

# OBSERVATIONS ON THE SARMATIAN GRAVES IN WALLACHIA IN WHICH HANDMADE POTTERY WAS DEPOSITED

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Abstract: The present contribution attempts to outline the main coordinates of the handmade pottery deposit in the Sarmatian graves of Wallachia. The handmade pottery was discovered in 55 graves of Wallachia which were attributed to the Sarmatians. 11 graves of the 55 graves examined are isolated; the remaining 44 funerary structures originate from 23 groups. The age of the buried individuals is known only in the case of 35 graves of the 55 analyzed: 19 adults, 15 children, one teenager. The typology of the handmade vessels deposited in the Sarmatian graves in Wallachia is not very varied: jars (with seven sub-types), bowls, mugs, vessel with spherical body, perforated vessels. The handmade Dacian ceramic comprises mugs and lids. The vast majority of the graves (42) is characterized by the deposit of a reduced number of inventory items, ranging between one and three. Among the handmade vessels found in the Sarmatian graves in Wallachia, there are not only vessels characteristic for the discoveries attributed to the Sarmatians, but also vessels with analogies in the Dacian pottery (Râmnicelu M. 19, Măriuta M. 2) or the Przeworsk culture (Grădistea-Coslogeni). The handmade pottery was discovered in 14 graves belonging to children. It is interesting to note the very low number of items in the vast majority of these graves: 12 graves with one or two grave goods. The relation between the graves determined or assumed as belonging to men and the handmade pottery seems to be rather occasional - only four graves, at least in the current stage of research. Although questioned by the existence of a very high number of undetermined graves in terms of the sex of the deceased (36), the relation between the handmade pottery and the graves belonging to women has other features than the ones noticed in the case of men's graves. Of the 19 funerary structures which benefit of the determination or the assumption of the sex of the buried individual, 14 belonged to women and only four to men. One last observation takes into account the dating of the graves in which handmade pottery was deposited. Such tombs are documented in all the stages of penetration of the Sarmatians in Wallachia: 13 burials in the first stage (starting with the last decade of the first century AD and the first decades of the following century), four graves in the second century AD, 32 funerary structures in the second stage (subsequent to the Marcomannic wars), two in the last stage (the end of the third century). A possible predominance of the custom to deposit handmade pottery in the graves in the second stage of penetration of the Sarmatians in Wallachia seems to be only an impression, easily explainable by the numerical imbalance documented in certain areas between the graves dated in the first stage of the Sarmatian presence in Wallachia and the ones of the second stage.

Cuvinte-cheie: ceramică lucrată cu mâna, sarmați, Muntenia, morminte, inventar funerar.

Rezumat: Contribuţia de faţă încearcă să contureze principalele coordonate ale depunerii ceramicii lucrate cu mâna în mormintele sarmatice din Muntenia. Ceramica lucrată cu mâna s-a descoperit în 55 de morminte din Muntenia care au fost atribuite sarmaţilor. 11 morminte din cele 55 analizate sunt izolate, iar restul de 44 de complexe funerare provin din 23 de grupuri. Doar în cazul a 35 morminte din cele 55 analizate se cunoaşte vârsta celor inhumaţi: 19 adulţi, 15 copii, o adolescentă. Tipologia recipientelor lucrate cu mâna depuse în mormintele sarmatice din Muntenia nu este foarte variată: borcane (cu şapte sub-tipuri), castroane, căni, vas cu corpul sferic, vase perforate. Ceramica dacică lucrată cu mâna cuprinde ca tipuri căni şi capace. Marea majoritate a mormintelor analizate (42) se caracterizează prin depunerea unui număr mic de piese de inventar, cuprins între una şi trei. Printre recipientele lucrate cu mâna găsite în mormintele sarmatice din Muntenia se înregistrează nu numai vase caracteristice descoperirilor atribuite sarmaţilor, ci şi recipiente cu analogii în repertoriul ceramicii dacice (Râmnicelu M. 19, Măriuţa M. 2) sau în



cel al culturii Przeworsk (Grădiștea-Coslogeni). Ceramica lucrată cu mâna s-a descoperit în 14 morminte apartinând unor copii. Interesant de remarcat este numărul foarte mic de piese al marii majorități a acestor morminte: 12 morminte cu una sau două piese. Relatia dintre mormintele determinate sau presupuse ca aparținând unor bărbați și ceramica lucrată cu mâna pare să fie una mai degrabă ocazională – doar patru morminte, cel puțin în stadiul actual al descoperirilor. Deși pusă sub semnul întrebării de existența unui număr foarte mare de morminte nedeterminate ca sex al decedatilor (36), relatia dintre ceramica lucrată cu mâna și mormintele aparținând unor femei are alte caracteristici decât cele remarcate în cazul mormintelor de bărbați. Din cele 19 complexe funerare care beneficiază de determinarea sau presupunerea sexului persoanei înmormântate, 14 aparțineau unor femei și doar patru unor bărbați. O ultimă observație are în vedere datarea mormintelor în care s-a depus ceramică lucrată cu mâna. Asemenea complexe se înregistrează în toate etapele de pătrundere a sarmaților în Muntenia: 13 înmormântări în prima etapă (începând cu ultimul deceniu al secolului I p. Chr. si primele decenii ale secolului următor), patru morminte în secolul al II-lea p. Chr., 32 de complexe funerare în etapa a doua (posterioară războaielor marcomannice), două în etapa ultimă (sfârsitul secolului al III-lea). O eventuală predominare a obiceiului depunerii în morminte a ceramicii lucrate cu mâna în etapa a doua de pătrundere a sarmaților în Muntenia nu mi se pare a fi altceva decât o impresie, care poate fi foarte ușor explicată prin dezechilibrul numeric, înregistrat în anumite zone, dintre mormintele datate în prima etapă a pătrunderii sarmților în Muntenia și cele din a doua etapă.

The handmade pottery is generally difficult to analyze. The typological uniformity, the persistency of the same types of vessels with relatively few changes for long periods of time<sup>1</sup>, the processing accidents (such as the asymmetry of the vessels) are all impediments that leave a mark upon a discussion about the handmade vessels and upon the attempt to date them.

The handmade vessels have already been discussed in two volumes dedicated to the Sarmatians from the eastern<sup>2</sup> and southern<sup>3</sup> Wallachia. The present contribution attempts to exceed the territorial limitation of the analysis in the two above mentioned volumes and to outline the main coordinates of the handmade pottery deposit in the Sarmatian graves of Wallachia. The analysis undertaken in the following lines has the advantage of reuniting in a coherent entirety the information published so far in a disparate manner and within this entirety certain features stand out visibly.

The handmade pottery was discovered in 55 graves of Wallachia which were attributed to the Sarmatians. Finding the percentage represented by the 55 graves of the total of funerary structures attributed to the Sarmatians of Wallachia incurs a major difficulty which has already been underlined<sup>4</sup> – the lack of knowledge of the exact total number of Sarmatian graves in Wallachia. The existence of certain novel funerary structures about which there are only brief mentions in the literature (Chirnogi, for example) or which have been pub-

lished only recently (M. 6-10 in Călărași<sup>5</sup>), graves which were initially attributed to the Sarmatians but were excluded following a thorough analysis as they belonged to another periods (Râmnicelu M. 12 and M. 18, for example<sup>6</sup>), uncertain discoveries in terms of dating or whose origin from the graves is not at all certain, discoveries which were documented as graves but proved to be something else rather than funerary structures following a closer analysis of the archaeological excavations notes (Vărăști<sup>7</sup>) are just as many difficulties leaving their mark on the answer to an apparently simple question - how many graves attributed to the Sarmatians have been discovered so far in Wallachia. This is one of the reasons I have favoured an area analysis (Brăila Plain, southern Wallachia) to the detriment of a synthesis about the entire Wallachia, in which details such as the ones mentioned above might have been maybe overlooked. Several years ago, we estimated a number of 238 Sarmatian graves in Wallachia<sup>8</sup> (but 12 of them were under question, leaving us with the number of 226<sup>9</sup>), added by the burials from the necropoleis in which graves attributed to both the Sarmatians and the Sântana de Mureş-Cerneahov culture were discovered, which raises the total number to 282 graves. The publication of new Sarmatian graves, the exclusion from the funerary structures of certain discoveries, the existence of a still high number of graves which were not published systematically but merely mentioned in short excava-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Vaday 1988-1989, 174.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Oţa, Sîrbu 2009, 150-152 and 155.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Sîrbu *et alii* 2014, 102-104.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Oţa 1999, 885; Oţa, Sîrbu 2012, 130; Oţa, Sîrbu, Matei 2013, 325-326.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Sîrbu *et alii* 2014, 27-31 and 37-38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Ota, Sîrbu 2009, 138.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Sîrbu *et alii* 2014, 85.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Oţa, Sîrbu, Matei 2013, 325.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Oţa, Sîrbu 2012, 130.



tion reports raise grounded doubts as regards this number as well. I shall not venture to advance another number of Sarmatian graves, at least not until all the Sarmatian discoveries in Wallachia will be analyzed based on micro-areas. Only at the end of this process will it be possible to estimate the number of Sarmatian graves in Wallachia which were discovered at a certain moment. However, it is worth mentioning an important fact of a nature to smooth the above pessimism. Even though there are still unpublished graves, their number is most likely low<sup>10</sup>, which I do not believe would determine a radical change so that the number of Sarmatian graves would exceed 300. Going back to the percentage represented by the Sarmatian graves in which handmade pottery was discovered, it may be estimated as low, ranging approximately between 18-20%.

The perspective changes when comparing the number of Sarmatian graves in which handmade pottery was deposited with the number of funerary structures in which wheel-made Dacian<sup>11</sup> pottery was discovered. If we exclude four funerary structures in which ceramic vessels with Dacian pottery analogies were handmade (Râmnicelu M. 19, Cireşu M. 3, Ulmeni M. 1, Smeieni M. 10) and we take into account the wheel-made vessels of Dacian tradition in M. 10 and probably M. 8 in Călărași, the number of graves in which wheelmade pottery was deposited amounts to 52. An important observation emerges from the above mentioned: although overall the handmade pottery deposits are reduced in terms of percentage, the same phenomenon is also noticed in the case of wheel-made Dacian pottery.

#### **Territorial distribution**

Most of the graves in which handmade pottery was deposited are documented in southern Wallachia (24 of a total of 121 graves on which we have data, at least at this stage of research). 18 funerary structures with handmade pottery as inventory were discovered in Brăila Plain (of a total of 73 Sarmatian graves found in the above mentioned area), seven in the area of the present localities Jilava and Târgşor (of a total of 24 published relatively detailed so far<sup>12</sup>) and six in the area of Buzău

(of minimum 26 graves on which there is available data in the specialty literature, although unequal regarding the information). Even though at first glance the conclusion could be that of a concentration of the graves in which handmade pottery was deposited in the southern and eastern areas of Wallachia and a sporadic presence in the other areas (Jilava-Târgşor and Buzău), a comparison of the percentages represented by the graves which had as inventory handmade vessels of the total of Sarmatian funerary structures discovered in various areas is of a nature to tone down the prior statement.

