



BRAȘOV COUNTY HISTORY MUSEUM
MUSEUM OF BRĂILA



PROCEEDINGS OF THE 12TH INTERNATIONAL
CONGRESS OF THRACOLOGY

*”The Thracians and their Neighbors in
the Bronze and Iron Ages”*

TÂRGOVIȘTE
10TH -14TH SEPTEMBER 2013

“Necropolises, Cult places, Religion, Mythology”

- Volume II -

Editorial Board
Valeriu Sîrbu and Radu Ștefănescu

MUZEUL BRĂILEI



EDITURA ISTROS

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It is the authors who are responsible for the contents and the quality of studies. Due to the late reception of manuscripts, the Editorial Board could not in all cases intervene to any significant extent in order to ensure a standard language.

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Descrierea CIP a Bibliotecii Naționale a României

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF THRACOLOGY. Proceeding (12; 2013; Târgoviște)

Proceeding of the 12th International Congress of Thracology: The Thracians and their Neighbors in the bronze and Iron ages: Târgoviște, 10th-14th September 2013. – Târgoviște: Cetatea de Scaun, 2013

2 vol.

ISBN 978-606-537-208-5

Vol.2: Necropolises, cult places, religion, mythology / editorial board: Valeriu Sîrbu and Radu Ștefănescu. – Brăila: Editura Istros a Muzeului Brăilei, 2013. – Bibliogr. – ISBN 978-606-654-077-3

I Sîrbu, Valeriu (ed.)

II Ștefănescu, Radu (ed.)

904(398.9)(063)

Summary

FOREWORD	7
ELENA ROXANA ASĂNDOAE, ABDUL HAFIZ LATIFY, <i>Stone Klinai and Kline-Shaped Structures in Macedonian Tombs from Present Nord-East Macedonia and Thracia (Comparative Study with the Similar Furniture discovered in the Thracian Tombs)</i>	9
CRISTINA BODÓ, <i>Édifices du culte dans le monde dace (II^{ème} s. av. J.-C. – I^{er} s. ap. J.-C.)</i>	25
ALEXANDRA COMȘA, <i>Anthropological Data Regarding the Cremated Bones Discovered in Three Complexes (No. 73, 74, 75) from the Dacian Site at Hunedoara-Grădina Castelului (Hunedoara County, Romania)</i>	47
FLOREA COSTEA, ANGELICA BĂLOS, <i>An Important Centre of Power from Pre-Roman Dacia: the Olt Gorge Sites From the Perșani Mountains, Transylvania</i>	55
GABRIEL CRĂCIUNESCU, <i>Žuto Brdo - Gârla Mare Necropolis from Gârla Mare, Mehedinți County</i>	99
DIANA-CRINA DĂVÎNCĂ, <i>Children Burials in the North Thracian Region During the First Iron Age</i>	115
DIANA DIMITROVA, <i>Shushmanets Tumular Temple Near Shipka (Central Bulgaria)</i>	133
KATARINA DMITROVIĆ, MARIJA LJUŠTINA, <i>Some Observations on the Borders between the Bronze Age Cultural Groups in the Region of the West Morava Valley, Central Serbia</i>	153
CRISTINEL FÂNTÂNEANU, GABRIEL BĂLAN, SILVIU POPA, DANIEL TENTIȘ, <i>The Bronze Age Necropolis at Sebeș – Între Răstoace. Preliminary Considerations</i>	173
EL-SAYED M. GAD, EMAN A. ABDEL-AZIZ, <i>Funerary Stele of Julius Victor: An Unknown Soldier of Legio II Traiana Fortis</i>	193
JERZY HATŁAS, MARK ZYROMSKI, <i>Die Menschen-Und Pferdebestattungen in den Kuppelgräbern in Altthrakien</i>	205
CHRYSANTHI KALLINI, <i>The Cult of the Mother of the Gods (Cybele) at Aegae (Modernvergina), Northern Greece</i>	213
VANYA LOZANOVA-STANTCHEVA, <i>The Prophecies of Many-Gift[Ed]</i>	225

DRAGOȘ MĂNDESCU, <i>The Late First Iron Age Ferigile Cultural Group – an Original North-Thracian Synthesis at the Interference of the Surrounding Cultural Spaces</i>	247
VASSIL MARKOV, <i>Megalithheiligtümer aus den Ländern der Thrakischen Bessen</i>	257
RODICA URȘU NANIU, ALEXANDRA COMȘA, <i>Several Ethno-Socio-Anthropological Considerations Regarding the Aristocratic Graves in the Extra-Carpathian Space During the 5th-3rd Centuries BC</i>	267
EMIL NANKOV, <i>Playful in Life and After Death: Board Games in Early Hellenistic Thrace</i>	277
LIANA OȚA, VALERIU SÎRBU, <i>The Bărăgan in the 1ST-3RD Centuries AD: Dacians, Romans, Sarmatians</i>	289
NONA PALINCAȘ, <i>Notes on Sun Cult and Burials in the Romanian Middle and Late Bronze Age (ca 2000-1200 BC)</i>	311
AUREL RUSTOIU, ADRIAN URȘUȚIU, <i>Celtic Colonization in Banat. Comments Regarding the Funerary Discoveries</i>	323
VALERIU SÎRBU, MARIA-MAGDALENA ȘTEFAN, DAN ȘTEFAN, GABRIEL JUGĂNARU, TOMASZ BOCHNAK, <i>The Necropolis from Telița-Celic Dere (6th – 3rd c. BC), Tulcea County, Romania. The Study Case of Tumulus T44</i>	347
VALERIU SÎRBU, CRISTIAN ROMAN, <i>Cremation Graves and Item Deposits (4th-1st c. BC) in Hunedoara - Grădina Castelului, Hunedoara County</i>	373
NIKOLA TONKOV, <i>Two and Three Dimensional Electroresistivity Surveys of Thracian Burial Mounds</i>	401
MILENA TONKOVA, <i>Gold Wreaths From Thrace</i>	413
CORINA BORȘ, <i>A New Site of the Basarabi Period on the Mureș Valley: Tărtăria – Podu Tărtăriei Vest</i>	447

Foreword

Our country has previously hosted once more this *Congress*, 17 years ago, when the 7th edition was held at Constanța-Mangalia-Neptun/Olimp. Since then, other editions of this congress have been organized by colleagues from Bulgaria (2000), Republic of Moldova (2004), Greece (2005) and Turkey (2010). In 1996, when the 7th edition of the *Congress* was held, the status of this research direction – Thracology – was most probably different than today both in Romania and in the other countries. At that time, our research field benefited from the existence of an independent institution (*The Romanian Institute of Thracology*, director prof. dr. Petre Roman), with its own juridical status and budget. Today, the *Centre of Thracology* activates harmonically as part of the “*Vasile Parvan*” *Institute of Archaeology of the Romanian Academy*.

As other peoples from antiquity were dedicated distinct branches of research that included historical, archaeological, linguistic, anthropological, archaeo-zoological, and ethnographical investigations it was only natural that the Thracians also had their own distinct discipline. The Thracology was and still is a field of extremely interesting scientific disputes. An example in this direction is the dispute concerning the appearance of the first Thracians in the Balkans.

Many research opportunities are still offered by the study of antic written sources. The archaeology and the linguistic studies permit (and most surely will still do so in the future) the discovery of new faces of the material and spiritual culture of this people.

The development and the evolution of the Thracians cannot be fully comprehended without knowledge of their neighbors and of the connections between the Thracians and the Celts, the Greeks, the Macedonians, the Scythians, the Romans, etc. This is what justifies the theme of this congress, namely “*The Thracians and their Neighbors in Antiquity, in the Bronze and Iron Ages*”.

Of course, not all the specialists that research the Thracians accept the existence of a separate field of research dedicated to this people. Some do it out of belief, having, in their opinion, the necessary arguments in this direction, others, unfortunately, do it for reasons that include fashion or pure opportunism. As long as the disputes are carried at a scientific level, the things subscribe to normality. But, unfortunately, we notice that sometimes this pseudo-conflict is transferred to the relations between institutions or even between persons which is damaging to the scientific research.

On behalf of the Organizing Committee, we convey our thanks to everyone for the personal, scientific and financial efforts made in order to attend this prestigious scientific event.

We need to express our gratitude to the *Dâmbovița County Council*, and to its President – Professor Adrian Țuțuianu, who, understanding the meaning of a scientific manifestation of the amplitude of the present one, accepted from the start to grant us a decisive financial help without which we could not have organized this event. We also thank the “*Valahia*” *University*, its rectors – Professor Ion Cucui and Professor Călin Oros, who allowed us to use their *International Conference Center* and the *Campus*. And we also thank the colleagues, Dr. Marian Cosac and Dr. George Murătoareanu, for their support. We must not omit from the “*thank you*” list the “*Curtea Domnească*” *National Museum Complex* from Târgoviște and its director, Dr. Ovidiu Cârșina and his colleagues, the *Brasov County*

Museum and its manager – Dr. Radu Ștefănescu, and the *Brăila Museum* and its director – Professor Ionel Căndeă. Another “thank you” we direct towards the manager of the “*Vasile Parvan*” *Institute of Archaeology* – Academician Alexandru Vulpe and to the colleagues from the *Centre of Thracology*.

We also want to express our high appreciation towards the efforts of Professor Marin Cărciumaru, who, with his well-known ability and determination, was the generator of energy that made all the people involved in the organization of the *Congress* to resonate in unison.

The *Institute of Archaeology*, an institution with a smaller budget compared to the other partners, wishes to thank for the financial help granted by the *ArchaeoCommunity Foundation* from the USA and “*Sebastian Morintz*” *Foundation* from Oltenita and to *Cristina-Hannelore Schuster*.

One can say – and many have said upon departure and in messages sent afterwards – that this congress was a scientific and cultural success, but also a success in terms of the interpersonal relations.

The congress was attended by 96 distinguished researchers, from 14 countries, which held 67 lectures of great topical, geographic and chronological diversity.

Without a doubt, the lectures and the discussion that took place resulted in a significantly wealthier body of knowledge on the Thracians and neighboring peoples. Furthermore, the publishing, before the end of the year, of the lectures will result in the quick adoption by the international scientific world of many finds, ideas and interpretations of the phenomena in question.

It is worth noticing that the participants voted, unanimously, in favor of establishing an association with legal personality – **The International Association of Thracian Studies** –, which will be able to include all the specialists across the globe involved in the research and scientific and cultural application of the Thracian vestiges, of course as interacting with the neighboring peoples. This association will be able to promote a more fruitful scientific cooperation across borders, between researches with such interests.

Also, all the participants to the Congress adopted a **Statement** of protest against the destruction of historical monuments, in general, and of Thracian vestiges, in particular, destructions which have multiplied lately.

The lectures held at the congress will be, for topic and financial reasons, published in 2013, in two volumes. The first volume, containing the lectures on the topic “*Settlements, Fortresses, Artefacts*”, will be published in Târgoviște, while the second one, on the topic “*Necropolises, Cult places, Religion, Mythology*”, will be published in Brașov.

On behalf of the Organizing Committee,
Prof. Dr. Valeriu Sîrbu
Chairman
Prof. Dr. Cristian Schuster
Secretary General

**STONE *KLINAI* AND *KLINE*-SHAPED STRUCTURES IN MACEDONIAN TOMBS
FROM PRESENT NORD-EAST MACEDONIA AND THRACIA
(COMPARATIVE STUDY WITH THE SIMILAR FURNITURE
DISCOVERED IN THE THRACIAN TOMBS)**

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Key words: *klinai*, *kline*-shaped structures, Macedonian tombs, Thracian tombs, stone sarcophagi, *frescoes*, Angista, Amphipolis, Stavroupoli, Mesolakkia, Terpinis.

Abstract: In this paper, we will discuss the *klinai* and *kline*-shaped structures from the tombs at Angista (Serres), Amphipolis (Serres), Stavroupoli (Xanti), Mesolakkia (Serres) and Terpinis (Nigrita) followed by a comparison with the similar discoveries from the Thracian tombs.

In most cases, a Macedonian tomb would normally contain one or two *klinai* and in some exceptional cases contain even three, but in other they contain stone *sarcophagi*.

We will be presenting the main characteristics for each tomb so that we can make a detailed description of the *klinai* and *sarcophagi*.

Thus, we distinguished *klinai* decorated with *frescoes*, pottery or other material *apliqués* or lines and bands. Furthermore, we will describe the stone *sarcophagi* and in the end we will try to compare the Macedonian and Thracian *klinai* and identify the role of *klinai* and the meaning of their decoration elements.

In contrast with birth or marriage, death is one of the mysteries, that is easily detectable by the archaeologists. Because of this, numerous archaeological studies deal with complex processes that seem to be involved in burial habits practiced in every ancient society. The archaeologists must deal with the existence or not of interdependence of burial practices in a community, which already involved structural and organic practices. Beyond the developments within a community and the influences that receive from the neighbor communities it is important to pay attention to the burial customs and also to funerary furniture that we encounter in the interior of the tombs.

Since ancient times the Greeks were direct neighbors with the Thracians, an Indo-European people like themselves. The Greek settled on the southern reaches of Haimos peninsula and Thracians followed them, occupying the entire northern sector from the Adriatic Sea to the Black Sea. Because the boundaries and the area of countries and regions are not stable over time, but they change according to the coincidence of historical circumstances, we can't say exactly where the border between Greeks and Thracians was (Pelekidis 1994, p. 98). From Herodotus we find, that in the 5th century BC the border between Bottiaean and the Macedonian territory were the estuary of the rivers Loudias and Haliakmon (Herodotus, VII, 127).

As we know, from the ancient text the Thracians established in the territory of now days Bulgaria, at the North and South of Danube and they achieved the area of Macedonia and Thrace till Thasos Island having the Black Sea at the East (Pellekidis 1994, p. 99).

We choose to compare the *klinai* from the present East Macedonia and Thrace because the tombs in which they were discovered are at the border with the Thracian tombs; also it is an area of mixture between the two civilizations.

Before we start the presentation of the *klinai* from the Macedonian tombs I will present what the archaeologist define as a Macedonian tomb. In Antiquity Plato is the first writer that gives us an exactly definition of a Macedonian tomb:

"Their tomb will be constructed in the shape of an oblong subterranean chamber, of limestone blocks as durable as possible, with couches on which to place the dead set side by side. The tomb will be earthed in by a circular mound planted with a grove of trees on all sides except one, so that it may be extended with additional tombs."

(Plato, *The Law*, 947)

Recent finds confirm this Platonic description. The 'Macedonian tombs', a particular category of underground chambered structures, are found chiefly in Macedonia (Hugenot, C. 2008; Mangoldt 2012). Their principal characteristic is a barrel-vaulted roof. They consist of a spacious burial chamber, square or rectangular in section (Ginouvés 1993, p. 147-178). They often have an antechamber connecting with the main burial chamber by means of a door and a passage called *dromos* to reach the tomb (Ginouvés 1993, p. 149-150).

One of the important pieces from the funerary furniture, that the archaeologists could find in almost all the Macedonian tombs discovered and researched till now, are the funerary beds (Ginouvés 1993, p. 147, 150), that in greek language are called κλίνας (*klinai*) at the plural form and κλίνη (*kline*) at the singular form. In this article I will use the greek term *klinai* and *kline* for the funerary beds (Adrianou 2006, p. 233).

The early and monumental Macedonian tombs contain one or two stone *klinai* (Γ-shaped arrangement) while the smaller ones, dated later than the former, are equipped with three *klinai* (in Π shaped arrangement and usually they are *sarcophagi* –σαρκοφάγοι (Pantermalis 1972, p. 174-175).

Except of these pieces, the archaeologists found also some other structures, the so called *kline*-shaped; in this category enter (*sarcophagi*, cists, rectangular bases and thrones) after the comprehensive study by Sismanidis (Sismanidis 1997).

The evidence that we have in the ancient literature about *klinai* it is very rich, dating back to the Homeric word λέχος (*lechos*) and δέμνια and reaching till the Classical words κλίνα (*klini*), κλινίδιον (*klinidion*), κλινίς (*klinis*) και ημίκλινον (*imiklinon*) (Adrianou 2006, p. 233).

Usually, in Macedonian tombs funerary beds are made either of stone or wood (Ginouvés 1993, p. 150) and also Sismanidis believes that wooden beds may have been more common, based on the numbers actually discovered till now (Sismanidis 1997, p. 134-153). The archaeologist realized that in general, traces of wooden beds were found more inside cist or pit graves like Miesa (Misaclidou-Despotidu 1993, p. 128), in two cist graves at Pella (Lilimbaki-Akamati 1992, p. 92, fig.4), in cist graves at Pydna (Besios 1992, p. 158; 2003, 373, 375).

The choice of materials from what the *klinai* were made, is also closely connected with what was available; wood was readily available in the north of Greece, but less in the south (Adrianou 2006, p. 243, 259). Also, Sismanidis suppose that wooden *klinai* may have been more common than the numbers actually suggested by the discoveries from Macedonian tombs (Sismanidis 1997, 134-153, 227-223).

The archaeologist's conclusion is that in Macedonian tombs the choice of material is closely connected also with the funerary rites, so they used stone *klinai* in the tombs where they used the rite of inhumation and wooden *klinai* where they used cremation (Adrianou 2006, p. 241).

Because the research of this paper work is on stone *klinai* and *kline*-shaped structures in Macedonian tombs from present Nord-East Macedonia and Thracia concluding with a short comparison with the ones that were discovered contemporaneously in Thracian tombs, we will start first with the presentation of the groups of stones *klinai* found in Present Nord East Macedonia and Thracia and then we present the exterior characteristics.

In this paper we will follow the method with which Sismanidis grouped the stone *klinai* and *kline*-shaped structures from Macedonian tombs and by doing so we categorized our research items in four categories: stone *klinai* with painted decoration, stone *klinai* with relief decoration, stone *klinai* with undecorated horizontal bands and the *klinai* shaped structures (*sarcophagi*) (Sismanidis 1997, p. 242) (Fig. 1, Fig. 2, Fig. 3).

A. Stone *klinai* with painted decoration. In the first category are included the *kline* that was discovered in the double chamber tomb with Doric façade from Angista, Serres (Koukuli-Xrysanthaki 1968, p. 359, Miller 1971, p. 114, Koukouli-Hoepfner 1973, p. 457, Koukouli 1973-1974, p. 786, Simanidis 1997, p. 82-85) and the two *klinai* in Γ-shaped arrangement found in the double chamber tomb Amphipolis I (Lazaridis 1960_a, p. 218, Lazaridis 1960_b, p. 71, Lazaridis 1960_c, p. 71-72) (Fig. 3, Fig. 4).

a) The *kline* from Angista tomb (the end of the 3rd century B.C.-beginnings of the 2nd century B.C) (Fig. 4)

The *kline* was discovered in the principal chamber with a 3x4m diameter (Koukuli-Xrysanthaki 1968, p. 359) and it has been placed in front of the opposite wall from the entrance, more on the left part from the central longitudinal axis of the tomb. They used this style of arrangement for the *kline* so as the three sides of it are visible with the exception of the back one (Sismanidis 1997, p. 82).

This *kline* is made of perfect cut blocks of soft *poros*, presenting the same characteristic as a wooden *kline* with rectangular legs and after Kyrieleis, enter in the B category (Kyrieleis 1969, p. 162). The dimensions of the *kline* are length=2.30m, width=1,10m and height=1,05m; it is one of the biggest *kline* from the stone Macedonian *klinai* (Sismanidis 1997, p. 82).

In the exterior the *kline* is coated with white stucco that let the opportunity to these parts to be painted. It has at the start of the rapt tympani on the two narrow sides of the *kline* a circle model, which resembles the front motif from the two *klinai* from the Amphipolis I - to be presented later - and thus convincing the archaeologists to assume that they could be *rosettes* (Sismanidis 1997, p. 82). The same indecipherable motif is present also in the front side of the *kline* and some traces of the purple color that usually was used for these parts (Sismanidis 1997, p. 83). Also, is important to observe that the four legs of the *kline* are placed on small bases made in Ionic order like those on the marble throne from the tomb Vergina I (Ginouvés 1993, p. 156). In front of the *kline* we can observe also a support for the legs (Sismanidis 1997, p. 84).

The legs are rectangular and, in particular, the front ones present notches (in isosceles cross) in the middle of their heights. The front legs are finishing in capitals that are modeled with thin white stucco and the motifs of decoration, extremely hard distinguishable, are the *oculi* of volutes, *palmettes* and some table chasse decoration (Sismanidis 1997, p. 84).

The *kline* presents horizontal relief bands but unfortunately the decoration on the bands cannot be distinguished due to the fragmentary state of the *kline* in which it was discovered (Sismanidis 1997, p. 84).

As Gossel and Sismanidis suggest, the *kline* received an accommodated inhumation without traces of incineration like in the tombs of Potidaea (Gossel 1980, 109; Sismanidis 1997, p. 82).

The archeologists dated the tomb of Angista after the funerary inventory and an important role in this had also the *kline* found in this tomb. The bad distinguished characteristics from the horizontal relief, and the Ionic form of the bases of the legs that seems to have a lot of similarities from the other stone *klinai* that were found in the same period in other Macedonian tombs made the archaeologist to concluded that this tomb was build in the end of the 3rd century B.C. - beginnings of the 2nd century B.C (Miller 1971, p. 114).

b) The two *klinai* in Γ -shaped arrangement and one *kline* from the anti-chamber from Amphipolis I tomb (the first years of the 3rd century BC)

The two *klinai* in Γ -shaped arrangement from the double Macedonian tomb of Amphipolis I that was plundered were discovered in the principal chamber with a square diameter that has the width=3,03m of the tomb (Lazaridis 1960_a, p. 217). One of the *klinai* has been placed in front of the opposite wall from the entrance and the second one was found in front of the left wall of the tomb (Lazaridis 1960_c, p. 71). The Γ -shaped arrangement and the fact that the second *kline* was arranged on the right part like in the case of the Potidaea tomb made the archeologists to suppose that there were arranged in this way, to let enough space for a person that made some funeral rituals to put a wooden table or other things for the funerary rituals (Sismanidis 1997, p. 85).

The *klinai* are made of perfect cut blocks of soft *poros* (Lazaridis 1960_b, p. 71) presenting the same characteristic like the *klinai* from Potidaea and Angista and after Sismanidis entered in the B category (Sismanidis 1997, p. 85). The dimensions of the two *klinai* are smaller from the *kline* Angista and are the same for both *klinai*: length=2m, width=0,97m and height=0,85m (Lazaridis 1960_b, p. 71).

In the exterior the *klinai* are coated with white stucco that let the opportunity to these parts to be painted. The two *klinai* are painted also in the two narrow sides and also they are decorated with upper frieze that presents a Dionysian subject, which is probably related to the *chthonic* characteristics of Dionysus. They have five persons in different position standing or looking in right or left direction; there are three on the first *kline* and two on the second one. Under this frieze there is another one with *rosettes* in relief - seven are on the first *kline* and three on the second one (Sismanidis 1997, p. 87).

The legs of the *klinai* are rectangular and, in particular, the front ones present notches (in isosceles cross) in the middle of their heights. The paintings and the sculptures of these two *klinai* are looking like the ones from the Potidaea *klinai* (Sismanidis 1997, p. 87). The front legs are finishing in capitals that are modeled with thin white stucco and the motif of decoration are the *oculi* of volutes where the *oculi* is painted with purple color, *palmettes* and *chasse table* made in different shades of red color (Sismanidis 1997, p. 85-86). After the *chasse table* it is painted a soldier that stays in war position; in the Amphipolis I *klinai* are the only representations of these figures from all the Macedonian tombs discovered till now. Like a supplementary motif on the three legs of the *klinai* we can observe *gorgoneia* like I the ones from *klinai* from the Potidaea tomb (Sismanidis 1997, p.86).

In the Amphipolis I tomb the archaeologist found six inhumation burials and what is strange, is that from these, two were found in the anti-chamber (and this is an unique case in Macedonian tombs). One of the burials from anti-chamber was put it in another *kline* with the same characteristics and measures (length=2m, width=0,97m and high=0,85m) like the other *klinai* from the principal chamber. The only difference is that this inhumation from the anti-chamber was made latter from the other found in the principal chamber so also the burial was latter (Sismanidis 1997, p. 86, 88).

Because the archeologist observe a lot of similar characteristics between the *klinai* of Amphipolis I and the *klinai* from Potidaea they date the tomb of Amphipolis I in the first years of the 3rd century BC after the buildings of the Potidaea tomb (Sismanidis 1997, p. 88).

B. Stone *klinai* with relief decoration. In the second category are included the supposed two *klinai* from the Amphipolis IV tomb (Koukuli-Xrysanthaki 1976, p. 308-309, Gossel 1980, p. 101) and the fragment of the *kline* discovered in Messolakia, Serres (Sismanidis 1997, p. 113) (Fig. 2). In this category we will present the *klinai* that have relief decoration in the wider part between the front legs (Sismanidis 1997, p. 103).

a) The two *klinai* in Γ -shaped arrangement from the Amphipolis IV tomb (the end of 4th century BC)

Unfortunately the two *klinai* in Γ -shaped arrangement from the double Macedonian tomb of Amphipolis IV that was plundered were not discovered. In the principal chamber with a square diameter that has the width=3,03m the archaeologist discovered just the fragments of the slaps that covered the *klinai* and also in the South and East wall there is a rectangular curved hole that at the height=0,90m and it was having the role to keep the horizontal slaps that covered the *klinai* (Sismanidis 1997, p. 103, 104). Also above the hole the archeologist could observe a red line that indicates the height of the *klinai* – 0,90m (Koukuli-Xrysanthaki 1976, p. 308-309; Sismanidis 1997, p. 103). The archeologists suppose that the *klinai* of Amphipolis IV tomb could have the same dimension like the ones from the necropolis of Amphipolis (Sismanidis 1997, p. 104).

The archaeologists could not say about what material the *klinai* were made but they suppose they weren't made from marble because the dimension they should be different, but from the fragment they found and the dimension they could affirm that they were having relief decoration similar with the *kline* from the Dion I tomb (Sismanidis 1997, p. 104).

After the characteristics of the tomb and the discovery of a coin from the period of Aminta the 3rd (381-369) on the floor of the tomb the archaeologists date the tomb at the end of 4th century (Koukuli-Xrysanthaki 1976, p. 308).

b) The fragment of the *kline* discovered in Messolakia, Serres (the end of the 4th century BC)

The fragment of the *kline* was discovered in the place called Lakkobikia from Messolakia, Serres who is not far away from the Amphipolis necropolis and the archeologist supposed that this fragment is part of a *kline* from an unknown Macedonian tomb from the ancient city. Nowadays, the fragment is on the Amphipolis Museum and is register under the number L16 (Sismanidis 1997, p. 111).

The fragment from Messolakia it is a part of the right area of a Macedonian *kline* (a part of the right leg and also the exterior part of the *kline*). The part of the right leg from the *kline* is well preserved and is the upper part from the leg and from his characteristics the archaeologists put the *kline* from which this part preserved in the B category (Kyrieleis 1969, 162-163). Unfortunately, it is missing the lower part of the leg and also the base of the leg where we could see more characteristics (Sismanidis 1997, p. 111). The right leg finishing in capital that is modeled with thin white stucco and the upper motif of decoration is the *oculi* of volutes. We can observe the same decorations like the decorations from the Potidea *klinai*, also from Palatitsa and Neo Kerdyllia: the Ionian style of the upper part of the leg with *oculi*, the *palmette* and the only difference is that the central *palmette* is double up and they suppose that it was a wider double *palmette* also (Sismanidis 1997, p. 111). After the dimension of the fragment and after the motif the archeologist suppose that the height of the leg is almost 1m and also they presume that the *kline* was having the same dimensions like the ones of Potidaea, Vergina V, Amphipolis I (Sismanidis 1997, p. 81, 112).

On the fragment of the *kline* there are two motifs of decoration a *rosette* inside a *phiale*. The diameter of the decoration is 0,12m (Sismanidis 1997, p. 81, 112).

Because the archeologists could not identify the Macedonian tomb from where this big fragment belong they could not say if in that tomb there were two or it was just one *kline* (Sismanidis 1997, p. 81, 112-113).

After these characteristics and after the similar motifs that the researchers identify on the right leg of the Mesolakkia *kline*, they date the *kline* of Mesolakkia in the end of the 4th century BC (Sismanidis 1997, p. 81, 112-113).

C. Stone *klinai* with undecorated horizontal bands. In the third category are included the two *klinai* from the double tomb of Stavroupoli, Xanthi (Fig. 2, Fig. 5).

The two *klinai* from the double tomb of Stavroupoli, Xanthi (the first half of the 2nd century BC)

The double tomb of Stavroupoli has two chambers and a *dromos* with walls. The anti-chamber has the width=2,12m and the length=3,13m and the principal chamber has the width =3,13m and the length=3,155m. The chambers of the tombs were made of ashlar blocks of local marble in the pseudo-isodomic system (Makarona 1953, p. 137-139). The two *klinai* were discovered in the principal chamber of the tomb and they are in Γ-shaped arrangement and also after the characteristics the archeologists consider them in so called B type. The two *klinai* were made from the same marble that was used at the tomb construction and they have the same dimensions: lengths=2,10m, width=1,03m and height (in which the pillow is included) = 1,27m; without the pillow and the base of the leg the height of the *klinai* is 1,08m like at other *klinai* from B category found in other Macedonian tombs (Sismanidis 1997, p. 133).

The differences, if we compare these two *klinai* with the other ones from the same category are: 1. they are made from marble; 2. in the case of these two *klinai* we have also pillows in the both parts of every *kline* and also they have mattresses; 3. they have horizontal undecorated bands painted in red and yellow colors, and also they have the legs decorated with almost the same motifs like the ones from Angista, Serres and from the Ag. Athanaios tomb (Sismanidis 1997, p. 131-132); also, in the motifs that decorate the legs of the *klinai* we can observe another difference: in the place that usually we could find the *palmettes* now we still can observe a big *rosette* similar with the one on the leg from Vergina V *kline* (Sismanidis 1997, p. 132).

Because the tomb was plundered we can just suppose that the two marble *klinai* accommodate inhumation burials (Sismanidis 1997, p. 133).

Makarona that discovered the tomb dated in the first half of the 2nd century BC and after Gossel the Macedonian tomb is dated in the middle of the same century (Sismanidis 1997, p. 131). After these characteristics and after the similar motifs like on the other *klinai* from the same B category Sismanidis dates also this Macedonian tomb from which belong the two *klinai* in the first half of the 2nd century BC (Sismanidis 1997, p. 133).

D. The *klinai* shaped structures (*sarcophagi*). In the last category are included the two *klinai* shaped structures from the Macedonian tomb Amphipolis II (Lazaridis 1961_a, p. 63; Lazaridis 1961_b, p. 66; Lazaridis 1961/62, p. 233) and the three *sarcophagi* discovered in the Macedonian from Terpnis, Nigrita (Giouri 1966, p. 365; Gossel 1980, p. 233).

a) The two *klinai* shaped structures from Amphipolis II tomb (second half of the 3rd century BC)

The Amphipolis II tomb is a Macedonian tomb and has *dromos* and one room with width =3.06m and length=3.08m (Lazaridis 1961_a, p. 63; Lazaridis 1961-1962_c, p. 233) and that means that it belongs to the big group of tombs with walls of 3m square (Pantermalis 1972, p. 173-174, 179).

In this tomb in the same Γ shape position the archeologists found two *sarcophagi* made of blocks of soft *poros* (Lazaridis 1961_b, p. 66). The first *klinai* has been placed in front of the opposite wall from the entrance and the second one was found in front of the right wall of the tomb (Lazaridis 1961_a, p. 63). In this way it remains a lot of space to put also another wood funerary furniture for rituals inside the chamber (Pantermalis 1972, p. 175)

The two *sarcophagi* are made by big blocks of *poros* that have orthogonal parallelogram forms with same height but different width and length; they are coated with white stucco (Sismanidis 1997, p. 155).

The dimensions of the *sarcophagi* are very small comparing with other *sarcophagi* of the same type; they are 0,66m high and they have length=1,5m and the width=0,85m (Sismanidis 1997, p. 155).

Because the tomb was plundered the archaeologists could not say for sure which kind of rite was use. For sure were two burials, after the number of the *klinai* shaped structures, but after the small dimensions that they have, they could not accommodate inhumations inside theme, so the archeologists suppose that they used the cremations in small wooden or metallic boxes that were deposit on the so called *sarcophagi* (Sismanidis 1997, p. 155).

After the characteristics of the tomb, Lazaridis and Sismanidis date this tomb on the second half of the 3rd century BC (Sismanidis 1997, p. 155).

b) The three *klinai* shaped structures from Terpnis, Nigrita tomb (the beginning of the 3rd century BC)

The Terpnis tomb is a Macedonian tomb and has a covered *dromos* and one square room with 3,10m width; unfortunately it was plundered (see the note 520 from Sismanidis 1997, p. 168). The three *sarcophagi* are placed in Π shape arrangement in front of the entrance near the three walls of the chamber; a very small place remains between the left *sarcophagus* and the second one (Giouri 1966, p. 365). Just the plaques that covered the *sarcophagi* are exceeding the dimensions of the *sarcophagi* (Sismanidis 1997, p. 168).

In the exterior the three *sarcophagi* are coated with white stucco and there dimensions are almost the same: 1,74 x 0,68 x 0,76m at the left *sarcophagus*, 1,84 x 0,76 x 0,68m and 1,80 x 0,67 x 0,77m at the other two *sarcophagi* (Sismanidis 1997, p. 168).

In this case the burials were inside the *sarcophagi* and the researchers suppose that the rite use in the three cases was the inhumation (Sismanidis 1997, p. 168).

What is special in the case of Terpnis tomb is that we know the gender of two of the deceased because of the epigraphic writings upper from the left and the second *sarcophagi*: *ΙΠΠΟΝΑΞ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΡΟΥ* (*IPPONAX APOLLODOROU*) and *ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΑΗΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΥ* (*DIOSKOYRIDIS APOLLODOROU*). The same situation we can encounter in the Leykadia III tomb and Eretria tomb (see note 372 from Sismanidis 1997, p. 130-131). As we can understand from the genitive termination of the second name the two deceased were brothers, *Ipponax* and *Dioskoyridis*, sons of *Apollodor*; the same situation is on the epigraphic line from Vergina tomb, category number 27, picture 51 (Saatsogloy-Paliadeli 1984, p. 195-197).

After the characteristics of the tomb and the style of the *sarcophagi* the researchers date the tomb at the beginnings of the 3rd century BC (Sismanidis 1997, p. 168).

As we can see in all the cases that we present in this paper in almost all the Macedonian tombs, in the main chamber the archeologists discovered one or two wooden or stone *klinai* (in Γ shaped arrangement) and in some rare cases there are tombs with three *klinai* (in Π shape arrangement, and usually they are *sarcophagi*). They are placed in chamber with a diameter that usually it is almost the same 3X4m and the dimension of the *klinai* are usually 2m in length and 1m in height and width.

We followed the method that Sismanidis used to grouped the stone *klinai* and *kline*-shaped structures from Macedonian tombs and by doing so, we categorized our research items in four categories: stone *klinai* with painted decoration, stone *klinai* with relief decoration, stone *klinai* with undecorated horizontal bands and the *klinai* shaped structures (*sarcophagi*).

A. stone *klinai* with painted decoration

a) the *kline* from Angista, Serres

b) the two *klinai* in Γ-shaped arrangement from Amphipolis I

B. stone *klinai* with relief decoration

a) the two supposed *klinai* in Γ-shaped arrangement from Amphipolis IV

b) the *kline* fragment from Messolakia, Serres

C. stone *klinai* with undecorated horizontal bands

- Stavroupoli, Xanti

D. Stone *klinai* shaped structures (*sarcophagi*) (Fig. 6, Fig. 7)

a) the two *sarcophagi* in Γ -shaped arrangement from Amphipolis II

b) the three *sarcophagi* in Π -shaped arrangement Terpnis, Niggrita

The main characteristics of the *klinai* and *kline*-shape structures from present Nord-East Macedonia and Thracia are:

- The *klinai* and *kline* – shaped structures are found usually in the main chamber of the Macedonian tomb. There are exception like in the tomb of the Amphipolis IV where exist also burials in the antechambers but this imply a second use of tomb.
- They are the commonest and faithfully imitate of the wooden ones almost in everything: their appearance dimensions, pillows and mattresses and also they belong to the B type after H. Kyrieleis (Sismanidis 1997, p. 243).
- The Macedonian tombs containing one *kline* (located in the opposite wall from the door), two *klinai* (in Γ -shaped arrangement) and in a small number tombs with *klinai* in Π -shaped arrangement and usually they are *sarcophagi* (Sismanidis 1997, p. 243)..
- The stone *klinai* are equipped with curved rectangular legs and present notches in the middle of their height and also they have two horizontal bands between the front legs. Also, the capitals of the two legs are protruding, while the form and the decoration of the legs are similar (Sismanidis 1997, p. 243).
- The common motifs of the decoration are the following: the *oculi* of volutes, chasse table motif, *palmettes*, geometric signs and *gorgoneia* at some of them or a soldier (Sismanidis 1997, p. 243).
- An important feature of the painted *klinai* is that the color of the surface of their façade and the horizontal relief bands are usually painted yellow-brown, imitating the wooden *klinai*. The area between the two bands usually is painted purple, while the lower part and the wider part of the *klinai* which are empty on the wooden *klinai*, is usually painted black or another dark color (Sismanidis 1997, p. 243).
- Only some of the *klinai* are painted in the entire surface and the decoration is limited to the horizontal relief bands and the area between them (Sismanidis 1997, p. 243).
- The preferred decoration of the upper and wider frieze of the *klinai* is taken from the Dionysian cycle (it has to do with the *chthonic* characteristic of Dionysus and they are used in all cases the same seated people). Sismanidis suppose that these subjects are symbolic and allegorical and they symbolize the connections with the optimistic beliefs from that period concerning the afterlife in the Elysian Fields (Sismanidis 1997, p. 86-87).
- The role of this *klinai* in the Macedonian tomb is to receive the inhumation. According to ancient believes the people believe that maybe the person that dyed will need in after-life the furniture from his house; they where consider that death I was like another face of sleeping (Sismanidis 1997, p. 236; Adrianou 2006, p. 260).

Comparing the *klinai* from the Macedonian tombs with the *klinai* from the Thracian tombs the *klinai* from Thracian tomb are unskillful made and also the builders did not respect the rules in constructions.

The *klinai* from both areas were dated almost in the same period except The Griffins tomb (5th-4th BC). Usually the *klinai* in both cases are put it near the wall opposite to the door.

We took in this comparison the follow Thracian tombs (Fig. 8, Fig. 9):

1. Aleksandrovo Thracian Tomb (the second half of the 4th century BC)- stone *klinai* with two pillows at the ends of the bed (Kitov 1999, p. 17; Kitov 2001, 15-29; Kitov 2005_a, p. 16) (Fig. 10)
2. Goljama Arsenalka (early 4th century BC)-stone *klinai* (Kitov 1999, p. 14; Hatlas, Munteanu 2011, p. 259)
3. The temple tombs of Gryphons in the Shipka- Sheinovo necropolis (5th-4th century BC) – 2 benches and 1 *kline* (Kitov 1999, p. 15, 17-18; Hatlas, Munteanu 2011, p. 260) (Fig. 11)
4. Golyama Kosmatka (at the beginning of the 3rd century BC, the great Thracian king Seuthes III) – stone *klinai* (Kitov 2005_b, p. 44)
5. The Helvetia tomb (end of the 5th century BC), in the Shipka - Sheinovo necropolis – 2 benches and 1 *kline* (Kitov 1999, p. 11)(Fig. 12)
6. Kazanlak Tomb (late 4th to early 3rd centuries BC) – stone *klinai* (Kitov 2000, p. 122)
7. Kirklareli – Eriklice (the 4th century BC) – stone *klinai* (Hatlas, Munteanu 2011, p. 122)
8. Kirklareli B (Lozengrad B) (the end of 4th century) – *sarcophagi* (Hatlas, Munteanu 2011, p. 257)
9. Malkata- (the mid 4th c. BC) – *sarcophagus* (Kitov 1999, p. 9)
10. Sousmanets (4th century BC (end of the 5th to the beginning of the 4th centuries BC) from the Shipka- Sheinovo necropolis (Kitov 1999, p. 15) (Fig. 13)
11. Svetitsa (the second half of 5th century BC) - *sarcophagus* (Kitov 2005_c, p. 24)
12. Ostrusha (4th century BC) – stone *klinai* (Kitov 1999, p. 18)

We choose to don't present in detail the Thracian *klinai* because in general, all of them have the same characteristics (they are made of *poros* or limestone blocks, they are undecorated and usually they accommodate cremation; as much as we can observe of the characteristics of the Macedonian and Thracians *klinai* and *klinai* shape structures that we took to compare, they result the follow conclusions:

- The *klinai* from Macedonian Tombs accommodating inhumation but in Thracian Tombs usually cremation was used, in Orphic tradition.
- Different number of *klinai*: 2 or 3 *klinai* in Macedonian Tombs but in most Thracian Tomb there are just one *kline* in each tomb, accompanied sometime by one or two benches (Helvetia and Shipka case - Kitov 1999, p. 11; 15, 17-18; Hatlas, Munteanu 2011, p. 260).
- The Macedonian tombs contain also wooden *klinai* and tables, but in Thracian tombs we have just benches, just 1 or 2 stone benches.
- Usually the *klinai* from Macedonian tombs are decorated and painted in the entire surface, while the Thracian tombs are unskilled made and undecorated almost in all discoveries.
- The *sarcophagi* from Macedonian tombs are more simpler made and they don't have a monumental roof like the Thracians ones.

As we see, there are a lot of similarities, but also some differences between the styles of the Macedonian *klinai* and the Thracians *klinai*. We don't know the name of the craftsmen

that build the stone *klinai* and other staff, but the thing that the Greeks and the Thracians were neighbors made us to suppose that both of the civilizations receive reciprocal influences from the other one, in the funeral rites and rituals and also in the funerary furniture that we find in their tombs.

”

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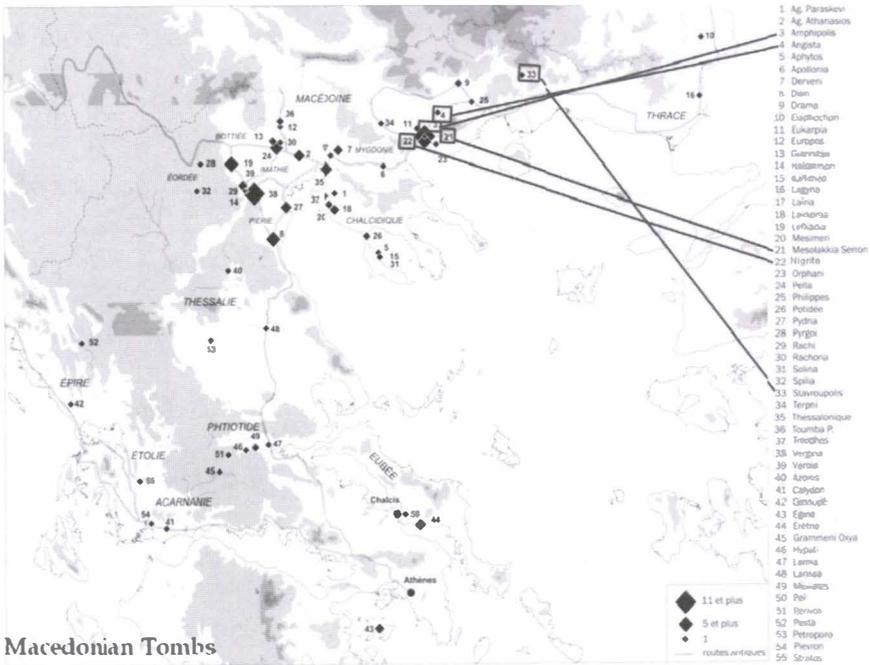


Fig. 1 Macedonian Tombs

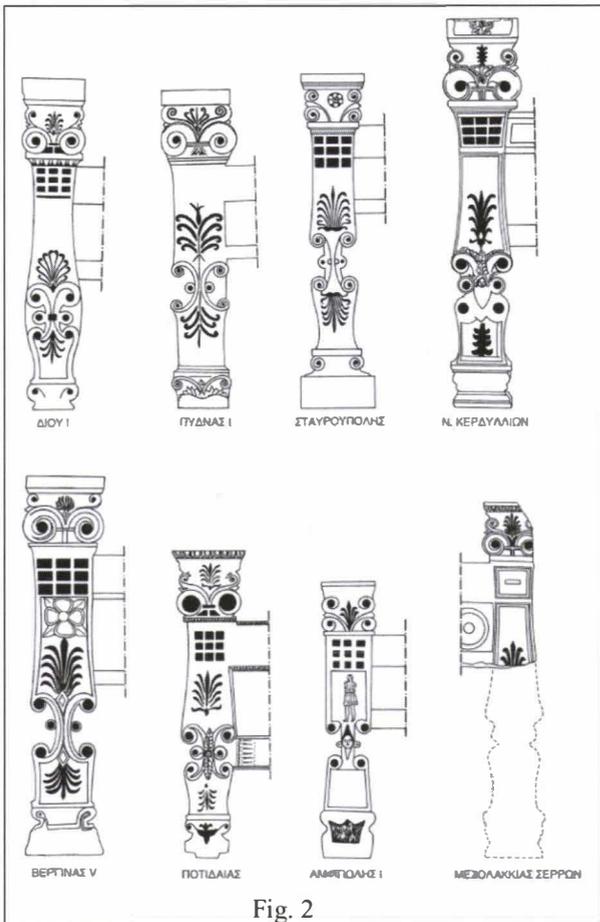


Fig. 2

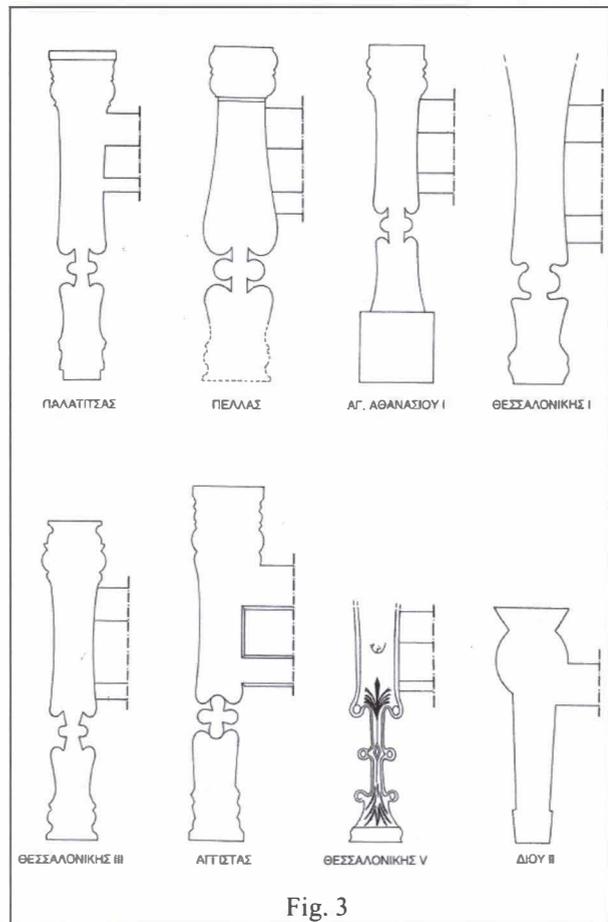


Fig. 3

Fig. 1. Map of Greece with Macedonian Tombs Locations and the stone *klinai* from Present East Macedonia and Thracia, after Hugenot 2008.

Fig. 2. Examples of stone *klinai* legs from Macedonian Tombs, after Sismanidis 1997, p. 80.

Fig. 3. Examples of *klinai* legs with/without notches, after Sismanidis 1997, p. 81.

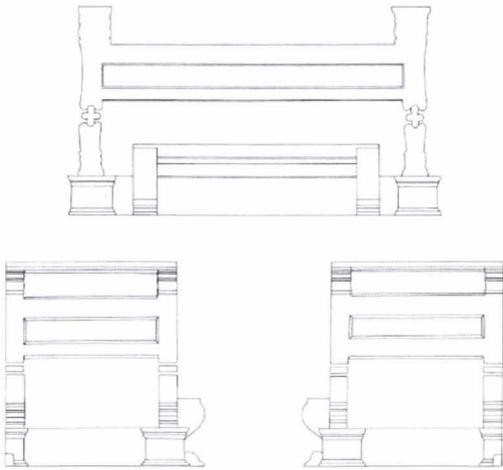


Fig. 4



Fig. 5

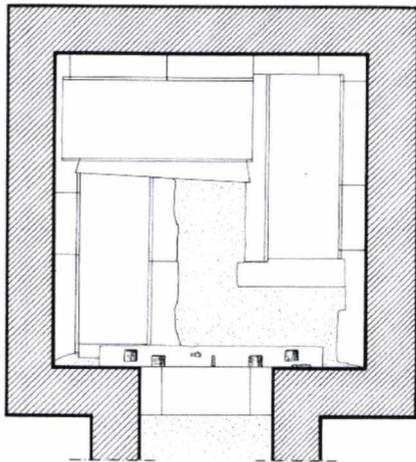
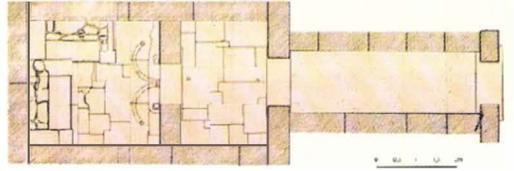


Fig. 6



Fig. 7

- Fig. 4. The stone *klinai* from Angista Macedonian Tomb, after Sismanidis 1997, p. 83.
 Fig. 5. The stone *klinai* from Stavroupoli Macedonian Tomb, after Triantaphyllos 1994, p. 90, 91.
 Fig. 6. The plan of Terpinis Macedonian Tomb, after Sismanidis, p. 167.
 Fig. 7. The stone *klinai* shape structure from Nigrita Macedonian Tomb.

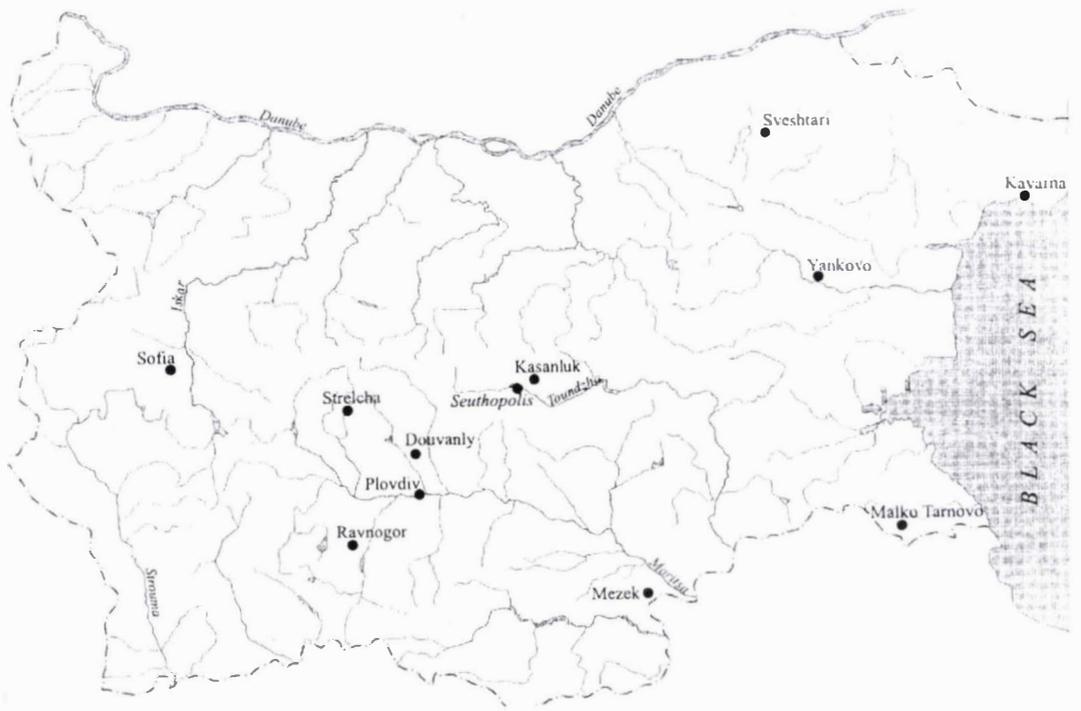


Fig. 8

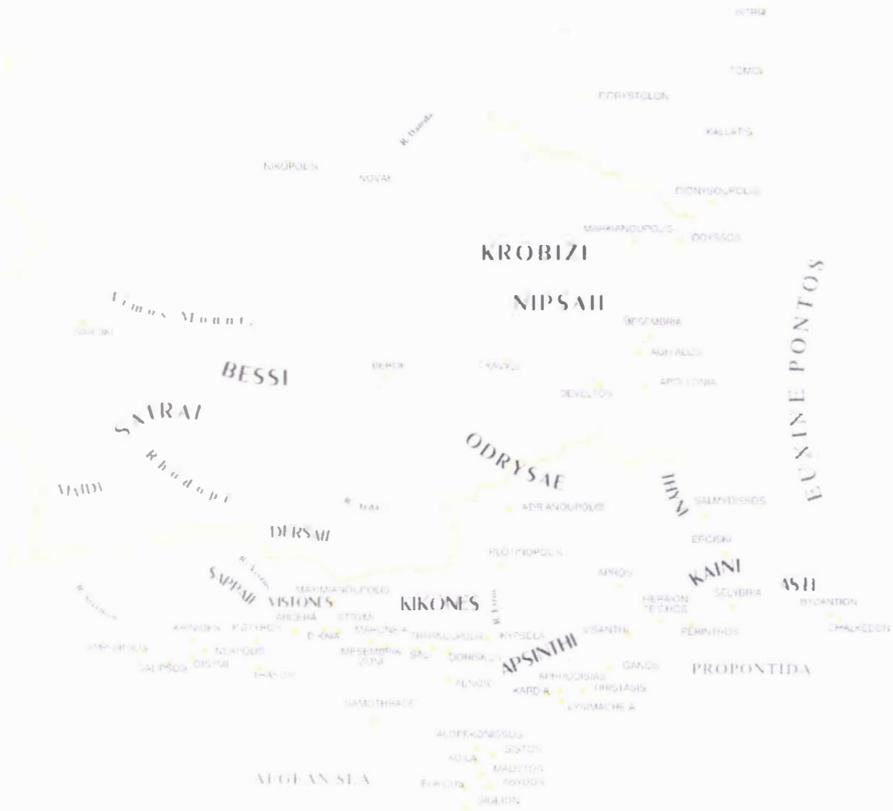


Fig. 9

Fig. 8. The map of Bulgaria.

Fig. 9. The Thracian Tribes in the 4th century BC.

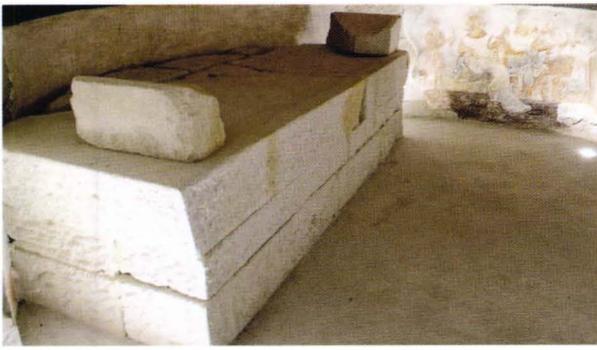


Fig. 10

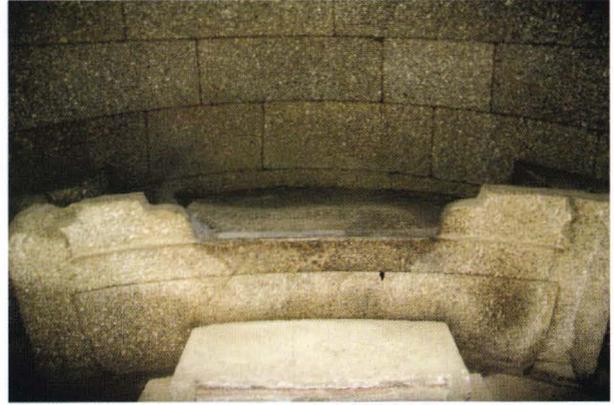


Fig. 11



Fig. 12

Fig. 13

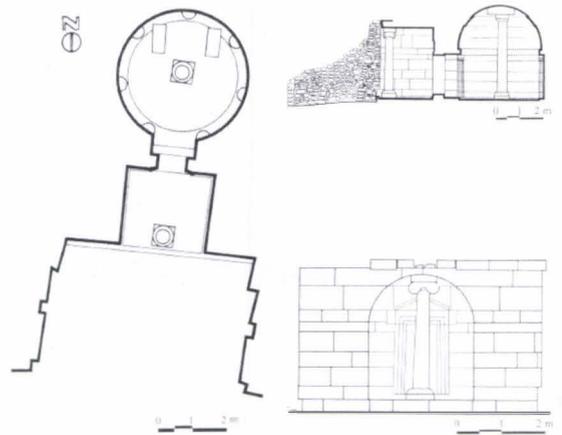


Fig. 10. The stone *kline* from Alexandrovo Thracian Tomb.
 Fig. 11. The stone *kline* from Shipka Thracian Tomb.
 Fig. 12. The stone *klinai* from Helvetia Thracian Tomb.
 Fig. 13. The plan of the Thracian Tomb of Shoushmanets.

ÉDIFICES DU CULTE DANS LE MONDE DACE (II^{ème} s. av. J.-C. – I^{er} s. ap. J.-C)

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Mots-clés: temple circulaire, temple rectangulaire, édifices avec abside, inventaire, Fețele Albe.

Resumé: Dans le monde dacique du 2^{ème} siècles BC jusqu'au 2^{er} siècle AD on trouve des espaces sacres qu'on peut les appeler „traditionnels”, tels les lieux de cultes avec dépôts, mais toujours pendant cette période ont eu lieu toute une série de transformations qui conduisent à l'apparition de certains nouveaux types de matérialisation du sacre, on pense tout d'abord aux temples en pierre, qui arrivent à devenir majoritaires jusqu'à la fin de l'intervalle. L'apparition des nouvelles formes ne signifie pas la disparition des anciennes, elles coexistent, malgré que le nombre des lieux avec dépôts est en baisse.

Toute société laisse son empreinte sur l'espace et, en échange, l'espace se présente comme une manière de manifestation ou d'expression de la société (Cadoret 1999, p. 635-636). Une communauté „construit” l'espace qu'elle l'occupe en fonction de divers déterminations, en partant des critères d'usage jusqu'à son propre système de représentation du monde. L'être humaine distingue toujours le milieu ambiant en fonction de ses besoins, quelques lieux pouvant recevoir une légitimité surnaturelle, une confirmation, car elles sont chargées de sacralité (Wunenburger 2000, p 62). L'espace sera consacré par une multitude de techniques (Eliade 2002, p. 22). Le désir de l'être humain de bouger dans un espace sacre a mené à l'élaboration des techniques d'orientation, c'est-à-dire des techniques de construction de l'espace sacre. La socialisation de ces espaces consiste en plusieurs opérations: choisir le lieu, découper le lieu, construire le lieu (Wunenburger 2000, p 62).

Le terme générique de „sanctuaire” est utilisé pour définir un lieu sacre, une zone délimité par le culte de la Divinité (Glinister 1997, p. 61). En antiquité, le sanctuaire était le lieu où les gens se déplaçaient pour effectuer les rituels religieux: le sacrifice, la prière, ainsi que pour déposer les offrandes votives. Certains lieux de culte, en plus, sont des places pour des rassemblements, lieux de changes, centres politiques (Glinister 1997, p. 62).

Le sanctuaire peut être une place naturelle ou une structure construite par l'être humaine. Des traces des activités de culte ont été fossevé dans /près des cours d'eaux, lacs ou sources naturelles. Des dépôts rituels ont été découverts dans des grottes naturelles, sur des places proéminentes ou sur les cimes des montagnes. Les lieux de culte naturels incluent également les bocages et les arbres, quelques fois les rochers et les pierres; des fois, un site peut être la combinaison de plusieurs éléments naturels – par exemple bocage et source d'eau. Plus tard, les sanctuaires vont aussi inclure des constructions: des temples, des enceintes et des autels (Glinister 1997, p. 62). Le temple est l'édifice consacré à la Divinité, c'est l'habitat de la Divinité, le lieu où Celle-ci fait sentir Sa présence et où les offrandes sont déposées (Sîrbu, Florea 1997, p. 39); il n'y a pas de places pour l'assemblément des croyants, les cérémonies sont célébrées dehors (Pirenne-Delforge 1999, p. 121).

Comme la plupart des peuples antiques, nous trouvons aussi dans le monde dacique une diversité des lieux à caractère sacre, marqués par des constructions ou des dépôts de culte. Cet aspect reflète, bien sûr, une variété de manifestations de culte que nous pouvons très difficilement reconstituer; au cas du manquement des sources écrites, nous pouvons seulement les supposer. Mais nous croyons qu'il existe une caractéristique commune – l'espace dans lequel le dépôt a été fait, sur lequel la construction a été réalisé, c'est un espace consacré, qui est sorti de la sphère de l'ignorant et a englobé une signification particulière pour les membres de la communauté

respective. La vaste problématique relative à une place de culte consisterait, sur plan religieux, en l'ensemble des rites, des cérémonies, des sacrifices et des divers règlements à définir l'activité culturelle, et sur le plan pratique, la topographie, l'organisation et la gestion du sanctuaire (Rey-Vodoz 1991, p. 215).

L'historiographie relative aux places de culte du monde dacique est assez riche, il a été constaté également une évolution en ce qui concerne la recherche dans cette direction. Dans le cadre de la recherche les horizons ont été élargis, à la perception des lieux sacrés a été donné de l'extension – de la prise en considération comme sanctuaire seulement des découvertes semblables à des habitats se trouvant dans les Montagnes Șureanu à la réévaluation des découvertes plus anciennes et l'enrichissement des informations grâce aux nouvelles fouilles archéologiques.

Dans l'espace dacique il y a des nombreux lieux sacrés, quelques uns marqués par des constructions, des autres sont reconnus seulement grâce à l'inventaire – des dépôts réalisés par des croyants. On peut dire qu'une première division des lieux de culte peut se faire en base de ce critère, en existant deux grandes catégories: édifices de culte (fig. 1/1) et lieux sacrés non-marqués par ce type de constructions. En continuant sur le même critère de la forme, il est constatée l'existence de plusieurs types d'édifices de culte: des temples quadrilatères consistant en des alignements de colonnes, des temples circulaires, ayant un plan simple ou complexe, des bâtiments avec un côté en forme d'abside, des constructions rectangulaires (avec une ou plusieurs chambres). Le reste des espaces sacrés a été seulement délimité, y se trouvant le résultat des différentes cérémonies effectuées sur place ou ailleurs. Un mûr a été réalisé au maximum pour fermer l'espace de culte, mais plus fréquemment la délimitation a été faite par des moyens qui n'ont pas laissé des traces archéologiques.

Les lieux de culte sans édifices sont dispersés sur l'entier territoire habité par les daces. Il y a quelques caractéristiques communes, mais également des nombreuses différences – en ce qui concerne la forme sous lesquelles le dépôt a été fait – le plus fréquent il s'agit de fosses; ensuite, la forme de relief sur lequel ils se trouvent mais aussi concernant l'inventaire. On a trouvé des lieux avec des dépôts à: Bănești (dép. de Prahova) (Peneș et alii 2001, p. 33-34, Peneș, Dumitrescu 2004, p. 52), Brad (dép. de Bacău) (Ursachi 1980-1982, p. 112-117), Bratei (dép. de Sibiu) (Bârzu 1976, p. 183-191), București-Snagov (Rosetti 1935, p. 7-10, 15-18), Căscioarele- Ostrovel (dép. De Călărași) (Marinescu-Bîlcu 1966, p. 113-123, Trohani 2005, p. 221-225), Zvoriștea (dép. de Suceava) (Ignat 1983, p. 383-418), Sfântu Gheorghe (dép. de Covasna) (Horedt 1956, p. 7-16, 19-21; Crișan V. 2000, p. 115-116), Pietroasa Mică – „Gruiu Dării” (dép. de Buzău) (Dupoi, Sîrbu 2001; Sîrbu et alii 2005), Orlea (dép. d'Olt) (Comșa 1972, p. 65-78), Oradea – Salca (dép. de Bihor) (Rusu et alii 1962, p. 159-163), Ocița (dép. de Vâlcea) (Berciu 1981, p. 120-126), Miercurea Ciuc (dép. de Harghita) (Crișan V. 1996, p. 362; Crișan V. 2000, p. 116), Măgura Moigradului (dép. de Sălaj) (Matei, Pop 2001, p. 253-286; Pop, Matei 2007, p. 129-146) etc. C'étaient des endroits où des communautés plus grandes ou plus petites faisaient des dépôts périodiques, représentant parfois le lieu où l'on déposait les individus du même établissement, autrefois, des individus de plusieurs communautés avoisinées. De tels lieux de culte, utilisés parfois depuis la préhistoire jusqu'à l'âge du fer, ont été trouvés au sud du Danube, sur le territoire de la Bulgarie d'aujourd'hui. Les caractéristiques de ces monuments sont les suivantes (Sîrbu, 1992, p. 39-52): la prédilection de leur emplacement sur des formes dominantes, la forme variée, la structure consistant en maintes fosses, foyers, plates-formes avec diverses offrandes, dépôts de vases, le nombre des fosses variant depuis quelques dizaines jusqu'à quelques centaines, mobilier divers. Ils se datent aux II^e siècle av. J.-C. – II^e siècle apr. J.-C.

Dans la même série des lieux à signification culturelle, il faut énumérer les puits, découverts à Ciolăneștii din Deal (Petrescu-Dâmbovița, Sanie 1972, p. 241-258; Petrescu-Dâmbovița 1974, p. 285-290) et Brad (Ursachi 1995, p. 80-83). Il serait bon de mentionner également le complexe intéressant de Conțești (dép. de Argeș) (Vulpe, Popescu 1976, p. 217-226,

Nicolăescu-Ploșor 1976, p. 227-230) ou bien la découverte faite dans la tourbière de Lozna (dép. de Botoșani) (Teodor, Șadurschi 1978, p. 121-140; Teodor 1989, p. 68-72).

A partir du deuxième siècle BC, dans le monde dace apparaissent des édifices du culte dont les vestiges archéologiques ont été découverts, même pas aussi spectaculaire que les temples de pierre datant de l'époque du Royaume Dace, et leur nombre est limité. Ici s'inscrivent les édifices religieux rectangulaires avec une abside de côté, circulaires, des constructions quadrilatères qui, par certaines caractéristiques, dépassent la sphère laïque. Tel que publié, il revient maintenant à dater la construction de la première phase (à -1,50 m) à Popești (Vulpe 1997, p. 164-172 ; Vulpe 2004-2005, p. 19-37), un bâtiment avec abside à Cârломănești (Babeș 1977, p. 340-341; Gugiu 2004, p. 250), le bâtiment avec abside de Solotvino (Vasiliev et alii 2002, p. 58-60), le complexe de Piscu Crăsani (Conovici 1981, p. 572-573 ; Conovici 1997, p. 71-73), le temple circulaire de Pecica (Crișan I. H. 1966, p. 91-100).

Cette évolution architecturale n'est pas nécessairement le signe d'une modification du rituel (Pirenne – Delforge 1999, p. 121). Le temple est une offrande dédiée à la Divinité, en étant en même temps une manifestation de la préoccupation pour le prestige et la volonté du pouvoir de la communauté en cours de se structurer. Le temple n'est pas une place de rassemblement pour les croyants. Le rituel sacrificiel, en tant que point central du culte, continue se dérouler pour la plupart dehors, autour de l'autel (qui, dans le monde classique, se trouve devant le temple) (Pirenne – Delforge 1999, p. 121).

La naissance du Royaume Dace a apporté aussi des transformations dans le plan religieux. Une des manifestations matérielles de ces changements est représentée par l'apparition de certains édifice sacres imposants – les temples dans pierre. Tel effort constructif semble dû à des multiples motivations, tant pour l'autorité religieuse que celle politique. Les ressources matérielles des rois étaient suffisants pour embaucher des maitres grecques, afin de mettre en œuvre le programme architectural, destiné à réfléchir, d'une manière impressionnante du point de vue architectural, la force politique et militaire de ces élites.

Donc, d'ici au mi-siècle premier BC. sont esquissés tous les édifices religieux que nous rencontrons tout au long du Royaume Dace: les temples circulaires, les temples rectangulaires avec les alignements de colonnes, les bâtiments avec un plan rectangulaire et un côté en forme d'abside, des bâtiments rectangulaires, des bâtiments religieux faisant partie d'un ensemble plus grand.

Les temples circulaires (fig. 2/2) sont de deux types: complexes, formés de deux - trois chambres concentriques – celle/s extérieure(s) circulaire(s) et celle centrale avec un côté en forme d'abside, découvertes à: Augustin (dép. de Brașov) (Glodariu, Costea 1991, p. 21-40), Dealul Grădiștii - Sarmizegetusa Regia (dép. de Hunedoara) (Daicoviciu C. et alii. 1951, p. 113-117; Daicoviciu C. et alii. 1952, p. 283-286; Daicoviciu, H., Glodariu 1976, p. 75; Daicoviciu, H. et alii. 1983, p. 233) et Fețele Albe (dép. de Hunedoara) (Daicoviciu, H., Glodariu 1969, p. 467; Daicoviciu H. et alii, p. 67-68; Glodariu 1976, p. 256-257; Gheorghiu 2005, p. 202) ; et simples, constitués d'une seule chambre circulaire, découverts à Brad (dép. de Bacău) (Ursachi 1995, p. 62-69), Grădiștea de Munte - Sarmizegetusa Regia (dép. de Hunedoara) (Daicoviciu C. et alii 1953, p. 282), Fețele Albe (dép. de Hunedoara) (Daicoviciu H. 1971, p. 257-262), Pecica (dép. de Arad) (Crișan I. H. 1966, p. 91-100).

Les temples rectangulaires constitués d'alignements de colonnes (fig 2/1) ont été découverts à: Augustin (dép. de Brașov) (Costea 2006, p. 181-193), Bănița (dép. de Hunedoara) (Macrea et alii 1966, p. 27), Bâtca Doamnei (dép. de Neamț) (Gostar 1969, p. 18-19), Blidaru - Pietroasa lui Solomon (dép. de Hunedoara) (Glodariu et alii 2003, p. 107-108), Căpâlna (dép. de Alba) (Glodariu, Moga, 1989, p. 56-60; Moga, 1982, p. 275-278), Costești - Cetățuie (dép. de Hunedoara) (Daicoviciu, H. 1972, p. 205-206), Dealul Grădiștii - Sarmizegetusa Regia (dép. de Hunedoara) (Daicoviciu C. et alii 1951, p. 108-110, 118; Daicoviciu C. et alii 1952, p. 287-288, 292-296; Daicoviciu C. et alii 1953, p. 156-164; Daicoviciu C. et alii 1961, p. 303-305;

Daicoviciu C. et alii 1962, p. 466-467; Daicoviciu C. et alii 1973, p. 63-65), Fețele Albe (dép. de Hunedoara) (Glodariu et alii 1996, p. 152), Piatra Craivii (dép. de Alba) (Moga 1981, p. 111-112; Moga et alii 2007, p. 141, Plantos 2007, p. 17-20), Piatra Roșie (dép. de Hunedoara) (Daicoviciu 1954, p. 55-56) et, peut-être, à Cârломănești (Gugiu 2004, p. 250, fig.1). Les temples rectangulaires consistent en des alignements de colonnes, à Sarmizegetusa Regia et Fețele Albe sont inclus dans une enceinte rectangulaire marquée par des pilastres en calcaire ou andésite. Ces pilastres rencontrés comme périmètre de quelques temples dans les Montagnes Șureanu, sans fondations, ne pouvaient pas servir comme élément de support, mais leur rôle était seulement de marquage pour la zone „la plus sacrée”, espace pour lequel, très probablement, existaient des règles strictes en ce qui concernent les personnes qui pouvaient y entrer et le contexte dans lequel cette entrée pouvait survenir. Probablement qu’il existait un moyen de démarcation de celui-ci ainsi que des autres temples, réalisé avec des éléments qui n’ont pas été préservés jusqu’à nos jours (Pausanias, VIII, 10, 2-3). La campagne archéologique de 2012, à Sarmizegetusa Regia, a apporté quelques données supplémentaires concernant la limite de ces temples (sans pilastres) – suite aux excavations à l’échelle du petit temple sur terrasse XI, a été établi que sa surface a été marquée par une plate-forme d’argile, pavée de pierres de différentes tailles – la plate-forme se termine à une distance de 1,90 m de la dernière rangée des plinthes, en précisant clairement la limite sud du temple (Florea et alii 2013, p. 64).

Pour ce qui est de ces temples quadrilatères, tel qu’ils sont publiés au moins dans la littérature de spécialité, une particularité supplémentaire se fait voir: certaines temples sont dressés sur une terrasse où, en dehors du bâtiment proprement-dit, il n’y a pas d’espace qui permettent de faire des cérémonies. Il n’existe pas non plus, de traces de place ou d’autel. Alors, on se pose la question: où les cérémonies avaient-elles lieu, car parfois la sortie du temple marquait justement le bout de la terrasse. Par exemple, à Piatra Craivii (Plantos 2007, p. 17), la *Terrasse balcon* (Terasa Balcon) a été réalisée de manière à permettre seulement l’encadrement du temple avec des alignements de colonnes. Au lieu de cela, il ouvre une perspective particulière ici – et le temple, à son tour, pouvait être vu de loin (imposer).

Nous pourrions affirmer que ce type de temple (élevé en pierre) représente, pour le monde dace, une exception car ils apparaissent seulement dans quelques endroits et sur une certaine période de temps. A partir des données archéologiques, on se pose la question si un texte de Iordanes (Iordanes, *Getica*, 71-72) n’indiquerait pas justement ce changement, cette naissance d’un type de construction sacrée en liaison avec les changements déterminés par la création du Royaume Dace et d’une autorité autant religieuse que politique. „Car alors il a choisi les hommes les plus braves et les plus sages auxquels il a enseigné la théologie, a conseillé d’honorer certaines divinités et sanctuaires, tout en les faisant prêtres et leur a donné le nom de *pilleati* puisque, je pense, ils faisaient des sacrifices, la tête couverte d’une tiare, que nous appelons d’un autre nom *pilleus*”.

Édifice de culte avec l’abside sont découverte à (fig 1/2): Brad (dép. de Bacău) (Ursachi 1995, p. 62-69, Ursachi 2007, p. 231-242), Cârломănești (dép. de Buzău) (Babeș, 1977, p. 340-341; Babeș 2010, p. 132), Cetățeni (dép. de Argeș) (Vulpe 1966, p. 39, Măndescu 2006, p. 28-29), Luncani – Piatra Roșie (dép. de Hunedoara) (Daicoviciu 1954, p. 64-66), Pecica (dép. de Arad) (Crișan I. H. 1978, p. 48, 106-108), Popești (dép. à Giurgiu) (Vulpe 1997, p. 164-172; Vulpe 2004-2005, p. 19-37), Solotvino (Ukraine) (Vasiliev et alii, p. 58-60), Șimleu Silvaniei (dép. de Sălaj) (Pop et alii 2000, p. 102).

À Grădiștea de Munte (comm. Orăștioara de Sus, dép. de Hunedoara) se trouve l’antique Sarmizegetusa Regia, la zone sacrée la plus impressionnante et la plus complète en conception. On y trouve des temples quadrilatères et circulaires disposés sur deux terrasses (fig. 3/1): la X-e et la XI-e, qui, tout comme la plupart des terrasses de la Colline Grădiștea, sont faites par l’homme, mais on y a aussi bâti des murs d’appui pour ces terrasses de grandes dimensions. Ayant utilisé la

technique murus dacicus, les murs s'élèvent juste en face des IX-e, X-e et XI-e terrasses. Les matériaux pour la zone sacrée (temples, autel, place) ont été le calcaire, l'andésite et le bois.

A un moment donné, sept temples fonctionnaient dans la zone: deux circulaires et cinq rectangulaires, les uns ayant subi le long du temps, des modifications et des reconstructions. L'accès dans la zone sacrée de l'antique Sarmizegetusa Regia se faisait par un chemin qui venait de la fortification, pavé de dalles de calcaire et servant aux processions. A l'entrée dans l'aire sacrée, le chemin se bifurquait en deux, l'un vers le temple de la X-e terrasse, et l'autre aboutissait dans la place de la XI-e terrasse, pavée aussi avec des dalles de calcaire.

Un seul temple quadrilatère se trouvait sur la X-e terrasse, bâti initialement en calcaire et bois, ensuite en andésite, cette seconde phase de construction se passant dans l'époque des guerres avec les Romains sous la commande de Trajan (Daicoviciu C. et alii. 1951, p. 108-110; Daicoviciu C. et alii. 1952, p. 292-296; Daicoviciu C. et alii. 1953, p. 154-164; Daicoviciu H. et alii. 1986, p. 105). Le temple d'andésite, formé de six rangées avec une dizaine de colonnes chacune, avait les dimensions 37,50 x 31,50m et l'orientation NE-SO. Il se peut que les Daces aient voulu dresser un bâtiment impressionnant, du moment que c'est le seul à avoir les colonnes en pierre. Vu que les Romains avaient réutilisé de nombreux éléments du temple, car on les a découverts, par exemple, dans la muraille de la fortification romaine ou bien enfouis, et que la recherche archéologique mène à la découverte de certains éléments inédits, en proposer des reconstitutions serait une spéculation.

De dimensions plus réduites, les autres temples sont situés sur la XI-e terrasse. Dans la partie méridionale, il y a deux temples quadrilatères en calcaire, l'un d'eux relevant de plusieurs phases de construction, la plus ancienne datant, probablement, de l'époque de Burebista. Cet temple ancien en calcaire a connu trois phases de construction (Daicoviciu C. et alii. 1952, p. 304-305; Daicoviciu H. et alii. 1983, p. 233; Daicoviciu H. et alii. 1986, p. 105). Parallèlement, mais plus haut, se trouvait un autre temple formé d'alignements de colonnes – cette fois-ci il s'agit de trois rangées, six colonnes chacune (Daicoviciu C. et alii 1952, p. 287-288; Daicoviciu C. et alii 1961, p. 302).

Ensuite, il y avait un espace libre, relativement grand, peut-être la place pour effectuer des cérémonies imposées par la religion. Ici se trouvait la source dont l'eau a été capturée. Ensuite, sur le bord du place pavée, se trouvait le bâtiment pentagonal, dont l'utilité était liée aux besoins religieux.

Plus loin, après cette terrain, se trouvent, groupés, les quatre autres temples: deux circulaires et deux quadrilatères en andésite. Mais, avant d'arriver à ces bâtiments, on voit *Le soleil d'andésite*, en réalité, un autel fait d'andésite (Daicoviciu C. et alii, 1961, p. 303-304; Daicoviciu C. et alii 1962, p. 466-467; Daicoviciu C. et alii 1973, p. 62-62, Iaroslavschi, 1994, p. 49-53). Le diamètre total de l'autel était de 6,98m. Dans l'un des rayons, on avait fait un orifice par lequel les liquides du disque coulaient dans une bassine à bec, et d'ici, dans le canal de drainage. Très près du côté extérieur de l'autel il y avait un „flèche” fait en blocs de calcaire et orientée vers le nord.

Connu dans la littérature de spécialité sous le nom de «grand sanctuaire circulaire», le monument est en fait un temple formé de trois pièces (Daicoviciu C. et alii 1951, p. 113-117; Daicoviciu C. et alii, 1952, p. 283-286; Daicoviciu H., Glodariu 1976, p. 75; Glodariu 1976, p. 253-254; Daicoviciu H. et alii 1983, p. 233). Le diamètre du bâtiment est 29,40m. A l'extérieur il y a un cercle formé de 104 blocs d'andésite posés l'un à côté de l'autre. Très près de cette rangée de blocs, se trouve un deuxième cercle de poteaux d'andésite (10-12cm plus hauts), groupés six plus étroits et un plus large, ce qui se répète 30 fois. Les deux chambres sont marquées par les fosses des poteaux en bois. A 3,60m du cercle formé de poteaux d'andésite se trouve le cercle formé de 84 poteaux de bois. Au centre, délimitant une chambre absidale, se trouve une file de 34 poteaux de bois. A l'est du bâtiment, à 1,20m distance du cercle extérieur de cailloux, est la plateforme qui marque l'entrée. La chambre circulaire était prévue de quatre entrées, marquées par des

seuils de calcaire, deux sur le même axe, tandis que l'accès dans la chambre absidale se faisait par deux ouvertures, marquées elles-aussi par des seuils faits de blocs de calcaire. Les entrées des autres trois temples dans la partie nord de la Terrasse XI donnaient dans la même direction, vers le „centre” de la zone sacrée (vers la place), tandis que l'entrée dans le grand temple circulaire se faisait de l'est de la terrasse, pas du côté place. Il est à noter ce détail parce que ce temple avait „la partie derrière” vers la place où étaient probablement organisées les cérémonies. Ainsi, pour entrer dans le temple, il fallait contourner la moitié de la circonférence (Glodariu 2006, p. 118), puis arriver devant le mur de la salle circulaire, et à partir de là, probablement par certaines règles du rituel, c'était le départ pour l'une des entrées de la chambre (en gardant les proportions, cela nous conduit à un petit labyrinthe).

Le second temple circulaire (Daicoviciu C. et alii 1951, p. 117; Daicovičiu C. et alii 1953, p. 283; Daicoviciu C et alii 1961, p. 303) a 12,5m de diamètre et consiste en 114 poteaux d'andésite. Au nord de „grand temple circulaire” se trouvent deux temple quadrilatère d'andésite avec les alignements de colonnes (Daicoviciu C. et alii 1951, p. 117-118; Daicoviciu C. et alii 1952, p. 287).

La zone sacrée de Sarmizegetusa Regia détenait, aussi, un important rôle politique, celui d'épater, d'accentuer de cette manière aussi l'autorité du roi/grand prêtre – à un moment donné, sept temples y étaient en fonction (on devrait les regarder comme un complexe). La capitale s'est développée à partir (autour) de la zone sacrée. Au début, c'était un centre religieux, ensuite politique et, finalement, économique. Les vestiges les plus anciens sont dans la zone sacrée, sinon même au centre de l'établissement. La plupart de ces temples ont eu une fin tragique, car les Romains vainqueurs les ont systématiquement démolis et le clergé, anéanti (Glodariu 2006, p. 118).

Un autre complexe de temples du même genre, mais plus petit, pourrait être à *Fetele Albe*. Sur cette colline, se trouvant très proche de l'ancienne Sarmizegetusa Regia, a été trouvée une habitation civile, avec de nombreuses terrasses anthropogènes, y compris un groupe de cinq terrasses soutenues par des murs construits dans la technique de l'inspiration hellénistique (fig 3/2) – le lieu appelé *Şesul cu brânză* (Daicoviciu H. et alii 1973, p. 63-92).

Sur la terrasse I, appartenant au complexe de *Şesul cu brânză*, il y a deux niveaux, dont le deuxième est représenté par un bâtiment avec deux chambres, situées de façon concentrique (Daicoviciu H., Glodariu 1969, p. 467; Daicoviciu H. et alii 1973, p. 67-68; Glodariu 1976, p. 256-257). Celle intérieure se caractérise par un plan absidal, et à l'extérieur se trouve une octogonale, le diamètre du bâtiment est de 15m. La chambre extérieure est élevée sur des fondations en pierre, avec des grandes dalles de calcaire dans les coins. L'entrée dans la salle octogonale se trouvait apparemment du côté sud-ouest, et celle avec l'abside sur le sud-est (opposé à l'abside). L'inventaire riche et varié se trouvait dans sa grande majorité à la chambre extérieure et se composait de céramique, matériel de construction, des objets métalliques (se mettent en évidence les clous à tête triangulaire). Les découvertes ont été datées entre 102-106 AD, tenant compte du fait que dans la construction ont été réutilisés matériaux de bâtiments détruits pendant les guerres daces-romaines de 101-102 AD, plus exactement deux pilastres de l'andésite, un de calcaire (décapités et passés par le feu) et un bloc d'angle avec profil en relief d'andésite.

Sur la terrasse II, trois niveaux ont été trouvés, le niveau milieu étant bien conservé, ce qui a permis à établir clairement le plan de construction (Gheorghiu 2005, p. 202). Le niveau II était représenté par une construction circulaire en plan complexe. Le bâtiment se compose de trois chambres, disposées de façon concentrique. L'inventaire est assez riche et se compose de céramique et matériel de construction de fer. Il a été découvert plus de 60 clous et crampons, y compris également 11 clous à tête triangulaire. Tout a été daté de la première moitié du premier siècle AD. Il a été détruit par le feu.

Le temple circulaire avec des colonnes de calcaire a été découvert sur la troisième terrasse de la *Șesul cu brânză* (Daicoviciu H. 1971, p. 257-262). Avec un diamètre de 10,80m, elle se compose de deux types de pilastres de section rectangulaire, quelques grands et plus étroits, les autres courtes et larges, mais le regroupement des pilastres n'a pas pu être déterminé. L'inventaire se compose de peu fragments de poterie, plaque de fer, des pointes, des clous de fer – un certain ensemble triangulaire avec l'ongle d'oreille avec un crochet. Le temple a été détruit par un incendie, à début de IIème siècle AD.

Sur la terrasse IV il n'a été trouvée aucune trace d'un bâtiment, et sur la terrasse V ont été découvertes deux structures: l'une marquée par trois dalles de calcaire et collage au mur et l'autre avec des dalles de calcaire disposées en lignes et beaucoup de charbon de sapin (considéré comme la grange).

Dans ce complexe de cinq terrasses, il a été découvert un certain nombre de pièces qui, compte tenu des analogies offertes par les bâtiments de la zone sacrée se trouvant sur Dealul Grădiștii (Sarmizegetusa Regia), proviennent de temples quadrilatères: des pilastres de l'andésite (fig. 4/2,3), un bloc d'angle en andésite (fig. 4/3), un tambour de colonne de l'andésite (Daicoviciu H. et alii 1989, p. 193).

De suite, nous présentons une brève description concernant les autres édifices religieux de cette époque.

À Augustin (comm. Ormeniș, dép. de Brașov), sur le lieu nommé Tipia Ormenișului ont été signalés plusieurs temples rectangulaires et circulaires. Si jusqu'à récemment, était seulement connu le temple circulaire complexe, les recherches au cours des dernières années ont conduit à la découverte de nouvelles constructions sacrées sur le plateau. Pendant le premier siècle avant J.-C., il y se constate un énorme effort de réaménagement de la zone du plateau et terrasses.

Sur la terrasse III a été trouvé un bâtiment de trois parties concentriques: les deux extérieures étant circulaires (polygonales) et au milieu celle avec l'abside (Glodariu, Costea 1991, p. 21-40; Costea *et alii* 2006, p. 174-181). La partie extérieure est marquée par des dalles de calcaire et ophiolite sommairement sculptées. Le diamètre de la construction était de 19,20 à 19,30m. L'abside était orientée vers nord-nord-ouest. Le matériel mobile était dans sa plus grande partie dans la salle intérieure et se composait de poterie (quelques fragments), matériel de construction, d'autres objets métalliques. Les gros clous sont de deux types: la partie supérieure pliée et avec tête d'un cygne; tous ont été trouvés dans la salle rectangulaire. De ces clous s'accrochaient des choses, comme en témoigne la découverte du faisceau carbonisé, tombé près du mur de séparation, où ont été battus 18 de ces gros clous. L'inventaire est particulièrement caractéristique au siècle Ier AD. La fin de la construction est attribuée aux guerres du début du siècle IIème AD.

Les deux temples rectangulaires avec des alignements de colonnes ont été découverts sur le plateau, "intra muros": le temple avec des alignements de bases de colonnes de tuf volcanique et le temple quadrilatère avec des plinthes de calcaire (Costea *et alii* 2006, p. 181-187).

À Bănița (dép. de Hunedoara) ont été découverts les restes du temple quadrilatère formé par des alignements de colonnes (Macrea *et alii* 1966, p. 27).

Dans l'habitation de Brad (comm. Negri, dép. de Bacău), sur l'acropole, autour d'une zone sans constructions, pavée de pierres de rivière, qu'on peut considérer un place, il y a plusieurs bâtiments importants – un temple, un grand bâtiment avec plusieurs salles (y compris étage) – un véritable palais, qui comprenait également une chambre avec une abside.

Dans le sud-ouest de l'Acropole se trouvait un bâtiment qui a connu plusieurs phases: la première consistait en un bâtiment quadrangulaire, dans la deuxième phase, un bâtiment avec une abside et la dernière est représentée par un bâtiment circulaire (Ursachi 1995, p. 62-69, 97; Ursachi 1980-1982, p. 92-104; Ursachi 2007, p. 231-242).

Dans la première phase, l'édifice se présente sous la forme d'une plate-forme rectangulaire de terre jaune bien battue et brûlée au rouge, avec des dimensions de 14x8m, étant

orienté sud-sud-est – nord-nord-ouest. La deuxième phase de construction est représentée par le bâtiment avec abside. Comme inventaire a été découverte une quantité assez importante de céramique, des ossements d'animaux (dont certains brûlés) et charbon de bois. Le bâtiment a trouvé sa fin en feu. Le temple circulaire se compose d'une plate-forme en briques de torchis, brûlée et nivelée sur les zones où les briques en torchis manquant pour prendre une forme ronde, avec une couche d'argile jaune et de bécasseau. Cette plate-forme a été entourée par une rangée de piliers en bois. Comme inventaire ont été découverts (sur toute la surface de l'édifice): des fragments de pots. La construction remonte au premier siècle BC. – premier siècle AD. Une série de fosses à proximité du temple rond peut être liée à des rituels religieux de cet édifice de culte. Comme inventaire ces fosses contiennent une grande quantité d'objets, de la poterie en tout ou reconstrucible.

À Căpâlna (dép. de Alba) ont été découverts, encastrés dans la paroi intérieure de la forteresse, trois fragments de plinthes de calcaire et un pilier rectangulaire fragmentaire de calcaire. Il est ajouté à ceux-ci une plynthe trouvée à proximité de la paroi interne et un pilier rectangulaire de calcaire encastré dans le mur d'enceinte. Après les mesures, nous pouvons dire que à Căpâlna aussi ont fonctionné deux temples de type de forme rectangulaire avec des alignements de colonnes (Glodariu, Moga 1989, p. 56-60; Moga 1982, p. 275-278).

À **Cârlomănești** (comm. Vernești, dép. de Buzău) ont été conservé les traces de trois grands bâtiments, supposés être à caractère public: deux avec abside et une quadrangulaire.

La construction avec l'abside ayant le socle en pierre a été trouvée à le niveau supérieur de l'habitation (Babeș 1977, p. 340-341, Babeș 2010, p. 132). Il s'agit d'une salle rectangulaire, marquée par les fondations en pierre des murs au nord-ouest, la construction est terminée par une abside. Ici ont été trouvés plusieurs fragments de cheminées décorées. L'inventaire a été localisé principalement dans la partie sud du bâtiment. Près de l'édifice, est situé la Fosse 65, de très grandes dimensions, dans laquelle il y avait de nombreux fragments de poterie, des os d'animaux, charbons, cendres, collage brûlé aux murs, trois fragments de statuettes zoomorphes et une tête de statuette d'homme.

La deuxième construction avec abside avait les dimensions de 11,40 x 7,60m, étant découverte ici la tranchée de fondement; son parcours ferme un périmètre sensiblement rectangulaire, avec le coté nord incurvé. L'abside était séparée du reste du bâtiment à travers un mur. Le bâtiment a été probablement érigé dans la phase finale de l'existence de l'établissement, après la moitié du première siècle BC. En dessous du niveau de base du bâtiment avec abside ont été découvertes trois cheminées, dont deux décorées. Ces découvertes successives sont la preuve de l'utilisation religieuse d'un même espace cultuel dévoué au sein de l'établissement à Cârlomănești sur une période de temps plus longue (Babeș *et alii* 2003, p. 81-82, pl. 34, Babeș *et alii* 2004, p. 76-77, Babeș *et alii* 2005, p. 107-109, Babeș *et alii* 2007, p. 124-126, Babeș 2010, p. 132).

À Cetățeni (dép. de Argeș), parmi les monuments daces, il est mentionné une construction avec le plan absidal „similaire à ceux de Popești, présentant la même orientation” (Vulpe 1966, p. 39; Măndescu 2006, p. 28-29).

À Chirmogi (dép. de Ilfov), a été découvert également un édifice avec plan pentagonal, considéré par les auteurs ayant un caractère religieux (Trohani 1975, p. 131-132; Trohani 2007, p. 228). Dans la moitié nord du bâtiment, il y a deux cheminées rondes et autour de ces foyers a été découverte de la poterie céramique, principalement des pièces entières. Il date de la première moitié du premier siècle BC.

Sur les terrasses à Costești – Cetățuie (comm. Orăștioara de Sus, dép. de Hunedoara), ont été découverts quatre temples rectangulaires, du type des alignements de colonnes avec des plinthes de calcaire (Daicoviciu, H. 1972, p. 205; Daicoviu C. *et alii* 1961, p. 302, Rusu-Pescaru 2005, p. 30-33). La destruction des temples s'est produite pendant les guerres daco-romains du début du deuxième siècle AD.

À Piatra Craivii (dép. de Alba), sur trois des terrasses du massif rocheux ont été identifiés des plinthes circulaires ou carrées, qui entraient dans la composition des alignements des temples.

Sur la terrasse V a été dévoilé un temple avec alignement de colonnes (Macrea *et alii* 1966, p. 51; Moga 1981, p. 109-111, Plantos 2007, p. 13-17). Le bâtiment contenait „un riche matériel archéologique”. Le bâtiment est encadré au cours du premier siècle BC. – début du premier siècle AD. Le bâtiment a connu une fin violente. Sur cette terrasse, entre les rangées de plinthes, ont été également trouvés cinq fosses, ayant comme inventaire des restes de céréales, des armes, des vases ceramique et des os d’animaux. Vers sud-ouest et nord-est du temple mentionné, a été découvert une enceinte circulaire à la fois de blocs de pierre brute. L’inventaire du nord-est a été très riche: céramique, restes osseux, des pièces de métal. Il date du premier siècle BC (peut-être la fin de ce siècle) et jusqu’au milieu du premier siècle AD.

Sur le soi-disant Terrasse – balcon (ici a été aménagé une paroi coupée dans la roche, ce qui donne l'impression d'un balcon suspendu) du coté sud-ouest de la hauteur, se trouvait un autre temple quadrilatère (Moga 1981, p. 111-112, Plantos 2007, p. 17-18). La surface occupée par la construction est de 17 x 8m. A l’intérieur du bâtiment, en particulier entre le premier alignement des plinthes et le mur rocheux ont été trouvés des fragments de poterie et une variété de clous et agrafes.

Sur le coté sud-est du versant, sur le lieu „Terasa Bănuțului” ont été découverts des plinthes *in situ*, mais également des plinthes en position secondaire (Plantos 2007, p. 19-20). L’inventaire est très riche: des fragments de pots céramiques (nombreux vases à boire), divers objets en métal, du verre, des plis de pierre, des disques au fuseau, des moulins à main fragmentaires, de nombreux restes ostéologiques et un dénar du 43-42 BC. Rien n’a été trouvé quant aux traces d’incendie ou de destruction intentionnelle de cet objectif.

À Crăsanii de Jos (comm. Balaciu, dép. de Ialomița), la zone sacrée a été identifiée sur le mamelon oriental du promontoire, à son point le plus élevé, cet espace avec les mêmes fonctionnalités tout au long de l’existence de l’établissement: le deuxième siècle BC – premier siècle BC (Conovici 1981, p. 572-573; Conovici 1985, p. 76, Conovici 1994, p. 62-82; Conovici 1997, p. 71-73). Il se composait d’une cour intérieure de forme rectangulaire, ayant au centre un autel décoré et entouré de tous côtés par des chambres construites sur des pilastres en bois en deux rangées parallèles, leur orientation suivant celle de l’espace ouvert à l’intérieur. Les côtés de cette cour (l’auteur de la fouille utilise le terme de *temenos*) étaient d’environ 14 x 9,50m. Toujours ici ont apparu des fragments de vases d’approvisionnement décorés avec des têtes de béliers en relief. Au dernier niveau l’autel a continué à être utilisé, mais les constructions environnantes ont été remplacées par des logements et des fosses. D’autres éléments „liés au culte public” dont l’auteur nous dit qu’ils proviennent du „périmètre de la zone sacrée de la colonie ou de la proximité” sont: des pots en représentant la tête de bélier, des vaisseaux perforées, rhyton d’argile, pot peint pour les libations.

À Piatra Roșie (comm. Boșorod, dép. de Hunedoara) ont été découverts deux types d’édifice de culte. Sur la première terrasse, située au nord-ouest de la grande enceinte, se trouvait une construction d’une longueur maximale de 10,70m et d’une largeur de 7,80m, avec ayant le côté nord en forme d’abside (Daicoviciu C. 1954, p. 64-66). Le bâtiment est composé de deux chambres: en avant (vers le sud) une pièce plus grande et rectangulaire, et la seconde est ayant un coté en forme de l’abside. Le fondement de tout l’édifice se compose de blocs réguliers taillés, placés sur une seule ligne, directement sur la roche. L’inventaire est relativement pauvre, composé de peu de céramique, certains objets en métal, en précisant que le coin sud-ouest de la salle avec l’abside, coincés dans le coin, ont été trouvés les restes de quelques plaques de forme ovoïde de fer avec des ornements en relief (plaque votive). La construction date du premier siècle AD, elle a fini dans un incendie.

À environ 3,75m au nord du coin nord-ouest de l'enceinte, a été découverte une rangée de plinthes de calcaire (Daicoviciu C. 1954, p. 44-56). Le bâtiment semble avoir été aboli à l'occasion de la construction de certains bâtiments sur le plateau.

À Ocnița (départ. de Vâlcea) a été découverte une série de fausses de très grandes dimensions – des chambres souterraines (Berciu 1981, p. 58-70, 74-101).

Sur l'acropole de la forteresse 1, ont été révélés des traces d'une série de bâtiments "majestueux" en bois, y compris les chambres souterraines. L'inventaire des „fosses” était divers; pas tous les fosses n'ont livré le matériel aussi riche.

Après l'incendie à la fin du premier siècle BC, il y avait un aménagement général sur l'Acropole. Il est supposé que, après ce travail, sur le plateau a été construit un temple rectangulaire, en exposant pleinement les tranchées des fondations et les fosses des pilastres des murs. Cette découverte remonte au premier siècle AD.

À Blidaru - Pietroasa lui Solomon (comm. Orăștioara de Sus, départ. de Hunedoara), ont été découvertes des plinthes des deux temples rectangulaire avec alignements de colonnes (Rusu-Pescaru 2005, p. 27-29).

Sur l'acropole de l'habitation de Pecica (départ. de Arad) ont été découverts deux édifices religieux, datant de différentes époques.

Le temple circulaire a été découvert sur le côté nord-ouest du plateau, à une courte distance de son bord, près de l'endroit où sera construit le bâtiment avec une abside (à noter qu'ils n'ont pas fonctionné dans la même période). Le diamètre de l'enceinte de piliers était de 6m, et tout le bâtiment 7m. Au centre de la plate-forme, a été découvert un foyer ovale. L'inventaire se compose de: quelques fragments de céramique travaillés à la main, une anneau en or. Il date du second siècle BC, éventuellement au début du suivant (Crișan I. H. 1966, p. 91-100; Crișan I. H. 1978, p. 98-104).

La construction avec l'abside était à la moitié nord-ouest de la zone du plateau, à proximité de l'atelier et du lieu où se trouvait le temple rond. Ce bâtiment a une forme quadrangulaire avec l'extrémité nord-nord-ouest courbée convexe, composé d'une seule chambre. La longueur de la chambre est de 8,60m et la largeur de 4,50m. Sur certains fragments d'argile provenant du mur ont été découvertes des traces de décoration. Le foyer a été découvert près du mur côté sud. Autour d'eux étaient des fragments de poterie et un demi-moulin à main. Tout au long de l'immeuble, a été retrouvé un fragment d'une cheminée portable. Il est daté du premier siècle BC et jusqu'au premier siècle AD (Crișan I. H. 1978, p. 106-108).

À Piatra Neamț - Bâtca Doamnei (départ. de Neamț) ont été découverts deux temples du genre à ceux avec alignements de colonnes (Gostar 1965, p. 84; Gostar 1969, p. 18-19).

Dans le sud-est de l'Acropole de Popești (or. Mihăilești, Giurgiu) ont été découvertes les traces d'un grand bâtiment (plus correctement un complexe de constructions) (Vulpe 1960, p. 308-316; Vulpe 1961, p. 321-328; Vulpe, Gheorghiiță 1979, p. 95; Vulpe 1997, p. 164-172; Vulpe 2004-2005, p. 19-37; Preda, Palincaș 2004-2005, p. 77-98). L'auteur des recherches parle d'une cour princière de 1.200 mètres carrés. À cause des matériaux de construction légèrement inflammables, le complexe a été plusieurs fois détruit par un incendie et reconstruit, en ayant la possibilité de distinguer six niveaux de la même construction, mais seuls aux deux premiers ont été découverts des restes consistants: à -1,50m et à -1,10m.

Le bâtiment correspondant à niveau -1,50m (le plus ancien) est le mieux conservé. A les dimensions de 12 x 20m et se compose de trois chambres, dont celle se trouvant au plus nord-ouest a peut-être eu une abside. La chambre du milieu était presque carrée – 12 x 12m – et avait une grande cheminée centrale. Autour de ce foyer ont été découvertes des traces de 34 piliers, formant approximativement un demi-cercle de l'orientation différente de celle de l'abside. Ce niveau est daté du début du deuxième siècle BC.

À la profondeur de -1,10m, ont été bien préservées les traces du complexe où il a été découvert un grand bâtiment rectangulaire, dont le côté vers nord-nord-ouest était légèrement

incurvée convexe, formant une abside. C'est un peu différent orientée de l'abside de la construction de la phase précédente, qui la superpose partiellement. Dans les deux chambres, ont été trouvés trois foyers carrés, dont deux dans la chambre avec abside; l'un d'eux est décoré. Dans le coin nord-ouest de la salle rectangulaire, il y avait un support triangulaire de l'argile. L'ensemble du complexe est daté au milieu du premier siècle BC.

Pour les phases suivantes n'ont pas été obtenues tellement nombreuses observations, mais ont été découvertes des traces de certains foyers (autels) se trouvant dans le même endroit que les phases précédentes, donc c'est possible de supposer que le lieu a continué à être la zone sacrée du complexe.

Parmi les bâtiments de l'établissement à Radovanu (dép. de Călărași) a été découvert aussi un bâtiment avec des significations possibles de culte (Moritz, Șerbănescu 1985, p. 22; Trohani 1992, p. 84). Sur le côté nord-est de l'édifice, a été trouvé une cheminée ornée, et autour d'elle ont été trouvées deux tasses avec pied. Il remonte à l'intervalle de 150 BC. – la première moitié du premier siècle BC. Près de ce bâtiment a été découvert une fausse avec dépôt de vaisselle.

À Solotvino (Ukraine), dans la lisière sud de l'établissement, a été retrouvé un bâtiment qui avait une forme quasi-rectangulaire, avec abside à l'extrémité ouest (Vasiliev et alii 2002, p. 58-60). Il remonte à la deuxième étape de la vie ici, la seconde moitié du deuxième siècle BC – le premier siècle AD.

À Șimleul Silvaniei – Observator (dép. de Sălaj), à l'extérieur de la fortification, ont été découvertes „les traces d'une construction rectangulaire avec une chambre probablement incurvée, qui pourrait avoir une fonction sacrée” (Pop *et alii* 2000, p. 102). A l'intérieur de l'abside, il y a une fosse au centre duquel a été déposée une tête humaine sans mâchoire.

Un des critères utilisés par des nombreux auteurs pour déterminer le caractère d'un édifice était le manquement de l'inventaire. Suite au fait que dans les temples des Montagnes Orăștie manquaient les pièces d'inventaire, il a été considéré que ça devait être la caractéristique d'une construction sacrée. En même temps, il est accepté que les gros clous d'une forme particulière découverts en grand nombre à Sarmizegetusa Regia, ainsi que cette poutre-là avec de nombreux gros clous fichés tout au long, découverte à Augustin, au sein du temple circulaire complexe, est expliqué par le fait que de ces gros clous y enfoncés dans la partie en bois des temples étaient accrochées les offrandes, en y résultant aussi que dans les temples étaient néanmoins déposés des divers objets.

Peut-être pas la présence, mais, au contraire, le manquement des objets d'inventaire était anormal et doit être expliqué, parce que dans le monde antique étaient présentées diverses offrandes, des sacrifices étaient faits pour la Divinité, des banquets étaient organisés, et certains objets consacrés trouvaient leur place au sein du temple. Il faudrait renoncer définitivement au manquement de l'inventaire en tant critère à déterminer les valences sacrées d'un édifice.

Nous pouvons accepter qu'une partie de l'inventaire (naturel) des temples a pu être sauvée par les Daces. Dans le monde antique, il y a toute une série d'exemples concernant l'action des croyants pour sauver les objets plus importants du temple (Brunaux 2004, p. 90).

Dans les Montagnes Șureanu, les temples ont été systématiquement détruits par les Romains - il est naturel que les objets trouvés à l'intérieur aient été pris comme butin de guerre. En effet, les chercheurs acceptent l'une de ces deux options (aussi valable), mais en même temps rend la mise en place du fonctionnement comme temple sur l'absence d'un inventaire. L'exemple de Piatra Craivii (et même celui de Brad, Fețele Albe etc.) prouve qu'il y avait des situations dans lesquelles les objets déposés dans les temples n'ont pas été cachés par les Daces, ni pillés par les Romains, mais sont restés sur place.

Compte tenu des grandes différences de l'inventaire, des Divinités différentes, des occasions différentes, même des croyances différentes. On peut bien sûr supposer qu'en partie il est fonction également des ressources de la communauté/ des communautés, de leur nombre;

mais, on ne peut pas expliquer les différences seulement par un seul facteur. Il faut tenir compte également du fait que la société des Daces pendant les siècles 2^{ème} BC – 1^{er} siècle AD a été assez hétérogène du point de vue social (Florea 2007, p. 104) – il est possible que de cette perspective aussi soit explicable la diversité de l'acte culturel.

Dans des habitats, les lieux de culte sont représentés par un bâtiment ou un complexe de constructions – et dans ce cas il(s) se trouve(nt) dans une zone centrale, sur l'acropole, près d'une place -, ou on peut parler d'un complexe de fausses, mais celles-ci ne se trouvent pas sur l'acropole, mais plus souvent, vers le bord de l'habitat.

Probablement que, au fil du temps, dans le monde dacique, les sanctuaires jouent un rôle aussi dans la vie politique. On sait pas s'ils ont eu ce rôle dès le début. Les habitats les plus importants (et recherchés) prouvent d'avoir une place où se trouvait aussi un édifice sacré, à côté d'autres bâtiments importants. La liaison étroite entre les élites belliqueuses et l'élément religieux est soulignée aussi par la présence des temples dans le voisinage des fortifications plus importants.

Une partie de ces lieux peut avoir un rôle économique aussi. Outre l'effort qui suppose la construction et la maintenance d'un tel lieu, on pense aussi au possible control qu'ils l'exerçaient sur certaines activités économiques ou sur certains aspects du celui-ci. A Sarmizegetusa quelques poids ont été découvertes dans la zone sacrée (Gheorghiu 2001, p. 189-198), il est possible qu'elles auraient été conservées au sein du temple, en étant mises sur la protections de la Divinité. Ce n'est pas par hasard qu'on trouve des certains ateliers dans le voisinage des édifice de culte. Et il n'est pas impossible que l'autorité religieuse fût impliquée au moment de l'imposition du dénar romain en Dacie.

La période de la Royauté apporte aussi des nouvelles formes de matérialisation du sacré, on pense aux temples construites en pierre. Leur construction a signifié un effort économique particulier. En même temps, il reflète l'existence d'une autorité qui pu mobiliser la main-d'œuvre nécessaire pour un tel effort constructif. Cette période de grandes restructurations (Z. Petre, *op. cit.*, p. 269.) commence avec la règne de Burebista, probablement aussi par l'imposition de certaines cultes au niveau officiel. Burebista a été probablement légitimé – sûrement secondé – par un prêtre vivant isolé et solitaire dans les montagnes, où un pèlerinage périodique amène le roi comme pour un sort d'oracle personnel dont la consultation lui est réservée en exclusivité, comme partie à un privilège royal (Zoe Petre, p. 270.). Une des explications possibles pour la fin de toutes les formes majeures du culte de la population dace à l'époque de la province romaine pourrait consister à leur disparition en même temps avec les élites qui étaient exprimées par les religieux (des temples monumentaux, des centres cérémoniels, des sacrifices et des offrandes d'une certaine taille et forme – plus facilement perceptible en termes de l'archéologie, etc.) (Florea 2007, p. 103). L'apparition des nouvelles formes ne signifie pas la disparition des anciennes, elles coexistent, malgré que le nombre des lieux avec dépôts est en baisse. Mais quelques aspects spécifiques locaux sont conservés, en mettant sur le signe de la doute l'idée d'une définitive centralisation religieuse ainsi que du contrôle exercé par une unique autorité constituée (Florea 2007, p. 103).

On ne peut pas établir une succession des types d'édifices. Sur un seul type, celui quadrilatère avec alignements de colonnes, on peut dire que sa présence coïncide avec l'existence du Royaume Dace.

Une succession de types de temples se trouve à Brad, ce qui a fait V. Ursachi à se demander si, à partir de là, ne peut pas établir une séquence générale des types de temples. Mais, l'ordre dans laquelle les temples se succèdent est différent dans une autre région. Si à Brad nous avons d'abord un temple rectangulaire, ensuite un autre avec abside, et en fin, un autre circulaire (Ursachi 1980-1982, p. 92-104), à Pecica celui circulaire sera remplacé par un autre avec abside (Crișan I. H. 1978, p. 98-104, 106-108).

On ne peut pas laisser inobservé le nombre petit des temples circulaires, simples et complexes, découverts seulement dans cinq endroits (fig. 2/2). Toutefois, du point de vue chronologique c'est une forme qu'on trouve tout au long des trois siècles – du 2^{ème} siècle BC jusqu'au début du 2^{ème} siècle AD. Parmi les types de constructions de culte, il semble que les édifices avec un des côté en forme de l'abside sont le plus également répandus (fig. 1/2).

Si on prend comme point de repère chronologique toute la période entre le 2^{ème} siècle BC – 1^{er} siècle AD, on pourrait affirmer qu'on trouve toutes les formes de ce places de culte et que les différents types de telles découvertes sont répandus sur l'entier territoire habité par les Daces. On constate aussi que pendant le 1^{er} siècle BC on trouve, en effet, le nombre le plus élevé de lieux de culte dans le monde dacique.

Dans 2^{ème} siècle BC il y a un nombre plus petit de lieux de culte avec l'édifices. Dans le 1^{er} siècle BC le nombre des lieux de culte avec des temples devienne environ égal à celui sans édifices, et pendant le 1^{er} siècle AD le nombre des sites avec des édifices de culte arrive d'être plus grand par rapport aux sanctuaires sans bâtiments. Le nombre des sites avec édifices de culte augmente constamment, des cinq découvertes datant du 2^{ème} siècle BC, pour devenir majoritaires pendant la deuxième moitié du 1^{er} siècle BC, situation qui se maintient aussi pendant le 1^{er} siècle AD. Il faut également mentionner que pendant la deuxième moitié du 1^{er} siècle AD, la majorité est représentée par les temples quadrilatères avec alignement de colonnes. En parallèle, se conservent les plus anciens lieux de culte. Mais, en comparant la dispersion des temples et des lieux sacrés avec des dépôts, on constate que la deuxième catégorie manque justement dans le Sud-Ouest de la Transylvanie, là où se trouve la concentration des temples quadrilatères avec alignement de colonnes.

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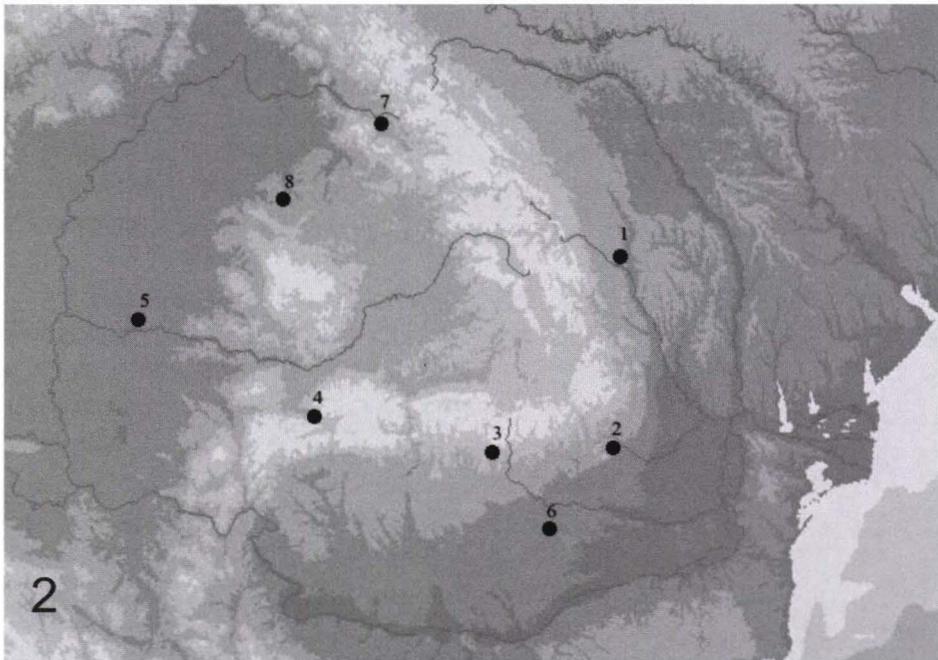
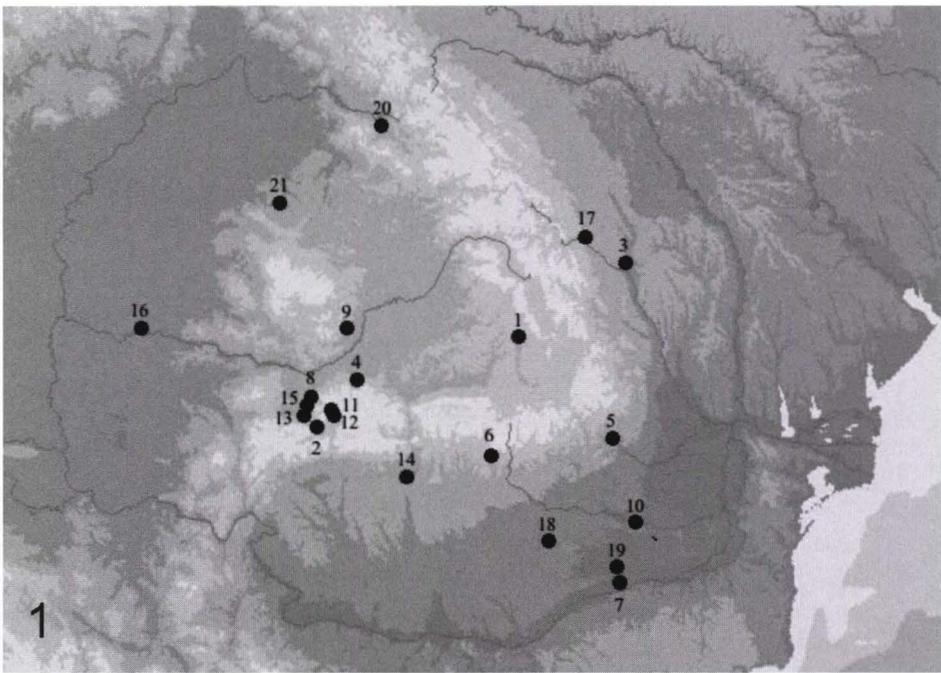


Fig. 1

Fig. 1 – 1. Carte des édifices du culte: 1. Augustin (dép. de Braşov), 2. Băniţa (dép. de Hunedoara), 3. Brad (dép. de Bacău), 4. Căpâlna (dép. de Alba), 5. Cârломăneşti (dép. de Buzău), 6. Cetăţeni (dép. de Argeş), 7. Chirmogi (dép. de Ilfov), 8. Costeşti (dép. de Hunedoara), 9. Craiva (dép. de Alba), 10. Piscu Crăsani (dép. de Ialomiţa), 11. Grădiştea de Munte – Feţele Albe (dép. de Hunedoara), 12. Grădiştea de Munte – Dealul Grădiştii (dép. de Hunedoara), 13. Luncani – Piatra Roşie (dép. de Hunedoara), 14. Ocnitza (dép. de Vâlcea), 15. Ocolişu Mic – Blidaru (dép. de Hunedoara), 16. Pecica (dép. de Arad), 17. Piatra Neamţ – Bâta Doamnei (dép. de Neamţ), 18. Popeşti (dép. de Argeş), 19. Radovanu (dép. de Călăraşi), 20. Solotvino (Ucraina), 21. Şimleu Silvaniei (dép. de Sălaj).

2. Carte des édifices avec l'abside: 1. Brad (dép. de Bacău), 2. Cârломăneşti (dép. de Buzău), 3. Cetăţeni (dép. de Argeş), 4. Luncani – Piatra Roşie (dép. de Hunedoara), 5. Pecica (dép. de Arad), 6. Popeşti (dép. de Giurgiu), 7. Solotvino (Ucraina), 8. Şimleu Silvaniei (dép. de Sălaj).

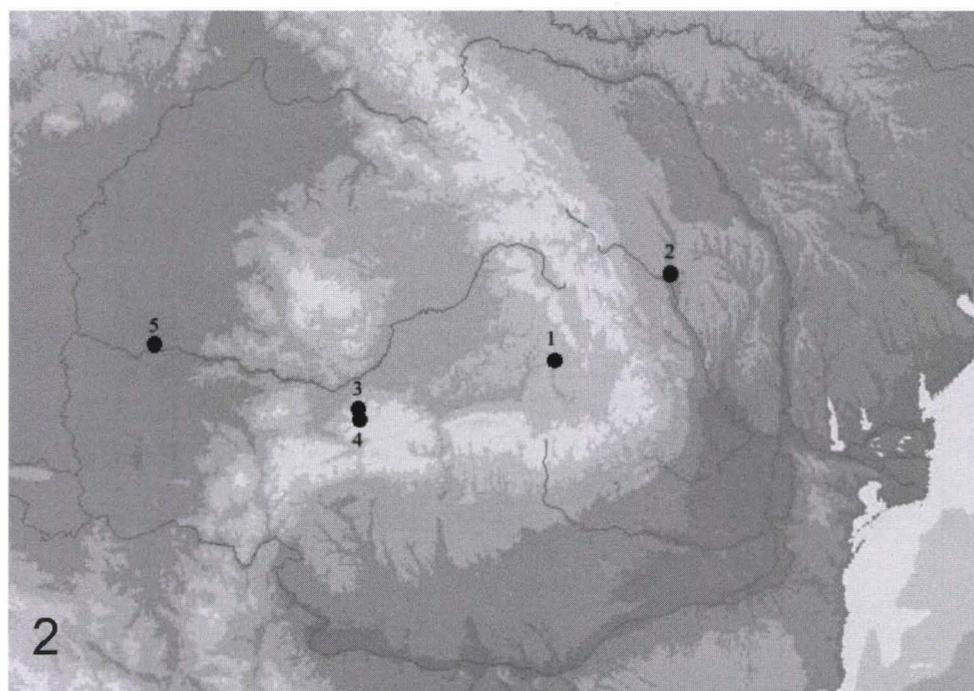
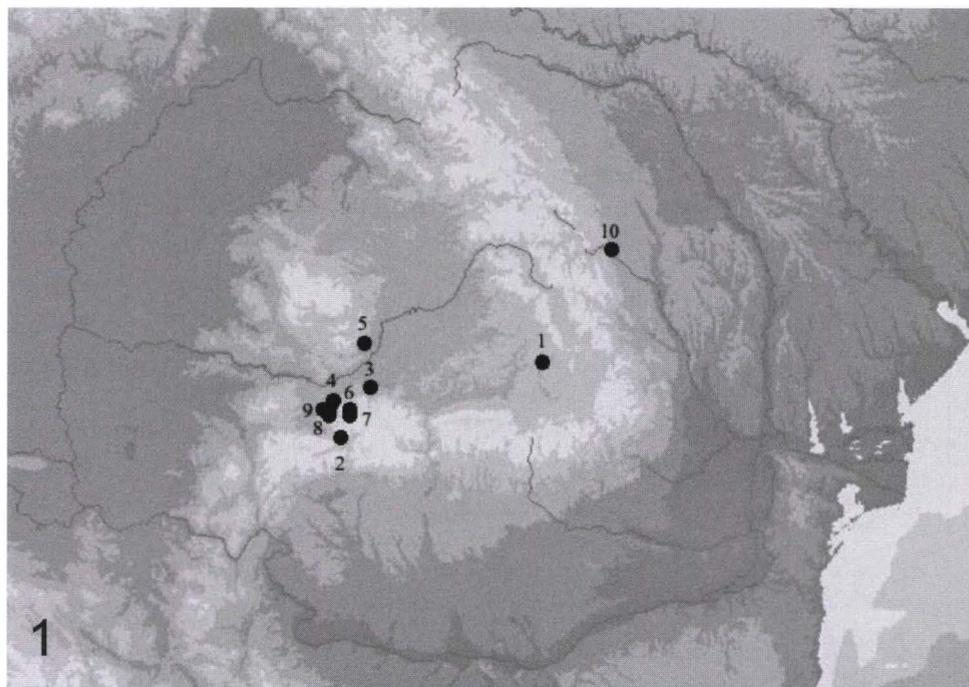


Fig. 2

Fig 2 – 1. Carte des temples avec les alignements de colonnes: 1. Augustin (dép. de Braşov), 2. Băniţa (dép. de Hunedoara), 3. Căpâlna (dép. de Alba), 4. Costeşti (dép. de Hunedoara), 5. Craiva (dép. de Alba), 6. Grădiştea de Munte – Feţele Albe (dép. de Hunedoara), 7. Grădiştea de Munte – Dealul Grădiştii (dép. de Hunedoara), 8. Luncani – Piatra Roşie (dép. de Hunedoara), 9. Ocolişu Mic – Blidaru (dép. de Hunedoara), 10. Piatra Neamţ – Bâtca Doamnei (dép. de Neamţ).

2. – Carte des temples circulaires: 1. Augustin (dép. de Braşov), 2. Brad (dép. de Bacău), 3. Grădiştea de Munte – Feţele Albe (dép. de Hunedoara), 4. Grădiştea de Munte – Dealul Grădiştii (dép. de Hunedoara), 5. Pecica (dép. de Arad).

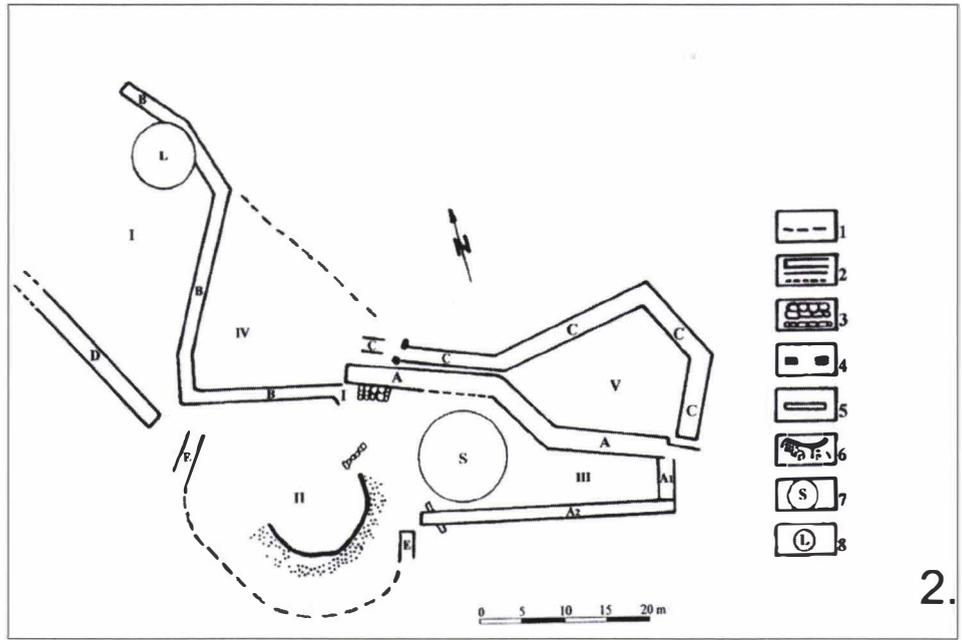
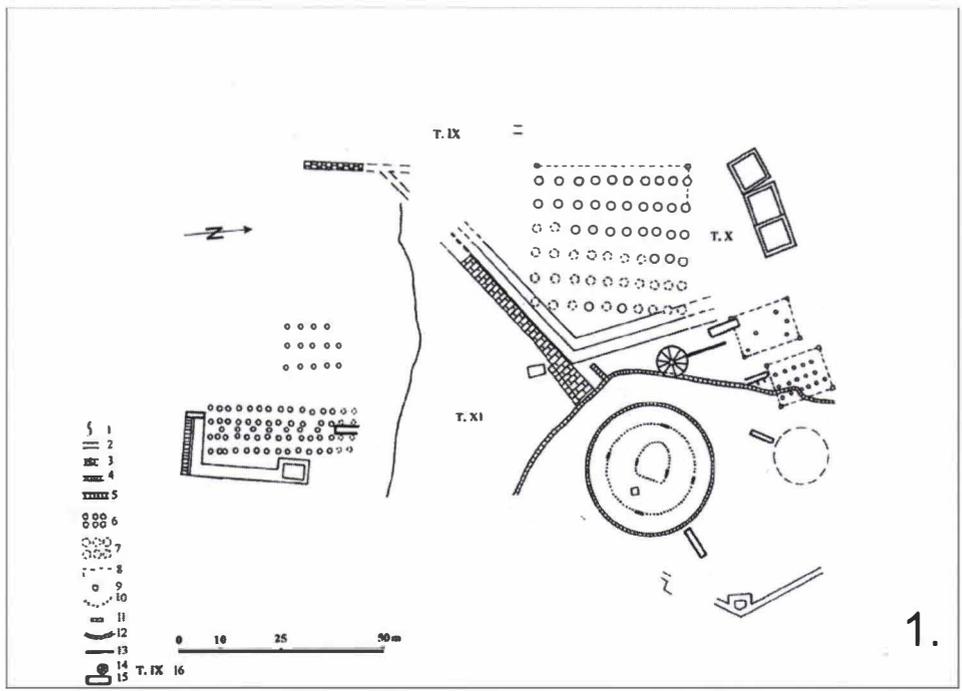
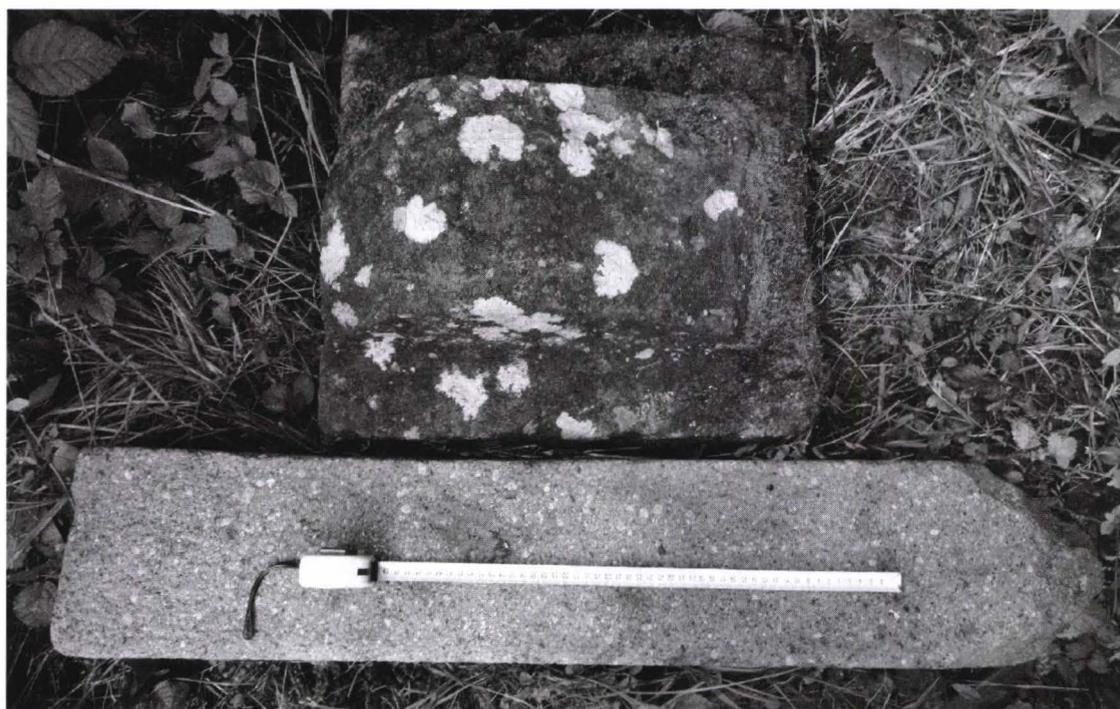


Fig. 3

Fig. 3 – 1. Zone sacre de Sarmizegetusa Regia – plan general (après G. Gheorghiu 2005): 1. source, 2. mur, 3. chemin pavé, 4. canal, 5. escalier, 6. temple avec pilinthes, 7. pilinthes désaffectés, 8. pilastres de pierres, 9. foyer, 10. pilastres de bois 11. seuil, 12. bordure, 13. “la flèche” de soleil de l’andesit, 14. le soleil d’andesite, 15. plat-forme d’entrence, 16. terrasse. 2 Fețele Albe – Șesul cu brânză – plan general (après G. Gheorghiu 2005): 1. limite de terrasses, 2. murs, 3. pavage, 4. conduit d’eau, 5. canal de pierre, 6. construction par le niveau milieu à seconde terrasse 7. temple, 8. construction circulaire.



1



2

Fig. 4

Fig. 4 – 1. Temple d'andesit à Sarmizegetusa Regia. **2.** Pilastre d'andesit à Fețele Albe – Șesul cu brânză. **3.** Pilastre et bloc de l'angle d'andésite à Fețele Albe – Șesul cu brânză.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL DATA REGARDING THE CREMATED BONES DISCOVERED IN THREE COMPLEXES (NO. 73, 74, 75) FROM THE DACIAN SITE AT HUNEDOARA-GRĂDINA CASTELULUI (HUNEDOARA COUNTY, ROMANIA)

Alexandra Comşa (Bucharest – Romania)

Key words: Hunedoara-Grădina Castelului, Dacians, cremation, anthropological study.

Abstract: this paper refers to the anthropological study that was carried out on the cremated bones discovered in three complexes (no. 73, 74, 75) from the Dacian site at Hunedoara-Grădina Castelului. They resulted in the identification of a double cremation in the Complex no. 75. The individuals found in those complexes were an *infans I*, a *juvenis*, a male adult and an *infans II*.

Materials and methods

The analysis has been done upon the cremated human bones from three complexes discovered in the Dacian archaeological site from Hunedoara-Grădina Castelului and was accomplished according with the usual methodology (Brothwell 1981, p.14, Herrmann *et alii* 2000).with its specific criteria, that we mention below:

- the place of the deposition (in the urn, near the urn, mixed with animal bones, mixed with non-cremated human bones etc.;
 - dimensions of the bone fragments, their color, texture (slightly burnt, charred, calcined), the degree of formation, splitting, deformation etc.;
 - the general weight of the bones;
 - any argument that could indicate the crushing of the bones even after cremation;
 - shrinkage of the bones after cremation;
 - sorting the bones and following the bony portions that are usually unique or double for each skeleton (for instance the mental protuberance on the mandible, the mastoids etc.).
- When they are in a larger number than the normal one, they are indicative for the presence of two, or several individuals.

The final condition of the cremains is also influenced by some factors, like:

- size of the fire;
- duration of the corpse exposure to the fire;
- condition of the bones, that might be fresh (green) or dried (Ubelaker, 2008 – in press, p. 1-5).

The temperature of burning determines a series of physical-chemical transformations of the bone substance. Besides these microspic changes, appear also the macroscopic ones, which are transformations of the form, fragmentation, as well also shrinkage (Großkopf 2004, p. 13).

When we consider the temperature of burning, we rely on the methodology established by B. Herrmann, which considers that the change of the bone color occurs according to the temperature of burning, as rendered below:

- around 100⁰ – the bones are yellow;
- around 300⁰ – the bones are brown;
- around 400⁰ - the bones are black
- around 550⁰ – the bones are grey-bluish;
- around 850⁰ – the bones are white (Herrmann 1988, p. 578-585).

Age diagnosis

This kind of estimates can be done by using the cranial vault, when it preserves portions of the sutures. For the children, the thickness of the cranial bone is mostly important.

The teeth are used for the age determination the same as for the non-cremated individuals. But, at high temperature, the dental crown is detached from the dentine. In such situations, it can be used the degree of closing the radix apex, but also the secondary cementum apposition on the root, or the secondary dentine in the pulp cavity.

Useful for the age determination is also the dental abrasion, while in the case of the crown deterioration due to the heat, it is possible to detect wear on the „occlusal” part of the dentine.

Another useful element is the area of the bones growth plates, or sutural junction areas.

Malformations, anomalies, as well as some health disturbances could be also detected on cremated bones. We could mention here the sutural (Wormian) bones, the osteoporotic pitting on cranial fragments, rheumatic disorders, especially on vertebral bodies as well as other pathologies.

Yet, it is very difficult to distinguish the pre-mortem cuts, made by swords, axes, or daggers, as normally the cremated bones display breaks that resemble those acquired from battle injuries (Brothwell 1981, p. 15-16).

Making distinction among different types of bones

In mixed human bones, resulted from two or more individuals the difference in dimensions, degree of preservation, colour variations, bone shape and distinct muscle insertions, sutural variations, occlusion, tooth wear, anomalies of the bones should be observed (Brothwell 1981, p. 14-17).

In mixed human and animal bones, must be considered their weight, their different dimensions, form, color, texture (Großkopf, 2004, p. 130; Bugar 2007, p. 1127-1134).

Complex 73, Grave 32 – S12, -0.36-0.44m

Archaeological context

The human bones were splitted in two neighboring sectors, namely above a thin layer of brown-grey soil and respectively, in an alveolus made in the archaeological layer. They were covered with a grainy, black-grey sediment and medium-sized fragments of crushed dolomite, above which wood coal pieces have been found.

Datation: 150-51 BC.

Cremins

The burial contained just several bones. They have a dark grey color, with white stains at places and with metal sound. The temperature of burning was somewhere between 400⁰-550⁰ C degrees. Their total weight is 21g.

There are just 12 cranial fragments (Fig. 1), that could not be identified as concerns their zone of origin, being intensely fumed and having a dark color, close to the black one. They represented either the *lamina externa*, or *interna* of the cranial bone. One of the fragments is twisted, due to the high temperature to which it was exposed.

From the long bones just few fragments have been also found (Fig. 2). They came from the following bones: 2 from the humerus, 5 from the ulna, 3 from the radius, 3 from the femur, 2 from the tibia, one of the last mentioned fragments being stained with a white intense color.

On one of the femur fragments it could be observed the presence of the transversal splitting lines on the shaft (Fig. 3) which normally appears on the in-flesh bones (Ubelaker, Rife, 2007, p. 44, fig. 5).

The largest fragments are those of the femur, with the following dimensions: the first one has 22,00 mm x 9,87 mm, while the second measures 16,48 mm x 13,53 mm. The

smallest fragment of the identifiable bones comes from the radius and has 8,18 mm x 7,46 mm. A portion of the humerus is slightly curved, due to the high temperature to which it was exposed.

Besides the mentioned bones there were 58 bone splinters and other smaller fragments.

Age diagnosis

All the bones had a small thickness. Considering these characteristics and their gracility, we consider that, most probably, they belonged to an *infans I*.

Pyre goods

Together with the human remains, a vessel rim with traces of secondary burning has been found. As part of the deposition could be found the following objects: an iron dagger of the *sica* type, a scabbard, and iron arrowhead, a fragmentary earring (?), an iron belt plate, a large clamp (?), a truncated item, possibly being a grindstone, a fragmentary bronze foil (Roman, Luca 2012a, p. 75-76, fig. 2, Ill. 1; 2012b, p. 73-75, fig. 2, Ill. 1, Sîrbu *et alii* 2007a, b).

Complex 74 Grave 33 – S. XIII (-0.42-0.45m) and S. XIV (-0.35m)

Archaeological context

The human bones have been discovered in the two mentioned trenches, as well as between them. Together with the mentioned items, at the depth of 0.35-0.45m, there were many small bone remains, strongly burned, most of them around the partition between S. XIII and S. XIV, with very few small pieces of charcoal. Above all these it was found a layer of dolomite limestone that covered the whole funerary arrangement (Roman, Luca 2012a, p. 77-78, fig. 4, Ill. 2-3; 2012b, p. 7-77, fig. 4, Ill. 2-3, Sîrbu *et alii* 2007a,b).

Datation: the 1st c. BC

Cremins

All the human cremated bones had a brown-dark color, which means that the burning occurred around the temperature of 400⁰ C. At places there were slight whitish stains and some of the fragments had a metal sound (Fig. 4). Their weight was of 105g.

From the skull there were 10 fragments, one of them from the area of the frontal crest, a small portion of a parietal, the others coming from the occipital. From the spine could be recovered 3 neural arches in a fragmentary condition, as well as two vertebral bodies, vertically broken (Fig. 5). From the ribs there were just 5 small portions. The long bones of the upper limbs have been represented by some of the bone pieces. From the humerus could be identified 6 fragments, from the ulna 16, all of them with some whitish stains, while from the radius there were 10 fragments. On the long bones the transversal lines of splitting could not be observed.

From the long bones of the legs could be found 15 fragments of the tibia. Among the long bones fragments, the largest comes from a tibia and measures 35,08 mm in length x 14,21 mm in width, being followed by a radius one, with 34,49 mm in length x 12,68 mm in width). From the phalanges there were 17 portions, out of which 3 had some whitish stains.

Besides the smaller fragments, we have found two epiphyses, from a *juvenis* humerus, respectively femur, both bearing traces of the growth plates (humerus epiphysis height 36,08 mm x maximal thickness 18,18 mm x maximal width 37,32 mm; femur epiphysis height 36,19 mm x maximal thickness 19,65 mm x maximal width 38,74 mm). Both are slightly broken, with deteriorated margins (Fig. 6). It was also found an ischion fragment from the left side (Fig. 7), also with traces of the growth plates (maximal length 45,37 mm x maximal thickness 31,75 mm x maximal width 21,42 mm).

Besides the identifiable bones have been also found 172 bone splinters and small fragments, out of which the smallest measured 3,88 mm x 5,08 mm and whose weight was of 50g.

Age diagnosis

All these bones have surely come from an individual belonging to the *juvenis age category*. We could also imagine that they could have come from an *infans II* but, considering the dimensions of the recovered epiphyses, which are a very similar to those of an adult, we cannot accept this second assignment.

Pyre goods

There were two clusters of depositions:

Cluster 1: comprised animal bones (55g), bronze objects (a fragmentary thin sheet, a whole fibula, a fibula spring, a pin, a fragmentary rod, and a fragmentary bracelet).

Cluster 2: consisted of bronze objects (two appliquéés, a bead, three bracelets, a rod overlaid with an iron tip, a fibula, a chain link, a fragmentary helmet's cheek piece, a fragmentary item) of iron ones (a chain-link, a pin, a belt plate with a decorated bronze plate, a belt, an arrowhead, a fragmentary item and a buckle accessory), silver (two nail-pendants) as well as of glass adornments (a glass bead with an "eye").

Complex C75 Grave 34 – SXIV, section 3, (-0.29-0.49m)

Archaeological context (Roman, Luca 2012a, p. 75-89; 2012b, p. 73-88)

This area had been anthropically arranged. The pottery was placed in a pit (- 0,49 m) dug into the dolomite layer and having this special designation. The depositions have been covered with stones, that created a small, flattened elevation (with a diameter of 1.90 m on its East-West axis), that was marked by medium-sized and large rocks.

Datation: the end of the 4th c. BC (Sirbu 2013).

Cremins

Individual no. 75.a

The bones were very broken (Fig. 8). Their color was grey-bluish, with white or black stains at places. Two bone pieces were charred. Their total weight reached 155g, out of which 45g came from outside the urn. Some fragments had metal sound. Based on their color, the temperature of their burning must have been around 550⁰C. The portions of the occipital have a white-greyish color. Still, it was also found a frontal fragment, with the region of the glabella of 3rd degree, without any traces of burning (Fig. 9). There were also two human teeth, one of them partly with missing crown, the second one being represented just by the root. The „complete” one, an incisor, had its apex closed. It is most probably that those two teeth had belonged to this robust individual, as they had no traces of burning (Fig. 10). What is interesting to notice here is the fact that, unlike the others, the frontal bones had no traces of burning, the same like the teeth. In our opinion this could have been possible if the head of the deceased could have remained not on the same level with the corpse placed supine on the pyre, but, somehow suspended laterally. This position might have facilitated the more intense burning of the occipital and the possible throwing outside the pyre of the frontal ones, which thus remained untouched by the fire.

The bone fragments of larger dimensions usually have transversal splitting lines. The biggest one belongs to a tibia and measures 4,75 cm in length and 1,34 cm in width.

A femur fragment with a thickness of 7,54 mm shows that we are facing a robust individual. On its outer part, the bone has many transversal splitting lines, while inside it has a black shinny color, being almost completely charred (Fig. 11).

Age and sex diagnosis

Regarding the age of this individual, we could say that, most probably, he had belonged to the adult age category, due to the fact that the teeth had not a strong abrasion, as it could be observed on the incisor. The sex of the individual was the male one, due to the robustness of the bones, that is still obvious.

Individual no. 75b

The bones of the second individual were mixed with those of the first, robust individual. Still, due to their different dimensions, being smaller than the previous ones and colored in a greyish color, they could be distinguished from each other. Their total weight was of 75g. It could be also noticed a difference between the degree of burning identified both for those two individuals and for some distinct parts of their skeletons. Based on the color of its bones, this latter individual was burnt at a temperature close to 550⁰C. For this second individual there are portions coming from the skull (especially from the parietal and occipital), as well as from the long bones, like femur (2), tibia, patella (2), humerus (2), ulna (7). There were also fragments of ribs (13) and 3 possible diaphysis portions of phalanges, metacarpals or metatarsals. Some of the bones are deformed (Fig. 12).

Together with the bones of this complex there were 341 splinters and small identifiable pieces of bone, whose weight was of 75g..

Age diagnosis

Due to their dimensions, these bones most probably have belonged to an *infans II*.

Extension of the complex no. 75 - SXIV, -0.32m

It offered several bones, coming from the individual C.75b and a cranial fragment from C.75a. All of them had a weight of 25g

There were fragments of 3 tibia (3), radius (3), ulna (5), femur (2), as well as one unidentified bone with traces of red color, resulted from the contact with a metal object, most probably of bronze or copper. Also here have been identified 4 small animal bones.

Pyre goods and depositions

This deposition consisted of two vessels found in the pit and some other objects south-east of it, which are: the early fibula, the appliqué, the chain link and the fragments of a helmet cheek-piece (all made of bronze). The other items found there were accidental inclusions, determined by the disturbances affecting those layers.

During the anthropological study, together with the human bones of the Complex no. 75 two small fragments of secondary burnt ceramic could be identified (the first with dimensions of 18 mm length x 9,28 mm width and the second with 20,48 mm length x 8,25 mm width). Also together with the human bones, 7 animal bones could be identified, out of which we could point out the existence of a very small mandible fragment and the ascending ramus of another one, which is rather bigger than the first, both from rodents (most probably mice of different ages) and having no traces of burning (Fig. 13). The dimensions of the smaller mandible are of 12,32 mm in length x 2,65 mm width. It is most probable that these two bones could have come not from an intentional deposition, but from an accidental intrusion.

Some conclusions

- These funerary finds are distinctly different from each other.
- All the inhumations are symbolic ones, as the quantity of bones is small.
- There are also some differences concerning the degree of burning the individuals. The *juvenis* one, for instance, was less burnt than the others. The mentioned distinction might have been caused by the use of various wood essences for making the pyre, or the individuals might have been burnt on separate pyres, each of them using its own wood essence for burning.
- Several age categories have been represented (*infans I*, *infans II*, *juvenis*, *adultus*).
- In some cases, cremation has been done by paying a lot of care to the deceased. In the first interment (in the Complex no. 73), even if this was a symbolic one and contained just few bones, they represented the entire body of the individual.
- The human bones were associated with animal bones depositions, all of them being burned together. For the animal offerings it was designated a special place in the

burial (at the base of the complex, mixed with the human bones, near the human depositions).

- Most probably, the bone fragments have been wrapped into something after being gathered from the pyre. This is the reason why the pottery fragments and pebbles have been found together with the cremains.

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Fig. 1

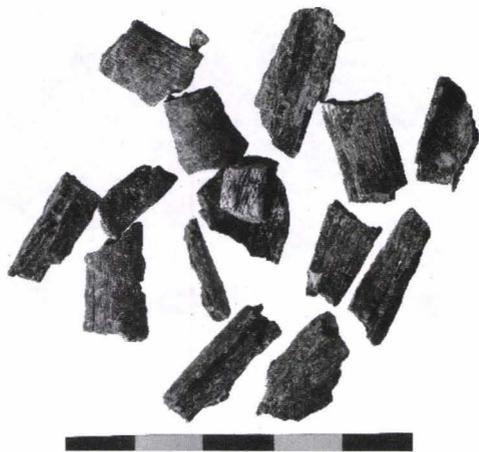


Fig. 2

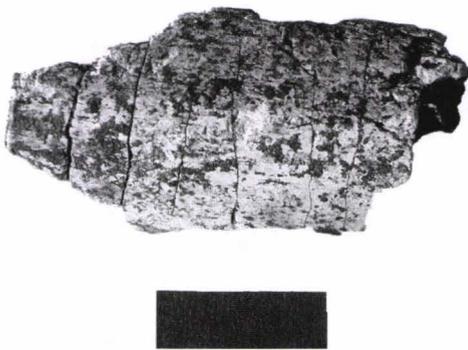


Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6

Fig. 1. Skull fragments in Complex no. 73.

Fig. 2. Fragments of long bones in Complex no. C.73.

Fig. 3. Femoral fragment with transversal splitting lines in Complex no. 73.

Fig. 4. The human bones in Complex no. 74.

Fig. 5. Fragmentary cervical vertebra in Complex no. 74.

Fig. 6. Femoral and humeral heads of the individual in Complex no. 74.



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11



Fig. 12

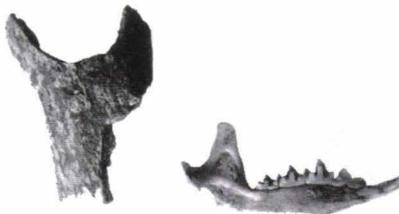


Fig. 13

Fig. 7. Left ischion fragment in Complex no. 74.

Fig. 8. Bones of the individual C.75a.

Fig. 9. Frontal fragment with glabella region from Complex no. 75a.

Fig. 10. Mandibular fragments of rodents in Complex no. 75.

Fig. 11. Femur fragment with transversal splitting lines in individual no. 75a.

Fig. 12. Twisted bones of the individual no. 75b.

Fig. 13. Mandibular fragments of rodents from Complex no. 75.

AN IMPORTANT CENTRE OF POWER FROM PRE-ROMAN DACIA: THE OLT GORGE SITES FROM THE PERȘANI MOUNTAINS, TRANSYLVANIA

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Angelica Bălos (Deva-Romania)

Keywords: pre-Roman Dacie; Roman conquest; southeastern Transylvania; Olt Gorge; circular sanctuary complex; rectangular sanctuaries; volcanic tuf colonnade; limestone colonnade; column bases; centre of power; sacred mountain; citadel.

Abstract: The largest concentration of sacred and cult buildings in Dacia is located around the capital city of the Dacian state, Sarmizegetusa Regia, and followed by a second large center situated in the Olt River Gorge in Brașov County around Racoș. Together with the other lay buildings, they represent the two largest centers of power in Dacia.

The ensemble composed of the Sacred Mountain on Tipia Ormenișului and its associated fortifications and near-by fortified settlements constitute the second largest power center in Pre/Roman Dacia. Our excavations in this area during the last 30 years, have shown that this center rose to prominence starting in the 5th-4th century BC to become the core of one of the four or five kingdoms resulting from the break-up of Burebista's „empire”. We will present the most important monuments discovered there: The Circular sanctuary complex extra muros; sanctuary with volcanic tuff colonnade; sanctuary with limestone colonnade; the rectangular sanctuary and the circular sanctuary on plateau; „principia”.

Barely completed description of monuments on the Tipia Ormenișului is only one component of the attributes upon which a municipality or a territory be considered center of power. The case is South East of the Valley of the Olt, Transylvania Racoș in particular. The emergence and growth of administrative center and political-religious here would not have been possible without the external conditions, but mostly favorable domestic, not infrequently brought into question by Alexandru Vulpe (1988, 2-11; 2001, 435, 439.; 2007, 78-82), Florea Costea (2007; 2010, 71-85) and Valeriu Sîrbu (2006, 27-29). Upon these conditions we insist in the ranks: the existence of favorable development of pan-Dacian's power center; the existence of sanctuaries; the existence of residential construction; the existence of lofts and stores of grain; location of the site in an area naturally defended and, as appropriate, be provided with suitable reinforcement; identifying around such a centre of some settlement in the everyday life of those communities.

The Olt Gorge in Perșani Mountains proved to be one of the most significant archaeological sources on the history of pre-Roman Dacia. It entered historical-archaeological literature in 1991, when the first sanctuary discovered in Augustin (Ormeniș)-*Tipia Ormenișului* (Glodariu, Costea 1991, 27-40)¹ was published. Due to its significance, the gorge received special attention from Romanian archaeologists and historians who wrote numerous studies and monograph works on the civilian settlements, fortifications, and sacred areas there (Costea 2002, 26-41; 2002a; 2004, *sub voce*; Costea *et al.*, 2006; Costea 2007; 2007a (2006), 25-52; Costea 2010, 71-85; 2010a, 319-332; 2010b, 153-160; Costea, Bălos, Scurtu 2004, 321-328; Costea, Bălos, Scurtu, Ardeu 2004a, 379-395; Costea, Crișan 2007, 51-75; 2007a, 93-112; Ardean 2006, 258-260 and pl. CXLI; Vulpe 1998, 2-11; 2007, 78-82; Sîrbu 2006, 27-29; Sîrbu, Ștefan, Dușescu 2007, 186-188 and Fig. 1-4; Rusu-Pescaru 2005, 54-55 and pl XXIII). Their general conclusion is that this was one of the most important political, administrative, and religious power centers in Dacia, similar to the ones known so far in *Sarmizegetusa Regia*, Rudele, Melea, and Pustiosu (Sîrbu 2006, 25).

¹ Tipia Ormenișului has always belonged, administratively, as it still does today, to the municipality of Ormeniș; its temporary inclusion, for economic reasons, in the municipality of Augustin was never formally sanctioned.

As any of these, the onset, development, and essence of the phenomenon that took place in the Gorge during four or five centuries cannot be understood without reference to the history of the geographical area of which it was a part of, i.e. south-western Transylvania. The envisaged territory includes the present-day counties of Braşov, Covasna, Harghita and, partially, the counties of Mureş and Sibiu. The map of pre-Roman Dacia includes this area in the north-western part of the territory that provided both the name of the country and of the people that was to play a significant role in ancient world history and in the history of the Roman Empire.

Therefore, the topic under discussion envisages that part of intra-Carpathian Dacia whose written history, though modest, is the only one shedding light, partially satisfactorily, on Dacia in general and on south-western Transylvania in particular. This time, happily, written sources are supported by archaeological discoveries in Olt Gorge, in Racoş.

Data on the political history of south-western Transylvania is unavailable before the second century B.C. While extremely powerful Getic rulers, to whom the Greek colonies in Pontus Euxinus paid tribute in exchange for being defended against the barbarians, were mentioned south of the Carpathians, in Dobrudja and southern Moldavia stating with the end of the fourth century B.C., the first king in Transylvania, Oroles, was only mentioned in the beginning of the second century B.C. Pompeius Trogus, the author of the text that includes this first mention (*apud Iustinus, Epitoma*, 3, 16), dwells on the two battles between the Dacian army and the Bastarnae who tried to enter Transylvania through the Carpathian passes. Almost all historians who have discussed the two episodes agree that the military conflicts took place in south-eastern Transylvania, the territory that coincides with the “kingdom” of Oroles that also included southern Moldavia.

Shortly after these events, another Dacian “king” is attested in the same region, maybe one of Oroles’ direct successors, but maybe not. This second ruler is Rubobostes, about whom the same Pompeius Trogus (in Iustinus, *Epitoma*, 3, 36) states that during his rule, the power of the [intra-Carpathian] Dacian Kingdom “increased significantly” (*“incrementa Dacorum per Rubobosten regem”*). It is possible that under this “king” the name *Dacians* was or started to be extended to include all intra-Carpathian tribal unions, as indicated by the term’s use in Pompeius Trogus when referring to events that took place around year 200 B.C. (Vulpe 1998, 1-2, 9). Anyway, the source suggests that south-western Transylvania is where the term Dacian was created and from where it subsequently extended to include all territories inhabited by the Gaeto-Dacians.

