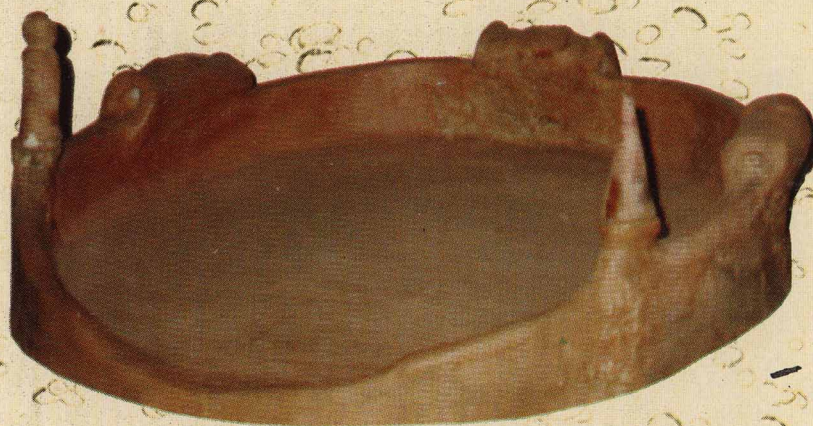


**CRISTIAN F. SCHUSTER
ALEXANDRA COMȘA - TRAIAN POPA**

**THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF FIRE
IN THE BRONZE AGE OF ROMANIA**



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Cristian F. Schuster

Alexandra Comşa Traian Popa

**THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF FIRE
IN THE BRONZE AGE
OF ROMANIA**

Giurgiu

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Foreword

Although one of the most important human discoveries that shaped the development of civilizations from prehistory to contemporary world, fire has been generally neglected by the archaeological research, with very few books and studies being dedicated to it.

This was the reason why I organized a session on the study of fire at the *5th European Association of Archaeologists Meeting* in Lisbon in September 2000, to sensitize archaeologists to develop an *archaeology of fire* in the new millennium.

One of the purposes of the *5th EAA* session was the perception of fire simultaneously as a phenomenon and artifact, due to the intimate relationship of fire with materials, instruments, architecture, environment and human body. Consequently, the archaeological analysis shall look at the relationships that generate meaning, rather than at the phenomenon or object alone.

Due to fire's binary nature, material and spiritual at once, the methods employed to study it seek additional instruments, to evoke the complexity of the phenomenon, such as ethnological models. For example, the ethnological data selected by Dr. Cristian Schuster, Dr. Alexandra Comşa and Traian Popa from the traditional societies of the Romanian zone, could lead to an understanding of fire as a synchronic sacred and secular phenomenon.

The present book is an unpresuming contribution to an archaeology of fire we hope to see developed in the future, trying to offer through a large *corpus* of data referring to the relationship of fire to various materials and objects, an image of the complex employment of fire in the Bronze Age societies that developed on the territory of actual Romania.

The Bronze Age could be labelled, without exaggerating, to be a *Fire Age*. This seems to be the best example to demonstrate that the study of fire in a past society could bring significant information on the cultural continuities and changes that occurred in it. It is possible that the intensification of the use of fire in the Bronze Age would be, beside the technological change, the consequence of a climatic deterioration.

As one identifies the use of fire, one can therefore notice Bronze Age societies as a cultural continuation of Chalcolithic (Aeneolithic) traits, such as the central positioning of the hearth in households, or the ritual burning of dwellings. On the other hand, the differences are abundant.

Many architectural features, such as fortifications, platforms, altars or exterior fireplaces show a more or less long contact with fire.

Usually, in settlements and households the support of fire seems no more to be immovable, but more flexible and portable, that infers potential changes in the domestic ritual.

In some Bronze Age cultures the funerary rituals began to use fire for the cremation of the human body, with birituality also being noticed in some cemeteries.

Ceramic production during the Bronze Age does no more make use of up-draught kilns as in Late Chalcolithic, a decline in the quality of paste and decoration being also visible. Such a decrease in ceramic technology could be explained by the emergence of bronze as the new plastic material of prestige, due to a better mastery of fire. The use of kilns for smelting copper, as well as the use of clay or stone moulds infers an *industrial* production of serial objects, such as tools, adornments or weapons. Cast metal cutting tools allowed a better collecting and processing of raw materials, with effect upon the economic development. One example seems to be the extension of the settled area to the forested hills, that indicates an efficacious process of deforestation, and subsequently an intensification of plant cultivation and animal husbandry, a process also suggested by the archaeological discoveries, in households, pits, or cultic installations that put into evidence an intensive use of fire in the process of transformation of plants and the body of wild and domestic animals.

An analysis of the household inventory reveals a growing number of domestic objects in relationship with fire, and a better visibility of sacred places or *sanctuaries*. A particular case of places in relationship with fire, whose religious or profane character is still under dispute, are the ashes deposits (Ru. zolniki), being the result of a long-term deposition of secondary products of fire.

All the above mentioned are to be found in the archaeological record as objects revealing the relationship of fire with clay, such as hearths, censers, lamps, hearts rings, or the relationship of fire with metal and stone, such as moulds, spoons, crucibles or nozzles.

The study of the material gathered by Dr. Cristian Schuster, Dr. Alexandra Comşa and Traian Popa led to the conclusion that the Bronze Age cultures had a homogenous structure in what concerns the relationship with fire, and that an *archaeology of fire*, as that suggested by the present book, could contribute to a deeper understanding of past societies.

Bucharest, July 2001

Dr. Dragoş Gheorghiu

INTRODUCTION

On the occasion of the 6th Annual Meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists, that took place between September 10-17 2000 at Lisbon, Portugal, in the group 2 - *Archaeological record studies and interpretations (advances in archaeological knowledge)*, at the proposal and under the leadership of Dr. Dragoş Gheorghiu from the University of Arts - Bucharest, having as discussant Prof. John Chapman from the University of Durham, United Kingdom, the proceedings of the Session intitlled *The archaeology of Fire* took place. Among its participants there were two of the present volume authors: Dr. Cristian Schuster with the paper *Fire and its relations with domestic and military architecture in the Romanian Bronze Age*¹ and Dr. Alexandra Comşa, with the poster *Cremation in the Bronze Age of Romania - simply a funerary rite?*

As a continuation and amplification of the generous ideeaa launched by Mr. Dragoş Gheorghiu, for making a study of the material production but also, when the information allows it the one of the spiritual world of the various communities in relation with the fire, it is the intention of the three authors of this volume to open a door towards the meaning of the up mentioned relation for the Bronze Age communities on the territory of Romania.

Given that this is a first endeavour of this kind in the Romanian archaeology, it is inherent to exist hesitations, gaps, or even unconvincing aproaches and conclusions.

It is also possible for some of our readers to pose themselves the questions regarding the necessity of presenting here, in this stage of investigation concerning the cultural anthropology, the chapter no. 1 - **The fire and the Romanians**. We believe this to be a useful thing and we hope that, up to the end of this volume, a large number of readers would let themselves be convinced about that.

Our volume is structured into 5 chapters. The first, as already mentioned, deals with relations between the Romanians and the fire, the second with the relation between the fire and the living people of the Bronze Age, the third with the relation between the fire and the after world of the same communities, the fourth with the demographic aspects inferred from the anthropolgical studies of the cremated human bones, the fifth containing the conclusions.

The book also contains a list of the sites mantioned in text, some appendixes, literature and illustrations.

Evidently, the authors of the volume relied in their approach on their own archaeological and anthropological research² but, of course, they could not neglect the efforts of generations of specialist who delt with the Romanian Bronze Age³.

It will be easy to note that in our encounter with the stated topic, we mostly referred to the vestiges in Romania, avoiding, as much as possible, a comparative

analysis with the finds around the modern political borders of the country. We have considered that a less altered passing on of information, in many cases less known by the researchers in central and Western Europe, even if already selected by our subjectivism, is much more useful in the actual stage of the tackled issue. Further on, some new steps can be made.

We would like to thank here to some colleagues who supported us by suggestions or information or encouraged us in bringing our project to life: Dr. Valeriu Cavruc, Dr. Maria Comşa, Dr. Dragoş Gheorghiu, Dr. Mihai Rotea, Dr. Zsolt Székely, Dr. Mihail Zahariade etc.

NOTES

1. See Schuster 2000: 126 sq.
2. Schuster 1995a; Schuster 1996a; Schuster 1996b; Schuster 1997; Comşa 1997; Comşa 1998; Schuster, Popa 2000; etc.
3. The bibliographical list is relevant in this sense.

Chapter I

THE FIRE AND THE ROMANIANS.

A POSSIBLE APPROACH

Language aspects

In the Romanian language fire is called *foc*, a word that originates in the Latin *focus*¹. This word also exists in various terms, exclamations, incantations or imprecations, with the initial sense (to burn, to develop heat), but also as a comparison with the combustion condition, or rendering feelings etc.²: *he became fire* - Rom. *s-a făcut foc* (he got extremely angry); *to put the hand into the fire for someone* - Rom. *a pune mâna în foc pentru cineva* (to be very sure of the innocence, faith or honesty of someone); *to take the chestnuts out of the fire with someone elses hands* - Rom. *a scoate castanele din foc cu mâinile altuia* (to do a risky enterprize by using someone else); *straw fire* - Rom. *foc de paie* (short term enthuziasm); *to put straw onto the fire* - Rom. *a pune paie pe foc* (to incite to misunderstanding or quarrel); *to throw oneself into the fire for someone or something* - Rom. *a se arunca în foc pentru cineva* (to risk someone's life for someone or something); *to take fire with the mouth or eat fire for someone* - Rom. *a lua foc în gură, a înghiți foc* (to do everything possible, to do any sacrifices for someone); *of the Fire's Mother* - Rom. *de mama focului* (-terribly, extraordinary); *to pass something (usually the country) through the fire and sword* - Rom. *a trece ceva (de obicei țara) prin foc și sabie* (to destroy etc.); *to pour someone's fire* - Rom. *a-și vărsa focul* (to confide someone's troubles); *it wouldn't be a fire* - Rom. *n-o fi foc* (it will be no misfortune) etc.

The functionality of the fire for the Romanians

Even if searching the roots of some Romanian magical-religious practices of pagan essence in the spiritual life of some pre-Christian populations reaching up to the Thracian-Dacian stock, or even deeper, in the Indo-European one is not an easy task, we have to point out here that, in modern times, the fire plays an extremely important role for the Romanians. This statement is being proved through the beliefs and ceremonies in the rural environment, in all regions of the country. This fact is also rendered by the initial sources of inspiration of the great Romanian scientist, Mircea Eliade. For him³, the fire is one of the primordial elements and a condition of the matter with magical functions, that fascinates and subjugates the human being, has sacral atributes, for it is the one that purifies matter and transmits the God powers. It is also a symbol of the universal spirit, of the

unleashed powers, having both a divine and demonic origin. The texts in the Romanian folklore compilations are oftenly referring to the fire, light, ash or charcoals resulted after burning, when taking into account a multitude of moments or occasions etc.⁴ Because our encounter in this volume is focused just on distinguishing the relation between the fire and the people in the Bronze Age, we will not insist too much upon the connection between the fire and the Romanians. Still, we will not give up pointing out that, starting from the Middle Ages and up to the recent times, the mentioned connection would continuously develop on several levels and, of course, in some situations got more or less altered. In modern times Romania the fire is generally perceived as being sacred and purifying. The folk beliefs consider the spitting onto it to be a very big sin. Those community members who defile it, would be punished by getting ill. They either get scab, they loose their head hair, get boils etc.⁵ Moreover, being known for its benefic influence, it is used in incantations, in order to send away the evil spirits⁶.

The fire and the divinity

In the *Joimari* (Holy Thursday-the Thursday before the Easter) or in the Sunday night after it, charriot burning wheels covered with straw⁷ used to be rolled down on the hill slopes. These customs are connected with the cult of the Sun. All the lights (fires) are meant to help the Sun in its *critical condition* during the equinox, at the same time having a funeral function⁸. We should mention here that in many cases it could be noticed an attempt of the rural communities to bring some archaic, pagan practises close, or even overlapped with Christian festive days, without having any connection with them⁹.

Also, on Sunday night, after the Easter, in Muntenia (fig. 1/2), many fires use to be lighted in the village but, an interesting custom is to make a human figure out of straw and burn it on the field. This is considered by the ethnologists to be a reminiscence of the archaic times when the renewal of the time demanded human sacrifices¹⁰.

During the night of Saint Dimitrios who, in the folk traditions is called *Sâmedru* (October 25-26) during the ceremonials of renewing the calender¹¹, fires are being made¹². Then, a fir-tree is being cut down (a substitute of the divinity) and is being burnt on a funeral pyre, in order to revive and give abundance to the households. This is why people used to take charcoals and throw them for prosperity, into the orchards or garderns. Besides, the young participants would jump over the fire, due to the belief that those who would manage to do that would get married during that year. The older women offered the food that is usually given to waits, in the winter. The community made a kind of party, by eating and dancing¹³.

The fire and the people

In order to provide an appropriate image of the archaic symbolisms that resulted in the beliefs and customs employed in the Romanian rural life, we will try to render here its two main aspects:

A. The connection between the fire and the everyday life of the people

People and vases

Taking into account that for the archaeology of the Bronze Age one of the most important material traces is the ceramics, we have to show here that, for the Romanians, in more than 140 sayings referring to the clay pots, the *"vase represents, from one case to another, the honesty, virginity, purity, poverty, richness, stinginess, longevity, illness and death of the human being"*¹⁴. Regarding the latter aspect¹⁵, when the dead is taken away from home, his clay pot is ritually broken, by this magical practise the soul being transferred to the body, out of its geomorphous cover into the anthropomorphic one¹⁶. Thus, the individual, namely its material component, the body, and its ritual substitute, the pot, are returning to their initial stage, the clay. This substitution occurs only in some ritual contexts and ceremonies. Excepting the people, the worshipped divinity, various malefic and benefic entities can have substitutes¹⁷. The ethnologist Ion Ghinoiu mentions that we are facing a *"ritually manipulated substitute, performed by initiated persons: witches, midwife, godmother"*¹⁸.

In many regions of Romania the clay recipient is resembled and accepted as regards its shape, with the human body. Both the pot and the people have a mouth, lips, neck, shoulder, handle or hands, body, belly, leg. Once being burnt into the oven for ceramics, while taking contact with the fire, by purification of the matter, when three primordial elements are interacting (clay, water, fire), the clay vase receives life and, starting from that moment, it can be sacrificed, being able to replace any vivid organism (including the human one) and divinity¹⁹.

Pots and bread

The relation between the clay vase and the bread is also interesting. Thus, there is a perfect identity between the preparation of the paste for the vase and the one of the dough for the bread²⁰. Both the earth and the cereal grain must be broken up, the first by being crushed and the second by grinding and milling. To the obtained matter, water is being added, thus obtaining the clay, respectively the dough. Out of the clay are being modelled the recipients and out of the dough the bread. Subsequently, as we mentioned above, life is given to the pot when being

burnt, and the bread gets it by being baked into the so-called *fest*²¹ (hearth with detachable hemispherical lid) (fig. 41/1-2) or oven. Regarding the domestic ovens and hearths with detachable hemispherical lid, it is still maintained an interesting custom²². In the so-called *Ropotin* day²³, which is the third Tuesday after the Easter, several married women and *clean women*²⁴ gather together, the various parts of the village or kinships being considered; they simply perform the operation of modelling an oven. The earth is being kneaded, softened with water, mixed with chaff, afterwards the oven being modelled in the shape of a bell and left for getting dried at the sun. Later on, it is smoothened with fine clay, an operation whose purpose is to cover the possible cracks; then it is being adorned with green twigs²⁵ and field flowers, being left again to get dried on burdock-*Arctium lappa* leaves²⁶. After a good finish of their enterprise, the women make a party, sprinkling the oven with wine. In the up mentioned day, women have the right to be ruffer with men.

An interesting belief is described by I.A. Candrea, who says: *"You should not eat upon the hearth, because, otherwise, your mother would die, you eat your luck or powers or you tend to be poor. And this is an old reminiscence, of the pagan times, when the hearth was considered to be sacred and was a kind of shrine in the house, being the meeting place of the ancestors spirits"*²⁷.

During the pre-Christian times, out of which we consider the Bronze Age, the hearths, as real sacred objects, were being adorned, namely surrounded by various objects used in the magical-religious practises. Subsequently, together with the Christianization of the population north of the Danube and the formation of the Romanian people, the role of the hearth was taken over by the eastern wall of the house where *"the icon is placed and the candle is lighted, where people are praying and invoke the Christian divinity"*²⁸.

Fire and shelters

The most important moment in the ritual foundation of any shelter, being either a village, a house, tomb²⁹, cemetery, was the thrusting of the stake, pillar or pole³⁰. This became a kind of *axis mundi*, which connected the paternal Sky and the maternal Earth and established a center, called hearth - Rom. *vatră*³¹. The same denomination is given to a fire installation, which played and still plays a main role in some rural archaic milieus. The hearth is seen as a place *"where the food is being cooked and the people get warmed, a place appropriate for incantations, fulfilling spells and charms, for predicting the future and finding the fate"*³². The hearth (subsequently replaced by the more complicated stove) was located either in the house (which could be either at the surface of the ground³³ or deepened³⁴) or outside the perimeter of the shelters. For instance, in the historical provinces of Bucovina (the northern part of Moldova; fig. 1/2), Maramureș

(fig. 1/2), in the Apuseni Mountains, as well as in the counties of Mureș, Buzău and Ilfov, zones which are well known for the cattle breeding, or regions that the transhumant shepherds have crossed with their herds, on the Saint George Day-*Sângeorz*, still up to the middle 20th century, at the sheepfolds, the *living fire*³⁵ was set. It used to be made by young, *pure*, unmarried men, by rubbing two sticks of different essences, without being allowed to use the matches. Some earth was used for increasing the burning temperature³⁶. It had to be continuously maintained up to the dissolution of the sheepfold. If the fire would get extinguished, the shepherd who was supposed to watch it would have to be punished. At the limit between the Old and the New Pastoral Year, this fire had an apotropaic role, its power keeping away the witches and the destructive powers of the nature³⁷.

The hearths of the shepherds in the Cernei Mountains are located in a corner or on a side of the shepfold, their place being possibly moved from one year to another, as considered appropriate by the shepherd (taking into account the air streams)³⁸. In those mountains, the sheepfolds, situated at more than 700 m altitude, are abandoned during the cold season³⁹.

At Saint George (*Sângiorz*) it is also considered that the sky gets opened for a moment and to those who can see that phenomenon in the night all their wishes would get fulfilled throughout the year. This is a time when the treasures are burning, no matter if they are bond or unbond, bewitched or not, clean or unclean⁴⁰. Moreover, the Romanians maintain even today, evidently those in the rural milieu, that in the New Years Eve night the animals could speak, while the treasures light up and burn⁴¹.

The living fire was lighted both at the Saint George Day and at *Alexii* Day-March 17. In the latter case, the ritual purification of the surroundings would take place, because of the belief that, this is the manner in which the fields, orchards, people and cattle would be protected from evil. It is associated with an attempt of supporting the Sun on the occasion of the spring equinox⁴².

On March 9, at the spring equinox (by the Julian calender) that points the beginning of the Agrarian Year, are lighted the *mucenici* fires⁴³, with a purifying, profilactic, fertilizing, worshipping function. The house, household, vineyards and orchards garbage would be set to fire. This is a ritual purification, but having an evident practical significance too⁴⁴. This is the moment when the *Baba Dochia* (the old Dochia) a lady that, in fact, personifies the Old Year and the birth of the Dochia child who, in fact, is the New Year, are taking place⁴⁵. This personage (Dochia) is considered to be the lunar, equinoxial and maternal mythological representation⁴⁶. These events are connected with the Romanian villages having a pastoral economy.

B. The connection between the fire and the after life of the people

In the following lines, we will deal with some of the burial rituals, namely with the after life of the people. The cremation of human corpses, that we are interested in, has survived in Romania up to the recent times, sometimes by replacing these subjects with substitutes. Such procedures have been preserved by the folk tradition, being finally accepted by the Christian Orthodox Church, because they were too deeply enrooted to do away with them and they didn't harm the essence of the Christian precepts. When they did, they induced a strong conflict between the Church and the people mentality.

We will mention below some funeral customs, as described by ethnologists, these being followed by some *accessories* in connection with fire, that facilitate the travel of the dead towards the after world.

Symbolical cremation after burying the dead

In the Almaj region, the substitute of the dead (*staff*) takes part, during his symbolical cremation, at the funeral feast: *"before the people sit down at the table and the priest blesses the food, a stick with the length of the dead is adorned with flowers, on which a candle of yellow wax is being coiled and stays alight as long as the priest reads the prayers for the feast and then, when everybody sit at the table, they put out the candle and they arrange the stick on a chair near the table, in order to keep the place of the dead"*⁴⁷. In fact, there is a frequent practise in the folk funeral songs (the so-called *bocete* - mourning songs) for the *great passing* to give a symbolical description of the dead person, who usually takes the shape of a fir tree⁴⁸.

Another ritual, whose significance is not clearly decoded by now, is still preserved in the so-called *Clisura Dunării*, where the dead, before being buried were usually burnt in the region of the genitals⁴⁹.

Symbolical cremation of people who died away from home

The death of the people who were far from the space established for being born, married and dieing, it is considered by the folk tradition to be an unusual event, which could affect the existence of the whole rural community. This situation was solved by a symbolical cremation: on the place where the person died, every passer-by was supposed to throw a piece of wood on that spot. When the heap would get big enough, the funeral pyre was lighted up, without any other procedures⁵⁰.

Symbolical cremation for remembering the dead

In the holly week before the Easter, survive the pre-Christian rite of the dead cremation, together with the Christian inhumation of Christ. The tradition of

cremating in that mentioned Thursday (*Joimari*) and the reviving of the dead on Saturday, precede in time the funeral rite of inhumation of Jesus from Friday and of his Revival three days afterwards on Sunday (at the Easter). *"At Joimari there are made big fires in the house, on the floor, one fire for each dead. Above the fire we give knock-shaped bread as alm". "At Joimari, we go in the cemetery and light fires at the head of the dead. We put table cloths on the tombs and there we put knock-shaped bread and food that we part to the children". "At Joimari it is made a fire in every house for the dead who have left that house. The fire is made of Sambucus ebulus and hazel tree twigs exclusively gathered by children and old women. Above these fire we give knock-shaped bread as alm".* The alms keep with the ritual used in the ceremonial when burying people. Also, the members of the community go round the fire with water and incense, the same as it happens in recent times at the ceremonial for the dead during the inhumation.

Some pure persons are collecting plants with magical functions (dwarf elder-*Sambucus ebulus* and hazel tree twigs)⁵¹.

Also, in the Easter night a fire is lighted in the cemetery, keeping with the rules employed at the cremation of the dead⁵².

Cremation of the ghost (*strigoi*⁵³) dead⁵⁴

These procedures occurred in the contingency that the dead could not reach his final destination because the complete ritual has not been accomplished or refused to go back after visiting this world at certain festive days. He takes the shape of a so-called dead ghost who wants to take other souls with him, especially those belonging to relatives. These kind of ghosts are considered to bring epidemics, hail, as well as sufferings. By the places where they act, they are ghosts of air, water, land, cattle, beehive, rain, fire etc. Another kind of ghosts might come out of the living ghosts who have died. These living ghosts are spirits belonging to men or women who, in certain nights of the year (Saint Andrew - *Sântandrei*, which is the so-called Night of the Ghosts, or *Mâneacătoarea*) could get detached from their body while sleeping and do bad things. Seldom, this phenomenon would occur in other situations as well. Some people could become ghosts even starting from their birth (like those born with a tail and those coming from a marriage between relatives). These ones, after leaving the house through the window or door, roll for three times transforming themselves into an animal (wolf, dog, cat, pig, ram, hen, frog) and then go to certain places (for instance at crossroads, village borders), where they meet the dead ghosts. There, they take again the human shape and, after a dancing party, followed by a strong confrontation that lasted all night, they return to their deserted bodies in the morning. On their way back home, they use to seal the *mana* of the crops, the milk of the cattle, to take the power of men, to spread epidemics. They are making

attempts of entering some houses to kill some persons. The *strigoi* calls those people and, if they answer, they are killed. If not, he calls some objects to help him to open the door. In order to prevent such a thing to happen, the people keep their objects in a certain position and the vases for instance, are kept with their mouth downwards. People used to annihilate the force of the *strigoi* by eating or smearing themselves with garlic, by lighting fires or watching on cattle etc.

At the death of the living ghosts, they use to be *killed* by letting them to be stabbed with a spindle, splinter, spike, big nail or another pointed object, which is sometimes reddened into the fire.

In order to hamper the return of the dead ghosts, there are performed various practises of driving away the ghost (*destrigoire*), including the cremation of the exhumed cadavers on the edge of the pit. In other cases, the cadaver is taken into the forest where is cremated, the ash being scattered on the field or thrown onto the water⁵⁵. The burials that contain *strigoi* are detected by riding a stallion and jumping over the tombs during the night, followed by exhuming the dead and various rituals. Sometimes, the corpse is chopped with the scythes or hoes, pierced and hit with the pitchforks. Such information appear up to the mid 20th century Romania. To all these can be added the documents from the previous centuries that mention the fight of the Church against all these practices. Thus, the metropolitan bishop Grigore sends a letter to the priest Tudor from the Muscel County⁵⁶, dated on May 21, 1762, in which, he advises the priest to convince the people to follow the church teachings and not to burn the dead.

Another description of these customs states that *"the one supposed to have become evil (strigoi or moroi⁵⁷) after being buried, is being exhumed at midnight by his relatives who are mostly threatened. If he really becomes evil, they say they find him laying on a side, with the mouth full of blood (of course, these persons have been buried in a cataleptic condition and waking up they have writhed, trying to get out of there, without being successful). Thus, they take him and during the night, they move him into a forest or a clearing, make a fire and they burn the strigoi, or just his heart. The resulted ash is then thrown in a river"*. As regards the burning of the heart, this is found in the villages of Gogoșu, Bulzești, Orodel, Dăbuleni, Vârtoape, Pietroșani, Tătăraștii de Sus, Putineiu, Valea Măcrișului, Făgeț, Calata, Izvorul Crișului, Ceru Băcăinți, Valea Morii, Blăjel, Ludoș, in some cases, the ash of these procedure being preserved for usage in the folk medical practices (Tufeni, Schitu Brâncoveni, Tetoiu, Orodel, Gogoșu). In some other cases, the liver and heart of the *strigoi* are being burnt and afterwards, mixed with water are given to the relatives of the deceased.

In the Romanian Ethnographic Atlas, there are some questions (no. 919 *"How could people prevent themselves from becoming strigoi during their life, shortly before dieing, immediately after being dead, at the funeral and afterwards?"*

and 920 "*How a moroi or strigoi could be sent away?*") about the possibility to get rid of the *strigoi* and *moroi*. Some information say that the *strigoi* dead was transported into the forest, usually beyond the border of the village, where he was cremated and its ash spread on the ground or in a running water (Gogoșu).

Other sources have mentioned the burning of the *strigoi*, without giving any further details (Ceru Băcăinți, Pianu de Sus, Vața de Sus, Clopotiva, Foeni, Jebel, Sânnicolaul Român, Tufeni, Valea Măcrișului)⁵⁸.

The staff

In some provinces of the country, namely in Moldova (fig. 1/2), Bucovina and in Muntenia (fig. 1/2), there is also an interesting custom connecting the fire and the dead. Besides the usual candles that are being burnt, there is another one, which has a certain meaning and is lighted both before and after the funeral service, in certain specific moments.

A woman uses some cotton or tow thread to take the measure of the dead stature with it. Then, she prepares a candle⁵⁹ with it, using the yellow wax of a candle and a piece or the entire one that the dead person has held in her hand at the moment she died. In some regions, the thread employed for the wick is being passed for three times through the hand of the dead, or around the hallux (Păltini). When the wax is poured, the operation is done in the opposite direction then the one used for the normal candles. If the person was old, the candle must have the thickness of the thumb, while if it was young it must be thinner. Afterwards, the candle is coiled as a snake, with one end upwards. In this final form, it is placed either at the head of the dead or on the icon on his chest. This candle's meaning is that the dead would have a light on his way to heaven and besides, will have a staff to prop up; at the same time, the candle would burn all his sins, in order to go clean into the after world. As to its length, it is considered that by burning it, the fate of the dead in this world wouldn't follow him in the after world, but it would remain in the house. On the other hand, the soul of the individual would take the stature of the body and would be accompanied by the staff on its way. The coiling of the candle means that the dead would have an endless light in the after world⁶⁰.

Some authors consider that the staff itself is a symbol of the body of the deceased, while its burning is the cremation that used to be done in old times.

There is also the custom that the people in the villages light a candle which is similar to the staff in the so-called Holy Friday, before the Easter, the day when the dead of Jesus Christ is commemorated⁶¹.

There is also a supposition that the ash resulted from cremation could be, in some ritual cases, incorporated into the paste used for modelling the urns. In these pots, that would imitate the body of the deceased, food would be placed or incences burnt. In this sense, it is brought the argument found in an old prayer

mentioned in a church inscript (*Pomelnicul Mănăstirii Bistrița Olteană*), which says: "Remember God the souls who are lieing in the clay pots of our parents and brothers...". In our opinion, this would be not a proof regarding the inclusion of the dead ash into the paste of the new urn. Yet, it surely accounts for the usage of cremation⁶². Anyway, even if the up mentioned hypothesis is very tempting, we will have to wait until some chemical analyses would give some real answers upon this matter.

The fire and the ritual foods or drinks

Coliva-an alm

Regarding the burial customs, we should mention here the practise of the Romanians to give the so-called *coliva* as an alm during the funeral service and requiems. It consists of boiled wheat grains, mixed with sugar and grinded nuts, ornated with powdered sugar and candies⁶³. The word comes from the Slavic *kolivo*⁶⁴. Still, we should not neglect that the word *kollyva* was known in the ancient Greece⁶⁵, where it refers especially at the wheat sheaf, the term in the Romanian language being derived out of the Latin *manuculus*⁶⁶. But, we should not forget that even this term originates in the Greek *manna*, that, in it turn, comes out of the Biblic-Aramaic *mān*. Would this custom of offering wheat grain be a Neolithic custom? Did it exist in the Bronze Age? We will find that in the follosing chapters.

Mucenici - ritual bread

On March 9, when the 40 martires (also called *mucenici* from the Slavic *mučenikī*) are remembered⁶⁷ there were baked or boiled (today being more and more oftenly boiled) the so-callled *măcinici* (or *mucenici*, a word that comes from the Russian *mucenik*, meaning *rye pie*)⁶⁸, some kind of bees, birds, human figurines, but more usual litte knock-shaped ritual breads made of dough. The human figurines looked like dolls, having a head, nose, mouth, body, hands and legs⁶⁹. These bakery products must be considered to be elements connected with the beginning of spring and a new calender cycle.

Covașa - ritual drink against the strigoi

In some regions of Romania, in the Saint Andrew's night-*Sântandrei* (the night of the *strigoi*) a drink against the *strigoi* is being prepared, called *covașa*. It is made out of wheat and corn flour, sometimes just out of corn flour or millet mixed with boiled water and left in a warm place for fermentation till the following day. The resulted paste would be boiled again, for getting more viscid⁷⁰. That drink is given to neighbors both for protecting them against the *strigoi* and for the prosperity of the herds⁷¹.

The Forgotten bread - remembering the forgotten dead

On March 9, a festive day dedicated to the dead, a blind copy of a human body is made out of dough, but with mouth, ears, nose, called *the Forgotten*. This is prepared for all the dead who have'n been remembered along the year, namely those for whom all funeral rituals have been accomplished. This *bread* is given to children who dance with it around the fire made near the house. In some cases, it is brought down to the water level of a well. Afterwards, they smear it with honey and eat it. In some regions of the country (Bucovina) alms are given, in the usual traditons⁷².

*

It was out of our intention to present here an exhaustive list of Romanian customs and belief connected with the fire. They are in large number and have regional variants too. We have tried to provide an image regarding the archaic traditions that are still preserved by the Romanians. How deep in the history these traditions go? Are they coming since the Middle Ages, Bronze Age or Neolithic period? Are there archaeological finds that could account for such practises in the old times? To all these questions we will try to answer in the following chapters.

NOTES

1. DEX 1996: 388.
2. DEX 1996: 388; Brâncuș 1999: 88, with anallogies in the Albanian language.
3. Ruști 1997: 62sq.
4. For instance: Vorona 1998.
5. Candrea 1999: 97.
6. Candrea 1999: 375-377, 406.
7. Ghinoiu 1997: 74.
8. See Ghinoiu 1988: 174 sqq.
9. Ghinoiu 1997: 208.
10. Ghinoiu 1997: 222sq.
11. Ghinoiu 1997: 74.
12. Pamfile 1997: 182-184.
13. Ghinoiu 1997: 287sq.
14. Ghinoiu 1997: 185.
15. Ghinoiu 1997: 185.

16. In those three days before the interment of the dead some funeral *games* are taking place, like the so-called *the Horse* or *the Camel* in which an important moment is the breaking of the pot (for details see Herdan 1995: 165-172).

17. Ghinoiu 1999: 46.

18. Ghinoiu 1999: 46.
19. Ghinoiu 1999: 45.
20. Ghinoiu 1997: 85; Ghinoiu 1999: 47 sqq.
21. Rom. *test* - lat. *testum* - was and is still used by the peasant women for baking the bread (Șăineanu 1941).
22. Ghinoiu 1999: 60 with footnote 69.
23. About *Ropotin* see Ghinoiu 1997: 165.
24. Evidently, these would be women out of their period time, because then it is known, the blood is ominous. For further data see Girard 1987.
25. The green tweed has played an important role in the entire Balkan region (Thracian-Hellenic). In Romanian, more exactly in its southern region, in Dobrogea and Muntenia, it is still found a custom referring to the green tweed. Thus, a girl named *Lăzărița*), before the Palm Day night (on Saturday) would be dressed as a bride. The complex ceremonial that follows takes the girl and her accompanying pomp (the same like the one of the waits) through the people houses. They relate the drama of Lazăr or Lăzărița. They refer at the violent death, at the ritual bath and reviving the hero in the luxurious vegetation and to the happiness of the waits chora (Ghinoiu 1988: 176sqq.). As concerns the oven decorated with green tweeds, it is evident that they help at the *birth* of a fire installation, which, in its turn, would transmit the life to the sacred bread.
26. The burdock, lat. *Arctium lappa*, from the *Asteraceae* family it is a herbal plant, that during the drought can resist at extreme temperatures. It has big leaves that in the first year reach up to 0,50 m in length (Pârvu 2000: 79-81). It is used in biotherapy, both for people and animals, especially in feverish conditions. There is a possibility that the rounded or oval-shaped leaves of this plant, their large dimensions and their resistance at the solar *fire* as well as their potential of dropping the high temperature of the human or animal body could have determined its usage in this custom of molting the oven?
27. Candrea 1999: 103.
28. Ghinoiu 1999: 61.
29. The tomb is considered to be the shelter of the dead.
30. The word *par* in the Romanian language comes from the Latin *palus* (DEX 1996: 747), with the same meaning.
31. Ghinoiu 1999: 64sq.
32. Ghinoiu 1999: 60.
33. For further information about the surface dwelling at the Romanians see Ghinoiu 1999: 59-63.
34. For further information about the deepened dwelling see Nițu 1992; Ghinoiu 1999: 56-59.
35. The same denomination, of living fire, is given to some illnesses: red painful blisters, *Zona Zoster*, *herpes Zoster*, *erysipela* (called by the folk tradition *brâncă* or *orbalt*). For details see Candrea 1999: 99, 239, 272.
36. Regarding the way the *living fire* is made see field information collection: Voronca 1998 (2): 420.
37. Ghinoiu 1997: 74sq.

38. Maxim 1988-1991: 15.

39. Maxim 1988-1991: 15.

40. Ghinoiu 1988: 238.

41. Ghinoiu 1988: 148.

42. Ghinoiu 1997: 75.

43. Ghinoiu 1997: 75sq.

44. Ghinoiu 1988: 203.

45. Ghinoiu 1999: 34-38.

46. Ghinoiu 1988: 201.

47. Ghinoiu 1999: 222.

48. This is a tree with a special mythological meaning in the Romanian folk tradition. For further details see Vrabie 1999: 289-321.

49. Ghinoiu 1996: 202.

50. Ghinoiu 1996: 202.

51. Ghinoiu 1996: 202; Ghinoiu, 1997: 75.

52. Ghinoiu 1997: 74.

53. Rom. *strigă*, lat. *striga* and the suffix *oi* which is used for constructing a male denomination out of a female one (see Candrea 1999: 179).

54. In fact, this form of *existence* after the death, the same like *moroi*, has no correspondent in the English language. The *strigoi* is an entity that returns exclusively for taking the revenge upon the living.

55. There are many funeral rituals connected with water. As it is not the purpose of our paper to present them here, see for details Ghinoiu 1989: 424sq.; Ghinoiu 1999: 262-264.

56. In the former administrative division.

57. The so-called *moroi* comes out of the Serbian *mora* and the suffix *-oi* the one used also in the case of the *strigoi*. At the Serbians the same as it must have been initially accepted by the Romanians, the *moroi* is an evil spirit that, during the night presses the chest of an individual, trying to suffocate him. Yet, in time, the attributes and meaning of the *moroi* has changes, being oftenly taken for the *strigoi*, even if some regional differentiations occur. Sometimes, the *moroi* are considered to come out of children who died without being baptized or born by an unmarried woman and killed or buried alive. They get out of their grave after seven years from their birth in the shape of a fire whirl, which starts wandering the world, especially when the sky is clouded or during the storms. It runs straight forwards and destroys everything that is not alive. The living he either kills or makes them to get ill (see Candrea 1999: 179). Another interpretation which appears in the village of Bratovoiești. The *strigoi* which was not *killed* before the 40 days following the burial, or better said the evil in it, is getting transformed into a *moroi*. The *moroi* is very dangerous for the community, because he eats the heart of the people. The only method for annihilating the *moroi* is to throw his eags into the water, so that a symbolic death occurs. This action is determined by the fact that is not allowed to open the tomb after 40 days following the interment. Some practises for getting rid of the *moroi* are mentioned in Puicin 1998: 118sq.; see also Candrea 1999: 179. It is interesting that even the animals might become *moroi* after death (Candrea 1999: 180).

58. Ghinoiu 1996: 203-205; Ghinoiu 1997: 193sq.; Candrea 1999: 174-179.
59. The denomination used for this candle is *toiag*- staff in Moldova and Bucovina as well as in some parts of Transylvania, *privighitoare* and *lumina de stat* in some other regions of Transylvania, *lumina de stat* in Banat and simply *stat* in Muntenia.
60. Marian 1995: 102, 106.
61. Ghinoiu 1999: 220-222.
62. Duman 1990: 298.
63. Niculiță-Voronca 1998: 320sq.
64. DEX 1996: 197.
65. Morretta 1994: 49sq. See also Ghinoiu 1994: 220.
66. DEX 1996: 608.
67. DEX 1996: 658.
68. DEX 1996: 658.
69. Ghinoiu 1988: 204.
70. This is just one of the recipes employed for its preparation.
71. Ghinoiu 1994: 328sq.
72. Ghinoiu 1994: 239; Ghinoiu 1999: 263.

Chapter II

THE FIRE AND THE WORLD OF THE LIVING

As this paper refers to the Bronze Age (BA) on the territory of Romania (fig. 1/1-2), we feel the need to make some short comments regarding the relative and absolute chronology of this period. Even from the start, we have to say that, what we understand as being the beginning of the BA in Romania and the understanding of this epoch in the surrounding territories to our country, have certain differentiations. Thus, in the Romanian historiography, the so-called Transitional phase period between the Aeneolithic and the BA has been argued¹. The subsequent time span, namely the BA, is parted *grosso modo* into three big sequences: Early Bronze Age (EBA), Middle Bronze Age (MBA) and Late Bronze Age (LBA). Concerning the first stage, EBA, we have to say that, even since 1986, Petre Roman² has made a decisive step towards the clear delimitation of the EBA, both for the transitional period and for what it would follow after it. He divided this time sequence into three main parts (I-III) which, in their turn, had their own subdivisions (for the EBA manifestations see Table 1).

Generally, in the specialized Romanian literature and not only, this picture of the Romanian EBA has been accepted³. Others, though as exceptions, have tried to push the beginning of the EAB towards the dawn of the 3rd millenium B.C.⁴

Our knowledge upon the cultural manifestations of the MBA (see Table 2) and broadly of the LBA (see Table 3) are rich enough and rendered in various publications, of monographic character⁵. Lately, mostly disputed is the end of the LBA⁶.

Even a brief overview upon the physical map of Romania, allows us to notice a relief which is rich in different forms, starting from the Danube meadows (some of them dried today) and its delta, up to the fields, hills, highlands and mountains. The hydrographic network is rather rich but, in some regions depending upon the climate, upon the annual rainfall regime (rain and snow).

It is evident that the relief, the hydrographic network, climate, soils, flora and fauna have played an overwhelming role in all moments of the human presence on the territory of recent Romania⁷. This conclusion is also valid for the BA, when, it seems, as shown by the specialized studies, the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic lands have undergone climate changes, possibly even dramatic ones, to which some natural catastroph have been added, putting their fingerprint upon the life of the human communities⁸. This has also influenced the reports between people and fire.

As we could find in the previous chapter, the fire has met and still meets in certain milieus some different states: the solar fire, the atmospheric (lightening) or astral one, the fire inner to the organisms and matter, the living fire⁹. For the BA in

Romania, the only *documents* that prove the relation fire-community are those archaeologically identified. We ought to say even from the beginning that, in the correct decoding of this relation, there are objective impediments - insufficient archaeological vestiges - as well as subjective ones, the latter being determined especially by archaeologists, by their investigation methods, by their power to entirely and without alteration register what the digging provides, by their decoding formula to decipher and interpret the investigations results.

The connection human being-environment, must be always seen according with the former necessities, his necessity of survival in conformity with his food resources, with his protection while facing the nature's hostilities, those of the animals, or those of other human communities. But, as it was often pointed out, *"these place might receive also a supernatural legitimacy and a consecration"*¹⁰. Three components are playing a significant role in the socialization of these places: its election (the space might have topographic properties, signs of a hierophany), its cutting out (a space symbolically conceived as an absolute reference point), its construction (the addition of some artificial elements)¹¹. For the Romanian BA, as regards the settlements, dwellings, ovens, hearths etc. is extremely difficult to deaceal the mentioned moments. In the following lines, we will try to do that.

The first aspect between fire-human community that we are willing to aproach here is:

A. The fire and the settlements

1. *The fire and the unfortified settlements:*

The largest part of BA settlements on the territory of Romania, unearthed and studied (by systematic, rescue or surface surveys) are those of open type, anthropically unfortified¹². It is also true the fact that most of them were located in places with an appropriate environment, which favoured an eventual defensive action.

The relation fire-settlement could be detected both by the existence of some fire installations and the voluntary or involuntary intervention of the fire upon the constructions (upon the materials out of which they are built of), upon the implements, weapons, adornments, osteological remnants etc. Below, we will pay the proper attention to the entire lot of issues enlisted here.

2. *The fire and some elements of fortification from some settlements:*

Despite that to the Romanian BA are proper both the open settlements and the fortifications (in fact fortified settlements), the latter being actually in a lower percentage than the former category of sites¹³, the data concerning the role of the fire in the construction of some fortification elements are rather lacunary and uncertain.

At Șerbănești¹⁴, the bearers of the Glină Culture have raised a wall that had its inner surface hardened with a river stone pavement, the outer being covered with boulders and the core containing a mass of burnt earth mixed with charcoals.

The wall of the settlement belonging to the Ciomortan Culture at Păuleni seems to have been equipped with a wooden tower, which was set to fire¹⁵. The wall made of stone stuck with clay of the Wietenberg fortress at Turia had some stones burnt red¹⁶. Also, the wall at Coldău (fig. 17/3), which was made out of wooden cassettes filled with stones and earth was burnt on its northern part¹⁷. Evidently, the walls got in contact with a fire subsequently appeared after the construction raising, maybe resulting from their setting to fire due to a cause that we can not establish.

Much more interesting is the LBA fortification system at Popești (fig. 22)¹⁸. This consists in an earthen wall that has been raised atop the remnants of an older fortification and a defensive ditch. There is a supposition that the wall has girdled the settlement in its eastern, southern, western parts, while the ditch existed just in its southern part, being conceived for cutting off the access with the rest of the promontory that protrudes in the Argeș river bed. In the perimeter mentioned by the archaeologists, the wall covers a length of cca 19 m at its base and a height of 2,80 m. The structure of the wall consists of a burnt core that is directly overlapped over a layer of stones and a pile of beams and stones, a red area comprising adobe fragments, broken clay lumps and portions of burnt wood, a yellow area and another greyish one. Evidently, the relation fire-wall has been established right in the moment of the latter construction. The burnt core was probably meant to provide a special hardness and resistance to the wall. Therefore, we have relevant examples to the fact that the fire has also played a role in the construction of some fortification elements of the BA settlements.

3. A certain type of "settlements" - the *zolniki* - "cinderers":

In the Romanian archaeology, the cinderer is considered to be an elevation, a mound, which is flattened and contains remnants of surface dwellings, namely adobe fragments (some bearing traces of wickerworks, pillars or reed), a lot of ash, wood charcoals etc.¹⁹ In the specialized literature of Russian language such complexes are called *zolniki*.

This type of *settlement* is characteristic to the Noua²⁰ and Coslogeni Cultures²¹, but they also appear in the Tei Culture²², especially in eastern Romania and having a slight representation in Transylvania (fig. 1/2) too (the Noua²³ Culture).

It is interesting to notice here the Noua find at Gârbovăț where, each out of the five cinderers consisted of other smaller cinderers²⁴.

Taking into account his own observations, Eugen Comşa²⁵ has forwarded an interesting hypothesis regarding the cinderers. Thus, he considers them to be the result of some domestic depositions (out of fire hearths, ovens and dwellings), that appeared after a (ritual?) cleaning that took place in the settlement. This custom is still found today at the Turk rural population in Dobrogea (fig. 1/2). In time, the strata of their domestic depositions are raising real mound, identical to those in the LBA of Noua and Coslogeni type. Therefore, it is possible that, what we consider the remnants of a settlement, could be simply the domestic garbage coming from the real settlement, located somewhere around and whose traces were not detected by the archaeologists.

B. The fire and the shelters

The dwellings of the BA have been studied by many specialists²⁶. Those studies mostly considered their construction mode, the shape and seldom their functionality. The dwellings didn't look much different than those in the neighboring regions, or the way some dwellings in the rural Romanian milieu look even today (especially in Dobrogea, southern Muntenia and southern Oltenia; fig. 1/2) or some belonging to the ethnic group of the gypsies. It is notable that some miniatural houses, like those in the Nir Culture at Berea-*Togul Sfântului Gheorghe* and Ciumeşti-*Bostănărie*, provide us information about the way the real constructions have looked like²⁷. Probably, some of the constructions had decorated walls, as shown by some finds of adobe fragments (see Geoagiu de Sus²⁸ - fig. 40)

Complex approaches, meant to take into consideration the complete set of issues in their interconnection regarding the constructions - the places chosen for raising a dwelling, the role of a dwelling in the settlement, the type of dwelling, its shape, dimensions, raw materials employed, techniques for raising it, foundation rituals, demographic aspects etc. - do not exist by now. Another matter that has been just partly approached, is the relation dwelling (construction) - fire. We don't refer here at the fire installations, that we will deal with further, but to the role of the fire in the moment when the dwelling has been abandoned. Is it the fire the real cause for deserting the shelter or its set follows after the mentioned moment?

We know that, sometimes, the fire has been used even for raising dwellings. Such an example is the floor, which is brought to a superior resistance by using the fire, in a dwelling of the *Otomani* Culture, at Carei-*Bobald*. Also burnt by its builders was the floor of the surface *Wietenberg* dwelling with a rectangular shape, uncovered in the section 2, at -0,40-0,45 m, in the site at Sibişeni²⁹. These examples, and possibly others too, are just exceptions because, most of the dwellings had no floors at all. Still, if they existed, they were made out of treaded

earth in which there were seldom included limestone grains, small gravel, pounded ceramics. A small number of these floors have been burnt but, it seems to have been a secondary burning, due for instance to a fire that destroyed the shelter.

The immense majority of dwellings in the BA, found and investigated in Romania show us that they have been destroyed by a fire. Sometimes, this was so intense that the clay material (adobe) has become a vitreous mass. In these cases it is evident that the vegetal part, namely the wood of the pillars that made the dwelling skeleton, the wickerworks, the roof made out of wood, reed, or other puddle plants could not feed such a devastating combustion. There is a possibility that the fire could have been intensified with some additional inflammable materials. Why was this done for? Why did a dwelling, a construction have to be completely destroyed?

The fires could break out due to the negligence of the dwelling inhabitants or as a result of an enemy attack, that intended to destroy the settlement by fire. But, what if the fire had a purifying role and implicitly its usage was meant to make a hygienization of the dwelling whose inhabitants got ill or one of them has died?

In many dwellings, under the clay layer of the walls that fell down towards the inner part of the construction and under or in the ash resulted after the burning of the roof, could be identified special archaeological materials - ceramics, implements, weapons, adornments made of various materials - that, in the case of a peaceful deserting of the shelter would not have been abandoned, given their value for the community. And still, why they lie sometimes in a suspect arrangement, as they would not be placed into a house that would be meant to be deserted in a brutal way but, on the contrary, that would hospitable expect its inhabitants or guests?

Would a dwelling that sheltered an epidemics, death or maybe a punishment generated by the breaking of the community rules have to be destroyed by the purifying fire so that it would not represent a potential danger any longer? Might have been possible that the entire, unaffected and still in use dwelling belonging to a deceased have been a temptation for him to return into the world of the living thus endangering the community? It is hard to know that! What we know is that some ethnological examples, both from Romania and elsewhere, seem to confirm those mentioned by us.

I. Examples of arsoned dwellings: we refer here at extremely powerful arsons:

- Glina Culture: București-Roșu (deepened dwelling whose filling earth bore traces of an extremely strong fire)³⁰;

- **Monteoru Culture:** Pufești (the walls of the dwelling no. 2 in mound no. 1 underwent an extremely intense fire, being transformed into charred slag)³¹;
- **Noua Culture:** Dealu Morii (in the cinderer have been identified the remnants of a surface dwelling burnt up to pulverization)³²;
- **Schneckenberg Culture:** Sfântu Gheorghe-Örkö (due to an intense fire, the rectangular surface dwelling has been burnt and reddened)³³;
- **Tei Culture:** București- Văcărești-Sectorul A-Cuhniile (dwelling B5 has been destroyed by a fire that made its adobe walls to became red-brick or black-slaged colour)³⁴;
- **Verbicioara Culture:** Verbicioara (as a result of burning the huts, remained a lot of cinder and charcoals almost at all)³⁵;
- **Wietenberg Culture:** Tâmpa-*La Cazan* (the fire has melted a part of the surface dwelling inventory, transforming the adobe and the ceramics into a vitrous slag)³⁶;
- **EBA:** Năeni-*Zănoaga* (in the site at *Cetățuia 2* remnants of a burnt surface dwelling have been detected)³⁷.

And the examples could continue. There is no Culture in the Romanian BA where we would not find burnt shelters. In fact, we ought to be content that those fires existed because, paradoxically, they allowed the conservation of many archaeological materials.

C. The fire and exterior platforms

In some settlements, exterior platforms made of burnt clay have been unearthed. They had various locations, raising modes, forms and thicknesses, on their surface or/and around them sometimes being found a multitude of archaeological materials, some of them extremely interesting and significant. Out of those platforms we mention:

- **Monteoru Culture:** Năeni-*Zănoaga* (beneath the adobe fragment of a surface shelter in Cetățuia I site, a platform has been identified, being not entirely investigated and consisting in a thin crust of clay - 0,03-0,05 m, burnt *in situ*, that covered two hearths - V20 și V24; between those two hearths there were two pits, filled with limestone boulders, adobe and ceramic fragments)³⁸;
- **Otomani Culture:** Carei-*Bobald* (in the square 7 of the section VII/1994, at a depth of 1,45-1,40 m, a burnt clay platform has been identified, probably being an exterior one, with a maximal diameter of 1,50 m, with an oval shape; around the hearth it could be noticed a thicker deposition of cinder, ashes pigmented with charcoals and several pits in which some vases have been placed; according to J. Némethi, there is a possibility to face a cultic complex)³⁹;

- **Tei Culture:** Mogoșești (fig. 6; in section no. 13, north from the pit nr. 4 and dwelling no 1 a platform made of burnt clay⁴⁰ has been identified, being slightly convex, with a rectangular shape, the dimensions of 2,34x1,75 m, a non-uniform thickness of about 0,05 m, its maximal quotation being reached in its central zone - 0,08 m. Several remakings could be detected, being made especially in the estern part. The orientation of the platform was NNV-SSE. It was raised directly on the ground. Its upper part has been found at -0,45 m.

The raw materials out of which it was constructed was a good quality clay with slight impurities, consisting especially out of pebbles and tiny ceramic fragments. Each of the platform corners had a hearth.

The platform had no border. On its entire surface, but mostly close to the hearths, burnt osteological remnants and just few ceramic fragments have been found.);

- **Wietenberg Culture:** Cernat⁴¹.

If, when considering the clay platform at Mogoșești things seem to be clear, in some cultic monuments, usually it is hard to establish the functionality of such *constructions*. Even if it is tempting, we are convinced that not all could be connected with ritual practises.

D. Hearths

The fixed hearths

In the Romanian language, the term of *vatră*, that designates the hearths, has several meanings. Thus, the word that is related to the Albanian *vatrë*, refers to the dwelling, home, fatherly house or native place, nest of a wild animal with his descendants in it, the main, central zone of a settlement, the surface on which the settlement stretches on⁴², a patch of land on a field that differs from the rest⁴³. In archaeology, the hearth is *"the place where the fire is being made"* or, more exactly, *"the uncovered installation included into a construction or located under the open sky, where the fire is being made"*⁴⁵.

In our analysis with respect to the Romanian BA hearths, we will consider the following aspects:

I. Their location:

I.1. In the perimeter of the constructions:

I.1.a. In deepened dwellings⁴⁶:

- the Balta Sărată group: Sacu-Țărinioara Lelcea in deepened dwelling no 1 of Section 1/1996, at -0,70 m, it appeared a hearth in poor preservation condition)⁴⁷;

- **Glina Culture:** București-Ciurel (found in the center of the shelter)⁴⁸;

• **Monteoru Culture:** Bogdănești (in the two half-dug dwellings a hearth has been found)⁴⁹, Coroteni (in deepened dwelling no. 1 several hearths have been found)⁵⁰, Terchești⁵¹, Vârteșcoiu (in deepened dwelling no. 12 two overlapped hearths have been uncovered)⁵²;

• **Noua Culture:** Nicoleni (one hearth)⁵³, Peteni (in the first deepened dwelling - with a diameter of 2x2 m - the hearth was found in its north-western corner, while in the second one it was located in the middle of the construction)⁵⁴, Vânători (the hearth was identified under a complex of stones which was probably part of a half-dug dwelling)⁵⁵;

• **Tei Culture:** Mogoșești (fig. 4; in dwelling no 2, in the *absidal* part of the construction a hearth has been identified, being noted as hearth no. 3bis)⁵⁶;

• **Wietenberg Culture:** Aiton⁵⁷, Eliseni (the hearth was located in the north-western corner of the deepened dwelling of 2x2 m)⁵⁸, Porumbenii Mari (the hearth was in the north-western corner of a deepened dwelling of 4x2,5 m)⁵⁹.

I.1.b. In the surface dwellings⁶⁰:

• the **Cehăluț group:** Suplacu de Barcău-*Lapiș* (in a rectangular dwelling a hearth has been found)⁶¹;

• **Coslogeni Culture:** Grădiștea-*Coslogeni* (hearth no. 9 comes from a possible surface dwelling)⁶²;

• **Costișa Culture:** Borlești-*Dealul Runcu* (in a rectangular dwelling a hearth has been uncovered)⁶³;

• **Gârla Mare Culture:** Ghidici-*Balta Țarova* (fig. 7/1; hearths have been found in dwellings no. 5 and 6)⁶⁴;

• **Glina Culture⁶⁵:** Branet, Căscioarele, Drăgănești-Olt, Greci, Mihăilești-*Tufa*, Odaia Turcului, Schitu-*La Conac* (fig. 2/1, 3/1), Schitu-*Gaura Despei* (fig. 2/2), Șerbănești (the hearth in dwelling no. 2 had the dimensions of 2,60x2,00, being intensely burnt)⁶⁶;

• the **Livezile Group:** Livezile-*Baia* (surface dwellings with two hearths)⁶⁷;

• **Monteoru Culture:** Dealu Morii (hearth remains in former surface dwellings)⁶⁸, Mănăstioara-Fitionești in the dwellings discovered there the hearth were set directly on the floor)⁶⁹, Năeni-*Zănoaga* (two hearths, no. 1 and 4 - located in a possible surface shelter-workshop)⁷⁰, Pufești (in the middle of the appendix near the dwelling no. 1 in mound no. 1 a hearth has been identified; in dwelling no. 4 remains of the hearth border have been found; in dwelling no. 3 from mound no. 2 another hearth has been discovered)⁷¹, Sărata Monteoru (in sector 1, east of the surface P.7, in a surface complex, a hearth has been unearthed)⁷², Terchești (fig. 15/2; fire hearths have been found in several dwellings)⁷³, Vârteșcoiu (in dwelling no. 19, 8 hearths have been identified; in dwelling no. 9 there was a single hearth; the hearth in dwelling no. 18 was situated in the middle of the long south-eastern side of the complex, and upon it there were 7 pyramid weights)⁷⁴;

- **Mureș (Periam-Pecica) Culture:** Periam (in a rectangular dwelling a hearth has been identified)⁷⁵;

- **Noua Culture:** Dealu Morii (in dwelling no. 1 in cinderer - *zolniki* - I, namely on its eastern border, a hearth has been discovered; dwelling no. 2 in cinderer - *zolniki* I there was also a single hearth; in the dwelling no. 2, in cinderer - *zolniki* II it was found just one hearth too)⁷⁶, Ghidfalău (several hearths in the dwelling from layer III: their dimensions could not be established)⁷⁷, Nicoleni (in section 1, in a surface dwelling, of oval shape, in its middle, a circular hearth was found)⁷⁸, Ozun-Lisnău (four dwellings, each having a hearth)⁷⁹, Bărboasa-*Podu Morii*⁸⁰, Săvești-*Izvoare* (fire hearth in several dwellings)⁸¹, Turia-*Județ* (in the north-eastern corner of a dwelling with a diameter of 5x4 m a hearth was located)⁸²;

- **Otomani Culture:** Carei-*Bobald* (in the dwelling from section III/1988 a hearth has been uncovered; the same in sections IV-V/1988 but, this time, it was located in the center of the dwelling; another hearth has been identified in section IV/1988 but, on the western side of the dwelling)⁸³, Pir-*Cetate* (possible hearths inside some dwellings, which marked various habitation layers)⁸⁴;

- **Schneckenberg Culture:** Cuciulata-*Pleşia Pietroasă-the lower layer* (the hearth in the huts was raised a little bit higher than the floor)⁸⁵, Cuciulata-*Pleşia Pietroasă-the upper layer* (in the rectangular dwelling, almost in the middle of the room a hearth has been found)⁸⁶;

- **Tei Culture:** București-*Chitila-Căramidărie* (fig. 3/2; fragments of a hearth with probable dimensions of: length=1 m, breadth=0,60 m.)⁸⁷;

- **Verbicioara Culture:** Bucura (pieces of hearth, possibly coming from a surface dwelling)⁸⁸, Orevița Mare⁸⁹, Verbicioara⁹⁰;

- **Wietenberg Culture:** Aiton-*Deasupra Morii*⁹¹, Bistrița-*ICVH*⁹², Cornești-*Podețul Mic* (fig. 17/2; two fire hearths in a dwelling)⁹³, Derșida⁹⁴, Deva-*Dealul Cetății*, Ghirbom-*Sub Vii*⁹⁵, Obreja⁹⁶, Pălatca⁹⁷, Păuleni Ciuc-*Dâmbul Cetății* (fig. 20; three hearths in construction inside the dwelling no. 7)⁹⁸, Porumbeni Mici⁹⁹, Sibîșeni¹⁰⁰.

1.2. Exterior hearths:

- the Cehăluț Group: Suplacu de Barcău-*Lapiș* (two exterior hearths)¹⁰¹;

- **Costișa Culture:** Borlești-*Dealul Runcu*¹⁰², Dulcești-*Valea Neagră* (a fragmentary hearth with the remaining diameter of 0,30 m and a thickness of 0,035 m)¹⁰³;

- **Gârla Mare Culture:** Ostrovu Corbului-*Cluci* (in the three dwellings investigated in 1980-1983 hearths have been also found)¹⁰⁴;

- **Glina Culture**¹⁰⁵: București-*Glina*, Schitu-*La Conac*, Schitu-*Gaura Despei*;

- the Igrîța Group: Deva- *Viile Noi* (two hearths)¹⁰⁶;
- Monteoru Culture: Bogdănești¹⁰⁷, Mănăstioara-Fitionești (about 2,00 m far from a surface dwelling)¹⁰⁸, Sărata Monteoru (in sector 2, in the south-eastern part of the surface P7, hearth no. 2 has been identified)¹⁰⁹;
- Nir Culture: Carei-*Bobald* (in S IX/1995, at the depth of 1,45-1,40 m an exterior hearth has been discovered)¹¹⁰;
- Noua Culture: Cavadinești-*Râpa Glodului* (two hearths)¹¹¹, Dealu Morii (in cinderer I an exterior hearth has been unearthed; the same in cinderer III)¹¹², Bărboasa-*Podu Morii* (a hearth found near the dwelling no. 1; some other two, located some distance away from the mentioned one)¹¹³, Sighișoara¹¹⁴, Șopteriu-*La Romonți* (on the hearth a andezite grinder has been found)¹¹⁵;
- Verbicioara Culture: Vierșani-Jupănești (near a deepened dwelling = diam. 0,65x0,58 m)¹¹⁶;
- Wietenberg Culture: Boiu-*Măgulicea* (on the north-eastern side of a surface dwelling)¹¹⁷, Daia Română (possible exterior hearths)¹¹⁸, Derșida (probably exterior hearths have existed too)¹¹⁹, Deuș-*Lunga* (fig. 21/1)¹²⁰, Deva-*Cartierul Viile Noi*¹²¹, Pălatca¹²², Sfântu Gheorghe-*Pe Șes*¹²³, Unirea¹²⁴;
- BA (without certain cultural assingment): Viișoara (by surface surveys, both Wietenberg and Noua ceramics have been found; decorated fragments)¹²⁵.

