestiques et des porcs est la différence la plus marquée entre les tombes de la culture lusacienne et la culture de Przeworsk. Vu la composition des espèces animalières et sa dynamique chronologique, il semble peu probable de lier la présence des os d'animaux dans les tombes de la culture de Przeworsk à un héritage culturel local, sauf la domination des caprinés.

Est-ce qu'une telle présence des animaux dans les rites funéraires de la culture de Przeworsk résulte des influences celtiques ? Le rite funéraire de la culture de Przeworsk est considéré comme un élément issu du milieu celtique, mais cette conviction se rapporte surtout à la manipulation du défunt et de l'inventaire de la tombe, c'est à dire à l'incinération et à la mutilation volontaire du mobilier. Est ce que ces influences ont été plus profondes, au point de couvrir aussi le choix des animaux considérés comme convenables aux rites funéraires ?

L'agriculture et l'élevage étaient essentiels pour l'économie celtique et on observe les mêmes principes dans la culture de Przeworsk. Généralement, dans le mobilier celtique, les os bovins constituent la moitié de tous les restes animaliers découverts dans les habitats, les porcs et les caprinés suivent. Il faut remarquer que selon les recherches de P. Méniel sur les sites localisés surtout dans la Gaule septentrionale, le pourcentage des os d'animaux mentionnés peut varier d'une façon notable dans des habitats différents (Méniel 1987, 47-64 ; 2001). D'ailleurs, la domination des bovins, visible dans les vestiges archéologiques ne trouve pas de confirmation

dans les sources écrites, puisque d'après Strabon, la nourriture des Celtes, parmi les viandes variées, comporte surtout du porc (Strabon, Géographie, IV, 4, 3). L'importance du porc est visible dans les nécropoles celtiques (sauf celles des Iles Britanniques), où il reste l'animal le plus répandu. Cet état de choses continue après la romanisation de certaines régions celtiques, par exemple en France, en Suisse, en Italie et en Allemagne (Sorrentino 1989 ; Lepetz 1996, 150, 152; fig. 170 ; Méniel 2001, 88-96). Dans les tombes de la culture celtique, le plus souvent on déposait du jambon ou une épaule et des côtes, tandis que les têtes étaient un peu moins répandues (Meniel 1987, 123-125; 1993, 287, 288). Les os des caprinés (surtout les pattes) sont relativement fréquentes dans les sépultures de La Tène ancienne et dans les phases suivantes, leur participation diminue (Lepetz 1996, 150-151). Néanmoins, il y a des nécropoles de La Tène finale où le mouton est également bien représenté. Le quota des os de volaille est remarquable, il atteint parfois le nombre des os des porcs. Le nombre des os des oiseaux monte systématiquement vers la fin de la période celtique (Méniel 2001, 17, 104). Le plus souvent on déposait les oiseaux entiers, seulement dépourvues de la tête et des jambes, parfois on enlevait aussi les ailes. Dans les tombes a inhumation les os de la volaille ne portaient pas de traces de feu, on suppose alors qu'ils ont été déposés crus ou bouillis. Parmi les os de la volaille, les restes de poules dominent nettement (Lepetz 1996, 151). L'importance des poules (et des coqs) comme éléments de rituels funéraires est visible aussi dans le monde romain (Sorrentino 1989 121, 123, 125, Tab. 2). On y rencontre rarement des bovins. Nous connaissons seulement quelques nécropoles où on a découvert des restes de ces animaux. Souvent, ce mobilier n'avait pas de valeur culinaire, parce que les seuls restes animaliers enregistrés étaient des dents. À La Tène ancienne, nous rencontrons le plus souvent des veaux, tandis que dans les stades suivants, surtout à la période gallo-romaine, on déposait plutôt des parties du corps de bêtes adultes (Lepetz 1996, 150). Dans certaines nécropoles, comme p.ex. Epiais-Rhus dans le bassin parisien, le chien est, après le porc, l'animal le plus fréquent (Méniel 1987, 109), mais généralement le taux de participation n'est pas élevé. Les os des animaux sauvages sont rares (Lepetz 1996, 151). Dans les sépultures, on peut aussi trouver des restes du banquet funéraire, mais elles sont difficiles à distinguer des offrandes mises dans les tombes. Nous ne connaissons pas de découvertes pareilles issues de la culture de Przeworsk, mais c'est une interprétation de certains éléments du mobilier de la culture celtique. Il s'agit surtout de découvertes de la nécropole de Lyon, où on a mis à jour entre autres des résidus de pain et des coquilles d'œufs (Lepetz 1996, 152). P. Méniel souligne que le plus souvent dans la tombe se trouvent uniquement certaines parties des animaux. Il suppose que si les autres restes n'ont pas été omis pendant la manipulation qui avait lieu entre le bûcher et la fosse funéraire (cette manipulation est possible, mais vraisemblablement elle n'était pas obligatoire), le défunt a dû recevoir comme viatique seulement une partie de viande, pendant que le reste pouvait être consommé pendant le banquet funéraire (Meniel 2001 74, 75, 89). Ce rituel pouvait être une façon de partager symboliquement le repas entre le défunt et les corbeaux.

On peut constater que la culture de Przeworsk et celle de La Tène montrent des différences dans leurs préférences de la sélection des animaux qui servaient d'offrandes funéraires, mais dans ces deux cultures on voit nettement la disproportion entre le mobilier issu des habitats et des nécropoles. La culture de Przeworsk a adopté les traits principaux du rite funéraire celtique, mais les autres éléments ont subi des modifications et, sur les terres polonaises, on offrait de la viande des caprinés pour le viatique funéraire le plus populaire, tandis que dans la culture celtique le porc avait la position dominante.

Nous croyons que cette coutume résulte plutôt des influences celtiques, parfois modifiées par les circonstances économiques locales. Autrement dit, dans la culture de Przeworsk, le choix des animaux destinés aux morts serait proche du modèle celtique, mais la particularité locale aurait décidé de l'importance des caprinés dans ce rôle. Il faut pourtant remarquer que sur certaines nécropoles de la culture de Przeworsk, le cochon reste l'animal le plus populaire, ce qui

est une analogie avec le modèle celtique. Par exemple, à Ciecierzyn, sur 15 tombes avec des os d'animaux, 11 contenaient des porcs.

Pour conclure, il faut rappeler la question qui a été posée au début de cet article. La composition des espèces sur les habitats et sur les nécropoles de la culture de Przeworsk à la période préromaine est-elle homo- ou hétérogène ? Essentiellement, sur ces deux types de sites, nous rencontrons les mêmes espèces d'animaux, mais les proportions entre elles sont nettement différentes. La prédominance des os de bovins sur les habitats de la culture de Przeworsk ne se répète pas dans les tombes, et la participation élevée des os d'oiseaux présents sur les nécropoles n'a pas son équivalent dans les établissements. Parmi les offrandes funéraires, aux caprinés, aux cochons et à la volaille revenait le rôle primordial. Par contre, les tombes de chiens, peut-être considérés comme gardiens éternels du foyer, sont répandues surtout sur les établissements, et de pareilles découvertes issues des nécropoles sont rares. Il semble que les repas des vivants aient été différents du viatique des morts. Comment peut- on expliquer cette différence ? Comme le remarque P. Méniel, la participation élevée des os de volaille peut provenir de la résistance des os de coqs incinérés qui ne sont pas attaqués par les radicelles des plantes et de la facilité de distinction dans le matériel archéozoologique (Meniel 1993, 286). Dans ce cas-là, on devrait observer aussi un pourcentage élevé des os d'oiseaux sur les habitats. Est-ce que les oiseaux ont-ils été élevés où chassés seulement pour les besoins de la cérémonie funéraire, ce que suppose T. Węgrzynowicz (Węgrzynowicz 1982, 229) ? Cette hypothèse nous paraît peu probable. Peut-être la quasi-absence d'os d'oiseaux résulte-t-elle de la présence d'animaux carnivores (ou omnivores) capables d'avaler des os ? Le chien mangerait entièrement des os délicats, et il laisserait des restes animaliers plus grands. Mais pourquoi observe-t- on la forte participation des os de caprinés et de porcs ? On ne peut pas exclure que ces animaux étaient considérés comme la nourriture la plus convenable pour les morts et pour les corbeaux. Il est relativement facile de rôtir des brebis et des porcs entiers et ensuite de déposer les pattes et les côtes dans les tombes, tandis que les vaches sont trop grandes pour qu'on puisse les cuisiner de la même façon, alors on a pu les partager en enlevant des os. Si l'on cherche des explications convaincantes pour la disproportion de participation des espèces entre les habitats et les nécropoles, on ne peut pas oublier le facteur économique. Les vaches se reproduisent plus rarement que les cochons et le plus souvent elles n'ont qu'un veau, pendant que la truie met bas plusieurs gorets à la fois. Les porcs sont relativement faciles à nourrir et, à part la valeur culinaire, ils n'ont pas une importance économique particulière. La viande de porc se laisse conserver plus facilement que celle des autres animaux domestiques. Les porcs sont omnivores et ils mangent des produits qui peuvent servir aussi de nourriture pour les hommes, donc, dans un certain sens, ils sont en concurrence avec les humains. En revanche, les bovins peuvent être utilisés pour le labour et pour le transport et les vaches donnent du lait. De plus, leurs préférences alimentaires ne sont pas en concurrence avec les habitudes culinaires des humains. Mais comment pourrait-t-on expliquer la domination des caprinés, qui ont, eux, une importance non-culinaire ; la chèvre donne du lait et les brebis donnent du lait et de la laine ? Il nous semble que les caprinés d'un coté ont la plupart de valeurs de cochon (facilité de reproduction et d'élevage), mais aussi ils mangent autre chose que les humains. En effet, son élevage est convenable pour la population qui n'a pas de surplus de la nourriture pour les humains. La présence marquée de caprinés parmi les offrandes funéraires peut être un reliquat du passé, issu d'une époque plus ancienne. Dans la culture lusacienne et celle de Poméranie, qui précèdent la culture de Przeworsk, on observe l'augmentation du taux de participation des caprinés dans les viatiques déposés dans les tombes (Węgrzynowicz 1982, 245 ; Abłamowicz, Kubiak 1999, 94, 95, Diagramme 39) qui a peut-être subsisté dans les moeurs de la population locale jusqu`aux derniers siècles avant J.-C. Il est possible qu'on choisissait les animaux de taille plus petite parce–qu'ils étaient plus faciles à traiter après l'abattage, indépendamment de la saison. Ces facteurs décidaient-ils peut-être que des brebis, des chèvres, des oiseaux et des cochons soient tués plus souvent que des bovins, animaux grands et utiles

dans la vie quotidienne. Évidemment, on ne peut pas exclure l'hypothèse qui combine les variantes présentées ci-dessus. L'interdiction de la consommation de porc chez les musulmans et chez les Juifs résulte de raisons sanitaires et hygiéniques, liées à la décomposition de la chair de cochon, le risque d'empoisonnement, etc. (Harris 1985, 39-50). Il est possible que la population de la culture de Przeworsk ait considéré la viande des caprinés, des oiseaux et des porcs comme une offrande la plus convenable pour les morts, mais l'origine de cette croyance pouvait être liée aux facteurs économiques.

Liste 1. Les habitats de la culture de Przeworsk de la période préromaine avec des restes d'animaux, examinés dans la présente étude:
A). Antoniew, voïv. mazowieckie, site 1, (Skowron 1999);
B). Biskupin, voïv. kujawsko-pomorskie, site 15a (Dąbrowska, Liana 1967);
C). Brodno, voïv.dolnośląskie, site 3 (Chrzanowska 1979);
D). Broniewice, voïv. kujawsko-pomorskie, site 1 (Kranz 1977);
F). Dobieszewice, voïv. kujawsko-pomorskie, stie 1 (Makiewicz 1970);
G). Dobieszewice, voïv. kujawsko-pomorskie, site 2 (Sobociński 1976);
H). Dzbądzek, voïv. mazowieckie (Sobociński 1979);
I). Inowrocław, voïv. kujawsko-pomorskie, st. 95 (Bednarczyk 1998) (22)
J). Izdebno Kościelne, voïv. mazowieckie, site 1 (Kołacz 1995);
K). Janikowo, voïv. kujawsko-pomorskie, site 11 (Sobociński, Mańkowski 1975);
L). Kobylniki, voïv. świętokrzyskie, (Wielowiejski 1981; Andrałojć 1986);
M). Krusza Zamkowa, voïv. kujawsko-pomorskie, site 3 (Cofta-Broniewska, Kośko 2002);
N). Kunin, voïv. mazowieckie (Sobociński 1979);
O). Lachmirowice, voïv. kujawsko-pomorskie, (Wielowiejski 1981; Sobociński, Suchowera-Kobryńska 1984; Sobociński, Świderska 1984);
P). Łagiewniki, voïv. kujawsko-pomorskie, site 5 (Szenicowa 1982);
Q). Podgaj, voïv. kujawsko-pomorskie, site 7A (Andrałojć 1986);
R). Polanowice, voïv. kujawsko-pomorskie, site 3 (Dzieduszycka 1982);
S). Stobnica-Trzymorgi, voïv. łódzkie, (Wiklak 1983);
T). Strzelce, voïv. kujawsko-pomorskie, stie 2 (Krysiak 1959 ; Wiślański 1959);
U). Wrocław-Oporów, voïv. dolnośląskie, (Andrałojć 1986);
V). Żółwin, voïv. lubuskie, site 8 (Makowiecki 1998).

Liste 2. Les nécropoles de la culture de Przeworsk de la période préromaine avec des restes d'animaux dans les tombes, examinées dans la présente étude:
1). Biskupin, voïv. kujawsko-pomorskie, site 17a, (Balke 1969);
2). Błonie, voïv. świętokrzyskie, (Mycielska, Woźniak 1988);
3). Brzyków, voïv. dolnośląskie, (Pescheck 1939, 157, 158);
4). Ciecierzyn, voïv. opolskie, (Martyniak, Pastwiński, Pazda 1997);
5). Gledzianówek, voïv. łódzkie, site 1 (Kaszewska 1977);
6). Górka Stogniewska, voïv. małopolskie, site 1, (Kaczanowski, Madyda-Legutko, Poleski 1984);
7). Inowrocław, voïv. kujawsko-pomorskie, st. 58, (Cofta-Broniewska, Bednarczyk 1998);
8). Kacice, voïv. mazowieckie (Liana 1965);
9). Kamieńczyk, voïv.mazowieckie, (Dąbrowska1997);
10). Karczewiec, voïv. mazowieckie, (Dąbrowska 1973);
11). Łęgonice Małe, voïv. mazowieckie, site I (Liana 1976a);
12). Łęgonice Małe, voïv. mazowieckie, site II (Liana 1976b);
13). Niechmirów - Mała Wieś, voïv. łódzkie, site 1 (Kufel-Dzierzgowska, Urbański 1987);

14). Nowe Miasto nad Pilicą, voïv. mazowieckie, (Liana 1975);
15). Nowy Młyn, voïv. kujawsko-pomorskie, site 10, (Kaszewska 1969);
16). Oblin, voïv. mazowieckie, (Czarnecka 2007);
17). Otłoczyn, voïv. kujawsko-pomorskie, site II, (Zielonka 1969);
18). Stradów, site IV, voïv. świętokrzyskie (Gajewski, Woźniak 2000);
19). Wichrowice, voïv. kujawsko-pomorskie, (Krzyżaniak, Malinowski 1966);
21). Warszawa-Wilanów, voïv. mazowieckie, (Marciniak 1957);
22). Wieluń, voïv. łódzkie, site 6, (Abramek 1970);
23). Wola Szydłowiecka-Kolonia, voïv. łódzkie, (Różańska 1968);
24). Zagorzyn, voïv. wielkopolskie, (Dąbrowski 1970).

Liste 3. Les nécropoles de la culture de Przeworsk de la période préromaine avec des tombes des animaux.
I.). Ciecierzyn, voïv. opolskie, 1 tombe à incinération, (Martyniak, Pastwiński, Pazda 1997);
II.). Lemany, voïv. mazowieckie, 2 tombes à inhumation, (Węgrzynowicz 1982);
III.). Karczewiec, voïv. mazowieckie, 1 tombe à incinération (Dąbrowska 1973);
IV.). Zagorzyn, voïv. wielkopolskie, 6 tombes à incinération (Dąbrowski 1970).

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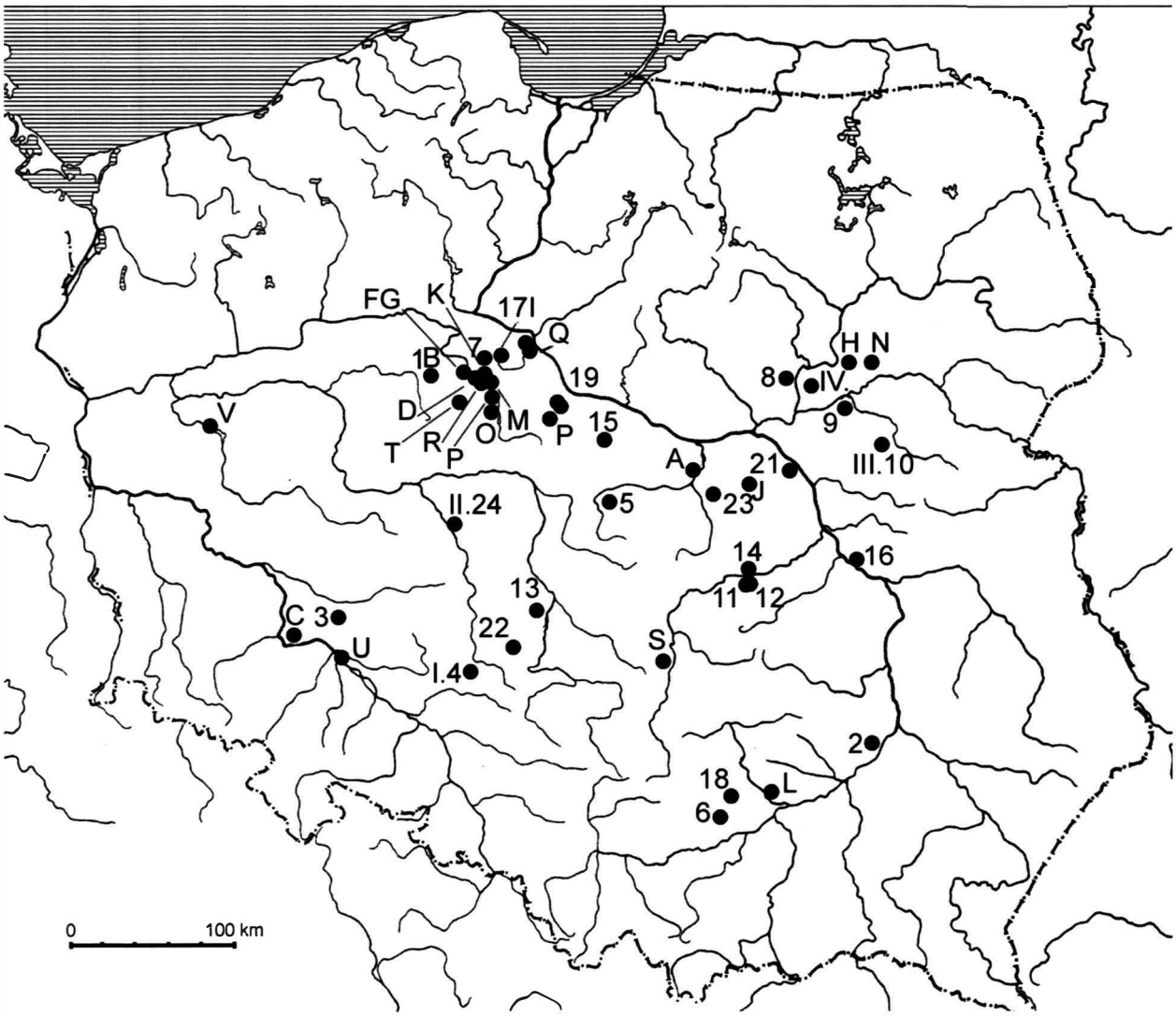

Fig. 1. Les sites de la culture de Przeworsk de la période préromaine examinés dans la présente étude. A, B, C… - Les habitats avec des restes d'animaux ; 1, 2, 3… - Les nécropoles avec des restes d'animaux dans les tombes ; I., II., III., - Les nécropoles avec des tombes des animaux. Les numéros/lettres correspondent aux numéros/lettres des listes 1-3.

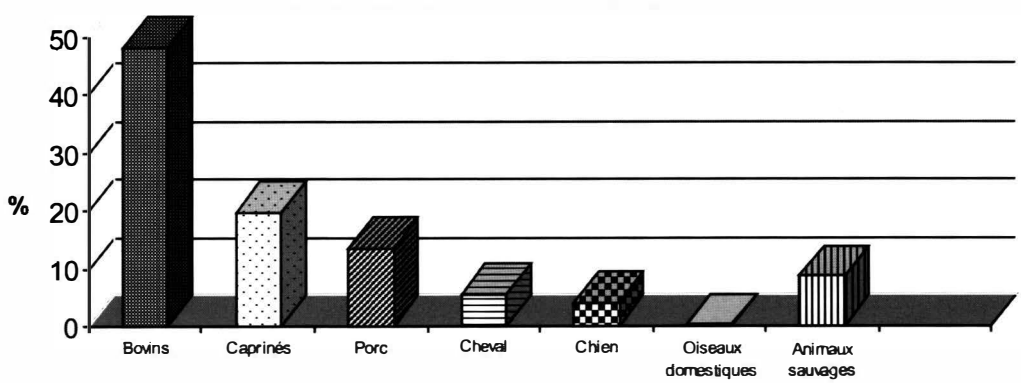

Fig. 2. Les restes d'animaux dans les habitats de la culture de Przeworsk de la période préromaine (selon le taux de participation).

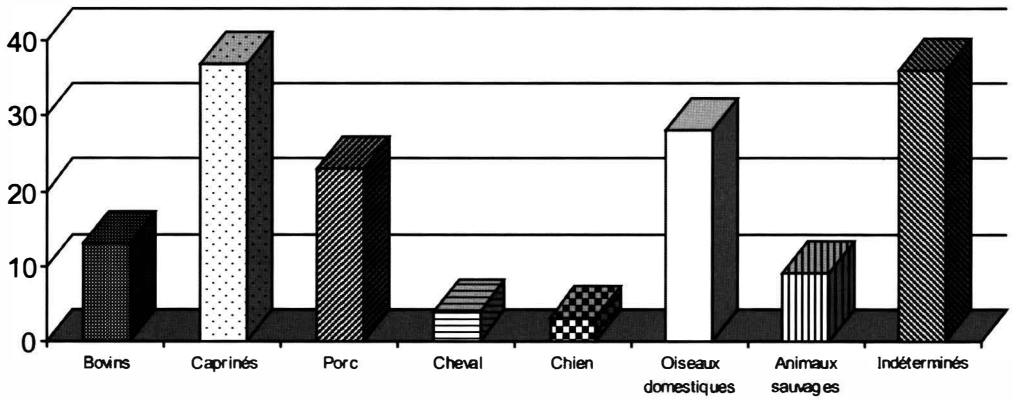

Fig. 3. Les restes d'animaux dans les tombes de la culture de Przeworsk de la période préromaine (selon le nombre de cas).

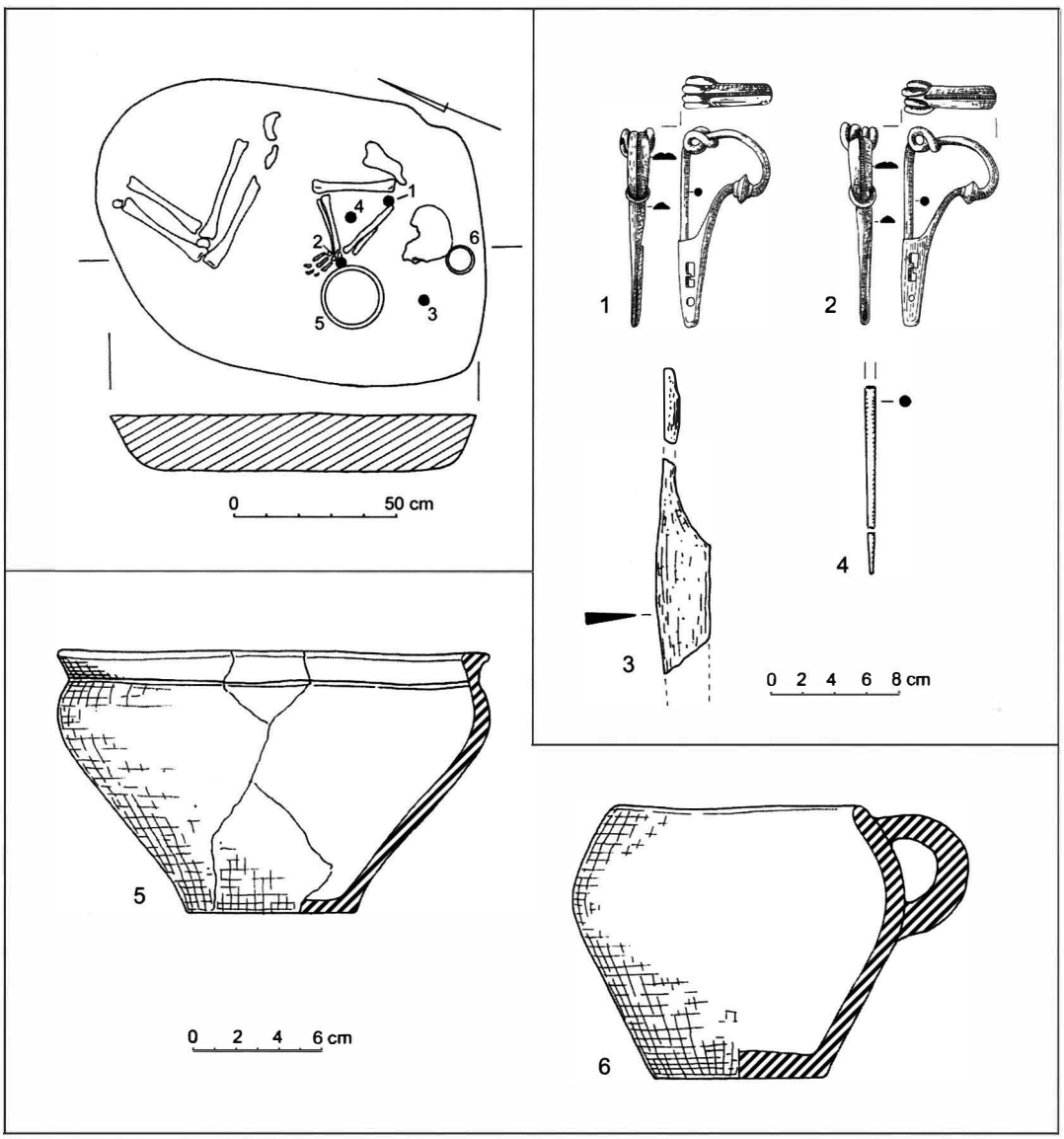

Fig. 4. Inowrocław, tombe 9. La sépulture humaine avec les os animaliers déposés dans une jarre (selon Cofta-Broniewska, Bednarczyk 1998).

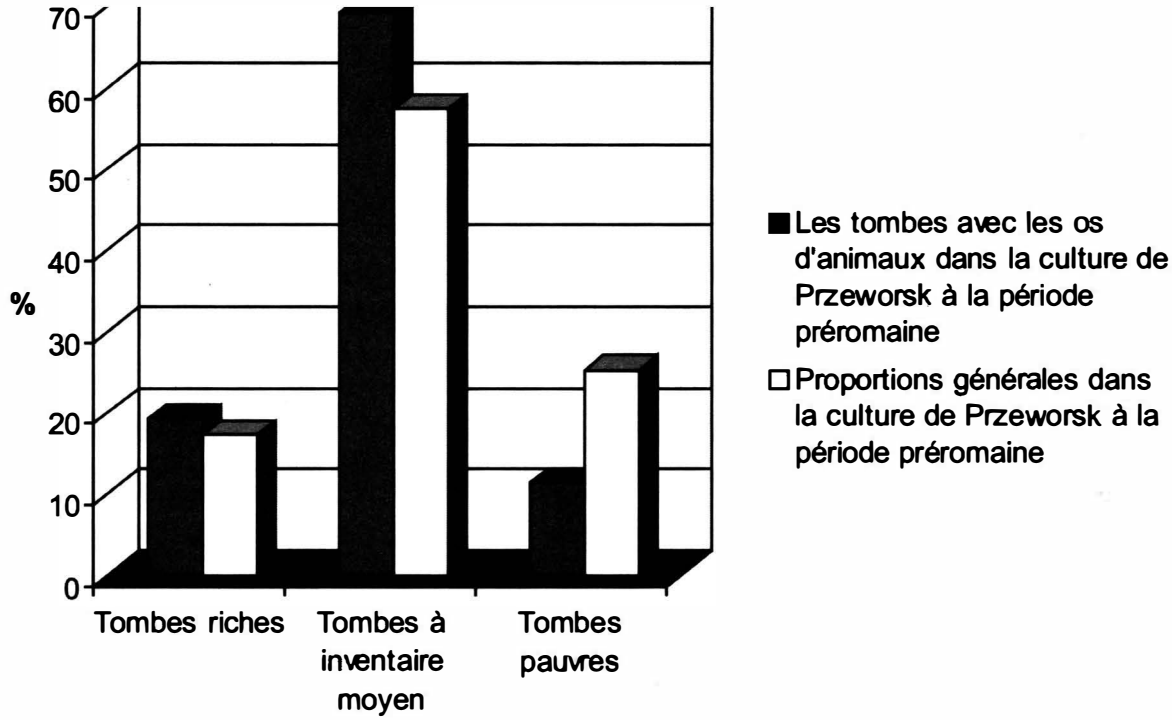

Fig. 5. Les relations entre la richesse du mobilier et la présence des os des animaux.

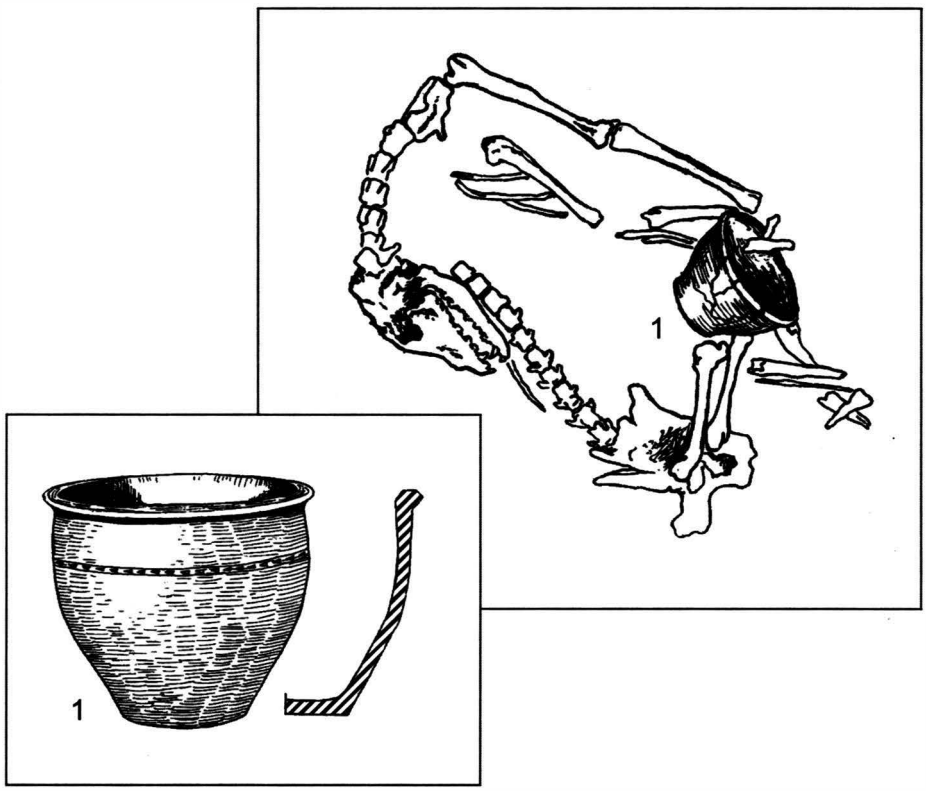

Fig. 6. Łęczyca-Dzierzbiętów. Tombe d'un chien (selon L. Gabałówna 1956).

GRAVES AT PISTIROS AND ITS VICINITY CONTEMPORARY WITH THE EMPORION

Jan Bouzek (Prague – Czech Republik), Lidia Domaradzka (Sofia – Bulgaria)

Mieczysław Domaradzki had some ideas about graves situated in the vicinity of Pistiros[1], but he died without telling us. He always mentioned in this relation that the political situation in Bulgaria is not safe enough to protect the graves from the *imaniari*, as the Bulgarians call the treasure-hunters digging illegally, and he may well be right. We still hope, however, that one of the hints left by him for us in his notes may one day bring us nearer to the discovery of what he had in his mind.

Until this happens, we know the row of tumuli in the vicinity of the emporion Pistiros (Figs. 1 and 2) called *Oreshkovi mogili* (Fig. 3), of which one had in its centre one of the earliest monumental vaulted architectural chamber with antechamber and dromos (Figs. 4 a). Its technique of construction is identical with that of the city wall, and it must have been constructed by masons coming from the same school of stonecutting and designed by the same school of architects (Fig. 4b). It is apparently not far from the truth that Pistiros stonecutting technique and its masons were among those who had a large share in the introduction of Thracian tombs from the stage of coffin-like sarcophagi, as in other places (e.g. around Duvanli) into those of vaulted tombs.[2] As the development was contemporary with the rise of similar tombs in Macedonia, another inspiration may well have come from there, besides the preparative stage in Thrace itself, especially in its eastern part, from the most sophisticated type of the dolmens. It's should also be remembered that the recollection of stories of mythical heroes of the past probably gave similar impetus as was in the use of the double axe as the symbol of the royal power in Thrace, a strong fact in favour of 'Thracian renaissance' discussed several times before by our predecessors.

Other tumuli of the series of Oreshkovi mogili have partly been examined in a few attempts by the archaeologists, in other cases illegally, but – as far as known - without yielding spectacular finds. The nearest barrow situated close to the emporion yielded some bronze coins but no important finds. We found only entries in the diary by M. Domaradzki, who made a test section into the NE part of the tumulus; several badly preserved bronze coins were found and some observations of stratigraphy of the barrow noticed. But what is also important is the situation of the whole group of the tumuli – the grouping of them is hardly accidental. The barrows form a nearly regular row in the direction from the Pistiros site in the NW direction towards between the small city of Vetren and the village Akandjievo, at a distance of roughly around 100 m from each other; they seem to have been burials of an aristocratic family or the dynasty of local rulers.

Fifteen tumuli of the necropolis of Akandjievo (Fig. 5), situated some 3 km west of the Pistiros/Adjiyska Vodenitsa site, have been examined by N. Gizdova[3]. Only a brief preliminary report has been published, but she kindly completed the information personally. The graves were mainly inhumations, though in two barrows cremations were deposited (Fig. 6, 7 and 8). The

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[1] Домарадски, М., 1996: *Некрополи*, 69-70.

[2] Cf. already Bouzek, in *Pistiros* I, Prague 1996, 44, and Bouzek-Domaradzka, in *Pistiros* III, Prague 2007, 254 sqq.

[3] Домарадски, М., 1996, 70.

burials contained both local and Greek pottery of 5th to 4th century B.C. (Fig. 9), coin of Aige (dated between 6th and 5th c. BC) and other finds (Fig. 10), among them several Attic lekythoi (Fig. 11), a shape unknown from Thracian tombs and common in Greek burials; graffiti in Greek letters are also known on pottery from this cemetery (Fig. 12 and Fig. 13). The preliminary publication is in the BAR volume of the conference organized at Kazanlak in 1999 in honour of Mieczysław Domaradzki,[4] and the full report by Mrs. Gizdova is in print. Besides lekythoi, there are also several clay lamps known from the cemetery in clearly recognizable fragments, and their presence among the burial gifts also points out that some members Greek or mixed Graeco-Thracian population was buried in the Akandjievo cemetery. The custom of burying under tumuli was abandoned mainly in Classical Greece,[5] but there was a strong tradition of them during the whole of Geometric and Orientalizing periods, and the Greeks in the colonial outposts hardly had much objections against taking over this kind of *sema* on the grave; it was also Homeric and – more in general – heroic custom, as we know from several graves in the North Pontic area. But Domaradzki had certainly something else in mind and he was sure to know that there must be another cemetery near Pistiros, perhaps also around a tumulus, like the grave of the hero – ktistes of Orgame, whose publication he still noticed before his death.

The tombstone from Parvernec of Antiphanes, son of Herandros[6] (Fig. 14), speaks for the presence of Greeks buried in the central Thrace similarly, as do the two funerary inscriptions found in the emporion itself (Fig. 15): one, in honour of Dionysios Diothrepheos[7] (Fig. 15 a), was found long ago and published by Václav Dobruský before the First World War, and a second for the son of Metrophon[8] (Fig. 15 b), in which only the name of his father is fully preserved. The latter was first considered to be part of tombstone but a similar inscription revealed in Messembria / Zone suggests another explanation It was put into the city wall at the gate and was probably a commemorative inscription, celebrating an important person for his deeds in favour of the city, perhaps its successful defender.

Another stone found by the Czech mission with several letters preserved: (..APA/...TON..[?]) may well have also been a tombstone in one of the stages of its story[9]. Its first use may have been as a kind of lintel of a building, and its third use, together with other architectonic stones published in Pistiros III, was for the foundations of the hastily repaired building of the Tripartite Southern House, just south of the E-W street leading inwards from the Eastern Gate and with monumental paving at its front. This last use was around 300 B. C. or slightly later, the first use of the stone, as of other fragments of the monumental architecture in the emporion, was most probably in the first city prior to the destruction of the emporion by Kotys the Great in the seventies of the 4th century, while the supposed second use of the item as part of a funeral monument falls thus between the two events.

In general, we do not know much about the funerals of those who lived in Emporion Pistiros, but certainly a number of people died there, and we hope to known more about their graves in the future; this aim of this modest contribution is to summarize the existing evidence and point out what may be found in the future.

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[4] Gizdova N., 2005, 115-122

[5] The exceptions were reserved to heroic monuments; cf. the tumuli of soldiers fallen in battles, like the tumulus of Marathon, or of the fallen Spartans in Kerameikos.

[6] Domaradzka, L., 1993, 55-57; В. Герасимова in Герасимова и др., 1993, 63 – 78.

[7] Domaradzka, L., op.cit., no. 2, 55-56 and no. 3, p. 56; see also earlier publications, mainly В. Добруски, 1985, 318 – 338 and IGBulg, III/2, nos. 1068 and 1069.

[8] Domaradzka, L., *op. cit.*, no. 4, p. 56.

[9] Domaradzka, L., 2002, 302.

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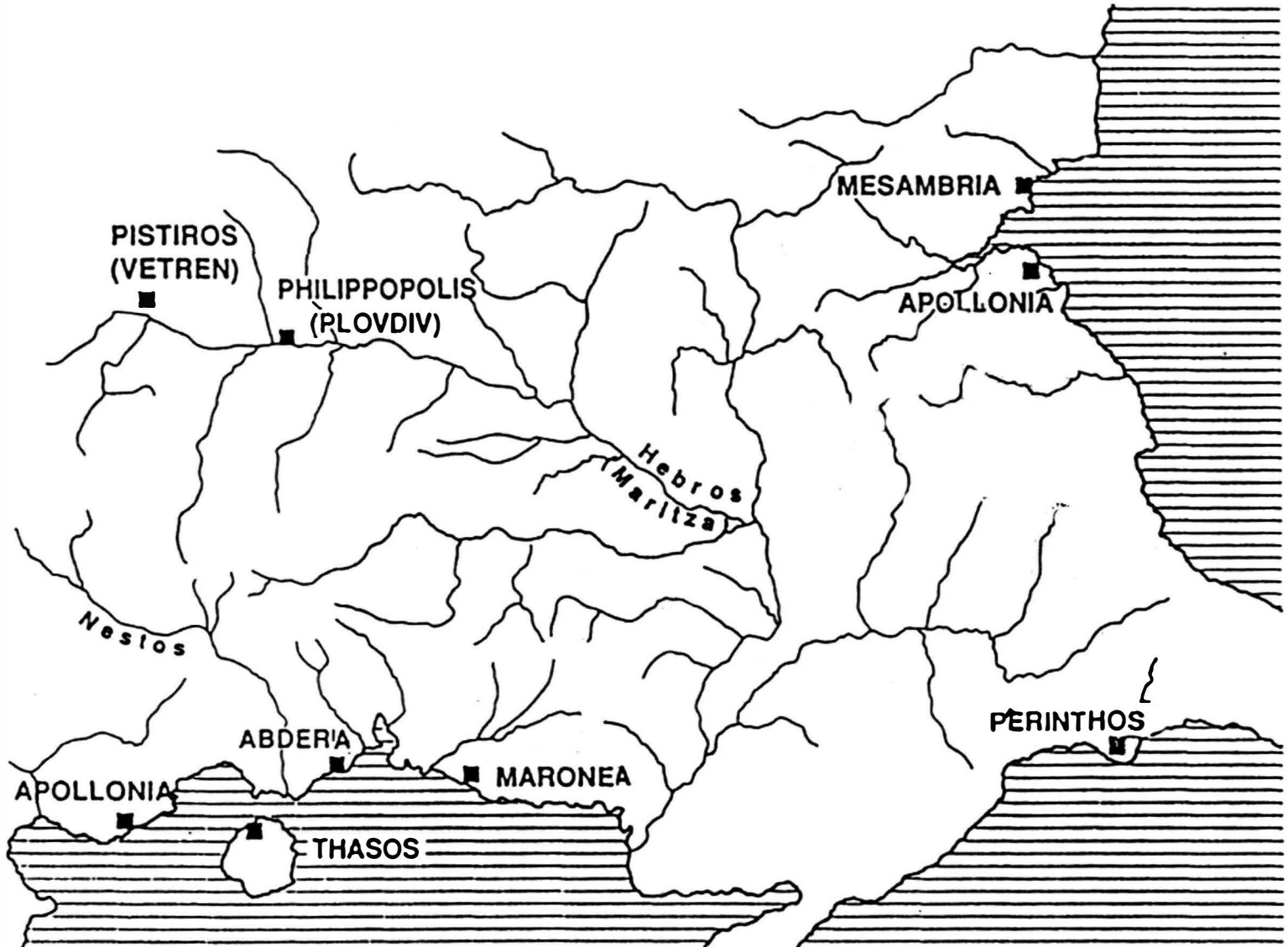

Fig. 1. Pistiros and North Aegean Greek cities.

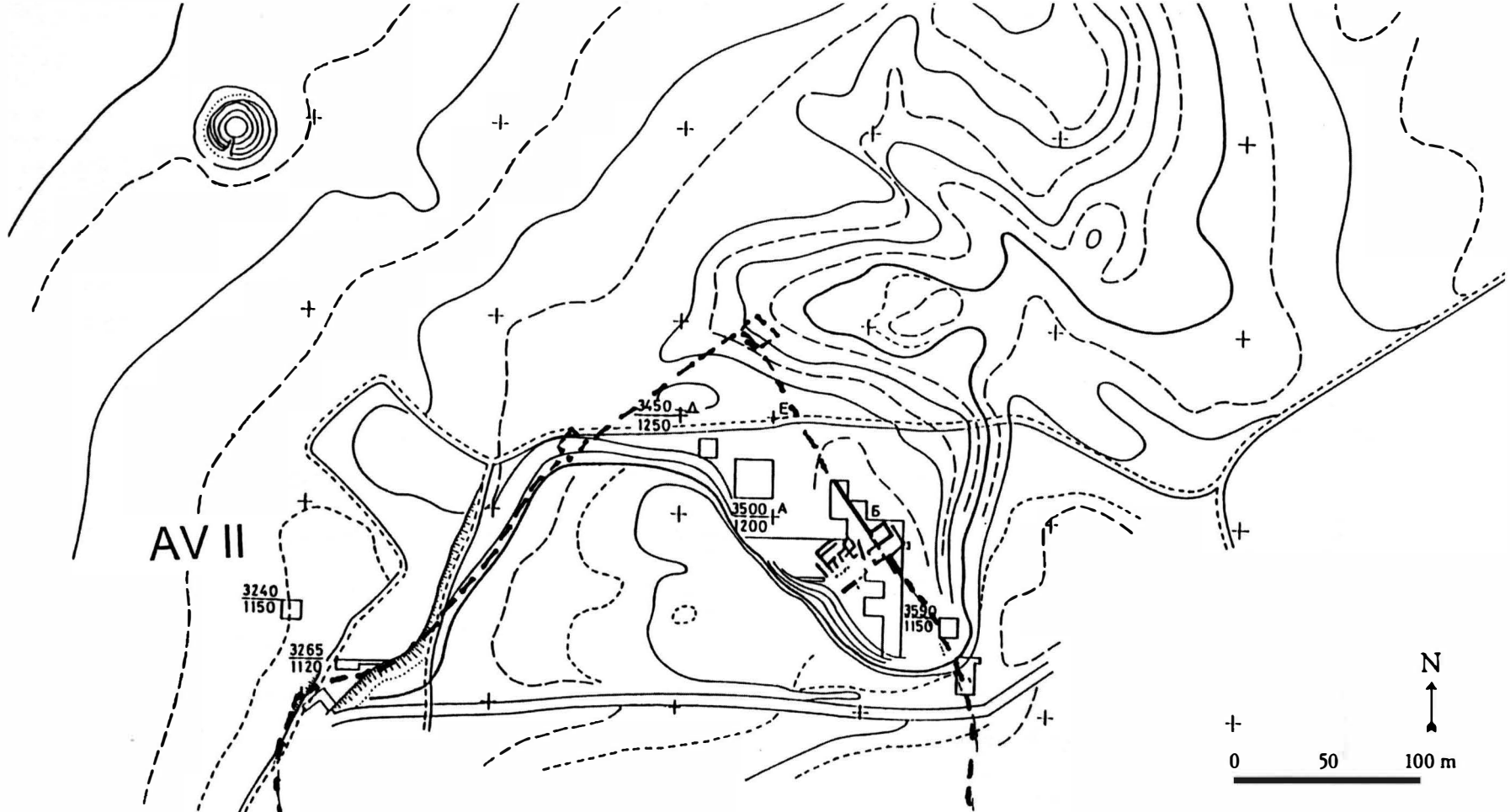

Fig. 2. Pistiros: general amp of the fortified area, with the nearest Vetren tomb marked.

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Fig. 3. Tumuli (Oreshkovi mogili) around Pistiros;
Fig. 4. a. and b.Vetren tomb.

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Fig. 5. Emporion Pistiros and 5th 4th c. B.C. tumuli (with semicircles) and settlements (full circles) in its environs;
Fig. 6. Necropolis of Akandzievo. A general view of the tumuli (after Gizdova).

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Fig. 7. Akandzhievo. Tumulus No 6 (after Gizdova).
Fig. 8. Akandzhievo. Tumulus No 12. A general view before the start of the excavations after Gizdova.

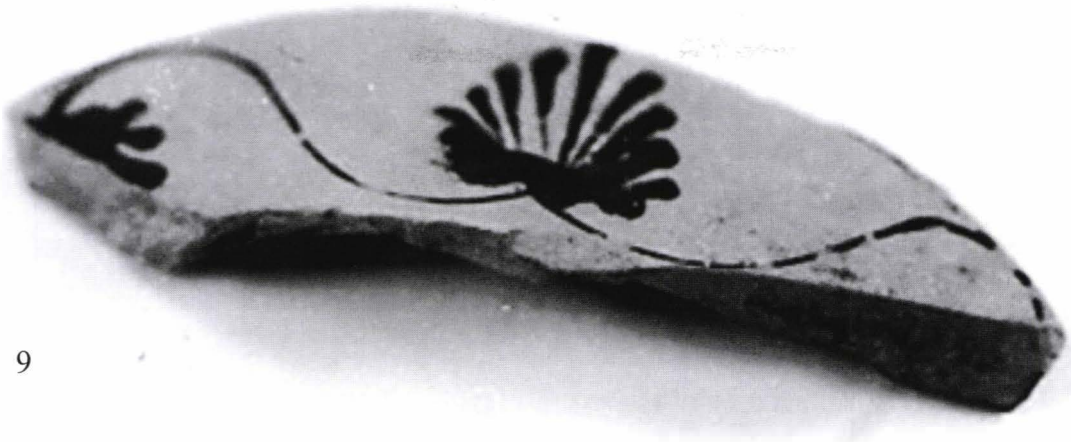

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Fig. 9. Necropolis of Akandzievo. Tumulus No 10. Fragment of shoulder of a BF kekythos (after Gizdova);
Fig. 10. Necropolis of Akandzhievo. Bronze and iron objects (after Gizdova).

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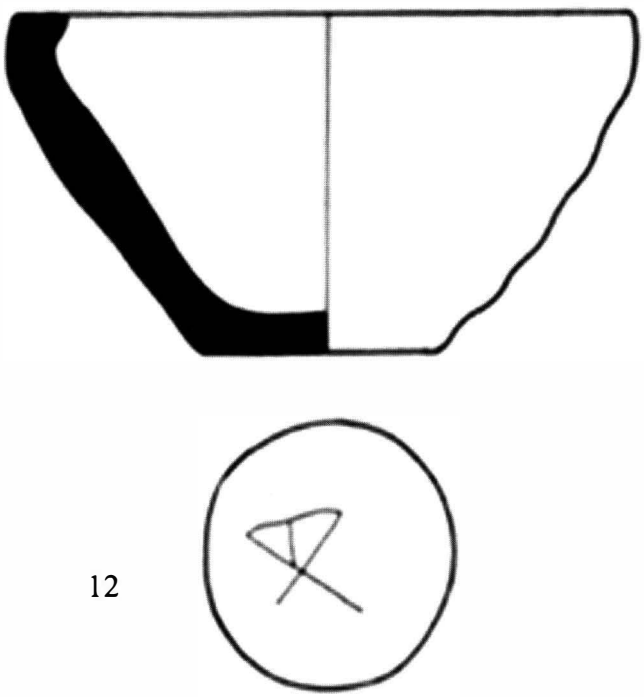

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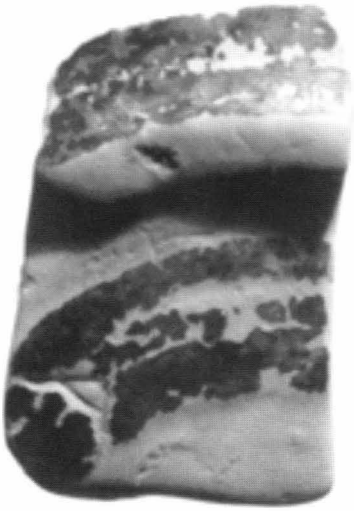
Fig. 11. Necropolis of Akandzievo. Tumuli No3 and 7. BG Lekythoi.
Fig. 12. Akandzhievo. Graffiti on local vessel.



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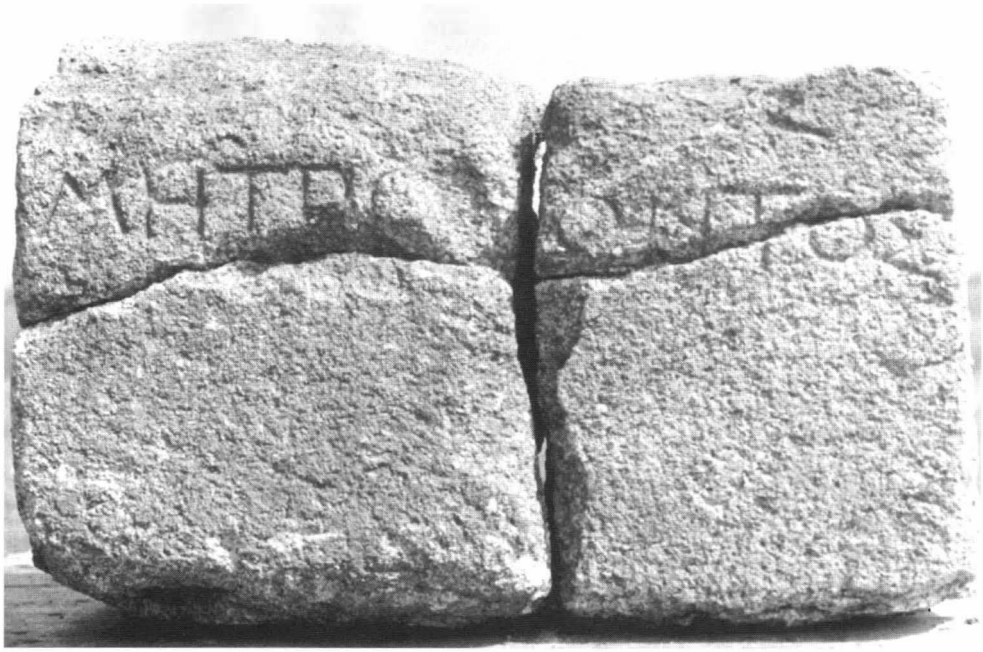
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ
ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΕΟΣ

15a



15b

Fig. 13. Akandzhievo. Graffito on imported pottery;
Fig. 14. Parvenec, Plovdiv region. Grave stele of Antiphanes, son of Herandros, 5th c. BC.;
Fig. 15. Funerary inscriptions from Pistiros. a) Funerary monument of Dionysios, son of Diotrephes (4th c. BC); (discovered and published by V. Dobrusky, end of the 19th c., facsimile by E. Kalinka);b) Epitaph of the son of Metrophon (early 4th c. BC).

ANTHROPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE HUMAN OSTEOLOGICAL REMAINS FROM THE NICULIŢEL-*CORNET* SITE

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Keywords: Anthropological analysis, pathology, blunt force trauma, burnt human bones.

Abstract. this article deals with the human osteological remains discovered in some of the archaeological complexes of Niculiţel-Cornet site. There have been analysed at least nine individuals (five females, one male, and three with unknown sex) with missing bones or fragments, both from ancient times or lost during recovery. The age at death for almost all the skeletons can be framed in the timetable infans II-adultus. Interesting cases of blunt force traumas and partially burnt bones have been studied, along with cases of pathology (hyperostosa porotica, cribra orbitalia, secondary kyphosis and scoliosis etc.).

Methodology

Osteological fragments from different archeological complexes of the Niculiţel-*Cornet* site were analyzed, keeping the original notes and numbering each identified skeleton. Unfortunately, due to the lack of detailed archaeological information, the bones of each individual could not be localized in the archeological complexes.

Papilian's anatomical atlas (1974), White's the osteological atlas (1991) and other books regarding the osteology of the sub-adults (Scheuer, Black 2004; Baker, Dupras, Tocheri 2005) were used for the identification and description of the human bones. Morphological features of the ilium and mandible were used for sex determination of sub-adults skeletons (Schutkowski 1993, Mittler, Sheridan 1992, Loth, Henneberg 2001).

Age estimation of children skeletons has been achieved by studying the teeth eruption, measuring the long bones and the stages of epiphyseal union (Ubelaker 1980, Stloukal, Hanakova 1978; Byers 2005; Baker, Dupras, Tocheri 2005). The age at death of the adult individuals was established using teeth wear, cranial suture closure and epiphyseal union (Brothwell 1981, Byers 2005); cranial and post-cranial features, mainly the pelvis were used for sex determination (Houghton 1974, White 1991).

Stature of sub-adults was computed using maximum lengths of humerus, radius, femur, and tibia based on Visser's formula (1998).

Ortner's book (2003) was used for identification and description of the pathological elements; for the other traumas the following were used: Martin, Frayer (1997), Koval, Zuckerman (2002), Wapler, Crubezy, Schultz (2004) and Pope (2007).

S VI, square 4-5, -1.20 m

Skeleton 1:

The skeleton is well-preserved and almost complete, the bones showing significant amount of calcareous crust. The skull was partially restored due to the missing fragments. On the frontal bone there are two fracture lines forming an approximate X shape. One line started nearby glabella and stopped on the lateral left over the bregma, and the other one started from an area between the left frontal eminence and left temporal line and stopped near the left temporal line. There is a triangle-shaped area from the glabella to the left zygomatic side of the frontal, which is missing together with a smaller area from the right side. There are also traces of an old crack, funnel-shaped, on the frontal bone, possibly due to a blunt force trauma. The left parietal

is also crossed by two fracture lines, in X shape, starting near the parietal eminence, missing the blown fragment from the squama (**Fig. 1a-b; 2a**).

There is a circular area (20 × 25 m) that is missing a bone fragment at 15 mm from the mastoid angle of the right parietal. This area has the funnel-shaped margins on the ectocranial surface, and it was probably produced perimortem with a blunt object. Radiating fracture lines start from this area. There is no post-fracture healing reaction, which leads to the conclusion that the person had not survived the trauma.

Also, at the right parietal (medial from parietal eminence) on one of the above fracture lines there are small missing pieces of the cranial vault with traces from a pointed object.

The right lateral side of the occipital bone is missing, both temporal bones are present, but the left has old splits of squama, and the mastoid process has a green impregnation from a bronze object. On the lambdoid suture there are numerous wormians bones.

Only the right side of the mandible is present (starting from the canines), molars 1 and 2 were used as sample for ancient DNA analysis, and the 3rd molar has the entire crown in the tooth socket.

Scapular girdle is represented by fragmentary right scapula, and shafts of clavicles. Proximal epiphysis from the left humerus is missing, and the capitulum of the right is broken. Proximal metaphyses of the right radius and ulna were destroyed during the excavation and the iliac crest from the right ilium share the same situation.

The right femur is almost complete, but without femoral head and a piece of the medial condyle; the left one keeps a fragment of lateral condyle and the proximal metaphysis is missing, all of these missing parts having been destroyed during the excavation. The distal epiphysis of the right tibia and both of the epiphyses of the left one are missing, the fibulas have only the proximal methapysis, all the broken pieces having been destroyed during excavation.

Sexual features of the bones show a female: small mastoid process, pointed frontal and parietal eminences, the supraorbital margin is sharp, there is no occipital protuberance, and the great sciatic notch is large (angle of > 90°).

The capitulum, trochlea and lateral epicondyle from humerus are fused, but the acetabular Y, iliac crest and antero-inferior spine from the inominate bone are not fused, which indicates an estimated age of death of 14-15 years (the maximum length of the long bones also indicates an age at death of more than 14 years old).

Stature is 146.14 ± 12.4 cm, computed according to the maximum length of the femur.

Multiple blunt force traumas could indicate the cause of death: one blow to the lateral side of the right parietal (which caused the dislocation of a cranial vault fragment), another one near the left frontal eminence, and another possible two (on the lateral side of the left parietal and in the glabella area); for the last two of them an accurate identification is impossible because of the missing part of the skull. It's also important to observe the absence of large portions of the cranial vault and a trace of a possible attempt "to open" the cranial vault with a pointed object on the right parietal. Also, some long bones and fragments of them are missing, maybe due to the archaeological excavation or to the perimortem manipulation.

Skeleton 2:

The bones are well preserved but with calcareous crust. From the skull, only the half right side of mandible is present, with canine and first premolar *in situ*; the first molar was sampled for ancient DNA analysis.

The postcranial skeleton has the half lateral of the right clavicle, right humerus without distal epiphysis and left humerus without both epiphyses. The left ulna and radius are missing the distal third. The pelvic girdle has the illium and ischion, the left femur has only the distal half, and also both of the femoral heads and right calcaneum are present.

The great sciatic notch (angle of < 90°) and the flat auricular surface indicate a male.

Age estimation was established to about 13-14 years old, according to the suture stage of acetabular Y, the maximum length of humerus and radius and the union stage of humerus.

Stature is 137.20 ± 12.5 cm, computed according to the maximum length of humerus.

The right humerus is shorter than the left one (235 mm for right and 240 for left), it also shows a little curve toward anterior and lateral and thickness of shaft (**Fig. 2b-c**). On both humeri and on the lateral side of the femoral neck some porosity areas can be observed. The proximal metaphysis of the right humerus has a bigger diameter with a depression (depth of 3-4 mm) in the middle. The right humeral head has a deformed surface with a granular aspect and enthesophytes, and a depression in the anterior side of the bicipital groove and the greater and lesser tubercle (**Fig. 4a-b**).

In conclusion, the left humerus could belong to a different skeleton or most probably the deformation may have congenital or traumatic causes occurred in the early years of life.

S K II, square 4-5, -1.15 m, dwelling

There were identified human bones from four skeletons:

Skeleton 1: left incomplete scapula, lateral third of the clavicle, proximal half of the left ulna without epiphysis. The right femur is missing the upper region at the level of lesser trochanter and also the inferior third.

The bones belong to a child (*infans II*); sex is undeterminable.

Skeleton 2: a quarter from the lateral side of the left clavicle, the superior quarter of the left radius and right coxa with the lateral side of the acetabulum and the body of the illium. Gracility of bones shows a female of25-30 years of age (medial epiphysis of the clavicle is partially fused). However it is very possible that these bones belong to two or three skeletons.

Skeleton 3: is represented by a skull with old fragmentation on the right side and modern fragmentation on the rest. The anterior side of frontal is missing, but the right supra-orbital margin with zygomatic process is present. The zygomatic is present partially on the left side, being articulated with the temporal bones, and the occipital bone is also fragmentarily recovered (**Fig. 3a-b**).

Although it is difficult to assert, the cranial features indicate a female skeleton.

Skeleton 4: is represented by a fragment of the frontal and the maxillae with old cracks. From the frontal, a triangular shape piece with coronal suture is present. A crack (possibly a fracture) is crossing the squama obliquely from left to right. There are two fragments separated in the soil, as one can see from the deposits of calcareous crust which are different on both of the fragments.

These deposits of calcareous crust are large on the ectocranium, but endocranially there are only few.

Ectocranially, the frontal presents a large surface of exfoliation, and the diploë is present only on the right side in a triangle-shaped area. On the exfoliated area the calcareous crust is very big and on the left side it also integrates small fragments of ribs. The bone has been subjected to fire, which gave it a dark brown and black color and exfoliated the diploë. Endocranially there are no traces of fire, a proof that the skull was complete during the exposure to heat (**Fig. 4f**).

The maxillary bones are present: the right half with a piece of the sphenoid, and the left half has all the pieces to the canine alveoli.

Dentition:

-	M_2	M_1	Pm_4	Pm_3	C	I_2	I_1	/	I_2	/	/	/	/	/	/

The third molar is missing, most probably due to congenital causes, as it can be assumed from the shape of the maxilla. All the broken fragments are ancient, with a significant calcareous crust.

All teeth, except M_2 were exposed to fire and only Pm_4 and M_1 partially have the crowns (showing only email exfoliation); in the other cases only the roots were preserved. The color of the teeth, alveoli and anterior side of the maxilla is black or dark black, the same color with the edge of the preserved zygomatic process. The oral cavity was not affected by the exposure to high temperatures (**Fig. 4c-e**).

Dental wear indicates a young adult or adolescent and the sex is indeterminable[1].

Square IV D

Skeleton 1: represented by a cranial vault with some missing parts due to excavation: the anterior half of the left parietal, the mastoid angle of the right parietal with the squama of the temporal, the right half and basal side of the occipital, some fragments of the maxillary and a piece from the left nasal bone (**Fig. 5a-d**). From postcranial skeleton the following are preserved: a proximal quarter of right radius, fragments of the illium, vertebras C7-T4, a body of the thoracic vertebra, vertebras L2-L5 and the first sacral vertebra. The femurs have old cracks on the epiphyses, the right tibia without distal epiphysis and the proximal half on the left one, the proximal half of the right fibula and the left without epiphysis.

Cranial and pelvic features show a female and preauricular sulcus indicates at least one birth. Closure of cranial sutures indicates an adult about 25-30 years old.

Pathology: lumbar vertebras L3 and L4 are fused; L3 is asymmetrically collapsed in the middle and it's 14 mm high; inside, the limit between the vertebras is hard to see and on the inferior margin and also on the superior margin of L4, on the right side, and also on the superior margin of L5, there are some huge exostoses. Huge exostosis is also found on the thoracal vertebras that could be caused by secondary kyphosis and scoliosis at the level of the thoracal and lumbar spine[2] (**Fig. 5e, 6a**).

The diaphyses of the tibias and fibulas show signs inchoative periostitis.

Skeleton 2: the skull is not complete, with both new and old breakage. The frontal is missing the right lateral side, the left parietal is missing the posterior side, together with the left temporal and sphenoid. From the occipital bone only a small portion from right side is left (**Fig. 6c-d**). The frontal process of the maxillae is broken, and the right body of the mandible is missing the ascending ramus.

M^3	M^2	M^1	Pm^4	Pm^3	C	I^2	I^1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
?	\	M_1	Pm_4	Pm_3	C	\	\	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

For the DNA analysis, molars 1-3 from the right maxillary and molar 2 from the mandible were sampled.

The postcranial skeleton has both humeri without the proximal third; the femurs have broken metaphyses, only the left one has partial metaphysis and epiphysis. Only the right tibia is complete and the left one is missing the metaphyses. A metacarpal and three metatarsals (with distal epiphyses not fused) were also recovered.

Cranial features and the long bones show a female.

The age is about 14 years old (all the epiphyses are not fused, third molar is in the alveoli), the maximum length of the tibia being a little over the average measurements for the age of 14.

Computed stature based on the maximum length of tibia is 139.28 ± 9.7 cm.

[1] Brothwell 1981, 72, fig. 3.9.
[2] Ortner 2003, 463-471.

Pathology: on the right parietal there are traces of porosity near the lambdoid suture and on the right sphenoid, which indicate *hyperostosa porotica* and the orbital roofs exhibit *cribra orbitalia* (**Fig. 6b**).

Skeleton 3: represented only by a piece of the zygomatic process of the maxillary, the diaphysis of a femur with broken metaphyses, the distal third of the right tibia and a fragment from the left ischion. All these belong to a child (*infans I*).

These analyzed human bones show some interesting anthropological cases, and are very important for the understanding of the funeral and social practices of the Babadag culture. Almost all the bones exhibit breakages and have missing parts due to the archaeological excavations. However, the bones from **S K II, square 4-5, -1.15 m** have many missing parts, ancient breakages, especially affecting the epiphyses of the long bones. For the other analyzed skeletons, whole bones are missing, and the recovered bones have missing parts mostly due to the archaeological excavations.

We have analyzed the osteological remains from at least nine individuals, five females, one male, and three with sex unknown. One aspect to be seen is that the estimated age at death for most of the skeletons can generally be placed in the *infans II- adultus* interval.

The pathology is also interesting in other two cases. **Skeleton 1**, female, from **Square IV D** shows a fusion of the lumbar vertebras L 3 and L 4, and big exostosis on L 5; traces of periostitis on the legs show an infection and the spine problems caused walking disabilities for this young individual (25-30 years old). Also, **skeleton 2**, male, from **S VI, square 4-5, -1.20 m**, exhibits a deformation of the humeral diaphysis and head, possible with congenital or traumatic cause. *Hyperostosa porotica* and *cribra orbitalia* have been identified for **Skeleton 2**, female, from **Square IV D**.

Skeleton 1, female, **S VI, square 4-5, -1.20 m** had a violent cause of death: on the left and, possible, right parietal and on the frontal there are some traces of blunt force trauma and no healing signs can be noticed on the bones. **Skeleton 4**, from **S K II, square 4-5, -1.15** could have had the same cause of death: the anterior side of the cranium was exposed to fire when the skull was still complete.

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S VI, carou 4-5, -1.20 m (skeleton 1)

Martin No./Dimensions and indices (post-cranial skeleton)	Values		Martin No./Dimensions and indices (post-cranial skeleton)	Values	
	right	left		right	left
Humerus			**Femur**		
1. Max. length	-	251	6. Sagittal mid-shaft diam.	22.98	21.54
5. Max. diam. mid-shaft	17.41	17.27	7. Transverse mid-shaft diam.	19.60	19.55
6. Min. diam. mid-shaft	13.73	13.58	8. Circum. of the mid-shaft	66	64
7. Circum. of the mid-shaft	48	48	9. Transv. diam. under lesser troch.	26.47	25.75
7a. Min. circum. of the shaft	51	51	10. Sagittal diam. under lesser troch.	22.16	20.34
6:5. Section index	78.86	78.63	15. Vert. diam. neck	26.98	-
Radius			16. Sag. diam. neck	21.67	-
1. Max. length	192	194	17. Circum. of the neck	51	-
3. Min. circum.	37	35	6:7. Pilastric index	117.24	110.17
4. Transverse shaft diam.	12.62	13.32	10:9. Platimeric index	83.71	78.99
5. Sagittal shaft diam.	9.46	9.59	**Tibia**		
5:4. Section index	74.96	71.99	1. Max. length	305	-
Cubitus			8. Sag. mid-shaft diam.	24.49	24.76
3. Min. circum.	29	-	8a. Sag. diam. at nutrient foramen	24.08	28.26
11. Sagittal shaft diam.	9.60	-	9. Transv. mid-shaft diam.	19.51	18.99
12. Transverse shaft diam.	13.66	-	9a. Transv. diam. at nutrient foramen	19.13	19.69
11:12. Section index	70.27	-	10b.Min. circum.	65	64
			9:8. Section index	79.66	76.69
			9a:8a. Cnemic index	79.44	69.67

S VI, carou 4-5, -1.20 m (skeleton 2)

Martin No./Dimensions and indices (post-cranial skeleton)	Values		Martin No./Dimensions and indices (post-cranial skeleton)	Values	
	right	left		right	left
Claviculă			**Cubitus**		
4. Vert. diam.	9.31	-	1. Max. length	199	-
5. Sag. diam.	7.70	-	3. Min. circum.	27	-
6. Circum. of the mid-shaft	26	-	11. Sagittal shaft diam.	9.25	-
4:5. Section index	120.90	-	12. Transverse shaft diam.	11.45	-
Humerus			11:12. Section index	80.78	-
5. Max. diam. mid-shaft	15.76	14.93	**Femur**		
6. Min. diam. mid-shaft	13.21	12.79	6. Sagittal mid-shaft diam.	-	21.82
7. Circum. of the mid-shaft	45	43	7. Transverse mid-shaft diam.	-	17.84
7a. Min. circum. of the shaft	48	45	8. Circum. of the mid-shaft	-	63
6:5. Section index	83.81	85.66	9. Transv. diam. under lesser troch.	-	23.26
Radius			10. Sagittal diam. under lesser troch.	-	18.87
1. Max. length	175	-	15. Vert. diam. neck	-	24.85
3. Min. circum.	31	33	16. Sag. diam. neck	-	22.33
4. Transverse shaft diam.	11.58	11.88	17. Circum. of the neck		77
5. Sagittal shaft diam.	9.23	9.23	6:7. Pilastric index	-	122.30
5:4. Section index	79.70	77.69	10:9. Platimeric index	-	81.12

S K II, carou 4-5, -1.15 m (skeleton 1)

Martin No./Dimensions and indices (post-cranial skeleton)	Values		Martin No./Dimensions and indices (post-cranial skeleton)	Values	
	right	left		right	left
Cubitus			**Femur**		
11. Sagittal shaft diam.	-	9	6. Sagittal mid-shaft diam.	19	-
12. Transverse shaft diam.	-	13	7. Transverse mid-shaft diam.	14.5	-
11:12. Section index	-	69.23	8. Circum. of the mid-shaft	52	-
			6:7. Pilastric index	131.03	-

S K II, carou 4-5, -1.15 m (skeleton 2)

Martin No./Dimensions and indices (post-cranial skeleton)	Values		Martin No./Dimensions and indices (post-cranial skeleton)	Values	
	right	left		right	left
Claviculă			**Radius**		
4. Vert. diam.	-	11	4. Transverse shaft diam.	-	15
5. Sag. diam.	-	8	5. Sagittal shaft diam.	-	20
6. Circum. of the mid-shaft	-	33	5:4. Section index	-	133.33
4:5. Section index		137.5			

S K II, carou 4-5, -1.15 m (skeleton 3)

Martin No./Dimensions and indices (cranial skeleton)	Values
10. co – co	122
27. arch b – l	130
28 (1). arch l – i	76
30. b – l	115
31 (1). l – i	67
I 24. (30:27)	88,46

Caseta IV D (skeleton 1)

Martin No./Dimensions and indices (cranial skeleton)	Values	Martin No./Dimensions and indices (cranial skeleton)	Values
1. g – op	170	30. b – l	100
3. g – l	163	32(5). Fr. curvature angle	134.78
3a. n – l	163	33e. Par. curvature angle	142,75
8. eu – eu	127	I 1. (8:1)	74.70
9. ft – ft	96	I 4. (20:1)	62,94
10. co – co	113	I 5. (20:8)	84.25
11. au – au	115	I 12. (9:10)	84.95
12. ast – ast	101	I 13. (9:8)	75.59
20. po – b	107	I 14. (12:8)	79.52
26. n – b	122	I 16. (27:26)	97.54
27. b – l	119	I 22. (29:26)	90.98
29. n – b	111	I 24. (30:27)	84.03
29d. g – b	107		

Caseta IV D (skeleton 1)

Martin No./Dimensions and indices (post-cranial skeleton)	Values		Martin No./Dimensions and indices (post-cranial skeleton)	Values	
	right	left		right	left
Femur			9. Transv. mid-shaft diam.	27.5	-
6. Sagittal mid-shaft diam.	28	28	9a. Transv. diam. at nutrient foramen	22	-
7. Transverse mid-shaft diam.	27	25,5	10b.Min. circum.	-	78
8. Circum. of the mid-shaft	85	83	9:8. Section index	85.93	-
9. Transv. diam. under lesser troch.	30	30	9a:8a. Cnemic index	61.11	-
10. Sagittal diam. under lesser troch.	25	29	**Fibula**		
6:7. Pilastric index	103.70	109.80	2. Max. diam. mid-shaft	13	-
10:9. Platimeric index	83.33	96.63	3. Min. diam. mid-shaft	10.5	-
Tibie			4. Circum. of the mid-shaft	38	-
3. Breadth proximal ephipysis	71.5	-	4a. Min. circum.	33	-
6. Breadth distal ephipysis	-	43.5	**Sacrum**		
8. Sag. mid-shaft diam.	32	-	5. Direct sup. breadth	11	-
8a. Sag. diam. at nutrient foramen	36	-			

Caseta IV D (skeleton 2)

Martin No./Dimensions and indices (post-cranial skeleton)	Values
26. n – b	123
27. b – l	89
29. n – b	105
29b. arrow n – b	25,5
29c. n – arrow	44
30. b – l	82
32(5). Fr. curvature angle	114.35
69. id-gn	34

Caseta IV D (skeleton 2)

Martin No./Dimensions and indices (post-cranial skeleton)	Values		Martin No./Dimensions and indices (post-cranial skeleton)	Values	
	right	left		right	left
Humerus			**Tibie**		
5. Max. diam. mid-shaft	18.5	17	8. Sag. mid-shaft diam.	25	24.5
6. Min. diam. mid-shaft	14	14	8a. Sag. diam. at nutrient foramen	27	26
7. Circum. of the mid-shaft	49	49	9. Transv. mid-shaft diam.	16	15.5
7a. Min. circum. of the shaft	52	51	9a. Transv. diam. at nutrient foramen	18	17.5
6:5. Section index	75.67	82.35	10b.Min. circum.	61	60
Femur			9:8. Section index	64	63.26
6. Sagittal mid-shaft diam.	21	21	9a:8a. Cnemic index	66.66	67.30
7. Transverse mid-shaft diam.	21	21.5	**Fibula**		
8. Circum. of the mid-shaft	65	66	2. Max. diam. mid-shaft	13	-
9. Transv. diam. under lesser troch.	26	26.5	3. Min. diam. mid-shaft	9	-

10. Sagittal diam. under lesser troch.	17	17.5			
6:7. Pilastric index	100	97.67			
10:9. Platimeric index	65.38	66.03			

Caseta IV D (skeleton 3)

Martin No./Dimensions and indices (post-cranial skeleton)	Values	
	right	left
Femur		
6. Sagittal mid-shaft diam.	-	12.5
7. Transverse mid-shaft diam.	-	14
8. Circum. of the mid-shaft	-	43
6:7. Pilastric index	-	89.28

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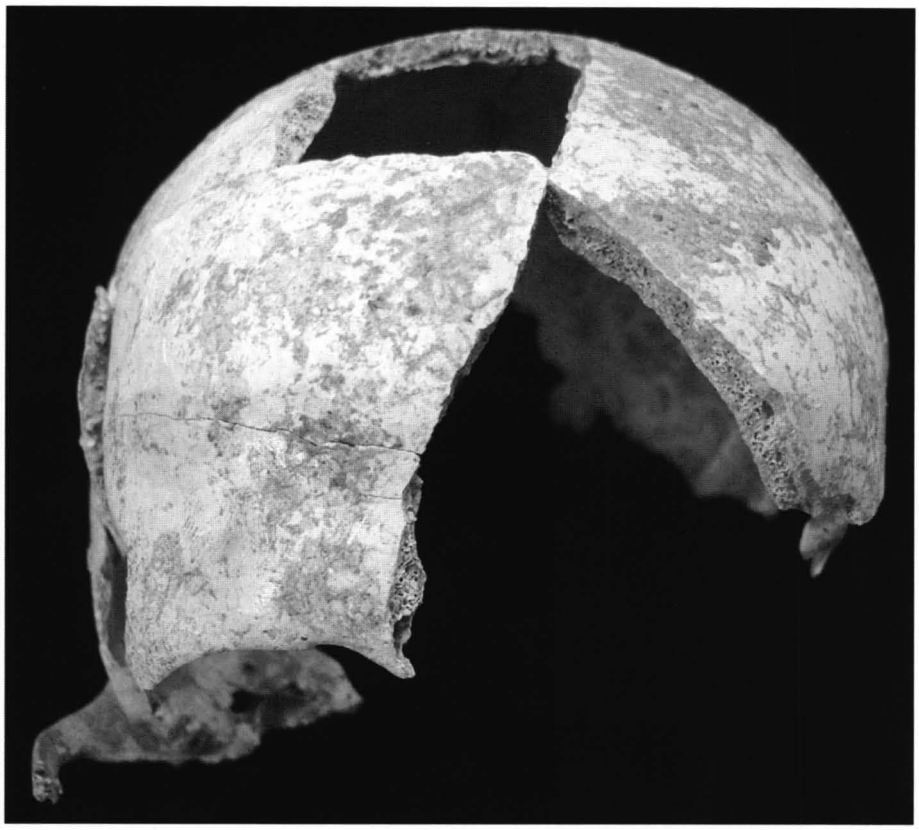
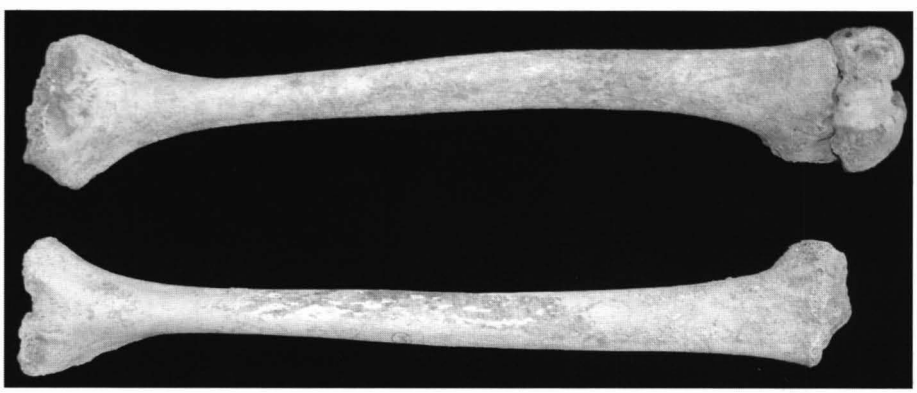
Aa

Bb

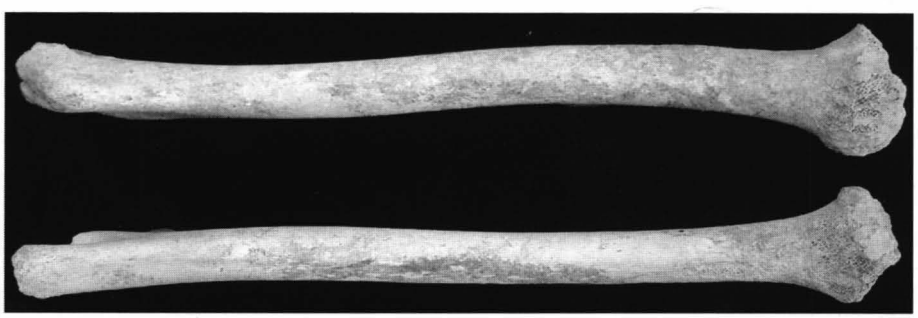
Fig. 1. Niculițel-*Cornet*, S VI, square 4-5, -1.20 m, Skeleton 1 - a. Lateral view; b. Superior view.



a

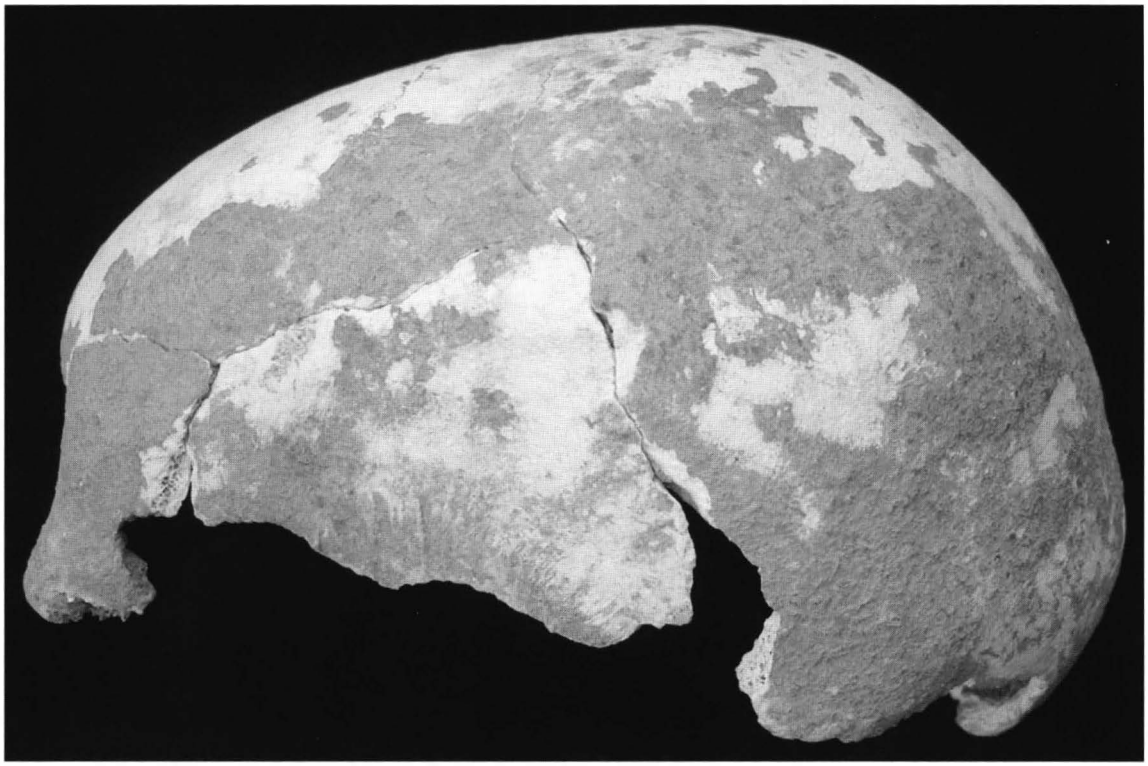


b

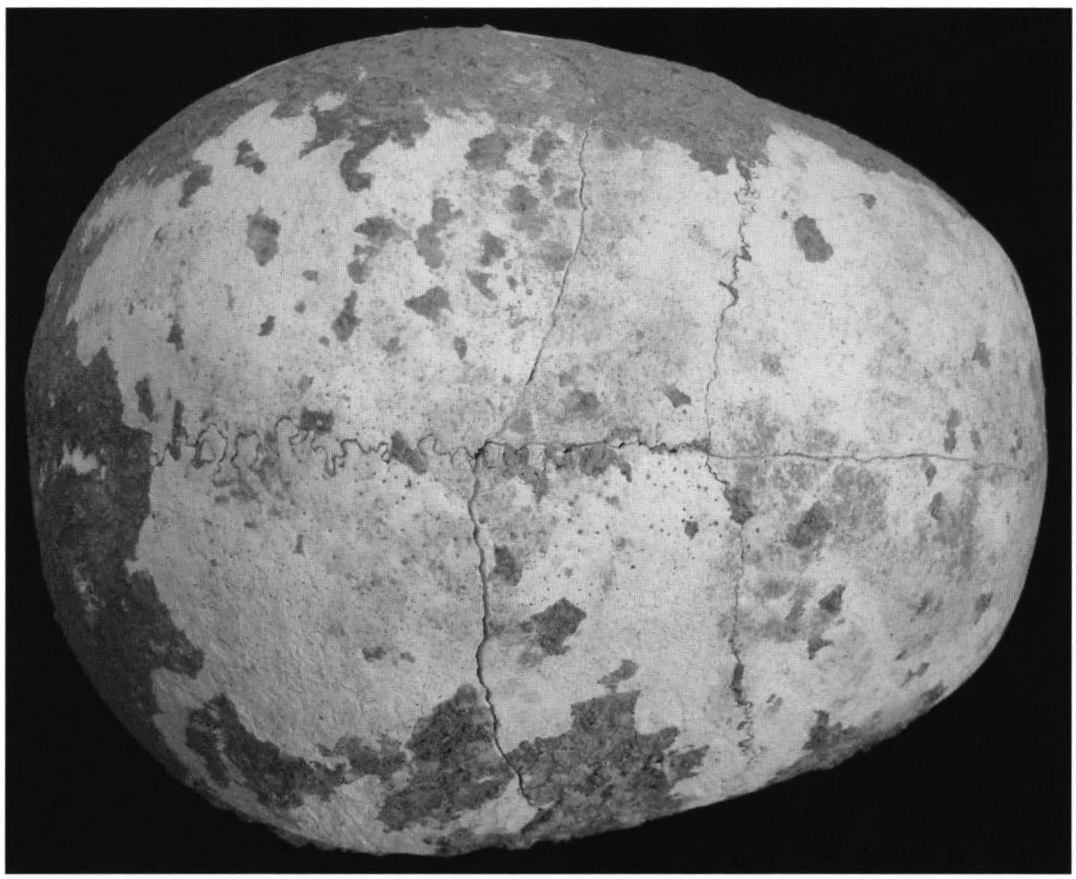


Cc

Fig. 2. Niculițel-*Cornet*, S VI, square 4-5, -1.20 m, a. Skeleton 1, anterior view; Skeleton 2 - b. Humerus, anterior view; c. Humerus, medial view.



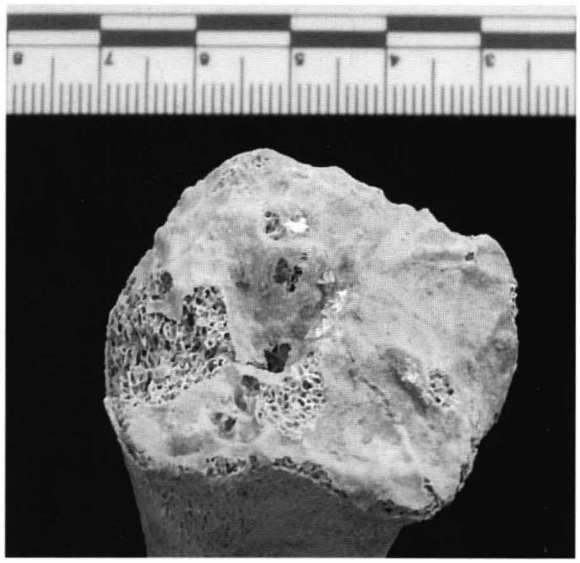
a



b

Fig. 3. Niculițel-*Cornet*, S K II, square 4-5, -1.15 m, dwelling, Skeleton 3 - a. Lateral view; b. Superior view.

a



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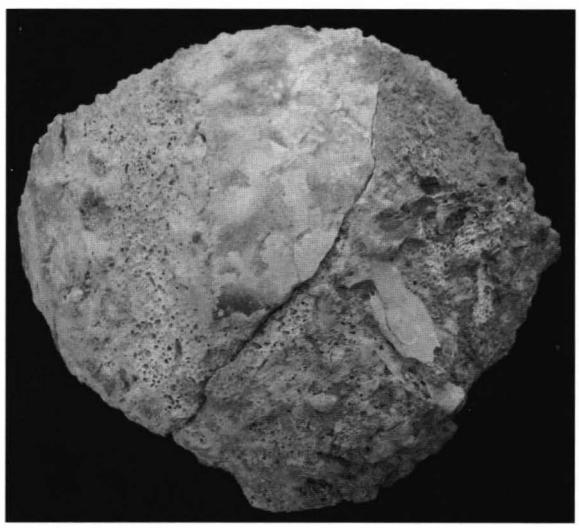


cf

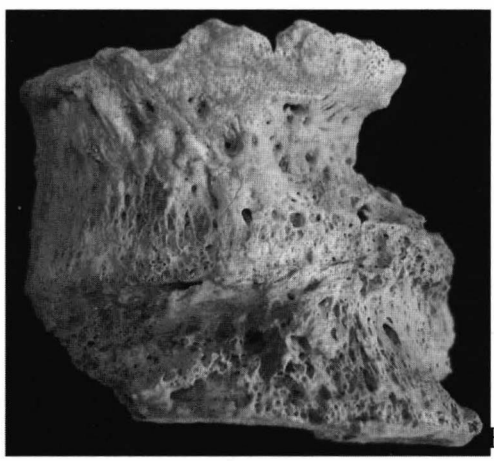
Fig. 4. Niculițel-*Cornet*, S VI, square 4-5, -1.20 m, Skeleton 2 - a. Right humeral head; b. Proximal metaphysis of the right humerus. S K II, square 4-5, -1.15 m, dwelling, Skeleton 4 - c-e. Maxilla; f. Fragment of the frontal bone.

Aa

Bb

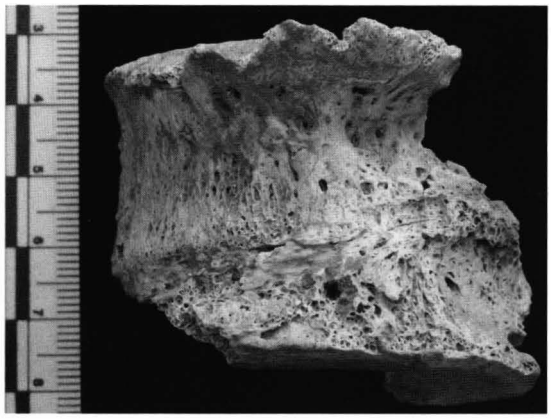
Bc

Bd



Be

Fig. 5. Niculițel-*Cornet*, Square IV D, Skeleton 1 - a. Anterior view; b. Posterior view; c. Lateral view; d. Superior view; e. L3-4 vertebras.



Aa

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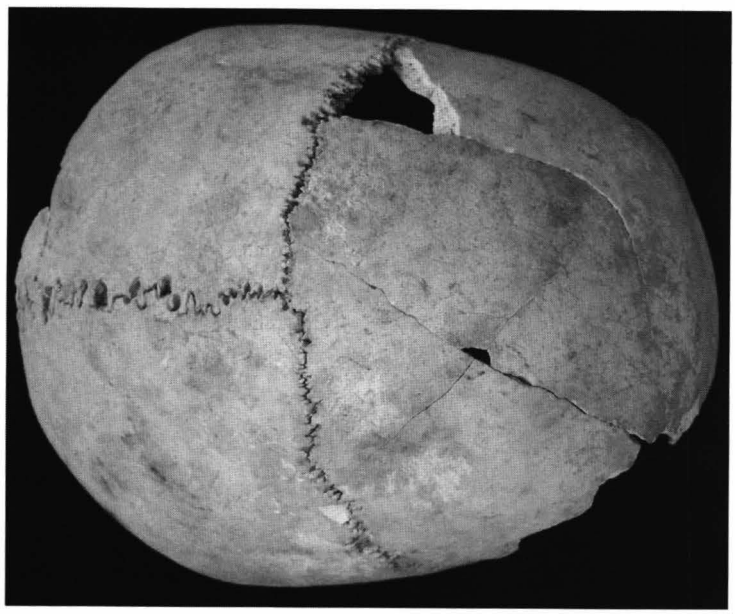

Bc

Bd

Fig. 6. Niculițel-*Cornet*, Square IV D, a. Skeleton 1, L3-4 vertebras; Skeleton 2 - b. Left orbit showing *cribra orbitalia*; c. Superior view; d. Lateral view.

FUNERARY PRACTICES IN THE REGION OF ČAČAK DURING THE IRON AGE

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Keywords: Iron Age, western Serbia, tumuli, funerary practice, princely graves.

Abstract. Excavations of tumuli have long tradition in the Čačak region, western Serbia. The graves from the Iron Age were found in 10 tumuli. Several occasional finds testify about more necropolises from this period. It should be emphasized that all of the excavated graves were from the West Morava valley. From Dragačevo region come several occasional finds, but there is no Iron Age grave from the tumuli of the Kablar range. Beside the fact that it could be the result of insufficient investigation, this disposition of the Iron Age burial mounds can point out to certain socio-economic circumstances of this period.

The region of Čačak includes administrative territories of the Čačak and Lučani municipalities, as well as the regions which are in geographical connection to it. Čačak region, as a peripheral zone of the western Serbia, is a dividing belt between the hilly terrain of Šumadija and the mountains of the Inner Dinarids. (Pl.I) The two zones are divided by the fertile and slightly hilly West Morava valley. Geomorphologically, the Čačak region can be divided into three microregions: mountainous terrain of Dragačevo, mountainous range of Kablar and the West Morava valley with the surrounding hilly area. The geographical place as such determined direction of migrations and certain cultural influences, which caused development of prehistoric cultures in the region.

Tumuli in the Čačak region have been excavated since the end of the 19th century, when Sima Trojanović, professor of the Čačak High School, organized the first archaeological explorations of the tumuli in the villages Markovica and Negrišori in Dragačevo. The names of these villages became well known in archaeological literature as the term for the whole tumular complex. These excavations were not satisfactory in methodological sense, hence only the central parts of the tumuli were dug out, which caused only partial knowledge of the archaeological units. No matter what the 21st century archaeology thinks of these excavations, the results were published and it provided data about forms of funerary architecture, remains of rituals that had been performed and forms of grave goods and other finds, on the basis of which funerary practices can be at least partially reconstructed. An intense exploration of tumuli began in 1952, when the Čačak museum was established. M. Ikodinović and L. Nikitović made a great effort excavating and publishing the results of the excavations for quite a long period of time. Their work became fundamental for establishing a general picture about funerary forms under mounds from the Bronze and Iron Age in this region.

Since the beginning of the museum activities until today, 37 tumuli have been excavated. Most of them belong to the Bronze Age. If we accept the proposed geographical division of the Čačak region into three zones, it can be stated that the Iron Age tumuli have not been discovered in the Kablar range area so far. There are only a couple of accidental finds from a destroyed mound at the site Grotnica in Guča in Dragačevo, as well as some notes about iron finds from the mounds mentioned by S. Trojanović (Тројановић 1890: 105; Тројановић 1892: 7). The situation is different for the mounds excavated in the West Morava valley, where in contrast to the mountainous regions, some tumuli with the Iron Age graves have been explored. On this

level of exploration, it can be concluded that certain concentration of burials from this period can be traced on the plains. During the Bronze and Iron Age in this area, burial types were tumuli exclusively. It was very common for the Iron Age inhabitants to bury their dead in already existing tumuli. The only mounds made exclusively for the purpose of burying the Iron Age deceased were the princely mounds from Atenica. A number of occasional finds from this period whitnesses about the existence of some unidentified tumuli. A great number of mediaeval graves, as well as the graves from later periods, up to the modern times, buried in the prehistoric tumuli is the confirmation that the local populations have in continuity been aware of the tumuli as sacred places and ancient tombs. Formation of mediaeval necropolises on the prehistoric tumuli is quite often at the territory of western Serbia (Валтровић 1893: 76-77, fig.1-2; Гарашанин Д., Гарашанин М.1956: 191-203; Гарашанин Д., Гарашанин М. 1958: 33-39; Ђурић 1996: 41-46). The same situation is in the Čačak region, at the mounds: Grotnica in Guča, Ornice in Guča, Babinjak in Donja Kravarica, Veliko Polje in Jančići, Atenica, Vidova-Prijevor cemetery, Gušavac in Mrčajevci.

Grotnica in Guča

At the site Grotnica in Guča in Dragačevo, in 1932 a grave was found, which was, according to the finder, under a stone pile, where a couple of metal finds were found. Some of the metal finds belong to the Iron Age. Three mounds, which remained from a bigger necropolis under tumuli at this site, were explored. The necropolis was founded most probably in the Early Bronze Age, while burials were more numerous during later phases of the Middle Bronze Age (Никитовић, Васић 2005: 123-139). In the course of excavations no grave from the Iron Age was found. On the basis of the terms of the find it can be assumed that there was either a hoard or a disturbed grave from the Iron Age. The inventory of the occasional Iron Age finds from Grotnica includes: three iron spears, three fragmented iron knives (unpublished) and a silver arc fibula (Vasić 1999: 86-87, kat.656). (Pl.VI/1-4)

Gušavac in Mrčajevci

The site Gušavac is placed in the village Mrčajevci, the area of which is spread mostly on the plain left bank of the fertile West Morava valley. The site is approximately 1 km from the Morava bank. When prospection was performed and five tumuli were spotted, three of them, which still remained, were excavated. Prehistoric grave units were almost completely destroyed by a medieval necropolis.(Pl.XII/1) Grave goods were dislocated (Радичевић 2000: 61-106). According to the pottery finds from the disturbed archaeological units, the mounds were most probably founded in the Early Bronze Age, and were in secondary use during the Iron Age and medieval period, which caused almost complete destruction of the older graves.

In the central part of the **mound 1** – the mound was 28 m in diameter – a disturbed pebble construction was discovered. The base of this construction was circular in shape. In the soil around the pebbles, some tiny remains of ashes and grime were found. *In situ* remained only the NW part of the construction, on which 60 amorphous amber beads were placed. In the immediate vicinity, there was a little area lined with pebbles, with plenty of remains of ashes and grime, and dimensions 1,2 x 0,6 m in SW – NE direction. The Iron Age finds from the mound consist of: amber beads, a fragmented spear socket, a fragment of an ornamental bronze plaque, while from the covering came: very few pottery sherds from the Hallstatt period and some burnt bones.

The **mound 2** is characterized by a concentration of pebbles with traces of grime and charcoal and few finds from the southern part of the tumulus. It may indicate a destroyed funerary construction. The Iron Age inventory of the mound 2 includes: amber, glass and bronze beads, fragmens of a spear socket, ceramic cups, a lower part of an urn, a silver wire fragment, a fragment of a dagger, fragmented iron sheets, a fragment of a blade of an iron knife, some fragments of a boss belonging to a shield or a breast plate, and an arrow with three edges.(Pl. VI/3; Pl. VII/1,2)

Mound 3, with flattened calotte, was next to the mound 2. On its southern periphery an area of pebbles laid in one layer, rectangular in shape, was discovered. Among the pebbles there were some tiny pieces of burnt bones, grime and pottery sherds. A damaged hearth-incineration place, with traces of fired soil and a number of grave goods damaged by fire, was found as well. Its diameter was approximately 1,9 m. It is considered the place to which the remains from the pyre, being outside the mound, were taken. A construction in the shape of a smaller coffin, made of limestone slabs, was also found in the mound. Its orientation is E-W. Two or three slabs were placed vertically. Over their tops a big rectangular slab was laid. Dark brown soil with some tiny particles of small bones, presumably animal, was inside the construction. Most of the Iron Age finds from the mound 3 originate from the damaged incineration place: 6 fragmented iron loops, 6 rhomboidal iron plates and some 30 fragments of the plates with hammered circular protuberances on some of the fragments, fragmented spear sockets, fragments of a blade of an iron knofe and a glass bead, (Pl. VII/3) while from the covering came some pottery sherds.(Стојић 1997: 27-36).

Vidova – Prijevor cemetery

On the modern cemetery in the village Prijevor near Čačak, in the vicinity of the confluence of the rivers Kamenica and West Morava, a group of tumuli have been known for quite a while. During a recent funeral, three bronze objects fron the Iron Age were discovered (Никитовић 1997: 12-13, T.V/7-9). Near the cemetery, at the site Ade, a mound was archaeologicaly excavated, but the results whitness only about the horizon of burials from the Early and Middle Bronze Age (Stojić, Nikitović 1996; Никитовић 2000: 5–14). The existence of modern village (Vidova) cemetery on the tumuli, indicates strong traditions at the local population who bury their dead there, although it is not near the location of the modern village. The group of occasional finds includes: a bronze torc, a bracelet and an arc fibula. (Pl.IV/1-3)

Lugovi – Bent in Mojsinje

Not far from the site Gušavac in Mrčajevci, at the place called Lugovi – Bent in Mojsinje, a necropolis with five tumuli was excavated. It was discovered that the necropolis was established during the Bronze Age, the same tumuli being used for funeral purposes in the Iron Age, too. The results of the excavations were published in detail (Никитовић, Стојић, Васић 2002).

Mound 1 (22 m in diameter, 0,7 m high) is of earthen construction. 15 grave units with skeletal burials belong to the Iron Age. Some dislocated objects and human bones indicate a greater number of the Iron Age graves, which were destroyed by the later burials. Near the mound center a calottal oven (2 m in diameter) was found, with a concentration of pottery sherds in the vicinity. The Iron Age graves can be divided into two horizons. The graves No. 1, 2, 4a, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14-18 belong to the Early Iron Age, while the graves 3 and 6 date from the Hallstatt period. The older graves are characterized by skeletal burials, in stretched position, with arms along the body. Grave goods are represented by a ceramic vessel laid near the feet, and some bronze adornment in some of the graves. There is a specific grave with a skeleton of a child (grave 18), placed in crouched position.

The graves 3 and 6 belong to the younger horizon. The osteological material was in such a bad state of preservation that it could be only assumed that these were graves with skeletal burials with characteristic grave goods.

Mound 2 (17 m in diameter, 0,5 m high) was covered with soil in which were some pebbles and boulders. Aside certain grave units, some bone remnants on two spots and a burning place without any finds were discovered, too. Finds from the mound covering (spiral hair gear and fragments of bracelets) testify about a number of graves destroyed by the later burials. The graves No. 2-5 date from the Iron Age. To the earlier horizon (the Early Iron Age) belong the graves 3 and 5, with heavily damaged skeletons and grave goods. The graves 2 and 4 date from the younger horizon. The burials were skeletal, with the special case of of the central grave

(grave 4) where an oval construction of pebbles and parts of quern stones was made around the skeleton. (Pl.V/1)

Mound 3 (12 m in diameter, 0,5 m high) had some pebbles and boulders in its covering, and even tiny human bones on couple of spots, which indicate some destroyed graves. Only one grave, excavated in the mound centre, belongs to the Iron Age, namely to the younger horizon. Some remnants of burnt bones were discovered on a small zone, as well as some grave goods, including: two iron spears, an iron knife, a whetstone and a beaker with two handles.

Mound 4 (16,5 m in diameter, 1,2 m high) had only one grave in the centre, with poorly preserved skeleton and a ceramic cup from the Early Iron Age. Particles of human skeletons, fragmented whetstones and flint tools, and some pottery sherds whitness about a number of destroyed graves.

Inside the **mound 5**, with earthen construction, 12 grave units from the Iron Age were discovered. Most of them (10 graves, No. 1, 3-5, 8-13) belong to the burial horizon of the Early Iron Age, while the graves 6 and 7 are from the younger horizon. The older graves are characterized by skeletal burials in streched position on the back, with arms along the body and grave goods near the feet. The most common grave goods are ceramic cups, as well as bronze adornment. On this occasion it should be emphasized that in graves 1, 3 and 4 some iron objects – bracelets and a big fibula – occured. (Pl.III/6,7) Graves 6 and 7 date from the younger horizon, where only in the grave 6 a damaged skeleton of a deceased with some characteristic grave goods was determined, while in the grave 7 there were no traces of skeleton, but only grave goods.

Umke (Royal chairs) in Atenica

The famous princely mounds on the site Umke or, according to the museum documentation, also called Royal chairs in Atenica, differ a lot from the previously described burial units. They are located in the vicinity of Čačak, in the river valley, some 2 km from the right bank of the West Morava. The mounds are distinct by their dimensions, as well as the type of the grave architecture, funerary rite and grave goods, which whitness about high rank of the deceased. The mounds were deformed by ploughing and did not give any indications of what was inside them. It was the excavation that revealed the tumuli of huge dimensions, which must have dominated the landscape and this part of the West Morava valley. This site of great importance was published in detail (Đuknić, Jovanović 1965; Ђукнић, Јовановић: 1966).

In mound 1 (35 m in diameter and average height of 1-1,2 m) there were 25 skeletal, Christian burials from XVIII and XIX century. (Pl.XII/2) The prehistoric mound was made by the following units: the central grave, the peripheral grave and the peripheral supporting ring. (Pl. VIII) Constructions of the central and peripheral graves were partially destroyed by the burials of later graves, while the peripheral supporting ring was destroyed by modern ploughing. In spite of the damage, the primary appearance could be reconstructed.