The percentages are relatively close – the graves which had as inventory handmade pottery represent 19.83% of the Sarmatian graves in the southern Wallachia, 24.65% of the Sarmatian funerary structures documented in Brăila Plain, 23.07% of those concentrated in the area of Buzău, 29.16% of those published so far from the groups of graves in Jilava and Târgşor. The concentration of the graves in which handmade vessels were deposited as inventory in certain micro-areas of Wallachia seems to be rather an impression given by the different number of Sarmatian graves discovered in each area. The custom of depositing handmade vessels as funerary inventory is uniformly spread in terms of percentages within each micro-area.

11 graves of the 55 graves examined here<sup>13</sup> are isolated (Chiscani-sat, Însurăţei-canal de irigaţie, Racoviţa, Grădiştea-Coslogeni, Olteniţa-Fundeneanu, Borduşelu, Sănduliţa, Gura lalomiţei, Vlădeni, Vităneşti, Smeieni-sat). The remaining 44 funerary structures originate from 23 groups with variable numbers of graves, from two to 18. The uniformity of the custom to deposit handmade pottery at micro-area level (where the percentages ranged on a relatively reduced scale between 29% and 19%) is not found in the detailed analysis of the groups of graves. If we calculate the percentage of graves having as inventory handmade pottery discovered in each group, the variations are even higher, ranging between a minimum of

Only four funerary structures were really novel and we found out about another two burials after the publication of the 2013 contribution (see above, note 8) of a total of 121 graves in southern Wallachia.

 $<sup>^{11}</sup>$  On the meaning I gave to the term "Dacian" see Oţa, Sîrbu 2012, 125-129.

Of a total of 35 graves assigned to the Sarmatians discovered at Târgşor (Niculescu 2003, 193), only 18 have been systematically published. In the absence of any data

on the inventory of the still novel 17 graves at Târgşor, I decided to consider only the 18 tombs published so far. My statistic of the present paper can be numerically changed at any time by the publication of the 17 graves, but I believe that many of the fundamental observations will remain valid. The calculation of the percentages represented by the handmade pottery graves of a total of 35 graves, documented so far at Târgşor, is from the very beginning invalidated by the fact that it would start from a false premise – the fact that in the remaining 17 graves no handmade pottery was discovered, which is however hard to believe.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> The bibliography of each tomb of the listed ones can be found in the catalogue at the end of the paper.



8.33% and a maximum of 66.6%. The number of graves in which handmade vessels were deposited represent a percentage of 8.33% of the total for the group in Lişcoteanca-Movila Olarului, 12.5% of the total for the group in Olteniţa-lordoc, 14.28% in Buzău-sud, 18.75% in Râmnicelu, 20% in Brăila-Hipodrom, Largu and Dorobanţu, 25% in Tichileşti, Sultana and Olteniţa-Renie, 27.77% in Târgşor, 28.57% in Bucu, 33.3% in Spiru Haret and Smeieni-Movila Mare, 40% in Călăraşi M. 6-10 and Ulmeni, 50% in Cireşu, Cetatea Veche, Măriuța and Grădiştea, 66.6% in Jugureanu and Jilava. Unfortunately, the exact number of Sarmatian graves discovered in Ruşeţu is unknown. However, a few coordinates stand out from the apparently extremely diverse picture presented above. In the case of small groups of graves, between two and three interments, the handmade pottery is deposited in rather high percentages: 66.6% in Jugureanu and Jilava (each with three Sarmatian graves), 50% in Cireşu, Măriuta and Cetatea Veche (each with two graves) and 33.3% in Spiru Haret and Smeieni-Movila Mare (each with three graves). For the groups of four-five Sarmatian graves, the presence of the handmade pottery as funerary inventory ranges between 40% (the groups with five graves each in Călărași M. 6-10 and Ulmeni), 25% (the groups with four graves each in Tichileşti and Sultana) and 20% (Brăila-Hipodrom and Dorobantu, with five graves each). The highest variation can be observed in the case of the nine groups with high number of graves. The lowest percentages of handmade pottery are noticed in Lişcoteanca-Movila Olarului (group of 12 graves of which 8.33% had handmade pottery as inventory), Olteniţa-lordoc (eight graves with a percentage of 12.5% graves with handmade pottery), Buzău-sud (at least seven graves, 14.28% with handmade pottery), Râmnicelu (16 graves, 18.75% having as inventory handmade pottery) therefore in four groups. The highest percentage of graves having as inventory handmade vessels is documented in the case of the group of 10 graves in Grădiștea (50%). The percentage of the graves having as inventory handmade vessels is relatively uniform in the remaining four groups: 28.57% of a total of 14 graves in Bucu, 27.77% of a total of 18 graves taken into account in Târgşor, 25% of a total of 16 funerary structures in Olteniţa-Renie, 20% of a total of 10 tombs in Largu. Although relatively constant at micro-area level, the spreading of the custom to deposit handmade pottery is submitted to rather different rules within each group of graves, ranging between being quasi-absent (Lişcoteanca-Movila Olarului)

and a proportion of 2/3 (Jugureanu and Jilava). Even though the groups have an identical number of graves, the presence of the handmade pottery can be very different in terms of balance, between 2/3 (the previously mentioned cases in Jugureanu and Jilava) and 1/3 (the groups with three graves each in Spiru Haret and Smeieni-Movila Mare). When analyzing the weight of the graves in which handmade vessels were discovered only within the groups in a micro-area, a few differences become immediately obvious between the two main areas in which the Sarmatian graves discovered so far in Wallachia are concentrated. Three of the eight groups of graves in Brăila Plain are characterized by the high percentage of graves having as inventory handmade pottery (one with 66.6% and two with 50%). The difference is even more obvious when making a comparison with the rest of five groups, without exception characterized by low percentages of graves with handmade vessels (between 33.3% and 8.33%). Unlike Brăila Plain, a micro-area characterized by high variations of the phenomenon of handmade pottery deposits, the situation in southern Wallachia is more balanced. Three groups of graves out of nine have a relatively high percentage of graves with handmade pottery (two with 50% and two with 40%) and only one group, the one in Olteniţa-lordoc, has a low percentage of 12.5%. Between these two extremes, the rest of four groups are placed in a relatively uniform percentage range, between 28.57% and 20%. The percentage of the handmade pottery presence as funerary inventory is relatively low in three groups out of the four groups in Buzău area (33.3%, 20% and 14.28%) and variable between 66.6% and 27.77% for the Jilava-Târgşor area.

# The grave layout, the age and sex of the buried individuals

The vast majority of the Sarmatian graves in Wallachia in which handmade pottery was deposited is represented by the flat structures, with eight exceptions: five *tell* burials (Cireşu M. 3, Lişcoteanca-*Movila Olarului* M. 17, Râmnicelu M. 1 and M. 16, Spiru Haret M. 1), two secondary graves in older tumuli (Sănduliţa M. 1, Smeieni-*Movila Mare* M. 10) and one funerary structure covered by a mound (Vităneşti M. 2).

The age of the buried individuals is known only in the case of 35 graves of the 55 analyzed. The ratio between the adult graves and the children graves is balanced: in 19 graves were buried adults (Brăila-*Hipodrom* M. 1, Bucu M. 6, Buzău-*sud* M. 4, Chiscani-*sat*, Grădiştea M. 5, M. 9, M. 13, M. 17,



Largu M. 7, Râmnicelu M. 1, M. 19, Tichileşti M. 3, Târgşor M. 184, M. 196, M. 198, M. 267, Vităneşti M. 2, and based on the presence of the daggers as funerary inventory, there can also be assumed as belonging to adults M. 17 in Lişcoteanca-Movila Olarului and the tomb in Însurăţei-canal), 15 funerary structures belonged to children (Bucu M. 1, M. 12, M. 13, Cireşu M. 3, Măriuţa M. 2, Jilava M. 1, M. 2, Largu M. 3, Olteniţa-lordoc M. 4, Olteniţa-Renie M. 2, Râmnicelu M. 16, Spiru Haret M. 1, Târgşor M. 261, Ulmeni M. 4, Vlădeni) and one to a female teenager (Grădiştea M. 11).

Even though the high number of graves for which the sex of the deceased could not be determined (36) is of a nature to impose caution, however in the case of the remaining 19 funerary structures an important observation stood out from the comparison of the number of burials which can be attributed to women with the burials in which men were buried. The observation takes into account the predominance of the "female" graves (15 -Borduşelu, Bucu M. 6, Călăraşi M. 6, M. 7, Chiscanisat, Grădiştea M. 9, M. 11, Largu M. 7, Măriuța M. 2, Oltenita-Fundeneanu, Oltenita-Renie M. 1, M. 7, Târgşor M. 184, M. 198, Vităneşti) by comparison with the "male" graves (only four: Buzău M. 4, Târgşor M. 196, and, based on the presence of the dagger, Liscoteanca-Movila Olarului M. 17 and Însurăței-canal).

# Typology of the vessels

The typology of the handmade vessels deposited in the Sarmatian graves in Wallachia is not very varied. Besides the fact that they were handmade, we have no other data on the vessels in Olteniţa-*lordoc* M. 4, Olteniţa-*Renie* M. 1, Târgşor M. 196, Smeieni-*sat* M. 1, Grădiştea M. 13. The vast majority of the handmade vessels are jars – 49 vessels in 41 graves. The jars are generally deposited one in each grave and the exceptions with two such vessels are eight: Bucu M. 12, Olteniţa-*Renie* M. 7, Ulmeni M. 1, Târgşor M. 198, Ruṣeţu M. 1, Cireşu M. 3, Grădiştea M. 9, Jugureanu M. 2. It is worth mentioning the fact that in four cases the jars were covered with lids, handmade in their turn

(Borduşelu, Smeieni-*Movila Mare* M. 10, Cireşu M. 3, both jars in M. 1 at Ulmeni). On another occasion I have drawn the attention<sup>15</sup> to the fact that I do not consider the lid as a separate vessel, but as a part of the vessel it covers, and that is why the lids are indicated separately only in the vessel typology and not in their statistics, where they are taken into account together with the vessel on which they were found.

