

”ALEXANDRU IOAN CUZA” UNIVERSITY OF IAȘI
FACULTY OF HISTORY
DOCTORAL SCHOOL

ABSTRACT

Funerary rite and ritual in the Province of Scythia

COORDINATOR

Prof. Univ. Dr. Lucrețiu Ion Bîrliba

CANDIDATE

Laura Gheorghiu

IAȘI
2024

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I.	Introduction	4
II.	The historiography of the problem	9
III.	Social and economic aspects reflected in the graves....	15
III.1.	<i>Objects with apotropaic value.....</i>	<i>15</i>
III.2.	<i>Marital status</i>	<i>20</i>
III.3.	<i>Professions</i>	<i>22</i>
III.4.	<i>Religion</i>	<i>25</i>
III.5.	<i>Origin</i>	<i>28</i>
III.6.	<i>Family members attitude towards death.....</i>	<i>30</i>
III.7.	<i>Economic aspects reflected in the graves.....</i>	<i>34</i>
IV.	The typology of the tombs.....	38
IV.1.	<i>Simple pit inhumation graves.....</i>	<i>42</i>
IV.2.	<i>Simple pit graves with external arrangements.....</i>	<i>66</i>
IV.3.	<i>Simple pit graves with internal arrangements</i>	<i>81</i>
IV.4.	<i>Cist tombs.....</i>	<i>103</i>
IV.5.	<i>Family tombs</i>	<i>114</i>
V.	The funerary inventory	121
V.1.	<i>Adornments</i>	<i>123</i>
V.2.	<i>Clothing accessories.....</i>	<i>137</i>
V.3.	<i>Toiletries.....</i>	<i>144</i>

<i>V.4. Pottery</i>	145
<i>V.5. Coins</i>	148
<i>V.6. Glassware</i>	150
<i>V.7. Lamps</i>	152
<i>V.8. Weapons and tools</i>	153
<i>V.9. Spindles</i>	154
<i>V.10. Pieces of flint</i>	155
<i>V.11. Textiles</i>	155
<i>V.12. Animal offerings</i>	155
<i>V.13. Other</i>	156
VI. Necropolises in the province of Scythia	159
<i>VI.1. Argamum</i>	159
<i>VI.2. Bizone</i>	161
<i>VI.3. Callatis</i>	163
<i>VI.4. Histria</i>	166
<i>VI.5. Tomis</i>	170
<i>VI.6. Aegyssus</i>	173
<i>VI.7. Beroe</i>	174
<i>VI.8. Capidava</i>	175
<i>VI.9. Carsium</i>	176
<i>VI.10. Dinogetia</i>	177
<i>VI.11. Halmyris</i>	178
<i>VI.12. Noviodunum</i>	178
<i>VI.13. Enisala</i>	180
<i>VI.14. Ibida</i>	181

<i>VI.15. Nufăru</i>	183
<i>VI.16. Pietreni</i>	184
<i>VI.17. Șipote</i>	184
<i>VI.18. Tropaeum Traiani</i>	185
<i>VI.19. Ulmetum</i>	185
Conclusions	187
Catalog of the tombs.....	193
Abbreviations.....	306
Illustration.....	307
Bibliography.....	346

The main purpose of the thesis is to draw conclusions corroborating the main characteristics of a tomb: the typology of the tombs, its location in relation to some landmarks, the orientation and position of the skeleton, types of funerary inventory categories and the location of objects, the number of skeletons in a grave, anthropological, economic and social characteristics.

The period between the IV-VI centuries is a complex one from the point of view of the penetration of migratory populations into the Lower Danube region, together with their social and material culture often reflected in funeral rituals.

The subject constitutes a complex and interdisciplinary field generating, in addition to funerary archaeology, the creation of special branches such as: paleoanthropology, paleodiet or bioarchaeology. The analysis of the archaeological and anthropological material resulting from the investigation of the tombs dated in the the Roman-Byzantine period can lead to some preliminary conclusions regarding the daily life, death and rites of passage, religion, social structure and principles of society in the province of Scythia.

The funeral ritual involves all the activities that take place from the moment of death until the ceremonies performed after the burial. All the funeral practices among the Romans were influenced by two notions: the first referred to the fact that the deceased person was a source of pollution for those around them, thus, acts of purification were necessary; the second problem was that if a deceased person remained unburied, his soul would never find peace.

Research on the necropolises of the Roman-Byzantine period in the province of Scythia has a long tradition, with a number of archaeological monographs, studies and articles on the necropolises of Greco-Roman and late Roman cities. Most of the studies present gaps, in the sense that simple enumerations of graves are provided, missing other significant details.

The main argument for which I chose this research topic is that the Romanian historiography dedicated to the funerary archeology of the province of Scythia is quite small in number in terms of interpretive approaches, most works have been limited only to the publication of information on the tombs from

archaeological point of view, without providing information of a symbolic, social or economic nature.

