

Funerary Practices at the Geto-Dacians of the 2nd Century BC – 1st Century AD

by Valeriu Sîrbu, Aurel Rustoiu

I. Introduction. Although the funerary vestiges of the last three centuries before the Roman conquest have been presented on other occasions, generally¹ or type by type², a new analysis is necessary, in order to present the new discoveries, as well as a new vision of the phenomenon on the whole. We will not refer in our analysis to the Lipica group, except for a final comment, as it would require a separate study, due to the many issues it presents (number and type of tombs, the presence of Przeworsk type tombs etc.)³.

We have separated the funerary vestiges from this period in the following categories: Padea - Panaghiurskii Kolonii - Spahii, early and late tumular Dacian tombs, flat Dacian tombs and the necropolis of Zemplin, because of their own characteristics and to make possible their comparative analysis as well.

II. Topography and internal structure. The data regarding the place of the necropolises and their relation to the settlement are extremely few, meaning they do not allow general conclusions, but only a few observations. Thus, the settlement and necropolis of Turburea – Spahii⁴ were close, the tumuli from Brad⁵, Răcățâu⁶, Poiana⁷ and Popești⁸ were at varying distances from the settlements, from 0.3 to 1.5 km.

As we have very little data regarding the fortified settlements at Zemplin and Zimnicea, comparisons cannot be drawn between the inventories of the two types of monuments. In the case of the tumuli on the valley of Siret, the funerary furniture is either lacking or extremely poor, rendering comparisons with the settlements irrelevant.

The small number of discoveries or their fortuitous character (Spahii) do not allow any estimations of the internal structure of the necropolis. It is only at Zemplin⁹ that one can notice that the Dacian tumular and flat tombs are concentrated in the western area, plus a nucleus of flat tombs in the south-eastern area. (*Fig.12*)

III. Fitting outs. Except for the tumular tombs, we have little information regarding the internal fitting outs, due to the small number of tombs, as well as to the fortuitous character of most of the discoveries.

We will stick to only a few notes in the case of the tumular tombs too, as they have been thoroughly analysed in a few synthesis studies¹⁰. Compared to the impressive stone structures – rooms, *dromoi*, sometimes in polished stone, with bas-reliefs and painted scenes etc.)¹¹, we are now dealing with modest tumuli, without funerary chambers, rarely with platforms, stone rings, ditches etc. It was only at the tumuli on the Siret valley that fireplaces and ovens were found (e.g. in T₂ of Răcățâu – 3 fireplaces and one oven), suggesting complicated burial rituals and huge pits, sometimes without human bones and with a very poor funerary furniture or none (e.g.

¹ Protase 1971; Sîrbu 1986, 89-124; 1993, 21-40; Sîrbu, Sîrbu 1997, 335-362; Babeș 1988, 3-32.

² Vulpe 1976, 193-215; Sîrbu 1994, 83-121; Rustoiu 1994, 33-37; Sîrbu, Rustoiu 1999, 77-91.

³ Čigilik 1975; Svešnikov 1957, 63-74.

⁴ Gherghe 1978, 15-31.

⁵ Ursachi 1986, 105-151.

⁶ Căpitanu 1986, 109-120.

⁷ Vulpe 1976, 208-210.

⁸ Vulpe 1976, 193-207.

⁹ Budinský-Krička, Lamiová-Schmiedlová, 245-354.

¹⁰ Vulpe 1976, 193-215; Sîrbu 1994, 83-121; Rustoiu 1994, 33-37.

¹¹ Gergova 1996; Rousseva 2000.

there was a 4.60 x 4.40 m pit under T₄ of Răcățău, 6 m deep!)¹².

The data are irrelevant within the Padea - Panaghiurskii Kolonii - Spahii group, as most of the tombs have been discovered by chance. Anyway, in the few cases analysed, we are dealing with almost round pits, with a top depth of 0.70 m, rarely burnt, with no other fitting outs¹³.

IV. Rites and rituals. Practically, the funerary rite has been exclusively cremation.

All the tumular tombs, with one possible exception, have been cremation tombs, no matter the area, all along the 2nd century BC – 1st century AD¹⁴. The probable exception might be represented by the two skeletons present at the periphery of the Tumulus 3 of Brad¹⁵ – but we could be dealing here with either human sacrifices or later burials. The fact that in the necropolis of Zemplin, neither under the tumuli, nor in the flat tombs have there been found inhumation tombs, seems relevant¹⁶.

In the area of the Padea-Panaghiurski Kolonii-Spahii group, the part of it north of the Danube, all the tombs are exclusively cremation tombs¹⁷. Also, all the tombs in the necropolis of Zimnicea, dating in the 2nd century BC, are cremation only¹⁸. In the rest of the Geto-Dacian world, the number of tombs that are certain (around 10 cases) from the 2nd century BC – 1st century AD is so reduced that any generalisations are random. It is only in Dobrogea (Tulcea¹⁹ - Fig.7, and Făgărașul Nou²⁰) that 4 inhumation tombs have been identified, all dated in the 1/1 2nd century BC, but there can't be made many observations, as they are fortuitous discoveries.

In the case of tumular tombs, the cremation has been made either under the mound, with the bones left on the stake or deposited in another place – on the ground or in pits, or the cremation

of the dead has been made somewhere else. There is a high number of cenotaphs – 7 cases out of 31 discoveries. One could draw the conclusion that if the cremation is exclusive, the variety of rituals is rather high, although the number of discoveries is low. In most of the cases where more than three tumuli have been excavated, the majority of situations are met – stake under the mound or not, bones deposited on the ground or in pits, the lack of human bones, the absence or presence of funerary furniture etc²¹.

The funerary stake is known, with certainty, only in the cases of a few tumular tombs, namely, when it was under the mound. It was only at Turburea-Spahii that it is possible it might have been identified, but the lack of human bones could also indicate the use of the fitting out for the burning of the funerary furniture or other ritual acts²². At Tilișca, it is possible that we are not dealing with tombs, but with a depositing of offerings, as we are not sure of the fact that they were human bones, and because the manner of fitting out and the structure of the inventory might suggest that (Fig.8). In any case, no human bones have been found on the alleged funerary stake²³.

Due to the lack of enough data and the few anthropological analysis, only a few observations can be made regarding the intensity and type of cremation, as well as concerning the way of depositing the cremated bones.

Thus, in the case of tumular tombs, it has been noticed sometimes, that the dead has been deposited on the stake with all of the furniture, or only a part of it (e.g. Cugir – T₂, Popești – T₄). The quantity of bones left on the stake or deposited somewhere else (on the ground, in urns or not) is extremely small but usually from all parts of the body. Usually, some of the bones stay on the stake, while the rest is deposited in pits (e.g. Răcățău – T₂, T₃).

In the case of the Padea - Panaghiurskii Kolonii - Spahii group, the part of it north of the Danube, it was noticed that the cremation had

¹² Căpitanu 1986, 119-120.

¹³ Sîrbu, Rustoiu 1999, 79.

¹⁴ Sîrbu 1994, 131.

¹⁵ Ursachi 1986, 108.

¹⁶ Budinský-Krička, Lamiová-Schmiedlová 1990, 245-354.

¹⁷ Sîrbu, Rustoiu 1999, 79.

¹⁸ Alexandrescu 1980, 19-126; Babeș 1988, 8, notes 15-16.

¹⁹ Lungu 1996, 53-60, 95-98.

²⁰ Topoleanu 1985, 99-105.

²¹ Sîrbu 1994, 131-132.

²² Gherghe 1978, 17.

²³ Lupu 1981, 197-207.

been strong, but that extremely few bones have been deposited, either in pits or in urns. The same situation has been noticed at the tombs in the necropolis of Zimnicea or in the isolated ones (Brad, Gropșani). In the case of the necropolis of Zemplin, the quantity of bones deposited varies enormously – from a few little bones to 2.5 kg! It is also here that it was established, following the analysis of the coal, that, oak wood has been used in 35 out of 39 analysed tombs²⁴ !

V. The gender and age of the dead is known in very few cases, due to the fact that the cremation has been quasi total, as well as because of the low number of anthropological analysis.

In the tumular tombs, in all the cases where anthropological analyses have been made, we are dealing only with mature males (Cugir – T₂, Lăceni, Orbeasca, Popești)²⁵. In any case, the funerary inventory did not contain any furniture sets typical for women²⁶.

The analysis of 161 cremated tombs preserved in the necropolis of Zemplin allowed data only about 127 of them: 10 women, 5 males, 7 children and 105 adults of unidentified gender²⁷. It is obvious that the small number of children tombs is abnormal and, if the anthropological data obtained are correct, it means that the children have been handled in a different way.

The analysis of the funerary inventory from the Padea - Panaghiurskii Kolonii - Spahii group, of the offensive and defensive weaponry and harness items especially, as well as the absence of sets typical for women seems to point to the fact that we are dealing exclusively with mature males, probably knights²⁸.

As the number of flat tombs is insignificant and placed in different areas, the observations have only circumstantial value: a) only 15 tombs can be dated to the 2nd century BC in the necropolis of Zimnicea; b) the 6 tombs from Dobrogea (5 from Tulcea and one from Făgărașul

Nou) date in the 2nd century BC; c) the tomb from Brad is from second half of the 1st century AD; d) the tomb from Gropșani is from second half of the 2nd century – beginning of 1st century BC²⁹; e) the tombs from Zemplin are from second half of the 1st century BC – 1st century AD (Fig. 13). Even if we added the 6 tombs from Chirnogi, Călărași County, from 2nd – 1st centuries BC³⁰ and the 9 from Dumbrava, Iași County, from 1st century AD³¹, the situation would be the same. But, in our opinion, the character of tombs in Dumbrava and their chronological placing can be discussed only after publishing. We haven't taken in consideration either the so-called tombs from Cetățeni, Argeș County³², as there aren't reliable data regarding their existence and the alleged construction from there is totally alien to the Geto-Dacian environment, such fitting outs being without antecedents or continuations in the local world.

VI. Grave goods

1. Urns The notes on the elements of funerary ritual in the case of the *complexes of the Padea type – Panaghiurskii Kolonni* from Otlenia and south-western Transylvania are, in general, brief. We're dealing especially with fortunate discoveries, the attention of the discoverers being drawn by the metal inventories of those certain tombs. Although it seems that in most of the cases, it was about depositing cremated remains in circular pits, there are situation in which the use of urns has been noticed. Thus, at Padea, urns have been recovered from three tombs, represented by jars, hand modelled and ornated with knobs³³. In the necropolis at Spahii, the cremated bones of one of the dead have been deposited in a hand-made jug³⁴, and at Corcova the cremated bones have been found in a potter's wheel jug³⁵ (Fig.9/4). We're probably dealing with a wheel made jug in the case of the tomb at Slatina³⁶ too. Finally, at

²⁴ Budinský-Krička, Lamiová-Schmiedlová 1990, 307-309.

²⁵ Botezatu 1977, 341; Sîrbu 1994, 133.

²⁶ Babeș 1988, 6, note 14.

²⁷ Budinský-Krička, Lamiová-Schmiedlová 1990, 307-308.

²⁸ Nicolăescu-Plopșor 1948, 17-33; Sîrbu, Rustoiu 1999, 73.

²⁹ Popilian, Nica 1998, 69.

³⁰ Șerbănescu 2000, 35.

³¹ Sanie, Sanie 1973, 62.

³² Babeș 1999, 14-19.

³³ Zirra 1971, 234, n.303.

³⁴ Gherghe 1978; 1984.

³⁵ Sîrbu, Rustoiu, Crăciunescu 1999.

³⁶ Butoi 1974, fig. 1-2.

Teleac, the exact circumstances of the discovery are unknown, but the jugs originating in those funerary complexes might have been used as urns. Yet, it is not impossible that they were offerings³⁷.

Despite the poor data that is available to us, one can notice the fact that when urns have been used, they were local vessel. Also, jugs have been used as urns in cases numerous enough. This is also specific to tombs in the Getae necropolis at Zimnicea³⁸, a fact that might indicate a ritual local practice, the signification of which, for the time being, escapes our understanding.

In the *Dacian tumular tombs* from the 2nd – 1st centuries BC, as well as in those from the 1st century AD, the use of urns has not been observed, the cremated remains being deposited in other manners. Yet, one notices that, in tumulus no. IV from Popești, a part of the human remains has been deposited in the calotte of a bronze helmet, which belonged to the dead³⁹ (*Fig. 3/1*). This situation has also been observed in other culture areas (see, for example, the tomb with helmet, early La Tène, from Săvârșin, Arad county⁴⁰ or Cuptoarele-Sfocea⁴¹). Yet, the depositing of the calcined bones in a helmet is not usual.

As for the *group of Dacian tombs from the necropolis of Zemlin*, the cremated bones of the dead have been deposited in urns⁴² in approximately 1/3 of the funerary complexes mentioned.

Most of the urns were undecorated jugs or jugs decorated with girdles and/or knobs. Rarely, the urn has been a plate or a local *kantharos*. The urns usually did not have lids, but, when the latter have been used, the “lids” were represented by stone plaques and, very rarely, by actual lids.

2. Inventory

The tombs belonging to the *Padea – Panaghiurski Kolonii* have a rich metal inventory. The weaponry and harness gear, which were what usually attracted the attention of the

discoverers, are essential in the attempt to make a historical placing and interpretation of the phenomena connected to the funerary complexes mentioned.

The *offensive weaponry* is represented by long swords of the La Tène type, lance heads and curved daggers (*Fig.2*).

Around 27 La Tène swords are known on the territory of Romania, from 21 localities. Typologically, the items in question belong to La Tène C₂-D⁴³.

The iron lance heads are the most numerous and it is only in very rare cases that there were bronze ones. Over 50 items have been discovered, from 27 localities. The presence of a lance has been noticed in each tomb from which the funerary inventory has been completely recovered. Though, there are cases in which the same tomb contains two spears (Călărași, Plosca, Siseștii de Jos)⁴⁴. Morphologically, the lance heads have median flat, angled or rounded nervures, varying in length from 25 to 60 cm. It was only in one case – Gruia – that the spear was rectangular in cross-section⁴⁵.

The 22 known curved daggers (*sica*), come from 18 localities; sometimes the hood was preserved. The handles are simple or with “knobs” on the outside and at the guard, while the blade has one or several longitudinal channels. There are cases in which the blades are decorated with zoomorphic, vegetal or geometrical motifs. One must mention the dagger from Corcova, the handle, blade and hood of which show a complex ornamentation (*Fig.9/2*), which expresses the interference of the local artistic elements with the Celtic ones⁴⁶.

The origin of the curved daggers is found in older items, specific to the Thracian area⁴⁷. A large number of such daggers has been found in the entire area of the Pada – Panaghiurski Kolonii group (both the northern and southern Danubian

³⁷ Moga 1982, 87-91; Babeș 1988, 9, n.22.