1.3. *Hearths in the caves:*

- dated back in the BA: Gălășeni (the discoveries in the aven of the cave belong to the EBA; here a small hearth has been found, used repeatedly, having around fragmentary ceramics, animal bones, many *Ostrea* shells, a bone awl, 5 marble beads, atypical quartz breakings)¹²⁶, Izbândiș (in both spots with LBA - depositions have been identified, besides vessels, ceramic fragments, bronze, bone and obsidian objects, notable quantities of charcoal and ash)¹²⁷, Ribicioara-*Peștera Cizmei* (hearth with traces of ash and charcoal)¹²⁸;
- the Igrîța Group: Igrîța (since LBA, in the niche III animal bones- bovid, goat, deer boar, bear - have been uncovered, together with vases, bronze objects passed through the fire, two figurines made of burnt clay, ash)¹²⁹;
- the Roșia Group: Călățea (a hearth situated close to the entrance)¹³⁰;
- Tei Culture: Brașov-*Peștera Gura Cheii*¹³¹;
- LBA: Izbucu Topliței¹³².

1.4. *Hearths in pits:*

- Glina Culture: București-*Ciurel* (at -2,40 m, in the center of the deepened dwelling investigated in 1994, an oval pit has been found, used as a fire place)¹³³;
- Tei Culture: Mogoșești (fig. 4; in dwelling 2/deepened dwelling a small pit with ash has been found, being possibly used as a fire place)¹³⁴;

- **Wietenberg Culture:** Bădeni (fig. 17/1)¹³⁵, Cluj-Napoca (hearth fragments in a ritual pit)¹³⁶, Cluj-Becaş (fig. 8/2; in pit 3, section II, the traces of a hearth with border have been found, which was raised directly on the soil and could be reconstructed; pit 5 also contained the remains of a possible hearth with border)¹³⁷, Fântânele-Dâmbul Popii¹³⁸;

- **BA: Cehci-Misig** (the four pits investigated in 1987 contained as inventory fragmentary ceramics, bones and charcoals, adobe, as well as a hearth around which there were placed a big recipient and fragments from smaller vases arranged in a semicircle; near the hearth an adobe fragment decorated with wide flutings has been found)¹³⁹.

II. *The shape of hearths:*

II.1. *Circular (round):*

- **Gârla Mare Culture:** Ghidici-Balta *Țarova* (hearth in dwelling no. 5)¹⁴⁰;
- **Glina Culture**¹⁴¹: Branet, Căscioarele, Mihăilești-*Tufa*, Schitu-*La Conac*;
- **Monteoru Culture:** Bogdănești (in half-dug dwelling 2 a semicircle-shaped hearth has been discovered)¹⁴²;
- **Noua Culture:** Ozun-Lisnău¹⁴³, Nicoleni¹⁴⁴, Peteni¹⁴⁵, Turia-*Județ*¹⁴⁶, Vânători (with a diam. of 0,75 m)¹⁴⁷;
- **Schneckenberg Culture:** Cuciulata-*Pleșița Pietroasă-upper layer* (rounded hearth with a diameter of 0,90 m)¹⁴⁸;
- **Tei Culture:** Brașov-*Peștera Gura Cheii* (with the diameter of 1,00 m)¹⁴⁹;
- **Wietenberg Culture:** Aiton (diam. 0,40 m)¹⁵⁰, Bădeni¹⁵¹, Boiu-*Măgulicea* (diam. 0,60 m)¹⁵², Porumbenii Mici¹⁵³.

II.2. *Oval:*

- the **Cehăluț Group:** Suplacu de Barcău-*Lapiș*¹⁵⁴;
- **Costișa Culture:** Borlești-*Dealul Runcu*¹⁵⁵;
- **Glina Culture**¹⁵⁶: Morărești, Schitu-*La Conac* (fig. 2/1);
- the **Igrița Group:** Deva-*Viile Noi* (the first hearth has the maximal diameter of 0,58 m, while the second of 0,62 m)¹⁵⁷, Simeria (maximal diam. 0,60 m)¹⁵⁸;
- **Monteoru Culture:** Bogdănești (an exterior hearth with dimensions of 0,60x0,70 m)¹⁵⁹, Costișa (with diameter of 0,80x1,20 m)¹⁶⁰, Mănăstioara-Fitionești (exterior hearth with a diameter of 1,20x1,50 m)¹⁶¹, Vârteșcoiu (the two overlapped hearths had a diameter of 1,25x0,60 m)¹⁶²;
- **Nir Culture:** Carei-*Bobald* (oval, with maximal diameter of 1,50 m)¹⁶³;
- **Noua Culture:** Dealu Morii¹⁶⁴;
- **Schneckenberg Culture:** Cuciulata-*Pleșița Pietroasă-lower layer* (with a maximal diameter of 0,83 m)¹⁶⁵;
- **Wietenberg Culture:** Bistrița-*ICHV*¹⁶⁶, Derșida¹⁶⁷, Deuș-*Lunga* (fig. 21/1; diam. 0,65x0,50 m)¹⁶⁸, Eliseni¹⁶⁹, Pălatca¹⁷⁰.

II.3. *Rectangular:*

This kind of hearths have a squared or rectangular shape, most of the time with rounded corners. Their dimensions vary from one case to another, being not proportional with the dimensions of the construction when those in the perimeter of the dwellings are considered.

- **Costișa Culture:** *Borlești-Dealul Runcu* (in a dwelling of rectangular shape a rectangular hearth has been uncovered)¹⁷¹;
- **Gârla Mare Culture:** *Ghidici-Balta Țarova* (fig. 7/1; the hearth in dwelling no. 5)¹⁷²;
- **Glina Culture:** *Șerbănești* (dimensions of 2,60x2,00 m)¹⁷³;
- **Monteoru Culture:** *Pufești* (the hearth in dwelling no. 3 in mound no. 2)¹⁷⁴;
- **Noua Culture:** *Cavadinești-Râpa Glodului* (two exterior hearths with a diameter of 1,00x1,80 m)¹⁷⁵;
- **Tei Culture:** *București-Chitila-Cărămidărie* (with rounded corners)¹⁷⁶;
- **Verbicioara Culture:** *Orevița Mare* (with the dimensions of 1,10x1,70 m)¹⁷⁷, *Vierșani-Jupânești*¹⁷⁸;
- **Wietenberg Culture:** *Derșida*¹⁷⁹.

III. *Construction mode:*

III.1. *Made exclusively out of clay, directly on the ground:*

The hearth has been directly raised upon the level of the surface dwellings and of the settlement (in the case of the exterior ones) or on the bottom of the deepened dwellings (here, being sometimes upon the floor made of treaded ground).

- the **Cehăluț Group:** *Suplacu de Barcău-Lapiș*¹⁸⁰;
- **Costișa Culture:** *Costișa* (the hearths have their sticking plaster directly on the ground, their crust being thin and brittle, sometimes existing remainings, especially at those located in surface A, section IV)¹⁸¹;
- **Gârla Mare Culture:** *Ostrovu Corbului-Cliuci* (simple hearths, carefully smoothened)¹⁸²;
- **Glina Culture**¹⁸³: *Branet, Greci, Morărești, Odaia Turcului, Schitu-La Conac, Schitu-Gaura Despei, Șerbănești*¹⁸⁴;
- the **Igrița Group:** *Deva-Viile Noi*¹⁸⁵, *Simeria*¹⁸⁶;
- **Monteoru Culture:** *Dealul Morii*¹⁸⁷, *Mănăstioara-Fitionești*¹⁸⁸;
- **Noua Culture:** *Șopteriu-La Romonți*¹⁸⁹;
- **Schneckenberg Culture:** *Cuciulata-Pleșița Pietroasă-lower layer* (with a maximal diameter of about 0,83 m)¹⁹⁰;
- **Tei Culture:** *București-Chitila-Cărămidărie*¹⁹¹;
- **Verbicioara Culture:** *Vierșani-Jupânești*¹⁹²;

- Wietenberg Culture: Aiton-*Deasupra Morii*¹⁹³, Bădeni¹⁹⁴, Bistrița-*ICHV*¹⁹⁵, Cluj-*Becaș*¹⁹⁶, Cornești-*Podeiul Mic*¹⁹⁷, Daia Română¹⁹⁸, Derșida¹⁹⁹, Deuș-*Lunga*²⁰⁰, Deva-*Cartierul Viile Noi*²⁰¹, Deva-*Dealul Cetății*²⁰², Ghirbom-*Sub Vij*²⁰³, Obreja²⁰⁴, Pălatca²⁰⁵, Păuleni Ciuc-*Dâmbul Cetății*²⁰⁶, Porumbenii Mici²⁰⁷, Sfântu Gheorghe-*Pe Șes*²⁰⁸, Unirea²⁰⁹.

III.2. *On a bed of ceramic fragments:*

On the ground it was a bed of ceramic fragments resulted from various, from a single (or seldom from two) intentionally broken vases. Subsequently, upon this bed a clay layer was stuck.

- Glina Culture²¹⁰: Branet, Drăgănești-Olt;
- Monteoru Culture: Bogdănești (hearths belonging to the Monteoru Ic2 level)²¹¹, Terchești (a layer of ceramic fragments resulted from ritually broken vessels)²¹², Vârteșcoiu (the hearth in the upper layer)²¹³;
- Noua Culture: Dealu Morii (on a bed of ceramic fragments coming out of a single vessel, probably ritually broken; another hearth raised directly on the floor, being surrounded by a small clay border)²¹⁴;
- Otomani Culture: Carei-*Bobald*²¹⁵.

As concerns the hearths with a base made of fragments from one or several ritually broken vases, we could pose the question regarding the occasion when those vessels have been broken: was it in the moment when the hearth has been raised or preceded it? Did the ritually broken vase belong to a deceased person, so that it had to be destroyed and its fragments incorporated in the hearth so that the fire could purify the soul of the dead? Or the spirit of the deceased has been locked up in the hearth, namely in the fire, so that it had no possibility to haunt the settlement in the malefic way? Or were there the souls used as *fuel* for certain hearths?

III.3. *On a bed of stones:*

The place of the bed consisting in ceramic fragments is taken by the one made of stones, most of them being river stones. We haven't noticed their rigorous selection according with their dimensions, shape or consistency. Evidently, the presence of the stones has a practical role, being known that they *stock* the heat, thus increasing the efficiency of the hearths.

- Costișa Culture: Borlești-*Dealul Runcu* (interior hearth, made of boulder and having border)²¹⁶;
- Monteoru Culture: Bogdănești (the hearths in two half-dug dwellings were made of stones - gritstone in half-dug dwelling no. 1; the same construction is found at the exterior hearth, whose smoothening has been set upon a thin layer

of earth, above a bed made of stones)²¹⁷, Mănăstioara-Fitionești (hearth with border in a surface dwelling; another hearth made with a bed of gravel and sticking plaster)²¹⁸, Năeni-Zănoaga (hearth no. 1 and hearth no. 4 in the site *Cetățuia I*, raised directly on the stones)²¹⁹, Terchești (fig. 15/2; the hearth has been initially made by alternating a thin layer of stones with the clay layer)²²⁰, Vârteșcoiu (out of the two hearths overlapped with the dwelling no. 12, the one in the lower layer has been raised upon a river stone platform; the hearth in the dwelling no. 18 was surrounded by river stones)²²¹;

- the Odaia Turcului Group: Odaia Turcului (hearths on a gravel bed)²²²;
- Noua Culture: Ghidfalău²²³, Nicoleni²²⁴, Peteni²²⁵, Bărboasa-*Podu Morii* (hearth with stone border)²²⁶, Rateșu Cuzei (hearth having the smoothening spread upon a gravel layer)²²⁷, Turia-*Județ* (with big stones)²²⁸, Vânători (initially made of a river stone settled with its flat side upwards, then surrounded with earth that, subsequently, by burning has become of orange-red colour)²²⁹;
- Schneckenberg Culture: Cuciulata-*Pleșița Pietroasă-upper layer* (hearth on a bed of pebbles)²³⁰;
- Tei Culture: Brașov-*Peștera Gura Cheii* (hearth made on a stone layer bordered with gritstone sedges)²³¹;
- Wietenberg Culture: Fântânele-*Dâmbul Popii* (hearth with stone border)²³², Porumbenii Mari²³³;
- EBA: Năeni-Zănoaga (in the site *Cetățuia 2*, hearth remains have been identified; they consisted in clay crusts placed upon a bed made of river stone)²³⁴.

III.4. *On a bed consisting in a mixture of ceramic fragments and stones:*

Generally, the big stones or river stones have been set onto the ground, subsequently being set the ceramic fragments, the entire assembly being stuck with clay.

- Costișa Culture: Borlești-*Dealul Runcu* (near a dwelling with rectangular shape a hearth has been containing in its sticking plaster ceramic fragments and some stone implements)²³⁵;
- Monteoru Culture: Costișa (the hearths have been made out of a sherd bed placed upon a gravel layer, which, in its turn was situated above a pavement made of boulders)²³⁶, Mănăstioara-Fitionești (exterior hearth made of pebbles, clay sticking plaster, to which, subsequently, a layer of ceramic fragments has been added)²³⁷, Pufești (the hearth in the appendix of the dwelling no. 1 in mound no. 1, made of a layer of gravel and ceramic fragments; the hearth in dwelling no. 3 and mound no. 2 was made of small and middle-sized stones together with clay)²³⁸, Terchești (on a bed of gravel and ceramic fragments)²³⁹;
- Noua Culture: Dealu Morii (hearth with border made of flat pebbles and raised upon a thick layer of gravel mixed with ceramic fragments; another hearth

has a border made of stone and with its sticking plasters settled upon ceramic fragments coming from a single sack-shaped vessel)²⁴⁰, Bărboasa-*Podu Morii* (three hearths raised upon a layer of gravel and ceramic fragments, one of them still preserving remains of the border made of flat vertically arranged stones)²⁴¹;

- Wietenberg Culture: Derșida²⁴².

IV. *Hearths types:*

IV.1. *Simple, with smoothened surface or margins:*

They are often found, this type of hearth having its surface and sometimes its margins smoothened, having no roughnesses.

- the Cehăluț Group: Suplacu de Barcău-*Lapiș*²⁴³;
- Glina Culture: all the hearths discovered until now;
- the Igrîța Group: Deva-*Viile Noi*²⁴⁴, Simeria²⁴⁵;
- Noua Culture: Cavadinești-*Râpa Glodului* (two exterior hearths with a well preserved smoothening)²⁴⁶, Ozun-Lisnău²⁴⁷;
- Otomani Culture: Carei-*Bobald*²⁴⁸;
- Schneckenberg Culture: Cuciulata-*Pleșița Pietroasă-lower layer* (with a maximal diameter of about 0,83 m)²⁴⁹;
- Verbicioara Culture: Vierșani-Jupânești²⁵⁰;
- Wietenberg Culture: Eliseni²⁵¹, Ghirbom-*Sub Vii* (smoothened on its margins)²⁵², Păuleni Ciuc-*Dâmbul Cetății*²⁵³.

IV.2. *With border:*

The border had both the role of keeping the burnt residues and the one of thermic isolation, resulting in a better regulation and maintenance of the temperature.

- the Cehăluț Group: Suplacu de Barcău-*Lapiș* (one of the exterior hearths had a border)²⁵⁴;
- Monteoru Culture: Bogdănești (the exterior hearth had a border made of middle-sized stones)²⁵⁵, Terchești²⁵⁶;
- Noua Culture: Ozun-Lisnău²⁵⁷, Bărboasa-*Podul Morii*²⁵⁸, Rateșu Cuzei (hearth with a lower border)²⁵⁹;
- Tei Culture: București-*Chitila-Cărămidărie*²⁶⁰;
- Wietenberg Culture: Cluj-*Becaș*²⁶¹;

V. *Usage duration:*

V.1. *Long time:*

In the case of the hearths with a thick layer of burnt clay, with multiple remakings, we could talk in most of the situations of an intense use, possibly in a longer time span.

- Glina Culture²⁶²: Branet, Drăgănești-Olt, Morărești, Schitu-*La Conac*;
- the Igrița Group: Deva-*Viile Noi* (the upper part appeared like a cemented crust, while in depth the ground has changed its colour, running from brick-red up to yellow-brown)²⁶³;
- Noua Culture: Bărboasa-*Podu Morii* (with its sticking plasters twice remade)²⁶⁴; etc.

V.2. *Short time:*

Very many hearths appear with the slightly burnt clay layer, the range around them being also slightly affected by the fire. Its possible that, those hearths, bearing no traces of remakings, sometimes being just patched up, have been in use for a relatively short time.

- Glina Culture²⁶⁵: Branet, Mihăilești-*Tufa*, Schitu-*La Conac*, Schitu-*Gaura Despei*;
- Schneckenberg Culture: Cuciulata-*Pleşia Pietroasă-lower layer* (with a maximal diameter of about 0,83 m)²⁶⁶;
- Verbicioara Culture: Vierșani-Jupânești²⁶⁷;
- Wietenberg Culture: Boiu-*Măgulicea* (slightly burnt)²⁶⁸, Cluj-Becaș²⁶⁹.

VI. *Functionality:*

VI.1. *Domestic:*

With rare exceptions, all hearths have been employed for the domestic necessities.

VI.2. *Cultic:*

- Glina Culture: Branet and Schitu-*La Conac*, hearths with receptacles and various other artifacts (miniatural charriot wheels, zoomorphic idols, votive axes) around, that can lead us to the idea that, in certain moments, the domestic hearths have also played a cultic role²⁷⁰;

- Nir Culture: Carei-*Bobald*, around the hearth of the Sanislău phase, have been buried several vessels of small dimensions²⁷¹;

- Vatina Culture: Cornești (in sections 2 and 3 at a depth of 0,80 m, a shrine-hearth (?) has been found, upon which 23 vases have been monumentally arranged)²⁷²;

- Wietenberg Culture: Albești²⁷³, Geoagiu (possible cultic hearth)²⁷⁴, Sighișoara-*Dealul Turcului* (C. Seraphin has discovered two decorated hearths²⁷⁵. They were at a depth of about 0,60 m and at a distance of 7,50 m one from another. The first was better preserved, having a rounded shape, with probable dimensions of 1,50-1,60 m, being raised directly on the virgin soil²⁷⁶. It was decorated with concentric circles, the central area being delimited by an ornamentation

consisting in a zig-zaged band made by stamping. Towards the outer part there are two bands decorated with incized, linked spirals, made of 4, respectively 5 lines of incisions. These are delimited by three concentric circles and separated by a free space. The inner circle consists by 13 smaller linked spirals, while the outer one, affected by time, out of which just 8 have been preserved is considered to have had initially 10-11 spirals. Hearth no. 2, with a diameter of about 1,00 m, has been precariously preserved²⁷⁷. The central part was delimited by a circular band that contains triangles having their point towards the center and filled with incised lines, paralld with one of their sides. It was also preserved a hearth fragment with two spiral loops made of a band with four slightly relieved lines (back cover figure, reconstruction).

E. Other fittings for making the fire

1. In connection with the magical-religious manifestations:

1.1. Sanctuaries:

- **Monteoru Culture:** Sărata Monteoru-*Cetățuia* (sanctuary surrounded with stones on a surface of more than 20 sqm)²⁷⁸, Sărata Monteoru-*Poiana Scoruşului* (under the socle of a pyre with considerable dimensions a construction has been unearthed, which we consider to be a sanctuary, worked out of big stone blocks, that hosted a hearth inside)²⁷⁹;

- **Otomani Culture:** Sălacea (the construction, with a surface of 47 sqm, comprising three chambers where, in the second, a hanging-mobile shrine has been found; in the third chamber of the sanctuary there were two fixed trapezium-shaped altars, with smoothened surface and margins; the upper part of the altars bore burning traces; for each altar, beside it, clay weights with a piramid-shape, horizontally pierced towards their point, three curved stone knives and a cyllindrical clay support have been found; the complex had two development phases, an aspect for which also accounts the fact that in its last phase the lateral walls have been decorated with a frieze conceived with geometrical motifs)²⁸⁰;

- **BA:** Crasna-*Csereoldal* (in 1982 a sanctuary has been investigated that, near its northern wall, had big fragments of adobe resulted from an altar, ornamented with parallel bands or circles impressed with wide fluttings drawing up spiral-meander motifs; the altar with the dimensions of 1,26x0,94 m, had an oval-shape)²⁸¹.

1.2. Fixed-shrines:

- **Monteoru Culture:** Căndeşti-*Cetățuia Nacu* (in the south-eastern area of the site, belonging to the Monteoru IIa-IIb phase, aproximately 5 m away from the last shelter, a layer of gravel has been laid, followed by one consisting of sand and

thin sledges of gritstones, the respective assembly creating a rectangular platform with a diameter of 2,50x1,50 m, in its center being placed an altar-hearth with a diameter of 1,00 m, raised upon the fragments of a cup, of a jar-vase and of a bowl, covered with a clay sticking plaster; possibly, also about 10 m far from the last construction of the settlement a shrine has existed)²⁸², Căndești-*Coasta Banului* (in a pit with a diameter of 1,80 m and a depth of up to 0,60 m a layer of sand has been laid; in the center of the pit a hearth with a diameter of 1,00 m has been discovered, around it being uncovered four receptacles, arranged two by two, out of which two cups with their mouth downwards)²⁸³, Mănăstioara-Fitionești (a shrine consisting in a rectangular-shaped hearth with a diameter of 1,00x1,50 m, raised 3 m far from the last hut, made of gritstone sledges, with a border made of conglomerate sledges, upon which a clay layer has been applied; as a result of an intense burning, the hearth has been remade by breaking a jar-shaped vase, whose fragments have been covered with a new layer of clay; right near this hearth, on a stone platform of small dimensions, covered with a layer of clay, a grinder with rubber, a miniatural bovid horn made of burnt clay, a hoe made of buck antler, several animal bones have been found, all arranged in a semicircle)²⁸⁴, Mândrișca (upon a pit inside which the frontal bearing the horns of a ram have been put, a square-shaped altar-hearth has been set, having the dimensions of 1,75x1,75 m, initially being worked out of clay and subsequently alternated with a layer of gravel stuck with clay)²⁸⁵, Năstăseni (fig. 15/1; on a surface of 6 sqm, about 30 m far from the last group of shelters, a layer of 0,10 m thick consisting in gravel has been spread, being covered with another one, made of clay; in the middle of this rounded surface an altar-hearth has been raised upon a layer of gravel stuck with clay; the altar was decorated in the center with the solar disk, out of which its beams have started; intensely burnt was just the area of the solar disk)²⁸⁶, Sărata Monteoru-*Cetățuia* (in the western part, where the fortress had a terrace, upon the fittings for steps made here, two altars have been identified; first of them consisted of two offering vessels, fragments of some cups and of a storage pot, a small cultic table, ash and bones; the second altar comprised an offering vase, flanked on a side by a buck antler and on the other by a charred wooden bough, another offering receptacle, a storage pot, four cups, a small cultic table, a clay disk, charcoals, bones and ash; notably is that the stones around the offering vessels are reddened, fact which, together with the ash and charcoals, point to the idea that they underwent an intense burning)²⁸⁷;

- **Otomani Culture: Zăuan-*Dâlna Cimitirului*** (the inventory of a pit consisted of four Otomani III cups, reconstructible Wietenberg vases and fragments of an altar with an intensely burnt surface, decorated with deep flutings, in groups of three or four and creating curved-linear motifs, as well as relieved conical prominences on its border)²⁸⁸;

- **Suciu de Sus Culture:** Culciu Mare (in the settlement, in an unclear context, pieces ornamented with spirals coming from possible shrines; interestingly have been found; a pit has been also investigated, having as inventory a small clay column decorated with two lines of prominences)²⁸⁹;

- **BA: Biharea** (in 1979 a construction with a surface of 9,5x8 m has been investigated, having as inventory, among others, fragments of a destroyed altar, out of which just large ornamental pieces, alveoli and incisions painted in white colour have been found)²⁹⁰.

I.3. *Ritual pits:*

- **Coslogeni Culture:** Căscioarele- *Valea Coșarului* (fig. 24/5; in the pit no. 1, of an almost circular shape, out of which just the lower part has been preserved, complete and fragmentary vessels, fragments of a portable hearth-vessels, four complete or fragmentary anthropomorphic figurines have been unearthed; the filling earth of the pit had a blackish colour and contained in a relatively large number hearth fragments, charcoal pigments, several small animal bones and stones)²⁹¹;

- **Monteoru Culture:** Pufești (a pit with the diameter of 1,00 m and a depth of 0,60 m has been dug into the north-western edge of the mound no. 1; its walls have been successively covered with clay layers for three times: the last sticking plaster bore traces of intense burning, resulted from an intensional setting of fire inside it; a jar-shaped vessel, this being also secondarily burnt, but not at the same time with the walls of the pit, inside it being found ovicaprines bones, wheat grains, chaff, all of them unburnt and charcoal placed in the center of the pit)²⁹².

II. *In connection with the everyday life:*

II.1. *Ovens:*

The ovens are *"installations for heating and baking which, in the tehnology of fire have meant the main practical application of fire discovery and usage, among which is also the one of transforming materials out of the nature"*²⁹³.

Even if, as we will see, some domestic ovens have been identified, some authors are questioning their existence²⁹⁴.

Such complexes have been identified in the following cultural milieus:

- **Coslogeni Culture:** Grădiștea-Coslogeni (several ovens have been identified: *oven no. 1*²⁹⁵ is a simple one, having a callote, an aproximately round shape, with the lateral elongated opening orientated towards south-east, being situated in a layer of spared clay; the oven had a hearth with 1 m in diameter; *oven no. 2*²⁹⁶ has been dug into spared clay, under the shape of a vaulting with a diameter of 0,7 m, having the hearth with a length of 1,22 m, surpassing the extremity of the access opening orientated towards north-west-south-east 310; the

inside walls have been intensely burnt, this fact being noticed on a thickness of about 6 cm; in front of the oven, at the level of the hearth, on a surface of 2,30/2 m an agglomeration of intensely burnt stones has been found; *oven no. 3*²⁹⁷ had a hearth with an opening of 0,90 m and was ended in its south-western side with a slightly overraised up step; *oven no. 4*²⁹⁸ has been also dug into the spared clay, having its burning opening orientated towards east-north-east; its calotte has a semi-sphaerical shape, with a diameter of 0,60 m and a height of 0,50 m; *oven no. 5*²⁹⁹ had a semicircular calotte, with its opening orientated towards north-east; the oven had a maximal diameter of 1 m, its walls being unevenly burnt; on a side of the hearth a pillar hole has been detected, being probably part of a protection assembly; on its center, the calotte had an airing orifice; *oven no. 10*³⁰⁰ had an aproximately rounded hearth, with a diameter of 0,95 m; it had several strata of clay; *oven no. 11* was represented by remains of the calotte; etc.);

- **Glina Culture:** București-*Glina*, Drăgănești-Olt (in the surface dwelling, with small dimensions, having an oval shape, being constructed as a prolongation of the hearth, its inner walls being reddened by burning, the clay mixed with ceramic fragments resulted from various containers being used as the material out of which the oven has been made)³⁰¹;

- **Monteoru Culture:** Vârteșcoiu (in dwelling no. 17, in its south-eastern side, a domestic oven could be investigated, having a hearth of 0,70x0,40 m and with a vault having a height of 0,40 m; another oven, and we believe that this time it belonged to a pottery maker, has been discovered between the dwellings no. 5 and 6. It had an oval shape, with a diameter of 1,30x1,00 m, having a central pillar in order to sustain the vault; it was made out of river stones, ceramic fragments and clay)³⁰²;

- **Noua Culture:** Gârbovăț (fig. 19; in cinderers-*zolniki* no. 1, IV and V ovens have been unearthed, having a diameter of 0,60-1,20x0,50-1,00 m and the lense-shaped, flat-convex cross-section)³⁰³, Zoltan (a part of the cinderer uncovered here has been overlapped by an agglomeration consisting, among others, out of burnt clay pieces, probably coming from a vaulted oven)³⁰⁴;

- **Tei Culture:** București-*Lunca Bârzești-punctul 2* (the western part of the vault has been preserved, having a circular base, with a diameter of 1,60 m, the inside height of 0,50 m and the opening towards east; it's been in use for a short time)³⁰⁵;

- **Verbicioara Culture:** Rogova (fig. 21/2; fragments of an oven)³⁰⁶;

- **Wietenberg Culture:** Coșeni (according to the author of the find, it is an oven that possibly has belonged to a pottery maker; it had a vault with a base of 1,20 m and the maximal height of 0,54 m; in our opinion this was a domestic oven)³⁰⁷, Tâmpa-*La Cazan* (pieces of clay have been found, modelled with fluttings made with the fingers, above which a thin layer of whitewash has been laid; these might be parts of an oven)³⁰⁸.

II.2. *Certain pits:*

Some pits, of various shapes, which are considered by specialists to be complexes for provisions keeping, have undergone a burning of their bottom or walls, sometimes being only partial, in order to become impermeable for liquids:

- **Monteoru Culture:** *Cândești-Coasta Banului* (a pit with the diameter of 1,80 m and a depth of 1,10 m with its walls well covered with clay, having an inventory consisting in a dish with burnt wheat grains, being surrounded by charcoals and ash)³⁰⁹;
- **Otomani Culture:** *Carei-Bobald* (for instance pit no. 2 and 5/1989)³¹⁰;
- **Tei Culture:** *București-Chitila-Cărămidărie* (near the surface dwelling in level no. 1, a bell-shaped pit has been uncovered, with a diameter of 2,20 m and a mouth of 1,25 m)³¹¹;
- **Wietenberg Culture:** generally, the pits unearthed inside the habitation complexes of this Culture are considered to be storage one (some of them having their walls smoothened with a stratum of clay): *Cornești-Podeiul Mic*, *Derșida* etc. Still, there are some storage pits located outside the shelters area: *Unirea*³¹².

F. The fire and the various raw materials or matters

F.1. The fire and the clay

I. *The burning of the clay objects:*

When we refer to the objects of burnt clay, in most of the cases, we think about the ceramics. Unfortunately, we don't know too much about the mode of ceramic burning in the BA. Given the less relevant traces, it is possible that the great majority of the receptacles have been burnt into surface installations (ovens), or in pits. The clay used to be taken out of the perimeter or the proximity area of the settlement, thus being explained by some specialists the existence of some pits that subsequently became domestic ones.

Possible remains of some ovens for ceramics:

- In section 2, pit 2, in the settlement of the **Coslogeni Culture** at *Bugeac-Ghețarie* possible remnants of an oven for ceramics burning have been identified³¹³. There were fragments of the burning platforms. That platform has been done upon a base of twigs, arranged in parallel. At its upper part, the platform has been covered with a thick layer of clay which created the platform proper. Draught perforations were disposed in parallel lines, in the spaces engaged in the grill; at *Lupșanu*, in the cinderer no. 2, a fragment of a plaque made of burnt clay has been found, bearing cylindrical transversal perforations, with a thickness of 0,044 m, coming from an oven for pottery burning³¹⁴;

- At *Boinești*, in the settlement of the **Suciu de Sus Culture** a fragment of a clay grill has been uncovered, that could possibly come from an oven of a pottery maker³¹⁵;

- At București-*Lunca Bârzești-spot no. 2*, in the domestic pit no. 25 belonging to the Tei Culture, some tube-shaped objects with longitudinal perforation have been discovered, considered to be rejects, which have been used for the temperature regulation in the oven for burning the pottery, with their platform engaged with draught perforations³¹⁶. This find would possibly account for the existence of the ovens for pottery burning in the mentioned site of the Tei Culture, fact which would be unique in the range of the respective manifestations.

- Also in the Tei Culture, at București-*Chitila-Fermă-level III*, a boulder of dried clay has been uncovered, which must have been set near the fire and bore traces of the moulding fingers³¹⁷. The fingerprints come from the fingers of a woman.

It is difficult to establish if pottery makers really existed, namely if a clear specialization of a professional category has been achieved or the pottery making had a domestic character, in which men, women and children could get involved.

II. *The fire and some containers and clay objects:*

Not all receptacles or artifacts in the category of the *Other clay objects category* underwent a secondary contact with the fire after their burning. Most of them have been used for keeping food and liquids and we refer here at the vessels, or have been employed in the domestic activities, in the magical-religious practises as regards other clay pieces excepting ceramics.

A part of the vases have been utilized for cooking or frying food. Others, the same like the burnt clay objects have played a special role, getting in contact with the fire after their initial burning. Out of these, we have selected the following:

1. *The mobile (portable) hearths (ovens):*

- finds of Biharea type: Biharea³¹⁸;
- the Cehăluț Group: Acâș-*Crasna Veche* (fig. 31/1)³¹⁹, Foeni³²⁰, Pișcolt-*Nisipărie*³²¹, Suplacu de Barcău-*Lapiș*³²², Valea lui Mihai³²³;
- Gârla Mare Culture: Balta Verde (in the necropolis)³²⁴, Izvoarele (fragments found in a deepened dwelling)³²⁵;
- Mureș (Pecica-Periam) Culture: Pecica (27/4)³²⁶;
- Otomani Culture: Carei-*Bobald*³²⁷, Cehăluț³²⁸, Dindești-*Cetate*³²⁹, Otomani-*Cetatea de Pământ*³³⁰, Păuliș-*Dealul Bătrân* (fragments)³³¹, Pișcolt (fig. 31/2)³³², Valea lui Mihai³³³;
- Suci de Sus Culture: Berveni-*Râtul Caprei* (fig. 27/3; vitrous fragments, unearthed in pit no. 2/1984; another fragment appeared in the pit no. 1/1984)³³⁴, Culciu Mare³³⁵, Medieșu Aurit³³⁶, Lăpuș³³⁷;
- Tei Culture: București-*Chitila-Fermă-level I*³³⁸, București-*Lunca Bârzești-spot 2* (fragments found in the deepened dwelling 1 and pits no. 6 and 35)³³⁹;

- Verbicioara Culture: Verbicioara³⁴⁰;

• Wietenberg Culture: Beudiu³⁴¹, Cicău-Corabia (fig. 29/1-2)³⁴², Cluj-Napoca-*Maxim Gorki Str.*³⁴³, Derșida³⁴⁴, Dorolțu (fig. 3)³⁴⁵, Obreja (fig. 29/5)³⁴⁶, Racoș-*Piatra Detunată*³⁴⁷, Rotbav-*La Pârâuț* (fig. 29/4)³⁴⁸, Viștea-*Kikutverme* (fig. 30/4)³⁴⁹.

2. Fuming vases:

• Wietenberg Culture: Albești³⁵⁰, Chintelnic³⁵¹, Cicău-Corabia³⁵², Derșida³⁵³, Feldioara³⁵⁴, Oarța de Sus (fig. 28/1, 32, 33, 34/1, 35; seven pieces, each of them with their own peculiarities as regards their moulding and decoration)³⁵⁵, Sic (fig. 30/3)³⁵⁶, Sighișoara-*Dealul Turcului* (fig. 26/3, 30/2)³⁵⁷, Viștea (fig. 30/1).

What is the use of this vase? Possibly a ritual one: Albești (they must be rather put in connection with the fuming vases finds from here)³⁵⁸, Oarța de Sus (uncovered in a clear context, namely it was part of a cultic complex)³⁵⁹, Sighișoara-*Dealul Turcului* (fragments of a fuming vase have been identified near the hearths)³⁶⁰. Even if Carol Kacsó has used in his article written in German language the neutral term of *geschlitzte Tonröhre* (tube made of splitted clay), he was inclined to put the respective receptacle in connection with the fire, with the light producing, with the keeping of ash and charcoals, with the burning of special substances³⁶¹. The lateral holes have been employed for the oxygen penetration and the handles for the facility of pieces manipulation. Still, it is interesting that the artifacts from Oarța de Sus didn't get in contact with the fire³⁶², missing the traces of burning, even in the case of fragmentary pieces.

Florin Gogâltan³⁶³, when speaking about the fuming-vases, refers to some funnels with perforations, similar to the strainers, but being meant to protect the flame that burnt on the little shrines (?), keeping it small, thus being also avoided the possible danger of an open fire that could affect the shelter/dwelling.

2. Portable shrines:

- Glina Culture: București-*Bucureștii Noi*, București-*Fundeni*³⁶⁴;

- Gârla Mare Culture: Cârna³⁶⁵;

- Monteoru Culture: Căndești-*Cetățuia Nacu*³⁶⁶;

- Otomani Culture: Sălacea (miniatural)³⁶⁷, Tiream³⁶⁸;

• Wietenberg Culture: Cernat (altar-hearth that could be reconstructed; it had an oval shape, with a clay border, at one end and on both sides having 3 (4?) handles; also on the border there are two supports upon which two figurines have been settled, one being a conical one - falus?; the other being an anthropomorphic figurine - see the picture on the front cover of this book)³⁶⁹, Derșida³⁷⁰,

Ilăpriea³⁷¹, Măhăceeni (possible fragments)³⁷², Racoș-*Piatra Detunată*³⁷³, Sighișoara-*Wietenberg* (fig. 26/4-5; several fragmentary altars and their foots have been uncovered; they have a flat, rectangular, border and some of them must have had handles too)³⁷⁴, Turia (fig. 28/1; altar fragments)³⁷⁵.

These pieces, deposited or hanged in a space which was considered to be a sacred one inside the dwelling³⁷⁶, have been probably used for the ritual practises connected with the worship of fire³⁷⁷.

3. Lamps or aromatic-burners: it is hard to establish which of the recipients in the Romanian BA would belong to that category. Possibly, we could consider here *polypod bowls (Fußschalen)*³⁷⁸, discovered in the following milieus:

- Glina Culture: Braneț, Ostrovu Corbului-*Cliuc*³⁷⁹;
- Yamnaia Culture: Corlăteni, Grivița³⁸⁰;
- the Jigodin Group: Lelicieni-*Muntele cu Piatră*³⁸¹;
- the Livezile Group: Livezile-*Dealul Baia*³⁸²;
- Makó Culture: Foeni-*Cimitirul Ortodox*, Parța, Periam³⁸³.

To this kind of vessels, which was specific to the steppe cultural manifestation starting from the north-pontic zone (*Mihailovka*) and up to the Central Europe, in southern Germany, Tchech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary (*Čaka*, *Nagyrev*, *Cham*), a special attention was given by several specialists³⁸⁴.

In this category of vessels employed for lighting could be possibly included the so-called fish-plates (*Fischplatten*) or other recipients (especially trays) with a less higher edge³⁸⁵.

III. Other objects of burnt clay:

1. Anthropomorphic idols:

Out of clay have been moulded a large amount of objects, with a diverse functionality, with different shapes, some bearing ornaments. We remind here for the BA Romania the miniatural charriots and wheels³⁸⁶, votive axes³⁸⁷, the small altar-tables (about these see further), zoomorphic³⁸⁸ and anthropomorphic figurines. The latter have a large variability of shapes, some of them being decorated. In some cases can be distinguished the sexual marks, fact which allows to fix the gender to which they belong. There are no rare situations when the figurines lack their arms or legs, eyes, nose, mouth etc. Some, like those of the *Gârla Mare* Culture, made in the shape of a bell, have an extremely nice ornamentation.

The clay idols (or, sometimes, just parts of their human body) have been uncovered in many cultural milieus, out of which we should mention:

- the Balta Sărată Group: Ciuta-*Grajdurile C.A.P.*³⁸⁹, Sacu-*Țărinioara*³⁹⁰, Valea Timișului (in fact, this is a Gârla Mare import)³⁹¹;
- the Cehăluț Group: Acâș-*Crasna Veche*³⁹², Suplacu de Barcău³⁹³;
- Glina Culture: Branet³⁹⁴, Odaia Turcului³⁹⁵, Schitu-*Gaura Despei*³⁹⁶;
- the Gornea-Orlești cultural aspect: Ocnele Mari-*Zdup*³⁹⁷;
- Monteoru Culture: Coroteni³⁹⁸, Vârteșcoiu³⁹⁹;
- Mureș Culture: Pecica⁴⁰⁰;
- Nir Culture: Berea-*Vii*⁴⁰¹; somewhere between the localities Satulung and Finteușu Mic⁴⁰²;
- Noua Culture: Bărboasa⁴⁰³, Nicoleni (fig. 25/1-2)⁴⁰⁴;
- Otomani Culture: Acâș-*Crasna*, Pir, Săcuieni, Sălacea, Suplacu de Barcău⁴⁰⁵;
- Tei Culture: București-*Băneasa*⁴⁰⁶, București-*Tei*⁴⁰⁷, Căscioarele-*Valea Coșarului* (four feminine figurines discovered in a ritual pit - fig. 24)⁴⁰⁸, Grădiștea⁴⁰⁹, Mogoșești⁴¹⁰, Novaci⁴¹¹;
- Verbicioara Culture: Vulturești⁴¹²;
- Wietenberg Culture: Agrișteu⁴¹³, Derșida (fig. 25/3), Feldioara, Nicoleni, Sighișoara-*Dealul Turcului*, Țelna⁴¹⁴.

Why have we insisted upon some of the clay figurines or their fragments? Even if they have been unearthed in settlements, either in the archaeological stratum or in the complexes (dwellings, pits), they have evidently played an important role for the bearers of the various BA cultures. Some can be considered to be representations of the gods or were part of an assembly that embodied the god. We think here about the clay leg which was empty inside, found in the large dwelling of the Tei settlement at Mogoșești (fig. 5)⁴¹⁵, a leg inside which, the same like in its pair that was not found, the remains of the vegetal matter of the worshipped god were kept. Other figurines could possibly protect their owner or his family and house of illnesses, perils etc. or brought him prosperity, rich crops, many and healthy domestic animals, good fortune at hunting or battle. Some of the idols have their head broken since the old times. Were they used for magical practises?

We have noticed that even today there are baked in the oven anthropomorphic figurines made of dough. Would it not be possible to exist, even in an altered condition, a connection, a pagan continuity that comes since the BA and even older between the baking of the clay idols and the ones made of dough, as found in some villages of today Romania?

2. *Miniatural cultic tables:*

In some cultures of the BA some miniatural tables have been found. They have been evidently used in the cultic practises, probably on a large number of them organic matter (various plants or seeds) being burnt.

Such tables have been discovered in the following cultures:

- **Glina Culture:** *București-Bucureștii Noi* (fig. 26/1-2)⁴¹⁶, *București-Fundeni*⁴¹⁷;
- **Monteoru Culture:** *Sărata Monteoru-Cetățuia*⁴¹⁸.

3. *Hearth rings:*

- **Wietenberg Culture:** pieces with rectangular outline in the cross-section= *Cernat*⁴¹⁹, *Sighișoara-Dealul Turcului*⁴²⁰.

4. *Feuerböcke:*

Tudor Soroceanu⁴²¹ considers that the majority of objects considered to be weights, by their paste or poor quality, easily dissolvable into the water, haven't been used for the fishing trawls, but, on the contrary, they had their certain role near the hearths. Some finds that account for that are those identified at *București-Cățelu Nou*, *Mogoșești*, *Otomani-Cetatea de Pământ*, *Tâmpa*, *Vierșand-Poarta Luncii*. La Sălacea, a site of the Otomani Culture, in the third chamber of the sanctuary, near the shrines, clay weights with a pyramid shape, horizontally perforated towards their point⁴²² have been found.

Some other opinions include the pieces of this kind in the category of weights for the loom, or counter-weights for fixing the vegetal roof of the shelters⁴²³.

Out of the multiple finds, we mention:

- **Monteoru Culture:** *Mândrișca*⁴²⁴;
- **Mureș (Periam-Pecica) Culture:** *Pecica* (fig. 36/2), *Periam* (fig. 36/1)⁴²⁵;
- **Nir Culture:** *Berea*⁴²⁶;
- **the Odaia Turcului Group:** *Odaia Turcului* (fig. 36/3);
- **Otomani Culture:** *Cehăluț*, *Otomani-Cetatea de Pământ*, *Săcuieni*, *Socodor*, *Vărșand*⁴²⁷;
- **Suciu de Sus Culture:** *Berveni-Râțul Caprei* (unearthed in pit no. 2/1984)⁴²⁸, *Boinești*⁴²⁹, *Carei-Ferma I.A.S. Moftin*⁴³⁰, *Vad*⁴³¹;
- **Tei Culture:** *București-Cățelu Nou*⁴³², *București-Lunca Bârzești*⁴³³, *București-Otopeni*⁴³⁴, *Mogoșești*⁴³⁵;
- **Verbicioara Culture:** *Rogova*⁴³⁶, *Vierșani-Poarta Luncii*⁴³⁷;
- **Wietenberg Culture:** *Băgău*, *Bistrița-ICHV*, *Casinul Nou*, *Cetea*, *Deva*, *Păuleni* (fig. 36/4) etc.⁴³⁸

F.2. The fire and the metal

1. *General aspects:*

The metalurgy of the Romanian Neolithic is characterized by a special efervescence in the production of copper objects, especially in the intra-Carpathian

zone where, probably, surface autochthonous deposits have been exploited⁴³⁹. Subsequently, in the transitional period from the Aeneolithic to the BA a certain decline of this activity has occurred, a new ascending curve being identified just in the phases II and III of the Coțofeni Culture⁴⁴⁰.

The artifacts made of copper would have a significant distribution in the EBA. Yet, a new stage would appear, the one of copper exploitation from deep underground deposits. According to Horia Ciugudean, the melted metal piece from Livezile-Baia (with a content of 91,8% Cu, 7,2% Zn, 0,8% Fe, 0,1% Pb and 0,03% As) *"proofs that at the chronological horizon which is represented by the Livezile Group the stage of native copper exploitation has been overpassed, being made the passing towards its extraction out of the local deposits"*⁴⁴¹.

Until recently, it was considered that the oldest bronze pieces in Romania would be the axe of Dumbrăvioara type from the last layer of the Schneckenberg Culture at Sfântu Gheorghe (South-Eastern Transylvania - fig. 1/2) and two buttons with spiral bars from an ochre grave at Glăvăneștii Vechi⁴⁴². Yet, it was raised the question if the pieces are local products or of Aegean origin. Zsolt Székely considers that, in the case of the mentioned axe, we cannot talk about a bronze piece but of another one, made of arsenic copper⁴⁴³.

With the metalurgy of the BA on the Romanian territory have dealt in more ample, in strictly specialized studies or in less extended interventions a large number of specialists, out of which we should mention Ioan Andrițoiu, Nikolaus Boroffka, Horia Ciugudean, Valeriu Leahu, Sebastian Morintz, Mircea Petrescu-Dîmbovița, Petre Roman, Mihai Rotea, Cristian Schuster, Zsolt Székely, Alexandru Vulpe⁴⁴⁴ etc.

For some BA cultures we have no certain account for the metalurgy practise. Still, in turn, we have proofs that the bearers of those cultural manifestations have used metal objects (copper, arsenic-copper, bronze, silver, gold) (for instance the cultures: Schneckenberg⁴⁴⁵: flat axes, flat axes with up raised edges, cross-shaped axes, chisels, piercers, axes with transversal handle hole, daggers, pins with conical head, bracelets; Șoimuș⁴⁴⁶: axe with transversal handle hole; Verbicioara⁴⁴⁷: celt of Transylvanian type, sickles with hook-shaped handle etc.). Some of the bronze pieces found in the settlements bear traces of secondary burning. Such an example is a knife discovered at Sultana in Coslogeni milieu, having its surface with a green crust, impregnated with ash⁴⁴⁸.

2. Workshops:

As pointed by the presence of the lumps and bars in the deposits, but also in some settlements or isolated finds, some small and stable or itinerant workshops must have functioned in the north-western part of Romania, probably in order to produce bronze objects⁴⁴⁹. This is not an isolated fact, but specific to almost the entire territory of Romania⁴⁵⁰.

According to the opinion of Florin Gogâltan⁴⁵¹, the workshops have satisfied the community necessities, the exceeding products being destined for exchange. He considers that the existence of itinerant handicraftsman can be supposed but practically, it is hard to be proven.

Other specialists, whose opinion we share, consider that it surely existed a professional stratification. The metal working has been strictly done by specialized persons who served several communities. Sometimes they were constrained to move from one place to another, in a more or less extended range, in order to get to various settlements.

2.1. *Bronze lumps/melted bronze/slag/remains from moulding:*

Generally, they have a rounded or oval shape, they are flat, having more or less bulging sides, fact which is closely tied with the recipient into which the fluid metal has been recovered. Some pieces have irregular shapes, some of them even having a strange shape⁴⁵².

- the **Bădeni III-Deva** horizon: *Pălatca-Togul lui Mândrușcă* (the discovery here of an anvil with a cylindrical shape, with a weight of 2,260 kg, having a longitudinal perforation that crosses most of its body, with a surface furrowed by shallow cuts, with the lengths of 0,057 m, which is probably a handicraft mark, together with a massive bronze lump, with a weight of 2,150 kg, a diameter of 0,117 m and a maximal height of 0,038 m points to the existence of a workshop here; the anvil has been used attached on a base made of wood, horn or antler)⁴⁵³;

- **Coslogeni Culture**: Ulmu (pieces of metal slag have been uncovered, which would indicate the existence of a metallurgical activity in the settlement)⁴⁵⁴, *Grădiștea-Coslogeni* (in this settlement, in a rounded pit, a fragmented plaque of burnt clay, ceramics, walls exfoliations determined by the heat of fire, ash, few fragments of slag have been unearthed some of the objects having a plastic deformation due to the high temperature they underwent; the plaque fragments are pierced; both the mentioned fragments and the slag, some trickling even on the smoothing of some wall fragments, have allowed the authors of the investigation to discuss about an *installation* very probably employed in the metallurgical activity; as resulted from the metalographical analysis, a percentage of Fe_2O_3 has been identified, that varied between 0,52% and 15,17%; this would indicate the respective slag as resulting from an iron alloys elaboration process, fact which questions the assignment of the mentioned installation to the LBA)⁴⁵⁵;

- the **Cugir-Band Group**: *Cugir-Pârâul Bugului* (16 fragmentary bronze lumps and more than 200 fragments of melted metal have belonged to a deposit also consisting of three clay vases that contained bronze and gold objects)⁴⁵⁶;

- the Livezile Group: Livezile-*Baia* (a melted piece of metal has been unearthed, containing 92% Cu and 7% Zn, that, in the opinion of Horia Ciugudean "*points with much probability to the surpassing of the phase when native copper has been processed and to the passing towards its extraction from complex ores, inside which the copper was associated with the zinc*")⁴⁵⁷;
- Monteoru Culture: Năeni-*Zănoaga* (near the hearths no. 1 and 4 in the site *Cetățuia I*, in a possible workshop, several metal slag pieces have been found)⁴⁵⁸;
- Mureș (Periam-Pecica) Culture: Pecica-*Șanțul Mare* (fig. 37/3, 6, 10-12); two pieces of crude bronze and six fragments of remains from moulding⁴⁵⁹;
- Noua Culture: Bozia Nouă (in a bronze deposit, three pieces of native bronze)⁴⁶⁰;
- Wietenberg Culture: Cetea⁴⁶¹; Chintelnic⁴⁶²; Perișor (flat-convex lump and few others smaller than this)⁴⁶³, Șimleul Silvaniei⁴⁶⁴; Unirea (three lumps, out of which the small one had in composition 90,66% copper and 9,34% tin)⁴⁶⁵;
- BA without being possible to clearly indicate its belonging to a culture: Balsa (deposit of the Uriu-Domănești series, found in the cave *Piatra Șuncuiușului*; it comprised among others, two pieces of crude bronze)⁴⁶⁶, Băleni (deposit of the Râșești-Băleni series, comprising four moulding remains)⁴⁶⁷, Bătarci (in a deposit consisting in 48 bronze and gold objects, eight bronze lumps have been also identified)⁴⁶⁸, Bozia (in a deposit have been noticed two pieces of crude bronze too)⁴⁶⁹, Carei (fig. 37/7-9; deposit that consisted in several lumps)⁴⁷⁰, Căuaș (in the deposit no. 2 three bronze lumps have been also found)⁴⁷¹, Constanța-*Palas* (fig. 37/1; deposit of the Nicolae Bălcescu-Gura Dobrogei series that also comprised two bronze lumps)⁴⁷², Crăciunești (in the deposit have been unearthed four bronze lumps)⁴⁷³, Curtuiuşeni (in the deposit found on the spot *Ürgés* have been also found two bronze lumps; from the same place comes another bronze lump too)⁴⁷⁴, Dobra-*Dealul Acâș* (here a big bronze lump has been discovered)⁴⁷⁵, Domănești (deposit consisting in 357 objects, out of which 6 were bronze lumps)⁴⁷⁶, Ghermănești (fig. 37/2; deposit comprising also three pieces of crude bronze)⁴⁷⁷, Gura Dobrogei (out of the deposit a piece of crude bronze was part)⁴⁷⁸, Jibou (pieces of crude bronze that have been melted together with five axes)⁴⁷⁹, Lăpuș (deposit that also comprised a fragment of lump)⁴⁸⁰, Marca (deposit comprising also a fragmentary bronze lump)⁴⁸¹, Panticeu (fig. 37/5; a core resulted from a chisel moulding and a moulding remain)⁴⁸², Prilog (the deposit contained also eight bronze lumps)⁴⁸³, Ruginoasa (a piece of crude bronze was part of a deposit consisting in object made of the same metal)⁴⁸⁴, Săcuieni (deposit that also contains two bronze lumps)⁴⁸⁵, Seleuș (deposit with 17 pieces of crude bronze)⁴⁸⁶, Tomești (a crude bronze remain found in a deposit)⁴⁸⁷, Turda (fig. 37/4; the former Turda county, the site is unknown, three bronze lumps)⁴⁸⁸, Uriu (deposit with four bronze lumps)⁴⁸⁹, Valea Largă (in the bronze deposit five

lumps of the same metal have been uncovered)⁴⁹⁰, Valea lui Mihai (in the deposit no. 1 eighteen lumps have been found, in the deposit no. 1 one lump, in the deposit no. 3 two bronze lumps have been discovered)⁴⁹¹.

2.2. Tools employed for moulding:

2.2.1. Mould (fig. 38, 39):

2.2.1.a. Made of stone:

- **Coslogeni Culture:** Grădiştea-Coslogeni (bivalve moulds for celts, harpoons and rings)⁴⁹²;
- **Monteoru Culture:** Năeni-*Zănoaga* near the hearths no. 1 and 4 in the site at *Cetăţuia I*, in a possible workshop and in the surface S.I.H., several gritstone moulds have been discovered)⁴⁹³;
- **Mureş (Pecica-Periam) Culture:** Pecica-*Şanţul Mare* (28 moulds, many of them being made of stone)⁴⁹⁴, Sânnicolaul Mare⁴⁹⁵;
- **Noua Culture:** Dobric (made of gritstone)⁴⁹⁶, Gura Hulubăţului (moulds for circular adornment or harness pieces)⁴⁹⁷, Oglinzi-*Faşa Slatinei* (two moulds made of greenish gritstones, with the grooved part being blackened due to the contact with the metal)⁴⁹⁸, Popeni-Cherchez (the valve made of mould gritstone for celts and a mould fragment made of gritstone for adornments)⁴⁹⁹;
- **Otomani Culture:** Beltiug-*Teveli* (fragmentary piece as part of a bronze deposit)⁵⁰⁰, Berea-*Togul Evreului* (2 pairs and a separate valve)⁵⁰¹, Berea-*Bodzás*⁵⁰², Cehăluţ-*Câmpul Mic* (two mould valves and a semi-processed one)⁵⁰³, Ciumeşti-*Fântâna Pășunii* (deposit of 15 valves)⁵⁰⁴, Ciumeşti-*Pongrás* (isolated find)⁵⁰⁵, Domăneşti (in the bronze deposit no. 1 a valve has been discovered)⁵⁰⁶, Otomani-*Cetatea de Pământ* (in the settlement)⁵⁰⁷, Otomani-*Cetăţuia* (in the settlement)⁵⁰⁸, Pir (in the settlement)⁵⁰⁹;
- **Suciu de Sus Culture:** Culciu Mic⁵¹⁰;
- **Tei Culture:** Bucureşti-*Cernica* (two valves)⁵¹¹, Butimanu (one mould)⁵¹², Frăteşti (three fragmentary valves);
- **Wietenberg Culture:** Cetea⁵¹³, Derşida⁵¹⁴, Fântânele-*Dâmbul Popii*⁵¹⁵, Feldioara⁵¹⁶, Gherla-*Petriş*⁵¹⁷, Nicoleni⁵¹⁸, Oarţa de Sus-*Ghiile Botii*⁵¹⁹, Tureni-*Carieră*⁵²⁰;
- **BA, without a certain cultural assignment:** Logreşti-Moşteni⁵²¹, Rusu de Jos = Beclean (deposit consisting in three moulds)⁵²².

2.2.1.b. Moulds made of clay:

- the **Corneşti-Crvenka Group:** Satu Mare⁵²³;
- **Mureş (Pecica-Periam) Culture:** Pecica-*Şanţul Mare* (several pieces)⁵²⁴;
- **Noua Culture:** Gârbovăţ⁵²⁵, Holboca (14 fragments)⁵²⁶, Nicoleni⁵²⁷, Rotbav valve (fragment)⁵²⁸, Şopteriu-*La Romonţi* (vitrified mould)⁵²⁹;

- **Otomani Culture:** Ciumești-*Fântâna Pășunii* (in the northern corner of a construction a deposit comprising 15 mould valves made of burnt clay have been also found)⁵³⁰;

- **Wietenberg Culture:** Eliseni⁵³¹, Lăpuș (three valves)⁵³², Nicoleni⁵³³, Sfântu Gheorghe-*Pe Șes*⁵³⁴.

2.2.2. *Spoons:*

- **Monteoru Culture:** Năeni-*Zănoaga* (near the hearths no. 1 and 4 in the site at *Cetățuia I*, in a possible workshop, a spoon has been unearthed)⁵³⁵;

- **Noua Culture:** Peteni (a spoon made of clay has been found)⁵³⁶.

2.2.3. *Crucible:*

- **Glina Culture:** Valea Iașului⁵³⁷;

- **Monteoru Culture:** Năeni-*Zănoaga* (near the hearths no. 1 and 4 in the site at *Cetățuia I*, in a possible workshop, several fragments of small crucible vases have been discovered)⁵³⁸;

- **Verbicioara Culture:** Dobra (crucible with metal traces)⁵³⁹, Rogova (fig. 27/1-2; two possible crucibles)⁵⁴⁰;

- **Wietenberg Culture:** Derșida⁵⁴¹, Sighișoara-*Dealul Turcului* (crucible with oblique walls and pointed base, bearing traces of the melted metal - bronze or copper)⁵⁴², Șimleul-Silvaniei (a piece with vitrified walls)⁵⁴³.

2.2.2.4. *Tuyères:*

- **Wietenberg Culture:** Derșida⁵⁴⁴, Feldioara⁵⁴⁵, Gherla-*Petriș*⁵⁴⁶, Livezile-*Obârșie*⁵⁴⁷, Sighișoara-*Dealul Turcului*⁵⁴⁸.

F.3. The fire and the salt

Romania has allways been and still is a country rich in salt resources. In the BA, the same like in all historical times, those who controlled the salt deposits could possess an extremely precious *export ware*. It allowed the practising of a very active products exchange, on a wide area and with populations located at a considerably long distance. Thus, some of the most valuable objects could be accumulated. For the Romanian BA, an eloquent example in this sense is, as shown by the archaeological investigations, the site of the Monteoru Culture at Sărata Monteoru⁵⁴⁹.

At Lunca-*Poiana Slatinei* (fig. 16) the communities in that area, respectively on the Moldova Valley and Neamț depression, have come to produce salt out of the salted water of the springs, using the procedure of boiling it up to the mash condition and afterwards of its drying in vases put on the hearths⁵⁵⁰. For the BA

there are important the depositions in the zone A. Here have been identified three main layers of that time⁵⁵¹, belonging to the Lunca cultural aspect, to the Costișa and Noua cultures. For the first manifestation, just some hearth remains without well defined structures have been uncovered⁵⁵². In turn, for the Costișa Culture⁵⁵³, even if hearths in their classical sense have not been discovered, some remnants of open pyres have been found, for which account some surfaces of blackish or reddened burnt ground, with ceramic fragments around.

In the Noua⁵⁵⁴ layer three hearths have been investigated, all of them larger than 1sqm, raised upon a great number of flat river stones. The fire installations and the area in their immediate surroundings, have been covered with a remarkable quantity of ash, red burnt clay and charcoals. It seems that most intensly used was the hearth no. 3 (diameter 1,40/1,20 m), because it was more compact, being also possible to observe the remnants of a red burnt sticking plaster.

The salt has been also exploited at Ocnele Mari-Zdup⁵⁵⁵, where the archaeological investigations have allowed the observation that in the BA it was practised the drying of the salt on the hearths, in certain recipients which were subsequently removed by being broken, thus being obtained the briquetted salt, this ultimate condition facilitating its more easily transportation.

F.4. The fire and the agriculture

In order to obtain larger agricultural terrains, given that the majority of the Romanian regions were forested at that time, it was often used the slash-and-burn technique (a similar technique was employed for the settlements establishing). We give here the examples in the following cultural milieus:

- **Monteoru Culture:** Cărlomănești (between the phases IC4 and IC3 of the culture a deforestation process occurred, very probable by burning the forest - comprising mostly deciduous trees, out of which the elm detained 10,1%, the oak 7%, the hornbeam⁵⁵⁶ 4,8% - which seems to have aimed at the extension of the ground for vegetables cultivation, because this is the moment when the curve for the Chenopodiaceae is progressively ascending, being represented by orrach⁵⁵⁷ = *Atriplex sp.*, spinach = *Chenopodium sp.*, beet = *Beta sp.*)⁵⁵⁸;

- **EBA:** Carei-Bobald (*"between the layer of the Early Bronze Age (Nir II-Sanislău) and the one that overlapped it, a burning and an ash deposition could be observed, that indicated the setting to fire of the vegetation at that level"*)⁵⁵⁹; It is possible that the mentioned fire could be connected with burnings initiated in order to obtain new terrains for agriculture).

G. The fire and the plants

I. *Plant remains burnt in the adobe:*

In order to provide an adequate consistence to the earth employed for sticking the constructions walls, in the composition homogenized with water, the remnants of some cereals, their chaff or various herbs have been included. Also, the ruminant manure that was included in the composition of the clay, contained vegetal remains. In the once burnt constructions, the traces of those plants remained impressed into the adobe pieces. In those fragments we also find the imprints of the wooden part of the houses skeleton or the reed wickerworks which have been employed for the walls.

II. *Charred plant remains (especially seeds):*

According to some specialists, the seeds and chaff have just accidentally got in contact with the fire. They have been found in the dwellings destroyed by blaze, in the archaeological stratum, reaching there by the wind after being burnt, in domestic pits, where they have been thrown because they were not useful anymore for the food preparation or in storage jars, where the fire has extended once the closest dwelling or settlement have been set to fire.

Other researchers consider that the the method of cereal concervation by burning existed, especially for the species *Triticum monococcum* and *Triticum spelta*. It is possible that the cereal ears must have been dried into the oven before being threshed⁵⁶⁰. At Sărata Monteoru, in the cultic place B, that belonged to the Monteoru culture, charred seeds have been discovered, being intentionally burnt on the occasion of some magical-religious practises.