In order to carry out this analytical approach, we appealed to the reports of grave discoveries, as recorded in the reports of the Chronicle of Archaeological Research in Romania, the specialized studies on the necropolises of Dobrogea, some of the special studies in the field of funerary archeology published in abroad, articles published in specialized magazines and the results of the archaeological excavations in which I participated, thus, I worked on the basis of a sample consisting of 1467 tombs.

The paper begins with a review of the historiography related to the subject, both international and Romanian. Some of the most important writings that have as their theme funerary archeology and its branches have been mentioned, trying to highlight my own contribution to completing the information. For the area of the province of Scythia, we have listed the works in which information is indicated for each individual necropolis.

In the second chapter, is discussed that the social and economic situation of the deceased and his family can be intuited through the funeral rite he benefited from.

Archaeological discoveries have demonstrated that objects from burial inventories provide important information related to the social status of the deceased, generating data regarding occupation, marital status, trades, religion or origin. It is obvious that those who have not passed through some important stages of life, such as those who died at birth, those who died as children or those who are unmarried, benefit from different specific forms of burial that can also be reflected in the funeral inventory.

A part of the chapter is reserved for objects with apotropaic value that were often deposited in graves with the role of protecting the soul of the deceased. This type of object was frequently discovered in children's graves, a phenomenon that makes us understand their role in ancient communities in the context where infant mortality was increasing. Two main such objects were

the lunula pendants, worn especially by girls, and those of the bulla type, found, most often, in the case of boys.

I considered it important to include in the thesis some of the funerary inscriptions discovered in the territory of the province of Scythia. These found their place in the subsection dedicated to trades. In addition to the discovered inventory items and the anthropological study of the skeletons, the occupations they had during their lives are also communicated to us through the texts of the funerary epitaphs.

A controversial topic in the case of grave discoveries is the religion of the deceased. Thus, we know that with the spread of Eastern Cults, some changes in the funeral rite and ritual also appeared.

The adoption of pagan practices by Christians sometimes makes it difficult to attribute a grave as Christian. Thus, the main rules for classifying a grave as Christian are: the orientation V-E of the skeletons, the funeral rite of inhumation, the lack of a funeral inventory or the appearance of Christian symbols on it or the texts of funeral epitaphs.

Another problem that could be the subject of a separate study is that related to the origin of the deceased. From the end of the 1st century BC, migratory populations began to enter the province of Scythia, bringing with them some specific funerary practices, the best known being the practice of artificial deformation of the skull, such examples being found in the necropolises of Callatis, Ibida, Beroe, Histria and Noviodunum.

In order to determine some social characteristics, in addition to the typology of the grave, the inventory and funerary inscriptions, the position in which the deceased was laid must also be taken into account. The autochthons, most often, buried their deceased in the supine position, while the migrants are attributed the burials in which the skeletons were placed in a lateral or ventral decubitus position.

A subchapter is dedicated to the attitudes of family members in the face of death. The family of the deceased had the duty to commemorate him by erecting funerary monuments and writing texts on them. A funeral epitaph gives us important social data about the

deceased such as: name, profession, religion, age at which he died or family members.

Another occasion for commemorating the deceased was through celebrations dedicated to the dead. From ancient authors we learn that the most important of these were: Parentalia, Lemuria and Rosalia.

A complex topic is the one related to children's graves. Analyzing them, we conclude that the funeral rituals applied to children could be different from those of adults. From a legislative point of view, some funeral rites were restricted in order not to cause suffering to the parents, due to the increased infant mortality of that period. Some of the particularities found are the position in which they were deposited, *intra muros* burials, objects with apotropaic value or burials in ceramic vessels.

In order to draw conclusions about the economic situation of the deceased, we must take into account the funeral inventory from which he benefited, the type of the tomb, the funerary monument or the anthropological aspects relevant to the living conditions.

For the graves with a rich inventory, no constant can be determined regarding the funeral ritual, the typology of the graves varying from those in a simple pit with a coffin to those with a niche, or a cist.

Considering the publication of a larger number of tombs from the necropolises of Scythia, the need to create a general typology of them is felt, a subject researched in the third chapter of the thesis. This was done using as a basis the model proposed by Andrei Soficaru, chosen because it combines as completely as possible the archaeological data of the typologies previously formulated for the necropolises of Tomis, Callatis and Beroe.

The chapter begins with a brief presentation of the phenomena that led to the change of the funeral rite from cremation to that of inhumation, a relevant phenomenon for understanding migrations and the similarity between the practices of the first Christians and the pagan ones.

The order of discussing the graves was chosen according to the following criteria:

Black Sea necropolises: Argamum, Bizone, Callatis, Histria, Tomis.

Necropolises on the banks of the Danube: Aegyssus, Beroe, Capidava, Carsium, Dinogetea, Halmyris, Noviodunum.