- a. The sub-types of *jars*, according to the typology established for the vessels in Brăila Plain and southern Wallachia<sup>16</sup> are:
- a. 1. Jars with a flat base, elongated bi-truncated body, rounded shoulder, flared and high mouth, like the upper part of a funnel: Dorobanţu M. 1, Gura lalomiţei, Olteniţa-Renie M. 2, M. 7, both vessels in M. 1 at Ulmeni, Ulmeni M. 4, Bucu M. 1, Sănduliţa M. 1, Brăila-Hipodrom M. 1, Cireşu M. 3, Grădiştea M. 9, Spiru Haret M. 1, Târgşor M. 198, M. 267, Largu M. 7.

The jars of the sub-type a. 1 have seven variants:

- a. 1. Jars with a flat base and cambered body: Brăila-*Hipodrom* M. 1 (Pl. 1/2), Cireşu M. 3 (Pl. 1/3), Dorobanţu M. 1 (Pl. 1/6), Grădiştea M. 9 (Pl. 1/5), Gura Ialomiţei (Pl. 1/1), Spiru Haret M. 1 (Pl. 1/4), Ulmeni M. 1 (Pl. 1/7);
- a. 1. 2. Jars with flat, high base and cambered body: Jugureanu M. 1 (Pl. 2/2), Ulmeni M. 1 (Pl. 2/3), Ulmeni M. 4 (Pl. 2/1);
- a. 1. 3. Jar with flat, widened base, cambered body, oblique rim outwards: Bucu M. 1 (Pl. 3/1);
- a. 1. 4. Jars with a flat base, bi-truncated body, maximum diameter in the shoulders area: Olteniţa-Renie M. 2
   (Pl. 2/4), Târgşor M. 198 (Pl. 2/6), M. 267 (Pl. 2/5);
- a. 1. 5. Jars with a flat base, bi-truncated body, mouth diameter larger than the base diameter: Largu M. 7 (Pl. 3/3); both vessels in Olteniţa-Renie M. 7 (Pl. 3/4, 5);
- a. 1. 6. Jar with a flat base, cambered body and long neck: Sănduliţa M. 1 (Pl. 3/2);

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> I am not unconditionally placing equality between the deposit of weapons and the adult age, because such a statement can be easily contradicted by citing some examples of later graves in which grave goods typical for adults were discovered although the deceased were preadolescents (Effros 2006, 160; Curta 2009, 310). However, at least as regards the children graves assigned to the Sarmatians in Wallachia, no such situation has been documented so far, which prompted me to advance as an assumption (therefore with a certain degree of uncertainty) the adult age of the individuals buried with daggers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Sîrbu *et alii* 2014, 101.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Oţa, Sîrbu 2009, 151-152; Sîrbu et alii 2014, 102-104.



a. 1. 7. Jars with a flat base, bi-truncated body, cambered in the maximum diameter area and long neck: Jugureanu M. 2 (Pl. 3/6), Târgşor M. 261 (Pl. 3/7).

Other sub-types of jars are:

- a. 2. Jars with a flat base, sometimes very thick, elongated bi-truncated body, rounded shoulder, slightly flared mouth, rounded rim edge or oblique outwards: Călăraşi M. 7 (Pl. 4/1), Chiscani-sat (Pl. 4/3), Însurăței (Pl. 4/6), Racovița (Pl. 4/2), one vessel in Jugureanu M. 2 (Pl. 4/5), Tichilești M. 3 (Pl. 4/4), Buzău M. 4 (Pl. 4/8), one vessel at Rușețu M. 1 (Pl. 4/7) and, as far as they can be distinguished in the photo, the jars in M. 2 at Jilava and M. 16 in Râmnicelu;
- a. 3. Jars with bi-truncated body, with the lower part much taller, rounded shoulder, short, cylindrical neck, slightly flared mouth: Borduşelu (Pl. 5/4), Vlădeni (Pl. 5/2), Bucu M. 6 (Pl. 5/3), Cireşu M. 3 (Pl. 5/1);
- a. 4. Jar with a flat base, bi-truncated body, very cambered in the upper part, narrow, funnel-shaped mouth: Grădiştea M. 9 (Pl. 6/2);
- a. 5. Jar with a flat base, cambered body, long, cylindrical neck and vertical mouth: the vessel in Pietroiu (Pl. 6/1; which however was not discovered in a grave and was not discussed in this analysis).

The next jar sub-type was attested so far only in two necropoleis:

a. 6. Jars with a flat base, diameter larger than the mouth, cambered body, rounded shoulder, short cylindrical neck, straight or very little flared mouth: Târgşor M. 198 (Pl. 6/4), one vessel in Ruşeţu M. 1 (Pl. 6/3).

The vessel in M. 184 at Târgşor (Pl. 6/5) seems to be inspired from the Dacian pottery not only in terms of form but also in terms of decoration<sup>17</sup>.

The absence of the illustration or the fragmentary state of the vessel render impossible the inclusion in a certain sub-type of the jars in M. 1 at Jilava, M. 3 at Largu, M. 10 at Smeieni-*Movila Mare*, M. 5, M.

- 11, M. 17 at Grădiștea, M. 1 at Râmnicelu, M. 12 at Bucu, M. 6 at Călărași and M. 2 at Cetatea Veche.
- b. A *small, truncated vessel*, with slightly cambered base and wide mouth was discovered in Liscoteanca-Movila Olarului M. 17. The description made by N. Harţuche<sup>18</sup> and the reduced height of the vessel (3.4 cm) seem to advocate, with all the caution dictated by the absence of any kind of illustration, in favour of a vessel of the *bowl* type. Other bowls have been also documented in M. 3 at Sultana (not illustrated), M. 4 at Ulmeni (impossible to assign to a certain tradition of pottery only based on the published photograph Pl. 7/4), grave at Grădiştea-Coslogeni (with analogies in the Przeworsk culture Pl. 7/3).
- c. *Mugs*, deposited one by one, were found in M. 13 at Bucu, M. 5 at Olteniţa-*Renie* (not illustrated, impossible to frame in a sub-type) and M. 17 at Lişcoteanca-*Movila Olarului*.
- c. 1. The mug in M. 17 at Lişcoteanca-Movila Olarului (Pl. 8/1) has a slightly concave base, bi-truncatedglobular body, rounded shoulder, small handle, almost rhomboidal in section.
- d. A vessel with spherical body, round base and tall, very flared mouth was discovered in Olteniţa-Fundeneanu (Pl. 6/6).
- e. Both *perforated, truncated vessels, with square mouth and base* were found in M. 2 at Vitănești (Pl. 7/1-2).

I have left behind two types of vessels which, although handmade, were registered in the Dacian pottery typology I have analyzed on another occasion<sup>19</sup>. It is time to make a clarification. From the desire to avoid any confusion, especially since for the pottery originating from the Sarmatian graves in Brăila Plain and the southern Wallachia other typologies have been proposed, I tried to maintain the same methods of analysis in the present paper. I determined from the very beginning the distinction between the Sarmatian vessels (a. jars; b. small, truncated vessel; c. jugs; d. spherical body vessels; e. perforated vessels), the vessels with analogies in the Dacian pottery forms (designated under letters "f" and "g" which however do not represent a continuation of the Sarmatian pottery typology but of the Dacian typology) and the vessels of a tradition other than Sarmatian or Dacian (the bowl at Grădistea-Coslogeni). For the last above mentioned vessel, the one at Grădiștea-Coslogeni, I did not create a separate type – a choice which, at least at the present time, is dictat-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Bichir 1973, pl. XLIII/3 of Poiana Dulceşti-Varniţă, level I (in terms of form), XLIV/1 of Poiana Dulceşti-Varniţă, level I and XLVII/5 of Piatra Neamţ-Lutărie (in terms of decoration). The shape of the vessel is met in the "classic" phase of the Dacian pottery (Crişan 1969, fig. 76/4, of Poiana). Unfortunately, no detail has been published on the type of fabric used (Diaconu 1965, 20), so that, for the moment, we cannot say if the vessel represents a taken over of the Dacian pottery processed in the Sarmatian environment or it is an "import" from a Dacian workshop.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Harţuche 1980, 207-208.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Oţa, Sîrbu 2012, 125-163.



ed by several reasons: the fact that it represents, for now, a unique item in the pottery inventory of the Sarmatian graves in Wallachia; the impossibility to precisely assign to a ceramic tradition the bowls in M. 3 at Sultana and M. 4 at Ulmeni; the question marks regarding the functionality of the truncated vessel in Lişcoteanca-*Movila Olarului* M. 17 and the absence of any kind of possibility to link it to any of the previously listed vessels. All these reasons determined me to discuss the bowls all together, regardless of their possible filiation to a different production, however without attempting to detail the sub-types.

The handmade Dacian ceramic comprises:

- f. *Mugs*, discovered in M. 2 at Măriuţa and M. 19 at Râmnicelu, constituting just as many sub-types:
- f. 1. Mug with bi-truncated body, rounded shoulder, slightly flared mouth, oblique rim outwards (Râmnicelu M. 19 – Pl. 8/2);
- f. 2. Mug with concave, tall base, pronounced bi-truncated body, slightly flared mouth, rounded rim, one excessively elevated handle (Măriuța M. 2 Pl. 8/3);
- g. *Lids*, discovered in four graves, with two sub-types:
- g. 1. Lids with concave button (Ulmeni M. 1 Pl. 7/6, Borduşelu Pl. 7/7, Cireşu M. 3 Pl. 5/1);
- g. 2. Lid with flat button (Ulmeni M. 1 Pl. 7/5).

Although belonging to different pottery traditions (Sarmatian, Dacian, Przeworsk), the handmade vessels chosen to be deposited in the Sarmatian graves of Wallachia, as far as one can observe based on the archaeologically noticed ritual and the funerary inventory, do not seem to prove differences in terms of their deposit in a structure. Although very different typologically from the Sarmatian vessels, the vessels taken over from other ceramic repertoires do not seem to be vested with a special significance as grave goods, possibly derived from the rarity of their presence<sup>20</sup>. The lids, forms taken over from the Dacian pottery, are one with the Sarmatian vessels they cover. Like the vast majority of the Sarmatian vessels, the mugs with analogies in the Dacian pottery of Măriuta or Râmnicelu are deposited in number of one, either single (Râmnicelu M. 19), or in association with only one bead (Măriuța M. 2). The bowl with analogies in the Przeworsk culture was the only inventory item in the grave at Grădiștea-Coslogeni.

The constancy in the grave deposit of a single handmade vessel knows 11 exceptions. In nine

graves two vessels of the same type, predominantly jars, were deposited (Bucu M. 12, Olteniţa-Renie M. 7, Ulmeni M. 1, Târgşor M. 198, Ruşeţu, Cireşu M. 3, Grădiştea M. 9, Jugureanu M. 2), added by the perforated vessels in M. 2 at Vităneşti. The two handmade vessels were different in terms of type only in two graves: jar and bowl (Ulmeni M. 4), mug and truncated vessel (Lişcoteanca-Movila Olarului M. 17).

