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INSTITUT D'ARCHÉOLOGIE «V.PÂRVAN»

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ET D'HISTOIRE ANCIENNE

NOUVELLE SÉRIE

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D A C I A

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ON THE LATE BRONZE AGE MORTUARY PRACTICES IN NORTH-WESTERN BULGARIA

TANYA DZHANFEZOVA

Keywords: Bronze Age, Incrusted Pottery Culture, Early Urnfield period, funerary practices, cremation, pottery.

Abstract: This article has two aims: I. to provide a comprehensive review of all available information for all burial contexts from the Late Bronze Age in North-Western Bulgaria by critically assessing data from publications and from museums; II. to characterize the burial rites from the perspective of cultural historical archaeology, the dominant paradigm in the region; i.e. archaeological cultures (the Lower Danube Incrusted Pottery Culture, the Verbicioara culture (IV and V phases) and the Bistreț-Ișalnița *group*, as well as the so-called Plovdiv-Zimnicea *complex*) are used as a reference frame. The article identifies the similarities of the burial customs from North-Western Bulgaria with those known from the neighboring regions as well as the differences, of which the most important is the ubiquitous use of cremation throughout the whole Late Bronze Age.

Cuvinte cheie: Epoca Bronzului, cultura ceramicii încrustate, perioada timpurie a câmpurilor de urme, practici funerare, incinerare, ceramică.

Rezumat: Articolul de față își propune în primul rând să ofere o informație documentată asupra contextului funerar din bronzul târziu în nord-vestul Bulgariei. În al doilea rând să caracterizeze raportul dintre cultura ceramicii încrustate de la Dunărea de Jos, cultura Verbicioara IV și V, și practicile funerare din perspective culturilor arheologice, și anume grupurile de tip Čerkovna, Govora, Plovdiv-Zimnicea și Gârla Mare.

For a topic such as the burial practices to contribute to the solution of main archaeological research issues, it is tempting to follow innovative approaches, to verify principle theoretical tendencies and to explore details, which would bring to light specific phenomena and interactions. The current stage of the Balkan Late Bronze Age studies, however, requires a special attention on the specifics of the published information related to the problem in the Bulgarian territory. This is why this paper¹ reviews the published data on Late Bronze Age burial contexts from Northwestern Bulgaria, i.e. the region between the rivers Timok and Iskur as west and east borders, and the Danube River and the Balkan Mountain as north and south borders.² Its first aim is to bring together the information available for each burial context and to critically assess it (I). Then, it will attempt to characterize the burial rites from the perspective of cultural historical archaeology, the dominant paradigm in the region (II). This means that the norms, the

¹ The author owes gratitude to Assoc. Prof. Dr. T. Shalganova, who was kind enough to review the Bulgarian text and to Dr. Nona Palincaș and one anonymous reviewer for observations on the English version.

² The author's dissertation "Late Bronze Age Burial Practices in the Bulgarian Lands" contains detailed reviews of the assumptions on the chronology, periodization and cultural characteristics in the entire territory of the country, including juxtapositions to neighbouring Balkan regions. The research concentrates on the specifics of the burial sites, facilities, materials and all the elements of the mortuary contexts, supplemented by the possible correlations and combinations between them, their chronological and spatial distribution, general tendencies and local specifics. Additionally, the work also refers to the possible sequence of burial rite actions. The aim of the present paper however is to represent the characteristics of the published information. It follows those *traditional approaches* laid down as a basis of Bulgarian historiography and provides a source for discussion on the sufficiency of data and the possible results offered according to traditional, cultural-historical researches.

burial customs will be searched for using the archaeological cultures as a reference frame: the Lower Danube Incrusted Pottery Culture, the Verbicioara culture (IV and V phases) and the Bistreț-Ișalnița group, as well as the so-called Plovdiv-Zimnicea complex. So, Bulgarian sites are presented in a wider cultural context, consistent with the stage of research.

I. SITES RELATED TO THE PROBLEM OF THE LATE BRONZE AGE BURIAL PRACTICES. A REVIEW OF THE DATA. The information about Late Bronze age sites from the North-Western part of the country includes settlements and burials, dated to the later phases of the period. The only clearly defined archaeological culture in the region is the Incrusted Pottery Culture, of which a rather large number of sites are known. However, even in this case, only one cemetery – at Orsoya, near Lom, Montana region – was continuously and systematically excavated. This stage of research sets severe limitations on the discussion of burial practices in north-western Bulgaria, since one cannot extrapolate the characteristics of a single site to the whole cultural area. It most probably accounts for the disagreements concerning the territorial limits of the Lower Danube Incrusted Pottery Culture in Bulgaria³, for otherwise the latter is easily identifiable. Thus, sites, which are viewed by some authors as characteristic of this culture, according to others are located outside its distribution area or represent diverse cultures; the discrepancies among authors widened in later publications (as table 1 shows)⁴.

In the case of the sites belonging to other archaeological cultures the situation is even more confusing.

The review in the first section of the work follows the geographical location of the sites – they are presented from west to east, comprising the Vidin, Montana and Vratsa regions (map 1)⁵. Special attention is paid to those cemeteries, situated farther from the Danube River banks. Being dispersed in various sources – single mentioning, listing of sites, preliminary reports or regular publications – the data gathered is rather comprehensive about certain sites and scanty about others. Included are details on the documentation of the contexts and finds, as excavated and published – site features, researchers'

³ The denomination follows the updated definition of the culture, otherwise indicated also as Cârna-Gârla Mare, Žuto Brdo, Baley-Orsoya, etc. In some sections of the paper it is consistent with the denomination, offered by the quoted author, see below.

⁴ Table 1 bibliography: A. Chilingirov, *Predistorichni nahodishta kray Dunava, ot Timok do Vit*, Izvestiya na Bulgarskoto arheologicheskoto drujestvo (IBAD), 2, 1911 (1912), p. 147-174; B. Nikolov, *Selishta i nekropoli ot bronzovata epoha vuv Vrachansko*, ArheologijaSofia 2, 1964, p. 69-77; V. Mikov, *Materiali ot posledniya period na bronzovata epoha v Severozapadna Bulgaria*, ArheologijaSofia, 1970, 48-63; B. Nikolov, *Sofronievo*, Vratsa, 1971; Tr. Filipov, *Keramika i idolna plastika ot kusunobronzoviya nekropol pri s. Orsoya, Mihaylovgradski okrug*, ArheologijaSofia 2, 1974, p. 12-23; Idem, *Nekropol ot kusunata bronzova epoha pri s. Orsoya, Lomsko*, Sofia, 1976; Idem, *Idolna plastika ot kusunobronzoviya nekropol pri s. Orsoya, Mihaylovgradski okrug*, Muzei i pametnitsi na kulturata 2, 1978, p. 9-17; B. Nikolov, *Nekropol ot kusunata bronzova epoha ot s. Gradeshnitsa, Vrachanska oblast*, Izvestiya na muzeite ot Severozapadna Bulgaria 2, 1978, p. 19-29; G. Alexandrov, *Novootkriti praistoricheski selishta v Mihailovgradski okrug*, Izvestiya na muzeite v Severozapadna Bulgaria, 6, 1981, 29-45; G. Georgiev, *Die Erforschung der Bronzezeit in Nordwestbulgarien, Prähistorische Archäologie in Südosteuropa* 1, Berlin, 1982, p.187-202; Zung, *Razvitie na kusunobronzovata kultura Baley-Orsoya v Severozapadna Bulgaria*, ArheologijaSofia, 2, 1989, p. 20-24; I. Panayotov, D. Vulcheva, *Arheologicheskite kulturi ot kusunata bronzova epoha v bulgarskite zemi*, Vekove, 18, Bulgaria, Balkanite, Evropa 1, 1989, p. 5-15; B. Nikolov, *Ot Iskur do Ogosta, istoriya na 151 sela i gradove ot bivshiya Vrachanski okrug*, Sofia, 1996; A. Bonev, *Ranna Trakiya. Formirane na trakiyskata kultura – kraya na vtoroto-nachaloto na purvoto hilyadoletie pr.Hr.*, Razkopki i prouchvaniya 31, 2003, Sofia; T. Shalganova, *Izkustvo i obred na bronzovata epoha. Kultura na inkrustiranata keramika po Dolen Dunav*, Monografii 3, Mitologiya, izkustvo, folklor (MIF), 2005, Izdatelstvo na NBU, Sofia; Sv. Ganeva, *Problematika na nekropola pri Orsoya*, in (ed. G. Kitov, D. Dimitrova), *Zemite na Bulgaria, lyulka na trakiyskata kultura*, Sofia, 2005, p. 40-44.

⁵ The sporadic data, the focus on the easily distinguished Incrusted Pottery culture, its presumable territorial diffusion and the problem of the attribution of certain sites, located farther from the river, justify the preference of the location principle instead of the alphabetical order. Thus, it is easier to trace the cultural characteristics and variations conditioned by the detachment of certain sites – in eastern or southern direction – from the core dispersal area of the culture. The approach is balanced by the numbering of the sites, presented in Map 1, which corresponds to their listing in the text.

observations on terrain, opinions about the characteristics of the burial rite, the cultural attribution and specifics of the materials, a comparison between primary and later publications, as a result of which the number of the “typical sites” of the examined culture is reduced. As a result of the review some problems and conventions connected with the finds are emphasized, the specifics of the published information are examined and where necessary – the cultural and chronological affiliation of sites, facilities and materials is discussed.

(1) **Vruv, Vidin region** (approx. 44°11'33.54''N; 22°44'10.33''E). What in fact is a settlement of the Incrusted Pottery Culture at Vruv,⁶ erroneously appears in one recent publication as “cemetery”.⁷

(2) **Novo Selo, Vidin region** (approx. 44°09'42.90''N; 22°47'02.85''E). From sites located close to Novo Selo and dated to Late Bronze Age (“third Bronze Age period”) were published: several sherds, few entire vessels, a “boat model” and an anthropomorphic figurine⁸. Those with a supposed burial context are later described⁹ and attributed with probability to the classical phase of Incrusted Pottery Culture (phase II, Br B 2-Br C)¹⁰.

Novo selo-Tuhlarnitsite. “Remains of a cemetery”¹¹ were registered near an accidentally found settlement at Novo selo. The finds, described by V. Mikov, discovered before 1947 and published in 1970, were collected from several localities. One of them – Tuhlarnitsite, to the east of the village – is in fact a Late Bronze Age settlement. Most of the materials found in the Tuhlarnitsite neighborhood were destroyed; only few of them were gathered in the museum collection of the local community cultural center. In 1974, during a survey on an area of 20 decares, destroyed hearths, plaster, pottery fragments, ashes and charcoal pieces, found at random spots, were documented at a depth of 0, 30-0, 40 m below the surface and interpreted as signs of a sizable settlement; due to the depth of the finds this was believed to have one layer.¹² Another publication indicates the presence of settlement remains, registered to the east of the village (west of a military guard post), where “graves have also been found”.¹³

Novo selo-“wine cellar”. Close to the settlement registered in the Tuhlarnitsite locality, during construction of a drainage canal for a wine cellar, “around the cemetery area” were found – according to the original publication – more than 25 cups, one urn and small finds preserved in the collection of the local school.¹⁴

Novo Selo-“upland slopes”. In an area located “to the north, near the settlement” and closer to the Danube River bank, on a spot described as *upland slopes*, several sherds similar to those of the Tuhlarnitsite location were found. Based on information from the locals – who described vessels filled with ashes and burned bones – V. Mikov located at the higher part of the slope a cemetery of the Incrusted Pottery Culture¹⁵. These vessels were not preserved; previously the local teacher also gathered materials for the school collection from this area.

The context of the preserved finds, the precise location and the characteristics of these sites remain unclear. Also, there is no way to separate the published Late Bronze Age materials according to site. The finds from “the settlement and the necropolis at Novo selo” are separated between three institutions: the local school collection, the Vidin Museum and Archaeological Museum in Sofia¹⁶.

⁶ For example see Zung, *op. cit.* p. 20; Panayotov, Vulcheva, *op. cit.* p. 7.

⁷ Ganeva, *op. cit.* p. 41. The source followed by her is most probably Tr. Filipov (see table 1).

⁸ Mikov, *op. cit.* p. 50-54.

⁹ A. Bonev, *The Late Bronze Age Cremation Graveyard of Orsoya (a typology of the ceramic finds and problems of interpretations)*, in (ed. L. Nikolova), *Reports of Prehistoric Research Projects*, Vol. II-III, Sofia, 1999 (2000), p. 19.

¹⁰ Shalganova, *op. cit.* p. 176.

¹¹ Mikov, *op. cit.* p. 49.

¹² *Ibidem*.

¹³ V. Mikov, *Predistoricheski selishta i nahodki v Bulgaria. Materiali za arheologicheskata karta na Bulgaria*, *Izvestiya na narodnia arheologicheski muzei* 30, Sofia, 1933, p. 103. No other data is available.

¹⁴ Mikov, *Materiali ot posledniya period na bronzovata epoha...*, p. 49.

¹⁵ Mikov, *op. cit.* p. 50. The definition used by the author is “Novo selo culture”.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*. Those published by V. Mikov are from the collection of the Archaeological Museum in Sofia.

Some authors offer lists of Novo selo sites which outnumber those from the initial publication. Four are included by M. Șandor-Chicideanu, all of them related to the Gârla Mare culture. These appear in her catalogue as: no. 201 (where a figurine was found, the site defined as a probable cemetery, unknown location), no. 202 (Tsarina [written Carina], surface finds mentioned by B. Hänsel and a site defined as a cemetery), no. 203 (Tuhlamitsite) and no. 204 (a higher terrain).¹⁷ B. Hänsel on the other hand mentions five locations of settlements or graves, supplemented by information about single vessels defined as belonging to the *Čerkovna* pottery group – a spherical short-neck kantharos, a cup of a similar type, having a Gârla Mare ornamentation and a stemless vessel,¹⁸ but no further specifications of their context has been offered.

The initial publication describes seven pieces that are kept in the collection of the Archaeological Museum in Sofia¹⁹, and later Bulgarian authors include two whole vessels and an anthropomorphic figurine, yet again without an indication whether they are grave goods or not.²⁰ These Incrusted Pottery Culture finds were made of well purified clay and according to the author the wholly preserved vessels he examined were made by the use of a potter's wheel rotated by hand. The published material includes two cups, a boat model, a richly decorated anthropomorphic figurine, ornamented and unornamented ceramic sherds (one – from an urn, one with a band decoration and a third – with a main motif of S-signs).²¹

(3) Kutovo (former Zlaten Rog), Vidin region (approx. 44°01'48.79''N; 22°57'59.92''E). The earliest information about a *cemetery* in the region was published in 1911.

Kutovo-“Gredovi”. The site is situated to the south-west of Kutovo village, on a flat terrain which has not been flooded by the Danube River. That cultivated area (a field and a vineyard) was covered by numerous ceramic potsherds and charred bones; in the lack of materials specific for settlements, the site was referred to as a cemetery. During agricultural activities, one wholly preserved middle-sized vessel was found, together with a smaller one, positioned inside the bigger and filled with ashes. According to the author's terrain observations from 1908 and 1910, the cemetery covers an area of at least 1-2 decares and contains hundreds of urns. The published fragments belong to more than ten various, predominantly ornamented vessels. Preserved in only one undecorated vessel – about 20 cm high, with flat base and four handles placed at its upper part²² –, but it is not possible to say how it relates to those mentioned above, i.e. whether it is the bigger container or the smaller pot found inside. The clay used was well-purified and practically contained almost no quartz admixtures. Specifying the similarities to Žuto Brdo materials, the author underlines the absence of only two types of decoration among the Kutovo materials – the relief and triangle ornaments. The decoration is defined as consisting of *Rahmenstil* incised or *stamped* and incrusted geometric motives, combined with motifs representing adornments or metal objects.²³ Later on, it was specified that the ceramic sherds collected by A. Chilingirov were preserved at the Sofia Archaeological Museum,²⁴ but it is impossible to accurately define whether they belong to the classical (second period) or to the late (third period) of the Lower Danube Incrusted Pottery Culture.²⁵

¹⁷ M. Șandor-Chicideanu, *Cultura Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare. Contribuții la cunoașterea epocii bronzului la Dunărea Mijlocie și Inferioară*, Cluj-Napoca, 2003, p. 244.

¹⁸ B. Hänsel, *Beiträge zur regionalen und chronologischen Gliederung der älteren Hallstattzeit an der unteren Donau* (Beiträge zur ur- und frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie des Mittelmeer-Kulturraumes für das Institut für Frühgeschichte der Universität Heidelberg, Band 16), 1976, Bonn, p. 64, 79, 81-82, Pl. 35, 2, 3, 4. It should be underlined that these vessels, together with some finds from Archar, Dolno Linevo, Orechovo, Galiche and Burdarski geran have no context. Because of their good preservation and the lack of data about specimens containing bones, the author presumes that they could be related to inhumation graves (Idem, p. 78-79), which gives no sufficient grounds to include them as reliable evidences in the present work.

¹⁹ Mikov, *op. cit.* p. 50-54.

²⁰ Bonev, *op. cit.* p. 19.

²¹ Mikov, *op. cit.* p. 52, 53, fig. 4, fig. 5, fig. 6, fig. 7 and fig. 8.

²² Chilingirov, *op. cit.* p. 149-151, fig. 3

²³ Chilingirov, *op. cit.* p. 153-154.

²⁴ Mikov, *op. cit.* p. 49.

²⁵ Shalganova, *op. cit.* p. 176. A minor discrepancy has slipped into the quoted publication – Zlaten Rog is not the present-day name of Kutovo, but its former one.

Kutovo-“Grindur”. In 2007 certain attempts to locate the Late Bronze Age cemetery have been made. A concentration of ceramic sherds was registered in an arable land area situated higher in relation to the surrounding flat terrain. At a depth of 0.40 m, bone fragments and *in situ* fragments of a common vessel were found, the latter separated in “two groups at a distance of 10 centimeters away from each other”. No well-defined burial pit outlines were registered. The structure was interpreted as an urn cremation grave. Of this, only the lower part of a four-handled vessel was preserved. Other ceramic sherds were found in other parts of the archaeological trenches: shallow bowls with inverted rim, deep bowls with outturned rim and deep vessels with geometric ornamentation. The finds were interpreted as belonging to the *cemetery* from the “second-third phase” of the Incrusted Pottery Culture reported by A. Chilingirov in 1911. Considering that the materials from 2007 are rather archaic in character and that there are a great number of fragments with flute decoration, the authors attributed the cemetery to the later period of the Incrusted Pottery Culture. The site is located in close proximity to an area where pits were researched and dated to the end of the Late Bronze Age and the beginning of the transition to the Early Iron Age.²⁶

(4) Makresh, Vidin region (approx. 43°46′07.38″N; 22°39′36.44″E). To the south of Makresh, in close proximity to the *Gradishteto* location, two “urns” filled with bone fragments were found. It seems that, after a failed attempt of restoration, these remains were not preserved.²⁷ The initial attribution of these graves to the Lower Danube Incrusted Pottery Culture was challenged later, the main argument being the remoteness of the site from the Danube.²⁸

(5) Archar, Vidin region (approx. 43°48′34.79″N; 22°55′10.12″E). The situation is analogous to that of the site near Vruv. The single recent mention of a *cemetery* is made by Sv. Ganeva,²⁹ while all other authors indicate a settlement there.³⁰

(6) Orsoya-“Plyoska”, Montana region (approx. 43°46′39.54″N; 23°05′41.61″E). Excavated in the course of a decade, the site is traditionally referred to as the major cemetery of the Lower Danube River Incrusted Pottery Culture, as it has the greatest number of researched graves (fig. 1-8).³¹ Unfortunately, little can be done with the data from this cemetery due to a great number of factors – location and circumstances of the discovery of the site, the way it was published (lack of details, divergent data published by various authors) and the condition of the preserved material and documentation.

The site is located at about 3 km to the north of the Orsoya village, in a boggy, often flooded region, with high level of underground water. Situated at the bank of the Danube River, the cemetery was found by chance by a Lom resident in August 1969. The excavations started in the same month, directed by the head of the City Museum of Lom Tr. Filipov³², who also conducted all archaeological campaigns

²⁶ St. Alexandrov *et alii*, *Arheologicheski prouchvaniya na dva objekta v m. Grindur, zemlishte na s. Antimovo i s. Kutovo, obshtina Vidin*, Arheologicheski otkritiya i razkopki prez 2007 godina, (AOR), Sofia, 2008, p. 128-130.

²⁷ Mikov, *op. cit.* p. 49 and note 7. In 1961 V. Mikov examined the vessel in question.

²⁸ Shalганова, *op. cit.* p. 179.

²⁹ Ganeva, *op. cit.* p. 41. Both the sites near Vruv and Archar, inaccurately indicated as cemeteries by the author, are previously indicated as such by Tr. Filipov.

³⁰ For example Mikov, *op. cit.*, p. 49; Zung, *op. cit.* p. 20; Panayotov and Vulcheva, *op. cit.* p. 7. See also note 7. T. Shalганова mentions “a cemetery” near Archar (Shalганова, *op. cit.* p. 173), but the site is not included in the review of the cemeteries of the culture (Shalганова, *op. cit.* p. 175-179) and the source, cited by her, gives no specific information about the characteristics of the site.

³¹ see Bonev, *Nyakoi problemi, svurzani s kusunobronzoviya nekropol pri s. Orsoya, Mihaylovgradski okrug, in Bulgarskite zemi v drevnostta do suzdavaneto na bulgarskata durzhava, Dokladi, 6, Vtori mezhdunaroden kongres po Bulgaristika, 23 may-3 yuni 1986, Sofia, 1987, p. 48-52* and the similar to the quoted work article of Sv. Ganeva, *op. cit.*

³² Tr. Filipov, *Keramika i idolna plastika ot kusunobronzoviya nekropol pri s. Orsoya, Mihaylovgradski okrug, Arheologija Sofia 2, 1974, note 1; Idem, Nekropol ot kusunata bronzova epoha pri s. Orsoya, Lomsko, Sofia, 1976, p. 6.* The site is located in proximity to the villages of Orsoya and Slivata (Mikov, *op. cit.*, p. 49).

at the site. Later the materials were also examined in details by A. Bonev and T. Shalганova³³. A. Bonev indicates the exact duration of the excavations – from 1969 till 1979 –, as well as some details on the circumstances of the discovery of the site.³⁴

The earliest publication, that from 1974, states that between 1969 and 1972, 220 graves were excavated³⁵. Later the author mentions that the square-grid area covers 6500 m² and the number of the excavated cremation graves is 267.³⁶ The figure 343 is stated as the final number of the examined burial contexts and a 6300 m² cemetery area is defined as completely researched³⁷. Besides the urn cremations, four other “later” inhumation graves were registered, containing two males, one female and one juvenile.³⁸ At variance with the data given by the excavation director, G. Georgiev mentions 301 excavated graves and five inhumations graves.³⁹

According to the initial publication, the cemetery, located on the right bank of the Danube, was “oriented in a southeast-northwestern direction”.⁴⁰ No site plan or topographic documentation was included,⁴¹ although it is communicated that they had been prepared⁴². The burial rite was cremation that took place outside the perimeter of the cemetery – a suggestion grounded on the lack of any traces of a pyre.⁴³ The graves were flat, registered at an equal level in the sandy layer; covered by two loess deposits – delimited by 10 cm thick streaks of sand – and humus layers with total thickness ranging from 0.55 to 1 m. Owing to the alluvial deposits, the depth of the graves varies from 0.80 to 3 m measured from the surface. The structure of the “wet sandy layer” prevented determination of the shape and dimensions of

³³ Some of the works on the Orsoya materials and the Lower Danube Incrusted Pottery Culture in general include T. Shalганova, *Razvitie na kulturite prez kusunobronzovata i nachaloto na starozhelyaznata epoha v Severozapadna Bulgaria*, Avtoreferat na disertatsiya za prisuzhdane na nauchna stepen “kandidat na istoricheskite nauki”, Sofia, 1993; T. Shalганova, *Otnosno grebenovidniya motiv v ukrasat na kulturata na inkrustiranata keramika po Dolniya Dunav*, in *Maritsa-Iztok, Arheologicheski prouchvaniya*, 2, Sofia, 1994, p. 111-117; T. Shalганova, *Glineni bradvi ot teritoriyata na kulturata na inkrustiranata keramika po Dolni Dunav*, *Problemi na izkustvoto* 3, 1994, p. 21-24; Shalганova, *About an Ornamental Pattern of the Incrusted Pottery Culture Along the Lower Danube*, in (ed. P. Roman, M. Alexianu), *Relations Thraco-Illyro helléniques. Actes du XIVe Symposium national de Thracologie (à participation internationale), Băile Herculane (14-19 Septembre 1992)*, Bucharest, 1994, p. 170-177; T. Shalганova, *The Lower Danube Incrusted Pottery Culture*, in (eds. D. Bailey et alii), *Prehistoric Bulgaria (Monographs in World Archaeology No. 22)*, Madison-Wisconsin, 1995, p. 291-308; T. Shalганova, *Antropomorphni figuri ot kusnata bronzovata epoha*, *Problemi na izkustvoto*, 3/4, 1997, p. 53-58; T. Shalганova, *Pogrebalniyat obred-izvor za rekonstruktsiya na sotsialnata struktura (vurhu materialite na kulturata na inkrustiranata keramika po Dolen Dunav)*, *Problemi na izkustvoto* 1, Sofia, 2002, p. 26-30; and a summarized study in T. Shalганova, *Izkustvo i obred na bronzovata epoha. Kultura na inkrustiranata keramika po Dolen Dunav*, *Monografii* 3, Mitologiya, izkustvo, folklor (MIF), Izdatelstvo na NBU, Sofia, 2005.

³⁴ The discoverer – “a famous treasure-hunter and a collector of antiques” – chanced upon several urns in the profile of the river-bank after the summer decrease of the water level. According to A. Bonev ‘the number of the initially discovered urns remains unknown, as well as the exact number of the graves, researched during the excavations– information which later is confirmed by the author. A. Bonev, *The Late Bronze Age Cremation Graveyard of Orsoya (a typology of the ceramic finds and problems of interpretations)*, in (ed. L. Nikolova), *Reports of Prehistoric Research Projects*, Vol. II-III, 1999 (2000), p. 3; A. Bonev, *Ranna Trakiya. Formirane na trakiyskata kultura – kraya na vtoroto-nachaloto na purvoto hilyadoletie pr.Hr.*, *Razkopki i prouchvaniya* 31, 2003, Sofia, p. 14.

³⁵ Tr. Filipov, *Keramika i idolna plastika ot kusunobronzoviya nekropol pri s. Orsoya, Mihaylovgradski okrug*, *Arheologija*Sofia 2, 1974, p. 12.

³⁶ Tr. Filipov, *Nekropol ot kusnata bronzovata epoha pri s. Orsoya, Lomsko*, Sofia, 1976, p. 6.

³⁷ Idem, *Idolna plastika ot kusunobronzoviya nekropol pri s. Orsoya, Mihaylovgradski okrug*, *Muzei i pametnitsi na kulturata*, Sofia, 2, 1978, p. 9.

³⁸ Idem, *Nekropol ot kusnata bronzovata epoha pri s. Orsoya, Lomsko*, Sofia, 1976, p. 6.

³⁹ G. Georgiev, *Die Erforschung der Bronzezeit in Nordwestbulgarien*, PAS 1, 1982, p. 197.

⁴⁰ Filipov, *Idolna plastika ot kusunobronzoviya nekropol pri s. Orsoya, Mihaylovgradski okrug*, *Muzei i pametnitsi na kulturata*, Sofia, 2, 1978, p. 9.

⁴¹ I. Panayotov, *Otziv za Trayko Filipov. Nekropol ot kusnata bronzovata epoha pri s. Orsoya, Lomsko*, *Muzei i pametnitsi na kulturata* 1, Sofia, 1978, p. 71.

⁴² Filipov, *Nekropol ot kusnata bronzovata epoha pri s. Orsoya, Lomsko*, Sofia, 1976, p. 6.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 7.

the grave pits. A certain arrangement of the urns placement was detected – they were organized in “irregular rows, oriented in south-east to north-western direction”, situated on the right river bank, parallel to the river flow.⁴⁴ The vessels containing the human remains⁴⁵ were covered by wide shallow bowls apart from only two instances when another type of vessel, designated as “complementary”, was used. There was no specific information on how many and which urns exactly were covered by those “lids”. The grave goods were found predominantly *inside* the urns, rarely *around* them and in the two above-mentioned exceptions the small vessels were placed *on top* of the urns.⁴⁶

The publication is problematic also with regard to the number of objects discovered.⁴⁷ Until 1974 the author mentions 50 small vessels, 11 anthropomorphic figurines, two of which are interpreted as deliberately broken, 8 zoomorphic vessels in the shape of birds and a horned animal, 4 models of “cult axes”, 22 stone beads placed in a zoomorphic vessel, bronze knives, copper and bronze adornments and two appliqué.⁴⁸ In 1976 the described inventory contains spherical and biconical vessels, cups, small ceramic double-vessels (also called “salt containers”), axe models, “cult table models”, zoomorphic vessels, figurines, flint and later materials – “fibulae, rings, bracelets, earrings, small knives, appliqué and others”.⁴⁹ According to the 1978 information concerning the anthropomorphic figurines, the total number of finds includes 21 well-preserved “idols” and 7 fragments from “deliberately broken” figurines.⁵⁰ Later on, the total number for the discovered ceramic models of axes is indicated to be 8.⁵¹

These finds were very variously approached⁵². An analysis of the materials published by Tr. Filipov, A. Bonev and T. Shalganova as well as of the still existing artefacts was carried out by the present author.⁵³

Initial publications. The earliest publication is that of the field researcher. It contains data on pottery and ceramic figurines, a brief information on the site, the number of excavated graves and finds.

⁴⁴ Idem, *Keramika i idolna plastika ot kusunobronzoviya nekropol pri s. Orsoya, Mihaylovgradski okrug*, ArheologijaSofia 2, 1974, p. 12; Idem, *Nekropol ot kusunata bronzova epoha pri s. Orsoya, Lomsko*, Sofia, 1976, p. 6-7; Idem, *Idolna plastika ot kusunobronzoviya nekropol pri s. Orsoya, Mihaylovgradski okrug*, Muzei i pametnitsi na kulturata, 2, Sofia, 1978, p. 9.

⁴⁵ The vessels illustrated by Tr. Filipov as urns belong to graves no. 1, 5, 8, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 25, 27, 29, 31, 34, 37, 39, 43, 44, 52, 53, 55, 67, 59, 74, 77, 80, 82, see Filipov, *Nekropol ot kusunata bronzova epoha pri s. Orsoya, Lomsko*, Sofia, 1976.

⁴⁶ Filipov, *Nekropol ot kusunata bronzova epoha pri s. Orsoya, Lomsko*, Sofia, 1976, p. 6.

⁴⁷ The terminology used here naturally follows that of the three initial publications, without being accepted as appropriate.

⁴⁸ Filipov, *Keramika i idolna plastika ot kusunobronzoviya nekropol pri s. Orsoya, Mihaylovgradski okrug*, ArheologijaSofia 2, 1974, p. 12.

⁴⁹ Idem, *Nekropol ot kusunata bronzova epoha pri s. Orsoya, Lomsko*, Sofia, 1976.

⁵⁰ Idem, *Idolna plastika ot kusunobronzoviya nekropol pri s. Orsoya, Mihaylovgradski okrug*, Muzei i pametnitsi na kulturata 2, 1978, p. 11.

⁵¹ Shalganova, *Glineni bradvi ot teritoriyata na kulturata na inkrustiranata keramika po Dolni Dunav*, Problemi na izkustvoto, 3, 1994, p. 21. Four of these models are published by Tr. Filipov, found in graves no. 59, 100, 137, 254. A specimen from grave no. 346 is preserved at the National Historical Museum Sofia and three other axes are kept in the Museum of Lom (Shalganova, *op. cit.* note 3). Five of those finds are illustrated by T. Shalganova (Shalganova, *op. cit.* fig. 1), and two of the latter are supplemented by information about specific burial context – grave no. 346 and no. 287 (Shalganova, *op. cit.* p. 23).

⁵² See the three initial publications of Tr. Filipov, the works of A. Bonev (Bonev, *Trakiya i egeyskiya svyat prez vtorata polovina na II hilyadoletie do n.e.*, Razkopki i prouchvaniya, Sofia, 1988; Bonev, *The Late Bronze Age Cremation Graveyard of Orsoya (a typology of the ceramic finds and problems of interpretations)*, in L. Nikolova (ed.), *Reports of Prehistoric Research Projects II-III*, 1999 (2000); Bonev, *Ranna Trakiya. Formirane na trakiyskata kultura – kraya na vtoroto-nachaloto na purvoto hilyadoletie pr.Hr.*, Razkopki i prouchvaniya XXXI, 2003, Sofia and note 42.

⁵³ T. Dzhhanfezova, *Towards the Late Bronze Age burial practices in North-Western Bulgaria. The Orsoya cemetery*, International Scientific Conference “St. Cyril and St. Methodius University of Veliko Tarnovo and the Bulgarian Archaeology”, 27-29 November 2008, Veliko Tarnovo, forthcoming publication. The commentaries and specifications resulting from the comparison between data from earlier and later works, and the detailed list of the published finds, are not presented here due to the considerable volume of information.

The stratigraphy, burial rite, location of urns, as well as the difficulties of establishing the context of some of the finds are also mentioned⁵⁴. The author grouped the ceramic,⁵⁵ which he described partly in a very general manner,⁵⁶ partly more precisely.⁵⁷ An classification of the vessels, containing human remains is offered. Designated as *burial urns*, these pots are divided in three groups⁵⁸: 1) biconical vessels with two subgroups, defined according to proportions and shape of the middle part of the body and neck; 2) spherical urns, which according to the handles are divided in two groups and 3) “storeyed” vessels with three “types/variants”. For some of the finds analogues are offered, mainly with the material from the cemetery at Cârna. The Orsoya site is attributed to the Late Bronze Age, more specifically to the third quarter of the second millennium BC. Filipov relates it to a culture which developed on the Danube river-banks, and cites some analogous sites based on information published by V. Mikov⁵⁹

In a *later work of 1976* the burial inventory is examined in more details. The typology of the urns corresponds to the previously published one, and the indicated analogues are the same.⁶⁰ The information about lids and spherical vessels is also identical to that from the first publication, but the comparison of the otherwise numerous illustrations with the descriptions reveals discrepancies. A new category is that of the biconical vessels. According to Filipov they are characterized by the presence of two handles; they resemble typologically the spherical vessels, but at the same time lack some of the variants of the latter. Contrariwise stands the definition of the spherical pots, i.e. “some of them have no handles, others carry one or two high handles”,⁶¹ which added to the general similarities of the whole shape of the body complicates Filipov’s classification. The cups with regular and flattened body are those described in 1974 as cups with *Buckel*-decoration.⁶² A new *category* of ceramic double vessels, called “salt-vessels” (salt and spice containers) is added – they are with or without decoration and are found inside the urns.⁶³ The “cult axe” models are represented in more details, as well as another novel category – the models of “cult tables”, covered by complex ornamentation. Vessels in the shape of a duck, a swan, and a horned animal are the subgroups established for the zoomorphic pots.⁶⁴ The anthropomorphic figurines are described in details, and supplemented by more analogies. It is specified that the majority of them were placed inside the urns, and according to the author some were deliberately broken before that.⁶⁵

In the third publication – *that of 1978* – special attention is given to the anthropomorphic figurines, described as a material of “first-rate significance”.⁶⁶ The elements considered basic for the description of these finds, as well as the close-ups themselves repeat those previously published by the author, while the typology reproduces that of 1976 with minute alterations.⁶⁷ Particular etceteras are added in the presentation of the types. The published figurines and their interpretations correspond to the earlier ones by the same author (figurines from graves no. 82, 41 and those found in close proximity to graves no. 41, 74,

⁵⁴ Filipov, *Keramika i idolna plastika ot kusunobronzoviya nekropol pri s. Orsoya, Mihaylovgradski okrug*, ArheologijaSofia 2, 1974, p. 12-13.

⁵⁵ “Burial urns, lids, small vessels with various shapes, sizes and decoration, idol-figurines, zoomorphic vessels, cult axes models” (*Ibidem*).

⁵⁶ “lids”, “spheric vessels”, vessels with “cups shapes”, decorated with Buckel-ornaments, “cult axes”, flint “blades”.

⁵⁷ “zoomorphic vessels” – a vessel with an incised image representing “lyre”, “anthropomorphic figurines – from grave no. 148 (small figurine, placed in a bigger one) and a figurine with a “swastika” motif.

⁵⁸ There is no clear typological distinction between the categories “group” and “type” (see Filipov, *Keramika i idolna plastika...*, p. 13), as well as exact implementation of “subgroup”, “type” and “variant”.

⁵⁹ Filipov, *Keramika i idolna plastika...*, p. 22, notes 16 and 17.

⁶⁰ Filipov, *Nekropol ot kusnata bronzova epoha...*, p. 13-16.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, p. 11-12.

⁶² *Ibidem*, p. 9.

⁶³ *Ibidem*, p. 13.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 15.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 16-25.

⁶⁶ Tr. Filipov, *Idolna plastika ot kusunobronzoviya nekropol pri s. Orsoya, Mihaylovgradski okrug*, Muzei i pametnitsi na kulturata 2, 1978, p. 11.

⁶⁷ For example the indented decoration (Filipov, *Nekropol ot kusnata bronzova epoha...*, p. 25) is excluded from the list of the applied techniques presented in the later publication – the definition “indented line” is transformed into “incised” (Filipov, *Idolna plastika...*, p. 16).

91, 148, 151, 176, 259); included are finds, discovered in the sand adjacent to graves no. 182, 201, 226; and without being illustrated, some “new” finds are presented (those closer to graves no. 211, 241, 289, 302). Elaborated data is offered on the so-called figurine with the swastika sign, found in grave no. 41⁶⁸. Unknown until 1978 is the description of a grave no. 310 – a “cult scene” comprising a “bed” or “seat”, one laid down figurine and two boat-models placed behind the indicated finds.⁶⁹ With the exception of Vatina, all the sites described as analogous to Orsoya do not differ from those listed in 1976.⁷⁰

The commentary on the initial publications⁷¹ is based on the 1976 article and includes observations of which mentioned here are only those concerning more general problems. These include the number of the published graves; the number of the vessels defined as urns; the definition of various categories of vessels as urns; certain typological ambiguities and necessary clarifications, which concern the presence of differing shapes in the same category; the presence of identical forms, distributed in different categories, and others. The abovementioned 1976 work presents the largest number of illustrations ever published for the site, a characteristic which could have turned it into a good source for the reconstruction of burial contexts and a good starting point for further interpretations. Yet, it contains a variety of discrepancies in the description of the material, the correlation between the text and the illustration, and many others. Further discrepancies appear between Filipov’s initial publications and those of later authors. The most important of them result in: the difficulties in the identification of the published finds and the “doubling” of objects, presented as belonging to several different graves; the so-called “newly found” objects, which in fact are old ones simply labeled with a different grave number; the presence of metal finds, dating to considerably later periods. Inconsistencies in some definitions of the applied decoration techniques (see above) are also registered.

Later publications. In his *treatise of 1988* A. Bonev elaborates a typology of the ceramic finds from the Orsoya cemetery, which is also used as the foundation in his later publications.⁷² In his work of 1999 (published in 2000) the presentation of these types is completed by the indication of every included specimen; this makes possible the juxtaposition with the data given in the initial publications of Tr. Filipov.

The 1988 publication contains a typology of burial urns, kantharos-type vessels⁷³, cups, deep bowls, lids, “kyathoi”, double “salt-vessels” (two small oval containers, attached to each other, with a handle between them), zoomorphic vessels, anthropomorphic figurines and models of “cult axes”. There are four groups of urns: the first is characterized by truncated-cone urns and has six types; the second, similar to the shapes of the kantharoi, four types; the third group is represented by two vessels; and a fourth group, has a single specimen; for groups four and five the types were not specified. Kantharoi were divided into three types, and the cups include two categories. From the deep bowls only one specimen is published; the bowls serving as lids of the urns are said to be typologically analogous. A new designation is that of kyathoi, referring to two specimens (found in grave no. 73 and 78). As finds without parallels are indicated one boat model (grave no. 88), one urn model (grave no. 93), one cylindrical “stand” (grave no. 147), models of cult tables (graves no. 62 and 41) and the so-called “cult scene” from grave no. 310. Special attention is given to the absence of completely matching ornamental combinations, and the presence of specific selection of motives in the decoration of various categories of finds.⁷⁴ In addition to the anthropomorphic figurines and zoomorphic vessels, these motifs are considered as indicators of Aegean influence on the Lower Danube River cultures.⁷⁵ According to the author’s statement the

⁶⁸ Filipov, *Idolna plastika...*, p. 12.

⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 15.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 17.

⁷¹ See note 53.

⁷² A. Bonev, *Trakiya i egeyskiya svyat prez vtorata polovina na II hilyadoletie do n.e.*, Razkopki i prouchvaniya, Sofia, 1988; Bonev, *The Late Bronze Age Cremation Graveyard of Orsoya (a typology of the ceramic finds and problems of interpretations)*, in L. Nikolova (ed.), *Reports of Prehistoric Research Projects*, Vol. II-III, 1999 (2000).

⁷³ A definition offered for the first time about the Orsoya material in 1979 (A. Bonev, *Retsenziya za Trayko Filipov. Nekropol ot kusnata bronzova epoha pri s. Orsoya, Lomsko, Album, Sofia 1976*, Arheologija Sofia 1979, p. 57-58.

⁷⁴ A. Bonev, *Trakiya i egeyskiya svyat prez vtorata polovina na II hilyadoletie do n.e.*, Razkopki i prouchvaniya, Sofia, 1988, p. 49.

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 71.

typology was intended to be simple, especially with regard to the zoomorphic vessels and anthropomorphic figurines.⁷⁶ In fact, at that time this was the most detailed classification of the Orsoya finds. The beginning of the cemetery is set in the middle or at latest in the second half of the 15th century BC, and 1100 BC is indicated as an endmost date – which according to the author coincides with the great migration of the Aegean population.⁷⁷ He remarks the impossibility to determine phases in the use of the cemetery – a circumstance which he considers to have been caused by the nature of the initial publications⁷⁸. With this occasion, A. Bonev also reiterates his earlier ideas⁷⁹. In 1999 more comprehensive information on the categorization of the preserved grave finds is offered – the work comprises over 180 ceramic objects (no. 1-184), divided in 28 types. The urns are divided in five groups (having up to five types and variants), some of which are represented by single specimens.⁸⁰ Bonev specifies that it is disputable whether all the vessels described by Tr. Filipov as urns had that very function (for example the urns of type III-1, with height around 10-12 cm), but the definition from the initial publication is provisionally kept. The second most widespread category – the kantharoi – has three types.⁸¹ The cups are presented by two types⁸² with the comment that it is not clear whether they were actually covered by lids, as illustrated by Tr. Filipov. A separate type with a single representative is the bowl found in grave no. 1. Bonev notes that the use of bowls to cover urns is rare in Orsoya, in contradistinction to Cârna, where such bowls are both frequent and typologically varied.⁸³ A photograph of the site however reveals that the number of urns covered by deep bowls⁸⁴ is larger than stated in the album. There are two vessels defined as a “local ceramic shape – kyathos”, as well as grave finds which according to the author are made especially for the burial.⁸⁵ Several categories are established: double vessels (small salt-containers), zoomorphic vessels in the shape of birds and a horned animal, anthropomorphic figurines (the so-called bell-idols), models of cult axes, models of boats, a model of urn, a stand and a model of a four-legged cult table.⁸⁶ The ornamentation techniques are described as false-cord technique, combined with white incrustation, incision and stamps, and the motives are divided into linear and curvilinear groups.

A recent work of the present author⁸⁷ identifies the graves mentioned only in the later publications (i.e. missing in the earlier ones); the finds that were missing in the initial publication and were added later, those that were presented in the older publications, but were abandoned in the later ones; cases of similar urns that were doubled as well as assigned to separate types; cases when the same specimens were described as having different sizes; cases when one and the same vessel is included in two unrelated categories (as urn and as a cup for example). One further problem is that the main researchers share different opinions on whether certain vessels are “similar” or “identical” and sometimes textually describe analogies between vessels that are not justified by the presented illustrations. Again, there are discrepancies in the definitions, and the illustration.

Specific problems with regard to the Orsoya cemetery. While some *problems*, mentioned in the bibliography cited here, are more general in nature,⁸⁸ others are more specific. Only the latter will be discussed below.

⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 48.

⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 73.

⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 57.

⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 53.

⁸⁰ A. Bonev, *The Late Bronze Age Cremation Graveyard of Orsoya (a typology of the ceramic finds and problems of interpretations)*, in (ed. L. Nikolova), *Reports of Prehistoric Research Projects, II-III, 1999 (2000)*, p. 5-12.

⁸¹ *Ibidem*, p. 12-19.

⁸² *Ibidem*, p. 19-21.

⁸³ *Ibidem*, p. 21.

⁸⁴ Filipov, *Nekropol ot kusnata bronzova epoha...*, fig. 1.

⁸⁵ Bonev, *The Late Bronze Age Cremation Graveyard ...*, p. 21.

⁸⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 21-28.

⁸⁷ See note 53.

⁸⁸ These are 1) origin of the Incrusted Pottery Culture, the basis of its emergence and development; 2) the reasons for the appearance and the exceptional distribution of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic objects; 3) the emergence of the complex ornamental system; 4) the nature of the “cult scene” found in grave no. 310; and 5) the historic destiny of the bearers of the Incrusted Pottery Culture (Bonev, *Nyakoi problemi, svurzani s kusnobronzoviya*

Location. The fact that the cemetery is situated in a region with boggy terrain and with high level of underground waters, on a loose riverbank, and that its northern part has been regularly flooded resulted in disturbed contexts and dispersal of the objects in the sand that make identification of some of the graves impossible.⁸⁹ The terrain researcher specifies that the majority of the urns are broken or taken away by the water⁹⁰, their arrangement is compromised⁹¹ and the northern sector of the cemetery is in fact located in the very riverbed.⁹² He presupposes that the cemetery area is almost completely researched and states that no corresponding settlement could be identified, probably due to the landslides in the region.⁹³

Discovery of the cemetery and present state of the finds and the documentation. The number of the initially found urns remains unknown.⁹⁴ Authors, having made attempts to study the material, indicate that it is already impossible to precisely document the finds.⁹⁵ The greater part of the objects remains unpublished at the Lom Museum depository and the terrain documentation has not been preserved. Thus, according to A. Bonev, all data of the terrain researcher concerning the graves could not be confirmed and his conclusions should be taken with caution⁹⁶.

Specifics of the publications. The initial publications – altogether three, offering similar information – contain some discrepancies. The most detailed publication of Tr. Filipov is considered to be closer to a printed collection of pictures⁹⁷ while in fact the cemetery remains unpublished.⁹⁸

Conventions of the work with the materials. There are various types of discrepancies concerning the data: 1) in the information given by one and the same author, 2) between the initial publications and the later articles or 3) between the statements of the two “later” authors, who worked with the materials after Tr. Filipov.

Number of graves. The existence of 343 graves could not be verified. Less than one-third of that number were included in the initial articles of Tr. Filipov, and according to some authors the published finds in fact represent 19% of the total material found.⁹⁹ A. Bonev communicates that the number of graves, described in the publications of Tr. Filipov, is 74.¹⁰⁰ T. Shalganova states that from the mentioned 343 burial contexts, data about urns is presented for 66 graves; in 52 of those cases amphora-type urns were used, and in 14 other cases various vessels were utilized as containers of the bones.¹⁰¹ According to R. Krauß, the number of the published graves amounts to 77.¹⁰² A detailed review of the presumable number of graves, as well as that of the various categories of finds, was presented in another article and will not be included here.¹⁰³

nekropol..., p. 49-50). For each of these some possible answers are searched and 18 years later a work stating the same problems was published (Ganeva, *op. cit.*).

⁸⁹ Filipov, *Nekropol ot kusnata bronzova epoha...*, p. 7.

⁹⁰ Idem, *Idolna plastika ot kusnobronzoviya nekropol pri s. Orsoya, Mihaylovgradski okrug, Muzei i pametnitsi na kulturata 2*, Sofia, 1978, p. 11.

⁹¹ Idem, *Keramika i idolna plastika ot kusnobronzoviya nekropol pri s. Orsoya, Mihaylovgradski okrug, Arheologija Sofia 2*, 1974, p. 13.

⁹² Idem, *Idolna plastika ot kusnobronzoviya nekropol pri s. Orsoya, Mihaylovgradski okrug, Muzei i pametnitsi na kulturata 2*, Sofia, 1978, p. 9.

⁹³ Bonev, *Prouchvaniyata na kulturata s inkrustirana keramika po Dolni Dunav (obsht istoriografski pregled)*, Godishnik na Departament Arheologija – Nov Bulgarski Universitet, 1996, note 87.

⁹⁴ Bonev, *The Late Bronze Age Cremation Graveyard ...*, p. 3, note 5.

⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 4.

⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 5.

⁹⁷ Shalganova, *Pogrebalniyat obred-izvor za rekonstruktsiya na sotsialnata struktura (vurhu materialite na kulturata na inkrustiranata keramika po Dolni Dunav)*, Problemi na izkustvoto 1, 2002, Sofia, p. 26.

⁹⁸ Bonev, *The Late Bronze Age Cremation Graveyard ...*, p. 4.

⁹⁹ Shalganova, *Pogrebalniyat obred-izvor za rekonstruktsiya...*, p. 26.

¹⁰⁰ Bonev, *Prouchvaniyata na kulturata s inkrustirana keramika po Dolni Dunav...*, note 86.

¹⁰¹ Shalganova, *Pogrebalniyat obred-izvor za rekonstruktsiya...*, p. 26.

¹⁰² R. Krauß, *Die Prähistorische Besiedlung am Unterlauf der Jantra vor dem Hintergrund der Kulturgeschichte Nordbulgariens*, Prähistorische Archäologie Südosteuropa 20, Rahden/Westf., 2006, p. 131.

¹⁰³ See note 53.

Doubling of urns and other categories of vessels. Further, the way the data were published does not allow any detailed analysis: information about graves is limited to illustration of the finds; there are several cases of doubling of same vessels, by inclusion in more than one burial context. Further confusion derives from the comparison of authors' opinions: according to some authors, vessels from different grave numeration are the same (T. Shalganova), while other researchers accept them as similar, but not identical (e.g., the kantharos from grave 121/154 and the urn from grave 82/160).¹⁰⁴

According to A. Bonev doubled are the urns from graves 25/19, 43/20; a zoomorphic vessel from grave 43/128; a cup from grave 121/67 (and consequently the kantharos from grave 154/121 and the urn from grave 82/160 are not considered as identical, i.e. doubled, and are not included in the list). T. Shalganova also notes the presence of identical vessels in different graves: the urns from the contexts numbered as 20/43, and 82/160; zoomorphic vessel from 43/128; one-handled vessel from 67/121; a kantharos from 121/154.¹⁰⁵ She obviously accepts as identical the two finds, excluded from A. Bonev's list of identical objects, and does not indicate as a doubled vessel the urn from grave 25/19, mentioned by him. T. Shalganova's opinion is shared by M. Şandor-Chicideanu, who also adds the urn from grave no. 135 as corresponding to that from grave 154.¹⁰⁶ It remains unclear whether, based on the mentioned doubling, the number of urns (and the count of graves respectively) should be reduced or not, because it is possible that certain vessels, which were considered as better illustrating a type, were used as representative of similar, less well preserved examples from different graves.

Determination of the *number of finds* is impossible, as it is affected by the abovementioned factors. A. Bonev describes 184.¹⁰⁷ T. Shalganova reports 380 vessels (five small jugs with rounded body, three loops on their broadest part and one high handle;¹⁰⁸ 96 – of the 104 known to her – kantharos-like vessels with rectangular body and elliptic or diamond-shaped rim, and the further eight with rounded-type body; ten other similar vessels with decoration of vertical cannelures along the body; several amphora-like vessels decorated with channels,¹⁰⁹ about which we are told that they stand for a much larger and unspecified number of similar, unpublished, vessels,¹¹⁰ for the rest of the inventory see above).

Research limitations. The impossibility to verify the number of the published graves and finds was already stated. The mixture of categories, the doubling of finds and the differences between the descriptions given by various authors, the reference to vessels only in terms of their function (as urn, or lid), the variability in the number of finds – reduced by some researchers and increased by others (depending on their opinions about the doubling of the finds in the initial publications and on their access to the material), the numerous discrepancies in and between the publications are part of the research difficulties.

It remains impossible to accurately determine the internal grave grouping within the cemetery, the mutual relation between the graves, the content of the graves (number of buried individuals, grave goods and their location), and possible chronological differences among graves, let alone to anthropologically diagnose the human remains or to identify the surviving evidence of acts accompanying the burial practice.

(7) Dolno Linevo–“Sadovete”, Montana region (approx. 43°50'34.89''N; 23°19'32.09''E). Published information is offered about two one-handled cups, very similar to the *Novo Selo type*, that have been found under unknown circumstances in the *Sadovete* location. Initially they were kept at the City Museum of Lom, later one of them has been moved to the Vratsa Regional Museum, and the other – transferred to the Sofia University Museum collection.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁴ See Bonev, *The Late Bronze Age Cremation Graveyard ...*, p. 8, 16.

¹⁰⁵ Shalganova, *Pogrebalniyat obred-izvor za rekonstruktsiya...*, p. 30, note 2.

¹⁰⁶ Şandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 21, note 97. There is information on the problem also in a previously printed article (M. Chicideanu-Şandor and I. Chicideanu, *Contributions to the study of the Gîrla Mare anthropomorphic statuettes*, *Dacia N.S.*, 34, 1990, p. 53-75).

¹⁰⁷ Bonev, *The Late Bronze Age Cremation Graveyard ...*, p. 5.

¹⁰⁸ Shalganova, *The Lower Danube Incrusted Pottery Culture*, in (eds. D. Bailey et alii), *Prehistoric Bulgaria (Monographs in World Archaeology No. 22)*, Madison-Wisconsin, 1995, p. 297-298.

¹⁰⁹ Shalganova, *op. cit.* p. 298.

¹¹⁰ Krauß, *Die Prähistorische Besiedlung ...*, p. 131.

¹¹¹ Mikov, *Materiali ot posledniya period na bronzovata epoha v Severozapadna Bulgaria*, Arheologija Sofia 1970, p. 49, 62, note 6.

Other authors specify that the sites, situated in the Dolno Linevo vicinity, are most probably cemeteries, and are in fact two: the first one located in *Sadovete*, where the two cups (that were lost afterwards) had been discovered, as well as a kantharos-type vessel published by B. Hänsel,¹¹² and attributed to the Čerkovna Group¹¹³. According to M. Şandor-Chicideanu the finds from *Sadovete* should be related to the Gârla Mare culture; most probably the author refers to the two one-handed cups.¹¹⁴ T. Shalganova communicates that during a field walking survey to the south-east of the village, one almost wholly preserved one-handed cup with *Buckel* decoration was found by chance and it should be included within the group of objects attributed to the Lower Danube Incrusted Pottery Culture.¹¹⁵ No further detailed information is offered about the find, and most probably it remained unpublished. The vessel is viewed as representative for the later (third) chronological phase of the culture. During surveys in the following years, made in the vicinity of the village by A. Bonev, no evidences of the presence of a site, belonging to this culture, have been registered.¹¹⁶

(8) Mokresh-“Grobishteto”, Montana region (approx. 43°45′01.24″N; 23°23′49.79″E). At a distance of 1 km to the east of Mokresh and 8 km to the south of the Danube River, during a rake out of soil by bulldozer, three vessels full of burned bone ashes were found.¹¹⁷ Their rims are more specific – having spurs, shaped as zoomorphic elements on one of the pots, as triangles on the second, and as two double opposite, combined with two single opposite elements on the third.¹¹⁸ Having no analogues from Bulgaria and Serbia, the vessels were compared by Alexandrov with the materials from Cârna; the latter were considered to be more simplified shapes.¹¹⁹ These parallels were later accepted by A. Bonev, who found similarities with specimens of the Wietenberg Culture, and dated them generally to the Late Bronze Age. In the trenches made during the terrain research in 1979 in the *Grobishteto* locality no materials possibly related to a cemetery were found. An authors’ assumption is that the zone where the site is located would have played a role of a “contact area”.¹²⁰

T. Shalganova states that the deep bowls having this type of protuberances represent a very popular form among the material of the Bistreţ-İşalniţa Culture.¹²¹ As exact parallel is indicated the material from the Bechet cemetery; these vessels are considered contemporaneous with the Bistreţ-İşalniţa Culture and with the late, third phase of the Lower Danube Incrusted Pottery Culture. Still it is not possible to assign with certainty the Mokresh cemetery to an archaeological culture. The hypotheses put forth are the following: 1) given the specific shape of the vessels, the cemetery could represent the third phase of the Lower Danube River Incrusted Pottery Culture, but here these vessels function as urns, a fact atypical for the culture in question; the lack of other finds and the remoteness of the site from the Danube River are further arguments against his assignment; 2) the site is related to the Bistreţ-İşalniţa Culture developed on the right Danube bank (its location is just opposite to the eponymic sites on the left bank of the river); and 3) the cemetery is situated in an area, related to the southern boundary of the Lower Danube Incrusted

¹¹² Shalganova, *The Lower Danube Incrusted Pottery Culture ...*, p. 176; B. Hänsel, *Beiträge zur regionalen und chronologischen Gliederung der älteren Hallstattzeit an der unteren Donau* (Beiträge zur ur- und frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie des Mittelmeer-Kulturraumes für das Institut für Frühgeschichte der Universität Heidelberg, 16, 1976, Bonn, Taf. 34-1.

¹¹³ Hänsel, *op. cit.*, p. 79, 81, a spherical short neck kantharos. See note 27.

¹¹⁴ Şandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

¹¹⁵ Shalganova, *Izkustvo i obred na bronzovata epoha. Kultura na inkrustiranata keramika po Dolen Dunav*, Monografii 3, Mitologiya, izkustvo, folklor (MIF), Izdatelstvo na NBU, 2005, Sofia, p. 176.

¹¹⁶ After Shalganova, *op. cit.*, note 38. Sv. Ganeva (*op.cit.*) also indicates the lack of cultural remains; the arguments repeat those published by T. Shalganova.

¹¹⁷ G. Alexandrov, *Novootkriti praistoricheski selishta v Mihaylovgradski okrug*, *Izvestiya na muzeite v Severozapadna Bulgaria* 6, 1981, p. 40.

¹¹⁸ Alexandrov, *op. cit.*, p. 41, fig. 8 a, b, c; fig. 9.

¹¹⁹ Alexandrov, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

¹²⁰ A. Bonev, *Ranna Trakiya. Formirane na trakiyskata kultura – kraya na vtoroto-nachaloto na purvoto hilyadoletie pr.Hr.*, *Razkopki i prouchvaniya XXXI*, 2003, Sofia, p. 31-32.

¹²¹ T. Shalganova, *Izkustvo i obred na bronzovata epoha. Kultura na inkrustiranata keramika po Dolen Dunav*, Monografii 3, Mitologiya, izkustvo, folklor (MIF), Izdatelstvo na NBU, 2005, Sofia, p. 176.

Pottery Culture, where during its third phase a “contact zone” was formed between the Verbicioara and the Lower Danube Incrusted Pottery Culture, which had resulted in its diverse manifestation, resembling in many ways that of Bistreț-Ișalnița; the same cultures have taken part in the process of modeling of the latter culture (Bistreț-Ișalnița). The graves in Gradeshnitsa and Hurllets, having similar “mixed” characteristics, are indicated as evidence confirming this supposition.¹²²

(9) Gradeshnitsa – “Malo pole”, Vratsa region (approx. 43°29'10.47''N; 23°28'50.46''E). The terrain was researched through trenches in order to establish the western border of a Neolithic site in the *Malo Pole* locality, 3 km west of Gradeshnitsa. In one of these trenches – 15 m long (east-west), 1 m wide (north-south) and 1 m deep – five cremation urn graves have been found.¹²³ The graves are single; no grave markers are registered. B. Nikolov relates these graves to a settlement, situated between the localities Malo Pole and Madanska Bara.¹²⁴ The site is dated to the final period of the Bronze Age, based on similarities with ceramics found in the graves of the Lower Danube Incrusted Pottery Culture and also in Zimnicea, where however no anthropomorphic figurines were found and the rite is inhumation. *Grave no. 1* consists of a highly fragmented urn containing ashes, pieces of coal, burned human bones and an upper part of an anthropomorphic figurine.¹²⁵ The latter is schematic, with a decorated front part incrustated with white paste. The interpretation of the incised decoration on the head of the figurine as an insect was accepted also by later authors.¹²⁶ In *grave no. 2* one of the vessels was used as urn, the other as lid covering the remains. *Grave no. 3* contains a similar combination of an urn and a lid¹²⁷ and *Grave no. 4*, whose burial pit is closer to the surface, contains an urn, fragments of a shallow container and pottery of various other shapes. The urn is not restored; the recovered biconical vessel has a flat base and an outwards elongated rim.¹²⁸ The urn and the lid found in *grave no. 5* are very similar to those from graves no. 2 and no. 3. Fragments from several other vessels have also been found. The urn and the lid are not restored, but the vessel that has been recovered, and defined as biconical,¹²⁹ is rather closer to the kantharos-type vessels.

Some authors expressed their reserves towards these research results;¹³⁰ they even question some of the published data and particularly the finding of the anthropomorphic figurine.¹³¹ Other researchers include the cemetery in the later phase of the Gârla Mare Culture – a statement grounded on the presence of ceramic shapes typical for that culture, represented by the finds from grave no. 1.¹³² Yet others define the pottery found in four of the graves as belonging to the fifth phase of the Verbicioara Culture.¹³³ On the other hand, the combination of an amphora-type vessel with an anthropomorphic figurine fragment – as in the case of grave no. 1 – represents a ritual element characteristic of the Lower Danube Incrusted Pottery Culture. T. Shalганova's conclusions refer to migration processes or trade and cultural interrelations,¹³⁴ when she suggests the following: 50 km to the south of the Danube River was situated a cemetery of a different culture, most probably Verbicioara, with which the Lower Danube Incrusted Pottery Culture maintained interrelations, as we know from similar cases in Oltenia.¹³⁵ If the presence of the anthropomorphic figurine fragment is accepted as an authentic fact, its discovery in a region which is

¹²² Shalганova, *op. cit.*, p. 176-177.

¹²³ B. Nikolov, *Nekropol ot kusnata bronzova epoha ot s. Gradeshnitsa, Vrachanska oblast*, *Izvestiya na muzeite ot Severozapadna Bulgaria* 2, 1978, p. 19.

¹²⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 21, fig. 1, 2.

¹²⁶ G. Georgiev, *Die Erforschung der Bronzezeit in Nordwestbulgarien*, PAS 1, 1982, p. 198.

¹²⁷ Nikolov, *Nekropol ot kusnata bronzova epoha ...*, p. 24, fig. 3, c, d.

¹²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 24, fig. 4, a.

¹²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 24-25, fig. 4, b.

¹³⁰ A. Bonev, *Ranna Trakiya. Formirane na trakiyskata kultura – kraya na vtoroto-nachaloto na purvoto hilyadoletie pr.Hr.*, Razkopki i prouchvaniya, XXXI, 2003, Sofia, p. 32.

¹³¹ Bonev, *Ranna Trakiya...*, p. 53, note 9.

¹³² Șandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

¹³³ Shalганova, *Izkustvo i obred na bronzovata epoha...*, p. 177.

¹³⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹³⁵ Shalганova, *Izkustvo i obred na bronzovata epoha...*, p. 178.

remote from the Lower Danube Incrusted Pottery Culture area represents no isolated phenomenon.¹³⁶ However, in the present state of research both migration and trade as explanations are beyond proof, while the idea of cultural relations is too general. The fact remains, that if that find's context is real, it represents an evidence of interrelations between the bearers of those two cultures or at least proves some chronological parallelism. In the present work the site is considered as related to the Verbicioara Culture.

(10) Kozloduy, Vratsa region (approx. 43°46'42.80''N; 23°43'17.97''E). At the very Danube riverbank, during excavations for a sewerage pipeline, dozens of graves, dated to the Bronze Age and the Roman Era, have been destroyed. Two whole vessels dated to the Bronze Age were kept – a cup and an „urn”.¹³⁷ The context is interpreted as an undisturbed grave, most probably from the end of the Bronze Age, but in fact these vessels date to a later period. B. Hänsel defines them as belonging to the second phase of the classical stamped pottery¹³⁸ and recent publications explicitly define them as Early Iron Age pottery specimens.¹³⁹

In the main text of her article L. Zung argues that the association, in Baley, of several Early Iron Age vessel shapes with shapes known the cemetery at Kozloduy suggests that the Lower Danube Incrusted Pottery Culture extended until the Early Iron Age.¹⁴⁰ According to the summary in French (which is also used by M. Şandor-Chicideanu), pursuant to “some finds from Baley and the Kozloduy cemetery” it is possible to assume that the culture has continued its development until the Early Iron Age¹⁴¹. Her conclusion also refers to data from an earlier article, which includes two “fragmented figurines that are typical for the Gârla Mare Culture”.¹⁴² Both specimens have only the upper part preserved and are stray finds, mentioned only in one work.¹⁴³ Despite the supposed relation to a grave context,¹⁴⁴ these data are not reliable. However, in case we accept them as correct, they would define, in Bulgaria, the eastern limit of the distribution of anthropomorphic figurines typical for the Incrusted Pottery Culture.

(11) Hurllets, Vratsa region (approx. 43°42'26.05''N; 23°49'48.32''E). According to published data, the earliest materials found in the lower layers of the Avgusta fortress date to “the end of the Bronze and the beginning of the Early Iron Age, the end of the II millennium” BC¹⁴⁵. The site is located 2.5 km to the north of Hurllets, on a naturally protected elevated plateau at the left bank of the Ogosta's ancient riverbed.¹⁴⁶ Two cremation graves were found, consisting of urns with cremated bones, dated to the “end of the Bronze Age”, and the presence of a Thracian settlement in the surroundings of Hurllets has been suggested.¹⁴⁷ Three cremation graves with “urns... from the end of the Bronze and the beginning of the Iron Age” are mentioned in another communication.¹⁴⁸

¹³⁶ A situation known from Zimnicea (A.D. Alexandrescu, *La nécropole du bronze récent de Zimnicea (département de Teleorman)*, Dacia N.S. 17, 1973, p. 81, Pl. 1, 1-4).

¹³⁷ Nikolov, *Selishta i nekropoli ot bronzovata epoha viv Vrachansko*, Arheologija Sofia 2, 1964, p. 73, fig. 6 a, b.

¹³⁸ Hänsel, *Beiträge zur regionalen und chronologischen Gliederung der älteren Hallstattzeit an der unteren Donau* (Beiträge zur ur- und frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie des Mittelmeer-Kulturraumes für das Institut für Frühgeschichte der Universität Heidelberg 16), 1976, Bonn, p. 171.

¹³⁹ Example in Wardle et alii, *Troy VII B₂ Revisited. The date of the transition from Bronze to Iron Age in the Northern Aegean*, in (eds. H. Todorova et alii), *The Struma/Strymon River Valley in Prehistory (In the steps of James Harvey Gaul, 2)*, Proceedings of the International Symposium Strymon Praehistoricus, Kjustendil-Blagoevgrad (Bulgaria), Serres-Amphipolis (Greece), 27.09-01.10. 2004, Sofia, 2007, p. 483, fig. 1.

¹⁴⁰ Zung, *Razvitie na kusnobronzovata kultura Baley-Orsoya...*, p. 23.

¹⁴¹ Zung, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

¹⁴² Şandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

¹⁴³ M. Chicideanu-Şandor, I. Chicideanu, *Contributions to the study of the Gârla Mare anthropomorphic statuettes*, Dacia N.S. 34, 1990, p. 74, fig. 6-5 a, b; 6 a, b.

¹⁴⁴ Şandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

¹⁴⁵ Sp. Mashov, *Avgusta*, 1980, p. 8.

¹⁴⁶ Mashov, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

¹⁴⁷ Mashov, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

¹⁴⁸ Sp. Mashov, *Razkopki na antichnata krepost Avgusta pri s. Hurllets, Vrachanski okrug*, Arheologicheski otkritiya i razkopki prez 1977, XXIII Natsionalna konferentsiya v gr. Vidin (rezyumeta na dokladi), Sofia, 1978, p. 85.

In comparison to the location of the sites typical for the Incrusted Pottery Culture, this cemetery stands back from the river (approximately at the same distance as Mokresh) and according to T. Shalганova it is situated considerably further east than the distribution area of the Incrusted Pottery Culture. The author specifies that the registered cremation graves are two and the discovered pots are three.¹⁴⁹ Based on its shape and presence of four protuberances on its mouth, one of the vessels was attributed to the Lower Danube Incrusted Pottery Culture, with the difference that there is no decoration (as observed in the Mokresh case).¹⁵⁰ The second vessel represents a jug used as an urn, considered as a type characteristic rather for the Čerkovna (Plovdiv-Zimnicea) Group. The third vessel, an amphora, is designated as possibly belonging to both cultures. These observations made the author consider the cemetery as belonging to a “contact zone” in which an interfusion of cultural traditions is observed¹⁵¹. In the present work the site is not catalogued as a typical representative of the Lower Danube Incrusted Pottery Culture.

(12) Butan, Vratsa region (approx. 43°38'50.50''N; 23°44'56.63''E). In the *Sredoreka* locality which is situated to the west of Butan, during excavations for a sewerage pipeline in 1978, settlements from the “Bronze and Iron Age” were registered. “Burial urns” containing burned bones and ashes were found, the predominant vessels having spherical form and two high handles above the rim. Further “burial urns” were found during excavations for the Dam of Brestovets,¹⁵² but without any other details.

(13) Sofronievo, Vratsa region (approx. 43°38'04.99''N; 23°47'05.65''E). In the northwestern part of the village, during vineyard cultivation, “burial urns” containing ashes and burned human bones were found.¹⁵³ Some of the vessels have oblique-cut rims; others have relief or incised decoration. The pottery type assigned to the end of the Bronze and the beginning of the Early Iron Age, at “the end of the second millennium BC”.¹⁵⁴ These vessels were neither described, nor illustrated; details were published only about later Sofronievo materials.¹⁵⁵ In the group, defined by A. Vulpe as *Vratsa*, B. Hänsel includes stamped fragments that have been found in a mound located close to the Sofronievo village,¹⁵⁶ with no reference of earlier materials. The present author does not consider these finds as reliable representatives of typical Late Bronze Age burial practices.

(14) Galiche, Vratsa region (approx. 43°33'33.11''N; 23°52'02.46''E). One *cemetery* located near Galiche is mentioned only by Zung, who says it is unpublished and the material kept in the Vratsa Historical Museum.¹⁵⁷ According to C. Schuster, some of the published finds from Galiche could in fact belong to the Early Bronze Age Zimnicea Group, and, considering their contexts, indicate the practicing of cremation.¹⁵⁸ On the other hand, B. Hänsel includes into the Čerkovna group an unpublished vessel from Galiche, as probably stemming from a grave context.¹⁵⁹ The vessel however is not ornamented and has unknown context. As any further information is lacking, there is no way to relate these finds to each other.

(15) Burdarski Geran, Vratsa region (approx. 43°32'52.48''N; 23°57'08.72''E). In 1976 B. Hänsel includes in the Čerkovna Group unpublished vessels found near Burdarski Geran (which he calls

¹⁴⁹ No further details or collocations are mentioned, see Shalганova, *Izkustvo i obred na bronzovata epoha...*, p. 178.

¹⁵⁰ Shalганova, *Izkustvo i obred na bronzovata epoha...*, p.178.

¹⁵¹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁵² Nikolov, *Ot Iskur do Ogosta, Istorija na 151 sela i gradove ot bivshiya Vrachanski okrug*, Sofia, 1996, p. 33

¹⁵³ Nikolov, *Sofronievo*, Sofia, 1971, p. 10.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹⁵⁵ B. Nikolov, *Trakiyski pametnitsi ot Vrachansko*, *Izvestija Sofia* 28, 1965, p. 166-170, 192-193.

¹⁵⁶ Hänsel, *Beiträge zur regionalen und chronologischen Gliederung ...*, p. 172.

¹⁵⁷ Zung, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

¹⁵⁸ Cr. Schuster, *Zur Bestattungsweise in Südromänien in der Bronzezeit*, in: (ed. R.Vasić), *Sahranjivanje u Bronzono i Gvozdeno Doba, Simpozijum, Čačak, 4-8 Septembar 2002 / Burial Customs in the Bronze and Iron Age. Symposium, Čačak, 4-8 September 2002*, Čačak, 2003, p. 112.

¹⁵⁹ Hänsel, *Beiträge zur regionalen und chronologischen Gliederung ...*, p. 79, pl. 35-1. See note 27.

Badarski Geran).¹⁶⁰ Because of their good preservation the author supposes that they are grave finds.¹⁶¹ Most probably these are the same vessels mentioned afterwards by B. Nikolov, according to whom “urns containing ashes and bones” were found during ploughing, to the northwest of the village, on a spot called *Dinkov Han*.¹⁶² The vessels are described as globular, having two symmetrical handles, which go over the rim. The proposed interpretation is “a Late Bronze Age cemetery”, but there are no further details.¹⁶³ In the present paper these materials are not considered as characteristic, reliable representatives of the Late Bronze Age burial practices.

(16) Krushovitsa, Vratsa region (approx. 43°37'33.69''N; 23°50'23.29''E). Located on the two banks of the Skut River, the village consists of an older part (on the right riverbank and the slopes of a higher hill) and a newer one (situated on the left riverbank).¹⁶⁴ In the *new part* of the village, during excavations for construction of a cultural center and a house, a large cemetery has been found, which was dated to the “end of the Bronze and the two periods of the Iron Age”.¹⁶⁵ “More than ten Thracian graves” were found, some of them – including vessels with one handle and slightly oblique-cut rim, while other containers have two vertical handles, protruding high above the rim.¹⁶⁶ Based on the composition of the clay, Nikolov considers that the vessels were produced in that very settlement; they are described in detail.¹⁶⁷ The cemetery is seen as evidence of the cultural shift from the end of the Bronze and the beginning of the Iron Ages.¹⁶⁸ This dating was, however, criticized by B. Hänsel,¹⁶⁹ who included the Krushovitsa finds into the Late Bronze Age Čerkovna Group.¹⁷⁰ Other authors use the term Zimnicea-Plovdiv for these vessels.¹⁷¹ According to M. Şandor-Chicideanu the graves should be attributed to the Gârla Mare Group.¹⁷² In the present work they are not taken as typical representatives of the Lower Danube Incrusted Pottery Culture.

(17) Bukyovtsi, present-day Miziya, Vratsa region (approx. 43°41'30.06''N; 23°51'17.38''E). In the *Rupite* locality, 2 km to the south of Bukyovtsi village,¹⁷³ during extraction of stones, several cremation graves were registered.¹⁷⁴ Three whole vessels have been preserved, dated to the “later period of the Bronze Age”.¹⁷⁵ Considering the characteristics of these vessels, they are not included in the present work on the Late Bronze Age burial practices.

(18) Ostrov, Vratsa region (approx. 43°40'31.83''N; 24°07'48.84''E). Three kilometers to the west of the Danube River port, during construction of an irrigation canal in the location called *Djamiiskoto*, four cremation graves were found. They consisted of cremated human remains found in urns, at a depth of 0.80 m. Four such vessels are kept in the museum:¹⁷⁶ two bigger and undecorated, and

¹⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, Taf. 34-4, 5.

¹⁶¹ *Ibidem*, p. 79. See note 18.

¹⁶² Nikolov, *Ot Iskur do Ogosta...*, p. 39.

¹⁶³ *Ibidem*.

¹⁶⁴ B. Nikolov, *Krushovitsa, Vratsa*, 1967, p.3.

¹⁶⁵ B. Nikolov, *Selishta i nekropoli ot bronzovata epoha vuv Vrachansko*, ArheologijaSofia 1964, 2, p. 75.

¹⁶⁶ B. Nikolov, *Krushovitsa, Vratsa*, 1967, fig. 5.

¹⁶⁷ Nikolov, *Selishta i nekropoli...*, p. 76, fig. 11a, b, c; 12 a, b; 13 a, b.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 77.

¹⁶⁹ Hänsel, *Beiträge zur regionalen und chronologischen Gliederung ...*, p. 77.

¹⁷⁰ Idem, *Beiträge zur regionalen und chronologischen Gliederung ...*, p. 77, 78, 79, 82, Taf. 35/5-11.

¹⁷¹ See for example Cr. Schuster et alii, *The living and the dead. An analysis of the relationship between the two worlds during Prehistory at the Lower Danube*, Târgovişte, 2008, p. 68.

¹⁷² Şandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

¹⁷³ The name Bukyovtsi was used until 1970, after that it has been changed into Miziya (B. Nikolov, *Ot Iskur do Ogosta. Istoriya na 151 sela i gradove ot bivshiya Vrachanski okrug*, Sofia, 1996, p. 211). In the scientific literature however, the former one – Bukyovtsi – has been used.

¹⁷⁴ Nikolov, *Selishta i nekropoli...*, p. 75.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 75, pl. 9 a, b, c.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 71.

two smaller and ornamented. During a survey similar ceramic fragments were found, including a small vessel with high neck, broad body and a hollow base, decorated with incrustated geometrical motifs. It is highly probable that the latter is one and the same vessel with that referred to as very similar to the “little jug” from Novo Selo.¹⁷⁷

A spherical vessel is included by B. Hänsel in the Čerkovna Group¹⁷⁸, while St. Alexandrov pays attention to the little pot, decorated with parallel zigzag lines, saying that it should be assigned to the Cernavoda III-Coțofeni Horizon.¹⁷⁹ Later on, it was specified that of the four vessels (which in fact are five in the initial publication, four of them being illustrated), one should be assigned to the earlier Coțofeni Culture, while from the remaining three vessels only the jug is typical for the Lower Danube Incrusted Pottery Culture. The kantharos-type and the amphora-type vessels are described as shapes that are known in Verbicioara, Tei and Čerkovna Groups, and a comparatively close analogue from Cârna has been offered for the amphora.¹⁸⁰

Most probably this is a case of mixture of materials from the Early Bronze to the Early Iron Age; it is not clear whether the Late Bronze Age vessel in question stems from a grave typical of the Lower Danube Incrusted Pottery Culture (it is implausible to define the site as a cemetery), or it is an “import” found outside the distribution area of the Lower Danube Incrusted Pottery Culture, as is the case with some Romanian sites. It should be also taken into consideration that Ostrov is one of the easternmost sites, related to the Incrusted Pottery Culture. B. Hänsel set the eastern border of Gârla Mare Group at the Iskur River mouth, and the easternmost find was found precisely near Ostrov.¹⁸¹ M. Șandor-Chicideanu shares the same opinion and includes the discovered urns in the Gârla Mare Culture.¹⁸² These materials are not included as originating from an indisputable context in the detailed analysis of the Late Bronze Age burial rites.

II. LATE BRONZE AGE BURIAL RITES IN NORTH-WESTERN BULGARIA IN THE CONTEXT OF THE BALKAN CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT.

1. Lower Danube River Incrusted Pottery Culture in Bulgaria – characteristics of the mortuary practices. While most graves stem from systematically researched cemeteries, there are some isolated graves as well. Despite the difficulties outlined above, it is possible to describe some general characteristics of the mortuary practices.

Burial rite. The known contexts are flat cremation graves; so far Late Bronze Age burial mounds have not been registered in this region. According to the authors, cremation was practiced outside the perimeter of the studied sites, as no traces of pyres were found either in cemeteries or in the vicinity of the isolated graves. The cremated bones were placed in ceramic vessels, which were laid in burial pits; no *in situ* found graves had the human remains laid directly in the pit; in most cases the pits also contained grave goods.

Relation to the relief. The cemeteries and the isolated graves are located very close to the Danube River, most probably on the very riverbank.¹⁸³ Some cemeteries were situated on flat terrain (Orsoya and Kutovo-Gredovi) or on heights (Novo Selo and Kutovo-Grindur).¹⁸⁴

Grave facilities and containers. The data is limited because of the fact that the archaeologically researched sites are few in number, and in many cases the finds are stray ones. The Kutovo grave is found at a depth of 0.40 m below the surface; in Orsoya the depth of the graves varies from 0.80 to 3 m below

¹⁷⁷ See Nikolov, *Selishta i nekropoli...*, p. 73.

¹⁷⁸ Hänsel, *Beiträge zur regionalen und chronologischen Gliederung...*, p. 78, pl. 36-6.

¹⁷⁹ St. Alexandrov, *Date noi despre epoca bronzului timpuriu în Bulgaria de Vest*, TD 14, 1993, 1-2, p. 47, fig. I-3, no. 1).

¹⁸⁰ Shalganova, *Izkustvo i obred na bronzovata epoha...*, p.179.

¹⁸¹ Hänsel, *Beiträge zur regionalen und chronologischen Gliederung...*, p. 64.

¹⁸² Șandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

¹⁸³ Shalganova, *Izkustvo i obred na bronzovata epoha...*, p.180.

¹⁸⁴ Sites which geographically land in the area of the Lower Danube Incrusted Pottery Culture, but contain vessels attributed to the Zimnicea-Plovdiv type (or Čerkovna Group), are also located on riverbanks, but will be examined further in the text.

the surface, a fact that was explained as being caused by the specificity of the terrain. The shapes of the pits are not determined and exact data about their filling is lacking.

According to T. Shalganova the walls of some pit-graves were terraced.¹⁸⁵ Amphora and kantharos-type vessels were predominantly used as urns, most often they were covered by bowls functioning as lids and in two cases only by other types of vessel.¹⁸⁶ The majority of data comes from the Orsoya cemetery. From the 22 types of amphorae considered by M. Şandor-Chicideanu's as characteristic for the Gârla Mare pottery (fig. 9),¹⁸⁷ six types are known in Bulgaria: A 3,¹⁸⁸ A 8,¹⁸⁹ A 9,¹⁹⁰ A 10,¹⁹¹ A 12,¹⁹² and A 13.¹⁹³ The cemetery at Orsoya yielded several specific vessels shapes, some of which are singular even in this cemetery. Four types of "multi-storeyed" vessels (A 3, A 10, A 12 and A 13) are known only from the site in question, which otherwise is not characterized by the great diversity of shapes known from the sites north of the Danube. According to the majority of authors the use of decorated or undecorated amphorae or "other types" of vessels as urns is determined by the sex and the age of the deceased; Shalganova further distinguished between graves with the deliberately broken and intact vessels and interprets these differences in terms of ritual.¹⁹⁴ Due to the nature of the Orsoya publication, one can only state with probability that amphorae were preferred as urns. Further correlation between the shape of the urns and the presence-absence of decoration proved to be difficult. In cases when in a grave an amphora had been found, it was used as an urn only, and never also as an "offering", whereas many other ceramic categories fulfilled both these functions.¹⁹⁵ In the initial publications of Tr. Filipov the term "urn" is predominantly used for the amphora-type vessels – therefore in the present work the kantharos-type vessels and the remainder of the materials are provisionally considered in the inventory section. A necessary specification is that some kantharos-type vessels are described as urns; this is the case of the "small spherical urn with two high handles" from graves no. 170 and 196¹⁹⁶ and the "small spherical urn with one high handle" from grave no. 180.¹⁹⁷

Data from neighboring regions show that the amphorae used as urns are predominantly decorated. As specified, in Orsoya the decorated urns are prevailing, but that could be due to the selection of finds for the publication (it was stated that the publication in question is not complete). The fragmentation of the bottom of some vessels, found in the graves from neighboring regions, is argued to have been intentional.¹⁹⁸ The observation could not be supported by definite data from Bulgarian sites. For the whole range of the culture, on the basis of the selection of urns, the amphorae are differentiated into three groups

¹⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, p.182.

¹⁸⁶ From the known variety of modes of laying human remains, characteristic of the Gârla Mare Culture (M. Şandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, 163-168), in the Bulgarian lands there is information only about graves in which ceramic vessels were used as containers of the burned bones. The determination of the pottery is considerably complicated because of the various opinions on the presence of cultures or groups in the region, especially to the east of those "ascertained" sites, defined as belonging to the Lower Danube Incrusted Pottery Culture.

¹⁸⁷ The designated pottery types follow the typology elaborated by Şandor-Chicideanu (*op. cit.*).

¹⁸⁸ The type is defined as a later one on the grounds of the presence of flute decoration. In the Orsoya cemetery it is known from graves N° 14, 15, 16, 17, 20, 30, 67, 74, 98, 126, 132, 145, 147 and 227; Şandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

¹⁸⁹ All specimens, representing the type, were found to the east of the Iron Gate. In Bulgaria it is known from grave no. 1 in Gradeshnitsa (Şandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 49).

¹⁹⁰ Characteristic Gârla Mare type, found most often to the north of the Danube River. The Orsoya vessel is from grave no. 254 (Şandor-Chicideanu *op. cit.*, p. 50).

¹⁹¹ A South Danube River variant of A 9 type, which has been registered in Orsoya only, graves no. 82 (identical illustration for grave 160), grave no. 35 (identical illustration of a vessel from grave 154) and grave no. 142 (Şandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 50).

¹⁹² A Gârla Mare type known only from Orsoya, grave no. 80 (Şandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 51).

¹⁹³ Another single type, representing "experimental" specimen or a hybrid shape of the "multi-storeyed" vessels and the kantharoi, known only in Orsoya, grave no. 121 (Şandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 51).

¹⁹⁴ Shalganova, *Izkustvo i obred na bronzovata epoha...*, p.188-191.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, p.188.

¹⁹⁶ Filipov, *Nekropol ot kusnata bronzova epoha...*, fig. LXIII, LXVIII.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, fig. LXVI.

¹⁹⁸ Shalganova, *Izkustvo i obred na bronzovata epoha...*, p.188.

– decorated (for adult individuals), intact and undecorated (for adult, adolescent and infants) and deliberately broken and undecorated (for various age and sex groups). The use of vessels from the other ceramic categories as urns seems to be correlated with age, as most such urns were used for infants.¹⁹⁹

Grave goods. The *kantharoi* are predominantly found as “additional” inventory in graves where an amphora is used as urn. These are the types K 2,²⁰⁰ K 3,²⁰¹ K 4,²⁰² K 6²⁰³ and K 7 (the latter type K 7 is known from graves no. 2, 3, 4, 9, 10, 25, 27, 39, 44, 52, 80, 86, 88, 98, 100, 121, 135, 145, 154, 157, 164, 170, 176, 178, 180, 247, 250 and 267 in Orsoya). One find of this type was also discovered in Ostrov²⁰⁴ – probably stemming from a burial context. Seven of a total number of 45 *deep bowl* types are known from Bulgaria: S 2,²⁰⁵ S 6,²⁰⁶ S 7,²⁰⁷ S 24,²⁰⁸ S 41.²⁰⁹ Specimens of two other types – S 34 and S 35²¹⁰ – are registered in sites attributed to the Bistreț-Îșalnița Culture, and are also known in the second phase of Belegiș-Cručeni Culture.²¹¹ In the Incrusted Pottery Culture the diversity of *cups* and *jugs* is considerable – there are 25 types defined, of which seven are also registered here – C 6,²¹² C 7,²¹³ C 8,²¹⁴ C 9,²¹⁵ C 10,²¹⁶ C 21²¹⁷ and probably also C 14.²¹⁸ *Pyxides*, *spherical* and *zoomorphic vessels* established in Orsoya (graves no. 1, 5, 14, 17, 19, 31, 34, 126, 147 and 150) include P 1 type pyxis, which is attributed to the classical phase of the culture and is registered in a total of twelve Gârla Mare sites. A similar type is also known in the third phase of the Verbicioara culture.²¹⁹ The type P 5 – a zoomorphic vessel, characteristic of Oltenia and North-Western Bulgaria is detected in several sites, among which is Orsoya (graves no. 43, 128, 227, 242, 265 and other graves with “unclear reference numbers”).²²⁰ The “*lids*” from

¹⁹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 189-191.

²⁰⁰ A widespread type, registered in the largest geographical area, having representatives also in the Szeremle-Belo Brdo Group range and in the 1st phase of Cručeni-Belegiș Culture. The vessel from Orsoya is found in grave no. 53 (Șandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 54-55).

²⁰¹ A highly distributed type as well, the Orsoya vessel is from grave no. 265 (Șandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 55-56).

²⁰² In Orsoya known from graves no. 5, 113 and 178 (M. Șandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 56).

²⁰³ In Orsoya represented in graves no. 242 and 250 (Șandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 56-57).

²⁰⁴ One of the basic ceramic forms of the so-called *Govora Group* and of *Zimnicea-Plovdiv*, which often appears also in the range of *Paračin Group* and the *Tei Culture*. According to M. Șandor-Chicideanu, the presence of K 7 type in the region of Gârla Mare Culture could be considered as an element brought in by the earlier cultures. Due to its rhomboidal shape it is defined as the K 11 type. The general conclusion is that these kantharos-type vessels are distributed to the east of the Iron Gate (Șandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 57). It is worth mentioning that the type is also defined as “*Zimnicea-Plovdiv-Tei*” (Șandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 178). None of these five types of the kantharos category (five established in Bulgaria from a total number of eleven Gârla Mare kantharoi types) is represented only in the region to the south of the Danube River.

²⁰⁵ Grave no. 239 in Orsoya (Șandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 59).

²⁰⁶ Graves no. 150 and 265 in Orsoya (Șandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 61-62).

²⁰⁷ Graves no. 43 and no. 160 in Orsoya.

²⁰⁸ The type is known in a total of three sites, one of which being *Gradeshnitsa*, grave no. 3; it will be examined in more detail further in the text (Șandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 67).

²⁰⁹ Grave no. 1 in Orsoya (Șandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 70).

²¹⁰ These two types are also known from *Mokresh-Grobishteto* and will be examined in more detail further in the text (Șandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 69).

²¹¹ *Ibidem*.

²¹² *Novo Selo* and grave no. 16 in Orsoya (Șandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 72).

²¹³ Orsoya, graves no. 8 (illustrated as N^o 160), no. 67 (illustrated as 121) and no. 140. The type is characteristic of the eastern zone of the culture (Șandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 73).

²¹⁴ In Orsoya it is from grave no. 82 (*Ibidem*).

²¹⁵ *Novo Selo* and Orsoya, graves no. 53, no. 93 and no. 142. The variant C 9 represents one of the typical shapes of the Gârla Mare Culture. It is probably a subsequent development of type C 4 (Șandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 73-74).

²¹⁶ Grave no. 15, in Orsoya; a rare type in the western zone of the culture (Șandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 74-75).

²¹⁷ *Novo Selo*; type known predominantly in the eastern zone of the culture (M. Șandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 77).

²¹⁸ Known in *Bukyovtsi* (M. Șandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 75-76).

²¹⁹ Șandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 78-79.

²²⁰ *Ibidem* p. 80.

Bulgaria are also known by several types. Type X 1, from the classical phase of the Gârla Mare Culture, is registered in eleven sites in total, including Orsoya (graves no. 1, 14, 17, 19, 31, 34, 77, 95, 147 and 227). Orsoya is also one of the two cemeteries where the type X 4 was catalogued (graves no. 242 and 265). Type X 6 is more frequent, in Orsoya being detected in graves no. 43 and 128.²²¹ The category of the *double vessels* is represented by two types: D 1 has specimens in three sites, including Orsoya (graves no. 43, 135, 189 and 247); and D 2 was registered in a total of four Gârla Mare Culture sites, among which the cemetery at Orsoya (graves no. 20, 31, 35 and 113)²²². Some ceramic finds defined as “cult objects” include the *table* from Orsoya (grave no. 41).²²³ The *anthropomorphic figurines* from Bulgarian sites are attributed to type Φ I B (variant Φ I B 1), registered in grave no. 74 in Orsoya. The Gradeshnitsa find is included in type Φ II, while type Φ II A is known from the graves no. 91, 176, 310, 41, 151, 91 and 176 in Orsoya.²²⁴ Subtype Φ I is dated to the later phase of the culture, and Φ II is even later, characterized by “retrograde-style” ornamentation.²²⁵ The small ceramic models of *axes* found in Orsoya are assigned to type T 1, variant a (from graves no. 59, 100 and 254), probably variant b and type 2 (grave no. 137).²²⁶ *Weaponry and tools* are not found in the Bulgarian area of this culture. There might have been though one knife in grave no. 145 from Orsoya.²²⁷ No data is offered about objects made of bone, but the presence of flint is mentioned – pieces laid in close proximity to some of the urns in Orsoya.²²⁸

Establishing the number of individuals is complicated. In Orsoya grave no. 178²²⁹ was defined as “double” simply because it contained two vessels described as urns.²³⁰ In this logic, it is possible that the *Kutovo* grave, registered in 1911, was also double, as both vessels were referred to as urns; it should be noted though that one of these “urns” contained the other. In sites from neighboring regions, those examples of double/“collective” graves are interpreted as: grave of an adult (mother) and a child, of two children, of several adults and a child as well as other variants. According to Shalganova children’ graves might represent an “offering” to the adults buried in the same graves,²³¹ – a supposition, which in the present work is not yet accepted as categorically evidenced, on the basis of the Bulgarian materials. The same author indicates that the urns containing remains of male individuals are in equipollent position, while the remaining urns in the graves are subordinate to them; among the latter there are some graves of infants (e.g. grave no. 178 in Orsoya) which according to Shalganova were sacrificed.²³² As to the so-called cenotaphs or symbolic burials, there are no data from the Bulgarian area.

The *anthropological data* from cemeteries, where such analyses were carried out, are related to the finds in the following way: only amphorae are used for adult males; in graves, which are most probably designed for females, no consistent characteristics can be established – elements both from the male and infant contexts are represented. Clearly differentiated are the graves of the youngest buried individuals – where various categories of vessels, different from the amphorae, have been used as urns.²³³ It is necessary to clarify that despite the differentiation of a “special group” of infant graves in the cemeteries attributed to the culture, in Orsoya, in many cases, the figurines (“idols”) are found in graves that contain one amphora used as urn (graves no. 176, 148, 91, 74). In some graves, in a common context are registered an amphora-type “urn”, combined with a ceramic axe (graves no. 100 and 59) or with a ceramic boat (grave no. 88). It is suggested that some figurines from infant graves are also deliberately broken before being laid down in the grave. Indicated is the very low percentage of the buried adolescent individuals, while the rate of infant mortality is the highest.²³⁴

²²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 81-83.

²²² *Ibidem*, p. 83-84.

²²³ *Ibidem*, p. 89.

²²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 104-105.

²²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 108.

²²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 123.

²²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 145.

²²⁸ Filipov, *Nekropol ot kusnata bronzova epoha pri s. Orsoya, Lomsko*, Sofia, 1976.

²²⁹ *Ibidem*.

²³⁰ *Ibidem*.

²³¹ Shalganova, *Izkustvo i obred na bronzovata epoha...*, p. 191-194.

²³² *Ibidem*, p. 193.

²³³ *Ibidem*, p. 195-196.

²³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 196-198, 202.