The cental grave had a stone costruction in the shape of a cone (diameter of the base was 9 m, the height 1,9 m). It was built by rows of broken stone, nivellization of which was made of soil. The inner part was filled with broken stones and boulders. Grave goods were laid between the stone rows, mixed with soil and remains of pyre.(Pl.IX)

The peripheral supportin ring was constructed arond the mound base. It marked the mound's biggest diameter. It consisted of: a surface layer of stones and pebbles, a stone pedestal and a appendix to the pedestal, made of small pebbles.

The peripheral grave had a stone construction which was dug into the already formed mound. According to the grave goods, the time span between the two grave units was short. In technical sense, the stone construction of the peripheral grave is almost identical as the central grave construction, which also indicates the short period of time in which they were formed. The stone construction, arc in shape (dimensions 2 x 7 m, height 0,6 m), was made of pieces of broken stones, which vary in shape and size. It was partially damaged by the later burials. The

grave goods were laid in the same manner as in the central grave – mixed in the soil layer or on the base.

Mound 2 was not completely excavated, because of some economic buildings belonging to the farm, as well as the road on its SW periphery. Diameter of the mound was 70 m, and the height varied from 1 to 1,5 m. In this mound, following objects were explored: the cental grave, an incineration place, a supporting ring of the cental grave and a sacrificial construction. (Pl.VIII)

The cental grave was built on the base that was made by nivellization of the primary terrain and on which a group animal sacrifice was performed before the beginning of mound making. Some 1,2 – 1,4 m above the base, nivellization was made and a clay layer of some 18-30 cm was added to cover a smaller circular zone. That is how a strong baze for the central grave construction was made. The technical details are identical as for the central grave from the mound 1. The base is square in shape, with dimensions 5,3 x 5,2 m (the central grave area of the mound 1 measured 65 m², and the one of the mound 2 - 25 m²) and preserved height of 0,9 m. It was damaged, specially in the central part, so that it was not possible to reconstruct the primary height. On one part of the base of the central construction some thin stone slabs were placed, making a kind of pavement. In favour of a special purpose and importance of the constructon is the fact the on its surface there were fragmented skull bones of the deceased, along with the remains of pyre and some other gifts. (Pl.X) The offering were place, simillar to the previous, between the stone rows, along with the remains of pyre.

The place of the pyre was on the platform, in the vicinity of th stone construction, i. e. inside the area arong which the supporting ring was built. By the pyre place there was a small area paved with stone, arc in shape, orientation of which was N-S, dimensions 5,1 x 1,2 m. The pyre could be determined according to the remains of fire, with a great concentration of ashes on surface of 4 m². Some smaller remains of pyre were spread around the central construction.

The supporting ring of the central grave in the mound 2 was made on the platform (12-14 m in diameter), which is different in comparison to the mound 1, where the ring was at the periphery. The supporting ring of the mound 2 encircled both the central grave and the pyre place. It is more simple then the architecture of the ring from the mound 1 and it consisted of stone rows, making a short and massive wall, 2 m wide and about 0,4 m high. It was totally destroyed at some of its parts.

The sacrificial construction, with dimensions 17,8 x 10,8 m, is placed on a platform outside the supporting ring. Its base was formed of compact lines of one pebble layer, with average width 0,2 – 0,3 m. It shaped a rough square, divided into four. The sacrificial construction consisted of four rectangular spaces. In the central parts there were no special units, while two singled units had 13/9 simetrically placed altar, marked by pebble circles (0,15 – 0,5 m in diameter). Pebbles covered small funnel-shaped pits, which were filled by soil dark in colour, with the remains of charcoal and burned bones. In front of both of the rectangular lateral spaces, there were two more circular zones with pebbles (4 – 4,5 m and 2 – 2,4 m in diameter), without any pits below.

Conclusion

The beginning of the Iron Age in Serbia can be connected to the Bosut cultural group, which was spread in Vojvodina and north Serbia, i. e. to the first - Kalakača – phase of the group. The Kalakača phase can be dated to the period from the end of the 10th century BC until the middle od the 8th c. BC and belongs to the Early Iron Age. It is certain that iron was known to the Kalakača people. In favour of the statement that usage of iron was already known to these prehistoric populations one can put the fact that iron objects were found at the site of Kalakača. The eponym settlement site yielded material from the beginning of the I millenium BC, among which are some traces of a small iron object. These remains (probably from a blade of a small knife) are the first iron objects from a site of the Kalakača horizon of the Bosut group that have

been known so far (Jevtić 2006: 23). Still, there is no reliable confirmation of mastering iron metallurgy, i. e. exploitation of iron ores and producing iron objects.

The Hallstatt period, when iron is in wide use, in Serbia can be attributed to the period from the middle of the 8th c. BC until the end of the 4th c. BC or the beginning of the 3rd c. BC, i. e. until the penetration of the Celts, who carried the La Tène culture. The La Tène period lasted until the end of thr 1st c. BC and Roman conquest of this region. Fibulae and certain adornment forms (pins, belts, and bracelets) are specially valuable for more precise chronological determination inside the Iron Age, which was divided into a number of phases, according to the change in the forms of material culture. The goods imported from Greece and Italy are of exceptional value for the topic (Васић 2000: 24).

Territorial division among cultural groups in Serbia, their movements and development have not been known in detail up to now, which is mostly the consequence of uneven and insufficient state of exploration. There is a number of the Iron Age sites in the region of Čačak: settlement sites, necropolises and some accidental finds which can be treated as inventory from devastated graves. The most thorough review of the Iron Age sites in the region is supplemented by L. Nikitović (Никитовић 1997: 5-26). On the other hand, in the synthesis on the Iron Age in the Čačak region, R. Vasić (Васић 2000: 25-34) divided the Iron Age sites into a number of chronological phases, analysing archaeological material. This chronological model is adopted and used in this study, as well:

Horizon I. The Early Iron Age is represented by the graves from the Kalakača phase of the Bosut group. The graves from the second horizon at the site Lugovi-Bent in the village Mojsinje (Никитовић, Стојић, Васић 2002: 51-55) belong to this phase. 26 graves with inhumations were discovered at the site. Although the skeletons were in bad state of preservation, it was possible to determine that the deceased were burried in stretched position, on their backs, with arms on lateral sides of the body. Grave goods were left near the deceased. The most common are ceramic vessels, which can be divided into two groups: small coarse caotte bowls, poorly fired, obviously made for funerary purposes, (Pl. II/1-6) and hemispherical cups with one handle (Pl. II/10;Pl. III/1,2). These cups are of better manufacture, and presumably in the secondary use. The common kitchen ware was ritually damaged: the handle that rose above the rim of the cup was broken on purpose. The purpose may be preventing the deceased to return, since such a custom is well known and can be traced in the contemporary etnography. It is thought to be part of preanimistic elements, which have been preserved until today (Влаховић 2002: 270; Бандић 2004: 255). The little bowls were found in 10 graves, while the big cups with broken handles were inside 7 graves, along with a beaker in one of the graves. The type and the shape of the vessels can testify about some chronological difference or certain ritual rules inside this burial horizon. The rest of the grave finds were found on the spots of their original use. Graves No. 1, 3 and 4 from the mound 5 form a separate unit, because of the iron objests that were found in them: bracelets, a big arc fibula with two loops, one of a kind, which was probaly in use for attaching the linen cloth in which the deceased was wrapped (Pl. III/6,7). According to R. Vasić (Васић 2000: 25-26), the iron finds fron the II horizon of the Mojsinje necropolis can be dated into the beginning of the 8th century BC, too. From the Kalakača horizon originate several graves with bronze adornment as inventory: thinner twisted torcs, spiral hair gear made of doubled wire with twisted middle parts, spiral hair gear with spiral endings, bracelets and anclet/leg-band/leg-ring. (Pl.III/3-5) These types of jewelery, on the basis of their delicate manufacture, indicates the time before the wide usage of iron, when jewelery generally became massive and crude. It can lead to the assumption that the graves with these types of jewelery a bit older, i. e. that a small cultural group exisisted here before the beginning of the Kalakača influence and the usage of iron (Васић 2000: 26). In four graves not a sigle find was found, perhaps because of the effects of the soil to complete decay of small ceramic vessels of poor manufacture. Orientation of the skeletons does not follow any special rule, althouhg NW-SE

orientation prevails, being determined with certainty in 12 graves. Among the graves from this group, there is one grave with completely different funerary practice. A child was burried in it, in crouched position, without any grave goods. It may indicate different chronological attribution or some special ritual pattern, that was performed for some special reasons.

According to the anthropological analysis of the Early Iron Age graves from the Mojsinje necropolis, it is stated that the skeletons were in very bad state of preservation, because of the effects of some of the soil constituents. This is the reason why the analysis included only the determination of sex and age of the deceased, without any possibility to determine anthropological types of the ethnical group that used to bury their dead at Mojsinje (Цофман 2002: 63; Cofman 2003: 216).

Horizon II is the oldest phase of the Hallstatt period (750-650/625 BC). It is characterised by the numerous finds of the Basarabi pottery. The region of Čačak was obviously under the strong influence from the north-east and the vast Basarabi complex, which continued from the earlier phase of the Iron Age. No grave from this phase was recognized up to now.

Horizon III (650/625-550/525 BC) is rich in ceramics with typical „tremollo" decoration. Accidental finds of bronze adornment from the mound of Vidova-Prijevor cemetery (Pl.IV/1-3) can be attributed to this horizon, as well as some graves from the Mojsinje necropolis: graves 3 and 6 fron the mound 1, grave 2 from the mound 2, graves 6 and 7 from the mound 5 (Pl. IV/4-7) and some of the finds outside grave units (Васић 2000: 27). In R. Vasić's oppinion, in this horizon penetration of the Glasinac culture elements can be easily recognized and *ipso facto* the connection of the Čačak region with the western parts of the Balkan peninsula. A presumption of skeletal graves was made, because the state of preservation of the skeletons from this phase is very poor. Only small traces of skeletons were discovered, but grave goods are copious. Most of the grave goods were pieces of adornment: fibulae, bronze and amber beads, bracelets, a double pin, bird cage pendants, but there were some ceramic vessels and iron knives, too.

Horizon IV. At the time of horizon IV (550/525-450/425 BC) the circumstances stabilized. It was the time of prosperity, development of trade and crafts, appearance of the mighty princes leading tribal communities, and creation of separate cultural groups in the region (Васић 2000: 33-34). The finds from the devastated graves from the Mrčajevci necropolis (Pl.VI/3; Pl. VII), the central graves from the mounds 2 and 3 at Mojsinje (Pl.V), as well as the most important site from this area – princely mounds from the site Umke in Atenica – belong to this horizon (Pl.VIII-XI). Considering the fact that the central graves from the mounds 2 and 3 at Mojsinje are not damaged in comparison to the rest of the Hallstat graves, they can be treated as the youngest grave units at this necropolis. Chronological determination of the tumuli from Atenica and Mrčajevci is confirmed by the finds imported from Greece and Italy. During the horizon IV, cremation of the dead is dominant. The only exception from the rule is the central grave with the inhumation from the mound 2 in Mojsinje (Pl.V/1). If the Atenica mounds are put aside, being the princely graves, the rest of the graves from the horizon can be defined as male or female only by the grave inventory, since osteological material is very poorely preserved. Iron weaponry – spearheads, knives, shield bosses, breast plates, whetstones – belongs to the graves of males-warriors, who were part of military class. On the other hand, jewellery finds from the mound 2 in Mrčajevci, with amber, glass and bronze beads, and perhaps certain pottery forms, (Pl,VI/5; VII/1,2) should be attributed to the female grave inventory (Стојић 1997: 34-35), which has the closest paralels with the central grave from mound I in Atenica.

Funerary architecture is present at the graves with both cremation and skeletal burials. The cental grave from the mound 2 in Mojsinje had a frame around the skeleton (Pl.V/1). The frame was made of oval pebbles. Since only one skeletal burial has been thoroughly explored up to now, there is no sufficient information to make final conclusion about the rules in the funerary ritual. Speaking about the graves with cremation, it has been noticed that there were some

constructions of alined stones, in which incinerated bones of the deceased were buried. The best preserved are the Atenica mounds, but it can be assumed that the destroyed central stone construction from mound 1 in Mrčajevci was of the same type.

The princely Atenica mounds should be specially treated, when dealing with funerary architecture and grave goods (Pl.VIII-XI). Huge dimensions of the tumuli (35 m and 70 m in diameter) are the first to indicate high social status of the deceased. These mounds are one of the biggest ever excavated in the region of Central Balkans (Jovanović 2003: 191). The dimensions of the tumuli (an average diameter of a mound in the Čačak region is 20 m) and their place in the landscape undoubtedly had the purpose to emphasize high rank which the deceased had in the society. This aspect was studied in detail by A. Palavestra and S. Babić (Palavestra, Babić 2003). Complex funerary architecture, rich grave goods and specially organized funerary ritual confirm the previously stated idea. The main characteristics of the mounds are: orientation, that is respested in every case, almost identical central grave constructions made of pebbles, supporting rings. In mound 2 there was an inner ring to protect specially formed platform, signifying the most sacred place with the remains of pyre and grave of the dead prince (Jovanović 2003: 191-192). In both of the mounds the same ritual – cremation - was practised, while the grave goods are in accordance to the particular dead memeber of the princely family: weaponry, adornment and drinking vessel to the prince, mostly jewelery to the princess, simbolic weaponry and adornment to the child. Funerary ritual in the mound of the prince is more complex. A large sacrificial construction with evenly placed sacrificial pits is the biggest construction of this kind among princely tombs at the Central Balkans (Jovanović 2003: 192). This construction, as well as the disposition of the units inside it, can be in connection with the rythmical circles of Sun and Moon, by which the time was measured, and may be considered a calendar scheme (Jovanović 2003: 198).

The grave goods are at least partially personal belongings, placing of which into the grave was connected to the custom of leaving to the deceased what was his own, personal. On the other hand, some of the goods, such as gold geometrical apliques, apliques in for of a bee, amber, appearence of chariots, on which the prince and the princess from the Atenica mounds, have in fact symbolical-magical meaning in the funerary ritual of Palaeobalkanic communities (Палавестра 1984: 85-86). The concept of mound building based on the circle and centre principle (Chevalier, Gheerbrant 1987: 320, 624) and usage of fire and stone certainly had, aside the constructive role, some ritual-magical character in the funerary practice, usage of which can be traced up to the present day (Тројановић 1930: 48, 255-262; Чајкановић 1985: 89-91).

Horizon V (450/425-300 BC) is almost unknown.

Horizon VI - younger Iron Age (La Tène period) in the region of Čačak is not characterized by numerous finds (Васић 2000: 28). Not a single grave from this period has been found so far.

As for the ethnical interpretation of the prehistoric populations, whose traces we can find burried under the tumuli of the Čačak region, it can be discussed with more certainty only for the developed phases of the Iron Age. Unfortunately, antique historical sources do not say anything in particular about the Čačak region during the second half of the 6th century BC and the first half of the 5th century BC, when the most exceptional find - Atenica princely necropolis - is dated. The problem of its ethnical attribution drew attention of many scholars. The first explorers, M. Đuknić and B. Jovanović, treated Atenica as a confirmation of the existence of an already formed stratum of the Illyrian tribe aristocracy (Đuknić, Jovanović 1965: 26). According to this, Atenica would be incorporated in the territory of Illyrian tribes sensu largo, namely to the Autariatae tribal league (Јовановић 1979: 68-69). D. Srejović (Срејовић 1981) had another oppinion. Discussing ethnical attribution of various princely graves at the Cental Balkans, he concluded that the princes of the Triballi should be expected to be burried at Atenica. M. Stojić (Stojić 1990; Стојић 1995: 6-12; Стојић 1998: 10) also stands for the idea

that the Triballi were the tribe who inhabited West Morava valley during 6-4th century BC and whose princes were burried at Atenica. Stojić's oppininon was accepted by L. Nikitivić, who recognized the Čačak region as a part of the territory of the Triballi (Никитивић 1997: 23). According to R. Vasić (Vasić 1990: 70; Васић 1995: 22; Васић 2004: 25) the inventory from the princely graves from Atenica shows connections with the Glasinac group, but also differences which indicate an independent, still not sufficiently studied cultural circle. The Atenica graves have some features common to these from the tumuli from Mrčajevci and Ljuljaci. The graves from these three sites constitute one tribal community, to which warrior graves from the Mojsinje tumuli 2 and 3 can be added. In Vasić's opinion, the deceased burries under the Atenica mounds belonged to a distinct tribal community which was neither the Autariaae nor the Triballi, but formed on the local substratum. Lack of fibulae, pins and bracelets, which are one of the most frequent elements of clothing of the Autariatae and the Triballi, is in favour of this presumption. On the other hand, the same author (Васић 2004: 25) does not exclude the idea of the local community being part of the Autariatae tribal league, which reached its apogee in the first half of the 5th century BC.

As it has already been emphasized, the Čačak region is not very rich in the grave finds dating from the Iron Age. Insufficient state of exploration and uneven number of excavated burials from different chronological phases still do not provide the possibility to see clearly the development and set all of the rules in the cult of the dead. Future excavations, focused on solving the probem, will surely provide much more information.

Something different is the fact that the mounds have been respected as sacred places and ancient tombs of forefathers on a wider area, which is the reason why much later, Christian graves were dug into these necropolises (Pl. XII). For that reason some modern cemetries were formed on the spots of prehistoric tumuli. It may be a kind of continuity, which is used by the modern population to materialize connections with ancient inhabitants of this region.

Tab. I

	chronology and cultural attribution	sites	treatment of deceased	grave inventory		grave architecture
I horizon: Early Iron Age	IX-VIII century BC Kalakača	Mojsinje: horizon 2	inhumation-stretched position	-pottery -spiral hair gear -calotte buttons -torcs -belt buckles -iron bracelets, fibula		
II horizon: Earliest Hallstatt phase	750-650/625 BC Basarabi	?	?	?		?
III horizon: Second Hallstatt phase	650/625-550/525 BC Glasinac	-Vidova-Prijevor cemetery -Mojsinje: tumulus I/grave 3, 6, II/2, V/6, 7	inhumation?	-jewellery: fibu lae, b ronze and amber beads, bracelets, double pins, birdcage pendants -iron knives -pottery		?
IV horizon: Third Hallstatt phase	550/525-450/425 BC	-Mrčajevci -Grotnica in Guča -Mojsinje: t. II and III/central graves -Atenica: princely graves	biritual: -dominant cremation -inhumation	male warior graves: iron weapons (spears, knives, shield bosses, breast plates), whetstone	female graves: jewellery (amber, glass, bronze beads), pottery	-grave constructions of alined stones -stone rings to retain tumuli -ritual platforms
V horizon: Forth Hallstatt phase	450/425-300 BC	?	?	?		?
VI horizon: La Tène period	300 BC-1 AD	?	?	?		?

Characteristics of the Iron Age burials in the Čačak region

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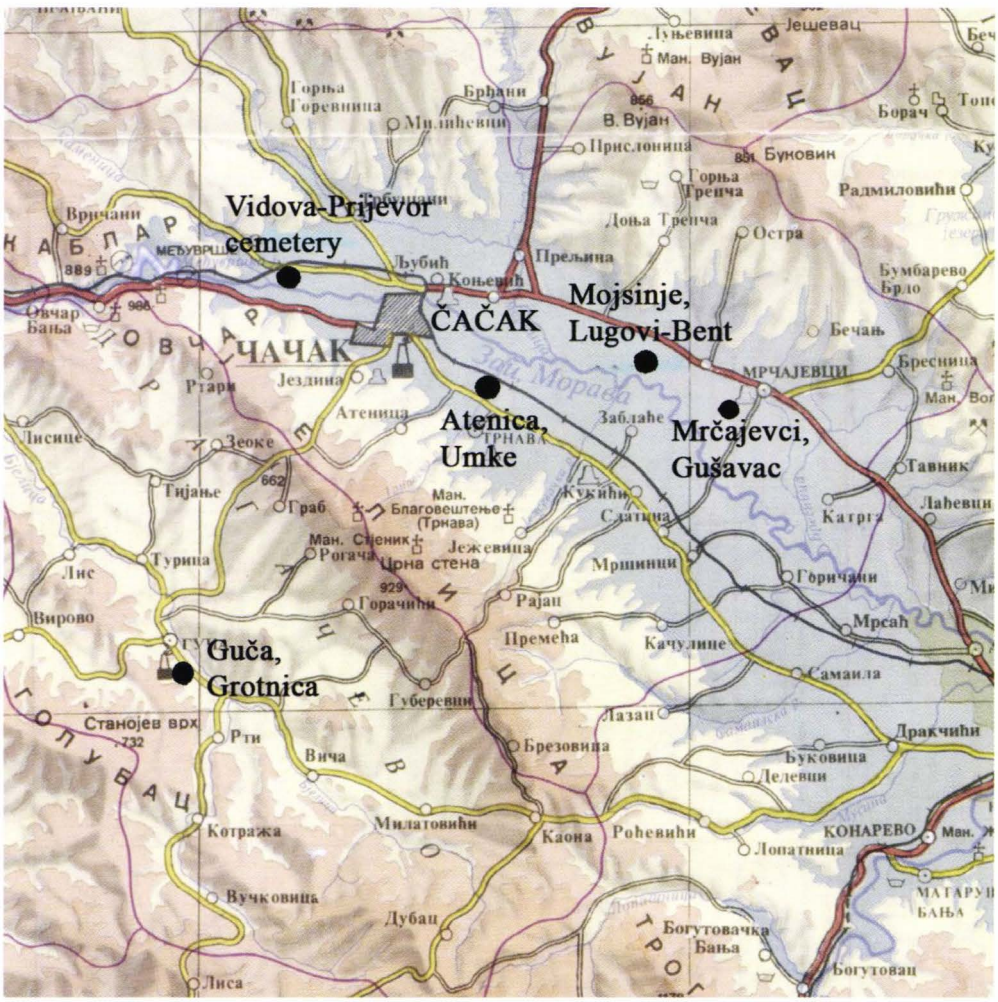
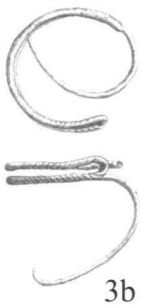
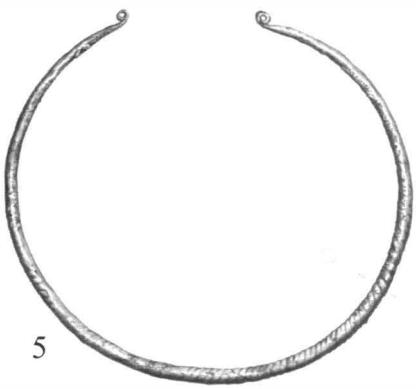
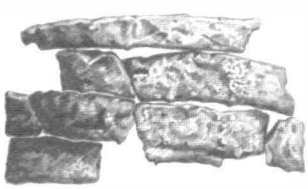


Plate I. Map with the sites.

Plate II. Horizon 1 - Early Iron Age (Kalakača phase); site Lugovi-Bent in Mojsinje (fig.2,4,7 according to: Никитовић, Стојић, Васић: 2002)







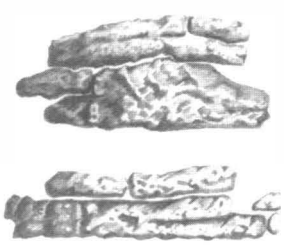


Plate III. Horizon 1 - Early Iron Age (Kalakača phase); site Lugovi-Bent in Mojsinje.
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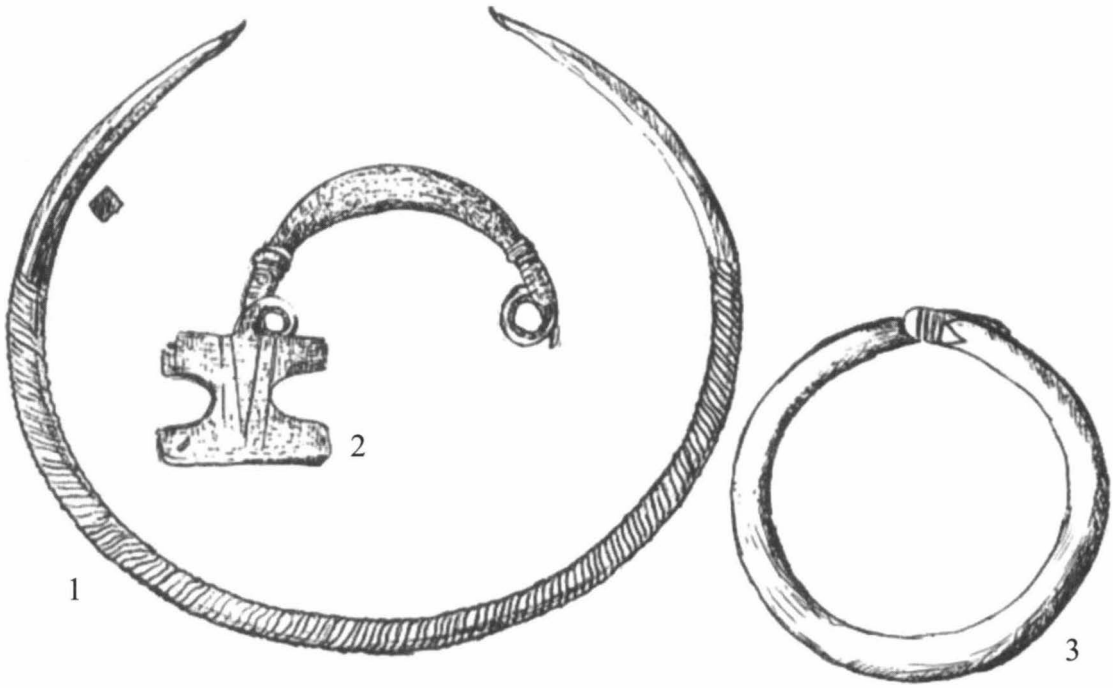
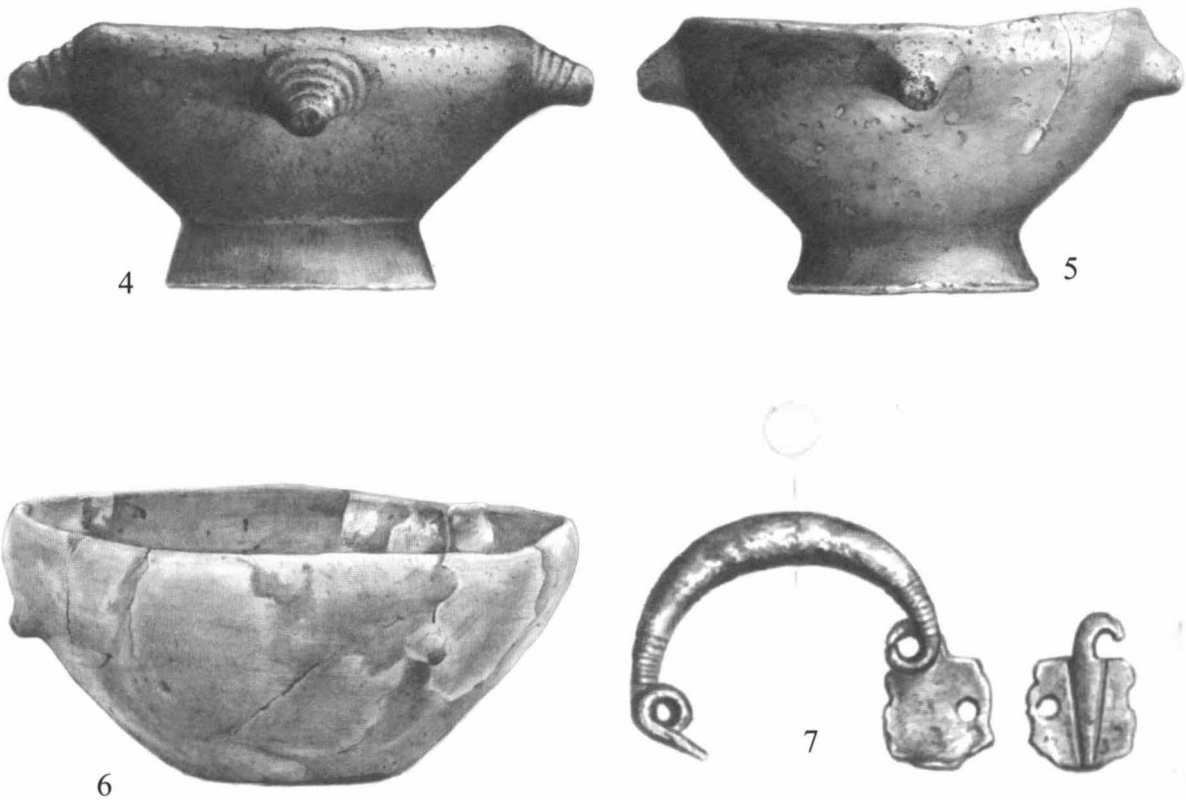


Vidova-Prijevor Cemetery (according to: Никитовић: 1997)



Lugovi-Bent in Mojsinje (fig.7 according to: Никитовић, Стојић, Васић: 2002)

Plate IV. Horizon III Second Hallstatt phase.

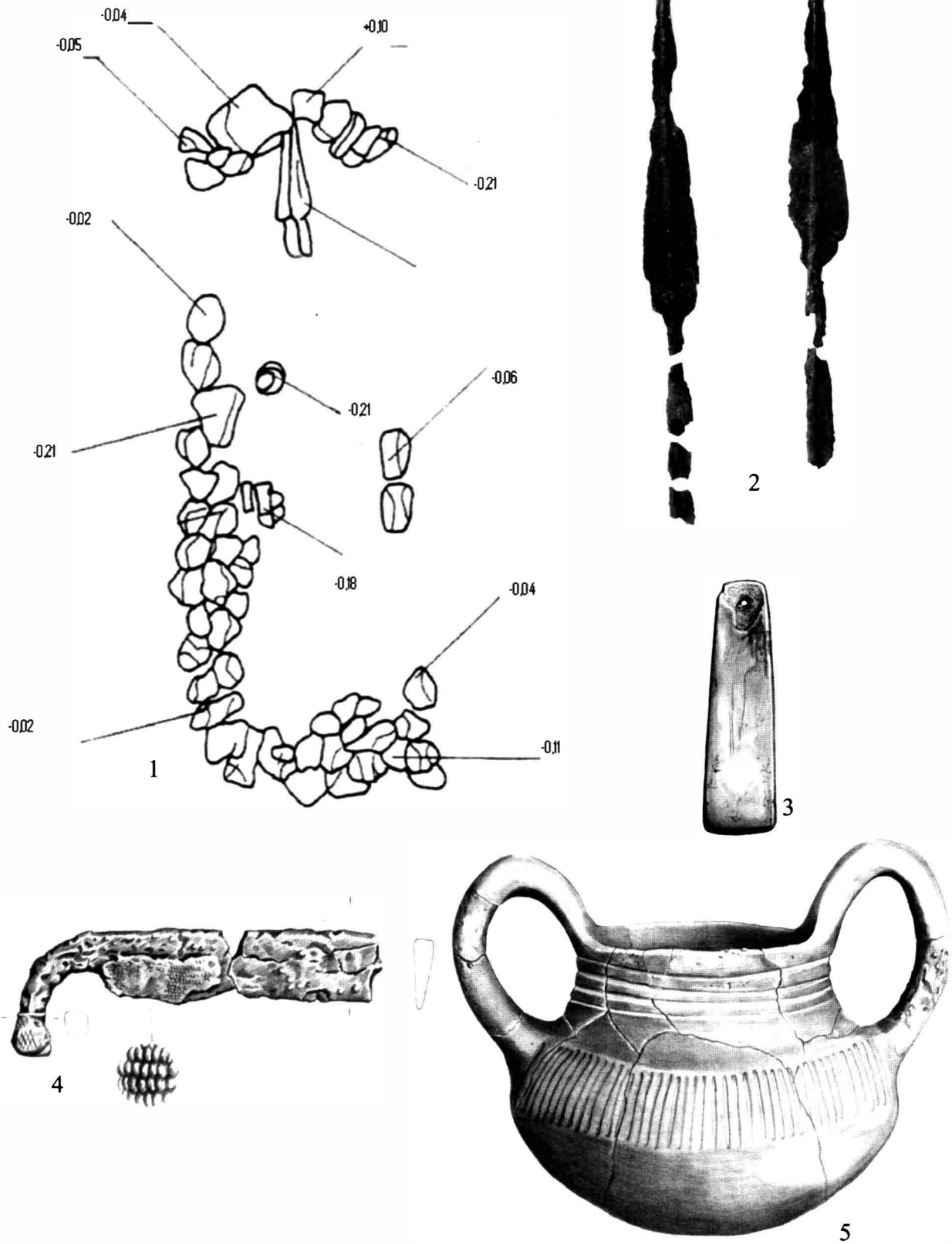
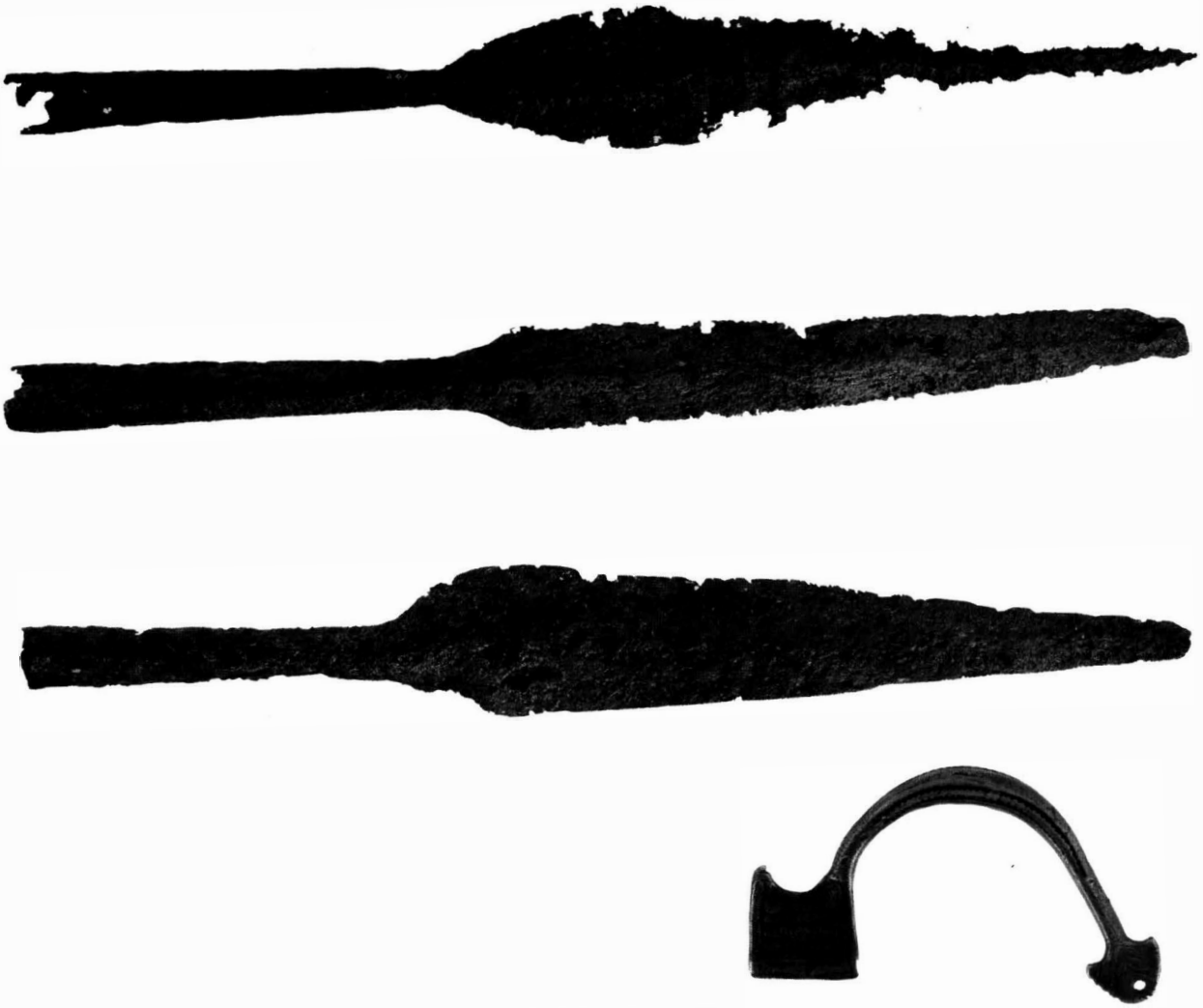
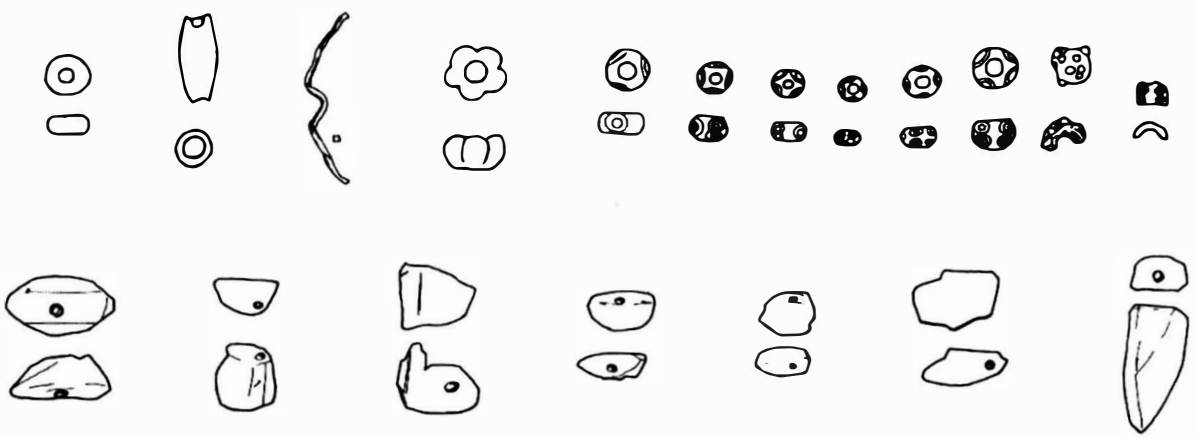


Plate V. Horizon IV Third Hallstatt phase; site Lugovi-Bent in Mojsinje (fig.1- 4 according to:Никитовић, Стојић, Васић: 2002).



Grotnica in Guča



Gušavac in Mrčajevci (according to: Стојић: 1997)

Plate VI. Horizon IV - Third Hallstatt phase.

Plate VII. Horizon IV Third Hallstatt phase; site Gušavac in Mrčajevci (according to: Стојић: 1997)

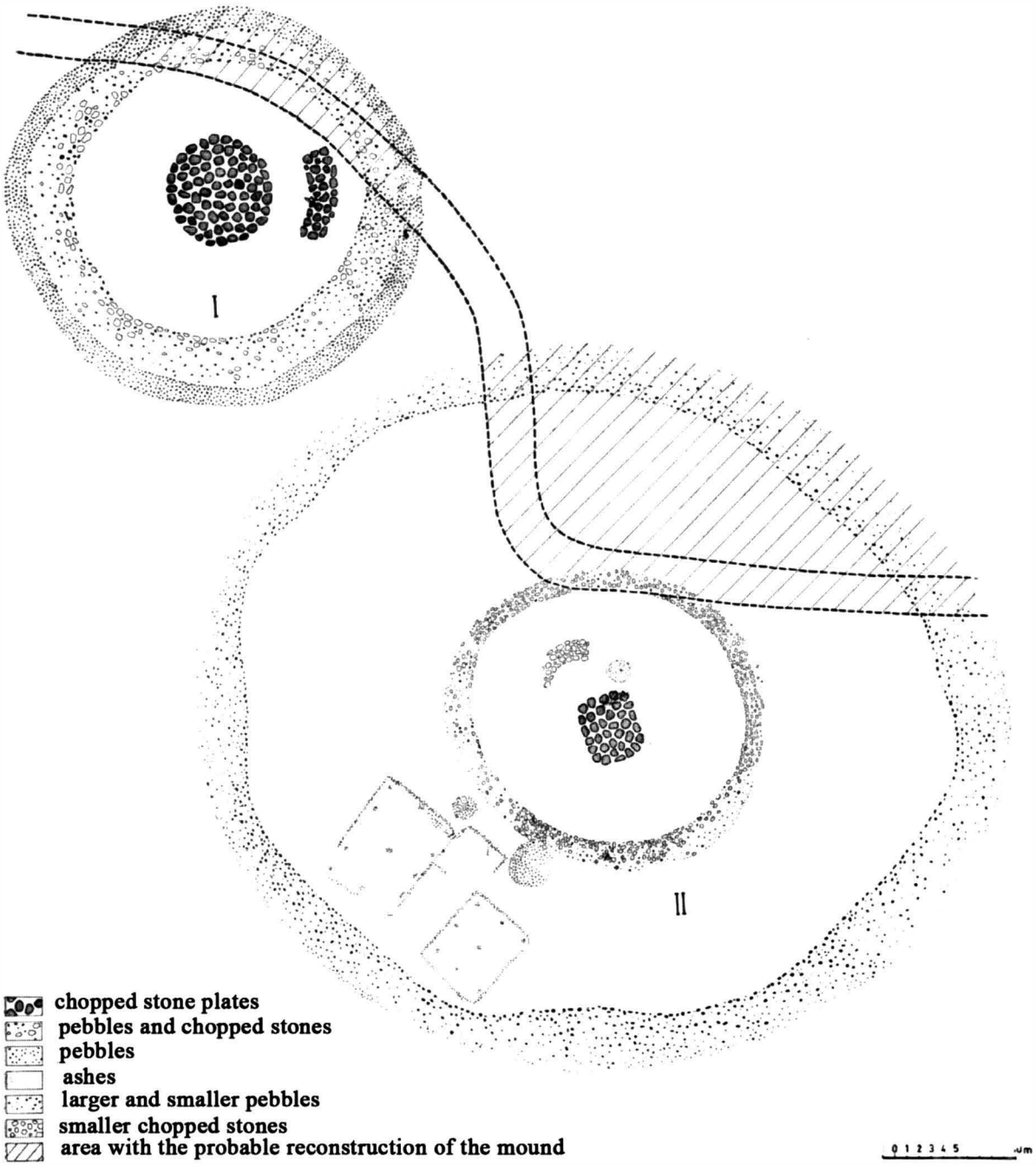


Plate VIII. Ground plans of Atenica mounds I and II (According to:Ђукнић-Јовановић: 1966).

Plate IX. Horizon IV Third Hallstatt phase; site Umke in Atenica, mound 1 (according to: Ђукнић, Јовановић: 1966).

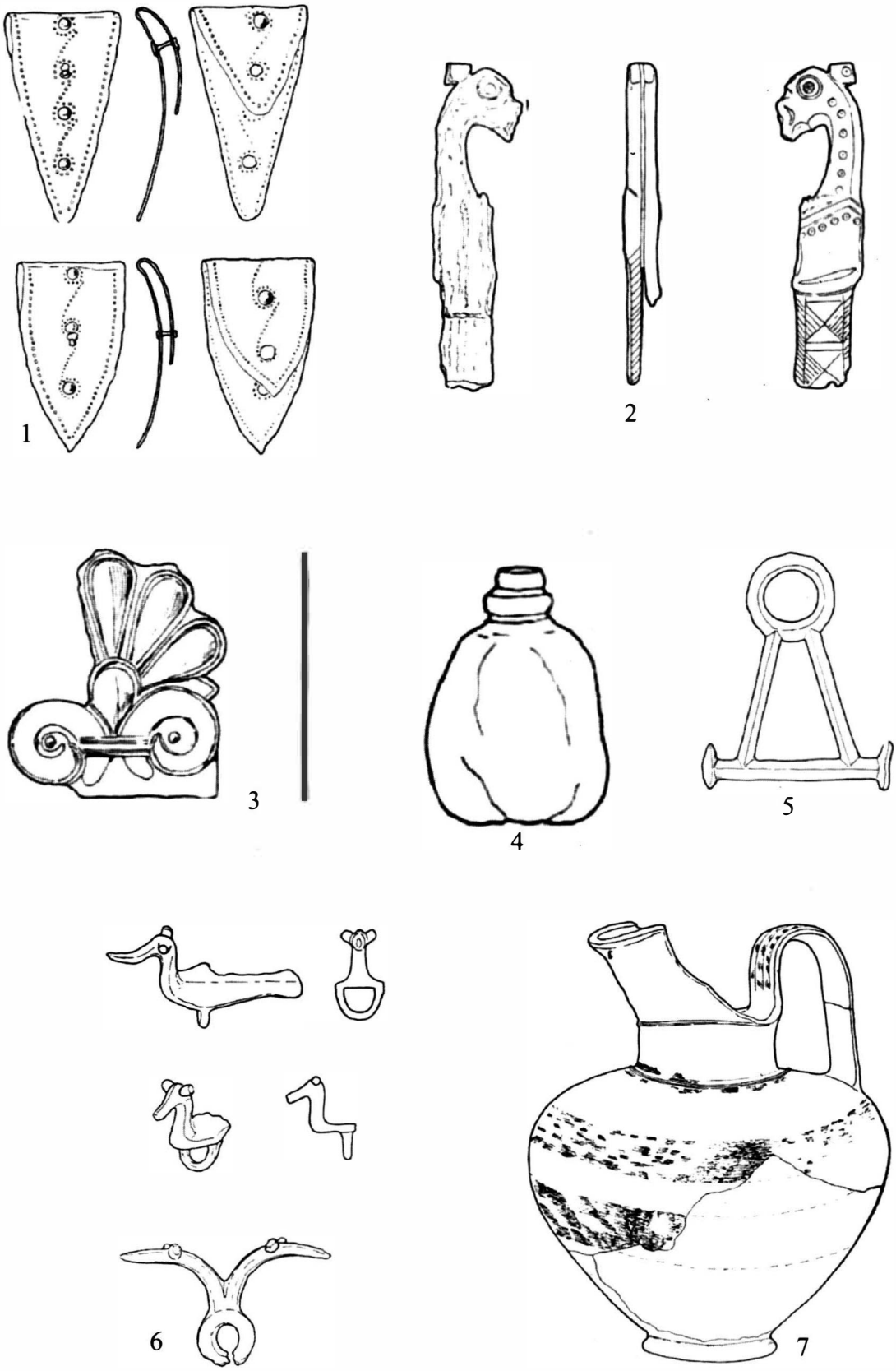


Plate X. Horizon IV Third Hallstatt phase; site Umke in Atenica, mound 2 (according to: Ђукнић, Јовановић: 1966).

Central grave construction in the mound 1 in Atenica (according to: Ђукнић, Јовановић: 1966)

Central grave construction in the mound 2 in Atenica

Plate XI.

Christian graves in the mound in Mrčajevci

Christian graves in the mound 1 in Atenica

Plate XII.

CREMATION BURIALS AT VIMINACIUM (I – III C. A.D.)

Snežana Golubović,
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Keywords: Viminacium, Moesia Superior, cemetery, cremation, grave

Abstract. Cemetery of Viminacium was first excavated by Prof. Valtrović in the year 1882. From 1977 at the territories of southern graveyards immense salvage excavations were conducted at the place where was built power plant Kostolac. During centuries, along with the city and military camp, a number of necropolises have been established for the burials of heterogeneous population of antique Viminacium. Till now southern necropolises are the best explored but in the last two years the excavations are conducted at the territory of eastern graveyard. Among cremation graves are well graves, burial in urns and specific grave type well-known as Mala Kopašnica-Sase.

First information about graveyards of Viminacium gave us Valtrović in the year 1882 when he registered a big necropolis from the roman period covering the vast territory along the right bank of river Mlava southern of the "city" of Viminacium. Than he conducted small excavations at that place and by the topographical research later confirmed existence of northern and eastern graveyards (Valtrović 1884, 3-14).

From 1977 at the territories of southern graveyards immense salvage excavations were conducted under direction of Ljubica Zotović. Namely, at those place were built power plant Kostolac, and the coal strip mine is devouring the space closer and closer to the camp and city of Viminacium conditioning survey archaeological excavations, nowadays eastern of camp and the city.

Viminacium was *municipium*, than *colonia*, strategical and administrative centre of the roman province – *Moesiae Superior* (Map 1). The camp, city and necropolises are found at the plane ground, at one of the meander of river Mlava, close to nowadays village of Stari Kostolac (Mirković 1968, 56-6; Mirković 1986). Besides the constant defence force of the camp, among inhabitants were veterans with their families, newcomers from Italy and Romanized provinces, individuals from the Hellenistic areas, newcomers from Syria and, naturally, domestic population of Illyrian, Celtic and Thracian origin.

During centuries at this territory, along with the city and military camp, a number of necropolises have been established for the burials of heterogeneous population of antique Viminacium. Following roman customs graveyards were formed out of the town, probably along the communication leading to the city.

Until now southern necropolises are the best explored. However, in the last two years the excavations are conducted at the territory of eastern graveyard. The cemeteries at Viminacium contain parallel burial, both of the cremated and skeletal remains of the deceased.

Among cremation graves one specific grave type is appearing – so called well graves. First grave of this type were explored by the end of XIX century at the territory of antique Singidunum just in the same period when the archaeologists in Europe had the chance to research them for the first time. In the first half of XX century lot of excavations have been conducted in southern France (Gallia) and southern Germany, during which this grave type is confirmed. Our archaeologist had the chance to explore graves in the shape of a well at Sirmium and Singidunum (Map 2). At the territory of Viminacium cemeteries they appeared in the most

number. The reconstruction of the grave type and funeral rite is made following the results of archaeological research. General conclusion considering form of the graves is that grave pits of a round shape had a depth from 3.20 to 9.60 m, while their diameters were from 0.75 to 3.00 m. The form of cylinder was gradually narrowing down the bottom. They are encompassing a chronological span between I and III century. The speciality of this grave type are wooden chambers in which inner were usually found cremated remains of humans.

Until now is concluded that the most number of well graves are appearing in Gallia and in south Germany which points out at the Gauls as the carrier of specific burial form (Golubović 1999, 15).

For the presence of Gauls at Viminacium there are evidences in the historical sources. It is recorded they arrived in Upper Moesia in the military operation by the end of the I century AD. The army concentrated on Danube during the period of Domitianus wars, was formed from soldiers recruited in Italy and western Roman provinces. At the oldest military diploma from Moesia the names of ten cohorts included III, IV, V, VII and VIII Gallorum had been recorded. This Gaulish cohorts descended from Rhein at the same time with legio I Italica and V Alaudae in the year 75 A. D. (Mirković 1968, 33). In Pannonia and Moesia the well graves appears at the three site and all of them are at the territory inhabited with Celtic tribe Scordisci what is archaeologically confirmed. However, that funeral rite was not familiar to them and if they embraced it as something brought by people of similar ethnical origin is not possible to discern.

Urn burials are also rare. They are represented by not sufficiently baked hand made pots of rough fabric. Large red and gray baked pots of kaolin manufactured on potter's wheel were also used. Urns made on potter's wheel belong to a class of kitchen pottery used above all in a domestic framework. After being damaged they were reused as urns. Burial at urns are making 6 % of all burials at Viminacium (Golubović 1998, 249).

The most frequent grave form at the Viminacium cemeteries are simple and en étage pits with the red and grey 2-5 cm thick, and heavily burned walls. There are a few varieties of these grave forms. Simple rectangular grave pits with rounded corners were often covered by soil to form a small mound. Less often they had a tile covering, either flat or ridged. This type of graves is referred to as the Mala Kopašnica-Sase type (Map 3), according to a typology established by M. Garašanin following eponym sites and it represents typical grave type with cremation which appears at the territory of eastern Dalmatia, south-eastern Pannonia, Moesia Superior and at the parts of Dacia and Thracia on the very East (Garašanin 1968, 6). Seems the appearance of this grave type could be certainly dated to the end of I century in all provinces in which the grave type is recorded and only some grave are dated in IV century (Jovanović 2000, 209). At Viminacium they could be dated from I to III century. The majority were found during eighties of XX century at the southern graveyards. During the recent excavations among this type grave one special was researched at the site Kod koraba, the most eastern necropolis of Viminacium (Fig. 1) It contained quite unique find – led reliquary (Fig. 2, 3).

There are two explanations for the specifically red-grey burnt walls of the graves. According to the first they are the result of burning the body of deceased at the place (so-called *bustum*) and to the second they are result of lustration, respectively ritual cleaning of the grave with fire (Jovanović 2000, 205). Burnt walls were also explained with additional cremation the rest of deceased at very grave or placing still hot cremated remains from the stake. However, there are no possibilities the remains could so equally burnt the bottom and the walls of the grave pit till the depth of 5 cm. Also, according roman custom, the burning of the corps was always conducted during the night while the funeral followed next day when stake was already cold (Göricke-Lukić, 2000, 94).