# The inventory of the graves

Only handmade pottery, either alone or in association with other types of items was discovered in 42 of the 55 graves analyzed in the present paper (Borduşelu, Bucu M. 1, M. 6, M. 12, M. 13, Călărași M. 6-7, Cetatea Veche M. 2, Grădiștea-Coslogeni, Dorobanțu M. 1, Măriuța M. 2, Oltenița-lordoc M. 4, Oltenița-Renie M. 1-2, M. 5, Săndulița M. 1, Sultana M. 3, Ulmeni M. 1, Vlădeni, Târgșor M. 184, M. 198, M. 261, M. 267, Buzău M. 4, Largu M. 3, Rușețu M. 1, Smeieni-Movila Mare M. 10, Smeienisat, Cireşu M. 3, Grădiştea M. 5, M. 11, M. 13, Însurăței-canal, Jugureanu M. 1-2, Lișcoteanca-Movila Olarului M. 17, Racovița, Râmnicelu M. 1, M. 16, M. 19, Spiru Haret M. 1, Tichileşti M. 3). Two handmade vessels were deposited only in seven of the 42 burials (Bucu M. 12, Ulmeni M. 1, Târgșor M.198, Rușețu, Cireșu M. 3, Jugureanu M. 2, Liscoteanca-Movila Olarului M. 17) and a single vessel in the rest of the graves.

The association between the handmade vessels and the wheel-made vessels (Dacian or Roman) is documented in 13 cases. The wheel-made Dacian pottery was deposited together with the handmade pottery in 11 tombs, and the mugs are predominant in terms of typology (eight graves: Oltenița-Fundeneanu, Oltenița-Renie M. 7, Vitănești M. 2, Jilava M. 1, Largu M. 7, Chiscani-sat, Brăila-Hipodrom M. 1, Grădiștea M. 17), with less bowls (Gura Ialomiței, Oltenița-Renie M. 7), bi-truncated vessels (Grădiștea M. 9, M. 17) and pot (Târgșor M. 196). In four graves, the handmade vessels were associated with Roman pottery: cup at Gura lalomiței, mug in M. 1 at Ulmeni, amphora in M. 2 at Vitănești, pot in M. 2 at Jilava. It is however worth noting that two structures of the ones listed above, Gura Ialomiței and Vitănești M. 2 are characterized by the combination of the handmade vessels (jar at Gura Ialomiței, two perforated vessels at Vitănești), the wheel-made Dacian ones (bowl at Gura Ialomiței and mug at Vitănești) and the vessels imported from the Roman Empire (cup at Gura lalomiței, amphora at Vitănești). If we exclude these two graves, the list of the associations between the types of handmade vessels and the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> "Objects that differ in a typological sense could well be identical in the perception of contemporaries on the basis of their worth" remark F. Theuws (2009, 292).



wheel-made Dacian vessels indicates as relatively frequent only the combination between the handmade jar and the wheel-made mug (four cases: Jilava M. 1, Largu M. 7, Chiscani-sat, Brăila-Hipodrom M. 1). In the rest of the cases, the associations are singular in terms of number or type of vessels: handmade spherical vessel+wheel-made mug (Oltenița-Fundeneanu), handmade vessel of unspecified type and wheel-made pot (Târgsor M. 196), handmade jar+mug+bi-truncated vessel, the last two wheel-made (Grădiștea M. 17), two handmade jars+bi-truncated vessel (Grădiștea M. 9), two handmade jars+five wheel-made Dacian vessels, of which two mugs and one bowl (Oltenița-Renie M. 7). In M. 2 at Jilava, the handmade jar was associated with a Roman pot and in M. 4 at Ulmeni, two handmade vessels (jar and bowl) were combined with a Roman mug.

The general picture of the number and the types of vessels deposited in the 55 analyzed graves indicates the high frequency of the cases in which one single handmade vessel was deposited - 35 graves: jar in 25 cases (Borduşelu, Bucu M. 1, M. 6, Călărași M. 6-7, Cetatea Veche M. 2, Dorobanțu M. 1, Oltenița-Renie M. 2, Săndulița M. 1, Vlădeni, Târgșor M. 184, M. 261, M. 267, Buzău M. 4, Largu M. 3, Smeieni-Movila Mare M. 10, Grădiștea M. 5, M. 11, Insurăței, Jugureanu M. 1, Racovița, Râmnicelu M. 1, M. 16, Spiru Haret M. 1, Tichilești M. 3), mug in four graves (Bucu M. 13, Măriuța M. 2, Râmnicelu M. 19 and Oltenița-Renie M. 5), bowl (Grădiștea-Coslogeni and Sultana M. 3), vessel of unspecified type in four structures (Oltenița-Iordoc M. 4, Oltenița-Renie M. 1, Smeieni-sat M. 1, Grădiștea M. 13). The 14 graves in which two vessels were deposited indicate two situations, equally recorded: either both vessels are handmade (two jars at Cireșu M. 3, Grădiștea M. 9, Jugureanu M. 2, Bucu M. 12, Târgșor M. 198, Rușețu M. 1; mug and truncated vessel in M. 17 at Liscoteanca-Movila Olarului), or a handmade vessel+a wheelmade vessel (spherical vessel+mug at Oltenița-Fundeneanu; jar+mug at Jilava M. 1, Largu M. 7, Chiscani-sat, Brăila-Hipodrom M. 1; jar+Roman pot at Jilava M. 2; handmade vessel+wheel-made pot in M. 196 at Târgșor). Each of the four structures in which three ceramic vessels were discovered represents a unique case as type of associated vessels: jar+wheel-made Dacian bowl+Roman cup (Gura lalomiței), two jars+wheel-made bi-truncated vessel (Grădiștea M. 9), jar+wheel-made mug+ wheel-made bi-truncated vessel (Grădistea M. 17), handmade jar+handmade bowl+Roman mug (Ulmeni M. 4). The four vessels in M. 2 at Vitănești were two handmade perforated vessels, a wheel-made Dacian mug and a Roman amphora, and in M. 7 at Olteniţa-Renie there was an association of two handmade jars, two wheel-made Dacian mugs, one wheel-made Dacian bowl and two vessels of unspecified type.

I chose to discuss previously the association between the handmade pottery and the wheel-made pottery in order to put together all the observations on the ceramic vessels in the graves analyzed in the present paper. However, from the frequency point of view, the most common combination is not the one between the handmade and the wheelmade pottery (found in 13 graves) but the one between the handmade pottery and the adornments – 17 graves. The most frequent adornment items are the beads – 15 graves. The issue raised every time the beads discovered in a grave are analyzed is the one of differentiation – which is not always possible – between the beads deposited in a grave as adornment items and the ones which in fact adorned the clothes worn by the deceased and which should be rather framed in the dress items category. The position in which the beads were discovered can be an important clue in operating this distinction. We have therefore excluded from the beads-adornment items the pearls about whose position in the grave we can no longer know anything (Ulmeni M. 1, Chiscani-sat) and the beads discovered only in the pelvis or the feet area which probably adorned the clothes (Oltenița-Renie M. 5, Vitănești M. 2). I considered as being proper adornments the beads in 11 structures: Călărași M. 7, Oltenița-Renie M. 1, M. 7, Ulmeni M. 4, Târgșor M. 184, M. 198, M. 267, Largu M. 7, Grădiștea M. 11, Spiru Haret M. 1, Măriuța M. 2. Other types of adornments recorded in association with the handmade pottery are the earrings (six graves: Călărași M. 6-7, Târgșor M. 184, M. 198, Largu M. 7, Chiscani-sat), the pendants (three cases: Călărași M. 7, Ulmeni M. 4, Târgșor M. 184), the bracelets (two graves: Călărași M. 7 and Gura lalomiței). In over half of the graves in which the handmade pottery was associated with adornment items (excluding the four previously mentioned cases on which there are questions regarding the framing of the beads as adornments), a single type of adornment was discovered: the beads (Oltenița-Renie M. 1, M. 7, Târgșor M. 267, Grădiștea M. 11, Spiru Haret M. 1, Măriuța M. 2), possible earring (Călărași M. 6), bracelet (Gura Ialomiței). The basic set of adornments of the remaining five graves consists of beads+earrings (Târgsor M. 198, Largu M. 7, possibly added by Chiscani-sat), supplemented with pendant (Târgșor M. 184) or with pendant and bracelet (Călărași M. 7). The beads are associated only with pendant just in M. 4 at Ulmeni. It would be worth mentioning the fact that



the handmade pottery is combined with the wheel-made pottery and adornments in five graves (Gura Ialomiței, Oltenița-*Renie* M. 7, Ulmeni M. 4, Largu M. 7, Chiscani-sat).

The dress items are documented in seven graves of the ones analyzed in the present paper: brooches in six structures (Călărași M. 7, Dorobanțu M. 1, Ulmeni M. 1, Târgșor M. 198, Smeieni-sat M. 1, Chiscani-sat), appliqués and buttons in one case (Vitănești M. 2), buckle in one grave as well (Târgșor M. 198). However, if we also consider the link on the right side of the pelvis of the deceased in M. 4 at Buzău as a possible dress item and if we also add the eight cases in which beads were documented in the pelvis or the feet area (Oltenița-Renie M. 5, M. 7, Târgșor M. 184, M. 198, M. 267, Largu M. 7, Grădiștea M. 11, Vitănești M. 2), then the total number of graves in which the handmade pottery was associated with dress items would amount to 13.

The deposit of mirrors characterizes 11 graves: Bordușelu, Bucu M. 6, Călărași M. 6-7, Oltenița-Renie M. 1, M. 7, Târgșor M. 184, M. 198, Largu M. 7, Chiscani-sat, Grădiștea M. 11. The cases in which the handmade pottery was combined with adornment items and mirrors are only two (Călărași M. 6, Oltenița-Renie M. 1), unlike the series of seven structures characterized by the presence of handmade pottery, adornment items and dress items (Călărași M. 7, Târgșor M. 184, M. 198, Grădiștea M. 11, Oltenița-Renie M. 7, Largu M. 7, Chiscani-sat), among which the last three listed graves also contained wheel-made pottery.

The household items discovered in 10 graves are predominantly spindle-whorls (nine graves: Bucu M. 6, Olteniţa-Fundeneanu, Olteniţa-Renie M. 7, Târgşor M. 184, M. 198, Chiscani-sat, Grădiştea M. 9, M. 11, Râmnicelu M. 16), less knives (Buzău M. 4 and possibly Grădiştea M. 9). In five cases, the spindle-whorls in the graves with handmade pottery were associated with mirrors, adornment items and dress items (Olteniţa-Renie M. 7, Târgşor M. 184, M. 198, Chiscani-sat, Grădiştea M. 11).