Necropolises within the province: Enisala, Ibida, Nufăru, Pietreni, Șipote, Tropaeum Traiani, Ulmetum.

During the 4th-6th centuries, a diversity can be observed among the types of graves, with only the rite of inhumation existing, a rite that replaced cremation starting from the 3rd century BC.

Of the tombs that are the subject of this work, most come from the necropolis of Callatis, the large number being due to the monograph of the necropolis and the publication of the rescue excavations carried out in recent years.

Throughout the territory of the province of Scythia, graves in simple pits predominate, being the most accessible and least expensive form of burial.

The large number of cist graves are attributed to those from Callatis, where 237 graves belonging to this typology were discovered. The numerous cists at Callatis

are due to the stone quarry on the shores of Lake Mangalia, most of the stone used in the construction of the main monuments coming from that area.

The tombs with internal arrangements are predominantly found in the Tomis necropolis, being the tombs with an access chamber and a longitudinal or lateral opening. In the database used, there are 174 such tombs. This typology has been known since the beginning of the 3rd century and up to the 5th-6th centuries. It is considered to have its origins in the East, having been brought to the province with the spread of Oriental Cults.

In the case of *hypogeum* type tombs, the name of *family tombs* was used due to the fact that members of the same family were buried in such constructions over time. The most famous such tomb is the vault type with a room built of stone slabs bound with mortar.

The crypts of martyrs discovered in Niculițel, Halmyris and Tropaeum Traiani were also included in this typology.

Also, the cenotaph tombs were divided into typologies according to their arrangement. These graves

can be linked to the period of the end of the 4th century when the migration of the Visigoths took place in the Empire, as a result of which the population suffered. Some of the cenotaph graves are believed to belong to those who died in a battle that took place outside the province.

As for the position in which the deceased were placed, the supine one predominates, followed by the crouched one, found most often among children, and the ventral decubitus. For many of the skeletons, the position could not be determined due to the fact that they were not in anatomical connection or showed a poor state of preservation.

The most common orientation is W-E followed by: E-W, N-S, S-N, which makes us assume that Christian graves predominate.

Although graves in which a single skeleton was discovered predominate, there are also numerous graves with multiple burials, with up to 39 skeletons, most of them being discovered in cists or in hypogeum type tombs where several family members were buried over time. There are also many graves in which bones were

discovered that were not anatomically connected and did not benefit from anthropological analyses, thus, the number of skeletons cannot be specified with certainty.

The fourth chapter is dedicated to the funeral inventory, the belief in the continuation of life beyond the grave being the origin of the burial with the body of the objects that the deceased was supposed to need. It includes the pieces in the grave that were related to the person of the deceased or to some activities that he carried out during his life. All burials had a well-established purpose, nothing was placed by chance.

More than half of the graves benefited from funerary inventory. For those without an inventory, we must also take into account the phenomenon of grave looting that was quite common since Antiquity, thus, some of them could have originally had inventory items.

I believe that for a better understanding of the phenomenon of placing objects in graves, it is necessary to review the conceptions formulated throughout history in relation to the idea of the soul through thoughts such as those of Herodotus, Epicurus or Calvin.

As a main conclusion, we emphasize the fact that people who died before the age of maturity benefited from a richer funeral inventory compared to those who had passed this stage of life. Also, those who did not pass through some important stages of life, benefit from different specific forms of burial including the inventory discovered in the graves. This category includes: children, women who died in childbirth, unmarried people or those who suffered violent deaths

Analyzing the graves in which the funeral inventory consisted of a single earring, we conclude that the phenomenon is related to premature death, before marriage, the proof being the anthropological analyzes that revealed the fact that the majority were women who died around the age of adolescence.

Changes in funerary order are also evidenced in the objects of the funerary inventory. If initially the phylacteries contained Gnostic or Orphic texts with an imprecatory or apotropaic character, taken over by Christians, they housed fragments of relics or holy objects. Another example is the obol of Charon, the

practice of depositing coins in tombs has survived to this day.

The funerary inventory was divided into 11 categories (Adornments, clothing accessories, toiletries, ceramics, coins, glassware, weapons and tools, spindles, flint objects, textiles, animal offerings and others) for which the type was specified the grave in which it was discovered.

The last chapter contains a brief presentation of the necropolises in the province of Scythia including the research history and various statistics regarding the conclusions we reached for each of them.

The work was completed by a catalog of the tombs, in the composition of which a unitary sheet was used to present them, inserting the information that we considered essential in the study of a necropolis, such as: the number of the tombs, the typology of the tombs, the number of discovered skeletons, position, orientation, burial inventory and bibliography.

Selective bibliography

ACHIM 2015 – I. Achim, *Churches and Graves of the Early Byzantine Period*, Studies in Funerary Archaeology: Vol. 7, *Function and Meaning in Ancient Funerary Practices*, Edited by J. Rasmus Brandt, M. Prusac and H. Roland, Oxbow Books, Oxford, 2015, p. 287-342.