One cannot exclude the possibility that the tradition of a Dacian “kingdom” in Transylvania is more ancient, contemporary to the rule of Dromicheites or Remaxos in the Lower Danube area, since this might at least partially explain the absence of Celtic settlements and necropolises between the Târnava and the Carpathians (Costea, Crişan 2006, 93-112; Costea, Crişan 2006, 51-75; Sirbu 2005, 5), just as was the case during previous centuries with the Scythians (Vasiliev 1980).

No other rulers are mentioned until the conquest of Dacia and its transformation into a Roman province (106 A.D.), despite the fact that archaeological discoveries have brought to light very strong pre-urban centers (*davae*) that harbored a rich and diversified economic activity, supported by a significant demographic density. As a consequence, important centers developed in these *davae*, where the administrative, military, and religious power of the Dacian Kingdom found the most adequate forms of expression. One of these centers is the complex of fortifications, civilian settlements, and religious buildings in Olt Gorge, at Racoş, that were initiated before king Burebista acceded to the throne, but experienced a peak during the period between his rule and the Roman conquest.

As previously mentioned, the formation, development, and significance of such pan-Dacian centers cannot be analyzed independently from the historical realities of the time, but

directly and indirectly conditioned by them. This is the reason for which I shall start the presentation of the Power Center in Olt Gorge, at Racoș, with the Sacred Mountain and the center of royal authority on *Tipia Ormenișului*, followed by a succinct enumeration of some of the conditions mentioned above, that were first discussed by Alexandru Vulpe (Vulpe 2007, 78-82).

Sanctuary *extra muros*

Complex circular sanctuary on southern terraces

As already known, archeological research on *Tipia Ormenișului* revealed religious buildings as well, both circular and rectangular (with alignments). The first category, but the complex type, includes the sanctuary already published and known to be located on *Terrace III* (Glodariu, Costea 1991, 27-40). In the years following its publication, discoveries were made on the terraces upstream-downstream, which allowed toning the ensemble's image and its correct positioning.

During campaigns of 2004-2005, and other years through frequent examinations in seasons with no vegetation, it could be stated that the *extra muros* sanctuary on *Tipia Ormenișului* expands to *Terraces II* and *V*, not only on *Terrace III*. However the proper construction is not on *Terrace IV*, but her circular-arc'd foundation that extends from the upper terrace. This foundation is 5.5m high on its diameter line, as compared to the pavement of *Terrace V*, and its building method strictly observes the technique for terracing and arranging the fortress' precincts: alternating layers of stone and earth, but to be noticed that some boulders are in fact real beveled blocks with sides exceeding 50cm.

The monument consists of three "concentric" constructions: an exterior one, apparently circular, another circular one inside it, and an apse one inside the latter divided into two rooms. In order to follow the description track easier, the first one will be referred to as exterior construction, the next one as intermediate construction and the latter as interior construction.

Today *the exterior construction*, apparently circular as already mentioned, has 19.20-19.30m diameter. A series of limestone and ophiolite slabs, slightly beveled, mark its path. Seldom is the sequence doubled and when it is, it is made of smaller slabs. This succession is not followed in the eastern and partially in the northern and north-north-western areas. The slabs had been displayed directly on the earth-clay mixture in the upper part of the terrace. The distance between this series (measured from its internal edge) and the slab external part in the intermediate construction is 0.80-1.20m. Such a variation is due to partial sliding of the terrace filling, which engaged the slabs, and to derangements subsequent to sanctuary destruction. Carefully observed the series of slabs, reminds of a polygon whose sides seem to have been around 3.50-m long. Many of these slabs had burning trails on their upper part - more rarely coal -, thus leading to the conclusion that they supported a wooden structure and were intended to interpose between this structure and the ground.

A circle of beveled white tuff blocks, displayed in circular arc, mark *the intermediate construction*, with 16.50-16.60 meter diameter. The blocks, 13-16cm tall, are carefully beveled on their internal, upper and external sides. The first and the latter display a 2cm prominence towards the base and from this point down the beveling is not as careful. As a consequence, this border indicates the stepping level, doubtless fact thanks to the floor preserved within the space stretching to the exterior construction slab row. Block length and width are partly different: 0.84 x 0.20m; 0.90 x 0.23m; 0.64 x 0.21m; 0.57 x 0.21m; 0.53 x 0.20m (broken on its length); 0.49 x 0.21m; 0.45 x 0.21m; 0.57 x 0.20m; 0.55 x 0.21m.

Therefore we notice that block height is usually 0.20-0.21m (only one 0.23 for a bordered block) and length is completely different. Such differences in length have their explanation in the extremely friable white tuff of the beveling. A single case recorded a

beveling carelessness, and other two presented deliberate hammering on upper side of the blocks, the last one during destruction of the sanctuary or subsequently.

It is difficult to assume if the tuff circle was broken off or not for an entrance, due to its incomplete preservation. Nevertheless this entrance was not absolutely necessary given the block's small height. Definitely these friable rock blocks did not have the strength to support any wooden superstructure.

The interior construction is located out of centre within the intermediate one. It includes two rooms, a 7 x 6.50m rectangular one, the other one with apse; internal gap between dividing wall and apse maximum curving has 2.30m.

Limestone and ophiolite slabs are also at the bottom of the construction walls, but larger and more carefully carved; some have even regular shapes. They too had been directly laid on the clay layer in the floor upper part. Carbonized remainders of two circular poles were found in the east and south corners of the rectangular room; another pole in the dividing wall and other ones with 3-4cm diameter were in the dividing wall clay. The latter was preserved with 0.7m length and 0.20-0.23m width. The fact that it had been built out of clay set on a fir-tree picket structure is certain. Its 1mm smoothing coat was preserved only on the side viewing the rectangular room.

Interior construction had external wooden walls glued together with a thick layer of clay. Their collapse to the inside and outside of the construction led to a considerable conglomeration of burnt sticking paste and coal. Room floor, preserved with strong burns on some areas, consisted of carefully smoothed clay.

The rectangular room had two entrances, both set on the long sides, one starting from the east corner, the other one from the south corner. Their width could not be measured, but they were determined upon discovering three and two hinges in this area, some of them having even the anchorage nails, as well as a bolt.

The dividing wall between the rectangular and the apse rooms had also an opening marked with a fir-tree beam threshold, preserved however only on 0.31m, so that width cannot be established. In any case, the opening was set right in the middle of the dividing wall. Lack of hinges, present in the other two cases, raises the question if the opening had a door or not. We tend to believe it did not.

Next to the middle wall, but inside the rectangular room, remains of a carbonized fir-tree beam with swan-headed bolts stuck in it were discovered. We will get back to these pieces.

Regarding the apse-designed room, the wooden wall supporting itself on the curved stone base was very likely similar to polygon edges as long as there are no traces of vertical poles found.

The conclusion that the building had a roof derives from the power of the fire that had burnt the entire construction, from significant burnt areas not only inside the sanctuary, but outside it, from the clay-glued wooden walls of the interior construction and from the clay floor of all "rooms". Very likely, this cover must have been shingle made and protected the whole edifice.

The iron *construction material* comprises hinges, one latch and one hook, nails and bolts.

Hinges consist of a rectangular plate, curved in the middle; three profiles – one median, two lateral - are in the curving area, in order to increase resistance. Usually they are provided with four nail holes on each end. The last ones always had a large flower. The metal piece would be attached to the door frame. Since all of them come from entrances to the interior construction rectangular room we can assume that each door had three hinges. Published analogies with respect to these items originate from Costești-Cetățuie fortress;

others, never published, come from *Sarmizegetusa area*. The door latch was found near one of the entrances. Its hook would be inserted into an iron ring.

The sanctuary inventory characterizes late *Latène* age, especially 1st century A.D. Even so it does not allow establishing the edifice's functional duration but throughout 1st B.C. – 1st A.D. centuries. However, given the destruction and the fire this edifice had endured, the hammering of some tuff blocks in the intermediate construction, as well as the disappearance of the other constructions in the fortress and its surrounding area during the fire, the end of the building may have come from wars in the beginning of 2nd century A.D. However we are not able to settle how many years ago it was built.

While attempting to establish the purpose of the constituent buildings in Racoș circular sanctuary, comparing it to other circular sanctuaries known so far on Dacian territory reveals some very interesting common elements.

The little sanctuary in *Sarmizegetusa* (Glodariu, Iaroslavschi 1979, pl. 74/2,5) whose plan is still incomplete, the same as the circular sanctuary at Fețele Albe (Daicoviciu et al. 1959, 336-337), does not hold any analogies for the one in Racoș, but their “roundness”. A similar situation stands for the circular wooden sanctuaries in Pecica (Crișan 1979, 98-102, 104, 106, 175), Dolinean (Smirnova 1976, 309-316), Bradu (Ursachi 1980-1982, 94-95) and Butuceni (Niculiță, Teodor, Zanoci 2002). However another close analogy, including for circular “border”, but made of limestone, is the construction on *Terrace II* at Fețele Albe.

Returning to Racoș sanctuary and to the evidence its research offered regarding the purpose of its component constructions, we believe that the exterior one was a roofed porch, without full walls. Horizontal beams had been laid on base stones, with vertical poles stuck in them in order to support roof borders and rafters that intersected on the rooftop (Glodariu 1983, pl. 8/2-5). The intermediate construction of shaped tuff blocks could not have had walls, and tuff border could only work for delimiting the sacred area, probably forbidding access of laics. The only full wall construction (without excluding window offcuts) was the interior one. The rectangular room was used for keeping thank-offerings hung on bolts or lying on the floor in clay pots. Collar pots with their typical lack of bottom, that no one found a convincing acceptable explanation for, are connected too with still unknown ritual services. Finally here as in other locations, the apse, with no inventory, might have been the real sacred place, set aside for a much worshiped unknown divinity, without involving an actual statue representing this divinity. For Indo-European peoples, on a similar development stage, a representation of this divinity was unconceivable in temples. This situation is very much familiar in the Celtic and Germanic world and no examples are needed.

As for the divinities worshiped in their special circular and rectangular sanctuaries, and their praying ritual, no certain facts can be stated (Costea 2002a, 35). The only certainty is that rectangular sanctuaries are prevalent in number.

Sanctuaries in the precincts

1. Sanctuary with column foundation of volcano tufa

In spite of the archeologists endeavor, materialized in a lot of terrains research and tests practiced outside the citadel, its localization took place 5 years after discovering the first plinths. The discovery took place at the 18-th July 1989, when on the southern terraces between the hill's foot and *Pârâul Tipiei*, point known by the natives from Augustin and Racoș also under the naming *La Comoarã*, were identified four such pieces.

Subsequently on the north east hill-slope debris 7 more column bases were found, together with a plate similar to the previous one, but broken. Unfortunately three of them disappeared during research campaigns in 2001-2002.

Returning to the four plinths found at *La Comoarã*, we believe that their individual presentation is appreciated, where details regarding dimensions and shapes are helpful for concluding ideas on the monument; statement order relates to their date of discovery.

Plinth no. 1, cone frustum-shaped, with lower large basis: $D_b=60$ cm, $D_s=50/54$ cm, $H=40$ cm; plinth no. 2, cone frustum-shaped yet octagonal, apparently unfinished: $D_b=58$ cm, $D_s=54$ cm, $H=30$ cm, with breakings on basis. Unrotten leaves lay under it; plinth no. 3 almost semi preserved: $D_b=60$ cm, $D_s=55$ cm, $H=48$ cm (slightly deteriorated basis); plinth no. 4, almost semi preserved too: $D_b=70$ cm, $D_s=60$ cm, $H=32$ cm (Costea 2002a, 35).

The sanctuary was located only during the 1994 campaign when research on the precincts north-westward end began, with a decisive confirmation in 2003. In 1994 seven limestone and ophiolite circles were revealed, with pieces of broken plinth on them, disposed four by four and three by three on two rows, at approximately equal distance. In 2003, when the last three trees in the area went down, a full plinth (the only one) and half of another one were found *in situ*.

As previously mentioned, the sanctuary is located on the plateau side towards Racoş (NW), in the corner between walls facing *Terrace I* and north-western precipice. The area of the future edifice was set with considerable effort that actually involved the whole precincts area: lower parts (southern) were erected with local clay-glued stone carried from other places and not from the area between the sanctuary and the north-eastern precipice since other constructions could be found there. Materials were set down directly upon one Dacian inhabitation level and the *Hallstatt* one, as the area included dwellings from both ages. Resulting surface was not covered in clay or wooden floor, both capable of leaving archeological marks if present, thus raising doubts over man's presence in this area. This situation is far from unique as a striking analogy is the much larger sanctuary with 60 column bases on *Terrace XI* at *Sarmizegetusa Regia* (Crişan 1975, 389 and next).

Sanctuary position was well bordered from other edifices in the precincts: its area shapes a rectangle with stepping level lower by 1-1.20m than north-west neighbouring constructions and south-westward platform containing the sanctuary with limestone column bases, separated through a "threshold" of boulders, as well as limestone and ophiolite slabs, shaped on the visible area. Actually this threshold stands for the end of a platform stretching from here to the gate accessing the plateau. It lies 24 m away from the north-western precincts extremity, similar to sanctuary length.

Remnants of broken column bases, including their supporting circles had been set in long rows parallel to the precincts wall facing the terraces, and short rows perpendicular to the plateau. Plinth arrangement is as simple as practical. Once created, the white limestone and ophiolite pavement had implanted stone infrastructures that ended on their upper part (visible nowadays but not in the ancient times) with the above-mentioned props made of naturally flat stones or flattened those times, lower slanting towards the center. In the middle of the alveolar construction, earth had been added as to allow perfect upper part evening, without having the plinth in contact with the stones underneath. The currently visible side of the alveolus was rising 10-12cm from the ground.

Most certainly all column bases had been constructed within the quarry and not inside or near the fortress. However we do not know exactly which of the existing quarries is involved, either from the ones on the right bank of river Olt, or from its left bank (one near Mateiaş town, active till modern times, which is the most likely possibility).

Nothing leaves out the possibility that the edifice might have experienced two building stages and, implicitly, two functioning stages, but with no evidence explaining the reason and moment when the first construction had been destroyed and re-built (anyway, sometime between Burebista's reign and the Roman conquest). Even if on the whole, plinth dimension variation stays within reasonable limits, it stands as serious indication that a sanctuary full of volcanic tuff plinths existed, with its two functioning stages. In this case, plinths with 70cm bases or larger belong to the second phase, having the same diameter as

the one's found on the spot in 2003. Actually it is a matter of "layering", with the smaller supporting circles belonging to the old monument.

Pre-existing infrastructure on the respective site determines plinth setting pattern. Consequently on the first short row by the fortress wall, revealed in 1994, plinth towards internal plateau had been placed on a circle of small limestone pebbles (in the background), while the following two supported themselves on thick limestone slabs, with earth underneath. However for the first plinth towards *Terrace I*, an alveolus had to be dug out between the two limestone rows for plateau flattening, and two leaning limestone slabs positioned inside of it. When found, these alveoli had tuff plinth cracks that actually led to the first localization of this sanctuary.

Plinth discovered *in situ* provided firsthand details on plinth infrastructure. Clearing a 2 x 2 m area revealed underneath a compact stone and clay foundation (not layered) with a trough on its upper side similar to its preceding ones, made of limestone and ophiolite slabs. The circular upper part of these slabs surpassed pavement level with an average of 10 cm. Plinth was laid inside the alveolus, on an earth layer, after having had its lower part (the edge) chipped off in order to fit into the cavity.

After revealing the whole ensemble, spaces of 10 broken plinths remained perfectly perceptible, as well as one full plinth and one half. This image guides us to concluding that we are talking about an edifice with three plinths on its transversal row, whereas the long row could have fit 10 plinths, given the 1.80m interspace. It is very likely that the long alignment may have had only 6 column bases since the construction resembles the "small sanctuary" on *Terrace XI* at Grădiștea Muncelului, with the only difference that the latter is made of limestone (Ferenczi 1973, 63-65; Iaroslavschi 1985-1986, 453; Crișan 1975, 109; Moga 1981, 109; 2004, 79-81; Daicoviciu 1972, 205; Crișan 1986, 176; Antonescu 1971, 51; Gostar 1969, 33; 1971, 418). Under this situation, it could have been 10.80-11 m long and at least 6 m wide.

We need to mention that the above are dimensions in the last functioning stage. As stated in the beginning of our presentation of the monument, when unveiling the first supporting circles with remainders of broken plinth on them, *four such similar "constructions" existed* (o.u.) on the short row. We consider this detail crucial for sustaining the idea that in phase I the sanctuary had *four* long rows with 10 plinths each: two in the 6 m space between full plinth and foundation of the neighbouring circular foundation, one with full plinth, and the fourth spacing out towards the terraces, along the line of the nearby supporting circle, in the same image. Thus the platform's 24 m length that the sanctuary lies on finds its reason and logical use (Costea 2004, 16, Berciu 1969, 51, Moga 1981, 109), given that sanctuary in phase I has 10 x 4 plinths and dimensions of 17.50-18m x 8.50-9m, and sanctuary in phase II 6 x 3 plinths (Costea 2004, 116). Direction of sanctuary's long frontage is NW-SE, more precisely 320°.

A construction with alignments too, but wooden, seems to have preceded phases I and II in the same place. Evidence relies on discovering during research two cylindrical holes, with 0.80 m diameter and almost 70 cm depth, for keeping carbonized wood.

Mobile inventory within the sanctuary is extremely poor, and the existing items are in no way connected to a civilian or ritual daily activity on that place. It may suggest that a ritually used inventory no longer existed in the last moments of armed fight, but it could have been regained and hidden hoping to re-use it after victory (or simply in order not to fall into the enemy's hands which, according to Dacian beliefs, corresponded to their defeat and humiliation of the protecting deity).

2. The sanctuary with limestone columns basement

This sanctuary was built up between the citadel's gate and the sanctuary with vulcano tufa plinths, a place which occupies 28m from the plateau's length.

The definitively confirming and plints localization was made beginning with dismantling of some witnesses, principal of those between the *Sections III-IV/2001* and *III-V/2001*. In the first case it was proved that the stone knoll between m 5,40 and m 6,30 was in fact a plint made of limestone, destroyed but which remained in its place. Than it could be adequately interpreted also other support circles and limestone slabs situated in disorder and which couldn't be from buildings. On the surface of the same sections or in witnesses existed small "platforms" made of stone identical with those on the pavement but 5–10 cm higher which hadn't a bigger surface than 1m (in S_{IV} are two, one in S_{III} and S_V and in the witness between them; the one in S_V was circular). Support-circles or only stone arcs like those from the tufa sanctuary were found in S_{VI} (between m 3.40–4.25 and m 6.40–7.10) near which were plint splits. In the witness between S_{IV} – S_{VI} , between m 5,40 and 6,30 was a plint split on its place, remaining like a stone knoll. In m 1 of the witness between S_{III} – $S_V/2001$ were found: a plint support around which we can see perfectly a circle made of small stones; between m 2.10 and 3.30 another circle, also whole. In this circle was found the first plint staying on its place and almost whole. The absence of the upper part was evident, without observing martelation marks; that could mean that the stone was eroded during a long time. A part of it was situated over the actual passing level.

Having a relative low height, the block presented a lot of cracks. At the discovery moment it had a superior diameter of 85/95cm and a height of 38–40cm so that we can say it was high enough. As in the case of those made of tufa, we have a plinth settled on a ring basement (the event took place on 17th of July 2001: the plinth was uncovered by Angelica Bălos).

Between m 4,80–5,70, on the same direction (NE–SW), inside and outside a stone circle were held splits of another plinth.

Interesting was the plints arrangement, operation which adopted solutions due the conditions offered by the infrastructure. So, for the plinth superposed the burned dwelling in $S_{V/2004}$, was made an alveolar foundation of big limestone block bound together with clay, with a breadth (height) of 35cm and a diameter of 1.25m.

The foundation has an alveolar shape also on the upper side, the slope to its center being created by in angle settling the limestone slabs. Their unburied ends constituting themselves a "plinth", a few cm higher than the surrounding pavement. In the upper alveola was again put earth in which the plint was "thrust". This term is completely justified because, such as in case of tufa plints, the limestone plints had the inferior edge processed in such way in an angle that assures the assembly with the support. Identical shape and dimensions had the neighbored plint's foundation, situated to the terrace also in the perimeter of the dwelling, but it is a little bit higher (40cm).

This alveolar stone foundations are characteristic only for the sanctuaries from *Tipia Ormenișului*, substructions made of stone and earth, inclusive (but occurrence) with their breadth, were long time ago known in more places, often retaining the similitude with the sanctuary V from Grădiștea Muncelului. Instead, on the plints planted in places in which the organizing of the platform was made by overcovering lays of stone and clay, the alveolar substructure becomes useless, from its anatomy remaining only the concavity in which the plint was settled (ring basement).

The first arrangement with plints and plint supports is situated 20m from the north-western wall of the barrack and 9m (in the same direction) from the gate.

So, the suspicion, about sanctuaries' extension on the whole plateau's breadth existed from the beginning, in the situation in which it had to have 10 x 4 plints rows; it's also believable an alternative with six plints on the long row, proved by the five existent and the absent one between nr.2 and nr.4 and also with four on the short row.

In this case, the sanctuary occupied only the part of the plateau lifted with local stone and earth. In the same time the surface made of leveled stone was destined to the communication between the long extremities of the precincts. So we have a first plan with 6 X 4 plints, with the long front on direction NE–SW (50°) arranged between the precincts wall on the south side and the row of grindstone slabs found in more sections, arranged also on direction NW–SE.

Its dimensions of approximate 22 x 11.50–12m are harmonious put into the platform of 28 x 13 m between the gate and the sanctuary with tufa plints, between *Terrace I* and the often mentioned grindstone slabs row. Very important is the fact that the first row of six plints to SE (gate) in old shape remained on place, in both phases; the new long rows (second phase) starting from here to NW till the volcano tufa sanctuary, “framing“ the stone box, prove in this sense being the plint supports in its proximity. In this phase, the distance between the plints on the long row extended to 2.70m. The space between the new sanctuary and the basalt plints in proximity of the precipice held its destination had during the sanctuary with 6 x 4 plints, namely the communication between the same extremities of the plateau. The distance between the plints on the short row remains the same as in the first phase.

So as just affirmed, the only plint row which remained on place in both versions is the one from SE (gate) with six pieces. So it can be affirmed that in the first reconstructible phase, the sanctuary had 7 x 6 or 6 x 6 plints on row similar to the alignments III and IV from Costești (Daicoviciu 1972, 205, *apud* D.M.Theodorescu). This version is really luring and must not be let apart, even if it can not be sustained by undoubtable arguments. We precise that in that case a number of plint supports (five or six on a surface of 150 m²) remain outside the sanctuary’s plans. It’s possible that, the circle supports below the actual plints belong to this, situation in which the row on direction NE–SW moves 5-7° to N. So we can speak about at least three phases of the sanctuary with limestone alignments. The oldest can be impossible reconstructed, situation in which reconstructible become those from phase II and III.

The placement, in this zone, of the limestone sanctuary (sanctuaries) coincides with the violent distruction of the preexistent buildings, civil or not, confirmation coming from two sources: on one side the burned buildings from *S_I* and *S_{III/2004}*, which, together with the wall soldering concentration and secondary burned ceramics semnalised in *S_{IV/1996}* and in *S_{III.VIII/2001}*, prove the existence of a big number of surface dwellings and on other side the uncovering, in *S_{III/2004}*, of a wall belonging to a big compartmented building, to which it wasn’t found an acceptable explanation nor could be established an exact plan. Remarcable is not only their violent distruction and through burning down but also the simultaneity of this act on the whole plateau and the *Tipia* terraces.

It is to presume that in both phases the sanctuary was dedicated to the same God, whose name we don’t know but who demands sacrifices. This affirmation can be argued by the iron hooks discovered on the pavement in the sections from the year 2003, pieces which have analogies also in other cult houses (Daicoviciu 1954, pl. X/5, 17; Glodariu, Iaroslavschi 1979).

Surprising, as in the case of the volcano tufa sanctuary, is the absence of any archeological marks, which could sustain the existence of a perimeter building or belonging the edifice itself, with or without roof.

Instead, another archeological reality is considered rare: during the daily used hand made vessels, only a few and belonging to the older living level, split on place or gained to piles before arrangement of the precincts are found only below the last stone layer of the pavement, exactly on the surface of the sanctuary from the last phase, were thousands of fragments of wheel made vessels, from their repertoire practical not missing any, in household used, vessel or luxury pot. The unusual appears in, at least two details, both with

same importance: “their seeding” exclusively inside the sanctuaries perimeter and their total framing into the household inventory, but not in the ritual one. We think that we have to do with a ritual burning and splitting by the Dacians, action known and practiced also by the Celts. A convincing example is offered, to give only one example, by the sanctuary from Lebenice, in Central Moravia (Rybova, Soudsky 1962, cf. Berciu 1970, 205; Krämer 1966, 111).

The affiliation of the vessels to the category excludes the possibility that in them were burned offerings. Plausible seems to be also their bringing in the sanctuary with that the pieces will be protected by the same Gods. But this action is excluded by the reality: everywhere the Dacians emptied the sanctuaries of any inventory which could fall in the enemies hands and also the fact that the vessels were brought split, situation in which we can not speak about their physical saving. All the ceramic types can be included in the class of “luxury vessels“, which surely belong to the local magnates, priests or lay. The act itself, the ritual of splitting, burning and spreading (or deposition) of the vessels is not unique in pre-Roman Dacia, similar cases were known at Conțești, Cetățeni and Cârломănești, precising that there to the God were brought also other offerings (tools, jewelery a.s.o.) which don't reach in sanctuaries but in sacred places. Sometimes this function was fulfilled by the stake (in Cetățeni where the vessels remained on place) (Vulpe, Popescu 1976, 217-226; Babeș 1977, 341; 1988, 3-32; Crișan 1986, 285 and next). Also the including of the offering vessels in the “luxury“ class has analogy at Ciolănești din Deal, where they are deposited in a well (Dâmbovița 1974, 285).

The presence of this “dust“ of ceramics fragments (unique till now in the Dacian sanctuaries when we consider the missing of mother artefacts) lead us to other questions. So as we said, on the sanctuary ray are no elevation marks even made of wood. None of the stones, plints or pieces of the pavement, are not even burnt, so as those from or near the fireplace or ovens. So we can consider that at the date of roman conquest on the place was no superstructure.

But the vessels about we spoke, are intensely secondary burned, some of them deformed or transformed into a glass paste with grey-black or red color, burning which couldn't be produced on place, missing a wooden structure. This detail leads to the supposition that the splitting and burning took place elsewhere, maybe on a special stake.

The burning, on place, of these ceramics (undemonstrated) could be the only indirect sign of the elevation of the limestone sanctuary (sanctuaries). The missing of the archeological marks, in case of the discussed one, doubled by their missing also in case of the sanctuary with volcano tufa plints, can only suggest, but not prove the functionality of the cult settlements “sub caelo“, so as H. Daicoviciu sustains. The functioning, under free sky, of the sanctuaries from *Tipia Ormenișului*, in climatic conditions maybe more unpropitious than those from the zone of the Dacian capital seems to be less probable.

Unlike the situation in other Dacian settlements, the beginning of both the sanctuaries from *Tipia Ormenișului*, can be relatively dated with the help of the discovered broaches, characteristic for the middle of the 1-st century before Christ, or, larger, during Burebista's mastery. Their end occurred simultaneous and in the same way as the other edifices, during the roman conquest, even if they knew more phases.

When they were remade and what were the reasons for their destruction during of one and a half century, we don't know, though we can not take out of discussion the “secession“ of Dacia after Burebista's death or the town work during the mastery of Decebal-Diurpaneus. Very plausible is also the “demand“ of this place from the position of a former „religious residence“ of a forerunner of the unifying king. But, after all, the remaking or repairing of this kind of edifices must not be differentiate from others and without fail conditioned by historical events or personalities, most of them “naturally“ degraded in time,

so as the civil. One and the other could have known more building phases. Important and defining for the general attribute of *Tipia* remain their functionality through 150 years, included in the unitary state or in one of the pre – or post-Burebista “kingdoms“ and that from topographic point of view they are situated intra muros, so as the “Alignment III“ from Costești which is intra vallum (Daicoviciu 1972, 205). In case of *Tipia Ormenișului* we have not a singular sanctuary but a really sacred zone, specially arranged and which occupies the greatest part of the precincts, aspect about which we will return. Till then we advance the idea that in case of *Tipia Ormenișului*, from a certain date, the term of a sacred precincts must not be restricted to the plateau, but to the whole hill.

3. The complex circular sanctuary from the precincts

The best held part of this building was uncovered in the zone near the vulcano tufa sanctuary, zone which, *grosso modo*, represents approximately half of its plan. Same as in case of the sanctuary from the terraces, we speak about three ”concentric“ buildings also conceived in descending steps from the center to the edge.

a. The *exterior “building“*. We speak about a surface with the size of an arc, paved with local limestone stones with smaller dimension than the rest of the precincts, pavement from which better held are two surfaces to the terrace (S). With a lower quote, with 20–25cm, than the slabs from the circular foundation. The pavement has now a breadth between 1.25m and 1.50m due to the devastations.

Without introducing in our calculation the possible kerb, the exterior diameter of this pavement, which in fact represents the maximum built diameter, is of 14-14.50m, with almost 5m smaller than the one of the sanctuary from the terrace. It’s very possible that is was covered by an eave, similar with that from Dolinean (Smirnova 1976, 309-316) or other places.

b. The *intermediary building*. Retreat to the ensemble center at a distance equal with the breadth of the environing pavement (1.25–1.50m), the intermediary building is represented by a segment of a “circular“ stone foundation.

The foundation is made of white limestone slabs whose sides rarely exceed 50 cm, arranged the most part of the route on one row, a doubling being observed only on the south-east side, without finding a plausible explanation. The slabs are put on an earth layer with a thickness required by the native rock level, the only points in which they have as support other stones being the places in which the ends of the walls of the rectangular building is covered. The foundation is kept on a length of 18.50m, to the sanctuary with volcano tufa plints. The sparely presence of cole and soldering of burned wall makes a full wall less probable, plausible seems to be a row of vertical pillars made of wood planks put on slabs. It is to admit the missing of columns (pillars for a common “cupola“) completely covered being only the central building, on the slabs being installed a circular or modular railing, after the model proposed by D. Antonescu (1984, 54); an argument in this sense can be the absence of nails and spikes. In both cases the light for the central building was assured.

The diameter of this segment of the circular foundation, deformed in time by the moving of the stones, is of approximately 13m.

c. *Central building*. In the interior of this circular plan are found rests of a stone platform higher with 20–25cm than the pavement of the intermediary building (Crișan 1978, 38). Because of the dismantling of a good part of it, in antiquity or recent, it can not be specified if we have to do with it’s arrangement in the assembly’s center, positioning which is not even established at the sanctuary from the terrace or at the Great Sanctuary from Grădiștea Muncelului, detail which seems not to be less important, now being known three edifices with such an ”architectural vice“. On this platform and around it was found an important quantity of wall soldering reddened by fire, unlike the rest of the surface, till the circular foundation, where the soldering, so as said, appear as a pigmentation.

From here was concluded that in the central part of this "complex" existed a room with trelles work elevation with a substructure which detached it, through its height, from the surrounding pavement. Unhappily, the NE side of the pavement doesn't exist anymore.

We can appreciate that the room's sides, from the platform, had a length of approximately 6.50–7m. We think that the building's plan is rectangular, even if the kerb's edge, deteriorated in time, suggest a circular plan. We use as sustaining point some segments of foundation – alignments, from which two were observed during the 2003 campaign.

From the horizontal beams, arranged on this, rised the wood walls sticked together with clay sustaining the roof made probably of shingle.

So as precised, through $S_{1/1996}$ was established that approximately in the center of the essembly existed a fire installation very clear outlined at only 30 cm below the actual walking level. All arround was found soldering of burned wall with a breadth of 35cm in the middle, spread out on a ray over 1.25 m. Repeateangly clayed (painted) at the upper side, the hearth was arranged on a pedestal base made of limestone in the room's floor, higher than this also with 20–25cm. It's marked by a kerb made of limestone and river stones, the last of them rare on the *Tipie*, not bigger than 15cm, organized in a rectangular border with the sides of 1.30 x 1.50m (almost identical with that from the big circular sanctuary from Grădiştea Muncelului which has 1.35–1.50m (Daicoviciu 1972, 240). The clayed part (redden by fire, with a thickness of 15cm, measured in $S_{1/1999}$) didn't remain whole in the border. On the hearth and around was no ceramic or metallic object, with household or religious utility. With other words, we have to do with the same poverty of inventory met also in other sanctuaries with alignments on the *Tipie*.

Not far from the hearth, mixed with the wall burn, were found two clamps made of iron, too small to be used for the wood joining, instead good as rut and limitator for the bolt. Their discovering place doesn't represent a sign of the entrance placement (but confirm the door's presence), which we are inclined to place on the wall–line to the precincts.

Judging after the two foundation segments we refer to (6,50–7 m long), it could be said that a pair of walls was oriented NV–SE and the other pair the opposite coordinates, without knowing which were the long and which the short walls (in case that such differences existed). However, the chosen placement justifies the name of this room as a central interior building. Impossible to establish now, is it had or not an *absid*, any try in this direction failed because of the recent devastation.

A reconstruction try leads to the image of a room with entrance from the precincts (south–east), built on a platform which dominate through its height the rest of the assembly, with long walls orientated NW–SE. The light problem (so as that of the smoke evacuation) surely enjoyed a different solution than the usual dwellings, windows couldn't deprive. Constructive, the terrace sanctuary is essentially not different from the now discussed edifice, the difference being the material of which the intermediary building is realized (white, smooth, volcano tufa) and the care with which it was finished. Actually, the most agreed expression for their similitude of the two monuments should be their assignment to the same architect.

A special attention deserves the hearth from the central room which through its incorporation in the floor, plan, building material and overrising of the kerbs in comparison with the material richness to other dwelling hearts, especially vessels, bones or other household rests.

As long as the existence of an *absid* or an other hearth is not proved, we consider that it can represent the altar on which were made the ritual acts. This case is far to be singular, the same role being attributed to the hearth and special stone buildings recorded till now in sanctuaries, some of them mentioned in the anterior pages. The correct naming we think to be hearth-altar, similar with those from *Sarmisegetuza Regia* and *Pecica*.

A good analogy for the reason of this hearth-altar, even if the farthest geographical and in time, represents the altar from Butuceni.

Relevant for the including in the category of religious edifices seem us from beginning and in first row the poverty of the inventory from almost the whole interior surface, evacuated before the roman attack. So it was natural that it remained whole on place in the moment of violent destroying of the buildings, especially in the perimeter of the central room whose walls and roof broken down over the hearth. We also underline the bigger number of ceramic fragments from *Hallstatt* as from *Latèn*, one and the other found between the pavement stones and not in householding or culting. From here is to detach the conclusion that in the moment of burning and braking down, the interior was carefully emptied.

The poverty or almost total absence of domestic vestiges doesn't constitute the only argument, determining the building including in the row of sanctuaries. It must be retained only as a supplementary proving founding. Decisive are the common points which the recent discovery has with the till known monuments. That's why, to sustain our affirmation we appeal to the *architectural vocabulary* general common for all sanctuaries and, because we think it is decisive, to that of the complex circular sanctuaries, leaving outside our discussion the buildings from Fețele Albe, Rudele, Pustiosu and Meleia (Glodariu 1976, 249), about which doesn't exist any consense but which we consider to be also sacred edifices, even if their plans are not integral coincident, not being made after good established canons (Horedt 1973, 303; Babeș 1974, 23; Antonescu 1977, 90; 1984, 80; Vulpe, *Thraco-Dacica* 7, 101). This precisising limits the number of analogies to two sanctuaries, the only known. The Great Circular Sanctuary from *Sarmisegetuza Regia* (Teodorescu 1930-1931, 90; Daicoviciu 1951, 113-117; 1952, 283-287; Daicoviciu 1960, 234-252; 1972, 234, Crișan 1986, 200 and next) and the often mentioned sanctuary from the terraces on *Tipia Ormenișului* (Glodariu, Costea 1991, 27-40). How both are wellknown, we remember only the plan difference of the central buildings and the unsure existence of an *absid* in the case of the now discussed edifice, even if it had not to be excluded.

The orientation is in all three cases almost the same; NNW–SSE. Practical identical are the stone hearths, clayed on their surface, inclusive, but fortuitous, as substructure and dimensions very near (1.35 x 1.50m at Grădiștea Muncelului 1.30 x 1.50m at *Tipie*). Anther common element, this time for all three, is the inexistence, or at least the unobligativity of the existence of full walls at the exterior buildings, valuable finding also for some simple circular sanctuaries (Daicoviciu, *Apulum* IX, 259). Decisive are other elements, the plan's morphology, orientation of the central buildings and absence of specific lay inventory. To this we without fail must make the specification that it is hard to admit that two edifices, practical identical, situated in the same settlement, one to have religious and the other lay functions. The fact that one is *extra muros* and the other in the precincts (which in fact is a plateau) doesn't represent an exclusivity, the case being not singular and defining a certain quality of the hill. Affirming in an other time that we can not speak about a religious edifice but about the dwelling of a local magnate, maybe even a priest (so as we ourself affirmed before finishing the researches (Costea 2002, 196; 2004, 116) we now make the due rectification, possible at the end of the researches).

The mentioned similitudes, but specially the fact that now in Dacia are known three complex circular buildings (two of them on *Tipia Ormenișului*), represents another argument for including them to the sanctuaries. Also, in the given situation is also suggested the direction of sending the plan which isn't anymore certain to have is first type at Grădiștea Muncelului. The situation is perfectly included in the criterion I established by Carstens Colpe for sanctuary's considering, the repetition category (repeated types of sanctuaries) (Conovici, Trohani 1988, 205, *apud* Colpe 1970, 18-19), so as in those which use as criteria

the placement, orientation, association with other buildings or elements cult bounded (included in a sacred precincts).

The criteria, certain for *Tipia Ormenișului*, we think that they can be applied also to the buildings from Fețeale Albe, Rudele, Maleia, Pustiosu.

If we refer to the relation with the simple circular sanctuaries, important are the presence of the hearths and other stone or earth installations with altar function, orientation and the same total absence or poverty of any kind of inventory. The examples are too well known to be resumed here. For all this is to underline the attention which with the buildings were finished, detail not to neglect in case of lay buildings.

A firm dating of the building is not possible, not benefiting of a help – inventory in this sense (broaches, coins, a.s.o.) excepting ceramics. On this base, discovered in the upper part of the earth filling and between the stones used for terracing, and also through the “storehouse“ for vessels anterior mentioned, we can say that its building beginning in the first decades of the 1-st century B.C. Is the most plausible, even if some ceramic types from the “storehouse“ are certainly older, considered as “Hallstatt tradition“ and could lower the moment to the end of the previous century, as in Pecica (Crișan 1986, 106). It is possible to have suffered repeated remakings, the burnt one during the roman conquest being the last.

Other two problems seem to us to be important bound to this edifice: the placement next to the quadrilater sanctuary made of volcano tufa (approximately 4m) and its destroying in a moment which was not too far before the roman conquest, so as it results from the fact that the rest of the burning were not removed or covered with pavement, so as it was proceeded when the building now in discussion superposed the rectangular one. The first aspect pleads for the parallel functioning of two edifices dedicated to the same number of Gods with different attributions. After all, the situation is not different to that from *Sarmizegetusa Regia*, specifying that their distances between sanctuaries of different types are bigger.

We think also to another explanation of its functioning parallel with the other sanctuaries: use as stake place, offerings a.s.o. for the other edifices, situation in which the discussed sanctuary could be considered as their “annex“, the example being not singular but illustrated in other cases through modest buildings, characteristic for the lay ones.

4. Rectangular-designed edifice on the plateau

As noticed when describing the excavations related to many sections from various years, there were discovered one full “terrace wall” and the southern segment of the circular arc shaped basis belonging to the previous sanctuary. The first element was approximately 1m away from the central construction and the arched basis 3m away from the southern wall of the same structure. The wall is 11m long with estimated direction NNW-SSE (320°) similar to the long volcanic tuff plinth row in the nearby sanctuary. Wall basis facing the precincts starts north-westwards from its south-eastern end, in an angle larger than 90° today, probably due to compaction throughout the years. It is currently oriented NE-SW (50°), it maintains its compactness for a 6m length, beginning from the corner and continuing “thinner” for another 4m. We do not know if it extended to the precipice in the ancient times or it stopped at its 10m, since the flattened rock made any basis pointless. Disparate slabs found between this wall and the NW precipice cannot be assimilated to any plan with four well-defined walls. In this case, although the edifice was certainly large sized, we need to bear in mind only the fact that two of its sides were minimum 11m, and 10m long, most likely just like their “pair”. Discussing a possible apse to NW is superfluous as long as that very part has been recently disturbed; however, if it really existed, it could not have been more than 2.50m higher, similar to the one the terraces’ sanctuary. Consequently we believe that the original construction design had been rectangular, but in time it distorted its shape. The same situation occurs with the Celts or other peoples. The apse could have been entirely

wooden, according to V. Ursachi's assumption for Brad, which may explain the lack of its archeological marks (Ursachi 1995, 74). Popești faces an identical situation where a „rectangular” construction, still on the north-western end of the dwelling, with no visible apse that Alexandru Vulpe still assumes. „According to ceramics in its area dating goes back to the 2nd century B.C., just like the most constructions there” (o.u.). Later in his document he mentioned that the sanctuary goes back to 150 B.C. (Vulpe 1998, 6), where the apse belongs to the potential architectural elements, but with no real evidence. One or two-room apse halidoms are familiar in many important Dacian settlements: Popești (Vulpe, 1956, 308; Vulpe 1957, 327; Vulpe 1969, 30-33); Pecica (I.H. Crișan 1967, 92; 1978, 106); Piatra Roșie (Daicoviciu 1954); Căpâlna (Berciu 1969, pl. 1); Cărlomănești (Babeș 1977, 340), Cetățeni (Vulpe 1969, 38), Brad (Ursachi 1995, 64 and 22). Celts also have rectangular and circular sanctuaries without an apse (Berciu 1970, 204 and next).

Both wall bases are formed of white limestone slabs “sealed” with ophiolite, with the use of Dacian volcanic tuff grinder in the 11m one. The whole 10m segment is made of a single course set on a clay bed, while “the terrace wall” preserves from 1 to 5 slab layers. Their number is gradually increasing from the inside to the plateau edge where the first course is buried into the pavement relating to the tuff sanctuary. To be noticed that the sequence makes an ascending (vertical) “detachment” resembling a buttress (the wall is thicker on its basis) thus preventing blocks from protruding off the wall and ensuring better resistance as opposed to a vertical basis, especially in the absence of plaster. The two foundation-walls are in fact edges of a platform deliberately designed in order to support the rectangular construction (“the terrace wall”), a matter of concern only for the limestone plinth sanctuary on the plateau, and for the complex circular sanctuary on the terraces, 5.50m high.

Elevation and rooftop had wooden framework. Wall braiding had been clay stuffed as proven by the burnt gluing mixture preserved under the circular construction pavement.

This construction (probably in the middle, but difficult to know for sure with two walls missing) had a larger hearth than the one in the new phase, reddened on a 12 cm thickness; its finishing coat was relatively widely spread, evident in profile $S_{1/1999}$ for almost 3m long. It too had been set on a ring of local stone, again 20-25cm up from the floor. Given the fact that separation is unidirectional, it is difficult to estimate if the hearth was rectangular too or it had other shape. Its dimensions are very large, never seen on any of the structures in the settlement or other sites, except for the balefires. This indication is related to its shrine-hearth function (or balefire), similar to the case of the circular construction on the same location. It is unlikely that such a large hearth belonged to a regular home, also since the barracks' hearth at the other end of the plateau, with much larger area and volume, has just a 1.60m diameter.

The circular sanctuary pavement floor in the next phase completely covered the shrine-hearth. The edifice may have been divided into rooms, considering that its perimeter includes masses of burnt wall, beams and carbonized poles. Just as realistic seems to be the existence an older dwelling on the site, prior to the 2nd century B.C. or at least in its first decades. Building sanctuaries on top of civilian constructions is common other locations too, but the best known is *Sarmizegetusa Regia, Terrace X and XI* (Daicoviciu 1979, 135-137). It could be even an old sanctuary, where carbonized poles and burnt wall gluing mixture can be found under all constructions here ($S_{1/1989}$).

State of inventory discovered underneath the floor reminds of the circular construction: domestic pots, although frequent in dwellings, are few and only a part of them completed, brought by too when evening out the area. Worship and valuable items are missing. Here too ceramics are the only generous dating criterion (as in Pecica or other places), very likely in the first half of the 2nd century B.D. Chronologically and stratigraphically speaking, this is the first religious construction in the north-western part of

the precincts that may have undergone repairs or restorations like any other building. The complex circular sanctuary had been later on erected on the same site.

From the very beginning, including the construction into the sacred edifice category appeared to be difficult, even though evidence is not lacking. The most important piece of evidence is locating it on the same side of the plateau together with two more alignment sanctuaries and one complex circular. Given their vicinity (a sacred environment) it is very doubtful that two constructions had been set up for different purposes, civilian or military, but their position had been different and clearly defined.

Referring to the two constructions, a similar situation is identified in pre-Roman Dacia, as to both design and their mutual correlation, and their establishment within the precincts, i.e. in *dava* at Brad (Ursachi 1995, 62 and next and 351-352). Just like there, they are positioned in the north-western end of the plateau. When portraying the round sanctuary, the author of the research and monograph asserts that it meets several phases. The first phase is the compressed yellow soil platform, with 14 x 8m sides, SSE-WNW directed, like the rectangular construction on *Tipia*. Over the same clay platform, right above it, the apse edifice raises up in second phase. Both structures acquire the appreciation as “the first stage in the evolution of Dacian sanctuaries from the level of *dava* dwellings” (Ursachi 1995, 68). The third halidom in Brad is the simple sanctuary with an outer diameter of 16m (Ursachi 1995, 68-69). The construction is subsequent to the others (Ursachi 1995, 369). The context, comparable to the circumstances on *Tipia Ormenișului*, infers two remarks, both of them archeologically (stratigraphically) substantiated: rectangular constructions’ priority, and mainly their progression on the same site.

The above statement is just as convincing at Brad and Augustin, as the pictures indicate no architectural or useful spaces between extremities of the two types of constructions, not even for pedestrian passages. Succession of constructions, *without changing their location*, corresponds to *acknowledging* this area inside the fortress, and all inhabitants in this area and others would consider and respect it as sacred throughout its existence.

The rectangular sanctuary with volcanic tuff column bases had been built beside them later on.

Barely completed description of monuments on the *Tipia Ormenișului* is only one component of the attributes upon which a municipality or an area can be considered centers of power. The case is South-East of the Valley of the Olt, Transylvania Racoș in particular. The emergence and growth of administrative center and political-religious here would not have been possible without the external conditions, but mostly favorable domestic, not infrequently brought into question by Alexandru Vulpe (1988, 2/11; 2001, 435, 439; 2007, 78-82), Florea Costea (2002₁, 26-41; 2007; 2010₁, 71-85; 2010₂, 319/332) and Valeriu Sîrbu (2006, 27-29).

1. The existence of sanctuaries.

Not to be out of sight that we are known for their appearance in the last years of the pre-Roman Dacia, look radically different from what they had before Burebista. In the same time we no knowledge of the existence of the other building specific gorge, systematic research missing. The only remaining for the cult and recalling their extremely high number compared with small surface on which they are placed, I insist once again about the plurality of types (rectangular with apse, circular simple, complex circular, rectangular column alignments and with porches of volcanic tufa or limestone). The intended concentration of building types, with a similar variety in the State capital only if the unit is in the case of *Tipiei Ormenișului* with a very concise summary of the religion of polytheism (sic) daco-getian. Grădișteța Muncelului and *Tipia Ormenișului* are the only (so far) sites in which we encounter this situation, other Saints of Mountains typically contains at most two

sacred buildings, one type or another. Throughout the level, however, are known to all, which once again confirms the widespread polytheism in the Dacian world, regardless of region. I wonder whether in Jordanes's assertion: "In the second place, in Dacia, Moesia and Thrace, Goths [*Getae*] had King's Zamolxis..." should not be seen just in the existence of two major religious Dacia, one (and earliest) being just one of the Racoş or another still unidentified but unlikely Grădiştea Muncelului.

Barely completed description of monuments on the *Tipia Ormenişului* is only one component of the attributes upon which a territory or a commune can be define that center of power. This is it also in the South-east of Transylvania. The emergence and growth of pan-Dacian of religious centre here, as the politico-administrative, would not have been possible without the existence of external conditions, but mostly favorable, relevant internal brought into question by Alexandru Vulpe (Vulpe 1998, 2-11; 2001, 435, 439; 2007, 78-82) and Florea Costea (Costea 2010, 71-85). Upon these conditions we insist in the following ranks.

2. The existence of favorable development of pan-Dacian's power-center.

At the outset it must be said that the Dacians are the first to understand and put in value the extraordinary strategic position, in the Racoş Valley: the gorge before them, was the most easy way of communication between Braşov and Baraolt depressions inside Transylvania, starting with Homorod's Plateau land of Făgăraş (Perşani Mountains). That explains the existence of a gorge in Bronze Age fortifications and two very strong fortifications in the Early Iron Age (Costea, 2004, under the Hill of *Cornu* and *Piatra Detunată*), all belonging to the civil settlements. It was all the more naturally as the Dacians, in other historical circumstances, to proceed in the same manner, the result of their efforts, rapidly resulting in the appearance of existing settlements between Augustin and Mateiaş was a concentration of fortress and sanctuaries that rightfully can be compared to that of the Oraşie Mountains (Vulpe 1998, 7-9; 2007, 78-82, Costea 2010, 71-85). Without going into the details now, emphasize that the Dacians living in the age of the Olt Gorge Racoş and in areas near is much older than the surrounding *Sarmizegetusa Regia*, about V-IV centuries B.C. Since then are flagged and the beginnings of the locals with the Mediterranean civilizations, in particular with the Macedonian-Greek. Paramount, however, has proven to be the overall evolution of the local society by exploiting the riches of the soil, but most of the subsoil, gave rise to an economy that came early in the South-East european circuit of exchange of goods, in the last two centuries of colonization off South-Eastern Transylvania became one of the largest Greek coin storage-Macedonian and Roman (Glodariu 1974, 87-104; Costea 2002, 112-114).

Not to be forgotten for a moment that South-East Transylvania is the kings who reigned over Oroles (Pompeius Trogus, *apud* Iustinus, *Epitoma*, XXXII, 3, 16; Daicoviciu 1972, 26-27) and, very likely, Rubobostes (Pompeius Trogus, (*Epitoma*, XXXII, 3, 36; Daicoviciu 1972). Not exclude the possibility that the two, just as kings "may have been the founders of the great center of power now under discussion (Costea2007, 13-15; 2010a, 71-85).

In conclusion, the appearance of this center of power competed both, internal and external factors, outside of Dacia.

3. The existence of residential construction.

In order to give a credible answer on this matter should be taken up again in the discussion of building the destination Luncani-*Piatra Roşie* which academician Constantin Daicoviciu named as the headquarters of the border guard. Professor's reputation for many years, "closed" the discussion over this monument. The problem has re-entered the discussion of scientists after the discovery on the construction of a *Tipia Ormenişului* absolutely identical as a plan, but the shorter by about 8 m. Included among the sacred buildings peremptorily by Alexandru Vupe (Vulpe 1998, 7; 2007, 78-82), but with

circumspection by one of the signatories of this study (Costea 2002, 26-41, 2006, 173-174, 2007, 63-64, 2010, 80-82). Review similar to that of Alexandru Vulpe Angelica Bălos, stating that he includes in the same building with categorie a special destination, but not religious, and the two buildings of appreciable size on the Terrace of the *Tipia Ormenișului* (Bălos 2006, 171-173 and 8 and 17 buildings in the site plan). The authors seems, the obvious by comparison with other contemporary buildings in settlements, "real palaces" (Bălos 2006, 172-173, and Fig. 33/17).

The construction meets all attributes for the benefit of such employment, especially if we consider that in this sense and the answer to the question: if it is, "the military command covering the sacred mountain, why such constructions are missing from the Dacian fortifications with much more generous and surfaces with an unmistakable military character, but on the small plateau on the *Tipia Ormenișului* in an area in which other structures are lacking, but on the same level", with most of the sanctuaries?

In the same category of the palaces "can be included also the two constructions on the *Terrace I* strike first by their size and location, as in the case of the barracks", in the vicinity of the shrines but on platforms constructed separately.

In conclusion, we believe that these three structures correspond in all points of view, "residential construction". Even if a permanent garrison to defend the Holy Hill is found on *Piatra Detunată* (fortress pending research), it's almost mandatory that all categories of meetings representatives of the Royal power, to be held in one of the buildings on *Tipia Ormenișului*, most likely in 'border guard headquarters', which benefit from space and optimum heating systems.

4. The existence of lofts and stores of grain.

Documenting the lofts, even if indirect, is confirmed by using by the dacians of numerous finished products (tools and mostly finished parts used in the construction of shrines and "barracks" (Bălos 2006, 242) and iron (axes, chisels, hatchets, hinges, locks, staplers, scissors, spikes, rings, fibulae etc. (Costea, Bălos, Savu, 2006, 245-240). These are augmented with numerous utensils and objects of adornment in the bronze and silver featured in a recent monograph. These products are only part of the occupations and crafts practiced in lofts outside the sacred enclosure. Equally good are documented and the results of the lofts of wood processing, milling, pottery, spinning, weaving, sewing and stitching bone, etc.

The products of these craftsmen have benefited and other settlements in the gorge, the most eloquent example is offered by researching into the fortress on the *Piatra Detunată* (monograph emerging).

In terms of **grain warehouses**, two discoveries seems convincing. One was on the Terrace I of the fortress on the *Piatra Detunată*, where in a specially designated shed on a stone platform were found whole and fragmentary ewers worked at the wheel. The other, much larger in size, is situated in the premises of the "barracks", between the North wall of the room from the North-West and the ring that surrounds the building. There, in an area of a few square meters, were at least ten ewers worked at the large wheel with few pots crafted by hand. The licensee all of them we do not believe that have insisted. It should be added that the grain is located in the building for the power elites from the hill.

The discovery of the two warehouses for storage lockers reserve is a happy event, primarily due to their position (location) in the two precincts. The finding, however, is far from allowing it to conclude that they are the only deposits that have worked ever since. It is superfluous to insist on the fact that numerous civil population of the surrounding terraces, as found in the gorge, the army for the benefit of other constructions intended for keeping food supplies, more numerous but more modest than those mentioned above. The source of all their supplies were primarily civil settlements nearby (Baraolt, Augustin, Mateiaș end well in today's agricultural lands an impressive number of grinders from volcanic tufa), but also the

most remote but dependent from all point of view on the leaders from the hill. We believe that a part of the military of the cities of canyon originated from the same settlements.

It can be said, therefore, that the whole center of the Olt Gorge power Racoș, thanks to rigorous organization, have provided a livelihood that I never put that into question. On the contrary, it can be considered a quintessential organization of life economic, administrative, political and religious image of pre-Roman Dacia Kingdom characterized.

5. Location of the site in an area naturally defended and, as appropriate, be provided with suitable reinforcement

a). Who knows the geography and morphology of the Valley zone Racoș will admit at the outset that both conditions have been fully met by the *Tipia Ormenișului*. The first is validated by the fact that as early as the Bronze Age, but especially from the First Iron Age *Tipia Ormenișului*, an intense living. And in an age and in another, the choice of the place about half of the length of the canyon has done so because he was a good observation on the Olt river and the surrounding areas, as well as, especially, because it was very well defended from both natural as well as entry and exit of river gorge of numerous hills, some arranged in successive obstacles. The hill itself, with the absolute height of nearly 760m and with the relative about 250m, has a genetic conformation and one morphosculptural which gives the most divisions, only way more affordable wide ridges being only yards from it, on the northern part of which has been made up road in antiquity go carts to pass through. It must be said, however, that before the dacian era, a few hundred yards away, was not easily crossed on foot. In addition, even after carving into the rock of the road, it doesn't continue on the Hill, because approximately 715-720 shares of the hill there is a vertical wall of limestone that dacians opened and pierced him "a gate length of about 22-23m" to the North and Northwest of the Hill has a vertical approach walls or even with overhangs and elsewhere have gradients of between 50 and 85 degrees.

There are also defensive construction prior to this gate, the only researched so far being the "spared" in *Șopul Pădureanului*, to the west of the Hill, 110m long and with a thickness of more than 5m is the only building here that can be seamlessly included maintenance required "artificial obstacles" encountered on *Columna Traiana*.

b) "Adequate reinforcements" inside the site do not exist. It should be pointed out, however, that both terraces, as well as the upper plateau area and construction of the circular sanctuary resort on southern terraces were demarcations and similar stone walls infrastructures; communication between the terraces and stairs "monumental". Though imposing, and sometimes made with great caution and the walls of the substructures of the plateau/terraces and monuments can be assigned rather architectural achievements, imaging and functional idea underlying what had induced the defensive improvement, not spiritual.

Outside natural defence and construction business that focused exclusively on the hill, the site has received a double outer defences, one close to the other outside the valley, both consisting of towers and fortifications.

In the first category belongs to the wooden tower located at the northern end of the parapet of the *Retezat Hill*, about 1.5km from the entrance of the Olt river in the gorge. On the spot are only dacian ceramics and coal, it is assumed that he looked just as portrayed from Traian's Column. His role was to oversee both access to the gorge, and a good part of Brasov and Baraolt's Depressions. A similar tower is supposed to exit from the Olt defile, within existing settlements Mateiaș, all on the left bank of the river, his smooth operation with not only the settlements on the river, but also the civil settlement dacian *Șipot* over which I will return.

A certain defensive role it ought to play arrangements of the *Cornu* that are no longer visible to any kind of building reminiscent of a dacian settlement, however, proven ceramic housing and hand grinders fragmentation of volcanic tufa occurring in the polls. dacian

defensive role with construction are now just assumed, the tradition of locals in Racoșul de Jos reminiscent of walls without mortar demantelate in the interwar years of the past century.

The most important task is to defend the holy mountain on the *Tipia Ormenișului* he rolled back the stone from the *Piatra Detunată*, situated on the left of Olt River, in the territory of the Racoșul de Jos, and less than 1km west of the Hill. Dacian phase of this fort has arisen with the secular/sacred metamorphosis of the situation on the Hill, a phenomenon that can be described as the reciprocal of the evolution of the Grădișteța Muncelului. Systematic investigations begun here in the summer of 1995 have revealed so far two issues on which there are no doubts: 1-function is solely a military settlement; 2-site was found for a permanent garrison subject to "Commander-in-Chief" (= royal) State on the Hill.

No small must have been defensive of dacian contributions on *Tipia Racoșului*, on the right side of the Olt river and approximately 1.5km away as the crow flies *Tipia Ormenișului*. Being higher with a few tens of meters than the holy mountain, it has a more open over the valley and surrounding areas, the only point that is not connected by a direct view of the *Piatra Detunată*. Its research is at the beginning (there were only few explore grounding), both the founding and effective role played throughout its existence can only be associated with the events that we have experienced other canyon military construction.

The importance of existing defence structures along the 17km of the valley between the current villages Augustin and Mateiaș was noted by Ioan Glodariu in the recent History of the Romanians: "the forts, located at the exit of the valley over gorge (17km) of the River, was designed to defend religious center discovered in recent years on the "Tipia Ormenișului" near Racoș, jud. Brasov, and to control access from the Țara Bârsei to the Homorod's Depression and Făgăraș Land. By projecting all the sites of the Olt Gorge in the mountains Perșani at a higher scale, finding that the area was "surrounded" by other fortifications, whether we speak of the Brasov County, either of the counties of Covasna and Harghita".

6."Identifying around such a centre of some settlements in the everyday life of those communities".

In the monograph dedicated to *Tipia Ormenișului* is mentioned "the moment" transformation of living on the hill of religious, civil phenomenon was associated with compulsory and new constructions. Essentially, however, there is only one civil settlement, directly subordinated to the elites on the hill. Presentation of testimonies by carrying out its determination after topographical names, we begin with the terraces that extend between the hill and the Valley of *Tipia*. Some of them, namely those downstream, are known as *La Comoară*, a name earned because of the rich and valuable archaeological discoveries made here between the wars of the last century. Inhabited area are both natural terraces and very favorable event, anthropogenic benefiting from permanent springs in dry seasons. More than 5ha on that stretch were inhabited and in the early Iron Age and the fortifications.

On these terraces, after massive cutting of the forest, were found a few plinths tufa from the sanctuary with alignments on the hill.

Also in the vicinity of the hill, more precisely the piedmonts that you link to, on small terraces next to the river was also a living, but over the last two centuries that preceded the Roman conquest. During the research the place was called The Olt River, on ordinary maps appearing under the name *Tipie*.

And this area belongs to the civilian settlement surrounding the Hill. It must be said, however, that its surface is much more extensive, the polls in almost 30 years of research demonstrating that we walk that took place on all the surrounding terraces below elevation hill ("Orphan girl's Grave", "Between Roads" etc.).

A civil habitation there shall be on the terraces surrounding the castle on the *Piatra Detunată*. Certainly, however, that the population there had direct and tight with soldiers

from fortification. Important was the settlement of the *Valea Cetății/ Fortress Valley* terraces or *Valea lui Mihai*, Creek flowing at less than 1.5km southwest of *Piatra Detunată*. The terraces here have discovered pottery and hand-made of fragments of a plaster wall reddened, sufficient for demonstration. There were found including pieces of about 30 dacian made of grinders that rock, some finished, some in process. Do not exclude any operation of furnaces and small lofts and processed iron ore or alluvial deposits local, be brought from other places nearby, the area is the ancient known for wealth underground reserves.

More points with dacian vestiges have been identified in the territory of the current common Augustin. Three of these were identified by the new left.

Certainly meant it was the role of civil society in the other end of the valley of Mateiaș potholed. Located on the great and splendid terraces “In Șipot”, on the left bank of the river Olt, she certainly had primarily as a supplier of goods necessary for living. Appreciable surface that dacian vestiges were found-about 3 hectares (pottery of both categories and numerous fragmentation of grinders tufa-the end so numerous that locals and currently gathers in heaps in order to be able to work the land), as well as a significant quantity of iron slag harvested in the older area of research or of 1998 suggest that apart from agriculture herding, hunting and fishing, the natives were specialized and in reducing and, perhaps, the processing of iron.

Very favorable area for various occupations, but also strategically, was previously inhabited in the Bronze Age and later, in the VIII-X A.D.

Dacian vestiges are contemporary and on the right bank of the river Olt, on Racoșul de Jos territory, without any of the points to be made systematic research or even polls. But even in their absence, it is certain that a strong community, specialized in the processing of stone, especially tufa of various species, he played territory Racoș, on both sides of the Olt River in Romania. The work of stoneworkers began no later than at the time of Burebista, soaking up the reels use at one of the sanctuaries with alignments and the building blocks from which we achieved intermediate circular sanctuary building complex on the terraces.

In listing civilian settlements and secure the points have not done research but cannot be ruled out the presence of dacians, at least in the last two centuries of “free Dacia” can affirm that both the Olt defile itself and the immediate upstream-downstream extremities of his were sufficient communities unable to supply significant quantities of goods needed for livelihood but the craftsmen specializing in different fields, able to produce various tools and utensils (stoneworkers, smiths etc).

Conclusions.

To sum up briefly the profile of religious edifices on *Tipia Ormenișului*, we come to the conclusion that both categories common in archeological literature and characteristic to Geto-Dacian world meet here: *circular sanctuaries* and *alignment sanctuaries*, the latter with two types. The first type incorporates only the variant of the complex circular sanctuaries (3 “concentric” constructions), displayed on *Traian’s Column* (scene LXII) while the alignment type registers two variants: with column bases alignments (with volcanic tuff or white limestone plinths), exhibited too on *Traian’s Column* (scenes CII and CXIII), or with linear foundations and continuous walls. Two are the *complex circular sanctuaries*: one on southern terraces, the other one in the precincts. *Column bases alignment sanctuaries* are within the precincts, and each edifice (tuff or limestone) records at least two phases. This fact raises their number to minimum four, taking into account composition alteration (for both cases) and redirecting the long frontage (in the limestone case). The alignment type, but with continuous wall basis (probably apse too), knows only one piece, under the complex circular sanctuary in the precincts. Circular sanctuaries had not perceivably undergone repairs or restorations, although likely and probably numerous in both cases.

Therefore at least four stone plinth alignment sanctuaries had been built throughout the years on *Tipia Ormenișului*, one with continuous limestone and ophiolite wall bases, as well as two circular sanctuaries, giving the lowest total of seven pieces. It may be wrong to believe they functioned simultaneously over such a long period of time. An archeologically certifiable synchronism involves only the last phase of the stone plinth sanctuaries and the complex circular ones. It is possible for the limestone plinth sanctuary to have ceased to exist prior to the tuff plinth one, without any possibility of exact time assessment, probably during Trajan's first Dacian War, confirming once more Geto-Dacian people's polytheist religion, confirmed for long time now (Russu 1944-1948; Daicoviciu 1943-1945, 90-94; Daicoviciu 1972, 204; Crișan 1986, 356-412). Among these edifices, only one is located *extra muros*, thus leading to the conclusion that we are witnessing a true **sacred enclosure** on the plateau, engaging about two thirds of its length, and the entire area to the left side of the entrance, on the opposite side of the barracks. It is worth mentioning that there is no dividing structure or any other architectural element being or suggesting some kind of caesura (a platform, like in the case of the sanctuaries). Space partition can be considered as such only since the sacred area is on the left side of the door (north-western plateau, just like on terraces at Grădiștea Muncelului, precincts at Brad etc.), and barracks on the opposite side of the plateau; a continuous pavement connects them on a construction level.

While positioning one of the complex circular sanctuaries on external terraces assumes sacredness on whole hill, location of all the other structures on the plateau comes as natural as possible before arrangement in the 1st century B.C. Here there was an *acknowledged area (sacred place)*, and one after another the rectangular construction (possibly with apse), the complex circular designed one and the plinth alignment sanctuaries were erected within its boundaries.

As already mentioned, the rectangular construction is the oldest. It was built on a specially assembled platform, clearly detached from the precincts pavement and over 1m higher, similar to Greek temples. In the absence of some artifacts for narrowing the time frame, dating was based exclusively on ceramics: fruit dishes of thin engobe paste, intensely polished, most of them with double or triple-sided lip; large cups of the similar paste and metallic gloss; melon-shaped pots of the same thin paste, black and polished, non decorated or with small sharp buttons on their upper half etc. All these pot kinds and shapes, as well as more items not mentioned above, date back to the 3rd – 2nd century B.C., allowing us to include the construction into the likely first half of the 2nd century B.C.

In a next phase, probably to the end of the 2nd century and in the first decades of the 1st century B.C., the complex circular sanctuary is built on top of the construction, the moment or around the moment of erecting only religious edifices between the north-western end of the gate. This act did not create but acknowledged the already existing sacred area.

It is very likely that a simple circular sanctuary had preceded it, but we do not have enough pieces of evidence for it.

An undertaking drastically changing appearance, dimensions and purpose of all terraces and pre-existent structures on top of it or on the hillock marks this moment, with its multiple demographic and urban connotations: a devastating fire destroyed everything, with no exception, their existence and functioning belonging to pre Burebista times. This remark contradicts our statement in 1983, given the inconclusive evidence to that time (Glodariu, Costea 1984, 8). Completely new buildings replaced them, put up after rearranging the plateau from the ground, resizing the terraces (enlarged and monumental stone steps added), and changing its inhabitation purpose. All houses on the terraces had been fully covered in a local limestone layer, impeding all of them from being visible or perceived unless removing this mantle extended way outside the terraces and "protracted" on the uninhabited hill slopes. This happening, surely during Burebista's reign, has overwhelming significance in the history

of pre-Roman Dacia. Insisting upon it now derives from the fact that *Tipia Ormenișului* provides a very good example of radically replacing some structures dating for centuries, typical for a tribal union system of organization (“pre-state formations”), with new elements, crucial for the state administration. A single community, as large and organized as it may have been would not be able to provide the required force for these works, simultaneous to bigger ones on terraces, but only state power. Building achievements recorded so far in all Dacia represent the material reflection of royal initiative together with the higher priests, as Strabo mentions, to institutionalize and secure a state of facts that had happened beforehand, in the 2nd century B.C. Cooperation between Burebista and Deceneu („The king used to work with him (supreme priest, o.n.) because he realized how people had become more obedient than before. As subjects believed that their king rules with guidance from gods”). Deceneu „convinced the king to share the reign with him, by making him believe he could reveal gods`wish” (Strabo, VII, 3, 5) required “*de jure* acknowledgement of older *de facto* realities from central religious authority” (Vulpe, Popescu 1972, 90; Sîrbu 1993, 127; 1985, 89; Sîrbu, Rustoiu 2002, 42; Babeș 1988, 3-32; Costea 2002, 26-41). It should be pointed out that spiritual transformations in the Dacian society, corresponding to religious centers, covering large areas in Dacia, are almost perfect match to other two archeologically certified historical phenomena: Celts cease to exist in Transylvania, and “the beginning of internal economic development quickly and on a large scale. Historical events in the first half of the next century are necessarily attached to this development that involves the economic support of the centralized Dacian state, structured under Burebista’s rule” (Daicoviciu 1972, 18; Babeș 1988, 3-32; Sîrbu 2006; Protase 191-204; Costea, Crișan 2006a, 51-75; 2006a, 93-112).

Regarding building method of all sanctuaries’ infrastructure at Augustin-*Tipia Ormenișului*, one important technical detail, other the one at Mount Orăștie, should be kept in mind: while some sanctuaries there start getting higher right from the ground (Antonescu 1984, 61), on *Tipia* every religious edifice is lifted on platforms setting limits to the area and (partly) to their sizes, as the procedure in Greece (Antonescu 1984, 61). This clarification can be taken into account as an indirect indication for the Greek masters to have played a part in the works, at least in the case of column basis alignment sanctuaries.

As already stated previously, no superstructure elements or areal constructions have been referred to for any of the tuff or limestone alignment sanctuary. Without further details, we strongly believe that halidoms on *Tipia Ormenișului* are not too different than the images architect Dinu Antonescu suggests for each type under investigation, considering on the one hand domestic architectural vision, and on the other hand climatic conditions in Perșani Mountains, in no way milder than in Orăștie Mountains (Antonescu 1984, 51, 89). Both of the above-mentioned sanctuary types preserved only their substructure and plinths to support wooden columns that, in their turn, were part of an ensemble sustaining rooftop. This situation contradicts full wall constructions, in this case barracks and circular sanctuaries, where these wall burnt down and collapsed on the spot. This situation in no way infers all year round functioning for circular sanctuaries, and for the alignment ones only summer service. Both types had elevation and rooftop, yet varying in construction process. This difference (“column forest” for alignment category, full wall for the other) made the first ones easy to dismantle and the other ones impossible to undergo the same operation. Bearing in mind that war with Traian was far from unpredictable, Dacians had the time to save religious items first, valuable objects in sanctuaries (with the unique exception of the gold ring at Pecica that may have been “lost”), and in the small round sanctuary at *Sarmizegetusa Regia* (that may have had laic role judging from the inventory found on the floor). Afterwards they proceeded to dismantling alignment sanctuaries’ elevation and burning the others, with an overall intention to save them from destruction and desecration corresponding to serious prejudice to the protective deity. Accordingly we see this type of sanctuary to have had

elevation and necessarily a rooftop, yet *Dacians destroyed these constructions before initial warfare with the Romans* for all the above reasons, as dramatically engraved on the Column on its final parts appointed to the siege of *Sarmizegetusa* (Daicoviciu, Daicoviciu 1966, picture 58). It may be a direct consequence of the treaty in 102, forcing the Dacians, among other things, to destroy their fortresses, and we have those scenes showing Dacians burning their interior monuments.

We support our opinion with the situation in the “barracks”. Within their perimeter, between the north wall and the ring segment on the same side, only food and water supplies could be found (one millet ewer, one wheat ewer and several pots for liquids). No other valuable or current use objects were discovered, thus proving that other artifact categories had been sheltered from the conqueror’s hands. In exchange, there were various spikes and building nails exposed, completely missing from our sanctuaries probably due to dismantling and not to burning.

No wooden or stone floor has been archeologically detected in any of the sanctuaries, irrespective of type; their replacement was battered earth with its upper level somewhere up along the plinths’ height, covering supporting alveoli in the case of rectangular rooms and stone bases in the case of the others. Such a floor necessarily demanded a rooftop as well.

Moreover it should be pointed out that Roman soldiers did not unrig any Dacian sanctuary substructure, since archeologists found it almost intact in the rare occasions where it did not suffer any subsequent damage, as on *Tipia Ormenișului*.

With regards to the second issue concerning the probable existence of constructions within the perimeter, we have a negative answer. The just said don’t exclude the existence of a special sustaining system of the building. The columns stability and of the whole building without a framework which strengthen it with the soil and which doesn’t permit oscillations or falling, is not to accept from technical point of view. Such a system could be only made of wood so that it doesn’t harm the edifice’s image.

Among the most important building achievements of those times, sanctuaries had the closest royal attention, with religion as a real second state power and the supreme priest on the next hierarchical level down after the monarch (viceroy) not only with a foretelling role, but he could rule (Strabon XVI, 2, 39; VII, 3-5, 11; Iordanes, 72; Ptolemaeus, III; Crișan 1986, 345) or even inherit the throne. The specification confirms once again that „the sanctuaries with imposing temples express the elites rituals; the familiar cults or the magic or witchcraft practices those of the rest of the population („the most quiet”). It’s the sentiment coming out of the sanctuary’s tateliness from *Tipia Ormenișului*”.

We do not think that a comparison between religious monuments on *Tipia Ormenișului* and the ones at Grădiștea Muncelului is strictly necessary, but it can be useful as long as more and more facts substantiate the existence of several *Holy Mountains* and several unknown so far centers focusing political and spiritual authority. Correct understanding of the significance of monuments on *Tipia Ormenișului*, and possible unveiling more structures in the future, just as impressive, may lead to more insightful knowledge of pre-Roman Dacia, without diminishing in any way *Sarmizegetusa Regia*’s rank of political and spiritual metropolis.

Just like Grădiștea Muncelului, on *Tipia Ormenișului* we are facing a focused multitude of sanctuaries, with large institutionally structured priesthood. As in *Sarmizegetusa Regia*, or at Rudele and Meleia, *The Holy Mountain* stands on considerable heights, although not necessarily in order to define it as holy. General resemblance between edifices, all lacking figure representations, treasures or offerings, allow us to unconditionally include *Tipia Ormenișului* into the category of the recently mentioned *pan-Dacian religious centers* (Sîrbu 2006₁; 2006₂, 27 and next).

As to all the above-mentioned centers, *the pan-Dacian religious center* at Augustin-Tipia Ormenișului singularizes by sheltering a considerable amount of religious edifices, with only one of them outside the plateau, but within the area of the *Holy Mountain*. As appearing today, it is a creation between rules of Burebista and Diurpaneus-Decebal, with the first changing radically and irreversibly the fate of this important strategic and military settlement where a sanctuary location lived for about one hundred years, in a center of priests and militaries officially and exclusively holding the prerogatives deriving from their position, proving to have been the foundation of the state institution.

In consequence, the image of the lay or religious buildings existent a *Tipia Ormenișului* at the date of Roman conquest must be considered as a sum and find point of an edilitar evolution lasting for a long period.

A last phase of edilitar expriming of the Dacians in the Olt defile from Racoșul de Jos can be represented by the sanctuary with 6 x 3 rows of vulcano tufa plints and by the final phase of 8 x 6 rows, the one with limestone plints. Contemporary with them are, for sure, the two big edifies from Terrace I and, so as mentioned, the complex circular sanctuary from the southern terraces and the „barrack”. All together represents indubitable arguments about the existence on *Tipie*, in the last years of the Dacia, of a strong and numerous privileged category, tops of the sacerdotal and military world, representing the state’s power, power then sinonym with the Kingdom Dacia.

Certainly, the above-mentioned religious centers considered that *pan-Dacian* cannot be the only centers in the Geto-Dacian territories. New research, mainly correct and flexible interpretations, unbound to archeological routine long ago used in other countries, can provide worthy contribution to knowing the religion of our “domestic” ancestors. For now, the existence of the *pan-Dacian religious center* in Augustin-Tipia Ormenișului should be kept in mind, whose spiritual influence might have extended over south-eastern Transilvania and, maybe, over a territory east from the Oriental Carpathians. Beginning approximately in the first half of the 2nd century B.C., for about 150 years it played a direct role in consolidating and observing the official religion in the Dacian kingdom that completely absorbed its institution, after times of autonomous development.

Another discussion is need for the „barrack” discovered on *Tipia Ormenișului*. We speak about a building absolutely identical in plan with those from Luncani-Piatra Roșie (Daicoviciu, Roșka 1923; Daicoviciu 1954; Daicoviciu, Ferenczi 1955; Daicoviciu, Ferenczi, Glodariu 1989 etc.) but 8m shorter, and Popești (Vulpe 2004-2005, 24 and Fig. 3-7). The fact that in whole pre-Roman Dacia are known only two buildings of this type, considered „barracks”, but which are absent from much bigger fortifications, justifies the question it their function corresponds truly to the naming given by Constantin Daicoviciu. The remark of the same scientist: „The two rooms from the middle are not deprived from a little confort and trimming...” is equal with the unprobability that they were destined to the soldiers, more natural being their living by the military heads and sacerdots. May be not fortuitous, in the two edifies, at the time of Roman conquest, were the only important houses of food reserves and water, noticed in the archeological diggings.

The elites occupied also the two big building from *Terrace I*, whose inventory proved first of all the quality warriors of the natives. Their placement next to sacred precincts, and of the „barrack” inside the precincts, underline the natural relation between the warrior and sacerdotal elites and the „military sanctuaries”, respective with the „rectangular with column alignments” sanctuaries, which „suggest the existence of specific military believes and rituals”.

As if the Dacian State, power and spiritual centre of the Olt Defile Racoș and finished the existence in the year 106 A.D., like all religious or secular buildings of Dacia, a

phenomenon similar to the one spent in Galliae or in the other provinces of the Roman Empire, the borders of which will be incurred romance peoples.

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Figures

Plate I. Fig. 1 - Map of pre-Roman Dacia (by M. Babeș 2001); Fig. 2 - Map of Dacia in Antiquity (by Claudiu Ptolemeu); Fig. 3 - Current map of Romania with Dacian sites in southeastern Transylvania (by M. Babeș 2001).

Plate II. Fig. 4 - Dacian sites in Olt Gorge from Racoș: 1-Tipia Ormenișului-Sacred Mountain; 2-Piatra Detunată-citadel; 3-Tipia Racoșului-citadel; 5-Dealul Cornu-citadel (by Dan Ștefan, Maria Magdalena Dușescu); Fig. 5 - Tipia Ormenișului - survey and the location of the main monuments (by Dan Ștefan, Maria Magdalena Dușescu, Călin Constantin). Fig. 6 - Proposal for reconstruction of monuments on Tipia Ormenișului (Fl. Costea) and execution (Ioan Burcea).

Plate III. Fig. 7 - Dacian sites in Olt Gorge from Racoș (by Ioan Șoneriu); Fig. 8-9 - Sacred Mountain Tipia Ormenișului seen in flight (photo FOTON ADVERSITING Brașov).

Plate IV. Fig. 10 - The stratigraphy of the sacred area and of the southern terrace from Tipia Ormenișului. Fig. 11-13 - Aspects from the research.

Plate V. Fig. 14 - The Circular Sanctuary Complex *Extra Muros* from the southern terrace: arian photo (Gabriel Costea); Fig. 15-16 - Aspects from the research and proposal for the restoration (I. Glodariu, Fl. Costea). Fig. 17 - One of the iron nails for hanging holy offerings to the protective deity (Mars).

Plate VI. Fig. 18 - 1. Wreckage from the wall who separating the two rooms; 2. The infrastructure of the sanctuary and a part of the intermediate construction; 3. A tuff block in

the intermediate construction, uncut at the Roman conquest; 4. A block in the same building, cut at the Roman conquest.

Plate VII. Fig. 19 - Sanctuary with volcanic tuff colonnade: 1-4. Column bases found on the northern hill-slope; 5-6. Stands and column bases broken on the ground at the Roman conquest.

Plate VIII. Sanctuary with volcanic tuff colonnade: Fig. 20 - stands and column bases broken on the ground by the Roman soldiers at the year 106 AD; Fig. 21-21a - column base *in situ* with Maglavit type fibula found near; Fig. 22-23 - proposal for the restoration of phase I and of phase at the Roman conquest.

Plate IX. Fig. 25 - Sanctuary with limestone colonnade: 1-4. Column bases broken on the ground (at no. 3 it is clear the stone's support in the previous phase).

Plate X. Fig. 26 - Sanctuary with limestone colonnade: column bases broken on the ground at the Roman conquest.

Plate XI. Fig. 27 - Ruins and design of round and rectangular sanctuaries with continuous wall on the plateau.

Plate XII. Fig. 28-29 - "Principia". Aspects from the research and proposal for restoration. To observe the identity of the plan with the barrack from Lunca-Piatra Roşie.

Plate XIII. Fig. 30-31 - The analogy between the plans of the circular sanctuaries complexes from the Sarmizegetusa Regia (1) and Tipia Ormenişului. Fig. 32 - Their location on the map of Dacia and proposals for restoration. Fig. 33 - Dacian sanctuaries on the territory of Romania.

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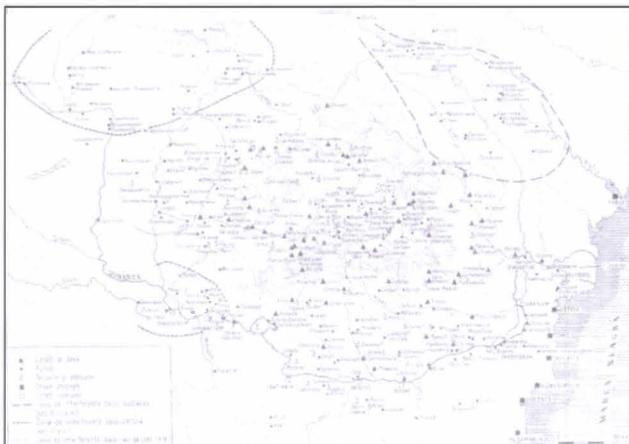


Fig. 1

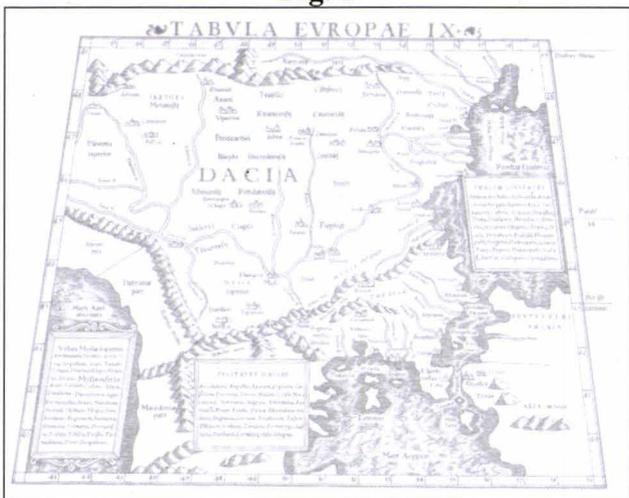


Fig. 2

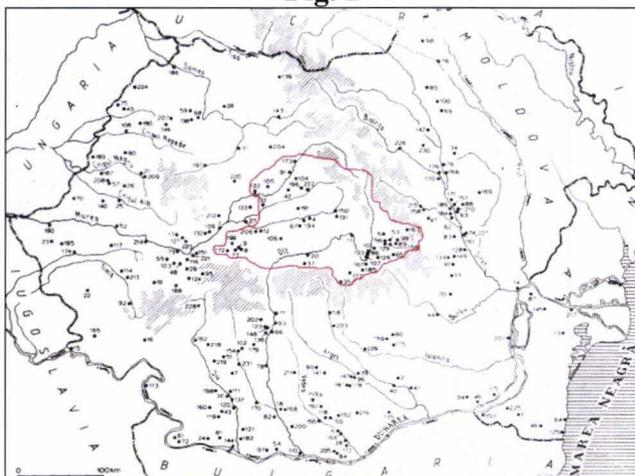


Fig. 3

PLATE I

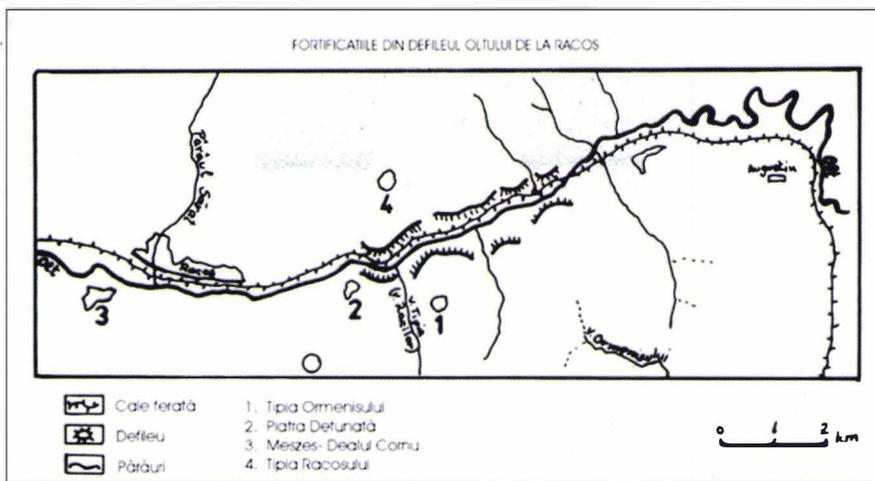


Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9

PLATE III

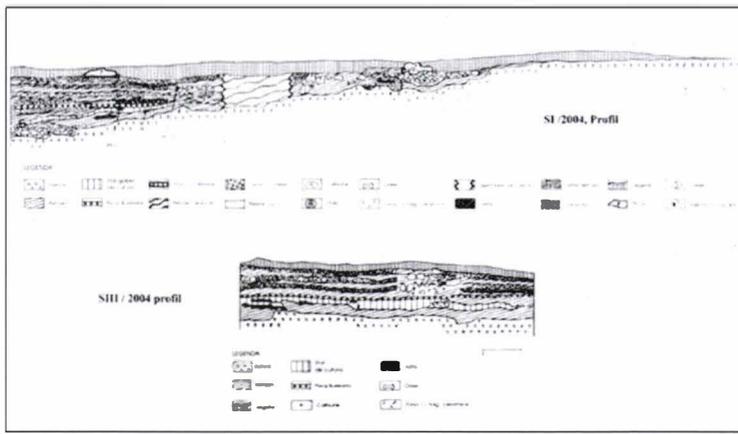


Fig. 10

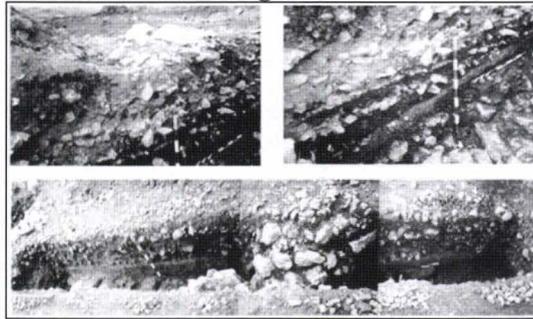


Fig. 11

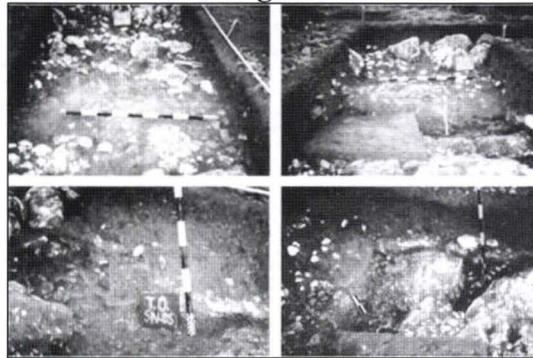


Fig. 12

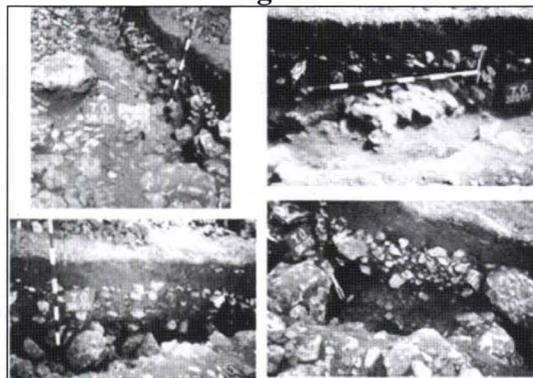


Fig. 13

PLATE IV



Fig. 14

Fig. 15

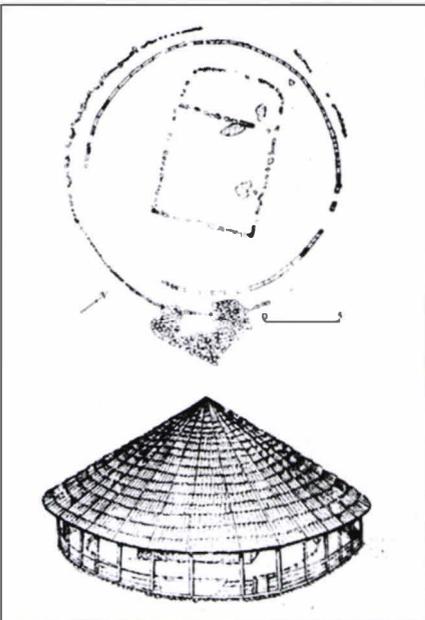


Fig. 16



Fig. 17

PLATE V

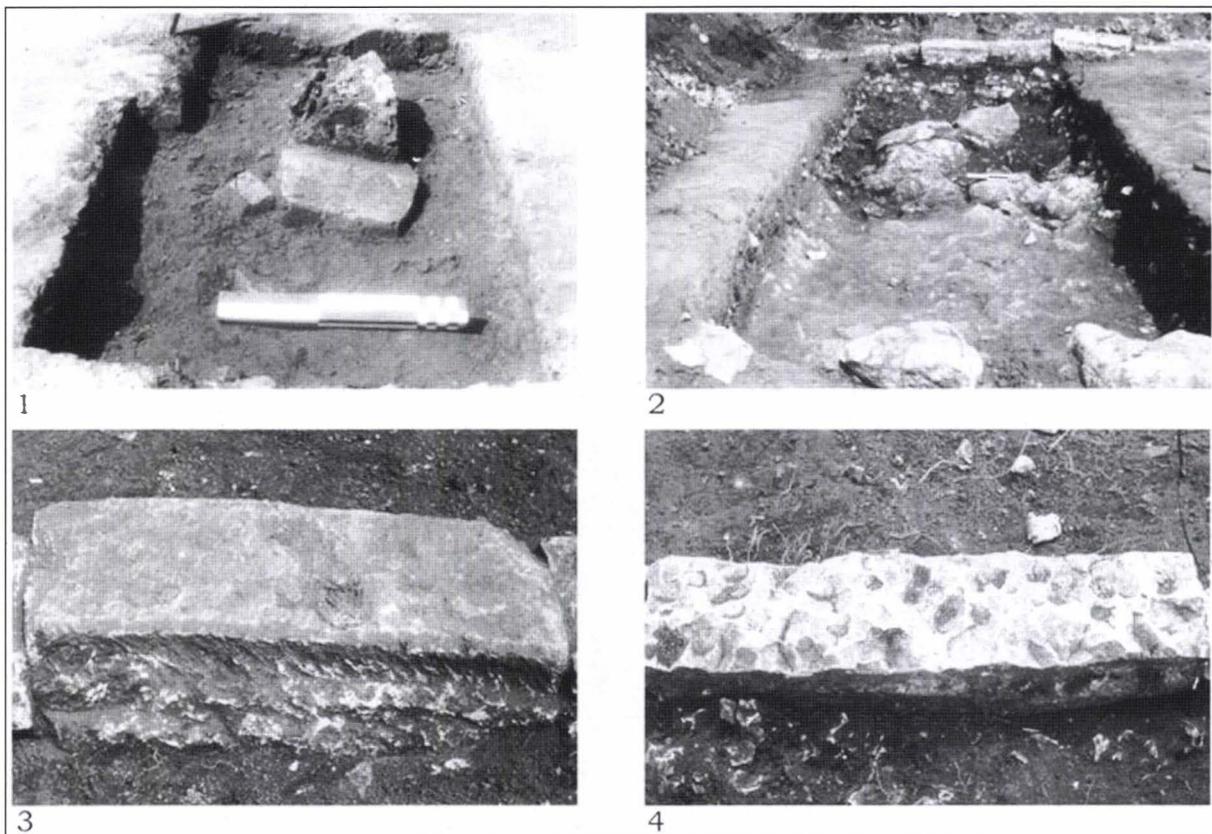
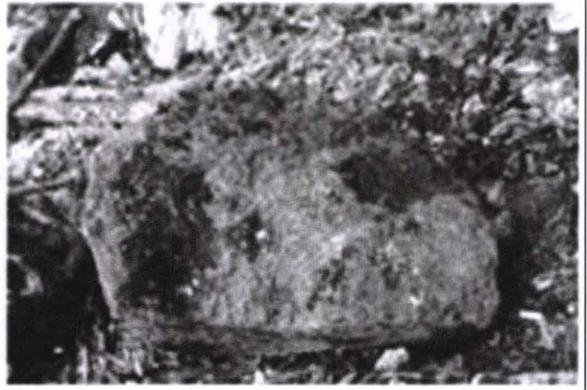


Fig. 18

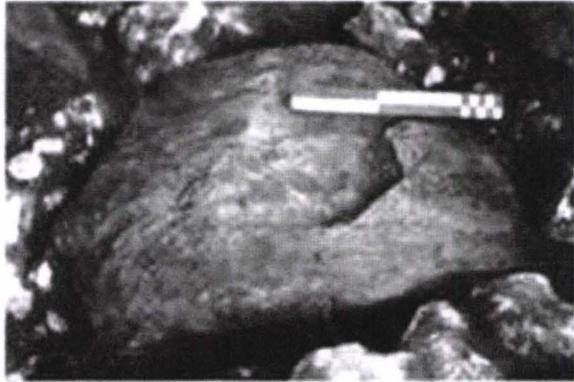
PLATE VI



1



2



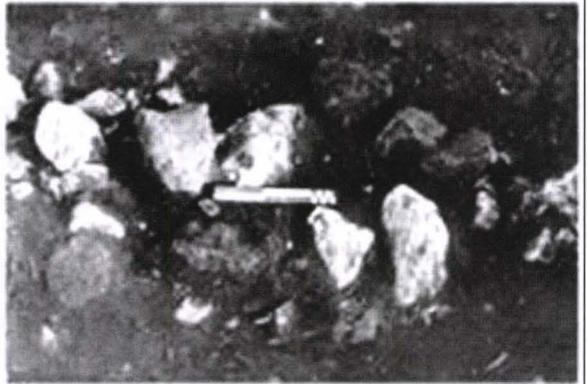
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4



5



6

Fig. 19

PLATE VII

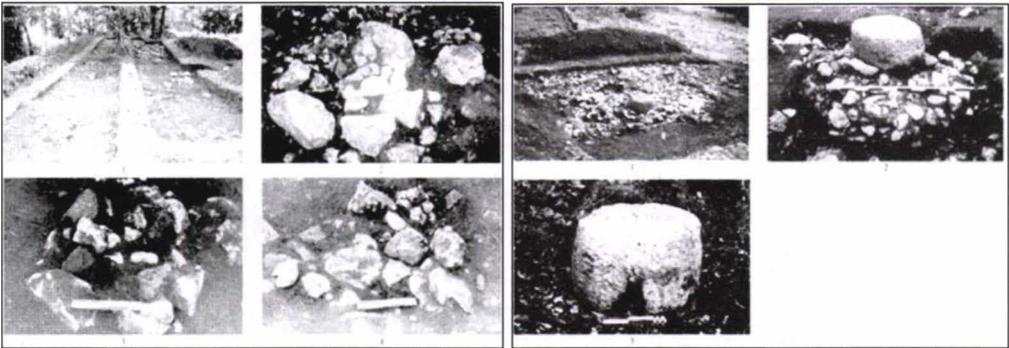


Fig. 20

Fig. 21

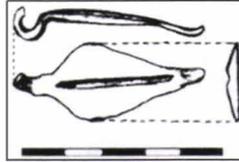


Fig. 21a

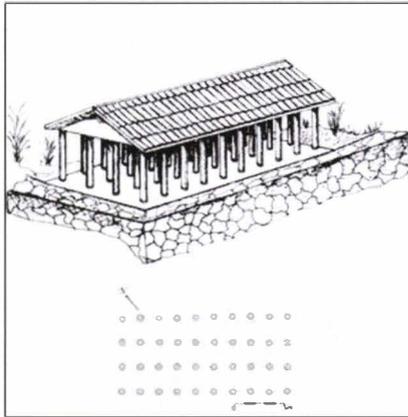


Fig. 22

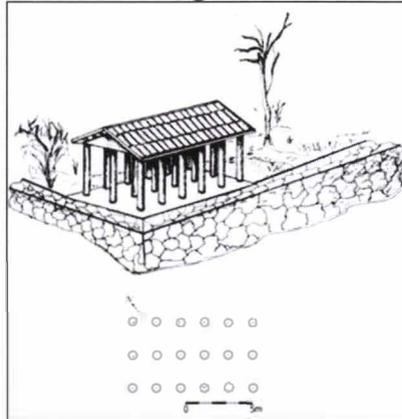


Fig. 23

PLATE VIII

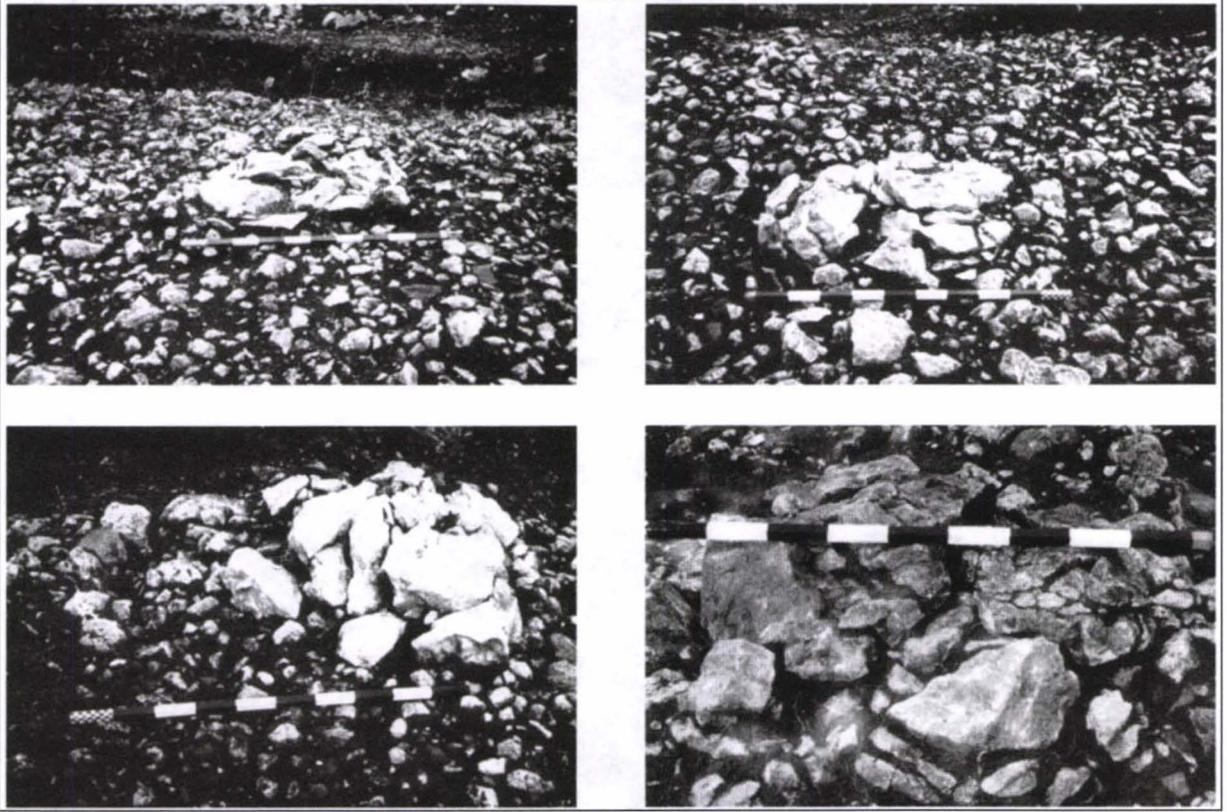


Fig. 25

PLATE IX

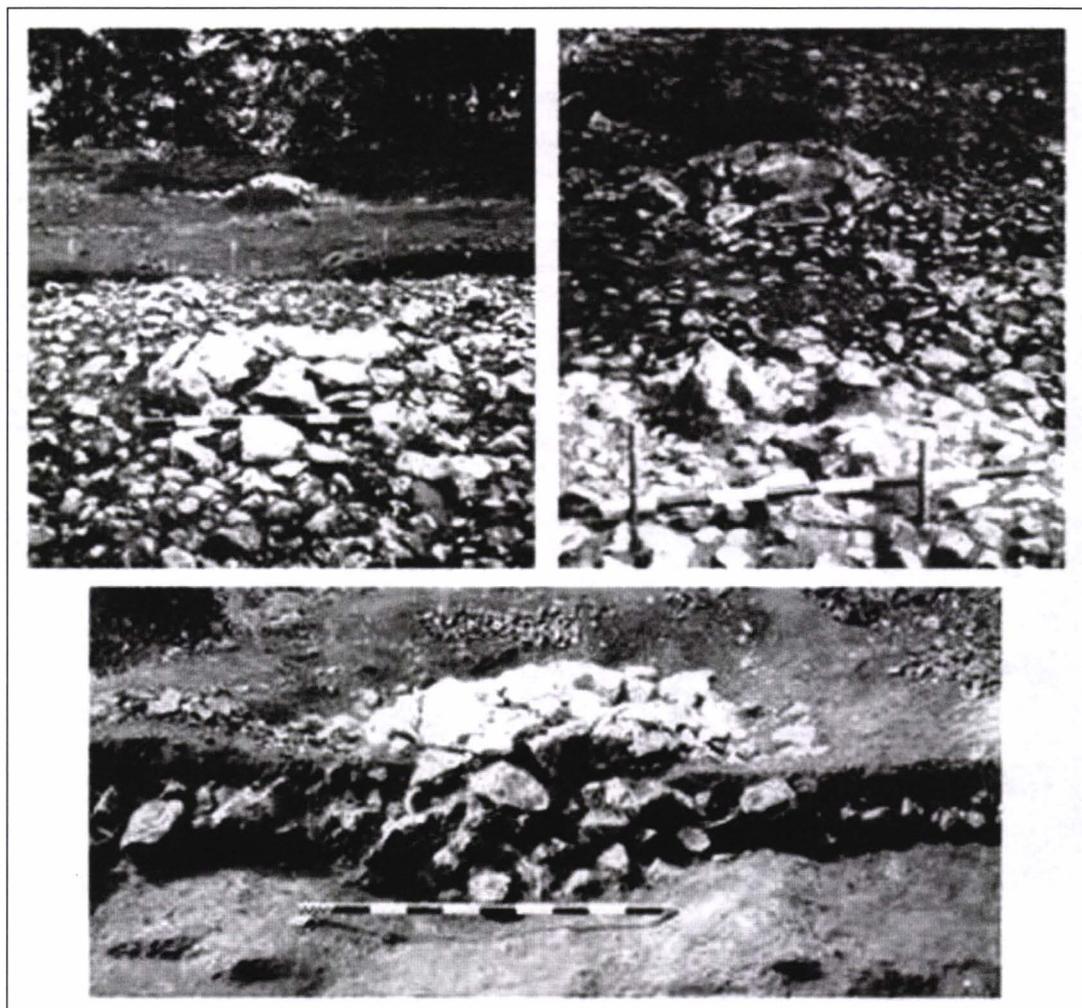


Fig. 26

PLATE X

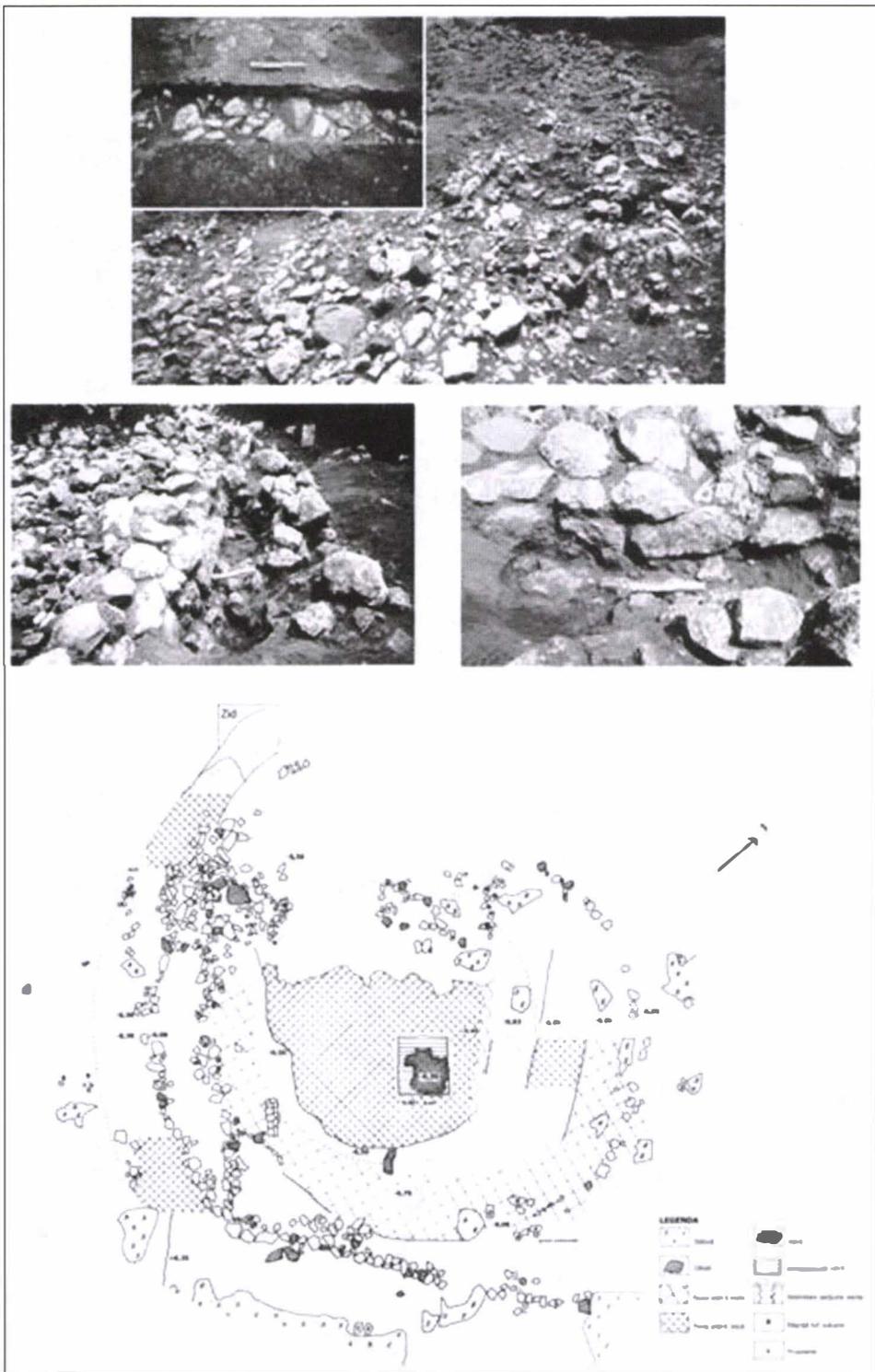


Fig. 27

PLATE XI

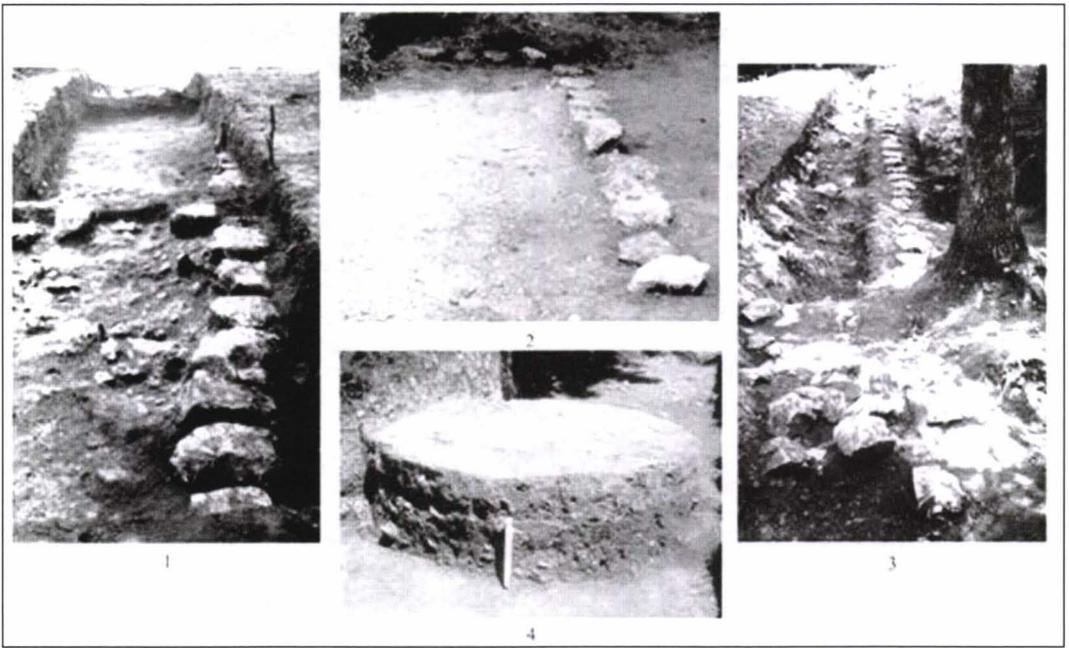


Fig. 28

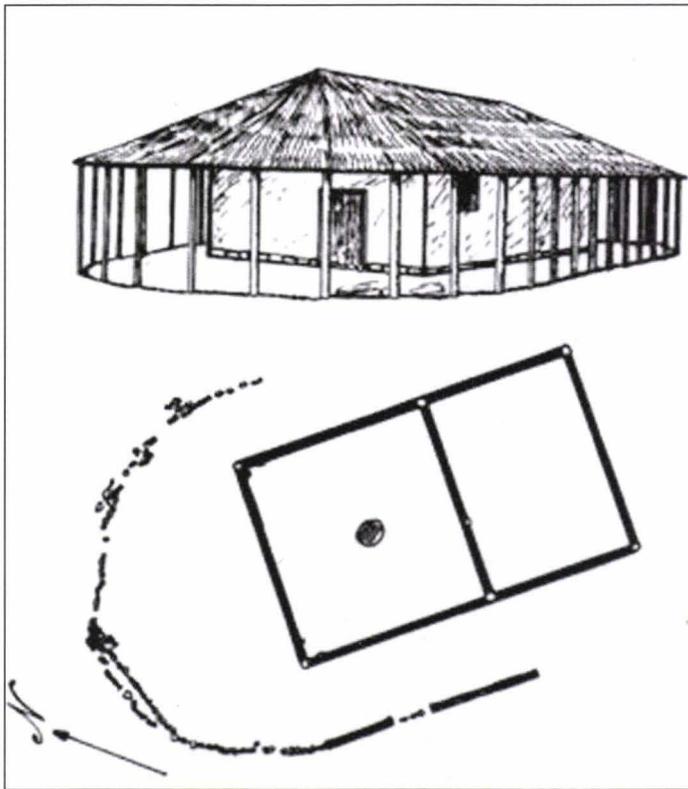


Fig. 29

PLATE XII

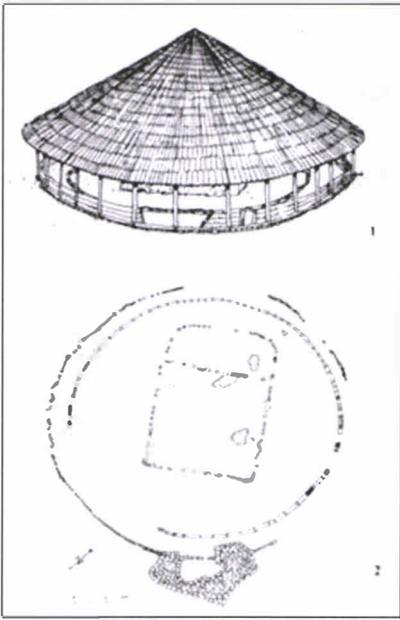


Fig. 30

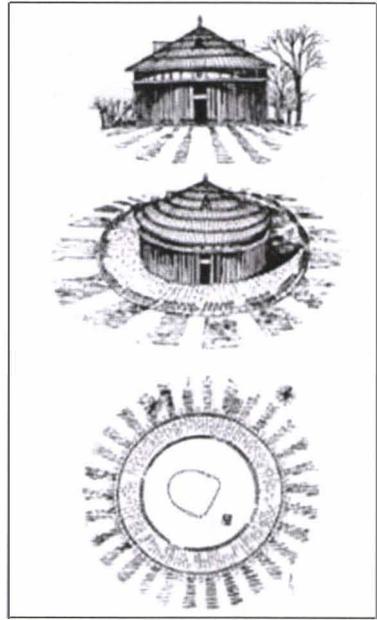


Fig. 31



Fig. 32



ŽUTO BRDO - GÂRLA MARE NECROPOLIS FROM GÂRLA MARE, MEHEDIŢI COUNTY

Gabriel Crăciunescu (Drobeta Turnu Severin - Romania)

Keywords: Žuto Brdo - Gârla Mare culture, necropolis, East Iron Gates, Gârla Mare

Abstract: The Žuto Brdo – Gârla Mare culture has been known for a long time for its necropolis. In South West Oltenia are known 12 necropolises situated in nine different villages. Almost all of these necropolis situated in this area are small, due to the fact that they were placed on a Danube bank and were consequently destroyed by the water.

First discoveries of specific materials belonging to this culture were found in 1922 in Gârla Mare, and the culture was named after this settlement. At the end of the 20th century more materials were revealed by surface research.

In 2004 random discoveries led to the discovery of a new necropolis at km river 839-840. In this area had also been discovered an urn full of human cremated bones in August 2013.

At km river 836,5 there is another necropolis belonging to this culture. The first accidental discoveries were made here in 2006 and 2009. In 2010 the necropolis has been systematically researched, surveys continuing in 2012 and 2013. 13 tombs were discovered. At the 3rd tomb we could also see the grave.

The name of the Žuto Brdo - Gârla Mare culture was given by the name of the villages where first discoveries belonging to this culture were made: Žuto Brdo in Serbia and Gârla Mare in Romania (Morintz 1978, p. 28). The first published discoveries in Romania (Franz 1922, p. 89-98) came from the island situated in front of the Gârla Mare village (Pl. I). For a long period of time this culture was only known by its necropolis from Romania, Serbia and Bulgaria. For Romania, the most representative one is the *Grindul Tomii* necropolis situated in Cârna, which is estimated to have had more than 200 tombs (Dumitrescu 1961, p. 16). Beside this we can mention few more other necropolises which have quite a big number of tombs: Liubcova - *Ţiglari* (Săcărin 1993, p. 75-81), Cârna - *Ostrovogania* (Şandor - Chicideanu 2003, p. 158), Ostrovul Mare - *Bivolării* (Berciu 1939, p. 106 - 139), Plosca - *Cabana de metal* (Motzoi - Chicideanu 2011, I, p. 167-173), Balta Verde - *La Morminţi* (Berciu, Comşa 1956, p. 262 - 307), Ghidici - *Balta Ţarova* (Nica 1994, p. 178 - 206), Orsoja (Filipov 1976), Korbovo - *Pesak* (Letica 1973-1974, p. 163-174), Korbovo - *Glamija* (Krstic 1983, p. 19-29). Small necropolises also have an important role (Pl. II). Only in South West Oltenia nine such necropolises were found (Crăciunescu 2012a, p. 32-53). Only two of these were systematically researched in the last period of time, the one from Gruia (Crăciunescu 2006, p. 67-78) and Crivina - *km fluvial 894* (Crăciunescu, Neagoe 2008, p. 87 - 96). Others have been researched for a long time, such as the one from Ostrovul Corbului (Berciu op. Cit., p. 106 - 139), Balta Verde - *La Morminţi* (Berciu, Comşa, op. Cit., p. 262-307) and Ostrovul Mare - *Bivolării*. A specific feature of these necropolises from South West Oltenia is that the most part of them were found on the bank of Danube, which later on became reservoir, after the Iron Gates II hydra power station was built. This lake systematically eroded the North bank of the Danube, causing the destruction of a great number of tombs. As a direct result, in the moment of research, very few tombs unharmed by the lake's water were discovered. Thus a great amount of information that could have been gathered was lost.

Gârla Mare has always been considered a point of interest regarding archeological research, especially the Danube bank. I can personally name field researches from 1996, 1998 and 2000 made around km river 839-840. I've found here a great number of ceramic fragments belonging to different periods of time from Neolithic till the Feudal Age. I have

paid a great attention to the ceramics belonging to this culture (Crăciunescu 2012b, from manuscript). Based on the discovered materials, we think that in the designated area near the Danube, spread about 1 km, is located a Žuto Brdo - Gârla Mare culture settlement. A very remarkable thing is that on some of the ceramic fragments gathered here, the design of this culture is made by simple incision (Pl. III) and not by Stichkanaltechnik. In the same place we found an anthropomorphous statue picturing a feminine character sitting in a boat (Pl. IV). This is relevant to a population who lived near the water and used it as locomotion.

This decoration method of the pots, using incision has also been sighted in the Cârna - *Grindul Tomii* necropolis. We have to point out that only a very few number of incision made pots were found here (Șandor-Chicideanu 2003, p. 91).

In the summer of 2004 students and teachers of History University from Pitești, working on a roman age archeological site, made a field research. Five clay pots (Bărbulescu, Cârstea 2006, p. 49-54) were discovered in the area of km river 839 + 500 with this occasion. Researchers that found these pots came to the conclusion that they were part of a funerary offerings (Bărbulescu, Cârstea 2006, p. 49). The truth is that these pots belonged to a tomb partially destroyed by the bank's collapse. This evaluation error was due to the facts that the authors didn't master well enough data referring to this period and neither funeral research belonging to the Žuto Brdo - Gârla Mare culture. Otherwise they would have known that incinerated human bones are, in some cases, deposited in graves not in pots (Berciu 1939, p.106, Fig. 115; Berciu, Comșa 1956, p. 267-278; Crăciunescu 2011, p. 38; Crăciunescu, Neagoe 2008, p. 87). In this way it is possible to discover only the pots with the offerings while the cremated remains deposited in funeral urn or in the grave could have been washed away by the Danube's water. An interesting fact is the two authors' observation regarding that in four of the five pots there were animal bones representing offering remains which didn't have any burn marks. The same situation has also been seen in necropolis from Ostrovul Corbului (Berciu 1939, p. 106-139), Ostrovul Mare - *Bivolării* (Berciu 1939, p.105-139), Balta Verde - *La Morminți* (Berciu, Comșa 1956, p. 268-307), Cârna - *Grindul Tomii* (Dumitrescu 1961, p. 382), Gruia (Crăciunescu 2006, p. 67-70) and Crivina - *km river 894* (Crăciunescu, Neagoe 2008, p. 87-96). All of these offerings weren't burnt, exception being Cârna - *Grindul Tomii* tombs.

In 2005, during an archaeological research campaign at the above mentioned roman age site, a field research was made by archaeologists and restorers from The Iron Gates Museum. With this occasion, at 200-300 m away from Km River 840, a very special shaped funeral urn was discovered (Rus, Stangă 2005, p. 134-137). The urn's shape is unique for the Žuto Brdo - Gârla Mare culture (Rus, Stangă 2005, Fig. 6). This urn had a flat side provided with four vertical handles to be tied with a string. Burnt bones and ashes were found inside the urn, according to the authors' discoveries.

In the summer of 2013, during a field research, I have discovered an incineration tomb belonging to this culture, at Km River 839+300. The human burnt bones were placed in a very large kantaroi (Pl. V). This kantaroi was buried in the culture layer, with its base on the virgin level in an clayey soil, difficult to dig. A part of the pot appeared as a result of the field erosion caused by the heavy rains during the spring of 2013. The bottom of the urn was situated at a depth of 0,75 m and one of its sides was situated at a small distance away from a section dug years ago on the above mentioned roman age site. The urn is decorated with a line slightly imprinted in the Stichkanaltechnik placed between the neck and the body of the pot. It was full of burnt human bones. These bones are currently in research at the Anthropological Institute "Fr. Reiner". The area between km river 839+300 and 839+800 is the most important from archaeological point of view and also the place of a necropolis.

Another place of archaeological interest is situated at km river 836+500. The area is also known as "La dune" because there are three dunes nearby. On the north dune, the

smallest, there is a Žuto Brdo - Gârla Mare necropolis. Villagers used to exploit the sand from this dune. This led to the destruction of a large part of the necropolis but also facilitated its discovery. Beside the large number of ceramic pot remains, the necropolis was also highlighted by the discovery of a quadruple tomb (Crăciunescu 2012c, p. 33-48) in 2006 (PI. VI). The discovery was made by our late colleague, Mr. Constantin Para, restorer at the Iron Gates Museum and a group of students from the History University from Pitești. The urn content and the position of the secondary pots were not recorded. We only have the information that all four urns contained burnt bones, but no such bones were kept for analysis. The whole tomb inventory is composed of 18 types of pots (Crăciunescu 2012c, p. 33-48).

In 2009, during another field research, I have discovered in the same place two more tombs belonging to the Žuto Brdo - Gârla Mare culture (unique). The discovery was eased by the fact that sand exploitation led to appearance of some of the tomb inventory (PI. VII). Both tombs lack the urn, the burnt human bones being placed directly in the grave. As inventory, the first tomb had five pots, four of them being decorated. The second tomb had an inventory made of seven pots of which only two were decorated.

The year 2010 also meant the first archaeological site in this place, when the first seven sections were drawn. In 2012 four more section were drawn (VIII-XI). In 2013 the necropolis was further investigated through four more sections (PI. VIII). The section orientation was made observing the part of the dune that was destroyed and also the fact that the east side of it had been compromised by dislodging the ground from the area in order to cover a stronghold such as the ones built after the Second World War, at the border with the former Yugoslavia. After building a stronghold it was covered with the nearby ground. Thus a great number of archeological sites placed near the Danube (Mehedinți County) had been damaged.

During the three archaeological research campaigns from Gârla Mare, from 2010, 2012 and 2013, eleven tombs were discovered (PI. IX - XII), one of which was triple. The number of pots varies from one to nine. Not always the human cremated bones were placed in amphorae, the best example being M 10/2013, where another type of pot was used.

Due to the short time dedicated to the research of the materials, the ceramic material couldn't be very well restored. As a result we cannot estimate the exact number of ceramic objects, their shape and significance. Six of these eleven tombs had one or two pots, almost the standard inventory of a tomb belonging to this culture. Only one, M3 / 2010, had a bigger number of pots. We can also mention M / 2006 which was a quadruple tomb and had 18 pieces.

After the research of this necropolis from "La Dune" will be completed, we will have a complete picture of the entire ceramic material and pots shapes will be known and comments will be made regarding the time period in which this necropolis belonging to the Žuto Brdo - Gârla Mare culture will be placed.

Thus two areas in which necropolis belonging to the Žuto Brdo - Gârla Mare culture existed can take shape: one in the area of km river 839+500 - 839+800, as a result of accidental discoveries and the other one in the „La Dune” area situated at km river 836+400 and about 2 - 300 m away from the Danube shore. The two necropolises are not contemporary, the first one to be used is the one from the km river 839 area.

Conclusions

Meat offerings suggested by the remaining bones we've found, can be found both west and east of the Iron Gates as it follows: one tomb at Liubcova - *Țiglarie*; one tomb at Ostrovul Mare; two tombs at Crivina; three tombs at Korbovo - *Glamija*; two tombs at Cârna - *Ostrovogania*; four tombs at Cârna - *Grindul Tomii*. Apparently this practice can be found predominantly in the necropolis from east of the Iron Gates, but we must consider the

proportion between the number of the necropolis and the tombs from both sides of the Danubes defile. East of the Iron Gates most of the tombs with offerings can be found in necropolis from Cârna: *Grindul Tomii* with four tombs and *Ostrovogania* with two tombs. But we must take into consideration the fact that the necropolis from *Grindul Tomii* has 116 tombs and the one from *Ostrovogania* has 58 tombs. The small necropolises from west Oltenia have a better ratio in this concern. *Ostrovul Corbului* has one tomb with offerings from the entire seven tombs, *Crivina* has two tombs with offerings from the entire three.

It is possible that this funeral practice came from the west side of this culture and evolved in the east side of this area. In this case the spreading of the *Žuto Brdo - Gârla Mare* culture started gradually from west to east and this practice could be found more in South-West Oltenia and less in South-East of this province.

Another problem regarding the funeral practice of the *Gârla Mare* population refers to the type of tombs. The vast majority of these tombs have the incinerated human bones deposited in urns. There are cases when these human remains are deposited directly in the grave and beside them there are different pots. This practice can be found in two tombs from *Balta Verde*; one tomb from *Ostrovul Corbului*; one tomb from *Crivina*; six tombs from *Gârla Mare*; two tombs from *Cârna - Grindul Tomii* and one tomb from *Cârna - Ostrovogania*. Considering the number of the tombs in graves and the fact that the necropolis from South-West Oltenia had been destroyed by the river, this practice was more spread in West Oltenia as an opposition to the East. We could suggest also in this case that the spreading of the above mentioned population happened quite slowly, from West to East, at least for the East of the Iron Gates Danube's shores. V. Dumitrescu also assumes that this practice is older than placing this human remains in urns (Dumitrescu 1961, p. 308).

A problem yet to be resolved for the *Žuto Brdo - Gârla Mare* culture, both at *Gârla Mare* and other necropolis is the placement of the funeral pyre in relation with the settlement. As a result of the observations made upon the bones from graves belonging to the "*La dune*" site, I have noticed that this also contains pebbles of a certain size. This kind of pebbles can be found on the Danube's bank, underneath the clay soil as a pebble layer which is nowadays exploited by the locals. The settlement corresponding to this necropolis is situated on the Danube shore, at 2 - 3000 m away from the necropolis.

The place where the funeral pyre used to be was generally the same, for the necropolis from *Gârla Mare - "La dune"* being placed on the Danube's shore. This situation is also supported by the anthropological analysis results of some of the tombs. These analysis had been made for M2 / 2009, M1-5 / 2010 meaning a total of eight analysis because M3/2010 was a triple grave. The results of these analysis show, among other things, the fact that in urn no. 1 from M3/2010 there were bones from two different individuals. Individual A was a male and between 25 - 40 years old. For Individual B we could not determine sex and age because only two bone fragments could be found. I consider that these fragments that came from a different individual accidentally got in that urn, belonging to the previously individual incinerated on the same spot. Even if at M5/2010 we could determine sex and age for individual A and B, from individual B only a few bone fragments could be found. I consider that we have the same situation described before, the two cases offering clues for establishing the relationship settlement - necropolis. The discoveries of some ceramic incision decorated fragments are a novelty for this archeological site. If more archaeological research could be made in this site, we could determine how often this *Gârla Mare* ceramic decoration technique was used in this restrain area, or maybe on a larger area, also pointed out by the discoveries made in two different locations from *Cârna*. Is difficult to determine whether if the simple incision is a reminiscence of a style use until then or an influence which will never be used again. I personally consider that it is a reminiscence which will gradually disappear.

The results of research campaign from 2013 conducted in *Gârla Mare* necropolis

could not be harnessed as the archeological material hasn't been restored. Thus we are limited to these conclusions. Therefore we reserve the right to develop further this topic as soon as we will have more information, when we will be able to make more connections based on the type of pots, the metal objects inventory etc.

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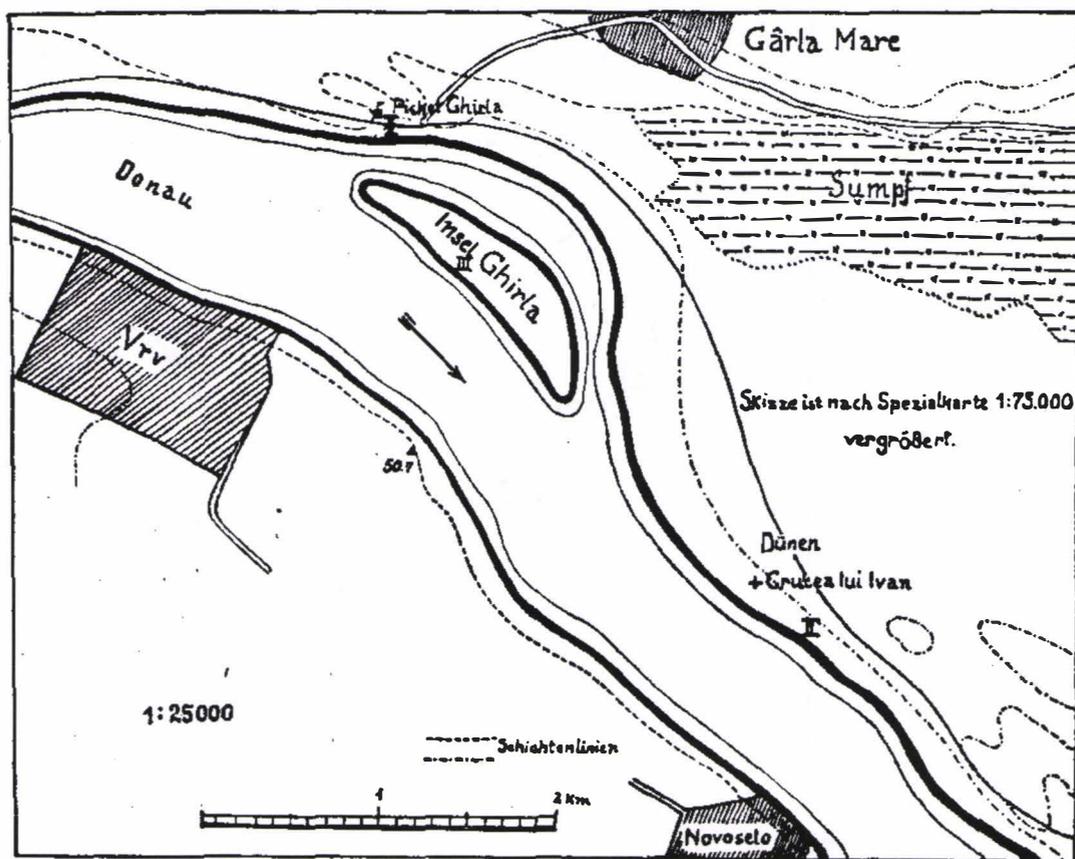
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Grave No.	Sex	Age	Weight (g)	Funerary Rite
Gârla Mare G. 1/2010	Female	30-50	450	Cremated
Gârla Mare G. 2/2010	Unknown	12-19	175	Cremated
Gârla Mare G. 3/2010 (urn 1) Individual A	Male	25-40	1075*	Cremated
Gârla Mare G. 3/2010 (urn 1) Individual B	Unknown	Unknown	-	Cremated
Gârla Mare G. 3/2010 (urn 2)	Male	25-35	190	Cremated
Gârla Mare G. 3/2010 (urn 3)	Female	25-40	550	Cremated
Gârla Mare G. 2 passim/2009	Female	20-30	250	Cremated
Gârla Mare G. 4/2010	Male	20-35	450	Cremated
Gârla Mare G. 5/2010 Individual A	Male	20-50	850*	Cremated
Gârla Mare G. 5/2010 Individual B	Female	20-50	-	Cremated

1



2

Plate I. 1. Table of data tombs discovered at Gârla Mare
 2. Island and the Gârla Mare's notes by L. Franz

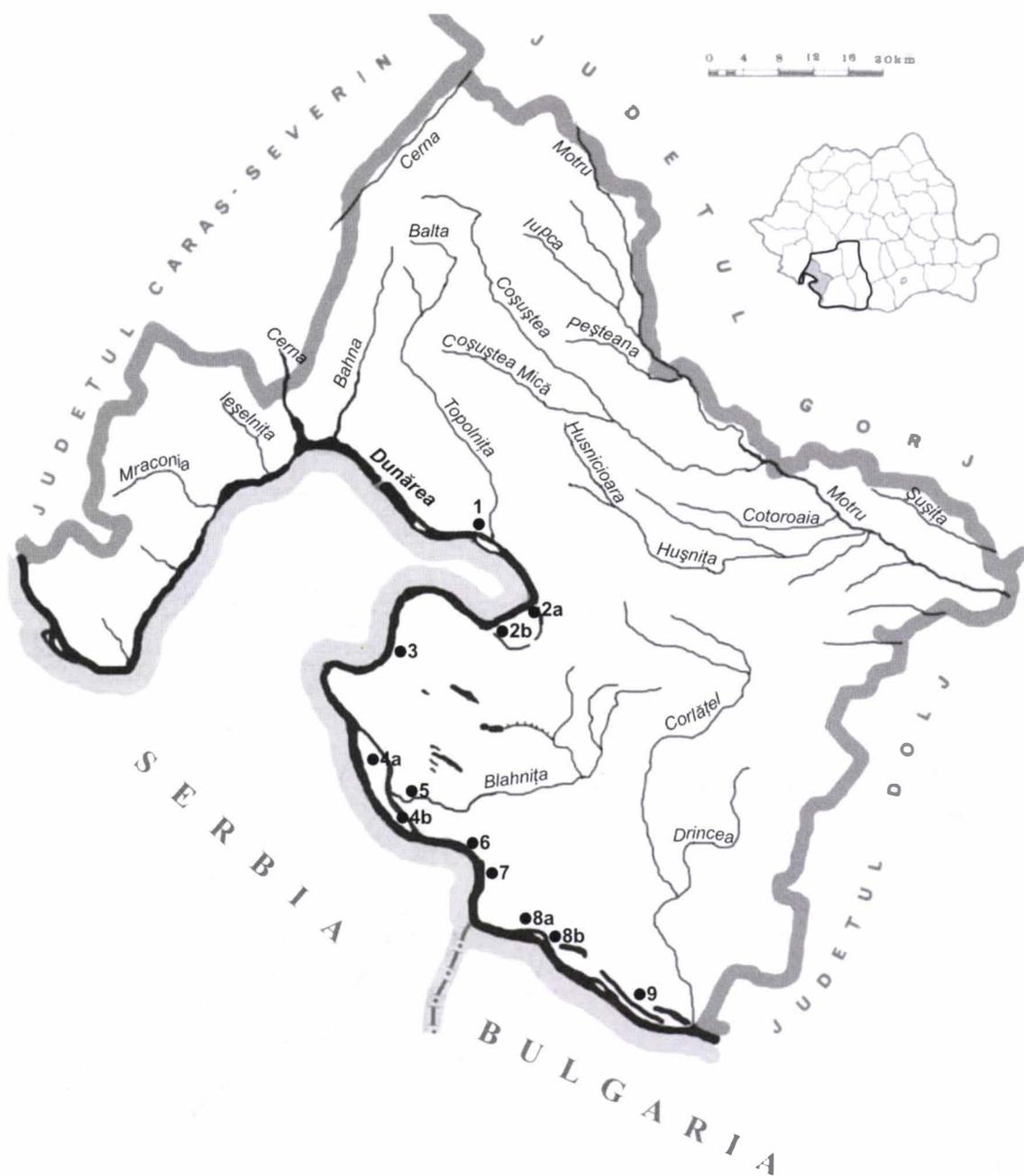
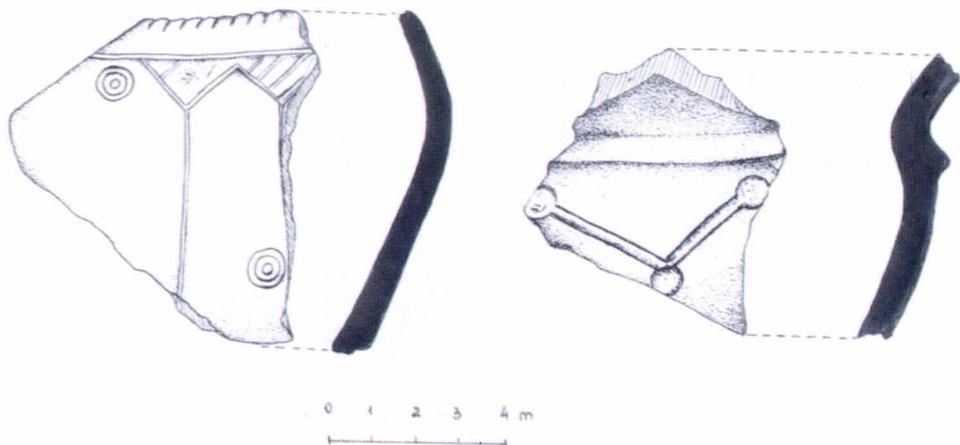
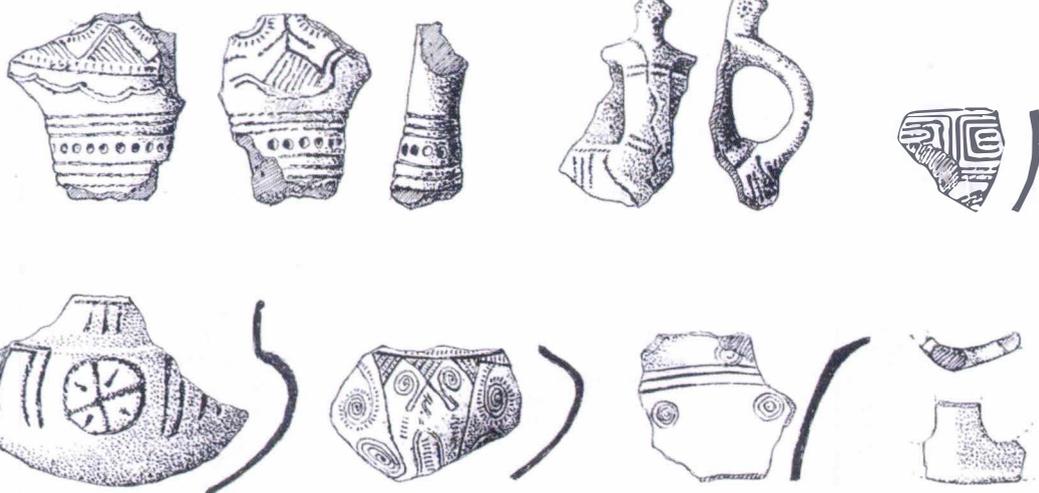


Plate II. Cemeteries Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare culture in southwest Oltenia
 Cemeteries Žuto Brdo – Gârla Mare crop: 1. Drobeta Turnu Severin; 2a-2b Ostrovul Corbului; 3. Crivina; 4a-4b Ostrovul Mare; 5. Balta Verde; 6. Izvoarele; 7. Gruia; 8a-8b Gârla Mare; 9. Salcia



1

0 2 4 6 cm



2

Plate III. 1. Ceramics from river km 839 decorated by incision
 2. Stichkanaltechnik ceramics from river km 839



1



2

Plate IV. 1. Funeral urn from the River km 839 +300
2. Grave quadruple from river km 836 +500



1



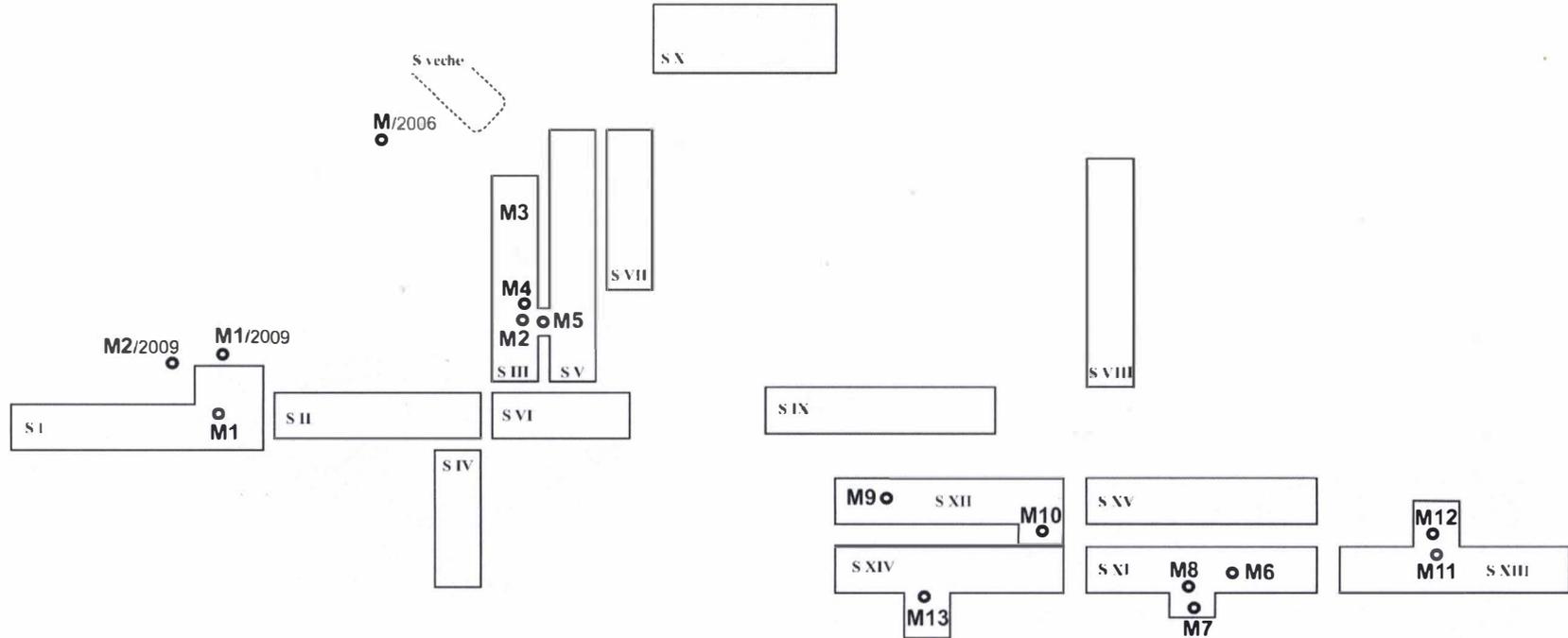
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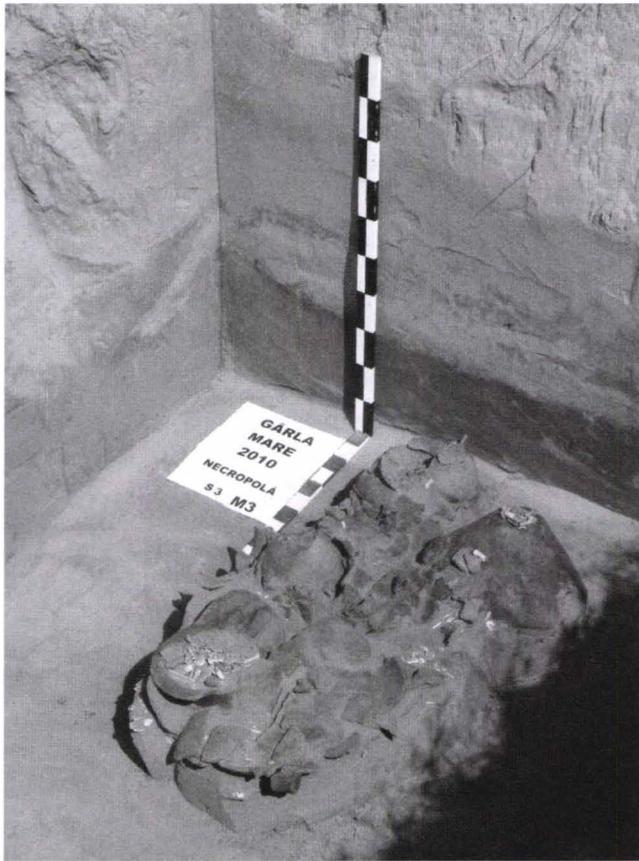
Plate V. 1. Grave 2/2009
2. Grave 2/2010

ȘANTIER ARHEOLOGIC GÂRLA MARE 2010; 2012; 2013

PLAN SĂPĂTURĂ

2010 S I - S VII
2012 S VIII - S XI
2013 S XII - S XV



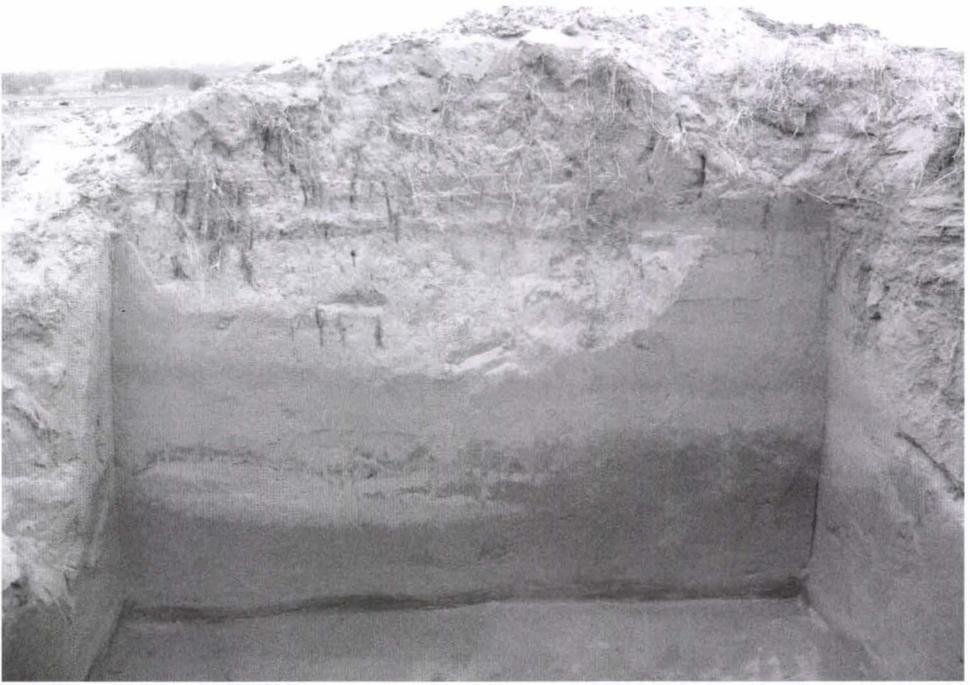


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Plate VII. 1. Grave 1/2010
2. Grave 4/2010



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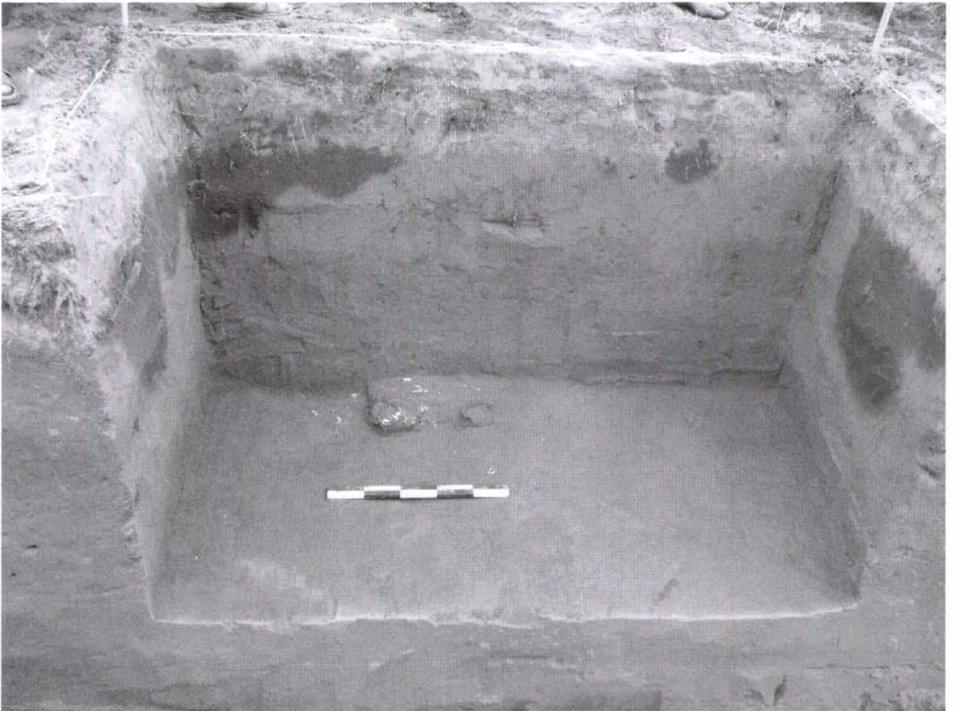


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Plate VIII. 1. Pit profile of G3/2010
2. Grave 5/2010



1



2

Plate IX. 1. Grave 6/2012
2. Grave 13/2013

CHILDREN BURIALS IN THE NORTH THRACIAN REGION DURING THE FIRST IRON AGE

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Keywords: children, First Iron Age, funerary practices, graves, "fields" of pits, Northern Thracians, settlements.

Résumé: Nous avons l'intention de remettre en discussion un nombre de 21 de sites, ou, sur les 172 squelettes identifiés et étudiés, 92 appartiennent aux enfants encadrés dans les groupes d'âge infans I et infans II.

Les 27 complexes identifiés dans ces sites peuvent être classés comme: trous – 17; tombes – 7; tumuli – 3, où l'inhumation a été singulier, double, triple et collective.

En ce qui concerne l'état de squelettes dans seulement 22 cas ils ont eu des informations. Dans ces cas nous pouvons voir des squelettes d'enfants étaient dans une position accroupie, une position qui n'était pas anatomique, ont été démembré ou incomplète, seulement deux étant en décubitus dorsale.

À Niculițel – Comet l'un des squelettes était sans tête et un autre présenter traces de violence sur le crâne. Aussi, à Novosel' skoe a été identifié seulement le crâne d'un enfant.

Analyse from distribution des résultats sur une carte, on observe que from zone située au nord du Danube ont provenu les grandes découvertes, bien qu'ils ne sont pas absente ni ou sud du Danube.

En conclusion, nous pouvons affirmer ce qui suit: tous les sites sont situés sur des terrasses près des rivières ou sur les rives des lacs naturels; est pratiquée l'inhumation mais aussi l'incinération des enfants, parfois au fin de mêmes arrangements funéraires; les inhumations sont simples, doubles, triples ou collective; l'inhumation a été pratiqué à l'intérieur des établissements, non seulement dans un espace spécialement conçu pour les défunts; toutes les tombes d'inhumation sont de contextes non funéraires; il y a des squelettes des enfants démembré, d'autre refetées, d'autre ont découvert le trou de remplissage; l'inventaire est constitué des pièces, outils, des articles ménagers et d'autre catégories; il existe une grande quantité de poterie;

Ont été identifiés offrandes de viande et offrandes alimentaires (céréales) et des guides aussi.

Death is considered to be "the worst type of violence" (Girard 1995, p. 276) which breaks the differences among people, producing a large variety of feelings such as: sadness, anger, defiance, resignation, but mostly, fear (Mims 2006, p. 333). It is a reflection upon the representation of the world and it remains as a constant of the individual and collective history. The society tries to preserve the remembrance of the ones that passed away using language, gestures, behaviours or images. All the archaic societies connected the idea of death with the acceptance of the fact that the body decomposed and it disintegrated, with beliefs regarding the underworld, with rituals and rites meant to facilitate the pass of the deceased into his new life, circumscribing the ravages of death and eliminating the danger that the dead persons represented for the surviving ones (Sîrbu 1988-1989, p. 89).

The funerary practices define the ethnic and the spirituality of a certain community (Crișan 1986, p. 127; Crișan 1993, I, p. 269; Bârzu 1970, p. 27; Nicolăescu-Ploșor, Wolski 1971, p. 747) because, on the one side, they are the expression of its eschatological representations (Bârzu 1970, p. 27), and on the other side, the way in which the body is prepared supposes the practice of particular traditions connected both to the membership of the deceased person to a certain social, age, gender category and it is also connected to the circumstances in which the death appeared.

Within a community, the children's death determines special funerary practices and treatments. This idea is sustained by the belief which considers that the children come from beneath the earth, from grottoes, caves, precipices, but also from marshes, springs or rivers (Eliade 1992, p. 94).

Häusler (1968, p. 13-16) considers that the habit of burying children in different places of adults is an expression of the beliefs regarding the death and children's souls. The

children's death was considered an abnormal phenomenon which suddenly interrupted the course of existence (Nicolaescu-Plopșor, Wolski 1975, p. 93).

The survivals' eventual disrespect of the pre-established rites might have attracted the dead's revenge. It was believed that the deceased got special qualities by his mere leaving of this world (Bența 1999, p. 96).