For the BA on Romania's territory, there are differential finds of vegetal remains, that account for the fact that the mentioned plants have been employed for the food preparation for people. The documentation for the eastern Romania that previously was rather rich⁵⁶¹ is missing now; yet, it exists in southern and western parts of the country. This fact can be determined both by the stage of investigation and by the settling in the eastern regions of Romania of the communities belonging to the Noua-Coslogeni cultural complex, starting with the MBA. As pointed out by the archaeological investigations and archaeozoological studies, they, have practised the cattle breeding as their main economical activity.

The BA populations used to collect, to cultivate, to use and consume various plants⁵⁶² (some crude, some smashed, some scalded, baked or boiled as soups or mashes etc.), like cereals belonging to the genus *Triticum* (*monococcum* - finds at Carei, Cărlomănești, Oarța de Sus, Otomani, Sărata Monteoru; cf. *dicoccoides* - Carei; *dicoccum* - Oarța de Sus, Otomani, Sărata Monteoru; *durum* - Oarța de Sus; *spelta* - Cărlomănești, Sărata Monteoru; *aestivum* (*vulgare*) - Carei, Cărlomănești,

Oarța de Sus, Otomani, Sărata Monteoru), genus *Hordeum* (*vulgare vulgare* - Carei, Medieșul Aurit, Oarța de Sus, Sărata Monteoru), *Secale* (*cereale* - Cărlomănești, Oarța de Sus), species *Panicum miliaceum* (Odaia Turcului, Sânzieni), *Setaria* (*viridis* - Odaia Turcului), vegetables (*Pisum sativum* ssp. *arvense* - Sărata Monteoru; *Vicia ervilia* - Sărata Monteoru), plants used for their oils or fibers (*Camelia sativa* - Sărata Monteoru), some wild plants, out of which some are being used (consumed) by people (*Chenopodium album* - Odaia Turcului - together with millet; *Rumex acetosella* - Carei, Oarța de Sus; *Polygonum convolvulus* - Sărata Monteoru, Sânzieni), trees and shrubs (*Pinus silvestris* - Mlăjeț).

Out of the BA sites with finds of charred seeds, we mention here:

1. In the dwellings of:

- the Monteoru Culture: Sărata Monteoru (out of a construction investigated in 1952 have been recovered 5700 seeds of *Hordeum vulgare* and a single seed of *Triticum* cf. *dicoccum*; out of another dwelling have been recovered 2005 seeds of *Triticum monococcum* = 1,3%, *T. dicoccum* = 90%, *T. cf. spelta* = 6,4%, *Hordeum vulgare vulgare* = 1,4%, *Pisum sativum* ssp. *arvense* = 1,1%)⁵⁶³;

- the Otomani Culture: Carei-Bobald (from the floor of the dwelling in section III/1988 three heaps of charred seeds, in weight of about 1 kg⁵⁶⁴ have been recovered; there is a possibility that they could have initially been deposited into vessels; the paleobotanic analysis has identified the following species: *Triticum monococcum* = 0,4%, *T. cf. dicoccoides* = 0,3 %, *T. dicoccum* = 22,7%, *T. aestivum* = 1,1%, *T. spsp.* = 1,6%, *Hordeum vulgare* = 73,4%, *Bromus* sp. = 0,1%, *Rumex acetosella* = 0,1%)⁵⁶⁵, Medieșul Aurit (under the platform of a dwelling a wheat deposit has been uncovered - *Triticum dicoccum*)⁵⁶⁶, Otomani-Cetatea de Pământ (in section 13, square 19, at the depth of 1,60 m, from the floor of a surface dwelling seeds of *Triticum monococcum* = 2,2%, *T. dicoccum* = 88,5%, *T. cf. spelta* = 9,3%)⁵⁶⁷ have been collected.

2. In the pits:

- Monteoru Culture: Căndești-Coasta Banului (in a large dish, discovered in a pit charred wheat grains have been found)⁵⁶⁸, Cărlomănești (in the complex 43 grains of *Triticum monococcum* = 2,4%, *T. dicoccum* = 6,7%, *T. cf. spelta* = 36,6%, *T. aestivum* = 30,5%, *T. cf. durum* = 22,6%, *Secale cereale* = 0,6%, *Pisum* cf. *elatius* = 0,6%)⁵⁶⁹ have been unearthed;

- the Odaia Turcului Group: Odaia Turcului in the pit 30/1985 pressed chaff of *Panicum miliaceum*, *Setaria* sp. (cf. *viridis*) and *Chenopodium*⁵⁷⁰ seeds have been identified;

- Wietenberg Culture: Cluj-Napoca (in the ritual pit found there charred seeds of *Triticum monococcum*, *Triticum aestivum* L ssp. *vulgaris*, *Fagopyrus*

sagitattum, *Sesamum indicum* L, *Cicer arietinum*)⁵⁷¹ have been unearthed, Oarța de Sus (in 1980 a significant sample of seeds has been discovered that, excepting a single seed of *Bromus* sp., have all belonged to the *Triticum dicoccum* species; in the pit C/1981 a sample of 468 grains of *Triticum dicoccum* = 2,4% and *Hordeum vulgare vulgare* = 97,6% have been discovered; in the pit J/1984, possibly a domestic one, 575 seeds belonging to *Triticum monococcum* = 0,9%, *T. dicoccum* = 22,5%, *T. aestivum* = 7,3%, *T. cf. durum* = 0,99%, *T. sp.* = 11,8%, *Hordeum vulgare* = 43,2%, *H. vulgare nudum* = 0,2%, *Secale cf. cereale* = 0,2%, *Chenopodium* sp. = 12%, *Galium cf. spurium* = 0,2%, *Poa* sp. = 0,5%, *Rumex cf. acetosella* = 0,3%)⁵⁷² have been identified.

3. Recovered from other spaces:

- **Monteoru Culture:** Mănăstioara-Terchești (on the altar table charred wheat and millet grains have been discovered, being covered with a cup having its mouth downwards)⁵⁷³, Năstăseni (upon the gravel platform stuck with clay and upon the altar-hearth situated in its center, charred wheat grains have been found)⁵⁷⁴, Sărata Monteoru (in a cultic installation - Complex B - several seed agglomerations of *Calina sativa*⁵⁷⁵ have been found);

- **Otomani Culture:** Medieșul Aurit (out of a layer assigned to the phase I-II of the culture), over 500 grains of *Hordeum vulgare*⁵⁷⁶ have been recovered;

- **Wietenberg Culture:** Oarța de Sus (wild spinach and monk's rhubarb)⁵⁷⁷.

H. The fire and the animals

Evidently, most of the animal osteological remains uncovered in the BA settlements resulted from boiled foods. Some other part of them has been probably fried or roasted. Out of the two latter categories, where we have certain proofs that the bones has got in direct contact with the fire, we mention:

1. Burnt osteological remains from domestic animals:

- **Coslogeni Culture:** Grădiștea *Coslogeni* (on the hearth of the oven no. 3 cremated osteological remnants have been discovered, probably coming from domestic animals)⁵⁷⁸;

- **Gârla Mare Culture:** Izvoarele (in the pit of the deepened dwelling no.2, osteological remains coming from bovids, suids, birds and fishes)⁵⁷⁹ have been found, some of them being burnt;

- **the Livezile Group:** Livezile-*Baia* (some bones bear a pigmentation that varies from reddish to black, charred fragments being also found; thus, the sample coming from the section III, at the depth of 0,50-0,70 m, bore a reddish pigmentation, the same as some bones in the section IA; out of the section S I, two

charred bone fragments of caprovines together with the burnt proximal part of a bovid metacarpal bone have been found; in the deepened dwelling 1/1994 four burnt bone fragments and a left part of a bovid mandible have been uncovered; there was also a caprovine tibia, bearing burning traces)⁵⁸⁰;

- **Monteoru Culture:** Mănăstioara-Fitionești (arranged in a circle near the stone platform beside the altar-hearth, burnt animal bones have been discovered, probably coming from caprovines)⁵⁸¹;

- out of the **BA**, without an exact cultural assignment: Bicaci (out of the bronze deposit found here a charred bone has been recovered, belonging to an undeterminable species)⁵⁸².

2. Burnt osteological remains coming from wild animals:

There are few accounts for that. Such examples could be those two wild boar bones (?), partly burnt, identified in the Tei settlement at Mironești-*La Panait* (dwelling no. 1). At Rogova-*La Cazărmi* (Verbicioara Culture) a low percentage of bones bear traces of contact with the fire, shaped as reddish or blackish spots; out of these, we mention a burnt right ulna belonging to an adult hare⁵⁸³.

NOTES

1. Roman 1976a; Roman 1986.

2. Roman 1986.

3. Among those who employ the chronology of Petre Roman (some of them evidently with some own nuances) we mention here Horia Ciugudean (1996), Zsolt Székely (1997a), Schuster (1997) etc.

4. Vulpe 1995; Vulpe 1997.

5. Among others see Bader 1978; Soroceanu 1991; Florescu 1991; Andrițoiu 1992; Boroffka 1994; Schuster 1998.

6. For more ample references upon this topic see Leahu 1992; Gumă 1995; Vulpe 1996; Schuster 1996c; Schuster 1996d; Palincaș 1996; Palincaș 1997; Laszló 1998; Schuster 2000; Schuster, Popa 2000: 131sq.; etc.

7. Regarding some environment aspects see Ciugudean 1996; Schuster 1997; Székely 1997; Gogâltan 1999;

8. Some aspects of these issues have been tackled by Schuster, Popa 2000: 95-97.

9. For all these fire forms see Kernbach 1995: 200 sqq.

10. Wunenburger 2000: 62.

11. Wunenburger 2000: 62-64.

12. For the various BA manifestations see: the **Copăcenii** Cultural Group: Rotea 1993; Ciugudean 1996; the **Glina** Culture: Roman 1976; Schuster 1995a; Schuster 1996a; Schuster 1997; the **Iernut** Cultural Group: Ciugudean 1996; the **Livezile** Cultural Group:

Ciugudean 1996; the **Otomani** Culture: Bader 1978; the **Schneckenberg** Culture: Székely 1997a; the **Suciu de Sus** Culture: Bader 1978; the **Șoimuș** Cultural Group: Ciugudean 1996; the **Tei** Culture: Leahu 1966; Schuster, Popa 2000; the **Wietenberg** Culture: Boroffka 1994; etc.

13. As concerns the fortified settlements belonging to the various cultures communities of the BA on the territory of Romania, we mention, without giving here a complete list = for the **Monteoru** Culture - the settlements at Bogdănești, Mănăstioara-Fitionești, Sărata Monteoru etc.: Florescu and Constantinescu 1967b: 61sq.; Florescu and Buzdugan 1972: 103sq.; Florescu, Florescu 1983; Florescu 1985: 7sq.; Zaharia 1990: 23sq; the **Otomani** Culture - Cheșereu, Otomani-*Cetățuie*, Sălacea-*Dealul Vida*, Șilindru, Șimian, Tarcea, Vășad: Bader 1978: 33 and pl. IX/A/a; the **Wietenberg** Culture (the fortified settlements in the area of this culture represent 3% out of the total number of sites) - Bernadea, Cluj-Napoca-*Str. Cireșelor nr. 55*, Coldău, Dealu, Filiaș, Laslea, Liteni, Lutoasa, Oarța de Sus, Porumbenii Mici, Racul, Sighișoara, Turea, Turia: Boroffka 1994: 100.

14. Cioflan, Maschio 2000: 10.

15. In the old specialized literature, the site at Păuleni was known under the toponymic of Ciomortan. As regards the tower (or gate?) see Cavruc, Dumitroaia 2000: 131sq. and pl. II; IV.

16. Boroffka 1994: 87; Székely 1999.

17. Boroffka 1994: 32.

18. Palincaș 1997: 175sq.

19. Chicideanu 1994: 280.

20. This kind of settlements have been uncovered at Albești, Andrieșeni, Bărboasa, Băneasa, Bârlad-*Dealul lui Ilie* and *Valea Seacă*, Blăgești-*Dealul Brezina*, *Brezina* and *Râpa Frasinului*, Bodeasa, Bodeștii de Jos, Bogdana-*Voloșeni*, Bogdănești, Borlești, Bozia Nouă, Bulbucani, Cavindești, Călărași, Chircești, Ciughinea, Comănești, Corlăteni, Cornii de Sus, Crasna, Curteni, Dancu, Davideni, Dodești, Drăgușeni, Dumeștii Noi, Epureni, Fedești, Fichiteni, Găiceana, Giurcani Gârbovăț, Glăvăneștii Vechi, Gropnița, Havârna, Hălteni, Holboca, Horga, Horniceni, Horoiata, Iași, Ivești, Izvorul Berheciului, Jigălia, Larga, Lărgășeni, Lătești, Lețcani, Lichiteni, Lupești, Mălăești, Măscăteni, Milești, Miorcani, Mircești, Moara Jovei, Motoșeni, Murgeni, Mușata, Piatra Neamț, Pâhna, Pleșeni, Pechișcani, Podu Iloaiei, Popeni, Răuseni, Ripiceni, Rânzăști, Rogoaza, Ruginești, Rusenii Noi, Sascut, Satu Nou-*Berezeni*, Săseni, Săveni, Scutari, Simila, Sârbi, Sârca, Slobozia, Stimbieni, Stuhuleț, Șișcani, Șuletea, Tămășeni, Tăutești, Tăvădești, Totoești, Trestiana, Trușești, Țâfu, Ungheni, Untești, Urdești-*Târg*, Valea Lupului (Florescu 1991: 24sq.).

21. Andolina, Grădiștea-Coslogeni, Crăsani, Jegălia, Lupșanu, Stejaru, Ulmu (Morintz 1978: 122sq.; Florescu 1991: 146-154).

22. A Tei *zolniki* has been investigated at Novaci, cf. Vulpe 1964: 319. V. Leahu (1966: 51) believes this was not a classical cinderer.

23. *Zolniki* at Peteni (Florescu 1991: 100) and Ungheni (Andrițoiu, Vasiliev 1993: 102).

24. Florescu, Rugină, Vicoveanu 1967: 76.

25. Comşa 1991: 27sq.
26. The **Copăceni** Cultural Group: Rotea 1993: 75; Ciugudean 1996: 96-100; the **Glina** Culture: Roman 1976: 28; Schuster 1995a: 129-132; Schuster 1996a: 12-17; Schuster 1997: 29-33; the **Jigodin** Cultural Group: Roman, Pál, Csába 1973: 562; the **Livezile** Cultural Group: Ciugudean 1996: 80; the **Otomani** Culture: Bader 1978; the **Schneckenberg** Culture: Székely 1997a: 37sqq.; the **Suciu de Sus** Culture: Bader 1978; the **Şoimuş** Cultural Group: Ciugudean 1996: 101; the **Tei** Culture: Leahu 1966; Schuster, Popa 2000; the **Wietenberg** Culture: Boroffka 1994; etc.
27. Bader 1978: 27 and pl. VII/ 3, 6.
28. Ciugudean 1999: 116 and fig. 12-14.
29. Paul 1995: 195; Andriţoiu 1996: 109.
30. Constantiniu and Panait 1963: 302; Schuster 1997: 34 and fig. 17/1.
31. Florescu, Nicu, Rădulescu 1971: 159 with footnote 10.
32. Florescu, Căpitanu 1969: 58.
33. Székely 1957: 157; Comşa 1991: 22.
34. Ţico 1981: 250.
35. Berciu 1961: 128.
36. Bassa 1968: 15.
37. Motzoi-Chicideanu and Şandor-Chicideanu 1999: 75 and fig. 12.
38. Motzoi-Chicideanu and Şandor-Chicideanu 1999: 68 and fig. 7.
39. Némethi 1997: 124.
40. Schuster, Popa 1997: 64; Schuster, Popa 2000: 38 and fig. 5; 7.
41. Boroffka 1994: 169.
42. As concerns this latter meaning of the word *hearth*, the ethnologist Ion Ghinoiu (1999: 64-65) would point out that the Romanian settlement comprises the hearth (Rom. *vatră*), namely the constructions area and the estate (Rom. *moşie*), respectively the producing grounds. *The hearth* of the village included both the village proper and its cemetery.
43. DEX 1996: 1148.
44. Comşa 1976: 607.
45. Florescu 1980: 356.
46. The deepened dwelling (Rom. *borderi*), in the Romanian archaeological literature means that a chamber has been dug into the ground and covered with earth, straw or reed. See DEX 1996: 107.
47. Rogozea, Cedică 1997: 54 and fig. V/b.
48. Schuster 1997: 36 and fig. 14/1-2; Negru and Schuster 1997: 12 and fig. 1/1-2.
49. Florescu and Buzdugan 1962: 303sqq.; Comşa 1991: 23.
50. Bobi 1991: 20 and fig. 3.
51. Florescu and Constantinescu 1967a: 290; Comşa 1991: 23.
52. Bobi and Paragină 1991: 44.
53. Székely 2000: 177sq.
54. Székely, Székely 1979: 71; Székely 1984a: 7 and fig. 4/1. For more data concerning the site at Peteni see Székely 1997a: 80 with the older bibliography.
55. Dumitroaia 1986: 17.

56. Schuster, Popa 2000: 31 and fig. 5;12.

57. Blăjan, Cerghi 1977: 135.

58. Székely 1988: 154.

59. Székely 1984: 16 and fig. 3.

60. In the Romanian archaeological literature the surface dwelling means any construction raised above the surface level of a certain historical time. These constructions, with various functionality (dwellings, appendixes, dwellings with a special destination) according to the technique of their construction, raw materials and dimensions can be, classified *grosso modo*, into huts and more resistant dwellings (i.e. houses).

61. Kacsó 1997: 86.

62. Neagu, Nanu 1986: 104 and fig. 13/b.

63. Florescu 1970: 53; Comşa 1991: 22sq.; Dumitroaia 2000: 131.

64. Nica 1998: fig. 20.

65. Schuster 1997: 39.

66. Cioflan, Maschio 2000: 8.

67. Ciugudean 1996: 53 and fig. 3/A.

68. Florescu, Căpitanu 1969: 57.

69. Florescu and Constantinescu 1967b: 63.

70. Motzoi-Chicideanu and Şandor-Chicideanu 1999: 65.

71. Florescu, Nicu, Rădulescu 1971: 159, footnote 10.

72. Zaharia 1996: 105.

73. Florescu and Constantinescu 1967a: 297, 299; Comşa 1991: 23.

74. Bobi and Paragină 1991: 44sq.

75. Popescu 1966: 159; Comşa 1991: 22.

76. Florescu, Căpitanu 1969: 59sqq.

77. Székely 1998a: 174.

78. Székely 1960.

79. Székely 1997b: 101sq. and fig. 2. Regarding the older investigations in the area see Székely 1997a: 78sq. with the respective bibliography.

80. Căpitanu and Florescu 1969: 30.

81. Dumitroaia 1992a: 89.

82. Székely 1998a: 174 and fig. 1. Concerning the researches in the Turia region see Székely 1997a: 83 with the bibliography.

83. Roman and Némethi 1990: 40sq.

84. Némethi 1999: 30.

85. Bichir 1962: 89; Comşa 1991: 22.

86. Bichir 1962: 89; Comşa 1991: 22 and fig. 3.

87. Boroneanţ 1981: 197.

88. Crăciunescu 1996: 37.

89. Crăciunescu 1998.

90. Berciu 1961: 128.

91. Boroffka 1994: 103.

92. Boroffka 1994: 103.

93. Boroffka 1994: 103.
94. Boroffka 1994: 103.
95. Andrițoiu 1986-1987: 54.
96. Boroffka 1994: 103.
97. Boroffka 1994: 103.
98. Căvruc 2000: 176; Rotea 2000: 24sq.; Căvruc, Rotea 2001: 155 and pl. I-III.
99. Boroffka 1994: 103.
100. Paul 1995: 196 and fig. 6.
101. Kacsó 1997: 86.
102. Dumitroaia 2000: 131.
103. Scorțanu 1989: 418.
104. Comșa 1991: 25.
105. Schuster 1997: 43.
106. Andrițoiu 1982-1983: 126.
107. Florescu and Buzdugan 1962: 303sqq.; Comșa 1991: 23.
108. Florescu and Constantinescu 1967: 63.
109. Zaharia 1996: 104sq.
110. Némethi 1996: 22.
111. Dragomir 1961: 152.
112. Florescu, Căpitanu 1969: 59, 62.
113. Căpitanu and Florescu 1969: 27, 30.
114. Baltag 1979: 89; Andrițoiu, Vasiliev 1993: 102.
115. Marinescu 1995: 66.
116. Calotoiu 1996: 49.
117. Andrițoiu 1986-1987: 54.
118. Boroffka 1994: 103.
119. Boroffka 1994: 103.
120. Boroffka 1994: 103.
121. Boroffka 1994: 103.
122. Boroffka 1994: 103.
123. Boroffka 1994: 103.
124. Boroffka 1994: 103.
125. Marinescu 1993: 27 and pl. XVIII/12; XIX/1-2.
126. Emödi 1985: 123sqq.
127. Chidioșan, Emödi 1983: 17sqq.
128. Andrițoiu 1979: 20 (this can be also a Middle Ages one because, in the ash and charcoal layer some feudal ceramic fragments have been found too); Rîșcuța 1995-1996: 273 (this can be also assigned to the **Coțofeni** Culture).
129. Emödi 1980: 269.
130. Roman and Némethi 1986: 221.
131. Prox 1940: 93; Boroneanț 2000: 17.
132. Boroneanț 2000: 13.
133. Negru and Schuster 1997: 12 and fig. 1/1-2.

134. Schuster, Popa 2000: 31 and fig. 5; 12.
135. Boroffka 1994: 103 and fig. 6.
136. Rotea, Wittenberger 1999: 9 and pl. I; II.
137. Gogâltan-Cociș-Paki 1992: 7sq. and pl. IV/3a-c; 4a; 5.
138. Boroffka 1994: 103.
139. Lako, Rad 1988: 85-89; Bejinariu 1996: 50 and pl. 3/3.
140. Nica 2000: fig. 20.
141. Schuster 1997: 43.
142. Florescu and Buzdugan 1962: 303sq.; Comșa 1991: 23.
143. Székely 1997b: 101sq. and fig. 2.
144. Székely 2000: 177sq.
145. Székely, Székely 1979: 71; Székely 1984a: 7 and fig. 4/1.
146. Székely 1998a: 174 and fig. 1.
147. Dumitroaia 1986: 17.
148. Bichir 1962: 89; Comșa 1991: 22 and fig. 3.
149. Prox 1940: 93.
150. Blăjan, Cerghi 1977: 135.
151. Boroffka 1994: 103 and fig. 6.
152. Andrițoiu 1986-1987: 54.
153. Székely 1984: 16 and fig. 3; Boroffka 1994: 103.
154. Kacsó 1997: 86.
155. Florescu 1970: 53.
156. Schuster 1997: 43.
157. Andrițoiu 1982-1983: 126.
158. Andrițoiu 1982-1983: 126.
159. Florescu and Buzdugan 1962: 303sq.; Comșa 1991: 23.
160. Vulpe and Zamoșteanu 1962: 112; Comșa 1991: 24.
161. Florescu and Constantinescu 1967b: 63 and fig. 3/1.
162. Bobi and Paragină 1991: 44.
163. Némethi 1996: 22.
164. Florescu, Căpitanu 1969: 59.
165. Bichir 1962: 89; Comșa 1991: 22.
166. Boroffka 1994: 103.
167. Boroffka 1994: 103.
168. Boroffka 1994: 103.
169. Székely 1988: 154.
170. Boroffka 1994: 103.
171. Dumitroaia 2000: 131.
172. Ghidici 2000: fig. 20.
173. Cioflan, Maschio 2000: 8.
174. Florescu, Nicu, Rădulescu 1971: 165.
175. Dragomir 1961: 152.
176. Boroneanț 1981: 197.

177. Crăciunescu 1998.
178. Calotoiu 1996: 49sq.
179. Boroffka 1994: 103.
180. Kacsó 1997: 86.
181. Vulpe, Zămoșteanu 1962: 312.
182. Comșa 1991: 25.
183. Schuster 1997: 44.
184. Cioflan, Maschio 2000: 8.
185. Andrițoiu 1982-1983: 126.
186. Andrițoiu 1982-1983: 126.
187. Florescu, Căpitanu 1969: 57.
188. Florescu and Constantinescu 1967b: 63.
189. Marinescu 1995: 66.
190. Bichir 1962: 89; Comșa 1991: 22.
191. Boroneanț 1981: 197.
192. Calotoiu 1996: 50.
193. Boroffka 1994: 103.
194. Boroffka 1994: 103.
195. Boroffka 1994: 103.
196. Gogâltan-Cociș-Paki 1992: 7sq. and pl. IV/3a-c.
197. Boroffka 1994: 103.
198. Boroffka 1994: 103.
199. Boroffka 1994: 103.
200. Boroffka 1994: 103.
201. Boroffka 1994: 103.
202. Boroffka 1994: 103.
203. Andrițoiu 1986-1987: 54.
204. Boroffka 1994: 103.
205. Boroffka 1994: 103.
206. Cavruc 2000: 176.
207. Boroffka 1994: 103.
208. Boroffka 1994: 103.
209. Boroffka 1994: 103.
210. Schuster 1997: 44.
211. Florescu and Buzdugan 1962: 305; Comșa 1991: 24.
212. Florescu and Constantinescu 1967: 299.
213. Bobi and Paragină 1991: 44.
214. Florescu, Căpitanu 1969: 59sq.
215. Roman and Némethi 1990: 40sq.
216. Florescu 1970: 53; Dumitroaia 2000: 131.
217. Florescu and Buzdugan 1962: 302sq.; Comșa 1991: 23.
218. Florescu and Constantinescu 1967b: 64sq.
219. Motzoi-Chicideanu and Șandor-Chicideanu 1999: 65.

220. Florescu and Constantinescu 1967a: 290; Comşa 1991: 23.
221. Bobi and Paragină 1991: 44sq.
222. Tudor 1982: 60; Comşa 1991: 23.
223. Székely 1998a: 174.
224. Székely 2000: 177sq.
225. Székely, Székely 1979: 71; Székely 1984a: 7 and fig. 4/1.
226. Căpitanu and Florescu 1969: 27.
227. Buzdugan 1979: 59.
228. Székely 1998a: 174 and fig. 1.
229. Dumitroaia 1986: 17.
230. Bichir 1962: 89; Comşa 1991: 22 and fig. 3.
231. Prox 1940: 93.
232. Boroffka 1994: 103.
233. Székely 1984: 16 and fig. 3.
234. Motzoi-Chicideanu and Şandor-Chicideanu 1999: 75.
235. Dumitroaia 2000: 131.
236. Vulpe and Zamoşteanu 1962: 112; Comşa 1991: 24.
237. Florescu and Constantinescu 1967b: 63 and fig. 3/1.
238. Florescu, Nicu, Rădulescu 1971: 159 with footnote 10, 165.
239. Florescu and Constantinescu 1967a: 297, 299.
240. Florescu, Căpitanu 1969: 59, 62.
241. Căpitanu and Florescu 1969: 30 and fig. 2.
242. Boroffka 1994: 103.
243. Kacsó 1997: 86.
244. Andriţoiu 1982-1983: 126.
245. Andriţoiu 1982-1983: 126.
246. Dragomir 1961: 152.
247. Székely 1997: 101.
248. Roman and Némethi 1990: 40sq.
249. Bichir 1962: 89; Comşa 1991: 22.
250. Calotoiu 1996: 49sq.
251. Székely 1988: 154.
252. Andriţoiu 1986-1987: 54 and pl. III/A.
253. Căvruc 2000: 176.
254. Kacsó 1997: 86.
255. Florescu and Buzdugan 1962: 302sq.; Comşa 1991: 23.
256. Florescu and Constantinescu 1967a: 290.
257. Székely 1997b: 102 and fig. 2.
258. Căpitanu and Florescu 1969: 27, 30.
259. Buzdugan 1979: 59.
260. Boroneanţ 1981: 197.
261. Gogâltan-Cociş-Paki 1992: 7sq. and pl. IV/3a-c.
262. Schuster 1997: 44.

263. Andrițoiu 1982-1983: 126.
264. Căpitanu and Florescu 1969: 27.
265. Schuster 1997: 44.
266. Bichir 1962: 89; Comșa 1991: 22.
267. Calotoiu 1996: 50.
268. Andrițoiu 1986-1987: 54.
269. Gogâltan-Cociș-Paki 1992: 7sq. and pl. IV/3a-c.
270. Schuster 1997: 44.
271. Némethi 1996: 22.
272. Radu 1972: 272-277 and fig. 1; 3-7.
273. Baltag and Boroffka 1996: 390 and fig. 10/2.
274. Baltag and Boroffka 1996: 390.
275. Horedt, Seraphin 1971: 74-76 and fig. 59.
276. Boroffka 1994: 103sq.; Andrițoiu 1997: 16 and fig. 26.
277. Horedt, Seraphin 1971: 76 and fig. 60; Andrițoiu 1997: 16sq.
278. Nestor 1960: 124; Florescu 1979: 60.
279. Nestor, Alexandrescu, Petrescu, Zirra 1953: 71-73.
280. Ordentlich 1968; Chidioșan, Ordentlich 1975: 17sq. and pl. 4/1-8; Bejinariu 1996: 51; Bader 1978: 38sq. and pl. XXIX/22.
281. Lako 1983: 73; Lako 1987: 77-81; Bejinariu 1996: 50 and pl. 4-6.
282. Florescu 1979: 69sq. and fig. 4.
283. Florescu 1979: 70, 72 and fig. 5.
284. Florescu 1979: 64sq. and fig. 1.
285. Bichir 1970: 117; Florescu 1979: 66sq.
286. Florescu 1979: 68 and fig. 3.
287. Nestor, Alexandrescu, Petrescu, Zirra 1953: 72.
288. Lako 1977: 91 and pl. XV/7; XVI/1-3; Bejinariu 1996: 51 and pl. 2/2-4; 3/1-2.
289. Bader 1978: 67 and pl. LVIII/4; Bejinariu 1996: 51.
290. Dumitrașcu 1983: 110 and pl. 1-4; Dumitrașcu 1994: 104; Bejinariu 1996: 50 and pl. 1/1-2; 2/1.
291. Sîrbu, Damian 1992: 12 and fig. I-II.
292. Florescu 1979: 73.
293. Zaharia 1994: 392sq.
294. Rotea 2001: 25.
295. Neagu, Basarab Nanu 1986: 107 and fig. 5.
296. Neagu, Basarab Nanu 1986: 107 and fig. 6-7.
297. Neagu, Basarab Nanu 1986: 107.
298. Neagu, Basarab Nanu 1986: 107.
299. Neagu, Basarab Nanu 1986: 107 and fig. 11.
300. Neagu, Basarab Nanu 1986: 107, 109 and fig. 10.
301. Schuster 1997: 44.
302. Bobi and Paragină 1991: 45 and fig. 12.
303. Florescu, Rugină, Vicoveanu 1967: 76 and fig. 1-2.

304. Vasiliev, Cavruc 1998: 89.
305. Sandu 1992: 170 and pl. IV/4.
306. Crăciunescu 1999: pl. II/2.
307. Székely 1960: 182 and pl. 2/4.
308. Bassa 1968: 17.
309. Crișan 1986: 422.
310. Roman, Némethi 1990: 41.
311. Boroneanț 1981: 197 and fig. 3.
312. Lazăr 1997: 68.
313. Irimia 1981: 356 and fig. 6/3-5.
314. Morintz 1978: 137.
315. Bader 1978: 73 and pl. XLIX/31.
316. Sandu 1992: 168.
317. Boroneanț 1981: 208 and pl. II/8.
318. Dumitrașcu, Emödi 1980: fig. I/6; 2/4.
319. Kacsó 1997: 87 and pl. VIII/7-9.
320. Némethi 1978: fig. 5/1.
321. Kacsó 1997: 87 and pl. III; IV/1.
322. Ignat 1984: 9; Kacsó 1997: 86.
323. Kacsó 1997: 87 and pl. XI/7-8.
324. Berciu, Comșa 1956: 303.
325. Crăciunescu 1992: 43sq.
326. Soroceanu 1991: 66sq. and fig. 22/19; 29/26; 30/12; 31/13; 35/15.
327. Bader 1978: 55.
328. Bader 1978: 57 and pl. XXXI/11.
329. Bader 1978: 55.
330. Bader 1978: 55.
331. Pădureanu 1990: 158 and pl. 19/8-9.
332. Bader 1978: 57.
333. Bader 1978: 55 and pl. XXXII/1.
334. Némethi 1990: 20 and fig. 3/3.
335. Bader 1972: 523 and pl. 9/3; Bader 1978: pl. LIII/1-2; LIII/6-7.
336. Bader 1972: 523 and pl. 9/5; Bader 1978: pl. LIII/3.
337. Bader 1978: 55.
338. Boroneanț 1981: 201.
339. Sandu 1992: 170, 173sq. and pl. III/12; V/1-2.
340. Berciu, Boeșteanu, Comșa, Morintz, Nicolăescu-Plopșor, Popescu-Ialomîța, Preda 1952: 151; Bercciu 1961: 143sq. and fig. 6, 20/4.
341. Marinescu 1995: 50 and pl. IV/2.
342. Boroffka 1994: 169 and pl. 53/1-3.
343. Boroffka 1994: 169 and pl. 62/11.
344. Boroffka 1994: 169.
345. Boroffka 1994: 169 and pl. 70/9.

346. Boroffka 1994: 169 and pl. 105/10.
347. Costea 1997: 41.
348. Boroffka 1994: 169.
349. Boroffka 1994: 169 and pl. 144/12.
350. Baltag and Boroffka 1996: 389 and fig. 10/4.
351. Boroffka 1994: 169 and pl. 36/7.
352. Boroffka 1994: 169 and pl. 45/9; 46/15.
353. Chidioșan 1980: 48 and pl. 25/11-12; 26; Boroffka 1994: 169.
354. Boroffka 1994: 169 and pl. 75/2.
355. Boroffka 1994: 169; Kacsó 1999; Rotea 2001: Nr. cat. 18.
356. Boroffka 1994: 169 and pl. 119/3.
357. Boroffka 1994: 169 and pl. 131/8; 132/11; 134/8; Andrițoiu 1997: 31 and fig. 16/8.
358. Baltag and Boroffka 1996: 390.
359. Kacsó 1987: 69sq. and fig. 28; Baltag and Boroffka 1996: 389.
360. Baltag and Boroffka 1996: 390; Andrițoiu 1997: 23, 42 and fig. 16/8.
361. Kacsó 1999: 258.
362. Kacsó 1999: 259.
363. Gogâltan 1996: 17.
364. Schuster 1997: 79 and fig. 50/1-2.
365. Dumitrescu 1961: 153.
366. Florescu 1979: 75 and fig. 5/a; 8/4.
367. Chidioșan, Ordentlich 1975: pl. 9/11; Bader 1978: 51 and pl. XXIX/22.
368. Chidioșan, Ordentlich 1975: pl. 9/13.
369. Székely 1988: 46; Székely 1998b: 73sq. The photograph of the reconstructed piece, an altar that is hosted by the Muzeul Național Secuiesc in Sfântu Gheorghe, has been published by us with the approval of the finder, Dr. Zs. Székely. We thank him on this occasion too.
370. Chidioșan 1980: 48sq. and pl. 25/11-12; 26/4-6, 8.
371. Andrițoiu : 46 and pl. 33/12.
372. Ciugudean 1997: 67.
373. Costea 1996: 21 and 7/4; 8/2-5; 9; Costea 1997: 40sq. and pl. 3/1-2; 4/2; 16/5; 17/6; 18/5; 20/8; 24/4; 33/1-2.
374. Andrițoiu 1997: 31 and fig. 20/11, 30; 23/1-2, 6-7, 11.
375. Székely 1999: 111 and fig. 13/1.
376. Costea 1997: 41.
377. Andrițoiu 1997: 31.
378. See Sheratt 1991: 54.
379. Schuster 1995b: 45sq. and fig. 2/1; 4/2-4.
380. Schuster 1995b: 46 and fig. 2/A; 3/2.
381. Schuster 1995b: 46 and fig. 4/6.
382. Schuster 1995b: 46; Ciugudean 1996: 87 and fig. 17/6.
383. Schuster 1995b: 45 and 2/B.

384. Schuster 1995b: 45 with the bibliography.

385. Gogâltan 1996: 17.

386. For this issue see recently Schuster 1996b.

387. For the BA cultural manifestations: the **Gârla Mare** Culture = Izvoarele (Crăciunescu 1992: pl. 4/8), Ostrovul Mare (=settlement: Berciu 1939: 131 and fig. 169; Crăciunescu 1979: 73; necropolis: Crăciunescu 1980: 55 and fig. 11/3); the **Glina** Culture = Branet (Ulanici 1979: 28 and fig. 7/3, 9), București-*Ciurel* (Schuster 1997: 78 and fig. 54/2), București-*Fundeni* (Schuster 1997: 78 and fig. 54/4), București-*Roșu* (Schuster 1997: 78 and fig. 54/5-6), Crivăț (Berciu 1966: 533 and fig. 3/5), Milcovățu-*La Dig* (Schuster 1997: 78 and fig. 44/2), Văcărești (Schuster 1997: 78 and fig. 54/3); the **Jigodin** Cultural Group = Jigodin (Roman et al. 1992: pl. 6/30; 136/16-18; 147/9); the **Livezile** Cultural Group = Ampoița-Peret (Ciugudean 1996: 136 and fig. 34/17); the **Zăbala** Culture = Zăbala (Székely 1998: pl. X/1-7); finds of Zoltan type = Zoltan (Cavruc 1997: 98 and fig. 5/3, 5, 7; Cavruc, Cavruc 1997: 4/3, 8, 10); etc.

388. See: the **Ciomortan** Culture = Ciomortan (Székely 1997: 58 and pl. LXXXVII/1, 3, 5); the **Gârla Mare** Culture = Ostrovul Mare (Crăciunescu 1980: 53 and fig. 8); the **Glina** Culture = Bârsești (Petre-Govora 1985: fig. 2/4-5), București-*Fundeni* (Schuster 1997: 79 and fig. 53/1, 6), București-*Mihai Vodă* (Schuster 1997: 79 and fig. 53/2), Odaia Turcului (Schuster 1997: 79 and fig. 53/5), Schitu-*La Conac* (Schuster 1997: 79), Văcărești (Schuster 1997: 79 and fig. 53/4); the **Livezile** Cultural Group = Livezile-*Baia* (Ciugudean 1996: 134sq. and fig. 17/1-4, 7-9, 11; Ciugudean 1997: 13 and fig. 17/1-4, 7-9, 11), Zlatna-*Colțul lui Blaj* (Lipovan 1983: fig. 3/3; Ciugudean 1996: 134); the **Monteoru** Culture = Coroteni (Bobi 1991: 22 and fig. 15), Vârteșcoiu (Bobi and Paragină 1991: 44 and fig. 7/12); the **Noua** Culture = Adjud (Udrescu 1973-1974: 31 and fig. 5/1-2), Lichitișeni (Florescu 1991: 88 and Fig. 95/1); the **Otomani** Culture = Săcuieni (Bader 1978: 60 and pl. XXXVI/5-6), Sălacea (Bader 1978: 60); the **Șoimuș** Cultural Group = Șoimuș (Andrițoiu 1989: fig. VIII/13); the **Zăbala** Culture = Zăbala (Székely 1997: 31 and pl. XXIX/1; XXIX/2=XXX/2; XXIX/3=XXX/3; XXIX/4-9; XXX/1, 4-5); finds of Zoltan type = Zoltan (Cavruc 1997: 98 and fig. 5/2; Cavruc, Cavruc 1997: fig. 4/5); etc.

389. Rogozea 1992: 50sq. and fig. 2/2a-b; 3.

390. Rogozea 1992: 50 and fig. 1; 2/1a-b.

391. Petrovsky, Gumă 1979: 65 and fig. 2; Rogozea 1992: 49.

392. Kacsó 1997: 87 and pl. IX/2.

393. Ignat 1984: 11 and pl. 6/2.

394. Ulanici 1976: 51, 54 and fig. 18/1.

395. Schuster 1997: 79 and fig. 53/3.

396. Schuster 1997: 79 and fig. 44/3.

397. Petre Govora 1995: fig. 5/13, 17 from the chapter Gornea-Orlești horizon.

398. Bobi 1994: fig. 16/5.

399. Bobi and Paragină 1991: 44 and fig. 9/8.

400. Soroceanu 1991: 108 and pl. 59/E13.

401. Bader 1978: 28 and pl. VI/19.

402. Bader 1978: 27sq. and pl. VIII/7.

403. Florescu 1991: 29 and fig. 95/5.
404. Florescu 1991: 97 and fig. 95/2-3.
405. Bader 1978: 59 and pl. XXXVI/3-4; Ignat 1984: pl. 6/2; Kacsó 1997: 87 and pl. IX/2.
406. Leahu 1966: 126 and fig. 41/1.
407. Leahu 1966: 126 and fig. 41/2.
408. Sîrbu, Damian 1992: 13 and pl. IV/1-2; V/1-2.
409. Berciu 1956: 500 and fig. 8; 9/6-7; Leahu 1966: 126 and fig. 41/3.
410. Schuster, Popa 2000: 69sq. and fig. 19/1-2.
411. Leahu 1966: 126 and fig. 41/4; Vulpe, Veselovschi-Buşilă 1967: fig. 13/1-5.
412. Berciu 1976: 174 and fig. 5/2.
413. Lazăr 1995: 74 and pl. LIX/30-31.
414. Székely 1965: 22 and pl. I/6; IV/2-8; Székely 1988: 156 and pl. XVII/1-3.
415. Schuster, Popa 2000: 70 and fig. 19/1-2.
416. Schuster 1997: 79 and fig. 50/1.
417. Schuster 1997: 79 and fig. 50/2.
418. Nestor, Alexandrescu, Petrescu, Zirra 1953: 72.
419. Boroffka 1994: 169.
420. Boroffka 1994: 169.
421. Soroceanu 1999: 67 and footnote nr. 232.
422. Ordentlich 1968; Chidioşan, Ordentlich 1975: 17sq. and pl. 4/1-8; Bejinariu 1996: 51; Bader 1978: 38-39 and pl. XXIX/22.
423. Bader 1978: 58; Andriţoiu 1992: 60.
424. Bichir 1962.
425. Roska 1912; Soroceanu 1991: pl. 29/28, 63/9, 66/3, 72/5, 77/C14, 84/8.
426. Bader 1978: pl. VI/20.
427. Popescu 1959: fig. 20/1-2, 75/4-6; Bader 1978: 58 and pl. XXXV/35.
428. Némethi 1990: 20 and fig. 4/12-13.
429. Bader 1978: pl. XLIX/25.
430. Némethi 1990: 32 and fig. 1/6-7; 16/9.
431. Kacsó 1987: fig. 14/16.
432. Leahu 1965: 41 and fig. 24/1.
433. Sandu 1992: 170 and pl. XV/9.
434. Leahu 1968: 34.
435. Schuster, Popa 2000: 66.
436. Crăciunescu 2000: 14.
437. Calotoiu 1994: fig. 12/11.
438. Boroffka 1994: 177 and pl. 5/2, 22/16, 86/10, 91/10, 100/8, 108/1; Andriţoiu 1997: 30; Lazăr 1997: pl. I/9; Rotea, Wittenberger 1999: 9 and pl. XIV/1-2.
439. Out of the papers referring to this topic see Vulpe 1973; Comşa 1987: 102-109; Székely 1996b.
440. Ciugudean 1996: 118.
441. Ciugudean 1996: 119. See Ciugudean 1997: 14 and fig. 22/B.

442. Vulpe 1974: 246; Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1995: 46=55; Ciugudean 1996: 119.
443. Székely 1997a: 63.
444. Andrițoiu 1997; Bader 1978; Boroffka 1994; Ciugudean 1996; Leahu 1988; Morintz 1978; Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1977; Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1995; Schuster 1992; Székely 1997a; Vulpe 1970; Vulpe 1973; Vulpe 1974; Wanzek 1989. See Comori 1995.
445. Prox 1941: pl. 34/13; Székely 1997a: 64.
446. Ciugudean 1996: 109 and fig. 78/11.
447. Oancea, Gherghe 1981.
448. Morintz 1978: 136 and fig. 75/13 = 79/1.
449. Bader 1978: 83.
450. Neagu, Nanu 1986. Upon the issue concerning the existence of a workshop in the Coslogeni milieu there are still fiery debates; Motzoi-Chicideanu and Șandor-Chicideanu 1999: 65.
451. Gogâltan 1999: 128.
452. Bader 1978: 83 = the piece at Dobra in the form of an oval-shaped bread.
453. Rotea 1997: 14 and fig. V/1, 4; Rotea 2001: 25sq.
454. Morintz 1978: 126; Florescu 1991: 153.
455. Nanu, Neagu 1992: 103-105 and pl. 1; III/1.
456. Ciugudean-Aldea 1997: 109, 114sq., 118sq. and fig. 8/7-16; 13/1-6.
457. Ciugudean 1996: 93. See page 119 too.
458. Motzoi-Chicideanu and Șandor-Chicideanu 1999: 65.
459. Gogâltan 1999: 100 and 39/1-8.
460. Udrescu 1973-1974: 31; Morintz 1978: 183.
461. Boroffka 1994: 231.
462. Boroffka 1994: 231 and pl. 35/10.
463. Soroceanu, Retegan 1981: 209 and fig. 28/18=32/4.
464. Boroffka 1994: 231.
465. Boroffka 1994: 231.
466. Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1977: 52 and pl. 24/3-4.
467. Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1977: 73sq.; Morintz 1978: 181; Comori 1995 (Leahu): 65=87.
468. Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1977: 52sq.; Bader 1978: 83, 120 and pl. LXXV.
469. Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1977: 74.
470. Iercoșan 1988: 127 and fig. 1/2; 2/5-7; Némethi 1990: 32 and fig. 16/5, 7.
471. Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1977: 54; Bader 1978: 83, 122.
472. Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1977: 80 and pl. 86/6; Morintz 1978: 179; Comori 1995 (Rotea): 66-67=88-89. Irimia (1981: 363) considers it to have been a heterogenous deposit collected for the purpose of a possible re-melting.
473. Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1977: 56.
474. Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1977: 57; Bader 1978: 83, 124 and pl. LXXXIII.
475. Bader 1978: 83, 124.
476. Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1977: 57sq.; Bader 1978: 83, 124 and LXVII-LXIX.
477. Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1977: 75 and pl. 82/3; Morintz 1978: 183.

478. Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1977: 80 and pl. 100/12; Morintz 1978: 179.
479. Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1977: 62.
480. Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1977: 62.
481. Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1977: 63.
482. Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1977: 64 and pl. 57/7.
483. Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1977: 66; Bader 1978: 83, 127 and pl. LXXVIII.
484. Ursachi 1968: 33; Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1977: 77; Morintz 1978: 183.
485. Bader 1978: 83, 128 and pl. XC/1-8.
486. Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1977: 68.
487. Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1977: 77 and pl. 86/14; Morintz 1978: 181.
488. Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1977: 45 and pl. 14/6.
489. Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1977: 71; Comori 1995 (M. Rotea): 72=94.
490. Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1977: 72.
491. Bader 1978: 83, 130 and pl. LXXXV-LXXVI.
492. Neagu, Nanu 1986: 112sq. and fig. 16; 20-21.
493. Motzoi-Chicideanu and Șandor-Chicideanu 1999: 65 and fig. 5/5-9.
494. Soroceanu 1991: 89-91; Gogâltan 1999: 127 and 10/4; 11/2-3; 16/1, 3; 17/1, 3-4; 18/3; 20/4; 22/4; 38/1-3.
495. Gogâltan 1999: fig. 12/3.
496. Florescu 1991: 59 and fig. 114/4.
497. Rotaru 1983: 82sq. and fig. 2/17.
498. Dumitroaia 1992a: 87 and fig. 26/1-2.
499. Rotaru 1983: 82 and fig. 2/12; Buzdugan, Rotaru 1997: 24 and fig. 24/1-2.
500. Bader 1978: 84, 120.
501. Bader 1978: 84, 120 and pl. LXIII/4-6, 10-11.
502. Bader 1978: 120 and pl. LXIII/7.
503. Bader 1978: 84, 122 and pl. LXIII/1-3.
504. Bader 1978: 84, 123 and LXIV; Wanzek 1989: 201 (discusses about 19 pieces) and pl. 19/4-6; 48/2-4.
505. Bader 1978: 84, 123.
506. Bader 1978: 84, 124.
507. Bader 1978: 84.
508. Bader 1978: 84.
509. Bader 1978: 84.
510. Bader 1978: pl. XLVI/1.
511. Leahu 1988; Wanzek 1989: 200 = discusses three novel pieces!
512. Boroneanț - Boroneanț 1992: 100. That piece has been assigned by Schuster (1997: 78, 143 and fig. 51/3) to the Glina Culture. The doubts expressed by Gogâltan (1999: 135) are justified.
513. Boroffka 1994: 234 and pl. 146/5.
514. Boroffka 1994: 235sq.
515. Boroffka 1994: 234sq.
516. Boroffka 1994: 234 and pl. 76/11.

517. Boroffka 1994: 235.
518. Boroffka 1994: 233, 236.
519. Boroffka 1994: 234.
520. Gogâltan 1994: 369 and fig. 5/7a-b.
521. Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1977: 79 and fig. 96/7-8.
522. Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1977: 43 and pl. 9/1-3.
523. Gogâltan 1999: 128 and fig. 20/6.
524. Gogâltan 1999: fig. 9/3-5; 10/1-3; 11/1; 24/1.
525. Florescu 1991: 70 and fig. 113/1-2, 5; 114/4-5.
526. Zaharia and Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1970: 197 and pl. 61/1-2, 9-10; Wanzek 1989: 200; Florescu 1991: 77 and fig. 114/1-3.
527. Székely 1960: fig. 10/4, 6; Florescu 1991: 97 and fig. 113/3-4; Székely 2000: 178.
528. Székely 2000: 177 and fig. 4/1.
529. Marinescu 1995: 66.
530. Bader 1978: 84, 123 and pl. LXIV.
531. Székely 1988: 156 and pl. XVI/9-10.
532. Wanzek 1989: 201 and 48/6-7; 49/1.
533. Boroffka 1994: 236.
534. Boroffka 1994: 236.
535. Motzoi-Chicideanu and Șandor-Chicideanu 1999: 65.
536. Székely 1984a: 8 and fig. 3/1.
537. Ulanici 1982: 38 and pl. II/1; Schuster 1997: 80.
538. Motzoi-Chicideanu and Șandor-Chicideanu 1999: 65.
539. Crăciunescu 1999: 82.
540. Crăciunescu 1999: 82 and pl. XIX/2-3.
541. Chidioșan 1980: pl. 29/11.
542. Boroffka 1994: pl. 131/3; Andrițoiu 1997: 23 and fig. 21/11.
543. Bejinariu 1995: 191 and pl. 13/6.
544. Chidioșan 1980: pl. 23/37.
545. Boroffka 1994: pl. 78/4-5.
546. Boroffka 1994: 176-177.
547. Boroffka 1994: 176 and pl. 86/12.
548. Boroffka 1994: 176; Andrițoiu 1997: 30 and fig. 22/14.
549. See Chicideanu 1995.
550. Dumitroaia 1987: 253-258; Alexianu, Dumitroaia 1990: 125-133; Dumitroaia 1992b: 121; Alexianu, Dumitroaia, Monah 1992: 159-167; Dumitroaia 1994: 7-82; Dumitroaia 2000: 141-146.
551. Dumitroaia 2000: 145sq. and fig. 94.
552. Dumitroaia 2000: 145.
553. Dumitroaia 2000: 146.
554. Dumitroaia 2000: 146.
555. Petre Govora 1995: 18.

556. Borza 1968: 41.
557. Borza 1968: 27.
558. Cârciuamaru 1996: 72.
559. Némethi 1997: 124.
560. Cârciuamaru 1996: 154.
561. Cârciuamaru 1996: 129 sqq.
562. Cârciuamaru 1996: 154 sqq.
563. Cârciuamaru 1996: 114 and tab. 4.
564. Roman and Némethi 1990: 40.
565. Cârciuamaru 1990: 239; Cârciuamaru 1996: 68 and pl. VI/7.
566. Bader and Dumitraşcu 1970: 128.
567. Cârciuamaru 1996: 94 and tab. 6; 7; 18 and pl. VI/8.
568. Crişan 1986: 422.
569. Cârciuamaru 1996: 73 and pl. III/3; IV/10; VI/4; XII/1.
570. Cârciuamaru 1996: 94.
571. Rotea, Wittenberger 1999: 9-10 and pl. I; II.
572. Cârciuamaru 1996: 93 and tab. 2; 4; 6 and pl. VI/5; VII/8.
573. Florescu 1979: 65 and fig. 1.
574. Florescu 1979: 68.
575. Cârciuamaru 1996: 114 and pl. XVI/3.
576. Cârciuamaru 1996: 91 and tab. 4 and pl. IX/7.
577. Rotea 2001: 25.
578. Neagu, Nanu 1986: 107.
579. Crăciunescu 1992: 44.
580. El Susi 1997: 47.
581. Florescu 1979: 65 and fig. 1.
582. Petrescu-Dîmboviţa 1977: 53.
583. El Susi 1999: 27, 30.

Chapter III

THE CONNECTION BETWEEN THE FIRE AND THE AFTER LIFE OF THE BA PEOPLE¹

A. General considerations about cremation

Cremation has sporadically appeared in the southern Balkan Peninsula, in the Proto-Sesklo Culture (Soufli Magula). At Gura Baciului in western Romania where the settlement is contemporary with the Proto-Sesklo Culture, one of the 7 burials found until now was a cremation one. While the neolithisation process has covered larger and larger territories, the cremation rite has also spread in various material cultures. Then, the burials have been grouped in necropolises, especially in the cultures that followed the Linear Ceramic Culture in Central Europe (e.g. Lengyel). In that time span has been dated the burial unearthed at Suplacu de Barcău. During the second half of the 4th millenium, the first penetrations of steppe populations have led to the cultural restructuring and formation of new civilizations (Cernavodă I, Bodrogkeresztur)². Thus, in the final Aeneolithic, in the western part of Romania is documented the Coțofeni Culture where, besides the inhumation, the cremation rite appears too³. It seems that, in that case, cremation comes, the same like in the neighboring Baden Culture, from a series of ethnic-cultural elements originating in Central Europe. In the eastern regions of Romania, cremation has penetrated after the end of the Cucuteni-Tripolie Culture, the depositions being made in urns or simple pits. Some influences which brought their contribution to the diffusion process towards the Eastern Europe were represented by the bearers of the *Schnurverzierte keramik* and the Globular Amphorae Cultures. A cemetery with cremation burials has been studied at Suceava. The interments contained remnants of the cremated individuals together with their inventory, especially consisting of ceramic fragments recovered from the pyre⁴.

The ethnic-cultural syntheses of the Aeneolithic, that manifested themselves by practising the cremation in tumuli, would became more and more frequent during the Early and Middle BA. Such an example would be the Costișa Culture, where some burials combined a diversity of cultural elements, like: cremation, tumuli and stone cists, the latter being taken over from the bearers of the Globular Amphorae Culture. A certain find of this kind has been made at Șerbănești and a probable one at Borlești. Also, at Hârtop was discovered a possible tumulus destroyed by sliding grounds and containing a stone cist and cremated remnants⁵.

In the EBA there have been found some cremation burials south of the Carpathians, in the Glina, Schneckenberg and the so-called *horizon of the cist*

burials. In South-Eastern Transylvania cremation existed in a cist grave, under a Tumulus. In the north-western part of the same historical province, this funerary rite has been identified in the Makó and Nir civilizations. Subsequently, the weight of cremation has grown, so that, in cultures like Gârla Mare (which is part of the urn field culture), from Oltenia cremation is exclusively practised, while in others, like Wietenberg, even if cremation is frequently used, there are also inhumed skeletons. These latter ones, by taking into account the archaeological context, are considered to be human sacrifices. Also in the MBA, cremation is well documented in Romania but, in the necropolis from Streda (Slovakia) belonging to the same cultural range, the mentioned funerary rite detains 52%⁶.

Referring to the spirituality of those communities, that would explain the appearance and distribution of the cremation, we could say that, starting from the transitional period from the Neolithic to the BA, both by foreign intrusion and inner evolution of the communities, a great change has gradually occurred in the religious beliefs. It resulted in the spreading of cremation on a higher and higher range. Thus, as pointed out by Ion Nestor, *"the destruction of the corpse by burning (in most cases including the given offerings too!) is based, of course, on another perspective upon the relation between the material cover and its "double", its "shadow", more or less material, of the human being. This aspect of the matter must be kept in mind when discussing about this rite, for which the opinions are varying from a purely utilitarian interpretation (hygiene reasons) and up to the spiritualist one (a new "religion", with abstract-spiritual character)"*⁷.

Together with this change, which became evident in the cemeteries, it was adopted the cult of the sun, that later on would become the most important one in the BA of Romania and in subsequent historical periods. There is still a debate among specialists, concerning the possibility to exist a figurative representation of the patron divinity, namely the sun, embodied in a human body, even if solar disks and figurines are already found. The separation of the soul from the body and its raising towards the sky, towards the sun, was probably considered to have facilitated the contact with the divinity and, in some cases, to attract its benevolence, if the entire funerary ritual was accurately accomplished.

In Romania, cremation has manifested itself in various aspects.

As concerns the heat of burning, we could consider that sometimes the dead were lesser or more intensely burnt, fact which is pointed out by the colour of the bone remnants.

As to these degrees of cremation, we should say that we have:

a) an intense cremation when the human or animal bones are being charred and strongly put out of shape. Their colour varies from bluish-grey to white. The white colour indicates their long exposure to a high temperature,

b) below 800 C degrees, the burning of the matter remains incomplete.

c) a slight cremation, when the bones undergo the heating of the fire in a lesser degree. In this case, scorching or smoking appears to a lesser degree and the shape of the bone is preserved.

Besides, the cremation process might affect the entire body or just a part of it. Thus, a partial cremation occurs⁸. One of the oldest finds of this kind in Romania has been mentioned by Teutsch in 1899. He discovered near Braşov a cist burial in which the remains of the skeletons have been partly burnt⁹.

As concerns the fracture pattern, an experiment performed by Baby (1954) and Binford (1963) has proved that cremating the flash covered bones or dried bones, provides a different fracture pattern. Thus, the dried bones, when being burnt, cracking and longitudinal splitting appear at their surface, without warping or twisting. On the contrary, the flash covered bones gives curved transverse fracture lines, longitudinal splitting and marked warping.

Another important indication we can obtain from the study of cremated bones burning degree is the position of the dead upon the pyre. Thus, the bones located towards the center of the body are of white colour and very warped, while those at the margins, namely the head and foot are blackened and slightly scorched, due to the fact that they underwent a lesser heat. Also, the combustion is complete at the dorsal bones in comparison with the ventral ones. This shows that the dead was set in an either extended position on its back upon the pyre, or on its stomach underneath the pyre¹⁰.

Some burials containing urns with unburnt children skeletons, unearthed in Hungary (at Deszk) and Romania (at Pir¹¹) have been interpreted during the '40s by I. Foltiny as a transitional stage between inhumation and cremation¹². In time, it was proven that this hypothesis was not justified, as in a close range of the Mureş Culture, in cemeteries like Mokrin and Ostrojicevo, but also in Bulgaria¹³, several such burials have been found, being probably a specific ritual, adapted to a certain age group (children) or death conditions¹⁴. J. Némethi considers this kind of burials to have a southern origin. They are also found in Mesopotamia, Anatolia, Greece, but also in Spain¹⁵.

B. The pyres

One of the most important elements that make possible the cremation is the pyre. Some interesting structures of this kind have been discovered in the Monteoru Culture, one of the civilisations whose existence has practically developed all along the BA.

The pyres unearthed by now, belong to the following categories:

1. *Community pyres*

The most relevant example for this first kind of pyre is the one unearthed on the spot *Poiana Scoruşului*, from Sărata Monteoru, the eponimic locality of the culture (fig. 23). It consisted of a large stone platform with a surface of more than 125 sqm, with a stone socle, hardened with clay and successive pavements made of stone. On one side, above the pavement stones there were found the breakings of a wall, made of a wooden structure (consisting of beams and thick wattle) covered with clay and straws. In the central part of the pyre there was a circle arch that delimited a surface situated lower than the stone margins. Considering this position of its components, it was presumed that the pyre was structured in steps. In the central area there were burnt the dead of the community. Thus, segments of skeletons in anatomical connection and some secondarily burnt objects have been found. By observing the position of the bodies found at Sărata Monteoru-*Poiana Scoruşului*, it could be inferred that the individuals were placed in a crouched position on the pyre, before being burnt¹⁶.

Yet, the cemetery in which the cremated corpses have been buried was not found¹⁷. In the other cultures of the BA, no similar pyre has been discovered by now.

Considering the results of the latest excavations, the archaeologists Ion Chicideanu-Motzoi and Monica Şandor-Chicideanu have considered that the so-called funerary pyre might have been a cultic complex, while the human remnants could have been remains of possible human sacrifices¹⁸.

In the necropolis from Dumbrăviţa, in the space destined for being necropolis, an oval-shaped surface has been unearthed, being paved with stones and covered with a stratum of charcoal and bearing traces of burning, being probably used for the funerary ceremonies. Under the stone stratum a charriot wheel has been found, emphasizing the symbolism of that space¹⁹.

In the cemetery at Sibişeni have not been found clear traces of the place where the dead were cremated. Yet, it is not excluded that a round-shaped hearth, located in the western part of the settlement to have served for such a purpose (fig. 7/2). Its diameter was of 1,50 m. For this hypotheses account the following: its shape and dimensions, good preservation conditions, its location outside the perimeter of the shelters and at the border of the settlement, its construction mode (stones and ceramic fragments), the absence of the domestic remnants around it. In the southern part of the hearth it was discovered a cylindrical pit, in which the cremated debris from the hearth has been probably gathered. On that hearth it could be cremated any individual in crouched position²⁰.

Also, in some burials in the necropolis discovered in Deva (e.g. burial no. 9), some pieces of adobe from the pyre have been found, together with the

cremated bones, being probably gathered by chance, having no significance for the funerary ritual²¹. Yet, this is not a singular case²².

At Poduri-*Dealul Ghindarului* a cremation burial has been found. In the ring that was raised prior to that funerary complex and where the urn has been buried, there were traces of fire, probably coming from the pyre²³.

2. Family pyres

In the site at Căndești, a special kind of pyre has been unearthed. In the stone ring no. 7, there was a rectangular platform, which covered 23 sqm, half of it being used as a family pyre. On that spot have been burnt the four members of the family and afterwards they have been buried in small pits, located in the other half of the ring (fig.11)²⁴.

3. Individual pyres

These were not large and were placed at distance from the grave, near the grave, on the stone ring, in the tumulus, or even inside the pit.

In the necropolis from Căndești, it was found a case when, during the inhumation of an individual, another one was being burnt on the stone ring that surrounded the pit. Its remnants were covered with a vessel placed with its mouth downwards. Then, above the pit and pyre have been placed conglomerate stones and big boulders. On the surface of the soil, after the inhumation of the mentioned individual, right above the pit, a third individual was burnt and a stone mound or a similar construction was being made²⁵. Such burials appear in the central part of the necropolis, where the rich interments existed.