ALEXANDRESCU 1966 – P. Alexandrescu, *Necropola tumulară. Săpături 1955-1961*, Histria II, Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, București, 1966.

ALEXANDRESCU 1971 – P. Alexandrescu, *Observații asupra organizării spațiale în necropola Histriei*, în Peuce, S.V., II, 1971, p. 27-37.

ALEXANDRU, CONSTANTIN, IONESCU 2017 – A. Nicolae, C. Robert, I. Mihai, *Despre o zonă privilegiată a necropolei Callatiene*, în Pontica, 50, 2017, p. 215-242.

APARASCHIVEI, BILAVSCHI 2009 – D. Aparaschivei, G. Bilavschi, *Date istorice și arheologice de la Isaccea – Noviodunum (jud. Tulcea). Rezultate preliminare ale cercetărilor din sectorul curtină 1 și 2*, în *Arheologia Moldovei*, XXXII, 2009, p. 183-200.

APARASCHIVEI, IACOB, SOFICARU, PARASCHIV 2012 – D. Aparaschivei, M. Iacob, A. Soficaru, D. Paraschiv, *Aspects of everyday life in Scythia Minor reflected in some funerary discoveries from Ibida (Slava Rusă, Tulcea County)*, in *BAR International Series 2410*, 2012, p. 169-182.

BALTUSSEN 2009 – H. Baltusse, *Personal Grief and Public Mourning in Plutarch's Consolation to His Wife*, in *American Journal of Philology* 130, 2009, p. 67–98.

BARBU 1971 – V. Barbu, *Din necropolele Tomisului. I. Tipuri de morminte din epoca romană*, în *SCIV*, 1, 1971, p. 47-68.

BARBU 1977 – V. Barbu, *Necropole de epocă romană în orașele Pontului stâng; caracteristici, tipologie*, în *Pontica*, 10, 1977, p. 203-214.

BARNEA 1977 – I. Barnea, *Les monuments paléochrétiens de Roumanie*, Pontificio Istituto Di Archeologia Cristiana, Roma, 1977, 54-56.80-81.

BARNEA 1978 – I. Barnea, *Bazilica „simplă”, (A) de la Tropaeum Traiani*, în *Pontica*, 11, 1978, p. 181-187.

BAUMANN 1972 – V. H. Baumann, *Considerații preliminare asupra bazilicii creștine din satul Niculițel (jud. Tulcea)*, în *Pontica*, 5, 1972, p. 547-562.

BAUMANN 2015 – V. H. Baumann, *Sângele martirilor*, Editura Dobrogea, Constanța, 2015.

BĂJENARU, DOBRINESCU 2008 – C. Băjenaru, C. Dobrinescu, *Săpături de salvare în necropola romană a Tomisului*, în *Pontica* XLI, 2008, p. 189-208.

BENȚA 1999 – C. Bența, *Obolul lui Charon în Dobrogea*, în *Arheologia Moldovei*, Vol. 22, 1999, p. 85-116.

BODEL 2014 – J. Bodel, *The life and death of ancient Roman cemeteries: Living with the dead in imperial Rome, Reconstruction and the Historic City: Rome and Abroad - an interdisciplinary approach*, edited by C. Häuber, F. Schütz and G. M. Winder, 2014, p.177-195.

BOLLOK 2013 – Á. Bollók, *Apotropaion and Burial in Early Byzantium: Some Preliminary Considerations*, in *Bibliotheca Byzantina* 1, 2013, p. 227-241.

BOLOG, BOUNEGRU 2012 - A. C. BOLOG, G. BOUNEGRU, *About the Bulla Type Pendants Revealed at Apulum*, in *Terra Sebus. Acta Muzei Sabesiensis*, 4, 2012, p. 225-236.

BOND 2013 – S. E. Bond, *Mortuary Workers, the Church, and the Funeral Trade in Late Antiquity*, in

Journal of Late Antiquity, Vol. 6, No. 1, 2013, p. 135-151.

BONEV, VASILEVA, MADZHAROV, DIMITROVA, PEEVSKI 2022 – V. BONEV, E. VASILEVA, K. MADZHAROV, Y. DIMITROVA, R. PEEVSKI, *Archaeological excavations at Cape Chirakman / Bizone, Kavarna 2016–2021*, in *Pontica*, LV, 2022, p. 55-118.

BORGOGNINI, PACCIANI 1993 – T. Borgognini, S. E. Pacciani, *I resti umani nello scavo archeologico. Metodiche di recupero e studio*, Bulzoni Editore, Roma, 1993.

BUCOVALĂ, PAȘCA 1992 – M. Bucovală, C. Pașca, *Cercetări în necropola romană de vest a Tomisului*, *Pontica*, 25, 1992, p. 241-272.