Regarding the geographical area, we should underline that the group of Thracian peoples can be delimited by corroborating the Greek sources with the very few toponyms, anthroponyms or preserved glosses. These illustrate the fact that the Thracians represented an Indo-European group (*IstRom* 2001, p. 400).

The territory analysed with this occasion is bounded by the rivers Maritza, Morava, Tisza, Prut and the Black Sea.

From the First Iron Age, 21 sites were included in the catalogue (for details see fig. 7). Among these, 27 complexes comprise 92 children skeletons.

These discoveries come from various types of sites, all of them being placed close to the rivers, on their terraces or on the banks of the lakes from Dobruja. There have been identified 6 "fields" of pits with 9 complexes, 6 necropolises with 7 complexes, 8 sites within settlements which comprise 10 complexes and a discovery resulted of an isolated tumuli from which one complex with children skeletons was recovered.

The six discoveries coming from the settlements are placed only at the North of the Danube.

The settlements and the fortresses comprising children burials are: Baciul Nouă, Cluj County (Kalmar 1987, p. 166-168; Sîrbu 1994, p. 88), Gomolava – *Fruška Gora*, Serbia (Jovanović, Jovanović 1988; Sîrbu 1994, p. 87), Jurilovca/Orgame – *Capul Dolojman*, Tulcea County (Ailincăi 2008, p. 15-17; Ailincăi, Mirițoiu, Soficaru 2003, p. 307-310; Jugănaru 2005, p. 35-36), Drobeta Turnu Severin - *Ostrovul Corbului*, Mehedinți County (Roman et alii 1992, p. 207; Sîrbu 1994, p. 89), Rasova – *Malul Roșu*, Constanța County (Ailincăi 2008a, p. 19; Irimia 1974, p. 75, 125; Jugănaru 2005, p. 37), Răcarii de Jos – *Castru*, Dolj County (Florescu 1931, p. 1-28; Tudor 1965, p. 233-256), Sucidava V – *Celei*, Dolj County (Tudor, Bujor, Matrosenco 1960, p. 483-484) and Teleac – *Dealul Grușet*, Alba County (Vasiliev, Aldea, Ciugudean 1991, p. 23-43).

A single discovery, the one of Coșereni – *La Coastă*, Ialomița County (Rența 2008, p. 78) comprises two children skeletons of an undetermined age; there are two graves identified in an archaeological survey.

The "fields" of pits were the ones that comprise the most children burials: there are six sites, which represents 28,57% from the total.

Fig. 1 presents graphically the children burials according to the type of the site where they were discovered:

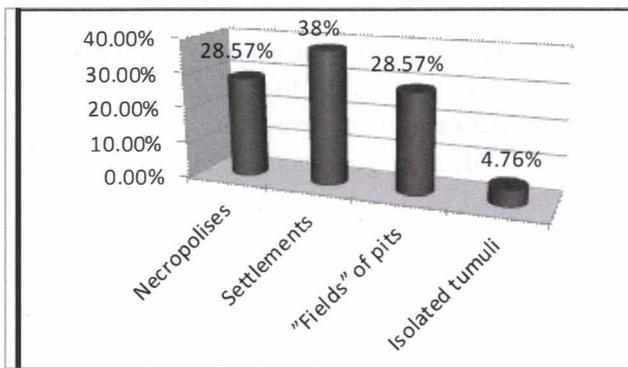


Fig. 1: Repartition of the discoveries according to the context.

While analysing Fig. 2, it can be observed that 17 discoveries (62,96%) resulted from pits, from flat graves – 7 (25,92%), from *tumuli* – 3 (11,11%). There is a single pit with collective inhumations discovered in a settlement at Niculițel – *Cornet*, Tulcea County (Ailincăi 2008a, p. 17-18; Ailincăi 2008b, 11-30; Ailincăi, Topoleanu 2003, p. 45; Constantinescu, Mirițoiu 2008, p. 69-73; Jugănaru 2005, p. 36; Topoleanu, Jugănaru 1995, p. 203 – 229), and another one from Desa – *Castravița* (CCAR, Campania 2003; CCAR, Campania 2009; Gherghe, Ridiche 2005, p. 137-141; Oancea 1974, p. 540).

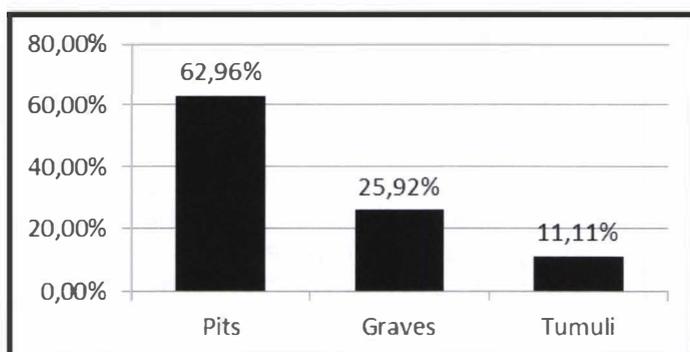


Fig. 2: Repartition of the discoveries in archaeological complexes

With respect to the shape of the graves, in 13 cases there is no data regarding this aspect; the other six of them have a circular shape, one is oval and four conical.

At Jurilovca – *Orgame*, Tulcea County, the conical grave had also two steps (Ailincăi 2008a, p. 15-17; Ailincăi, Mirițoiu, Soficaru 2003, p. 307-310; Jugănaru 2005, p. 35-36); at Baciu – *Str. Nouă*, Cluj County (Kalmar 1987, p. 166-168; Sîrbu 1994, p. 88) and Cașolț - *Trei Mormiņi*, Sibiu County (Macrea 1959, p. 419-420) the graves had stone cists.

Despite of a reduced number of long barrows, each of them presents certain particularities. In this respect, at Cașolț and Desa, the researched *tumuli* comprised bi-ritual graves; the first site is a double grave where an adult was incinerated and an 10 – 15 years old child is buried in a rectangular pit made of a cist funerary structure (Macrea 1959, p. 419-420). Within the bi-ritual necropolis of Desa – *Castravița*, Dolj County (Gherghe, Ridiche 2005, p. 137-141; Oancea 1974, p. 540) there are two complexes: a long barrow comprising a single inhumation and a complex with a single inhumation. There is no data regarding the ages of the deads.

Within the 27 complexes, the number of dead people deposited ranging from one to three. The following table (Fig. 3) presents the repartition of the discoveries taking into account the individuals deposited in graves. According to it, the singular inhumations are numerous while the lower percent is represented by the triple burials.

No.	Type of deposition	No. of discoveries	Percent
1	Singular inhumation	17	62,96%
2	Double inhumation	7	25,92%
3	Triple inhumation	1	3,70%
4	Collective inhumation	2	7,40%

Fig. 3: Repartition of the discoveries taking into account the number of individuals from the complexes

The Ciulnița long barrow comprises a grave of collective inhumation in which two adults and two children of 8 – 12 years old were deposited (Bălțeanu 2000, p. 167-168;

Marinescu-Bîlcu 2000, p. 149-154; Rența 2008, p. 81-82). At Sboryanovo was also discovered a collective inhumation: two adults and two children (an *infans I* and an *infans II*) – Ailincăi 2008a, p. 20-21.

Regarding the burials of children in “fields” of pits we previously mentioned that there are nine discoveries of this type. The number of the deads in these graves varies from one to more than two individuals. The singular burials are attested in six pits discovered at Babadag - *M. 1* and *Pit. no.1/S.1*, Tulcea County (Ailincăi 2008a, p. 9-12; Ailincăi et alii 2005-2006, p. 77-80), Bucu – *Pochină*, Ialomița County (Ailincăi 2008a, p. 12), Niculițel – *Cornet, L1/2000*, Tulcea County (Ailincăi 2008a, p. 17-18; Ailincăi 2008b, 11-30; Ailincăi, Topoleanu 2003, p. 45; Constantinescu, Mirițoiu 2008, p. 69-73; Jugănar 2005, p. 36; Topoleanu, Jugănar 1995, 203 – 229), Novosel'skoe, Ukraine (Sîrbu 1994, p. 89; Ailincăi 2008a, p. 18-19) și Satu Nou – *Valea lui Voicu*, Constanța County (Sîrbu 1994, p. 90; Ailincăi 2008a, p. 19; Jugănar 2005, p. 37-38; Rența 2008, p. 79); the double ones in three pits from: Enisala – *Palanca*, Constanța County (Ailincăi 2008a, p. 13; Ailincăi, Constantinescu 2008, p. 121-122), Niculițel – *Cornet, Pit no. 1/S.6* and *Pit no. 1/C.4*, Tulcea County (Ailincăi 2008a, p. 17-18; Ailincăi 2008b, 11-30; Ailincăi, Topoleanu 2003, p. 45; Constantinescu, Mirițoiu 2008, p. 69-73; Jugănar 2005, p. 36; Topoleanu, Jugănar 1995, 203 – 229).

Within the 27 complexes, 172 deads were identified. Among these, 92 were children (53,48%). Their repartition across age groups is the following: *infans I*: 7; *infans II*: 10; *infans I-II*: 58 (all of them are from Gomolava - *Fruška Gora*, Serbia (Jovanović, Jovanović 1988; Sîrbu 1994, p. 87), children with undetermined age - 17.

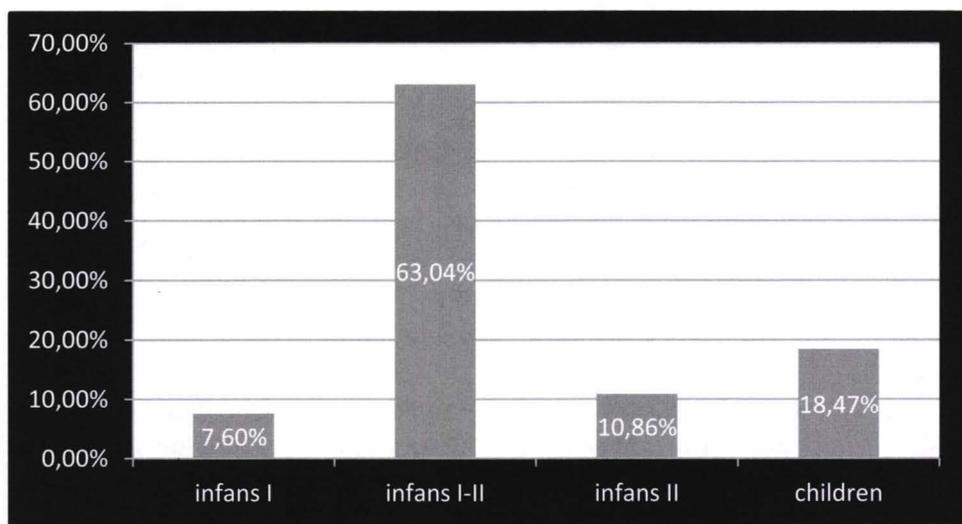


Fig. 4: Distribution across age (percents).

From the above chart results that half of the discovered children were 7 – 9 years old at the moment of death. They were included in the *infans I* and *infans II* groups of age (Fig. 4). The infant mortality, especially for the new-born babies up to 12 months, was influenced by various factors. The causes of the death for babies could have been endogenous (illnesses that started during the intrauterine period or which were a consequence of the birth process) or exogenous (certain dysfunction of the respiratory or digestive system, infectious and parasitic diseases, poisoning, trauma etc.) – Vert 2001, p. 66-67.

With respect to the orientation of the 92 identified children, only for 13 of them there is any information. In these cases, the body placed with the head to North and the legs to South (with certain variations of orientation) prevails, like in the following five cases: *Skeleton 1* and *Skeleton 2* from Baci ău – *Str. Nouă* (Kalmar 1987, p. 166-168; Sîrbu 1994, p.

88); *Skeleton 4* from Ciulnița (Bălțeanu 2000, p. 167-168; Marinescu-Bîlcu 2000, p. 149-154; Rența 2008, p. 81-82); *Skeleton 2* from Coșereni – *La Coastă* (Rența 2008, p. 78) and *Skeleton 2* from Rasova – *Malul Roșu* (Ailincăi 2008a, p. 19; Irimia 1974, p. 75, 125; Jugănar 2005, p. 37). Four children were placed on South-North direction: *Skeleton 1 / M.1* from Babadag – Dealul Cetățuia (Ailincăi 2008a, p. 9-12; Ailincăi et alii 2005-2006, p. 77-80), *Skeleton 1* from Coșereni – *La Coastă* (Rența 2008, p. 78), *Skeleton 11* from Jurilovca – *Capul Dolojman* (Ailincăi 2008a, p. 15-17; Ailincăi, Mirițoiu, Soficaru 2003, p. 307-310; Jugănar 2005, p. 35-36) and *Skeleton 2* from *Pit no. 1/S VI/2000* from Niculițel – *Cornet* (Ailincăi 2008b, 11-30; Topoleanu, Jugănar 1995, p. 203 – 229).

Two children were placed according to an East-West orientation: *Skeleton 1* of *Pit no. 1/S VI/2000* from Niculițel – *Cornet* (Ailincăi 2008b, 11-30; Topoleanu, Jugănar 1995, p. 203 – 229) and *Skeleton 1* from Răcarii de Jos – *Castru* (Florescu 1931, p. 1-28; Tudor 1965, p. 233-256). The direction West-East was observed in two cases: *Skeleton 1* from Ciulnița (Bălțeanu 2000, p. 167-168; Marinescu-Bîlcu 2000, p. 149-154; Rența 2008, p. 81-82) and the skeleton (M. 3) from Corbu (Bucovală, Irimia 1971, p. 41-50).

Correlating the orientation of the deads with their age, the following situation might be observed (Fig. 5):

No.	Orientation	<i>Infans I</i>	<i>Infans II</i>	<i>Infans I-II</i>	Child	Total dead persons
1.	North-South	1	2	0	2	5
2.	South-North	1	2	0	1	4
3.	West-East	0	1	0	1	2
4.	East-West	1	1	0	0	2
5.	No data available	4	4	58	13	79
6.	Total:	7	10	58	17	92

Fig. 5: Orientation of the deads according to their age

A dead body, if it is not disarticulated or incomplete, could have been buried in several positions: lying on the back, lying on a side, lying with the face down, sitting or standing. The body can be placed lying with the legs bent or well contracted, sometimes even bound such as the knees touch the chin (Parker Pearson 1999, p. 6).

Regarding the position of the deads, for eight complexes from Babadag (Ailincăi 2008a, p. 9-12; Ailincăi et alii 2005-2006, p. 77-80), Bucu – *Pochină* (Ailincăi 2008a, p. 12), Cașolț - *Trei Mormiți* (Macrea 1959, p. 419-420), Gomolava – *Fruška Gora* (Jovanovič, Jovanovič 1988; Sîrbu 1994, p. 87), Drobeta Turnu Severin - *Ostrovul Corbului* (Roman et alii 1992, p. 207; Sîrbu 1994, p. 89), Satu Nou – *Valea lui Voicu* (Ailincăi 2008a, p. 19; Irimia, Conovici 1993) and Sboryanovo – *Varna* (Ailincăi 2008a, p. 20-21) there is no information available.

Two children were discovered in supine position: *Skeleton 1* from Ciulnița (Bălțeanu 2000, p. 167-168; Marinescu-Bîlcu 2000, p. 149-154), *infans II*, and *Skeleton 1* from Corbu (Bucovală, Irimia 1971, p. 41-50), of undetermined age. On the other side, there are seven children which were deposited in a crouching or slightly crouching position: *Skeleton 1* from Rasova – *Malul Roșu* (Ailincăi 2008a, p. 19; Irimia 1974, p. 75, 125; Jugănar 2005, p. 37), *Skeleton 1* from Teleac – *Dealul Grușet* (Vasiliev, Aldea, Ciugudean 1991, p. 23-43), *Skeleton 1* from Sucidava V – *Celei* (Tudor, Bujor, Matrosenco 1960, p. 483-484), *Skeleton 1* and *Skeleton 2* from Baci – *Str. Nouă* (Kalmar 1987, p. 166-168), *Skeletons 1* and *2* from Coșereni – *La Coastă* (Rența 2008, p. 78).

There are graves which attest some special situations regarding the position of skeletons. For example, the *Skeleton 4* from Ciulnița, a 10-12 years old child, as well as the *Skeleton 11* (8 years old child) from Jurilovca – *Capul Dolojman*, were discovered in un-

anatomical positions (Ailincăi 2008a, p. 15-17; Ailincăi, Mirițoiu, Soficaru, 2003, p. 307-310; Jugănaru 2005, p. 35-36).

The site of Niculițel – *Cornet* contains also two special situations: the *Skeleton 1* from *Pit no. 1/S VI/2000* was beheaded and the head was not together with the skeleton. The *Skeleton 2* from the same pit was incomplete and presented traces of strikes on the skull (Ailincăi 2008a, p. 17-18; Ailincăi 2008b, p. 11-30; Ailincăi, Topoleanu 2003, p. 45; Constantinescu, Mirițoiu 2008, p. 69-73; Jugănaru 2005, p. 36; Topoleanu, Jugănaru 1995, p. 203 – 229). Another incomplete skeleton is the one from the *Pit no. 2* from Teleac – *Dealul Grușet*. In the same site, the child from the *Pit no. 1* was crouched and it was covered with a layer of burnt clay (Vasiliev, Aldea, Ciugudean 1991, p. 23-43).

Regarding the other graves of children which were not anterior mentioned, the authors of the researches stated that there were only osteological fragments, without mentioning other details.

Similar situations dated from the same period were also documented at the South-Balkan Thracians. Thus, a complex comprising an incomplete skeleton, deposited with the face down was researched in the site from Gledacevo – *Dvora*, Bulgaria; the pit was dated from the 6th – 5th centuries BC (Tonkova 2003, p. 497-498; Tonkova, Savatinov 2001, p. 98-101). Collective complexes with incomplete skeletons were studied at Koprivlen (Bulgaria), where the osteological material comprises several vertebrae belonging to three adult individuals as well as a fragment of a children's jaw. Together with these, a rich grave goods dated from the 7th century BC was deposited (Baralis 2008, p. 145-146). Regarding other cultural areas, the settlement corresponding to the Hallstatt urn fields from Stillfried an der March (Austria) should be mentioned. A storage pit was excavated. Inside it, three adults and four children were put. In the same site, pits comprising isolated human skulls were identified; some of them preserving traces of strikes (Irimia, Conovici 1993, p. 62; Ailincăi *et alii* 2007, p. 56).

The funerary inventory of the children graves from the First Iron Age comprises goods, offerings and "companions". The inventories are not very rich and they comprised adornments, accessories, household objects and tools, offerings such as ceramic pots, cereal seeds which are specific for the discoveries from the South Danube area and meat offerings.

The adornments are attested in the inhumation *Grave I/S. 3* from Desa – *Castravița* (two bronze bracelets). In the same site, a bronze pendant is mentioned in the deposit from *C. 3* (Gherghe, Ridiche 2005, p. 137-141; Oancea 1974, p. 540).

The weapons appear only in two cases at Jurilovca – *Capul Dolojman* – two arrowheads and two fragments of a knife besides a skeleton of an 8 years old child (Ailincăi 2008a, p. 15-17; Ailincăi, Mirițoiu, Soficaru, 2003, p. 307-310; Jugănaru 2005, p. 35-36) and at Răcarii de Jos – *Castru* – a knife discovered in the grave of a child of approximately 1-2 years old (Florescu 1931, p. 1-28; Tudor 1965, p. 233-256). We have to mention that the both graves with weapons also contained also meat offerings.

The category of household tools and objects is represented by grinders discovered at Baci (Kalmar 1987, p. 166-168) and Teleac (Vasiliev, Aldea, Ciugudean 1991, p. 23-43), spindle whorls at Corbu (Bucovală, Irimia 1971, p. 41-50), Jurilovca – *Capul Dolojman* (Ailincăi 2008a, p. 15-17; Ailincăi, Mirițoiu, Soficaru, 2003, p. 307-310; Jugănaru 2005, p. 35-36) and Rasova – *Malul Roșu* (Ailincăi 2008a, p. 19; Irimia 1974, p. 75, 125; Jugănaru 2005, p. 37). The funerary inventory from Jurilovca – *Capul Dolojman* also comprises a fishing hook and a whetstone (Ailincăi 2008a, p. 15-17; Ailincăi, Mirițoiu, Soficaru, 2003, p. 307-310; Jugănaru 2005, p. 35-36).

Other inventory objects are: a *pintadera* discovered at Baci (Kalmar 1987, p. 166-168), a scapula of an years old mal with manufacturing traces and a fragment of horn core

which were discovered in *Pit no. 1* from Niculițel – Cornet (Ailincăi 2008b, 11-30; Topoleanu, Jugănaru 1995, p. 203 – 229).

Unlike the inventory objects, the offerings are much more numerous. We have to remark the small number of ceramic pots: twelve of them were recovered from the complexes excavated in the 21 sites. They are: a mug, a cup, a half of a storage vessel and an amphora of Samos which was discovered at Ciulnița.

From most of the complexes, ceramic fragments resulted. For example, in the pit of Jurilovca – *Capul Dolojman*, the recovered fragments come from 80 pots.

A new category of offerings which has not been attested in other sites that we took into account for this study is represented by the seeds and cereals (flax, barley, millet etc.). These were attested at Gomolava – *Fruška Gora* (Jovanović, Jovanović 1988; Sîrbu 1994, p. 87). Analogies regarding the deposition of seeds besides deads during the First Iron Age are at Koprivlen, in Bulgaria, where the inventory also comprises a rich archeobotanic material (seeds of cereals, grapes and cherries) – Baralis 2008, p. 145-146.

The meat offerings are mentioned in six complexes with children: Baci – *Str. Nouă* (Kalmar 1987, p. 166-168), Enisala – *Palanca* (Ailincăi 2008a, p. 13; Ailincăi, Constantinescu 2008, p. 121-122), Gomolava – *Fruška Gora* (Jovanović, Jovanović 1988; Sîrbu 1994, p. 87), Jurilovca – *Capul Dolojman* (Ailincăi 2008a, p. 15-17; Ailincăi, Mirițoiu, Soficar, 2003, p. 307-310; Jugănaru 2005, p. 35-36) and Răcarii de Jos – *Castru* (Florescu 1931, p. 1-28; Tudor 1965, p. 233-256). They were exclusively recovered from the inhumation burials. Among the species which were determined, we can mention the red deer and the cattle (at Gomolava).

Other categories of artefacts include: fragments of hearths discovered at Baci – *Str. Nouă*, charcoal (in the inhumation burials of Ciulnița), fragments of clay mixture (Teleac – *Dealul Grușet*).

The “companions” were identified in two of the 21 analysed sites. Thus, near the child from *Pit no. 1* from Gomolava there was a dog (Jovanović, Jovanović 1988; Sîrbu 1994, p. 87). The same situation can be noticed in case of the child skeleton discovered in the grave from Satu Nou – *Valea lui Voicu* (Ailincăi 2008a, p. 19; Irimia, Conovici 1993). Analogies regarding the placement of entire years old mals together with the children skeletons are mentioned in the *North Sacrificial Complex* from Koprivlen, Bulgaria where the remains of four individuals were recovered. Three were adults and a child. Near them, four dogs and a horse were deposited (Baralis 2008, p. 145-146).

Since the beginning of the First Iron Age, while the cemeteries became rare or even disappeared, the necropolises were placed at the peripheral area of the space inhabited by Northern Thracians (*IstRom* 2001, p. 368). In the area that we studied, from a total of 94 buried individuals, 21 are children. Despite this, there are differences for various geographical areas which reflect changes in the funerary beliefs and practices as well as the state of research (Sîrbu 2000, p. 162).

Regarding the discoveries referring to children inhumation date from the 11th – the 9th centuries BC, these were done in seven archaeological sites: Babadag, Baci, Bucu, Drobeta Turnu Severin, Foltești, Niculițel and Sboryanovo. For the 8th century BC there are discoveries from Desa, Enisala, Gomolava, Jurilovca, Niculițel¹, Novosel'skoe, Rasova and Satu Nou (8 sites), and for the end of the First Iron Age, from the 6th – the 5th centuries BC there are discoveries at Cașolț, Ciulnița, Corbu and Teleac, meaning four sites. For the other sites (Coșereni, Răcarii de Jos and Sucidava V) the chronology is a general one which states the fact that the discoveries are dated from the First Iron Age.

¹ According to the information provided by the authors of the researches, this site had a long existence dated from the 11th to the 7th BC centuries (Ailincăi 2008a, p. 17-18; Ailincăi 2008b, 11-30; Ailincăi, Topoleanu 2003, p. 45; Constantinescu, Mirițoiu 2008, p. 69-73; Jugănaru 2005, p. 36; Topoleanu, Jugănaru 1995, 203 – 229).

It should be mentioned that the number of discoveries dated from the beginning of the First Iron Age is greater in comparison with the ulterior one. According to chart no. 6, there is a decrease until the end of the period (the 6th – the 5th centuries BC).

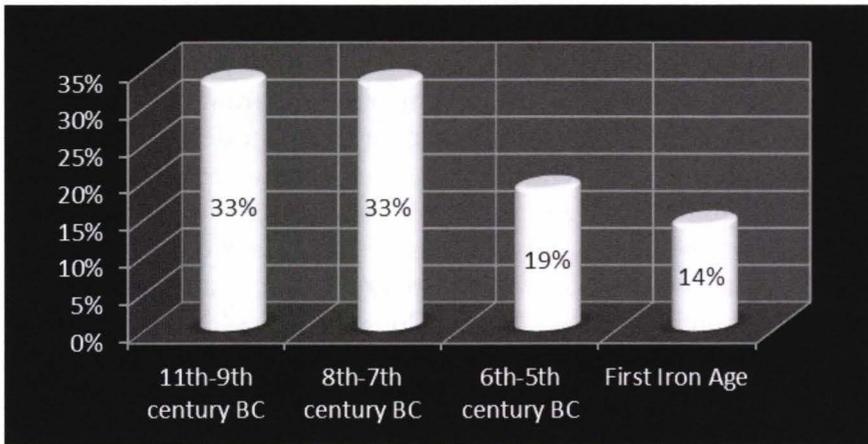


Fig. 6: Comparative situation of the graves and complexes containing children bones at Northern Thracian during the First Iron Age (*apud* Ailincăi 2008a).

In 2005, G. Jugănaru proposed at least five types of burials of the deads within Babadag culture: **I.** proper graves; **II.** complexes with skeletons put in anatomical position; **III.** complexes with incomplete skeletons; **IV.** Collective complexes collective and **V.** complexes with skulls and mandibles (Jugănaru 2005, p. 38). The buried skeletons of children from the First Iron Age discovered in the area inhabited by the Northern Thracians can be included in the II – V categories. Applying this typology to our discoveries, the following situation results:

II. Complexes with skeletons put in anatomical position: Ciulnița; Corbu; Coșereni – *La Coastă*; Jurilovca – *Capul Dolojman*; Rasova – *Malul Roșu*; Răcarii de Jos – *Castru*; Sucidava V – *Celei*; Teleac – *Dealul Grușet*;

III. Complexes with incomplete skeletons: Desa – *Castravița*; Enisala – *Palanca*; Foltești – *Ruptura IV*; Niculițel – *Cornet (Gr. 1/S VI/2000; Locuința 1)*;

IV. Collective complexes: Ciulnița; Enisala – *Palanca*; Foltești – *Ruptura IV*; Gomolava – *Fruška Gora*; Jurilovca – *Capul Dolojman*; Niculițel - *Cornet (Lociuța 1)*; Sboryanovo – *Varna*;

V. Complexes with skulls and mandibles: Desa – *Castravița (C. 3)*; Novosel'skoe.

It is possible that a great part of these were sacrificial discoveries. This fact is proved by the non-funerary context in which they were attested. The sacrifice is a type of homicide, a religious ritual and one of the oldest manners to worship the Gods.

Scarifying children (infanticide) dates from 7000 BC (Mims 2006, p. 69, 82, 225). During the Prehistory, the sacrifices were a method practised for reconcile the Gods and it was the only way of facing the threats and the uncertainty of life. The sacrifices are done with the purpose to satisfy, to thank or to communicate with the divinity. They are practised when there is an imminent danger, as a greeting, at the building of a construction, for fertility, in order to reconcile a certain God or to offer a gift for a God (Mims 2006, p. 305).

In the analysed sites, there is no evidence regarding the practice of rituals of exposure/decomposition.

Excepting the discoveries from Niculițel – *Cornet* where in *Pit no. 1/S VI/2000* where the two researched skeletons were one beheaded and the other presented traces of strikes on

skull (which probably produced his death), in the other sites, there are no traces of strikes or other traces on children's bones.

Inhumation is attested throughout the North-Thracian region even if the number of discoveries is not high. This situation is due to the state of archaeological research or to the "discrete" funerary practices which are very hard or even impossible to highlight from an archaeological point of view.

The incineration rite was practised especially for adults and teenagers, but the archaeological discoveries have proved that during the Iron Age, the children were also incinerated.

The funerary ritual as an expression of the funerary ideology of a community is represented in the graves of incineration but not only, by the shape and the way of building the grave, by the quantity, variety and placement of the funerary inventory (Sîrbu 2003, p. 23).

The complexity of the funerary rites derives from the fact that the death also supposes a socio-ontological change because the dead person must face some challenges for his or her destiny beyond the grave and also to be accepted by the community of the deads (Eliade 1991, p. 171).

In the area inhabited by the Northern Thracians, the incineration was practised in case of the children especially during the Late Iron Age when it is documented in the tumuli necropolis from Ferigile². Thus, 66 skeletons of children were identified and 61 among them from the Ferigile tumuli necropolis, three from the flat necropolis of Ferigile, one from Desa – *Castravița* and one from Trifești – *La Curte*. Excepting the necropolises from Ferigile, all the other discoveries of incineration graves of children are double burials (Trifești – *La Curte*), or bi-ritual graves (Cașolț - *Trei Morminți* and Desa – *Castravița*).

Deciphering the relations between the two worlds (the one of the living and the afterlife) is difficult without the literary sources (Sîrbu 2000, p. 171). Despite this, there is a series of archaeological information, but their mere interpretation could be affected by the ethnographic comparisons. The situations apparently similar are due to certain causes, beliefs or behaviours, but their signification is different (Lazăr 2010, p. 199).

During the 5th – the 3rd centuries BC, the predominant funerary ritual of the Northern Thracians was the incineration. In this respect, 1700 of cremation graves and 300 of inhumation were discovered (Sîrbu 2002, p. 376-377; 2006, p. 119). In the Lower Danube area, all the necropolises dated from the 7th – the 5th centuries B.C. are cremation ones like at Ferigile (Vulpe 1967), Bârsești (Morintz 1961, p. 201-206) and Dobrina (Mirčev 1965, p. 33-70). On the lower course of the Danube there are necropolises where inhumation is exclusive like at Isaccea (Simion 2003, p. 113-128) and Ciucurova (Simion 1995, p. 151-170).

To sum up, we would like to mention that the discoveries of children burials dated from the First Iron Age belong to four necropolises and two isolated discoveries with 66 cremation graves. There are six discoveries from settlements and ten from the "fields" of pits.

² In 1975, Dardu Nicolaescu-Ploșor and Wanda Wolski published the data regarding the anthropologic analysis of the incinerated remains from coming from the barrows from Ferigile, Vâlcea County (Nicolaescu-Ploșor, Wolski 1975); the first surprising result refers to the very young age of the deads (34 *infans I*; 13 *infans I-II*; 7 *infans II* and other 7 *infans II-teenager*). Previously, in 1972, the author of the excavations had published an article in which he had tried to identify reasons for a possible "necropolis of children" underlying the fact that a possible alteration of the samples could have occurred. This fact was explained through the pedological conditions of preserving (Vulpe 1972, p. 270). By comparison with other situations, Al. Vulpe considered that the analysis of the burnt remains is very difficult in the situation when a burnt bone fragment of an adult (humerus) can be easily misinterpreted as a humerus of child. He mentioned the fact that many of the graves from Ferigile were anthropologically interpreted taking into account fragments of femur (Vulpe 1972, p. 270, reference 3).

Regarding the researched inhumation situations, we identified 29 placed in pits, isolated barrows, graves, complexes and settlements. Regarding their exterior shape, in five sites there are *tumuli* graves and in the other 22, the graves are flat. In some sites, both incineration and inhumation were used.

The main characteristics of children burials for the First Iron Age in the area inhabited by the Northern Thracians are:

- all the sites are placed on the terraces in the vicinity of some rivers or on the shores of some natural lakes;
- both inhumation and cremation are practised, sometimes within the same funerary context;
- in the case of cremation, the burning was done on a pyre placed outside the necropolises. The cremated bones were selected and deposited both in urns having or not lids and on the soil. The quantity of bones from the urns is much reduced and the presence of several individuals in the same barrow should be underlined.
- at Ferigile, the weapons are placed in graves of children having a very young age;
- double, triple and collective burials are characteristic both for cremation and inhumation graves;
- inhumation is practised within settlements not only in a place especially designed in this respect like a necropolis;
- most of the inhumation graves come from non-funerary contexts;
- existence of disarticulated skeletons of children (some of them thrown and others discovered in the content of the pits, not on their bottom as it were normally);
- presence of the "companions" within the children inhumation graves;
- the inventory comprises adornments, tools, household objects and other categories of objects;
- offerings contained meat and foods (like cereals).

Unlike the First Iron Age, during the Second Iron Age the situation substantially modifies. Since the 3rd – the 2nd centuries BC, in the Geto-Dacian society, the traditional burials become rare up to their vanishing (Sîrbu 2006, p. 128). The situation came back to normal after the conquest of Dacia by Romans and its transformation into a province (Sîrbu 1993, p. 42-44, 129; 2006, p. 133).

On the other side, during the 4th century BC – the 1st century AD the most of the children burials were discovered in the vicinity of the settlements/fortresses, inside them or even under the dwellings. In most of the cases, the funerary inventory is poor and it comprises accessories and adornments (especially glass beads). The number of clay pots deposited decreases. "The companions" disappear. There are no rules for orienting the deads. With respect to the state of skeletons, some of them are incomplete; others are disarticulated or placed in un-natural positions. Some skeletons present traces of violence. There are many double, triple or collective burials. The skeletons of children deposited in or on pots or fragments of pots appear. Certain pits were purified by burning; others were paved with flagstone (Sîrbu 2000, p. 172-173; 2009, p. 66).

During the Second Iron Age, there is a percent of 68,8% of children buried in pits, settlements, dwellings, various complexes or graves. In comparison to the former period (the 11th – the 5th centuries BC) when the skeletons were exclusively placed in lower areas, at most the hilly ones, in the Second Iron Age, these appear in the mountain areas.

We hope that future researches in the funerary and sacrificial field of Northern Thracians, will clarify a series of aspects related to the children burials during the First Iron Age.

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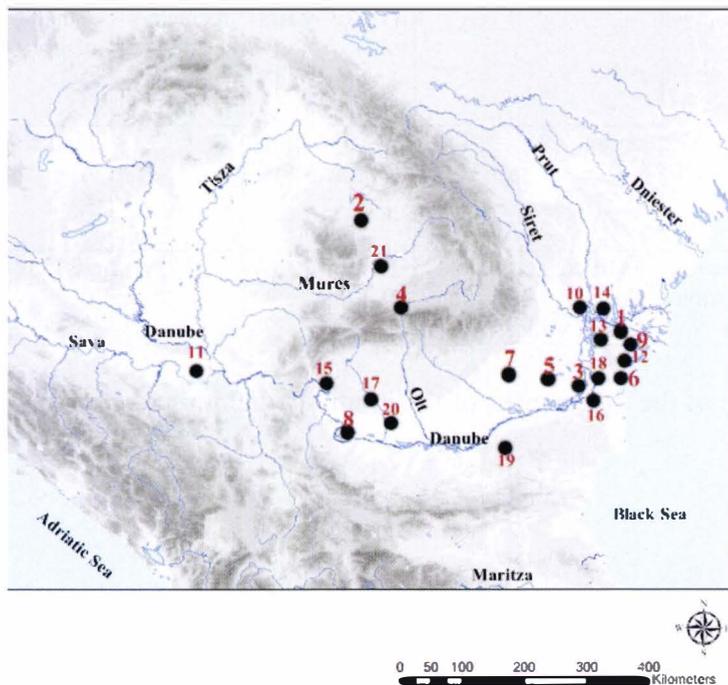
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No.	Site	Context	Children	Adults	Dated from	Bibliography
1	Babadag, <i>Dealul Cetățuia</i> , Tulcea County	“field” of pits placed on a promontory, on a shore of Babadag Lake	1 child (bones from its superior part of the body) <i>infans I</i> (1 year old)	1 adult	Babadag culture	Ailincăi 2008a, p. 9-12; Ailincăi et alii 2005-2006, p. 77-80.
2	Baciu, <i>Strada Nouă</i> , Cluj County	settlement placed on a high terrace on the left shore of the Nadăș River	<i>infans II</i> (7-8 years old) <i>infans I</i> (5 years old)	-	Hallstatt B ₂ -B ₃	Kalmar 1987, p. 166-168; Sîrbu 1994, p. 88
3	Bucu, <i>Pochină</i> , Bucu, Ialomița County	“field” of pits placed on the terrace of the Ialomița River	1 child	-	Babadag, the 2 nd phase	Ailincăi 2008a, p. 12.
4	Cașolț, <i>Trei Mormiși</i> , Sibiu County	biritual necropolis placed close to Hârtibaci River	<i>infans II</i> (10-15 years old)	-	the 6th - the 5th centuries BC	Macrea 1959, p. 419-420
5	Ciulnița, Ialomița County	Isolated <i>tumuli</i> grave discovered on a high terrace placed on the shore of the Ialomița River	<i>infans II</i> (8-10 years old) <i>infans II</i> (10-12 years old)	2 adults	First half of the 6 th century BC	Bălțeanu 2000, p. 167-168; Marinescu-Bîlcu 2000, p. 149-154; Rența 2008, p. 81-82.
6	Corbu, Constanța County	Flat necropolis identified on a terrace placed close to Năvodari Lake	1 child	-	End of the 6th - the 5th centuries BC	Bucovală, Irimia 1971, p. 41-50.
7	Coșereni, <i>La Coastă</i> , Ialomița County	Archaeological survey on a terrace of the bank of the Ialomița River	2 children		First Iron Age	Rența 2008, p. 78
8	Desa, <i>Castravița</i> , Dolj County	hill with <i>tumuli</i>	1 child (two bones from an arm) 1 child (fragments of skull)	-	The 8 th century BC The 7 th century BC	CCAR, Campania 2003; CCAR, Campania 2009; Gherghe, Ridiche 2005, p. 137-141; Oancea 1974, p. 540.
9	Enisala, <i>Palanca</i> , Constanța County	“field” of pits placed on a terrace close to the Babadag and Razim Lakes	<i>infans I</i> (5-6 years old) <i>infans I</i> (0,5-1,5 years old)	2 adults	The 8 th century BC - The first part of the 7 th century BC	Ailincăi 2008a, p. 13; Ailincăi, Constantinescu 2008, p. 121-122.
10	Foltești, <i>Ruptura IV</i> , Galați County	Inhumation flat necropolis placed on a terrace of the Prut River.	3 children	-	The 11 th century BC	Ailincăi 2008a, p. 13-14; László 2006, p. 105-107

11	Gomolava, <i>Fruška Gora</i> , Serbia	settlement placed on a terrace on the left shore of the Sava River	11 <i>infans I</i> and <i>infans II</i> (2-8 years old) 47 <i>infans I</i> and <i>infans II</i>	25 adults 27 adults	The 8 th century BC	Jovanovič, Jovanovič 1988; Sîrbu 1994, p. 87
12	Jurilovca - Orgame, <i>Capul Doljman</i> , Tulcea County	settlement placed on the shore of Razelm – Sinoie Complex	1 <i>infans II</i> (~8 years old)	13 adults	The 8 th century BC - The 7 th century BC	Ailincăi 2008a, p. 15-17; Ailincăi, Mirițoiu, Soficaru 2003, p. 307-310; Jugănaru 2005, p. 35-36.
13	Niculițel, <i>Cornet</i> , Tulcea County	“field” of pits in a Babadag settlement, on a high terrace on the South bank of the Gorgonel Lake	1 <i>infans II</i> (14 years old) 1 <i>infans I</i> 1 <i>infans II</i> (13-14 years old) 1 <i>infans II</i> (~14 years old) 1 <i>infans II</i>	1 adult 3 adults	The 11 th – the 8 th centuries BC	Ailincăi 2008a, p. 17-18; Ailincăi 2008b, p. 11-30; Ailincăi, Topoleanu 2003, p. 45; Constantinescu, Mirițoiu 2008, p. 69-73; Jugănaru 2005, p. 36; Topoleanu, Jugănaru 1995, p. 203 – 229.
14	Novosel'skoe (Satu Nou), Ukraine	“field” of pits on the promontory of a terrace	1 child	1 adult	The 8 th century B.C. - The 7 th century BC	Ailincăi 2008a, p. 18-19; Sîrbu 1994, p. 89
15	Ostrovul Corbului, Drobeta-Turnu Severin, Mehedinți County	pit placed on the shore of the Danube River	3 children	-	Early Hallstatt	Roman et alii 1992, p. 207; Sîrbu 1994, p. 89
16	Rasova, <i>Malul Roșu</i> , Constanța County	settlement placed on a terrace on the shore of the Danube River	1 child	-	The 8 th century BC - The first part of the 7 th century BC	Ailincăi 2008a, p. 19; Irimia 1974, p. 75, 125; Jugănaru 2005, p. 37
17	Răcarii de Jos, <i>Castru</i> , Dolj County	Roman camp built on a plateau on the Jiu Valley	1 <i>infans I</i> (1-2 years old)	-	First Iron Age	Florescu 1931, p. 1-28; Tudor 1965, p. 233-256
18	Satu Nou, <i>Valea lui Voicu</i> , Constanța County	“field” of pits	1 child	1 adult	The 8 th century BC - The first part of the 7 th century BC	Ailincăi 2008a, p. 19; Irimia, Conovici 1993; Jugănaru 2005, p. 37-38; Rența 2008, p. 79; Sîrbu 1994, p. 90

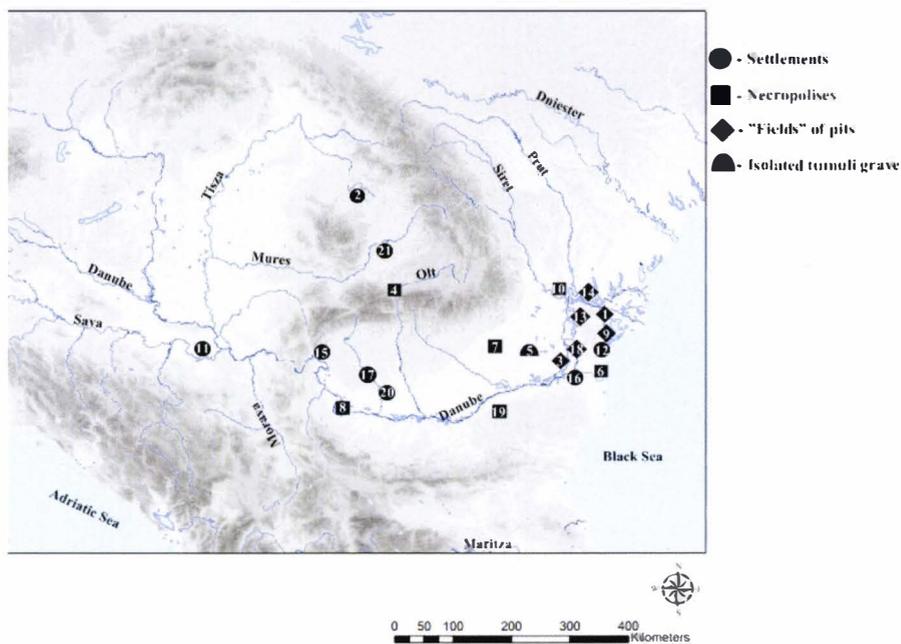
19	Sboryanovo, Varna, Bulgaria	Tumuli necropolis	1 <i>infans II</i> (12-13 years old) 1 <i>infans I</i> (7 years old)	1 teenager 1 adult	The 11 th – the 8 th centuries BC	Ailincăi 2008a, p. 20-21
20	Sucidava V, Celei, Dolj County	settlement	1 child (<i>infans II</i> ?)	-	First Iron Age	Tudor, Bujor, Matrosenco 1960, p. 483- 484
21	Teleac, Dealul Gruşet, Alba County	fortified settlement, placed on the Mureş Valley	1 child 1 child	-	700-500 BC	Vasiliev, Aldea, Ciugudean 1991, p. 23-43

Fig. 7: Catalogue of the discoveries of the inhumated children during the First Iron Age.



Map of discoveries of children inhumations during the First Iron Age at the Northern Thracians:
 1. Babadag; 2. Baciu; 3. Bucu; 4. Casolt; 5. Ciulnita; 6. Corbu; 7. Cosereni; 8. Desa; 9. Enisala;
 10. Foltesti; 11. Gomolava; 12. Jurilovca; 13. Niculitel; 14. Novosel'skoe; 15. Ostrovul Corbului;
 16. Rasova; 17. Racarii de Jos; 18. Satu Nou; 19. Shoryanovo; 20. Sucidava; 21. Telcac.

Pl. 1. Map of the discoveries of children inhumations during the First Iron Age at the Northern Thracians.



Repartition of the discoveries according to the context:
 1. Babadag; 2. Baciu; 3. Bucu; 4. Casolt; 5. Ciulnita; 6. Corbu; 7. Cosereni; 8. Desa; 9. Enisala;
 10. Foltesti; 11. Gomolava; 12. Jurilovca; 13. Niculitel; 14. Novosel'skoe; 15. Ostrovul Corbului;
 16. Rasova; 17. Racarii de Jos; 18. Satu Nou; 19. Shoryanovo; 20. Sucidava; 21. Telcac.

Pl. 2. Repartition of the discoveries according to the context.

SHUSHMANETS TUMULAR TEMPLE NEAR SHIPKA (CENTRAL BULGARIA)

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Key words: Architecture, Thracian, Tumulus, Dome, Semi-cylindrical, Kitov, Shushmanets, Valley

Summary: Shushmanets tumulus is located south-east from the town of Shipka - in the very center of the Valley of the Thracian Kings in Central Bulgaria. During 1996 archaeological excavations directed by Dr. Georgi Kitov a tumular construction was found under the tumular embankment. The construction is located in south-eastern periphery of the tumulus and is south-north oriented. Stratigraphic researches showed that pebble layers were discontinued closely to the external walls. This evidences that the building was constructed after moving away already piled tumular embankment. The construction consists of corridor, façade, antechamber and chamber and is built with large excellent treated stone blocks, fastened through iron cramps covered with cast lead. There so far unknown combination of architectural styles and elements was first time discovered. Seventeen years after excavating this construction the latter statement is still valid.

The construction in Shushmanets tumulus raises a series of questions relevant to mixing architectural styles and plan solutions as well as with respect to combining a typically Thracian dome and a semi-cylindrical vault in a monumental building. Furthermore, it is interesting to disclose the relations amongst the assignor and assignees of this splendid building and the builders and architects from ancient Thracian neighboring areas as well as the direction of spreading and exchanging ideas - either from neighboring areas to inside Thracian lands or in both directions simultaneously. The aggregate of well-defined but mixed shapes, worn out doorsteps, decoration, white color of the coating and animal sacrifices blocking up the access to the inside of the chamber suggest that the building was long time used for cult and religious purposes, which is a phenomenon also registered in other parts of Thrace over the Late Iron Age.

The Shushmanets tumulus is part of a tumular necropolis consisting of 5 tumuli along the upper reaches of the Tundzha River, located southeast of the town of Shipka - in the very center of the Valley of the Thracian Kings (Kitov 2005: 3; Bouzek, Ondřejová 2004: 127) in Central Bulgaria (**Fig. 1**) and at the foot of the Shipka Balkan Mountains. The embankment diameter is 110 m x 120 m (EW) and its height varies from 18 m (N) to 24 m (S).

In 1996 a team¹ directed by Dr. Georgi Kitov discovered and studied in Shushmanets a tumular architectural construction (Китов 1996: 65; Kitov, Dimitrova 1999: 47; Китов 2003а: 21; Kitov 2005: 26) together with the space in front of it. Since then the monument has been subject of serious scientific interest and has been involved in the discussion of the purpose of such structures in Thrace and the use of the terms 'tomb', 'temple' and 'heroon' (Димитрова 2000: 44; Димитрова 2005: 112; Димитрова 2006: 118; Китов 2005: 95; Китов 2008: 123 сл.; Петрова 2009: 287; Рабаджиев 2011а: 50; Стоянов, Стоянова 2011: 109; Фол 2006: 12; Фол 2005: 705 сл.; Фол 2007: 192; Bouzek, Ondřejová 2004: 127; Dimitrova 2005: 129; Kitov 2004: 243; Theodossiev 2011: 354)².

The monumental construction in Shushmanets tumulus is located at the southern periphery of the tumulus and is SN-oriented (**Fig. 2**). Stratigraphic observations showed symmetric discontinuity of layers of pebbles adjacent to the external walls (Китов 2006: 120). This suggests that the building had been built after removing part of the already finished embankment (Китов 2006: 120).

¹ The author of this article is member of the team that carried out the archeological excavations.

² By now no comprehensive publication is made by the researcher of the architectural tumular construction and finder of the single finds. This article aims at filling this gap based on the documentation of the archaeological excavations.

The facility consists of a dromos, antechamber and tholos tomb. In this case the term 'dromos' is used conditionally since its width is greater than its length. So, it is rather intended to mark the path one has to go before entering the first room - i.e. it is like a stage of deceased ruler's immortalization. The construction is SN-oriented with a deviation of 3 degrees to the west. The facility is built of large perfectly treated stone blocks, connected by means of melt lead covered iron clamps. Here an unknown combination of styles and elements was first time registered. Seventeen years after the discovery this fact remains unchanged.

Dromos

The side walls of the dromos resemble highly elongated antae measuring 4,05 m in length. They are constructed of selected local stones and are connected by means of a joint to the outside façade (**Fig. 3**). They consist of two parts. The northern one measures 0,92 m (bottom) and 0,62 m (top) in length. The southern parts of the walls adhere here, while their internal faces are protruded by some 0,20-0,25 m toward the dromos interior. A notch (width = 0,20 m; depth = 0,20 m) is seen 0,90 m away from the joint. Supposedly it used to fix a wood post meant to maintain the roof construction. Another similar notch, but open to the south, is seen close to wall faces which measure 1,55 m in height (width = 0,68 (eastern) and 1,00 m (western) respectively). From these points towards the joint to the north, the upper wall line rises smoothly to reach the height of 3,42 m at the façade.

In 2012, with respect to a project for socialization of the monument in Shushmanets tumulus, I directed rescue archaeological excavations to study the areas located south, east and west from dromos walls (Димитрова, Първин 2013: 173)³. The excavations established that to the west there was a wall, located to the west from and perpendicularly to the tomb dromos and built of pebbles and untreated stones with mud binder. This wall is located highly in the embankment. The construction stones are arranged in three visible horizontal belts. The wall makes a curve and goes less high to the west to make an arc open toward its basis. The south face of the wall is visible (max. length = 8,60 m; max. preserved height = 3,00 m). Detailed research of its eastern end proved that it had constructive link with dromos west wall (**Fig. 4**). Both walls are connected at the place the dromos west wall becomes thicker (seen from dromos inside); thus the perpendicular wall had entered the dromos wall prior the dromos was elongated to the south. Its presumed function was to support the tumular embankment from the west while the construction was open to the south and accessible for visitors⁴. Fragments of broken flat and curved tiles, presumably originating from dromos roof, were found at a depth of 1,90 m from the upper end of the supporting wall preserved level, right in the place it makes a corner with the dromos wall. Such fragments had been found in 1996 inside the dromos (Китов 2003: 21) as well as in neighboring Griffin tumulus (Kitov 2003: 308) and Helvetsia tumulus.

A flat tile (width = 0,44 cm; length = 0,65 cm; thickness = 0,035 cm) was restored based on the collected fragments of construction ceramic (**Fig. 5**). The color of different items varies from orange to dark red and this suggests that we may presume that at least two lots of tiles had been used, which is not unusual (Кацарова, Стоянова 2009: 195). Residues of engobe could be traced at some places. Cover tile fragments are of Laconian type (Стоянова 2008: 223) without seal and manufacturer's name.

³ Diana Dimitrova - Director of Excavations (National Institute of Archaeology and Museum - Bulgarian Academy of Sciences), Meglena Parvin - Deputy Director of Excavations (Iskra Museum of History, Kazanlak), and Team Members: Miroslav Markov (Regional Museum of History, Montana) and Petat Petrov (Regional Museum of History, Sliven).

⁴ As our team arrived after the excavations had begun without the presence of an archaeologist, I guess such supporting wall had also been built to the eastern side of the dromos. Most likely, it had been less preserved and destroyed by project assignees during the construction works.

The tilled dromos is a clear indication that after the tumular construction had been built the dromos remained not covered by any embankment for some period. This ascertainment suggests that the monumental construction in Shushmanets tumulus had been opened from south and accessible for visitors prior to be covered with soil finally.

The maximum width of the area in front of the façade and between the two walls is 6,35 m. The eastern wall is perpendicular to the façade, while the western one has a slight deviation to the west. The floor of the areas in front of the façade and the dromos are not well marked. Presumably it had to be destroyed yet in antiquity for some reasons. Tile sherds, single untypical fragments of clay vessels, lumps of burned soil, ashes and charcoals were found through drilling researches. Artifacts and tile shred clusters in the dromos (1996) and to the west of its western wall (2012) suggest that the roof construction collapsed suddenly. Most probably this was the result of a fire that destroyed the supporting wooden posts. Then the dromos had been filled in intentionally with different size pebbles and free stones and bulk soil (Китов 2003b: 37) and the access to the facility was discontinued.

Facade

The façade (**Fig. 6**) begins after the end of the dromos and is built of large well-cut stone blocks, connected (like the entire construction) by means of melt lead covered iron clamps⁵. The façade measures 5,64 m in width and 3,635 m in height. The upper stone blocks row used to protrude out by 0,10 m and thus the façade width had been 5,84 m. Ten rows have been preserved - the second bottom line is protruded to the south by 0,12-0,13 m, while the first one protruded yet by another 0,02 m. The bottom line measures 0,35 m in height, from which the upper 0,21 m are well cut and used to be visible, while the remaining part of the blocks had been hidden. The row lies down on a gravel layer that played the role of a substructure. It measures 0,10 m in width. The façade blocks have well treated faces. The fourth and seventh rows from the west protrude out by 0,12 m and 0,17 m respectively and these protrusions come to dromos side walls, which are connected by a joint and go to the north from façade side walls. Only for the three rows from the east they come to the façade.

The façade center is occupied by the entrance opening to the antechamber (width = 2,45 m; height = 3,03 m) that shapes a false semi-cylindrical vault. The opening begins after the first row, which is connected to the side walls by a joint. The vault curve starts after the sixth row and continues over the next three rows. The ninth row is cut maximum at about 2/3 to shape the upper part of the vault. Part of the tenth row is preserved and consists of three blocks protruded out by 0,05 m. To the west, just over the center of the vault two side well-cut stone blocks alternate with two roughly cut blocks, which protrude slightly to the west with no overlapping. Presumably a decoration used to be placed in the vault center but now it is missing. The façade was decorated by a fronton but now only its eastern end decorated with an antefix is preserved (**Fig. 7**). The preserved piece is 1,50 m long. The antefix decoration consists of a relief semi-palmette with 8 incised lines on a double volute - the left one is scrolled downside, while the right one is scrolled upside. The remaining fronton pieces were not found during the excavations and we may suppose that these had been removed and/or placed ritually away from the façade like in Ostrusha tumulus, located not far away (Kitov 1996: 8). The entire façade used to be covered with coating, pieces of which are preserved on the front-sides of the antechamber threshold as well as on blocks from the first, second, third, fourth and fifth rows. The wall coating has a white front face. At the time of the excavations, on the fifth, sixth and seventh rows local marks of an active destructive process were seen together with traces of a temperature intervention⁶. Most probably the fire from the dromos had affected also the façade and antechamber of the facility. Here we may distinguish

⁵ Their existence was established by means of metal detector.

⁶ I use Todora Petkova's log, 1996 team's restaurateur, and I extend my gratitude to her.

two stages of façade plastering. Both stage works consist in plaster basis and fine layer of white shining stucco with marble powder prevailing in the structure.

Antechamber

The antechamber is rectangular with a semi-cylindrical vault (EW measurements: 2,30 m x 2,50 m). Its maximum height is 3,10 m and is made of 7 full rows, part of first and part of ninth rows. The vault curve starts after the sixth row at 1,95 m in height. Row height is the same as that of the façade.

The antechamber floor is 0,19 m higher than the presumed floor of the area⁷ in front of the façade and is entirely covered with well-made white coating. Dark grey stains with burning traces were found on the floor and some of the blocks. The floor is slightly NS-sloped. At the south there is a three-block threshold (width = 0,16-0,18 m; height = 0,10 m) with the same coating. The socket going along the eastern, western and northern antechamber walls is as high as the threshold is. The wall coating consists of two layers and the upper one is white. The latter is preserved partly on the first two rows. There, at the time of excavations, the primary plaster (1,3 cm) was seen, decorated with red vertical lines (plinths) imitating joints between marble blocks. A second grey coating (ca. 1,0 cm) was applied over the first one.

A rectangular base is located on the antechamber threshold (measures from the walls: E = 0,90 m; W = 0,85 m; N = 0,07-0,12 m) to support an Ionic style column (**Fig. 8**). The surface between that base and the southern threshold is elevated by 0,03-0,04 m and is covered with white lime coating. Remains of a second floor coating suggest that an additional coating was performed. This is an indication for the long-term use of the facility, amongst which at least two stages may be distinguished at least.

The column rests on a square base-plinth (0,64 x 0,64 m; height = 0,20 - 0,22 m), above which is a torus (diam. = 0,64 m; height = 0,13-0,14 m). The trochilus from the Ionic classical order is missing. The base had been plastered at least twice and the second surface is gray or grayish black. The column is 2,32 m high and its base diameter is 0,38 m and goes narrower gradually to 0,30 m at the top. The column is monolithic and carved from granite. A capital lies on the column; it resembles the Ionic type, but it has got semi-circular projections to the south and north, which make it look like a knucklebone. The capital block extends upwards into a parallelepiped (abacus) that touches the middle part of the vault. Here again some of the classic Ionic order elements are missing. The capital touches only the most southern row of the five rows of the vault. This gives grounds to accept for sure that the column was rather a decorative element that functional and was built simultaneously with the antechamber.

The existence of a wall coating on the next antechamber rows can not be established for sure. The third and fourth wall rows are reddish, which gives grounds to presume that they were red painted and, if we judge on multiple layers on some places, also red lime plastered. Residues of lining (?) found on some blocks and particularly on the vault suggest that all walls were coated. Some of vault blocks were cracked and peeling.

The northern wall has got the layout of the antechamber. The entrance to the tholos tomb is in the center of the wall. The threshold measures 0,205 m together with the socket and is covered by a 1,5 cm grey and white coating. The entrance width varies from 0,77 m (bottom) and 0,72 m (top), while the height is 1,62 m. The side parts and the covering plate are within a frame consisting of three incised fields with different widths. The entrance depth is 0,52 m. A block (0,56 m x 1,26 m) is installed above the covering plate to support a fronton with the width of the covering plate and height = 0,29 m (**Fig. 9**). The line outlining a

⁷ The measurement was made by the construction company geodesist during the rescue excavations that I directed in 2012.

triangle measures 0,07 m in width and 0,03 m in height. On the top, a nine-leaf palmette gets out in the middle of two bilateral clockwise volutes. Two six-leaf palmettes go out of similar volutes. Fronton inside seems to be red painted like the third and fourth lines of the walls. Residues of lining and plastering (at some places) suggest that the side parts and the covering plate used to be coated but the surface color can not be found out.

Tholos Tomb

An extension (E&W = 0,20 m; up = 0,06 m; down = 0,12-0,13 m) begins as of the antechamber entrance and threshold. The northern wall of this extension is arc-shaped and follows the circumference line from the floor of the tholos tomb. Up to 0,54 m the extension has got right walls, while the other part is decorated by semi-columns from the tholos tomb (**Fig. 10**). The extension is covered by two blocks: one lying on the cover plate (thickness = 0,19 m) and another one (thickness in the middle: 0,46 m); the northern part of the second one is arc-shaped and is part of the tholos tomb construction. Holes (diam. = 0,16-0,17 m; depth = 0,09 m) for the axes of a two-wing gate are produced in both ends of the first block. Extension threshold is also built of two blocks. The southern one measures 0,25 m in width, while the northern one measures max. 0,52 m at a level of 0,05-0,06 m above the tholos floor. Similar holes are produced for the bottom end axes for the two-wing gate. The walls and floor of the extension are covered with coating and plaster however destroyed at some places. At the time of discovering the facility, the tholos tomb entrance was filled in with soil and stones; the material had collapsed smoothly toward the inside of the room but did not reach the northern wall.

Tholos ground plan seems to be a perfect circle (diam. = 3,90 m; height = 3,85 m). The center of the tholos tomb is occupied by a Doric column (**Fig. 11**), while the periphery is shaped with seven Doric semi-columns with flutes (pilasters). Tholos tomb floor is covered with unpolished lime coating. The floor seems flat except for the NW periphery where the side walls are slightly sunken. There is no floor to the north of the central column where the funeral/ritual bed (Китов 1996: 66) used to be located. The bed had been made of perishable material, most probably of wood (Китов 2003b: 35) although the two pillows were sawn in stone.

Tholos tomb center is occupied by the Doric column (**Fig. 12**) lying on a parallelepiped pedestal (side = 0,64-0,65 m; height above the floor = 0,19 m; depth under the floor = 0,10-0,12 m). The pedestal is covered with a grey and yellow coating that seems like the one on the surrounding floor. A joint appears between this coating and the floor coating as the column had sunk slightly. A disc-like base with arc-shaped profile, covered with grey coating, is installed on the pedestal. Most likely the column is monolith, covered with thick layer of fine stucco with some shining spots and some straps, varying from yellow to brown color and resulting from leaks during the ages. The column diameter varies (bottom = 0,48 m; top 0,43 m). The capital is Doric type (height = 0,14 m; diam. = 0,56 m) and is covered with the same coating that was found fallen from the northern side. A parallelepiped block (side = 0,56 m; height = 0,17 m) lies on the capital (**Fig. 13**). The column is crowned with a disc-like block (thickness = 0,20- 0,22 m; diam. = 1,16 m) arranged asymmetrically. The capital, parallelepiped and disc are coated in the same way; actually the stucco is fallen at some places.

Tholos tomb walls are formed by 11 rows of blocks. The walls, tholos and semi-columns had been fully covered with stucco. At the time of discovering it was found fallen; the color of the greatest part of it varied from white through yellow to dark brown as a result of leakages over the years.

Tholos tomb internal space is divided in three belts going on its periphery. The first belt consists of five rows of stone blocks and its average height is 1,80 m. The walls are vertical and seven semi-columns (radius = 0,25 m; diam. = 0,43 m (bottom) and 0,35 m (top);

height = 1,64 m) divide them in seven sectors, one of which coincides with the entrance opening. The sectors seem to have equal sizes (**Fig. 14**). The convex semi-column bodies like all other architectural details on tholos tomb walls are monolith with the blocks located behind them. The semi-columns have got ten flutes, seemingly equal and coated. They end by a Doric capital (height = 0,06 m; diam. = 0,41 m) with a well outlined and convex surface. From the same stone block on the fifth row plinths (width = 0,40-0,53 m; height = 0,11-0,12 m) are sewn over them and protrude out by 0,24-0,26 m. An arc-shaped belt is located over the semi-columns - architrave of blocks (width = 0,31 m). The average distance between the middles of any two adjacent semi-columns is ca 1,45 m. The upper ends of these blocks protrude out by 0,16-0,17 m to the interior, which suggests that the tholos curve begins as of its basis and is the reason for the observed difference. The second belt consists of three rows of stone blocks with incised arc-shaped front sides in order to obtain the lower part of the tholos. The semi-column extensions going upwards are convex posts with rectangular plan, monolith with the blocks behind them. Their width varies upwards - at the bottom the protrusion is 0,16-0,17 m, while at the tip it is 0. The third belt consists of fifteen blocks, radiating and expanding outward, lying on the horizon over the second row of the second belt, while their upper ends fall into the highest point of the tholos and are hidden by the large disc over the column positioned in the tholos tomb center.

The coating is missing on a rectangular surface (EW length = 2,00 m; max. width = 1,20 m) located immediately to the north from the central column. Presumably this was the place of the funeral/ritual bed, framed to the west and north by two profiled blocks (NS length = 0,88 m; EW width = 0,42 m; height = 0,42 m). The back sides of the blocks are arc-shaped inwards. The front walls are also arc-shaped inwards, while the upper and front edges are rounded. The basis row comprises two side blocks in which rectangular beds are sawn to hold the side ends of the presumed funeral/ritual bed. The two profiled blocks were covered inside and outside with stucco, whose thickness varies up to approx. 0,5 cm.

A green colored circumference (external diam. = 0,26 m; width = 0,04 m), in which the coating seems rough and sunken, is seen in the NW sector of the tholos tomb. One presumed explanation of this trace is a massive metal vessel, which had been placed there and then taken away when the temple was robbed / emptied. Another explanation for this trace might be putting there an object while the coating had not been hardened enough. However, in the latter case traces should have been left by the person that had placed the object there.

Doors to the Tholos Tomb

The eastern door wing was found in the material used to fill in the dromos and antechamber (4 pieces with total length = 1,95 m; width = 0,52 m; thickness = 0,12 m). Cylindrical axes with equal sizes (height = 0,09 m; diam. = 0,11 m) are installed on both wing ends. The upper panel comprises an incised round opening (diam. = 0,04 m) for the locking device. The other side of the panel is not decorated and the stone is not well smoothed.

The door had two periods of use. Over the first one, it had a decoration consisting of two 'suns' (diam. 0,12 m) on every one of the convex fields (Китов 1996: 66; Димитрова 2000: 47; Стоянова 2002: 539) shaped by counterclockwise incised lines (**Fig. 15**). The lines are filled in with red paint. Such paint was also used to color the panels. Over the second period, the entire door had been covered by white coating - the suns were not seen and the panels were red painted. Small remains of the second layer were discovered in panel corners.

The west door wing is similar to the eastern one in terms of sizes and decoration. It was discovered broken in three pieces in the material used to fill in the dromos and antechamber. Some small fragments of it are missing. This wing differs from the eastern one in that on the long flat side, opposite to side with the axis, there is horizontal indentation (width = 0,04 m) followed by a vertical part of the same width. The ancient craftsmen had

made a small mistake in constructing the door - they did not fit the wing sizes and instead of overlapping the wings just adjoin to each other.

Bones

The bones of four horses and two dogs were found *in situ* on antechamber floor (Kitov 2003b: 37). Due to the small surface the horse skeletons are hardly distinguishable (**Fig. 16**). The bones were fan-shaped and the skulls were in the NE sector. One horse was laid down with its legs to the south and its vertebra column was parallel to antechamber northern wall. The second horse was laid down diagonally - SE-oriented legs and SW-NE-oriented vertebra column. The third horse was found parallel to the eastern wall with legs to the east. Both predatory animals (dogs) were laid down in heraldic postures in antechamber southern sector. Their bones were quite poorly preserved and found under horse's skeletons. One of the horses had been quite smaller than the other ones⁸. One of the dogs had been too big (seemingly about 5-year old), while the other one had been small. Both dogs were found to have pathological vertebra column damages, more specifically the smaller one.

Small number of human bones⁹ and part of the jaw of an adult pig¹⁰ were found in the material used to fill in the tholos tomb. The bone condition does not allow establishing when the noble individual's dead body was inhumed.

Finds

Since the facility in Shushmanets tumulus was found almost empty (no burial gifts found) and to some extent desecrated, although not destroyed, few archaeological artifacts originate from it (Kitov 2006: 68). Fragmented iron spear heads and bushes (**Fig. 17**) were discovered in the soil piled in the dromos, antechamber and tholos tomb. Two fragmented curved iron knives were found in the antechamber filling. Furthermore, spread fragments of a folio gild silver pectoral were found there (**Fig. 18**). Most probably the item used to be a lamella made pectoral similar to the one found in grave β from Dervenii (Φάκλαρης 1991: 9; Θεμελής, Τουράτσογλου 1997: 84), which is dated for sure to the second half of the 4th c. BC. Fragments of clay vessels that can not be restored were found in the dromos and antechamber. Most generally they are dated to the 4th c. BC. The remaining finds consist of a stone smoother (**Fig. 19**) discovered in the filling near the tholos tomb entrance, a vertebra discovered in dromos filling and an iron pruning-knife (**Fig. 20**). The pruning knife was found to left of the tholos tomb entrance (Kitov 2006: 68). Some scholars interpret the item as an object left purposefully and associate it to the legend for Orpheus' head cutting (Φολ 2007: 104). It is impossible to state for sure whether the object had been left intentionally or dropped on the floor when people were in a hurry to leave the facility. In any case, the findings, although discovered mixed in the filling of the premises, give the date of facility last use as a tomb of a highly positioned individual pertaining to the Thracian aristocracy of the Odrisian tribe. The funeral took place in the second half of the 4th c. BC.

During drilling researches¹¹ performed in 1998 fragments of a pithos mixed up with three fragments of a clay strainer were found 2 m away from the dromos west wall face (**Fig. 21**).

Conclusion

The construction in Shushmanets tumulus raises some questions with respect to mixing architectural styles and ground plans. The combination between the typical Thracian

⁸ Unpublished studies of Asst. Prof. Dr. Lazar Ninov of the National Institute of Archaeology and Museum - Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and I extend my gratitude to him.

⁹ Human bones are still not studied. Since these are in poor condition, not initial conclusions can be made for individual's sex and age.

¹⁰ Studies of Asst. Prof. Dr. Lazar Ninov.

¹¹ The drilling researches were carried out by a team directed by Dr. Georgi Kitov and were on the occasion of excavation works with respect to making a support meant for a temporary protective contraction for the facility.

tholos and the semi-cylindrical vault in a monumental building was first time registered in this facility (Китов 2003b: 38), which is obviously constructed by architects and builders based on preliminary design. Also, it is worth considering the relations of assignor and assignees of such a splendid building with builders and architects from ancient Thrace neighboring regions as well as of the direction of the idea exchanging process (Китов 2003b: 39) - from/to the inland Thrace or simultaneously in both directions between Thrace and its neighbors, or the relations were created synchronously (Гергова 1996: 105; Базайтова 2006: 344). These fine but mixed forms, worn thresholds, decorations, white color coating, animal sacrifices, which screen the access to facility interior suggest that the building had been long-time used for cult and religious purposes as such practice has been registered also in other parts of Thrace overt he Late Iron Age. Some researchers do not accept the probability that such type of facilities could have been used for other purposes than for Thracian aristocrats' mortal bodies last abode (Рабаджиев 2011б: 30), unlike researcher's presumption with respect to Shushmanets is (Китов 2006: 122 сл.). However, others accept the hypothesis that the monumental tumular constructions, together with the entire tumular embankment and rituals performed therein, represent a sacred place - heroon (Гетов 1991: 42) or a place to practice a cult to buried Thracian king (Вълева 1999: 214). It is impossible to determine the exact period when the facilities used to function (Китов 2006: 122) since the artifacts found there, including those from Shushmanets, reflect the last stage of their use prior to be finally buried under an embankment. In any case, the double coating layers, extended dromos walls, dromos covering with flat and curved tiles and worn tholos threshold suggest long-term opportunity to have access to the facility interior. This raises the question of its building. Dr. Georgi Kitov presumes the construction was built in late 5th c BC (Kitov 1999: 15). Other authors suggest as construction date the beginning of the Early Hellenistic Age (Стоянов, Стоянова 2011: 109). Based on discovered archeological materials from the last use of the facility in Shushmanets tumulus I presume that its building took place around the mid 4th c. BC. For some time the access to facility interior was provided, then the facility was emptied / desecrated and buried under an embankment until it got socialized and prepared to be visited by tourists again (Fig. 22).

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Fig. 1. Plan of the tumuli in the region of Shipka, Kazanlak (Central Bulgaria). Authors: M. Markov and P. Petrov.



Fig. 2. Façade of the construction in Shushmanets tumulus during the excavations in 1996. Phot. G. Kitov.

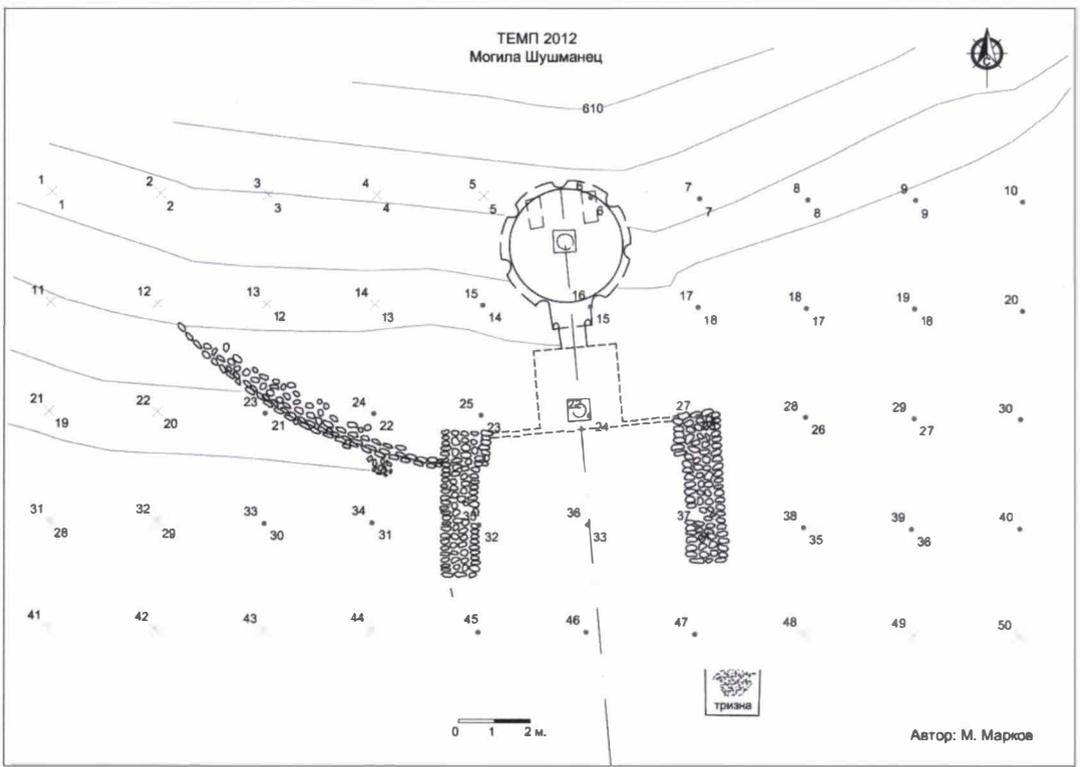
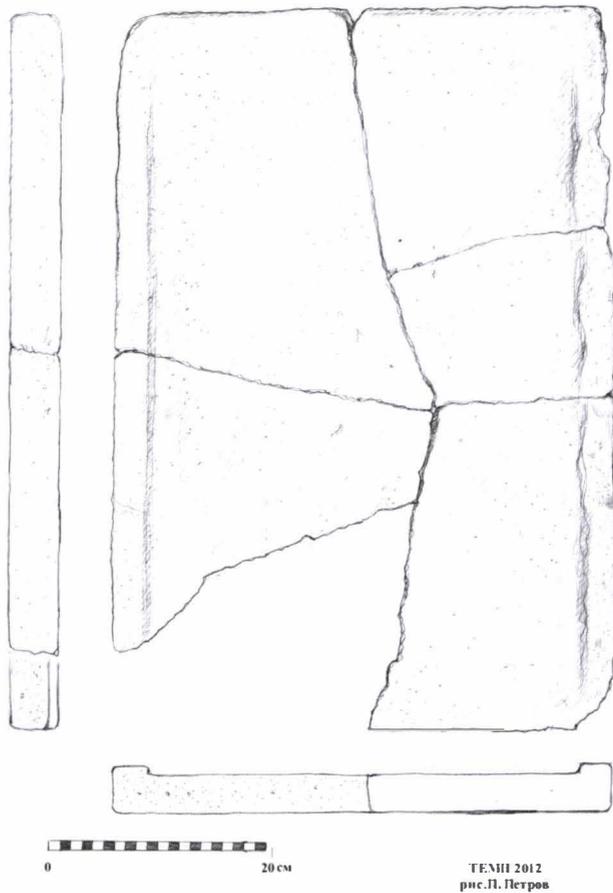


Fig. 3. Plan and situation of the construction in tumulus southern sector. Author: M. Markov.



Fig. 4. Corner between the supporting and western walls of the dromos. Phot. D. Dimitrova.



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рис. П. Петров

Fig. 5. Flat tile from dromos roof. Picture: P. Petrov.

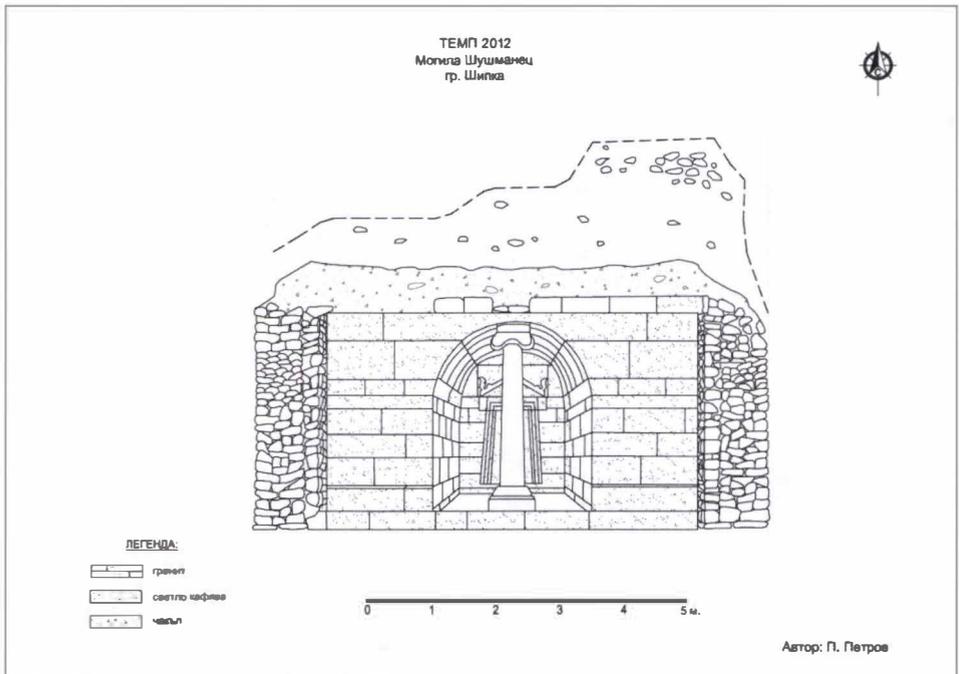


Fig. 6. The façade of the construction. Author: P. Petrov.

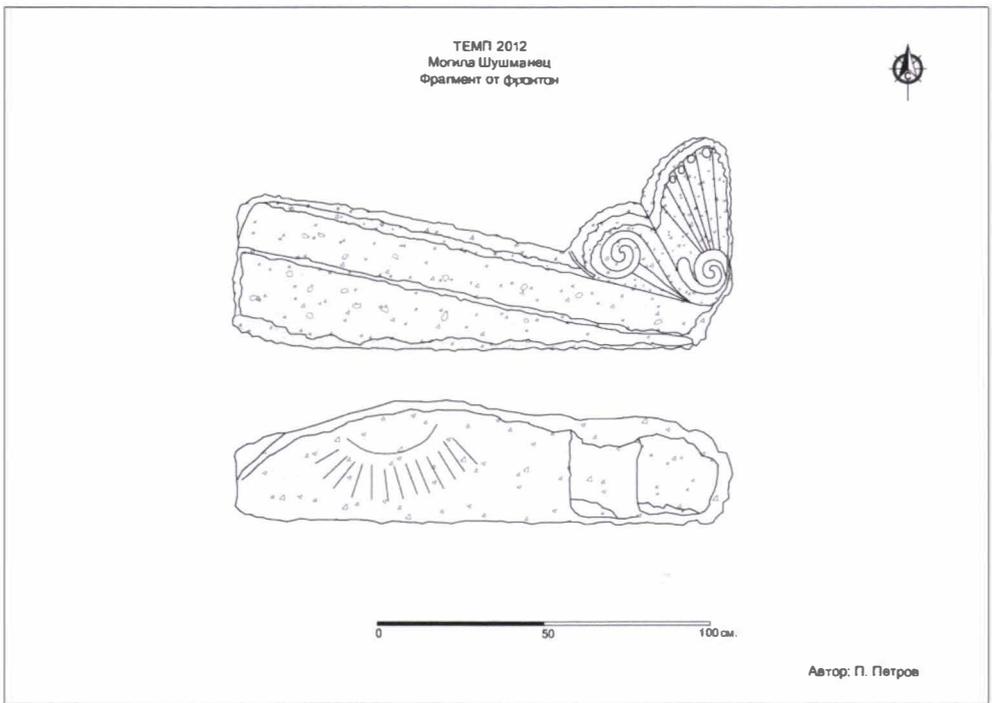


Fig. 7. Fragment of a fronton from Shushmanets tumulus. Picture: P. Petrov.



Fig. 8. Façade of the construction. Phot. G. Kitov.

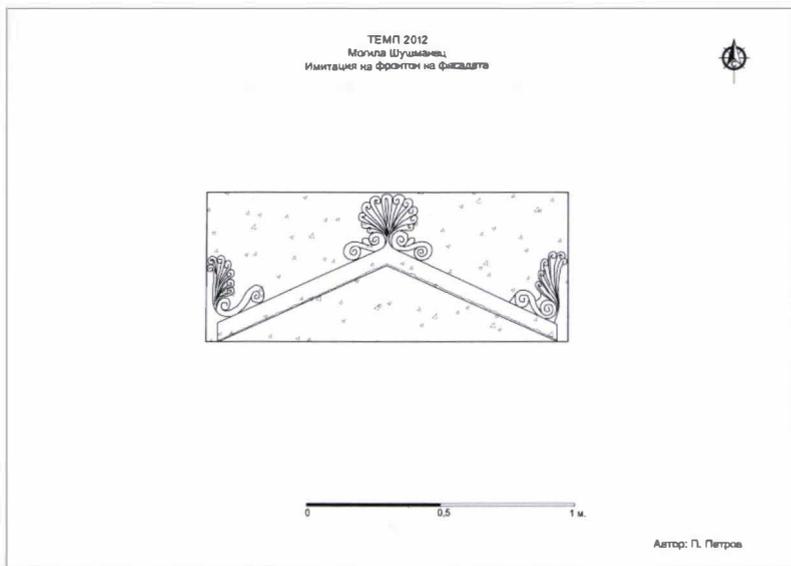


Fig. 9. Pseudo-fronton of the entrance to the tholos tomb. Author: P. Petrov.



Fig. 10



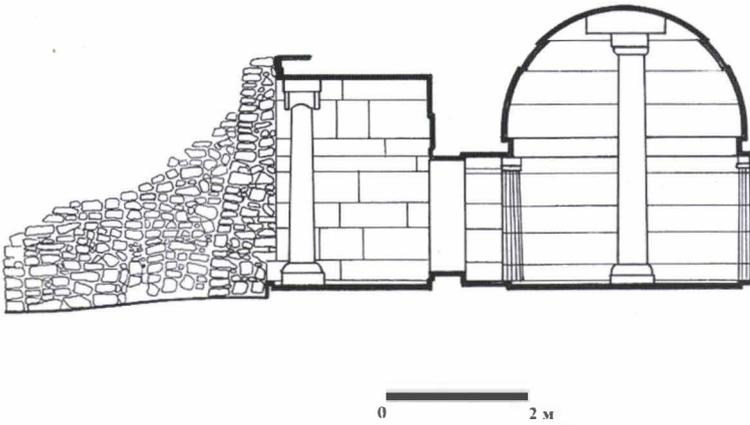
Fig. 11

Fig. 10. Entrance to the tholos tomb. Inside view. Phot. G. Kitov.

Fig. 11. Interior of the tholos tomb Phot. G. Dimov.

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Автори: Е. Крондева, С. Гошев

Fig. 12. Section of the construction. Authors: E. Krondeva, S. Goshev.

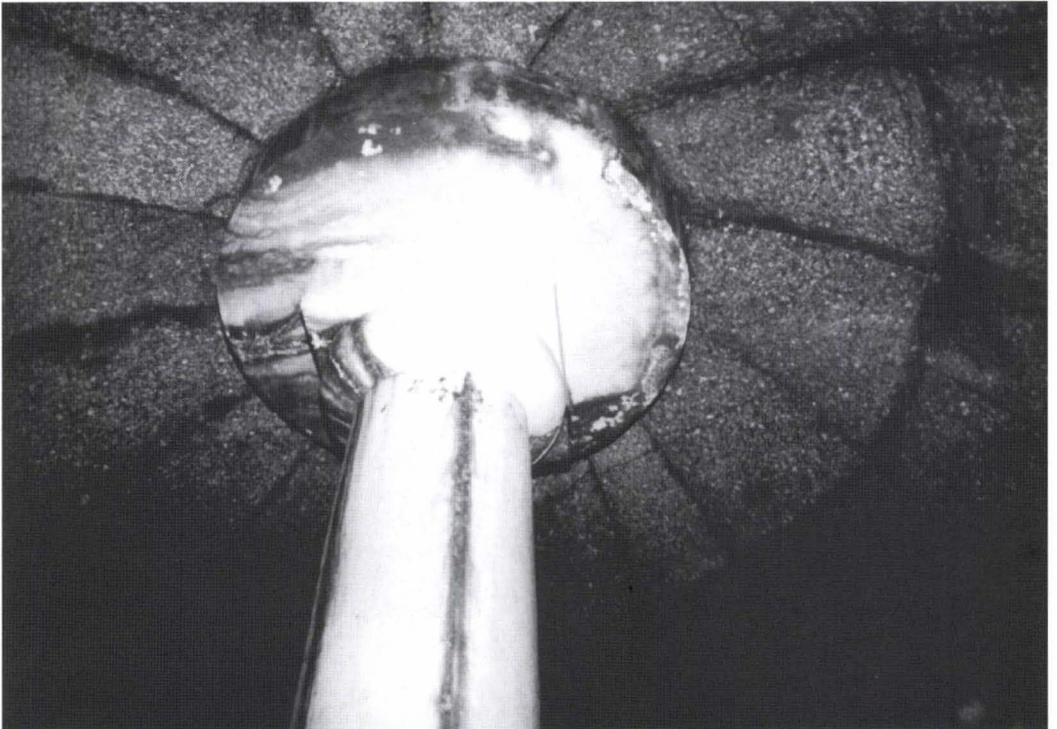
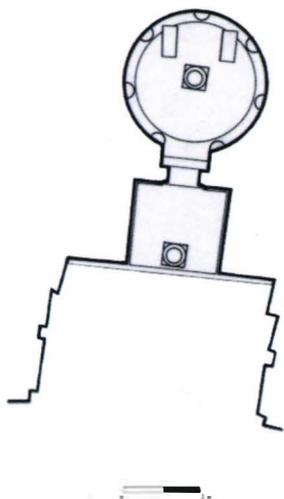


Fig. 13. Detail of the interior. Phot. G. Dimov.



Автори: Е. Крончева, С. Гощев



Fig. 15

Fig. 14

Fig. 14. Plan of the construction. Authors: E. Kroncheva, S. Goshev.

Fig. 15. Detail of the door. Phot. G. Kitov.

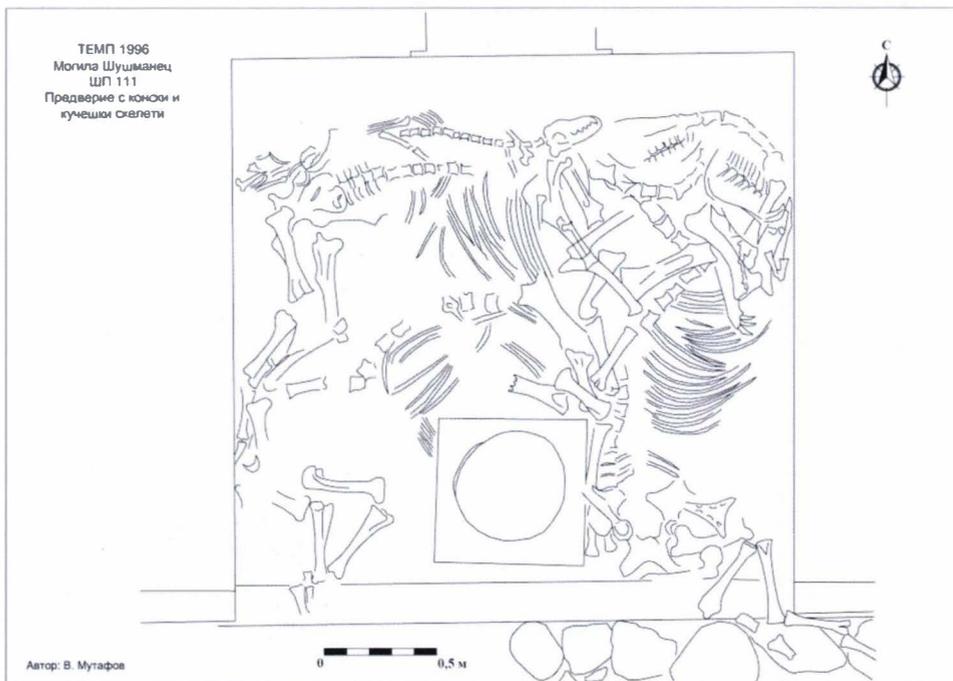


Fig. 16. Animal skeletons in the antechamber. Author: V. Mutafov.



Fig. 17. Iron spear bush. Phot. M. Markov.



Fig. 18. Gild silver lamellae from a collar. Phot. M. Markov.



Fig. 19. Stone smoother. Phot. M. Markov.



Fig. 20. Iron pruning-knife. Phot. M. Markov.



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ТЕМ II 1998
рис. И. Петров

Fig. 21. Clay strainer. Picture: P. Petrov.



Fig. 22. Facade of the socialized construction in 2013. Phot. N. Radionov.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE BORDERS BETWEEN THE BRONZE AGE CULTURAL GROUPS IN THE REGION OF THE WEST MORAVA VALLEY, CENTRAL SERBIA

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Key words: Early Bronze Age, Middle Bronze Age, Late Bronze Age, Central Serbia, Western Serbia, transitional area, archaeological cultures, funerary practice.

Abstract: The region of the West Morava valley, central Serbia, is of particular interest for the research of the Bronze Age cultural phenomena. Results of archaeological research of a number of sites indicated that this region represented the transitional territory between already defined cultural groups which existed in the wider territory of Serbia to the south of the rivers Sava and Danube. Many of these groups are mainly known thanks to the well preserved remains of burials in contrast to the poorly investigated settlements. Determination of the cultural groups was based on the main characteristics which usually refer to the cemetery type (mounds vs. flat necropolises), shape of the grave construction, treatment of bodily remains of the deceased (inhumation vs. cremation), stylistic and typological analysis as well as distribution of grave goods.

Introduction

Archaeological excavations of the Central Balkans provided a solid basis for determination of several cultural groups which developed on the territory of Serbia during the Bronze Age, despite uneven number of explored settlements and necropolises. Speaking in terms of cultural groups, we follow the concept stating that political territories were marked not only by differences in pottery styles, but in funerary practices, reflecting political entities generally extending in a diameter of 100-200 km (cf. Kristiansen and Larsson 2005, p. 125). Respecting traditional Serbian nomenclature for prehistory (cf. Гарашанин 1973; Garašanin 1983a; Garašanin 1983b; Garašanin 1983c), we kept the term *cultural group* to some extent, although in most of the cases it is the synonym for archaeological culture, i.e. it is not subordinated to any larger cultural entity.

Concept of archaeological culture has been the scene of conflict between different theoretical regimes in the history of archaeology and anthropology. Historically speaking, such debates are indicators of vital and polemical strength of the disciplines. They have often been placed in the frames of conceptual strategy of opposites, and during the years a number of systems and theoretical frameworks have been created (Jones 2004; Kristiansen 1998, Fig. 14; Kristiansen 2004, p. 259-278). If an assemblage of items of various types, which are tightly associated and which cover whole range of human activities, consistently repeats inside limited area and given period (i.e. if it has limited distribution in space and time), it can be defined as a culture and taken as characteristic for certain human society (cf. Bray and Trump 1982, p. 25; Renfrew and Bahn 2004, p. 118). Such a wide definition of culture, postulated as early as 1920s by V. G. Childe, implies that in that case immaterial characteristics of a culture are equally important as material ones, even though only material testimony can be archaeologically re-established. W. Bray and D. Trump (Bray and Trump 1982, p. 25, 70) describe prehistory as a building whose construction elements are prehistoric cultures. It must be admitted that the elements are not as solid as we want them to be. Examples from historic times or ethnography show that equalisation of culture with society is not perfect, although it is the best archaeologists can gain without help from other disciplines. Battles over nature of material culture were connected with cyclical changes in dominant

theoretical frames of archaeology. With time it became clear that pairs of notions used in opposites (e.g. idealism vs. materialism, normative ideas vs. social function, active thinking vs. passive symbols...) probably referred to complementary properties of culture and society. During 1990s and at the turn of the century such a comprehension led to increased interest to cope with the central property of archaeological testimony – material culture (Kristiansen 2004, p. 259-260).

The premise that there is a difference in ceramic style, both in the sense of separation of one culture from the others and inside one cultural entity (regional variants and/or chronological categories), is binding: style has to be defined. Style is a complex concept used in a number of disciplines and it is difficult to be defined. This term is most frequently used in art and literature, where it has two primary meanings: means of expression (unlike the content or expressed ideas), and diversity, originality and character of the expression. Still, in archaeology and anthropology, specially in pottery studies, this separation of content and production (or technique) in definitions of style is not preserved (Rice 2005, p. 244). Archaeologists and anthropologists define “stylistic zones” as spatial units represented by common ways of production and decoration of artefacts (Renfrew and Bahn 2004, p. 586). It is obvious that archaeologists and anthropologists use the term style in the sense of decorative style, with meaning of surface treatment and embellishment of an object. Other elements of style, such as production techniques, are important, too, but they still have not been systematically researched in pottery studies. As P. Rice correctly noticed (Rice 2005, p. 245), styles, specially pottery styles, have for archaeologists long been important for reconstruction of historical and cultural relations of the people settling archaeological sites.

In the case of western Serbia, many of the Bronze Age cultural groups are mainly known thanks to the well preserved remains of burials in contrast to the poorly investigated settlements. Determination of the cultural groups was based on the main characteristics which usually refer to the cemetery type (mounds vs. flat necropolises), shape of the grave construction, treatment of bodily remains of the deceased (inhumation vs. cremation), stylistic and typological analysis as well as distribution of grave goods, among which analysis of pottery plays a significant role.

In this sense, the Čačak region draws our special attention. The Čačak region is situated between two important geo-morphological units of the Central Balkans: the low hilly region of Šumadija and the mountainous region belonging to the Dinara massive. The connective zone between these two units is made by the valley with the river West Morava running through it. This low, wide and fertile valley, surrounded by hills and mountains, connect the Dinara massive of the Western Balkans to the main transversal of the Central Balkans – the Morava-Vardar valley (Ljuština and Dmitrović 2009, p. 92). Despite continuous archaeological excavations for more than a half of a century, registered and explored necropolises dominate when compared with settlements. Having in mind this fact as well as the fact that the situation is similar in the wider territory of Western Serbia, we focused on the analysis of the Bronze Age burial customs.

Some chronological remarks

Thanks to the solid chronology based on series of calibrated radio-carbon and dendrochronological data, new chronological systems have been established for the Bronze Age. Despite it, K. Kristiansen and T. Larsson (Kristiansen and Larsson 2005, p. 116) laid particular stress on the fact that there were too few data, particularly from Eastern Europe and Eastern Mediterranean. Fortunately, there are series of consistent data from Central Europe, Western Europe, Northern Europe and Western Mediterranean (Kristiansen 1998, Fig. 13; Kristiansen, Larsson 2005, p. 116).

Since there is no reliable series of radio-carbon or dendrochronological data for any of the Bronze Age phases in the West Morava valley, we have to look for help in the regions

nearby, starting from South Pannonia. As for central Serbia, the site Ljuljaci, Milića Brdo, near the town Kragujevac, one of the very few sites in Serbia with radio-carbon data, provided us with data from only five Bronze Age samples out of which M. Bogdanović (Богдановић 1986, p. 70) finds only three of them reliable – one for the earlier Ljuljaci I horizon (around 1950 BC) and two for the later Ljuljaci II horizon (between 1730 and 1690BC)(Богдановић 1986, p. 70). On the other hand, F. Gogâltan cites data from four samples from Ljuljaci: 3480±100BP, 3460±100BP, 3425±95BP and 3370±100BP (Gogâltan 1999, p. 308, Pl. 16), all of them being representative for the Middle Bronze Age, since he placed the whole development of the Vatin culture, to which the horizons from Ljuljaci are connected, in the mentioned period (cf. Gogâltan 2004).

Data given for the Early Bronze Age of the Hungarian part of the Carpathian Basin (Bóna 1994; Ecsedy 1994) differ from the traditional absolute chronology, because they are based on the calibrated radio-carbon data, indicating that the end of the Eneolithic should be dated a couple of hundreds of years earlier than it was previously presumed. Consequently, the development which led to the emergence of the Bronze Age in the Carpathian Basin also started earlier, surely in the second half of the 3rd millennium BC. The transition from the Bronze to Iron Age is also presumed to be in the 9th-8th century BC, suggesting that the Bronze Age might have lasted half a millennium longer than it had been thought. Duration of each of the phases (early, middle, late) and diagnostic characteristics for chronological determination are still problematic. Therefore T. Kovács (Kovács 1994, p. 22) introduced a test assumption that in the Carpathian Basin the middle, developed phase of the Bronze Age started around the 19-18th century BC. His opinion seems plausible for our territory, but until the solid confirmation by some series of exact data, we can only speak in terms of early, middle (developed, florescent) and late phase of the development of the Bronze Age.

A brief review of the Bronze Age cultural phenomena in the West Morava valley **The Early Bronze Age**

During the Early Bronze Age in the territory surrounding the Čačak region, according to the synthetic and still relevant and unrevised literature (Garašanin 1983a; Garašanin 1983b), the Belotić–Bela Crkva culture developed on the west and Bubanj–Hum III culture on the east. Specific features of the Belotić–Bela Crkva culture, which developed in Western Serbia, are on the first place represented by burying exclusively under mounds (Fig.1)(middle size objects of ca. 15m in diameter), as well as by existence of a central grave with either an inhumed deceased in crouched position or an incinerated one, and rare and mostly poor grave goods, which mainly consisted of ceramic ware. In certain mounds stone constructions were excavated as a part of the mound architecture or in the grave function (Garašanin 1983a).

The Central Balkans are characterized by development of the Bubanj–Hum III culture, which is marked, in contrast to the Belotić–Bela Crkva culture, exclusively by explored settlements and so far not a single grave (Булатовић and Станковски 2012, p. 279; Garašanin 1983b). What characterises most this group are ceramic forms, especially the beaker with slightly rounded profile with two handles that tie up the rim and the belly (Garašanin 1983b, p. 721)(Fig. 2/4-6). This horizon, after M. Stojić (Stojić 1996, p. 248-250; Стојић and Чађеновић 2006, p. 28-29), is named the horizon of the beakers with two handles, which, obviously, represent the most frequent and widely spread ceramic form. In our opinion, this concept is outdated (cf. Bóna 1975 with “kantharos cultures”) and hence should be avoided.

As it was mentioned, the Belotić–Bela Crkva culture extended in Western Serbia, where it comprised several micro-regions. One of them, after M. Garašanin (Garašanin 1983a, p. 706), is Dragačevo and its surroundings, which belong to the mountainous part of the Čačak region. One must have in mind that, when the monograph „Praistorija

jugoslavenskih zemalja“ was written, a huge number of results of the excavated mounds was not known to the author to the extent of our present knowledge. In this zone, out of 38 excavated mounds, 18 mounds with 19 graves, along with three cenotaphs without any trace of bodily remains of the deceased belong to the Early Bronze Age. The burial rite includes mounds exclusively, both inhumation and incineration of the deceased, who were always (only one exception) placed in the center of the mound (Dmitrović 2013, in print). The most frequent grave construction, registered in 9 tumuli, is coffin-like construction (sarcophagus) made of stone slabs for inhumed and incinerated deceased, as well as for cenotaphs (Fig. 2/1). Other constructions usually represent particular examples without possibility to establish some firm regularities (incinerated bones covered with earth, earth and stones, lying inside an urn, or covered with a stone construction) (Dmitrović 2013, in print). Regarding the grave goods, as it was already stated for Belotić-Bela Crkva culture, they were usually poor and mostly consisted of ceramic ware. Rarely were there some stone objects. Pottery is dominated by the beaker with two handles, long cylindrical neck and spherically shaped belly (Fig. 2/2, 3). So far, there are five beakers of the kind, always associated with the sarcophagi graves. If broader area of Western Serbia is observed, it must be emphasized that the largest concentration of these burial features is confirmed in the Čačak region. It certainly highly accentuates this area in comparison with the neighbouring regions.

Despite the fact that mounds are spread all over the Čačak region, they were not simultaneously established and do not reveal the same ritual model, as the following research is going to confirm. Minding the previously described examples from the mountainous parts (Dragačevo and Kablar), an interesting fact appeared that the only Early Bronze Age mound from the West Morava valley originated from the site Ade in Prijevor, not far from the mountain Kablar slopes. At the site, the registered burial ritual was significantly different. Namely, the usual central place was reserved for the group of vessels probably in function of grave offering, while burnt bodily remains were lying on the mound periphery (Fig. 3). Characteristics of this grave deposit have strong parallels with the ceramic production of the Bubanj–Hum III culture (Никитовић 2000, p. 10). On the other side, ceramic shapes from the graves from Dragačevo and Kablar, as in the necropolises further to the west and north are closely tied with at least partially contemporaneous south Pannonian cultures (Makó, Vinkovci, Somogyvár,...)(Garašanin 1983a).

The Middle Bronze Age

Territory to the south from the rivers Sava and Danube in the middle phase of the Bronze Age is marked by development of the so called Western Serbian variant of the Vatin culture in the west and north-west, and the Paraćin I culture in central Serbia (Fig. 4). Mounds as burial constructions can be found in funerary practice in Western Serbia, with the upper course of the West Morava within its borders. According to M. Garašanin (cf. Garašanin 1983d), this cultural phenomenon was named and widely accepted as Western Serbian variant of the Vatin culture. It is important to emphasize that M. Garašanin did not recognize the Vatin culture – which is essentially a south Pannonian culture - in central Serbia. In Garašanin's opinion, the Vatin culture did not penetrate the Balkans deeper to the south than the Danube valley, where on the right bank of the Danube he found some of the elements of the culture, as in the case of the site Vinča-Belo brdo (cf. Jovanović 1961; Васић 1936). In contrast, the Paraćin culture developed further to the south, while the elements which can be connected with the Vatin culture occur in the area only sporadically, as extremely rare phenomena (Гарашанин 1973, p. 321).

When dealing with regional specificities inside the Vatin culture, D. Garašanin (Гарашанин 1972, p. 18) stated, being guided by the ideas by Z. Vinski (Vinski 1958, p. 23) about regional grouping of finds in the zone of Sarmatia and eastern Slavonia (regional subgroup of the Pannonian pottery or the Lovas type), that the Vatin culture spread its territory to

Syrmia, where it was represented by a special variant. Already in 1972, D. Garašanin treats separately the so called Western Serbian variant of the Vatin culture. The variant, despite closely connected with the Vatin culture, should be given somewhat different ethnical interpretation because of its specific funerary practice – burials under tumuli (Гарашанин 1972, p. 18; Гарашанин 1975, p. 47-48). However, the credit for separation and definition of the Western Serbian variant of the Vatin culture went to M. Garašanin (Гарашанин 1973; Garašanin 1983d). M. Garašanin's choice to separate the sites from west and central Serbia not as a group or phase of the Vatin culture, but as a variant (the term variant is rarely in use in Serbian archaeology), testifies about his intention to imply that it was a separate cultural entity. Such a concept was much later explicitly stated by F. Gogâltan (Gogâltan 2004, p. 85-86). What remains open is the question about the lowest common denominator in the material culture (most obviously in pottery style), the existence of which would keep the "variant" inside the frames of the Vatin culture.

As it was already mentioned, in central Serbia and thus in the lower Morava course are excavated only the flat necropolises belonging to the Paraćin I culture, which is known from necropolises and settlements (Fig.4). These necropolises belong to the type known as flat necropolises with urns, where some graves were under specific stone constructions. The deceased were incinerated and burnt bones were placed in ceramic urns (Garašanin 1983c; Peković 2007)(Fig. 5). The grave inventory usually consisted of ceramic ware and very rare metal objects, significantly fewer in number in comparison with the necropolises from Western Serbia.

In the Čačak region at that time tumuli remained the main characteristic of the burial customs. The necropolises are explored or registered in the same zones – Dragačevo and Kablar range on the one, and the river valley on the other side. If we compare the situation from the Early Bronze Age, there is notably higher number of investigated graves and mounds originating from the Middle Bronze Age horizon. 59 grave units buried in 19 mounds belong to this period (Dmitrović 2010a, p. 187). Burial customs in regard to treatment of bodily remains are dual: incineration and inhumation of the deceased. Inhumation was practiced only in the Dragačevo region and Kablar range, but still there has not been registered any inhumation from the West Morava valley (Dmitrović 2010a, p. 189). The inhumed deceased are usually placed on the right or left side, in crouched position, and often along with grave goods and various stone constructions almost always covered with stone (Dmitrović 2010a, p. 189-190). Incineration prevails among the Middle Bronze Age graves in the whole area. The burnt bones are usually placed in a recipient – a ceramic urn, and often protected with different kinds of the grave constructions (Dmitrović 2010a, p. 190-192). The grave inventory usually consisted of parts of the costume and bronze jewelry, sometimes burnt along with the deceased, rarely ceramic vessels and weapons (Dmitrović 2010, p. 193)(Fig.6).

In accordance with these facts, it can be emphasized that the necropolises from the upper part of the West Morava valley, which geographically belong to the Čačak region, show some particular features. Namely, the graves from this area were buried exclusively under mounds. On the multilayered necropolis under mounds on the site Lugovi-Bent in Mojsinje, the graves with incinerated deceased which were placed in the ceramic urns along with the grave offerings that mostly consisted of ceramics, belonged to the Bronze Age (Nikitović, Stojić, Vasić 2002)(Fig. 7/6-9). Stylistic and typological characteristics of the ceramic ware show parallels with the contemporary cultures from the Danube basin – Belegiš I (Тасић 2002, p. 171-172) as well as do the ceramic forms from the other mound necropolises from west Serbian territory. On the other side, certain details and forms are connected with synchronous Paraćin I culture (Nikitović, Stojić, Vasić 2002, p. 110). The other characteristic of these graves, in comparison with the graves from the west, is extremely

small number of metal objects, while ceramics richly prevail. Some 20km down the river course, a flat necropolis was excavated on the site Gorelo Polje in Miločaj, not far from the town Kraljevo. It is a flat necropolis with incinerated graves with urns placed on the stone slabs and covered with roughly made pots and pythoi of greater dimensions. The grave inventory consisted exclusively of ceramic ware. Fragmented urns show some parallels with the shapes and decoration typical for Hügelgräberkultur and the Belegiš horizon, which had certain influence on the ceramic production in the Western Serbia (Дмитровић 2010b, p. 34; Тасић 2002, p. 172). The other pottery shapes have parallels in the material from the nearby settlements and necropolises from the lower river course, and belong to the Paraćin cultural circle (Дмитровић 2010b, p. 34-36). Similar situation is registered on the mound necropolis in Dobrača in Šumadija region, where analogous mixture of the Danubian and central Serbian elements in the pottery production was noticed (Fig. 7/1-5). Similarly to the Mojsinje and Miločaj necropolises, the absence of metal objects is noticed in contrast to the abundant presence of pottery in function of grave offerings (Garašanin M. and Garašanin D. 1958; Peković 2007, p. 55-56; Стојић 1998, p. 136-137). On the other side, M. Stojić sees the ceramic shapes from Dobrača as a part of a particular horizon named Mojsinje–Dobrača, being the final (fourth) phase of the Vatin culture on the territory to the south from the Danube and Sava rivers. This author also considers chronological sequence starting from Mojsinje, while Dobrača is slightly younger. Cultural successor of the horizon Mojsinje–Dobrača is, after Stojić, the Paraćin culture (Стојић 1998).

Speaking about M. Stojić's views of the Serbian Bronze Age, we find it extremely difficult, almost impossible, to establish vertical stratigraphy and consequently so called cultural stratigraphy on the basis of single-layer sites. The fact that there is no single site illustrating the division of the Vatin culture in six evolution stages makes it impossible to sort, with certainty, the mentioned single-layer sites in a continuous chronological sequence. M. Peković (Peković 2007, p. 54) also criticises this methodological approach introduced by Stojić. Another thing is that the Middle Bronze Age is definitely not the period of great cultural complexes, but rather of small political entities archaeologically recognized as certain cultures or cultural groups (Ljuština 2011, p. 109-110). Therefore we should perceive the Vatin culture as a south Pannonian cultural phenomenon, having no potential to reach as far as the central and southern Serbia, as proposed by M. Stojić (cf. Стојић 2004, p.193-215). A. Bulatović and J. Stankovski share our opinion in their recent work. They warn that, since only sporadic finds attributed to the developed phase of the Vatin culture were found in the Morava valley (mostly in its northern part), they are not sufficient to claim existence of the Vatin culture in the Morava valley. If one takes into consideration the specific ornamental style of the Vatin culture to the north of the Sava and Danube, the presence of which was not registered in any case in the South Morava basin (Булатовић and Станковски 2012, p. 343), the previous warning becomes even more important.

The Late Bronze Age

The period of the Late Bronze Age is marked by not so many excavated graves as it was the case with the preceding phases (Fig. 8). This horizon is characterised by development of the Urnfield phenomenon in Western Serbia and the Paraćin II culture in the central part of the country. Despite the small number of sites and findings in comparison with the previous phases, there were enough elements to establish that in Western Serbia at the time main cultural impetus came from the Urnfield cultural complex from the north, which was reflected in the forms and decoration of the ceramic ware and metal findings (Garašanin 1983e). Still, it seems that that traditional sepulchral form – mound burial - remained in use even during this period. It points to the strong influences or symbiosis of the two strong cultural elements (Garašanin 1983e). In central Serbia during the same period the Paraćin II culture developed, representing the sequence of the Paraćin I culture (Fig. 9/1-3). The

changes, which are noticed mainly on the ceramics, show influences from the Danube basin (Peković 2007, p. 59-64).

The findings from the site Katovac in Baluga near Čačak show again the same characteristics as the above mentioned archaeological sites from the river valley (Fig. 9/4-7). The presumed grave deposit from Baluga consisted of seven vessels (one fragmented). The stylistic-typological characteristics show parallels both in the contemporary mid-Danubian Belegiš II culture, and in the Paraćin II culture in the east and south-east. A mound near the location of this finding might indicate a grave under the mound from which the pottery deposit came from, since this is the main attribute of the burial practice in the region over the last millennia BC. Another characteristic of the Late Bronze Age is an increasing number of settlements, mostly hillforts.

Conclusion

Our research revealed that the West Morava valley, in its northern course belonging to the Čačak region, played an important role as a transitional territory during the Bronze Age.

Distribution of the necropolises of the Early Bronze Age clearly shows concentration of the mounds in the zones to the west from the river West Morava, while the only exception represents the mound on the site Ade in Prijevor. Further to the east, there are neither registered nor excavated necropolises. In Kablar and especially Dragačevo region significant concentration of graves in stone coffins, often along with the double handled beakers, is noticed. It elevates this region on the dominant position in Serbia and even wider (Dmitrović 2013). Burying under mounds makes a part of autochthonous tradition, while some changes in the ritual patterns and ceramics forms represent adoption of foreign style and not the result of ethnical movements (Никитовић 2000, p. 11). On the other hand, now it is doubtless that the northern part of the West Morava valley within the Čačak region makes a border zone between two bigger cultural manifestations of the Early Bronze Age in the Central Balkans - Belotić-Bela Crkva and Bujanj-Hum III.

During the Middle Bronze Age it appears that the West Morava valley and its surroundings played the same role. As it was indicated by the analyzed material from Mojsinje, Miločaj and Dobrača necropolises, it was possible to establish a certain zone with mixed material, characteristic for the so called Western Serbian variant of the Vatin culture on the one side (western Serbia) and the Paraćin I culture on the other (central, eastern and southern Serbia).

The Late Bronze Age represents a period with not as many investigated sites as the previous ones, but even operating with smaller numbers, there was a possibility to establish a basic picture. A strong influence from the Danube cultural circle (Urnfield complex) is notable on the material. It is most obvious in use of the fluted ornament and polishing of the pottery. As in the previous phases, it is the strong cultural influence on the autochthonous base, which strongly kept its funerary models. It means that even during the Late Bronze Age, the same part of the West Morava valley can be marked as transitional, having various characteristics in the material reflecting strong influences from nearby cultural centers.

Sharply defined borders between different cultural groups are rarely testified in prehistoric archaeology. In most of the cases the so called transitional zones exist, where different influences meet and mix to some extent, thereby creating the specific feature integrating various elements. It is obvious that the West Morava valley downstream from the Ovčar-Kablar gorge to the Kraljevo narrowing represents indeed transitional territory between already defined cultural groups which existed in the wider territory of Serbia to the south of the rivers Sava and Danube. It can be comprehended as a contact zone between cultural groups during the entire development of the Bronze Age. Particular significance of this region lasts even during the next millennia. Regarding burial customs, the same role of this region is noticed during the Iron Age (Dmitrović and Ljuština 2008). After D. Srejšević

(Срејовић 1979, p. 83), the funerary customs were the basis for determining the border between Palaeo-Balkanic tribes Dardanians and Triballoi along the line Western – Southern Morava. This concept is generally followed in the recent works by R. Vasić (cf. Vasić 2004a; Vasić 2004b), at least to the extent of shaping territorial spread of the mentioned Palaeo-Balkanic ethnic groups.

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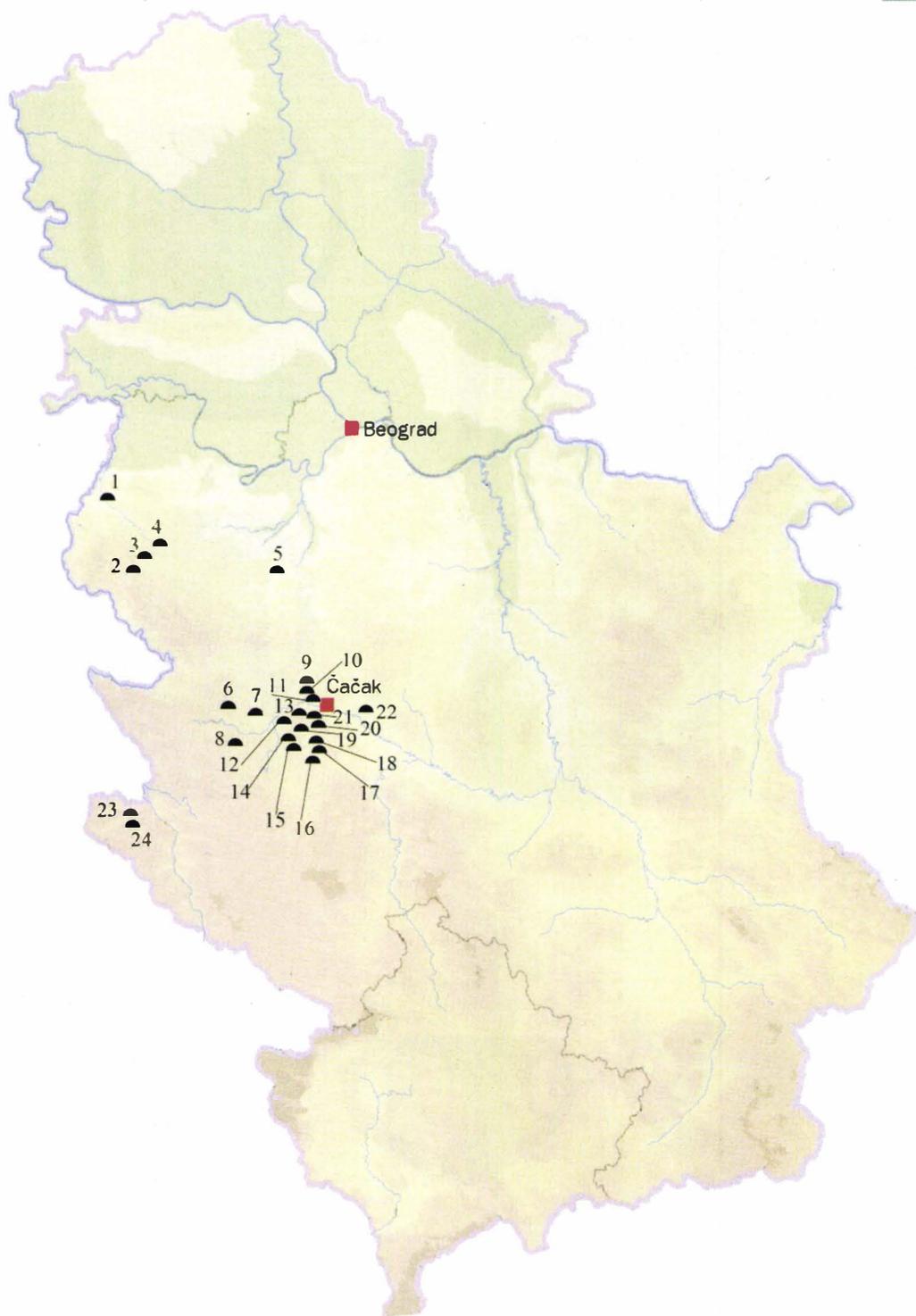
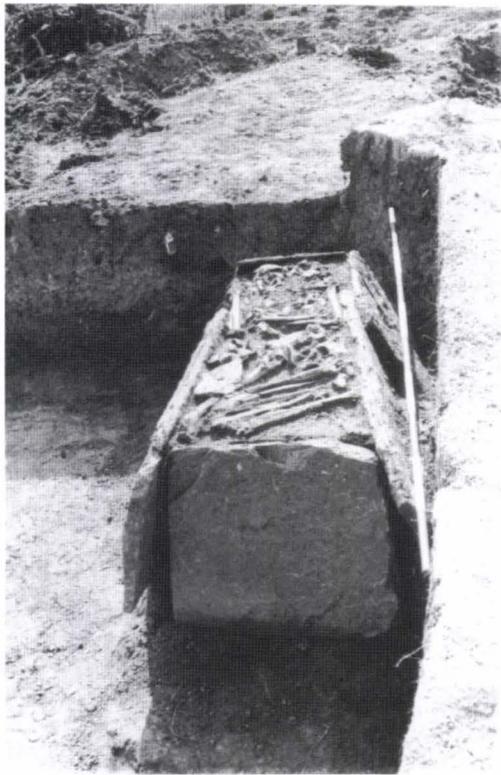


Figure 1 – Map of Serbia with the Early Bronze Age necropolises in central Serbia

Tumular necropolises are marked by semicircles.

1 – Kozjak; 2 - Tolisavac; 3, 4 – Belotić (sites Šumar and Bandera); 5 – Žabari; 6 – Ribaševina; 7 – Vranjani; 8 - Drežnik; 9, 10 – Jančići (sites Veliko Polje and Dubac); 11 – Prijedor; 12 – Pilatovići; 13 – Negrišori; 14 - Krstac; 15 – Donja Kravarica; 16-19 – Guča (sites Grotnica, Ornica, Ošljevac and Rajića brdo); 20, 21 – Lučani (sites Suva Česma and Kruševlje); 22 Mrčajevci; 23, 24 – Pobračnica river valley.



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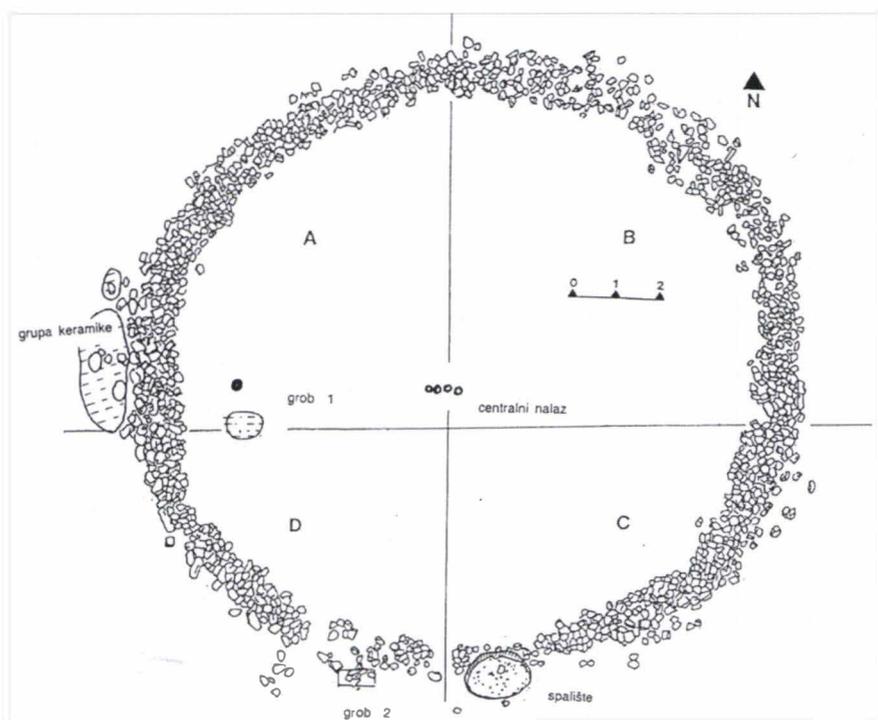


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Figure 2 - Early Bronze Age in the West Morava valley

1-3 - Dučalovići, site Ruja (photo-documentation: National Museum Čačak): Belotić – Bela Crkva culture.

4-6 - Novo Selo, site Bujanj (after Гарашанин, Ђурић 1983): Bujanj Hum III culture.



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Figure 3 - Early Bronze Age: cultural manifestations with mixed characteristics, from West Morava valley
 1 - Prijevor, site Ade (after Nikitović 2000)

2, 3 - Prijevor, site Ade, ceramic vessels from the center of the mound (photo-documentation: National Museum Čačak).

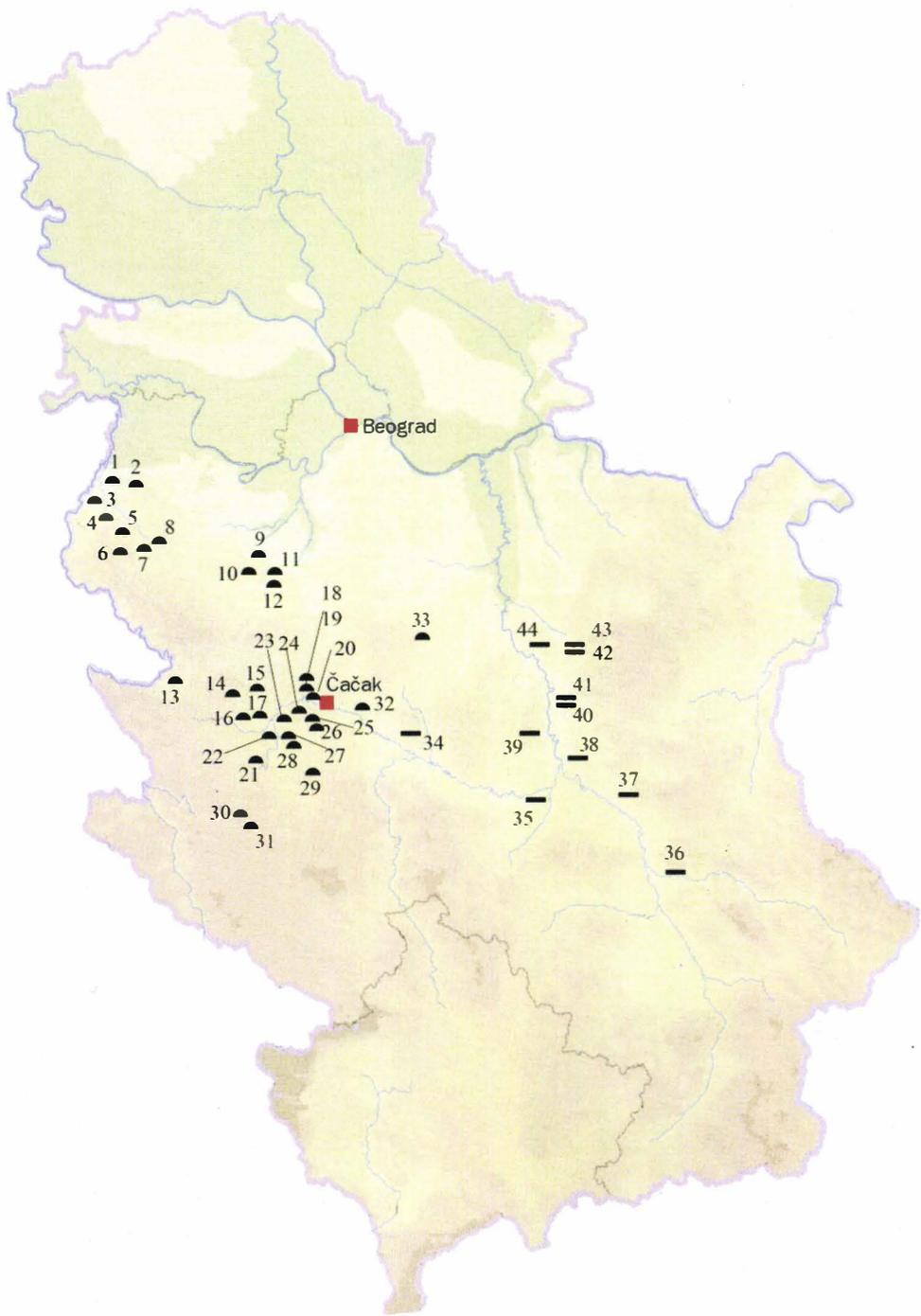


Figure 4 – Map of Serbia with the Middle Bronze Age necropolises in central Serbia

Tumular necropolises are marked by semicircles, flat necropolises – by horizontal lines.

1 – Kozjak; 2 – Joševa; 3 – Lipnica; 4 – Slatina; 5 – Brezovica; 6 - Jovin Breg; 7, 8 - Belotić (sites Šumar and Bandera); 9 – Klinci; 10 - Zarube; 11 – Robaje; 12 – Bukovačko Polje; 13 – Višesava; 14 – Gubin Do; 15 – Duškovci; 16 – Vranjani; 17 – Duškovac; 18, 19 – Jančići (sites Veliko Polje, Dubac and Ravnine); 20 – Prijedor; 21 – Arilje; 22 – Višovina; 23 - Pilatovići; 24 – Lučani (Suva Česma and Kruševlje); 25 – Dučalovići; 26 – Guča (sites Grotnica and Ošljevac); 27 – Donja Kravarica; 28. - Krstac; 29 - Kotraža; 30 – Drenova; 31 – Sedobro; 32 – Mojsinje; 33 – Dobrača; 34 – Miločaj; 35 – Makrešani; 36 – Niš; 37 – Rutevac; 38 – Stalać; 39 – Obrež; 40, 41 – Paraćin (sites Gloždak and Striža); 42,43 – Despotovac (sites Plažane and Dvorište); 44 – Rajkinac.



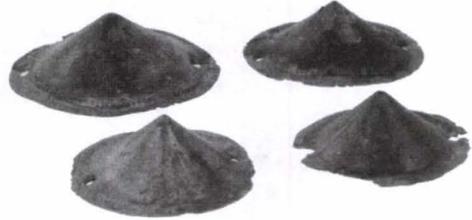
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Figure 5 - Middle Bronze Age: Paraćin culture
1, 3, 4 – Ceramic vessels from Obrež (after Стојић and Чађеновић 2006);
2, 5, 6 – Ceramic vessels from Маџија (after Стојић and Чађеновић 2006).



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Figure 6 - Middle Bronze Age: Western Serbian variant of Vatin culture
1-5 - Jančići, site Dubac: 1 - grave 10 from mound 1 *in situ*; 2 - urn from grave 10; 3-5 - typical metal findings from the graves. 6. Guča, site Grotnica: bronze bracelets (photo-documentation: National Museum Čačak).

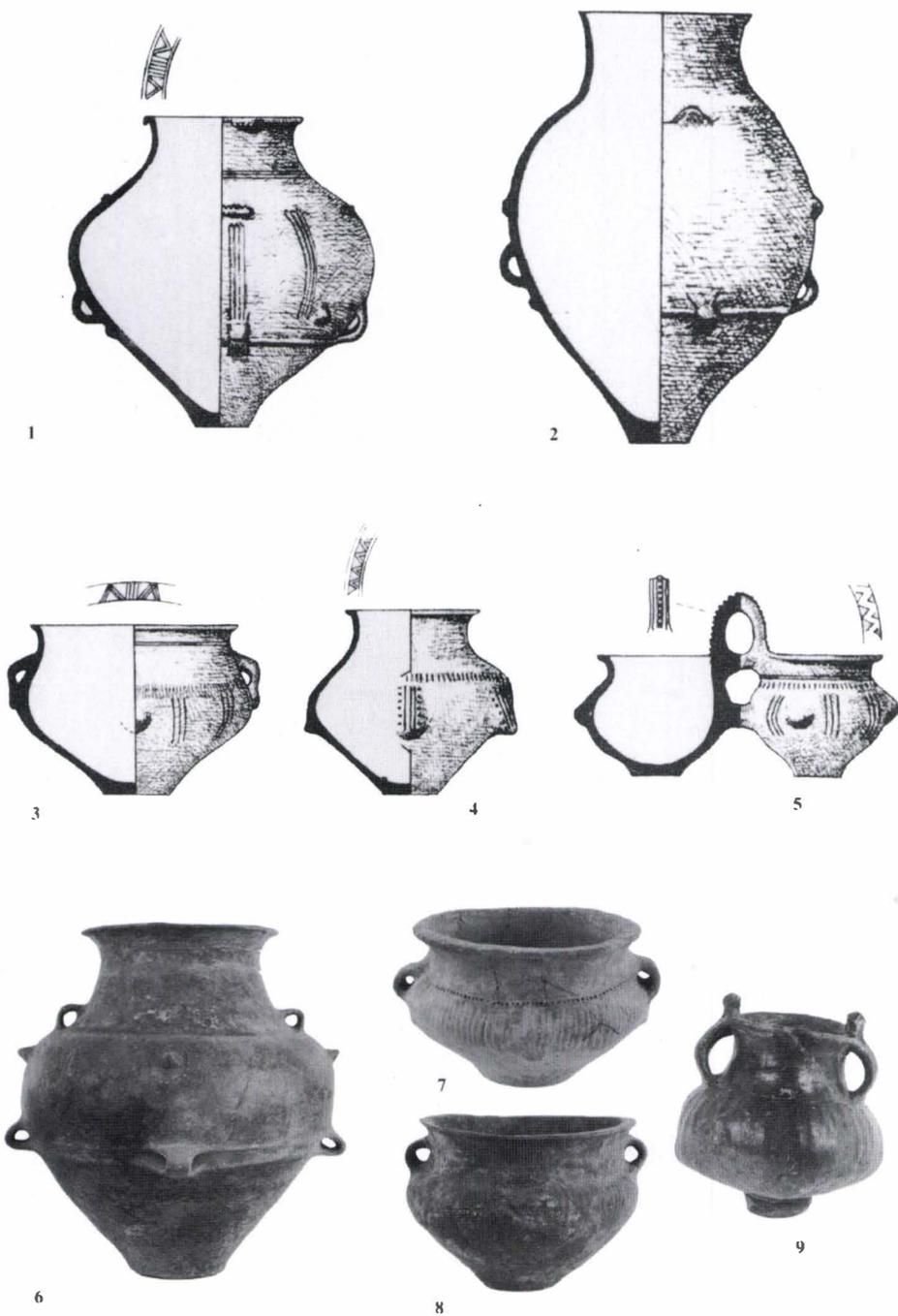


Figure 7 - Middle Bronze Age: cultural manifestations with mixed characteristics
 1-5 - Dobrača, site Umke (after Garašanin M. and Garašanin D. 1958).
 6-9 - Mojsinje, site Lugovi, Bent (after Nikitović, Stojić and Vasić 2002).

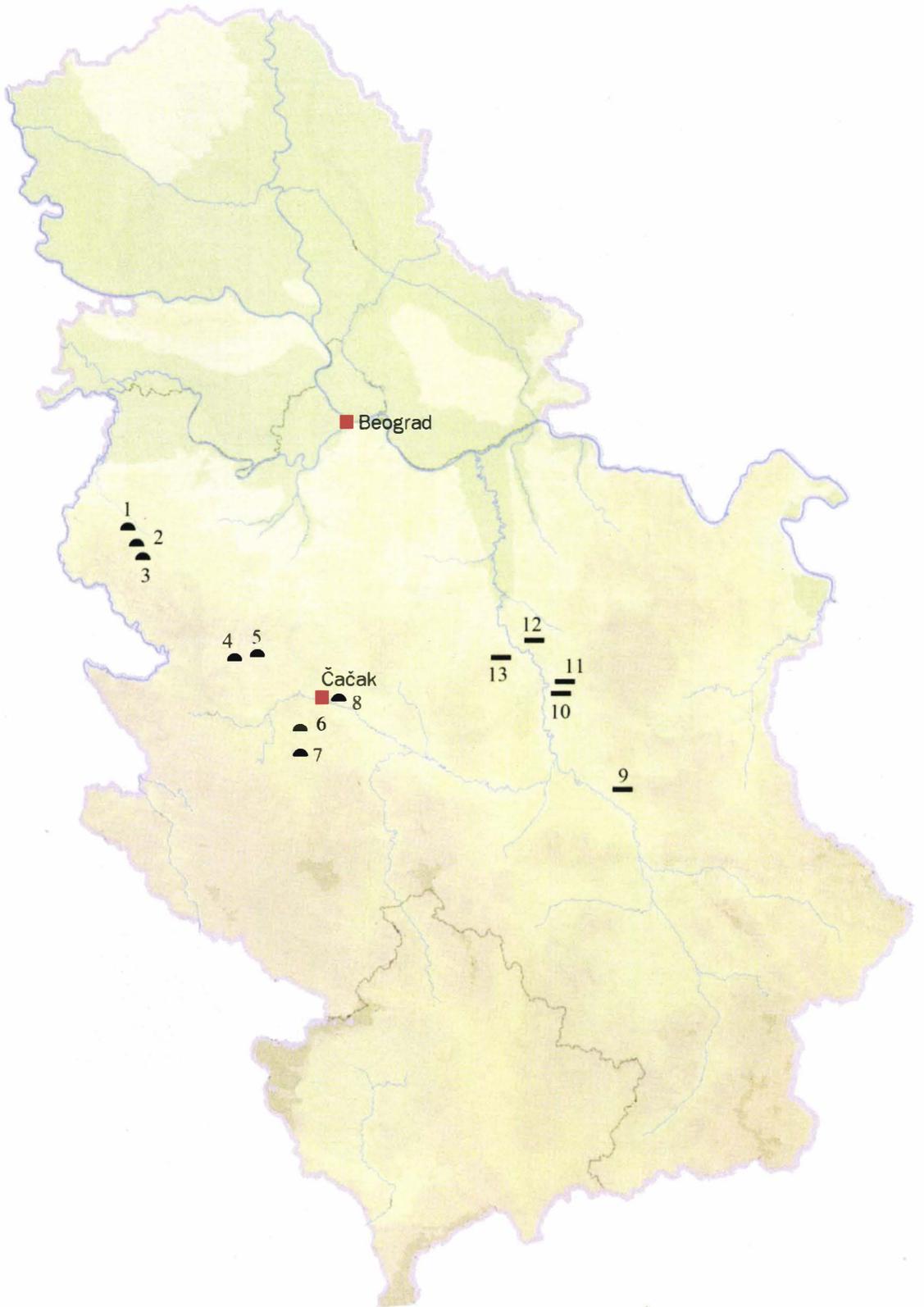


Figure 8 – Map of Serbia with the Late Bronze Age necropolises in central Serbia
 Tumular necropolises are marked by semicircles, flat necropolises – by horizontal lines.
 1 – Brezovica; 2 – Belotić; 3 – Bastav; 4 – Mrčići; 5 - Barice; 6 – Turica; 7 – Kotraža; 8 – Baluga; 9 – Rutevac; 10 – Paraćin; 11 – Čuprija; 12 – Rajkinac; 13 – Donje Štiplje.

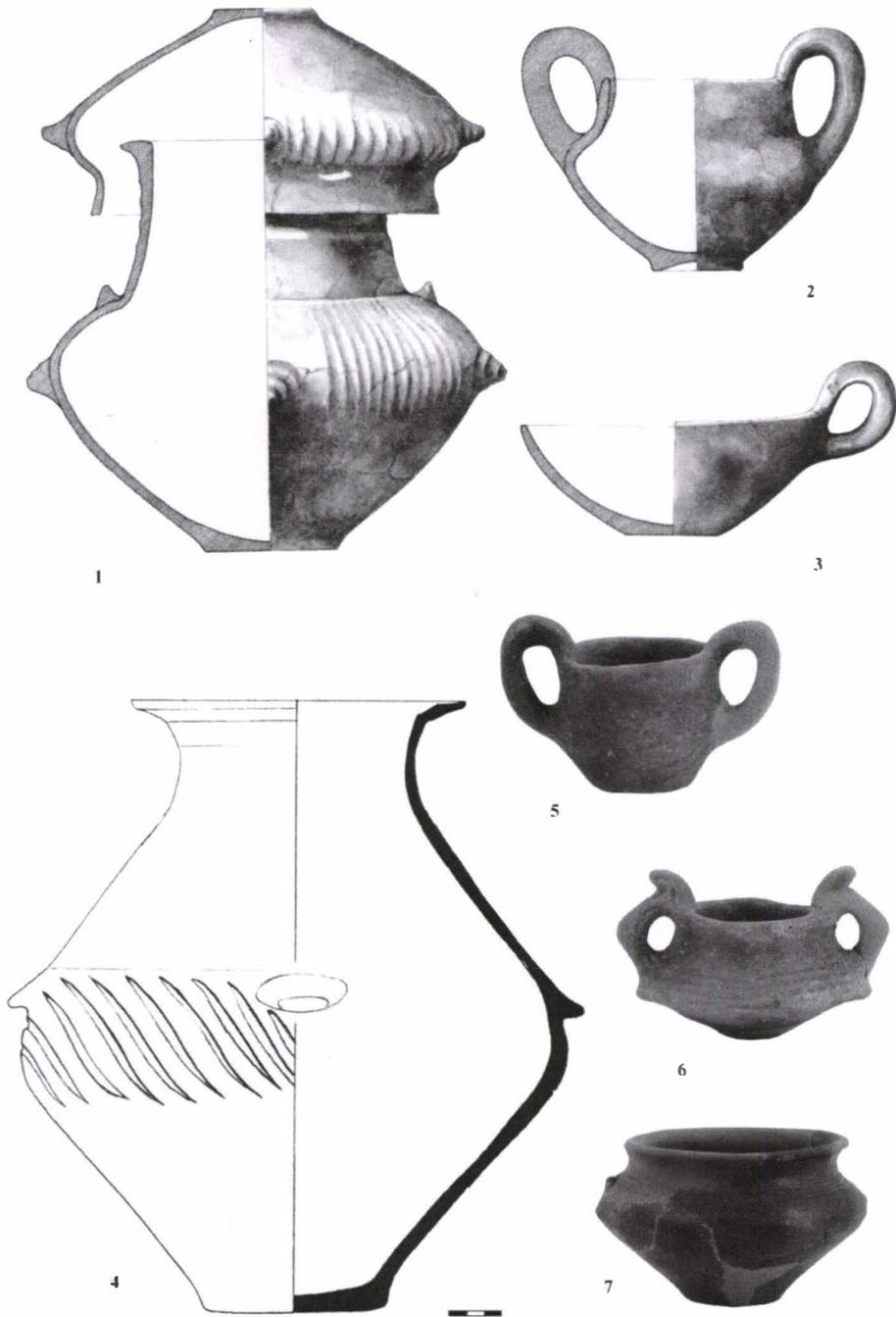


Figure 9 - Late Bronze Age in the West Morava valley

1-3 - Paraćin, site Gloždak (after Garašanin 1983c): ceramic shapes belonging to the Paraćin II culture

4-7 - Baluga, site Katovac: material with mixed characteristics, from West Morava valley (photo-documentation: National Museum Čačak).

THE BRONZE AGE NECROPOLIS AT SEBEȘ – ÎNTRE RĂSTOACE. PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

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Key words: rescue archaeological excavation, Middle Bronze Age, Wietenberg culture, necropolis, burial

Abstract: In the necropolis that is the subject of this paper, a total of 61 urn cremation tombs were investigated. In most cases, the bones are found at the base of the urn. A pot lid used to be placed on top of the urn. There were cases when a third vessel was deposited in the jug lid. Some graves are marked by stone arrangements. Other stones were placed over the urns, entirely covering the graves. The Bronze Age cremation tombs inventory consists of ceramic pots. The necropolis from Sebeș can be dated at the limit between the phases I and II of the Wietenberg culture.

At the end of 2011 the archaeologists of the National Museum of the Union Alba Iulia carried out rescue archaeological excavations in the surroundings of Sebeș (Alba County)¹. These researches were prompted by the forthcoming constructions of the future highway that will connect the towns of Arad, to the West, and Sibiu, to the East. According to the archaeological diagnosis realized by the colleagues of the National Museum of Romanian History (Bucharest) in the autumn of 2011 there are three archaeological sites in the surrounding area of Sebeș, discovered on the route of the highway (Fig. 1/2): Lancrăm – Glod, Sebeș – Între Răstoace and Sebeș – Podul Pripocului (from W to E). The site *Între Răstoace* was located between km 29+850 and km 30+090 (provisionary parameters for the project “Construire autostradă Orăștie – Sibiu, LOT 2”/ “Orăștie – Sibiu Highway Construction, Batch 2”). The sites at *Podul Pripocului*² and *Glod*³ were known in literature since the last century when short-lived archaeological excavations were done. In the area known as *Între Răstoace* the archaeological site was not known, being identified only in the autumn of 2011.

The archaeological investigations were proceeded between 9th November and 20th December 2011, in unfavourable weather conditions for archaeological diggings. During this period there were recorded average temperatures of minus 3 degrees Celsius and also in some days the work was accomplished at minus 10 degrees. The unfavourable weather conditions affected the working process in the field.

Sebeș is located on the south-western part of Transylvania (Fig. 1/1), nearly to the middle course of Mureș, an important way of communication alongside the history. The place known as *Între Răstoace* is situated at the north-eastern edge of the city, between the river Secaș and the Secașelor Plateau. The new discovered site is at 370 m N from the county road 106k (towards Daia Română), the way of access being represented by an earth road, which starts immediately after the bridge upon the Secaș river. Geographically, the site is located in the southern part of the Depression Alba Iulia - Turda, a depression situated between Apuseni Mountains (W) and Transylvanian Plateau (E). It is placed on the right bank of Secaș river, a right tributary of Sebeș river, at a distance of 4,2 km SE of the confluence between the two rivers. The Secașelor Plateau (southern part of the Transylvanian Plateau) is situated at a

¹ The archaeological team members at Sebeș: Cristinel Fântâneau, Gabriel Bălan, Daniel Tentiș, Silviu Popa and Dan Anghel.

² Boroffka 1994, p. 72; Horedt 1967, p. 139; Horedt et alii 1967, p. 19-25; Popa 2010, p. 151-152.

³ Boroffka 1994, p. 52; Popa, Simina 2004, p. 17-31.

couple of hundred meters N and NE from the site. Slatina which flows from Secaşelor Plateau runs into Secaş at 300 m S from the necropolis (Fig. 1/2).

There had been uncovered 18 research units in the area delimited by the MNIR colleagues, comprising a surface of 3300 m². Archaeological features were discovered only between km 29+930 and 30+040. The limits of the archaeological site *Între Răstoace* can be established between km 29+930 and 30+040. We discovered vestiges from three different periods: an incineration Bronze Age necropolis, a First Iron Age settlement, from which there were identified and researched six features (Gáva culture) and a 3rd - 5th century settlement (Sântana de Mureş – Chernyakhov culture). The Bronze Age necropolis is located on the south-western part of the site, covering 272 m², and was researched by 3 surfaces (Fig. 1/5).

The stratigraphy of the site is not uniform on the entire area. Under the light-brown agricultural soil (0,25-0,30m thickness) there are several layers of aluvionary deposits (thick brown levels alternate with two slim yellow levels). These layers overlap the archaeological layer at 0,95-1,00m depth, which contains materials belonging to the First Iron Age and to the Migration Period. This black layer has a thickness of 0,45-0,50m. The level belonging to the First Iron Age could be easily distinguished in some surfaces, at 1,30-1,35m depth, as in Sp9 and Sp5, where there were researched two dwellings. Beneath this level, in the south-western part of the site, there is the level corresponding to the Middle Bronze Age necropolis which is marked by a brown claysh layer, at 1,35-1,60m depth. It is followed by a layer of the same colour and consistency as the previous one (0,15-20m thickness). The virgin soil is attested at 1,75-1,80m and is a claysh yellow layer. In the northern part of the investigated area, near the limits of the terrace created on the course of Secaş, the aluvionary layers are thicker because there is a slight slope that made them easily washable. The archaeological layer appears at the 0,50-0,55m depth and it has 0,60-0,65m thickness. In this case the layer corresponding to the Bronze Age lacks. The virgin soil is situated at the 1,10-1,15m depth and it consists of gravel mixed with yellow clay.

The Bronze Age necropolis was delimited between km 30+010 and 30+030. Both northern and eastern limits of the necropolis were established after the excavations. It is possible that it can extend towards W and SW, beyond the excavated area (Fig. 2). There were several burials identified by the MNIR team in the autumn of 2011: M1, M2, M3, M7, M8 and M18. Only burial M18 was completely researched by the MNIR archaeologists, the rest of them being documented and collected by the MNUAI team⁴. At the end of the campaign there were documented 61 incineration urn burials (including M18)⁵. Burial M49 was double, as the two urns were discovered one near another.

From the spatial analysis of the necropolis results that there are three distinctive groups (Fig. 2). The first group with 44 burials is the largest one and was entirely researched, all its limits being overtake on the highway track. Group 2 has 12 burials and it is possible that were left unexplored graves towards W and SW. To N, W and E there had been established the limits of this group. As it appears on the necropolis plan, taking into consideration a similar distribution of the graves to that of the main group, we can say that the number of the unexplored graves, towards S and SW of the highway limit, does not exceed 2-3 graves. The group 3 is formed by 4 burials which are very close one to another. The position of burial M7 is interesting because it is isolated of the three groups of graves, but between group 1 and 2.

The pits of the burials were not observed in the field, the soil being similar to the one of the layer in which they were dug. To this aspect it is added the unfavourable weather

⁴ The grave urn is stored at MNIR.

⁵ In the congress abstracts (Fântâneau at alii 2013, p. 69) we mentioned the presence of 62 graves at *Între Răstoace*: the features marked by us in the field with Cx44 and Cx45 emblems actually represent a single grave (M43), which has been disturbed by gnawers tunnel.

conditions under which the excavations were performed. We assume that the pits of the burials were circular in planum, being just a little more wide than the maximum diameter of the urn. The incineration of the dead took place outside the necropolis, the traces of the incineration area not being detected. The remains were gathered after the cooling of the fireplace, making a selection of the bones. This fact is proved by the lack of ash and coal in urns. In most of the cases, the bones are situated at the basis of the urn vessel. There are also burials when the bones were discovered scattered around the urn because of the precarious preservation condition of the vessel (M5, M10 and M14). These graves seem to be children burials, if we take into consideration the initial dimensions of the urns and the small quantity of burnt bones as well.

At Sebeş necropolis, the funeral inventory of the graves is composed of ceramic vessels and faience beads (glassy paste). The burial ceramic sets consist of graves with 2 vessels (the most numerous), followed by the ones with a single vessel and those with at least 3 vessels. Graves with two vessels represent the urn and lid type. On the urn there was placed a vessel with the role of a lid, in most of the burials being deposited top up, as in M4, M6 (Fig. 3/4), M13, M15, M17 (Fig. 4/4), M19, M25 (Fig. 3/7) and M31. Only in the case of burial M32, the lid-vessel is placed bottom up (Fig. 4/8). Numerous graves present only the urn, the remainings of the lid being unremarked, as in M20, M21 (Fig. 3/3), M22, M23, M27 and M55. Because of the precarious condition of the vessels, and mainly of those small made of fine paste, but also because of the possible disturbances due to the ulterior interventions, we cannot certainly establish if the graves with urns represent a different type. It is the case of the children graves, in which few urn fragments were preserved (ex. M10 and M14), or the case of the graves where were discovered just some fragments from other vessels (ex. M24, M26, M28, M41).

There are cases where is deposited a third vessel (offering) in the lid vessel, as in burial M12 (Fig. 3/5). The grave M43 also contains fragments from another vessel. We cannot be sure which one of them was used as a lid. At the same time, the grave was affected by a gnawers tunnel.

In 6 graves there were discovered faience beads (glassy paste): M4 - 8 pieces (Fig. 8/1), M5 - 5 pieces and other fragments belonging to at least one bead (Fig. 8/2), M24 - 5 pieces and fragments from at least two beads (Fig. 8/3), M25 - 16 pieces (Fig. 8/6), M29 - 1 piece (Fig. 8/4) and M42 - 1 piece (Fig. 8/5). All the beads present traces of secondary burning, being worn by the deceased on the pyre. Except a few of whitish pieces, the beads have a greenish colour. The beads discovered at Sebeş are of three types: star shape (33 pieces), circular shape (1 piece) and segmented shape (2 pieces). Only in the case of M29 there is only one vessel (urn) in the grave associated with a bead, the other ones being urn and lid with beads type.

Some burials are underlined by stones. It is the case of the burials M38 and M44, being situated one near another, limited with quarry stone of medium and large dimensions (sandstones), that appear to form cist-like structures around the urns (Fig. 2; 4/3). Above the urns there were placed stones which completely covered the burials. The archaeological situation indicates that the earliest grave is M44, the stone structure being more stable. Burial of M38 is added to the stone structure of the other grave. In the case of the burials M13 (Fig. 2), M15 (Fig. 2; 4/6) and M32 (Fig. 2; 4/7), the urns with lid were covered with large, plane, quarry stones. This proves the intention of using these stones with the purpose of marking the place of the burials. Beside the grave M12 there is as well a similar stone, at 0.24m towards N (Fig. 2). These stones also indicate the Bronze Age level. They appear at the depth of 1.29m (M13) and 1.36m (M15 and M32) and they have a thickness of 0.10m, the level being established between 1.40-1.45m. The stone level beside M12 is a little lower, at 1.49m depth, at the same level with the mouth of the urn. In the case of the burials M38 and M44, the stone

that covered M44, the only one that sealed the grave and preserved its *in situ* position, was at 1.15m depth, on the upper part. These stones were visible during the Bronze Age, as well as the stones from M13, M15 and M32. All the burials with stone structures and the double burial (M49) are part of the first group and are located at its limits (Fig. 2).

In the necropolis of Sebeş the type of vessel most used as urn is the pot with different subtypes (Fig. 5/4, 6, 8, 11; 6/2, 4, 6, 8; 7/2, 4, 7, 6, 9; 8/10; 9/1-5). In the case of several children burials there were used as urns bowls or cups (Fig. 5/1). The majority of them could not be restored or they did not preserve at all (M5, M10, M14). The lids are represented by several types of bowls and cups, just in only one burial was used a pot as a lid, in M9.

The pottery discovered in the necropolis at Sebeş is made of fine clay, but there are also few vessels of coarse clay. The majority of vessels were fired in reducing atmosphere having brown, grey and black colors. The number of vessels fired in oxidizing atmosphere is very low in comparison to the others.

There were found several types of pots, but one is predominant (Fig. 5/6; 6/2, 4, 6, 8; 7/2, 7; 9/1, 5; 10/3-4). This type has various subtypes and what differs is the shape of body: svelte, biconic or spheric. All the subtypes of this form have a flat basis and the rim more or less out curved. Another type is the pot discovered in M3: flat basis, biconic body, short cylindrical neck and the rim slightly out curved. Four small handles are symmetrically disposed on the neck. Another two small handles are disposed under the maximum diameter (Fig. 5/8). A singular vessel discovered in the necropolis is the pot from burial M41: a tall bell-shape body, prominent shoulder, neck curved in and rim curved out. In burial M20 there is a pot with flat basis, svelte body, cylindrical short neck and straight rim. It has two handles placed on the neck and shoulder (Fig. 5/2; 9/2). Another type is represented by the pot with flat basis, svelte body, short neck, prominent shoulder and rim out curved. It has two handles placed on the neck (Fig. 5/11). In M37 there was a pot with the flat basis, spheric body, tall neck and the rim out curved (Fig. 10/6). The pot in M9 has an interesting form: a globular body, flat basis, short, out curved neck, with a straight rim (Fig. 5/4). The type of pot with flat basis, spheric body, short neck and straight rim is present in burials M40 and M59. The pot discovered in burial M40 has on the bottom a handle with hanging role (Fig. 7/6).