³⁸ Alexandrescu 1980, fig.26/1-2, 4.

³⁹ Vulpe 1976, 203.

⁴⁰ Barbu, Hügel 1999, 109.

⁴¹ Oprinescu 1987, 127-129.

⁴² Budinský-Krička, Lamiová-Schmiedlová 1990, 306.

⁴³ Wozniak 1974, 87-94; Zirra 1971, 235; Domaradzki 1987, 228-229; Tačeva 1978, 325-327; Sîrbu, Rustoiu 1999, 80.

⁴⁴ Sîrbu, Rustoiu 1999, 88-89.

⁴⁵ Sîrbu, Rustoiu 1999, 80.

⁴⁶ Sîrbu, Rustoiu, Crăciunescu 1999.

⁴⁷ Domaradzki 1986, 227.

side), dating all along the 3rd century BC – 1st century BC⁴⁸.

Also, the items of this kind are present in tumular Dacian tombs (see *infra*) and in the Dacian settlements and fortresses of the first century BC – first century AD, being used until the conquest of Dacia by the Romans⁴⁹. Very rarely, the curved daggers are present in a series of Scordiscian tombs (Karaburma – M.112, 145; Ajmana; Sotin – M.3; Vajuga – Pesak)⁵⁰.

The *defensive weaponry* is made out of shields, out of which the central metallic parts were preserved (*umbo*), discovered in 6 localities. Morphologically, those certain items have been made under the shape of belts, (Corlate, Plosca), or, more often, of semispherical vault (Cornești, Dobrosloveni, Spahii, Bubova), a characteristic specific to the exemplars from the late La Tène⁵¹.

Although there weren't any mail shirts in the Northern Danube funerary complexes, one can also mention some in the tumular tombs of the same group, at the South of the Danube, at Târnovo and Doirentzi, in Bulgaria⁵².

The harness items are represented by the bridle bits. The most characteristics of them are the Thracian type found in the Padea – Panaghiurski Kolonii area⁵³ but one can find this kind of items in Dacian territory, centre and North-Eastern Transylvania.

Adornments and clothing items are less numerous, but occupy an important place in the attempt to draft accurate chronologies. The best known items are the fibulae. These are specific to the C₂ – D La Tène. It is worth noticing the appearance in the area of the Padea – Panaghiurski Kolonii group (in complexes on both sides of the Danube) of artefacts specific to this region only. We are dealing with iron fibulae of the middle La Tène type, of the Gura – Padinei type⁵⁴, or with bronze ones, of the Orlea -

Maglavit type⁵⁵. The same observation must be made also about the iron belts of the Corlate type⁵⁶. Finally, one must mention a series of glass pasta heads and a bracelet, dated at the end of the middle La Tène and the late La Tène⁵⁷.

Tumular Dacian Tombs

The *offensive weaponry* is made out of long swords of the La Tène type, lance heads, curved daggers and arrowheads (*Fig.2*).

The swords, typologically similar to those in the funerary complexes of the Padea – Panaghiurski Kolonii group, originate in the tumuli from Cugir (T. II) and Popești (T. II and T. IV). They are always associated with lance heads and shield *umbos* and, in two cases, with curved daggers.

In other two cases we have the association between the curved daggers and lance heads (Cugir – T. IV and Radovanu⁵⁸ (*Fig.4*).

The arrowheads show up, in one exemplar, at Popești (T. IV), Lăceni and Poiana, Galați county (T. II)⁵⁹. The *defensive weaponry* is more varied than the one discovered in tombs of the Padea – Panaghiurski Kolonii type.

Shields (shield *umbos* or parts of the metal frames of the shields) have been discovered in five cases (one at Cugir – T. II, one at Lăceni and three at Popești – T. II, III, IV). They belong to a type present in the local Danubian environment, but also in the Dacian settlements of the first century BC – first century AD⁶⁰.

The mail shirts are very frequent, entire or only fragmentary exemplars having been found at Cugir (T. II), Poiana (Gorj county), Popești (three exemplars) and Radoveanu, all dated in the first century BC. The mail shirts coming from a flat tomb (Bastarnic?) at Răcățau and the complex (funerary?) at Cetățeni⁶¹ are dated in the same period.

Finally, it is worth mentioning the armour fragments discovered in one of the tumuli of

⁴⁸ Wozniak 1974, 98-104; 1976, 390.

⁴⁹ Glodariu, Iaroslvaschi 1979, 139.

⁵⁰ Todorovič 1972, pl. XXXIV/6, XXXVI/1; Bozič 1981, pl.9/9; Popovič 1989-1990, fig.3/2-3.

⁵¹ Sîrbu, Rustoiu 1999, 81.

⁵² Rustoiu 1996, 36.

⁵³ Werner 1988, types XVI and XVII.

⁵⁴ Rustoiu 1997, 2b 2 type.

⁵⁵ Rustoiu 1997, type 4.

⁵⁶ Rustoiu 1996, 113-114.

⁵⁷ Sîrbu, Rustoiu 1999, 84.

⁵⁸ Sîrbu 1993, 22-23; 1994, 33; Rustoiu 1994, 35.

⁵⁹ Sîrbu 1994, 133, Rustoiu 1994, 35.

⁶⁰ Glodariu, Iaroslvaschi 1979, 129-131.

⁶¹ Sîrbu 1993, 23; 1994, 133; Rustoiu 1994, 34; Babeș 1999, 14-19.

Răcățău. We are dealing with three bronze plaques of *lorica squamata* and the fragments of iron coat of mail. Both the bronze and the iron plaques have made up single armour. Similar items are known in the Sarmatic northern pontic environment of the end of the first century BC and along the first century AD. The analogies also indicate the region of origin of the chest plate of Răcățău⁶².

Helmet fragments have also been discovered in four cases; the exemplars of Piscu, Crășani, Poiana (Gorj County) and Popești are made of bronze and the one from Cugir of iron. The bronze items originate in the Attic helmets of the IV-III centuries BC. Some of those have known a particular evolution in the northern Balkan area and in the Black Sea area, the last “manifestations” of the evolution of the helmets in question being represented by the item at Popești and, probably, by those from Piscu Crășani and Poiana (Gorj county)⁶³. Insofar the exemplar from Cugir is concerned, the prototypes can be looked for in the Italian – Adriatic area⁶⁴. All the helmets that we have referred date at the end of the second century BC and along the first century BC. They constitute the last helmet horizon from the pre-Roman Dacia, disappearing completely along the first century AD⁶⁵.

The *harness gear* is represented by bridle bits of the Thracian type⁶⁶ and Thracian-Getae type⁶⁷. At Cugir (T. II), a ceremonial chariot has been discovered, the analogies of which from the southern Danubian area indicate its origin⁶⁸. Also, at Radovanu, several items have been discovered, that could have belonged to a chariot⁶⁹. In both cases, we are not dealing with fighting chariots.

The *adornment and clothing items* are not, on the whole, much various. We are dealing with fibulae specific to the Dacian-Getae area (fibulae of the middle La Tène type, spoon-fibulae,

fibulae with rhombic shield). Yet, there are exceptions: a Roman fibula at Popești and a leather fibula with leather appliqué, bracelets, rings and chain links, glass beads etc.⁷⁰ It is worth noticing the presence of silver adornment items (Cugir T. II and T. III) and, especially, of golden items. The latter are represented either by ornaments on leather belts or by items that have decorated mail shirts. Except for the appliqué on the armour of Răcățău (the origin of which – as seen – is in Sarmathic area), the other gold items date along the 2nd – 1st centuries BC, and these are characteristic for the northern Balkan area⁷¹.

The necropolis of Zemplin. The inventory of the necropolis is very varied, “ethnically” speaking, both the military gear items and the adornment and clothing ones originating in different geo-cultural areas. Also, they express the mixture of the communities that used this particular necropolis (Fig.2; 14-15).

The offensive gear from the Dacian tombs is made out of swords, curved daggers, lances and arrowheads.

Swords have been discovered in two tombs (G.78 and 128), sword hoods fragments having been discovered in other funerary complexes. The swords from Zemplin have analogies in both the Western cultural environment (Celtic – Roman) and in the area of the Przeworsk culture, being dated in the first half of the first century AD. An inscription has been identified on the blade of one of the swords, on two rows, out of which a part is preserved (VTILICI), and assumed to be the name of the Roman producer. This inscription also indicates the area of origin⁷². One ornament might also originate in the western environment (probably the northern area), made in *opus interrasile*, although such items are also to be found in the Germanic area⁷³.

The curved daggers are represented by one exemplar met in a “deposit” in tumuli I⁷⁴. It is an exemplar similar to the ones in the Padea –

⁶² Rustoiu 1996, 150-151; Bărcă 1997a, 185; 1997b, 911.

⁶³ Rustoiu 1996, 147-150.

⁶⁴ Rustoiu, 1996, 150.

⁶⁵ Gumă 1991, 102.

⁶⁶ Werner 1988, XVI type.

⁶⁷ Werner 1988, VIII type.

⁶⁸ Crișan 1980, 83.

⁶⁹ Vulpe 1976, 208.

⁷⁰ Sîrbu 1994, 124-128, 134.

⁷¹ Rustoiu 1996, 36-37.

⁷² Budinský-Křička, Lamiová-Schmiedlová 1990, 279-280.

⁷³ Bockins 1991, 289-291, fig.7; Böhme-Schönberger 1998, fig.6.

⁷⁴ Budinský-Křička, Lamiová-Schmiedlová 1990, pl.I/3.

Panaghiurski Kolonii group and the early tumular Dacian tombs. Also, a fibula of the Nauheim type and a belt decoration were, in the same tomb, indicating a dating towards the half of the first century AD. Other two daggers are from G.108 and G.128 and are of the Illyric type.

Lance heads have been discovered in two Dacian tombs⁷⁵, but most of the items of this type come from Germanic tombs. They all belong to the type I b⁷⁶.

Lastly, the arrowheads are from five Dacian tombs, 19 exemplars having been discovered in one of them (G. 106). All these items belong to the types I c and II⁷⁷.

The *defensive weaponry* is made of shields and mail shirts. Elements of the metal parts of the shields have been identified in two Dacian tombs, one of them of the La Tène type, the other with analogies in the area of the Przeworsk culture, dated, same as the rest of the inventory, in the first half of the first century AD⁷⁸.

The mail shirt from G. 78, from the first half of the first century AD, has analogies in the exemplars in the northern Balkan area. Due to this fact, it was assumed that the item from Zemplin has the same origin⁷⁹.

The *harness gear* is represented by spurs and a *phalera*. The spurs have been recovered from three Dacian tombs and are of the late La Tène type. The *phalera*, made in bronze, is from G. 128⁸⁰.

The *adornment and clothing items* from the necropolis of Zemplin have been broadly analysed. They are numerous and reflect, much as the weaponry, the ethnic mixture and the connection to the neighbouring areas. Thus, one notices the presence of accessories of Celtic origin (fibulae of the middle La Tène scheme, Nauheim type fibulae etc.), of Dacian origin (fibulae with knots, fibulae with large bilateral spring and arch-bowed, a few belt fittings), Roman origin, from the eastern alpine area

(strongly curved fibulae, fibulae with two knots on the bow and winged fibulae, belts of the Noric-Pannonian type) and of Germanic origin.

After reviewing the funerary inventories in the Dacian-Getic area, a few preliminary conclusions must be drawn.

* * *

In the tombs from the area of the Padea – Panaghiurski Kolonii group, a standardisation of the military gear is noticed. Even if the associations of items are not identical in each funerary complex, one notice, in particular, the presence of long swords of the La Tène type, of lance heads, curved daggers, shields and harness items (especially bridle bits of the Thracian type).

The same weaponry is present in the early Dacian tumular tombs in south-western Transylvania, northern Oltenia and Walachia. Yet, the “repertory” of the military gear is more various, helmets and mail shirts appearing in the tumular tombs, sometimes arrowheads too. Also, in some cases (Cugir, Radovanu?), the deads have been buried together with ceremonial chariots. These associations show techniques and procedures similar to those of the war aristocracy in area of the Padea – Panaghiurski Kolonii – Spahii group.

As for the Dacian tumuli from the first century AD, the area of which is reduced to the valley of Siret, the weaponry disappears almost completely. Rarely, the arrowheads remain, but a series of items appear, originating in the northern-Pontic Sarmathian environment, such as the chest plate from T. I at Răcățau.

The necropolis at Zemplin has a very special position in the catalogue of funerary phenomena from Dacia. One notice the presence of items frequently present in the Dacian environment, such as the arrows, lance heads and spurs, and the mail shirt from M. 78 seems to be of northern-Balkan origin. A series of elements (swords, sword hoods decorated in *opus interrasile*) indicates connections to the alpine area or the Germanic one. The contacts with the eastern and the northern regions are also visible as a result of the analysis of the adornment and clothing items.

⁷⁵ Budinský-Krička, Lamiová-Schmiedlová 1990, 281-282.

⁷⁶ Glodariu and Iaroslaschi's classification, 1979, 133.

⁷⁷ Glodariu, Iaroslaschi 1979, 135-136.

⁷⁸ Budinský-Krička, Lamiová-Schmiedlová 1990, 282-283.

⁷⁹ Budinský-Krička, Lamiová-Schmiedlová 1990, 283-286.

⁸⁰ Budinský-Krička, Lamiová-Schmiedlová 1990, 286.

All these observations are important in the attempt to perceive the chronological and geographical evolution of the Dacian funerary complexes. Yet, we will return to these aspects after the analysis of the funerary offerings.

3. Offerings

The ceramic vessel from the *funerary complexes of the Padea – Panaghiurski Kolonii group* are little known, most of the discoveries being fortunate. For some cases, the presence of ceramic fragments is noted (Băbeni – Olteț, Corlate, Vîrț etc.), but these had not been recovered. The vessels, as far as it is known at the present, were represented, in general, by hand – made containers, out of coarse or semi-fine paste, typical to the Dacian repertory. We are dealing with jars decorated with knobs (Spahii, Blandiana), bitronconic jugs with indented handles or notched nervures at the bottom (Blandiana, Teleac), bitronconic vessel with two handles (Blandiana)⁸¹.

The ceramic potter's wheel vessels are represented by recipients made of fine paste such as the jugs from Padea and Gruia and also the plates from the tombs at Gruia⁸². All this vessels have analogies in the Scordiscian environment⁸³. One meets kantharoi with two handles and polished ornaments, similar to the exemplar from Ciupercenii Vechi, are present in Scordiscian and Dacian environments, wheel as well as hand made exemplars being known⁸⁴. The vessels of this type have been discovered, for the time being, only in complexes on the right side of Danube, thus being a document of the connections between the two communities on the sides of the river.