The overall image of the inventory of the Sarmatian graves in Wallachia in which handmade pottery was discovered is completed by the categories of rarely found items: weapons (Lişcoteanca-Movila Olarului M. 17 and Însurăței-canal de irigație), ankle bones (Gura Ialomiței and Oltenița-Iordoc M. 4), astragals (Jilava M. 1, Târgșor M. 196), glass vessels (Oltenița-Renie M. 7 and Vitănești M. 2, although none of the two burials is exempted from

reserves<sup>21</sup>), harness items (Vitănești M. 2), animal skull (Vlădeni), chalk (Grădiștea M. 9), pinky-yellowish paste granules (Largu M. 7).

A discussion about the total number of items deposited in the graves having as inventory handmade pottery completes the perspective from which the abovementioned funerary structures can be interpreted. We must draw attention from the very beginning to the high number of graves with few items. In 18 burials only one handmade vessel was deposited (Bucu M. 1 and M. 13, Cetatea Veche M. 2, Grădiștea-Coslogeni, Oltenița-Renie M. 2 and M. 5, Săndulița M. 1, Sultana M. 3, Târgsor M. 261, Largu M. 3, Smeieni M. 10, Grădiștea M. 5 and M. 13, Jugureanu M. 1, Racovița, Râmnicelu M. 1 and M. 19, Tichilești M. 3). Five of the 18 graves belonged to children and other five to adults. If we exclude, like in the case of the graves with one single inventory item, the beads susceptible of having been sewn on the clothes, the number of the graves with two grave goods is 14, of which eight children, two adults and four undetermined individuals (Borduşelu, Bucu M. 12, Dorobanțu M. 1, Oltenița-Iordoc M. 4, Vlădeni, Jilava M. 2, Târgşor M. 267, Smeieni-sat M. 1, Cireșu M. 3, Brăila-*Hipodrom* M. 1, Jugureanu M. 2, Râmnicelu M. 16, Spiru Haret M. 1, Măriuța M. 2). In five funerary structures only ceramic vessels were deposited, either handmade (Bucu M. 12, Cireşu M. 3, Jugureanu M. 2), or one handmade vessel and one wheel-made vessel (Jilava M. 2, Brăila-Hipodrom M. 1). We cannot find out the exact number of the items deposited in the grave discovered at Insurăței-canal de irigație of which only a handmade vessel and one dagger were recovered. The number of graves with three inventory items each amounts to 10 (Bucu M. 6, Călărași M. 6, Oltenița-Fundeneanu, Oltenița-Renie M. 1, Jilava M. 1, Târgșor M. 196, Buzău M. 4, Grădiștea M. 17, Lişcoteanca-Movila Olarului M. 17, Ruşeţu M. 1). Given that for eight of the 10 structures we benefit of knowing the sex and age of the buried individuals, a possible statistic would have a reduced margin of error. Only one grave belonged to a child (Jilava M. 1), other four burials can be assumed, based on the funerary inventory (deposit of mirrors and spindle-whorls<sup>22</sup>), as belonging to women

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Sîrbu *et alii* 2014, 115.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Again, being aware of the errors that can be generated by the "artifactual sexing" (Effros 2006, 176) of skeletons, I chose the analysis of the Sarmatian graves in Wallachia in which mirrors were discovered (Oţa, Sîrbu, Matei 2013, 333-334) which did not reveal any potential anomaly as regards the composition of the funerary inventory of the above mentioned structures. Of course, generally, the reminders on the automatic equivalence are perfectly valid but maybe, in certain cases, the specific situation ascer-



(Bucu M. 6, Călărași M. 6, Oltenița-Fundeneanu, Oltenița-Renie M. 1) and three belonged to men (Târgșor M. 196, Buzău M. 4, Lișcoteanca-Movila Olarului M. 17).

Of the 55 graves analyzed in this paper, 42 (namely 76.36%) are characterized by the deposit of a reduced number of inventory items, between one and three. For the remaining 12 structures (unfortunately, the grave at Insuratei-canal cannot be taken into account as we do not know the exact number of items), the number of deposited items ranges between four and 10-11. An observation is however required: four of the 12 graves can be regarded as belonging, in fact, to an "intermediary" group among the burials with reduced number of deposited items (between one and three) and the graves with high number of grave goods (between seven and 10-11). That which I have regarded as an "intermediary" group consists of two graves, each with four inventory items (Ulmeni M. 1 and M. 4) and of two graves, each with five items (Gura Ialomitei and Grădistea M. 11). The remaining eight graves contained seven grave goods (Târgșor M. 184 and Chiscani-sat), over seven (Călărași M. 7), eight (Grädistea M. 9 and Vitanesti M. 2), between six and eight (Largu M. 7<sup>23</sup>), between seven and nine items (Târgșor M. 198) or 10-11 items (Oltenița-Renie M. 7).

# **Conclusions**

Although regarded as one of the main clues which can determine the assignation of a grave to the Sarmatians, the handmade pottery was chosen as funerary inventory in rather few cases, at least in Wallachia – 55 graves. The vast majority of these graves (42) is characterized by the deposit of a reduced number of inventory items, ranging between one and three. Among the handmade vessels found in the Sarmatian graves in Wallachia, there are not only vessels characteristic for the discoveries attributed to the Sarmatians, but also vessels with analogies in the Dacian pottery (Râmnicelu M. 19, Măriuța M. 2) or the Przeworsk culture (Grădiștea-Coslogeni). Regardless the ceramic processing tradition, the handmade pottery

tained in a given territory, rather small for that matter, such as the case of Wallachia, should be credited. A new discovery can change the perspective at any time, but, at the present time, such a possibility remains only theoretical

does not seem, insofar as it can be discerned as archaeological discovery, to benefit of a differentiated treatment as grave good. Nothing in the funerary ritual or the inventory of the three above mentioned graves seems to suggest that the handmade pottery was granted a special significance, despite their rarity in the context of the Sarmatian discoveries in Wallachia.

The handmade pottery was discovered in 14 graves belonging to children. It is interesting to note the very low number of items in the vast majority of these graves: 12 graves with one or two grave goods. In five children graves only a ceramic vessel was deposited (Bucu M. 1, M. 13, Olteniţa-Renie M. 2, Târgșor M. 261, Largu M. 3). Seven children graves had two items: only pottery (Bucu M. 12, Jilava M. 2, Ciresu M. 3), pottery and one adornment item, namely one bead (Măriuța M. 2, Spiru Haret M. 1), pottery and spindle-whorl (Râmnicelu M. 16), pottery and ankle bones (Oltenițalordoc M. 4), pottery and animal skull (Vlădeni). The exceptions are only two: M. 1 at Jilava (with three types of inventory items - handmade and wheel-made ceramic vessels and astragals) and Ulmeni M. 4 (with four grave goods: three ceramic vessels, a few beads and one pendant). In terms of items number and composition of the inventory, the children graves in which handmade pottery was discovered are framed in the general coordinates observed for the inventory of the Sarmatian graves of children in Wallachia: generally reduced number of grave goods (between one and four), scarcely varied composition of the funerary inventory with an accent on the ceramic vessels, especially the handmade ones, varied in terms of typology, possibly on the adornments such as the beads, however deposited in reduced number<sup>24</sup>.

The relation between the graves determined or assumed as belonging to men and the handmade pottery seems to be rather occasional – only four graves, at least in the current stage of research. From all the "male" Sarmatian graves in Wallachia, the four above mentioned structures stand out only by the choice of a handmade ceramic vessel, in the conditions under which, in the rest of the graves assigned to men, the preference seems to have been rather granted to the wheel-made pottery. The reduced number of items and the association of the handmade vessel (or vessels) and the dagger (Lișcoteanca-Movila Olarului M. 17, Însurățeicanal), between the handmade vessel, knife and possibly dress item (Buzău M. 4), handmade vessel and wheel-made vessel and astragals (Târgsor M. 196) are features which do not come out from the somewhat "standardized" pattern of the grave

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> The impossibility to specify the exact number of items is given to the presence of items whose functionality can no longer be known, the disaggregation of the items which could initially constitute a whole, the uncertainties related to the chronology of a certain item, possibly not belonging to the initial inventory.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Oţa, Sîrbu, Matei 2013, 328-330.



goods belonging to "male" Sarmatian graves in Wallachia<sup>25</sup>.

Although questioned by the existence of a very high number of undetermined graves in terms of the sex of the deceased (36), the relation between the handmade pottery and the graves belonging to women has other features than the ones noticed in the case of men's graves. Of the 19 funerary structures which benefit of the determination or the assumption of the sex of the buried individual, 14 belonged to women and only four to men. I believe that the handicap of the very high number of undetermined graves will never be recovered, but even in these circumstances, the balance between the "male" and the "female" graves seems to suggest a predominant deposit of handmade pottery in the graves belonging to women (besides the ones belonging to children) than in the graves belonging to men, at least as regards the territory of Wallachia. The explanations can be sought in several ways without any certainty, at least for now. It might be that this prevalence of the female graves is only an impression given the fact that the female individuals are easier to identify based on the funerary inventory (especially mirrors)<sup>26</sup> than the male ones. However, it might be more than an impression. On another occasion<sup>27</sup>, I have drawn the attention to the fact that the "female" graves have a more numerous and more diverse inventory than the "male" graves. In the conditions under which the studies on the social structure of the Sarmatian communities are not very numerous<sup>28</sup>, the causes of such a difference are hard to explain. One may invoke the absence of a standardized pattern of the funerary inventory, reserved only to men, more important in the social hierarchy than women. We may think of a possible choice to compensate, during the funerals, a possible inferior social status, the grave thus becoming not a reflection, but a transformation<sup>29</sup>, a built image<sup>30</sup> of the social status of women during their lives. Symbolization<sup>31</sup> is not excluded, by the items deposited in the grave, referring to a special status of women in the Sarmatian society<sup>32</sup>. Whichever the causes may be, I find it certain that the absence of a funerary inventory pattern imposed this numerical and typological diversity of the grave goods in the "female"

graves and thus the presence of a higher percentage of handmade pottery can be understood easier. A forth explanation is not excluded – a possible intentional deposit of the handmade pottery in the graves which would reflect a special relation between women and the handmade pottery (maybe because they are the ones manufacturing it predominantly?). An interesting remark concerns the graves with high number of inventory items. With one exception (Oltenița-Renie M. 7), out of eight graves with number of items ranging between seven and 10-11, seven belonged to women (Călărași M. 7, Vitănești M. 2, Largu M. 7, Chiscani-sat, Grădiștea M. 9, Târgșor M. 184, M. 198), added by a structure with five inventory items, Grădiștea M. 11, of a female teenager.