The vessel used the most as a lid is with flat basis, svelte body, short neck and the rim slightly out curved (Fig. 6/3; 7/5; 8/8). There is also attested the variant with over raised handle (Fig. 6/5; 7/1; 10/5). A type of cup of small dimensions was found in some of the burials (M3, M56, M35): it has flat basis, semispheric body, short neck and the rim slightly out curved (Fig. 5/7). It seems that it was used as a vessel and not as a lid, if we are to take into account the situation from M3, where the maximum diameter of the bowl is smaller than the diameter of the neck and rim of the urn. An unique bowl in the necropolis is the lid from M32: flat basis, conic body, prominent shoulder, short neck and rim out curved (Fig. 6/1; 8/7). Another type is the bowl with innelar basis (M12), spheric body, prominent shoulder, short neck and rim slightly curved out. It presents a handle that starts from the rim and ends on the shoulder (Fig. 5/10; 10/2). A similar variant, but without a handle and with flat basis in the lid from burial M25. A bowl of small dimensions, having a flat basis, semispheric body, short neck and rim curved out is the lid from M49 (b). A series of vessels from which there were preserved only fragments (Fig. 5/5; 6/7; 7/8) seem to indicate a certain practice of usage of the inferior part of the vessels as lids (ex. M2, M4, M5, M6, M36, M60, M51). In some cases there can be ulterior disturbances.

The only certain additional vessel is the one in M12 and it was deposited in the lid vessel, placed top up. The vessel (Fig. 5/9; 9/6) is a small one, of biconic shape, with two small hanging handles, vertically perforated, placed beneath the rim, known under the name of *Hängegefäß* (suspended vessel).

The vessels from the Sebeş necropolis are decorated with ornaments realized by deepening (channelled decoration, incisions, stamps) and ornaments in relief (ribs and knobs). It is decorated the upper part of the vessels, the shoulder area and the rim and less the lower part. The motifs realized with these techniques are not that diversified. The most common is the register of oblique lines that appears on the upper part of the vessel, on the shoulder area, being realized with the help of channelled decorations (Fig. 5/1, 6, 10, 11; 6/2-3, 5-6, 8-9, 12; 7/1-2; 9/4-5; 10/1-5), incisions (Fig. 5/8) and wide incisions (Fig. 5/4). Some of the vessels have a decoration consisting of more registers which render different motifs, as it is the urn from M56, which presents three registers bordered by horizontal lines: on the upper part there are triangles filled with wide incised oblique lines and deepening points; on the middle part appears a decoration realized by channelled oblique lines, grouped in five; on the lower part appears the *fish skeleton* motif, also realized by wide incisions (Fig. 8/10). The *fish skeleton* motif appears also on the burial M3 urn, which is rich decorated on the upper part. In this case the decoration is realized by incisions and is bordered by a row of little prominences towards the neck and by a register of incised oblique lines towards the maximum diameter of the vessel. The registers are separated by two horizontal rows of little stamped triangles, a third row delimiting the entire ornament on the upper part (Fig. 5/8). The triangle motif, always up-headed in the register as well, can be found on various vessels, being mixed with other registers, which render other motifs (Fig. 6/7; 8/10), except the urn of M34, where it can be seen only one triangle register. The spiral motif can be encountered only on two vessels. On the urn from M48 the spiral is realized by channelled decoration and two rows of incised lines having on the inside small oblique lines (Fig. 7/7). A rib decoration is added under the handles situated under the maximum diameter of the M3 vessel and consists of a bended line ending up in spiral (Fig. 5/8). The garland motif is encountered in a single case, on the urn from M13 and is realized by four channels and a row of small lobes which border the entire decoration on the inferior part (Fig. 6/4). The simple or double knobs are applied on the shoulder of the vessel (Fig. 5/3; 8/9), on (Fig. 7/6) and under its maximum diameter (Fig. 5/6; 6/6, 8; 10/6). The ribs are rarely encountered and consist of horizontal or bended lines, decorated with incised lines or small lobes or channels (Fig. 5/8). There are cases of the decoration of the vessel rims on the outside, especially of bowls and cups (Fig. 5/1, 7, 10; 6/3, 10; 7/1). There are also some vessels which are not decorated at all (Fig. 5/2-3, 9; 7/4-5, 9; 8/9; 9/2-3).

The necropolis can be dated in Middle Bronze Age, to Wietenberg culture, which is the most important one in Transylvanian Plateau in this period. According to I. Motzoi-Chicideanu, in the area of Wietenberg culture there are known 17 necropoleis or groups of burials⁶. These are completed by other three necropoleis: Cluj Napoca- Floresti/Polus⁷ and Luduş – *Fabrica de cânepă*⁸, recently researched, and Bratei, reanalysed and dated in Middle Bronze Age by Cristi I. Popa⁹. The cemeteries of Wietenberg culture are flat and they are formed of a small number of graves. The main funerary practice of Wietenberg culture is the incineration in urns. Some of the necropoleis are biritualic (Sibişeni¹⁰ and Ozun¹¹), but the majority of the burials in these cemeteries are cremations in urns. The most well known necropoleis from the Wietenberg cultural area can be found at Sibişeni (43 burials)¹², Bistrița

⁶ Motzoi-Chicideanu 2011, p. 526-546.

⁷ Alicu 2008, p. 6.

⁸ Information on Mureş County Museum site

(http://www.muzeumures.ro/main.php?object=staticpage&id=112&research_id=67)

⁹ Popa 2010, p. 156-159.

¹⁰ Motzoi-Chicideanu 2011, p. 532-533.

¹¹ Motzoi-Chicideanu 2011, p. 530.

¹² Paul 1995.

(38 burials)¹³, Dumbrăvița (17 burials)¹⁴, Aiton (8 burials)¹⁵, Deva (17 burials)¹⁶ and Turia (25 burials)¹⁷. The archaeological situation found in the necropolis at Sebeș can be also found in the other necropoleis belonging to the same culture. The division of the necropolis into groups of graves was also observed in other cemeteries belonging to the culture at Bistrița, Sibîșeni, Deva and Turia. The urns with burnt bones are covered with vessels, generally bowls and cups deposited top up and bottom up. The graves with stone structures are mentioned at the necropoleis of Aiton, Bistrița, Dumbrăvița and Turia. At Aiton there are stone structures that cover the urn and the additional vessels alike to those discovered at Sebeș, in the case of M38 and M44 graves. There had been used stone blocks in order to cover the graves from the Aiton, Turia and Bistrița necropoleis. Double graves were researched at Sibîșeni and Bistrița.

The analogies for the vessels from the necropolis can be observed in the ceramic repertoire of Wietenberg culture, except three vessels. The most common form of pot used at Sebeș necropolis (Fig. 5/6; 6/2, 4, 6, 8; 7/2, 7; 9/1, 5; 10/3-4) has an evolution alongside all culture phases, but it is also considered by N. Boroffka a shape with an aspect belonging to the early stage of the culture¹⁸. Another earlier form is the type of pot discovered in M20 (Fig. 5/2)¹⁹. This type appears as well at Sibîșeni necropolis, dated in the B and C phases²⁰. The ornament in relief with the spiral ends on the M3 urn (Fig. 5/8) has a good analogy at Bratei necropolis, dated at the beginning of the culture²¹. The pot with the tall body and handles on its neck (Fig. 7/4, 9) is specific only to the first layers from Derșida²². The presence of the spiral decoration (Fig. 7/7)²³ and the *fish skeleton* decoration (Fig. 5/8; 8/10)²⁴ pleads for a dating in Wietenberg B stage. These types of decoration appear at Derșida starting with the second level. Instead, the triangle motif in frieze (Fig. 6/7; 8/10) is assigned to the phase A, being considered an early decoration²⁵. This decoration was used in B-C phases too²⁶. The bowl vessels with a highly lifted handle appear starting with the third level of Derșida (Fig. 7/1; 6/5)²⁷. The ceramic materials discovered in the necropolis at Sebeș are specific to the first two stages of Wietenberg culture.

There are three interesting vessels, different from typological point of view, which do not find analogies in the ceramic repertoire of Wietenberg culture: the suspended vessel from M12, the bowl from M32 and the pot from M9. The closest analogies of the suspended vessel are in Central Europe, in the Vатья culture²⁸ and in the Encrusted Pottery Culture (the Pécs group), in the Szebény necropolis²⁹. In the graves 5 and 6 from Szebény, there are three vessels similar to the one from M12. In the Wietenberg culture necropoleis there had been discovered suspended vessels, but with different shapes, at Deva³⁰, Turia³¹ and Oiejdea³².

¹³ Crișan 1970.

¹⁴ Soroceanu, Retegan 1981.

¹⁵ Soroceanu et alii 1976.

¹⁶ Andrițoiu 1978.

¹⁷ Székely 1995.

¹⁸ Boroffka 1994, p. 249 (TA2b, TA2c and TA2e types).

¹⁹ Boroffka 1994, p. 249 (TC2a type).

²⁰ Paul 1995, p. 196, pl. VI/8.

²¹ Popa 2010, p. 157-159, pl. 45/18.

²² Chidioșan 1980, p. 70, 72, fig. 3/A2 type.

²³ Boroffka 1994, p. 250 (VA13 type).

²⁴ Boroffka 1994, p. 250 (VA13 type).

²⁵ Boroffka 1994, p. 250 (VD18 type).

²⁶ Andrițoiu 1992, pl. 25/9; Andrițoiu, Rustoiu 1997, fig. 8/16.

²⁷ Andrițoiu 1992, p. 38-39, pl. 33/1, 3; Chidioșan 1980, fig. 3/F3 type.

²⁸ Bóna 1975, p. 53, pl. 25/8; 29/4-7.

²⁹ Bóna 1975, pl. 249/5, 15, 17.

³⁰ Andrițoiu 1978, p. 446, 251, fig. 5/2.

They were used as urn (Turia), lid (Oiejdea) and additional vessel (Deva). The spheric-shaped pot with short neck bent on the outside, with two handles on the maximum diameter, discovered in the M9, presents some features specific to the end of the Early Bronze Age. This shape does not have a perfect analogy, but the handles on the maximum diameter of spheric-shaped vessels is certified in the pottery repertoire of the Hatvan³³, Kisapostag³⁴, Costișa³⁵ and Iernut³⁶ cultures. The bowl from the M32 grave presents as well the closest analogies towards W, in the Periam-Pecica³⁷ and Vatyia³⁸ cultures. In this area this type of vessel has handles placed on the shoulder and rim.

The links to the western area are also demonstrated by presence of the faience beads at Sebeș. These faience star-shaped beads were discovered in the inventory of the graves from the necropoleis of Vatyia culture, at Újhartyán-Vatyia (phase Vatyia Ib)³⁹ and Periam-Pecica culture, at Deszk (phase Szőreg I)⁴⁰. The faience objects discovered in Carpathian Basin are considered imports through distance exchange from Northern Europe. They appear frequently in the graves inventories of Middle Bronze Age, in Otomani, Periam-Pecica and Monteoru cultures⁴¹. In the Wietenberg culture this kind of items do not appear. In Peștera Mare cave from Cerișor (Hunedoara county), in the Wietenberg culture layer, there has been discovered a clay star-shaped bead⁴², similar to those from the burials at *Între Răstoace*.

The strong relations between the Transylvanian area and Central Europe during the early phases of the Wietenberg culture were highlighted by C.I. Popa. He observed that some discoveries of bronze objects from the southern Transylvania (the Deva I and Sebeș deposits and an isolated piece from Sebeș) are of western origin⁴³.

The necropolis from Sebeș can be dated at the limit between the phases I and II (Chidioșan⁴⁴, Horedt⁴⁵ and Andrițoiu⁴⁶ periodization). After the periodization of N. Boroffka the necropolis can be included in stage A, although in the necropolis appear also elements specific to stage B. According to the new radiocarbon dating the Middle Bronze Age in Transylvania area develops between 2300-1500 BC.⁴⁷ The early stage of the Wietenberg culture was linked to the Bronze A period from Central Europe. F. Gogâltan considers that the first part of the Middle Bronze Age starts at the end of the Bronze A1 period, between 2100-1900 BC.⁴⁸ The following phase, called Middle Bronze II, is characterized by the evolution of the second stage of the Wietenberg culture and is linked to the Bronze A2 period, between 1900-1650 BC.⁴⁹

³¹ Székely 1995, p. 130, pl. IV, 6; VII/3.

³² Boroffka 1994, p. 62, n. 309, pl. 107/8.

³³ Kalicz 1968, p. 149-150, pl. XC/9, 11; XCI/13; XCVI/5; XCVII/4, 8-10; CIV/1; CX/8, 10

³⁴ Bóna 1975, p. 45, pl. 1/1, 10; 2/1.

³⁵ Munteanu 2010, p. 138, pl. 64/5-6; 65/5-6.

³⁶ Ciugudean 1996, p. 111, fig. 86/9.

³⁷ Bóna 1975, p. 95, pl. 83/3, 12; 90/14; 94/2, 5, 14; 101/10; Kalicz 1968, CV/4.

³⁸ Bóna 1975, p. 53, pl. 20/13; 24/3; 31/13.

³⁹ Bóna 1975, p. 51, pl. 33/16.

⁴⁰ Bóna 1975, p. 104, pl. 87/13.

⁴¹ Motzoi-Chicideanu 2011, p. 424-425, 495-496.

⁴² Beldiman, Sztancz 2005, p. 51, fig. 3/2; Roman *et alii* 2000, p. 15, pl. IV/9.

⁴³ Popa 2010, p. 138-153.

⁴⁴ Chidioșan 1980, p. 68-84.

⁴⁵ Horedt 1960.

⁴⁶ Andrițoiu 1987; Andrițoiu 1992, p. 49-54.

⁴⁷ Gogâltan 1998, p. 196-200; Motzoi-Chicideanu 2011, p. 528; Vulpe 2001, p. 223.

⁴⁸ Boroffka 1994, p. 288; Motzoi-Chicideanu 2011, p. 528; Gogâltan 1999, p. 74-76;

⁴⁹ Gogâltan 1998, p. 198-199; Gogâltan 1999, p. 75-76.

This presentation has a preliminary character with the purpose to highlight the main results of the archaeological excavations from the Middle Bronze Age necropolis at Sebeș, belonging to Wietenberg culture.

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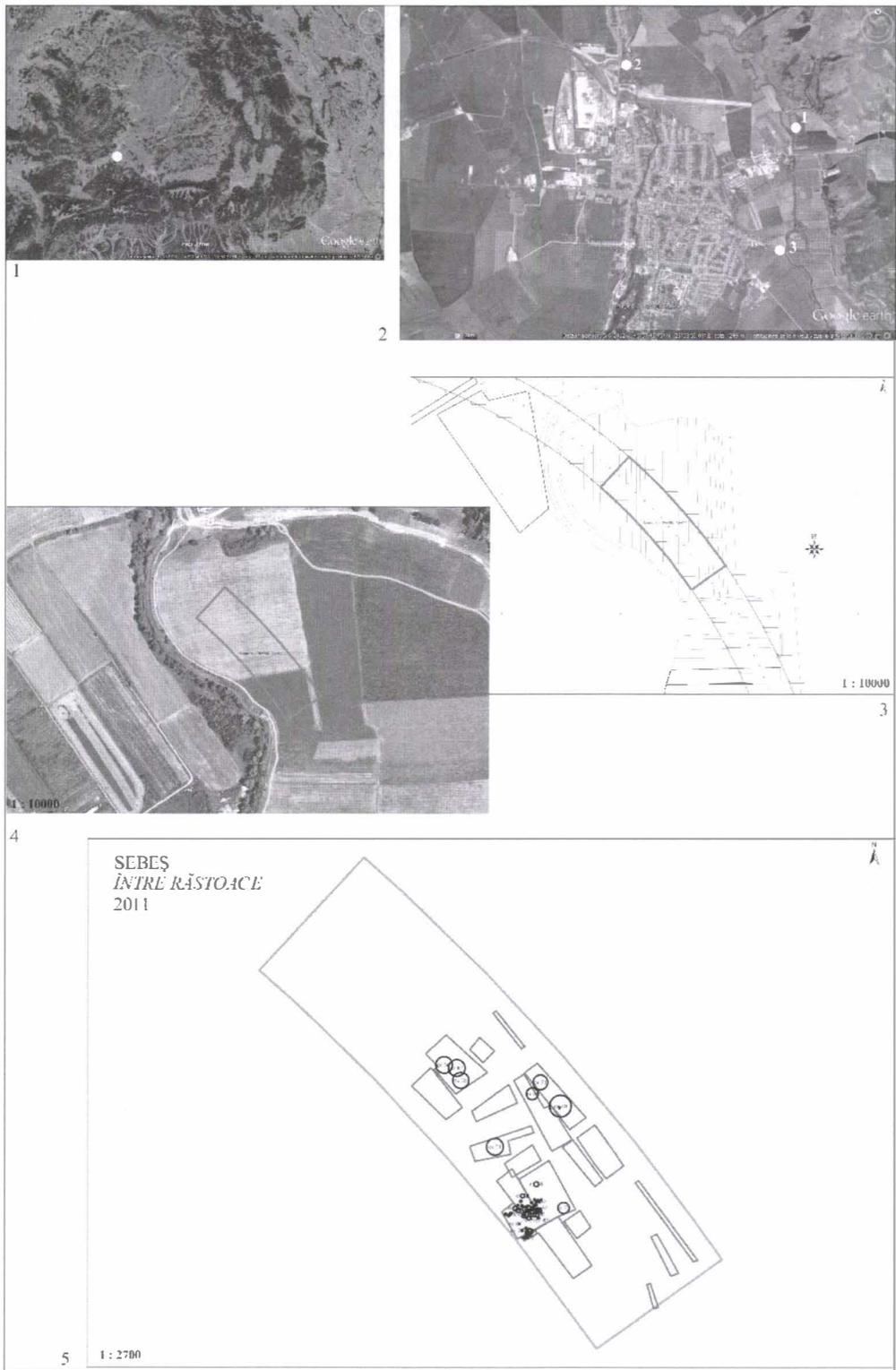


Fig. 1. 1. The localization of Sebeș on a satellite image (Google Earth source): in the south-wetern part of Transylvania; 2. The archaeological sites in the surrounding area of Sebeș discovered on the route of the highway: 1) Sebeș – *Între Răstoace*, 2) Lancrăm – *Glod*, 3) Sebeș – *Podul Pripocului*; 3. The site *Între Răstoace* located between km 29+850 and km 30+090 of the highway; 4. The site *Între Răstoace* on a satellite image; 5. The plan with the researched surfaces and the archaeological features discovered at Sebeș.

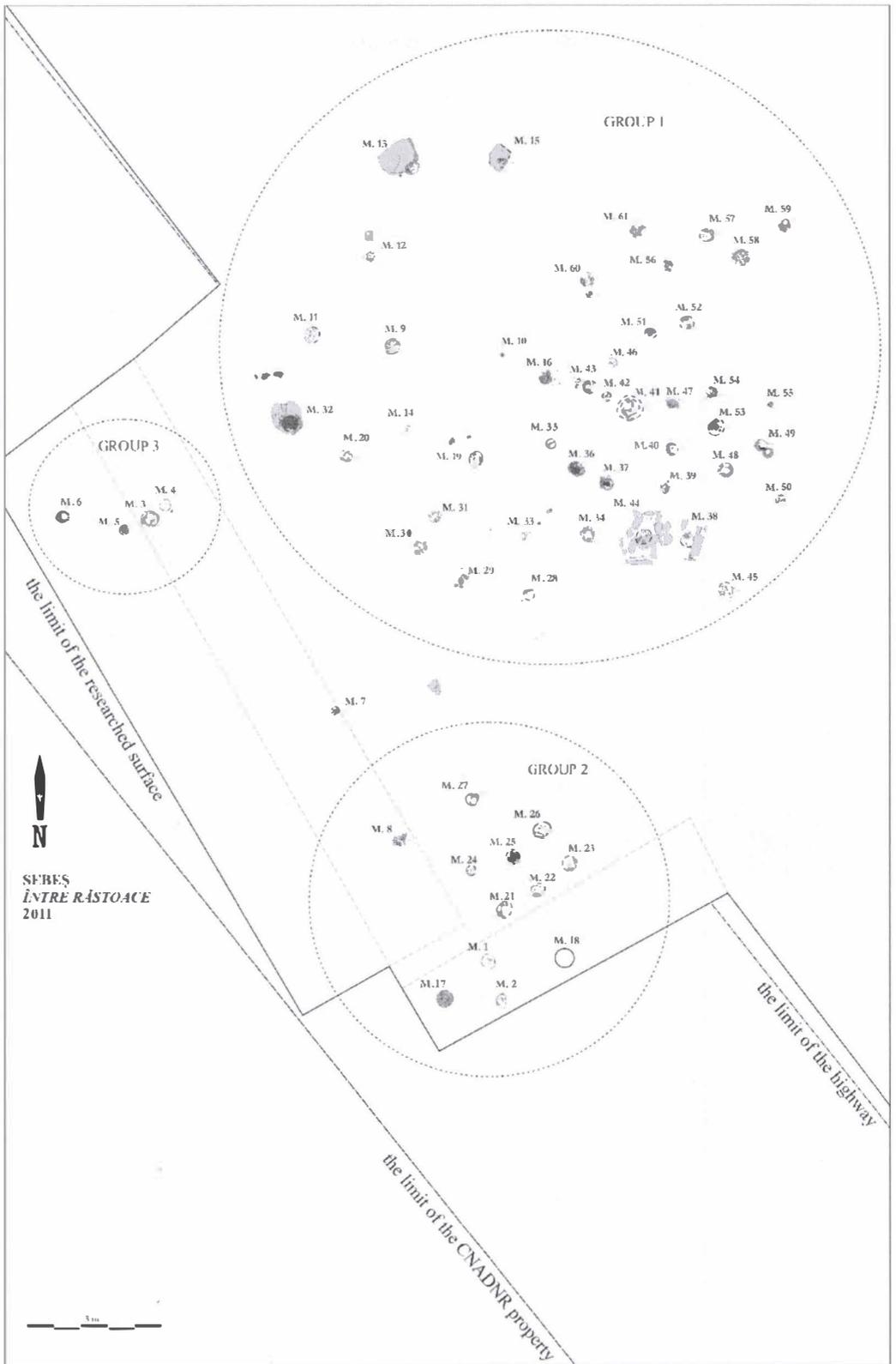


Fig. 2. The plan of the Bronze Age necropolis at Sebeș – Între Răstoace.



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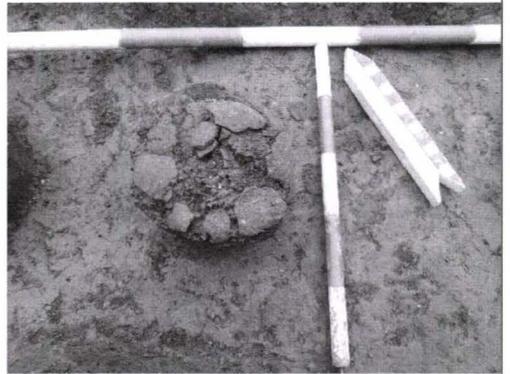
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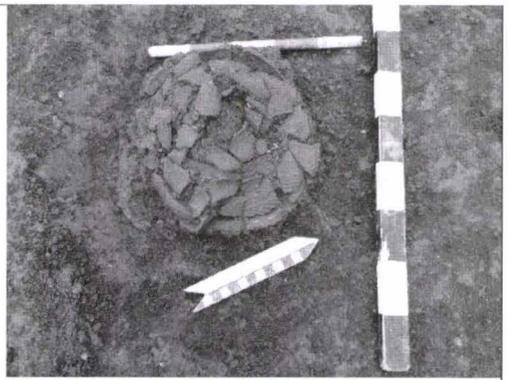


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Fig. 3. 1. Burial M27; 2. Burial M59; 3. Burial M21; 4. Burial M6; 5. Burial M40; 6. Burial M37; 7. Burial M25; 8. Burial M43.



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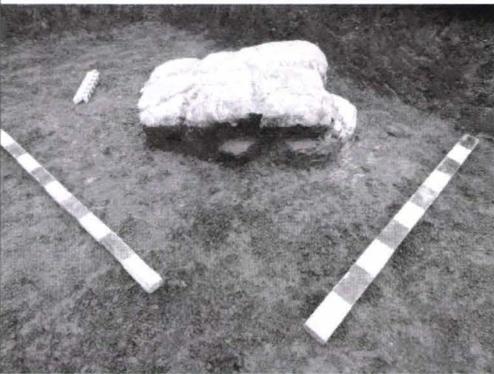
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Fig. 4. 1. Burial M48; 2. Burial M58; 3. Burials M38 (left) and M44 (right); 4. Burial M17; 5. Burial M12; 6. The stone structure of burial M15; 7. The stone structure of burial M32; 8. Burial M32.

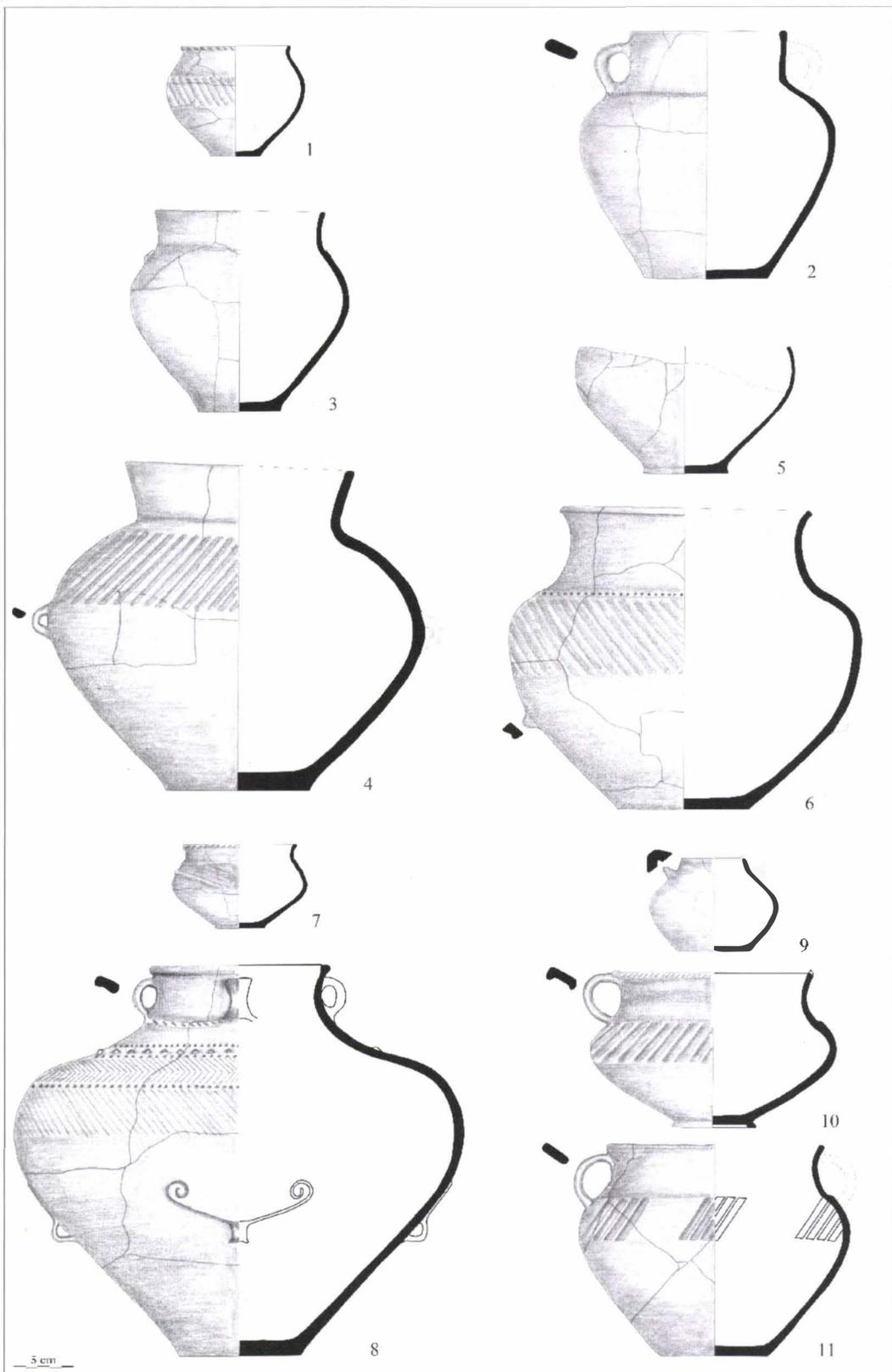


Fig. 5. 1. The urn of burial M55; 2. The urn of burial M20; 3. The lid of burial M.9; 4. The urn of burial M9; 5. The lid of burial M6; 6. The urn of burial M6; 7. the lid / additional vessel of burial M3; 8. The urn of burial M3; 9. The additional vessel of burial M12; 10. The lid of burial M12; 11. The urn of burial M12. 1-11 Drawings scale 1:5.

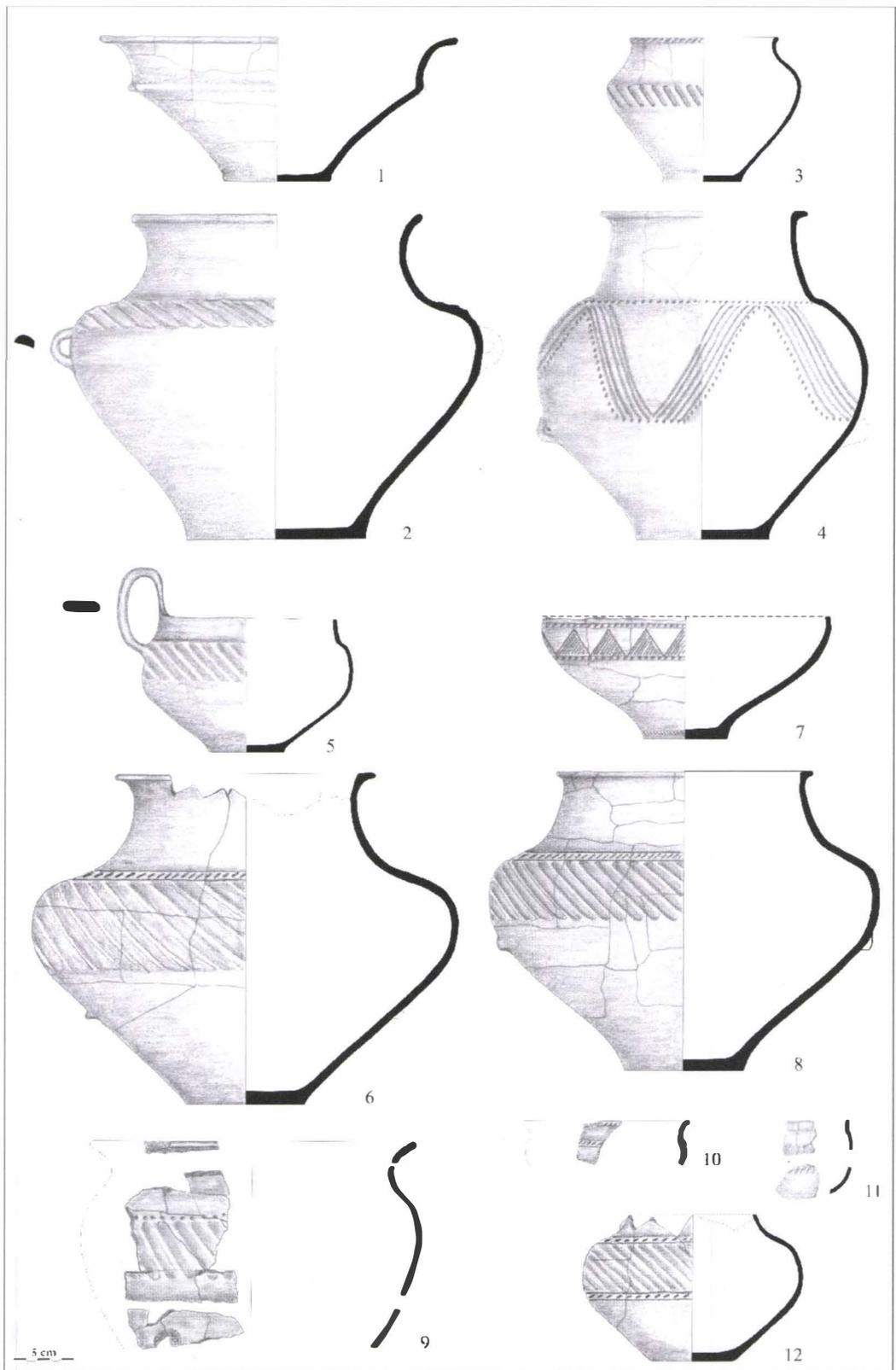


Fig. 6. 1. The lid of burial M32; 2. The urn of burial M32; 3. The lid of burial M13; 4. The urn of burial M13; 5. The lid of burial M17; 6. The urn of burial M17; 7. the lid of burial M36; 8. The urn of burial M36; 9. The urn of burial M39; 10-11. fragments of vessels from burial M42; 12. The urn of burial M42. 1-12 Drawings scale 1:5.

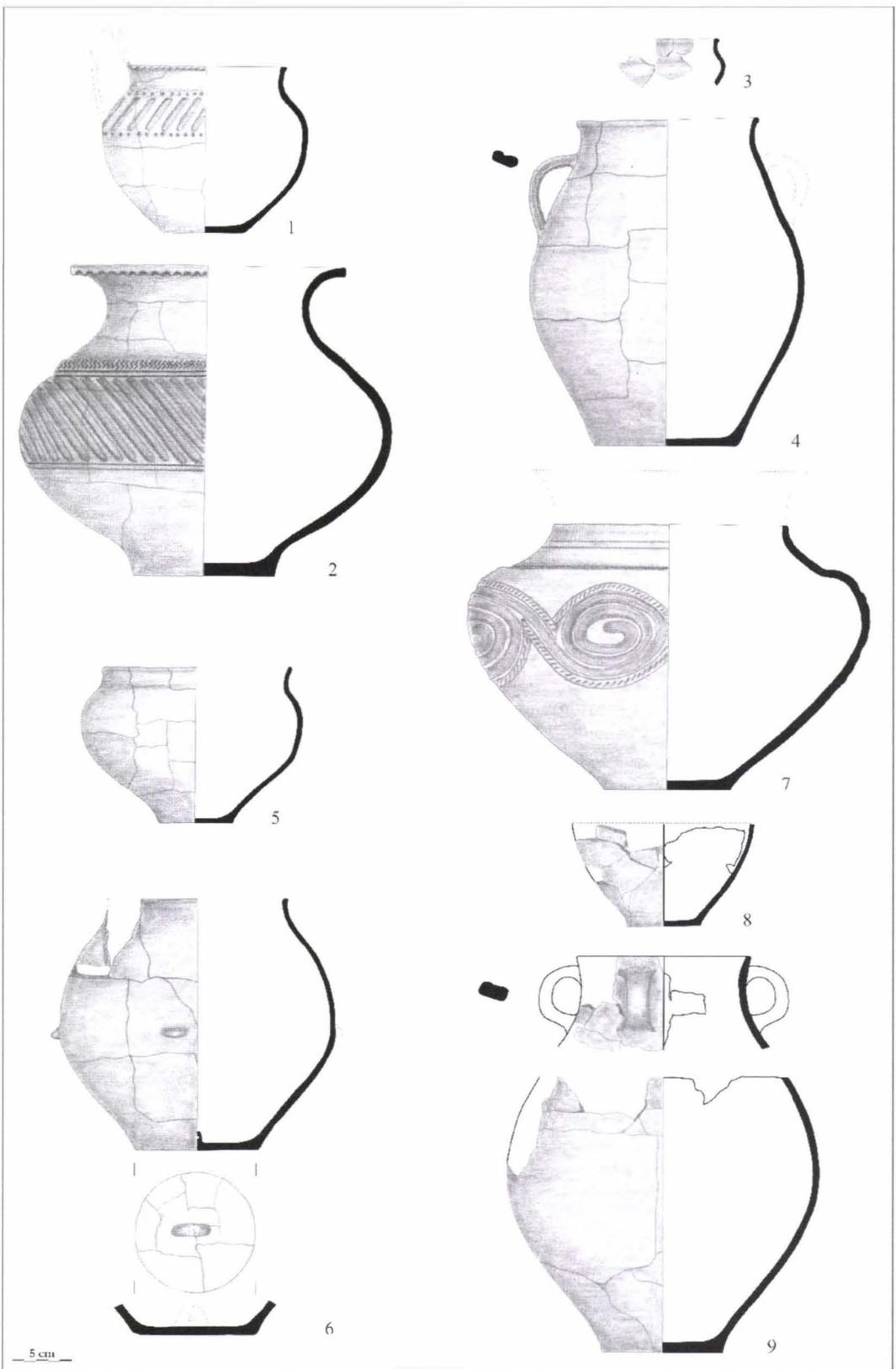


Fig. 7. 1. The lid of burial M58; 2. The urn of burial M58; 3. The lid / additional vessel of burial M.61; 4. The urn of burial M61; 5. The lid of burial M40; 6. The urn of burial M40; 7. the urn of burial M48; 8. The lid of burial M2; 9. The urn of burial M2. 1-9 Drawings scale 1:5.

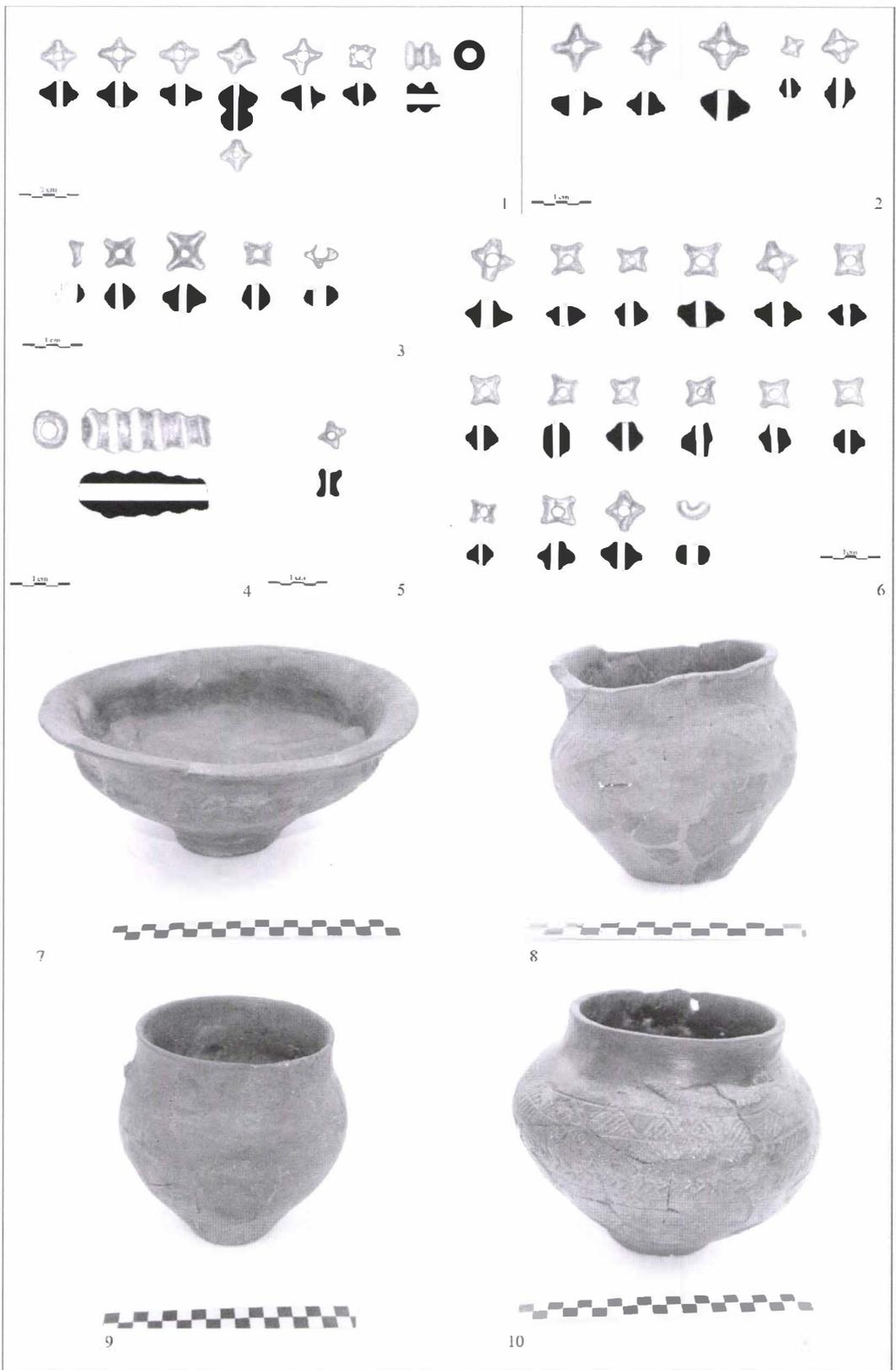


Fig. 8. 1. Faience beads from burial M4; 2. Faience beads from burial M5; 3. Faience beads from burial M24; 4. Faience bead from burial M29; 5. Faience bead from burial M42; 6. Faience beads from burial M25; 7. The lid from burial M32 (photography); 8. The lid from burial M58 (photography); 9. The lid from burial M9 (photography); 10. The urn from



Fig. 9. 1. The urn from burial M32 (photography); 2. The lid from burial M12 (photography); 3. The urn from Burial M17 (photography); 4. The urn from Burial M58 (photography); 5. The lid of burial M17 (photography); 6. The urn of burial M37 (photography).

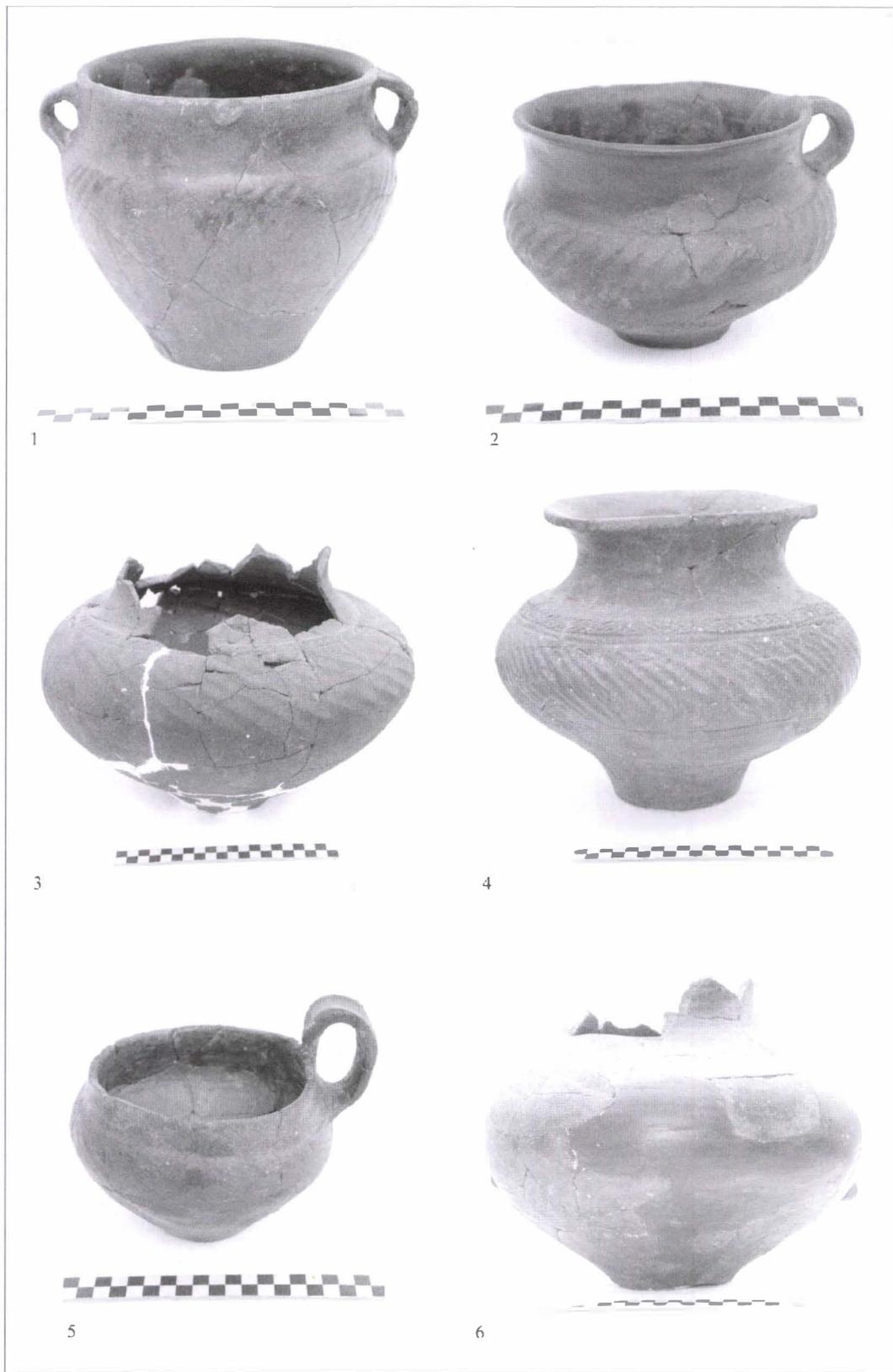


Fig. 10. 1. The urn from burial M9 (photography); 2. The urn from burial M20 (photography); 3. The urn from Burial M59 (photography); 4. The urn from Burial M59 (photography); 5. The urn of burial M32 (photography); 6. The additional vessel from burial M12 (photography).

**FUNERARY STELE OF JULIUS VICTOR:
AN UNKNOWN SOLDIER OF *LEGIO II TRAIANA FORTIS*****

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Keywords: Latin Epigraphy, Funerary Art, Roman Art, Roman Army, Roman Egypt.

Abstract: The funerary stele of Julius Victor provides us with new evidence to the already known documents belonging to the *Legio II Traiana Fortis*. It represents him in a familiar scene, holding his spear and resting his left palm on his grounded shield, and includes a Latin inscription of six lines underneath. On the basis of the epithets of *Germanica Severiana*, it is argued here that the stele belongs to the reign of Severus Alexander or immediately afterwards. It is also argued on the basis of some stylistic features, particularly on the basis of linguistic style and mistakes in spelling, that the Latin inscription betrays the Greek origin of Victor. This observation is also demonstrated by the artistic style of the scene on the upper part of the stele. The deliberate erasure of the name of the legion provides us with a further testimony of the *damnatio memoriae* of the rule of Severus Alexander and his mother.

The collection of Tanta Museum in Egypt includes some pieces which were transferred to it from the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria. One of the monuments belonging to this group, which dates back to the Roman period, is a stele representing a soldier with the name of Julius Victor (plate 1).¹ It is made of marble, rectangular in shape, with its length twice as much as its width. It has a relief which covers the upper greater part of the stele and an inscription of six lines underneath. Most of the letters of the inscription, particularly the lower three rows, still keep remains of the brownish red color which was used in painting them. The relief represents Victor standing in the centre in a frontal pose and wearing his military short *tunic* and *toga*. He appears in a familiar scene holding his spear in his right hand and resting his left palm on his shield on the lower right corner. The stele resembles a great deal a funerary relief in the Graeco-Roman Museum of Alexandria representing a Syrian soldier named Aurelius Sabius which dates almost to the same period as much as its owner belongs to the same legion, the *Legio II Traiana Fortis* (plate 2).²

The history of the *legio II Traiana Fortis* can be closely considered the history of the Roman army in Egypt for the most part of the second century AD through the fifth. It was originally founded by Trajan who needed reinforcements for his campaigns in Dacia in the early years of the century.³ Despite the circumstances surrounding its foundation, however, the legion happened to play its greatest role in the south-eastern part of the empire. It has been recently argued that the legion was present in Judaea in 107/8 AD.⁴ Also, it took part in Trajan's campaigns in Parthia (115-117 AD) and was stationed in Judaea between 117 and 125 AD to suppress the Jewish resistance to the Roman rule during the reign of Hadrian.

** We would like to thank Professor Manfred Clauss, for his authoritative suggestions and great help in reading the inscription of this stele and Professor Tomasz Plóciennik for his valuable comments; needless to mention, however, that any remaining mistakes are ours. Due thanks are to Professors Valeriu Sirbu and Mihail Zahariade for inviting us, and making it possible, to have this paper presented in the 12th *International Congress of Thracology*.

¹ Tanta Museum 1436.

² Graeco-Roman Museum of Alexandria 252 (= *CIL* III, 6596); see also the second part of this paper.

³ Ritterling 1903, 480; Birley 2000, 114. Hekster 2007, 353, notes that the name of the legion "emphasized and strengthened the link between army and emperor."

⁴ Urliou 2010, 110-117, with the references to the early literature.

Probably immediately after 127 AD, its base was moved to Egypt where it was stationed at Nicopolis near the ancient city of Alexandria.⁵ It became the only Roman legion based in Egypt after Hadrian moved the *legio XXII Deiotariana* (together with sections of the *legio II Traiana Fortis*) to quell the famous revolt in Judaea under Simon Bar Kochba (132-135 AD).⁶ Although its main stations were located not far from Alexandria, its soldiers were also found in other parts of the province, in Panopolis, Thebes and Syene, where they served to maintain order and played as well an important role in its administration.⁷

However, nothing shows the role the legion played in the history of the country and the empire as a whole more than the titles awarded to it by the emperors and particularly by the emperors of the third century. Already during the reign of its founder, the legion has earned its first title indicating its powerful role during the Dacian campaigns and stressing its strength, *fortis*.⁸ The other consequent titles have been the subject of an article by Patrick Sanger that appeared less than five years ago. He has shown an increasing rate in titles awarded to it in the third century AD and demonstrated that it was awarded then the titles of *Antoniniana*, *Germanica*, *Severiana*, *Gordiana*, *Philippiana*, *Galliana Volusiana*, and *Valeriana Galliana*.⁹ The dates of two titles deserve special attention, as far as this paper is concerned. According to Sanger, the title of *Germanica* was given to the legion by Caracalla during his campaigns against Germania and happened to become more popular than the imperial epithet *Antoniana*. The other important title, *Severiana*, was awarded to it by the emperor Severus Alexander (222-235 AD).¹⁰ Regardless of the nature of each of these two titles, their combination provides a *terminus post quem* for our stele which, therefore, must belong to the reign of Severus Alexander or immediately thereafter.

So far as we know, there are only four inscriptions and two papyrological document which refer to the *legio II Traiana Fortis Germanica Severiana*, and which date necessarily back to the reign of Severus Alexander.¹¹ All inscriptions come from Alexandria and two of them are certainly funerary stelae.¹² Thus, the stele of Julius Victor adds yet a new inscription and a relief to the already known monuments of this type. According to Coulston, twenty two gravestones were discovered near Alexandria at Nicopolis, the ancient site of the Roman fortress that was "mostly associated with the long-resident *legio II Traiana fortis*."¹³ Although the original location of Victor's stele is not identified, the fact that it was transferred from the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria to Tanta suggests that it most likely came from Alexandria. In the following sections of this paper we shall discuss both the characteristics of the inscription and the artistic style of the scene represented above it; we begin with a transcription and a translation of the epitaph (plate 3).

D(is) M(anibus) // Iulius Victor miles leg(ionis) [II Tr(aianae) For(tis)] / Germanic(a)e Severian(a)e | (centuria) II (secunda) has(tati) pos(terioris) S (?) VII (septima) feci(t) / herede Polla su<o=A> nomine Epic(h)aris procurato/re Aeli<o=U> Iust<o=U> | (centurione) VIII

⁵ Haensch 2012, 69. Cf., however, Alston (1995), 25 who is somewhat undecided about the date of its arrival in Egypt: "At some point a new legion, the *II Traiana*, was stationed in Egypt."

⁶ Hassali 2000, 323; Gilliam 1956, 365.

⁷ Alston 1995, 163; Gilliam 1956, 372.

⁸ Ritterling 1903, 480.

⁹ Sanger 2009, 277-286.

¹⁰ Sanger 2009, 279-281 (*Germanica*); 283-284 (*Severiana*).

¹¹ The papyri: *P.Heid.* III 244 (Herakleopolis), *SB XVI* 12809 (Kysis); the inscriptions: *CIL* III 14138, 2; *CIL* III 6594a; *CIL* III 12052; Breccia, *Note epigrafiche* (1929) Nr. 8. The evidence is compiled and partially quoted by Sanger 2009, 283-284

¹² *CIL* III 14138; *CIL* III 6594a.

¹³ Coulston 2007, 537 with note 32.

(nono) has(tato) pri(ore) pos(u)it tabula(m) / heres et procurator bene merenti domi/no pos<u=I>erunt.

To the Spirits of the Dead

Julius Victor, a soldier of the *legio II Traianae Fortis Germanicae Severianae*. He served in the second centuria of the rear spearmen the seventh (unit/line?). By (his) heir Polla, called Epicharis (i.e. Charming), through the procurator Aelius Iustus the centurion of the 9th front spearmen, set up the stele. The heir and the procurator, to a well deserved master, set up (this stele).

As already mentioned, the text includes six lines; three of them (2–4) include the same number of letters (36), which was probably intended by the writer.¹⁴ The first line has endured a deliberate erasure of the name of legion in the second half of the line. But the number of the missing letters (ca. 10) and the titles beginning the second line help us to confirm, *inter alia*, that it was the *legio II Traiana Fortis*. The fourth and the fifth lines have some space in the end for two or three more letters. The final line has only 11 letters which are moved slightly to the left leaving more space on the right.

Line 1: The line begins with the usual formula *D(is) M(anibus)*, which became frequent on funerary stelae from the second century AD.¹⁵ Indeed, this introductory phrase is found in the beginning of the two contemporary epitaphs with our stele.¹⁶ However, the abbreviations are written here in the beginning and the end of the line at a slightly larger size. The name of the deceased (*Iulius Victor*) is written *in toto*. Three observations relate to this form of the name. First, since all the soldiers were by then Roman citizens, the fact that he is referred to by two names may be a sign of his non aristocratic origin.¹⁷ Second, it is put in the nominative case; thus it differs from the two stelae, already mentioned, which were set up for "Aurelium Longinum" and "Marcum Aurelium Neonem" and used the accusative case.¹⁸ As for the name Victor itself, it has further been noted that it was a frequent name in North Africa and that it was also an appropriate cognomen for a soldier.¹⁹ Needless to state, however, that Iulius Victor might not necessarily have been his name at birth since soldiers were given new names when they joined the military service. In a letter from the second century a newly recruited soldier wrote to his father telling him of his news and his new name and military unit, saying: "Apion to Epimachus, his father and lord... My name is Antonius Maximus, my company is Athenonica."²⁰ *Miles* is not abbreviated as well and is separated from the name of the legion with a dot.²¹ The erasure of the name of the legion was thorough and complete, and affected also the letter *M* in the end of the line. Only faint traces of the word *Leg(ionis)* can be observed. This fact makes it possible that the erasure was deliberate and that it may have been a result of the *damnatio memoriae* of the rule of Severus Alexander and his mother.

Line 2: The line begins after some space in the beginning, probably to highlight the abbreviation of *D(is)* in the preceding line. The final syllables of the titles *Germanic(a)e* and *Severian(a)e* are spelled similarly. However, this spelling is rather peculiar since the writer

¹⁴ Cf. Heinen 1980, 121.

¹⁵ Gordon 1983, 40; Heinen 1980, 117.

¹⁶ *CIL* III 14138; *CIL* III 6594a.

¹⁷ Gordon 1983, 22, notes that only aristocrats managed to keep the old three part form of the name in the third and fourth centuries. See also Saddington 2000, 169.

¹⁸ *CIL* III 14138, 2; *CIL* III 6594a; respectively.

¹⁹ Dean 1918, 58: "The cognomen Victor would seem to fill all the requirements of a suitable cognomen for soldiers." For its frequency in North Africa, see p. 59.

²⁰ *Sel. Pap.* I. 112; cited in Bowman 1995, 157. It is to be noted that he acquired only two names.

²¹ It is worth noting that *mili(tem)* is abbreviated in Longinus' and Neo's epitaphs; see note 18 above.

omitted only the (a) in the final diphthong. We do encounter other abbreviations of Germanicae in the form of G, Ger, less frequently Germ, or in one inscription Germani.²² As for Severianae, it is abbreviated once in the same manner we encounter here.²³ In the remaining inscriptions it is either spelled completely,²⁴ or abbreviated Seve²⁵ or Sever(ianae).²⁶ An S with a diagonal stroke precedes the number VII. It is tempting to suppose that it stands for an abbreviation, which is difficult to determine its meaning. A similar one is found in the inscription of Aurelius Longinus which dates to the same period and is separated from the following word by a dot (plate 4: second line).²⁷ A tentative suggestion may be that it refers to the sub unit in his centuria. The final word *feci(t)* omits the final letter. The verb is unusual in this context and one might suppose that it was probably used instead of *fuit*, or even to mean 'served'.

Line 3: Polla is a rare form of the Roman name Paulla or Paula.²⁸ She seems to be Victor's slave as may be surmised from his description as *dominus* in the following line. The same may be adduced also from her nickname as *Epic(h)aris* which is a Latin transliteration of a Greek word meaning Charming.²⁹ The expression *suo (=sub) nomine*, which is not as frequent in Latin,³⁰ is more intelligible in this context as a direct translation of the Greek word *epikaloumene*.³¹ The phenomenon was recorded in Greek areas where "Latin speakers sometimes adopted the Greek construction in Latin texts."³² Thus the phrase indicates that Polla was probably known with her Greek nickname more than her Roman name. Since it is not stated that she was Victor's wife, the stele differs from the preceding two funerary stelae where the relationship between the deceased and the commemorator is clearly defined as such.³³ She is, however, described as Victor's heir and together with his procurator, set up the tablet which gives us, therefore, another example where "[h]iership, not family, is the primary basis of commemoration."³⁴ The line has no abbreviations and the final two letters of *procuratore* start the following line. The size of the letters is somewhat smaller towards the middle of the line as appears from the word *nomine*.

Line 4: The line starts little to the left more than the preceding ones. The writer has misspelled (u) for (o) in the proper names of the procurator who might have been Victor's commander at some point: Aeli<o=u> and Iust<o=u>. The last two words *pos(u)it* and *tabula(m)* are abbreviated; the former by omitting the medial (u), which may be as well a misspelling, and the latter by omitting final (m). The line has a space in the end for two more letters although it has the same number of letters as the preceding two lines.

Line 5: This line (and the next) includes the final sentence in the epitaph which reconfirms that the stele was set up by two persons: *heres et procurator*. It includes the usual final phrase

²² E.g. *CIL* III, 14127, 6594a, 12055, 14138, respectively.

²³ Breccia 1929, 70-73 = Sanger 2009, # 12.

²⁴ *CIL* III 14138.

²⁵ *CIL* III 6594a.

²⁶ *CIL* III 12052.

²⁷ *CIL* III 6594a.

²⁸ Lewis and Short, s.v. Polla.

²⁹ Heinen 1980, 122 on the name Epiktesis in Graeco-Roman Museum of Alexandria, inv. 24202.

³⁰ See the examples mentioned Lewis and Short, s.v. nomen # 3.

³¹ It is tempting here to take *sua* with *Polla* and to mean "By heir, his Polla...", which will give more weight to the relationship between her and the deceased. But this reading will leave *nomine* alone with *Epicharis*.

³² Adams 1998, 236, speaking, however, of texts found in Delos and Sicily.

³³ *CIL* III 6594a, is set up by Aurelia Isidora to her *coniux dulcissimus*; In *CIL* III 14138 the wife, Aurelia Sabina, describes her self as a wedded wife.

³⁴ Meyer 1990, 78.

bene merenti to which is added the word *domino*. The last two letters of the final word are written on the following 6th line. The line contains only 32 letters and has a space in the end for one more. The letters are somewhat larger in size and written at larger space than the preceding lines. This may be explained by the fact that it begins the final sentence in the epitaph. Noteworthy also is that the phrase *bene merenti* is not abbreviated.

Line 6: The line includes only 11 letters which are not properly located in the middle. The verb *posuerunt* is misspelled since the writer substituted (i) for (u) which he omitted from (*pos(u)it*) in the fourth line. Indeed another explanation for the absence of u in *pos(u)it* and for the misspelling of *pos<u=I>erunt* may be that they both represent the current pronunciation of the two words at the time, which is the case for the epithes *Germanic(a)e Severian(a)e*.

What are we to understand from the preceding epigraphical observations about the letters, text and style of the epitaph? First, the stele seems of a modest nature showing what Heinen has termed "wenig Unbeholfenheit."³⁵ Indeed, this crudeness or un-skillfulness seems to have been a characteristic of the inscriptions of the third century.³⁶ This fact is demonstrated by the inconsistent shape of the letters, the uneven spaces between them and by the somewhat wavy lines. Thus the O is written sometimes elongated and sometimes more rounded. We can also compare the H, I, M, N, and R. Second, the epitaph shows a tendency not to use abbreviations and when so they are used sparingly and then the abbreviated letters were kept to a minimum. Furthermore, it contains several misspellings. Third, the epitaph does not refer to Victor's age at his death. While it can't be determined whether this disregard was intentional, it may be explained by the fact that the stele was set up by an heir who might have been a slave and by a procurator. Fourth, both the legion and the unit of the deceased are mentioned in details, which is a common characteristic of the funerary stelae of the veterans of the *Legio II Traiana Fortis*.³⁷ Finally, it may be surmised from the nickname of Victor's heir and from the way it is presented that we are dealing with a text illustrating "some of the ways in which the bilingualism of the writer might influence the structure and the phraseology of a funerary text."³⁸ Moreover, since the epitaph is written in Latin in a Hellenized milieu, it provides us with a new testimony of Latin as a "language of power,"³⁹ and of the tendency towards Romanization that was emanating from and connected with the army.⁴⁰ In the following discussion of the scene representing Julius Victor, we shall try to show the degree to which some of the preceding points are reflected also in its artistic style.

The scene on Victor's relief occupies three quarters of the stele and contains a diagonal crack almost in the middle of the tablet which could have been the result of a deliberate attempt to destroy the relief, as the erasure of the name of the legion. Victor appears on his stele in a manner closely resembling the way Aurelius Sabius, another fellow soldier of the *legio II Traiana Fortis*, appears on his relief (plate 2). They both seem to belong to the same century. More important, however, is that they belong to a larger group of stelae which were spread in a wide area of the empire. In an important article devoted to the "depiction of [Roman] soldiers on funerary monuments," Coulston has attempted to study the third century "ring-buckle gravestones" against the background of funerary monuments

³⁵ Heinen 1980, 116, 119; commenting on Graeco-Roman Museum of Alexandria, inv. 24489.

³⁶ Gordon 1983, 39, similarly, observes a "general decline" in the inscriptions of the third century.

³⁷ Haensch 2012, 77.

³⁸ Adams 1998, 236. The point is obviously strengthened by the number of mistakes and the limited use of abbreviations, already alluded to.

³⁹ Phang 2007, 301.

⁴⁰ Heinen 1980, 124: "Insofern ist dieses Denkmal auch ein interessantes Zeugnis für die Tendenz zur Romanisierung, die gerade vom römischen Heer ausging."

including, but not limited to, "funerary alters, sarcophagi and painted 'mummy' portraits."⁴¹ His aim was to reach "some holistic observations" about the way Roman soldiers were represented in death and about funerary practice of the Roman army. Moreover, one of the three features of the gravestones which he identified was "the military equipment, which is often depicted with great care to practical and accurate detail."⁴² In the following discussion of the characteristic features of our stele we will study Victor's armaments, his clothes and his pose all of which combined to present a representative image not only of Victor as an individual, but also of the army as a whole.

Before discussing these points a word must be said about the 'form' of the stele which is in itself a "communicative tool."⁴³ The slab is a rectangular one with its length twice as much as its width.⁴⁴ The relief is rather a high one and occupies a space smaller than its counterpart on Sabius' stele, being three quarters of the whole length of the tablet. Due to the large space allocated to the inscription, the eyes of the viewer are also attracted to the epitaph which is clearly meant to constitute an important epigraphical complement to the visual image and not merely a note to identify the deceased. Moreover, the size of the stele indicates that it was obviously put on the *locullus* where Victor's body was located. In this context the frame of the stele acquires no less significance than the frontal pose of the deceased since it symbolizes the door from which he comes out to meet his visitors.⁴⁵

In addition to his full frontal stance, Victor appears in a standing position with his left foot preceding his right. His right hand holds his vertical spear right under its top and his left rests on an upright shield on his right. The artist was clever enough to show him as if he is moving forward as may appear from the level of both shoulders and the slightly turning face. The features of the round face, particularly the thick hair, the nose, the wide forehead and the short beard may all reflect Victor's personal features. In this case it may be asserted that the stele shows an attempt to represent a portrait of the deceased analogous to what is seen on the 'mummy' portraits of the period.⁴⁶ It is noteworthy however that the eyes and the serene face do not come in contact with the viewer since they look elsewhere as if looking into space or to the world he is going to. Judging from the frequency of Victor's pose on soldiers' funerary reliefs throughout the empire,⁴⁷ it can be described as the soldier's version of the famous *Prima Porta* statue. According to Hekster, this statue, in its heroic ageless Augustus, was meant to "broadcast the image of the emperor as a victorious leader." However, Victor's image is also closer in time to Caracalla who was regularly depicted wearing his military mantle and whose portrait became "properly fashionable in the third century."⁴⁸ Be it an imitation of Augustus's or Caracalla's portrait or a combination of both, our stele shows that soldiers wanted to be represented like emperors after death, on a much smaller level, each in his respective local community. It is interesting to note, therefore, that both Victor and Sabius have a small beard similar to Caracalla's.

In this image of soldier/emperor,⁴⁹ needless to stress, every single detail was important and contributed to the final intended impression on the viewer. Caracalla's military *toga* constitutes an important element of Victor's clothes and of his colleagues and is

⁴¹ Coulston 2007, 530.

⁴² Coulston 2007, 531; the other two features being: "the selective distribution of examples...and the political and cultural implications of the form and distribution of the funerary practice."

⁴³ Riggs 2005, 15.

⁴⁴ It measures 27x53 cm. Compared with Sabius' stele 35x75 cm, it somewhat smaller in size.

⁴⁵ Cf. specially the niche-like background of Sabius' stele, plate 2.

⁴⁶ Riggs 2005, 97.

⁴⁷ For examples from Egypt see plate 2 and Willems et Clarysse 2001, 170, # 50, 51. For other reliefs from other parts of the empire see the various examples mentioned by Coulston 2007, esp. figs 1-3.

⁴⁸ Hekster 2007, 345.

⁴⁹ Coulston 2007, 548 speaks of the "use of imperial portraiture traits on 'private' gravestones," with note 82.

similarly knotted on his right shoulder. Underneath he wears a short *tunic* reaching above the knees and surrounded by a leather "ring-buckle" around his waist. Both the *toga* and the *tunic* constitute the two main pieces of the clothes, even though the length of the *toga* and the manner of its representation may vary from a relief to another. In our example the mantle seems to be a short one and does not show up behind his back. The folds of the clothes are natural and in harmony with the body giving a sense completely different from the one we get from the coarse material and stylistic folds of Sabius' clothes.

Victor appears in the scene holding his arms which are more obvious signs of his profession as a soldier and which are complemented by his description in the epitaph as a *miles*. Since they include a spear and a shield, they are also more specific in indicating that he was serving as a foot-soldier.⁵⁰ The top of the spear is represented in a usual frontal position while the grounded shield is represented in an upright, three dimensional one. Even though the stele does not keep much of the colors which it originally had, both the clothes, the spear and the shield would have been usually colored and covered with some signs indicating the unit which the soldier belonged to.⁵¹ Significant also as a part of the soldier's armament is his "ring-buckle belt." It was a belt made of leather and wrapped around the soldier's waist and "once it had been passed through the ring-buckle and fastened with a stud, it was then looped up under the belt at the wearer's right side before hanging down alongside the right leg." According to Coulston, the earliest "diagnostic representation" of this type of belts goes back to AD 211 on an altar from Eining in Germany.⁵² The present stele which can be securely dated to the reign of Severus Alexander, or immediately afterwards, may therefore give a proof of the speed with which this new type of belts was spreading at that time.

Finally, we come to the individual traits of the artistic style which characterized the work of his sculptor. Above all, it reflects an attempt to present a 'natural' scene which one might see in everyday life.⁵³ Victor is also represented as he may be seen outside the military context.⁵⁴ The relief is rather a high one as can be seen from the head, the top of the spear and from the lower end of the mantle covering the left palm. The sculptor was clever enough in his depiction of Victor's grip of the top of the spear and of his left hand resting on the shield.⁵⁵ The soldier's body movement is more natural than on the other stelae and more natural also is the representation of his clothes with its multiple folds. The "crudeness" already alluded to shows up especially in the large size of the head compared to the rest of the body, in the small size of the lower half compared to the upper one and in the elongated ears. Although many details were lost with the colors, there are still some traces on the shaft and on the epitaph. The stele still retains some of its old elegance and various elements indicating the "Greek" milieu to which Victor originally belonged.⁵⁶

To conclude, the stele of Julius Victor provides us with a new funerary tablet to add to the already existing evidence of the *legio Secunda Traiana Fortis* in the middle of the third century AD. Both the soldier Julius Victor and the centurion Aelius Justus are not attested in our available lists of the forces of this legion.⁵⁷ Despite its bad condition and the disappearance of the colors, it still bears signs of the elegance of style and of the cleverness of its artist who was influenced more with the Greek tradition. The epitaph reflects at the

⁵⁰ Riggs 2005, 22.

⁵¹ Stall 2007, 461.

⁵² Coulston 2007, 532.

⁵³ Riggs 2005, 75.

⁵⁴ Coulston 2007, 535.

⁵⁵ Compared with the 'stylized' movements on Sabius' stele; see plate 2.

⁵⁶ Heinen 1980, 124; see also Willems et Clarysse 2000, 170, # 50, 51.

⁵⁷ Cavenaile 1970, 215-216 (Aelius Justus), 259-268 (Julius Victor); Crinitis 1973, 97 (Aelius Justus), 123-128 (Julius Victor).

same time the importance of the Latin language as a language of "power" in the Hellenized milieu of Alexandria and the poor knowledge of it as a second language.

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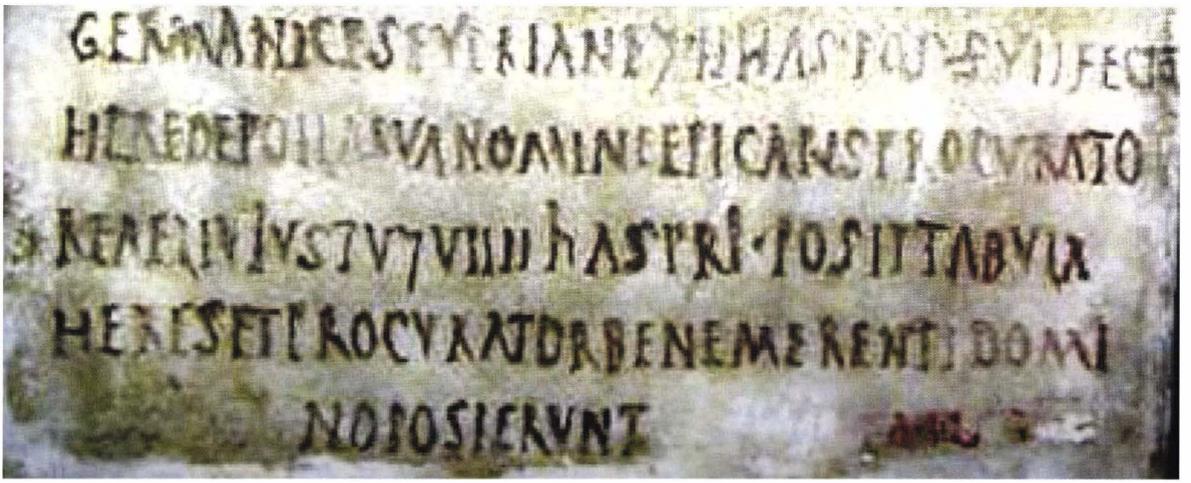


Plate 3: Tanta Museum 1436 (Inscription).

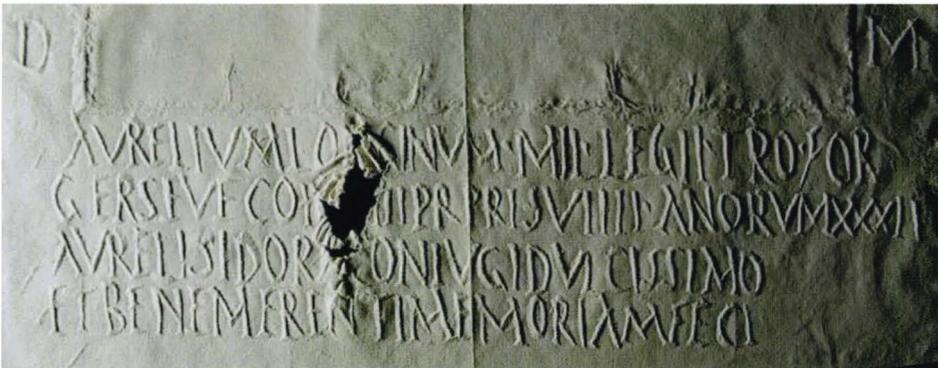


Plate 4: *CIL* III 6594a.

DIE MENSCHEN- UND PFERDEBESTATTUNGEN IN DEN KUPPELGRÄBERN IN ALTTHRAKIEN

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Key words: Ancien Thrace, Tholos tombs, horses, Tumuli, Burials.

Abstract: The Tholos Tombs in ancient Thrace are dated between 5 and 3rd century BC. The role of these objects is not entirely clear yet (tombs or temples). Both human and animal (mainly horses) remains have been found inside them. Interestingly, the archaeologists uncovered and identified the osteological material only in some of these objects.

Grabhügel (Tumuli) sind ein fester Bestandteil in der Landschaft des heutigen Bulgariens und dem europäischen Teil der Türkei (Ostthrakien). Aus diesem Gebiet sind etwa 16.000 Grabhügel verzeichnet (um die 15.000 in Bulgarien [Китов 2003, p. 13] und mehr als 1.000 im europäischen Teil der Türkei [Delemen 2001, p. 204]). Man muss jedoch beachten, dass dies nur die aktuelle Situation wiedergibt, da sehr viele Tumuli unwiederbringlich durch Erosion und landwirtschaftliche Tätigkeiten zu Schaden gekommen sind. Im Inneren vieler Hügel befinden sich Gräber. Diese Objekte werden mit einer Vielzahl von thrakischen Stämmen verbunden, die in der Antike in diesem Gebiet siedelten. Derzeit sind 38 thrakische Kuppelgräber vom Territorium der Republik Bulgarien und der Türkei bekannt. Das erste Kuppelgrab wurde bereits im Jahre 1851 (Rozovetz) ausgegraben, das jüngste (Ornata mogila) wurde zuletzt im Jahr 2012 untersucht. Das für den Bau dieser Gräber verwendete Baumaterial war vor allem Stein, weniger Ziegel. Die genannten Gräber sind häufig mit der thrakischen Aristokratie verbunden. Für die Kuppelgräber in Thrakien gibt es eine eigene Fachliteratur. In den letzten Jahren gibt es eine Diskussion über den ursprünglichen Zweck dieser Objekte, ob man sie als Gräber oder vielleicht als Tempel interpretieren sollte. Der renommierte bulgarische Archäologe Georgi Kitov befürwortet vor allem religiöse Zwecke dieser Gebäude, in denen eine Zeitlang nach dem Tod die bestatteten thrakischen Herrscher vergöttert wurden. Der Autor dieses Artikels verwendet, ohne konträre Auseinandersetzung, die traditionelle Bezeichnung als Kuppelgräber für diese Objekte. Dies bedeutet jedoch nicht, dass der Autor dieses Textes in Abrede stellt, dass zumindest ein Teil von ihnen einem kultischen Zweck diene.

Wenn die Kuppelgräber in Thrakien als Strukturen von Sepukralgebäuden in einer solchen Anlage interpretiert werden sollen, müssten menschliche Überreste vorhanden sein (Knochen oder verbrannte Knochen, je nachdem, ob es sich um ein mit der Einäscherung verbundenes Ritual oder um eine Kremation handelt). Dies sollte eine Voraussetzung sein. Die Begleitung der Verstorbenen ins Jenseits durch ihre Lieblingstiere (in diesem Fall konzentrierte sich das Interesse auf Pferde) ist nur ein Teil der Tradition und muss nicht in jedem Fall gegeben sein. Ein großes Problem ist die Tatsache, dass nicht in allen archäologisch untersuchten Kuppelgräbern menschliche Überreste vorhanden sind oder sogar jede Spur von ihnen hier fehlt. Genau das Gegenteil ist der Fall. Nur in wenigen solcher Objekte fanden sich tatsächlich die Überreste von Verstorbenen. Interessanterweise ist dies oft kein Nachweis für Bestattungen und Objekte, die nicht in der Antike oder in unserer Zeit beraubt wurden. Man kann also sagen, dass nur in einer relativ kleinen Anzahl von Kuppelgräbern in Thrakien menschliche Überreste gefunden wurden. In einigen Fällen, in

denen menschliche Überreste fehlen, kann ihr anfängliches Vorhandensein an diesem Ort zur Beisetzung auf dem Totenbett angenommen werden.

Im Gegensatz zu den Skythen waren die Thraker nicht Nomaden, sondern Siedler. Und das obwohl das Pferd im alten Thrakien eine sehr wichtige Rolle spielte. Die Thraker waren berühmt für ihre Pferdezucht. Diese Tiere sind sehr robust. Durch antike Schriftquellen wird bestätigt, dass die Thraker Pferde liebten. Der thrakische König Rhesos war in den Trojanischen Krieg involviert, bei dem er auch den Tod fand. Er erschien dort mit einem Schimmel, einem schönen weißen Pferd. Die Darstellung von Pferd und Reiter ist auch ein sehr häufiges Motiv in der thrakischen Kunst. Pferde sind mindestens seit der späten Bronzezeit archäologisch auf dem bulgarischen Territorium belegt. Die zeitlich ein wenig später liegende Darstellung von Pferd und Reiter im Spiel wird direkt mit der Herausbildung der thrakischen Aristokratie verbunden.

Das Vorhandensein von Menschen und Pferden in den thrakischen Kuppelgräbern kann auf zwei Arten vermeldet werden. Im ersten Fall ist sie verbunden mit der Darstellung in der Kunst. In der berühmten Grabanlage in der Stadt Kazanlak (Nr. 9) zeigte ein unbekannter Künstler des Altertums schöne Abbildungen von Pferden. Die Tiere sind in einer braunen Farbe dargestellt und nur eines von ihnen ist weiß. In Thrakien wurden weiße Pferde, die Schimmel, vor allem vom Adel geschätzt. Auf dieser Darstellung in der Grabanlage von Kazanlak ist auch eine Anzahl von menschlichen Figuren zu sehen. In der Mitte sind ein Mann und eine Frau erkennbar, die wir als Dienstboten ansehen. Aus dem Gebiet von Thrakien haben wir auch Kenntnis von anderen Kuppelgräbern, die mit prächtigen Malereien ausgestattet wurden. Eines dieser Objekte befindet sich im Dorf Alexandrovo (Nr. 31). Auch hier sind Tier und Reiter abgebildet. In diesem Fall jedoch ist das Zahlenverhältnis von Mensch und Pferd verändert. Bei der Figur eines nackten Mannes mit Labrys in seinen Händen ist es klar, dass die Figur hier den Herrscher repräsentiert. Also in den beiden Grabgewölben sind Wandmalereien, die die Silhouetten von Menschen und Pferden zeigen.

Die Darstellung einer menschlichen Figur, sitzend auf einem Pferd auf einem Ring, wurde im Hügel im Dorf Rozovetz gefunden. Solche Szenen sind aus der thrakischen Kunst gut bekannt. In charakteristischer Weise werden sie mit der Darstellung eines heroischen Herrschers nach seinem Tod verbunden, aber auch mit seiner Inthronisierung.

Die zweite Art des Vorhandenseins von Menschen und Pferden in den Kuppelgräbern von Thrakien stellen die Bestattungen von Menschen und Tieren dar. Es handelt sich dabei um osteologisches Material, das uns vorliegt. Interessant und rätselhaft ist die Tatsache, dass nur in wenigen Kuppelgräbern in Thrakien solche menschliche Überreste aufgefunden wurden.

In der Grabkammer unter dem Hügel Rozovetz fand man, bereits im Jahre 1851, das Skelett eines Mannes und einen Helm, auch den goldenen Kranz. Menschliche Überreste wurden auch im Tumulus von Kırklareli – Eriklice (Nr. 2) entdeckt. In dem Grabhügel Mal tepe (Nr. 4) befinden sich in der Grabkammer das Totenbett und zwei Urnen. In den beiden rechteckigen Räumen fand man auch die Bestattung eines Menschen. Die vorgefundenen Überreste des Menschen sind teilweise nur noch fragmentarisch erhalten. Die gleiche Situation liegt auch bezüglich der Überreste des Pferdes vor. So fand man also zum Beispiel unter dem Hügel Kušl'ovec – in der Grabkammer – eine kleine Menge menschlicher Knochen unbekanntes Geschlechts (Нехризов, Първин 2011, S. 62). Das Alter des Verstorbenen wird auf 40–60 Jahre geschätzt. Auf dem Boden des Raums vor der Grabkammer wurden Pferdeknochen entdeckt. Das Tier gehörte zu einem Rennpferd und sein Alter wird auf 4,5 Jahre geschätzt (Нехризов, Първин 2011, S. 62.). In beiden Bereichen von Grab (Nr. 37 – Momina mogila) wurden Fragmente menschlicher Knochen gefunden. Es wird davon ausgegangen, dass es sich hier um die Bestattung eines Erwachsenen und eines Kindes handelt (Тонкова, Иванов 2010, S. 231). Gegenüber des Dromos entdeckte man in

einem Hohlraum, mit einer Tiefe von 2 m und einer Breite von 1,30 m, die Fragmente von Amphoren, und auch menschliche Skelettreste waren enthalten. Bei den im Vorraum gefundenen Knochen handelt es sich wahrscheinlich um die eines Pferdes. Pferdeknochen wurden auch in den folgenden Hügelgräbern entdeckt: Kırklareli – Eriklice (Nr. 2), Kurt Kale (Nr. 5), Kırklareli B (Nr. 7), Jankovo 1 (Nr. 12), Jankovo 2 (Nr. 13), Goljama Arsenalka (Nr. 26), Schushmanetz (Nr. 27), Goljama Kosmatka (Nr. 32). Den Tumulus Ornata mogila untersuchten im Jahre 2012 bulgarische Archäologen. Es wurden dort einzig Knochen vom Pferd gefunden (Hexrizov 2013, S. 169 und 172.), Knochen vom Menschen fehlen in dem Grab.

Wir haben einen sehr interessanten Fall im Falle des Tumulus Žaba mogila in Streltsha (Nr. 22). Innerhalb des Tumulus wurden vor der Sepukralkonstruktion Pferde und der Bestattungswagen gefunden. Sicherlich war das eine Tier einmal das persönliche Eigentum des Verstorbenen. Außer diesem aufgefundenen Pferd gab es noch die Funde zweier weiterer Pferde. Sie wurden für den Totenwagen genutzt. In diesem Fall wurden mit dem verstorbenen Mann nicht nur sein persönliches Pferd, sondern auch der Totenwagen mit dem dazugehörigen Pferdepaar mitbestattet, das seinen Körper zur Ruhe geleitet hatte.

Der obige kurze Überblick zeigt eine ganz rätselhafte Situation. Wenn wir annehmen, dass es sich bei den unter Grabhügeln befindlichen Strukturen, von denen wir oben gesprochen haben, nur um Gräber handelt, warum wurde nur in einigen von ihnen osteologisches menschliches Material aufgefunden? Es kann mehrere Gründe für diese Situation geben. Der erste Grund liegt in der Tatsache, dass die meisten Kuppelgräber in Thrakien über lange Zeit hinweg beraubt worden waren. Diese Praxis begleitet uns von der Antike bis zum heutigen Tag. Diebe, die sich romantisch "Schatzsucher" nennen, entnahmen illegal aus den Gräbern alle Dinge, die irgendeinen materiellen Wert besaßen. Es ist daher nicht verwunderlich, dass von der ursprünglichen Ausstattung der einzelnen Gräber fast nichts mehr erhalten ist. Zu finden sind nur noch kleine Fragmente, die den Dieben entgingen oder während der Beraubung verloren gingen. Diebe entnahmen sicherlich aus dem Grab der Verstorbenen alle aussagekräftigen Materialien, aber es ist schwer anzunehmen, dass sie, aus irgendeinem Grund, auch die Gebeine der Toten mitnahmen. Meiner Meinung nach sollte dies in völliger Übereinstimmung mit dem bulgarischen Forscher Konstantin Kis'ov sein, wonach ihr Fehlen mit der Interpretation als sogenanntes "leeres Grab" zu vereinbaren ist (Кисъов 2001, S. 27). Dieses Phänomen begegnet nicht nur bei den Kuppelgräbern, sondern auch bei anderen Strukturen dieser Art, allgemein bei Gräbern mit Beigaben oder sakralen Gegenständen. Die Tatsache, dass zumindest einige der Objekte in den thrakischen Tumuli vorhanden waren, beweist, dass sie "versiegelt" waren und es gibt keine Anzeichen für ein gewaltsames Eindringen. Sie können daher als Beleg für die nachvollziehbare Position von Konstantin Kis'ov herangezogen werden, wonach die Strukturen in den Hügeln nur einen temporären Ablegeplatz für die übrigen Toten bildeten. Nach einiger Zeit, nach den religiösen Riten und Zeremonien, wurden sie dem toten König und Vertretern der thrakischen Aristokratie bereitgestellt und vielleicht an andere Standorte verbracht und dort begraben. Ein weiterer Grund, dass sich in den Kuppelgräbern in Thrakien keine menschlichen Überreste finden, liegt in der Tatsache, dass einige Strukturen in einem sehr schlechten Zustand sind. In einigen Fällen, wie zum Beispiel in dem Objekt in Starosel brach bereits in der Antike die Kuppel ein. Einige Objekte sind in einem so schlechten Zustand, dass nur Reste ihrer Fundamente überdauerten. Die bei der Anlage der Gräber verwendeten Baumaterialien wurden später von der lokalen Bevölkerung weggenommen und anderweitig wiederverwendet. Zusammenfassend kann man daher nur feststellen, dass im Falle der Kuppelgräber in Thrakien in einigen dieser Objekte menschliche Überreste entdeckt wurden. Manchmal finden wir eine Situation vor, in der die Knochen eines Skelettes sich nicht mehr

in der anatomischen korrekten Lage befinden und die Knochen vermischt sind (zum Beispiel *Momina mogila* – Nr. 37).

Eine andere Frage ist mit den Pferdebestattungen im alten Thrakien verbunden. Es sollte angemerkt werden, dass dieser Brauch in Thrakien nicht nur mit den Kuppelgräbern verbunden war. Die bisher größte Anzahl von Pferden, die zusammen mit dem Verstorbenen (bis zu sechs) bestattet wurden, finden wir in der Grabanlage von *Ginina*, einem Objekt in dem Dorf *Sveschtari*. In diesem Tumulus liegt jedoch kein Kuppelgrab, sondern die Grabkonstruktion vom sogenannten „mazedonischen Typ“. In dieser Anlage befindet sich, neben den Überresten eines Pferdes, auch eine Malerei, in der sehr realistisch ein Mann dargestellt ist, der auf einem Pferd sitzt (vermutlich ein Herrscher). Im Falle der Kuppelgräber in Thrakien wird der Verstorbene, wie auch die Mitglieder der thrakischen Aristokratie, in der Regel durch ein Pferd begleitet. Ausnahmen sind die beiden einzigen Strukturen in *Žaba mogila* (*Streltsha*) und in der Grabanlage von *Shushmanetz*, in denen vier Pferde- sowie zwei Hundeskelette gefunden wurden. Interessanterweise findet man die Begleittiere der thrakischen Herrscher und Adligen im Jenseits in der Regel nicht in der Grabkammer in der Vorhalle oder im *Dromos*. Diese Regel gilt natürlich auch für Kuppelgräber. An dieser Stelle lohnt es sich, die Frage zu stellen, warum das Pferd ein so begehrtes Haustier im Grab von Vertretern der thrakischen Aristokratie war. Wenn der Verstorbene es sich nicht leisten konnte, dass er ein Pferd mit sich nahm, wurde im Grab symbolisch Zaumzeug als Beigabe niedergelegt. Solche Praktiken in Thrakien zeugen von der besonderen Stellung des thrakischen Pferdes im Leben der Menschen. Dieses Tier wurde von der thrakischen Aristokratie geschätzt. Es war wertvoll und nicht jeder konnte sie sich leisten. Nur reiche Leute waren in der Lage, sie wirklich zu halten. Aus schriftlichen Quellen wissen wir, dass vor allem weiße Pferde, also Schimmel, sehr geschätzt wurden. Das Pferd in Thrakien war daher die Determinante für die soziale Zugehörigkeit und den hohen Status des Einzelnen in der Gesellschaft. Es ist daher nicht verwunderlich, dass auch nach ihrem Tod die Herrscher und die Aristokratie ihre Lieblingspferde gerne mit zu sich in ihr Grab nahmen.

Die Erforschung der Kuppelgräber in Thrakien begann bereits vor mehr als 160 Jahren (*Hațlas, Munteanu 2011*). In der Tabelle am Ende des Textes führt der Autor alle bekannten Objekte aus Bulgarien und der Türkei auf, die chronologisch in das V.–III. Jahrhundert v. Chr. datieren. Nicht hier enthalten sind die unsicheren Objekte aus der Römerzeit. Die am Anfang der Liste aufgeführten Kuppelgräber wurden archäologisch nicht gut untersucht. Die Untersuchungen des Grabes im Dorf *Rozovetz* erfolgten durch Anwohner. Erst ein wenig später kamen Archäologen hinzu. Wir dürfen nicht vergessen, dass es seit der Antike bis heute ein Geschäft darstellt, Gräber auszurauben. In Bulgarien üben die Leute diese Tätigkeit professionell aus und definieren sich als „*imaniari*“, als Schatzsucher. Weil diese Leute nur selten darüber Bescheid wissen, dass solche 'Untersuchungen' von Hügeln rechtswidrig sind, wurde in den letzten Jahrzehnten in einigen Tumuli immer wieder gegraben (Nr. 16). Jedes Mal richteten diese Schatzsucher große Verwüstung an und nahmen weg, was *in situ* gewesen war. Die jüngsten archäologischen Forschungen in Thrakien haben unser Wissen über die Kuppelgräber in Thrakien vermehrt, zur Erhöhung der bekannten Anzahl von Kuppelgräbern geführt und unsere Kenntnis über das dort gefundene osteologische Material vermehrt, das von Menschen und Tieren stammt. Trotzdem sind wir jedoch mehr vertraut mit Kuppelgräbern im Gebiet von Thrakien, in denen keine menschlichen Überreste sind, als mit denen in Gräbern. Doch zeigen die in den meisten vorhandenen Grabkammern vorhandenen sogenannten „*bed Funeral*“ (Totenbett), dass es für einige Tage, zumindest für eine gewisse Zeit dort menschliche Überreste lagen.

Табела I. Die Kuppelgräber in Thrakien.

	Grabhügel (Tumulus)	Auswahlbibliographie
1.	Rozovetz (Розовец, Rahmanli)	Миков 1955; S. 21; Русева 2002, S. 139 № 41; Theodossiev 2005.
2.	Kırklareli – Eriklice (Раклица)	Миков 1955, S. 17; Yilmaz 1996, S. 9–10; Archibald 1998, S. 282; Русева 2002, S. 143–144 № 44; Theodossiev 2011.
3.	Dudova čukara (Дудова чукара) oder Dudova čuka (Дудова чука)	Миков 1955, S. 21; Archibald 1998, S. 285. Русева 2002, S. 139 № 42.
4.	Mal tepe (Мал-тепе)	Миков 1955, S. 17; Русева 2002, S. 163–166 № 55.
5.	Kurt Kale (Курт-Кале)	Миков 1955, S. 19; Archibald 1998, S. 283; Русева 2002, S. 149–150 № 47.
6.	Ljaskovo (Лясково)	Миков 1955, S. 21; Archibald 1998 S. 285; Русева 2002, S. 137 № 39.
7.	Kırklareli B (Лозенград Б)	Yilmaz 1996, S. 8–9; Archibald 1998, S. 284–295; Русева 2002, S. 151–152 № 48.
8.	Malko Belovo (Малко Белово)	Русева 2002, S 138 № 40.
9.	Tjulteto (Тюлбето)	Миков 1954.
10.	Koprinka (Копринка, могила № 2, гробница № 1).	Русева 2002, с. 155-156 №50.
11.	Koprinka (Копринка, могила № 3).	Русева 2002, с. 145-146 №45.
12.	Jankovo (Янково, могила № 1).	Русева 2002, с. 159-160 № 52.
13.	Jankovo (Янково, могила № 2).	Русева 2002, S. 161 № 53.
14.	Kırklareli – Karakoç	Yilmaz 1996, с. 10-11.
15.	Akviran	Archibald 1998, S. 283.
16.	Parvenetz (Първенец)	Русева 2002, S. 153-154 № 49.
17.	Osmanova mogila (Османова могила, гробница № 1).	Китов 1990, с. 117-118.
18.	Osmanova mogila (Османова могила, гробница № 2).	Китов 1990, S. 118.
19.	Kaliakra (Калиакра, гробница № 3).	Китов 1990, S. 118.
20.	Nos Tschirakman (Нос Чиракман, могила № 16).	Китов 1990, S. 118-119.
21.	Kutluca	Mansel 1974.
22.	Žaba mogila (Жаба могила)	Китов 1977; Китов 1979.
23.	Ravnogor (Равногор, могила № I, гробница № 1)	Китов 1989.
24.	Ravnogor (Равногор, могила № IX, гробница № 2)	Китов 1989.
25.	Ostruscha mogila (Оструша могила)	Китов 1993; Китов 1994.
26.	Goljama Arsenalka (Голяма Арсеналка)	Китов 1996.
27.	Schuschmanetz (Шушманец)	Китов, Агре 2002, S. 155-158.
28.	Mogilata na Grifonite (Могилата на Грифоните)	Китов, Агре 2002, S. 153.
29.	Tschetinjova mogila (Четиньова могила, Старосел, могила № 5)	Китов 2002b.
30.	Manjov dol (Маньов дол, Старосел, могила № 5)	Кисьов 2001, S. 20 und 21—23.
31.	Roschava tschuka (Рошава чука)	Китов 2002a.
32.	Goljamata kosmatka (Голяма Косматка)	Kitov 2005.
33.	Kesteleva mogila (Кестелева могила)	Димитрова 2005.
34.	Račeva mogila (Рачева могила)	Китов, Димитрова 2005.
35.	Kušl'ovec (Кушльовец)	Нехризов, Първан 2009; Нехризов, Първин 2011.
36.	Smoljan Punar (Смойлан Пунар)	Русев, Стоянова 2009.
37.	Momina mogila (Момина могила)	Тонкова, Иванов 2010.
38.	Ornata mogila (Орната могила)	Нехризов 2013.

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THE CULT OF THE MOTHER OF THE GODS (CYBELE) AT AEGAE (MODERN VERGINA), NORTHERN GREECE¹

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Keywords: Mother of the Gods; Cybele; Metroon; synteleia; Aegae; Vergina

Abstract: The Cult of the Mother of the Gods was highly appreciated and quite popular in Greece. Not later than the end of the 6th century BC the cult of the Mother of the Gods merged with that of the Phrygian deity Cybele. She was the originally Anatolian deity of fertility, motherhood, mountain peaks and city walls. She was also associated with hawks and lions.

The Cult of the Mother of the Gods was particularly strong in the area of Macedonia during the Hellenistic period. There were two famous Metroa in Hellenistic Macedonia: one at Aegae (modern Vergina) and another one at Pella, the latter associated with the cult of Aphrodite. A Metroon dated to the Roman period was located on mount Vermion, at a location called Leukopetra, in the area of Veroia near Vergina.

Excavation work at the Metroon at Vergina revealed a large and complex building dated from the end of the Classical period (ca. 300 BC) until the middle of the second century BC. The Hellenistic building is well preserved and was founded on top of the Classical temple, in the center of the ancient city. The most important find from the first phase of the temple (end of the 4th century BC) is an inscribed black-glazed kantharos which confirms the Great Goddess worshipping, during this period. The dedicatory inscription ΜΗΤΡΙ ΘΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΤΕΛΗΑ indicates the importance of the cult and its relation with various gods, such as Aphrodite, Persephone, Sarapis and Attis, deities related to the Underworld, and of course Dionysos, her constant companion. This is further underpinned by the discovery of terracotta figurines depicting these deities in the sanctuary at Vergina. The number and the variety of the pottery finds and the statuary found at Vergina's Metroon constitute an indication that the cult was very popular among ordinary people.

The cult of the Mother of the Gods was widespread and particularly strong in ancient Greek World (Simon 1977; Vermaseren 1989; Vermaseren 1966, *passim*, mostly 22-30; James 1959, *passim*, mostly 161-174; about the cult in Macedonia, Drougou 2011a; Lilimbaki-Akamati 2000, 205-219). In Greece the Mother of the Gods is associated with the Phrygian deity Cybele / Kybele or Kuvava / Kubaba, the most widespread goddess in Asia Minor from the prehistoric times (James 1959, 161; Simon 1977; Lilimbaki-Akamati 2000, 205). In Ancient Near East the Great Mother was the originally Anatolian deity of fertility, motherhood, mountain peaks and city walls. She was the protector of wild life and residence, responsible for man and animals, the primitive deity. The cult was associated with Mysteries expressed with ecstatic dance, loud music and orgiastic festivals (Shapiro et alii 2004, p. 318, 335). She was also associated with hawks and lions and she was usually depicted as a matronly woman with a turret-crown or polos, enthroned and flanked by lions (Naumann 1983, *passim*; Simon 1977, *passim*).

The cult of the Mother of the Gods was introduced in Greece at the end of the archaic period, not later than the end of the 6th century BC (Roller 1991, 128; Loukas 1988, 21-23). In Greek religion the Great Mother is identified with Cretan Rhea and a lot of times she is merged with Ge, Gaia or Mother-Earth. In Greek literature the name Cybele is firstly appears in Pindar (522-443 BC): *Κυβέλα, μάτερ θεῶν*: Mistress Cybele the Mother (fragment 80). Greek goddess had the same features with the Anatolian deity (goddess of nature, mountain peaks and walls). In Greek representations the Mother of the Gods is depicted with similar chief features as the Anatolian deity Cybele: standing or seated in a naiskos or on a throne, holding a scepter and phiale or drum in her hands with a seated lion next to her throne or

¹ I would like to thank Prof. Stella Drougou for the long collaboration and the encouragement to deal with the cult of the Mother of the Gods.

under her feet or on her laps; in some cases the lions are yoking to her car (Naumann 1983, p. 239-257, fig. 40-44).

The most famous Sanctuaries dedicated to the Mother of the Gods in Southern Greece are the one at Athens (Vermaseren 1982, p. 3 cf., pl. II; Papachatzis 1992, 184 cf.), a second at Piraeus (Vermaseren 1982, p. 68 cf., pl. LIX, LX, nr. 258, 264, 265) and a third at Phlya in Attica (Loukas 1988; Papachatzis 1992, p. 407 cf., fig. 242). We also know about a Metroon founded by the famous poet Pindar at Thebes, but we do not have any archaeological evidence about it. Inscriptions found in the Metroon at Athens and others from the Metroon at Piraeus give us a lot of information about her official names but also about the organization and the function of her sanctuaries.

The Cult of the Mother of the Gods was highly appreciated and quite popular in Macedonia during the Hellenistic period. In the area of Macedonia two Metroa have been excavated: both of them are located at the capitals of the Macedonian Kingdom, the one at Aegae, the old capital (modern Vergina) (Drougou 1993; Drougou 1994; Drougou 1995; Drougou 1997; Drougou 1998) and the other one at Pella, the capital of the Macedonian kingdom from the time of Archelaus I (reign: 413-399 BC); the latter was associated with the cult of Aphrodite (Lilimbaki-Akamati 2000). A Metroon dated to the Roman period was located on mount Vermion, at a location called Leukopetra, in the area of Veroia near Vergina (Petsas 1983; Vermaseren 1989, p. 55 cf.; Petsas et alii 2000; Stefani 2004, p. 537-539, fig. 18, 21).

The foundation of the Sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods and Aphrodite at Pella is dated to the last quarter of the 4th century BC. The Sanctuary was reorganized at the end of the 3rd / beginning of the 2nd century BC and finally destroyed, probably by an earthquake, at the same time as the destruction of the Agora, at the beginning of the 1st century BC. The Sanctuary consists of a complex of a large open-air space surrounded by stoas and several other rooms with various functions. The most important finds uncovered during the excavations are the numerous terracotta figurines depicting in most cases the Mother of the Gods and Aphrodite. Some figurines depicting Erotes and hierodoules have also been found. The findings should be included numerous everyday pottery (cooking pots, jugs, plates, kantharoi, unguentaria), stone reliefs with the typical representation of the Mother of the Gods and few fragments of marble altars bearing votive inscriptions to the Mother of the Gods and Aphrodite (Lilimbaki-Akamati 2000).

The excavations at Leukopetra uncovered a small prostyle temple with marble stylobate, four columns, and entablature with a dedicatory inscription, pediment and the door-frame of the entrance to the sekos. The temple was dedicated to the indigenous Mother of the Gods (Μήτηρ θεῶν αὐτόχθων) and consists of the pronaos and the sekos. All architectural members, except the stylobate and the pediment, were covered with inscriptions (more than hundred-fifty). Votive inscriptions covered marble altars and marble trapezae and slabs found in the area of the temple. The temple is dated, according to the coins found during the excavation, to the 2nd – 4th century AD (Petsas 1983; Petsas et alii 2000; Stefani 2004, p. 537-539, fig. 18, 21).

Indications about the worshipping of the Mother of the Gods have been found at Abdera, in the area of Thrace (Vermaseren 1989, p. 95-98, pl. LXXX-LXXXI); the Sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace is also related to her cult (Lehmann 1983; Lehmann 1969).

Excavation work at the Metroon at Vergina began in 1990 and very quickly revealed a large and complex building dated from the end of the Classical period (ca. 300 BC) until the middle of the second century BC (Drougou 1991; Drougou 1993; Drougou 1994; Drougou 1995; Drougou 1997; Drougou 1998; Drougou and Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1999, p. 32-35; Drougou and Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2006, p. 138-145).

The Hellenistic sanctuary is well preserved and was built on top of the Classical temple, at the eastern section of the ancient city. It is founded between two streams which cross the residential zone of the ancient city, north-eastern to the Palace, the Theater and the Sanctuary of Eucleia in the Agora (Fig. 1).

The traces of the Classical temple are located almost in the center of the Hellenistic complex (Fig. 2). The architectural remains are in bad condition, but a rectangular building oriented towards the north-east can be recognized. The size of the uncovered building is 9m in length and 3m in depth and it is divided into two rooms. According to the pottery finds of this area, this phase can be dated to the end of the 4th - beginning of the 3rd century BC. The most important find from the first phase of the temple is an inscribed black-glazed kantharos which confirms the Great Goddess worshipping during this period (Fig. 3). The votive inscription *MHTPI ΘΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΤΕΛΙΑ* indicates the importance of the cult and the relation with various gods (*synteleia*), such as Aphrodite, Persephone, Sarapis and Attis, deities related to the Underworld, and of course Dionysos, her constant companion. This is further underpinned by the discovery of terracotta figurines depicting various deities in the sanctuary at Vergina.

The Hellenistic phase of the sanctuary can also be divided into two periods, according to the finds and the architectural remains. The first Hellenistic building should have been constructed in the middle of the 3rd century BC. Its form and its orientation are different from the Classical one. While the Classical temple was oriented towards the north-east, the Hellenistic sanctuary is built to the North-South axis. This change is recognizable to the entire city at that period, means mid-third century BC (Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1997, p. 56-57; Drougou 2009, 124; Drougou et alii 2009; Drougou et alii 2013, 133, sx. 1). The sanctuary was reorganized at the end of the 3rd / beginning of the 2nd century BC. Some rooms became smaller, new are added or others changed use. Unfortunately, the extended agriculture at the area quiet disturbed the remains and the two Hellenistic phases are not fully recognizable. Today we see the form acquired in the last phase (about 200 BC) which was burned to the ground and abandoned in the mid-second century BC (Fig. 4). The time when the sanctuary destroyed was a really troubled period for Macedonia. In 168 BC the Romans invaded Macedonia and overthrew the king Perseus (First Battle of Pydna); since that time Macedonia was under the Roman Conquest but a lot of political disorder happened, as for example Andriskos' revolution against the Romans in 149 BC (Fourth Macedonian War). Finally, in 148 BC Andriskos was defeated by the Roman praetor Q. Caecilius Metellus at the Second Battle of Pydna marking the final end to Andriskos' reign of Macedonia. After this, Macedonia was formally reduced to a Roman province (Errington 1986, 194 cf.). The destruction layers uncovered in a lot of ancient Macedonian cities, like the one in the Sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods at Vergina, testify this historical phenomenon.

The Hellenistic building (approximately 52x52m) consists of several rooms with particularly sacrificial use, according to the architectural form and the cult artifacts found in the interior, such as terracotta figurines and iron sacred keys, and larger chambers where the secret rites of initiation were taking place. It was built with mud bricks over stone foundations and has a lot of similarities with the city's residential buildings. In most cases there were earth floors and the roofs were covered by clay tiles, as indicates the destruction layers uncovered in a lot of rooms. In the center of a lot of spaces there were hearths.

The large double pastas (9x13m) [*Central Space*] with earth floor and large hearths in the centre of the two rooms, is located in the South-Western area of the Sanctuary. The south room is quite larger (9x7m) and the two rooms are connected by a small entrance, as shows the marble threshold, the only one preserved in the sanctuary. Next to the threshold a small pit-altar is located (1x1.30m; Depth 1m). This pit was covered by a fairly large pithos and the tiles of the destroyed roof of the building (Fig. 5.1). The finds from this pit are indicative for

the cult of the Mother of the Gods: the terracotta head depicting the Mother of the Gods (Fig. 6), terracotta figurines representing the Goddess seated with drum and phiale in her hands and a lion under her feet, bulls and altars. In addition, a group of simple Hellenistic vases were found inside the pit: a small grey «macedonian» amphora and two plates. Two fusiform unguentaria and one ink-pot type were found at the periphery of the pit (Drougou 1991).

In the north-eastern corner of the south room a libation-hole is undercovered: a clay tube in the ground, 0.50m in depth (Fig. 5.2). Around this tube a lot of cult artifacts have been found: a relief cylindrical censer with snakes, terracotta bulls and snakes. From the same area comes a coin hoard consisted by a great number of bronze coins dated to the first half of the 2nd century, but also three contemporary clay lamps, a clay stamp of a papyrus with the depiction of Hercules and a silver sheet on which a male figure with a lyre (Orpheus?) is incised. This group of finds can be dated relatively safely, since it was found in the destruction layer of the building which is dated, according to the coins and the pottery, to the middle of the 2nd century BC, the years of Andriskos' reign (Drougou and Touratsoglou 2000).

To the east of this double pastas a *triple space* and a *portico* are located (direction East-West) with stone bases for the stone or wooden columns (it belongs to the building of the first Hellenistic phase, means mid-third century BC). The finds of this area consist of large quantity of pottery and some fragments of terracotta figurines.

In the North-Western area of the Sanctuary, northern to the Central Space, a large open space with strong walls, especially the one to the west, is formed. It is a large *courtyard*, an atrium. In this area a construction like a kiln is uncovered and a large number of plain pottery, including big pithoi, were found. From the same area come a number of leaden loom weights used as seals.

A very important for the cult space is the one located to the North-Eastern section of the Sanctuary [*Space with figurines and keys*]. A narrow corridor (8x1.5m) ends to small entry with two stairs of a private room, a semi-basement. Next to the east a smaller room is located, where a lot of fragments of precious objects were found, such as fragments of bronze vases. Inside the first (bigger) room, next to the door, a bench was built. In the south-west corner of the room a group of terracotta loom weights and a rich trove of figurines representing various deities (*synteleia*), such as Demeter, Kore (Persephone), Sarapis, Bacchus, deities related to the Underworld, were found (Fig. 7-8). In the center of the room there was a hearth and close to it the most important cult objects were found: two big iron keys, the Underworld's keys. The famous Hellenistic relief from Levadia (Boeotia), now in the National Archaeological Museum at Athens, depicts the Goddess' Thiasos (Vermaseren 1982, p. 131-132, pl. CXXVII) (Fig. 9): the Goddess is illustrated at the left side of the relief seated on a throne, wearing polos and holding in her right hand a patera or phiale; Next to her throne a seated lion. In front of her a procession of standing figures (Thiasos) is depicted: a young woman, probably Persephone, holding in her hand a big key, the Underworld's key; a person wearing long veil and garment, a *mystes* or Demeter; Dionysus with thyrsus and kantharos; Pan in goat's skin with two horns, pedum and syrinx; Hecate with two long torches; a barbed male figure, probably a god – Sabazius? – with cornucopia and two snakes; a table with offerings on it and behind it three youths with circular shields, probably Curetes, two more youths in pilos and short clamys, Dioskuroi, and finally four little persons, possibly the believers.

The number and the variety of the pottery finds, the statuary and the various other finds like the iron keys and the numerous terracotta loom weights found at Vergina's Metroon constitute an indication that the cult was very popular among ordinary people. The location of the sanctuary almost in the center of the ancient city confirms the characteristic feature of the goddess, the protection of the city and the people.

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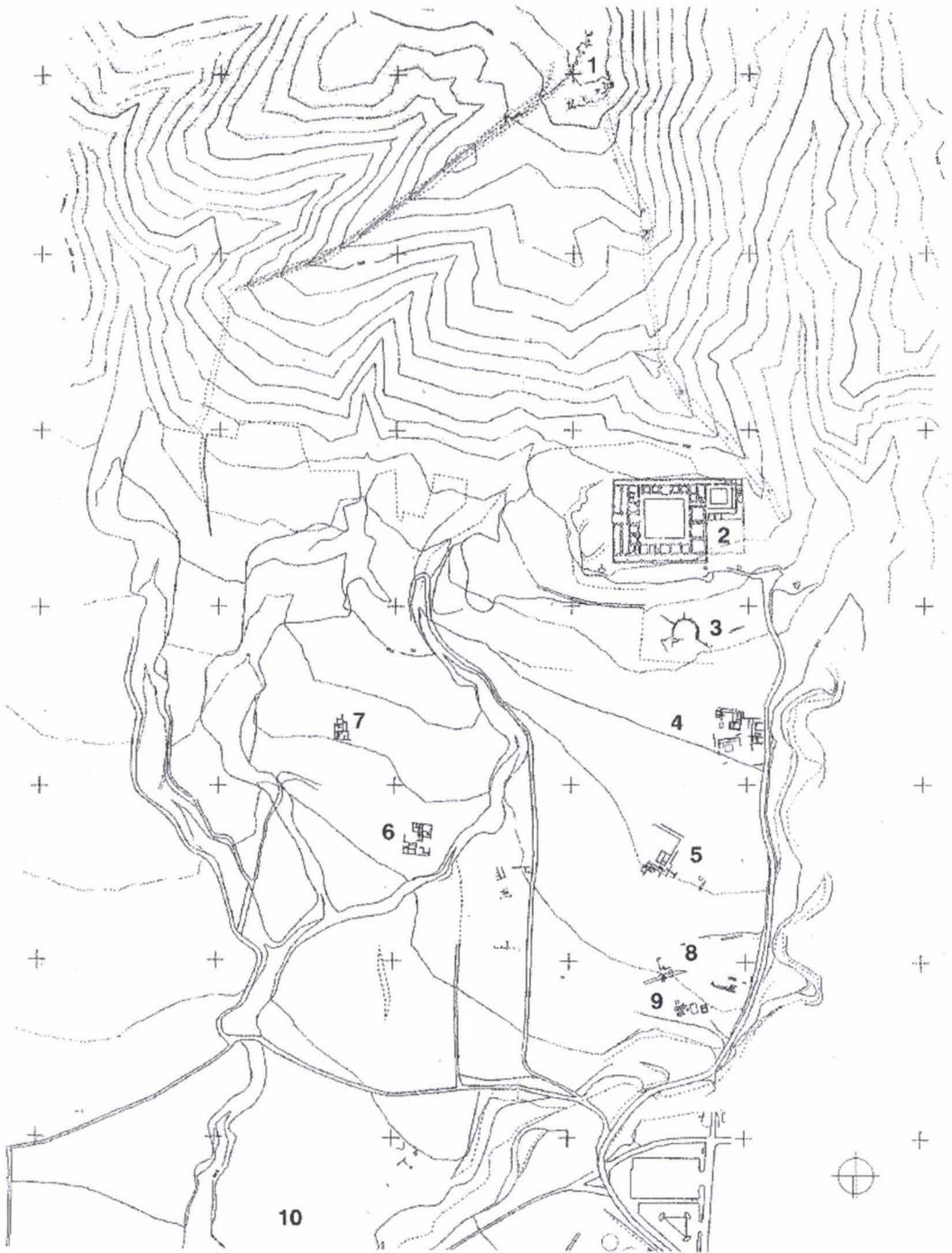


Fig. 1. Plan of the ancient city of Aegae: 1. Acropolis, 2. Palace, 3. Theater, 4. Sanctuary of Euclieia, 6. Sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods (Drougou 2009, p. 123, fig. 1)

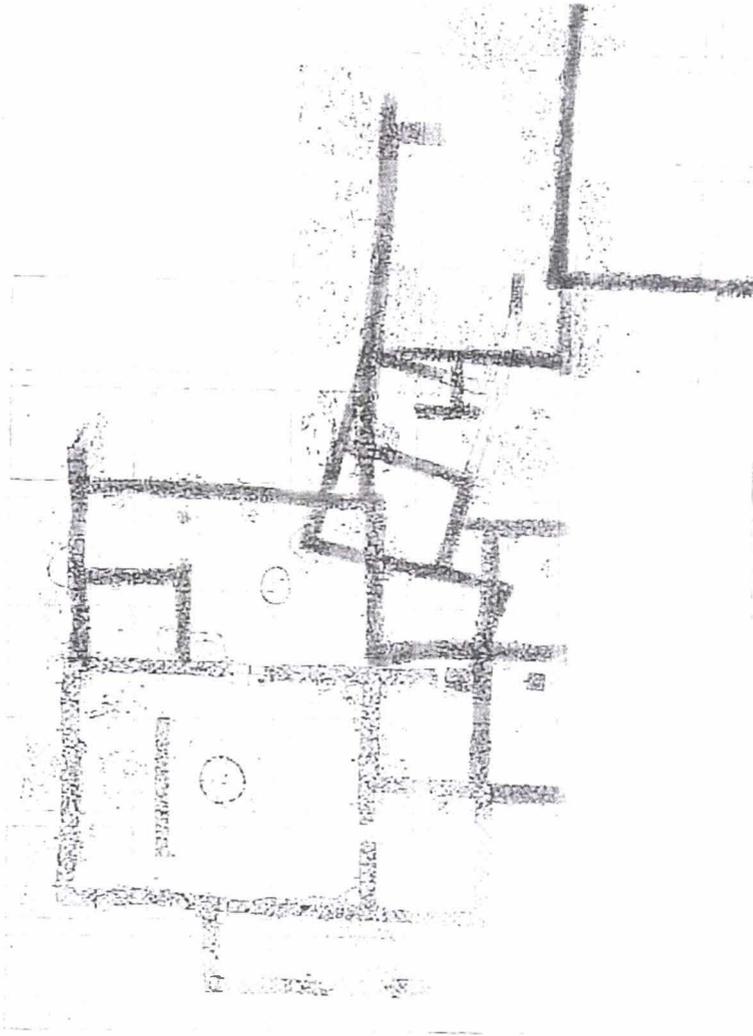


Fig. 2. Plan of the Metroon at Aegae: The Hellenistic building and in the middle the remains of the Classical building (Drougou 1995, p. 46, fig. 1)

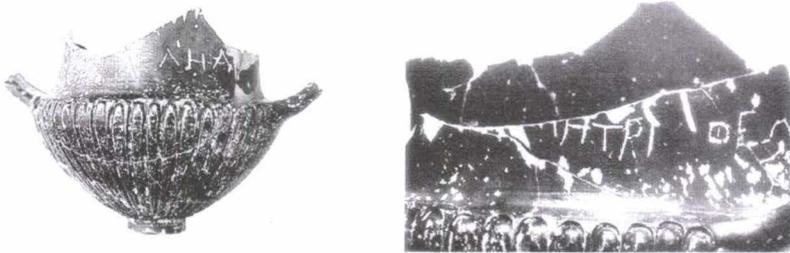


Fig. 3. The inscribed black-glazed kantharos (Drougou and Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1999, p. 33, fig. 33-34)

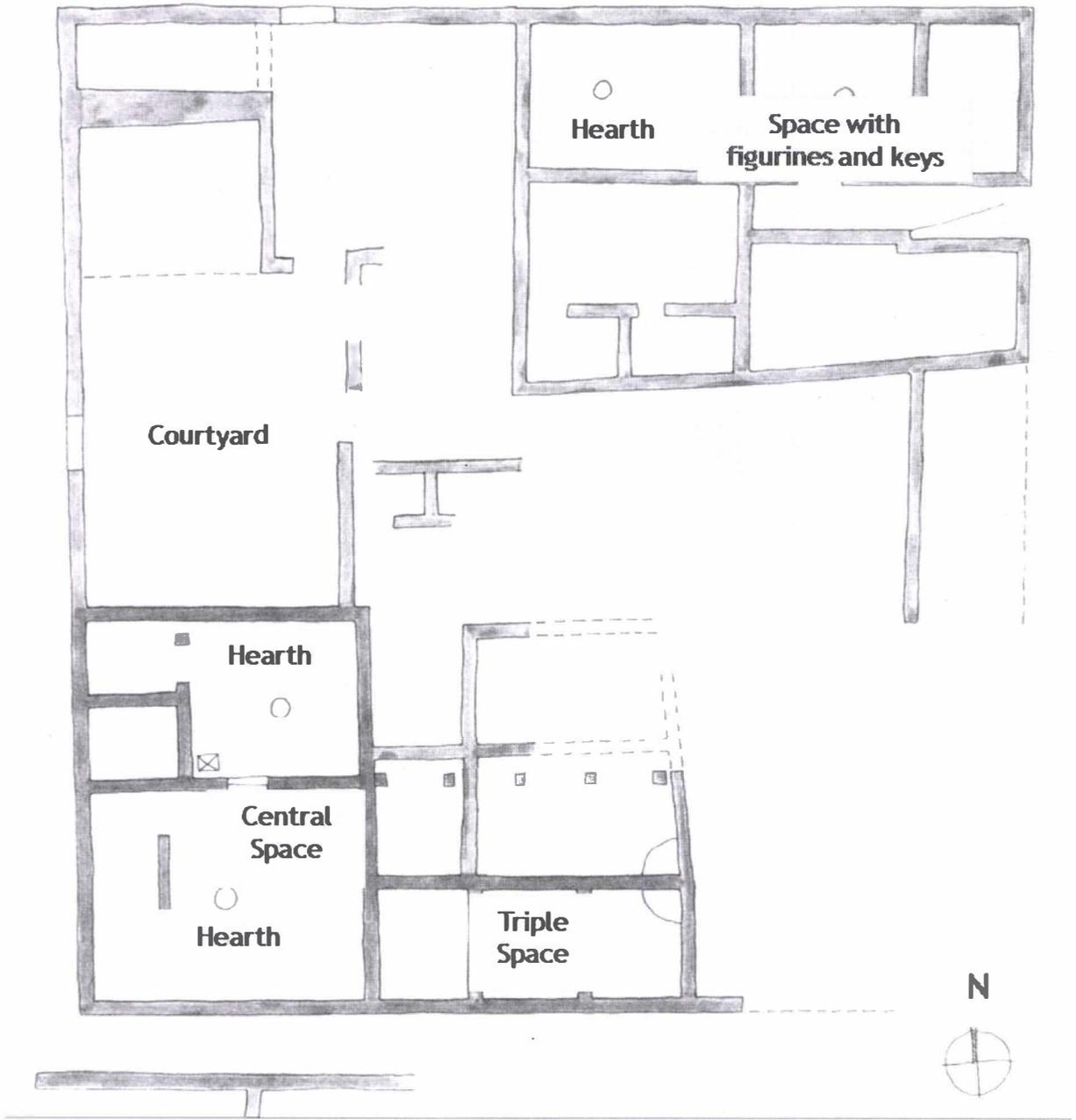


Fig. 4. Plan of the Hellenistic building in the mid-second century BC (Drougou and Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2006, p. 139)

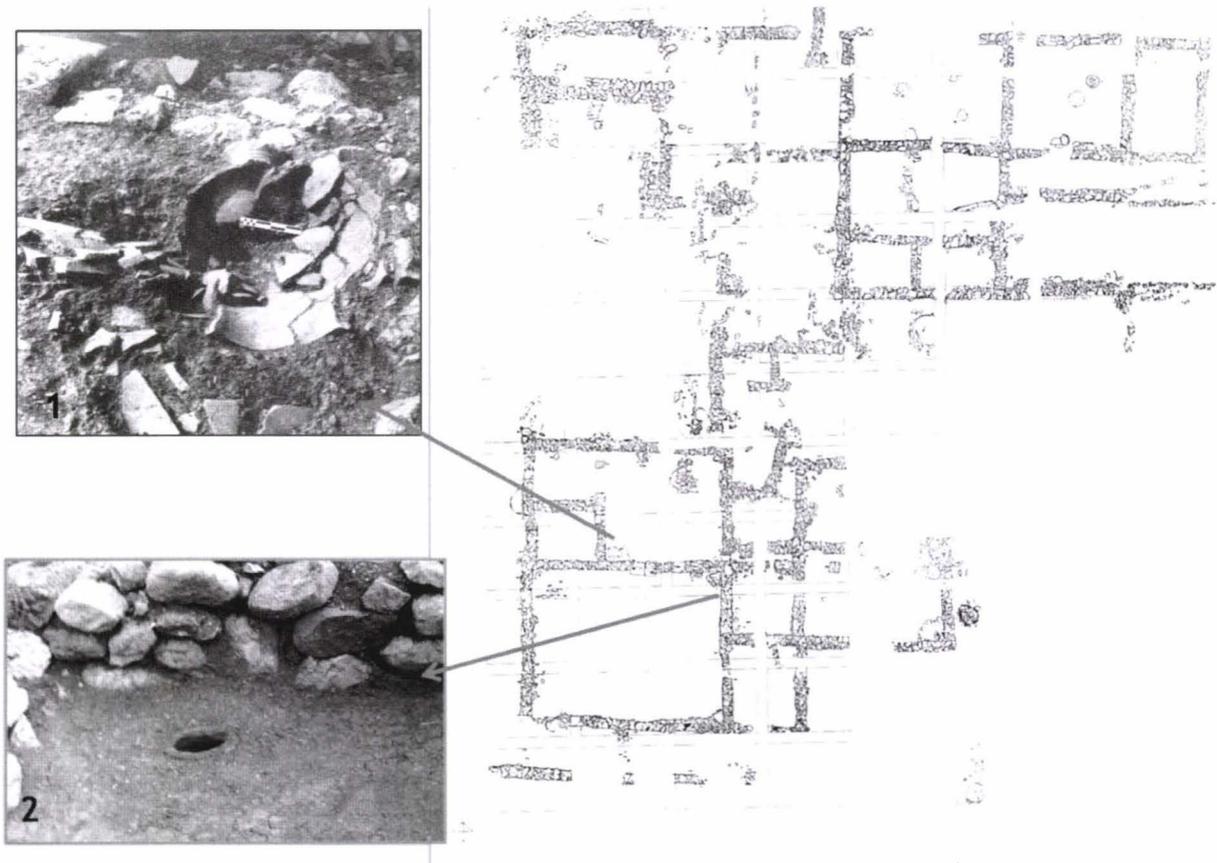


Fig. 5. *Central space*: The location of the pit-altar (1) and the libation-hole (2) (Drougou 1993, p. 14, fig. 3)



Fig. 6. The terracotta head depicting the Mother of the Gods (Drougou 1997, p. 53, fig. 4)

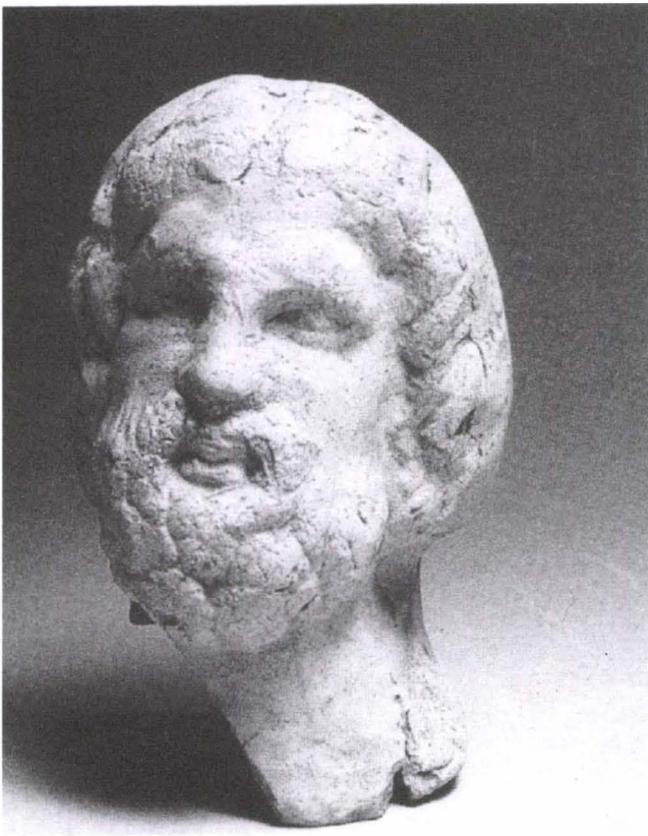


Fig. 7. *Space with figurines and keys*: Terracotta male figurine (Drougou 1998, p. 107, fig. 3)

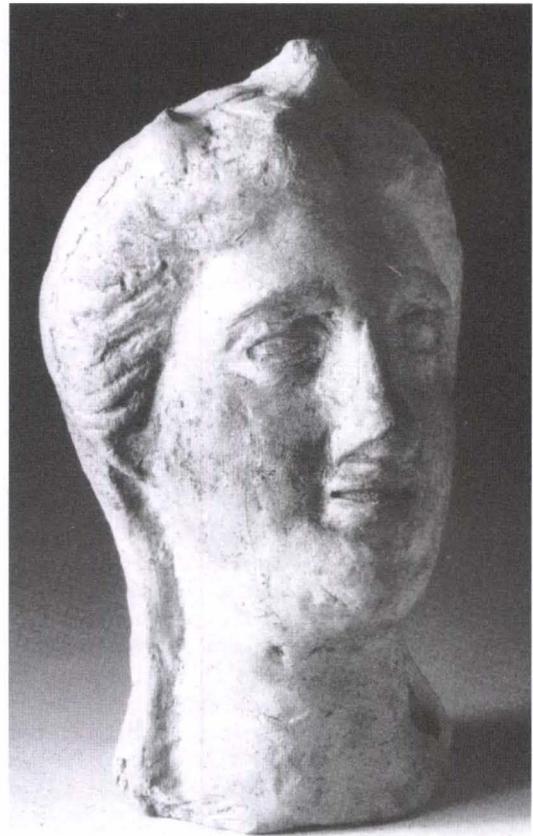


Fig. 8. *Space with figurines and keys*: Terracotta female figurine (Drougou 1998, p. 107, fig. 4)

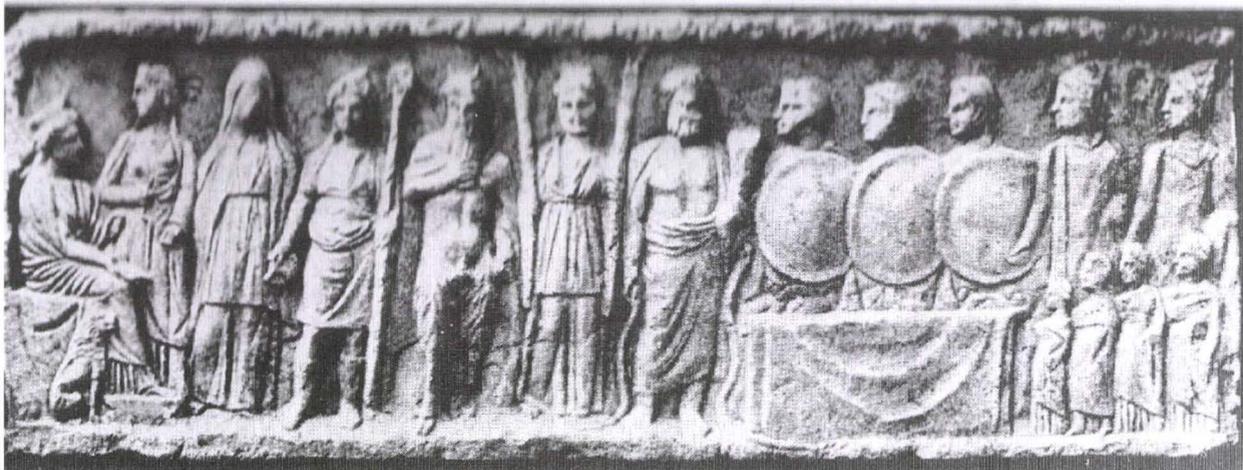


Fig. 9. The relief from Levidia (Vermaseren 1982, p. 131-132, pl. CXXVII)

THE PROPHECIES OF MANY-GIFT[ED]¹

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Key words: Polydorus, Polymestor, Euripides' tragedy *Hecuba*, Ancient Thrace, Thracian Chersonese, underground mystery sanctuary (*tumulus* or *cave*), anthropodaemon, anthropodaemonic prophet, Rhesus, Orpheus, Bacchus' prophet.

Summary: The present essay deals with the origin and development of the mythological figure of Polydorus (translated, his name, Πολύδωρος means "Many-gift[ed]") and its eventual roots in well-known ritual practices in Ancient Thrace. Although this name had already been mentioned in Homer's *Iliad*, in ancient Greek literary tradition it is generally associated with Euripides' tragedy *Hecuba* (dated to ca. 425 BC). The concept of the tragedy *Hecuba* seems to be organized explicitly namely with a view to the localization of the tragic plot in Thrace, in a prominently Thracian context. This fact has presumably led a number of researchers preoccupied with its study to the assumption that the mythological figures of Polydorus and Polymestor, the Thracian king, are not to be regarded as the result of Euripides' purely poetical fantasy – they have rather being taken from some local „gloomy” myth originating in the Thracian Chersonese.

The conclusion leads to the hypothesis that we may be facing a probable literary, i.e. staged re-interpretation of a cult situation surrounding an underground mystery sanctuary (*tumulus* or *cave*) with an anthropodaemonized „Bacchus' oracle” prophesying there – in this case identified with the (pseudo-) Homeric hero Polydorus, generally associated with Dionysus – and the figure of the local Thracian anthropodaemonic prophet, idea, suggested by the presence of a sanctuary with an oracle site of Dionysian type, thus laying the beginnings of a new literary tradition. The pattern of the mythical creation might appear identical with that of the tragedy *Rhesus*, ascribed to Euripides. The steady mythological core and the ritual complex related to the foundation of a new city lend themselves to reconstruction, along with the required underground mystery sanctuary (*tumulus* or *cave*) with a prophesying (anthropodaemonized) oracle („Bacchus' prophet”) there, as an alternative to Delphi.

The episode with the epiphany of Polydorus' ghost in the prologue of Euripides' tragedy *Hecuba* usually remains in the shadow of that of Achilles' spirit: Achilles has stopped the Achaean fleet on the shores of the Thracian Chersonese on his way home at the end of the prolonged Trojan War, in order to receive his fair „gift of honor” (γέρας). By identifying with the Thracian Chersonese the space where the tragedy plot develops, instead of that under the walls of Troy, Euripides had followed an untraditional and unknown mytho-dramatic prototype through which he probably sought a different political, religious and ethic treatment of the theme. The whole concept of the tragedy *Hecuba* seems to be invented explicitly in view of the location of the tragic events in Thrace, in a prominently Thracian context, which had provoked some researchers to speculate that the mythological figures of Polydorus and the Thracian king Polymestor were not Euripides' poetic fantasy, but were taken from a local, „gloomy” myth, originating in the Thracian Chersonese (Pohlentz 1930: 288; Conacher 1967: 147-150; Stephanopoulos 1980: 78-82; cf. Hall 1989:107-110). Some authors are even convinced that this spatial relationship so defined is crucial for the dramatic plot and gets its development in the course of the tragic events (Gregory 1999: p. XXII; Lozanova 2004: 9-22; Lozanova 2004: 9-22; Lozanova 2013). Euripides is the first one to identify the dramatic space of the Trojan queen Hecubas' fate in Ancient Thracia, because of its specific religious-ethical (Orphic-Dionysian) metaphors and ritual context (Lozanova 2011). Perhaps that is why here Hecuba herself – to the difference of Homer's version – is presented as daughter of the Thracian Kisseus (Euripid., *Hec.* 3; compare to Schol. *Euripid.*

¹ "This article is part of the work on the international research project NET.Heritage."

Hec., 3), in whose name clearly discernible Dionysian reminiscences (compare to Διόνυσος Κισσός in Paus. 1, 31, 6: Κισσὸν τὸν αὐτὸν θεὸν [Διόνυσον] τιμῶσι). Does it seem possible to reconstruct an eventual cult situation pre-conditioned by the Thracian localization of the action of the tragedy feeding up the tragic characters in Euripides' tragedy?



Fig. 1. Hecuba finding the body of her son Polydorus on the beach.
Engraving by Virgil Solis for Ovid's *Metamorphoses* Book XIII, 523-544, 1581

1

The genesis of the mythological figure of Polydorus in the ancient literary tradition is usually associated with Euripides' tragedy *Hecuba*, dated to *ca.* 425 BC because of an indirect reference (v. 462) to the Athenian revival of the festival of the Delian Apollo in 426 BC (Gregory 1999: xii-xv; cf. Norwood, G. 1952: p. 215 – *ca.* 425 BC; Pohlenz 1930: p. 288 – before 423 BC; Schmid 1940: p. 406, n. 2 – *ca.* 417 BC). Translated, his name, Πολύδωρος means „Many-gift[ed]” and is known from Homer's *Iliad* as the youngest among the sons of Priam and his concubine Laothoe (Hom., *Il.*, 20, 407-412; 21, 90-91; 22, 48; cf. Eustath. *ad Il.*, 16, 175) who dies under the walls of Troy pierced by the spear of Achilles. In the Euripidean tragedian interpretation he becomes the youngest son of Priam, the king of Troy, and Hecuba, sent by his parents to king Polymestor in Thrace (on the Thracian Chersonese) in order to avoid death in case the Achaeans capture the city. When this happened, the Thracian host perfidiously killed the boy, threw the body in the sea, and seized the treasures (which are at the bottom of the association with the name of Polydorus, „Many-gift[ed]”) the parents have sent with him to not feel any need during his exile. The intrusive, dramatic appearance of the gold throughout the text and as the main motif for the behavior of the Thracian king makes not only moral (Kirkwood 1947:61-68; Adkins 1960:193-219; Nussbaum 1986), but political suggestions too (Lozanova 2013). The ghost of the already deceased Polydorus discerns the motives for his demise in the greed and cupidity of his host and his desire to steel for himself the treasures of the Trojan prince (25-28):

κτείνει με χρυσοῦ τὸν ταλαίπωρον χάριν
ξένος πατρῷος καὶ κτανῶν ἐς οἶδμ' ἄλος
μεθῆχ', ἴν' αὐτὸς χρυσὸν ἐν δόμοις ἔχη.

Of all the dramatis personae in *Hecuba* Polymestor is meant definitely not to provoke any sympathy and doubts about the motives of his crime: only his deeds are in total opposition to both νόμος and δίκη (vv. 1234-1235). He is „a bad” presumably, because he is alien, barbarian, and no argument could exonerate him: „first of all, no barbarian would or could become friends with the Greeks!”

1200 ἀλλ', ὦ κάκιστε, πρῶτον οὔποτ' ἄν φίλον
τὸ βάρβαρον γένοιτ' ἄν Ἑλλησιν γένος
οὐδ' ἄν δύναιτο.

According to the defense of Polymestor himself in the Euripidean tragedy, he didn't do the crime because of the proper to the barbarians avidity and greed, but to spare the Achaeans the fright of the resurrection of Troy and its might (Eurip. *Hec.*, 1135-1145). Then the Achaeans would send another expedition against Troy and would thus devastate his lands, for the Trojan neighbors had also suffered great misfortunes during this first war.



Fig. 2. Polymestor killing Polydorus.
Antonio Tempesta, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* Book XIII, 523-544, 17th century

The epiphany of Poydorus in Euripides' prologue (vv. 1-58) is quite impressive and grandiose. Several trials for its reconstruction (Mastronarde 1990: 247-294; Mossman 1995: p. 50) consider that his ghost (ψυχὴ; φάντασμα Πολυδώρου; φάσμα μελανόπτερον v. 705) appeared above the *skene* (on the roof over the scene-buildin) or hovered in the space above it (v. 32: τοῦ αἰωρήματος) by means of some *mechane* at the beginning of the performance (Hourmouziades 1965: p. 160; Bremer 1971: 232-250), or did he make his appearance on the stage level as would his mother later on, awoken from her ill-boding dream (Lane 2007: 290-294)? It seems to me that he, most probably, went out somewhere below the stage from under the ground, from the depths of the *proscenium*, from „the gloomy realm of Hades and lake Acheron”, for which indirectly suggest not only Euripides' verses but also their reminiscences in the fragmentary tragedy *Iliona* by Pacuvius, from the 2nd century BC (Pacuv., *Iliona* 197 sqq; cf. Schol. Bob. *ad Cicero, Pro Sest.*, 59: *ab inferior aulaei parte*; Ribbeck 1875: p. 234, Anm. 5). Cicero (*Tusc.*, I, 44, 106) introduces some associations with

Polydorus begins his narrative declaring that he comes from „the lair of the dead and the gates of darkness where Hades lives, far away from the rest of the gods” (vv. 1-2: Ἦκω νεκρῶν κευθμῶνα καὶ σκοτοῦ πύλας λιπῶν, ἴν’ Ἄιδης χωρὶς ᾧκισται θεῶν...), and in a long monologue – until the appearance of Hecuba on the stage leaning on the captive Trojan women (vv. 59-97) – describes his own treacherous death at the hands of Polymestor, the king of the Thracian Chersonese. Disregarding his obligations to the Trojans under the oath for hospitality (πρὸς δῶμα Θρηκίου ξένου: Euripid., *Hec.*, 6; ξένος πατρῶιος: Euripid., *Hec.*, 26), the Thracian king did his heinous deed right after the Achaean troops had left for home the burned down Troy. The corpse of the boy he had thrown in the sea, without paying last respects and burying him. For three days, since the Achaeans had left, the dead body had been washed by the sea waves on the Thracian shores. Then Polydorus tells the story of the epiphany of Achilles’ ghost (ὑπὲρ τύμβου φανείς: v. 37; cf. Apollodorus, FHG I. 429: Ἀχιλλέως ψυχὴν εἰσάγει λέγουσαν), who had wished Polyxene to be sacrificed on his tomb as a gift of honor (vv.s 37-41):

ὁ Πηλέως γὰρ παῖς ὑπὲρ τύμβου φανείς
κατέσχ’ Ἀχιλλεὺς πᾶν στράτευμ’ Ἑλληνικόν,
πρὸς οἶκον εὐθύνοντας ἐναλίαν πλάτην·
αἰτεῖ δ’ ἀδελφὴν τὴν ἐμὴν Πολυξένην
τύμβῳ φίλον πρόσφαγμα καὶ γέρας λαβεῖν... 40

The appearance of Achilles’ ghost over his own tomb, calling a halt to the departure of the fleet as a bad omen for the future fate of those returning home goes back to the post-Homeric epic cycle (*Iliu Persis*, EGF p. 40; *Nostoi*, EGF p. 53; *Cypria*, fr. 26 = Schol. Euripid., *Hec.* 41; Davies 1988: 62-63, for some authors – even to Homer himself: Michelakis 2002; Papaioannou 2007) and the early Greek lyric at least (*Ibicus*, fr. 307 PMG). The epitome of the grammarian Proclus (Proclus, *Chrest.* 239 = EGF, p. 50) makes the following short precision: ἔπειτα ἐμπρήσαντες τὴν πόλιν Πολυξένην σφαγιάζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως τάφον. While in the Euripidean interpretation of this cult situation the appearance of the spirit of Achilles is motivated by the request for Polyxene’s sacrifice, Proclus emphasizes on the prophetic aspects of the epiphany as a specific feature of the post-Homeric epos. He alleges that when Agamemnon prepared to sail off from Troas, Achilles’ ghost appeared to warn the Greeks of the adversities waiting them on their way and thus protect them (EGF, p. 53: Ἀχιλλέως εἰδῶλον ἐπιφανέν πειρᾶται διακωλύειν προλέγον τὰ συμβησόμενα). Quintus of Smyrna describes in *Posthomerica* (Quint. Smyrn., 14, 178 ff.) the appearance of the ghost in the dream of Neoptolemos, Achilles’ son, demanding Polyxene as a gift of honor. In Euripides’ tragedy and its literary traditions, it was Neoptolemos himself who did the sacrifice of the Trojan princess on the tomb of his father. The prophetic mantic dreams are not alien to the mythic and ritualistic ambiance around the cult of the great son of Thetis and Peleus and in particular in his manifestation as *Pontarchos*, „Lord of Pontos” (Procl., *Chrest.*, 2). According to Arrianus’ *The Periplus of the Euxine Sea* (Arrian., *P. Pont. Eux.*, 34) he would come in the dreams of those sailing towards his mystical isle of Leuke (in the estuary of the Istros River) and direct them towards the most propitious place to berth. Maximus of Tyre in *Philotimia* (Max. Tyr., *Philosoph.*, p. 109 sq.; cf. Trapp 1997, p. 83) describes the epiphanies of the Great sea god as the sight and the hearing of the sailors. Similar qualities manifests the ghost of Polydorus who, as already said, first appeared in his mother’s prophetic dream, which had awaken her in the early morning

and later on – as a ghost over the Achaean camp on the Thracian shore, in order to foretell the future events.

(Pseudo-) Longinus in his treaty *On the Sublime* (Περὶ ὕψους 15. 7 – 1st century AD) informs that Simonides of Ceos (ca. 556-468 BC) had already vividly (ἐναργέστερον) described the epiphany of Achilles' ghost; Sophocles' tragedy *Polyxene* (Schol. *Euripid., Hec.*, I, 220; Calder III 1966: 31-56) begins with the same scene:

Περὶ ὕψους 15. 7: ἄκρως δὲ καὶ ὁ Σοφοκλῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ θνήσκοντος Οἰδίπου καὶ ἑαυτον μετὰ διοσημείας τινὸς θάπτοντος πεφάντασται, καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἀπόπλου τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπὶ τὰχιλλέως προφαινομένου τοῖς ἀναγομένοις ὑπὲρ τοῦ τάφου, ἦν οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τις ὄψιν ἐναργέστερον εἰδωλοποίησε Σιμωνίδου·

Couriously, Longinus does not say a word about a similar scene in the prologue of Euripides' *Hecuba*. The scholion to this last scene testifies for some common points in its opening words and that of Sophocles' *Polyxene* (τὰ περὶ τὴν Πολυξένην ἔστι καὶ παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ εὐρεῖν). Another of the surviving fragments of this tragedy of Sophocles (Fr. 523 Pearson 1917, II, p. 164) is linked to the appearance of Achilles' s spirit from the nether world, from the gloomy waters of Acheron, and which may echo (but not repeat) the opening words of Polydorys' ghost in Euripides' *Hecuba*:

Fr. 523; Apollodorus, FHG, I, 429:

ἀκτὰς ἀπαίωνάς τε καὶ μελαμβαθεῖς
λιποῦσα λίμνης ἦλθον, ἄρσενας χοὰς
Ἀχέροντος ὄξυπλήγας ἠχούσας γόους.



Fig. 4. Blinding of Polymestor,
Engraving by Anonymous engraver, 17th century

This fragment has survived as a quotation in Apollodorus of Athens' work *On the Gods* (Περὶ τῶν Θεῶν) in Porphyry (ap. *Stob. Ecl.*, I, 49. 50 p. 419). F. Noack (Noack 1890; Noack 1890a, 158-177; cf. Pearson 1917, p. 162) speculates that Sophocles was the

first to link the epiphany of Achilles' shade to Polyxene's sacrifice and that Euripides had attacked his version. Notwithstanding which one of the two tragedies came out first and in what correlation they are to each other (Gruppe 1834, 593 ff. reckons that Euripides' *Hecuba* preceded Sophocles' *Polyxene*; cf. Förster 1882, 193-238; Wilamowitz 1906, p. 268, Anm. 1; Wilamowitz 1962, p. 229; Wilamowitz 1931, p. 365, Anm. 1 considers *Hecuba* to be a later tragedy; Mossman 1995, 44-46 with lit.), there is hardly any doubt that Euripides had sought an approach different from Sophocles', mediating the epiphany of Peleus' son by the prophecies of Polydorus' ghost. This is not unusual, though; neither looks as an explicit search for an artistic trick to differentiate the two plays from each other. For in the centre of the fable is not Polyxene's fate (as is often considered), but that of Polydorus, whose death puts an end to the whole dynasty of the Priamides and thus – to any hope for Troy's resurrection. This was Troy's ultimate political collapse!

The death of Polydorus does not remain restricted to the model of the „private”, i.e. personal loss of Hecuba, as opposed to the sacrifice of Polyxena to the „common good” (Adkins 1960; 193-219; cf. Kirkwood 1947, 61-68). These specific political meanings attach to the myth of the Trojan prince a particular functionality in the general concept of the foundation myth of Rome and of Aeneas' travel to Alba Longa in the works of Latin authors, and especially in Vergil's *Aeneid* (Biow 1996, 23-24; 26, 44-46).

That is why the tragic events begin with the ghost of the dead Polydorus and his fate, thus integrating through the dramatis personae of Hecuba, in one narrative the separate, apparently weakly linked other episodes in Euripides' play (Gregory 1999; Lozanova 2013). In the second part of the prologue (vv. 37-41) Polydorus announces that Achilles had appeared above his tomb and, stopping the whole Greek fleet from sailing home, commanded them to have Polyxene sacrificed especially for himself, as a „prize of honor” and for the glory of his tomb. The destiny of the Trojan princess had been predetermined. His (Achilles') fellows, says he, would not let him without gifts (ἀδώρητος, vv. 42-43):

καὶ τεύξεται τοῦδ', οὐδ' ἀδώρητος φίλων
ἔσται πρὸς ἀνδρῶν·

In the description and commentary of this event Hecuba paraphrases Polydorus' words almost verbatim (vv. 92-95), adding her own prophetic dream. The third and most extensive description of Achilles' epiphany is given by the chorus (vv. 109-115) after they had announced to Hecuba, that the Greeks had taken already the decision to sacrifice her daughter. In these verses the captive Trojan women relate that Achilles had appeared in his golden arm over his tomb and made the sailing Greek ships stop, screaming (θωῦσων) terrifying to them not to leave his tomb without a gift of honor (ἀγέραστον):

ποῖ δὴ, Δαναοί, τὸν ἐμὸν τύμβον
στέλλεσθ' ἀγέραστον ἀφέντες; 115

The appearance of Polydorus' ghost deliberately shifts the tragic pathos from Achilles and the ritually belonging to him, traditional space in Troas (eventually by Sigeion, where the ancient authors localize his *Achilleion* with the tomb of the hero) – to Thrace, i.e. on the Thracian Chersonese. By situating the tragic events in the ritual space there Euripides sets up a new model of drama space, with new functionality, through the metaphoric image of Ancient Thrace – as identification of the specific liminal space and the liminal situation of

the tragic crisis (Lozanova 2013; cf. Lozanova 2002, 523-532; Lozanova 2004, 9-22). One could imagine that the poet had offered such a different approach in the artistic interpretation of the mythological narrative not as a reaction to his dramaturgical prototypes, whatever they might be, but following the logic of the Thracian localization of the events. The post-Euripidean tradition about Polydorus provides additional arguments in support of such assumptions.

2

After Euripides' tragedy *Hecuba* had been put on stage in the last quarter of the 5th century BC, the mythological and literary image of Polydorus „resurrected” barely in the 2nd century BC, thanks to its imitations by the Latin playwrights, beginning with Ennius (*Hecuba*: Ribbeck 1875, 142-146), Pacuvius (*Iliona*: Ribbeck 1875, 232-239) and Accius (*Hecuba*), for which O. Ribbeck (Ribbeck 1875, p. 419) speculates that it is a re-write of Ennius' tragedy. Servius in his commentary on Vergil's *Aeneid* (Serv. ad *Verg. Aen.*, 7, 320) explicitly indicates that Ennius and Pacuvius had followed Euripides so closely as to calling Hecuba's father Kisseus. Evidently, not only in this part (Jocelyn 1967, p. 221 n. 2)! Out of these three Latin tragedians, Ennius was the one who had kept closest to Euripides' prototype, to which testify the few surviving fragments of his tragedy of the same name. Among them, most remarkable is the monologue of Polydorus' ghost, who appears from the sombre depths of Acheron, describing his death and epiphany in a more extended and grandiose form. Cicero in his *Tusculan Disputations* (I, 16, 36) has called the monologue *Grande Carmen*, where are detailed the characteristics of the underworld and the road to it, descending into deep abysses, through caves and under overhanging sharp rocks:

Adsum atque advenio Acherunte vix via alta atque ardua
Per speluncas saxis structas asperis pendentibus
Maxumis, ubi rigida constat crassa caligo inferum,
unde animae excitantur obscura umbra opertae, imagines
mortuorum, alto ostio Acheruntis, salso sanguine.
(Pohlenz 1918, I. 37; cf. Dunlop 1872, 71-72).

According to Cicero, these great verses every time moved deeply the spectators in the overcrowded theater... The classic version of the myth of Polydorus is repeated with different diversions in the details by such Roman authors as Catullus и Propertius, Seneca (*The Trojan Women*), Ovid (*Metam.*, 13, 430ff.; 527ff.), Vergil (Vergil, *Aeneid.*, 3, 13-70), Servius' commentaries to Vergil's *Aeneid* (Serv. ad *Verg. Aen.*, 3, 15, 49), etc. In Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* (§24 *Polydorus & Rustius*), as well as in Hyginus' *Fabulae* (Hygin., *Fab.*, 109: *Iliona*; cf. 240, 254), one could seize the process of integration of different myths and literary traditions, abandoning here and there the Euripidean original: Polydorus, born at the time of the Trojan War, had been immediately sent to Iliona, Priam and Hecuba's eldest daughter, married to the Thracian king Polymestor. The same line of events had been followed in the lost play of the Latin poet Pacuvius *Iliona* (Horat., *Sat.*, 2, 3, 61 and Scholia on these verses, as well as some rare quotations in Cic., *Tusc.*, 1, 44. 106; *Acad.*, 2, 27; Serv. ad *Verg.*, 1, 653), who in his poetical works had treated mainly the Trojan War. For security reasons Iliona replace him with her own son Deipylus (Deiphilus), who, in his turn, was presented as her brother. After the fall of Troy, the Achaeans had offered Agamemnon's daughter Elektra, to Polymestor for wife if he would kill Polydorus. He agreed, and because of the deception, killed his own son, Deipylus. When this happened, Polydorus went to Apollo's Oracle at Delphi, in order to learn the truth about his parents. There, to his surprise he heard that his

native home is destroyed, his father killed and his mother a captive. After returning home, still thinking of Iliona and Polymestor as his parents, he had asked Iliona why the oracle's prophecy had been so mistaken. She had told him then the truth about his birth and on her advice Polydorus had blinded and then killed Polymestor.

Another, slightly different chronology of the Trojan War, dated to the 4th century AD, has survived to our days under the fictitious name of Dictys Cretenses (Dictys Creten., 2, 18-27; compare to Cedrenos 1, 222ff.). According to this version Priam in deepest secret sent his youngest son to the bound by oath of hospitality Thracian ruler (= Eurip., *Hec.*, 6). During the years-long siege the cities and the lands around Troas had suffered devastation at the hands of the Achaeans. When Ajax, the son of Telamon, invaded the Thracian Chersonese, Polymestor, afraid that his lands would be laid waste, offered to deliver him Polydorus, together with much gold and other gifts and the promise to provide the Achaean army with wheat for a year. The Achaeans had sent Odysseus and Diomedes to negotiate with Priam the exchange of Polydorus with Helen, but Paris did not want to part with his love and did so that the Trojans gave up on the barter; in revenge and in order to teach them a lesson, the Achaeans stoned the little boy under the walls of Troy. Apparently, here we are facing a further development and re-interpretation of the Euripidean tradition combining elements from Homer with other unknown sources.