Generally, the pyres, no matter if they were community, family or individual ones, were located outside the settlement and necropolis. The funerary ceremonies took place somewhere else and, afterwards, the remnants of the cremation were brought and buried in the cemetery. Some authors presume that the burning of the dead might have taken place in the necropolis too²⁶. While the corpses were set to fire, some sicative oils were thrown upon them, in order to assure a better burning.

C. The fire

This was one of the most important elements of the cremation rite. In people, it aroused two opposite feelings: admiration and fear. Admiration because of its glittering flames and confort of its heat and fear because of its destructive capacity. Even if there are no certain accounts for that, we presume that a special cult must have been dedicated to the fire²⁷. In all cultic places there were found traces of using it, in various rituals. The *sacred fire* was always alight during the ceremonies, including the funerary ones.

The *sacred fire* was playing different, but very important roles in the funerary ceremonies:

- it was a messenger of the community to the God;
- it smoothened the path of the soul of the dead towards the after world;
- it helped the soul to detach from the body of the dead;
- it was a mediator between the community and the ancestors whose help was required in certain occasions;
- it had a purifying role²⁸.

At Căndești, near some of the burials there was a small hearth, where the offerings were burnt or periodically the fire was lighted (probably during the various ceremonies) like in the case of the ring 1²⁹.

The burning of the pit walls³⁰ was part of the purification ritual of the burials. As found at Căndești, a special interment pointed to a ritual of partial cremation, used for a craftsman. Before the interment, the pit has been purified by fire. The dead has been deposited over the hot charcoals, evidently lacking the intention of burning the corpse. The fire has probably destroyed the clothing of the individual, but also affected the objects he had in a small bag that he wore near the hip (a bigger and a smaller chisel, a dagger, an arrow point). The content of the bag has been found covered with charcoals and ash³¹. The significance of this kind of ritual could not be decoded.

D. The funerary ceremony

Cremation consisted in burning the deceased, together with some of his goods and offerings, sometimes being accompanied by human and animal sacrifices.

The dead has been placed upon the pyre, in either crouched or supine position. The corpse was dressed, wore its adornments and amulets and sometimes was accompanied by sacrificed animals or humans. The fire was set and during the cremation has been intensified by using some sicative oils³². During the time of burning the corpse and afterwards, the funerary banquet took place. The pots and dishes used for that purpose have been ritually broken and thrown into the fire. This is why, in some sites there are found ceramic fragments, being strongly put out of shape by the flames (e.g. Libotin)³³. The same changes underwent the adornments of the dead. In some burials there were not found the objects that decorated the clothing or body of the dead but, the remnants bore bluish traces of copper oxides.

After the end of cremation, the people have waited for the pyre to get cooled. After that, they carefully gathered the dead remains and deposited them into an urn. We don't know whether that receptacle was kept for some time before being buried or was immediately interred. Of course, in the cases when other rituals

were employed the cremated bones might have been spread onto the surface of the soil, thrown into the wind or onto a water course³⁴.

The remains of the cadaver were not worthless, because, they were usually given a special care when being buried, so that the whole body should have been represented. One such example could be found in the cemetery at Dumbrăvița where, no matter the age or sex of the individuals the entire skeleton was represented in the urn, with the single exception of the individual in M. 15, where the long bones were missing. This might be due either to a special ritual, to their damaging in time or, more probably, to an unintentional act, determined by the friability specific for the *infans I* bones³⁵. For example, in the necropolis from Cârna, it could be noticed that cremation has been employed in most of the cases with an intense fire, that resulted in a strong fragmentation and deformation of the bones. It could be pointed out a special care for gathering the remnants coming from the skull, because its components, together with isolated teeth, are found in all the urns, while the other parts of the body are not always present³⁶. In other cemeteries of the BA there were also situations when just few pieces of bones were placed in the pit and then a symbolic burial occurred.

E. The soul of the dead

The conceptions regarding the soul location into the human body have varied from one historical time to another and sometimes even from one community to another³⁷.

As we have already seen, in the BA and subsequently, up to the recent times, by the change that occurred in the magical-religious conceptions, it could be noticed the duality of the human being. Thus, any individual was and is considered to have a body and a soul. The latter, being of a more or less material essence, is very vulnerable and must always have a shelter. During the cremation of the corpses the soul, would more easily detach from the body, flying towards the sky, sometimes being a mediator for establishing contacts between the community and divinity.

In the old times Romania, according to the rituals employed in the archaeological finds, we can presume that the soul was located in the head (possibly but not compulsory in the brain). This interpretation would explain the special care given to the skulls, both at inhumed and cremated individuals. The spirit and powers of the ancestors have probably accumulated into the head. In some natural populations, it could be noticed the custom of eating the brain of the enemies for destroying their soul and forces. Also, other communities used the heads as amulets, after taking out their bones and brain and making some conservation treatments upon the remaining skin³⁸. Another fact that accounts for

that idea is the observation that the cremated skull bones are carefully recovered, excepting the ritual practises in which the head needed to be cut away.

Few examples regarding the care given to the burying of the skull we find in the Romanian BA. Thus, in the tumular necropolis at Poiana Ampoiului, in the mantle of a mound, a skull surrounded by ceramic fragments has been found³⁹. Also, at Căndești, there are several burials in which, together with the inhumed skeletons a number of skulls have been unearthed⁴⁰. Interred skulls have been also discovered at: Derșida-M1, Sibișeni-M. 35, 43⁴¹, Tiream (M. 1)⁴² Poiana Aiudului-Cheile Aiudului⁴³. Fragments of crania have been buried at Lazuri, Carei-*Bobald*⁴⁴ etc. This is indeed an explanation for the cult of the ancestors, whose spirit is to be found in the head.

In the Wietenberg Culture a certain significance must have had the mandible as *pars pro toto* or, on the contrary, the missing of this part (e.g. Sibișeni).

A very interesting custom, connected with the cremation funerary rite, was to make a hole into the wall of the urns, the so-called *window of the soul* through which the spirit of the dead could wonder in and out of the grave, probably visiting the world of the living and joining the community at the ceremonies dedicated to the ancestors, when the spirits were invoked. Such windows of the soul are found in the Monteoru and Gârla Mare cultures⁴⁵. We presume that this custom must have been used also in some cist burials, whose stone sledges had an intentional groove (e.g. Mediaș-*Măzărești-Peșes*, M. 2)⁴⁶. It is possible that, immediately after this detachment and until a new body was found, the soul might have had a temporary rest in some objects (stones, vases, idols etc.). Maybe the cups with high leg of Cornești-Črvenka type found at Cornești-*Cornet*, which have some perforations with no special functionality⁴⁷ might have been also created as a temporary location of the souls (fig. 34/2). This belief in the duality body/soul must have been deeply enrooted as it's been used even much later, in the Latène times (the Getae-Dacians period)⁴⁸.

F. The cultic places

They had a certain location, according to their functionality. Therefore, they could be placed:

- in the settlement

One of the most important cultic place of this kind was found at Oarța de Sus-*Ghiile Botii*⁴⁹. Near or inside an almost circular ditch, some pits with parts of human bodies, horse skeletons, ornaments made of gold and silver, ceramic fragments have been unearthed (fig. 12/a-b). In others there were whole-sized pots, ceramic fragments, burnt clay objects, objects made of bone and stone, ornaments, bronze implements, moulds.

- *in the necropolis* (e.g. Căndești⁵⁰)

Regarding the same topic, we ought to mention here a tumulus at Izvoarele-*La Cruce*⁵¹ inside which four inhumation burials have existed and besides contained a so-called *altar* with four stone pillars, bearing a lot of ash, charcoals, animal bones and plant seeds.

Also, at Livezile, near a tumulus, a cultic place has been found, consisting of a stone pillar of about 1 m height and a stone sledge of 2x1 m, around which animal bones, charcoals and ash have been found⁵².

- *between the settlement and the necropolis*

At Căndești⁵³ for instance, in the mentioned space, there was a cultic place that was considered by the archaeologist M. Florescu to have had that location because the ceremonies held there were supposed to bring together the living of the settlement and the ancestors in the cemetery, especially when the former needed the help of the latter.

- *overlapped with the necropolis*

At Brăduț, a tumular necropolis belonging to the Schneckenberg Culture has been overlapped by a cultic place of the Noua civilization⁵⁴.

G. The necropolises

1. General considerations

We should mention here that, during the first stages of the Neolithic time, there were no necropolises. The dead used to be placed in isolated burials in the settlement, near or even under the dwelling⁵⁵. The cemeteries appeared in the final part of the mentioned epoch, starting with the Aeneolithic time, being totally secluded from the settlement.

Initially, the necropolises must have been very small, comprising exclusively the members of a single family and later on appeared the necropolises in which the whole community was interred.

During the BA, the cremation rite has been increasingly used, as a sign that a great change in the spiritual life of people has occurred. For instance, in the Monteoru Culture which practically covered the entire epoch, the archaeologist M. Florescu who has carried out excavations in the necropolis at Căndești, has considered that cremation had a greater and greater extension, even if inhumation was still strongly preserved⁵⁶. At the same time, Al. Oancea didn't share her opinion, stating that in the cemetery at Căndești cannot be estimated a gradual increase in the weight of cremation but, on the contrary, in most of the cases, it can be mentioned its constant percentage in the total number of burials. Yet, he agrees

with the idea that in the last phase of the culture, the weight of the cremation burials of the Monteoru Culture is bigger in Moldova (10%), in comparison with Muntenia (5%)⁵⁷. At the same time, N. Bolohan, who has also studied the necropolis at Căndești, has stated that evidently, "*the main funerary rite in that cemetery is represented by inhumation, but permanently associated with cremation*", while "*the small number of cremation burials point out their ritual character*"⁵⁸. Yet, this assumption doesn't stand for all other necropolises of the Monteoru Culture. For instance, at Pădureni, there is a necropolis, where all 10 burials found are cremation ones⁵⁹.

We should also mention here another significance of the cremation in the necropolis at Căndești. By studying the funerary rituals, it could be inferred that such a rite has been employed just in the case of the children, probably considering their purity and to some individuals with special merits for the community (warriors)⁶⁰.

As concerns the Noua Culture, to mention these two important material cultures of the Romanian BA, we could say that cremation burials detain a small percentage in Moldova (10-14%) out of the total number of burials found there. L. Dascălu has also noticed that the biritual cemeteries are concentrated in the western part of the mentioned province, especially in the Neamț County. At the same time, she could observe that cremation has mostly appeared in the Noua I phase (in the necropolises at Cioinagi-Balintești, Căbești, Săbăoani, Brăești) and seldom in those belonging to the Noua II phase (Doina, Ciritei)⁶¹.

According to the funerary rite employed in the BA, we could find three kinds of material cultures: some of them have exclusively used the inhumation, some others have exclusively employed cremation, while others have utilized both rites. Their situation is presented in the Table 4.

As we are not interested here in the inhumation cemeteries, we will simply pass to the next categories, namely those of the necropolises that have exclusively employed cremation or both inhumation and cremation rites.

In the cemeteries that have both inhumation and cremation interments, the cremation burials appeared either separately from the inhumation graves or associated with them. In the latter case, taking into consideration the context, we find either inhumation or cremation as a main grave. Also, the cremation burials might be either spread among inhumation burials, or grouped together in a certain area of the necropolis. In the Monteoru necropolis at Pietroasa Mică, there were three groups of burials: the *package* burials on a restrained area of the cemetery and the *crouched skeleton* burials on a wider range. Among the latter, have been placed the cremation burials, about 4 m far one from another⁶².

As concerns the cemeteries that exclusively used the cremation rite, we could say that the differentiation among individuals has been given by their

position in the cemetery, by the dimensions and fittings of the burials and by their offerings in the grave.

2. Geographical location

Geographically, the cemeteries had a certain location, according to the occupations and places preferred by the various civilisations. They could be found on lower, middle or higher terraces, on the plateaus and highlands. There are also burials in the caves (e.g. in the Igrița Group)⁶³.

3. Distance from the settlement

We should mention here that the cemeteries were located either near the settlement, or not far away, being separated from it by a natural obstacle or a water course. Such an example would be the cemeteries belonging to the Periam-Pecica (Mureș) Culture⁶⁴. Sometimes, they were a little bit farther, like in the Wietenberg Culture, where most of the cemeteries are situated about 1 km far from the settlement⁶⁵. Still, some other cemeteries of this material culture are located at small distance from settlement (100-400 m)⁶⁶.

4. Relation with previous settlements

Some funerary constructions have been raised on the place where previously settlements have been located. Thus, in the Livezile milieu we have proved in this sense in the case of the *Tumulus II* mantle at Ampoița (in W-E profile, close to the center of the mound a lense of burnt clay and remnants of hearths have been found)⁶⁷; in the tumuli at Izvoare-*La Furci*, investigated in 1887 and 1972⁶⁸ (the first has contained a layer of charcoal and sherds, the second having at its base a clay layer, with traces of charcoal and rare ceramic fragments); under the stone mantle of the tumuli at Izvoarele-*Gruicul Roșu*, there was a lense of yellow-clayish colour, containing some sherds and charcoal pigments⁶⁹; in the *Tumulus I* at Livezile-*Dealul Sârbului*, in the ground located at the base of the mound, animal bones, sherds and charcoal fragments have been uncovered⁷⁰; the mentioned situation is also found in the case of the funerary construction at Livezile-*Baia*⁷¹; the mantle of the tumuli at Cheile Aiudului-Poiana Aiudului⁷² has contained a large quantity of animal bones, ceramic fragments, adobe lumps, charcoal pigments as well as remnants of hearths or traces of some funerary banquets; at Vălișoara-*La Strungă* a hearth with a lot of ash, charcoals and animal bones has been uncovered⁷³.

5. Settled or moving community

When considering the number of burials found in a cemetery, we should say that those containing just few interments have pointed to a rather mobile

community, while those with a large number of burials have indicated a more stressed sedentarization. For the first situation we could mention the tumular ochre burials of the BA while for the second we could mention the communities of the Gârla Mare Culture.

6. Cemetery organization

There is no much information about it. The distance between burials varied from small to large. For instance, at Căbești the burials had large spaces between them⁷⁴.

Considering the archaeological finds, we could see that some necropolises had a certain disposition of the burials according to the rank of the individual in the society⁷⁵, while others had no rule in the distribution of the interments.

Yet, we find interesting to notice that in the Wietenberg necropolis from Sibișeni, it was unearthed a strip of about 2 m width, which was occupied almost by no burial at all and was crossing the cemetery from south-east to north-west. This must have been the main alley of the cemetery⁷⁶.

It is also interesting to note that usually, the cemeteries were placed in flat and sheltered places, at a certain distance away from the settlement. Yet, we have also an example when the burials have improperly been placed. We refer here at the necropolis no. 4 at Sărata Monteoru, where the cemetery has been located on a hardly accesible slope (the northern one), so that the burials had to be adapted to that situation. The explanation for this fact was the one that the nearby settlement has been inhabited without interruption during the BA, the location of the cemeteries being permanently changed according to the new necessities. The formation of this cemetery has appeared at the same time with some other changes that affected the life of the respective community, namely: the habitation area restraining, the fortification of the acropolis, the establishing of some ritual constructions, the fortification with ditch and wall, being presumed to have existed a cultural pressure too. The pits of the burials have been stabilized with stones, thus being created some kind of catacomb burials. Also, in comparison with other Monteoru cemeteries, it could be observed that here the family burials have been given up to, individual burials and just few double burials being mostly mentioned⁷⁷.

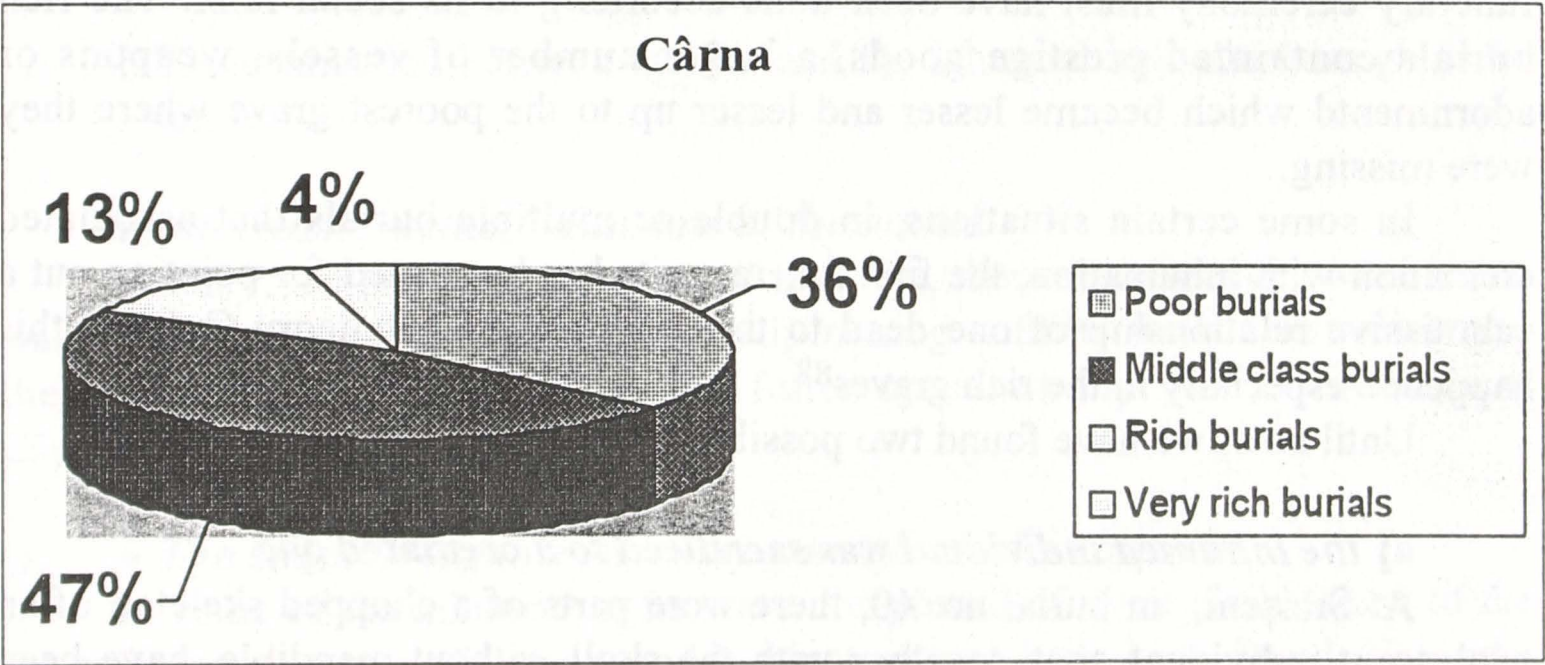
7. Social differentiation

As stated by M. Petrescu-Dîmbovița *"due to the production development in all fields, the social differentiations among the members of the society has increased, gradually appearing, out of the tribal mass, a category of leaders, of military leaders, especially at the communities orientated towards cattle breeding and warfare"*⁷⁸.

The cemeteries were the mirror that reflected the world of the living. The dead were supposed to start their after life accompanied by the implements they used in the world of the living, by some of their animals and sometimes, by their faithful servants or beloved relatives. Besides, as the social ranking was more and more evident, some power centers that existed in the real life have been also outlined in the necropolises (e.g. Sibişeni , Deva⁸⁰). In the cemetery at Ghidici, the archaeologist Marin Nica has detected seven such power centers⁸¹, each group surrounding a rich burial. In the Cârna necropolis, it could be noticed that the power centers did not exist. On the contrary, the graves have been spread without any rule, as rich, middle class or poor burials were close together⁸². Thus, we can see, there was a great diversity in this aspect, even in the same cultural range (Gârla Mare).

As stated by the archaeologist Vladimir Dumitrescu, who exclusively studied the cemetery from Cârna, the burials were richer or poorer, as follows:

- 42 poor graves - with one or two vessels;
 - 54 middle class graves - with 3 up to 5 vessels (or, at least two vessels and a statuette);
 - 15 rich graves - with 6 up to 8 vessels (or 5 vessels and a statuete);
 - 5 very rich graves - with at least 9 vessels (or 8 vessels and a statuete).
- Their proportion looks like in the following graph:



The repartition on social layers of the burials in the necropolis at Cârna.

In the cemeteries of the **Monteoru Culture**, in the initial stages of the culture, the necropolises comprised especially family burials, which were probably grouped according to their status. The rich burials detained a central position, while the poorer ones were scattered at the periphery of the cemeteries⁸³.

It could be noticed that even if the chieftains were men, women still detained a high position in the society. There are rich burials belonging to such individuals and, in some cases, their skeleton was covered with beads, probably coming from a shroud or clothing of the dead⁸⁴.

A well defined caste was the one of the warriors that existed not only in the Monteoru Culture but also in the Mureș (Periam-Pecica) and Wietenberg civilizations that seemingly had a more intense *warfare* activity.

It is evident that the children were raised in the spirit of the caste to which they would have belonged. For instance, if they were meant to be warriors, they were trained starting from early childhood to be so. If they were part of the high caste, they had the specific life of those people. This is why, we find children burials, containing arrow points or other rank insignia, like in the necropolis at Poiana - Monteoru Culture or a very rich inventory like in some cemeteries of the BA⁸⁵. In the necropolis at Pietroasa Mică, two out of those 64 burials contained cremated individuals. These were burials no. 30 with the remnants belonging to an *infans II* and no. 35, also with the remnants of an *infans II*. Interesting is that a differentiation existed even between these two graves. One of them had inventory, while the other one had nothing⁸⁶. As I already presumed in another paper⁸⁷, the treatment of the children must have been done according to the social rank of that individual. Each child has belonged to a certain caste and its treatment at the funerary ceremony must have been done according to its social rank. The rich burials contained prestige goods, a larger number of vessels, weapons or adornments which became lesser and lesser up to the poorest grave where they were missing.

In some certain situations, in double or multiple burials that associated cremation with inhumation, the first funerary rite has been used for pointing out a submissive relationship of one dead to the other. In the Monteoru Culture, this happened especially in the rich graves⁸⁸.

Until now, we have found two possible situations:

a) the inhumed individual was sacrificed to a cremated one

At Sibișeni, in burial no. 40, there were parts of a chopped skeleton of an adolescent individual, that, together with the skull without mandible, have been put on the bottom of the pit. Above, it was placed an urn with lid, containing slightly burnt bones and ash. Those two burials have been done at the same time. The cremation one kept with the usual rules of the cremation burials⁸⁹.

b) the cremated individual was sacrificed to the inhumed one

In a ring uncovered at Căndești, it was found a central main burial where a woman has been interred, with the cremated bones of a child near her legs. Around

the ring have been buried children with incomplete skeletons. Their pits were covered with a stone. These individuals, the same as the cremated child, are considered to be sacrificed⁹⁰.

At Cașolț, in *Tumulus* no. 6, the cremated bones have been placed under the double inhumation burial in the cassette 2.

Also, at Rotbav, behind the inhumed skeleton found in a stone cist, there were cremation remnants⁹¹.

Some of the human sacrifices are in connection with certain beliefs or rituals (foundation, fertility etc.) which were considered to bring a benefit for the community but could not be decoded by now. At Sibișeni, for instance, in burial no. 35, there was a child skull, without mandible, placed on a fragmented bovid skull. Beside it, there were cremated fragments, possibly belonging to another child, together with 2 fragmented vessels. As we already seen, the cranium and therefore the mandible as *pars pro toto*, have played an important role in the cult of the skull.

H. The burials

As strictly concerns the burials, we should take into account:

- I. the relation between the fire and the inhumation burials on one side and
- II. the relation between the fire and the cremation burials on the other side.

*

- I. The connection between the fire and the inhumed individuals might refer to:

a) *the "construction" elements of the burial:*

Usually, the pits bore no traces of fire. Yet, there are situations when a fire was set inside the pit or cist of the burial, burning until its walls became red and then, after the purifying ritual, the funerary ceremony was initiated (e.g. Căndești⁹²).

• *The unburnt organic structures, in inhumation burials*

In some of the inhumation funerary complexes of some civilisations of the BA unburnt remnants of some wooden constructions have been found: Yamnaia (Bogonos; Glăvăneștii Vechi, mound no. IV/1949, burial no. 2)⁹³; Srubno-Hvalinsk (Hamangia⁹⁴ - *in the tumulus* two inhumation burials have been found, both of them having traces of wooden rot): Baldovinești⁹⁵, Baia⁹⁶, Sultana⁹⁷. In other burials the rests coming of mats made of plants (sometimes accompanied by fabrics) have been preserved: the Livezile Culture (Câmpia Turzii - *Tumulus* no. II, on the bottom of the pit in the central burial, but also around the skeleton, has been detected the existence of a stratum of a black matter, possible remnants of a

cover made of organic matter)⁹⁸, Yamnaia (Corlăteni - *Tumulus I*, burial no. 2; Glăvăneștii Vechi - mound I/1949, in burials no. 1-2, 4, 7-8, 11-12, 14, 18; mound II/1949, burial no. 1; Holboca, collective burials 21-22, 23-24-25, 28-29-30 and individual 6, 16, 33, 36; Prăjeni - burial no. 3; Valea Lupului - mound I, burial no. 5; The Big Mound, burials no. 2-221)⁹⁹.

- *the burnt organic structures or the context around the dead, in inhumation burials*

At Poiana Aiudului-Cheile Aiudului, in *Tumulus no. IX* (out of 16), that contained 6 burials, two contained traces of fire. In burial no. 1, a deposition of a child skeleton among the boulders of the *tumulus* mantle was found, at -0,50 m depth. In the area around his head it was detected a surface of burnt earth, charcoals and Coțofeni sherds. In the same cemetery, in burial 4 it was discovered the skeleton of an adult individual, with a various inventory, close to the skeleton being located a hearth with burnt traces, charcoals, bovid bones and ceramics¹⁰⁰.

Another example that accounts for the idea referring to the connection between the fire and the context around the dead is the find at Milostea, where a tumular cemetery has been discovered, containing burials with inhumed skeletons. Yet, in some partly destroyed burials found in the *tumuli* no. II and VI (burial 1) of the EBA, the archaeological context indicated that the skeletons must have been covered with a thick layer of boulders, that reached up to the recent surface of the soil. Yet, between the lower stratum of boulders and the skeletons, charcoals have been found. The interpretation given to this situation by the archaeologists Eug. Popescu and Alexandru Vulpe was that the charcoals must have resulted from the slow combustion of a wooden *cover* placed above the dead¹⁰¹.

We should also mention here the necropolis at Coroteni, with its burial 8. It contained the inhumed skeleton of a child, in an undetermined position, due to its precarious preservation condition. Above, a mound has been raised. It consisted of ceramic fragments, river stones, a flint grinder and a rubber made of gritstone. Underneath the mound and above the skeleton, there were a large number of charcoal traces¹⁰².

At Brăești-*Vatra Satului*, there were some burials (no. 3, 9-10) which contained charcoals, usually placed on the bottom of the pit¹⁰³.

At Năeni-*Zănoaga*, a burial of three individuals has been found. Its inventory comprised 3 cups, 1 pixide and a re-used axe (fig. 40). Yet, the filling of the pit contained an *askos*, other fragmentary vases, massive pieces of adobe bearing traces of pillars resulted from a burned construction, stones with burning traces¹⁰⁴.

At the base of an isolated *tumulus* investigated at Izvoarele-*La Cruce* a layer of 0,12 m thick containing ceramic fragments and charcoals pigments have been found¹⁰⁵.

In a *tumulus* uncovered at Mada, besides the three burials with inhumed skeletons, small atypical badly burnt sherds, as well as small traces of burning have been uncovered¹⁰⁶.

b) *the burnt inventory in inhumation burials:*

In some cemeteries there are vases from the inventory of the burials with traces of secondary burning¹⁰⁷. As concerns the pieces of adornment or other objects, they have no traces of fire.

c) *the offerings in inhumation burials:*

In burials there are usually remnants or organic matter (wood, vegetals, grains, animal bones). They can be either unburnt or burnt (charcoals, ash).

• *Unburnt offerings in inhumation burials*

Some offerings of animal origin without traces of fire have been uncovered in the funerary complexes of the Yamnaia Culture (Holboca, - burial 6 a sheep rib; Larga Jijia - burial 1 - *talus*; Prăjeni - burial 3, snail shells in the filling of the pit)¹⁰⁸.

In the cemeteries of the Noua Culture there are rather often found animal bones in the burials. For instance at Brăești, such offerings have been found in burials no. 4, 7, 9-10 and 24. More seldom it was uncovered at Trușești-*Tuguieța* and Săbăoani¹⁰⁹.

There is a large number of such examples but we will not deal with them here.

• *Burnt offerings in inhumation burials*

There is a possibility that some of the animal bones found in the burials could have been either boiled or slightly roasted (their covering flash).

An interesting find regarding the vegetal offerings was made at Poiana Aiudului-Cheile Aiudului, Tumulus V, burial 3, near the crouched skeleton of an adult being found a fragmentary vessel inside which charred millet grains have been found¹¹⁰.

d) *the dead*

The inhumed skeleton might be connected with the fire by a symbolism that is hard to be completely decoded in our days. A very interesting case we consider the burial no. 500 at Căndești (fig. 9/1), which had a special character. It contained the skeletons of some sacrificed individuals, found under a hearth. Initially, it's been dug a tronconic pit, with big boulders incarved into its south-western wall, making a wall that advanced towards the center of the pit. On the bottom of the pit

there was a stratum of small stones and sand. Two individuals that previously have been tied up have been thrown in there, with their knees in front of their forehead and their arms tightly close to their chest and elbows on their abdomen. Above them a cup with its mouth downwards has been put and then the pit has been filled up with big boulders, settled with something so that no piece of ground has been found between them. At the surface of the soil has been made a conglomerate platform and towards the southern part of the pit, right above the place where it was the head of the sacrificed people, a boulder and a semi-circle made of sledge stones has been constructed. This was meant to protect a huge hearth erected on that site (fig. 9/1). The archaeologist Marilena Florescu who discovered this burial, has forwarded the hypotheses that these individuals might have been members of the community who disobeyed the rules, prisoners of battle, or they might have been sacrificed for divinity or as a cult of the ancestors¹¹¹.

A very interesting find we might consider the one at Andrid. The unearthed complex consisted in a ditch, having its base and walls burnt until they got reddened. The walls were rather obliquely dug. It contained a large quantity of ash and charcoals, many sherds and human bones thrown there without any anatomical connection and belonging to several individuals. There were found especially parts of the spine, long bones and especially skulls (fig. 12/1a-b). They bore no traces of burning, except some dark brown colour spots, resulted from their contact with the hot ash that covered them. The presumed dimensions of the pit must have been of 4,5-5 m. The ditch has been discovered in the settlement. The archaeologist has pointed out that the mentioned ditch has been filled at the same time, while its subsequent disturbing was excluded¹¹².

Another case that we find important for the topic here was unearthed at Carei-Bobald where, in a *tell* settlement, in a usual domestic pit, a human mandible has been uncovered. Also, in the pit no. 3 a skull without mandible was found. It belonged to a *juvenis* individual. In another section was unearthed a human skeleton without any anatomical connection, just the coxal bones, the femora, five vertebrae, some ribs, phalanges of a hand and a leg being buried. That skeleton was considered to have been chopped before the interment. It had petrified ash on the bones¹¹³.

At Pir, in the well known necropolis of the Otomani Culture, two burials (M. 10 and 18) have been set upon the remains of some burnt dwellings¹¹⁴.

II. *The relation between the fire and the cremation burials* is mostly evident because of using this element for cremation. We have already discussed some aspects in this regard.

a) According to the number of burials found together there are:

- **single** (isolated) burials (e.g. Vidra¹¹⁵; ¹¹⁶; Giurtelecu-Șimleului; Noșlac; Școala; Târgu Secuiesc¹¹⁷; Vladnic¹¹⁸, Sanislău-*Pășună*¹¹⁹, Săcuieni¹²⁰, Foieni¹²¹, Vladnic¹²², Bărboasa¹²³);
- **groups of burials**¹²⁴ (e.g. Sighișoara-*Hertes*¹²⁵, Obreja¹²⁶, Socol¹²⁷);
- **cemeteries** (Bistrița¹²⁸, Cârna¹²⁹, Ozun¹³⁰);
- **cenotaphs**. Some finds assigned to this category are considered to be the urns that didn't contain any bones. Among other sites, they have been found at Iernut (M. 2) and Sighișoara (M. 3)¹³¹;
- Of course, we should not neglect here the biritual cemeteries that bring together inhumed and cremated burials, like those at Cioinagi Balintești¹³², Pietroasa Mică¹³³, Brăești¹³⁴ etc.

We will refer here to the burials in their strict complexity, no matter if they belong to one category or another.

b) By their location they were:

- in a place especially destined for burying the dead. This type of burials is most characteristic for the BA;
- close to the settlement (e.g. one burial at Săbăoani¹³⁵);
- in the settlement. Such examples we find at Sântimbru, Sânnicoară¹³⁶, Apahida¹³⁷.

c) The structures used for the burials are also very different:

Thus, the main types of structure in the burials are:

- **simple pits**, with no structure. Such pits have been found at Aiton M. 8, Dumbrăvița, M. 5, 17¹³⁸;
- **pits carved into rock** (Năeni-*Colarea*-M. 9¹³⁹) (fig. 12/2);
- **pits with stone cists** (Năeni-*Colarea*¹⁴⁰);
- **pits with stones or boulder structure**. Such situations have been found by N. Chidioșan at Aiton, where the pits had rectangular shape, having their bottom paved with stones (M. 2, 4)¹⁴¹.

d) As to the type of burials, we could say that they are:

- **flat**. Such examples would be the cemeteries of the Scheckenberg, Tei, Wietenberg cultures etc., as well as most of the Glina, Verbicioara, Monteoru and Noua ones;
- **tumuli**. We should mention here that the mantle of the tumuli consisted either of earth (Iamnaia Culture) or boulders in the Livezile Culture (Am-poita-*Peret*, Țelna, Sălciua de Jos, Vălișoara etc.¹⁴²). In the tumuli, we can find the deposition of the remnants directly on the soil, in the central part of the mound

(Ampoița-Peret), *Tumulus VII*, burial 3¹⁴³; Livezile-Baia, *Tumulus II*, burial 3¹⁴⁴), deposition at the periphery of the *tumulus* mantle (Meteș, *Tumulus I*, burial 1¹⁴⁵), or in superficially pits dug among its boulders, usually in the central zone of the *tumulus* (e.g. Ampoița-Peret, *Tumulus VII*, burial 3¹⁴⁶).

At Țelna, in a cemetery consisting of 9 mounds, the *tumulus* located at the north-western periphery of the necropolis had a mantle consisting of massive boulders, some of them being vertically thrust into the soil. The mound contained 6 burials, all with inhumed skeletons¹⁴⁷.

About the usage of boulders for the *tumuli* mantle, Horia Ciugudean considers that the explanation of the employment of stone for it due to their location in mountaineous zones cannot be fully accepted because there were cases when such boulders have been brought from large distances, even if a simple earthen *tumulus* might have been more simple. He continues, stating that "*without neglecting the geologic factor, we consider that we cannot ignore the role of the lithical symbolism, the certain magical-religious meanings of the stone, which are also at the basis of the megalithic occidental monuments*"¹⁴⁸.

- **stone ring *tumuli*.** Such examples we find at Meteș, Tureni-*La Furci*¹⁴⁹ etc. In the first mentioned site, 10 mounds (8 complete and 2 destroyed) have been found. The only excavated *tumulus* contained 2 stone rings made of limestone boulders, one being located at the edge of the mound, while the second was at 3,50-4,00 m from its middle. The center of the mound was covered with several lines of boulders. All these stones have been covered with the mantle of the *tumulus*. The mound contained 8 burials (6 with inhumed skeletons -some without anatomical connection and 2 with cremated individuals)¹⁵⁰.

- **cist burials in *tumuli*,** as found at Ocland-*Dealul Pietros*¹⁵¹, Cașolț-*Tumulus* 4-5, 8¹⁵², Brăduț-*Dealul Rotund* (*Tumulus* 11, 13 etc.)¹⁵³, Albești (M. 1, 2)¹⁵⁴. Such an example would be also the burial discovered at Șerbănești¹⁵⁵. The stone walls of the cist had a red up to a brown colour that could be determined by their passing through the fire. Under the bottom sledge, in the central part of the burial, in a small shallow pit, some charred bones have been found. Their stratigraphy shows that this was a certain funerary ritual. The burial has been dated in the Early BA¹⁵⁶.

- **cist burials in flat burials** at Morești, Archiud, Rotbav¹⁵⁷, Hârtop¹⁵⁸. Another cremation burial in a small stone cist, belonging to a child, has been discovered at Apa Sărată -*Pescăreasca*¹⁵⁹.

- **mixed burials with urn, cist, *tumuli*, pits etc.**¹⁶⁰ At Archiud, for instance, there are cremation burials in stone cists, with urns (*Tumulus* 65) or without it (*Tumulus* 58)¹⁶¹. Such interments have been also found at Brăduț (*Tumulus* 9 etc.)¹⁶².

e) *When the position of the burial in the tumulus is considered, we find:*

- **main burials**, located in the center of the *tumulus*, like the one found in *Tumulus* no. VIII, burial no. 5 at Ampoița-Peret¹⁶⁵ or Livezile-Baia¹⁶⁴.
- **secondary burials**, as found in *Tumulus* no. VII, burials no. 2 and 3 at Ampoița-Peret, Meteș, burials no. 1 and 8¹⁶⁵. They have also a secondary position in the tumuli at Cașolț¹⁶⁶.

f) *Referring to the ritual employed for the burial, there are:*

Cremation inside, near, between, underneath or above the urns

- cremations with remnants exclusively deposited inside the standing urns, with a lid consisting in another vase or stone sledge, or having no lid at all. This ritual is most commonly employed (e.g. Râmnicu Vâlcea¹⁶⁷, Plosca¹⁶⁸, Pișcolt-Nisipărie¹⁶⁹, Sanislău-Nisipărie¹⁷⁰, Ciumești-Bostănărie, Ciumești-Grajduri¹⁷¹, Medieșu Aurit-Togul lui Schweizer¹⁷², Berea¹⁷³, Iernut-Hulpiști¹⁷⁴, Aiton/M. 1-3¹⁷⁵, Moldova Veche-Ostrovul Mare-Kalinovăț¹⁷⁶, Liubcova-Țiglărie¹⁷⁷, Ostrovul Mare-Botul Piscului¹⁷⁸, Balta Verde-La morminți¹⁷⁹, Cioinagi-Balintești¹⁸⁰, Căndești¹⁸¹, Săbăoani¹⁸², Brăești-M. 15¹⁸³).

- cremations with remnants deposited inside the standing urns, which are protected by stones or boulders (fig. 10/1-4) are found in the Monteoru and Wietenberg Cultures (excluding the south-western part of its areal)¹⁸⁴.

- cremations with the remnants deposited inside and outside the urns. This kind of bone distribution must have had a certain meaning as it is found in various cultures of the Romanian BA (Monteoru, Wietenberg etc.). For instance, at Pietroasa Mică, in burial no. 35, the cremated bones were also placed in a cup that served as an urn, some of them being left outside, on the bottom of the pit¹⁸⁵. The same situation has been found at Dumbrăvița, in burial no. 1 and 14b, where the bones were both inside and outside the urn¹⁸⁶. This must have had no connection with the age of the dead, as the individual from Pietroasa Mică was an *infans II* and those from Dumbrăvița were an adult woman (burial 1), respectively an adult man (burial 14b)¹⁸⁷; A complex cremation ritual, that employed both the stone cist element and the urn was found at Brăduț. In *Tumulus* no. 13, there was a cist without the bottom stone sledge, inside with a cup, containing ash, charcoals and cremated bones, both inside and outside the vessel¹⁸⁸.

- cremations with the remnants deposited just between the urns. Such a case was found in the double burial no. XLVI at Cârna, where the remnants of an adult male have been found between the vases¹⁸⁹.

- cremations with the remnants deposited underneath the urns. At Cârna, in burial no. XLVI, under the urn, there were cremated bones of an *infans I*¹⁹⁰.

- cremations *above* the urns At Band-*Cetatea Surpăturii* three burials of the BA have been unearthed. In all three a lobed vase has been put with the ash and charred bones of the dead above the mouth of the urn, while above the human remains a cup has been placed¹⁹¹.

Cremation in pits, with or without other vases

- cremation in small pits, with or without inventory (e.g. Căndești¹⁹²). Also at Albești, traces of other two cremation burials in small pits have been uncovered¹⁹³.

- cremations with remnants deposited on the bottom of the pit, covered with one or several complete or fragmentary pots, sometimes having just their handle broken, placed with their mouth downwards. When referring at the necropolis at Căndești, M. Florescu has mentioned that, according to the position of the human bones in the pit (namely those covered with the pots), they must have been carried in a kind of bag from the pyre to the burial place¹⁹⁴. Another similar case was found at Valea lui Mihai-*Groapa cu lut*. The pit contained 28 vases with their mouth downwards, having around them a lot of charred bones and ash¹⁹⁵. Another necropolis in which such a ritual was employed is the one at Pir¹⁹⁶. Regarding this custom that has been studied along the historical periods by Tiberiu Muscă, the mentioned archaeologist considers that this was a long time practise in Romania, being used starting with the EBA and until the 8th century A.D. Taking into account that such burials do not occur in large number, he also forwarded the hypothesis that such customs could be connected with a ritual for expelling the ghosts (*strigoi*)¹⁹⁷.

- cremations with remnants deposited on the bottom of the pit with a standing pot as an offering set above the pit. The urn is missing (e.g. Căndești).

- cremations in pits, with the remnants spread all over their surface, associated with broken vases (fig. 9/2). Such examples have been found at Aiton (M. B), Dumbrăvița (burials 5, 17)¹⁹⁸, Plosca (M. 48-49)¹⁹⁹. In a burial at Pișcolt-*Nisipărie*, together with the human remains, just a bracelet has been found²⁰⁰. In tumular cemeteries they are found in a central position at (Ampoița-Peret, *Tumulus VIII*; Livezile-Baia, *Tumulus II*), in a secondary one (Cetea, Ampoița-*Dealul Doșciorului* etc.), at the periphery of the mantle (Meteș, *Tumulus I*) or in superficially pits dug among the boulders, usually in the central area of the *tumulus* (Meteș, *Tumulus I*; Ampoița-Peret, *Tumulus VII*)²⁰¹. Another case is burial no. 37 at Cioinagi-Bălințești²⁰². In the necropolis at Căndești, it could be noticed that the custom of spreading the cremated bones on the surface of the pit was usually practised in the early phases of the cemetery while later it was used the cremation in urns²⁰³.

Dumitru Berciu has considered that the vase which was found in some pit cremation burials (burial VII - Ostrovul Corbului and burial III Balta Verde) was the receptacle in which the remains of the dead have been carried from the pyre to the cemetery²⁰⁴. On the other hand, at Căndești, M. Florescu has presumed that such a treatment of the dead, with their remains thrown in the pit together with pottery must have been determined by the fact that, out of a certain reason, those persons must have had no family or descendants. Thus, they were not surrounded with the same care like the other members of the community, when all the rituals were kept. The same kind of burial must have had those who disobeyed the rules of the society, those who have brought a disease considered to be a great misfortune, or the foreigners²⁰⁵.

g) As concerns the number of cremated individuals found inside the burials, they were:

- burials containing the bones of one individual. This is the most often found situation in the Romanian BA cemeteries. Yet, the rituals are extremely variable, according to the civilisation to which the dead has belonged.

- burials containing the bones of two individuals:

g.1.) The remnants might be placed inside the same urn, like in burial no. LI at Cârna, that contained the bones of an 8 years old child and a mature with an undeterminable sex²⁰⁶. A double burial is also M. 42, unearthed at Plosca²⁰⁷;

g.2.) They can be also separated into two urns, like in burials no. XLVI where, under an urn, the remnants of a child (*infans I*) have been found, while between the vases were found those of an adult man. Moreover, burial no. LIV, was a multiple burial in which one of the urns contained the remnants belonging to a man and a woman²⁰⁸. In burial no. LXI it was interred a mature with undetermined sex and in another pot a suckling²⁰⁹. Also, in LXXX, an adolescent has been found in an urn and a suckling in another²¹⁰. Other double burials have been found in other Gârla Mare cemeteries, like Balta Verde (no. IV-V) and (VI)²¹¹.

- intentionally overlapped burials. This is a rare situation and it was found at Dumbrăvița, burials 14a and b, where the two urns have been overlapped and separated by a stone sledge²¹².

- multiple burials. In such cemeteries there are several urns buried together, at the same time, in the same pit. Such burials we find in some cemeteries of the Wietenberg Culture (e.g. Ocna Sibiului-14 urns, with 2-3 urns grouped together)²¹³. At Cârna there were also such burials. The most interesting case uncovered in this necropolis was burial no. LIV. In one urn it was found the cremated skeleton of a possible mature man. In another urn there were the remnants of 2 adult individuals (probably man and woman), under a vase were the parts of cremated skull bones of an undetermined adult, while between some other pots there were the bones of an undetermined adult²¹⁴.

h) *depth of the burials:*

The urns were placed in the grave at a certain depth. At Ampoița, a discovery assigned to the EBA, in the Tumulus no. VII, both cremation burials (M.2 and M.3 were located at -0,15 m)²¹⁵. In the Wietenberg Culture, they were oftenly situated at about -0,20 -0,30 m depth, being very often destroyed by the tillage works²¹⁶ (for instance the necropolis at Bistrița²¹⁷). Usually there were no overlapped burials, fact which points to the idea that they had markings at the surface. The distance between the burials of the Wietenberg Culture differed from one cemetery to another but, in the necropolis from Deva, for instance it varied between 0,80 and 2 m²¹⁸. At Dumbrăvița the burials are usually deep (between 1 and 2 m).

The two cremation burials at Pietroasa Mică, have been also dug at a lesser depth (M. 30 at -0,40 m and M. 35 at -0,25 m)²¹⁹.

At Bechet, a group of three burials belonging to the Gârla Mare Culture have been discovered; the depth of the first two pits was of -0,70 m, respectively 0,65 m, in the third case the burial being disturbed²²⁰.

Of course, the funerary ritual must have been strictly kept but, we have to mention here that, some variations in the depth of the burials must have been also determined by the type of soil into which they were dug.

i) *the urns:*

These were pots, or other various categories of vessels (e.g. dishes, cups, hearth-vases), of different dimensions, which served as receptacles for deposition of cremated bones. In some burials, which have been found undisturbed, like those in the necropolis at Deva (burials 9-11), just a part of the urn has been found, bearing traces of secondary burning. It was put forward the hypothesis that those receptacles might have been ritually broken before being placed into the funerary pit²²¹. A similar situation was found at Plosca, where half of a *Zwillingsgefäß* has been employed as an urn in a burial (M. 47)²²².

Another similar find was the one at Gruia, where a burial of the Verbicioara Culture was discovered. It contained an urn with cremated bones, without inventory, the vase bearing traces of secondary burning²²³.

At Derșida (M. 6) and Dumbrăvița, it could be noticed that fragments resulted from the same vessel had different colours and burning degrees²²⁴.

Besides, at least some of the urns must have been made strictly for this purpose, as they don't have analogies in the settlement (Deva burials 10, 16-17)²²⁵. In some material cultures, like the Wietenberg civilization, the vessels in the inventory were sometimes put inside the urn, either complete (like in burial no. 6 at Dumbrăvița) or ritually broken and afterwards mixed with the cremated bones (like in burial no. 2, 12 at Dumbrăvița)²²⁶. The usual number of adjacent vessels to

the urns were 1 (e.g. Băcăinți, Sântimbru) or 2 in number. The larger number of inventory vessels were found in the rich burials²²⁷. Also, the metal inventory pieces are exceptionally rare in the mentioned material culture²²⁸.

The burials could be protected or not by a stratum of stones which surrounded them or was put above the urns. One such example was the burial no. 30 discovered in the necropolis at Pietroasa Mică, belonging to an *infans II*²²⁹ (fig. 10/1). Yet, in the burials from South-Western Transylvania, this custom is missing. In the same region, it could be noticed that the urns were never covered with stone sledge lids as found in other parts of Romania²³⁰.

Another interesting custom regarding the urn protection, was found at Bechet, where the urn, consisting in a thronconical vessel, besides the ash and cremated bones, contained a spindle whorl, above them being placed a cup and a small bowl, both covered with a bigger bowl²³¹.

Another case of the urn protection with another vessel was found at Bistrița. In the mentioned necropolis, burial 8 contained an urn with a lid which was put inside another vase and covered with a second lid²³².

Also, in burial 14b at Dumbrăvița the remains of the corpse have been put into a small vase which, in its turn, was placed up side down into a dish²³³.

In the Wietenberg Culture it was interesting to notice that in some cemeteries, like those at Bistrița and Dumbrăvița, the dimensions, decoration and paste quality are consequent with the social status or age of the individual²³⁴. As stated by the archaeologists, the urn in burial no. 13 at Dumbrăvița, probably belonging to a child²³⁵, had small dimensions, according to those of the individual. And this is not a singular case. At Plosca, as urns for cremated children, cups have been employed²³⁶.

j. the offerings in cremation burials:

The food and drink accompanied the dead in their travel to the after world. The food might have been offered in its natural condition (unburnt) or cooked (by boiling, roasting, baking or frying it). It is difficult today to identify which was the procedure that the food has underwent. What we find in the archaeological record is that, in most of the burials, together with the urn, there are interred other containers too. We should mention here that the offerings, as normal, consisted both in animal and plant remains.

j.1.) Animal remains:

We could find many such examples but, we could mention here the burial at Ațel, where, the cremation burial has contained an urn, ash and bone splinters, together with animal bones, a big ruminant maxillary bone and a fragmentary cattle femur²³⁷.

At Năeni-Colarea for instance, in the burial coming from "zone M. 1 *passim*", *Bos taurus*, *Ovis capra* and *Equus caballus* non-cremated bone fragments have been unearthed. Also, in burial no. 3, there were *Ovis capra* bones, with burning features similar to those found on the human skeleton, of female sex. Besides, in burial no. 9, have been found animal bones, 3 of them being cremated, while many others were non-cremated ones. The cremated ones have belonged to a big animal. but they didn't provide any further data that would allow the identification of the species. Among the cremated bones and those human ones two fragmentary molars have been found, that could have belonged to a *Bos taurus*. Other bone parts also indicate the presence of a smaller dimensions species²³⁸.

In all three burials, the same like in the other interments of the cemetery, in the filling earth of the pits, *Stagnicola* and *Cepaea sp.* shells have been found in large number, the latter just in burial no. 9²³⁹.

Animal bones that are placed in the urns are sometimes burnt and sometimes are not, the same like the inventory of the individuals. In the necropolis at Cârna, just four burials contained animal remnants, out of which just three we considered to have contained offerings.

In burial no. LXXX (Urn no. 311), together with the bones of a *juvenis* individual, a cattle horn has been found, a scapula of a mole (*Talpa europaea*), some parts of the maxillae and mandible (with an incisor), the right cubitus, femori, a dorsal vertebra coming from a *Spalax thyphulus L.* and some other undeterminable animal bones. The *Talpa* and *Spalax* bones were only slightly burnt in comparison with the other remnants, so that they were considered to have had no connection with the other animal bones²⁴⁰.

In burial no. LXXXV (Urn no. 331) some unidentifiable animal bones have been recovered, together with the remnants of a mature female individual²⁴¹.

Burial no. XCIX (Urn no. 385) contained one ruminant *vertebra*, with the same cremation degree like those of the mature man found in the urn²⁴².

In burial no. CX, together with the urn no. 416, a distal part of a *tibia* has been found which, by its dimensions, it was considered to have probably belonged to a *Cervus elaphus*. It had the same cremation degree like the mature individual, whose sex could not be established²⁴³.

In the necropolis at Pietroasa Mică, out of the two cremation burials, just no. 30 contained in the urn, among the remnants of an *infans II*, a charred pork bone²⁴⁴.

In a burial discovered at Balta Sărată, together with the bones of the dead some animal remains have been found. They underwent an oxidant burning. According to the results of the archaeozoological analysis, the animal remnants have belonged to a sheep, aged at 25-28 months. This accounts for the fact that the interment has been done in spring, or the latest at the beginning of the summer²⁴⁵.

In a necropolis at Voiteg, that comprised 24 burials, 7 interments have also contained an animal offering, placed in a dish, near the urn. Some of them bore a pigmentation determined by the contact with the fire, the most evident being at the caprovine bones in burial no. 9. All interments mostly contained suid or caprovine bones, but the wild species were present too (roe deer). Generally, there is a single kind of offering, just in M. 6 being found two species (pig and sheep)²⁴⁶.

In the necropolis from Dumbrăvița, the offering appears in just one burial (no. 12), out of the 11 ones which have been anthropologically studied. Together with the bones of an *infans II*, ovicaprine remnants have been found²⁴⁷.

In the necropolis at Libotin, in Tumulus 18, the only one that contained human burials, cremated animal remnants have been put into the urns, together with the human ones. In the first out of the two urns, the *phalanx I* and a rib fragment of a big animal of undetermined species have been found, while in the second one a bone fragment coming from a big animal and a *metatarsus* of an ovicaprin have been identified. In the central deposition of the tumulus there were also bone fragments coming from a big animal, whose species could not be identified²⁴⁸.

At Hârtop-*Sub Plopi* in the stone cist burial, besides the cremated human remains, some animal bones have been found²⁴⁹.

j.2.) *Plant remains:*

In the cemetery at Poiana Aiudului-Cheile Aiudului in the *Tumulus V*, a vase with charred millet seeds has been unearthed²⁵⁰.

k) *The inventory in cremation burials*

It usually consisted of vessels, implements, weapons, adornments, animal sacrifices or remnants from the funerary feast and, sometimes of human sacrifices, all placed near, above or inside the urns. An interesting situation was found at Plosca, where one of the burials (M. 38) contained a miniatural shrine, together with an anthropomorphic figurine²⁵¹. Of course, there are also burials with a poor inventory of even without any piece of it (e.g. Săbăoani, burials 15-16)²⁵².

The charriots or parts of them that often appear in the cultic places²⁵³ might have had, besides another significance, a psychopompous role too, because they are sometimes found also inside the graves (Bistrița-M. 6, Derșida-M. 3)²⁵⁴.

In most of the cases, the objects were passed through the fire together with the deceased, fact which shows that the individuals were set on the pyre wearing their clothing. Yet, there are also cases when the inventory pieces were not burnt, being just placed in the burial without traces of fire. In the necropolis from Liubcova, some objects made of bronze have been found twisted and partly destroyed because of the burning process²⁵⁵. There are also examples when the

objects have been broken and just pieces of them have been ritually burnt, accompanying the dead. Such a custom is known since the MBA and is also mentioned in a very notable find from the Igrița Cave²⁵⁶.

l) *the animal sacrifices in cremation cemeteries*

In the necropolis at Cârna have been found just 4 burials (LXXX, LXXXV, XCIX, CX) containing animal remnants and bearing the same traces of burning like the human ones, meaning that the respective animals have been cremated together with their owners. In just one urn from Cârna (Burial no. LXXIX), there were found the bones of a dog, cremated together with those of the dead. The archaeologist Vl. Dumitrescu has presumed that, the same like in our times, the dog must have been cremated in order to accompany its master in the after world²⁵⁷.

m) *the anthropological analyses in cremation burials and cemeteries*

At Ampoița, an EBA necropolis, consisted in 9 tumuli, out of which 8 have been analyzed. In *Tumulus* no. VII, in burials no. 2 and 3, and in *Tumulus* VIII, burial no. 5, some fragments of human bones, belonging to 3 adult individuals have been found. We should emphasize here the small amount of bones recovered for each individual²⁵⁹.

In the cemetery at Năeni-Colarea were brought together several kinds of interments, out of which we mentioned here the burials with inhumation in stone cists, or those with the pits carved into the rock.. The anthropological analysis performed in the the so-called "zone M. 1 *passim*" have provided, among animal bones, two cremated fragments of a *humerus* and *femur*. By their features, dimensions and cross-section structure, they could be assigned to a mature individual, who was probably a man.

In burial no. 3 human cremated bones have been also discovered. They have been burnt with reductory fire, most of them being from yellowish-grey up to black. The white colour bones being in small number, the authors of the anthropological analysis have inferred that the pyre must have been small and undried woods must have been used for burning the corpse, as a proof of that being also considered the rare crackings identified upon the long bones diaphyses.

The skull, represented by 49 fragments, has indicated the existence of a metopic suture on the frontal bone. Some parts of the occipital (with the external occipital protuberance of 0 degree) some parietal and temporal fragments, and parts of the left zygomatic arch, together with the superior edge of the right orbit, have pointed to the female sex for the mentioned individual.

Out of the post-cranial skeleton, some ribs, radius, humerus, tibia and femur parts (79 fragments) could be determined. The age established for that individual was the incipient mature. The dead was accompanied by an animal offering presented in one of the above sections.

In burial no. 9 of the same site, together with a premolar and a segment of a humeral diaphysis without traces of fire, other cremated bones, coming from the skull, (*parietal* and *occipital*), parts of a *femoral diaphysis*, *humerus*, *radius* and *cubitus* have been found. Taking into account the dimensions and morphology of these bones and also analysing the cross-section of the long bones, it was inferred that the individual must have been a male, belonging to the adult at the limit with the mature age group²⁶⁰.

At Sighișoara-*Herteș*, during some rescue excavation, a Wietenberg settlement and three burials have been found. In burial no. 1, in the urn, have been identified the bones of a child²⁶¹.

At Poduri-*Dealul Ghindarului* a cremation burial has been found, containing an urn with remnants belonging to a 1-3 years old child²⁶².

At Libotin, some *tumuli* have been studied. The only one that contained human remnants was Tumulus no. 18, where 2 urns have been unearthed. The first one, a hearth-vase, contained the bones of an adult, together with few fragments belonging to an *infans II*. In the second, besides the bones of an *infans II*, there were few coming from the body of the adult individual. Some bone fragments have been also found in the central deposition, part of them being animal bones, while others belonged to the individual no. 2²⁶³.

In the *Tumulus* no. 21, at Lăpuș, have been analyzed the cremated bones of the two individuals discovered in the urn. Both of them were superficially burnt. Especially by considering the long bones, it could be inferred that the first cremated person (A) was a *juvenis* between 15-18 years old. The other remnants have belonged to a possible woman, aged at about 20 years. By the position of the bones in the urn, as indicated by the archaeologist, it was important to find that the *juvenis* bones were at the bottom of the urn, while those of the woman were above, towards the mouth of the vessel.

At Ciumești-*Bostănărie*, in an unnumbered burial excavated in 1962, it was found a very fragmentary skeleton, superficially burnt. The analysis of those remnants have indicated a possible adult or mature individual, probably belonging to the female sex. In the same site, in burial no. 3, have been studied some bones with the same cremation degree like the previous mentioned ones. The features of the bones have pointed to a young individual (adolescent or incipient adult), whose sex could not be determined.

NOTES

1. In the previous chapter it was rendered the relation between the fire and the settlements. The cemetery was a projection of the world of the living. Usually, but not as a rule, it reflected the welfare of the community and it maintained the power centers that existed in the every day life. As in the BA Romania two funerary rituals have been employed, inhumation and cremation, we will deal here with both of them, in as much as they have any connection with the fire. Also, when the cultic places are being considered, we will take into consideration here just those constructions that are connected with the deceased, because the others have been already mentioned.

2. Comșa 1960: 103; Drîmba 1984: 45; Ursulescu 1994: 194sq.; Ciugudean 1996: 133.

3. Roman 1976a: 31-33; Nikolova 1992: 89; Nikolova 1993: 561-564.

4. Ursulescu 1994: 196.

5. Ursulescu 1994: 196.

6. Crișan 1960: 171.

7. Nestor 1960: 127. For the hygiene reasons, see also Zaharia 1989: 427.

8. Sîrbu 1998: 11.

9. Morintz 1997b: 222.

10. Ubelaker 1981: 33-36.

11. Székely 1966: 133; Némethi 1969: 68.

12. Székely 1966: 127, 133.

13. Kančeva-Russeva 2000: 31-34.

14. Girić 1989: 239; Soroceanu 1991: 131, 138.

15. Némethi 1996b: 38.

16. Zaharia 1973: 24.

17. Nestor, Zaharia 1955: 507sq.; Zaharia 1973: 24; Florescu 1978: 103; Florescu 1979: 60.

18. Motzoi-Chicideanu 1995: 116; Motzoi-Chicideanu, Șandor-Chicideanu 1996: 105.

19. Soroceanu, Retegan 1981: 195; Andrițoiu 1994: 148.

20. Paul 1995: 170.

21. Andrițoiu 1992a: 34; Andrițoiu 1994: 149.

22. Andrițoiu 1994: 149.

23. Dumitroaia 2000: 150 and fig. 113/4.

24. Florescu 1978: 103.

25. Florescu 1978: 117.

26. Crișan, Dănilă 196: 149.

27. See also the **Chapter I** (with recent Romanian traditions regarding the fire).

28. For further discussions about the role of the fire see Florescu 1979: 117.

29. Florescu 1979: 125.

30. Florescu 1979: 117.

31. Florescu 1979: 114.

32. During the anthropological analysis of the necropolis from Năeni-Colarea, the authors of the study, namely Dardu Nicolăescu-Plopșor and Mircea Șt. Udrescu have identified a femoral fragment which they presumed to bear traces of impregnation with the sicative oil. That bone belonged to a male individual, whose age was estimated to be either adult or at the limit with the mature category (for details, see Nicolăescu-Plopșor, Udrescu 1981: 452). As there are no chemical studied upon this bone fragment, this must be considered just a hypothesis which could be proved or denied by following studies.

33. Kacsó 1990: 90.

34. In fact, some accounts for the customs regarding the water usage in the various rituals have been identified at the Getae-Dacian populations by V. Sîrbu (see Sîrbu 1987: 73-75).

35. Comșa 1997.

36. Nicolăescu-Plopșor 1961: 382.

37. C. Bălăceanu-Stolnici has found various locations of the soul for the old times in this part of Europe. The sould had to be found in the head, cerebral ventricles, liver, diaphragm. Sometimes also the blood was considered to be the bearer of the human spirit. In the ancient Greece, the soul consisted of a fluid that was taken from the air (*pneuma*) and distributed into the body by various meant, using the cerebral ventricles or the nerves (Bălăceanu-Stolnici 1981: 11-42). At that time, in Greece there were famous schools that delt with the study of the soul essence. A very important one, with a great impact in the epoch, was the school of Pitagora. Yet, it is interesting to note an observation made by C. Bălăceanu-Stolnici. He has mentioned that *"the correlation among soul, breathing and air is not proper to the Pitagora school that is better known for this theory. Thus, the indo-european dwesiu means to breathe, but also the soul of the dead or the soul. Out of the same root also comes the Greek word theos=divinity, as well as the word in the old Slavic duch=breathing and duša=soul. This must be a correlation that comes at least since the Neolithic times and to which the Greek philosophy has given a more complex significance"* (Bălăceanu-Stolnici 1981: 25). After Christianization, the Romanian folk tradition has forwarded several variants regarding the way Adam has obtained his soul. He was either created by God who has given him the soul, or he was made by the Devil and was given the soul by God. In some folk poems the soul appears to be taken *from the wind* or from the *sacred spirit* (Candrea 1999: 134-142). As we can see, this is also a kind of fluid, similar to the ancient Greek *pneuma*. The existence of this *pneuma* does not exclude its location into the head.