The *burial rite characteristic for the entire range of the culture* is cremation – registered in a total of 52 sites, cemeteries and isolated graves.²³⁵ The availability of a thorough research carried out by M. Șandor-Chicideanu on the culture spares the review of the wide-ranging scientific literature on the topic.²³⁶ The most representative cemeteries are those at Liubcova, Ostrovu Mare-Bivolării, Balta Verde, Ghidici, Bistreț, Cârna-Grindul Tomii, Cârna-Ostrovogania, Izvoarele-Aria lui Mihalache Andreica (?), Žuto-Brdo, Dubovac, Vrșac, Novo Selo and Orsoya.²³⁷ As a general rule these simple-pit flat graves contain urns, and in rare cases the bones are clustered in a pile on the ground (as mentioned above, according to the publications the latter case is not registered in Bulgaria). The differences observed between the graves are examined as evidence of differences in social position, age and sex of the buried individuals. The urns used comprise amphorae and kantharoi, some of which covered by bowl or cups. There are also combinations with one to three additional cups, one to two pyxides having a lid, and rarely with one to two figurines. Metal objects are least frequently found in graves of this culture.²³⁸ Flat cemeteries present a grouping of the graves in rows (as registered in Orsoya).²³⁹ Three chronological and cultural phases have been defined: the earliest (a settlement near Ostrovu Corbului, cemeteries near Dubovac, Vrșac, some graves in Cârna-Ostrovogania), the classical phase (Cârna-Grindul Tomii and single graves in Orsoya) and the late phase (single Cârna-Ostrovogania graves and the majority of Orsoya burials).²⁴⁰ The presence of a detailed publication about the Cârna-Grindul Tomii cemetery renders it natural to use the site as a basis of the reviews on the Incrusted Pottery culture burial practices. The otherwise scanty anthropological data available for this cemetery indicate that the majority of the buried persons were adults and that most of them belonged anthropologically to the Mediterranean type. Other sites exhibit examples of graves that have been partially disturbed by later ones, graves containing greater number of individuals, or considerable amount of grave goods, different patterns of grouping, highest adult mortality rate in some cemeteries, etc.²⁴¹

Incrusted Pottery Culture sites located in the present territory of Bulgaria are dated to the classical or late phase of the culture (phase II/III). The Novo Selo finds belong to the second, classical phase of the culture (Br B2-Br C); the Kutovo materials are also assigned to its II-III phase (these include the decorated fragments and the undecorated urn), while the Orsoya cemetery represents the latest, third phase. In relation to the Dolno Linevo site, cups of the Novo Selo type are mentioned; the graves are dated to the classical phase of the culture and the vessel with *Buckel* decoration, which is a stray find, is attributed to the third phase of the Incrusted Pottery Culture. This latter assignment has to be taken with caution as no archaeological researches have been carried out anywhere around Dolno Linevo.

²³⁵ Șandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 158. In regions neighbouring Bulgaria some sites represent a special treatment of the bones – a further breaking of the bones, which preceded the burial, and in some cases – washing of the bones before they were laid into the grave (Shalganova, *Izkustvo i obred na bronzovata epoha...*, p. 182-183). There is no data from Bulgarian lands according to which it is possible to register such practices, and it is impossible to state whether bones of only particular parts of the body were selected. Furthermore, we lack clear evidence of the cemetery-settlement relation. Except for the Orsoya materials, the finds are predominantly stray, single vessels.

²³⁶ Șandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*

²³⁷ Cr. Schuster, *Zur Bestattungsweise in Südromänien in der Bronzezeit*, in: (ed. R. Vasić), *Sahranjivanje u Bronzani i Gvozdeno Doba, Simpozijum, Čačak, 4-8 Septembar 2002 / Burial Customs in the Bronze and Iron Age. Symposium, Čačak, 4-8 September 2002*, Čačak, 2003, p. 125. The site near Baley, which in fact represents a settlement, is also mentioned in the list.

²³⁸ *Ibidem*.

²³⁹ It was suggested that during the first phase (At cemetery) the grouping is concentric, during the classical phase (Cârna) the mortuary zones are two (eastern and western), and in the third phase (Orsoya) the new principle has developed under the Belegiš-Cruceni cultural influence (Shalganova, *Izkustvo i obred na bronzovata epoha...*, p. 182). The data representing these three phases is gathered from a total number of three sites and should be evaluated as provisional. It may be more likely that a grouping registered in a given cemetery is specific for each site, despite the necropoles attribution to the culture. The latter doesn't reject the suggested tendency, especially when the number of graves in these necropoles is taken into account, but it is a reminder of the quantitative limitations accompanying such observations.

²⁴⁰ Schuster, *Zur Bestattungsweise ...*, p. 125.

²⁴¹ D. Nicolăescu-Plopșor, *Cercetări antropologice asupra osemintelor din necropola de incinerare de la Cârna*, in: Vl. Dumitrescu, *Necropola de incinerare din epoca bronzului de la Cârna*, Bucharest, 1961, p. 365-386; Schuster, *op. cit.*, p. 127, 129.

Although the dimensions of the Orsoya site and the number of graves in the researched cemeteries of the Lower Danube Incrusted Pottery Culture is impressive, it should be underlined that the level to which this region has been explored is a particularly important factor when attempts are made to compare it with the neighboring cultures in terms of burial customs. At this stage, with the exception of the Lower Danube Incrusted Pottery, for other cultures of the Late Bronze Age from the North-Western Bulgaria the number of the researched graves is very low, while in general, all types of finds are sporadic and isolated.

The only cemeteries from North-Western Bulgaria that can be attributed with certainty to the Lower Danube Incrusted Pottery Culture were found at *Novo Selo*, *Kutovo* and *Orsoya*. In other sites were found both vessels characteristic of the Incrusted Pottery Culture (Novo Selo type cup for example) and vessels of other cultures, mostly of the so-called Čerkovna Group. Such sites are Dolno Linevo (Novo Selo type cup and a Čerkovna type kantharos), Gradeshnitsa (typical of the Incrusted Pottery Culture amphora and a figurine in one of the graves, and vessels characteristic of the Verbicioara V in the others), Hurllets (Incrusted Pottery Culture vessels with four protuberances on the rim, but having no decoration, and a jug of the Čerkovna type), Ostrov (mixed materials of the groups Coțofeni, Čerkovna, Verbicioara/Tei/Čerkovna, and a vessel typical of the Incrusted Pottery Culture). Following some examples from Romanian studies, one can suggest that these finds probably represent certain interrelations between the late Bronze Age culture/cultures outside the Danube riverside area on one hand, and the culture of the Incrusted pottery, on the other. How exactly is the presence of vessels of the Incrusted Pottery Culture outside its distribution area to be explained is not yet clear. Explanation varied between grave goods laid with women who had entered the community of a different culture and imports or imitations.

Sites that cannot be defined as characteristic of the Lower Danube River Incrusted Pottery culture and fall out of its specific distribution area are those located near *Makresh*, *Gradeshnitsa* (despite the presence of typical Incrusted Pottery Culture materials in one of the graves), *Kozloduy* (related to the culture only because of the probable presence of stray finds, such as the anthropomorphic figurines), *Hurllets* (with one Lower Danube Incrusted Pottery vessel) and eventually *Ostrov* (containing one Lower Danube Incrusted Pottery culture vessel of unclear context). As mentioned above, it is possible that *Ostrov* marks the eastern “border” of the Lower Danube Incrusted Pottery culture in the Bulgaria – namely the Iskur River, or that this site represents one of the examples of cemeteries, located in other cultures’ territorial range, but demonstrating evidence of interrelations with the Lower Danube Incrusted Pottery Culture bearers. Thus in the Zimnicea cemetery, referred to the *Zimnicea-Plovdiv Culture*, have been found typical Incrusted Pottery Culture vessels. The vessel from *Bukyovtsi*, defined as type C 14, according to the Gârla Mare ceramics typology, represents a form, known also in the later Čerkovna Group (Plovdiv-Zimnicea).²⁴² From another point of view, sites where Čerkovna type pottery has been found (the characteristic undecorated vessels) are considered by some authors as containing Gârla Mare type pottery (examples represented by Dolno Linevo, Krushovitsa and others). However, in this article, these latter sites were included in the Zimnicea-Plovdiv (or Čerkovna) Group, following the current definitions of the Incrusted Pottery and the Čerkovna ceramics.

2) Verbicioara IV-V Culture. The gaps in the definition of its cultural characteristics and chronological phases, the debates on its interpretation as an individual cultural phenomenon and the scarce character of the preserved data make it difficult to indubitably determine graves of the Verbicioara IV-V Culture²⁴³. In its *suggested territorial range* in Northwestern Bulgaria a small number of graves could eventually be included; the most representative site in Bulgaria related to mortuary practices remains Gradeshnitsa.

Burial rite. The graves are flat and contain cremated remains. Since there is no data about a pyre in Gradeshnitsa (nor elsewhere) most probably the cremation was practiced outside the perimeter of the

²⁴² Șandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, Pl. 195.

²⁴³ On the other hand, apart from the data concerning the mortuary practices, there are opinions that, with regard to the issue of the Verbicioara Culture distribution in North Bulgaria, up to the present moment Verbicioara regular finds are not identified – the stray finds of the Devetashka Cave can be referred to the Govora Group and therefore, they belong to the same horizon as the Čerkovna Group (as R. Krauß, *Indizen für eine Mittelbronzezeit in Nordbulgarien*, *Archaeologia Bulgarica* 10, 2006, p. 11).

cemeteries. The burned bones were collected in urns, and then laid in burial pits. In some cases the urns are accompanied by grave inventory. According to data from Gradeshnitsa, a grave grouping is registered in a row or a bow.

Relation to the terrain. The known graves are situated on natural elevations.

Burial facilities and inventory. In Gradeshnitsa the graves are dug at a depth from 0.40 to 0.90 m below the surface. The pit shapes are not determined; there is no data about the filling either. Undecorated kantharoi are used as *urns* in four graves near Gradeshnitsa and in the sites mentioned above. A more peculiar situation is that of a typical Incrusted Pottery Culture undecorated amphora, also containing an anthropomorphic figurine (grave no. 1 in Gradeshnitsa). The kantharos-type vessels from these four graves are not discussed in the M. Sandor-Chicideanu typology, while the amphora is defined as an A 8 type.²⁴⁴ The ceramic vessel found in grave no. 3 is indicated as S 24 type, which is known in a total of three sites attributed to the Lower Danube Incrusted Pottery Culture.²⁴⁵ The fragmented figurine from grave no. 1 is defined as an Φ II type, characteristic of the Lower Danube Incrusted Pottery Culture. No signs of “accompanying food”, weaponry, tools and adornments are registered.

Bulgarian graves within the scope of the Verbicioara cultural frame. Both inhumation and cremation are registered during different phases of the culture.²⁴⁶ From its second to its fifth phase cremation was the only burial rite.²⁴⁷ In earlier publications this culture’s range is included in the area considered as territory of the “urn-fields civilization”.²⁴⁸ It has been suggested that cremation appeared under the influence of the Gârla Mare communities, coming from the west,²⁴⁹ also, cremation was used as an argument in favour of the separation of the Verbicioara and Tei Cultures, as the latter’s burials are inhumations.²⁵⁰ It is suggested that Verbicioara Culture did not influence the Tei Culture for the inhumation grave from the Verbicioara I phase should rather be considered as an exception to the norm.²⁵¹ Apart from the possibly resumed dating of the Işalnița site, in recent publications urn-graves discovered near Godeanu-Peștera Cincioarele and Râmnicu Vâlcea²⁵² are referred with a higher probability to the Verbicioara phase V, while earlier communications include slightly longer list of sites, referred to the culture in question.²⁵³ The information about Verbicioara mortuary practices in most cases consists of a simple indication, general dating, or examination of sites according to their supposed cultural attribution. The graves are single, few of them are archaeologically researched and the majority is provisionally included in the cultural area in question. Other researchers define them as “uncertain” and recommend that the analyses are made after gaining new reliable information, resulting from more thorough terrain researches. The emphasis is put on the considerable obstacles for the definition and the dating of the culture, as well as the research of its mortuary rituals.²⁵⁴ One of the problems is that there are only single

²⁴⁴ Șandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

²⁴⁵ Șandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

²⁴⁶ D. Berciu, *Die Verbicioara-Kultur. Vorbericht über eine neue, in Rumänien entdeckte bronzezeitliche Kultur*, Dacia N.S. 5, 1961, p. 147.

²⁴⁷ Schuster, *Zur Bestattungsweise ...*, p. 121; Cr. Schuster et alii, *Zu den Bestattungssitten der Tei-Kultur*, Pontica, 37-38, 2005, p. 65.

²⁴⁸ Berciu, *Arheologia preistorică a Olteniei*, Craiova, 1939, p. 102.

²⁴⁹ Schuster et alii, *Zur Bronzezeit in Südrumänien. Drei Kulturen: Glina, Tei und Verbicioara I, Verbreitungsgebiet, Siedlungen, Häuser und Bestattungen*, Ed. Cetatea de Scaun, 2005, p. 164.

²⁵⁰ Schuster, *Zur Bestattungsweise ...*, p. 132.

²⁵¹ Schuster et alii, *Zur Bronzezeit in Südrumänien...*, p. 128.

²⁵² Schuster et alii, *The living and the dead. An analysis of the relationship between the two worlds during Prehistory at the Lower Danube*, Târgoviște, 2008, p. 64. According to some authors the grave facilities and materials from Râmnicu Vâlcea should not be referred to the Verbicioara culture, but belong to the defined by B. Hänsel *Govora Group* [I. Motzoi-Chicideanu, *Cu privire la descoperirile funerare ale grupei Verbicioara*, EA-online, December, 2004 (www.archaeology.ro/imc_verb.htm)].

²⁵³ Including also Crivina (probably late Verbicioara?) and others (Schuster, *Zur Bestattungsweise ...*, p. 122-123; I. Motzoi-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*; Schuster et alii, *Zur Bronzezeit in Südrumänien...*, p. 162-164; and Schuster et alii, *The living and the dead...*, p. 62-64).

²⁵⁴ “We can dealing today with 16 discoveries, most of them not at all sure from the point of view of the archaeological conditions and published in not at all professional conditions. The most part of these discoveries are concentrated in the southern part of Oltenia, such finds missing in the eastern part in spite of a large number of

graves and there is no way to determine whether this is due to destroyed cemeteries or to the smallness of the Verbicioara communities²⁵⁵.

The Gradeshnitsa graves are attributed to the fifth phase of the Verbicioara Culture, which confirms the interrelation of the culture with the Lower Danube Incrusted Pottery Culture.

3) The Bistreț-Ișalnița Culture/Group. It is possible that the cremation graves registered near Mokresh belong to the Bistreț-Ișalnița Group. The vessels found there are defined as belonging to the S 34 type.²⁵⁶ Some authors consider the group as an independent phenomenon, and according to others it represents the latest phase of the Incrusted Pottery Culture in the region. Cremation graves attributed to the Bistreț-Ișalnița Group were found in Bistreț-Ciumați-Brânză, Cârna-Ostrovogania, Gruia, Balta Verde, Ostrovu Corbului, Salcia, Damian, Ișalnița, Nedeia, Bechet, Plosca, Ghidici-Balta Țarova, Potelu, Corabia, Râureni, Moldova Veche.²⁵⁷ Deep bowls with characteristic protuberances are used instead of the decorated and undecorated amphora- and kantharos-type vessels, characteristic for the earlier phases. The data available allows for the suggestion that the cremation rite, typical for the region during the Late Bronze Age, was likewise preserved in the later period. M. Șandor-Chicideanu indicates that the distribution area of the Bistreț-Ișalnița Group covers Oltenia, Serbia and Bulgaria; among the Bulgarian sites she includes Mokresh and Gradeshnitsa. The characteristic ceramic shapes are represented by the types A 17, A 20-22, K 11, S 33-37, S 42-43, S 45, D 8-9 and O 5,²⁵⁸ of which registered in Bulgaria are S 34 and S 35. The cultural attribution of Mokresh seems to be logical in the light of T. Shalganova's interpretation: at the time of the third phase of the Lower Danube Incrusted Pottery Culture, in its southern range, an interrelation zone has formed, where two traditions interweave – that of the Verbicioara and that of the Lower Danube Incrusted Pottery Culture. The result of that is the composite cultural aspect of the cemetery, which is generally similar to that of the Bistreț-Ișalnița Culture itself. The same two cultures participate in the genesis of the Bistreț-Ișalnița Culture and the graves near Gradeshnitsa and Hurllets²⁵⁹ are indicated as additional evidence for this assumption.

4) Burial Rites in the North-Western Bulgarian Lands and the Plovdiv-Zimnicea/Čerkovna Phenomenon. The definition *Zimnicea-Plovdiv (or Plovdiv-Zimnicea Complex/ Culture/ Phenomenon)* was introduced in scientific literature by A. Alexandrescu in the early 1970'es. Since then the term and its definition have been subject to numerous analyses, but even to the present moment a categorical statement on this problem has not been offered. The authors who accept the concept of "Plovdiv-Zimnicea Culture" (designated by B. Hänsel as "Čerkovna Group") place its distribution area between Zimnicea – near which a flat inhumation cemetery was found –, and Plovdiv – from where originates the well-known collective find of vessels.²⁶⁰ They burial rite is inhumation in flat cemeteries. These are located close to the Danube – Zimnicea, Sultana, Stancea, Remuș and probably Izvoru.²⁶¹ To the south of the Danube, the grave finds at Krushovitsa (Vratsa Region) and Tsenino (Sliven Region) have been defined as belonging to the same cultural type.²⁶² There is no data about remains of "accompanying

settlements... From the point of view of the character of research about 69% burials are due to systematic excavations but the available information are just a few or sometimes published in a nonprofessional way" (Motzoi-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, fig. 2-3).

²⁵⁵ Motzoi-Chicideanu, *op. cit.* Considering both the Verbicioara and Tei Cultures, the particularly small number of graves is emphasized, which furthermore are single, compared to the large number of established settlements (Schuster et alii, *Zu den Bestattungssitten...*, p. 175).

²⁵⁶ Șandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

²⁵⁷ Schuster, *Zur Bestattungsweise ...*, p. 129.

²⁵⁸ Șandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

²⁵⁹ Shalganova, *Izkustvo i obred na bronzovata epoha...*, p. 177.

²⁶⁰ E. Zaharia, *Cultura Zimnicea-Plovdiv*, in: (eds. C. Stoica, M. Rotea, N. G. O. Boroffka) *Comori ale epocii bronzului din România / Treasures of the Bronze age in Romania*, Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, Bucharest, 1995, p. 288-290.

²⁶¹ Schuster et alii, *Zu den Bestattungssitten...*, p. 66; Schuster et alii, *Zur Bronzezeit in Südrumänien...*, p. 129-130.

²⁶² S. Morintz, *Contribuții arheologice la istoria tracilor timpurii I, Epoca bronzului în spațiul carpato-balcanic*, Bucharest, 1978, p. 58; Schuster, *Zur Bestattungsweise ...*, p. 124.

food”, weaponry, tools, adornments or cult objects. Grave markers are not registered; here as well the graves are flat. Due to the low number of graves, the internal arrangement of the cemeteries was not analyzed.

It is indicated that the area of the Plovdiv-Zimnicea comprises part of North Bulgaria – along the Ogosta River to the west and the Yantra River to the east, and to the south it theoretically extends to the valleys of the Maritsa and Tundzha Rivers. The most typical sites are the settlement at Popești²⁶³ and the cemeteries at Zimnicea, Krushovitsa and Izvoru.²⁶⁴ The connection between the Gârla Mare Culture (i.e. Lower Danube Incrusted Pottery Culture) and Plovdiv-Zimnicea has been studied on the basis of finds from Cârna, where vessels attributed to the Plovdiv-Zimnicea Group (undecorated vessels, which are typical for this phenomenon; found in graves no. 32, no. 52 and no. 71) were found together with decorated finds of Gârla Mare type.²⁶⁵ Further, there are also “imports” into the Zimnicea cemetery (in grave no. 41 with a definite Gârla Mare vessel from the classical period; in grave no. 11 – kantharos with flute decoration; these seem to be corroborated by the presence, in grave no. 17, of one kantharos from the IV-V Tei period, as the latter is considered to be contemporaneous with the Gârla Mare Culture).²⁶⁶ On the other hand, N. Palincaș has given a different interpretation to these contexts and rejected, on that basis, the contemporaneity of the Incrusted Pottery Culture, the Verbicioara IV-V phases and the Zimnicea-Plovdiv Group. According to her, the *Fundeni-Govora Group* (i.e. Verbicioara IV-V phases + Tei IV-V phases), together with Gârla Mare and Bistreț-Ișalnița, belong to the older phase of the Late Bronze Age, while the Zimnicea-Plovdiv cultural complex along with other groups belong to the younger period.²⁶⁷ This opinion seems to be lately supported by the radiocarbon dates from Kamenska Čuka.²⁶⁸ However various authors continue to share different opinions.²⁶⁹ According to certain researchers, in Oltenia the

²⁶³ N. Palincaș, *Valorificarea arheologică a probelor ¹⁴C din fortificația aparținând Bronzului târziu de la Popești (jud. Giurgiu)*, SCIVA 47, 1996, 3, p. 239-288; N. Palincaș, *Social Status and Gender Relations in Late Bronze Age Popești. A Plea for the Introduction of New Approaches in Romanian Archaeology*, Dacia N.S. 48-49, 2004-2005, p. 39-53.

²⁶⁴ Șandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

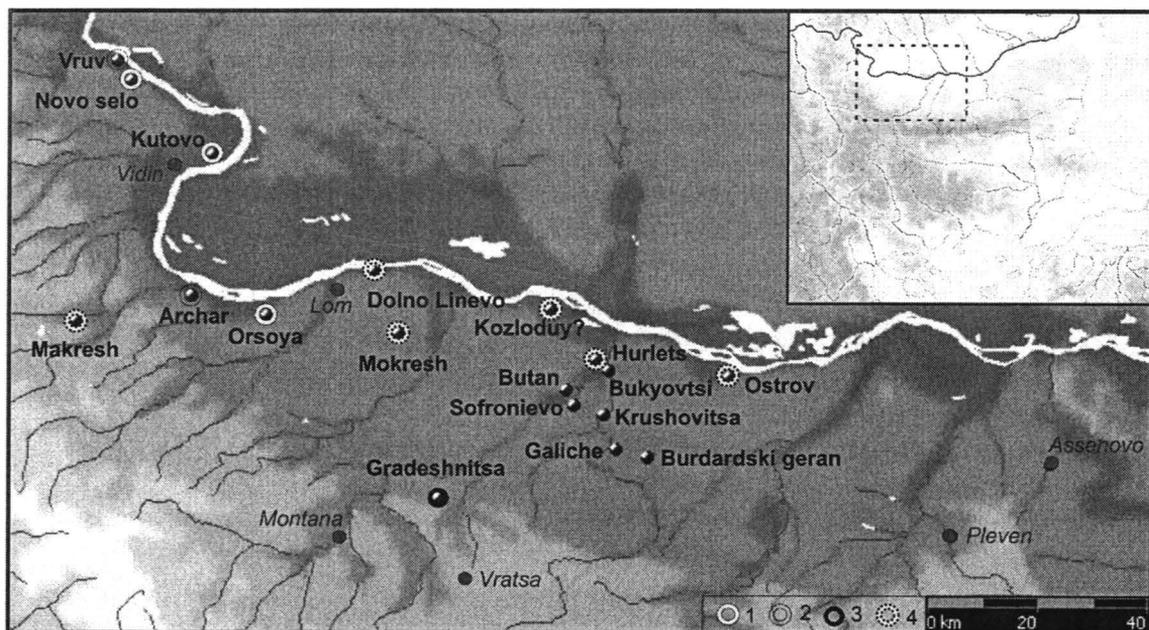
²⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 203.

²⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 202.

²⁶⁷ Palincaș, *Valorificarea arheologică...*, p. 287.

²⁶⁸ M. Stefanovich, H. A. Bankoff, *Kamenska Čuka 1993 – 1995. Preliminary report*, in: (eds. M. Stefanovich, H. Todorova, H. Hauptmann) *James Harvey Gaul – In memoriam*, Sofia, 1998, p. 279.

²⁶⁹ According to A. Alexandrescu at a certain moment Gârla Mare and Čerkovna were synchronous. B. Hänsel indicates that the grave no. 41 at the north periphery of the Zimnicea cemetery dates from the same period, while the kantharos from grave no. 11 at the south periphery is from a later one. S. Morintz defines the vessel from grave no. 17 in Zimnicea as indicating concurrence between the cultures of Plovdiv-Zimnicea and Tei IVa, which are synchronous to the third period of Gârla Mare. On the other hand, N. Palincaș registered pottery of the Zimnicea type at Popești – in the Bronze III layer, where materials of the type Tei IV-V were also found. In this case the Gârla Mare Culture is related to periods IV and V of the Tei Culture and to the Govora Group (Govora-Fundeni). The pottery from Popești represents the traditional repertory of the Zimnicea-Plovdiv; an exception to it is a vessel from the Coslogeni Culture. In the argumentation of the connection between the *Govora-Fundeni* and the Zimnicea-Plovdiv it suggests partial synchronicity – the Zimnicea-Plovdiv was defined as being later. This was proven by chronological parallelism of the graves from the Gârla Mare Culture at Cârna (Grindu Tomii) and the Zimnicea-Plovdiv Culture. The vessel of the Tei type from grave no. 17 in Zimnicea is not related to the pottery forms of the Zimnicea-Plovdiv, but it indicates their simultaneity. S. Morintz synchronizes the Zimnicea-Plovdiv with the Govora Group, periods IV and V of the Tei, and period II of the Gârla Mare. According to N. Palincaș there was a time concurrence between the Zimnicea-Plovdiv and the Bistreț-Ișalnița Group (as signified by the Bronze III layer in Popești). She suggests a later presence of the Zimnicea-Plovdiv within this space – on the territory of the Gârla Mare Culture and the Govora Group at the time of the later Tei. The opinion of M. Șandor-Chicideanu is that the Čerkovna has developed during the classical period of the Gârla Mare Culture and of the Tei IV-V in Muntenia – evidenced by the amphorae in graves no. 28 and no. 42 in Cârna, which are typical for the Gârla Mare Culture. The Zimnicea-Plovdiv was later; it corresponds chronologically to the Bistreț-Ișalnița Group (kantharoi found in the Bronze III layer in Popești, similar to the vessel found in grave no. 11 in Zimnicea) and was spread in the area which was earlier occupied by the Tei (a summary as per Șandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 203-205).



Map 1. Sites mentioned in the text. Vidin region: Vruv (number 1 in the text), Novo selo (no. 2), Kutovo (no. 3), Makresh (no. 4), Archar (no. 5); Montana region: Orsoya (no. 6), Dolno Linevo (no. 7), Mokresh (no. 8); Vratsa region: Gradeshnitsa (no. 9), Kozloduy (no. 10), Hurlets (no. 11), Butan (no. 12), Sofronievo (no. 13), Galiche (no. 14), Burdarski geran (no. 15), Krushovitsa (no. 16), Bukyovtsi (Miziya, no. 17), Ostrov (no. 18). Legend: 1 – sites attributed to the Lower Danube Incrusted Pottery Culture; 2 – settlements of the LDIPC inaccurately indicated as cemeteries; 3 – site of the Verbicioara culture; 4 – sites, where some materials related to or resembling the LDIPC were found. Black dots – sites, related by some authors as representing Čerkovna materials. Gray dots – other sites and regional centers mentioned in the text.

Table 1

The sites, reviewed in the text, presented in the Bulgarian bibliography. (A) North-Western Bulgarian sites related to the Late Bronze Age burial practices in general. (B) Sites related by various authors to the Lower Danube. Incrusted Pottery Culture. For quotation of the sources see note

LBA BURIALS	Kutovo	Novo selo	Dolno Linevo	Orsoya	Makresh	Mokresh	Ostrov	Sofronievo	Gradeshnitsa	Krushovitsa	Archar	Vruv	Asenovovo	Galiche	Bukyovtsi	Kozloduy	Burdarski geran	Butan	Hurlets
Chilingirov 1911																			
Nikolov 1964, p.73-4																			
Nikolov 1971																			
Filipov 1974, 1978																			
Filipov 1976																			
Nikolov 1978																			
Alexandrov 1981																			
Georgiev 1982																			
Thi Mi Zung 1989																			
Panayotov 1989																			
Nikolov 1996																			
Bonev 2003																			
Shalганова 2005																			
LDIPC BURIALS	Kutovo	Novo selo	Dolno Linevo	Orsoya	Makresh	Mokresh	Ostrov	Sofronievo	Gradeshnitsa	Krushovitsa	Archar	Vruv	Asenovovo	Galiche	Bukyovtsi	Kozloduy	Burdarski geran	Butan	Hurlets
Chilingirov 1911																			
Mikov 1970																			
Filipov 1974, 1978																			
Filipov 1976																			
Thi Mi Zung 1989																			
Panayotov 1989																			
Bonev 2003																			
Shalганова 2005																			
Ganeva 2005																			

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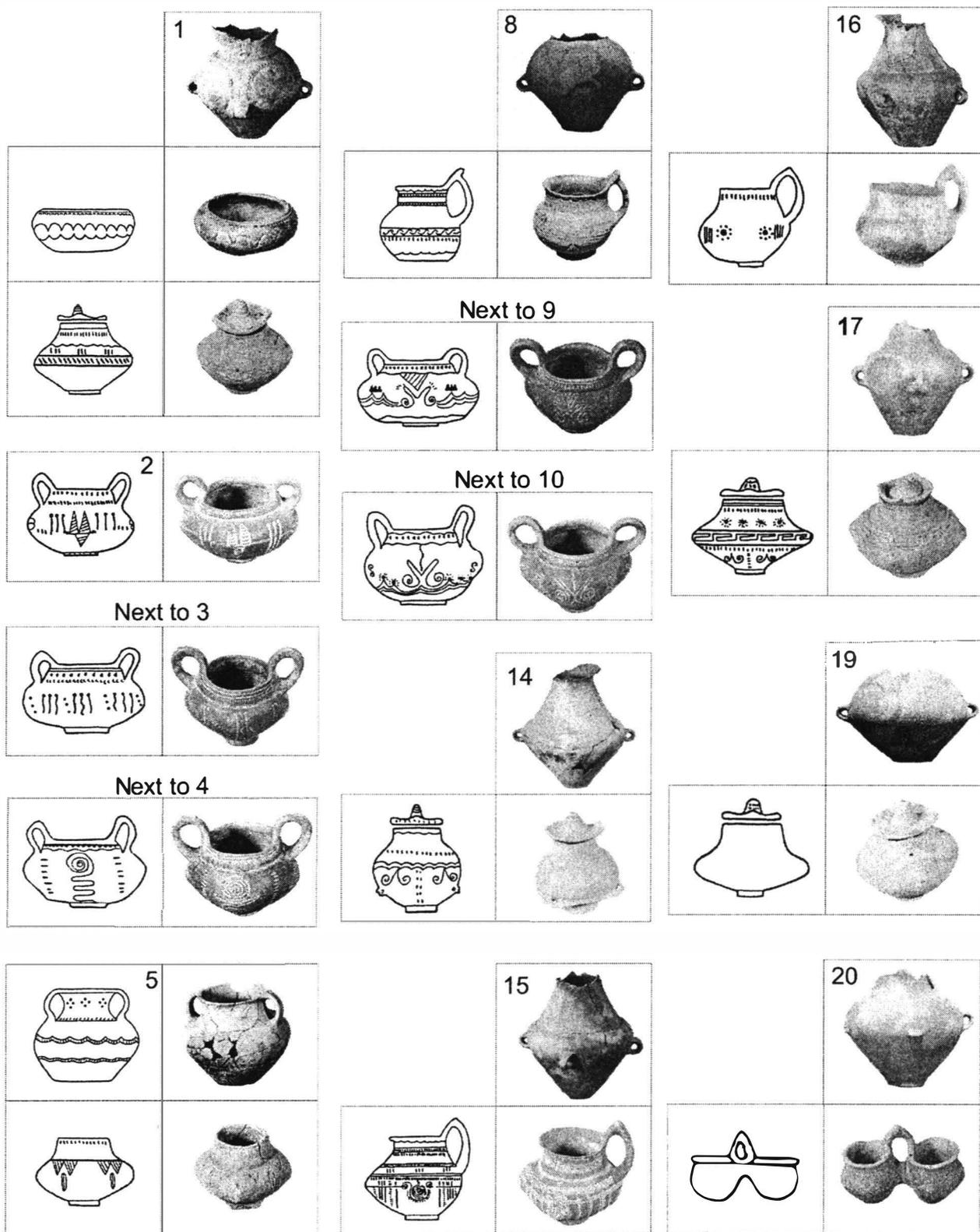


Fig. 1. Ceramics from the Orsoya cemetery (pictures after Tr. Filipov and drawings after A. Bonev 2000 [1999]).

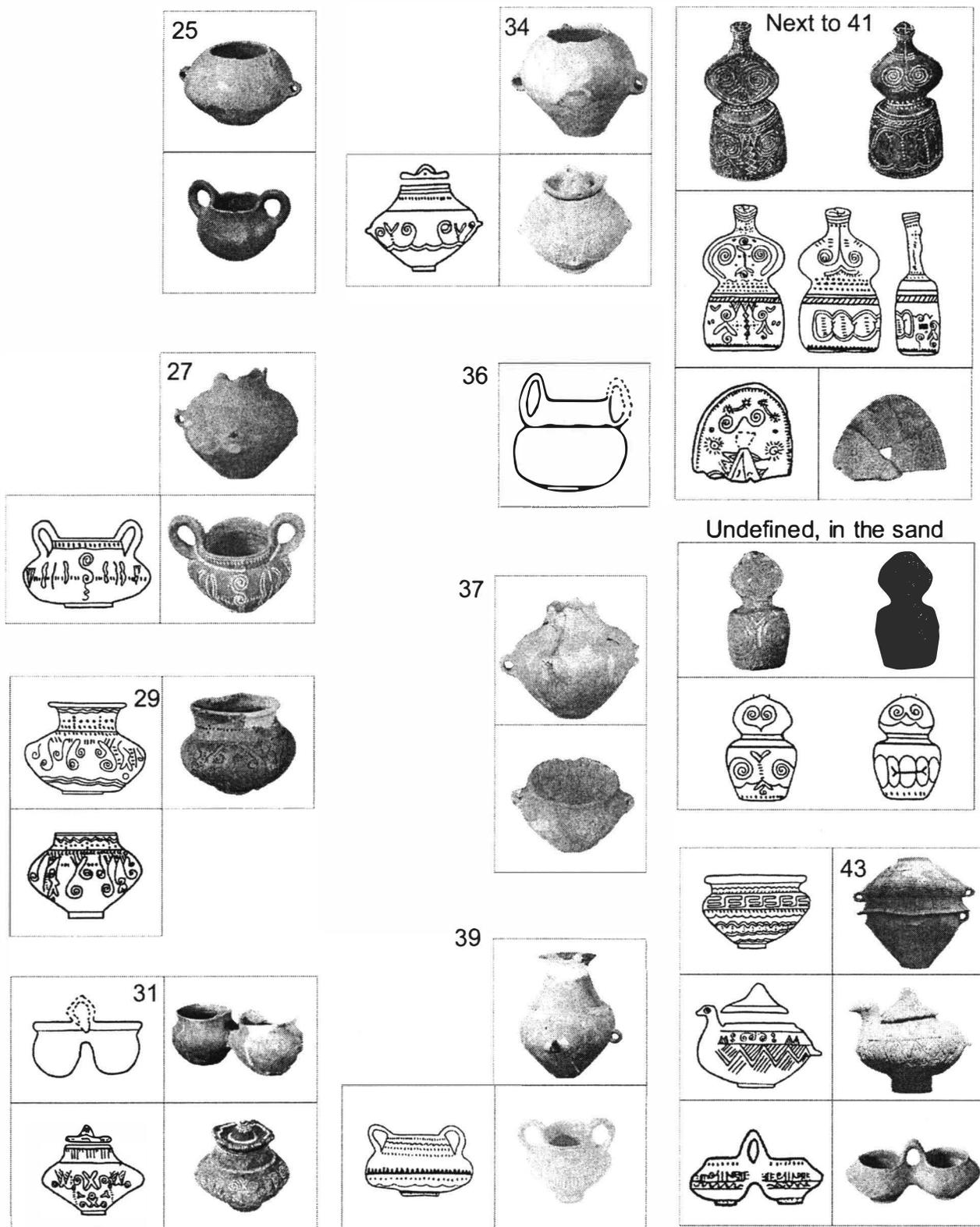


Fig. 2. Ceramics from the Orsoya cemetery (pictures after Tr. Filipov and drawings after A. Bonev 2000 [1999]).

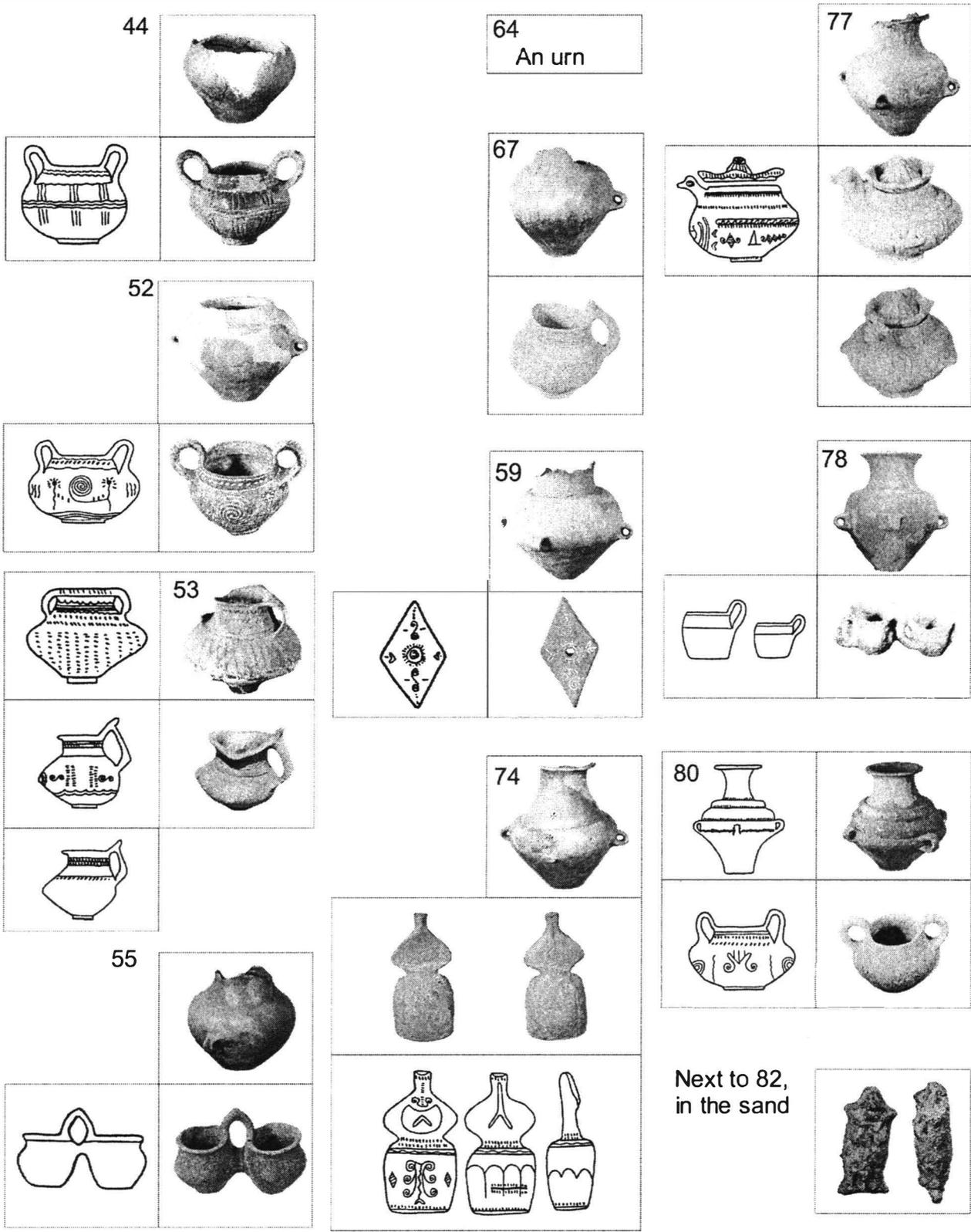


Fig. 3. Ceramics from the Orsoya cemetery (pictures after Tr. Filipov and drawings after A. Bonev 2000 [1999]).

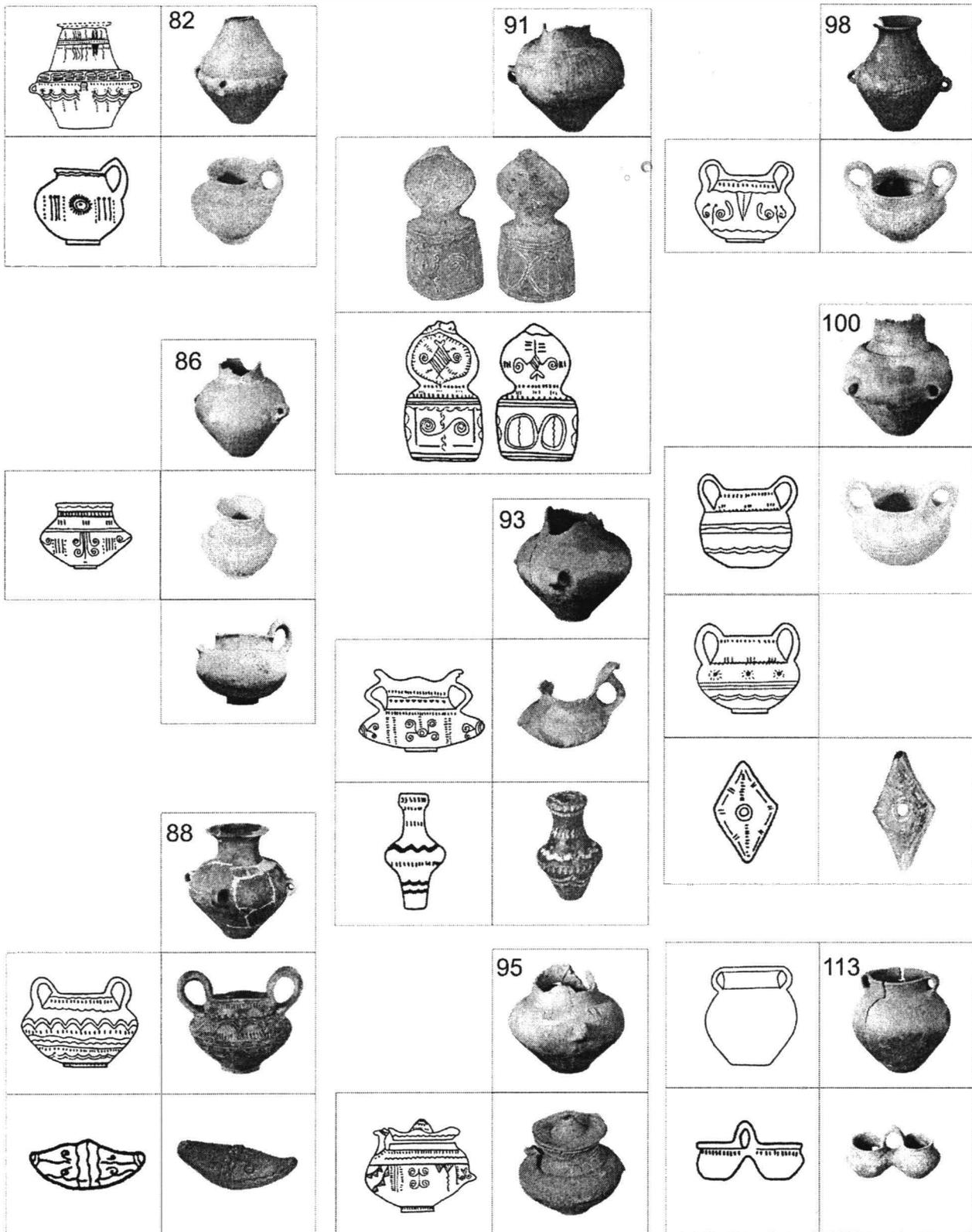


Fig. 4. Ceramics from the Orsoya cemetery (pictures after Tr. Filipov and drawings after A. Bonev 2000 [1999]).

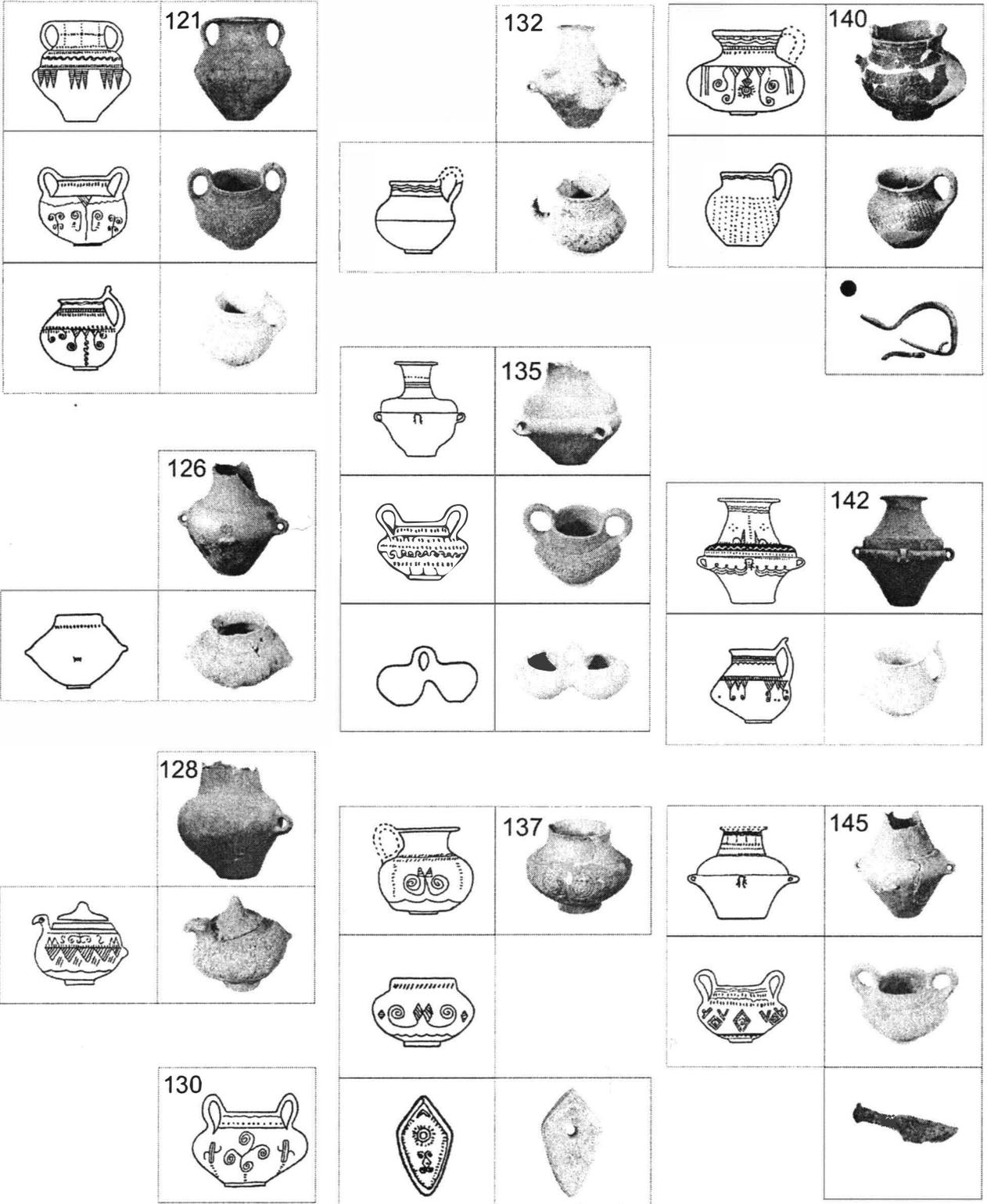


Fig. 5. Ceramics from the Orsoya cemetery (pictures after Tr. Filipov and drawings after A. Bonev 2000 [1999]).

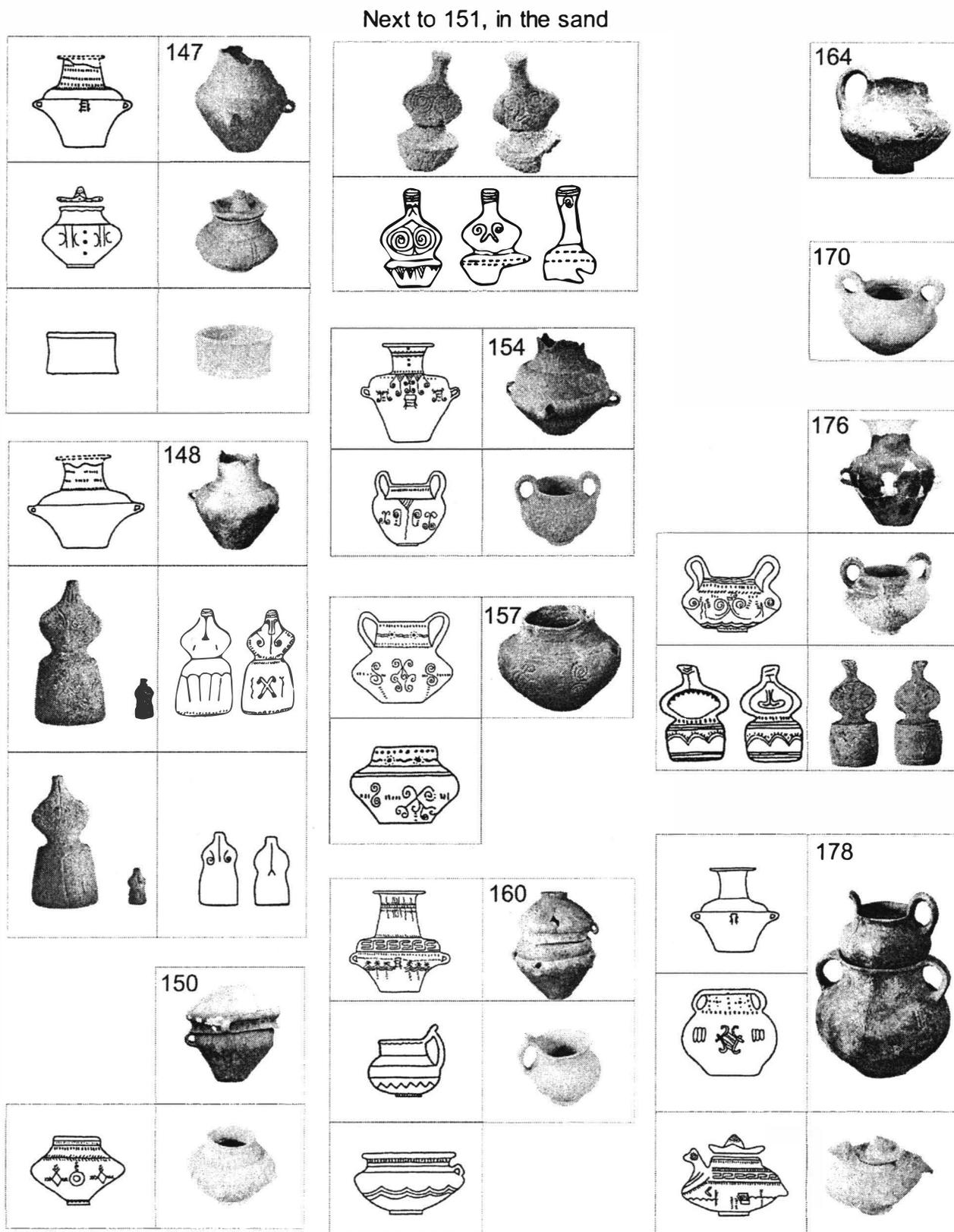


Fig. 6. Ceramics from the Orsoya cemetery (pictures after Tr. Filipov and drawings after A. Bonev 2000 [1999]).

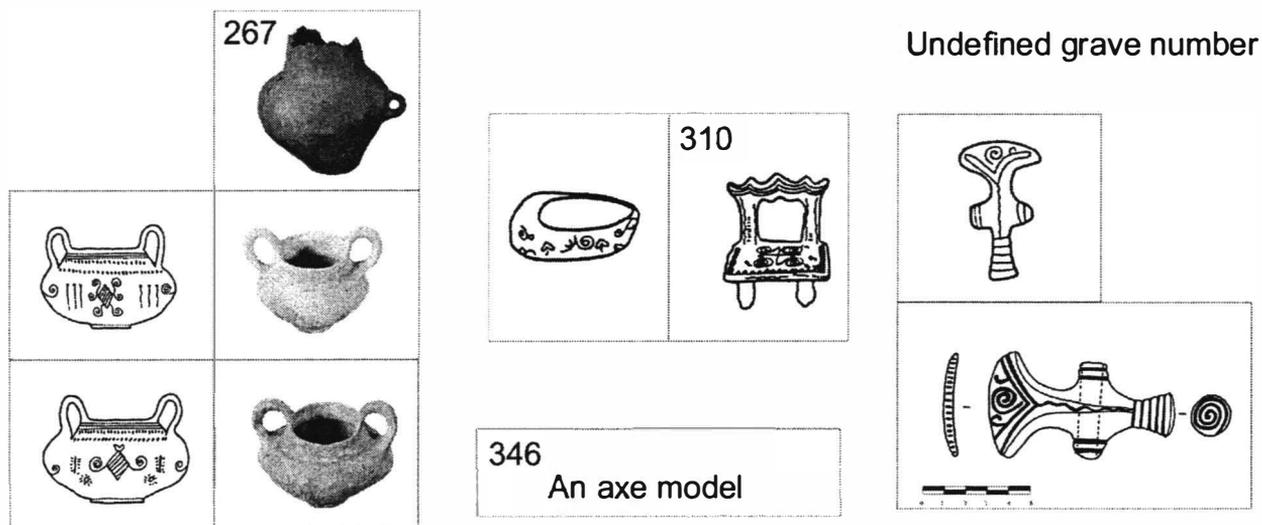


Fig. 8. Ceramics from the Orsoya cemetery (pictures after Tr. Filipov and drawings after A. Bonev 2000 [1999]; axe-model with unspecified grave number from T. Shalганova 1994, p. 23).

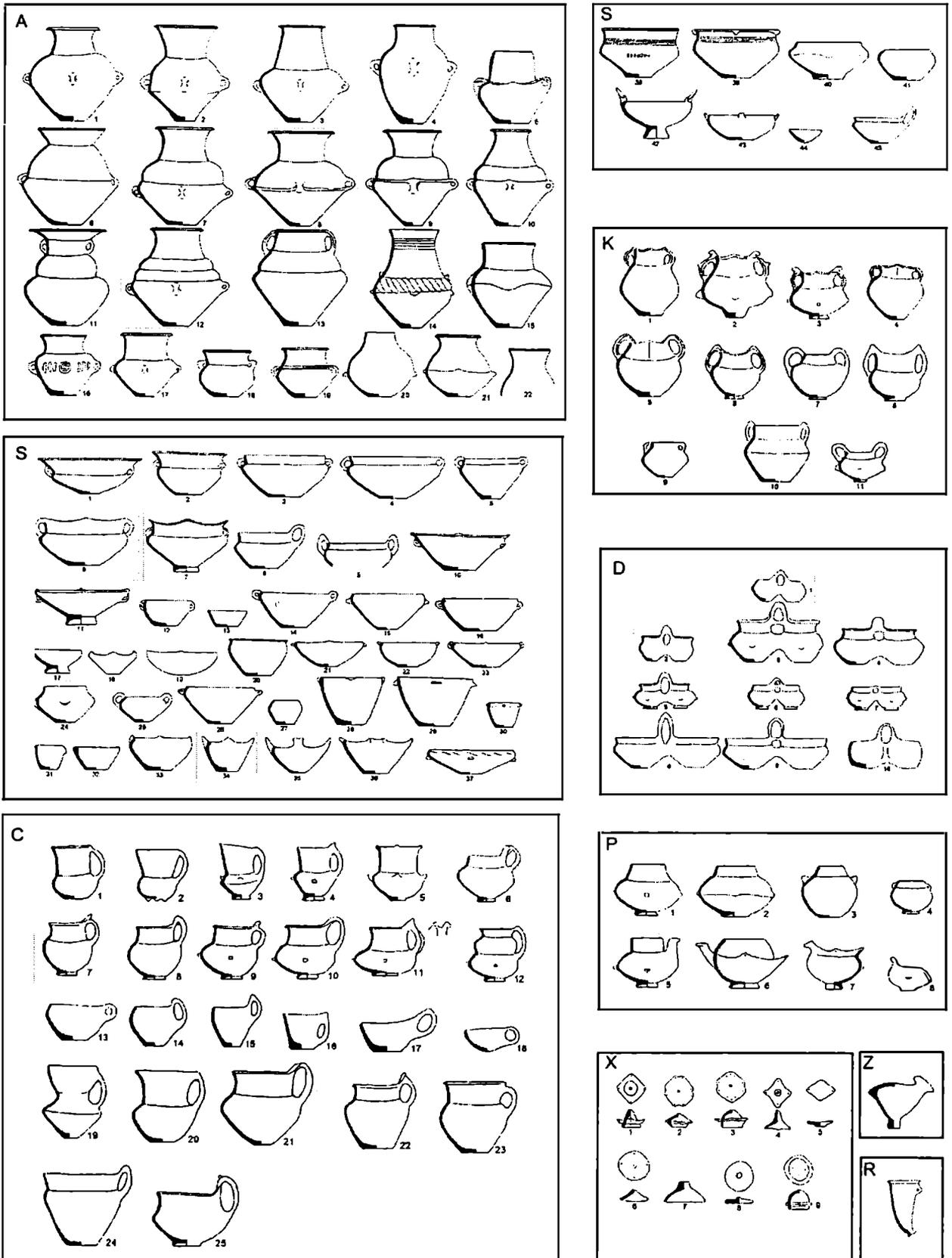


Fig. 9. Typology of Gârla Mare culture pottery (after Șandor-Chicideanu 2003, pl. 192, 193, 194, 195) and the types present in Bulgarian sites, mentioned in the text.

Gârla Mare tradition was “inherited” by the Bistreţ-Işalniţa Group, a situation considered to be valid for the Bulgaria territory as well. As an example of this are indicated some of the graves in Orsoya (no. 25, 86 and 164), in which undecorated kantharos-like vessels of the *Čerkovna* type were found. Their shape is similar also to the Bistreţ-Işalniţa kantharoi, which however are ornamented following the Gârla Mare style. Very often, these are amphorae with fine irregular flute decoration, typical for the Bistreţ-Işalniţa Culture. Some “idols” have “degenerated shape”, but they are from a later period (from graves no. 41, 91, 176, 77, 148 and 230 in Cârna; and finds from the Orsoya cemetery).²⁷⁰

In the present work the opinion provisionally assumed is that the *Zimnicea-Plovdiv Culture* belongs to the same chronological period as the Bistreţ-Işalniţa.²⁷¹ At this stage of the research in northwestern Bulgaria it is not possible to establish with certainty the characteristics of the burial customs; the Zimnicea-Plovdiv distribution area is uncertain as well – in fact, only some *characteristic* types of pottery are known, and not all of them have indubitable cultural belonging or undisturbed context. Considering what we know of the burial practices at the sites where such vessels were found, there is no similarity in the ritual.

At *Krushovitsa*, jugs, cups and kantharos-like vessels were found, which are related by some authors to the *Čerkovna* Group.²⁷² Near Butan and Burdarski Geran spherical vessels were registered with handles of the *Čerkovna* type (Zimnicea-Plovdiv), at Galiche and Hurllets – jugs; near Bukyovtsi (?) – probably a cup of the same type; Dolno Linevo and Ostrov are also included as representatives of such pottery according to certain authors. Notwithstanding the provision that some vessels in the Orsoya cemetery are related by certain authors to the Zimnicea-Plovdiv/ *Čerkovna* type, herein these are not examined as a product of such an influence, but as more common undecorated variants of ceramic shapes that are typical for the Lower Danube Incrusted Pottery Culture.

The considerable territory in North Bulgaria where no research has been carried out and the uniform character of the pottery – displaying similar types belonging to several *cultures*, both contemporaneous and subsequent – prevent the formulation of exact definitions. At this stage it is possible to presuppose that the presence of this type of pottery in North-Western Bulgaria could be related to the cremation rite. In consideration of the eventual synchronization with the Bistreţ-Işalniţa and bearing in mind the context problem, the presence of *Čerkovna*-type pottery at sites with registered cremation confirms the fact that in this area the tradition was continued without exceptions, even to the latest period of the Late Bronze Age. On the other hand, it can be pointed out that the analysis of the grave complexes in the Bulgarian lands does not confirm the differentiation of the archaeological culture of Zimnicea-Plovdiv at this stage, and so far it rather supports its definition as a pottery style phenomenon.²⁷³

According to the published data about North-Western Bulgarian sites it can be pointed out that throughout the Late Bronze Age, the burial practice was cremation. The graves were flat. Different types of urns were used: mainly decorated amphorae in the area of the Lower Danube Incrusted Pottery Culture, and undecorated kantharoi in the area of the Verbicioara Culture; while in the central and eastern part of the northern territory of the country the major practice was inhumation in a flexed position.

The problems of definition of the cultural development, the areas and interactions in North West Bulgaria still remain open. Probably the first task of the research at this stage should be the separation of the sites in clearly defined cultures – for instance the separation of the sites of the Incrusted Pottery Culture from those of the Verbicioara Culture. Due to the level of research, it is difficult to define the cultural belonging of some ceramic forms found in graves – e.g. various authors consider one and the same types of vessels as characteristic of *Čerkovna*, Verbicioara, Govora, Plovdiv-Zimnicea and even Gârla Mare.

²⁷⁰ *Ibidem*.

²⁷¹ Şandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

²⁷² Şandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

²⁷³ See Panayotov, Vulcheva, *op. cit.*

The critical study and analysis of the data on the burial complexes in Bulgaria provides the following possible conclusions. In North-West Bulgaria the sites correspond to the characteristics of the *Incrusted Pottery Culture* as they have been established outside the country; however it will be clear that the most common period here is its late phase (contemporaneous with Br D-Ha A), while the classical period (Br B2-Br C) is represented only by single and usually stray finds. The burial data confirm the distribution of the culture in the narrow strip along the Danube River, contrary to the opinion of some authors that consider this culture characteristic for whole North-Western Bulgaria. According to the data from the largest archaeologically researched cemetery on the territory of the country, the one near Orsoya, the population in this area was settled and used, for a longer period of time, one cemetery, probably intended for several settlements as well.

Bearing in mind the provisional character of the periodization and the characteristics of the Late Bronze Age phases of the *Verbicioara Culture*, some of the sites, which are in further inland locations, could be studied in connection with its cultural distribution. According to the present data, the burial rite here also consisted of cremation outside the flat cemetery; simple burial pits were used, and it is supposed that internal arrangement (as in Orsoya) had been applied within the cemetery (graves organized in rows/bows). The burned bones were placed in vessels – urns, and in some cases grave inventory was also found. The known cemeteries are located predominantly on natural elevations. The “cemetery” near Gradeshnitsa can be referred with a greater certainty to the fifth period of the *Verbicioara Culture*, which also represents evidence of contacts with the *Incrusted Pottery Culture*.

Some materials from the Bulgarian lands are related to the characteristics of the *Bistreț-Ișalnița Culture/Group*. The analysis of the grave complexes shows that the *Plovdiv-Zimnicea/Čerkovna “phenomenon”*, related to the latest period of the Late Bronze Age and probably synchronous to the *Bistreț-Ișalnița Culture/Group*, present similarity between the types of pottery. The different grave complexes in which they appear does not allow, at this stage, for its examination as a separate archaeological culture, in the sense of the traditional definition.

THE URNFIELD IN HINOVA, MEHEDINȚI COUNTY (ROUMANIA)

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Keywords: Bronze Age, Iron Age, Early Urnfield period, Hinova, cemetery, funerary practices, pottery, Žuto Brdo–Gârla Mare, Bistreț–Ișalnița.

Abstract: This article presents an urnfield cemetery of 44 cremation graves and as well as the treasure (first published in 1981) found at Hinova (on the Danube, downstream of Turnu Severin) during the archaeological excavation of a Roman-Byzantine fortification carried out between 1976 and 1978. The cemetery has been largely dated to the Ha A period (early Urnfield period) by comparison with similar sites from the neighboring region (primarily Mala Vrbica and Vaiuga Pesak, situated just opposite, on the other side of the Danube) as well as by reference to the periodization of bronze hoards (and primarily of bronze ornaments). The difficulties of establishing absolute dating for this period notwithstanding, the most probable dating for the cemetery at Hinova is the first half of the 12th c. BC. The dating of the treasure does not contradict this chronology. The study of this cemetery provides further reinforcement of the view according to which the “appearance” of the urnfields was not the result of migration of populations, but rather the expression of an ideological phenomenon that occurred around the same time as channeled decoration on pottery was adopted in many parts of the Carpatho-Danubian area. The urnfield in Hinova appeared at the end of cultural transformations that began in the Late Bronze Age and affected not only the Danube Basin in the study area but larger parts of south-eastern Europe as well.

Cuvinte cheie: Epoca bronzului, Epoca fierului, necropolă, practici funerare, grupurile Žuto Brdo–Gârla Mare și Bistreț–Ișalnița.

Rezumat: Articolul prezintă rezultatele săpăturilor efectuate în 1976-1978 într-o necropolă [*urnfield*], constând din 44 morminte de incinerare de la începutul epocii fierului (la care se adaugă tezaurul publicat în 1981), descoperită cu ocazia cercetării unei fortificații romano-bizantine la Hinova, pe Dunăre, în aval de Turnu Severin. Necropola, atât prin poziția cronologică relativă față de celelalte descoperiri de aceeași natură din zonele învecinate (în special siturile de la Mala Vrbica și Vaiuga Pesak, situate aproximativ vis à vis pe malul drept al fluviului), cât și prin raportarea la periodizarea bronzurilor (mai ales podoabe), se situează, în linii mari, în perioada Ha A [*early Urnfield period*], fără alte precizări. Deși sunt bine cunoscute dificultățile de a stabili o cronologie absolută pentru acest interval de timp, putem considera prima jumătate a secolului al XII-lea a. Chr. ca fiind data cea mai plauzibilă și pentru descoperirea de față. Nici datarea tezaurului (vezi anexa), nu contrazice această cronologie. Privită astfel, necropola de la Hinova se situează la capătul unor transformări culturale începute în epoca bronzului și care au afectat o largă parte din sud-estul Europei.

Rescue excavations carried out at the Roman-Byzantine fort in Hinova, in Mehedinți county, near the banks of the Danube and some 20 km south-east of Turnu Severin, unearthed a group of cremation tombs which formed part of an urnfield dating from the end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age. Hinova is located in the western section of the Danube Plain formed by the terraces created by the waters of the Danube which, downstream from Turnu Severin, accompany the river's winding course with its entrenched meanders.¹ The site lies at the foot of the hilly formation in Hinova, on the first Danube terrace and at the entrance to the village on the left-hand side of the Turnu Severin-Calafat national road. The location provides excellent visibility over the Danube and surrounding areas.

¹ P. Coteș, *Câmpia Olteniei*, Bucharest, 1957, p. 54 onwards.

The cemetery had already been largely damaged when the land was levelled for the construction of a Roman fortification. Existence of the latter had been known about for a long time from treasure hunters, who dug up the earth at different depths. As the site was located in a border area, soon after WWII a military unit dug in the ground on the site and installed an artillery battery. These diggings seriously disturbed both the layers from the Roman period and those dating from prehistoric times. Finally, in 1976, the nearby border guard began levelling the land in preparation for the building of a sports ground, which led to the start of the systematic archaeological research by the “Porțile de Fier” Museum in Turnu Severin and coordinated by M. Davidescu.

Hinova was known in archaeology literature because of a string of accidental discoveries. In 1924, for example, Alexandru Bărcăcilă spoke about a copper axe-adze that had been found in this village.² Ion Nestor made a drawing of a cup with stem, which was found in the same place and which he attributed to the Vinča I culture,³ while Dumitru Berciu spoke of the presence of Vinča-Turdaș⁴ type pottery following a 1934 field trip to said area. In 1937, while making excavations in Hinova, the brothers Ion and Dumitru Berciu discovered an inhumation tomb and noted the existence, in the earth used to fill the tomb, of Gârla Mare and “early Iron Age” type pottery; fragments of Turdaș⁵ type pottery were also found under the tomb. Systematic excavations were initiated by M. Davidescu as early as 1976 and continued in following years, the main focus of which was the Roman castellum.⁶

The first urns were discovered as result of a trench section in the southern area of the Roman fortification (T 1-3). Later, the excavations were expanded to the entire area and eventually led to the identification of a total of 45 urns, 44 of which contained cremated remains and one (no. 44) contained the treasure of ornamental objects. The well-preserved human skull discovered in this area in the same “yellow alluvial deposit” was believed to be unrelated to the necropolis and to originate from a skeleton dating from a different period that had been destroyed by the fortification’s western defence wall. According to the archaeological site report, the grave pits had been dug into the brown soil at the base of the fortification and had sunk into the yellow alluvial deposit of the river. It is believed that because of this, the upper parts of many urns found in the brown layer, and sometimes also in the yellow layer, were destroyed by the works carried out in the Roman period, and only the urns found deeper were found to be in better condition. Given these unfortunate circumstances, it was impossible to establish the shape and size of the tombs or the size of the cemetery itself. In the opinion of M. Davidescu, the urnfield stretched southwards towards the Danube and was completely destroyed by the construction of local houses, roads and military works. Before commenting on the funeral practices, ceramic typology and the chronological classification of this cemetery, we will provide an objective description of the data available at this point.

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The archaeological material resulting from the study of the cemetery was stored in the Turnu Severin Museum; the pottery was largely restored and drawings were made of a part of it by M. Davidescu for the purposes of publication. Soon afterwards (1981), the treasure was published in full, with the cemetery getting only a brief mention.⁷ In 2001, A. Vulpe (hereafter referred to as AV) studied

² A. Bărcăcilă, *Antiquités pré- et protohistoriques des environs de Turnu-Severin*, Dacia 1, 1924, p. 295, fig. 264; A. Vulpe, *Die Äxte und Beile in Rumänien II*, München, 1975 (PBF. IX, 5), p. 38, pl. 13, 102.

³ I. Nestor, *Der Stand der Vorgeschichtsforschung in Rumänien*, BerRGK 22, 1933, p. 40, pl. 1, 1, fig. 101.

⁴ D. Berciu, *Arheologia preistorică a Olteniei*, Craiova, 1939, p. 21 onwards, fig. 14, for the findings mentioned and idem, *Catalogul muzeului arheologic din Turnu-Severin*, Materiale 1, 1953, p. 591. During the excavations in the area of the early Iron Age cemetery an idol belonging to Vinča culture has been fortunately discovered (below fig. 14, 4).

⁵ D. Berciu, I. Berciu, *Mormântul de înmușare de la Hinova*, BMI 92, 1937, p. 82 onwards.

⁶ M. Davidescu, *Cetatea Romană de la Hinova*, Bucharest, 1989, with a full bibliography, in particular on the findings from the Roman-Byzantine period; on the Roman fortification, see idem, *Raport asupra săpăturilor arheologice din castrul roman de la Hinova-Mehedinți*, Campania 1976, Drobeta 3, 1978, p. 76-86.

⁷ Idem, *Necropola tracică de la Hinova*, Symposia Thracologica 1, 1984, p. 11. The material on display in the Turnu Severin Museum was examined by Gumă, who gave a brief description thereof in *Civilizația primei epoci a fierului în sud-vestul României*, Bucharest, 1993, p. 178.

the available material and made sketches of all the pottery that could be identified from their labels (where not stated otherwise, the sketches were made by AV). For the preparation and publication of this article, the two authors drew on the archaeological site notes describing the situation on the ground (which are used to create what we will refer to as “the excavation report”), the *in situ* photographs of the tombs and the sketches coordinated by M. Davidescu (hereafter referred to as MD). Given that, due to the passing of time, it was no longer possible to identify a proportion (fortunately small) of the material and the labels on the pottery had deteriorated, we will provide all the necessary explanations in this paper as well as all the documentation currently available, including photographs which, though technically of a poor standard, are nevertheless of relevance in terms of the state of the findings at the time. We should note that *no analysis has been performed* on the calcined bones, but the context in which the discoveries were made allows us to assume they were human. The general plan of the excavations was coordinated by MD (fig. 1: the reconstructed plan of the Roman *castellum*).⁸

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T 1. Urn (1) covered by a dish/lid (2) was found in the layer of yellow alluvial soil undisturbed by previous interventions. Urn T 2 was found about 30 cm to the north-west. We are no longer able to say whether the two urns were placed in the same tomb.

1: We are unable to make out the shape of the urn in the *in situ* photograph (fig. 15, 1). The urn has the shape of a biconical vessel with four handles on the extremity of the belly and a perforated base; the slight curve of the neck suggests an everted edge of the mouth. The vessel is decorated with grooves arranged horizontally on the neck, in rows containing seven garlands on the upper part and arcades on the belly; dark brown in colour, with a slightly polished surface; approx. 10% restored; h: 37 cm (fig. 2, 1.1).

2: Flared dish with two-lobed rim and two handles above the belly. The decoration consists of incisions created by successive piercings filled with white encrustation, the latter still visible in some areas. The decorative motifs are arranged symmetrically on two sides of the vessel (one with lobes and the other with handle); dark brown in colour; smooth, matt surface. Approx. 25% restored, mainly around the base and the tips of the two lobes; inv. no. I 5120; h (remaining part): 23 cm; restored: 24.7 cm; diameter of mouth at centre: 32.7 cm, in the restored lobe area: 44.9 cm (fig. 3, 1.2).

Urn T 2. (1) and dish/lid (2); damaged by the weight of the layers but unaffected by later works (fig. ; restored in the museum: fig. 15, 2).

1: biconical vessel with heavily everted rim and two (?) small handles restored based on the traces left on the vessel surface; perforated base. Decorated with oblique, (1 cm) wide grooves on the belly. Black in colour with coffee-brown patches; smooth surface with no traces of slip; approx. 50% restored; inv. no. I 5156; h: 27.2 cm (fig. 2, 2.1).

2: inwardly flared vessel decorated on rim with oblique (1.3 cm) wide grooves; black and dark-brown in colour; approx. 20% restored; diameter: 26 cm; inv. no. I 5152 (fig. 2, 2.2).

T 3. We understand from the site report that the label “M (T) 3” referred to “a new vessel of the Gârla Mare type which contained calcined bones and was found in the yellow alluvial layer”. The report then says: “...an almost fully damaged urn was found on the same spot” that was not restored in the lab (“probably not done, only *in situ* photograph available”). Unfortunately, from the available photograph, which is not very clear, we are only able to make out the image of a vessel (presumably the urn) covered by a dish/lid. It is no longer possible to say whether this is in fact the same tomb.

T 4. Tomb in an advanced state of deterioration consisting of an urn (1), probably covered by a dish/lid (2), next to which there was another, smaller dish (3) and a small cup (4). In the *in situ* photograph (fig. 15, 4) we make out the upper part of a jar-like vessel (5). Only the recipients 1. 3-5 were found in the museum.

⁸ In the recent study of the above cited neolithic idol (M. I. Neagoe, *A “Thessalian” type idol belonging to Vinča culture, discovered at Hinova, Mehedinți county*, Drobeta 19, 2009, p. 18-31) an aerial photography of the Roman fortification after the excavations in 1982 was published (*ibidem*, fig. 1-3); see below fig. 1, 2.

1: a biconical vessel with four pairs of protuberances; the rim, restored, was probably widely everted and the base perforated. Decorated with wide oblique grooves on the belly. Blackish in colour with dark brown patches; smooth surface; approx. 50% restored; h: 38.6 cm. Between the old sketch (made by MD) and AV's sketch there are small discrepancies which, though it is unlikely, could point to the existence of two different vessels; the more recent sketch does not have a label (fig. 2, 4.1).

2: conical bowl with lip faceted by wide oblique grooves. Orange in colour; approx. 10% restored. Not found in the museum (fig. 4, 4.2, based on sketch by MD).

3: inwardly flared dish; slightly concave base; decorated with wide oblique grooves on the rim; both the interior and the exterior are decorated with well-contoured rows of grooves arranged in garlands (rows each with six grooves on the inside and five on the outside). Black in colour with smooth surface showing traces of shiny slip; approx. 60% restored; diameter: 22.8 cm; inv. no. I 5122 (fig. 4, 4.3).

4: small cup with raised lenticular handle and slightly concave base. Ash-black in colour with large brick-red patches; intact; h: 7.8 cm; inv. no. I 5112 (fig. 4, 4.4).

5: jar-like vessel with small protuberances (probably four) under the rim, decorated with two alveolar girths (the upper girth is detached in places). Brick-red in colour with slightly porous surface; only the upper part has been preserved; inv. no. I 5865; h: 8 cm (fig. 4, 4.5).

T 5. The report notes: "the urn is destroyed ... inside there was a bronze knife blade"; MD's file contained the sketch of the knife blade (4) and an inwardly flared dish (3). From the *in situ* photograph (15, 5) we can make out part of the body of a vessel decorated with grooves on the belly that must have been the urn with calcined bones (1) covered by a large flared dish (2); we are also able to make out a fragment of a pot decorated with grooves which is possibly the dish (3). We believe dish no. (2) to be the lid; was found in the museum store room with no clear label attached but could match the shape visible in the photograph.

1: biconical vessel decorated with wide oblique grooves on the belly; not found in the museum.

2: flared dish with a well shaped shoulder and neck covered entirely by narrow grooves arranged horizontally; approx. 50% restored; blackish-brown in colour; smooth surface; inv. no. I 6167 (fig. probably 14, 3).

3: slightly inward curving conical dish, decorated with wide horizontal grooves on the rim; not be found in museum (fig. 4, 5.1; sketch by MD).

4: bronze knife blade; length: 7.5 cm; well preserved; inv. no.: I 5988 (fig. 4, 5.4).

T 6. Relatively well preserved *in situ* (fig.). The urn (1) was covered by an inwardly flared dish/lid (2) placed with the mouth downwards and another, smaller dish (3) placed on its base.

1: biconical vessel with wide everted mouth and four protuberances on the profiled edge of the belly; perforated base. Decorated with wide oblique grooves on the belly and a row of six narrow grooves on the neck below the rim; dark-brown in colour with blackish patches; smooth surface with no visible traces of slip (traces of the grits in the paste are still visible); approx. 40% restored; h: 32 cm (fig. 4, 6.1).

2: inwardly flared dish labelled: "lid, urn 6"; decorated with wide (8 mm) grooves, oblique on the rim and the lip, with a five-pointed star motif on the inside created by a row of five deep grooves; black in colour with shiny slip on the inside and red-brick-brown in colour on the outside; approx. 50% restored; diameter: 18.5 cm; inv. no. I 5580 (fig. 5, 6.2).

3: inwardly flared dish decorated with wide grooves on the rim and lip, and, on the inside, a five-pointed star motif created by a row of seven clearly-traced grooves; brown with blackish patches both inside and outside; smooth surface with no visible traces of slip; approx. 25% restored; diameter: 32.8 cm; inv. no. I 6253 (fig. 5, 6.3).

T 7. From the *in situ* photograph (fig. 16, 7) we are able to make out the body of the urn (1) with calcined bones, a fragment of a figurine (4) and shards of the dish/lid (2). MD also notes a "small bowl" in the tomb (3). Items 1, 2 and 4 were found in the museum.

1: biconical vessel with four handles beneath the belly; the base, with a stand-ring is perforated; the upper part of the vessel is missing; decorated with wide grooves arranged obliquely on the curve of the belly and horizontally above the belly; the base of the neck contains another row of grooves; an S-shaped (6 mm

wide) groove was cut into the body of the vessel and was probably repeated four times; blackish-grey in colour with a polished surface and metallic reflections; paste with sand and small stones, well-fired inside, poorly-fired on the outside; inv. no. I 5878; h: 27.2 cm, possible initial h. approx. 32 cm (fig. 5, 7.1).

2: inwardly flared dish decorated with short oblique grooves on the rim; dark-brown in colour; diameter: 24 cm (fig. 5, 7.2).

3: inwardly flared bowl (fig. 5, 7.3, based on MD).

4: fragment of a figurine (probably from the upper part) whose ornamentation consists of successive piercings; similar to the Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare type; damaged at both ends; brick-red in colour; inv. no. I 5110; h: 10.8 cm (fig. 5, 7.4).

T 8. Badly preserved tomb; from the *in situ* photograph (fig. 16, 8) we are able to make out the dish/lid (2) that covered the urn (1), most of which was damaged. The tomb inventory also contained a small cup (3) bearing the label for this tomb. Items 2 and 3 were found in the museum, as well as a bronze tutulus (4).

1: probably a biconical vessel. Could not be restored; no fragments were kept in the museum.

2: undecorated conical dish; reddish-brown (secondary firing?) with black patches on the base; 70% restored; diameter: 16.7 cm; inv. no. I 6250 (fig. 6, 8.2).

3: small cup with raised (missing) handle; blackish-grey in colour with light brown patches; on the inside, dark brown; high-fired paste with ground shards; h: 5.6 cm; inv. no. I 5872 (fig. 6, 8.3).

4: bronze tutulus not mentioned in the report, with the following label: "Hinova 79, S III, □ 1, - 0, 80, urn 8". Light green patina, partially malignant; diameter: 2.2 cm; inv. no. I 5987 (fig. 6, 8.4).

T 9. Well preserved *in situ* (fig. 16, 9). Urn (1) with dish/lid (2). The restored urn/vessel was not found in the museum.

1: described from photo by MD: biconical vessel with four tubular handles on the belly, decorated with a row of grooves above the belly and another on the neck; the mouth of the vessel in the photograph was restored to be everted; shiny black in colour, polished surface; approx. 20% restored.

2: inwardly flared dish with a single perforated protuberance on the shoulder; wide oblique grooves on the rim; brick-red-brown (secondary firing?); smooth surface with traces of removed slip; approx. 30% restored; diameter: 40 cm (fig. 6, 9.2).

T 10. Urn relatively well-preserved *in situ* (fig. 16, 10), but damaged during removal (1). On its rim: fragments found from two dishes (2, 3), one of which must have been used as a lid, the other placed "on top" of it. The fact that T 10 was located only about 50 cm south-east of T 9 may suggest (according to MD) that they had been placed in the same tomb.

1: biconical vessel; not found in the museum. In the sketch made by MD we see that it was decorated with wide grooves arranged obliquely on the belly and horizontally above it; the mouth was restored in the sketch as strongly everted (fig. 6, 10.1, based on sketch by MD).

2: dish, probably inwardly flared; sketch not found.

3: dish, probably inwardly flared, "orange in colour"; sketch not found.

T 11. Urn (1) with a damaged upper part; it is not clear from the *in situ* photograph (fig. 16, 11) if it was covered with a dish/lid. Right next to the body of the urn, we clearly see two small cups (2, 3). Apart from the small cups, the report also mentions the presence of a vessel "in the shape of a sack, with a small tubular handle" (4), which, however, was not restored in the laboratory. Only the urn and the two small cups were found in the museum.

1: biconical vessel with four paired protuberances (many of which restored) at the widest point; perforated base; the report notes that the vessel had an everted mouth and was decorated on the neck with "few but deep grooves". Dark brown in colour with shiny surface; black, slightly brittle paste; approx. 40% restored; h: 26 cm; inv. no. I 5882 (fig. 6, 11.1).

2: small cup with raised (missing) handle; brick-red in colour with porous surface; h: 4.3 cm; inv. no. I 6247 (fig. 6, 11.2).

3: small cup with raised (missing) handle; reddish-brown in colour, shiny on the inside, with smooth external surface and visible traces of slip; h: 5.2 cm; inv. no. I 6248 (fig. 6, 11.3).

T 12. The urn (1) was well preserved *in situ* (fig. 17, 12). It had been covered with a large dish/lid (2) with a tubular handle (not restored and not found in the museum).

1: biconical vessel with widely everted mouth with four handles below the belly and with a perforated base. Intact. Decorated with short but wide (8-9 mm) grooves arranged obliquely on the belly, two (2 mm) narrow grooves at the base of the neck, and, on the neck and under the rim, with a row of five narrow (2-3 mm) grooves. Ash-brown in colour; smooth surface, slightly polished in the belly area; inv. no. I 5119; h: 33.8 cm (fig. 6, 12.1).

T 13. The excavation report notes: “biconical” urn (1), damaged, with widely everted mouth, “semicircular handles” (?) ... lid is broken ... two other vessels were placed above and adjacent”. From the not very clear *in situ* photograph (fig. 17, 13) we were able to make out large fragments of a dish/lid (2), the area around the belly of the urn and, next to it, fragments from two other vessels (3. 4). The tomb inventory was restored in the laboratory and photographed (fig. 7, 13.1-4). Not found in the museum so the description below is based on the photograph above and the description from MD’s report.

1: biconical vessel decorated with wide oblique grooves on the belly and narrower grooves on the neck. Black in colour; polished surface; approx. 20% restored.

2: inwardly flared dish apparently with no decoration.

3: inwardly flared dish decorated with grooves on the rim and, apparently, also on the lip; from the photograph the interior surface appears to have been shiny.

4: inwardly flared dish; appears to have one perforated protuberance (?); not clear if decorated with grooves on the rim.

T 14. The text of the report mentions: urn (1) “of medium size”... “next to the urn there were two small bowls”. In the *in situ* photograph (fig. 17, 14) we see the urn with the everted rim, fragments of a dish/lid (2), another almost intact dish (3) and a vessel which appears to have been given a handle (5). MD’s sketches referring to T 14 show the urn and three dishes (2-4), while a photograph marked M(T) 14 shows a bowl which appears to have had a handle. The following items were clearly identified in the museum: the urn and two dishes (1-3); and a third dish almost identical to dish no. 3 but smaller in size and with the label M(T) 21 (!).

1: biconical vessel with widely everted mouth and perforated base; decorated with wide oblique grooves on the belly and a row of nine narrower (4 mm) grooves on the neck. Black in colour, the gloss of the slip still visible in certain areas; blackish, brittle paste with small stones; approx. 40% restored; h: 27 cm (fig. 7, 14.1).

2: inwardly flared bowl decorated with very large and wide flutes (1 cm) on shoulder. Initially shiny black in colour; now dark brown with brick-red reflections as a result of erosion; approx. 30% restored; diameter: 20.2 cm; inv. no. I 5107 (fig. 7, 14.2).

3: inwardly flared dish with distinct shoulder edge; brick-red-brown on the outside; porous surface; initially it must have been shiny black, as can be seen from patches with still visible traces of slip; intact; 19 cm; inv. no. I 5380 (fig. 7, 14.3).

4: inwardly flared dish with wide grooves arranged obliquely on the shoulder; the base is missing; (fig.). Another dish, very similar to dish 3, but smaller in size, bears the label M 21 but appears in MD’s sketch as originating from M 14 (fig. 7, 14.4; sketch by MD).

5: conical vessel, partially preserved; appears to have had a handle; partially restored with a lot of plaster (fig. 7, 14.5; photo by MD).

T 15. The report notes that the urn (1) is large in size and covered with a lid (2), also large; inside the urn there was a “spindle whorl” (3). The very clear *in situ* photograph (fig. 17, 15) confirms the cited information. The dish/lid (2) was not found in the museum nor was it drawn by MD.

1: biconical vessel with everted mouth (missing) and four pairs of protuberances/handles at the widest part of the belly; perforated base; decorated, on the neck, with a row of four wide grooves (4-5 mm) arranged in garlands (repeated six times) and, above these, another row of four grooves arranged horizontally under the flared rim. Shiny black in colour with metallic reflections; approx. 50% restored; h: 35 cm; inv. no. I 5671 (fig. 8, 15.1).

2: inwardly flared dish, “orange” in colour; not found.

3: biconical “spindle whorl”; no further details supplied (not found in the museum) (fig. 8, 15.3, based on sketch by MD).

M 16. The report notes: “the urn is average in size, damaged, just like the lid ... next to it there were also placed two cups.” From the not very clear *in situ* photograph (fig. 17, 16) we are able to make out the fragments of several vessels, including an intact cup (probably 3); another cup (4) appears in MD’s sketch. The following items were identified in the museum: the urn (1), a flared dish (possibly 2), the cup (3) and another vessel similar to urn no. 1 (5), an inwardly flared dish (6). All items are labelled M(T) 16. It is therefore possible that among the fragments there will be others that originated from another tomb with a similar inventory.

1: biconical vessel with two handles and two protuberances on the upper part of the belly; widely everted mouth; perforated base. Decorated with short grooves, arranged obliquely on the belly. Blackish in colour with reddish patches; smooth, slightly polished surface with metallic reflections; paste with sand and small stones; almost intact; inv. no. I 5382; h: 29.4 cm (fig. 8, 16.1).

2: large fragment from a flared dish which initially had four handles above the belly. Decorated with short, fine grooves (2.5 mm), arranged obliquely on the lower part of the belly; above there is a decoration in the form of a row of arcades consisting of two finely incised (2 mm) lines; smooth surface, dark brown in colour; crushed shards in the paste; approx. 70% restored; diameter: 32.4 cm (fig. 8, 16.2a). The same packet contains another fragment, presumably from the same vessel, but without the garland decoration; h: 9.5 cm (fig. 8, 16.2b).

3: small cup with raised handle; blackish on the inside and outside; poorly executed; intact; inv. no. I 5124 (fig. 8, 16.3).

4: small cup with everted rim and raised handle; slightly oblique plane of lip; from the sketch it appears to be intact; h: 8.6 cm (fig. 8, 16.4; sketch by MD).

5: large fragment from a biconical vessel with two handles on the belly and slightly everted rim; missing base; dark grey in colour with metallic reflections; paste with ground shards, high-fired; the same label as urn 1; h: 10.9 cm (fig. 8, 16.4).

6: several fragments of an inwardly flared dish; red-brick in colour (possibly by secondary firing) with ash-brown patches on the base and shoulder (fig. 8, 16.6).

T 17. The report notes: “the urn was right next to T 16 ... next to it there was a cup with a high, alveolate handle”. It does not appear from the *in situ* photograph (fig. 18, 17) that the two tombs had urns right next to them. We are able to make out the urn (1) and some fragments, probably from a dish/“lid” (2); next to the urn we can also see the handle of a larger vessel (3). A large cup (3) and a small cup (4) were identified in the museum under the label M(T) 17.

1: biconical vessel according to MD’s description, biconical, with everted (missing) mouth, decorated with wide oblique grooves on the belly; black in colour (fig. 9, 17.1; sketch by MD).

2: no fragments were recovered from the vessel believed to be the “lid” of the urn; it is noted that was damaged.

3: large cup with (partially missing) highly raised handle with lenticular cross-section; slightly asymmetric form; smooth surface; black in colour with brick-red-brown patches; h: 15.9 cm; inv. no. I 6249 (fig. 9, 17.3).

4: small cup with flared rim and raised handle. The body of the vessel is brick-red in colour (secondary firing), while the small, intact, handle is black with dark brown patches, suggesting it was broken on the pyre and as such placed in the tomb. Approx. 70% restored; h: 9 cm; inv. no. I 5862 (fig. 9, 17.4).

T 18. From the not very clear *in situ* photograph (fig. 18, 18) we make out the urn (1), fragments from the dish/lid (2) and, placed alongside it, the fragments of a cup (3) and a small biconical vessel (4). All items were found in the museum.

1: biconical vessel with everted mouth and four protuberances/handles on the belly; the base is not perforated. Decorated with wide grooves on the belly and, above, a row of narrower (5 mm) grooves arranged horizontally, while, under the rim, the neck features another row of three grooves. Dark brown

in colour with lighter patches; shiny surface with metallic reflections; approx. 50% restored; inv. no. I 5867; h: 33.4 cm (fig. 9, 18.1).

2: inwardly flared dish with wide grooves arranged obliquely on the rim; shiny black in colour on the inside and light brown on the outside; sand and small stones in the paste; approx. 20% restored; diameter: 17.8 cm; inv. no. I 5581 (fig. 9, 18.2).

3: cup with raised lenticular handle. The outer surface is decorated with rows of grooves arranged as follows: three around the base, four in the shape of a five-pointed star on the body of the vessel; the handle is also entirely decorated with grooves arranged lengthwise. Reddish-brick-red in colour on the outside (probably secondary firing), reddish brown inside; traces of shiny black slip suggest the vessel was initially black in colour; approx. 35% restored; h: 11.2 cm; inv. no. I 5349 (fig. 9, 18.3).

4: biconical, biconical miniature vessel with everted mouth indented in two places, with four protuberances at the widest part of which two are perforated vertically; red-brick-red in colour (secondary firing); paste with small stones; intact; inv. no. I 5344; h: 11.4 cm (fig. 9, 18.4).

T 19. The report notes that the urn lies right next to T 20, which is also visible from the *in situ* photograph (fig. 18, 19); in the photograph we see no other adjacent vessel or one that might have been used as a lid. The unrestored body of the urn (1) was identified in the museum.

1: biconical vessel with probably everted (missing) mouth and four protuberances arranged vertically on the belly; the base is not perforated. Decorated with short grooves arranged obliquely on the belly. Ash-black in colour with large brick-red patches (secondary firing?); inv. no. I 5350; h: 27 cm, initially approx. 31 cm (fig. 10, 19.1).

T 20. The report notes: “The urn has a high, biconical shape, is black in colour and completely broken; two other damaged vessels were found next to it.” From the *in situ* photograph (fig. 18, 20) we can only make out the outline of the urn and pieces of what could be the dish/lid. No items were found in the museum with the label for this tomb.

T 21. The report says: “The urn is big ... next to it there was a bowl/lid ... next to the urn there was also a cup and another cup ... next there was a small bowl”. The very clear *in situ* photograph (fig. 18, 21) shows the urn (1) covered with a flared dish (2), which is undoubtedly the lid, and an inwardly flared dish (3) placed with its mouth upwards on top of the dish/lid; adjacent, we make out fragments of other vessels (probably 4 and 5). The items 1-2 and 4-5 were identified in the museum.

1: biconical vessel with strongly everted mouth, four broad handles under the belly, perforated base. Decorated with wide (1.3 cm) grooves arranged obliquely on the belly, and, above, a row of four narrow (2mm) grooves arranged horizontally; the neck features a row of five (3 mm wide) grooves arranged in garlands (repeated seven times), while at the base of the rim there is a row of seven or eight (2 mm wide) horizontal grooves. Light brown in colour with brick-red patches; covered with shiny slip over most of the body; approx. 15% restored on the upper part; inv. no. I 5384; h: 42.4 cm (fig. 10, 21.1).

2: flared dish with three small handles with lenticular cross-section. The interior is decorated with a row of six grooves (wide incisions) arranged in the shape of a five-pointed star; brick-red-brown in colour; smooth surface with porosity; approx. 60% restored; inv. no. I 5856 (fig. 10, 21.2).

3: inwardly flared dish with wide, long grooves arranged obliquely on the rim; diameter: 18.3 cm (fig. 10, 21.3; sketch by MD).

4: cup with raised (missing) handle and (2 mm wide) grooves. Blackish-brown in colour with traces of gloss; approx. 30% restored; h: 13 cm; inv. no. I 5586 (fig. 11, 21.4).

T 22. The report states “urn almost completely broken ... found next to T 18”. From the not very clear *in situ* photograph (fig. 19, 22) we are only able to make out the urn (1); it does not appear to have been covered with a vessel/lid. Found in the museum.

1: biconical vessel with widely everted (damaged) mouth and perforated base. Decorated with wide grooves, poorly made, arranged obliquely on the belly, and, above it, a row of four narrower (2 mm) grooves arranged horizontally. Shiny black in colour; the grits in the paste can be seen on the surface of the vessel; approx. 35% restored; h: 24.6 cm (fig. 11, 22.1).

T 23. The report notes: “totally damaged urn ... a bead was found inside ... next to it there were two damaged vessels.” From the not very clear *in situ* photograph (fig. 19, 23) we make out the urn (1) and at least two adjacent vessels. Only two small vessels were identified in the museum (2, 3).