BUCOVALĂ 1993 – M. Bucovală, *Cavou din secolul IV d. Chr. descoperit în necropola de vest a Tomisului*, *Pontica*, 26, 1993, p. 207-211.

BUZOIANU, BĂRBULESCU 2012 – L. Buzoianu, M. Bărbulescu, *Tomis. Comentariu istoric și arheologic*, Editura Ex Ponto, Constanța, 2012.

CARVALHEIRO 2020 – P. V. Carvalho, *Material Culture as Amulets: Magical Elements and the Apotropaic in Ancient Roman World*, in *Philosophy Study*, Vol. 10, No. 8, 2020, p. 492-502.

CEACALOPOL, FLORESCU 1960 – G. Ceacalopol, G. Florescu, R. Florescu, *Săpăturile de la Capidava*, în *MCA*, 7, 1960, p. 571-581.

CHACHEVA 2015 – M. Chacheva, *Trinkets for the Afterlife: Personal Ornaments from Graves of Children in the Necropolis of Apollonia Pontica*, in *Archaeologia Bulgarica*, XIX, 1, 2015, p. 1-21.

CHARLIER, COSTEA, BARALIS 2009 – P. Charlier, G. Costea, A. Baralis, *Étude anthropologique et*

paléopathologique d'un sujet d'Aegissus (III-IV S.AP. J.-C Roumanie), in Peuce, S.N., VII, 2009, p. 337-346.

CHELUȚĂ-GEORGESCU 1974 – N. Cheluță-Georgescu, *Morminte elenistice și romane descoperite în zona de nord și nord-vest a necropolei callatiene*, în Pontica, 7, 1974, p. 169-189.

CHELUȚĂ-GEORGESCU 1979 – N. Cheluță-Georgescu, *Cercetări efectuate în necropola romană Capidava. Raport preliminar*, în MCA XIII, 1979, p. 178-182.

CHERA, LUNGU, COVACEF 2012 – C. Chera, V. Lungu, Z. Covacef, *Bijuterii antice din aur din colecțiile Muzeului de Istorie Națională și Arheologie Constanța*, Ex Ponto, Constanța, 2012.

CÎRJAN 1970 – C. Cîrjan, *Un mormânt creștin descoperit la Tomis*, în Pontica, 3, 1970, p. 383-389.

COJA 1971 – M. Coja, *Cercetări pe malul lacului Razelm, epoca romană și romano-bizantină*, în *Peuce*, 2, 1971, p. 179-190.

CONDURACHI 1960 – E. Condurachi et. al., *Șantierul arheologic Histria*, în *MCA*, VII, 1960, p. 9-102.

CONDURACHI 1962 – E. Condurachi et. al., *Șantierul arheologic Histria*, în *MCA*, VIII, 1962, p. 383-438.

CORMACK 2004 – S. Cormack, *The Space of Death in Roman Asia Minor*, Phoibos Verlay, Viena, 2004.

COSTEA 2008 – G. Costea, I. Costea (Zvînca), *A Tomb From The 4th Century A.D. Discovered In Tulcea (Aegyssus)*, în *Peuce*, S.N. VI, 2008, p. 297-304.

CREȚU 2022 – C. Crețu, *Practici funerare în mormintele de epocă romană și romano-bizantină de la Histria (secolele II-VII p. Chr.)*, Mega, Cluj Napoca, 2022.

DABÎCĂ 2014 – M. Dabîcă, *The Histria Sud Sector. Recent Archaeological Research on an „Imposing, Early Roman Public Building*, în MCA, 10, p. 133-156.

DUMEA 2016 – E. Dumea, *Creștinismul antic în Scythia Minor (Dobrogea)*, Sapientia, Iași.

ECKARDT 2018 – H. Eckardt, *The sound of magic? Belle in Roman Britain*, in Britannia, 49, 2018, p. 179-210.

ERKER 2011 – D. Erker, *Gender and Roman Funeral Ritual*, in V. Hope, J. Huskinson (Hrsg.), *Memory and Mourning in Ancient Rome*, Oxbow, 2011, p. 40-60.

FLORESCU, CEACALOPOL 1960 – G. Florescu, R. Florescu, G. Ceacalopol, *Săpăturile de la Capidava*, în MCA, 7, 1960, p. 571-581.

FLORESCU 1965 – R. Florescu, *Capidava*, Editura Meridiane, București, 1965.

GATEV 2011 – I. Gatev, *Rescue Excavations of Roman and Early Christian Cemetery in Kavarna (Ancient Bizone)*, in Niš and Byzantium, 2011, p. 227-236.

GAVRILĂ 1994 – S. Gavrilă, *Rituri și ritualuri funerare practicate în necropola romană de la Noviodunum, în Pontica*, 27, 1994, p. 91-105.

GUDEA 2010 – N. Gudea, *Despre un inel de argint bizantin de căsătorie de la Durostorum (Moesia Secunda)*, în *Theologia catholica*, 4, 2010, p. 11-17.