One last observation takes into account the dating of the graves in which handmade pottery was deposited. Such tombs are documented in all the stages of penetration of the Sarmatians in Wallachia: 13 burials in the first stage (starting with the last decade of the first century AD and the first decades of the following century), four graves in the second century AD, 32 funerary structures in the second stage (subsequent to the Marcomannic wars), two in the last stage (the end of the third century). At least for now, nothing can be stated with certainty about the dating of four structures. A possible predominance of the custom to deposit handmade pottery in the graves in the second stage of penetration of the Sarmatians in Wallachia seems to be only an impression, easily explainable by the numerical imbalance documented in certain areas between the graves dated in the first stage of the Sarmatian presence in Wallachia and the ones of the second stage. For example, in southern Wallachia the gap is major, because only eight or 10 structures can be assigned to the first stage, by comparison with 90 linked to the second stage<sup>33</sup>.

With few exceptions (the mugs in M. 19 at Râmnicelu and Măriuța M. 2 are the most characteristic examples), the handmade vessels cannot constitute by themselves an indication for the dating of the graves in which they were deposited. The same types of jars are attested in graves assigned to the first stage of the Sarmatian presence in Wallachia and in the structures dated at the end of the third century AD. However, anchored in other characteristic features, the deposit of handmade vessels can shade a lot an image which allows itself to be glimpsed, at least for now, only by one single type of discoveries, the funerary ones, with all the limitations, sometimes drastic, devolving therefrom.

(English version Alexandra Decu)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Oţa, Sîrbu, Matei 2013, 331-333; Oţa 2007, 52-53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Oţa, Sîrbu, Matei 2013, 333-334.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Ota, Sîrbu, Matei 2013, 335-337.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Yatsenko 2003, 88-89.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Pearce 2000, 3 and 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Effros 2006, 160.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Pohl 2006, 121.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Yatsenko 2003, 93.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Sîrbu *et alii* 2014, 131-133.



# **CATALOGUE**

# Handmade vessels:

- **Grădiștea** M. 13 (Harțuche, Anastasiu, Sîrbu 1983, p. 51, 55; Oţa, Sîrbu 2009, p. 104 cat. IV A 25, 147);
- **Oltenița-Iordoc** M. 4 (Sîrbu et alii 2014, p. 61 cat. 28-34. C. M. 4. 1);
- **Olteniţa-Renie** M. 1 (Sîrbu et alii 2014, p. 64 cat. 28-34. F. M. 1. 1);
- **Smeieni-***sat* M. 1 (Bichir 1977, p. 171, note 30, 188; Bichir 1996, p. 299, 300; Drâmbocianu 1981, p. 55; Harhoiu 1993, p. 46);
- **Târgșor** M. 196 (Diaconu 1963, p. 325, 326; Diaconu 1965, p. 21).

#### a. Jars:

#### a. 1. 1.

- **Brăila-***Hipodrom* M. 1 Pl. 1/2 (Harțuche 1980, p. 203; Oța, Sîrbu 2009, p. 93 cat. I A 1, 147, 149, 151, 155);
- **Cireșu** M. 3 Pl. 1/3 (Harțuche 1980, p. 241, Pl. 13/1; Sîrbu 1980, p. 30, pl. V/5; Oţa, Sîrbu 2009, p. 100 cat. III A 16, 147, 151, 155, Pl. 16/14, 17/18);
- **Dorobanţu** M. 1 Pl. 1/6 (Atanasiu 1969, p. 114-115; *Muntenia* 2001, cat. 109; Sîrbu *et alii* 2014, p. 42 cat. 16. 1);
- **Grădiștea** M. 9 Pl. 1/5 (Harțuche, Anastasiu, Sîrbu 1983, p. 50, fig. 2/3, 3/3; Oţa, Sîrbu 2009, p. 102 cat. IV A 20, 149, 151, 155, fig. 18/12, 19/9)
- **Gura lalomiței** Pl. 1/1 (Mușețeanu, Lungu 1978, p. 429, no. 7; Sîrbu *et alii* 2014, p. 51 cat. 20. 1);
- **Spiru Haret** M. 1 Pl. 1/4 (Harţuche, Anastasiu 1976, p. 228 cat. 465; Harţuche 1980, p. 224; Oţa, Sîrbu 2009, p. 115-116 cat. X A 53, 147, 148, 151);
- **Ulmeni** M. 1 Pl. 1/7 (Morintz, Ionescu 1968, p. 110; Morintz, Ionescu 1970, p. 40, 42, fig. 3/4; Bichir 1977, p. 174, pl. 18/15; Sîrbu *et alii* 2014, p. 76 cat. 41. M. 1. 1, fig. 31/6)

#### a. 1. 2.

- **Jugureanu** M. 1 Pl. 2/2 (Bichir 1972, p. 141, pl. V/5; Bichir 1977, p. 172, 174, pl. 6/2, 19/4; Harţuche 1980, p. 205; Oţa, Sîrbu 2009, p. 108 cat. VI A 33, 147, fig. 20/5);
- **Ulmeni** M. 1 Pl. 2/3 (Morintz, Ionescu 1968, p. 110; Morintz, Ionescu 1970, p. 40, 42, fig. 3/5; Bichir 1977, p. 174, pl. 18/16; Sîrbu *et alii* 2014, p. 76 cat. 41. M. 1. 2, fig. 31/7);
- **Ulmeni** M. 4 Pl. 2/1 (Morintz, Ionescu 1968, p. 110; Morintz, Ionescu 1970, p. 40, 42, fig. 5/4; Sîrbu *et alii* 2014, p. 81 cat. 41. M. 4. 1);

#### a. 1. 3.

**Bucu** M. 1 – Pl. 3/1 (Rența 2000, p. 39; Sîrbu *et alii* 2014, p. 16-17 cat. 3 M 1. 1);

#### a. 1. 4.

- **Olteniţa-Renie** M. 2 Pl. 2/4 (Sîrbu et alii 2014, p. 64 cat. 28-34. F. M. 2. 1);
- **Târgșor** M. 198 Pl. 2/6 (Diaconu 1963, p. 326, fig. 2/3; Diaconu 1965, p. 21, 22-23, pl. XI/3, CXL/5)
- **Târgșor** M. 267 Pl. 2/5 (Diaconu 1965, p. 22);

#### a. 1. 5.

- **Largu** M. 7 Pl. 3/3 (Dragomir 1959, p. 476, 479, 480; Bichir 1972, p. 145; Dragomir, Croitoru 2011, p. 43-44);
- Olteniţa-Renie M. 7 Pl. 3/4, 5 (Morintz, Ionescu 1968, p. 100, fig. 6/2, 4; Morintz, Ionescu 1970, p. 39; Bichir 1972, p. 145, pl. XVIII/2, 4; Bichir 1977, p. 174, pl. 7/4, 8/2; Muntenia 2001, cat. 106, 112; Sîrbu et alii 2014, p. 66 cat. 28-34. F. M. 7. 1-2);
- **a. 1. 6. Săndulița** M. 1 Pl. 3/2 (Ulanici 1984, p. 113; Sîrbu *et alii* 2014, p. 74 cat. 39. M. 1. 1);

#### a. 1. 7.

- **Jugureanu** M. 2 Pl. 3/6 (Bichir 1972, p. 141, pl. IV/1; Bichir 1977, p. 172, 174; Harţuche 1980, p. 205-206; Oţa, Sîrbu 2009, p. 108 cat. VI A 34, 147)
- **Târgșor** M. 261 Pl. 3/7 (Diaconu 1965, 22, 23);

#### a. 2

- **Buzău** M. 4 Pl. 4/8 (Drâmbocianu 1981, p. 52, 53);
- **Călărași** M. 7 Pl. 4/1 (Sîrbu *et alii* 2014, p. 27-28 cat. 4-6. F. M. 7. 1);
- **Chiscani-sat** Pl. 4/3 (Harţuche, Anastasiu 1976, p. 234, cat. 485; Harţuche 1980, p. 241; Oţa, Sîrbu 2009, p. 96-97 cat. II A 9, 149, 151, 155);
- **Însurăței-***canal de irigație* Pl. 4/6 (Oța, Sîrbu 2009, p. 106-107 cat. V B 30, 147, 151, 155);
- Jilava M. 2 (Rosetti 1934, p. 209);
- **Jugureanu** M. 2 Pl. 4/5 (Bichir 1972, p. 144, pl. IV/2; Bichir 1977, p. 173, pl. 7/5, 19/1; Harţuche 1980, p. 205-206; Oţa, Sîrbu 2009, p. 108-109 cat. VI A 35, 147, fig. 20/4);
- **Racoviţa** Pl. 4/2 (Harţuche, Anastasiu 1976, p. 257-258 cat. 530; Oţa, Sîrbu 2009, p. 114 cat. VIII A 48, 147, 151);
- **Râmnicelu** M. 16 (Harţuche, Anastasiu, Sîrbu 1983, p. 50, 54; Oţa, Sîrbu 2009, p. 103-104 cat. IX A 50, 147);
- **Rușețu** M. 1 Pl. 4/7 (Bichir 1972, p. 145, pl. IV/5; Bichir 1977, p. 174-175, Pl. 6/3);
- Tichileşti M. 3 Pl. 4/4 (Harţuche, Anastasiu 1976, p.



227 cat. 463; Harţuche 1980, p. 225; Oţa, Sîrbu 2009, p. 116 cat. XI A 55, 147, 151);

#### a. 3.

- **Borduşelu** Pl. 5/4 (Muşeţeanu, Lungu 1977, p. 250; Muşeţeanu, Lungu 1978, p. 423; Sîrbu *et alii* 2014, p. 15-16 cat. 2. 1);
- **Bucu** M. 6 Pl. 5/3 (Renţa 2000, p. 40; Sîrbu *et alii* 2014, p. 18-19 cat. 3. M. 6. 1);
- **Cireșu** M. 3 Pl. 5/1 (Harțuche 1980, p. 241, fig. 13/1; Sîrbu 1980, p. 30, pl. V/5; Oţa, Sîrbu 2009, p. 99-100 nr. cat. III A 14, 147, 151, 155, fig. 16/15 a-b, 17/9 a-b)
- **Vlădeni** Pl. 5/2 (Sîrbu, Corbu 2006, p. 195-199; Sîrbu *et alii* 2014, p. 90 cat. 49. 1);

#### a. 4.

**Grădiștea** M. 9 – Pl. 6/2 (Harțuche, Anastasiu, Sîrbu 1983, p. 53, fig. 2/3, 3/4; Oţa, Sîrbu 2009, p. 102 cat. IV A 21, 147, 149, 151, 155, fig. 18/14, 19/10);