1: biconical vessel, described in the report as follows: “high, biconical in shape, with grooves decoration on the neck”, as can be seen from the *in situ* photograph.

2: small cup with raised handle, partially damaged, crossed by two longitudinal grooves. Porous surface, brick-red in colour (secondary firing ?); 10% restored; h: 10.1 cm; inv. no. I 5347 (fig. 11, 23.2).

3: biconical miniature vessel with a broad lip and two perforations under the rim; slightly concave base. Light brown in colour with a blackish patch; intact; inv. no. I 5154; h: 7.5 cm (fig. 11, 23.3).

T 24. The report notes: “totally damaged urn; only the base and a few fragments were found; could not be restored”, a description which matches in *in situ* image (fig. 19, 24). No trace was found in the museum.

T 25. The report notes: “medium size urn ... next to it a bronze pin was found”. In the *in situ* photograph (fig. 19, 25) we see the urn (1) and, next to it, fragments of an inwardly flared dish (2), possibly the lid. MD’s sketch also shows a tubular bone bead (4); on the photograph of vessel no. 1 there is a note saying the item was found inside the urn. The urn (1) and the pin (3) were identified in the museum.

1: biconical vessel with probably everted mouth (missing); base is not perforated. Decorated on the belly with wide grooves arranged obliquely and, above it, a row of three narrower (2.5 cm) grooves arranged horizontally; on the neck, at the base of the rim, there is a row of four wide (2 mm) grooves. Blackish brown in colour with traces of gloss; approx. 30% restored; h: 13 cm; inv. no. I 5586 (fig. 11, 25.1).

2: inwardly flared dish; not found (possibly the vessel on fig. 14, 2).

3: bronze wire pin crook-headed (*Hirtenstabnadel*) with cross-section; 5.8 cm long; inv. no. I 5343 (fig. 11, 25.3).

4: tubular piece of “glassy, bluish material” (note by MD); inv. no. I 5985.

T 26. The tomb was located approx. 40 cm north-east of T 25, which corresponds with the *in situ* photograph (fig. 19, 25.26) but not the general plan, in which the two tombs are located a considerable distance from each other (see fig. 1). The report notes: “large urn, sunk under the weight of the earth, biconical in shape, polished-black in colour; a small bronze knife blade was found inside (1)”. The *in situ* photograph is not clear (fig. 19, 26). There still exists a photograph, by MD, of the lower part of the urn, the upper part having been restored; we see broad handles on the belly and what looks like a groove decoration similar to that of the urn in T 25.

1: the blade of the small bronze knife which initially bore the label of this tomb was believed by MD to belong to T 28; it is to be assumed that the item that came from this tomb was not retained.

T 27. This tomb forms part of a group of three adjacent tombs (T 27, 28 and 29) (fig. 20, 27-29, *in situ*). T 27 is nonetheless separated from the other two by a distance of 40 cm in a westerly direction. The *in situ* photograph shows the urn (1), to the south of which there is a group of three dishes with their mouths upwards (2-4). Their apparent connection to T 27 is not, however, certain, but it is clear they formed part of the group of three tombs. The report also mentions a bronze earring found below urn T 27. The urn and the three dishes were found in the museum.

1: biconical vessel with widely everted (missing) mouth and clearly defined shoulder; the base is not perforated; the belly is decorated with short, wide (6 mm) grooves arranged obliquely. Blackish in colour, shiny on the outside and oxidation fired (brick-red) on the inside; coarse paste with grits; approx. 15% restored; inv. no. I 5873; h: 23.1 cm (fig. 11, 27.1).

2: dish (“bowl”) with straight rim and faceted lip black with traces of gloss and brick-red patches; approx. 5% restored; diameter: 15.8 cm; inv. no. I 5346 (fig. 11, 27.2).

3: inwardly flared dish; dark brown on the outside and blackish inside; approx. 25% restored; diameter: 14.9 cm; inv. no. I 5114 (fig. 11, 27.3).

4: inwardly flared dish with profiled rim; blackish-grey in colour, no gloss; 5% restored; diameter: 17.1 cm; inv. no. I 5346 (fig. 11, 27.4).

T 28. The report notes: “tall urn, damaged and collapsed under the weight of the earth ... contained a bronze knife blade inside”. In the *in situ* photograph (fig. 20, 28) we see a pile of shards from among which we are able to make out the upper part of the urn. We do not know if there were any other vessels. The small knife blade is also listed as belonging to T 26; in MD’s sketch we see the number 26 struck through and replaced by “M(T) 28A”, an observation also found on AV’s sketch. Consequently, we will treat this item as belonging to this tomb. The urn (1) and the small knife blade (2) were found in the museum.

1: biconical vessel with missing mouth, probably everted, with four pairs of protuberances/handles in the belly area; as the base is largely restored, we are no longer able to tell if it was perforated. Decorated with wide grooves arranged obliquely on the belly and a row of six narrower grooves arranged in garlands on the neck; above them, and below the damaged rim, we see a girth consisting of eight or nine grooves. Dark brown in colour, shiny; polished surface; approx. 50% restored; h: 31 cm (fig. 11, 28.1).

2: bronze knife blade, slightly curved; profiled edge; with an orifice on the blade, below the handle; light green patina, subject to mild malignant action close to the sharp edge; 11.1 cm long (restored: 13.2 cm); inv. no. I 5868 (fig. 11, 28.2).

T 29. The report notes: “fully damaged urn ... could be restored. In the *in situ* photograph we clearly see the outline of the urn (1); no other vessels are visible. T 29 forms part of the group of tombs 27-29.

1: bulging, biconical vessel with very large point of greatest width, without neck, rounded edge of the lip; used to have two small handles (restored) on the body below the rim; the base, slightly concave, was not perforated. Decorated with wide, very lightly imprinted grooves arranged obliquely on the belly and horizontally below the rim. Brown in colour with brick-red reflections; slightly porous surface; approx. 15% restored; inv. no. I 5381; h: 17 cm (fig. 12, 29.1).

T 30. The report notes: “medium size urn, biconical, polished-black in colour; totally damaged; found near T 31; not restored”. In the unclear *in situ* photograph (fig. 20, 30) we make out two vessels: a biconical vessel, probably the urn, next to which there is a smaller vessel. No fragments with this label were found in the museum.

T 31. Located approx. 40 cm north-west of T 30. The report notes: “the urn is totally damaged; the fragments are black in colour; appears to have been average in size”. From the unclear *in situ* photograph (fig. 20, 31) we are able to make out the outline of the urn, next to which there is a large fragment of a vessel with a flared mouth (the urn or a dish?).

T 32. The report notes: “large, black urn; only fragments of its walls and the base were found; not restored”. In the *in situ* photograph (fig. 20, 32) we are able to see fairly clearly the outline of the urn: approx. half of a biconical vessel with protuberances on the belly. Not found in the museum.

T 33. The report notes: “average size urn, black in colour, next to which a broken bowl was found; the urn was totally damaged; it was not restored”. In the *in situ* photograph (fig. 20, 33) we clearly make out the everted mouth of the urn and a large part of the dish/lid (1). Only the dish was found in the museum.

1: inwardly flared dish with wide (7 mm) grooves located on the rim and lip of the vessel; the body of the dish has three broad handles, one of which has two perforations. Shiny black in colour on the inside and outside; approx. 10% restored; diameter: 17.1 cm; inv. no. I 5587 (fig. 12, 33.1).

T 34. All we have left is the description in the report: “ biconical, black, medium size urn; in places, at point of maximum diameter, it has pairs of overlapping knobs (the lower knob is in the shape of a blade faced downwards, while the upper knob is smaller and sharper); no other urn featuring this decoration was found; no photograph available; not restored.”

T 35. The report notes: “biconical, medium size urn with two pairs of knobs similar to those found in the T 34 urn; it has a “twisted groove” at the point of maximum diameter; a bowl used as a lid was found next to it; it has not been restored”. In the *in situ* photograph (fig. 21, 35) we see the mouth of the

urn (1) and large fragments of the dish/lid, next to which we make out a fragment from a smaller vessel (a cup?). Only the dish (2) was found in the museum.

1: it appears from description and photograph that the urn was in the shape of a biconical vessel with everted mouth and probably had four paired protuberances on the belly decorated with grooves arranged obliquely.

2: inwardly flared dish (bowl) with faceted lip; light, barely visible grooves arranged obliquely on the shoulder. Black in colour, partially polished; 40% restored; diameter: 15.6 cm; inv. no. I 5582 (fig. 12, 35.2).

T 36. The report notes: “only fragments from the lower part of the urn were found; the upper part was cut off by the Byzantine settlement”. The *in situ* photograph (fig. 21, 36) clearly shows a large part of the urn, the mouth of which had been “severed”. No trace of a dish/lid is visible. The restored urn (1) was found in the museum.

1: biconical vessel with everted mouth (partially restored); with slightly curved upper part; with four pairs of double protuberances on the belly; perforated base. Decorated on the neck with a row of four barely visible grooves arranged in a garland; another row of grooves, arranged horizontally, is visible under the rim. Dark brown in colour, no gloss; on the surface we see the grits in the paste; 30% restored; h: 32 cm; (fig. 12, 36.1).

T 37. The report notes: “only the lower part of the urn was left, the rest being destroyed by the Roman fortification; a bronze knife blade was found next to the urn”. No *in situ* photograph is available. The urn (1) was found in the museum; the small knife (2) was not found, but there is a photograph available by MD.

1: biconical vessel with everted mouth (only the beginning of the curve towards the rim is left); has paired protuberances/handles on the belly; the base being largely restored, we cannot tell if the perforation visible in the plaster reflects the original state. Decorated with wide (1 cm) grooves arranged obliquely on the belly. Black-brown in colour, shiny slip still visible in places towards the base; 30% restored; inv. no. I 5585 (fig. 12, 37.1).

2: small bronze knife; it appears from the photograph that it was similar in shape to that found in T 28, including a perforation near the handle.

T 38. The report notes: “the urn is totally damaged due to the weight of the earth; we can no longer discern its original shape or tell if there were other vessels close by; judging by the pieces found we can say the vessel had a groove decoration; dark orange in colour; photograph missing”. No other information available and no fragments with this label were found in the museum.

T 39. The report notes: “the urn was fully damaged; could not be restored; photograph missing”.

T 40. The report notes: “the urn is fully damaged; from the pieces found, two medium sized bowls and a third incomplete bowl were reconstructed in the laboratory”. The *in situ* photograph (fig. 21, 40) clearly shows one of the “bowls” placed sideways and a second seemingly placed with its mouth upwards; we are unable to make out the outline of the urn. Two flared dishes (1. 2) were found in the museum, while a third (3), partially restored dish (fig. 12, 40.3) can be seen in a photograph by MD which was not found. The three vessels are strikingly similar.

1: high, flared dish with missing base, decorated with wide (1 cm) grooves arranged obliquely on the belly and a girth consisting of eight narrower (3 mm) grooves on the neck. Originally, it was shiny black in colour with brick-red patches (secondary firing?); approx. 70% restored; h: 15.3 cm; inv. no. I 6167 (fig. 12, 40.1).

2: high, flared dish decorated with wide (1 cm) grooves arranged obliquely on the belly and a girth of narrower (2-3 mm) grooves on the neck. Dark brown in colour on the inside and outside; approx. 75% restored; h: 15 cm; inv. no. I 6252 (fig. 12, 40.2).

3: flared dish; in the photograph by MD it appears to be almost identical in shape and decoration with vessels 1 and 2; only the upper part is left; h: 14.4 cm (fig. 12, 40.3, based on photo by MD).

T 41. The report notes: “broken urn ... the upper part severed by the layer of the Roman fortification ... two vessels could be reconstructed in the laboratory”. The *in situ* photograph (fig. 21, 41) clearly shows the body of the urn (1). Only the second vessel mentioned in the report (2) was found in the museum. The image of the urn is preserved in a photograph and a sketch, both by MD.

1: large biconical vessel probably with everted mouth (missing), decorated with wide grooves, arranged obliquely on the belly, a row of five or six grooves arranged horizontally above the belly, and another row of grooves arranged in garland on the neck (fig. 13, 41.1, based on sketch by MD).

2: biconical vessel, smaller in size, with two broad handles and two protuberances, arranged symmetrically on the body above the widest part; with the mouth of the vessel missing, the reconstruction in the sketch was based on the shape of the vessel in T 2. Decorated with wide (1.1 cm) grooves arranged obliquely on the belly and a row of narrower (4 mm) grooves above the belly; a row of grooves running horizontally is still visible on the neck; approx. 60% restored; inv. no. I 5881; h: 11 cm, initially approx. 13.5 cm (fig. 13, 41.2).

T 42. The report notes: “the urn was destroyed as a result of the compression of the soil; the fragments collected indicate a conical vessel with a wide mouth; a vessel probably used as a lid was reconstructed in the laboratory”. In the *in situ* photograph, which is not very clear, (fig. 21, 42) we notice a fragment originating from the curve of a vessel with a broad protuberance/handle, suggesting it probably comes from a biconical vessel, possibly the tomb’s urn. A conical vessel was found in the museum (1).

1: conical vessel, probably a cup with raised (missing) handle; blackish-brown on the inside, brick-red towards the rim; approx. 50% restored; diameter: 19.8 cm; inv. no. I 6251 (fig. 13, 42.2).

T 43. In the *in situ* photograph (fig. 21, 43) we recognise the shape of the urn, which is damaged, with no other vessel nearby, which corresponds to the information in the report. The vessel (1), restored in the laboratory, was found in the museum.

1: biconical vessel with small mouth and widely everted mouth, with four pairs of protuberances/handles on the belly; the base being fully restored, we do not know if it was originally perforated. Decorated on the neck with a row of six grooves arranged in a garland and a row of four horizontal grooves below the rim. Ash-black in colour; smooth surface, no traces of slip; approx. 65% restored; h: 36 cm (fig. 13, 43.1).

T 44. This label was used for the vessel that contained the treasure. No calcined bones were found. The vessel was placed in the yellow alluvial soil under the layer of Roman era remains at a distance of only 30 cm from the base of the northern wall of the south-western tower of the Roman fortification (see below, p. 64).

T 45. The report notes: “the tomb contains several vessels ... the biconical ‘mother’ urn ... the vessel/lid with wide open mouth, covering the urn ... two other vessels also placed on the ‘mother’ urn ... the urn contained a bronze pin and a ring or earring of thin bronze wire; the tomb was entirely reconstructed in the laboratory” (fig. 21, 45). These items can be easily identified in the very clear *in situ* photograph (fig.). The following items were found in the museum: the urn (1), a cup (3), a small biconical vessel (4), the pin (5) and the ring (6); the vessel/lid (2) was not found, but there is a photograph available by MD.

1: biconical vessel with profiled shoulder, widely everted mouth and perforated base. Decorated with wide (1 cm) grooves arranged obliquely on the belly and a row of four wide (7 mm) grooves arranged horizontally on the neck; the flared edge is lightly faceted. Shiny dark brown in colour with metallic reflections; the small stones in the paste are visible on the surface of the vessel; 20% restored; h: 22.8 cm; inv. no. I 5861 (fig. 13, 45.1).

2: flared dish with four broad handles below the belly; profiled base. Decorated with grooves arranged obliquely on the belly; dark brown in colour; almost intact; the description is based on MD’s photograph (fig. 13, 45.2) and the *in situ* photograph. The inv. no. I 5860 is mentioned in the photograph.

3: cup with raised handle, everted mouth and slightly profiled shoulder. The exterior is decorated with a band of four grooves arranged in a slightly curved line in the shape of a five-pointed star; five small

protuberances on the shoulder of the vessel mark the ends of the pentagon. The lenticular handle is also crossed by two grooves running lengthwise. Most of the vessel is shiny black in colour with metallic reflections; approx. 40% of its surface is light brown with brick-red patches; we assume it was mostly damaged on the pyre except for a few fragments found on the similarly decorated cup in T 21. Traces of the sand and grits in the paste are visible on the surface of the vessel; approx. 10% restored; h: 12.8 cm; inv. no. I 5859 (fig. 13, 45.3).

4: small biconical vessel with profiled, slightly everted mouth; has two small handles with lenticular cross-section on the neck and two protuberances on the belly. Decorated with wide (1 cm) grooves running obliquely over the belly and three narrow (2 mm) grooves arranged horizontally above it; pairs of three grooves each arranged in garland run around the neck between the two small handles; two other short grooves run around the base of the handles. Brick-red in colour with light brown patches (secondary firing); intact; inv. no. I 5854; h: 8.8 cm (fig. 13, 45.4).

5: bronze pin with thick and profiled head (type *Kugelkopfnadel*), decorated with grooves on the base and tip of the head; slightly curved stem; greenish patina (chemically cleaned in the laboratory); 10.6 cm long; inv. no. I 5869 (fig. 13, 45.5).

6: ring made of bronze wire (approx. 2-3 mm thick), round cross-section, with sharp, slightly overlapping ends; diameters: 4.7 × 4.1 cm; inv. no. I 5870 (fig. 14, 10).

Objects found in the cemetery area:

The items found in the funerary area which possibly originate from the inventory of the destroyed tombs include the following:

Inwardly flared dish decorated with grooves arranged obliquely on the rim; dark brown in colour; missing base; no label or inv. no.; diameter: 12.6 cm (fig. 14, 3).

Inwardly flared dish, no decoration, intact; black with brownish patches on the outside; shiny dark brown on the inside; diameter: 12.6 cm; inv. no. I 5588 (fig.). Given the inv. no., it is possible this is in fact the missing vessel 2 belonging to T 25.

Miniature vessel/jar with one handle; blackish in colour with porous surface; bears the label: Hinova 1977, S 8A, □ 6. In our opinion, this does not belong to the same period as the cemetery; h: 8.7 cm (fig. 14, 1).

Cross-shaped clay item (a Neolithic idol belonging probably to Vinča-Turdaș culture) with a narrow perforation along the main axis. Bears the label: "Hinova" 1878; h: 7.6 cm; inv. no. I 5155 (fig. 14, 4).

Four clay pots; two "spindle whorls": one biconical, inv. no. I 5365 (fig. 14, 5), another conical, inv. no. I 5364 (fig. 14, 6); and two "discs"; inv. no. I 5367 and I 5379 (fig. 14, 7-8).

Whetstone; inv. no. I 5342 (fig. 14, 9).

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The typology of the ceramics. The inventory of the tombs in Hinova consists mainly of ceramic objects with the exception of a few metal objects (ornaments and small bronze knives) and other objects. In what follows we will perform a typological analysis of the ceramic objects taking into consideration their role in the funerary process and their shape and decoration.

Functionally speaking, we can speak of three types of recipients: urns containing calcined bones (mostly biconical vessels), vessels used as lids (mostly dishes) and adjacent pottery (mostly cups). With the exception of the vessel containing the treasure (labelled T 44), which was not used as an "urn", we considered all the other vessels containing remains of cremated bones as "urns" and classified them as tombs. The best preserved of the "urn" vessels were covered with a dish/lid placed in most cases with its base upwards. One or several cups were often found next to the urn and, in some cases, dishes (see the reconstruction of the position of the vessels in T 13, fig. 7, 13.1-4); fragments of a small jar-like vessel were found in only one case (T 4). It should be noted that no vessels were ever found inside the urns, all adjacent vessels being found on top of or next to the urn. In the case of most of the vessels used as urns with a well-preserved base, it was noted that the base featured a circular perforation in the middle in 14

different examples (T 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 11, 12, 14-16, 21, 22, 36, 45; in at least three other examples – T 18, 17, 29 – the base was not perforated); this represents an instance of the so-called “window of the soul”, a well-known practice in the field of funerary findings in general, something we believe also to be the case with this necropolis.

The pottery found in the cemetery in Hinova is relatively uniform in terms of how the vessels were made. In most cases we can speak of high firing, especially reduction firing, with the majority of vessels having a dark colour (black, dark brown and shades of brown); secondary, oxygen-reducing firing can be seen in a number of cases in the brick-red or dark patches on the surface of certain vessels. In a single case (T 27), on urn no. 1, we noted a difference in firing between the outer, black surface and the interior (red) surface (oxidation firing), a common technique for Gáva type pottery. We can say that almost all vessels found were originally covered with a smoothed and polished slip. Due to the quite precarious state of preservation, however, the slip was positively identified over the entire surface of the bowls in only a few cases.

As far as shape is concerned, we can distinguish between the following types of vessels: biconical vessels, biconical bowls with wide open mouths, dishes, cups and a jar-like vessel.

Biconical vessels are mostly average in size: 11 of these vessels are between 32 and 42.1 cm in height; 7 are between 23 and 27 cm tall; 2 urns are low in height, approx. 17 cm; also small in size was the vessel containing the treasure (T 44; h. 17.5 cm). With two exceptions (T 2 and 29), all vessels have more or less everted mouths, often almost trumpet-shaped. Most have four broad handles located below the belly (T 7, 12, 18, 21, 28) or are associated with protuberances placed above the widest part of the vessel (T 4, 11, 15, 19, 28, 36, 37, 43). The following types of the vessel were identified according to the level of roundness or profiling of the widest part:

- a. with rounded belly; two handles on the belly (T 4, 11, 15, 28, 36, 37, 43) or without handles (25, 27, 45).
- b. with the upper part (neck) following a slightly convex line (T 4, 10, 15, 17, 22, 28, 36, 41, 43, 45).
- c. with the upper part (neck) following a slightly concave line (T 1, 6, 7, 11-14, 18, 19, 25, 27, 37).
- d. clearly biconical, with a slightly profiled lip and two small handles on the belly (T 2, 29).
- e. short, with two small handles (T 16 [2 items], 45).
- f. miniature vessels (T 18, 23).

Most items are decorated exclusively with grooves. There are two kinds of grooves according to width: wide grooves (around 1 cm), running obliquely over the belly or horizontally around the neck of the vessel; and narrow grooves (approx. 2-3 mm), located on the neck in the form of bands arranged in a garland (T 1, 15, 21, 28, 36, 41, 43); the urn in T 7 features an S-shaped motif.

The dishes are mainly conical. We distinguished between the following types based on the shape of the rim. Most have rims that curve towards the inside (also referred to as *inwardly flared* dishes). There are also some dishes with everted (flared) rims, with slightly profiled bellies and bowls. We identified the following types according to shape:

- a. conical bowl (T 8).
- b. inwardly flared dish with rounded shoulder (T 2-4, 7, 9, 13, 18, 21, 27/4).
- c. inwardly flared dish with profiled shoulder (T 5, 6, 14, 16, 27/2, 35).
- d. inwardly flared dish with the lip in the shape of a turban (T 33).
- e. flared dish, with small handles (T 16 [2 items], 21).
- f. flared dish (bowl) with wide profiled belly (T 40, 45)

Most inward curving dishes are decorated with wide grooves arranged obliquely over the shoulder of the vessel; one item has a faceted shoulder (T 35). Three dishes have a star-shaped decoration on the inside (T 4 [the decoration is also visible on the outer surface], T 6, two items).

The two flared dishes with small handles are decorated either with short grooves arranged in a garland on the shoulder (T 16), or arranged in the shape of star on the inside (T 21). The bowls (T 40, 45) have their necks decorated with horizontal grooves.

The small cups with raised handle are relatively homogeneous in terms of shape. Grouped according to size, we can speak of smaller items in the shape of a ladle (T 4, 8, 11, 16, 21), taller items (T 17, 21), conical items with grooved handle (T 23) as well as one item whose outer surface is decorated with grooves arranged in the shape of a star (T 18). Two cups have a profiled shoulder and everted mouth

(T 17 and T 45; the latter being richly decorated with a star-shaped motif on the handle, neck and towards the base).

The only *jar-like vessel* found, which is small in size and decorated with two alveolar girths, also features a handle (T 4).

The *decoration* of the Hinova pottery consists almost exclusively of grooves, both narrow and wide, found on the belly, shoulder, neck or arranged in the shape of a star on the vessel's outer or inner surface. We note the following ornamental patterns in particular: garlands especially on the neck of the biconical vessels (T 1, 15, 21, 22, 28, 36, 41, 43) and bands in the shape of a 5-pointed star (T 6, 18, 21, 45), 6-pointed star (T 6) and eight or nine pointed-star (T 4). We note the presence in the same tomb (T 16) of a dish featuring a 6-pointed star motif and another with a 5-pointed star motif. While this might have a symbolic role, we think it more likely to be purely ornamental. Finally, uniquely, the neck of the urn in T 7 features a groove decoration in the form of an S-shaped motif.

Some of the more exceptional pieces found in the necropolis in Hinova include a flared dish with lobed mouth decorated with inlaid motifs similar to the Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare type pottery used as a lid for the urn in T 1. Similar in this respect is the fragment from the upper part of a figurine found inside the M 7 urn and belonging to the same type of Bronze Age pottery.

The non-ceramic inventory of the tombs in Hinova is relatively poor and consists of four small bronze knives (T 5, 26, 28, 37), of which only two are left (T 5 and 28); a bronze tutulus (T 8); two bronze pins (T 25, 45); a ring of bronze wire (T 45); a clay "spindle whorl" (T 15); a bead (T 23) and a tubular item of glassy material (T 25). Two clay "spindle whorls" were found on the surface of the necropolis, as well as various other objects (see above, fig. 14, 1-4), but we doubt whether these date from the same period as the tombs.

Due to the poor state of preservation of many of the vessels, especially the biconical vessels whose shape could not always be accurately established, a planimetric analysis of the cemetery, including the establishment of the horizontal stratigraphy, would not provide conclusive results. However, the mapping of various elements related to form and decoration might be of relevance. For example, the biconical vessels whose upper part (neck) follows a slightly convex line (fig. 22, 1) appear to be concentrated towards the south of the necropolis, while the items with a slightly concave form were found in the centre and towards the northern part of the site. Also, in the case of inward curving dishes (fig. 22, 3), those with clearly rounded shoulders are concentrated in the northern part, while those with profiled shoulders are concentrated in the southern part. In terms of other typological features, such as the presence of double protuberances around the belly of the vessels or the decoration, either in the form of a garland on the neck of the biconical vessels (fig. 22, 2) or in the shape of a star on dishes and cups, these are evenly distributed around the necropolis. The same applies to the distribution of the metal pieces. In this case, at best we can distinguish between the four tombs containing bronze knives and the tombs containing items of jewelry, the "richest" of which being T 45. The latter tomb is situated close to the vessel containing the treasure (T 44).

Although we are unable to provide a definite answer, we can however assume that the part of the urnfield explored represents its northern part⁹. If we take into consideration the plausible hypothesis put forward by M. Davidescu, according to which the cemetery also ran a considerable distance to the south, we can then imagine a possible evolution in terms of burials from south to north. However, this theory is contradicted by the socio-familial organisation or a possible partitioning of the burial site according to these criteria. Of relevance in this sense is the very tight grouping of the urns in the following cases: T 14-17; T 18-20; T 21-22; T 27-29; T 30, 31, 39.

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Chronology and cultural classification. Every community, viewed as a cultural system, has its own customs that are reflected in all aspects of its material culture. The remains of this culture, preserved

⁹ M. Gumă, in the cited paper, (above, n. 7: TD 16, 1995, p. 108 onwards), believes he can distinguish, based on the typology of the grave goods, two phases in the cemetery at Hinova: the first one represented by the graves T 1, 4, 8, 28 and 45, and considered contemporaneous with the horizon Susani-Bobda II, Ticvaniu Mare etc., the second one including the treasure (T 44) and T 25.

underground, should contribute to its reconstruction. In the case in point, the urnfield in Hinova can be considered to be an expression, as far as funerary practices are concerned, of this kind of system as well as the cultural transformations that took place within a given community the territory of which certainly comprised sites on both sides of the Danube (see below). Trying to find wholly satisfactory analogies with other findings in areas more or less in the proximity of a site believed to belong to a given community is futile and risks placing too much confidence in the comparative-typological method.¹⁰ Therefore, while analogies with other similar findings should be informed by these reservations, they can still suggest an affiliation to a certain ideology, reflected on a broader level as the result of the cultural transformations taking place at the end of the Bronze Age and beginning of the Early Iron Age in the neighbouring areas (Hinova in this case), as well as a large part of the Carpatho-Danubian space. We make this short observation in order to present the approach applied in this work in terms of interpreting the similarity with other sites, especially from a chronological and functional point of view.

Generally speaking, the pottery in Hinova comes in a fairly large variety of shapes among which the following combination can be considered *standard*: biconical vessel (urn), inward curving dish (lid) and cup, elements which form the majority type specific to this cemetery. Taking these shapes as our basic criterion, we will eliminate dishes and cups, which are common types found over a widespread area and therefore irrelevant, and concentrate instead on the type of biconical vessel decorated with grooves. We identified a similar type in Mala Vrbica-Konopiște, a site located on the right bank of the Danube, approx. 12 km as the crow flies from Hinova. At the edge of this site, under an approx. 30 cm thick layer of humus, an approx. 60 cm deep oval pit filled with gravel was found during the excavation of a cemetery of the *Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare* type. Ceramic fragments and a number of animal bones were found in the western section of the pit; in the northern part of the pit five vessels were found *in situ* arranged in a line: three biconical vessels of different sizes, all of which were largely similar to those found in Hinova, an inward curving dish and a conjoined vessel (similar to a condiment set); in the centre of the pit there was a brazier vessel (*pyraunos*) and fragments of two dishes, one of which was decorated with grooves in the shape of a 5-pointed star. All vessels with the exception of the brazier vessel are dark in colour with a shiny surface and all are decorated exclusively with grooves (fig. 23).¹¹ The importance of this finding, which is believed to be ritualistic in nature and which *does not contain* calcined human bones but nonetheless, given the context, is clearly linked to a funeral rite, also resides in its similarity to the tumuli in Vârtop, in Dolj county, where four vessels were found that are very similar to those found in Konopiște (two of these are also similar to the urns in Hinova); the presence of calcined bones, which were not proved to be human, is by no means certain.¹² All these finds have been attributed to the Vârtop ceramic group.

Also in the close vicinity, in the site Vajuga-“Pesak”, on the bank of the Danube, c. 8 km south of Mala Vrbica, several cremation burials were found, at least one of which containing, among others, biconical vessels of the same type as those in Hinova.¹³ Of these, special attention in the present context

¹⁰ Confident in this method, M. Gumă, in the cited work (above n. 7, p. 108 urn), believes he can distinguish, based on the typology of the ceramic and metal grave goods, eight distinct cultural groups distributed from Bănat to Teleorman, all having the Danube as an axis (Susani, Bobda II, Ticvaniul Mare-Karaburma III, Vučedol-Novi Begej, Moldova Nouă-Liborajdea, Hinova-Mala Vrbica, Vârtop-Ploșsor, Zimnicea-Novgrad). In the light of the present paper's approach, these would constitute the archaeological expressions of the funerary customs of at least the same number of communities. Recently Gumă's opinion was cited by O. Dörner, *Frühe Fibelformen und der Beginn der Basarabi-Kultur in der Umgebung des Eisernen Tores*, Germania 86, 2008, 2, p. 541-589, nevertheless from a different perspective.

¹¹ D. Popović, *Problem of Cult Features in the Late Bronze Age cemetery at Konopiște*, in *Die Kulturen der Bronzezeit in dem Gebiet des Eisernen Tores (Koll. Drobeta Turnu Severin 1997)*, Bucharest, 1998, p. 147-153.

¹² D. Berciu, *Arheologia preistorică a Olteniei*, p. 155, fig. 199; S. Lazăr, *Cultura Vârtop*, Craiova, 2005, p. 112.

¹³ Unpublished material in Belgrade Museum. From the concise literature available (among others, M. Vukmanović, *Novi nalazi fibula tipa “Peschiera” na Đerdapu*, Zbornik narodnog muzeja XI-1, 1983, p. 43 onwards, fig. 1 și 2 and, in particular, A. Premk, P. Popović, L. Bjelajac, *Vajuga-Pesak*, Đerdapske sveske 2, 1984, 118-121, fig. 85-88, 96, 98-102), it is not clear whether these graves were in the vicinity of the barrow burial ground from Basarabi period, also situated in this locality (P. Popović, M. Vukmanović, *Vajuga-Pesak. Early Iron Age Cemetery*, Belgrade, 1998). The vessels attributed to the grave goods of T1 were also illustrated by R. Vasić:

deserves what the authors of the excavations called „T 1”: 11 vessels (three biconical vessels with channelled decoration, similar to the examples from Hinova, another small biconical vessel, three bowls, three small cups with high-standing handles, one bronze fragment probably stemming from a bronze cup, and one bronze „en violon” fibula *mit Bügeleinsattelung*), laid together with animal bones. The authors stress that *no human bones were found*. The similitude with the aforementioned find is obvious. The other four graves from Vajuga-„Pesak” contain pottery of Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare (T. 3 and 4) and Bistreț (T. 2 and 5) types, as well as (undiagnosed) cremated human bones. This trial excavation yielded the presence of a larger cemetery, similar in type with those from Balta Verde and the vicinity of Bistreț, to which we shall come back again later. All these sites, situated on a rather small area (the meandre of the Danube near Turnu Severin, Hinova, Kladovo), in fact reflect the image of a funerary ideology of one and the same community, and consequently should be considered together.

On the other hand, this type of biconical vessel is similar to a series of finds in Banat, including the vessel containing the deposit of bronzes in Cornuțel, Caraș-Severin county (fig. 24),¹⁴ the bronze items in this small deposit consist exclusively of jewelry (bracelets, tutuli, phalera) and may date chronologically to the same period as the cemetery in Hinova.¹⁵ The same type of vessel used as a funerary urn can be found in the standard tomb, which is similar to that in Hinova, of the cemetery in Ticvaniul Mare, in Caraș Severin county, near the course of the Danube. In the material published to date we did not identify the stellar and garland decoration¹⁶ but we nonetheless still consider this find to be generally very similar to that in Hinova. The vessels discovered accidentally in Moldova Nouă – “The Banatite Quarry” – in Caraș Severin county, may also come from cremation tombs similar to those found in Hinova.¹⁷

The ceramic material in Hinova also shows a similarity with the ceramic objects found in the “Grămurada lui Ticu” tumulus in Susani, in Timiș county.¹⁸ This find was believed by the authors of the excavation report to date from the end of the evolution of a group of ceramic forms known in the specialist literature as the Cruceni-Belegiș type, the best Romanian examples of which being the urnfields in Cruceni and Bobda.¹⁹ In addition we should mention the seven tombs (urns with grooved pottery) in the Cruceni-Belegiș type cemetery in Belgrade-Karaburma,²⁰ which are similar to the urnfield in Timișoara-Fratelia.²¹

The aforementioned objects were found in an area stretching along the Danube to the west of Hinova and Vârtop. In the opposite direction, downstream from Hinova, we should first mention the urnfields in Balta Verde, in Mehedinți county, which is known as the “urnfield of the Early Iron Age”.²² The similarities, albeit few in number, given that the material is in an advanced state of deterioration

Gütertausch und Fernbeziehungen im früheisenzeitlichen Serbien, in (ed. B. Hänsel), *Handel Tausch und Verkehr im Bronze- und früheisenzeitlichen Südosteuropa*, PAS 11, 1995, p. 357, fig. 7 and reproduced by O. Dörner, *op. cit.*, p. 544, fig. 1.

¹⁴ I. Stratan, *O nouă descoperire hallstattiană din Banat*, SCIV 15, 4, 1964, p. 523-528.

¹⁵ M. Petrescu-Dîmbovița, *Depozitele de bronzuri din România*, Bucharest, 1977, p. 55, includes it in what he calls the Uriu-Domănești “horizon”.

¹⁶ M. Gumă, *Civilizația primei epoci a fierului în sud-vestul României*, Bucharest, 1993, p. 173 onwards, pl. 24-25. The author believes this type of metal item (of which there are in fact relatively few: only pins, small knives and a tutulus) also existed in the Cincu-Suseni “horizon”; we consider them a common type from the Urnfield period, without further details.

¹⁷ M. Gumă, *O nouă descoperire hallstattiană timpurie la Moldova Nouă*, AMN 16, 1979, p. 481-493, pl. 2; idem, *Civilizația...*, p. 176, pl. 17.

¹⁸ I. Stratan, A. Vulpe, *Der Hügel von Susani*, PZ 52, 1977, 1, p. 28-60, pl. 6/94 (biconical vessel), pl. 12-14 (stellar decoration) etc.

¹⁹ We only know about this latter cemetery, which has remained practically unknown, thanks to the sketches made by A. Vulpe in the museum in Timișoara and those illustrated by N. Boroffka, *Probleme der jungbronzezeitlichen Keramik in Ostungarn und Westrumänien*, in (eds. H. Ciugudean, N. Boroffka), *The Early Hallstatt Period (1200-700) in South-Eastern Europe. Proceedings of the International Symposium from Alba Iulia, June, 1993*, Alba Iulia, 1994, p. 10, fig. 1.

²⁰ J. Todorović, *Praistorijska Karaburma II - nekropola bronzanog doba*, Belgrade, 1977, the tombs 2, 3, 49, 108, 176, 185, 226; however, these vessels lack the garland decoration.

²¹ Mostly unknown, cited by M. Gumă, *Civilizația...*, pl. 16/3.

²² D. Berciu, E. Comșa, *Săpăturile de la Balta Verde și Gogoșu (1949-1950)*, Materiale 2, 1956, p. 307-320.

(compare urns T 12 and 19 with the vessel in T 1 in Hinova; also, the dish in T 7 in Balta Verde is similar to that in T 16 in Hinova), are nevertheless significant. It is important to note that this cemeteries overlaps with the area of a Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare type urnfields, which, according to Berciu, “used to cover the entire Bronze Age urnfield and also stretched beyond it”.²³ This assumption might also help explain the presence in T 16 (Balta Verde) of a fragment of a lobe of a Gârla Mare type dish decorated with a motif similar to that found on the dish/lid of the T 1 urn in Hinova.²⁴ We would also like to mention the cremation tomb in Ghidici-Balta Țarova that was discovered a short distance away from a “dwelling” containing similar material to that found in the tomb. The vessels are decorated exclusively with grooves. The presence of bands arranged in the shape of a star and the strongly biconical shape of certain biconical vessels provide the only similarities with the pottery in Hinova. We should note that in Ghidici, in the same area but some distance away, an urnfield is mentioned where 37 Gârla Mare type urns were found as well as a tomb described as being of Bistreț-Ișalnița type.²⁵ An in many ways similar situation was noted in respect of the group of urnfields, mostly of the Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare type, found in the Bistreț area, in Dolj county, where a group of tombs stands out containing vessels decorated mainly with grooves believed to be of the Bistreț-Ișalnița type.²⁶ Following field research conducted in this area, several complexes were found consisting of tombs, hearths and a rich ceramic material together with balls of fired clay, stones, ash, etc., remains which may point to the existence of a sprawling settlement located on the ridges on the banks of the former Bistreț lake, today the southern bank of the lake of the same name. We note the presence of many fragments of vessel decorated with grooves similar in shape to those found in Hinova, including the star motif found on an inwardly flared dish.²⁷ Similar finds containing ceramic objects decorated with grooves were reported in southern Oltenia and Muntenia.²⁸ We mention just a few, such as the (isolated?) cremation tomb in Zimnicea (T 13), a biconical vessel covered with a dish/lid located in a small inhumation cemetery – 12 tombs – whose inventory consists of similar ceramic objects decorated with grooves (only small cups). This site also produced a large fragment of a biconical vessel decorated with garlands on the neck similar to the urns in Hinova.²⁹

All this helps us define a relatively large surface area consisting mainly of funerary finds stretching between the Danube in the Belgrade area and slightly to the east of the mouth of the Olt river, an area with formal similarities with the pottery in Hinova. Chronologically, the value of these analogies is only of general importance, with fairly large differences in time between findings arising from case to case. We should, however, note the presence of urns similar to those found in Hinova in urnfields of the Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare type. This is the case in Mala Vrbica-Konopište,³⁰ as well as in nearby Vajuga-Pesak (Kladovo)³¹ and again in Balta Verde, Ghidici and the cemeteries in the Bistreț-Cârna area mentioned earlier, and possibly also the large urnfield on the right bank of the Danube, in Orsoja,³² situated approximately opposite from Ghidici. We witness the same phenomenon within the Cruceni-Belegiș funerary group (for example, in Beograd-Karaburma, Bobda and Timișoara-Fratelia). This succession of

²³ Idem, p. 308.

²⁴ Idem, p. 316, fig. 47/2; it is noted that the fragment was found “under the urn”.

²⁵ M. Nica, *Câteva date despre necropola și locuințele din așezările hallstattiene timpurii de la Ghidici punctul “Balta Țarova” (Județul Dolj)*, Cercetări arheologice în aria nord-tracică 1, 1995, p. 236-246.

²⁶ I. Chicideanu. *Die frühthrakische Kultur. Zur Bronzezeit in Südwestrumänien*, Dacia NS 30, 1986, p. 7-47, fig. 33-35.

²⁷ Idem, *Ein neuer Fund vom Beginn der Hallstattzeit aus der kleinen Walachei*, Dacia NS 43-45, 1999-2001, p. 197-229, especially fig. 6/1, 7/2, 8/3.

²⁸ Idem, p. 214 onwards; S. Lazăr, *Cultura Vârtoap*, Craiova, 2005, p. 71 onwards.

²⁹ A. D. Alexandrescu, *Sépultures du premier Âge du fer à Zimnicea (départ. de Teleorman)*, Dacia NS 22, 1978, p. 115-124, fig. 9 and 10.

³⁰ D. Popović, *op. cit.*, above.

³¹ See above n. 13. Cited also by M. Șandor-Chicideanu, *Cultura Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare. Contribuții la cunoașterea epocii bronzului la Dunărea Mijlocie și Inferioară*, Cluj, 2003, p. 256 onwards.

³² There is only very little and confusing information about this finding, probably the largest Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare type urnfield: T. Filipov, *Arheologija* Sofia 16/2, 1974; G. Georgiev, *Die Erforschung der Bronzezeit in Nordwestbulgarien*, in (ed. B. Hänsel) *Südosteuropa zwischen 1600 und 1000 v. Chr.*, PAS 1, 1982, p. 187-201; M. Șandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

ceramic types appears to be confirmed by the stratigraphic succession seen in the settlement in Usije-Grad, Golubac, on the right bank of the Danube and opposite from Moldova Nouă, where the layer containing grooved pottery overlaps with the layer of Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare type pottery.³³ We might therefore ask whether the cemetery in Hinova also developed near a Gârla Mare type urnfield destroyed by levelling works conducted over the course of time in the area closer to the Danube. Ceramic fragments of the Gârla Mare type were found in the area, as mentioned earlier.³⁴

The phenomenon described above is not restricted to the evolution of pottery types – it also reflects how certain transformations in the field of funerary practices affect a much wider space. A first observation in this respect relates to the number of tombs containing grooved pottery compared to those containing Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare type pottery. We currently know of over 1,500 tombs of this latter type,³⁵ while what used to be considered the Bistreț (Bistreț-Ișalnița)³⁶ type ceramic is present in a much lower number of tombs within the respective cemeteries. This situation was also pointed out in the planimetric study of the urnfield in Beograd-Karaburma, where the so-called Cruceni II type tombs are grouped together in the north-eastern part of the cemetery,³⁷ while the Hinova type tombs, of which there are only seven, are found at edge of several groups of tombs. This is also visible from other examples and we can therefore say that the decrease in the number of urn-burials is a clearly attested phenomenon in the Danube region. According to Alexandru Vulpe, this phenomenon reflects the transformation in funerary customs taking place across the Carpatho-Danubian space, as can be seen from the disappearance of necropolises and archaeologically traceable burials.³⁸ As an example and case study, he cites the case of the tumular cemetery in Lăpuș, where the number of tombs containing cremated human bones, as seen in the first phase of the cemetery, decreases constantly until they disappear altogether, as seen from the second phase deposits.³⁹ This phenomenon is common over a large area of Romanian territory up to the 7th century BC and then again in the Geto-Dacian period (2nd c. BC to 1st c. AD).⁴⁰

In conclusion, in terms of relative chronology, we believe that the cemetery in Hinova to be situated at the end of a succession of urnfields, whose beginnings can be traced back to the period of the finds with imprinted and encrusted pottery of the type found in Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare, Cruceni-Belegiș and Szeremle. Repeated attempts have been made to provide more detailed datings for the aforementioned funerary groups. The main criterion in this procedure is the typology of pottery shapes and decoration, conceived in an evolutionary manner, which on its own does not suffice to obtain wholly convincing results. Therefore, the development of the Cruceni-Belegiș group was based on the evolution of decoration from phase I (encrustation decoration) to phase II (groove decoration) to the predominance of the latter type of decoration featuring the characteristic motifs of this technique (e.g. Susani, Bobda, the seven tombs in Belgrade-Karaburma mentioned earlier).⁴¹ In the Oltenian Danube region, the Gârla Mare type pottery was followed by what is known as the Bistreț-Ișalnița type. The latter, which was defined more than 30 years ago,⁴² can no longer be regarded as representative for a wider area, but rather only for a fairly limited series of tombs within Gârla Mare type urnfields, as shown above. Following this

³³ M. Kosorić, J. Todorović, "Grad" naselje jutobrdske kulturne grupe, *Starinar* NS 13-14, 1962-1963, p. 267-274.

³⁴ See note 5, above.

³⁵ Information taken from I. Chicideanu, *Practici funerare la Dunărea Mijlocie și Inferioară în epoca bronzului în România*, unpublished Diss., Univ. Bucharest, 2005.

³⁶ I consider the description "of Bistreț type" proposed by S. Lazăr, *Sfârșitul epocii și începutul epocii fierului în sud-vestul României*, unpublished Diss., Univ. Bucharest, 2009, to be more suitable, for it dissociates the discovery in Ișalnița, which is more similar to the Verbicioara type pottery, from the grooved pottery in Bistreț.

³⁷ I. Chicideanu, *op. cit.* (above, *Die Frühthrakische...*), p. 30 onwards.

³⁸ A. Vulpe, *Zu den Grabsitten der älteren Hallstattzeit in Rumänien*, in (eds. F. Verse, B. Knoche et alii) *Durch die Zeiten...Festschrift für Albrecht Jockenhövel zum 65. Geburtstag*, Rahden/Westf., 2008, p. 269-273.

³⁹ *Ibidem.*

⁴⁰ Cf. also A. Vulpe, in (eds. M. Petrescu-Dîmbovița, A. Vulpe) *Istoria Românilor* I, Bucharest, 2001, p. 377 and 442 onwards.

⁴¹ The first date proposed by K. Horedt, *StComSibiu* 13, 1967, p. 137 onwards (idem, *ActaArchCarpathica* 9, 1967, 1 onwards), reinforced by the findings in Susani of A. Vulpe (*I. Stratan, A. Vulpe, PZ* 52, 1, 1977, p. 53).

⁴² I. Chicideanu, see note 26 above.

line of thought, the pottery in Hinova is characteristic, just like the finds of Cruceni-Belegiș type, of the end of the process of evolution of Gârla Mare pottery types, owing to the almost exclusive adoption of groove decoration. This type of decoration becomes predominant over a wider area, both in the Middle Danube area and the Carpatho-Danubian area, and is often described as representing the beginning of the Iron Age in these parts. This view, which is well known in the specialist literature, is meant here to highlight the difficulty of finding a satisfactory criterion by which to classify a find like that in Hinova merely by comparing it with other ceramic finds. In fact, the same difficulties as in the case of the grooved pottery of Hinova type appear in the case of the periodisation of the bronzes, despite the latter being often considered *feiner*.⁴³ We are unable to draw a clear distinction between the hoards attributed to the Late Bronze Age (Uriu-Domănești type) from those dating from the Hallstatt A period (Cincu-Suseni type). For example, the types of small knives in T 5 and T 28 at Hinova, despite different features, can be found in both types of deposits. Similarly, the same type of tutulus (T 8) can be found in Cornuțel and the deposit in Șpălnaca, something also true of the bracelets in the same hoards, etc. Also, in respect of the decorated pin in T 45 in Hinova, which is of the *Kugelkopfnadel* type, we can cite a number of typologically very similar examples (Topolnica, Gradac⁴⁴) that are relatively numerous in the neighbouring areas and date from what is known as the *Urnfield Period*, the early period (Br D/Ha A).⁴⁵ The crook-headed pin (*Hirtentabnadel*) does not contradict this chronological attribution either.⁴⁶

The hoard in Cornuțel plays an important role in terms of the typology and chronology of the bronzes. The vessel in which the bronzes had been deposited is typologically very similar to the type of urn found in Hinova (particularly the urns in T 1 and T 28). The find was attributed to the Uriu-Domănești series and should therefore be largely dated to the 13th century BC, a dating which appears to be supported by the component pieces, with the exception of the aforementioned tutulus. Here we are referring mainly to the double spiral bracelets, a well-known type in Late Bronze Age Europe as well as in the Ha A period.⁴⁷ The *Keulenkopfnadel* type pin from the same hoard, which in fact is also found in the aforementioned Ticvaniul Mare cemetery, is widespread in the so-called early *Urnfield* period, particularly the Ha A period, including in the neighbouring areas.⁴⁸ We are therefore only able to conclude that the cemetery in Hinova, both in terms of the relative chronological relationship to other items of a similar nature found in neighbouring areas and in relation to the dating of the bronze hoards, came at the end of a series of cultural transformations reflected in particular through the funerary practices in the area studied here, an area broadly corresponding to the Ha A period without further detail. While the difficulty of establishing an absolute chronology for this period is well known, we can assume that the late 13th and the first half of the 12th century BC is the most plausible date for this find. Indeed, the dating of the golden wide bracelet found in the treasure (fig. 25, 3), does not contradict this dating, either.⁴⁹

⁴³ More recently, C. Kacsó, *Descoperirile din epoca bronzului de la Sarasău*, Marmația 9/1, 2009, p. 66, proposes that the name Uriu-Domănești be replaced by *Uriu-Ópály*. In fact, this process of constantly trying to improve the typological name is pointless in light of the increasing tendency to rely less on the accuracy of such definitions and chronological classifications of bronze hoards types, especially given the differences of opinion over the phenomenon of the “deposition” of bronzes. However, Kacsó himself, in an earlier publication (*Analele Banatului-Istorie* 4, 1996, p. 237 onwards) seemed to agree to this later idea.

⁴⁴ R. Vasić, *Die Nadeln in Zentralbalkan*, PBF XIII, 11, Stuttgart, 2003, p. 55 onwards and the final table.

⁴⁵ Among others, J. Říhový, *Die Nadel in Westungarn*, PBF XIII, 10, Munich, 1983, p. 40 onwards, who puts them in the categories of *Spindelkopfnadeln* or *Zwiebelkopfnadeln*, which are also present in the later deposit (Ha B, Rohod-Szentes type) in Románd (*ibidem*, p. 23, pl. 31-34A).

⁴⁶ Similar pieces are known from Serbia: from Belgrade-“Karaburma” (strayfind), and from a grave with channelled pottery from Idjoš-Budžak, near Kikinda: R. Vasić, *op. cit.*, p. 28, pl. 10/139, 140; cf. și M. Novotná, *Die Nadeln in der Slowakei*, PBF XIII 6, 1980, p. 96, pl. 24/556.

⁴⁷ The type defined by I. Richter, *Der Arm- und Beinschmuck der Bronze- und Urnenfelderzeit in Hessen und Rheinhessen*, PBF X, 1, Munich, 1970, p. 55 onwards, was recently dated to the III/IV period (Ha A-B1) by W. Blajer, *Die Arm- und Beinbergen in Polen*, PBF X, 2, München, 1984, p. 17 onwards, 37 onwards and the final table. One such example in Romania originates from a deposit dated Ha A found in Ghergheș, Hunedoara county (I. Andrițoiu, *Depozitul de bronzuri de la Ghergheș*, *Apulum* 9, 1971, p. 83-91, fig. 1/5; M. Petrescu-Dîmbovița, *Die Arm- und Beinschmuck in Rumänien*, PBF X 4, 1998, no. 195).

⁴⁸ See among others R. Vasić, *op. cit.*, above, p. 85.

⁴⁹ On the other hand, Gumă (in the study mentioned above, n. 7) placed the cemetery at Hinova in what he calls the „Hinova-Mala Vrbica group”, which he *grosso modo* dates in the interval Ha A – Ha B1 (from about the

To finish we should also briefly mention the various theories proposed over the years to explain the evolution and origin of these “urnfields” and, especially, the reasons for their disappearance at the beginning of the Iron Age. While in respect of their evolution and origin the majority of researchers – with very few exceptions, some of which nonetheless remarkable⁵⁰ – tend to see the migration of certain communities as having taken place downstream from the Middle Danube basin,⁵¹ although the arguments relating to the absolute chronology in the case of each individual group are relatively uncertain, the apparent “disappearance” of these finds can be a matter of serious critical discussion. Until three or four decades ago, a theory was still in circulation about the role allegedly played by this group of urnfields at the end of the Mycenaean palatial civilisation and during the cultural-historical restructurings that ensued after the demise of this civilisation.⁵² There is no satisfactory answer to the question as to the local consequences of this alleged migration of said communities to the south. What appears to be a gap in the findings in the Lower Danube area seems to support the migrationist theories. At the same time, the number of sites found in the area studied increased considerably and, although the state of excavations and the publication of results is still completely unsatisfactory, it nevertheless enables us to understand the cultural transformations that took place and, moreover, to do so from a more nuanced perspective.⁵³

Firstly, we should emphasise the insufficiency of arguments to date supporting the migrationist theory. From the data at our disposal, including the information about the necropolis in Hinova, we are more inclined to view this phenomenon in terms of transformations in the structure of the communities in the area. Secondly, we know little about the way in which these communities lived and, therefore, their economic system; information about the type and system of organisation of the dwellings at sites other than cemeteries is totally insufficient, almost totally lacking in practice.⁵⁴ As mentioned earlier, the entire cultural group is known to us only through the funerary finds which, though they enable us to gain an understanding of the ideology of these communities, and even to try and understand it through studying their decorative motifs, they are of no help when it comes to the system that generated it. The fact that, many centuries after the “disappearance” of this source of information (the urnfields), we find nothing over extensive areas other than sites whose “finest” pottery features only groove decoration (not to mention its low frequency and mainly fragmented state)⁵⁵ and that we know little about the nature of these sites due to a lack of investigation is more suggestive of a type of organisation based on centres, possibly fortified (“citadels”), around which small settlements or even family households would develop, all of which were interconnected. This type of organisation is common in the *Urnfield* period over a large part of Europe,⁵⁶ but one which has been insufficiently investigated in this country. However, we do not

second half of the 12th c. to the first half of the 10th c. BC), this time based mainly on the chronology of the metal pieces. O. Dörner (*op. cit.*, supra, n. 10) also considers the „en violon” fibula (variant *Schlangenfibel* V1b1) key form for the periodization of the ceramic groups from the Iron Gates area, as well as of those which took part in the cultural historical evolution up to the emergence of the Basarabi „culture”.

⁵⁰ For ex. B. Hänsel, *Beiträge zur Chronologie der Bronzezeit im Karpatenbecken*, Bonn, 1968, p. 159 onwards.

⁵¹ A point of view presented in detail more recently by M. Șandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 314 onwards.

⁵² Described in brief shortly after WWII by V. Milojević, *Die dorische Wanderung im Lichte der vorgeschichtlichen Funde*, ArchAnzeiger, 1948-1949, p. 13 onwards, and adopted by, among others, A. Mozsolics, *Archäologische Beiträge zur Geschichte der grossen Wanderung*, ActaArchHung 8, 1957, p. 119-156; cf. also W. Kimmig, *Seevölkerbewegungen und Urnenfelderkultur. Ein archäologisch-historiker Versuch*, in (ed. R. Uslar, K. Narr) *Studien aus Alteuropa I*, Köln, 1964, p. 220-283.

⁵³ It is worth noting the arguments put forward by Vladimir Dumitrescu (*Necropola de incinerare din epoca bronzului de la Cîrna*, Bucharest, 1961, p. 304), which, although expressed in the context of the migrationist theories in circulation at the time, come close to the view proposed in this article.

⁵⁴ In her work, Șandor-Chicideanu (*op. cit.*, p. 40 onwards) cites a series of partially investigated sites – based mainly on the use of probes – where it is not always clear what function they had within the “dwelling” system as such and the role played by the pottery in this context.

⁵⁵ A concept known in Oltenia as the “Vârtope culture” (Lazăr, *op. cit.* See note 12 above).

⁵⁶ See in general, among others, K. Kristensen, *Europe before History*, Cambridge, 2000; T. Earle, *Bronze Age Economics. The Beginnings of Political Economics*, Oxford, 2002.

intend to dwell on this issue here. It has been dealt with more extensively in an as yet unpublished article by Alexandru Vulpe.⁵⁷

In conclusion, the data obtained from the study of the cemetery in Hinova – in the way they were approached and dealt with in this article – reinforce the argument that the “disappearance” of the urnfields was not the result of the migration of populations, but rather the expression of an ideological phenomenon that occurred around the same time as groove decoration on pottery was adopted in many parts of the Carpatho-Danubian area.⁵⁸ The urnfield in Hinova appears at the end of a process of cultural transformation that began in the Bronze Age and affected not only the Danube basin in the area studied, but also a large part of south-eastern Europe.

Annex: *The treasure*

Referred to in this paper as T 44 (see above), the vessel containing the treasure (1) was discovered on 30th July 1980 in the south-western tower area, at the base of the layer of Roman culture (after it was exhausted), in the yellow alluvial deposit and at the same depth as the rest of the tombs in the cemetery. The vessel was only 30 cm away from the base of the northern wall in the south-western part of the Roman fortification. If the Roman builders had erected the tower around 30 cm more to the south, the vessel and its contents would certainly have been lost to us today.

Given that a full list of the contents of the treasure has already been published in Romanian and French,⁵⁹ we will provide here only a brief description of the component parts while adding a number of details that resulted from the re-examination of these items at the National History Museum during the summer of 2008. We didn't include here the wire and bar gold fragments that were well illustrated in the aforementioned publication. The new sketches were made by Epure Argeș.

1 *Biconical vessel* with slightly everted rim, decorated with five (3-4 cm wide) grooves running horizontally around the neck of the vessel and a larger number of (9 mm) wide grooves arranged obliquely and lengthwise over the widest part of the bulge. Ash-brown in colour with an orange patch. Slightly polished on the outside, no gloss on the inside. Almost intact (approx. 5% restored); h: 17.5 cm; mouth diameter: 11.8 cm; inv. no. I 5400 (fig. 3, 44).

2 *Diadem*. Made of a very thin gold sheet. The ends of the diadem are rounded and pierced, presumably so as to be able to attach it to a leather or textile mount. The entire surface of the diadem is divided into different sections decorated with an identical motif created using the repoussé technique, while the decorative pattern consisting of dotted circles surrounded by a continuous garland is repeated 14 times. Length: 59 cm; thickness: approx. 0.1 cm; width: 2.5 cm in the middle and 1.5 cm at the ends; weight 20.652 g (fig. 25, 1).

3 *Wide, open bracelet* made of a solid sheet of gold fashioned by hammering; traces of hammer blows are visible on the inside. The outer part is crossed by six deep grooves that stop 1 cm from the opening, where there are five solid studs on both sides of the opening. The central studs, made separately, were inserted and attached with rivets. Diameter: 8.4 cm; width of the gold sheet: 5.2 cm; weight: 580.3 g (fig. 25, 2).

⁵⁷ A. Vulpe, *Transformări culturale la începutul epocii fierului în spațiul carpato-dunărean*, 2010 (unpublished).

⁵⁸ The role played by the Cruceni-Beleghiș-Susani group in the development and spreading downstream the course of the Danube of the grooved pottery could be largely justified (see Motzoi-Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, note 23 above, p. 217 onwards), especially if we make a clear distinction between the dispersal of a pottery style and the migration of certain populations.

⁵⁹ M. Davidescu, *Un tezaur de podoabe tracice descoperit la Hinova - Mehedinți*, TD 2, 1981, p. 7-22; idem, Arhivele Olteniei SN 1, 1981, p. 41-44; idem, *Un trésor d'objets de parure thraces découvert dans le Castellum Romain de basse époque de Hinova – Mehedinți*, Drobeta 5, 1982, p. 5-48.

- 4 *Spiral bracelet* made of a thin and narrower sheet of gold decorated with two grooves towards the ends and consisting of four spirals. Diameter: 7.7 cm; width: 1.5 cm; weight: 262.55 g (fig. 25, 3).
- 5 *Spiral bracelet* consisting of six bands, made of a solid gold bar with a hexagonal cross-section that thins out towards the ends. Thickness: 0.6 cm; diameter: 7.6 cm; weight: 497.13 g (fig. 26, 10).
- 6 *Open solid bar bracelets*. 6/a: octagonal cross-section that thins out towards the ends. Diameter: 9.2 cm; thickness: 0.9 cm; weight: 202.7 g (fig. 27, 17).
- 6/b: with rhombic cross-section that thins out towards the ends. Diameter: 8.2 cm; thickness: 0.8 cm; weight: 92.10 g (fig. 26, 15).
- 6/c: made of a thinner bar with round cross-section. Diameter: 6.8 cm; thickness: 0.4 cm; weight: 39.47 g (fig. 26, 16).
- 7 *Open bracelet*. Made of a bar that grows thicker at the ends and is crossed by a rib in the middle. Diameter: 7.1 cm; width: 1.7 cm; thickness: 0.1 cm; weight: 28.35 g (fig. 25, 5).
- 8 *Closed bracelet* made of gold sheet decorated by incisions arranged obliquely over the faces close to the end and crossed in the middle section by three ribs. Diameter: 6.5 cm; width: 1.5 cm; thickness: 0.2 cm; weight: 52 g (fig. 25, 4).
- 9 *Spiral bracelets* made of a double wire twisted through a loop at the ends. (fig. 26, 11-14; 27, 19). 9/a: Diameter: 8.1 cm; wire thickness: 0.2 cm; weight: 95.963 g. 9/b: Diameter: 8 cm; thickness: 0.2 cm; weight: 87.90 g. 9/c: Diameter: 7.7 cm; thickness: 0.15 cm; weight: 19.22 g. 9/d: decorated with small grooves over a 5 cm section. Diameter: 6.6 cm; thickness: 0.12 cm; weight: 19.12 g. 9/e: Diameter: 6.7 cm; thickness: 0.15 cm; weight: 13.09 g. 9/f: Diameter: 5.9 cm; thickness: 0.15 cm; weight: 28.33 g.
- 10 *Pendants*; 45 earring-shaped items, probably part of a necklace. Diameter: 2.5-4 cm (fig. 25, 7-9). Most pieces are made from a strip of wire, 0.6 cm thick and 1 cm long; the upper part is thicker, in the shape of a bead, perforated lengthwise and decorated with several grooves which separate them from the annular part. On the upper part, the pieces show traces of blows, which means they were made by hammering. This is also visible from the fact that both the decoration and the two arms of the closing ring are not perfectly made: they are not equal and the thickness of the strip of wire is not equal for all pieces.
- 11 *Bell-type necklace pieces (tutuli)*; 47 pieces with similar shapes and different sizes. Most are decorated at the bottom of the bell with two incised circles, while the upper part, which is solid and decorated, is perforated lengthwise allowing the pieces to be linked one after the other in the shape of a necklace. Diameter: 1.5-2.7 cm; length: 2.3-5.3 cm; total weight: 235.05 g (fig. 28, 26-36).
- 12 *Spiral coils (saltaleons)*; approx. 0.2 cm wide gold sheet, 16 long items measuring between approx. 8 and 16.5 cm; total weight: 269.67 g (fig. 27, 21).
- 13 *Rhombic beads*; 248 items, all perforated and of different sizes and weights: from a few millimetres to 4.6 cm; total weight: 1108.65 g (fig. 28, 40-42).
- 14 *Spindle whorl-shaped beads* separated into two types according to size: 20 items measuring between 0.5 and 2.4 cm in height, including a solid, biconical piece decorated with grooves at the part of greatest width and measuring 2.4 cm in height and 2.5 cm in diameter; the second type consists of 576 pieces measuring approx. 0.3 cm in height; total weight: 146.6 g (fig. 28, 43-46).
- 15 *Very small beads in the shape of the tip of a cone*, each of which has two fixing holes with a height of approx. 0.3 cm; weight: approx. 0.7 g; total weight: 485.70 g (fig. 28, 37-38).
- 16 *Cylindrical armlets*. Four pieces, two of which, similar and covered with six grooves, are thicker in the middle and at the ends and decorated with oblique grooves; the other two, of different sizes, are also covered by grooves: three and two, respectively. Sizes: diameter: 1.4 cm; length: 3 cm; weight: 12.2 g (fig. 27, 25); length: 2.7 cm; weight: 12.05 g (fig. 27, 22); diameter: 0.6 cm; length: 1.8 cm; weight: 14.35 g (fig. 27, 25); diameter: 0.6 cm; length: 1.5 cm; weight: 10.5 g (fig. 27, 24).
- 17 *Rings made of double wire spirals*. Four such pieces were found, of which three are connected to each other and one is separate; three are made of three double wires, while the fourth piece is made of four double wires, the ends being decorated with fine grooves. Sizes: diameter: 2-3 cm; total weight: 43.15 g (fig. 27, 18,20).

18 *Fragments of gold wire* in the shape of bundles or coiled bracelets. The thickness of the wire differs from one piece to the next, from 0.1 to 0.7 cm; total weight: 179.86 g (fig.). Some of the pieces were used as thread in the stringing of the necklaces.

19 *Fragments of various gold bars* originating from solid bracelets with various cross-sections; total weight: 64.32 g.

20 *Bronze bracelet with overlapping ends*, with round cross-section, thinned out towards the ends. Diameter: 5 cm (fig. 25, 6).

21 *Wire and Bar gold fragments* (illustrated in the above cited publication).

*

The first question that arises in connection with the treasure is its relationship with the cemetery. Both the stratigraphic situation and the location of vessel T 44, despite the latter being situated on the south-western border of the graveyard, lead us to believe that the treasure dates to the same period as the cemetery's urns. The fact that this vessel is different in form from the majority of other urns does not allow us to say it dates from a different period than the urnfield, as it was not meant to contain human remains but rather objects of great value. This situation is largely similar to the Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare-type urnfield in Liubcova-“Tiglarie”, where an atypical vessel containing a deposit of bronzes mostly in fragments – the deposit has been attributed to the (Ha A) Cincu-Suseni-type – was found among the urns on the western border of the cemetery.⁶⁰ Naturally, the chronological difference vis-a-vis the situation in Hinova is striking, but the relationship between the deposit and the cemetery can also, from the perspective of a practice that might be generally specific to these urnfields, be interpreted diachronically.

In terms of relative chronology, the treasure in Hinova, which contains gold objects for which it is hard to find an analogy with bronze finds, is difficult to date in terms of the types belonging to the latter case. The only item that can be more justifiably be taken into consideration in this respect is the wide bracelet (armlet), item no. 3 above (fig. 25, 3), which is very similar to the two items in the hoard of bronzes at Cehăluț I.⁶¹ This hoard was considered part of the Uriu-Domănești series⁶² by M. Petrescu-Dîmbovița, as was the aforementioned hoard at Cornuțel. On the other hand, four similar bronze items were discovered, albeit in uncertain circumstances, at Balina Glavica, near Split (Dalmatia).⁶³ Finally, two gold items very similar to that found in Hinova were also found in an unknown place in Romania.⁶⁴ The rest of the items in the treasure, some of which are similar in form to bronze items (especially pendants no. 10 and 11 above) and the simple and spiral bracelets, do not contribute much to the chronological dating, for they are fairly common types that are found throughout the entire Urnfield period. As far as the diadem – a unique piece – is concerned, its decoration has been compared to that on the bottom of the gold cups in the Bihor/Bihár treasure dated to 12th-11th centuries BC.⁶⁵

Therefore, if the dating of the treasure is broadly in keeping with the chronology of the cemetery, its significance in relation to it depends on the interpretation applied to the respective hoard in the funerary context studied here as well as the practice of depositing bronzes and other items in general.

⁶⁰ C. Secărin, *Depozitul de bronzuri de la Liubcova-“Tiglarie”*, *Banatica* 8, 1985, p. 91-105; idem, *Descoperiri Gârla Mare în zona Porților de Fier*, *Banatica* 12, 1993, p. 77 onwards; M. Șandor-Chicideanu, *op. cit.* (above, note 28), p. 240.

⁶¹ A. Mozsolics, *Bronze- und Goldfunde des Karpatenbeckens. Depotfundhorizonte von Forró und Ópályi*, Budapest, 1973, 9. 154 onwards pl. 49/8. 9.

⁶² M. Petrescu-Dîmbovița, *Die Sichel in Rumänien mit Corpus der jung- und spätbronzezeitlichen Horte Rumäniens*, PBF XVIII 1, Munich, 1978, p. 99, pl. 25/33. 34.

⁶³ I. Marović, *Nekoliko nalaza iz halstatskog perioda u Dalmaciji*, *Vjesnik Split* 63-64, 1961-62, p. 11, fig. 4/2; if the pieces come from a deposit – something which, however, is not certain, the context, consisting of six twisted necklaces and two eye-glass shaped pendants (*Brillenförmige Anhänger*), would suggest a Ha B dating.

⁶⁴ Șt. Burda, *Tezaur de aur din România*, Bucharest, 1979, p. 66, no. 18, fig. 48.

⁶⁵ A. Vulpe, V. Mihăilescu-Bîrliba, *Tezaurul de la Rădeni-Neamț*, *MemAnt* 12-14, 1980-82, p. 41, notes 63 and 64; idem, *PZ* 60, 1985, p. 47 onwards.

While the composition of the items in the treasure, many of which are unfinished, points to the presence in the area, as shown by M. Davidescu in the aforementioned publications, of a workshop that made gold ornaments possibly for a military and religious elite, its placement in a cemetery also gives rise to other interpretations. A. Vulpe has argued in various works in favour of a “sacred” interpretation for the majority of hoards, especially the metal objects,⁶⁶ thus expressing a trend, predominant in archaeology in recent decades, that favours a mode of understanding that differs from the concept of “horizons” of hoards, which was based around the historical events that took place on certain dates. The treasure in Hinova was also interpreted in this manner.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, the presence of a large amount of metal (4919.95 g of gold and a bronze bracelet) reflects the fact that the deposit is an accumulation of valuable items. This is also how we should interpret the remarkably large quantity of unfinished items in the form of raw materials meant for processing (items no. 17-19 above). In terms of these characteristics, the treasure is similar to the hoard of bronzes, predominant in the early Urnfield period (the Uriu-Domănești and Cincu-Suseni series), which mainly consists of fragmentary pieces to which metal was added in the form of bronze ingots to increase their value. It is unlikely that these collections were deposited with a view to recovering the objects they contain, all the more so as they were deposited in a graveyard, a sacred area *par excellence* dedicated to those gone forever. In other words, the treasure appears to come from a religious ceremony held to pay tribute to the buried or a collective tribute as part of a commemoration; either way, therefore, its main role was ritualistic, while the value of the offering lies in the quantity of precious metal.⁶⁸

Another interpretation of the treasure is based on its role of jewellery collection. Most archaeologists would agree that jewels are primarily female related objects. It is also worth mentioning here that the generally rather “poor” metal contents of the tombs in the urnfields found in the area stretching from the Hungarian Danube to the Oltenian Danube, and therefore also including the cemetery in Hinova, consist almost exclusively of objects considered to be feminine (ornaments, household objects, etc.). If this is correct, then this treasure can be seen as the expression of a collective tribute paid to a female character, possibly a deity related to the cult of the dead. However, so far, this idea of jewels as a woman’s thing is based more on the projection of present day conventions onto prehistory⁶⁹ than on appropriate demonstration. It is not for this paper to discuss further this aspect.

⁶⁶ In particular: A. Vulpe, *Deponierungen, Opferstätte und Symbolgut im Karpatengebiet*, in (ed. P. Schauer) *Archäologische Forschungen zum Kultgeschehen in der jüngeren Bronzezeit und frühen Hallstattzeit Alteuropas. Kolloquium Regensburg, Okt. 1993*, Regensburger Beiträge zur prähistorischen Archäologie 2, 1996, p. 517-534. The term “sacred” is understood here in a broad sense to differentiate it from the practice of “hiding” different objects at difficult times for their owners (e.g. violent clashes, etc.), as well as from other practices related to strictly ritualistic purposes or social relationships, including practices with an apparent economic purpose (exchange of goods, gifts), all of which were performed as part of a certain ritual. For a comprehensive presentation of the different interpretations of the phenomenon of hoards, see A. Țârlea, *The Concept of <selective deposit>*, Peuce SN 6, 2008, p. 63-132.

⁶⁷ M. Davidescu, *op. cit.*, (above TD), p. 21. A dominant concept in the work of M. Rusu, *Die Verbreitung der Bronzehorde in Transsilvanien vom Ende der Bronzezeit bis in die mittlere Hallstattzeit*, Dacia NS 7, 1963, p. 177-210; A. Mozsolics, *Bronzefunde des Karpatenbeckens*, Budapest, 1967; M. Petrescu-Dîmbovița, *Depozitele de bronzuri din România*, Bucharest, 1977. An example of an entirely opposite interpretation can be found in W. A. von Brunn, *Zur Deutung spätbronzezeitlicher Hortfunde zwischen Elbe und Weichsel*, BerRGK 61, 1980, p. 92-192; S. Hansen, *Studien zu den Metalldeponierungen der Urnenfelderzeit zwischen Rônetal und Karpatenbecken*, Berlin, 1991.

⁶⁸ The presence of unprocessed material is also quite common in the case of many gold hoards (treasures); we cite selectively from A. Mozsolics, *op. cit.*: Pétervársara, (Heves, Ungary, pl. 103); Carani, Timiș county, pl. 106; Fırteaz, Timiș county, pl. 78-80, etc. The latter, based on a weighing of the component items, was the object of a study which proposed the establishment of a quantity with a pre-monetary value, expressed through a certain standard valid throughout most of Europe: J. Eiwanger, *Talanton. Ein bronzezeitlicher Goldstandard zwischen Ägäis und Mitteleuropa*, Germania 67, 1981, 2, p. 443-462.

⁶⁹ For the adornment of the male body see e. g., P. Traherme, *The Warrior’s beauty: the masculine body and self-identity in Bronze-Age Europe*, Journal of European Archaeology 3, 1995, p. 105-144.

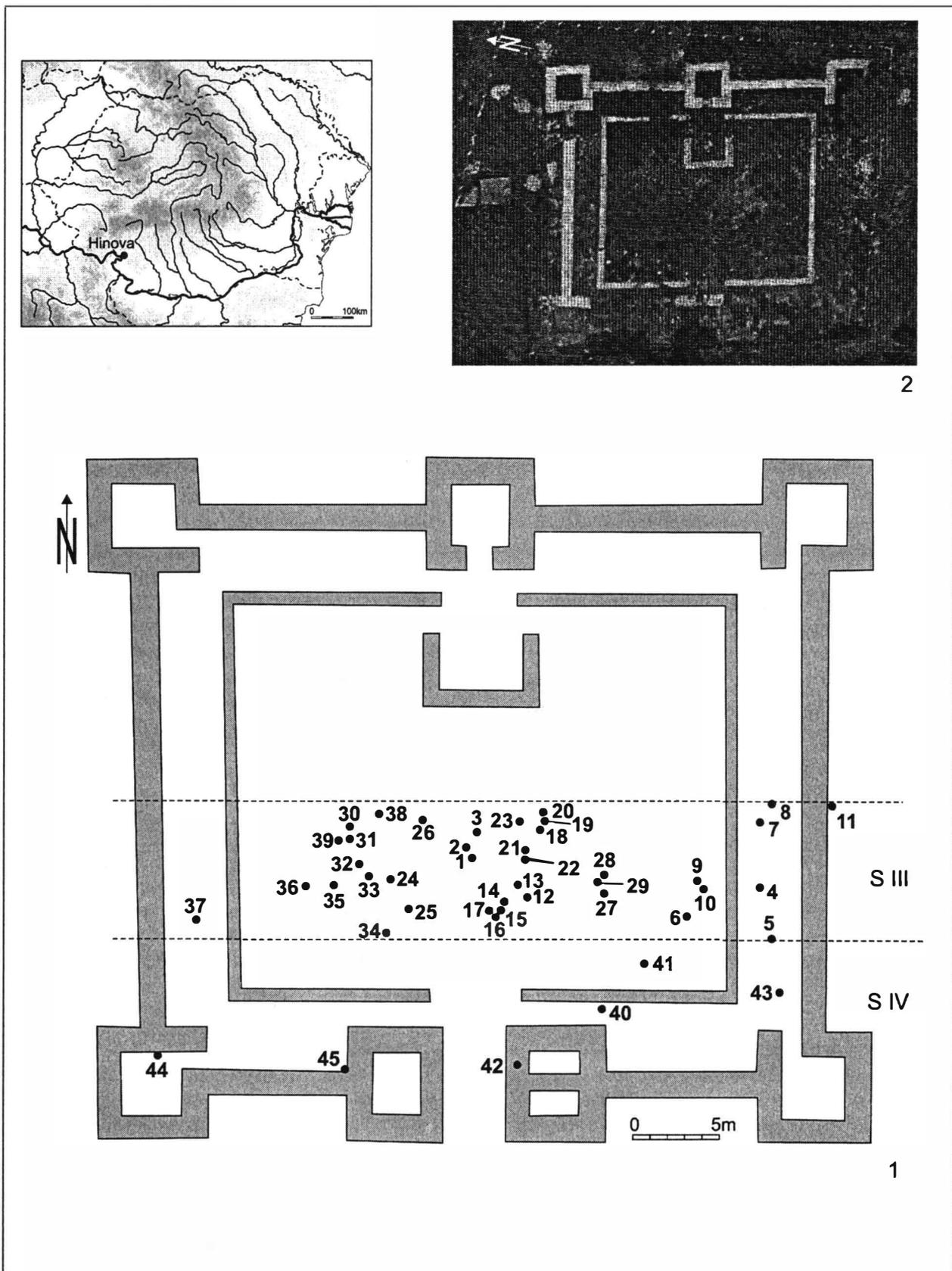


Fig. 1. Hinova, Mehedinți county. 1: Plan of the cemetery and the reconstructed plan (by MD) of the Roman fortification. 2: Aerial photo after the excavations in 1982.

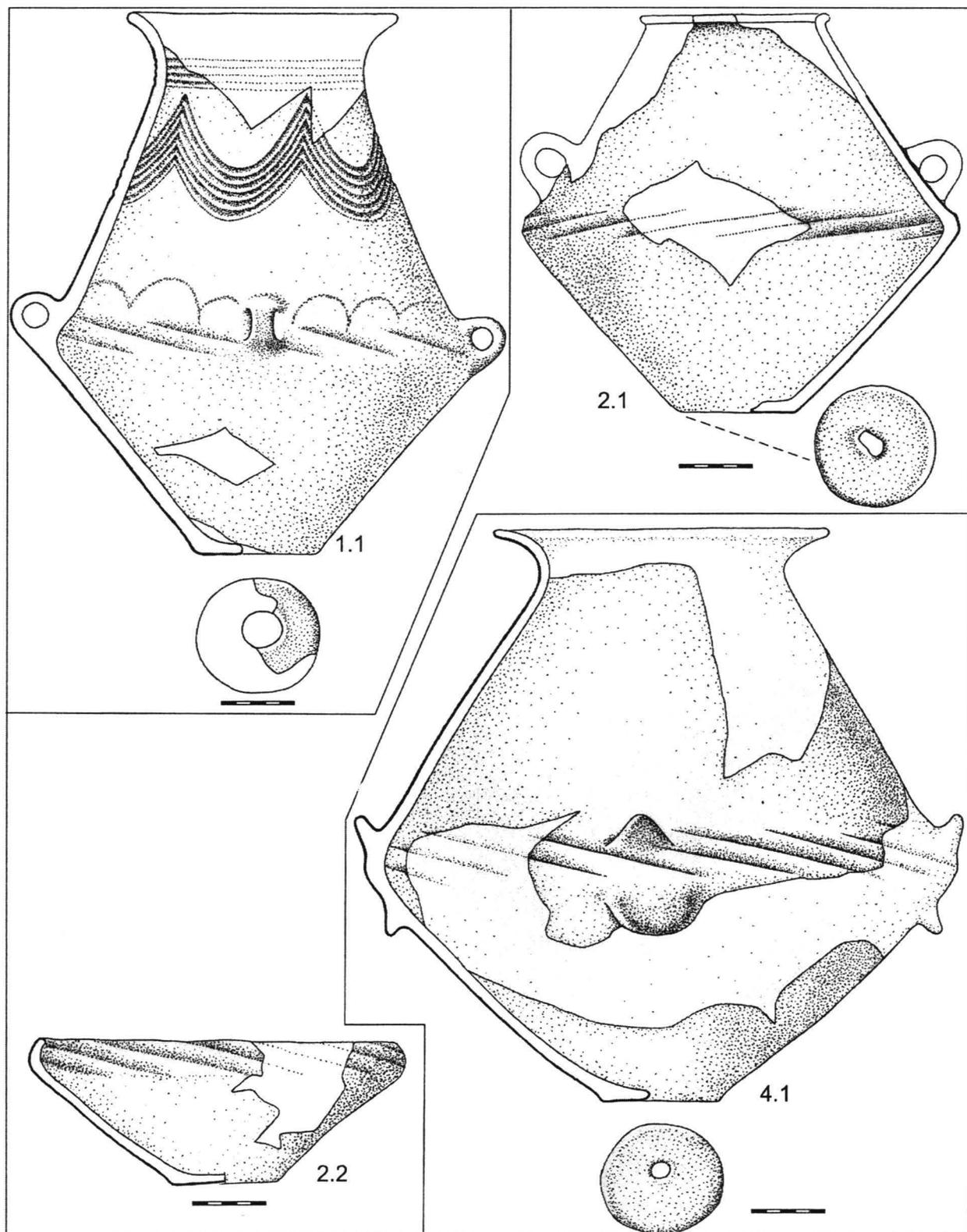


Fig. 2. Hinova, Mehedinți county, T 1. 2. 4.

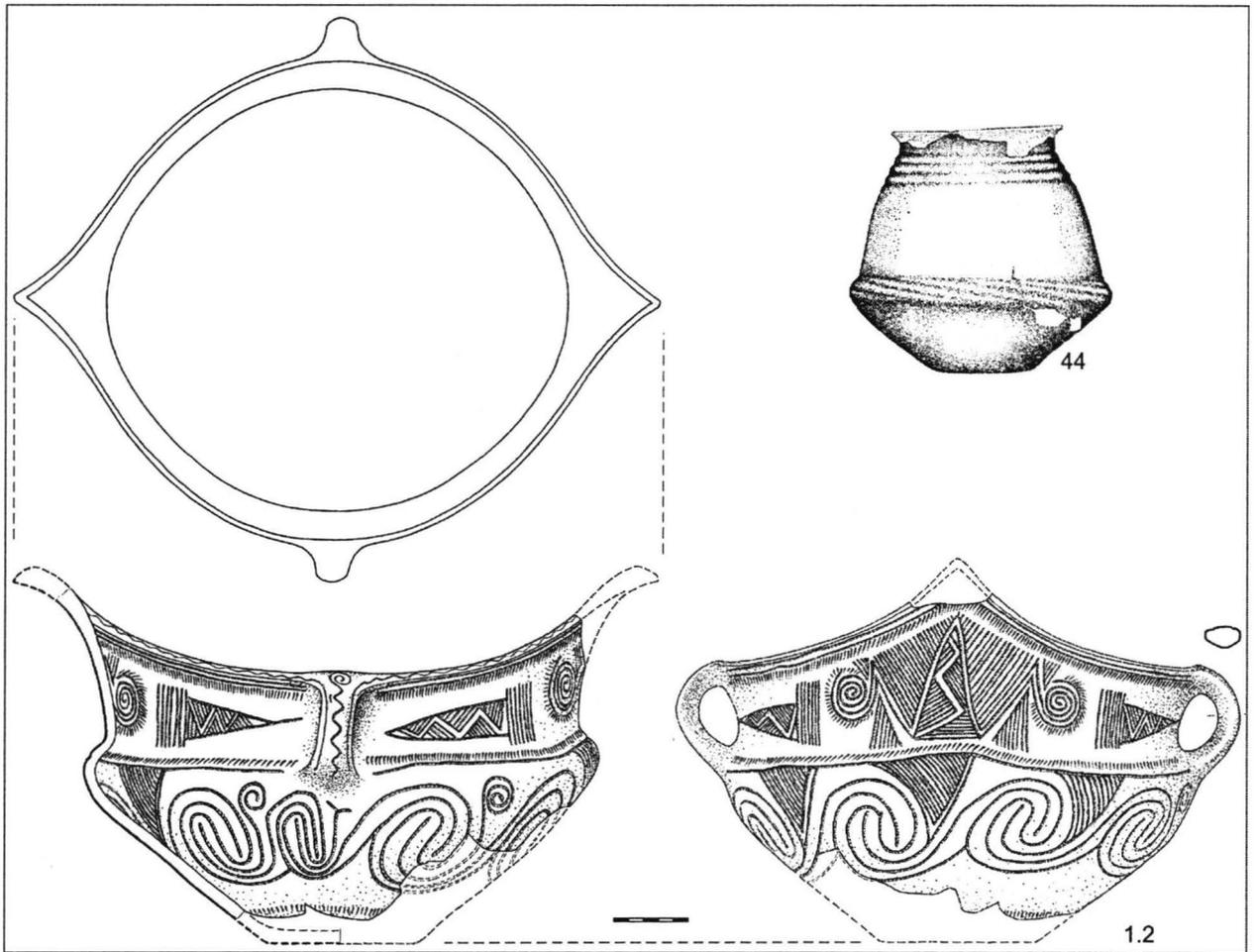


Fig. 3. Hinova, Mehedinți county, T l. 44 (the vessel containing the treasure).

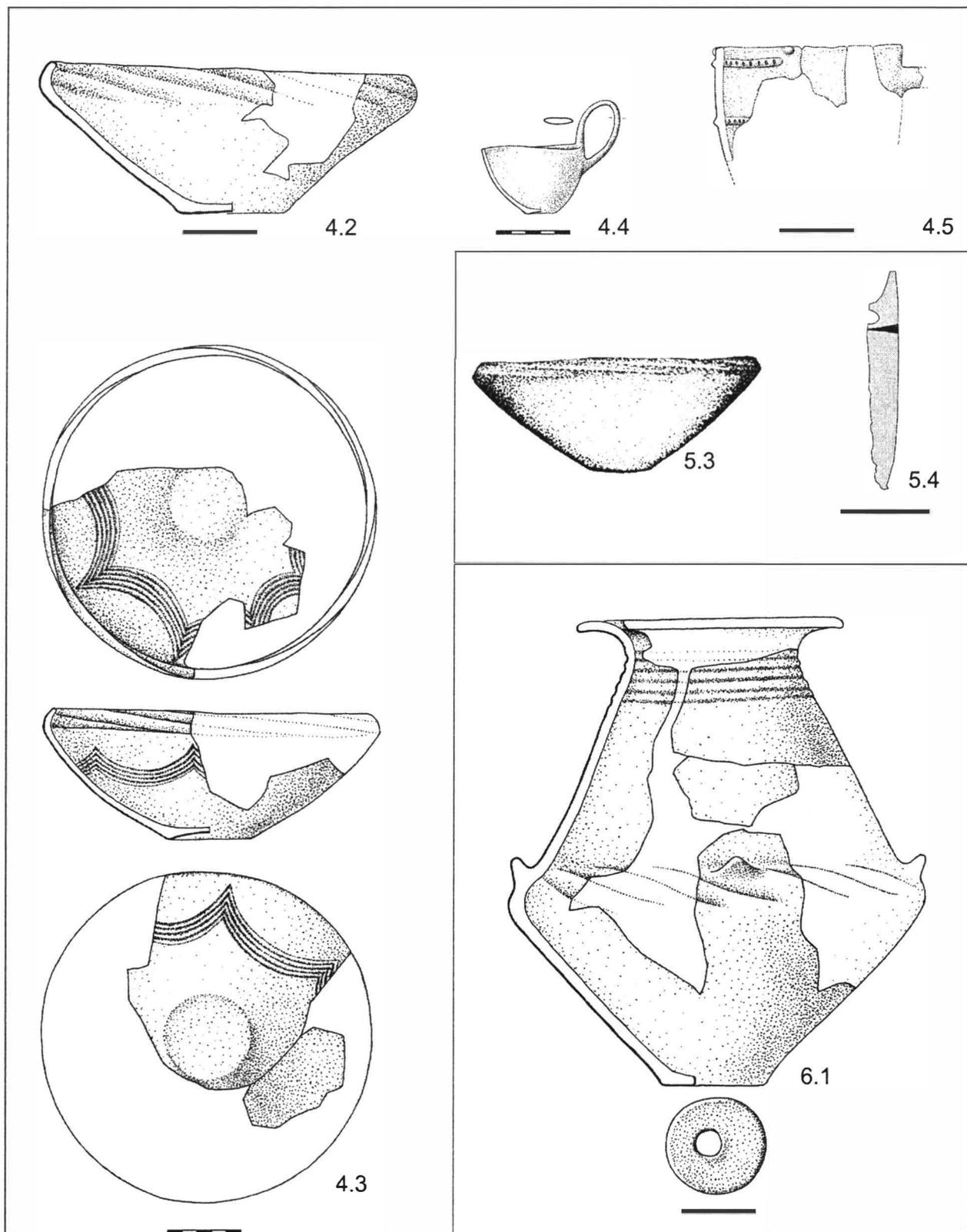


Fig. 4. Hinova, Mehedinți county, T 4-6.

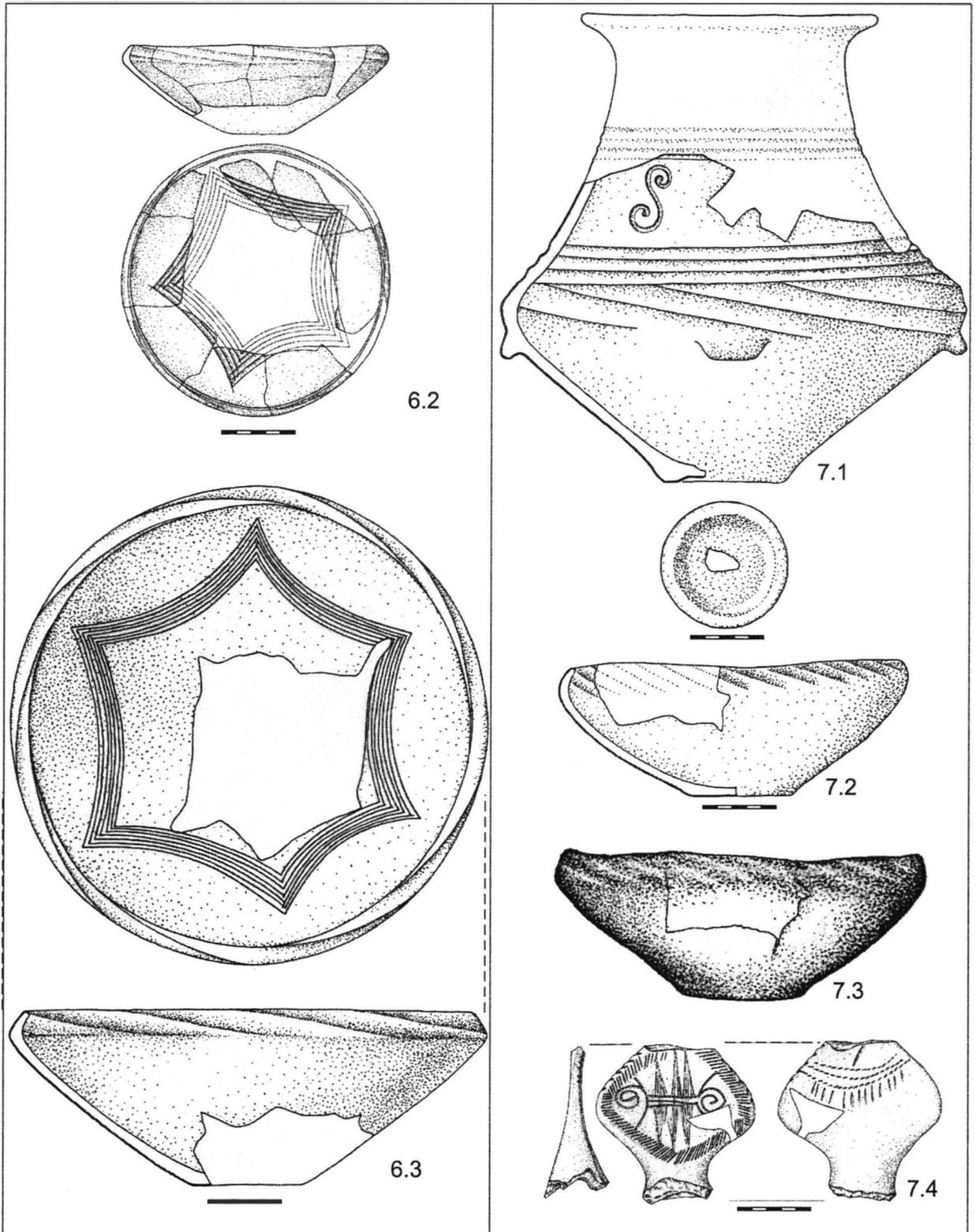


Fig. 5. Hinova, Mehedinți county, T 6. 7.

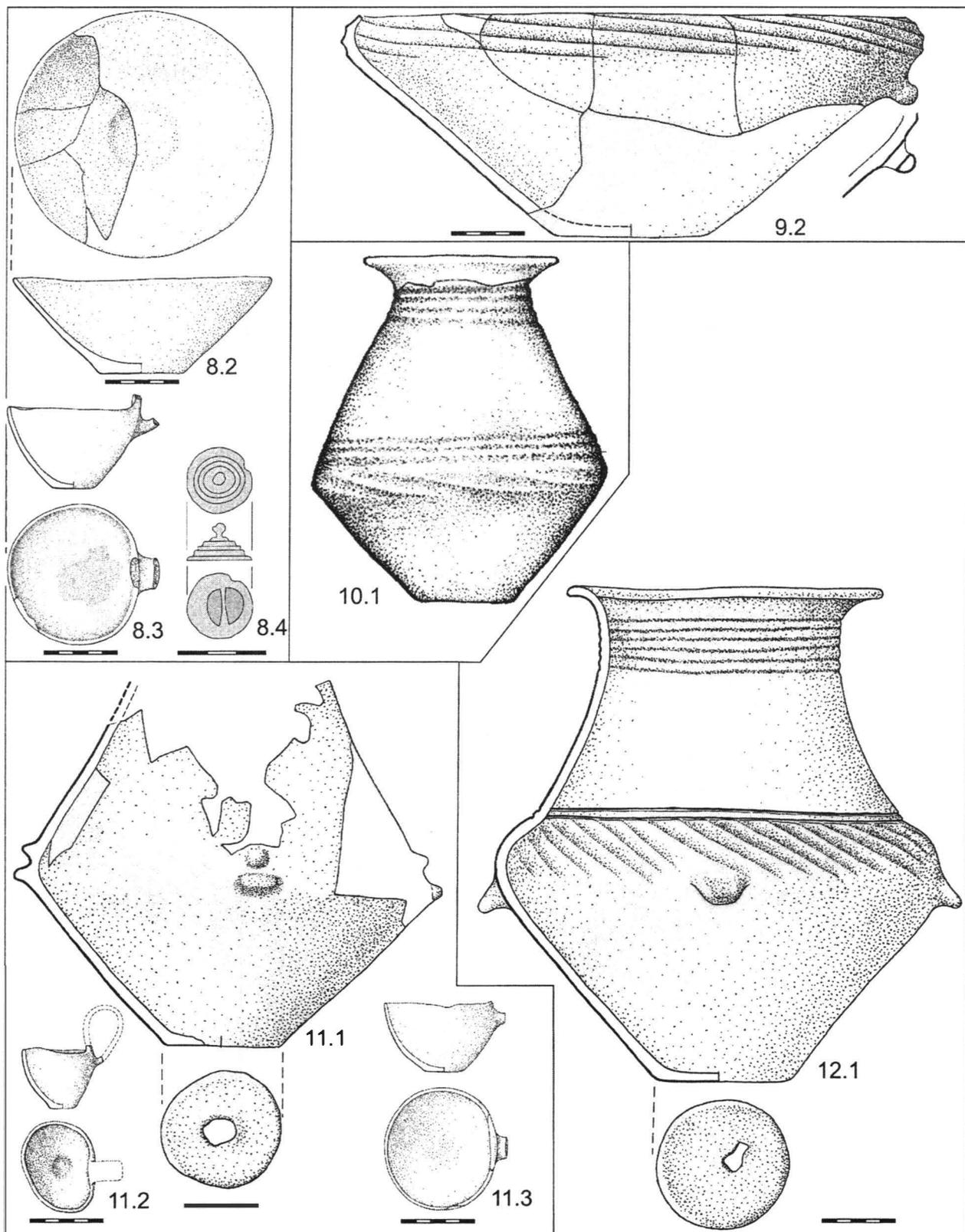


Fig. 6. Hinova, Mehedinți county, T 8-12.