The results of *bustum* reconstruction, two experiments from the year 1989 directly supports hypothesis of *ustrinum* – burning on the common fire. For that test as the control were

used the results of I and II century bustums excavations south-eastern of the antique *vicus Julicacum*. Goods were placed at the stake above dug grave and instead of the deceased human body the pig were put. Above the grave pit of dimensions 1,60 x 1,10 x 0,80 m were deposited the oaken and birchen logs weigh 582 kg till the height of 1,30 m. When the temperature of 800^0C was reached, the charcoal of logs fell down i filled three quarters of the grave. However, the body of the pig was not burnt enough and it was necessary to add 40 kg more logs to achieve the degree of cremation found in control graves. So, after whole process the grave pit was almost completely filled with charcoals and ashes (Gaitzsch, Werner 1993, 55-67). The layer of charcoal and ashes in the graves of Viminacium, at the bottom of second étage of average dimensions is usually 5 to 10 cm. There is also another one proof considering Viminacium that these are no graves of *bustum* type. Namely, in the year 2003, at the site "Pirivoj" was dug one real *bustum*. The shape responded to those of grave en etage with cremation, but the layer of charcoal and ashes was more than half meter thick, what was never recorded in any till now excavated grave. This *bustum* is unique and without doubt was burial place of highly ranked person.

Graves type Mala Kopašnica-Sase made more then 90% of all cremations at Viminiacim – the rest are graves in the shape of a well and urns.

During 2006 at the site Pirivoj the most eastern part of Viminacium necropolis is undertaken. The situation which has been already seen at other parts of cemetery - he photo from the most recent excavations at the site Pirivoj – skeletons and cremation of various orientations are crosscutting each others.

Regular grave goods were: lamps, coins, pottery and glass vessels. Ornaments, censers, cosmetic kit, instruments, small boxes, keys, sea-shells and wall frescoes were placed additionally, depending on profession and financial status of the believer. Weapons, tools and statuettes were rarely placed as grave goods. Coins and jewelry were often burned together with the deceased (Zotović, Jordović 1990,10). Weapons are rarely registered within cremation graves.

Various grave types are pointing out at the complex ethno-cultural situation. For the graves Mala Kopašnica – Sase type is difficult to relate to a specific ethnical element, because they are registered at a large area with a population belonging to various ethnic groups. Discussion about ethno-cultural attribution this grave type is still quite vivid. Considering Viminacium it has to be count with the domestic population with the influence of Romanized newcomers.

K. Sagy (Sagy 1954, 61-123) was the first to try an ethnical determination of the graves. He assumed that the earliest graves of this type appeared in the Rhineland, deriving from the Late Iron Age with pit en étage. He was the first to assume that the Mala Kopašnica - Sase type graves, especially those en étage, may be related to the Celtic burial tradition. This idea was advocated in early studies of D. Srejović and M. Baum (Baum, Srejović 1959, 23-54; Baum, Srejović 1960, 3-31). It was not entirely rejected, because of a possibility of merging various customs and processes in the Pannonian basin (Jovanović 1984, 104-109). M. Macrea and D. Protase argued that graves of the Mala Kopašnica-Sase type from the site of Apulum (type IIIa at Viminacium) are of *bustum* type (Protase, Macrea 1959, 435-452). According to situation noted at the cemeteries of Romula and Matrica, M. Babeş (1970, 167-206) and J. Topal (1981, 70-71) noted that the graves en étage of IIIb type are of *bustum* type. On the other hand they argue that walls of graves of the type IIIa were burned while cleansing the sacral space by ritual fire, while the cremated remains were brought from the stake. D. Benea, C. Tatulea (1975, 669-675) and I. Andritoiu (1979, 227-228) also think that walls of graves of the Mala Kopašnica-Sase type from Drobeta and Micia were burned while cleansing the sacral space with "ritual fire". L. Barzu argues, on the bases of material from Mediaş-Bratei (Barzu 1973, 27-28), that the cremated

remains were brought from the stake to the grave pit. She explained that burial procedure consisted of the following steps: first the grave space was cleansed by "ritual fire" (burned walls), than animal bones were placed at its bottom (remains of "partial" sacrifice). Finally, remains from the stake were brought when already cooled.

Considering ethnical determination, at any territory where graves type Mala Kopašnica-Sase is appearing, they have the characteristics of indigenous cultures of pre-roman period. This type was registered already at the end of I century, within the cemeteries of large civil and military centers such as Emona, Poetovio, Domavia, Doclea, Ulpiana, Singidunum, Viminacium, Sirmium, Naissus, Stobi, Intercisa, Acumincum, Aquincum, Apulum, Brigetio, in the Rhineland, and in Gallia, what means in all significant romanized centres, where the presence of Italics and a powerful infiltration of the Roman culture were also confirmed.

It is obvious that burial procedure applied in Mala Kopašnica-Sase type of graves was based upon pre-Roman or indigenous cremation tradition at any site where they appearing. However a large distribution of this type of graves, their synchronous appearance and nearly the same period within a territory containing a diversity of ethnic elements, as well as the uniform burial procedure, could be explained by a foreign influence what support the following: namely, graves are spread within a very large geographical area with a population belonging to various ethnic groups.

The necropolis Viminacium is among biggest excavated graveyard from the roman period and therefore ideal to procure the explanation, for example, of acculturation process considering autochthonous population with newcomers from other roman provinces and finally to give the picture of life in the multi-ethnic town as Viminacium certainly was in those times.

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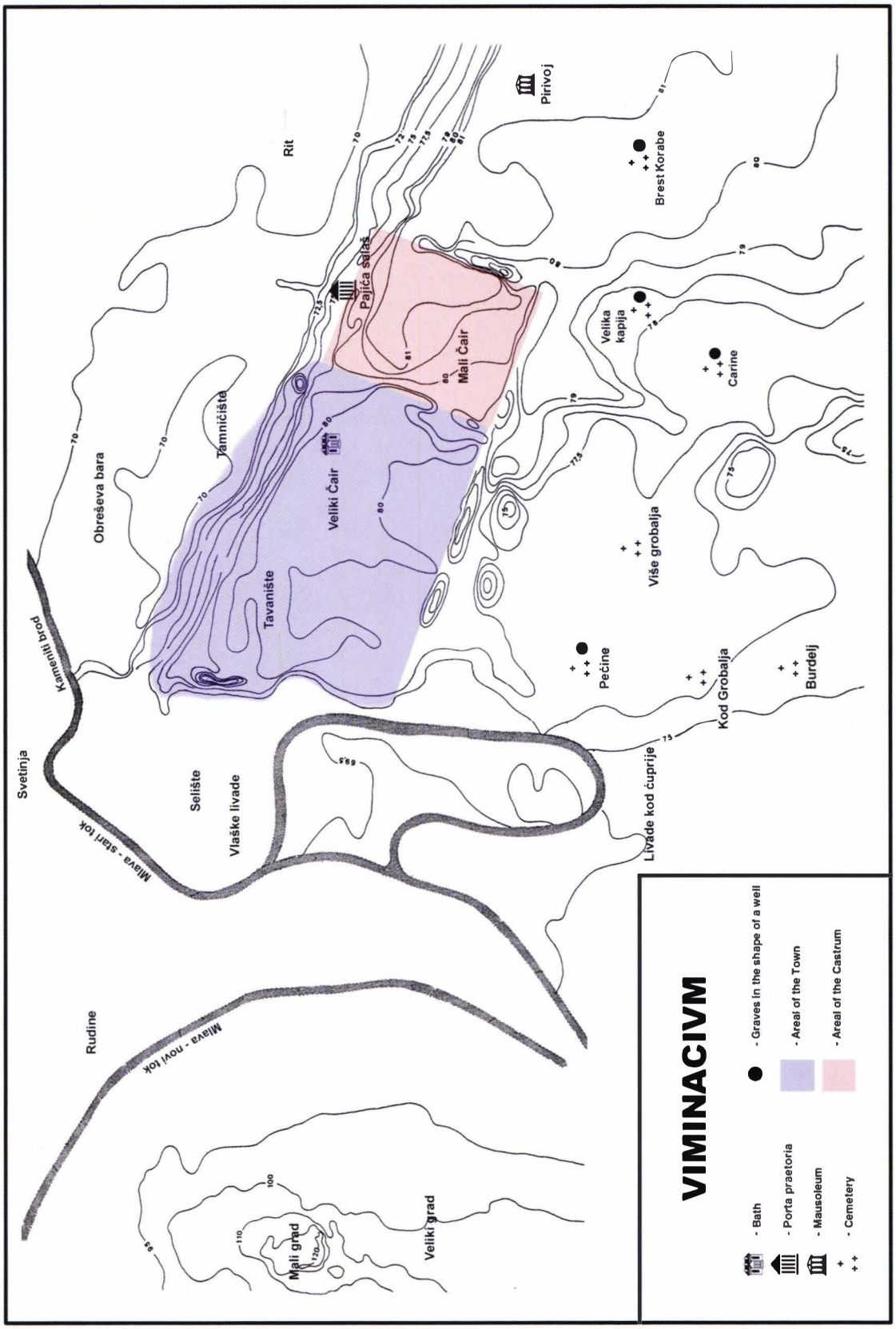
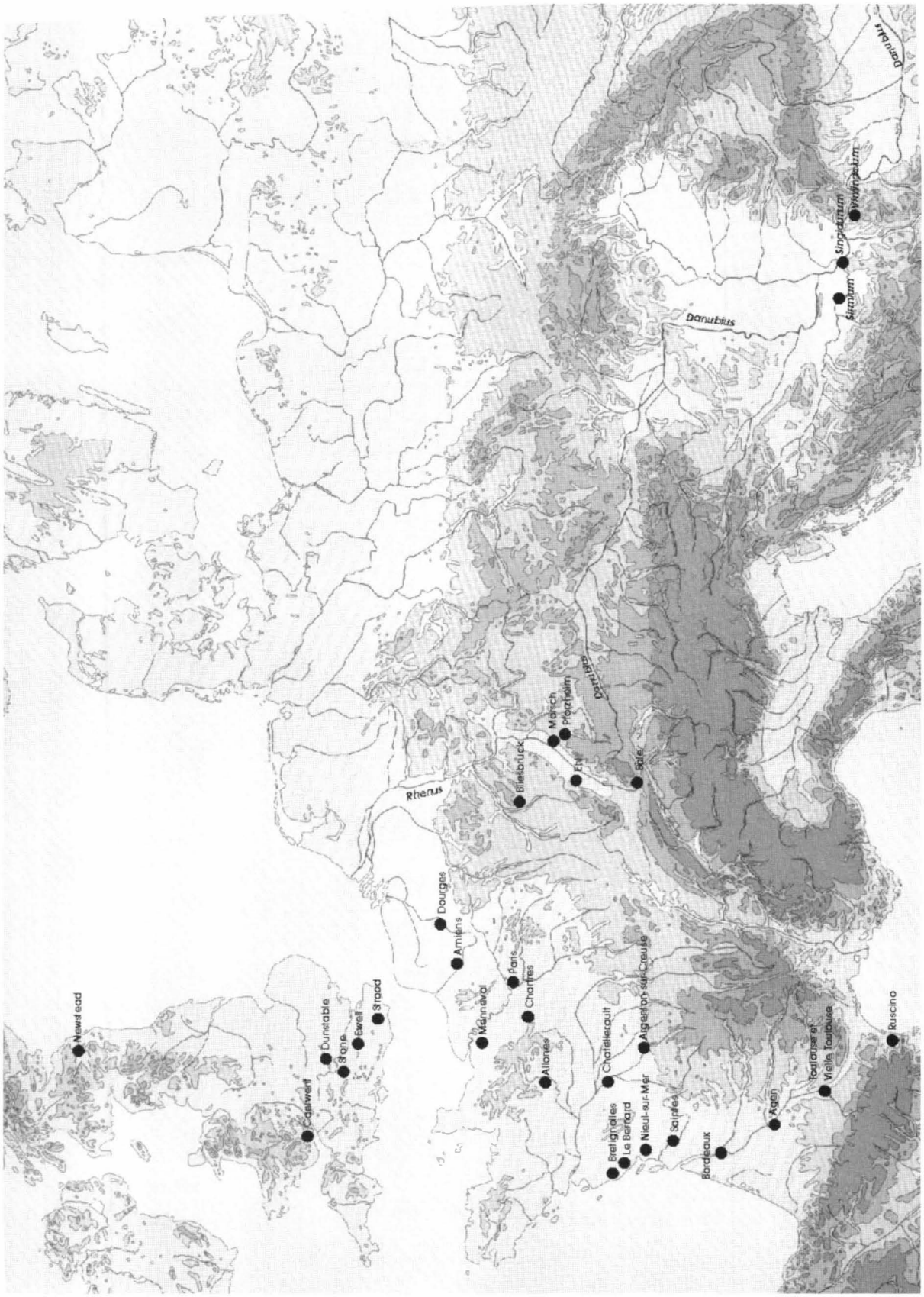
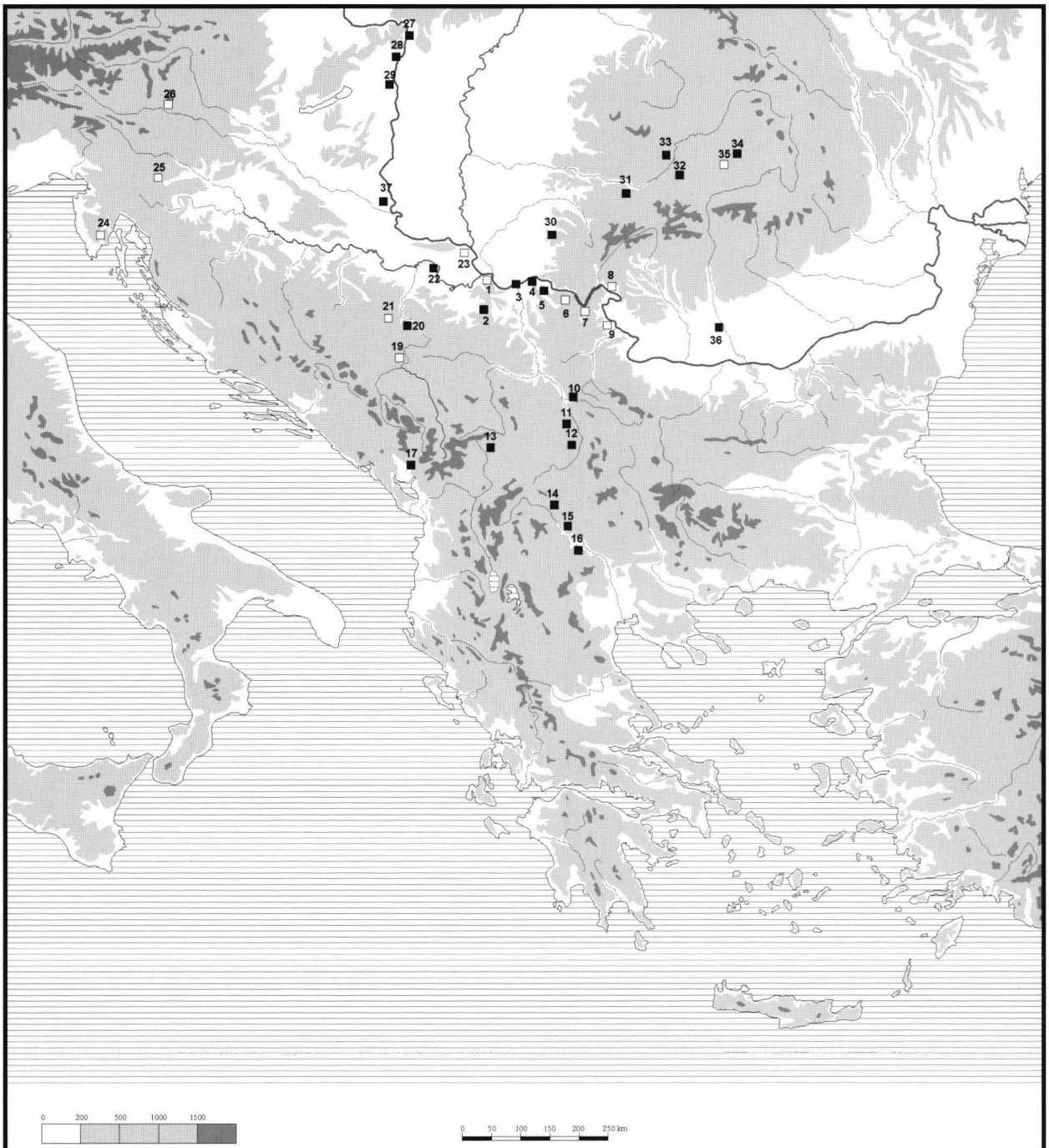


Map. 1. Viminacium sites



Map. 2. Distribution map of well graves



□ **Tip Mala Kopašnica - Sase I**

■ **Tip Mala Kopašnica - Sase II**

1. *Singidunum,* 2. Guberevac, 3. *Margum,* 4. *Viminacium,* 5. *Pincum,* 6. Boljetin, 7. Ušće Porečke reke, 8. Turn Severin, 9. Prahovo, 10. *Naisus,* 11. Velika Grabovnica, 12. Mala Kopašnica, 13. *Ulpiana,* 14. *Scupi,* 15. *Stobi,* 16. Demir Kapija, 17. *Doclea,* 18. Komini, 19. Rogatica, 20. *Domavia,* 21. Stup, 22. *Sirmium,* 23. Beška, 24. *Pola,* 25. Ribnica, 26. *Poetovio,* 27. *Aquincum,* 28. Matrica, 29. *Intercisa,* 30. Rešca, 31. Micia, 32. Sebeš, 33. *Apulum,* 34. Sigišoara, 35. Mediaš, 36. *Romula,* 37. *Mursa*

Map. 3.

Fig. 1. Cremation grave G1 - 115

Fig. 2 - 3. Led reliquary from the G1 - 115.

TUMULUS GRAVES IN APOLLONIA PONTICA. OLD STUDIES AND NEW QUESTIONS

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Keywords: Apollonia Pontica, tumulus graves, Thracian non-literary concept, poleis culture, hybrid cultures

Summary. The paper examines the existing hypotheses on the 4th century BC tumulus graves on the territory of Apollonia Pontica by means of a comparative analysis of evidence from the necropolises of the city as well as from other Greek colonies. The offered in the study new approach considers the phenomenon as a result of essential socio-cultural changes in the city resulting into a mutual infiltration of the Thracian non-literary and literary (Homeric) concepts and their transformations creating new "hybrid" religious models within the polis society.

The discussions on the character, specificity and similarities of the tumulus graves located either in the inland, or along the Black sea littoral are far not new (a general survey in Proceedings 1994, 1996; Simion G., V. Lungu (eds.) 2000). The situation with the tumular grave structures on the territory of the Greek city Apollonia Pontica is alike (see in Шкорпил, К., Шкорпил Х. 1890-1891, 125 - 126; Seure 1924; Цанева 1986; Tzaneva 1985; Zaneva 1986; Fless 2002, 70 – 75; Oppermann 2004, 87 – 88; Панайотова 1994; Damyanov 2005). Unfortunately, the incomplete publications which contain only primary information however cause some difficulties in reconstructing and interpreting the archaeological context.

Following the conclusions of the studies on the problem which are based in general on Seure's article from 1924 (Seure 1924) and the subsequent research on the terrain, the tumulus graves are situated on the surrounding hills St. Elias, St. Marina, Senetudias, Mapes and on Kolokita promontory (Панайотова 1994, 81. Panayotova 2003, 124). Their chronological span covers the period between the end of the 5th and the middle of the 3rd century BC. (Филов 1913, 316; Младенова 1963 в: Аполония, 291; Цанева, Димитров 1976, 5 – 8; Tzaneva 1985, 356; Damyanov 2005, 215-216). With regard their construction, there are stone crepidae and/or stone heaping attested as supporting elements of the embankment (Tsaneva 1985, 356 – 357). In the periphery of some tumuli traces of ritual practices (bones, fireplaces, ceramic sherds) and circles or groups of amphorae were evidenced (Seure 1924, 328 f; Tsaneva 1985, 356; Damyanov 2005, 215 – 216 fig. 2). The complexes contain more than one, most commonly inhumation burials dating back to different periods and the funeral offerings – lekythoi, alabastra, bronze mirrors, strigilae etc. do not differ from those found in the flat necropolis (Seure 1924, 29 – 31; Цанева, Димитров 1976, 5-8; Tsaneva 1985, 352 – 359; summarized information in Oppermann 2004).

This general view outlines the first question about the similarities between the tumular and the flat necropolises and respectively their specific character. In this respect, one of the points at issue concerns their location – around and/or outside the city, which is the main reason to conclude that they might have been border markers of the flat necropolis, being in connection with the encompassing settlements (Панайотова 1994, 81; Panayotova 2003, 124) which were annexed to the polis at the beginning of the 4th century BC (Димитров 1974, 54; Caneva 1982, 200; обобщение у Giuzelev 2003, 110 – 111 with references; Oppermann 2004, 88).

This statement, however, contradicts with the map drawn by Seure, which shows the existence of tumuli both on the surrounding hills and in the coastal strip between the quarter

Harmanite, Kalfata locality and the contemporary cemetery (fig. 1) (Seure 1924, pl. 87). The rapid changes of the sandy terrain (see Венедиков 1963, 8-9) are unfortunately a circumstance which eliminates the chances to establish an eventual connection between some of the tumuli marked in Seur's map and the recently excavated grave structures in the flat necropolis in Kalfata locality, which are typologically similar to those in the burial mounds. And yet, some of the latest studies on the problem (not mentioning any particular reasons) agree a priori on the fact that tumulus graves do exist in the flat necropolis as well (Tzaneva 1985, 358; Damyanov 2005, 216).

There are, however, several structures in the flat necropolis which could evidence this phenomenon, for instance, the round or ellipsoidal stone enclosures (crepidae?) attested in different years of excavations (Венедиков 1963 в: Аполония, 35; Панайотова 1998, 20; Panayotova 1998, 98 who erroneously applies the term *"peribolos"*). (fig. 2 and 3). Furthermore, graves dressed with stone slab occur both in the actual necropolis and under the tumuli (Nedev, Panayotova 2003, p. 129). The most expressive examples, though, are the graves, surrounded by circles, semicircles or groups of amphorae which are common both for the tumuli and for the necropolis in Kalfata locality (Венедиков 1963 в: Аполония, 40 – 42, обр. 24 – 25, Цанева, Димитров 1976; Tzaneva 1985, p. 352 – 359; Zaneva 1986, p. 166 – 173; Fless 2002, p. 69; for general overview see last in Damyanov 2005, p. 214 – 221) (fig. 4-6).

This briefly sketched situation brings the statement of the clearly outlined demarcation between the flat and the tumular necropolises (Панайотова 1994, p. 81. Panayotova 2003, p. 124) in question. In addition, the circumstances strengthening the doubts are the close proximity of the necropolises, the similarity of the ritual practice, as well as the funeral offerings which one traditionally would refer to as typically Greek, too. All those facts raise the question of the ethnic specificity and attribution of the burials in tumuli and in the necropolis in Kalfata locality. The latter evokes lively debates on the issue which are evident in various publications.

A group of opinions have consolidated around the idea of the strong Thracian aristocracy's influence (Seure 1924, 236 f.), of the Thracian origin of the practice considering the tumuli as providing evidence of a mixed Graeco-Thracian population (Цанева, Димитров 1976; Tzaneva 1985, 352 – 359; Zaneva 1986, 166 – 173). Other authors argue against their ethnic attribution of the tumulus graves pointing out the similarities between them and those in the Kalfata locality (Panayotova 2003, p. 129 – 137), the existence of Greek names and the analogies with their counterparts in Macedonia, Greece and Asia Minor (Fless 2002, p. 73 – 74 with references). This is the main argument for the conclusion that the tumulus graves are a result of the "process of acculturation" which took place on the territories of the Greek poleis along the Black sea coast (Oppermann 2004, 95).

In fact, all the above mentioned opinions follow more or less the modern anthropologists' theory of the "acculturation" process, presuming the independent existence of autonomous, monolithic culture units. As long as they are not able to provide sufficient explanation of the practices in question, I tend to refer to one recent view considering the so called acculturation as a phenomenon", which occurs when groups of individuals with different cultures come into continuous first hand contact with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either of both groups" (Redfield, Linton, Herskovits 1936, 148 - quotation in Hall 2002, 104 – 111, Antonaccio 2003; Guldager Bilde 2006).

An example for this case is a very particular phenomenon – the practice of placing amphorae in groups or in circles on the base of the tumulus construction (for interpretation see Фол 2002, p. 99; general information in Fless 2002, pp.75, 82 – 83; last in Damyanov 2005, pp. 214 – 223), which is attested in a limited area of Apollonia Pontica, Histria, Olbia, Orgame, Nimphaeon and Pantikapaeon. A view which has most recently been exposed rejects any indigenous influence (Thracians, Skythians or Sindae) on the tumulus graves with circles of

amphorae (Damyanov 2005, p. 214 – 223). The author argues the purely Greek character of the necropolises in question and explains this "non-normative practice" as an idea "taken from the heroic epos", while the reason for its distribution is said to be in the close contact with the aristocracy of those poleis (Damyanov 2005, p. 221 – 222).

This conclusion, which follows in general the statement of P. Alexandrescu and A. Avram concerning the tumulus graves in Histria (Alexandrescu 1990, 47-90; Alexandrescu 1994, 15-32; Avram 2003, 18ff), is far from being beyond doubt. Without being able to question the erudition of at least one group of Apollonians or the popularity of the Homeric poems during the whole antiquity, it is quite implausible to assume that this "non-normative" practice occurred because of an innovative fashion in the 4th century, based on the spontaneous impulse of the citizens to read the epos and consequently to start to identify themselves with the Homeric heroes.

There is one more doubtful point which is evident in the use of the definition "poleis aristocracy" referring to the political situation in the West Pontic city during the 4th century BC. Despite the scarce data of the political structure of the city (see last in Tsetskhladze 2006, xxviii – xlii), Nawotka's arguments for the existence of an oligarchic society in most of the Pontic cities even until the 4th century B.C. (Nawotka 1997) seem to be rather an overstatement. The social differentiation in Apollonia at that time is however beyond doubt, which is testified by the occurrence of separate grave plots in the necropolis from the so called *peribolos* type from the late 5th century on (Венедиков 1963 в: Аполония, p. 43, обр. 26; Panayotova 2003, p. 127-128; Недев, Панайотова АОР, 2006, p. 242). Their function as a demonstration of the belonging of the deceased to a particular social group should be associated with this of the tumuli as grave markers in many places in Greece and Asia Minor (Kurtz, Boardman 1971, pp. 105 – 106, Morris 1987, 152-153; about the tumuli in Greece and in Asia Minor see Eckert 1998 with references). As evidence in support of this statement is one of the finds from a tumulus excavated by K. Skorpil, which represents a copper chest with silver decoration and with an inscription "from the *demos* of the Apollonians" to a person with the epithet "μακροχεβρον". Notwithstanding that the latter is single evidence compared with the conventional funeral inventory of the tumuli; Opperman considers it indicating a burial complex of a prominent Apollonian citizen (Oppermann 2004, p. 88).

As to the construction of the tumulus graves and to the performed rituals, it is beyond doubt that they demonstrate, to a certain extent, the archaic features of a "Homeric type" rituality (Damyanov 2005, pp. 222 – 223; for an eventual influence of the Pythagorean philosophy see in Русева 2000, 71 ff). It is however quite unconvincing to explain their occurrence in the Pontic apoikia with some kind of literary (epic) influence in the light of the recently published debates on the interrelations between the epic texts and some early funeral practices attested in aristocratic burials in Greece (Antonacio 1993, pp.49-52; Antonacio 1995, pp.252-264; Eckert 1998, Kap. 4; Morris 2000, p.235; Fol V. 2005, p. 68, Фол В. 2007, pp. 227 ff.).
Looking into the known archaeological counterparts of the Apollonian tumuli, the earliest examples of this type are the late 6th –early 5th century B.C. complexes on the Crimean peninsula (Цветаева 1957, 235). According to Tsvetaeva, the earliest tumuli were a result of traditions adopted from the metropolises, while the classical tumuli were considered as influenced by the neighboring Scythian culture (Цветаева 1957, 250; about the tumuli in Asia Minor see Eckert 1998, Kap. 3). This view was to some extent accepted by Fless but with certain corrections. In her study on the phenomenon she emphasizes the role of the Asia Minor inland and the transformation of traditions after their adoption in the new settlements. Finally, she concludes that in those "peripheral areas" there is not any distinction between Greeks and Barbarians, at least in the sphere of the so called dead cult (Fless 2002, 82 – 83).

This briefly outlined discussion on the character of similar phenomena clearly illustrates the difficulties to approach the issue of their ethnic attribution. The authors' arguments for the

Thracian or respectively for the Greek characteristics of the Apollonian tumulus graves are based either on the "purely Greek character" of the grave goods, or on the unquestionable analogies of their construction and rituality as well with their counterparts in the Thracian inland (Fless 2002, p. 75, Oppermann 2004, 95 with references). Another argument in support of the latter is that the period of occurrence of the tumuli around Apollonia Pontica (the second-third quarter of the 4th century B.C.) coincides with the existence of some newly attested features of the grave inventory (Thracian type of fibulae) and of the funerary practices in the flat necropolis. These facts were interpreted as evidence of a certain ethnic change in the population's structure and penetration of Thracian elements into the city (Венедиков and Иванов 1963 in Аполония, pp. 271, 346; for arguments against this interpretation see Панайотова 1994, p. 153; Панайотова 1998, pp. 14 – 15; Panayotova 2003, p. 130).

The survey on the results of the archaeological research and the conclusions, offered in different publications, provide an opportunity of re-approaching the tumulus graves around Apollonia Pontica beyond the attempts at their ethnic attribution. In this sense it seems more reasonable to regard the phenomenon as a manifestation of the processes of exchange of concepts and ritual behavior in the interactive zone between Southeastern Thrace and Asia Minor and hence, as a result of a multi-level synthesis of merging components. This complexity itself causes many difficulties in distinguishing and attributing the particular elements as it was shown in the case of the Crimean tumuli and in the light of the conclusion that there is certain uniformity of the funeral practices in the interactive zones of the apoikias (Fless 2002, 82 – 83). It is also reasonable to complement our understanding of these phenomena by means of arguments in the more general context of the processes taking place in such type of "cosmopolitan" agglomerations as the Greek colonies which may not differ essentially from their modern counterparts.

This starting point creates an opportunity to give an alternative explanation of the territorial and structural changes in the necropolises of Apollonia Pontica and the newly-invented ritual elements, considering them as a manifestation of not simply quantitative, but of a qualitative alteration of the city's socio-demographic structure.

Regardless of the scarce prosopographic evidence which could outline the socio-demographic picture and the rate of the eventual hellenization of the city population (about the presence of Thracian names see in Михайлов 1972, pp. 265 – 267; compare also Бешевлиев 1988 pp. 5-15 about Odessos, see the summary in Petersen 2004, 9 – 10), it is beyond doubt that the demographic changes are stimulated by the economic progress in the city from the end of the 5th century B.C. and later (Венедиков 1963 **в: Аполония**, pp. 344 – 346) resulting in influx of new settlers and annexation of several adjacent settlements and of new territories to the polis *hora* (Guizelev 2003, pp. 110 – 111, Гюзелев 2004).

Apart from the statements considering the economic factors as an indirect source, the analysis of the epigraphically attested personal names is of crucial importance to exploring the demographic situation in Apollonia Pontica. Unfortunately, reliable statistics is possibly expected only after the complete publication of the epigraphic materials whose number has increased after the intensive archaeological excavation during the last decades (see the first publications in Венедиков, Велков 1963, в: Аполония pp. 325 – 329, Mihailov IGBulg. I., for some newly discovered inscriptions see recently in Giuzelev 2002; Giuzelev 2006).

It is a matter of fact that the number of the Greek (Ionian) names is predominant. At the same time however there are single personal patronymic and names attested in the late 5th and early 4th century B.C. inscriptions which were considered belonging to the Thracian prosopography (Mihailov IGBulg.I, N 426, 430, 438, 440, 441; Михайлов 1972, p. 264 supra 42). This fact was interpreted as evidence of the existence of intermarriages and mixed population in the city and in the hinterland, as well – a hypothesis which is supported by the

indirect references in the ancient written sources (Иванов 1963 In: Аполония, p. 271; Венедиков 1963,p. 346, Михайлов 1972, pp. 261 – 265).

A similar point of view is generally represented in the recent issues concerning the debates on the phenomenon of the "ethnicity" in the Greek colonies (Hall 2002, Antonaccio 2005, Guldager-Bilde 2006). Halls' arguments for the significant role of the intermarriages, serving both the demographic stabilization and integration of the not numerous groups of Greek *apoikists* and at the same time as functioning to cement alliances between Greek and non-Greek indigenous elites, are reasonable, and furthermore, available in the case of Apollonia Pontica, even when they are based on examples taken from Magna Graecia and Asia Minor (Hall 2002, pp. 97 – 103).

In the light of these conclusions the statement of the existence of clearly differentiated and isolated civil communities of Greek settlers who lived in "Barbarian surrounding", sounds at least out-of-date. Unfortunately this tendency is present also in some modern Bulgarian publications, which were recently criticized by Petersen: "In the latest publication by Nedev&Panayotova from 2003 there is a very clear tendency to downplay the cultural complexity and interaction and focus instead on the "Greekness" of the polis and its relations with Athens and other major centres in the Hellenic world. The meeting of cultures is presented here as a hellenization of the local population rather than a more sophisticated perception of interaction (Petersen 2004, 6); see also Дамянов 2002, 119 – 125). Therefore the standpoint, already formulated by Fol more than 15 years ago, which considers the occurrence of new socio-demographic groups in the zones of the Greek coastal settlements as a result of a long-standing multipartite process of re-structuring society under the influence of various factors, seems more acceptable (Фол 1995, 35). A similar approach has recently been represented in Guldager-Bilde's excerpt, which is based again on examples mainly from some Nort-Pontic apoikias and Magna Graecia as well: „It must suffice to say that the example of Black Sea eschatology demonstrates the creative potential of the meeting – and mixing – of cultures, and the creation of new hybrid cultures." (Guldager-Bilde 2006, 14)

Thus it seems appropriate to consider the new elements in the ritual behaviour as indicative for the essential socio-cultural changes in Apollonia Pontica in the course of the late 5th and 4th centuries B.C., which lead to certain infiltrations and uniformity of the religious (and civic) practices of different population's groups. The consolidation of new socio-demographic groups which were not defined on the basis of the ethnic characteristics but rather as bearers of a new culture of syncretism, may have been the obvious reason for reclaiming the new grave plots in the Kalfata locality together with the increasing number of the population and the "peaceful co-existence with the Thracian hinterland" (according to Panayotova 2003, p.126).

Concerning the phenomenon of the tumulus graves dating to the same period, the explanation should be searched in the light of the above given arguments and within the syncretism between the ethnic (non-literary concept) of the aristocratic burial (for general conclusions see Китов 1993, 39 – 80; Китов 1994, 46–76; Fol 1994, 15 – 17; Китов 1999, 47–56; Kitov 2004, 239-265) and the literary elaborated Homeric view of σῆμα as a monument of the dead hero (for analysis of these terms see last in Eckert 1998, Kap. 4.1.1.), which were transformed into insignia of a civic honor within the poleis culture.

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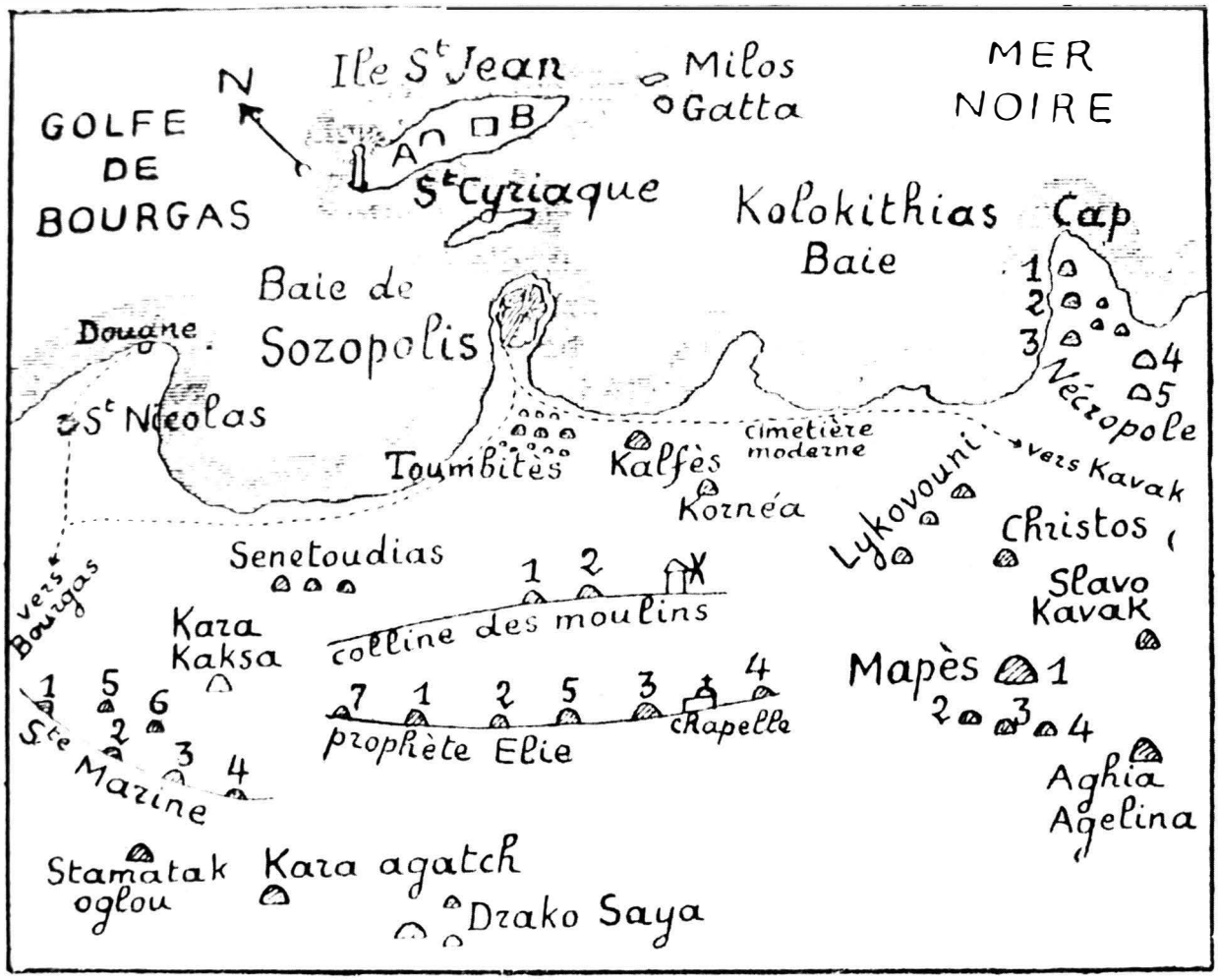
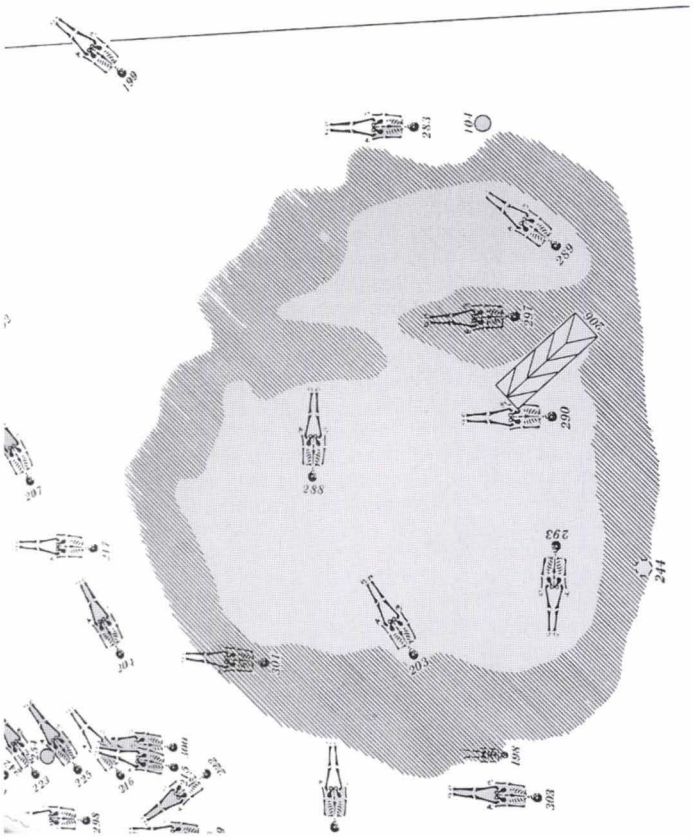


Map of the tumulus graves in Sozopol (after Seure 1924, pl. 87)



2. Plan of the grave plot with an enclosure wall and ritual fireplace (drawing after Венедиков 1963, 31, обр. 20)

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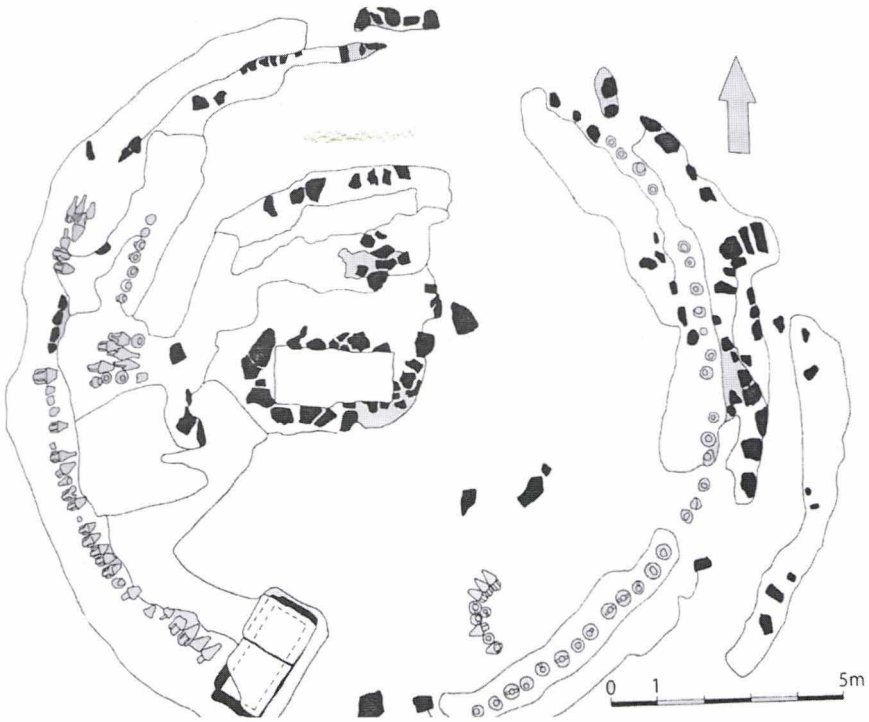
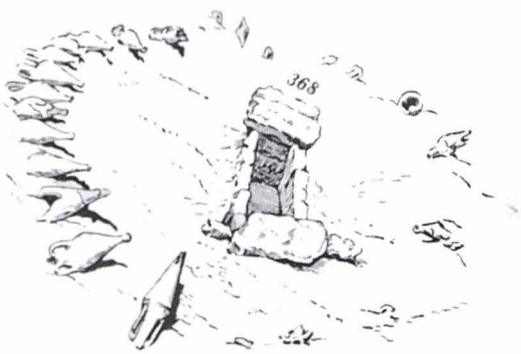


5. План на могилата на н. Колокита (по Damyanov 2005, 215)



4. Гроб, ограден с кръг от амфори, разкопки 1949 (по Венедиков 1963, 42, обр. 25)

6. Амфори, подредени в дъга, разкопки 1996 г.

THE LATE CLASSICAL CEMETERY OF THE AYIOS DIONYSIOS RAIL STATION IN PIRAEUS

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Keywords: Piraeus harbor, cemetery, Late Classical, Eetionian gate.

Abstract. An extended part of the city's cemetery has been excavated in the port of Piraeus dating to the 4th B.C. It consists of 54 graves of several types. The majority of them are enclosed in rectangular funerary enclosures (*periboloi)* of various sizes, collective or individual. The prevailing burial practice is that of inhumation; however some cremations are also present.

Introduction

In spring 2007, during the renovation of the rail tracks, antiquities were discovered at the platforms area of the Ayios Dionysios station in Piraeus. The rescue excavation that followed has uncovered an extended part of a cemetery[1].

The site of the excavation is located by the northwestern coast of the Piraeus harbor (Fig. 1). The existence of a cemetery at this point is not surprising, since just about 260 m. to the south / southwest lies the northern branch of the city's ancient walls and the Eetionian gate. This gate that was at the northwestern corner of the Piraeus fortification allowed access to the city to those coming from the north and the west (Steinhauer 2003: 44). In ancient times cemeteries were normally located outside the cities' walls, arranged alongside roads. Although this pattern was certainly the case in Piraeus too, as early travelers have mentioned the existence of an extended cemetery off the Eetionian gate, only few tombs have been properly excavated so far. This lacuna in the archaeological evidence is largely due to the rocky landscape in the area that has yielded the graves easily recognizable to any aspiring looter. Dragatsis and Kyparissis, who investigated some graves and funerary enclosures *(periboloi)* during the first decades of the 20th century, noticed that most of the tombs had been robbed long before their time (Dragatsis 1910: 79, Kyparissis 1926: 189). The subsequent building and industrial development of the territory that took place during the 20th century deteriorated further the situation and caused unrecoverable damage to the archaeological record. Consequently, the excavation at the Ayios Dionysios station will contribute to cover this gap, as it has revealed an extended part of the ancient city's cemetery.

The excavated plot

The excavation covered an almost square plot with dimensions 25 x 22,7 m. Technical matters prevented us from expanding our research to the whole area simultaneously and made us to dig its eastern and western part successively. Thus, before the beginning of the excavation at the western part, the monuments of the eastern part had to be covered with earth. The fact that the site lies inside the rail course is responsible for some damage caused to the monuments. In order for the rail track to be installed at end of the 19th century the surface of the ground had to be leveled. As a result all the surface finds were swept away, while at the same time the rocky surface of the ground by the northern and southern edge of the excavated plot was severely

[1] The investigation of the site, which lasted from September 2007 to October 2008, took place under the auspices of the 26th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities and was financed by the Railway Organization of Greece. The work was conducted by E. Kroustalis under A. Tsaravopoulos' supervision.

damaged. Further serious damage was caused at a later time, when a deep trench was dug vertically to the rails, in order for a massive draining pipe to be constructed. That trench partly destroyed a series of graves located alongside the northern edge of the site.

The arrangement of the cemetery

Despite the exposure of the site to all the above hazards the majority of the 54 investigated graves were found neither looted nor disturbed in any way (Fig. 2-4). Most of the tombs are organized in four rows running from east to west. The majority of them are also enclosed in quadrangle *periboloi* (see also supplementary table after the text). At least five funerary *periboloi* have been uncovered. All of them survive to their lowest course of masonry, which is about half a meter tall, and they are made of limestone, porous stone and more rarely conglomerate blocks.

The central part of the excavated plot is occupied by a big enclosure 15 m. long and at least 5,3 m. wide *(peribolos* A, fig. 3-4*)*. These dimensions make this *peribolos* one of the largest ever found. In its initial form, when it would stand to a height of some meters, consisting of 3-4 courses of masonry - as was the rule for monuments of this type (Garland 1982, 128) - it would definitely be an imposing structure. *Peribolos* A was enclosed on its northern, eastern and western sides, while its southern side - that was the rear one – was left open. Its front wall, which is 1,3 m. wide, consists of a course of laterally placed stone blocks, while its side walls are just 0,67 m. wide and consist of a course of stone blocks placed at length. Inside the *peribolos* at least 14 tombs of various types were excavated. By the intervention of a secondary lateral wall a smaller compartment was formed at its eastern end separating a group of four tombs from the rest. In comparison to the graves excavated in the rest of the cemetery, those enclosed in *peribolos* A were relatively richer in funeral gifts, a fact that seems to concur with the expenses that would have been required to build a structure of this magnitude.

About 1 m. to the north spreads a second parallel *peribolos* of less massive construction *(peribolos B)*. The precise length of it is unknown, since its eastern end lies under the platform of the station. However its preserved dimensions are 9,50 x 5,30 m. Its outer walls (northern and western) encompass a series of seven parallel graves of several types. With the addition of lateral and rear walls built either of rubble masonry or of erected plaque-shaped limestones, separated compartments are formed, each of which surrounds an individual tomb (Fig. 3, 8-10). It is evident that the construction of these compartments, whether realized simultaneously or successively, took place after the accomplishment of the underling burials. This is evident by the fact that some of the intermediate walls were founded either on the covering slabs or on the filling of the burial pits. After its construction each of these compartments was filled with earth up to the top. Thus, a tumulus was formed above the graves, the soil of which was retained by the surrounding walls. Between the lateral walls that enclose three of these tombs (no 6, 14 & 19) narrow channels are formed, where drinking vessels were found. The fact that all these vessels had their bottoms perforated shows that they had been used for the performance of *choae*. Some of these vessels lied tightly wedged deep into these channels, a fact that clearly indicates that their placement in that position could have taken place only simultaneously with the construction of the enclosures.

The practice of constructing separate enclosures filled with earth above individual graves occurs in the case of two more grave groups in this cemetery. The first group consists of five tombs running alongside the central part of the dig's northern boundary (Fig. 4, gr. no 21, 22, 52, 53 & 54). The second group, which includes two graves (no 39 & 40), lies at the western side of the excavated area. These two graves are also surrounded by a wider quadrangle *peribolos* (E). Although partially preserved, this peribolos seems to have been enclosed on all its four sides (fig. 3, 7). Its width and its preserved length are 6,4 and 4,1 m. respectively. Attached to its northern wall lies another small *peribolos* (dimensions: 4,7 x 4,8 m.), also enclosed on its four sides. This encompasses a pair of graves too (no 36 & 37).

Finally, the fifth funerary *peribolos* (C) lies close to the central part of the dig's northern edge and to the north of *peribolos* B. Although certainly II-shaped and about 2,6 m. wide, its precise length and the number of graves it initially encompassed remain unknown, since its western side wall and the greatest part of its main northern wall were destroyed in modern times during the construction of the adjoining draining pie.

The fact that all the above *periboloi* have their main sides facing north as well as that most of the tombs in the cemetery are arranged in parallel rows running from east to west, clearly indicates that not far from the northern edge of the excavated area a road must have existed running parallel to the *periboloi* and the grave courses. This road, which was probably destroyed during the construction of the rail tracks or that of the subsequent draining pie, must have constituted the spine of the cemetery. The desire of the cemetery occupants to ensure a position close to that road seems to have been responsible for a denser arrangement of the two northerner grave rows.

Burial practices and Grave typology

Although both inhumations and cremations are represented, the dead were in their overwhelming majority inhumed. Out of the 54 excavated tombs 50 contained a single inhumation, 3 a single cremation, while 1 tomb (no 13) enclosed two burials, one inhumation and one cremation (Fig. 9-10).

In the case of the inhumations several grave types were used. The most frequent one is that of the pit grave, which comprises 38 samples (Fig. 5-6). About half of them were covered with massive slabs (Fig. 7), 5 with flat or curved ceramic tiles, while the rest of the graves were found uncovered and filled with earth. Three tombs of this type had also their walls and bottoms partly or entirely covered with stucco (no 33, 39 & 49). One variation of the pit grave is the pit-tile grave (Fig. 8-9). In this case, which occurs 5 times in the Ayios Dionysios cemetery, the dead, who lied at the bottom of the burial pit, was covered with a gabled chamber constructed of curved terracotta tiles. In practice this construction functioned as a clay coffin. After the burial the upper part of the pit was filled with soil. Since covering slabs were unnecessary to this type of grave, the presence of a carved *patoura* (namely of a flange running alongside the grave mouth to facilitate the seat of slabs) in the case of two tombs (no 15 & 16), indicates that both had been formerly used as covered pit graves. Another rarer variant of the pit grave is the pit-cist grave (Fig. 11). In this case part of the grave was cut on the solid rock, while the rest of it was formed either by erected stone plaques or by built walls. Three tombs of this type were found (gr. no 2, 20 & 36). In addition, a pair of twin sarcophagoi, made of porous stone, was discovered (Fig. 12). They were covered with monolithic gabled lids.