38. For instance, the head-hunter indians *aguaruna* or *huambisa*, called by the Spanish *jivaro* (=savage), who inhabited the territories along the Santiago, Morona and Pastaza rivers, in the amazonian region of the Ecuador and Peru states. They used to cut away the head of their enemy. The skin and the adjacent tissues were carefully taken off the bones. Then, those skins were filled with hot sand that made them get very small, without changing the features of the individual. The mouth, eyes and the opening in the region of the throat (where the skinning has started) were sewed and so the head reached the dimensions of a fist (the so-called *zanza heads*). It followed the fixing and conservation treatments made with plant extracts whose recipes were secretly kept by the shamans of the

tribes. The heads used to be wore at the belt, existing the belief that this is a way of getting rid of the spirits of the killed people who, othewise, might have haunted the warrior. The custom is lost now, the last trophees of this kind being made between 1980-1985 (see permanent exhibition at the Museum of Natural History *Grigore Antipa* - Bucharest.

39. Ciugudean 1996: 62.

40. Florescu 1980a: 83.

41. Andrițoiu 1986-1987: 62.

42. Némethi 1969: 67.

43. Ciugudean 1996: 62. The skull was found in the mantle of the Tumulus, surrounded by Wietenberg ceramic fragments. For some other similar cases see Soroceanu 1981: 357-365.

44. Némethi 1996b: 29, 31.

45. Berciu 1939: 258sq.; Dumitrescu 1961: 314; Florescu 1978: 106. This conception must have been accepted on a wider range of Europe as, we found that in Great Britain, at Stonehenge, one of the interpretations is connected with the funerary character of the monument. This feature is attested not only by the surrounding necropolises or the numerous cremation burials found inside the first circle, but also by the fact that some blocks of the complex have been intentionally pierced. These *holes of the sould* is interpreted in the same manner like the *window of the souls* from Romania. There is a possibility that the menhires could have had a magical-religious significance and were not a tomb stone. As stated by Ivar Lissner "*When the soul abandons the body it looks for anothor place, for another body to get in. This other body is the menhire. It was destined to receive the soul of a person who was buried in the neighborhood or even far away. This is why there are menhires that are carved in such a manner that they show the ruff form of the human body*" (Drîmba 1984: 49, note 55).

46. Blăjan 1989: 63.

47. Gumă 1997: pl. XLII/2.

48. Berciu 1939: 259; Ioniță, Ursachi 1988: 86; Andrițoiu, Rustoiu 1997: 76.

49. Kacsó 1987: 69; Andrițoiu 1994: 154; Schuster, Popa 2000: 36.

50. Florescu 1979: 124sq.

51. Ciugudean 1996: 48.

52. Moga, Ciugudean 1995: 116.

53. Florescu 1979: 124.

54. Szekely 1997d: 43.

55. Comșa 1960: 83-106; Crișan 1960: 169; Comșa 1998a: 18-35.

56. Florescu 1978: 103.

57. Oancea 1981: 134.

58. Bolohan 1989: 247.

59. Florescu 1978: 102.

60. Florescu 1978: 105; Florescu 1980a: 79. Lateron, in the biritual cemeteries of Gabăra-Moldoveni and Săbăoani I (Neamț County) dated back in the 2nd-3rd centuries A.D. it was found the reverse situation. Inhumation used to be practised for children, while cremation has been employed for those who have passed the age of childhood.

61. Dascălu 1994: 144.

62. Oancea 1981: 133, fig. 1.
63. Emödi 1980: 266-273.
64. Șandor-Chicideanu, Chicideanu 1989: 7.
65. See, for instance, the necropolises at Bistrița and Giurtelecu Șimleului at Crișan 1960: 175.
66. Andrițoiu 1994: 148.
67. Ciugudean 1996: 31-33.
68. Ciugudean 1996: 49.
69. Ciugudean 1996: 49.
70. Ciugudean 1996: 50.
71. Ciugudean 1996: 51sq.
72. Ciugudean 1996: 62.
73. Ciugudean 1996: 74.
74. Buzdugan 1968: 63-67.
75. See also **Social differentiation**.
76. Andrițoiu 1992a: 32.
77. Bârză 1989: 249sq.
78. Petrescu et al. 1995: 99.
79. Andrițoiu 1986-1987: 56.
80. Andrițoiu 1976: 241-256.
81. Nica 1983: 8sq.
82. Dumitrescu 1961: 310.
83. Florescu 1978: 119.
84. Nestor, Zaharia 1961: 515sq.
85. Oancea, Udrescu, Nicolăescu-Plopșor 1976: 4; Comșa 1998b: 46-52 etc.
86. Georgescu 1992: 73.
87. Comșa 1998b: 46-52.
88. See further, **Human sacrifices**.
89. Andrițoiu 1992a: 34; Andrițoiu 1994: 150.
90. Florescu 1976: 169.
91. Andrițoiu, Vasiliev 1993: 102sq.
92. Florescu 1979: 117.
93. Florescu 1991: 155sq.; Dumitroaia 2000: 104, 108sq.
94. Florescu 1991: 157.
95. Morintz 1978: 87.
96. Morintz 1978: 90.
97. Morintz 1978: 90.
98. Ciugudean 1996: 41.
99. Dumitroaia 2000: 105, 107, 110sq. and fig. 80/2,
100. Ciugudean 1996: 61sq.
101. Popescu, Vulpe 1966: 150.
102. Bobi 1987: 19.
103. Dascălu 1994: 139.

104. Motzoi-Chicideanu, Sandor-Chicideanu 2001: 32sq.
105. Ciugudean 1996: 48.
106. Pescaru et all. 2001: 33.
107. See, for instance Motzoi-Chicideanu and Șandor-Chicideanu 1994-1995: 478.
108. Dumitroaia 2000: 109sq.
109. Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1953b: 495; Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1953a: 24; Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1957: 15.
110. Ciugudean 1996: 60, 116.
111. Florescu 1979: 125sq.
112. Némethi 1996b: 28.
113. Némethi 1996b: 29sq.
114. Némethi 1996b: 31.
115. Harțușe 1979: 13.
116. Oancea 1981: 169.
117. Andrișoiu 1976: 254sq.
118. Căpitanu 1982: 150.
119. Némethi 1996b: 33.
120. Némethi 1996b: 33.
121. Némethi 1996: 31.
122. Căpitanu 1982: 150.
123. Căpitanu 1982: 153.
124. In some cases they resulted from the destruction of other burials from a cemetery.
125. Andrișoiu, Rustoiu 1997: 17.
126. Andrișoiu 1992a: 94.
127. Săcărin 1993: 76
128. Crișan, Dănilă 1961: 145-149.
129. Dumitrescu 1961.
130. Szekely 1997a: 101-106.
131. Andrișoiu 1994: 149. Yet, the presence of the cenotaphs in the cremation milieu is not exclusively specific for the **Wietenberg Culture**.
132. Zaharia 1963: 139-176.
133. Oancea 1981: 131-191.
134. Dascălu 1994: 144.
135. Ursachi 1969: 35 41.
136. Andrișoiu 1992a: 33, 94.
137. Andrișoiu 1976: 254.
138. Andrișoiu 1994: 149.
139. Vulpe, Drâmbocianu 1981: 177.
140. Vulpe, Drâmbocianu 1981: 177.
141. Andrișoiu 1994: 149.
142. Ciugudean 1996: 72-74.
143. Ciugudean 1996: 36

144. Ciugudean 1996: 52
145. Ciugudean 1996: 56.
146. Ciugudean 1996: 36, 133.
147. Ciugudean 1996: 72.
148. Ciugudean 1996: 131.
149. Ciugudean 1996: 55-57, 69sq.
150. Ciugudean 1996: 55-57.
151. Cavruc 2000: 166.
152. Andrițoiu, Vasiliev 1993: 102.
153. Szekely 1997d: 7; Szekely 1997a: 42sq.
154. Schuster 1997: 147, 169.
155. Andrițoiu, Vasiliev 1993: 103.
156. Ignat, Popovici 1979-1980: 660sq.
157. Andrițoiu, Vasiliev 1993: 103.
158. Andrițoiu, Vasiliev 1993: 103.
159. Morintz 1997b: 218, 223.
160. Of course, at least one of these elements might be missing.
161. Andrițoiu, Vasiliev 1993: 103.
162. Szekely 1997d: 42sq.
163. Ciugudean 1996: 36sq.
164. Ciugudean 1996: 52. Ciugudean 1997: 34.
165. Ciugudean 1996: 36, 56sq.
166. Andrițoiu, Vasiliev 1993: 102.
167. Petre Govora 1989: 256.
168. Motzoi-Chicideanu et al. 2001: 187.
169. Némethi 1996b: 32.
170. Némethi 1996b: 32.
171. Némethi 1996b: 30.
172. Némethi 1996b: 31
173. Némethi 1996b: 29.
174. Lazăr 1999: 48.
175. Blăjan, Cerghi 1977: 140.
176. Săcărin 1993: 76.
177. Săcărin 1993: 77.
178. Săcărin 1993: 79.
179. Săcărin 1993: 79.
180. Zaharia 1963: 140, 155sq.
181. Florescu 1978: 103.
182. Ursachi 1969: 35-48.
183. Dascălu 1994: 144.
184. Andrițoiu 1992a: 34. See further, at the **Urns**.
185. Oancea 1981: 189.
186. Soroceanu, Retegan 1981: 195.

187. Comşa 1997.
188. Szekely 1997a: 7.
189. Nicolăescu-Plopşor 1961: 370.
190. Nicolăescu-Plopşor 1961: 370. See also further, burial no. LIV at Cârna.
191. Lazăr 1995: 57.
192. Florescu 1980: 75.
193. Schuster 1997: 147; Morintz 1997: 227.
194. Florescu 1978: 103, 105sq.
195. Némethi 1996b: 34.
196. Némethi 1969: 67.
197. Muscă 1980: 48.
198. Andriţoiu 1994: 149.
199. Motzoi-Chicideanu et al. 2001: 187.
200. Némethi 1996b: 32.
201. Ciugudean 1996: 36sq., 133.
202. Florescu 1991: 27.
203. Florescu 1978: 103.
204. Berciu 1939: 256.
205. Florescu 1978: 105sq.
206. Nicolăescu-Plopşor 1961: 370.
207. Motzoi-Chicideanu et al. 2001: 187.
208. Nicolăescu-Plopşor 1961: 370sq.
209. Nicolăescu-Plopşor 1961: 372.
210. Nicolăescu-Plopşor 1961: 374.
211. Berciu 1939: 258 and fig. 117-118.
212. Soroceanu, Retegan 1981: 199.
213. Crişan 1960: 176.
214. Nicolăescu-Plopşor 1961: 370sq.
215. Ciugudean 1996: 36.
216. Andriţoiu 1992a: 32.
217. Crişan 1960: 173.
218. Andriţoiu 1992b: 33.
219. Oancea 1981: 188sq.
220. Țăranu 1975: 567-569.
221. Andriţoiu 1986-1987: 61.
222. Motzoi-Chicideanu et al. 2001: 187.
223. Crăciunescu 1996: 39.
224. Andriţoiu 1994:
225. Andriţoiu 1992a: 33sq.; Andriţoiu 1994: 149.
226. Soroceanu, Retegan 1981: 96, 197.
227. Berciu 1939: 257sq.
228. Andriţoiu 1992b: 95.
229. Oancea 1981: 188.

230. Andrițoiu 1992a: 34.
231. Țăranu 1975: 567.
232. Crișan, Danilă 1961: 147.
233. Andrițoiu 1994: 149.
234. Crișan 1960: 173.
235. This burial was not received for being anthropologically analyzed.
236. Motzoi-Chicieanu et al. 2001: 187.
237. Popa, Comșa, 1981: 35-38.
238. Nicolăescu-Plopșor, Udrescu 1981: 447sq., 452.
239. Vulpe, Drâmbocianu 1981: 177sq.
240. Nicolăescu-Plopșor 1961: 374.
241. Nicolăescu-Plopșor 1961: 375.
242. Nicolăescu-Plopșor 1961: 376.
243. Nicolăescu-Plopșor 1961: 377.
244. Oancea 1981: 188.
245. El Susi 2000: 103.
246. El Susi 1990: 249-251.
247. Comșa 1997.
248. Kacsó 1990: 90.
249. Ursulescu, Popovici 1987: 72-76; Dumitroaia 2000: 133sq.
250. Vlassa, Takács, Lazarovici 1986: 62; Ciugudean 1996: 116.
251. Motzoi-Chicideanu et al. 2001: 187.
252. Ursachi 1969: 35.
253. Ciugudean 1996: 135sq.
254. Andrițoiu 1994: 148; for further details regarding the charriots and wheels see Florescu 1979: 104sq.; Ciugudean 1996: 135sq.
255. Săcărin 1993: 78.
256. Emödi 1980: 268.
257. Nicolăescu-Plopșor 1961: 373, 382.
258. The anthropological data for some necropolises, like those at Cârna, Dumbrăvița, Ghidici, will be not presented here, as they are subjects of other papers. We will just make a demographic comparison between them, in the following chapter. Thus, we will deal here with some isolated cremation burials or with those found in small number in biritual cemeteries. Also, these data will be not included in the demographic study.
259. Perianu 1990: 241, 245sq.; Perianu 1991: 115, 118.
260. Nicolăescu-Plopșor, Udrescu 1981: 447sq., 451sq.
261. Andrițoiu, Rustoiu 1997: 17.
262. Dumitroaia 2000: 150 and fig. 113/4.
263. Kacsó 1990: 90.

Chapter IV

DEMOGRAFIC ASPECTS OF THE CREMATION CEMETERIES DATED BACK IN THE BA OF ROMANIA

The anthropologists were always challenged by the idea of reconstructing inasmuch as possible the society of the prehistoric populations. After the burials discovery, they tried to bring together the pieces of bones, in order to re-create the skeleton of the individuals. By using the specific elements that are usually employed in the anthropological determinations, there were found their main features and characteristics. Yet, this happens in the case of the interred skeletons. The cremated ones are mostly represented by more or less destroyed remains. In fortunate situations, there are found teeth or other significant parts of the body, which can be used for establishing the age and sex of the individual. Still, there is not an unusual situation to have some cremation burials that cannot be determined. All data collected from skeletons and referring to the age and sex are the starting point for the paleodemographical studies.

As concerns the information taken from the field, concerning the community interred in a cemetery, sometimes this could be influenced, by some objective or subjective factors. Out of the first ones, we could mention:

1. The destruction of a part of the necropolis, due to some sliding grounds, public utility works, overflows etc.;
2. The between and inside tribal conflicts, which determined the missing of some skeletons from the cemetery, or the inclusion of others, from another community;
3. The existence of a larger number of necropolises, having different locations and being not detected in the field.

Some of the subjective factors that can be taken into account, are:

- A. The non-digging of the cemetery in its whole.
- B. The partial prelevation of the osteological materials by the anthropologist.

All the mentioned elements have a contribution in getting some biased results in the skeleton studies regarding the respective cemeteries. This is why, the data detained by archaeologists, must always be compared with those of the anthropologists, in order to avoid, as much as possible, the erroneous interpretations of those burials.

In the following pages, we will briefly present some demographical aspects of cremation cemeteries from the BA in Romania, aspects referring to the mortality, with its repartition on age groups and sexes (Table 1), sex ratio (Table

2), as well as to the life expectancy of the analyzed series (Table 3). For all mentioned tables, besides the cremation necropolises, we have used the inhumation ones, in order to provide a more clear image upon the demographic aspects of the Romanian Bronze Age. All of them have provided elements that made possible some interpretations regarding the life and health level, of the communities under study. Of course for each age category, there were some differences from one necropolis to another, which could probably be determined by the social-economical regional factors.

A. The infantile mortality

At the archaic populations, its rate was high. The children have frequently died, because of inadequate care, some wrong habits of their mothers, or lack of hygiene.

In comparison with the Neolithic times of Romania, the infantile mortality was higher during the Bronze Age. Yet, this is not a real growth, because in the Neolithic there were some customs regarding children that made possible the location of the burials outside the cemetery (usually in the settlement)¹. Generally, the most frequent proportions were concentrated between the limits of 20-40% (Table 1). As a general feature of the cemeteries from the mentioned period of time, it could be pointed out the greater weight of the children of the first age category (*infans I*), in the total of those series. We could note that a large number of children have died in the necropolis at Bistrița² (30,43%)³ (fig. 4). At Cârna, a number of 14 individuals, which represented 13.72% from the total, was represented just by sucklings (0-1 year old). All the subjects deceased in their first childhood detained 32.35% (Table 1).

There were also necropolises, in which the *infans II* category had a higher mortality than the one of the *infans I*. As relevant examples in this sense could be given the cemeteries at Pietroasa Mică (14.06% *infans II* in comparison with 4.69% *infans I*), Ghidici (15.79% *infans II* and 10.53% *infans I*) and Dumbrăvița (18.19% *infans II* and 9.09% *infans I*) (Table 1). For this facts it could not be found a plausible explanation. Yet, by analyzing the evolution trend of the second period of childhood, it was pointed out its constant increase from the Early, up to the Late Bronze Age.

B. The mortality of the *juvenis* category

Usually, the weight of the respective group in the Bronze Age was less represented than the other age categories. For example, in the cemetery from Cârna, the percentage of the *juvenis* category had a weight of 1,96% (Table 1). The reverse situation was found at Ghidici (15,79%) (Table 1), but also at Bistrița (21,74%) (fig. 4).

C. The mortality of the adults

The number of individuals who died at this age category varied from one necropolis to another.

A relatively small weight of the mentioned age category had the necropolises at Pietroasa Mică (15.63%), while in the cemeteries at Dumbrăvița (36.36%) (Table 1) and Bistrița (47.83%) it was rather high. Interesting was the cemetery from Ghidici, where, in the adult categories, just women have been represented, while men were missing⁴. Yet, this situation may be biased by the small number of individuals analyzed in this necropolis.

Usually, in the adult age, the same as in the *juvenis* group, a greater number of deceased women has been detected. This is due to the fact that both age categories being their periods of maximal fertility, a greater number of deaths appeared as a consequence of parturition, due to some complications (pelvic infections, septicemia) which appeared during, or soon after it. This situation is perfectly explainable, taking into account that such events appeared frequently even in later necropolises.

From the archaeological viewpoint, the existence of some intra- and intertribal conflicts is a certain fact. Anthropologically, in some cemeteries, it could be noticed the presence, in greater number of male individuals. They belonged especially to the adult and mature age groups, and thus, being killed at the time when those subjects were in full strength. The evident differences between the number of adult men and women appeared in necropolises such as the one at Cârna (8.82% men and 4.90% women)⁵.

D. The mortality of the matures

In comparison with the preceding age group, matures have the highest mortality rate with a slight trend towards decreasing in the later phases of the BA⁶. We consider important to stress here that, for this age category, prevalent was the male sex, the females reaching lower percentages. This fact could be perfectly explained, if we take into consideration that most women died, as we previously said, at the *juvenis* and adult ages, fact which had as a consequence their presence in small number at the mature age. In order to give just an example, at Ghidici, the male mature individuals reached 26.32%, in comparison with the females, that detained 5.26%⁷.

E. The mortality of the seniles

Generally, the number of individuals who have reached the senile age was small in the Bronze Age. In the necropolises of the Middle Bronze Age that we are interested in (Dumbrăvița, Ghidici, Cârna, Pietroasa Mică), this age category was missing. All these aspects point out the fact that the archaic populations didn't have

a long life, the subjects seldom passing over the adult or mature age. In the case of women, it could be pointed out their prevalence in the age group under study. When they could surpass their fertile period, they used to live longer than men, due to the higher resistance of their body.

As a general feature of the Bronze Age, it could be noticed the increase in number of the individuals who died at the senile age, due to the better social-economical conditions, compared with the Neolithic times. The higher economical level has determined the growth of the life duration, by the presence in larger number of the longevous individuals⁸.

F. The *sex-ratio*

Normally, between the two sexes existed no great discrepancies as concerns their weight in some necropolises (Table 2). This is why, if the percentages had close values, it was considered that their proportion was balanced (e.g. Ghidici - fig. 6 - where 50% men and 50% women existed -Table 2). There were also identified necropolises in which women and men existed in very different proportions (Table 2). In the cemetery at Cârna, due to the greater number of individuals with unknown sex, any assumptions could be made, concerning the *sex ratio*. In the series at Dumbrăvița (fig. 7), the female subjects detained a higher percentage (54.14%, in comparison with 42.80% the male ones). In other cases, like the cemeteries from Pietroasa Mică (fig. 5), it could be noticed that the male individuals were better represented than the female ones. This fact, associated with the existence of a funerary inventory consisting mostly of weapons, has led to the conclusion that the respective individuals could have died mostly due to some intra- or intertribal conflicts.

G. The life expectancy

In the Bronze Age, the average age at death tempted to grow starting from the early to the late phase. For the cemeteries with a lesser number of individuals, like those from Ghidici and Dumbrăvița, the mentioned indicator has been calculated by the average age at death.

Yet, for the different large cemeteries it could be noticed the existence of a regional variation of this indicator, certainly determined by specific social-economical factors. In order to have a better illustration of this assertion, in table no. 3 we have used both the data coming from cremation cemeteries and those from inhumation ones, of course, all dated back in the Bronze Age.

H. Concluding remarks

The Romanian Bronze Age has as one of the most important feature the high infantile mortality, especially when children of the age *infans I* are concerned.

Still, there are some exceptions to that rule, in the necropolises from Pietroasa Mică and Ghidici, where the *infans II* individuals have prevailed.

The adolescents have deceased less frequently both than the children and the adults. In the cemetery at Pietroasa Mică, the *juvenile* subjects and adults were in equal proportions.

As to the adults, we could say that their mortality was higher for the women, because they lacked the hygiene and medical assistance during parturition.

At the mature age category, the male individuals were represented in greater number, than the female ones.

For the seniles, it has been noticed the trend of increasing their weight in the series, starting from the EBA, up to the LBA. This fact would have an explanation if we have in view that the society of that time had a better economical level, in comparison with the Neolithic times. The improved living conditions have also determined a higher average age at death, even if in some necropolises it was still very low.

The *sex-ratio* was generally balanced, excepting the necropolises at Pietroasa Mică for instance, where men outnumbered women, probably due to some inter- or intratribal conflicts, in which, of course, men were mostly affected.

As a final conclusion, we could say that the populations buried in the cremation necropolises of the Romanian BA had a mortality that reflected the low development level of the society. The demographical evolution was very similar in all regions of the country, because it was placed under the influence of analogous economical and social systems and, not at the least, of the customs and beliefs of the people.

Necropolis	Total	Infans I		Infans II		Juvenis		Adultus		Maturus	
	Number	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Cârna	102	33	32.35	5	4.90	2	1.96	22	21.57	40	39.22
Dumbrăvița	19	2	10.53	3	15.79	3	15.79	4	21.05	7	36.84
Ghidici	11	1	9.09	2	18.18	1	9.09	4	36.36	3	27.27

Table 1 - Repartition of the individuals on age groups and their weight in the series, for the necropolises under study.

Necropolis	Males		Females	
	No.	%	No.	%
Zimnicea I	20	54.05	17	45.95
Sărata Monteoru	60	52.20	55	47.82
Pietroasa Mică	34	65.38	18	34.62.
Cândești	133	62.44	80	37.56
Cioinagi-Balintești	8	57.14	6	42.86
Ghidici	5	50.00	5	50.00
Dumbrăvița	3	42.86	4	57.14
Trușești	35	58.33	25	41.66
Brăești	14	100	-	-
Zimnicea II	14	53.85	12	46.15

Table 2 - *Sex-ratios* in some cemeteries of the Bronze Age in Romania.

Necropolis	Total0-x years	Males20-x years	Females20-x years
Zimnicea I	28.29	35.93	40.00
Sărata Monteoru	22.00	-	-
Cândești	22.11	37.29	34.38
Ghidici	25.71	47.00	31.00
Dumbrăvița	24.23	40.00	24.80
Cioinagi-Balintești	27.00	-	-
Trușești	28.02	47.29	42.72
Brăești	27.80	49.20	-
Zimnicea II	22.92	29.80	27.50

Table 3 - Average age at death in some cemeteries of the Bronze Age in Romania.

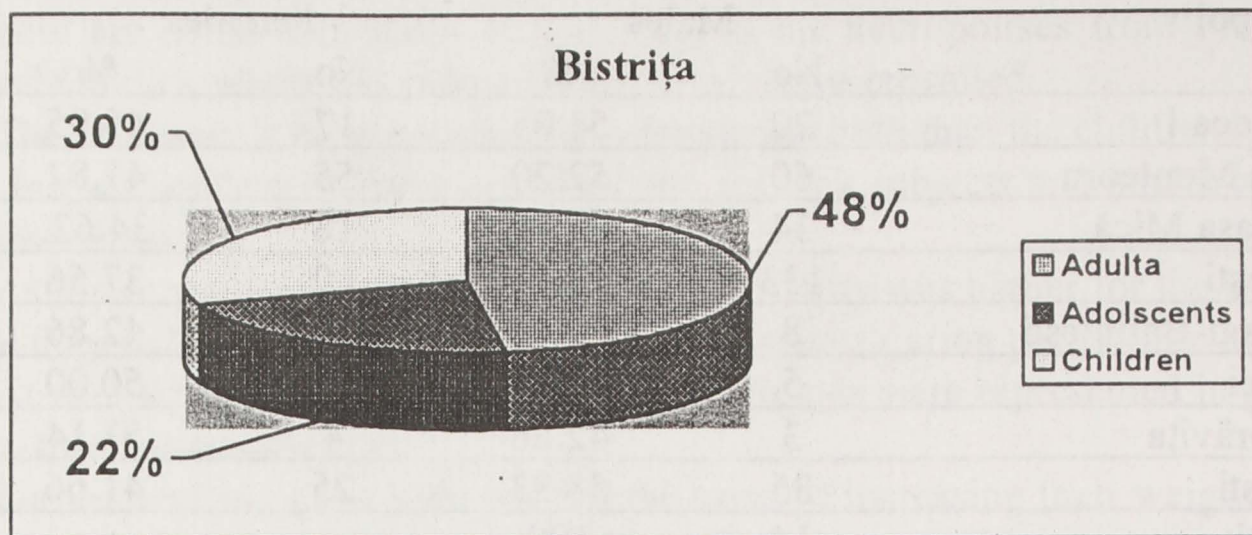


Fig. 1 - The proportion between the age categories in the necropolis at Bistrița.

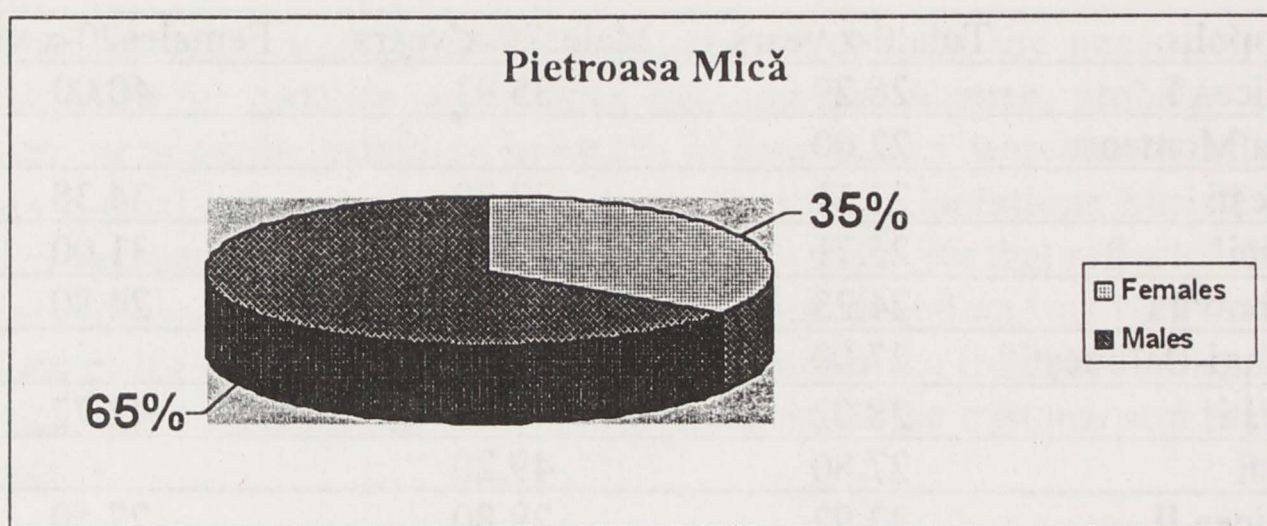


Fig. 2 - The proportion between males and females in the necropolis at Pietroasa Mică.

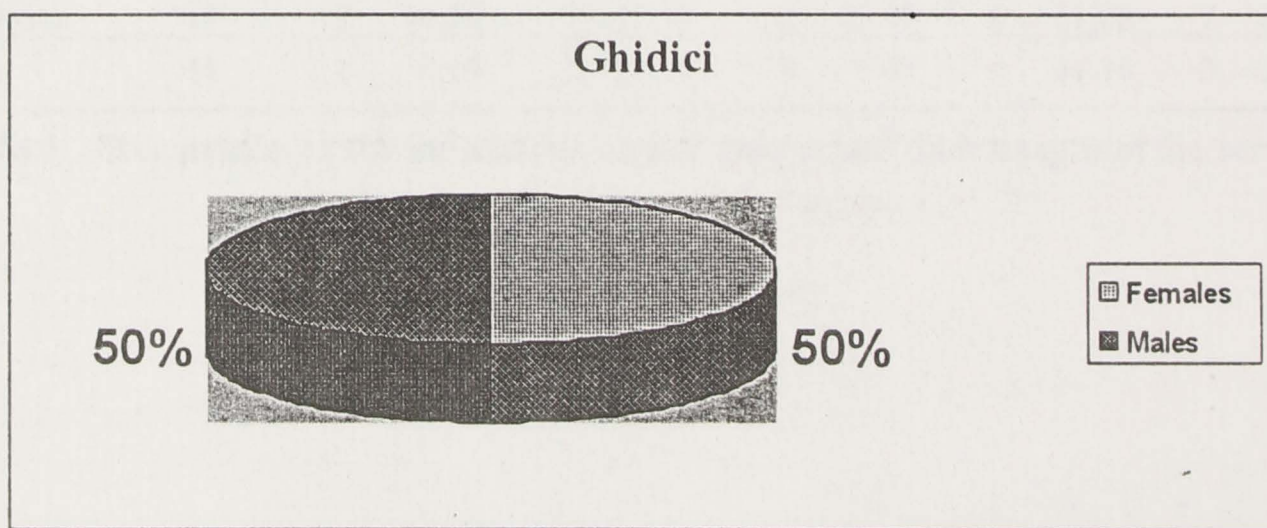


Fig. 3 - The proportion between males and females in the necropolis at Ghidici.

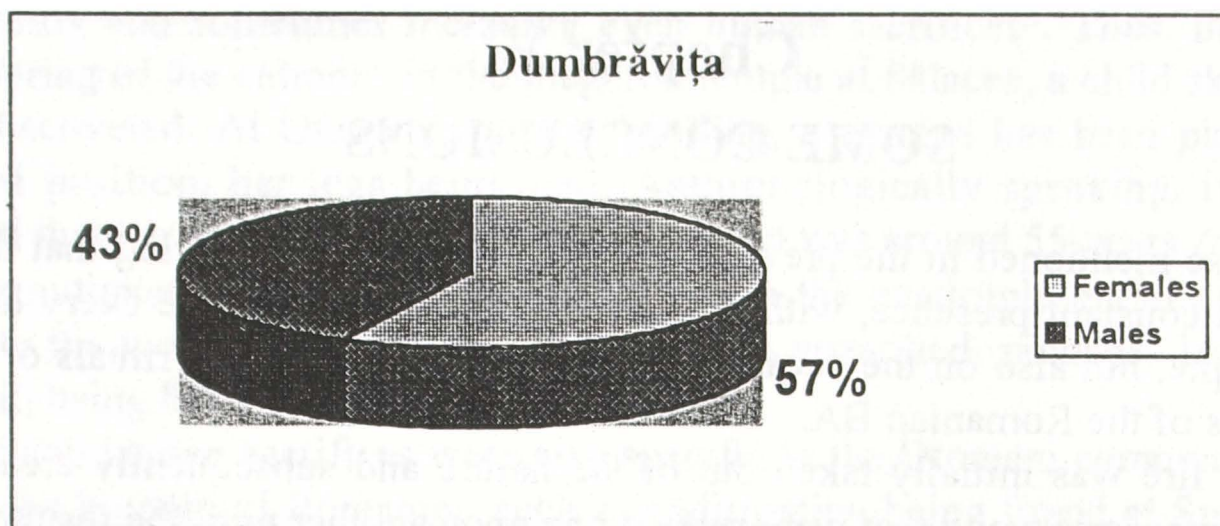


Fig. 4 - The proportion between males and females in the necropolis at Dumbrăvița.

NOTES

1. Comșa 1998a: 18-35.

2. The anthropological analysis of this cemetery has been mentioned by two archaeologists (Crișan 1970: 145-149) and Andrițoiu (1994: 149). They have provided the data we have employed for the graph in this text, without other details. We haven't found in the anthropological literature any article referring to the necropolis at Bistrița.

3. This necropolis could not be included in Table 1, because the *infans I* and *infans II* age groups were not separated, being mentioned just the 7 children in all. Besides, the sex of the juvenis and adult individual had no sex mentioned in the sources we found (see, for instance, Andrițoiu, 1994: 149). We have to mention again that we found any published anthropological study concerning this cemetery.

4. Comșa 1999.

5. Nicolăescu-Plopșor 1961: 378-380, table 1 and 2.

6. Miu 1996: 9-14.

7. Comșa 1999.

8. Maksimilian et al. 1963: 15, 69.

Chapter V

SOME CONCLUSIONS

Those mentioned in the previous chapters are certainly proving that the fire has been a constant presence, with a primordial significance in the every day life of the people, but also on the occasion of some magical-religious rituals or burial ceremonies of the Romanian BA.

The fire was initially taken out of the nature and subsequently created by using two pieces of wood that were rubbed one upon another until the resulted heat was lighting the easily flammable organic matters, or by hitting two flintstones one with another. The hearth, that appeared under such conditions, became an element of socialization and progress. Around the fire, around the hearth, this real *ombilicus mundi*, has been structured, sedimented and developed the society¹. The fire is present and involved in establishing the settlements and most probably the necropolises, bringing its contribution to the purification of the place, to the construction of the dwellings and shelters, to the raising of some artificial fortifications of the settlement, to the processing of some raw materials and transforming them into implements, weapons, adornments. The fire helped at the food preparations, at heating and lighting.

The fire and the world of the living

Taking into account that, excepting the south-eastern part and partly the south-western region of Romania the remaining territory was forested, it is evident that the people of the BA, if could not find a clearing in the major vegetation both for establishing their settlements and to enlarge the space they needed for the practising of agriculture, they used to deforest some perimeters, either by cutting down the trees, an operation which is rather difficult, or, more often, by using the fire. Of course, there is not too much information regarding this type of cleaning the area that was destined for fixing a settlement. Still, some situations that have been registered in the archaeological record in the sites at Carei-Bobald and Cărlomănești² are eloquent examples.

Once the place has been cleaned of vegetation, some foundation rituals used to be performed, that unfortunately, could not be clearly identified by the archaeological studies. Specific rituals must have been done also on the occasion of founding some constructions, no matter if they were dwellings or shelters. Some finds, especially animal remains, seem to converge towards this hypothesis. We have to mention that in the Otomani milieu, in order to assure a good resistance of the constructions in time some rituals existed, being practised by the entire

community and sometimes including even human sacrifices³. Thus, in the close neighboring of the entrance in the megaron temple at Sălacea, a child skeleton has been discovered. At Otomani, near a dwelling, a woman has been placed in an unusual position, her legs being tied. Anthropologically speaking, it could be inferred that her age at the moment she deceased was around 55 years (*maturus II*) and phenotipically resembled the individuals in the quadruple burial at Sălacea⁴. Close to the woman, another skeleton has been unearthed, probably belonging to an adult, being buried together with a dog skull.

Such human sacrifices were also specific to the Otomani communities from across the borders of Romania, such a confirmation being found at Spiski Stvrto (Slovakia)⁵. We have to remind here that in the fortified settlement uncovered there, in a ritual pit, 9 people violently killed have been found, having around them objects made useless on purpose, by breaking them. The filling earth contained a lot of ash mixed with burnt animal bones.

As we could see, the fire installations (hearths, ovens, some pits) have been located both in the perimeter of the constructions and outside them. Evidently, those installations had a certain functionality. First, we have to mention the domestic one, the hearths and the ovens being employed for the food preparation. Also, they were used as a source for heating and lighting. Some hearths had also a cultic role, upon them being cooked the foods used in some magical-religious ceremonies.

The fire in some pits has been used in some workshops for producing metal objects. In fact, the hearth was not present only in such workshops but also in others, like those for chopping flint artifacts as found at Mironești-*La Panait*⁶.

The power of the fire was also necessary in creating a large line of burnt clay products. Hearths identical to those described in **Chapter II**, have been identified in some ranges that get over the borders of today Romania, even if those civilizations are represented on its territory too (Noua in Republic of Moldova, Otomani in Hungary and Slovakia, Tei in Bulgaria, Suciul de Sus in the Ukraine).

Evidently, the hearth types of the BA have been maintained in the Romanian space along all periods, reaching up to the 19th-20th centuries of the 2nd millenium A.D. Of course, the weight of a certain type or another has varied in time: for some has increased, for others, on the contrary, has decreased. In some cases, the simple stove or the one with oven have taken the place of the open hearth. As we could see in **Chapter I**, the hearth (the stove plays even today a significant role for the Romanians, especially for those in the rural milieu, mainly in the villages which are not shadowed by big cities).

The data regarding the hearth of the BA as a factor around which an entire family, group of families or the whole community gravitates are almost inexistent. The location, often chaotic of the houses and implicitly of the hearths (fact which

is also valid for the domestic and storage pits), doesn't provide us clear information in the sense of the up mentioned issue. Evidently, the hearth inside the dwelling served to a single family. The exterior ones were probably used in common by several families or by a larger family comprising families-generations.

Unfortunately, the presence of the hearths in the settlements, doesn't offer us a picture of the inner structure of the habitate, the social organization of the community and the number of its members. We have already found the presumption about the inner single hearths. Yet, the presence of several hearths in a larger construction gives complications to the demographic calculations. To all these, the existence of the exterior hearths can be added, which, as we mentioned, could be employed by several families.

In the Glina settlement at *Schitu-Gaura Despei*, 6 constructions and 3 pits could be investigated⁷. In the dwelling no. 6 a hearth has been unearthed. Another hearth was an exterior one. A pit was found inside the same dwelling, some others were outside. The last pit, filled with earth, ash and rare pigments of adobe, located not far from the dwelling, had on its bottom the beheaded skeleton of a dog. By analyzing the position of the dwellings, pits and hearths, all arranged according to a certain plan and considering that we have investigated the entire settlement, we can hardly estimate the social structure of the community. It is difficult to make any statements regarding the number of persons that inhabited the settlement. Judging the dimensions of the dwellings, the individuals that could live inside them - in number of six, two adults and the rest children, hypothetically and ideally, we can estimate that the total population of the village has reached a maximal number of 30-36 persons⁸.

We have also found a similar situation in a Glina settlement, namely at *Schitu-La Conac*⁹. There, four surface constructions, four domestic pits, a storage one and some hearths have been investigated, being located either inside or outside the dwelling.

Even if the Tei settlement at *Mogoșești* was not entirely preserved due to the sliding grounds and so it could not be completely studied, the relation hearths-constructions-social structure seem to be more clear¹⁰. Thus, the hearths no. 1-3 have served the dwelling no. 1 with special destination, the hearth no. 3bis was located in the absidal area of the complex no. 2, while the hearths 4-7 have flanked the corners of the burnt clay platform. Consequently, each hearth had a clear destination. The first 3 have been used during some specific activities (we consider that the mentioned construction was a cultic one, for the men, of warriors gatherings)¹¹. To the same activities have been destined the hearths in the corners of the platform¹². The hearth 3bis had a domestic use, being employed for the heating and lighting the deepened dwelling, but also for the food preparation. Thus, keeping in mind those complexes as well as other constructions, the

domestic and storage pits investigated, we could say that the settlement at Mogosesti had a perimeter destined for the cultic activities, located most probably in the center of the village, and another laic one for habitation and quotidian activities.

Regarding the decorated cultic hearths from Sighișoara-*Dealul Turcului*, a feary debate has existed¹³. N. Boroffka¹⁴ has questioned the belonging of these hearths to the Wietenberg culture. Subsequently, as a decorated fragment of a hearth has been found in a cultic pit at Albești, he changed his opinion¹⁵.

As we have already seen, the fire has made possible the food preparation. The meat and plants have been transformed by fire, thus, making more accesible and diversified the nutrition of man. Some vegetables have been boiled, the same like a part of the meat. The meat could be also fried or roasted. The seeds, especially the cereal ones, after being grinded, have been also boiled, thus being obtained mashers or have been baked, thus being made small breads.

Not only for the food has been transformed the raw material by using the fire. Some other categories of raw materials were the ores and clay that underwent the same process.

In the MBA, but especially in the LBA and the beginning of the first phase of the Iron Age a more intense metallurgical activity has been detected, especially in Transylvania and less intensely in Banat. The other historical provinces have also accounts for the metal processing, only that, due to the lack of raw material has been less intensly performed by the communities in Oltenia, Muntenia, Dobroudja and Moldova. Notably, the moulding elements, metal objects, moulding remnants have been discovered both in the settlements, burials but also in the deposits. In the latter case, the metal objects have become prestige goods.

The fire has received a primary role in developing some objects categories, that became indispensable to the every day life, but also to the magical-religious practises, as it was the pottery. The multitude of vase types, of other burnt clay objects, that could entirely be recovered or just in fragments, in large quantities in the settlements but also in necropolises or isolated burials are proves in this sense. A significant part of pottery has been used in the households for keeping, preparing or consuming the foods and liquids. Some of the recipients were rather ruffly made, some others being done more carefully and with a better quality clay. Their burning, being either intense, by using various wood essences for combustion has created the possibility to obtain other kinds of recipients too.

Among other burnt clay pieces - out of which we have chosen just few (idols, cultic tables, altars, hearths, *Fußschalen*, fuming vases, *Feuerbocke*) out of their large line - have been employed in the every day life, while others in the cultic ones. Not few are those with double utility and we consider here some vases - the cups for instance are found both in the settlements and in the burials, also the

miniatural houses etc. Interestingly, in the LBA, according to A. Vulpe¹⁶, it seems that the importance of the prestige goods has been replaced by the value of the metal. In his opinion, the presence of the fragmentary pieces simbolizes on one hand their primary function and on the other hand their value in metal, a process that seem to point to a laicisation of the sacred significance, the sacred value being replaced by the metal quantity that still maintains a sacred significance¹⁷.

In the MBA but mosly in the LBA and Early Iron Age¹⁸, near metal pieces depositions, pottery is also placed. In **Chapter II** we have mentioned the cups deposit found upon a hearth at Cornești¹⁹ in the Vatina milieu²⁰. Also, we have referred to the large construction with a special destination belonging to the Tei Culture and discovered at Mogoșești²¹. Also to the mentioned cultural manifestation it belongs the deposit with 12 cups unearthed at Popești²² and also 12 cups have been unearthed in a pit at București-*Cățelu Nou*²³, and to the Verbicioara and Noua cultures those at Govora (17 vases deposed in a pit dug into chalk, that did not contain animal bones, ahs or charcoals)²⁴, respectively at Feldioara²⁵. We should not forget the deposits at Valea lui Mihai and Oradea-Salca²⁶.

The after world of the BA people

Up to now, it was made an in-depth study regarding the relation between the fire and the settlements. In other words, its connection with the world of the living.

Each society is functioning according to its own rules and has its own customs and beliefs. Especially when passsage rites are taken into account, people are very careful and do their best in order to fulfill all the various rituals that have to be done on certain occasions (birth, marriage, death). This is an information we know from the recent communities but, it must have been so for the old populations too.

Going back to the BA people, we should emphasize here that, indeed, a large piece of information is provided by the investigations carried out in the settlements. A part of the spiritual life of those communities can be detected there. Also, some aspects referring to the family or society can be inferred in such a study as they were up mentioned. Still, we have to notice that the largest documentation about the beliefs and customs of a society can be obtained through the anthropological analysis of the cemeteries, as well as through a lot of attention paid to the rites and rituals employed there.

And because we have mentioned the settlement, we should also point out the various relations existing between this one and the cemetery. For instance, a settlement might have a single necropolis that is located at a certain distance from it. We should not elude the ideea that also, the only existing settlement might have

several cemeteries, especially when it comprises a large number of individuals or is inhabited for a very long time.

These necropolises can girdle the settlement or, in some cases, can be spread around it, according to the possibilities of digging burials in the region. When the number of cemeteries is large and they are not discovered by archaeologists, they provide a somehow biased information about the individuals of the settlement. Things are even more complicated when the cemeteries contain just people belonging to a certain age category or sex (children, women, men). Fortunately, even if such finds exist elsewhere, in Romania there are no accounts for this kind of necropolises. Of course, the number of children interred in the cemeteries is not small, but, this fact is determined by some certain factors and not by the rituals employed there. Besides, there are cases when children are being sacrificed for various reasons, which we cannot surely find.

It is interesting to note here also the cultic places which, in some cases, are located between the settlement and the necropolis. We consider this location to be of a great importance, because it was in a kind of neutral land, where the living people could encounter the spirits of the dead or could invoke them for help when needed.

Cremation has appeared as a consequence of a deep change that occurred in the spirituality of the people, that resulted in the appearance of the duality body and soul. This conception has found a proper way of thinking, that allowed people to adopt it more easily. In fact, as we pointed out, this must have been an older idea, taken over and intensely developed by the Bronze Age communities. Of course, this process lasted a longer time and this is why, even in the mentioned period there are still biritual cemeteries, despite the fact that the rite of cremation was spread on a wide area. In fact, when the funerary rite is considered, the BA is a kind of transitional stage from the inhumation towards cremation, that in the subsequent periods would become almost generally employed.

The most important thing that happened during the cremation was the burning of the dead, when the physical part of the body was destroyed, having as a purpose to release the soul of the deceased.

We have thought a lot about the pyres that have been unearthed in Romania. In our opinion the largest one, at Sărata Monteoru, could be used not for only a corpse, but for several ones at the same time. It could be very useful during the epidemics or when battle prisoners had to be sacrificed. Of course, even if its dimensions are large, on certain occasions a single cadaver could be burnt too.

We should also make here some comments regarding the position of the dead on the pyre. It is very important to know how it was. The deceased was placed in an extended or in a flexed position? In our opinion we think that each of them could have had a certain symbolism. The extended one could be a sign that the individual

would have been destined for becoming a messenger to the gods and to send them the requests of the community, while the flexed one could mean a return of the individual to the *foetus stage*, thus being prepared for the revival in the after world. We should not forget that most of the entirely or partly cremated individuals were dressed when being set to fire, bore their weapons, adornments or implements and were even accompanied by faithful animals, servants or possible relatives.

As concerns the burial rituals, it is very interesting to note their diversity identified for the territory of Romania. As the Bronze Age people were very practical ones, like all prehistoric communities, they would have done nothing without a motivation. This is why, we consider that each category or rituals must have been employed on certain situations (people without relatives, foreigners). Some of them must have also underwent some changes in order to protect the community from the ghosts. Some of the burials might have been connected with rituals of foundation, of fertility or the like. Some of them could not be decoded, as the case found at Sibişeni, in burials no. 35 or 40²⁷.

The urns, as we could see, were the permanent or temporary locations for the souls of the deceased. Such a conception, regarding the necessity of having a rest in an object made of a resistant material was identified on wide areas, not only of Europe but worldwide. This points out the fragile structure of the souls, which can easily be destroyed when being free, without any *cover*. We have also posed ourselves a question. Why did the BA communities had to break the pots during the funerary ceremony? Making a comparison with the customs existing in today Romania, we have drawn the conclusion that they must have done that for protecting the community against the spirits that wouldn't like to leave and could find a rest in those vases. It was not necessary that all pottery should be broken because some vessels contained the food and drinks that accompanied the dead in the after world so that, they played a major role in the ceremony. Also, it was very important that the soul could detach from the body after being purified by fire. This is why the flames had to touch the corpse at least for a short time or to purify the pit. Thus, by a sympathetic contact between the cadaver and the pit, the former could become pure.

There are many cremation cemeteries discovered in Romania but just few of them have been anthropologically studied. Of course, depending upon the intensity of the crematory process, the features of the individuals could be identified in a large or small number. In this respect, just two material cultures of the Bronze Age are better known, namely the **Wietenberg** and **Gârla Mare** civilizations. From the first one the cemeteries at Bistrița and Dumbrăvița are known, while from the second the necropolises at Cârna and Ghidici are studied by now. As already mentioned in **Chapter III**, there are also some isolated finds or burials coming from biritual cemeteries that have been also taken for study.

The data resulted from the anthropological investigations were the basis for the demographic comparisons that appears in **Chapter IV**. A fact which is well known for the Romanian BA is the high rate of infantile mortality, determined by the lack of hygiene and improper living conditions for the small children. As soon as the childhood was surpassed, the juvenile and adult age categories contained a large number of female individuals that, due to the birth complications died at early ages.

The matures are mostly represented by males, as they were involved both in intra- or intertribal conflicts, being at the age when their full strenght was achieved. If the females could get over the adult age, they were mostly represented in the senile category, as they have a better resistance of the body in comparison with men and in connection with their capacity of giving birth to children, when their imunitary system has to face the challenges of the milieu both for mother and child.

The *sex-ratio* is sometimes biased by the incomplete study of the cemeteries (Cârna, Ghidici) or by the impossibility of establishing the sex of some individuals but, usually, the proportion between the two sexes is balanced. There are cases, like in the biritual necropolis at Pietroasa Mică, when the number of men excede that of the women, or even the reverse situation, when men are outnumbered by women. The most important conclusion resulted out of the demographical study is the higher longevity of the BA people in comparison with the Neolithic times. This was influenced by the higher economical level of the communities that also resulted in better living conditions for the individuals.

NOTES

1. Gogâltan 1996: 14.
2. Cârciumaru 1996: 72; Némethi 1997: 124.
3. Comşa - Schuster 1995: 282 sq.

4. In burial no. 1, also belonging to the Otomani culture, the skeleton of a man aged at about 40 zears (*maturus I*) a woman of aproximately 50 years, a girl of about 13-13,5 years (*infans II-juvenis*) and a suckling of 2-2,5 months probably also of female sex have been discovered, all individuals being set in unusual positions. According to the anthropological determinations made upon them, a certain phenotipical uniformity could be noticed. Also, it was drawn the conclusion that between the male and the female skeletons could exist the kinship relation of brother-sister and not husband-wife. The age difference existing between those two individuals (the woman being older than the man) could be considered to be another account for that ideeaa. Also, the adolescent was the daughter of the woman and the suckling the child of the *juvenis* individual, as she could give birth to children at the age of 13-13,5 years. It was presumed that, at least three of those four persons have violently deceased, while the abnormal positions have been fixed before the cadaver rigidity.

5. Nižna Mislá 1993: 93.
6. Schuster, Popa 1995: 39.
7. Schuster 1997: 204sq. and fig. 21.
8. Schuster 1997: 46.
9. Schuster 1997: 206 and figs. 20; 22.
10. Schuster, Popa 2000: 23sq. and fig. 7-12.
11. Schuster, Popa 2000: 28.
12. Schuster, Popa 2000: 36sq.
13. Regarding these aspcts see Boroffka 1994: 104.
14. Boroffka 1994: 104.
15. Balta, Boroffka 1996: 380, 390 and fig. 102.
16. Vulpe 1996b: 520, 522.
17. According to A. Vulpe (1996b: 522) there are several metal deposits, among which there are those in which fragmentary pieces have been associated with lumps, being identified especially in the northern and north-western Romania (Vulpe 1996b: 524).
18. Vulpe 1996b: 524.
19. Radu 1972: 271sq.
20. M Gumă has assigned the finds at Cornești to the moment denominated by him as Cornești-Črvenka (1997: 43sq.).
21. Schuster, Popa 2000: 27sq.
22. Vulpe 1996b: 524.
23. Leahu 1966: 59. Interestingly, also at București-*Cățelu Nou* have been identified six grooves-pits into which the inhabitants of the Tei III settlements have gathered and deposited the remains of the Tei I habitation situated on the hillfoot.
24. Berciu, Purcărescu, Roman 1961: 134 sq. and fig. 3/1-6. According to A. Vulpe (1996b: 524) the find belongs to the Govora group. For details regarding the issue of the Govora group and the adverse attitudes see Palincaș 1996; Palincaș 1997; Schuster 2000: 30sq.
25. Székely 1953: 12.
26. Kacsó 1990: 97; Vulpe 1996b: 524.
27. Andrițoiu 1992: 34.

TABLE 1
Early Bronze Age
(the most important cultures)

Intra-Carpathian regions <i>(Transylvania, Crişana, Maramureş, Banat):</i>	Extra-Carpathian regions <i>(Oltenia, Muntenia, Moldova, Dobrogea):</i>
Zăbala	<i>Tumular ochre burials</i>
Makó	Yamnaia
Schneckenberg	Glina
Livezile	Catacomb burials
Vučedol	Bogdăneşti
Copăcenii	Monteoru
Nir	Odaia Turcului
Roşia	Năeni (-Schneckenberg)
Jigodin	<i>The Horizon of cist burials</i>
Vinkovci	Orleşti (-Gornea)
Şoimuş	
Iernut	
Mureş (Periam-Pecica)	
Gornea (-Orleşti)	
Sanislău	

TABLE 2
Middle Bronze Age
(the most important cultures)

Intra-Carpathian regions (<i>Transylvania, Crişana, Maramureş, Banat</i>):	Extra-Carpathian regions (<i>Oltenia, Muntenia, Moldova, Dobrogea</i>):
Ciomortan	Tei
Wietenberg	Verbicioara
Vatina	Monteoru
Otomani	Costişa
Suciu de Sus	Gârla Mare
Mureş	

TABLE 3
Late Bronze Age
(the most important cultures)

Intra-Carpathian regions <i>(Transylvania, Crişana, Maramureş, Banat):</i>	Extra-Carpathian regions <i>(Oltenia, Muntenia, Moldova, Dobrogea):</i>
Otomani	Tei
Wietenberg	Monteoru
Suciu de Sus	Racoviţeni-Petrişoru (?)
Mureş	Gârla Mare
Igriţa	Balta Sărată
Cehăluţ	Cruceni-Belegiş
Lăpuş	Verbicioara
<i>Hügelgräberkeramik</i>	Coslogeni
Biharea (?)	Zimnicea-Plovdiv
Noua	<i>The mixture horizon</i> (Tei, Coslogeni, Zimnicea-Plovdiv)
	Noua

TABLE 4
Rites of the main material cultures
and cultural groups of the BA¹

Material culture/ cultural group	Inhumation	Cremation	Biritual
Balta Sărată			x
Ciomortan	x		
<i>the horizon of cist burials</i>			x
Copăcenii	x		
Costișa			x
Cruceni-Belegiș		x	
Gârla Mare		x	
Glina	x		
<i>Hügelgräber</i>		x	
Igrița			
Jigodin	x		
Livezile	x		
Monteoru			x
Năeni-Schneckenberg			x
Nir		x	
Noua			x
Periam-Pecica (Mureș)			x
Otomani			x
Petrișoru-Racovițeni	x		
Roșia	x		
Sanislău			x
Suciu de Sus		x	
Șoimuș			x
Tei	x		
Vatina			x
Verbicioara			x
Wietenberg			x
Zăbala	x		

NOTES

1 Out of the rich bibliography, we mention: Crişan 1960; Dumitrescu 1960; Harţuche, Anastasiu 1965; Székely 1970; Roman et al. 1973; Zaharia 1973; Székely 1977; Bader 1978; Florescu 1978; Florescu 1979; Emödi 1980; Székely 1980; Vulpe, Drâmbocianu 1981; Andriţoiu 1986-1987; Leahu 1987; Ursulescu, Şadurschi 1988; Székely 1989; Blăjan 1989; Bîrzu 1989; Machnik 1991; Andriţoiu 1992; Rogozea 1992; Székely 1992; Săcărin 1993; Némethi, Roman 1994-1995; Comori 1995; Rotea 1995; Némethi 1996b; Ciugudean 1996; Némethi 1996b; Schuster 1997; Morintz 1997b; Ciugudean 1998; Şerbănescu, Bălţeanu 1998; Székely 1998c; Gogâltan 1999; etc.