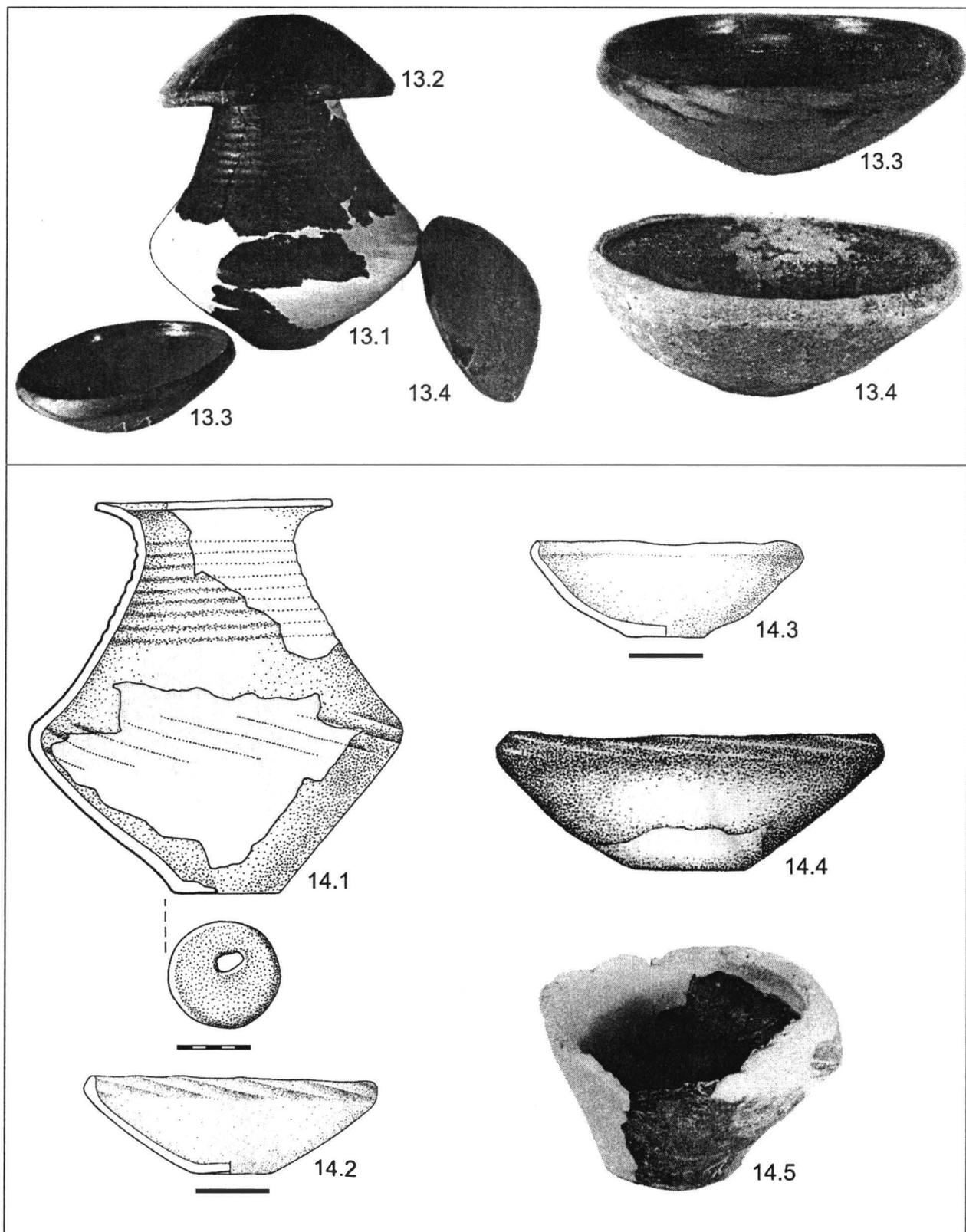


Fig. 7. Hinova, Mehedinți county, T 13. 14.

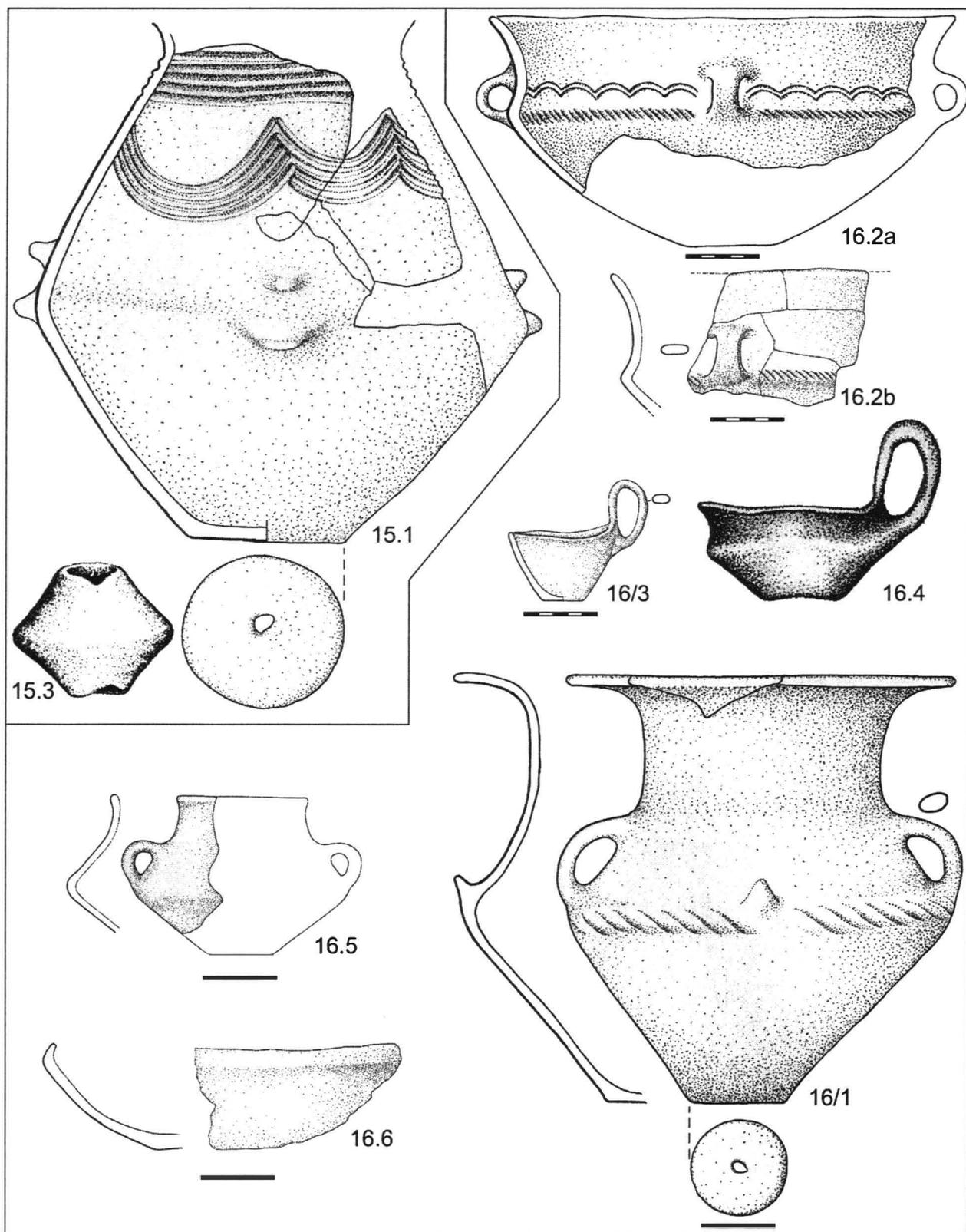


Fig. 8. Hinova, Mehedinți county, T 15. 16.

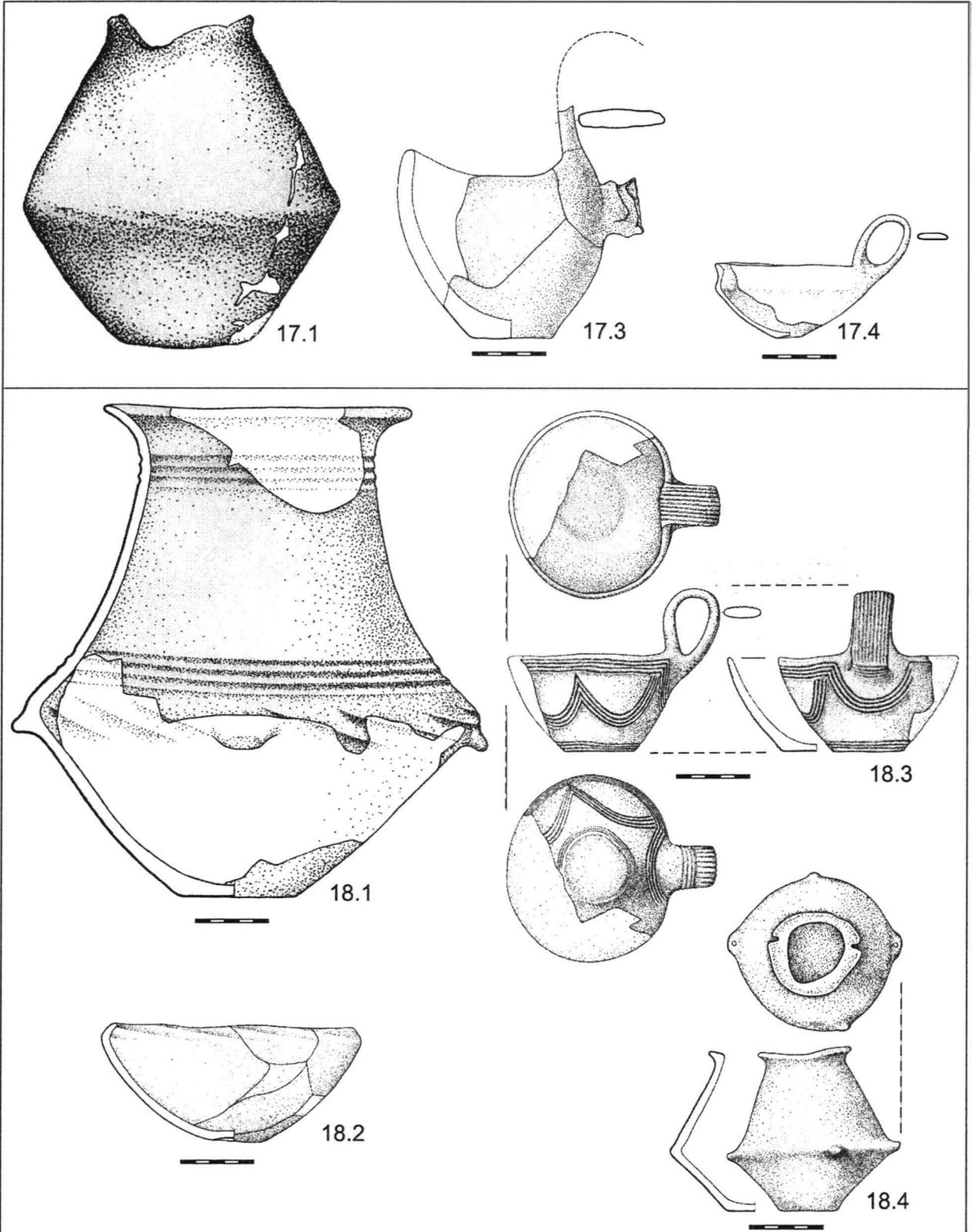


Fig. 9. Hinova, Mehedinți county, T 17. 18.

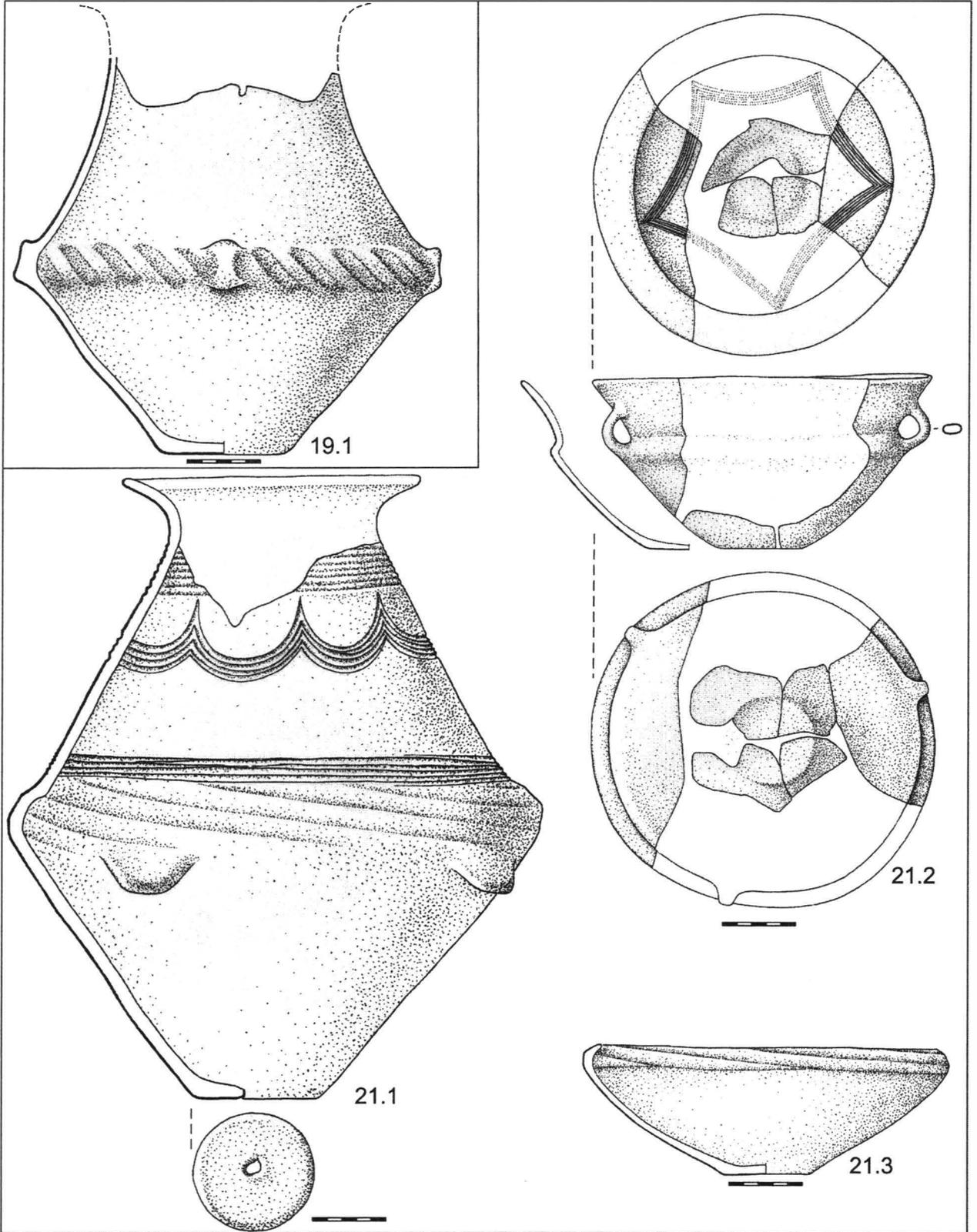


Fig. 10. Hinova, Mehedinți county, T 19. 21.

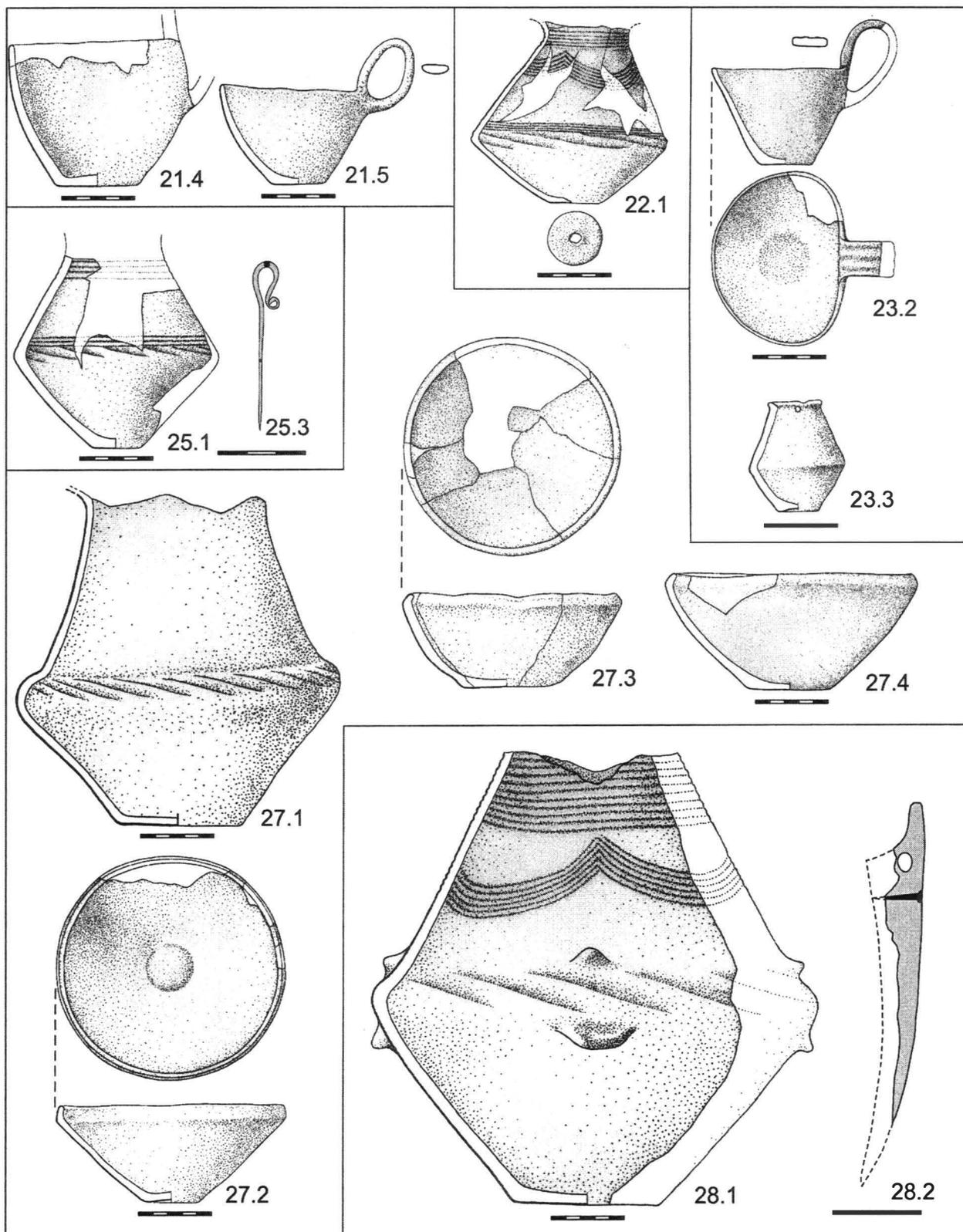


Fig. 11. Hinova, Mehedinți county, T 21-23, 25, 27, 28.

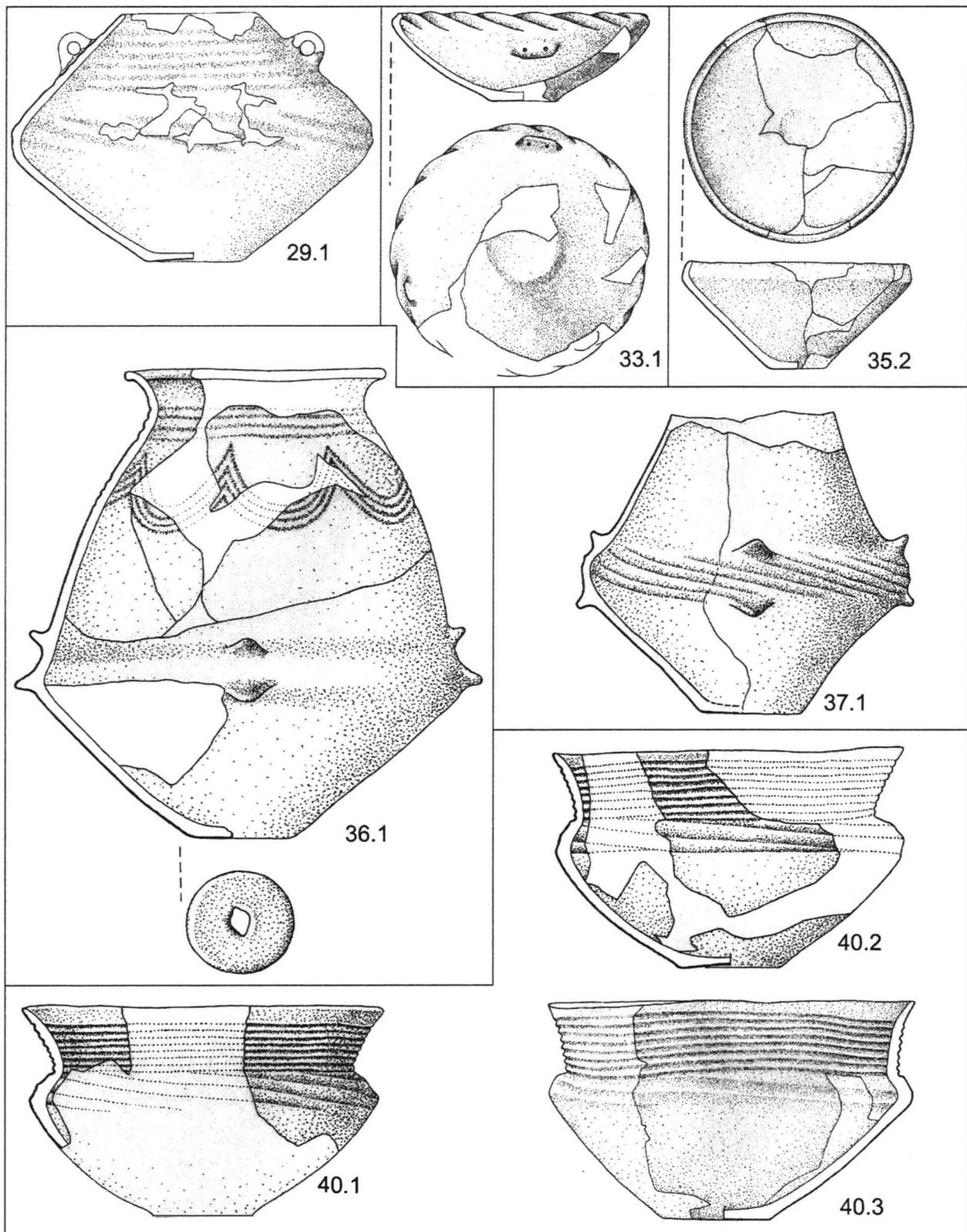


Fig. 12. Hinova, Mehedinți county, T 29. 33. 35-37. 40.

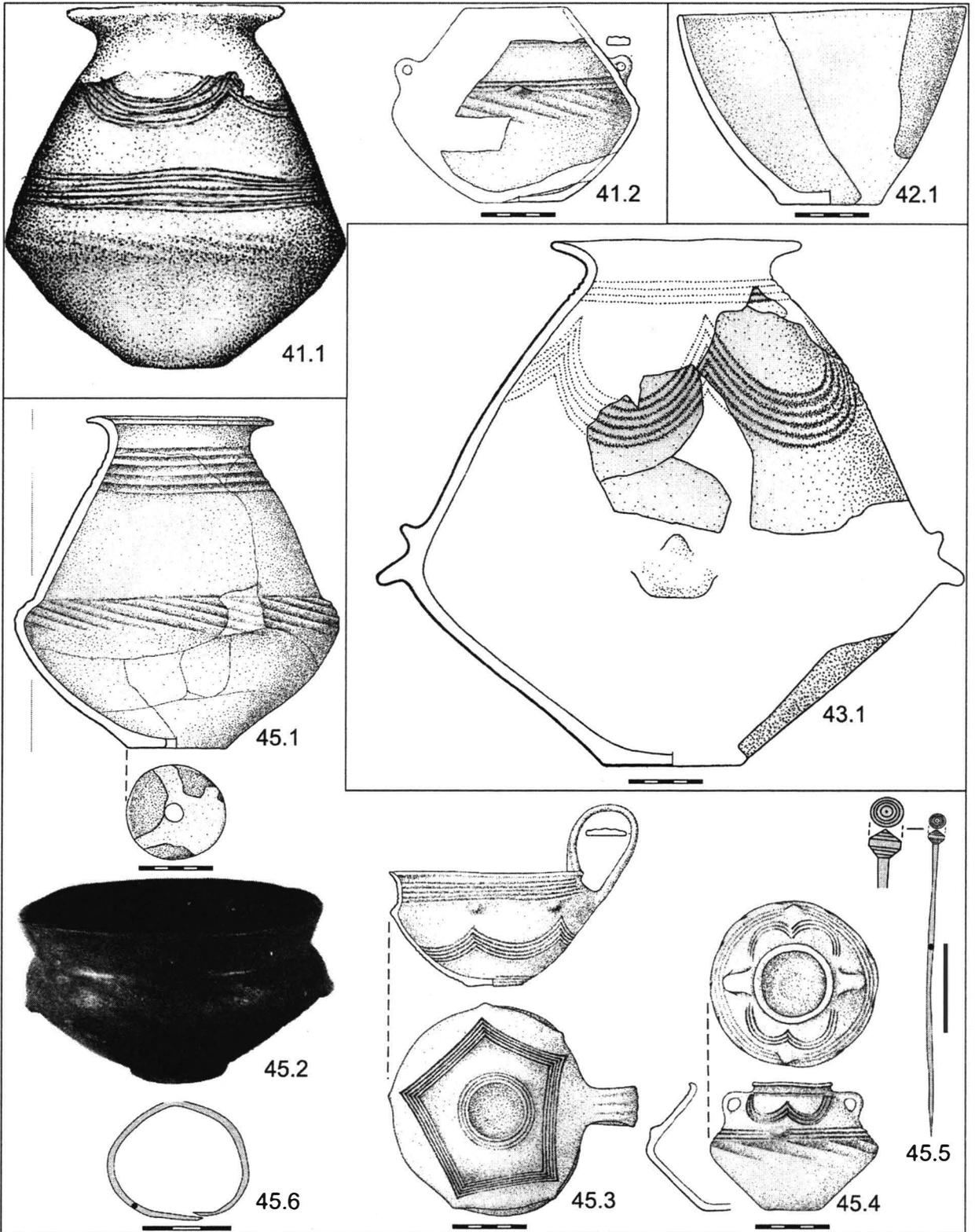


Fig. 13. Hinova, Mehedinți county, T 41-43. 45.

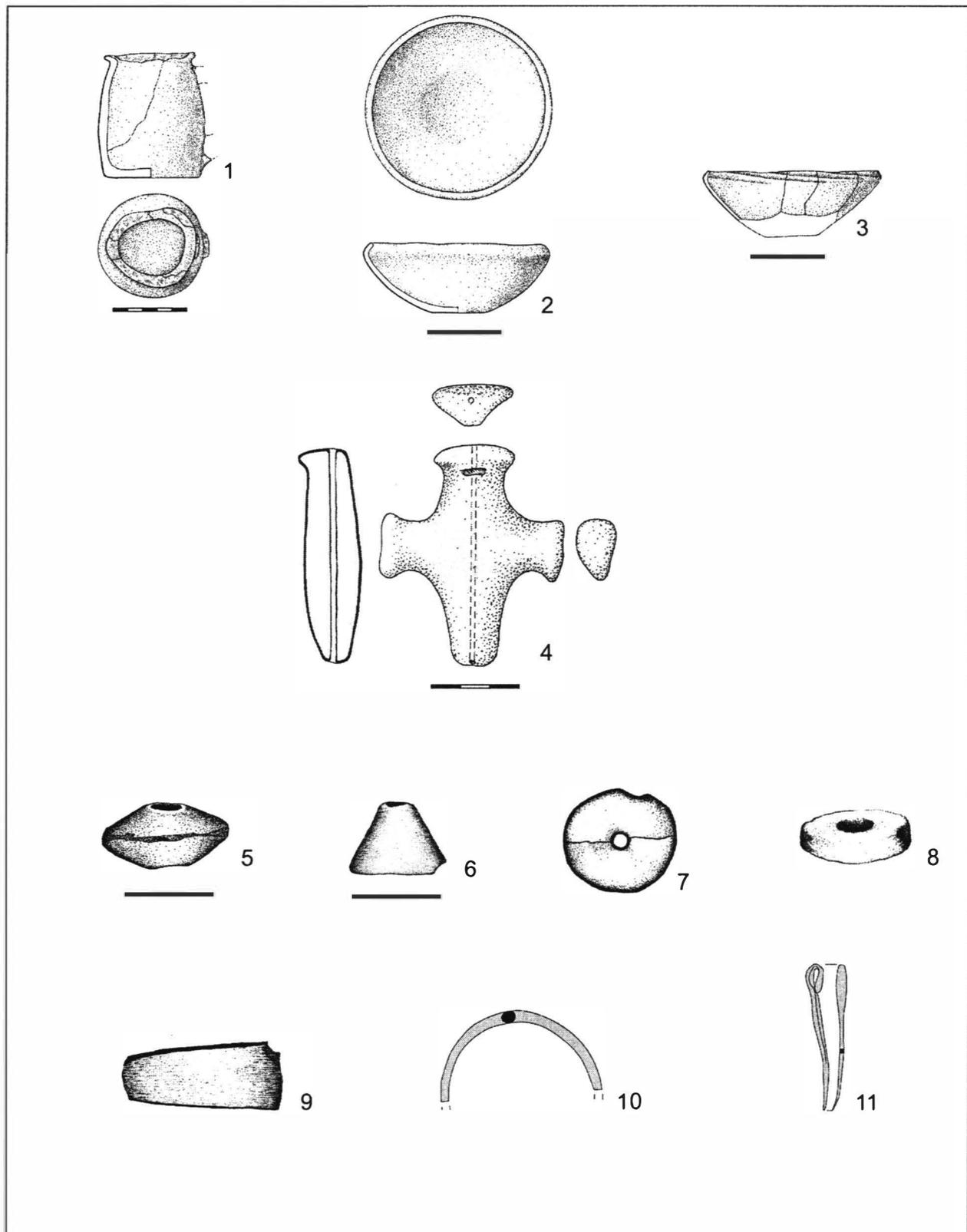


Fig. 14. Hinova, Mehedinți county, objects found in the cemetery area.

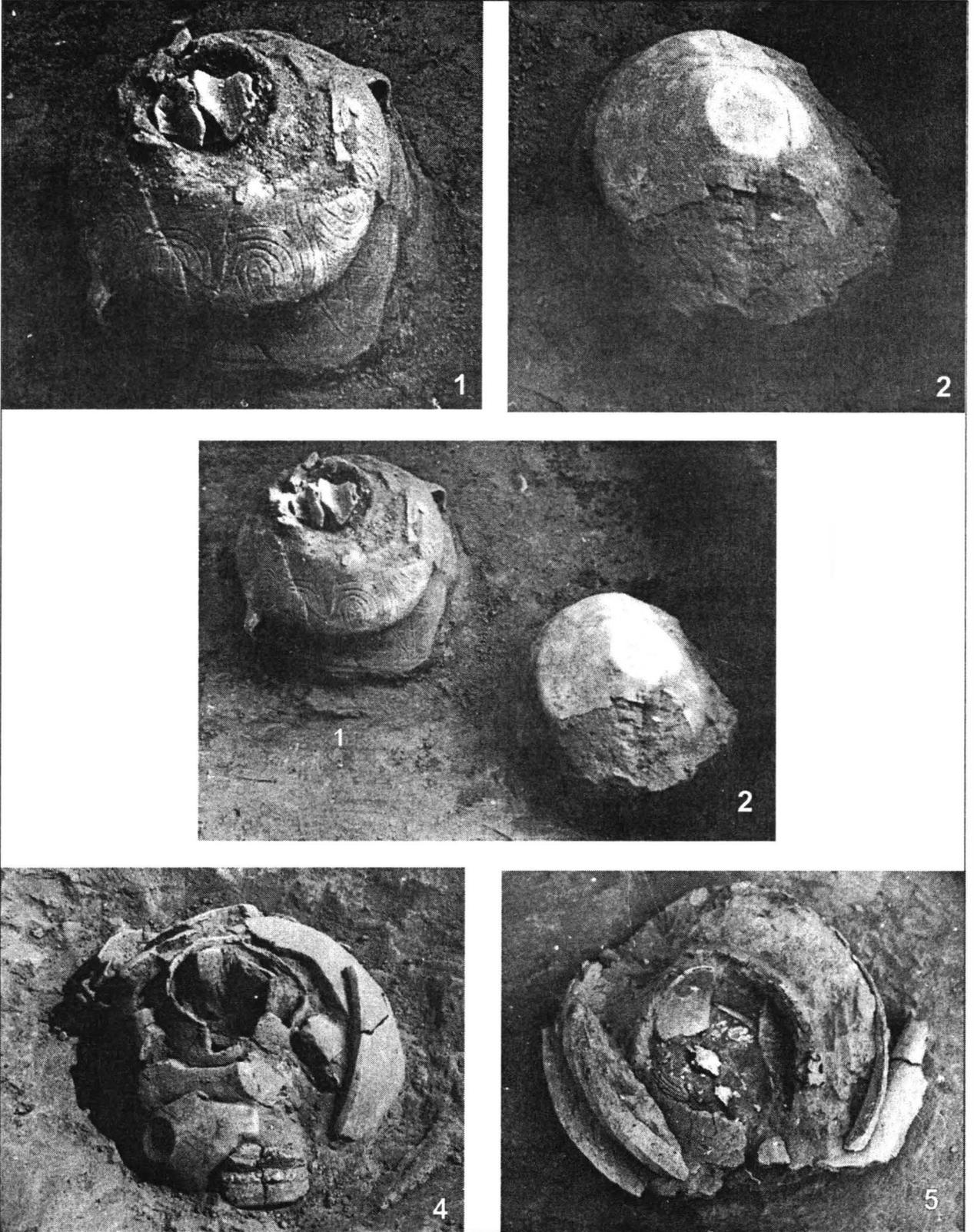


Fig. 15. Hinova, Mehedinți county, T 1-5.

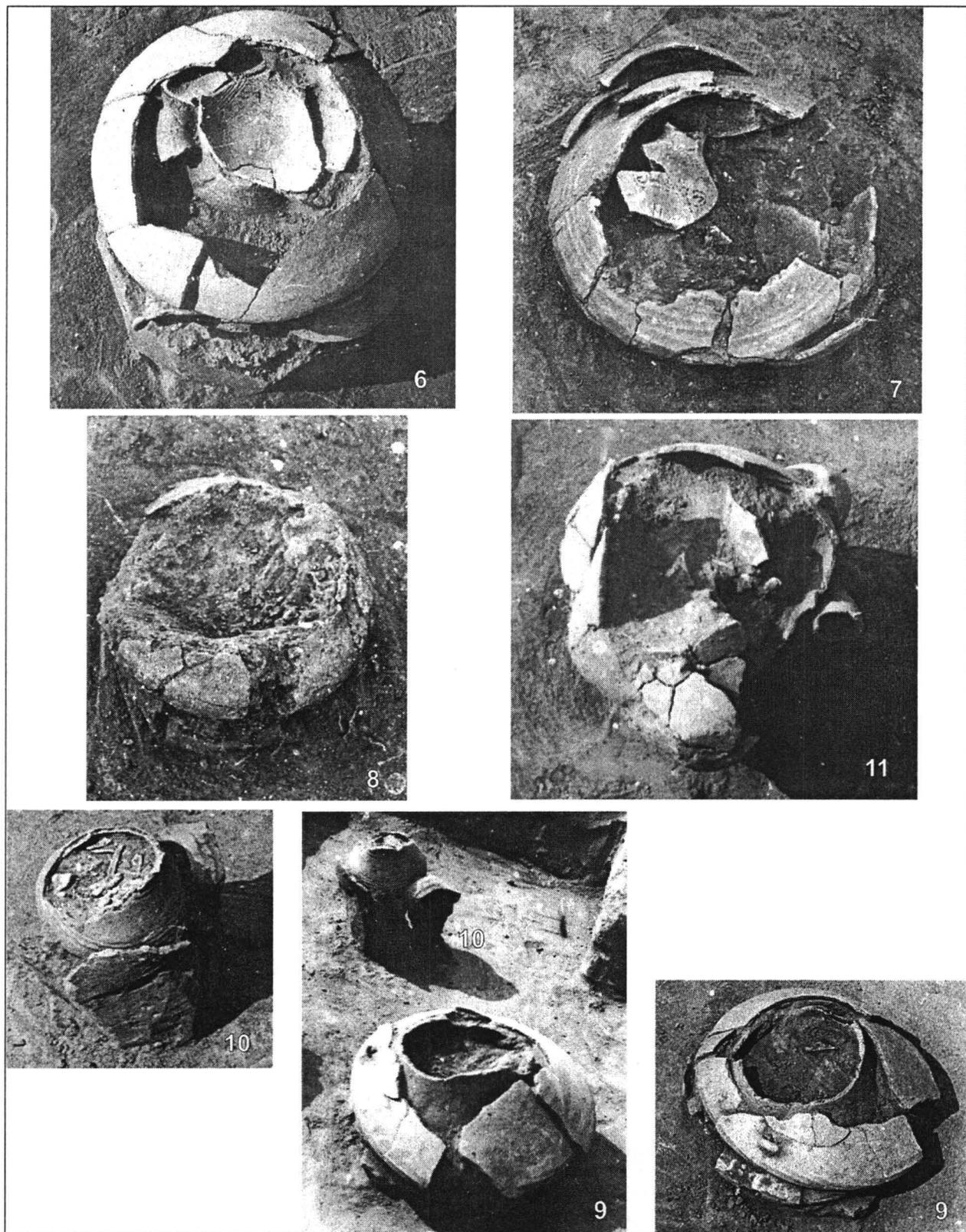


Fig. 16. Hinova, Mehedinți county, T 6-11.

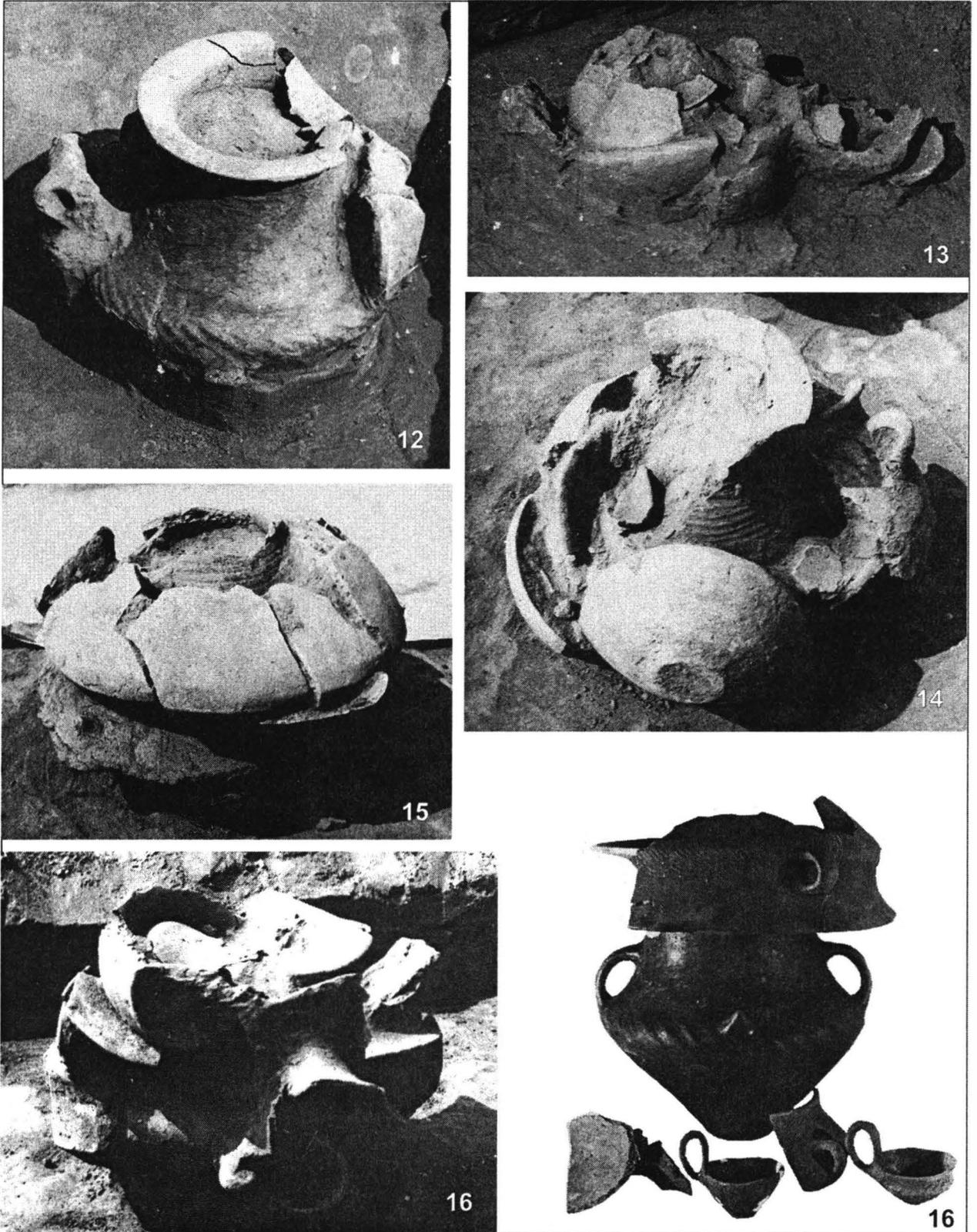


Fig. 17. Hinova, Mehedinți county, T 12-16.

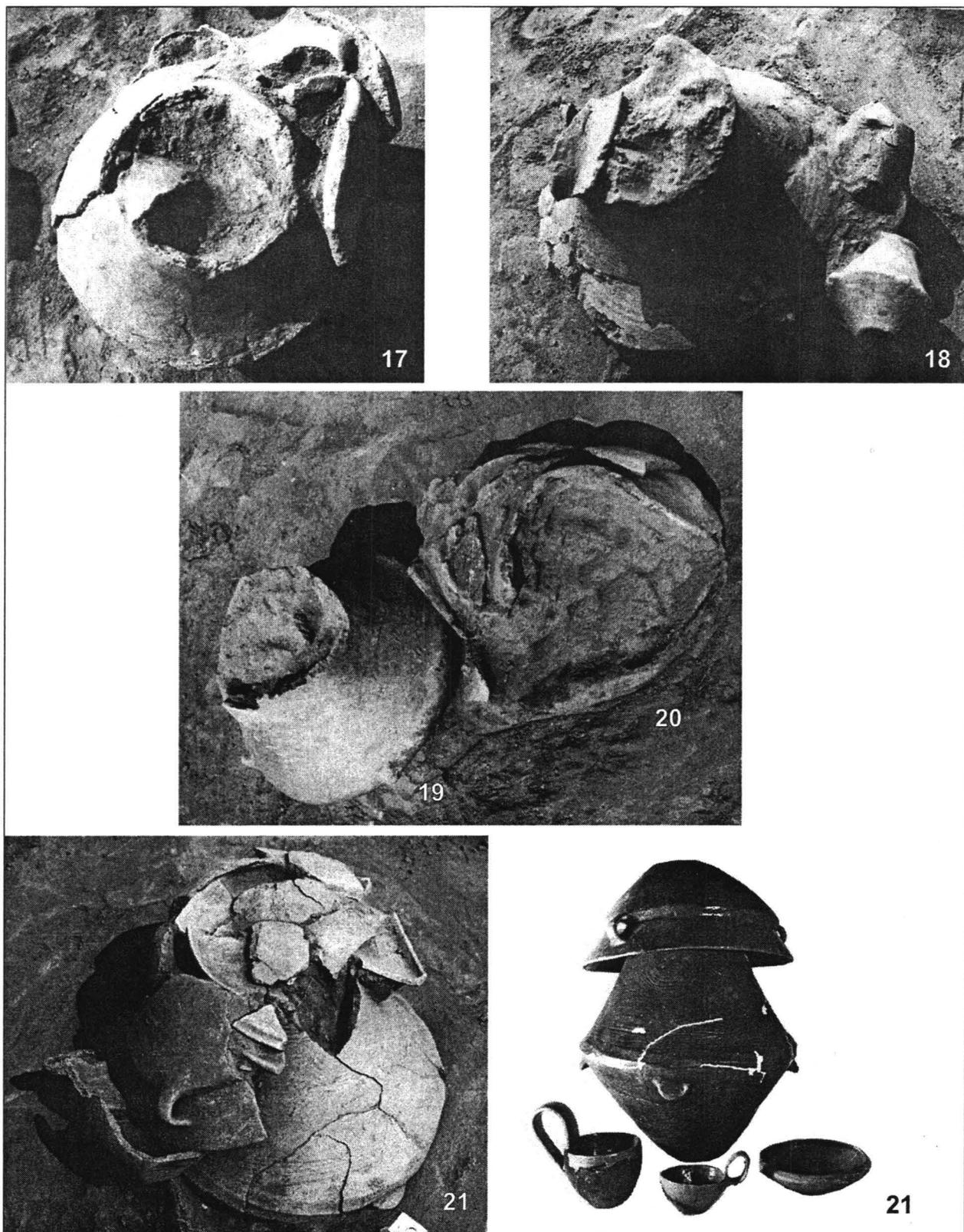


Fig. 18. Hinova, Mehedinți county, T 17-21.

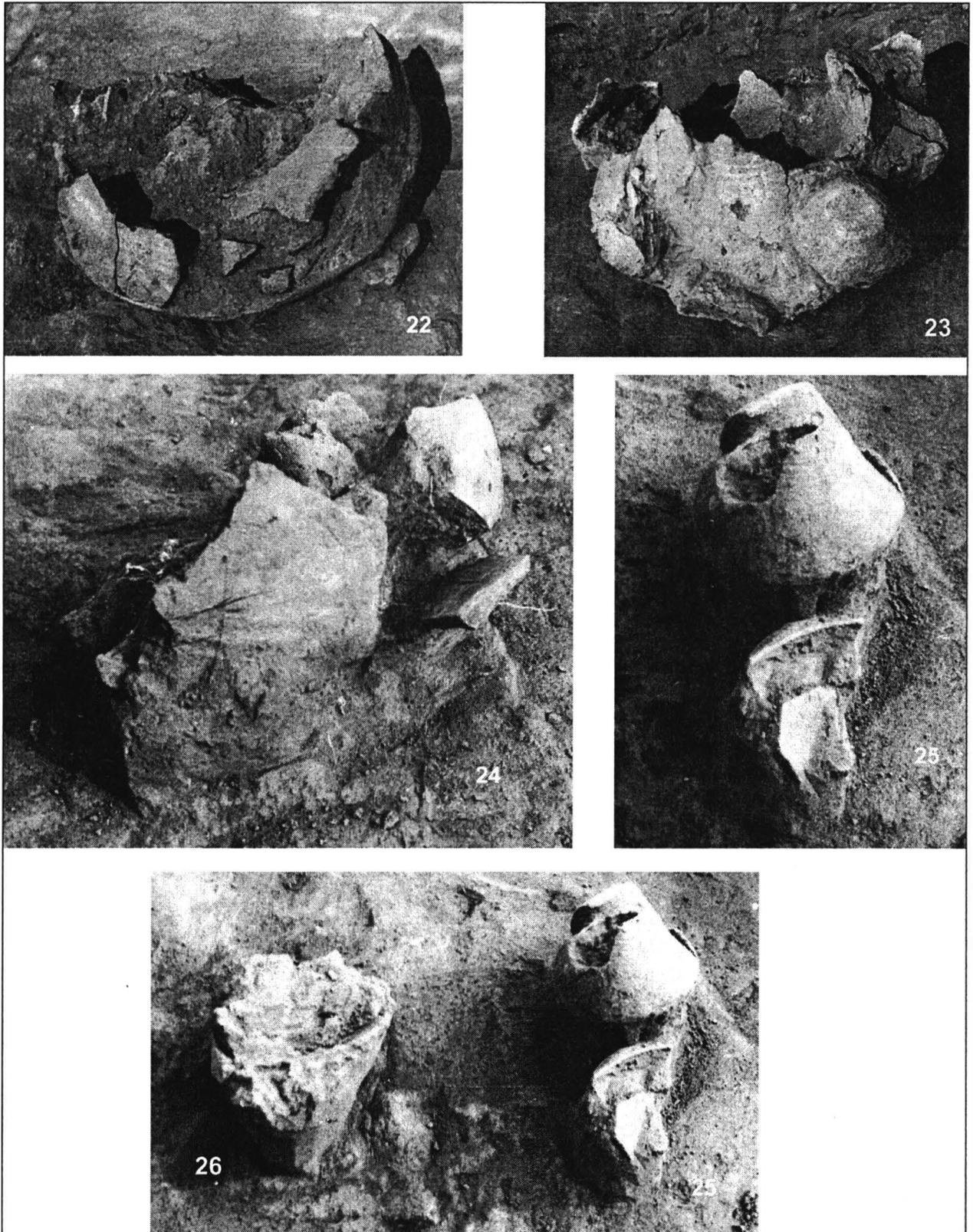


Fig. 19. Hinova, Mehedinți county, T 22-25.

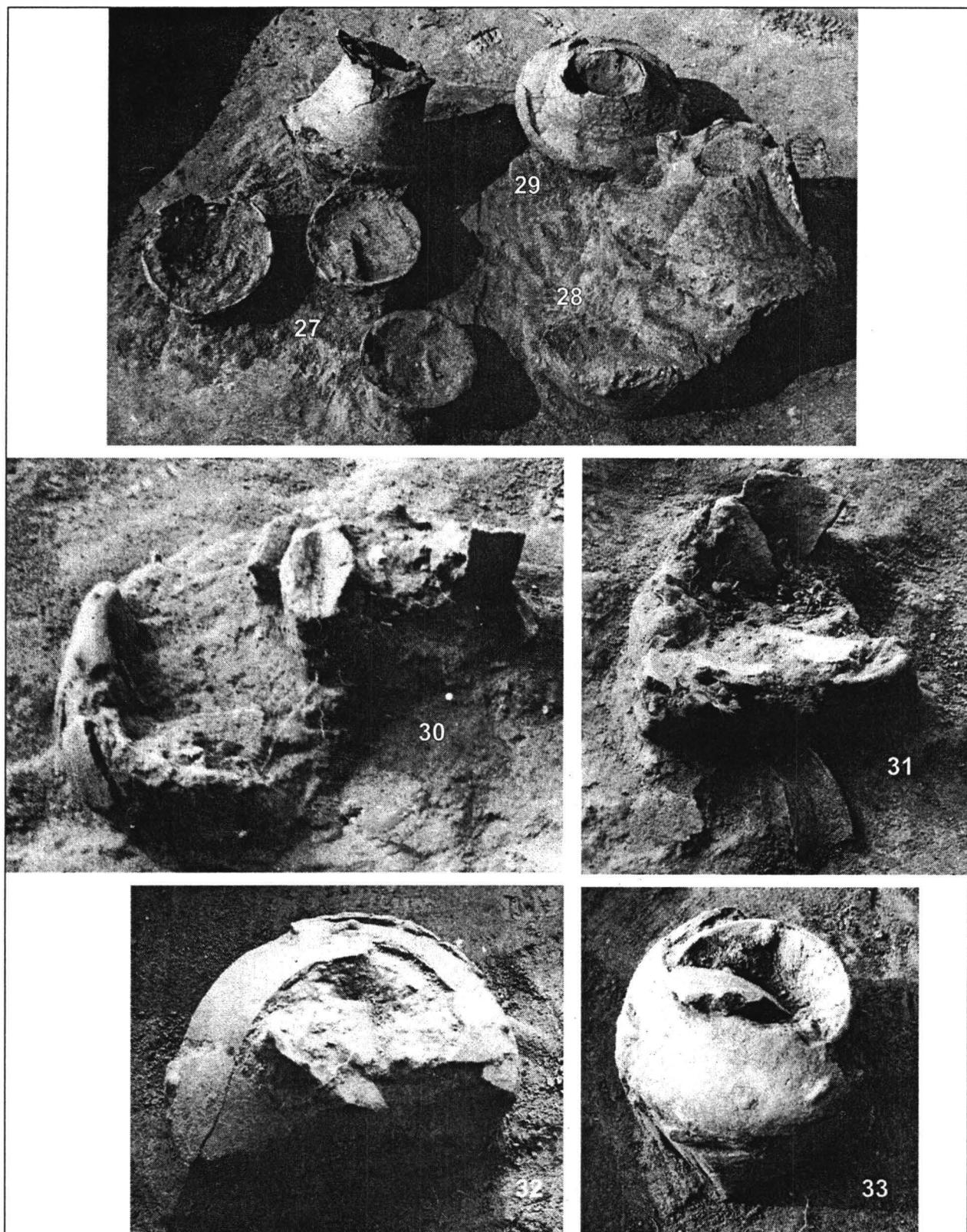


Fig. 20. Hinova, Mehedinți county, T 27-33.

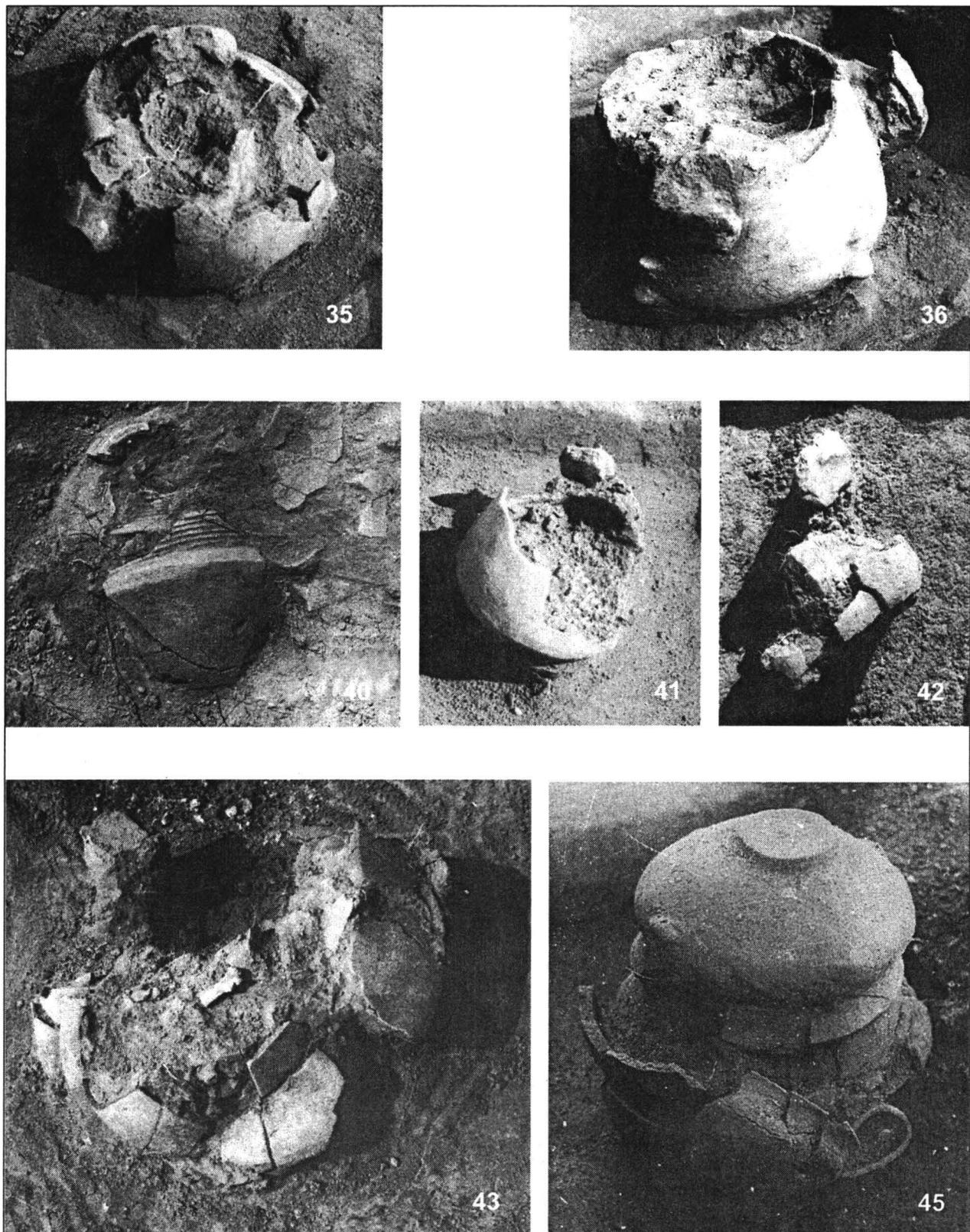


Fig. 21. Hinova, Mehedinți county, T 35-45.

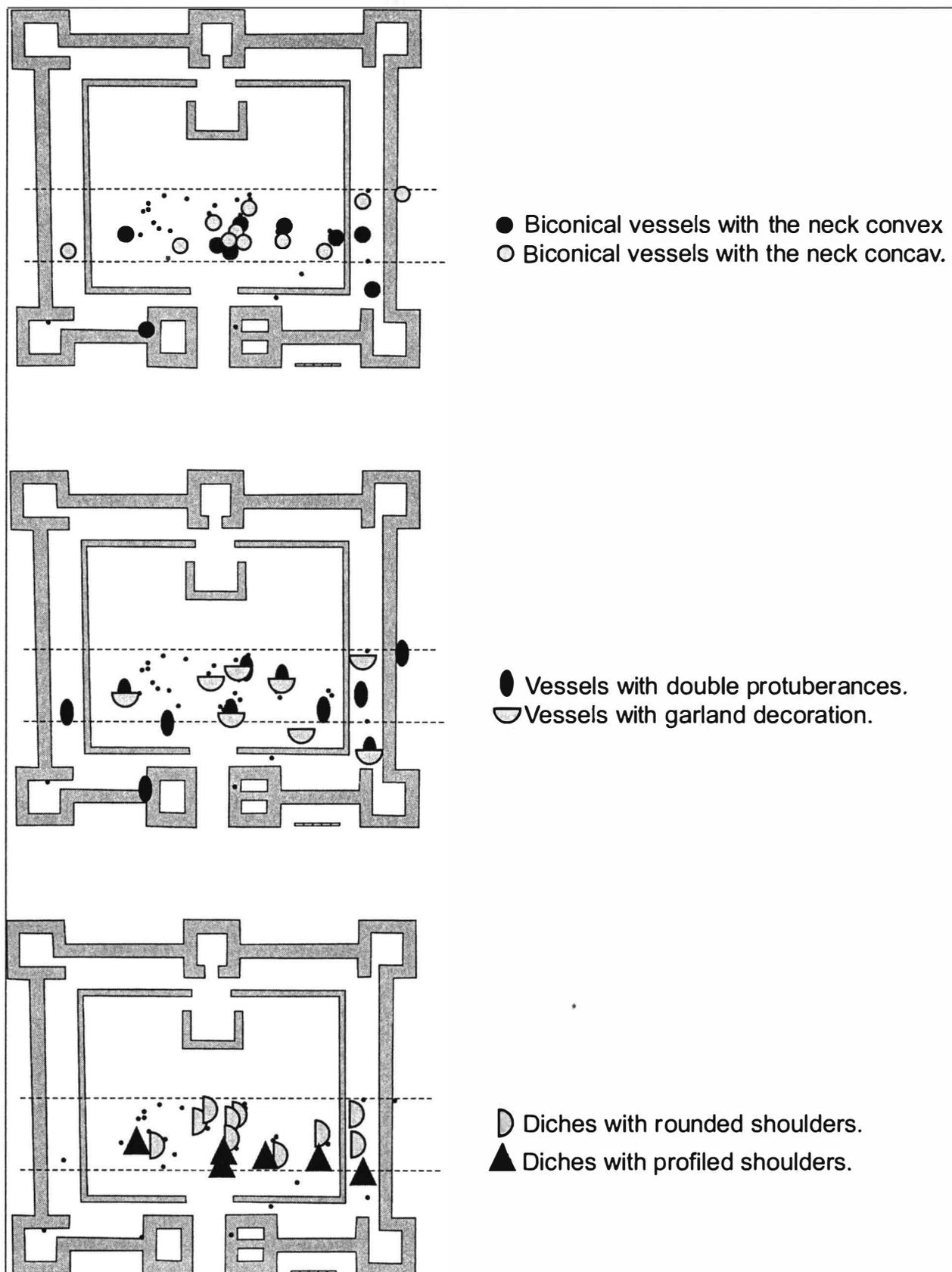


Fig. 22. Hinova, Mehedinți county, planimetric analysis of thr cemetery.

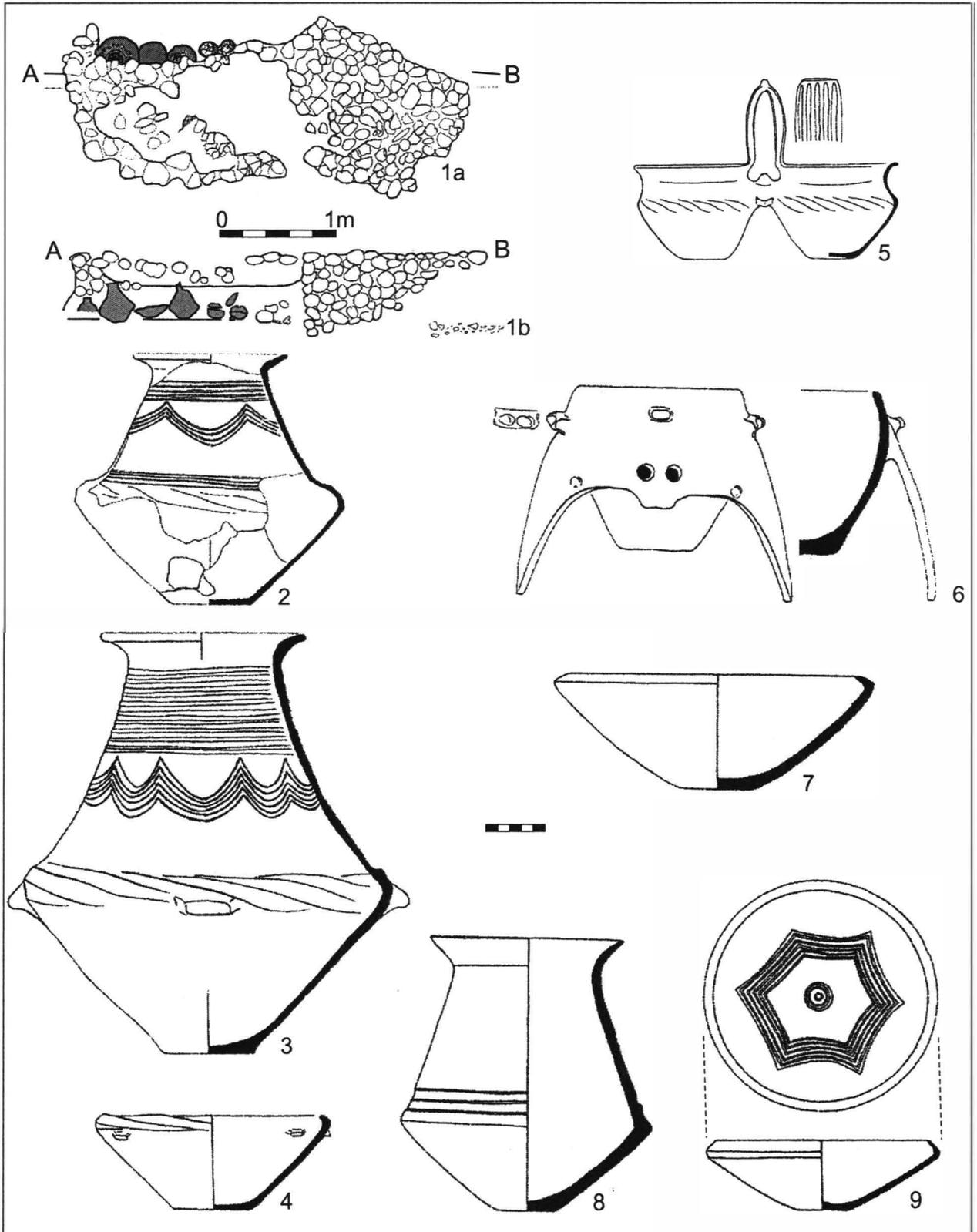


Fig. 23. Mala Vrbica-“Konopište” (after D. Popović).

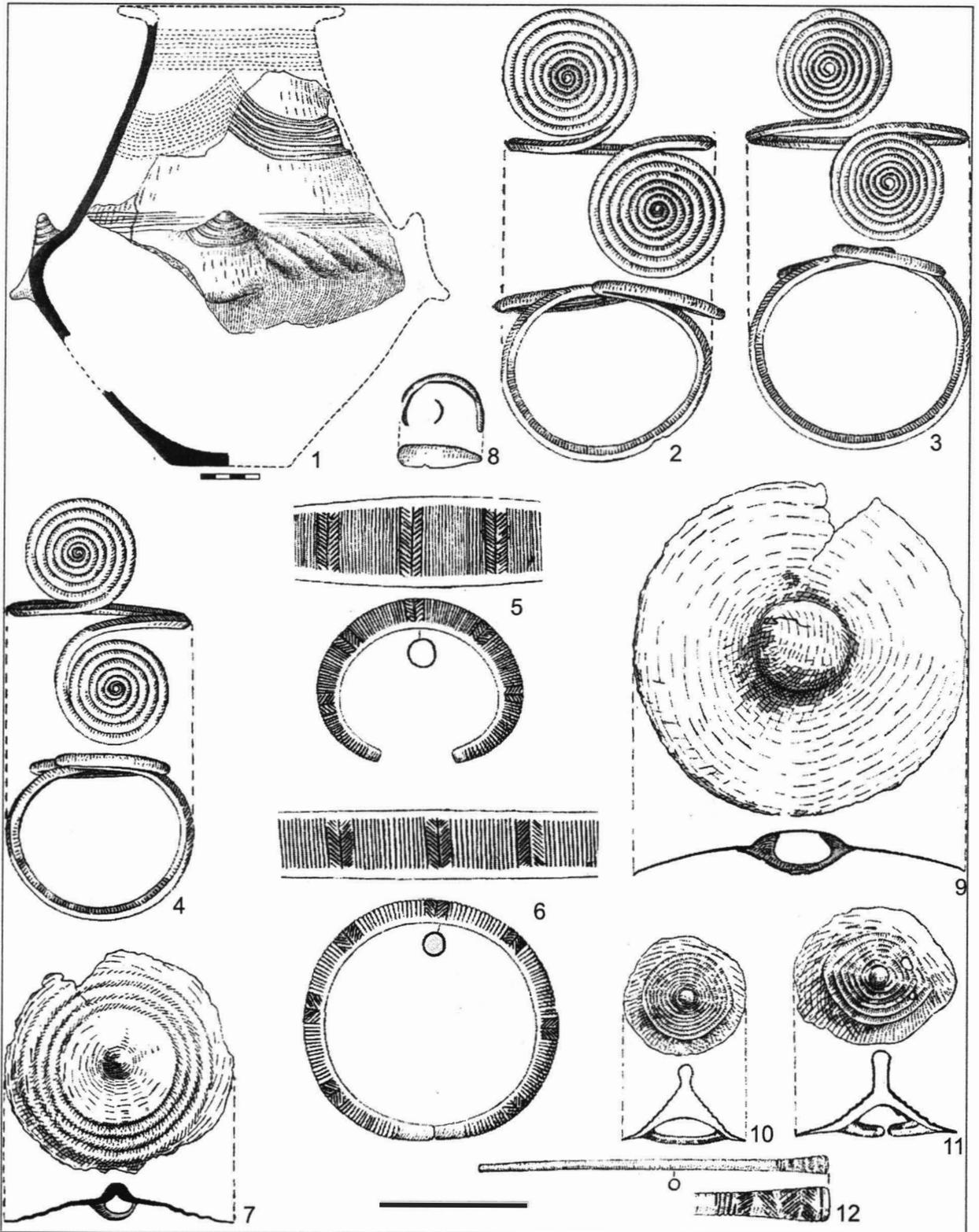


Fig. 24. Cornuțel, Caraș-Severin county (after I. Stratan).

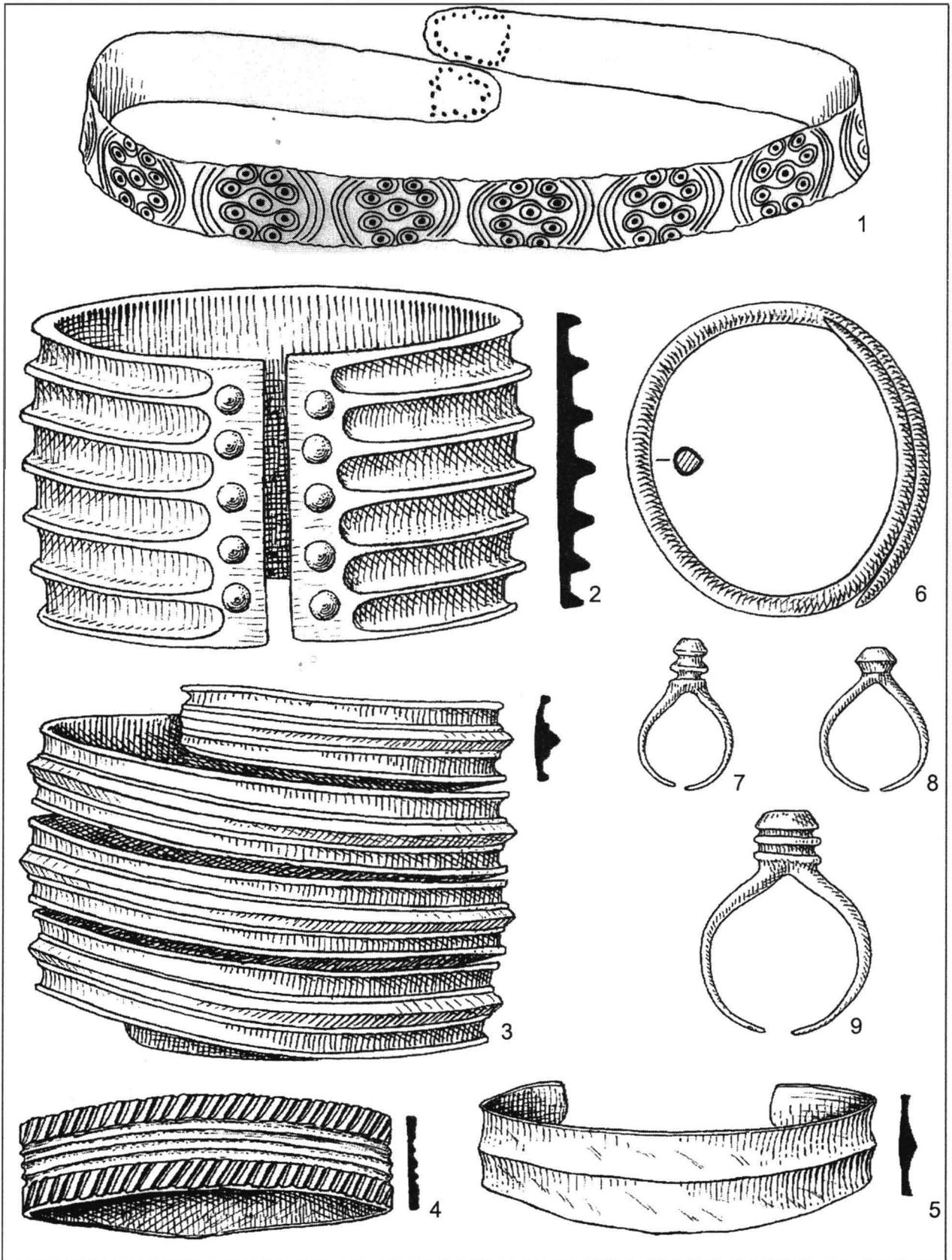


Fig. 25. Hinova, Mehedinți county, the treasure.

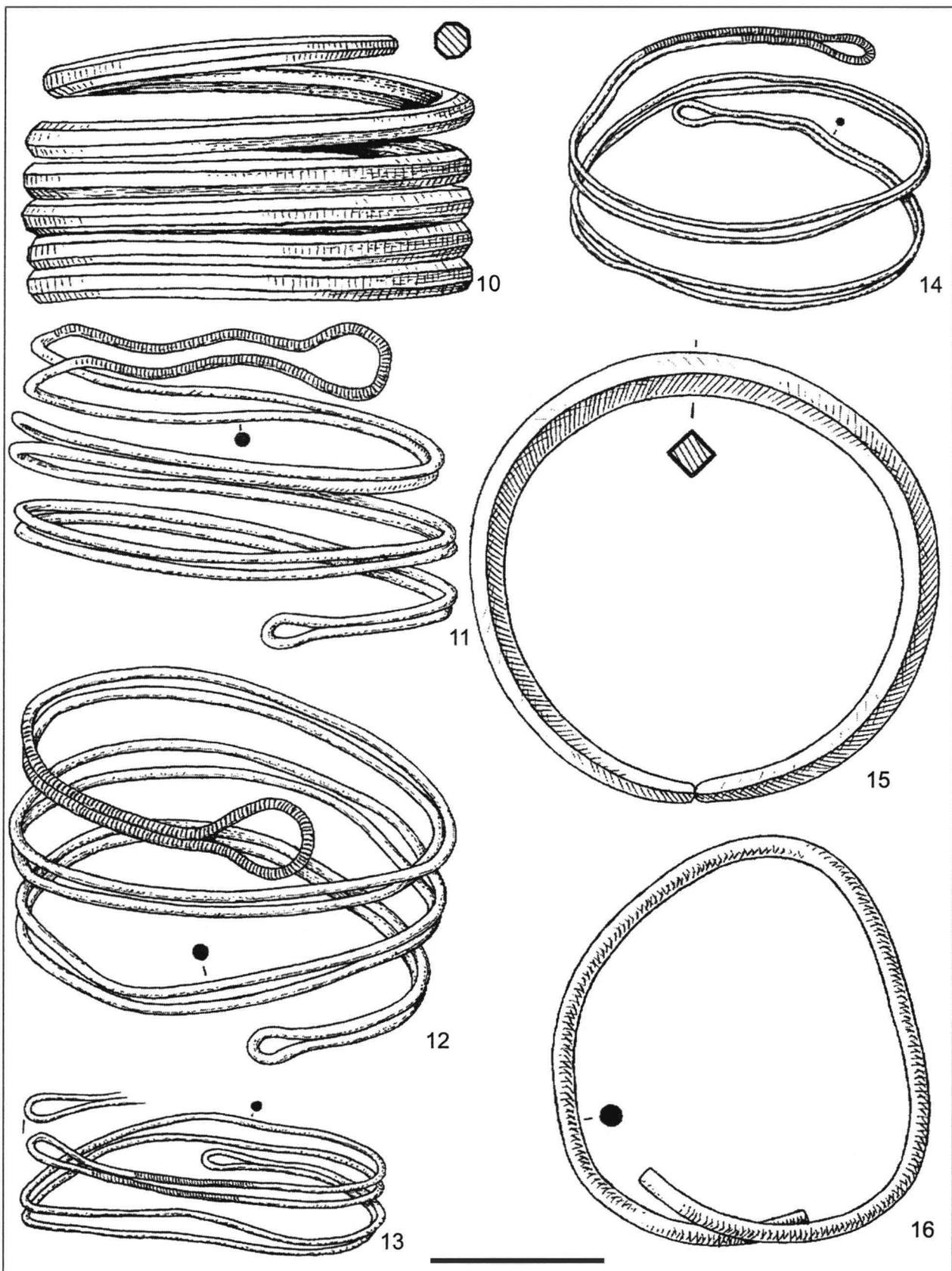


Fig. 26. Hinova, Mehedinți county, the treasure.

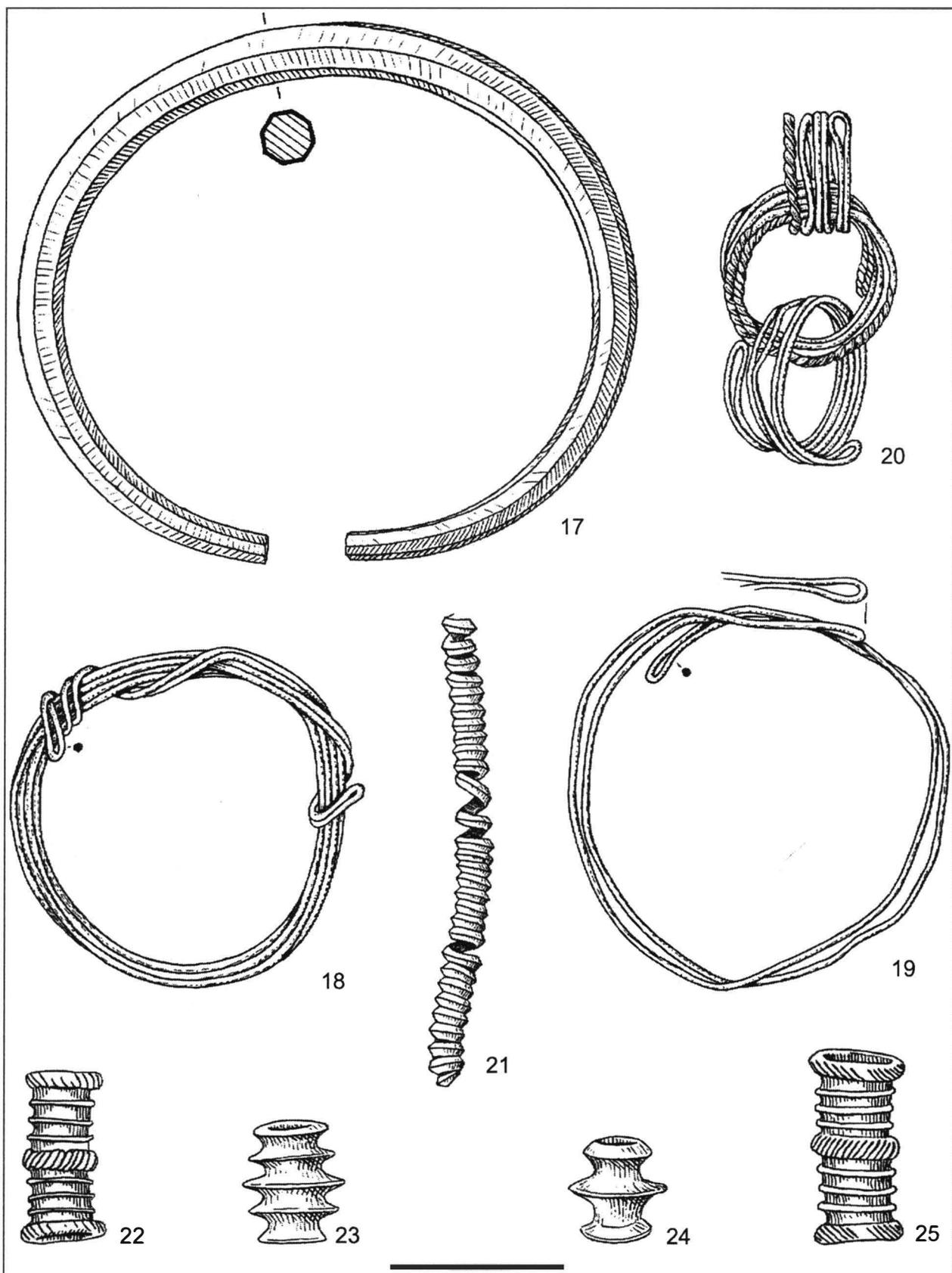


Fig. 27. Hinova, Mehedinți county, the treasure.

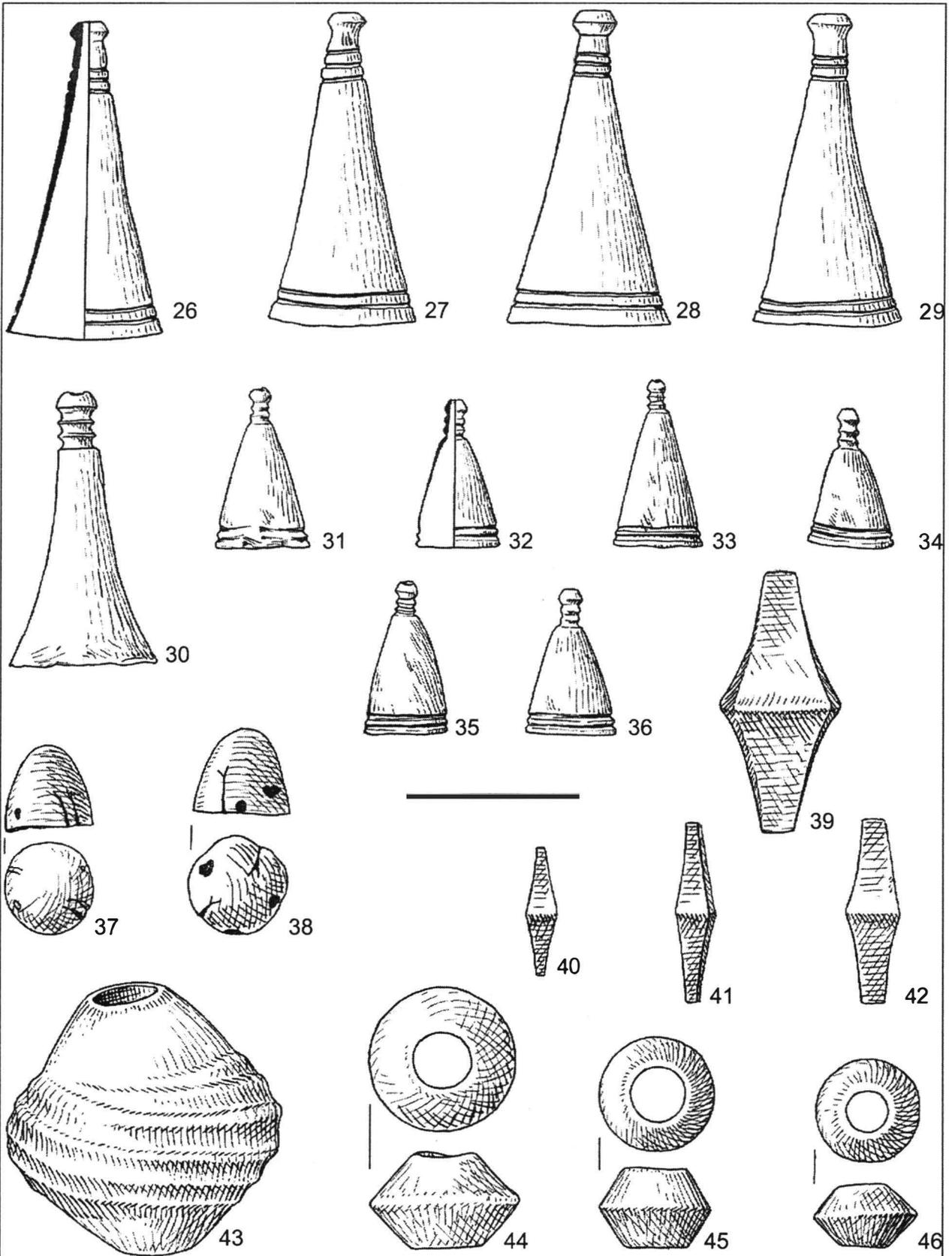


Fig. 28. Hinova, Mehedinți county, the treasure.

APOLLON BORES/BOREAS IN DEN GRIECHISCHEN KOLONIESTÄDTEN DES SCHWARZMEERGEBIETES*

FLORINA PANAIT BÎRZESCU

Keywords: Apollon, Bores/Boreas, Olbia, Histria, winds.

Abstract: Boreas is a feature of Apollo's cult in three Milesian colonies on the north-western coast of the Black Sea: Olbia, Borysthenes and Histria. The author proposes a hypothesis, according to which behind the epiclesis should be seen an aetiological myth, build on the pattern of the conflict between the patron deity of the Ionian colonists in the Black Sea and the hostile forces of the northern wind, Boreas (ion. Bores). Its inclusion as epiclesis of Apollo suggests a cult of a weather god, invoked for favourable weather conditions, both on the sea and on the land. A clue for the existence of such rituals could give us an offering of honey at Olbia in the Archaic period. It seems that there was a connection between extreme weather conditions and epidemic. It is not by chance that we find Apollo Boreas honoured in the sanctuary of Apollo Ietros in Olbia (the so-called Western Temenos). In the Hellenistic period, Apollo Boreas' cult continues to be present there. At Histria it is attested for the first time on a stone inscription. One can notice a certain development of religious thought in a text on a vessel from Olbia, dedicated by an association of worshipers, who call themselves *boreikoi thiasitai*. In the Hellenistic period Apollo became a complex, almighty god, identified or only associated with Helios, most probably under the influence of Oriental philosophical and religious ideas, which correspond to the tendency towards eclecticism and religious syncretism that marked the Greek world in the Hellenistic period.

Cuvinte cheie: Apollon, Bores/Boreas, Olbia, Histria, vânturi.

Rezumat: Apollo Boreas (ion. Bores) este o particularitate a cultului lui Apollo atestată în trei colonii milesiene din nord-vestul Mării Negre: Olbia, Borysthenes și Histria. Studiul de față propune o ipoteză conform căreia în spatele epiclezei se afla un mit etiologic, construit pe motivul luptei dintre divinitatea protectoare a coloniștilor ionieni din Marea Neagră și vântul potrivnic acestora, Boreas. Integrarea acestuia ca epicleză a lui Apollo evocă puterile unei divinități atmosferice, una dintre funcțiile zeului fiind aceea de a fi invocat pentru condiții atmosferice favorabile, nu numai pe mare, ci și pe uscat. Menționarea unei ofrande de miere în perioadă arhaică la Olbia ar corespunde unor astfel de ritualuri. Se pare că exista o legătură strânsă între condițiile atmosferice extreme și epidemie. Nu întâmplător îl regăsim pe Apollo Boreas venerat în sanctuarul lui Apollo Ietros. În perioadă elenistică, cultul lui Apollo Boreas continuă să fie prezent în sanctuarul vestic olbian, iar la Histria apare pentru prima dată atestat pe o inscripție pe piatră. O anumită evoluție în gândirea religioasă se observă într-un text de pe un obiect aparținând asociației de adoratori ai zeului, *boreikoi thiasitai*. În perioadă elenistică Apollo capătă dimensiunile unei divinități complexe, atotputernice, fiind identificat sau doar asociat lui Helios, foarte probabil sub influența ideilor filosofice și religioase venite din Orient, fapt care corespunde tendinței spre eclecticism și sincretism religios care a marcat lumea greacă după cucerirea macedoneană.

Einleitung

Apollon Boreas ist durch eine Reihe von fünf Graffiti und eine Steininschrift in Olbia, Borysthenes und Istros/Histria, drei alten milesischen Kolonien aus dem Schwarzmeergebiet, belegt. Vier dieser Inschriften sind in das 6. Jh. v. Chr. zu datieren. Drei davon, alle aus dem westlichen Temenos von Olbia,

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sind einfache Weihinschriften im Dativ und auf großen Gefäßen eingeritzt: auf den Mündungsrand einer klazomenischen Transportamphora¹, auf das Wandungsfragment einer attischen Amphora² und auf den Fuß eines schwarzfigurlichen attischen Kraters³. Das vierte Graffito befindet sich auf dem Boden eines attischen Schwarzfirmisgefäßes des 5. Jhs. v. Chr. und wird aufgrund der Buchstabenform um 300 v. Chr. datiert. Es handelt sich um eine längere Inschrift mit dem Namen der Gottheit ohne einen besonderen Beinamen. Dieser ergibt sich aber aus dem Namen der Dedikanten, *boreikoi thiasitai*⁴. Das fünfte Graffito, diesmal in ein Knochenplättchen eingeritzt, stammt aus dem Archiv von V. V. Lapin. Bekannt ist es als „Orakel“-Inschrift von Borysthenes (heute die Insel Berezan) und wird ans Ende des 6. Jhs. datiert. In einer Reihe von Beinamen ist hier Apollon u.a. als Νικηφόρος Βορέω (Sieger des Nordwindes) benannt⁵. Der Fundort der Knochenplatte wurde neuerlich von B. Bravo in Frage gestellt. Für ihn stammt die „Orakel“-Inschrift nicht von der Insel Berezan, sondern aus dem östlichen Temenos von Olbia. Dies passt mit dem Inhalt des Graffitos zusammen, in dem die Olbie Polis genannt ist⁶. Da eine Überprüfung der Herkunft noch aussteht, ist hier weiterhin von dem Knochenplättchen von Borysthenes/Berezan die Rede.

Neben Olbia und Borysthenes ist Apollon Boreas seit hellenistischer Zeit in Histria auf einer Stelenbasis epigraphisch nachgewiesen. Diese war an einer Prozessionsstraße aufgestellt⁷. Die Inschrift wurde kürzlich als eine Weihinschrift an Boreas in der ionischen Genitivform Βορέω erkannt⁸, die auch auf dem Knochenplättchen aus Borysthenes/Berezan vorkommt⁹. Die Deutung der histrianischen Basis als Monument für Apollon Boreas beruhte vor allem auf die Existenz seines Kultes in der Koloniestadt Olbia, welche eine enge religiöse, politische und kulturelle Beziehung zu Histria hatte, was häufig von modernen Autoren hervorgehoben wird.

Außerhalb der drei milesischen Schwarzmeer-Kolonien ist der Kult des Apollon Boreas bisher nicht nachgewiesen. Eine Beziehung zwischen Apollon und Boreas scheint seit dem Ende des 8. Jhs. v. Chr. auf der Insel Thera bestanden zu haben¹⁰.

Apollon Νικηφόρος Βορέω

Zuerst versuchte Anna Rusjaeva, die Epiklese Νικηφόρος Βορέω mit dem Mythos der Hyperboreer zu verknüpfen¹¹. Als Argument nannte sie neben der Geschichte, in der das von Apollon

¹ Vinogradov – Rusjaeva 2001, 136-137, Nr. 8 Anm. 14 Abb. 1. 16, 3; Drevnejšij temenos Ol'vii, 120 Nr. 8 Taf. 125, 16; 127, 1-2.

² [Απόλλων]ι Βορέη: Vinogradov – Rusjaeva 2001, 137 Nr. 10 Abb. 1. 6; Drevnejšij temenos Ol'vii, 121 Nr. 10 Taf. 125, 6.

³ [Απόλλ]ωνι Βο[ρέη]: Rusjaeva 1992, 48-49; Dubois 1996, 131 Nr. 83 b; Vinogradov – Rusjaeva 2001, 137 Nr. 9 Abb. 1, 7; Drevnejšij temenos Ol'vii, 121 Nr. 9 Taf. 125, 7.

⁴ Rusjaeva 1992, 18-19 Abb. 4; Dubois 1996, 155 Nr. 95; Vinogradov – Rusjaeva 2001, 139-140 Abb. 6; Drevnejšij temenos Ol'vii, 123 Nr. 24 Taf. 129-130; Graf – Johnston 2007, 188 Nr. 2. 2.

⁵ Rusjaeva 1986, 25-64; SEG 36, Nr. 694; Burkert 1990, 155-160; Burkert 1994, 49 ff.; Rusjaeva 1992, 29-41; Dubois 1996, 146-153 Nr. 93.

⁶ Detailliert bei Bravo 2011, 100. Er schlussfolgert: „L'identificazione della tavoletta che mi interessa con quella trovata nel ‚temenos orientale‘ è presentata da A. S. Rusjaeva prudentemente come una possibilità, non come una cosa certa. A me sembra molto probabile. Anche se l'identificazione fosse di tutto sicura, la tavoletta rimarrebbe priva di un contesto archeologico preciso. Sicuro è comunque, che essa proviene da qualche luogo di Όλβη πόλις (dentro o fuori del centro politico-religioso di essa)“.

⁷ Histria VII, 126; vgl. den Plan S. 57 Abb. 3, 1.

⁸ Zuerst wurde die Inschrift als Weihinschrift der Phyle Boreis interpretiert: ISM I Nr. 97; Pippidi 1988, 181-182. Neuerdings wurde sie jedoch mit gutem Grund als Weihung an Apollon Boreas gedeutet, s. Histria VII, 214 Nr. 5. c, Abb. 3.1 Taf. 2, 2. 4, 1-2; Birzescu 2006, 170 Abb. 6. Die Basis stammt höchstwahrscheinlich von einem älteren Monument, das am Ende des 2. Jhs. v. Chr. als Stelebasis wiederverwendet wurde.

⁹ Sowohl in Histria als auch in Borysthenes entspricht die Endung dem Genitiv mit Omega der ionischen Form Βορέης, (Koine Βορέας, att. Βορράς). Dazu s. Dubois 1996, 132. 189.

¹⁰ Lazzarini 1976, 240 Nr. 455. Auf Thera, nicht weit vom Heiligtum des Apollon Karneios, sind mehrere Felsinschriften gefunden worden, die Götternamen erwähnen, darunter auch Boreaios: IG XIII 3 Nr. 357.

¹¹ Rusjaeva 1992, 48; Rusjaeva 2005a, 238.

beherrschte Gebiet im extremen nördlichen Teil der Welt lokalisiert ist, auch Darstellungen von Apollon Hyperboreios und von den Greifen in der Kunst der nordpontischen Städte. Das hyperboreische Gebiet ist aber eher legendär, und wird in einem Raum lokalisiert, der außerhalb der bestehenden Welt liegt¹². Es weist auf eine Jenseitswelt, eine nördliche Replik der Elysischen Felder¹³. Gemäß einer Erzählung über einen gewissen Aristetas von Prokonnesos, die bei Herodot 4. 13 überliefert ist, konnte man dieses Gebiet nur in transzendentaler Weise erreichen¹⁴.