Most of the above tombs belonged to adults. However, seven evidently or presumably[2] infant and child graves were also found dispersed amongst those of the adults. Two of them were pit graves (no 51 & 53), another one was pit-tile grave (no 16), and a fourth one was tile grave founded on the surface of the solid rock and covered with earth. Three terracotta larnaces were also excavated (fig. 13, gr. no 24, 32 & 35). A common feature of all except for one of these graves is that they were oriented from east to west. The only exception to this rule, tomb no 35 that was oriented from north to south, had to follow a different orientation due to space inadequacy. Contrary to the infant and child graves, the adult' graves were in their entity oriented from north to south, viz. vertically to the main sides of the funerary enclosures. Despite the consistency of the adult graves' orientation, the position of the dead inside them varied, since some of them lied with their heads directed to the north and others to the south. This was the case even in respect of tightly bounded graves, such as the two sarcophagi (no 30 & 31). In fact,

[2] Only in pit-tile grave no 16 were skeletal remains of a child found, while in the absence of similar evidence from the rest of the graves their attribution to infants or children has been based on their small dimensions. However, this criterion constitutes an indication, not a proof.

it would seem more reasonable to assume that it was only in the case of the infants and children that some symbolic meaning could have been assigned to the orientation of the graves, while the arrangement of the adults' tombs seems to have been determined by the passage a road from their north that would run from east to west.

In the four cremations found several burial processes had been used. In one case the dead was incinerated and buried at the bottom of a pit grave (Fig. 14, gr. no 14), which was enclosed by both an individual and a collective *peribolos*. In two other cases (gr. no 11 & 12), after the dead had been cremated, their ashes were collected in plain hydriae, which were placed inside little square pits (Fig. 15). One of these vases retained its lid that consisted of a lead leaf *in situ*. In the case of tomb no 13 the body was burnt inside a spacious burial pit (Fig. 9-10). After the accomplishment of the incineration its remnants were gathered inside a ceramic ash-urn that was laid at a corner of the same pit. Subsequently, the vase was buried under a heap of ashes, which constituted the pyre remains, while in the end the pit was filled with earth. Sometime later the burial pit was reused and extended to comprise a male's inhumation laid under a tile chamber.

Sculptural monuments

Several fragments of marble *stelae* and lekythoi have been found. The majority of them came from the northern part of the cemetery, where relatively thick layers of soil existed. It has been impossible to establish the exact position, where these monuments initially stood. Among them only one relatively small lekythos, decorated with a *deksiosis* scene, was found in a good state of preservation (Fig. 16). Unfortunately, the rest of the material is very fragmentary. Dragatsis has published seven *stelae*, which have come from the vicinity of our excavated area (Dragatsis 1910: 65-70).

Funeral gifts

In general, the kind and number of grave goods found in the Ayios Dionysios cemetery seems to comply with the image we have from other cemeteries of the Classical times. These items have been usually neither numerous nor particularly precious. The most common find excavated from males' tombs was an iron strigil (found in 17 tombs, fig. 6) often accompanied with a little lekythos. Such lekythoi were found not only inside tombs, but also outside spread throughout the cemetery. Their total number approaches to one hundred (Fig. 17). Other types of vases such as pyxides, little jugs and drinking vessels were also found in some graves (no 2, 10, 20, 25, 42, 46 & 49). Fragments of solid *alabasters* of porous stone have been numerous (fig. 18). They were located either next to graves or inside them, usually above the burial level (gr. no 3, 10, 15, 42, 43, 45, 48 & 52). Iron and bronze nails were also a frequent find (in 17 tombs). They were usually found dispersed around the body, varying in number from one to some tens. A handful of such nails were found folded in a lead curse tablet that came from the filling of grave no 13 (Fig. 19). A pair of curse tablets was also discovered in sarcophagus no 30, put in the palms of the dead, while a series of such tablets was also located outside the graves in several parts of the cemetery (Fig. 20). Nine graves have yielded bronze (gr. no 9, 15, 26, 39, 42, 46 & 49) and silver coins (gr. no 37& 47), while other funeral gifts that were occasionally found comprise bronze mirrors (gr. no 20, 26, 31 &49), big *alabasters* of alabaster (Fig. 6 & 11) (gr. no 20, 43, 49 & 52), bronze and iron rings (gr. no 33 & 28 respectively), glass (gr. no 15, 20 & 47) and clay beads (gr. no 9, 26 & 29), iron (gr. no 48 & 49), bronze (gr. no 34) and bone pins (gr. no 33). In tomb no 41 a simple golden earring was also found.

Contrary to the spirit of frugality that governs the majority of the graves in regard to the quantity and quality of their grave goods, some tombs were significantly wealthier (especially tombs no 20 and 49). They all seem to have belonged to women. Tomb no 20 apart from one *alabaster* of alabaster, a bronze mirror, a pyxis and several other items yielded 34 clay disks, decorated with relief heads of facing Athena Parthenos (Fig. 11, 21-2). Most of these disks preserve on their surface remnants of golden leaf. Similar gilded disks decorated with Athena's heads, Gorgon heads or stars have been found in several parts of Greece inside tombs. They are

dated to the late 4th and 3rd centuries B.C., while their interpretation as attachments that would have been sewn or glued on the cloth or the shroud of the dead seems plausible. Their number in tomb 20 is surprisingly large. Four similar disks decorated with Gorgon heads were also found in tomb no 9 (Fig. 23), which was unfortunately looted. Finally, tomb no 33 contained few, but delicate items. Distinguished position among them possesses a crystal pendant, decorated with an enigmatic incised dragon.

Quarry

Immediately to the south of the cemetery, the presence of a series of semicylindrical grooves as well as of several carved quadrangle cavities that spread on the rocky surface of the ground manifests that the site had been used as a rudimentary quarry. The extraction of limestone blocks from this point seems to have been occasional and limited to the production of raw material required for the manufacture of covering slabs for the adjacent pit graves. It is also possible that some of the stone blocks of the funerary *periboloi* were taken from there, although this could have been the case only for the limestone blocks. The initial precise extent of this quarry is unknown, since the southern part of the ground surface was lowered during the construction of the rails at the end of the 19th century.

Chronology

Even though the moveable finds, which come from the cemetery, have only been preliminary studied, the presence of numerous little usually black glazed lekythoi, of a type that occurs in the 3rd quarter of the 4th century B.C. (Fig. 17) (Sparkes - Talcot 1970, 316, no 1140), combined with the almost absolute absence of unguentaria, indicates that the lifespan of the cemetery must have covered the last few decades of the Classical period. In addition, the presence of the monumental funerary *periboloi*, as well as of the relief marble *stelae* and the lekythoi, shows that the cemetery must predate the legislation of Demetrios of Phaleron (317/6 B. C.), which prohibited the costly demonstration of wealth in the funerals (Garland 1982, 127).

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Summary of grave features

Serial No	Grave type	Burial type	Grave orientation	Body orientation	Major finds	Enclosure type	Archaeological status	Gender - Age
1	pit grave with partially built mouth, uncovered	inhumation	N-S	N	1 iron strigil, 3 nail heads.	?	undisturbed	young male
2	pit-cist grave, indications of covering slabs (patoura).	inhumation	N-S	?	1 miniature pyxis, 1 fragmentary kantharos, 2 disk-phaped pyxis lids, 1 black glazed clay clot	collective	looted	adult
3	pit grave covered with flat ceramic tiles	inhumation	N-S	?	1 fragment of solid porous stone *alabaster*, 1 bronze nail	no	looted	young male
4	pit grave, uncovered	inhumation	N-S	S	4 iron nails	no	disturbed	adult
5	tile grave	inhumation	E-W	?	2 murex shells	no	partially disturbed	infant
6	pit – tile grave	inhumation	N-S	N	1 iron strigil, 1 little lekythos, 1 bronze tool	collective & individual	undisturbed	young male
7	pit grave, uncovered	inhumation	N-S	N (?)	1 bronze tool	no	?	adult
8	pit grave, uncovered	inhumation	N-S	?	–	no	?	adult
9	pit grave, covered with slabs	inhumation	N-S	S	4 gilded clay disks decorated with relief Gorgon heads, 1 bronze coin, 2 clay beads.	collective	looted	adult
10	pit grave, uncovered	inhumation	N-S	?	1 fragmentary kantharos, 1 lekythos, 1 little lekythos, 1 fragment of solid porous stone *alabaster*.	no	looted	adult
11	secondary cremation in an hydria, mouth sealed with a lead sheet.		Vertical handle facing S.		–	?	undisturbed	adult
12	secondary cremation in an hydria		Vertical handle facing E		–	no	slightly disturbed	adult
13	pit grave with double burial: a) secondary cremation in clay urn, b) tile roofed inhumation.		N-S	a) – b) N	1 curse tablet encompassing a group of bronze nails, burial b: 1 iron strigil.	collective & individual	undisturbed	a) ? b) adult male
14	pit grave, uncovered	primary cremation	N-S	N	1 perished iron object, above the pit: 1 loom weight	collective & individual	undisturbed	adult
15	pit – tile grave, pit in second use.	inhumation	N-S	?	2 glass beads, 1 bronze coin, 2 fragments of solid porous stone *alabasters*.	collective	undisturbed	adult
16	pit – tile grave, pit in second use.	inhumation	E-W	E	1 iron strigil, 1 iron nail	individual	undisturbed	male child

17	pit grave, covered with slabs	inhumation	N-S	S	1 iron strigil, 1 pyxis	?	undisturbed	adult male
18	pit grave, covered with slabs	inhumation	N-S	S	–	?	undisturbed	adult
19	pit grave, covered with slabs	inhumation	N-S	N	1 iron strigil	collective & individual	undisturbed	adult male
20	pit-cist grave, covered with slabs	inhumation	N-S	N	34 gilded clay disks decorated with relief heads of Athena Parthenos, 1 *alabaster* of alabaster, 1 bronze disk-shaped mirror, 1 cylindrical lead object, 1 pyxis, 1 conical bead of blue glass et. al.	collective	undisturbed	adult female
21	pit grave, covered with slabs	inhumation	N-S	N	1 iron strigil, 1 black grazed lamp.	?	partially disturbed	adult
22	pit grave, covered with flat ceramic tiles	inhumation	N-S	?	1 little lekythos	individual	undisturbed	adult
23	pit grave, covered with slabs	inhumation	N-S	N	1 iron strigil, 2 little lekythoi, 6 iron nail heads	?	undisturbed	young mail
24	terracotta larnax	inhumation	E-W	?	–	?	undisturbed	infant
25	pit grave, covered with slabs	inhumation	N-S	N	1 iron strigil, 1 little lekythos, 1 cup, 2 little jugs, 1 iron nail.	individual		adult
26	pit grave, covered with slabs	inhumation	N-S	S	1 bronze coin, 1 bronze disk-shaped mirror, group of little clay beads, 1 bronze nail	?	undisturbed	adult female (?)
27	pit grave, covered with slabs	inhumation	N-S	N	–	collective & individual	undisturbed	adult
28	pit grave, covered with slabs	inhumation	N-S	N	1 iron ring, 1 iron strigil	collective & individual	undisturbed	adult male
29	pit grave, covered with slabs	inhumation	N-S	?	1 little jug	collective	looted	adult
30	porous stone sarcophagus with monolithic gabled lid	inhumation	N-S	S	2 lead curse tablets pierced by bronze nails	collective	undisturbed	adult
31	porous stone sarcophagus with monolithic gabled lid	inhumation	N-S	N	1 pyxis, 1 bronze disk-shaped mirror	collective	undisturbed	adult
32	terracotta larnax	inhumation	E-W	?	–	collective	disturbed	infant
33	pit grave, covered with slabs	inhumation	N-S	N	1 crystal ellipsoid pendant decorated with an incised dragon, 1 bronze ring, 1 bone pin	collective	undisturbed	adult female

34	pit – tile grave	inhumation	N-S	N	1 bronze pin	collective & individual	undisturbed	adult
35	terracotta larnax	inhumation	N-S	?	–	collective	undisturbed	infant
36	pit-cist grave	inhumation	N-S	?	1 little lekythos	collective	disturbed (?)	adult
37	pit grave with partially built mouth, covered with slabs	inhumation	N-S	?	1 silver coin, 1 iron strigil, 6 iron nails	collective	disturbed	adult male
38	pit grave, covered with slabs	inhumation	N-S	S	1 iron ring, 17 iron nails	no	undisturbed	adult
39	pit grave with built mouth, covered with 2 gabled slabs	inhumation	N-S	?	1 bronze coin, 4 iron nails, part of an iron strigil (?), 1 murex shell	collective & individual	looted	adult male
40	pit grave, covered with flat ceramic tiles	inhumation	N-S	?	1 fragmentary unguentarium, 1 bronze nail, 4 iron nails	collective & individual	looted	adult
41	pit grave, covered with curved ceramic tiles	inhumation	N-S	?	1 golden earring, 1 iron nail	no	undisturbed (?)	adult
42	pit grave, uncovered	inhumation	N-S	N	2 bronze coins, 1 cup, 2 little lekythoi, fragments of stone vases	collective	undisturbed (?)	adult
43	pit grave, uncovered	inhumation	N-S	N (?)	2 little lekythoi, 1 *alabaster* fragment of alabaster, 1 fragment of solid porous stone *alabaster*.	collective	disturbed	adult
44	pit grave, uncovered	inhumation	N-S	N	–	no	undisturbed	adult
45	pit grave, uncovered	inhumation	N-S	?	2 fragmentary solid porous stone *alabasters*, part of an iron strigil	no	disturbed	adult male
46	pit grave, covered with slabs	inhumation	N-S	N	1 pyxis, 1 bronze coin, 1 bronze nail	collective	undisturbed	adult
47	pit grave, covered with slabs	inhumation	N-S	S	1 silver coin, 1 iron strigil, 14 iron nail heads, 1 conical glass bead, 1 little lekythos	collective	undisturbed	adult male
48	pit grave, covered with slabs	inhumation	N-S	S	1 iron strigil, 1 iron pin, 22 fragmentary iron nails (mainly heads), 3 fragments of solid porous stone *alabasters*.	collective	undisturbed	adult male
49	pit grave, covered with slabs	inhumation	N-S	N	1 alabaster, 2 bronze coins, 1 iron strigil, 1 bronze disc-shaped mirror, 22 bronze nail heads, 2 iron pins, 1 pyxis, 1 little jug et al.	collective	undisturbed	adult male
50	pit grave, uncovered	inhumation	N-S		1 iron strigil, 1 *alabaster* fragment of alabaster, 3 iron nail heads.	collective	undisturbed	adult male

51	pit grave, uncovered	inhumation	E-W	?	–	no	?	child (or infant)
52	pit grave, covered with flat ceramic tiles	inhumation	N-W	?	1 *alabaster* of alabaster, 3 fragments of solid porous stone *alabasters*, 1 fragmentary strigil (?), 1 little lekythos.	individual	disturbed	?
53	pit grave, covered with slabs	inhumation	E-W	?	–	individual	undisturbed	infant
54	pit grave, covered with slabs	inhumation	N-W	N	note: excavation still in progress	individual	undisturbed	

Fig. 1. Aerial photo of the harbor of Piraeus with the locations of the Agios Dionysios cemetery and the Eetionian gate marked (source: Google Earth).

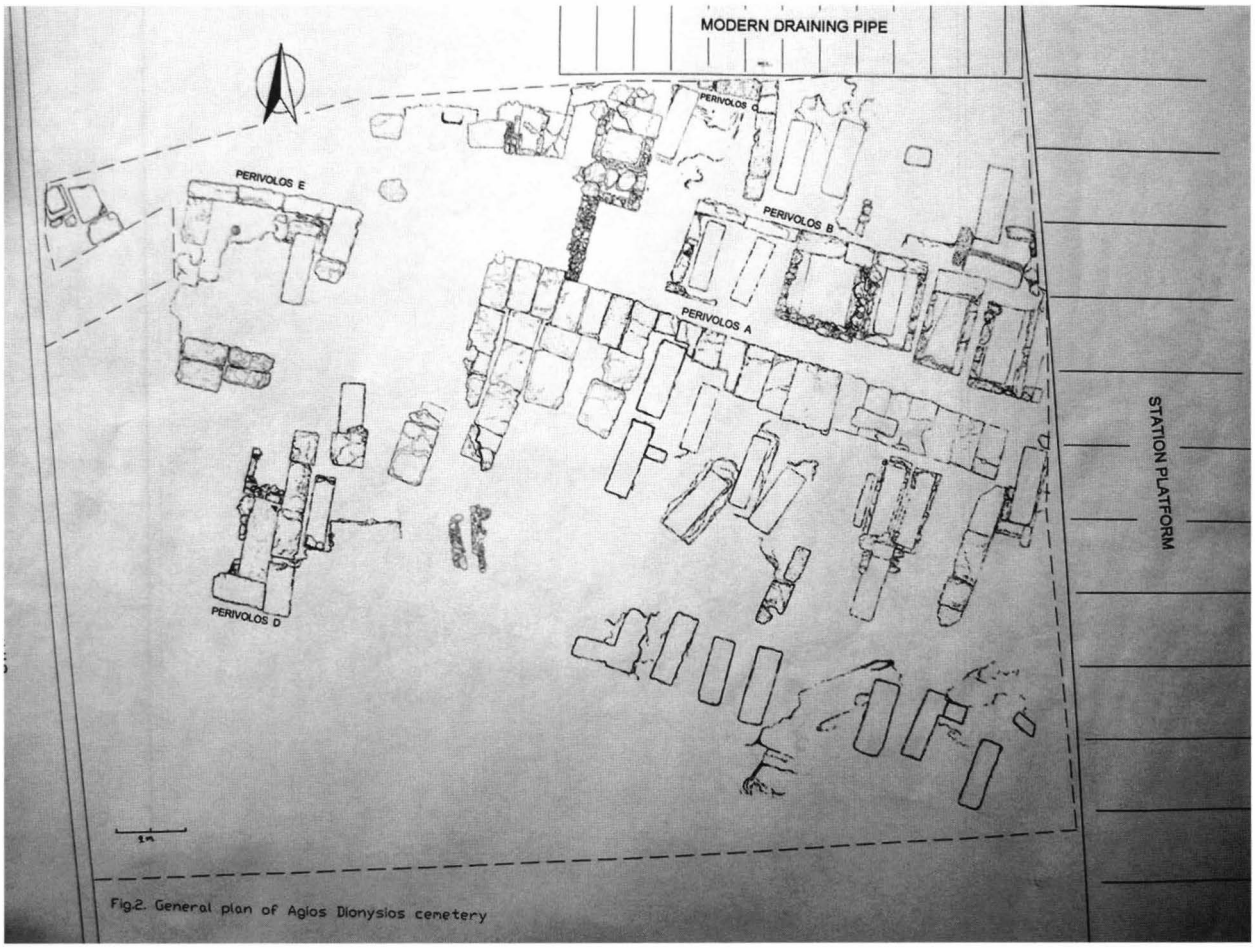


Fig. 2. General plan of the excavated area (drawing: Ir. Gkion).

Fig. 3.The eastern half of the excavated area. Aerial photo.

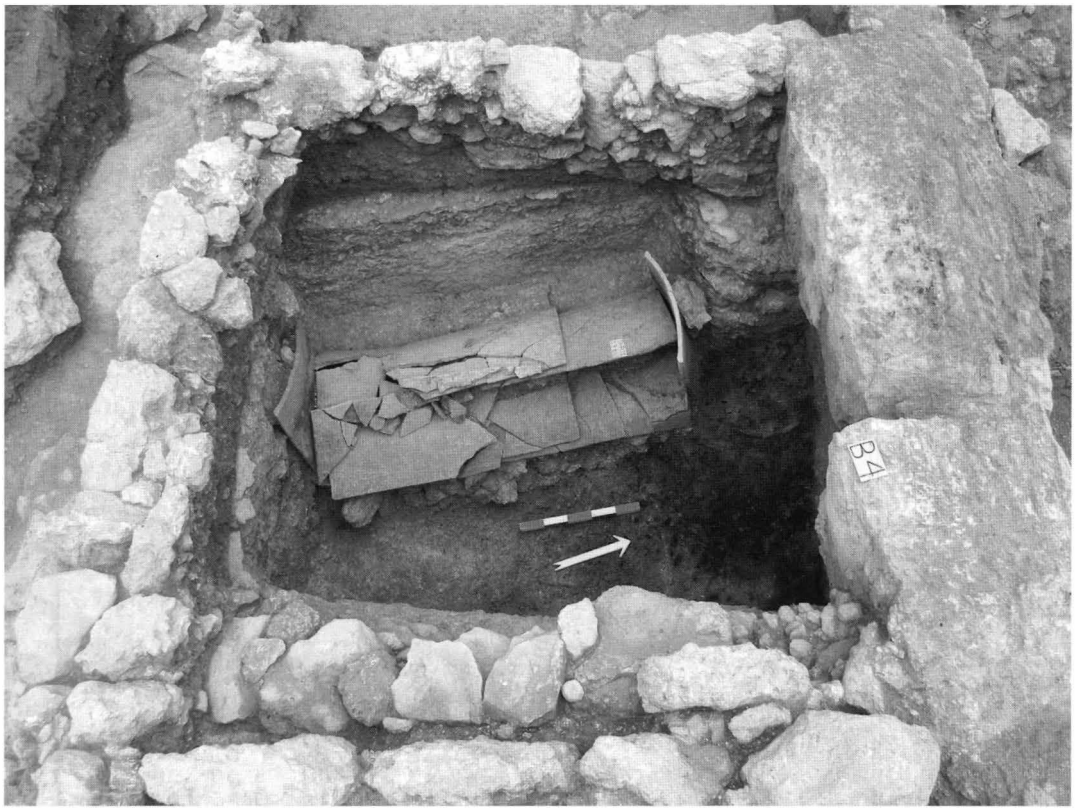
Fig. 4. The western half of the excavated area. View from north.

Fig. 5. Pit grave no 28 with the dead and the grave gifts *in situ.* At the southwestern corner of the burial pit (down to the right) an iron strigil is discerned.

Fig. 6. Pit grave no 49 with the dead and the grave gifts *in situ.* By the feet of the skeleton among others lie: an *alabaster of* alabaster, a disk-shaped bronze mirror, an iron strigil, a little jug and two iron pins.

7. Pit graves no 18 (left) and 26 before the removal of their covering slabs. At their background lies the northern main wall of *peribolos B*, at their right the eastern side wall

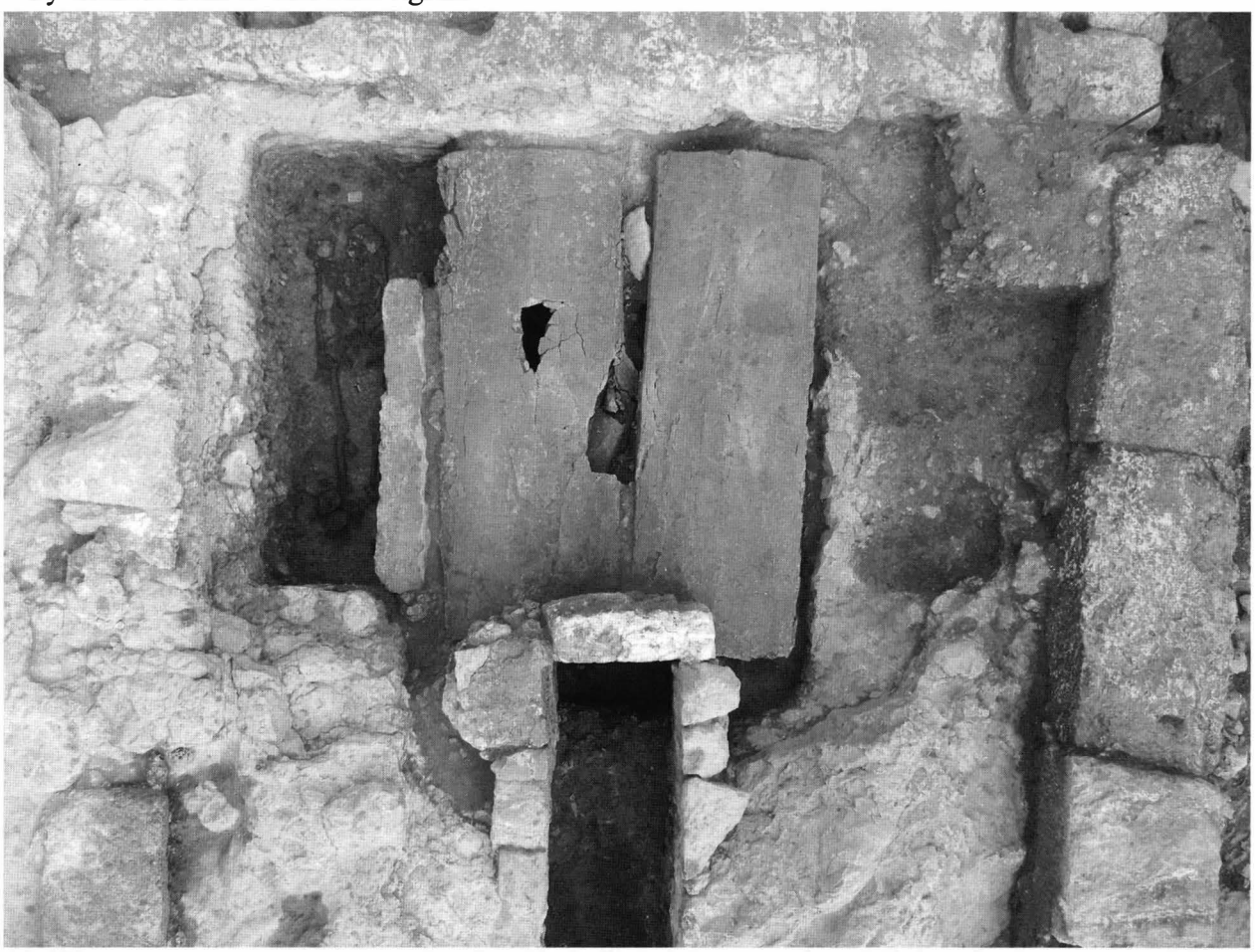
8. Pit-tile grave no 6 enclosed in its individual *peribolos*



9. Grave no13 enclosed in its individual *peribolos*. The western part of the burial pit is occupied by a gabled tile chamber, while by the northern wall of the grave lies an accumulated heap of

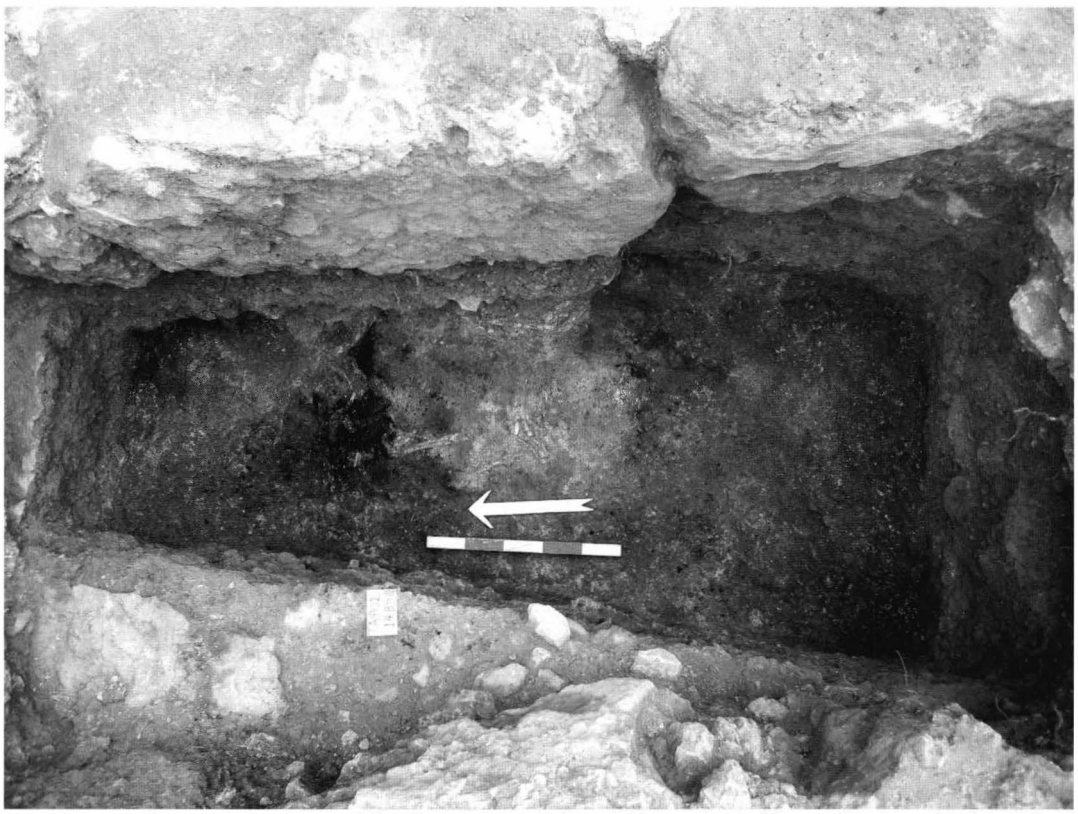
10. Grave no 13 with the ash-urn *in situ* in the middle of a heap of ashes.

11. Pit-cist grave no 20 with the dead and the grave gifts *in situ*. Among others are discerned: a disk-shaped mirror (by the right shoulder), a pyxis, an *alabaster* of alabaster and numerous little clay disks similar to those on fig. 22



12. The twin porous stone sarcophagi no 30 (left) & 31 and to their left the pit-cist grave no 20 with the dead *in situ*. The fourth grave is pit-cist grave no 2. These four graves occupy the eastern part of *peribolos A*.

13. Grave no 24. It consists of a terracotta larnax that lies in a shallow pit.



14. Cremation grave no 14. The bottom of the pit is covered by a layer of ashes that contains few charcoaled skeletal remains.

15. Grave no11. The ash-urn (hydria) lies *in situ* at the middle of the small burial pit. The vase retains its lead lid folded around its mouth.

16. Marble *lekythos*, probably a *sema* (grave marker) or boundary marker of a *peribolos*

17. A group of little clay lekythoi, 3rd quarter of the 4th century B.C.

18. A solid porous stone *alabaster*. Abundant vases of this type, destined exclusively for funerary use, were found at the Ayios Dionysios cemetery located next to graves of inside them.

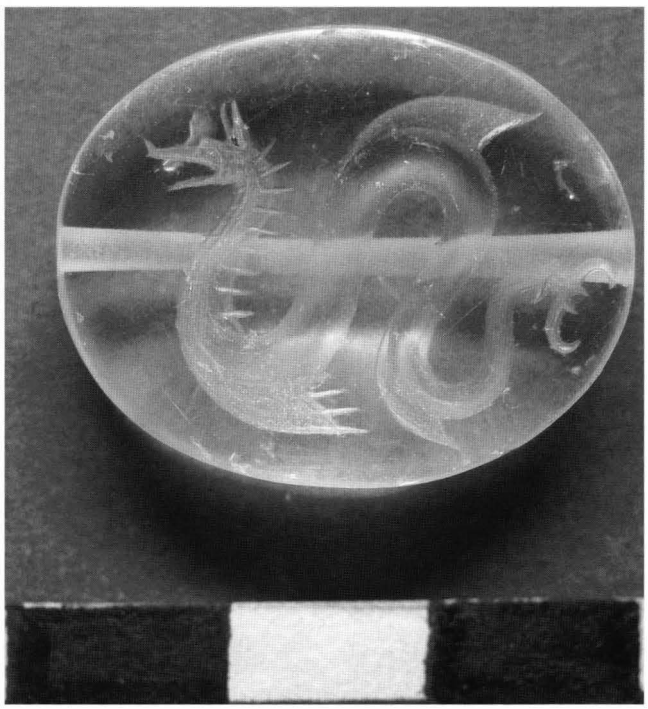
19. Lead curse tablet *(katadesmos) in situ* in tomb no 13. The tablet enclosed a group of bronze nails.

20. Lead curse tablet pierced by a bronze nail.

21. Partial view of the bottom of gr. no 20. The (female) dead is surrounded by a lot of little gilded clay disks similar to those illustrated on fig. 22. Above her

22. Some of the 34 in all clay disks found in gr. no 20. They are decorated with relief heads of Athena Parthenos, while most of them preserve on their surface remnants of golden leaf. They were probably sewn or glued on the shroud of the dead.

23. Clay disks with relief Gorgon heads found in gr. no 9. The three smaller disks preserve on their surface remnants of golden leaf. They were of the same use as those of fig. 22.



24. Crystal pendant decorated with an incised dragon. From gr. no 33.

A GEOMETRIC LOCATION IN PIRAEUS

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Keywords: Geometric period, Graves, Kilns, Piraeus.

Abstract. A recent rescue excavation in Palea Kokkinia of Piraeus has revealed Protogeometric and Geometric settlements including PG ceramic kilns, remains of Geometric buildings, a road and a cemetery dating to the same period. The organization of the cemetery and the types of the graves are typically of the MG and LG period. The significance of these finds is important, because of the rarity of a PG workshop near the coast and the specialness of PG ceramic kilns. The Geometric finds offer us a new topographical evidence for the settlements and the organization of the society in this district of Attica, which was until now unknown.

The purpose of our presentation is the brief description of our finds from a rescue excavation located in Greece, at Palea Kokkinia which is a suburb of Piraeus. As the excavation finished recently, we are not allowed to reach safe conclusions regarding our finds, since their study is not completed yet. Nevertheless we are in position to conclude that our excavation can give a lot of evidence as well as interesting clues, of the existence and organization of the community which was developed at the district of Athens during the Geometric period.

At the area of Palea Kokkinia, a district in northeastern Piraeus, a geometric site dating to the 9th and 8th century BC was located at the '50s (Theocharis 1951). A few graves were excavated there and that was the only geometric site that we had located in the area, until now. Nowadays, because of the construction of many new buildings, we have the opportunity to locate and excavate more sites through.

The excavation (between Agion Anargyron and Mavrogenous str) lasted for more than 2 years and has revealed groups that belong chronologically to the Proto-geometric, Middle and Late Geometric period. Unfortunately an old building erected before the II World War destroyed an important part of this site.

The area of Palea Kokkinia

Palea Kokkinia is a district where the presence of water is intense. The ground is loamy as a result of the floods. During the geometric period it seems that above the natural rock there was not high filling, and the thickness of the ground was 0,50 to 1,00 m high.

In the greater area of Palea Kokkinia a few classical graves were found until now. We haven't located an organized cemetery of that period yet.

The road

A road (ph 1) is the basic element of the site. We have located two surfaces of it. They were made of pebble and clay. A wall made of stones holded the east side of the road. Along both sides remains of buildings were found, but we haven't been able to define their use yet. Groups of graves dating to the Middle and Late Geometric period were also located along both sides of the road. Above the surface a fill of sand was found. It seems that the road was abandoned after the LG period because many pits were filled with stones and pottery dating to the classical period, while a burial dating to the same period destroyed the surfaces of the road.

The cemetery

Along both sides of the road 3 groups of graves were found.

a) North group

To the west side of the road there are 5 graves organized in one group (ph 2). Two of them are surrounded of two small rectangular enclosures made of chiseled stones. The North group contains three inhumations and two cremation graves.

b) Central group

The central group stands east of the road (ph 3). A rectangular enclosure which was made of big stones encloses two inhumations. The outside face of these stones was very well chiseled. Four more inhumations are located very close to each other eastwards and southwards of the fence. Westwards of the fence and in conjunction with it there was one more fence which enclosed a cremation grave. Two more cremation graves without fence are located southwards of the above.

c) South group

The South group is located east of the road. There we found two inhumations (ph 4).

Cremation graves

The cremation graves founded here are of the trench and hole type. They are pits dug in the rock. Inside the grave there is another smaller pit in which is placed an urn amphora. Around the upper part of the urn amphora there are more offering vessels. Four stone plates endued the sides of crematory grave 1 (photo 3, 5) and separated the burial room of the pyre remains area. There we found ashes, remaining of half burned woods and pieces of burned clay.

Similar is the cremation grave 13 (photo 6). Here there are not stones, but there is a separate place for the remains of the pyre. We found there ashes, half burned woods and burned sherds.

Inhumations

The inhumations are pits dug in the rock or in the ground. Big stone plates based on the chiseled rock covered the graves (photo 7). We didn't find stone plates over three graves and probably, according to Kurtz and Boardman (Kurtz-Boardman 1971), in these cases there were wooden beams as cover. Over the plates the pit was filled in with earth. In some cases there were plates or big vessels (kraters) as marks.

The bodies were placed supine with their hands at their sides (photo 8). There wasn't a specific orientation. Offerings were spread or usually placed below the feet.

Grave no 17 of the South Group is a particular one. The body is placed supine but the right hand rests on an oinochoe, which is placed starboards, while the left hand rests on the belly (photo 9). Grave 17 and 18 (eastwards of Grave 17) were dug in the ground, there weren't any covering plates and the offerings inside were poor.

The richest inhumation is Grave 3, inside the enclosure of the central group. We found there 27 vessels. Probably this was the most important grave of the group, because, apart of the quantity of the vessels, it was marked by a rectangular stone plate, which was found in situ above of the grave.

Grave 15 probably contained a burial of a child. Teeth were the only organic remain in it. Small and miniature vases, 1 bronze bracelet, 1 object of ivory and beads were the offerings in it.

Grave Markers

Big vessels were used in north group as grave markers. Over grave 6 a krater was found in situ (photo 10). Parts of other were found in the same area above graves 9 and 11. Inside the fence of the central group a rectangular stone plate very well chiseled was found over the grave 3 (photo 7).

Finds-Pottery

We found offerings in all the graves. A few ornaments such as 1 bronze bracelet, a few beads, and two unidentified finds of bronze, probably earrings, a find of ivory and 1 clinquant ring were found too. We found the remains of 10 skeletons but we have not come to any conclusions about the sex, the age or other anthropological information yet.

The presence of pottery is intense: Neck-handled amphorae, oinochoae, puxides, high-handled kantharoi, cups, tankards, pitchers, high-rimmed bowls, plates are the usual types of pottery. There are also some miniature vases, kalathos, small double oinochoae, cups with horizontal and vertical handles, ariballoi. Hatched meanders and swastikas, leaf shaped lozenges, chains of lozenges, false spirals, chevrons, dogteeth, check patterns are the most typical linear motifs. There are also figured motifs like long neck birds and grazing deer.

The shape and the decoration of some vessels seems to belong to the MG II (like these of Funerary Grave 1, or Inhumation Grave 4), as they are conservative and other seems to belong to LG I period (photos 11, 12, 13, 14) (Coldstream 1968). The farther study of pottery will give us more conclusions about the dating and perhaps about the workshops as well as the duration of the cemetery and the social status of the people.

Kilns

Finally, we should mention that we uncovered the lower parts of 4 ceramic kilns dating to the Protogeometric period (photo 15). These constructions were made of clay mud. The upper part wasn't found and we assume that it was made of the same fabric. There was a separation between a firebox at ground level and a perforated shelf (grate) above, which formed the base of a separate kiln chamber for the pottery. Parts of the self-grate and protogeometric sherds of failed batches were found in a well very close to the kilns. The importance of this find is significant because we haven't found protogeometric kilns (or at least they haven't been published) yet. Beyond the rarity of the find, its importance lays on the evidence of a settlement near the coast during the PG period.

Conclusions

We believe that this excavation has offered many and significant information, as we confirm a geometric settlement in an area for which we did not have sufficient data until now.

The complexion that comes up of the organization of the cemetery, of the types of the graves and the offerings is similar with the ordinary organization and the finds of a geometric cemetery of Athens (Coldstream 1977, Kurtz-Boardman 1971). Two kinds of graves (cremations-inhumations) show the continuity of the settlement or the different social status of the dead. Good quality and quantity pottery found in some graves probably indicates the existence of important for the district genuses.

The dating of the cemetery to the 9^{th} and 8^{th} centuries B.C. seems to agree with the increase of population and settlements near the coast of that period (Coldstream 1977). The use of road is abandoned alike to the use of the cemetery at the end of that period.

This brief presentation finishes with the note that the conservation and study of the material of this excavation is not completed. We wait for the results of the detailed study of the pottery, the skeletal analysis, the petrographic analysis and the association with other groups from Piraeus and Athens. Otherwise we can't have safe conclusions and an accomplished reference. Except that, we have to search further the district so that we can have more information about the organization and the character of PG and Geometric settlements in this area of Piraeus.

Abbrevations

LG: Late Geometric
MG: Middle Geometric
PG: Protogeometric

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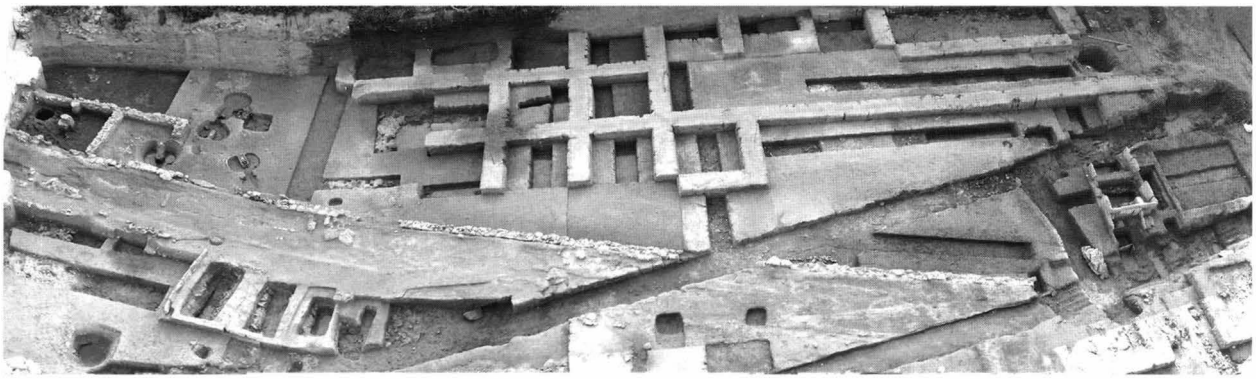

Photo 1: Road, north and central group of graves, ceramic kilns

Photo 2: North group of graves

Photo 3: Central Group of graves

Photo 4: South group of graves

Photo 5: Grave 1

Photo 6: Grave 13: Pyre remains

Photo 7: Central group. Enclosure, marker and cover stones of grave 2, 3.

Photo 8: Grave 4

Photo 9: Grave 17

Photo 10: Grave 6: Krater as marker

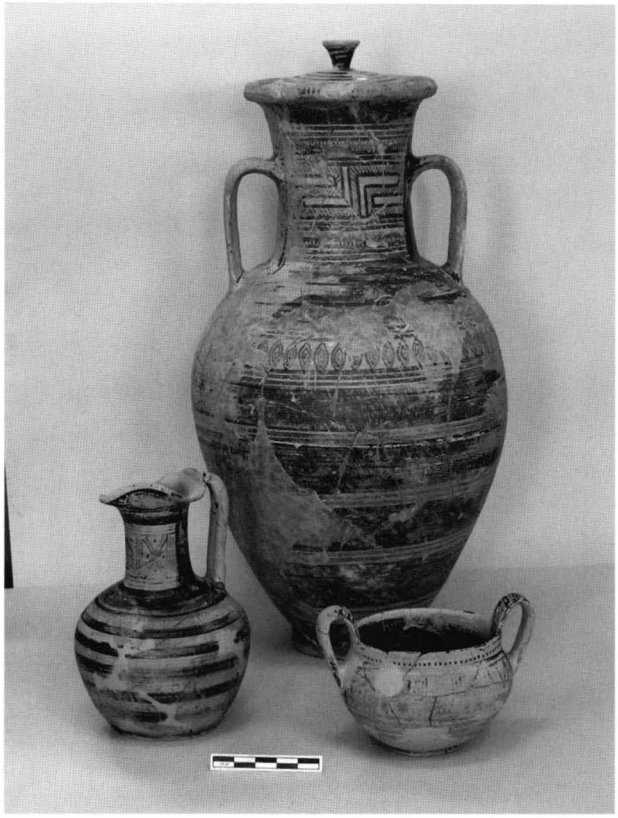

Photo 11: Grave 1: Pottery

Photo 12: Grave 4: Pottery

Photo 13 Grave 14: Pottery

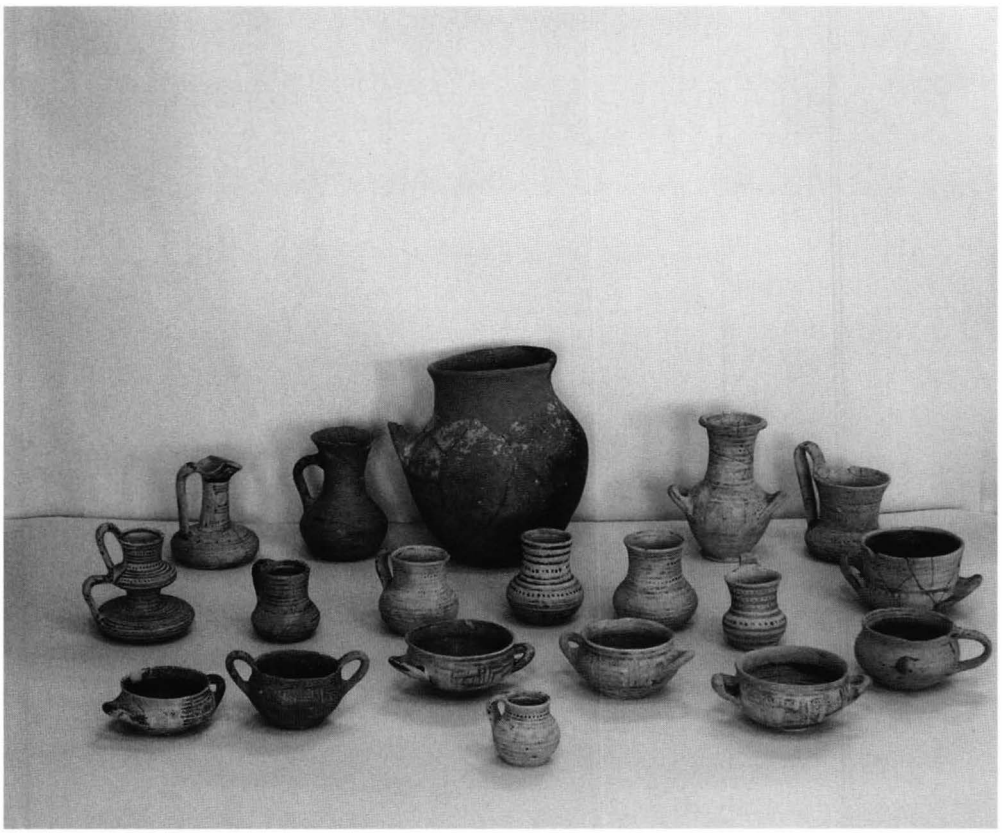

Photo 14: Grave 15: Pottery

Photo 15: Protogeometric ceramic kilns

LES RITES ET LES RITUELS FUNERAIRES DANS L'ESPACE EST-CARPATIQUE (DEUXIEME MOITIE DU XII^{e} SIECLE – III^{e} SIECLE AV. J.-C.)

Ion Niculiţă,
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Mots-clés: Nécropole plane, nécropole tumulaire, rite funéraire, inhumation, ncinération.

Résumé. L'article est réservé aux problèmes liés de rite et de rituel funéraire dans l'espace est carpatique dans le deuxième moitié du XII^{e} siècle - III^{e} siècle av. J.-C. On a fait une classification des nécropoles d'après l'aménagement des constructions funéraires, d'après les types des enterrements, ainsi que d'après le rite funéraire utilisé. On fait une tentative de maître en évidence celles particularités communes qui sont caractéristiques pour la toute période investiguée.

Les investigations archéologiques dans l'espace de l'est de Carpates ont mis en évidence un nombre considérable de nécropoles, encadrées dans la deuxième moitié du XII^{e} siècle - III^{e} siècle av. J.-C.

L'analyse des découvertes démontre que dans la culture Chişinău-Corlăteni – la deuxième moitié du XII^{e} siècle - le X^{e} siècle av. J.-C. (László 1994, 162; Leviţki 1994, 145) –, dans la culture Cozia-Saharna – le X^{e} siècle - la première moitié du VIII^{e} siècle av. J.-C. (Kašuba 2000, 251-252) –, ainsi que plus tard dans les VII-V siècles av. J.-C. (Ignat 2006, 35-56) et dans les IV-III siècles av. J.-C. (Niculiţă 1972a, 27-44) pour ce territoire sont caractéristique deux types de nécropoles: planes et tumulaires.

L'analyse des vestiges découverts démontre que sans tenir compte de l'appartenance culturelle, ces nécropoles ont des particularités communes, similitudes, dans les parmi des cas jusqu'à l'identité, qui se sont manifestées dans les rites et les rituels funéraires.

Les nécropoles planes ont étés étudiées à Cucorăni (Teodor 1975, 124-139), Mândreşti (Lapušnjan 1972, 88-104), Cotu Morii (László 1983, 52-58), Trifeşti (Ioniţă 1962, 733-739), Hansca (Leviţki 1985, 125-128), Poiana (Kašuba 2000, 402), Climăuţii de Jos (Levinschi, Borziac 1990, 53-54), Giurgiuleşti (Leviţki, Haheu 1999, 121-134), Hansca-Lutărie (Niculiţă 1969, 134-145; Niculiţă 1972, 105-121) etc. Ces nécropoles, indifférent de la période quand ils ont étés aménagées, elles peuvent être par l'inhumation ou par l'incinération.

Les enterrements par l'inhumation, dans la plupart de cas, étaient effectués dans les fosses rectangulaires avec les angles arqués. Les mêmes fosses sont utilisées dans le hallstatt ancien à Hansca (Leviţki 1985, 125-128), à Satu-Nou (Novosel'skoe) (Bruiako, Noviţki 1997, 117), tel que dans les IV-III siècles av. J.-C. à Hansca-Lutărie (Niculiţă 1972, 114-115). L'inventaire funéraire est différent, étant représenté par de boutons en bronze, des boucles d'oreille en airain, mais prédomine le matériel céramique, qui présent différente catégories, les types et variantes des récipients similaires, en général, pour la céramique découverte dans les habitats.

Les enterrements par l'incinération sont mis en évidence tant dans les nécropoles hallstattiennes ancien et moyen de Mândreşti, Cotu Morii, Trifeşti (Leviţki 1994, 64-65), Şoldăneşti II, Mateuţi-Curtaea, Selişte I (Meljukova 1989, 18-20), tant que celles du deuxième époque du fer de Slobozia (Buzdugan 1968, 78-82), Poieneşti (Vulpe 1953, 216-486), Hansca-Lutărie (Niculiţă 1972, 105-121), Giurgiuleşti (Arnăut 1999, 135-145) etc. Parmi ceux, indifférent de la période de leur aménagement, on distingue des enterrements en urnes et sans

urnes. Prédomine les enterrements en urnes, qui étaient avec ou sans couvercle. Comme couvercle, dans les parmi des cas, sont utilisés les écuelles mis avec le fond en haut. Parfois dans les urnes sur les os calcinés étaient posés des petits récipients: des brocs, des coupes etc. – l'habitude qui persistera jusqu'à le III^{e} siècle av. J.-C.

Les nécropoles tumulaire sont connus d'après découvertes du Branişte (Leviţki 1989, 137-149), Saharna-Ţiglău (Smirnov 1955, 119; Kašuba 2000, 390-396), Alcedar (Rozenfeld 1955, 119; Nikitin, Levin 1965, 75-79; Kašuba 2000, 41-114), Saharna-Gura Hulboaca (Smirnov 1955, 117-119; Kašuba 2000, 390-396), Cajvana-Codru, Volovăţ, Satu Mare (Ignat 1978, 133-146; idem 2006, 7-104), Cucuteni (Dinu 1995, 103-126) etc.

De point de vue topographique, on a constaté que les nécropoles tumulaires des le début du I millénaire av. J.-C. et plus tard ont été emplacées sur les crêtes des collines (Ignat 2006, 10) dans le voisinage (200-500 m) des habitats. Par exemple, la nécropole Saharna-Ţiglău se trouve seulement à 200 m à l'ouest de l'habitat avec le même nom, la nécropole d´Alcedar à 500 m vers le sud de l'habitat (Kašuba 2000, 396-442).

Les tumuli aménagés pendant l'époque de fer sont différents, tant par les dimensions, que par les matériaux de construction utilisés à leurs édification. Celles ci, comme résultat des travaux agricoles, ils ont perdu de leurs dimensions initiales, parfois étant peu visible. Maintenant, l'hauteur des tertres varie entre 0,2-0,3 m et 0,65-1,0 m et le diamètre de 4 à 12-14 m (Kašuba 2000, 390-397; Ignat 2006, 22-34; Leviţki 2006, 36).