THE LIST OF THE SITES MENTIONED IN THE TEXT

(the commune, town and county being mentioned*)

ACÂȘ = commune Acâș, Satu Mare County;
AGRIȘTEU = commune Bălăușeri, Mureș County;
AITON = commune Aiton, Cluj County;
ALBEȘTI = commune Albești, Botoșani County;
ALBEȘTI = suburban commune of the Sighișoara town, Mureș County;
AMPOIȚA = commune Meteș, Alba County;
ANADOLINA = commune Ciocănești, Ialomița County;
ANDRID = commune Andrid, Satu Mare County;
ANDRIEȘENI = commune Andrieșeni, Iași County;
APAHIDA = commune Apahida, Cluj County;
APA SĂRATĂ = village included into the Câmpulung town, Argeș County;
ARCHIUD = commune Teaca, Bistrița-Năsăud County;
AȚEL = commune Ațel, Sibiu County;
BAIA = commune Baia, Tulcea County;
BALDOVINEȘTI = commune Vădeni, Brăila County;
BALINTEȘTI CIOINAGI = commune Berești-Maria, Galați County;
BALȘA = commune Balșa, Hunedoara County;
BALTA SĂRATĂ = village included into the Caransebeș town, Caraș-Severin County;
BALTA VERDE = village part of the suburban commune Podari belonging to the Craiova city, Dolj County;
BAND = commune Band, Mureș County;
BÂRLAD = Bârlad town, Vaslui County;
BĂCĂINȚI = commune Șibot, Alba County;
BĂDENI = commune Moldovenești, Cluj County;
BĂGĂU = commune Lopadea Nouă, Alba County;
BĂLENI = commune Băleni, Galați County;
BĂNEASA = commune Băneasa, Galați County;
BĂRBOASA = commune Oncești, Bacău County;
BĂTARCI = commune Bătarci, Satu Mare County;
BECHET = commune Orodel, Dolj County;
BECLEAN = Beclean town, Bistrița Năsăud County;
BELTIUG = commune Beltiug, Satu Mare County;
BEREA = commune Sanislău, Satu Mare County;
BERNADEA = commune Bahnea, Mureș County;
BERVENI = commune Bervenii, Satu Mare County;

BEUDIU = commune Nușeni, Bistrița-Năsăud County;
 BIHAREA = commune Biharea, Bihor County;
 BICACI = commune Cefa, Bihor County;
 BISTRIȚA = Bistrița town, Bistrița-Năsăud County;
 BLĂGEȘTI = commune Blăgești, Vaslui County;
 BLĂJEL = commune Blăjel, Sibiu County;
 BODEASA = commune Săveni, Botoșani County;
 BODEȘTII DE JOS = commune Bodești, Neamț County;
 BOGDANA-VOLOȘENI = commune Stănilești, Vaslui County;
 BOGDĂNEȘTI = commune Bogdănești, Bacău County;
 BOGDĂNEȘTI = commune Fălciu, Vaslui County;
 BOGONOS = commune Lețcani, Iași County;
 BOINEȘTI = commune Bixad, Satu Mare County;
 BOIU = commune Rapoltu Mare, Hunedoara County;
 BORLEȘTI = commune Borlești, Neamț County;
 BOZIA NOUĂ = commune Berezeni, Neamț County;
 BOZIA NOUĂ = today part of the Bozia village, commune Fălciu, Vaslui County;
 BOZIENII DE SUS = commune Dulcești, Neamț County;
 BRANET = commune Bârza, Olt County;
 BRAȘOV = Brașov city, Brașov County;
 BRATOVOIEȘTI = commune Bratovoiești, Dolj County;
 BRĂDUȚ = commune Brăduț, Covasna County;
 BRĂEȘTI = commune Brăești, Botoșani County;
 BRĂILIȚA = Brăila city, Brăila County;
 BUCURA = village included into the Vânju Mare town, Mehedinți County;
 BUCUREȘTI = quarters: Băneasa, Bucureștii Noi, Cățelu Nou, Ciurel, Colentina, Fundeni, Lunca Bârzești, Pantelimon, Tei, Văcărești; suburban villages and communes = Cernica, Chiajna, Chitila, Glina, Pantelimon, Otopeni, Roșu;
 BUGEAC = commune Ostrov, Constanța County;
 BULBUCANI = commune Gropnița, Iași County;
 BULZEȘTI = commune Bulzești, Dolj County;
 BUTIMANU = commune Butimanu, Dâmbovița County;
 CAREI = Carei town, Satu Mare;
 CAȘOLT = commune Roșia, Sibiu County;
 CAVINDEȘTI = commune Cavindești, Galați County;
 CÂMPIA TURZII = Câmpia Turzii town, Cluj County;
 CÂNDEȘTI = commune Dumbrăveni, Vrancea County;
 CÂRLOMĂNEȘTI = commune Vernești, Buzău County;
 CÂRNA = former village, now included into the Dunăreni village, commune Goicea, Dolj County;

CĂBEȘTI = commune Căbești, Bacău County;
CĂLATA = commune Călățele, Cluj County;
CĂLĂRAȘI = commune Călărași, Botoșani County;
CĂLĂȚEA = commune Aștileu, subordinated to the Aleșd town, Bihor County;
CĂSCIOARELE = commune Căscioarele, Călărași County;
CĂUAȘ = commune Căuaș, Satu Mare County;
CEHĂLUȚ = commune Cehal, Satu Mare County;
CEHEI = village included into the Șimleul Silvaniei town, Sălaj County;
CERNAT = commune Cernat, Covasna County;
CERU BĂCĂINȚI = commune Căru Băcăinți, Alba County;
CETEA = commune Galda de Jos, Alba County;
CHEILE AIUDULUI = commune Livezile, Alba County;
CHEREȘEU = commune Santău, Satu Mare County;
CHINTELNIC = commune Șieu-Măgheruș, Bistrița-Năsăud County;
CHIRCEȘTI = commune Miclești, Vaslui County;
CICEU-CORABIA = commune Petru Rareș, Bistrița-Năsăud County;
CIUGHINEA = commune Ripiceni, Botoșani County;
CIUMEȘTI = commune Sanislău, Satu Mare County;
CIUTA = commune Obreja, Caraș Severin County;
CLOPOTIVA = commune Râu de Mori, Hunedoara County;
CLUJ-NAPOCA = Cluj-Napoca city, Cluj County;
CIONAGI = village included into the Balintești village, suburban commune Berești-Meria, Galați County;
CIRITEI = village part of the Piatra Neamț city, Neamț County;
COLDĂU = village belonging to the Beclean town, Bistrița Năsăud County;
COMĂNEȘTI = commune Cavadinești, Galați County;
CONSTANȚA = Constanța city, Constanța County;
CORLĂTENI = commune Corlăteni, Botoșani County;
COROTENI = commune Slobozia Bradului, Vrancea County;
CORNEȘTI = commune Cornești, Cluj County;
CORNEȘTI = commune Orțișoara, Timiș County;
CORNII DE SUS = commune Tătărești, Bacău County;
COSLOGENI = commune Dichiseni, Călărași County;
COSTIȘA = commune Costișa, Neamț County;
COȘENI = suburban village of the Sfântu Gheorghe city, Covasna County;
CRASNA = commune Crasna, Sălaj County;
CRASNA = commune Albești, Vaslui County;
CRASNALEUCA = commune Coțușca, Botoșani County;
CRĂCIUNEȘTI = commune Bocicoiu Mare, Maramureș County;
CRĂSANI = commune Balaci, Ialomița County;

CUCIULATA = commune Hoghiz, Braşov County;
 CUGIR = Cugir town, Alba County;
 CULCIU MARE = commune Culciu, Satu Mare County;
 CURTENI = commune Olteneşti, Vaslui County;
 CURTUIUŞENI = commune Curtuiuşeni, Bihor County;
 DAIA ROMÂNĂ = commune Daia Română, Alba County;
 DANCU = commune Holboca, Iaşi County;
 DAVIDENI = commune Țâmbucani, Neamţ County;
 DĂBULENI = commune Dăbuleni, Dolj County;
 DEALU MORII = commune Dealu Morii, Bacău County;
 DERŞIDA = commune Bobota, Sălaj County;
 DEVA = Deva city, Hunedoara County;
 DEUŞU = commune Chinteni, Cluj County;
 DINDEŞTI = commune Andrid, Satu Mare County;
 DOBRA = commune Supur, Satu Mare County;
 DOBRIC = commune Căianu Mare, Bistriţa Năsăud County;
 DODEŞTI = commune Banca, Vaslui County;
 DOINA = commune Girov, Neamţ County;
 DOMĂNEŞTI = commune Moftiu, Satu Mare County;
 DOROLŢU = commune Aghireşu, Cluj County;
 DRĂGĂNEŞTI-OLT = Drăgăneşti-Olt town, Olt County;
 DRĂGUŞENI = commune Drăguşeni, Botoşani County;
 DULCEANCA = commune Vedea, Teleorman County;
 DULCEŞTI = commune Dulceşti, Neamţ County;
 DUMBRĂVIŢA = commune Căianu Mic, Bistriţa-Năsăud County;
 DUMEŞTII NOI = commune Dumeşti, Vaslui County;
 ELISENI = commune Secuieni, Harghita County;
 EPURENI = commune Epureni, Vaslui County;
 ERESTEGHIN = village included into the Moacşa village, commune Moacşa, Covasna County;
 FÂNTÂNELE = commune Ceru-Băcăiuţ, Alba County;
 FĂGEŢEL = commune Remetea, Harghita County;
 FEDEŞTI = commune Şuletea, Vaslui County;
 FELDIOARA = commune Feldioara, Braşov County;
 FELNAC = commune Felnac, Arad County;
 FICHITENI = commune Podu Turcului, Bacău County;
 FILIAŞ = locality which is part of the Cristuru Secuiesc town, Harghita County;
 FINTEUŞU MIC = commune Satulung, Maramureş County;
 FOENI = commune Foeni, Timişoara County;
 FOIENI = commune Foieni, Satu Mare County;

FRĂTEȘTI = commune Frătești, Giurgiu County;
 GÂRBOVĂȚ = commune Ghidigeni, Galați County;
 GĂICEANA = commune Găiceana, Bacău County;
 GĂLĂȘENI = commune Măgești, Bihor County;
 GĂLĂȘENI = commune Cuzpălac, Sălaj County;
 GEOAGIU DE SUS = commune Geoagiu, Hunedoara County;
 GHERLA = Gherla town, Cluj County;
 GHERMĂNEȘTI = commune Banca, Vaslui County;
 GHIDFALĂU = commune Ghidfalău, Covasna County;
 GHIDICI = commune Piscu Vechi, Dolj County;
 GHIRBOM = commune Berghin, Alba County;
 GIURCANI = commune Găgești, Vaslui County;
 GIURTELECU ȘIMLEULUI = commune Măeriște, Sălaj County;
 GLĂVĂNEȘTI = commune Andrieșeni, Iași County;
 GLĂVĂNEȘTII VECHI = today included into the Glăvănești village, commune Andrieșeni, Iași County;
 GOGOȘU = commune Gogoșu, Mehedinți County;
 GOVORA = commune Mihăești, Vâlcea County.
 GRĂDIȘTEA = commune Comana, Giurgiu County;
 GRĂDIȘTEA-COSLOGENI = commune Dichiseni, Călărași County;
 GRECI = village included into the Sitaru village, comuna Grădiștea, Ilfov County;
 GRIVIȚA = commune Grivița, Galați County;
 GROPNIȚA = commune Gropnița, Iași County;
 GRUIA = commune Gruia, Mehedinți County;
 GURA BACIULUI = commune Baciu, Cluj County;
 GURA DOBROGEI = commune Cogealac, Constanța County;
 GURA HULUBĂȚULUI (HULUBEI) = village included into the Voroveni village, commune Davidești, Argeș County;
 HAMANGIA = commune Baia, Tulcea County;
 HAVÂRNA = commune Havârna, Botoșani County;
 HÂRTOP = commune Preutești, Suceava County;
 HĂLCENI = commune Șipote, Iași County;
 HĂPRIA = village part of the suburban commune Ciugud, belonging to the Alba Iulia city, Alba County;
 HOLBOCA = village of the suburban commune Holboca, belonging to the Iași city, Iași County;
 HORGĂ = commune Epureni, Vaslui County;
 HORNICENI = commune Horniceni, Vaslui County;
 HOROIATA = commune Bogdănești, Vaslui County;
 IAȘI = Iași city, Iași County;

IERNUT = commune Iernut, Mureș County;
 IGRÎȚA = commune Cornești, Cluj County;
 IVEȘTI = commune Ivești, Vaslui County;
 IZVOARELE = commune Gruia, Mehedinți County;
 IZVOARELE = former Bedeleu, commune Livezile, Alba County;
 IZVORUL BERHECIULUI = commune Izvorul Berheciului, Bacău County;
 IZVORU CRIȘULUI = commune Izvoru Crișului, Cluj County;
 JEBEL = commune Jebel, Timișoara County;
 JEGĂLIA = commune Jegălia, Călărași County;
 JIBOU = Jibou town, Sălaj County;
 JIGĂLIA = commune Șuletea, Vaslui County;
 LARGA = commune Larga, Buzău County;
 LARGA JIJIA = commune Movileni, Iași County;
 LASLEA = commune Laslea, Sibiu County;
 LAZURI = commune Lazuri, Satu Mare County;
 LĂPUȘ = commune Lăpuș, Maramureș County;
 LĂRGĂȘENI = commune Corbița, Vrancea County;
 LĂȚEȘTI = commune Murgeni, Vaslui County;
 LELICENI = commune Sâncrăieni, Harghita County;
 LEȚCANI = commune Lețcani, Iași County;
 LIBOTIN = commune Cupșeni, Maramureș County;
 LICHITIȘENI = commune Vultureni, Bacău County;
 LITENI = commune Liteni, Suceava County;
 LIUBCOVA = commune Berzasca, Caraș-Severin County;
 LIVEZILE = commune Livezile, Alba County;
 LIVEZILE = commune Livezile, Bistrița-Năsăud County;
 LOGREȘTI-MOȘTENI = commune Logrești, Gorj County;
 LUDOȘ = commune Ludoș, Sibiu County;
 LUPEȘTI = commune Mălușteni, Vaslui County;
 LUPȘANU = commune Lupșanu, Călărași County;
 LUTOASA = commune Lemnia, Covasna County;
 MADA = commune Balșa, Hunedoara County;
 MARCA = commune Marca, Sălaj County;
 MÂNDRIȘCA = village included into the Valea Seacă village, commune Valea Seacă, Bacău County;
 MĂHĂCENI = commune Unirea, Alba County;
 MĂLĂEȘTI = commune Vutcani, Vaslui County;
 MĂNĂSTIOARA = commune Fitionești, Vrancea County;
 MĂȘCĂTENI = commune Albești, Botoșani County;
 MEDIAȘ = Mediaș town, Sibiu County;

MEDIEȘU AURIT = commune Medieșu Aurit, Satu Mare County;
 METEȘ = commune Meteș, Alba County;
 MIHĂILEȘTI = Mihăilești town, Giurgiu County;
 MILEȘTI = commune Podu Turcului, Bacău County;
 MILOSTEA = commune Slătioara, Vâlcea County;
 MIORCANI = commune Rădăuți-Prut, Botoșani County;
 MIRCEȘTI = commune Tăcuta, Vaslui County;
 MLĂJET = Nehoiu town, Buzău County;
 MOARA JORII = commune Hănești, Botoșani County;
 MOGOȘEȘTI = commune Adunații Copăcenii, Giurgiu County;
 MOLDOVA VECHE = locality which is part of the Moldova Nouă town, Caraș-Severin County;
 MORĂREȘTI = village included into the Brădești village, commune Brădești, Dolj County;
 MOREȘTI = commune Morești, Mureș County;
 MOTOȘENI = commune Motoșeni, Bacău County;
 MURGENI = commune Murgeni, Vaslui County;
 MUȘATA = commune Berezeni, Vaslui County;
 NĂENI = commune Năeni, Buzău County;
 NĂSTĂSENI = commune Parincea, Bacău County;
 NICOLAE BĂLCESCU = commune Nicolae Bălcescu, Constanța County;
 NICOLENI = commune Șimonești, Harghita County;
 NOȘLAC = commune Noșlac, Alba County;
 NOVACI = Mihăilești town, Giurgiu County;
 OARȚA DE SUS = commune Oarța de Sus, Maramureș County;
 OBREJA = commune Mihail, Alba County;
 OCLAND = commune Ocland, Harghita County;
 OCNA SIBIULUI = Ocna Sibiului town, Sibiu County;
 OCNELE MARI = included into the Râmnicu Vâlcea city, Vâlcea County;
 ODAIA TURCULUI = commune Mătășaru, Dâmbovița County;
 OGLINZI = commune Răucești, Neamț County;
 ORODEL = commune Orodel, Dolj County;
 OREVIȚA Mare = village part of the Vânju Mare town, Mehedinți County;
 OSTROVU CORBULUI = commune Hinova, Mehedinți County;
 OSTROVU MARE = commune Gogoșu, Mehedinți County;
 OTOMANI = commune Sălacea, Bihor County;
 OZUN-LISNĂU = commune Ozun, Covasna County;
 PANTICEU = commune Panticeu, Cluj County;
 PARȚA = commune Șag, Timișoara County;
 PÂHNA = commune Oltenesti, Vaslui County;

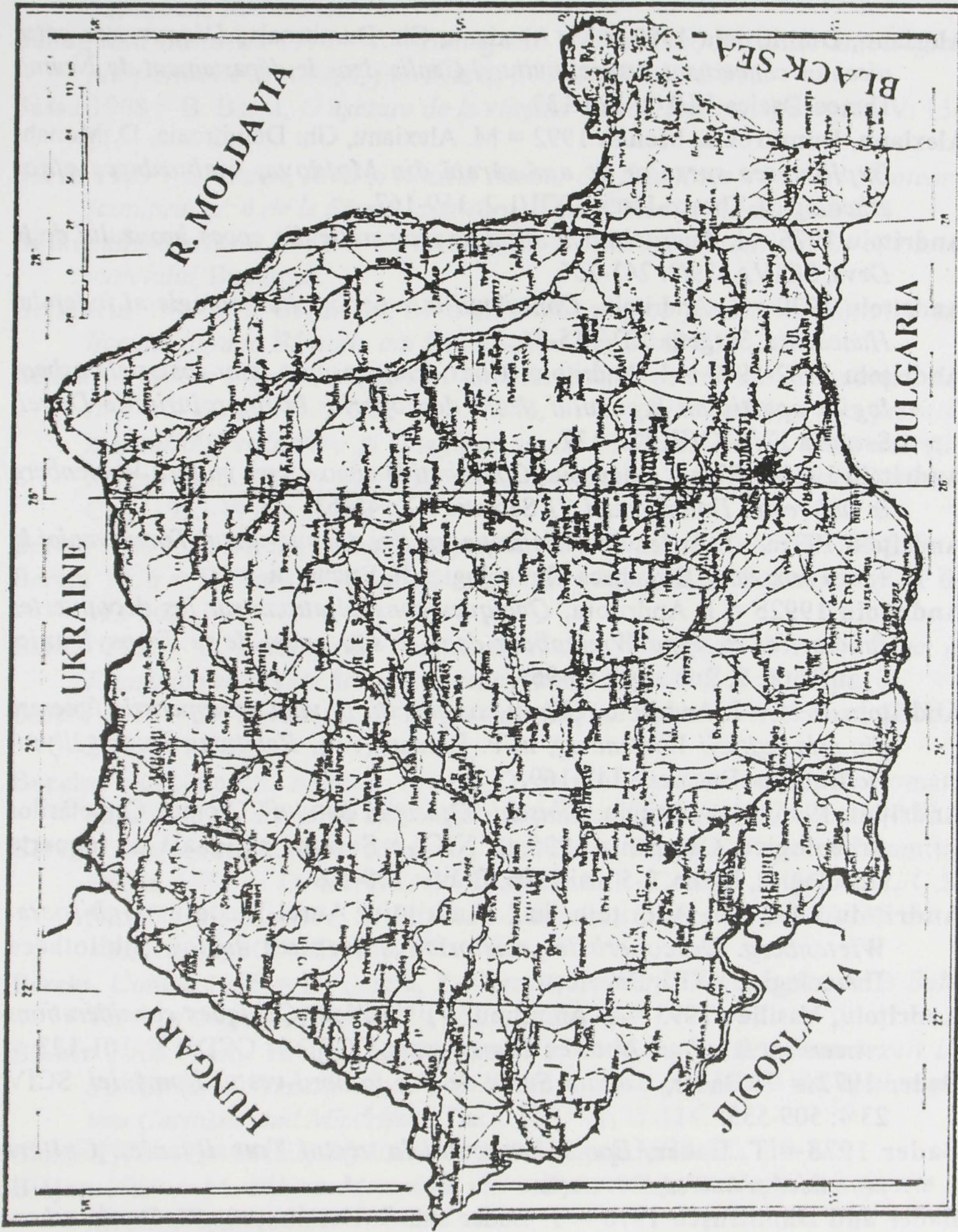
PĂDURENI = village included into the Mărășești town, Vrancea County;
 PĂLATCA = commune Pălatca, Cluj County;
 PĂLTINIȘ = commune Păltiniș, Botoșani County;
 PĂULENI CIUC = today Păuleni, suburban commune to the Miercurea Ciuc city, Harghita County;
 PĂULIȘ = commune Păuliș, Arad County;
 PECICA = commune Pecica, Arad County;
 PERIAM = commune Periam, Timișoara County;
 PERIȘOR = commune Zagra, Brașov County;
 PEȘTERA = commune Aștileu, Bihor County;
 PETREȘTII DE SUS = commune Petreștii de Sus, Cluj County;
 PETENI = commune Zăbala, Covasna County;
 PIANU DE SUS = commune Pianu, Alba County;
 PIATRA NEAMȚ = Piatra Neamț city, Neamț County;
 PIETROASA MICĂ = commune Pietroasele, Buzău County;
 PIETROȘANI = commune Pietroșani, Teleorman County;
 PIR = commune Pir, Satu Mare County;
 PIȘCOLT = commune Pișcolt, Satu Mare County;
 PLEȘANI = commune Călărași, Botoșani County;
 PLOSCA = commune Bistreț, Dolj County;
 POCHIȘCANI = village included into the Balintești village, commune Berești-Beria suburban to the Berești town, Galați County;
 PODU ILOAIEI = commune Podu Iloaiei, Iași County;
 PODURI = commune Poduri, Bacău County;
 POIANA = commune Nicorești, Galați County;
 POIANA AIUDULUI = commune Livezile, Alba County;
 POIANA AMPOIULUI = commune Meteș, Alba County;
 POPENI-(CHERCHEZ) = commune Găgești, Vaslui County;
 POPEȘTI = commune Popești, Giurgiu County;
 PORUMBENII MARI = commune Mugeni, Harghita County;
 PORUMBENII MICI = commune Mugeni, Harghita County;
 PRĂJENI = commune Prăjeni, Botoșani County;
 PRILOG = commune Orașu Nou, Satu Mare County;
 PUFEȘTI = commune Pufești, Vrancea County;
 PUTINEIU = commune Putineiu, Giurgiu County;
 RACOS = commune Racoș, Brașov County;
 RACU = commune Siculeni, Harghita County;
 RATEȘUL CUZEI = commune Rebricea, Vaslui County;
 RÂMNICU VÂLCEA = Râmnicu Vâlcea city, Vâlcea County;
 RÂNZEȘTI = commune Fălciu, Vaslui County;

RĂUSENI = commune Răuseni, Botoşani County;
 RIBICIOARA = commune Ribişa, Hunedoara County;
 RIPICENI = commune Ripiceni, Botoşani County;
 ROGOAZA = commune Corbasca, Bacău County;
 ROGOVA = commune Rogova, Mehedinţi County;
 ROTBAV = commune Feldioara, Braşov County;
 RUGINEŞTI = commune Rugineşti, Vrancea County;
 RUGINOASA = commune Dulceşti, Neamţ County;
 RUSENII NOI = commune Holboca, Iaşi County;
 SACU = commune Sacu, Caraş-Severin County;
 SANISLĂU = commune Sanislău, Satu Mare County;
 SASCUT = commune Sascut, Bacău County;
 SATULUNG = commune Satulung, Maramureş County;
 SATU MARE = commune Secusigiu, Arad County;
 SATU NOU = commune Berezeni, Vaslui County;
 SÂNNICOARĂ = commune Apahida, Cluj County;
 SÂNNICOLAUL MARE = Sânnicolaul Mare town, Timiş County;
 SÂNNICOLAUL ROMÂN = commune Cefa, Bihor County;
 SÂNZIENI = commune Sânzieni, Covasna County;
 SÂNTIMBRU = commune Sântimbru, Alba County;
 SÂRBI = commune Banca, Vaslui County;
 SÂRCA = commune Bălţaţi, Iaşi County;
 SĂBĂOANI = commune Săbăoani, Neamţ County;
 SĂCUIENI = commune Săcueni, Bihor County;
 SĂLACEA = commune Sălacea, Satu Mare County;
 SĂLCIUA DE JOS = commune Sălciua, Alba County;
 SĂRATA MONTEORU = commune Merei, Buzău County;
 SĂSENI = commune Bereşti-Meria, Galaţi County;
 SĂVENI = Săveni town, Botoşani County;
 SĂVEŞTI = commune Poiana Teiului, Neamţ County;
 SCHITU = commune Schitu, Giurgiu County;
 SCHITU BRÂNCOVENI = commune Schitu, Olt County;
 SCUTARI = commune Mileanca, Botoşani County;
 SELEUŞ = commune Daneş, Mureş County;
 SFÂNTU GHEORGHE = Sfântu Gheorghe city, Covasna County;
 SIBIŞENI = village included into the Vinţu de Jos town, Alba County;
 SIC = commune Sic, Cluj County;
 SIGHIŞOARA = Sighişoara town, Mureş County;
 SIMERIA = Simeria town, Hunedoara County;
 SIMILA = commune Zorleni, Vaslui County;

SLOBOZIA = commune Hănești, Botoșani County;
 SOCODOR = commune Socodor, Arad County;
 SOCOL = commune Socol, Caraș-Severin County;
 STEJARU = commune Saraiu, Constanța County;
 STIMBIENI = commune Stimbieni, Botoșani County;
 STUHULEȚ = commune Berezeni, Vaslui County;
 SUCEAVA = Suceava city, Suceava County;
 SULTANA = commune Mănăstirea, Călărași County;
 SUPLACU DE BARCĂU = commune Suplacu de Barcău, Bihor County;
 ȘERBĂNEȘTI = commune Rociu, Argeș County;
 ȘERBĂNEȘTI = commune Zvoriștea, Suceava County;
 ȘILINDRU = commune Șimian, Bihor County;
 ȘIMIAN = village of the Șimian suburban commune belongin to the Drobeta-Turnu Severin city, Mehedinți County;
 ȘIMLEUL SILVANIEI = Șimleul Silvaniei town, Sălaj County;
 ȘIȘCANI = village belonging to the Adjud town, Vrancea County;
 ȘOPTERIU = commune Urmeniș, Bistrița-Năsăud County;
 ȘULETEA = commune Șuletea, Vaslui County;
 TARCEA = commune Tarcea, Bihor County;
 TÂMPA = commune Băcia, Hunedoara County;
 TÂRGU SECUIESC = Târgu Secuiesc town, Covasna County;
 TĂMĂȘENI = commune Viișoara, Vaslui County;
 TĂTĂREȘTII DE SUS = commune Tătăreștii de Sus, Teleorman County;
 TĂUTEȘTI = village of the Rediu suburban commune, Iași city, Iași County;
 TĂVĂDEȘTI = commune Dealul Morii, Bacău County;
 TERCHEȘTI = commune Urechești, Vrancea County;
 TETOIU = commune Tetoiu, Vâlcea County;
 TINOSU = commune Tinosu, Prahova County;
 TIREAM = commune Tiream, Satu Mare County;
 TOMEȘTI = commune Pogana, Vaslui County;
 TOTOEȘTI = commune Erbiceni, Iași County;
 TRESTIANA = commune Grivița, Vaslui County;
 TRUȘEȘTI = commune Trușești, Botoșani County;
 TUFENI = commune Tufeni, Olt County;
 TUREA = commune Gârbău, Cluj County;
 TURENI = commune Tureni, Cluj County;
 TURIA = commune Turia, Covasna County;
 ȚÂFU = commune Banca, Vaslui County;
 ȚELNA = commune Ighiu, Alba County;
 ULMU = commune Ulmu, Ialomița County;

UNIREA = commune Unirea, Alba County;
UNGHENI = commune Ungheni, Mureş County;
UNTEŞTI = commune Bogdăneşti, Vaslui County;
URDEŞTI = commune Viişoara, Vaslui County;
URIU = commune Uriu, Bistriţa Năsăud County;
VALEA IAŞULUI = commune Valea Iaşului, Argeş County;
VALEA LARGĂ = commune Valea Largă, Mureş;
VALEA LUI MIHAI = commune Valea lui Mihai, Bihor County;
VALEA LUPULUI = commune Reditu, Iaşi County;
VALEA MĂCRIŞULUI = commune Valea Măcrişului, Ialomiţa County;
VALEA MORII = commune Vidra, Alba County;
VALEA TIMIŞULUI = commune Buchiu, Caraş Severin County;
VAȚA DE SUS = commune Vața de Jos, Hunedoara County;
VÂNĂTORI = commune Vânători-Neamț, Neamț County;
VÂRTEȘCOIU = commune Vârteșcoiu, Vrancea County;
VÂRTOAPE = commune Vârtoape, Teloarman County;
VĂLENII ȘOMCUTEI = commune Șomcuța Mare, Maramureş County;
VĂLIȘOARA = commune Livezile, Alba County;
VĂȘAD = commune Curtuișeni, Bihor County;
VERBICIOARA = commune Verbița, Dolj County;
VIDRA = commune Vidra, Vrancea County;
VIERȘANI = commune Jupânești, Gorj County;
VIIȘOARA = village part of the Bistrița city, Bistrița-Năsăud County;
VIȘTEA = commune Gârbău, Cluj County;
VLADNIC = commune Parincea, Bacău County;
VOITEG = commune Voiteg, Timiș County;
VULTUREȘTI = commune Vulturești, Olt County;
ZĂUAN = commune , Sălaj County;
ZOLTAN = commune Ghidfalău, Covasna County.

* See also the map with the most recent administrative distribution, attached to this list.



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ABBREVIATIONS

- Acta** = Acta, Muzeul Național Secuiesc, Miercurea-Ciuc.
- Aluta** = Aluta, Muzeul Județean Covasna, Sfântu Gheorghe.
- AMN** = Acta Musei Napocensis, Muzeul Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca.
- AMP** = Acta Musei Porolissensis, Muzeul Județean Sălaj, Zalău.
- Angustia** = Muzeul Carpaților Răsăriteni, Sfântu Gheorghe.
- AO/AO S.N.** = Arhivele Olteniei/Arhivele Olteniei S.N., Institutul de Studii Socio-Umane, Craiova.
- Apulum** = Apulum, Muzeul Unirii, Alba-Iulia.
- Argessis** = Argessis, Muzeul Județean Argeș, Pitești.
- ArhMold** = Arheologia Moldovei, Institutul de Arheologie, Iași.
- Banatica** = Banatica, Muzeul Banatului Montan, Reșița.
- Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Banatica** = Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Banatica, Muzeul Banatului, Timișoara.
- Bibliotheca Musei Antiquitatis** = Bibliotheca Musei Antiquitatis, Muzeul Județean Neamț, Piatra-Neamț.
- Bibliotheca Musei Apulensis** = Bibliotheca Musei Apulensis, Muzeul Unirii, Alba-Iulia.
- Bibliotheca Musei Giurgiuensis** = Bibliotheca Musei Giurgiuensis, Muzeul Județean "*Teoharie Antonescu*", Giurgiu.
- Bibliotheca Thracologica** = Bibliotheca Thracologica, Institutul Român de Tracologie, București.
- BMJG** = Buletinul Muzeului Județean "*Teoharie Antonescu*", Giurgiu.
- București** = București, Muzeul Municipiului, București.
- CA** = Cercetări Arheologice, Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București.
- CAANT** = Cercetări Arheologice în Aria Nord-Tracă, Institutul Român de Tracologie, București.
- CAB** = Cercetări Arheologice în București, Muzeul Municipiului, București.
- Carpica** = Muzeul Județean "*Iulian Antonescu*", Bacău.
- CCDJ/ CCBD** = Cultură și Civilizație la Dunărea de Jos, Muzeul Dunării de Jos, Călărași.
- Crisia** = Muzeul Țării Crișurilor, Oradea.
- Dacia/ Dacia N.S.** = Dacia/Dacia N.S., Institutul de Arheologie "V. Pârvan"
- Danubius** = Danubius, Muzeul Județean Galați, Galați.
- Drobeta** = Drobeta, Muzeul Regiunii Porților de Fier, Drobeta-Turnu Severin.

Ephemeris Napocensis = Ephemeris Napocensis, Institutul de Arheologie, Cluj-Napoca.

Marisia = Marisia, Muzeul Județean Mureș, Târgu Mureș.

MCA/MCA S.N. = Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice/Serie Nouă.

MemAnt = Memoria Antiquitatis, Muzeul Județean Neamț, Piatra-Neamț.

Peuce = Peuce, Institutul de Cercetări Socio-Umane, Tulcea.

PZ = Prähistorische Zeitschrift, Berlin.

Revista Bistriței = Revista Bistriței, Muzeul Județean Bistrița-Năsăud, Bistrița.

RevIst = Revista de istorie, București.

Sargetia = Sargetia, Muzeul Civilizației Daco-Romane, Deva.

Satu-Mare = Satu-Mare, Muzeul Județean, Satu-Mare.

SCA = Studii și Cercetări de Antropologie, București.

SCIV/SCIVA = Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche/Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche și Arheologie, Institutul de Arheologie "*Vasile Pârvan*", București.

SympThrac = Symposia Thracologica, Institutul Român de Tracologie, București.

Thraco-Dacica = Thraco-Dacica, Institutul Român de Tracologie, București.

Vrancea = Vrancea, Muzeul Județean Vrancea, Focșani.

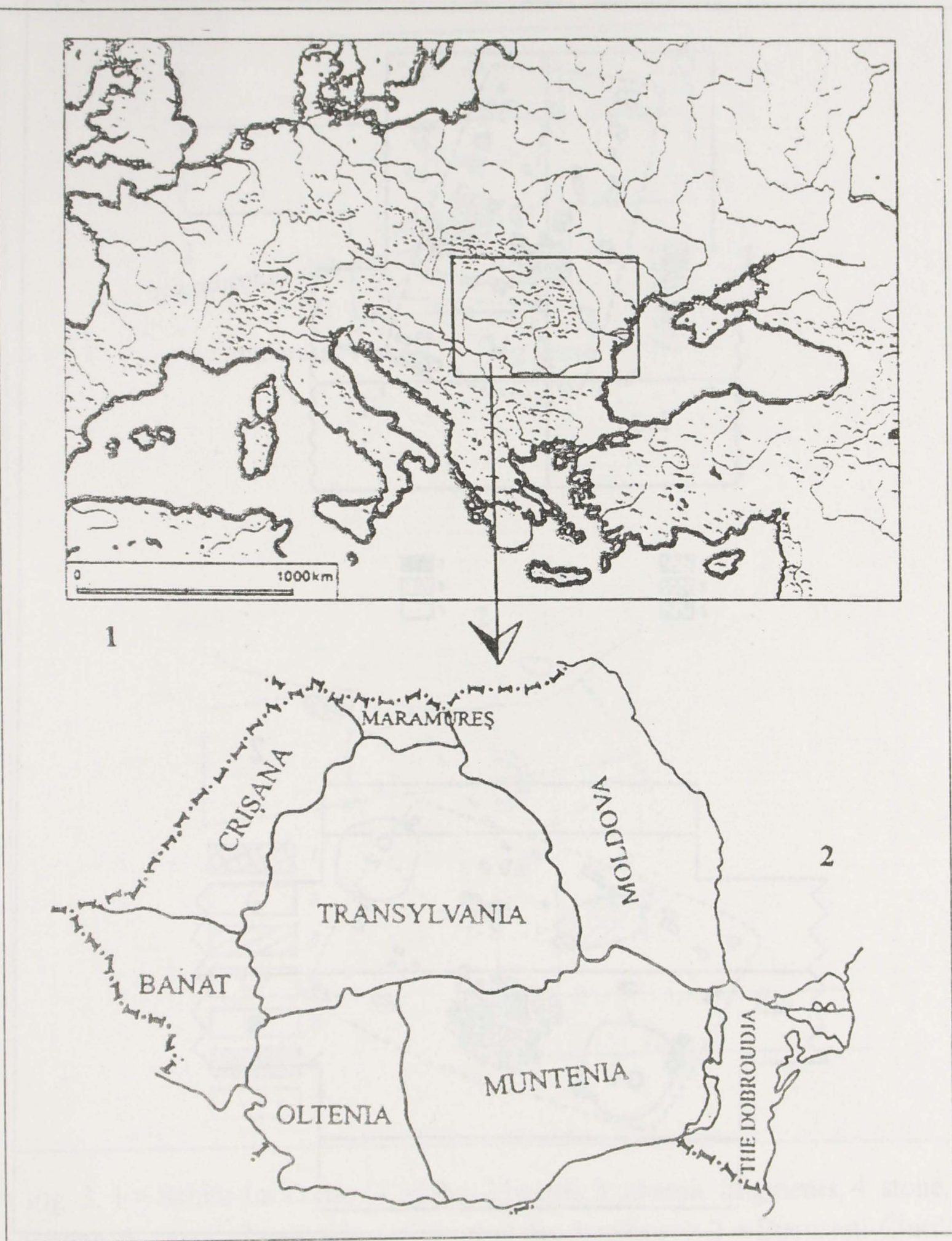


Fig. 1. 1 = The map of Central and South-Eastern Europe;
2 = Main historical provinces of Romania.

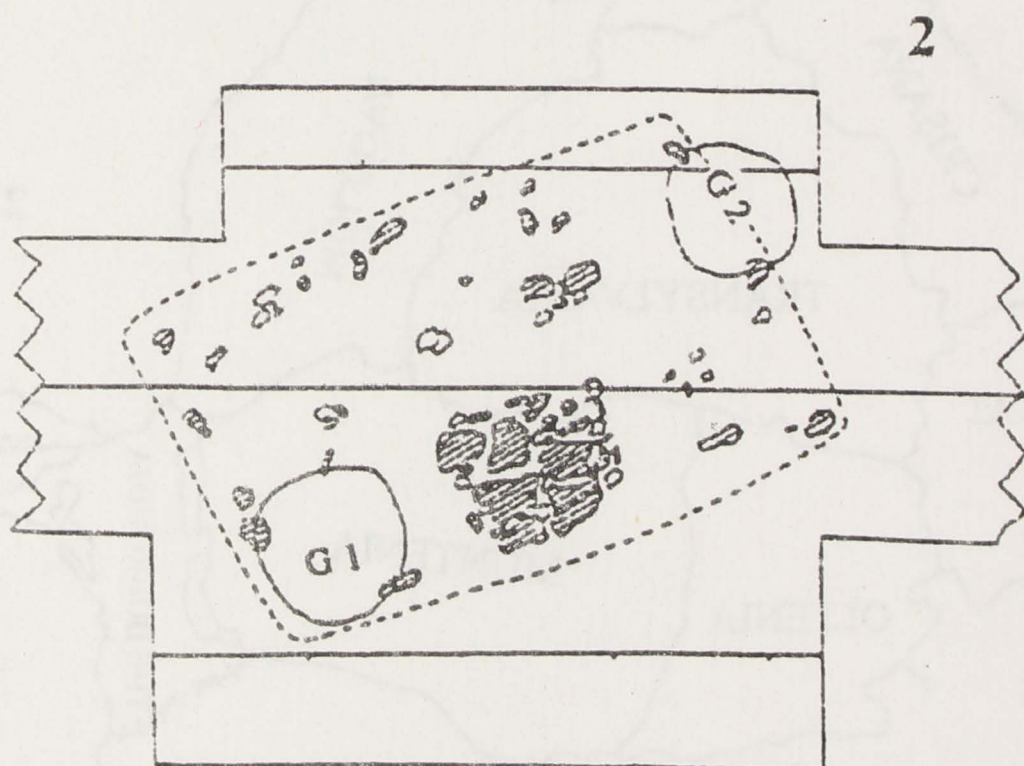
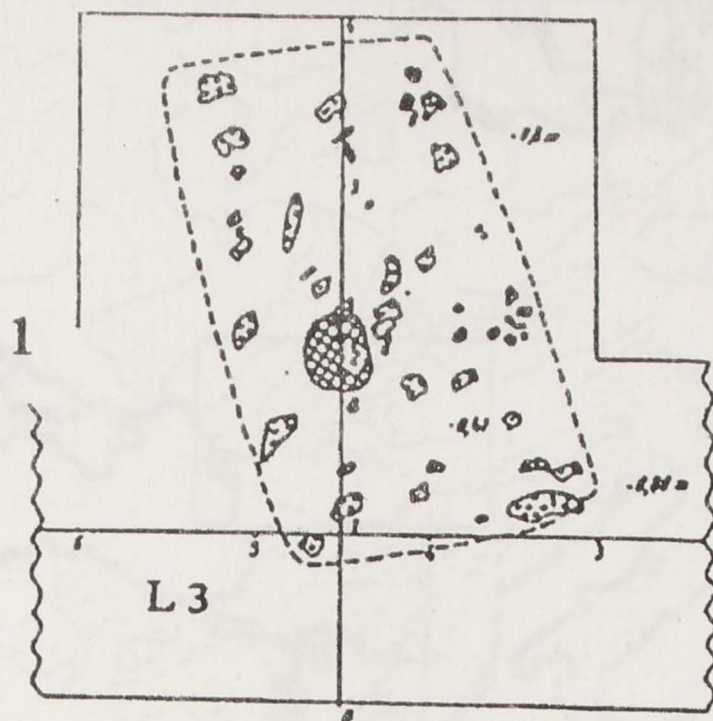


Fig. 2. 1 = Schitu-La Conac; 2 = Schitu-Gaura Despei (1 adobe, 2 hearth, 3 ceramic fragments, 4 stone, 5 bone, 6 vessel, 7 probable perimeter of the dwellings). 1-2 apud Schuster.

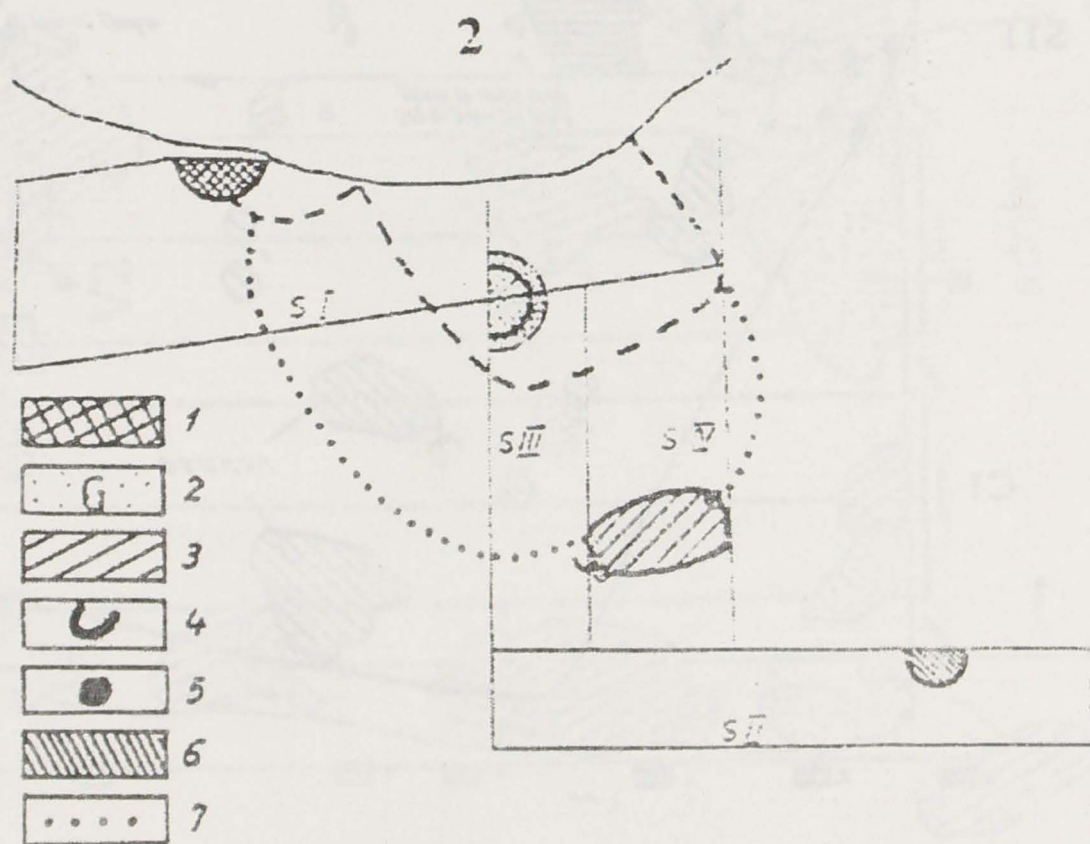
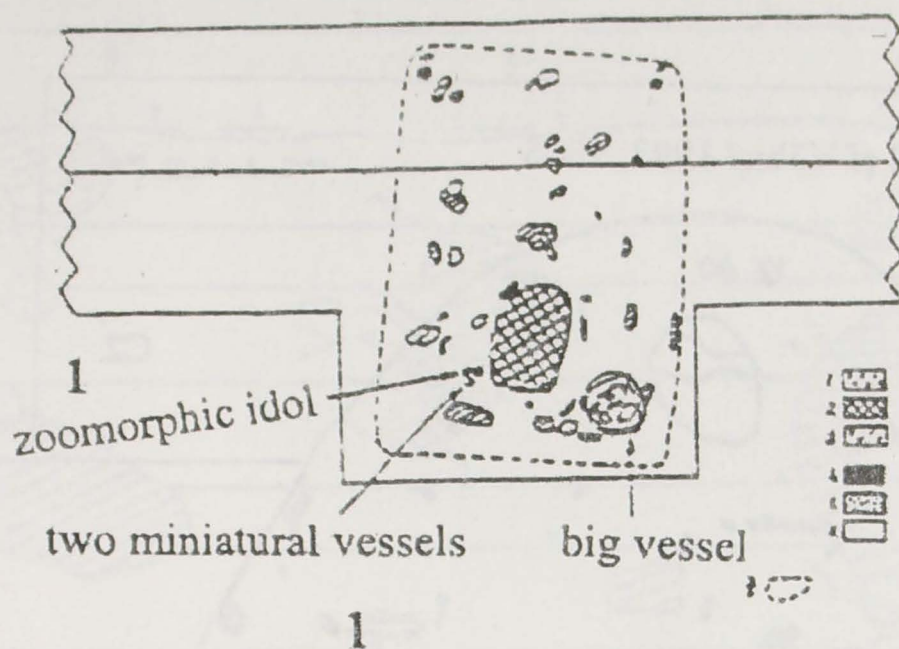


Fig. 3. 1 = Schitu-La Conac (1 adobe, 2 hearth, 3 ceramic fragments, 4 stone, 5 bone, 6 vessel, 7 probable perimeter of the dwellings); 2 = București-Chitila (1 hearth, 2 cereal pit, 3 dwelling of the 6th century A.D., 4 oven, 5 pillar pits, 6 domestic pit, 7 natural level difference). 1 apud Schuster, 2 apud Boroneanț.

1.1/ 1989, 1993, 1995



Fig. 5. Mogoșești. Apud Schuster, Popa.

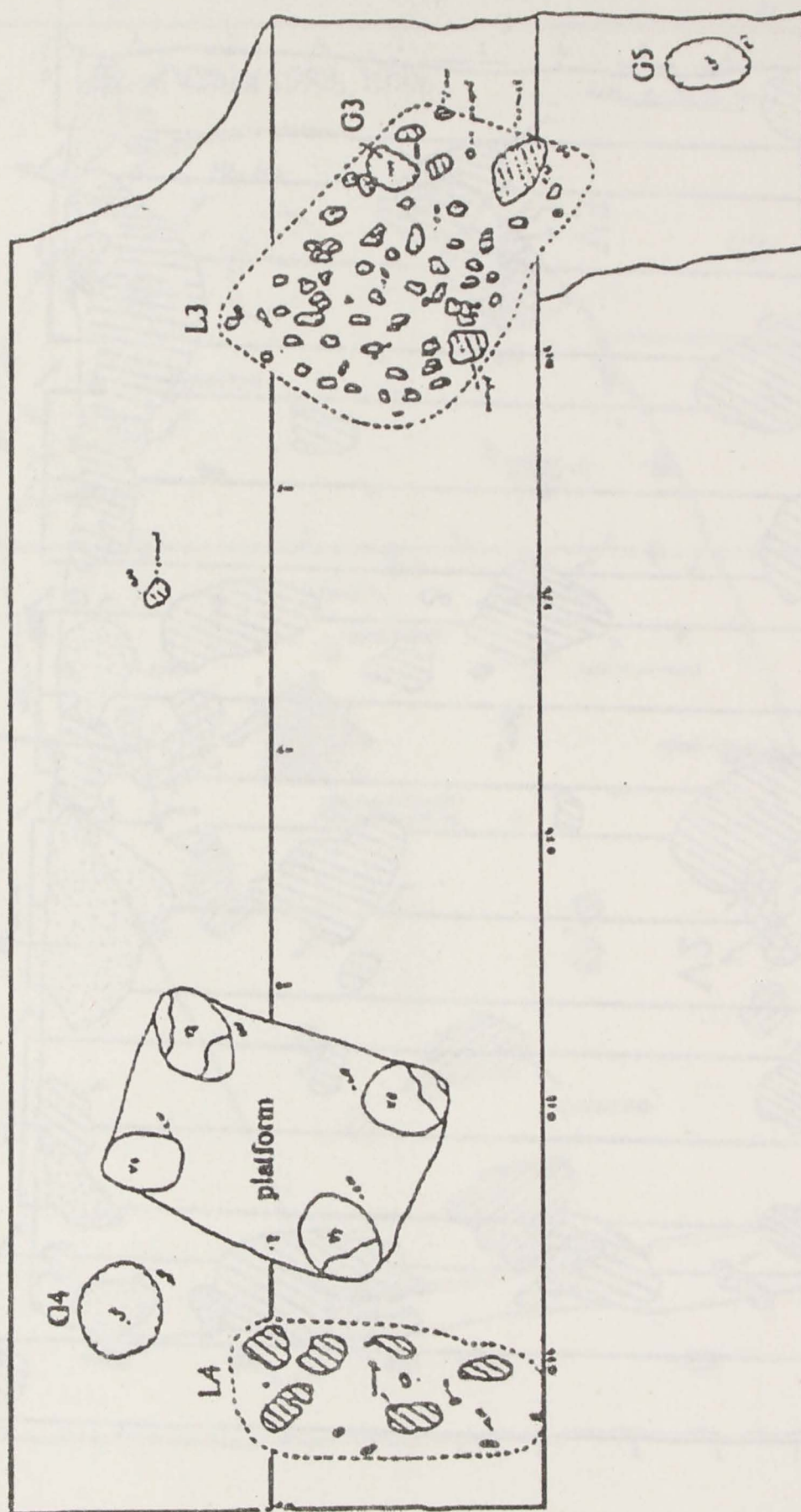


Fig. 6. Mogoșești. Apud Schuster, Popa.

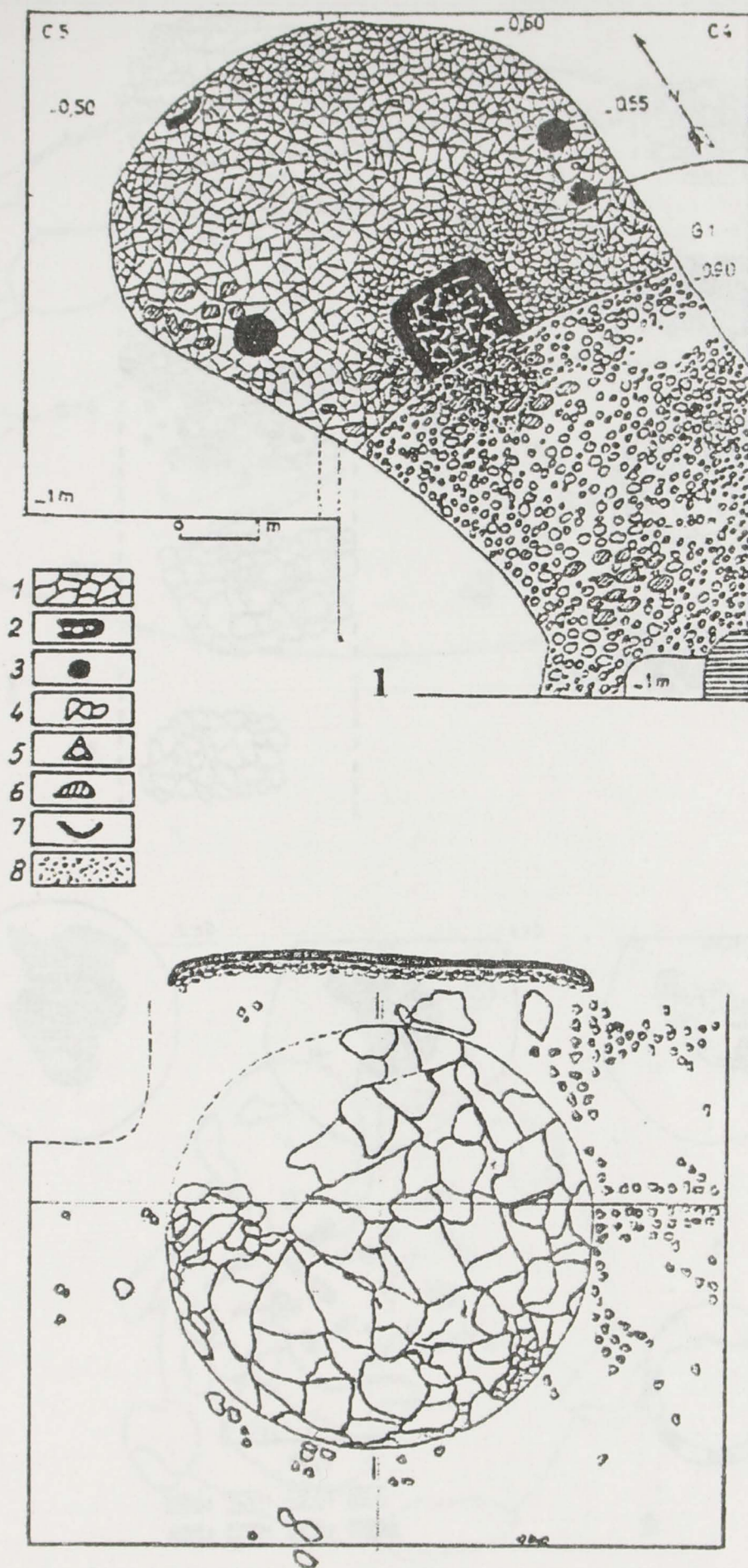


Fig. 7. 1 = Ghidici (1 burnt clay floor, 2 hearth, 3 pillar, 4 adobe, 5 weight, 6 ceramic fragments, 7 portable hearth, 8 ash); 2 = Sibişeni. 1 apud Nica, 2 apud Paul.

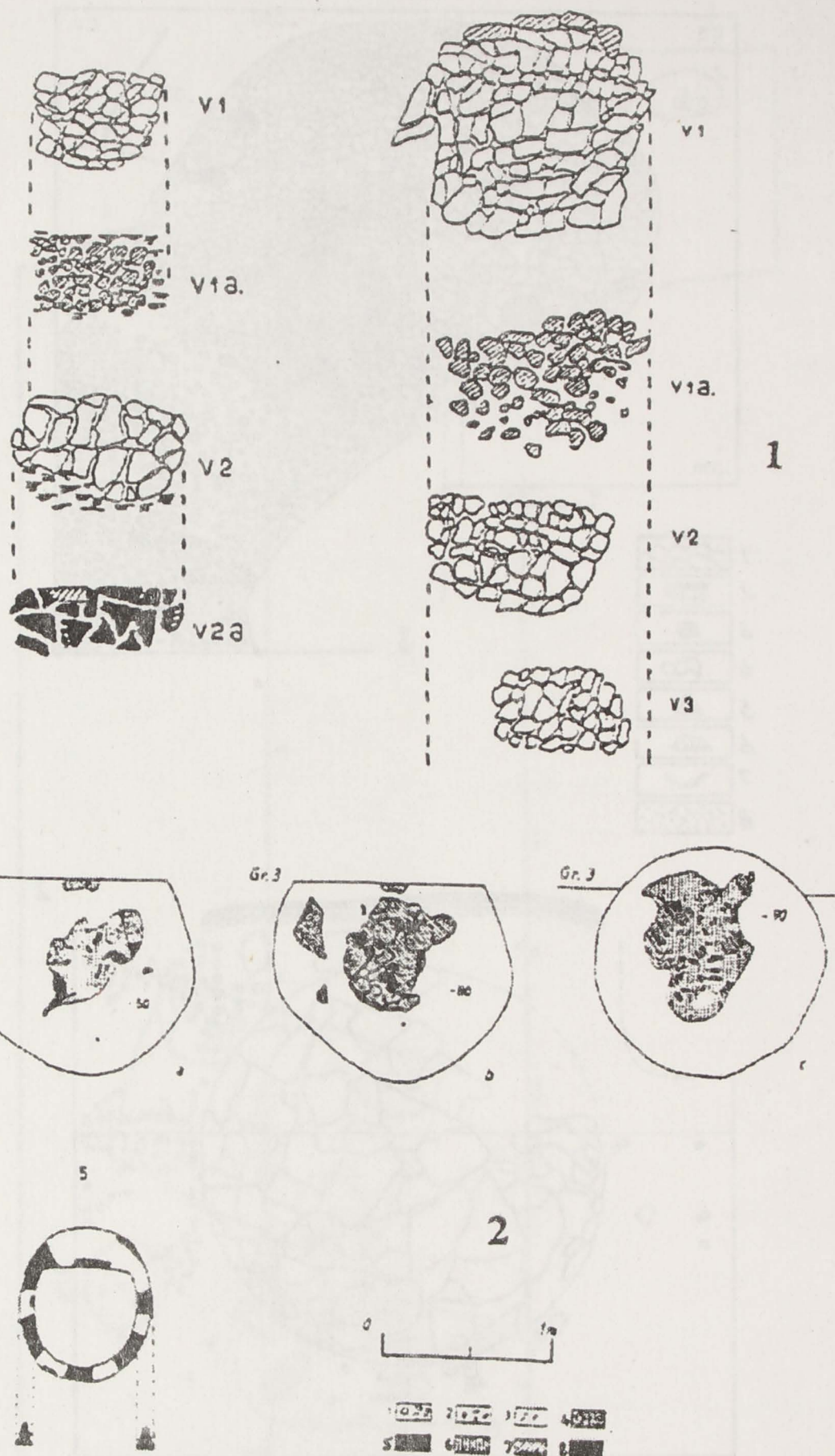
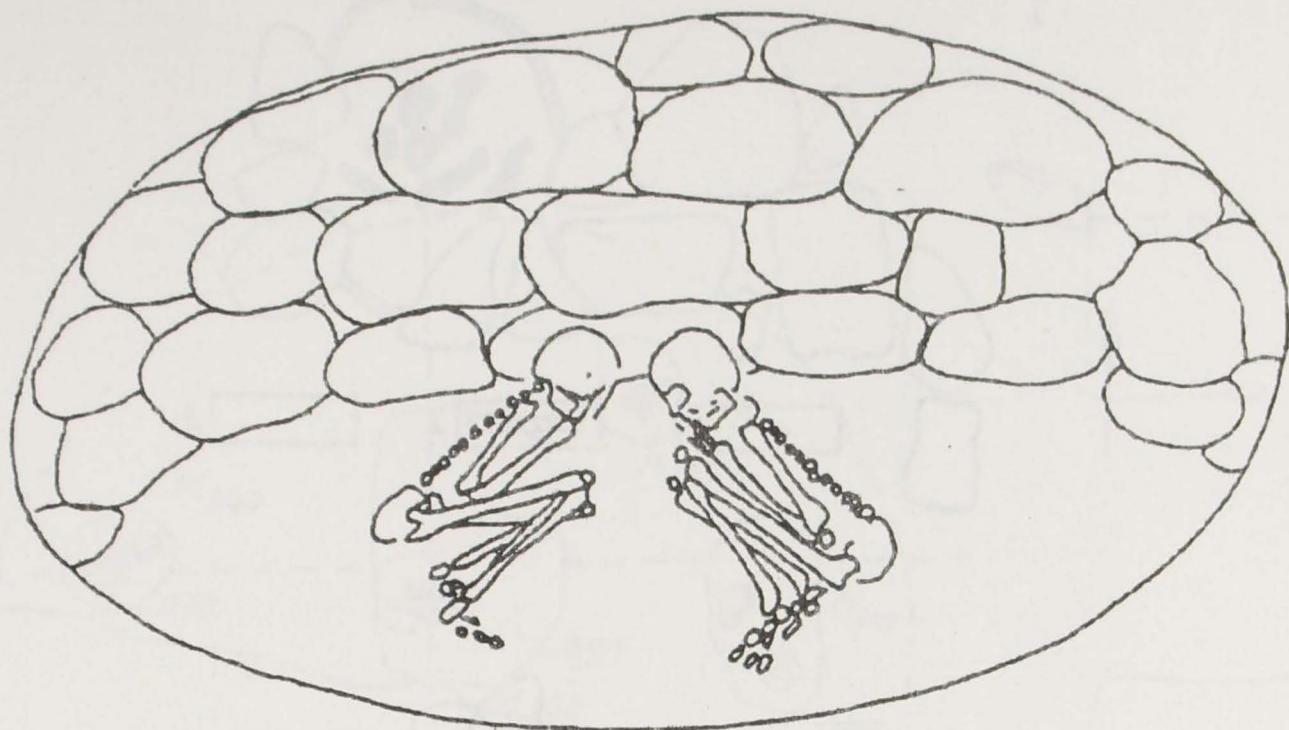


Fig. 8. 1 = Gârbovăț; 2 = Cluj-Becaș (1 ceramic fragments, 2 stone, 3 bones, 4 adobe, 5 burning traces, 6 black earth and ash, 7 ash, 8 charcoals).
 1 apud Florescu, 2 apud Gogâltan - Cociș - Paki.



1

2



Fig. 9. Căndești: 1 burial no. 500, with human skeletons under the hearth; 2 Căndești - burial of cremation in pit, with broken vase. Apud Florescu.

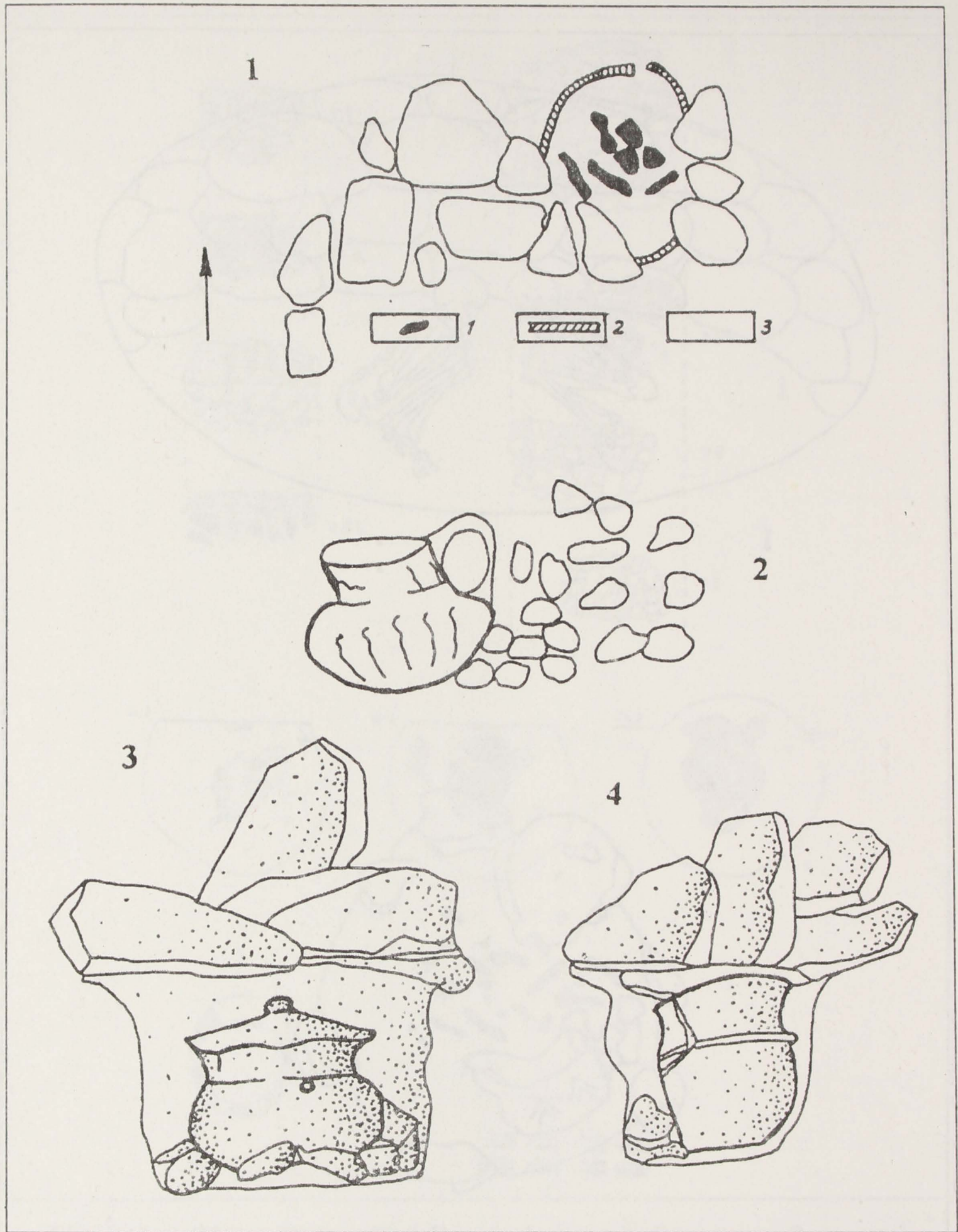


Fig. 10. 1-2 = Pietroasa Mică - cremation burial no. 30 and 35 protected by stones: ; 3-4 = Cârdești. 1-2 apud Oancea, 3-4 apud Florescu.

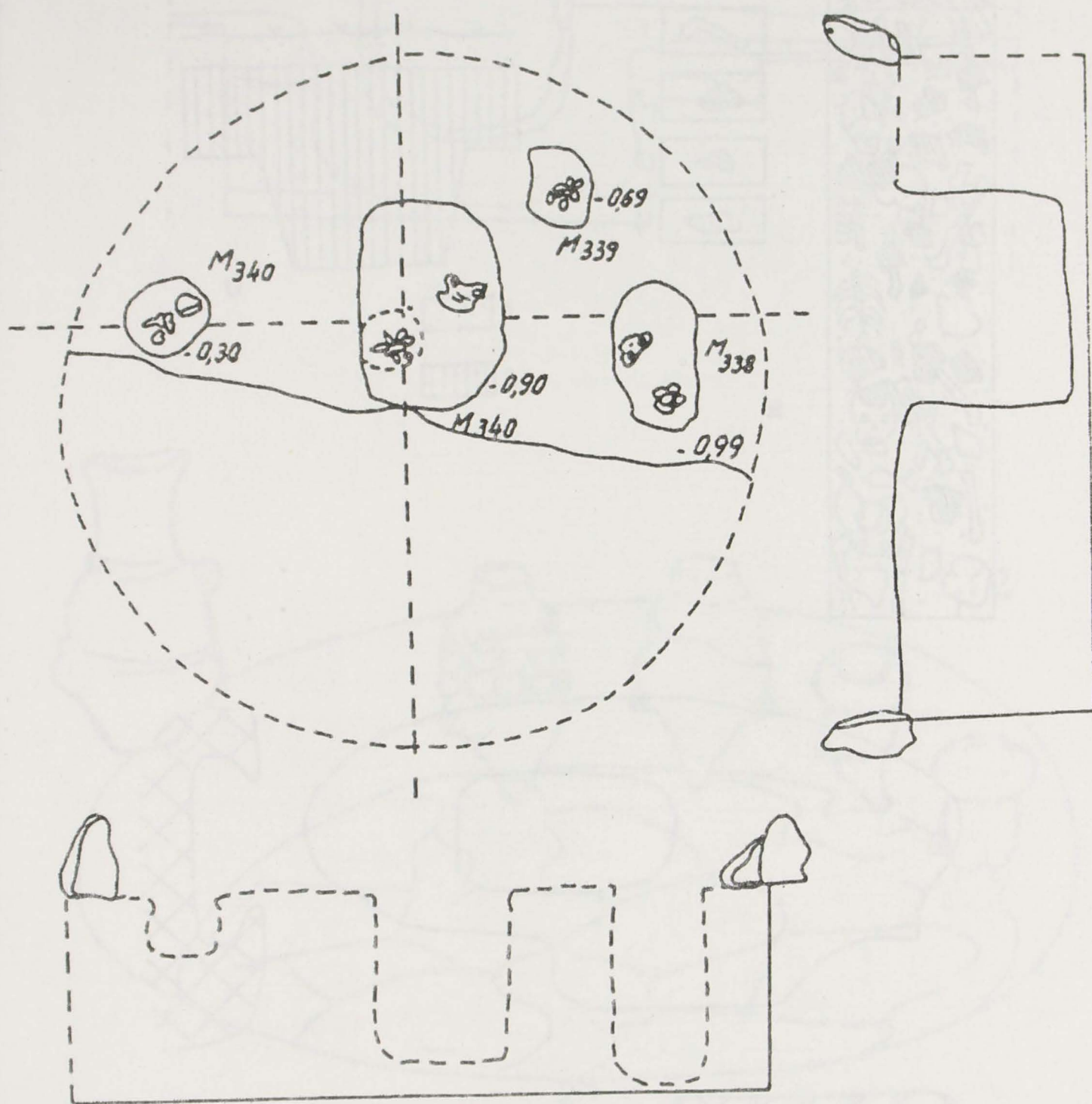


Fig. 11. Cândești: plan of ring no. 7 (family burial). Apud Florescu.