The repertory of ceramic vessel discovered in the *Dacian tumuli* is relatively various, the fruit-pot being the most frequent. They were hand modelled (Cugir – T. IV, Lăceni, Popești – T. II)⁸⁵, but the way of making is not mentioned in other cases (Poiana, Galați county – T. I, Răcățau

– T. I and II). One must mention the fact that in T. II from Cugir a fruit-pot has been discovered, 70 cm in diameter, and that this impressive size raises a series of problems of functionality.

The plates are represented by a small number of exemplars, among which we mention one wheel made fragment, from T. I at Popești. We also remind a Roman import plate with red firnis from T. II at Răcățau and also a painted “globular” (?) vessel, discovered in T. III of the same necropolis.

The Dacian jars, hand modelled, are present in T. II from Cugir and in T. I - III from Răcățau, but their number could be higher, considering that the existence in tumuli of fragmentary vessel, the shape of which is not told, is mentioned in many cases.

The jugs, hand or potter's wheel modelled, come from Popești (T. I, II and IV) and Lăceni.

The kantharoi are also rare, such as the two exemplars in T. II from Popești. As for the bowls, these come from tumuli in the area of maximum use of these certain containers, such as an undecorated exemplar from Orbeasca de Sus and the items from T. I (two items), II (eight items) and IV (three items) from Popești.

Local or imported amphorae have been discovered in a series of tumuli, such as the exemplars from Poiana – Galați (T. I and II), Popești (T. I – IV) and Răcățau (T. I – III).

The Dacian cups, probably used as rush light, have been discovered in T. I – III from Răcățau and T. III from Popești.

Lastly, in some of the Dacian tumuli, Roman bronze vessels have been deposited as offerings. An italic *situla* (Eggers 20 type) comes from T. II at Cugir and a jug handle, lost at the present is mentioned in T. III at Brad.

Functionally speaking, the vessel discovered in the tumular tombs in Dacia can be classified in two groups. The first one is made up of containers that make up the so-called “eating vessel” – fruit-pots, plates and jars. The second group is made up of the so-called “drinking vessel”, being represented by jugs, kantharoi, bowls, amphorae, to which the imported bronze vessel is added. Still, as noticed on other occasions, “it wasn't the entire inventory that was together with the dead, meaning one must

⁸¹ Sîrbu, Rustoiu 1999, 84, fig.14, 16.

⁸² Zirra 1976; Sîrbu, Rustoiu 1999, fig.11, 17; Sîrbu, Rustoiu, Crăciunescu 1999, 217-229.

⁸³ Sladič 1986.

⁸⁴ Crișan 1969, 140, 178.

⁸⁵ Sîrbu 1993, 71-74, 1994, 124-130 and discoveries catalogue and bibliography.

wonder how much of it depositions are for the dead, leftovers of the funerary ceremonies or gifts to the gods of the participants⁸⁶. The funerary banquet in the Thracian world is written down by a few ancient writers⁸⁷. The fireplaces or “kitchen” ovens noticed under the mound of some of the tumuli from Răcățoiu might be related to the same practices. Lastly, the very large fruit pots, such as the exemplar from T. II at Cugir suggest their being used by several individuals at the same time, during the funerary ceremony.

As for the manner and moment of depositing of the vessel in the tombs, they are different from one area to another and even in the same necropolis. In T. II of Cugir, the ceramic vessel and bronze *situla* have been deposited on the stake, during cremation. At Lăceni, a fruit pot and a wheel made vessel (probably a jug) have been deposited on the stake during cremation and a fragmentary fruit pot has been placed near to the stake, after the end of the cremation of the dead, but before the raising of the tumulus. At Orbeasca de Sus, the depositing of a bowl on the stake, also during cremation, has been noticed. Finally, in T. II from Popești, the depositing of vessel during cremation, as well as after, has been noticed. In some cases, ceramic fragments have also been discovered in the tumuli's mound. There are cases in which it can be assumed that those certain vessels are from the funerary banquet (T. II at Popești). In other cases, though, the land necessary for the raising of the mound has been brought from other places, the ceramic fragment being accidentally brought with it (Orbeasca de Sus, Brad, Răcățoiu).

The vessels in the necropolis of Zemplin are the most significant from the point of view of ethnic identification of the dead. As they have been thoroughly examined⁸⁸, we will refrain to mentioning the main types of vessel in the Dacian tombs.

The jars, decorated with knobs and/or girdles, hand made, are the most frequent. They have been used as urns in many cases, but there are situations in which they have been placed in

tombs with offerings. It was only in one tomb that a hand modelled Dacian cup has been found.

Kantharoi have been recovered from four tombs and the mound of T. 1, some with polished ornaments. The fruit pots are represented by two items, and the porringers by some with flaring, curved inside or thickened edge. The jugs and pitchers in G.8 and G.128, wheel made, are most probably Roman imports.

On the whole, the ceramic vessels in the Dacian tombs from Zemplin are clearly different from the containers in the funerary complexes characteristic to the Przeworsk culture from the same necropolis.

VII. Geographic span

The funerary complexes of the Padea – Panaghiurski Kolonii are to be encountered in a vast area, including the northern and especially the northern-western Bulgaria (especially the Vraca region), the territory on the right side of Danube, downstream the Iron Gates, Oltenia (with significant concentrations in the southern and south-western area), the central-western Walachia (discoveries of Chirnogi and Cepari) and south-western Transylvania. It is worth underlining the fact that the tombs in Bulgaria are tumular, those in the Iron Gates area show elements of funerary rite and rituals specific to the Scordiscians, while the funerary complexes north of the Danube have Dacian characteristics. Sometimes, the latter have been discovered close to Dacian settlements with local, Dacian inventory.

The early tumular Dacian tombs (2nd – 1st centuries BC) are to be found in south-western Transylvania, in northern Oltenia and especially in Wallachia (especially in the southern part), a few tumuli from Poiana (Galați county) added. The tumuli from the first century AD are spread only in the Siret valley; thus, funerary monuments from both periods are present at Poiana (Galați County). In most of the cases, the tumular necropoleis are close to large Dacian settlements, ceramic vessel being present in the inhabiting complexes of these sites.

Lastly, the necropolis at Zemplin is, for the time being, a unique presence and it expresses the cultural manifestations characteristic to the valley of the Upper Tisa.

⁸⁶ Sîrbu 1993, 23.

⁸⁷ Herodot, V, 8; Hellanicos, *Barbarian Traditions*, f. 73.

⁸⁸ Budinský-Kříčka, Lamiová-Schmiedlová 1990, 301-302.

VIII. Chronology. Following the analysis of the funerary inventories in the area of the Padea - Panaghiurskii Kolonii - Spahii group, we can date the complexes in question along La Tène C₂ – D₁, noting that some tombs south of the Danube are some time earlier. The discoveries in south western Transylvania are after the Celtic horizon in that certain area and the last Celtic tombs date to the end of the La Tène C₁ and the beginning of the C₂ subphase. Under these circumstances, the Teleac, Tărtăria and Blandiana complexes can be dated at the middle of the 2nd century - middle of the 1st century BC, being contemporary with those in Oltenia⁸⁹.

The tumular tombs can be classified in three groups, being also in different areas a) end of the 2nd – 1st centuries BC – the tumuli in north western Transylvania and Walachia, B) 1st century AD – the tumuli on Siret and c) the tumuli from Zemplin – mid-first century BC - 1st century AD. The tumuli at Poiana can be dated to the second half of 1st century BC – first half of 1st century AD, being the geographical and chronological binder between tombs south and east of the Carpathians (*Fig.2*). Surely, the present situation may reflect only a stage of the knowledge, but also a historical reality – a “migration” of the funerary customs of this type from the west to the east and from the south to the north.

IX. Final comments

Almost 200 hundred discoveries with human bones are known in the Carpathian – Danubian space, between the 5th century BC and 1st century AD, from over 2300 individuals, discoveries that must be considered separately, both insofar the significance is concerned and separated by chronological periods and geographical areas as well, as the differences are huge.

Firstly, over 150 necropolis and isolated tombs can be included in the funerary domain, with around 2000 tombs, and approximately 40 discoveries, with around 210-220 individuals, can be included in the category of human bones in non-funerary contexts⁹⁰.

Secondly, the six centuries of funerary discoveries split in two different periods, both three centuries long, differentiated not only by the huge dissimilarity in the number of tombs, but also because of the impressive differences between the rites, rituals and funerary inventory.

Thus, whereas approximately 110 discoveries from the 5th – 3rd centuries BC are known, with around 1900 tombs, out of which 1600 are cremation tombs, from the 2nd century BC to 1st century AD, some 50 discoveries are known, with only 173 tombs, out of which only 6 are inhumation tombs!⁹¹

The archaeological discoveries prove, beyond doubt, that towards the end of the 3rd century – first half of the 2nd century BC, a fundamental change took place in the funerary ideology of the Geto-Dacians and, consequently, in the manner of handling the dead⁹². Furthermore, these three last centuries before the Roman conquest (106 AD) can also be split in two distinct periods: a) ± 200 – 50 BC, with 45 discoveries and around 165 tombs and b) ± 50 BC – 106 AD, with only 3 discoveries and 9 tombs, out of which 8 are tumular (Brad – 3, Răcăţu – 4, Poiana – 1 (T₁)) and only one flat (at Brad) (*Fig.11*).

In conclusion, one can notice that from the Burebista – Decebal period, that is, from the period of maximum development of the Dacian – Getae civilisation, a period from which 50 fortresses and hundreds of settlements⁹³ are known, we only know a few tumular tombs and only a flat one, all placed on the bank of Siret! Even if a few discoveries will add to this, may they be uncertain or novelties, the general situation will not be affected.

For several reasons, we did not include either the necropolis of Zemplin, on the Upper Tisa, or the Lipica group, from Nistre's upper basin: they are in peripheral areas, which might not have been part of the Dacian kingdom; they include tombs of other ethnics – Celts and Germans, in the former case and Germans only in the latter etc. Surely, we did not take into consideration the

⁸⁹ Sîrbu, Rustoiu 1999, 85.

⁹⁰ Sîrbu 1997, 197, fig.1; Sîrbu 2000, 184.

⁹¹ Sîrbu 2000, 188.

⁹² Sîrbu 1985, 105-106; Sîrbu 1993, 39-40; Sîrbu 1997, 358.

⁹³ Daicoviciu 1972; Crişan 1977; Glodariu 1983.

necropolis at Enisala (Tulcea County) either, from the second half of the 1st century – 2nd century AD⁹⁴ as the return of the Dacians to normal funerary practices is due to the Roman influence, in this case.

The lack or extreme scarcity of funerary vestiges from 2nd century BC – 1st century AD, especially in the Burebista – Decebal period, raises some serious questions: 2) how were the several millions of dead handled, the common people especially?; b) what caused this phenomenon?; c) when does it start and when does it end?; c) what geographical span did it have? Can this unsettling of the funerary practices be associated with other spiritual phenomena?⁹⁵

The eschatological beliefs and the “projections” of life after death of a people/community impose a certain funerary ideology, but the actual way of handling the dead depends also on the social status, gender and manner of dying⁹⁶.

As one can notice (*Fig.1*), the tombless area, for all of the three centuries before the Roman conquest or for a certain chronological sequence only, contains the entire area inhabited by the Geto-Dacians, from north-eastern Balkans to the Nistre and the Apuseni Mountains. The lack of discoveries of funerary vestiges can no longer be considered to be because of the lack of excavations, after half a century of intense excavations in all the area inhabited by the Geto-Dacians.

Undoubtedly, the drastic decrease of the number of tombs starts in the first half of the 2nd century BC and their occultation becomes general starting with the 1st century BC, especially for the common people.

Normal funerary practices return in the Geto - Dacian world only as the Roman power was imposed, first in Dobrudja, and than the Province of Dacia. Also, starting with mid-second century AD, the usual necropolises reappear at the free

Dacians too, east, south and west of the Carpathians.⁹⁷ Thus, the occultation and reappearance of the tombs at the Dacian – Romans and the free Dacians take place in the time of one generation.

For the time being, the causes of these profound changes in the funerary ideology and practices of the Dacian-Getae are difficult to decipher.

We can assume that they have had a popular, *de facto* phase, imposing *de jure*⁹⁸ sometimes in the second quarter of the 1st century BC, after the making of the Dacian kingdom under Burebista.

Without a strong, hierarchical and central religious authority, it would be hard to imagine the imposing and respecting of a certain funerary ideology, in practically the entire area inhabited by the Dacian – Getae and the reappearance of traditional tombs only after the Roman conquest, that is, after the destruction of the stated and of the Dacian clergy⁹⁹.

It is only at the north-western (Zemplin) and north-eastern extremities of the Dacian world and only in certain periods, that the locals continued to bury their dead following normal customs, a phenomenon explained not only by their peripheral position, but also by the presence of the Celts and the Bastarns.

The drastic decrease in the number of tombs is specific not only to the Dacian – Getae, but also to a large area inhabited by Celts in Central Europe¹⁰⁰, with expansions up to south-western England¹⁰¹. Were they independent phenomena or one of the peoples influenced the other? It is difficult to give a categorical answer at the present. We would only like to suggest a “priority”, at least a chronological one, for the Geto – Dacians, as the disappearance of the traditional necropolis is noticed to happen sometimes during the threshold between the III – 2nd centuries BC, and at the Lower Danube, where we cannot speak of a Celtic presence¹⁰².

⁹⁴ Babeş 1971, 19-45; Mănuclu-Adameşteanu 1984, 31-38, 435-444.

⁹⁵ Sîrbu 1993, 129-130; 1994, 139-141.

⁹⁶ Gnoli, Vernant 1982; Breuiller 1991-1992; Sîrbu 1993, 130.

⁹⁷ Sîrbu 1993, 42-44, 129.

⁹⁸ Sîrbu 1985, 112; 1993, 127.

⁹⁹ Sîrbu 1993, 127.

¹⁰⁰ Filip 1961; Waldhauser 1979, 124-156; Babeş 1988, 23-27; Sîrbu, Sîrbu 1997, 356-357.

¹⁰¹ Wilson 1981, 127-169.

¹⁰² Sîrbu 1993, 37.

Secondly, one doesn't know yet Dacian necropolises from 4th - 3rd centuries BC from Transylvania, in order for one to assume the locals giving up their traditional funerary norms under the influence of the Celts.

As it is known, the funerary practices represent one of the most conservative domains, and changing or unsettling those takes place only as a result of profound causes and the perpetuation of certain traditions go on for a while, even after religious reforms.