3

To the enigma in Euripides' tragedy *Hecuba*, Vergil adds in Book III of *Aeneid* (Vergil, *Aeneid.*, 3, 13-70; Lloyd 1957, 382-400) some significant details to the character of Polydorus, which eventually may suggest some Thracian cult reminiscences. He makes a fragmentary exposé of one notorious mythological narrative, by probably following some local legend and cult practice in Thrace which may also gravitate to the Euripidean tragedian conception. In this version Polydorus' ghost does not behave strictly within the frames of the traditional Hellenic heroic cult (the cult to the *heros-oikistes*) – he is endowed with specific, prophetic functions, making his prophecies from underground in Euripides' fashion. According to Vergil, Aeneas in his flight from Troy had first reached „a land of vast plains where Mars is worshipped (worked by the Thracians) once ruled by fierce Lycurgus, a friend of Troy in the past” (Vergil, *Aeneid.*, 3, 13-16):

Terra procul uastis colitur Mauortia campis
(Thraces arant) acri quondam regnata Lycurgo,
hospitium antiquum Troiae sociique penates
dum fortuna fuit.

The place where Aeneas landed is not named and specified. Vergil only says that it happened in a gulf, near the beach, where Aeneas intended to found a new city in his name. As part of the rituals accompanying this, he made a sacrifice to his mother (Aphrodite) and to the gods who patronized him. In order to cover the altar with branches of myrrh, he tried to pull out some from a mound close by when a miracle happened: drops of black blood ran down from the branches and sprinkled ground; from the mound he heard moans and lamentations and thus he learned the horrible story of Polydorus, the youngest son of Priam and Hecuba. In this point Vergil follows the Euripidean version: entrusted by his father in the care of the king of the Thracians (anonymous here) with many treasures, once Troy fell he had been killed by Polymestor who seized for himself all the gold sent with the boy. The appearance of Polydorus' ghost-oracle is the first of prophecies the gods used to direct Aeneas to Alba Longa (vv. 44-45: Ah! flee the cruel land, flee the greedy shore; vv. 60-61:

All are of one mind, to quit the guilty land, to leave a place where hospitality is profaned, and to give our fleet the winds). Before sailing off, Aeneas and his fellows performed the funerary rituals over Polydorus' body, piling up the mound with earth and making *libatio* over the grave „to bound the spirit to its tomb”. The scene with the lively bushes, from the torn branches of which dropped „black blood” is magnificently re-interpreted in Dante's *Divine Comedy* (*Inferno*, Seventh Circle, Canto 13), though in a different context.



Fig. 5. Map of Aeneas' journey from Troy to Lacinium:
The first stop is on the Thracian coast

Thus the myth of Polydorus is integrated in the mythological prehistory of the foundation of Aeneas' city in Thrace – Aineia (Αἰνεῖα; Aene(i)a; Aineia, alternately – Aineiadai, for its inhabitants; Hirschfeld 1894, 1009-1010; Malten 1931, 33-59). Aineia was a city in Thrace, on the Thermaic Gulf, called after Aeneas, considered as its *oikistes*. Stephen of Byzantium (St. Byz. s. v. Αἰνεῖα) sums up this tradition, by adducing a fragment of Theon's commentary (Fr. 10 Guhl) on Lycophron (v. 1261), according to which, after leaving Illion, Aeneas sailed to Thrace, where he founded the city of Aineiadai (thus were called Aeneas' heirs) and where he buried Anchises, his father:

132 Αἰνεῖα· τόπος Θρακῆς ... ἀπὸ Αἰνείου. Θέων (fr. 10 Guhl) δ' Αἰνειάδας ταύτην καλεῖ, ὑπομνηματίζων τὸν Λυκόφρονα (v. 1261) „Αἰνεῖας δὲ μετὰ τὴν Ἰλίου πόρθησιν εἰς Θρακὴν παρεγένετο καὶ ἔκτισε πόλιν Αἰνειάδας, ὅπου τὸν πατέρα ἔταψε”.

For some researchers the form Aineiadai goes back to the name of the city's inhabitants. Livy (Tit. Liv., 4, 10, 7) knows of a city of the same name lying 15 Roman miles away from Thessalonica, facing Pidna – a city in the fertile lands of the Thermaic Gulf (Hammond, 186ff.), on Chalcidice (Dion. Hal., 1, 49; Skymn., 627; Skyl., 66), on the top of the protruding in the Thermaic Gulf northwestern cape (Cape Aineia or ἄκρα Αἰνεῖα: Skymn., 627; on the today promontory of Megalon Emvolon or Karaburnu, at Nea Mihaniona and Angelohóri). Herodotus (Hdt., 7, 123, 2) mentions it last of the eight „cities next to Pallene bordering the Thermaic Gulf”, in the lands known still in his time as Crossaea (χώρη

Κροσσαίη). „From Aenea, the last-named in my list of the towns, the course of the fleet (of Xerxes – V.L.-S.) lays from the Thermaic Gulf itself and the Mygdonian territory (γῆ Μυγδονίη).”



Fig. 6. Map of Cap Aineia, on the today promontory of Megalon Emvolon or Karaburnu

The city had minted coins featuring the myth of its foundation, amongst which the earliest sample representing the Trojan legend of Aeneas is sought – a tetrobol, dated to ca. 525 BC with the image of Aeneas carrying on his back his father and beside him – a woman, carrying a child in the same way (Baumeister 1887, 937, Fig. 1015). Other coins from the same city, from the 5th century BC represent Aeneas as *oikistes* (Head, Poole 1879, 41 f.; Head 1911², p. 214; Sallet 1889, p. 33, Taf. III, 21).



Fig. 7a: Aeneia, tetrobol; before 480 BC, SNG ANS 71, SNG Copenhagen 33 (Moushmov 6246): Head of Aeneas as *oikistes*

The earliest variants of the tradition on Aineia's foundation in the context of the myth of Aeneas' flight from Troy after it fell to the Achaeans, are partially preserved in Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *Roman Antiquities* (Dion. Hal., 1, 46-49; Lloyd 1957, 382-400; Egan 1974, 37-47). In the first place he quotes an extensive fragment from Hellanicus' *Troica* (Dion. Hal., 1, 46-48 = FGrH, I, fr. 127), which could hardly be separated from his own narrative: „As for Aeneas after his fleet was ready, he embarked with the rest of his sons, and his father, taking with him the images of his gods; and crossing the Hellespont, sailed to the next peninsula, which lies before Europe, and is called Pallene. This country was inhabited by a Thracian people, named Crusaei, who were in alliance with the Trojans, and had assisted them, during the war with greater alacrity than any of their confederates”. The expression is pretty strange, for logically the first of the headlands Aeneas should have reached would be the Thracian Chersonese, and not Chalcidice, and even less – Pallene!



Fig. 7b: Aeneia, diabol, ca 490-480. Rosen Coll. 93: Head of Aeneas as *oikist*

For Dionysius of Halicarnassus this version about the flight of Aeneas is the most truthful: he quotes Cephalon of Gergis (a fictitious author; there is a speculation that under this alias Hegesippos of Alexandria had published some of his works and in particular his *Troica*: Athenaeus 9, 393d; FGrH, 45, fr 7) and Hegesippos (of Mekyberna on Chalcidice, who had lived in the 4th or the 3rd century BC). These both authors had written on Pallene, where the Latin tradition localized the city of Aineia. According to these local writers, once arrived in Thrace, Aeneas died there! The author of *Roman Antiquities* himself alleges that on leaving Troas, Aeneas and his fellows first reached Thrace, where they stopped at the headland of Pallene, inhabited by barbarians called *Crousaioi* (Κρουσαῖοι) who had offered him hospitality. There they had spent the winter, built a temple of Aphrodite on one of the capes and founded a city, named *Aineia* (Aeneia), where they left all those, who, exhausted, could not continue the journey and those who had wished to stay. Dionysius of Halicarnassus elaborates that this city had continued to live up to the times of Alexander the Great and his Successors, when it was destroyed under the rule of Cassander and Thessalonici had been founded. The inhabitants of Aineia together with many others had been relocated in the newly built city, although the old one had continued to exist, keeping to the old traditions at the time of Titus Livius (Tit. Liv., 40, 4; 44, 10, 7; 45, 30). He testifies about an annual festival in honor of Aeneas as a founder (*heros-oikistes*) marked in great pomp (Tit. Liv., 40, 4, 9). Lycophron at the beginning of the 3rd century BC also knew of this tradition (Schol. *Hom., Il.*, 13, 459; Schol. and Tzetz. on *Lyc.*, 1236). The efforts to localize the ancient Thracian city of Aineia near to Polydorus' tomb completely miss out the uniqueness of Polydorus' prophecy: it explicitly indicates that a city is not to be built close by his underground mysterial sanctuary and oracle site, which could have been under the embankment of a tumulus (Fol 2004, p. 73). His orders are to leave that „greedy shore”, „to quit the guilty land, to leave a place where hospitality is profaned...”! This local tradition clearly separates the cult to the dead *heros-oikistes* (Aeneas' father, Anchises, or Aeneas himself) from the manifestations of the (anthropodaemonized) prophet (Rabajiev 2007, 509-

513; Theodosiev 1995, 371-384; Theodosiev 2000, 435-447), identified as the ghost of Polydorus, following the pattern of the „doctrinal personifications of the Orpheus – Zalmoxis – Rhesos type” (Fol 2002, 19, 39-40, 50, 52, 178, 183; Fol 2004, 41, 73, 160). This could probably explain the discrepancy in the location of the Polydorus’ tomb, which should not be sought by the „city of Aeneas”. In a later contamination, both *topoi* had probably become one, which may be at the base of the misunderstanding. The events surrounding the foundation of Amphipolis, by the sacred site of *Ennea Hodoi* (Ἐννέα ὁδοί) or „Nine roads” on the Strymon River suggest a similar situation. The „united forces of the Thracians”, led by the Edones, had put for decades a fierce opposition, arms in hand to any trial to settle the region, „neither break up nor sow (the land – V. L.-S.), but they hold it in great reverence to this day” (Herod., 7, 115; cf. Thucyd., 4, 102, 2-3).

Great number of Latin authors alternately localize Polydorus’ tomb on the estuary of the river Hebros by Aenos (Plin., NH, 4, 11, 18; Pomp. Mela, 2, 28; Amm. Marc., 27, 4, 13; Serv. *ad Vergil. Aeneid.*, 3,16), considered by them as Aeneas’ city. The anonymous compiler of *Origo Gentis Romanae* 9, 4-5 (ca. 4 or 5 century AD) does the same, without omitting to repeat the story of Polydorus and Polymestor: according to him, Aeneas first arrived in Thrace, where he founded Aenos and named it after himself. The treachery of Polymestor had become known through the murder of Polydorus...:

9. 4: ... Itaque eum magnis cum opibus pluribusque sociis utriusque sexus a Troia digressum longo mari emenso per diversas terrarum oras in Italiam devenisse ac primum Thraciam appulsum Aenum ex suo nomine condidisse.

5. Dein cognita Polymestoris perfidia ex Polydori nece inde digressum pervectumque ad insulam Delum... (Sehlmeyer 2004, p. 9)

This identification is probably made because of the similarity (if not the identity!) of the specific cult elements in the legend about the foundation of the city and the murder of Polydorus by the Thracian king Polymestor, which could eventually explain the appearance of an underground mysterical sanctuary (a tumulus or a cave) with an (anthropodaemonized) oracle, a „Bacchus’ prophet” giving his prophecies from there (Gruppe, p. 209, Anm. 5). Pliny (Plin., NH, 4, 18) also put without hesitation Polydorus’ tomb near Aenos, in the estuary of Hebros, in lands previously belonging to the Cicones (*os Hebri, portus Stentoris, oppidum Aenos liberum cum Polydori tumulo, Ciconum quondam regio*). The city is mentioned in Homer (Hom., *Il.*, 4, 520) as already existing at the times of the Trojan War, which suggests reminiscences of eventual Mycenaean political and cult relicts. Referring Cicones in connection with Aenos hints at some archaic sources of Latin authors, or deliberately seeking archaization. The association of the cult situation around the underground mysterical sanctuary with the foundation of the city in Thrace by Aeneas is probably primary to its implementation as literary pattern.

Pomponius Mela (ca. 43 AD) reunites both traditions in one concise information: Aeneas had founded Aenos on Hebros, in the lands of the Cicones (2, 28: *eximia est/Aenos ab Aenea profugo condita. Circa Hebrum/Cicones...*), which coincides with the localization of Polydorus’ myth in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (v. 530: *has datus Ismario regi Polydorus in oras*): there the murderer of Hecuba’s „youngest of the sons” is identified as „the king of Ismaros”. Tzetzes in his commentary on the poem *Alexandra* by Lycophron (Schol. Lycophr. 1236) elaborates that Rhaecelus, a city in Macedonia, had been named Aenos, for Aeneas had visited it, which could be interpreted as an effort to overcome the contradictions in the legend about the foundation of Aeneas’ city on Chalcidice and its identification with the one in the estuary of Hebros. An common point in most versions is the cult situation around the

underground mysterial sanctuary (under a tumulus or in a cave), a site of an (anthropodaemonized) „Bacchus’ prophet” identifies with Homer’s figure of Polydorus.

Conon in his narrative on Aeneas (Conon, *Diégēsis*, 46; Egan 1974: 37-47) makes of two versions one, introducing additional, unknown details: when Ilion fell, Aeneas, the son of Anchises and Aphrodite fled from the Achaeans and first settled down on Mount Ida... Later he took with him his father and as many of his fellow followers as he could and went west, guided by Aphrodite’s advice. He crossed the Hellespont and reached the Thermaic Gulf, where he buried the dead Anchises. Aeneas, however, did not accept the proposal of the locals to become their king. In Conon’s, as well as in Vergil’s narrative, Aeneas did not found his city on the first site he landed on after fleeing Troy – apparently he was led by prophecies! Then he continued to the *Brouisian* land (i.e. *Crousian* land, where the antique authors usually would localize the city of Aineia?). There he accepted the offer of the indigenous people to rule over the land, made a sacrifice of the cow which was accompanying him all the way from Mount Ida (on Aphrodite’s orders) and founded a city called ever since Aineia. Later on the name changed to Aenos (unclear whether this information comes from Conon himself or it is an interpolation made by Photius, author of the *epitome* of Conon’s works, in order to unite two traditions in one single narrative). In the whole antique tradition there is no city by the name of Aenos, except the one in the Hebros estuary! This, Conon concludes, is one of many other informations transmitted by the Greeks, while others put Aeneas at the origin of the Roman people and make of him the founder of Alba Longa. Of course, the Latin authors have concentrated their efforts on developing the latter conception, and reorganizing their mythological sources so as to reduce the earlier, mythographic details, on Aeneas’ sojourn in Thrace (Egan 1974, 37-47).

Although Conon lived in the end of the 1st century BC / the beginning of the 1st century AD, there are reasons enough to speculate that his narrative is based on much earlier Hellenic mythographical sources. Photius also mentions some „very ancient sources” of his. Some expressions and situations in this narrative diverge even from the idea that Aeneas had left Troy and traveled by ship. This early variant of the myth gravitating towards the foundation of a city named after him, implicitly imposes the suggestion that Aeneas did so on by land. This impression is reinforced by the image of the mythological cow accompanying him, an image traditional for the city foundation – a cow leads Ilios to the site of the future city of Ilion (Apollod., 3, 12, 3); a cow guides Cadmus to the site of the future city of Thebes (Pausan., 9, 12, 1 ff., etc.); the animal is to be sacrificed on the spot chosen for the future city of Aineia by Aphrodite, a Great Goddess-mother and Tyche of the city. Here we face fragments of a steady mythological core and ritual complex that go with the foundation of a new city in Thrace registered in the earliest literary variants of the myth of Aeneas and accompanied by the necessary prophecies (but coming not from Delphi!), a tomb-*heroon* of a *heros*, to which ritual reburial (*animamque sepulchro condimus*, as Vergil, *Aeneid.*, 3. 66-67 said) they were bound. Similar is the situation surrounding the foundation of Amphipolis and the reburial of Rhesus, presented by Hipponax (fr. 41, p. 598 Brg; Tzetz. *ad Posthom.* P. 65 Schirach) as king of Aineia:

ἐπ’ ἀρμάτων τε καὶ Θρηϊκίων πώλων
λευκῶν ἰὼν κατ’ ἐγγὺς Ἰλίου πύργων
ἀπηναρίσθη Ῥήσος Αἰνίων (MS. Αἰνειῶν, corr. Brink.) πάλμυς.

Tzetzes’ comments on the verses he quotes also says that Rhesus had been king of Aineia: Ὁ δὲ Ῥήσος Αἰνειῶν Θράκης ἦν βασιλεύς, υἱὸς Στρώμονος ἢ Ἡιονέος καὶ Τερψιχόρης ... The form of the city’s name – Aineion (Αἰνειῶν) – even suggests

later on by W. Leaf and A. Nock (Nock 1926: 164-186; compare to Leaf 1916: 1-11; Porter 1916: Introduction). In one group of sources Orpheus also manifests himself as an under-tumular prophet who, after his violent death of a martyr demands to be buried with dignity, according to the prophecy, and after this happened, began himself to prophesy from his *heroon* (Conon, *Fab.* 45; Phanocles *ap. Stob. Tit.* 62, p. 399 = Kern, *Test.* 77; Antigon. *Caryst.* = Kern., *Test.* 130; Ovid., *Metam.*, 11, 50-60; Lucian., *Adv. Indoc.* 109 ff. = Kern, *Test.*, 118; Philostr., *Her.*, 5, 3; compare to Philostr. *Vit. Apoll. Tyan.*, 4,14 = Kern., *Test.*, 134; Guthrie 1935: 35ff.). In one of his speeches Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 1, 57) puts Orpheus among the first to whom homage was paid for its mantic abilities (Ziegler 1939: 1200-1316). A number of art works, and especially vase paintings, antique gems and mirrors illustrate this steady cult situation. The mythological figure of Orpheus concentrates around him the most abundant antique information depicting a remarkable cult situation of *hērôa* with oracle.

3). as **Rhesos**: P. Perdrizet (Perdrizet 1910: 13-28) criticizes E. Maass' arguments, with the conviction that „the prophet” was Rhesos himself, which is admissible in case the amendment ὥστε as ὅς τε is right. Anyway, as suggested by Prof. Al. Fol (Fol 1991: 84) the characteristic remains unchanged. Since W. Leaf and W. Porter (Leaf 1916: 1-11; Porter 1916: XXV-XXVI; cf. lately Blomart 2004: 89, n. 15) number of researchers see in Rhesus a literary accumulated character who could eventually have had his prototypes in the earlier Thracian mythological figures as Orpheus and Protesilaus (compare to Borgeand 1991: 51-59), but did not have ties with Thrace and a cult there. But this may be the subject of another study...

4). **Dionysos** as „Bacchus' reincarnation”: W. Ridgeway (Ridgeway 1926: p. 17) assumed in one study – where he tried to prove his hypothesis that Euripides wrote the tragedy *Rhesos* (as well as *Bacchae*) on his sojourn at the Macedonian court – that „Bacchus' prophet” was Dionysos himself. A. Nock (Nock 1926: 164-186) refuted all preceding hypotheses in order to make a no less extravagant speculation, namely that the prototype of „Bacchus' prophet” must have been ... Zalmoxis! This needs no comment.

If Rhesos from Euripides' tragedy was generated as a literary character, that still does not mean that the poet did not follow a steady cult model of the Thracian „Bacchus' prophet” as an under-tumular oracle endowed with anthropodaemonic status and specific prophetic functions as a result of a martyr's violent death. Perhaps this was also Euripides' approach in creating the character of Polydorus. It seems to me that in the tragedy *Hecuba* one could detect more suggestions in corroboration of such a hypothesis.

4

The tragic events in Euripides' *Hecuba* are framed by and intentionally integrated in two prophecies, respectively in the prologue and in the epilogue. Polydorus' prophecies in the prologue are symmetrical to these of the Thracian king Polymestor (v. 1267), who received the prophetic gift suddenly, after he was blinded: he foretold the fates of Hecuba, her daughter Cassandra and of Agamemnon: Agamemnon (vv. 1279-1281) and Cassandra (v. 1275) would die at the hand of Clytemnestra (v. 1277); Hecuba, losing her mind with grief, would turn into a fire-eyed bitch (verse 1265: κύων γενήσῃ πύρσ' ἔχουσα δέργματα) and would find her demise in the sea waves, jumping from a ship's mast (vv. 1259-1263); her name would be perpetuated through her grave (σῆμα) on Cap Cynossema, „the Dog's Tomb” (Κυνὸς σῆμα) on the Thracian Chersonese (facing the Achilleion on the Asia Minor

shores), and which would serve as a landmark for the sailors at sea (vv. 1271, 1273): τύμβω δ' ὄνομα σῶ κεκλήσεται κυνὸς ταλαίνης σῆμα, ναυτίλοις τέκμαρ. It is noteworthy that for the first time in this of Euripides' tragedies appears the toponyme Cynossema and the etiologic legend associated with it. The blinded king admits that he only transmits the prophecies of the „Thracian Dionysos” (ὁ Θρηξὶ μάντις εἶπε Διόνυσος τάδε), which seem to me to have specific functions, defining the structure of the tragic plot and fashion the contextual mytho-ritual space already suggested in the prologue (Lozanova 2013).

Euripides creates probably his *Hecuba* from the perspective of the motivating the metamorphosis traditional myth and cult prototype rather than from the viewpoint of the immanent function of the atrocity as engine of the tragic developments. In this respect it is very similar to Euripides' *Bacchae*. In this precise context the scholion to v. 1267 brings up associations with the famous sanctuary-with-oracle of Dionysos in Thrace (ἢ ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ Διόνυσος μαντεῖον), where the tablettes, written by Orpheus were kept. The Scholiast implicitly suggests that the oracle sites in Thrace were probably numerous, and all of them connected to Dionysos. To this corresponds Herodotus' famous description of Dionysos sanctuary-with-oracle in the lands of the Satrae (7. 111), which, according to E. Maass (Maass 1895, p. 69, Anm. 87; compare to Nock 1926, 164-186) is identical to the one in Cassius Dio (51, 25). The verses in Euripides' *Bacchae* (297-300), mentioned above in the quoted scholia to *Hecuba* harmonize with these ideas:

μάντις δ' ὁ δαίμων ὅδε· τὸ γὰρ βακχεύσιμον
καὶ τὸ μανιῶδες μαντικὴν πολλὴν ἔχει·
ὅταν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἐς τὸ σῶμ' ἔλθῃ πολὺς,
λέγειν τὸ μέλλον τοὺς μεμνηότας ποιεῖ.

The outlines of the Dionysian ritual space in which the tragedy *Hecuba* is interpolated are dramaturgically saturated by some additional artistic features which intentionally entrust the Trojan women with Dionysian characteristics. In v. 1076 the Thracian king brands the women who have blinded him as „Hades' Bacchantes” (Βάκχαι Ἅιδου). This expression assigns to the Trojan women the characteristics of priestesses of the chthonic Dionysos, whose relation to Hades is suggested already by Heraclites (Fr. 15 Diels: ὡὐτὸς δὲ Ἄιδης καὶ Διόνυσος; cf. Macrob., *Saturnal.*, 1, 18., 17 = Kern 1972, p. 251, No 239). Under just this aspect, through ecstatic visions, manifests himself the divinity from his underground mysterial sanctuary (Farnel 1909, 100, 132, 281).

When the chorus accuses Agamemnon of his partiality in the debate whether Polyxene is to be sacrificed on Achilles' tomb, a similar characteristic is given to the prophetess Cassandra (v. 121) – in the chorus chant she is called τῆς μαντιπόλου Βάκχης in total disregard of the fact, that throughout the mytho-poetic tradition she is known as Apollo's prophetess. This association is born out of the entire ritual context of the tragedy as well as from the logic of the cult situation around the mysterial oracle site, explicitly introduced in the commentary of the Scholiast to v. 1267: „for the Bacchic frenzy and folly have great prophetic powers”. To this correspond the obscure at first sight suggestions in Fr. 86 (Mette 1959) of Aeschylus' tragedy *The Bassarai*, of the tetralogy *Lycourgia*, where Apollo („wreathed with ivy Apollo, the Bacchic prophet”) gets the Dionysian characteristics:

... ὁ κισσεὺς Ἀπόλλων, ὁ βακχεύσιμον μάντις ...

In a similar fashion *Hecuba* again describes Cassandra in v. 676:

οἷ' γὰρ τάλαινα: μῶν τὸ βακχεῖον κάρα
τῆς θεσπιωδοῦ δεῦρο Κασάνδρας φέρεις;

In the difficult to translate verses in which Hecuba cries out her grief over the just found dead body of Polydorus are introduced again Bacchic associations:

685 αἰαῖ, κἀτάρχομαι γόων.
βακχεῖον ἐξ ἀλάστορος
ἀρτιμαθῆ νόμον ...

By underestimating the ritual functionality of these characteristics in the dramatic act and their contextual relativity with the prophecies of the „Thracian Dionysos” most of the scholars prefer to interpret βακχεῖον simply as „wild, frenzied”, i.e. as desacralized and formalized artistic expression (Nussbaum 1986, p. 409; Mossman 1995, 166-168 with lit.; see in particular p. 168, n.1). But considered within the context of the Dionysian ritual space and the cult associations in which the tragic act is incorporated, the adduced verses would throw additional light on the wholesome understanding of the enigmatic Euripidean work.

All this leads to the suggestion that we may be facing an artistic, respectively dramaturgical reinterpretation of the cult situation around an underground mysterial sanctuary (with a tumulus or a cave) with a prophesying from there (anthropodaemonized) „Bacchus’ prophet”, identified in this case with (Pseudo-) Homeric Polydorus. The identification is not hazardous! The prophetic function of the Euripidean Polydorus corresponds to the markedly Dionysian character of the mythological figure from the Theban cycle of the same name – the son of Cadmus and Harmonia, brother of Semele, Ino, Agave and Autonoe, heir to the crown of the city of Thebes after Pentheus, father of Labdacus, grandfather of Laius and great-grandfather of Oedipus (Hesiod., *Theogon.*, 975-978; Hdt., 5, 59; Euripid., *Phoenissae* 1, 5; Diod., 4, 2, 1ff.; Hygin., *Fab.*, 179, cpv. 76). The Dionysian character of the Theban Polydorus is emphasized in Apollodorus’ narrative (Apollod., 3, 5, 5; cf. 3, 4, 2; 3, 12), which includes in the context of his genealogy the story about the love of Zeus to Semele and the birth of Dionysus, as well as the stories of Lycourgus and Pentheus. Pausanias (Pausan., 9.12.4) apparently follows the same tradition by connecting the mystical story about a cult figure of Dionysus with Polydorus.

It seems very probable that Euripides had amalgamated the associated with Dionysos figure of the epic hero Polydorus, with the one of the local Thracian anthropodaemon-prophet and his sanctuary of Dionysian type with oracle, putting a beginning to a new literary tradition. The pattern of myth creation would be identical with that of the tragedy *Rhesos* ascribed to Euripides. Reconstructible seems also the steady mythological core and a Thracian ritual complex around the foundation of a new city, along with the inevitable underground mystery sanctuary (tumulus or a cave) and a prophesying from there (anthropodaemonized) oracle („Bacchus’ prophet”), as alternative to the Delphic oracle.

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THE LATE FIRST IRON AGE FERIGILE CULTURAL GROUP – AN ORIGINAL NORTH-THRACIAN SYNTHESIS AT THE INTERFERENCE OF THE SURROUNDING CULTURAL SPACES

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Keywords: Ferigile group, late horizon of the First Iron Age, North-Balkans, weaponry, adornments, ceramic, cultural interferences.

Abstract. The paper aims to highlight the peculiarities of the Ferigile group seen as a mixture and as an original synthesis of multiple cultural influences that interfered in the North-Balkan area at the end of the Early Iron Age. It will be pursued what is original in Ferigile group was taken over the Basarabi cultural background, as well as what might be the result of cultural influences acquisition of other spaces and cultures. Based on the direct study of the finds in eponymous cemetery and in others representative cemeteries such as the ones situated on the valley of Topolog River (Cepari, Tigveni, Rudeni), discovered several decades ago by Alexandru Vulpe and Eugenia Popescu, the elements of the funeral rite and ritual, but especially the mobile inventory's features will be discussed. Regarding the grave goods must be said that an amalgam of influences from the Scythian space (arms and harness), the Illyrian space (adornments, and also weapons) or the South-Thracian (pottery and some types of weapons) was noticed. All these heterogeneous components, whose origin and function are synthesized in an original manner in the Carpathian foothills of Wallachia and Oltenia, represent defining features of the Ferigile group.

Any kind of attempt on a topic regarding the crossroads of Iron Age civilizations in the north-Balkans Thracian territory should not avoid bringing into discussion the realities yielded by the Sub-Carpathian area. Ferigile archaeological group, representative for the end of the First Iron Age in the southern part of nowadays Romania, in the area situated in the southern part of the Carpathians, between the mountains and the Danube plain have an uninterrupted evolution during almost two hundred years, from the mid 7th century BC until the dawn of the Second Iron Age, around the mid 5th century BC.

Looking at the distribution map of the finds belonging to the middle period of the First Iron Age north of the Lower Danube, a stage that corresponds to the Basarabi culture evolution, can be clearly seen that the Sub-Carpathian area is a large blank spot (fig. 1a). The high-density of discoveries marked by the Basarabi specific pottery focuses on the Danube valley and also on the lower courses of its main tributaries.

Then, during the late stage of the first Iron Age, starting from the mid-7th century major changes occur in the indwelling in this area. It seems that the Danube Plain suddenly depopulates, while the discoveries concentrate on the high hills area at the foot of the Carpathians, within the former blank spot (fig. 1b).

Some scholars have explained this shift of the habitation's poles during the 7th century BC through the withdrawal of the lowland population exposed to more and more frequent raids of Eastern horsemen (namely Scythians) in sheltered territory from the north, in a higher and hard to reach area. A safe living in the Danube Plain has become increasingly difficult as the Scythians riders were more & more present in the area (Vulpe 1970, 176-178; Sîrbu 1987, 427-428). Some opinions expressed in recent times urge us not to see this alleged invasions the one and only reason for which the Danube Plain became uninhabited, but other factors such as the modification of the climate that led to the environment's changes and the search for other new areas rich in food resources (Vulpe 2003, 124-126; Vulpe 2012, 46-54).

Taking into account this archaeological vacuum in the Romanian Plain (the 7th-6th centuries), we consider that what Herodotus claimed (V, 9-10) about complete dominion of bees in the northern bank of the Danube is not an exaggeration.

Until the beginning of the second half of the past century, the concept of a late stage of the first Iron Age in the north of the Danube and in the south of the Carpathians was very difficult if not impossible to define, and could not rely on a coherent set of archaeological data. When Alexandru Vulpe accidentally discovered the necropolis of Ferigile after which systematic archaeological excavations of the 150 barrows containing about 200 incineration graves were performed between 1956 & 1962 a drastic turn occurred. The swift release of the cemetery's monograph in 1967 (Vulpe 1967), consecrated the takeover the name of locality where the cemetery was found for the late period of the first Iron Age in the south of Carpathians.

As a result of the increasing of the archaeological discoveries and chance finds, today we are able to draw the map showing the spread of Ferigile group: about 40 cemeteries or small groups of graves, all of cremation, which does not deviate significantly from the pattern of small barrows with mantle in boulders.

The group's evolving structure is based on the chronological outline highlighted following the research of the eponymous cemetery: three chronological stages (Ferigile South, Ferigile North and Ferigile III) approximately two hundred years, between mid-7th century and mid 5th century BC (Vulpe 1977).

Almost all of the information we have about Ferigile group comes from funerary feature discoveries - cemeteries and groups of graves archaeologically excavated and chance finds (here we include the isolated single pieces). The absence of the settlements of this group's monuments ensemble could be solely the result of the research stage. The Settlements of this group, hard to be spotted in the ground, have not caught the attention of archaeologists yet. Although rare, some evidence slightly began to appear (Palincaş 2003-2005, 291-301). A settlement area spotted only by field walking at Tigveni-"Momaia", located one kilometer and a half away from the group of Ferigile barrows at Tigveni-"Babe", shows us the basic features of such kind of habitat¹: a not very large area, apparently without a fortification system, located on a small promontory bordered by two natural ravines in a former wooded area, near a stream abundantly fed by torrents flowing down on the slopes (fig. 2)

Going back now to the phenomenon of sudden occurrence of this cultural group in the areas of high hills from the southern side of the Carpathians due to the advancement of the population from the Danube Plain to the north in search for safe shelters, it would seem that we are dealing with an isolated group that was looking for survival hiding away from a real danger which threatened their old dwellings. For them, the Danube Valley then was no longer the path of communication and intercultural contact, but the corridor that brought great dangers and threats.

With all these assumptions, justified however only in theory, a number of features of Ferigile group demonstrated the opposite, namely sensitivity, receptivity and openness of these people to the stream of all cultural trends of the time, fashionable in a certain period. Some peculiarities of weaponry, adornments and even pottery of Ferigile group bear hints of that great openness and availability to dialogue and a quick receiving of the new.

About a quarter of investigated graves in Ferigile cemetery contains weapons as grave goods, and, based on bridle bits and harness parts deposited also as grave goods, one third of them belonged to riders (Vulpe 2013, 14). So, the weaponry component in overall funerary grave goods of the tombs belonging to Ferigile group is not at all insignificant.

The panoply of the Ferigile warriors comprised a well established and defined range of quality weapons. Although never all kind of these components have been found together in the same grave, warriors used spears, swords type akinakes, fighting knives, battle axes and fewer bows with arrows. Funeral grave goods do not provide any indication about the shields.

¹ Discovered by the author in 2006, July, after the promptly reporting made by the mayor of Tigveni commune.

Without any doubt, the akinakai type swords found in many Ferigile group's necropolises (Ferigile, Cepari, Tigveni) are taken over from an oriental pattern through the Scythian's intermediation. It is well known that this type of weapon has its origins in the Persian Iranian area. Bringing and spreading it in Europe was mainly due to Scythians. Other weapons of the Ferigile group have western origins, Illyrian ones – this is the case of iron large long spearheads like the two found by chance at Tigveni-"Babe" (Popescu and Vulpe 1982, 91, fig. 15/D).

But not all the weapons were of foreign origin or influence. Local Thracian milieu was present through specific weapons. Long and curved fighting swords and knives with cutting edge on the concave line of the blade are of course a local product. The most relevant of this kind of swords belong to Ferigile (Vulpe 1967, 61, pl. 17/13) and Tigveni (Popescu and Vulpe 1982, 109, fig. 17/a) necropolises and recall of the *machaira* Macedonian and Thracian type of weapon (Borangic 2009, 7, pl. 7/1-2; 9/3).

In addition, another original component of the weaponry used by Ferigile warriors is the iron arrowhead, flat and displaying mounting holes. Archers from Ferigile group are totally reticent to any other type of arrows that could penetrate from the outside².

It is to be mentioned the funeral ritual element of bending iron arms before putting them inside the tomb as grave good. The few examples found in the necropolis from Ferigile but also in the necropolis at Eşalnița-Mala precede by more than two centuries the emergence of this phenomenon in Central European Celtic world (Măndescu 2012, 347-348, fig. 3/1-4, 6).

One of the most spectacular graves with weapons in the area of the Ferigile group was discovered in the tumulus no. 5 of the necropolis at Cepari (Popescu and Vulpe 1982, 88-89, fig. 11). The panoply of the warrior buried here is virtually complete: sword-akinakes, combat knife, spear, battle ax, including a peculiar iron arrowhead, while the presence of a bridle bit and several other bronze harness fittings are strong indications that we are dealing with a rider (fig. 3).

The dating as absolute chronology of the rider's grave in the tumulus 5 from Cepari to the year 500 BC relies mainly on the akinakes' analogy with that found nearly 900 km to the east, at Žurofka in a Scythian tomb, a sealed complex in which the sword was in assemblage with Greek ceramics (Popescu and Vulpe 1982, 89; Vulpe 1983, 128).

The similarity of the akinakes from Cepari and those of the Scythian and even of the Achaemenid milieu is also reflected by the presumable ornamentation of the handle with gold leaf, as suggested by the highlighted striations displayed on the handle's surface, melted in the flames on the funerary pyre. The same situation was also suggested for some weapons from the necropolis from Ferigile (Vulpe 1967, 58).

The harness fittings, the iron bridle bits Vekerzug type, very common among the finds from Tisza Plain, are frequent occurrences in tombs belonging to Ferigile warriors. There is Also a bronze front trapping piece and a bronze and iron bridle bit with zoomorphic decoration discovered in a warrior's grave in the barrow 15 at Tigveni-"Babe" (Popescu and Vulpe 1982, 92, fig. 18/f, h) which has clear affinities with similar harness parts used in the middle Dnieper area and it is not impossible to be an importation from Scythian world and not just a locally produced imitation under the influence of superregional fashion. In the same time, the bronze phalera found in barrow 2 at Rudeni (Popescu and Vulpe 1992, 109, fig. 3/11), an unicum among the Ferigile harness finds, recalls of an older pre-Scythian tradition having its roots deeply steeped in the so called "cimmerian" era (Chochorowski 1993, 103-109, pl. 9)

² The only different type iron arrowhead sample, having long barbes, found at Tigveni-"Babe" in the area of tumulus no. 13 does not necessarily belongs to a Ferigile sealed complex, but seems to be from a more recent era (Popescu and Vulpe 1982, 91, fig. 15 A/a).

The adornments set specific for the Ferigile group is formed by bronze spiral chains of Saltaleoni type, open worked belt plates, fibulae, pendants and pins with rich decorated bronze heads and so on. Various adornments such as the Saltaleoni spiral chains, belt bronze plates and fibulae belonging to the types known as Donja-Dolina or Glasinac have the best analogies in Western Balkan Illyrian space or even in the Eastern Alpine area. Others, such pendants, or circular appliqué seem to indicate a different origin, namely the Ciurbrud group from Transylvania. The inhumation grave no. 3 from Budești-Fânațe cemetery in Ciurbrud area is illustrative for the way these little bronze rings were worn: probably hung on the belt (Marinescu 1984, 48, fig. 3/3a-c).

Contacts with other more remote areas, such as the Southern Balkan Peninsula are certified by a pin bronze head found in the necropolis of Ferigile (Vulpe 1967, 74, Pl. 33/3). It is a very finely crafted artifact in a high quality bronze³ - certainly an importation from the South, maybe even from the Peloponnesus considering the analogies (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1984, 200-203, pl. 65-83). The pin proper working of iron was broken and it was not preserved. The differences between it and a poorer quality local product found in Curtea de Argeș cemetery (Măndescu 2004, 151, fig. 6/3; 11/2), more roughly worked are obvious.

Regarding Ferigile group's specific pottery, its reference to the Basarabi cultural background is certain. From the Basarabi ceramic are taken not only some basic forms and manners of treatment of the vessel's surface with a quality dark-gray slip (in the case of fine ceramics) but also some decorative motifs like the grooves (fig. 4).

In the graves belonging to the final evolutionary phase of the Ferigile group is pointed out a kind of ceramic taken after the pattern yielded in the Thracian Balkans area south of the Danube: over-raised handle cups or drinking vessels with two handles, wide open bowls with knob-grips etc., for instance, in the Getian necropolises from the right bank of the Danube as it was noticed by Profesor Ișirkovo (Georgieva and Bačvarov 1994, 13-18) or Canlia (Boroffka and Trohani 2003, 139-198). With very few exceptions (Măndescu 2004, 148-149)⁴, all the pottery found in the graves of Ferigile group is handmade, without using the potter's-wheel, but the graves of the same final horizon contain many hand-made vessels clearly imitating wheel-made prototypes produced in the Greek area, as oenochoe or lékané (fig. 5), the latter ones commonly used in Ferigile group's graves as funerary urns. The handmade imitation of oenochoe from Țițești (Popescu and Vulpe 1982, 102, fig. 24/5) testifies that there was a potter who saw directly the original wheel-made vessel, but had no technical means to use an identical manner of working. The spreading of these ceramic patterns to the north was received by the Ferigile group's communities and adapted to funeral use; it was most likely produced through the intermediation of south-Balkan Thracians, who were more familiar with Greek wheel-made pottery.

Apparently an isolated archaeological group and secluded into a well-delimited territory, Ferigile cultural milieu actually represents a melting pot in which the people took over and processed and adapted to their own tastes and needs many influences from various areas, sometimes from considerable distances away.

Some types of weapons were taken from the east, as a result of the Scythian world's influences, the other ones from the Western Balkan Illyrian territory. Some harness fittings

³ Recently, the internal structure and composition of this artifact were investigated through neutron tomography process at the Institute for Nuclear Research, Pitești. The results were presented by the project coordinator (dr. Marin Dincă) in collaboration with the author in NINMACH 2013 conference held at Garching, Germany and will be published in the proceedings of this scientific meeting.

⁴ Four finds belong to Ferigile North horizon (Tigveni-"Babe", Tigveni-"Pietroasa", Cepari, Curtea de Argeș) and five others to Ferigile III horizon (Tigveni, Rudeni, Năeni, Gătejești) and immediately after it (Telești-Drăgoești), but not all of them found in a sure context (Petre-Govora 1971, 559, 563-564, fig. 1/1).

are taken over from the northwest Vekerzug cultural milieu, while others are inspired by Scythian fashionable prototypes.

Various adornments have the best analogies in the Western Balkan Illyrian territory or even in the Eastern Alpine area. Some adornments are imported from great distances as well as southern the Balkan Peninsula, but there are some others from nearest areas, like Ciunbrud cultural milieu, from beyond the Carpathians. Ceramic has affinities with Thracian southern Danube pottery. Some vessels, though handmade, imitated Greek wheel-made forms.

Therefore far from being a closed entity and reluctant to communication, actually Ferigile group provides a good example of society at the end of the early Iron Age stage, successfully open to a wide range of cultural contacts and influences exerted from various corners of Eastern Europe in the second quarter of the first millennium BC.

Acknowledgement: This work was funded by CNCS-UEFISCDI, as a part of the project PN-II-RU-TE-2011-3-0078 (*The archaeological relevance of periphery*).

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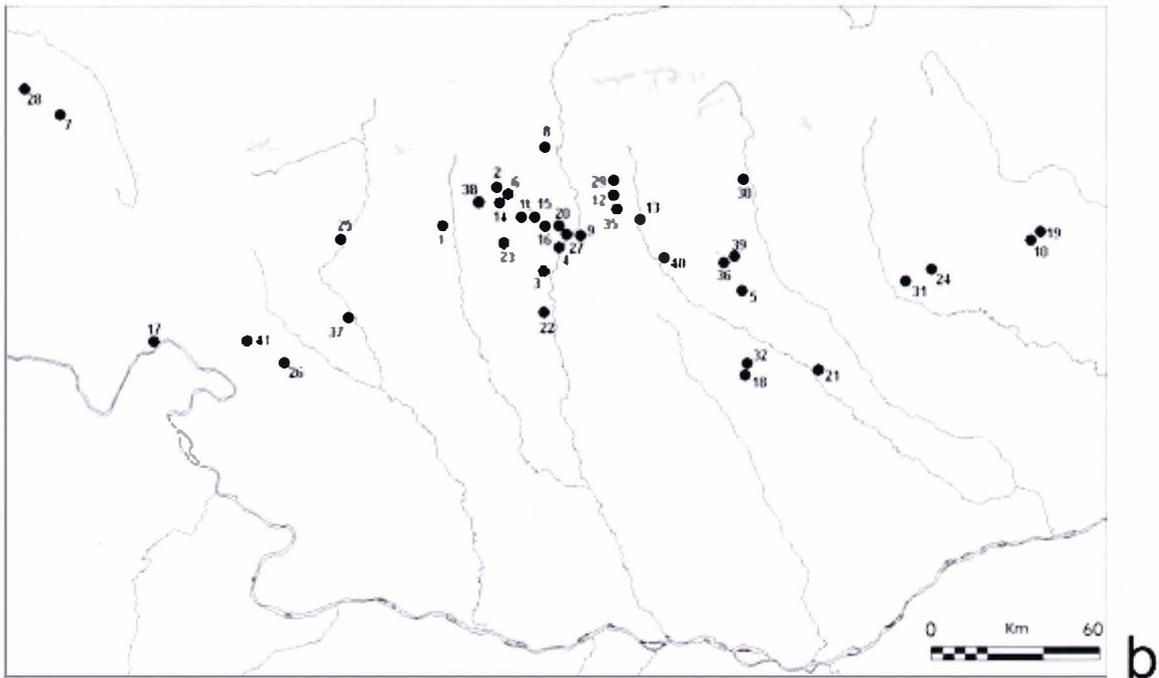
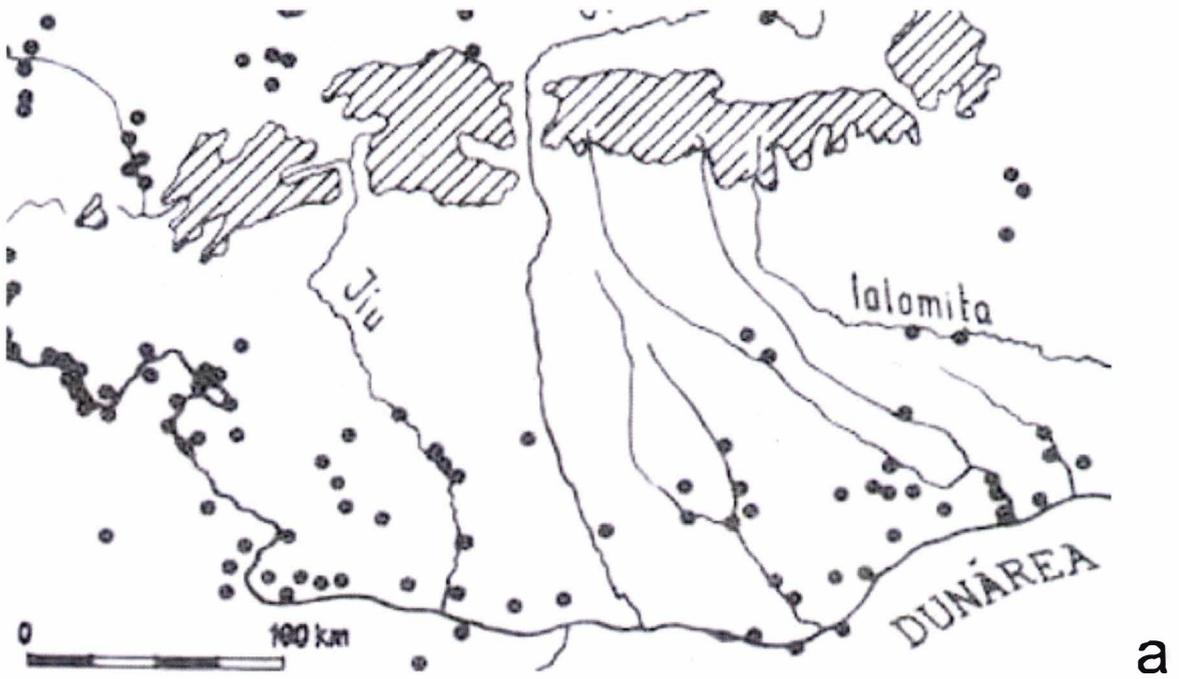


Fig. 1. Comparative maps showing the Sub-Carpathian area during middle stage of the First Iron Age corresponding to the Basarabi "culture" (a) and during late stage of the First Iron Age – Ferigile archaeological group (b). a – after A. Vulpe; b – after D. Măndescu.



Fig. 2. Settlement from Tigveni (view from the West). Photo by R. Cârstea.



Fig. 3. Graphic reconstruction of the Ferigile warrior buried in the tumulus no. 5 from Cepari. Drawing by R. Oltean.



Basarabi



Ferigile

Fig. 4. From Basarabi pottery to Ferigile pottery - a good proof of lineage. Notto scale.



1



2

Fig. 5. Ferigile III hand-made pottery imitating the Greek wheel-made pottery shapes of *oenochoe*, respectively *lékané*. 1 Țițești; 2 Cepari-Pământeni. Not to scale. Photo by D. Măndescu.

MEGALITHHEILIGTÜMER AUS DEN LÄNDERN DER THRAKISCHEN BESSEN

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Schlüsselwörter: Archäologie, Ethnologie, Archäoastronomie, Megalithheiligtümer, thrakische Religion

Abstrakt: Die Erforschung ist den archäologisch neu entdeckten Megalithheiligtümern der oberen und der mittleren Strömung des Flusses Mesta gewidmet. Das sind die beiden bedeutendsten thrakischen Hochgebirgsheligtümer aus Ostpirin und Südrila. Analysiert sind auch die Folklorquellen und die Ergebnisse von den astronomischen Erforschungen, die mit den untersuchten Megalithheiligtümern verbunden sind. Ein Versuch wird vorgeschlagen für semantische und funktionale Analyse der Denkmäler.

Die vorliegende Erforschung ist ein Ergebnis von der Komplexwissenschaftsexpedition "Thrakische Heiligtümer aus den Westrhodopen, Pirin und Rila". Sie ist von universitätswissenschaftlichen Zentrum für antike europäische und Ostmittelmeerkulturen bei südwestliche Universität "Neofit Rilski", Nationalarchäologisches Institut mit Museum bei der Bulgarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Regionalethnographisches Museum – Plovdiv, Institut für kosmische Untersuchungen und Technologien bei der Bulgarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften – Filiale Stara Sagora organisiert.

Die Terrainforschungen umfassen die obere und mittlere Strömung des Flusses Mesta mit dem naheliegenden Berggebiet von Südrila, Westrhodopen und Ostpirin. Im Altertum wurde dieses Gebiet von den unabhängigen Thrakern bewohnt – die Volksstämme Satri, Bessi, Dii und Diobessi. Sie sind Hüter der thrakischen Religion in ihrem reinsten Konservatismus. Bei den Erforschungen des Terrains werden archäologische Durchwanderungen durch thrakische Megalithheiligtümer gemacht, auch ethnologische Forschungen mit ihnen verbunden. Archaeoastronomische und geophysische Forschungen der Denkmäler werden auch realisiert. In den letzten dreizehn Jahren haben wir mehr als 15 bedeutende Megalithheiligtümer entdeckt (Markov 2012, 56-89). In diesem Text bieten wir zwei von den bedeutendsten Denkmälern.

Das beeindruckendste antike thrakische Megalithheiligtum von Südrila ist "Markov kamak (Markovs Stein)". Es befindet sich in der Nähe von Zarev vrah (Zarev Berg) und umfasst eine beeindruckende Fläche circa fünf Kilometer lang. Es befindet sich auf dem Kamm des Gebirges. Die zahlreichen Felsen bei den Quellen des Flusses Blagoevgradska Bistriza sind markiert durch ungefähr ein Dutzend in den Felsen geschlagene Götzenaltäre. Die Höhe über dem Meeresspiegel ist zwischen 1800 und 2367 Meter. Die auf der Fläche entdeckte Keramik bei den Terraindurchwanderungen stammt im allgemeinen Ende des zweiten Jahrtausends vor Christus bis viertes Jahrhundert nach Christus.

Der sakralste Teil ist der Komplex, zusammengestellt aus einem Felsenbogen (Fig. 1), einem riesigen Steine (fig.2) und Steinpilzen, die durch geschlagene Götzenaltäre markiert sind. Sie befinden sich am südwestlichen Fuß von Zarev vrah. Besonders

beeindruckend sind die Felsengötzenaltäre, die wie zwei Menschenhände geformt sind (fig. 3), auf dem Gewölbestein des Megalithbogens, auch der Götzenaltar mit der Form eines riesigen menschlichen Fusstapfens (fig.4). In der einheimischen Folklorliteratur ist er als "Krali Markova stapka (Fusstapfen)" bekannt. Der Komplex von Zeichen und Symbolen gab mir einen Grund sie als "Schrift" des Mythos der Schöpfung zu deuten – die Geburt des hellen orphischen Gottes Fanes aus dem kosmischen Ei. Sich berufend auf die Folklorlegenden von Zarev vrah und Markov kamak, die mit Sicherheit Archetypen haben, sowie auch auf die archäologischen Quellen' meine ich, dass im funktionalen Plan das Megalithheiligtum "Markov kamak" zur Verewigung der thrakischen Könige diente. Das wurde durch ihr Einbeziehen in die heilige Ehe zwischen der Sonne und der Erde – die männliche und die weibliche Gottheit in Thrakien symbolisierend (Markov 2007, 178-179). Die in den Felsen geschlagene Becken und Rinnen, auslaufend in den Durchschnitt des Felsensbogens "Markov kamak" in Rila, bringen auf den Gedanken, dass der Ritus auch Ritusbad einschliesst. Die astronomischen Forschungen haben festgestellt, dass der Felsensbogen "Markov kamak" ein Megalithobservatorium ist. In der Antike diente er zum Feststellen des Tages des Sonnenstillstands im Sommer (Maglova, Stoev, Stoeva, Stefanov 2009, 3-12). Der Punkt des Sonnenaufgangs ist an diesem Tag durch einen Steinpilz am nahen Osthorizont markiert. Er ist von zahlreichen felsengeschlagenen Götzenaltaeren und Rinnen oben gezeichnet. Das ist eine Tatsache, die mich auf den Gedanken bringt, dass das der Tag ist, an dem die wichtigsten Kultusriten durchgeführt wurden. Sein Feststellen vergrösserte bedeutend die Moeglichkeiten zur Rekonstruktion der Riten, die hier in der Antike durchgefuehrt wurden.

Am interessantesten ist an erster Stelle der sehr verbreitete bei allen europäischen Völkern Ritus "Enjovden" – ein traditioneller Ritus des Ritusbads (Fol 2004, 151-152). Das ist ein Baden im Tau, in Quellen und Flüssen, Morgen früh vor dem Sonnenaufgang (Arnaudov 1971, 253-337). Nach dem bulgarischen Volksglauben badet die Sonne selbst an diesem Tag in einer Quelle oder See mit lebendigem Wasser und so verjungt sie sich. Dann schüttelt sie lebendigen Tau auf die Erde (Marinov 1994, 653-667; Stavreva 2005, 265-270). Es ist klar, dass hier ein Ritus des Uebergangs ist, der Ritusbad einschliesst. Er wurde von der Sonne vollbracht, die ihren Zenit und ihre Reife erreicht hat. Ein Ritusbad, das die Menschen jedes Jahr wiederholen in ihrer Lebensbahn, als magischer Ritus, im Rahmen des Festkomplexes von Enjovden (Eliade 1995, 32-39). Sehr wichtig, für die Klärung von dem Charakter der Riten von Uebergang bei dem erforschten Megalithbogen sind die Parallelen mit den traditionellen Rituskriechen am Enjovden. Am meissten wurden sie durchgeführt durch einen Kräuterkranz und seltener durch einen Bogen aus Kornelkirschzweigen gemacht. Der Ritus wird vollbracht, damit man gesund ist (Marinov 1994, 653-667). Er erinnert sehr an die traditionellen Rituskriechen durch Felsensbogen, damit man gesund ist, von den thrazischen Megalithheiligtuemern in den Westrhodopen, die von unserer Expedition erforscht sind. Im Zusammenhang mit der Hypothese, dass an diesem Tag eine helige Ehe zwischen der Sonnengott und der Erdegöttin vollbracht wurde, durch das Durchdringen von den Sonnenstrahlen in den Megalithbogen, Aufmerksamkeit verdient die Artefakten der heiligen Ehe am Enjovden bei vielen gegenwärtigen und antiken europäischen Völkern. An erster Stelle wird darauf hingewiesen, dass es Spuren von Massenorgienritten bei den Esten und bei den Ostslaven am Tage des Sommersonnenstillstands gibt. Sie können als

Wiederholung der heiligen Ehe der mannbar gewordene Sonne gedeutet werden, die nach dem antiken mythologischen Denken an diesem Tag vollbracht wurde (Arnaudov 1971, 284-288; Freyzer 1984, 770). Diese Informationen stehen auch im Zusammenhang mit den bulgarischen Volksliedern von Typ "Ein Drachen liebt und klaut eine Jungfrau". Dazu gehören auch die Rituslieder von der Hochzeit der Sonne mit dem Mädchen Marina. Sie begleiten auch den Zug von der Enjova bulja (Braut) durch das Feld am Tag Enjovden (Marinov 1994, 655-656). Das ist ein Ritus der Fruchtbarkeit gewidmet mit klar ausgedruckten Hochzeitmotiven. Er ist tief verbunden mit der heiligen Ehe als Semantik von den Riten und den Symbolen in ihm. Ein Ritus, der M. Arnaudov mit Recht als antikes Erbe bestimmt hat (Arnaudov 1971, 250-255; 329-337).

Unter den vielen Zeichen-Symbolen von diesem Heiligtum spezielle Aufmerksamkeit verdient die felsengeschlagene Maske – Goetzenaltar (fig. 5). Das Bild kann man gut sehen, nachdem man es mit sakraler Flüssigkeit begießt – Wein oder Himmelfleisch – der Regen vom Gott des Sturmes geschickt. Man kann annehmen, dass das Erscheinen des heiligen Bildes als göttliche Epiphanie erlebt wird (Yankov, Markov 2009, 41-50).

Im Gebirge Zentralpirin haben wir eine riesige Sakralfläche lokalisiert - 3 Km. Durchmesser. Sie befindet sich bei dem See "Popovo esero" auf mehr als 2200 Meter Höhe über dem Meeresspiegel (fig. 6). Zu ihr führen sieben Eingänge. Fünf von ihnen tragen den vielsagenden Namen "Die Pforte". Die Pforten bestimmen die Durchgänge durch die Aussenlinie des Kares. Sie ist eins von den höchsten Berggipfeln in Pirin. Gipfel, die sakralisiert sind als Mythoshelden oder als ihre Heime von den zahlreichen einheimischen Legenden. In den Legenden kann man antike Archetypen erkennen: zum Beispiel den Mythos von der von Hades entführten Kore-Persephone oder der Zweikampf Grundmythos vom Kampf zwischen dem Gott des Sturmes und dem Antagonisten (Markov 2002, 37-50). Bei den vier von der Pforten wurden materielle Spuren von Kultuspraktiken registriert. Das sind Felsenschlagen – Goetzenaltaere, fragmentierte thrakische und thrakisch-romische Keramik.

Der Streifen des Ufers vom See "Popovo esero" bestimmt einen zweiten, inneren Kreis des Terrains, der in der Mitte vom ersten ist. In der Zeit der thrakischen Antike ist er als riesiger Megalithgötzenalter markiert, und befindet sich am Ostufer des Sees (fig. 7). Im Zentrum vom See "Popovo esero" befindet sich die runde Insel "Popova kapa" (Kappe des Popen). Wenn man sich die abzeichnende sakralisierte Naturstruktur vorsieht, die sich aus drei ineinander eingeschriebene Kreise besteht, ist diese Insel der heiligste Punkt hier. Kein Wunder, dass sie in allen Legenden existiert, die mit dieser untersuchten sakralen Fläche verbunden ist (Markov 2002, 37-50). Noch mehr: unsere Terrainforschung registrierte auch hier eine Megalithanlage, die sehr an ein zerstörtes Dolmen erinnert.

Von den Maßstäben dieses untersuchten heiligen Ortes und die Dauer der religiösen Verehrung hier bis zum neunzehnten Jahrhundert nach Christus zeugt die Erzählung von dem bulgarischen Geograph und Ethnograph Pavel Deliradev:

"...Als ich Kind war – erzählt ein einheimischer Schäfer, das war vor dem Sevastopolkrieg, kamen aus Tessaloniki, Drama, Ser, Kavala selbst aus Konstantinopel Beis um hier unter dem Poleshan Berg (Mangar tepe) Opfertiere zu schlachten. Immer noch wächst hier kein Gras. Wenn ich zu Fuss gehen könnte, würde ich dich dorthin führen, damit auch du die Feuerstätten siehst. Ich habe sie mit Mauleseln dorthin getrieben. Man erzählte, dass unsere Väter und Großväter auch hier zur Anbetung kamen und Jerusalempilger

wurden” (Bulgarische Volksdichtung 1983, 119-120). Ausserordentliches Interesse in diesem Folklorientext ist der maßstabliche Pilgerzug zu dieser Sakralfläche vom Popov Kar im Gebirge Zentralpirin aus der ganzen Osthälfte des Balkanhalbinsels.

Er ist in diesen Ländern konzentriert, die heute von der Wissenschaft als Fläche der thrakischen Satren und thrakischen Bessen bestimmt wird. Die Information wird auch von dem einheimischen Folklorist Ivan Kuylev bestätigt, der Ende neunzehnte bis Anfang zwanzigste Jahrhundert gearbeitet hat (Kuylev 1977, 195). Am merkwürdigsten sind die Spuren von männlicher Initiation und besonders die Behauptung, dass die Väter und die Großväter der Pilger auch hierher zur Anbetung kamen und Jerusalempilger wurden. Es ist klar, dass es sich um einen besonders bedeutenden Kultusort handelt. In dieser Mitteilung kann man auch Artefakten vom religiösen eingeweihten Praktikum sehen, mit dem Kult zu den Urahnern verbunden.

Bei den Terrainforschungen haben wir die Orte der traditionellen kultischen Feuerstätten festgestellt. Sie befinden sich vor einem imposanten Steinthron – thrakischer Megalith, genau nach dem Westen Richtung Sonnenuntergang und dem Tod orientiert (fig. 8). In der Nähe vom Thron, auf der terrassengeformten Fläche wurden noch mehr Megalith thrakische Götzenaltäre registriert, geformt wie geschlagene Kreise. Daneben wurde thrakische Keramik entdeckt, die davon zeugt, dass dieses Denkmal aus dem ersten Jahrtausend vor Christus ist (Markov 2007, 48).

So formt sich das Kar vom See “Popovo esero” im Gebirge Pirin als seine riesige nach Maßstab sakrale Fläche vom Gipfel Pirin, zusammengestellt aus drei eingeschriebene Naturkreise. Sie sind sowohl Solarsymbole, als auch Naturkode, Zeichen fuer besonders heiliger Ort – Zentrum der Welt, Symbol der Einheit der drei Sphären vom mythologischen Kosmos – himmlische, irdische und unterirdische Welt (Cuopar 1993, 104). Die sakralisierte Fläche im Kar vom See “Popovo esero” hat zwei klar geformte Kultuszentren: Das erste dargestellt von monumentalen Megalithgötzenalter ist mit der Position “unten” verbunden – mit dem See und mit der unterirdischen Welt; das zweite ist in Position “oben”, unter dem Gipfel Mangar tepe und ist mit dem Feuer von den Kultusfeuerstätten und mit der himmlischen Welt verbunden. Eine Tatsache, die darauf hinweist, dass hier eine antike Gottheit verehrt wurde, die gleichzeitig sowohl chthonische als auch solare Zeichen hat. Das ist ein All Gott, der mit der obersten männlichen Gottheit in Thraken verbunden werden muss, die gleichzeitig die Sonne und die mythologische Schlange – Drachen verkörpert.

Das Kar vom “Popovo esero” vom Gipfel des Gebirges Pirin ist ein heiliger Ort, wo nach Tradition, bis zur Mitte des neunzehnten Jahrhundert die Urahnern verehrt wurden. Sie werden verehrt auf dem Gipfel des Gebirges, in Position “oben” durch Opfergaben von Hammeln in imposanten Feuerstätten mit heiligen Feuer – das irdische Bild der Sonne – Gottheit. In den traditionellen Riten nehmen sowohl Muselmänner als auch Christen. Meiner Meinung nach ist das eine Tatsache, die zusätzlich davon zeugt, dass es um ein sehr altes und besonders bedeutendes, vormusulmanisches und vorchristliches heidisches Kultuszentrum handelt. Die archäologischen Zeugnisse weisen unzweideutig darauf hin, dass es von der thrakischen Antike geerbt ist.

Die wenigen bis jetzt entdeckten auf dem Terrain archäologischen Materialien geben mir keinen genuegenden Grund um meine Hypothese kategorisch zu beweisen, dass es um das berühmte runde Heiligtum von Dionis Sabasii aus den Ländern der thrakischen Satren

und thrakischen Bessen handelt. Aber die erstaunliche als Zeit und Maßstab kultische Kontinuität in diesem antiken thrakischen Heiligtum wird mich immer interessieren. Wenn nicht anderes, so beweist sie auch dismal den glänzenden Gedanken von Mirtscha Eliade, dass die bedeutenden heiligen Orte ewig sind.

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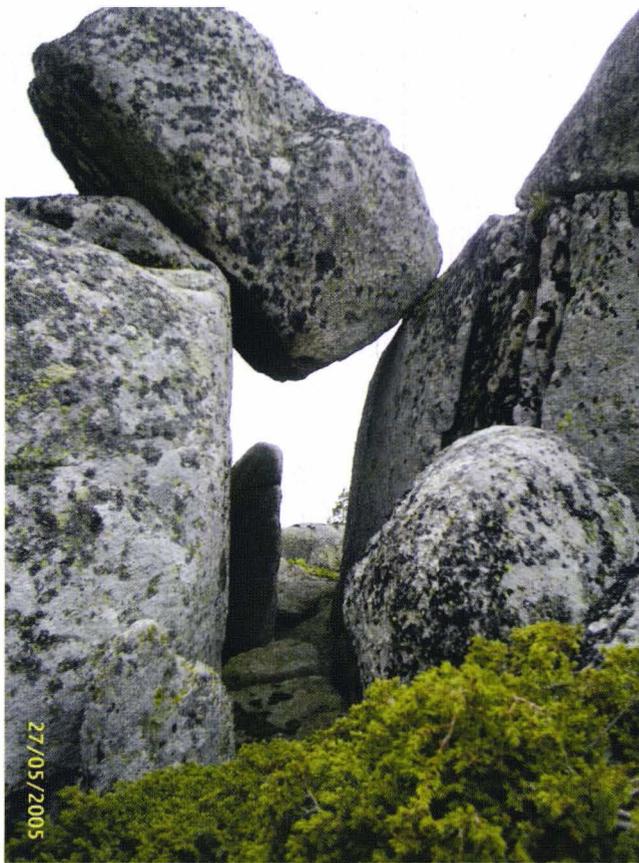


Fig.1. Der Felsenbogen vom Megalithheiligtum "Markov kamak", Suedrila



Fig.2. Steinei mit felsengeschlagene Goetzenaltäre vom Megalithheiligtum "Markov kamak", Suedrila.



Fig. 3. Riesige felsengeschlagene Hände vom Megalithheiligtum “Markov kamak”, Sudrila.



Fig.4. Fussstapfen von Krali Marko, felsengeschlangener Goetzenaltar, vom Megalithheiligtum “Markov kamak”, Suedrila.



Fig. 5. Felsengeschlagene Antropomorphmaske vom Megalithheiligtum “Markov kamak”, Suedrila



Fig. 6. Runde sakralisierte Fläche vom Kar “Popovo esero”. Zentralgebirge Pirin.



Fig. 7. Felsengeschlagener Goetzenaltar am Ostufer von See“Popovo esero”. Zentralgebirge Pirin.



Fig. 8. Felsengeschlagener Thron unter dem Gipfel Poleshan (Mangar tepe). Das Kar vom See“Popovo esero”, Zentralgebirge Pirin.

SEVERAL ETHNO-SOCIO-ANTHROPOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING THE ARISTOCRATIC GRAVES IN THE EXTRA-CARPATHIAN SPACE DURING THE 5th-3rd CENTURIES BC

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Key words: Getic society, aristocratic graves, double burials, interpretations.

Abstract: The issue of the funerary monuments in the extra-Carpathian zone between the 5th-3rd centuries BC has always stirred the interest of the scholars. This is why, it has been approached under its various aspects, like: funerary rite and ritual, construction typology, diversity and functionality of the grave goods, decoration motifs, as well as the interpretations about the significance of the iconography rendered on the inventory items. In this entire context, an important element belonging to a complex investigation – namely the anthropological observation and study – had been often eluded, from objective or subjective reasons.

This contribution is aimed at presenting the anthropological data, as much as its authors had access to the osteological materials, in their connection with the other information, all referring to the Getic aristocratic graves and their possible ethnic assignment.

Even beginning with the first finds signaled by systematic, or fortuitous excavations and up to the identification of some Getic artifacts in antiquities collections from abroad, the issue of the funerary monuments from the Extra-Carpathian space of the 5th-3rd centuries BC has always stirred the interest of the scientists, being approached in time, under various aspects: funerary rite and ritual, construction typology, diversity and functionality of the grave goods, decorative motifs and the interpretation of the iconographic messages on the objects or, by case, of the decorative scenes inside constructions. Despite that, an important aspect of a complex investigation – the anthropological observation and research – has been eluded, either from objective, or subjective reasons.

General considerations

The study of the funerary phenomenon and of the archaic mentalities which have generated a certain funerary behavior has lately became more and more extensive, going much beyond the strict archaeological domain of archaeology (Bailey, 2000, pp. 23-28). The complexity of the phenomenon has imposed a pluri- and interdisciplinary research, based on corroborating the data provided by several disciplines, like: archaeology, physical anthropology, cultural anthropology, paleodemography, magnetometry, physics, chemistry, topography etc. In fact, the study of the social phenomena connected with death has been initiated by the anthropological research, long before the crystallization of archaeology as a science.

We will not deal here with the evolution of the anthropological conceptions regarding the interpretation of the death phenomenon, which was already discussed in a complex study (Lazăr, 2009, pp. 181-194; idem, 2010; pp. 197-228; idem, 2011, pp. 249-268). We will only make some observations before approaching the proper topic of this paper. Unfortunately, in the case of the Romanian archaeology, we can mention the gaps regarding the identification, observation and establishing the aspects connected with the funerary behavior, or better said, with its traces. Also, in the case of the aristocratic Getic graves, the information that we have for the moment is incomplete, lacking a complex research, fact which in time has generated several question marks.

Archaeological sources

The archaeological discoveries in the Septentrional Thracian space confirms the use of both funerary rites, namely those of inhumation and of cremation, as mentioned in the written sources. Despite that, it seems that the cremation was a more generalized phenomenon, given that the inhumation graves represented just about 5 % from the total finds. In turn, in the case of the rich burials that belonged to the aristocracy, the dominant rite was inhumation (the funerary discoveries from Agighiol, Peretu, Găvani, Vrața, Branicevo, Sveshtari-Ghinina Moghila).

Usually, the main deceased has been accompanied by one, or several persons, either a wife/concubine, servants, horse keepers, as documented in the case of the graves from Agighiol, Sveshtari-Ghinina Moghila, Vraca, but also by horse sacrifices (Agighiol, Peretu, Zimnicea, Vraca), dogs (Peretu), all these elements leading to an extremely elaborate funerary scenario. Thus it was assured not only the passage to the *after world*, of the respective person, but also the maintenance of her social status, a reason for which, the funeral proper, the grave goods, the offerings, the human and animal sacrifices were part of a certain behavioral, well established and easily recognizable code.

An iconographic representation of this interpretation is the image in the grave from Kazanlyk (Bulgaria). There, on the semispherical vault of the funerary construction has been rendered the scene of a funerary banquet, with those two main personages – the hero/prince/basileus, wearing his crown and his wife in the center, both accompanied by a whole line of servants.

Archaeologically speaking, the discovery of the double man-woman graves has been also confirmed by the literary sources that mention the sacrifice of the wife at the funeral of her husband, as the case of the royal grave from Branicevo (Grave no. 10), or that from Sveshtari- Ghinina Moghila, from Bulgaria. The situation has been established based on the clothing items, as well as on the grave goods that were found with the skeletons of the accompanying personages and which would plead for their female nature.

The practice of the dead wife deposition in the grave of the basileus/aristocrate is not specific only to the Thracians, being archaeologically attested in the Scythian cultural milieu (like the case of the aristocratic and royal graves¹). Therefore, given the specific political evolution in the space that we are dealing with, we cannot decide upon the ethnic belonging to the graves except after carrying out an anthropological study.

The written sources

The custom of the woman sacrifice at the funeral of the man, either that we discuss about the most beloved wife, or the concubine, it is attested by the literary sources beginning with the Homeric epoch. Neoptolemus, Ahile's son, had considered Polixenia as the most beloved of the wives of his father, the one who had deserved to be sacrificed at the funeral of that hero.

Fortunately, about the funerary rites of the Getic aristocracy had related the father of the history in his 5th book of his work. Thus, „*the funerals of the rich people are being done in the following manner: they expose the dead for three days and, after they sacrifice all kind*

¹ The woman deposition (wife or concubine) together with the man is documented beginning with the 7th century BC, not only in the case of the aristocratic or royal Scythian graves. According to the observations made by Ivantchik, about 7-8% of the total number of Scythian graves are double. In the time span between the 7th-5th centuries BC it could be noticed their prevalence in the silvo-steppe zone, unlike in the area of the North-Pontic steppe, where their number was small. Yet, beginning with the 4th century BC, their number increased so that all the aristocratic and royal graves were being accompanied by women burials (see Ivantchik 2010, p. 131). The custom is also described by Herodotus in his Histories, IV, 71, 20 who had mentioned the way the royal funerals had been organized.

of animals they organize a banquet, mourning him; afterwards they make his funerals, either by cremating him, or by burying him into the ground; after they raise the burial they make all kind of feasts, during which the most important rewards are being rightfully given for the close combat. These are the Thracian customs at the funerals” (Histories, V, 3-5, 8). In the same text, but above this fragment, Herodotus relates about the sacrifice of the most beloved wife (“when one of them dies, a great rumour appears among the women and there are serious concerns among his friends, in order to find which one of them was the most beloved by their husband. To the chosen one the following honor is given: while being overwhelmed by the praises of the men and women, she is strangled next to the grave by the closest relative, and afterwards she is buried together with her man”) to the great disappointment of the other wives (“the others experience a deep grief, because for them is the greatest shame not to be the chosen ones”).

The custom of sacrificing one of the wives at the funeral of her husband is also mentioned by Pomponius Mela, II, 2, 19-21: “Neither the women have a weak character. They are intensely willing to be killed above the corpse of their dead men and to be buried together with them”. At the same time, the antiquity tradition mentions the virtues of the women who were decided to die next to their man, as accounted by Solinus, in *Memorable facts and thoughts*, 10, 2-3, 5: “the women who cherish a lot their pride, climb on the pyres of their deceased husbands and, as a sign of their greatest purity, throw themselves into the flames”.

Observations and few conclusions

From the up mentioned facts we could draw several conclusions:

1. The sacrifice of the wife at the funeral of her husband keeps with a general aristocratic tradition for several ethnic groups. We refer especially to the Scythian and Thraco-Getic ones, which territorially speaking were neighbors, and for which there are both archaeological and written sources.
2. For the aristocratic funerals known by now, it was practiced the inhumation rite, even if Herodotus had mentioned the fact that, as part of the Thracian aristocratic funerals, both the inhumation and cremation rites had been used.

The archaeological research in the Thraco-Getic space has also cast light upon another reality: the presence of the double mixed burials has been also documented in the case of some graves with poorer inventory. Here we should also make an observation: the tumular arrangements for the inhumation burials are rather impressive, even if the funerary inventory is poor. This fact comes to support the idea that during the 5th-3rd centuries BC the inhumation was more specific to the aristocracy. According to the observations of M. Irimia, the double mixed graves have reached 6% of the total number of interments investigated in Dobroudja (Irimia 1983, 129-142). Similar situations have been recorded in several necropoleis from the North and North-East Bulgaria (Kragulevo, Černa, Braničevo, Ravna etc), even if they were not in a big number: about 3% in the necropolis from Kragulevo (from a total of 247 investigated graves), about 2% in the one from Černa. In the cemetery from Braničevo 7 graves of 10 are double, man-woman.

The double mixed burials are being signaled in the Eastern Carpathian space, in several necropoleis from the Republic of Moldova, like those from Hansca (Niculiță 1972, 110). In that site, in burial no. 43 the bones of two individuals have been identified. The same kind of discovery was also documented in no. 78, where it was assumed that a man and a woman have been buried. A special situation was registered in the funerary chamber of the Grave no. 75, where the remains of a man, of a woman and of a child have been found (Никулицэ 1973, p. 27-44.). Another significant example is rendered by the necropolis from Saharna Țiglău, Rezina County (Republic of Moldova), where, as mentioned by the authors

of the excavation, at least 7 funerary monuments represent double graves man-woman. For instance, in the grave in the tumulus no. I, one of the deceased, probably the man, has been placed in a flexed position on his right side. The bones of the woman have been mostly grouped around the thorax and femur of the men. Tumulus no.2 had a rich inventory, consisting in offering vessels. It is interesting to point out the observation made by the authors of the find, namely the custom of placing the deceased in an embraced position.

An inedite find has been done in the necropolis from Enisala, Tulcea County from Romania, where, based on the observations regarding the main funerary depositions in the tumuli IIA, III A, IVA, I B, IX B, XI B, XIII B, XIV B, XV B, XXIII B-SXIII, square 34-1971, it was assumed that they have belonged to a man, accompanied by a woman (Simion 2004, 15-17, pl.2-6). The same thing has been noticed in the case of the graves no. 5 from SI-1969; 1 de SXVI, square 4, 1071; 1 of SXX -1971; 1 of SXXb, 1971; 3 and 4 from S II, square 3, 1976 of the same cemetery, but from the sector of the flat necropolis (Simion 2000, fig.7/1, 7/4, 7/3, 7/2).

The rendered situation is very interesting when considering some aspects: 1) the presence of the double mixed graves, both in the flat and tumular necropolis; 2) the practicing of both rites, inhumation and cremation, both in the necropolis and outside this funerary space (for example, in tumulus XIV B, the main grave was a cremation one, while the accompanying one was an inhumation; in tumulus XV B – the main burial was an inhumation, while the secondary one was a cremation; the grave no. 1 from SXX b, 1971 (the flat necropolis); 3) the presence of the double graves of cremation, as well as of those using the inhumation and cremation; 4) the presence of a triple grave, of cremation in urn (grave no. 5 from SI-1969). As to the sex of the deceased, their separation has been done strictly based upon the goods, which assured the distinction among the graves (adornments, jewelry etc), the same as the presence, in two cases, of the weapons that could have inflicted the violent death of the woman: a knife found among the bones of the basin (grave no. 2 from tumulu XIV) and 4 arrowpoints in the thoracic region (Simion 2000, fig. 7/4). Yet, we should notice the fact that some of the graves had no grave goods or, when it exists, it is rather poor.

Perspectives of some anthropological studies

Without contesting the opinion of the authors of those finds regarding the sex assignement of the deceased, we would like to stress here something: when lacking the studies of physical anthropology that could certify the sex of the accompanying deceased, it is rather risky to assign it to a certain sex, namely to the female one. Even if very important, the grave goods could not be a sure argument in this sense, being known the cases of weapon depositions – considered by excellence as being attributes of masculinity – in women graves (Venedikov 1966, 11-13; Nikolov 1967, p.16) but also of the clothing appliques, generally assigned to the women, in men graves. Without considering this as a general fact, the case when the skeletons had been subjected to anthropological studies had surprising results.

Until recently, the royal grave from Agigiol has been assigned to a military chieftain, who was accompanied by a woman in his *after life*. Their age was established at 20 years for the man and about 23 years for the woman. All the infrastructure elements and grave goods plead for the high social status of their owner. Those dead had been buried with 3 horses (two with the charriot and a riding one separately), placed in a neighboring chamber. Several item categories could be recovered: fighting weapons and equipment (a silver helmet of Getic type, 2 silver cnemids, a fragmentary iron spear, parts of a knife, or dagger, about 100 arrowpoints), adornments (silver pearls, earrings, triangular appliques, zoomorphic appliques), ritual vessels, appliques and harness pieces, local and imported pottery (Andrieşescu 1933, pl.XIII-XXVII; Berciu 1969, 33-77). Yet, the latest anthropological studies, carried out upon the bones of both personages, have pointed out the fact that they

were of female sex, the first with the age of 18-20 years and the second of 21-25 years. It is also worthy being mentioned that the first woman had a possible cranial deformation (Teleagă 2010, 80).

In the case of the discoveries from Vraca (Mogilanska Mogila), Bulgaria, the data have been also changed, due to the anthropological studies made relatively recent. If initially it was considered that those 2 skeletons found in one of the three graves, which in fact was the richest when considering its grave goods (a cnemid made of gold and silver, a gold wreath, earrings, silver vessels etc.) and the horses sacrifices brought to it (3 in total, out of which 2 were harnessed to the chariot) have belonged to a man and a woman (Venedikov 1966, 7-15), the anthropological studies have pointed out that the grave contained 2 women, one of them faced down. The first personage, whose age belonged to the *juvenis* category, but could not be exactly established, had a cranial deformation similar to the one identified on the skeleton from Agighiol, while the second had the age between 15-17 years (Boev, 1972, p. 148; Teleagă 2010, 80-82). It is possible that, in these cases, the cranial deformation could have been also a sign of the power, as it was also for other populations.

Another example, but with a reverse situation is offered by the anthropological analysis carried out in the tumular burial from Ryzanovka (Ukraine) where, the initial supposition was that all the skeletons that accompanied the main dead were women and in fact they were not. This assumption was based on the written traditions but also on the specific grave goods, which were with a more feminine appearance (Chochorowski, Skoryj 2000, 105-122).

These are just few investigated cases that reveal how risky it is to draw conclusions regarding the sex, or ethnic belonging of the deceased just based on the written tradition, or on the grave goods.

The necessity of some anthropological investigations is also imposed by the aspect regarding the identification of the somatic type specific to the communities to whom the investigated burials, or necropoleis had belonged. As the conditions of permanent change affected the ethnic composition, and resulted in the population mixtures, either determined by conflicts, or as a result of the ecological stress, a research based upon the anthropological types would be also appropriate. Unfortunately, we have not much information about this issue. Few investigations had been done in the necropolis from Celic-Dere, where the Iranian elements have been determined for the male individuals and the Mediterranean ones for the female ones (Rowlett 2000, 139-149). As a result of the anthropological research carried out on the skeletons from Cavalcar and Cozia it could be also emphasized that the men came from a Scythian population, while the women were locals, therefore these were mixed communities (Necrasov 1982, p. 55).

Another aspect is tied with the social status of the deceased from the double mixed burials. The antique sources mention this kind of aspects just for the aristocratic burials. But, the field observations show somewhat different things. The rather poor grave goods, signaled in those several cases of double interments discovered in the necropoleis, rather plead for a lower status than for a higher one. It remains to be confirmed if this change had reflected or not important transformations at the level of the religious mentalities, according to which a certain doctrine, circumscribed to a narrow group of noble is finally embraced by a wider category of people. The idea that the double burials would represent exceptional cases, in which the spouses have lost their lives in similar conditions (invasion, drawing, storm, frost etc.) being buried together, could not be statistically supported, being not isolated situations. Yet, without rulling out this possibility – of a death in the conditions of the same accidental event – we have to mention that, even if isolated, the archaeological observations in the case of some double interments point to the traces of some physical aggression on one of the

skeletons, namely on the one assigned to the woman. Also, in this kind of situations, the anthropological studies could come with new data, regarding the pathologies of the studied individuals and the possible causes that could provoke their death.

The sematic interpretation of the double burials

A more in-depth research focused upon the double burials, the same as the careful observation of all the aspects regarding the fittings of the funerary space and the funerary depositions could reveal even more interesting aspects about the eschatology of death and of the post-mortem status of the deceased.

From the available information, we can distinguish two main types of burials: the double mixed graves and the female double graves. Another category is represented by the rich male graves that are not accompanied by human female sacrifices, as seems to be the case of the inhumation with charriot from Peretu. Even if most of the grave goods plead for a high political-military status (the helmet, anthropomorphic ephigy ritual vessels, harness pieces made of silver and iron, adornments), just animal sacrifices had been done (3 horses, out of which two with the chariot and a riding one separately, together with 3 dogs) to which we could add the food offering, the iron weapons, the local and Greek pottery etc. (Moscalu 1986, 59-71). Which could be the explanation for the fact that some of the leaders have been accompanied by women in the *after life* while others have not, remains still an open issue. The lack of a wife or a concubine during life could be an explanation, but not a convincing one.

For the double mixed graves the interpretations are complex and rather unanimous. Therefore, in the opinion of Diana Gergova, in the Thracian tradition, the wife was the embodiment of the Great Goddess (the Earth) and from this reason she had to join her husband in the *after world* (Gergova 1996).

A similar opinion, regarding the sacrifice of the wife at the funeral of her husband has been expressed by B.N. Mozolevskij, when referring to the multiple examples of the royal Scythian funerals (the burials from Kul-Oba, Oguz, Certomlyk, Gajmanova Moghila, Alexandropoloskij kurgan s.a). Still, the observations of the mentioned author come to give a special nuance to this idea. Therefore, he stated that the arrangement of the royal Scythian graves with double interments, man and woman, has been done in two distinct stages: in most of the royal tumuli the first arrangement has been the one for the woman, which was followed by that of the man, who symbolically entered in a sacral space created by the goddess Tabiti, with whom the sacrificed woman-queen (?) was identified. Most probably, the queen has been buried initially, while the deceased king was carried around the country. During a time span of 40 days, above the grave it was raised an earth mantle, where subsequently, by an access "well" it was also introduced the corpse of the deceased king. By his marriage with the Great Goddess the ritual came to assure the revival of the king, the legitimacy of his power, the re-establishing of the cosmic balance that preceded any act of creation (Mozolevskij 1992, p. 63-65). As also noticed by Mircea Eliade, the sense of the post-mortem marriages "should be considered like a necessity of creating an optimal vital condition to the deceased, of re-creating him into a genestic state" (Eliade 1993, p. 204).

The motif of the marriage with the Great Goddess, as an important premise for reaching the immortality, has its origin in the matrilinear tradition of transferring the power (having no connection with the manner of establishing the filiation, but being tied with the role of the royal woman as a vehicle of the king sacrality). Transmitting the power by the intermediation of the woman was specific to many cultures, like the Egyptian, or Greek ones. The incestuous marriage from the Egyptian tradition was meant to guarantee the legitimacy of the pharaoh succession to the throne. In the case of some territorial conquests, the legitimacy of the power was symbolically assured by the marriage with the princesses of the defeated

populations, as it was the case of the Macedonian tradition and others. At the same time, the annual renewal of the king's power has been assured by the ritual act of marriage, as happened in the Scythian society, or in the old Indian one.

A third interpretation is also known, the one of *the symbolic union through the death* (Arnăuț 2003,55), which seems to be more popular, in the sense of a larger social involvement, as could be assumed in the case of the double graves with poorer inventory, that reflect a lower class of the deceased.

As regards the double women burials, it is sure the fact that the main personage, for whom the grave has been arranged and for whom the human and animal sacrifices had been done had a privileged position in his community, while the accompanying person was one of the servants. The presence with *regalia* functionality, like helmet, cnemids, ritual vessels etc. is relevant for establishing the social status of the individual. Even if, by their utilitarian use they belonged to men, warriors, ideologically they designated the power of the person who detained them. Thus, it seems that, despite their biological sex, the respective women took over the the male attributes of power. Considering that the antiquity tradition has mentioned several cases of women with high social positions, concerning the Thracians the information is just indirect, resulting from two separate inscriptions, with political character, in which a feminine name is being mentioned. We can just assume that also at the Thracian communities, alike the Greeks, Macedonians, Egyptians, Hittites etc. the women could have had some royal prerogatives, without being possible to establish of what kind: political ones, religious ones or both of them. In the case of the Scythian society, the rich graves belonging to some female individuals had been assigned to priestesses.

Conclusions

The discussed issues, as well as the observations we could make do not intent to exhaust the basic discussions regarding the Getic aristocratic graves, but to point out the necessity of some complex studies, that should include the anthropological ones. Thus we would finally be able to reveal as many as possible interesting data. By using them, we could attempt to reconstruct, as much as possible, the mental structures upon which the funerary behaviors have been based. In fact, this idea is valid for the entire funerary domain of research, as a part of the funerary anthropology. At the same time, we mention the beneficial effect of the proposal regarding some unitary principles and terminology, whose synthesis was done by V. Sîrbu, which seems to bring its contribution for avoiding the confusions and denying/ignoring some behavioral aspects, catalogued as being minor ones, due to the lack of understanding. The next step that we should make is to take over their applications each scientist for its own research field, in order to diminish the risk of creating some false theories of interpretation.

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PLAYFUL IN LIFE AND AFTER DEATH: BOARD GAMES IN EARLY HELLENISTIC THRACE

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Keywords: Thrace, Macedonia, Hellenistic period, warrior graves, board games, gaming counters, dice
Abstract: The discussion of ancient board games from the territory of modern day Bulgaria has been focused on data from the Greek *apoikiai* on the West Black Sea coast, Roman towns and Medieval settlements. An increasing number of archaeological finds from settlements, *necropoleis* and pit sanctuaries in early Hellenistic Thrace, however, allows us to embark upon the subject from a Thracian perspective. This paper deals with a still modestly researched aspect of Hellenistic everyday routine – board games by offering a short survey of available archaeological data from inland Thrace set against the broader scope of the ancient Mediterranean.

To date, the discussion of ancient board games from the territory of modern day Bulgaria has been focused, for the most part, on data from the Greek *apoikiai* on the West Black Sea coast, Roman towns (Владкова 2006, p. 279-280, Табло XIII) and Medieval settlements (Овчаров 1995, p. 136-143). In a recent study on the *astragalos*-shaped *askoi* and related items from the *necropoleis* of Apollonia Pontica at the localities Kalfata and Budzhaka, Panayotova (2008, 106, обр. 1-6) briefly touches upon the subject of playing knucklebones (*astragaloi*) by providing an overview of the available data accumulated through excavation. Among the fanciest items are four knucklebones made of deep blue, yellow and colorless glass, together with four other, slightly larger, real *astragaloi*, found in a grave dated to the early Hellenistic period (Младенова 1963, p. 307, №999, Табл. 163, 166). Some scholars interpret the knucklebones as “virtues of embodiment,” identified with sacrifice, divination (Paus. 7.25.10), the gods and fate, the dead and games of children (Kurke 1999a, p. 288; Lamer 1927, cols. 1933-1935). In opposition to them, *kuboi* or dice are understood as “artificial construction” closely related to random fortune, gambling and warfare (Kurke 1999a, p. 283-287; Lamer 1927, cols. 1935-1942).¹ An increasing amount of archaeological data from settlements, *necropoleis* and pit sanctuaries in early Hellenistic Thrace, however, allows us to embark upon the subject from a Thracian perspective. My contribution tackles a still modestly researched aspect of Hellenistic everyday routine – board games. I offer an introductory survey of published and some unpublished archaeological data from inland Thrace set against the broader scope of the ancient Mediterranean.

I open my discussion with a bronze die (Fig. 1) found in Seuthopolis, unfortunately with no context (Огненова-Маринова 1984, Кат. № 327, фиг.67). To the best of my knowledge, the object was never explained as significant, nor adduced as possible *comparanda* for the gradually increasing number of dice attested at other Thracian sites. Dice, but made of clay, have been reported from a variety of contexts. Most recently, the excavations on the fortified settlement on Mt. Dragoyna, Purvomai municipality, have brought to light a good number of clay dice (Fig. 2), associated with residential premises dated to the Hellenistic period (Кисъов, Божинова 2005, p. 119; Божинова 2007, p. 85; Божинова, Андонова 2008, p. 197, фиг. 3.1). Another specimen (Fig. 3) has been long known from the fortress “Malkoto Kale” near the village of Ravadinovo, Sozopol

¹ Konova (2005, 149, 155-156) has argued, albeit implicitly, that the deposition of *astragaloi* in Apollonia Pontica should be regarded as significant, in terms of the magic rituals related to the legend of the infant Dionysus-Zagreus, who was torn to pieces by the Titans.

municipality, found in a residential complex dated within 4th- 2nd c. BC (Домарадски, Карайотов 1982, p. 370, рис. 789, обр. 245). Similar items originate from cult sites, such as the clay die found in the pit sanctuary near the village of Gledachevo, Radnevo district (Tonkova, Savatinov 2001, p. 98, fig. 14 o). Two unpublished clay dice (Fig. 4a-b) were retrieved from 'ritual' pits during the excavations of the settlement at the locality Kostadin cheshma near the village of Debelt, Burgas district, dated to second half of the 4th c. BC (Балабанов 1999, p. 62-76; Конова 2007, p. 9-27; cf. Tzochev 2011, p. 74-75).² More examples of clay come from aristocratic male burials as well, e.g. Koylmen cist grave in Tumulus IV, Shumen district (Дремсизова-Нелчинова 1970, p. 217, № 7.e, Табл. V₅) and Grave #2 (Fig. 5) in the Mavrova tumulus near Starosel (Димитрова 2003, p. 76, №16, фиг. 7), dated to the late 4th-early 3rd c. BC. Three bronze dice, still unpublished, which will be discussed in greater detail below, come from the Golyama Kosmatka tumulus near Shipka, Kazanlak municipality (Fig. 10). The dice normally have rounded edges and corners, with dimensions ranging within 1,1-2,2cm. The numeric values are arranged so that opposite sides invariably equal seven, i.e. 6-1, 5-2, 4-3 (Figs. 2-3).

Quite similar dice, albeit made of bone, have been long known from warrior burials in Hellenistic Macedonia. More interesting, however, is their association with sets of what has been interpreted as gaming counters, *pessoi*, *lithoi*, and *psephoi* (Lamer 1927, cols. 1922-1925; Kurke 1999b, p. 253; cf. Stern 2007, p. 391-392 on *lithos khutê*). The occurrence of bone dice alongside sets of gaming counters is especially conspicuous in the early Hellenistic male graves at Methone, Sevaste, Makriyalos and Derveni, discussed in detail by Despina Ignatiadou (1999, p. 514-516), (Figs. 6-8, 11). Literary sources confirm the involvement of military personae with games of chance, such as *kubeia* and *petteia*. Philip II of Macedon, for instance, succumbed to the temptation of playing dice, even though in the story preserved in Athenaeus the game is pictured as something he would not be proud of. "On one occasion, when he was playing dice (*kubeontos*) and someone announced that Antipater had arrived, he [Philip] had no idea what to do and shoved the board he was using under his coach" (Athen. 10. 435d). His son, Alexander III, spent an entire day playing dice (*kubeon*) with a certain Medius just a few days prior to his death in 323 BC (Plut. *Alex.* 76.1). Demetrius Poliorcetes indulged in drinking and playing dice during his leisure time, when held in captivity by Seleucus I (Plut. *Dem.* 52.1) and, finally, Polybius (39.2.1, cf. Strabo 8.6.28), seeing with his own eyes the aftermath of the Roman sack of Corinth in 146 BC, laments the fact that Mummius' soldiers played *petteia* on top of famous Greek paintings already thrown on the ground. To these, we may also add the tale of the mythical king of Egypt, Rhampsinitus, who descended to Hades to play dice with Demeter, sometimes winning, sometimes losing (Hdt. 2.122), as well as that of Hermes playing *petteia* with Selene (Plut. *Moralia* 355D). Essentially, as Vermeule (1979, p. 80; cf. Garland 1985, p. 70) has put it, in the minds of Egyptians and Greeks this was supposed to be "the ultimate game with the last opponent," and I think it would be no stretch, especially in the light of the funerary context of some of the dice, to suspect that Thracians and Macedonians of the early Hellenistic period shared a sentiment that was not much different.

In Thracian milieu one notices the beginnings of a similar pattern. In the recently discovered tomb in the Golyama Kosmatka tumulus, now commonly identified with the burial of the Thracian king Seuthes III (Kitov 2005, p. 68-95; Nankov 2011, p. 1-3 with lit.), in addition to the splendid array of objects deposited in the tomb, a handful of 'marbles' (Fig. 9), rendered in two colors – deep blue and translucent greenish white, made of glass, plano-

² I am most grateful to Krasimira Kostova from Historical Museum - Sredets for the permission to include them in this article.

convex in shape, with polished surface, have also come to light.³ Initially discarded as inconsequential by Kitov (2005, p. 88, fig. 141), his later interpretation of those as game pieces for “dama” (Kitov 2008, p. 227-228) has been accepted favorably (Стоянова 2008, p. 95). Three bronze dice, however, still unpublished, originate from the tomb as well (Fig. 10).⁴ Thus, it is safe to posit that the closest parallel for the gaming counters and dice from Seuthes’ III tomb should be sought in the graves from Methone, Sevaste and Makriyalos (Figs. 6-8). It might also be significant that the Macedonian finds of *pepsoi*, *lithoi*, and *psophoi*, regarded by Ignatiadou (2002, p. 22) to be “luxury sets,” are also usually produced of glass, have a similar shape, and comply with the color distinction of colorless vs. dark (e.g. light green, blue, green, bluish green, olive and amber).

Recent excavations in the Tumulus #1 from the West necropolis of Sboryanovo brought to light a tumular burial dated to the early 3rd century BC (Гергова, Кузманов 2006, p. 213, фиг. 22), in the embankment of which, shortly before reaching the tomb, a broken stone slab (17,5 x 11,3 x 5,5cm) was uncovered, face down, with geometric pattern scratched on one surface (Fig. 12). In my opinion, the pattern inscribed on the object was correctly recognized as related to the game presently known as “dama”, as were the three identical rock-cut patterns discovered in the sanctuary near “Kamen Rid” in the vicinity of Sboryanovo (Иванов 2005, p. 218-219, фиг. 6). The excavators based their identification on the abundant evidence for the board game from Medieval Preslav, compiled and discussed in detail by Prof. Dimitar Ovcharov (1995, p. 138-139, фиг. 1). The stone slab from Tumulus #1 remained, however, securely associated with materials dated to the early Hellenistic period, which made it a unique example from the territory of ancient Thrace.

In a later publication, Gergova (2008, p. 256, 258, фиг. 3) attempted to resolve the obvious chronological disparity by suggesting that the stone slab from Tumulus #1 was not only associated with the rites accompanying the Hellenistic burial, but also was in fact an *eschara*; she founded her proposition on the slab’s, in my view, superficial resemblance with the geometric patterns known from other Thracian *escharai*, the *eschara* from the tomb #2 at Yankovo, Shumen district, in particular (Гергова 2008, фиг. 6). The upshot was that no longer the find be considered a board game. I find several reasons to object to the revision of Gergova’s primary interpretation. Firstly, a clay plaque (16 x 12,5 x 3cm) from the agora at Thessalonike dated to the Roman period (Ignatiadou 1999, p. 510), (Fig. 13) points to the fact that the game was in fact known on the Balkans before the Middle Ages. Further support to the early occurrence of the board game which later Shakespeare in his comedy, *Midsummer Night’s Dream* (1595-1596)⁵ would call “Nine Men’s Morris” (Vroom 1999, p. 97-102, fig. 4), is offered by Ovid (*Ars Amatoria* 3.365-366), who is believed to have described a simpler version of it, the modern tic-tac-toe.⁶ A similar, if not identical, board game may be seen in a clay plaque (24,5 x 24,5 x 2cm) found in an early Hellenistic warrior grave (C2M.10) from the Getic necropolis in Zimnicea, identified by MacKendrick (1975, p. 47) as “a gaming

³ Gaming counters have been recently reported from the site at the Adjijaska vodenica near the village of Vetren, Septemvri municipality, commonly identified with Pistiros (Archibald 2002, p. 337-338). At this point, however, no further details about them are available. In addition, a worked *astragalos* was retrieved from a pit in square B21, inscribed with Greek letters on both sides (Archibald 2002, p. 325, Pl. 27b-c). Similar examples are known from Apollonia Pontica (Панайотова 2008, p. 107, обр. 9).

⁴ I am most grateful to Meglena Parvin from Historical Museum “Iskra”, Kazanluk for the permission to include them in this article.

⁵ “The nine men morris is fill’d up with mud;
And the quaint mazes in the wanton green,
For lack of tread are distinguishable.”

(*Midsummer Night’s Dream*, act ii, scene 2)

⁶ Ignatiadou (1999, p. 510) incorrectly identifies the gaming table from Thessalonike (Fig. 13) as a tic-tac-toe, sometimes referred to as the Three Men’s Morris (Austin 1940, p. 267).

board” (Fig. 13a-b).⁷ Although the majority of solid archaeological evidence showing the games’ popularity in both Thrace and Greece comes from the Medieval period, Murray’s (1952, p. 44) assertion that Nine Men’s Morris existed in classical Greece, based only on literary accounts and representations on Greek painted pottery, may not be off the mark, especially in light of the gaming boards from Sboryanovo and Zimnicea (?), thereby proving his critics wrong (e.g. Vroom 1999, p. 102).

A further observation is in order. Since the board game that made use of the tables found at Sboryanovo and Zimnicea (Figs. 12, 14a-b) was played with no dice, it is reasonable to suggest that all these implements belong to games of strategy, e.g. *poleis*, *diagrammismos* or *grammai* (Lamer 1927, cols. 1973-1976; Austin 1940, p. 263-267), distinguished from the games of chance, requiring the implementation of dice, *astragaloï*, etc. such as *kuboi*, *pende grammai*, *petteia* (Lamer 1927, cols. 1966-1973; Austin 1940, p. 267-271). In addition to the obvious lack of dice in Tomb B at Derveni (Fig. 11), it was suggested that the burial contained wooden gaming board, based on several iron fittings and wooden fragments found among the grave goods (Ignatiadou 1999, p. 513, figs. 10-12, pl. 1-3).⁸ Of course, the wooden board is not an indispensable accessory, since, at the most basic level, the Nine Men’s Morris needed no special preparations or fancy equipment in order to be played; impromptu lines drawn in the sand, for example, or scratches on sidewalks, architectural blocks, tiles, etc., along with a set of pebbles of two different colors sufficed, as much evidence throughout history demonstrates (Обчаров 1995, p. 138; Vroom 1999, p. 104). The presence of the luxury gaming counters, however, does imply a more elaborate setting for the aristocratic entertainment. Although it might be tempting to suggest that the gaming counters from Golyama Kosmatka (Fig. 9) were used to play a board game similar, if not identical, to the Nine Men’s Morris, especially because of the coincidence of the number of counters utilized by the players (9+9), the now established presence of dice (Fig. 9) would exclude such a possibility.⁹

Finally, it is important to briefly discuss another point. Should we consider significant that within residential contexts the association of gaming paraphernalia with military personnel could be suggested, albeit not securely established, whereas in the funerary contexts from Thrace (Golyama Kosmatka, Koylmen, Mavrova mogila, Zimnicea) and Macedonia (Derveni, Methone, Sevaste, Makriyalos) board games and warriors are linked exclusively? One does not need to have been a soldier oneself to appreciate Morris and Papadopoulos’ (2004, p. 235) recent observation that “idle soldiers may often play games.” It is perhaps no coincidence that board games and military tactics are mentioned together in the story of the Greek hero Palamedes, who, among many other things, is credited with their invention (Soph. *Fr.* 479; Pl. *Gorg.* fr. B11a; cf. Woodford 1994, p. 165, n. 15, 169). One of the most outstanding images connecting hero-warriors with board games is the famous

⁷ In the main publication of the necropolis, however, Alexandrescu (1980, p. 20-21, 53, figs. 58/3, 68/18) interprets the object as an “âtre en miniature”, comparing it with the *eschara* from Tumulus #2 near Sveshtari, a proposition accepted uncritically by Gergova (2008, p. 257, figs. 1, 11.3).

⁸ Recent rescue excavation at Koukos near Pydna exposed a rich grave belonging to a “senior Macedonian officer”, furnished with weapons, pottery, a gilded bronze wreath, including a gaming board alongside with 52 glass and 5 bone counters (Archibald 2011, p. 95, fig. 145).

⁹ It may be argued that the dark counters belonged to a single set used over a long period of time. If so, it is conceivable that the counter of vibrant blue replaced an original counter of deep blue that was lost. In addition to a full set of 9 counters of translucent greenish white, there are 3 others made of more crumbly material, not glass, with darker overtones and of slightly smaller dimensions, possibly from another set. Meglena Parvin informed me that there were two other counters inventoried under a different number, #1784, reaching a total of 23. For the number of counters needed to play the various board games in antiquity, as attested in the literary sources, see (Lamer 1927, cols. 1926-1927).

depiction of Ajax and Achilles, seated, playing on a gaming table, as shown on a black-figure amphora by Exekias (Fig. 15).¹⁰

It may be argued that board games bear strong resemblance to the skills and moral exercised on the battlefield, especially games of strategy, like Nine Men's Morris, since they required careful planning. Games of chance, such as *kubeia* or *petteia*, on the other hand, because they toy with the favors of *Tyche*, signaled the occurrence of intemperance and indulgence deemed inappropriate for a king and/or high-ranking military leader, which might explain the childish reaction of Phillip II, who hid away his gaming table, or the immoderation of Alexander III and Demetrius Poliorcetes during their final days. Yet, the archaeology of Seuthes' III tomb, along with the graves at Koylmen and Mavrova tumulus, reveals that Thracian king(s) and military leaders were no different from their Macedonian contemporaries; playing dice emerges as frequent pastime activity.

The deposition of gaming sets – with or without dice – in warrior's graves, I argue, may not be different from that of one's sword, spears or arrowheads; they were all there because each was essential for the construction of the deceased as victorious, in battle or in game. In addition, the gaming paraphernalia in funerary contexts might be seen as an indication of a lingering perception of the afterlife, in which the blessed, in accordance with Pindar's vision (Frg. 129.6), secure a special place in the realm of Hades – a meadow, where the dead occupy themselves with horse-riding, gymnastics, board games (*pessoi*) and music.

I close with a question, which is, as of now, difficult to answer: should we think of board- games as something exclusively enjoyed by the upper levels of society vis-à-vis military aristocracy of the early Hellenistic Thrace, or were they also, just like in the Medieval period, an everyday routine for people from all walks of life, who played them vigorously at their homes, as is suggested by the dice found at Seuthopolis, Dragoyna and Ravadinovo?

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¹⁰ For other images of people playing board games, see (Vermeule 1979, fig. 36; Woodford 1982, p. 184-185, pls. I-VI; Morris and Papadopoulos 2004, figs. 11.4, 11.8).

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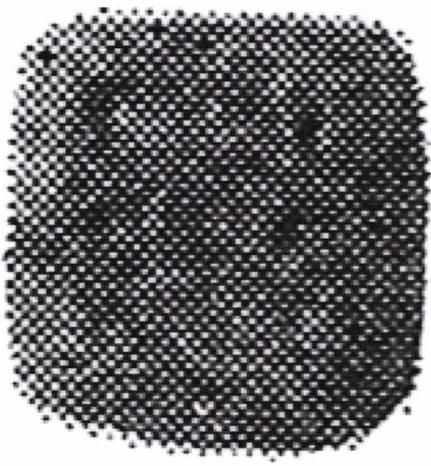


Fig. 1

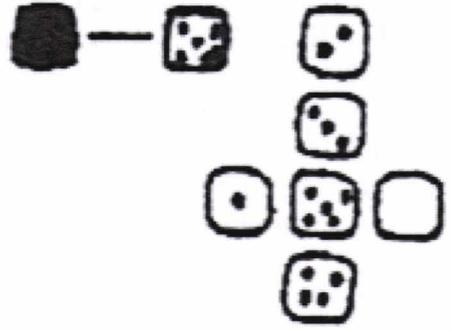


Fig. 2

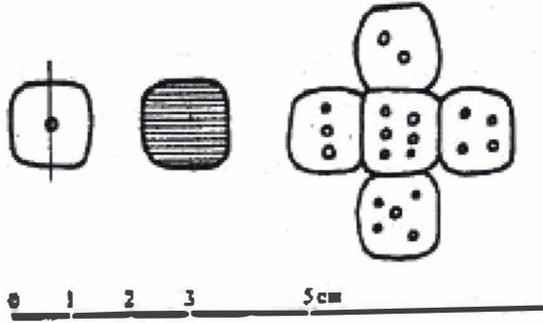


Fig. 3



Fig. 4a

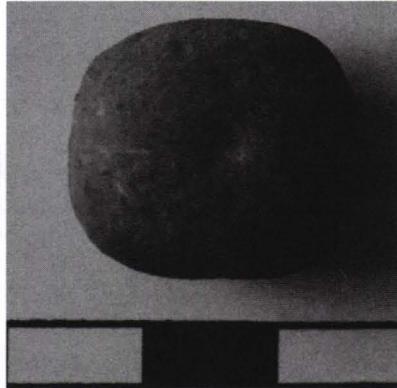


Fig. 4b

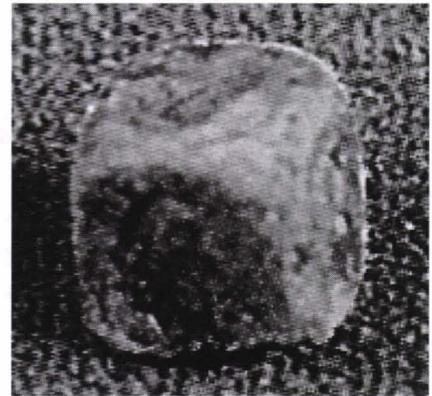


Fig. 5

Fig. 1. Bronze die from Seuthopolis, 1, 1cm (after Огненова-Маринова 1984, фиг.67)

Fig. 2. Clay die fromDragoyna, line drawing (after Божинова, Андонова 2008, 197, фиг. 3.1)

Fig. 3. Clay die from "Malkoto Kale", Ravadinovo, line drawing (after Домарадски, Карайотов 1982, рис. 789)

Fig. 4a-b. Clay dice from locality "Kostadin cheshma", Debelt, inv. #218, [2,2cm], #249 [1,9cm]; Historical Museum – Sredets (photos: courtesy of Krasimira Kostova)

Fig. 5. Clay die fromMavrova mogila, Starosel (after Димитрова 2003, фиг. 7)

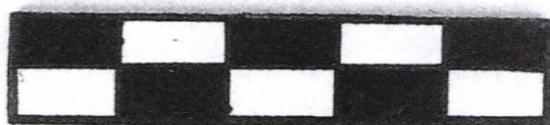


Fig. 6

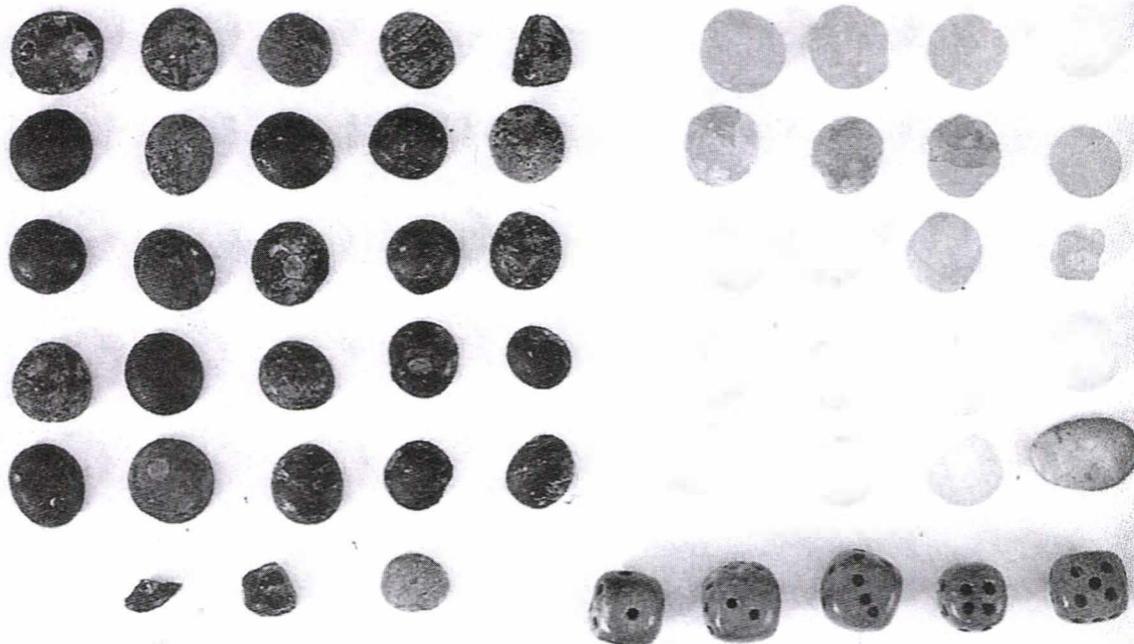


Fig. 7

Fig. 6. Gaming counters and bone dice from Methone (after Ignatiadou 1999, fig. 2)

Fig. 7. Gaming counters and bone dice from Sevaste (after Ignatiadou 1999, fig. 3)



Fig. 8



Fig. 9

Fig. 8. Gaming counters and bone dice from Makriyalos (after Ignatiadou 1999, fig. 6)

Fig. 9. Gaming counters from Golyama Kosmatka, Shipka, inv. #1770, Historical Museum "Iskra", Kazanluk (photo:



Fig. 10



Fig. 11

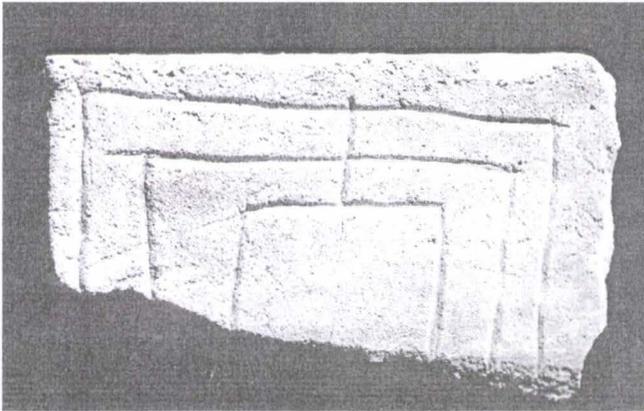


Fig. 12

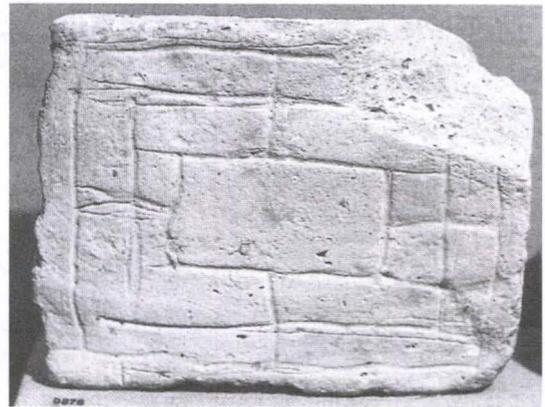


Fig. 13

Fig. 10. Bronze dice from Golyama Kosmatka, Shipka, 1,2cm, inv. #1745, Historical Museum "Iskra", Kazanluk (photo: courtesy of Meglena Parvin)

Fig. 11. Gaming counters from Tomb B, Derveni (after Ignatiadou 1999, fig. 1)

Fig. 12. Gaming table from Tumulus #1, West necropolis, Sboryanovo, stone (after Герова 2008, фиг. 3)

Fig. 13. Gaming table from the Roman agora at Thessalonike, Dikastirion, clay (after Ignatiadou 1999, fig. 9)

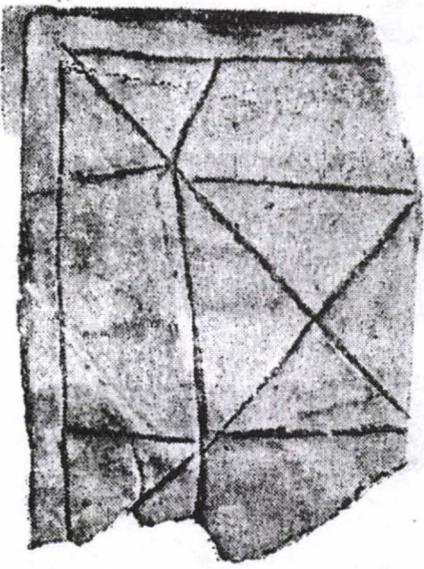


Fig. 14a

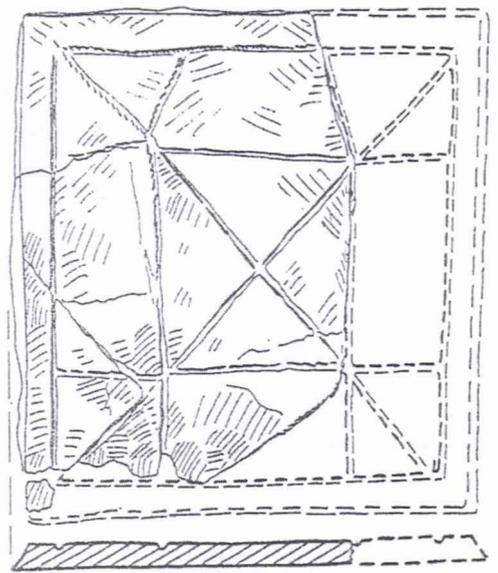


Fig. 14b

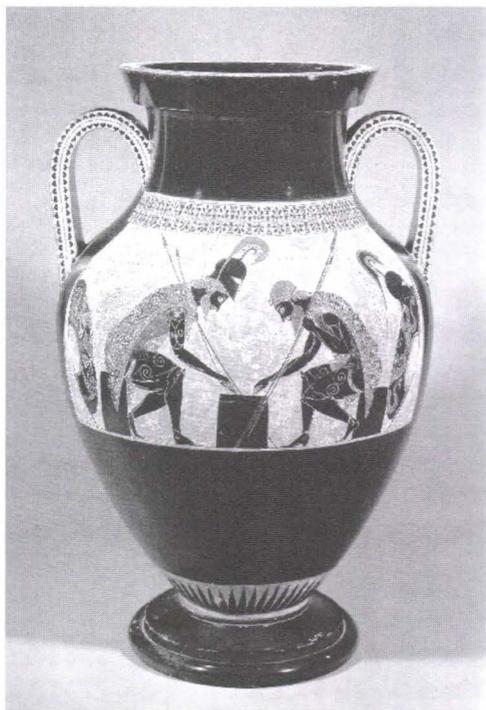


Fig. 15

Fig. 14a-b. Gaming table from Grave C2M.10 from the early Hellenistic necropolis near Zimnicea, clay (after Alexandrescu 1980, fig. 68/18 and Гергова 2008, фиг. 11.3)

Fig. 15. Achilles and Ajax playing a board game at Troy. Black-figure Type A belly amphora by Exekias, ca. 540 BC, Vulci (after Morris and Papadopoulos 2004, fig. 11.5)

THE BĂRĂGAN IN THE 1ST-3RD CENTURIES AD: DACIANS, ROMANS, SARMATIANS

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Key-words: Bărăgan, settlements, graves, Dacians, Sarmatians, Roman Empire; 1st – 3rd c. AD

Abstract. After the demographic boom of the 2nd-1st c. BC, resulting in the emergence of many Geto-Dacian settlements in the Danube Plains, the Roman policy for securing the borders of the Empire undergoes radical changes in the region. The Bărăgan, the eastern part of the Romanian Plains, with a very low population density after the beginning of the 1st c. AD, is infiltrated by Sarmatian communities at the end of the 1st c. AD and the beginning of the next one. A very large number of Sarmatian vestiges are found, particularly around the present-day cities of Brăila, Călărași and Oltenița. It only seems that this is counter to the security policy of the Roman Empire, since the Sarmatian communities in the area were, in fact, under Roman control. There are some arguments in favour of this statement: the low number of clusters of Sarmatian graves (the largest grave clusters from the Danube Plains are in Râmnicelu-*Popină* and Oltenița-*Renie*, with 16 burials), the absence of tumulus graves and the small number of Sarmatian graves where weapons were present. A new wave of Sarmatians comes into Wallachia at the end of the 2nd century AD, but this also takes place under the watch of the Roman military, whose presence is archaeologically documented, in the environment of the free Dacians and an area of interaction of those peoples (on the territory of Bucharest, for example). The Roman loss of control over Wallachia takes place, most likely, in the context of the attacks by barbarian peoples during the second half of the 3rd century.

This study aims to outline the main issues in the history of the Bărăgan region during the 1st – 3rd c. AD and to connect the historical events to the archaeological finds. We would like to make clear from the very beginning that our aim is not to have a comprehensive review, neither of the events that marked the three centuries in question, nor of the archaeological finds. Our aim is to have a summary that emphasizes the changes in the status of the Bărăgan area in particular, and sometimes of the entire Wallachia, as well the way that these changes are reflected in the archaeological landscape.

The main difficulty, often encountered while writing this study, has consisted of the multitude of contradicting interpretations of some archaeological finds. The same archaeological discoveries are at the foundation of very different hypotheses regarding the evolution of Wallachia during the 1st – 3rd c. AD. We will give but one example in that respect: the Sarmatian influx, which is the main phenomenon in the archaeological landscape of Bărăgan throughout the three centuries, is viewed either as a result of the loss of Roman control over Wallachia under emperor Hadrian, or as a situation controlled almost constantly by the Romans. The examples can go on, but the main purpose of this work is not to review the literature on Wallachia during the 1st – 3rd c. AD. The situation is the consequence, partially, of the limited or, sometimes, contradictory data from the ancient written sources, and the fact that the archaeological finds are also incomplete.

This study is meant to bring together and distil the opinions that the two authors expressed on several occasions and to put forward a coherent outline of the history of the Bărăgan area, seen as a part of Wallachia.

The 2nd – 1st c. BC are seeing, all over Wallachia, a real demographic boom (Fig. 1), as documented archaeologically in the multiplication of the number of settlements, fortified or not (Conovici 1985, 81). Regardless of whether Burebista was native of Wallachia or not (see the debate, in short, in Crișan 1977, 125-140), the area in question continues to play a major part in the political history of the Geto-Dacian world up until the middle – second half of the 1st c. BC, apparently a time of crisis in the region. Certain researchers connect the destruction of some settlements (Căscioarele, Cățelu Nou) and fortified centres (Zimnicea, Crăsanii de Jos-*Piscul Crășani*, Radovanu, Cetățeni, Cârломănești) in Wallachia to the fights that accompanied the unification of the Geto-Dacian tribes under Burebista (Babeș 2001, 135), but the archaeological

excavations did not confirm this hypothesis in all of these sites. However, one cannot rule out that this destruction took place after his reign, as claimed by other researchers (Conovici 1985, 81; Preda 1986 b, 92; Sîrbu 1996, 54; Sîrbu, Damian, Alexandrescu, Safta, Damian, Pandrea, Niculescu 1996, 102, 150). As the 1st c. AD started, the plains area of Wallachia draws the attention of Rome, whose borders gradually expand towards the Danube (Petolescu 2010, 71-72). Under the rule of Augustus, several Roman military incursions take place close to Danube and even north of the river (Bogdan-Cătăniciu 1997, 19; Petolescu 2010, 73; Syme 1934, 130-131). The campaign of Aelius Catus north of the Danube is another milestone in the history of Bărăgan, since it marks the beginning of a new stage in the Roman policy, aimed mainly at creating a “buffer zone” north of the river (Pippidi 1967, 306). The main way to do that was to move population from the north to the south of the river, as done by Aelius Catus, sometime in the first years of the 1st c. AD, and by Tib. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus in the sixth decade of the same century (Petolescu 2010, 79-80; Pippidi 1967, 305-308).

It is possible that several fortresses and settlements, mostly concentrated in the plains area of Wallachia, cease to exist under Augustus, most likely as a result of the campaign by Aelius Catus. Such places are Chirnogi, Radovanu, Sărulești or the settlements on the territory of present-day Bucharest (Bichir 1996, 303; Conovici 1985, 81; Preda 1986 b, 90; Preda 1986b, 90). It is difficult to say to what extent these actions “emptied” Wallachia of people. It is most likely that the demographic losses were very high, but we need to stress that the line of presence was not broken. That line might have been very limited, but that could also be a result of the stage of the research. The *dava* in Sprâncenata (Preda 1986a, 122) and the settlement in Popina Bordușani (Trohani 2007, 216) go on until mid-1st c. AD and possibly later, in the second case. Also, other Dacian sites continue to be active until the end of the 1st c. AD, such as Bărboși (Sanie 1983, 141-151; Sîrbu, Croitoru 2013), on the Danube’s left bank, or Pietroasa Mică-*Gruuiu Dării* (Sîrbu, Matei, Dupoi 2005) and Cetățeni (Măndescu 2003, 129-137), in the sub-Carpathian area.

In our opinion, the Geto-Dacian inhabitation of Wallachia ceases gradually and must be regarded as a long and regional process that took place from the second half of the 1st c. BC until the end of the 1st c. AD and had more than one cause (Fig. 1). Whereas in the beginning the reason could have been inter-tribal or local violence or a difficult environment, as of the beginning of the 1st c. AD, the main factor was the Roman power.

The attacks on the south-Danubian territories by the Roxolans during the winters of AD 67/68, 68/69 and 69/70 (Coulston 2003, 416, note 10) and by the Dacians in the year 69 (Petolescu 2010, 81) are not just shocking for the Roman world, at least initially (Coulston 2003, 433), but also change the frontier policy of the Roman Empire, towards strengthening the Danube bank with legions and auxiliary troops and creating the Danubian fleet (Opreanu 1998, 34; Petolescu 2010, 81-82; Suceveanu, Barnea 1991, 28-29).

The Dacian attack in the winter of 85/86 triggered a series of events with profound consequences for the entire Lower Danube region. The split of Moesia in AD 86, the campaigns led by Cornelius Fuscus and Tettius Iulianus in AD 87 and 88 and the peace treaty concluded by emperor Domitian with king Decebal in AD 89 are not apparently connected with Bărăgan, but drastically change the status of this region, by putting it under Roman control (Lica 1996, 127). The Roman control over the Bărăgan area and beyond, as shown by the *castra* in the sub-Carpathian part of Wallachia, is the key constant that needs to be taken into account for the next three centuries or so in the history of the region under analysis (Fig. 3). The two wars by Emperor Trajan against the Dacian kingdom do not change the status of Bărăgan in any way, given that it is one of the territories making up the province of Moesia Inferior (Petolescu 2010, 163-164; Syme 1959, 30-31; Vulpe 1961, 369-372). *Historically speaking*, the change in the status of Wallachia, namely including Bărăgan and southern Moldavia, takes place when Hadrian decided to withdraw the Roman troops from the aforementioned areas. Most of the researchers see the decision of Hadrian as abandoning Wallachia (Bichir 1996, 304; Bogdan-Cătăniciu 1997, 57; Opreanu 1998, 55; Petolescu 2010, 306). However, according to R. Vulpe, the withdrawal of the Roman army from Wallachia and southern Moldavia is not in any way an act of abandoning, but just “a detail

adjustment in the internal distribution of the troops in the Lower Danube area, according to a defensive attitude installed definitively” (Vulpe 1961, 378).

Something that was mostly archaeologically visible, but is strongly connected to the aforementioned historical events, is the Sarmatian influx in Wallachia (Fig. 2; 3), which, based on a careful analysis, can shed some light on the region in question. So far, most of the opinions believe that the Sarmatian influx in Wallachia is a direct consequence of the withdrawal of the Roman troops (Bichir 1977, 191; Bichir 1996, 304; Bogdan-Cătaniciu 1997, 139; Opreanu 1998, 64).

On more than one occasion (Oța 2007, 51-52; Oța, Sîrbu 2009, 181), we explained why our opinion is different from what is commonly accepted, namely that the Sarmatians settled in Wallachia *under the supervision and with the agreement of the Roman authorities*.

The arguments derive from a number of characteristics of the Sarmatian burials in Wallachia, since the graves are only vestiges of those communities (Fig. 3).

The first argument is the small number of Sarmatian graves in Wallachia, 238 attested so far (Oța, Sîrbu, Matei 2013, 325-326), most likely a reflection of the relatively small number of Sarmatians settled in area, all the more so as these finds are spread over two centuries.

The second argument is the small number of graves found together in any one place, with the exception (at least at this stage of the research) of the clusters of 16 graves in Râmnicelu-*Popină* (Harțuche 1980, 216-224; Oța, Sîrbu 2009, 130-132) and Oltenița-Renie (Morintz, Ionescu 1968, 95, 96; Morintz, Ionescu 1970(1971), 38), plus the 14 Sarmatian graves in Bucu (CCA campaign of 2005, 99; CCA campaign of 2007, 58; Rența 2000, 39-42).

The scarcity of tumular graves, indicators of an outstanding status, represent the third characteristic of the Sarmatian burials found so far in Wallachia (Oța 2007, 52), which supports the idea of the communities' being under Roman control.

The absence of a genuine and large warrior aristocracy, which could give the military chiefs to be called *reges* by the literary sources, chiefs who could conclude military treaties with the Roman Empire (Opreanu 1998, 75), can be suggested by the small number of Sarmatian graves from Wallachia where weapons were present – only 25 (Oța, Sîrbu, Matei 2013, 331).

The four aforementioned arguments could be joined by a fifth, with the caveat that it reflects just the current stage of the archaeological research, with no certainty that it mirrors reality. When looking at the territorial distribution of the Sarmatian finds in Wallachia (Niculescu 2003, Abb. 3; Oța 1999, map 1; Oța, Sîrbu 2012, fig. 9), one sees that the main grave clusters are concentrated in areas of significant Roman military presence (Fig. 3). Namely, the graves from the Brăila Plains and the area of the Buzău and Ialomița rivers overlap with a sector of the limes dominated by the Roman fortifications in Barboși, Carsium and especially Troesmis, which was the headquarters, up to AD 168/169, of *V Macedonica* legion (Petolescu 2010, 197), and the grave clusters from the Călărași – Oltenița region are in the domain of *XI Claudia* legion, with the headquarters in Durostorum (Petolescu 2000, 46). The image that we get, *based on archaeological finds* is of the communities that were low in numbers, with few members that belonged to an elite warrior (Oța 2007, 53; Oța, Sîrbu, Matei 2013, 327-328).

The chronology that we are putting forward for the Sarmatian graves in Wallachia (Oța, Sîrbu 2009, 178-183, completed in Oța, Sîrbu 2010, 192-195 and 2012, 139-144), revolves around the idea that the Sarmatians entered Wallachia *not just in a single historical moment, but in several stages*. The initial stage takes place over a rather long period, consisting of the last decade of the 1st c. AD and the first decades of the following century (Oța, Sîrbu 2009, 180-181).

Strictly in terms of the chronology of the Sarmatian graves, the withdrawal of the Roman troops from Wallachia does not seem to have a significant impact and it cannot be pinpointed. The action by emperor Hadrian seems to have had more of an echo inside the Empire, as expected, but, as far as the archaeological evidence show, it did not represent a time of crisis or fundamental change in the archaeological landscape of Wallachia and, implicitly, Bărăgan. That is why we emphasize that the change of status of Wallachia is visible only *in the written historical sources*. Apparently, the hypothesis that the Sarmatians entered Wallachia with the agreement of the Roman authorities seems to contradict the events of a period marked, at least between AD 68 and 106, by

repeated armed confrontation between the Dacians and the Romans and between the Sarmatians and the Romans. However, we must not lose sight of the fact that the same period is a time of treaties of *amicitia* between Domitian and the Dacians and between Trajan or Hadrian and the Sarmatians (Opreanu 1998, 52-54; Petolescu 2010, 106-107 and 166), which allowed for the settlement of Sarmatian communities in Wallachia, particularly Bărăgan. Even if one accepts that the Sarmatians settled in Wallachia after AD 117/118, the idea of an agreement with the Romans cannot be entirely rejected, since the Sarmatian groups could have played the role of surveillance and warning regarding attacks towards Moesia Inferior.

The current stage of the research shows a concentration of Sarmatian graves in Bărăgan, such as in the Brăila Plains, with an extension towards the transition from the plains to the Curvature Sub-Carpathians, namely the Buzău area, and along the lower part of the Ialomița, Mostiștea and Argeș rivers (Fig. 2; 3). The highest density of settlements and necropolises attributed to the free Dacians (the so-called Chilia-Militari culture) is attested in the sub-Carpathian area and west of Wallachia, namely in another territory than the one chosen by the Sarmatians (Niculescu 2003, 180 and 182)(Fig. 4). Therefore, the statements of Gh. Bichir regarding the presence of Dacian people all over the area between the Carpathians and the Danube during the 2nd – 3rd c. AD (Bichir 1984, 97) is not supported even by the maps published by the same researcher (Bichir 1984, pl. I/2).

Not all the Sarmatian graves in Wallachia can be precisely dated.

We believe that the first stage of the Sarmatian influx in Wallachia generated the grave clusters from Râmnicelu-*Popină*, Lișcoteanca-*Movila Olarului*, Lișcoteanca-*Moș Filon* (Fig. 5/5-6), Lișcoteanca-*Movila din Baltă*, Jugureanu (Oța, Sîrbu 2009, 185-190) and Ulmeni (Oța, Sîrbu 2010, 192)(Fig. 5/7-11), plus the isolated graves from Vitănești (Fig. 6) and Mohreanu, “the treasure in Buzău”(Fig. 7) (Oța, Sîrbu 2010, 191-193), possibly the burial in Roșiori (Oța, Sîrbu 2009, 196). As far as we can learn for the current stage of the research, the graves that can be connected to the first stage of the Sarmatian influx are concentrated in an area focused on the eastern part of Bărăgan, namely the Brăila Plains or around the present-day city of Oltenița. For now, the only exception is the tumulus in Vitănești, which is much farther west, on the left bank of the Teleorman river (Leahu, Trohani 1979, 127-128). The Sarmatian graves that belonged to members of the elite are concentrated in this first stage: the tumulus in Vitănești (Fig. 6), “the treasure in Buzău” (Fig. 7), the secondary graves in the older tumuli from Mohreanu and Roșiori, the bronze casserole from Ulmeni (Oța, Sîrbu 2010, 193), but we need to stress that it is more likely that they belonged to women (Vitănești, “the treasure in Buzău”). Graves with weapons were found only in the Brăila Plains, mostly in small numbers, except for the group from Lișcoteanca-*Moș Filon* (Oța, Sîrbu, Matei 2013, 331)(Fig. 5/6).

Another essential moment in the history of the Roman Empire, which left its mark on the development in the Bărăgan as well, are the wars starting in AD 168, when emperor Marcus Aurelianus fought a vast barbarian coalition in the area of the Superior and Middle Danube (Petolescu 2000, 167-168, 2010, 168). The “large etno-demographic movements” (Opreanu 1998, 72) during the Marcomannic wars also affect Bărăgan, since we are now seeing the second wave of Sarmatians.

Even under the aforementioned conditions, where a more precise dating is still an objective of the research on some Sarmatian graves from Wallachia, there is a higher number of Sarmatian graves that can be dated during the second stage, which means, in all likelihood, that more Sarmatians are present in Wallachia. The Sarmatian graves are clustered in the same areas as before: a) Brăila Plains, where one has found the complexes from Brăila-*Liceul de chimie*, Brăila-*Radu Negru*, Brăila-*Hipodrom* (Fig. 5/1-4), Chiscani-*sat* (Fig. 9) and Chiscani-*Trei Movile*, Grădiștea (Oța, Sîrbu 2009, 191-195), b) the Buzău area, which yielded the graves from Buzău-*sud* and Largu (Fig. 8/4-12) (Oța, Sîrbu 2012, 140-141) and c) the lower part of the Ialomița and Argeș rivers and the area between them, where we have the complexes from Bucu (Fig. 8/1-3), Gura Ialomiței, Oltenița-*Renie*, Căscioarele (Fig. 10) and Cetatea Veche (Oța, Sîrbu 2012, 140-143).

Much more to the west, in the lower part of the Vedeia river, was found the grave cluster from Păuleasca (Oța, Sîrbu 2012, 143-144).

Except for the high number of finds, the characteristics of the graves from the second stage are the same as those seen in the case of the graves from the first stage: a) grave clusters, with varying proportions of adults and children, with the only exceptions being Brăila-*Hipodrom* and, possibly, Buzău-*Sud* (Oța, Sîrbu, Matei 2013, 327), b) the small number of dead with weapons, seen only in Brăila-*Hipodrom*, Largu, Grădiștea, Bucu and Oltenița-Renie (Oța, Sîrbu, Matei 2013, 331) and c) the appearance of a genuine series of feminine graves with numerous and diverse grave-goods – Brăila-*Radu Negru*, Chiscani-*sat* (Fig. 9), where the grave from Căscioarele (Fig. 10) stands out, as it obviously belonged to a member of the Sarmatian elite (Oța, Sîrbu, Matei 2013, 336-337).

Besides the intrusion of a new Sarmatian wave, another two phenomena mark the development of the Bărăgan area starting with the end of the 2nd century and throughout the entire next century. One of these is the extension towards the Danube of the finds that can be attributed to the Dacians (Bogdan-Cătănciu 1997, 140; Petolescu 1972, 205). The other is the presence, archaeologically documented with the weaponry, of detachments of the Roman army in Wallachia, at Mătăsaru (Bogdan-Cătănciu 1997, 140; Opreanu 1998, 77-78; Petculescu 1993, 185; Petculescu 1999, 900), Târșor and București-Giulești (Petculescu 1999, 900).

The presence in Bărăgan of the two peoples, the Sarmatians and the Dacians, under the watch of the Roman army, results in an interesting evolution, but one that is not yet sufficiently explored archaeologically and explained. Whereas the areas of Dacian and the Sarmatian finds “complement” each other (Niculescu 2003, 182) in the first stage of the Sarmatian presence in Wallachia, the 3rd century AD brings about an overlap of the territories, visible archaeologically in the discovery of several Dacian settlements along Danube, such as in Curcani, Budești, Vasilați, Zimnicea, Bragadiru, Arsachi and Giurgiu (Bichir 1984, pl. I/2 and p. 92). The most representative example of the overlapping of the areas are the finds on the territory and surroundings of present-day Bucharest, where were found: a) *Dacian settlements* in Tei, from the end of the 2nd century until the rule of Gallienus (Negru, Oța 2004, 332) and Militari, in the interval between the year 230 and the third quarter of the 3rd century (Negru, Schuster, Moise 2000, 134), b) a *Roman military outpost* in București-Giulești, in the first half of the 3rd century (Petculescu 1999, 900) and c) *Sarmatian graves* in Jilava (from the second influx stage; Oța, Sîrbu 2012, 141), Dealul Piscului and Mogoșoaia (Tzony 1975, 283, 286).

The repeated attacks of the barbarian peoples against the Roman provinces, starting with AD 238 (Petolescu 2010, 281-286) had profound consequences on the status of Wallachia, where Roman control ends, most likely around mid-3rd c. AD (Petculescu 1999, 900). The power equilibrium from the first half of that century is unsettled and the archaeological landscape of Wallachia changes: a) the Carps infiltrate in the north-eastern region of Wallachia (Bichir 1984, 99), b) a final wave of Sarmatians enters the Brăila Plains, as seen in the graves from Spiru Haret and Tichilești (Fig. 12) (Oța, Sîrbu 2009, 196) and c) the appearance of Sarmatian graves west of the *limes translutanus*, in Mărunței, Stejaru, Viespești (Fig. 11) (Oța, Sîrbu, Grosu 2012, 201-216).

Those developments are joined, in the last quarter of the 3rd century, by the changes in the material culture of some of the Dacian settlements, namely the emergence of items that can be connected to the Sântana de Mureș - Cerneahov culture (Niculescu 2003, 191-192 and notes 63-65) and of graves of the same culture (Niculescu 2003, 195), which is the start of a process that, over the next century, will archaeologically and historically reshape the area of Bărăgan.

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List of localities

Fig. 1. Geto-Dacian sites from the 2nd c. BC – 1st c. AD.

Legend: a. dava, b. fortresses (*apud* Babeş 2010)..

List of localities: 1 Arpaşu de Sus, 2 Barboşi, 3 Băniţa, 4 Bâzdâna, 5 Berindia, 6 Borduşani, 7 Brad (*Zargidava?*), 8 Căpâlna, 9 Căndeşti, 10 Cărlomăneşti, 11 Celei (*Sucidava*), 12 Cetăţeni, 13 Ciceu-Corabia, 14 Cladova, 15 Clit, 16 Costeşti, 17 Covasna, 18 Cugir, 19 Divici, 20 Fiţioneşti, 21 Grădiştea, 22 Grădiştea Muncelului (*Sarmizegethusa basileion*), 23 Gura Vitioarei, 24 Homorâciu, 25 Jigodin I, II, 26 Malaja Kopanja, 27 Marca, 28 Mihăileni, 29 Moigrad (*Porolissum*), 30 Ocniţa (*Buridava*), 31 Onceşti, 32 Orlovka (*Aliobrix?*), 33 Pecica (*Ziridava?*), 34 Piatra Craivii (*Apoulon?*), 35 Piatra Neamţ - Bâta Doamnei, 36 Piatra Roşie (Luncani), 37 Piatra Şoimului (Calu), 38 Pietroasele-*Gruia Dării*, 39 Crăsanii de Jos-*Piscul Crăsani*, 40 Pleaşov, 41 Poiana (*Piromboridava*), 42 Polovragi, 43 Popeşti (*Argedava?*), 44 Racoş (Augustin), 45 Radovanu, 46 Răcăţiu (*Tamasidava?*), 47 Satu Nou, 48 Sărăţel, 49 Săvârşin, 50 Sighişoara-*Wietenberg*, 51 Socu-Bărbăteşti, 52 Solotvino, 53 Sprâncenata, 54 Stenca Liubcovei, 55 Şimleul Silvaniei, 56 Tăşad, 57 Tilişca, 58 Tinosu, 59 Tulcea (*Aegyssus?*), 60 Zemplin, 61 Zimnicea, 62 Židovar

Fig. 2. Sarmatian discoveries from Moldova and Wallachia.

Legend: 1. Flat graves, 2. secondary graves in old tumuli, 3. secondary graves and plane graves, 4. tumulus graves, 5. tumulus graves or secondary graves in old tumuli ? (*apud* Bichir 1977)

List of localities: 1 Mitoc, 2 Broscăuţi, 3 Vlăsineşti, 4 Bucecea, 5 Dîngeni, 6 Ştefăneşti, 7 Truşeşti, 8 Pogorăşti, 9 Glăvăneştii Vechi, 10 Probotă, 11 Larga Jijia, 12 Leţcani, 13 Valea Lupului, 14 Cristeşti, 15 Holboca, 16 Găneşti, 17 Popeşti, 18 Şerboteşti, 19 Vaslui, 20 Poienişti, 21 Unţeşti, 22 Suseni, 23 Şuletea, 24 Epureni, 25 Băcani, 26 Bîrlad-Fabrica de confecţii, 27 Bîrlad-Prodana, 28 Ciocani, 29 Iveşti, 30 Cioinagi-Balinteşti, 31 Poiana-Tecuci, 32 Tecuci, 33 Focşani, 34 Ijdileni, 35 Şendreni, 36 Piatra Frecăţei, 37 Histria-necropolă, 38 Histria-cetate, 39 Constanţa (Tomis), 40 Brăiţi, 41 Jugureanu, 42 Ruşeţu, 43 Largu, 44 Smeieni, 45 Hagieni, 46 Radu Negru, 47 Călăraşi-hale, 48 Călăraşi-ferma de porci, 49 Ceacu, 50 Alexandru Odobescu, 51 Lehliu, 51 Săruleşti, 52 Ulmu, 53 Dorobanţu, 54 Sultana-Odaia Vlădichii, 55 Spanţov, 56 Cetatea Veche (Tatina), 57 Olteniţa-Ulmeni, 58 Olteniţa-Fundeanu, 59 Olteniţa-Valea Mare, 60 Olteniţa-Puţul de cărămidă, 61 Olteniţa-Coadă Lupului, 62 Olteniţa-Iordoc, 63 Olteniţa-Renie, 64 Căscioarele, 65 Dridu, 66 Oinacu, 66 Arsache, 67 Măgura Jilavei, 68 Ploieşti-Triaj, 69 Bucov-Cărămidărie, 70 Tîrgşor, 71 Păuleasca, 72 Bogdana, 73 Zimnicea, 74 Mărunţei-Olt, 75 Bucureşti-Dealul Piscului, 76 Bucureşti-Mogoşoia sat, 77 Luciu-Buzău, 78 Balta Albă, 79 Ulmu-Mohreanu, 80 Spiru Haret-*Cornu Malului*, 81 Lişcoteanca-*Movila Olarului*, 82 Lişcoteanca-*Moş Filon*, 83 Tichileşti, 84 Rîmnicelu-*Popină*, 85 Brăila-*Hipodrom*, 86 Tutova, 87 Bîrlad-Trestiana, 88 Ghermăneşti, 89 Hăneşti, 90 Manoleasa, 91 Zvinigorod, 92 Psari, 93 Ostriveţ, 94 Kiselef, 95 Lenkăuţi, 96 Mărcăuţi, 97 Proscăuţi, 98 Vişoara, 99 Prajila, 100 Varvarovka, 101 Şoldăneşti, 102 Bokani, 103 Krosnogarka, 104 Cimişlia, 105 Komrat, 106 Pervomaisk, 107 Zărneşti, 108 Krinicinoe, 109 Katargi, 110 Şabalat, 111 Oloneşti, 112 Korotnoe, 113 Ciobrucci, 114 Slobodzeia, 115 Sukleia, 116 Koşari, 117 Traian, 118 Parutino (Olbia), 119 Mangalia (Callatis), 120 Căzăneşti, 121 Borduşelu, 122 Vlad Ţepeş, 123 Pietroiu, 124 Nicolae Bălcescu, 125 Vărăşti, 126 Nana, 127 Chiscani, 128 Brăila-*Liceul industrial*, 129 Brăila-*Radu Negru*, 130 Ţepu, 131 Giurcani, 132 Onceşti, 133 Goteşti, 134 Năduşita, 135 Seliştea, 136 Tokmazeia, 137 Kiţkani, 138 Kăuşani, 139 Tiraspol, 141 Karabetovka, 141 Grădeşti 142 Sărata Nouă, 143 Viktorovka, 144 Kahul, 145 Pelinei, 146 Kongaz, 147 Beşalma, 148 Staraea-Sărată, 149 Rosipeni, 150 Bleşteni, 151 Floreşti, 152 Gvozdovo, 153 Trifăneşti, 154 Rogojeni, 155 Scăeni, 156 Negureni, 157 Cişma, 158 Mihailovka, 159 Varna.

Fig. 3. Sarmatian discoveries and Roman centres in Wallachia.

Legend: 1 Sarmatian discoveries, 2 Roman fortresses, 3 castra legionis, 4 Roman cities

Fig. 3. Localities: 1. Balta Albă, 2. Bogdana, 3. Borcea (fost Pietroiu), 4. Bordușelu, 5-6-7. Brăila, 8. Brăilița (Vlădeni), 9. Bucov, 10. Bucu, 11-12. București, 13. Buzău-sud, 14-15-16-17. Călărași, 18. Căscioarele, 19. Căzânești, 20. Ceacu, 21. Cetatea Veche, 22. Chirnogi, 23-24. Chiscani, 25. Cireșu, 26. Ciulnița, 27. Coslogeni, 28. Cuza-vodă, 29. Dorobanțu, 30. Drăgănești, 31-32. Dridu, 33. Gălățui, 34. Grădiștea, 35. Gura Ialomiței, 36. Hagieni, 37-38. Însurăței, 39. Jilava, 40. Jugureanu, 41. Largu, 42. Lehliu, 43-44-45. Lișcoteanca, 46. Luciu, 47. Măriuța, 48. Mărunței, 49. Mihail Kogălniceanu, 50. Mihăiești, 51. Moisica, 52. Mohreanu, 53. Nana, 54. Nicolae Bălcescu, 55. Oinac, 56-57-58-59-60-61-62-63-64. Oltenița, 65. Păuleasca, 66. Ploiești-Triaj, 67. Racovița, 68. Râmnicelu, 69. Roșiori, 70. Rușețu, 71. Sărulești, 72-73. Smeieni, 74. Spiru Haret, 75. Stejaru, 76. Sudiți, 77. Sultana, 78. Tichilești, 79. Târgșor, 80. Ulmu, 81. Unirea, 82. Vărăști, 83. Vedeia, 84. Viespești, 85. Vitănești, 86. Vlad Țepeș, 87. Vlădeni, 88. Zimnicea

Fig. 4. Militari-Chilia type discoveries in Wallachia .

Legend: A. Settlement and necropolis where excavations took place. B. settlement where excavations took place. C. settlement that was not researched. D. necropolis found by chance.

E. fortress and settlement found by chance. II. complexes of the Carpien type – F. settlement and necropolis, G – settlement, H. necropolis (*apud* Bichir 1984).

List of localities: 1 Goranu - Sticlărie, 2 Budești - Linia, 3 Sîmburești, 4 Chilia, 5 Vulturești, 6 Dumitrești, 7 Cungrea, 8 Cucueți, 9 Comănița, 10 Scornicești -Rusciori Nord, 11 Scornicești -Rusciori Vest, 12 Scornicești - Tătărăi, 13 Teslui, 14 Curtișoara, 15 Dobrotineț, 16 Linia din Vale, 17 Cireașov - Leasă, 18 Cireașov -Săliște, 19 Slatina - Cărămidărie, 20 Slatina - Crișan, 21 Brebeni Români, 22 Brebeni Sîrbi, 23 Brebeni - Ordorești, 24 Brebeni - Puturoasa, 25 Ipotești, 26 Drăgănești - Olt, 27 Sprîncenata - Viespești, 28 Colonești - Batereni, 29 Colonești - Bărăști, 30 Colonești - Mărunței, 31 Colonești - Guești, 32 Colonești - Drumul Vechi, 33 Roșiori de Vede, 34 Socetu, 35 Crîmpoiaia, 36 Tecuci, 37 Dulceanca, 38 Alexandria, 39 Deagurile, 40 Costești - Stîrci, 41 Teiu, 42 Leșile, 43 Udeni- Lutărie, 44 Udeni - Est, 45 Pitești, 46 Vrănești, 47 Valea Mare, 48 Găești, 49 Pănești, 50 Mătăsaru, 51 Costești Vale, 52 Tîrgoviște- Suseni, 53 Tîrgoviște Valea Voievozilor, 54 Podul Dîmboviței, 55 Răcari, 56 Zimnicea, 57 Bragadiru, 58 Arsachi, 59 Giurgiu, 60 Novaci, 61 Curcani, 62 Budești, 63 Vasilați, 64 București -Tei, 65 București - Militari, 66 București - Străulești, 67 București - Bragadiru, 68 București - Pantelimon, 69 București - Cernica, 70 București - Cățelu, 71 București - Măgurele, 72 București - Stadionul 23 August, 73 București - Palatul Justiției, 74 București - Casa Scînteii, 75 București - Piața Grant, 76 București - Giulești, 77 București - Mogoșoia, 78 București - Schitul Maicilor, 79 București - Progresul, 80 București - Dudești Cioplea, 81 București - Parcul Tineretului, 82 București - Precupeții Noi, 83 București - str.Florilor, 84 București - str.General Ștefănescu, 85 Buftea - Abator, 86 Lipia, 87 Mircea Vodă, 88 Băleni Români, 89 Bucșani, 90 Comișani, 91 Răzvad, 92 Filipești de Pădure, 93 Filipești de Tîrg, 94 Ploiești - Gara de Nord, 95 Ploiești - Nord (Bl.22), 96 Ploiești- Bereasca, 97 Ploiești - str.Alexandru cel Bun, 98 Tîrgșorul Vechi, 99 Mănești, 100 Bătești, 101 Șirna, 102 Gherghița, 103 Cioranii de Jos, 104 Sălciile, 105 Bucovul, 106 Valea Călugărescă, 107 Baba Ana, 108 Vadul Săpat - Dealul Brîncoveanu, 109 Vadul Săpat - Budureasca, 110 Ceptura, 111 Fințești, 112 Gura Vadului, 113 Perșunari, 114 Călugăreni, 115 Străoști, 116 Matița, 117 Starchiojdu, 118 Cătrunești, 119 Sărulești, 120 Crivăț, 121 Izvoru Dulce, 122 Zorești (Valea Teancului), 123 Gura Nișcovului, 124 Cîndești - Coasta Popii, 125 Jirlău, 126 Băleni, 127 Filipești, 128 Lișcoteanca - La Broască, 129 Lișcoteanca - Lutărie, 130 Budești - Cotești, 131 Vijitoarea, 132 Cîndești, 133 Dragosloveni, 134 Popești, 135 Costești, 136 Bonțești, 137 Vîrtișcoiu, 138 Ulmeni, 139 Grui Dării, 140 Schela, 141 Tulucești, 142 Băleni Gară.