Gegen die Annahme Rusjaeva's spricht besonders die Tatsache, dass die Weihungen im nordwestpontischen Gebiet nicht an Apollon Hyperboreios gerichtet wurden, wie es der Fall in Süditalien ist, wo ihn die Pythagoreer verehrten¹⁵, sondern an Apollon Boreas. Es ist höchstwahrscheinlich, dass die Weihinschriften keinen Hinweis auf den Apollon geben, der jährlich drei Monate in dem Gebiet jenseits des Nordens verbringt, wo kein Sterblicher hingelangen kann. Der Beiname weist vielmehr eher auf einen Mythos, der sich auf die wirkliche Welt bezieht, nämlich eine Welt, die von Boreas beherrscht wird.

Schon seit dem 8. Jh. v. Chr. häufig von antiken Autoren erwähnt, wird Boreas mit dem Nordwind identifiziert. Seine Heimat befindet sich im Norden, nämlich in Thrakien¹⁶. Als „König der Winde“, wie Pindar (Pythia 4. 181) ihn nennt, gehört Boreas, der Sohn von Astraios und Eos, zu einer ersten Generation von Göttern, noch vor Zeus Geburt. Er wird häufig neben seinen Brüdern Zephyros, Notos und Euros in den homerischen Liedern erwähnt, die ihn als entweder hilfsbereit oder verlustbringend für Seeleute charakterisieren. Seine Macht kann sowohl zu Wasser als auch zu Lande schädlich oder wünschenswert sein. Boreas ist der kühle Wind, der Feuchtigkeit in Regen verwandelt, er entfernt die Trockenheit, die vom Südwind gebracht wird, und trocknet die Gärten im Herbst ein (Hesiod, Werke und Tage 547-549). Das erste Zeugnis seines Kultes begegnet im 23. Lied der Ilias, wo Achilleus zu ihm und Zephyros betet und Opfer verspricht, damit sie beim Entfachen des Scheiterhaufens für Patrokles helfen. Andere spätere Erwähnungen zeigen seine Verehrung als Retter der Stadt vor den Angriffen, die vom Meer kommen. In Athen wird der Kult des Boreas nach dem persischen Angriff an Kap Artemision im Jahre 480 bedeutender; ein kleines Heiligtum wurde ihm sogar von den Athenern am Fluss Ilissos angelegt (Herodotus 7. 189; Platon, Phaidros 229). In Thurioi wird er mit dem Beinamen Euergetes nach der Rettung der Stadt vor dem Angriff des Dionysios, des Tyrannen von Syrakus (Aelianus, VH 12. 61), verehrt. In Megalopolis wird ein Heiligtum des Boreas erwähnt, in dem jährlich aus Dankbarkeit für die Rettung der Stadt vor dem Angriff des Lakedämoniers Agis geopfert wurde (Pausanias 8. 36. 6).

Der Kult der Ionier im Pontos richtete sich dagegen nicht an Boreas als Gottheit des Nordwindes, wie bei den Einwohner von Athen, Thurioi und Megalopolis, sondern an Apollon Boreas. Dieser Apollon wird ausdrücklich auf dem Knochenplättchen von Berezan als Νικηφόρος Βορέω bezeichnet. Es gibt

¹² Nach und nach, mit den Kenntnissen zur wahren Geographie, dieses Gebiet wird nördlicher vorgestellt s. Bridgman 2005, 34: „The land of the Hyperboreans had thus been transposed from mainland Greece to the sources of the Danube on the eastern (sic!) coast of the Black Sea, and then to the zone north of the Black Sea as Greek geographical knowledge and the area of Greek colonisation expanded”.

¹³ Das Gebiet der Hyperboreer und die Elysischen Felder haben gleiche Eigenschaften: „The Hyperboreans were an idealised people, living in an eternally joyful, but remote country, above an imaginary range of unattainable mountains, called the Rhipsean Mountains. (...) The world of the Elysian plain is a mythical utopia at the ends of the earth, sealed off from the world of humans, human strife and every day human life, comprising such features as perfect weather, cooling winds, a benevolent ruler and restricted access to only those mortal individuals with particular connections”, s. Bridgman 2005, 3.

¹⁴ Bridgman 2005, 11, mit der Zusammenstellung der antiken Quellen über die Unmöglichkeit des Erreichens des hyperboreischen Gebietes sowohl zu Wasser als auch zu Lande. Der einzige Weg führt über die Διὸς ὁδόν, die „Straße des Zeus“ (Pindar, Olympia 2. 70) oder eine ὁδὸν ἱερὰν, eine „heilige Straße“, wie auf einer Goldtafel aus Hipponion genannt; dazu s. auch Graf–Johnston 2007, 4-5.

¹⁵ K. Wernicke, in RE I 1, s.v. Apollon, col. 71: Pythagoras in Kroton als Apollon Hyperboreios verehrt, cf. Aelian, VH 2. 26, Diogenes Laertius 8. 11; Iamblichos, VP 140; Nilsson, GGR I, 707: „Die Griechen haben diese Verwandtschaft empfunden und den Pythagoras, den die Verehrung seiner Schule zum Gott erhob, den hyperboreischen Apollon genannt”.

¹⁶ Einige Autoren suchen seine Heimat an verschiedenen Orten in Thrakien, nicht weit vom Fluß Strymon, auf dem Pangaion Gebirge; andere in dem Gebiet der Hyperboreer, an den Quellen der Nacht; Lukian, in *Pharsalia* 5. 603, nennt ihn sogar einen Skythen. Zu den Quellen s. K. Wernicke in RE III 1, s.v. Boreas 2), col. 722.

noch keine Einstimmigkeit die Übersetzung betreffend. "Siegbringer des Nordens" wurde von Walter Burkert vorgeschlagen¹⁷. Die meisten Herausgeber der Inschrift ziehen vor, Apollon als „Sieger über den Nordwind“ zu sehen¹⁸. Die Auseinandersetzung zwischen den beiden Gottheiten¹⁹ findet einen Vergleich in dem delphischen Mythos, wo Apollon Sieger über den lokalen Dämon Python ist²⁰. Durch den Sieg hat Apollon die „Eigenschaften“, Orakel und Kult, von Python übernommen. Auf diese Weise kann auch den Zusammenschluss zwischen Apollon und Boreas interpretiert werden. Es gibt außerdem einige Ähnlichkeiten zwischen Python und Boreas:

1) Beide gehören zu einer ersten Generation von Göttern. In verschiedenen Varianten des delphischen Mythos ist Python/Typhon²¹ der Sohn von Gaia/Hera²², Boreas von Astraios und Eos²³.

2) Sie leben in einem unterirdischen Gebiet, nämlich in Höhlen²⁴. Einige Autoren erwähnen als Wohnung des Boreas eine Höhle, wo die Welt endet²⁵.

3) Beide wurden als Mischwesen dargestellt. Python teilweise oder vollständig als Schlange²⁶, während Typhon, häufig als bärtiger Mensch, manchmal geflügelt, mit Schlangenschwänzen anstelle von Beinen dargestellt wird²⁷. Boreas kommt besonders als geflügelter Mensch mit wirbelndem Bart und Haar vor²⁸. Auf der Kypseloslade in Olympia beschreibt Pausanias (5. 19. 1) die Entführung der Oreithyia von dem halb als Mensch, halb als Schlange dargestellten Boreas²⁹. Dieses Bild, dessen Deutung als Boreas zuerst abgelehnt wurde³⁰, wurde von Erika Simon als eine tatsächliche Darstellung des Gottes in archaischer Zeit interpretiert: „diese Mischgestalt wies bei Boreas auf die chthonische Natur des Windgottes hin“³¹. Zu bemerken ist auch, dass die Giganten häufig auf den archaischen korinthischen Gefäßen geflügelt und mit Schlangenschwänzen anstelle von Beinen dargestellt werden. In klassischer Zeit wird die Tiergestalt von Boreas selten; seine Umwandlung folgt einerseits einer Tendenz der Anthropomorphisierung solcher Gottheiten, andererseits dem athenischen Mythos von der Entführung der Oreithyia, welcher Boreas zu den Ahnen der Athener zählte³². Seit dem 4. Jh. werden die Giganten

¹⁷ Burkert 1994, 53: „bearer of victory of the North“, cf. Herda 2008, 34 mit Anm. 157. Weitere Variante, Bravo 2011, 115-116: „apportatore di vittoria, che viene dal Nord“.

¹⁸ Rusjaeva 1986, 59; Rusjaeva 1992, 48; Dubois 1996, 153 Nr. 93; Onyshkevych 1998, 127; Avram u. a. 2008, 113.

¹⁹ Auch bei Dubois 1996, 132: „l'assimilation de la divinité du Nord par le principal dieu des colons grec. Cette assimilation a pu être conçue sous la forme d'une victoire si l'on eu croit des termes $\nu\kappa\eta\phi\acute{o}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ $\beta\omicron\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ de l'inscription de Bérezan“.

²⁰ Der Kampf mit einem teriomorphischen Dämonen ist ein Thema aus dem Orient und kommt in der Literatur häufig vor, s. Fontenrose 1959, passim; Penglase 1997, 80-105.

²¹ Eine Identifizierung von Python mit Typhon bei Fontenrose 1959, 77 ff.; Fontenrose 1959, 91 ist sogar der Meinung, dass Python und Typhon Variante von demselben Namen wären.

²² Fontenrose 1959, 47 ff.

²³ K. Wernicke in RE III 1, s.v. Boreas 2), col. 721.

²⁴ Zu Python bei den antiken Autoren, Fontenrose 1959, 54 f.

²⁵ Gesammelt von K. Wernicke in RE III 1, s.v. Boreas 2), col. 723.

²⁶ W. Lambrinudakis, LIMC II/1, s.v. Apollon, 301-303 Nr. 986-1002; Python ist häufig als Schlange, selten als Mischwesen – mit einem menschlichen Oberkörper und dem Unterkörper einer Schlange –, dargestellt, s. L. Kahil, in LIMC VII/1, s.v. Python, 609-610.

²⁷ O. Toucheffeu-Meynier, LIMC VIII/1, s.v. Typhon, 147-152.

²⁸ S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou, LIMC III/1, s.v. Boreas, 133-142.

²⁹ S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou, LIMC III/1, s.v. Boreas, 139 Nr. 84.

³⁰ „Aber hier ist wohl ein Irrtum des Periegeten anzunehmen: der angebliche Boreas hatte statt der Beine Schlangenschwänze, war also wohl jener auf korinthischen Vasen so häufig dargestellte, gewöhnlich Typhon genannte Unhold“, cf. K. Wernicke in RE III 1, s.v. Boreas 2), col. 727.

³¹ Simon 1967, 111: „Zwar wird der Windgott später stets mit menschlichen Beinen abgebildet, aber wir haben keinen Grund, die Beschreibung des Pausanias anzuzweifeln. Wurde doch auch Typhon, der bei Hesiod als Erzeuger der schädlichen Winde genannt ist (Hesiod, *Theogonia* 869), mit Schlangenbeinen versehen (...)“.

³² Sophia Kaempf-Dimitriadou bemerkte die Tendenz zu einem „friedlichen Aussehen“ in den Darstellungen: „hat der Niobidenmaler Boreas in der Art der attischen Klassik veredelt: Milde Gesichtszüge, gepflegte, von einem feierlichen Olivenkranz geschmückte Haare verleihen dem Verfolger der attischen Prinzessin ein friedliches Aussehen und lassen ihn wie einen würdigen, Schwiegersohn' der Athener erscheinen“, S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou, LIMC III/1, s.v. Boreas, 140.

wieder in einer schlangenartigen Form dargestellt³³. Wie Joseph Fontenrose bemerkte, haben die Giganten die Form von Typhon übernommen, oder, besser gesagt, sie haben sie wiedergewonnen³⁴.

4) Beide herrschen über ein Gebiet, in dem sie gewalttätig und chaotisch agieren³⁵. Dadurch kommen sie in Konflikt mit Apollon. Der Grund für den Streit wird im Fall von Python/Typhon in verschiedenen Varianten unterschiedlich interpretiert. Bei Boreas bleibt er rätselhaft, ist aber durch die Formel Νικηφόρος Βορέω nahegelegt.

Demzufolge ist es anzunehmen, dass Apollon, der Gott der Milesier im Schwarzmeerraum, den Boreas besiegt und seine Kräfte übernimmt. Die Tatsache, dass der Name der Gottheit als Beinamen Apollons vorkommt, bestätigt die Formel auf der „Orakel“-Inscription aus Berezan und stützt die Vermutung, dass diese Inschrift eher auf einen lokalen Mythos hinweist. Der postulierte Mythos vom Konflikt zwischen den beiden Gottheiten wird in den uns erhaltenen antiken Autoren allerdings nicht erwähnt. In Athen, Thurioi und Megalopolis wird Boreas für seine Macht, starke und zerstörerische Stürme gegen die Feinde auf dem Meer zu senden, verehrt. Es ist durchaus möglich, dass es sich um eine lokale Tradition der Schwarzmeer-Ionier handelt, gemäß derer Boreas gegen die Seeleute in diesem Gebiet wirkte und dafür von Apollon besiegt wurde. Dieser lokale Mythos bezieht sich auf keinem Fall auf die Existenz eines Boreas-Kultes, der vor der Ankunft der Griechen bestanden hat. In Delphi ist der Kult von Gaia/Thetis vor dem Apollon-Kult weder literarisch noch archäologisch belegt³⁶. In diesem Sinn ist Apollon Boreas als Schutzgottheit der Kolonisten im nordwestlichen Gebiet des Schwarzen Meeres zu sehen.

Der Kult des Apollon Boreas in archaischer Zeit

Die epigraphischen Nachweise zum Kult des Apollon Boreas in archaischer Zeit stammen ausschließlich aus dem westlichen Temenos von Olbia. Von den drei Graffiti bietet nur die Inschrift auf einer spätarchaischen klazomenischen Transportamphora einige Auskünfte zum Charakter des Kultes³⁷. Die Weihung wurde merkwürdigerweise auf dem gefirnissenen Rand des Gefäßes wenig sorgfältig eingeritzt:

Ἀναπέρρης Ἀναχυρσῶ Σκ(ό)λοτη(ς) Ἀπ(ό)λλωνι Βορῆι μέλι πατρ[ώιον] (ἀνέθηκεν)

„Anaperres, Sohn des Anachyrsos, der Skolotes, hat es dem Apollon Boreas (geweiht), (eine Amphora mit) Honig auf eigene Kosten“.

Der Name des Dedikanten ist durch diese Inschrift zum ersten Male belegt, dennoch wurde der Vatersname mit einer berühmten Person aus der Umgebung von Olbia in Verbindung gebracht, nämlich mit dem Skythenkönig Ἀνάχαρσις³⁸. Der dritte Name wurde von den ersten Herausgebern der Inschrift als Ethnikon der Skolotes, eines skythischen Stammes (Herodotus 4. 6), interpretiert. Es ist durchaus möglich, dass der Dedikant ein hellenisierter Skythe war.

Aus der Weihinschrift ergibt sich, dass das Gefäß mit Honig gefüllt war und dem Apollon Boreas geweiht wurde. Der Honig gehört zu den νηφάλια-Spenden, d.h. Trankopfern ohne Wein³⁹, nämlich von Milch, Honig⁴⁰ oder Öl. Ein solches Opfer ist für die chthonischen Gottheiten charakteristisch⁴¹ und auf

³³ F. Vian, LIMC IV/1, s.v. Gigantes, 253-254.

³⁴ Fontenrose 1959, 242.

³⁵ Fontenrose 1959, 58 ff.

³⁶ Amandry 1950, 201 f. „La légende élaborée pour faire coïncider l'histoire des origines de l'oracle avec la théogonie hésiodique, donc le prologue des Euménides offre l'exemple le plus accompli, n'est peut-être qu'une invention des théologiens de Delphes, destinée à conférer au dieu tard venu le prestige d'un antique lignage“, s. Amandry 1950, 214. Zu einem früheren Orakel von Gaia, Nilsson, GGR I, 171; Dietrich 1990, 170; Sourvinou-Inwood 1990, 215-233.

³⁷ Vinogradov – Rusjaeva 2001, 136-137 Nr. 8 Anm. 14 Abb. 1, 16, 3 ; SEG 53, Nr. 788; Drevnejšij temenos Ol'vii, 120 Nr. 8 Taf. 125, 16. 127, 1-2.

³⁸ Vinogradov – Rusjaeva 2001, 141; Rusjaeva 2005b, 97, Anaperres wäre der Sohn des bekannten Skythenkönigs Anacharsis (LGPN IV, 24). Zum Vorkommen des Namens Anacharsis in Athen, LGPN II, 29.

³⁹ „In einzelnen Fällen mag auch die dämonische Kraft des Weines, die man fürchtete, mitgewirkt haben“, L. Ziegler, RE XXXII, s.v. Νηφάλια, col. 2488.

⁴⁰ Der Honig wurde entweder rein oder mit Milch und Wasser gemischt (μελίκρατον) gespendet, „Denn er allein (der Honig) war doch zu einer richtigen Spende kaum geeignet und musste dazu mit Milch oder Wasser vermengt werden“, s. L. Ziegler, RE XXXII, s.v. Νηφάλια, col. 2481-2485, besonders col. 2482.

⁴¹ Eine Liste dieser Göttlichkeiten bei L. Ziegler, RE XXXII, s.v. Νηφάλια, col. 2486-2489. S. auch Guthrie 1950, 222; 297.

einen ersten Blick hat dieser Brauch mit dem Apollon-Kult kaum etwas zu tun. Deutlich wird dies z. B. in einer Szene im ersten Gesang der Ilias (1. 455-473): hier wird die Seuche beschrieben, die Apollon über die Achäer nach der Ablehnung der Bitten des Chryses absendet. Um den Gott gnädig zu stimmen, verehren die Achäer ihn durch *thysiai*, Fleischverteilung, Weinopfer, Lieder und Tänze.

Der Gegensatz olympisch *versus* chthonisch wurde häufig in der modernen Literatur behandelt, von einer klaren Trennung bis neuerdings zu einer Relativierung der Begriffe⁴². Einige Forscher, wie Scott Scullion, haben dazu bemerkt, dass die Präsenz einiger Rituale chthonischen Charakters in dem Kult einer olympischen Gottheit ihre Bedeutung nicht ändern, insbesondere wenn es sich um *heilige Handlungen* handelt, etwa Opfer, die unter besonderen Bedingungen gemacht werden, wie Schwuropfer, *sphagia*, Rituale für die Abwehr des Bösen, usw. Er schlussfolgert: „when a given god is mentioned in connection with such rites, that fact in itself may tell as nothing about his character: the only reliable index to this are the rituals and aetia of his regular worship“⁴³.

Das untypische Opfer, das durch das olbische Graffito belegt wird, gehört eher zu einer sekundären Seite des Gottes, die durch die Epiklese erklärt wird. Der chthonische Charakter der Windgottheiten wird vor allem durch die Art der Opfer reflektiert: nächtliche Opfer, vollständiges Brandopfer, Bestattung der Überreste oder Verbreitung der Asche durch den Wind, Verwendung von *bothroi* oder *escharai* als Altäre, schwarzfarbige Tiere für das gewöhnliche Opfer oder ungewöhnliche Tieropfer wie Hühner, Esel, Pferde oder sogar Menschen⁴⁴. Solche Rituale wurden *ad hoc* vorgenommen, z. B. für die Rettung vor einem Sturm⁴⁵.

Walter Burkert bemerkte, dass ein solcher chthonischer Hintergrund in verschiedenen Kulturen olympischer Gottheiten nachweisbar ist: „(...) so folgen olympischen Opfer auf chthonische Voropfer. Viele Heiligtümer haben neben Altar und Tempel eine chthonische Opferstätte, die dann im Mythos als Grab eines Heros bezeichnet wird“⁴⁶. Er verwies auf das Beispiel des Apollon von Amyklai in Lakonien. Im ersten Tag des Festes Hyakinthia ist dem Hyakinthos, einer Vegetationgottheit, geopfert worden und nur am zweiten und dritten Tag dem Apollon. Ob es eine solche Regelung für Apollon Boreas gab, ist schwer zu sagen. Sicher ist, dass die Rituale zur Herstellung der günstigen Wetterbedingungen sowohl auf See als auch auf dem Land zum Wetterzauber gehören, weshalb eine solche weinlose Spende dann nicht verwundert.

Die anderen zwei Graffiti von Olbia sind leider nur fragmentarisch erhalten. Zu lesen sind nur einfache Weihinschriften an Apollon Boreas. Das Fehlen weiterer Hinweise zur Weihung oder zu den Dedikanten machen die Kommentare schwierig. Sie zeigen aber eindeutig eine gewisse Bedeutung des Kultes in dem westlichen Temenos in der zweiten Hälfte des 6. Jhs. v. Chr.

Der Kult von Apollon Boreas in hellenistischer Zeit

In hellenistischer Zeit ist der Kult von Apollon Boreas im westlichen Temenos von Olbia indirekt belegt. Es handelt sich um ein Graffito auf dem Fuß einer attischen Schale. Die Inschrift wurde aufgrund der Form der Buchstaben ans Ende des 4. Jhs. – Anfang des 3. Jhs. v. Chr. datiert⁴⁷, während das Gefäß viel früher anzusetzen ist, ins 5. Jh. v. Chr. Sie wurde von fünf Dedikanten, darunter drei Söhnen eines Sokrates, angebracht, die sich als Verein (*thiasos*) von Βορειοκοί titulieren: Καλλίνικος Φιλ[ονί]κου,

⁴² Zur Diskussion s. Scullion 1994, 77-79.

⁴³ Scullion 1994, 96.

⁴⁴ Neuser 1982, *passim*, besonders S. 191; 213 ff.; 232. Der magische Charakter der Rituale ist für Titane, eine kleine Siedlung in der Nähe von Sikyon, offensichtlich. Hier erwähnt Pausanias (2. 12. 1) einen Altar der Winde, wo einmal im Jahr geopfert wird.

⁴⁵ Einige Beispiele bei Robertson 2005, 85 ff. Auch Nilsson, GGR I, 116.

⁴⁶ Burkert 1977, 311; vgl. ebenda: „Im Mythos haben die Götter dementsprechend oft einen sterblichen Doppelgänger, der dem Gott fast zum Verwechseln ähnlich wird, nur dass er vom Tod gezeichnet, ja vom Gott selbst getötet ist: wie Hyakinthos neben Apollon steht, Iphigenia neben Artemis, Erechtheus neben Poseidon, Iodama neben Athena. Im Kult wird dann Iphigenia auch als ‚Artemis‘ geehrt, Erechtheus als Poseidon Erechtheus, Iodama ‚lebt‘ als Athenas Altar, der ewiges Feuer trägt. Der Mythos hat in zwei Gestalten aufgespalten, was in Opferritual als Spannung vorgegeben ist“.

⁴⁷ SEG 42, Nr. 709; Rusjaeva 1992, 18-19 Abb. 4; S. 196; Dubois 1996, 155 Nr. 95; Vinogradov – Rusjaeva 2001, 139-140 Abb. 6; Drevnejšij temenos Ol'vii, 123 Nr. 24 Taf. 129, 130; Graf – Johnston 2007, 188 Nr. 2. 2.

[Ποσει]δώνιος Σωκράτ(ο)υ, Ἡροσῶν Φιλοξένου, Δημήτριος[ς] Σωκράτου, Φίλων Σωκράτου, Βορεικοὶ θιασίται. Der Name *Boreikoi* ist zweifellos von Boreas abgeleitet. Der Fundort weist auf eine gewisse Beständigkeit des Apollon-Boreas-Kultes in Olbia. Neben dem Namen der Vereinsmitglieder wurde eine weitere kreisförmige Zeile mit fünf Paarungen von gleichen Wörtern im Nominativ auf dem Gefäßboden eingeritzt: Βίος βίος Απόλλων Απόλλων ἥλιο[ς] ἥλιος κόσμος κ[όσ]μος φῶς φῶς. In der Inschrift spielt Apollon eine zentrale Rolle. Die Aufzählung ähnelt einer mnemonischen Formel und wie Laurent Dubois bemerkte, steht sie mit orphischen Täfelchen des 5. Jhs. aus Olbia in enger Verbindung⁴⁸. Es ist durchaus möglich, dass dem Verein der Boreikoi in Olbia die orphische Philosophie nicht fremd war⁴⁹.

Die Vereinsmitglieder verehren den Gott mit Epitheta, die auf den orphischen Hymnus hinweisen, ein Werk des 2. Jhs. n. Chr.⁵⁰, das zweifellos frühere Quellen verwendet⁵¹. Zu nennen sind z. B. φωσφόρε δαίμον (lichtbringender Daimon, V. 5), πανδερκές ἔχων φαεσίμβροτον ὄμμα (Auge, das alles sieht und den Sterblichen Licht bringt, V. 8), ἔχεις δέ τε πείρατα κόσμου παντός (der die Verkettungen der ganzen Welt hält, V. 14), οὔκενα παντός ἔχεις κόσμου σφραγίδα τυπῶτιν (Herrscher der Siegel der ganzen Welt, V. 26)⁵². Die Reihung von Apollon und Helios in der olbischen Inschrift erinnert an den Glauben der Orphiker, die Apollon Eigenschaften von Helios zuteilten. In einem Scholion zu Aischylos' *Bassaridai* verehrt Orpheus den Apollon Helios an jedem Sonnenaufgang über dem Pangaion-Gebirge⁵³, und nach Proklos „verehrt Orpheus die Gesellschaft der beiden Götter“ (Orphicorum Fragmenta 172)⁵⁴. Die Gleichsetzung von Apollon mit Helios ist ein Phänomen, das besonders in hellenistischer Zeit begegnet. Diese Gleichsetzung wird vor allem in Kleinasien durch die Tendenzen zum Eklektizismus und zum religiösen Synkretismus erklärt⁵⁵. Daneben machen sich stärkere Einflüsse vorderorientalischer Gestirns-Gottheiten und -Personifizierungen bemerkbar⁵⁶, die bereits in archaischer Zeit spürbar sind⁵⁷.

Eine vorgriechische Tradition ist in Milet durch die Geschichte von der Geburt des Branchos, des mythischen Gründers der sacerdotalen Dynastie der *Branchidai* in Didyma, sichtbar. Seine schwangere Mutter hatte einen Traum, in dem die Sonne durch ihren Mund eindrang und durch die Gebärmutter wieder hinausgelangte⁵⁸. Auf diesen Mythos beziehen sich vielleicht auch die Darstellungen mit dem Löwen und einem Stern mit acht Strahlen auf den milesischen Münzen⁵⁹. Eine solare Seite des Apollon-Kultes im Schwarzmeerraum lässt sich durch die Bezeichnung λέων δεινός, „fürchterlicher Löwe“, in

⁴⁸ Dubois 1996, 156. Zu den orphischen Täfelchen, Rusjaeva 1978, 87-104; SEG 28, Nr. 659-661; West 1982, 17-29; West 1983, 17; Vinogradov 1991, 77-86; Dubois 1996, 154 Nr. 94; Baumgarten 1998, 89; Graf – Johnston 2007, 185-187.

⁴⁹ Eine ähnliche Situation ist für Histria anzunehmen, wo die Basis mit der Weihinschrift an Boreas neben einem kleinen Monument an Orpheus entlang einer in hellenistischer Zeit errichteten Prozessionsstraße aufgestellt war: Histria VII, 126. 214; Bîrzescu 2006, 170 Abb. 7.

⁵⁰ K. Ziegler, in RE XXXVI/1, s.v. Orphische Dichtung, col. 1343-1344; K. Ziegler, in RE XXXV, s.v. Orpheus, col. 1215 f.

⁵¹ Guthrie 1966, 258-260. Nach einigen Versionen – die älteste ist von Pindar, Pyth. 4. 313 – war Orpheus der Sohn von Apollon und der Muse Kalliope. Die Einverleibung des Gottes in der Genealogie des Heros ist metaphorisch; durch die Verwandtschaft wird ihre gemeinsame Natur hervorgehoben, am besten durch die Leier charakterisiert, s. K. Ziegler, in RE XXXV, s.v. Orpheus, col. 1217.

⁵² Orphic Hymns, Hymn to Apollo, 47.

⁵³ K. Ziegler, in RE XXXV, s.v. Orpheus, col. 1284.

⁵⁴ Guthrie 1966, 43.

⁵⁵ Der Kult des Helios ist selten vor der hellenistischen Zeit bei den Griechen belegt. Wo er vorkommt, hat er entweder eine vorgriechische Herkunft (Peloponnes, Kreta, Rhodos) oder wird von lokalen Bevölkerungen übernommen (Kleinasien). In Phrygien ist der Kult von Apollon Lairbenos bekannt, in Smyrna Apollon Kisaulodenos, in Thyteira Apollon Thyrimnaios, O. Jessen, in RE XV, s.v. Helios, col. 62-70.

⁵⁶ McMinn 1956, 212.

⁵⁷ McMinn 1956, 202.

⁵⁸ Konon (FrGrHist 26, 1.33), cf. Parke 1985, 3-4.

⁵⁹ SNG III, Lockett Collection, Nr. 2835-2841; SNG VI, Fitzwilliam Museum, Nr. 935-940.

der archaischen „Orakel“-Inschrift von Berezan erkennen⁶⁰. Eine Assoziierung von Apollon und Helios in Olbia ist durch ein weiteres frühhellenistisches Graffito aus der Unteren Stadt belegt⁶¹. Hier sind die Namen mehrerer Gottheiten sowohl waagrecht (Apollon, die Musen, Nike, Theos) als auch senkrecht (Helios, Poseidon, Pl(ou)ton) geschrieben.

Bemerkenswert ist aber auf dem olbischen Graffito, dass die Inschrift nicht einem Thiasos der Orphiker gehört, sondern einem Verein der Boreiker. Dennoch handelt es sich in Olbia eher um einen Thiasos, der Apollon Boreas und nicht einfach den Gott des Nordwindes verehrt. Dieses ist vor allem durch den Fundort, nämlich das westliche Temenos, erklärt, wo die Existenz eines Apollon-Boreas-Kultes seit archaischer Zeit belegt ist. Es ist zu vermuten, dass diese Boreiker, Verehrer von Apollon Boreas, vom orphischen Glauben beeinflusst wurden und, wie die Orphiker, dem Boreas und den Winden eine gewisse Rolle bei der Seelenmigration zugewiesen haben⁶².

Zusammenfassung

Die Epiklese Boreas weist auf einen besonderen Aspekt des Apollon-Kultes in den milesischen Kolonien des nordwestlichen Schwarzmeerraumes. In der vorliegenden Studie wird vorgeschlagen, dass ein ätiologischer Mythos hinter dieser Epiklese steht. Dieser thematisiert den Konflikt zwischen dem Gott der Kolonisten, Apollon, und dem widerstrebenden Nordwind, Boreas. Die durch eine archaische Weihinschrift aus Olbia bezeugte Honigspende passt zur Verehrung einer Wettergottheit. Dass Apollon Boreas in dem Heiligtum des Apollon Ietros, dem sog. westlichen Temenos in Olbia, verehrt wurde, erklärt sich durch ihre vergleichbare Funktion als Schutzgottheiten vor außergewöhnlichen Wetterbedingungen und Seuchen⁶³. In hellenistischer Zeit wird der Kult des Apollon Boreas fortgesetzt. Ein Verein des Gottes (Thiasos der Boreikoi) weist auf einen starken Einfluss des Orphismus im Kult des Apollon Boreas hin. Ein weiterer Kultort für ihn lag in Histria, wo er höchstwahrscheinlich, wie auch in Olbia, im Heiligtum des Apollon Ietros mitverehrt wurde⁶⁴.

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⁶⁰ Herda 2008, 33. Zu einer hellenistischen Weihinschrift der Milesier an Apollon Didymeus Helios in Medinet Habu (Ägypten), s. Herda 2008, 63. Zur Assoziierung von Helios mit Apollon in Milet seit der archaischen Zeit, Herda 2006, 283, Anm. 2005; s. auch Fontenrose 1988, 113.

⁶¹ Lejpunskaja – Rusjaeva 2006, 108-126 Abb. 1; Rusjaeva 2010, 503 Nr. S 14 Taf. 377.

⁶² Zu den Winden bei den Orphikern: Guthrie 1950, 140-141.

⁶³ Cf. Marshall 2000, 19 ff.; Longrigg 2000, 57.

⁶⁴ Zum Heiligtum von Apollon Ietros in Histria, s. P. Alexandrescu, in: Histria VII, 187 ff.

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SUR L'ORIGINE DE SCYTHOPOLIS : UNE HYPOTHÈSE

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À l'époque du Principat, *Scythopolis*¹ appartenait, à côté d'autres villes de Coelé-Syrie (Abila, Damascus, Dion, Gadara, Gerasa, Hippos, Kanatha, Philadelphia), à la communauté des dix cités grecques de Décapole (Δεκάπολις), organisée en 63 av. J.-C. par Pompée²; à la différence de ces neuf villes, Scythopolis était la seule située à l'ouest de Jourdain. Le toponyme grec a coexisté avec celui indigène, sémite: *Beth-Shean*.

La première attestation de Scythopolis date de 240 av. J.-C., quand cette cité se trouvait sous la domination de Ptolémée II Philadelphie, roi de l'Égypte; l'historien Flavius Josèphe (*Antiquitates Judaicae*, XII, 4, 5) nous relate d'un grave incident entre les habitants de cette ville et Josèphe, fils de Tobias, fermier des impôts du roi. La prochaine nouvelle attestation est de l'an 218 av. J.-C., quand Antiochos III conquiert la Coelé-Syrie (Polybe, V, 70: Σκυθῶν πόλις).

L'origine de ce toponyme a constitué, dès l'Antiquité, sujet de dispute. À partir du fait que Dionysos était la principale divinité de Scythopolis, Plin l'Ancien (*Naturalis historia*, 5, 74) donna une explication mythologique: *Scythopolis antea Nysa, a Libero patre sepulta nutrice ibi Scythis deductis*³; Donc, le nom de la ville était parfois accompagné par celui de la nourrice divine: voir aussi Étienne de Byzance⁴: Σκυθόπολις Παλαιστίνης πόλις, ἡ Νύσσα Κοίλης Συρίας et les monnaies: Νισα(ιέων) τῶν καὶ Σκυθο(πολιτῶν)⁵.

Une autre explication a comme point de départ une information transmise par Hérodote (I, 105): vers la fin du VII^e siècle av. J.-C., les Scythes ont dévasté l'Asie, en arrivant jusqu'en Palestine. À l'avis d'Eusèbe de Césarée⁶ et de l'écrivain byzantin Georges Syncelle⁷, ce toponyme proviendrait des envahisseurs Scythes, qui avaient occupé Bet-Shean, en s'y établissant⁸.

Parmi les hypothèses des historiens modernes, on peut retenir spécialement celui de M. Avi-Yonah⁹: les colons qui ont fondé Scythopolis étaient d'origine bospontaine, arrivés à l'occasion de

¹ Voir: RE IV (1901), col. 2415-2417 (Benzinger); RE II A 1 (1921), col. 147- (Beer); M. Avi-Yonah, *Scythopolis*, dans Israel Exploration Journal, 12, 1962, 2, p. 123-134; Baruch Lifschitz, *Scythopolis. L'histoire, les institutions et les cultes de la ville à l'époque hellénistique et impériale*, ANRW II, 8, 1977, p. 261-294.

² Voir Hans Bietenhand, *Die syrische Dekapolis von Pompeius bis Trajan*, ANRW II, 8, 1977, p. 220-261.

³ L'opinion de Plin l'Ancien est adoptée aussi par Soline (*Colectanea rerum memorabilium*, 36), auteur du III^e siècle av. J.-C.

⁴ *Ethnika*, éd. Meinecke, Berlin, 1949, p. 578-579; voir M. Avi-Yonah, *op. cit.*, p. 123, note 4; B. Lifschitz, *op. cit.*, p. 261 et suiv.

⁵ Voir BMC, Palestine, Introduction, p. XXXVII.

⁶ *Chronicon*, éd. Schoene, II, p. 88; voir M. Avi-Yonah, *op. cit.*, p. 124, note 10.

⁷ Édition W. Dindorf, I, Bonn, 1892, p. 405; voir M. Avi-Yonah, *op. cit.*, p. 124, note 11.

⁸ Cette explication est acceptée par B. Lifschitz, *op. cit.*, p. 264: "Il est donc raisonnable de penser que la tradition qui lie l'origine de Scythopolis à l'invasion scythe du VII^{ème} s, est essentiellement correcte".

⁹ M. Avi-Yonah, *op. cit.*, p. 127-128; voir aussi B. Lifschitz, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

l'ambassade du roi Pairissadès II à la cour de Ptolémée II Philadelphie; en 254 av. J.-C.¹⁰. Cette hypothèse est contestée par autres auteurs¹¹.

Cette ambassade fut occasionnée de la grande conflagration qui engagea à la guerre les cités grecques de la zone de l'Égée („Ligue du Nord”) et même du Ponte-Euxine, avec l'implication des deux pouvoirs de la Méditerranée orientale: l'Égypte ptolémaïque et le Royaume de Séleucides (256/255-253 av. J.-C.).

L'historien Polyainos (*Stratagemata*, IV, 16) nous relate d'une campagne du roi Antiochos III en Thrace; à cette occasion, il siègea aussi la cité de Byzantion. Le siège fut levé seulement grâce à l'intervention d'une escadre de 40 trirèmes envoyées par la cité de Héraclée du Pont.

On suppose aussi l'intervention de la flotte lagide, qui traversa le détroit de Bosphore et pénétra dans la Mer Noire¹². Un très important document, également archéologique et épigraphique, l'ainsi dite „fresque de Nymphaion” (en Crimée), atteste la visite du «navire-amiral» (appelé *Isis*) de la flotte lagide dans les eaux maritimes du Royaume Bosporain¹³. En contrepartie, une ambassade bosporaine traversa les mers jusqu'en Égypte, à la cour du roi Ptolémée II Philadelphie¹⁴.

Ce conflit engagea aussi les cités grecques de la côte ouest de la Mer Noire¹⁵. L'unique source concernant ces événements est l'historien Memnon (13 (21))¹⁶:

« Peu de temps après, les Byzantins firent éclater une guerre contre les Callatiens (ceux-ci étaient des colons des Héracléotes) et les Istriens autour de l'*emporion* de Tomi, qui était limitrophe des Callatiens, et dont les Callatiens pensaient à faire leur monopole. Les deux ont envoyé des ambassades auprès des Héracléotes afin d'en obtenir l'alliance; mais ceux-ci ne firent encliner la balance guerrière d'aucune part, et envoyèrent des conciliateurs à tous les deux, leur effort restant pour autant sans effet. Ceux des Callatiens ayant eu beaucoup à souffrir de la part des ennemis, ils en vinrent plus tard à demander l'armistice, sans être presque jamais en état de se remettre de ce malheur ».

Les événements si brièvement relatés par cette source semblent trouver aussi écho dans les sources épigraphiques. Ainsi, par exemple, une inscription d'Apollonie du Pont fait mention d'une alliance (ἐπιμαχία) entre cette cité et Callatis¹⁷; dans une autre inscription, cette fois de Callatis, il s'agit de l'appui (seulement diplomatique ?) de la part des Apolloniates¹⁸. On préfigure même une alliance entre Apollonie, Callatis et Istros, avec l'assistance diplomatique et militaire du Royaume Séleucide¹⁹.

D'autre part, il ressort d'un décret fragmentaire d'Istros en l'honneur de Sosipatros, chargé d'une ambassade à Tomis, qu'il a réussi à libérer de captivité, à ses propres frais, un nombre important de citoyens²⁰; il s'ensuit que l'*emporion* tomitain était alors occupé par les Byzantins ou par la flotte égyptienne. Toujours à des citoyens pris captifs par l'ennemi font référence deux autres inscriptions, de Callatis²¹ et d'Istros²². Sans doute, ceux d'entre eux, par malheur, eurent la chance de rentrer leur patrie.

¹⁰ La datation est assurée par un papyrus: ante 21 septembre 254 (P. Lond 7, 1973); voir M. Avi-Yonah, *op. cit.*, p. 127-128; B. Lifschitz, *op. cit.*, p. 267 (note 28); Al. Avram, *Sur la date de la divinisation de Ptolémée II Philadelphie à Byzance, dans Orbis in honorem Ioanis Pisonis*, Cluj, 2004, p. 832 et note 31 (bibliographie).

¹¹ Voir B. Lifschitz, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

¹² Al. Avram, dans *Istoria Românilor*², I, Bucarest, 2010, p. 628.

¹³ Idem, *Sur la date de la divinisation de Ptolémée II Philadelphie à Byzance, dans Orbis antiquus. Studia in honorem Ioannis Pisonis*, Cluj, 2004, p. 828-833 (avec la bibliographie antérieure).

¹⁴ Voir *supra*, note 10.

¹⁵ Une excellente synthèse: Al. Avram, dans *Istoria Românilor*², I, 2010, p. 627-629.

¹⁶ Memnon (première moitié du II^e siècle apr. J.-C.) est l'auteur d'une histoire de la cité de Héraclée Pontique (Περὶ Ἡρακλείας), en 14 livres, dont subsistent seulement des fragments (voir FG^rHist, III B, p. 347-348). Pour la traduction de ce passage, voir Al. Avram, ISM, III, p. 195.

¹⁷ IGB I², 388.

¹⁸ ISM III, 7.

¹⁹ Voir Al. Avram, dans *Istoria Românilor*², I, 2010, p. 628.

²⁰ ISM I, 4; compléter avec ISM, I, 16; voir Al. Avram, *Pontica*, 33-34, 2000-2001, p. 339-344.

²¹ ISM III, 106.

²² ISM I, 24.

Cette tragique réalité nous évoque une drame antérieure similaire des Callatiens, quand leur cité avait été assiégé et occupée par le roi Lysimaque (en 307 av. J.-C.); c'est alors que 1 000 de Callatiens se sont réfugiés dans le Royaume Bosporain, où ont été acceptés et colonisés par le roi Eumelos (Diodore de Sicile, XX, 25, 1)²³.

Il serait possible, comme autrefois, que des habitants des cités ouest-pontiques – istriens, callatiens, peut-être aussi apolloniates: prisonniers ou transfuges – ont connu l'amertume de l'exil, dans un pays encore plus lointain. Nous nous permettons d'envisager, suite des événements de 254-253, les circonstances de la fondation de *Scythopolis*: par des Grecs des cités de Dobroudja d'aujourd'hui – appelée déjà *Scythia* dans une source istrienne de l'époque²⁴ –, transportés par les navires égyptiens et colonisés par le roi Ptolémée II à Bet-Shean. Cette hypothèse concorde aussi avec la prééminence du culte de Dionysos dans le panthéon de la cité de double nom: Νύσα καὶ Σκυθόπολις²⁵. D'autrement c'est de notoriété que Dionysos était le dieu le plus populaire à Callatis²⁶ et qu'il détenait aussi une place importante dans le panthéon des cités d'Istros et de Tomis²⁷.

Donc, d'accord avec M. Avi-Yonah, *Scythopolis* serait un fondation ptolémaïque, mais avec des captifs déportés de la Scythie Mineure. Ainsi s'explique peut-être l'attitude hostile des *Scythopolites* envers le fermier des impôts du roi, en 240 (voir *supra*). D'autre part, en 218, ils ouvrirent sans lutte les portes de leur cité devant le roi Antiochos III (Polybe, *loc. cit.*).

²³ Voir le texte de Diodore et la traduction chez Al. Avram, ISM III, p. 194.

²⁴ Il faut mentionner que la dénomination de *Scythia*, pour la région actuelle de Dobroudja, fait son apparition pour la première fois dans le décret en l'honneur d'Agathocle, fils d'Antiphilos (ISM I, 15), vers 200 av. J.-C.; plus tard, chez Strabon (*Geogr.*, VII, 4, 5), paraît sous la forme Μικρά Σκυθία: *Scythia Minor*.

²⁵ Haim Gitler, *New Aspects of the Dionysiac Cult in Nysa-Scythopolis*, Swiss Numismatic Revue 70, 1991, p. 23-29.

²⁶ Al. Avram, ISM III, p. 97-100.

²⁷ D. M. Pippidi, dans *Din istoria Dobrogei*, I, Bucarest, 1965, p. 248, 252-253.

CHRISTIANIZATION, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CHANGES, AND THEIR IMPACT ON URBAN PLANNING AND ARCHITECTURE IN BETH SHEAN (SCYTHOPOLIS), FROM THE FOURTH TO SIXTH CENTURY CE¹

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Keywords: Beth Shean, fourth century CE, late Roman Empire, Byzantine Empire, public and cultic buildings, figural art.

Abstract: The purpose of this article is to present the relations between Beth Shean communities and the city itself, trying to see how people inside this city relate with the public buildings, with a special emphasis on the fourth century CE, the transition from the late Roman Empire to the new Byzantine Empire. We will explore, even briefly, the impact of the evolving of Christianity in this Hellenistic-Roman city at different levels: on public and cultic buildings and figural art.

Cuvinte cheie: Beth Shean, sec. IV p. Ch., Imperiul Roman târziu, Imperiul Bizantin, construcții de cult, construcții publice, artă figurativă.

Rezumat: Scopul acestui articol este prezentarea relațiilor dintre comunitățile Beth Shean și cetate, în încercarea de a arăta cum interacționau locuitorii din interiorul cetății cu clădirile publice, în special în sec. IV p. Ch., în perioada de tranziție de la Imperiul Roman târziu la Imperiul Bizantin. Articolul cuprinde o analiză succintă a impactului avut de creștinism în ascensiune asupra cetății elenistice romane cu referite la Imperiul Bizantin și de cult, ca și în ceea ce privește arta figurativă.

A short history of Beth Shean

Beth Shean is situated near the junction of two important roads, one running via the Jezreel Valley from the coast (and from Egypt) to Syria and Mesopotamia, the other leading from Syria to Jerusalem along the Jordan Valley. It is located some 27 km S to the Sea of Galilee (Fig. 1). The fertility of the land and the abundance of water led the Jewish sages to say in Talmud, "If the Garden of Eden is in the land of Israel, then its gate is Beth Shean".² The ancient Tel Beth Shean was occupied from the Chalcolithic to the Islamic period. This mound was located above the junction of two streams, Nahal Harod and Nahal Amal, protected by steep slopes on northern, southern and eastern sides.

Beth Shean was founded as a Hellenistic city in the first half of the third century BC, probably under Ptolemy II Philadelphus (283-245 BC). The city gained the status of *polis* perhaps a century after Seleucids. The name of this new city was Nysa - Scythopolis. The question of this unique name remains a mystery. In the Roman period the name Nysa was explained by a local tradition: Pliny³ and Solinus say

¹ This article is based on our lecture delivered on December 2008 at W. F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research (AIAR), Jerusalem, and it represents our research as Andrew W. Mellon Research Fellow at AIAR between October-December 2008. With this occasion we should like to express our gratitude to AIAR for entitled us the Andrew W. Mellon Research Fellowship for the academic year 2008/2009.

² *Bibilonian Talmud, Erubim*, 19a.

³ Pliny, *Natural History* 5:74.

that the city was founded by the god Dionysos, who buried his nurse Nysa here. The full name appears on the city's coins and in official inscription, but usually the city was called only Scythopolis.



Fig. 1. Map of Palestine in the fifth century CE with Scythopolis, capital of Palaestina Secunda.

The Hellenistic city suffered destruction by the Hasmoneans in the latter part of the second century BC (104 BC), but continued to exist.⁴ Pompey's conquest of Judea in 64 BC opened a new era for Scythopolis, in a literal sense too, which continued till the end of the Byzantine period. From the time of Pompey, Scythopolis became part of the Decapolis, and it was the only city of the Decapolis on the west side of the Jordan River. The city returned to its Hellenic citizens, although a large Jewish minority continued to live in the city. During the early stages of the Jewish war against Rome in the year 66 CE according to Josephus many thousands of these Jews were massacred.⁵ Later on, at the beginning of the fifth century CE (409 CE) Scythopolis was chosen as the capital of the new founded province Palaestina Secunda. This choice expressed official recognition of the position of Scythopolis as the most important city in northern Palestine. In the year 749 CE an earthquake destroyed the city. Beth Shean became a pile of ruins, and was rebuilt only as a small settlement.

⁴ Evidence of the destruction in the form of ash layers in Hellenistic houses in the northern part of Tel Iztaba was recently uncovered in the excavations. See R. Bar Nathan and G. Mazor, *Beth Shean during the Hellenistic Period*, Qadmoniot 107-108, 1994, p. 87-92.1

⁵ Flavius Josephus, *BJ*, 2:468.

The first excavations in Beth Shean were conducted by the University of Pennsylvania from 1921 to 1933 on Tel Beth Shean.⁶ After small excavations in 1960, large scale excavations of the Roman city were conducted since 1986 by the Hebrew University (under the direction of Gideon Foerster and Yoram Tsafrir) and the Israel Antiquity Authority (under the supervision of Gabi Mazor and Rachel Bar-Nathan).⁷

Town planning in the Roman Period

After Pompey's conquest, especially during the first century CE, a major change took place; the settlement which was situated previously on the Tel Beth Shean and on Tel Iztaba, during the Hellenistic period, now began to expand from the peak of the mounds to the valleys around it, mainly to the wide basin of Nahal Amal and the saddle between it and the deeper valley of Nahal Harod (Fig. 2). Tel Beth Shean became the acropolis of the larger Roman city; the public monuments and the civic centre were located in the Valley of Nahal Amal and on its margins. The residential areas of Roman Scythopolis were probably located on the slopes around the main valleys. The new conception of occupation reflected the atmosphere of security and confidence of the citizens under the Roman rule.



Fig. 2. Aerial view over Beth Shean (Scythopolis), looking southeast.

Although there are not many remains from the early Roman period, we can certainly say that some of the most important buildings which characterize a typical Roman city must have existed from its early stages.

There are some public buildings vestiges of the Roman city, from the first century CE (Fig. 3). Among them a basilica, which abutted a street (ca.12 m wide, with shops at its side) along its south-eastern wall; the theatre (in its early phase of construction); a bathhouse (later covered by the building of Valley Street) and perhaps early stages of the eastern bathhouse; the first stage of the temple with the round *cella*; and basalt pavements on street and squares as well as other structures. A comprehensive map

⁶ C.S. Fischer and G.M. FitzGerald wrote the first archaeological reports about Beth Shean (Scythopolis). Some of the most important are: *The Four Canaanite Temples of Beth Shean*, 2 vol., Philadelphia, 1940 and *Beth Shean Excavations 1921-1923: The Arab and Byzantine Levels*, Philadelphia, 1931.

⁷ The recent preliminary reports were published by Gideon Foerster and Yoram Tsafrir in *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, vol. 6-9 and vol.11, between 1987-1990 and 1992. The final reports are still to be published. There is an exception, Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA), have published the final report for *The Cesareum and Odeum*, Jerusalem, 2007, under the coordination of Gabriel Mazor and Arfan Najjar.

of the first century CE Scythopolis cannot be drawn precisely, but it is clear that some of the public buildings of the second century CE Scythopolis already existed in the first century CE.

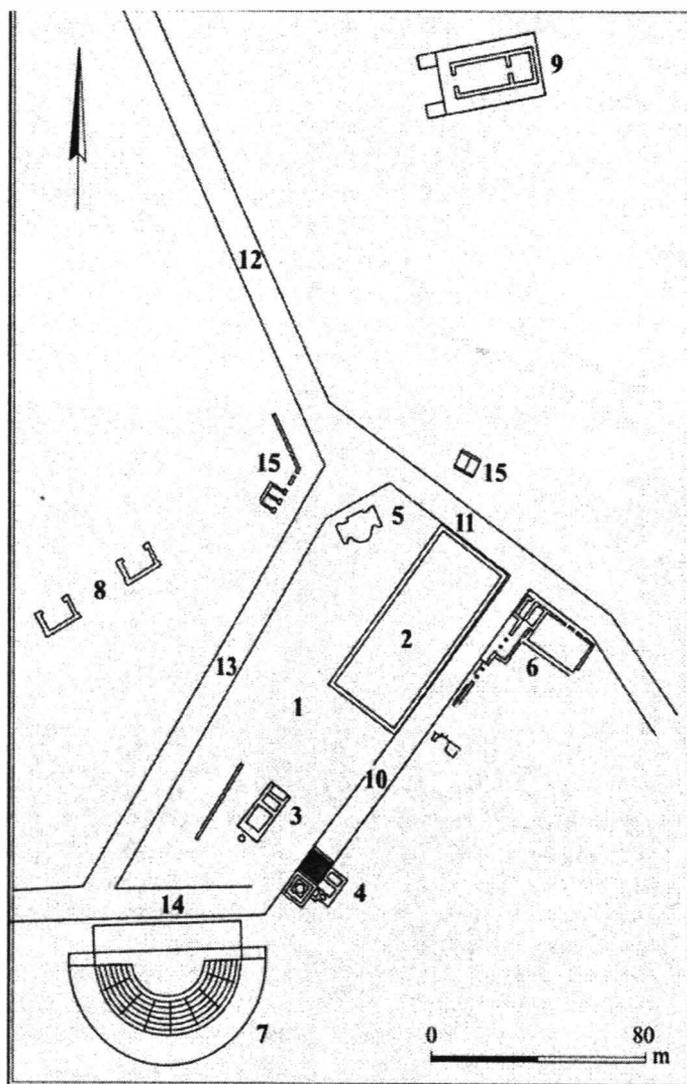


Fig. 3. Nysa-Scythopolis: civic centre, plan of the first century CE:

1. Agora; 2. Basilica; 3. Agora Temple I; 4. Agora Temple II; 5. Temple;
6. Bathhouse; 7. Theatre; 8. Public halls; 9. Temple of Zeus Akraios; 10. Street of Agora Temples; 11. Street (Pre-Monuments); 12. Street (Pre-Northern);
13. Street (Pre-Palladius); 14. Theatre Street; 15. Shops.

Roman Scythopolis was reshaped in the second century, mainly during the days of Antoninus Pius (138-161 CE) and Marcus Aurelius (161-180 CE). In this period, Scythopolis, like other cities in the region, reached its formative stage. In the second century CE, during the *pax Romana* in the East, the conditions for development of the cities and the atmosphere for investment in public monuments building was much better. Scythopolis is one of the best examples of Roman urbanism in Palestine. The high quality of the construction and the architectural decoration of Roman Scythopolis affected the shape of the city for generations. Some of the monuments survived through the Byzantine period, while columns and other architectural elements were reused for new building and monuments of later periods.

In the Roman period, although many of the citizens were of Semitic origin, the city preserved its Hellenic character. During the second century CE, many Jews, who probably lived in rural settlements in the region, returned to live within the city limits of Scythopolis. Probably, also Samaritans settled in the city. An altar with a dedicatory inscription, dated to the middle of the second century CE, may illustrate the process of Hellenisation within the city. The altar was dedicated to Zeus Akraios by a certain

Theogene, daughter of Tobios.⁸ The father's name is without any doubt Semitic, while the daughter's name is Greek. We may assume that Aramaic remained the popular spoken language of many of the citizens. Greek was the language of the educated and was the only written language: only a few administrative inscriptions were in Latin and none in Aramaic. Another inscription incised on a pedestal of the statue of Marcus Aurelius, which was installed in front of the temple in the civic centre, contains the full list of the city: it was a holy city and a sanctuary (ἱερὰ καὶ ἄσυλον) and also one of the Greek city from Coele Syria (κατὰ Κοίλεν Συρίαν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων).⁹ This is the only inscription inside Scythopolis which shows directly the citizens' pride for their city, and, at the same time, it was a city's leading class declaration of loyalty to the classical heritage in view of existence of non-classical trends in the culture, ethics and art practiced by the non-Hellenic citizens.

Before analyzing the impact of Christianity on the city beginning with the fourth century CE, first we will show a general picture of what the city might have looked like from the second century CE onwards.

Scythopolis was one of the best examples of Roman urbanism in the East; however it did not utilize the common model of the Roman town planning which was the orthogonal pattern, because of the special topography of the site. Although there was no *cardo* or *decumanus* in Scythopolis, the main streets of the city run through the civic centre and were connected with its city gates. The streets were wide (18 m wide), with colonnades and roofed porticoes with shops at their sides. The average width of the streets was about 24 meter wide. The city was adorned with colonnaded streets and squares, porticoes, public monuments, fountains and pools. Among the public monuments there were: four temples, a theatre, a hippodrome (which later was transformed into an amphitheatre), an odeon (which might have been used as a bouleuterion), at least two bathhouses and a basilica (Fig. 4). These monuments were richly decorated and ornamented with statues.

With the demographic growth of the fourth century CE, the city expanded gradually beyond its limit. Surveys of existing remains around the core of the Roman city show that the Byzantine quarters were founded almost everywhere. A wall (ca. 4.8 km long) encircled the city of almost 134 ha; many buildings however remain outside the wall.¹⁰ In the Byzantine period, Scythopolis reached its peak of building activity during the reigns of emperors Anastasius (491-518 CE) and Justin I (518-527 CE).

Christianization, Social and Cultural Changes, and Their Impact on Urban Planning and Architecture, from the mid-fourth to mid-fifth century CE

The fourth century CE was a period of transition and change. Besides the demographic growth and economic factors, the radical religious and cultural change, which was the Christianization, became a major force in reshaping the city and the community's life. The change was slow and gradual, and, in many aspects, continuity of social order and cultural values can still easily be recognized. However, the transition from the Roman to Byzantine period was above all influenced by the triumph of the Christianity over pagans. By studying the process of Christianization of Scythopolis we can understand the deep change in the social, political life of the city and the daily behaviour of the urban community. This gradual transformation is reflected in the archaeological finds.

Before we turn to the changes of public and cultic building, we shall first see what the literary sources say about Christianity in the fourth century CE in Scythopolis.

The first mentioning of a Christian from Scythopolis we find in Eusebius¹¹. He tells the story of Procopius, a native from Jerusalem, who held the office of the reader, translator (probably from Greek to Syriac-Aramaic),¹² and exorcist of the Christian congregation from Scythopolis. He suffered martyrdom

⁸ Y. Tsafir, *Further Evidence for the Cult of Zeus Akraios at Beth Shean (Scythopolis)*, Israel Exploration Journal 39, 1989, p. 76-78.

⁹ G. Foerster and Y. Tsafir, *Nysa-Scythopolis: A New Inscription and the Titles of the City on Its Coins*, Israel Numismatic Journal 9, 1986, p. 53-58. The geographical meaning of the term *Coele Syria* may simply reflect the Decapolis of the past.

¹⁰ Idem, *Urbanism at Scythopolis-Beth Shean in the Fourth to Seventh Centuries*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 51, 1999, p. 100.

¹¹ Eusebius, *De Martiribus Palaestinae* 1.1-2.

¹² Procopius's task as a translator followed the Jewish custom of reading the Hebrew scriptures in the synagogue followed by an oral translation into Aramaic, which was the language better understood by the members of the congregation.

in Caesarea in the year 303 CE, in the time of Diocletianus (284-305 CE). After that, he was commemorated as a martyr in Scythopolis.

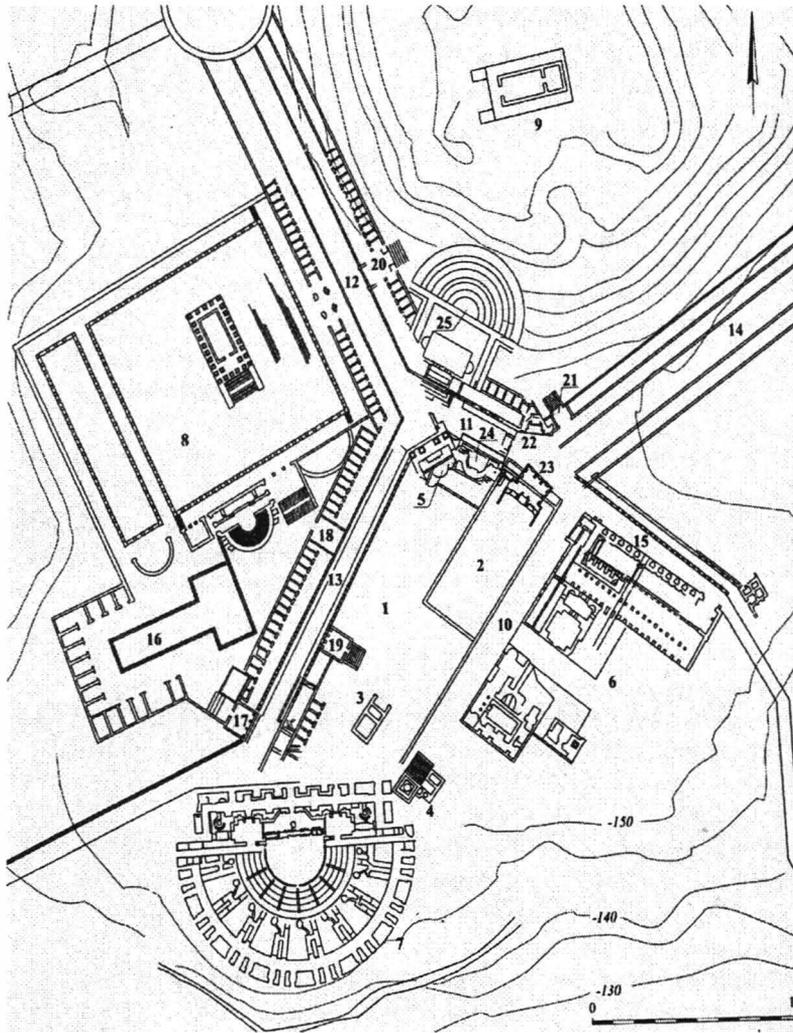


Fig. 4. Nysa-Scythopolis, civic centre: plan of the second century CE:

1. Agora; 2. Basilica; 3. Agora Temple I; 4. Agora Temple II; 5. Temple; 6. Eastern thermae; 7. Southern theatre;
8. Caesareum / Roman Temenos; 9. Temple of Zeus Akraios; 10. Street of the Agora Temples; 11. Street of the Monuments;
12. Northern Street; 13. Palladius Street; 14. Valley Street; 15. Street of the Eastern thermae;
16. Western thermae; 17. Thermae propylaeum; 18. Caesareum propylaeum; 19. Agora propylaeum; 20. Temple of Zeus propylaeum;
21. Valley Street propylaeum; 22. Monument of Antonius; 23. Altar/ Central Monument;
24. Nymphaeum; 25. Northern theatre.

Epiphanius¹³ give us information about Joseph, the *comes*, a converted Jew who devoted much effort to convert the Jews in the Galilee, without real success. According to this story, Josephus retiring to Scythopolis declared to Epiphanius that the entire population from the city was Christian Arian with two exceptions: himself and Eusebius, an exiled bishop from Vercelae in Italy, who were the only orthodox. It is evident that this is just an exaggeration, because Ammianus Marcellinus at the same time tells us about some trials and interrogation under tortures that were carried out in Scythopolis to suspected enemies of the regime, but says nothing of its Christian predominance within the city.¹⁴ There is no doubt that in the middle of the fourth century CE there was a large community of Christians, mainly Arians in Scythopolis, but it is hard to believe that the ruling class of Scythopolis had already converted to Christianity.

¹³ Epiphanius, *Panarion seu Adversus LXX Haereses* 30.4-12.

¹⁴ Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum Gestarum Libri* 19.12.8.

The excavations showed that Scythopolis was damaged by the earthquake of the year 363 CE.¹⁵ This specific destruction was observed in some cases in the rebuilding of several Roman monuments in various locations of the site. The reconstruction after the earthquake was inferior to the second century construction, but the classical character of the restoration proves that the classical tradition was still alive in the fourth century CE (Fig. 5).

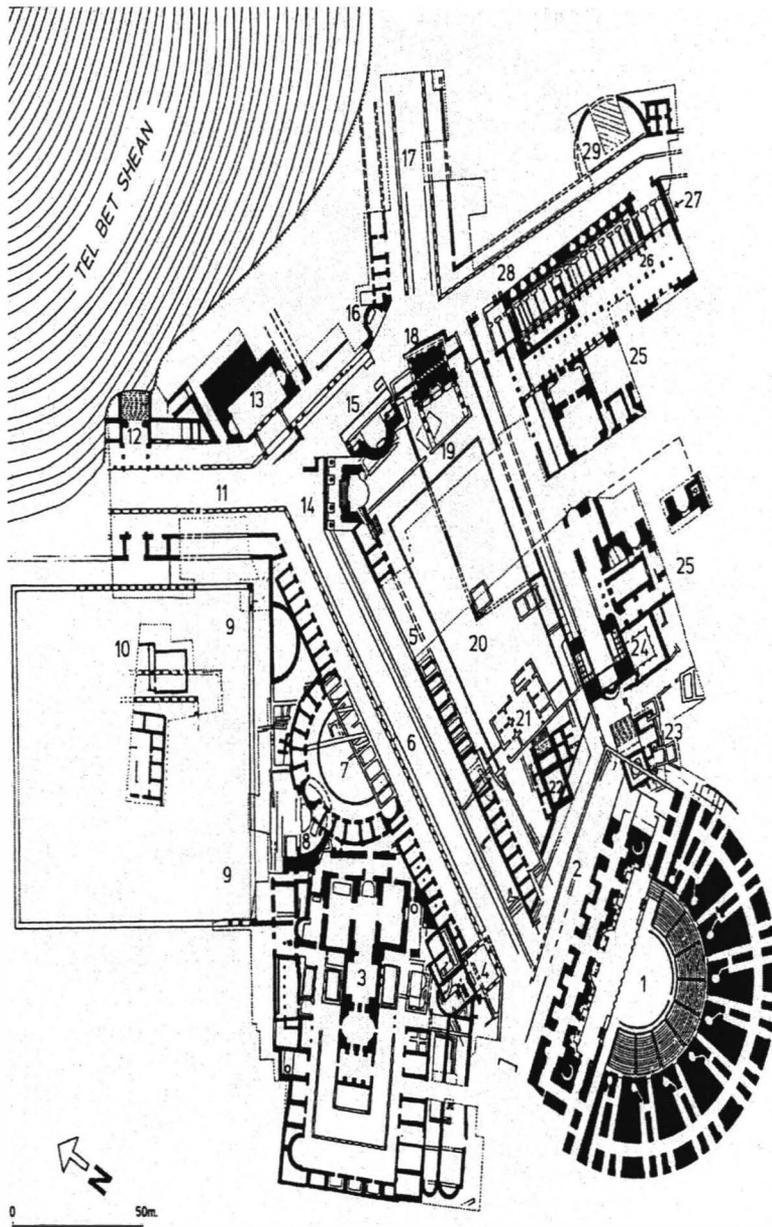


Fig. 5. Plan of the central area of Nysa-Scythopolis in the Roman-Byzantine period:

1. Theatre; 2. Portico in front of the theater; 3. Western bathhouse; 4. Propylon in Palladius Street; 5. Shops of the Roman Period; 6. Palladius Street; 7. Sigma; 8. Odeon; 9. Colonnades and reconstructed area of Roman temenos / Caesareum; 10. Dismantled Roman colonnades, with a Byzantine public building above them; 11. Northern Street; 12. Propylon and stairway to the tell; 13. Propylon between the temple esplanade and the tell; 14. Temple with the round cella; 15. Nymphaeum; 16. Monument of Antonius; 17. Valley Street; 18. Central Monument; 19. Roman basilica, with porticoes of the Byzantine agora above it; 20. Byzantine agora; 21. Umayyad ceramic workshop; 22-23. Roman cult structures; 24-25. Eastern bathhouse; 26. Roman portico, later Silvanus hall; 27. Roman decorative pool, with Umayyad shops above it; 28. Silvanus Street; 29. Semicircular plaza.

¹⁵ For the earthquake, see K.W. Russel, *The Earthquake of May 19, A.D. 363*, BASOR 238, 1980, p. 47-64.

The situation of each monument, whether restored or left in ruins, is significant for seeing not only the priorities of the city's administration but it also reflects the mentality towards the public and cultic buildings in fourth century CE Scythopolis. It is very likely that the Christian administration of the city together with the bishop welcomed the damage caused by the earthquake to the pagan temples. Within the city, four or five temples were discovered; they were abandoned no later than the fifth century CE; but no specific date for their destructions can be given.

The first temple which was discovered was the Hellenistic-Roman temple on the tell, probably dedicated to Zeus Akraios; it was excavated and dismantled in the excavation of the 1920s.¹⁶ The excavators showed that a Byzantine church with a round plan was built near the temple and partly on top of it. The date of the church's foundation, which could have been used as a *terminus ante quem* for the destruction of the temple, is unknown; but it is likely that the church was built between the second half of the fifth century and the early sixth century CE.¹⁷

The temple near the theatre was probably deserted in the fourth century CE, possibly because of the newly built wing in the eastern bathhouse. It is interesting to note that the altars were not destroyed but carefully covered with soil before the new building was constructed, although other elements such as building blocks and limestone slabs from the stairway were taken for secondary use. This aspect of carefully preserving the altar by covering it could prove that in the fourth century CE there was still some respect for the ancient pagan cults maybe because there was still a small polytheistic community living in the city, or just maybe because there was still some degree of superstitious fear of the gods. But apart from that, the Byzantine builders did not have any problem in reusing some of the non-cultic parts of that same temple in the fourth century CE. And this is not the only example in Scythopolis or in Byzantine Palestine.

Another temple was discovered under the level of the Byzantine agora of the second half of the fifth or early sixth century CE. The same *terminus ante quem* is valid for the destruction of what is supposed to be a Roman *temenos* or *Caesareum*¹⁸ between Nahal Harod and Nahal Amal. One of the colonnades was completely dismantled during the Byzantine period; a new public building paved with mosaic floors with geometric patterns was built around the ruins, whose function is unknown.¹⁹

The case of the temple with the round *cella* (the round temple), situated close to the nymphaeum is different. A propylon consisting of a monumental stairway and a triple gate was built between the temple and the acropolis in the northeast. Although the propylon was partly uncovered, it seems to be part of a processional road connecting the temple with the acropolis and more important with the supposed summit temple of Zeus Akraios. The nymphaeum, was severely damaged in the fourth century earthquake and rebuilt "from the foundations" by the governor (*archon*) Artemidorus the περιβλεπτος (*spectabilis comes*). This information comes from a decorated architrave above the podium in the central niche of the nymphaeum.²⁰ The inscription does not include a date, but the fact that it is adorned with crosses shows that it could not be earlier than the mid-fourth century CE. The name Artemidorus appears on another pedestal statue which mentions the Empress Aelia Eudoxia, described as the "Queen of all Earth". She was empress between 395 and 404 CE and the wife of Emperor Arcadius, and thus the renovation of the nymphaeum cannot be dated later than 404 CE.

¹⁶ Rowe, *Beth Shean I*, p. 43-45.

¹⁷ For the location of the temple and the round church that was built above the wing of the temple, see A. Rowe, *The Four Canaanite Temples of Beth Shean*, Philadelphia, 1940, pl. II. For the church and its dating, see Fitzgerald, *Beth Shean III*, p. 18-33.

¹⁸ There are two interpretations for this excavated area: Israel Antiquity Authority team considered that it was a *caesareum*, and the other opinion, embraced by the Hebrew University (Jerusalem), is that the area was a sacred *temenos*. In fact, the only remains from this part of the town is just a massive colonnade, so the interpretation remains opened.

¹⁹ A limestone block mentioning ἀπαντητέριον may indicate this area as an inn.

²⁰ For the inscription of the nymphaeum, see Foerster and Tsafrir, *Israel Exploration Society (ESI) 6*, 1987-1988, p. 27-28. Artemidorus' high rank of *peribleptos* or *spectabilis* suggest that he was the governor of Palestine before its division into three parts and the foundation of Palaestina Secunda, which took place sometime between 400 and 409, the date of edict mentioning the three Palestine (*Codex Theodosianus* 7.4.30).

Artemidorus' nymphaeum was fed by a small aqueduct running from the west. This aqueduct, who reached the nymphaeum on its back side, was attached to the temple in a way which suggests that the cultic place was abandoned at that time, and that the year 404 CE is a *terminus ante quem* for the abandonment of the temple.

The laws against the temples and heretical practices of pagan cults of Theodosius I (375-395 CE) and of the others emperors after him, demonstrate an official trend and create a legal background for the destruction of the temples.²¹

With all these legal texts against polytheism it is interesting to look at the ambivalent attitude towards pagan cultic monuments, also in Beth Shean. Although it is likely that the *naos* of the Round temple of the civic centre in Scythopolis was destroyed and dismantled by Christians down to the floor level, the *pronaos* was preserved throughout the Byzantine period and the Early Islamic period. Two of its four monolithic columns, with their enormous Corinthian capitals (one capital even represented Dionysos) together with the entablature and even the pedestal of the statue of Marcus Aurelius, continued to stand and beautify the city of Scythopolis until the earthquake of 749. The *cella* and the *adytum*, which were the impure parts of the temple so to speak, for the Christians, they were desecrated and destroyed, and the preserved decorative façade, proves that the inhabitants of the Byzantine period had not only a negative attitude towards paganism, but also a positive attitude toward the classical monuments for their artistic value; that they were full of admiration for the classical art and architecture, even if originally these parts were attached to the "impure" temple. The preservation of the temples' facade and the inclusion of it in later public building is not a singular case. We have also examples for the preservation of temples' *pronaos* together with porticoes around the temples in Jerash and Baalbek.

As a consequence for the abandonment of the temples, the *via sacra* which connected the temple and the acropolis change its function. At the end of the fourth century or beginning of fifth century CE, the *propylon* was occupied by a system of channels and pools. This installation blocked the gate of the *propylon* and changed the character of the area from being a part of the sacred complex to an area of utilitarian use and industrial activity.

Although Theodosius' laws forbade the pagan cults in the Roman Empire and so paganism officially ceased to exist at the beginning of the fifth century CE, one can think that many individuals continued to practice pagan cults, often in secret. We even have some information that some temples were used for pagan rites in remote parts of the Byzantine Empire as late as the sixth century CE. There is certainly a difference between the official involvement in trying to stop the polytheistic cults and the success of such a policy. These same laws against the pagan cults were repeated in fifth century CE, so we might say that in some cases there must have been few who still practiced their pagan faith. Even if some people continued to observe their pagan practices, the elite and the administration of Scythopolis converted to Christianity no later than the early fifth century CE.

Some of the constitutions from the time of Arcadius (395-408 CE), show the attitude towards the Roman public building and also towards the pagan temples within the Byzantine Empire. In 399 CE the Emperor decreed that the ornaments of public works (*publicorum operum ornamentata servari*) had to be preserved.²² Another decree of the same emperor forbade the destruction of "temples which are empty of illicit things".²³

The replacement of temples by the churches was not a mere external change but a powerful transformation in the social and cultural life of the city and its citizens.

The building of churches, or others private buildings, on the sites which were occupied previously by pagan temples, did not occur immediately after the desertion and destruction of the temples but after a long period of abandonment. This long time of abandonment could be an expression of the fear of the Christians to settle on these sites, which until the sixth century CE were considered places haunted by demons. In the case of Scythopolis a precise date for the reoccupation of these cultic places after their abandonment cannot be given.

Only two exceptional cases are known in Israel of the immediate construction of buildings after the destruction of a temple by Christians: the immediate building of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher

²¹ Especially *Codex Theodosianus (CTh)* XVI.10.10 ff.

²² *Idem* XVI.10.5.

²³ *Idem* XVI.18.

after the destruction of the Venus temple in the fourth century CE and the building of Eudoxia's Church above the Marneion in Gaza around 400 CE.²⁴

In both two cases, the impure sites were first completely purified by removing the soil beneath the building in combination with a ritual service; only after that the church building project could begun.

Besides the building with a clear cultic purpose, it is interesting to see the impact of the transition from Hellenism (paganism) to Christianity in the fourth century CE Scythopolis looking at other architectural complexes.

After the earthquake of 363 CE, which destroyed Scythopolis to some extent, one of the monuments restored in its former shape, with little change was the monumental portico near the eastern bathhouse. The restoration was done with great care, but without reaching the quality of the second century CE architecture. The proof that such a restoration took place during the late fourth century or early fifth century CE, in the time of Flavius Artemidorus, who was the *archon*, is shown by replastering of the reflecting decorative pool lining the portico and the building of a decorative gate and stairway on each side of the portico, together with a new mosaic pavement in front of the south entrance which has an inscription mentioning the same Artemidorus.²⁵

The restoration of the nymphaeum in the Roman style is significant not only for practical needs but also because it demonstrates the vitality of the classical tradition in Scythopolis and also it shows the appreciation for the aesthetical value of the Roman architecture in the late fourth and early fifth century CE.

The old Roman colonnaded streets continues to exist without little change in general appearance; only one important innovation was introduced, probably in the same period, that is the late fourth and early fifth century CE, by paving the porticoes with mosaic floors decorated with geometrical or flower designs.²⁶

Among the buildings of purely utilitarian design that continued to exist was the eastern bathhouse, which was enlarged in the fourth century CE by adding a large *frigidarium* at the expense the temple area near the theatre.

Because of the demographic growth, a new bathhouse in the western part of the city was constructed; this complex was later expanded at the end of the fifth century CE. Another important innovation during the late fourth and early fifth century was the building of the new street, the so-called Palladius Street (perhaps situated on top on an earlier Roman street), stretching ca. 150 m between the theatre and the round temple. The street was repaired several times and remodelled in the sixth century CE. The purpose of this road was mainly commercial with some thirty shops discovered on its north-western side.²⁷

The evolution of the Roman basilica in the Byzantine period is revealing, although it was not a religious building but a civil institution, with an important role in the social and economic urban life. The Roman basilica was built in the first century CE (30 m width, 70 m length) and then remodelled in the second century CE, when the central monument was built above the basilica's north-eastern wall. It is probable that the basilica was also damaged during the earthquake of 363 CE. When the Byzantine agora was established here, probably in the mid or late fifth century CE, during the time of the governor Rometalkes, the walls of the basilica were already dismantled (with the exception of the south-eastern wall which was incorporated in the substructure of the eastern bathhouse and the north-western part which was included in the foundations of the second century monument). Among the architectural elements of the basilica, one of the most impressive finds was a cylindrical monolithic altar depicting the masks of Dionysos, Pan and perhaps the mask of Sylenus, together with their attributes: the panpipe (*syrix*), the shepherd's crook (*pedum*), and the *thyrsos*, and a dedicatory inscription of the year 141/142 to "Dionysos the Lord Founder" (κτίστης).²⁸ The altar was found in front of the apse, without the upper

²⁴ For the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, see Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 3.4-30; for Gaza, see H. Grégoire and M.A. Kugener, *Marc le Diacre: Vie de Porphyre*, Paris, 1930.

²⁵ Foerster and Tsafir, ESI 6, 1987-1988, p. 33.

²⁶ Pavement mosaics in covered sidewalks and porticoes along the streets are known in Palestine as well in Sephorris and Caesarea.

²⁷ For Palladius Street, see Mazor, ESI 6, 1987-1988, p. 22-23, Bar-Nathan and Mazor, ESI 11, 1992, p. 42-47.

²⁸ For the basilica, see Foerster and Tsafir, ESI 6, 1987-1988, p. 31-32, L. Di Segni, G. Foerster and Y. Tsafir, *A Decorated Altar Dedicated to Dionysos, The 'Founder', from Bet Shean (Scythopolis)*, Eretz-Israel 24, 1996, p. 336-340.

part that is the sacrifice table. The analysis of the destruction level showed that the altar had presumably been installed in the basilica before earthquake of 363 CE, or, less certain, was part of the basilica from the beginning, and it was not installed here with the debris after the destruction. The preservation of the altar in the basilica in the middle of the fourth century CE, in a city with an important Christian population, might demonstrate that the inhabitants were still willing to honour their legendary founder, Dionysos. After removing the sacrificial table, the altar lost its ritual function, but could still have been tolerated for its artistic and decorative value. So the presence of this altar inside the basilica in the middle of the fourth century CE indicates that the triumph of Christianity was slow and gradual.

SCYTHOPOLIS IN THE LATE FIFTH AND EARLY SIXTH CENTURIES CE: CULTURAL CHANGES AND CONTINUITIES

As we have already seen, the victorious march of Christianity in the fourth century CE was slow and gradual, not only in Scythopolis but also in other remote parts of the Empire.

Now we shall turn to the domain of art to see the relations between Christianity and the classical heritage in Scythopolis.

In the course of the fifth century CE the attitude towards sculptures was ambivalent. Officially the church preached destruction of the classical statues, but in fact there are sufficient examples which prove that some of the statues, which adorned the city's monuments were still preserved at that time, not only within Scythopolis. It is evident however that at some point which we do not know precisely the same statues were abandoned and buried.

In one case, the *terminus ante quem* for the removing of some of the sculptures inside Beth Shean could be established. During the excavations inside the caldarium of the eastern bathhouse, a large number of fragmentary marble statues were found. They were thrown into the hypocaust which proves that this was done intentionally when the bathhouse went out of use. This abandonment took place no later than 515/516 when the Silvanus Hall was built in that area. Among the statues were a headless Aphrodite with a cupid riding a dolphin (Fig. 6), and a headless nymph used as a fountain decoration.²⁹ Other statues were found under the Sylvanus Hall. A torso of a cuirassed emperor (with a height of 3.5 m and weighing more than 2 tons), possibly representing one of the emperors either Antoninus Pius (131-161 CE) or more probably Marcus Aurelius (161-180 CE) and that because of the other dedicatory inscription from the temple in the civic centre, which was found in secondary use as a building stone in one of the structural piers of the halls (Fig. 7).³⁰ The cuirassed statues of the emperors flourished in the second century CE, when the cult of the ruler was practiced at a higher scale. Statues of the emperors were displayed usually in forums and bathhouses, but in our case, it is possible that originally this statue stood between the columns of the portico of the reflection pool. Another statue found in the same area, depicting a young Dionysos, with slightly effeminate features (measuring 1.24 m), dates to the second century CE, and was found lying on his back at the same level as the sixth century CE marble pavement of the eastern portico of the eastern bathhouse (Fig. 8).³¹ It is possible that it was discarded here before, but with some care and maybe respect for the legendary founder of the city, although it was defaced and mutilated by the Christians previously. It is however one of the best preserved statues from Scythopolis.

It is possible that, like the other statues which we named before, the young Dionysos belonged to a sculptural decoration of the bathhouse. Inside the bathhouses of the Roman Empire, different sculptures were displayed, depicting gods, especially Dionysos, but also Roman Emperors. Taking into account the place where these statues were found, especially Dionysos, it is possible that the sculptures had just a decorative function, or maybe educational one for the visitors of the bathhouse, without any direct connection with a cult practice.

Another headless statue, representing Tyche, probably dated to the third century CE, was found in proximity of the theatre (Fig. 9).³² Tyche was one of the patron goddess of the cities during Hellenistic

²⁹ Tsafir and Foerster, *Qadmoniot* 107-108, 1994, p. 100-101, 109.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 101; *idem*, *ESI* 6, 1987-1988, p. 33.

³¹ *Idem*, *A Statue of Dionysos as a Youth Recently Discovered at Beth-Shean*, *Qadmoniot* 89-90, 1990, p. 52-54.

³² Mazor, *ESI* 6, 1987-1988, p. 21.

and Roman period, and especially in Scythopolis, where her image, wearing a turreted crown and holding a cornucopia appears on various coins and mosaics. The statue might have been part of the decoration inside the theatre, and later on was “decapitated” by Christians.

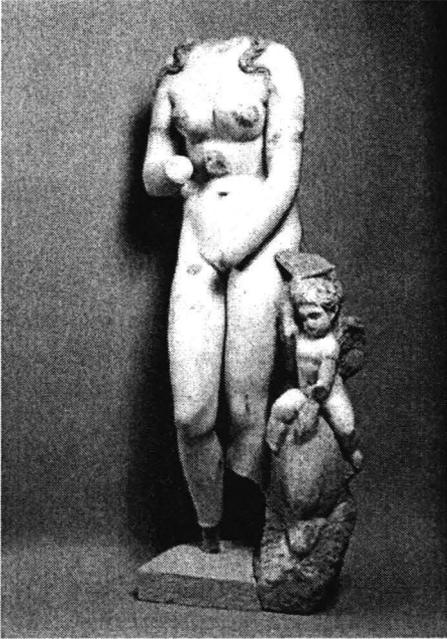


Fig. 6. Headless Aphrodite with a Cupid riding a dolphin.



Fig. 7. A cuirassed statue of a Roman Emperor.

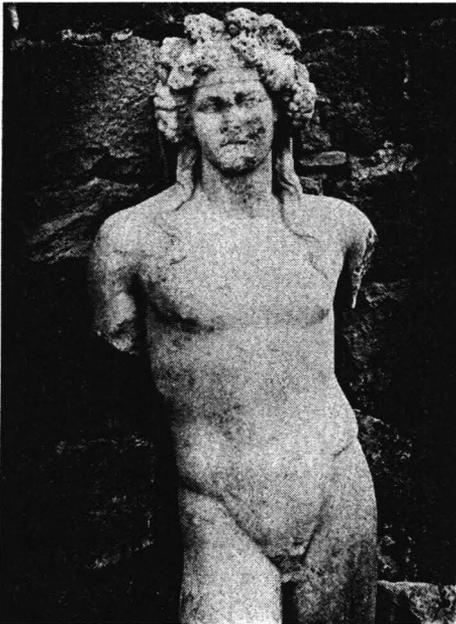


Fig. 8. A statue of the young Dionysos.



Fig. 9. Headless statue of Tyche.

It is interesting to note that during the sixth century CE when a new exedra with shops (called Sigma by the excavators) was built, Tyche continued to appear on a mosaic with her attributes (Fig. 10).³³ Also, maybe more surprising is the fact that she is surrounded by small crosslets. This appearance of a Christian motif (the cross) together with a mythological figure (goddess Tyche) may prove that in the

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 19.

sixth century a *modus vivendi* between the classical heritage and the Christian faith was still possible. It is evident that in the case of the Tyche mosaic, the image of the goddess did not have a cultic purpose, but was just a fashionable decoration of a shop. The goddess of fortune at that time could also have been as a symbol of *Porte Bonheur* just like the little crosslets which surrounded the Tyche.



Fig. 10. Tyche mosaic inside Sigma, sixth century CE.

Analyzing all the statues found in Scythopolis, we can see that most of them are headless. Few of them have their heads preserved (like the young Dionysos and a Hermes found near the Odeon), but there were defaced. Other marble heads also defaced were found on different parts of the site, not in situ, like the one of Athena and of unknown goddesses (the ideal female head) found in Tel Naharon, dated to the second century CE, and the one of Alexander the Great, from Tel Beth Shean. Even the Medusa and the griffins from the cuirass torso of the emperor were partly destroyed.

Although we cannot have a date for the destruction of these statues, in most cases we could assume that they were mutilated and decapitated around the fifth century, or early sixth century CE. By destroying the face or by removing the head the Christian believed that the demonic powers of the statues were taken away. Depersonalization of these statues by mutilation could also be seen, as an ontological denial, removing the gods from Pantheon, as a negation of paganism by depriving them of their religious symbols. The mutilation of genitals was also common for the beginning of Christianity because nudity was seen as something irreverent. It is unlikely that these statues were defaced or decapitated at the moment of their burial, but it is more plausible that they were exhibited in the city for their beauty and aesthetic values but without any parts which could be seen as menacing power, or they could have been also despised or mocked.

From the end of the fifth century CE, we have some information regarding the public ridicule and destruction of some Isis statues from Memphis, discovered by the Christians after they were hidden.³⁴ Also in the middle of the sixth century CE, at Antioch statues of gods were hung on the streets for public ridicule.³⁵ These examples could give as some clues about what could have happened also in Scythopolis. Another possibility was that the burial of some of the heads, like the one of the Athena' statue, could have been the act of a worshipper who tried to rescue them after the destruction of the cultic places. Or, and that is more plausible, these statues were discarded in a refuse pit, far away from the sculpture torso, so that the demon who possessed the sculpture could not return into the sculpture.

³⁴ *Vie de Severe, Patrologia Orientalis* II, p. 27.

³⁵ *Vita S. Simeonis Junioris, Acta Sanctorum*, vol. 5, p. 371.

Regarding the ancient statuary, it is interesting also to see how these were considered in the Byzantine Empire. The popular attitude was based on the assumption that the statues were animated, and early Christians believed that the sculptures were inhabited by demons. This belief, interpreted by one part of the clergy in a strictly manner, required immediate action: the destruction of the statues. But some of them survived and were later considered as talismans that could protect cities from calamities. So, the original significance of the statues was forgotten after the sixth -seventh centuries, and reinterpreted in a folkloristic manner.

One example demonstrates both the popular belief and the destruction of these sculptures. In 402 CE, a nude statue of Aphrodite which was object of veneration stood in the centre of Gaza. When bishop Porphyry, surrounded by Christians bearing crosses, approached the statues "the demon that inhabited the statue, being unable to contemplate the terrible sign, departed from the marble, with great tumult, as he did so, he threw the statue down and broke it, into many pieces."³⁶

The ambivalent attitude towards sculptures in the Byzantine Empire could be also seen in fact that from the time of Emperor Constantine, different rulers adorned cities, and especially Constantinople, with sculpture having mythological motifs. Their impressive collection did not just have an artistic value but with time gained some magical power.

If we take all the things into account, we can say about the statuary from Scythopolis that even if they were preserved after the fourth century CE, only with a decorative purpose for the city, it is however likely that they were decapitated or defaced. Then in the fifth century CE, certainly not much later than the sixth century CE, these statues were then removed and discarded.

The abandonment of the sculptures implies a detachment from the explicit expression of paganism, but not from the classical heritage, because at the same time some mythological motifs continued to appear on different mosaics, in public and private buildings. Regarding the mosaics, we have already mentioned the Tyche representation in the Sigma. This mosaic has an inscription which mentions *archon* Theosebius, thus is dated to cca. 507 CE.³⁷

From the middle of the same sixth century CE, there is a polychrome mosaic calendar from the Monastery of Lady Mary, on Tell Iztaba (Fig. 11); in its centre of the representation there are Helios (the sun) and Selene (the moon). The divine couple appears crowned as king and queen of heaven. We can suggest a Christian allegorical meaning for it that would transcend the natural forces who rule the world and its cycles: Christ would be represented by the sun and the Christian Church by the moon, according to Anastasius of Sinai, a writer from the seventh century CE. Another mythological theme was found in the known House of Leontis, depicting Odysseus and Syrens, as well as Nilotic scenes (Fig.12). It is possible that in this case the work of art was used to show and emphasize the status and education of the owner, Leontis.

But Scythopolis is not the only site where mythological representations appear on mosaics; its situation is similar to other sites in Palestine. These mythological representations were adapted and reinterpreted according to the needs and the philosophy of the new users.

Now we turn briefly toward the mass entertainment structures: the theatre and the hippodrome-amphitheatre. In the Roman period, the theatre presented mostly different satirical shows with a vulgar character. The church fathers, like Cyril of Jerusalem, urged Christians to refrain from going to the theatres, circuses, amphitheatres, as they were all shows of Satan.³⁸

We do not know precisely what happened to the theatre in Scythopolis after the fourth century CE. A major restoration took place during the fourth – the sixth century, maybe after the earthquake of

³⁶ Marcus Diaconus, *Vita Porphyrii*, ch.59-61.

³⁷ This Tyche mosaic is not unique; it also appears in the Hippolytus Hall at Madaba.

³⁸ Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses* 19.6: "Now the pomp of the devil is the madness of theatres, and horse-races, and hunting, and all such vanity: from which that holy man praying to be delivered says unto God, "Turn away my eyes from beholding vanity". Be not interested in the madness of the theatre, where you will behold the wanton gestures of the players, carried on with mockeries and all unseemliness, and the frantic dancing of effeminate men — nor in the madness of them who in hunts expose themselves to wild beasts, that they may pamper their miserable appetite; who, to serve their belly with meats, become themselves in reality meat for the belly of untamed beasts; and to speak justly, for the sake of their own god, their belly, they cast away their life headlong in single combats. Shun also horse-races, that frantic and soul-subverting spectacle. For all these are the pomp of the devil."

363 CE.³⁹ In the early Islamic period, the theatre housed small private dwellings and a potters' workshop (as did the theatre in Jerash). The date of its abandonment as a place of entertaining is also unknown to us, but it is possible that this happened during the sixth century CE. As for the type of shows presented in the theatre during the Byzantine period, when we compare sources like Choricus from Gaza⁴⁰, we can assume that they were singing, music and dance performances, devoid of any pagan character, but which could satisfy the human desire for entertainment.



Fig. 11. Mosaic from the Lady Mary Monastery.



Fig. 12. Mosaics from the house of Kyrios Leontis with mythological motif from Odyssey (left) and personification of the Nile (right).

The amphitheatre, on the southern plateau of the site has a complex history. It was originally a hippodrome, in the second century CE, and only later was transformed into an amphitheatre. This was obtained by building a new semicircular wall inside the arena of the hippodrome, probably in the fourth century CE. From Antiochia it is known during the fourth and fifth centuries CE that hunts (*venatio*) of wild beasts, or display of exotic animals and even athletic competitions were still held in the amphitheatre, and we can think that this was also the case in Scythopolis. It seems that the amphitheatre lost its importance during the fifth century CE. The entrances were narrowed by additional buildings and the whole area was surrounded by private dwellings. The construction of the Orestes Street in the north

³⁹ Mazor and Bar-Nathan, Qadmoniot 107-108, 1994, p. 23.

⁴⁰ Choricus, *Apologia mimorum* (eds. R. Foerster and E. Richsteig), Leipzig, 1929, p. 204-230.

even blocked totally the access to the amphitheatre from that part. During the fifth century CE the amphitheatre lost its role as an institution of mass entertainment.

Summarizing: the impact of Christianity from the fourth century CE was slow and gradual, but irreversible, affecting all the institutions of the classical world. Temples were usually destroyed, but architectural elements were still preserved and decorated the city until the earthquake of 749 C.E. Sculptures depicting gods were preserved for some time for their aesthetic values although mutilated until the church became more radical during the sixth century. The mass entertaining structures, like the theatre, soon declined. With all these transformations, the classical heritage was preserved for some time until the sixth century in the mythological themes on mosaics although with a different symbolic meaning.

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WATER DISTRIBUTION AND DRAINAGE IN APULUM*

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Keywords: Roman Dacia, Apulum, XIII Gemina legion, water distribution, M. Statius Priscus.

Abstract: This paper focus on the water distribution system of the two towns developed at Apulum, in the Roman period, *municipium Aurelium Apulense*, from the nowadays Partoș district, and *municipium Septimium Apulense*, the former *canabae legionis XIII Geminae*. Taking into consideration the archaeological discoveries and also the epigraphic evidence, the authors try to underline the specific case of water supply system of Apulum in the Roman provinces of Lower Danube context.

Cuvinte cheie: Dacia romană, Apulum, legiunea XIII Gemina, aprovizionarea cu apă, M. Statius Priscus.

Rezumat: În acest articol autorii prezintă rezultatele cercetării sistemului de aducțiune a apei din cele două orașe dezvoltate la Apulum, în epoca romană: *municipium Aurelium Apulense*, de pe teritoriul actual al cartierului Partoș, și *municipium Septimium Apulense*, fostele *canabae legionis XIII Geminae*. Ținând cont de descoperirile arheologice, precum și de evidența epigrafică, autorii încearcă să prezinte particularitățile sistemului de aducțiune a apei de la Apulum în contextul provinciilor romane de la Dunărea de Jos.

At the same time with the organization of Dacia province, on the place of the nowadays city Alba Iulia the XIII Gemina legion built its fortress. The imperial authorities decided to place the legionary fortress in this area due its strategic position, in the middle of the defensive centre of the province, on the Mureș River valley at the crossing of the main roads connecting the newly created capital *colonia Ulpia Traiana Augusta Dacica Sarmizegetusa* with other important settlements.