Also, funerary practices represent a set of exact norms, based on a certain funerary ideology, regarding the place and manner of depositing, the rite and rituals to fulfil, the structure and state of the funerary inventory etc.¹⁰³. The goods found in the tombs, their quantity and state in which they have preserved, is not circumstantial, but the result of a selection and they carry certain messages. This way, they express not only the identity of the dead, but also part of the moral and religious values of the community that the dead comes from.¹⁰⁴

It is because of these reasons that certain complexes, where these norms could not be traced, cannot be considered tombs. Furthermore, not even all the discoveries of human bones can be considered only tombs, namely, they do not reflect a certain funerary ideology and its actual norms, as they might be human sacrifices or the community' simply got rid of certain dead (undesirables, foreigners etc.)

At the same time of the phenomenon of occultation of the normal tombs, a significant increase in the cases of non-cremated human bones in non-funerary contexts takes place. 35 discoveries with 180 individuals are known from the 2nd century BC – 1st century AD only, that is, a number higher than the one of traditional tombs!¹⁰⁵

We are definitely not dealing with usual tombs because: a) they come from non-funerary contexts: settlements (dwellings, "household" pits, layer), isolated pits outside the settlements

or from sacred precincts; b) in most cases, we are dealing with skeletons found in non-anatomic positions, skeleton parts or isolated vessels; c) there weren't any norms for depositing and orienting the dead; d) most of them are children and the elders are missing; e) there are pits with several individuals, often deposited following different criteria; f) traces of violence are observed (chunking, strikes) on about a third of the dead; g) the normal funerary furniture is missing, especially the weaponry and military gear items, the offerings vessels etc.¹⁰⁶

Only the analysis of a large number of individuals can contribute to considering them the results of: a) human sacrifices (also mentioned by the written sources); b) practices of exposing/decomposing the dead; c) chunking/dismembering of the corpses and d) getting rid of certain individuals (undesirables, prisoners, foreigners)¹⁰⁷.

The unsettling of the traditional funerary practices is also associated with a series of profound processes that the local society goes through, from the social-economical and political to the spiritual ones – the generalisation of certain types of sanctuaries and sacred precincts with offerings, the increase in the number of thesaurus burials, the amplification of the figurative representations etc.¹⁰⁸.

By analysing all the human bones vestiges from the 2nd century BC – 1st century AD, we have reached the following conclusions: a) inhumation in usual necropolises and tombs is not documented for the entire chronological and geographical span of the Geto-Dacians; b) the aristocracy practices exclusively cremation in tumular tombs, with a continuous degradation of the usual funerary norms and an impoverishment going as far as the disappearance of the funerary furniture deposited for the dead; c) necropolises are known only at the north-eastern and north-western peripheries of the area inhabited by the Dacian-Getae, in certain periods and where there are other ethnics; d) the practice of exposure (corpse decomposing) is possible in the case of

¹⁰³ Gnoli, Vernant 1982; Breuiller 1991-1992; Sîrbu 1993, 252-253; 2001.

¹⁰⁴ Gledhill 1985.

¹⁰⁵ Sîrbu 1986, 91-108; 1997, 196-201.

¹⁰⁶ Sîrbu 1986, 91-108; 1993, 31-37; 1997, 196-198.

¹⁰⁷ Sîrbu 2000, 189.

¹⁰⁸ Babeş 1988, 20-21; Sîrbu 1993, 129-130.

some individuals; e) human sacrifices are proved both the written and the archaeological sources¹⁰⁹.

Surely, finding the relations between the “society of the living” (the settlement) and the “community of the dead” (necropolis) is a difficult enterprise¹¹⁰, because of the difficulty of the phenomenon in itself as well as because of the so-called “opacity” of the archaeological items. The effort is still more difficult for this epoch because we are facing the lack of written and archaeological sources.

Still, regardless of the possible interpretations, it is beyond doubt that important changes took place in this period in the funerary practices and ideology of the Geto-Dacians, and the manner of handling the few million dead cannot be elucidated, as their vestiges could not be detected by the classical means of the archaeological research. One should not launch hypothesis without a serious documentary foundation, but the predilection for “discrete” places and ways of depositing the dead or the cremated human bones can be assumed, as there is no other explanation for their not being discovered.

Valeriu Sîrbu
Museum of Brăila,
3, Piața Traian Str.
6100, Brăila
ROMANIA

Aurel Rustoiu
Institute of Archeology and Art History
2, C. Daicoviciu Str.
400015, Cluj-Napoca
ROMANIA

Bibliography

- d'AGOSTINO, B. 1982, *Società dei vivi, comunità dei morti: un rapporto difficile*, Contributi di preistoria e d'archeologia classica.
- ALEXANDRESCU, A. D. 1980, *La nécropole gète de Zimnicea*, Dacia N.S. 24.
- BABEȘ, M. 1971, *Necropola daco-romană de la Enisala*, SCIV 22, 1.
- BABEȘ, M. 1988, *Descoperirile funerare și semnificația lor în contextul culturii geto-dacice clasice*, SCIVA 39, 1.
- BABEȘ, M. 1999, *Stațiunea geto-dacică de la Cetățeni. Descoperiri și informații recuperate*, SCIVA 50, 1 – 2.
- BARBU, M., HÜGEL, P. 1999, Repertoriul arheologic al Mureșului inferior. Județul Arad, Săvârșin, Timișoara.
- BÂRCĂ, V. 1997a, *Die defensive Ausrüstung und Bewaffnung der Geto-Daker und die dako-römischen Kriege*, ActaMN 34, 1.
- BÂRCĂ, V. 1997b, *Die sarmatische Verteilung – ausrüstung und – Bewaffnung*, ActaMP 21, 909 – 984.
- BOCKINS, R. 1991, *Fremdimpulse am Ende der Latènezeit im Rhein-Main-Mosel-Gebiet*, A. Haffner, A. Miron, A. (eds.), Studien zur Eisenzeit im Hunsrück-Nahe-Raum, Symposium Birkenfeld 1987, Trier.
- BÖHME-SCHÖNBERGER, A. 1998, *Das Grab eines vornehmen Kriegers der Spätlatènezeit aus Badenheim. Neue Forschungen zu den Schwertscheiden mit opus interrabile – Zierblechen*, Germania 76, 1.
- BOTEZATU, D. 1977, *Expertise anthropologique des restes osseux trouvés dans les tombes à incinération de Lăceni et d'Orbeasca de Sus (com. d'Orbeasca, dép. de Teleorman)*, Dacia NS 20.
- BOŽIĆ, D. 1981, *Relativna Kronologija mlajše železne dobe v Jugoslavanskem Podonavju*, ArhVestnik 32.
- BREUILLER, J.-F. 1991 – 1992, *Organisation sociale / Organisation spatiale. Société et nécropole*, Université de Paris I – Panthéon/Sorbonne.

¹⁰⁹ Sîrbu 1993, 39-40.

¹¹⁰ D'Agostino 1982, 47-51; Sîrbu 2000, 189-190.

- BUDINSKY-KRČKA, V., LAMIOVA-SCHMIEDLOVÁ, M. 1990, *A Late 1st Century B.C. – 2nd Century A.D. Cemetery at Zemplin*, SlovArch, 38, 2.
- BUTOI, M. 1974, *Mormânt de incinerare din epoca fierului descoperit la Slatina*, Oltenia 1.
- CĂPITANU, V. 1986, *Raport privind cercetările de la Răcățau, jud. Bacău*, MCA 16.
- ČIGILIK, V.M. 1975, *Naselennja Verh'ogo Podnistrovja persvkh stoilit'nceso jery*, Kiev.
- CIUGUDEAN, D., CIUGUDEAN, H. 1993, *Un mormânt de războinic geto-dac la Tărtăria*, EphemNap 3.
- CIUGUDEAN, H. 1980, *Mormântul dacic de la Blandiana (jud. Alba)*, ActaMN 17.
- CRIȘAN, I. H. 1969, *Ceramica daco-getică. Cu privire specială la Transilvania*, București.
- CRIȘAN, I.H. 1977, *Burebista și epoca sa*, București.
- CRIȘAN, I. H. 1980, *Necropola dacică de la Cugir (jud. Alba). Considerații preliminare*, Apulum 18.
- DAICOVICIU, H. 1972, *Dacia de la Burebista la cucerirea romană*, Cluj.
- DOMARADZKI, M. 1986, *Les épées en Thrace de la deuxième moitié du I^{er} millénaire av. n.è., Aquitania*, Supplément 1.
- FILIP, J. 1961, *Die keltische Zivilisation und ihr Erbe*. Neue Horizonte, Prague.
- GERGOVA, D. 1996, *Obredăt na obezsmärtiavaneto v drevna Trakia*, Sofia.
- GETOV, L. 1980, *Observations sur les rites funéraires des Thraces aux époques hellénistique et romaine*, Acte du deuxième Congrès internationale de thracologie, II, București.
- GHERGHE, P. 1978, *Cercetările arheologice de salvare efectuate în necropola și în așezarea geto-dacică de la Turburea-Spahii*, Litua. Studii și cercetări 1.
- GHERGHE, P. 1983, *Cercetări și descoperiri arheologice cu privire la civilizația geto-dacică de pe teritoriul județului Gorj*, AO 2.
- GLADHILL, I. 1985, *Introduction*, State and Society, Oxford.
- GLODARIU, I. 1983, *Arhitectura dacilor. Civilă și militară (sec. II î.e.n – I e.n.)*, Cluj.
- GLODARIU, I., IAROSLAVSKI, E. 1979, *Civilizația fierului la daci*, Cluj-Napoca.
- GNOLI, G., VERNANT, J.-P. 1982 (eds.), *La mort, les morts dans les sociétés anciennes*, Paris.
- GUMĂ, M. 1991, *Câteva precizări asupra unor tipuri de coifuri de la sfârșitul primei epoci a fierului și începutul celei de a doua, descoperite în sud-vestul României*, Thraco-Dacica 12.
- HERODOT, *Istorie*, 1 - 2, București, 1964.
- LUNGU, V. 1996, *Aegyssus - documentare arheologică preromană*, Peuce 12.
- LUPU, N. 1981, *Două morminte dacice descoperite de Tilișca*, Thraco-Dacica 2.
- MĂNUCU-ADAMEȘTEANU, M. 1984, *Necropola daco-romană de la Enisala, com. Sarichioi, Jud. Tulcea*, Peuce 9.
- MOGA, V. 1982, *Mormintele dacice de incinerare de la Teleac*, Apulum 20.
- MORRIS, S. 1987, *Burial and Ancient Society. The Rise of the Greek City-state*, Cambridge University Press.
- MOSCALU, E. 1977, *Sur les rites funéraires des Gêto-Daces de la Plaine du Danube*, Dacia NS 21.
- NICOLĂESCU-PLOPȘOR, C. S. 1948, *Antiquités celtiques en Olténie. Répertoire*, Dacia 11 - 12.
- OPRINESCU, A. 1987, *Mormântul unui luptător get de la Cuptoare-Sfogeia (com. Gornea, jud. Caraș-Severin)*, Thraco-Dacica 8.
- POPILIAN, Gh., NICA, M. 1998, *Gropșani*. Monografie arheologică, București.
- POPOVIĆ, P. 1989 - 1990, *The Late Age on the Territory of Djerdap*, Starinar 40 - 41.
- PROTASE, D. 1971, *Riturile funerare la daci și daco-romani*, București.
- ROUSSEVA, M. 2000, *Thracian Cult Architecture*, Jambol.
- RUSTOIU, A. 1994, *Observații privind înmormântările tumulare din Dacia preromană*, Studii de istorie a Transilvaniei (ed. S. Mitu, F. Gogâltan), Cluj.
- RUSTOIU, A. 1996, *Metalurgia bronzului la daci*, București.
- RUSTOIU, A. 1997, *Fibulele din Dacia preromană*, București.

- RUSTOIU, A., SIRBU, V. 1999, *Poignard recourbé découvert dans une tombe à incinération de La Tène tardive en Roumanie*, *Instrumentum* 9, 12.
- SANIE, S., SANIE, Ș. 1973, *Cercetările arheologice de la Dumbrava (Com. Ciurea, Jud. Iași)*, *Cercetări* 4.
- ȘERBĂNESCU, D. 2000, *Contribuții arheo-logice la civilizația geto-dacilor din centrul Câmpiei Române*, *Résumé de la thèse*, București, 35.
- ȘÎRBU, V. 1985, *Ritualuri și practici funerare la geto-daci*, Istros 4.
- ȘÎRBU, V. 1986, *Rituels et pratiques funéraires des Géo-Daces, II^e siècle av.n.è - I^{er} siècle de n.è*, *Dacia* NS 30, 1 - 2.
- ȘÎRBU, V. 1993, *Credințe și practici funerare, religioase și magice în lumea geto-dacilor*, Brăila – Galați.
- ȘÎRBU, V. 1994, *Mormite tumulare din zona carpato-dunăreană*, Istros 7.
- ȘÎRBU, V. 1997, *Sacrifices humains et pratiques funéraires insolites dans l'aréal thrace du Hallstatt et du La Tène*, Simion, G., Jugănar, G. (eds.), *Premier Âge du Fer au Bouches du Danube et dans les régions autour de la Mer Noire*, Actes du Colloque International, Septembre 1993, Tulcea.
- ȘÎRBU, V. 2000, *The Connection between the Tomb and the Status of the Dead with the Getic-Dacians*, Lungu, V. (ed.), *Pratiques funéraires dans l'Europe des XIII^e – IV^e s.av. J.-C.*, Actes du III^e Colloque International d'Archéologie Funéraire, September 1997, Tulcea.
- ȘÎRBU, V. 2001, *Funeral and Sacrificial Beliefs and Practices with Geto-Dacians (5th c.BC – 1st c. AD)*, *Sbornic v čest na Prof. Margarita Tačeva*, Sofia, 2002, 374-393.
- ȘÎRBU, V., RUSTOIU, A. 1999, *Découvertes funéraires Géo-Daces du sud-ouest de la Roumanie (± 150 - ± 50 av. J.-Ch.)*, Le Djerdap/ Les Portes de Fer à la deuxième moitié du premier mill. av. J.-C. jusqu'aux guerres daciques, Beograd.
- ȘÎRBU, V., RUSTOIU, A., CRĂCIUNESCU, G. 1999, *Descoperiri funerare din La Tène-ul târziu din zona Porților de Fier*, *Thraco-Dacica* 20.
- ȘÎRBU, V., ȘÎRBU, L. 1992, *Coutumes funéraires et sacrifices humains dans la monde des Géo-Daces*, Thrace Ancienne, Actes du II^e Symposium International des Études Thraciennes, Komotini, 1997.
- SLADIĆ, M. 1986, *Keramika Skordiskla*, Beograd.
- SVEŠNIKOV, I.K. 1957, *Mogilniki lipickoy kul'tury v l'vovskoy oblasti. Raskopki u ss. Svenigorod e Bolotnoe*, KSKiev 68.
- TAČEVA, M. 1978, *Au sujet d'épées celtiques, trouvées en Bulgarie*, *Studia in honorem Veselini Besevliev*, Sofia.
- TODOVIĆ, J. 1972, *Praistorijska Karaburma*, I, Beograd.
- TOPOLEANU, FI. 1985, *Un mormînt de epocă elenistică descoperit la Făgărașu Nou*, *Pontica* 18.
- URSACHI, V. 1986, *Rituri și ritualuri de înmormântare la populația dacică din cetatea de la Brad, comuna Negri, județul Bacău*, *MemAntiq* 12 - 14 (1983 - 1985).
- VULPE, A. 1976, *La nécropole tumulaire Gète de Popești*, *Thraco-Dacica* 1.
- WALDHAUSER, I. 1979, *Beitrag zum studium der keltischen Siedlungen oppida und Gräbelfelder in Böhmen*, *Les mouvements celtiques du V^e au I^{er} siècle avant notre ère*, Paris.
- WERNER, W. M. 1988, *Eisenzeitliche Tensen au der unteren und mittleren Danau*, *PBF* 16. 4.
- WILSON, C.E. 1981, *Burials within Settlements in Southern Britain during the Pre-Roman Iron Age*, *BullInstArchLondon* 18.
- WOZNIAK, W. 1976, *Die östliche Randzone der Latène kultur*, *Germania* 54, 2.
- WOZNIAK, Z. 1974, *Wschodnie pogranicze kultury Latènskej*, Wroclaw – Warszawa – Krakow – Gdansk.
- ZIRRA, VI. 1971, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des keltischen Latène in Rumanien*, *Dacia* N.S. 15.
- ZIRRA, VI. 1976, *Le problème des Celtes dans l'espace du Bas-Danube*, *Thraco-Dacica* 1.