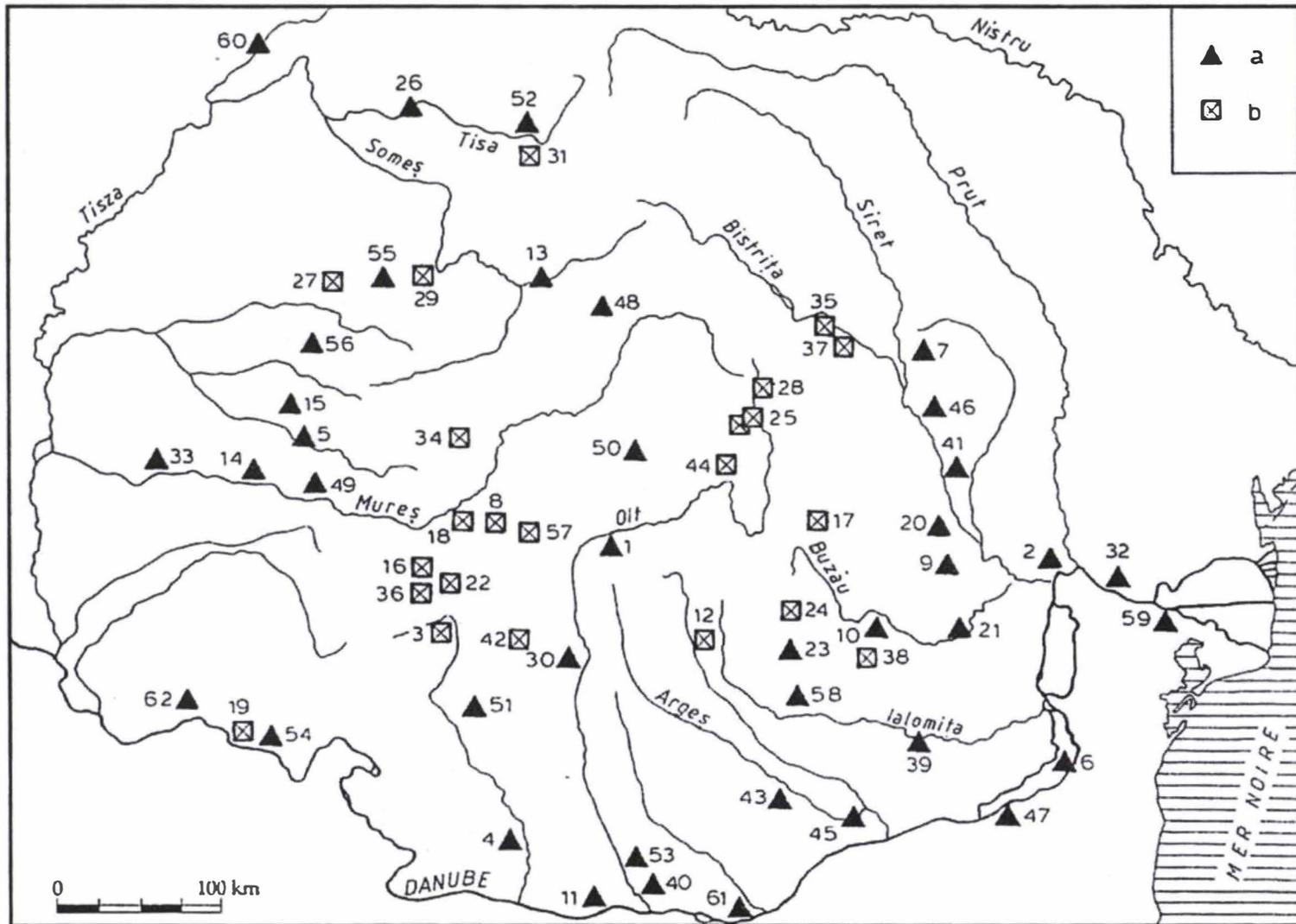


Fig. 1. Geto-Dacian sites from the 2nd c. BC – 1st c. AD. Legend: a. settlements, b. fortresses (*apud Babe?* 2010).

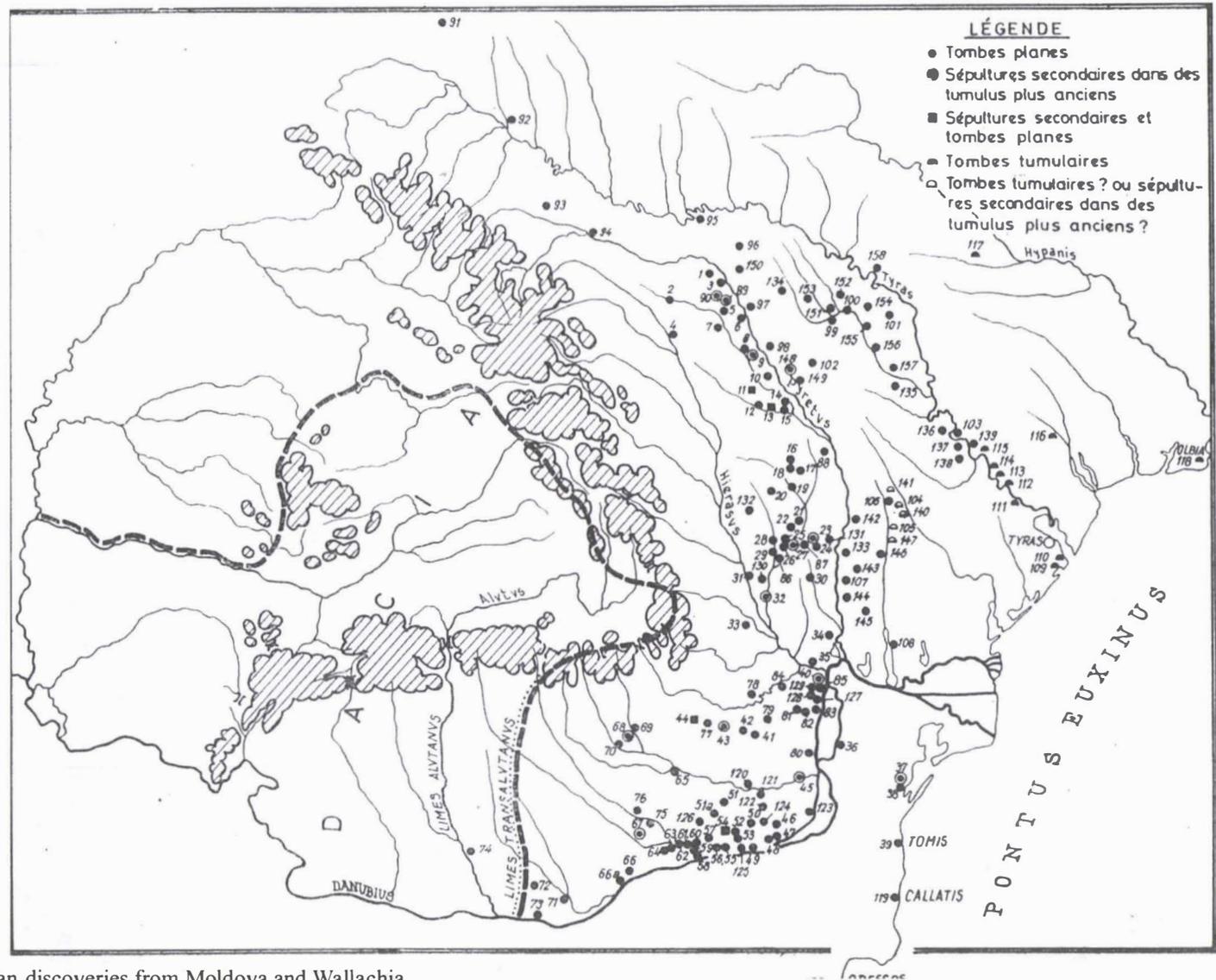


Fig. 2. Sarmatian discoveries from Moldova and Wallachia.

Legend: 1. Flat graves, 2. secondary graves in old tumuli, 3. secondary graves and plane graves, 4. tumulus graves, 5. Tumulus graves or secondary graves in old tumuli ? (*apud* Bichir 1977)

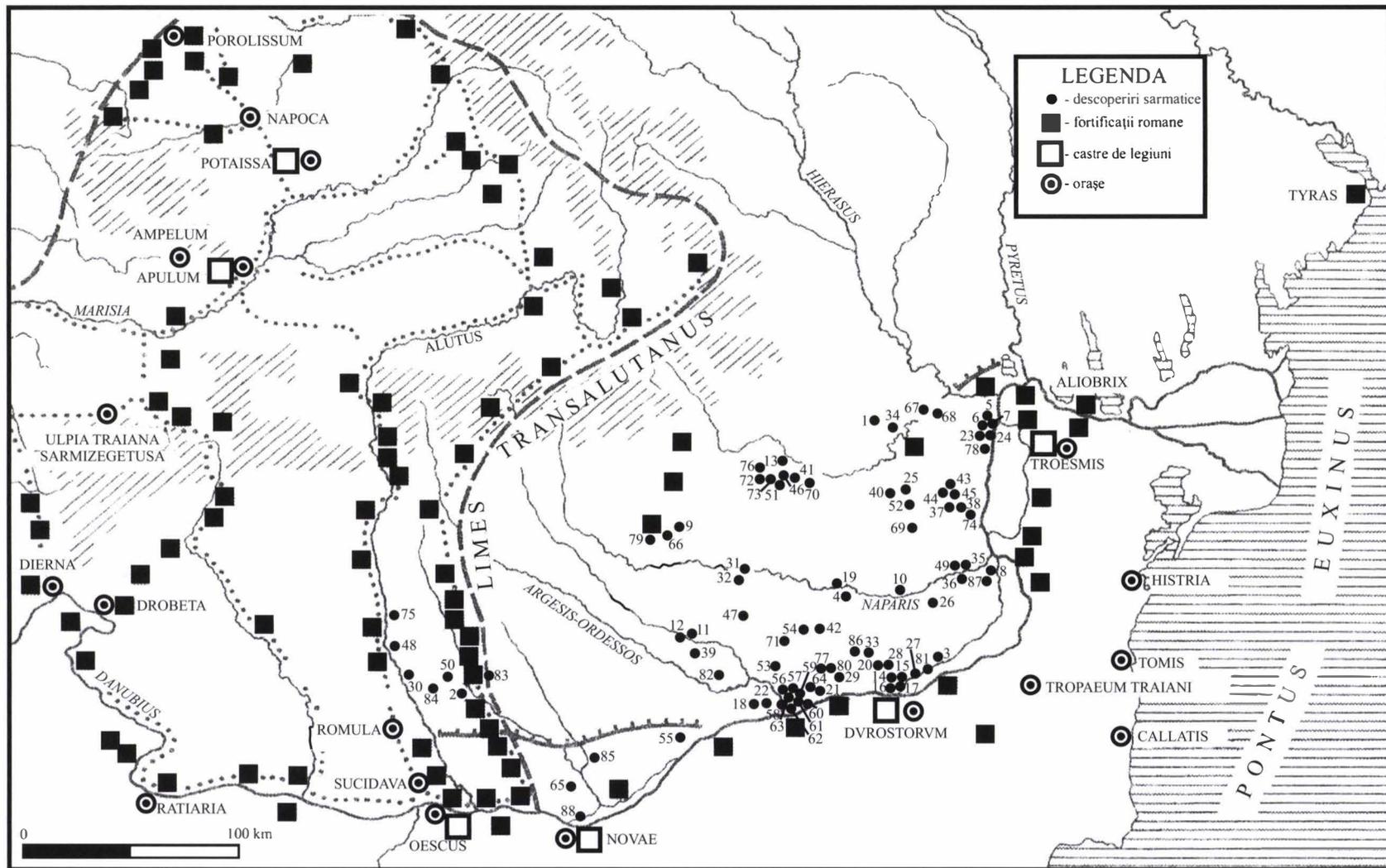


Fig. 3. Sarmatian discoveries and Roman centres in Wallachia.

Legend: 1 Sarmatian discoveries, 2 Roman fortresses, 3 castra legionis, 4 Roman cities

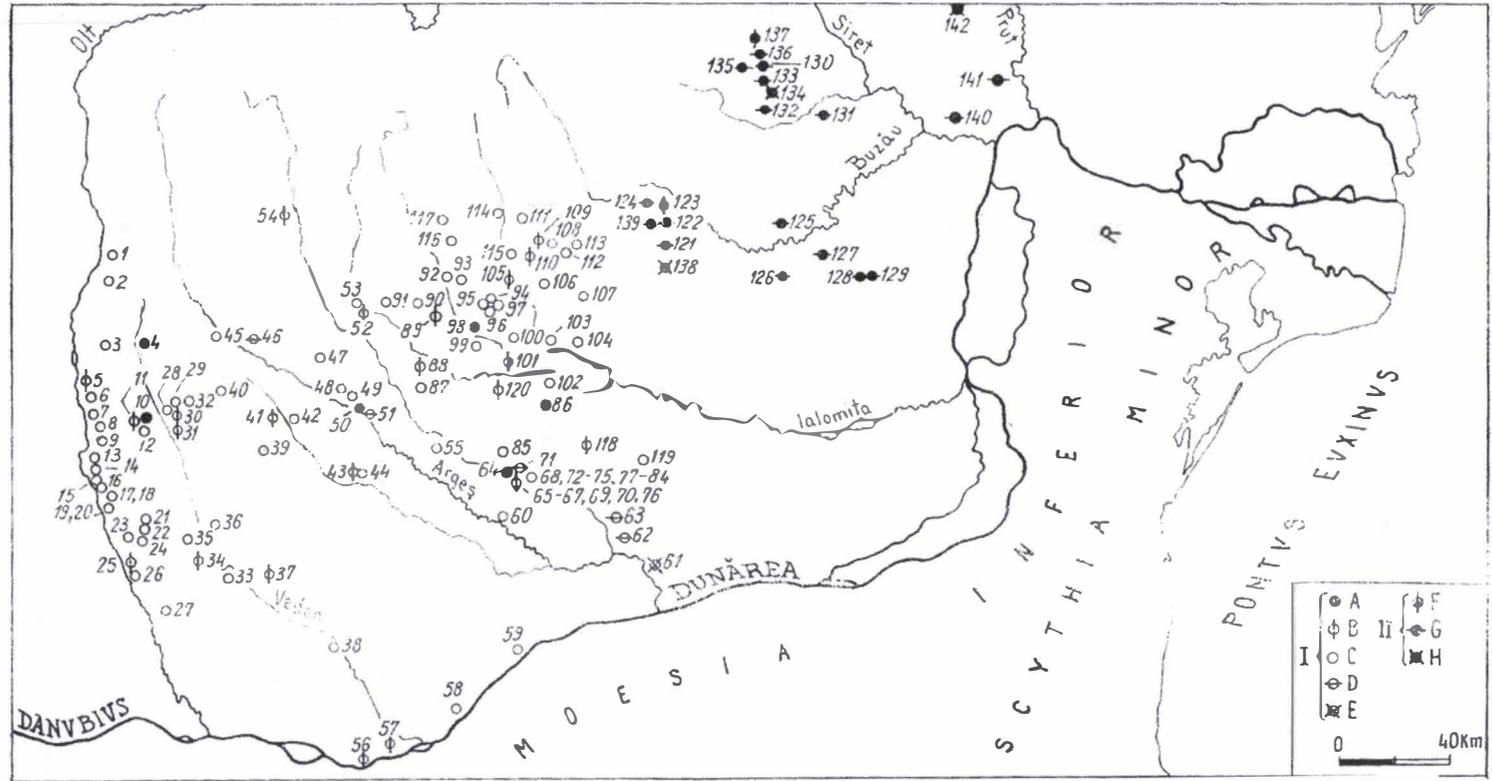


Fig. 4. - Militari-Chilia type discoveries in Wallachia (apud Bichir 1984).

Legend: A. Settlement and necropolis where excavations took place. B. Settlement where excavations took place.
 C. Settlement that was not researched. D. Necropolis found by chance. E. Fortress and settlement found by chance.
 II. Complexes of the Carpien type – F. Settlement and necropolis, G – settlement, H. Necropolis.



Fig. 5. 1-4 Brăila-Hipodrom G2; 5-6 Lișcoteanca-Moș Filon G7; 7-11 Ulmeni G3 (apud Oța, Sîrbu 2009)

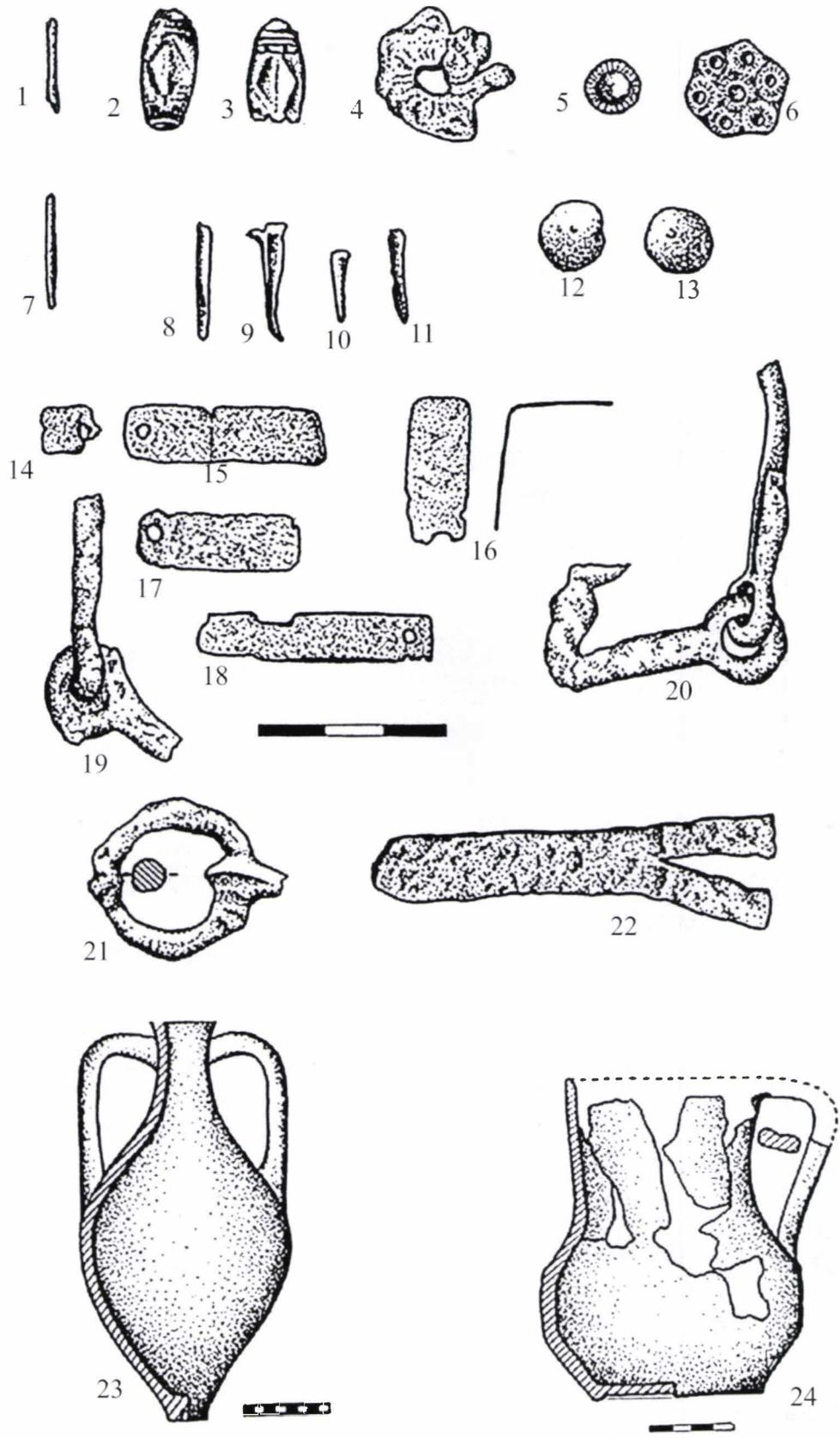
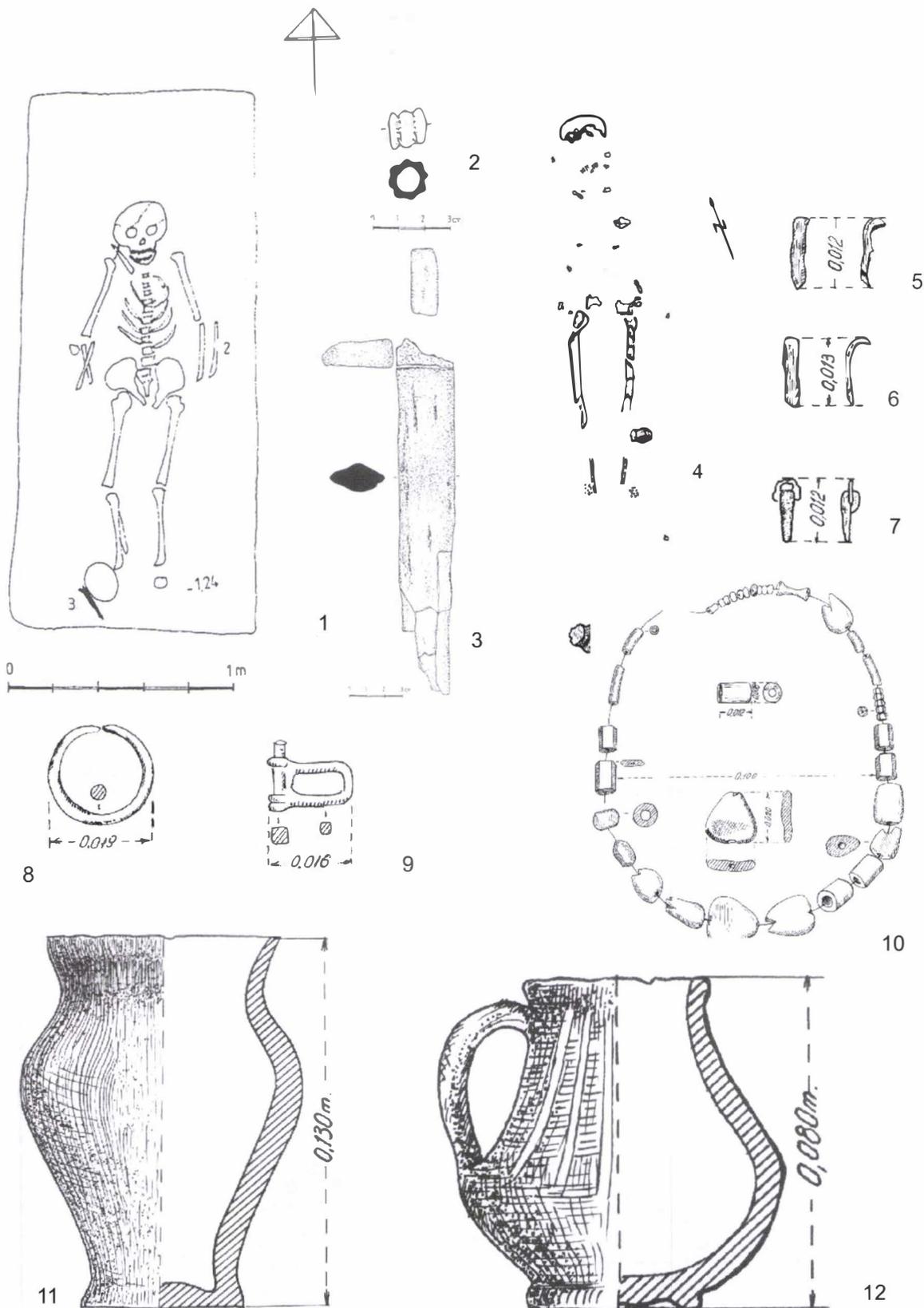


Fig. 6 . Vitănești T. 2 G. 2 (after Leahu, Trohani 1979).



Fig. 7. "Buzău treasure" (apud Oța, Sîrbu 2010)



6
 Fig. 8. 1-3 Bucu G10; 4-12 Largu G7 (apud Rența2000; Dragomir, Croitoru 2010)

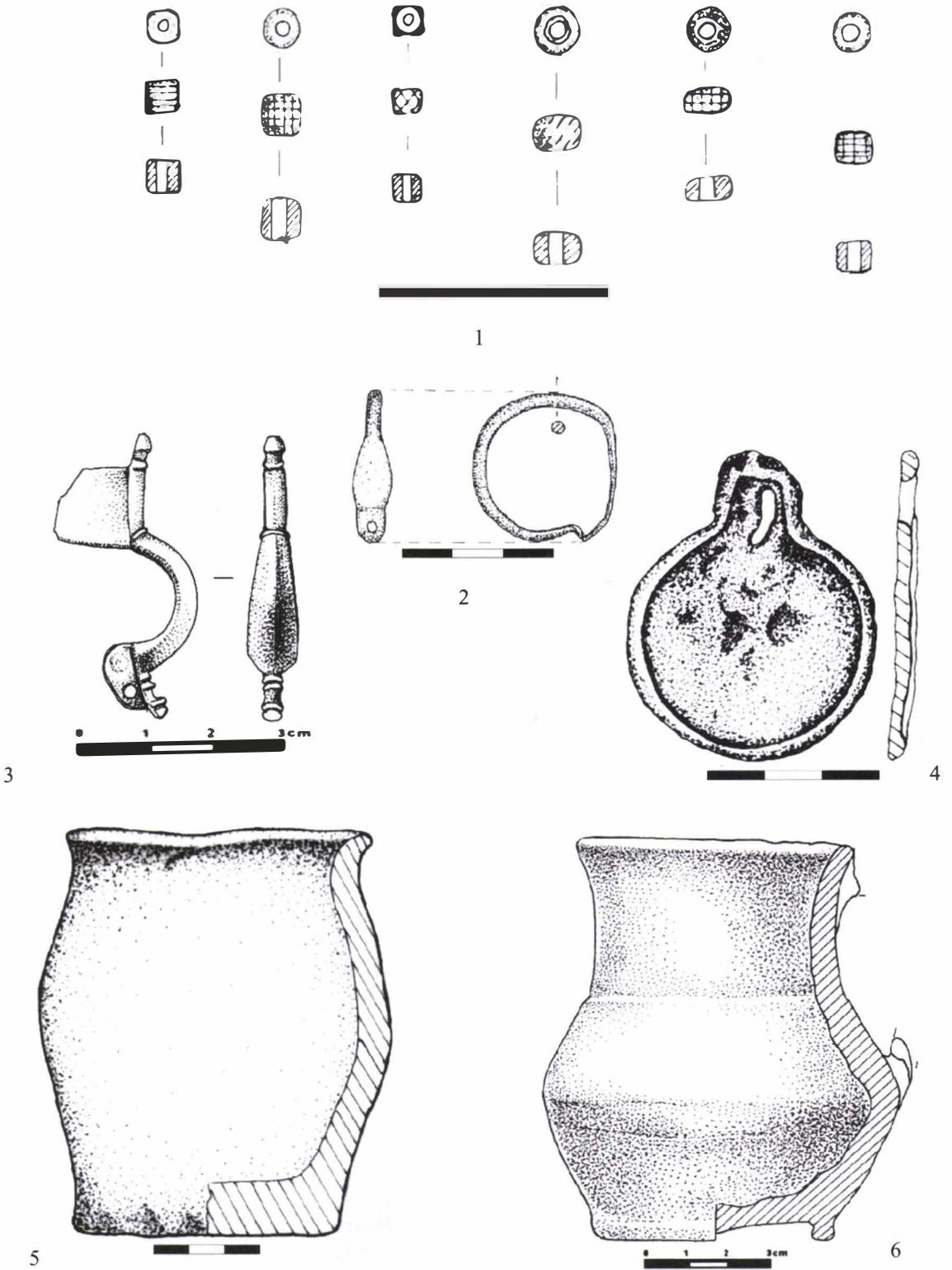


Fig. 9. Chiscani-sat (apud Oța, Sîrbu 2009)

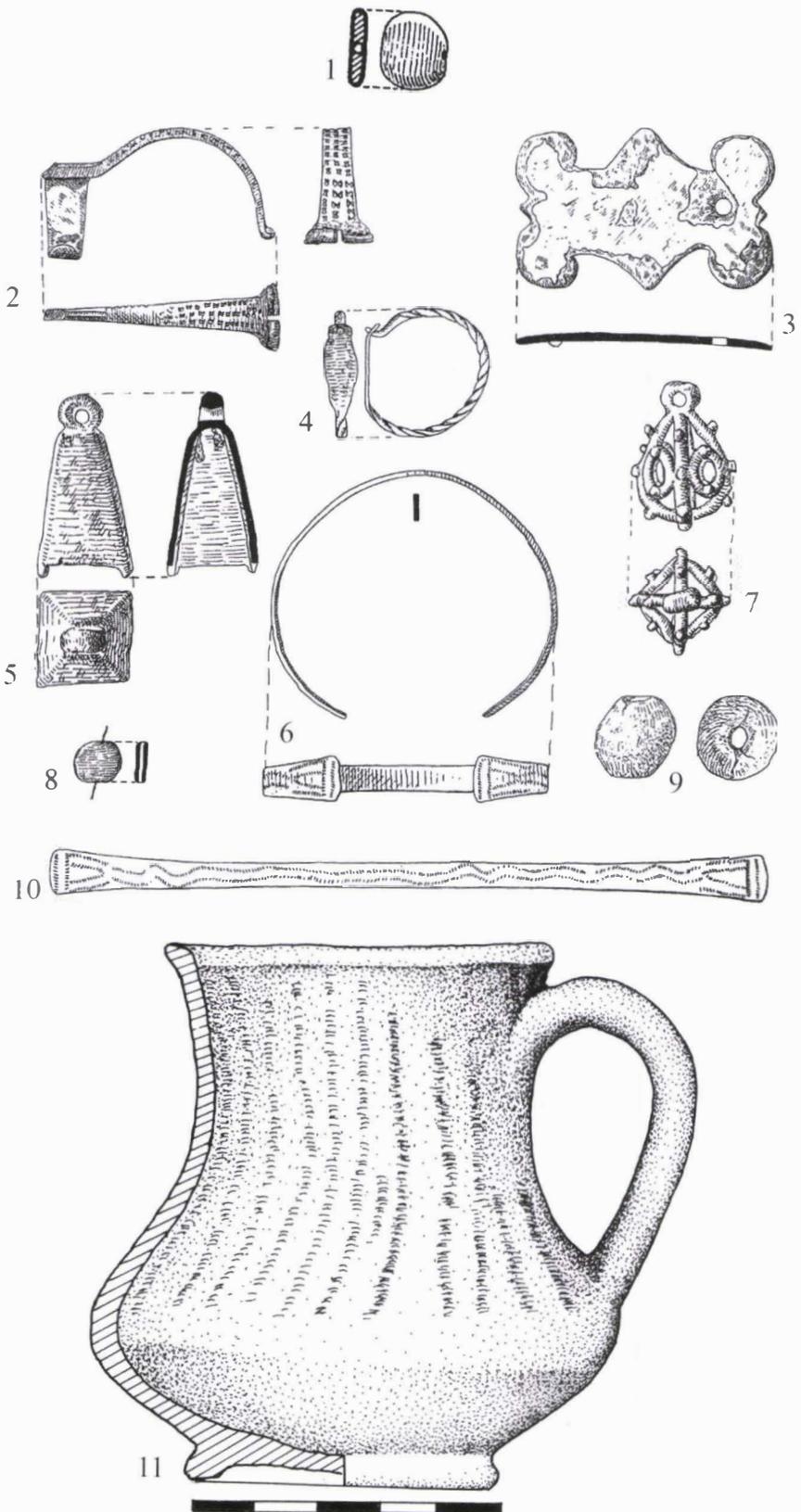


Fig. 10. Grave from Căscioarele (after Morintz 1960).

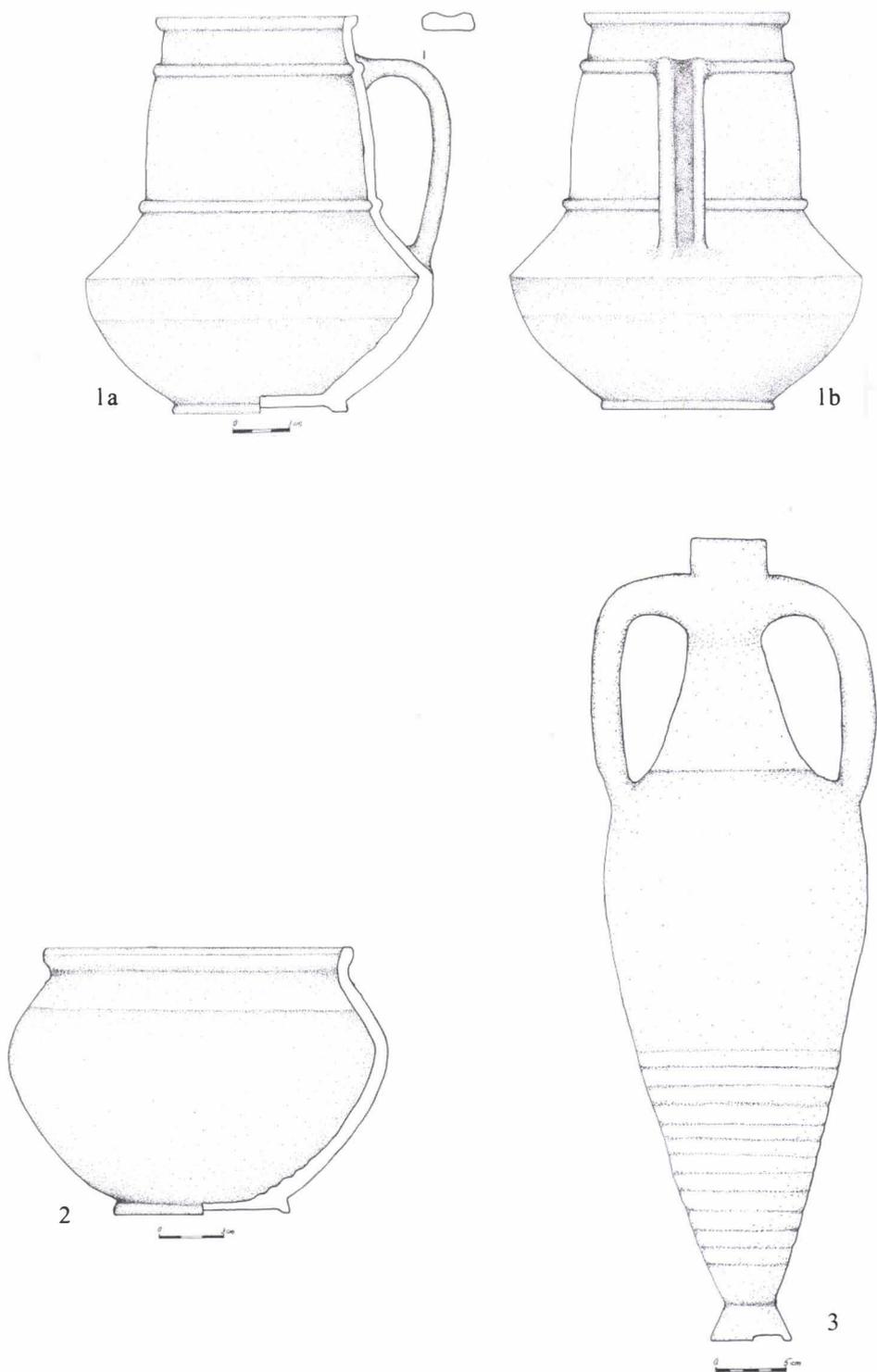


Fig. 11. 1-3 Viespești; 1 cană, 2 castron, 3 amforă romană (*apud* Oța, Sîrbu, Grosu 2012).

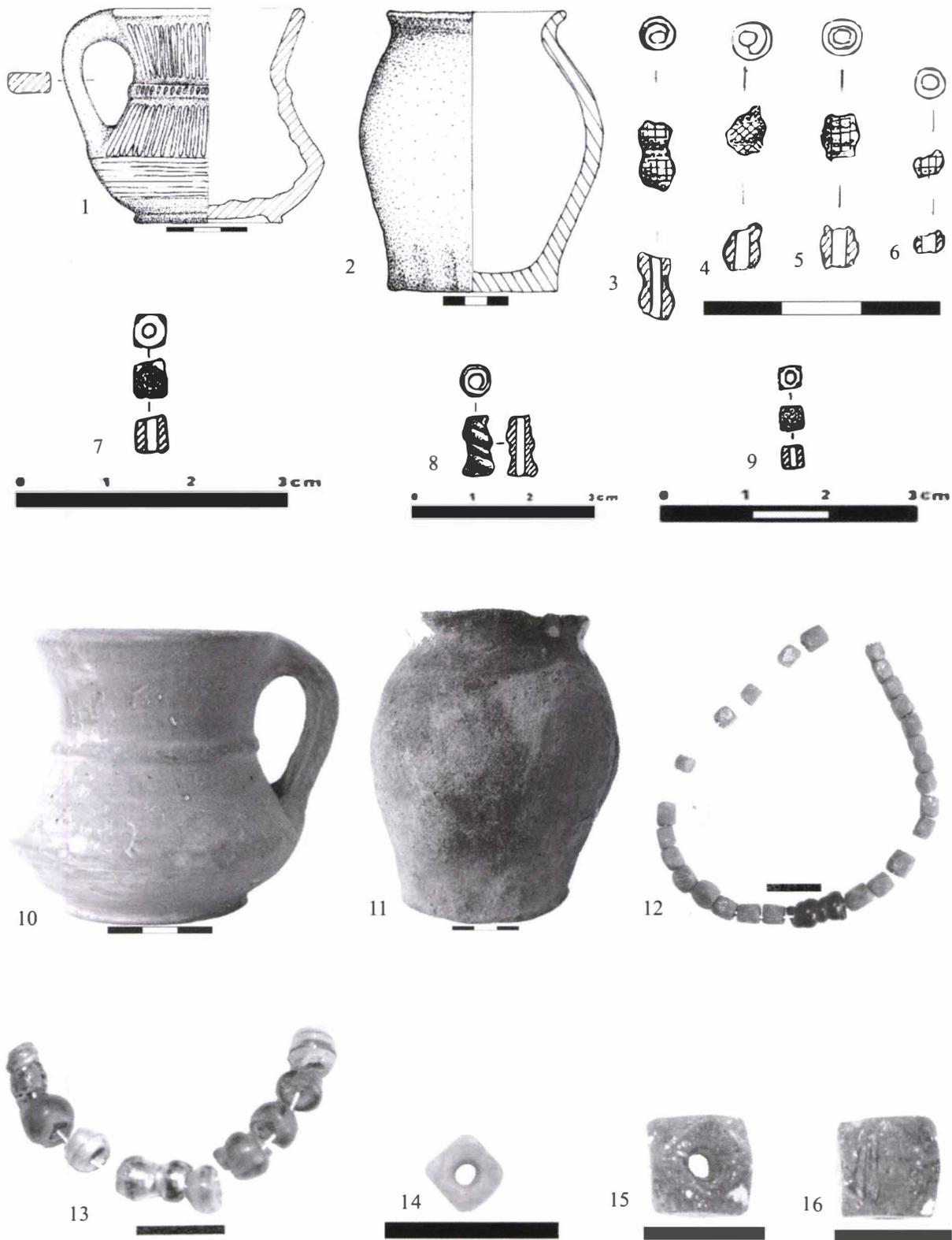


Fig. 12. Tichilești. 1, 3-6, 10, 13 -G2; 2, 11- G3; 7-9, 12, 14-16 - G4 (apud Oța, Sirbu 2009).

NOTES ON SUN CULT AND BURIALS IN THE ROMANIAN MIDDLE AND LATE BRONZE AGE (CA 2000-1200 BC)

Nona Palincaș (Bucharest – Romania)

Keywords: sun cult, earth cult, sky cult, religion, ritual, cosmology, ontology, body, gender.

Abstract: This article mainly argues for the importance of the archaeological study of ritual and religion for our understanding of prehistoric societies. This argument is considered necessary in the present day context of the Romanian archaeology (and, in fact, more broadly, Southeastern European archaeology), where the modernist view of religion and ritual as pertaining to the irrational and as a domain that can be separated from other spheres of the social life (social relations, economy, politics) is still dominant. Based mainly on examples concerning the sun cult in the Romanian Middle and Late Bronze Age, the article argues that 1. archaeology can go beyond such general statements as ‘Bronze Age people practiced the sun cult’ and show specific ways in which this cult was understood and practiced; 2. the investigation of the sun cult raises the question of other cults that were probably practiced in the Bronze Age (e.g., the cult of the Earth, the Sky etc.) and which are very rarely addressed; 3. the sun cult, as well as other cults, cannot be separated from the understanding of the cosmos, the human society and the human body; 4. generally, because people live in the world as they conceive it, the investigation of religion and ritual is a sine qua non for a better understanding of prehistoric societies.

Introduction

In contrast to the Western European archaeology, where ritual and religion have an already established role and interpretations are informed by studies in anthropology and other social sciences (e.g. Kaul 1998; Insoll 1999; Bradley 2005; Hodder 2010; David 2010, etc.), in the Romanian archaeology – as well as in other Eastern European archaeologies – predominates the conviction, rooted in the modernist philosophy, according to which any attempt at understanding religion and ritual is futile, because they pertain to the domain of the irrational and are consequently beyond any logical explanation. A correlate of this stance is the verbal observation, repeatedly made over the last several years, that whenever archaeologists cannot explain the function of a feature or an artefact they suppose it was used in ritual.

For the less familiarized with the Romanian archaeology this statement could appear as exaggerated given that the word ‘ritual’ appears quite often in publications (e.g., Florescu 1978; Schuster 1997, p. 146–148; Berecki *et alii* 2011, etc.), but a closer look reveals that in most cases it is used with the meaning of ‘custom’. The typical example is that of burial rituals which are usually analyzed as burial customs – i.e., the set of rules qua rules, traditions which governed the way people of a certain culture were buried (see, e.g., the book by Motzoi-Chicideanu published in 2011, *Obiceiuri funerare în epoca bronzului la Dunărea Mijlocie și Inferioară* which translates as *Burial Customs in the Bronze Age at the Middle and Lower Danube* and where the word ‘ritual’ was largely avoided in favor of ‘burial customs’ or ‘burial standard’).

While the word ‘ritual’ can be quite frequent, the words ‘cult’ and ‘religion’ appear rather rarely. But even the few Romanian archaeologists who dealt with cults in their own right they usually aimed only at determining in quite general terms which cults were practiced, and widely ignored (let alone account for) their variation across cultures and over time. A relevant example is Marilena Florescu’s study from 1979 on the world view of the bearers of the Monteoru Culture, one of the most extensive and in some respects also insightful studies of the kind, which at the same time epitomizes the shortcomings of the way most Romanian archaeologists think of religion and ritual. Marilena Florescu argued that two

cults were practiced in her study-area: the sun cult, which she inferred from fire related features (e.g., burnt structures in graves, ritual settings) and artefacts bearing sun symbols (e.g., decoration motifs based on star, circle and spiral), and the fertility cult, inferred from specific depictions of women and animals etc. Because the material remains attributed to the sun cult occurred much more frequently than those attributed to the fertility cult, it was considered that the former was dominant in the epoch and the latter minor. She explained this hierarchy as the result of the new social order of the Bronze Age: as the male dominated society of the Bronze Age replaced the earlier more female centered society of the Neolithic and Chalcolithic, the sun cult took the central role pushing fertility cults to the periphery. Florescu's study (as well as most of the others in the field) shows that cults were considered as having basically the same meanings for the entire society over large areas throughout the Bronze Age, and that consequently the main question for archaeology was to find out *which* cults were practiced rather than *how* they were practiced. The extent to which this study is characteristic can be seen from a chapter summarizing the research in the field recently published in the treaty *Istoria Românilor. Moștenirea timpurilor străvechi* (2010): again, the chapter focuses on explaining which cults were practiced; the way cults are referred to implies that they are considered as homogeneous over wide spaces and long periods of time; several cults are mentioned for the same area (e.g. the sun cult and the cult of divinities similar to the Greek pantheon), but no attempt is made to explain how these relate to each other (Vulpe 2010b).

Instead of boosting the research in the field, such an approach does just the opposite: once 'identifiers' are found, the practicing of corresponding cults is established (e.g., sun symbols and burnt structures for the sun cult, representations of women in child related contexts for the fertility cult, etc.), and since conclusions of a case study could be generalized over wide areas and a whole epoch, the investigation of the same issue in a neighboring area becomes unnecessary. Yet, while working on topics such as the body concept in the Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare area (Palincaș 2010b), the relation between gender and power in the Monteoru area (Palincaș 2010a; Palincaș 2013), and that between the treatment of human bodies and social order in the Wietenberg area (Palincaș ms.), I noticed a considerable variation in aspects involving the sun cult and possibly other cults as well. Drawing on these earlier observations, in the following part of this paper, I will try to outline variations in the sun cult and related rituals within and across communities and cultures as well as over time and argue that these variations need to be accounted for. The critique of the modernist view of religion, ritual and magic as irrational, despite the fact that it is probably the main reason why there is such a poor interest in religion and ritual in Romanian archaeology, will be left aside and referred to the literature that already dealt with it (see, e.g., Tambiah 1999).

Analysis

In order to show that there is variation in the way such a widespread cult like the sun cult was practiced in the Bronze Age, I will compare examples from two chronological levels (Fig. 1): that of the Middle Bronze Age and of the Late Bronze Age. For the Middle Bronze Age I selected two roughly contemporaneous and neighboring cultures – i.e., the Wietenberg Culture dated to ca 1900 – 1500/1450 cal BC (Rotea 2009, p. 66; Ciugudean 1999) and the Monteoru Ic2 – Ia phases, dated to ca 2000–1700 cal BC (Vulpe 2010a, fig. 30) – for which there is clear evidence of intense mutual exchange/trade contacts (Motzoi-Chicideanu 1995; Popescu 2008). For the Late Bronze Age I selected three areas – that of the Lăpuș Group, phase Lăpuș I, dated to the 13th c. BC (Kacsó 1975, p. 68) or possibly to the 14th c. BC (Metzner-Nebelsick *et alii* 2010), at the northern extremity of the former Wietenberg area; the Monteoru Culture in its later phases (IIa and IIb), dated to ca 1700–1500 cal BC (Vulpe 2010a, fig. 30); and the area of the Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare Culture in its classical phase, dated between ca 1550–1350 cal BC (Șandor-Chicideanu Șandor-Chicideanu 2003, pl. 325 dates

the end of the classical phase to 1250; in Palincaş 1996, p. 268–269 I argued for a date around 1350 BC). The choice of these areas was determined by the availability of case studies, and by the fact that they allow us to compare contemporaneous cultures as well as to follow the local evolution over consecutive stages.

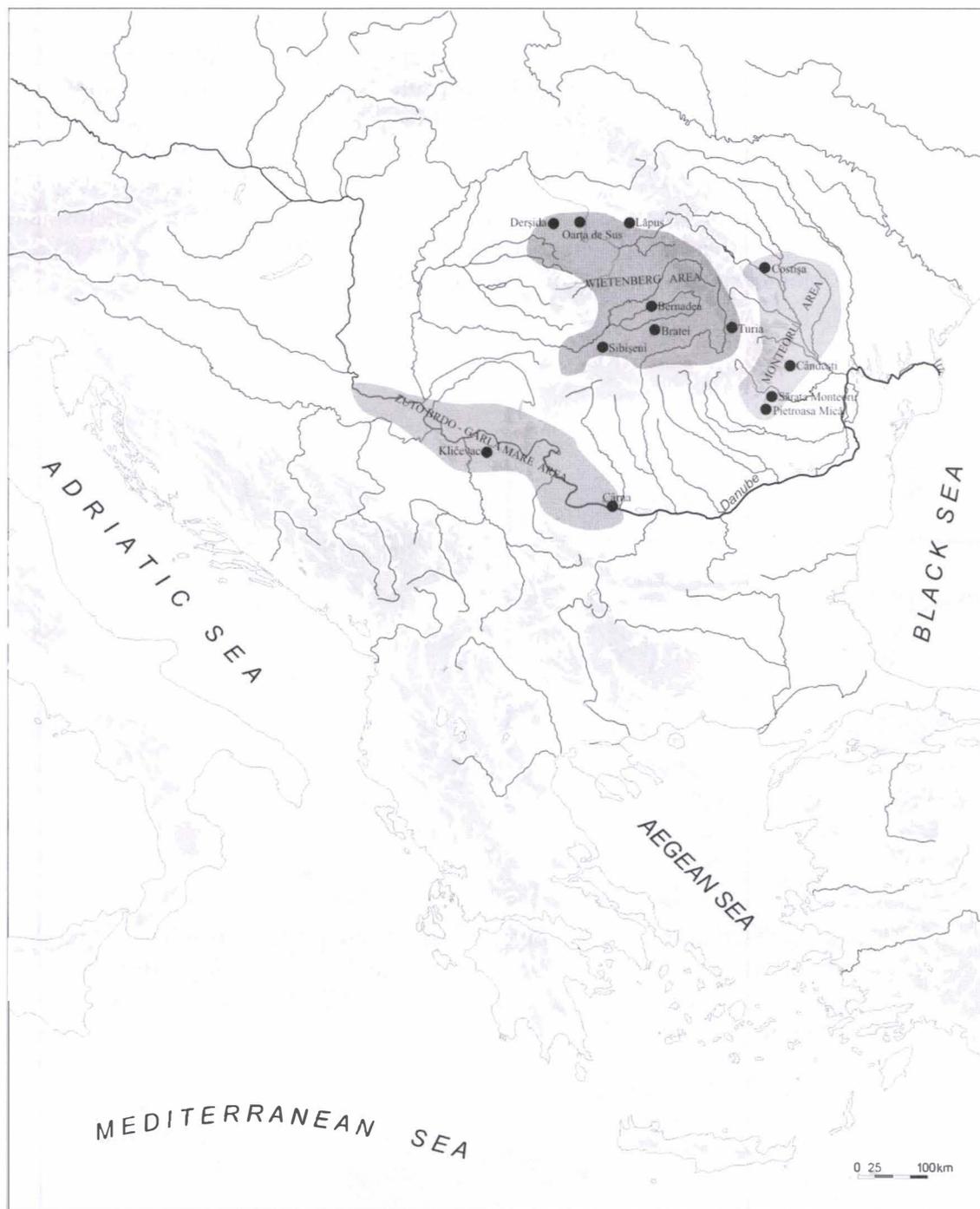


Fig. 1. Map showing the Middle and Late Bronze Age areas and sites discussed in this article (basic map by Iuliana Barnea).

In the Middle Bronze Age Wietenberg and Monteoru areas there is evidence for the symbolic association of the human head with the sun (Fig. 2). This idea was first set forth for the Monteoru area, based on the interpretation of the pottery decoration consisting of

depictions of human heads/faces handing down from star-like sun symbols found in settlements as well as in graves of the phases Ic2–Ia (Florescu 1979, fig. 19–21; here Fig. 3.2–3); it was also argued that heads (or only skulls?) laid in the graves of wholly buried deceased from the Monteoru Ic3–Ia phases (Florescu 1978, p. 116–117) were making reference to this human head-sun symbolic association (Palincaş 2010a, p. 308; Palincaş 2013, p. 58, fig. 5, 3. 8). In the Wietenberg area the idea that the human body was divided into the head and the rest of the body is indicated by their separate burial. Thus heads burials are known from Derşida, Grave 2 (Chidioşan 1980, p. 23), Poiana Aiudului–‘Cheile Aiudului’ (Boroffka 1994, no. 339) and Sibişeni, Grave 43 (Paul 1995), and headless bodies from Oarţa –‘Ghiile Botii’, Pit 29 (Kacsó 2011, p. 410; idem, pers. comm.) and Bernadea, Grave 2 (Vlassa and Kalmar 1987). The symbolic association of the human head with the sun was suggested based on the burial of heads in association with hearth and sherds (sherds being part of the structure several Wietenberg hearth – Rotea 2009), as well as on a possible parallel with the Monteoru area, neighboring to the east (Palincaş, ms.).

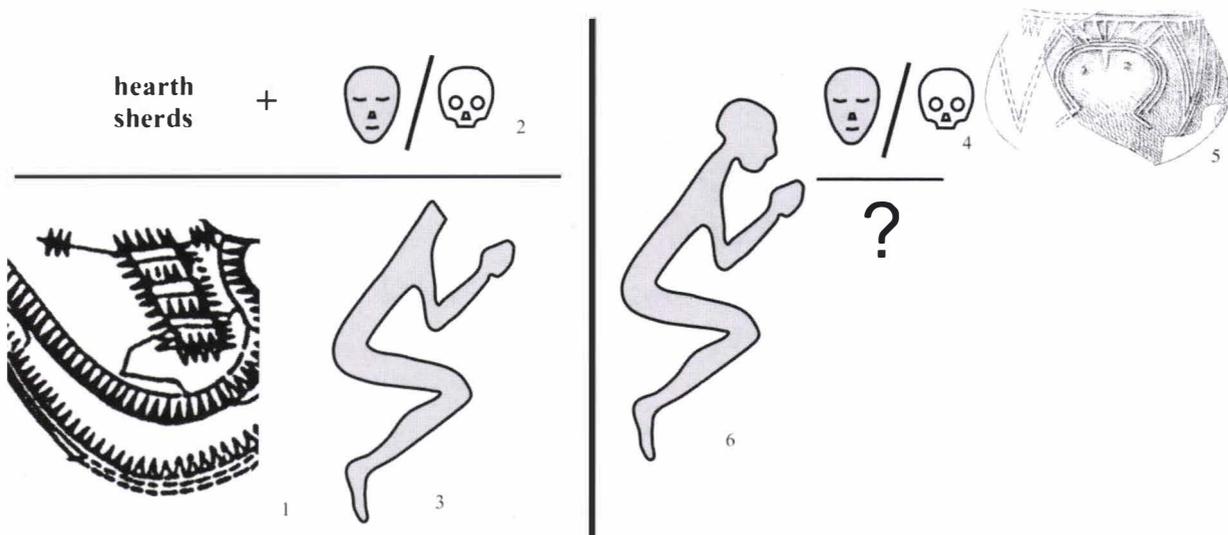
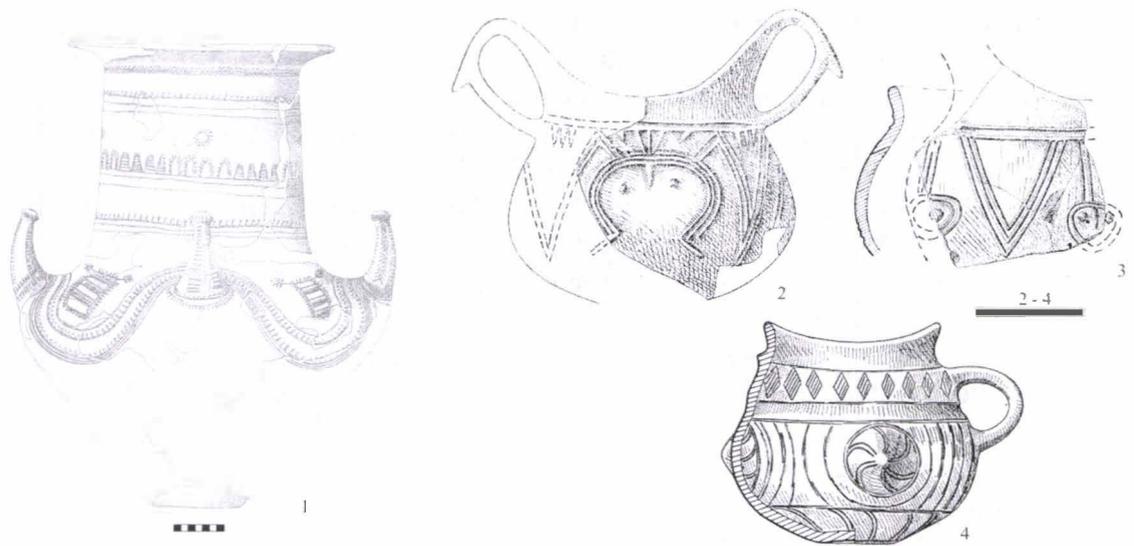


Fig. 2. Schematic representation of the symbolic association of the human heads with the sun in two Middle Bronze Age areas: left – the Wietenberg area (ca 1900–1500/1450 cal BC); right: the Monteoru area (ca 2000–1700 cal BC). 1. detail of the vessel in Fig. 3,1; 5. detail of the vessel in Fig. 3,2.



4b

Fig. 3. Representations of human body parts and sun symbols on pottery: 1. Lăpuș (Late Bronze Age Barrow 2, ca. 13th c. BC); 2–3. Sărata Monteoru (Middle Bronze Age settlement layer, Monteoru Ic2 phase, ca. 20th c. cal BC); 4. Pietroasa Mică (Late Bronze Age, ca. 16th c. BC) (1. from Kacsó 2011, fig. 138; 2–3. from Zaharia 1991, fig. 4,4. 10; 4. from Oancea 1981, fig. 20,1).

Which meanings the corresponding headless bodies were given is more difficult to determine. In the case of the Monteoru area, we do not know how these body parts were handled probably due to lack of publications: despite the recent excavations in Cârломănești-‘La Arman’ (Motzoi-Chicideanu and Șandor-Chicideanu 2010), the main cemetery for the Ic3–Ia phases remains that at Cârdești with its over 400 graves excavated by 1978 (Florescu 1978, p. 98–101), but of which only less than a dozen were published (Florescu 1978; Florescu 1979, p. 125–126, fig. 31). In the Wietenberg area we know that headless bodies were buried separated from the heads, but their meaning cannot be determined based on accompanying grave goods because when buried separately they have no grave goods, while whenever associated with grave goods in the same pit also exist other bodies, which were treated differently, so that those grave goods cannot be linked undoubtedly to the headless bodies. Yet the depiction of a headless human body with branch-like hands on vessels from the Lăpuș Group dated some 200 years later (Kacsó 1975, fig. 5 = Kacsó 2011, fig. 138; here Fig. 3,1) in the northern extremity of the former Wietenberg area was considered a clue for the association of the headless body with vegetation and possibly, by extension, with the Earth (Palincaș, ms). In light of this reasoning, in the Middle Bronze Age, in the Wietenberg- and Monteoru areas at least some of the human bodies were understood as symbolically divided into head and the rest of the body, where the head was associated with the sun; while the association of the rest of the body with vegetation (the Earth?) is probable in the case of the Wietenberg area, we do not know anything about how the headless body was understood in the Monteoru Culture.

It is important to note that the aforementioned symbolism refers only to certain bodies, i.e. certain persons. The vast majority of the Monteoru bodies were interred whole (Florescu 1978) with no indication of this symbolic division, while in the Wietenberg area

bodies and body parts are associated in various ways with another sun symbol – the fire –, thus suggesting a variety of symbolic relations to the sun. For example, in some cases the lower part of the body was cremated, i.e. associated with the sun through fire (e.g. Oarța de Sus-‘Ghiile Botii’, Pit 1 – Kacsó 2011, p. 409-411; Rotbav, C6 – Dietrich 2006, p. 303); in other cases bodies were buried whole next to burnt structures (e.g. Micești-‘Cigaș’ – Bălan and Ota 2012, p. 47-48); the vast majority of the bodies were cremated (Motzoi-Chicideanu 2011, p. 544).

This comparison shows that while a common idea – that of the sun related human head – can be found in two neighboring cultural areas –Wietenberg and Monteoru –, within one and the same cultural area – see Wietenberg in particular – there can be more than one way of symbolically relating bodies, and consequently persons, to the sun and in general to cosmic elements.

In the *Late Bronze Age*, in the area attributed to the Lăpuș Group, found at the northern limit of the former Wietenberg area (Fig. 1), the understanding of the headless body as a symbolic unit in its own right seems to have continued. As mentioned above, it is for this period that we have an association of the headless body with vegetation and possibly with the Earth, an interpretation that relies on only one type of evidence: the vessel on which anthropomorphic figures were depicted headless and with branch-like extended arms (Kacsó 1975, fig. 5 = Kacsó 2011, fig. 138; here Fig. 3,1 = 4,2). Note that the Lăpuș Group is defined based mainly on a site – the eponymous site (Fig. 1) –, the character of which is a matter of debate since recent excavations yielded that what initially seemed to be a tumular cemetery (Kacsó 1975) is in fact a place where several megaron-like buildings were covered with mounds constructed of earth and stone (Metzner-Nebelsick *et alii* 2010).

The situation is clearer in the Monteoru area, where for the latest phases (IIa and IIb, i.e. ca 17th and 16th c. cal BC, respectively) several cemeteries could be analyzed. As I argued elsewhere (Palincaș 2010; Palincaș 2013), in this period a new symbolic understanding of the human body gradually emerged. The disappearance, beginning with the phase IIa, of the head/skull from the graves and of the depictions of human faces from the pottery, which otherwise continued to bear sun symbols, suggests that the earlier symbolic association of the human head with the sun was abandoned. Further, I argued that the emergence of a new bodily symbolism can be inferred from the positioning of the bodies in graves; the positioning on the bodies of those ornaments that, at least due to their color, can be seen as sun symbols (gold, bronze and amber, i.e. yellow and orange ornaments); as well from a new pottery decoration. The Monteoru IIa phase (ca. 17th c. cal BC) can be conceived of as a period in which a new symbolism of the body in terms of sun cult was negotiated. This new symbolism appears as settled in the last Monteoru phase – IIb –, when in contrast with the horizontal division of the earlier Monteoru phase, the body is divided vertically, with the front side, right side and upper side associated with the light/the sun and the back side, left side and the lower side associated with the darkness (the Earth?) (Palincaș 2010, p. 304, 310; Palincaș 2013, p. 55, 58, fig. 3; here Fig. 4, 3-4).

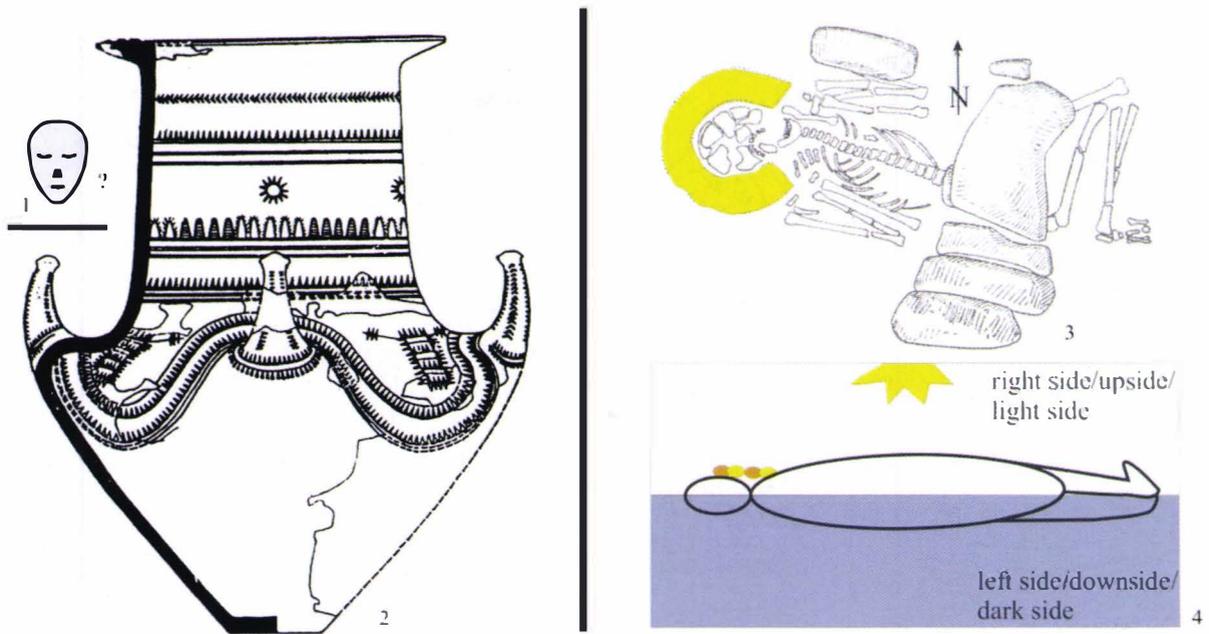


Fig. 4. Schematic representations of Late Bronze Age body symbolism in relation to sun and other (vegetation? earth? darkness?) symbolism: left – in Lăpuș; right – in the latest (IIb) Monteoru phase (2. from Kacsó 2011, fig. 138; 3–4. from Palincaș 2013, fig. 5,4–5).

Apart from these symbolic divisions of the bodies along new lines, in the Late Bronze Age we see a change in the association of specific body parts with sun symbols. Thus in Lăpuș the phallus is depicted together with sun symbols (Fig. 3,1), while in the Monteoru area, in its latest phase (IIb), sun symbols were associated with the female breast (Palincaș 2010, p. 308, fig. 7,4; Palincaș 2013, p. 58, 71, fig. 5,1; see here Fig. 3,4).

The third area addressed here is that of the Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare Culture (Fig. 1) in its classical phase, distributed in the Lower Danube up- and downstream from the Iron Gates region and dated to approx. 1550–1350/1250 BC. The analysis of the clay figurines indicated that, in a sense, here bodies were divided horizontally but not at the level of the neck like in the Early Bronze Age Wietenberg- and Monteoru Cultures, but rather at the level of the waist, which was interpreted as representing the level of the surface of the earth due to its consistent marking through representations of snakes (Palincaș 2010b, p. 74 and fig. 8,2; here Fig. 5,2). The association of bodily parts with sun symbols also differs considerably from that known from the other two Late Bronze Age areas considered here – Lăpuș I and late Monteoru –, in that in the Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare area sun symbols appear on several body parts – e.g., chest (Fig. 5,1), eyes (Fig. 5,3), garment of the figurines (Fig. 5,4), but also on their breasts (Fig. 5.2, where the breasts are represented relocated on the hips; for this reconfiguration of anatomy see Palincaș 2010b, p. 74 and *passim*). Another important difference consists in the treatment of the body itself: while in the late Monteoru IIa phases bodies were inhumed entirely (Bârzu 1989, p. 40) and in phase Monteoru IIb cremations represent exceptions (Oancea 1981, p. 134), in the Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare area all bodies, as far as we know, were cremated entirely (Dumitrescu 1961; Șandor-Chicideanu 2003, p. 160).

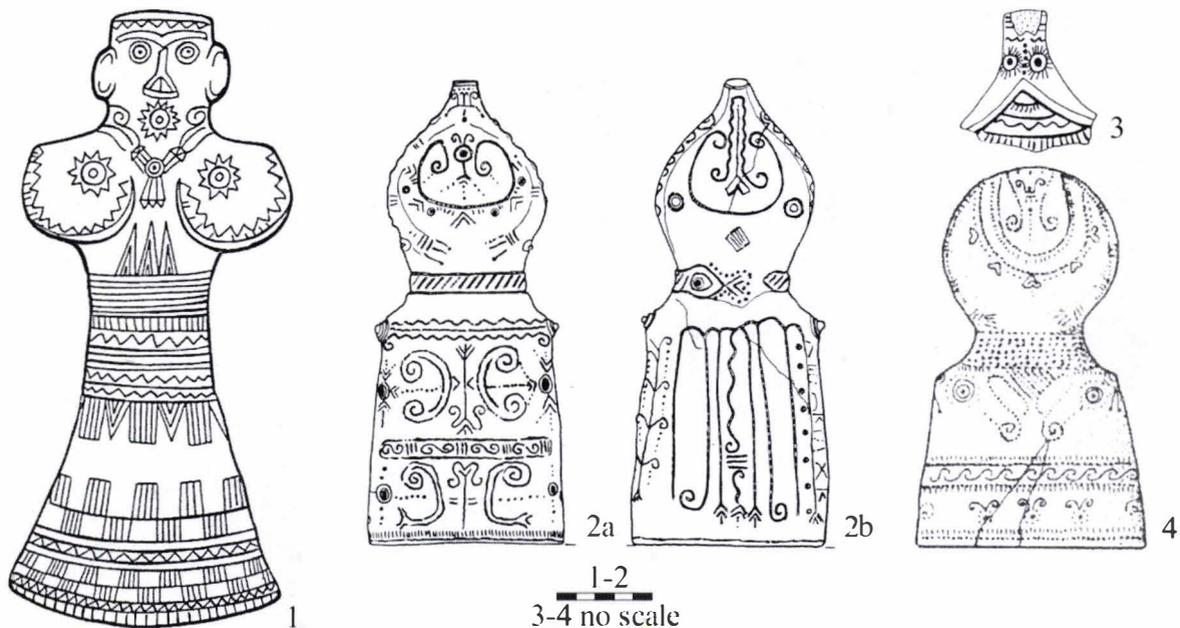


Fig. 5. Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare clay statuettes. Note the locations of sun symbols and of the snake: 1. Kličevac (from Hoernes 1925, fig. 2 on pl. 409); 2. Cârna, Grave 10 (from Dumitrescu 1961, pl. 160); 3. unprovenanced (from Shalghanova 1995, fig. 4, 69); 4. Cârna-“Ostrovogania”, Grave 57 (from Șandor-Chicideanu 2003, pl. 50, B, 6).

If the previous examples concern the body of the deceased and grave goods, i.e. the ritual handling of what is found in the graves, it is possible that what is outside the graves – i.e. the layer in which the graves were dug into – could also be interpreted in the logic of the sun cult. Usually publications specify the depth of the pit, which is expected to correlate either with sex and/or age groups or with the social status of the person; in this latter case the ‘energy expenditure’ invested in the digging of the pit is seen as an indicator of the amount of social effort mobilized for the funerals of the deceased (e.g., Motzoi-Chicideanu 2011, p. 404, and *passim*). Yet in the Romanian Bronze Age the depth of the grave pits rarely correlates with age-sex groups or with the value of the grave goods: for an example of such lack of correlation despite wide variation of the depth of the grave pits (which range between -2.25 m and -0.40 m) see Cemetery no. 4 at Sărata Monteoru (Motzoi-Chicideanu 2011, p. 403–404); for an example of uncertain correlation see the Wietenberg cemetery at Turia (Motzoi-Chicideanu 2011, p. 540, fig. 89). It is possible, at least in some cases, that what matters is not the depth of the pit itself but rather the color of the layer surrounding the pit. For example, in the case of Wietenberg cemeteries it is sometimes mentioned that graves were dug into a yellowish layer (for example in the cemetery at Bistrița – Crișan 1970, p. 140). At the same time, and it has been argued that in the Wietenberg area yellow and red were two symbolically charged colors, related to the symbolism of the sun (Palincaș, *ms*): lumps of yellow clay repeatedly appear in pits containing human remains (e.g., Obreja, Pit e – Soroceanu 1973, p. 495–496); the ritual pits at Șimleu Silvaniei (Gogâltan and Tampa 1992, p. 61; Rotea *et alii* 2007, p. 63) and Cluj-Napoca (Rotea and Wietenberger 1999, p. 7, pl. 1) are divided into a yellow or red layer that is sterile and a black layer rich in pottery, grains etc., and a similar structure was notice in the urn of Grave 1 (Zaharia 1999, p. 53) of the early Wietenberg cemetery at Bratei (Palincaș, *ms.*). Given this symbolism of the colors, it is possible that certain graves were dug not necessarily with the intention of reaching a

certain depth, but rather to reach a layer of a certain color – in the aforementioned case of the cemetery at Bistrița the yellow layer. Sun cult related color symbolism was present in the Monteoru area as well: yellow and orange stones were included in the stone layer covering the abandoned settlement at Costișa (phase Monteoru Ic2–Ic1 – Popescu and Băjenaru 2008, p. 16; Palincaș, 2010a, p. 304) and yellowish ornaments (i.e. gold, bronze and amber) were placed in most of the cases on the front and right side of the bodies (for more details see Palincaș 2013, p. 51–55, and Tabs 2–4). Consequently, it makes sense to ask whether the depth of the Monteoru graves, as least of some of them, could be explained in terms of the color of the layer into which the graves were dug, rather than in term of the depth itself. Unfortunately, the layer surrounding the graves is only rarely described in publications – e.g., no such data are available for the published Monteoru cemeteries: Sărata Monteoru, Cemetery no. 4 (Bâzru 1989) and Pietroasa Mică (Oancea 1981) – so any analysis along this line is impossible for the moment.

Discussion

The examples from above show clearly that while, on the one hand, the sun cult was common to large areas in the Bronze Age, on the other hand, it varied considerably in the way it was understood and articulated with various spheres of the social life both within and among contemporaneous cultures as well as over time. This variation alone invites to closer investigation and it certainly needs to be accounted for. I argued elsewhere that in the specific case of the later Monteoru period changes in sun cult related aspects of the burial ritual and pottery iconography were linked to changes in gender and family relations (Palincaș 2010; Palincaș 2013, p. 58–60), but this is only two aspect of social life involving the sun cult, and there must have certainly been many others.

It has been argued that the Bronze Age iconography in East-Central and Southeastern Europe should not be interpreted as evidence for the sun cult, but rather as depicting the sky – the sun and the moon in particular –, somewhat like in the ancient Egyptian religion (David 2010, p. 479–482 drawing on an idea of Hermann Müller-Karpe). This type of approach runs counter to the argument I made above in favor of more localized analyses. Also, while this opinion might be correct for some parts of the study-area, in others it is not: for example, in the Monteoru area nothing indicates so far that the moon or the sky taken as a whole played a role in religion/cosmology and cult, while in the Wietenberg area it seems that components of the ‘sky’ such as clouds were represented separately (for clouds on Wietenberg pottery see Dietrich and Dietrich 2011, p. 77–78) from the sun and moon (provided that the ‘C’ motif depicted indeed the moon as argued by David 2010, p. 479–482 and not the solar boat as stated by Kaul 1998, p. 278–281). At the same time, the argument outlined by Wolfgang David (David 2010) alongside the uncertainties expressed in this article concerning the existence of an Earth cult in the Bronze Age show us how little we know about prehistoric cosmology, religion and related ritual. Cosmology is part of peoples’ epistemology, and epistemology, as agued by Eduardo Viveiro de Castro, is not only a worldview, it is ontology, it is the world as experienced and lived by people (Viveiro de Castro 2003).

Concluding remarks

This article argued that far from being homogeneous over wide spaces and unchanged over large periods of time, cults and related rituals show considerable local variation in the Romanian Middle and Late Bronze Age. This means that we should go beyond general statements about cults and rituals in prehistory in order to investigate the specific ways in which cults understood and practiced. Further, the better understanding of these local logic of cults and rituals has in turn the potential of opening up a whole series of questions: Which other cults than those we already know of were practiced in a certain community or area? How do cults relate to each other? What can we say about their social logic? What role did they play in the lives of prehistoric communities? etc.

Acknowledgements

This paper benefited from discussions with Dr. Wolfgang David and other colleagues during the 12th Congress of Thracology held in Târgoviște in September 10–14, 2013, where its first draft was presented.

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CELTIC COLONIZATION IN BANAT. COMMENTS REGARDING THE FUNERARY DISCOVERIES

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Keywords: Banat, Celtic colonization, La Tène cemeteries, inhumation, cremation, La Tène weapons, garment accessories, La Tène brooches.

Abstract. The second half of the 4th century and the beginning of the 3rd century BC witnessed an eastward expansion of the area inhabited by Celtic communities. Large territories from the eastern Carpathian Basin (the Great Hungarian Plain and Transylvania) were colonized in successive phases by Celtic groups. The first scope of this paper is to investigate the routes and the chronology that defined the advance of some Celtic groups in Banat, an area on which their presence is less documented in comparison with the neighbouring territories. The second scope is to identify the nature of the relationships between the colonists and the indigenous populations.

A series of funerary inventories define the pre-Celtic horizon in Banat. These discoveries suggest that after the middle of the 4th century BC the lowland area of Banat was culturally oriented towards the “Illyrian” communities from the southern Pannonia and north-western Balkans, whereas the cultural models of the northern Balkans were preferred in the southern Banat.

The La Tène cemeteries from Banat define a unitary horizon belonging to the LT B2a period. They mark a route along which some small Celtic groups advanced from the north to the south at the end of the 4th century and the beginning of the 3rd century BC. On the other hand, there are too few funerary contexts dated to the LT B2b – LT C1 in Banat. This situation might be either the result of the state of research in the region, or of certain historical events.

The Celtic communities from Banat developed some complex social relations with the local populations, and also with the Illyrian and Thracian communities from the northern and north-western Balkans. Some of these connections can be identified through the analysis of funerary inventories.

The second half of the 4th century and the beginning of the 3rd century BC witnessed an eastward expansion of the area inhabited by Celtic communities. Large territories from the eastern and southern parts of the Carpathian Basin were colonized in successive phases by different Celtic groups (Rustoiu 2008, p. 65-80; Rustoiu 2012a; Rustoiu 2013).

Thus, the first scope of this paper is to investigate the routes and the chronology that defined the advance of some Celtic groups in Banat, an area on which their presence is less documented in comparison with the neighbouring territories. The second scope is to identify the nature of the relationships between the colonists and the indigenous populations, and also the ways in which they expressed and maintained (or not) specific communal identities. Archaeological evidence supporting this paper consists mainly of funerary discoveries resulting from a few representative cemeteries.

The first contacts between the local communities from the southern Carpathian Basin and the Celtic populations from the middle Danube region are dated to the first half of the 4th century BC, corresponding to the LT B1 period. These interactions can be related to the appearance of some jewellery and garment accessories originating from the eastern Alpine La Tène environment in the funerary inventories of the southern Carpathian Basin. Among these finds are mainly brooches belonging to the pre-Duchov horizon (Fig. 1), as well as some types of bracelets. The artefacts come from burials attributed to the local “Illyrian” communities, attesting a variety of exchanges between the two mentioned cultural areas (Popović 1996; Rustoiu 2012a, p. 358-361).

The first brooches belonging to the Duchov horizon arrived southward around the middle of the 4th century BC. Similar pieces were also discovered in archaeological contexts

attributed to the local communities. For example the hoard from Čurug (Fig. 2), consisting of silver jewellery specific to the Balkans, also contains a bronze brooch of the early Dux type (Ljuština 2010, p. 61, pl. 3-4; Tasić 1992, p. 10-12, fig. 5, 51-55). Accordingly, the mentioned brooch was integrated into the jewellery set specific to the indigenous communities.

This pre-Celtic horizon is represented in Banat by a series of funerary discoveries that underline the orientation of this region towards different cultural models. One example is the cremation grave in pit accidentally discovered at Timișoara-Cioreni (Fig. 3). Its funerary inventory is relevant for the manner in which artefacts of the La Tène type were integrated into an indigenous garment assemblage. This burial includes two bronze zoomorphic brooches (Fig. 3/3-4), one fragmentary bronze bracelet (Fig. 3/2), another bracelet made of silver twisted wire (Fig. 3/1) and one element of a belt with astragals (Fig. 3/6), all artefacts being damaged by fire (Medeleț and Bejan 1983; Rustoiu 2012a, p. 360, pl. 3).

The zoomorphic brooches were used in the second half of the 4th century BC and were probably produced in a workshop from the northern Transdanubia (Binding 1993, p. 39-40, 160, type 22, list 25, pl. 38/7-9, 39/3-9, 40/1; Szabó 1974). They were spread southward along the Sava and in the Danube's area (Rustoiu 2008, 118-119; Rustoiu 2012a, p. 359-360, fig. 2: distribution map) (Fig. 4). The simple bracelet, the twisted one and the element of the belt with astragals have analogies in a series of burials from the southern Carpathian Basin, being dated to the end of the Early Iron Age or the beginning of the Late Iron Age, for example at Beremend (Jerem 1973, 68-72, fig. 7/2-5) or Velika (Fig. 5/23-24) (Dizdar and Potrebnica 2002; Majnarić-Pandžić 1996; Popović 1996, p. 106, fig. 3).

Chronologically, the burial from Timișoara-Cioreni can be placed after the middle of the 4th century BC, being earlier dated than the arrival of the first groups of Celtic colonists in the region. Regarding the elements of funerary rite and ritual, as well as the association of similar garment accessories, these are well-known in the area of the Donja Dolina – Sanski Most group (Čović 1987; Marić 1964), which indicates that the connections between Banat and northern Transdanubia were more likely mediated by the communities from the middle Sava basin¹.

Other discoveries from the hilly region in southern Banat indicate that in the same period the local elites were oriented towards other cultural models. For example the cremation burial discovered at Cuptoare – Sfogea (Caraș-Severin District), probably under a tumulus (Medeleț and Bugilan 1987, p. 102, 125-126), contained a Chalcidian helmet in the inventory (Fig. 6/1) (Oprinescu 1987; for important corrections regarding its context of discovery, chronology and cultural identification see Gumă 1991, p. 93-102). A similar helmet, preserved in the Vršac Museum, was found at Mercina (Vărădia commune, Caraș-Severin District) (Fig. 6/3) (Brukner *et alii* 1974, p. 547, fig. 255-256; for corrections and older bibliography see Rustoiu and Berecki 2012, p. 168-169 and note 2). These helmets suggest that around the middle or in the second half of the 4th century BC the elites of the communities from the southern Banat were oriented towards the cultural models of the area between the Carpathians and the Balkans, in which such objects were symbols of status displayed in a variety of manners by an entire hierarchy of local leaders (Fig. 7) (Rustoiu and Berecki 2012).

¹ The cemeteries of the end of the Early Iron Age and the beginning of the Late Iron Age located westward of the Banat, in Srem and Bačka (ascribed to the Srem group), comprise inhumation burials (Ljuština 2010, p. 61-64 with bibliography). Thus, the grave from Timișoara-Cioreni does not belong to this group. At the same time, the funerary inventory from Timișoara-Cioreni is different from the one encountered in the area of the Vekerzug culture, where some cremation burials in urn were also discovered (Chochorowski 1985; Kemenczei 2009), so any connection with the central and northern parts of the Great Hungarian Plain can be excluded.

Thus, the aforementioned funerary discoveries indicate that at the beginning of the Late Iron Age, more precisely after the middle of the 4th century BC, the plain of Banat was culturally oriented towards the “Illyrian” communities from the southern Pannonia and north-western Balkans, whereas the communities from the southern Banat preferred the northern Balkans cultural models.

At the end of the 4th century BC the cultural makeup of the Banat experienced significant changes due to the arrival of some Celtic communities in the region. The La Tène cemeteries are documented along the Mureş and downstream to the confluence with the Tisza, in the marshy areas across the plain, as well as on the north-south direction along the limits of the hilly region, on the contact area between the oak forests and the steppe (Fig. 8).

Among these cemeteries, those from Szőreg, Aradu Nou and Remetea Mare were systematically investigated, although some of the graves were previously destroyed due to modern activities². None of them occupy a large area, unlike the situation from other cemeteries in the Carpathian Basin, and include only a few dozen burials³.

Regarding the funerary rite and ritual (see Table 1), the percentage of inhumation and of cremation burials in pit respectively is nearly similar at Szőreg, aside from two cremation burials having the remains laid in urn. The inhumation burials predominate at Aradu Nou, whereas the cremation ones in urn are absent. Cremation is nearly exclusively used at Remetea Mare, the remains being laid either in pit or in urn. It can be therefore concluded that the funerary rite and ritual differ from one community to another, perhaps due to the different origins of the communities that settled in Banat.

As concerning the presence of the graves containing weapons in the aforementioned cemeteries (see Table 2), a large percentage of them can be noted at Szőreg and Remetea Mare (50% and 35% respectively), similarly to the situation from a series of contemporaneous cemeteries from the neighbouring areas, for example at Belgrade-Karaburma (Rustoiu 2006a, p. 61-62, 66, table 5). On the other hand, the percentage of burials containing weapons from Aradu Nou resembles the one noted in some rural cemeteries from the Great Hungarian Plain or Transylvania (Rustoiu 2006a, p. 61-62, 67-68, table 1-3).

Chronologically, the cemeteries from Aradu Nou and Remetea Mare can be ascribed, according to their funerary inventories, to a well-defined horizon from the Carpathian Basin.

The graves containing weapons from Aradu Nou (Fig. 9A) include swords of the Kosd C type (see Petres and Szabó 1986) and shields having an oval bi-valve *umbo*, as well as garment accessories of the early LT type. The graves without weapons include jewellery and garment accessories also specific to the early LT period. Amongst them can be noted different variants of the early Dux brooches, bracelets made of bronze rod or sheet, bronze tubular anklets, iron belt buckles and silver or amber finger-rings.

² The cemetery from Szőreg was investigated in 1927, but a series of burials were previously destroyed by a brickyard (Banner 1929). The cemetery from Aradu Nou – Grădinile C.A.P. (in the north-western part of this neighbourhood of Arad) was discovered in 1967 during the excavation of an irrigation canal. Several funerary contexts were destroyed, but two burials (one of cremation and another of inhumation) were archaeologically investigated (Crişan 1974, p. 40-44; Dörner 1968, p. 11-12). Another group of 16 graves (some of cremation but the majority of inhumation) were unearthed in 2010 during the rescue excavations along the ring road bypassing Arad (Site B_04, Km 8+540-8+840). The rescue excavations were carried out by Adrian Ursuţiu. A monograph of the cemetery will be published by Aurel Rustoiu and Adrian Ursuţiu. The cemetery from Remetea Mare – Gomila lui Pituş, partially destroyed by a sand quarry, was systematically investigated by F. Medeleţ in 1974 and 1975, but most of it remained unpublished (see Rustoiu 2006b; Rustoiu 2008, fig. 22, 35, 46, 55-57, 61; Rustoiu and Egri 2011, fig. 10 etc.).

³ For instance the cemetery at Pişcolt comprises 185 graves (Németi 1993), the one from Ludas in Hungary comprises 82 graves (Szabó 2012), and the cemetery from Fântânele-Dâmbu Popii comprises 94 graves (Rustoiu and Megaw 2011, p. 217-218).

The graves containing weapons from Remetea Mare (Fig. 9B) include swords of the Hatvan-Boldog type, shields having a rectangular bi-valve *umbo*, sword-chains and early LT brooches having a large sphere on the foot. The inventory of the graves without weapons includes different variants of the early Dux brooches, “Pauken” type brooches, bracelets made of iron or bronze rod, tubular anklets and different types of iron chains or belts of the early LT type.

In general the inventories of the cemeteries from Aradu Nou and Remetea Mare can be ascribed to the horizon 4 in the Carpathian Basin, defined by Rupert Gebhard, corresponding to the LT B2a in the Central European chronology (Gebhard 1989, 74-127). It is important to note that the remaining funerary inventories from Banat, accidentally discovered at Cherestur (Fig. 10/2), Bašaid (Fig. 10/1), Vatin and Vršac, also belong to this chronological horizon. Similar funerary assemblages are also encountered in the early phases of some cemeteries from the northern Carpathian Basin (Fig. 11), for example at Maňa (Benadik 1983), Chotin (Ratimorská 1981) or Ludas (Szabó 2012), and also southward of the Danube, at Kostolać-Pecine, Požarevac or Belgrade-Karaburma (Božič 1981; Guštin 1984; Rustoiu 2012a, p. 361-362). They define a horizon in which the communities were highly mobile, and this feature explains the relative uniformity of many elements of the material culture, which circulated across wide areas.

The funerary discoveries that can be dated after this horizon, more precisely to the LT B2b or LT C1, are scarce so far. Amongst them can be listed the isolated grave found at Kiszombor B, the cemetery from Kiszombor C (Maráz 1973, 43-46) and the cemetery from Deta, nowadays destroyed, from which a fragment of a vessel having the handles decorated with anthropomorphic details comes, alongside other things (Rustoiu and Egri 2010, pl. 19/4; Rustoiu and Egri 2011, fig. 23/4; Rustoiu 2012b, p. 58).

Returning to the funerary inventories from the Banat cemeteries, their structure is in general typical of the Central European environment. However, the effects of the contacts with the local populations from the colonized areas can be noted in certain situations. The cohabitation of the newcomers with the locals is demonstrated by the mixed character of the ceramic inventories from burials, which include both LT and local forms. These ceramic assemblages point to the appearance of some hybrid culinary practices resulting from the mentioned cohabitation (see Rustoiu 2013). Sometimes the association of certain funerary rituals with the local pottery may suggest that some graves belonged to the locals integrated into the new communities established by the Celtic colonists.

One good example is the grave no. 17 from Remetea Mare (Fig. 12/1). This is a cremation burial, with the remains laid in an urn with lid, and the ceramic inventory includes a handmade truncated vessel and a handmade bowl decorated with oblique grooves on the shoulder. The funerary ritual, as well as the pottery, has analogies in cemeteries from the Lower Danube region, for example at Zimnicea (Fig. 12/2) (Alexandrescu 1980). For this reason the grave might be ascribed to an indigenous individual, in spite of the fact that the garment accessories consist of LT items.

The inventories of some burials from the Banat cemeteries also points to some complex communal interactions with the Illyrian or Thracian populations from the Balkans. From this point of view the jewellery recently recovered from a burial unearthed at Aradu Nou is relevant. The inventory includes a pair of silver earrings or hair-rings (Fig. 13/1), which are characteristic of the end of the Early Iron Age in the north-western Balkans (Fig. 13/2) (Rustoiu and Ursuțiu 2013, with further bibliography). During the LT B2a similar pieces were integrated into some jewellery and garment assemblages of the LT type, for example at Belgrade-Karaburma (Fig. 13/3) (Ljuština and Spasić 2012, with further bibliography).

In the aforementioned burial from Aradu Nou these earrings are associated with two bronze bracelets of local type and several rows of over 400 beads made of glass, coral and amber. Similar costumes richly decorated with glass, coral and amber beads are encountered in the north-western Balkans, for example during the late Hallstatt period at Novo mesto in Slovenia (Križ 2000), or in the early La Tène period at Velika in Croatia (Dizdar and Potrebić 2002; Majnarić-Pandžić 1996; Popović 1996, p. 106, fig. 3).

In conclusion, the cemeteries from Banat define a unitary horizon belonging to the LT B2a period. They mark a route along which some small Celtic groups advanced from the north to the south at the end of the 4th century and the beginning of the 3rd century BC. The appearance of the cemeteries at the confluence of the Morava with the Danube (Kostolac-Pećine, Kostolac-Repnjak and Požarevač: Božić 1981, p. 327, pl. 6/5-10; Jacanović 1987; Jovanović 1984; Jovanović 1992; Popović and Jovanović 2004) is probably a result of this movement (Fig. 14). The Danube crossing and the settlement on the right bank occurred most likely after the death of Alexander the Great in 323 BC. During the expedition to the Danube in 335 BC, the relationships between the communities from this area, as well as the regional balance of forces, were regulated by treaties concluded with the Macedonian king. Following Alexander's death and the division of his great empire amongst his successors, such previous treaties and agreements most likely ceased. As a matter of fact, after more than two decades, by the beginning of the 3rd century BC the Celts who already settled in the southern Carpathian Basin planned to attack Macedonia. Upon the intervention of Cassandros, the invasion of Greece was delayed by two more decades, in other words by another generation.

In Banat the number of cemeteries and isolated graves dated to the LT B2b – LT C1 is significantly smaller than that of the discoveries dated to the preceding sub-phase. This pattern may reflect the state of archaeological research in the region. The recent archaeological investigations along the motorways in Banat led to the identification of some rural settlements dated to the LT B2 – LT C1, for example at Gearmata (unpublished excavations carried out by Adrian Ursuțiu). The dwellings from this settlement produced inventories containing both wheel-made pottery of the LT type and local hand-made vessels. A series of jewellery and garment accessories (brooches, glass bracelets etc), typical of the LT environment from the Carpathian Basin, have also been found. Thus, some still unidentified cemeteries might be located in the vicinity of these settlements.

On the other hand, the numerical reduction of the funerary discoveries in the LT B2b – LT C1 sub-phases might be the result of some concrete historical events. For example the turmoil generated by the southward expeditions and incursions of some Celtic groups during the first two decades of the 3rd century BC, which culminated in the Great Expedition in the Balkans and Greece, may have also led to the displacement of some communities from certain regions and their relocation in other areas. The population movements can be noted through the appearance of some new settlements and cemeteries both in the LT area from the Carpathian Basin (see Rustoiu 2006b; Rustoiu 2008, p. 86-90) and in the regions which were only occupied during the aforementioned events, like in the case of the Celtic kingdom from Thrace having the centre at Tylis, or of the Celtic tribes settled in Asia Minor.

It can be therefore concluded that the Celtic communities from Banat were involved in a wide variety of complex social relations with the local populations from the region, and also with the Illyrian and Thracian communities from the northern and north-western Balkans. Some of these connections can be identified through the analysis of funerary inventories.

For example the association of La Tène vessels with the local ones in burials may argue for the cohabitation of the newcomers and the local communities, pointing to a process of cultural hybridization quite similar to the one observed in other communities from the north-western Balkans (see Džino 2007). In certain situations some elements of the funerary

rite and ritual, as well as the structure of the inventories illustrate the preservation of a particular communal identity, specific to the local populations, which is different from the one expressed by the colonists, the latter displaying Central European LT features. At the same time the inter-communal relationships established between the southern Carpathian Basin and the northern and north-western Balkans were based on a variety of diplomatic practices and on the establishing of a series of complex social networks. Amongst the diplomatic practices can be listed, for example, the exchange of gifts and perhaps also of “hostages” (elite members whose presence in a foreign community may serve as a warrant of a particular agreement) or the matrimonial alliances (further on this topic in Anastassov 2011; Rustoiu 2004-2005; Rustoiu 2011; Rustoiu 2012a; Theodossiev 2005 etc.). The grave no. 3 from Remetea Mare and perhaps also the grave no. 50 from Aradu Nou very probably illustrate the existence of such marriages outside the community.

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Appendix 1
LIST OF LA TÈNE FUNERARY DISCOVERIES FROM BANAT
(see Fig. 8)

ROMANIA

1. Aradul Nou: Crișan 1974, p. 40-44; Dörner 1968, p. 11-12; Rustoiu and Ursuțiu 2013.
2. Cherestur: Medeleț mss.a; Rustoiu 2012a.
3. Deta: Rustoiu 2012b.
4. Remetea Mare: Medeleț mss.b; Rustoiu 2006, 223-225, fig. 6-8; Rustoiu 2008, fig. 55-57, 61; Rustoiu 2012a; Rustoiu and Egri 2010, 220, pl. 7; Rustoiu and Egri 2011, 28-29, fig. 10;

HUNGARY

5. Kiszombor B and C: Maráz 1973; Maráz 1977.
6. Szőreg: Banner 1929; Maráz 1977, 62, no. 42.

SERBIA

7. Bašaid: Girić 1997.
8. Vatin: MEDELEȚ mss.a.
9. Vršac: MEDELEȚ mss.a.

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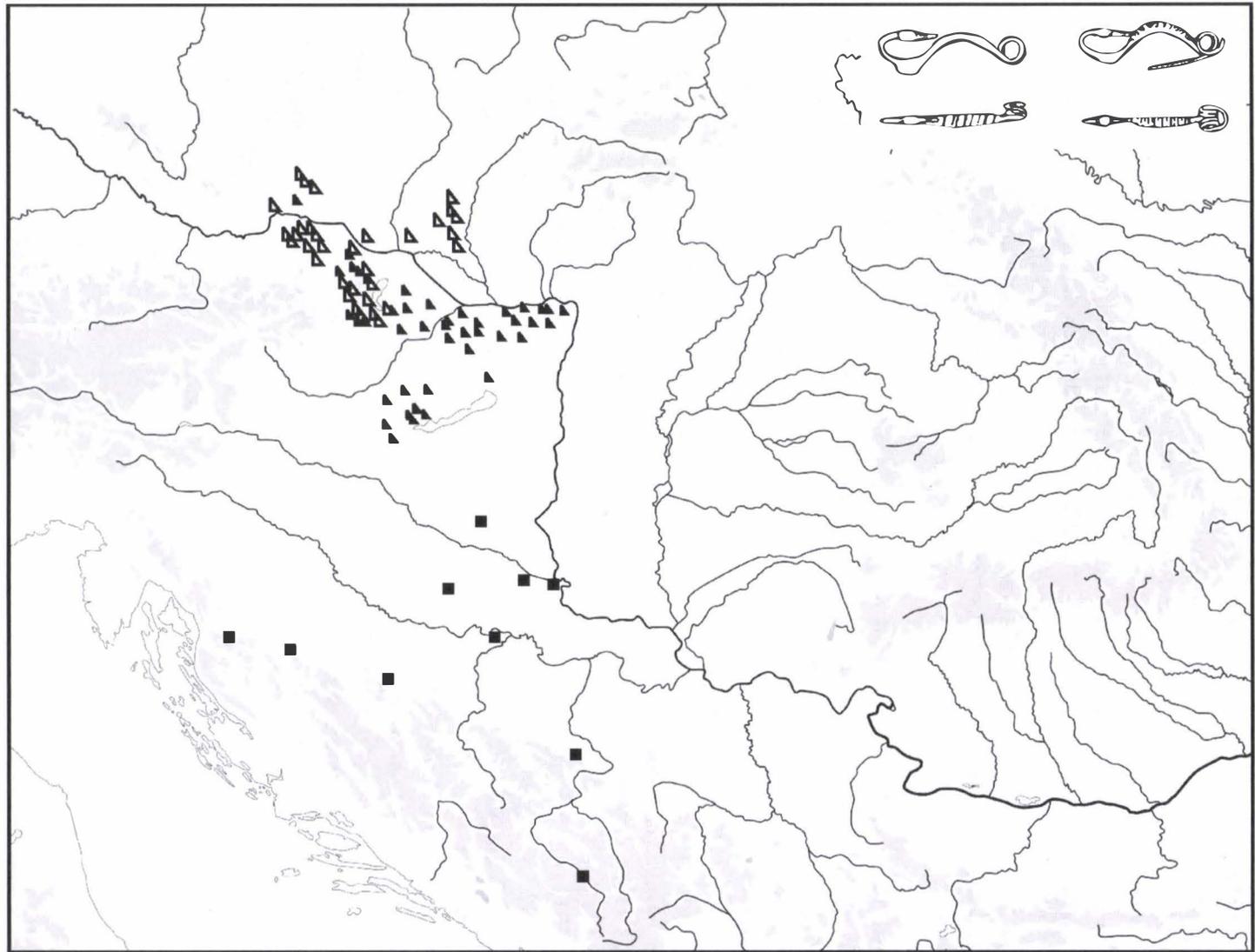


Fig. 1. The distribution map of early La Tène funerary discoveries from the Carpathian Basin. Triangles – cemeteries LT A-B 1; black squares – LT B 1 type brooches (the pre-Duchov horizon) discovered in indigenous graves from the southern Carpathian Basin and the north-western Balkans (after Jerem 1986, Popović 1996 and Rustoiu 2012a).

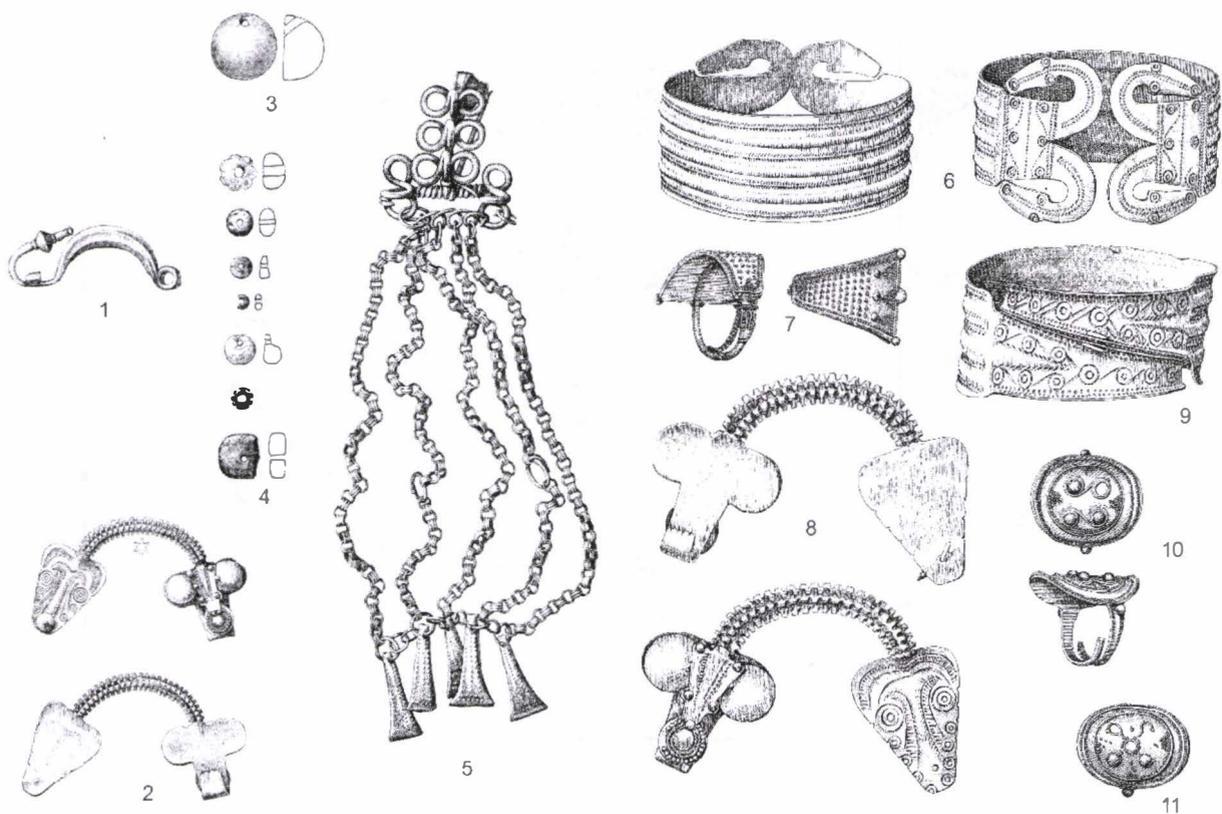


Fig. 2. Čurug hoard. 1, 5 – bronze; 2, 6-11 – silver. Different scales (after Ljuština 2010).

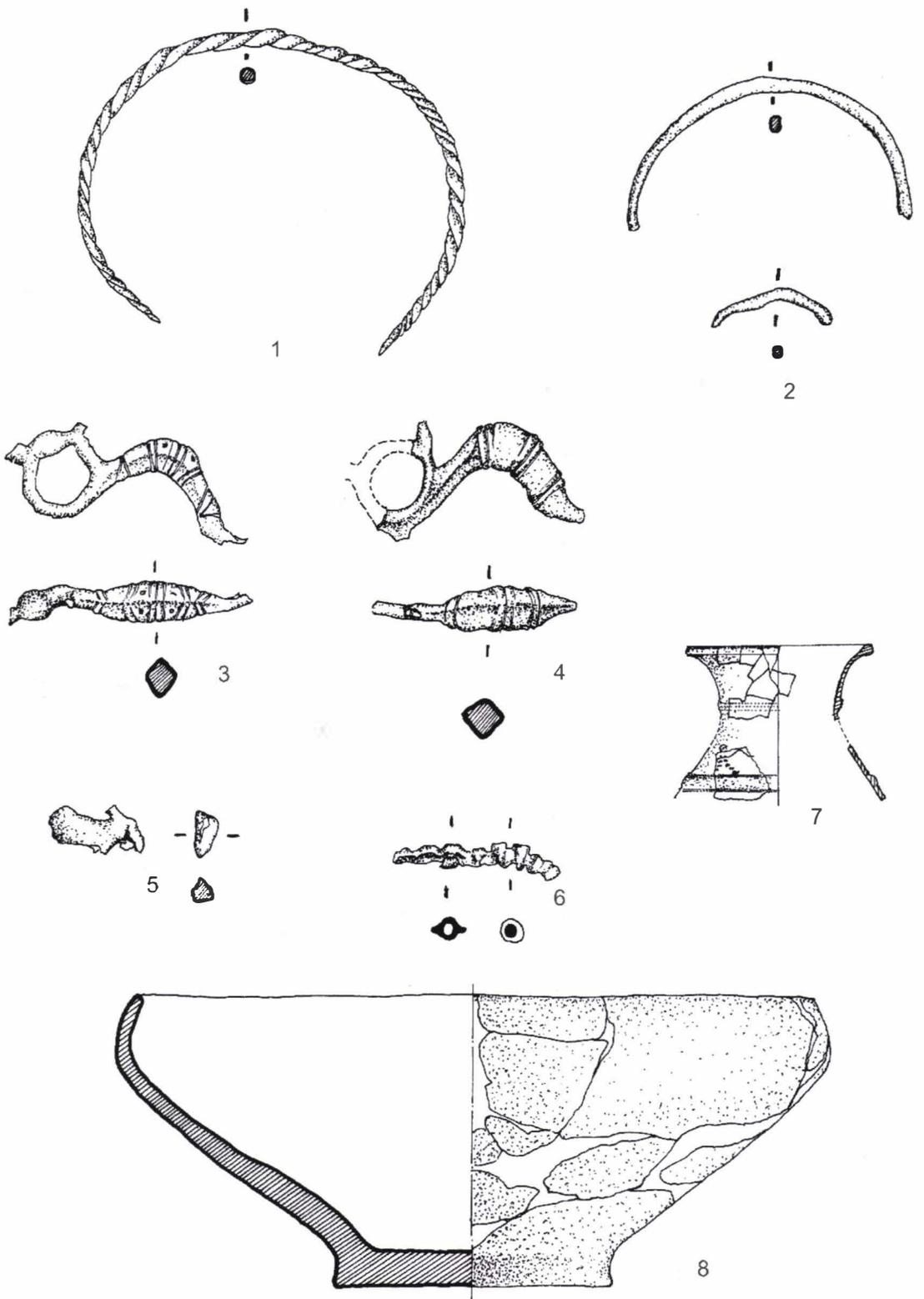


Fig. 3. The inventory of the grave from Timișoara - Cioreni. 1 – silver; 2-6 – bronze. 1-6: scale 1/1; 7: scale 1/5; 8: scale 1/2. Drawings by F. Medeț.

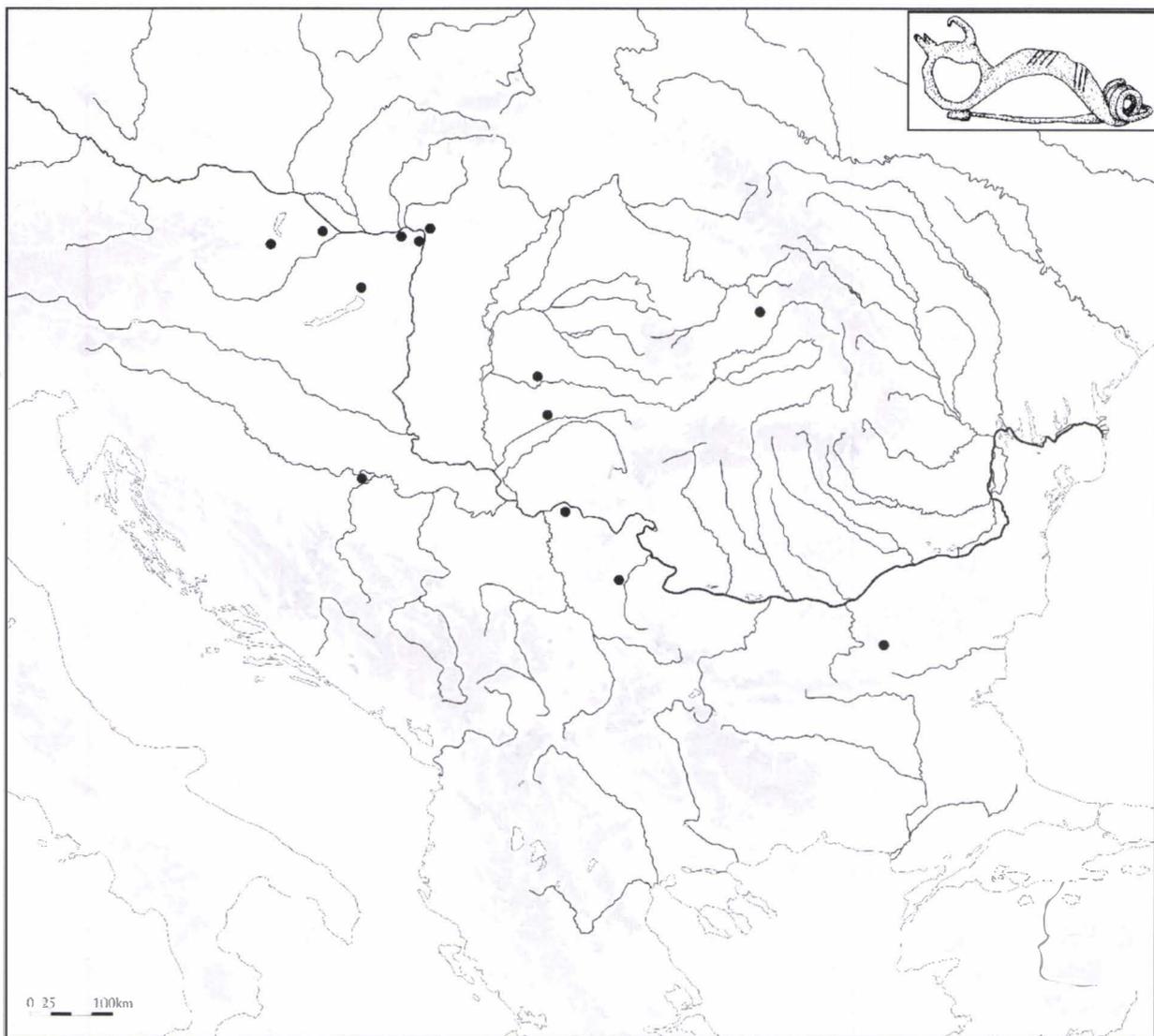


Fig. 4. The distribution map of zoomorphic brooches with stylized griffin heads (after Rustoiu 2012a).

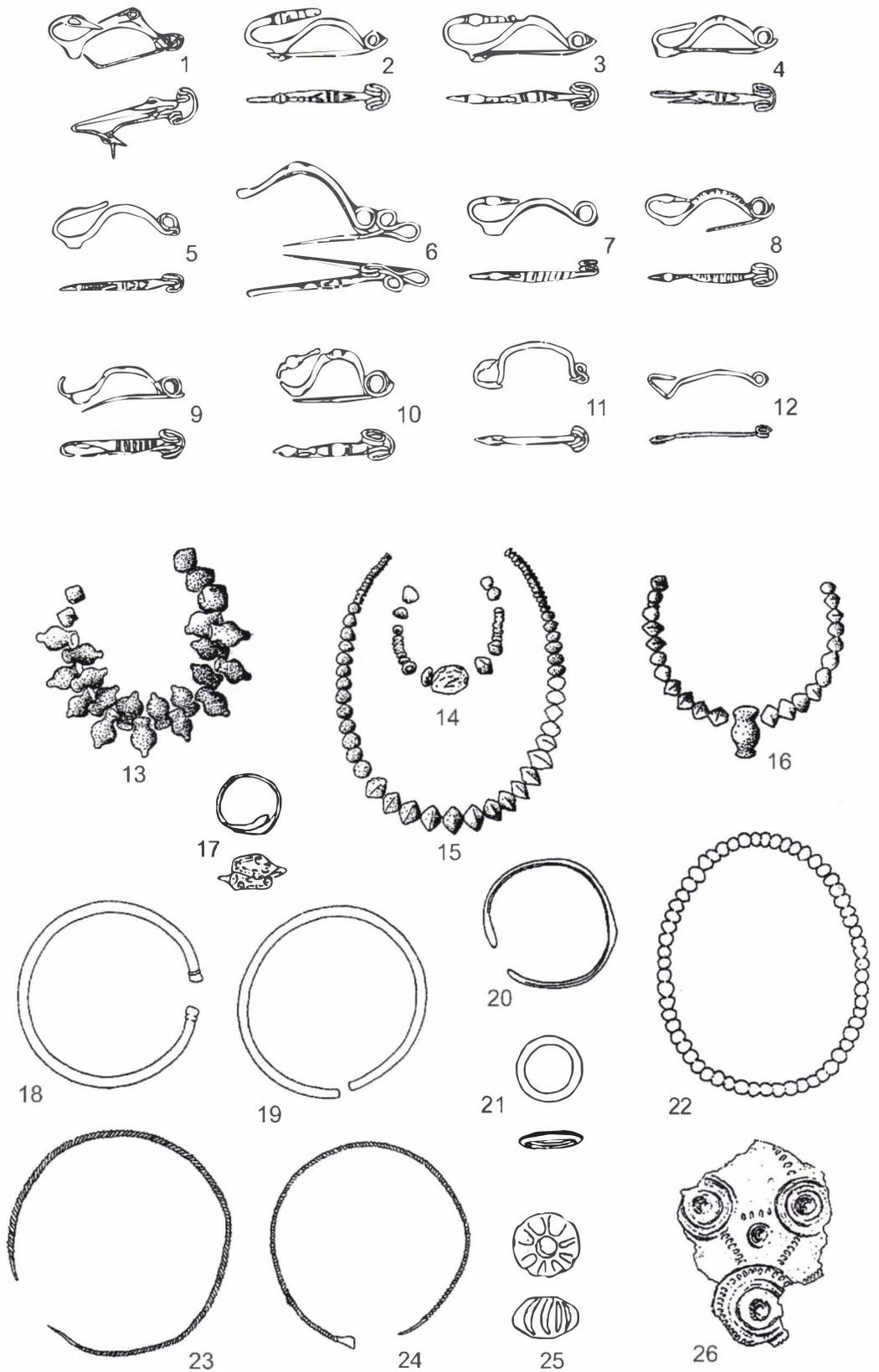


Fig. 5. The inventory of the grave from Velika. Scale about 2/3 (after Popović 1996).

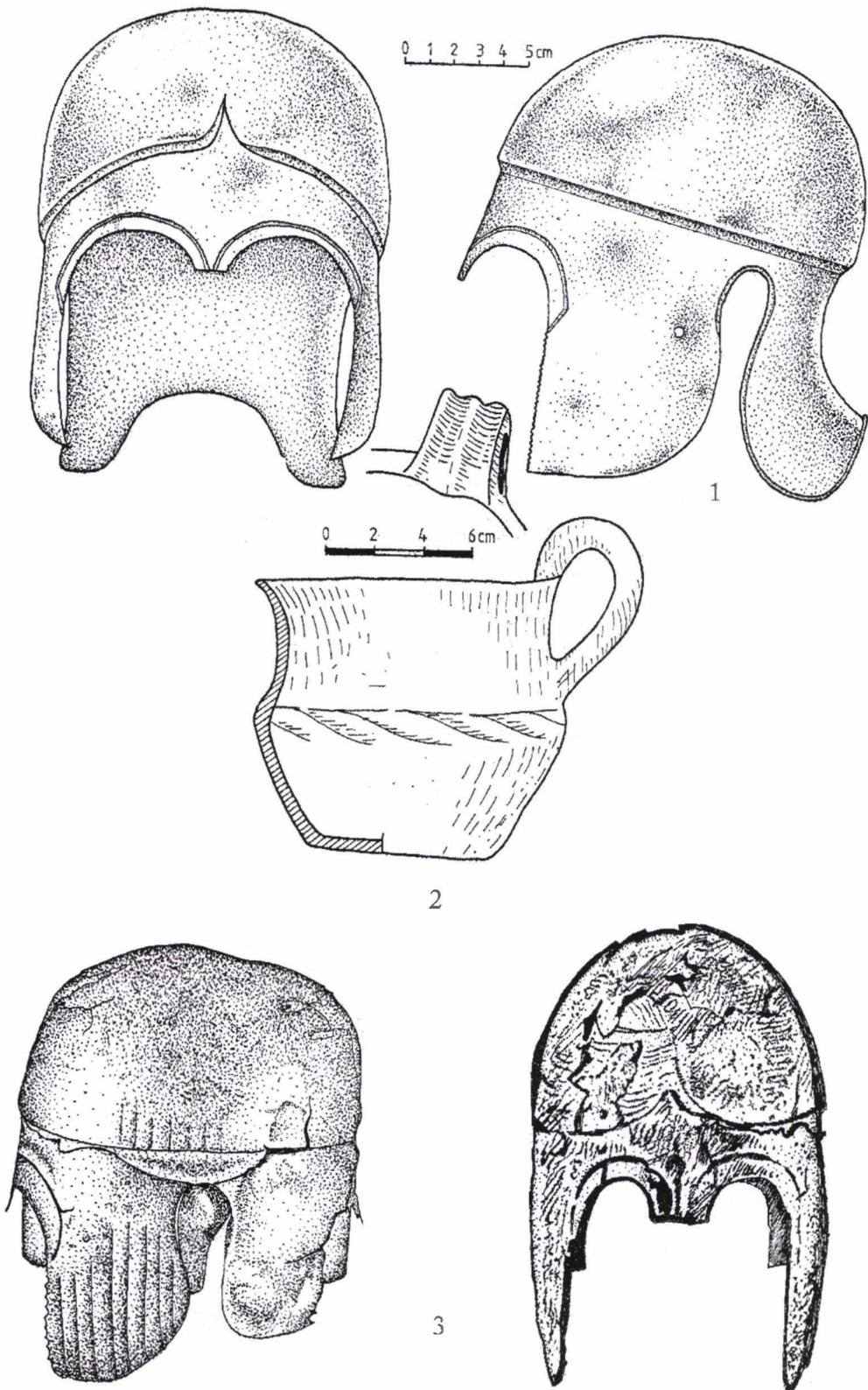


Fig. 6. 1-2. Inventory of the grave from Cuptoare – Sfogea (after Gumă 1991); 2. Helmet from Mercina - Vršacki breg (after Brukner *et alii* 1974).

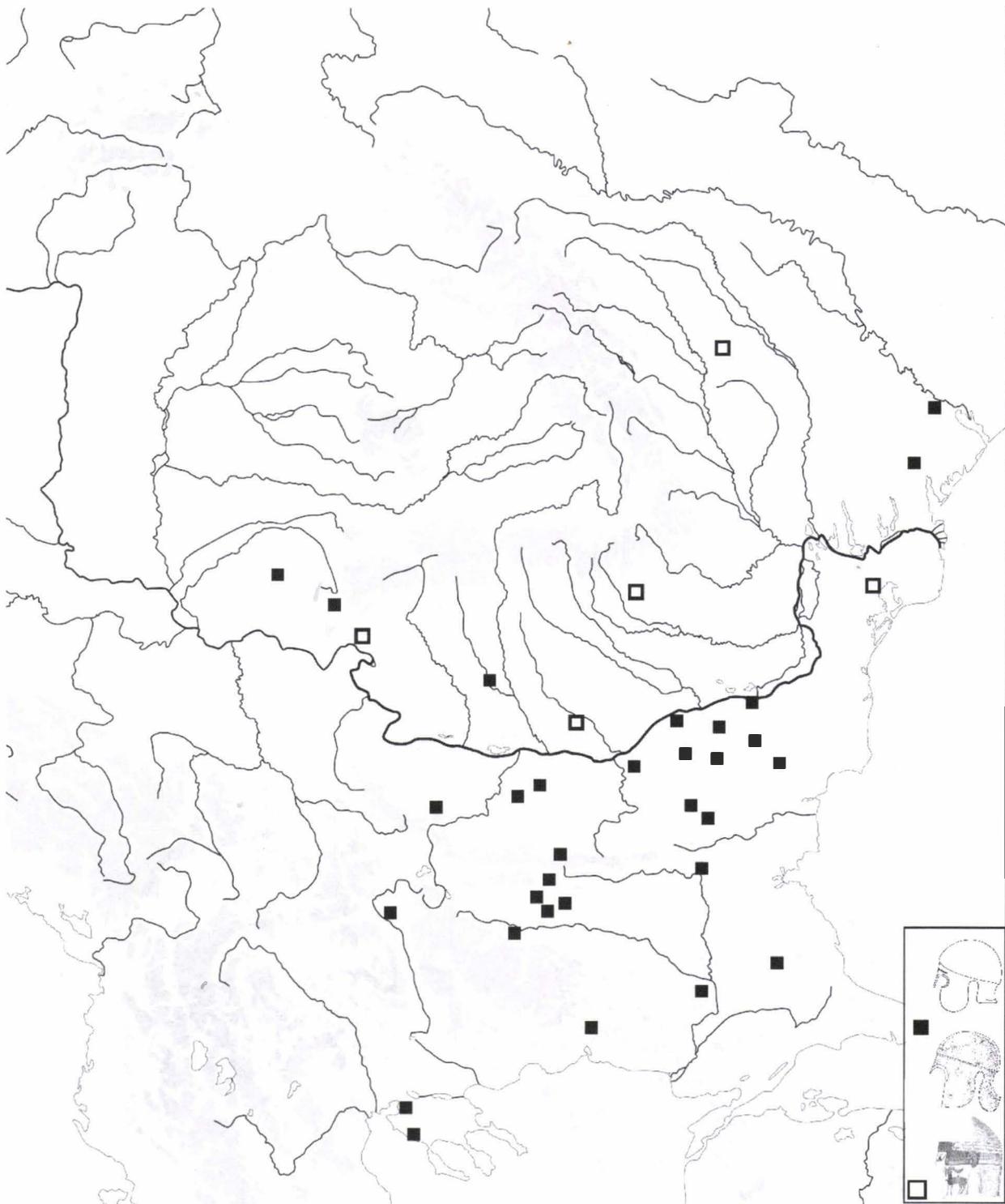


Fig. 7. Distribution map of Chalcidian helmets Pflug II type, the “Thracian” variant (black squares) and the silver and gold parade helmets (white squares). After Rustoiu and Berecki 2012.

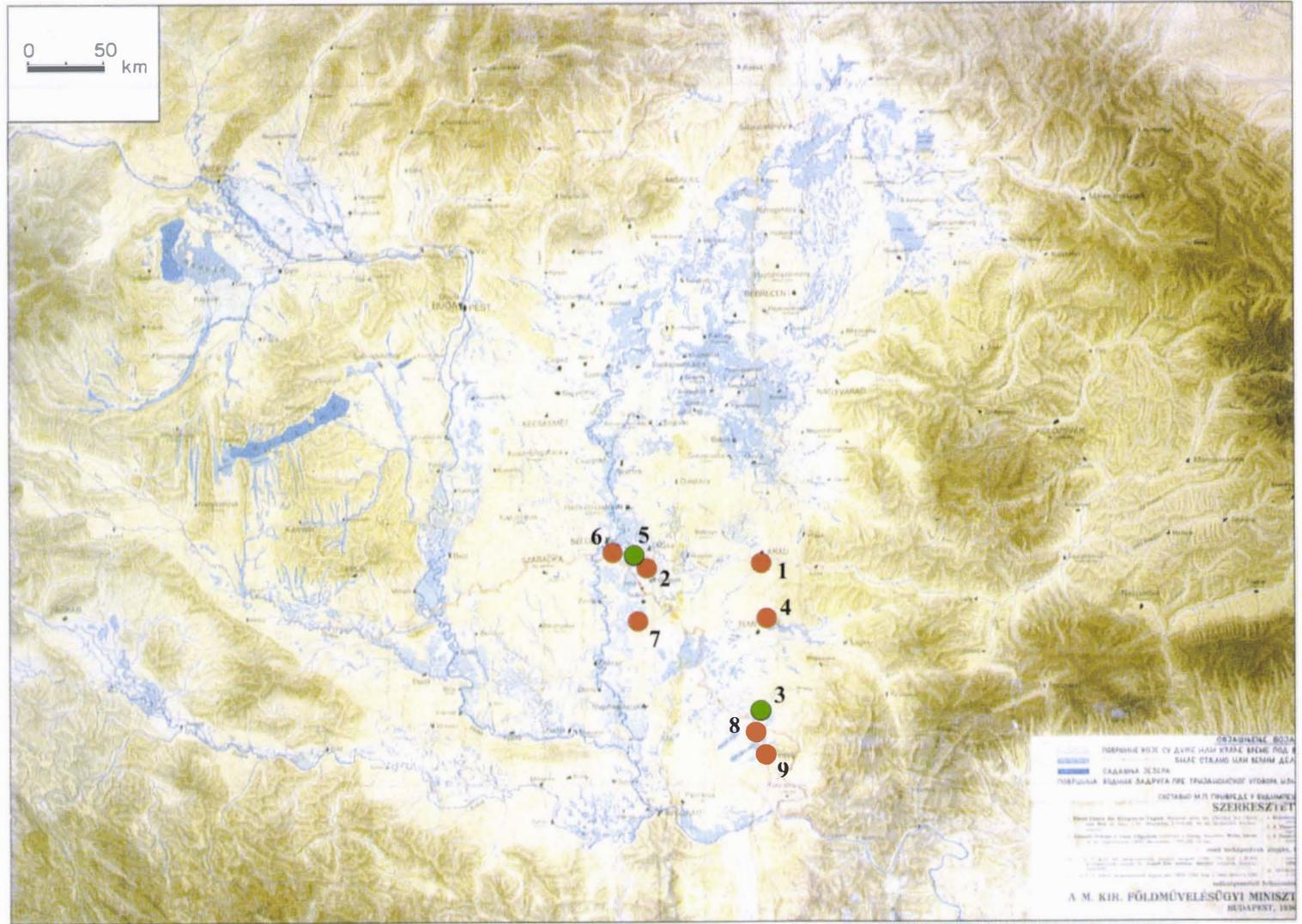
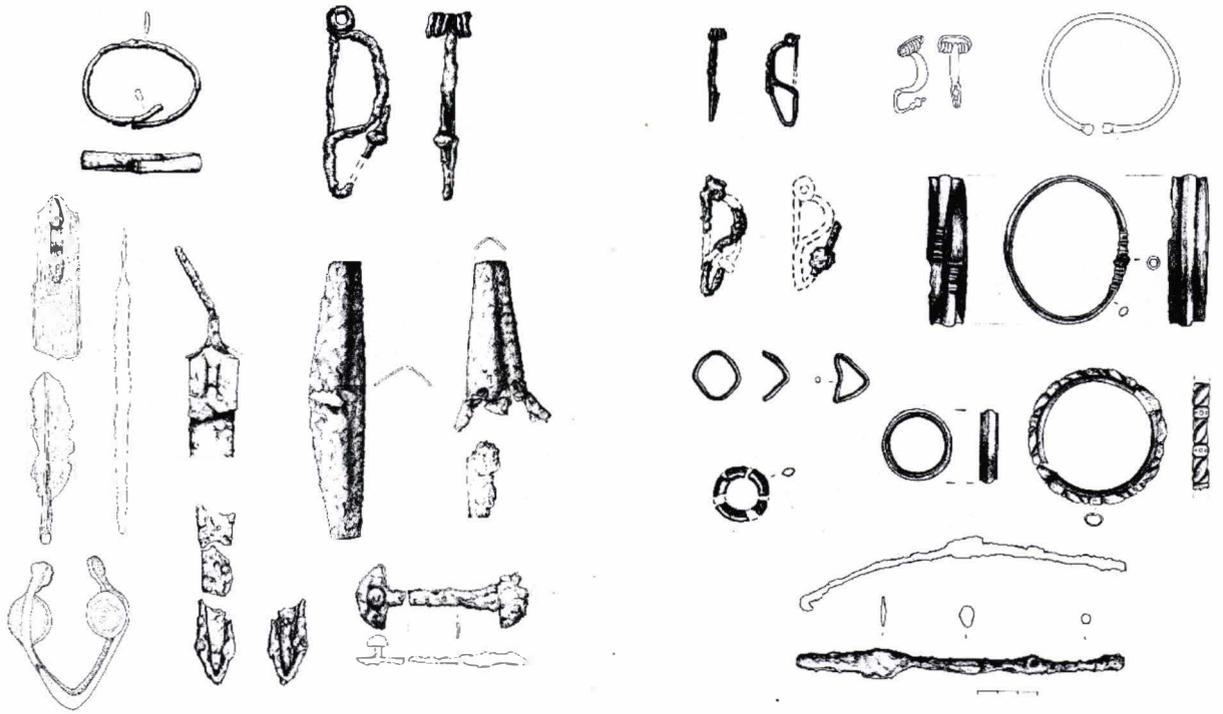


Fig. 8. Carpathian Basin before the Austrian draining works (after Hänsel and Medović 1991) and LT cemeteries in Banat. Red dots – LT B2a cemeteries; green dots – LT B2b – LT C1 cemeteries. See Appendix 1.



A

B

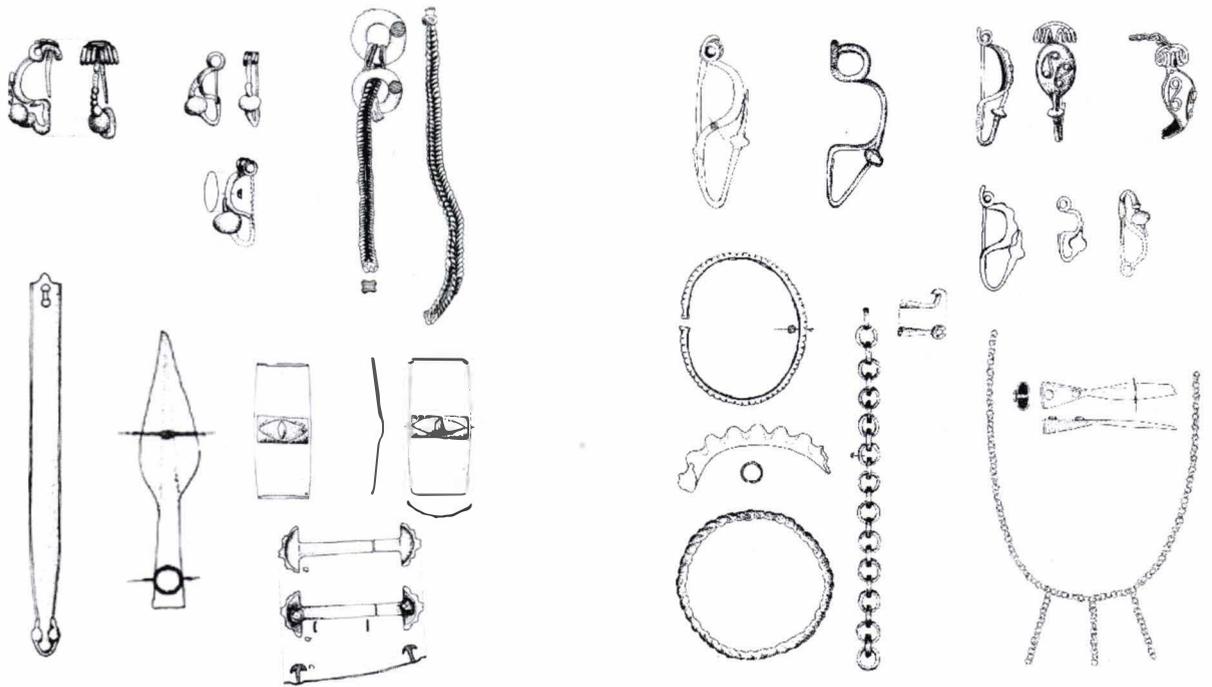


Fig. 9. A. Aradu Nou and B. Remetea Mare – funerary inventories from graves with weapons (left) and without weapons (right).

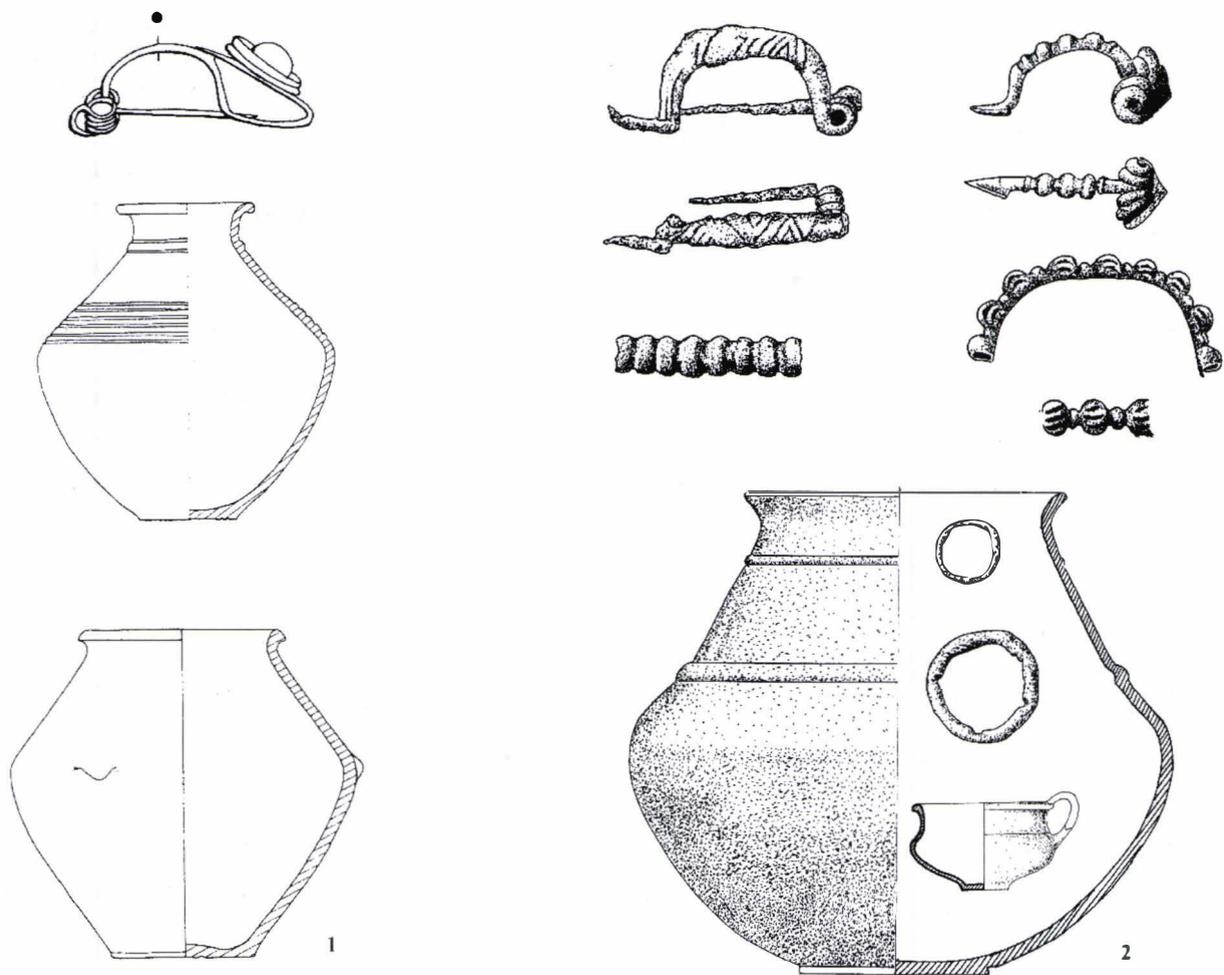
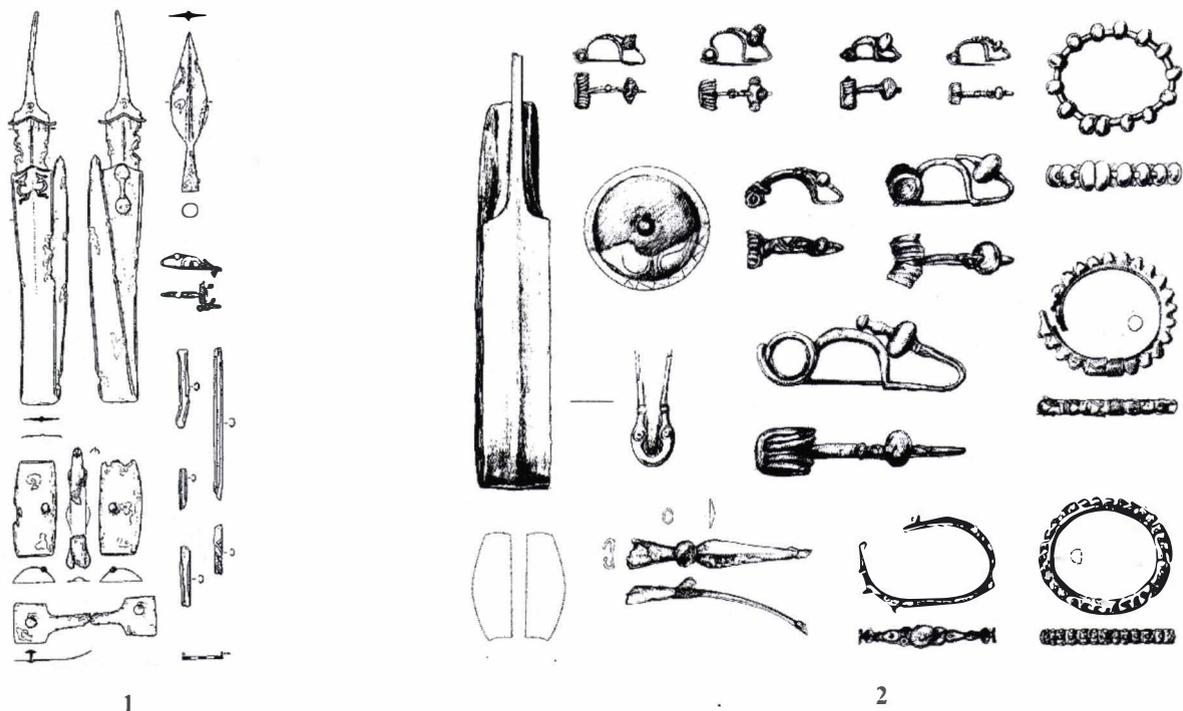
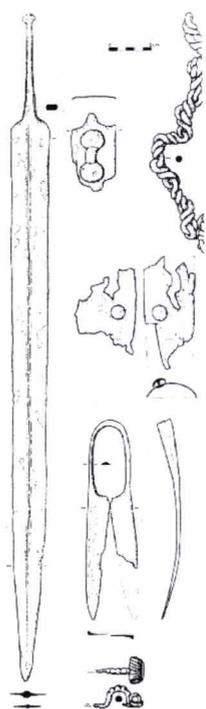


Fig. 10. 1. Bašaid – funerary inventories (after Girić 1997); 2. Cherestur – cremated grave in urn (?). Different scales (after Medeleț mss.a and Rustoiu 2012a).

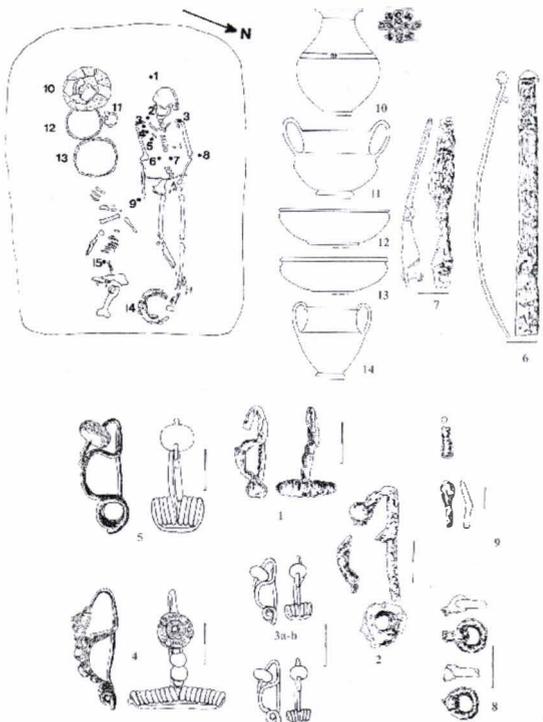


1

2



3



4

Fig. 11. LT B2a funerary inventories from the Carpathian Basin. 1. Osijek-grave 29 (after Božič 1981); 2. Ludas (after Szabó 2012); 3. Požarevac (after Božič 1981); 4. Kostolać-Pećine – grave G 3-982 (after Jovanović 1984).

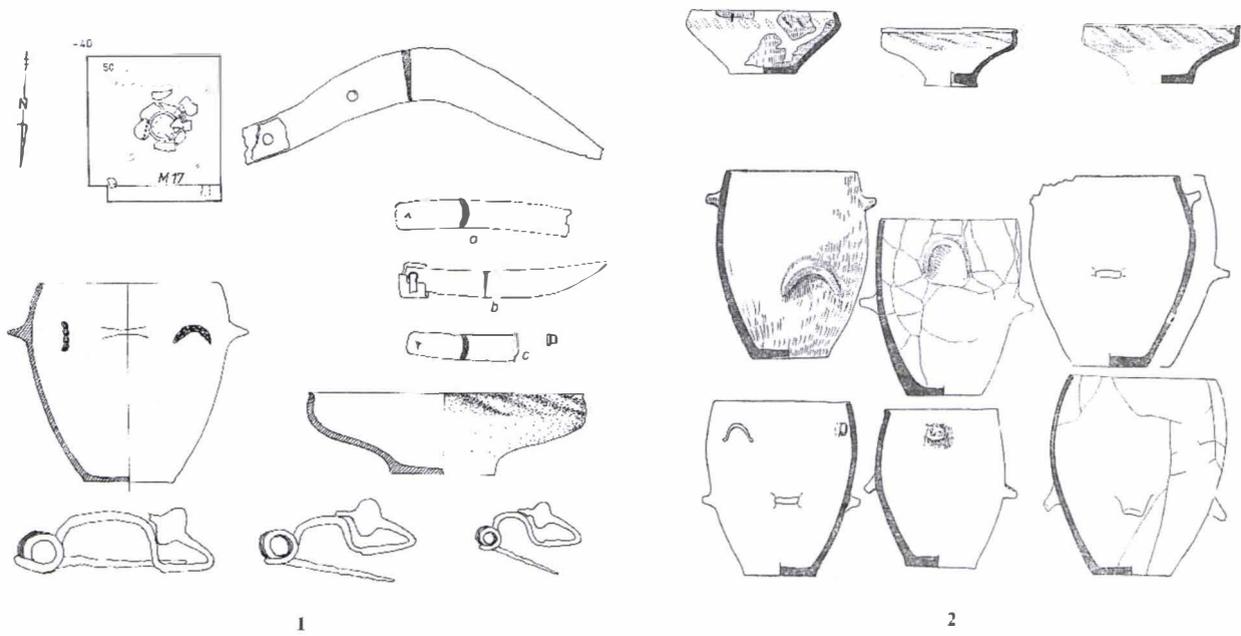


Fig. 12. 1. Grave no. 17 from Remetea Mare (after Medeleț mss.b). 2. Funerary pottery from the Zimnicea cemetery (after Alexandrescu 1980). Different scales.

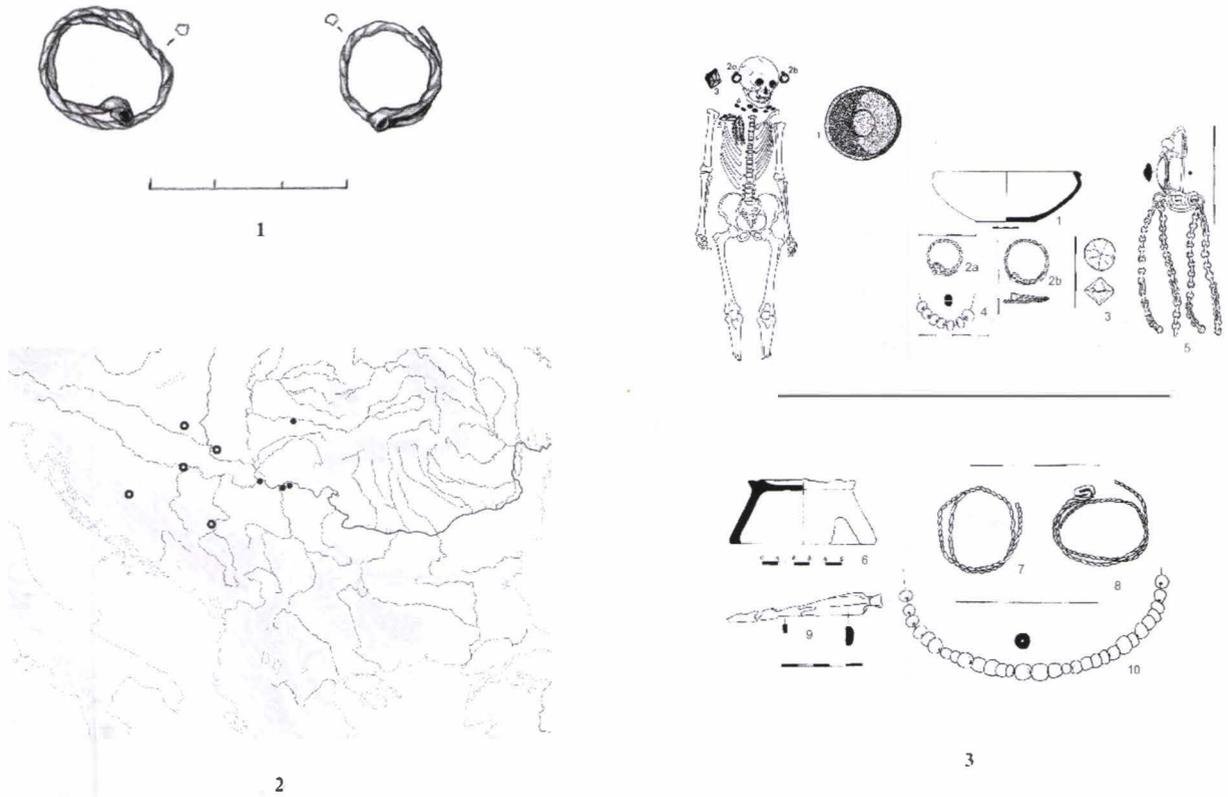


Fig. 13. 1. Silver earrings from the grave no. Cx 50 at Aradu Nou; 2. Distribution map of the annular spiral jewellery (earrings and bracelets): white dots – Ha D-LT B1; black dots – LT B2a (after Rustoiu and Ursuțiu 2013); 3. The graves no. 63 (above) and 67 (below) from Belgrade-Karaburma (after Todorović 1972).

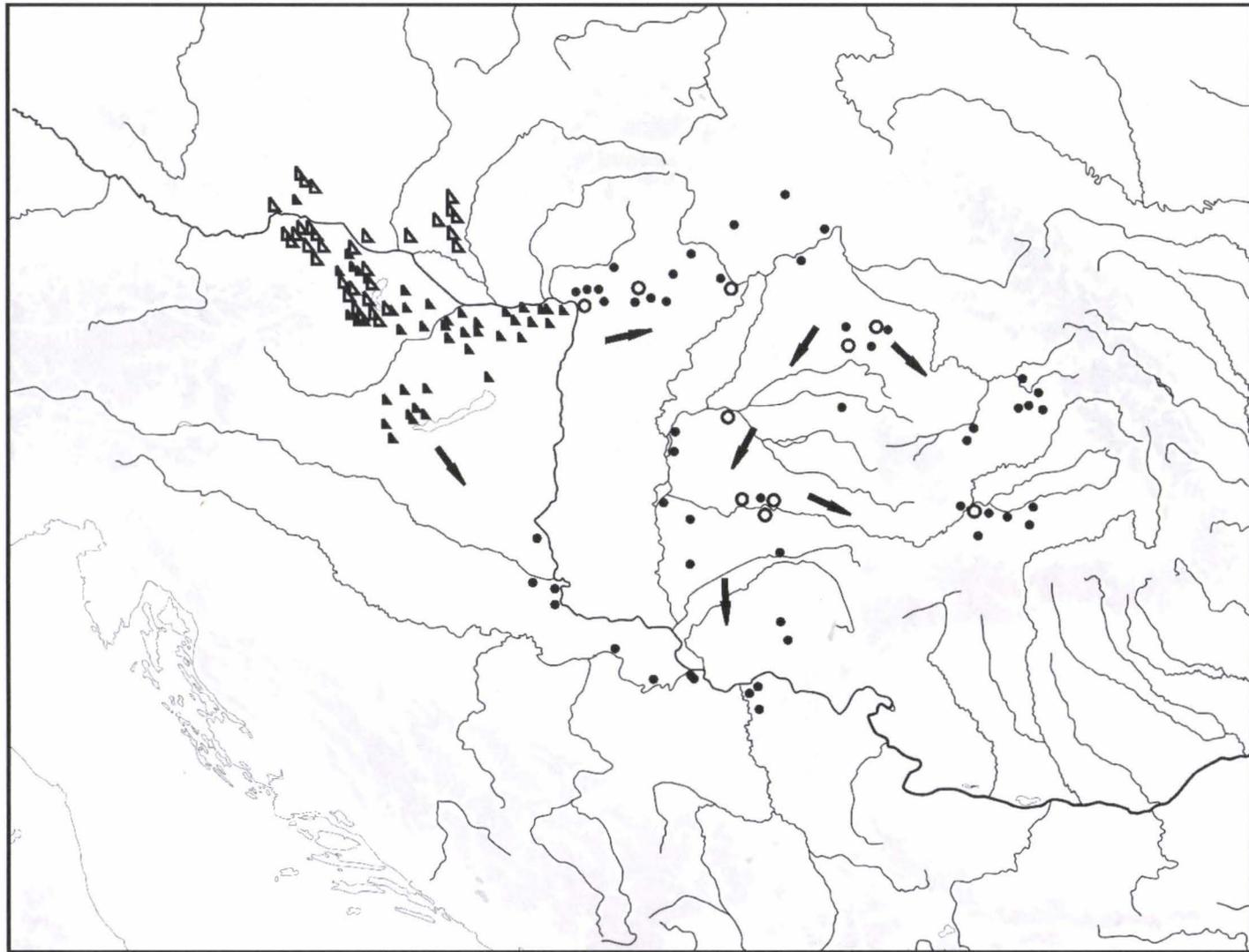


Fig. 14. The distribution map of early La Tène funerary discoveries from the Carpathian Basin and directions of Celtic colonization. White triangles – cemeteries LT A; black triangles – cemeteries LT B1; white dots – cemeteries beginning in the LT B1/B2 period; black dots – cemeteries beginning in the LT B2 period (after Rustoiu 2012a).

Table 1. Funerary rite in some LT cemeteries from Banat.

	Inhumation	Cremation in pit	Cremation in urn	Total
Szöreg	4	5	2	11+1
Remetea Mare	1	11	8	20
Aradu Nou	13	5	-	18
Cherestur	1	-	1	2

Table 2. Graves with weapons from Banat.

	Graves with weapons	Graves without weapons	Percentage of the graves with weapons
Szöreg	6	6	50%
Remetea Mare	7	13	35%
Aradu Nou	3	15	16%

**THE NECROPOLIS FROM TELIȚA-CELIC DERE (6TH – 3RD C. BC),
TULCEA COUNTY, ROMANIA.
- THE STUDY CASE OF TUMULUS T44 -**

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Maria-Magdalena Ștefan, Dan Ștefan (Bucharest - Romania),
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Key-words: tumuli graves; second Iron Age; Dobroudja; akinakai, wheel-made ceramic; delayed burial; child burial

Abstract: Excavated since 1985, the biritual tumuli and flat graves necropolis from Telița-Celic Dere (Tulcea, Romania) has remained known to the scientific public only through general and rather brief presentations, even if the archaeological discoveries made here propose the site as one of the key elements for the comprehension of the cultural processes and ethnic interactions happened at the Lower Danube during the late Hallstatt and early Second Iron Age (6th – 3rd centuries BC). Exhibiting archaeological features relevant for the North-Thracians, but also for various North-Pontic populations, including Scythians, the site could give insight into the specific phenomena that characterized the authority structures existing in Northern Dobroudja in the vicinity of Greek colonies Orgame and Histria. The authors, as members of a new research team engaged in the site since 2006, present for the first time a complete and systematic picture of what is considered to be a typical funerary monument of the necropolis – a tumulus grave – by making reference to its location, structure, ritual and artifacts as to chronology and research methodology. The mound was thoroughly excavated and analyzed by employing a complex set of interdisciplinary methods and techniques: geophysical prospecting with various methods.

Considered by scholars (Simion 2000; Irimia 2005; Măndescu 2010) one of the most interesting cemeteries by which one could had documented the transition from the late Hallstatt society to the following, so called Getae culture of the early Second Iron Age, in a certain tensed context triggered by North-Pontic nomadic communities amassing in the Lower Danube area, the archaeological site from *Celic Dere* (Telița, jud. Tulcea) hasn't yet been systematically published, due to various reasons, despite consistent excavations undertaken here during the last decades of the 20th century. Therefore we might say that the current report stands as the first methodical publication of a funerary complex investigated in the up-mentioned site, regarded by its excavators as representative for the dominant funerary rituals attested to have been practiced in *Celic Dere*. This will be the case of Tumulus 44, excavated between 2008 and 2010 by a Romanian-Polish team¹, team that had restarted since 2006 research activities in the Second Iron Age site from *Celic Dere*².

¹ The research team has been headed by Valeriu Sîrbu and gathers the authors of the current report. Others took part as well, like Gavrilă Simion (until his unfortunate passing away in 2009) and Sorin Ailincăi (between 2006-2008), both from Tulcea Museum. At the excavation field campaigns had participated various Romanian and Polish students and PhD candidates, among whom we name Iwona Florkiewicz, Monica Nicolaescu, Constantin Cătălin, Vlad Cărăbiși, Constantin Ștefan. Anthropological exams for the human remains found in the period 2006-2013 were carried out by Andrei Soficaru (F. Reiner Anthropology Institute Bucharest) and soil analysis were done by George Gârbacea (Geology and Geophysics Faculty, Bucharest University). Anthropological exams will be thoroughly detailed in a future larger report scheduled to integrate all available data obtained in the new excavations undertaken in the site starting with 2006.

² Sîrbu *et alii*, Campania 2008, CCA 2009, Valachica, 21-22, p. 220-221; Campania 2009, CCA 2010, p. 193-195; Campania 2010, CCA 2011, p.141-142.

Discovered and investigated with interludes during 1985-2001 by Gavrilă Simion, archaeologist and director of Tulcea Eco-Museal Institute, the cemetery from *Celice Dere*³ had been earlier described in scientific literature (Simion 1992; 1995; 1996; 2000; 2003; 2005) as being composed by both flat and mound (tumuli) graves, this last category being characterized by small dimensions (maximum 1m high and 8 to 15m in diameter) and chipped stone coverings (some with an enclosure built of larger boulders around the funerary pit). As funerary rite there were mentioned graves by inhumation (*dorsal decubitus* or flexed with various orientations) and also graves by incineration, with cremation remains deposited in pits or in urns (with or without a lid, with or without a small funerary construction around the urn – described as a stone package), this biritualism being related to both flat and tumuli graves (Fig. 14). The published funerary inventory⁴ - *akinakai* type iron swords and daggers (Simion 2003, p. 174, fig. 2a, p. 256, fig. 5; 2000, p. 81, fig. 9; Măndescu 2010, pl. 66-67, Irimia 2005, p.89-90, fig. 3, 4), with a transversal bar at the end of the handle or with very little pronounced antennas, bronze arrowheads (Simion 2003, p. 174, fig. 2b, 255, fig. 4, p. 256, fig.5; 2000, p. 81, fig. 9), with three wings with or without fixation tube, some with external spike, iron spear-heads (Simion 2003, p. 257, fig. 6; Măndescu 2010, pl. 66B no. 26-30), harness gear (Simion 2003, p. 257, fig. 6; 2000, p. 82, fig. 10/5), Glasinac type fibulae, three-palleted bronze heads (Simion 2000, p. 82, fig. 10/1-2; 2003, p. 255, fig. 4), ceramic vessels with connections in the Bârsești or Getae cultural environment, made either by hand or at wheel (Simion 2000, p. 80, fig. 8; 2003, p. 258, p. 7, p.246, fig. 6), Greek amphorae (Simion 2000, p.71, 80, fig. 8/3; Teleagă 2008, p. 49, pl. 102/2-6; 192/7-13), stake out a chronological framework between at least the second half of the 6th c. BC until the beginning of the 3rd c. BC, with the weight centre placed along the 5th c. BC. Some details of the funerary rite were interpreted as related to North-Pontic cultural elements (Meljukova 1979), others to Ciumbrud (Vasiliev 1980), Bârsești (Morintz 1957, p. 219-226; 1959, p. 355-361; 1961, p. 201-207) and graves from the Central Moldavian Plateau, or to Getae necropolises in Dobroudja - Canlia (Boroffka, Trohani 2003, p. 139-198), Enisala (Simion 1971, p. 63-129), Bugeac (Irimia 1968, p. 193-234). Altogether, this diversity of cultural links supports the interpretation of *Celice Dere* as a repeatedly used funerary space, by various communities during different times. The extent to which one can speak about chronological continuity or symbiosis and cultural transformation between distinct ethnic and cultural groups remains a matter of research. There is however enough ground allowing us to consider that these phenomena had taken place even if their intensity is still under analysis.