HAMPARTŪMIAN 1971 – N. Hampartūmian, *Contribuții la topografia cetății Histria în epoca romano-bizantină. Considerații generale asupra necropolei din sectorul Bazilicii „extra muros.”*, în *SCIV* 22, 1971, p. 199-215.

HUNTINGTON, METCALF 1979 – R. Huntington, P. Metcalf, *Celebrations of Death. The Anthropology of Mortuary Ritual*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, London, New York, Melbourne, 1979.

IACOB 2013 – M. Iacob, *Moesia Inferior între Orient și Occident. Identitatea culturală și economică a provinciei în contextul lumii romane*, Editura Muzeului Național al Literaturii Române, București, 2013.

ICONOMU 1969 – C. Iconomu, *Noi morminte paleocreștine la Mangalia*, în *Pontica*, 2, 1969, p. 81-110.

INDGJERD 2014 – H. INDGJERD, *The Grave Goods of Roman Hierapolis. An Analysis of the Finds from Four Multiple Burial Tombs*, Oslo, 2014.

IONESCU, UNGUREANU 2005 – M. Ionescu, M. Ungureanu, *Mangalia, jud. Constanța Punct: str. Muncitorului nr. 10*, CCA, 2005, 112.

IONESCU, RADU 2014 – M. Ionescu, L. Radu, *Callatis. Cercetări arheologice în necropola romano-bizantină*, *Pontica*, XLVII, 2014, p. 221-232.

IVANOV 2008 – M. Ivanov, *Puela vel mulier? Virgo vel uxor? Burials Yielding a Single Earring Dated Back to the Period from the 1st until the 5th Century Ad*, *Studia in honorem Aleksandrae Dimitrova-Milcheva*, Sofia, 2008, p. 287-299.

KING 2020 – W. C. King, *The Ancient Roman Afterlife: Di Manes, Belief, and the Cult of the Dead*, Univeristy of Texas Press, Chicago, 2020.

LUNGU, CHERA-MĂRGINEANU 1982 – V. Lungu, C. Chera-Mărgineanu, *Contribuții la cunoașterea unei necropole creștine a Tomisului (I)*, în *Pontica*, XV, 1982, p. 175-199.

LUNGU, CHERA MĂRGINEANU 1986 – V. Lungu, C. Chera-Mărgineanu, *Noi morminte de epocă romano-bizantină la Tomis*, în *MCA*, XVI, 1986, p. 145-154.

LUNGU 1999 – V. Lungu, *Argamum. Necropola tumulară. Săpăturile arheologice din anii 1988, 1990-1996*, în *MCA, S.N.*, I, 1999, p. 165-174.

LUNGU 2000 – V. Lungu, *Creștinismul în Scythia Minor în contextul vest-pontic*, T. C. SEN, Constanța, 2000.

MĂNUCU-ADAMEȘTEANU 1980 – M. Mănucu-Adameșteanu, *Un mormânt germanic din necropola cetății Argamum*, în SCIVA, 31, 2, 1980, p. 311-320.

MĂNUCU-ADAMEȘTEANU 1984 – M. Mănucu-Adameșteanu, *Necropola daco-romană de la Enisala, comuna Sarichioi*, jud. Tulcea, în Peuce, S.V., IX, p. 31-39.

MIRIȚOIU, NICOLAESCU-PLOPȘOR – N. Mirițoiu, D. Nicolaescu-Plopșor, *Analiza antropologică a osemintelor descoperite în cripta bazei „simple”, (A) de la Tropaeum Traiani*, în Pontica, XI, 1978, p. 189-207.

MIRIȚOIU, SOFICARU 2003, N. Mirițoiu, A. D. Soficaru, *Studiul antropologic al osemintelor din cavoul*

romano-bizantin „Tudorca”, de la Slava Rusă (antica Ibida), în PEUCE S.N. I (XIV), p. 511 – 530.

MIRIȚOIU 2011 – N. Mirițoiu, *Cranii deformate din necropola de la Piatra Frecăței*, în PEUCE, S.N. IX, 2011, p. 539 – 574.

MIRIȚOIU 2015 – N. Mirițoiu, *Arhitectura craniană și deformarea artificială intenționată a craniului (Cranii deformate din România)*, SCIVA, 66, nr. 3–4, București, p. 365–375.

MIRON 2008 – C. Miron, *Noi considerații despre mormântul pictat de la Tomis*, în Peuce, S.N. VI, 2008, p. 283 - 296

MITROI, ȘOVA 2014 – O. Mitroi, C. Șova, *Noi descoperiri din necropolele Tomisului (2014)*, în Pontica, 47, 2014, p. 203-219.

MORRIS 1960 – I. Morris, Ian, *Death-Ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1960.