#### a. 5.

**Pietroiu** – Pl. 6/1 (*Muntenia* 2001, cat. 110; Sîrbu *et alii* 2014, p. 73 cat. 36-37. 1);

#### a. 6.

- **Rușețu** M. 1 Pl. 6/3 (Bichir 1972, pl. IV/4; Bichir 1977, p. 174-174, pl. 7/3);
- **Târgșor** M. 198 Pl. 6/4 (Diaconu 1963, p. 326, fig. 2/2; Diaconu 1965, p. 21, 22-23, Pl. XI/2, CXL/2);

#### Not framed:

- **Bucu** M. 12 (CCA campania 2005, p. 99; Sîrbu *et alii* 2014, p. 23 cat. 3. M. 12. 1-2);
- **Călărași** M. 6 (Sîrbu *et alii* 2014, p. 27 cat. 4-6. F. M. 6 1):
- **Cetatea Veche** M. 2 (Sîrbu *et alii* 2014, p. 37 cat. 10. M. 2. 1);
- **Grădiștea** M. 5 (Harțuche, Anastasiu, Sîrbu 1983, p. 50, 53; Oţa, Sîrbu 2009, p. 101-102 cat. IV A 19, 147);
- **Grădiștea** M. 11 (Harțuche, Anastasiu, Sîrbu 1983, p. 50, 54; Oţa, Sîrbu 2009, p. 103-104 cat. IV A 23, 147):
- **Grădiștea** M. 17 (Harțuche, Anastasiu, Sîrbu 1983, p. 51, 55; Oţa, Sîrbu 2009, p. 104 cat. IV A 26, 149);
- Jilava M. 1 (Rosetti 1934, p. 208);
- **Largu** M. 3 (Dragomir 1959, p. 479, 480; Dragomir,

Croitoru 2011, p. 41);

- **Râmnicelu** M. 1 (Harţuche 1980, p. 217; Oţa, Sîrbu 2009, p. 113-114 cat. IX A 49, 147);
- **Smeieni-Movila Mare** M. 10 (Simache, Teodorescu 1962, p. 279, 280);
- **Târgşor** M. 184 Pl. 6/5 (Diaconu 1963, p. 326; Diaconu 1965, p. 20, 22-23);

#### b. Bowls:

- **Grădiștea-Coslogeni** Pl. 7/3 (Sîrbu *et alii* 2014, p. 41-42 cat. 15. 1);
- **Lişcoteanca-***Movila Olarului* M. 17 (Harţuche 1980, p. 207; Oţa, Sîrbu 2009, p. 112 cat. VII C 46, 147, 148, 151, 155)
- **Sultana** M. 3 (Morintz, Ionescu 1970, p. 42, 46; Sîrbu *et alii* 2014, p. 75 cat. 40. M. 3. 1);
- **Ulmeni** M. 4 Pl. 7/4 (Morintz, Ionescu 1968, p. 110; Morintz, Ionescu 1970, p. 40, 42, 46, fig. 5/5; Sîrbu *et alii* 2014, p. 81 cat. 41. M. 4. 2);

# c. Mugs:

**c. 1. Lişcoteanca-Movila Olarului** M. 17 – Pl. 8/1 (Harţuche, Anastasiu 1976, p. 231-232 cat. 477; Harţuche 1980, p. 207-208; Oţa, Sîrbu 2009, p. 112 cat. VII C 45, 147, 148, 151-152, 155);

#### Not framed:

- **Bucu** M. 13 (CCA campania 2005, p. 99; Sîrbu *et alii* 2014, p. 24 cat. 3. M. 13. 1);
- **Olteniţa-Renie** M. 5 (Sîrbu et alii 2014, p. 65 cat. 28-34. F. M. 5. 1);
  - d. Vessel with spherical body:
- **Olteniţa-Fundeneanu** Pl. 6/6 (Bichir 1977, p. 175; Bichir 1996, p. 305; Sîrbu *et alii* 2014, p. 66 cat. 28-34. B. 1);

# e. Perforated vessels:

**Vitănești** M. 2 – Pl. 7/1-2 (Leahu, Trohani 1979, p. 134, 138, fig. 7/1-2; Sîrbu *et alii* 2014, p. 86-87 cat. 47. M. 2. 1-2);

# Handmade Dacian pottery:

#### f. Mugs:

- **f. 1. Râmnicelu** M. 19 Pl. 8/2 (Harțuche 1980, p. 222; Oța, Sîrbu 2009, p. 114-115 cat. IX A 52, 147, 155; Oța, Sîrbu 2012, p. 136, 144, 148);
- **f. 2. Măriuța** M. 2 Pl. 8/3 (Lazăr, Parnic 2007, p. 140; Sîrbu *et alii* 2014, p. 55 cat. 24. M. 2. 1);

g. Lids:

g. 1.

**Borduşelu** – Pl. 7/7 (Muşeţeanu, Lungu 1977, p. 250; Muşeţeanu, Lungu 1978, p. 424; Oţa, Sîrbu 2012, p. 136; Sîrbu *et alii* 2014, p. 16 cat. 2. 2);

**Cireșu** M. 3 – Pl. 5/1 (Harțuche 1980, p. 241; Sîrbu 1980, p. 30; Oţa, Sîrbu 2009, p. 100 cat. III A 15, 147, 155);

**Ulmeni** M. 1 – Pl. 7/6 (Morintz, Ionescu 1968, p. 110; Morintz, Ionescu 1970, p. 40, 42, fig. 3/3; Bichir 1977, p. 174, pl. 18/14; Oţa, Sîrbu 2012, p. 136, 144, 148; Sîrbu *et alii* 2014, p. 77 cat. 41. M. 1. 4, fig. 31/5);

g. 2. Ulmeni M. 1 – Pl. 7/5 (Morintz, Ionescu 1968, p. 110; Morintz, Ionescu 1970, p. 40, 42, fig. 3/2; Bichir 1977, p. 174, pl. 18/13; Oţa, Sîrbu 2012, p. 136, 144, 148; Sîrbu et alii 2014, p. 77 cat. 41. M. 1. 3, fig. 31/4);

#### Not framed:

**Smeieni-Movila Mare** M. 10 (Simache, Teodorescu 1962, p. 279, 280).

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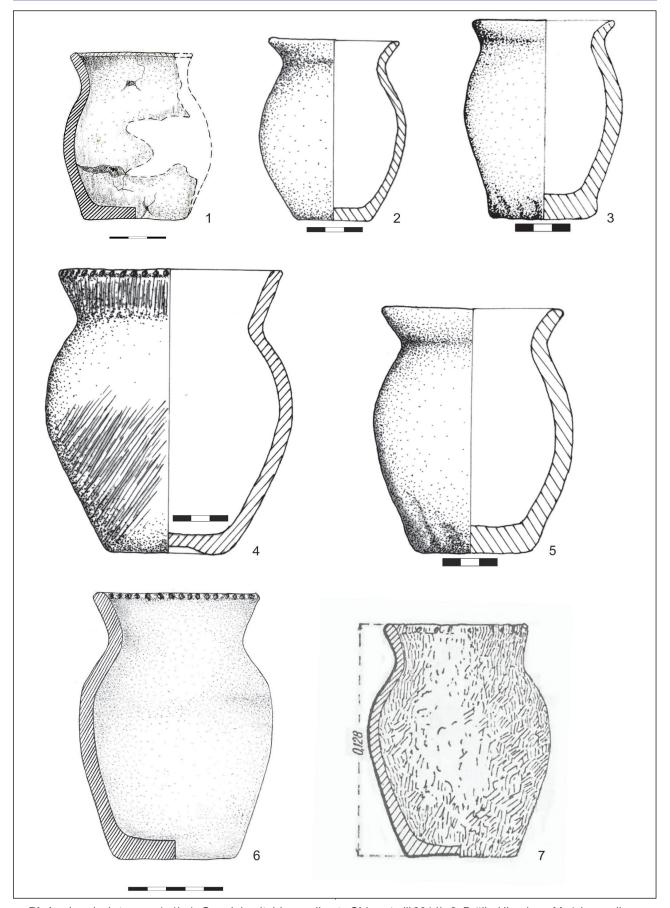
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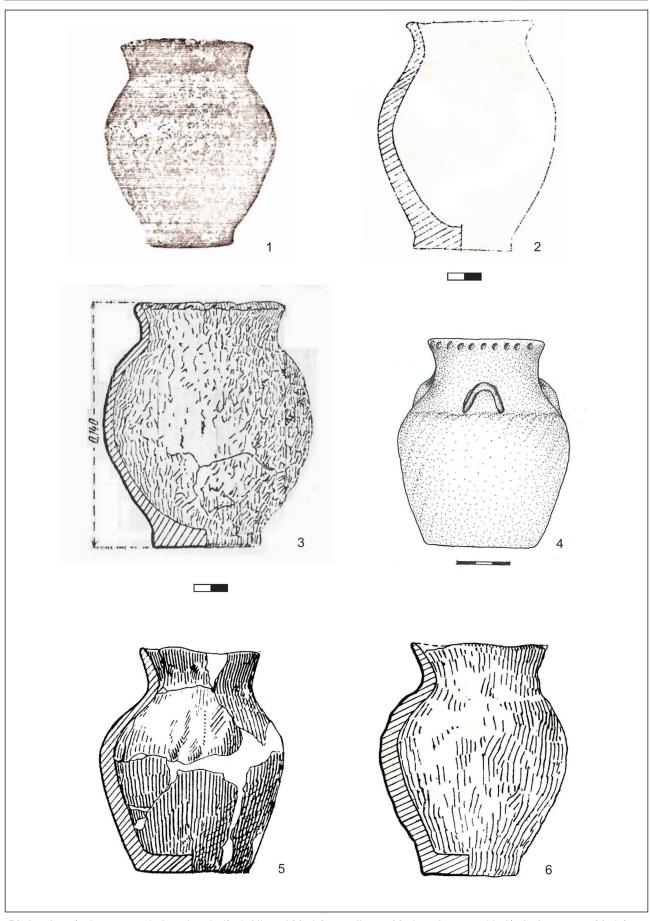
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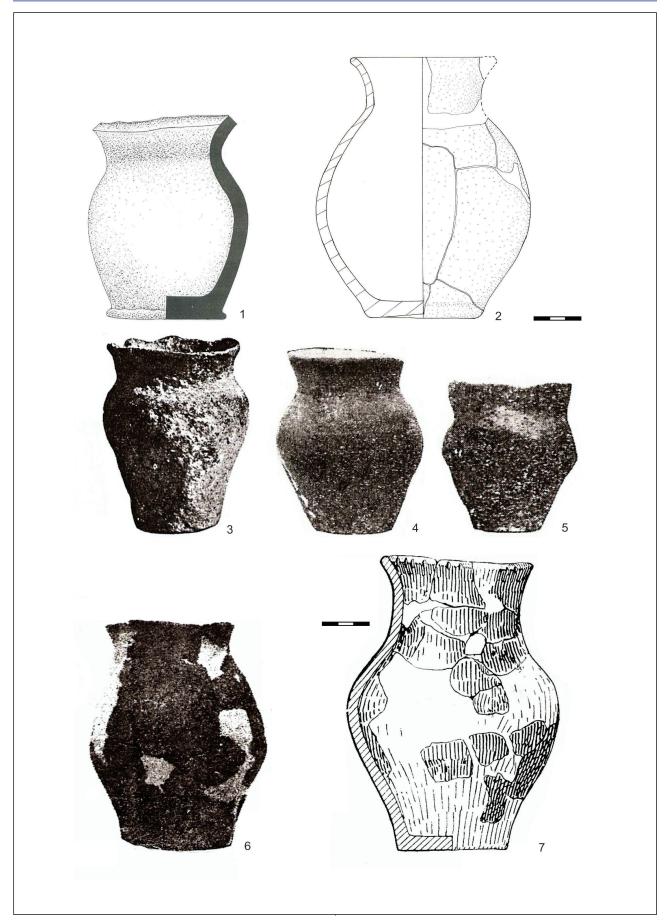