The site from *Celice Dere* offers another archaeological opportunity as the cemetery analysis can be enhanced with data coming from a nearby settlement, partially contemporaneous, located at just 300m towards south, on a small promontory elevated above the Valley of Celice River. Excavations were conducted here by the same Gavrilă Simion. Brief published reports about discoveries in the settlement (Simion 1995; 1997) described it as having two main habitation phases separated by a fire: a first level from the 6th and first half of the 5th century BC, characterized by ceramic exhibiting a mix of a late Babadag tradition with newer influences of the HaD ceramic (Simion 1997, p. 238-9, p. 246-7, figs. 5-6) and another one belonging to end of the fifth c. BC and 4th c. BC (Simion 1997, p. 240,

³ In some publication is called Cilic. The name is of the river above the valley of which the site is to be found. This small river springs in the vicinity of Valea Teilor locality, in the Hills of Niculițel and flows through them from west to east along almost 5km, until it reaches the larger valley of Telița, in the vicinity of Frecăței. At the emergence from the hills of the Celice valley in the larger Telița valley the monastery from Celice Dere is located, built in the first half of the 19th century.

⁴ There isn't a complete publication of the inventory for none of the graves in the necropolis. Several, more spectacular items were illustrated but without clear context identification. Irimia 2005 (p. 89, fig. 3, 1-3) publishes some items from mound 11. In reality these items originate from two different mounds.

248, figs.7-8). The fire was linked with incursions from North-Pontic warrior groups which eventually established in the region and buried themselves in the site cemetery (Simion 1997, p. 241; 2003, p. 215).

These are the features of a complex and intriguing archaeological picture, raising questions about a prolonged survival of the Babadag pottery tradition, its relation with the subsequent later Hallstatt communities in the Curved Carpathian area and Moldavia, questions about the actual presence of pre-Scythian and Scythian groups south of the Danube and about their possible settling down and symbiosis with local cultures.

The actual field investigation was difficult, considering the region's remoteness, extended forest covering and poor connection to the modern road network. However, this relative isolation, as perceived in the present, was not valid for the Second Iron Age, when strategic roads were selected after a different logic by which ridge routes were chosen for their smoother course with less abrupt transitions, even if slightly longer. In addition they were safer during heavy rains or snow melting, with firmer soil, easier to cross over by cattle, horses and men. Likewise, the forest covering nowadays the site was not there when the area was used by Iron Age communities. This statement is sustained by pedologic observations indicating that certain transformations caused by the appearance of forest occurred after any human activities in site ceased (Fig 8/b. layer 5).

A first-step in the recent interdisciplinary project (Sirbu, Ștefan, Duțescu 2008) was to place the Iron Age discoveries from *Celic Dere* in a new perspective by emphasizing the significance of environmental features for the understanding of its cultural diversity and long chronology. The analysis had shown that the Iron Age settlement was located above the single passing point over the Celic river valley through which one could travel with wagons and goods, on a ridge route along the Niculițel Hills, on a north-south transport corridor through Dobroudja (Fig. 1/a-b). This strategic location has not been so far supported by the discovery of a fortification system to suggest that the settlement functioned as a control centre. Nevertheless, the limits of the habitation have not yet been identified, excavations being done only in its east-central sector. On the other hand, there is no doubt that the spatial organisation of tumuli graves on the hilly slopes located towards north from the settlement, indicate their alignment to a road passing around the settlement on its eastern and northern sides (Fig. 2/b). The existence of a larger transit corridor on the previous mentioned direction, from which the road passing through *Celic Dere* would be only a segment, is supported as well by the presence in the vicinity (about 20km) of a very important passing point over the Danube, linking the North-Pontic steppes with inner Dobroudja, at Isaccea.

The analysis of aerial and satellite imagery in the treeless region of Isaccea-Poșta (Fig. 1/c), highlights the elusive presence of an impressive amount of flattened mounds, aligned along hill ridges and high valley banks on kilometres - a spatial distribution which clearly indicates the existence of a bunch of roads connecting the Danube, on a north-south direction, with the area of central Dobroudja and that of Razim - Sinoe lakes. The dating of these mounds, the majority observable exclusively from air, is obviously unknown, but previous discoveries (Lăzurcă, Simion 2000, p. 83-88; Simion 1992; 1998) indicates that beginning with the Bronze Age, the area was used as a transit corridor by communities with North-Pontic connections.

Investigations in the cemetery of *Celic Dere*

In the Iron Age cemetery from Telița-*Celic Dere*, Tulcea county, there were excavated 137 graves, among which 86⁵ were covered with oval or circular stone embankments, with

⁵ In order to estimate these numbers we took in consideration information obtained in years of topographic and geophysical measurements (2006-2013) compared with data described in the documentation given by Mr. Simion, regarding older trenches. They represent however the actual state of research and could be slightly modified once we progress with the processing of the old documentation.

diameters ranging from 5 to 15m and heights that did not exceed 50-70cm. 26 graves were simple flat graves, the remaining rest being labelled as secondary graves in or around tumuli. Among the graves excavated between 2008 and 2013, three complexes were covered with stone embankments and thus considered small mounds, even if rather flattened. During the same period, a series of older excavations were reopened in order to clarify incomplete archaeological situations or with the purpose of obtaining a new, integrate and high resolution documentation considering the current advances in topographic and photographic technologies, unavailable to researchers several decades ago. Consequently there were made comprehensive excavations in 5 previously excavated mounds and others, less detailed, in 16 graves with stone coverings. Topographic measurements were executed for more than 50 tumuli, for a significant part of these being made, as well, geophysical prospecting (namely magnetometry). This reconsideration was possible due to the excavation technique used by Simion and his team, based on the identification and *in situ* preservation of the stone enclosures built at the mounds' margins. Electrical prospecting was used too and was the main method for identification of mounds completely flattened and invisible at the level of the soil like in the cases of tumuli 47 and 48.

The tumuli graves from *Celic Dere* were mapped as organized in space on a northwest-southeast direction, along a gentle slope, on the same hillside as the settlement. We do not have enough arguments to consider that the necropolis spatial extent was reached by archaeological excavation. The previous excavation technique was grounded on identifying at the top soil those stones composing the funerary coverings and rings, as stone is not to be found naturally at the surface in this particular location. A single sector – the south-western one – was excavated in a systematic manner, reason for which the spatial distribution and variety of discoveries is distinct, as here were documented as well graves with smaller stone rings and also flat graves – without any impressive stone arrangements.

The current study will deal with the archaeological features of the funerary structure – Tumulus 44. This mound included two inhumation graves, among which one was regarded as the main burial, the other – secondary. The main burial was done in a large dimensioned pit, delimited in its upper part by an oval enclosure of large, unworked boulders (50x40cm), made from local sandstone. The funerary vestiges were covered by an embankment of chipped sandstone of the same origin as the larger boulders used for the construction of the ring, stone covering which exceeded the ring on its south-southwestern and southern part with approximately 1.5m.

Tumulus 44

Localisation. Tumulus 44 was built in the northern sector of the cemetery, in an apparently freestanding group, comprising as well large mounds with early dates⁶. Detailed topographic measurements done in the area of Tumulus 44 allowed a meticulous description of the surrounding micro-relief and morphological features of the funerary structure. This was not rising above the top soil with more than 30cm, being practically invisible with the naked eye. This was why, for the accurate understanding of the shape and dimensions of the stone covering prior to excavation and for an efficient establishment of stratigraphic profiles, magnetic investigations were done (Fig. 5/b-c) and analysis of altimetric profiles (Fig. 3-4). All these showed that the mound was not built in an arbitrary place inside the cemetery, but in close connection with local topography which was entirely embedded in the funerary construction. Thus, the grave was built in a dominant topographic spot, on a small hill ridge, raised between two gentle slopes, one slightly steeper towards west, above a local torrent, and

⁶ T39 – contained a Lesbos amphora dated around 500 BC (Teleagă 2008, p. 49, fig. 102/5, 192/12); T12 was said to had contained fragments of amphora from Thassos and Chios from the 2nd part of the 5th century BC (Simion 2000, p. 71); T10 A contained a Samos amphora dated about 500 BC (Teleagă 2008, p.49, fig. 192/10-11).

other, more smoother on its eastern side. This position was the next significant one in terms of topography, along the up-mentioned ridge, following the site occupied by the neighbouring Tumulus 38 (Fig. 3-4), at only 6m north from T44. Thus, both mounds were built along the same micro-ridge which may be fully observed and understood only by analysing a very detailed topographic plan. The stone covering of Tumulus 44 occupied all the available space on this micro-ridge, respectively 6.20m on an east-west profile (the ridge's width between the two slopes). The stone embankment of T44 was totally invisible on the profiles orientated north-northwest – south-southeast, indicating that the construction followed practically the dominant slope of the relief and that the covering partially glided in time. The direction of the dominant slope of the ridge on which the mound was built was followed exactly by the ancient builders when they assembled the oval funerary enclosure, as its large diameter had the same orientation as the ridge.

The results of the magnetic prospection (Ştefan 2010, p. 175-185.) should be interpreted mainly in a geologic key. Thus, on the magnetic diagram one may very clearly notice (Fig. 5/b) the valley above which T44 was built as a rounded corridor represented in lighter tones - meaning that the valley was mapped as less magnetic due to the frequent raindrop wash of the upper soil levels that brought the sandstone, non-magnetic fundament of the site, closer to surface. The same micro-topography may be observed in Fig. 5/a.

The magnetic anomaly of the mound is noticeable as a strong contrast of magnetic properties – a less magnetic area circularly delimited by more magnetic soil. This contrast lead to a certain roundness of the iso-lines on a larger surface that the actual stone embankment (Fig. 5/c). The magnetic contrast was caused mainly by T44 stone covering. However, because the embankment stones were mixed with black magnetic soil, especially in the tumulus centre, the magnetic fingerprint of the mound was evidenced less obviously. The bipolar accents mapped on the geomagnetic plot were produced by metallic artefacts buried underneath the mound at a 70cm depth from the upper part of the tumulus.

Excavation method

The mound was divided in four sectors by a double cross-section stratigraphic profile, measuring 60cm in width. The profiles were aligned with the two main slopes characterizing the structures. The excavation sectors were investigated two by two, in oblique direction, until the excavations reached the depth at which the burial was identified. The first to be removed as the profile between sectors C and B, the east-west profile becoming thus the main stratigraphic section of the structure (Fig. 6/b) cutting both graves identified within T44. The centre of the mound was established based on magnetic investigations and detailed topographic mapping, allowing in the end a convenient positioning of the stratigraphic profiles, just slightly outside the mound's centre. The excavation in T44 was as well related by a longer control trench with the neighbouring T38, a mound researched in 1997 by Gavrilă Simion.

Funerary structure

Embankment. At 2 to 10cm beneath the forest top soil, the excavation revealed the upper chipped stones of the embankment. This covering had an irregular shape, approximately oval, aligned on the main slope of the local topography that is north-northwest-south-southeast. It appeared to be very compact and protuberant around its centre, area where the stones were mixed with dark brown soil with a loose texture, obviously different than the surrounding soil matrix and funerary pit filling, which was chestnut brown compact loess. The embankment was rather disturbed in its southern sector (especially in A sector, but also in D). A sector was the lowest located on the slope, being in the same time crossed by a forest road. However, as it will be revealed further, in was in A and B sectors that the second grave of the mound, located outside the ring, was found.

Some stones composing the northern sector of the oval funerary enclosure become visible very early, right after the removal of the first layer of soil, because here the embankment was rather dispersed and did not cover completely the ring (Fig. 6/b; 7/a). Overall, the stone covering measured 6m (NS) x 6.5m (EW). With the exception of the central area, oval in shape, measuring 3.80x3m (NNW-SSE), the rest of the stones were deposited in a thin layer of maximum 15cm thick. Stones used in the embankment's construction measured each 10 to 25cm.

After removing the small stones composing the covering, one could clearly see the enclosure built on top of the antique walking level as an oval belt arranged with boulders, neatly deposited one near/above the other, in cases up to three layers (Fig. 7/a; 8/a). The dimensions of these boulders were larger than of the stones used for building the embankment (the longest side measuring around 50cm). Neither the stones used for the covering nor those used for the enclosure presented traces of dressing. The enclosure measured on the exterior 5.60m (NNW-SSE) x 5m (EW) and 4.50x3.50m on the interior. The width of the stone belt varied between 35cm and 1m (on the western side). In the southern sector the enclosure was interrupted on a width of about 3.30m, area where, as a matter of fact, trees had grown. Even if this area couldn't be thoroughly investigated because of these trees, we consider that the interruption was, in fact, an intentionally left opening towards south – the direction towards where the slope fell as well. This kind of opening, towards the same direction was attested in other cases in the necropolis from *Celic Dere*. Small ceramic fragments were discovered in the excavation sector C, outside the ring, above it and mixed with the stones composing the embankment.

The funerary pit. The burial was made in a funerary pit dug in the middle of the stone enclosure (Fig.7/b-c; 8). It had a rectangular shape with rounded corners, with its long side orientated NNW-SSE, exactly as the oval ring. Its dimensions cannot be precisely calculated because its southern limits were not clearly identified, but based on data collected for excavation sectors B and C, we assume it measured 4m on its NNW-SSE side and had a variable width starting from 1.6m. In its eastern side the pit had a rounded step-niche, the total width measuring there about 2.40m. The northern side of the pit was perfectly bordered by the stone enclosure. The pit was dug from the ancient walking level which is to be found around the depth of 20cm from the actual top soil. The funerary pit was filled up soon after its excavation as the deposit inside was very similar to the surrounding soil matrix, respectively reddish chestnut loess with a compact texture and uniform look. Inside the pit filling there were found small fragments of burnt wood. The bottom of the pit reached the depth of 1 m, the deceased being deposited with 20cm upper, at approximately -0,75/0,80m, in the centre of the pit. The northern sector of the pit was reserved for various rituals materialized *in situ* by broken ceramic vessels and rectangular sandstone, laid at the deceased's feet.

Secondary pit. The essential feature of this small tumulus by which an entire series of complexes in *Celic Dere* distinguishes as surprising, is the secondary pit dug in the centre of the mound, from the surface until the level where the deceased laid, pit filled with stones which in the upper layer were continued with the chipped stones embankment (Fig. 8). The profile of this pit was conic, with the larger base in the upper part. It was filled in a compact manner with small stones and dark brown soil – the same kind of deposit as that found in the embankment. As it was said before, the stone covering of the mound was very compact in the centre, on an oval area measuring 3.80x3m. This was most probably the upper part of the secondary pit. Its lower part was circular, with a diameter measuring about 1.10/1.20m. The pit contained several, very small fragments of ceramic, difficult to associate with any of the vessels broken *in situ*. Between the deceased and the bottom of the stone filling there was identified a thin layer of 5-8cm of soil, coloured in a darker tone than the rest of the funerary

pit filling (Fig. 8/b, layer 2). This could have in fact belonged to the secondary pit. The practice of this kind of secondary excavation inside the funerary pit, followed then by its filling with stones and, afterwards, with the construction of the embankment, was previously noticed in other graves from *Celic Dere* (Fig. 14), but was not interpreted as a distinct pit, but more likely as a filling of the burial structure or more plain, just described as a stone structure in the shape of an inverse cone. The analysis of the stratigraphic profiles indicates however that the central stone cone cannot be a filling of the central pit, but a deposit of a later cut.

The deceased

The central grave. Human osseous remains were found at the depth of 75-80cm, approximately deposited in the centre of a large pit. The inhumed body was laid in *dorsal decubitus* with the head to the south and feet to the north with a deviation towards west of no more than 5 degrees (Fig.7; 8; 9). The arrangement of the hands was unknown because only the inferior part of the body was found (thigh-bones, cannon bones, knees, splint bones, tarsals, metatarsals). The bones of the basin, spine, ribs, hands and head were missing without a trace. The legs bones were preserved in anatomically order, relatively well, even if their recovering from the ground proved to be difficult as the bones became in time soft and fragile. After their position – exactly as in a regular burial, we presume that the legs were laid not as parts, but together with the rest of the body, meaning that a possible removal of the upper part had taken place at some point. Considering that no traces of bones from the upper bones were found, the question of the state of preservation of the body at the moment of its removal has to be answered when the final anthropological exam will be completed.

The inferior layer of the secondary pit was positioned exactly on top of the missing body part. The stone filling reached until 10cm above the bones, the colour of this small deposit indicating that the ancient excavation had reached the level of the skeleton. Quite compelling should be regarded the position of the akinakes, which exceeded the preserved length of the legs' bones and therefore would have been visible at the moment of the upper bones' removal, demonstrating that a careful selection had taken place. The preliminary bones' analysis indicated that the deceased was an adult male. Other cases of body parts in graves in *Celic Dere* were previously mentioned, including a find of legs Simion (1995).

Secondary grave⁷. In the western side of the mound, practically adjoined to the stone enclosure, a second inhumation grave was found, belonging to an 8-9 years old child⁸. The child was deposited in the centre of a rectangular pit with rounded corners and rounded bottom (in the longitudinal profile), relatively large in relation with the skeleton: 2.90 (NS) x 1.40m (EW). The pit had the same orientation as the grave 1 funerary pit and was excavated from the ancient walking level (-0.20 m), until the depth of 0.75-0.80m (Fig. 12). The chronological relation between the central grave and the child's grave found outside the mound's enclosure is not totally clear. Most probable, grave 2 is later than the stone enclosure construction, but only slightly later, possibly previous to the construction of the embankment, because some stones were found above the grave at the same depth level as the embankment. However, this second stratigraphic relation is not so easy to judge as grave 2 was itself covered in its southern sector with a layer of small packed stones. The arrangement of this layer was obviously distinct and in close connection with the shape of the funerary pit underneath, even if they lay at the same depth as the embankment.

We consider grave 2 to be later than grave 1, but only slightly later, and that there are arguments, even if not entirely clinching, to propose the hypothesis that grave 2 was related

⁷ Grave 2 was named secondary first of all because it was discovered outside the stone enclosure confining the mound, having in mind as well stratigraphic elements indicating it was probably slightly later than grave 1, even if this interval was very short.

⁸ Preliminary anthropological data were given by Adrian Soficaru.

to the construction stages of the grave 1 structure, as for instance to the moment of removal of body parts and final arrangement of the embankment.

The child skeleton in grave 2 appears as deposited in anatomical order; however all the bones were discovered slightly dislocated from their natural joints. The mandible was found at 20cm apart from the rest of the skull which was badly crashed with pieces scattered towards west and apparently orientated with the face down. Teeth were found scattered all around the body, in the chest area, but also in the vicinity of the feet. The archaeologists' opinion is that the body was subjected to an unconventional burial rite, perhaps a delayed one, organized in phases; with a preliminary stage of decomposition (for example the body was covered just with stones and left in an open pit for a while). Considering the state of body disorder (some bones were missing) it was difficult to establish the exact burial body arrangement; however it appears that the child was placed in a slightly flexed position on its right, with the head to the south. The skeleton (discovered at the depth of 58-64cm from the level of the actual topsoil) was directly covered with stones, not earth. These small sized boulders were carefully arranged on two layers, forming a compact pack exactly over the superior part of the body, from the head until the knees. The largest stone was placed vertically in the area of the head, as a marker, with 15cm higher than the rest of the stone covering. The stones were identical with those used for the embankment construction. Above this stone arrangement which was built not on the entire funerary pit's width, but exclusively above the body, the pit's filling (between -0,35 - 0,45m) contained traces of charcoal and some very small ceramic fragments. Inside the pit, on the level of depth at which the body was deposited, in its western side, there was identified a circular area with a diameter of about 55cm containing numerous very small fragments of charcoal.

The child's skull presented on its frontal bone (in its right side, close to the coronal suture) a rounded orifice with a diameter of 11mm which was considered by anthropologist Adrian Soficaru as the trace of an ancient trepanation, performed right before the death or immediately after it (Fig. 13/h).

Funerary inventory

Inventory found in grave 1.

Akinakes type short sword. An iron akinakes sword with two active edges (Fig. 9/a; 10/a; 11/a-d), was discovered deposited between the deceased's legs, at the depth of 0.74 m. The sword had the tip in the vicinity of the knees and the handle in the area of the pelvis. It was found in a relatively good state of conservation, only slightly corroded, with one of the handle guard plates impossible to recover and detached tip (was collected separately). The total length measured 47 (the blade was 37cm). The rectangular handle measured 8cm in length, 2.5cm in width, being 6 mm thick. The handle was ended with a short and wide rectangular bar, measuring 3.8cm in length and 1.7cm in width, being 7mm thick. The blade had on its entire length, and on both faces, a central prominent nervure, 7mm in width, ended towards the handle with a wider margin covered by the handle guard plates. One of these plates, the one visible when the weapon was discovered, was practically destroyed during the artefact's removal due to intense metal corroding. The plates were oval with the superior edge almost straight and corners slightly rounded upwards, and the inferior margin rounded.

This sword may be included in the type Cozia (Vulpe 1990, p.43-40, figs. 9-12), a series comprising long items (approximately 40-50cm) with the majority of discoveries located in Moldavia. Without an exact analogy, the sword from *Celic Dere* T44 finds its best parallels in the discoveries from Bârsești (Morintz 1957, p. 219-226; 1959, p. 355-361; 1961, p. 201-207), Murighiol (Bujor 1959a, p. 373-378; 1959b, p. 325-330; 1961, p. 297-300). The dating for this type was proposed to be in the 5th-4th centuries BC (Vulpe 1967, p. 58-61, pl. XV; Buzdugan 1976, p. 239-266; Vasiliev 1980, p. 78-88, pl. 10-14). In the necropolis of *Celic Dere* other *akinakai* had been found in previous excavations, from which only 8 were

illustrated, without presentation of finding context. By the published illustration at least three of them belong to the same Cozia type with a short transversal bar at the handle, other three have handles with slightly curved antennas, one of these having as well the handle decorated with zoomorphic motifs and handle guard in the shape of a heart with lobes arched upwards.

Arrowheads (Fig. 10.b, d). Thirty-six bronze arrowheads with three wings and fixation orifice or short tube (in some cases missing) were found deposited in a cluster in the vicinity of the left femur, in an area measuring 36cm (NS) x 20cm (EW). The discovery depth varied between 70 and 10cm. The arrowheads' tips were orientated in all directions. The soil in which the arrowheads were found was coloured in darker tones suggesting the decomposition of an organic material (perhaps leather). This type of arrowhead was widely discovered in the cemetery from *Celic Dere* (in tumulus 12 there were 53 of them) and in many Second Iron Age necropolises in the Balkan area (Berciu 1969, p. 68-69, fig. 49; Kull 1997, p. 251, Abb. 27/15-16).

Ceramic vessels. Among the ceramic fragments recovered from the embankment, stone enclosure and funerary pit filling, we approximated that at least seven different vessels were broken and deposited in various moments and at various depths in the funerary structure (without taking in consideration the finds from grave 2). None of these vessels was deposited entire or could be reconstructed entirely from various parts. At the deceased feet, immediately above the first layer of soil deposited above the skeleton (at approximately 60-75cm depth), larger fragments from a hand-made vessel were found (Fig. 10/j, l, n) - the only one appearing to be *in situ*, while the rest was thrown during the pit filling or spread around while the vessels were broken on spot. The fragments belonged to the bottom part of hand-made biconical pot with horizontal handles, neck and lip flared toward exterior (fragments from neck and lip were found spread in the C sector). The composing clay (course and porous) was mixed with large fragments of squashed ceramic. The exterior colour was red and interior dark brown. It had a friable aspect, thus difficult to preserve. Above this vessel, larger fragments from a wheel-made bowl, with straight flared lip decorated with a rippled motif and protuberant knot, made from fine grey clay containing sparkling silica were found (Fig. 10/g). Other parts of it, including more from the lip with vertical large handles, were found further and higher, in the C sector (Fig. 10/e). The vessel had a light-brown slip of a very fine and sandy clay, irregularly preserved on the surface. The type was probably similar with discoveries from Canlia (Măndescu 2010, pl 47, M19-1). Other similar finds were made at Ciucurova (Simion 1995, p. 151-170). The funerary pit contained as well isolated fragments from two other hand-made vessels (not illustrated), including a bowl with inwards curved lip. All these ceramic fragments were spread in the pit filling, exclusively in its northern side, inside the stone enclosure, between the depths of 15 to 50cm, on an area measuring 1.30m (EW) X 1m (NS) (Fig. 8). Fragments from three other wheel-made bowls (two from fine grey clay with a double surrounding incision underneath the straight flared lip – Fig. 10/f, h, k, and the other with a rounded profile – Fig. 10/m) were found spread in the first 20cm of the embankment, among the stones, above and between the ring boulders, in the same C and B sectors.

Sandstone. A slim, flat and very fine white sandstone, with possible dressing marks, was found deposited at 60cm north from the deceased feet, in grave 1, at the same depth as the skeleton (Fig. 7; 8; 9; 10/c). The sandstone measured 50 x 16 x 12cm. The slab's aspect was obviously quite different than the sandstones used for the construction of the ring or embankment (colour, size, flatness and smoothness).

Grave 2 inventory

Grave 2 contained a small iron curved knife with clench (Fig. 12; 13/a-c), 5 bronze arrowheads with three wings and anchorage orifice (Fig. 13/d), a fragment of a circular amber bead with central orifice (Fig. 13/e-f), and several fragments of a small wheel-made bowl,

worked in fine grey clay, with a double circular incision underneath the flared, straight lip (Fig. 13/g). Neither this vessel was deposited entire, but fragments, together with three arrowheads, at 60cm distance toward north from the child's feet, on the level of the burial (Fig. 12). Other two arrowheads were discovered placed in the vicinity of the left tibia, at 10cm distance towards west. The iron knife blade was found at 10cm north from the feet. The iron fragment measured 7.8cm in length. The small amber bead fragment, measuring about 1cm in diameter, was found in the area of the right shoulder.

The mound T44 points to several significant ritual features encountered in a standardized manner in the majority of the graves with stone architecture from *Celic Dere*: embedding of local topography in the funerary structure; funerary structure used by at least two generations; burial in large, shallow pits; inhumation in *dorsal decubitus* with the head to the south or southeast; placement of flat sandstone at the legs; delayed burial, body removal, body exposure; ritual secondary interventions in the grave; vessels broken *in situ* placed at the legs, deposition of a standardized warrior panoply (*akinakes*, arrowheads and spearheads); association of early grey wheel-made ware (bowls with profiled shoulder and straight, flared lip and jugs with elevated handle) with hand-made pottery of a local tradition and with Greek amphorae (Samos, Lesbos, Chios, Thassos).

Regarding the chronology, none of the items found in T44 allows a narrow dating, due to the lack of Greek imports. The best association to take in consideration is that of the *akinakes* sword of Cozia type (Fig. 10/1; 11) with the handmade biconic pot with neck, flared lip and horizontal grips under the maximal diameter (Fig. 10/j, l, n) and wheel-made bowl with vertical handles (Fig. 10/g), proposing a general dating in the second half, maybe towards the end of the 5th century BC. Again, the difficulty in dating more precisely the discoveries belonging to the 5th century in this geographic space, in the absence of Greek imports, raises issues when one tries to approximate the longevity of this particular type of funerary practice in the cemetery of *Celic Dere*. The density of structures (the cemetery sectors where excavation was done systematically were indeed crowded), their precise spatial organisation, the documentation of secondary burials of the same rite⁹, the discovery of other deposits of vessels and offerings in the vicinity of graves, but without a funerary context, indicating memorial like rituals, the burial of various ages and sexes, suggest, however, the intense use of the cemetery, at least for several generations, by a local, organized, sedentary population. Available Greek amphorae found in stone tumuli with inhumation were dated around 500 BC (Teleagă 2008, p. 49, figs. 102/5, 192/10-12) and 400 BC (Simion 2000, p. 71). The presence of *akinakes* shouldn't be regarded as an ethnic indicator, as this was the fashionable weapon of warriors in the entire North-Balkan Thrace and North-Pontic steppes, at least until the end of the 5th century BC. The zoomorphic sceptre (and set of harness gear) is prestige items and their North-Pontic style does not stand for an ethnic presence, but for cultural contacts. In fact, elements of ritual in *Celic Dere* points to Early Iron Age traditions existent in Moldavia and Podolia (Levițki 1998, p. 28-59; Simion 2003a; 2003b, p. 113-128) – small tumuli, inhumation, south/south east head orientation, slab at the feet, and the ceramic found in the cemetery is local or copies Greek models, having no solid grounds to believe that the burials belonged to Scythians.

As an extended integration of data for the entire site is in preparation, we expect that more details will be better documented and clarified.

⁹ So not incineration, but inhumation, as we regard incineration as belonging to a different chronological phase and not always easy to consider a deliberate secondary burial in relation with a previous one or just a reuse of the same space.

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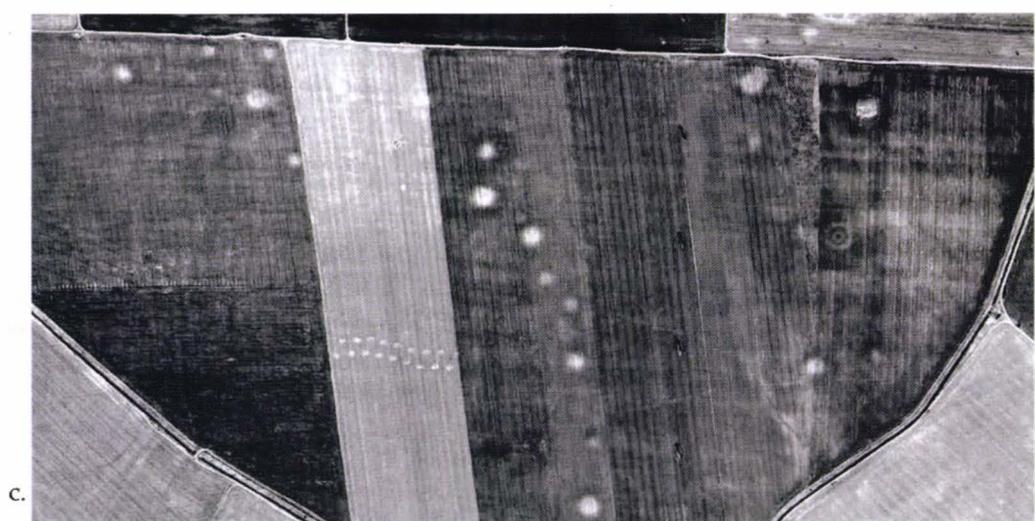
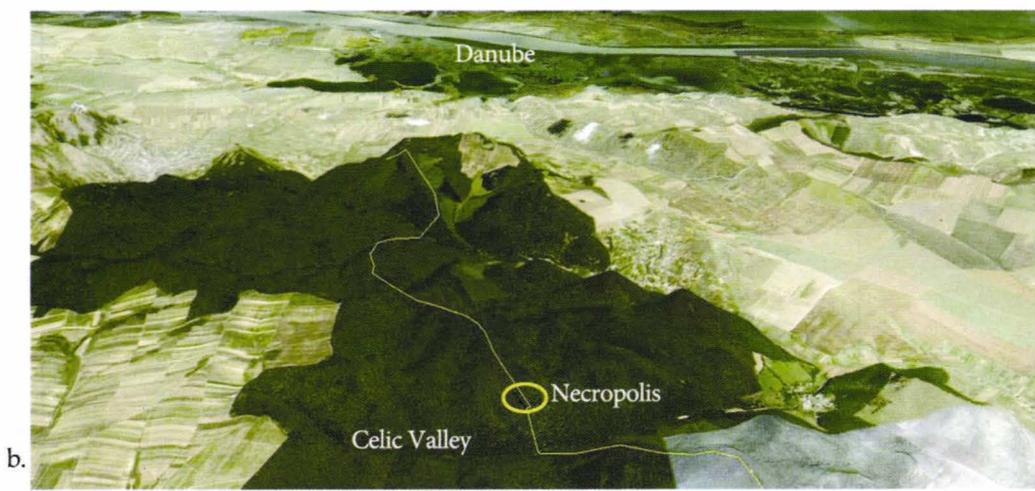
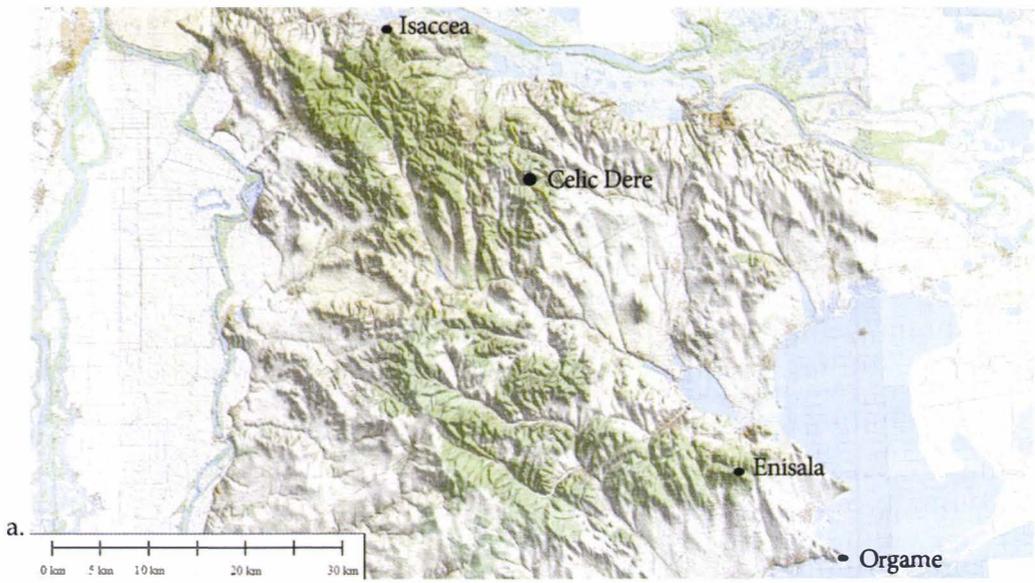
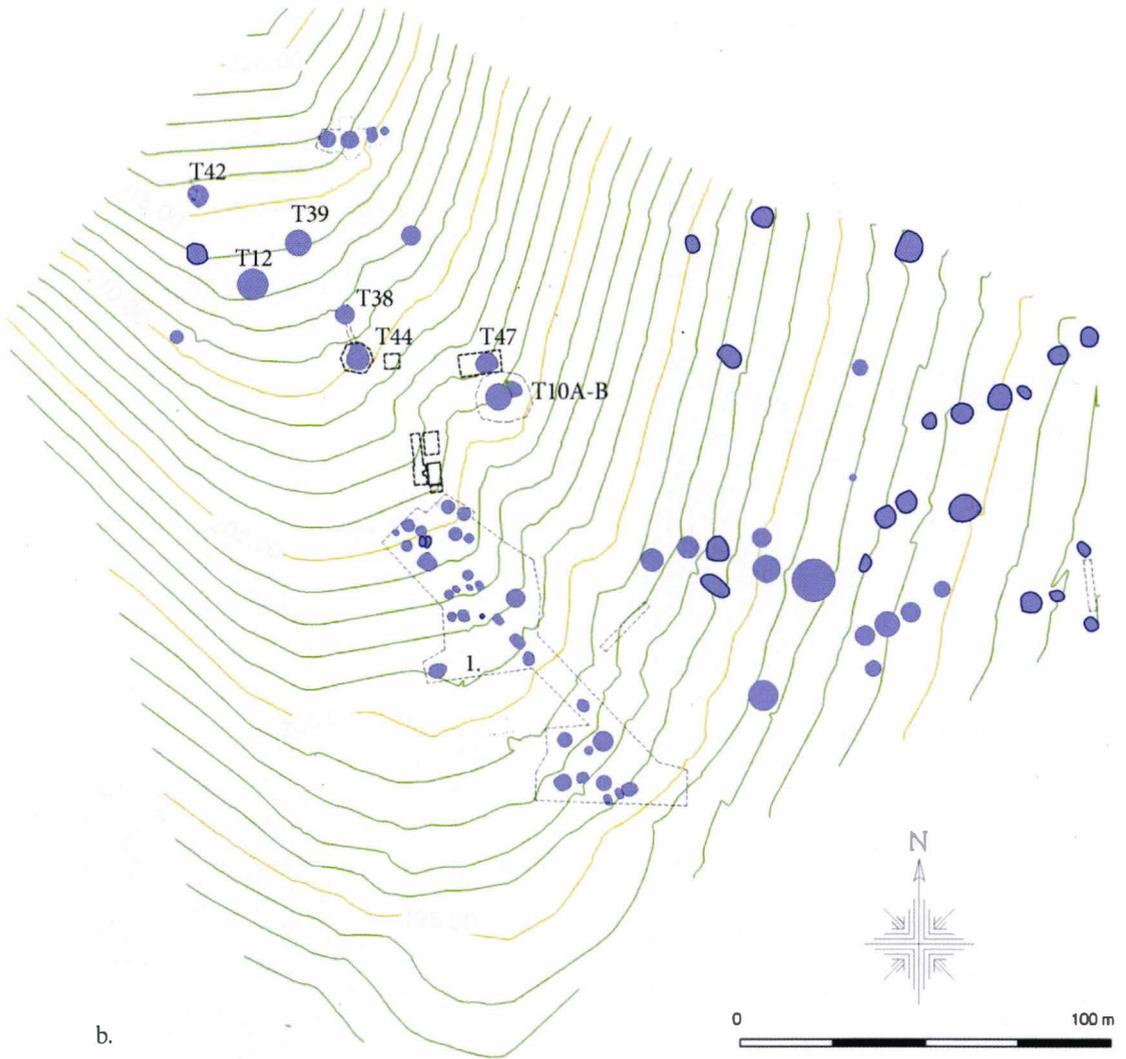


Fig. 1. a. Map of northern Dobroudja; 3D view from the south of Niculitel Hills and the road passing through Celic Dere; c. - detail of a Google Image in the area of Frecăței.



a.



b.

Fig. 2. Celic Dere (Telița, Tulcea). b. The topographic plan of the necropolis-spatial organisation of graves with stone constructions; (1 - area systematically excavated).

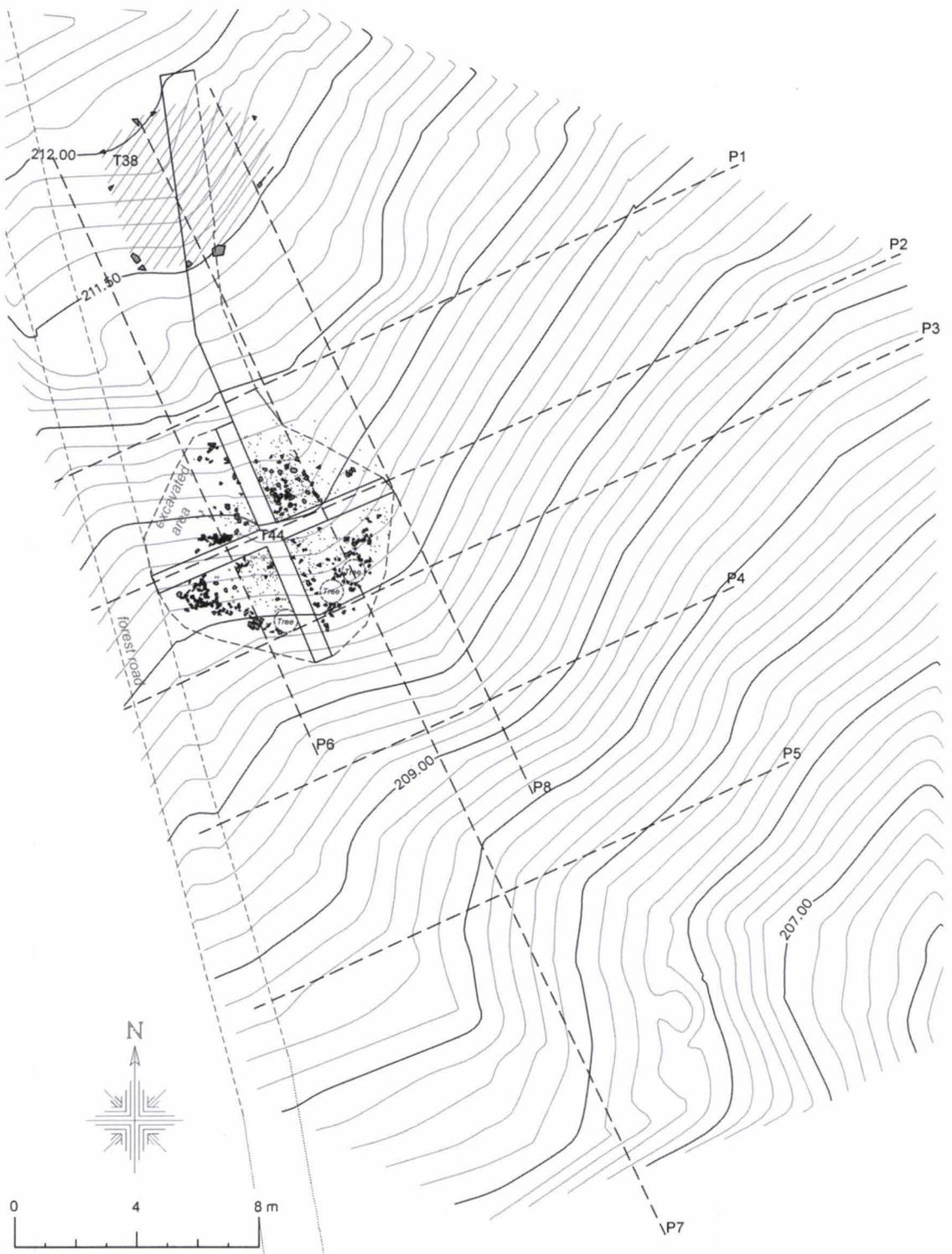


Fig. 3. Celic Dere (Telița, Tulcea), T44: topographic plan with altimetric profiles (P1-P8).

Terrain elevation (m)

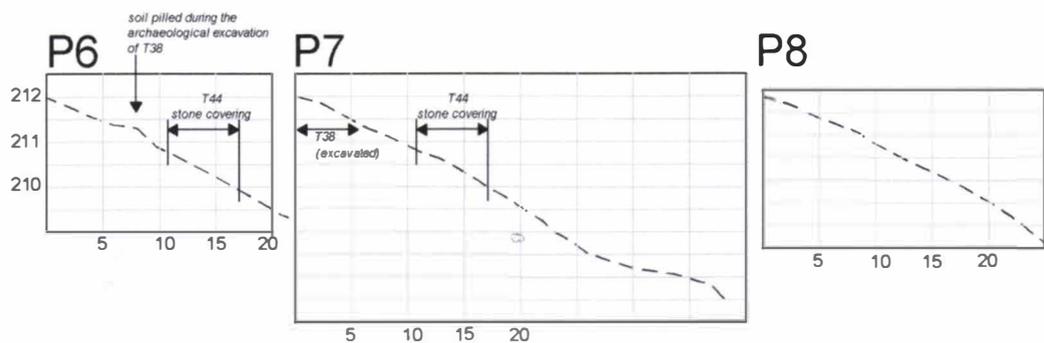
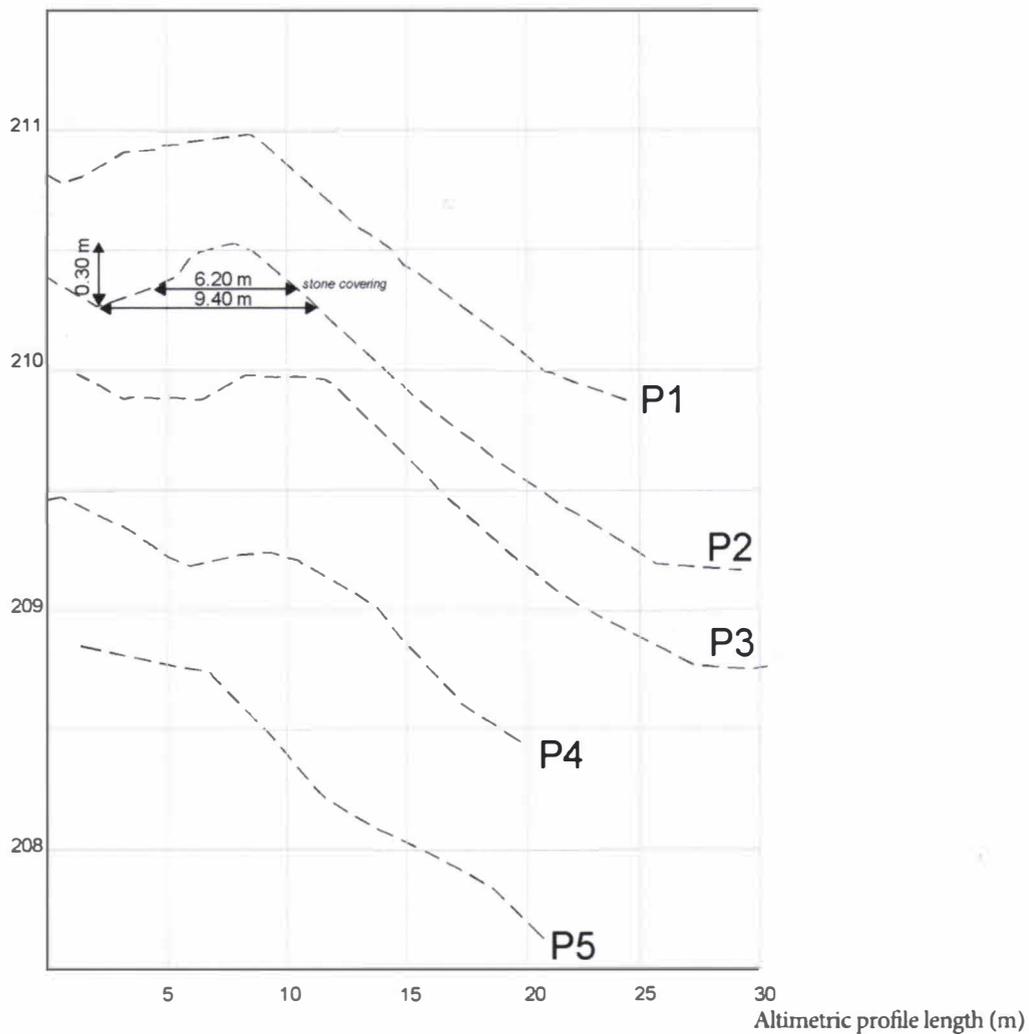


Fig. 4. Celic Dere (Telița, Tulcea), T44: Altimetric profiles

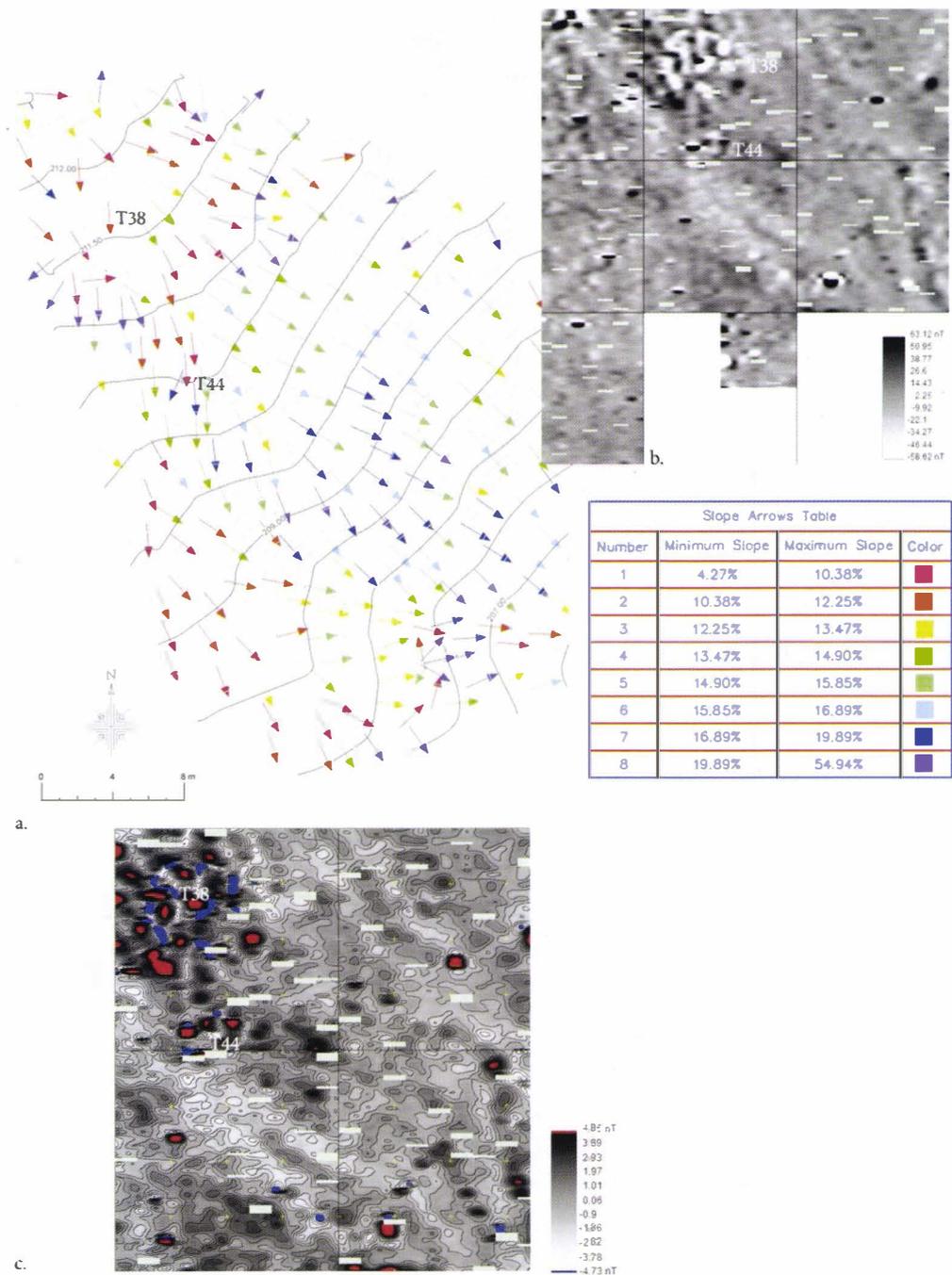


Fig. 5. Celic Dere (Telița, Tulcea), T44: a. slope analysis; b. geomagnetic plot with squares measuring 20 x 20m; c. geomagnetic plot - detailed area of T44 and T38 with squares measuring 20 x 20m.

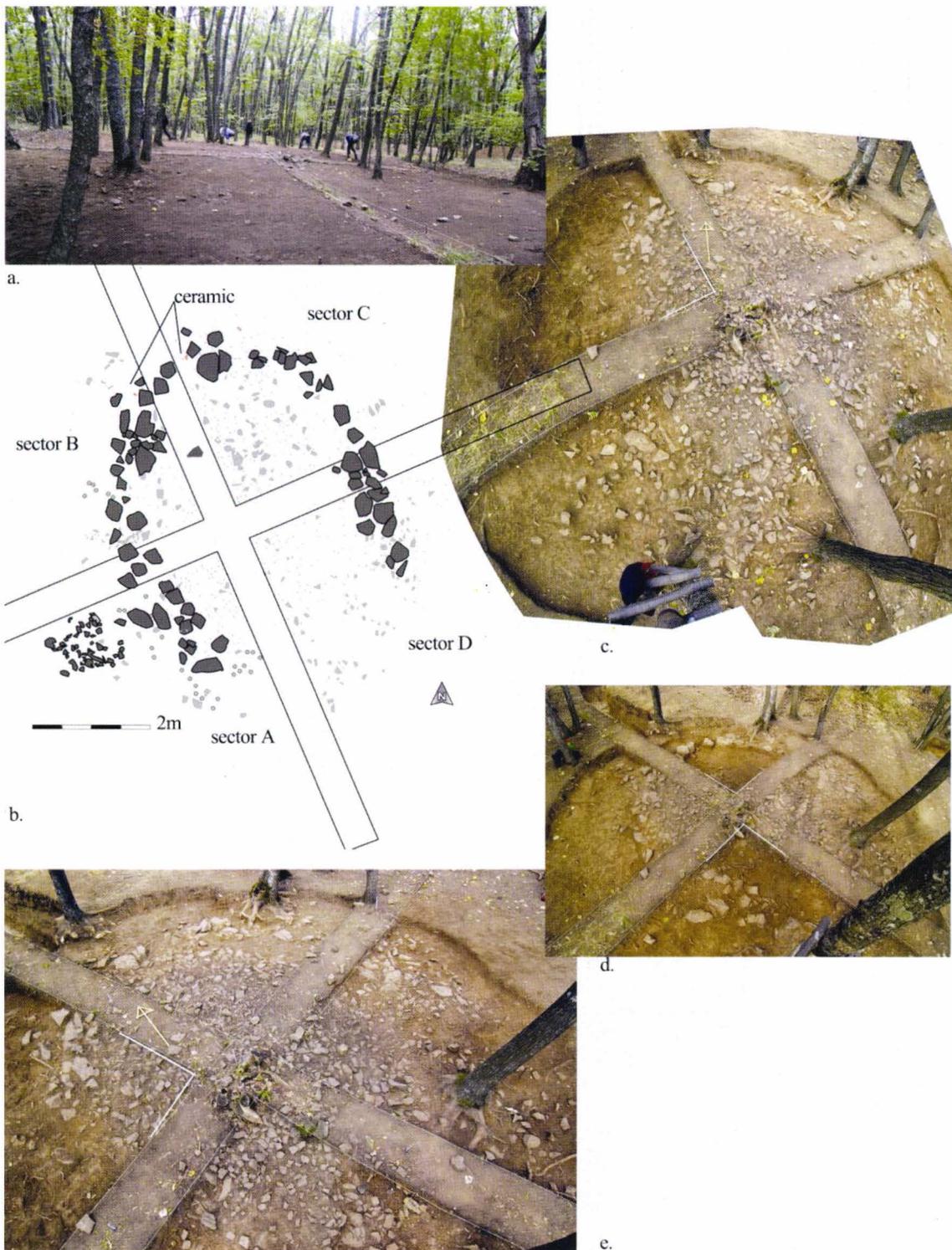


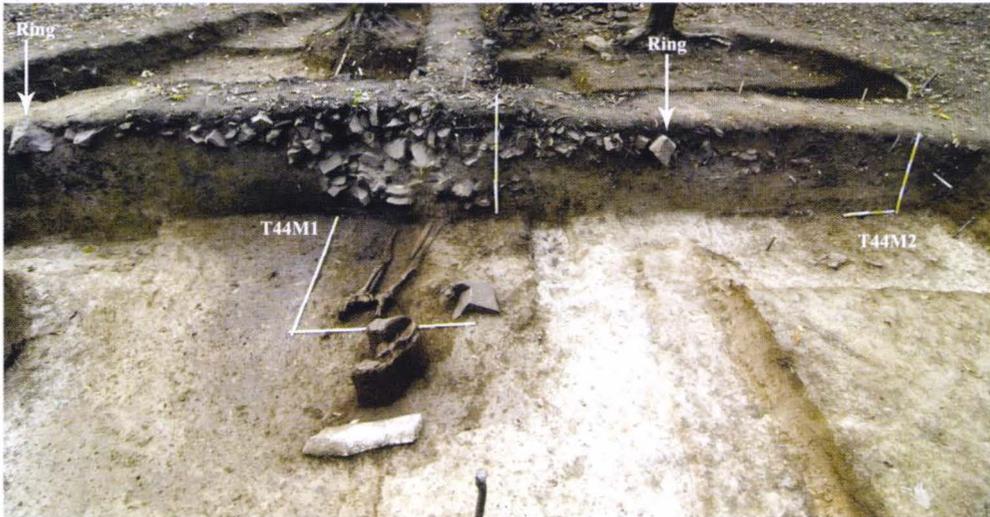
Fig. 6. Celic Dere (Telița, Tulcea), T44: a. view from east before excavation; b. - plan of the embankment and ring; c., e. - images of the embankment; d. - image after removal of embankment in sectors A and C.



a.



b.



c.

Fig. 7. Celic Dere (Telița, Tulcea), T44: a. sector C after the removal of the first layer of stones from the embankment; b. - sector C at the depth of 0,70 m, view from the north; c. - profile east-west, view from the north.

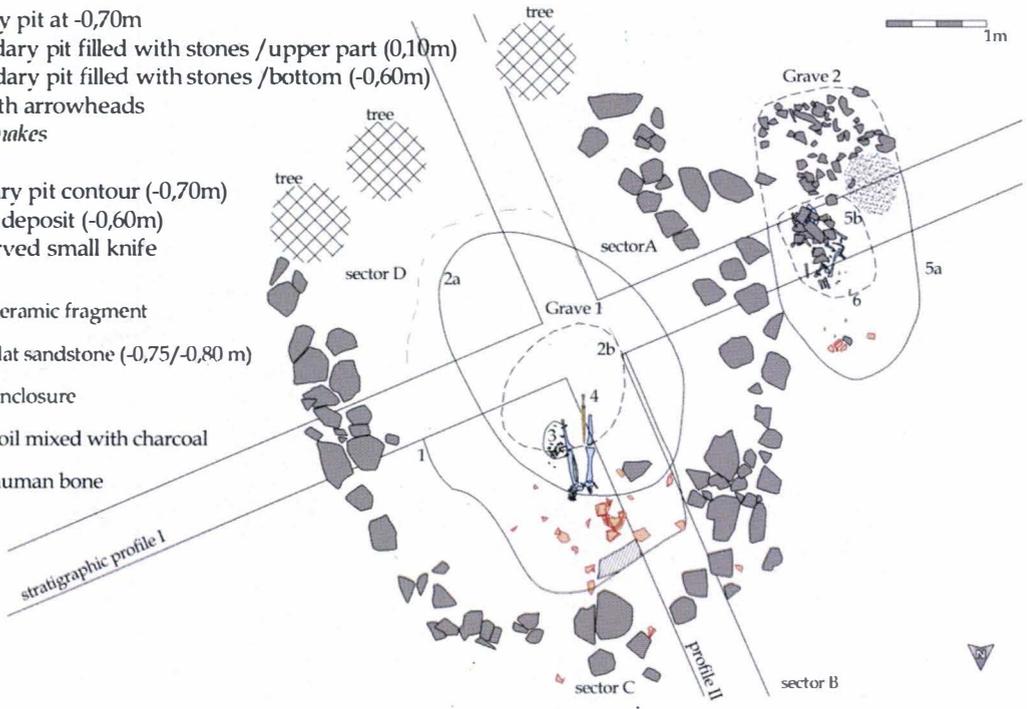
Grave 1

- 1 - funerary pit at -0,70m
- 2a - secondary pit filled with stones / upper part (0,10m)
- 2b - secondary pit filled with stones /bottom (-0,60m)
- 3 - area with arrowheads
- 4 - iron *akinakes*

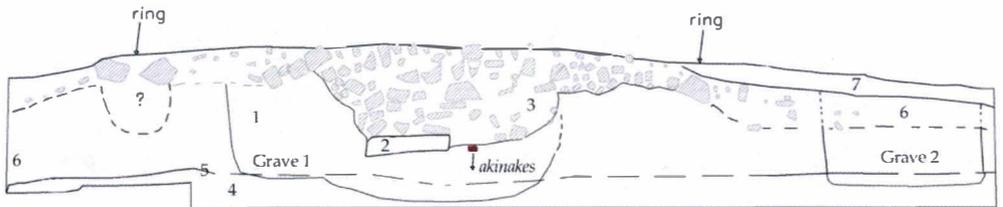
Grave 2

- 5a - funerary pit contour (-0,70m)
- 5b - bones deposit (-0,60m)
- 6 - iron curved small knife

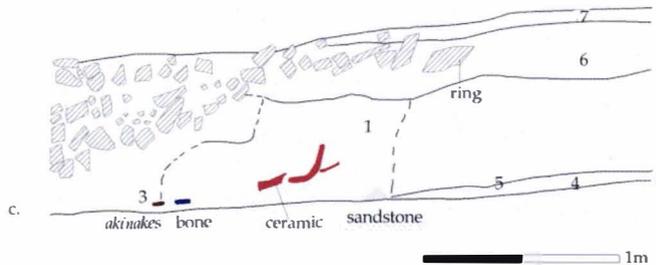
-  ceramic fragment
-  flat sandstone (-0,75/-0,80 m)
-  enclosure
-  soil mixed with charcoal
-  human bone



a.



b.



c.

- 1 - funerary pit, chestnut loess, compact, with charcoal fragments
- 2 - dark brown loess with a loose texture
- 3 - dark loose soil mixed with chipped stones
- 4 - yellow loess - without archaeological traces
- 5 - limit between darker tones (upwards) and lighter ones downwards) - caused by forest
- 6 - dark- grey loose soil mixed with small stones
- 7 - actual vegetal topsoil

Fig. 8. Celic Dere (Telița, Tulcea), T44: a. - top plan, b. - profile I, c. - profile II (western side of the profile between C and B sectors)



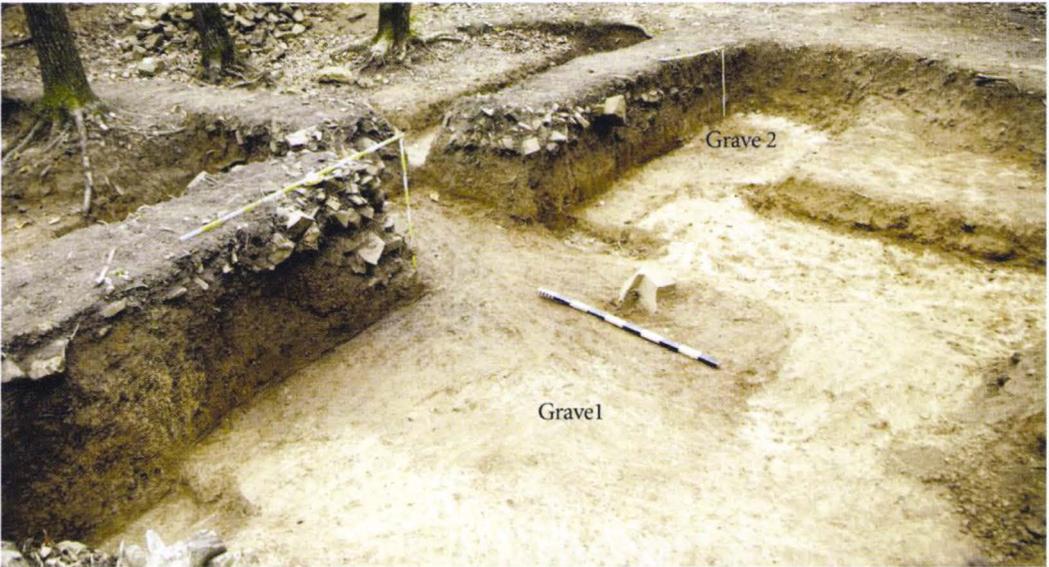
a.



b.



c.



d.

Fig. 9. Celic Dere (Telița, Tulcea), T44: a.-c. - grave 1 at -0,70 m; d. view from northeast towards the east-west profile, after removal of bones in grave 1.

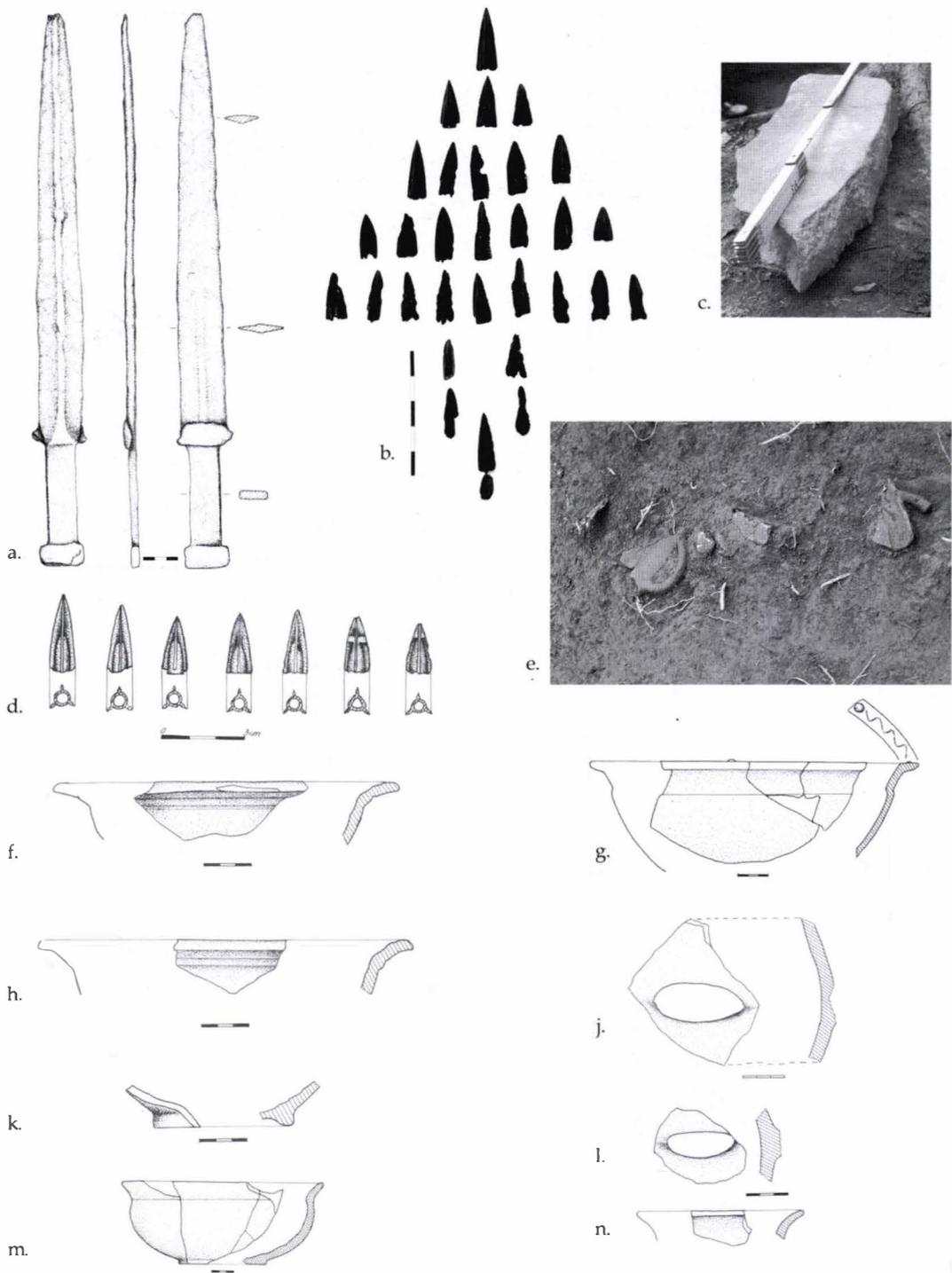


Fig. 10. Celic Dere (Telița, Tulcea) T 44 Grave 1: a. - iron akinakes sword; b., d. - bronze arrowheads; c. - sandstone; g, e. - grey wheel made bowl; f., h., k., m. - wheel made ceramic found in the embankment; j., l., n. - hand made ceramic deposited in the funerary pit. Drawings made by Cami Manuela Istrate (Museum of Brăila).

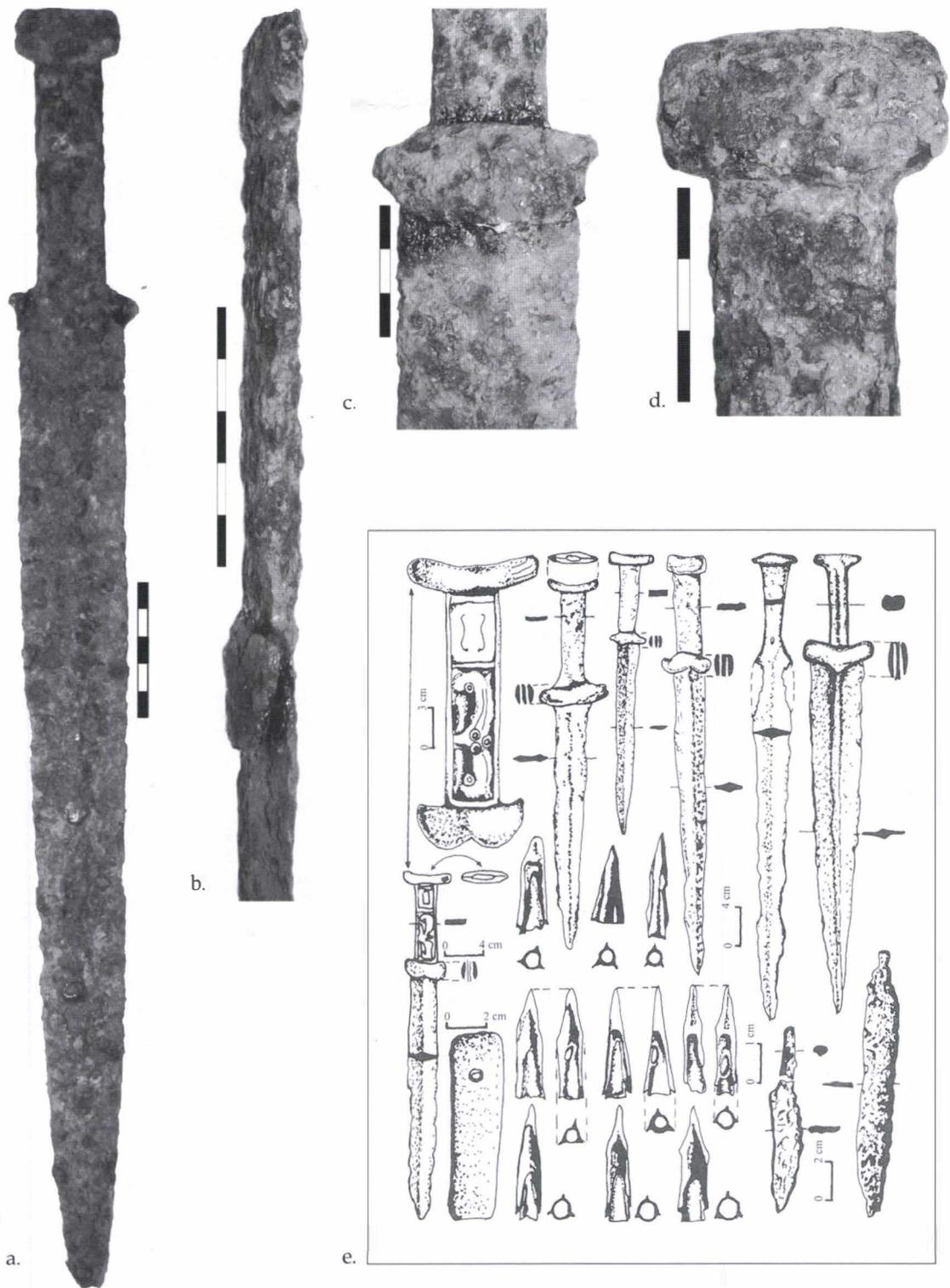
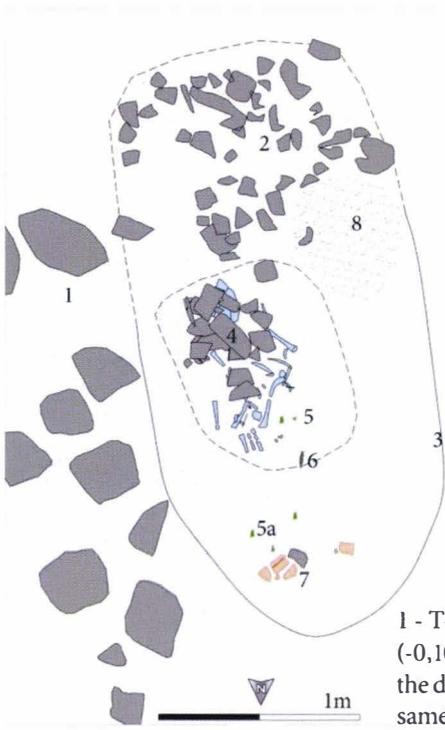
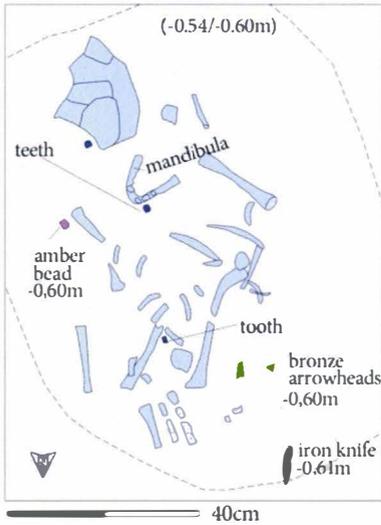


Fig. 11. Celic Dere (Telia, Tulcea): a.- d. T44 Grave 1 iron *akinakes* sword; e. - weapons found in Celic Dere necropolis (after Simion 2003, p. 256, fig.5).



1 - T44 stone enclosure (-0.10-0,20m); 2 - layer of small stones (-0,10-0,20m); 3 - funerary pit contour at -0,70m; 4 - stones covering the deceased (-0,35/0,55m); 5 - bronze arrowheads (-0,60m), 5a - the same at (0,68m); 6 - iron knife (-0,61m); 7 - wheel made grey ceramic bowl (-0,70m); 8 - soil with charcoal fragments (-0,60m).



1 - grey soil with loose texture, mixed with small stones
 2 - darker tones caused by forest
 3 - funerary pit of Grave 1
 4 - loess without archaeological finds

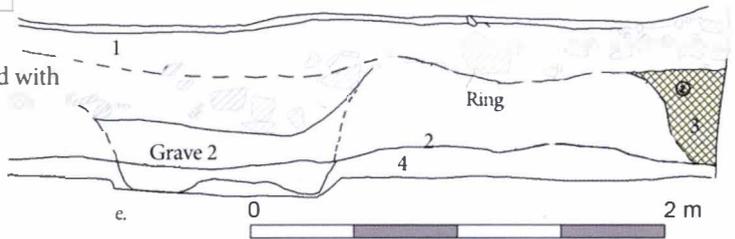


Fig. 12. Celic Dere (Telița, Tulcea) T44 Grave 2; e. - southern side of the profile between sector A and B

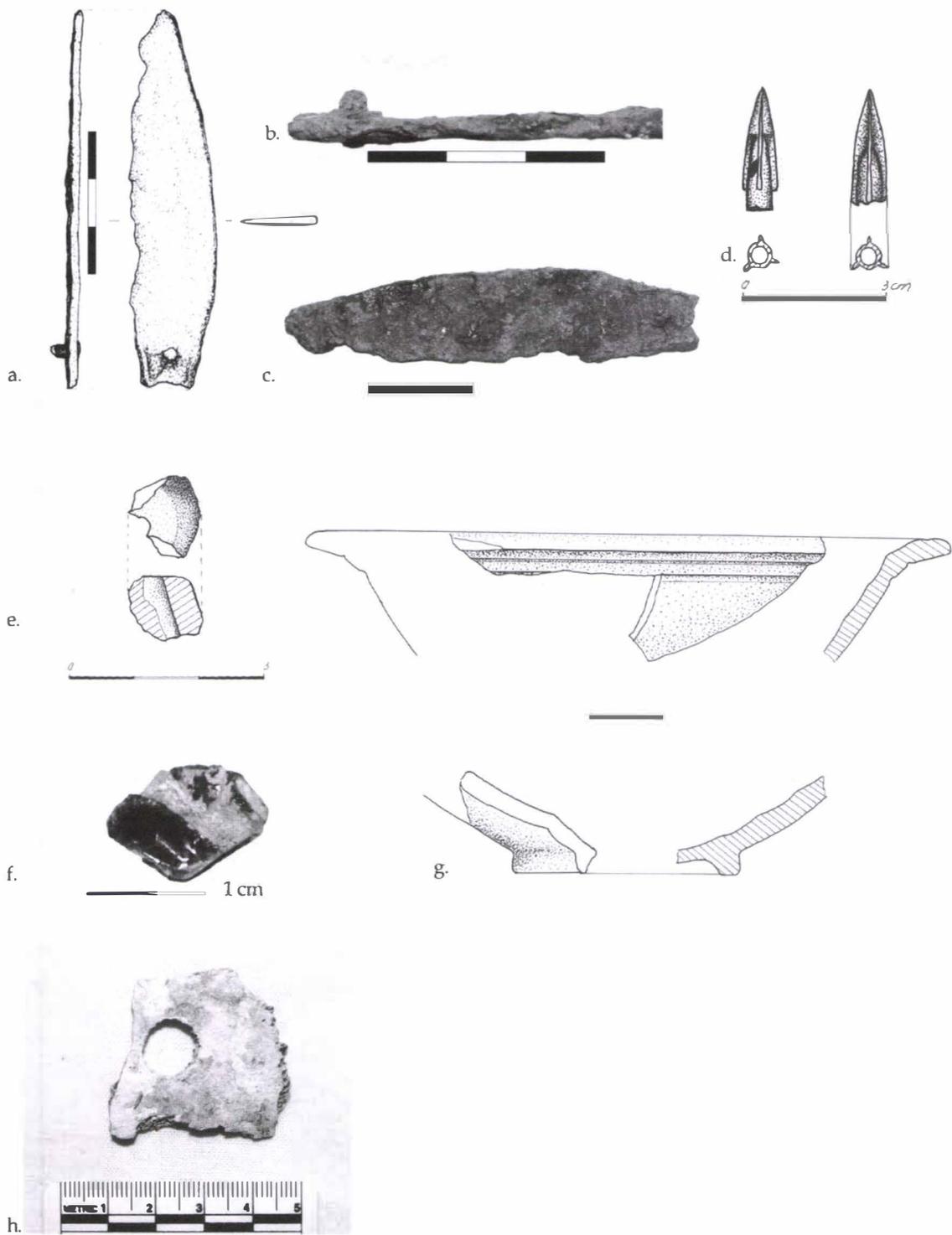
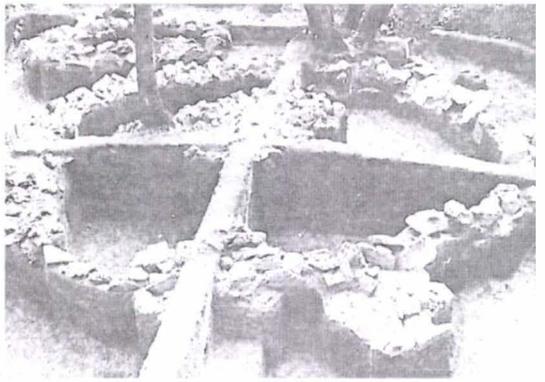
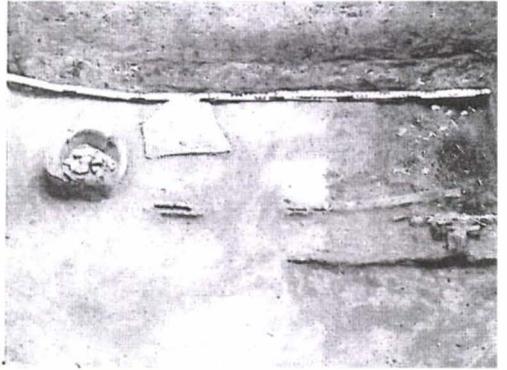
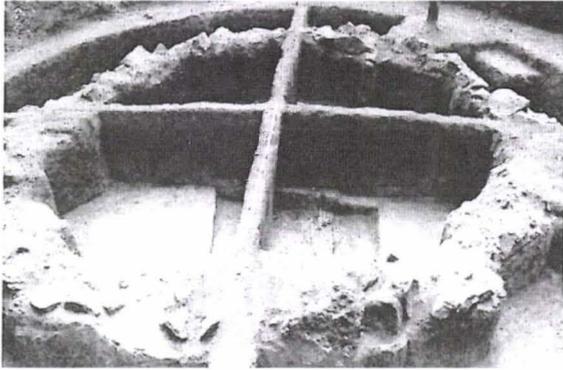


Fig. 13. Celic Dere (Telița, Tulcea) T 44 Grave 2: a., b., c. - iron knife, d. - bronze arrowheads (2 from 5); e., f. - fragment of amber bead; g. - grey wheel-made bowl; h. fragment of skull with trepanation (photo by Adrian Soficar). Drawings by Cami Manuela Istrate (Museum of Brăila).



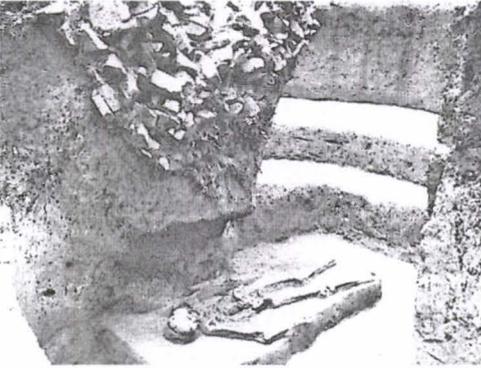
a.

b.



c.

d.



e.

f.

Fig. 14. Celic Dere (Telița, Tulcea) necropolis: tumuli (after Simion 2003, p. 241-244).

CREMATION GRAVES AND ITEM DEPOSITS (4th-1st C. BC) IN HUNEDOARA - GRĂDINA CASTELULUI, HUNEDOARA COUNTY (ROMANIA)

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Cristian Roman (Hunedoara – Romania)

Key words: cremation graves, funerary customs, inventory, Dacian warriors, 4th-1st c. BC

Abstract: One will introduce and analyse eight cremation graves and six item deposits from the end the 4th c. until the middle/second half of the 1st c. BC, most of them with weapons, which points to rituals characteristic of the Geto-Dacian warriors. This category of funerary vestiges is analysed in the context of the local necropolis, which includes inhumation graves, particularly a high number of children; from the 1st c. AD there have probably been found only inhumations of small children. These funerary vestiges, together with those from the nearby fortress and settlements attest the presence of Dacian communities in the area during the Second Iron Age.

Introduction. The analysis of the cremation graves from the plateau in *Grădina Castelului* can offer a number of important and interesting observations and conclusions, because there is a solid documentary foundation for the following: a) a relatively large number of graves – 8; b) finding human bones in the same area from a period of about four centuries, particularly when we take into account the extreme scarcity of funerary vestiges from the last three centuries before the Roman conquest of Dacia (106 AD), c) anthropological analyses for all the finds, d) the possibility to compare the finds from the cremation graves with both the contemporary item deposits and the children inhumations found in the same area and dating, mostly, from the 1st c. AD, and e) the many items, mostly fibulae, with a narrower dating.

For all these reasons, we believe that an analysis of just the cremation graves can reveal not just their details, but also larger perspectives on the evolution of Dacian funerary customs in this necropolis, even if the finds have been published before (Luca *et alii* 2003, p.143-144, ill. 64; 2004, p.142-144, ill. 29; 2007, p. 181-182; 2008, p. 152-153; 2009, p. 118-119; 2010, p. 72-73; Sîrbu *et alii* 2005, p.178-179; 2006, p. 176-177; Sîrbu *et alii* 2007a; Sîrbu *et alii* 2007b, p.155-157; Sîrbu 2013; Roman, Luca 2012a, p. 75-89; 2012b, p. 73-88).

Firstly, we will introduce the graves and the item deposits. Next, we will analyse their defining features. Finally, we will make some general observations.

I. The catalogue of the finds

Complex no. 12 Grave7; S.V, section 2; -(35-40)cm

The dead and the inventory were found at the depth of 0.32-0.35m, on an area of the rock that was relatively flat, on a thin layer of soil and crushed dolomite; the bones, spread on a surface of 0.35-0.40sqm, were protected by a circular formation of dolomite rocks and covered with more soil and crushed dolomite (Fig. 2/1). The inventory was found in various areas: the spearhead was west of the cremated bones, oriented SSW, while the curved battle knife was under it; the metal, bone and glass items were on top of or among the cremated bones; the fruit bowl fragments were above the dead, on a layer of soil 4-5 cm thick (Fig. 3).

The recovered cremated bones, burned to different degrees, are from all the body parts of a male, 21-22 years of age.

Inventory: a) iron spearhead (L=310mm, L. tip=200mm, D. orifice= 23mm), with a long, slightly truncated body, the tip shaped like a willow's leaf and a median nervure (Fig. 3/8); b) iron dagger (L=134mm), with curved blade and blood-groove, short handle, with an orifice and a bolt for affixing (Fig. 3/6); c-d) two round bronze chains links (D=20 x19mm) (Fig. 3/2-3); e) bead (D=17mm, H=12mm), made of whitish glass, painted blue and with "ribbed" decorations (Fig. 3/1); f) bone handle/tube (L=70mm, D=10mm, d=8mm), cylindrical, with an orifice on the inside, decorated with motives consisting of two concentric circles with a dot in the middle, made by incisions (Fig. 3/7); g) fragment from a handle/tube similar, in terms of material, shape and decoration, but with a larger diameter (Fig. 3/4); g) fragmentary iron item, probably a buckle tongue (L=43mm) (Fig. 3/9); h) fragmentary iron item (L=49mm) (Fig. 3/5); i-j) two fruit bowl's cups (D=300mm; D=230mm), made of semi-fine clay, hand-made, put through reducing firing, grey in colour (Fig. 3/10-11). One interesting aspect is the variety of the items, in terms of types, materials and uses that suggest a warrior's inventory.

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

Dating: 125-51 BC.

Sîrbu *et alii* 2007a, p. 24-25, 93, fig. 7/5; 31/1;34/9-11; 35; 2007b, p. 156-157, fig. 1,3.

Complex no. 18 Grave 13; S.V., section 2, c.10; -(15-20)cm

The dead, one cremated and the other inhumed, were discovered in a nook in the stone, bordered by dolomite rocks, on a layer of soil mixed with crushed dolomite, covered with the same materials. On top of the cremated bones, one also found a few non-burned human bones. The fragment from the iron necklace was found among the burned bones, while the bronze fibula was above, together with the non-burned bones. Given the stratigraphy of the human bones and the very different dating of the items, we estimate that the iron necklace belonged to the cremated adult, and the fibula belonged to the new-born.

Dead 13a – cremation; relatively few burned bones were found, but from all the body parts of an adult, sex unknown.

Inventory: fragmentary bracelet (D=83mm), made of a fixed iron bar, round in section, with a cavity; this type of item is characteristic of the 2nd-1st c. BC, with analogies mostly in the Scordiscian area.

Dating: 125-51 BC.

Dead 13b - inhumation: fragments from the parietal bone, the skull base and the right humerus, from a new-born, sex unknowable.

Inventory: profiled bronze fibula (L=41mm), with a knot on the bow and decorated with three embossed rings, the foot finished in a small button, almost spherical, with a bilateral spring made of seven spirals (4+3), external pin, supported by a hook, a massive, trapezoidal cathplate. Rustoiu 1997, p. 52, fig. 58, 59/1-5 (type 19c).

Offering (?): pig molar.

Dating: 50-101/106 AD.

Sîrbu *et alii* 2007, p. 29-30, 96, fig. 7/6; 13/4; 37/1-2.

Complex no. 30 Grave 16; S13; -(25-32)cm

The dead were discovered in a nook in the rock, marked with large blocks of dolomite, put on a layer of grey, grainy soil that was mixed with rock, ranging between -0.22 and -0.32m, with more large blocks of rock on top of them, and everything covered with soil and dolomite rocks. Most of the cremated bones (G16a) were at the bottom of the deposit, and G16b was the last one deposited.

Dead 16a – cremation; few cremated bones were found, but from various parts of the body, from an adult, sex unknowable, without inventory.

Dating: probably 125-51 BC.

Dead 16b - inhumation. *Infans I*, about 6 months, sex unknowable, was deposited on the right side, oriented NNW-SSE, looking towards the W, with the legs slightly bent; at the bottom of the left-hand side of the jawbone, one found a pendant-bucket.

Inventory: bucket-pendant (total H=16mm; D=10mm) made of bronze sheeting, cylindrical in shape, with the bottom flat and a handle, with incised, zigzagging decoration..

Offering (?): a few sheep bones.

Dating: 1st c. BC - 1st c. AD.

Sîrbu *et alii* 2007, p. 32-33, 97-98, fig. 9/3-4; 33/3; 37/9.

Complex no. 34 Grave 18; S15; -30cm

The area of the deposit was marked by the presence of large blocks of dolomite, as the bones were on a layer of soil 8-10cm thick, placed on crushed dolomite.

Dead 18 - cremation, adult, sex unknowable; at -0.30m deep, it was identified as an agglomeration of broken and burned human bones, concentrated on a small area, oval in shape, where two pieces or highly burned glass were also found; no traces of char or ashes were found nearby.

Inventory: a) glass item (H=16mm), strongly burned and warped, blue, with white veins, probably from a bead; b) glass item, greenish, opaque, strongly burned, probably from a bead.

Offerings: there were also non-burned human bones in the deposit.

Dating: probably 125-51 BC.

Sîrbu *et alii* 2007, p. 34-35, 99, fig. 33/5; 37/12.

Complex no. 71 Grave 31; S.X., section 4; -(20-36)cm

In a natural nook in the dolomite, on a thin layer of black-greyish soil, at the depth of 0.24-0.26m, one found: a mug-urn, the lance-head, the sheathed dagger, the belt plate, and on the sides the belt buckle, all of them covered with a thick layer of black-grey soil, which contained small fragments of crushed dolomite (Fig. 2/2). The filling of the nook included small fragments of wood coal.

Inventory. a) iron lance head (L=355mm; tube orifice D=15mm), with the tip in the shape of a willow leaf and a median nervure, with a long, truncated socket and an affixing orifice (Fig. 4/1); b) curved iron dagger of the *sica* type (L=275mm; L. blade=185mm) with a blood-groove canal, triangular in section, rectangular handle with three affixing orifices, sleeve at the end, decorated with circular grooves. The blade is decorated, by stamping, with two birds, probably eagles, and three small circles (Fig. 4/2). c) scabbard (L=145mm, W=36mm), which covered only the forward part of the dagger, with a truncated button, flattened at the end, made of an iron sheet with the edges strongly curved inwards, closed not all the way (Fig. 4/3); d) belt plate with the cored made of an iron sheet, covered with bronze foil (L=144mm; W=46mm), decorated with parallel lines on the short edges and semi-circular motifs the edges of the long sides, characteristic of the Dacian world during the 2nd-1st c. BC (Babeş 1983, p. 196-221) (Fig. 5/1), e) iron buckle (D=56x54mm), almost rectangular and a pin (Fig. 5/2); f) mug-urn (preserved H=160mm; max. D=146mm; bottom D.=64mm) is bi-truncated, wheel-made of fine clay, non-oxidizing firing, grey colour (Fig. 5/3), in shape characteristic of the Dacian pottery during that time.

The anthropological analysis, performed by Andrei Soficaru, identified one male adult.

Dating: 150-51 BC.

Given the relative proximity to C70 Deposit 7, where one has found the remains of a chainmail shirt, a sword, a shield and, probably, a helmet, all of them made of iron, plus the cremated bones of a horse and pig, we can put together complexes C70 and C71, which constitute the grave of a rider with his fighting hear.

The cremation took place elsewhere, the inventory was split and put in two places (C70 and C71), the tomb did not have a tumulus; one aspect worth mentioning is the depositing in the mug-urn, as this is one of the rare such cases among the tombs from this period.

Dating: 150-51 BC.

Sîrbu *et alii* 2007a, p. 195-196, fig. 73-74; 2007b, p. 157-158, fig. 2; 7-11.

Complex 70, Deposit no. 7; partition S22-S24; -(28-30)cm

Pit: natural nook in the dolomite (D=0.28-0.30m), irregular in shape, where one found two areas with burned fragments from a chainmail shirt, sword, helmet and shield, plus burned bones from a horse and a pig. **Filling:** black soil, containing plenty of ash and wood charcoal.

Inventory (Fig. 9): a) chainmail shirt, made of iron, strongly burned; dozens of fragments survived, consisting of round chain links, plus a number of other types of connection items; the chainmail shirt has been placed folded on the pyre.; b) of the iron sword, in its scabbard, one found very few fragments, but they are illustrative because they are from various parts of the item; we are talking about a sword with a long, straight blade, probably similar to the one found in Călan, not far from Hunedoara (Rustoiu, Sîrbu, Ferenczi 2001-2002, p. 93-109); c) a few small fragments of iron *umbones*, curved, and the affixing bolts, all of them strongly burned, d) some massive iron fragments suggest the presence of helmet.

Offering: one has identified cremated bones from a horse and a few others from a pig.

Things worth mentioning include the cremation of the horse, probably the one used by rider, and the main weapons of the rider (chainmail shirt, sword and shield). The cremation obviously took place elsewhere, possible separate from the dead, and only some of the horse and pig bones, as well as of the items, were deposited here.

Dating: probably the first part of the 1st c. BC.

Sîrbu *et alii* 2007a, p. 48-49, fig. 12/4; 42-44; 2007b, p. 158-159, fig. 4-6; 12.

Complex 73, Grave 32 – S12, depth of 0.36-0.44m

The cremated bones were laid down in two separate, neighbouring sectors, in a natural nook, on top of a thin layer of brown-grey soil and, respectively, in an alveolus in the archaeological layer, both of them covered with black-grey sediment, grainy, with small and medium-sized fragments of crushed dolomite. On top of the remains of the burned bones there were pieces of wood coal.

Inventory: a) iron dagger of the *sica* type (Fig. 6/8), with a sleeve (L=349mm, L. handle=131mm, D. sleeve=32mm), with a curved blade, triangular in section, with a blood-groove; the blade is decorated in the central area, by stamping, with five circular ornaments, consisting of two pairs of circles and a dot in the middle, connected by another circle in the middle. The hand guard is decorated with three grooves, and the handle was attached with three rivets, decorated with a cross-like motif; the handle was bent inwards on purpose; b) scabbard (L=182mm, D. button=16mm), curved, made of an iron sheet with the edges bent inwards and brought close to one another, and the end finished in a spherical button (Fig. 6/7); iron arrowhead (L=53mm), rectangular in section, with a sharp tip and a narrowing stem (Fig. 6/4);

d) fragment of earring (?), made of silver, with one of the ends showing signs of finishing work; the item was warped by heat (Fig. 6/3); e) iron belt plate, of which three fragments were preserved (L. large fragment=92mm, T=1mm), triangular in shape towards the hook (Fig. 6/6); f)

large clamp (?) made of iron (L=8.2mm), with one of the ends thinning and bent 90° degrees, and the other end broken, slightly flat, heat warped (Fig. 6/5); g) truncated item (grindstone?), fragmentary, made of sandy limestone (L=35mm), grey-whitish in colour, with grey streaks; signs of intense use (Fig. 6/1); h) bronze foil fragment (L=12mm, W=4mm, T=1mm).

The anthropological analysis, performed by Alexandra Comşa, revealed that it was an *Infans I* (0-7 years).

Dating: 150-51 BC

Roman, Luca 2012a, p. 75-76, fig. 2, Ill. 1; 2012b, p. 73-75, fig. 2, Ill. 1.

Complex 74 Grave 33 – S. XIII, -(0.42-0.45)m and S. XIV -0.35m, as well as between these two sections. The metal and the glass items, as well as the cremated bones, were laid down on an arranged surface, in two distinct clusters.

Cluster 1: at the depth of 0.43-0.45m, next to the small animal bones, one has found a fragmentary thin bronze sheet, a whole fibula, a fibula spring, a bronze pin, a fragmentary bronze rode and a fragmentary bronze bracelet.

Cluster 2: at the depth of 0.42-0.45m, there were an iron chain-link, two bronze appliqués, a bead, an iron pin, an iron belt plate with a decorated bronze plate, a fragmentary bronze rod, then overlaid with an iron tip, two silver nail-pendants, three fragmentary bronze bracelets, fragments of a helmet's cheek piece, a glass bead with an "eye", a bronze fibula, a bronze chain link, a fragmentary iron item, a bronze item, an iron arrowhead and a buckle accessory. Together with the items, at a depth of 0.35-0.45m, there were many small bone remains, strongly burned, most of them around the partition between S. XIII and S. XIV, with very few small pieces of wood coal.

The bone analysis showed that they were the bones of *Juvenus* (15-20 years).

The funerary arrangement had on top a thick layer of pieces of dolomitic limestone, a layer which was oval and covered the funerary inventory in its entirety, as well as the areas immediately next to it, going downwards towards the north, along the slope.

Inventory: a) a whole silver fibula (L=38mm), with a profiled body, large bilateral spring, made of 26 spirals and an external pin wrapped around the triangular bow; the cath plate is trapezoidal, bent in the shape of a scabbard (Fig. 7/6); b) bronze fibula (L=69mm), with a small bilateral spring, made of four spirals and an inside pin, and the oval bow decorated with two lines of imprints, while the cath plate is triangular (Fig. 7/7); c) fragmentary resort from a silver fibula, of which only 8 spirals were preserved (L=21mm), secondary burning (Fig. 7/3); d) silver nail-pendant (L=41mm), with a circular loop, the line continuing with two spirals on the body of the item, secondary burning (Fig. 7/5); e) silver nail-pendant (L=42mm), of the same type, secondary burning (Fig. 7/4); f, g, h, i, k) fragments of bronze bracelets, heat warped (Fig. 7/10); l-m) fragments of bronze bracelets, with strong traces of heat warping (Fig. 7/11); n) glass bead (D=7mm), grey-whitish, semi-opaque (Fig. 7/12); o) fragmentary iron belt plate (preserved L=184mm; maximum W=54mm), coated with an ornamental bronze foil, decorated in the *au repoussé* technique with three parallel lines of nervures, transversal to the plate's axis and containing striated bands and double semi-circles, placed in arcades, seven of each on the long sides; the hinge and the hook had broken in ancient times and it showed strong signs of heat damage (Fig. 7/9); p) fragmentary iron belt plate (preserved L=60mm; preserved W=49mm), plated with ornamental bronze foil, decorated in the *au repoussé* technique with parallel nervures and embossed semi-circles; it is strongly affected by heat (Fig. 7/8); r) iron arrowhead, rectangular in section, with a narrowing (Fig. 7/16); s) fragment of a bronze rod, circular in section, warped by heat ; t) fragmentary iron rod, warped by fire; u) iron chain link (D=19mm);

v) fragmentary iron hook/buckle (L=28mm); x) iron chain link / washer (D=27mm) (Fig.), massive; y) cruciform bronze appliqué (D=15x15mm) (Fig. 7/2); z) appliqué made of thin bronze sheet (D=10mmx9mm), rectangular, with a “ribbed” decoration, made in the *au repoussé* technique, with a circular perforation in the middle, strongly deteriorated (Fig. 7/1).

Offerings: cremated mammal bones.

Dating: the 1st c. BC

Roman, Luca 2012a, p. 77-78, fig. 4, Ill. 2-3; 2012b, p. 7-77, fig. 4, Ill. 2-3.

Complex C75 Grave 34 – SXIV, section 3, -(0.29-0.49)m

The deposits were below the layer of crushed rock, in an area arranged by man, covered with a thick layer of crushed dolomite, making a small, flattened rise (1.90m along the east-west axis), marked by a interrupted ring of medium-sized and large rocks (Fig. 2/3). The area was upended over the next centuries, so we cannot tell anymore if this was a tumulus or just a thick layer of crushed rock meant to protect the funerary deposits.

A pit was arranged in the dolomite for the pottery, with the bottom at the depth of 0.49m, and then the deposits were covered with stones.

The preliminary anthropological analysis by Alexandra Comşa indicates that the cremated bones are from a robust adult, most likely a male, and from an *Infans II*.

The funerary inventory most likely to be attributed to the dead consists of the two vessels in the pit and the items laid south-east of it, namely the early fibula, the appliqué, the chain link and the fragments of the helmet cheek-piece, all of them made of bronze. Therefore, the metal items were placed separate from the cremated bones of the dead and from the offerings pottery. The rest of the items, from the following centuries, got there by accident, during the disturbances caused by the graves and deposits during the 2nd c. BC – the 1st c. AD.

a) Fibula of the Dux type, with free foot, unattached to the bow, which is the earliest item from the metal inventory that can be dated precisely (Fig. 8/1). It belongs to the La Tène B1 or the transition from La Tène B1 to La Tène B2, namely the last quarter of the 4th c. BC. Insofar as analogies are concerned, we mention the items from Aradul Nou – M2 (Dörner 1972, p. 151, fig. III/5; Crişan 1974, p. 44, Ill. 12/1; 13/2) and Pecica (Dörner 1972, p. 151, fig. III/5; Crişan 1974, p. 45, Ill. 14/1), namely items not far from Hunedoara, which document the first Celtic presence in the Arad region and, later on, on the Mureş valley towards Transylvania (Zirra 1971, p. 179-189, Abb. 1, 3; Crişan 1974, p. 54-55; Sîrbu 2007, p. 146-147). Other items in Celtic contexts indicate the earliest inhumations from Pişcolt, e.g. in G9 or G36, placed by both I. Nemeti (1988, p. 50, fig. 2/1; 4/1) and VI. V. Zirra (1991, p. 179, fig. 1/6-7) at the end of La Tène B1 / transition to La Tène B2; b) the small, fragmentary bronze chain-link could have been a part of the chain for attaching the early La Tène fibula (Fig. 8/2); c) appliqué made of thin bronze sheet, almost square (D=12x15mm), with an orifice in the middle, decorated by stamping with a line of protuberances on the edge, around a cruciform motif; it could be a harness appliqué (Fig. 8/4); helmet cheek-piece – two bronze-sheet fragments were recovered, thinning towards the outside and with the edge curved inwards (Fig. 8/5), warped by the burning; based on the shape, they are, most likely, the lower part of a helmet cheek-piece, whose type cannot be determined; e) the bi-truncated vessel is hand-made, out of semi-fine clay with plenty of sand and crushed shards, put through oxidizing firing, with a chestnut-coloured glazing; the shape is bi-truncated, with a rounded shoulder, tall neck and slightly flared, flat lip and bottom; for handling, the shoulder has four oval protuberances, in the shape of a “cross”, and the bottom of the neck has four other conical protuberances (Fig. 8/7). The vessel has many analogies in the 5th-4th c. BC, east of the

Carpathians, such as in the necropolis from Hanska-Lutărie (Arnăut, Ursu Naniu 1996, fig. XXIII/5), south of the Carpathians, such as in the fortress from Orbeasca de Sus (Moscalu 1983, fig. IX/1) or the necropolis in Zimnicea - CI 5 G49 (Alexandrescu 1980, p. 33, fig. 20/), as well as in Dobroudja, such as in the necropolises from Canlia – G 74 (Boroffka, Trohani 2003, p. 189, fig. 22/10), Enislala - G 34B (Simion 1971, p. 85, fig. 16/d) or Balta Ialomiței in Grădiștea Coslogeni (Sîrbu 2009, fig. 4/4). Therefore, we are seeing it in the 4th c. BC and, possibly, beginning of the 3rd c. BC. Similar types of pottery, but with more archaic shapes, from the 6th-5th c. BC, were also found in the necropolis from Blaj (Vasiliev 1972, p. 51-52, fig. VI/5; X/2); f) the hand-made plate, made of semi-fine clay with sand and crushed shards, put through medium, non-oxidizing firing, with brown or black glazing, has a bi-truncated body, rounded shoulder, narrowing mouth, lip oblique towards the interior and a flat bottom; the portion between the shoulder and the mouth has wide, oblique grooves (Fig. 8/6). The vessel has analogies in the pre-Celtic period, such as in the necropolis in Blaj (Vasiliev 1972, p. 52-53, fig. V/9, VII/5), as well as at the Danubian Getae from the 5th-3rd c. BC, such as in the necropolis from Zimnicea C10 GI12 (Alexandrescu 1980, p. 31, fig. 23/24). Even in south-western Transylvania, in the settlement from Lancrem-Glod, one has found similar plates, probably dating from the end of the 4th c. BC (Popa, Simina 2004, p. 54, fig. 22/1; 23/2).

We will also look at the other items found close to C75, but not in the areas with cremated bones or items dating to the second half of the 4th c. – beginning of the 3rd c. BC. (Roman, Luca 2012a, fig. 4/1-3, 7).

a) The fibula foot (L=56mm) is part of a middle La Tène item, probably from towards the end of La Tène CI, most likely dating from around 200 BC, same as the items from the necropolis in Pișcolt (the best one in G67, but also those from G149 and G153), placed by I. Nemeti (1992, p. 70, 94, 97, fig. 9, 26) towards the end (III-IV) stages of the necropolis, namely in La Tène CI; b) the silver spiral is, most likely, from a fibula spring, of which 12 spirals, made of thin wire, were preserved; it could be from a middle-La Tène fibula, but this was also fashionable in the La Tène D1, the type that had protuberances in the Dacian world – type 1c (Rustoiu 1997, p. 31, fig. 13-14), dated, at the earliest, from around 100 BC. It could also be from a later item, namely type 10a-b (1997, p. 42-44, fig. 39); c) fragment of an iron rod (preserved L=41mm), rectangular in section; d) bi-truncated bronze bead (D=11mm). The last two items were found north of the cremated bones, so they could belong to C75; e) a fragmentary iron item that splits in two towards one end (tweezers? handle?); f) circular silver item, preserved in three fragments (D=21mm, T+0.5-1mm), with a slightly thicker edge and oblique or perpendicular saw-teeth, found in the south-western section, close to the fibula foot dated to around 200 BC.

The analysis of the most expressive vestiges that can be attributed to Complex 75 – the cremation and the pottery – indicates that two members of the Dacian community were buried nearby. The presence of La Tène BI fibula is normal, given that the closest analogies are from Celtic finds in the Arad region (Crișan 1974, fig. 12/1, 15/1), which points to exchanges of goods between the two peoples. The grave in C75 is of particular importance, because it is not just the oldest grave identified in *Grădina Castelului*, but also the oldest Getae grave in the Hunedoara depression.

Dating: the end of the 4th c. BC (Sîrbu 2013).

Roman, Luca 2012a, p. 78-79, fig. 4, Ill. 4-6; 2012b, p. 78-79, fig. 4, Ill. 4-6; Sîrbu 2013.

Complex no. 21, Deposit no. 2 - S24; - (15-30) cm

At the depth of -(15-20)cm, on an area of about one square meter, one found the following: a fragment from a bronze scabbard, a bronze sowing needle, an iron chain link and an

iron "S"-shaped item; the presence of the items in this large area is the result of later interventions.

Inventory: a) the underside of a sword scabbard a "pen case" scabbard, since one of the sides would slide over the other, made of a thin bronze sheet (L=71mm, W=33mm), with the margins arched inwards, for affixing, and the end rounded (Fig. 10/5); similar items in the Celtic world (Zachar 1974, fig. 5/2,7; Tab. 1), particularly southern Gallia, b) bronze massive sowing needle (L=56mm), with a blunt end; part of the pin-head is broken, c) "S"-shaped iron item (L=35mm; W=4mm), used to attach the scabbard close to the hand-guard (Zachar 1974, fig. 5/3,5; Tab. III/4; Łukiewicz 2006, p. 36, fig. 5/3), d) massive iron chain link (D=24mm), with the ends free. These items were part of a warrior's inventory.

Dating: end of the 2nd – the 1st c. BC.

Sîrbu *et alii* 2007a, p. 43-44, fig. 14/3,5; 41/10-13.

Complex no. 24, Deposit no. 4 - S6-D; -30cm

In a shallow nook, one arranged a circular layer of clay (D=0.35m), 2.0-2.5cm thick, where one found the lower part of a small Dacian jar, and, nearby, there was a spearhead and an arrowhead, both of them made of iron.

Inventory: a) fragmentary iron lance head (L=88mm; tube D=16mm), with the active part triangular (broken tip), median nervure, long tube, round, with an orifice for the nail that would affix the tail (Fig. 10/4), b) arrow head (?), made of iron (L=25mm), with the active part shaped like a willow's leaf, the stem broken (Fig. 10/3). The two probably are from one of the cremation graves. Things worth mentioning include using loess for the arrangement and the presence of a fragmentary vessel, the only one found in a deposit.

Dating: the 1st c. BC.

Sîrbu *et alii* 2007a, p. 45, fig.12/3; 9-10.

Complex C25, Deposit no. 5 - S8-A; -(35-42)cm

On the edge of a small man-made fault, directly on the blocks of limestone dolomite of the native rock, without any visible intervention, there were 17 adornments and clothing accessories made of bronze, iron and glass. The majority of them were inside two bronze spiral bracelets, placed one on top of the other, but several smaller items were also around (three earrings and the bronze bead), probably displaced from their initial location afterwards.

Inventory: a) bracelet made of a bronze band, with two spirals and the ends free, not overlapped (D=65mm, max. W=6mm) (Fig. 10/10); b) bracelet made of a bronze band with two spirals and the ends free, but overlapped one over the other (D=65mm, max. W=6mm); incised lines on the inside, near the wider end (Fig. 10/9); c) iron appliqué (D=35x34mm), round in plane and concave in profile, endowed with a little handle (Fig. 10/8); d) bronze appliqué (D=22mm), circular in plane and conic in profile, with an affixing handle, decorated with three concentric circles; e) bronze appliqué (D=28mm), circular in plane and semi-oval in profile, with an affixing handle, endowed with six circular buttons on the side (Fig. 10/6); f) appliqué similar to the one before (Fig. 10/7); g) fragmentary bracelet (D=60mm), made of an iron rod, h) bronze chain link (D=18mm), i) bronze bead (D=19mm), j) fragmentary blue glass bead (D=15mm), k-r) earrings or chain-links of various sizes (D=11-19mm), made of fine bronze wire, with the ends thinned, slightly overlapped, in those cases where the items were preserved whole.

This is the richest and most complex deposit of wearable items and the circumstances of the discovery point to a certain ritual. When speaking of the earrings, the seven items indicate that they could be from either a grave where several dead were present or from several graves made successively. The discovery of a small strip of sheet in the conic iron appliqué suggests

that it was sowed on a clothing item and then ripped away from one of the dead before depositing. The bronze appliqués are, most likely, from the harness.

Dating: the 1st c. BC.

Sîrbu *et alii* 2007a, p. 46-47, fig. 12/1-2; 14/8-9, 14; 39.

Complex no. 46, Deposit 6 - S22-D; -(20-30)cm

In an area of about 0.25-0.20sqm, close to the native rock but on a layer of soil 2-3cm thick, one found the following: a fibula and three iron chain links, one fragment from a bracelet and another from a bronze item that is more difficult to identify; other items from this complex that were found close by, almost certainly upset later on, are a fibula, of the same type, and two chains link, made of iron.

Inventory: a-b) iron fibula (L=52mm; L=45mm), with the bow curved, the foot returned and attached above the bow, ornamented with two knobs, bilateral spring, outside pin (**Fig.**); c) bronze item (L=33mm), with an orifice in the middle, strongly burned and warped; d-g) four iron chains-links (D=25-20mm; h) bronze chain-link.

Dating: the threshold between the 3rd and the 2nd c. BC.

Sîrbu *et alii* 2007a, p. 47-48, fig. 41/5-8.

II. The analysis of the finds

1. Topography. As one can see (Fig.I), the large majority of the cremation graves, as well as all the item deposits from the 2nd - 1st c. BC are in the southern plateau, from east to west, with a higher concentration in the eastern section. One can say that the number of cremation graves from the 2nd - 1st c. BC was higher, as suggested by the fact that they remained *in situ* in the areas not affected by the children inhumations from the 1st c. BC - 1st c. AD.

The fact that the item deposits from the 2nd - 1st c. BC are among the clusters of cremation graves suggests that this was the area of the necropolis dedicated to them. One can no longer say if the isolated position of complexes C16 and C18 is the result of the disturbances in the middle of the plateau or whether they were, indeed, a separate cluster.

It is also probable that item deposits D2, D4, D5, D6 and D7 are from the dead cremated nearby, even if the associations cannot be proven in all the cases. Therefore, they are funerary customs, because they were performed with care in different arrangements. The concentration of graves and item deposits in the same area, their spatial and chronological proximity and the associations between the categories of items from both types of finds, sometimes forming genuine fighting panoplies, constitute solid evidence and arguments in this respect.

We will also add the observation that the funerary inventory of some cremation graves was laid down from the beginning in separate, but close, clusters, some items being together with the bones of the dead, while others were separate.

2. The number of finds. All in all, one has found 8 cremation graves. We need to mention that in two cases - C18 and C30 - there were only cremation graves at first, namely Dead 13a and 16a, with the accidental overlapping, at least a century later, of Dead 13b and 16b, who were inhumed children. When we take into account the number of destroyed graves - which is impossible to establish precisely, but is quite high when we look at the affected areas - we can estimate that an important necropolis from the end 4th/ 3rd - 1st c. BC was here.

3. Arrangements. A serious problem, for which a definite solution cannot be found now, is whether some cremation graves were tumuli or not. As the description of the complexes shows, the cremated dead were put either in natural nooks in the rock, or in complexes dug in the previous archaeological layer, often marked, more or less contiguously, with large chunks of dolomite and covered with a layer, more or less thick, of dolomite. We need to mention that the

area with graves from the 3rd - 1st c. BC is on a somewhat inclined plateau, very close to *Castelul Corvinilor*, namely an area where many disturbance happened not just during the Middle Ages and the modern times, but also during the 1st c. AD, on the occasion of the children inhumations. However, if we consider the fact that some of the stone structures at the level of the less-affected graves (e.g. C74 and C75), as well as the custom of raising tumuli on the graves of Getae warriors during that period, we can assume that there were tumuli in some cases.

We hope that researching the eastern part of the plateau, which was not strongly affected during the 1st c. AD, could provide an answer. This would a situation similar to the tumulus graves from Cugir (Crișan 1980, p. 81-87) or Călan (Rustoiu, Sîrbu, Ferencz 2001-2002, p. 93-109), not far from Hunedoara.

4. Sex and age. In C12 we find a man, 21-22 years of age, in C71 a mature man, in C75 there were two individuals, a mature man and an *Infans II* of about 10 years, in C18, C30 and C34 there were adults of unknowable sex, and in C73 an *Infans I*; C74 was a *Juvenus*. Therefore, we can notice that most of them were adults, half of which were men, but there are also children present, sometimes with weapons in the funerary arrangement. One could not determine the sex in all the cases but, in any case, no female could be identified. We could draw attention to the fact that the dead in C73, *Infans I*, was accompanied by weapons – a *sica*-type dagger and an arrowhead, as well as a belt plate. Also, C74 Dead 33, despite a rich and diverse funerary inventory – three fibulae, two nail-pendants, 7-8 bracelets, an arrowhead, two belt plates etc., which could mean that the items are from one dead - *Juvenus*.

5. Rites and rituals. The presence of children inhumations in the complexes with cremation graves is an accident, as proven by the stratigraphy and chronology in two cases (C18 and C16). The anthropological analysis showed that, in all cases where the sex could be determined, we are dealing with males. Therefore, we can assume that cremation was the preferred rite for men connected to warrior activities. On the other hand, one notices a larger variety of rituals in regard to the arrangements and the manner of depositing, as well as to the diversity of the funerary inventory. It is in only one case that the cremated bones were placed in an urn (C17 Dead31 – mug). Moreover, pottery is very rarely present in the cremation graves, both with offerings (C75 and C12). Also, the fact that the cremated bones were spread over larger areas, sometimes in two distinct sections, means that they were not placed in vessels made of organic materials. Therefore, the funerary norm was to spread the cremated remains in the funerary arrangements. As already said, it was often that the remains of the funerary stake/pyre were placed separately, in the same arrangement, or even in a different one nearby.

The amount of cremated human bones placed in the funerary arrangement is low, so we can surmise that the rest either stayed on the pyre, or was spread elsewhere. Sometimes, the inventory items are together with the cremated bones, sometimes they are in distinct areas. In that respect, we draw attention to C71 Dead 31, which had a lance head, a *sica*-type dagger, a belt plate and a buckle, and to C70 Deposit 7, which had a long sword, a chainmail shirt, a helmet and a shield, together with cremated horse and pig bones. The cremation took place elsewhere and the inventory was split and laid down in two places. It is worth pointing to the depositing of the bones in a mug-urn, which is, so far, the only such case identified here.

The funerary pyre could not be found.

6. Chronology. Without doubt, the earliest grave is the one in C75, from the end of the 4th c. BC. All of the other cremation graves are from between the middle of the 2nd c. BC – the middle/the third quarter of the 1st c. BC, as clearly shown by the inventory found in them.

The recent attempt of a group of anthropologist and archaeologists to date some of the cremation graves (Kelemen *et alii* 2012, p. 411-422) along the 1st c. AD is not supported by the stratigraphy or the item chronology. The monographic study of the site (Sîrbu *et alii* 2007, p. 29-30, 32-33, fig. 37/1-2, 9) is explicit about the stratigraphy differences between the cremated and the inhumed, as well as about the place where the inventory items were found, showing chronological differences of over a century and a half! Furthermore, we have the dead inhumed in C33, an adolescent of about 15 years of age, also in the 1st c. AD (Kelemen *et alii* 2012, p. 413), whereas she has as inventory a rigid iron bracelet with a cavity, which is dated from the end of the 2nd c. – the first half of the 1st c. BC (Sîrbu *et alii* 2007, p. 33-34, fig. 37/10).

The dating of the cremation graves in this chronological interval is also supported by other item deposits nearby, which belong to the same period. Thus, from the catalogue already introduced, we can see that deposits 2, 4, 5, 6 and 7 are from the end of the 3rd c. – the second half of the 1st c. BC, namely the same period as the cremation graves. Also contemporary with the grave from the end of the 4th c. BC (C75) could be C3 Pit1, which contained a whole vessel laid down during that period (Sîrbu *et alii* 2007, p. 50-51, fig. 41/4).

7. The inventory present in the cremation graves is rich and diverse, save for three exceptions.

It is only in complexes C18, C30 and C34, from the cremated dead, that the inventory found was poor – two rigid iron bracelets with a cavity and two glass beads warped by fire. We need to mention, that in two of these cases, they had been disturbed and overlapped by later inhumations of very small children, so some of the items may have been scattered. The fact that some of these graves – all of them for adults, but of unknowable sex – do not have any weapons or other expressive items suggests that their dead had been on the lower rungs of the society.

The number of pottery in the graves is very low: a mug-urn in C71, a piriform vessel, covered with a plate, probably with offerings, in C75, and two fragmentary fruit-bowls in C12, probably shattered during the funerary ceremony. In any case, they were all in rich graves, which had at least two weapons.

The offensive weapons consist, in graves and item deposits, of lance heads (C12, C24 and C71), *sica*-type daggers (C12, C71 and C73 – in the latter two cases with a scabbard), a sword (C70) and arrowheads (C24, C73 and C74).

The defensive gear in the graves and deposits consists of two helmets (C70 and C75), a shield (C70) and a chainmail shirt (C70).

Other categories very much present in the graves and deposits are the clothing accessories (fibulae, buckles) and adornments made of various materials: silver, bronze, iron, glass and bone.

Thus, one found belt plates (C71, C73 – two items, C74), buckles (C71, C74), fibulae (C46 – two items, C74 – three items !, C75), beads (C12, C25, C74, C75), nail-pendants (C74 – two copies), earrings (C25), bracelets (C18, C25, C33, C25, C46, C73, C74), chain-links (C12, C21, C46, C73, C74, C75). One could also mention the bronze appliqués, such as those from C74 and C75.

The category of miscellaneous items includes bone handles/tubes (C12), small grindstone (C73), clamp (?) (C73) and other iron items which were strongly oxidized and difficult to identify.

Without a doubt, the most expressive finds consist of the probable association between complexes C70 and C71, which contained the cremated remains of an adult rider and his complete fighting gear: helmet, chainmail shirt, shield, lance, sword and *sica*-type dagger. It is

worth pointing out that both the riding horse and a pig were cremated. The dead was, most likely, an outstanding member of the aristocracy in the Dacian fortress on *Sânpetru* Hill. It is one of the rare cases where we have the documented fighting panoply of a Dacian rider, as well as signs of complicated funerary rituals.

III. General observations

On the *Plateau* there were identified 34 deposits with human bones, 7 deposits of objects without human bones and 5 deposits with animal bones. The 34 deposits with humans contained the bones of 57 individuals, 9 being cremated and 48 inhumed. The vast majority of those inhumed were children, 38 of them being less than 7 years old and 20 less than one year old (Fig. 1).

Some of the observations are definite.

All of the cremation graves are from the period between the end of the 4th c. BC and the middle/the third quarter of the 1st c. BC. Most of the cremation graves are for adults and matures, but there are some children. In all the cases where weapons could be found and the sex could be determined, the individuals were males, mostly adults/mature, but also children.

All of the inhumed individuals that are clearly from the 1st c. AD are small children.

In the only definite case of inhumation from the second half of the 2nd c. – the first half of the 1st c. BC – which is C33 Dead 17 –, we are dealing with an adolescent about 15 years of age, which had an iron rigid bracelet on the right foot. One could add C26 Dead 15c, where one found only the teeth of an adult of indeterminate sex, who had nearby a fragmentary silver fibula, with protuberances, from the end of the 2nd c. – the first half of the 1st c. BC (Sîrbu *et alii* 2007, p. 32, fig. 37/5). However, we need to mention that this arrangement also included the bones of two other individuals, one of which was the skeleton of a five-year old girl, which had a strongly-profiled bronze fibula from the second half of the 1st c. AD. Therefore, we cannot associate for sure Dead 15c with the silver fibula with protuberances, since it could have gotten there at a later time, as a result of ulterior burials (Sîrbu *et alii* 2007, p. 31-32, fig. 13/2, 37/4).

There are also inhumed bones of adolescents and matures, but the inventory (where present) does not allow for narrower dating, but only for a wider placing between the 1st c. BC – 1st c. AD: a) C7 Dead 2d – fragments of the scapula and tibia of a 15-year old individual, sex unknowable; b) C7 Dead 2e – fragments of the mandible and jawbone of a man, 30-35 years of age (a three-edged arrowhead was present nearby); c) C8 Dead 3b – two fragments of the femur shaft from a 14-year old individual, of unknowable sex; d) C16 Dead 11b – a pre-molar from a 30-35 year old individual, of unknowable sex; e) C67 Dead 27 – the skeleton of a woman of about 45 years, with earrings, chain links and a pendant of the bucket type; f) C69 Dead 29b – fragment from the right tibia of an adult of unknowable sex. We can easily notice that, save for C67, only a few isolated bones were preserved from all the mature dead, probably caused, in part, by the disturbances caused by the later burials.

Based on the whole of the finds from *Grădina Castelului – Plateau*, we could conclude that there is an almost interrupted line of discoveries from the end of the 4th c. BC until the end of the 1st c. AD, consisting of cremation or inhumation graves, of children inhumations or item deposits (Sîrbu *et alii* 2007a), stretching for about four centuries. For the time being, this is the only location in the Geto-Dacian inhabitation area where we have an almost interrupted series of funerary finds for this period. Of particular importance are those from the 2nd c. BC – the 1st c. AD, when the area is a devoid of graves (Sîrbu 1986, p. 89-126; 1993, p. 39-40, 126-130; Babeș 1988, p. 3-32).

One can distinguish several stages in the evolution of the human and item deposits in this place.

From the 4th – 3rd c. BC, we have only one cremation grave (C75) and a pit (C3), but these finds document the presence of a Dacian community in the area, which has not yet been located. This community existed when the Celts had arrived on the lower and middle Mureș River, and the Dux-type fibula is proof of the relations between the two peoples.

The 2nd – 1st c. BC has yielded many cremations and inhumation graves, mostly of adults and matures, but there are some children as well. There were also many item deposits, proving the existence of an important necropolis close to the heart of Dacian power in the Orăștie Mountains. We need to draw attention to the graves of the Dacian warrior elite in this place, which have impressive fighting panoplies, adding to the already known graves in Cugir and Călan. They are similar to the other graves of Dacian warriors, mostly tumulus, from the 2nd c. BC – 1st c. AD, known in other parts of Dacia (Vulpe 1976, p.193-215; Moscalu 1977, p. 329-340; Crișan 1980, p.81-87; Ursachi 1986, p.105-152; Babeș 1988, p. 5-7; Budinský-Krička, Lamiová-Schmiedlová 1990, p. 245-354; Sîrbu 1994, p.123-159).

We have looked in detail, on another occasion, at the graves of children inhumed in Hunedoara, the only funerary vestiges documented with certainty from the 1st c. AD, so we will not delve into them again. In fact, analysing the difference between the children and the adult graves has preoccupied many researchers (e.g. Mahieu 1982-1983, p. 137-154; Norman 2002, p. 302-323; 2003, p. 36-47; Sîrbu 2008, p. 71-90), which is also emphasized by the finds in *Grădina Castelului* in Hunedoara.

There are also many cases of non-cremated/inhumed human bones, most of them from children, which can be dated only vaguely, namely between the 1st c. BC and the 1st c. AD (Sîrbu *et alii* 2007a).

One can conclude, based on the finds made so far, that it was only between the 2nd – 1st c. BC that both rites – cremation and inhumation – were used here, with obvious preferences based on age, sex and occupation/social status.

The particular importance of the necropolis from *Grădina Castelului – Plateau* is a result of its being, so far, the only one containing burials from the end of the 4th c. BC until the end of the 1st c. AD. Therefore, it directly shows the essential changes in the funerary customs of the Geto-Dacian world, visible here starting with the end of the 2nd c. BC and fully employed in the 1st c. AD, a century which yielded predominantly, if not exclusively, inhumations of small children.

The finds of graves, item deposits and isolated items from the 4th c. BC – 1st c. AD in *Grădina Castelului – Plateau* documents the presence of local communities, unfortunately located only for the period during the 2nd c. BC – 1st c. AD, namely the fortress on *Sânpetru* Hill, and the civilian settlement on the slopes and terrace around it.

As for the names of the autochthonous communities from the 4th – 3rd c. BC present in Transylvania, we need to specify that, when we say “Getae” or “Dacians”, we mean the north-Thracian people in the intra-Carpathian region attested archaeologically by the vestiges similar to those in the Lower Danube region, where the written sources place the Getae, the northern branch of the Thracians. Of course, it is a known fact that the Dacians are mentioned in the written sources only as late as the middle of the 1st c. BC (Caesar, *De bello Gallico*), perhaps the end of the 2nd c. BC (Frontinus, *Stratagemata*, II, 4, 3), but we believe that we can use the term of Dacians, in order to avoid a confusion of terms. After all, in a wider sense, we are using conventions referring to similar cultural-archaeological realities. For instance, how else but

“Getae”/“Dacian” could we name the north-Thracian communities from the 5th/4th c. – the 3rd c. BC in Săvârșin (*Repertoriu arheologic* 1999, p. 108-109), Olteni (Cavruc, Buzea 2005, p. 121-154; Sîrbu, Cavruc, Buzea 2006, p. 229-251; 2008a, p. 191-228; 2008b, p. 109-148), Lancrăm-Glod (Popa, Simina 2004, p. 54-55, fig. 22-24) or the Sălaj depression (Pop, Pupeză 2006, p. 183-212)? It is not adequate to use the notion of “vestiges of the La Tène type”, since one could understand that they belong to the Celts, while the notion of “northern Thracians” is too general, since it refers to the entire region north of the Balkans.

In fact, there is no ancient written mention regarding the presence of Celts in the intra-Carpathian region from the second half of the 4th c. BC until the beginning of the 2nd c. BC. However, nobody questions their presence in Transylvania or western Apuseni Mountains, given the similarities between their vestiges and those from Central or Western Europe.

If we apply the same “yardstick”, we have no reason not to call “Getae” or “Dacian” the indigenous communities from Transylvania and western Apuseni Mountains, given that their vestiges are similar to those from the extra-Carpathian area, because both ethnic terms define north-Thracian peoples.

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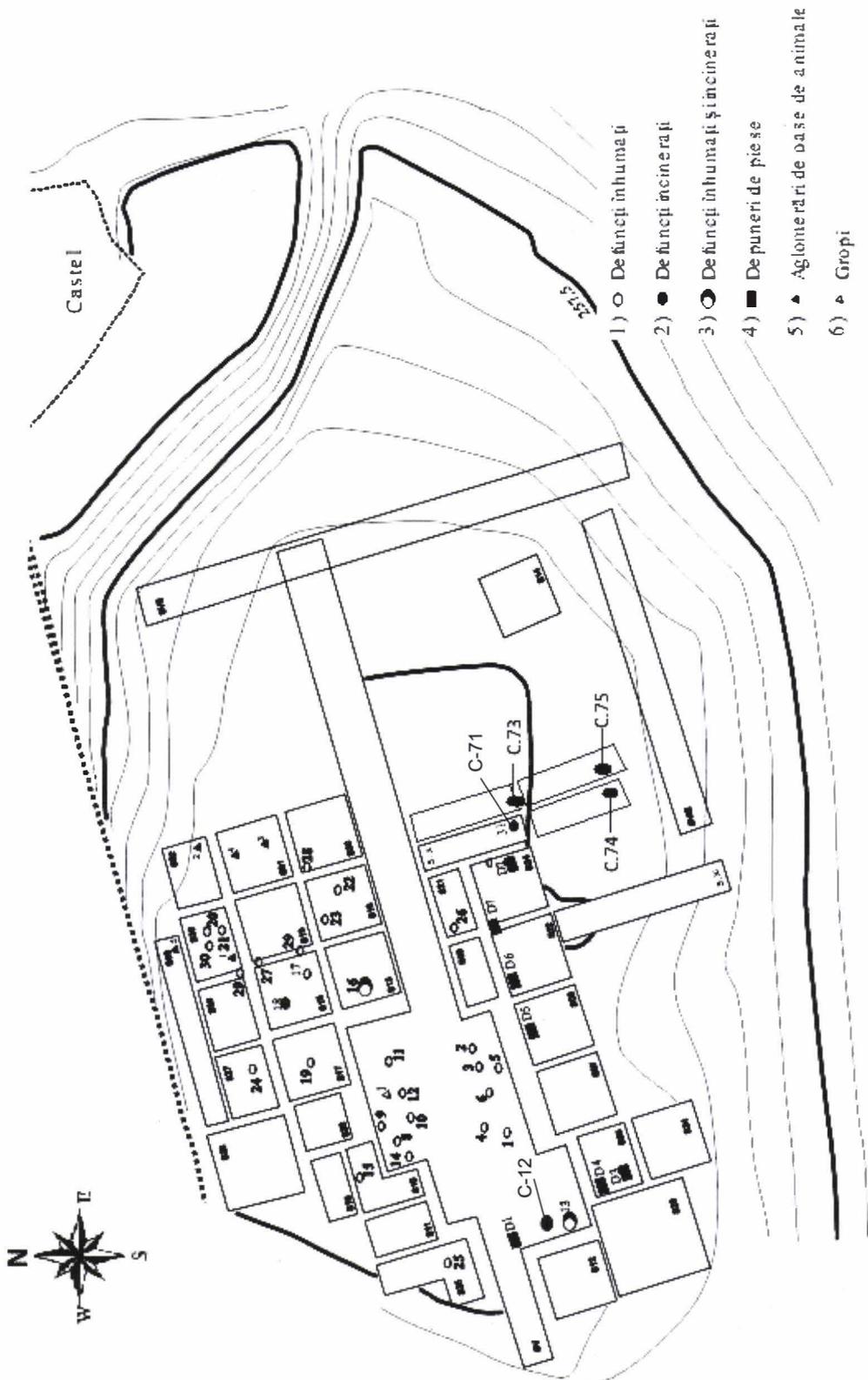


Fig. 1. Hunedoara-Grădina Castelului. General topographic plan - types of complexes.
 1 inhumed dead, 2 cremated dead, 3 inhumed and cremated dead, 4 deposits of objects,
 5 animal bones deposits, 6 pits, 7 steep edge (*apud Sîrbu et alii* 2007, updated)

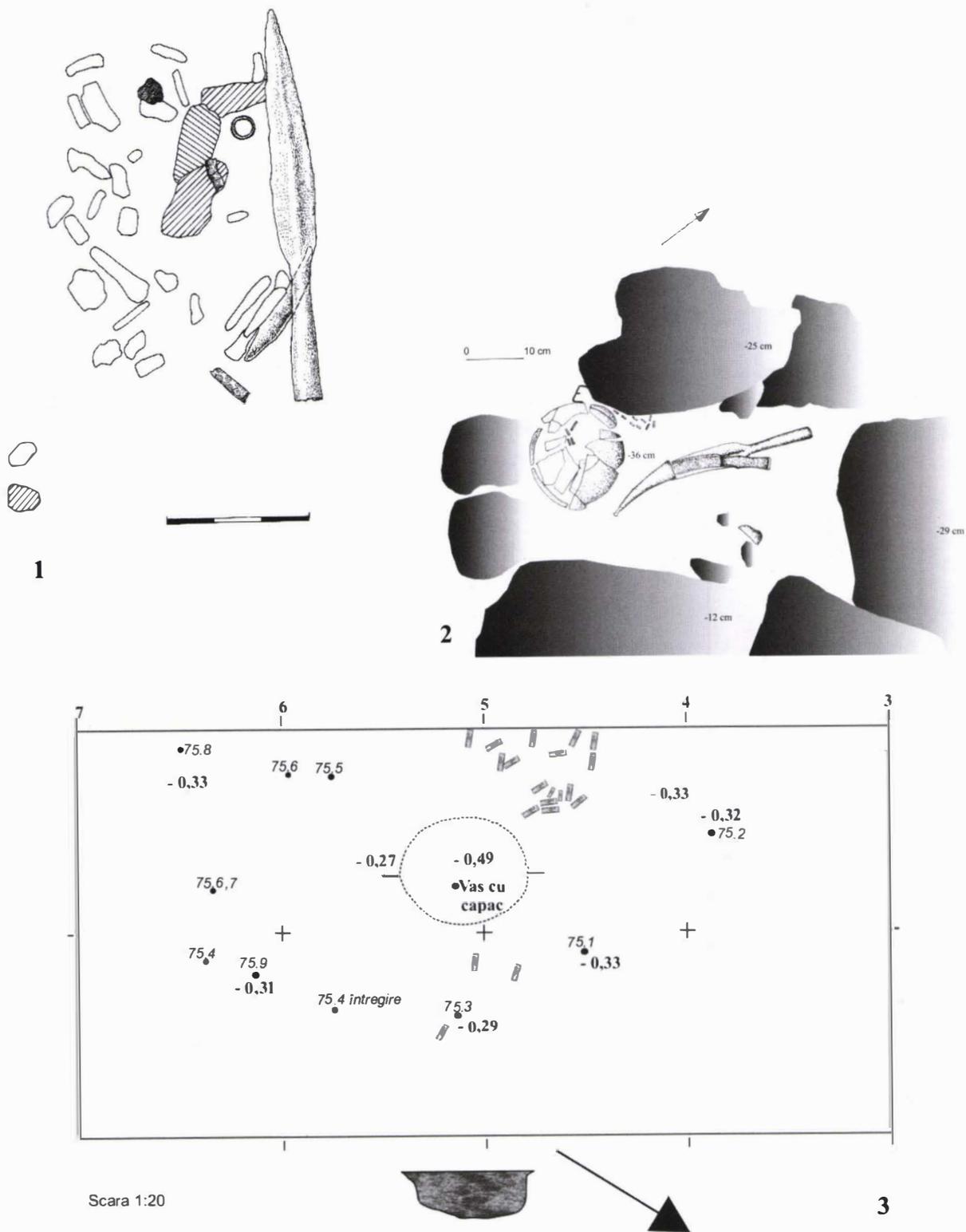


Fig. 2. Hunedoara-Grădina Castelului. 1. C12Grave 7; 2. C71Grave33; 3. C75Grave 34 (after Sîrbu *et alii* 2007; Roman, Luca 2012)

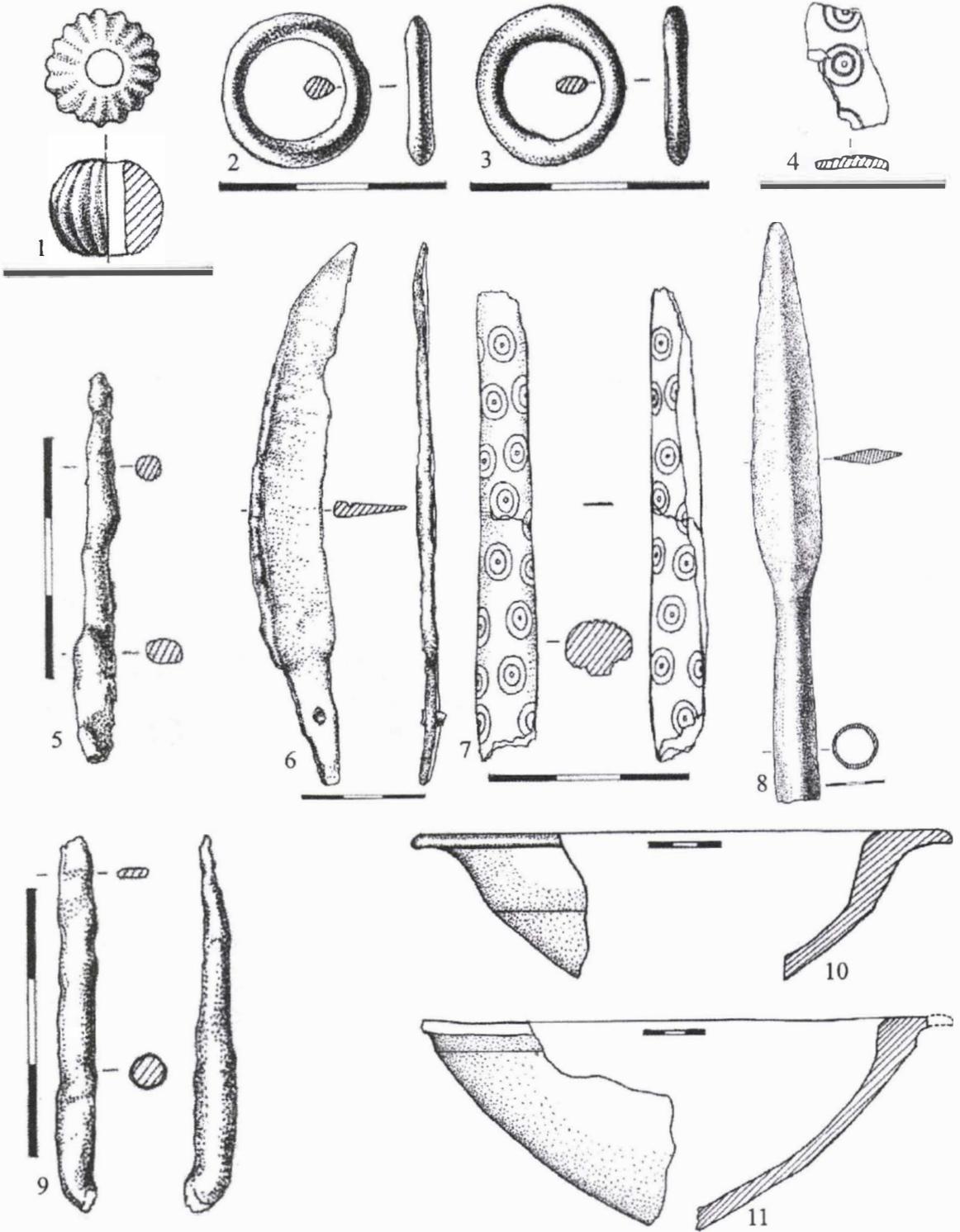


Fig. 3. Hunedoara-Grădina Castelului. C12Grave 7 (apud Sîrbu et alii 2007).

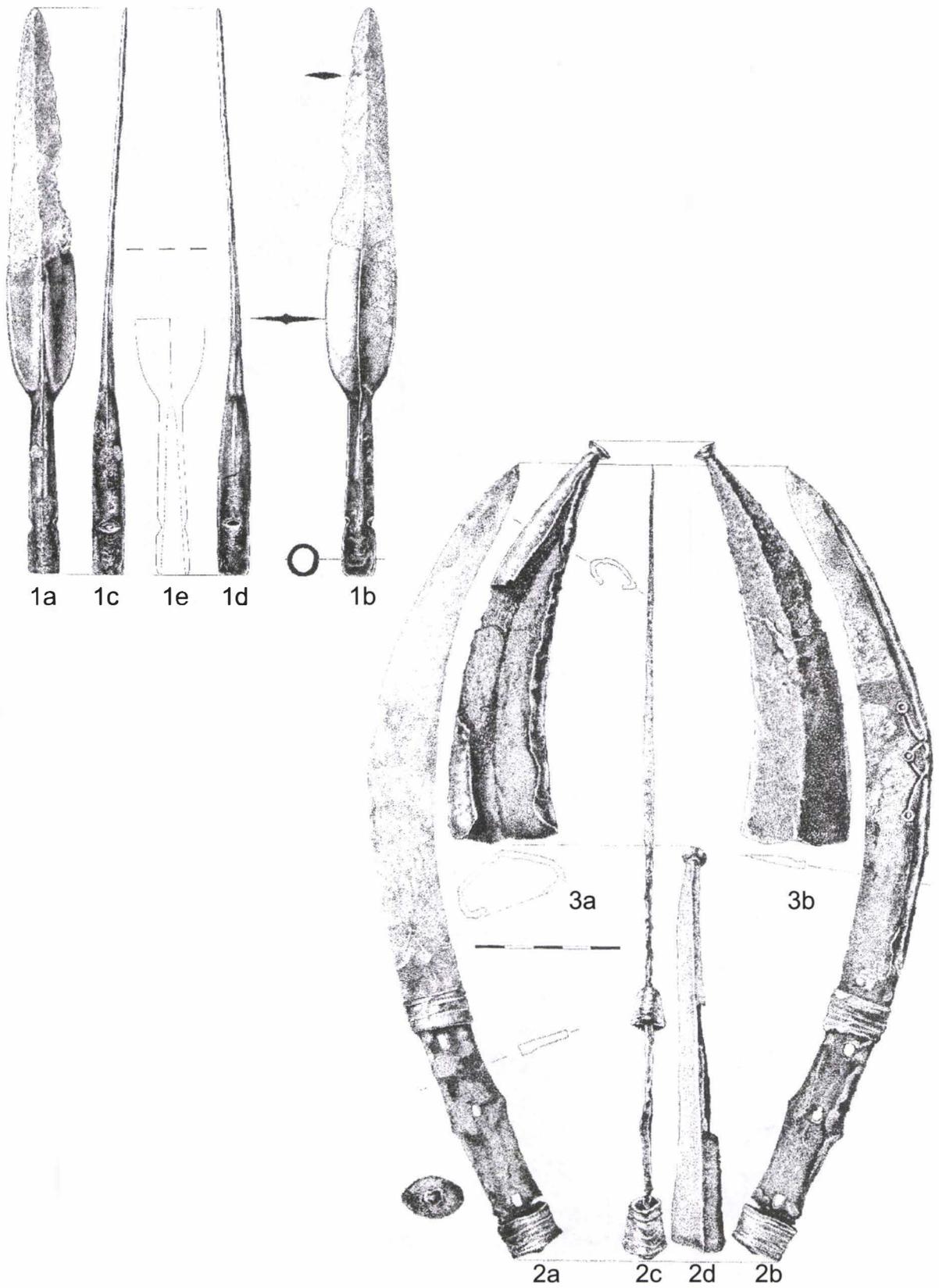


Fig. 4. Hunedoara-Grădina Castelului. C71 Grave 31 (apud Sirbu, Luca, Roman 2007).

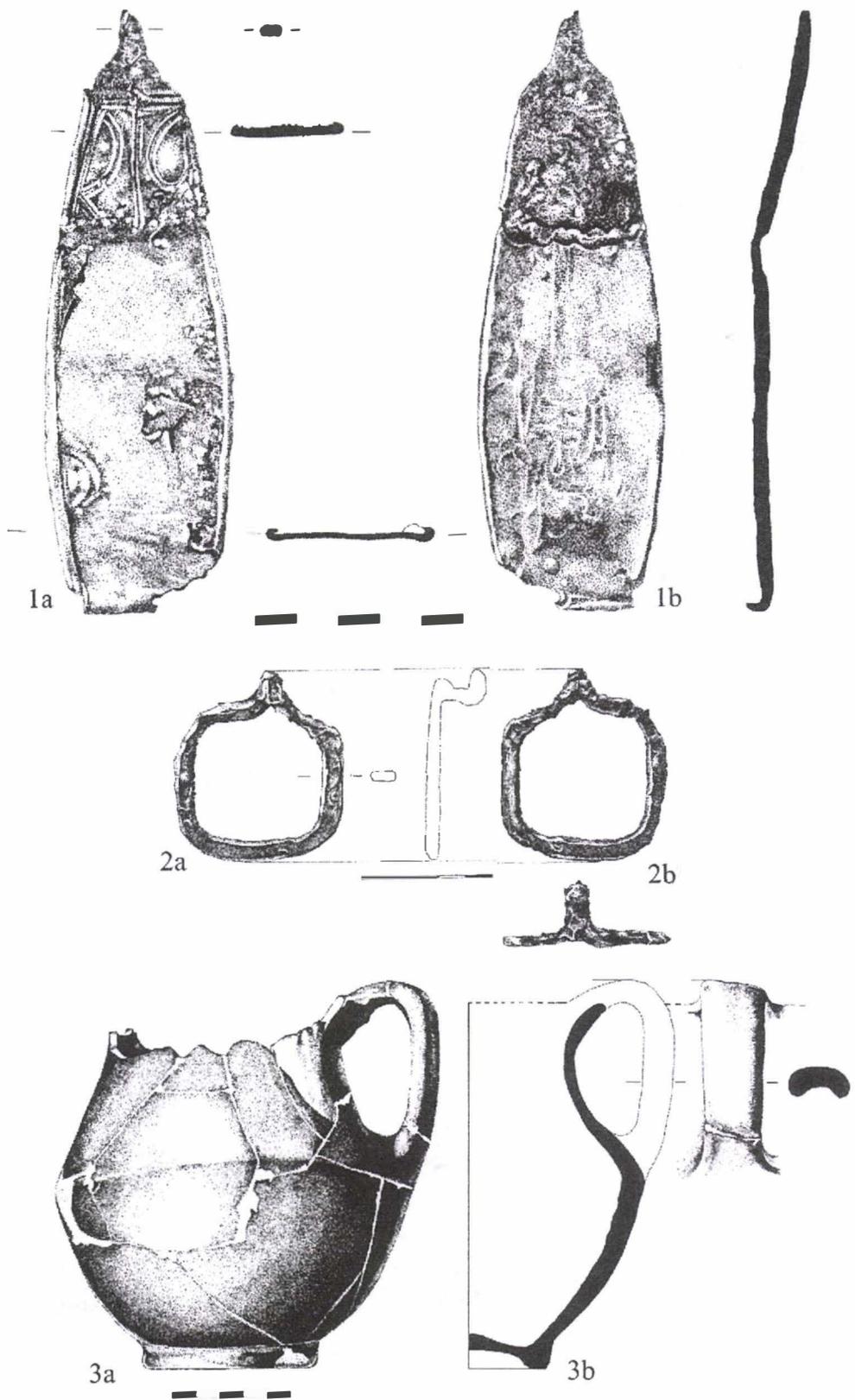


Fig. 5. Hunedoara-Grădina Castelului. C71Grave 31 (apud Sîrbu, Luca, Roman 2007).



Fig. 6. Hunedoara-Grădina Castelului. C73 Grave 32 (apud Roman, Luca 2012).

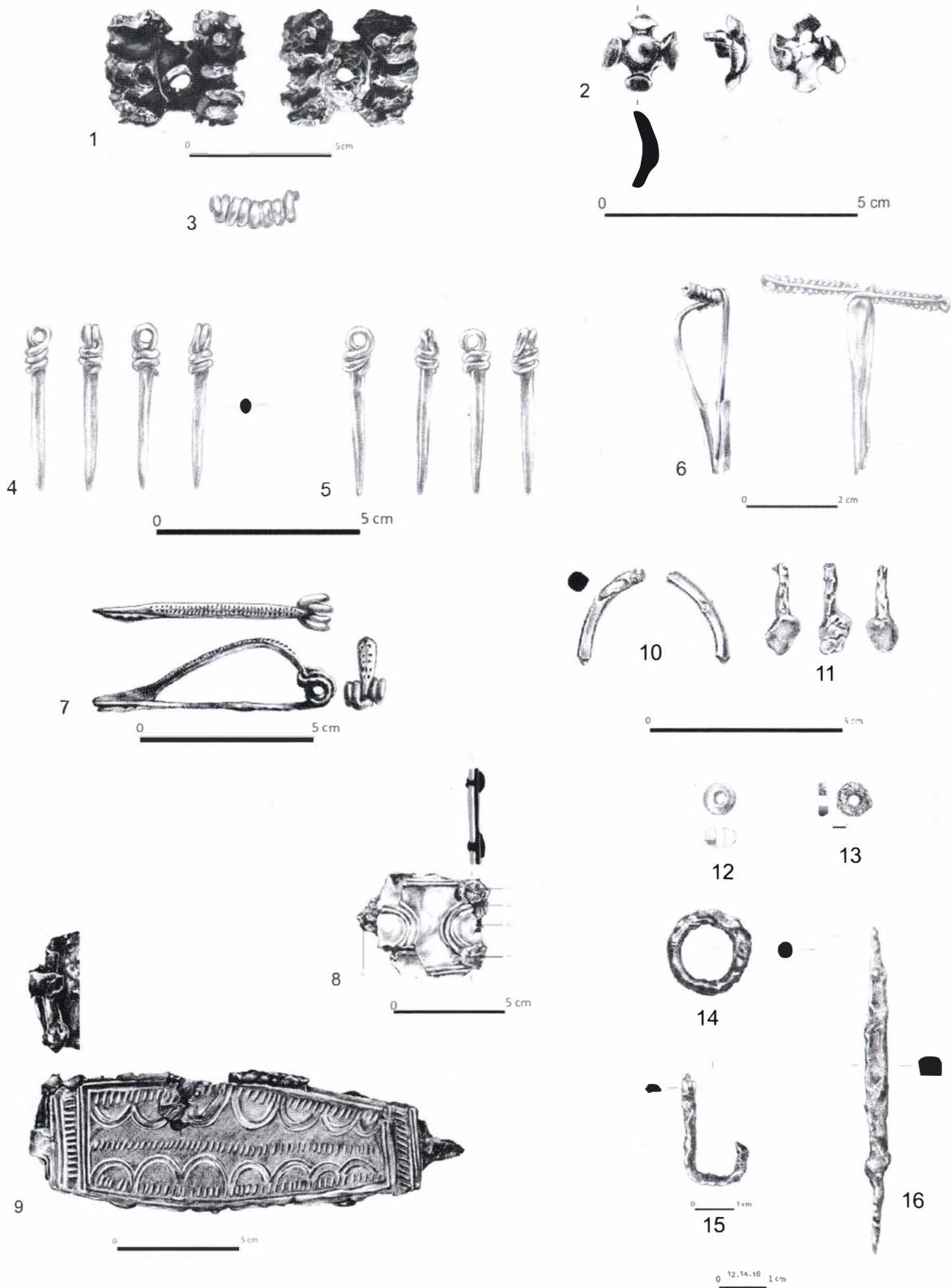


Fig. 7. Hunedoara-Grădina Castelului. C74Grave 33 (apud Roman, Luca 2012).