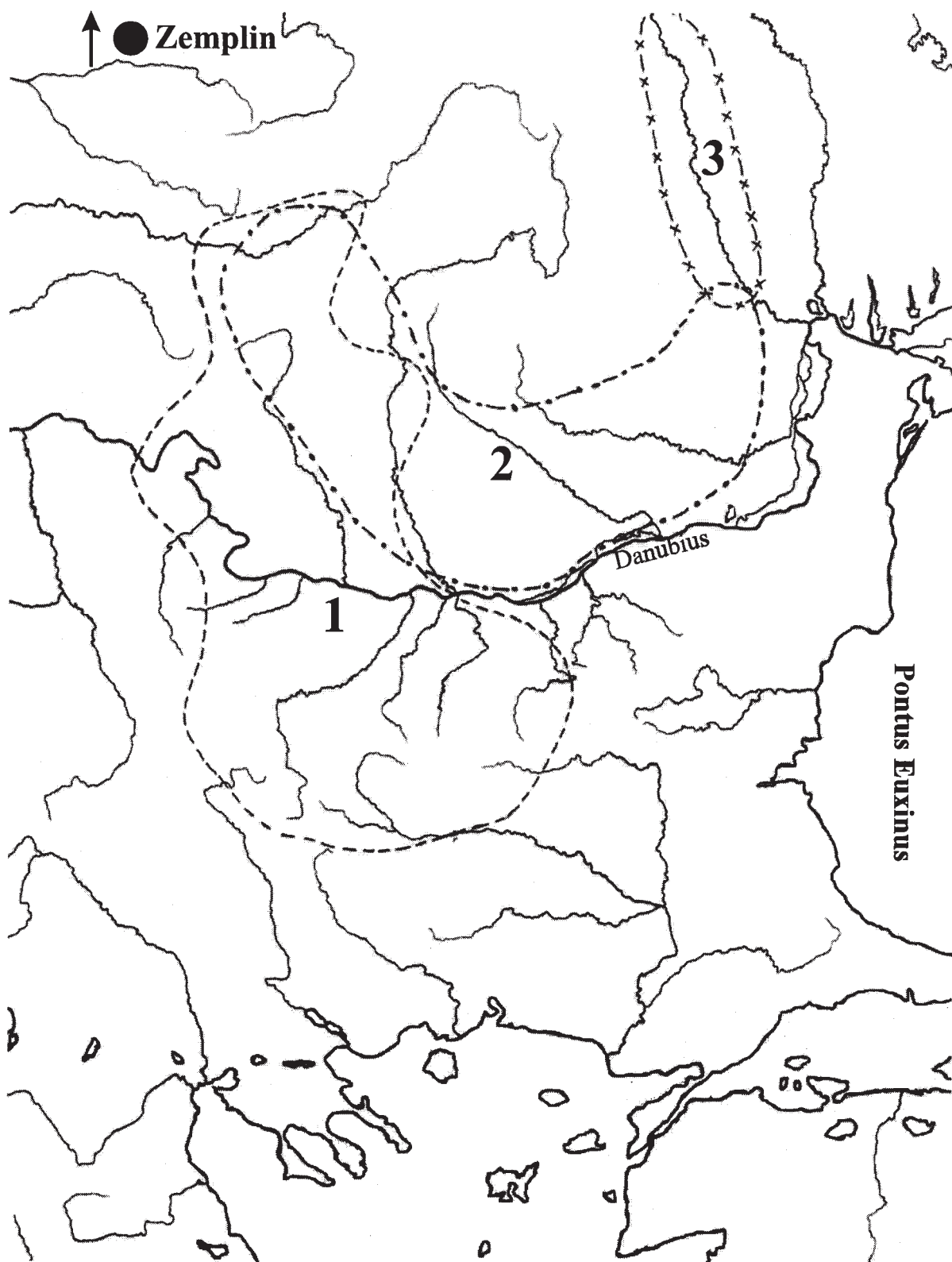


Fig. 1. Map of the tombs at the Daciens in the 2nd century BC - 1st century AD. 1. Group Padea-Panagiurski Kolonii-Spahii; 2. Early tumular tombs (2nd - 1st centuries BC); 3. Late tumular tombs (1st century AD).

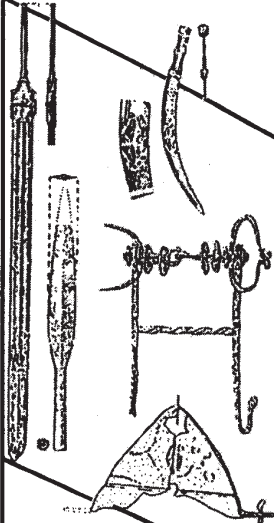
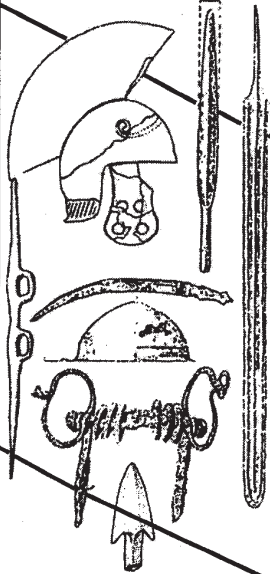


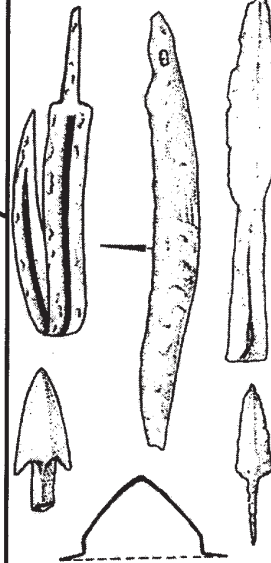
	Group Padea - Panaghiurski Kolonii-Spahii	Early tumular tombs (2 nd -1 st centuries BC)	Late tumular tombs (1 st century AD)	Necropolis of Zemplin
2 nd century BC				
1 st century BC				
1 st century AD				

Fig. 2. Iron and bronze inventory in the tombs of the 2nd century BC - 1st century AD.

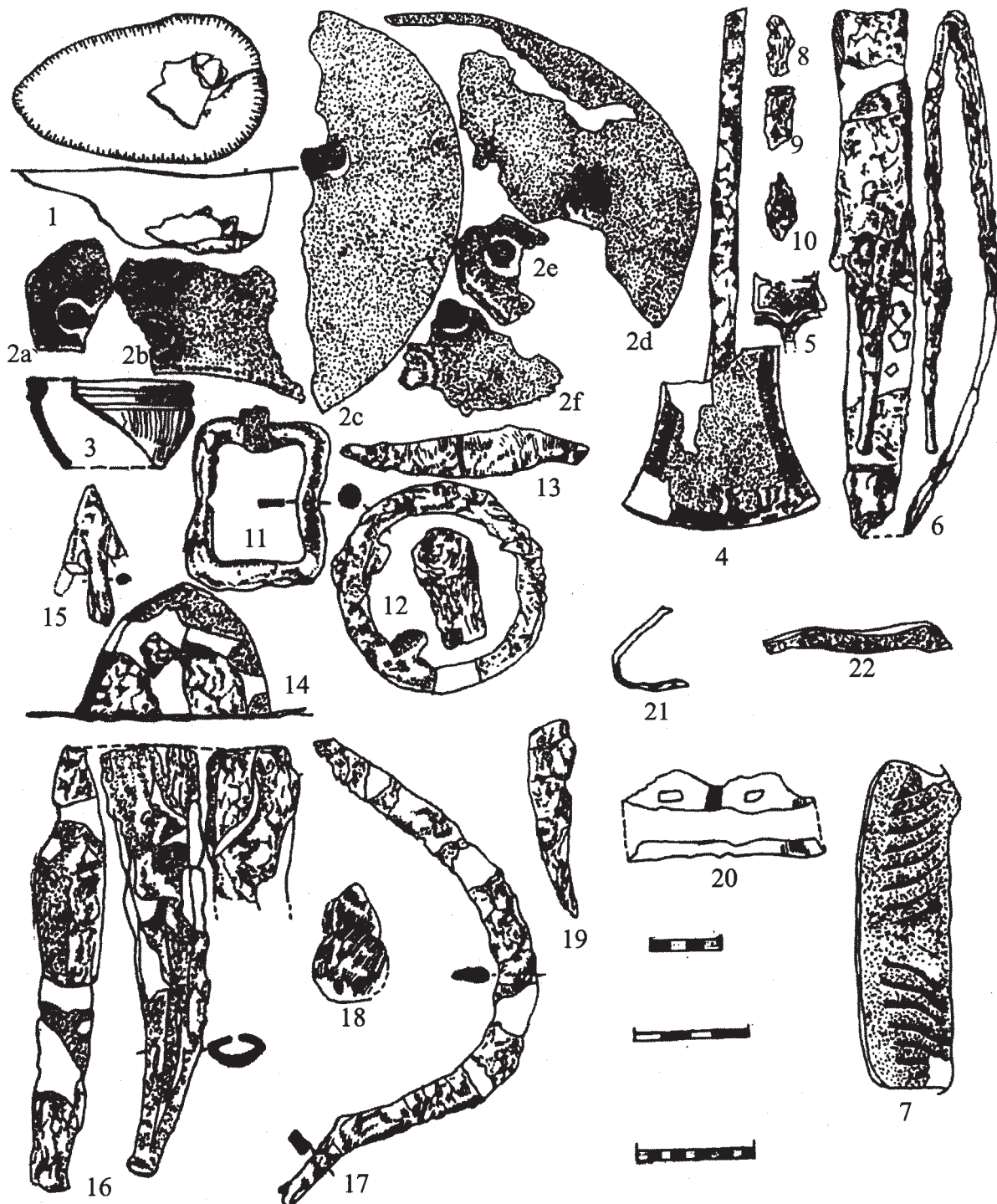


Fig. 3. Popești. Items found in the tumular tomb no 4 (from Vulpe 1976).