La forme ainsi que la manière de construction des tertres étaient différents. Prédomine les enterrements avec des tumuli de forme circulaire, mais ils ne manquent pas et celles de forme ovale. Les remblais des tumuli étaient construits de terre ou de terre et de gravier. On a été déterminé que parfois une partie de terre employée par la construction des tertres était apportée d'autre part (Ignat 2006, 11).

Les tumuli avec des remblais hautes seulement de la terre noire et du terre cendré ou jaune sont connus à partir du fin du XII^{e} siècle av. J.-C. et ils continuent jusqu'à III^{e} siècle av. J.-C.

Mais tant dans les X-VIII siècles av. J.-C. que dans les VII-V et IV-III siècles av. J.-C. prédominent les enterrements ou les remblais des tumuli étaient construit du terre et gravier ou des morceaux de pierre de calcaire. Tels tumuli on été examinés dans les nécropoles de Saharna-Ţiglău, Alcedar (Kašuba 2000, 308-400), Trinca (Leviţki 2006, 45-50), Volovăţ-Dealul Burlei, Cajvana (Ignat 2006, 35-39) etc.

Cette situation est caractéristique et pour les autres régions de l'Europe d'Est et de Sud-Est comme la région Transcarpatie où existe la culture Kuštanovice (Leviţki 2006, 46), la courbure de Carpates où se trouve les enterrements du groupe Ferigile-Bârseşti (Vulpe 1967, 15), où le bassin du Danube – la nécropole Balta-Verde (Berciu, Comşa 1956, 384-385, fig. 121, 123) etc.

Dans le même temps on rencontre et les enterrement tumulaires avec des rings circulaires, les diamètres de quelles ne sont plus que 4,0-6,5 m, ou ovales avec les diamètres 6,5×7,0 m. Les rings sont construits par des dalles de pierre posaient sur une côte, un peu penché dans l'intérieur avec deux ou quatre interruptions. Telles constructions ont été trouvées dans les tertres en X-VIII siècles av. J.-C. à Saharna-Ţiglău (Kašuba 2000, 368-390), dans les tumuli de nécropole Trinca, datés des VII-VI siècle av. J.-C. (Leviţki 2006, 45, 104), ainsi que dans le cimetière de Cajvana encadré dans les années 650-550 av. J.-C. (Ignat 2006, 11, 81-82).

Les fouilles archéologiques ont démontré que dans les enterrements tumulaires très fréquent on se pratique l'habitude de couvrir les défunts avec une «carapace» des morceaux de pierre, qui aux bornes étaient rangés dans le seul rang, mais au milieu étaient des quelques rangs, en constituant un tumulus de pierre couvert par terre. Telles constructions sont caractéristiques pour les enterrements tumulaires des différents périodes du I millénaire av. J.-C. – Saharna-Ţiglău, Saharna-Gura Hulboaca (Kašuba 2000, 368-396), Trinca (Leviţki 2006, 45-46), Cajvana (Ignat 2006, 36-37).

La forme des pièces mortuaires dans les nécropoles tumulaires était plus diversifiée que celles planes. Pendant le I millénaire av. J.-C. on a pratiqué les mêmes types de constructions mortuaires:

- des fossés sépulcrales simples de forme rectangulaire avec les angles cambrés ou ovales avec le dimensions de 4,2×3,4 m, approfondits en sol jusqu'à 0,35-0,5 m – Saharna-Gura Hulboaca (Kašuba 2000, 391, fig. LXII), Trinca (Leviţki 2006, 47), Volovăţ, Cajvana 2006, 36) etc.;
- des fossés rectangulaires avec les dimensions de 3,40×2,75 m, approfondits en sol jusqu'à 0,3 m, revêtits avec des plaques en grés. Ces constructions funéraires sont connus par les découvertes de Cajvana (Ignat 2006, 25);
- des caisses aménagées directement sur le niveau antique au centre du tumulus. Pour la fixation des dalles rectangulaires de pierre étaient piochés des canaux spéciaux (Kašuba 2000, 380);
- des plates-formes rectangulaires ou ovales, en pierre de calcaire ou en argile brûlée. Ces sont connues dans les nécropoles tumulaires des X-VIII siècle av. J.-C. (Kašuba 2000, 368-396), ainsi que dans les périodes suivantes à Trinca (Leviţki 2006, 47), Cajvana (Ignat 2006, 36). Les enterrements sur les plates-formes en morceaux d'argile brûlée ils ont été trouvés et dans les nécropoles de Balta Verde de la région de Danube (Berciu, Comşa 1956, 379) etc.
- des constructions en bois, aménagées sur le niveau antique ultérieurement brûlées (Leviţki 2006, 47) de la quelles on a restés des poutres brûlées, charbon etc. (Ignat 2006).

Le rite funéraire pratiquait dans les enterrements tumulaires, en général, est similaire avec celui des nécropoles planes: l'inhumation et l'incinération avec la prédomination, dans la période hallstattienne, de l'inhumation. Tel, dans la nécropole Saharna-Ţiglău 94,7% des enterrements sont par l'inhumation, à Saharna-Gura Hulboaca – 85,7%, mais dans la nécropole d'Alcedar l'inhumation étaient de 90% (Kašuba 2000, 368-400). Mais cette corrélation ne se respecte plus pendant les VII-V et IV-III siècles av. J.-C., quand le nombre des enterrements par l'inhumation augmente substantiel (Leviţki 2006, 50-60; Ignat 2006, 40-41; Niculiţă 1972, 27-43).

Les fouilles archéologiques démontrent, que dans la période hallstattienne ancien la plupart des enterrements par l'inhumation étaient faits en position recroquevillée.

L´intérêt présente le fait qu´on rencontre fréquemment des enterrements en couple ou collectif. En pareils cas les défunts sont posés vis-à-vis, les squelettes féménins étaient arangés sur la partie gauche, mais ceux masculins – sur la partie droite.

L´étude des rites et des rituels funéraires pratiqués par les communautés de l´espace estcarpatique pendant le I millénaire av. J.-C., permet de constater, qu´il n´existaient pas des déférences évidentes, et tous ces là une «continuité» dans cette espace.

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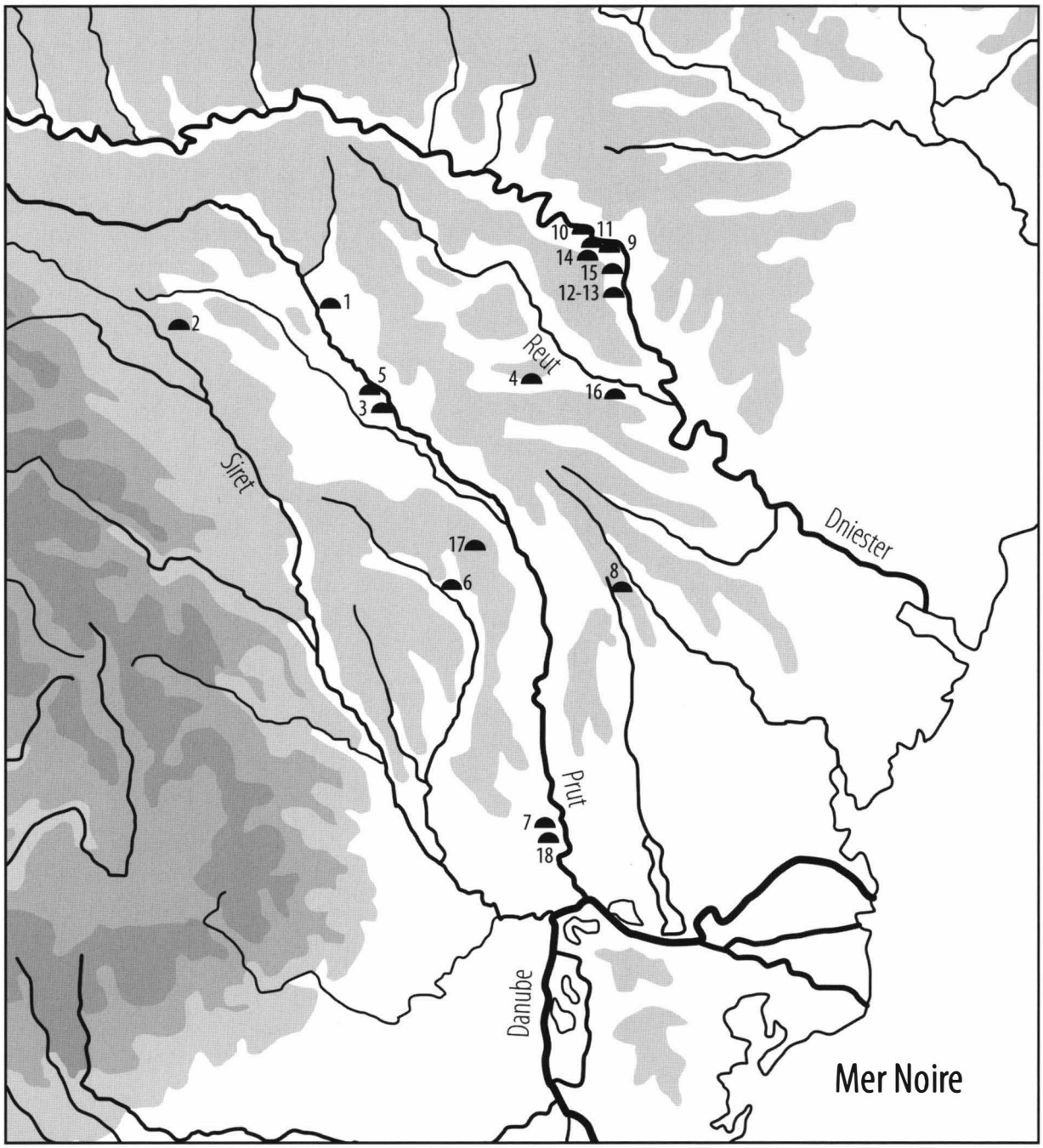
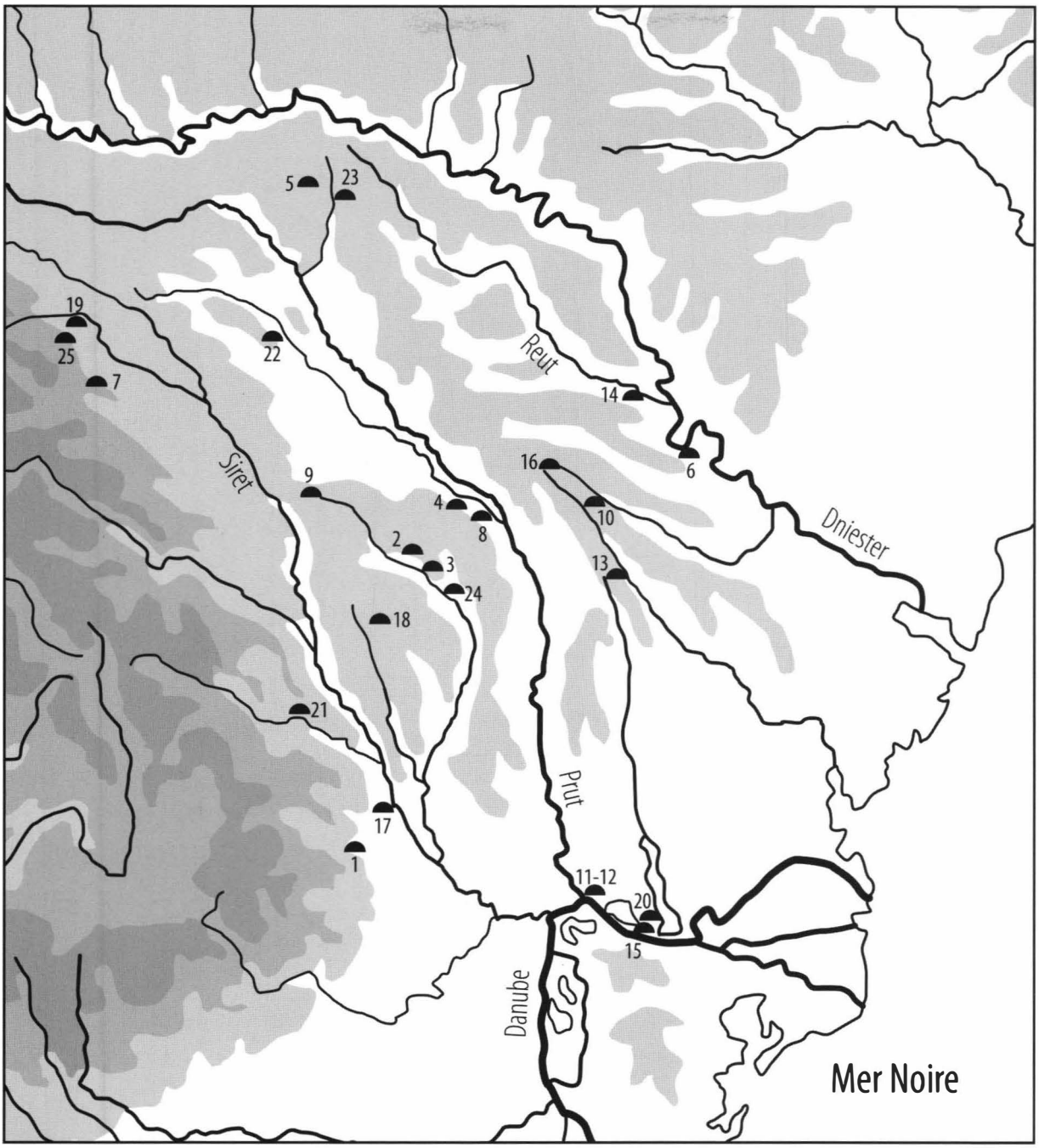


Carte 1. Les monuments funéraires de la deuxième moitié du XIIe siècle – la première moitié du VIIe siècle av. J.-C.: *Chişinău-Corlăteni* – 1. Branişte, 2. Cucorăni, 3. Cotu-Morii, 4. Mândreşti, 5. Trifeşti, 6. Vaslui-Curţile Domneşti; *Hansca-Holercani* – 7. Folteşti, 8. Hansca; *Cozia-Saharna* – 9. Alcedar, 10. Climăuţii de Jos, 11. Poiana, 12. Saharna-Ţiglău, 13. Saharna-Gura Hulboaca; *Basarabi-Şoldăneşti* – 14. Şoldăneşti II, 15. Mateuţi-Curtaea, 16. Selişte I, 17. Brădiceşti; 18. Stoicani.



Carte 2. Les monuments funéraires thraco-gètiques (VII-III siècles av. J.-C.): 1. Bârseşti, 2. Boroseşti, 3. Buhăieşti, 4. Comarna, 5. Corjeuți, 6. Corjevo, 7. Cajvana, 8. Cozia, 9. Cucuteni, 10. Dănceni, 11. Giurgiuleşti-Stâna lui Mocanu, 12. Giurgiuleşti-Sub Cetate, 13. Hansca-Lutărie, 14. Măşcăuți, 15. Orlovka, 16. Pârjolteni, 17. Poiana, 18. Poieneşti, 19. Satu Mare, 20. Satu-Nou (Novosel'skoe), 21. Slobozia-Oneşti, 22. Strahotin, 23. Trinca, 24. Vaslui-Curțile Domneşti, 25. Volovăț.

RARE DESIGN OF GRAVES ON OLBIO NECROPOLIS

Valentina Papanova (Berdyansk - Ukraine)

Keywords: graves, Olbia, constructions, rituals.

Graves construction was one of the most important and stable elements of the funeral rite in the archaic time. The burial construction represented a closed space around the dead body and was a sort of a house for the latter[1].

The burial in the underground constructions symbolized rebirth after death as the ancient people considered the ground to be a "reproduction womb" (Eur, Suppl., 532)[2]. Round shaped and stone burial constructions embodied both houses and temples in the ancient Greeks' beliefs[3].

The burial construction represented stationary, closed space (chamber) created to host a dead body or its remains[4].

Olbio Necropolis is known for three types of burial constructions - pit graves, recess graves and charnel houses (ground and stone).

Pit graves are an archaic type of burial constructions. The shape of those graves hadn't been changed for almost a thousand years of Olbio Necropolis' existence. In most cases, it is a rectangular pit with rounded corners. Some pits used to have additional elements, such as coated walls and floors.

All Olbio's pit graves used to have slab floors made of wood, stone, adobe blocks or their combination. The soil had never been put directly on the coffin, sarcophagus or a dead body. There was a little space left for the deceased[5], as ancient Greeks believed that they buried not only a dead body but a living soul. After the interment, relatives called the soul three times by the name, wished a happy life under the ground and said "be happy" thrice. The speech was concluded with the words "may the ground be light for you"[6].

Amphorae used to be the cover for the graves as well, but it was a rare case. Only one grave of such kind (1905/27) is known. It dated back to 5th century B.C.[7] (Fig.1).

In the 90s the archeologists discovered two pit graves of the unknown construction dated back to 2nd century B.C. The floor of the graves was specially covered with square and rectangular limestone plates (Fig.2-3). Those graves evidently had a wood cover that is proved by some small fragments of wood in the grave. In the grave 1994/1 a wood board was placed on special stone legs in the corners of the pit. Constructional design of the grave 2000/7 was different. There were special holes for wood stakes made in the stone floor to support the covering of the grave. The wood bulkhead was covered with the ground consisting of small stones and ceramic fragments. Funeral accessories in the graves are not substantial as the graves had been destroyed by the tomb robbers. In grave 1994/1 the archeologists found a part of an iron knife, bronze covering of the wooden scabbard, a large blue glass bead with white eyes, a fragment of two-handled askos (Fig.4) and a bronze coin. The coin is a copy of hemigrachma.

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[1] Olkhovsky V.S. 1991.
[2] Mironov 1895, 81; Papanova 2006, 79.
[3] Latyshev 1899, 245.
[4] Smirnov 1997, 214.
[5] Pharmakovsky 1903, 19.
[6] Kulange Fustel de 1906, 101.
[7] Pharmakovsky 1908, 1-35; Papanova 2005,221-237.

There was a print of the head of Demeter the Goddess on its obverse, but the print was covered with another embossing, the horses with letters ΟΛ below. The reverse of the coin is a fuzzy print of a full face of Helios the God and letters ΛΒΙ (Fig.5).

This type of the coins is dated back to the last decade of the 2nd century B.C.[8]. The coin helps to define the date of the grave construction, the end of the 2nd century B.C. A bronze button was also found in the grave 2000/7. Taking into consideration similar construction of the graves we can date them back to the same time[9].

It should be also mentioned that additional design of the pit graves was used to imitate the house of the dead as a house for living. Only averagely rich inhabitants of the city could allow pit graves with additional design elements. But this statement is not undeniable, as the ancient Greeks did not always follow the compliance with their income and expenses for funeral and burial rites.

At the turn of the 5th -6th centuries B.C. a new type of burial construction appeared on Olbio Necropolis. It is a charnel house. It existed until the 3rd century B.C. inclusively. Olbio Necropolis is famous for ground and stone charnel houses.

The ground charnel houses are burial constructions of a complicated design. A chamber was cut in the mainland. A corridor (dromos) with vertical or inclined walls led to the chamber.

A charnel house of an unusual design was discovered in 1993. All charnel houses which had been excavated earlier used to have inclined stepped dromoses and chambers of square, rectangular, trapezoid or round shape with an arch entrance. Charnel house 1993/1 had a principally new design (Fig.6). Its dromos represented a deep (3-4 meters) entrance with inclined walls. There were narrow cornices on the south-west and south-east walls. The dromos was covered with a mixture of yellow clay and ground, and also fragments of amphorae and small stones. There was a layer of rubble on the upper cover of the dromos. The pyriform chamber of the charnel house used to have rounded corners (0,86-1,33 x 1,87 x 0,73 - 0,82 м) oriented to the line northwest-southeast. The chamber was located in the northwest part of the dromos. The entrance was arch shaped, divided into two parts by a ground column (0,34 - 0,48 x 0,56 - 0,59 м). The arches had different height and width. Burial accessories are poorly represented as depredation took place. There were strongly damaged human bones, pieces of iron nails, astragalus with a trace of cooper oxide, a Black Sea shell with the trace of copper and iron oxide, two fragments of grey clay bowl with turned up brim dated back to 5th century B.C. The north part of the charnel house had the print of the coffin's board (0,6 x 0,37 м).

Apparently, the charnel house was constructed at the end of the 5th – the beginning of the 4th century B.C. The date is proved by the fact that it is located on the area with burials dated back to the second quarter of the 5th-4th centuries B.C. Besides, the fragments of the grey clay bowl dated back to the 5th century B.C. were found in the grave. The grave represented the transition from a pit grave to a charnel house. It is proved by the fragments of a grey clay bowl dated back to the 5th century B.C. and pit graves dated back to the beginning of the 4th century B.C. that were the transition from large pit graves to the charnel houses[10].

Thus, charnel houses dated back to the turn of the 5th – 4th centuries appeared first, then stone crypts appeared in the second half of the 4th century B.C. This is one of Olbio Necropolis' peculiarities, unlike stone crypts appeared first in the 4th century B.C. on the other graveyards of the antique cities of the north pre-Black Sea regions[11].

The type and kind of burial constructions depended on a number of circumstances. Firstly, on religious beliefs of relatives of a deceased person. Secondly, on economic

[8] Zograph 1961, 135, Table XXXIV,14.
[9] Papanova 2001, 38.
[10] Papanova 2006, 86.
[11] Tsvetayeva 195, 169-70,73.

development of the city (polis) in a given historic period. Thirdly, on the natural environment and necessary construction materials.

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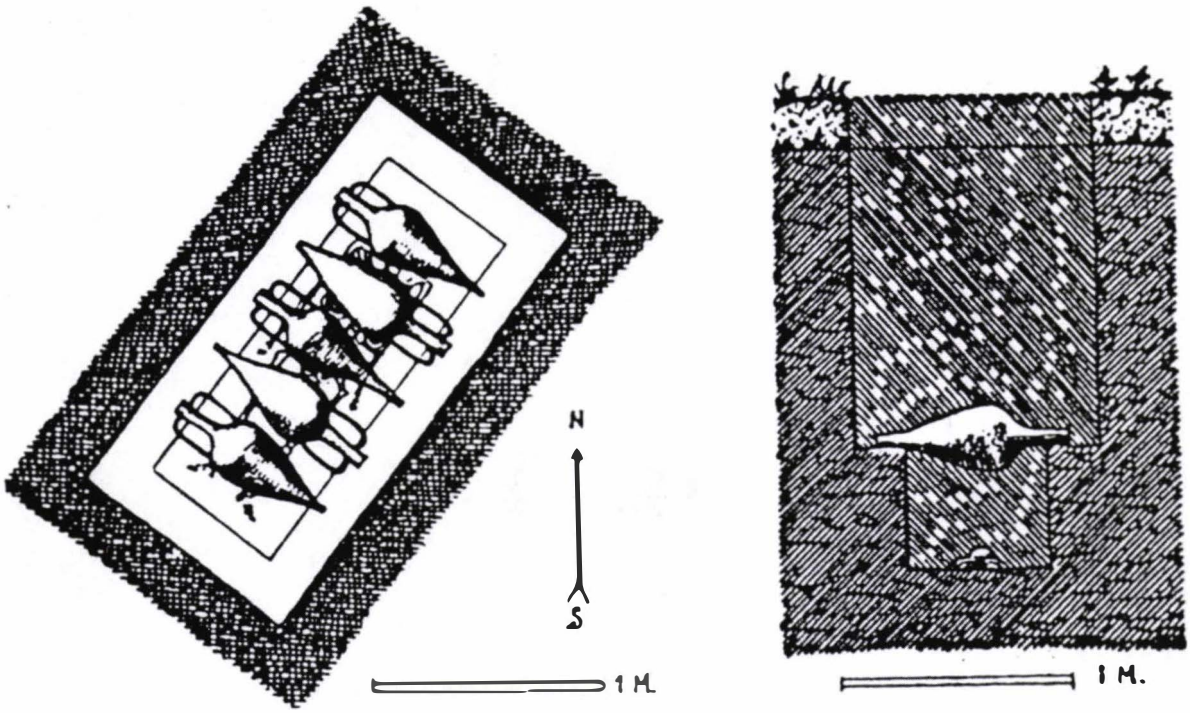
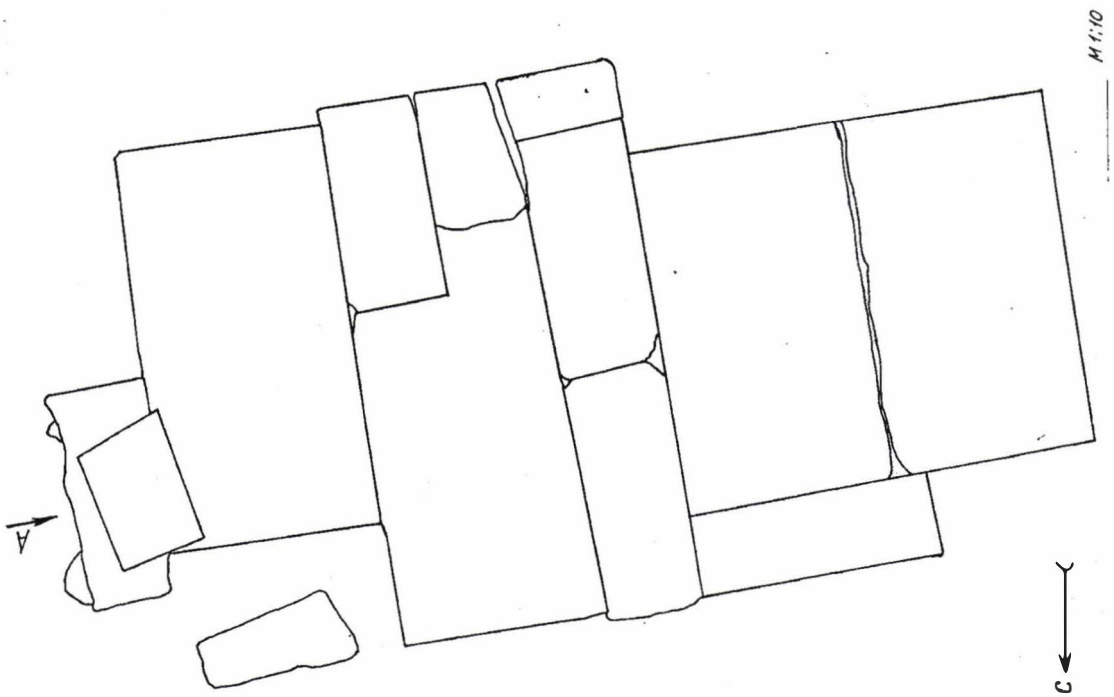
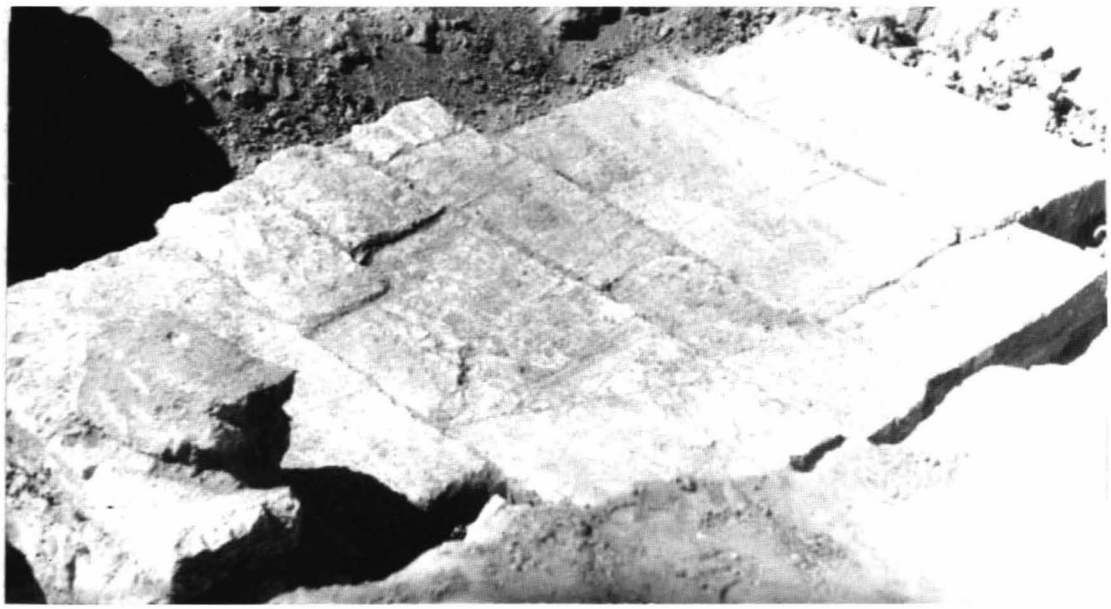


Fig.1. Amphorae used to be the cover for the graves as well 1905/27 to 5th century B.C.



a



b

Fig.2. Grave 1994/1 to 2nd century B.C. (a - ; b - foto)

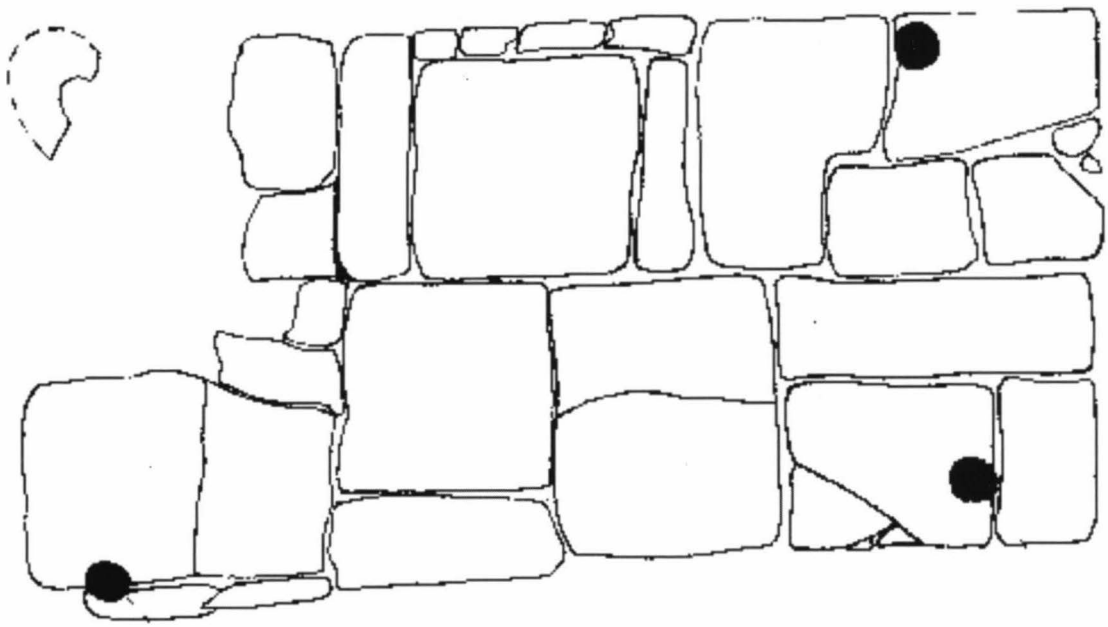


Fig.3. Grave 2000/7 to 2nd century B.C.

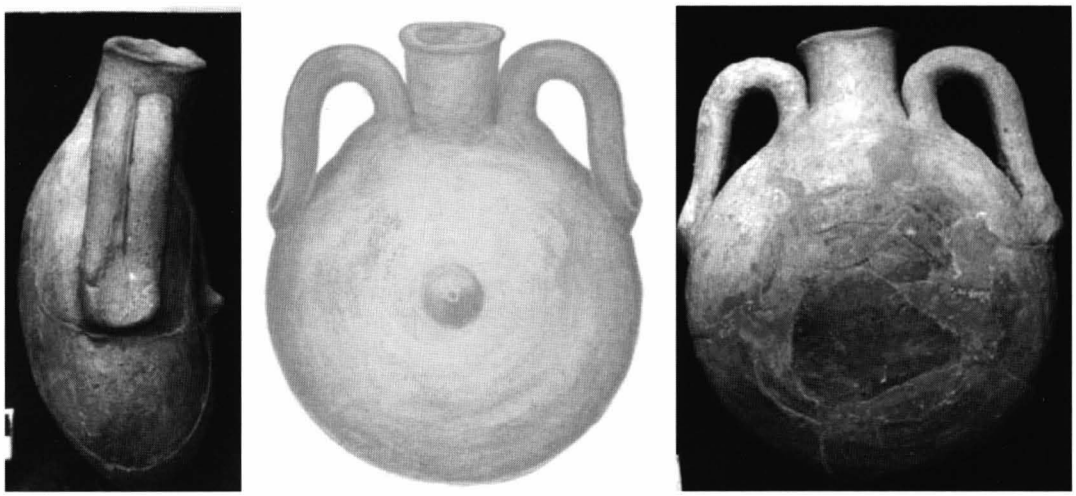


Fig.4. The two-handled askos (grave 1994/1)

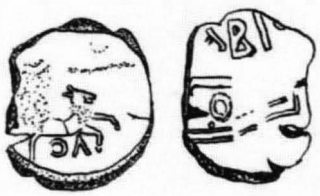
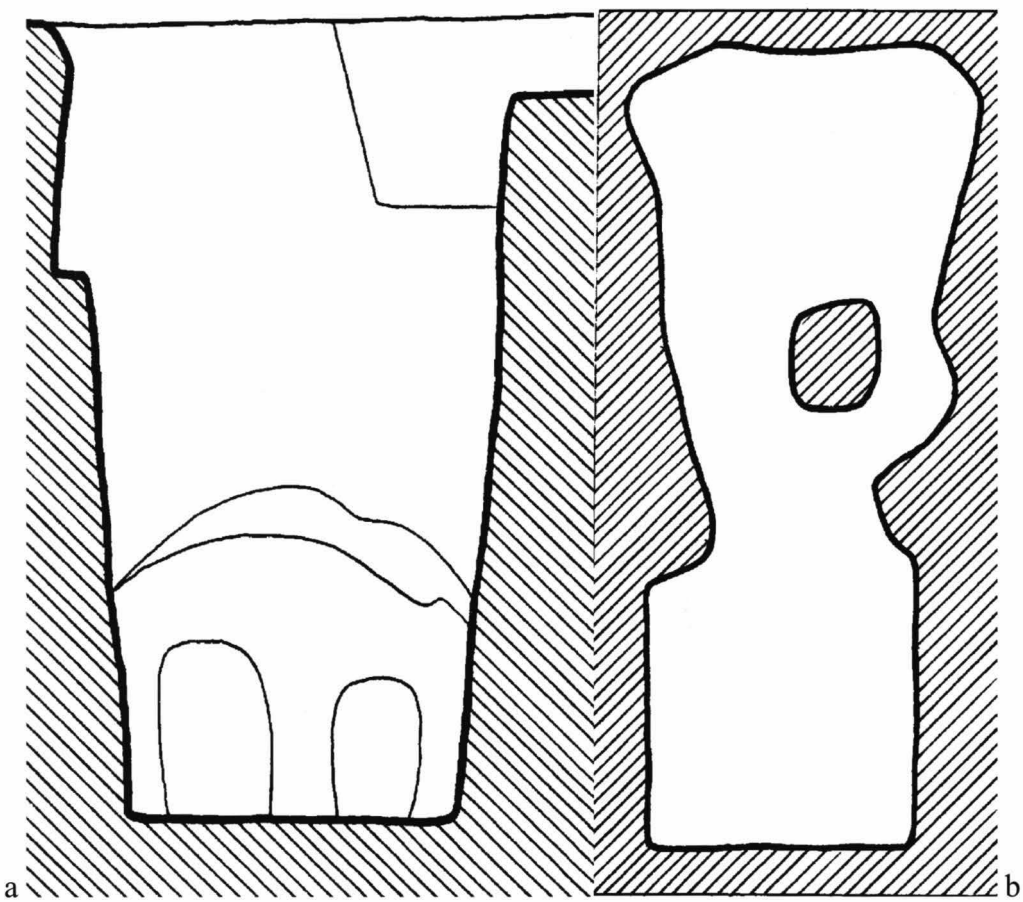


Fig.5. The bronze coin to 2nd century B.C. (grave 1994/1)



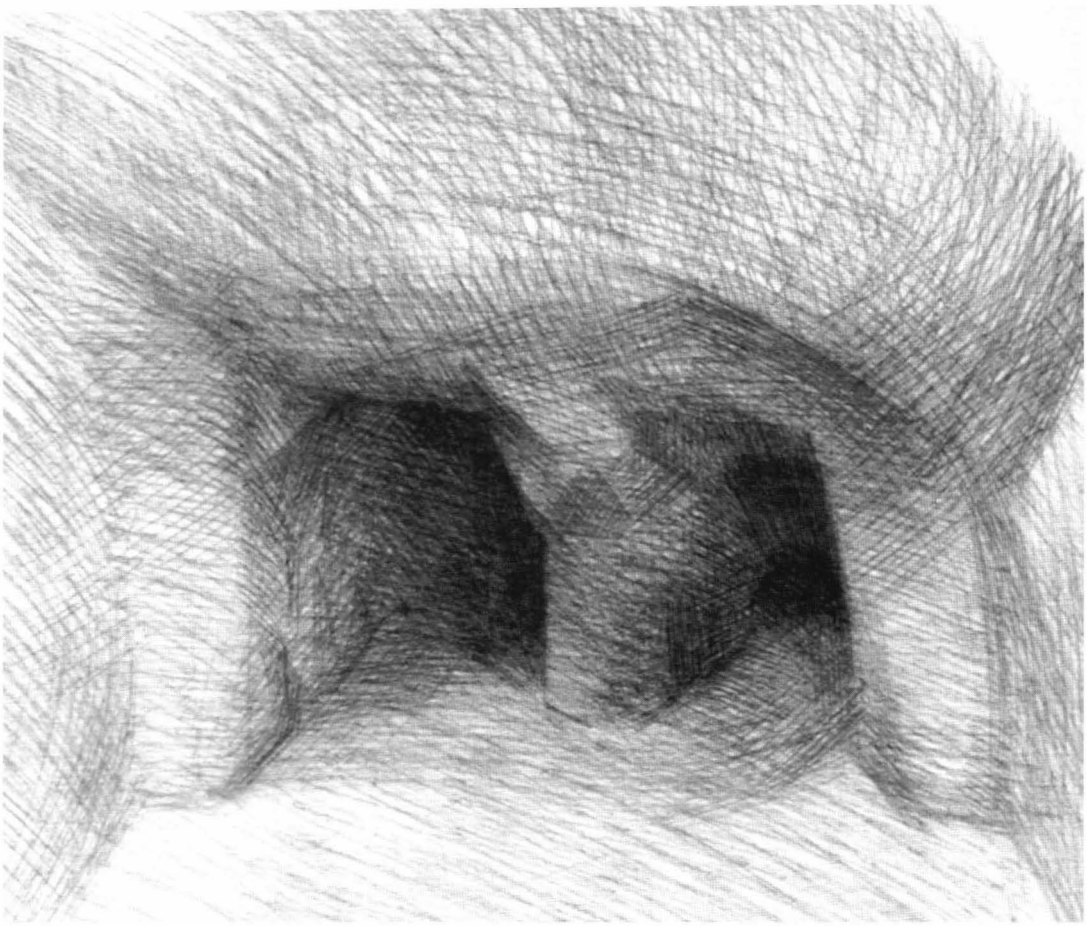


Fig.6. Charnel house 1993/1 of the 5^{th} – 4^{th} centuries B.C.
(a – dromos, b- chamber, c – entrance)

THE RELATION OF THE LEFT AND RIGHT PRINCIPLE IN ROMAN ICONOGRAPHY (SHOW-CASE OF THE DANUBIAN HORSEMAN)

Snežana Černač – Ratković (Belgrade – Serbia)

Keywords: Left principle, right principle, Roman iconography, Danubian horseman.

Abstract. An extraordinary demonstration of uniting male and female lunar principle can be noticed at some votive plates with representations of the Danube horseman. In most of the cases, the bust of Luna is placed on the left side of the monument, thus marking the female principle. Still, on some examples, the bust with the Moon is placed on the right, male side, thus representing Lunus, Luna's pair. The cult of Lunus (Men) from Asia Minor was especially popular during the reign of the Severian dynasty and it is most likely that pictures with such an iconographical constitution can be dated into the first third of the 3rd cent. It seems that the understanding of dual nature of the Moon survived for a long time in this region.

The interest for monuments of this type dates from the end of the 19th century, when T. Antonescu wrote the first corpus of the plates known by that time. The important works of Nowotny, Hampel, Hoffiler[1] and Budy follow.[2] They were the guiding literature for Tudor[3], who made a more detailed classificaton of these monuments and gave an attempt to understand their content. Scientists from former Yugoslavia who dealed with this problem were M Abramić[4], who published many of such monuments from Dalmatia, but also the work of I. Iskra-Janošić[5], who attempted to classify the plates without dealing with their content.

The plates containing scenes from the cult of the Danubian horseman can be found in all the Danubian provinces of the Roman Empire, especially in Pannonia, Dacia and Lower Moesia, but much less in Noricum, Dalmatia, Upper Moesia and Thrace. Althought the greatest number of plates was found in Pannonia, Tudor thinks that this cult came to being in Dacia. According to him, the greatest number of plates showing one horseman and dating into the 2nd cent. comes from this territory, while the plates showing two horsemen date into the period from the 2nd to the 4th cent.

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[1] Hoffiler, V., Novi tračko-mitrički votivni reljefi, VHAD n.s. sv. XVI, Zagreb 1935, 61-66.

[2] Authors that studied materials from our territory include Iskra-Janešić I., Rimske votivne pločice od olova u Jugoslaviji, *Opuscula Archaeologica* VI, Zagreb 1966, 49-68; Zotović, Lj., *Tri olovne ikone iz zbirke Muzeja grada Beograda*, Starinar XXIV-XXV, 1975, 33 ff.; Idem, *The Cult of Lunar Goddess or the Cult of Danubian Horsemen*, Starinar XLIX, 1998, 63 ff.; Ochsenschlager, E. L., *Lead plaques of the Danubian horsemen type at Sirmium*, Sirmium II, 1971, 55 ff.; Bojović, D., *Mitrine ikone i ikone podunavskog i tračkog konjanika iz Singidunuma*, Starinar XXVIII-XXIX, 9179, 135 ff.; Idem, *Prilog proučavanju kulta podunavskih konjanika*, Starinar XXXII, 79 ff.; Popović, I., *Spomenici kulta podunavskih konjanika iz Narodnog muzeja u Beogradu*, Zbornik Narodnog muzeja XI-1, 1983, 53 ff.; Idem, *Jedan donjopodunavski centar za izradu olovnih ikona podunavskih konjanika*, Zbornik Narodnog muzeja XII-1, 1986, 113 ff.; Idem, *Nove olovne ikone kulta dunavskih konjanika iz Sirmijuma i Singidunuma*, Godišnjak grada Beograda XXXVII, 1990, 57 ff.; Idem, *Radionica olovnih predmeta ili svetilište kulta dunavskih konjanika u Viminacijumu*, Viminacium 7, 1992, 29 ff.; Krunić, S., *Neobjavljene ikone podunavskih konjanika iz zbirki Muzeja grada Beograda*, Starinar XLV-XLVI, 1995, 163 ff.

[3] Tudor, D., *Corpvs Monvmentorvm Religionis Eqvitvm Danvviorvm* (CMRED) I, The Monuments, Leiden 1969; Tudor, D., *Corpvs Monvmentorvm Religionis Eqvitvm Danvviorvm* (CMRED) II, The Analysis and Interpretation of the Monuments, Leiden 1976.

[4] Abramic, M., Serta Hoffilleriana, Hofilerov Zbornik, Zagreb 1940, 297-307, T. XIX-XXI.

[5] Iskra-Janošić, I., *Rimske votivne pločice od olova u Jugoslaviji*, Opvscvla Archaeologica VI, Zagreb 1966, 49-68.

Beside one or two horsemen, there is always a female figure shown on these plates, i.e. a godess, who is superior to the horsemen. She is actually the main person of the cult. According to Lj. Zotović, she is the solar goddess Luna, to whom this cult was dedicated. The iconography of this cult developed under strong influences of the Mithraic cult. It is the fact that both cults show identical images: the busts of Sol and Luna or just Sol with a quadriga, the followers of the horsemen, further on a lion, a bird and several other elements. The cult of the Danubian horseman is syncretistic and in its iconography, there are elements overtaken from many other cults like Cabyra, Dioscures, Thracian horseman etc.

The main difference between the plates showing the Danubian horseman and those showing the Thracian horseman or Dioscures is that on the first group, the horses step onto a human figure or a fish, symbolizing the victory of Good over the Evil. Fish and ram are always shown on the plates of the Danubian horseman, which is not the case with other riding deities. Obviously, each of these cult possesses its specific and independant character.

The mystic content of the cult is shown in horizontal zones: on the lead plates there are mostly four or three zones. Only very rarely, the picures are divided into two zones. On some round plates, pictures overlap and they are not easy to define. At marble plates, the iconographical content is also give in two or three zones, which is also the case with examples made of terra cotta. The upper zone symbolizes the sky, the second ilustrates the mystic content of the cult, while the third presents the mystic ritual. In the fourth zone, typical cult symbols are shown. The sky is symbollicaly shown with Sol in a quadriga in the middle, with the busts of Sol and Luna or with the pictures of snakes. Sol is depicted as the creator and the lord of the world, with a crown on his head (*corona radiata*), holding a sphere in his left hand. The sky is sometimes represented only with busts of Sol and Luna or with a symbolical picture of a heavenly Triade in the shape of an amphora and two heraldically placed snakes.

Such monuments offer an opportunity to know a part of life of the population of our regions from the 2nd to the 4th century.[6] Since the biggest concentration of finds of such plates can be located at the territory of the Danubian Limes, it indicates that the carriers of this cult were Roman soldiers. Under their influence, local population also accepted this cult.

If we accept Tudor's opinion that all the monuments dedicated to the cult of the Danubian horseman originate from the stone monuments showing one horseman and coming from Dacia, it would mean that the lead plates, typical for Dacia and Lower Moesia represent an early phase of producing lead plates of this cult, considering that they were copying those made in stone.

The most numerous type of plates from Pannonia, those of rectangular shape, offer the most precise elements for dating, since the central female figure, the goddess, was depicted with lots of details and a hair-style typical for the empresses of the Severian dynasty (Iulia Domna, Iulia Moesa, Iulia Mammea)[7].

According to geographical area in which rectangular plates with a relief picture inside the aedicula are found, but also according to the great number of analogical examples, a conclusion can be drawn that the basic territory in which such monuments were spread was Lower Pannonia. They must have been produced in a single workshop, probably in Sirmium, in which several moulds were used simultaneously. There is also a possibility that there were several workshops within a single producing centre. A hypothesis that in Sirmium only moulds were produced, but the plates themselves were produces by travelling craftsmen is less likely. The existance of such craftsmen is documented within and outside the Empire, but only during the 5th to the 7th century, when they produced jewelry and other objects for the barbarians. Lead icons of the Danubian horseman can be dated before settling of the barbarians within the Empire.

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[6] Popović, I., *Spomenici kulta podunavskih konjanika iz Narodnog muzeja u Beogradu*, Zbornik Narodnog muzeja XI-1, Beograd 1983, 66.

[7] Popović, Iv., *Nove olovne ikone kulta dunavskih konjanika iz Sirmijuma*, Starinar n.s. XXXIX, Beogard 1988,115.

There are no inscriptions that would make it possible to date them precisely, but according to the hair style of the central female figure, that is typical for the first third of the 3rd century, they can with great certainty be connected to this period. It was the time when oriental cults and religious syncretism where at their peak in the whole Empire.

The icons of such type, genetically connected to the icons of the first type, were found in Pannonia exclusively and they were most likely produced in Sirmium.

The unpublished icons from the Sirmium excavations are not new to the science, because they belong to the well known type of such monuments. The finds of lead icons of the Danubian horseman are common along the whole Danubian Limes, which indicates that the main carrier of such a cult was the Roman army. Still, a great concentration of such plates in the Lower Pannonia, as well as the great number of identical examples, speak for the fact that Lower Pannonia was their producing centre. It is most likely that in Sirmium there were workshops for the production of moulds, but also icons themselves[8].

Although one can claim that rectangular icons with a relief divided into four zones inside the aedicula, dated into the first half of the 3rd century, were produced in Sirmium, somewhat younger icons with acroteria were equally found in Lower Pannonia and in the Moesian Danube valley. It is still a question whether, beside Sirmium, there were producing centres in Singidunum or Viminacium, or that there were travelling craftsmen, who produced and sold such plates to the great number of the cult followers in big military and urban centres. The cult of the Danubian horseman was certainly widely spread among the soldiers, which is indicated by finds of lead icons in the military camps in Singidunum, Porolisum, Drobeta, in Hognizu in Romania or Visegrad in Hungary. It is possible that this fact explains the iconographical similarity of the finds from Lower Pannonia and Moesian Danube valley, as well as for the great number of icons from this territory produced in the same moulds. It is known that already at the end of the fourth decade of the 3rd century, Marinus, Decius and maybe Aemilianus united the military command over Pannonia and Moesia. The military unification of these two provinces was at its peak around 260, when two usurpers of the Gallienus'es throne, Ingenuus and after him Regalianus, were claimed emperors in Sirmium by Moesian troups. In the middle of the 3rd century, Lower Pannonia and Upper Moesia were one from the military point of view. Moesian legions VII Claudia and IV Flavia were in Pannonia and in its capital on several occasions. The mobility of military troups made tribute to spreading of finds of identical and iconographically common lead icons of the Danubian horseman at the territories of the Upper Moesia and Lower Pannonia[9]. Here, one can identify seven types of plates.

The main characteristics of the first type (type Dalj) (Pl. 1) is a rectangular shape with a semi-circular aedicula carried by two columns and the main topic divided into four fields. This type can be divided into four variants, that differ from each other in column types (smooth or twisted) and quality. The second type (type Divoš) (Pl. 2) is also of rectangular shape, with the upper part ending in three horn-shaped parts. The main picture is divided into three zones, that are strictly separated from each other. The third type (type Čalma) (PL. 3) is rectangular with a frame, ending on its upper part with a triangle and acroteria. The picture is divided into three zones that are thematically separated. The fourth type (type Mačvanska Mitrovica) (Pl. 4) is divided into two variants. One of them is similar to the Čalma type, although it possesses a circular medallion within the rectangular frame, containing the picture divided into three zones.

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[8] Popović, Iv., *Jedan donjopanonski centar za izradu olovnih ikona Podunavskih konjanika*, Zbornik Narodnog muzeja XII-1, Beograd 1986, 121.

[9] Popović, Iv., *Nove olovne ikone kulta Dunavskih konjanika iz Sirmijuma i Singidunuma*, Godišnjak grada Beograda, Beograd 1990, 60.

The second variant is of circular shape and much like the medallions of the former type. The fifth type (type "Beograd 1") (Pl. 5) possesses a triangle within the rectangular frame, although the picture is divided into two zones. The sixth type (type Popinci) (Pl. 6) is of circular shape with the picture divided into two zones, the zones being hard to separate from each other. The seventh type (type "Beograd 2") (Pl. 7) is rectangular, with the picture divided into three zones.

From the literature so far it is well known that lead votive plates appear in the middle and lower Danube valley and its confluences, i.e. at the territories of former Dacia, Moesia and Thrace. Their great concentration can be observed in Srem, i.e at the Sava - Danube confluence and in eastern Slavonia. Almost all of the plates represent accidental finds, except for one plate from Sirmium and a round plate from the unknown site, that was found in a grave. The quantity of plates is also of great importance: 20 pieces of the Dalj type, three pieces of the Divoš type, two Čalma pieces, eight of Mačvanska Mitorvica, one of each of the "Beograd 1" and "Beograd 2" type and three of the Popinci type. Lead plates were also found in Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria.

The finds from Hungary and Romania confirm that the greatest concentration of finds can be observed along the Danubian Limes. It speaks for the fact that one is here dealing with a cult whose carriers were Roman soldiers. Tudor for instance studied stone monuments of the same art together with the here mentioned lead plates and he recognized strong oriental influences. It is not possible to speak about the influences of one single cult on these plates, but about a combination of several cults like Mithra, Cabyre or the Dioscures, Hera, Demeter or Nemesis.

There is no satisfactory explanation so far of a single cult represented on such plates. The spreading area of the finds along the Limes speaks for the fact that the army was the main carrier and the main element in spreading this cult. Oriental influence is easy to explain by the fact that many legions were transferred from one spot to the other (during the reign of Nero, the legion VIII Augusta was transferred to Moesia, in 71., the legion XV Apollinaris comes to Pannonia from the east etc.). Since great transfers were during the 2nd and the 3rd century, these plates can probably also be dated in this period. Under the influences of the army, local population could have also accepted this cult and as a logical consequence, many local workshops producing such plates developed. Since in our region most of the plates belong to the Dalj type, it could be presumed that the plates of this type were produced somewhere in the vicinity. It is difficult to determine the workshops for other plate types, especially since data are missing for Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria.