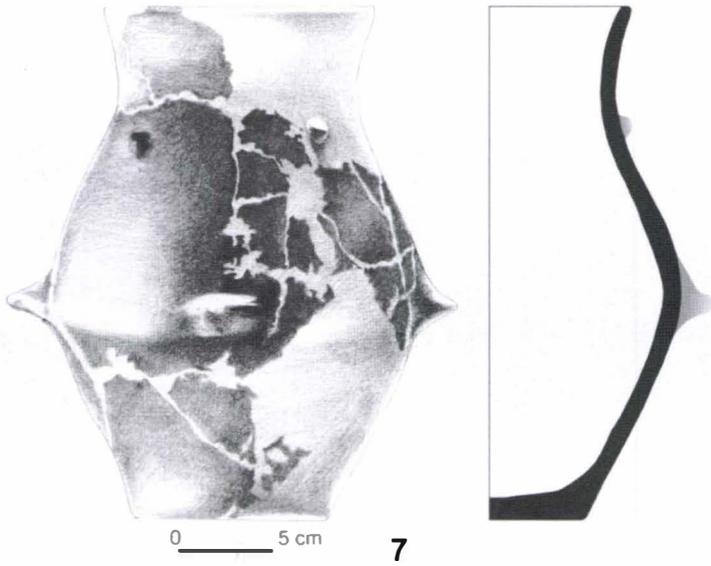
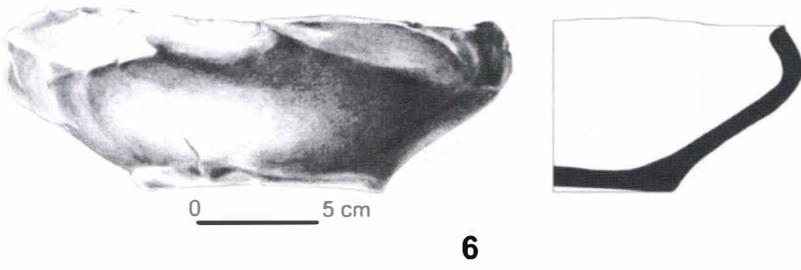
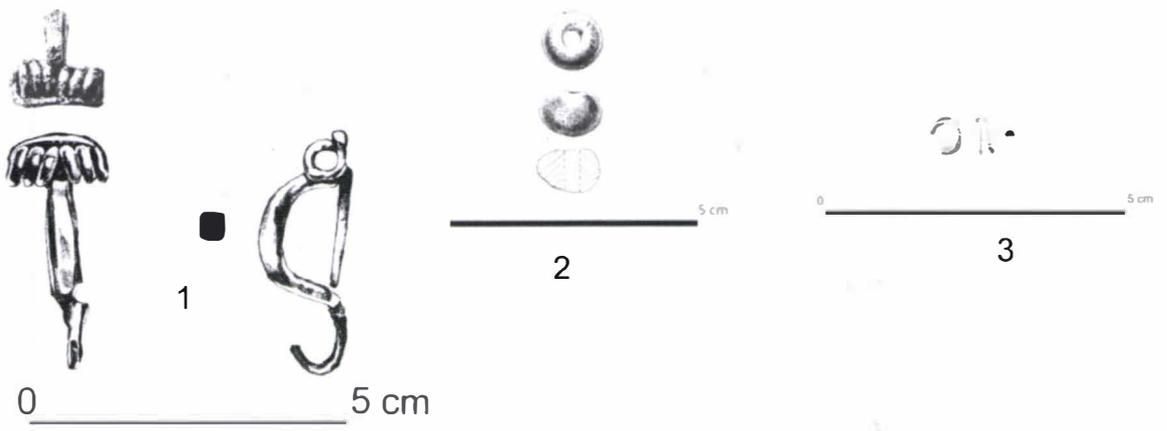


Fig. 8. Hunedoara-Grădina Castelului. C75Grave 34 (apud Roman, Luca 2012).

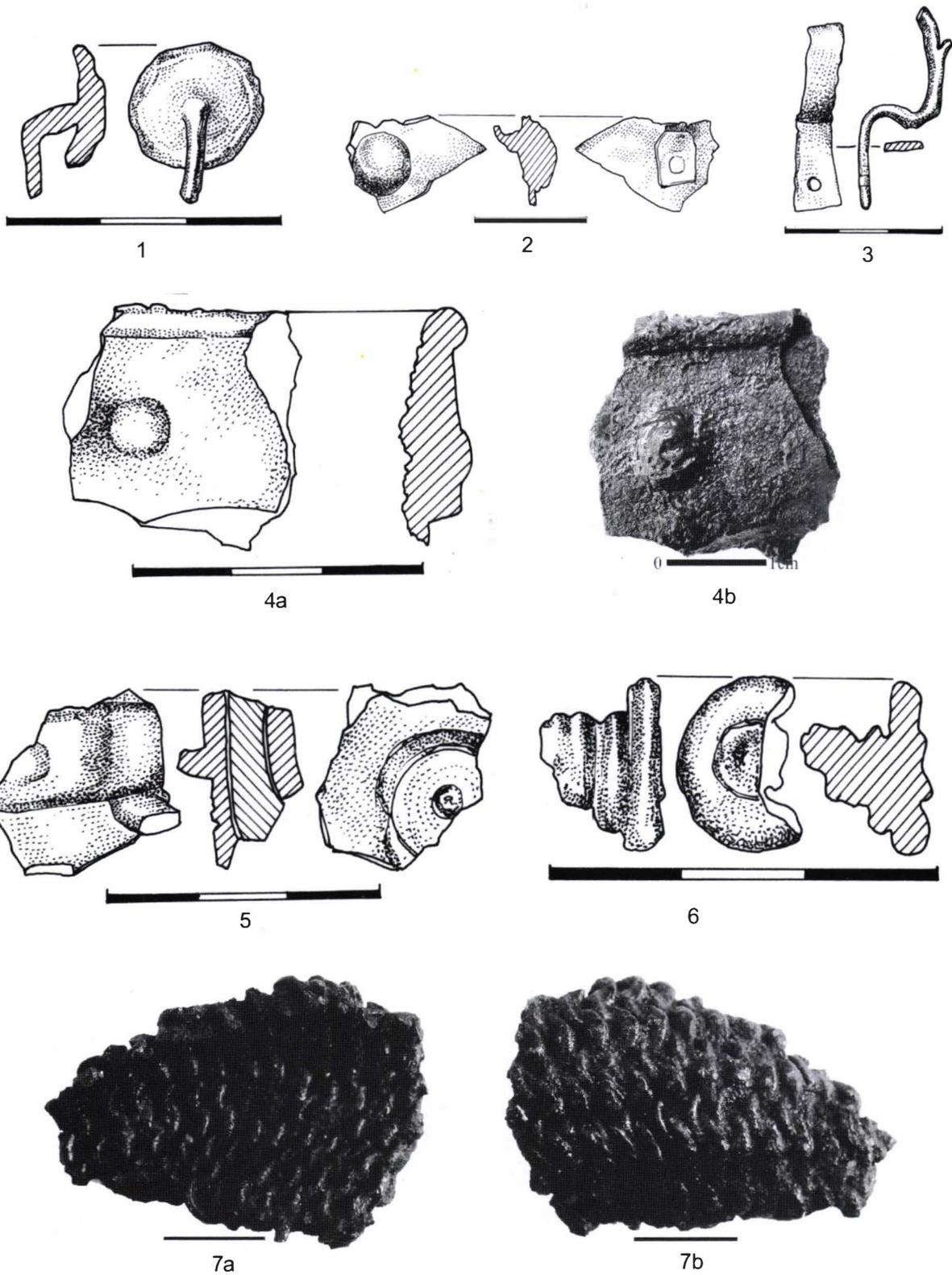


Fig. 9. Hunedoara-Grădina Castelului. C20Dep. 7 (apud Sîrbu et alii 2007).

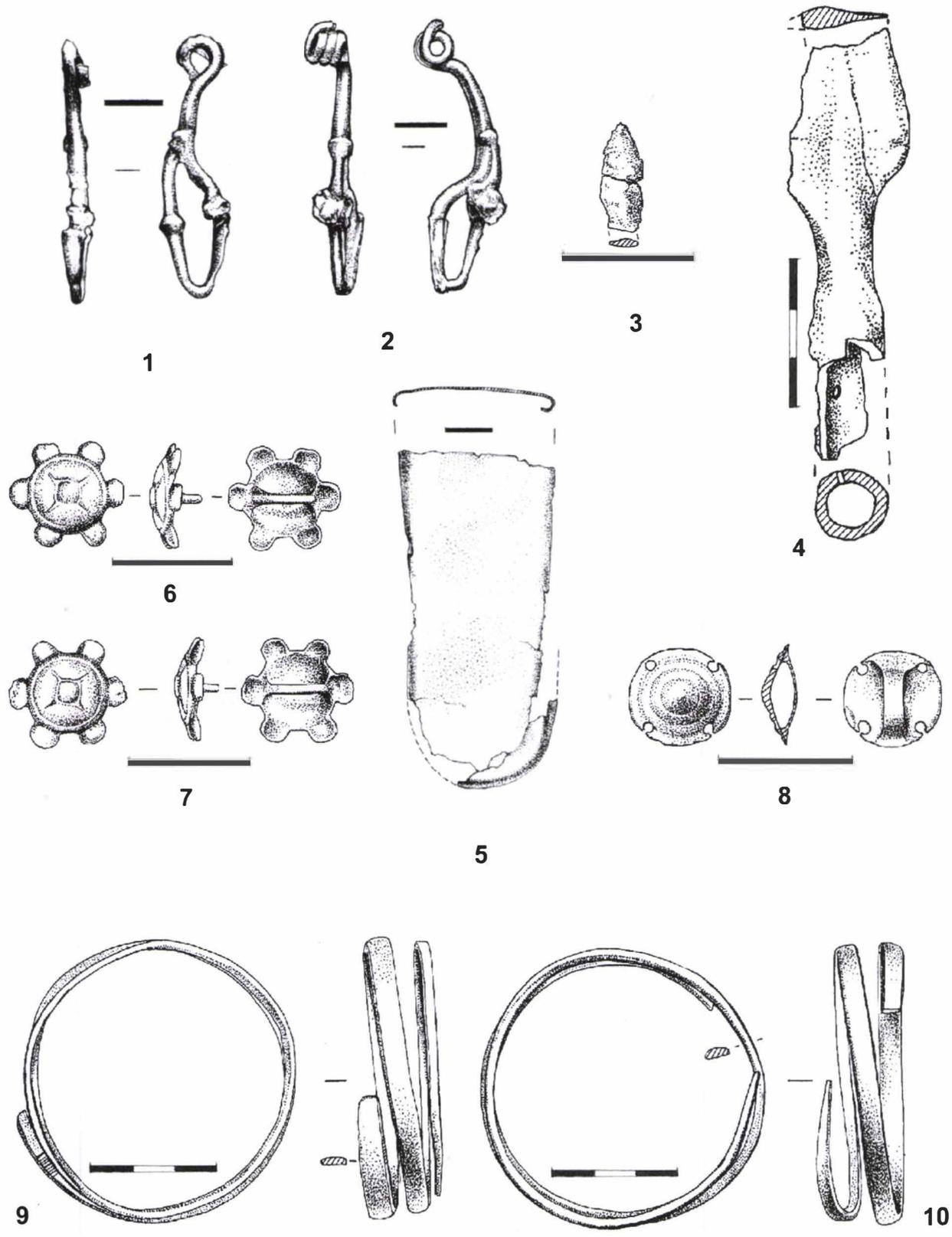


Fig. 10. Hunedoara-Grădina Castelului. 1-2 C46Dep. 6; 3-4 C24Dep. 4; 5. C21Dep. 2; 6-10. C25Dep. 5 (apud Sîrbu et alii 2007)

TWO AND THREE DIMENSIONAL ELECTRORESISTIVITY SURVEYS OF THRACIAN BURIAL MOUNDS

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Key words: Thrace, barrow, resistivity prospection, 2D ERT, 3D ERT

Abstract: Burial mounds are undoubtedly amongst the most remarkable monuments remaining from the times of the Thracians. That is why, reasonably, they have always been of special scholar interest since the dawn of Bulgarian archaeology. Geophysical surveys of Thracian barrows have also long history in Bulgaria. For a long time, however, they have been focused mainly on the discovery of large structures – monumental tombs. Development of geophysical equipment as well as of computer programming in recent years have allowed the technique of geophysical prospection to be improved and thus maximum useful information to be derived. This enhanced technique includes the joint application of routine electroresistivity and geomagnetic mapping supplemented now by the new opportunities provided by the continuous vertical electrical sounding (CVES) and, respectively, by the two and three dimensional inverse modelling known also as two and three dimensional resistivity tomography (2D and 3D ERT). First successful 2D ERT survey was performed on Svetitsa tumulus of Shipka necropolis where not only a stone grave was detected but its dimensions and depth beneath the surface were precisely determined. Inverse modelling indicated also that the grave had been probably built into an already raised tumulus embankment. In the present communication the potential of 2D ERT is illustrated with more examples of surveys of several Thracian barrows where wide range of structures has been detected and their characteristics successfully predicted: a stone tomb, stone heaps, crepises, primary mounds, etc. The only example of tumulus 3D ERT whose prognosis for the presence of a primary mound has been checked by subsequent archaeological excavations is also reported.

Geophysical prospection of Thracian burial mounds in Bulgaria has a long history. And it is quite reasonable. These are amongst the most numerous and attractive monuments remained in the Bulgarian lands from antiquity. Tumulus survey is not a routine procedure since it requires big depth of investigation so it lies on the boundary between archaeological and geological prospection. In this respect, several techniques have been tested: electroresistivity, geomagnetic, seismic, low and high frequency electromagnetic, etc. Ultimately, at this stage, the most powerful technique has appeared electroresistivity (or combination of resistivity and magnetic) survey. For a long time the resistivity prospection of Thracian barrows has been focused on the detection of big structures – tombs. First investigations have been performed by simple traversing or mapping with a single fixed electrode configuration. Subsequently, the surveys have been expanded by mapping with more electrode separations allowing respectively different depths of investigation. This manner of measurements, however, allows only qualitative or at best semiquantitative interpretation of the data. This means: detection of eventual disturbing body and determination of its approximate dimensions in plan but not the depth and the vertical dimensions. Nevertheless, several rich graves and tombs were detected, like those from the region of Kazanlak (Tonkov 1996).

The rapid development of geophysical equipment as well as of computer programs in the last two decades allowed the technique of resistivity prospection to be improved and thus the whole tumulus embankment to be more completely and precisely examined. This enhanced technique includes the joint application of common electroresistivity and geomagnetic mapping, supplemented now by the new opportunities provided by the continuous vertical electrical sounding (CVES) and, respectively, by the two and three dimensional inverse modelling known also as two and three dimensional resistivity tomography (2D and 3D ERT).

The essence of this technique consists of performing measurements along the traverses with several (ten or more) different separations of the selected electrode array and thus obtaining data for gradually increasing depth (fig. 1). Thereafter the data is processed by the so called inverse programs which as a result give the distribution of the true resistivity in depth (Loke 2010).

As an example of the two dimensional ERT can be given the traverse above the fortress wall of the Roman colony Deultum (fig. 2). At the top is the pseudosection of the measured apparent electrical resistivity. At the bottom is the calculated inverse model. In the middle is the pseudosection of apparent resistivity which would be measured at this inverse model. The indicator to what extent the model is correct is the RMS (the root mean square) error. In this particular case the value is about 1.4 percent which is pretty good. Collating several parallel traverses gives three dimensional model of the resistivity distribution.

The principal and reasonable surveying grid is the rectangular one. But it may be used only for lower mounds – with height up to 2-2.5 m. For the higher tumuli the grid distortion becomes greater and difficult to be removed. That is why for the larger mounds the radial grid, matching the characteristic axial symmetry of tumuli, is preferable. Unfortunately, in this case the resistivity tomography can be performed only in two- (sooner in two and a half) dimensional mode since the inverse programs available do not support such irregular surveying grid. In any case, the precise levelling of each electrode position along the traverses is required in order the programs to be able to correctly calculate the terrain corrections.

Below, the results of certain successful two and three dimensional resistivity tomography surveys on Thracian burial mounds, all verified by archaeological excavations, will be presented¹.

1. Momina mound at the village of Bratia Daskalovi.

It is about 7.5 m high with a diameter of some 50 m in diameter.

Resistivity mapping showed comparatively high and variable values. This spoke of an inhomogeneous embankment with very high content of gravel and boulders. Inverse models revealed a tomb south of the tumulus centre as well as two elongated stone heaps in front of it. The tomb's dimension in south-north direction was about 3.5 m. It was interesting that the inverse model does not detect a roof, but only the front and rear walls (fig. 3). The archaeological excavations unearthed both the stone heaps and the stone tomb and confirmed that the roof had been destroyed (fig. 4) (ТОНКОВА 2011).

2. Chitashkata mound at the village of Bratia Daskalovi.

It is about 7 m high with a diameter of some 40 m in diameter. Both the mapping and inverse models spoke of a homogeneous tumulus embankment built of earth with high clay and sandy content. The inverse models revealed also that the mound was encircled by a stone krepis that was revealed later on by the excavations (figs. 5, 6). The excavations revealed also an artificial stone heap with diameter 4-5 meters and height of about 1 m situated in the centre at the base of the mound (Димитров 2011) that was not detected by the resistivity prospecting. Obviously, a feature with such dimensions at so great depth, about 7 meters, is beyond the potential of geophysics.

3. Kaakochova mound at the village of Bratia Daskalovi.

It is about 2.5 m high with a diameter of some 25 m in diameter.

The resistivity mapping did not detect any anomalous feature except the shallow occurring bedrock. In contrast, the inverse model through the centre revealed a very low resistivity zone at the base slightly south of the centre (fig. 7). The prediction was for the

¹ The first successful application of 2D ERT performed on the Svetitsa mound, where a rich fifth century built BC grave was detected, had been already reported (Tonkov, Loke 2006)

existence of a primary mound with very high clay content of the earth. The excavations discovered such primary mound and beneath it a thick burial pyre with lots of funeral offerings (Тонкова, Димитров 2011). In this case, it may be supposed that this very intensive negative anomaly is produced not only by the primary mound but rather by the burial pyre and, respectively, by the sharp rise of the medium conductivity due to the high carbon content similarly to the possessing electronic conductivity charcoal (Франтов, Пинкевич 1966, p. 84), graphite or coal schists (Пищалов 1976, p. 18), a phenomenon that gives another unexpected practical result.

4. Tumulus 1 at the village of Granit near Bratia Daskalovi.

It is about 3 m high with a diameter of some 35 m.

Resistivity mapping detected a low magnitude positive anomaly slightly southwest from the centre. The inverse models outlined an isometric high resistivity feature in the base, about 3 m in diameter, 1 meter height, the top side at 1 meter from the surface (fig. 8). Most likely it is a stone heap. The mound has not been a subject of archaeological excavations. But last year grave robbers made a trench and obviously reached the stone heap (fig. 9). Thankfully, they were stopped in time and the trench was immediately refilled.

5. Tumulus 1 at the village of Krushare.

It is about 6 m high with a diameter of some 50 m.

The mapping did not register any local anomaly except a broad low resistivity zone in the centre of the mound. The inverse models outlined by its very low resistance a big feature, most likely a primary mound with diameter about 15 meters and height of about 2.5 m (fig. 10), which might indirectly indicate the existence of a primary grave. The excavation carried out later on confirmed this prediction and discovered both the mound and a primary grave (Димитрова *et alii* 2010).

6. Thracian burial mound at the town of Опака.

It was about 2.5 m high with a diameter of some 30 m in diameter.

Its dimensions were not very clear because it situated on a slope and it had been subjected to modern interventions.

The survey of the tumulus at the village of Опака for the first time made use of 3D ERT on burial mound applying dipole-dipole array.

In fact, there is only one example of 3D ERT of one small tumulus from North Greece performed by a team from the Korean Institute of Geoscience and the University of Thessaloniki a couple of years ago (Papadopoulos *et alii* 2010). They have used the so called three- (or half-Schlumberger) electrode array. But I am not aware if in this case excavations have been carried out there and the geophysical results have been checked up.

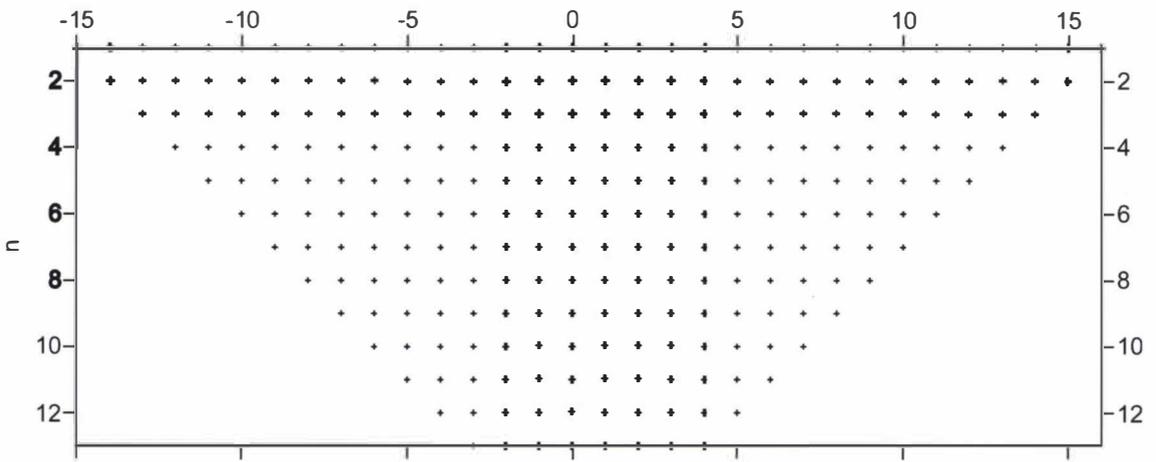
Our surveying grid was rectangular with density 1x1 m. The measurements were carried out with ten different lengths of the dipole-dipole array. The inverse modelling was performed both in two-dimensional mode along each single traverse and in three-dimensional mode of the whole data available. The results of the 2D modelling showed that the thickness of tumulus embankment did not exceed 2 m (fig. 11). The result of the 3D inverse modelling outlined a primary tumulus just east of the centre of the mound (fig. 12). Such tumulus was really unveiled by the subsequent archaeological excavations. It was erected over two graves with cremations in pits dug into the ground (Русев, Стаменов 2012). The elongated anomaly at the south periphery of the grid may be caused by the border line between the surrounding terrain and the tumulus embankment but in any case it must not be taken into account because the measurement points there are not enough so the three dimensional inverse modelling is not completely correct. The performed comparisons showed that in this case 3D ERT gave much better results than 2D (along every single profile) and therefore it has to be always applied in appropriate conditions, i. e. on tumuli 2-3 meters high.

The achieved results at this stage of research allow some directions to be drawn regarding the development of resistivity prospecting of Thracian burial mounds. These are primarily in the application of 3D ERT on all funeral tumuli including big ones. In this respect, both the acceleration of measurement process and the overall prospecting quality forces the use of multichannel resistivimeters, like those already applied in geological survey, as well as of the so called optimized electrode arrays (Stummer *et alii* 2004; Wilkinson *et alii* 2006) and, respectively, more advanced inverse programs for data processing.

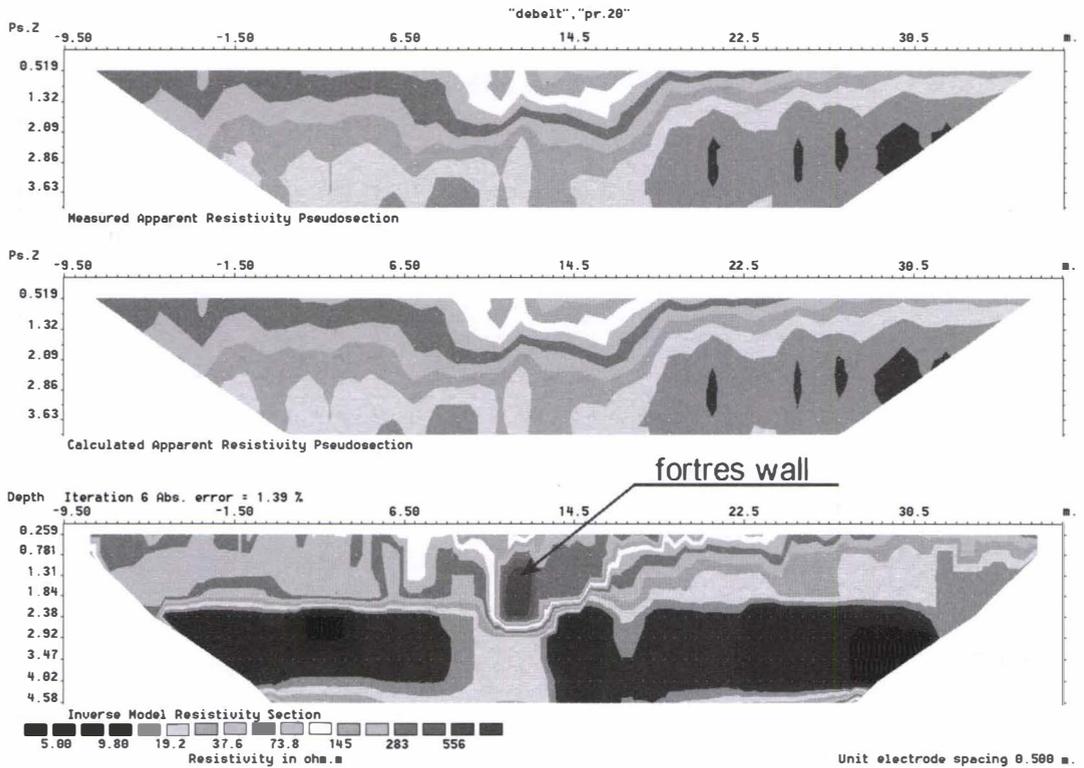
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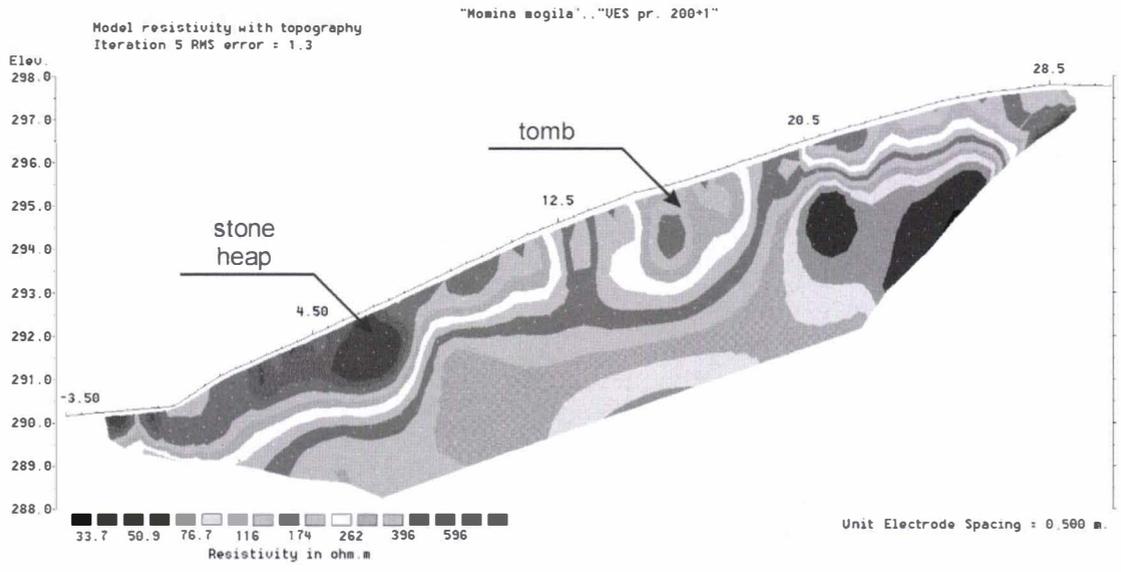
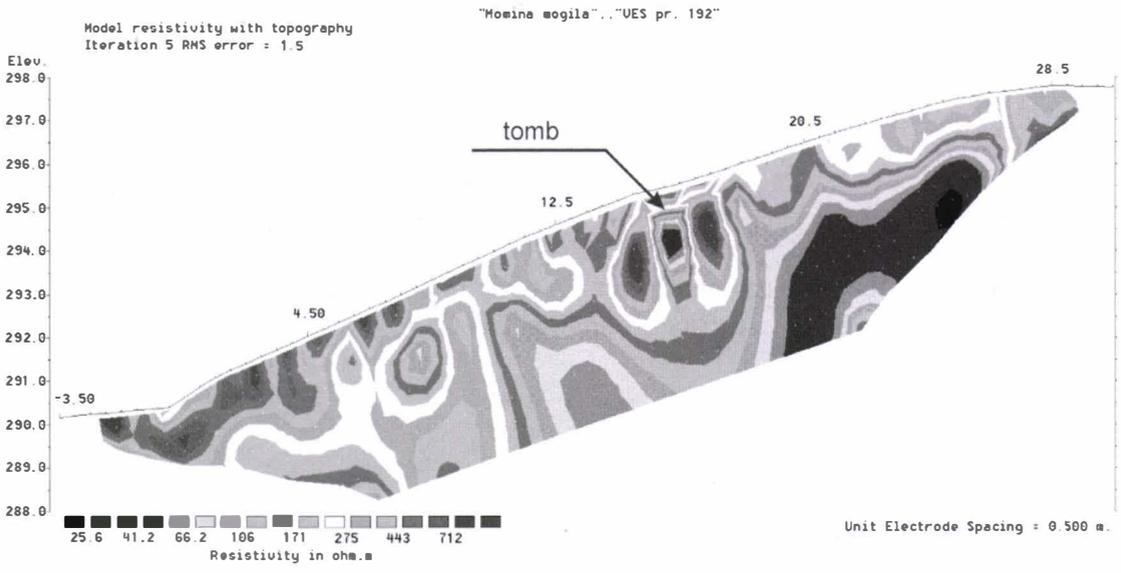
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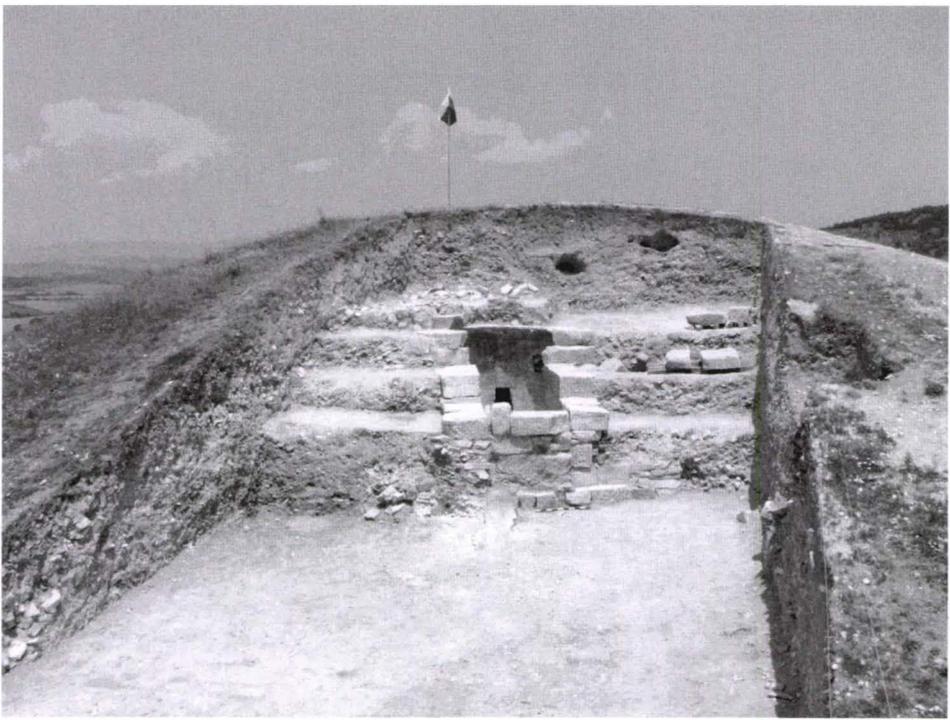
1. Scheme of the measurement points in two dimensional continuous vertical electrical sounding (2D CVES)



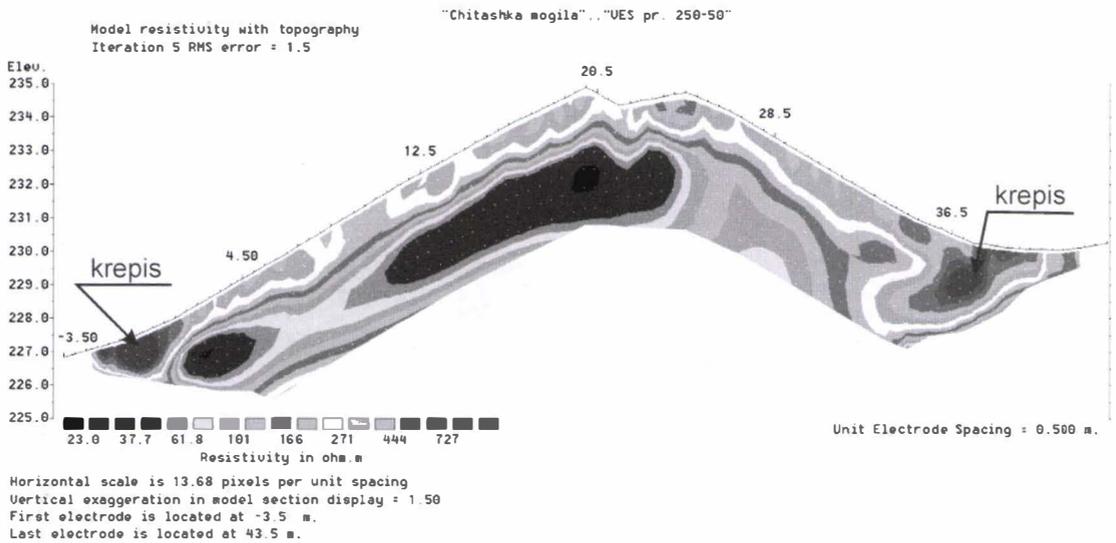
2. Roman colony Deultum. Results of the two dimensional inverse modelling.



3. Momina mound. 2D inverse resistivity models.



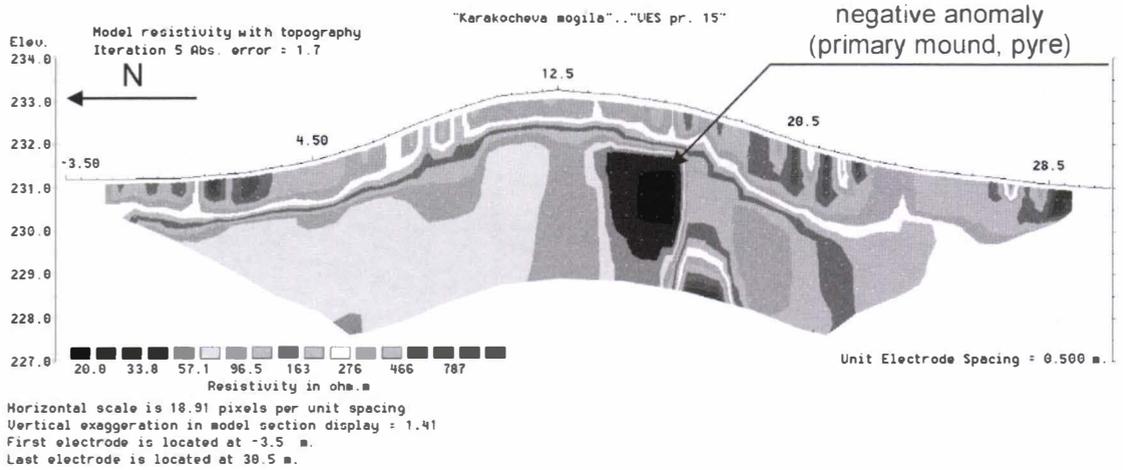
4. The stone tomb in Momina mound.



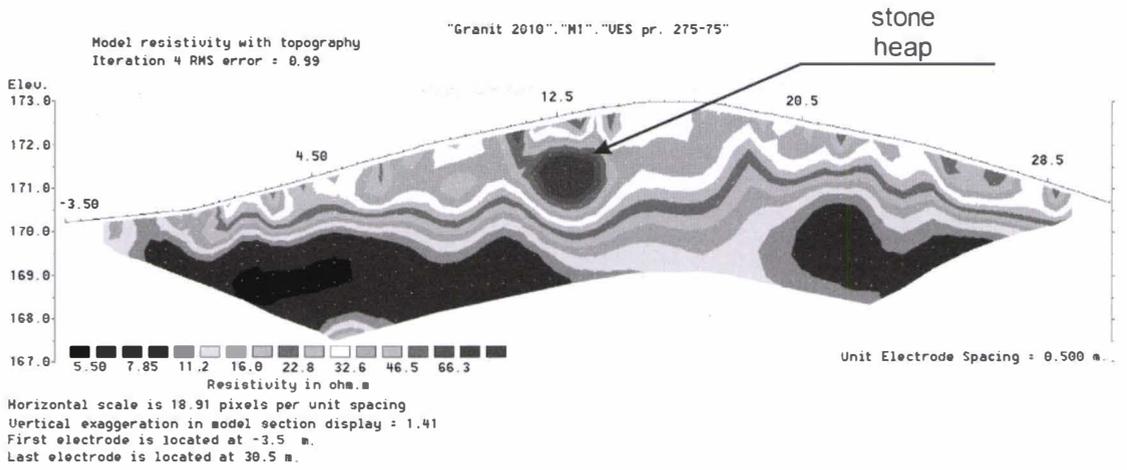
5. Chitaskata mound. 2D inverse model.



6. The stone krepis in Chitashkata mound.



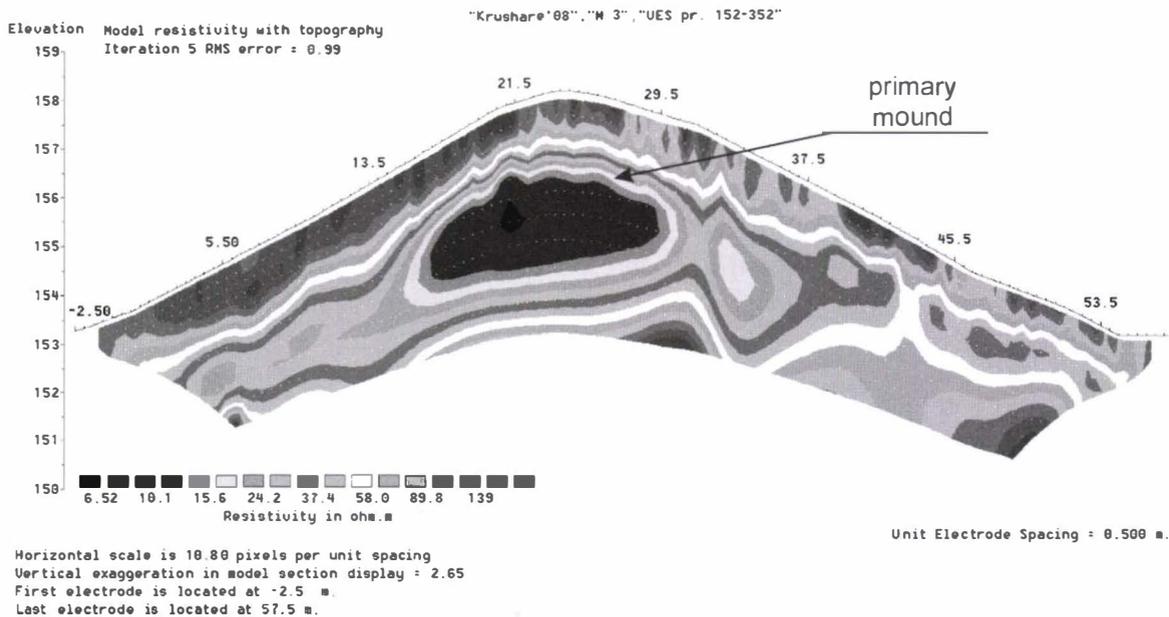
7. Karakochova mound. 2D inverse model.



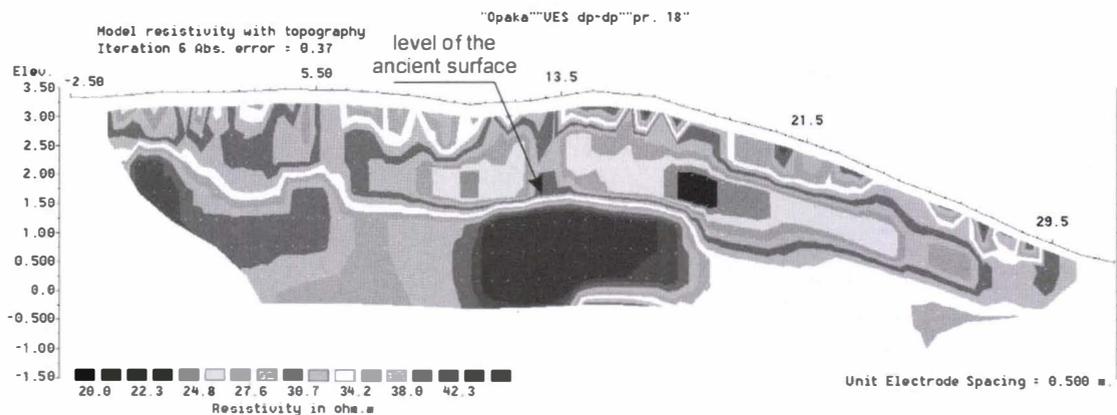
8. Granit I mound. 2D inverse model.



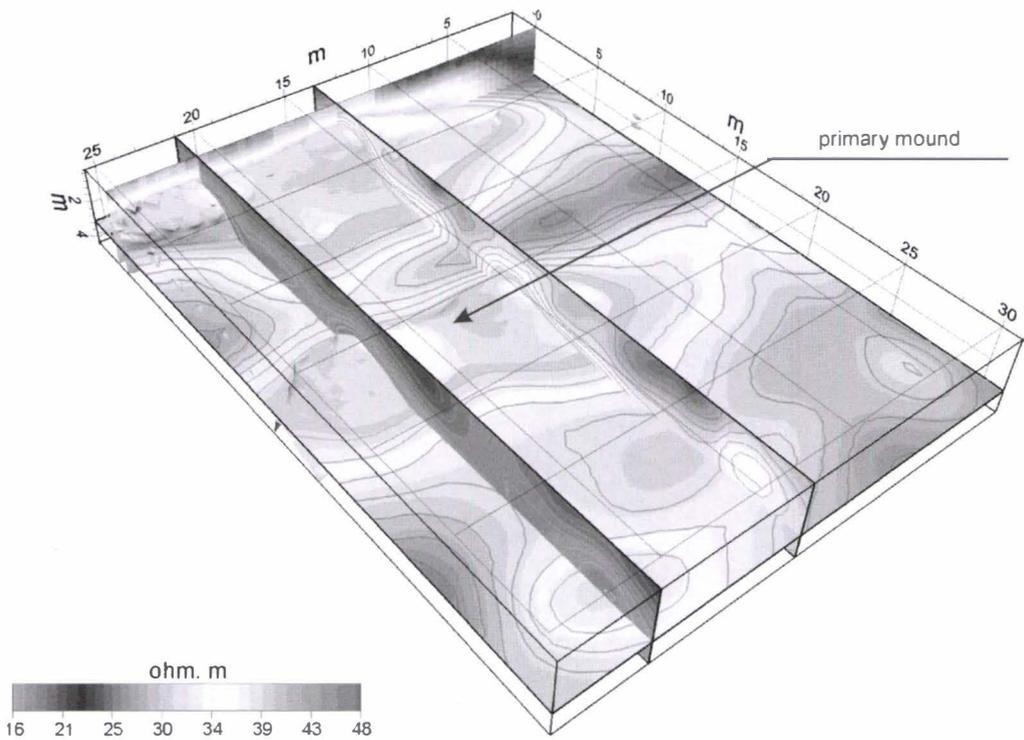
9. The stone heap reached by the grave robber's trench.



10. Tumulus 1 at the village of Krushare. 2D inverse model.



11. Tumulus at the town of Opaka.
2D inverse model along a traverse through the centre of the mound.



12. Tumulus at the town of Opaka.
3D view of the results of the 3D inverse resistivity modelling.

GOLD WREATHS FROM THRACE

Milena Tonkova (Sofia – Bulgaria)

Key-words. gold wreaths, chronology, types, function, Thrace.

Abstract. The present study examines the time of appearance, types, distribution and function of the gold wreaths from Thrace. The focus falls on finds from inner Thrace, within present-day Bulgarian territory. The wreaths of the second half of the 4th and early 3rd century BC are examined in detail and the perspective of the study on wreaths of 1st century BC – 1st-2nd century AD is outlined. The wreaths are analyzed in their original archaeological context as well as in relation to iconographic monuments depicting wreaths. Epigraphic evidence is also adduced and the necessary comparison with the wreaths of bronze and clay is made.

Written sources testify to use of gold wreaths in the diplomatic relations of Thrace ever since the first half of the 4th century BC. According to speech of Demosthenes (Demosthen. XXIII, 118) the beginning of the reign of Kotys I (ca. 383/382 BC) was celebrated with awarding of gold wreaths and granting of Athenian citizenship, a symbol of alliance concluded with Athens (Порожанов 2011, с. 218 and ref. cited). In archaeological context, however, the gold wreaths are encountered at a later date – after the middle of the 4th century BC.

Gold wreaths are encountered in very rich graves of Thracian aristocrats dated to the third quarter of the 4th century BC, the last quarter of the 4th and the early 3rd century BC. In this respect Thrace makes no exception compared with other Greek and non-Greek territories where gold wreaths are very often met at that time, as is the case in Southern Greece and Central Macedonia, Asia Minor, Southern Italy, Northern Black Sea coast. Their distribution is associated with the new ideas and the flourishing of jewellery during the reigns of Philip II, Alexander III the Great and their successors (Tsigarida 2006, p. 139-140). Olive and laurel wreaths, a wreath of oak leaves as well as a gold leaf from a supposed ivy wreath have so far been found in Thrace. Gold twigs and separate leaves and fruits that could be parts either of gold wreaths or of wreaths made of ring of perishable material are also discovered.

Gold wreaths were not evidenced in Thrace over the following centuries, from the second quarter of the 3rd to the 2nd century BC. They reappeared in rich Thracian graves of the 1st century BC and the early 1st century AD on the Black Sea coast and later in rich tumular graves of the 1st and 2nd century AD in inner Thrace.

I. Gold wreaths of the second half of the 4th and early 3rd century BC from Thrace

Distribution

The representative tufted wreaths made entirely of gold and composed of two branches, leaves and fruits joined together by a ring are discovered in extremely rich tombs of Thracian kings and aristocrats mainly in land of the Odrysians (Fig. 1). Gold olive wreath is found in Golyamata Mogila tumulus located between the villages of Malomirovo and Zlatinitsa, Elhovo region, in the Tundza valley (Agre 2011). Two gold laurel wreaths and parts of other specimens are encountered in four rich tumular graves at Rozovets, on the southern slopes of Sarnena gora mountain (Шкорпил, Шкорпил 1898, с. 123-128). Magnificent gold oak wreath comes from one of the most monumental tombs in Thrace, in Golyamata Kosmatka tumulus near the town of Shipka in Kazanlak kettle (Kitov 2005, p. 68-97). The widely-known chamber tomb of Naip Tumulus at Tekirdag, on the northern Marmara Sea coast, in

which a gold wreath is found, is also related to a funeral of a representative of the Odrysian dynasty (Delemen 2004; Delemen 2006).

Parts of gold wreaths (or of wreaths of gold leaves and a ring of perishable material) are also known from the Odrysian territory. The olive wreath from tumular grave located in the vicinity of Strelcha village, from which gold leaves and berries are preserved (Цончев 1963, с. 37), could probably be related to the last-mentioned type. The discovery of gold twigs and leaves of gold laurel wreath from a rich burial at Kabyle has recently been announced (Стоянов et al. 2010). Such are found in Ploska tumulus near Shipka (Китов et al. 2006). Only pieces of wreaths are encountered in two of the above-mentioned tumuli at Rozovets.

The gold wreaths discovered so far in the land of the Triballi represent an exception, being attested by the well-known laurel wreath from tomb II of Mogilanska mogila tumulus near Vratsa in Western Predbalkan Mountain (Венедиков 1975; Торбов 2005). A gold ivy leaf belonging to grave goods found in Resilovo village, Dupnitsa region, the upper stream of Struma river, is likely to leave trace evidence for such a wreath (Тонкова 1992). There are data about one gold wreath from the territory of the Getae – it is known that it was found in a tumulus in the early 20th century along with ornate gold horse-harness appliqué from the so-called Kavarna Treasure dated to the early 3rd century BC (Минчев 1975, с. 137). G. Seure (1924, p. 337) also reports on a wreath of gold leaves discovered in Mapes locality at the vicinity of the town of Sozopol.

More wreaths have probably been found in the numerous Thracian tumuli in Bulgaria destroyed by treasure hunters in the last years. Gold olive wreath and another one of ivy leaves discovered in unclear archaeological context are part of the Vasil Bozhkov Collection (Мапазов 2011, с. 181, 182, кат. 137, 138).

Context and chronology

Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa. The recent discoveries made in Golyamata Mogila tumulus, located between the villages of Malomirovo and Zlatinitsa, Elhovo region are among the most important contributions to the study of Thracian burial rites, moreover they are published quickly and comprehensively (Agre 2011). An imposing and exquisite gold olive wreath with Nike figurine on the forehead belongs to the numerous grave goods found in this burial complex fascinating for the wealth of its content (Fig. 2a, b). Its place of discovery is on the skull of a young man¹ along with ornate gold appliqué, a gold seal-ring with circular bezel and depicted investiture scene² (Fig. 3), and a silver greave bearing an image of the Thracian Great Goddess. They are found together with expensive bronze and silver sets including silver-gilt rhyton, phiales and oinochoes, horse-harness appliqué and full range of weaponry. Many red-figure (Fig. 4) and black-glazed (Fig. 5) vessels and amphorae among the burial gifts, typical of the second quarter and the middle of the 4th century BC, give the discoverer D. Agre grounds to refer the burial to the middle of the 4th century BC (Agre 2011, p. 210).

In the present study the dating of the Greek luxury pottery and amphorae to the second quarter – mid-4th century BC (Agre 2011, p. 178-179, 187 and ref. cited) is taken as a *terminus post quem* for the burial itself on the basis of which the complex is referred to the third quarter of the 4th century BC at the earliest. According to the arguments adduced here, the gold decorations – a wreath, a ring, ornamented plates, and also the greave and horse harness decoration are among the burial finds of a later date and can be assigned to the third

¹ According to the anthropological analysis, the skeleton belongs to a 18-20-year-old man (Agre 2011, p. 22 and Appendix 1)

² D. Agre assumes the possibility that another ceremony could be depicted too – grandly welcoming the ruler with phiale full of wine (Agre 2011, p. 40-44).

quarter of the century at the earliest. Grounds are sought both in date of the finds themselves and in chronology of the burial complexes which present the best basis for comparison with Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa complex: the rich burials from Rozovets, Vratsa, Adzhigiol, Tekirdag, Derveni, the royal tombs II and III at Vergina, etc. dated to the third and mainly to the last quarter of the 4th century BC.

One of my arguments for suggesting later date of the Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa complex is the presence of a gold wreath composed of ring and two branches. The spread of this wreath type is referred to the second half of the 4th century BC (Tsigarida 2006, p. 139-140). There are wreaths dated to the middle of the 4th century BC, but they either belong to different category, or their date is to be specified. Samples from Tarentum are middle and third quarter of the 4th century BC in date, but these are funeral wreaths of silver-gilt or gilt-bronze and clay (Masiello 1986, 75). The wreath from Kekuvatski kurgan, discovered along with red-figure pelike of 360 BC, is referred to the middle of the 4th century BC, however it is almost identical with a wreath from Bolshaya Bliznitsa kurgan of the last third of the century (Williams, Ogden 1994, p. 165, no. 105; p. 181, no. 115). The gold wreath from "Pappas" tumulus, grave 3 at Sevasti in Pieria (Northern Greece), initially dated to the mid-4th century BC (Vokotopoulou 1988, 159, No 203), was later referred to the third quarter of the 4th century BC (Ignatiadu, Tsigarida 2008, 65, fig. 62). Given the updated date of the rich Macedonian graves at Derveni to the last quarter of the 4th century BC, it was also proposed for grave 2 of the same Sevasti tumulus (Themelis, Touratsoglou 1997, 221-222), implying a possible later date of the grave with the wreath. It also seems that the most famous wreath considered an early gold wreath from the so-called tomb of Philip II at Vergina, more likely comes from a complex of the last quarter of the 4th century BC, according to many arguments in favour of this later date (Borza, Palagia 2007). The examples provided show that the initial date – mid-4th century BC of occurrence of the gold wreaths is provisional. The dated complexes with gold tufty wreaths are rather typical of the second half of the 4th century BC and especially of the last quarter of the century and later. Similar, in my opinion, is the picture of their distribution in Thrace. The Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa wreath is among the earliest and most rarely occurring wreaths originating from complexes with Greek pottery dated to the mid-4th century BC and can be referred to the third quarter of the century.

The ring from Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa has circular bezel and as indicated by D. Agre (2011, p. 44), it refers to type IX of the J. Boardman classification with time distribution after the middle of the 4th century BC (Boardman 1970, p. 214). This is also confirmed by the well-known finds from Thrace. The rings from Rozovets (Fig. 7) and Resilovo (Fig. 16) in terms of their shape are also assigned to that time (cf. complexes analyzed below).

As pointed out in the publication of D. Agre, the silver greave relates the burial from Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa to the well-known prince's grave from Adzhigiol, which is referred to the middle - third quarter of the 4th century BC after many years of discussion (Măndescu 2010, p. 389). This concerns also the gold ornate plates, the greave and the horse-harness decoration relating the complex to tomb II of Mogilanska Mogila tumulus at the town of Vratsa, as well as the rhyton and the seal-ring having parallels in the rich grave with a wreath from the tomb of the big tumulus at Rozovets. Although the latter, in turn, contain finds datable to that time, there are more reasons for them, to be referred to the last quarter of the 4th century BC, as will be mentioned below.

Rozovets, tumuli at Mogilkite and Nenovets localities. The discoveries made a century and a half ago in Mogilkite locality near Rozovets are comprehensively discussed in the publications of H. and K. Škorpil (Шкорпил, Шкорпил 1898, с. 123-128), B. Filov (Филов 1934, с. 158-162, 164-166, 192), and N. Theodossiev (2005). All data for this significant necropolis are collected and the full information about graves' inventory of the

rich warrior burials found there, containing magnificent gold laurel wreaths, seem to have been derived from the scarce evidence. They are discovered in a domed tomb in the big tumulus, in the southern and northern tumuli (the designation of the tumuli are given after Филов 1934, 163), as well as in a tumulus located in another locality – Nenovets. According to the oral and written evidence collected, whole gold wreaths come from the big and the southern tumuli, “two gold leaves of a wreath” are found in the smallest northern tumulus, and “three gold leaves with one small ball” of a wreath (?) are stated to be found in the tumulus at Nenovets locality (Шкорпил, Шкорпил 1898, с. 124-128). These are inhumation burials, as it is mentioned that in the southern tumulus the wreath is put on a silver helmet, which in turn is on (?) the head of the deceased (Шкорпил, Шкорпил 1898, с. 127). What have reached us from a rich grave inventory composed of weaponry, bronze and silver vessels, gold jewellery etc. are also parts of a gold wreath (Fig. 6. a, b, c), which B. Filov assumes to come from the big tumulus, a silver rhyton with mythological scene from the southern tumulus (both findings are now kept in the National Archaeological Museum, Sofia), while he finds out that the gold ring with circular bezel and investiture scene (Fig. 7) from the big tumulus is preserved in the Cabinet des médailles in Paris (Филов 1934, с. 160-166, 192). The Rozovets burial is dated “not later than the first half of the 4th century BC” (Филов 1934, с. 231). Grounds referring the wreath and the ring to the second half of the 4th century BC were found later, as the difficulty in determining whether the burial belongs to the third or to the last quarter of the 4th century BC was pointed out (Иванова 1988, с. 3-6, 14-15; Tonkova 1997, p. 21-23). In the most recent detailed study on these complexes and on the gold laurel wreath and the seal-ring in particular, N. Theodossiev (2005, p. 679-682) brings forward many arguments in favour of their dating after the middle of the 4th century BC, considering the burial in the tomb of the big tumulus to be of the second half of the 4th century BC and the wreath itself of the third quarter of the 4th century BC. The main argument for the date of the complex is the shape of the Rozovets ring which he refers to type XI, one of the varieties of the rings with circular bezel spread in the second half of the 4th century BC according to the classification of J. Boardman (1970, 214).

Taking a detailed look at the descriptions of Škorpil brothers, I am inclined to think that there exist well-founded reasons to date the Rozovets burials later, in the last quarter of the 4th century BC. These are the following: the presence of a domed tomb with a stone door “composed of two plates” in the big tumulus (Филов 1934, с.160), probably of corbel-domed tholos type (Theodossiev 2005, p. 679), rather points at the end of the century and even later, when most of the tombs of this type localized in this area are dated (Стоянова 2008; Stoyanova 2011; Stoyanov, Stoyanova in print)³. What also makes impression is the content of the grave inventory listed by Škorpil brothers encompassing many bronze and silver vessels – phialai and cups with handles, probably kylixes or kantharoi according to H. Theodossiev (2005, p. 679) and only few ceramic vessels, but there is no mention of Greek painted or black-glazed pottery, a gift typical of the rich burials in Thrace of the third quarter of the 4th century BC (cf. e.g. Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa complex). Preference for metal vessels in the grave inventory and absence of Greek fine wares can be observed in another well-known early Hellenistic tomb in Thrace – the domed tomb in Maltepe tumulus at Mezek (Филов 1937, с. 20-75; Stoyanov 2005, p. 126-127) and in the burial tomb of Golyamata Kosmatka tumulus near Shipka, where besides bronze vessels there is also a drinking set of gold and silver (phialai, a jug and a gold bowl-kantharos) (Fig. 14) (Kitov 2005, p. 81-84, fig. 119, 120, 124, 125). Similar regularity in the choice of burial gifts, replacing the ceramic

³ B. Filov (Филов 1934, с. 160) also found similar features in the structure of both architectural complexes dated only to that time, Mezek and Rozovets are far earlier in date.

drinking wares by more expensive vessels made of silver, is considered typical of the rich Macedonian tombs of the late 4th century BC (Themelis, Touratsoglou 1997, p. 210-213). In terms of complex's date the assumption of B. Filov (Филов 1934, с. 160) that one of the described vessels was a patera with handle with ram's head, is of interest. Paterae of this type are characteristic of the burial complexes of the late 4th century BC. Such are found in many places in Thrace and beyond, as shown below, cf. the comment about Shipka and Resilovo complexes of the late 4th century BC. Among the items included in the tomb inventory of the southern tumulus, Škorpil brothers (Шкорпил, Шкорпил 1898, с. 127) report for the presence of iron candelabrum (three-legged), and there is also another (made of bronze) found in the tomb at Mezek. Such is encountered in tomb II of Mogilanska Mogila at Vratsa as well, where, the burial could also be related to the last third of the 4th century BC.

Vratsa, tomb II of the Mogilanska Mogila tumulus. A gold laurel wreath (Fig. 8) is found in another rich burial symbolic for Thrace – in tomb II of the well-known Mogilanska Mogila tumulus near Vratsa (Торбов 2005, с. 46-47, кат. 31, Табла VI/1, XIX/1). The wreath is similar to the sample discovered in the Rozovets tomb and is one of the most impressive and finely worked gold wreaths. It is found on the skull of a young woman's skeleton. The unusual body posture – lying face down with legs wide apart, leads the discoverers to suggest that it was a sacrifice. Gold earrings and ornate gold plates, gold pendants of a necklace, gold buttons and glass beads are found as well (Торбов 2005, с. 12-13). There is no skeleton of a man in the tomb. For that reason the arms – a sword and a quiver with arrows, a bronze helmet, spears, silver-gilt greave with an image of the Thracian Great Goddess are related to a supposed symbolic burial of the ruler (Торбов 2005, с. 40-42). Sets of bronze and silver vessels and an iron candelabrum can be indicated among the burial gifts. The date of tomb II of Mogilanska Mogila, like the date of every exceptionally rich burial complex is still a subject of debate since this significant find has been discovered. Besides the black-glazed kylix of the second quarter of the 4th century BC (Fig. 9) (Торбов 2005, с. 13, 85-86, кат. 75, табло XIII/3) or the bronze and silver vessels of the decades around the middle of the century there are also finds in this complex which distribution should be rather referred to the last quarter of the 4th century BC. These are some of the gold jewellery (pair of scaphoid earrings of Ionic type, amphora-shaped pendants, etc.) and also the “Thracian type” fibulae, silver beads with a human mask (Fig. 10) (Торбов 2005, с. 69, кат. 26, табла V/3, XVIII, 3), glass beads among which amulets of a satyr's head (Fig. 11) (Торбов 2005, с. 12, 57-58, кат. 51-58, табло VII,15), as well as other funeral elements of the same date.

Different opinions on the date of the wreath and the complex are expressed in the scientific literature since they have been found. At first the Vratsa wreath was dated to the first half of the 4th century BC, while the burial itself is referred to the first half or the middle (Николов 1967, с. 12; Венедиков 1975, с. 12), the third quarter (Alexandrescu 1983, p. 48) or the second half of the 4th century BC (Иванова 1988, 3-6, с. 14-15; Tonkova 1997, p. 21-23), or the late 4th to early 3rd century BC (Тачева 1987, с. 6). Recently, the whole complex was thoroughly analyzed again and dated by N.Theodossiev (2000, p. 33-36) and N. Torbov (2005). The last study is particularly valuable for publishing all the research results of Mogilanska Mogila with full range of field situations and grave inventory presented, considering previously expressed opinions and providing detailed analysis of the findings. Recently, the complex has been analyzed again by E. Teleaga и D. Măndescu. The burial of tomb II is dated to 370 BC by E. Teleaga (2008, S. 51), to 350-320 BC by N. Theodossiev (2000, p. 36) and to “the last decades of the 4th century BC” is maintained in the chronology of the rich Thracian burials to the north of Stara Planina Mountain recently presented by D. Măndescu (2010, p. 390-395).

N. Torbov refers the funeral to the early Hellenistic period on the basis of the analysis of the entire inventory of tomb II (Торбов 2005, p. 95). He has grounds for that taking into consideration the analysis of the gold ornaments from the burial (Торбов 2005, с. 46-55) and the silver pendants with a human mask (Тонкова 2003, с. 218-220), the time of distribution of the glass beads in Thrace and the amulets with an image of satyr from Thrace in particular (Торбов 2005, с. 57-58)⁴, the date of the rare complexes with chariots in Thrace (Торбов 2005, с. 71-72)⁵ and of the burials with candelabra (Торбов 2005, с. 87-88) discovered in tombs related, in turn, most commonly to the late 4th century BC and later. Because of the combination between late Classical elements and such later in date, the burial of tomb II, in my opinion, should be dated to the last quarter of the 4th century BC.

Strelcha. Forty elongated olive leaves and four fruits (Fig. 12) are preserved from the wreath (after Kisiov 2004, p. 8). The wreath belongs to the inventory of a burial complex discovered in 1950 in a tumulus, located northeast of the well-known Zhaba Mogila near Strelcha (Цончев 1963, с. 37). The tumulus, piled up with river stones and earth, was quite lowered and the grave was partly cut into the rock. Besides the elements of a gold wreath, it contains “silver vase (without handle) the neck of which is decorated with two rows of Ionic кума, two handles of a bronze bucket and a part of its mouth shaped as lion’s head; metal parts of a bridle, two amphorae of local type broken into pieces” (Цончев 1963, с. 37)⁶. D. Tsonchev dated the burial to the 3rd century BC. Later on, Venedikov (1977, с. 69, 97) referred this burial to the period of the reign of Alexander the Great and Lysimachus based on the bridle, the silver vase and the situla, the latter considered to be of a characteristic for Thracia type. The situla with lion-head spout having numerous parallels in Thrace and beyond is the most informative in terms of the burial dating. Among the reliably dated complexes with similar finds may be mentioned the rich tombs of the late 4th century BC in Malkata Mogila tumulus near Shipka (Китов 1994, с. 53-54, 70, кат. № II 23) and tomb B at Derveni, Northern Greece related to the same time (Themelis, Touratsoglou 1997. p. 73, 194 – 195, B29). Such date could also be accepted for Strelcha burial complex – the last quarter of the 4th century BC. Strelcha burial, already described, is associated through a sensational find with the widely-known silver skyphos with embossed decorative belt of female heads discovered years later in a complex closely related to the examined grave.⁷

⁴ The analysis of great importance is that of pendant-amulets with anthropomorphic images coming from closed and well-dated complexes on the territory of Romania according to which their distribution in this part of Thrace is referred to the last quarter of the 4th century BC and later (Măndescu 2004).

⁵ The other well-known Thracian tomb with a chariot of Zhaba Mogila tumulus near Strelcha is dated to “the late 4th century BC” (Archibald 1998, p. 288-289; Stoyanov, Stoyanova in print). The chariot (two-wheeled) discovered in September 2013 in a tumulus related to Omurtagova Mogila in the necropolis of Helis, capital city of the Getae, in Sbornyanovo (Sveshtari village, near the town of Ispereh) is also dating from the early Hellenistic period (according to information provided by Prof. D. Gergova, researcher of the complex).

⁶ The find is not published in its entirety. Thirty three leaves and several fruits of the wreath, a total of 25.78 g in weight, are kept in the Archaeological Museum - Plovdiv (inv. № 3355 - 3358), and a few leaves and fruits are in possession of the Historical Museum - Panagyurishte.

⁷ It is discovered during excavations carried out later by G. Kitov in the Orela locality near Strelcha (Китов 1979, с. 16-19) in a shallow rectangular pit in the rock beneath pile of river stones along with the missing handle of the jug from the complex discussed above, silver phialae, pieces of bronze vessels and iron horse-harness fragments. G. Kitov concludes that these finds belong to one and the same burial complex, the inventory of which has been divided in two pits dug in the rock. Based on the information that the pits were opened up beneath a pile or a mound of river stones in both cases, it could be assumed that the second pit was also excavated beneath a mound. Probably that was a cenotaph or deposit since in both cases there is no mention of a skeleton or bones. The skyphos is second half of the 4th century BC in date (Marazov 1998, p. 158, № 88), but as a result of date of the whole Strelcha complex proposed here, it could also be dated to the last quarter of the century.

Shipka, Golyamata (Big) Kosmatka tumulus. A different type gold wreath occurred more rarely and made of oak leaves (Fig. 13) is discovered in one of the most representative tombs in Thrace considered a tomb of Seuthes III in Golyamata Kosmatka tumulus near Shipka (Kitov 2005, p. 80-81, Fig. 117, 118 before restoration; Fol et al., 2006, p. 73-74, cat. No 17, Fig. 53 after restoration). The grave inventory consisting of more than seventy luxury items includes parade sword with griffin's head and inlaid with gold ornaments, bronze helmet and inscribed jug – of Seuthes, gold bowl-kantharos (Fig. 14), coins of Seuthes III, gold horse-harness set and the widely-known bronze head of the ruler (Kitov 2005, p. 68-95; Fol et al. 2006, p. 69-83). The wreath is found on a marble plate, part of the chamber door broken to pieces, lying on the bed, where the head of the buried is supposed to be placed. It is worth noting that the leaves were crushed and torn and there were pieces of the wreath found in many places in the tomb, including in the transport amphorae. The treatment of the wreath is interpreted as an act of its ritual killing. No remains of the buried are found in the tomb. The burial itself is dated to the early 3rd century BC, although the grave goods are assigned to the late 4th BC as well as to the first decades of the 3rd century BC. The patera with a ram's head (Fol. et al. 2006, p. 108, cat. 29), like the one found in Resilovo complex discussed here (Fig. 18); cf. parallels mentioned) and the sword with decorated handle (Тонкова 2012, с. 720-721) as well as the gold wreath itself can be related to the finds of the late 4th century BC. Attempts to clarify the dating were made in the process of exploring the various finds from this remarkable burial. The complex is referred to the late first or early second quarter of the 3rd century BC based on the sealed amphorae found in the tomb, coins of Seuthes III, gold bowl-kantharos, and other well-dated monuments (Стоянова 2008, с. 95, с бел. 6; Stoyanov, Stoyanova in print). The time distribution of the gold horse-harnesses in Thrace also indicates that the burial is early 3rd century BC in date (Tonkova 2011, p. 56-57.).

Kabyle. A twig with leaves and berries of laurel gold wreath has recently been encountered in an extremely rich grave of a warrior-horseman with cremation at place of a tumulus at Kabyle. The gold twig was thrown within the already extinguished funeral pyre. Rich inventory found among the remains of the funeral pyre consists of a full set of weaponry (machaira, spears), a bronze bridle, a lamp, Thasian amphora, pottery, glass pieces. A gold stater, type Philip II, is part of the grave goods. Besides the branch of a gold wreath, a bronze wreath of gilt-bronze leaves torn in advance, gilded clay beads and a large amount of bronze beads are also encountered in the pyre., The burial is dated to the last third of the 4th century BC (Стоянов et al. 2010, с. 239-243, обр. 3, 20)⁸.

Shipka, Ploska (Flat) tumulus. Parts of burial inventory among which “pieces of gold wreath, olive leaves and fruits”⁹, buttons and beads of gold and silver, and pieces of weaponry are found in a ruined tomb with two rectangular chambers and narrowing stepped covering (Китов et al. 2006, с. 129; Fol et al. 2006, p. 52-53)¹⁰. There are two horse skeletons, a bowl, an amphora and two red-figure pelikai in the second better preserved chamber. A bronze arrowhead is found between the chambers. In the preliminary report the find is dated to the second half of the 4th century BC, but based on the time distribution of the tombs of this type in Thrace (Theodossiev 2007, p.603) it can also be late 4th century BC in date.

⁸ I express my gratitude to the researches prof. T. Stoyanov and Rumen Mikov for the complementary information about the gold wreath design and the circumstances of discovery of its elements.

⁹ A gold leaf and two berries are found according to information from the inventory book, provided by Diana Dimitrova.

¹⁰ In the preliminary report is mentioned that the tomb has semi-cylindrical vault. This information was further clarified on the basis of data from the excavation diary, for which I thank Diana Dimitrova.

Resilovo. A gold ivy leaf from Resilovo, Dupnitsa region (Fig. 15) probably belongs to a wreath of gold ivy leaves, though other hypotheses could not be excluded. It is part of a grave's find¹¹ from which gold jewellery – earring, beads of a necklace and a gold seal-ring with engraved club, winged thunderbolt and monogram (Fig. 15, 16), silver kyathos (Fig. 17), bronze patera with ram's head handle and a jug (Fig. 18) were included in the collection of the National Archaeological Museum (Тонкова 1992, с. 1-136, обр. 1-7). The find is related to the late 4th century BC due to analysis of the gold seal-ring, kyathos and patera handle. The gold seal-ring with circular bezel is assigned to a variant of type IX as classified by J. Boardman (1970, p. 214), which became widespread in the late 4th century BC. As already stated, it is comparable to the gold seal-rings found in Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa (Fig. 3) and Rozovets (Fig. 7) complexes. Motifs typical of coin issues dating from the reigns of Philip II, Alexander III the Great and their successors (Le Rider 1977, p. 377, groupe III, 8) are borrowed for the ring's decoration. Thus the combination of club and winged thunderbolt on the ring occurs on the reverse of gold coins of Philip II of 345 or 342 – ca. 328 BC, minted in Pella and Amphipolis (Le Rider 1977, p. 238-239; No 47-51, R.28, pl. 83; p. 252, No 5, R3). The paterae with handles terminating in a ram's head usually accompanied by jugs with female protome are united by H. Nuber in set type B (Vurbitsa), characteristic of burials of the late 4th century BC – at the latest of the early 3rd century BC (Nuber 1973, S. 36-37). Patera is also found in the tomb of Golyamata Kosmatka near Shipka (Fol et al. 2006, p. 108, cat. 29), where finds of the late 4th and early 3rd century BC are encountered, as noted above. The patera of this type coming from grave A of the necropolis at Derveni of the late 4th century BC may also be indicated (Themelis, Touratsoglou 1997, p.32-33, A8). The silver ladle (kyathos) with shallow bowl and handle with swan's head is arranged among identical finds of the late 4th century BC, e.g. the samples of Derveni (Themelis, Touratsoglou 1997, p. 70, B2; p. 76, B26; p. 104, D10) and that of the tomb at Naip Tumulus near Tekirdağ (Delemen 2006, p. 262, Fig. 11 and ref. cited), to name just a few. Resilovo find comes from a region with specific political and cultural context where traditionally strong Greek-Macedonian influences are particularly clearly displayed in the culture of Thrace during the early Hellenistic period. This is reflected in the selection of grave inventory.

Sozopol. G. Seure stated that wreath of gold laurel leaves, berries and ring of wood, fabric and metal band along with strigil and clay alabastrons are discovered in a stone tomb of Greek colonist of the late 4th - early 3rd century BC located in Mapes locality at Sozopol (Seure 1924, p. 337; Младенова 1963, с. 288).

In conclusion it can be said that representative entirely gold wreaths of two branches joined in a solid ring are found in extremely rich burials of men horsemen and warriors – Thracian aristocrats of the second half of the 4th and early 3rd century BC. They are characteristic mainly of the Odrysians' elite. In addition to the rich gifts of luxury items such as metal sets and imported pottery and jewellery, there are full range of weaponry and horse-harness appliqués found in them (in Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa, Rozovets, Vratsa, and Shipka complexes). The presence of weapons suggests that these were graves of men-warriors. The situation in tomb II at Vratsa represents an exception, where it is assumed that a woman is buried or rather sacrificed in a symbolic tomb of a Thracian ruler. The burial of the tomb of Seuthes III, where body is not found, is probably also a cenotaph¹². The wreath in the

¹¹ These finds, bought back in 1892 and inscribed in the oldest inventory book of the National Archaeological Museum (Тонкова 1992, 133) are likely to be connected to the information given by H. and K. Škorpil. They reported on a slab grave discovered in a tumulus located east of the Resilovo village, where a jug, a ring and part of a wreath were found as well (Шкорпил, Шкорпил 1989, 39).

¹² According to G. Kitov the burial was probably made by cremation and the dust was scattered or buried (Kitov 2005, p. 78).

explored burial complexes is put either on the head (Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa, Vratsa), or on the helmet, or on (to) the head (body) (Rozovets, southern tumulus). The wreath from the tomb of Seuthes III is considered to be worn on a helmet because of its large ring and the presence of supposed devices on the helmet (Mавpов 2007, 346). Complexes of the middle - third quarter of the 4th century BC (Malovirovo-Zlatinitsa) are characterized by the presence of many black-glazed and red-figure Greek vessels in the inventory. The monumental tomb and the prevalence of expensive metal vessels over luxury Greek pottery in the grave inventory are typical of the level of burials with gold wreaths of the late 4th century BC and early 3rd century BC.

Except completely preserved wreaths, pieces of gold wreaths also originate from rich tombs of Odrysian aristocrats of the late 4th century BC (Strelcha, Kabyle, two complexes from Rozovets, Ploska tumulus near Shipka). Their fragmentary condition could be a sign of ritual treatment of the wreath in relation to the funeral ritual, as suggested for the wreath from the tomb of Golyamata Kosmatka at Shipka and the sample from Kabyle. Such are also encountered in complexes in the Struma valley (Resilovo) of the same date.

Typology

In terms of the design the wreaths found in Thrace so far belong to two types. The first type includes entirely gold wreaths composed of two twigs with gold tubular ring. The second one encompasses wreaths of gold leaves and a ring probably made of perishable material. It is represented with the wreath from Sozopol and probably also with the wreaths from Strelcha and Resilovo according to their reconstruction hypothesis. Examples of entirely gold wreaths are the olive wreath from Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa of the middle - third quarter of the 4th century BC, the laurel wreaths from Rozovets and Vratsa dated to the last third of the 4th century BC and an early-3th century BC oak wreath from the tomb near Shipka. The pieces of wreaths of gold olive leaves from Strelcha and Ploska tumulus near Shipka, of gold laurel leaves from Kabyle and the previously mentioned gold leaves probably of laurel wreaths found in the northern tumulus at Mogilkite locality and in the tumulus at Nenovets locality near Rozovets, all of the above relating to the last quarter of the 4th century BC, would rather belong to entirely gold wreaths.

Wreath types

The wreaths typology is based on the leaf types and their symbolism (Blech 1982, p. 93-96, 216; Despini 1996, p. 25-28). On the one hand, it is the only indication allowing all finds – whole wreaths and their separate elements – to be included in the analysis and on the other hand, such a division takes into account the construction particularities of the wreath (if it is fully preserved or its reconstruction is able to be made), chronological differences, etc.

The gold wreaths found so far in Thrace can be assigned to several types according to the leaves – olive wreaths, laurel wreaths, oak wreath and one hypothetical wreath of ivy leaves, which cover most of the main wreath types in the Greek world. It is noteworthy that myrtle wreaths, a very common Greek wreath type also made at workshops localized in Central Macedonia (Tsigarida 2010, 312-313), have not yet been discovered in inner Thrace. The entirely gold wreaths from Thrace are magnificently crafted in realistic style which is typical of Greek jewellery and possess features of the most representative wreaths of the so-called classic type of the second half of the 4th and early 3rd century BC. They are characterized by two twigs joined in a ring as a further typical feature is the balance of both sides in shaping the wreath and the completely true, naturalistic representation of the plant species (Tsigarida 2006, p. 139-140).

The wreaths from Thrace have their own features characterizing each of them.

Olive Wreaths

The wreaths of olive leaves are presented by the samples from Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa and Strelcha. Probably the pieces of wreaths from Kabyle and Ploska tumulus near Shipka, still waiting to be published, also belong to this type.

The splendid gold olive wreath with Nike figurine from Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa is made of two twigs joined together (Fig. 1). It is described and analyzed in detail in the publication of D. Agre (2011, p. 31-37, Fig. II. 1-5). According to the author the wreath is related to a rare type with elongated leaves and fruits coming out directly from the ring, and Nike figurine in the center. The ring is made of four hollow tubes entering into each other and fastened with gold wire. They are connected by twisted wire on the nape while on the forehead the ring passes through a hoop to which the Nike figurine is appliquéd. Stalks of seventy olive leaves and twenty five fruits of elongated shape are soldered in holes along the ring. The Nike figurine, wearing a long chiton, has wings made of double plate. The wreath is 19 cm in diameter and the leaves are 4.5 cm in length. Each of the leaves is manufactured along with the stalk. Decoration of the leaves, rendering the veins of the original ones, is additionally applied by matrix. Traces of repairs indicating that the wreath was worn in life are ascertained in the course of the restoration works. That is also attested by the plate of the Nike figurine reinforced with a second gold leaf (Tsaneva 2011, p. 232-233). D. Agre states that although the wreath is made in accordance with the best traditions of the Greek jewellery, it is difficult to adduce exact parallels. The wreath is compared with the sample from the well-known tomb at Naip in Aegean Thrace and with the laurel wreaths from Vratsa and Rozovets. The tomb at Naip is dated to the last quarter of the 4th century BC (Delemen 2006, p. 267). According to the analysis presented here, the wreaths from Vratsa and Rozovets are assigned to that date. The leaves, however, are arranged directly on the ring and in tufts on the twigs, which gives them another silhouette.

Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa wreath is actually a representative of another gold wreath type – the leaves are not organized in tufts or twigs but come out directly from the ring. These wreaths are typical of the early Hellenistic Macedonian complexes. Such examples are the wreaths from Tzagezi near Amphipolis, Potidea in Chalcidice and Lete near Thessaloniki, dated to the late 4th and early 3rd century BC (Ignatiadu, Tsigarida 2011, cat. 8-11) and from grave A of Sedes necropolis (Fig. 19) or Amphipolis referred more generally to the second half of the 4th century BC (Rhomipoulou 1978, p. 79, 96, nos. 316, 395). Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa wreath is among the most representative examples and given the date of the complex which opening is laid in the middle - third quarter of 4th century BC, it is also among the earliest samples of this type. Similar laurel wreaths of leaves on both sides of the ring meeting in the center are known from complexes of Tarentum necropolis of the same time, but they are made of silver or gilt-bronze and clay (Masiello 1986, p. 75-77, 88-89).

The wreath is considered very specific because of the appliquéd with Nike figurine as well. There are two other such examples. One of them, pointed out by D. Agre (2011, p. 35), is the well-known wreath of oak leaves from Armento in Italy, at first dated to the second half of the 4th century BC, but later referred to the 3rd century BC (Masiello 1986, p. 82-83, 98-101, cat. 32). The second wreath of oak leaves and a tiny Nike figurine comes from Pergamum and is assigned to the first half of the 3rd century BC (Jacobstal 1908, p. 430-431, pl. XXV,1). Examples of wreaths of olive leaves and more general parallels to Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa wreath can be identified with the wreaths of leaves, fruits and twigs from Kekuvatski kurgan (Fig. 20), representing rare specimens found, like those from Thrace, in a complex containing red-figure pottery of 360 BC and dated to 350 BC (Williams, Ogden 1994, p. 165, no. 105). Almost identical olive wreath from tomb V of Bolshaya Bliznitza, though without fruits, is referred to 330-300 BC (Williams, Ogden 1994, 180, cat. 115).

The closest parallel to the leaf shapes of Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa wreath are the narrow and elongated leaves of Strelcha wreath of the late 4th century BC. About forty leaves and four fruits shaped as elongated hollow beads some of which supplied with thin short wires are preserved from the wreath. The leaf-stalks are drawn out from the gold sheet as judged by the published photograph (Fig. 12) (Kisyov 2004, p. 8). In the previous publications it is considered a laurel wreath presumably made after a model of Vratsa or Rozovets wreaths, but it is further noted that the wreath is “slightly different” (Венедиков, 1966, с. 13-14) and of “coarser” workmanship in comparison with them (Китов 1979, с. 16). Strelcha wreath may actually be described as an olive wreath of leaves and fruits. It could belong to the type of entirely gold wreaths of leaves coming directly out from the ring, as is the case of Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa sample. As mentioned above, they are typical of the early Hellenistic period, to which Strelcha wreath is referred as well. Another reconstruction as a funeral wreath of gold leaves and a ring of perishable materials (wood?) could also be assumed.

The presence of olive wreaths in graves of rich Thracians on the Odrysian territory should be noted. It is generally assumed that the olive and laurel leaves of the wreaths, as in nature, are difficult to be distinguished, but Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa and Strelcha wreaths have clearly shaped elongated and narrow leaves, which certainly can be defined as olive. The olive tree is the sacred tree of Athena and for that reason this wreath type usually prevails in Greek context and especially in the Athenian colonies, e.g. Amphipolis (Despini 1996, p. 26). Their presence in Thracian context is likely to be explained in terms of religious or other affiliation of the deceased or by established diplomatic relations with the coastal Greek cities¹³.

Laurel Wreaths

The wreaths of laurel leaves from Thrace are presented with samples from Mogilanska Mogila near Vratsa and Golyamata Mogila near Rozovets, dated to the last quarter of the 4th century BC in the present study. According to information received such sample is found in the southern tumulus at Rozovets (Шкорпил, Шкорпил 1898, с. 127; Филов 1934, с. 163).

Rozovets (Fig. 7) and Vratsa (Fig. 8) wreaths are composed of two laurel branches from which separate twigs covered with leaves and fruits branch out. The wreath from Mogilanska Mogila tumulus consists of two laurel branches with eighty leaves and forty berries attached by means of thin stalks directly to the stems or arranged in sprays. The stems are hollow, made of gold sheet with a longitudinal soldered seam and ca. 24 cm in diameter. They end with hooks at the front and overlap each other at the back, being joined together with a gold wire. The details are naturally rendered – obliquely cut ends of the stems with concentric circles marking the annual increase; exactly reproduced shape of the laurel leaf with a central rib and veins. One detail is marked – each berry terminates in a small ring attached to another one shaped on some of the twigs (Венедиков 1966, с. 8, обр. 1; Венедиков 1975, с. 31-33; Торбов 2005, с. 47, кат. 31, табла VI/1, XIX/1). The wreath from Golyamata Mogila tumulus near Rozovets is formed and manufactured as Vratsa wreath. There are six parts preserved: two front parts of the branches terminating in a hook-and-loop fastener; two back elements shaped as obliquely cut branches with marked concentric circles; several laurel twigs with soldered leaves and stalks with berries. The preserved leaves are sixty three in number and the berries are nine (Филов 1934, с. 164-166, обр. 180, 181). The wreath reconstruction made in the National Archaeological Museum is based on the preserved elements (Fig. 7). A dark substance (cork ?, resin?) can be seen through the cracks of some of the berries. According to Škorpil brothers (Шкорпил,

¹³ Such hypothesis has been proposed for the origin of Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa wreath (Agre 2011, p. 213).

Шкорпил 1898, с. 127) the wreath from the southern tumulus near Rozovets is like the one from the big tumulus composed of one hundred leaves and twenty berries and made of wire twisted at the end and shaped as “binding hooks”¹⁴.

The publications have always put much emphasis on the great similarity in style and manufacturing technique of Vratsa and Rozovets wreaths. Besides one more observation could be made. The analysis of the design and manufacturing technique, the comparison of the number of leaves and berries and the weight makes it possible to assume that they were almost identical (before Rozovets wreath to be broken into pieces at the time of its discovery). According to Venedikov (Венедиков 1966, с. 13-14). Rozovets sample only differs in its smaller size and weight. In my opinion, such statement does not take into consideration the fact that only half of the wreath was received in the Sofia museum, while the other part is kept in the State Hermitage (Филов 1934, с. 164, 166). In this regard the wreath reconstruction has been made only on the basis of the preserved half of the item. If we double the size and weight data for the preserved parts, published by Filov, then there would be an item quite close in size and weight to the Vratsa wreath – 26.6 cm (Rozovets) and 24 cm (Vratsa) in diameter and 206 g and 205 g in weight, respectively. One cannot know with certainty whether the wreath was divided into two absolutely equal parts. The presence of binding hooks is another detail bringing the wreath from the southern tumulus at Rozovets closer to the Vratsa sample.

It follows that Rozovets and Vratsa wreaths are of the same date and could have been made in one and the same workshop.

The representative gold wreaths from Rozovets and Vratsa are thoroughly discussed in all publications devoted to the emblematic burial complexes of the Thracian culture where they have been found. Many parallels of similar wreaths have been adduced including old finds as well as numerous recent discoveries in the Northern Black Sea Coast region, Asia Minor, Aegean Thrace, Greece, and especially in Central Macedonia (Торбов 2005, с. 46-47 and ref. cited; Theodossiev 2005, p. 680-681 and ref. cited). Only a few finds sharing important comparable characteristics will be mentioned here. Wreaths composed of two branches with smaller twigs and tufts of leaves and fruits are the above-mentioned olive wreaths from Kekuvatski kurgan (Fig. 20) datable to ca. 350 BC and the samples from Bolshaya Bliznitsa referred to 330-300 BC (Williams, Ogden 1994, p. 165, no. 105; p. 181, no. 115). Samples which are very similar in design to the laurel wreaths from Thrace are some items from reliably dated complexes of the late 4th century BC in Northern Greece, as particularly good examples are the gold olive (Fig. 21) and myrtle wreaths from graves B and D at Derveni (Themelis, Touratsoglou 1997, p.89, B138, and p.110, D1). The olive wreath from Asia Minor dated to 350-300 BC is also much the same in style (Greifenhagen 1975, S. 11, Taff. 1-2.). The laurel wreath from the tomb of Naip Tumulus at Tekirdag of the late 4th century BC (Delemen 2004, p. 53-55, fig. 44-46) is close to the wreaths from inner Thrace in terms of construction and silhouette, shape of leaves and berries. Similarities in design can also be indicated with the splendid gold myrtle wreaths from Central Macedonia, e.g. the samples from Stavroupolis, Thessaloniki dated to the last quarter of the 4th century BC and from the necropolis of ancient Pydna referred to ca. 330 BC (Ignatiadu, Tsigarida 2008, p. 3, fig. 9; p. 42, fig. 36; p. 62, fig. 59). In terms of silhouette and arrangement of leaves and twigs tufty laurel wreaths from Thrace are comparable to the wreaths of oak leaves (Fig. 23) from a grave of 350-300 BC from the region of the Dardanelles (Williams, Ogden 1994, 106-

¹⁴ The manufacturing technique of making the wreath with a ring from a whole element is known by the oak wreaths from tomb II and III at Vergina (Despini 1996, p. 209-210, cat. 3, 4).

107, cat. 60) and to the oak wreath (Fig. 13) from the tomb of Seuthes III of the Golyamata Kosmatka tumulus near Shipka of the early Hellenistic period.

Vratsa and Rozovets wreaths are among the best examples of the ancient jewellery and the tendency towards realistic execution even of the smallest details of the laurel branch assign them to the production of a first-class Greek workshop. Its location can be sought in the Aegean region, where most of the mentioned parallels come from. The use of resin? or cork? as a filling for compaction of the berries in the case of Rozovets wreath could increase its stability during transportation.

One cannot discount the possibility that the laurel wreaths from Thrace could have been manufactured in a local high-quality workshop working in Greek style, such as these operating in local environment during the second half of the 4th century BC, in the region of Seuthopolis in particular (Тонкова 2003; Tonkova 1998). The assumption comes from the great similarity between the wreaths from Vratsa and Rozovets and moreover because of the lack of very close parallels outside Thrace. The wreaths have also rare elements in terms of style and manufacturing technique, unparalleled for now. Such are the front fastening by means of hooks or hook-and-loop which are not mentioned among the technical methods typical of the wreaths from other regions (for them cf. Tsigarida 2006, p. 140) as well as the refined symmetric silhouette. The laurel wreaths evidenced also by separate elements encountered in the complexes from Kabyle, the northern tumulus at Mogilkite locality, the tumulus at Nenovets locality near Rozovets and probably Ploska tumulus near Shipka, are further indication for the preference for this wreath type and its probable manufacture on the spot.

The expressed affinity for this wreath type in Thrace is explained by the symbolic laurel tree associated with the cult of Apollo, which is widespread in local environment (Marazov 1998, p. 43-44). This line of thought appeals to their rare use in Greek burials interpreted exactly by the symbolism (interpretation) of the laurel branch considered incompatible with the funeral cult (Despini 1996, p. 26).

It is worth noting that the discoveries of identical laurel wreaths in dynastic centers on both sides of Stara Planina Mountain may present evidence of diplomatic relations settled between Odrysaes and Tribali or between Thracian rulers and the political forces in the Aegean region.

The representative design and perfect workmanship of the laurel wreaths from Thrace as well as the compaction of berries (Rozovets) and the provided fastening mechanism indicate that they were meant to be worn, i.e. used in life.

Laurel wreaths of gold elements and ring of perishable material

G. Seure reported for a wreath discovered in a tomb at Mapite (Mapes) locality near Sozopol (Seure 1924, p. 337). According to the description it is “composed of a ring, 1 cm in width and 3 cm in thickness, covered inside with a fabric and outside with a bronze band fixing tufts of laurel leaves and berries made of very thin sheet gold”. The gold elements bring this wreath closer to the gold samples already discussed, but the presence of a ring of wood and bronze connects it to the funeral wreaths of gilt-bronze and clay as well.

Gold oak wreaths

The wreath of oak leaves and fruits (Fig. 13) from the tomb of Seuthes III in Golyamata tumulus near Shipka (Kitov 2005, p. 80-81, Fig 117, 118 before restoration; Fol et al. 2006, 73-74, cat. 17, Fig. 53 after restoration) is the only sample of its type found so far in a burial in inner Thrace. As mentioned already, it was discovered with torn and crumpled leaves scattered in various places in the tomb after a strange ritual. The wreath was subjected to thorough analysis and restoration by Assoc. Prof. Dr. G. Mavrov after its discovery (Mavrov, 2007, c. 337-346). He determined the manufacturing method and the traces of

repairs showing longtime using. The restoration work carried out by him is actually a wreath reconstruction in its original representative form. The wreath is composed of two branches with a ring made of two conical tubes. It is made of gold of 23 carats with initial weight of 296 g. Its unusually large ring – 28.2 x 24.2 in diameter – made deep impression immediately after it was discovered and for that reason it is supposed that the item was worn on a helmet. The wreath has 210 leaves and 64 acorns. On the forehead the two branches of the wreath are joined together with a gold wire and on the nape they are also bound with wire overlapping each other. There is an important technological feature – the small twigs are strung on a gold prickles attached to the ring. The leaves of different sizes are of particular importance for the general tufty wreath design – the biggest ones are at the base of the ring and the smallest are on the twigs, and this also applies to the use of two sizes of acorns. An attempt is made to render the nature as accurately as possible. The wreath has one more feature. It is stated that the acorns are made like little bells, which still give out a sound in movement.

Besides the gold elements of the wreath, several elements of second gold oak wreath are also found – two oak leaves of different shapes and one acorn which is identical with the acorns of the gold wreath from Vergina (Мавров 2007, с. 346).

The best-known oak wreaths are found in the Macedonian royal tombs at Vergina. An extremely impressive gold wreath of two oak branches is discovered in the so-called tomb of Philip II (Andronikos 1984, p. 171, fig. 137; Despini 1996, p. 210, fig. 4) recently dated by the scholars to the last quarter of the 4th century BC and related to a funeral of Philip III Arrhidaios (Borza, Palagia 2007, p. 118). A second wreath composed of two branches of oak leaves and acorns (Fig. 22) found in the second very rich tomb at Vergina, the so-called “Prince’s tomb” of the last quarter of the 4th century BC (Andronikos 1984, p. 212, fig. 183, 184, p. 224; Despini 1996, p. 209-210, Fig. 3) and a similar oak wreath from Amphipolis generally dated to the 4th century BC (Andronikos 1983, p. 45, cat. 28) are among the closest parallels to the wreath from Thrace. Very close parallel to the Shipka wreath as regards the silhouette and manufacturing method of evenly alternating leaves and twigs is the well-known oak wreath from the region of the Dardanelles, broadly dated to 350-300 BC (Williams, Ogden 1994, p. 106-107, cat. 60). Another example of such wreath encountered in the same region, in a tomb at Çoban Tepe, near Pinarbasi located on the coast, north of Troy, is reported in the same publication. One more wreath of oak leaves is discovered in a tomb at Pergamum datable to the first half of the 3rd century BC (Masiello 1986, p. 101, cat. 32; Jacobstal 1908, p. 430-431, pl. XXV, 1). Given the parallels mentioned, the wreath from Golyamata Kosmatka can be assigned to the last quarter of the 4th century BC, although the burial of the tomb itself, as already pointed out, is referred to the first decades of the 3rd century BC.

Gold oak wreaths are most frequently found in burials of representatives of the Macedonian elite. This is explained by their association with the sacred tree of Zeus, with whom the Macedonian rulers are identified (Despini 1996, p. 26). The presence of a gold oak wreath in the tomb of Seuthes III could also be considered as one of the regalia indicating the relations between the Odrysian kingdom of Seuthes III and the Macedonian kingdom.

Gold ivy wreaths

So far, there are no reliable data on the spread of gold ivy wreaths in Thrace. The only example presuming their existence is the gold leaf (Fig. 15) of the above-mentioned find from a grave of the late 4th century BC from the village of Resilovo. However, different reconstructions are possible in this particular case and since the leaf considered as an element of a gold wreath is not the only standpoint to be upheld, such a statement could not be made with certainty. It could be an element belonging to a gold wreath or to a wreath of gold leaves and a wooden ring such as those found in Thrace.

The cordate gold leaf of a wreath is cut out from a thick gold sheet with veins rendered in repoussé. The edge of the leaf is curled without any traces of attachment. The gold leaf from Resilovo is dated on the basis of other finds from this supposed partly preserved funeral complex, already discussed above, which assign the burial to the last quarter of the 4th century BC (Тонкова 1992, с. 140, обр. 3).

The interpretation of the Resilovo ivy leaf as a wreath element seems to be the most logical conclusion, although not the only possible considering its roughly shaped back side and the lack of attachment device. The leaf fits well with similar and even identical gold items of the same date and provenance. The Canellopoulos collection comprising finds from Macedonia and Greece includes such a cordate gold leaf with a gold wire at the base. The item is considered to have been part of a gold funeral wreath reconstructed on the basis of analogous samples of the early Hellenistic period (Laffineur 1980, p. 408, No 96, fig. 105). Such wreaths consist of a gold band with gold ivy leaves pointing in opposite directions and attached thereon. A perfectly manufactured sample of this type coming from the Northern Black Sea Coast is late 4th to 3rd century BC in date (Greifenhagen 1970, Taff. 18-1, 3). An entirely gold ivy wreath (Fig. 24) represents a splendid sample from Toumba Papas, grave 3, near Sevasti in Pieria (Macedonia), referred to 350-325 BC (Vokotopoulou 1988, p. 159, No 203; Ignatiadu, Tsigarida 2008, p. 65, fig. 62). Other variants of the rarely occurring gold wreaths of ivy leaves of unknown provenance are included in the V. Bozhkov collection (Маразов 2011, с. 182, кат. 138).

Ivy branch is often used as a decorative belt of rhytons and cups, parade helmets and greaves as well as wreaths worn by a series of characters depicted on the Borovo vase (Маразов 1978 (2), с. 118, обр. 114, 115). It may be noted that the craftsman not only hinted an ivy branch or wreath at two of the images but rather rendered exactly a gold wreath. The first item represents a work of Thracian art. On the silver greave from Vratsa (Fig. 25) (Венедиков 1975, No 21, 31; Маразов 1980, с. 33-83; Торбов 2005, с. 59, cat. 59, Plates VIII, XXI; Marazov 1998, p. 139, No 89) the gold jewellery of the Great Goddess is gilt marked - a diadem, an ivy wreath, earrings and a torque. The ivy wreath is composed of two branches (like gold wreaths) though stylized as a continuous line. The second item is a silver kotyle No. 163 (Fig. 26) of the Rogozen Treasure decorated with silver-gilt and engraved ivy wreath (Fol et al. 1989, p. 192). The resemblance between this image and the above-mentioned gold wreath from Sevasti is striking and therefore the possibility to consider the wreath only a decorative motif should be excluded.

The Resilovo gold leaf could also be assigned to another wreath type which is simpler in design (made of wood and bronze but of gold leaves) and meant to be used only for the burial. Such is the above-mentioned wreath from a tomb of the late 4th - early 3rd century BC at Mapes locality in the vicinities of the town of Sozopol (Seure 1924, p. 337). In my opinion this is the most appropriate reconstruction of the supposed Resilovo wreath since the rough shaping of the reverse side of the gold leaf may be adduced as an argument that the wreath is created for single use.

The use of wreaths in Thrace

The above analysis indicates numerous data that gold wreaths of Thrace were worn in life. Firstly, these are their representativeness and aesthetic effect, symbolic of certain high social status, power and wealth. To this end there are also direct indications of the method of their manufacture. The traces of repairs on the wreaths from Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa and Golyamata Kosmatka tumulus near Shipka, the reinforcing of the Nike figurine from Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa with double plate, the compaction of the berries of the Rozovets wreath, the fastening devices of Rozovets and Vratsa wreaths, the big ring of the Shipka wreath probably provided for wearing on a helmet, also demonstrate that they were intended

for multiple use. The involvement of gold wreaths in the funeral ceremony has different aspects. In some cases whole wreaths are placed, while in others they are broken into pieces or ritually damaged (the tomb of Seuthes III at Shipka, Kabyle).

Gold wreaths were used in various ceremonies and occupied an important place in the religious, social and political life of Thrace. It is presumed that precisely gold wreaths are depicted on the most representative monuments of the ceremonial weaponry, silver sets and tomb painting of Thrace.

Iconographic and epigraphic evidences of the second half of the 4th and first decades of the 3rd century BC are an original source for various types and uses of the wreath in Thrace. Yellow wreaths, imitating gold, crown the main characters' heads in the central frieze of Kazanlak tomb (Fig. 27) of the 260s BC. The man's wreath is depicted realistically while the woman's is only slightly indicated (Mikoff, 1954, p. 11, Fig. X,I; Димитров 1966, с. 11). The wreath which the goddess offers to the horseman in the central frieze of Sveshtary tomb (Fig. 28), also dated to the late first quarter - early second quarter of the 3rd century BC, is of the same type (Fol et al, 1986, p.110-112, fig. 72; Chichikova 2012, 50). In both the elongated laurel/olive leaves are well pronounced. On the well-known coins bearing the portrait of Seuthes III the laurel leaves are not organized around a ring but are arranged in succession (Fig. 29). This non-traditional, possibly stylized representation of this "diadem-wreath" is without analogues until now (Герасимов 1955, с.124-125, обр. 2, 4). A laurel wreath formed from two branches crossing on the forehead crowns Herakles' head on the phiale from Rogozen (Marazov 1998, p.176, cat.107). An ivy wreath, decorates the head of the goddess of the Vratsa grave (Fig. 25) (Marazov 1998, p.159, cat.89). Ivy wreaths crown the heads of Dionysos, Eros and the remaining characters depicted on the jug-rhyton from Borovo (Marazov 1998, p. 222, cat. 173). The laurel and ivy branches depicted on the ritual Thracian helmets from Agighiol, Peretu (Fig. 30) and Iron Gate (Miclea, Florescu 1980, p. 29-30, no. 58, 69-71; Sirbu 2006, p. 88-89, Fig.48, 2b, fig. 79, 2a), can be interpreted as wreaths. Possibly they represent metal wreaths – a practice known from the southern tumulus at Rozovets where the wreath was discovered on a helmet as well as from the way in which the wreath from the tomb of Seuthes III was presumably worn. Similar finds are also known from the necropolis of Tarentum (Masiello 1986, p. 67, cat.14). Laurel and ivy wreaths are often depicted on silver Thracian vessels – laurel wreaths are shown on the jug from the tumular embankment of the Kazanlak Tomb (Mikoff, 1954, p. 26, fig 28) and on the kylix from the tumulus near Kapinovo (Marazov 1998, p. 175, cat. 104) while an ivy wreath decorates the kotyle no. 163 of the Rogozen Treasure (Fig. 26). (Fol et al. 1989, p. 192, cat. 163). In these impressive silver-gilt artifacts seems to dominate the decorative function of the depicted wreaths, although it is possible that the wreaths were a symbol of a presumed special function of the vessels. The symbolism of the wreaths was part of the everyday life and worship everywhere, not only in the world of the elite, as evident from the escharae decorated with ivy twigs (Fig. 31) and local Thracian vessels (Fig. 32), represented here with finds from the early Hellenistic settlement at Halka Bunar (Тонкова 2002, с. 153, обр. 10, 36).

The use of gold wreaths often remains debatable due to the possible (and most probable) complex symbolism of the wreaths (also in Thrace) because of which the mention of only one function is usually refutable. Examples of this are the images of wreaths from the Kazanlak and Sveshtary tombs since the purpose of the wreaths is bound to the interpretation of the depicted scenes. Some researchers associate the latter with Greek funeral rituals borrowed from the Thracians – funeral feast in the scene from the Kazanlak tomb (Димитров 1966, с. 9) and heroization act in the scene from the Sveshtary tomb (Chichikova 2012, с. 50) finding arguments in the universality of the iconographic scenes and their style. Other researchers disregard their funeral feature and seek explanation of the depicted scenes in the

Thracian religious sphere. The Kazanlak tomb scene has been interpreted as a sacred marriage (Маразов 1978 (1), while that from the Sveshtary tomb – as an investiture scene without denying the eschatological aspect of the plot (Фол 1983, с. 4). The first group of authors interpret the wreath as funeral requisite relevant to the heroization of the deceased – a symbol of the win in the battle of life, while the second group of authors consider it as a symbol of the king's, priest's and divine power. Possible interpretation of the scenes as depiction of investiture is enhanced by a comparison with the seal-ring from Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa bearing a similar scene that was worn in life.

There are also various interpretations of the meaning of the laurel/olive wreath depicted on coins with the portrait of Seuthes III (Fig. 29). According to T. Gerassimov (Герасимов 1955, с. 124) the wreath, though represented differently, can be connected with other royal diadems in the form of band, gold ring or laurel wreath. Nevertheless, the author does not consider the depicted wreath to be royal insignia. K. Dimitrov (Димитров 1988) offers another interpretation of this item. Assuming that “the laurel wreaths in Thrace were attribute of individuals who had completed their life” he assumes that this coin types are posthumous, the image represents a portrait of heroized ruler and the wreath is used “as a symbol emphasizing the glorious life of the ruler which was the natural base for his rise to the rank of God-man after his death”.

Presumably the gold wreaths in Thrace had role of their own in the funeral ritual which did not exhaust their functions. The use of olive, laurel, oak and ivy wreaths in Thrace, as well as the evidence for representations of laurel and ivy wreaths on Thracian parade helmets, suggest the idea of the cult semantics of the wreath in Thrace in a sphere different from the funeral one. Blech drew important conclusions saying that “the use of wreaths, branches and taeniae in cult of the dead does not differ from the cult of deity. In both cases they give expression of the worship and in both cases they are considered to be sacred” (Blech 1982, p. 98).

The search of funeral aspect of the use of gold wreaths in Thrace imposes the necessity for their comparison with other types of wreaths – those of gilt-bronze and clay. Due to the fragile appearance and, often, negligent workmanship, these items are considered to be funeral requisites. Until recently, they were deemed to be included in the Thracian funeral ritual under the Greek influence over the last quarter of the 4th century BC (Младенова 1963, с. 290). A recent discovery has showed that this wreath type most likely occurs occasionally in inner Thrace probably yet during the third quarter of the 4th century BC, i.e. simultaneously with the gold wreaths¹⁵. This is evidenced by a wreath of olive/laurel leaves of gilt-bronze and clay found along with red-figure Athenian vessels of the middle of the 4th century, silver and bronze vessels, full set of weaponry, a gold seal-ring with circular bezel with incised hunting scene, silver horse-harness appliqué, and many other gifts from the rich grave near Peychova Mogila tumulus at Starossel (Kitov 2003, p. 514-517, fig. 13), yet to be published in its entirety. The whole complex, similarly to that from Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa, having many similarities in the inventory, can be also dated to the third quarter of the 4th century, at the earliest. The use of the wreaths of gilt-bronze and clay became fashionable in Thrace at the end of the 4th century BC and later, which is the date of tens of samples coming from the interior as well as from the Greek colonies on the Thracian coast.

The two wreath categories differ in type, workmanship, value and position on the burial construction. The value of both wreath types is beyond any comparison. Those of

¹⁵ The simultaneous distribution of the wreaths of gilt-bronze and clay and the gold ones is noted for Central Macedonia (Tsigarida 2006, 140). Example of a wreath of this type from a complex of the third quarter of the 4th century BC is a gilt myrtle wreath made of gilt bone cirlet, gilt bronze leaf-stalks and seed pots, found in a cist grave of the cemetery of the ancient Aenea in Northern Greece (Ignatiadu, Tsigarida 2008, p. 27, Fig. 15).

bronze and clay are obviously cheaper, while the gold wreath used to be a tidy fortune for the society at that time. An important document for the significance attributed to the gold wreaths in Thrace is the early Hellenistic decree of Mesambria, through which the city undertook to pay an annual tribute to the ruler Sadalas in the form of a gold wreath at the rate of 50 staters (Гълъбов 1950, с. 12; Михайлов, 1955, с. 163). According to the opinion of Venedikov (Венедиков 1975, с. 32) this wreath is almost equal to the Vratsa sample in terms of weight (and to the Rozovets sample with respect to the enclosed reconstruction herein).

A form was sought during the early Hellenistic period in order to mitigate the difference in value between the two wreath categories through the creation of representative and not so expensive wreaths of the above-described Sozopol wreath type of gold leaves and a ring of perishable material. It is possible the preserved gold leaves and twigs from Strelcha, Kabyle, two of the tumuli at Rozovets, Ploska tumulus near Shipka, and Resilovo, also to be traces of such wreaths.

Gold wreaths of the second half of the 4th and early 3rd century BC from Thrace. Conclusion

The wreaths from Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa, Rozovets, Vratsa and Shipka are assigned to the classical type “solid” gold wreaths of two branches joined together in a ring with plant species modeled after nature through skillful execution. Their representative design, exquisite craftsmanship, high value and aesthetic effect, as well as various technical details show that they are worn in life.

The wreaths from Thrace come from rich warriors' burials, mainly in the territory of Odrysians, which are third quarter of the 4th century BC (Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa) and the last quarter of the 4th century BC (Rozovets and Vratsa) in date. The tradition is also traced to the rich burial complexes containing artifacts of the late 4th century BC (date of the gold wreath) and to the royal tomb of Golyamata Kosmatka tumulus near Shipka of the early 3rd century BC (dates of the burial itself). Strelcha, Kabyle and Ploska tumulus near Shipka complexes holding pieces of wreaths, which can be either of entirely gold wreaths or of wreaths with a ring of perishable material, are of the last quarter of the 4th century BC. The existence of wreaths of gold leaves and a ring made of wood, fabric and metal is evidenced by the Sozopol find datable to the same period.

Most of these complexes, except for Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa, belong to a level of rich burials with gold wreaths from ancient Macedonia, Aegean Thrace, Asia Minor, Black Sea coast, etc., typical of the period after the reign of Alexander III the Great. Rozovets and Vratsa complexes are comparable to those from Mezek and Golyamata Kosmatka near Shipka and to the most of rich burial complexes located in Kazanlak valley and the southern slopes of the Sredna Gora Mountains. All of the above-mentioned have common characteristics: representative burial structure, predominance of metal vessels, mainly of silver and bronze, in the inventory, as well as parts of weaponry which are often very similar or even identical with each other and fewer in number but representative works of gold, candelabra, sometimes and chariots. They, in turn, can be compared with a tomb considered royal, located at Naip Tumulus in European Turkey and with rich burials of noble Macedonians from Northern Greece, such as Derveni necropolis and the complexes with „offering-treasures” from Northern Greece and Thrace which are similar to them (Themelis, Touratsoglou 1997, p. 221). Most of the artifacts allow to parallel with each other, but they are also relative to parts of the grave inventory of the royal tomb III at Vergina dated to the last quarter of the 4th century BC and to that of tomb II, the so-called tomb of Philip II, which is referred to the same period as many scholars have recently pointed out.

The wreaths from Thrace are olive, laurel, oak and ivy presenting almost all widely-known types of the Greek world. It is noteworthy that myrtle wreaths have not yet been

found, considered to be most frequently presented in Greek context and often found in complexes at Central Macedonia (Northern Greece) where particular workshops have been localized. Future research will show whether it is a matter of research or reflects preference for wreaths associated with the symbolism of various deities. The laurel wreaths have the largest proportion of the finds from Thrace indicating very similar characteristics to each other and therefore they may have been products of one and the same workshop. The olive wreaths are common finds as well. Olive/laurel and ivy wreaths are most frequently included in the iconography depicted on monuments.

Stylistic and technical characteristics of the wreaths from Thrace imply their manufacture in first-class workshops working in Greek jewellery style. It is reasonable to seek these workshops in the Greek colonies in the Aegean region and in the jewellery workshops of the capital cities of the Hellenistic rulers. As already shown, the wreath from Thrace are comparable to the most representative samples from Northern Greece, the Straits region and Asia Minor, where leading jewellery centers can be localized.

Furthermore, one cannot rule out the possibility that the wreaths, already discussed, may have been products of local Thracian workshops meeting the high standards of the Greek jewellery, which are evidenced in Thrace in the second half of the 4th century BC and later in the early 3rd century BC (Тонкова 2003, Tonkova 2011). This can be referred to the three almost identical laurel wreaths from Rozovets and Vratsa having technical details that are not observed as regards the other wreaths outside Thrace. The wreath from the tomb in Golyamata Kosmatka near Shipka has its own features finding expression in the large ring probably adjusted to be worn on a helmet, and in individual technical methods such as the way in attaching the branches to the ring and the fruits' structure, which appears now to be original.

The first issue examined by the researchers during the discovery of each of the gold wreaths as well as in the subsequent publications, is the supposed role of the wreaths as royal insignia or as a representative sign of the Thracian aristocracy. Škorpil brothers (Шкорпил, Шкорпил 1989, 128), summarizing data for the representative finds from the mounds at Rozovets, stated that probably a "prince" was buried in Golyamata Mogila and "his commander" – in the southern tumulus. Such conclusion is also drawn in the publication of the samples from Mogilanska Mogila in Vratsa, Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa, and Golyamata Kosmatka near Shipka. Members of the royal family are probably buried in the mound of Vratsa (Венедиков 1975, с. 36). The rich grave from Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa is associated with burial of a son of the Thracian king Kerseblept (Agre 2011, p. 214), while strong arguments suggest that the tomb in Golyamata Kosmatka may have been the tomb of Seuthes III (Kitov 2005, p. 92-97). The iconography of the monuments also reveals the ideological environment in which the wreath seems to have had a role in the "royal investiture" ceremony. It is assumed that this particular scene is depicted on the gold seal-ring from Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa and in the frescoes of the burial chambers of the tombs in Kazanlak and Sveshtari. Perhaps, as is the case in ancient Macedonia, the gold wreaths in Thrace represent part of the early Hellenistic ruler cult characteristic of the time after the reign of Alexander III the Great (Tsigarida 2010, p. 314). The crowned portrait of Seuthes III and the wreaths depicted on the parade Thracian helmets can be examined in this way.

The role of the wreath as a tribute and a stored fortune is displayed by the unique inscription of Sadalas reporting the establishment of diplomatic relations between Thracian king and a Greek colony. Very indicative, in this respect, is the example with the wreath gifted by Athens to the king Kotys as an expression of an honor and friendship. It reveals the act of offering the wreath as a gift which allows one to consider the wreaths sometimes as a result of royal gift exchange. They may illustrate the internal political relations between the

dynasties of Odrysai and Tribali or the Thracian rulers and Athens and the Greek colonies on the Aegean and the Black Sea coast, as well as the Hellenistic rulers.

The wreath symbolism is presented in the diverse religious life of Thrace, as already demonstrated in the analysis of numerous iconographic data – images of wreaths on parade Thracian helmets and greaves, worn by various characters of mythological scenes depicted on silver vessels, coins, escharae, and local pottery.

The appearance of gold wreaths in rich Thracian burials of the third and especially the last quarter of the 4th and early 3rd century BC may also reveal a new tendency in the royal ideology. Traditional emblems of the Thracian, mainly Odrysian aristocracy, such as gold breastplates, gold seal-rings with incised horsemen and investiture scenes, horse-harness appliquéés are unique in themes and style and met only in Thrace. Thracian kings and aristocrats become known and identifiable for the others through them. They have an element of differentiation/opposition to the outside world. The adoption of gold wreaths in Thracian environment is an expression of another attitude – that of commensurability and identification with the contemporary political elite and such are the Macedonian rulers.

Certainly, the gold wreaths have funeral function in Thrace as well, which is not limited to their role. They are placed in the tomb as a symbol of rank of the buried, but also according to the funeral cult requirements, a tendency adopted in Thrace occasionally under Hellenic and Macedonian influence in the third quarter of the 4th century BC and represented with much more representative monuments of the late 4th and early 3rd century BC.

II. Late Hellenistic and early Roman gold wreaths from Thrace

Gold wreaths are not evidenced in Thrace over the next centuries, from the middle of the 3rd to the early 2nd century BC. They appear again in rich Thracian burials of the 1st century BC and 1st century AD from Anchialos (modern Pomorie) on the Pontic shore (Балабанов, 1976, с. 30, fig. on p. 28) and of the 1st - 2nd century AD from the interior of Thrace in rich complexes from Chatalka (Николов, Буюклиев 1967, с. 12, 21, обр. 7), Plovdiv (Дякович 1906-1907, с. 53-54, обр. 29), Kocherinovo (Bozhkova 1997, p. 70-71, fig. 5-9), Dragodan, Kyustendil region (Теодосиев, Манов 1993; Marazov 1998, p. 114-115, No 31). Funeral wreaths have been also found in the complexes of Karanovo, Belozem, Vize, Kardzali, Tulovo and Madrets of the same time (Георгиева 2000, с. 164). Their distribution is concentrated again in the lands of Odrysae in Southeast Thrace and along the course of the Struma River (Fig. 33). Nevertheless, the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman wreaths are not splendid works of the second half of the 4th and the early 3rd century BC. The late Hellenistic wreath from Anchialos is made of leaves and band cut out from gold foil (Fig. 34). This tendency continues through the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, as evident from the gold plates from Dragodan (Fig. 35). Usually, simple leaves separately or in tufts were set directly in the grave or attached to branches of perishable material. One of the Chatalka wreaths made of unconnected leaves is mounted on the cover of a sarcophagus in a specially cut cell. The tendency towards simplification of the wreath is markedly clear. The wreaths of the 1st century BC - 1st century AD are made in local workshops only because of the burial ritual. This is another difference from the early Hellenistic samples. The wreaths of rendered laurel, oak and myrtle leaves are preferred. The above-mentioned wreaths are requisite feature of a funeral.

The second appearance of gold wreaths in the Western Pontic colonies, in Thrace, in the 1st century BC and later in rich tumular graves in inner Thrace in the 1st century AD corresponds to the new cultural environment on the Balkans and the increasing Roman involvement, which has contribution to the renaissance of tradition well-preserved on other territories over the entire Hellenistic period.

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Fig. 1. Map of the distribution of gold wreaths of the second half of the 4th – beginning of the 3rd century BC on the territory of Bulgaria



Fig. 2a

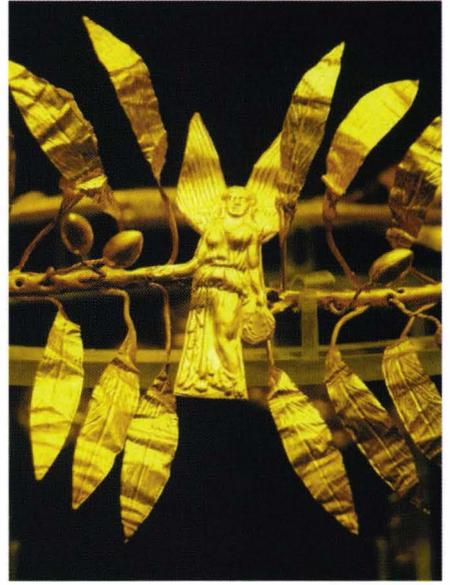


Fig. 2b



Fig. 3

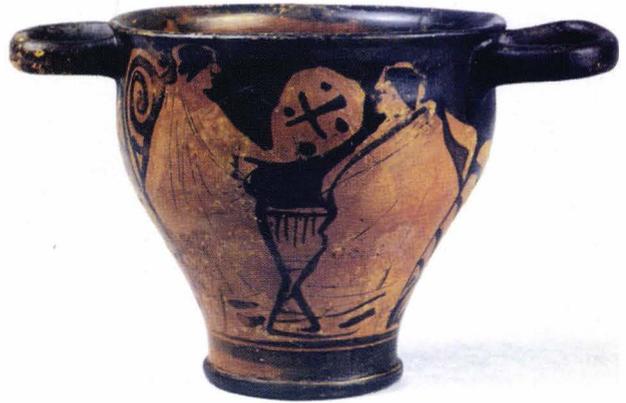


Fig. 4



Fig. 5

- Fig. 2a.** Gold wreath from Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa; 2b. Detail (after Agre 2011, Ill. II-1, 4).
Fig. 3. Gold seal-ring from Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa (after Agre 2011, Ill. II-8).
Fig. 4. Red-figure skyphos from Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa (after Agre 2011, Ill. VI-2).
Fig. 5. Black-glaze kylix from Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa (after Agre 2011, Ill. VI-5).



Fig. 6a



Fig. 6b



Fig. 6c



Fig. 7

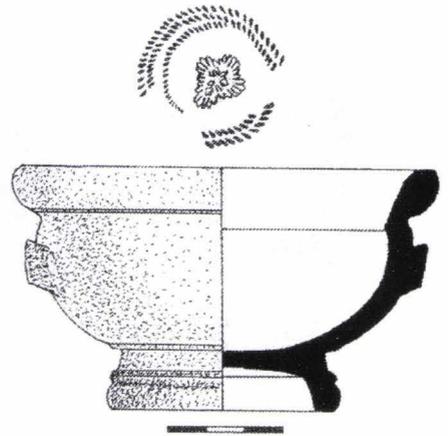


Fig. 9



Fig. 8

Fig. 6. a. Reconstruction of the preserved elements of a gold wreath from Rozovets; b, c. Details (photos K. Georgiev).
Fig. 7. Gold seal-ring from Rozovets (photo by Cabinet des médailles, BN, Paris).
Fig. 8. Gold laurel wreath from tomb II of Mogilanska Mogila tumulus at Vratsa (after Торбов 2005, Табло XIX, 1).
Fig. 9. Black-glaze kylix from tomb II of Mogilanska Mogila tumulus at Vratsa (after Торбов 2005, Табло XIII, 3).



Fig. 10



Fig. 11

Fig. 10. Silver human-head pendants from tomb II of Mogilanska Mogila tumulus at Vratsa (photo R. Kolev).
Fig. 11. Glass amulet with a satyr's head from tomb II of Mogilanska Mogila tumulus at Vratsa (photo K. Georgiev).

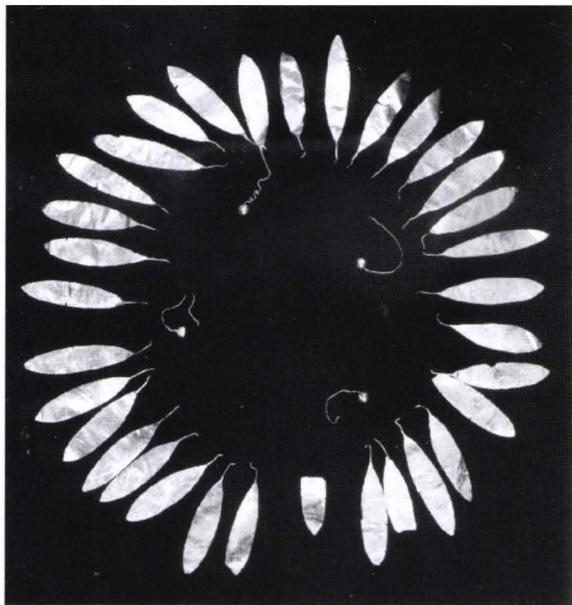


Fig. 12



Fig. 13



Fig. 14



Fig. 15



Fig. 16



Fig. 17

- Fig.12.** Gold leaves and fruits of an olive wreath from Strelcha (after Kisiov 2004, 8).
Fig.13. Gold oak wreath from Golyamata Kosmatka tumulus at Shipka (photo St. Dimov).
Fig. 14. Gold bowl-kantharos from Golyamata Kosmatka tumulus at Shipka (after Kitov 2005, fig. 119).
Fig.15. Gold ivy leaf and other pieces of jewellery from Resilovo (photo K. Georgiev).
Fig.16. Gold finger ring from Resilovo (photo K. Georgiev).
Fig.17. Silver ladle from Resilovo (photo K. Georgiev).



Fig. 18



Fig. 19



Fig. 20



Fig. 21



Fig. 22



Fig. 23

- Fig. 18.** Bronze patera handle from Resilovo (photo K. Georgiev).
Fig. 19. Gold olive wreath from Sedes, Thessaloniki (after Rhomiopoulou 1978, no. 316).
Fig. 20. Gold olive wreath from Kekuvatski kurgan (after Williams, Ogden 1994, no.105).
Fig. 21. Gold olive wreath from Derveni, grave B (after Themelis, Touratsoglou 1997, B138).
Fig. 22. Gold oak wreath from tomb III at Vergina (after Despini 1996, fig.3).
Fig. 23. Gold oak wreath from the region of the Dardanelles (after Williams, Ogden 1994, cat. 60).



Fig. 25

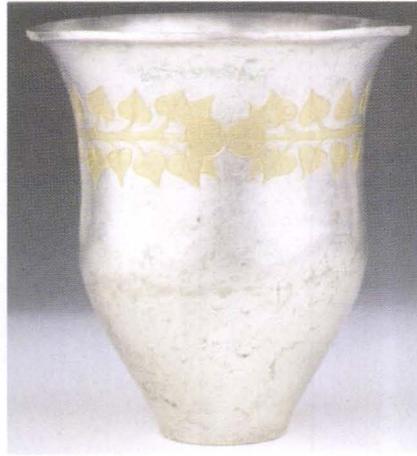


Fig. 26



Fig. 28



Fig. 27



Fig. 24

Fig. 24. Gold ivy wreath from Sevasti (after Ignatiadu, Tsigarida 2008, fig. 62).

Fig. 25. Greave from tomb II of Mogilanska Mogila tumulus at Vratsa. Detail: the mask. (after Marazov 1998, No 89).

Fig. 26. Kotyle No 163 from the Rogozen Treasure (after Fol *et al.* 1989, 192).

Fig. 27. Central frieze from the vaulted chamber of the Kazanlak tomb. The possessor (after Mikoff, 1954, fig. X-1).

Fig. 28. Frieze from the chamber of the Sveshtari tomb. The goddess and the horseman (after Fol *et al.* 1986, fig. 72).



Fig. 31



Fig. 32



Fig. 29



Fig. 30



Fig. 34



Fig. 35

Fig. 29. Portrait of Seuthes III on a coin from Seuthopolis (after Герасимов 1955, обр. 2, 4).

Fig. 30. Silver helmet from a grave at Peretu (after Sirbu 2006, fig. 79, 2a).

Fig. 31. Piece of eschara with an ivy leaf from Halka Bunar (after Тонкова 2002, фиг. 36).

Fig. 32. Gray pottery fragment with an ivy leaf from Halka Bunar (after Тонкова 2002, фиг. 10).

Fig. 34. Late Hellenistic gold wreath from Anchialos (Pomorie) (photo R. Kostadinova).

Fig. 35. Early Roman gold plates from Dragodan (after Marazov 1998, No 31).



Fig. 33. Map of distribution of gold wreaths of the end of the 1st century BC – beginning of the 2nd century AD.

A NEW SITE OF THE BASARABI PERIOD ON THE MUREȘ VALLEY: TĂRTĂRIA – *PODU TĂRTĂRIEI VEST*

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Keywords: Hallstatt period (Basarabi culture), bronze hoards, collective grave, Basaraby type pottery

Abstract: The preventive archaeological research campaign 2012 on the site Tărtăria – Podu Tărtăriei vest / Valea Rea (Tărtăria 1) was occasioned by the construction works of the A1 motorway. The existence of this site was determined following the survey made in late 2011 by a team from MNIR, although there were a series of earlier information concerning the archaeological potential in this area but near the DN7 route and the railway Arad–Alba Iulia. The site is located about 0.3km south to the National Road no. 7 (DN 7 / E 68), north to the Tărtăria village, on a plateau situated on the upper left terrace of the Mureș valley. The preventive archaeological investigations took place during spring and summer 2012, along 18 weeks (March, 17 – July, 25) and confirmed the very consistent presence of archaeological vestiges. Throughout an open area archaeological excavation it was fully investigated an area of about 2ha, where 269 archaeological complexes (mostly from the Hallstatt period, namely the age of the Basarabi culture) were identified and excavated. From a functional point of view these were (most probably) semi-sunken dwellings, offering/votive pits (with pottery broken in situ), refuse pits, extraction pits, as well as remains of the “level of culture”. As regards the middle Hallstatt habitation, there are also a series of particular discoveries, namely two ditches marking the southern and eastern limits of the site, two hoards comprising more than 400 bronze and iron objects (Ha B₃-C / the so-called Bălvănești-Vinț series), and a collective grave. It was uncovered a significant quantity of pottery characteristic for the Basarabi culture (more than 120 vessels restored up to now), as well as a great number of metal objects (weapons, tools and adornment object made of bronze and iron). Considering all the data recorded and the preliminary analysis of the very rich archaeological finds, the site from Tărtăria – Podu Tărtăriei vest / Valea Rea (Tărtăria 1) represents a very important prehistoric site dating from the middle Hallstatt period.

The newly discovered site from Tărtăria – *Podu Tărtăriei vest* (or according to other toponym the so-called *Valea Rea*) is located 0.3km south to the DN7/E68 route (within the administrative boundary of the Tărtăria village, Săliște commune, Alba county), on the left bank of Mureș valley (Figure 1a). A series of prior information in the bibliography indicated the existence of a prehistoric site (namely the well-known neolithic site from Tărtăria – *Gura Luncii*, as well as other finds from the first Iron Age) in the close vicinity of DN7 route, on the left lower terrace of the Mureș river, the main landmark being the train station (Horedt 1949, p. 44–49; RepAB 1995, p. 186–187; Ciugudean 1997, p. 148; Ursuțiu 2002, p. 98).

The existence of an archaeological site on the left upper terrace of the Mureș valley, on the western part of the plateau named *Podu Tărtăriei*, respectively on the perimeter outlined by Cioara Valley westwards, the DN7 route and Arad–Alba Iulia railway to the north, the DC705E route and Rea Valley eastwards and Tărtăria village to the south was documented on the occasion of the archaeological field reconnaissance and survey undertaken by a team of specialists from the National History Museum of Romania in autumn 2011. The finds uncovered in autumn 2011 by a series of small trial trenches excavated between km 14+100 – km 14+500 (the so-called site Tărtăria 1) of the future motorway A1, sector 1 were assigned (preliminary) to the bronze age (Damian *et alii* 2011, p. 280).

One have to mention that during the last decades the site was significantly impacted by deep ploughing and other agricultural works; this situation was observed both by analyzing aerial and satellite images and through direct observation on the field. Also the eastern and southeastern part of the site were impacted by the construction of the DC705E route and a gas pipeline (sometime during the second half of the 20th century), as well as by the construction of a timber factory built after 2005 (without at least an archaeological surveillance as far as I

was able to document through the on-line ACERA database available at <http://arh.cimec.ro/> (Figure 1b).

Following the preliminary data provided by the field survey made in autumn 2011, starting spring 2012, at Tărtăria – *Podu Tărtăriei vest* was carried out a preventive archaeological investigation in the area of the site impacted by the construction of the motorway A1. The archaeological team comprised five archaeologists (Corina Borș, Sebastian Dobrotă, Luciana Irimuș, Cătălin Rîșcușa, Vlad Rumeș). Thus was organised between km 14+100 – km 14+500 of the future motorway a large scale excavation covering initially about 4ha, later extended to more than 5ha given the subsequent changes in the construction project as will be detailed below (Figure 2). Given the size of the area to be investigated within the limits of the future motorway (the footprint about 90–100m wide), the excavation system was projected in two steps, namely the first one consisting of a series of major stratigraphic section in order to establish the exact extent of the site and the spatial distribution of the vestiges, follow by the second one represented by an open area excavation (Drewett 2011, p. 92–93). Throughout such an excavation strategy was possible to determine that the vestiges were concentrated only in the eastern part of the impacted area of the site (km 14+240/250 – km14+540) and this is why was developed the open area excavation covering on about 2ha (Figure 3).

The main objectives of the preventive archaeological excavations at Tărtăria – *Podu Tărtăriei vest* in 2012 aimed to establish the limits of the archaeological site (especially towards east and west, given that the future motorway is “crossing” the site in this way), the spatial distribution, the features and the constitutive elements of the archaeological structures uncovered, as well as to retrieve all the artifacts and the relevant ecofacts discovered. As mentioned before, the site’s preservation stage was not a very good one, given a series of anthropogenic activities of the last decades. Thus, beside the exhaustive investigation of all the archaeological vestiges uncovered in the area of the site impacted by the construction of the future motorway, the archaeological team made a series of field walkings in the site’s proximity for identifying other possible areas of archaeological interest.

Following the preliminary data provided by the 25 small trial trenches excavated during the field evaluation stage in autumn 2011, the presence of the archaeological vestiges was presumed to exist between km 14+100 and km 14+500 of the future motorway A1, sector 1. After mapping the excavation units and finds, as well as given the limits set by the construction project, in March – April 2012 there have been 18 stratigraphic sections (labeled S₀₀₁–S₀₁₈), in order to be able to observe in greater detail the site’s characteristics, including the nature and density of the archaeological vestiges. Thus, since the first weeks of the archaeological campaign was possible to determine that the archaeological vestiges were concentrated only from km 14+240/250 to km 14+500; once the excavation units were opened (labeled S_I–S_{XI} areas) it became obvious that the western part of the excavation perimeter initially marked was not of archaeological interest. While the preventive excavation project was on-going, the construction project of the motorway was modified for three times, thus resulting an extension towards north and east of the area to be investigated by archaeological excavations.

One of the most important observation made during the first stage of the excavation referred to the existence of a gully in the southern part of the investigated area, namely a natural structure bearing traces of anthropogenic intervention in ancient times which was interpreted as a ditch for delimiting the space of the prehistoric habitation. This ditch defines the southern limit of the site, its trace being observed on over 250m from W to E. Beyond this boundary, on the plateau towards the village Tărtăria, within the limits of the motorway’s construction project, no further indications of archaeological potential have been observed. At the beginning this structure was identified on the western end of the initial investigation

area and has been labeled as CPL 004. Later on, on the south-eastern corner of the initial investigation area was observed another linear structure which was labeled as CPL 118. During the second stage of the excavation, by opening the open area excavation units and mapping the geospatial data it became clear that in fact CPL 004 and the CPL 118 are a single structure, namely the southern delimiting ditch of the site. Yet, once have to notice that the eastern end of the structured was most probably destroyed by the contemporary industrial buildings (Figure 1a) and this is why the two separate labels were maintained. Given the size and the characteristics of the ditch, the work schedule and the logistics available it was taken the decision to investigate it through a combination of cross-sections excavated with mechanical means as well as manually. All the 32 cross-sections were projected perpendicularly on the ditch, 9 being located on the eastern part, where the archaeological finds were scarce and 23 on the western part, where it was observed a higher concentration of artefacts. Also, two of the main stratigraphic sections (S₀₀₃ north și S₀₀₈ south) intersected the outline of the ditch.

The ditch is a particular structure, both given its natural features (the presence of a series of small springs uncovered while excavating) and the archaeological discoveries made in this context, namely two votive deposits represented by two hoards of bronze and iron objects of the middle Hallstatt period (Ha B₃-C or the so-called Bâlvănești-Vinț series), as well as other metal objects of the same time, ceramic vessels (entire or fragmentary, typical for the Basarabi type pottery) and fragments of human skeletons (Figure 3, Figure 9, Figure 10). The hypothesis concerning the gully and its anthropogenic use in ancient time is supported by other two latter finds, namely a monetary treasure from the 2nd-1st c. BC and a bronze brooch of Roman age.

A second major observation made during the first phase of the excavation is that the site is extending to the north, towards the Mureș valley. One have to correlate this observation with the older information (around mid 20th century) concerning the discovery of Basarabi type pottery (Horedt 1949) during the construction of the DN7 route, as well with recent data regarding archaeological materials of Basarabi type from Balomiru de Câmp – *După Sat*, a village located westwards from Tărtăria on the Mureș valley (Popa 2011, p. 44, n. 187). Moreover, one have to consider the archaeological materials discovered through chance finds on the western part of the plateau (towards Cioara valley) during the fieldwalkings made on spring and summer 2012 by members of the archaeological team excavating at Tărtăria – *Podu Tărtăriei vest*. Based on these aspects, it is possible to assess better the size of the site from Tărtăria – *Podu Tărtăriei vest*, namely that it is covering a wider area than the one initially identified. Following this presumption, one have also to reconsider the information regarding the archaeological materials of Basarabi type found in secondary position at Tărtăria – *Gura Luncii* (RepAB 1995, p. 186; Ciugudean 1997, p. 148; Ursuțiu 2002, p. 98). Last, but not least, by corroborating all relevant information gathered both from references and the recent excavations, it is clear that the construction of the future motorway A1 had an impact only on the southern (south-eastern) part of the prehistoric site from Tărtăria – *Podu Tărtăriei*.

As mentioned above, further details added to the construction project determined the extension of the excavation to the east, where archaeological vestiges have been identified up to km 14+540. In this additional eastern sector of the excavation were opened 6 new stratigraphic sections (S₀₁₉-S₀₂₅) and an open area excavation unit (S_{XII}). Another extension of the excavation are due to the impact of the future motorway on the archaeological site from Tărtăria – *Podu Tărtăriei vest* was due to the relocation of the DC705E route. Within this additional excavation perimeter there have been opened other 6 stratigraphic sections (S₀₂₆-S₀₃₁) and a new open area excavation unit (S_{XIII}).

On the eastern extremity of the site were documented two other special structures. In a stratigraphic sequence, the first one is represented by a defensive structure (earth vallum / palisade and ditch) from the Middle ages (10th–12th c.), being followed by a prehistoric ditch most probably related to the occupancy of the site during the middle Hallstatt period.

The observations made on the 31 main stratigraphic sections (S₀₀₁–S₀₃₁), as well as the longitudinal and transversal profiles of the 13 open area excavation units (S_I–S_{XIII}) indicated only a single layer of habitation from the middle Hallstatt period. The archaeological discoveries made at Tărtăria – *Podu Tărtăriei vest* indicate the existence of a habitate characterised by a large quantity of pottery typical for the Basarabi style, as well as by a large number of metal objects, other than the two hoards briefly mentioned above. The site was delimited on the southern and eastern sides by two ditches. Given the nature of the finds and the preliminary stage of the post-excitation analysis it is possible to interpret these two structures as delimitations of the prehistory habitate and not as defensive construction. Also, considering the two hoards of bronze and iron objects, as well as some other metal objects and pottery, and the fragments of human skeletons the southern ditch might have had also a “votive” use.

In total there have been outlined and investigated 268 archaeological structures. The largest number is represented by traces of possible prehistoric dwellings with semi-sunken floor, storage pits, offering pits with vessels broken *in situ* (Figure 5, Figure 6 and Figure 7), refuse pit and extraction pits. Yet one have to mention that the post-excitation analysis is only at the beginning and thus the functionality of most of the structures is still to be determined. Beside the two hoards found in the southern ditch which will be briefly presented below, there is another exceptional find, namely a collective grave (labeled CPL 114) consisting of 6 human skeletons disposed in different positions and a human skull. A possible analogy for this funerary find might be the collective grave from Gomolava, in Serbia (Tasić 1972).

The general preservation status of the site, but also the absence of constructive elements like adobe walls and floors, hearts etc. preserved *in situ* for the majority of the investigated complexes are requiring a prudent analysis as regards the functionality of the site and its vestiges of the Hallstatt period. Yet is to be noticed the large quantity of Basarabi type pottery (entire and fragmentary) found in certain archaeological contexts (for instance up to now there have been restored more than 120 vessels and the process is on-going). The situation is the same for the metal objects (bronze and iron) found in here, namely more than 100 artefacts (weapons, tools, jewelry). It is also true that the scale of the excavation was a very large one in the case of the site from Tărtăria – *Podu Tărtăriei vest*, compared to other sites assigned to the Basarabi culture (especially along the Mureş valley), but even so the quantity and diversity of the artefacts are particular.

The first hoard of bronze and iron objects (Tărtăria I) is the largest and most complex find of the Ha B₃–C period or the so-called Bălvănești-Vinț series among the discoveries known up to now in Romania, Hungary and Serbia (Bratu 2009, p. 185–186). Moreover this is the first hoard of this chronological horizon found in an archaeological excavation in Romania. It consist of over 300 objects (weapons, tools, jewelry and horse harnesses) and still there artefacts to be dismantled. The second hoard of bronze and iron objects (Tărtăria II) was uncovered in close vicinity to the first hoard, in the southern ditch. It is also belonging to the Ha B₃–C period or the so-called Bălvănești-Vinț. It consist of 50 objects (weapons, tools, horse harnesses and jewelry). Together with hoard Tărtăria I is represent a unique find with special character. The objects within the two hoards are very diverse from a typological point of view. The category of weapons is represented by: short swords (*Kurzschwert*, only in Tărtăria I hoard), spears (only in Tărtăria II hoard), daggers (only in Tărtăria I hoard). The tools are represented by: socketed axes (*Tüllenbeile*), double axes (only in Tărtăria I hoard), wing axes (*Ärmchenbeile*, only in

Tărtăria II hoard) and a small knife. Most probably all the weapons and tools dismantled up to know (except a small knife) are made of iron. Since these two categories of objects are under restoration no analogies can be determined for the moment. The horse harnesses and jewelry are represented by a wide variety of bronze objects. Among the horse harnesses are to be mentioned a bit and various type of phalerae, buttons and tutuli. The category of jewelry is represented by various type of torques, bracelets (including arm bracelets and foot bracelets), brooches (including five spectacle fibulae / *Brillenfibeln*), various pendants, curl rings (hair pins / *Lockenringe*, only in Tărtăria I hoard), cones and beads (only in Tărtăria I hoard).

Despite the preliminary stage of restoration of the Tărtăria I and Tărtăria II hoards, there are a series of preliminary consideration in regard to certain analogies. At a general level, considering the size of the hoard and the variety of objects contained a good analogy for Tărtăria I hoard is the one from Șarengrad (Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, p. 60, fig. 13; Kemenczei 2005, p. 137–138, pl. 37–38). As regard preliminary analogies for different type of harness objects one can mention: for the bit (type Ib according to Metzner-Nebelsick's typology) the finds from Fügöd (Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, p. 236 – 237, fig. 114/11; Kemenczei 2005, p. 133–134, pl. 21–22); for the phalera with “open cage” type button (Figure 11-5) the similar examples from Vințu II hoard (Popa, Berciu 1965, p. 54 and 58, pl. I/2, fig. 1/5), Holihradi (Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, p. 349, fig. 161; Kemenczei 2005, p. 144, pl. 51/4). As regards the jewelry there are to be considered: for the torques (Figure 11-1) the hoards from Vaidei (Berciu 1942, p. 80–97), Vințu II (Popa, Berciu 1965, p. 58, pl. II–IV, fig. 1/6–9), Coldău and Bâlvănești (Petrescu-Dâmbovița 1977, p. 162–164, pl. 387–388, 390, 392–396) if to mention only finds from Romania; for the spectacle fibulae (Figure 11-3) the hoards Vințu II (Popa, Berciu 1965, p. 51, pl. I/3, fig. 1/1) and Vințu III (Aldea, Ciugudean 1995), as well as a series of finds in Banat and along the Danube and in the west Balkans (Pabst 2012); for the curl rings (hair pins / *Lockenringe*) the finds from Vajuga-Pesak necropolis (Popović, Vukmanović 1998).

It is evident that is much needed to conclude the dismantle of all the component objects of Tărtăria I hoard, as well as the restoration of all the objects from the two hoards in order to proceed to an in depth analysis of this category of finds. Yet the presence of certain objects in the composition of the two hoard from Tărtăria – *Podu Tărtăriei* vest the premises for a re-evaluation of certain major topics for the study of the Hallstatt period in Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe like the so-called “Thraco-Cimmerian horizon”, the openwork “bird-cage” bronzes or a more refined chronology of the bronze hoards from Ha B–C period (the horizons V and VI according to Pare). Also the restoration and study of the Basaraby type pottery uncovered at Tărtăria – *Podu Tărtăriei* are at the beginning, but this new material provides a genuine opportunity for better knowledge and understanding of this phenomenon. In such a perspective, the field research at Tărtăria – *Podu Tărtăriei* vest has to be resumed given the importance for the study of the middle Hallstatt period (or the so-called period of Basarabi culture) in the Carpathian Basin and the Balkans.

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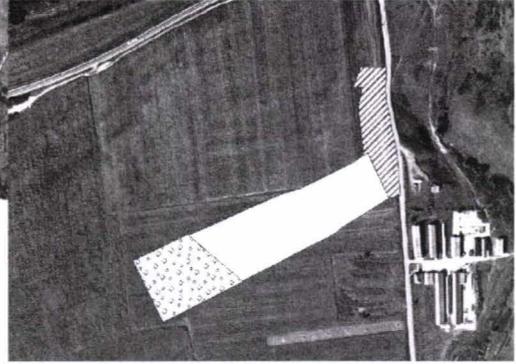
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a. Ortophotomap of 2005 overlapped by the site's delimitation



b. Satellite image from June 2012 (including detail on the site's area)



Figure 1: Motorway A1 – sector 1, site Tartaria – Podu Tartariei vest (site 7 / km 14+100 - km 14+540), Alba county.

The investigated area of the site located on ortophotomap and satellite image (2005, 2012)

Figure 1: Motorway A1 – sector 1, site Tărtăria – Podu Tărtăriei vest (site 7 / km 14+100 - km 14+540), Alba county. The investigated area of the site located on ortophotomap and satellite image (2005, 2012)

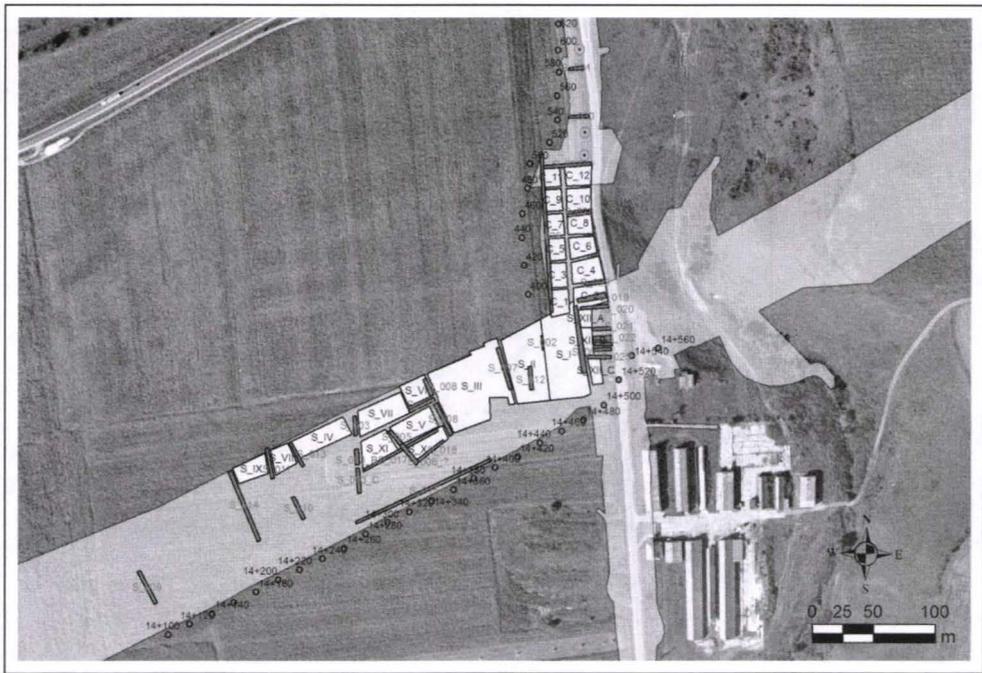


Figure 2: Motorway A1 – sector 1, site Tartaria – Podu Tartariei vest (site 7 / km 14+100 – km 14+540), Alba county. General plan of the excavation

Figure 2: Motorway A1 – sector 1, site Tărtăria – Podu Tărtăriei vest (site 7 / km 14+100 – km 14+540), Alba county. General plan of the excavation



Figure 3: Motorway A1 – sector 1, site Tartaria – Podu Tartariei vest (site 7 / km 14+100 – km 14+540), Alba county. General plan of the archaeological vestiges

Figure 3: Motorway A1 – sector 1, site Tărtăria – Podu Tărtăriei vest (site 7 / km 14+100 – km 14+540), Alba county. General plan of the archaeological vestiges



Figure 4: Motorway A1 – sector 1, site Tărtăria – Podu Tărtăriei vest (site 7 / km 14+100 – km 14+540), Alba county. Preliminary distribution of the archaeological finds

Figure 4: Motorway A1 – sector 1, site Tărtăria – Podu Tărtăriei vest (site 7 / km 14+100 – km 14+540), Alba county. Preliminary distribution of the archaeological finds



Figure 5: Motorway A1 – sector 1, site Tărtăria – Podu Tărtăriei vest (site 7 / km 14+100 – km 14+540), Alba county. Complex no. 013 – Pottery broken *in situ*

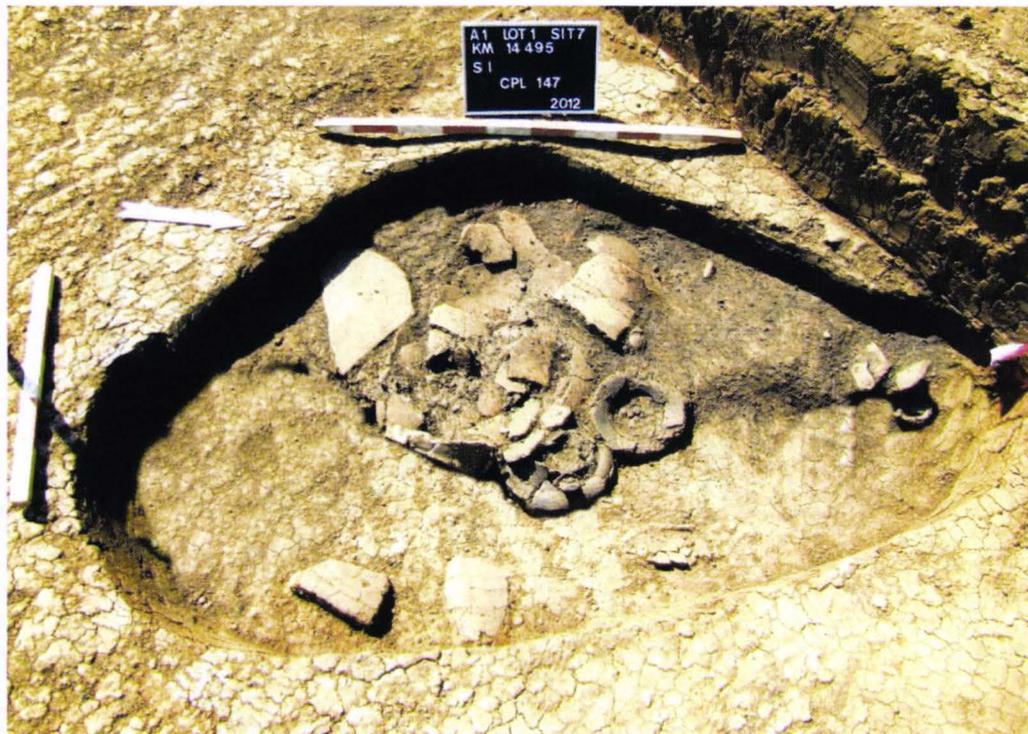


Figure 6: Motorway A1 – sector 1, site Tărtăria – Podu Tărtăriei vest (site 7 / km 14+100 – km 14+540), Alba county. Complex no. 147 – Pottery broken *in situ*



Figure 7: Motorway A1 – sector 1, site Tărtăria – Podu Tărtăriei vest (site 7 / km 14+100 – km 14+540), Alba county. Complex no. 190 – Pottery broken *in situ*



Figure 8: Motorway A1 – sector 1, site Tărtăria – Podu Tărtăriei vest (site 7 / km 14+100 – km 14+540), Alba county. Collective grave



Figure 9.1: Motorway A1 – sector 1, site Tărtăria – Podu Tărtăriei vest (site 7 / km 14+100 – km 14+540), Alba county. The hoard Tărtăria I – 1. The upper part of the deposition *in situ*,



Figure 9.2: Motorway A1 – sector 1, site Tărtăria – Podu Tărtăriei vest (site 7 / km 14+100 – km 14+540), Alba county. The hoard Tărtăria I - 2. The middle part of the deposition *in situ*



Figure 10: Motorway A1 – sector 1, site Tărtăria – Podu Tărtăriei vest (site 7 / km 14+100 – km 14+540), Alba county. The hoard Tărtăria II *in situ*



1



2



3



4



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Figure 11: Motorway A1 – sector 1, site Tărtăria – Podu Tărtăriei vest (site 7 / km 14+100 – km 14+540), Alba county. Adornments and jewelry from the hoards Tărtăria I and II – 1. Bronze torques and pendant from the hoard Tărtăria I; 2 Bronze bracelets from hoard Tărtăria I; 3. Bronze brooches from the hoards Tărtăria I and II; 4. Bronze curl rings (hair pins) from the hoard Tărtăria I; 5. Bronze phalerae from the hoards Tărtăria I and II; 6. Bronze phalerae, tutuli and buttons from from the hoards Tărtăria I and II



Figure 12: Motorway A1 – sector 1, site Tărtăria – Podu Tărtăriei vest (site 7 / km 14+100 – km 14+540), Alba county. Weapons and tools from the hoards Tărtăria I and II – 1. Iron socketed axes from the hoards Tărtăria I and II; 2. Iron spears from the hoard Tărtăria 2; 3. Iron short swords, wing ax and chisel from the hoards Tărtăria I and II

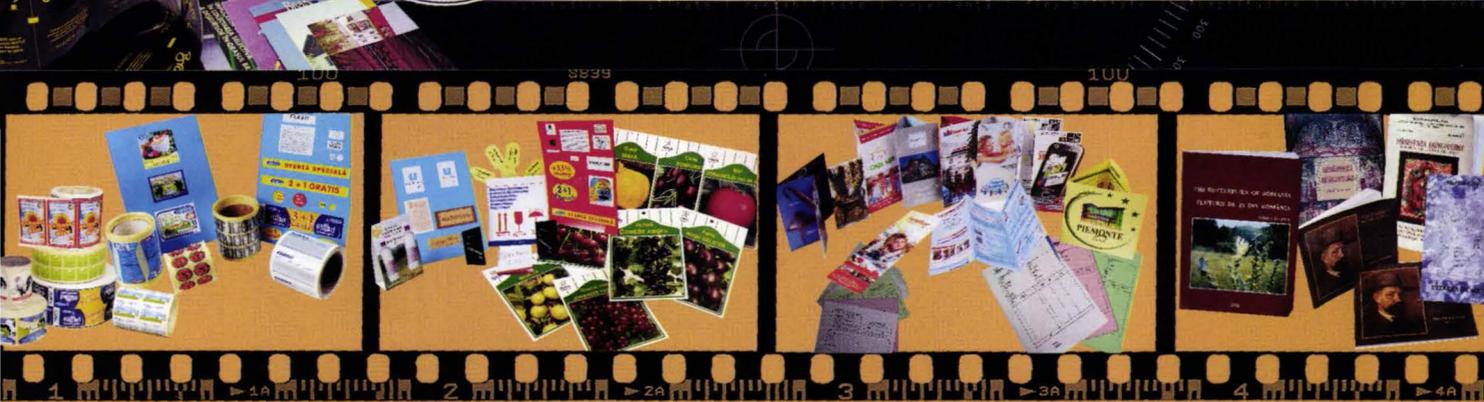
Note: The author is grateful to Luciana Irimuş and Vlad Rumeş for their support in illustrating this article, as well as to Marius Amarie for his photos taken to the objects belonging to the hoards Tărtăria I and Tărtăria II.



Participants of the 12th International Congress of Thracology, Târgoviște, 2013
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ISBN: 978-606-654-077-3