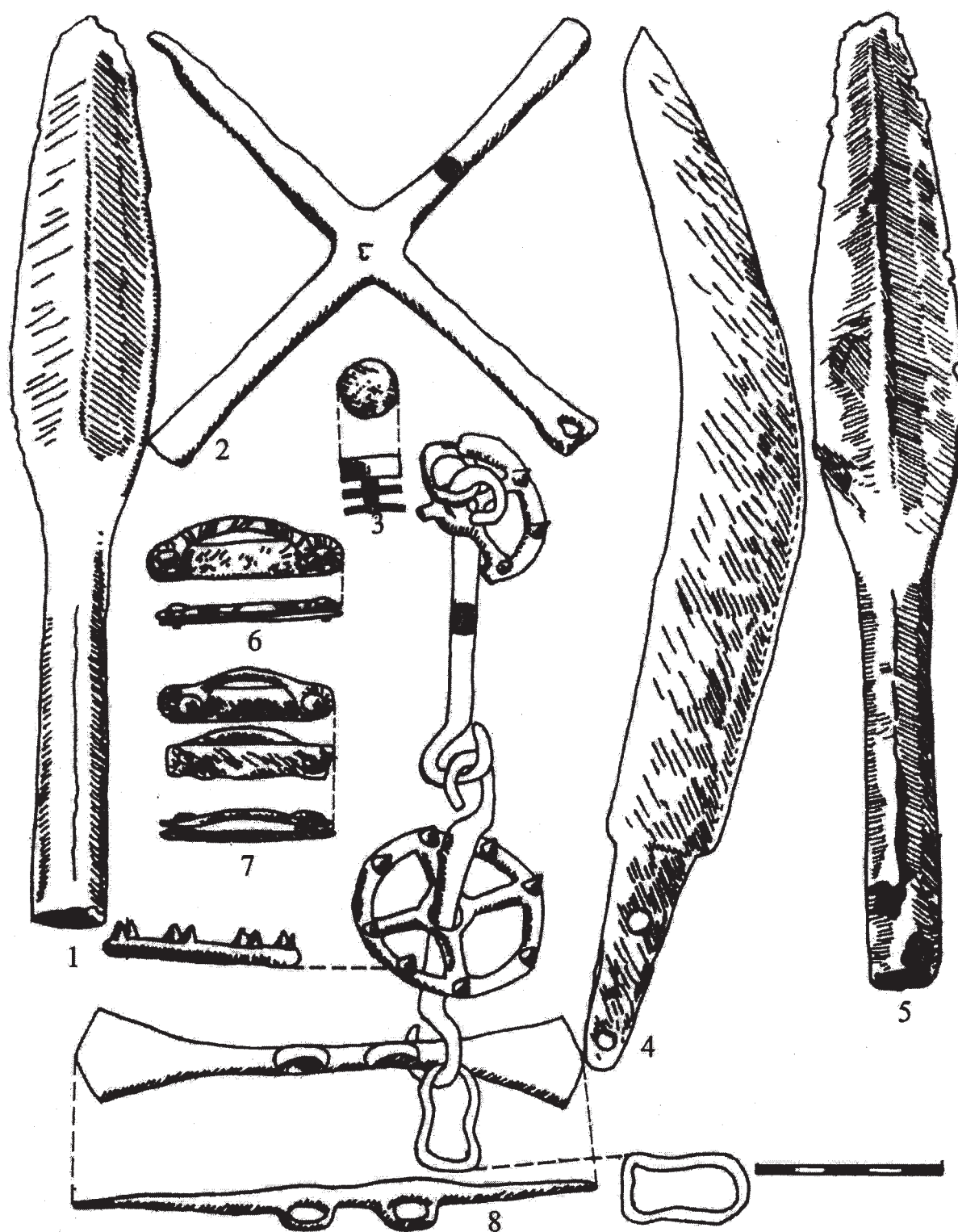
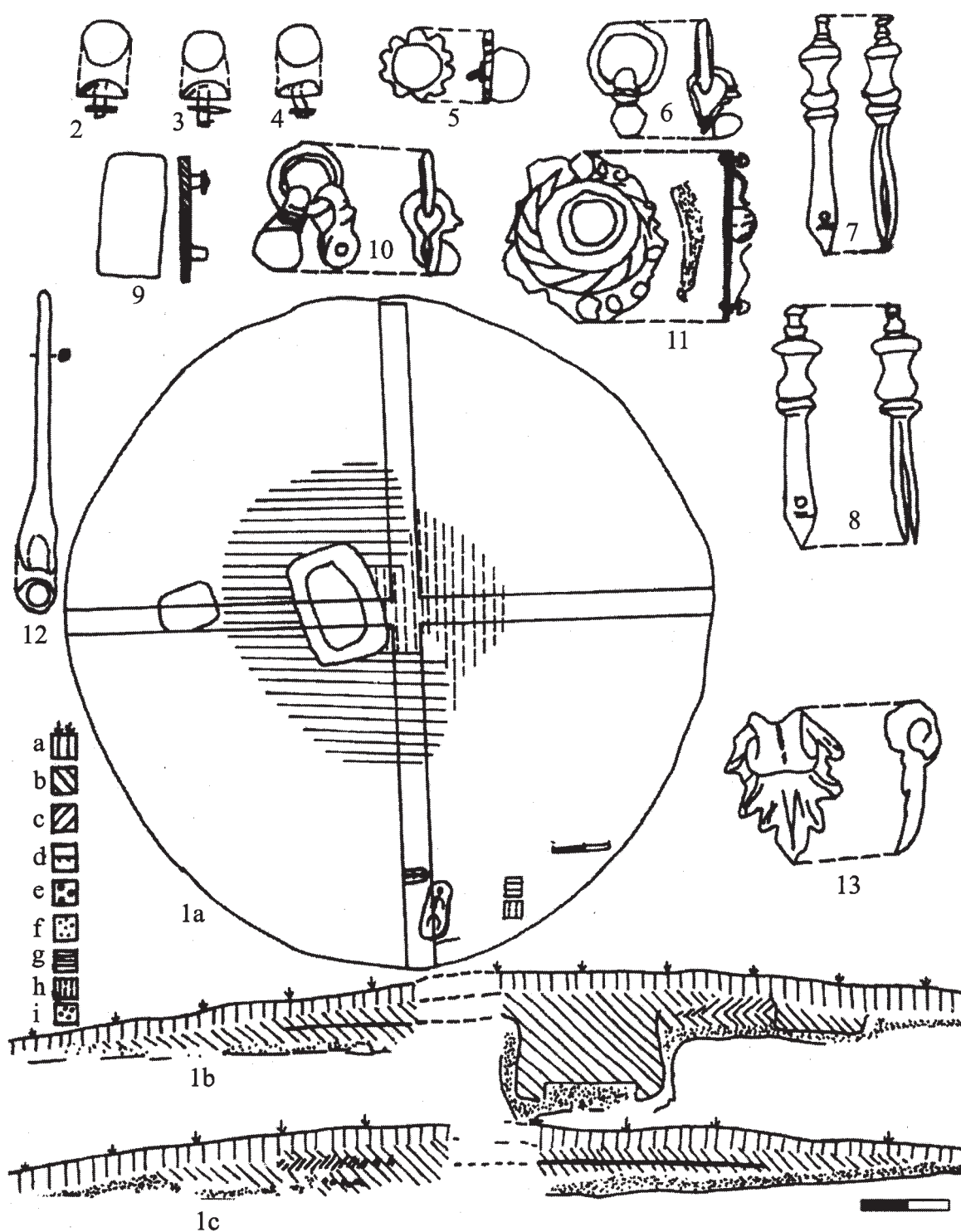


Fig. 4. Radovanu. Items of the tumular tomb (from Vulpe 1976).



Legend

1b-c: a, ploughed earth; b, mound; c, löss; d, burnt earth; e, burnt stones;
 f, undigged earth; g, clay; 1a.h: burnt earth; i, burnt stones.

Fig. 5. Tumular tomb no. 3: plan (1a), profiles (1b-c) and inventory items (2-13) (from Ursachi 1986).

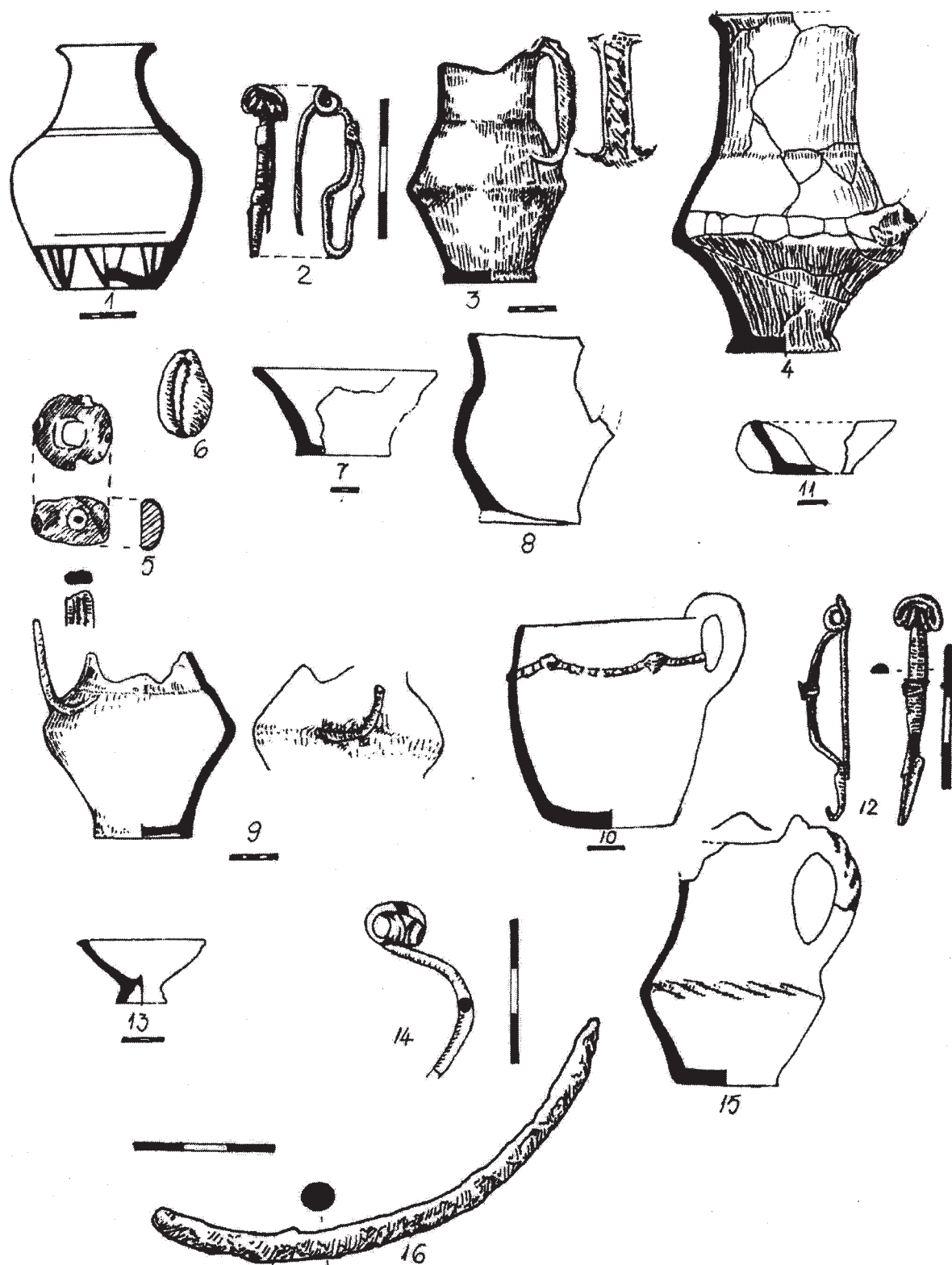


Fig. 6. Zimnicea. Grave goods: 1 - 2, 16 C 10 G73; C10 G18; 4-8 C 14 G1; 9-15 C17 G25 (from Alexandrescu 1980).

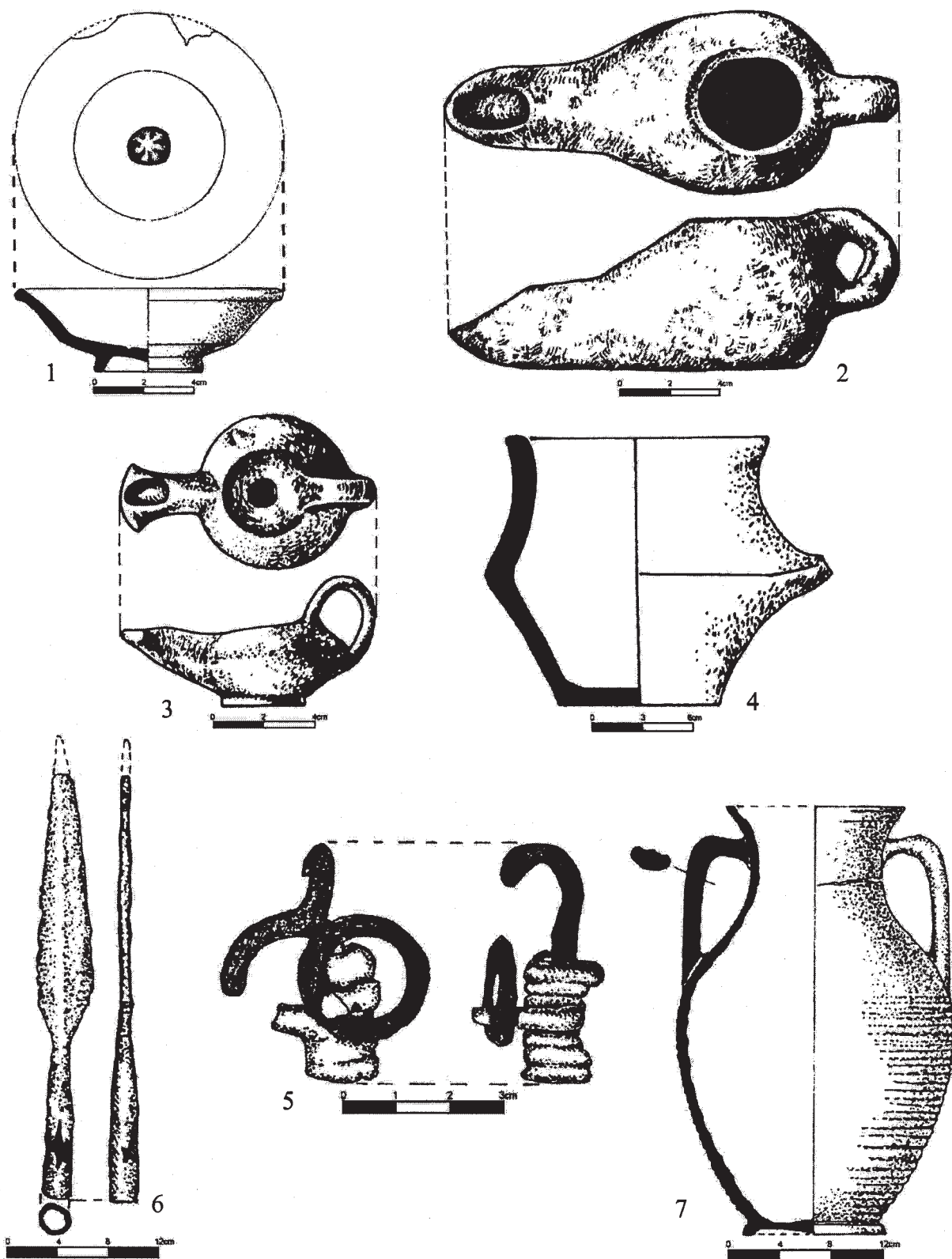


Fig. 7. Items found in the Tulcea - West Necropolis: 1-2 G1; 3 G2; 4 G4; 5-7 G5 (from Lungu 1996).

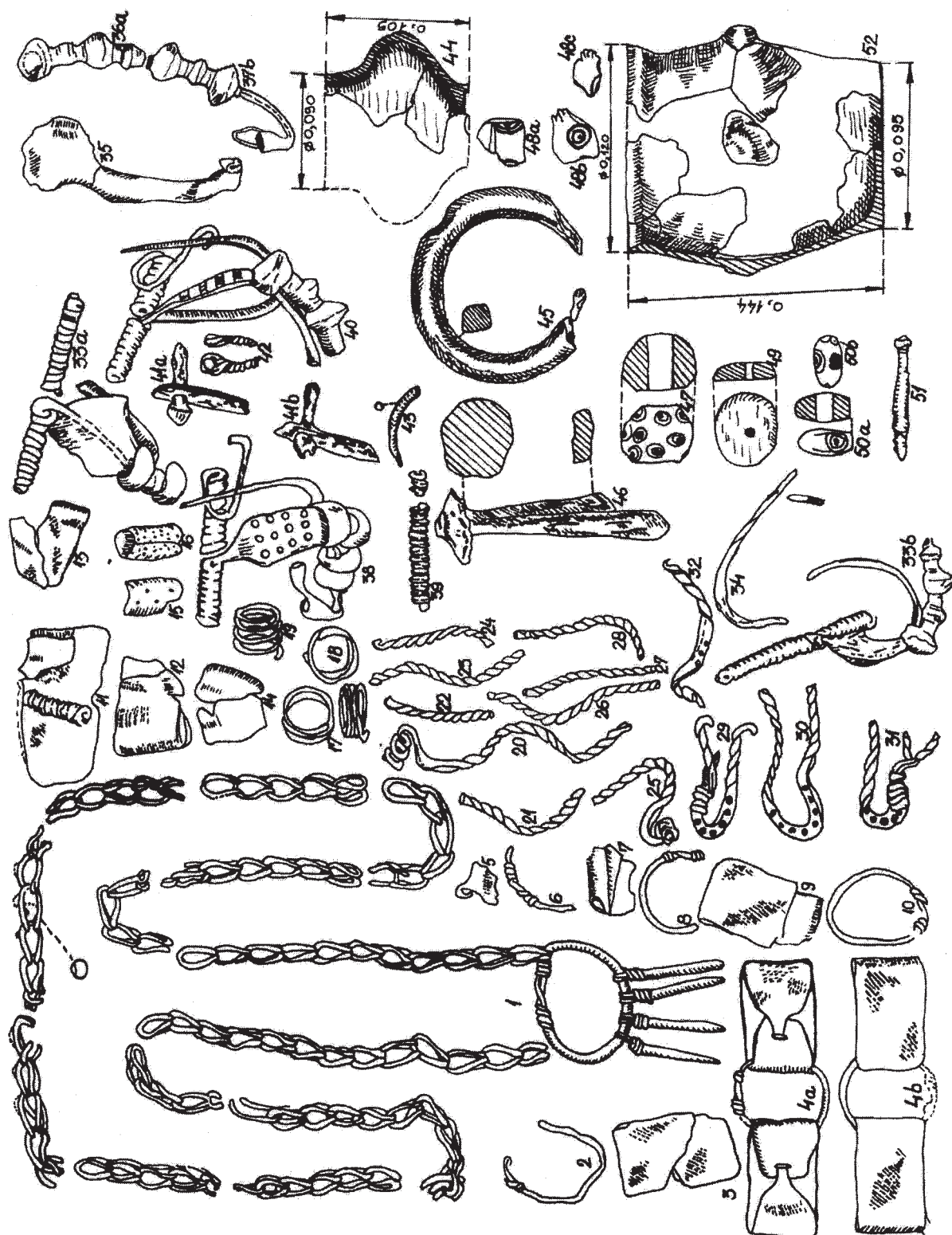


Fig. 8. Tili!ca. The "tombs" inventory: 1 - 32 G1; 33 - 52 G2 (from Lupu 1981).