Furthermore, we may speak about the relatively proximity to the auriferous district from the Apuseni mountains, which had to be supervised by the military. The legionary fortress was built, even during the reign of Trajan, on a dominant plateau, more precisely on the third terrace of Mureș River (the ancient Maris), delimited in north by the Ampoi River which springs from the Apuseni Mountains, and in south by the smaller affluents of the Mureș.¹

The building of the legionary fortress favoured the development nearby of the first nucleus of civilian habitation, *canabae legionis*, inhabited by Roman citizens and people who were not Roman citizens (businessmen, merchants, artisans). This had even from the beginning the characteristics of a town. As a consequence of its development it became *municipium Septimium Apulense* during the reign of Septimius Severus.

The first Roman city developed here is *municipium Aurelium Apulense*, located under nowadays Partoș district; it reached this status during the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Subsequently, it became *colonia Aurelia Apulensis* during the reign of Commodus. Due to the geographical proximity with the gold mines of the Apuseni Mountains, the *colonia* received in the 3rd century the epithet of *chrysopolis*.²

* This study was presented at the Proceedings of the Fourth Romanian-Suisse Congress entitled "L'eau dans le monde romaine", carried on 7-13 of April 2008 in Deva (Hunedoara County), Romania.

¹ Moga 1998, p. 44, 48. In the current phase of the research it is assumed that during emperor Hadrian the construction of the stone stage of the legionary fortress began; work finished during the following emperor, Antoninus Pius.

² It is attested by the discovery of a statue's base in IDR III/5, 432, dated 252-253 A.D. See: Diaconescu, Piso 1993, p. 67.

One of the urbanistic works which involved the soldiers of XIII Gemina legion was water catching. There was used one of the springs located in the place “Fântâna Împăratului” from the Mamut Hill. There are also noted here, among the older archaeological vestiges, brick pipes from the Roman period.³

It seems that the culvert and sewerage works towards the legionary fortress and *canabae* were ended in 158 A.D., when *M. Statius Priscus* was the governor of the Dacia Superior province.⁴ In 1968, during some archaeological excavations inside the Roman-Catholic Church, an architectural complex having a hypocaust system was discovered. This was probably legion's bathhouse (Pl. I/4) reconstructed in the first half of the 3rd century A.D., as the coins, discovered during the archaeological excavations, seem to attest (Iulia Domna, Iulia Mamae and Severus Alexander).⁵ Moreover, in 1980, in the nearby of *via sagularis*, close to *porta principalis dextra* of the legionary fortress, a tile pipe of 0.2 m diameter was discovered. It was used for the discharge of water outside that building.⁶

During the archaeological excavations organized between 1888 and 1908 in southeast of the Austrian fort, the first custodian of the Alba Iulia Museum, Adalbert Cserni, discovered several edifices, two large bathrooms and an important number of streets (Pl. I/1). Here, stamped bricks with of the XIII Gemina legion and of a *numerus singulariorum* were discovered. The bricks were used in the construction of the hypocaust, the pavement and some clay pipes.⁷ Two fragments of lead pipe of 2.5 cm diameter were also found.⁸ Others three fragments of lead pipe (A 6208/13856) coming from Apulum are in the possession of the Bruckental Museum at Sibiu. Two other fragments have not an Inv., but most likely they also came from Apulum. The exterior diameter of the three fragments mentioned above is approximately of 4-5.5 cm. Their interior diameter has different sizes. For the first fragment is of 3.7-4.8 cm and of the latter⁹ one is of 3.5 cm.

During the archaeological excavations in Alba Iulia, Munteniei Street between 1992 and 2003, Viorica Rusu-Bolindeț investigated a building, assumed to be a part of the residence of the governor of three Dacian provinces (*legatus Augusti pro praetore trium Daciarum*) (Pl. I/2).¹⁰ A *hypocaustum* and a succession of three ditches in the E room of the edifice were discovered. The ditches were probably used as a sewerage system. In the so called D room of the building, other two hypocaust systems, together with a bronze coin from Faustina Senior were also discovered. These rooms belong to the last existence phase of the edifice dated between the end of the 2nd century and the beginning of the 3rd century A.D.

During the 2000-2001 archaeological campaigns, the room C of the same building was discovered (of large dimensions: the preserved length = 10.60 m, the preserved width = 4.50-5 m).¹¹ The entrance to this room was possible by an access corridor placed in West. The room had a floor of *opus signinum*, covered with a brick pavement, from which is preserved only a small section in its south-western part. At 9.10 m east from the western wall of the D' corridor and 1.20 m south from the northern profile, on the floor of C room, at -1.32 m depth, a lime slush pit of quadrilateral shape (dimensions: 0,74 x 0.2 m) and NE-SW oriented was discovered. At 0.18 m from its southern and eastern sides and at 0,14 m from the northern and western sides, a circular area was carved, with a depth of appreciatively 0.02 m, having a diameter of 0.40 m, in the middle of which there is a central aperture with a diameter of 0.10 m. On the edges of the circular area, other five orifices slightly oblong, of 0.10 x 0.05 m, were carved, placed similarly to the petals of a flower.

³ Moga 1998, p. 58-59.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 58-59.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 68.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 69.

⁷ There have been discovered clay and bronze vessels, lamps, glass, tools and bronze jewels, stone reliefs, votive inscriptions and two monetary hoards (115 denarii and antoniniani issued between Septimius Severus and Gallienus; 225 denarii and antoniniani issued between Septimius Severus and Aurelianus). See: Rep. Alba 1995, p. 38.

⁸ Cserni 1891, p. 38, Băeștean 2007a, p. 101.

⁹ Information received from Professor Ioan Piso, we thank him for that.

¹⁰ We had access to this information by the goodwill of the researcher Viorica Rusu-Bolindeț from the National History Museum from Transylvania who shared with us new information concerning the archaeological excavations she carried out on Munteniei Street.

¹¹ Rusu-Bolindeț 2001.

On the *opus signinum* floor of C room, on an area of 2.70 m, the pit of implanting the sewage and the discharge culvert was discovered. The ditch under discussion has the orientation slightly deviated from the slush pit, nevertheless it was also NE-SW oriented. It is situated near the apse which borders towards SW the room C. It was preserved only by its length of 0.86 m, but continues under the *opus signinum* floor of the room C. It was made of bricks of 0.42 x 0.32 x 0.04 m at maximum 0.30 m depth. Some bricks from the bottom of the ditch were stamped with LEG XIII GEL·VF.¹² The slush pit and the corresponding drainage belong to the last level of the compound, dated in the 3rd century A.D. Of course, this compound belonged, most probably, to a civilian settlement developed around the legionary fortress, *canabae legionis XIII Geminae*.

During the 1997 rescue excavation in the location named Dealul Furcilor, south of the legionary fortress, a thermal complex was discovered (Pl. I/3). The authors named them “the small *thermae*”, to easily differentiate them of the diggings made by A. Cserni, in southeast from the Austrian fort, a century ago.¹³ We refer to a complex discovered on a surface of 8.5 x 4.6 m, built at the end of the 2nd century A.D.¹⁴

Next, we shall index the unpublished archaeological artefacts coming from the archaeological excavations of A. Cserni, the first custodian and director of the museum from Alba Iulia, in the old *glacis* of the Vauban type fortification, situated in its south-eastern part, between 1888 and 1908. We have chosen a number of 20 pieces, different by form and preserved dimensions (unfortunately we found most of them in a fragmentary state), because their number is greater¹⁵:

1. Ceramic tube, Inv. R 2785; length – 69.5 cm; the pipe socket’s length - 6 cm; minimum diameter – 12.5 cm; maximum diameter - 14 cm; thickness – 1.2 cm; the pipe socket’s diameter – 10.5 cm (Pl. II/1).

2. Ceramic tube, Inv. R 2786; length - 69 cm; the pipe socket’s length - 5 cm; minimum diameter – 10.5 cm; maximum diameter – 11.3 cm; thickness – 1.5 cm; the pipe socket’s diameter – 6.5 cm (Pl. II/2).

3. Ceramic tube, Inv. R 2787; length – 65.5 cm, the pipe socket’s length - 6 cm; minimum diameter - 11,2 cm; maximum diameter – 11.4 cm; thickness – 1.5 cm; the pipe socket’s diameter - 7 cm (Pl. II/3).

4. Ceramic tube, Inv. R 2788; length - 65 cm; the pipe socket’s length - 6 cm; maximum diameter – 10.5 cm; thickness – 1.5 cm; the pipe socket’s diameter – 6.5 cm (Pl. II/4).

5. Ceramic tube, Inv. R 2789; length – 67.5 cm; the pipe socket’s length - 5 cm; maximum diameter – 11.5 cm; thickness – 1.5 cm (Pl. II/5).

6. Ceramic tube, Inv. R 2790; length - 66 cm; the pipe socket’s length - 1 cm; maximum diameter – 11.3 cm; thickness – 1.5 cm.

7. Ceramic tube, Inv. R 2791; length – 63.3 cm; the pipe socket’s length – 1 cm; minimum diameter – 11 cm; maximum diameter – 11.2 cm; thickness – 1.7 cm.

8. Ceramic tube, Inv. R 2792; length – 62 cm; the pipe socket’s length – 1 cm; minimum diameter – 11 cm; maximum diameter – 11.7 cm; thickness – 1.8 cm.

9. Ceramic tube, Inv. R 2795; length – 36.8 cm; the pipe socket’s length – 1 cm; maximum diameter – 9.8 cm; thickness – 1.3 cm; the pipe socket’s diameter – 8.5 cm. At the base of the pipe socket there are seven circular perforations with a diameter of 0.5 cm. Unfortunately, we were not able to find in the bibliography analogies or reliable data on their possible functionality.

10. Ceramic tube, Inv. R 2796; length – 42 cm; the pipe socket’s length – 7 cm; minimum diameter – 10.6 cm; maximum diameter – 11.5 cm; thickness – 2 cm; the pipe socket’s diameter – 6.8 cm. (Pl. III/5).

¹² IDR III/6, 222. Those which are mentioned as being *in situ* were from the ditch, publishing them without asking permission of Ms. Viorica Rusu-Bolindeț, the person in charge of the excavations. According to the researcher, the stamped bricks have disappeared in 2002, together with the slush pit!

¹³ Ciobanu et alii 2000, p. 295-296; Ciobanu 2004, p. 333-335.

¹⁴ The edifice belongs to the *thermae* “in parallel axes” type, with a central corridor out of which there may be entered in the two parallel rows of rooms, on one side being *apodyterium* and *frigidarium* and on the other side, *tepidarium*, *sudatorium* and *caldarium*, heated rooms. *Thermae* of this type were discovered in the Dacia province at Bumbesti and Slăveni, dating from the time of Septimius Severus. See Ciobanu et alii 2000, p. 296; Ciobanu 2004, p. 334.

¹⁵ The photographs had been taken by Ms. Lacrima Rădulescu and the drawings made by Mr. Călin Adam; we thank them for their tremendous help.

11. Ceramic tube, Inv. R 2798; length – 28 cm; maximum diameter – 10.5 cm; thickness – 2 cm.
12. Ceramic tube, Inv. R 2799; length – 25 cm; maximum diameter – 9 cm; thickness – 1.1 cm; the pipe socket's diameter – 5.2 cm (Pl. III/1).
13. Ceramic tube, Inv. R 2800; length – 65.5 cm; the pipe socket's length – 3.5 cm, maximum diameter – 9 cm; thickness – 1.2 cm.
14. Ceramic tube, Inv. R 2926; length – 42 cm; maximum diameter – 11.5 cm; thickness – 1.2 cm. There was preserved inside the tube a fragment from another, out of which only the pipe socket and a part of the body are kept. The two tubes were connected with mortar to assure waterproofing. The second tube has the following dimensions: length – 13 cm, the pipe socket's length – 6 cm, the pipe socket's diameter – 4 cm.
15. Ceramic tube, Inv. R 2928; length – 35 cm; maximum diameter – 10.5 cm; thickness – 1.5 cm. There is preserved on the inside a pipe socket from another tube: the pipe socket's length – 4 cm; the pipe socket's diameter – 4 cm.
16. Ceramic tube, Inv. R 2930; length – 34 cm; maximum diameter – 11 cm; thickness – 2 cm. There is preserved on the inside mortar from another tube and presents a perforated orifice with a (preserved) diameter of 1.5 cm. It was probably a pipe branching for another pipe or a clearing hole of the limy deposition.
17. Ceramic tubes, Inv. R 2932. We refer to two tubes connected with mortar. The first one has the following dimensions: length – 25 cm; the pipe socket's length – 4.5 cm; maximum diameter – 9.6 cm, thickness – 1.3 cm, the pipe socket's diameter – 6 cm. The second one presents the following dimensions: length – 11.8 cm, thickness – 1,1 cm, maximum diameter – 11 cm. Only the first tube has the pipe socket preserved (Pl III/2).
18. Ceramic tube, Inv. R 2933, length – 31.5 cm; the pipe socket's length – 5 cm; maximum diameter – 9.1 cm; thickness – 1 cm; the pipe socket's diameter – 6 cm (Pl. III/3).
19. Ceramic tube, Inv. R 2937; length – 26.3 cm, the pipe socket's length – 6 cm, maximum diameter – 9.7 cm, thickness – 1,3 cm.
20. Ceramic tube, Inv. R 2939, length – 24 cm, maximum diameter – 10 cm, thickness – 0.7 cm. On the inside it is preserved the pipe socket from another tube, fixed with mortar: the pipe socket's length – 5 cm; the pipe socket's diameter – 4 cm.

Most of the presented ceramic tubes are fragmentary and are part of the pipes that supplied with water the public or private buildings that belonged to the city district researched by A. Cserni a century ago. Tubes with numbers 2–5 from the index seem to be part of the same piping system (Pl. IV/1). A similar feature appears at the joining of tubes 6–8. We may therefore argue that the ceramic tubes come from two different systems. Aqueduct ceramic tubes are to be found all over Dacia province, being, as all over the Roman Empire, the most widespread way of transporting water. Good analogies for the Apulum case, and we do not refer only to technical features, are to be found in Drobeta, Potaissa and Ulpia Traiana.

In Drobeta the *thermae* were supplied through a ceramic pipe which P. Polonic identified in 1897 as supplying the fountains of the Roman city nearby the present-day high school¹⁶.

In Turda, during the archaeological excavations from 1977–1978 the Roman aqueducts were discovered. They supplied both the legionary fortress of the V Macedonica legion fort and the Roman city. The tubes of the one that supplied the fortress were 43 cm long, having a diameter of 16.5 cm. The dimensions of the tubes of the aqueduct supplying the city were 39 cm long, with a diameter of 25.5 cm.¹⁷ Although, lead pipes were not yet discovered in Potaissa, the existence of some fragments of bronze pipes,¹⁸ among which at least one might be interpreted as a *calix*, lead us to assume the possibility that they were also there in use.

A fragmentary pipe, of which 22 clay tubes were preserved, was found in *colonia Dacica Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*,¹⁹ between the buildings noted 001 and 002, during the archaeological excavations in the area of the palace belonging to the procurator of Dacia Apulensis province. Four clay tubes kept in the store house of the old museum (having the following dimensions: length – 26–28 cm; big diameter –

¹⁶ Tudor 1969, p. 319, fig. 94, 3.

¹⁷ Bărbulescu 1994, p. 68-69.

¹⁸ Bajusz 1980, p. 385-386; Tóth 1981, p. 165-166; Bărbulescu 1994, p. 69.

¹⁹ Băeștean 1998-1999, p. 254.

13 cm; small diameter – 6 cm; pipe socket – 7 cm) were also discovered in the of the palace. From Ulpia Traiana there are known 20 tubes kept in the new museum, without knowing their discovery context: length – 24–32 cm; big diameter – 12.6 – 13 cm; small diameter – 5.8–6 cm.²⁰

In Romula (Dacia Inferior province) the ceramic tubes were protected by a brick gallery, of a triangular section, filled with mortar.²¹

Important analogies are to be found in Scythia Minor also. An underground aqueduct was found in Callatis, made of ceramic tubes with a diameter of 20–22 cm, three km north of the city. Other aqueducts made of ceramic tubes were found in Troesmis, Tropaeum Traiani (two) and Casimcea.²² In Histria, an aqueduct made of clay tubes with a diameter of 18 cm and length of 62 cm was discovered, covering a distance of 4 km.²³

From the old collections of the Alba Iulia Museum come several quarry blocks used for the sewerage system (4 still unpublished) depicted as follows:

1. Sewer stone building block, unpublished, of rectangular shape, lime, Inv. R 752, dimensions: 30 X 29 X 12.5 cm. The slush pit has a carved hole (diameter – 26 cm) with three perforations in petal shape, for overflowing of the residual water (Pl. IV/3).

2. Sewer stone building block, unpublished, purchased by A. Cserni, rectangular shape, lime, Inv. R 480, dimensions: 62 X 53,5 X 15 cm. The slush pit has a carved hole (diameter – 41 cm) with six perforations in petal shape, for overflowing of the residual water.

3. Sewer stone building block, purchased by A. Cserni, rectangular shape, lime, Inv. R 458, dimensions: 91 X 64 X 19 cm. The slush pit has a carved hole (diameter – 55 cm) with a circular perforation (maximum diameter – 24 cm, minimum diameter – 15 cm) surrounded by other six perforations in petal shape, for overflowing of the residual water²⁴ (Pl. IV/2).

4. Lime block, in a fragmentary state, placed in the yard of the museum, discovered northeast of the Roman fort, in the circumstances of some urban works from the 80's of the last century, without Inv., dimensions: 204 X 60 X 45 cm. It was probably used for water catching of the spring located northeast of the Roman fort, nearby the St. Elisabeth bastion of the Austrian fortress, or, more probable for the sewerage system²⁵. In the section, it is "U" shaped and the inside aperture through which water flew, was 30 cm wide.

5. Lime block, in a fragmentary state, placed in the yard of the museum, discovered northeast of the Roman fort, in the circumstances of some urban works since the 80's of the last century, without Inv., dimensions: 236 X 60 X 42 cm.

The last blocks seem to be part of the same system if we have in mind that they have the same construction characteristics and dimensions but also for the fact that they were discovered in the same place.

A more delicate problem is to interpret their functionality. If blocks came from a ditch, this seems to have been open, because the edges of the pieces are not carrying the traces of some covering blocks. For this reason an open aqueduct seems less probable, without being able to exclude such a hypothesis; a pipe functioning like this could not transport drinking water. The sealing of such a ditch presumed important works. But mortar traces are missing in their joining area.

In Dacia province, blocks of the drainage ditches were reused as construction material in the steeple of the mediaeval church from Densuş, on its eastern and western side. A similar case is in the Peşteana church, where such a piece is fixed in wall of the church. Their provenance cannot be other than *colonia Dacica Sarmizegetusa*. Close analogies by shape are known in the Empire in Aquincum and Side.²⁶

In the north-western side of the city, traces of Roman water supply system were identified, like a Roman pipe carrying the water from "Fântâna Împăratului", in fact from the springs at Dealul Mamut.²⁷ It is not recorded the type of material this was built from, but probably there are ceramic tubes.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 254-255, fig. II, a, b, c.

²¹ Tudor 1969, p.180.

²² Canarache 1954, p. 357.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 359.

²⁴ Băeştean 2007a, p. 101-102, Fig. 109; 2007b, p. 395, pl. IV, fig. 21.

²⁵ We received the information by the goodwill of the Professor Gh. Anghel, we thank him for help.

²⁶ Băeştean 2007a, p. 395.

²⁷ Tudor 1968, p. 148.

The epigraphic sources confirm the existence of systems of water distribution in Apulum. Clearly the presence of *thermae*, or the public fountains also assumes the necessary technical means to assure a constant outflow of water, obtained not only by natural resources (springs, rain water, etc). Unfortunately a connection between the epigraphic and archaeological data is difficult to make in Apulum.

The inscription attesting the existence of an aqueduct in Apulum, today gone, was fixed in the wall of a house around the beginning of the 16th century and dates at the end of 158 A.D.:²⁸

Io(ui) o(ptimo)·m(aximo) et·consessui deorum·dearumque pro·salute·imperii Romani·et·uirtute leg(ionis)·XIII·G(eminae)·sub·M(arco)·Statio Prisco·consule·designato·demonstr(antibus) ipsis·aquas·aperiendas·per·L(ucium)·Aurelium Trophimum·ponente[m] signum·Iouis·et·aram·p(ecunia)·s(ua)·f(ecit).

Translation: “To Jupiter the worthy and great and to the gathering of gods and goddesses to save the Roman power and for the victory of the XIII Gemina legion under the rule of Marcus Stadius Priscus, appointed consul (the gods) themselves indicating (through signs) that must be dug (to find) the source through Lucius Aurelius Trophimus, who erected the statue of Jupiter and the altar. He set up this monument at his expense”. We do not know which the chosen technical feature to transport water was.

On the base of a marble statue discovered between Dealul Furcilor and the residual water ditch of the nowadays Alba Iulia city, a fountain is attested:²⁹

Ex iussu dei Apollinis·fontem Aeterni·Ulp(ius) Proculinus speculator leg(ionis) XIII·G(eminae) Gordianae·a solo restituit.

Translation “Under the protection of god Apollo, Ulpius Proculinus, *speculator* of the XIII Gemina Gordiana legion, remade Deus Aeternus’ fountain.” It dates from the reign of Gordian III (238–244 A.D.).³⁰

The bathhouses are attested by two inscriptions. The first one is a votive inscription, today disappeared, seen by M. Opitz in 1622 on the bank of the Mureș; it probably comes from the territory of *colonia Aurelia Apulensis*, with the following text:³¹

Fortunae·Aug(ustae)·sacrum P(ublius)·Aelius·Geme(l)lus·uir·clarissimus perfecto·a·solo·balneo consacravit.

Translation: “Dedicated to Fortuna Augusta, Publius Aelius Gemellus, a very illustrious man (member of the senatorial order), erected (this monument), during the time when the baths from the foundations were constructed.” It dates from the end of the 2nd century or from the 3rd century A.D., based on the *uir clarissimus* title, which becomes quite frequent during this period.

The second inscription was discovered in Partoș district of the nowadays Alba Iulia city, in the area of the forum of the *colonia Aurelia Apulensis*. It is a fragmented base of a statue, with the following text:³²

[Ob] cuius [sta]tuae dedi[cat]ionem Lu[ci]a·Iulia·uxor [C]erunoni(i) per omnes·balne[as] populo·publice oleum posuit l(oco) d(ato) d(ecurionum)·d(ecreto).

Translation: “On the occasion of dedicating her statue, Lucia Iulia, wife of Cervonius, offered free oil to people at the baths, the place (of erecting the statue) was given by the decurions’ decree”. It dates from the reign of Marcus Aurelius.³³

²⁸ CIL III, 1061; IDR III/5, no. 185.

²⁹ CIL III, 1061; IDR III/5, 31.

³⁰ IDR III/5, 27.

³¹ CIL III, 1006; IDR III/5, 72.

³² IDR III/5, 446.

³³ CIL III, 7805; IDR III/5, 347.

Unfortunately, unlike *colonia Dacica Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa* (today superposed only by small village), the Roman settlements of Apulum had successive urban super positions in time. This comparison is important, because the obtained results in the case of biggest urban centres of the Province are so different. In the first case, the publication and dissemination of the archaeological material has enriched provincial history with data comparable with the rest of the Empire.³⁴ In the second case, even to attribute a discovered item to one of the attested settlements represents a great problem. Obviously, the archaeological feature is also different. In Sarmizegetusa, only one Roman city existed, nowadays covered merely on the western half (between the walls) of the actual village, in the eastern half without any construction. In Apulum, three centres are attested, superposed almost entirely by the ulterior settlements. The archaeological material is quite rich, compared to other Roman cities from Dacia, but it is difficult to identify the exact place of origin.

Under these circumstances a conclusion referring to the separate situation of water distribution in the two cities and of the legionary fortress cannot be drawn, at least not in this moment.

Nevertheless, in this moment is possible a comparison with the cities such as Potaissa or Drobeta. Maybe, only as a simple coincidence, is worth noticing that the archaeological discoveries related to the water distribution system, in their great majority, come from the area of the *thermae*.

From an epigraphic point of view the settlements from Apulum join Sarmizegetusa³⁵ and, eventually, Ampelum³⁶ through the written attestation of a water distribution system.

The ceramic tubes are pretty numerous, but it is quite difficult to form an idea as far as they are concerned, because only few were entirely preserved. As shape, dimension and feature their great variety does not help too much, because the differences in the case of ceramic tubes may be from several centimetres, in the case of diameters, to tens of centimetres in the case of the tubes length.³⁷ Worth noticing is the ceramic tube no. 9 with incised traces at the base of the pipe socket, which are a little bit deepened. There are not helping analogies and it is not clear whether they had a functional role (eventually for a better binding), an ornamental one or maybe it represented „a signature” of the producer. But the presence of other several similar fragments may indicate the fact that they come from one pipe only. From this point of view there may be identified at least two types of different systems. The items seem to be part of systems of water distribution. In this moment and under the given circumstances neither of the items can be identified as component of a building's arch.³⁸

The number of *fistulae plumbea* is small and certainly insignificant. Reusing lead during the subsequent ages, as well as spreading of the material towards other locations³⁹ (sometimes being lost the initial discovery place) may offer a partial answer of the actual state of research. Maybe the future archaeological excavations will throw more light on this case, because at least in the situation of the cities (if we have in mind their fame and wealth) the lead pipes must have been used in a larger number.

The drainage blocks of the sewerage system, next to those that might come from another ditch, only strengthen the certitude in the existence of water distribution system very well developed, but extremely little known. It is not feasible to exclude the possibility that the drainage ditches could have belonged to the settlements from the *territoria* of the two cities of Apulum, or maybe even from the *territorium* of the *colonia Dacica Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*. As far as the settlements from *territoria* of cities are concerned the water distribution system used is that of the aqueduct made of ceramic tubes. Nevertheless, in the rural areas wooden pipes were also used, from which at least the metallic junctions should have been preserved. In the Northern provinces, such as Britannia⁴⁰, Gemanian Inferior and Germania Superior,⁴¹ the wooden pipes were frequently used, especially in Romano-British civilian settlements. Situation from Dacia, which has many similarities with the three cited examples, cannot be different.

³⁴ Băeștean 2007a, *passim*.

³⁵ CIL III, 1446 = IDR III/2, 8.

³⁶ CIL III, 1293 = IDR III/3, 282.

³⁷ Băeștean 1998-1999, p. 255.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 256-257.

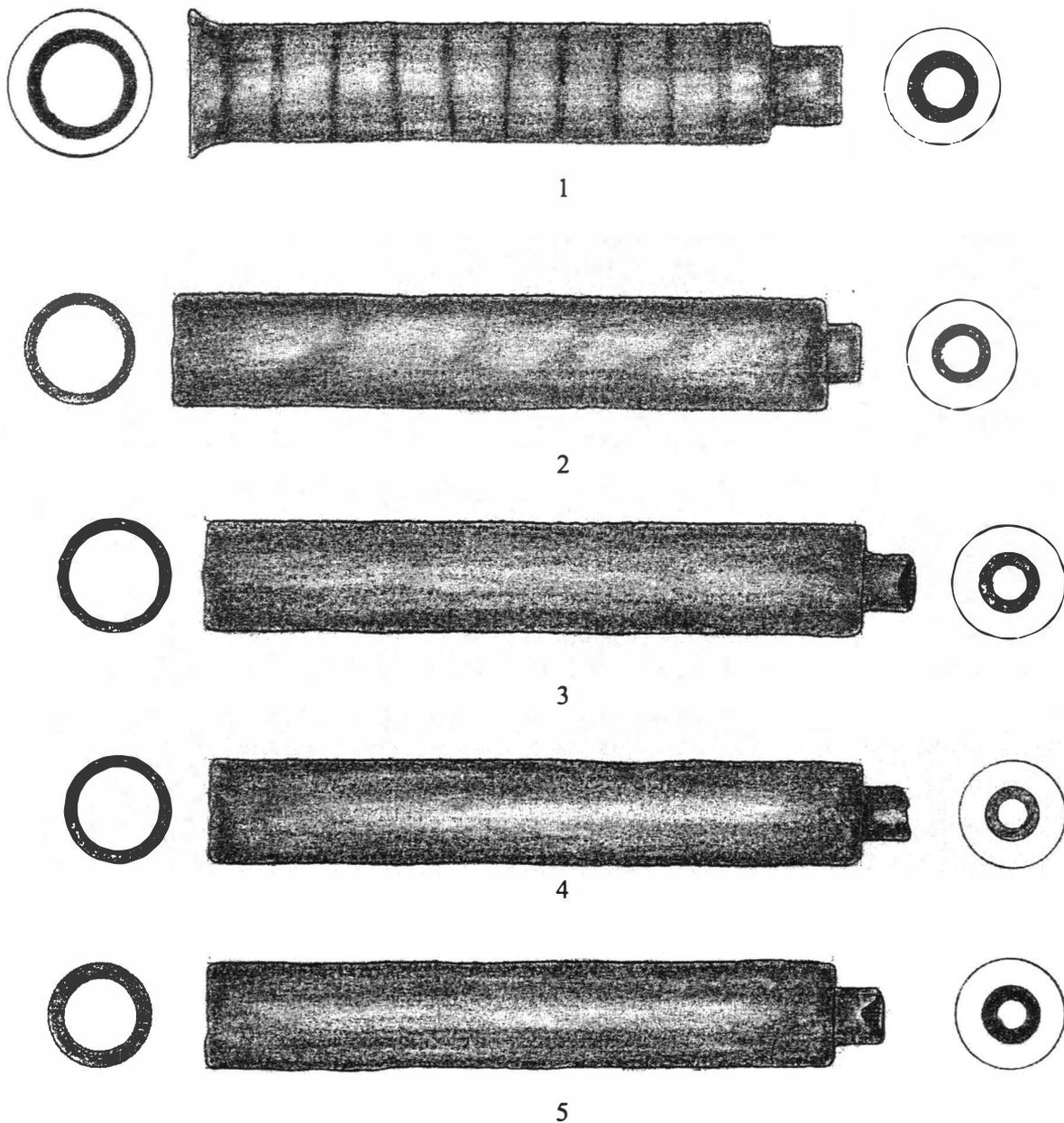
³⁹ A ceramic tube proceeded from Partoș district (written *Portus* in the inventory register), we found it again in the MNIT warehouses Cluj-Napoca, without any other data.

⁴⁰ Stephans 1985, p. 197-207.

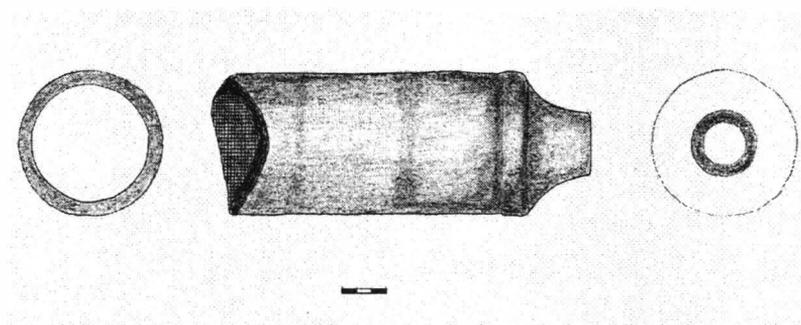
⁴¹ Trevor Hodge 1995, p. 110.



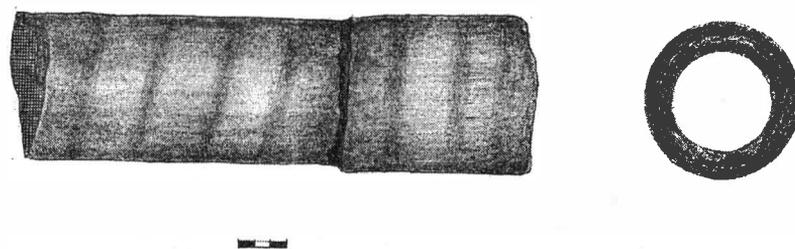
Pl. I: 1. Roman bath researched by Adalbert Cserni; 2. the governor office researched by Viorica Rusu-Bolindel; 3. the small Roman bath researched by Radu Ciobanu; 4. legionary bath researched by Radu Heitel.



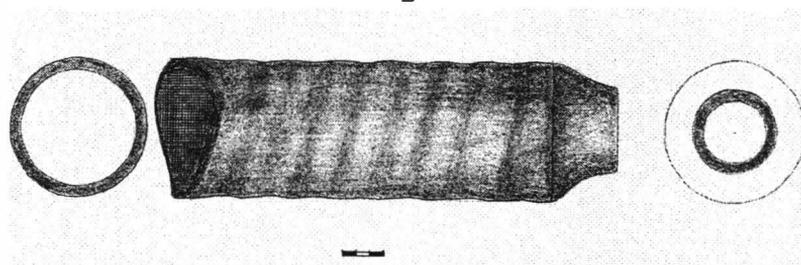
Pl. II. Ceramic tubes 1-5, scale 1:5.



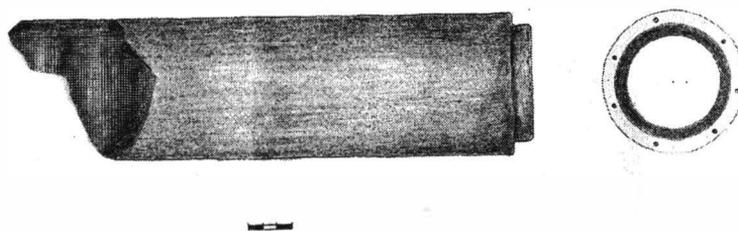
1



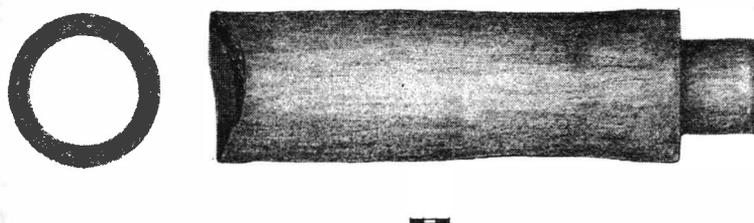
2



3



4



5

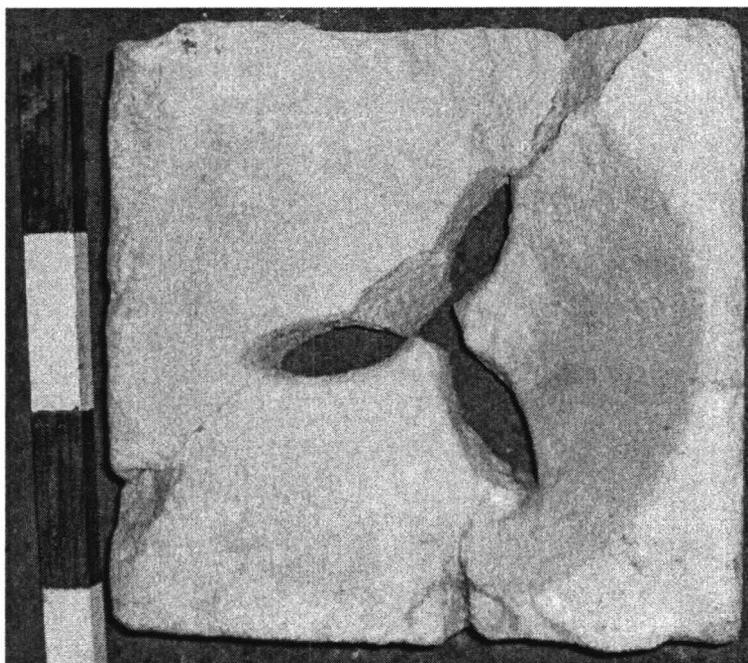
Pl. III. Ceramic tubes 1-5, scale 1:5.



1



2



3

Pl. IV. 1. Ceramic tubes of the same piping system; 2-3. Sewer stone building blocks.

Many of the archaeologically discovered items, used in the water distribution system from Dacia, come from the territory of the today Alba and Hunedoara counties. This could be only the state of the archaeological research, or probably this is to be related to the important development level of the provincial rural settlements from these areas. We should keep in mind that the two most important urban centres of the Dacia province, Sarmizegetusa and Apulum, were located in the area. The two cities benefited by immense *territoria* in which rural settlements flourished. Leaving aside the archaeological discoveries from the *territorium* of Ulpia Traiana, we should mention that in the *territoria* of the two attested cities from Apulum numerous items related to the water distribution system were also discovered.

As a guide mark, we shall refer briefly to the territory of the first urban centre, *municipium Aurelium Apulense*, which subsequently became *colonia*, because it is the first settlement that received the municipal status. I. Piso and Al. Diaconescu concluded that the territory of the *colonia* included towards southwest all the settlements till Germisara, towards northwest till Şard, not being excluded to be till Ampelum (until it became *municipium*), towards southeast, the all the settlements from the lower reach of the Târnave, and towards north, south from Brucla.⁴² At the same time with the development of *municipium Septimium Apulense* and *municipium Ampelensium*, *colonia Aurelia Apulensis* must have lost a part from its territory.⁴³

On the territory of Berghin commune (Alba County), placed east of Apulum, on the terrace „Nimul de Jos”, one kilometre northeast of the village, there were discovered pipe tubes made of clay, all belonging to a possible Roman rural settlement.⁴⁴ In Cut village, Călnic commune (Alba County), placed SSE from Apulum, in the spot named „Fântâna Dărgului” was discovered a pipe made from burnt clay.⁴⁵ In Drâmbar, village that belongs to Ciugud commune (Alba County), placed east of Apulum, a rural Roman settlement, probably a *villa rustica*, was identified, where ceramic aqueduct tubes were found.⁴⁶ South of Apulum, in Gârbova commune (Alba County), ceramic tubes of an aqueduct were discovered which supplied a small rural Roman settlement. These are preserved in the museum from Sibiu.⁴⁷ East of Apulum, in Hăpria village (Alba County), in the „Gura Zăpozi” place, an aqueduct stamped brick of XIII Gemina legion was discovered.⁴⁸ It is worth to remember that here existed at least one Roman settlement which needed water supply. North of Apulum, in Meşcreac village, Rădeşti commune (Alba County), three aqueduct ceramic tubes were discovered, during the archaeological excavations made in 1968 by V. Lazăr in the Roman settlement.⁴⁹

Northwest of Apulum, in Miceşti district of Alba Iulia city the traces of a pipe made of big stamped bricks of the XIII Gemina legion were discovered. It was probably part of the water distribution system which supplied one of the settlements in Apulum using the water from the river Ampoi.⁵⁰ The remains of ceramic water pipes were discovered south of Apulum, in Pianu de Sus village (Alba County), next to a golden fibula, bricks, spear heads, axes and ceramic vessels.⁵¹ In Răhău commune (Alba County), placed south of Apulum, two ceramic tubes were discovered, evidently part of Roman pipeline.⁵² In 1909, near Sebeş (Alba County), placed south of Apulum, a shaft with the margins made from Roman bricks was discovered. This was situated southeast of the so called “Râpa Roşie”. A pipe made of ceramic tubes started from here being covered with tiles; it crossed the Secaş flood plain, being attested on a length of 80 metres. Unfortunately this was destroyed by the local people in 1951.⁵³ In Sâncraia, near Aiud (Alba County), placed north of Apulum, a Roman pipe is documented, without topographical notes.⁵⁴ In 1888,

⁴² Diaconescu, Piso 1993, p. 70-71; Ardevan 1998, p. 81.

⁴³ Ardevan 1998, p. 82.

⁴⁴ Rep. Alba 1995, p. 55.

⁴⁵ Rep. Alba 1995, p. 89.

⁴⁶ Tudor 1968, p. 170; Mitrofan 1974, p. 44; Rep. Alba 1995, p. 92.

⁴⁷ Tudor 1968, p. 140; Rep. Alba 1995, p. 102.

⁴⁸ Tudor 1968, p. 140; Rep. Alba 1995, p. 105.

⁴⁹ Lazăr 1974, p. 119; Rep. Alba 1995, p. 125.

⁵⁰ Tudor 1968, p. 176; Rep. Alba 1995, p. 127.

⁵¹ Rep. Alba 1995, p. 146.

⁵² *Ibidem*, p. 151.

⁵³ Tudor 1968, p. 142; Rep. Alba 1995, p. 170.

⁵⁴ Rep. Alba 1995, p. 175.

northwest of Apulum, in Tibru village, Cricău commune (Alba County), among the ruins of a building belonging to a Roman fort or *villa rustica* the sewerage pipes, next to a votive altar, a relief and other objects of Roman origin were discovered. In the same location, there were also found stamped bricks of the XIII Gemina legion.⁵⁵

Worth noticing is the fact that in the native Dacian settlements, of the Roman period, although they adopted many items of the Roman material culture (fine and coarse pottery, iron tools, bronzes, coins, etc.) there are no discoveries related to a possible water distribution systems. A possible using of wooden pipes, more difficult to detect on the field, is not be excluded. Nevertheless, it is difficult to believe, as also before the Roman period the attested example of wooden pipes from Sarmizegetusa Regia remains singular.

The little epigraphic or archaeological information attests a strong development stage of the Roman settlements from Apulum. The existence of a least one aqueduct, public or private fountains and *thermae* show that also in this part of the Empire a series of elements, perceptions and values of the Roman civilization may have been implemented in a relatively short term. Unfortunately, only a small number of artifacts related to the water distribution system were discovered during the archaeological excavations. The majority come from old collections of the Alba Iulia Museum. Probably future archaeological excavations in the territory of the actual city will uncover buildings with *hypocaust*, *thermae*, public fountains or aqueducts to confirm the high development standard of the urban centres from Apulum.

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⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 191.

BEING A PHYSICIAN IN MOESIA INFERIOR*

DAN APARASCHIVEI

Key words: Roman medicine, physicians, Moesia Inferior, medical instruments.

Abstract: This research tries to outline a part of daily life of the Roman province Moesia Inferior, very little surprised by the historical literature: medicine and the practitioners of this profession. It examines the spread of civilian physicians in the communities of the province, especially from inscriptions and discoveries of medical instruments in the tombs. We discuss also about the access arrangements in the branch, doctors' origin, local tradition for this specialization. The physicians identified, as well as the associations that are attested in the Greek cities, are evidences of a normal medical activity in Moesia Inferior, like in any other province of the Roman Empire of first to third century AD.

Cuvinte cheie: Medicina romană, medici, Moesia Inferior, instrumente medicale.

Rezumat: Cercetarea de față încearcă să contureze un aspect de viață cotidiană din provincia Moesia Inferior, puțin surprins de literatura de specialitate: medicina și practicanții acestei meserii. Se analizează răspândirea medicilor civili în comunitățile provinciei, în special pe baza inscripțiilor și a descoperirilor de instrumentar medical în morminte. Se pun în discuție, de asemenea, modalitățile de acces în această branșă, proveniența medicilor, tradiția locală pentru această meserie. Personajele identificate, dar și asociațiile de profil atestate în orașele grecești sunt dovezi ale unei activități medicale normale pentru orice provincie a Imperiului în secolele I-III p. Chr.

Respected, coveted, as well as controversial, the medical profession was recognized in Antiquity as being vital for the smooth development of individual or communal activities in society. The perception of the profession in itself, with the appreciations and the defamations which it has undergone, has been convincingly expressed in many writings from the Roman era, a period which acutely reflects our own preoccupations.¹

As with other cultural and scientific influences, it was the Greeks who introduced rational medicine to Rome.² Physicians attracted to Roman cities, as numerous missions organized for the teaching of medical techniques in prestigious Greek centres, were in a position to replace at least a proportion of the

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¹Among many reviews, we just mention only some relevant opinions: Seneca appreciated physicians, whom he saw as close to the patients, true intellectual partners with outstanding capabilities (*De Beneficiis*, VI, 15-16). On the other side, Pliny the Elder was against doctors. He believed that „the physicians practice their knowledge at our risk and made experiments on the skin of the sick; the doctor is the only unpunished person in the case of manslaughter. In fact, they may even blame the patient for not respecting the treatment“ (*N.H.*, XXIX, 8). In the same context, Galenus made an observation that „many physicians talk about medicine without being able to show their skills“ (Galen, XIV, 649-650). The interest for this professional category is inferred also from Jus., *Digeste*, XXVII, 1, 6, 2-4; Jus. *Cod.*, X, 58, 9.

²The term „rational medicine“ was spread by Aulus Cornelius Celsus, who did not agree with a divine origin for disease and believed that praying to the gods for healing was not a solution. Celsus, *Med.*, *Proemium*; see also Penso 1984, p. 73.

priestly and magical medicine widely used by the Romans.³ Nevertheless, we are convinced that what was the mystical continued to insert itself artfully and subtly into medical activities and, sometimes, traditions replaced the science. In many cases, rational medicine coincided with popular medicine. However, authentic physicians have succeeded, in general, because a scientific approach convinced patients that “medicaments and drugs are the hands of the gods”.⁴ On the other hand, the central authorities seized on the direct relations between politics and health policy for the population, resulting in the inherent „purchase” or „manufacture” of doctors.

The employment of the first public physician by Rome, the Greek Archagathus, *vulnerarius medicus*, in 219 BC, meant the important recognition of the health care of specialist doctors.⁵ However, the medical profession in the republican era did not enjoy the support due from the state. Slaves, freedmen and foreigners (especially Greeks) were the majority practitioners in this profession.⁶ As late as Caesar, the involvement of the authorities was clear. This moment meant the significant growth in the number of physicians and, implicitly, of interest for medical practice and research.⁷ By obtaining the right of citizenship, they benefited from more immunities which aimed to encourage access to health care. The knowledge of physicians was, in practice, available at all social levels. At the imperial court they become indispensables⁸ and also in military units,⁹ in large cities as well as in smaller communities. If there was hardly a doctor in the town, he would be hired from outside. More than this, from the time of Severus Alexander, the basis of a medical teaching system financed by the State was put in place.¹⁰

Civilian physicians

Civilian physicians were generalists (*clinici*) or specialists,¹¹ that is to say specialists for every part of the body.¹² We are certain that eye specialists (*medicus oculusarius*) (ιατρος ὀφθαλμικός)¹³ and surgeons

³ Penso 1984, p. 47-69; Önerfors 1993, p. 157-224, with many examples from ancient literature.

⁴ The phrase belongs to Herophilus from Chalcedon, a founder of the famous Alexandrian medical school (fourth-third centuries BC).

⁵ Nutton 1981, p. 18; Nutton 1986, p. 38-39; Nutton 1993, p. 53.

⁶ André 1987, p. 33-36. For the status of doctors in Rome, see p. 97-179, but also Scarborough 1969 and Cappai 1983, p. 65-87. It was advanced the opinion even that all doctors in Rome were Greeks: Baker 2004, p. 41.

⁷ Suetonius (*Jul.*, 42) stated that the main advantage the doctors obtained was the fact that Caesar granted them citizenship and, hence, they had to pay less in taxes (*Omnes professo, et liberalium artium doctores, quo libentius et ipsi urbem incolerent, et coeteri appetere, civitate donavit*). Augustus, Vespasian and Hadrian strengthened and increased privileges for doctors (Suet. *Aug.*, 59, Cassius Dio *Hist.*, LIII, 30), but also limited the number of those who could take advantage of these privileges in order to prevent abuses. For the decrees granted by Vespasian in the year 74 AD, see Oliver 1989, n^o. 38, with comments at p. 121-123, and for those of Antoninus Pius, see Oliver 1989, p. 588-590.

⁸ Literary sources have kept the name of the personal physicians of emperors: Tiberius's (Caricles) - Tac., *Annales*, VI, 50, Nero's (Andromachus from Crete) - Galen, XIV, 232-233, Claudius's (Quintus Stertinius Senofontes from Cos, followed by Gaius Stertinius Senofontes and Scribonius Largus) - Tac., *Annales*, XII, 61 and 67, Trajan's (Criton) - Ioannes Lydus, *De magistratibus*, II, 28, Marcus Aurelius and then Commodus's (Galenus). For details see Cappai 1983, p. 78-79.

⁹ About physicians from army and treatment of war wounds it is already published a substantial literature: see Scarborough 1968, p. 254-261 and note 1 with bibliography; Nutton 1969, p. 260-270; Krug 1993, p. 204-208; Salazar 2000, especially p. 68-124 but, also, Baker 2004.

¹⁰ SHA, *Alexander Severus*, 44, 4. Against this source see Nutton 1977, p. 216-217.

¹¹ A passage from Cicero refers to this variety of specializations: *An tu existimas, cum esset Hippocrates, ille Cos, fuisse tum alios medicos qui morbis, alios qui vulneribus, alios qui oculis mederentur?*, Cic. *Ora.* III, 33. Specialization began to appear mainly in Imperial Roman times. Greek sources recorded little evidence of this.

¹² Penso 1984, p. 118. For surgery see also Michler 1969; *La chirurgia* 1975; for a more strict specialization in surgery see Künzl 1983a, p. 487-491; for ophthalmology Nielsen 1974 and Korać, 1986, p. 53-71; Rocca 2003, for brain diseases.

¹³ André 1987, p. 63-65; Nielsen 1974; Künzl 1983b, with references; Korać 1986, p. 53-71; Jackson 1996, 2228-2251. In terms of inscriptions, many are certified as specialists: Rome - CIL VI, 3987, 6192, 8909, 8910, 9605, 9606, 9607, 9608, 9609, 33157, 33880, AÉ 1924, 196; Italy - CIL V, 3156, 3940, 8320; CIL X, 6124; CIL XI, 742, 5400, 5441, 6232; North Africa - CIL VIII, 21105; Baetica - CIL II, 1737, 5055. See a doctor in the Mauritanian Caesarea: Samama 2003, n^o. 459, note 17, p. 509.

(*chirurgus*) (χειρουργός)¹⁴ were the most widespread, but there is also evidence of other categories.¹⁵ Doctors were employed by communities as *medici publici*, or they serviced families with economical potential, like *domestici et familiares medici*.¹⁶ *Medici ambulatorios* had an interesting situation, also.¹⁷

Physicians discharged their duties in special spaces, in dispensing offices or surgeries for consultation (*taberna medicinae*, ἰατρεῖον) where they treated the sick, kept instruments and medicaments or consulted books.¹⁸

We cannot speak of the existence of hospitals or civil hospices during the period of the Principate. The first such institutions were set up quite late, in the Christian era, under the influence of religion.¹⁹

Medical practitioners could be attached to certain public institutions, such as circuses and theatres,²⁰ watching fights between gladiators,²¹ are present at sporting competitions,²² as well as in private institutions, such as the various professional associations (*collegia*).²³

As for the physicians of the government, there is a hierarchy of these, since in the inscriptions a *supra medicos* is recorded,²⁴ but also a *scriba medicorum*.²⁵ The organizational chart of the doctors of the imperial house provides information about a *decurio medicorum*,²⁶ indicating that these medical practitioners were organized in *decuriae*, but there were also more ἀρχιἄτροι, official court physicians.²⁷

In the following pages we will evaluate the importance of this profession in the province of Moesia Inferior. This will allow us to draw some conclusions about individual and collective health care in this part of the Roman world. The goal is to identify the civilian physicians who served the communities in the province, based on the sources we have at our disposal.²⁸

¹⁴ Samama 2003, n°. 381 mentions two surgeons who worked in the year 227 AD in a town near Tyre, in Arabia. Then, see for Rome CIL VI, 3986; 4350, 33882 and for Italy CIL IX, 3895. Surgeons are certified by different names in the sources: *chirurgus*, *medicus chirurgus*, *vulnerarius*, *vulnerum medicus*, *chirurgus venarius*: Jackson 1993, p. 91.

¹⁵ *Medicus auricularius*: CIL VI, 8908; AE 1910, 71; one *medicus o(ssa)?*, in Gummerus 1932, p. 62, n°. 226. The instruments found in graves show a significant spread of specialists in lichenotomy, and a smaller expansion of dentists: Künzl 1983a, p. 487-491 and Jackson 1993, p. 86.

¹⁶ Cappai 1983, p. 78.

¹⁷ Doctors, like any other category of free professional employees, were always traveling, either to acquire new knowledge, or to practice in various cities. See Samama 2003, p. 25-26, with details and references for the Greek period. They also played an important role in celebrations and temporary fairs, especially in the border regions.

¹⁸ Hyg., *Fab.*, CXLVII. In a relief from Ostia, a doctor is found sitting in his office: Penso 1984, p. 133, fig. 83. See also Samama 2003, p. 37-38.

¹⁹ For details see Miller 1984, p. 54-56; Miller 1985; Samama 2003, n°. 328 and p. 37: an epitaph of fifth century AD, from Euchaita, in Pontus, mentions a doctor who worked in a hospital.

²⁰ Vit., *De Arch.*, V.9.

²¹ A certain Trophimos, a doctor who cared for the wounds of fighters in the arena, is mentioned in a text from Cos, first-second centuries AD: Samama 2003, n°. 30, p. 135. A *medicus ludus Matutinus* see in CIG 6658 (Samama 2003, n°. 473) and, other one, in CIL VI, 10172; for details about this category of doctors see Robert 1940. Also, consult Scribonius Largus, a Roman doctor and pharmacologist from the first century AD. He indicates the measures taken by surgeons to heal the wounds of gladiators: Scrib.Larg., *Comp.*, LXXI and LXXVII.

²² They are mainly reported in gymnastics competitions. The doctor Heleis from Thyatire was in charge of an association of gymnasts. The inscription dates from second-third centuries AD.: Samama 2003, n°. 229. For more information about what treatments were applied to athletes see Pliny, *NH*, 28, 237. See also Samama 2003, n°. 37, 38.

²³ After *decuriones* of *collegium fabrum tignariorum* appears L. Tettius Clycon (Glycon?), *medicus*: CIL XI, 1355. See for comments Gummerus 1932, p. 64, n°. 235.

²⁴ CIL VI, 3982 (M. Livius Liviae l(ibertus) Orestes, *supra medicos*).

²⁵ T. Aurelius Telesphorus is recorded as the secretary of the association of doctors in CIL VI, 9566 and in a Greek inscription from the third century AD, perhaps a translation from Latin or vice versa: Samama 2003, n°. 485.

²⁶ CIL VI, 3984; Penso 1984, p. 114.

²⁷ About *arhiatroi* as personal physicians of political leaders in Antiquity see Nutton 1977, p. 193-198. The first evidence of an *arhiatros* was made in the first part of the second century BC, with a note about Crateros from Antiochia, a doctor of the Seleucids: Samama 2003, p. 42. In Rome, Andromachus, Nero's physician, is the first *arhiatros* who sources record: Penso 1984, p. 114.

²⁸ We will not refer here to the military physicians of Lower Moesia, who will receive special attention in another article. See for this subject CIL III, 7449; ISM V, 103, 170, 299; AE 1995, 1350.

Civilian physicians from Moesia Inferior

Inscriptions discovered provide us with most information about the activities performed by the civilian physicians from Moesia Inferior. Archaeological excavations and several literary sources also have much to tell us. Moreover, the same hierarchy of sources revealing medical activity is found throughout the Empire.

A votive inscription from Novae (Svištov, Bulgaria), from the second half of the second century AD, reveals information about Ae(lius) Macedo, *med(icus)* (appendix, n° 1).²⁹ Since there is no information stating that he was part of a military unit, we can conclude that he was a civilian physician. A military hospital, a *valetudinarium*, has been identified in the Novae legionary. It functioned in the second and third centuries AD.³⁰ The inscription revealing information about the doctor Macedo was found just in this unique construction from Moesia province. Military physicians usually belonged to a particular military structure such as a legion, an auxiliary fortress or a naval unit.³¹ It is therefore most likely that we are speaking about a civilian physician who carried out his duties in a military hospital. This was not a unique case throughout the Empire.³²

Like most votive inscriptions raised by doctors, this one is dedicated to the gods of the medical arts. Unfortunately, apart from the two divinities, Asclepius and Hygia, who are honored by this monument, we know no other details about this physician.³³

A man named Διό[δω]ρος, perhaps a civilian physician as well, seems to have been mentioned in another inscription from the Novae region, also discovered in the military hospital of the I Italica legion (appendix, n° 2).³⁴ The fragment, in Greek, is dated after 212 AD.

T. Rascanius Fortunatus, of the Pollia tribe, originally from Faventia, Emilia Romagna, region of Italy, was also very likely to have been a community physician (appendix, n° 3).³⁵ In local communities, well-known doctors were in especially great demand. Usually, the local administration welcomed qualified people who wished to settle in a town of another province. On his arrival in the Moesian town, the local authorities probably employed this physician on the basis of his professional qualifications.

However, to avoid the intrusion of impostors, the city council found ways of testing those who were applying for medical positions. A series of tests of skills and knowledge, several public presentations and speeches, were used in the selection process. Since the Hellenistic period, the physicians had to earn their place in the community, as the community was responsible for their salaries.³⁶

The authorities in Troesmis hired the physician we are discussing in the second century. *Municipium Troesmis* was the result of the twofold development between the *canabae* settlement raised near the legionary fortress of the V Macedonica legion and the *civitas* (local community).³⁷ Unfortunately, we cannot date exactly our epigraphic document with *medicus* Rascanius to know if he was active in the *municipium*,³⁸ *canabae* or *civitas*. The way in which medical assistance was provided between these last two communities, leading to the formation of the city of Troesmis, is a question that cannot be clarified in this moment. We can only assume that since they had different administrative institutions,³⁹ they had different medical structures as well. This situation raise new questions such as: who served the *canabae*? Military or civilian physicians? Or, what kind of relationships existed between

²⁹ Kolendo 1998, p. 62-64; AÉ 1998, 1134.

³⁰ Press 1985, p. 367-371; Press 1987, p. 171-184; Press 1990, p. 327-334.

³¹ The epigraphic sources indicate different appellatives for the military *medici*: *medicus legionis*, *medicus cohortis*, *medicus alae*, *medicus duplicarius*, *medicus castrensis*, *medicus castrorum*, *medicus miles*, *medicus ordinarius*, *medicus ordinarius legionis* are the most frequent. See Scarborough 1968, p. 258-259 and note 27.

³² AÉ 1929, 215; AÉ 1969-1970, 502.

³³ The Macedo cognomen was quite widespread throughout the Empire. Hadrian or Antoninus Pius bestowed citizenship on them: Onomasticon III, p. 42.

³⁴ IGLNovae, 176; Kolendo 1998, p. 64 and note 43.

³⁵ ISM V, 193.

³⁶ About the salaries see Samama 2003, n° 47-53. In addition to the remuneration from public funds, the doctor could benefit from fees from the patients: Cohn-Haft 1956, *passim*.

³⁷ Vulpe 1953, p. 557-582; Suceveanu, Barnea 1991, p. 50.

³⁸ It is most likely that the city of Troesmis obtained municipality status between the years 179-180 AD: Aparaschivei 2010, p. 111.

³⁹ ISM V, 158.

physicians in military units and those in nearby civilian communities?⁴⁰ The general belief is that there was a mutual interest in establishing a connection between the two backgrounds, civil (consisting of the *canabae*, *civitates* and *municipia*) and military. Evidence is being found at Novae, where, as we saw above, a civilian physician was working in the military hospital. On the other hand, civilians needed the expertise of a military doctor, a specialist in surgery, who had the knowledge to treat wounded soldiers. For the army physicians this collaboration was a way of improving and using their knowledge of women's or children's diseases, as they looked forward to retiring from the military and continuing their work in a civilian environment.⁴¹

Anyway, Fortunatus Rascanius worked in the community of Troesmis until he was 50 years old. His followers, freedmen Rascania Phoebe and T. Rascanius Euthycus, wanted to highlight that fact in the monument they built.

M. Octavius Aper, originally from Nicomedia, is identified as a *medicus* in a funerary inscription from Pliska, Bulgaria, from the second-third centuries AD (appendix, n° 4).⁴² The cognomen also reflects his Greek origins.⁴³ It is possible that he worked in a Greek city from the Black Sea coast, but, more probably, he served in Nicopolis ad Istrum. It is well known that, in the city founded by Trajan, both the elite and many members of the middle and lower classes came from Asia Minor and especially from the two cities of Bithynia, Nicaea and Nicomedia.⁴⁴ Moreover, Nicomedia was recognized for its rich cultural and scientific traditions, including in the medical field.⁴⁵

The citizens living on the West coast of Pontus Euxinus all had good reasons to have their entire medical system thoroughly reorganized, considering the tradition recorded in the Hellenistic period.⁴⁶ However, Ovid suggests that when he fell sick during his exile in Tomis, no one was assigned to his medical care when he needed it.⁴⁷ But, the text has a slight note of exaggeration and a desire to impress the reader. It cannot therefore be considered fully truthful.

At Tomis, as in other Greek cities on the western Black Sea coast, organized medical activity is well documented in the Hellenistic and, then, the Roman period. In an inscription found at Enisala (Tulcea county, Romania), a certain Κλαδᾶϊος leaves a personal description to his descendants in the form of a metric epitaph (appendix, n° 5).⁴⁸ Proudly declaring himself a citizen of Tomis, he admits that he has mastered the arts of Hippocrates. It is possible that this physician from the second century AD studied medicine in a southern (Mediterranean) city, where he could have learnt the Dorian dialect used in his text.

Medical instruments found in a tomb at Tomis confirm the fact that we are dealing with another medical practitioner, who operated in the late second and early in the following century.⁴⁹ The four pieces identified show great artistry.⁵⁰

⁴⁰ A particular case in this respect is the one of doctor of the legion VII Claudia from Drobeta. Marcus Valerius Longinus was honoured by the Senate of the city of Drobeta, probably for services brought to the civilian community: IDR II, 42.

⁴¹ Baker 2004, p. 52.

⁴² AÉ 1935, 70; Conrad 2004, p. 211-212, n° 316.

⁴³ Corsten, Marschall Fraser, Matthews 2010, p. 277, and about the spread of this *cognomen* in the Roman provinces see also Onomasticon I, p. 138.

⁴⁴ Tačeva 1969, p. 116-117.

⁴⁵ The school of Menodotus from Nicomedia, developed in the middle of the second century AD, is famous: Perilli 2004. Also, St. Panteleimon lived in Nicomedia and became *patronus* of the doctors. For details see St. Pantaleon 2010; about the physicians from Nicomedia see in Samama 2003, n° 307, 308, 309. Schools with a tradition of medical education in Asia Minor were located at Smyrna (Samama 2003, n° 193-198), Pergamum (Samama, 2003, n° 185-190), Ephesus (Samama 2003, n° 203-223) and Cnidus. However, to call these medical schools is in fact not quite appropriate, since, in the Greek world, there were, in fact, different groups of practitioners and teachers at schools with different theories: Nutton 1995, 19.

⁴⁶ We know about a few doctors from Istria in the third to the second centuries BC: ISM I, 4, 16 and Avram 2000-20001, p. 339-344; then ISM I, 26 and 32.

⁴⁷ Ov., *Tristia*, III, 3, 10: *Non domus apta satis, non hic cibus utilis aegro, nullus, Apollinea qui levet arte malum.*

⁴⁸ Samama 2003, n° 97, p. 196; SEG 30, 1980, 844. See also Avram, *Prosopographia*, n° 3145. In Kirova 2010, p. 83 it is used the form Σκλάδατος, apud Danoff 1931-1934, p. 89, n°1.

⁴⁹ Bucovală 1977, p. 91-96.

⁵⁰ It is about a scalpel, two handles, probably from some long needles and a needle or a cauterizing instrument; they are decorated with a silver inlay: Bucovală 1977, fig. 1-6; Künzl 1983b, fig. 87.

In Histria, the evidence of medical activity is obvious from Hellenistic period. An inscription from the second century BC attracts our particular attention because it provides proof of the working of the recruitment process for physicians.⁵¹ A doctor arrived from Cyzicus and held several public lectures in the city's γυμνάσιον,⁵² in which he tried to prove his abilities, but also aimed to attract customers. This practice was common. Poets or artists, practicing their rhetorical skills, used the same technique.

In the Roman period, in contrast to third and the second centuries BC, we know no names of doctors from Histria. However, we have valuable proof that there was an association of physicians in the second half of the second century AD (appendix, n° 6).⁵³ An inscription referring to the organization of physicians serving the community was made in honour of the benefactress of the city, the Aba priestess. She offered several gifts to professional people in the city, who included physicians. The number of medical practitioners in Histria must have been quite significant.⁵⁴ The medical profession is mentioned with other professional categories, including teachers.

The city of Dionysopolis provides relevant evidence about medical colleges from the second and third centuries AD. Two honorary decrees, one from the end of the second century and the beginning of the third one (appendix, n° 7),⁵⁵ and the other one from the first part of the third century (appendix, n° 8),⁵⁶ dedicated to the same benefactor, set the medical association and the teachers' association alongside each other.

A physician who worked in Asia Minor, but was originally from Dionysopolis, is a special case. An elegiac distich from the second - third centuries AD, found at Vasada, between Pisidia and Lycania, recalls him (appendix, n° 9).⁵⁷ This physician, Dionysus by name, died more than 1000 km away from his country of origin. Dionysus provides us with a classic example of the itinerant physician.

Archaeological sources confirm sustained medical activity in Dionysopolis. Several medical and surgical instruments made of bronze and bone, as well as other specialized vessels with pharmaceutical substances were discovered in a family tomb of the second - third centuries AD.⁵⁸ It is most probable that one of the deceased was a physician who had worked in the city. On the basis of the inventory discovered, another tomb in the same city area seems to have been that of a doctor.⁵⁹ Moreover, especially in the first three centuries AD, the burial of physicians with the tools they used during their lifetime was a widespread practice throughout the Empire.⁶⁰

Odessos (modern Varna) records the name of Asclepiades, the town's physician during the second century AD (appendix, n° 10).⁶¹ From a prominent family of medical practitioners, he had several political and religious functions.⁶² The ἀρχιατρός appellation provides further evidence of the existence

⁵¹ ISM I, 26.

⁵² About γυμνάσιον as conference place in Samama 2003, p. 441, note 44 with references, but also Debru 1995, p. 69-82.

⁵³ ISM I, 57. The opportunity for doctors to associate was recognized by decrees promulgated by Augustus and later by Vespasian.

⁵⁴ See the recommended number of doctors who were benefiting from tax exemptions and other rights, as Antoninus Pius issued this edict in order to limit fraud: Oliver 1989, p. 588, appendix 8 (Modestinus, *Digest* 27.1.6.2 and 7).

⁵⁵ IGB I², 15 bis.

⁵⁶ IGB I², 15 ter. Several institutions are mentioned, such as the city Council, the seven tribes, with the ἀγορανόμοι, doctors, teachers, merchants and artists' association.

⁵⁷ SEG 19, 1963, 866 and IGB I², 50, but also Samama 2003, n°. 345, p. 444 and Dana 2008, p.12, note 14.

⁵⁸ Škorpil 1912, p. 101-134; Tafrafi 1927, p. 31-42; Hansel, Künzl 1980, p. 419. See details about the inventory in Künzl 1983b, p. 110-112 and Dana 2008, p. 113. It is about tweezers, lancets, spoons, two probes with handle, three surgical instruments with handles of bone, bronze knives, bronze box that contained various drugs.

⁵⁹ It is a kind of a suction cup: Tončeva 1954, p. 74 (*non vidi*); Hassel, Künzl 1980, p. 419 and Künzl 1983b, p. 110. About this kind of instruments see Künzl 1982, p. 517, note 15

⁶⁰ For more information about medical instruments from the first centuries of the Christian era see Jackson 1997, p. 223-248, and for the instruments found in the graves, see Künzl 1983; Hassel, Künzl 1980, p. 403-421; Künzl 1983b; Künzl 1984a, p. 59-65; Künzl 1984b, p. 204, fig.1 which contains a map of doctors' graves throughout the Empire in the first to the third centuries AD.; see also Künzl 1996, p. 2440-2442.

⁶¹ IGB I², 150; Samama 2004, n°. 94.

⁶² He was a priest of Θεός Μέγας and γυμνασίαρχος but was also acclaimed by the people as a ἀριστεύς.

and functioning of medical associations in Roman times.⁶³ One cannot be sure that he was in charge of the medical association, but it is certain that he had an important role in the structure which provided medical care in the city. In this case, it seems that this is the official title given to the city doctor.⁶⁴ Ἀρχιατροί, known as civilian physicians in the Greek cities in the Eastern part of the Empire, became common from the second century AD onwards,⁶⁵ when Antoninus Pius set some limits on the number of those who benefited from exemptions.⁶⁶ The term is found in documents until the fifth and sixth centuries AD.⁶⁷ To our knowledge no other ἀρχιατροί are recorded in Moesia Inferior.

In the city area of Odessos at least four Roman tombs with grave goods belonging to possible physicians were discovered. It is about medical and pharmaceutical instruments, but also other glassware necessary for storage and preparation of drugs. In the first grave, a probe and a fragment of a *speculum* from the second - third centuries AD were found.⁶⁸ In another grave from the same period, it was possible to identify a suction cup,⁶⁹ the fragment of a scalpel and wafers for the preparation of ointments.⁷⁰ Another tomb contained a booklet for preparing medicines, as well as a medical instrument, probably an ear probe.⁷¹ The fourth tomb, also the richest, dated from the third century and contained medical instruments, specialized glass bottles and traces of drugs.⁷²

In Callatis, no inscriptions confirming the presence of physicians have been discovered. However, the sarcophagus of a wealthy woman, from the second century AD, revealed a spoon-probe that could be used in medical or pharmaceutical activities, alongside several glass vases and a few spoons made of bone.⁷³ It is obvious that these objects could have been also used for cosmetic purposes. However, it is known that medical practitioners may have been trained in the preparation of cosmetic products and acquired the relevant skills.

In Marcianopolis, too, the discovery of further grave goods which contained simple or highly complex medical devices, guaranteed the presence of medical practitioners, even if there are no physicians' names attested. These three tombs, dating from the end of the second century and the beginning of the third century AD, contained various probes, instruments for dissection, scalpels, and forceps, as well as other accessories used in the processing of powders or ointments.⁷⁴ The most spectacular medical kit from Marcianopolis and perhaps one of the richest and most varied from the whole territory of the Empire was found in the ruins of a house which was set on fire in the fifth century AD. According to the author who brought them into circulation, the approximately 32 instruments and accessories, most of them made from bronze, some of them with silver or gold inlays, belonged to a physician who would have inherited them from his ancestors.⁷⁵ Like most fragments found in the region, the instrumentation is typical of the third century AD.

From their diversity, complexity, technical and artistic craftsmanship, and the sheer number of objects found, we believe what we are dealing with a medical practitioner's office (ιατρεῖον) that had functioned at least since the third century. This place probably facilitated the professional activity of numerous physicians, under the tutelage of the city. This would explain the transmission of objects over

⁶³ RE II, 1896, p. 463-464.

⁶⁴ Samama 2003, p.194.

⁶⁵ About ἀρχιατροί as public doctors in the Greek East see Nutton 1977, p. 198-206. For details concerning our doctor see p. 224, n° 79.

⁶⁶ Dig., XXVII, 1, 6, 2-3, and for comments in Oliver 1989, p. 588.

⁶⁷ Samama 2003, p. 44-45.

⁶⁸ Tončeva 1961, p. 34, fig. 31 and 34; Hassel, Künzl 1980, p. 419; Künzl 1983b, p. 112.

⁶⁹ About typology of these instruments see Künzl 1982, 513 and, especially, p. 517, note 15.

⁷⁰ Tončeva 1961, p. 36, fig. 42, 45 and 46; Hassel, Künzl 1980, p. 419; Künzl 1983b, p. 112.

⁷¹ Tončeva 1961, p. 39-40, fig. 58, 60; Hassel, Künzl 1980, p. 419; Künzl 1983b, p. 112.

⁷² Tončeva 1964, p. 51-52, fig. 1-6; Hassel, Künzl 1980, p. 419; Künzl 1983b, p. 112.

⁷³ Rădulescu, Coman, Stavru 1973, p. 258-263, fig. III/1, V/3, IV/1,2,3.

⁷⁴ Minchev 1983, p. 143-148.

⁷⁵ Minchev 1983, p. 147-148. It is a matter of the spatula, various types of probes, dissection instruments, scalpels, scissors, hooks, needles, forceps and instruments for gynaecological intervention, hones for sharpening scalpels and blades, a pestle, and bronze containers for storing the ointments, powders, or liquid medicines.

several generations, the variety of operations that could be made (from ophthalmologic to gynaecological operations, from simple to very complex surgery) and, last but not least, their high material value for the period in question.

In addition to medical instruments found in the tombs, we have identified numerous specialized pieces discovered in excavations or outside the archaeological context.⁷⁶ All this confirms a state of normalcy in terms of spreading medical practice in Moesia Inferior.

Some conclusions

Every item of information about the individuals known from inscriptions, or whose work appears in the burial inventory discovered in the archaeological excavations, helps in constructing the image of the normal activities of this guild in Moesia Inferior.

There is no doubt that the most considerable amount of evidence of medical activity we have comes from the Greek cities, where medical traditions, transmitted mainly from the Hellenistic period, were very rich (see the map). The schools were always promoting specialists. Exchange of experience with the renowned medical centres in Asia Minor gave a remarkable boost to the professionals in this part of the province. The local authorities made an important contribution, always very supportive of the liberal professions. Some individuals rewarded the members of this profession as well, as the physicians were seen as an important part of the community.

Of the seven possible civilian physicians known from the inscriptions, only three of them came from typically Roman cities: Aelius Macedo, the hypothetical Ἀὐτο(ρήλιος) Διό[δω]ρος from Novae and Rascanius Fortunatus of Troesmis. The rest hailed either from the Greek cities on the coast, Dionysopolis (one), Tomis (one), Odessos (one) or from Pliska (Nicopolis ad Istrum?) (one). Three of them were Greeks, Aelius Macedo was a Roman citizen, but with a Greek history, as is M. Octavius Aper. Only Rascanius Fortunatus has Italian origins, as revealed from the funerary inscription made in his honor. He came from a town in Italy, where he probably gained his knowledge and the practice of medicine. Otherwise, in the first centuries AD, most doctors who are known in Roman Empire, from epigraphic evidence, at least, are of Eastern origin.⁷⁷

The abundant archaeological evidence from the Greek cities is consistent with the information from the inscriptions. Tombs of physicians draw a picture of this profession in an era of glory for the arts of Hippocrates in the Lower Danube area. They show, to a great extent, the complexity reached in the treatment of certain diseases, which also spread to the vocational training centres. The instruments identified in these tombs present evidence that eleven possible other individuals practiced the medical profession: in Tomis (one), in Callatis (one), in Dionysopolis (two), in Odessos (four), in Marcianopolis (at least three).

As for the medical specialists in Moesia Inferior, the inscriptions and the medical instruments found in graves can not indicate with certitude a strict specialization by any medical practitioner. In fact, the vast majority of the sets of instruments found throughout the Empire suggest that in those times physicians were, largely, general practitioners. The majority of the artefacts can be comprises in three categories of items: pots or remnants of pharmaceuticals, a number of basic tools for surgery and, finally, other objects for investigation or treatment of several diseases.⁷⁸ The same rule is maintained for the region covered by this research.

The fact that the physicians were regarded with respect inside the communities did not serve them with an opportunity to accede to a public function, at least not for many. Besides Asclepiades from Odessos, who was a member of a prominent family in the city, none of the individuals mentioned above played any role in the administration. This situation could be the result of exemptions from the performance of public officials who assumed significant costs from owners. Antoninus Pius offered the philosophers, rhetoricians, teachers and physicians the opportunity of refusing public notabilities such as gymnasiarch, priest or positions with other obligations they might have on local or provincial level.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ For medical, pharmaceutical and cosmetical instruments discovered in Bulgaria see Kirova 2010, map. 1. For other instruments from Moesia Inferior see also Aparaschivei, Matei 2010.

⁷⁷ Nutton 1969, p. 265.

⁷⁸ Jackson 1993, p. 92

⁷⁹ Oliver 1989, p. 590, appendix 9 (*Digest* 27.1.6.8).

However, in the Greek communities on the territory of the Empire, there are numerous examples of doctors who were involved in administrative activities, who contributed financially to the accomplishment of different tasks and who were praised for their merits by the cities.⁸⁰

But medical activity in the province of Moesia Inferior is not only confirmed by individual names kept in epigraphic documents. Professional associations or colleges found in Histria, Dionysopolis or Odessos and which certainly also existed in other cities, draw an image of the magnitude and complexity of the medical phenomena in the region.

Almost all the sources reveal an interesting association. Physicians were linked with teachers. Even in the imperial edicts which provided immunity, the two professional groups were inseparable, a sign that they were seen in the same way, and that their importance to society was recognized as such. In the cities of Moesia Inferior we find the same situation.

Sources from the Hellenistic period and those from the Roman period, the subject of this material, prove continuous medical activity in the Lower Danube region. This continuity can be found later, also. The best example is the medical certification of the physician Εὐγενίος, son of Κονσταντῖνος, mentioned in a funerary inscription from Odessos, from the late sixth century,⁸¹ as well as the medical kit discovered in the Marcianopolis area, we believe a physician's office, from the fifth century AD.

So, having drawn a picture of the activities of doctors in various communities of the province of Moesia Inferior, we find that there was already a strong medical tradition in this province, where the Greek civilization preceded the imposition of Roman authority. The organization of the physicians, their training and the existence of medical schools are obvious realities which gave a serious boost to Greek civilization in a province which had been regarded as Latin, as was the case of Moesia Inferior.

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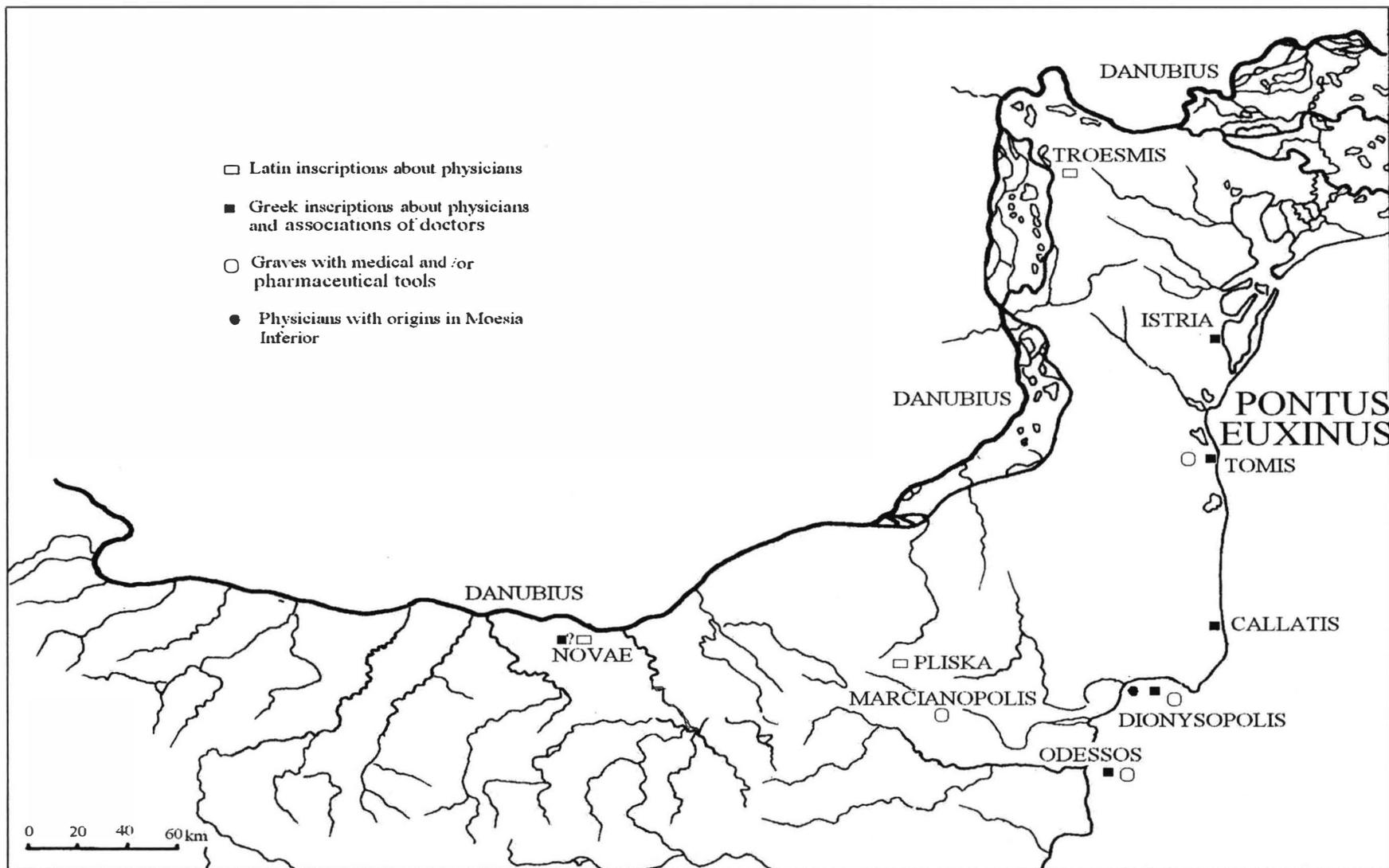
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⁸⁰ There are recorded also doctors like ἄρχοντες (Samama 2003, n° 268), βουλευταί (Samama 2003, n° 119, 209, 216, 250, 298), ἀγνοθέτες (Samama 2003, n° 231), ἀγορανόμοι (Samama 2003, n° 33, 119).

⁸¹ Samama 2003, n° 95.

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Map: Civilian physicians from Moesia Inferior through archaeological and epigraphic sources.

Appendix

Epigraphic sources concerning the civilian physicians and the associations of doctors
from Moesia Inferior

1. *Aescla-*
po et Hy-
giae Ae<l>(ius)
Macedo
med(icus) PS.S.P

(Novae, Svištov, Bulgaria); late second c. AD; AÉ 1998, 1134; Kolendo 1998, n° 7).

2. Ἀσκλη[πι]-
ῶ θεῶ σω[τῆ]-
ρη +++ Διό[δω]
ρος

(Novae, Svištov, Bulgaria; after 212 AD; IGLNovae, 176; Kolendo 1998, n° 8).

3. *[Dis M]anibus*
[T(itus) Ras]canius
[For]tunatus
[Poll]ia Faventia
[medic]us an(norum) L h(ic) s(itus) e(st)
[cui mo]n(u)mentum
[Rasca]nia Phoebe et
[T(itus) Rasca]nius Euthychu(s)
[hered]es f(aciendum) c(uraverunt) h(oc)
m(onumentum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equetur)

(Troesmis, Iglîța, Tulcea County, Romania; second c. AD; ISM V, 193).

4. *D(is) M(anibus) [s(acrum)]*
M(arcus) Octavius
Firmi f(ilius) Pal(atina)
Aper Nicom(edia)
medicus vixit
annis p(lus) m(inus) XLIX
et Lisame Polla
vixit [a]nn(is) p(lus) m(inus) LXV
quae O[ctav]io [v]i[vo]
natis viv[is] le[gem]
natura[e] absolvit.
Marcus Octavius [Pal(atina)] D[o]-
mitius Nicom(edia) vet(eranus) [!]eg(ionis)
V Mac(edonicae) matri suae et
[f]ratri pientis(simo) posuit

(Pliska, Šumen County, Bulgaria; second-third c. AD; AÉ 1935, 70)

5. [A]ἵ τις ἐμὴν μετὰ μοῖραν ἐμὸν βίον | ἐξερεεῖνη, |
 [χ]ῶττις ἔην τί τ' ἔρεξα καὶ οὖνομα πατρίδο [ς] | ἀμῆς |
 [μ]ανύσει λίθος ἄδε καὶ ἐσσομένοισιν | ἀκούην' |
 πάτρα μοι πέλεται ματρόπολις | Εὐξείνιοιο |
 ἄστῦ περικλήιστον ἐυμελῖαιο Τομή[του] |
 οὖνομα δ' ἦς Κλαδαῖος, τέχναν δ' ἑδάμη [εν] | ἄνακτ [ο]ς |
 Ἴπποκράτους θεῖοιο καὶ ἐσσομένοισιν | ἀκυήν.

(Enisala, Tulcea County, Romania; second c. AD; SEG 30, 1980, 844; Samama 2003, n^o. 97).

6. Ἀγαθῆι τύχηι.

Ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· Οὐλπίος Δημή-
 τριος εἶπεν, ἐπιψηφιζομένου Διογένους Θεο-
 δώρου· ἐπειδὴ Ἄβα Ἑκαταίου τοῦ Εὐξενίδου
 θυγάτηρ γυνὴ δὲ Ἡράκοντος Ἀριστομάχου, γο-
 νέων τε ἐπισήμων καὶ προγόνων ἐπιφανεστάτων
 οὔσα καὶ οὐδεμίαν φιλοτιμίαν ἢ λειτουργίαν
 εὐσχήμονα παρητημένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ στεφανη-
 φορίας καὶ ἱερωσύνας καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ ἐπιμελεί-
 ας καὶ πάσας δημοτελεῖς χορηγίας ἢ καὶ ἐνδό-
 ξους ὑπηρεσίας ἀνυπερβλήτως ἐκτετελεκό-
 [των] καὶ πάσης ἐξαιρέτου τιμῆς τετυχηκό-
 [των, μακρὸν ἠγησαμένη τὴν ἀπὸ μόνου τοῦ
 [γένους με]γαλαυχίαν εἰ μὴ καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας
 [πρὸς τὸν δῆμον] εὐποΐας προσκτήσαιο δόξαν,
 [καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἱερ[ωσύ]νην Μητρὸς Θεῶν αὐτεπάγγελ-
 [τος ἀν]αλαβοῦσα, οὐ μό[ν]ον ὅσα σεμνῶν γυναικῶν καὶ
 [ἱερεῶν] καὶ τοῦ παλαιο[ῦ αἰῶν]ος ἦν ἴδια {ν} μεγαλο-
 φρόνως καὶ εὐγενῶς καὶ ε[ὐ]σ[εβῶ]ς ἐτέλεσεν,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσαι μεγάλαι τῶν ἀνδρῶν φιλοτ[είμων ἀρ]-
 χιερωσύναι ἢ καὶ τινες ἄλλαι χορηγαὶ καὶ τα[ύ]τας [μι]-
 μῆσασθαι σπουδάσασα· πρῶτον μὲν εὐθύς τὰς πρῶτας
 προσόδους καὶ θυσίας καὶ εὐχὰς τοῖς θεοῖς ποιου-
 μένη τὴν τοῦ ἔτους ἀρχὴν μετ' εὐφροσύνης καὶ εὐ-
 ωχίας μεγαλοπρεποῦς ἐποιήσατο τοῖς μέ[ν] γὰρ
 βουλευταῖς πᾶσιν καὶ γερουσιασταῖς καὶ Ταυ-
 ριασταῖς καὶ ἰατροῖς καὶ παιδευταῖς καὶ τοῖς ἰδία
 καὶ ἐξ ὀνόματος καλουμένοις ἐκ δύο κατ' ἄνδρα
 δηναρ[ί]ων διανο[μ]ήν, ἦν οὐπω τις ἄλλη πρότερον,
 ἔδωκεν τοῖς δὲ ἐ[ν] ταῖς φυλαῖς κατὰ πεντηκονταρ-
 χίαν διανενημη[έ]νοις, ἔτι μὴν καὶ ὑμνωδοῖς καὶ τέ-
 κτωσιν καὶ ἱεροπ[λα]τεῖταις καὶ Ἡρακλειασταῖς οἰ-
 νοπό[σ]ιον, ὅσον οἱ ἐ[πι τ]οῖς μεγάλοις ὀνόμασιν φιλοτει-
 μού[εν]οι, μετὰ [δὲ τοῦ]το πάση νεομηνία καὶ πά-
 σαις τα[ῖς ἐ]ν ἐκάσ[τ]ῳ μην]ῖ θυσίας καὶ ἑορταῖς καὶ πα-

[πόλεως βουλευταῖς — — — —]
 (Dionysopolis, Balčik, Bulgaria; late second-early third c. AD; IGB I², 15 ter).

9. Ὠκύμορον ξεῖνον | Διονύσιον, ἐσθλόν, | ἰητρόν,
 ἀντὶ πάτης Κρουῶν γῆ κατέχει | Ο[ὐ]ασάδων.
 (Vasada, Asia Minor, Isauria; second-third c. AD; SEG 19, 1963, 866; Samama 2003, n^o. 345).

10. Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἀπελλᾶ τοῦ Δημητρίου ἀρχιατρὸς
 καὶ δημοφίλητος καὶ ἱερεὺς Θεοῦ Μεγάλου καὶ γυμνασίαρχος
 καὶ ἀριστεὺς καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Ἀννὶ Νεικομήδους χαίρετε.
 (Odessos, Varna, Bulgaria; second century AD; IGB I², 150; Samama 2004, n^o. 94).

COȚOFENI COMMUNITIES AT THEIR SOUTHWESTERN FRONTIER AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH KOSTOLAC POPULATION IN SERBIA

MILOŠ SPASIĆ

Keywords: Coțofeni culture, Kostolac culture, Eastern Serbia, settlements, cultural interactions.

Abstract: The following paper summarizes the current state of research of the Coțofeni sites and material culture in Eastern and Central Serbia. Presence of Coțofeni population in Eastern Serbia has been documented 40 years ago owing to the exhaustive rescue excavations in Iron Gates and its hinterland. Since then more than 50 sites have been attributed to the bearers of Coțofeni culture or to the sphere of their direct cultural, economic or merchant influences. In the course of better understanding of the mutual relationship between Coțofeni communities and autochthonous population, and their peaceful co-existence we will re-examine taphonomy of Coțofeni sites, material culture of its population and socio-cultural matrix of the period in question.

Cuvinte cheie: cultura Coțofeni, cultura Kostolac, estul Serbiei, așezări, interacțiuni culturale.

Rezumat: Articolul prezintă situația actuală a siturilor și a materialelor de tip Coțofeni din estul și central Serbiei. Prezența populațiilor Coțofeni în estul Serbiei a fost documentată cu 40 de ani în urmă prin săpăturile de salvare exhaustive de la Porțile de Fier și în împrejurimi. Peste 50 de situri au fost atribuite purtătorilor culturii Coțofeni sau aflate în sfera de influență culturală, economică și comercială a acesteia. În scopul unei mai bune înțelegeri a relațiilor reciproce dintre comunitățile Coțofeni și populația autohtonă, a coexistenței lor pașnice autorul își propune să reexamineze tafonomia siturilor Coțofeni, cultura materială și structura socio-culturală a acestei populații.

Prelude to Late Eneolithic in Eastern Serbia

Almost five hundred years elapsed since the abandonment of the latest Vinča culture settlements in Eastern Serbia and the arrival of Bubanj Hum-Sălcuța-Krivodol population from East and Southeast. There is not a single documented site which offers an introspection of both Vinča and Bubanj Hum-Sălcuța-Krivodol cultures layers. Although Vinča culture settlements were not reoccupied by the new inhabitants of Eastern Serbia, we have enough data to state that they were familiar with all advantages of the area in question. It could be even said that whole area was geo-specific region which went through similar life-course during late Neolithic and Eneolithic. Unlike other parts of Serbia (*i.e.* Vojvodina, Western Serbia, Central Serbia) where after the dissolution of Vinča culture, cultural and geographic misenscene shifted in accordance with new socio-economic structures, the region of Eastern Serbia remained its traditional distinctiveness.

Materialistic, economic and socio-cultural systems of the middle and late Eneolithic immigrants in the rest of nowadays Serbia were significantly different in comparison with preceding period. The new inhabitants of Serbia built new settlements and brought with them entirely new way of life, new customs, religion and new material culture. The people arriving from the north and responsible to some extent for disappearance of the Vinča culture (Tiszapolgár and Bodrogkeresztúr communities) built settlements which were not even near in size to the Vinča culture settlements. Their ephemeral and unrecognizable character is the result of different cultural models, different economy and different adaptive processes of their founders and inhabitants. New inhabitants of the Eneolithic Serbia organized their life on entirely

different socio-cultural principles. Their settlements, among other things, actually reflect these new social models, new economy, the family, household and house as the nucleus of the community.

At about the same time (cca 4300 BC) the bearers of Bubanj Hum-Sălčuța-Krivodol cultural complex in Eastern Serbia led completely different way of life than their neighbors in the rest of modern Serbian territory. Stock-breeding became more important as it is the case in the rest of the Central Balkan territory, but according to taphonomy of their settlements, and the abundance of bone tools used for soil cultivation agriculture remained its significance in subsistence (Tasić 1979, 109-110). They continued to use same resources as Vinča people, with copper processing as one of the main activity. Their material culture bears close resemblance with Vinča culture. In broad retrospection Sălčuțan vessel shapes do differ from Vinča culture ones. Still some of the leading shapes such as bowl with everted rim, pear-shaped amphorae and ornaments executed by fluting have good analogies in Vinča culture pottery inventory. It seems also that there are certain coincidences in the religious and cult practice at least in the ultimate, material (phenomenological) aspect – in the modeling of figurines that were for the first time in use in this area since the end of the Vinča culture (Tasić 1995, Pl. XII).

The question of disintegration of Bubanj Hum-Sălčuța-Krivodol cultural complex in Eastern Serbia remains unanswered, since given explanations do not offer satisfying interpretation of this process. The most accepted thesis is that of N. Tasić according to which the migration of the bearers of Cernavoda III culture are responsible for moving of Bubanj Hum-Sălčuța-Krivodol communities from Eastern Serbia (Tasić 1979, 113, 114). Although there is not enough evidence for such explanation it should be noted that just in the later phases of Bubanj Hum-Sălčuța-Krivodol culture we can recognize Sălčuțan presence at the most western part of their cultural area-in the western Serbia (*i.e.* Kalenić-Livade, Višesava) and Eastern Croatia (*i.e.* Vinkovci-Tržnica) (Jovanović 2005; Blagojević 2005). It is not clear whether there is a chronological gap between the latest phase of Sălčuța IV culture, that is between (Băile Herculane-Cheile Turzii) Scheibhenkel horizon and the first intrusion of the bearers of Cernavoda III culture in Eastern Serbia. Cernavoda III culture is insufficiently studied in the area of Eastern Serbia. Among rather modest repertoire of Cernavoda III culture settlements in Eastern Serbia here should be mentioned the sites of Brza Vrba-Kovin and Vajuga-Korbovo, both situated in Iron Gorge (Medović 1976; Jevtić 2001). Although we have firm evidence for the presence of solid above-ground houses at Brza Vrba and thus longer occupation of Cernavoda III culture in Iron Gates, prevailing opinion is that the bearers of Cernavoda III culture used to avoid this region and that they made just brief stops in this region during their movements downstream the Djerdap cataract (Jevtić 2001, 333).

Coțofeni culture in Eastern Serbia: Settlement patterns, subsistence and economy

Judging from the material culture (mainly according to development of pottery decoration) Coțofeni communities settled in the region of Eastern Serbia during the second phase of the culture' evolution (Coțofeni II after the periodisation of P. Roman). According to current evidence there are more than 50 sites attributed to Coțofeni culture in this region. If we take into the account unpublished material from the numerous field surveys in the region of Braničevo, the number of Coțofeni sites is probably bigger, around 70. Such disposition speaks in of significant impact that Coțofeni communities had on the development of late Eneolithic and Early Bronze Age of this region. Comparable density of Coțofeni culture settlements is reported in the area of Romanian Banat and Transylvania (Sava 2008; Roman 1976).

Unfortunately there is not a single Coțofeni settlement in Eastern Serbia which has been fully and thoroughly excavated so the following study can not discuss the size of residential area and its relationship with surrounding territory.

Residential patterns of Coțofeni culture in Eastern Serbia include three well known types of settlements (Roman 1976; Tasić 1995, 118-119). All of them are in direct connection with the community' socio-cultural and economic traditions. The most common type is the settlement built on the river terrace, or on the lowland terrain near the river course. Such settlements had all advantages needed for agricultural way of life, and thus it is not surprising that majority of this sites are multilayered and were also used during the earlier periods, probably by the communities sharing similar lifestyle and economy. It is intriguing that among more than 10 investigated settlements of this type there are no more

then two or three reported above-ground structures. Probable interpretation of such phenomenon lies in the fact that majority of settlements built on the river terraces were investigated in the course of big rescue excavations in the Iron Gates where much of the sites had been eroded by the Danube (*c.f.* Babović 1984, 97). One of the published above-ground houses from Bordjej is rectangular in shape and has remains of the burnt collapsed walls and floor with *in situ* vessels on it. The house was not fully excavated, and dimensions of unearthed part were not given (Sladić 1984, 218, Fig. 204).