MUREȘAN 2016 – L. M. Mureșan, I. Mureșan, *Roman Law Concerning Funerary Monuments. Case Study Based on some Funerary Epigraphs belongind to Military Personnel on both Sides of the Middle and Lower Danube*, în *Banatica*, 26, 2016, p. 119-133.

NICOLAE 2010 – C. Nicolae, *Stadiul cercetărilor arheologice de la Hârșova, jud. Constanța. Contribuțiia harta arheologică a localității*, în *Pontica* 43, 2010, p. 221-249.

NICOLAESCU-PLOPȘOR, CEACALOPOL 1960 – D. Nicolaescu-Plopșor, G. Ceacalopol, *Contribuții istorico-arheologice și antropologice cu privire la problema sclavajului în teritoriul Capidavei*, în *Probleme de antropologie*, V, 1960, p. 97-111.

OPRIȘ, POTÂRNICHE 2014 – I. C. Opriș, T. Potârniche, *Piese ornamentale inedite de la Capidava*, în *Pontica*, XLVII, 2014, p. 296-297.

OPRIȘ 2018 – I. C. Opriș, *Începuturile cercetării arheologice la Capidava. Documente inedite*, în *Pontica*, 51, 2018, p. 59-80

OȚA 2013 – L. Oța, *Lumea funerară în Moesia inferioară: (secolele I-III p. Chr.)*, Editura Istros a Muzeului Brăilei, Brăila, 2013.

PANAITESCU 1977 – A. Panaitescu, *Mormânt de epocă romană la Tomis*, *Pontica*, 10, 1977, p. 339-343.

PAPASIMA 1987 – T. Papasima, *Mormânt roman descoperit la I.A.S Pietreni (com. Deleni, jud. Constanța)*, în *Pontica*, XX, 1987, p. 345-352.

PARASCHIV-GRIGORE et. alii. 2010 – E. Paraschiv-Grigore, D. Ene, I. Paraschiv-Grigore, *70 de ani de cercetări arheologice sistematice la Dinogeția-*

Bisericuța, în *Cercetări Arheologice*, XVII, București, 2010, p. 133-142.

PEARCE, MILLET, STRUCK 2001 – J. Pearce, M. Millet, M. Struck, *Burial, Society and Context in the Roman world*, Oxbow Books, Oxford, 2001.

PETCU 2017 – R. Petcu, *Istoricul cercetărilor arheologice la Ulmetum (Scythia Minor)*, în *Ex. Ponto*, nr. 3-4, 2017, p. 171-181.

PETRE 1987 – A. Petre, *La romanité en Scythie Mineure (II-VII siècles de n.è.)*. *Recherches archéologiques*, în *AIESEE*, XVII-XVIII, Bucharest, 1987, p. 5-172.

PINCKERNELLE 2007 – K. Pinckernelle, *The iconography of ancient Greek and Roman jewellery*. MPhil(R) thesis, University of Glasgow.

PIPPIDI 1959 – D. M. Pippidi, *Raport asupra activității șantierului Histria în campania 1956*, în MCA, 5, p. 283-328.

PREDA 1968 – C. Preda, *Callatis*, Meridiane, Iași, 1968.

PREDA 1980 – C. Preda, *Callatis. Necropola romano-bizantină*, Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, București, 1980.

POPOVICI, ADAM 1997 – I. Popovici, M. Adam, *Anthropological data upon some skeletons belonging to the Late Roman Period of Dinogetia*, in *Annuaire Roumaine d'Anthropologie*, 14, 1997, p. 13-18.

RADU, UNGUREANU, RADU-IORGUȘ 2016 – L. Radu, M. Ungureanu, C. Radu-Iorguș, *Cercetări arheologice în aria funerară callatiană*, în *Pontica*, 48-49, 2015-2016, p. 193-207.

RĂDULESCU, DAVIDESCU 1959- Rădulescu, Adrian, Davidescu, Mihai, *Informații asupra unor materiale*

inedite din muzeul regional Constanța, în MCA, 5, 1959, p. 753-759.

RĂDULESCU 1972 – A. Rădulescu, *Aspecte privind exploatarea pietrei în Dobrogea romană*, Pontica, 5, p. 177-204.

RUBEL, SOFICARU – A. Rubel, A. D. Soficaru, *Infant Burials in Roman Dobrudja. A report of work in progress: The case of Ibida (Slava Rusă)*, in BAR International Series 2410, 2012, p. 169-182.

SALLER, SHAW 1984 – R. Saller, S. Brent, *Tombstones and Roman Family Relations in the Principate: Civilians, Soldiers and Slaves*, in The Journal of Roman Studies, LXXIV, Hertford, 1984.

SOFICARU, MIRIȚOI, SULTANA, GĂTEJ, CONSTANTINESCU 2004 – A. D. Soficaru, N. Mirițoiu, N. Sultana, M. Gătej, M. Constantinescu, *Analiza antropologică a osemintelor descoperite în campania din 2002, în necropola romano-bizantină de la*

Slava Rusă (jud. Tulcea), în Peuce, S.N., II (XV), Tulcea, 2004, p. 329-386.