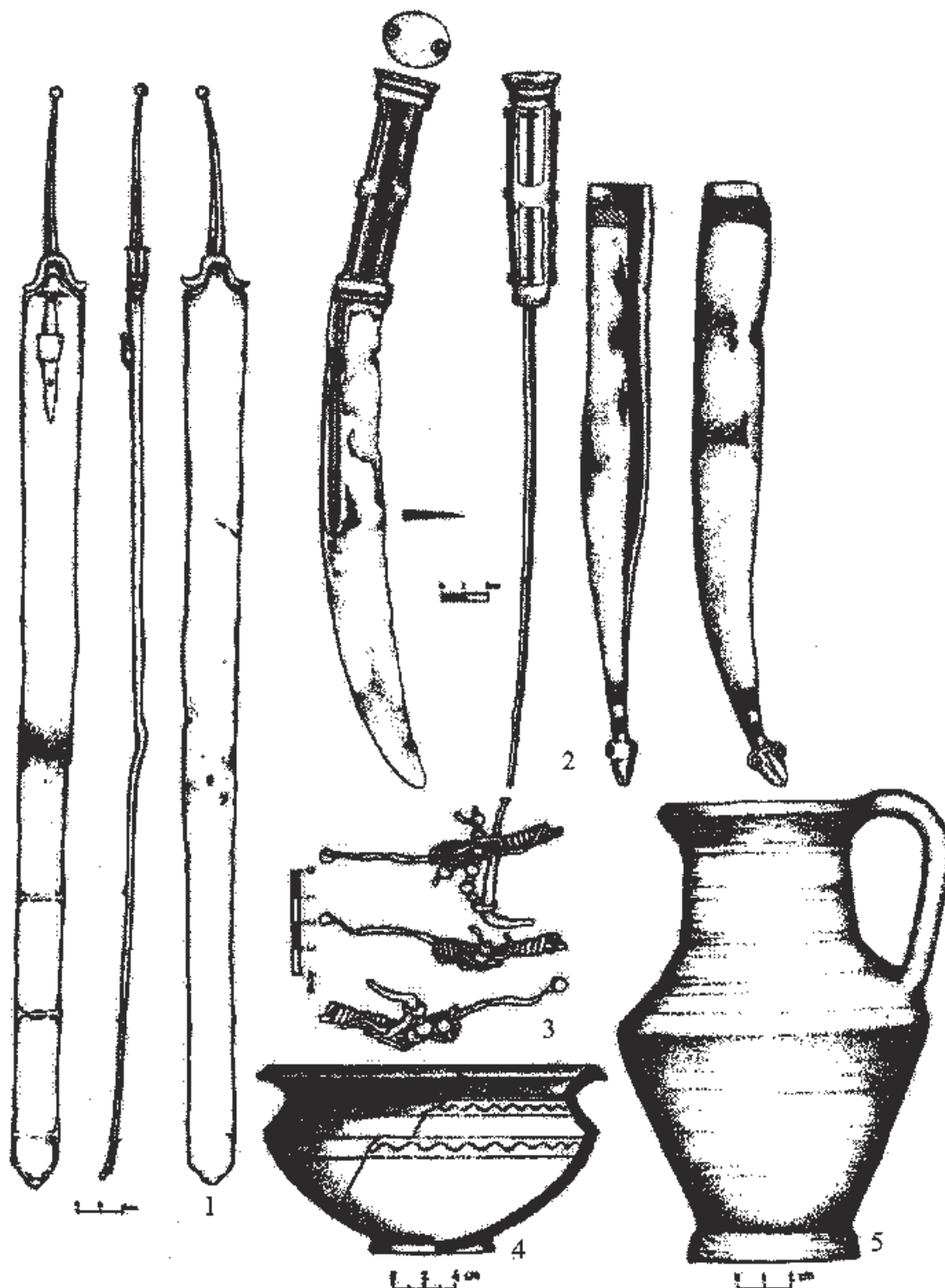


Fig. 9. Corcova. Flat grave goods (from Sîrbu, Rustoiu, Crăciunescu 2000).

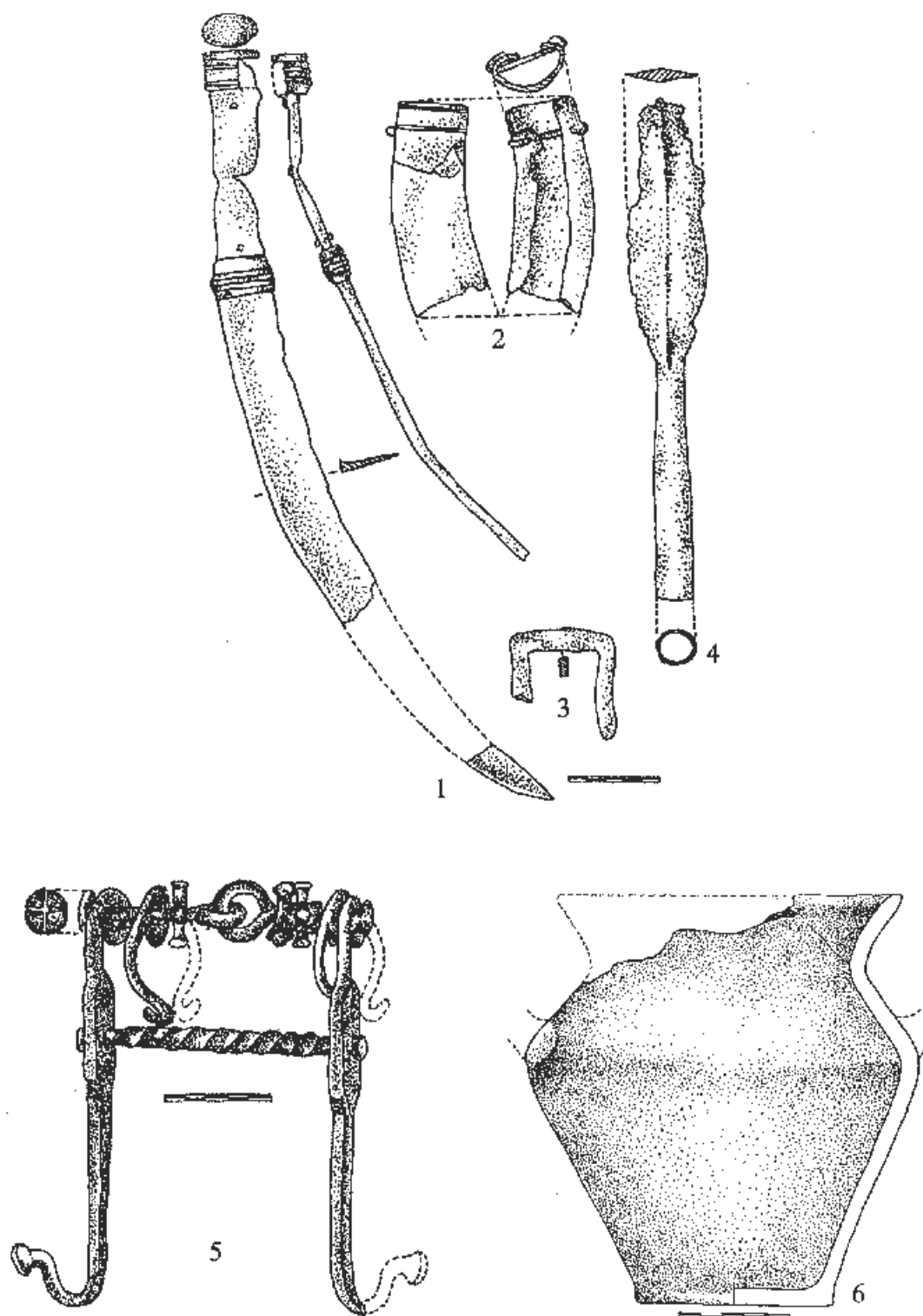


Fig. 10. Blandiana. Flat grave goods (from Ciugudean 1980).

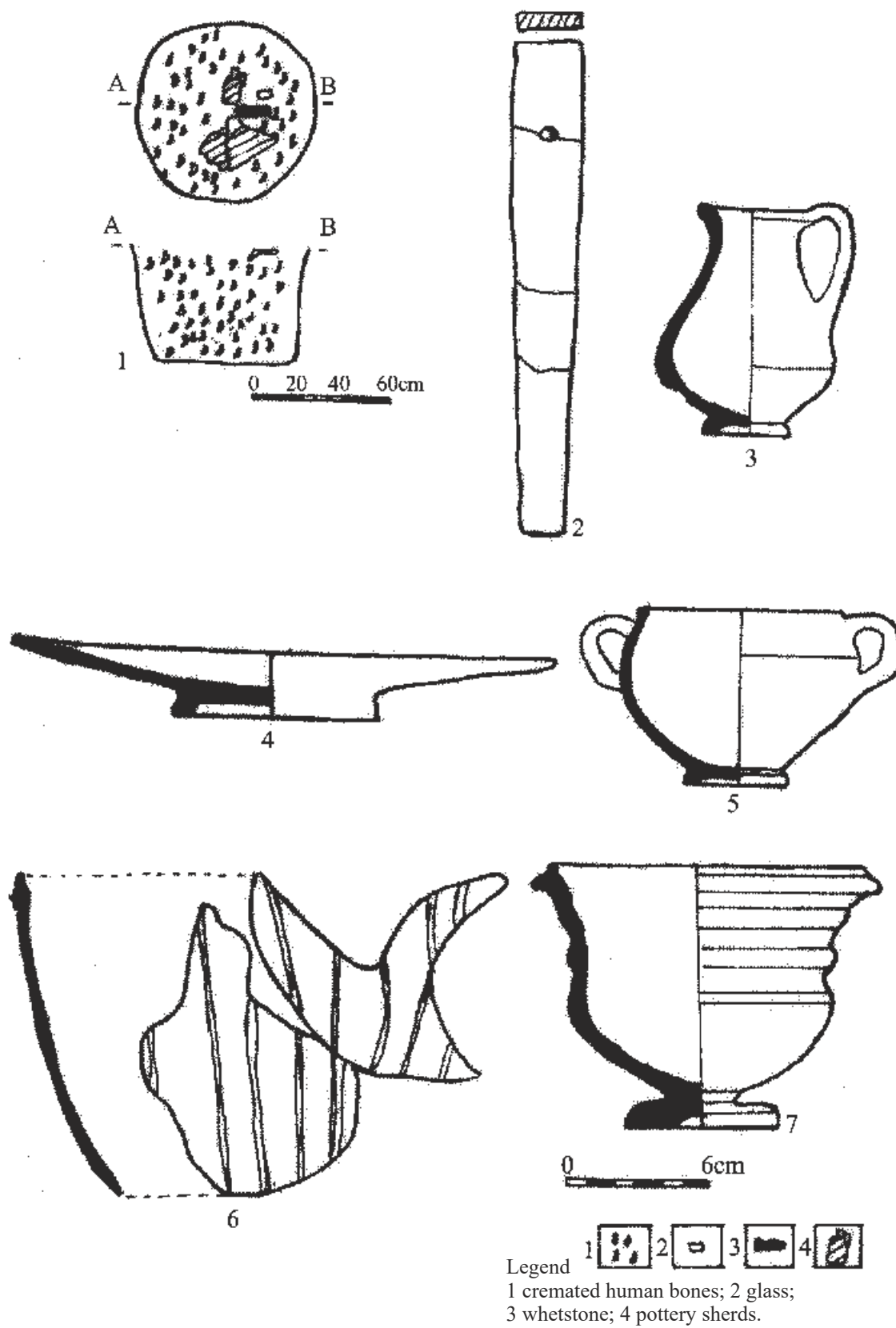


Fig. 11. Brad. Plan, profile (1) and flat tomb inventory (2-7) (from Ursachi 1986).