Among the architectural remains from the Coțofeni culture settlements built on the river terraces we should draw attention to the find of semi dug-out circular object with stone workshop from Korbovo-Zbradila-Fund (Babović 1986, 118, Fig. 10, 15). To the typology of structural remains we should add refuse pits. One typical example was discovered at the site of Ušće Slatinske reke in the Iron Gates. The pit was circular in shape with diameter of 1,35 m and was dug into the ground to the depth of 0,4m. (Jevtić 1986, 189).

The second type includes settlements built on a higher terrain, such as flattened hill plateaus and slopes. This kind of settlement is very characteristic for the Braničevo and Homolje region. The best representative of this settlement type is the site of Klokočevac near Donji Milanovac. Settlement was built on the slopes of the hill Culmia Sciopului. There have been excavated several above-ground rectangular houses (four or six of them) whose backside was dug in to the slope; dimensions of the houses were similar, around 6 x 3 meters (Tasić 1995, 137). Exact position, orientation and inventories of the houses as well as ground plans of the settlement were not published so one can not infer about the intra-settlement organization and life-biographies of each structure or clusters of them. Krivelj site near the town of Bor and Laznica would also belong to this type of settlement (Tasić 1995, 137).

The third type of settlements includes cave dwellings with the Zlotska pećina site as the most important representative. The cave is situated on the entrance of a deep canyon which was carved by the Zlotska river. It has a complex infrastructure: large central gallery with numerous long corridors, small lakes, etc. (Tasić 1995, 172). The settlement is of multilayered type with up to one meter thick cultural deposits. Coțofeni culture settlement was formed above the Bubanj Hum-Sălcuța-Krivodol cultural layer. There are no reported architectural remains, as it is the case with the earlier habitation horizon. Besides Zlotska pećina, there is small number of excavated eneolithic caves in Eastern Serbia. Only at Bogovinska and Kapetanova pećina small sondage excavations were carried out revealing also Coțofeni culture layers (Nikolić 1997, 199).

All of the mentioned types of settlements from Eastern Serbia correspond well to the typology of Coțofeni settlements in Romania proposed by P. Roman, H. Cigudean and V. Sava (Roman 1976; Cigudean 2000; Sava 2008). However, because of the modest scale of excavations, none of the Serbian settlements offer an opportunity for a broader study of intra-settlement organization, life-history of the dwellings, their builders and their inhabitants. There are only two sites which could allow more elaborate analysis. The first one is Klokočevac, the second one being Zlotska pećina. At Klokočevac there are several above-ground houses excavated, all of them similar in size-cca. 18sq meters, with open hearths on the floors. Houses were built on a separate slope. Up to now such settlement organization is rather unique for Central Balkan prehistory. Although one can speak in favour of functional explanation of such adaptation of natural environment, I would argue that division of space at Klokočevac and specific house disposition pinpoint to more complex society with established system of property. Therefore Coțofeni culture settlement at Klokočevac, among other things, actually reflects new social models, new economy, the family, household and house as the nucleus of the community. It should be taken into the account the fact that the surrounding habitat of Klokočevac (Deli Jovan mountain) is even know recognized as place suitable for stockbreeding with vast pastures appropriate for stock grazing. Thus it could be assumed that stockbreeding was one of the main substantial activities of Eneolithic inhabitants of Klokočevac. One can not infer about the seasonality and the degree of mobility of Klokočevac community. Existence of solid, above-ground houses could speak in favour of longer occupation. On the other hand, the settlement itself is of single layered type, houses were rather small and were not renewed, there is no visible system of waste disposition, and there are no doomed ovens-just open hearths. All of outlined properties could be interpreted as the distinctions of settlement of the stock-breeding highly mobile community. If Klokočevac was a seasonal summer camp for stock grazing, then where was the settlement that was used

for the rest of the year? Also, could it be that only some of the members of community moved with flocks to Klokočevac and that majority stayed at home? If so, how many generations could use their outposts at the slopes of Deli Jovan, and does that infer for an organized system of ownership and inheritance? All of raised question awaits comprehensive analysis of the house inventories which were not fully published, as well as detailed study of the surrounding micro-region.

Analysis of Zlotska pećina site and its micro-region could also shed light to the way of life of Coțofeni population in Eastern Serbia. There are no reported architectural remains from the cave; there are no recovered doomed ovens; not a single excavated refuse pit.¹ Although the cave itself clearly speaks in favour of stock-breeding community which used it as its seasonal camp, some of the finds from the cave could add very interesting information concerning economy and subsistence of the bearers of Coțofeni culture. More than 80 artifacts made of antler were recovered during the excavations of Coțofeni culture layers in the Zlotska pećina. It has been reported that unearthened tools made of antler were composite tools, axes and tools used for digging (Tasić 1995, 172). However, majority of those artifacts are worked on the same principle as were late Neolithic bone and antler tools, whose function in the sphere of agriculture and soil cultivation is indisputable. Thus, the interpretation of the Coțofeni culture site at the Zlotska pećina as an important manufacture center seems reasonable (Tasić 1979, 122). In addition some intriguing questions could be raised concerning the abundance of finished and semi-worked antler tools from Zlotska pećina. If they were produced for some other community then who were the purchasers? If the bone and antler tools making technology was widespread in Southeastern Europe even since Early Neolithic, why would someone need to get it through procurement or trade network, and not make it on their own? Does that speak for labour division and some kind of specialization? And finally, how come it came to stock-breeding community specializing in making agriculture tools?

Up until very recently it was thought that copper metallurgy significantly ceased after the dissolution of Bubanj Hum-Sălcuța-Krivodol culture. Such claim was strengthened with rather small amount of copper tools that were recovered from the Coțofeni culture sites both in Eastern Serbia and Romania (*c.f.* Roman 1976, 113, Pl. 8; Ciugudean 2000, 259, Pl. 133; Tasić 1979, 122). Only few copper objects from Eastern Serbia could be assigned to Coțofeni culture, mainly needles, borers and awls. One Coțofeni copper needle from the site of Klokočevac which was wrongly associated with Bubanj Hum-Sălcuța-Krivodol culture was the subject of broad isotopic and physico-chemical analyses which revealed rather intriguing results. All of the analyzed Eneolithic objects showed that origin of copper could not be the Eneolithic mine of Rudna Glava (Pernicka et al 1993, 37). On the other hand some other copper resources in the vicinity of the town of Majdanpek were suggested as possible source, along with them the site of Crnajka-Piatra Kostii where Coțofeni settlement has been documented (Pernicka et al 1993, 29, 42-43). Ceasing in the copper production in the late Eneolithic could be the consequence of exhaustion of the most accessible natural oxide copper during the large scale Early Eneolithic exploitation. Such claim could also explain the fact that none of the Middle Eneolithic copper artifacts originated from the Early Eneolithic mine at Rudna Glava. On the other hand, small amount of copper objects and current archaeological data which suggest that copper metallurgy was not practiced at the large scale among Coțofeni communities in Eastern Serbia should not be conceived as being odd. Different traditions, different economy and different socio-cultural matrix of the new inhabitants did not imply the same patterns as in the preceding period. The fact that big quantity of copper slag and copper processing tools has been recorded from the Coțofeni sites in the Homolje region needs to be explained in the course of broader analysis.²

Material culture of Coțofeni communities in Eastern Serbia and adjacent regions

The presence of Coțofeni culture in nowadays Serbia was evidenced through the recognition of characteristic pottery. Moreover it is owing to the specific ornamental decoration on Coțofeni vessels that

¹ Non-existence of the refuse pits at the cave site is not taken here as the major evidence which implies for economic and substantial organization of population, since the system of waste deposition could be arranged differently (*i.e.* it could be thrown downhill or it could be deposited deeper in the cave-in some of the corridors which were not used for living).

² Personal communication with Dragan Jacanović, custodian of Požarevac museum.

we are now calculating with the number of 50 sites attributed to this Late Eneolithic culture. Therefore it is not surprising that more than 90 percents of all published Coțofeni pottery from Eastern Serbia and adjacent regions comprise of lavishly decorated vessels. The same could be said for Romanian finds also (*c.f.* Roman 1976, Pl. 53–Pl. 117; Cigudean 2000, Pl. 20–Pl. 115). Such publishing strategy led to proliferation of studies concerning ornamentation on Coțofeni vessels and cultural provenance of specific decorative techniques and motifs. Thus, current paper will not be burdened with exhaustive analysis of Coțofeni vessels morphology and decoration, since there is not much more to be said about it.³ Repertoire of published Coțofeni culture pottery from Eastern Serbia consists of not more than 300 whole and fragmented vessels—nice collection suitable just for raising basic questions related to chronological and cultural appreciation of the sites of find (Also *c.f.* Nikolić 1997, T. I–IV) Following N. Tasić' revised chronology of P. Roman' periodisation of Coțofeni culture we could infer for two chronological phases in Eastern Serbia (Coțofeni II and Coțofeni III according to P. Roman) with typical pottery forms and ornamentation. Coțofeni II repertoire includes various cup, bowl, pot and amphorae shapes decorated with incised, fluted and linsen ornaments, as well as with plastically applied straps, impressed fingertips and pricked dots. Absence of typical Kostolac culture ornamentation, mainly Furchenstich, is one of the main characteristics of this period. To this we should add that some of the ornamental compositions on the vessels of this phase bear strong resemblance with Cernavoda III and Early Baden culture pottery. This especially stands for ornamental compositions which consist of linsen ornaments and incised linear motifs in form of hanging triangles. Such ornamental manner is reported on various Early Baden culture settlements, among them at Vinča-Belo Brdo, where the same compositions are executed with pricked dots instead of lenticular linsen ornaments.⁴ Later phase of development of Coțofeni culture in Eastern Serbia (Coțofeni IIIa-c) is characterized with the introduction of Kostolac ornamentation, mainly Furchenstich and its combination with traditional incised and linsen motifs. Also, repertoire of vessels shapes in this phase is supplemented with abundance of various cup types, and some new pottery forms such as jugs, jars and sossiere type vessels. It is believed that during this phase Coțofeni culture came in tighter contacts with Kostolac population, and that outcome was specific symbiosis of material culture which was identified as Kostolac-Coțofeni culture in the region of Eastern Serbia (Tasić 1995, 68). Also, this is the time when some of the Coțofeni material culture elements reached inner parts of Central Balkans.

New introspection of Coțofeni ceramic assemblage calls for new excavation and more sophisticated recovery and analytical methods and clear contexts of find which will yield some new information concerning the manufacture and function of Coțofeni vessels. Hence we will focus more on appearance of some specific forms of Coțofeni culture pottery in nowadays Eastern Serbia and adjacent regions. Also, we will present some of the imported Coțofeni objects found in association with other contemporary Late Eneolithic settlements which are out of the regions in question.

Among the most interesting Late Eneolithic finds from the Central Balkan territory stands out the forgotten and often neglected group of five Baden culture onion-shaped cups and one amphora discovered in a dug-out pit in the centre of the town of Vršac in southern Banat (Uzelac 2002: 44, 45, T. 27/3–6, 28/1, 2, 54/2–6, 55/1). The context of find infer for ceremonial deposition of Baden culture drinking set which is testified on other Central and Southeastern European sites (Spasić 2010, 92–95, Fig. 14). The find is of indisputable Baden origin, but ornamentation on amphora type vessel is rather unique. Below the convex neck there is an ornamental composition in the form of pricked dots strap. Underneath there is a row of linsen applications and incised net-like hanging motifs. More than 20 years ago N. Tasić briefly mentioned the find ascribing it to the influence of Coțofeni culture (Tasić 1979, 126, 127).

Bearing in mind that the Baden culture site in the town of Vršac has still strong connection with Cernavoda III culture, this is one of the earliest appearance of Coțofeni culture influences in Serbian territory.

The find of sossiere type vessel from Zlotska pečina still stands out as a unique example of this type of vessels. N. Tasić ascribed it to Coțofeni culture, wrongly associating it with P. Roman' type XI which is in fact the form of askos that are known from Coțofeni culture sites at Basarabi, Boșca Montana,

³ For characteristic shapes and decoration of Coțofeni culture vessels in Serbia *c.f.* Tasić 1982; Idem 1979, 120–122, Sl. 4, T. XV–T. XVI; *Idem* 1995, 66–68, Pl. XXIV–Pl. XXV.

⁴ For early Baden culture pottery from Vinča-Belo Brdo *c.f.* Spasić 2009.

Govora and Cîrna (Tasić 1979, 121, Sl. 4/12; Roman 1976, 23, Pl. 28). The vessel is of elliptical shape with slightly everted rim and a broad lower spout at one end. It is decorated with applied lenticular linsen ornaments below the rim. Almost identical vessel was found at the site of Gladnice in Kosovo and Metohija. The form is the same as the example from Zlotska pećina, the only difference is the absence of linsen decoration and the presence of three small tunnel shaped handles below the rim. N. Tasić dated this find also to the sphere of influences of Coțofeni culture (Tasić 1995, Pl. XXIV/2). Two examples of the same vessel type are known from the sites of Skorenovac and Jabuka-tri humke in Serbian Banat, both being found in the Baden cultural contexts. (Uzelac 2002, 19, 32–33, T. 20/1, T. 47/3). Considering the chronological position of the sites of find of sossiere vessels in the Serbian territory, post Boleraz-Cernavoda III/Early Baden dating seems the most reasonable (cca. 3500-3300 BC). The Coțofeni find from Zlotska pećina is slightly younger and as in the case of linsen decorated amphora from the town of Vršac it speaks in favour of tight contacts between early Baden culture and Coțofeni II-III communities. Four examples of sossiere vessels, one of them being manufactured under indisputable Coțofeni culture influences, are among the earliest such finds. In somewhat different shape, the so called sauce boat vessels will become very popular during Aegean Early Bronze age (Milojčić 1949, T. 13/5.). Such early appearance of this type of vessels in Central Balkans should be considered as a result of innovative craftsmanship which rich its zenith during Late Eneolithic of Southeastern Europe.

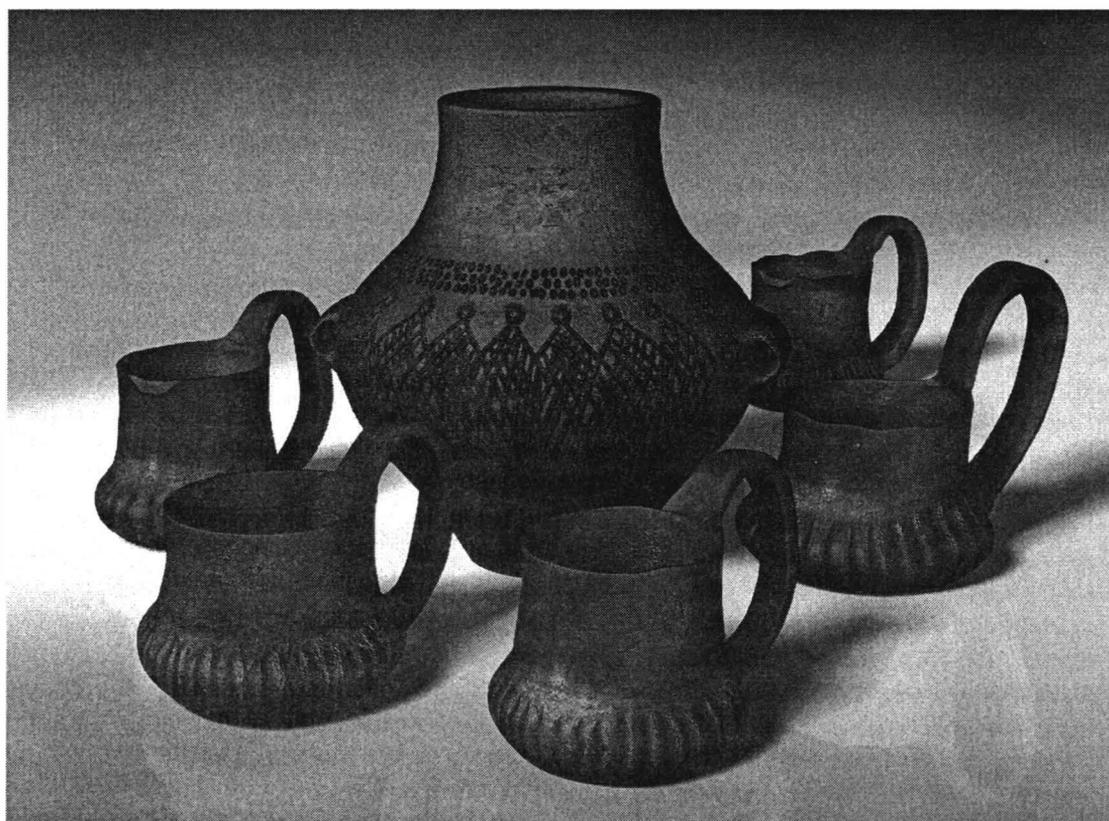


Fig. 1. Baden culture drinking set from the site of Vršac-note Linsen ornaments on the neck of amphora shaped vessel (Spasić 2010: 93, Fig. 14).

One of the westernmost find of Coțofeni culture vessel is the lavishly decorated jug from the site of Čot-Popović near the city of Kragujevac in central Serbia (Nikolić 2000, 14, T. VII/10). According to P. Roman' typology of Coțofeni pottery it is the vessel of type IVb3b which he defines as amphora (Roman 1976, 21, Pl. 19/19). The vessel has a pear-shaped body ornamented with incised zigzag motifs, cylindrical neck and strap handle which surmounts unprofiled rim. Both P. Roman and H. Ciugudean date this type of vessel to Coțofeni III phase. Its appearance in this area is to be considered as one of the final echoes of the Coțofeni culture that reached central Serbia. Shortly afterwards this territory would witness another cultural shift – intrusion of Early Bronze age communities.

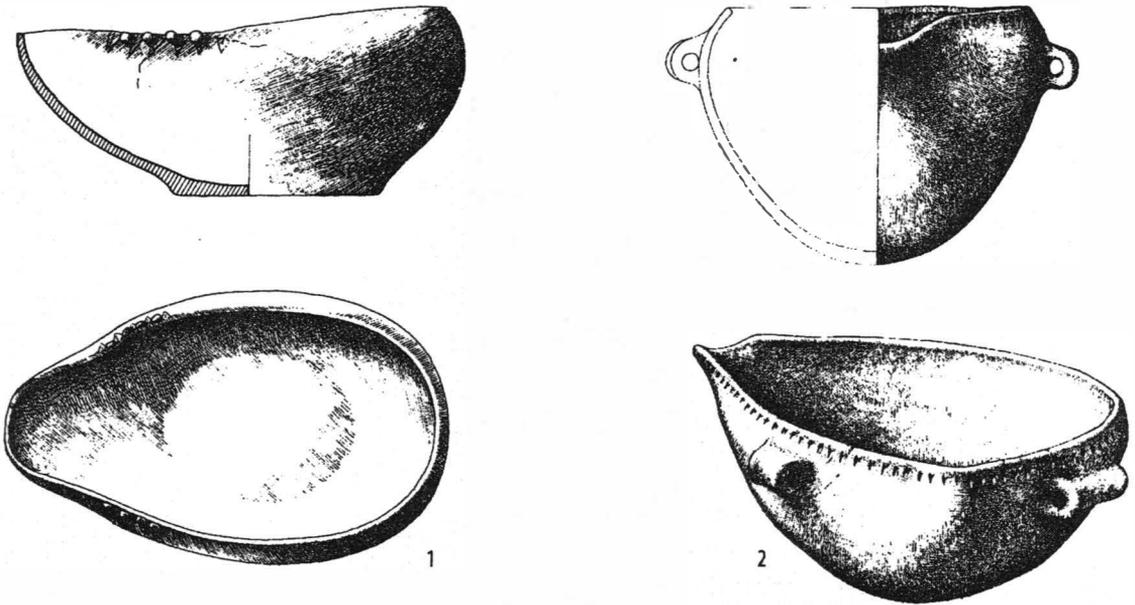


Fig. 2. Sossiere type vessels from the sites of Zlatska pećina and Gladnice (after Tasić 1995: Pl. XXIV/1, 2).

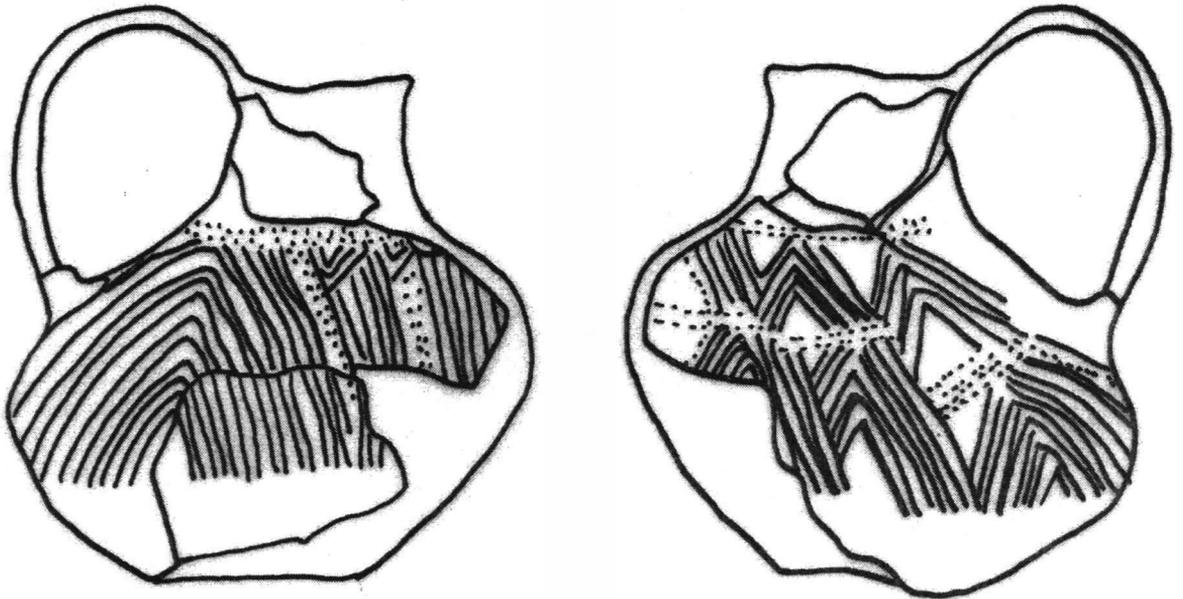


Fig. 3. Coțofeni culture jug from the site of Čot-Popović (after Nikolić 2000: T. VII/10).

Cultural interactions between Coțofeni population and late Eneolithic communities in nowadays Serbia

The spread of Coțofeni culture communities towards nowadays eastern Serbia, and expansion of their material culture and stylistic expression in the rest of modern Serbian territory developed in the course of two different chronological stages which included employment of various socio-cultural strategies. Up to know we can not speak about levels of integration of Coțofeni population at their western frontier since there is not enough data which would allow analysis of interaction between native and intrusive cultural elements. The same could be said for the whole late eneolithic period in Central Balkans. There is not a single long-living native community with linear evolutionary pattern which would permit examination of cultural integration, assimilation and congregation of autochthonous and immigrant population. Thus all late eneolithic manifestations in nowadays Serbia are foreign cultural elements that reached this territory in the course of several centuries between 3600 and 3000 BC. Only

Kostolac culture is to be considered as native culture, but with still insufficiently studied genesis.⁵ Hence, Boleraz-Cernavoda III cultural complex, Baden, Coțofeni, Pit-Grave and Vučedol cultures are equally foreign population-with different but intermingled histories.

The first late eneolithic culture to reach Serbian Danube area is Boleraz-Cernavoda III i.e. early Baden culture. Shortly afterwards we are witnessing initial Coțofeni culture presence in this territory. The best representative of these early interactions is to be sought in the presence of Coțofeni culture ornamentation on amphora which was the part of a typical Baden culture drinking set discovered in the vicinity of the town of Vršac in southern Banat. The find could be dated to developed phase of Baden culture – so called Fonoyod horizon, cca. 3200-3000 BC. We can only assume under what conditions Coțofeni stylistic expression appeared within the clear Baden culture find. Until now there have been discovered several similar finds of Baden culture drinking sets dug into the shallow pit. We ascribe this practice to the emergence of feasting and commensality among prehistoric communities in central and southeastern Europe (Spasić 2010, 87-96). Thus, the presence of linsen ornaments on Baden culture amphora is to be explained on several different levels. First of all, this the earliest example of clear Coțofeni culture influence in this area. Considering the phenomenological appearance of the vessels themselves they are of indisputable Baden origin, so one can conclude that the amphora with linsen decoration was probably manufactured together with five cups, if not at the same time and in the same workshop, then certainly within the same cultural matrix. Therefore, it could be concluded that linsen motifs on Baden culture amphora appeared as the result of contacts between Coțofeni and Baden culture communities that is as common manifestation of various late eneolithic stylistic mixtures. On the other hand, biographical notes on the course of implementation of Coțofeni culture decoration in this particular case are much more complicated for interpretation. It is still unknown whether it is a simple stylistic influence which reached Baden culture communities in southern Banat through various acts of cultural interactions or it is an outcome of actual event that joined members of Baden and Coțofeni communities, i.e. making of alliance, wedding or some other ritual or annual ceremony.

The second stage of cultural interactions between Coțofeni population and other communities in the Serbian territory developed through actual contacts, that is after colonization of eastern Serbia by the bearers of Coțofeni II culture. There is not a single calibrated C14 date which could infer for contacts between the newcomers – Coțofeni communities and preceding Bubanj Hum-Sălcuța-Krivodol population. If we take into the account corresponding dates from Romanian and Bulgarian territory Bubanj Hum-Sălcuța-Krivodol complex could be roughly dated to the period between 4500 and 3900 BC, while the succeeding period, so called Scheibhenkel horizon could be dated to the period 3900-3700/3600 BC. (Nikolova 1999, 94, 397, 398). On the other hand the earliest Coțofeni culture dates fall around 3400 BC, with only one earlier date from Ostrovul Corbului (cca. 3500 BC) (Ciugudean 2000, 57-59; Nikolova 1999, 402). Such chronological picture speaks in favour of cultural hiatus that lasted at least two centuries between the arrival of Coțofeni communities and disappearance of preceding population in eastern Serbia. Incomplete list of 50 Coțofeni culture sites in eastern Serbia and adjacent areas speaks in favour of significant presence of Coțofeni communities. Eastern Serbia and Iron Gates are specific geographical regions which call for different analytical methodology in the study of late eneolithic cultural interactions, especially since there are no clear cultural boundaries between different cultural groups. Judging by material culture Coțofeni communities settled the area of eastern Serbia and Iron Gates during the second phase of culture' evolution. This is the time when pure Coțofeni culture elements appear at the settlements in Iron Gates i.e. Ajmana, Baraće, Korbovo-Zbradila fund etc. Such interpretation coincides also with N. Tasić' and D. Nikolić' opinion that non-existence of Kostolac culture stylistic expression (mainly Furchenstich) should be considered as a sound indicator for an earlier phase of Coțofeni culture in Serbian territory (Tasić 1979, 117; Nikolić 1997, 200-205). Shortly afterwards, during Coțofeni III phase, we are witnessing a real expansion of Coțofeni communities, this time in completely different manifestation – mixed with Kostolac culture elements that is usually considered as new cultural phenomenon – the so called Kostolac-Coțofeni group.

⁵ The question of Kostolac culture genesis exceeds the frame of current paper. For general overview *c.f.* Nikolić 2000, 57-66.

There are many imposing questions considering definition and characterization of Kostolac-Coțofeni group in eastern Serbia and adjacent regions. Under what circumstances such cultural manifestation developed? Should we understand it simply as specific stylistic expression? Finally or first of all was the formation of the so called Kostolac-Coțofeni cultural group embedded in actual interactions of two distinct communities which led to materialized symbiosis of two different cultures in one, through the acts of assimilation and acculturation? If so, then who assimilated and who was assimilated, in what way it all took place and what was the strategy of one group and what of the other?

It is intriguing that neither in time of the Kostolac-Coțofeni cultural group nor before it there is a single purely Kostolac culture settlement in this region. Small necropolis with cremation burials at Padina is the only solely Kostolac culture site in the area in question. If so, then Coțofeni culture communities in eastern Serbia are to be considered as autochthonous-native element in comparison with the bearers of Kostolac culture. Although there are reliable evidences for the presence of Kostolac material culture far in the north-in nowadays Hungary and as far as southern Slovakia, we do not see Kostolac population as highly expansionistic (Němejčova-Pavúková 1968; Bondar 1984). We understand this phenomenon as the emergence of cultural influences through the spread of idea, merchant connections and cultural interactions among various late eneolithic communities rather than as large-scale movement or migrations of people. Therefore, considering the quality of published data I do not find that counting sherds with Coțofeni decoration and comparing its amount with sherds ornamented in Kostolac style in one settlement is plausible for any sound interpretation of settlement biography.⁶ Up until now there is only one reasonable path which leads to some basic facts about Kostolac-Coțofeni cultural group in eastern Serbia. That is chronological attribution of both groups as well as disposition of their settlements in the studied area and its hinterland. Basic knowledge that we have on substantial, economic and residential activities could also contribute to better understanding of the Kostolac-Coțofeni cultural group in eastern Serbia.

Well before and after the formation of Kostolac-Coțofeni cultural group in eastern Serbia, Kostolac communities lived in the territory of Vojvodina and central Serbia. Physical manifestation of their life pinpoints to sedentary, agricultural population with multilayered settlements on river terraces, with solid above-ground houses, even of apsidal and megaron type (i.e. Gomolava, Vučedol, Bujanj, Vinča etc). At probably the same time when the first bearers of Coțofeni II culture reached outskirts of eastern Serbia, Kostolac communities started their movements towards the north and west of central Serbia and Vojvodina. Formation of the so called Kostolac-Coțofeni group in eastern Serbia is roughly dated to Coțofeni II/IIIa phase-that is the period when Kostolac communities already reached areas of eastern Croatia and Hungarian Transdanubia. Not more than century later Kostolac culture reached its northernmost frontier, in the course of formation of the so called Bosača-Kostolac culture in southern Slovakia. Almost all of the *colonized* territory of Kostolac culture at the north and west were suitable for sedentary agricultural way of life, while those occupied by Kostolac-Coțofeni cultural group could rather fit to semi-mobile, nomadic and pastoral communities (i.e. high river terraces, hilltops and cave settlements). If so, inferring question is whether dominant population element in the genesis of Kostolac-Coțofeni group could be the Kostolac culture one? Consequently why would one or more Kostolac culture agricultural communities decided to move eastwards, substantially changing their way of life, and thus embracing the socio-cultural and economic matrix of already present Coțofeni population in Eastern Serbia? As it was shown earlier, vice versa scenario is not possible since Kostolac culture presence in eastern Serbia is of younger date than Coțofeni culture. Therefore at this moment I would infer for explanation which sees the genesis of Kostolac-Coțofeni cultural group as a result of profound and complex relationships between Coțofeni and Kostolac cultures that developed during the final stages of the process of intensification of contacts between Eneolithic communities along horizontal and vertical axis of communication during the middle and late Eneolithic of Central and Southeastern Europe (Spasić 2008). If Coțofeni communities were already settled in eastern Serbia before the formation of Kostolac-Coțofeni group, than their material culture was affected with Kostolac stylistic influences from central Serbia and Vojvodina. It is through the acts of mutual relationship of the two neighbouring communities

⁶ Such analytical methodology would indeed shed more light on the nature of relationship between Kostolac and Coțofeni communities in eastern Serbia, but only with clear contexts of find, and broader spatial analysis of ornamented pottery distribution both within the closed structures and on micro-regional scale.

that Coțofeni material culture in eastern Serbia evolved into unique late eneolithic stylistic expression.⁷ Physical presence of the bearers of Kostolac culture in the demographical core of the Kostolac-Coțofeni group is not excluded with outlining the dominant role of Coțofeni culture in appearance of the new cultural group in Eastern Serbia. Thus it could be assumed that to some extent we can count for infiltration of Kostolac population in eastern Serbia that had had direct impact on the formation of Kostolac-Coțofeni cultural group.

There are at least two more cultural groups in central and southern Serbia whose formation was under clear influence of late Coțofeni culture. Both are located in the area of central and southern Morava river valley. The first one is the so called Bubanj II cultural group defined on the basis of material culture and its stratigraphic position at the site of Bubanj in southern Serbia (C.f. Garašanin 1973, 182-184). Based on the stratigraphic observations on Bubanj it was thought that this cultural phenomenon represents further evolution of Bubanj Hum-Sălcuța-Krivodol cultural complex. During 1980-ies M. Garašanin corrected his interpretations concerning post Sălcuțan horizons at Bubanj outlining that both Bubanj Ib and Bubanj II levels represent different and independent cultural phenomena (Garašanin 1983, 8, 9). Material from both horizons is poorly published, without any field documentation, therefore one can only infer about cultural and chronological attribution on the basis of not more than 30 ornamented sherds and several reconstructed vessels (Garašanin 1983, kat. 116-153). Thus Bubanj Ib level is represented with clear Kostolac culture material (i.e. vessels of fischbutter type, cups with high strap handle, pottery decorated with Furchenstich), while Bubanj II horizon is typified with the same cup shapes as in the previous horizon as well as with abundance of bowls decorated with incised net like, zigzag and fish bone motifs. It remains unclear whether there is chronological hiatus between Bubanj Ib and Bubanj II. If so, then Kostolac culture settlement at Bubanj was not abandoned for long time, since Bubanj II material shows great resemblance with Coțofeni III material. Thus, it is up to new excavations, which are currently in progress, to reveal the nature and relationship between Bubanj Ib and Bubanj II horizons. On the basis of synchronous stylistic manifestations in the regions of southwestern Bulgaria, Thrace and Macedonia it appears that among other characteristics the period between 3000 and 2500 BC is signified with broad acceptance of incised and incrustated decorated pottery. Hence, currently available data speaks in favour of slightly different cultural and chronological attribution of Bubanj layers:

Bubanj Ia (M. Garašanin) – Bubanj Hum-Sălcuța-Krivodol cultural complex (mainly Sălcuța II and Sălcuța III material, Scheibenhenkel horizon is completely missing).

Bubanj Ib (M. Garašanin) – chronologically and culturally heterogeneous material (two recovered sherds of Bratislava type bowls speak in favour of presence of the bearers Cernavoda III-Boleraz culture, while the rest of published material can be attributed to Kostolac culture, with modest Coțofeni II culture influences).

Bubanj II (M. Garašanin) – heterogeneous Kostolac culture derived ceramic material (mainly bowls decorated with incised and incrustated ornaments) related to Coțofeni III cultural zone, Radomir-Vahovo III, IV(?), and similar cultural manifestations with incised and incrustated pottery such as Dikili Tash IIIb, Sitagroi Va, Dubene Sarovka IIb etc. (c.f. Alexandrov 1995; Nikolova 1996; Nikolova 1999, 199-224; Séfériadès 2001).

Proposed chronological and cultural attribution of eneolithic horizons at Bubanj is also in harmony with corrected stratigraphic division made by M. Garašanin, except for the presence of Cernavoda-Renie II-Herculane II layer at eastern Bubanj plateau for which I did not see any published material (Garašanin 1979, 160). As it was shown in chronological scheme and due to the absence of the material typical for late Sălcuța culture (i.e. Sălcuța IV-Scheibenhenkel horizon) the only horizon which could precede Kostolac cultural layer at Bubanj (formerly defined as Bubanj Ib) is Boleraz-Cernavoda III cultural complex to which we assigned two fragments of Bratislava type bowls. However, as it is the case with all post Sălcuțan horizons at Bubanj, it is up to new excavations to show definitive cultural sequence of the

⁷ It should be kept in mind that during middle and late Eneolithic periods in central and southeastern Europe Furchenstich decorated ceramics appear on the vast territory (c.f. Dimitrijević 1980; Ruttkay 1988), and that various geographically distinct cultures shared similar stylistic expression on ceramic vessels decorated with incising and white encrustation (i.e. Dikili Tash, Ezero, Dubene Sarovka, Bubanj II etc).

site, as well as to establish new methodological approach which will explain the presence of chronologically heterogeneous ceramic material in M. Garašanin' Bubanj Ib-II levels.

There is one more cultural group defined in the Valley of Morava River which bears strong stylistic influences from the Coțofeni III cultural area. That is the so called Ostrikovac I cultural group to which several Serbian researchers ascribed more than 20 sites in the last two decades (Stojić 1989; Stojić 1995; Stojić and Jocić 2006, 32-37; Stojić and Čadenović 2006, 25-27). The Ostrikovac I cultural group has been defined on the basis of morphological and stylistic observations of rather heterogeneous ceramic material as well as its stratigraphic position at eponymous site of Ostrikovac. As in the case of the so called Bubanj II cultural group here again we are dealing with rather modest repertoire of finds, with limited information concerning the context of find, without published field documentation (i.e. vertical sections, ground plans of the settlements and architectural remains) – all of which allows mere stylistic observations of pottery and its chronological attribution based on the cross-cultural appreciation of similar manifestations in adjacent regions. Analogous finds that were used for definition of Ostrikovac I cultural group and its internal subdivision on five phases offers the same quality of data as those from Ostrikovac itself (i.e. Trupale, Vrtište, Jasenovik, Maskare, Makrešane). M. Stojić divided severely damaged-up to one meter thick cultural horizon at Ostrikovac on three main phases: Ostrikovac Ia-d – Eneolithic; Ostrikovac II – Bronze age; Ostrikovac III – Iron age. It is said that Ostrikovac Ia could be synchronized with Baden culture, while Ostrikovac Ib-d layers were connected with various similar stylistic manifestations which include incised and incrustrated pottery in adjacent regions (Kostolac, Coțofeni, Dikili Tash, Bubanj II, early Vučedol culture etc). (Stojić 1989, 177-179). Since there are no published vessels from Ostrikovac Ia horizons we could only argue about chronological and cultural attribution of the finds from Ostrikovac Ib-d layers. It is said that in both Ostrikovac Ib and Ic horizons sherds with Furchenstich decoration were recovered thus making it clear that their Kostolac culture origin is indisputable (Stojić 1989, 172, 174). The presence of linsen ornaments in Ostrikovac Ic layer as well as in synchronous horizon at Makrešane speak in of unambiguous influences from the area of Coțofeni III culture. In both Ib and Ic levels at Ostrikovac vessels decorated with incised chess fields, linear, net-like and zigzag ornaments and their combination with punctuated compositions were recovered, thus synchronizing it with the manifestations of the so called Bubanj II type, and other mentioned cultural manifestations in southeastern Europe. Ostrikovac Id revealed pottery decorated with Schnur ornaments (also present in late Coțofeni culture in Romania as well as in the inventory of Kostolac-Coțofeni group in Zlotska pećina), as well as some Vučedol type pottery (also present in inventory of late Coțofeni culture sites in Romania and northwestern Bulgaria, as well as on late Kostolac settlements in Serbia). Considering all above, on the basis of still insufficient archaeological data I would argue for slightly different and simplified periodisation of Ostrikovac Ib-d group.⁸ In my opinion until now there is not enough data which would confirm division on three sub-phases. I would rather infer that *galimatias* that has been created by introduction of new cultural group and its subdivision onto different phases (i.e. Ostrikovac Ia-d) should be rejected in of interpretation which sees the bearers of Kostolac culture as main element in genesis of Ostrikovac Ib group. Further diversification of ornamental style should be observed in the light of vivid contacts that Kostolac communities in central Serbia had with the bearers of Coțofeni III and Vučedol cultures and influences coming from Bulgarian Thrace and northern Greece. My strong persuasion is that there is no need to abandon somewhat unique but indisputable Kostolac culture attribution of the Ostrikovac Ib-c group in of insecure cultural particularization. If future excavations would reveal different cultural matrix (architecture, economy, religion, material culture etc) of the discussed late eneolithic phenomenon I would embrace the chance to discuss other possibilities of formative processes that affected the creation-acceptance-distribution of specific decorative style in the vast area of Southeastern Europe.

Influences from Coțofeni cultural sphere had been reported from several other late eneolithic sites in Serbia. Starting from central Serbia where Coțofeni-like pottery appeared among inventories of Kostolac culture settlements in Novačka Čuprija and Jelenac all the way to western Serbia where linsen ornamented pottery had been recovered in Kostolac settlement at Likodra-Ostenjak (Galović 1959; Garašanin 1985). Multilayered settlement of Likodra-Ostenjak in western Serbia is the westernmost site with influences from Coțofeni cultural zone.

⁸ As it was outlined above dating and cultural attribution of the so called Ostrikovac Ia group couldn't be discussed until the publication of material from the earliest horizon at Ostrikovac.

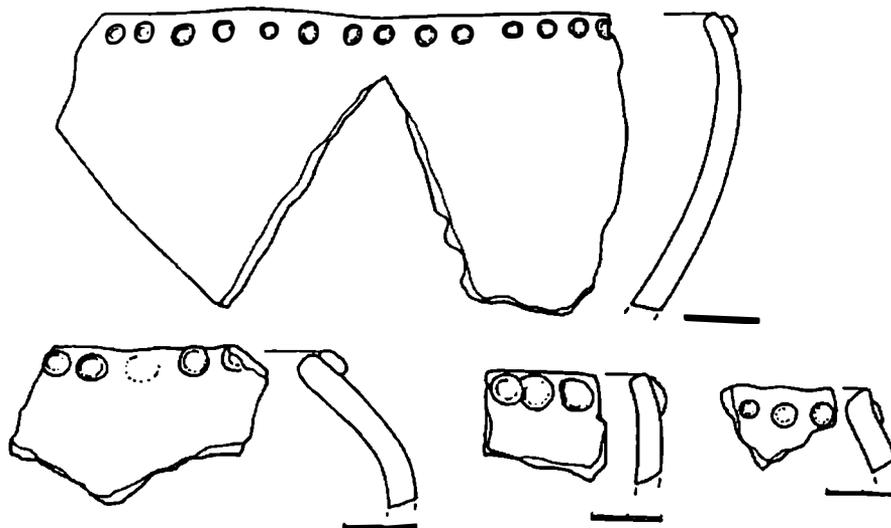


Fig. 4. Decorated bowls with linsen ornaments from the site of Malurešane in the Morava valley (Stojić and Čadenović 2006: T. LXX/91-94).

Conclusion

After more than a century of investigations into the Late Eneolithic Europe it is believed that Baden culture represents specific cultural phenomenon which covered vast territories of Central and Southeastern Europe. Coțofeni communities lived on the eastern edge of this complex, thus covering the territory similar in size with Baden cultural zone. Influences from those two late eneolithic cultural spheres affected different communities living from Transylvania to Lower Germany and Little Poland and from nowadays Slovakia to northern Greece, hence creating the first image of what cultural *globalization* could look like in prehistoric Europe. As we saw, different communities used to adopt current stylistic and material expressions in different way. The level of integration with contemporary cultural matrix depended on various socio-economic factors. As an outcome we recognize the general concept of ideas that shaped material culture of the period, but with certain degree of regional and cultural adaptations that appear through the acts of mutual contacts of late eneolithic communities. It is through those contacts—that is through the acts of local reinterpretation of the meaning of material culture that we should encounter for the life of Coțofeni culture communities living at their western frontier.

Catalogue of Coțofeni culture sites in the territory of nowadays Serbia

Up to now there are 47 sites in nowadays Serbia attributed to Coțofeni culture. If include other contemporary settlements in which we recognize direct or indirect cultural influences from the sphere of Coțofeni culture the number sites with characteristic Coțofeni pottery is around 60. The quality of information given in the catalogue of sites is different and depends on the quality of published data. Interested reader will find that the number of Coțofeni sites in Serbia will significantly increase after the publication of field surveys and small-sized excavations in the region of Braničevo, Homolje and Majdanpek in Eastern Serbia.

1. Ajmana

Excavations: B. Stalio, 1981-1982, 1984; **Type of site:** Multilayered, settlement and necropolis. **Cultural stratigraphy:** Starčevo, Coțofeni, Bronze Age, La Tène, Roman period, Middle Ages. **Architecture:** Not reported; **Material culture:** Coțofeni and Bronze Age finds are unpublished. **Literature:** Stalio 1986.

2. Baraće

Excavations: Field survey 1968; **Type of site:** multilayered, settlement on the river terrace; **Cultural stratigraphy:** Coțofeni; Bronze Age, Iron Age. **Architecture:** not reported; **Material culture:** bowls with thickened rim decorated with incised ornaments; **Literature:** Jovanović 1969.

3. Biljevina

Literature: Jevtić 1987.

4. Bogovinska pećina

Excavations: Field survey; **Type of site:** Settlement in cave; **Cultural stratigraphy:** Kostolac-Coțofeni; **Architecture:** not reported; **Material culture:** unpublished; **Literature:** Nikolić 1997.

5. Bordjej

Excavations: Sladić 1980; **Type of site:** Multilayered, settlement on the river terrace. **Cultural stratigraphy:** Coțofeni, Hallstatt, Roman period, Middle Ages; **Architecture:** Partially excavated rectangular above-ground house; **Material culture:** Pottery decorated with incised, linsen and plastic applied bands; **Literature:** Sladić 1984.

6. Bujanj

Excavations: Oršić-Slavetić 1935, M. And D. Garašanin 1954-1958; **Type of site:** Multilayered, settlements on the high river terrace; **Cultural stratigraphy:** Starčevo, Vinča, Bujanj Hum-Sălcuța-Krivodol, Boleraz-Cernavoda III, Kostolac, Coțofeni III, Bronze age, Iron Age. **Architecture:** not reported; **Material culture:** pottery decorated with incised Furchenstich and pricked ornaments; **Literature:** M. Garašanin 1983.

7. Crnajka-Pjatra Kosti

Excavations: N. Tasić; **Type of site:** Singlelayered, settlement on the hill slope above the river; **Cultural stratigraphy:** Kostolac-Coțofeni; **Architecture:** **Material culture:** pottery decorated with incised, pricked, linsen and Furchenstich motifs; **Literature:** Tasić 1982; Nikolić 1997.

8. Čot-Popović

Excavations: One trench excavated 1955; **Type of site:** Singlelayered, settlement on the high river terrace; **Cultural stratigraphy:** Kostolac, Coțofeni imports; **Architecture:** Not reported; **Material culture:** Coțofeni III incised jug; **Literature:** Nikolić 2000, 14.

9. Donje Butorke-Kladovo

Excavations: D. Srejić 1964; **Type of site:** Multilayered, settlement on the river terrace. **Cultural stratigraphy:** Starčevo, Coțofeni; **Architecture:** not reported; **Material culture:** pottery decorated with linsen ornaments; **Literature:** Srejić 1964; Tasić 1982, 26.

10. Grabar-Smedovac

Excavations: V. Truhović and Lj. Vuković 1965; **Type of site:** Multilayered, settlement on a hill slope above the river; **Cultural stratigraphy:** Bujanj Hum-Sălcuța-Krivodol; Coțofeni; **Architecture:** not reported; **Material culture:** pottery is not published except one sherd decorated in schnur technique; copper pin and hook; **Literature:** Truhović and Vuković 1966; Tasić 1982, 21.

11. Grabovica-Brzi Prun

Excavations: J. Paprenica 1980-1981; **Type of site:** Multilayered, settlement on the river terrace; **Cultural stratigraphy:** Bujanj Hum-Sălcuța-Krivodol; Coțofeni, Verbicioara, Basarabi, Roman period, Middle Ages; **Architecture:** Not reported; **Material culture:** Eneolithic finds are unpublished; **Literature:** Paprenica 1986.

12. Hajdučka Vodenica

Excavations: B. Jovanović 1966-1967. **Type of site:** Multilayered, settlement on the river terrace; **Cultural stratigraphy:** Coțofeni, Bronze Age, Iron Age; **Architecture:** not reported; **Material culture:** pottery decorated with linsen ornaments; **Literature:** Jovanović 1969; *Ibid* 1971.

13. Jakomir

Literature: Jevtić 1987.

14. Jelenac

Excavations: R. Galović 1955; **Type of site:** Multilayered, settlements on the river terrace; **Cultural stratigraphy:** Bujanj II, Kostolac, Coțofeni imports; **Architecture:** not reported; **Material culture:** bowls decorated with linsen ornaments; **Literature:** Galović 1959.

15. Jezero

Excavations: M. Kobau field survey 1995; **Type of site:** Singlelayered, hillfort settlement; **Cultural stratigraphy:** Kostolac-Coțofeni; **Architecture:** not reported; **Material culture:** pottery ornamented with linear incisions, applied straps and Furchenstich; **Literature:** Nikolić 1997.

16. Kapetanova Pećina

Excavations: D. Srejšović and T. Rajkovač; **Type of site:** Singlelayered, settlement in cave; **Cultural stratigraphy:** Coşofeni; **Architecture:** not reported; **Material culture:** unpublished; **Literature:** Nikolić 1997.

17. Kapu Djaluj-Veljkovo

Excavations: V. Trbuhović and Lj. Vuković 1962; **Type of site:** Multilayered, settlement on the hill slope above the river; **Cultural stratigraphy:** Bubanj Hum-Sălçuţa-Krivodol; Coşofeni; **Architecture:** not reported; **Material culture:** Coşofeni pottery is not published; Schnur decorated pottery in the Coşofeni layer has been reported; **Literature:** Trbuhović and Vuković 1966; Tasić 1982, 22.

18. Kasidol-Požarevac

Excavations: Field survey; **Type of site:** settlement on the hill slope; **Cultural stratigraphy:** Kostolac, Coşofeni; **Architecture:** not reported; **Material culture:** unpublished; **Literature:** Nikolić 2000, 23.

19. Kladovo-Fetislam

Literature: Jevtić 1987.

20. Klokočevac-Culma Sciopului

Excavations: N. Tasić 1970; **Type of site:** Singlelayered, settlement on slope of the hill; **Cultural stratigraphy:** Kostolac-Coşofeni; **Architecture:** several above-ground houses whose backside was dug into the hill; **Material culture:** Pottery decorated with incised, Furchenstich and linsen ornaments; **Literature:** Tasić 1982; *Ibid* 1995. Nikolić 1997.

21. Kljanc

Excavations: M. Kobau field survey 1995; **Type of site:** Singlelayered, hilfort settlement; **Cultural stratigraphy:** Kostolac-Coşofeni; **Architecture:** not reported; **Material culture:** pottery decorated with linear incising, applied straps and Furchenstich; **Literature:** Nikolić 1997.

22. Krivelj

Excavations: N. Tasić 1971-1972; **Type of site:** Multilayered, hilfort settlement; **Cultural stratigraphy:** Bubanj Hum-Sălçuţa-Krivodol; Kostolac-Coşofeni; **Architecture:** not reported; **Material culture:** pottery decorated with linsen ornaments; two handled beakers; **Literature:** Tasić 1982; *Ibid* 1995.

23. Knjepište

Literature: Jevtić 1987.

24. Korbovo-Obala

Excavations: D. Krstić, 1980; **Type of site:** Multilayered, settlement on the river terrace; **Cultural stratigraphy:** Baden, Coşofeni, Verbicioara, Źuto Brdo, Basarabi, Dacian Latène; **Architecture:** Not reported; **Material culture:** Cups and jugs decorated with incising and linsen ornaments; **Literature:** Krstić 1984: Sl.80/1.

25. Korbovo-Zbradila-Fund

Excavations: Lj. Babović, 1982; **Type of site:** Multilayered, settlement on the river terrace; **Cultural stratigraphy:** Coşofeni, Źuto Brdo, Gava, Daco-Roman period; **Architecture:** One dug-out pit with a surface with stone assemblage for tool manufacture(?); **Material culture:** pottery decorated with applied plastic bands, linear incising and linsen; **Literature:** Babović 1986: Fig. 10, 11, 16, 121-165.

26. Korbovo-Rive

Excavations: D. Krstić; **Type of site:** Multilayered, settlements on the river terrace; **Cultural stratigraphy:** Baden, Coşofeni; **Architecture:** not reported; **Material culture:** unpublished; **Literature:** Krstić 1984.

27. Kupasto Brdo-Popovica

Literature: Jevtić 1987.

28. Laznica

Excavations: D. Jacanović 2008; **Type of site:** Multilayered, settlements on the hill slope; **Cultural stratigraphy:** Coşofeni, Roman period; **Architecture:** not reported; **Material culture:** unpublished; **Literature:** unpublished.

29. Lepenska potkapina

Excavations: B. Gavela 1968; **Type of site:** multilayered, rockshelter; **Cultural stratigraphy:** Kostolac, Coțofeni, Late Bronze Age; **Architecture:** not reported; **Material culture:** bowls decorated with Furchenstich; copper dagger; **Literature:** Jevtić 1982-1983, T. I/5,6, T. II/1-6.

30. Ljubičebac-Obala

Excavations: P. Popović, D. Mrkobrad, 1981-1982; **Type of site:** Multilayered, settlement on the river terrace; **Cultural stratigraphy:** Coțofeni, Žuto Brdo, Basarabi, Dacian Latène, Middle Ages; **Architecture:** Not reported; **Material culture:** Pottery decorated with incised and linsen ornaments; **Literature:** Popović, Mrobrad 1986: Fig. 5/1-6.

31. Manastir-Gospodjin Vir

Excavations: B. Brukner, 1968-1969; **Type of site:** **Cultural stratigraphy:** Kostolac-Coțofeni, Žuto Brdo, Basarabi; **Architecture:** one doomed oven; **Material culture:** Pottery decorated with incised punctuated ornaments, one copper awl; **Literature:** Brukner 1968; Brukner 1969.

32. Mokranjske Stene

Excavations: M. Sretenović, L. Trbuhović, 1980; **Type of site:** Multilayered, settlement on the river terrace; **Cultural stratigraphy:** Coțofeni, Roman period, Middle ages; **Architecture:** Not reported; **Material culture:** prehistoric finds are unpublished; **Literature:** Sretenović 1984.

33. Padina

Excavations: B. Jovanović, 1968-1971; **Type of site:** Settlement and necropolis on the river terrace; **Cultural stratigraphy:** Mesolithic, Neolithic, Kostolac-Coțofeni, Bronze Age, Iron Age; **Architecture:** not reported; **Material culture:** Cooper and bone tools in eneolithic layers; **Literature:** Jovanović 1969; *Ibid* 1971;

34. Peštera Mare

Excavations: M. Jevtić 2004; **Type of site:** Multilayered, settlement in the cave; **Cultural stratigraphy:** Mesolithic, Coțofeni, Early Iron Age; **Architecture:** Not reported; **Literature:** Kapuran, Jevtić and Borić 2007.

35. Rečica-Malo Golubinje

Excavations: Lj. Popović 1969, 1970; **Type of site:** Multilayered, settlement on the river terrace; **Cultural stratigraphy:** Bubanj II, Kostolac- Coțofeni; **Architecture:** not reported; **Material culture:** unpublished; **Literature:** Popović 1970.

36. Ruženka

Literature: Jevtić 1987.

37. Smiljkova glavica-Štubik

Excavations: chance finds and field survies; **Type of site:** Singlelayered; **Cultural stratigraphy:** Kostolac-Coțofeni; **Architecture:** not reported; **Material culture:** pottery decorated with incised and linsen ornaments; **Literature:** Tasić 1982, 22.

38. Stenje-Turija

Excavations: Field survey; **Type of site:** Singlelayered, settlement on the hill slope above the river; **Cultural stratigraphy:** Kostolac-Coțofeni; **Architecture:** not reported; **Material culture:** unpublished; **Literature:** Jacanović, Šljivar 1987; Nikolić 2000, 36.

39. Trajanova pećina

Excavations: M. Jevtić 2004; **Type of site:** Multilayered, settlement in cave; Mesolithic, Coțofeni, Early Iron Age; **Architecture:** Not reported; **Literature:** Kapuran, Jevtić and Borić 2007.

40. Ušće Porečke reke

Excavations: V. Trbuhović, 1968; **Type of site:** Multilayered; **Cultural stratigraphy:** Kostolac-Coțofeni; **Architecture:** not reported; **Material culture:** Pottery decorated with incised net-like ornaments; **Literature:** Trbuhović 1970; *Ibid* 1982-1983; Jovanović 1965.

41. Ušće Slatinske reke

Excavations: M. Jevtić, 1980. **Type of site:** Multilayered, settlement on the river terrace; **Cultural stratigraphy:** Cernavoda III, Coțofeni, Kalakača-Insula Banului; **Architecture:** One dug-out refuse pit; **Material culture:** Pottery decorated with incised, linsen and furcenstich ornaments; **Literature:** Jevtić 1984 a, Sl. 181, 182.

<h2 style="text-align: center;">Vojvodina</h2> <h3 style="text-align: center;">Boleraz-Cernavoda III</h3>  <p style="text-align: center;">Mostonga I, Gradina on the river Bosut settlements</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">Gradina on the river Bosut</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">Mostonga I</p> <p style="text-align: center;">architecture</p>	<h2 style="text-align: center;">Central Serbia</h2> <h3 style="text-align: center;">Cernavoda III</h3>  <p style="text-align: center;">Kosa-Koričani, Ušće Bolečice</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">Čelava glavica, Likodra settlements</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">Likodra-Ostenjak</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">architecture</p>	<h2 style="text-align: center;">Eastern Serbia</h2> <h3 style="text-align: center;">Boleraz-Cernavoda III</h3>  <p style="text-align: center;">Brza Vrba-Kovin, Vajuga-Korbovo settlements</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">Brza Vrba-Kovin, Vajuga-Korbovo (?)</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">Brza Vrba-Kovin</p> <p style="text-align: center;">architecture</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Not Reported</p> <p style="text-align: right;">burials</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Not Reported</p> <p style="text-align: right;">burials</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Not Reported</p> <p style="text-align: right;">burials</p>
<h3 style="text-align: center;">Baden Kostolac Vučedol</h3>	<h3 style="text-align: center;">Baden (?) Kostolac ↓ Vučedol</h3>	<h3 style="text-align: center;">Coțofeni ↓ Kostolac (?) Kostolac-Coțofeni group Vučedol (?)</h3>
 <p style="text-align: center;">Baden, Kostolac, Vučedol (Gomolava)</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">Kostolac - settlements on the slopes of Fruška Gora</p> <p style="text-align: center;">settlements</p>	 <p style="text-align: center;">Baden, Kostolac (Vinča)</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">Kostolac (Bubanj, Ostrikovac, Čot-Popović-Coțofeni imports) Vučedol (Jasik, Djurdjevačka glavica) settlements</p>	 <p style="text-align: center;">Coțofeni II; Kostolac-Coțofeni (Bordjej, Korbovo-Zbradila, Vajuga)</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">Coțofeni III; Kostolac-Coțofeni (Zlatska pečina)</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">(Krivelj, Crnajka Klokočevac)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">settlements</p>
 <p style="text-align: center;">Kostolac (Gomolava) Vučedol (Gomolava, Belegiš)</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">Baden (Gomolava) Ko tolac (Vrdnik)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">architecture</p>	 <p style="text-align: center;">Ko tolac (Jelenac) Vučedol (Djurdjevačka glavica)</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">Baden (Vinča, Dobanovci) Kostolac (Ostrikovac) Vučedol (Jasik)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">architecture</p>	 <p style="text-align: center;">Coțofeni II (Bordjej) Ko tolac-Coțofeni (Klokočevac, Crnajka-?)</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">Coțofeni II (Korbovo-Zbradila)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">architecture</p>
 <p style="text-align: center;">Baden (Bogojevo) Kostolac (Gomolava)</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">Baden (Skorenovac, Aradjanska humka) Vučedol (Vojka)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">burials</p>	 <p style="text-align: center;">Baden (Dobanovci)</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">Vučedol (Batajnica)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">burials</p>	 <p style="text-align: center;">Ko tolac-Coțofeni influence (Padina)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">burials</p>

Fig. 5. Chronological table of late eneolithic in Serbia.

42. Vajuga-Pesak

Excavations: P. Popović, M. Vukmanović, N. Radojčić, 1980-1983; **Type of site:** Multilayered, settlements on the river terrace; **Cultural stratigraphy:** Bubanj Hum-Sălčuța-Krivodol, Coțofeni; Bronze Age, Iron Age; **Architecture:** Not reported; **Material culture:** Pottery decorated with incised and linsen ornaments; **Literature:** Popović, Vukmanović, Radojčić 1986: Fig. 6/6-12.

43. Velesnica

Excavations: R. Vasić 1980-1982; **Type of site:** Multilayered, settlement on the river terrace; **Cultural stratigraphy:** Starčevo, Bubanj Hum-Sălčuța-Krivodol, Coțofeni, Žuto Brdo, Gava, Basarabi-Insula Banului, Dacian Latène, Roman period; **Architecture:** Not reported; **Material culture:** Eneolithic finds are unpublished; **Literature:** Vasić 1986.

44. Velike Livadice

Excavations: Z. Letica, 1970; **Type of site:** Multilayered, settlement on the river terrace; **Cultural stratigraphy:** Boleraz-Cernavoda, Coțofeni; **Architecture:** One dug-out pit; **Material culture:** Pottery decorated with incised, linsen and fluted ornaments; **Literature:** Letica 1970; Letica 1982-1983; Tasić 1981.

45. Vlasac

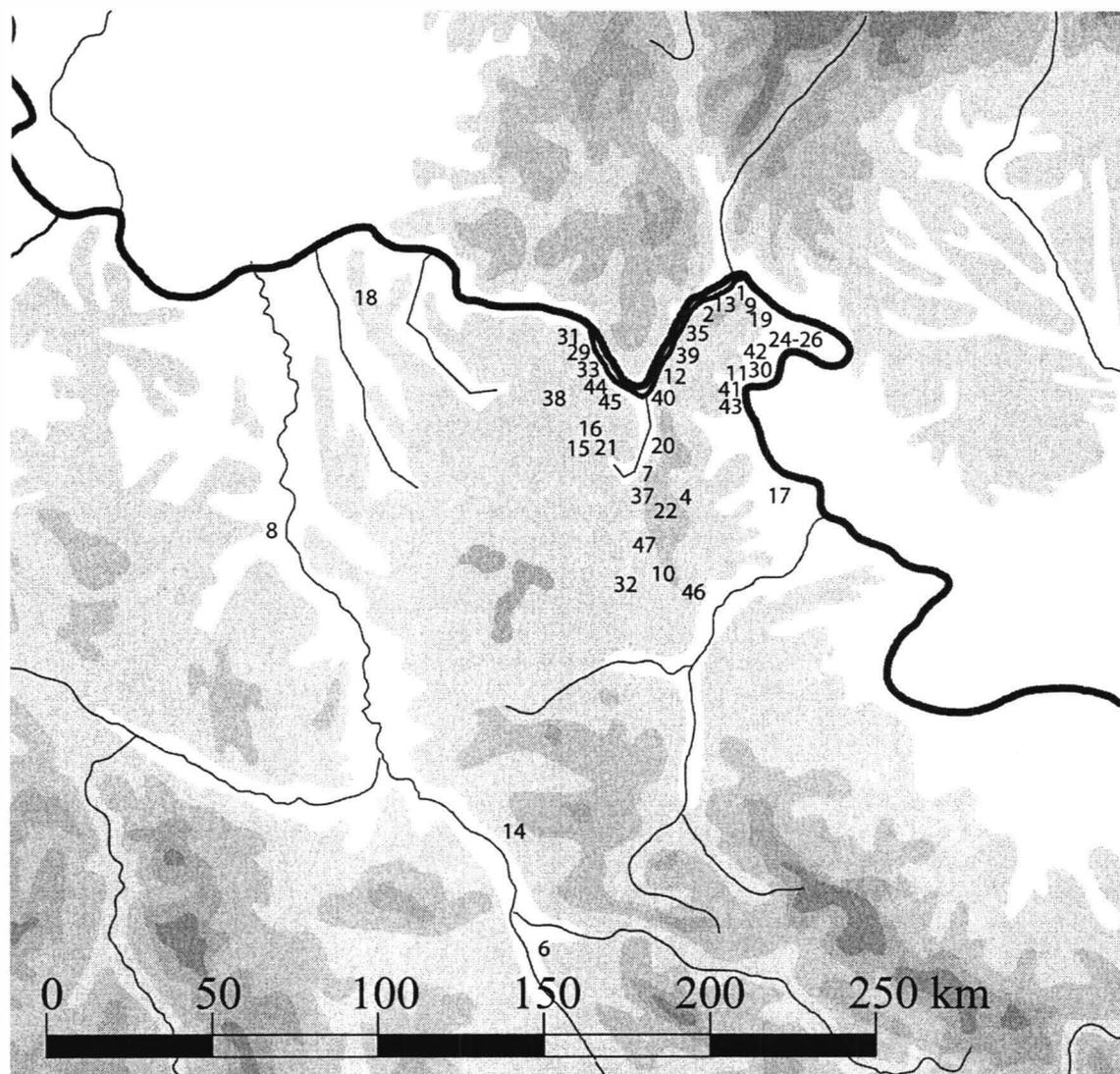
Excavations: **Type of site:** Multilayered, settlement on the river terrace; **Cultural stratigraphy:** Mesolithic, Early Neolithic, Kostolac-Coțofeni; **Architecture:** Not reported; **Material culture:** Pottery decorated with Furchenstich and incised linear ornaments **Literature:** Srejšović, Letica 1978, 136, T. CXXVIII, CXXIX.

46. Vrkanj

Excavations: V. Trbuhović and Lj. Vuković 1965; **Type of site:** Multilayered, settlement on the hill slope above the river; **Cultural stratigraphy:** Bubanj Hum-Sălčuța-Krivodol; Coțofeni; **Architecture:** not reported; **Material culture:** Coțofeni pottery is not published; **Literature:** V. Trbuhović and Lj. Vuković 1966; Tasić 1982, 21.

47. Zlotska pećina

Excavations: N. Tasić, 1963-1964, 1968-1969; **Type of site:** Multilayered, settlements in cave; **Cultural stratigraphy:** Bubanj Hum-Sălčuța-Krivodol, Kostolac-Coțofeni, Basarabi; **Architecture:** Not reported; **Material culture:** Pottery decorated with incised, linsen and Furchenstich ornaments, vessel of sossiere type; **Literature:** Tasić 1995.



Map 1. Coțofeni culture sites in Serbia.

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WIEDERENTDECKTE SPÄTHALLSTATTZEITLICHE GRABFUNDE AUS MISKOLC-DIÓSGYÖR (UNGARN)

EMILIAN TELEAGA

Schlüsselwörter: Späthallstattzeit, Wagengrab, Kriegerausstattung, italisches Herdgerätset, Metallgefäß.

Zusammenfassung: Die Neuaufnahme des Grabfundes aus Miskolc-Diósgyőr ermöglicht die Bestimmung dreier Trensen, einer Bronzephalaria, eines Wagenradreifens, zweier Lanzen spitzen, eines Ärmchenbeiles, eines Doppelspatels (?), zweier Bratspieße, eines Feuerbocks und eines Eiseneimers. Das Wagengrab aus der Späthallstattzeit D₁ mit dem Szentes-Vekerzuger Pferdegeschirr weist auf Beziehungen mit dem sogenannten Osthallstattkulturkreis hin: zwei Zugpferde und ein Reitpferd, die Trensen-Ärmchenbeil-Lanzen spitzen-Kombination sowie das Totenmahl. Das Besondere dieses Grabes ist das in direkter Verbindung mit dem adriatischen Raum stehende Herdgerätset.

Cuvinte cheie: Epoca Hallstattului târziu, inventar de războinic, set de vatră italic, vas de metal.

Rezumat: O nouă documentare a descoperirii funerare de la Miskolc-Diósgyőr permite determinarea următoarelor obiecte: trei zăbale, o faleră de bronz, o obadă de roată de car, două vârfuri de lance, un topor cu aripioare, o spatulă dublă, două frigări, un cățel de vatră și o căldare de fier. Mormântul cu car din perioada Hallstatt D₁ cu piese de harnașament de tip Szentes-Vekerzug dovedește contacte cu așa-numitul cerc cultural est hallstattian: doi cai de tracțiune și unul de călărie, asocierea de zăbale cu topor cu aripioare și cu vârfuri de lance dar și banchetul funerar. Exceptional în acest mormânt este setul de vatră aflat în legătură directă cu spațiul adriatic.

1939 publizierten S. Gallus und T. Horváth die folgenden Materialien, die zufällig bei einem Hausbau, im Bereich der Schmiede Kerekdomb, in dem Miskolcer Stadtteil Diósgyőr, Komitat Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, entdeckt worden sind. Von den gefundenen Materialien, konnten die Verfasser zwei Lanzen spitzen, ein Ärmchenbeil, drei Trensen, einen Eimer mit Henkel, alle aus Eisen, sowie einen Zaumzeugknopf aus Bronze bestimmen. Hinzu kamen mehrere Eisengegenstände, deren Funktion sie nicht bestimmen konnten, die sie aber erwähnten und abbildeten (Gallus / Horváth 1939, 110-111, Taf. 67/11-13.15, 68).

Sowohl T. Kemenczei als auch W. Werner bearbeiteten die Trensen und erwähnten die restlichen Gegenstände, ohne sie jedoch näher zu bestimmen (Werner 1988, Nr. 15-16, 29, Taf. 3, 6; Kemenczei 2009, 51-52, 171, 181, Liste 5, Taf. 160-161). In ihren Publikationen, in denen ich auf diese sonst in Vergessenheit geratenen Materialien gestoßen bin¹, warfen sie die Frage nach einem Wagengrab auf.

Außer dem Pferdegeschirr und den Waffen sind die restlichen Gegenstände absichtlich deformiert worden. Die Deformierung erschwerte die modernen Bestimmungen. Bei der Grabniederlegung wurden sie durch diese Beschädigung dem profanen Zweck „entzogen“, was eine bekannte hallstattzeitliche Bestattungssitte darstellt.

¹ Im Spätwinter 2006 habe ich, im Rahmen des Projektes „Eisenzeitliche Wagengräber Südosteuropas“, unterstützt vom Marburger Vorgeschichtlichen Seminar, im Auftrag des Archäologischen Instituts Bukarest und des RGZM Mainz, den Grabfund von Diósgyőr aufgenommen. Mein besonderer Dank gilt Dr. M. Hellebradt und Dr. J. Koós (Miskolc), Prof. M. Szabó (Budapest), D. Sárbu, Prof. A. Vulpe (Bukarest), Prof. M. Egg, M. Weber, Dr. J. Weidig und Dr. H. Baitinger (Mainz), Prof. A. Müller-Karpe und Prof. C. Dobiat (Marburg), Prof. A. Büttner-Teleaga (Woosuk, Südkorea).

1. Pferdegeschirr und Wagenteile

Das Miskolcer Pferdegeschirr besteht aus drei Eisentrensen und aus einem Zaumzeugknopf aus Bronze, letzterer ist verlorengegangen. Die Trensen gehören dem *Typ Szentes-Vekerzug*, der durch zwei Knebel mit jeweils zwei freien Löchern zur Befestigung an den Backenriemen und in der Mitte durch ein fest angenietetes Mundstück gekennzeichnet ist, an. Das Mundstück hat ein Gelenk in der Mitte und zwei seitliche Ösen, an denen der Zügel befestigt war. Die Knebelform ermöglicht die Unterteilung der *Szentes-Vekerzug-Trensen* in zwei Gruppen: **A.** Knebel mit drei ösenförmigen, sich verbreiternden Löchern; **B.** Knebel mit drei Löchern in einer plattenförmigen Verbreitung. Zwei der gefundenen Trensen gehören der ersten Gruppe an. Während bei den Trensen **Kat. 2-3** die gebogenen Knebel nur kugelförmig bzw. kugelförmig und spitz enden (*Typ II Variante A 1* nach Werner), sind die oberen Enden der Trense **Kat. 1** zoomorph, die unteren spitz (*Typ II Variante A 3* nach Werner).

Die frühesten *Szentes-Vekerzug-Trensen* (Ferigile, Perebykocvi und Ártand) kommen bereits am Ende des 7. Jhs. v. Chr. vor. Diese chronologische Einordnung entspricht der Trense aus Tumulus 24 Pferdebestattung 6 aus Kelermes (7. Jh. v. Chr.) (s. unten, Liste 1, Nr. 7), die bisher der einzige bekannte Fund des *Szentes-Vekerzug-Trensentyps* im nordpontischen Bereich ist. Sie könnte als Hinterlassenschaft eines Pferdegeschenkes oder -raubes für die oder den nordkubanischen Krieger gedeutet werden. Die revidierte Chronologie der Vekerzuger-Kultur (s. unten, Liste 1, Nr. 6 und Anm. 7) belegt, dass die meisten dieser Trensen in verschiedenen regionalen Varianten von ca. 600 v. Chr. bis ins 5. Jh. v. Chr., von der ungarischen Tiefebene bis nach Slowenien (im Süden) und bis zum Südhang der Karpaten (im Osten) verbreitet worden sind (Liste 1; Abb. 1).

Die mittelgroßen Bronzephaleren mit zwei Ösen auf der Rückseite wie die Phalera **Kat. 11** gehören zu den häufigsten in den Nekropolen der Vekerzug-Kulturgruppe belegten Typen (Chochorovski 1985 a, 109-111, Anm. 564). Sie kommen in den Wagengräbern aus Gyöngyös (Márton 1908, 45, Taf. 1/7) und Szentes-Vekerzug (Grab 13) vor². In den früheren Gräbern mit Eisenärmchenbeil-Lanzenspitzen-Pferdetrensen-Kombination aus Transdanubien, aber auch in den gleichzeitigen Tumuli der nordpontischen Region, kommen andere Phalarentypen und anderer Riemenzierrat, jedoch nicht die Miskolcer Phaleren, vor (Liste 3, Nr. 3-4, 6-8, 14-15). Das bedeutet, dass dieser Phalarentyp regional existiert hat.

In den Vekerzuger Nekropolen aus Szentes-Vekerzug³ und Szentlőrinc⁴ existiert je eine separat liegende Pferdegräbergruppe, die nicht in direkter Verbindung mit den menschlichen Bestattungen steht. Deswegen können erstere nur ungenau in der relativ chronologischen Nekropolenentwicklung verankert werden: Die Szentlőrincer Nekropole ist von Nordwesten nach Südosten hin angelegt worden, die Pferdebestattungen liegen in ihrem mittleren Teil. Die mit Trensen gezäumten Pferde hatten Phaleren mit einer oder zwei Öse(n) auf der Rückseite, Riemenbeschläge oder -aufschübe mit rückseitiger Öse, Ringfußknöpfe, Ringe, Stirn- und Perlenschmuck verschiedener Kombination. Die im Miskolcer Grab belegte Vekerzuger Trensen- und Phalarentypkombination (Trense *Typ II A 1* und *A 3* und mittelgroße

² Die Wagengräber aus Gyöngyös und Miskolc-Diósgyőr wurden der frühen "skythischen" Vekerzug-Kulturgruppe mit hallstattischer Prägung zugeschrieben und sind älter als das Wagengrab aus Szentes-Vekerzug selbst (Chochorovski 1985 a, 109-111, Anm. 563-564; Chochorovski 1985 b, 211, 214, Anm. 73). Kemenczei ordnet das Grab aus Gyöngyös in die frühskythenzeitlichen Denkmäler der ungarischen Tiefebene ein (Kemenczei 2009, 62-63, 168-169, Taf. 147/9-18, 148-151). Das Gyöngyöser Inventar ist jedoch nicht einheitlich: Während die meisten Gegenstände späthallstattzeitlich sind, existiert auch eine fragm. La-Tène-B-Schwertkette des 3. Jhs. v. Chr. und ein Spät-La-Tène-Gefäßfuß; die Zusammensetzung des Inventars entspricht wahrscheinlich den beiden beobachteten Verbrennungsstellen (Márton 1908, 46, 50, Abb. 13, Taf. 2/11; Jacobi 1974, 152, Nr. 651-653, Taf. 38; Nothdurfter 1979, 86, Nr. 1273, Taf. 75). Die Nabenstirnbeschläge des vierrädrigen Wagens aus Grab 13 in Szentes-Vekerzug sind für die frühe Hallstatt D₃-Stufe charakteristisch (Párducz 1952, 146, Abb. 4, Taf. 45/9a-b, 50/2/45.66.84-85; Trachsel 2004, 510: *Typ Kocanda*).

³ Gräber 5, 6, 11-13, 16-19, 22, 32, 36, 139, 146 und 151, nur 32 ohne Pferdegeschirr (Párducz 1952, 144-148, Taf. 42-50, 52-63; Párducz 1954, 26-27, Abb. 2-3, 9-10, Taf. 1-3, 8, 12; Párducz 1955, 8-10, Taf. 6, 10-12; Párducz / Csallány 1945, 106-107, Taf. 43, 45).

⁴ In den Pferdegräbern wurden nur Köpfe und Beine bestattet: Gräber 48, 51-52, 58, 60 und 61. In den letzten vier wurden zusätzlich auch Trensen und Zaumzeug gefunden (Jerem 1968, 169-171, 175-176, Abb. 10-13, 26, 28, Taf. 28, 30, 46-48).

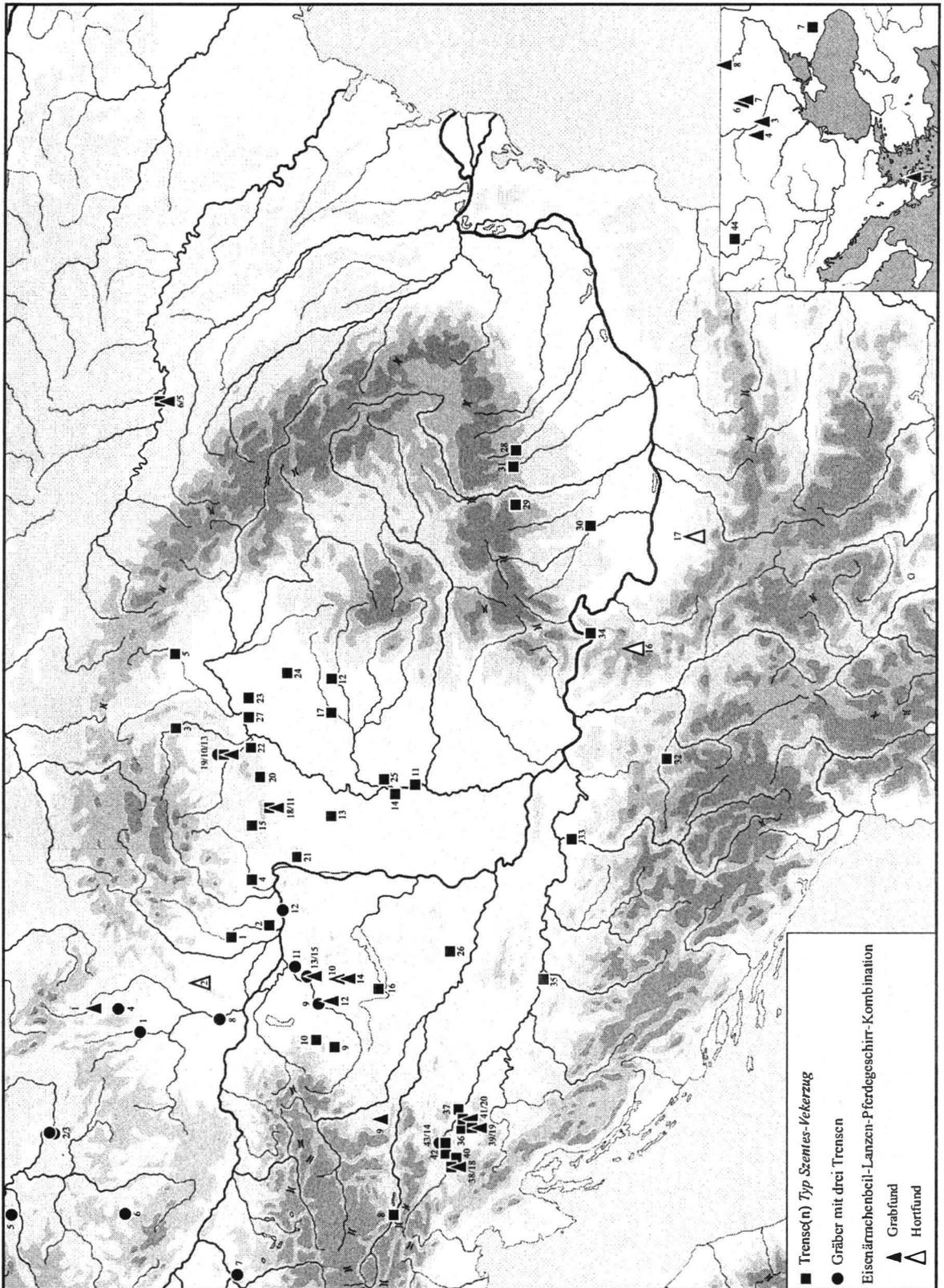


Abb. 1: Verbreitung der Trensen *Typ Szentes-Vekerzug*, der Gräber mit drei Trensen und der Eisenärmechenbeil-Lanzen-Pferdegeschirr-Kombination.

Phalere mit zwei Ösen auf der Rückseite) fehlt in der Nekropole Szentlőrinc, kommt jedoch in den Pferdebestattungen 12-13 und 18 (die ersten beiden mit Wagenteilen) der Vekerzuger Nekropole (deren Entwicklung noch nicht festgestellt worden ist) sowie im Gyöngyöser Wagengrab vor. Aus den obigen Gründen ist die Miskolcer Trensens- und Phalarentypenkombination für die frühe Vekerzuger Kulturgruppe spezifisch.

Das dreifache Vorkommen von Trensens im Miskolcer Grab (**Kat. 1-3**) ist in Verbindung mit einer Wagenbestattung, zu der wahrscheinlich auch die Stange **Kat. 8** gehört, zu bringen. Die drei Trensens des Grabes (zwei für Zugpferde, eine für ein Reitpferd) stellen eine regionalspezifische hallstattzeitliche Bestattungssitte (Pare 1992, 199-200, Abb. 135), die für Mähren, Böhmen und Ungarn belegt ist, dar (Liste 2; Abb. 1). Sie existiert zwischen dem Bereich der Wagengräber (im Westen) und dem der Pferdegräber (im Osten). Diese Bestattungssitte ist langlebig: sie ist vom 8. Jh. bis ins 5. Jh. v. Chr. belegt. In den späteren, reich ausgestatteten Tumuli des 4. Jhs. v. Chr. Thrakiens existiert eine Abweichung dieser Sitte: ein realer Wagen mit zwei Zugpferden und einem Reitpferd. Das Hügelgrab Žaba Mogila aus Strelča (Kitov 1979, [4], Abb. 5, 29) und der Tumulus 2 aus Vraca (Mogilanskata Mogila), möglicherweise auch der aus Agighiol (Teleaga 2008, 6, 51, Fundkat. 4 und 51) sind Beispiele dafür.

Die Grabform mit symbolischer Beigabe eines zweigespannigen Wagens und eines Reitpferdes (drei Trensens) entspricht der Darstellung aus Sopron: zwei Zugpferde vor dem Wagen mit einem Objekt oder einer Gottheit auf ihm, ein Begleiter oder ein Wagenlenker dahinter und davor ein Reiter (als Führer der Prozession - Totenfahrt ?) (Pare 1992, 208, Abb. 144A/1).

Die Stange **Kat. 8** mit leicht konkavem Stangenprofil stammt aus einem Radreifen eines Wagens und wurde nachträglich gebogen. Wegen des flachen Reifenprofils und des großen Abstands zwischen den Löchern gehört der Radreifen dem *Typ III G* nach Pare an. Diese Radreifen wurden für Wagen des *Typs 5* der Späthallstattzeit D₁-D₂ verwendet (Pare 1992, 45, 117, 154-156, Abb. 47/G, 48/III).

Zusammenfassend kann gesagt werden, dass der fragm. Radreifen, die Trensens und die Phalera, möglicherweise auch der Haken **Kat. 12**, auf ein Wagengrab des 6. Jhs. v. Chr. mit Zugpferden sowie einem Reitpferd hinweisen.

2. Waffen und Werkzeug

Das kreuzförmige Eisenärmchenbeil mit Nackenfächer und schmalen Blatt aus Miskolc-Diósgyőr wurde von Wesse als *Variante III₃A₃* klassifiziert. Es ist in der Hallstattzeit C, gelegentlich auch später, von Schlesien, über Hallstatt, bis nach Ostungarn verbreitet worden (Wesse 1990, 79, 168, Kat. 115, Taf. 33, Karte 17).

Die Miskolcer Lanzen spitzen **Kat. 4-5** haben eine kurze Tülle und ein breites Blatt mit Mittelrippe; sie ähneln dem *Typ 5* der Vekerzug-Kultur (Chochorowski 1985 a, 101-103, Abb. 32/1.5). Aufgrund ihrer relativ kurzen Länge könnten sie als Wurfspeer verwendet worden sein.

Die bandförmige Stange **Kat. 13** mit ihren flacher werdenden, schräg bzw. gerade gestalteten Enden ist wahrscheinlich als Doppelspatel interpretierbar. Derartige multifunktionale Werkzeuge sind aus dem Heiligtum in Olympia bekannt (Baitinger / Völling 2007, 194-195, Kat. 796-797, Taf. 69).

Die Funktion der Ärmchenbeile konnte durch die mit ihnen vergesellschafteten Gegenstände bestimmt werden. Da das Eisenärmchenbeil des Miskolcer Grabes mit Lanzen spitzen und Trensens beigegeben worden ist, gehört es zur Waffenausstattung eines Kriegers. Eine derartige Kriegerausstattung befindet sich in einigen reich ausgestatteten Gräbern in dem Verbreitungsgebiet der Trensens *Typ Szentcsanak*, von der oberen Theiß, über Transdanubien, bis nach Slowenien bzw. in einigen nordpontischen Hügelgräbern. Außerhalb dieser Regionen sind sie für Hortfunde belegt (Liste 3, Nr. 2, 16-17; Abb. 1). Die Ärmchenbeile aus Slowenien und die aus der nordpontischen Region wurden als Arbeitsgeräte, in letzterer auch als Gelegenheitswaffe, interpretiert, die aus Transdanubien hingegen als Waffen (Wesse 1990, 105-107, 113-116, 132-135, Abb. 36-37, 50-52).

In den Gräbern aus Miskolc-Diósgyőr und Gyöngyös, im Nordosten Ungarns, sowie im Hügelgrab 1 aus Somlóvásárhely, in Transdanubien, wurde auch Werkzeug beigegeben: ein Doppelspatel im ersten, jeweils ein Tüllenmeißel in den beiden letzten. Die Werkzeugbeigabe war ein zusätzliches Statussymbol

eines Kriegers und wurde als eine mit Italien verbundene Beigabensitte interpretiert (Stöllner 2007, 227-240, Abb. 1-7).

Die Eisenärmchenbeil-Lanzen-Pferdegesschirr-Kombination kann nur innerhalb einer relativ kurzen Periode eine gesellschaftliche Bedeutung besessen. Die meisten Tumuli mit diesen Beigaben aus Transdanubien und Slowenien wurden auf Hallstatt C datiert. Die nordpontischen Tumuli mit dieser Kombination wurden traditionell später, auf 6. Jhs. v. Chr., datiert (Wesse 1990, 162-166). Umso wichtiger ist die Modifizierung der nordpontischen Chronologie der Novočerkassk-Periode und der frühschythischen Zeit. Der Tumulus aus Kvitki gehört der späten Novočerkassk-Zeit und ist einer der frühesten Komplexe mit der Ärmchenbeil-Lanzenspitzen-Pferdetrensen-Kombination. Absolut chronologisch kann er auf die 1. Hälfte des 8. Jhs. v. Chr. datiert werden⁵. Die Tumuli aus Malaja Ofirma, Perebykovič (Tumulus 2), Popovka (Tumulus 8) und Staršaja Mogila (Tumulus 1) können anhand der revidierten frühschythischen Chronologie auf das 7. Jh. v. Chr. datiert, nur der Tumulus 7 der Gruppe „Častyje Kurgan“ ist wahrscheinlich später angelegt worden. Diese Datierung entspricht der Hallstatt C-Periode der lokalen hallstattzeitlichen Hügelgräbergruppen aus dem sogenannten Osthallstattkulturkreis⁶.

Die am Anfang der Vekerzug-Kultur⁷ eingeordneten Wagengräber aus Gyöngyös und Miskolc-Diósgyőr können auf die Übergangszeit Hallstatt C₂-D₁ datiert werden.

Durch ihre Waffenkombination und das Werkzeug fügen sich die Gräber aus Gyöngyös und Miskolc-Diósgyőr in den Horizont der reich ausgestatteten Hügelgräber Transdanubiens, Sloweniens und der Ukraine ein, was auf eine überregionale Bewaffnung⁸ von Kriegerern mit hohem Status hinweist. Auf dieser elitären Gesellschaftsebene gehört die Kombination zu den reitenden, mit Lanzen und Ärmchenbeilen bewaffneten Krieger. Bei denen aus der Ukraine stellten die Pfeile und Bogen eine regionalspezifische Standardbewaffnung dar.

⁵ Der Tumulus aus Kvitki wurde in die späte Novočerkassk-Periode eingeordnet. Er enthielt eine Zierscheibe mit Öse und einen Dolchscheidenmund, beide aus Gold, die Analogien in dem früheren Novočerkassk-Tumulus aus Balki besitzen (Bidzilja / Jakovenko 1974, 150, Abb. 4/1-2; Kovpanenko / Gupalo 1984, 50, Abb. 11/1.9, 12/2.5; Kossack 1987, 40, Abb. 7/10-11). Aus dem letzteren Tumulus wurden C₁₄-Proben entnommen, die auf vor 800 v. Chr. datierbar sind (Alekseev u.a., 2005, 126, Tab. 1/Nr. 96).

⁶ Die Osthallstattkultur oder der Osthallstattkulturkreis ist von den Konstruktivisten als Gegensatz zur Westhallstattkultur einerseits und zur „skythischen“ Vekerzug-Kulturgruppe andererseits definiert worden. Der Osthallstattkulturkreis im engeren Sinne besteht aus der Kalendenberg-Gruppe, der Nordostpannonischen Gruppe, der Raba-Gruppe und der Südwestpannonischen Gruppe, aus der Kaptol-Gruppe, der Frög-Gruppe und der Unterkrainischen Hallstattkultur. Die neuesten Forschungsergebnisse über den Osthallstattkulturraum sind in dem Soproner Tagungsband publiziert worden. Außer dem Einführungsbeitrag von E. Jerem, wird nur in einem Beitrag dieses Bandes versucht, die Osthallstattkultur, und zwar auf dem Niveau der Eliten, zu definieren (Egg 1996 c, 53-86). Die Dekonstruktivisten betonen hingegen die Heterogenität der Phänomene, die unter dem Gesamtbegriff der Osthallstattkultur oder des Osthallstattkulturkreises eingeordnet worden sind (Müller-Scheeßel 2000).

⁷ Die Vekerzug-Kultur, bestehend aus der Alsótelekes-Saniszláu-, der Szentés-Vekerzug-Szabadszállás- und der Chotín-Presel'any-Gruppe, wurde von Chochorowski definiert. Geographisch betrachtet, entspricht sie der Ungarischen Tiefebene; in Siebenbürgen existiert gleichzeitig die Ciunbrud-Gruppe. In der ungarischen Forschung sind eher die Begriffe skythische Kultur, die Kultur der Skythenzeit oder die Alföld Gruppe gebräuchlich (Chochorowski 1985 a; Chochorowski 1985 b, 204-271, Taf. 2-5; Kemenczei 2009, 7-19). Die Vekerzuger-Kultur wurde typmäßig und in Beziehung zu anderen Kulturgruppen untersucht, darüber hinaus auch in Verbindung mit historischen Ereignissen (z.B. die Anwesenheit skythisch geprägter Bevölkerungsgruppen im Karpatenbecken) gebracht. Die Nekropolen wurden in ihrer Entwicklung kaum analysiert; deswegen ist die relativ chronologische Einordnung der Vekerzug-Formen nur durch Außenbeziehungen möglich. Chochorowski hat seine Chronologie der Vekerzug-Kultur erneut revidiert: ursprünglich Ende des 6. Jhs. – 5. Jh. v. Chr., nun Beginn des 6. Jhs. – 5. Jh. v. Chr. (Chochorowski 1998, 480-481). Teržan plädiert hingegen, im Rahmen derselben historisierenden Weltanschauung, sogar für einen noch früheren Beginn der Vekerzug-Kultur, 2. Hälfte des 7. Jhs. v. Chr. (Teržan 1998, 514-515). Entscheidend für die absolut chronologische Datierung ihrer Anfänger ist das Prunkgrab von Ártánd (Anfang des 6. Jhs. v. Chr.).

⁸ Im Südostalpenraum hingegen, im Bereich der Situlenkunst, besteht die späthallstattzeitliche Bewaffnung aus zwei Lanzen und einem Streitbeil, sowohl bei der Grabausstattung als auch bei Darstellungen (Frey 1973, 626-628, Abb. 1-2, 5, 7; Stary 1982, 17-104).

3. Herd- und Bratgegenstände

Die beiden Bratspieße **Kat. 9-10** bestehen aus einer langen Stange mit quadratischem, teilweise tordiertem Querschnitt, ein Ende als kleiner Ringgriff geformt, das andere spitz. Sie gehören den *Typen VIII-IX* nach Kohler (ca. 650-400 v. Chr.) an. Diese Bratspieße sind für den „Osthallstattkulturkreis“ und Mittelitalien spezifisch (Kohler 2000, 202, Abb. 5), aber auch noch für später sporadisch belegt⁹. Ihre nordöstlichen Ausläufer erreichten Mähren, Polen und die Westukraine (Liste 4, Nr. 3-5; Abb. 2).