Votive plates made of lead offer a possibility to study one part of the spiritual life of the Roman population in our region. This picture in Pannonia in the 2nd and the 3rd century is rather complex. This problem is very interesting and it deserves further research.

No direct analogies have been found for any of the mentioned icons. All the pictures on icons are rather stylized. The picture of the lion and the radial crown of Luna are identical with similar pictures on coins from the last quarter of the 3rd century, which indicates that our icons can also be dated into this period.

Interesting examples on coins are shown on some emissions of the Olbya mint. On one series, there is Sol on the averse, and two horsemen on the reverse. These examples basically support the idea by D. Tudor about the origin of the cultuc image of the Danubian horseman, that, according to him, originates from the lower Danube valley. He also points to Rostovcevs idea about certain influences from the Northern coast of the Black sea[10].

While writing about the plates of the Danubian horseman, one can see an irregularity that needs explanation. Sol and Lunas busts mostly do not possess a permanent and unchangable position. The most usual is the picture of Sol placed on the right side and Luna placed on the left

[10] Huge bibliography of Rostovcev was given in Tudor D., CMERD II, 29-30.

side of the picture.[11] Still, on some examples, especially from the territory of Lower Pannonia and Upper Moesia, there is a reverse picture: the bust within the moon-sicle is right and Sol is on the left picture side. One can suppose that this position is not accidental, at least by the majority of the examples, but that it is the consequence of rationalisation that bases on the afirmation of Men or Lunis, i.e. the lunar principle.

Numismatic material from the republican period is consequent in this matter: the solar symbol is on the reight side and the lunar on the left. On the coins from the mints of Asia Minor from the Empirial period interesting changes occur, connected to various approaches of certain emperors to cultic politics. During late antiquity, there are also some irregularities on the mintings, probably because of certain philosophical and teological teachings of the time. On the coins of the mint A. Malius (Sergianus) from the years 118-107, there is Roma depicted on the averse and Sol riding a quadriga on the reverse. Above Sol, there is an astrological-solar symbol of the moon sickle on the left side and two stars (Dioscures) on the right side[12]. From this period there are also coins of Cnaius Cornelius Sysenus with Roma on the averse and Jupiter in a quadriga on the reverse. Above the quadriga is the bust of Sol on the right side and a lunar symbol on the left side[13]. On the coin of Aspendus (Lycia) from Imperial times there is a race shown on the averse, with the solar symbol depicted on the right side and the lunar symbol on the left side[14]. On one series from Aphrodysias in Caria, also from the Imperial period, there is the head of young Demos on the averse and a cultic statue of Aphrodytes on the revers. On her right side, there is a solar symbol and on her left side a lunar one[15]. On the coins of Andeda in Pysidia from the time of Maximinus the Thracian there is a dystal temple with the cultic statue of Artemis of Perga. Right from her head is a solar symbol and a lunar one on her left side[16]. On the averse of the coins of Maximinus the Thracian, Gordianus III, Tranquilina, Philipp, Otatilia Severa, Salonina, Aurelianus etc. there is always a temple with the cultic statue of Artemis of Perga and a solar symbol on her right and lunar symbol on her left side[17].

This situation repeats on the coins of the Severian dynasty[18], but also on various coins from Cyprus, where on the averse there are busts of Septimius Severus, Iulia Domna and Caracalla. On the reverse, there is a picture of the temple of Aphrodyte of Phaphia and above her head there is a solar symbol on the right side and a lunar one on the left side[19]. As shown on the mints from Cyprus and Perga, during the Severian dynasty the position of cosmic symbols changes and Luna becomes the dominant one.

Ever since the Parmenides study that denies the Egyptian theory of the priority of the left side, it is a custom that the solar viril principle is on the right side and the lunar, the chtonic feminine one on the left side[20]. This quite stable iconograpical order was kept until late antiquity. Only during the Severian period and because of very strong influences of Iulia Domna, oriental and especially Asian and Syrian cults overtake the dominant, imperial position[21].

Jovanovic thinks that during the Severian dynasty, Men was identified with Sol through the viril principle and that during this period of sacral competition, their places on various

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[11] Tudor, D., CMERD II, 181 ff.
[12] Crawford M.H., *Roman Republican Coinage*, Cambridge 1974, 318, No. 309/1.
[13] Idem, 318-319, no. 310.
[14] SNG Cop., Lycia – Pamphylia, 264-5.
[15] SNG Cop., Caria I, 107-108.
[16] SNG Cop., Pisidia, 7.
[17] SNG Cop., Lycia – Pamphylia, 338-340, 342-4, 361, 366-7.
[18] SNG Cop., Lycia – Pamphylia, 330, 335, 337.
[19] SNG Cop., Cyprus – Capadocia, 89, 90, 92.
[20] Loyd, G.E.R., *Right and Left in Greek Philosophy*, JHS 82, 1962, 56 ff; Kember, O., *Right and Left in the Sexual Theories of Parmenides*, JHS 91, 1971, 70 ff.
[21] Aureus with the picture of the royal family from 209. offers interesting data. Iulia Domna is on the right side and Septimius Severus on the left. After RIC IV, 312. Picture in Muenzkatalog Tkalec AG 1998, No. 205.

monuments changed. Therefore he concludes that monuments dedicated to the Danubian horsemen and containing this inverse picture of the astral symbols can be dated into the Severian period. Such an example are plates from Čalma[22], but also from Zlatara in Ruma. This example was found in a Roman villa, together with a „T"-shaped fibula that dates into the 3rd cent[23]. Lj. Zotović dates the Čalma type of plates into the 3rd century because of one interesting iconographical detail: the cock above the rams head reflects the theme of an eagle above the bovides head from the Turmasdgad cult that also dates into the 3rd century[24]. A contribution to this lower chronology of the Čalma type plates are pictures of fish between two stars in a tympanone, which indicates a cultic meal. It should be considered that other monuments also contained such inversions. On the monuments of the Popinci type, the Luna is on the right side and Sol is on the left side of the goddess depicted in the middle[25]. Circular examples described as the Popinci type are very poorly made with lots of technical weak-points, maybe even with iconographical irregularities. Maybe this inversion could be interpreted as mistake of the carver or acciental copying of the Čalma type plates, although this could be very difficult to understand. Maybe these are some religious tendencies of the first decades of the 4th century. On coins, especially aurei minted in Antiochia during the Diarchy of Constantine I and Licinius, there is a figure of Iuppiter Conservator flanked with the lunar symbol on the right and the solar symbol on the left side[26].

[22] Iskra-Janošić, I., *op. cit.*, 54-55.
[23] Brukner, O., *Rimska naselja i vile rustike, Arheološka istraživanja duž auto-puta kroz Srem*, Novi Sad 1995, 138, T. VI/63; XX/1.
[24] Zotović, Lj., *Tri olovne ikone iz zbirke Muzeja grada Beograda*, Starinar XXIV-XXV, Beograd 1975, 35.
[25] Iskra-Janošić, I., *op. cit.*, 57-58.
[26] Jovanović, A., *Numizmatičke beleške uz kult Podunavskih konjanika*, Numizmatičar 21/1998, Beograd 2000, 11-28.

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Fig. 1 - Plate type Dalj (after Iskra-Janošić I., 1966, T. I, 1)

Fig. 2 - Plate type Divoš (after Iskra-Janošić I., 1966, p. 53)

Fig. 3 - Plate type Čalma (after Iskra-Janošić I., 1966, T. IV, 1)Grobalja necropolis

Fig. 4 - Plate type Mačvanska Mitrovica (after Iskra-Janošić I., 1966, T. VI, 1, 2 and 4)

Fig. 5 - Plate type Beograd 1 (after Iskra-Janošić I., 1966, T. VI, 3)

Fig. 6 - Plate type Popinci (after Iskra-Janošić I., 1966, T. VI, 5)

Fig. 7 - Plate type Beograd 2 (after Iskra-Janošić I., 1966, T. IV, 2)

UNE NECROPOLE GETIQUE DE L'EPOQUE ROMAINE DE NICULITZEL – LE DEPARTEMENT DE TULCEA

Gavrila Simion (Tulcea – Roumanie)

Le thème du colloque d'aujourd'hui a constitue l'occasion et la satisfaction de donner au circuit scientifique une découverte très vielle, réalisé suite a un sondage archéologique il y a 26 ans (1982).

Pour l'information qui a génère la présente communication, nous devons d'abord, apporter les remerciements a Mr. V.H. Baumann qui nous a fourni les donnes concernant l'existence des anneaux de grosses pierres sur la colline Dobre de Niculitzel.

Dans la topographie de l'endroit, les anneaux se trouvaient, et continuent a exister encore dans deux zones du plateau trouvé sur la colline «Dealul lui Dobre», colline dénommée par les villageois « pe Olinda». Ce plateau se trouve immédiatement a cotée du grand repli de terrain fortifié qui s'appelle «Troianul» (Fig. 1 et 2).

Inscrits dans le plan de recherche de 1982, le signataire de ces lignes a effectué un sondage de vérification dans la zone, découvrant quatre anneaux existants sur le plateau.

Comme nous montrent les images prises avant le début des travaux, les anneaux étaient visibles partiellement et sans avoir aucune forme tumulaire (Fig. 3 et 4 et 5).

Apres l'exécution des fouilles, la stratigraphie de ces complexes funéraires nous a montré que la couche de terre, trouvée au centre de des anneaux de grosses pierres, ne dépassait une épaisseur plus grande de 0,25 – 0,30 m, fait qui nous a déterminé avancer l'hypothèse, qu'au dessus des monuments funéraires, n'a jamais existé une couche de terre pour donner la forme de la monticule.

La couche de terre couvrait artificiellement les restes cinéraires et leur inventaire, et, comme nous avons vu dans la plupart des cas de la nécropole d'Enisala, le couvercle de l'urne et les pierres qui les couvraient étaient au dessus du niveau de passage de l'antiquité.

Dans un premier temps, nous les avons considérées et marquées comme des monticules, mais, ultérieurement, nous nous sommes rendus compte qu'il s'agissait d'une série des complexes funéraires ou de simples constructions funéraires qu'on va présenter en ce qui suit.

Le premier complexe a, en grande partie, l'anneau disparu. Nous avons réussi quand même a établir la dimension du diamètre qui este de 8 m, sans dépister aucune urne dans la tombe.

Le deuxième complexe se trouve à 17 m vers le Nord, par rapport au premier complexe Il a l'anneau complet, avec un diamètre de 9.20 m, formée de grosses pierres, dont les dimensions oscillent entre 0.97 / 0.42 x 0.52 m et 0.78 / 0.56 x 0.40.

Le constituent de la pierre est une roque rougeâtre, d'autre composition que celle de la plateforme sur laquelle les grosses pierres se trouvent, directement sur le rocher de la colline. Au centre de l'anneau, on peut voir une couche de petites pierres qui ont un aspect également rougeâtre, disposées dans un arrangement très soigné. Malheureusement, nous n'avons rien trouvé sous cet arrangement. D'une manière isolée, dans ce complexe on a découvert un seul fragment d'amphore de facture romaine et quelques fragments de vaisseaux brûlés oxydés atypiques.

Le troisième complexe (Fig. 6), orienté dans la direction Sud - Est par rapport au complexe antérieur se situe a une distance de 9.60 m de celui-ci. Le complexe a un diamètre de 10 m. Toute la surface de l'intérieur a été couverte avec des pierres provenant du rocher de

l'endroit qui, vers le centre de l'anneau, deviennent de plus en plus rares. Trois tombes ont été découvertes sur toute la surface du complexe.

La première tombe – **M1** – a utilisé le rite de l'incinération. Sous l'aspect rituel, les quelques restes cinéraires ont été mis dans un bol, fabriqué d'une pâte fine de couleur gris, sur une roue, mis en dessus avec le devant et couvert par un pot fait d'une pâte grossière, travaillée a la main, décoré avec une bande continue alvéolée interrompue par les anses, représentées aujourd'hui par quelques fragments. Quelques ossements d'animal, découverts à cote de ces vaisseaux, ont été considérés comme des restes de l'offrande de viande.

A cote de l'est de l'anneau, celui-ci se double avec un arc de grosses pierres, avec une épaisseur de 0.76 m et sur une longueur de 2.8 m, entre les deux anneaux, une tombe d'inhumation **M2,** très faiblement conservée, a été découverte. Quelques ossements de crâne et des bras se sont conservés jusqu'aujourd'hui. A coté de la tombe, mais à l'intérieur de l'anneau, plusieurs fragments d'un vaisseau, avec calcination oxydante, ont été trouvés. Apres la technique et l'aspect, le vaisseau a appartenu a l'époque romaine.

Apres la situation vu ici, nous n'excluons pas la possibilité que celui-ci a appartenu a un autre complexe funéraire plus ancien qui a été complètement détruit par celui complet, qui existe et qui a été numéroté avec III.

A cote de M2, mais a l'extérieur de l'anneau, dont on a parle, on a trouvé la tombe M3. Nous avons fait le constat de l'existence de même rituel comme à M1, comme par exemple un petit pot en terre, très faiblement conservé, qui couvrait une soupière de pâte de la couleur gris, fabriquée sur la roue. Parmi ces fragments, nous n'avons rien trouve des restes cinéraires du défunt ou des restes des oses d'inhumation. D'ailleurs, notre découverte se trouvait à la surface et en conséquence la conservation ne pouvait pas résister aux intempéries.

Le quatrième complexe était placé à une distance de plus de 20 m par rapport aux complexes antérieurs. L'anneau était fait d'un mélange de grosses pierres, mais d'une forme plus petite, directement assis sur le rocher. Son diamètre mesurait 4.10 m (Fig. 7). La même agglomération, de petites pierres, se trouvait, sans aucun arrangement et densité, sans rien couvrir de ce que pourrait signifier une source archéologique.

Le rite et le rituel funéraire

Nous constatons, de très peu des preuves découvertes, qu'ici, les deux rites funéraires, l'incinération y compris l'inhumation, ont été pratiqués.

En ce qui concerne les pratiques rituelles funéraires, la situation vue et présentée ci-dessus soutient la thèse conformément à laquelle à Niculitzel, nous voyons des habitudes connues dans les plus anciennes nécropoles.

L'architecture de la tombe, avec l'anneau des pierres – qui ne manque jamais, nous l'avons rencontrée au plus proche voisinage, dans la nécropole de Celic - Dere (siècle VI-V av. Chr.[1]), même aux tombes planes ou superficiellement mis en évidence au dessus du sol. Nous l'avons rencontré chez certaines tombes de la nécropole de Ciucurova (siècle VI-V av. Chr.[2]) ainsi que sur la monticule qui superposait une autre monticule, plus ancienne, que nous avons recherchée a Sabangia, datée de VI^{ème} siècle a. Chr.[3]

Surtout, nous les avons rencontrée dans la nécropole d'Enisala (siècle IV av. Chr.[4]) et enfin, nous avons retrouvé la même architecture, avec des anneaux de pierres provenant des rochers ou constituée uniquement des fragments céramiques, aux deux monticules de Dunavat / commune de Murighiol, datant de II^{ème} siècle av. Chr.[5]

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[1] G. Simion 2003, p. 217-236; 237-246
[2] G. Simion 2003, p.187-206.
[3] G. Simion 2003, p.161-174; 1992, p. 18-47 et fig 6.
[4] G. Simion 2003, p. 259-314; 315-328.
[5] G. Simion 2003, p. 337-358 et fig.2.

L'aspect birituel - l'incinération et l'inhumation – est bien connu aux Gètes de la période tarde et le rituel de la déposition des cinéraires dans des urnes de type bol ainsi que leur dispersion dans l'aire des anneaux de pierres représentent des habitudes plus anciennes que nous retrouvons dans les nécropoles de Ferigile[6] et Barsesti[7], d'Enisala[8], et, plus tard, aux Daces libres de Moldavie, a Brad ou Valeni[9] et de Transilvanie - la situation des nécropoles de Soporu de Campie[10].

En ce qui concerne la typologie de l'inventaire qui classifie les complexes funéraires de Niculitzel dans la chronologie de l'évolution historique, ils se présentent de la manière suivante :

Même en état fragmentaire, comme nous l'avons décrit ci-dessus, dans nos découvertes sont présentes des fragments du groupe de la céramique autochtone, travaillée a main. Ils proviennent des pots de pâte grossière, décorés avec des bandes appliquées, alvéolées et interrompues par des anses et du vase cruche avec une anse travaillée aussi à main (Figure 8).

La deuxième catégorie des vaisseaux s'inscrit dans la céramique dénommée comme la céramique de cuisine ou d'utilisation commune. Ils ont une forme de bol, de pâte de la couleur grise, avec une forme assez concave, avec le fond en forme d'anneau et le bec préformé a l'extérieur (Figure 9).

Cette catégorie est retrouvée dans toutes les découvertes romaines d'Histria[11], à Troesmis, dans le proche voisinage, dans les découvertes de Telita[12], et s'encadre dans les siècles II et III ap.Chr. et même I et III ap.Chr.

La troisième catégorie des fragments provient des amphores romaines. Mais les fragments (Figure 10) nous désignent le type d'amphores, qui ont un cou droit et haut, le corps conique, les anses ovales avec des petites fosses longitudinaux. Sont des formes très largement répandues et nous les retrouvons dans presque tous les établissements romains de Dobroudja notamment ceux trouvés sur le Danube a partir de Novae et jusqu'au Halmyris et elles s'encadrent dans la période des siècles I-II ap. Chr.[13]

Toute la situation présentée ci-dessus nous prouve que la communauté Gèto - Dace qui n'est pas spirituellement influencée par la présence romaine. Si par tradition le groupe est local ou il s'inscrit dans une des communautés apportée et colonisée par les forces romaines du Sud de Danube, chose sans importance. Il est certes que l'aspect spirituel a gardé toutes les formes funéraires et religieuses pratiquées par les Gèto - Daces dans la période classique de leur développement.

La conclusion des résultats archéologiques des tombes à Niculitzel, du point de vu chronologique, sont datées dans la période du II^{e} siècle ap. Chr.

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[6] Al. Vuple, 1967, p. 34 et suiv.
[7] Seb. Morintz, 1981, p. 395-414.
[8] G. Simion, 2003, p. 305, fig.5/3.
[9] V. Ursachi, 1970, p. 266-267; *idem,* 1968, p. 119-141; Gh.Bichir, 1973, pass.
[10] D. Protase, 1976, p.75 et suiv.
[11] Al. Suceveanu, 1985, p. 46 et suiv. et pl.14.
[12] V.H. Baumann, 1995, p.158, pl. 57/1.
[13] Al. Suceveanu, 1985, p. 26 et pl. 80; D. Paraschiv, 2006, p. 17 et suiv. et pl. I şi II.

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Fig. 1 - *Valum* de terre "Troianul"

Fig. 2 - *Valum* de terre a Niculitzel

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig. 5

Complexes funeraires sur le plateau avant la recherche

Fig. 6 - Le complexe funeraire no. III

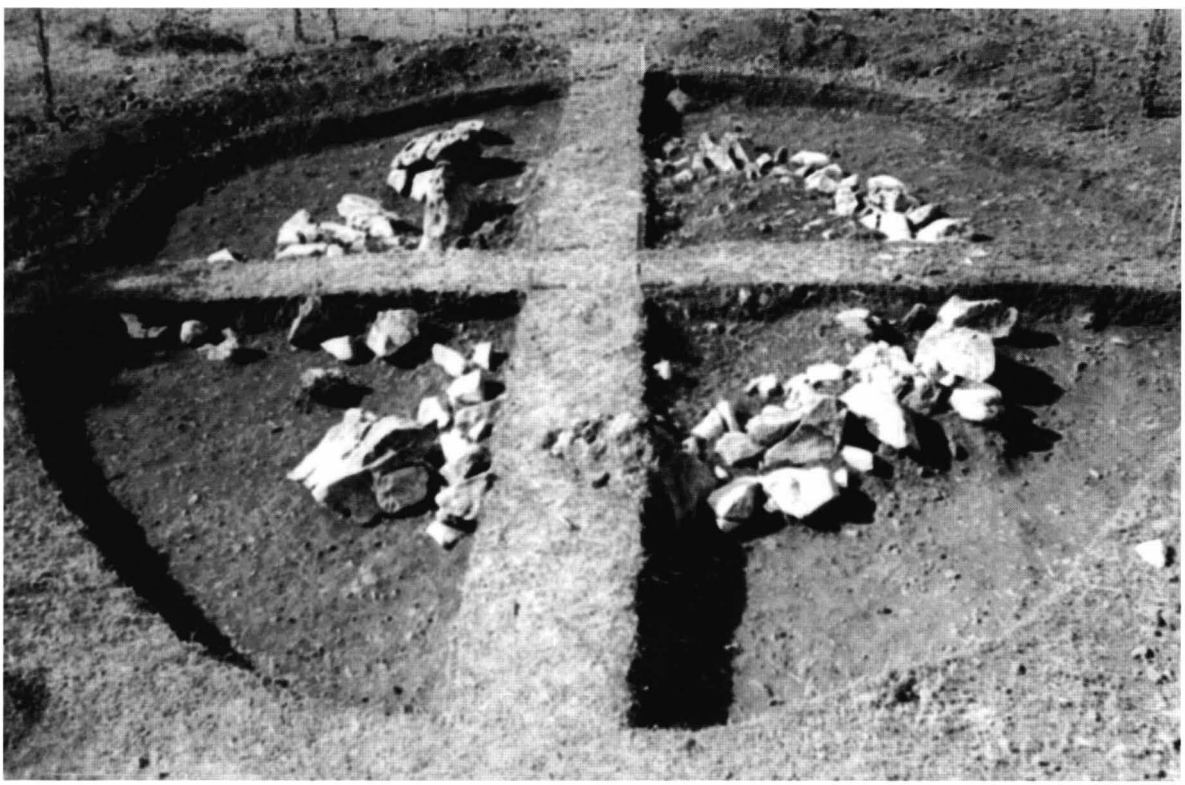

Fig. 7 - Le complexe funeraire no. IV

Le rituel funeraire (L'architecture de la tombe)

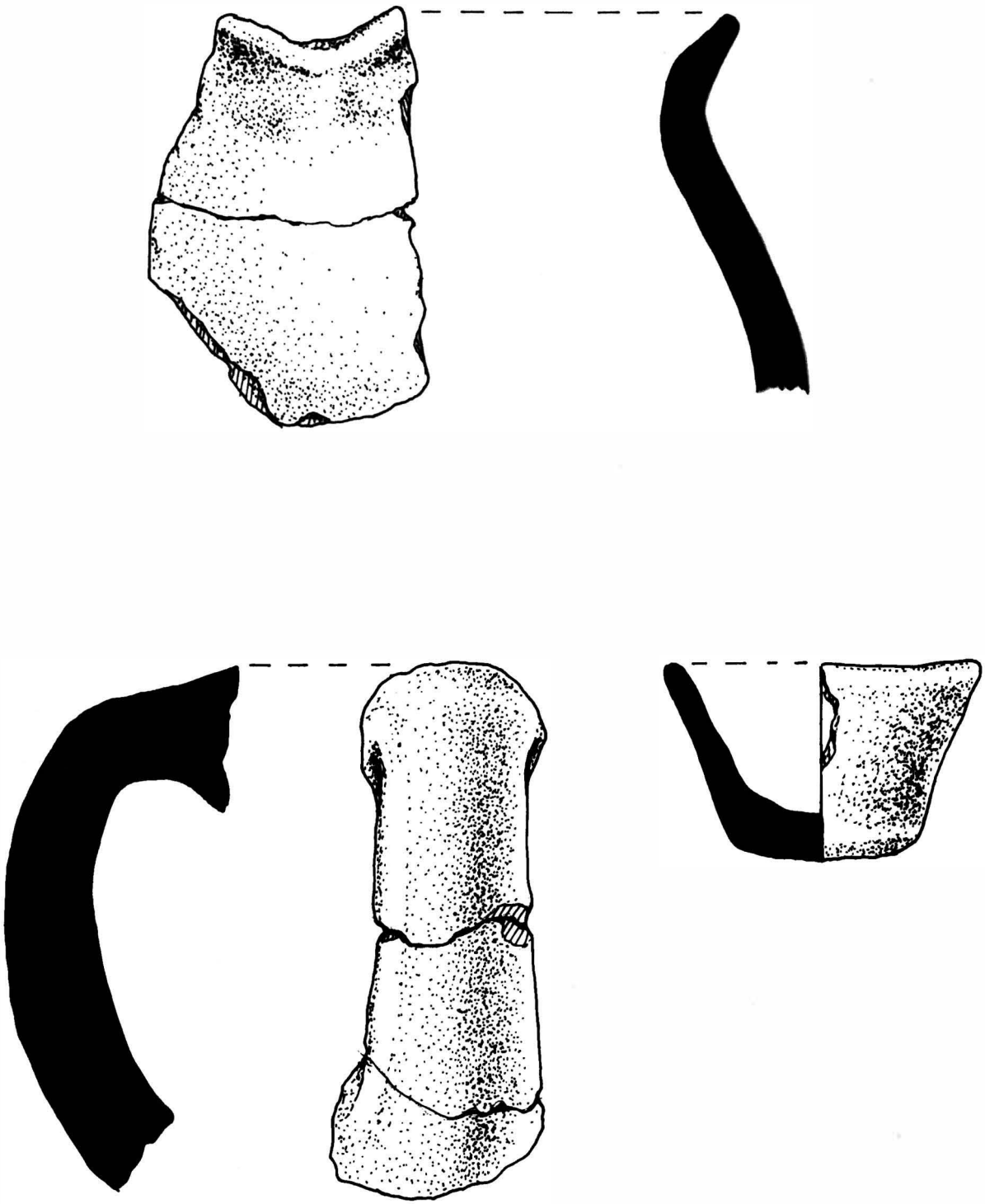

Fig. 8 - Ceramique decouverte dans les complexes funeraires (la typologie).
Les fragments du groupe de la ceramique autochtone pâte grossiere, travaillee a main.

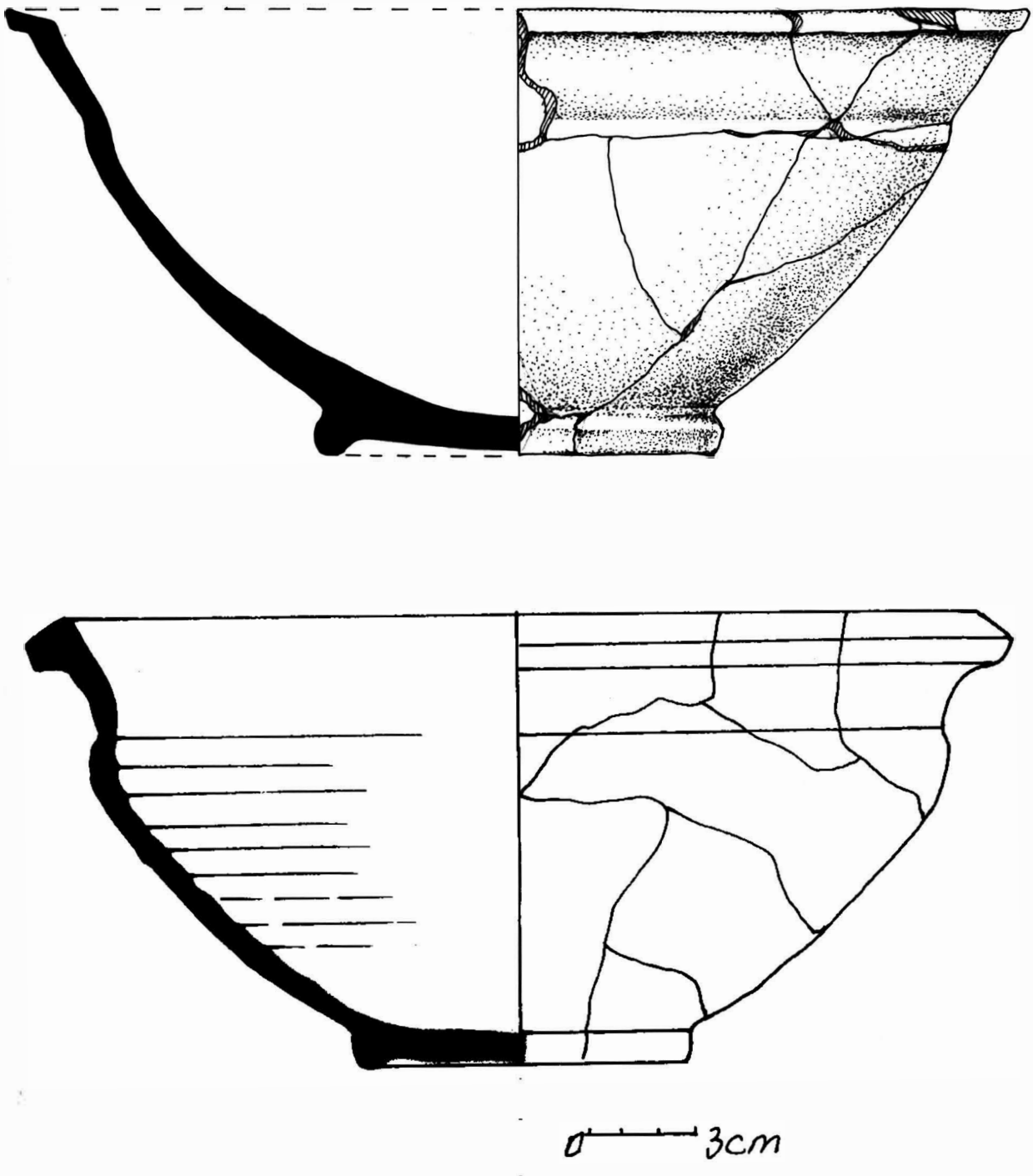

Fig. 9 - La ceramiques du cuisine ou d'utilistion commune
ex: forme de bol concave, de pâte de la couleur grise.

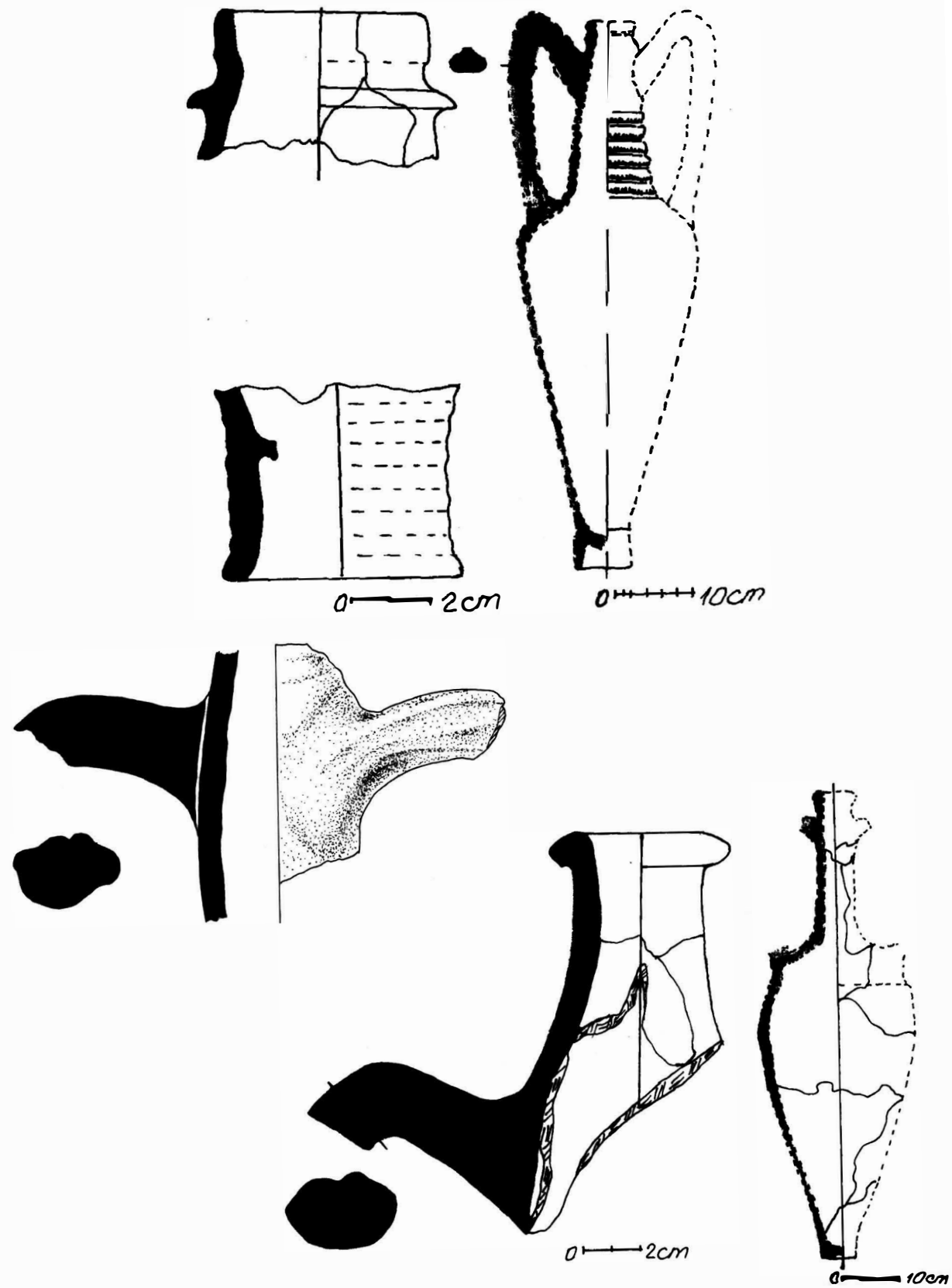

Fig. 10 - Les fragments provient des amphores romaines.

TELIȚA - *CELIC DERE,* TULCEA COUNTY. LANDSCAPE STUDIES

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The archaeological assemblage from Telița - *Celic Dere* may be categorically regarded as an exceptional site. It represents one of those rare occasions an archaeologist has to investigate both the settlement and necropolis of a human community. Moreover, the localization of this site in the nearby of the Danube and Black Sea situates it in a space of cultural and ethnic transition, therefore an excellent context in which one may analyze and understand important cultural and ethnic changes of the Iron Age communities from the Lower Danube (6^{th} - 3^{rd} centuries BC). In addition, the coexistence in the necropolis of tumuli graves along flat graves, and of incineration graves along inhumation graves, put forward the possibility to comprehend complex social structure and ritual behaviors.

The site was identified and excavated, between1985-2001, by Dr. G. Simion. His excavations conducted to the discovery and research of an unfortified settlement, a necropolis of small tumuli and a flat grave necropolis. Due to the complexity of the archaeological *in situ* structures and also to their inventory, found both in the necropolis and settlement, only little information was published (Simion 1995; 1996; 2000; 2003).

Beginning with 2005, the archaeological complexity and historical problematic raised by the Telița - *Celic Dere* site led to a reassessment of the research strategy by a new team[1], conducted by Dr. Valeriu Sîrbu (Sîrbu *et al.* 2007; 2008). The emphasis was taken towards the integration of the excavations' results with information obtained from alternative noninvasive investigations. In order to understand the composite relations developed between the human communities from *Celic Dere* and their natural environment, there were used specific concepts and methods in the field of Landscape Archaeology (Lock 2003; Peterson 1998). In order to develop such complex investigations, large amount of geographic and geological data was processed. In addition, for these analyses, the archaeological map of the region had to be assembled trough the integration of published documentation and personal recent field survey works (Fig. 1; 2). Large scale geophysical surveys were used to delimitate the structural assemblages of this site and for the identification of unexcavated features (for example flattened tumuli) (Fig. 5). The spatial management of the entire research was ensured trough accurate topographic activities, both in the case of general terrain analyses and also for archaeological documentation (Fig. 4). Innovative databases were developed to include information from older and newer excavations, and everything was integrated in a GIS system (Gaffney, Stancić 1991). New excavations were made to verify and refine the results of the analyses made with non-invasive technologies (Fig. 5c)

Further in this study, the authors will resume the preliminary results of an interdisciplinary analysis. In the beginning, however, few considerations regarding the site's archaeological and cultural problematic will be stated. We will use in the discussion, published results of the archaeological discoveries from Telița – *Celic Dere* from older excavation of G. Simion and also new results from the 2005-2008 research campaigns.

[1] During 2005 – 2008 the following team participated at excavations: V. Sîrbu (Museum of Brăila, Institute of Archaeology "V. Pârvan" Bucharest), G. Simion, G. Jugănaru (ICEM Tulcea), D. Ştefan, M. Duțescu, C. Constantin, M. Nicolaescu (Bucharest University).

General presentation

The settlement is located on top of a plateau with three steep slopes, elevated with 30-35m above the Valley of the Celic River, water which borders the site in its southern side. The plateau has a surface of approximately 4,2ha. A small part was excavated by G. Simion (under 5%). No traces of fortification were discovered. The preliminary published results suggest a chronological framework between 6th and 3rd centuries BC, period which corresponds to two different stages in the site existence. The first phase (6th-5th centuries BC) is represented by dwellings half dug in the soil with a round shape and a diameter around 6m. In their upper part they had clay walls with sustaining pillars (Simion 1997, 237, 244-5, fig. 3-4). The end of this habitation had happened probably during a violent fire, as the discovered large quantities of burnt clay walls and ash attest. Furthermore, inside these dwellings, a large quantity of *in situ* inventory was found, suggesting, as well, a violent and rapid end of this habitation level. The ceramic inventory contained: large cooking pots, polished large vessels with long necks used for keeping liquids, porringers and cups with elevated handles (Simion 1997, 238-9, 246-7, fig. 5-6). They represent a mix of a late Babadag tradition with newer influences for the HaD ceramic. In addition, Greek ceramic was discovered, mostly amphorae, like the Chios type, dated at the end of the 6th and first half of the 5th century BC (Simion 1997, 239, 250, fig. 10). Black glazed and painted ceramic fragments were also found. A Corinthian type shard was dated in the beginning of the 5th century BC (Mănucu-Adameşteanu 1996, 39-46). Some ceramic fragments were interpreted as having connections in the eastern space, in the area of late Černoles culture, the Jabotinsk phase (Simion 1997, 241 with bibliography) being associated with the discovery in the settlement of a bronze axe with flat wings (Simion 1997, 252, fig 10/a). These artifacts, considered in connection with the dwellings' type and some discoveries in the necropolis, pointed to an ethnic presence in this area of a Pre-Scythian community (Simion 1997, 241). The second and most recent habitation level consisted of rectangular surface dwellings with clay walls. Household pits, fireplaces and cooking kilns were also found. Usually these fireplaces were built from yellow clay laid over a layer of small stones and broken pieces of ceramic[2]. For the second period, in the ceramic inventory together with local vessels (Simion 1997, 240, 248, fig.7-8) there were found, many Greek vessels, noticeably, amphorae from Thasos.

The necropolis is located at 300m north from the settlement plateau. No precise limit between the two different areas has been yet identified. Inside the necropolis G. Simion excavated all the visible mounds and many flat graves. Published information proposes for the necropolis, a general chronology between 6th and 3rd centuries BC. We refer here as chronological markers to the fragment of amphora stamp of Rhodes type dated in the last quarter of the 3rd century BC found in the embankment of Tumulus I, located at the bottom of the necropolis slope, and to the arrowheads with two wings and long rod discovered in Tumulus IX (Simion 2000, 72) dated in the 6th century BC. The diameters of these mounds varied from 3 to 15 m and the height from 50 cm to 2 m. The main architectural elements of the mounds are the broken stone embankment and the large stone outer ring. The tumuli were built above large rectangular or oval pits. In *Celic Dere* there were found under the same architectural constructions, both inhumation graves (the majority) (Simion 2000, 70) and graves with the cremated bones deposited in urns covered with leads or with the burnt bones deposited directly in pits covered with stones (Simion 200, 70, fig.7-6).

Incineration with the burnt bones deposited in large pits under tumuli, accompanied by rich inventory could be dated in the second stage of the necropolis (5th -3rd centuries BC) (Simion 2003, 248). Inhumation graves in large pits under tumuli were made regularly in *decubitus* position and usually contained a slab of sandstone deposited near the feet of the

[2] This situation was also documented in the excavations from 2006, when two fireplaces were discovered in Surface 16 from the settlement area, one of them, belonging, probably, to a cooking kiln

deceased (Simion 2000, 78, fig.6/2). Double inhumation was also documented, as well as partial inhumation (Simion 2000, 70). There were discovered inhumations in crouched position under tumuli without stone architecture and with poor funerary inventory (Simion 2003, 249, 252, fig. 1/d).

Flat graves were excavated by G. Simion especially in the southeastern side of the tumuli necropolis. They did not exhibit any differences regarding rite, inventory and chronology in comparison with the tumuli graves. Some graves were rather difficult to categorize as they use the same funerary architectural elements (deep pit, large stones covering) as the tumuli graves, but they differentiate themselves trough their smaller diameters (2-3m). They were considered by G. Simion as flat graves (Simion 2003, 252, fig. 2b). Nevertheless, the covering of large stones was elevated 30 – 50cm above the level from where the pit was dug and excepting the size we do not find enough arguments to consider them as flat graves.

During 2006-2008 excavation campaigns, flat graves without stone coverings were researched in the Surfaces 33 – 34 (Fig. 4) (Sîrbu *et al.* 2008, 322, 408, pl.70). Here, in a rather small area, both inhumations in extended position and incineration in urns deposited in pits or incinerations with the bones deposited directly in pits, were found. Excepting the regular graves, other complexes were documented: pits with vessels and stone arrangements. These contexts may be connected with ritual activities performed in the necropolis.

The graves inventory contained weapons, harness items, adornments, dress accessories and ceramic. In the inhumation graves, the ceramic vessels are usually deposited on the bottom of the pit, in the nearby of the deceased feet. The personal effects were discovered in their functional position (Simion 2000, 71). We emphasize the presence of Greek imported wares and also of the gray clay vessels imitated after Greek shapes (Sîrbu *et al.* 2007, 480, pl. 76). Among the discovered items, of great interest are considered to be the eastern type artifacts belonging to Pre-Scythian and Scythian cultures. For the 6th - 5th centuries BC, the funerary inventories contained iron daggers of *akinakai* type, arrowheads with two wings and long rod, bronze spinners (Simion 2003, 250, 255, fig. 4). For the later period, the third quarter of the 5th century to 4th century BC, graves contained three wings bronze arrowheads without rod, typical Scythian *akinakai*, spearheads and harness gear (Simion 2003, 256-7, fig. 5-6)

The cultural mixture of inventory and rituals in Telița - *Celic Dere* needed an extensive analytical exercise and also a revaluation of the old results with newly available technologies and theoretical approaches.

Geological and Geographical Assessments

The site is located 20km South-West from the modern city of Tulcea, 14km south of the Danube, in a hilly relief, in what can be named the central part of Northern Dobruja.

Northern Dobruja has five main relief unities: Măcin Mountains, The Niculițel Plateau (or the Niculițel Hills), the Nalbant Hollow, the Tulcea Hills and the Babadag Plateau (Fig. 1). The archaeological complex from Telița - *Celic Dere* is localized in the eastern part of the Niculițel Hills, on the Valley of Celic River.

Niculițel Hills are characterized by ridges orientated from north to south which are crossed over by many small rivers. This area has, in fact, in the context of the entire central Dobruja region, a quite abundant rainfall average. The geographical unit of Niculițel Hills is delimited in the eastern side by the river Telița and in the west by the river Tăița. In modern times, the circulation in the Niculițel Hills is made exactly along these valleys. For example the county roadways 229A Cataloi-Telița and 22 between Cataloi and Mihail Kogălniceanu villages use the valley of the river Telița. Other river valleys used for modern access in the region are Tăița and Alba (Fig. 2).

In the past, however, there were also other options to cross over the landscape (Tilley 1994). Some roads could had followed the hills' ridges, especially those which are long and flat and offered in this way the possibility to minimize circulation effort and also to allow the

traveler to find his direction in the forests. There were more secure against flooding or than the routes trough the marshes of river valleys.

Landscape Analysis

Today, the site from Telița - *Celic Dere* seems isolated, in a remote and wild region, not immediately connected with the major roads of the area. How did, however, the site contain the remains of eastern ethic groups, and how did arrive here so numerous Greek imports from the Black Sea and Mediterranean area? What were the resources that allowed these communities to prosper along centuries?

The most obvious interpretation is that of a major circulation road which must have existed in the vicinity of the site. We mention that the crucial pass over the Danube from Isaccea is only at 17km NW (in bird's flight) from Telița - *Celic Dere*. This place was used along ages, as a passing point across the Danube.

Analyzing the relief in the micro region of Telița - *Celic Dere* with the help of slope calculations[3] (Fig. 2, 3) we noticed that the easiest way to cross the Niculițel Hills from north to south, so from across the Danube, towards southern Dobruja, is to follow a ridge route which passed exactly in the nearby of *Celic Dere* settlement. In fact, the settlement is localized exactly in the single point where this ridge-route crosses over the Valley of Celic River. The settlement may be associated in this way with the existence of a road pass. The point where the settlement was identified, a plateau elevated more than 30m above the Valley of Celic River, is located in the western vicinity of the only place where, from a topographical point of view, two long ridges crossing the entire Niculițel Hills meet.

Today, this route is used only as a forest road by the local communities living now in the area to circulate across the hills. It is however, one of the main forest roads which has a mark and is signalized in the terrain. The significance of this road north-south may be proven by the existence on its route of an impressive fortress with stone walls (no 2, in Fig. 2), dated in the second Iron Age, on the peak of Edirlen. The site's fortification was excavated by G. Simion, but only briefly mentioned (Simion 1993, 134 fig. 10). The localization of this fortress along the discussed route has for sure great importance in sustaining the significance of this road. In fact, in this point, at Edirlen, the north-south road meets an east-west road, which uses also the hills ridges. The reason for the localization of the fortress from Edirlen can be connected with this important crossroad and also with the topographical advantages of the hill, which offers visibility in the entire area of the Niculițel Hills, from the Danube till the Nalbant Hallow.

The analysis of the micro region around the Celic River Valley and, in a larger context, of the Niculițel Hills, allowed the underling of complex conditions which concluded with the appearance in a particular place of the settlement and necropolises from Telița - *Celic Dere*. In this area we have already noticed a higher average rainfall than in other parts of Central Dobruja, condition for the existence of many rivers with small, but stable flow, which cross over, especially the southern part of the Niculițel Hills. Sedimentary rocks from Triassic, generally sandstones, but also limestone, and volcanic rocks (basalt, porphyries, granites) are to be found in the nearby or in underground as sources for the building material used in the tumuli funerary architecture (stone embankment and outer ring). Finally, the location of the Telița - *Celic Dere* site, may be connected with the geomorphologic structure of the terrain which allows a good circulation across a ridge route, an almost continuous saddle developed on a northwest-southeast direction. This road must be seen as linked with two other transversal pathways, one passing

[3]A theoretical resume of GIS principles and methods as understood by the present article authors, together with bibliography may be found in Ştefan, Duțescu 2005.

along the Celic River Valley and another, located more to the south, connecting the sites from Edirlen, in the nearby of Trestinic peak, towards Valea Teilor.

Further in our analysis, we have to investigate if this network of pathways represented more than the result of a local context. The discoveries from Telița - *Celic Dere* designated a place where northern and southern influences interlaced in more than a regional cultural mixture. It was therefore naturally to follow the role of this community in an extended geographic and historic context.

Since the beginning of their foundation, the Greek colonies from the Black Sea attracted the barbarian communities in a complex system of relations, with commercial and cultural-social implications. For Northern Dobruja, Histria and Orgame were the reference points. Commercial exchanges between colonies and the barbarian environment of Northern Dobruja and Southern Bessarabia implied the existence of a secure road along which, people and merchandise may travel all year long. The analysis of the discoveries from the 7th - 3rd centuries BC (Fig. 1) suggest from the beginning, the existence of a generic road from southeast towards northwest, from Orgame towards Southern Bessarabia, crossing over Danube at Isaccea[4]. On both sides of Danube, in the nearby of Isaccea, we know the archaeological sites dated in the 6th - 5th centuries BC from Novoselskoe (Brujako, Novitki 1997, 113-168), Giurgiulești (Levițki, Haheu 1999, 121-134), Tichilești (Bauman 1995, 227-232; Simion 2003, 79-80) and Isaccea (Simion 2003b, 113-128).

For the 7th-5th centuries BC this pathway could have used the ridges which originate in the Nalbant Hallow and continue on a long saddle towards northwest. This ridge route was controlled by the community located in the settlement of Telița – *Celic Dere* in the cross-point with the Valley of Celic River. The northern end of this road could be located in the place where the Măcin Hills descend in the Danube Meadow, in front of the small valley called Tichilești, not far from the modern village of Revărsarea. This is the location of another important archaeological assemblage. On a plateau shaped by the Tichilești Valley there was identified a fortified settlement from the First Iron Age belonging to Babadag I – III phases (Simion 2003, 79-98; Jugănaru 1996). For the chronological period between the end of the first Iron Age and the 3rd century AD another settlement is known (Bauman 1995, 229-230; Simion 2003, 79-80), unfortified, located in the nearby of the previous settlement with Babadag type discoveries, towards north. In the 6th – 5th centuries, the unfortified settlement was accompanied by an inhumation necropolis (Bauman 1995, 230-2). One may recognize in the Revărsarea – Tichilești site many of the archaeological features encountered in the Telița – *Celic Dere* site: ceramic vessels *post* Babadag III, ceramic fragments with influences from the sub Carpathian area (Bârsești and Ferigile), Greek ceramic, Greek archaic amphorae, ceramic decorated in a typical North-Pontus style, Glasinac fibulae. In the necropolis from Revărsarea – Tichilești there were excavated graves similar as structure, rite and inventory with some graves from Telița - *Celic Dere*. We regard as interesting the fact that the single Corinthian ceramic fragments known in Northern Dobruja were discovered at Orgame, *Celic Dere* and Tichilești (Mănucu-Adameșteanu 1996, 39-46) staking out the route of the previously discussed road.

For the subsequently chronological period (the 4th – 3rd centuries BC) a considerable growth in the number of archaeological discoveries is noticeable in all the North and Northeastern Dobruja. The western and northern shores of the Razelm Lake became in this period crowded with settlements and funerary contexts in an almost continuous chain: Jurilovca (Canarache 1957, 380-1), Sălcioara (Mănucu-Adameșteanu M., Mănucu-Adameșteanu Gh. 1996, 104-105), Enisala (Simion 1971, 63-130; Lazurcă, Mănucu-Adameșteanu 1980, 146-156), Babadag (Morintz 1986, 60; Lungu 1994, 135-7, no. 1), Sarichioi (Avram 2006, 64-6), Sabangia (Lungu 1996, 139, no. 13), Agighiol (Andrieșescu 1937, pl. 13-27; Berciu 1969a, 33-76; 1969b),

[4] For Isaccea in pre-Roman times see Bauman 2008, 190, with bibliography.

Sarinasuf (Lungu 1994, 139, no. 14), Murighiol (Bujor 1955, 571-580; 1956, 242-252; 1958, 125-142; 1971, 131-134). There are as well known settlements and necropolises dated in the 4th – 3rd centuries BC in the nearby of the Danube, on its right bank at Beştepe (Simion 2003, 135-146), Malcoci (Canarache 1957, 377; Bauman 1975, 34-5, 40-1, no. 8, 10, 11, 29-30; Lungu 1994, 138, no. 9), Mahmudia (Bauman 1975, 41, no. 31; Canarache 1957, 377; Lungu 1994, 138, no. 8), Tulcea (Lungu 1996, 47-102), Parcheş (Bauman 1995, 36, no. 15) and Isaccea (Lungu 1994, 137, no. 6; Topoleanu 1984, 187-206). There are also known discoveries on the left bank of the Danube in Novoselskoe (Vančugov, Brujako, Sîrbu, Niculiță 1999, 223-278; Vančugov, Niculiță, Sîrbu, Cojocaru 1999, 117-134), Orlovka - Cartal (Vančugov, Sîrbu, Niculiță, Bârcă 1999, 135-222; Vančugov, Niculiță, Sîrbu, Cojocaru 1999, 117-134), Giurgiuleşti (Arnăut 1999, 135-145).