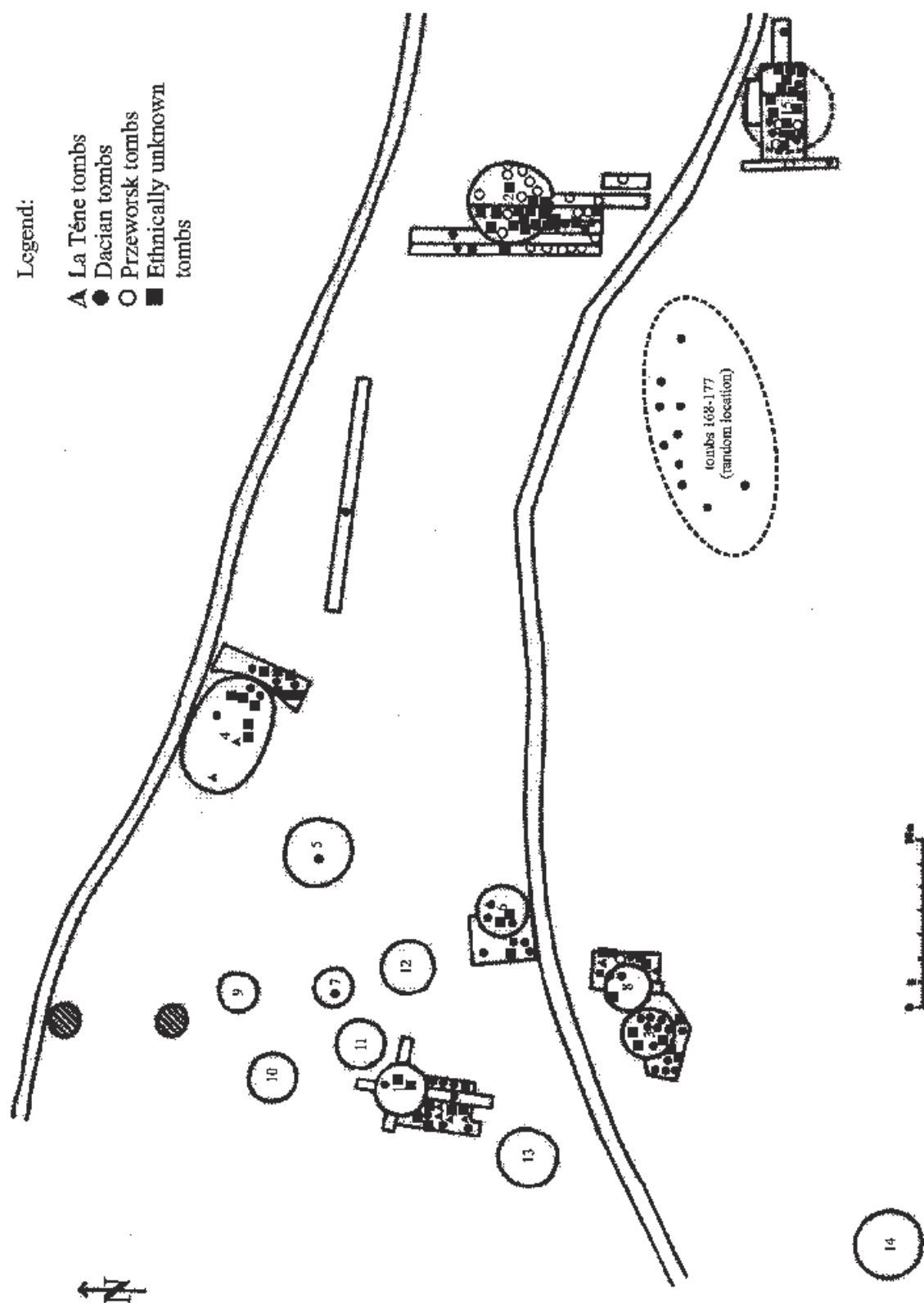


Fig. 12. Necropolis of Zemplin (1st century BC - 2nd century AD) (from Budinský-Krièka, Laminová-Schmiedlová).

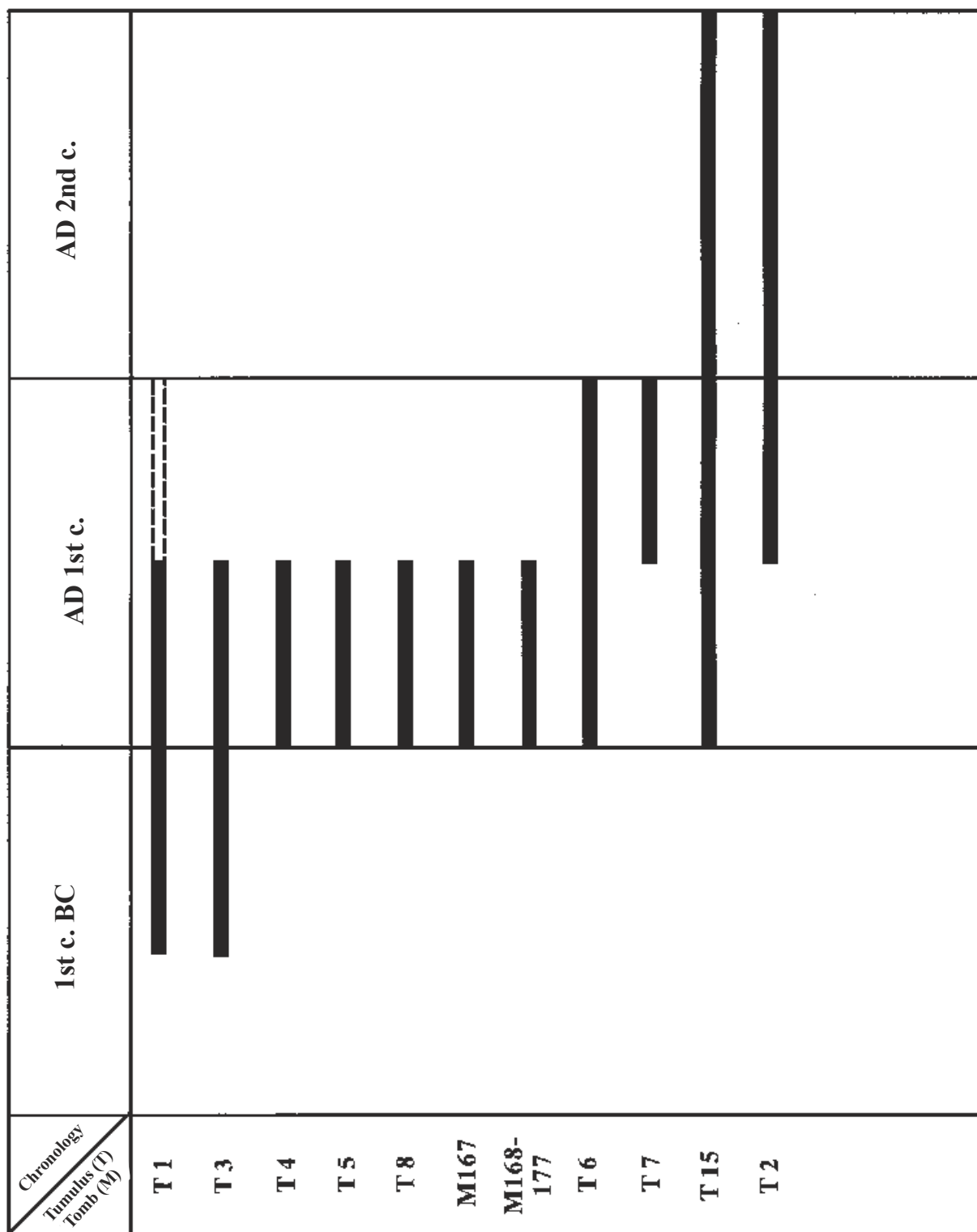


Fig. 13. Necropolis of Zemplin - chronology of the tumular tombs.

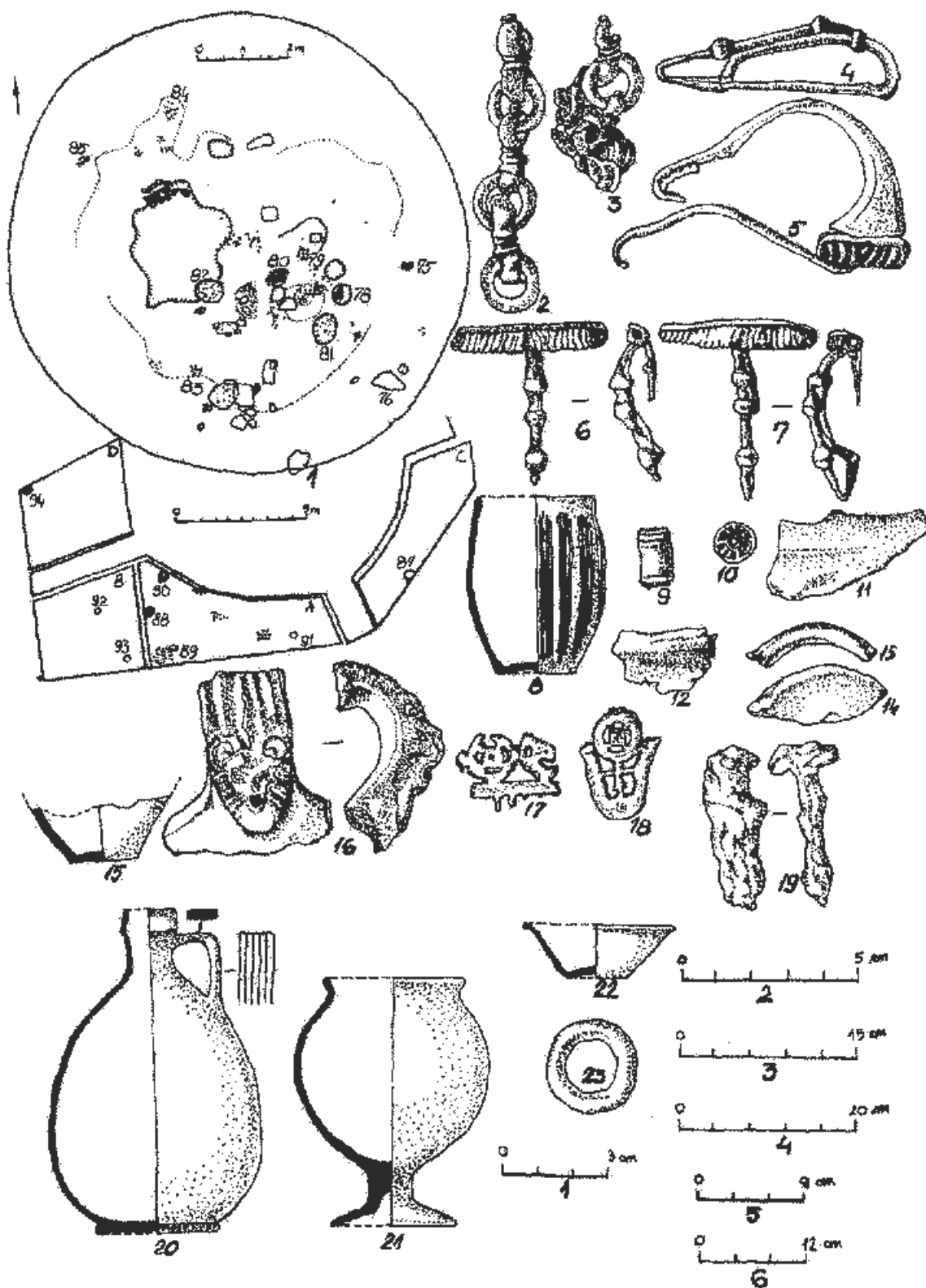


Fig. 14. Necropolis of Zemplin. 1 Tumular tomb no 3; 2-7 trasure; flat tombs: 8-19 G77, 20-23 G80 (from Budinský-Krička, Laminová-Schmiedlová).

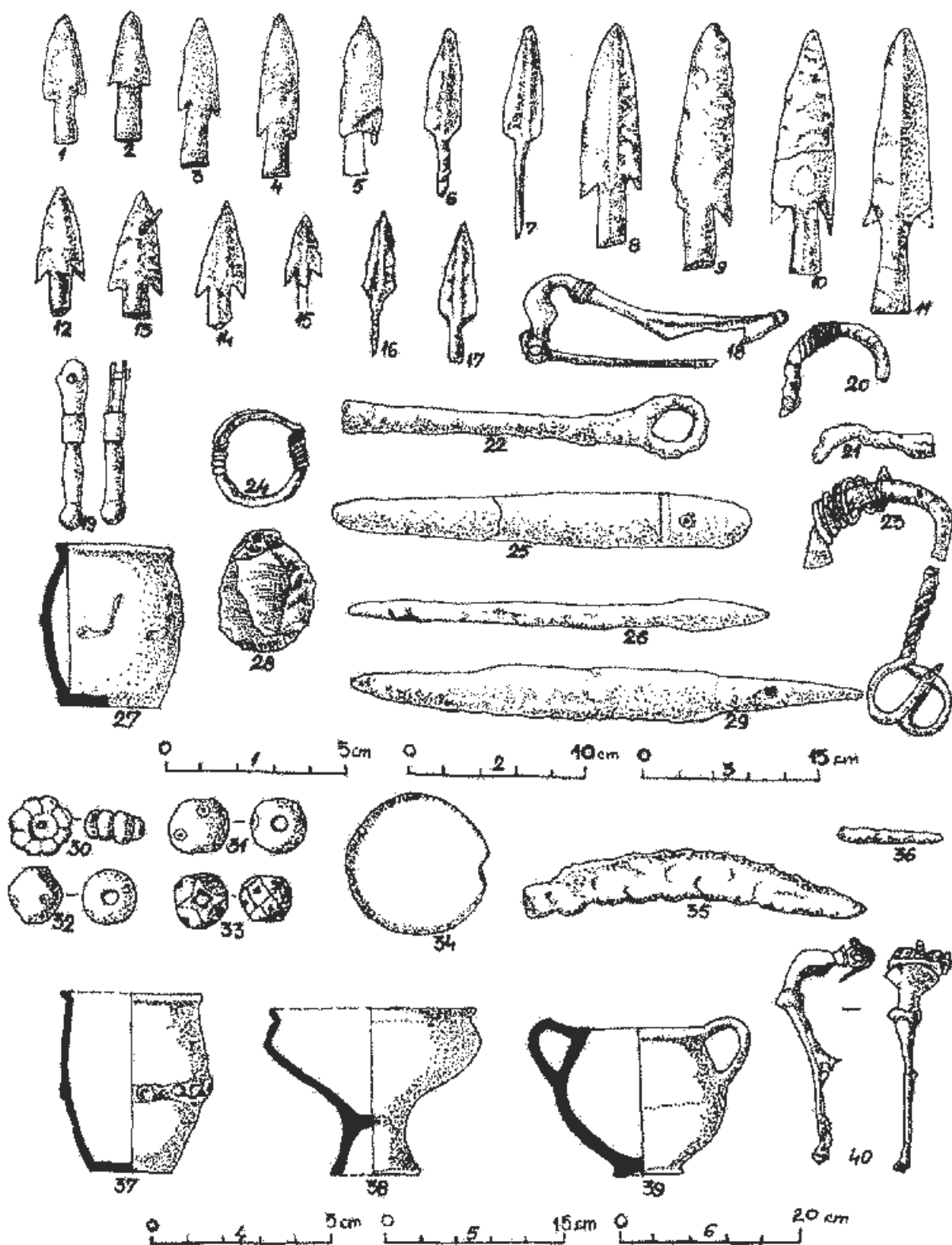


Fig. 15. Necropolis of Zemplin. Flat tombs: 1-29 G106; 30-40 G167 (from Budinský-Krička, Laminová-Schmiedlová).