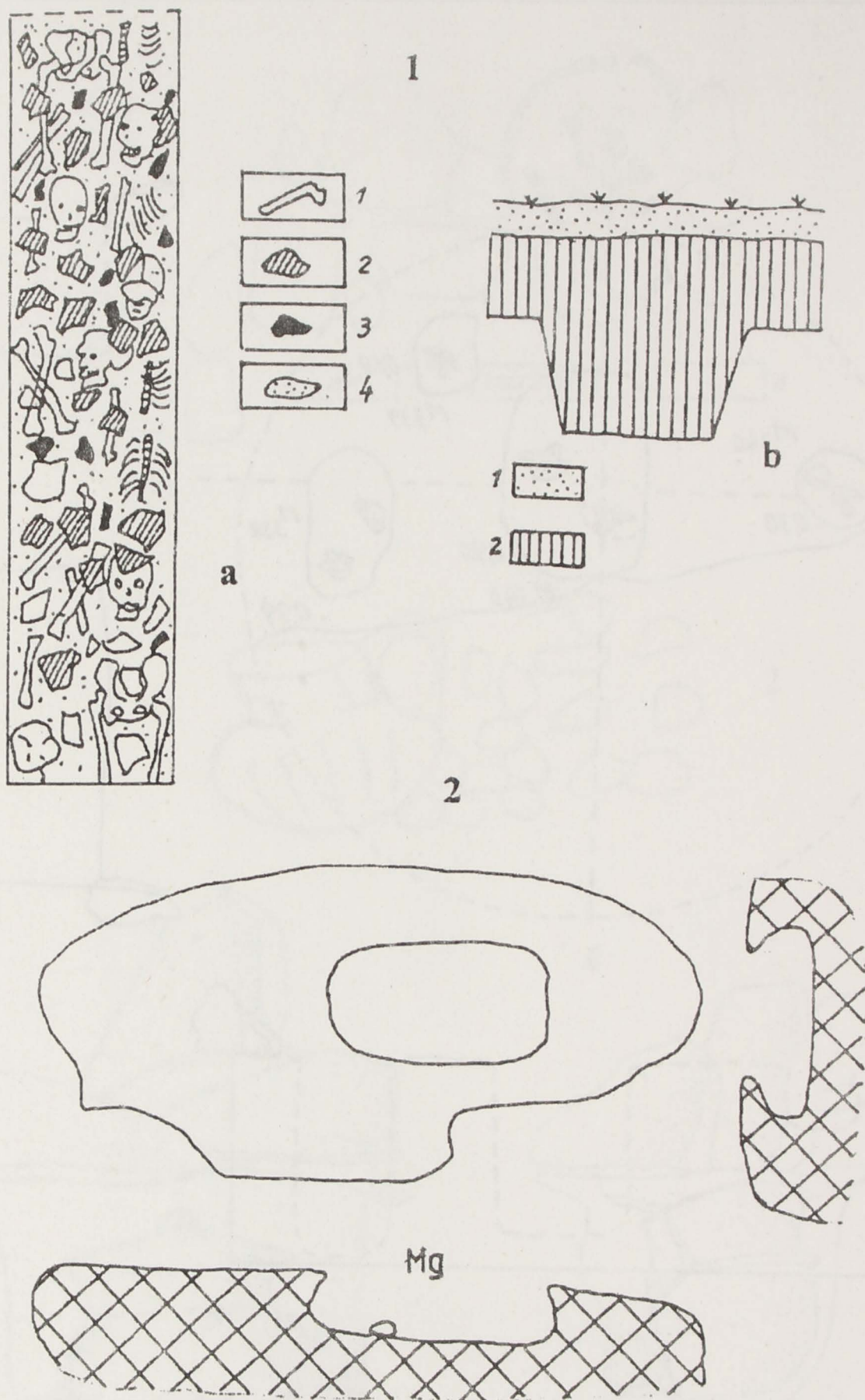
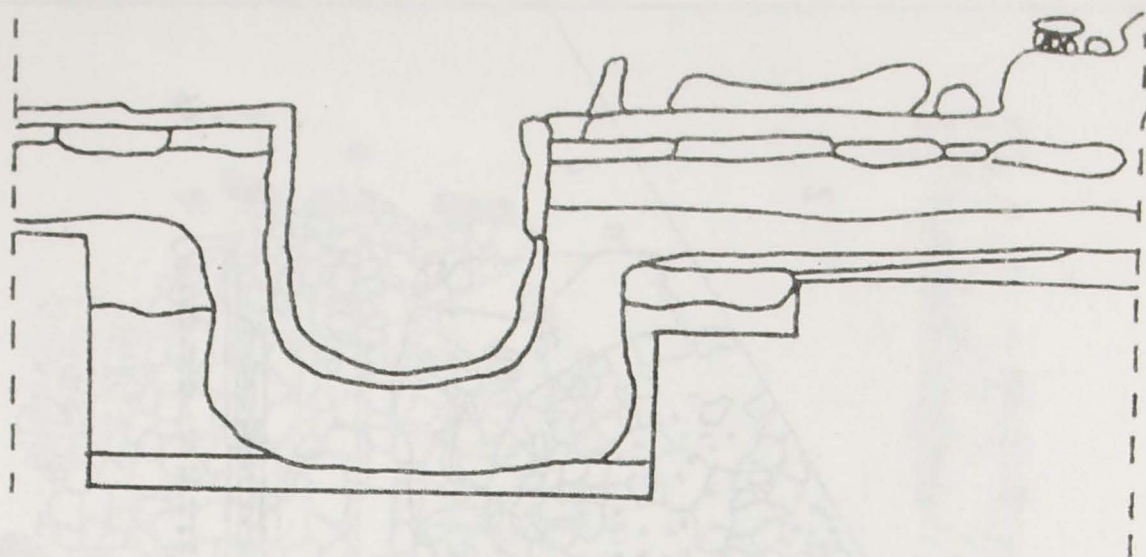


Fig. 12. Andrid-Curtea Grajdurilor: a = plan of the ditch (1 human bones, 2 burning traces, 3 wooden charcoals, 4 ash), b = profile of the ditch (1 vegetal layer, 2 BA layer); 2 = Năeni-Colarea: burial carved into the rock, with the urn on the bottom of the pit. 1 apud Némethi, 2 apud Vulpe, Drîmbocianu.

1



2

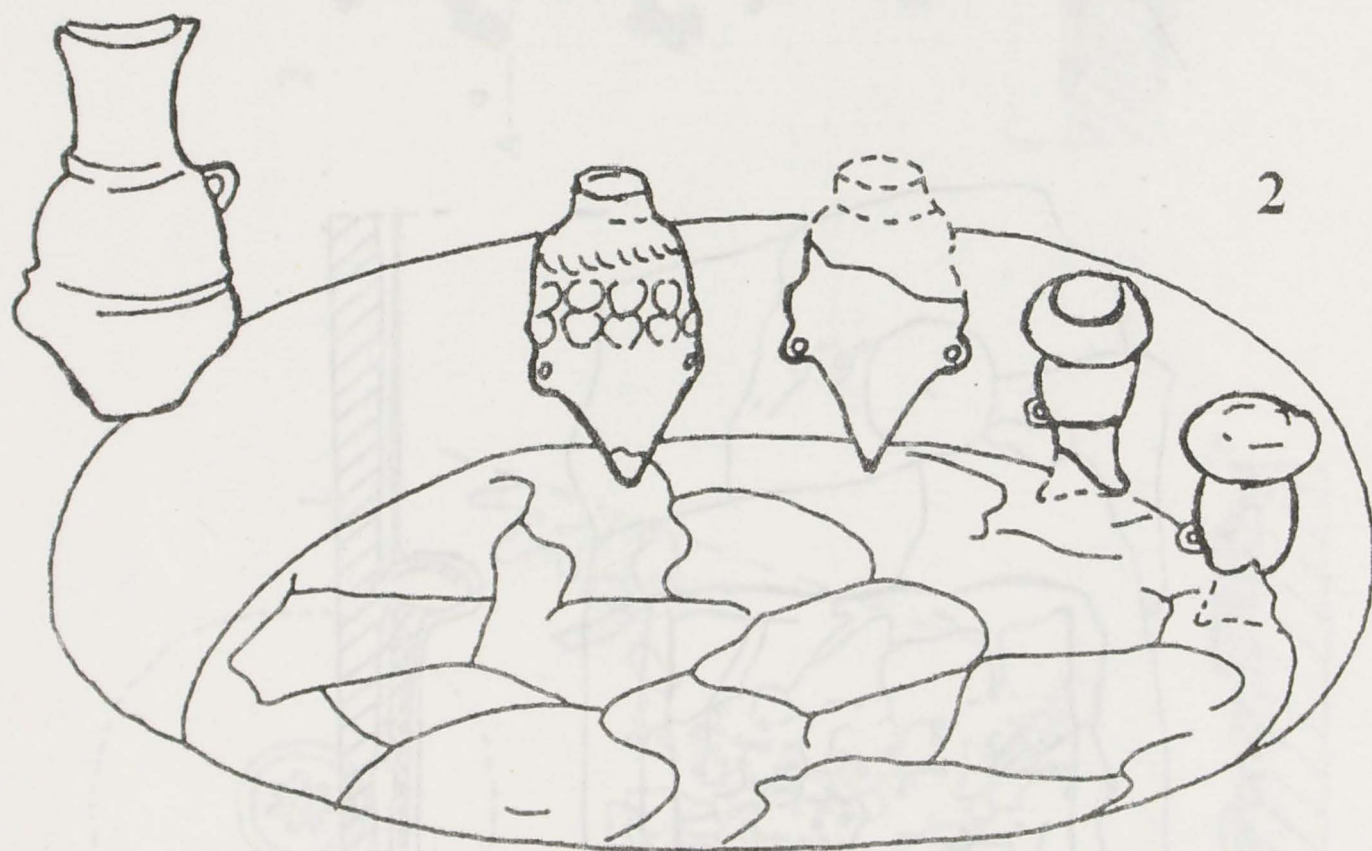


Fig. 13. Căndești: 1 = family altar in dwelling IIb, 2 = cultic place (reconstruction). Apud Florescu.

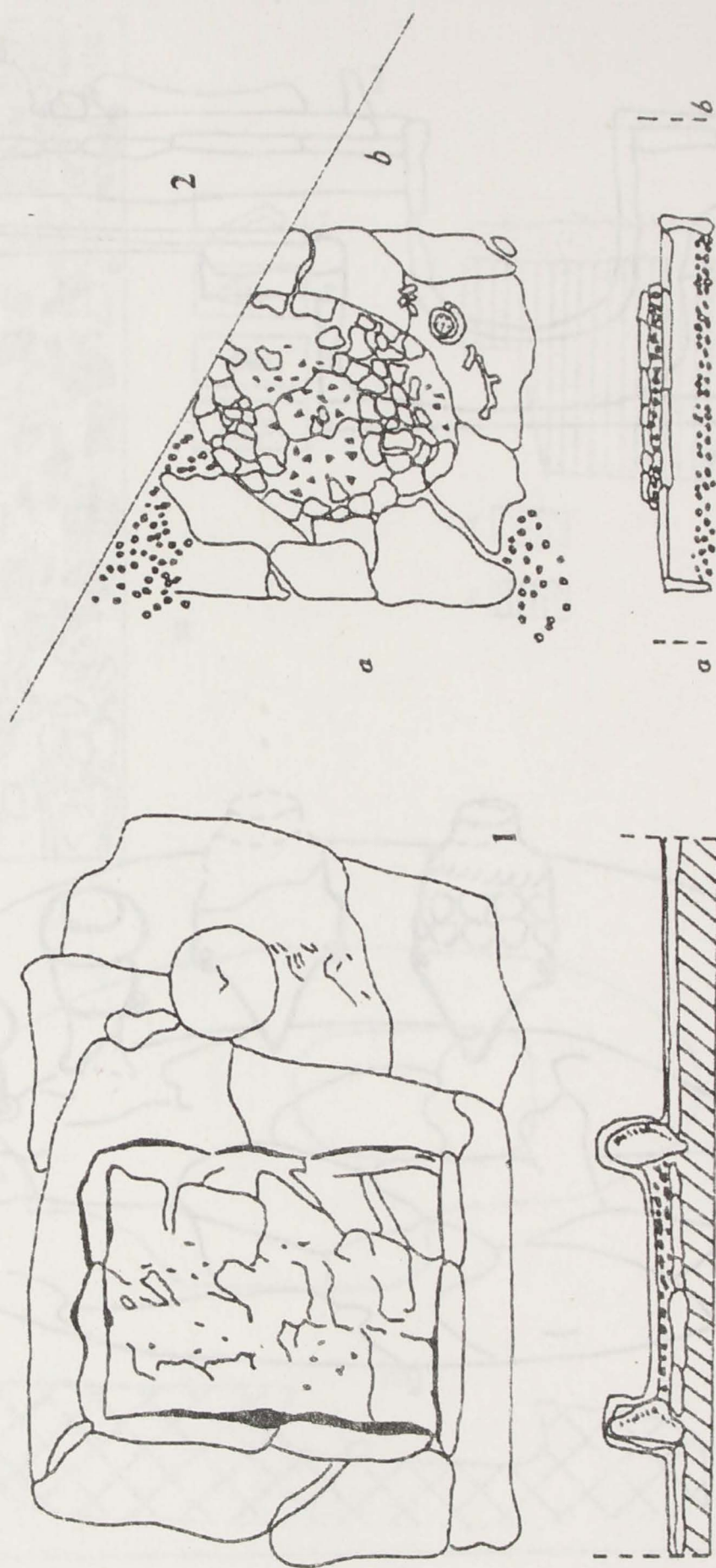


Fig. 14. 1 = Mănăstioara-Fitionești; 2 = Căndești-Cetățuia Nacu.
Apud Florescu.

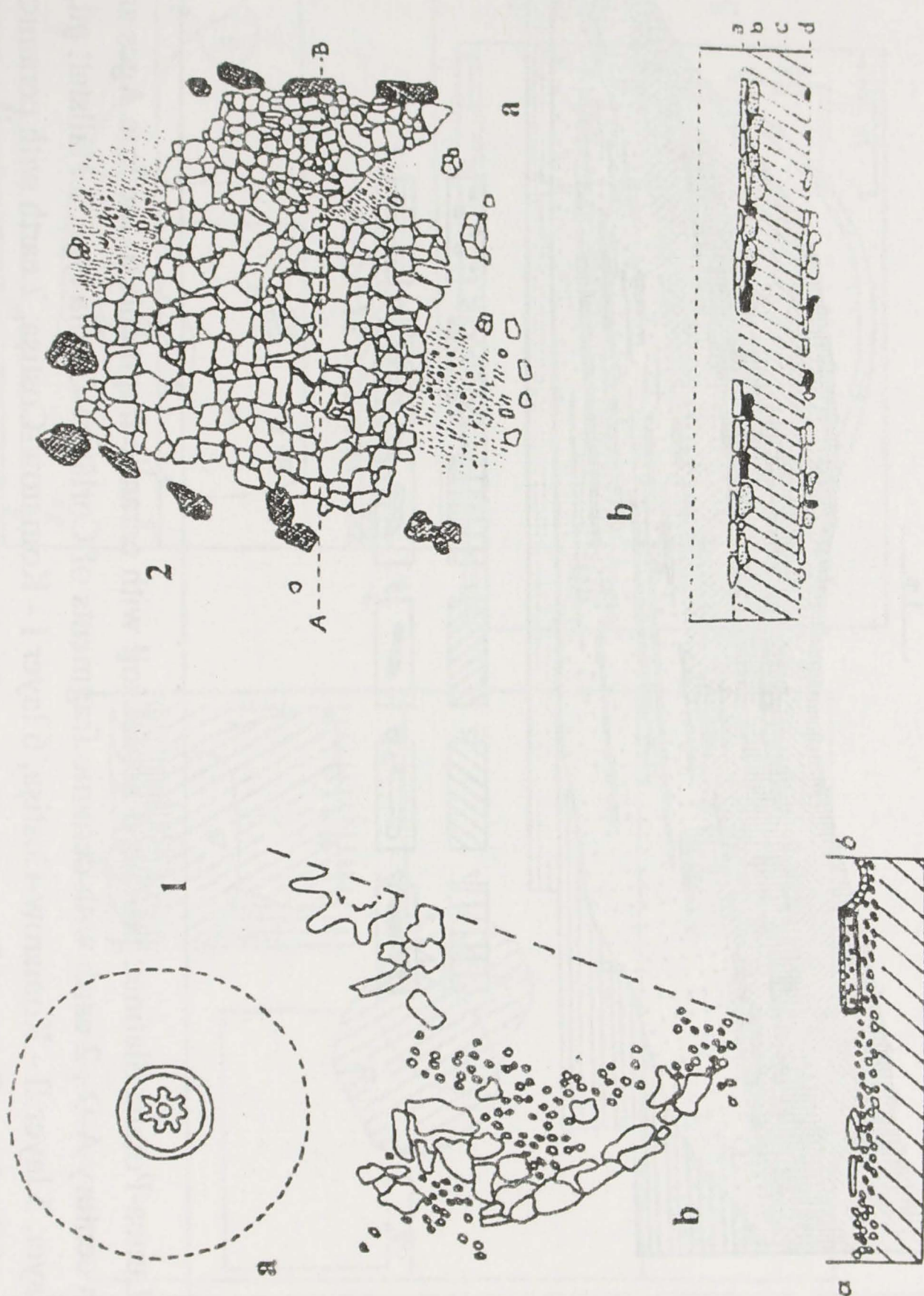


Fig. 15. 1 = Năstăseni-Parincea: a = reconstruction, b = plan and profile; Terchești-Chitila: a = plan, b = profile (a sticking plaster, b ceramic fragments and stones, c burnt earth, d initial hearth). Apud Florescu, Constantinescu.

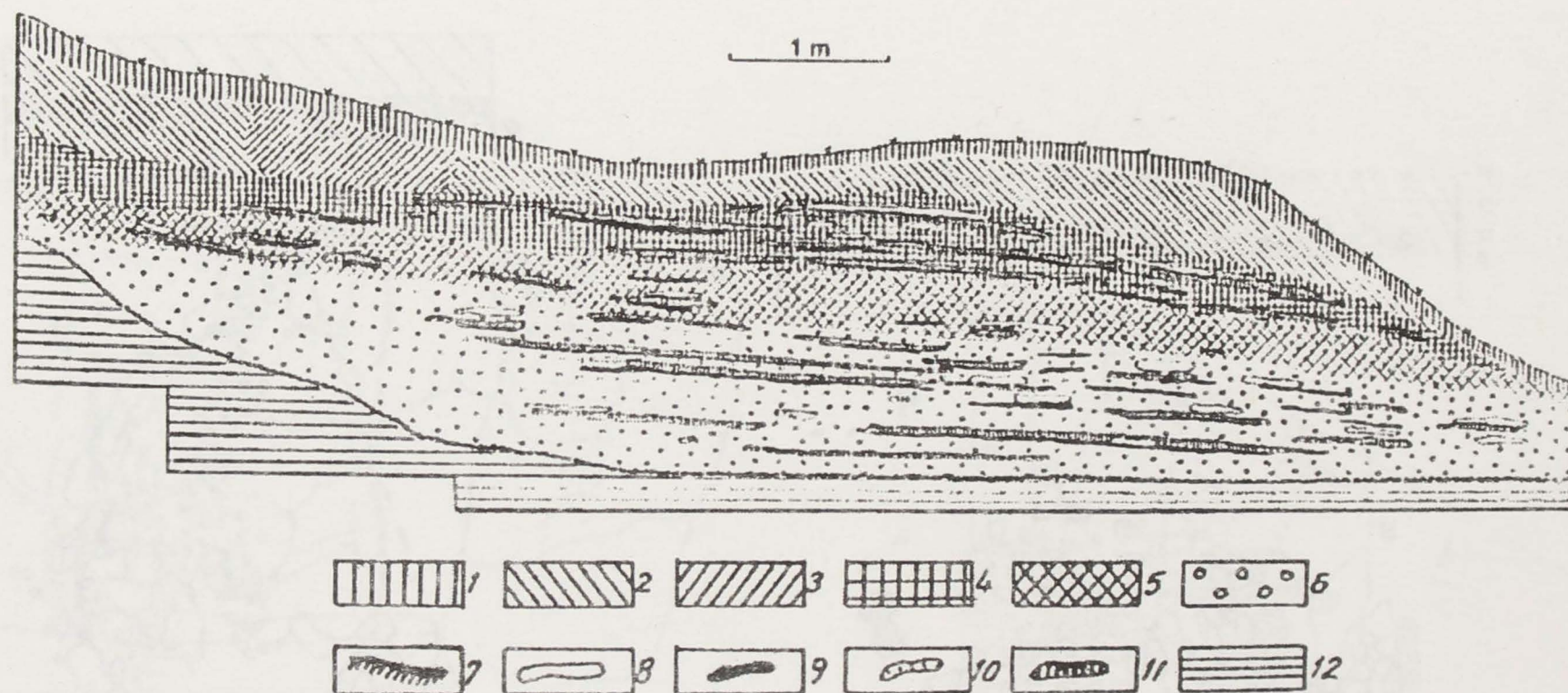


Fig. 16. Lunca-Poiana Slatinei: profile; 1 actual soil with ceramic fragments of the Iron Ages and 10th-12th century A.D., 2 earth with ceramic fragments of Corlăteni-Canlia type, 3 Hallstatt pit, 4 Noua layer, 5 layer II - Komarow-Costișa, 6 layer I - Komarow-Costișa, 7 earth with ceramic fragments of Starčevo-Criș and Precucuteni type, 8 ash layers, 9 layer with charcoal and burnt soil, 10 stone sledges, 11 red burning traces, 12 archaeologically sterile soil. Apud Dumitroaia.

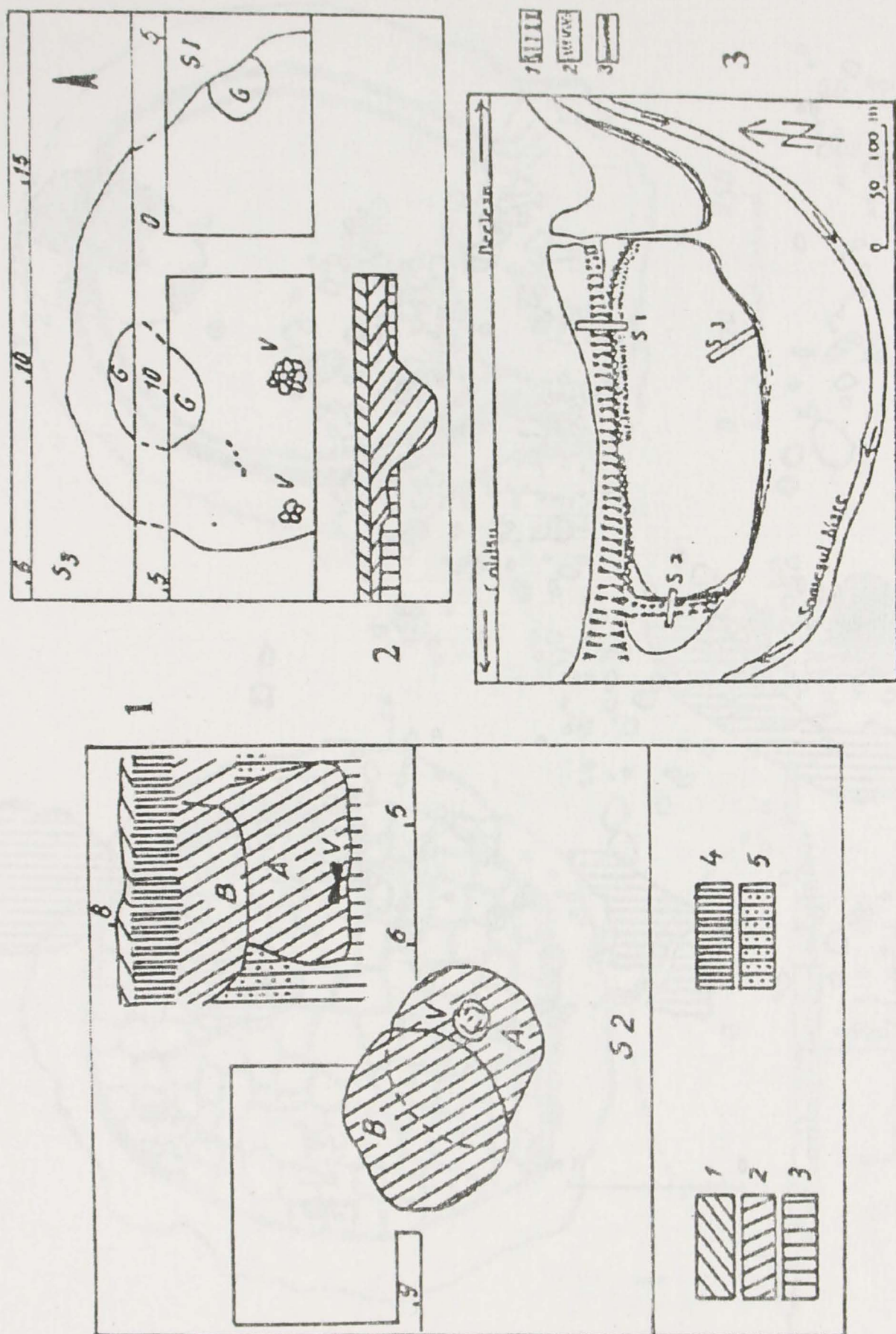


Fig. 17. 1 = Bădeni (1 vegetal layer, 2 Wietenberg layer, 3 sterile soil, 4 mixed layer, 5 sporadic ceramic fragments); 2 = Cornești-Podeiul Mic; 3 = Coldău (1 ditch, 2 stone sledges, 3 wall). 1 apud Lazarovici et al., 2 apud Boroffka, 3 apud Vlassa.

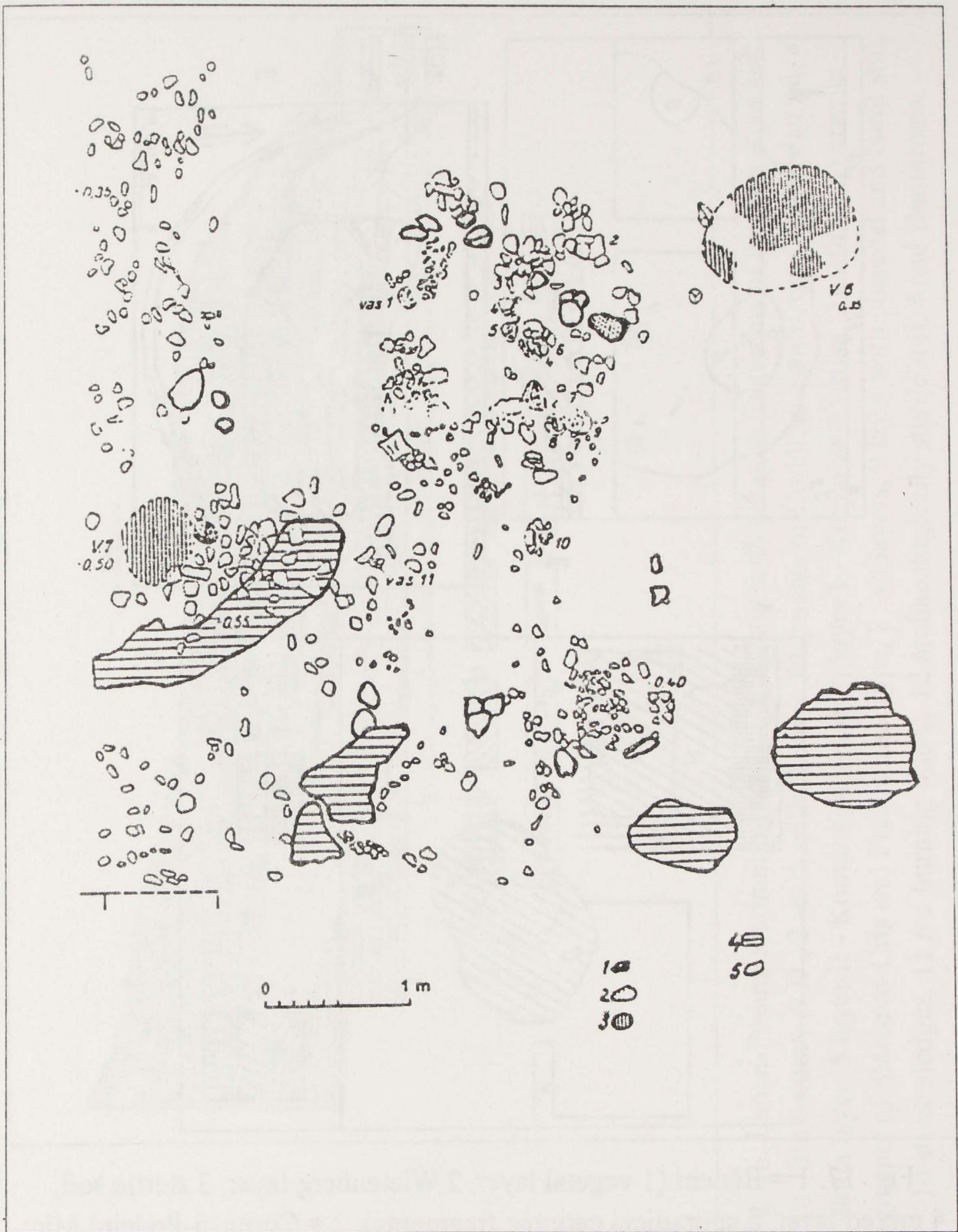


Fig. 18. Costișa-Cetățuie: 1 stones, 2 adobe, 3 hearths, 4 burnt floor, 5 ceramic fragments. Apud Vulpe

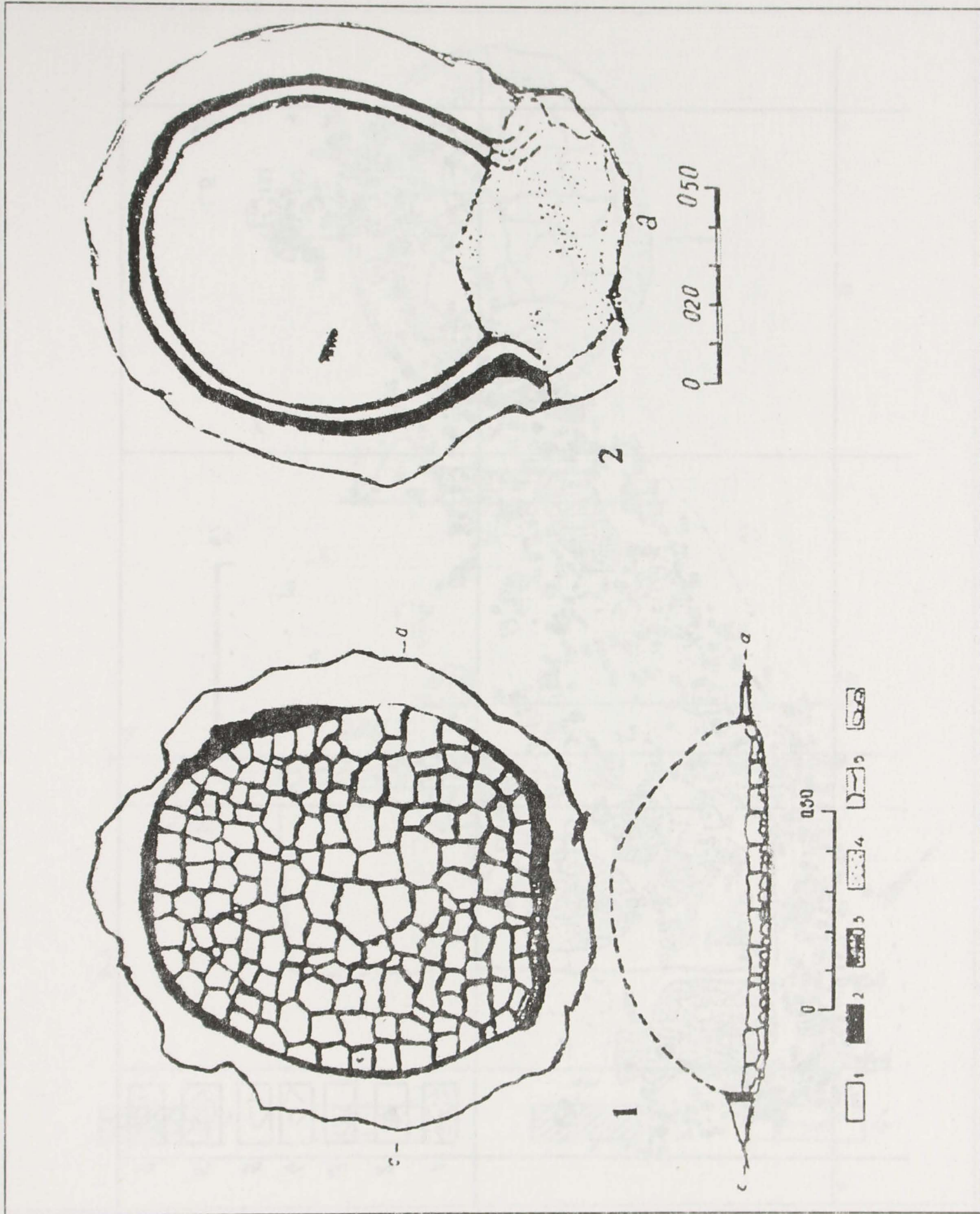


Fig. 19. Gârbovăț: ovens (1 raw clay, 2 clay blackened by burning, 3 clay reddened by burning, 4 ash, 5 fire place of the oven, 6 gravel from under the oven). Apud Florescu.

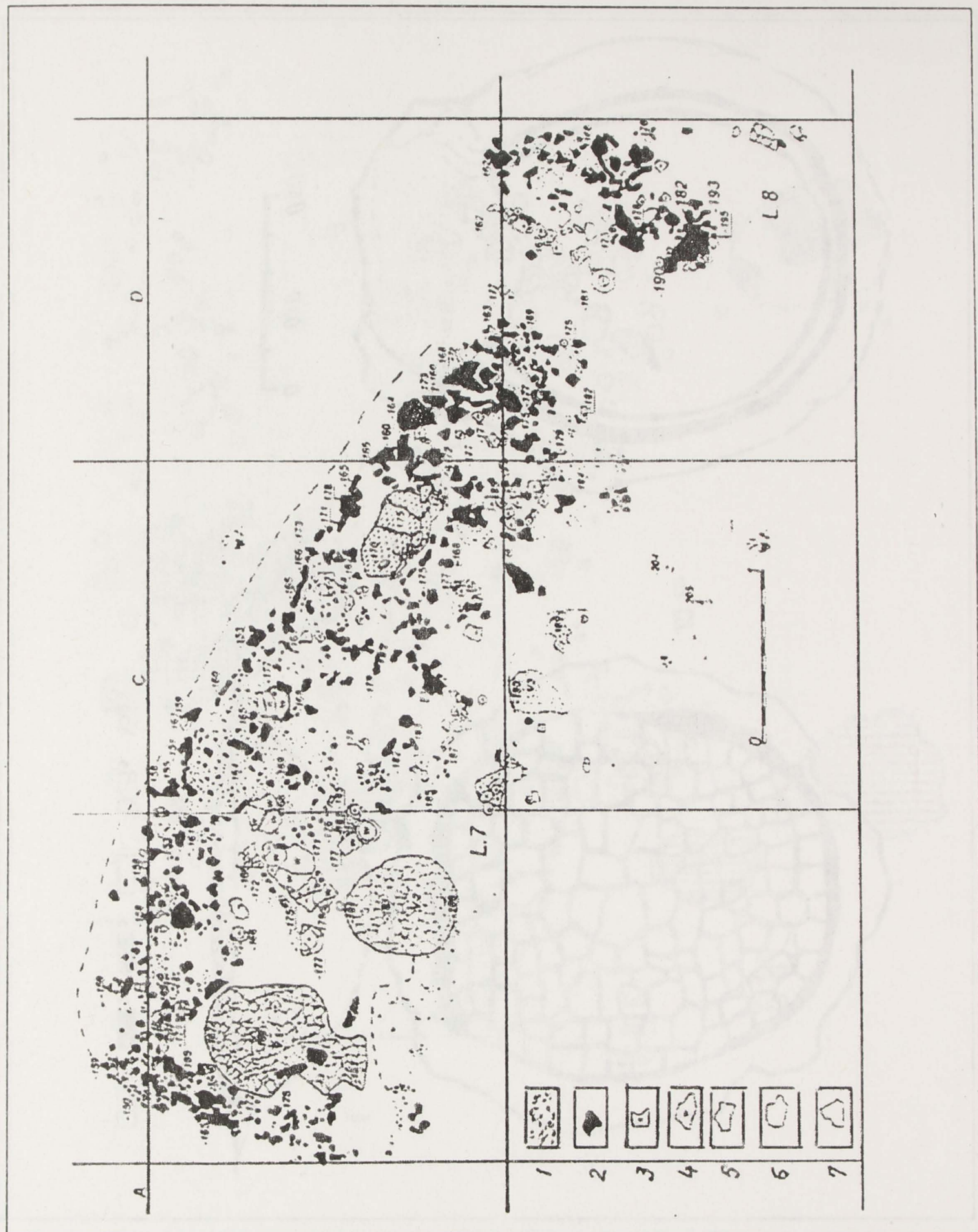


Fig. 20. Păuleni: dwelling no. 7. 1 hearth, 2 adobe, 3 Ciomortan sherds, 4 Wietenberg sherds, 5 stone, 6 grinder fragments, 7 sherds without cultural assignment. Apud Căvruc, Rotea.

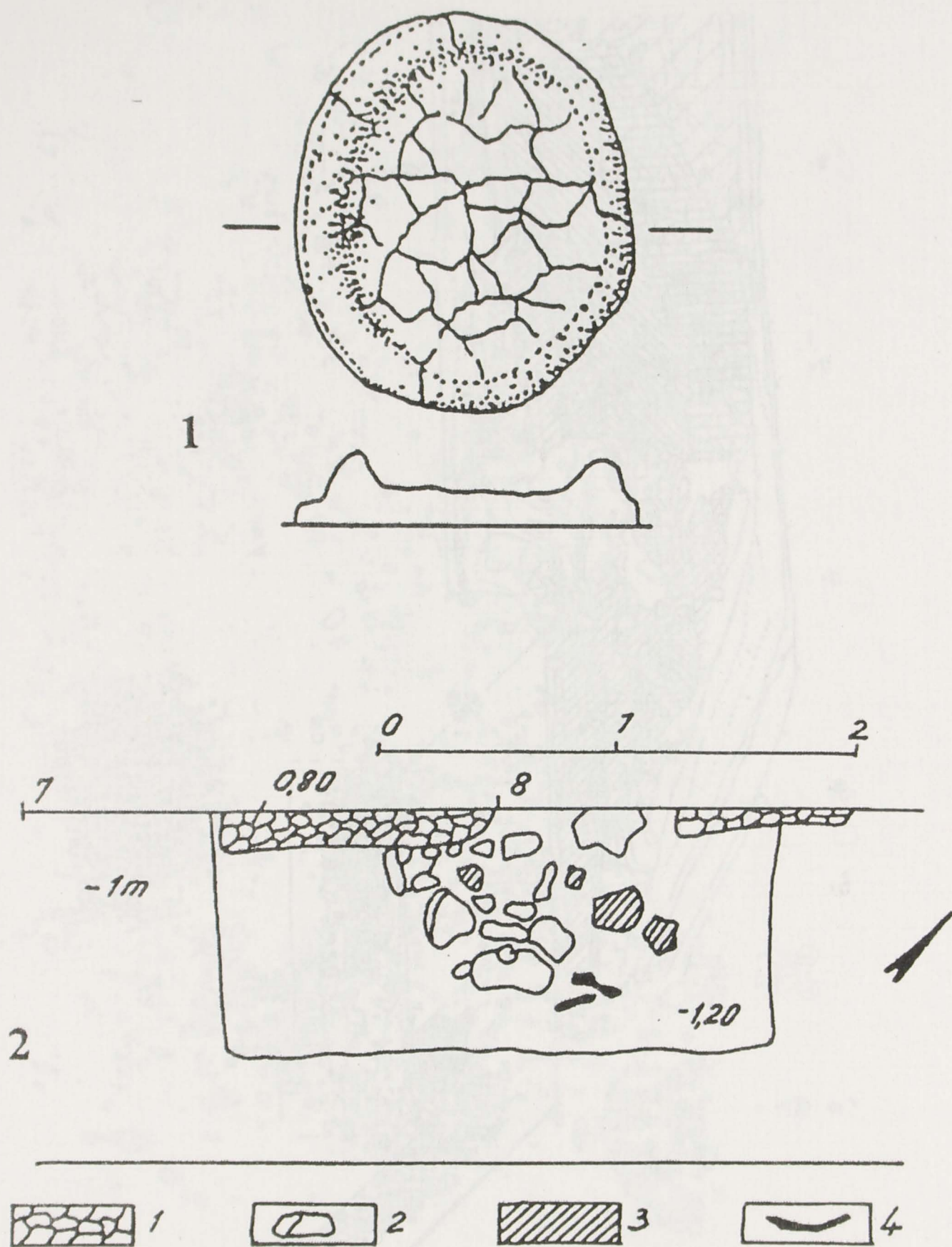


Fig. 21. 1 = Deuș-Lunga; 2 = Rogova-La Cazărmi (1 adobe, 2 oven fragments, 3 ceramic fragments, 4 vessel rim). 1 apud Lazarovici, 2 apud Crăciunescu.

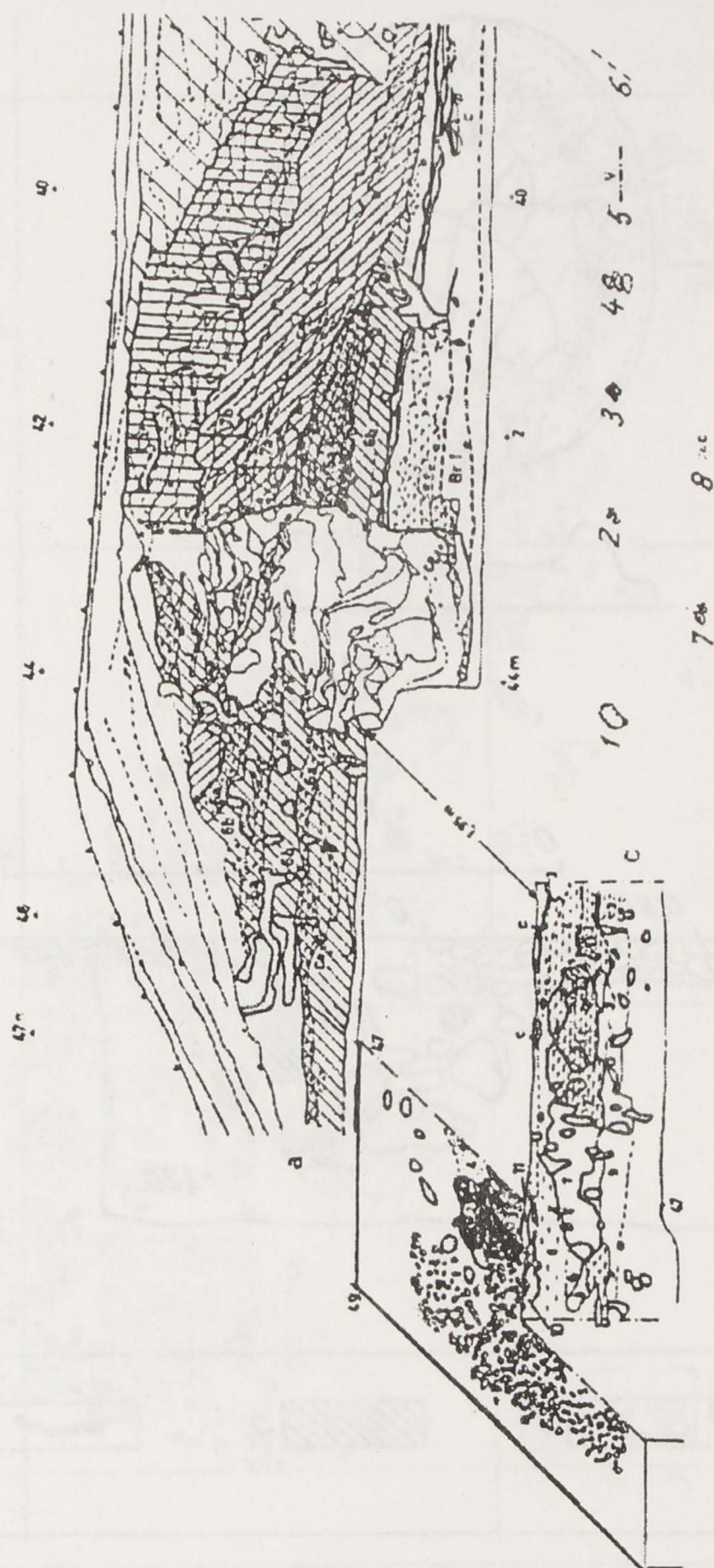


Fig. 22. Popești. 1 animal gallery, 2 stone, 3 wood, 4 adobe clods, 5 hearth, 6 limits of the plan, 7 adobe, 8 ash. Apud Palincaș.



Fig. 23. Sărata Monteoru: 1 animal bone, 2 ceramic fragments, 3 cremation burial of the 6th century A.D., 4 bronze object, 5 burnt bones, 6 adobe, 7 adobe with wickerwork traces, 8 remains of charred human skeletons and ceramic fragments, 9 axe fragment, 10 burnt floor, 11 flint arrow point, 12 heap of human bones, 13 sectors of investigation. Apud Zaharia.



1



2



3



4

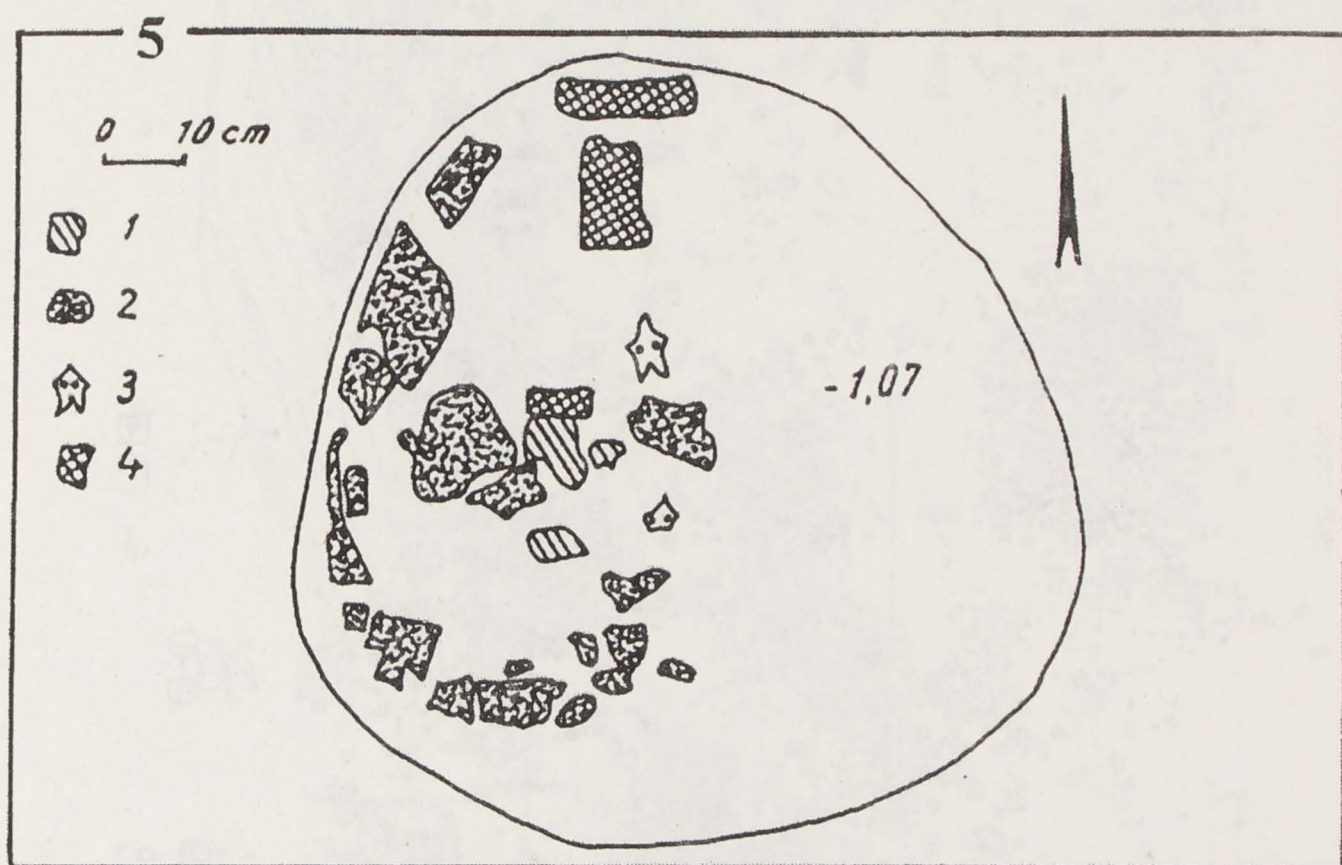


Fig. 24. Căscioarele: 1-4 = idols; 5 = pit (1 , 2 , 3 , 4). Apud Sîrbu, Damian.

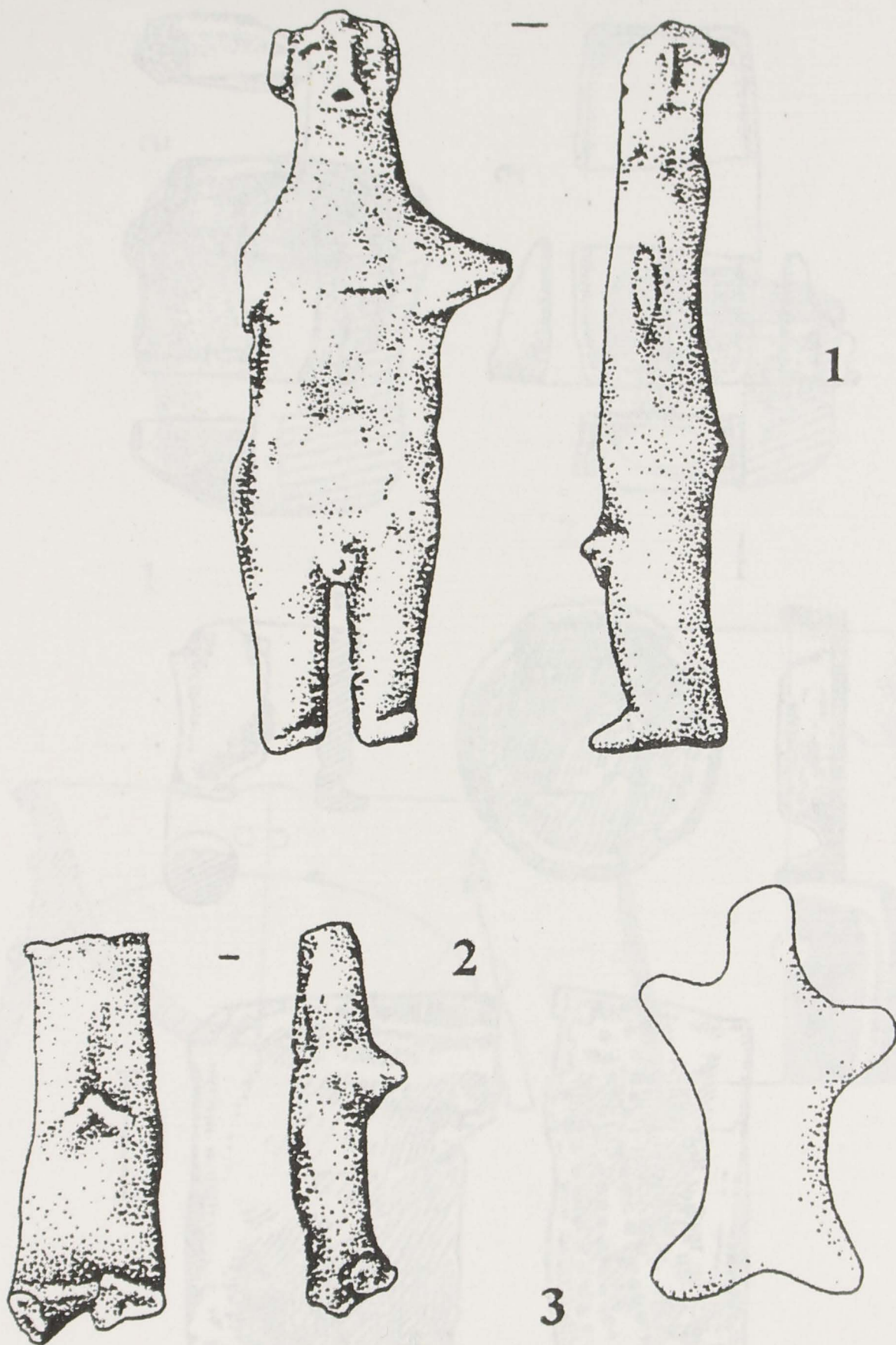


Fig. 25. 1-2 = Nicoleni; 3 = Derşida. 1-2 apud Florescu, 3 apud Boroffka.



Fig. 26. 1-2 = București-Bucureștii Noi; 3-5 = Sighișoara. 1-2 apud Schuster, 3-5 apud Andrițoiu.

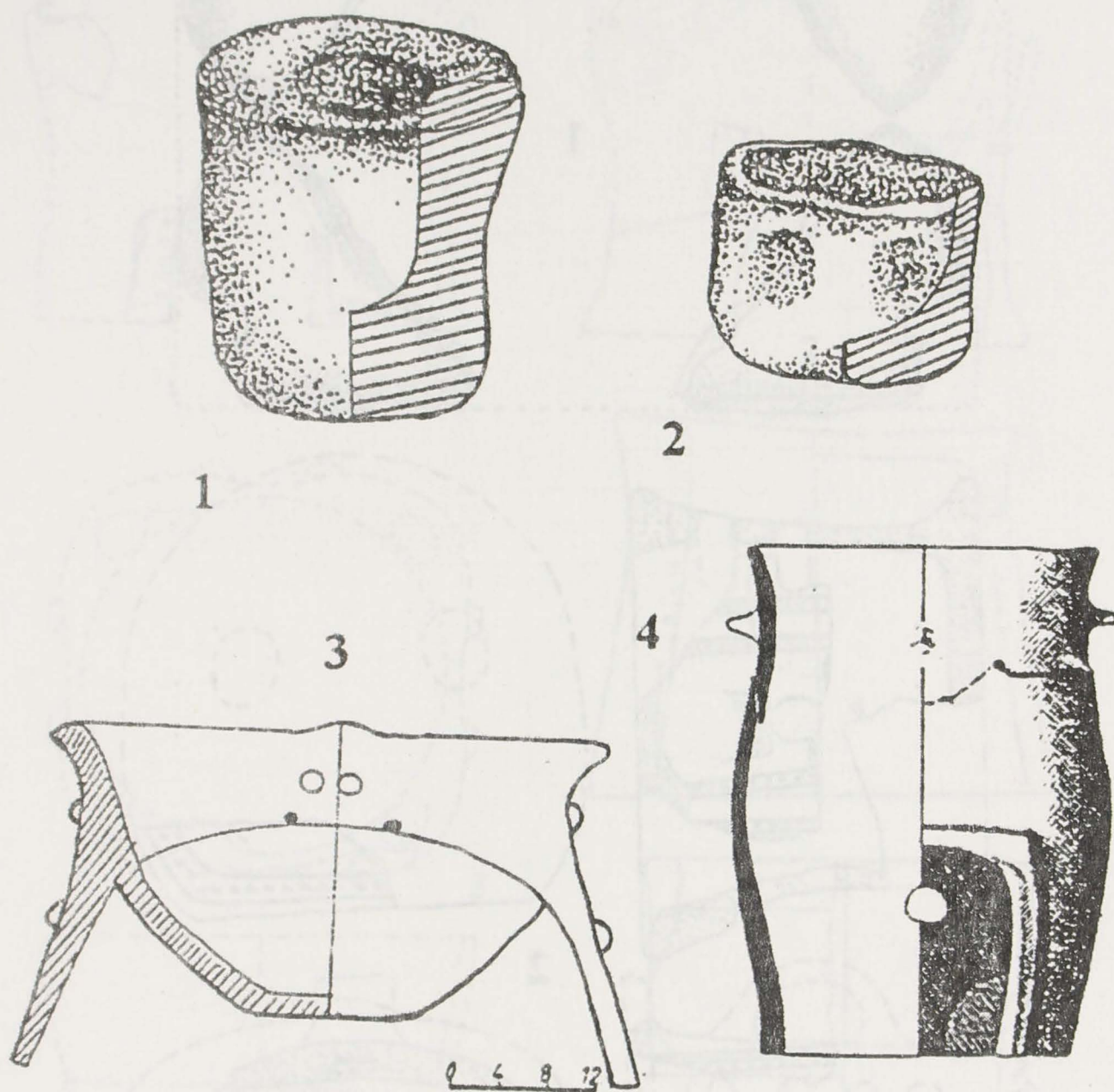


Fig. 27. 1 = Rogova; 2 = Dobra; 3 = Berveni-Râtul Caprei; 4 = Pecica. 1-2 apud Crăciunescu, 3 apud Nămeti, 4 apud Soroceanu.

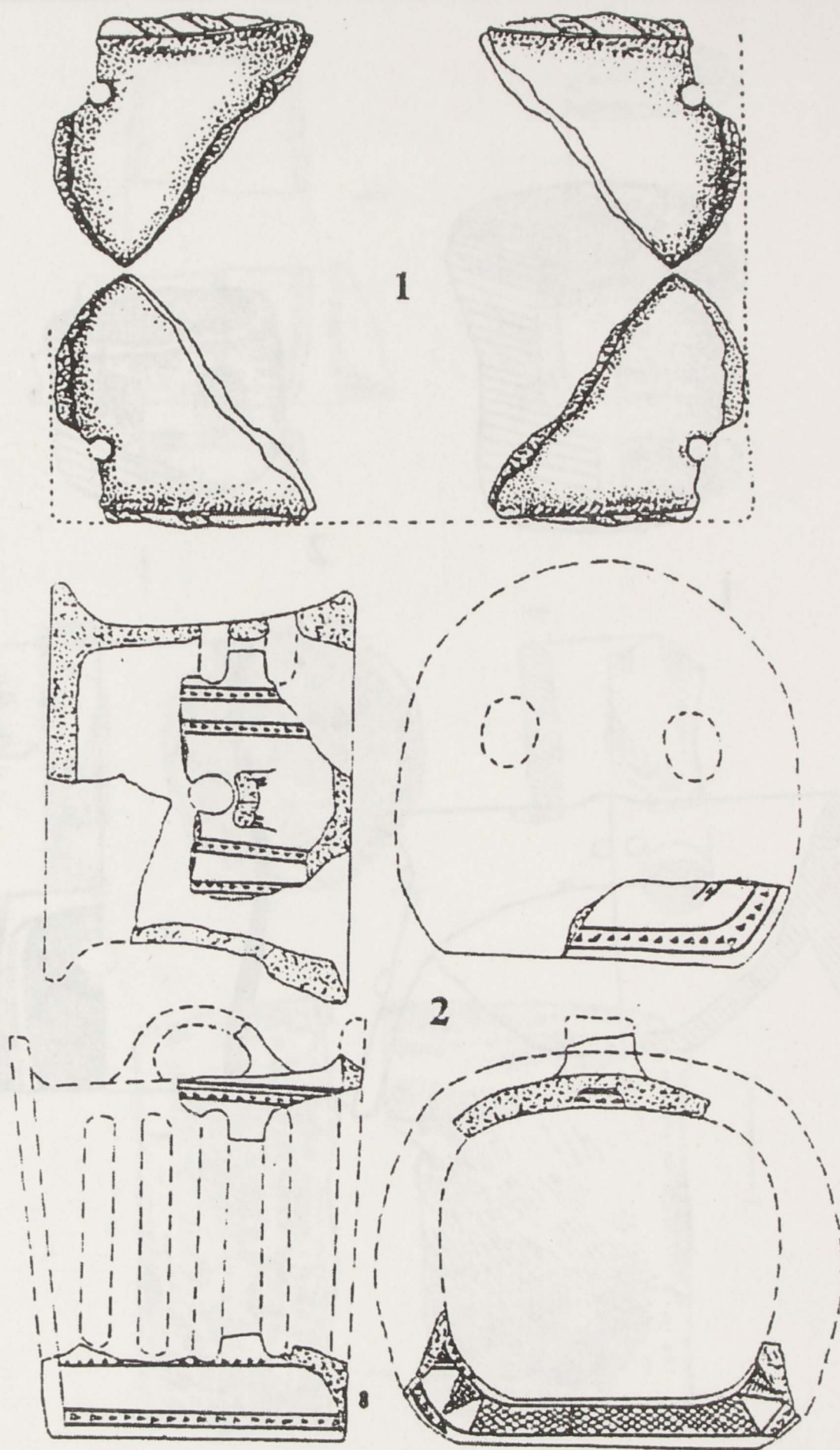


Fig. 28. 1 = Turia; 2 = Sighișoara-Dealul Turcului. 1 apud Székely,
2 apud Boroffka.