PI. 1 – Jars (sub-type a. 1. 1). 1. Gura lalomiței (according to Sîrbu et alii 2014); 2. Brăila-Hipodrom M. 1 (according to Oța, Sîrbu 2009); 3. Cireșu M. 3 (according to Oța, Sîrbu 2009); 4. Spiru Haret M. 1 (according to Oța, Sîrbu 2009); 5. Grădiștea M. 9 (according to Oța, Sîrbu 2009); 6. Dorobanțu M. 1 (according to Sîrbu et alii 2014); 6. Dorobanțu M. 1 (according to Sîrbu et alii 2014); 7. Ulmeni M. 1 (according to Morintz, Ionescu 1970).

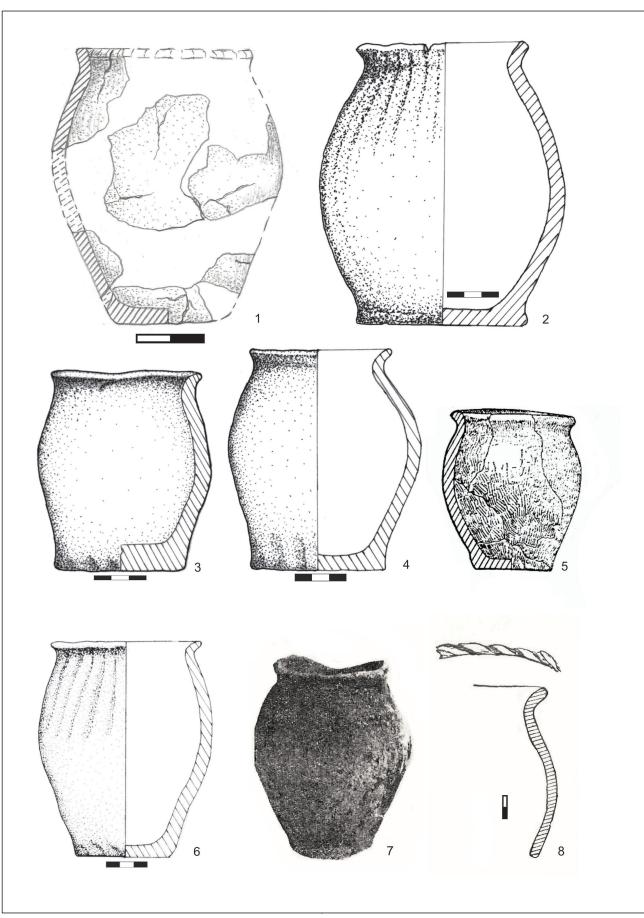


PI. 2 – Jars (sub-types a. 1. 2 and a. 1. 4). 1. Ulmeni M. 4 (according to Morintz, Ionescu 1970); 2. Jugureanu M. 1 (according to Bichir 1977); 3. Ulmeni M. 1 (according to Morintz, Ionescu 1970); 4. Olteniţa-Renie M. 2 (according to Sîrbu *et alii* 2014); 5. Târgşor M. 267 (according to Diaconu 1965); 6. Târgşor M. 198 (according to Diaconu 1965).



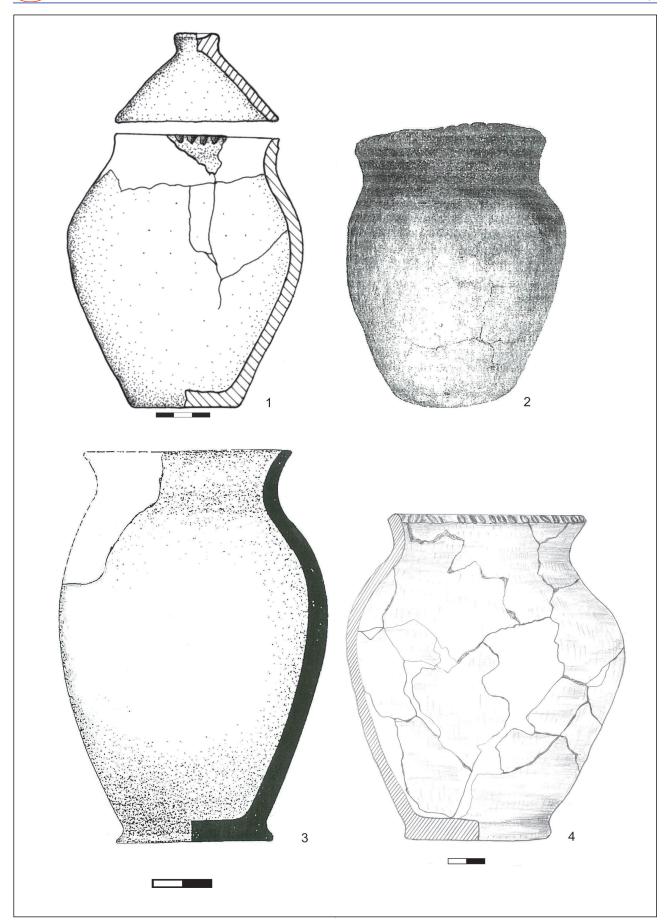


PI. 3 – Jars (sub-types a. 1. 3, a. 1. 5, a. 1. 6 and a. 1. 7). 1. Bucu M. 1 (according to Sîrbu et alii 2014); 2. Săndulița M. 1 (according to Sîrbu et alii 2014); 3. Largu M. 7 (according to Dragomir 1959); 4-5. Oltenița-Renie M. 7 (according to Morintz, Ionescu 1968); 6. Jugureanu M. 2 (according to Bichir 1972); 7. Târgșor M. 261 (according to Diaconu 1965).



PI. 4 – Jars (sub-type a. 2). 1. Călărași M. 7 (according to Sîrbu et alii 2014); 2. Racovița (according to Oța, Sîrbu 2009); 3. Chiscani-sat (according to Oța, Sîrbu 2009); 4. Tichilești M. 3 (according to Oța, Sîrbu 2009); 5. Jugureanu M. 2 (according to Bichir 1977); 6. Însurăței-canal de irigație (according to Oța, Sîrbu 2009); 7. Rușețu M. 1 (according to Bichir 1977); 8. Buzău-sud M. 4 (according to Drâmbocianu 1981).





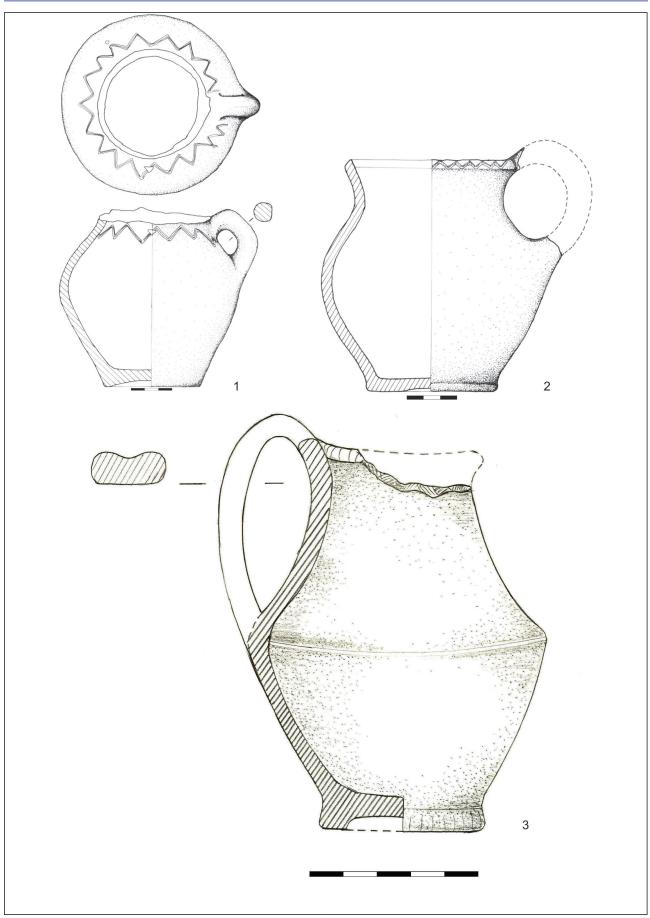
PI. 5 – Jars (sub-type a. 3). 1. Cireşu M. 3 (according to Oţa, Sîrbu 2009); 2. Vlădeni (according to Sîrbu *et alii* 2014); 3. Bucu M. 6 (according to Sîrbu *et alii* 2014); 4. Borduşelu (according to Sîrbu *et alii* 2014).

Pl. 6 – Jars (sub-types a. 4, a. 5 and a. 6) and vessel with spherical body. 1. Pietroiu (according to Sîrbu et alii 2014); 2. Grădiștea M. 9 (according to Oţa, Sîrbu 2009); 3. Rușeţu M. 1 (according to Bichir 1977); 4. Târgșor M. 198 (according to Diaconu 1965); 5. Târgșor M. 184 (according to Diaconu 1965); 6. Oltenița-Fundeneanu (according to Sîrbu et alii 2014).





**PI. 7** – Bowls and lids. 1-2. Vitănești M. 2 (according to Sîrbu *et alii* 2014); 3. Grădiștea-Coslogeni (according to Sîrbu *et alii* 2014); 4. Ulmeni M. 4 (according to Morintz, Ionescu 1970); 5-6. Ulmeni M. 1 (according to Morintz, Ionescu 1970); 7. Bordușelu (according to Sîrbu *et alii* 2014).



PI. 8 – Mugs. 1. Lişcoteanca-*Movila Olarului* M. 17 (according to Oţa, Sîrbu 2009); 2. Râmnicelu M. 19 (according to Oţa, Sîrbu 2009); 3. Măriuţa M. 2 (according to Sîrbu *et alii* 2014).