Other archaeological discoveries (from 4th – 3rd centuries BC) are known for the interior of the investigated area, disposed on the same direction southeast – northwest: Zebil (Irimia, 1983, 140, no. 18), Mihai Bravu (Lungu 1994, 138-9, no. 11), Nalbant (Bauman, 1995, 37-40, no. 18, 22, 25), Valea Teilor (Canarache 1957, 377) and Telița (Cantacuzino, Simion 1962). Two large settlements were identified in field surveys in the nearby of the Telița – *Celic Dere* site (no. 3, 6, in Fig. 2). They contained local ceramic fragments mixed with Greek Hellenistic ceramic, among which amphorae fragments (Simion 1995a, 250). More discoveries dated in this period are to be noted in Revărsarea – *Tichileşti,* in the northern segment of the analyzed pathway (Bauman 1995, 232-5). A rich and diverse sample of amphorae stamps was discovered at approximately 2km northwest, on the roadway which goes to Rachelu (Lungu 1994, 139). In this period the possible routes to travel from north towards the Black Sea shores multiply. Along to the previously described pathway (Tichileşti, Telița - *Celic Dere*, Nălbant) other routes were active too, most probably, on the direction Parcheş – Telița – Nalbant -Slava Rusă (Opaiț 1991, 21; Lungu 1994, 139, no. 16). The connection between these two major routes was accomplished on the Valley of Celic River as the presence of the two previously described settlements from Hellenistic times suggest and on the ridge pathway, previously discussed, located 1,5km to the south than the valley of Celic which connected the Alba Valley (Valea Teilor) with Telița Valley. The cross-point between this east-west route and the north-south one was located in the nearby of Edirlen fortress (Simion 1993, 134, fig. 10). At least a variant of the Central - Northern Dobruja road was used in the Roman Times. Its' most possible route could be Parcheş – Telița – Nalbant - Ibida, suggested by the discovery of *miliari* stones from Maximinus at Parcheş – Saon Monastery (ISM V, 250bis) and Ibida (Slava Rusă) (ISM V, 223)[5]. In fact, this road was only the northern segment of the major inner province road which linked *Noviodunum*, Ibida, *Ulmetum* and further south, *Tropaeum Traiani.*

An important objective of our research was to assimilate the site from Telița – *Celic Dere* in a complex environment, both natural and human made. The integration of all the archaeological information about this region makes this site, a component of a system, not an isolated item. In this way the result of its excavation may be better interpreted and the characteristics of the material culture, better explained.

Topographical Analysis

Since 2005, the most important part of the documenting process of the Telița – *Celic Dere* site has been the detailed and accurate topographical recording of the relief, archaeological structures and trenches. Different strategies and instruments were used accordingly to particular situations[6]. The idea was to integrate the site in a larger geographical area and to develop GIS

[5] Regarding the roman roads issue see Bărbulescu, Căteia 1998, with bibliography.

[6] The three strategies as defined in Stefan, Dutescu 2005 are related to required resolution of the spatial analyzed entity (region, site surroundings and archaeological contexts).

analyses in a single system. Therefore we mixed in a homogeneous system of coordinates, cartographic information from various sources: paper maps, GPS recordings, SRTM digital elevation models, aerial photographs, total station measurements, site drawings.

Great attention was given to the exact recording of the position, shape and structure of all the tumuli excavated by G. Simion. On the plan we measured, until now, 60 excavated funerary structures with stone ring (the ring was preserved during archaeological excavations 1985-2001). Analyzing the site plan (Fig. 4) one may notice that the necropolis is localized at 300m north from the settlement, on the same hill massif. The tumuli are mainly organized along the central ridge of the hill slope, and towards its eastern side on a 300m length east-west. The necropolis covers a 3,4ha surface, its northern limit being in the point where the slope becomes steeper and the ridge narrower. As the slope analysis pointed out, the access road to which the settlement was connected should have passed exactly on this ridge, so we may consider a spatial relation between the ancient road and the mounds. Even if this phenomenon was attested for Greek and Roman necropolises[7], there is little information about its appearance in other cultures. The tumuli appear to be structured in two main groups. The northern group is localized in the pick of the slope and the second, at the bottom of the eastern slope, in a flatter area. Inside these groups, the mounds are grouped in alignments or in satellite configurations (smaller mounds gathered around a larger one).

The apparent division of the necropolis in two different groups could be as well, the result of the more advanced erosion affected the mounds localized on the slope. In order to validate this, geophysical prospecting were undertaken beginning with 2008 in this area.

Geophysical Analyses

Among the non-invasive methods used for analyzing the site of *Celic Dere* interesting results were obtained using geophysical equipments, in our case a Bartington gradiometer, sensitive to magnetic anomalies (Scollar *et al.* 1990; Smekalova *et al.* 2005, 461-482). With its help we were able, first of all, to identify unexcavated mounds and also to understand the characteristics of the terrain, either in terms of natural features or modern interventions.

In Fig. 5, one can see a plot of the magnetic survey realized for a 40 x 40m surface. One may notice in the northwestern margin of the plot, the traces of an excavated tumulus - T38 (no. 1, in Fig. 5b), researched in 1997 by G. Simion. The 1997 excavated soil from T38, deposited around it, appeared also in the plot as a highly magnetic area of 3m around the tumulus. Nine meters south of T38 the survey identified an anomaly which proved to be an unexcavated tumulus, T44. It appeared as an oval shaped nonmagnetic area of 5m diameter, surrounded by magnetic soil. Considering these elements, we were able to mark the excavation surfaces in such a way that the profiles did not cover entirely the centre of the mound, and thus, the possible dead would be only touched by the profile, but not completely hidden inside it. In the image there is also visible a natural relief element, a valley, passing south to tumulus T44. Its color is very light, therefore nonmagnetic, meaning that the water swept in time the vegetal soil, bringing the native rock which is nonmagnetic, closer to the surface. In this way it became clear, that the mound, even if very flat, was built in a slightly elevated point in the terrain, above a small valley.

In September 2008, after analyzing the magnetic survey results, excavations were made in the area of the anomaly indicating a flat tumulus. Tumulus 44 was unearthed, but the excavations were not completed. The tumulus had a 5m broken stone embankment, an outer ring built from large block of limestone. It was built above a large pit. In its upper part, fragments from wheel and hand- made vessels were discovered (Figure 5c).

Conclusions

[7] For example the necropolis at Orgame (Lungu 2000, 101-118), Histria (Alexandrescu 1966, 133-294).

This study presents how the use of alternative methods of investigation may enhance the quality of the archaeological data interpretation. The excavation is no longer the unique way to uncover the past realities. The localization of the site of Telița – *Celic Dere* along one of the most important route which connected the Northern Dobruja with the area around Babadag - Razelm - Sinoe lakes, where the Greek colonies stood, brings the site into a new light.

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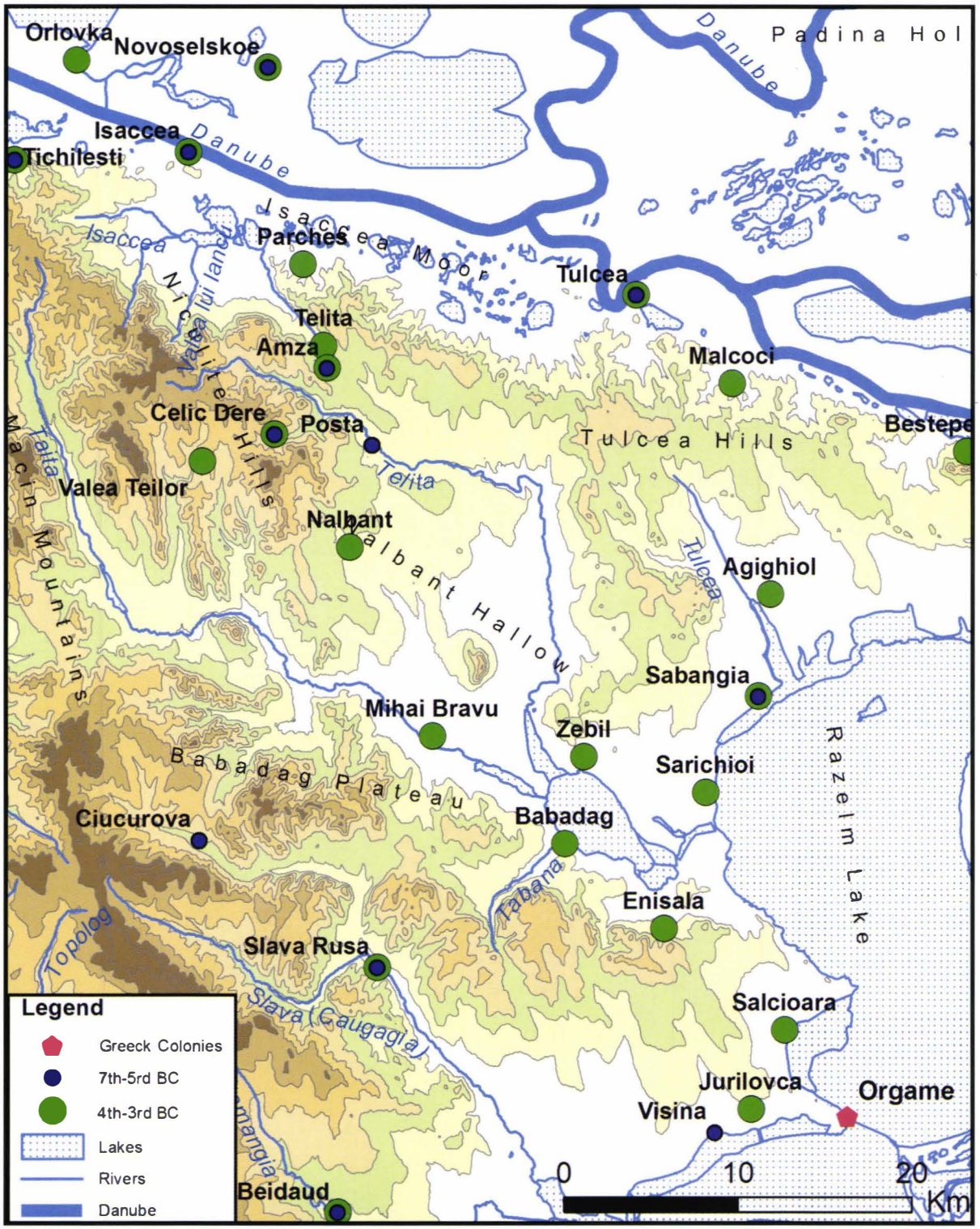


Figure 1. Northern-Dobrogea. Relief and 7th-3rd centuries BC Archaeological Discoveries Map

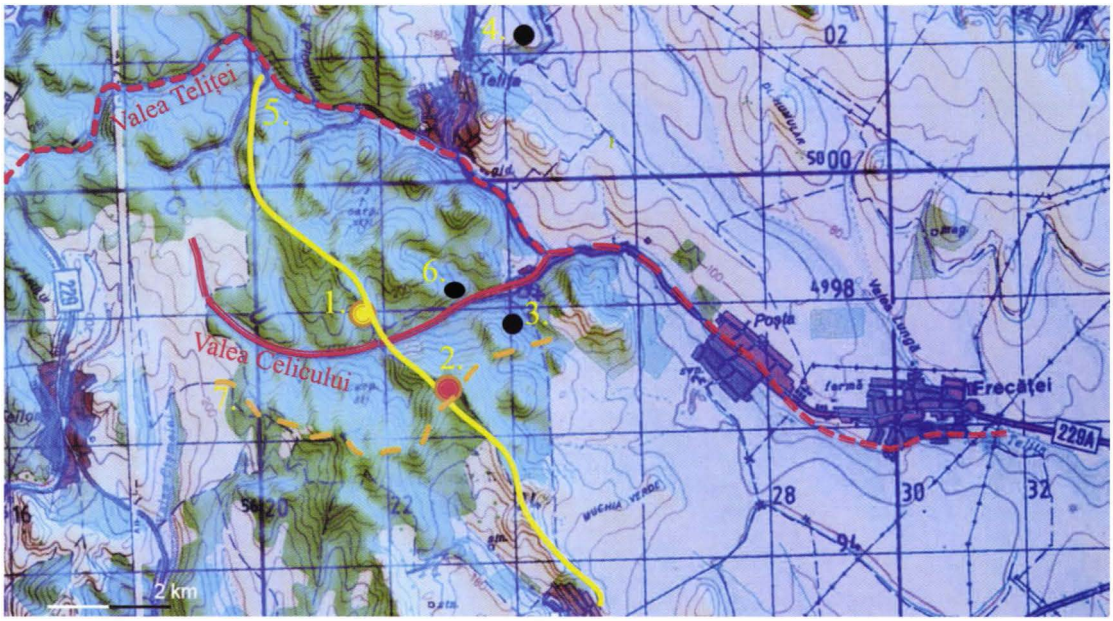
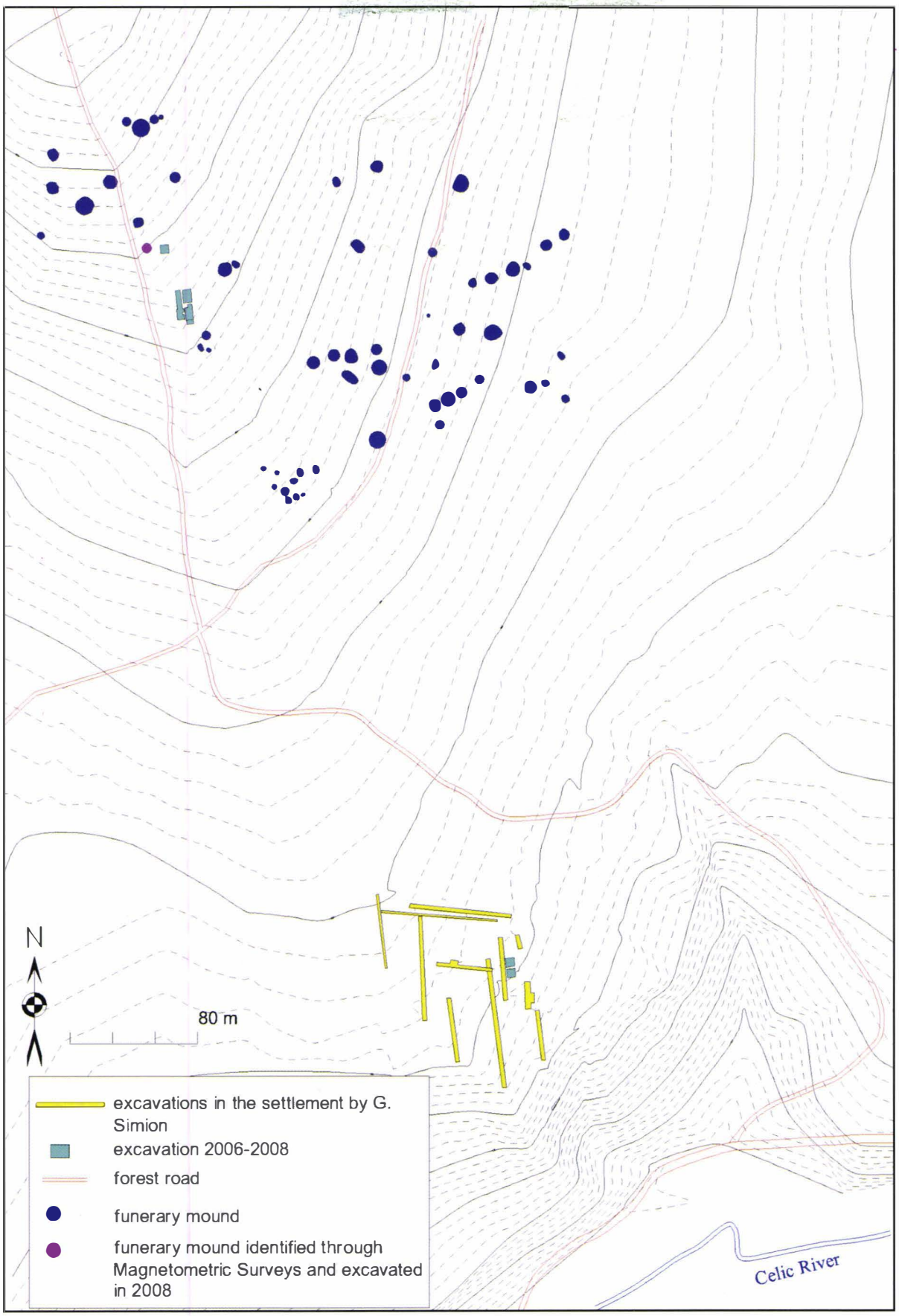
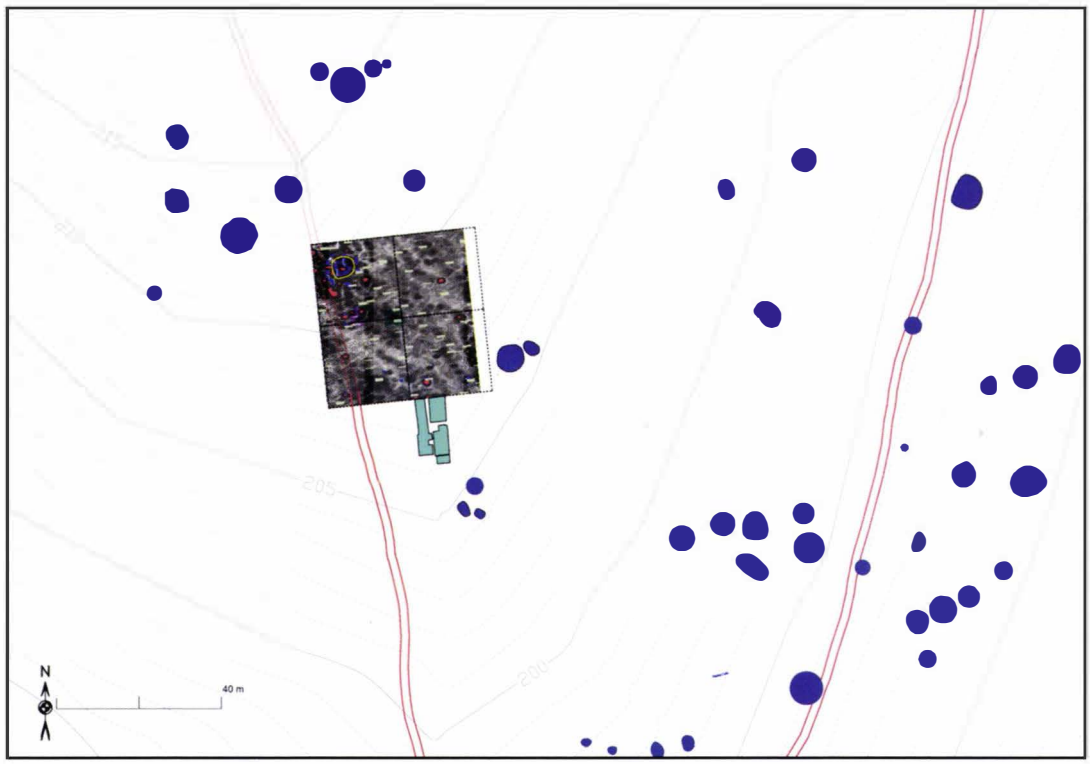


Figure 2. The map of the region around Celic Valley.
1. The site Telița - *Celic Dere;* 2. The fortress from Edirlen; 3 and 6. 4th-3rd centuries BC settlements; 4. The tumulus grave from Telița; 5. The possible route of the north-south road passing near Telița - *Celic Dere* site; 7. The possible route of the road east-west passing near Edirlen.

Figure 3. Three-dimensional model of the relief around the Celic Valley.
View from south-east.
1. The site Telița - *Celic Dere;* 2. The fortress from Edirlen.





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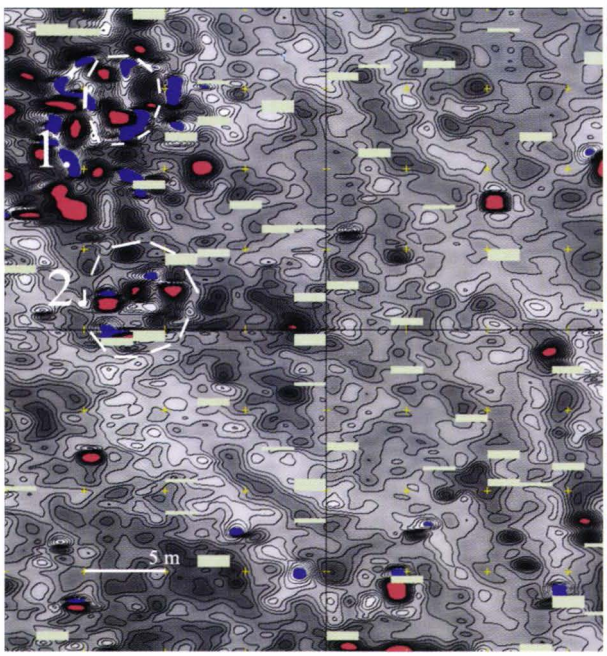

b.

Magnetic NonMagnetic

c.

Figure 5. Telița - *Celic Dere*.
a. The Necropolis map. Detail with the position of the magnetic survey plot presented in fig. 5b.
b. Magnetic Survey plot. 1. Tumulus 38 excavated by G. Simion in 1997; 2. Tumulus 44, identified with the help of magnetic analyses;
c. Photo of the Tumulus 44 after excavating the first layer of soil, view from soth-west.

FINDS OF DACIAN POTS FROM THE ROMAN GRAVES IN VIMINACIUM

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Keywords: Dacian ware, Viminacium, Roman necropolis

Abstract. The Viminacium cemeteries bore more than 13.500 graves. Still, only in a few of them, Dacian ware was found. It includes the standard repertoire of Dacian pots that appear throughout *Moesia Superior* at the turns of the Eras and during the first three centuries A.D. The graves containing Dacian ware include both skeletal graves and graves with cremations. Apart from Dacian pottery, all the other grave goods represent typical Roman items, like oil-lamps, balsamaria or coins. Coin-finds make it possible to gain precise dating for all the burials discussed, thus making it possible the date the usage of Dacian ware as grave goods.

The remains of Viminacium are lying under the modern villages of Stari Kostolac and Drmno, at the right Mlava bank, some 15 km to the east from Požarevac (Fig. 1). Viminacium was the capital of the Roman province *Moesia Superior*, and in late antiquity of the province *Moesia Prima*. It presented a significant military stronghold at the northern border of the Empire, in which the Roman legion *VII Claudia Pia Fidelis* was stationed. Owing to the rich hinterland of the Mlava valley and to the favorable position of the city itself, the inhabitants of Viminacium had well-developed economy. Merchants from the entire Roman Empire came to this city for trade (Korać 2007).

The Viminacium cemeteries, excavated during the last three decades of 20th century, bore more than 13.500 graves.

The finds of Dacian pottery presented here come from two different necropoles, Pećine and Više Grobalja, both within the Viminacium city area. (I hereby thank M. Korać, director of project Viminacium and D. Spasić-Đurić, custodian of the National museum Požarevac, for putting the here presented material at my disposal). They present grave goods discovered within both skeletal and cremated graves, showing different constructions and containing both children and adults. The only grave from the Pećine necropolis mentioned in this paper is a skeletal one. Graves from Više Grobalja that contained Dacian ware as grave goods include six skletal graves (three of them being childrens graves), six cremated burials (three of them double-leveled) and one grave of undetermined structure.

Grave G 2931 from Pećine was orientated east-west and contained the remains of one deceased. Since several iron nails were found next to his feet and head, it can be concluded that he was buried in a wooden coffin. The deceased was buried lying on his back, in a stretched position. His arms were crossed on his stomach, his left hand placed on his right hand. Grave goods consisted of a pot, a jug and a cup, all made of very poor clay.

Next to the feet of the deceased there was a hand made brown pot (C 8315, Fig. 2). Its rim is upturned, its stomach oval ant its bottom flat. Direct under the rim there is a carved double wavy line, while there is a double zigzag line on the shoulder of the pot. Within the pot, a piece of carbonated wood and several pieces of iron were found, most likely parts of the decayed coffin.

Grave G 540 from Više Grobalja (Fig. 3) is a child's grave buried in a wooden coffin. The grave was orientated east-west. The child was lying on his back, in a stretched position. His right arm lied next to his body, while his left arm was placed on his chest. Grave goods consisted

of two golden ring-shaped ear-rings, a bronze coin placed on the chest of the deceased, two shoe-nails and a pot.

The pot (C 3821, Fig. 4) is hand-made, with slightly stressed rim and shoulder. Its stomach is almost cylindrical and its bottom flat. The decoration consists of carved short diagonal lines, placed on the shoulder of the pot.

Grave G_1-688 from Više Grobalja (Fig. 5) is a double-leveled grave, with its sides and bottom burned with fire, orientated northwest-southeast. The first level measures 2.60 X 2.00 X 0.30 m. The second level, measuring 1.30 X 0.45 X 0.20 m, also possessed burnt sides and bottom. At its bottom, a small amount of cremated bones mixed with sooth was discovered. Grave goods consisted of a pyxide made of thin bronze tin, an oil-lamp, a bronze coin, three red burned and painted jugs and a red burned pot.

The red burned pot (C 5540, Fig. 6) was made of poorly cleaned clay. Its rim was upturned, its stomach round and its bottom flat. There is a line of finger shaped ornaments on its shoulder.

Grave G 1101 from Više Grobalja (Fig. 7) is a child's grave that was orientated in the east-west direction. The deceased was buried in a wooden coffin, which can be concluded according to the finds of two iron nails. The deceased was buried lying on his left side and crouched, his arms placed next to the body. Next to his legs there was the only grave-good, a grey burned pot, with lots of sooth both on the inner and on the outer side (C 6674, Fig. 8). The pot is fragmented and was made of very poor clay. The rim is upturned, the stomach is slightly round and the bottom is flat. At the upper stomach part there is a canelure with diagonal incisions.

Grave G 1135 from Više Grobalja (Fig. 9) was orientated east-west. It is a simple hole measuring 0.93 X 0.50 m, which indicates a child's grave. It was not possible to determine the position of the deceased within the grave hole. The only grave good is a red burned hand-made pot (C 6747, Fig. 10) with traces of burning. Its rim is upturned, it stomach almost cylindrical and its bottom is flat. On the stomach there is an ornament consisting of finger punctuations.

Grave G 1148 from Više Grobalja (Fig. 11), representing a simple hole, was orientated west-east and measuring 1.60 X 0.70 X 0.15 m. Remains of the skeleton were partially preserved, but it was not possible to determine the position of the deceased. The grave goods consisted of a single-handled jug and a single-handled pot placed next to the scull, while another jug, a pot and an oil-lamp were placed next to the deceased's feet.

The grey burned pot (C 6794, Fig. 12), placed next to the feet of the deceased, was fragmented. The rim is upturned, the stomach biconical and the bottom is flat. On the stomach of the vessel, there is a plastic ribbon decorated with finger punctuations.

Grave G_1-989 from Više Grobalja also represents a simple hole with burned sides and bottom. The grave was orientated north-south and measuring 1.00 X 0.40 X 0.20 m. At the bottom of the grave-hole, a small amount of cremated bones was found. The only grave-good is a red burned, hand-made pot (C 6982, Fig. 13), made of very poor clay. Its rim is upturned, the stomach biconical and the bottom flat. At the shoulder of the vessel there are several diagonaly placed long incisions.

Grave G_1-1089 from Više Grobalja (Fig. 14) was actually discovered within the cultural layer. The only indication that there was a grave is a find of a pot (C 7632, Fig. 15). It is brown burned and made of very poor clay. Its rim is upturned, its stomach oval and its bottom is flat. On the shouler of the vessel there are diagonal incisions. Since there were traces of cremated bones, sooth and ashes within the pot, it could be concluded that it represented an urn.

Grave G -1544 from Više Grobalja (Fig. 16) was orientated east-west and measured 1.20 X 0.70 X 0.10 m. Remains of the skeleton were discovered within the hole. Grave goods consisted of an oil-lamp, two bronze coins and a pot.

The black burned pot (C 9062, Fig. 17) was hand-made, with an upturned rim, convex shoulder, round stomach and a flat bottom. On the shoulder of the vessel there is a carved zig-zag line and on the stomach there is a canelure with irregular punctured ornaments.

Grave G_1-1332 from Više Grobalja is a double-leveled grave, orientated north-south. The sides and the bottoms of both levels were burnt. The upper level measured 2.50 X 1.30 X 0.30 m and at its bottom, cremated bones were found within the sooth. The lower level measured 1.50 X 0.60 X 0.15 m. The grave goods found in the first level consisted of two pots, two miniature pots, an oil-lamp and a bronze mirror. In the second level, three jugs were found, a fragmented ritual vessel, three oil-lamps, a miniature pot, a pincette, an iron key and an iron knife. Next to the grave, a pot and a miniature pot were placed.

The black burned pot (C 9138, Fig. 18), placed within the upper level, was hand-made of poor clay. The rim of the vessel is upturned; the shoulder convex, the stomach conical and the bottom is flat. At the upper stomach part there is a ribbon with an incised ornament.

Grave G_1-1406 from Više Grobalja consists of a simple urn (C 9561, Fig. 19). It is a hand-made, light brown (cream) burned pot made of very poor clay. The rim is upturned, the stomach is round and the bottom flat. Between the shoulder and the stomach there is a ribbon with diagonal ornament done with finger.

Grave G_1-1960 from Više Grobalja was a double-leveled grave, orientated east-west, with burnt sides. The upper level measured 2.20 X 1.20 X 0.60 m, while the lower one measured 0.90 X 0.60 X 0.13 m. At the bottom of the second level, within the layer of sooth and ashes, cremated bones were found. The grave-goods from the first level consisted of a bowl and a balsamarium, while within the second level, two oil-lamps, a pot and a two-handled cup were discovered.

The red burned pot (C 10.001, Fig. 20), discovered in the lower level, was made of poor clay. Its rim is upturned, its shoulder conical, the stomach is oval and the bottom is flat. At the shoulder of the vessel, there is an ornament consisting of vertical incisions.

Grave G -1884 from Više Grobalja (Fig. 21) was orientated north-south. No traces of bones were found. At the northern side of the grave, three jugs and a bowl were found. Somewhat to the side from these finds, a red burned, hand-made pot (C 10.461, Fig. 22) was found. Its rim is upturned, its body almost cylindrical and its bottom flat. At the top of the stomach there is an ornament consisting of finger prints. Traces of burning were clearly visible on the pot.

The majority of the mentioned Dacian pots from the *Viminacium* graves belong to the same pottery type. They are oval pots with slightly upturned rims and flat bases. The upper pot parts are usually decorated either with multiple waved decoration, plastic ribbon with ornaments done with finger or fingernail or with plastic button-like ornaments on the shoulders of vessels. Sometimes, combined ornaments are applied, consisting both of waved lines and plastic decoration. Such pots were never wheel made, consisting of poorly cleaned clay with admixture of quartz and mica. They are usually unevenly burned, their colour varying from grey, through brown and reddish-brown to red.

Such pots are encountered on many neighbouring sites, like *Singidunum*, *Horreum Margi* or sites in *Pannonia Inferior*. Pots corresponding to the *Viminacium* examples are classified as type II/17 from *Singidunum* but they were all found within the settlement (Nikolić-Đorđević 2000, type II/17, 73). From *Pannonia Inferior*, one example was excavated in Zemun (*Taurunum*) (Brukner 1981, Pl. III, 4; Further examples in Brukner and Dautova-Ruševljan 1992, Pl. 21/126, 130). In *Singidunum*, finds of Dacian pots chronologically belong to middle and second half of 2nd cent.A.D. (Nikolić-Đorđević 2000, 74). In *Pannonia Inferior*, the majority of Dacian ware dates back to 1st cent.A.D. (Brukner 1981, 42; Brukner and Dautova-Ruševljan 1992, 26). In *Viminacium*, Dacian ware is encountered both in skeletal graves and

graves with cremations, all of them dating back to 2nd cent.A.D. (Dating obtained from numismatic finds kindly examined by M. Arsenijević).

In Romania, such pots are described as "oale-borcan" type 1 and they were found as grave goods, for example in the Locusteni necropolis in Oltenia (Popilian 1976, 134, Pl. LXXIV, Nr. 943-947). They are dated back to 2nd and 3rd cent.A.D. (Popilian 1976, 135). Examples of such pots were also found in Muntenia. There, they represent even 40% of all the small finds (Bichir 1984, 30), dating back to the period from 2nd to 4th cent.A.D. (Bichir 1984, 33).

Of great importance is the fact that in the course of the Roman presence in Dacia, within the occupied territory such pots came out of use, i.e. their forms became romanized, due to the presence of typically Roman pottery forms. Dacian pots continue to be in use outside the boundaries of the Roman Dacia, but never within the Roman province itself (Bichir 1984, 32). They represent usual finds at the territory of the so-called free Dacians (*Dacii liberi*), in northern and western Transylvania, but also at the Carpic territory (Bichir 1973, 65-68; Popilian 1976, 135). There, they are found outside the province boundaries even after the Roman retreat in 272.A.D.

It is also rather interesting to examine the field of use of Dacian pots. Within the so-called Militari-Chilia culture in Muntenia, whose carriers were of autochthon, i.e. Dacian origin, such pots were mostly used for cooking and preparing food (Bichir 1984, 33). Although they were found both within the settlements and necropoles, they make only 10-20% of grave goods (Bichir 1984, 30). The situation is somewhat different in Oltenia, where Dacian pots were found in settlements, but more often as urns on necropoles, like the already mentioned Locusteni (Popilian 1976, 134).

In *Moesia Prima*, Dacian ware was found both within the settlements (*Horreum Margi, Singidunum*) and necropoles (*Viminacium*).

* * *

Dacian ware, consisting mostly of pots and cups, was well known and widely spread in the mid Balkans in the earlier period, i.e. at the turn of the eras and later on, during 1st and 2nd century A.D. The beginning of Dacian presence at the territories of modern Vojvodina and northern and eastern parts of Serbia proper dates back to the second half of 1st cent.B.C. The use of Dacian ware continues even after the Roman occupation of these territories, being slowly pushed back by the use of Roman pottery types. Nevertheless, the Dacian pottery types managed to survive for a long period of time, even to 4th cent.A.D. Their simple forms, sometimes simply decorated, poorly cleaned clay and simple manufacture resisted influences of the Roman potters for several hundreds of years.

Finds of the Dacian ware in *Moesia Prima* are known from the civilian settlements, military forts and from graves, where they were often used as urns. The question arises if one is here dealing with the local traditions or acceptance of local ware by the Roman military. The users of the Dacian ware found in Roman settlements or as grave goods on Roman necropoles could be of the Dacian origin.

The finds of Dacian pottery from the two Viminacium necropoles, Pećine and Više Grobalja, both within the Viminacium city area, present grave goods. They were discovered within graves of different structures: skeletal and cremated graves, some of them being double-leveled in their construction. The deceased buried in these graves were both children and adults, most likely of both sexes.

In four graves (no. G-1101, G-1135, G_1-989, G_1-1098), Dacian pots were the only grave-goods and in one case they represented an urn (G_1-1406). This fact could point that the users of such pottery were no wealthy persons. On the other hand, other graves mentioned also contained typical Roman objects, like oil-lamps, coins, balsamaria, a mirror, a pinzette etc.

This variety of circumstances in which Dacian pots were found indicates that they belonged to common objects in the every-day life that they were easily obtained, probably on the market-place of the city. In some graves, they were obviously used to contain food or drink for the deceased, standing side-by-side with typical Roman vessels. In some other graves, they served as urns. All of this indicates that the Dacian traditions in pottery making survived for a very long time (in some cases more than four centuries) within the Roman province of *Moesia Prima*. Because of their simple, easily appliable form and most likely of their low price, they were not completely replaced by the typically Roman pottery types.

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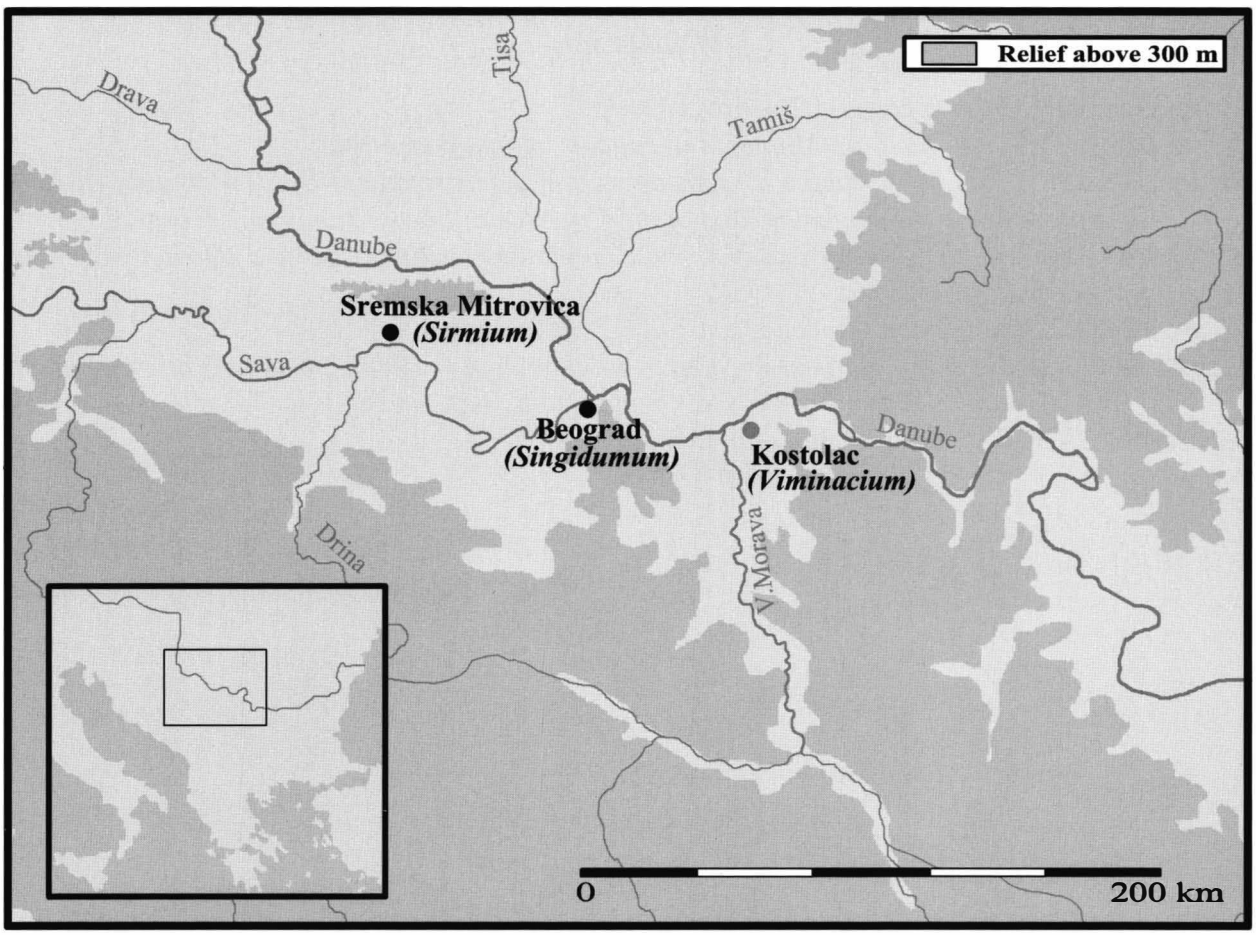
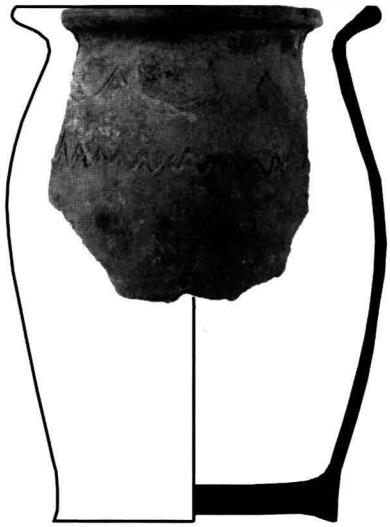


Fig. 1 - The position of Viminacium (modern Kostolac)



Scale 1:2

Fig. 2 Pot C - 8315 from the grave G - 2931 of the Pećine necropolis

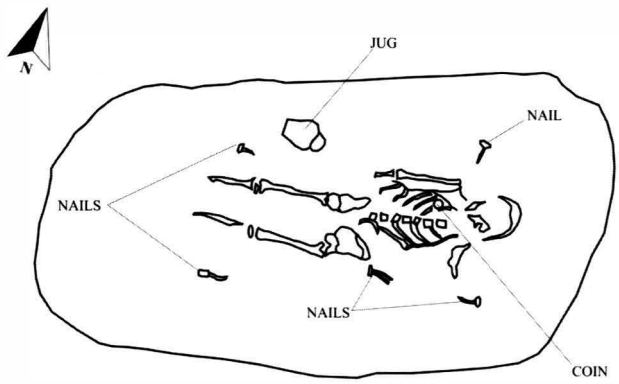


Fig. 3 Plan of grave G 540 from the Više Grobalja necropolis

Scale 1:1

Fig. 4 Pot C 3821 from the grave G 540 of the Više Grobalja necropoli

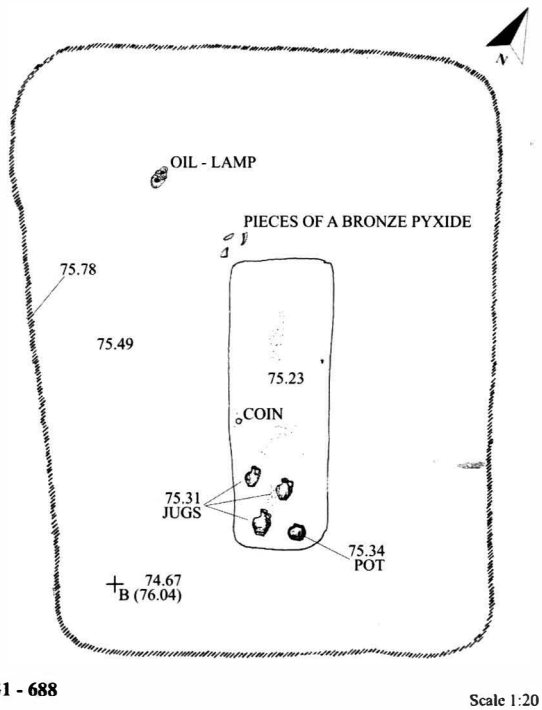


Fig. 5 Plan of grave G_1 688 from the Više Grobalja necropolis

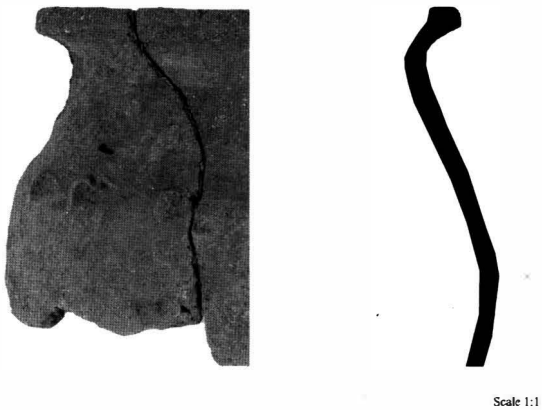


Fig. 6 - Pot C 5540 from the grave G_1 688 of the Više Grobalja necropolis

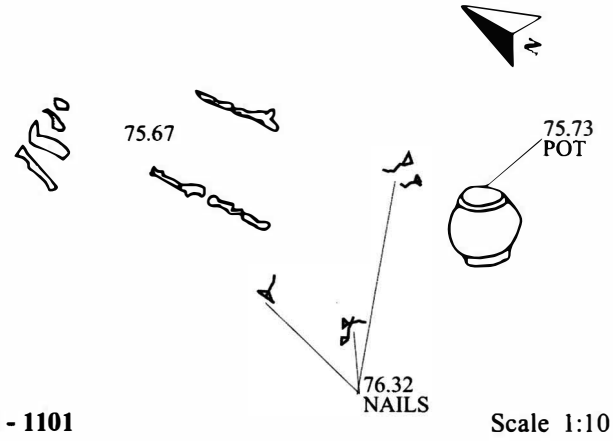


Fig. 7 Plan of grave G 1101 from the Više Grobalja necropolis

Fig. 8 - Pot C 6674 from the grave G 1101 of the Više Grobalja necropolis

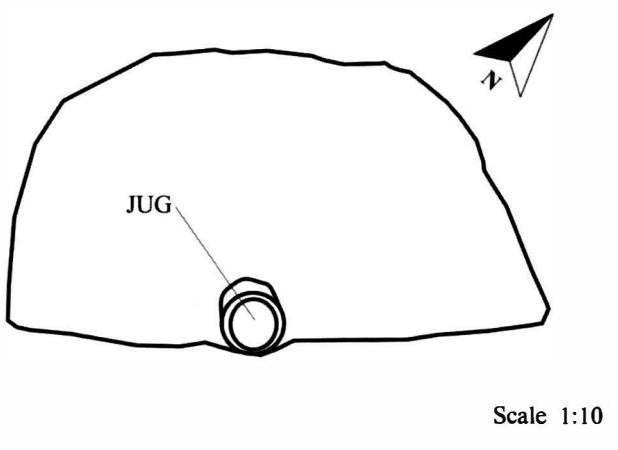


Fig. 9 Plan of grave G 1135 from the Više Grobalja necropolis

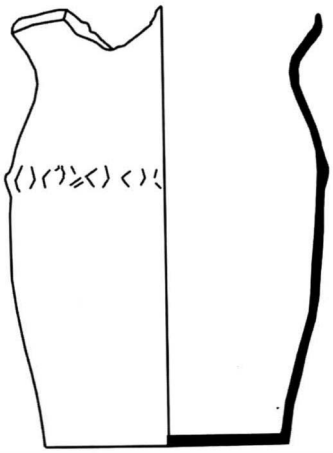


Fig. 10 - Pot C 6747 from the grave G 1135 of the Više Grobalja necropolis

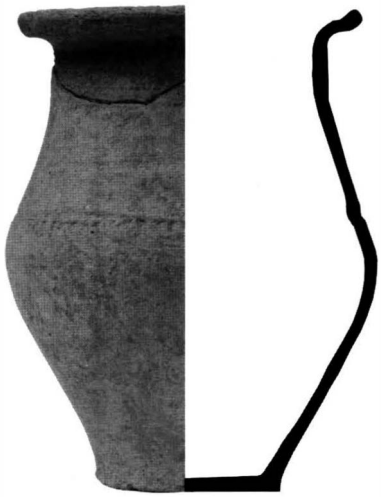


Fig. 12 - Pot C 6794 from the grave G 1148 of the Više Grobalja necropolis

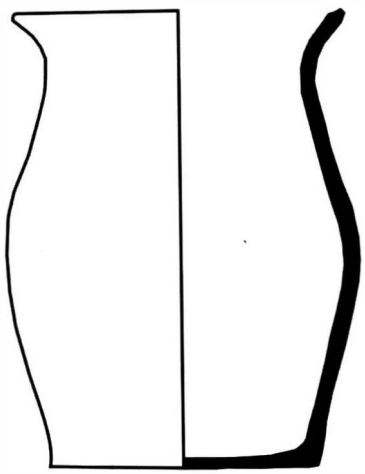


Fig. 13 Pot C 6982 from the grave G_1 989 of the Više Grobalja necropolis

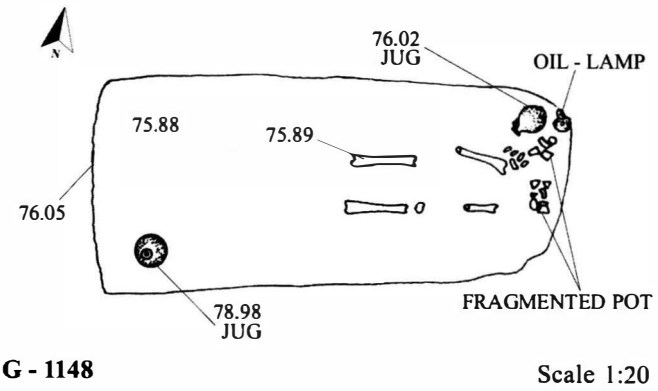


Fig. 11 Plan of grave G 1148 from the Više Grobalja necropolis

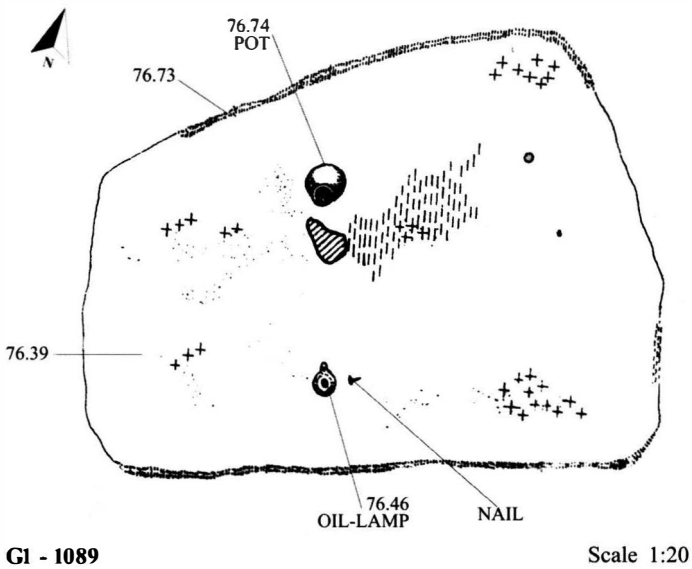


Fig. 14 Plan of grave G_1 1089 from the Više Grobalja necropolis

Fig. 15 - Pot C 7632 from the grave G_1 1089 of the Više Grobalja necropolis

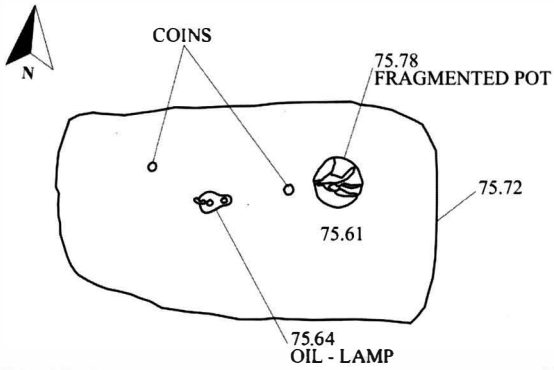


Fig. 16 Plan of grave G 1544 from the Više Grobalja necropolis

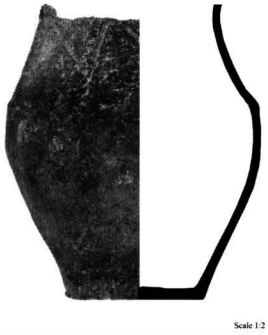


Fig. 17 - Pot C 9062 from the grave G 1544 of the Više Grobalja necropolis

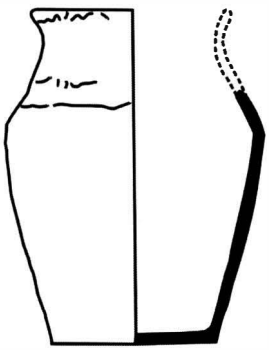


Fig. 18 - Pot C 9138 from the grave G_1 1332 of the Više Grobalja necropolis

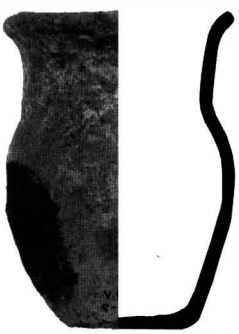


Fig. 19 - Pot C 9561 from the grave G_1 1406 of the Više Grobalja necropolis

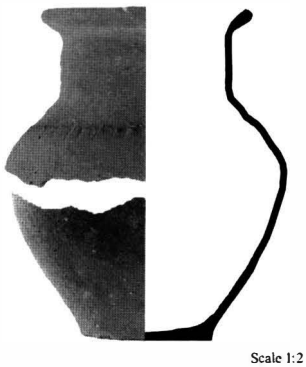


Fig. 20 - Pot C 10.001 from the grave G_1 1960 of the Više Grobalja necropolis

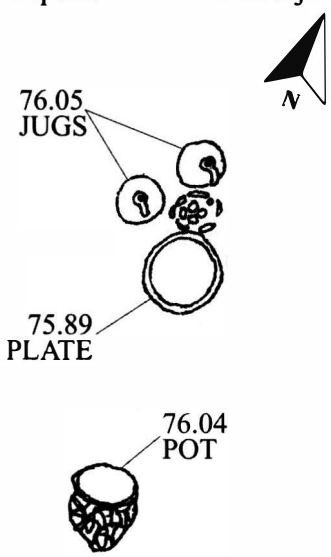


Fig. 21 Plan of grave G 1884 from the Više Grobalja necropolis

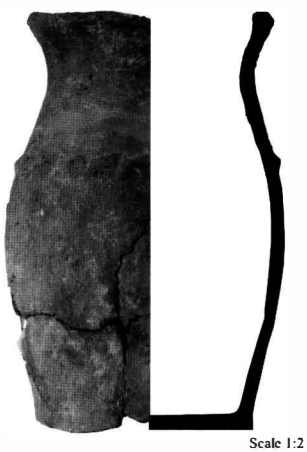


Fig. 22 - Pot C 10.461 from the grave G 1884 of the Više Grobalja necropolis

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