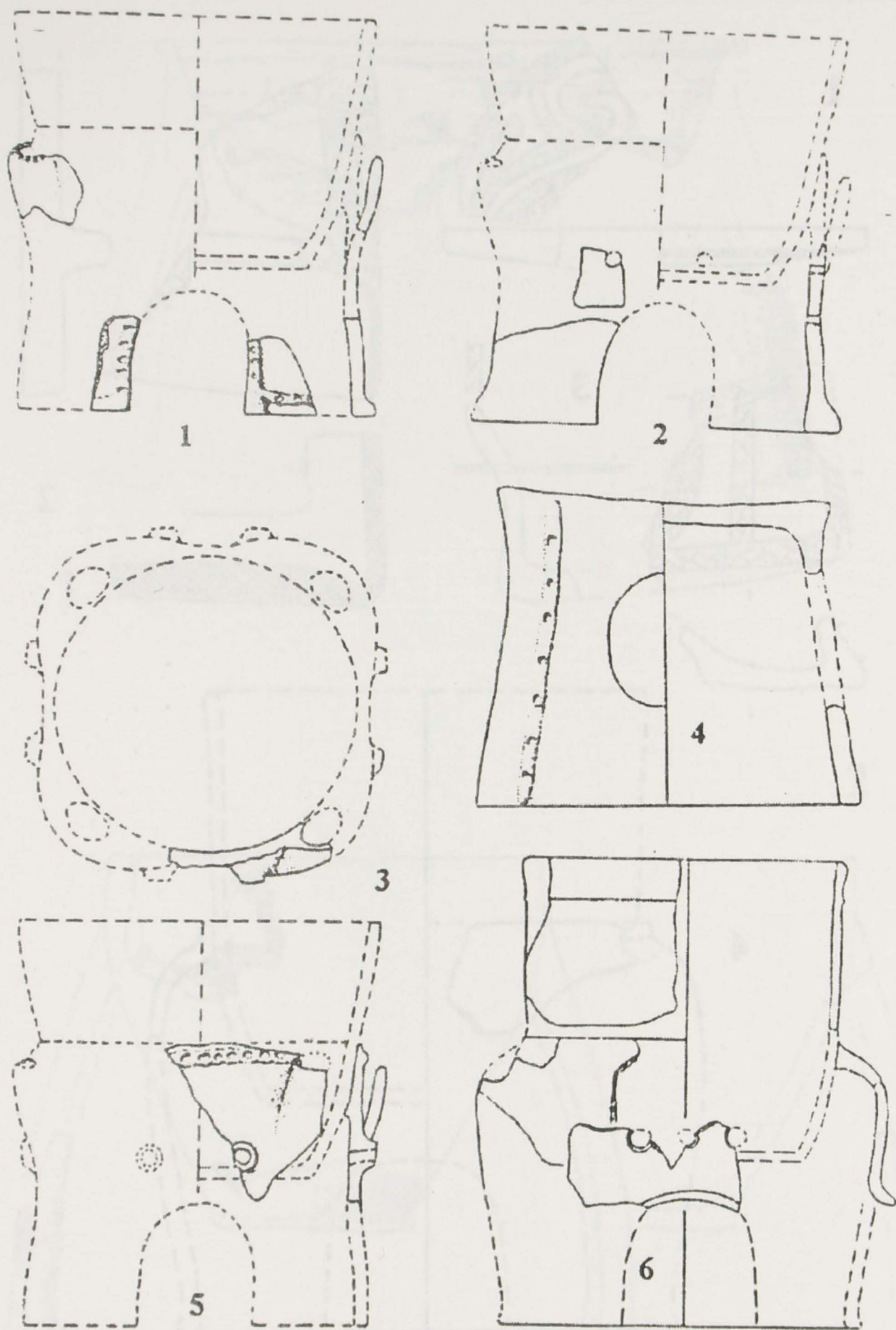


Fig. 29. 1-2 = Ciceu-Corabia; 3 = Dorolțu; 4 = Rotbav; 5 = Obreja; 6 = Sighișoara. Apud Boroffka.

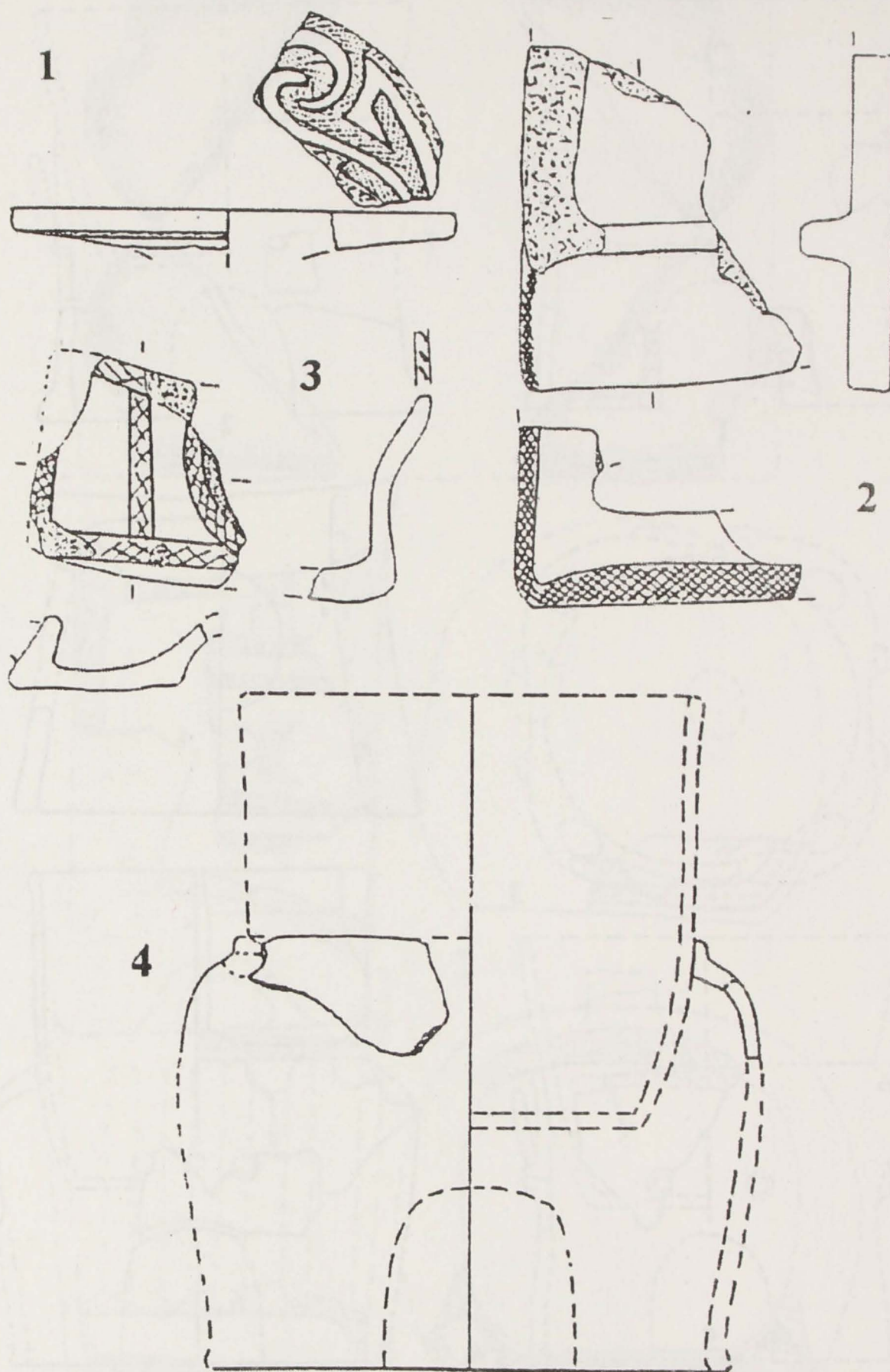


Fig. 30. 1-4 = Viștea; 2 = Sighișoara; 3 = Sic. Apud Boroffka.

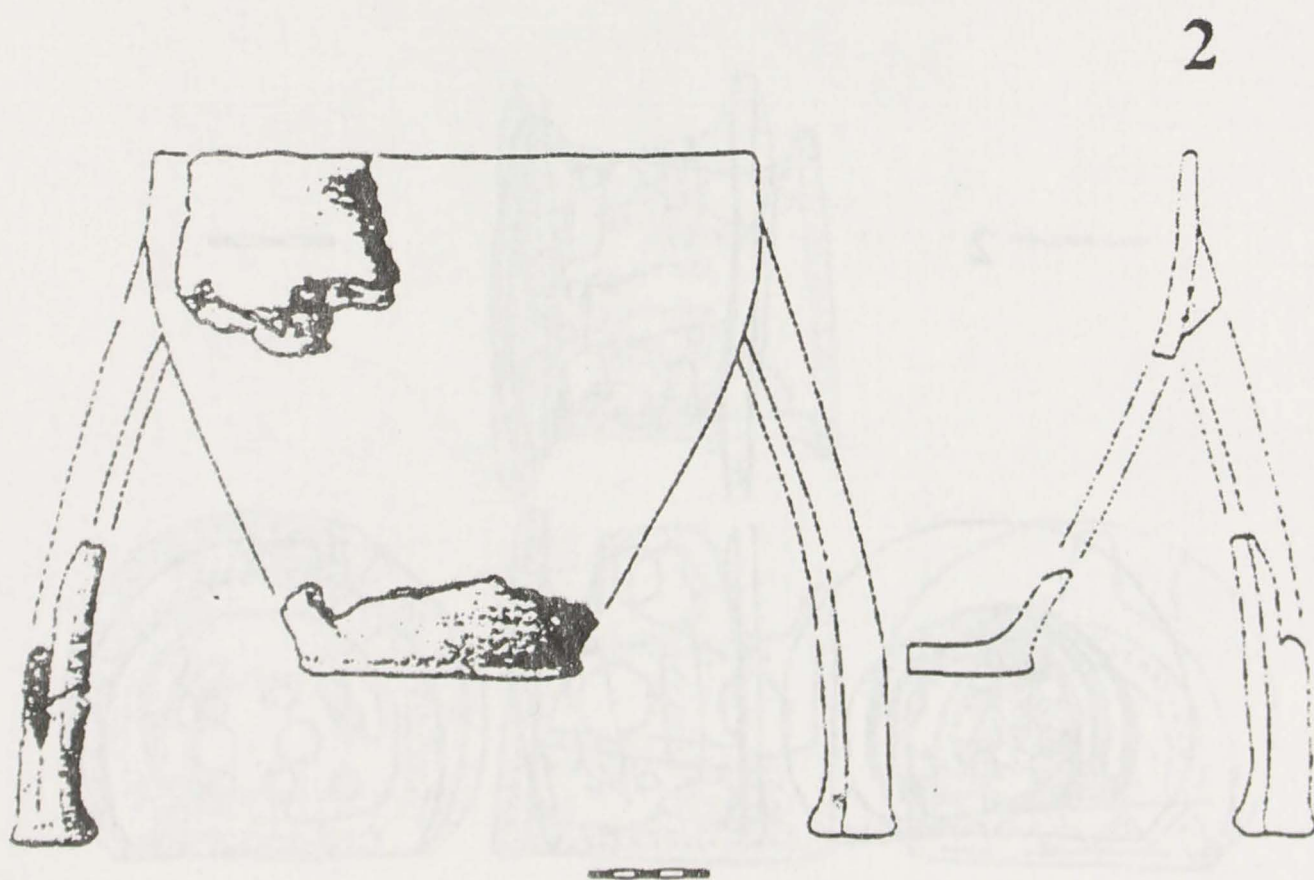
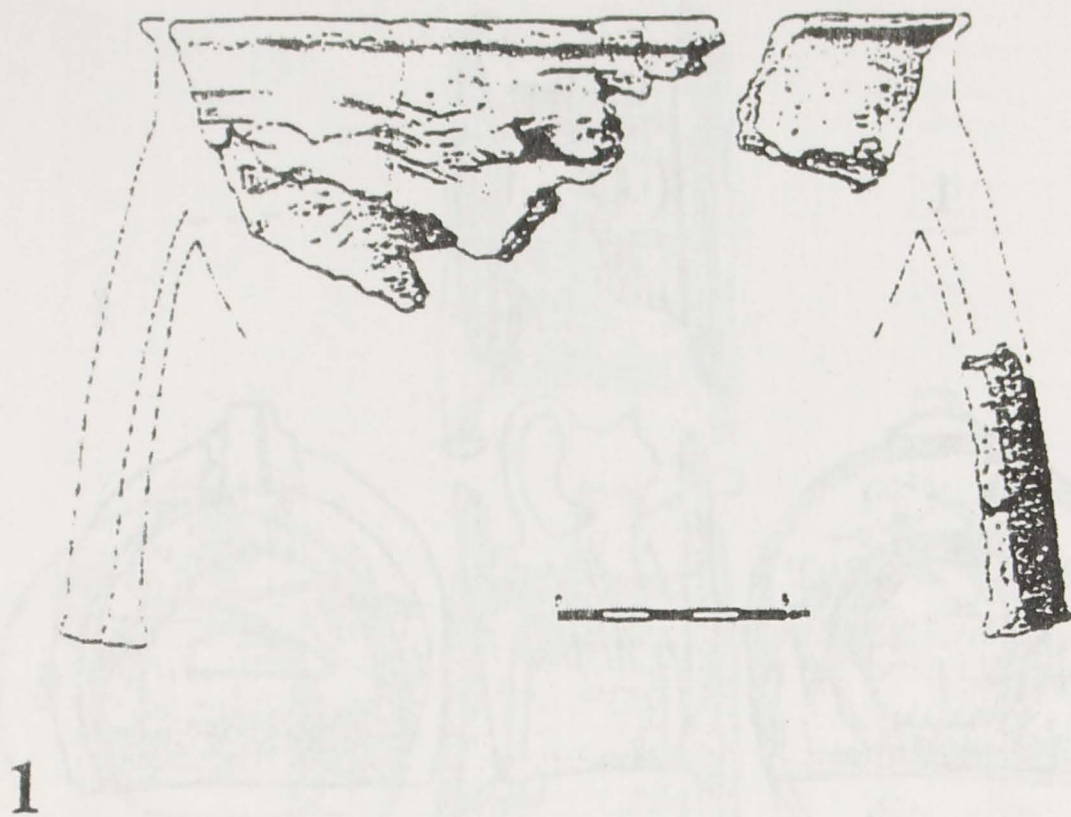


Fig. 31. 1 = Acâș; 2 = Pișcol-Nisipărie. Apud Kacsó.

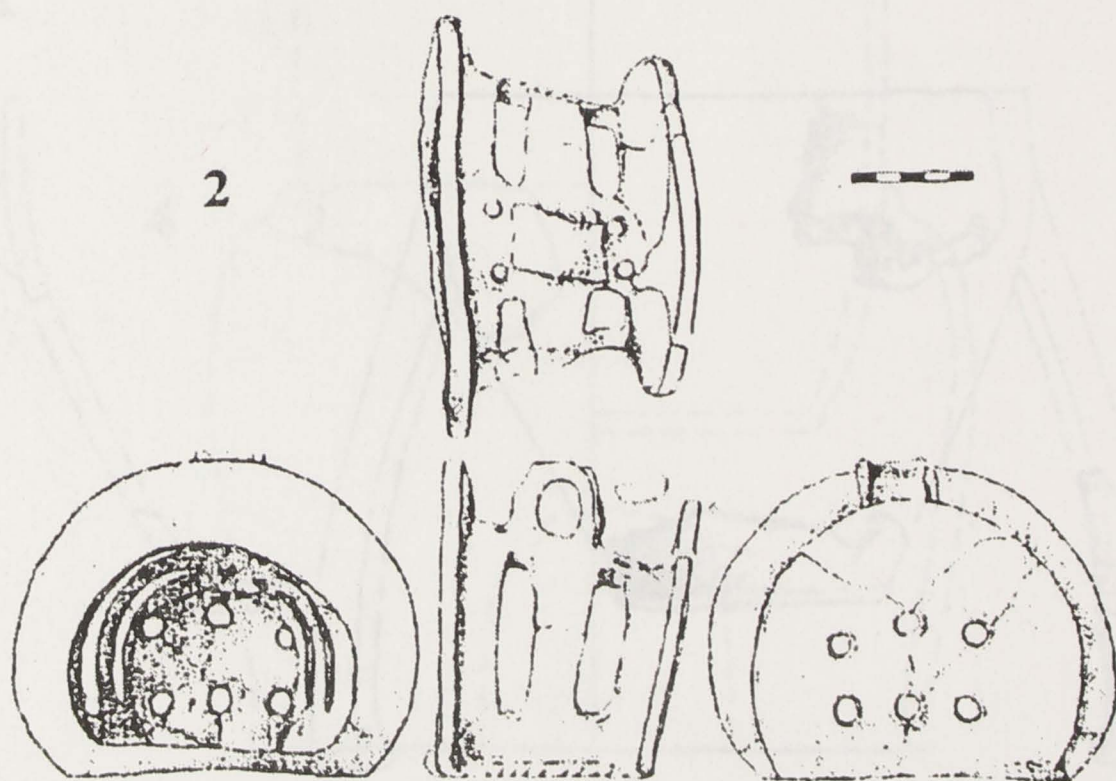
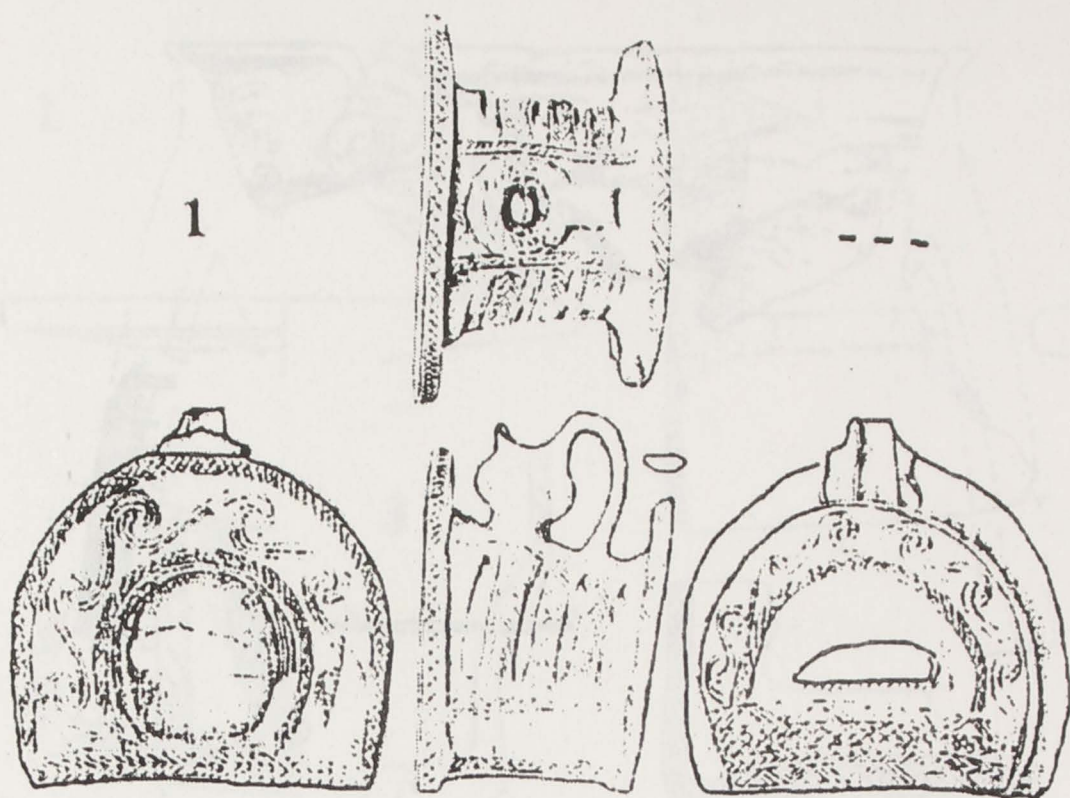


Fig. 32. Oarța de Sus. Apud Kacsó.

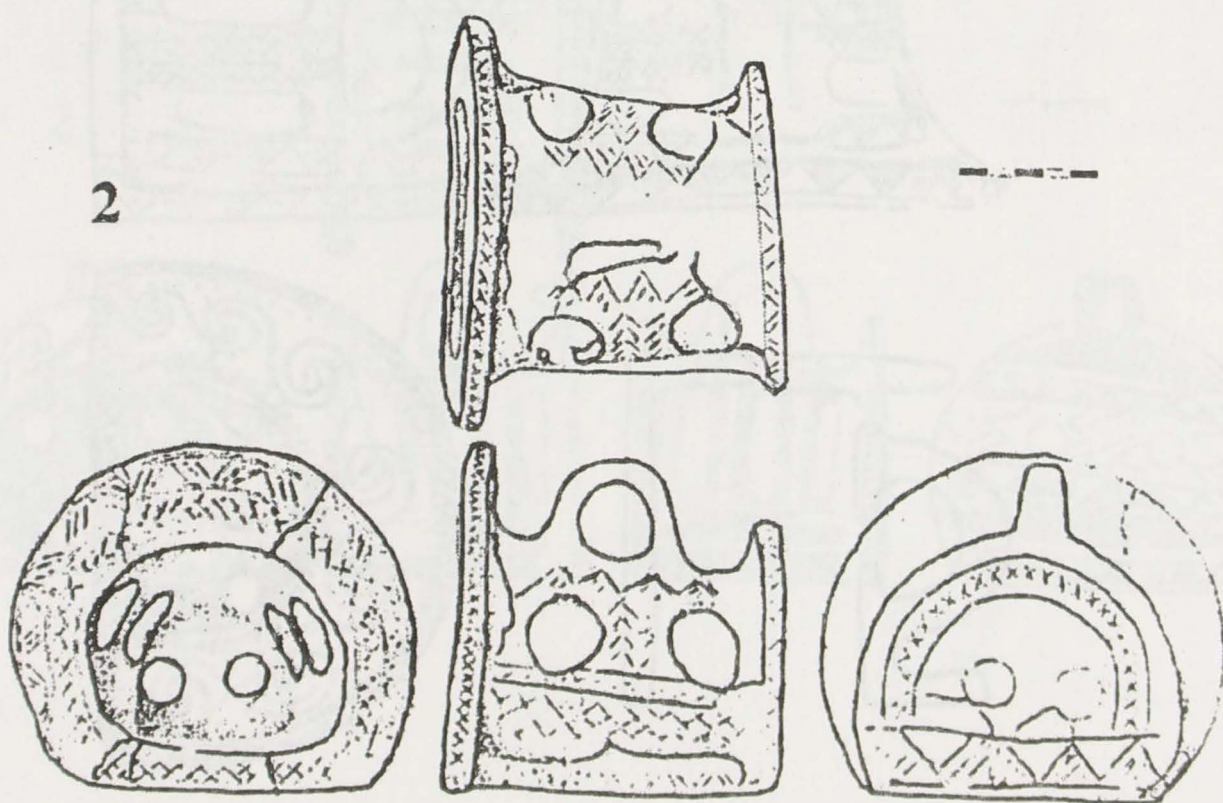
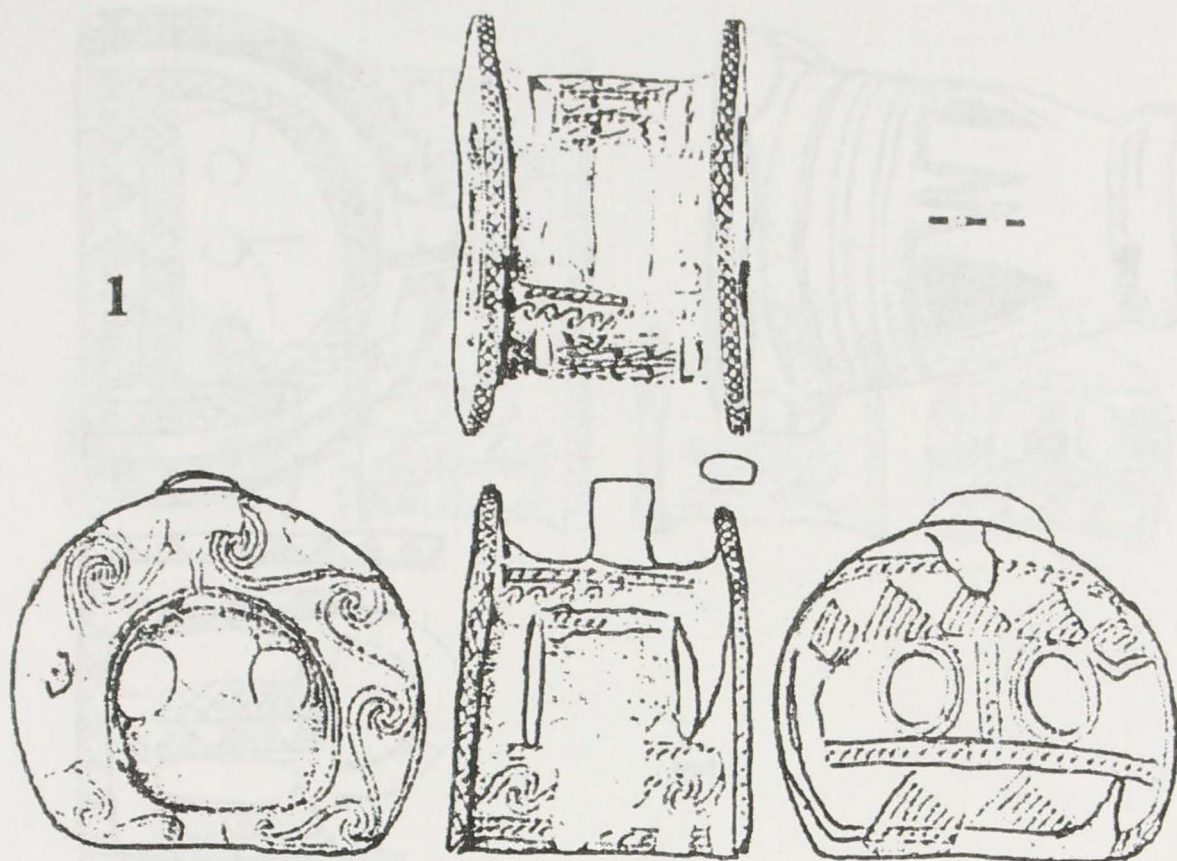


Fig. 33. Oarța de Sus. Apud Kacsó.

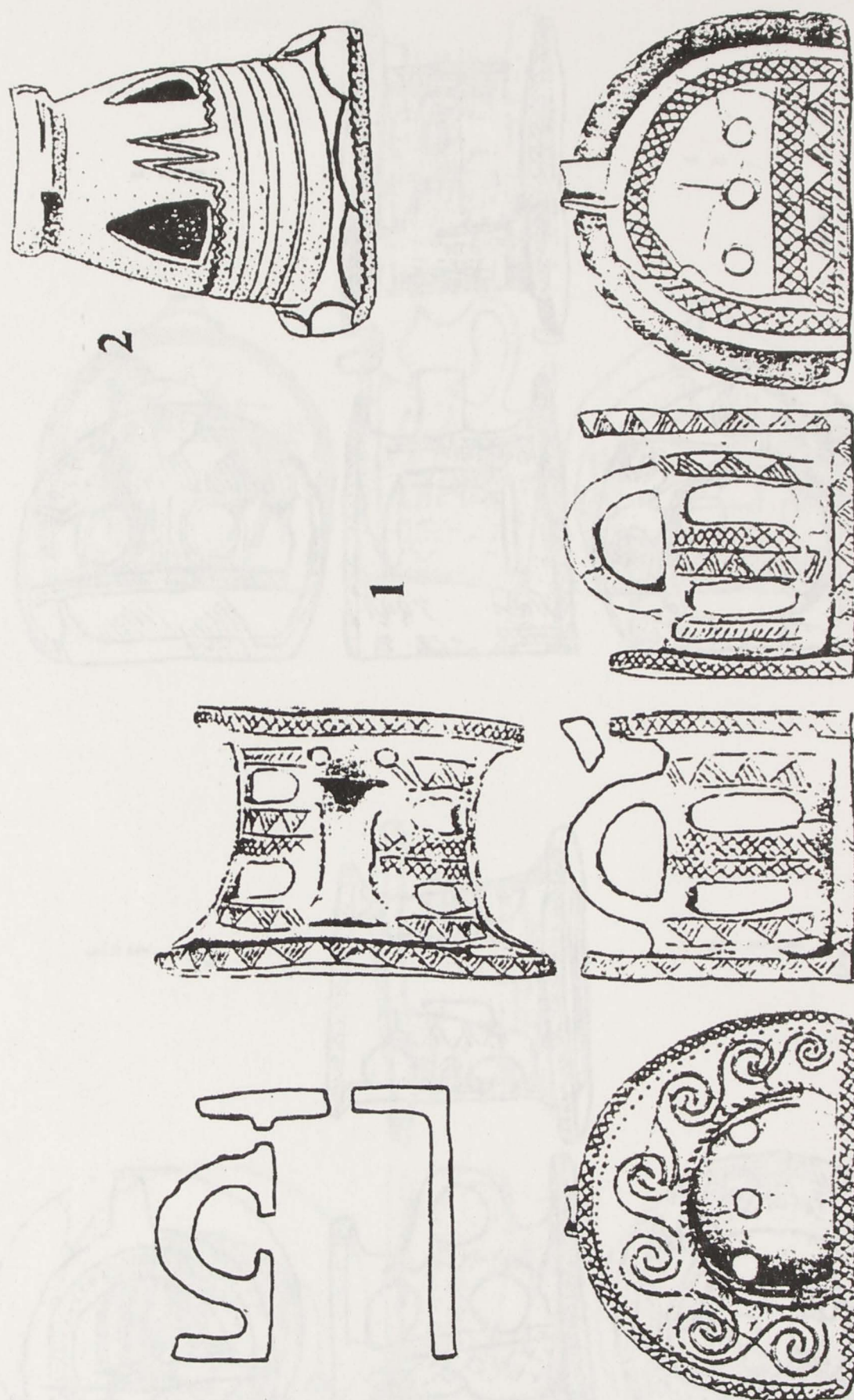
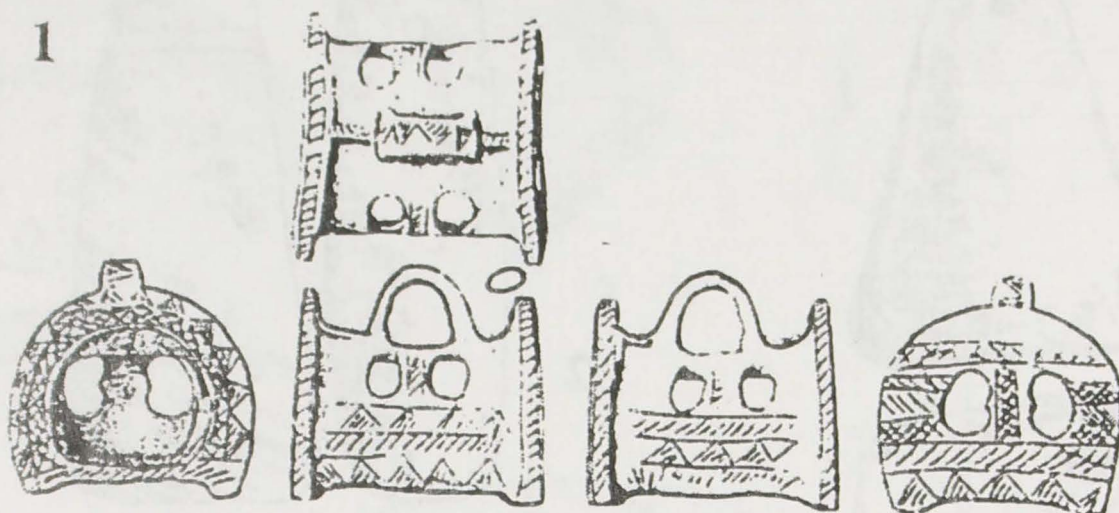


Fig. 34. 1 = Oarța de Sus; 2 = Cornești. 1 apud Kacsó, 2 apud Gumă.

1



2

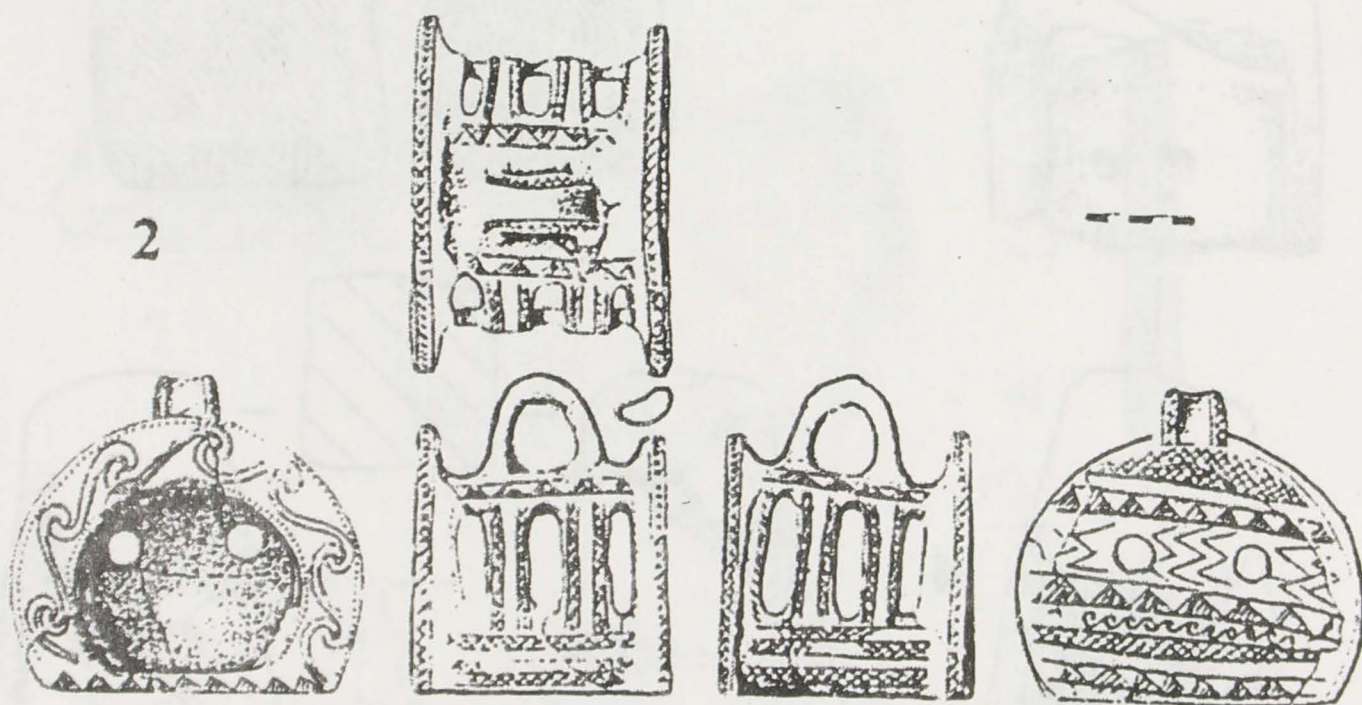


Fig. 35. Oarța de Sus. Apud Kacsó.

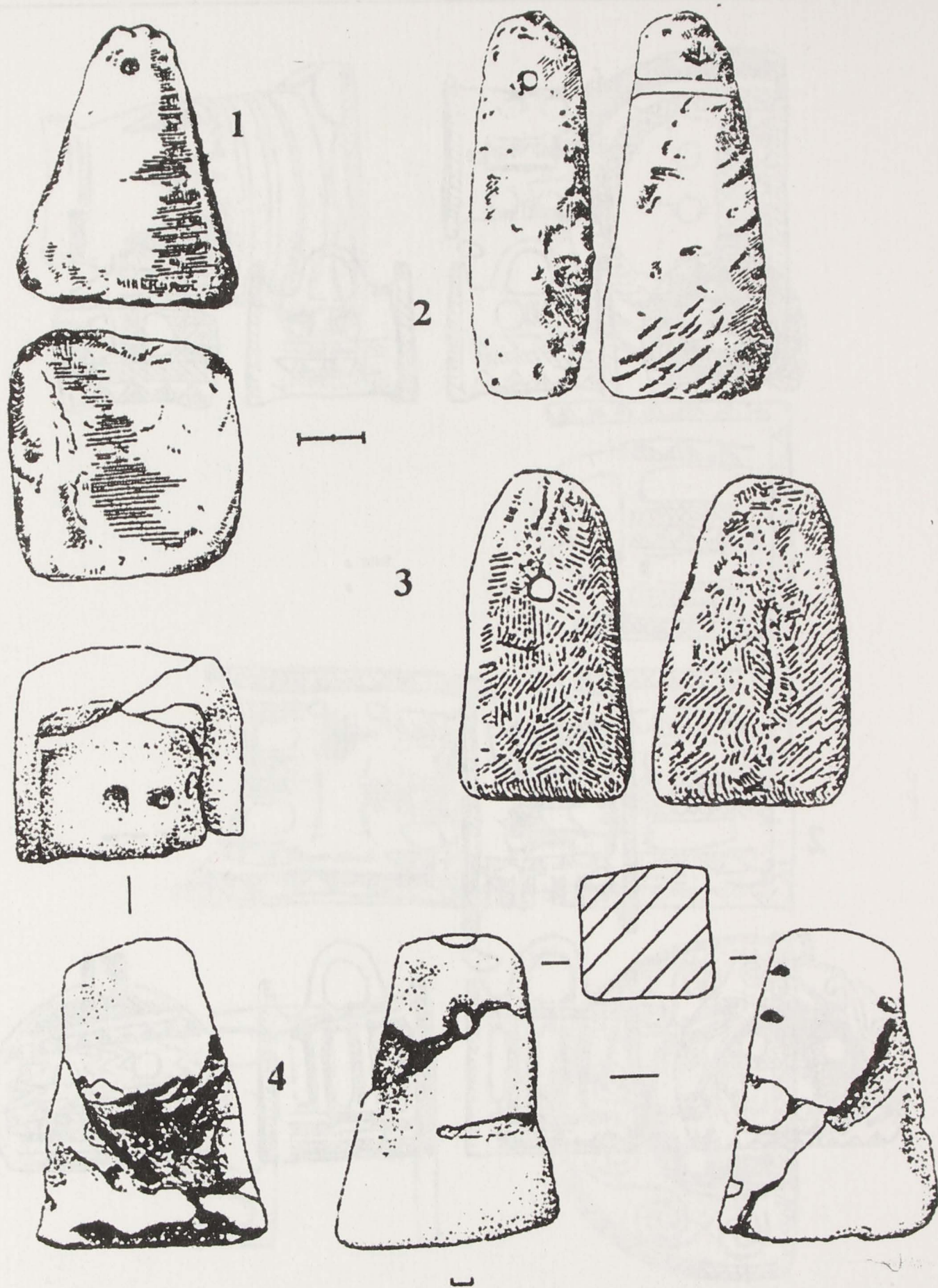


Fig. 36. 1 = Periam; 2 = Pecica; 3 = Odaia Turcului; 4 = Păuleni. 1-2 apud Soroceanu, 3 apud Alexandrescu, 4 apud Cavruc, Dumitroaia.

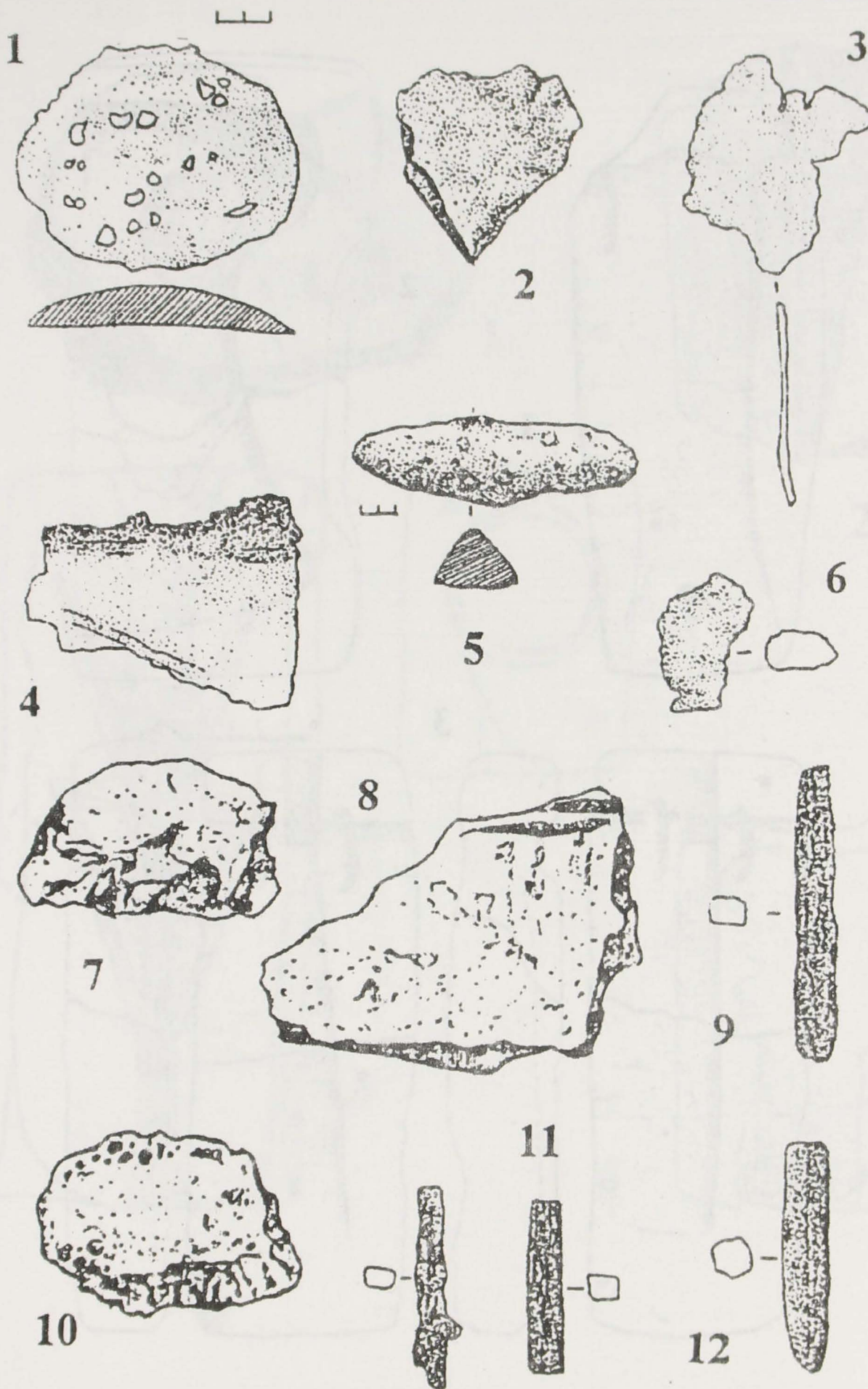


Fig. 37. 1 = Constanța-Palas; 2 = Ghermănești; 3, 6, 10-12 = Pecica; 4 = Turda; 5 = Panticeu; 7-9 = Carei. 1-2, 4-5 apud Petrescu-Dîmbovița, 3, 6, 10-12 apud Gogâltan, 7-9 apud Iercoșan.

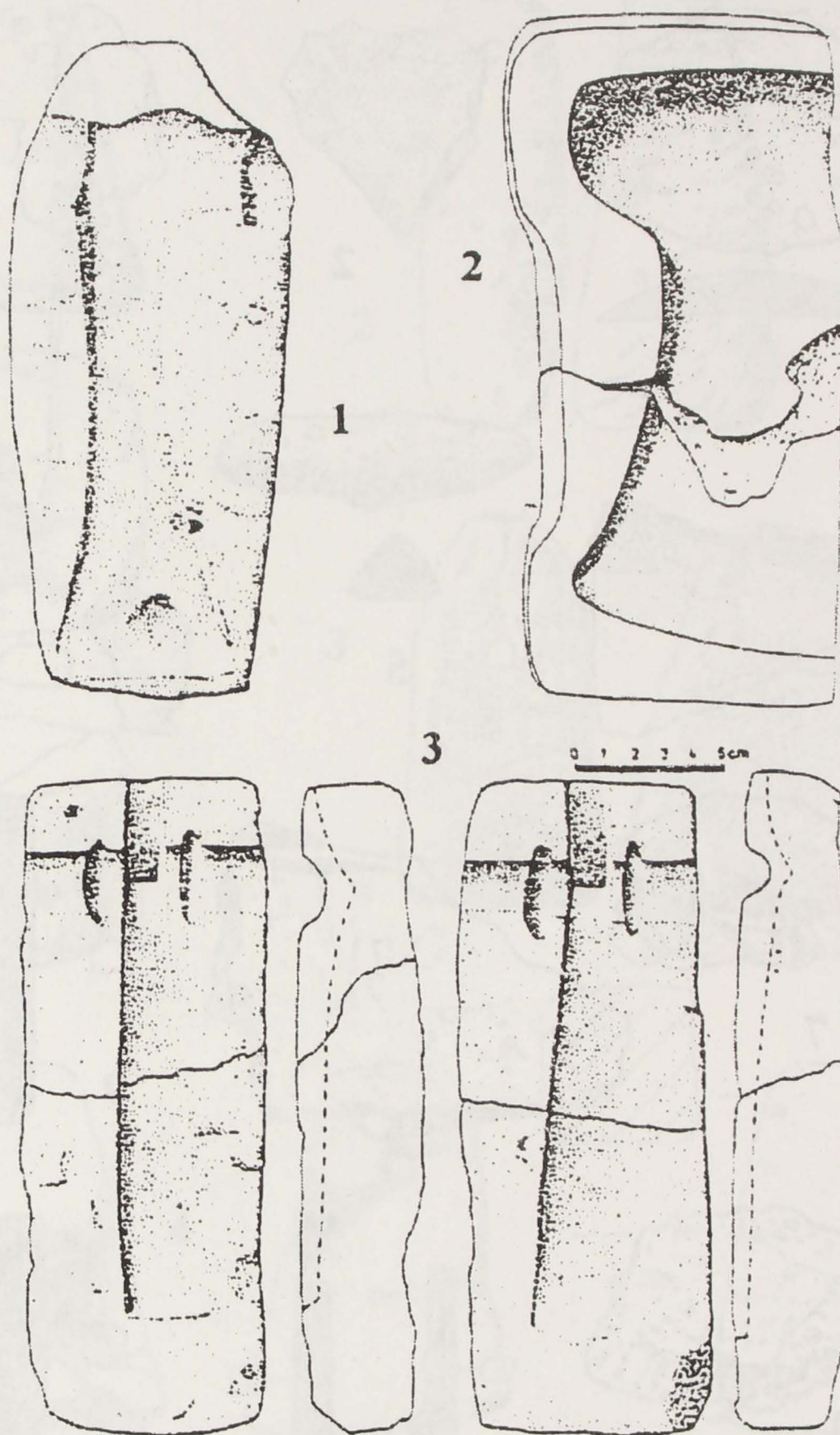


Fig. 38. 1 = Pecica; 2 = Lelicieni-Muntele cu piatră; 3 = Satchinez.
 1, 3 apud Vulpe, 2 apud Roman et al.

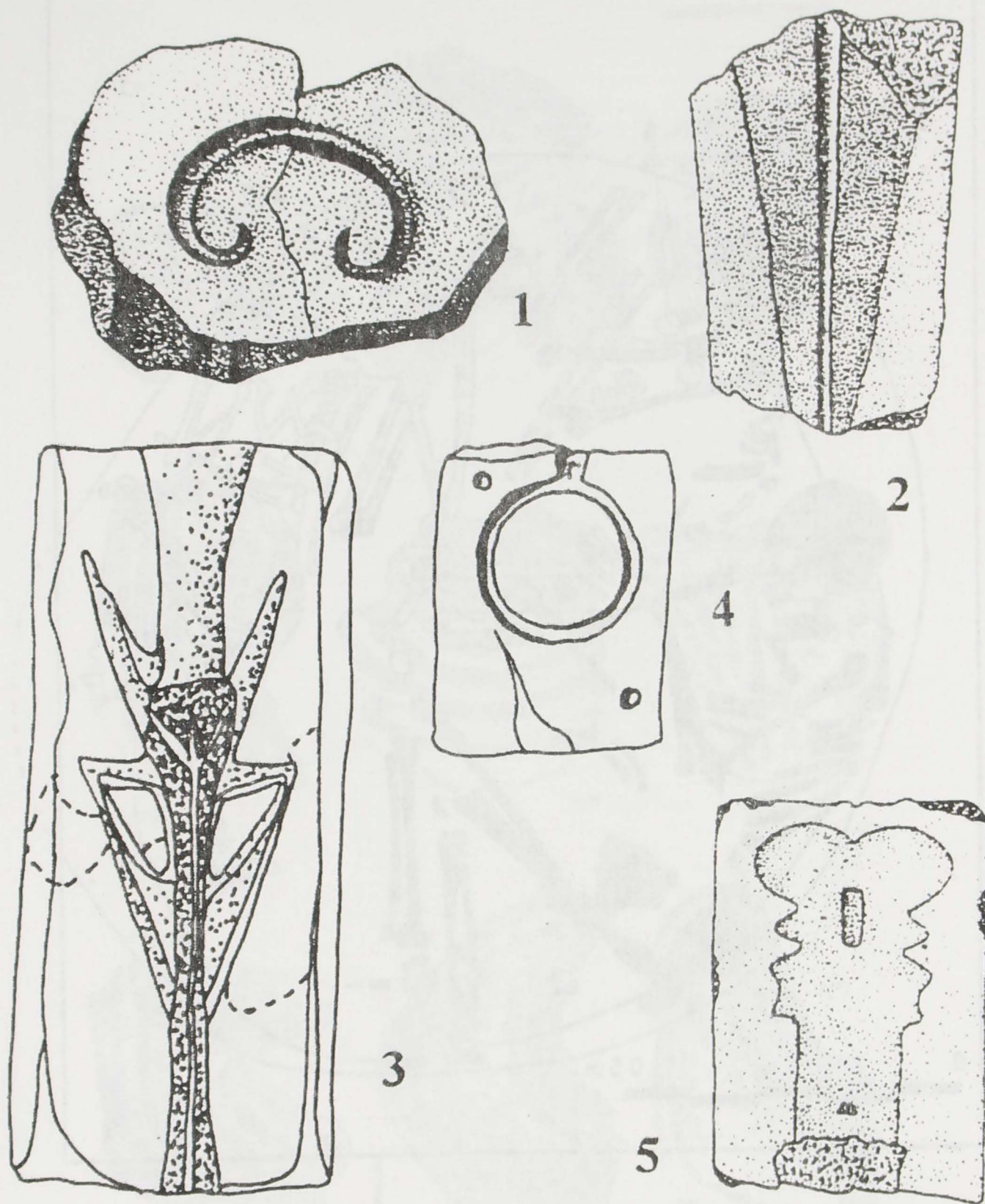


Fig. 39. 1 = Nicoleni; 2 = Satu Mare; 3-4 = Grădiștea-Coslogeni; 5 Pecica.
1 apud Székely, 2, 5 apud Gogâltan, 3-4 apud Neagu, Nanu.

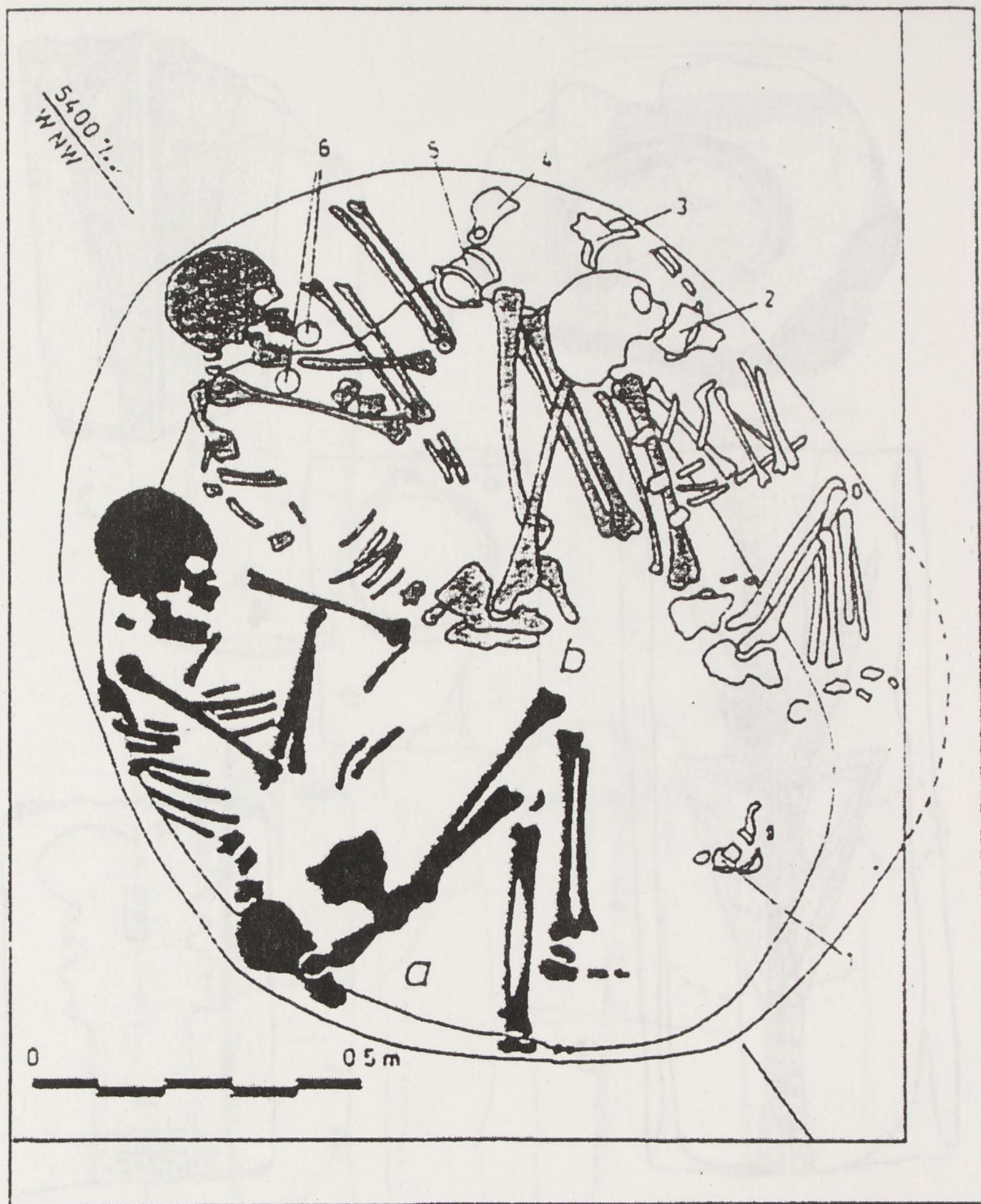


Fig. 40. Năeni-Zănoaga: Burial no. 1 (1 pyxidium, 2 cup, 3 traces of a bronze object, 4 cup, 5 stone axe, 6 big cup). Apud Motzoi-Chicideanu, Șandor-Chicideanu.

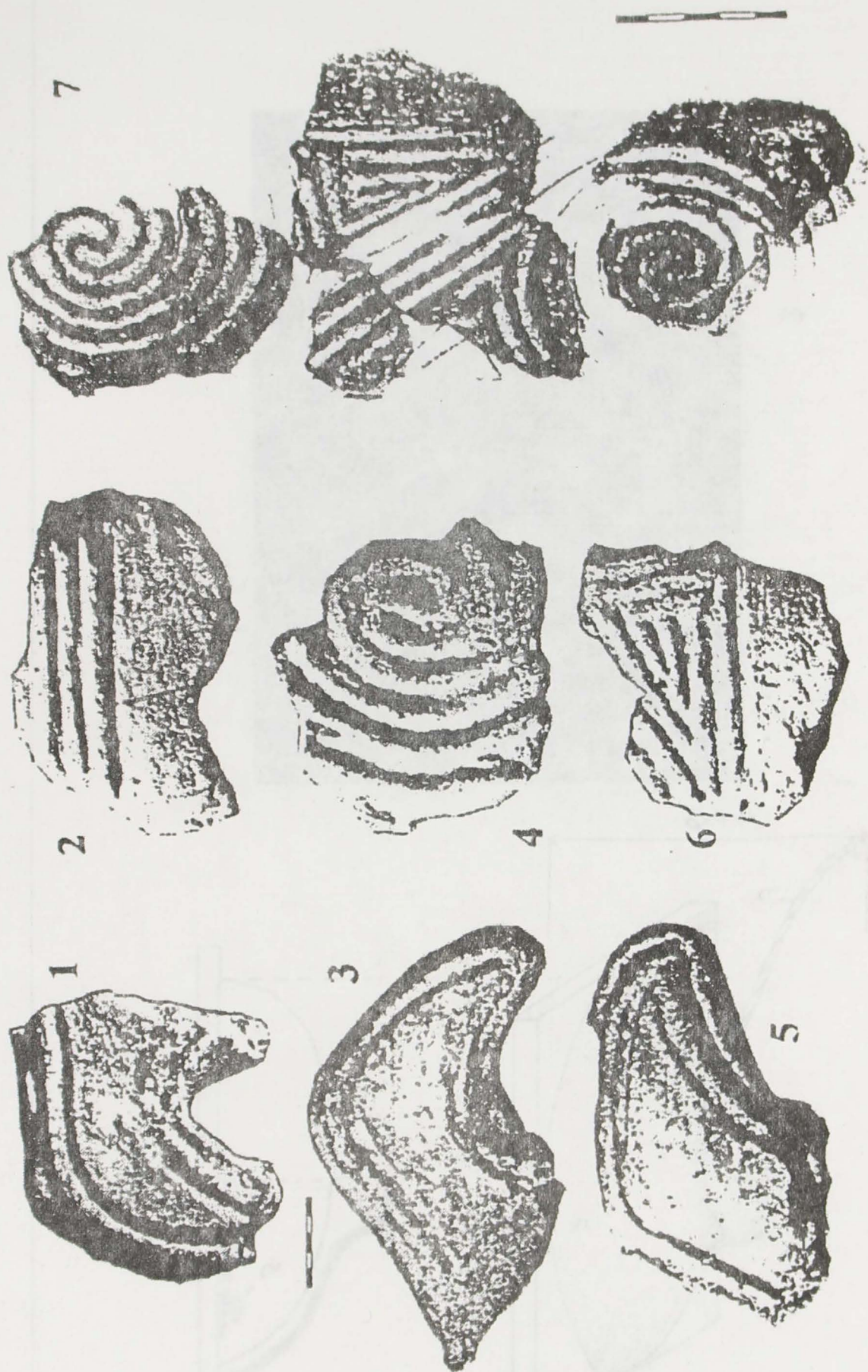


Fig. 41. Geoagiu de Sus: 1-6 = adobe fragments; 7 = reconstruction.
Apud Ciugudean.

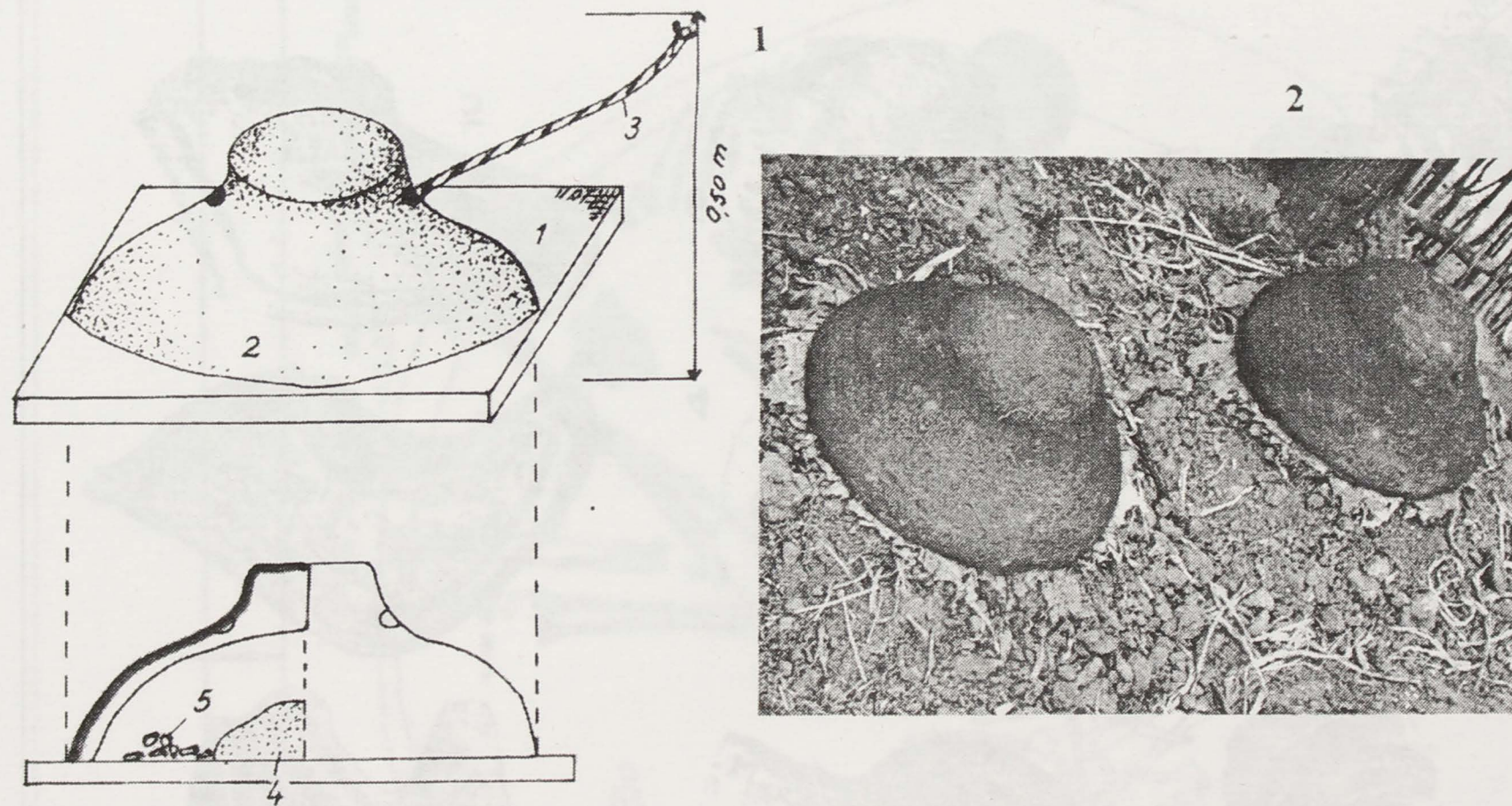


Fig. 42. Hearth with hemisphaerical detachable lid: 1 = reconstruction (1 hearth, 2 clay lid, 3 rope, 4 bread, 5 charcoals); 2 = contemporary hearth with hemisphaerical detachable lid at Dulceanca, 1972.

Photo by Dr. Maria Comşa.