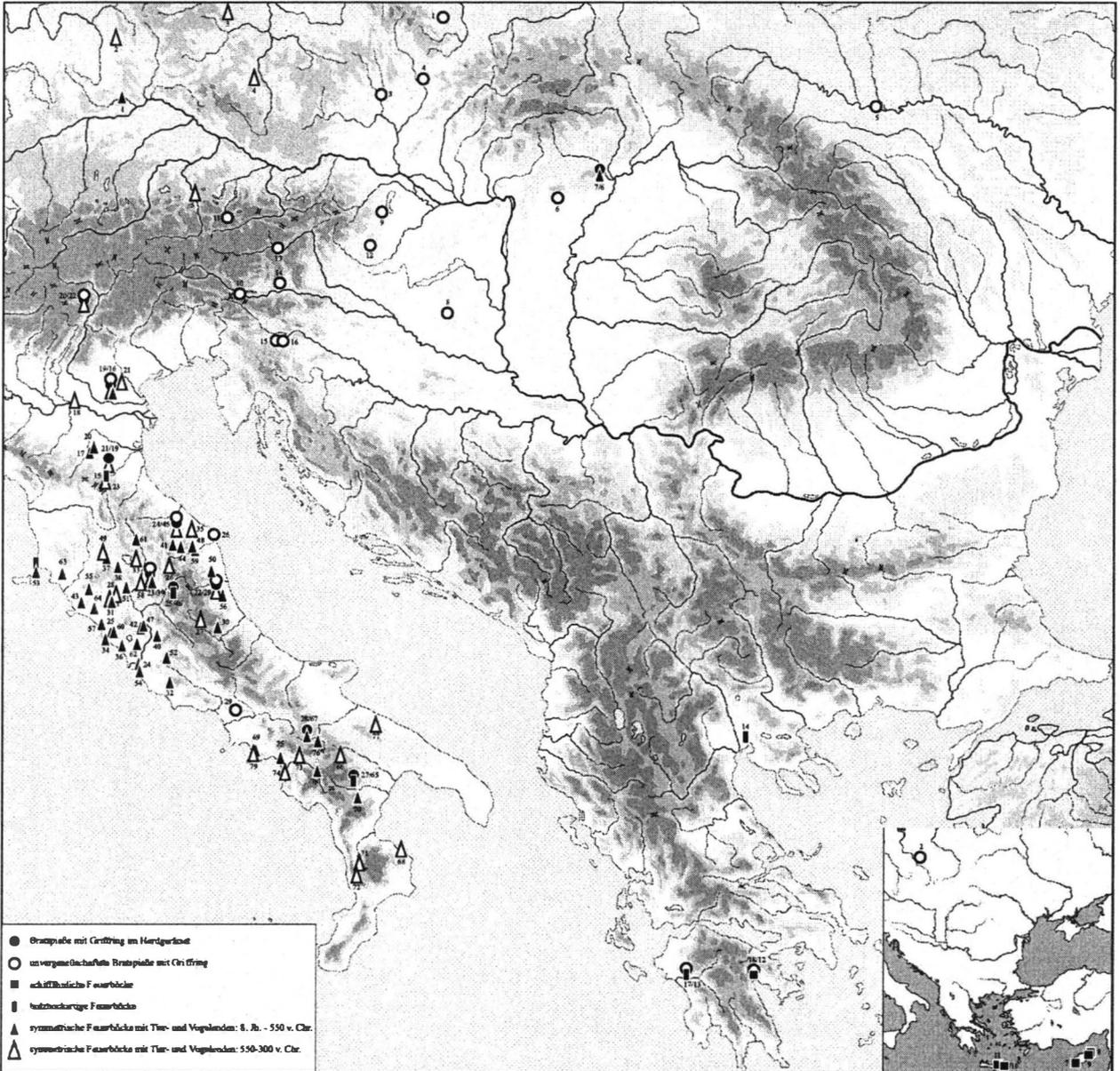


Abb. 2: Verbreitung der Bratspieße mit Griffing und der Feuerböcke.

Der Feuerbock **Kat. 7** besteht aus einer jochförmigen Stange, auf deren Enden vertikale Stangen aufgesetzt waren, und aus U-förmigen Bandfüßen (Abb. 3). Der formmäßig ähnlichste Feuerbock mit jochförmigen Enden stammt aus Sanzeno, wo er in einer ähnlichen Ausstattung (zusammen mit Schürhaken und Bratspießen) des 4. Jhs. v. Chr. vorkommt (Nothdurfter 1979, Kat. 622, Taf. 44).

⁹ Jacobi 1974, 103-105, Nr. 551-556, Taf. 31.

Bei den hallstattzeitlichen Feuerböcke können drei Grundformen unterschieden werden: 1. Die frühesten aus dem östlichen Mittelmeer sind schiffähnlich (Liste 5, Nr. 7-12). 2. Später werden die Feuerböcke Griechenlands symmetrisch und holzbockartig gestaltet, wie die Miniaturfeuerböcke bzw. die Feuerbockfragmente der 2. Hälfte des 6. – Anfang des 5. Jhs. v. Chr. aus Sindos bzw. aus Olympia belegen (Liste 5, Nr. 13-14; Baitinger / Völling 2007, 88-89). Holzbockartige Feuerböcke sind ebenfalls für Mittel- und Süditalien belegt (Liste 5, Nr. 15, 46, 53 und 65). 3. Der Feuerbock aus Miskolc-Diósgyőr, alle Feuerböcke Mitteleuropas und die meisten aus Italien sind symmetrisch aufgebaut, ihre Enden sind häufig tier- oder vogelkopfförmig gestaltet. Sie stammen aus einer breiten Zeitspanne (8.-5. Jh. v. Chr.). Die späten Feuerböcke Italiens, ebenfalls symmetrisch aufgebaut, sind bandförmig, aus Bronze oder Blei hergestellt, häufig miniaturisiert worden und waren Totenbeigaben.

Die Ableitung der mitteleuropäischen Feuerböcke, einschließlich des aus Miskolc-Diósgyőr, aus den mittelitalischen und nicht aus den griechischen ist, sowohl bezüglich des Typs als auch aufgrund ihrer Verbreitung nachvollziehbar¹⁰.

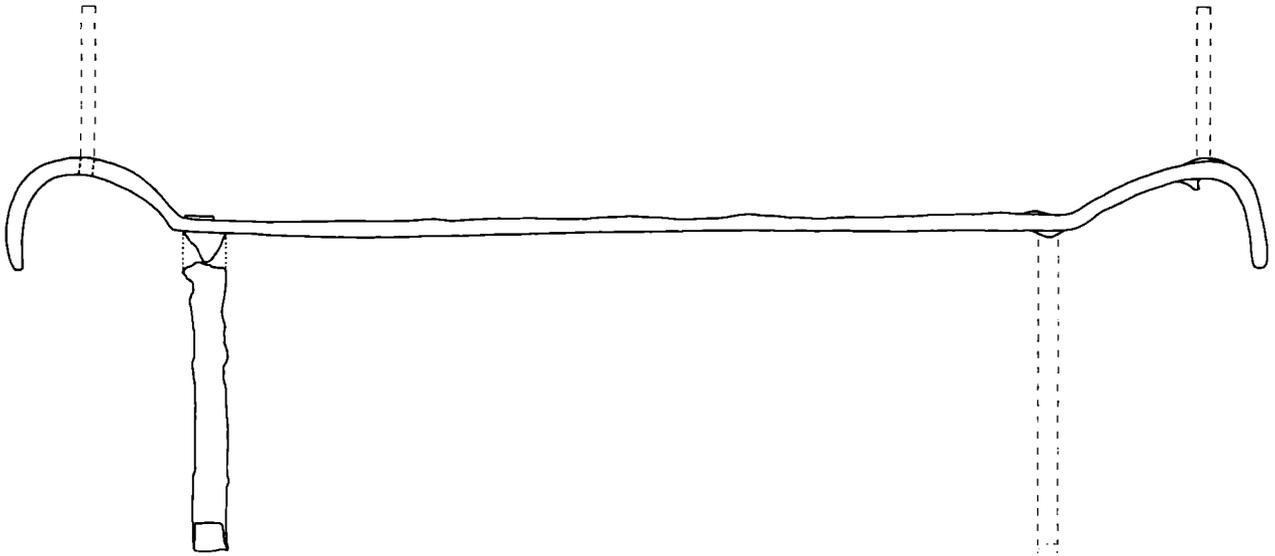


Abb. 3: Zeichnerische Rekonstruktion des Miskolcer Feuerbockes, M.: 1:4.

Als Einzelgegenstände betrachtet, gehören die in Miskolc-Diósgyőr entdeckten Bratspieße und der Feuerbock den in Mittel- und Norditalien beheimateten Typen, erstere auch im „Osthallstattbereich“ verbreitet, an. Nun stellt sich die Frage nach ihrer Bedeutung im Miskolcer Grab¹¹.

Die Bratspieße, einschließlich der des Typs mit Ringgriff, sind in früheisenzeitlichen Gräbern Mittelitaliens entweder separat oder als Teil eines Herdgerätssets beigegeben worden. Derartige Herd- bzw. Küchengerätssets, bestehend aus Feuerböcken und Bratspießen, manchmal mit Herdschaufel, Schürhaken, Grill, Feuerzange oder Fleischgabel in verschiedenen Kombinationen vergesellschaftet, kommen im italischen früheisenzeitlichen Bestattungsritual vor: Derartige Sets wurden bei der Fleischzubereitung für ein Mahl benutzt. Sie sind in der Siedlung Sanzeno bzw. in dem nördlich der Alpen existierenden Grabfund aus Beilngries und dem Hortfund aus Egloffstein (Heidelberg) gefunden worden. In einigen Gräbern Mittelitaliens (z.B. Campovalano und Montefortino) wurden mehrere

¹⁰ Die Ableitung der früheisenzeitlichen italienischen Feuerböcke aus den griechischen ist umstritten (pro: Baitinger / Völling 2007, 89; kontra: Kohler / Naso 1991, 45).

¹¹ Die Bratspieße – Obeloi – sind in griechischen Heiligtümern als Opferinstrumente und auch als prämonetäre Geldweihungen zu interpretieren (Strøm 1992, 41-51). Der letzte Versuch die hallstattzeitlichen Bratspieße nicht nur als Bankettbesteck, sondern auch als Hinterlassenschaft zweier Währungssysteme, dem hexalen griechischen und dem dezimalen etruskischen Vorbild, zu interpretieren, besteht bei Teržan 2004, 161-202. Die beiden Systeme können in demselben Grabfund koexistieren; alle Zahlen sind damit interpretierbar. Leider ist die statistische Relevanz der angewandten Zahlen nie untersucht worden.

Bratspieße gebündelt (Liste 4, Nr. 8, 20, 22; Liste 5, Nr. 1-2; Abb. 2). Ein derartiges Bündel, das eine Speisegemeinschaft unterstreicht, ist im 4. Jh. v. Chr. in der Tomba dei Rilievi in Cerveteri dargestellt worden (Viterbo 1987, 114-117).

Das späthallstattzeitliche Grab aus Miskolc-Diósgyőr ist bis jetzt das früheste mit einem Herdgerätsset (bestehend aus Feuerbock **Kat. 7** und aus den Bratspießen **Kat. 9-10**) des Karpatenbeckens¹². Teile derartiger Herd- und Küchengerätssets und nicht vollständige Ensembles sind sonst im Bereich der „Osthallstattkultur“ und in dem ganzen Karpatenbecken zumeist in Hort- und Gewässerfunden der Spät-La-Tène-Zeit zu finden (Kurz 1995, 28-34, Listen 6-7, Abb. 5).

Alle Bratspießfunde aus dem sogenannten Osthallstattkulturkreis kommen unvergesellschaftet in Hallstatt C-D- und La-Tène A-Gräbern, nie als Herdgerätssets, vor (Liste 4, Nr. 1-4, 6-13; Abb. 2). Da Tonfeuerböcke, *Eschara* oder Kohlebecken, die zum Halten der Bratspieße dienten, in diesen Gräbern nicht vorkommen, wäre eine andere Fleischvorbereitung vorstellbar: wahrscheinlich dienten die Bratspieße zum Halten des aufgespießten Fleisches über dem offenen Feuer, wie es in Opferdarstellungen des 5. Jhs. v. Chr. aus Griechenland zu sehen ist (Rizza 1960, 321-345). Diese Verwendungsart ist auf einer Situla aus Certosa (Grab 68, Anfang des 5. Jhs. v. Chr.) dargestellt worden¹³.

In der Nekropole von Novilara sind die meisten Bratspieße (ein- bis dreifaches Vorkommen im Grab) mit einer Fleischgabel vergesellschaftet. Diese Vergesellschaftung weist auf eine andere Art der Fleischzubereitung während des Totenmahls, als im restlichen Italien, in Griechenland und Zypern, hin. Dort wurden sie zum Tragen des rohen Fleisches, nicht, wie im La-Tène-Milieu, zum Herausnehmen des gekochten Fleisches aus dem Kessel, verwendet¹⁴.

In den Gräbern des sogenannten Osthallstattkulturkreises sind die Fleischgabeln einzeln beigegeben worden¹⁵. Die in Novilara nachgewiesene Fleischgabel-Bratspieß-Vergesellschaftung sowie weitere Kombinationen der Küchengerätssets fehlen.

Strukturalistisch betrachtet, könnten die späthallstattzeitlichen Einzelstücke des Herd- und Küchengerätssets in Befunden des „Osthallstattkulturkreises“ eine andere Bedeutung oder Funktion als in den gleichzeitigen italischen Grabfunden besessen haben. Umso bedeutender ist das Miskolc-Set, das zeigt, dass die Bratspieße und der Feuerbock nur in einem Kontext mit Fleischzubereitung beigegeben werden konnte.

Die Anwesenheit des in direkter Verbindung mit den italischen Beigabensitten stehenden späthallstattzeitlichen Fleischzubereitungssets aus Miskolc wirft erneut die Frage nach Mittelmeereinflüssen im nördlichen Karpatenbecken auf. Dafür sind die Folgenden erwähnenswert:

1. Schon in dem junghallstattzeitlichen Tumulus 1 aus Somlóvásárhely (Hallstatt C₁) wurde eine Kremphenhalera beigegeben. Sie gehört zu einem griechischen Typ, der im „Osthallstattkreis“ nachgeahmt worden ist und auch später in dieser Region vorkommt – möglicherweise in dem Hügelgrab in Ártánd (Egg 1996 b, 327-345, Abb. 3/13, 6-12).

2. Abgesehen von den etruskischen Gegenständen unsicherer oder vaager Herkunft („Ungarn“ oder „Karpatenbecken“) sind späthallstattzeitliche griechische Importe für das Karpatenbecken bekannt,

¹² Aus der Hügelnekropole von Legen (Hallstatt B₃-C₁), im Bereich „Windischgratz“, wurden vier Stangen mit Stierkopffenden und zwei weitere Stangen mit rechteckigen Querschnitt entdeckt (Strmčnik-Gulič 1979, 115-116, Taf. 16). Obwohl aus dem dortigen Bereich keine La-Tène-Materialien bekannt sind, stammen diese Stangen wahrscheinlich aus Spät-La-Tène-zeitlichen Feuerböcken (Jacobi 1974, 106-110, Nr. 593-594, Abb. 26, Taf. 34).

¹³ Der letzte Mann in der Prozessionszene trägt zwei Bratspieße mit Ringgriff auf der linken Schulter und ein Beil an der rechten Hüfte; das Opfertier folgt ihm; Feuerböcke sind nicht dargestellt (Stary 1979, 50-51, Abb. 4/c).

¹⁴ Die mit einer Fleischgabel vergesellschafteten Bratspieße (Typ mit Tüllengriff und Typ mit eingerolltem Ringgriffende) sind zumeist in Männergräbern (nur ein Frauengrab ist bekannt) der Phase III c (Ende des 7. Jhs. v. Chr.) belegt. Sie waren kein Zeichen einer privilegierten Schicht (Beinhauer 1985, 67-68, 478-480, 528-535, Typentaf. C 74).

¹⁵ Eine ringförmige Siedefleischgabel italischer Herkunft stammt aus dem Waffengrab mit Kesselwagen aus Radkersburg, Hallstatt C (Egg 1986, 212-214, Abb. 11-12), eine dreizackige Fleischgabel aus Tumulus 1 in Vaskeresztes (Hallstatt C₂) (Fekete 1985, 74, Abb. 13/29). Als ein weiterer möglicher Import stammt aus dem letzten Tumulus auch ein Helm mit zusammengesetzter Kalotte (Szilágyi 1992, 229, Anm. 53).

jedoch bisher nur als Einzelgegenstände aus Siedlungs-, Grab- oder Zufallsfunden, nie aber zu einem Set gehörend: Der früheste Import, eine Bronzehydria, stammt aus dem Kriegergrab des Anfangs des 6. Jhs. v. Chr. in Ártánd. Aus derselben Zeit ist auch der zufällig entdeckte Bronzehelm aus Găvojdia (Kreis Timiș, Rumänien) bekannt. Die illyrischen Helme aus Berzovia und Ocna Mureș bzw. die Bronzeinochoe aus Szombathely stammen wahrscheinlich aus Grabfunden der 2. Hälfte des 5. Jhs. v. Chr. (Teleaga 2008, 7-8, 39, 48, 232, 260, Anm. 45, Fundkat. 11, 22, 142, 185).

3. Außer den oben erwähnten griechischen Importen existieren im Karpatenbecken weitere späthallstattzeitliche Gegenstände aus dem Mittelmeerraum. Zwei Kleinstatuetten aus Keszthely (Dobogó-Hügel) bzw. aus Somlóhegy, nordwestlich des Balaton', wurden aufgrund ihren Stil der umbrischen Kleinkunst zugeschrieben. Die Authentizität der Fundorte der votiven Menschenstatuetten des 5. Jhs. v. Chr. außerhalb Italiens ist jedoch unsicher (Szilágyi 1992, 223-224, Abb. 1-4). Trotzdem fügen sich diese Statuetten in die jung- und späthallstattzeitlichen Miniaturmenschendarstellungen Pannoniens, die in Verbindung mit denen aus Italien gebracht worden sind, ein (Schätze Ungarn 1998, 46-49, Abb. 44-46, Kat. 104-109).

4. Die aus Italien importierten oder nachgeahmten (möglicherweise auch im Karpatenbecken) Rippenzisten bilden ein Bronzegefäßset, das die reich ausgestatteten jung- und späthallstattzeitlichen Tumuli des „Osthallstattkreises“ kennzeichnet (Szilágyi 1992, 225-230, Abb. 5-7; Egg 1996 b, 75-77, Abb. 13-14).

5. Die Steinkammern unter den Tumuli Transdanubiens und Sloweniens sind eine charakteristische Grabkonstruktion des sogenannten Osthallstattkulturkreises. Sie stehen möglicherweise mit der etruskischen Grabarchitektur in Verbindung (Egg 1996 c, 65, Ab. 6-7). In den ukrainischen Hügelgräbern wurden hingegen Holzkammern mit Dromos errichtet. Derartige westpodolische Hügelgräber, wie Tumulus 2 in Perebykovi (Liste 4, Nr. 5), sind von der Mittelmeerregion ausgehend, über den sogenannten Osthallstattkreis, beeinflusst worden.

Späthallstattzeitliche Mittelmeerimporte und -einflüsse sind somit in dem Grabwesen des Karpatenbeckens vorhanden, wobei zwischen den Einzelimporten und denen, die einen engen kulturellen Kontakt voraussetzen (z.B. Gefäßsets), unterschieden werden muß.

4. Gefäß

Der kegelstumpfförmige Eiseneimer **Kat. 14** aus Miskolc-Diósgyőr besteht aus vertikalen, genieteten Streifen und aus einem Mündungsband. Formmäßig ähnelt er einigen Bronzeeimern des sogenannten Osthallstattkreises, die von Hallstatt C₁ bis in die Spät-La-Tène-Zeit belegt sind¹⁶; letztere sind jedoch nur aus zwei Bronzeteilen und nicht aus vertikalen Eisenbändern hergestellt worden. Wahrscheinlich diente dieser zusammengenietete Eiseneimer nur als Beschlag eines zerfallenen Holzheimers.

Der Eiseneimer aus Miskolc-Diósgyőr könnte der Rest eines Gefäßsets sein, wie es in anderen, reich ausgestatteten jung- und späthallstattzeitlichen Tumuli des „Osthallstattkreises“ vorkommt. Aufgrund der Dokumentationslage fehlen jedoch sichere Hinweise dafür.

Das Miskolcer Wagengrab ist durch seine regionalspezifische Pferdegeschirrausstattung und durch seine überregionale Bewaffnung, die für hochrangige Krieger spezifisch ist, gekennzeichnet.

Das Herdgerät- und das Metallgefäßset aus dem Miskolcer Grab weisen auf ein Totenmahl mit Fleischzubereitung und Getränken für die teilnehmende Gemeinschaft im Vekerzuger Kulturbereich hin. Dieses späthallstattzeitliche Set einerseits und die importierten Bronzegefäßsets aus den Tumuli der sogenannten Osthallstattkultur andererseits stellen eine Besonderheit dar. Mehr als die Einzelimportstücke,

¹⁶ 1. Hallstatt, Grab 600, Hallstatt C₁ (Kromer 1959, 132, Taf. 113/4); 2. Vače, Grabfund (Starè 1955, 98, Nr. 435-437, Taf. 56/2, 57/1.4); 3. Novo Mesto, Kapiteljska njiva, Tumulus 7 Grab 19, 2. Hälfte des 5. Jhs. – Anfang des 4. Jhs. v. Chr. (Egg 2003, 341-342, Abb. 16/2, Taf. 19/3); 4. Idria, Gräber 5 und 9, Mittel- und Spät-La-Tène-Zeit (Szombathely 1903, 318, 327, Abb. 97, 133).

die höchstens in direkten Beziehungen mit dem adriatischen Raum standen, belegen diese Sets eine gewisse Akkulturation bei der Bestattungszeremonie der späthallstattzeitlichen Eliten des Karpatenbeckens. Da die meisten Gräber der Osthallstattkultur mit Herdgerätteilen Waffenbestattungen gewesen sind, unterstreichen die Symposionsgerätschaften den Kriegerstatus der Bestatteten.

Die Beigabe dieser Sets in den Gräbern ist nur für eine elitäre Bankettgemeinschaft mit kultischem und politischem Bezug sinnvoll. Die Festveranstaltungen hatten wahrscheinlich in den beiden kulturellen Regionen (Italien und Karpatenbecken) unterschiedliche Bedeutungen, wurden jedoch durch dieselben formellen Sets offenbart, die ohne eine kulturelle Nähe der beiden Gebiete unvorstellbar wäre. Das wird durch die Bilderwelt der sogenannten Osthallstattkultur, die stets in Verbindung mit dem italischen Lebensstil gebracht wurde, vermittelt (Nebelsick 1992, 420-421). Erst das Herdgerätset aus Miskolc erbringt dafür einen deutlichen Beweis.

Katalog

1. Miskolc-Diósgyőr, Inv. 83.819.4. Eisentrense, eine äußere Mundstücköse fehlt. Dim.: L.: noch 15,5 cm, H. Knebel: 14,9 cm. Taf. 1/1.
2. Miskolc-Diósgyőr, Inv. 53.819.3. Eisentrense, ein Knebelende fehlt. Dim.: L. Mundstück: 16,3 cm, H. Knebel: 12,3 cm. Taf. 1/3. (nach Werner 1988, Nr. 16)
3. Miskolc-Diósgyőr, Inv. 53.819.2. Eisentrense, ein Knebelfragment ist abgebrochen. Dim.: L. Mundstück: 17,5 cm, H. Knebel: 14,6 cm. Taf. 1/2.
4. Miskolc-Diósgyőr. Speerspitze, verlorengegangen.
5. Miskolc-Diósgyőr, Inv. 53.805.2. Speerspitze. Dim.: L.: 29,5 cm, Br. Blatt: 4,3 cm. Taf. 2/1.
6. Miskolc-Diósgyőr, Inv. 53.805.3. Ärmchenbeil. Dim.: L.: 18,1 cm, Br. Blatt: 4,8 cm, Br. Ärmchen: noch 4,8 cm. Taf. 2/2.
7. Miskolc-Diósgyőr, Inv. 53.805.1.3 und 53.805.1.7. Eisenfeuerbock. In der Mitte nachträglich gebogener Stab, die vertikalen Stangen und zwei Beine fehlen, die beiden anderen Beine sind abgebrochen. Der Feuerbock besteht aus einer im Querschnitt rechteckigen Stange, deren Enden halbkreisförmig nach oben gebogen sind. Diese Enden sind oben breit und verjüngen sich beidseits; auf ihren Mitten befand sich jeweils eine vertikale Stange. Der Feuerbock steht auf zwei Füßen. Letztere werden aus U-förmigen Bändern mit nach oben gebogenen Enden gebildet und wurden mittels je eines massiven Niets mit rechteckigem Kopf an der Stange befestigt. Dim.: H.: 16,5 cm, L.: 53,2 cm; Beine: H.: 12,2 cm und noch 8,9 cm. Abb. 3, Taf. 2/3-5.
8. Miskolc-Diósgyőr, Inv. 53.805.1.1. Gebogenes Eisenband mit leicht konkavem Querschnitt, zweifach gelocht, die Enden fehlen (eins von ihnen fehlt ab dem Loch, das andere ist ca. 3 cm länger). Dim.: L.: noch 64,7 cm, Br.: 1,95 cm. Taf. 1/5.
9. Miskolc-Diósgyőr, Inv. 53.805.6.2. Halbkreisförmig gebogener Bratspieß, die Spitze fehlt; vierkantiger Stab, das im Querschnitt runde Griffteil endet in einer abgeplatteten Öse. Dim.: L.: noch 45,5 cm. Taf. 3/5.
10. Miskolc-Diósgyőr, Inv. 53.805.1.2. U-förmig gebogener Bratspieß; der vierkantige Stab ist an zwei Stellen tordiert und endet in einer abgeplatteten Öse bzw. in einer nach vorne angewinkelten Spitze. Dim.: L.: 94 cm. Taf. 3/1.
11. Miskolc-Diósgyőr. Bronzephalaria, verlorengegangen. Scheibenförmig, leicht gewölbt, mit zwei Ösen auf der Rückseite. Dim.: d.: 4,5 cm. Taf. 1/4.
12. Miskolc-Diósgyőr, Inv. 53.805.14. Haken (?). Die Stange ist leicht gebogen, der Querschnitt bandförmig mit winklig verstärkter Rückseite und in einem Viertel rund, die beiden Enden sind bandförmig, nach innen gebogen und flacher werdend. Dim.: L.: 38,3 cm. Taf. 3/4.
13. Miskolc-Diósgyőr, Inv. 53.805.1.5. Stange mit bandförmigem Querschnitt, die beiden Enden sind nach innen gebogen und flacher werdend, eines schräg, das andere gerade gestaltet. Dim.: L.: 21,6 cm. Taf. 3/3.
14. Miskolc-Diósgyőr, Inv. 53.805.6.1 und 53.805.1.6. Eiseneimer. Die Henkelenden, die Ataschen (außer einem Unterteil), der Unterkörper und der Boden fehlen. Der kegelstumpfförmige Körper besteht aus neun vertikalen, sich überlappenden, genieteten Bändern und aus einem horizontalen Mündungsstreifen. Bogenartige Bandtasche. Halbkreisförmig gebogener, im Querschnitt rechteckiger Henkel. Dim.: H.: noch 25,8 cm, max. d.: 35,2×28,0 cm; Henkel: H.: 15,2 cm, Br.: 25,4 cm. Taf. 3/2.

Liste 1: Verbreitungsliste der Trensen Typ Szentes-Vekerzug (nach Werner 1988, Nr. 7-14, 17-28, 30-83, Taf. 1-14, 73-74 und Kemenczei 2009, 181, ergänzt) (s. Abb. 1):

Slowakei:

1. Dolné Krškany, Grab;
2. Chotín, Gräber 22, 40, 119-120, 220;
3. Košice, Zufallsfund;
4. Presel'any nad Iplom, Grabfund;

Ukraine:

5. Nevic'ke, Reg. Zakarpaska, Tumulus;
 6. Perebykovič, Reg. Černovitsk, Tumulus 2: das aus Balken errichtete Kammergrab kann anhand der Pfeilspitzen auf die 2. Hälfte des 7. Jhs. v. Chr., spätestens um 600 v. Chr., datiert werden (Smirnova 1998, 455, Abb. 11/4.9);
- Russland:
7. Kelermes, Kr. Šovgenovsk, Rep. Adygea, Tumulus 24 Pferdebestattung 6, erste Hälfte des 7. Jhs. v. Chr. (Kossack 1987, 71) oder seine zweite Hälfte (Galanina 1997, 45, Kat. 346, Taf. 25);

Österreich:

8. Landskron, Kärnten, Zufallsfund (Gleirscher 2003, 25-37);
9. Oberpullendorf, Burgenland, Brandgrab;
10. Schandorf, Burgenland, Einzelfund;

Ungarn:

11. Algyő, Komitat Csongrád, Grab 59 (Frauenbestattung);
12. Ártánd, Komitat Hajdú-Bihar, Grabfund;
13. Cegléd, Komitat Pest, Einzelfund;
14. Csanytelek, Komitat Csongrád, Grab 89;
15. Cserhátszentiván, Komitat Nógrád, Einzelfunde;
16. Cserszegtomaj, Komitat Zala, Zufallsfund;
17. Füzesgyarmat, Komitat Békés, Fundort 23;
18. Gyöngyös, Komitat Heves, Grabfunde;
19. Miskolc-Diósgyőr, Komitat Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, Grabfunde (Kat. 1-3);
20. Nagy Eged, bei Eger, Komitat Heves, Grab 19;
21. Nagytarcsa, Komitat Pest, Depotfund, *Typ B*;
22. Nyékládháza, Komitat Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, Grabfunde;
23. Nyíregyháza, Komitat Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg, Zufallsfund, *Typ B*;
24. Nyírmártonfalva, Komitat Hajdú-Bihar, Zufallsfund;
25. Szentés-Vekerzug, Komitat Csongrád, Gräber 6, 11-13, 16, 18, 22, 36, 139, 142, 146 und 151;
26. Szentlőrinc, Baranya, Gräber 52, 58, 60 und 61);
27. Tiszavasvári, Komitat Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg, Gräber 32, 38, 49 und 57;

Rumänien:

28. Curtea de Argeș, Kreis Argeș, Tumulus 5 Grab 6 (oder Tumulus 14 Grab 21) und Tumulus 18 Grab 26;
29. Ferigile, Kreis Vâlcea, Tumulus 44 Grab 1 und Tumuli 134-135;
30. Ieșelnița, Kreis Dolj, Tumulus 1;
31. Tigveni, Kreis Argeș, Tumulus 1 Grab 2 und Tumulus 9 Grab 5;

Serbien: 32. Atenica (Čačak), Tumuli 1 und 2; 33. Badovinci, Tumulus; 34. Ponor on Miroč, Konstruktion 9 (Jevtić / Peković, 2007, 196, Abb. 7);

Bosnien-Herzegowina:

35. Donja Dolina, Serbische Republik, Einzelfund;

Slowenien:

36. Brezje, Tumulus 6 Grab 1;
37. Libna, Grab 1;
38. Magdalenska Gora, Ljubljana, Tumulus 2 Grab 13, Tumulus 2 Grab 19 und Tumulus 4 Grab 30;
39. Novo Mesto. a. Malenškova gomila Grab 3 und Tumulus 4 Grab 3; hinzu Tumulus 3 Grab 12 (Križ 1997, 60, Taf. 37/2); b. Kapiteljska njiva, Tumulus 7 Grab 19, *Typ A* (Egg 2003, 334-335, Abb. 10/1, Taf. 17/1);
40. Šmarjeta, Zufallsfund;
41. Stična, Tumulus 48 Grab 99;
42. Vače, Grabfund;
43. Zagorje ob Savi, zufällig entdecktes Grab;

Polen:

44. Wymysłowo, Poznań.

Liste 2: Verbreitung der hallstattzeitlichen Gräber mit Zaumzeug und Trensen für drei Pferde nach Pare 1992, 350-355, ergänzt: 350-352 (Nr. 4-5, 26-27, 29, 51, 67, 69, 73 - Tschechien), 354 (Nr. 32 - Österreich), 354-355 (Nr. 3, 7-9, 22, 31-32 - Ungarn), (s. Abb. 1):

1. Brno-Holásky, Tumulus 1 und 2;
2. Hradenín, Kolín, Gräber 12, 14 und 20;
3. Plaňany, Kolín, Grab 5;
4. Seloutky, Prostějov, Grab 2;
5. Skršín, Most;
6. Střelské Hošice, Horažďovice;

7. Gilgenberg am Weilhart, Oberösterreich, Gansfuss, Tumulus 6, Hallstatt D₁ (Stöllner 1996, 27, Taf. 11; Stöllner 2002, 119, Abb. 45-46);
8. Stillfried, Niederösterreich, Grab 1895;
9. Csöngye, Komitat Vas, Tumulus 1;
10. Miskolc-Diósgyőr, Komitat Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén (Kat. 1-3);
11. Győrújbarát (ehem. Nagybaráti), Komitat Győr-Mosor-Sopron, Tumuli 1 und 2 und Tumulus westlich von Tumulus 1;
12. Süttő, Komitat Komárom-Esztergom;
13. Vaszar, Komitat Veszprém, Tumulus 5/1932 und Tumulus 5/1968-1969;
14. Zagorje ob Savi, Slowenien, zufällig entdecktes Grab, Hallstatt D₂ (Werner 1988, 27, Nr. 23, 384-385, Taf. 4, 63).

Liste 3: Verbreitung der Eisenärmchenbeil-Lanzenspitzen-Pferdetrensen-Kombination (nach Wesse 1990, Kat. 1-6, 15, 37, 49, 116-118, 124, 126, 134, 156, 161-162, 167-173, 186, 190, 195-196, 199, 208, ergänzt) (s. Abb. 1):

Tschechien:

1. Biskupství, Brandgrab, Hallstatt C;
Slowakei:
2. Smolenice, Hortfund aus Haus 2, Übergang Hallstatt C₂-D₁, Werkzeug;
Ukraine:
3. Kvitki, Reg. Čerkassk, Tumulus, 1. Hälfte des 8. Jhs. v. Chr. (Kovpanenko / Gupalo, 1984, 39-58);
4. Malaja Ofirna, bei Fastorv, Reg. Kiew, Tumulus 1964, Körpergrab mit Menschenopfern in Holzkammer, Werkzeug (Petrovs'ka, 1968, 164-174). Datierung: 7. Jh. v. Chr.¹⁷;
5. Perebykocvi, Reg. Černovitsk, Tumulus 2 mit Holzkammer, 2. Hälfte des 7. Jhs. v. Chr., spätestens um 600 v. Chr.;
6. Popovka, R. Romny, Tumulus 8, 1. Hälfte 7. Jhs. v. Chr., Grabgrube, mit Balken bedeckt;
7. Stajkin Verch, bei Aksjutincy, R. Romny, Staršaja Mogila, Tumulus 1, 1. Hälfte des 7. Jhs. v. Chr., Körpergrab in Holzkammer¹⁸;
8. Voronež, "Častye Kurgan", Tumulus 7, 6. Jh. v. Chr. (?), Körperbestattung in Grabkammer, Werkzeug;
Österreich:
9. Kleinklein, Pommellkogel, Hallstatt C₂ (freundl. Mitt. M. Egg);
Ungarn:
10. Doba, Komitat Veszprém, Tumulus, Grab 2, Hallstatt C₂, Brandbestattung in Grabkammer;
11. Gyöngyös, Komitat Heves, ein oder mehrere Brandgrab/-gräber, Trensen *Typ Szentes-Vekerzug*, Phalera mit zwei Ösen auf der Rückseite, Werkzeug;
12. Kismező, Komitat Vas, Urnengrab in Grabkammer, unter Tumulus, Hallstatt C₂;
13. Miskolc-Diósgyőr, Komitat Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, Trensen *Typ Szentes-Vekerzug*, Werkzeug (Kat. 1-6, 13);
14. Somlóvásárhely, Komitat Veszprém, Tumulus 1, Brandbestattung in Grabkammer, unter Tumulus, Werkzeug, Hallstatt C₁;
15. Vaszar, Komitat Veszprém, Tumulus 5 Grab 2, Brandbestattung, Hallstatt C₂;

Serbien:

16. Zlot Höhle, Hortfund, Hallstatt C;

Bulgarien:

17. Krivodol, R. Vraca, Hortfund, Ende Hallstatt B, Werkzeug;

Slowenien:

18. Magdalenska Gora, Tumulus 4 Grab 43, Hallstatt C₂, jedoch unsicherer Grabzusammenhang;
19. Novo Mesto, Kapiteljska njiva. a. Tumulus 1 Grab 16 (männlich), Hallstatt C (Knez 1993, 42-43, Taf. 16-19, 44-47); b. Tumulus 7 Grab 19, Doppelbestattung, Trense *Typ Szentes-Vekerzug* und Phalera bzw. Riemenbesatzstücke mit zwei Ösen auf der Rückseite, 2. Hälfte des 5. Jhs. – Anfang des 4. Jhs. v. Chr. (Egg 2003, 329, 334-338, Abb. 8/1-3.12, 9/1-4, 10/1-11.14, Taf. 14/1-3, 15/9, 16/1-4.9, 17/1-11);
20. Stična, beide Tumuli ca. 650-580 v. Chr. a. Tumulus 48 Grab 72, Körpergrab, Werkzeug; b. Tumulus 125 Grab 22 (Stična II/1, 247-256, Abb. 59-69, Taf. 200-201);

Griechenland:

21. Athen, Agora, Brandgrab 27 in Amphora (Mann, ca. 34 Jahre), Anfang des 9. Jhs. v. Chr., Werkzeug.

¹⁷ Die Pfeilspitzen sind frühe Typen (Petrovs'ka 1968, 173), die Trense ähnelt denen aus Kelermes, Tumulus 2 Veselovskij (Kossack 1987, 50, 60, Abb. 21/1-3.6-8.15-17).

¹⁸ Für die revidierte Chronologie der Grabfunde aus Popovka (Tumulus 8) und Stajkin Verch (Staršaja Mogila) s. Kossack 1987, 39, 67, 84, Abb. 6/1-2, 27.

Liste 4: Verbreitungsliste der Bratspieße mit Ringgriff (s. Abb. 2):

Polen:

1. Kietrz, Gräber 20 und 92, Hallstatt C, beide mit Keramikgefäßen, im ersten Grab auch mit einem Tonfeuerbock (Derrix 2001, 140, Kat. 184, Abb. 79-80);
2. Trzebule, Grab 49, Hallstatt C, mit Keramikgefäße (Derrix 2001, 141, Kat. 279, Abb. 83);

Tschechien:

3. Brno-Holásky, Tumulus 2, Waffengrab, Hallstatt C₁ (Stegmann-Rajtár 1992, 10, Taf. 4/1-2);
4. Želkovice, Wagengrab, Früh-La-Tène A (Soudská 1976, 641, Abb. 14/20);

Ukraine:

5. Perebykocví, Reg. Černovitsk, Tumulus 2, Waffengrab, 2. Hälfte des 7. Jhs. v. Chr., spätestens um 600 v. Chr., Bratspieß (Smirnova 1998, 455, Abb. 11/11);

Ungarn:

6. Gyöngyös, Komitat Heves, Grabfunde, drei Bratspieße und zwei Siebe (Márton 1908, 50, Taf. 3/14-17);
7. Miskolc-Diósgyőr, Komitat Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, zwei Bratspieße (Kat. 9-10);
8. Nagyberki-Szalacska, Komitat Somogy, Tumulus 1, Hallstatt C₂, Keramikgefäße, 650-600 v. Chr. (Kemenczei 1974, 13, Abb. 7/1.4-5);
9. Sopron, Komitat Győr-Moson-Sopron, Siedlungsfund, Späthallstattzeit (Museum Sopron, Inv.-Nr. 93.3.352.170; freundl. Mitt. M. Zeiler, Marburg);

Österreich:

10. Frög, Kärnten, Tumulus 82 Grab 1, drei fragmentarische Bratspieße sowie fünf Schaftfragmente, Gefäßset, Hallstatt C (Tomedi 2002, 133-137, 487-488, Taf. 59/2-4);
11. Hallstatt, Oberösterreich, Gräber 573, 600 und 12/1889, Waffengräber, mit je einem Metallgefäßset und Bratspießen *Typ 29110*, Hallstatt C₁ (Kromer 1959, 128, 132, 193, Taf. 109/1, 113/5, 206/2; Hodson 1990, 119, Abb. 3, 15/a, 17, Taf. 43/7, 45/6);
12. Schandorf, Burgenland, Hügel 41, Gefäßset, Hallstatt C (Barb 1937, 93, Abb. 7/1-3);
13. Strettweg, Steiermark, „Fürstengrab“, Bratspieß (insgesamt mindestens acht), Bronzegefäßset, Übergang Hallstatt C-D, ca. 600 v. Chr. (Egg 1996 a, 139, Abb. 81/1, Taf. 37/1);
14. Waisenberg, Tumulus 2, zwei Bratspieße (insgesamt drei), Bronzesieb und -kelle, 5. Jh. v. Chr. (Gleirscher 2008, 37, Abb. 3/1-2, 4/1, 5).

Slowenien:

15. Magdalenska Gora, Tumulus 2 Grab 2/b, Tumulus 2 Grab 38 und Tumulus 5 Grab 6-7-7a, alles Waffengräber mit je einem Bronzegefäßset; Negauer Horizont (Hencken 1978, 30, Abb. 110/b; Tecco Hvala u.a. 2004, 125, 132, Taf. 9/4, 35/16);
16. Stična, Tumulus 6 Grab 18, ca. 650-580 v. Chr. (Wells 1981, 77, Abb. 149/a-b);

Griechenland:

17. Olympia, Iliia, Heiligtumsfund, ca. 500-475 v. Chr. (Baitinger / Völling 2007, 72, Kat. 310, Taf. 26);
18. Argos, Argolis, Heraion (Caskey / Amandry 1952, 183, Taf. 47/C);

Norditalien:

19. Este, Prov. Padova, Grab Capodaglio 31 (Fogolari / Frey 1965, 288, Abb. 17/1-2);
20. Sanzeno, Prov. Trento, Siedlungsfunde, einige von ihnen zu einem Herdgerätsset aus Raum H gehörend (Nothdurfter 1979, 59-60, Nr. 581-594, 596-606, Taf. 41-42);
21. Imola, Prov. Bologna, Grab 60, Waffengrab (Romagna 1982, 115, Taf. 60);

Mittelitalien:

22. Campovalano, Prov. Teramo, Gräber 1, 2, 74, 84, 96, 163, 166, 174 und 180, Ende des 7. – 1. Hälfte des 5. Jhs. v. Chr. (Chiaramonte Treré / d'Ercole 2003, 13, 19, 56, 60, 64, 77, 85, 91, 101, Taf. 11/7, 22/6, 62/8, 69/4, 72/5, 88/2, 100/9, 106/12, 118/4);
23. Colfiorito di Foligno, Prov. Perugia, Gräber 3, 6, 30, 127 und 176 (Bonomi Ponzi 1997, 114, 176, 228, 307, 360, Abb. 17, Taf. 24, 41, 51, 79, 118);
24. Montefortino, Prov. Ancona, Gräber 8, 23, 32 und 47, Früh-La-Tène (Brizio 1899, 668, 683, 695, 709, Taf. 4/1, 5/6, 8/2, 9/13);
25. Monteleone di Spoleto, Prov. Perugia, Wagengrab mit Waffen, ca. 550 v. Chr. (Richter 1915, 240, Nr. 677-681);
26. Numana, Prov. Ancona, Grab 14 Fabiani und Grabfunde (Ancona 1915, Abb. Seite 151; Lollini 1976, Abb. 13);

Süditalien:

27. Armento, Grab A mit Waffen, 600-550 v. Chr. (Bottini 1993, 61, 67);
28. Cairano, Prov. Avellino, Grab 7, 575-550 v. Chr. (Bailo Modesti 1980, 148, Taf. 68/19);
29. Calvi Risorta, Prov. Napoli, Grab 1, Waffengrab mit Herdgerätsset (Bratspieße, Feuerzange und Fleischgabel), 2. Hälfte des 7. – 6. Jh(s). v. Chr. (Johannowsky 1983, 231, Taf. 54/b).

Liste 5: Verbreitung der früheisenzeitlichen Grabfunde mit Feuerböcken (8.-4. Jh. v. Chr.) (s. Abb. 2):
Mittleuropa:

1. Beilngries, Im Ried-West, Bayern, Grab 74, Hallstatt C₁, Wagengrab, zwei Feuerböcke mit Bratspießen (Torbrügge 1965, 85, Taf. 28/3-4; Trachsel 2004, 352, BAY 014/01);
2. Egloffstein, Heidelberg, Bayern, Depotfund, Früh-La-Tène A, zwei Feuerböcke und Herdschaufel (Abels 1988, 86, Abb. 56);
3. Hořovičky, Böhmen, Wagengrab, Früh-La-Tène A (Soudská 1976, 636, Abb. 10/16);
4. Hradiště, Böhmen, reiches Grab, Früh-La-Tène A, verschollener Feuerbock (Michálek 1977, 639);
5. Salzburg, Salzburg, Hellbrunnerberg, Abfallhalde, Ende Hallstatt D₁ – Anfang La-Tène A (Stöllner 1996, 164, Kat. 72, Taf. 85/186; Stöllner 2002, 106-107);
6. Miskolc-Diósgyőr, Komitat Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén (Kat. 7);
Zypern und Griechenland:
7. Altpaphos-Kouklia, Zypern, Kammergrab mit Waffen und Pferd, ca. 700 v. Chr., zwei Feuerböcke in Form eines griechischen Kriegsschiffs sowie 20 (?) Bratspieße (Karageorghis 1963, 277, Abb. 17-19);
8. Patriki, Zypern, Kammergrab mit Pferd, Anfang des 6. Jhs. v. Chr., zwei Feuerböcke wie Liste 5, Nr. 7 sowie 18 Bratspieße (Karageorghis 1971, 401-403, Abb. 113);
9. Salamis, Zypern, Grab 79, Wagengrab mit Waffen, in Vorkammer zwei Feuerböcke wie Liste 5, Nr. 7 und 12 Bratspieße, Ende 8. Jhs. v. Chr. (Karageorghis 1974, 19, 118, Nr. 127-128, Taf. 58, 237);
10. Kavousi, Kreta, Grabfund, ca. 700 v. Chr., zwei fragm. Feuerböcke wie Liste 5, Nr. 7 (Boardman 1971, 6-8, Taf. 4/12);
11. Knossos, Kreta, Gräber 219, 283 und 285, Waffengräber mit Feuerböcken (wie Liste 5, Nr. 7) und Bratspießen, spätgeometrisch-frühorientalisierend - 10.-7. Jh. v. Chr. (Coldstream / Catling 1996, Bd. 1: 219-224 (Nr. 56, 94, 128, 130, 138-139), 238-239 (Nr. 39, 45-46, 48, 51, 53, 62, 68, 71), 250-253 (Nr. 30-32, 46-47, 57, 79, 89), Bd. 2: 591-592, Bd. 3: Abb. 177, 179));
12. Argos, Argolis, Waffengrab, Ende des 8. Jhs. v. Chr., zwei Feuerböcke (wie Liste 5, Nr. 7) und zwölf Bratspieße (Courbin 1957, 370-385, Abb. 54-65, Taf. 5);
13. Olympia, Ilia, Heiligtumsfunde, ca. 480 v. Chr., holzbockartige Feuerböcke (Baitinger / Völling 2007, 87-90, Kat. 363-370, Taf. 27-28);
14. Sindos, Thessaloniki, Gräber 25, 28, 65 und 67, Waffen- bzw. Schmuckgräber, ca. 560-510 v. Chr., alle mit je zwei holzbockartigen Miniaturfeuerböcken und mehreren Bratspießen (Sindos 1985, Kat. 126, 279, 299, 448);
Norditalien:
15. Casola Valsenio, Prov. Ravenna, Grab 3, ca. 500 v. Chr., zwei holzbockartige Feuerböcke und eine Fleischgabel (Romagna 1982, 164, Taf. 89);
16. Este, Prov. Padova, Gräber Capodaglio 31 und Nazari 161 und Boldù Dolfìn 52-53, bronzene Bandfeuerböcke mit Bratspießen sowie zufällig entdeckte ähnliche Modelle (Este I, 439, Kat. 218-219, Taf. 297; Callegari 1937, 78-79, 83, Taf. 12/9; Veneto 1984, 716-717; Fogolari / Frey 1965, 288, Abb. 17/3); Grab Capodaglio 38, Eisenfeuerbock (Fogolari / Frey 1965, 291, Abb. 19/7). Datierung der Gräber mit Feuerböcken: Früh-La-Tène-Zeit (Peroni u.a. 1975, 146-149, 167-168, Abb. 50-51);
17. Bologna, Prov. Bologna, Tomba Melenzani 22, 8. Jh. v. Chr., Feuerbock mit Bratspieß (Morigi Govi / Tovoli 1979, 14, Abb. 4/14);
18. Gazzo Veronese, Prov. Verona, Grabfunde: eiserner Feuerbock mit Bronzeprotomen (6. Jh. v. Chr.) und Feuerbockpaar (5. Jh. v. Chr.) (Verona 1976, 171, Abb. 30/7-8; Veneto 1984, 789);
19. Imola, Prov. Bologna, Gräber 44, 60 und 72, Waffengräber, ca. 500 v. Chr., je zwei Feuerböcke mit Bratspießen (Romagna 1982, 89, 115, 134, Taf. 42, 60, 74);
20. Brudio, Monte di Bagnarola, Prov. Bologna, 7. Jh. v. Chr. (?) (Hoernes 1903, 115, Abb. 56);
21. Padova, Prov. Padova, bronzener Miniaturfeuerbock (Padova Preromana 1976, 181, 184, Nr. 10);
22. Sanzeno, Prov. Trento, Siedlungsfunde, Raum H, Kontext aus dem 4. Jh. v. Chr., Feuerböcke zusammen mit Schürhaken und Bratspießen (Nothdurfter 1979, 62-63, Kat. 621-622, Taf. 44);
23. San Martino in Gattara, Prov. Ravenna, Gräber 10, 15 und 16, Waffengräber, Mitte des 6. – 5. Jh(s). v. Chr., je ein Feuerbock (Romagna 1982, 174, 179, Taf. 94; Bermond Montanari 1985, 32, Abb. 21);
Mittelitalien:
24. Acqua Acetosa Laurentina, Prov. Rom, Grab 70, Wagengrab, ca. 675-650 v. Chr., Feuerbockpaar und Bratspieße (Roma 1992, 95, Kat. 125-126);
25. Allumiere, Prov. Rom, Grab 7, 6. Jh. v. Chr., Feuerbockpaar mit Bratspießen (?) (Toti 1969, 573);
26. Annifo di Foligno, Prov. Perugia, Tomba „Principesca“, Waffengrab, 550-500 v. Chr., Feuerböcke und Bratspieße (Bonomi Ponzi 1988, 58-59, Nr. 2.40);
27. Bazzano, Prov. L'Aquila, Grab 890, Waffengrab, Anfang des 5. Jhs. v. Chr., Feuerböcke mit Bratspießen (freundl. Mitt. J. Weidig, Mainz);
28. Bolsena, Grab, ca. 300 v. Chr., vier Bandfeuerböcke, eine Feuerzange, zwei Schürhaken und ein Bratspieß (Richter 1915, 238-239, Nr. 669-672);

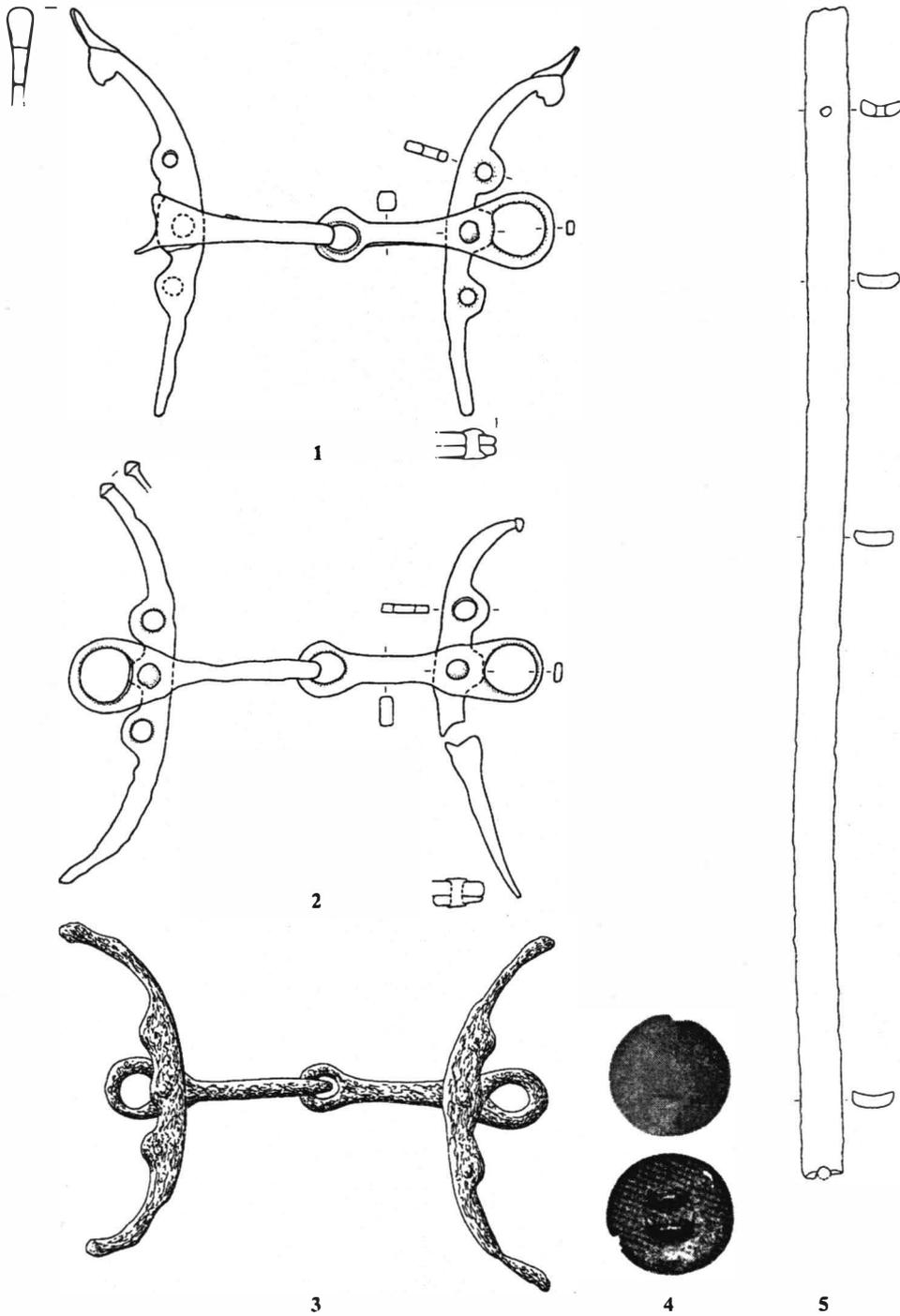
29. Campovalano, Prov. Teramo, Grab 1, 1. Hälfte des 5. Jhs. v. Chr., drei Feuerböcke mit Bratspießen (Chiaromonte Treré / d'Ercole 2003, 13, Taf. 11/2);
30. Capestrano, Prov. L'Aquila, Grab 176, archaische Epoche, zwei Feuerböcke mit Bratspießen (d'Ercole / Cella 2007, 118, Abb. 12);
31. Capodimonte-Bisenzio, am Bolsenasee, Prov. Viterbo, Gräberfeld Olmo Bello, Grab 37, 550-525 v. Chr., Feuerböcke mit Bratspießen (Berlingò 2005, 562, Taf. 1/a); Grab 63, 550-500 v. Chr., Grill, zwei Feuerböcke, Feuerzange und Herdschaufel (Viterbo 1987, 161, Nr. 40); Grab 10, Waffengrab, 7. Jh. v. Chr., Feuerböcke (Paribeni 1928, 455, Abb. 30);
32. Caracupa (Gem. Sermoneta), Prov. Latina, Grab 43, Bestattung mit Wagen und Waffen, 7. Jh. v. Chr., Feuerböcke mit Bratspießen (Savignoni / Mengarelli 1903, 325, Abb. 45);
33. Castel San Mariano, Prov. Perugia, Grabfunde, 550-525 v. Chr., zwei eisernen Feuerböcke mit Bronzeptomen (Höckmann 1982, 86-89, Kat. 45-46, Abb. 54-55, Taf. 48-49);
34. Civitavecchia, Prov. Rom, Grab 1, Kammergrab, 6. Jh. v. Chr. (?), fragm. Feuerbock und Bratspieße (Bastianelli 1937, 465);
35. Castelbellino, Prov. Ancona, Grab 3, Waffenbestattung, 5. Jh. v. Chr. (von Duhn / Messerschmidt 1939, 224);
36. Cerveteri, Prov. Rom, Tomba Regolini Galassi, mehrere Bauphasen, die späteste des 7. Jhs. v. Chr., ein Feuerbockpaar aus Eisen und ein weiteres aus Bronze, letzteres in Vorkammer zusammen mit Bratspießen (Pareti 1947, 268-269, 292, Kat. 230, 241-242, Taf. 27, 33); Grab 10, Tomba degli Alari, Ende des 7. Jhs. v. Chr., Feuerböcke mit Bratspießen (Viterbo 1987, 160);
37. Chianciano Terme, Prov. Siena, Kammergrab mit Waffen, 610-600 v. Chr., zwei fragm. Feuerböcke (Paolucci / Rastrelli 2006, 68-69, Nr. 69, Taf. 11);
38. Chiusi, Prov. Siena, Tomba a ziro, Waffengrab, 7 (?) Jh. v. Chr. (Minto 1938, 120, Abb. 6);
39. Colfiorito di Foligno, Perugia, Gräber 6, 10, 30 und 127, 6.-5. Jh., Feuerböcke mit Bratspießen (Bonomi Ponzi 1997, 114, 171, 176, 191, 228, 307, Taf. 24, 51, 59, 79);
40. Colle del Forno (Monte Libretti), Prov. Rom, Grab 11, Wagengrab, ca. 600 v. Chr., zwei Feuerböcke, Fleischgabel und Bratspieße (Emiliozzi 1997, 291-300)¹⁹;
41. Fabriano, Prov. Ancona, Grab 3, Waffengrab mit mehreren Bestattungen, vier Feuerböcke und Fleischgabel, ca. 650 v. Chr. (von Duhn / Messerschmidt 1939, 203, 208-209, Taf. 31; Emiliozzi 1997, 316, Nr. 58-59);
42. Falerii, Prov. Viterbo, Grabfund (Stary 1979, 58, Nr. 32, Abb. 1/g);
43. Marsiliana, Prov. Grosseto, Gräber 3 und 41, beide Waffengräber mit Wagen, 1. Hälfte des 7. Jhs. v. Chr. (Minto 1921, 41, 83, 283, Taf. 48/2.4; Emiliozzi 1997, 321, Nr. 106, 112);
44. Matelica, Prov. Macerata. a. Nekropole Passo Gabella, Grab 1, Frauengrab, Ende des 7. Jhs. v. Chr., zwei Feuerböcke, Fleischgabel, Bratspieße und Fleischbeigabe (Matelica 2008, 185, Kat. 227); b. Nekropole Crocifisso, Grab 182, Mann mit Waffen, Ende des 7. Jhs. v. Chr., Feuerböcke und Bratspieße (Matelica 2008, 228, Kat. 304);
45. Montefortino, Prov. Ancona, Gräber 8, 23, 47, Früh-La-Tène-Zeit, Feuerböcke mit Bratspießen (Brizio 1899, 668, 683, 710, Abb. 28, Taf. 4/10.23, 5/27);
46. Monteleone di Spoleto, Prov. Perugia, Wagengrab mit Waffen, ca. 550 v. Chr.; zwei holzbockartige Feuerböcke, Grill und fünf Bratspieße (Richter 1915, 238, Nr. 667-668);
47. Narce, Prov. Viterbo. a. Grab 7 F und 109 F, Waffenbestattungen, ca. 680-650 v. Chr., fragm. Feuerböcke und Bratspieße (Hall Dohan 1942, 20, 70, Taf. 8/19, 37/21); b. Nekropole Pizzo Piede, Grab 1, Wagengrab mit Waffen, eisernes Feuerbockpaar, Anfang des 7. Jhs. v. Chr. (Barnabei / Pasqui 1894, 467, Abb. 59, Taf. 12/21; Emiliozzi, 1997, 330, Nr. 208);
48. Pitino, San Severino, Prov. Macerata, Grab 31/1976, Wagengrab mit Waffen, Mitte des 7. Jhs. v. Chr., Feuerböcke und Bratspieße (Moretti Sgubini 1992, 181, Abb. 9/b);
49. Montepulciano, Ciarliana, Prov. Siena, Grab 1, 480-470 v. Chr., bronzenes Feuerbockpaar mit Bratspießen (Pistoi 2007, 67);
50. Montelparo, Prov. Ascoli Piceno, Waffengrab, Feuerbockpaar (von Duhn / Messerschmidt 1939, 242);
51. Orvieto, Prov. Terni. a. Nekropole Crocifisso del Tufo, Gräber 42, 51 und 53, alle 6. Jh. v. Chr., Feuerböcke (Bizzarri 1966, 75, 89, 100, Abb. 35, 40, 43) sowie Grab K 136 mit einem Herdgerätsset (Feuerböcke, Grill, Schürhacken und Feuerzange) derselben Zeit (Etruschi a Orvieto, 23-24); b. Nekropole Cannicella. Grab 2/1977, Doppelbestattung (Mann und Frau), 575-550 v. Chr., fragm. Feuerböcke mit Feuerzange und Bratspießen (Bonamici u.a. 1994, 144-147, 157-161, Abb. 53-54); Grab 4 mit Waffen, 650-625 v. Chr., Feuerbock- und Miniaturfeuerbockpaar, Bratspieße (Prayon 1993, 58, Abb. 80); Grabfunde²⁰;
52. Palestrina, Prov. Rom, Tomba Bernardini, Wagengrab mit Waffen, 675-650 v. Chr. (Civiltà del Lazio, 239, Kat. 77/59, Taf. 53);

¹⁹ <http://www.principisabini.it>.

²⁰ Weitere Feuerböcke in NotScavi 1880, 446, Taf. 16/34.40.42 und NotScavi 1887, 370, Taf. 12/51 sowie bei Messerschmidt 1929, 527, Taf. 61/7.

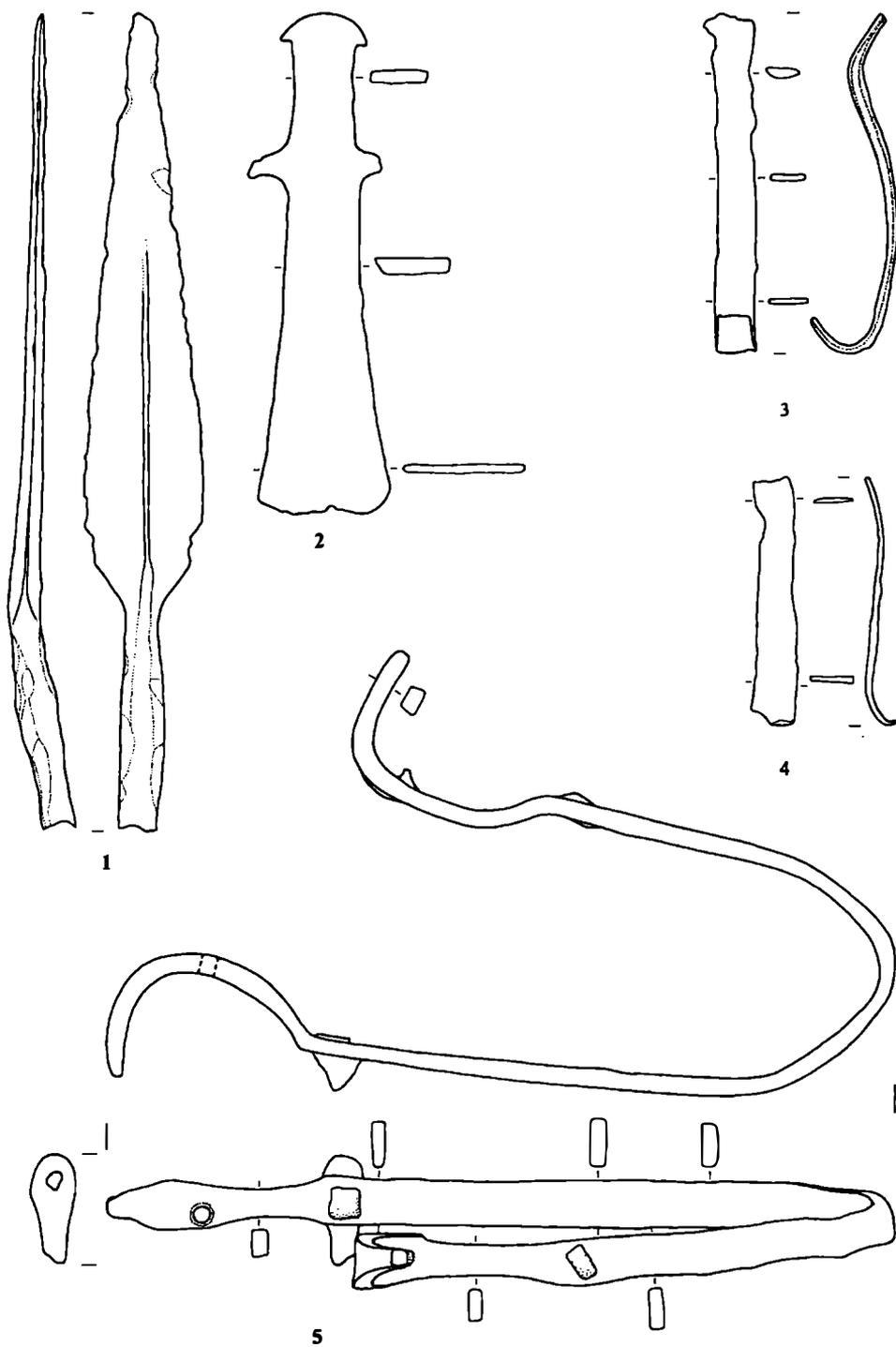
53. Populonia, Prov. Livorno, Nekropole Poggio della Porcareccia, Tomba dei "Flabelli di bronzo", Waffengrab, 7. Jh. v. Chr., zwei bronzene und mehrere eiserne Feuerböcke, zwei (?) von ihnen holzbockartig, sowie Bratspieße (Minto 1931, 300, 308, Taf. 6/4-5, 13/3.7.9.17);
54. Pratica di Mare, Prov. Rom, tomba a cassone sotto l'*heroon* di Enea, Wagengrab mit Waffen, 675-650 v. Chr., Feuerböcke mit Bratspießen (Civiltà del Lazio, 311, Kat. 102/46, Taf. 79);
55. Saturnia, Prov. Grosseto, tomba Pratogrande 3, Feuerbock mit Bratspießen, 7. Jh. v. Chr. (Minto 1925, 668, Abb. 40);
56. Sta Maria Maddalena di Canzano, Prov. Teramo, Feuerböcke mit Bratspießen (Hoernes 1903, 115, Abb. 57);
57. Tarquinia, Prov. Viterbo, Nekropole Monterozzi, Grab 6118, Wagengrab mit Waffen, Ende des 7. Jhs. v. Chr., Feuerböcke (Bonghi Jovino 1986, 292, Abb. 299/b);
58. Todi, Prov. Perugia, Waffengrab, 5. Jh. v. Chr., Feuerbock, Tüllenfleischgabel und Bratspieße (Bendinelli 1916, 867, Abb. 24);
59. Tolentino, San Egidio, Prov. Macerata, Wagengrab mit Waffen, ca. 600 v. Chr., Feuerböcke und Bratspieße (Percossi Serenelli 1992, 145, Abb. 7/a-b);
60. Tolfi, Prov. Rom, 6. Jh. v. Chr. (Kohler / Naso 1991, 52, Nr. 64-65);
61. Trestina, „Tarragoni“, Città di Castello, Prov. Perugia, 650-600 v. Chr., fragm. Feuerbock (Heymann 2005, 226);
62. Veii, Prov. Rom. a. Nekropole Quattro Fontanili, Grab Z 15 A, Waffengrab, 750-725, fragm. Feuerbock mit Bratspießen (Veio 1965, 178, Abb. 87); Grab Y a, 8. Jh. v. Chr. (Veio 1970, 264, Abb. 51); Grab 1038, Waffengrab, 750-725 v. Chr., Feuerbock und Bratspieße (Buranelli 1979, 2, Abb. 4); b. Nekropole Monte Michele, Grab 5, Kammergrab mit Wagen und Waffen, 675-650 v. Chr., Feuerböcke und Bratspieße (Boitani 1983, 546, Taf. 99/a);
63. Vetulonia, Prov. Grosseto, Circolo del Tritone, Waffengrab, ca. 700 v. Chr., zwei Feuerböcke mit Herdschaufel, Feuerzange und zwei Bratspießen, alle aus Bronze (Falchi 1900, 481, Abb. 12);
64. Vulci, Prov. Viterbo, Nekropole Osteria, Grab 167, ca. 600 v. Chr. (Moretti Sgubini 2001, 215);
- Süditalien:**
65. Armento, Prov. Potenza, Grab, ca. 600 v. Chr., zwei holzbockartige Feuerböcke und Bratspießfragmente (Adamesteanu 1972, 87, Taf. 38/B); Grab A mit Waffen, 600-550 v. Chr., holzbockartiger Feuerbock mit fragm. Bratspießen (Bottini 1993, 67);
66. Braidia di Vaglio, Gem. Vaglio Basilicata, Prov. Potenza, Gräber 101 und 107 (Waffengräber) sowie Grab 102 (Bestattung eines Mädchens), alle ca. 500 v. Chr., je zwei Feuerböcke mit fragm. Bratspießen, in ersten beiden Gräbern auch jeweils eine Feuerzange (Bottini / Setari 2003, 30, 37, 72, 104, Nr. 50, 99, 341, Taf. 36);
67. Cairano, Prov. Avellino, Grab 7, Waffengrab, 575-550 v. Chr., Feuerböcke mit Bratspießen (Bailo Modesti 1980, 148, Taf. 67/8-9);
68. Cariati, Prov. Cosenza, Waffengrab, 350-325 v. Chr., zwei Feuerböcke und Bratspieße, alle aus Blei (Guzzo / Luppino 1980, 831, Abb. 17, G);
69. Castellamare di Stabia, Prov. Napoli, Nekropole Via Madonna delle Grazie, Gräber 8 und 28 (Waffengrab, 580-570 v. Chr.), je ein Feuerbockpaar mit Bratspießen (Stabiano 2001, 56, 69, Taf. 6, 12);
70. Chiaromonte, Prov. Potenza, Grab 26, Waffengrab, ca. 575-550 v. Chr., Feuerböcke mit Bratspießen (Russo Tagliente / Berlingò 1996, 322, 386, Abb. 52); weitere, unpublizierte Feuerböcke stammen aus den Gräbern 23, 68 und 71 (Tagliente 1985, 174, Taf. 2/7); Grab 170 mit Waffen, 600-550 v. Chr., Feuerböcke mit Bratspießen und Feuerzange (Bottini, 1993, 77);
71. Cosenza, Prov. Cosenza, Grab 56, zwei Feuerböcke und Bratspieße, alle aus Blei (Scornajenghi 1935, 187, Abb. 1);
72. Grimaldi, Prov. Cosenza, zwei Feuerböcke und Bratspieße, alle aus Blei (Catanuto 1931, 646-647, Abb. 1);
73. Oliveto Citra, Prov. Salerno, Grab 18, 4. Jh. v. Chr., zwei Feuerböcke aus Blei (Marzullo 1930, 244, Abb. 19);
74. Paestum, Prov. Salerno, Kammergrab mit Waffenbeigaben, 4. Jh. v. Chr., zwei Feuerböcke aus Blei (Sestieri 1958, 57, Abb. 22);
75. Pontecagnano, Prov. Salerno, „Fürstengräber“ (Gräber 224, 926 und 928), alle mit Waffen, Mitte des 8. Jhs. v. Chr., je zwei Feuerböcke und Bratspieße (d'Agostino 1965, 678, Taf. 137/b; d'Agostino 1977, 10, 13, 18-20, Abb. 3, 14, Taf. 2, 13);
76. Ruvo del Monte, Prov. Potenza, Grab 30, ca. 575 v. Chr., Wagengrab, Feuerböcke und Bratspieße (Bottini 1981, 213, 281, Abb. 94/402);
77. Ruvo di Puglia, Prov. Puglia, Sarkophagbestattung (Bereich Porta Castello), 490-475 v. Chr., zwei Feuerböcke und Fleischgabel aus Blei bzw. Grab 259, 350-300 v. Chr., Feuerböcke aus Blei (Montanaro 2007, 228, 827, Abb. 61, 781-782);
78. Sala Consilina, Prov. Salerno, Grab B.79, Waffengrab, 1. Hälfte des 6. Jhs. v. Chr., Feuerbockpaar, Bratspieße und Fleischgabel (de La Genière 1968, 284, Taf. 13/5);
79. Vico Equense, Prov. Napoli. a. Via Nicotera, Grab 67, ca. 425 v. Chr., und Grabfunde, Feuerböcke aus Eisen und aus Blei (Bonghi Jovino 1982, 23, 36-38, Taf. 71/1-2, 78/20-26, 81/1-8.10-11.13.16.18.20-21, 82/3-9); b. Via Cortile, Grabfunde (Bonghi Jovino 1982, 95, Taf. 129/1-5).

Taf. 1



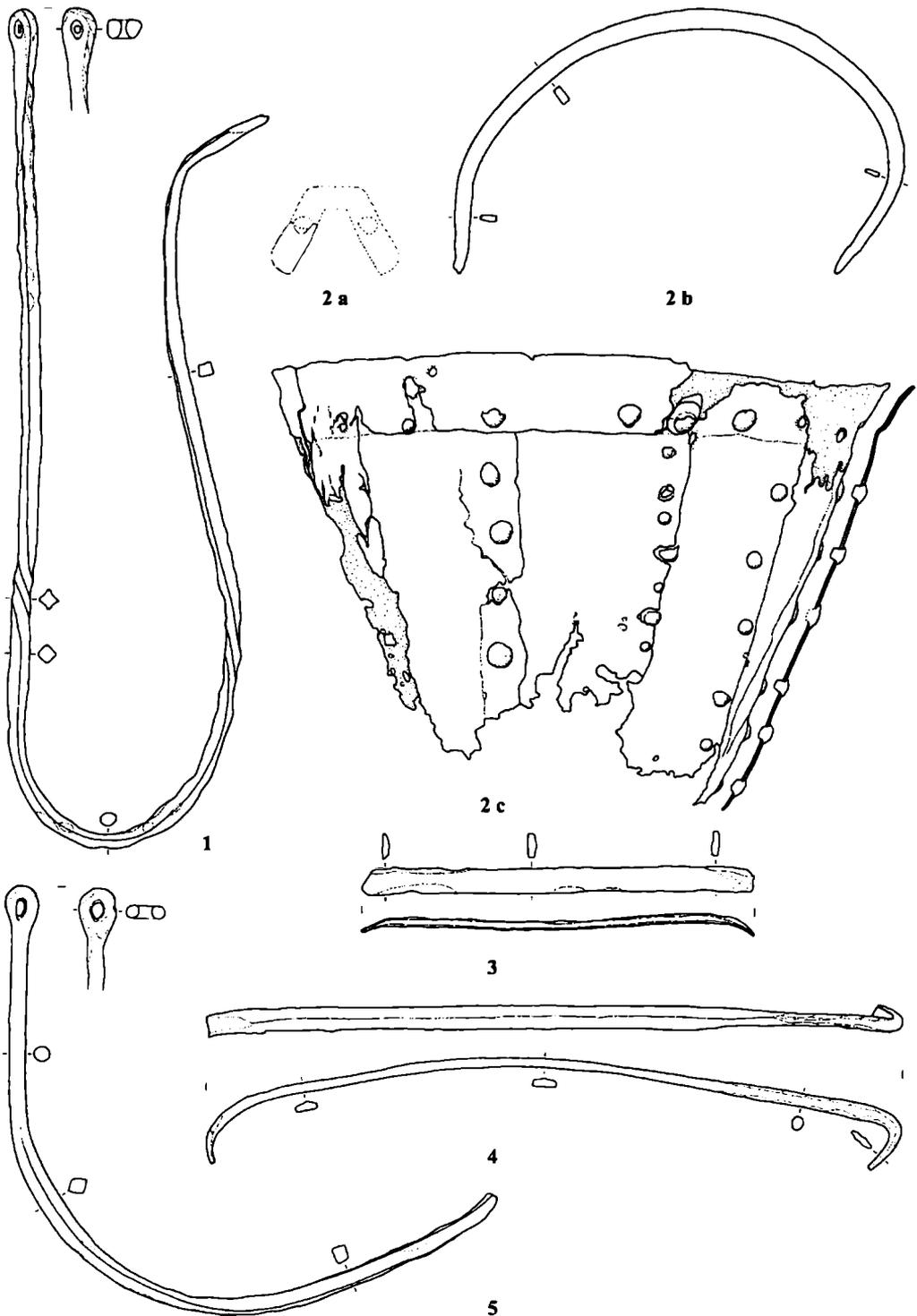
1-4 M: 1:2; 5 M: 1:3 (3 nach Werner 1988, Nr. 16, Taf. 3).

Taf. 2



1-5 M: 1:2.

Taf. 3



1-5 M: 1:3.

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L. F. VAGALINSKI, *Кръв и зрелища. Спорт и гладиаторски игри в елинистическа и римска Тракия / Blood and Entertainments. Sports and Gladiatorial Games in Hellenistic and Roman Thrace*, Sofia, 2009, 228 p. + 40 pl.

Das Buch ist eine überarbeitete Fassung der 1989 verteidigten Dissertation des Verfassers, die hier auf den neuesten Stand gebracht und so erweitert wurde, dass sie auch die hellenistische Zeit umfaßt und somit vom 4. Jh. v. Chr. bis in das 4. Jh. n. Chr. reicht. Trotz des Titels, der einigermaßen irreführend auf das hellenistische und römische Thrakien verweist, behandelt es eigentlich die Funde vom Gebiet des heutigen Bulgarien.

Das Buch wurde in zwei großen Teilen aufgebaut: der erste wurde dem Sporte gewidmet, der zweite dem Blute, d. h. den Gladiatoren und Gladiatorenspielen (unter die auch die Tierhetzen gezählt werden). Jeder der beiden Teile enthält je ein Kapitel zu den architektonischen Denkmälern, den Inschriften, den Münzen und den Skulpturen. Unter architektonischen Denkmälern zum Sporte findet sich eigentlich nur das Stadion in Philippopolis, als dessen Bauzeit hier die Regierung Hadrians betrachtet wird. Die Inschriften zum Sporte werden nach Agonotheten, Athleten und Gymnasiarchen verfolgt. Die numismatischen Angaben beziehen sich auf Münzen und Medaillen, die die von den Städten oder dem thrakischen *koinon* veranstalteten Spiele bezeugen. Ein Kapitel zu Instrumenten behandelt solche, die mit dem Sport in Verbindung stehen (Strigilien, Strigilienhalter, Gewichte). Die Steinskulpturen und sportbezogene Darstellungen auf Metallgegenständen vervollständigen den ersten Teil.

Die Strigilien werden einer eingehenden Untersuchung hinsichtlich ihrer Verzierung, Nutzung und gesellschaftlicher Aussagekraft unterzogen. Die Entdeckung zahlreicher Strigilien in thrakischen Grabzusammenhängen zeige, dass sich die thrakischen Eliten den griechisch-römischen sportlichen Tätigkeiten gegenüber empfänglich erwiesen, während die niedrigeren Schichten der thrakischen Gesellschaft kein Interesse daran zeigten. Die besonders in Odessos und Dionysopolis für die Prinzipatszeit reichlich bezeugte eph ebische Tätigkeit wird mit der Gründung des *koinon tou Euxeinou Pontou* im frühen 2. Jh. n. Chr. in Verbindung gebracht. Die geringe Anzahl thrakischer Namen unter den Epheben wird ebenfalls mit der raschen Assimilierung der Eliten bzw. der Rückständigkeit der niedrigeren gesellschaftlichen Schichten der in den Städten lebenden Thraker erklärt.

Im zweiten Teil werden zunächst die architektonischen Denkmäler zu den Gladiatorenspielen untersucht, u. zw. die Amphitheater in Marcianopolis, Serdica und und die epigraphischen und archäologischen Argumente, die für die Anpassung des Theaters von Philippopolis für Gladiatorenspiele und Tierhetzen sprechen. Die epigraphischen Angaben zu den Gladiatorenspielen stammen meist aus den jüngeren, römerzeitlich gegründeten Städten im Inneren Thrakiens, die meisten gehören in die Severerzeit. Das Bild der Gladiatorenspiele und Tierhetzen in Thrakien wird von den damit verbundenen Darstellungen auf Münzen, Reliefs auf Stein, Metall und Keramik vervollständigt.

Eine fast zwanzig Seiten lange englische Zusammenfassung erlaubt es auch dem des Bulgarischen unkundigen Leser, Zugang zu diesem Buch zu erhalten. Der Katalog umfaßt 159 für das Thema des Buches relevante Inschriften. Darunter befinden sich einige noch unveröffentlichte Texte, die hier in bulgarischer Übersetzung vorgelegt werden. Alle Inschriften werden von einer bulgarischen Übersetzung und einem knappen bulgarischen Kommentar begleitet. Ein kurzes Wörterbuch, das Begriffe wie *venatio*, Epimelet, *munerarius* oder Forum erläutert, erinnert daran, dass dieses Buch auch für einen breiteren Leserkreis als die Fachleute der Antike bestimmt ist. Die 38 Schwarz-Weiß-Tafeln bieten Abbildungen (Fotos oder Zeichnungen) recht guter Qualität, die die meisten der im Buche behandelten Themen beleuchten; allerdings sind nur wenige von ihnen mit Bildunterschriften versehen (die Hinweise auf die Abbildungen finden sich nur im Text verstreut) und manche Inschriften sind so klein abgebildet, dass sie unleserlich bleiben.

Das Buch trifft einen glücklich gewählten Ton: fachkundig und akkurat auf archäologischem sowie auf epigraphischem Gebiet, jedoch nicht so trocken und unzugänglich dass es dem Laien verschlossen bleibe, nicht so lebhaft, dass es den Boden der historischen Tatsachen verließ. In knapper Form wird hier eine eingehende und erschöpfende Übersicht über einen Bereich des antiken Lebens in einem begrenzten Gebiet geboten, der noch am ehesten geeignet ist, das Interesse des Lesers zu wecken und seine Aufmerksamkeit zu fesseln.

Ligia Ruscu

Michael Kerschner, Ireen Kowalleck, Martin Steskal, *Archäologische Forschungen zur Siedlungsgeschichte von Ephesos in geometrischer, archaischer und klassischer Zeit. Grabungsbefunde und Keramikfunde aus dem Bereich von Koressos*, *Ergänzungshefte zu den Jahreshften des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes* 9, Vienne, 2008, 138 p., 51 pl.

En reprenant la discussion sur Éphèse avant la nouvelle fondation de Lysimaque, les auteurs se fondent sur les fouilles effectuées entre 2001 et 2005 dans des couches d'époque romaine dans le gymnase de Védius, situé au nord-ouest de la colline Panayır Dağ. On a fouillé dans ce secteur 5 surfaces qui ont révélé entre autres de nombreux fragments céramiques s'échelonnant du VIII^{ème} au IV^{ème} siècle avant J.-C. Ces découvertes jouent un rôle important dans la discussion concernant le site pré-hellénistique.

Le livre publié par Michael Kerschner (M. K.), Ireen Kowalleck (I. K.) et Martin Steskal (M. S.) représente un nouveau chapitre consacré à la recherche de l'Éphèse archaïque et classique, un sujet ayant d'ailleurs retenu l'attention des auteurs cités dans d'autres travaux publiés ces dernières années. Après deux brèves introductions évoquant la problématique abordée, dues respectivement aux auteurs (p. 7) et au directeur des fouilles d'Éphèse (p. 9), suit un chapitre introductif signé par M. S. (p. 11-20), où l'on commente surtout les sources littéraires concernant l'histoire de Koressos. Les diverses propositions concernant l'identification de ce site sont passées en revue, à commencer avec celles avancées par O. Benndorf et surtout J. Keil ; ce dernier savant, après les fouilles effectuées dans le gymnase de Védius, a proposé la localisation de Koressos au nord-ouest de Panayır Dağ.

Le 2^{ème} chapitre, *Les fouilles dans le gymnase de Védius*, rédigé par M. S., résume sur deux pages les fouilles faites par l'auteur en collaboration avec M. La Torre. Ces recherches avaient été publiées de manière détaillée par les deux savants dans une monographie parue à Vienne en 2008 (dans la série *Forschungen in Ephesos*, vol. 14, 1). Hormis une brève description des sondages archéologiques, on insiste sur les lieux de trouvaille des documents céramiques commentés dans les chapitres suivants.

L'examen des céramiques dans le 3^{ème} chapitre, *La céramique découverte près de Koressos*, représentent le gros du volume (p. 25-107). L'importance de ces trouvailles vaut à la fois pour la topographie et pour la typologie, surtout pour l'époque archaïque tardive, peu connue à Éphèse en ce qui concerne le spectre céramique (p. 25). Les céramiques des époques géométrique, archaïque et classique proviennent sans exception de contextes plus tardifs. Les décapages et les terrassements successifs ont détruit les traces des structures antérieures à l'époque romaine : il s'agit, par conséquent, de fragments céramiques isolés. Il n'y avait jusqu'au moment de cette fouille que quelques sondages sous les couches d'époque romaine (p. 25). Malgré

l'absence de structures architecturales, comme le démontrent les auteurs (notamment dans le dernier chapitre), les fragments céramiques découverts dans le gymnase de Védius ne peuvent provenir que des secteurs voisins.

Il convient de noter l'absence de vases complets, la plupart des 143 fragments trouvés au nord-ouest de Panayır Dağ étant de dimensions minuscules. Pour mieux comprendre et situer ces trouvailles, les auteurs cherchent des parallèles parmi les découvertes d'Ionie et des colonies ioniennes. Ce chapitre se compose de deux parties. La première, écrite par M. K. (p. 25-74), porte sur les céramiques géométriques et archaïques, pour la plupart de production ioniennne. La deuxième, due à I. K., présente les céramiques attiques et d'influence attique, en particulier des fragments d'époque classique (p. 75-107). Dans la première partie, on analyse en 73 fragments, 72 appartenant à la Grèce de l'Est et seulement un fragment attribué à Chypre, cat. no. 74 (p. 57). Sur 32 pages toutes les catégories sont commentées en détail (p. 58-74). Les fragments sont présentés selon la forme du vase. Il s'agit, pour la moitié, de vases à boire : 6 *kotylai*, dont les plus anciennes datent du 2^{ème} quart de VII^{ème} siècle avant J.-C. ; plusieurs bols à oiseaux, bols à rosettes et productions apparentées nord-ioniennes, qui remplacent progressivement les *kotylai* à partir du 2^{ème} quart de VII^{ème} siècle avant J.-C. (p. 30-31). Ces bols sans rebord et les *kotylai* sont classées selon la typologie de l'auteur, présentée déjà dans d'autres publications. Les fragments céramiques sont analysés soigneusement, avec une attention particulière accordée à la chronologie, que M. K. veut aussi serrée que possible. Une autre catégorie, représentée par 19 coupes à rebord (*Knickrandschalen*), est présentée selon la typologie déjà établie pour l'Ionie du Sud par U. Schlotzhauer. Facile à reconnaître par l'engobe blanc est un fragment de cratère calice de Chios (cat. no. 30). La plupart des 9 cratères et dinoi sont attribués à l'Ionie du Nord. D'autres catégories sont constituées de mortiers et de plats (cat. 40-50), de tasses (p. 48-50), d'amphores et d'*hydriai*, ces dernières traitées ensemble à cause de leur haut degré de fragmentation, une lampe et un fragment de céramique de cuisine. Pour beaucoup de découvertes, M. K. fait de larges digressions, mais toujours judicieuses. Le catalogue est solidement structuré ; un seul oubli, le no. 27, qui est omis à la fois dans le texte et dans le catalogue. Notons aussi l'importance de l'étude de M. K. sur les céramiques géométriques et archaïques, fort importante pour la connaissance des céramiques d'Éphèse de ces périodes ;

elle vient compléter l'étude fondamentale sur les découvertes de l'Artémision que M. K. avait publiée dans *ÖJh* de 1997.

La deuxième partie concerne les céramiques attiques et d'influence attique, p. 75-107, cat. 75-144. C'est un domaine dans lequel I. K. a déjà excellé, à preuve ses études antérieures. Les découvertes du gymnase de Védus se situent entre la fin du VI^{ème} et le dernier quart du IV^{ème} siècle avant J.-C. Il n'y a que cinq fragments peints : trois à figures noires et deux à figures rouges. D'autre part, trois autres fragments céramiques à figures noires proviennent des fouilles de J. Keil de 1926. La céramique à vernis noir des V^{ème} et IV^{ème} siècles avant J.-C. représente le groupe le plus important : sur les 300 fragments découverts, l'auteur a choisi d'introduire dans son catalogue les fragments caractéristiques, en général des bords et des pieds. De même que pour les céramiques géométriques et archaïques, les découvertes de céramique attique sont classées sur la foi de critères typologiques et stylistiques. Il n'y a que des formes communes pour les céramiques attiques : lécythes, œnochoés, askoi, skyphoi, canthares, coupes, plats et une lampe. Les fragments sont classés aussi selon leur origine, connue grâce à l'analyse microscopique. L'on

connaît pour l'instant 4 grands groupes : attique, local éphésien et deux autres de la Grèce de l'Est, difficiles à circonscrire avec plus de précision. On remarque que les céramiques attiques sont moins nombreuses que les productions est-égéennes. À la fin de cette partie, on trouve un excellent aperçu sur les importations de céramiques attiques à Éphèse, suivi d'un catalogue dressé de manière exemplaire (p. 92-98).

Dans le 4^{ème} chapitre, *L'habitat pré-hellénistique de Koressos*, les découvertes sont discutées dans leur contexte et mises en rapport avec l'habitat de Koressos, un site qui, selon les auteurs, ne remonterait pas au-delà du VIII^{ème} siècle avant J.-C. (p. 109-126).

Ce beau volume sur l'Éphèse archaïque et classique se clôt par trois résumés en allemand, anglais et turc, suivis de 51 planches, partiellement en couleurs et d'une excellente qualité. À la première vue, la présentation de quelques fragments céramiques pourrait paraître une tâche facile et de moindre importance pour une cité ayant connu un grand essor durant les périodes archaïque et classique. Mais discutées par spécialistes dans un cadre dépassant largement le simple classement, ces céramiques nous apportent des renseignements fort utiles.

Iulian Birzescu

ABRÉVIATIONS

- ActaArchHung – Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
AÉ – Année Épigraphique, Paris
Alba Regia – Alba Regia. Annales Musei Stephani, Székesfehérvár
ANRW – *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung*, Berlin
Apulum – Acta Musei Apulensis, Alba Iulia.
AuA – Antike und Abendland. Beiträge zum Verständnis der Griechen und Römer und ihres Nachlebens, Berlin
ArcheologiaWarszawa – Archeologia. Rocznik Instytutu Archeologii i etnologii PAN, Varsovie.
ArchAnz – Archäologischer Anzeiger, Berlin.
ArchClass – Archeologia Classica, Rome
ArchÉrt – Archaeologiai Értesítő, Budapest
ArchHung – Archaeologia Hungarica, Budapest
ArchRozhledy – Archeologické Rozhledy, Prague
ArhVestnik – Arheološki Vestnik, Ljubljana
AttiMemSocMagna Grecia – Atti e Memorie della Società Magna Grecia, Rome
BAR – British Archaeological Reports, Oxford
BCH – Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, Athènes - Paris
BerRGK – Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Frankfurt am Main.
Britannia – Journal of Roman-British Studies Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, Londres
CIG – *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, Berlin
CIL – *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin
ClAnt – Classical Antiquity, Berkeley
Classica et Christiana – Classica et Christiana, Iași
Dacia – Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne, Bucarest
Drevnejšij temenos Ol'vii – Drevnejšij temenos Ol'vii Pontijskoj, Simferopol, 2006.
FGrHist – F. Jacobi (ed.), *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*, Berlin-Leiden, 1923 sqq
JNES – Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Chicago, Illinois.
Gesnerus – Swiss Journal of the History of Medicine and Sciences, Laussane.
Histria VII – P. Alexandrescu u. a., *Histria VII. La zone sacrée*, Bucarest, 2005
IDR II – G. Florescu, C.C. Petolescu, *Inscripțiile Daciei romane II. Oltenia și Muntenia*, Bucarest, 1977
IDR III/2 – I. I. Russu, I. Piso, V. Wollmann, *Inscripțiile Daciei Romane III. Dacia Superior 2, Ulpia Traiana Dacica Sarmizegetusa*, Bucarest, 1980
IDR III/3 – I. I. Russu, O. Floca, V. Wollmann, *Inscripțiile Daciei Romane III. Dacia Superior 3, zona centrală (teritoriul dintre Ulpia Traiana, Micia, Apulum, Alburnus Maior, Valea Crișului)*, Bucarest, 1984
IDR III/5 – I. Piso, *Inscriptions de la Dacie romaine III. 5. Inscriptions d'Apulum*, Paris, 2001
IDR III/6 – C. L. Băluță, *Inscripțiile Daciei Romane III. Apulum – Instrumentum domesticum*, Bucarest, 1999
IG – *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin
IGB – G. Mihailov, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae I–V*, Sofia, 1956-1997
ISEL – L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche I–II*, Firenze, 1967–1976
IGLNovae – V. Božilova, J. Kolendo, *Inscriptiones graecques et latines de Novae (Mésie Inférieure)*, Bordeaux, 1997

Dacia, N.S., tome LIV, Bucarest, 2010, p. 205-206

- ISM I – D. M. Pippidi, *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Graecae et Latinae I. Inscriptiones Histriae et vicinae*, Bucarest, 1984
- ISM V – E. Doruțiu-Boilă, *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Graecae et Latinae. V. Capidava - Troesmis - Noviodunum*, Bucarest, 1980.
- ESI – Israel Exploration Society, Tel Aviv
- Izvestija Varna – Izvestia na Narodnia Muzei v Varna, Varna
- JahrbRGZM – Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mayence
- JÖAI – Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien, Vienne
- JPEK (IPEK) – Jahrbuch für Prähistorische und Ethnographische Kunst, Berlin
- Latomus – Revue d'Études Latines, Bruxelles
- LGPN II – P. M. Fraser, E. Matthews (éds.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, II. Attica*, Oxford, 1994.
- LGPN IV – P. M. Fraser, E. Matthews (éds.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, IV. Macedonia, Thrace, Northern Regions of the Black Sea*, Oxford, 2005
- LIMC – *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*, Zurich
- MANthropGesWien – Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien, Vienne
- Medical History - Medical History, Centre for the History of Medicine at UCL, Londres
- Medizinhistorisches Journal – Medizinhistorisches Journal, Stuttgart – New York
- MEFRA – Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Antiquité, Paris – Rome
- MemLinc – Memorie dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, Rome
- MonAnt – Monumenti antichi. Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, Rome
- Nilsson, GGR I – M. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion, I. Die Religion Griechenlands bis auf die griechische Weltherrschaft²*, Munich 1955.
- NotScavi – Notizie degli Scavi de antichità. Atti della Accademia (nazionale) dei Lincei, Rome
- Orphic Hymns – *The Orphic Hymns. Text, translation and notes A. N. Athanassakis*, Missoula/Montana, 1977
- PAS – Prähistorische Archäologie Südosteuropas, Berlin.
- PBF – Prähistorische Bronzefunde, Munich
- Pontica – Pontica. Revista Muzeului de Arheologie, Constanța.
- Priroda – Priroda, Sofia
- PraceArch – Prace Archeologiczne, Cracovie
- PZ – Prähistorische Zeitschrift, Leipzig-Berlin
- Ratiarsensia – Ratiarsensia. Studi e Materiali Mesici e Danubiani, Bologna
- RE – Pauly's Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, Stuttgart, 1893-1980.
- RGF – Römisch-Germanische Forschungen, Berlin
- SA – Slovenská Archeológia, Bratislava
- Sargetia – Acta Musei Devensis, Deva
- SCIV(A) – Studii și cercetări de istorie veche (și arheologie), Bucarest
- SEG – *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Amsterdam.
- SlovArch – Slovenská Archeológia, Bratislava.
- SNG – *Sylloge nummorum Graecorum*, Londres
- Starinar – Starinar. Organ Srpskog arheološkog društva, Belgrade
- Studia i Prace – Studia i Prace. Travaux du Centre d'Archéologie méditerranéenne de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences, Varsovie.
- StEtruschi – Studi Etruschi, Firenze.
- Trierer Zeitschrift – Trierer Zeitschrift. Archäologie und Kunst des Trierer Landes und seiner Nachbargebiete, Trier
- UPA – Universitätsforschungen zur Prähistorische Archäologie, Bonn
- VDI – Vestnik drevnej istorii, Moscou
- ZPE – Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Bonn

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