SOFICARU 2005 – A. D. Soficaru, *A Skull with a Possible Sword Stroke from Tropaeum Traiani*, in *Annuaire Roumain d'Anthropologie*, 42, p. 3-6, Bucharest, 2005.

SOFICARU 2006-2007 – A. D. Soficaru, *Human Remains Discovered in the Basilica D from Tropaeum Traiani*, in *Annuaire Roumain d'Anthropologie*, 43-44, p. 3-8, Bucharest, 2006-2007.

SOFICARU 2007 – A. D. Soficaru, *Propunere pentru o tipologie uniformă a mormintelor romano-bizantine din Dobrogea*, în PEUCE, S.N. V, 2007, p. 297 – 312.

SOFICARU 2011 – A. Soficaru, *Populația provinciei Scythia în perioada romano-bizantină*, Editura Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza”, Iași, 2011.

SOFICARU, RADU, TICA 2019 – A. Soficaru, C. Radu, C. Tica, *A Mass Grave outside the Walls: The Commingled Assemblage from Ibida*, In book: *Bioarchaeology of Frontiers and Borderlands* (pp.187-211) Gainesville, 2019.

SOFICARU, SOFAER 2021 – A.D. Soficaru, J. Sofaer, *Regional Patterns in Mortuary Practice in the Lower Danube Region in the 4th-6th Centuries*, in *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 51, 2021, p. 263-287.

SONOC 2006 – A. Sonoc, *O tradiție funerară străveche: înhumarea în vase sau sub fragmente de vase*, In I.M. Țiplic, S.I. Purece ed. *Relații interetnice în spațiul românesc. Populații și grupuri etnice (II î.Hr.-V d.Hr.)*, Bibliotheca Septemcastrensis XXI, Altip, Alba Iulia, 2006, p. 73-113.

STANC 2010 – S. M. Stanc, *Relațiile omului cu lumea animală. Arheozoologia secolelor IV-X d. Hr. pentru*

zonele extracarpatiche de est și de sud ale României,
Editura Universității Alexandru Ioan Cuza, Iași.

STAVRU 1972 – C. Stavru, *Morminte romane la Șipote-
jud. Constanța*, Pontica, Nr. 5, 1972, p. 235-250.

STĂNICĂ, AILINCĂI, IGNAT, ZVÎNCA 2005-2006 –
A. Stănică, S. Ailincăi, A. Ignat, I. Zvînca, *Noi
descoperiri funerare de pe teritoriul localității Enisala
(com. Sarichioi, jud. Tulcea)*, în Peuce, S.N. III – IV,
2005-2006, p. 317 – 330.

SUCEVEANU 1982 – A. Suceveanu, *Histria VI: Les
Thermes romains*, Editura Academiei Republicii
Socialiste România, 1982.

SUCEVEANU 2012 – A. Suceveanu, *Histria 1990-
2010*, în Pontica, 45, 2012,

TEODOR 1988 – D. G. Teodor, *Considerații privind
fibulele romano-bizantine din secolele V-VII e.n. în*

sapțiul carpato-dunăreano-pontic, în *Arheologia Moldovei*, XII, 1988, p. 197-233.

TEODOR 2010 – E. Teodor, *The Border area between Moesia Secunda and Scythia Minor in a topographical approach*, Identități culturale, locale și regionale în context european. Studii de arheologie și antropologie istorică. In memoriam Alexandri V. Matei, Horea Pop et al. (ed), Cluj-Napoca, Zalău: Mega, 421-438.

TOYNBEE 1971 - J. M. C Toynbee, *Death and burial in the Roman world*, Thames and Hudson, London, 1971,

UNGUREANU, RADU 2006 – M. Ungureanu, L. Radu, *Cercetări arheologice în necropola romano-bizantină de la Callatis*, în *Pontica*, 39, 2006, p. 259-278.

VICK 2017 – E. Vick, *Immortality and Resurrection*, Energion Publications, 2017.

VULPE 1988 – R. Vulpe, *Columna lui Traian*, Editura Sport Turism, București.

WILLIAMS 2004 – H. Williams, Potted Histories-Cremation, *Ceramics and Social Memory in Early Roman Britain*, in Oxford Journal of Archaeology, 23(4), p. 417-427.

ZAHARIADE, TOPOLEANU, DVORSKI, MADGEARU, ENE 2003 – M. Zahariade, F. Topoleanu, T. Dvorski, A. Madgearu, D. Ene, com. Murighiol, jud. Tulcea [Halmyris], CCA, 2003, 128.

ZUGRAVU – 1994 – N. Zugravu, *Ritul și ritualul funerar în texte creștine din mileniul I*, în *Carpica*, 25, 1994, p. 161-177.