
SARMATIAN CHILDREN GRAVES IN WALLACHIA AND MOLDAVIA¹

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The studies on the social organization of the Sarmatians are still very few (Yatsenko 2003, 88), and the attention was focused either on reviewing the data from written sources (Yatsenko 2003, 93-95), or on the distinctions that can be made within the members of the elite (Yatsenko 2003, 95; Кривошеев 2017, 56-58), but most of all on the special social status of women (Istvánovits, Kulcsár 2011, 201-218; Яценко 2001, 244-252; Яценко 2007, 58-65; Яценко 2015, 6-13).

Several years ago, we reviewed the main features of the Sarmatian children graves in Wallachia as part of an attempt to delineate the specific of the graves which can be attributed to men or women based on the inventory (Oța, Sîrbu, Matei 2013, 325-352, especially 328-330 on the graves of children). The abovementioned study aimed to provide another overview of the Sarmatian burials in Wallachia that would go beyond the usual model of the older or newer scientific literature in Romania on this subject.

I have decided to resume a specific issue then approached, namely that of the children graves, in an attempt to complete, as much as possible based on the current archaeological data, the image of the Sarmatian communities in Wallachia and Moldavia, outlined in several previous studies (Oța, Sîrbu 2009, 137-197; Oța, Sîrbu 2016a, 261-284; Sîrbu et al. 2014, 93-133).

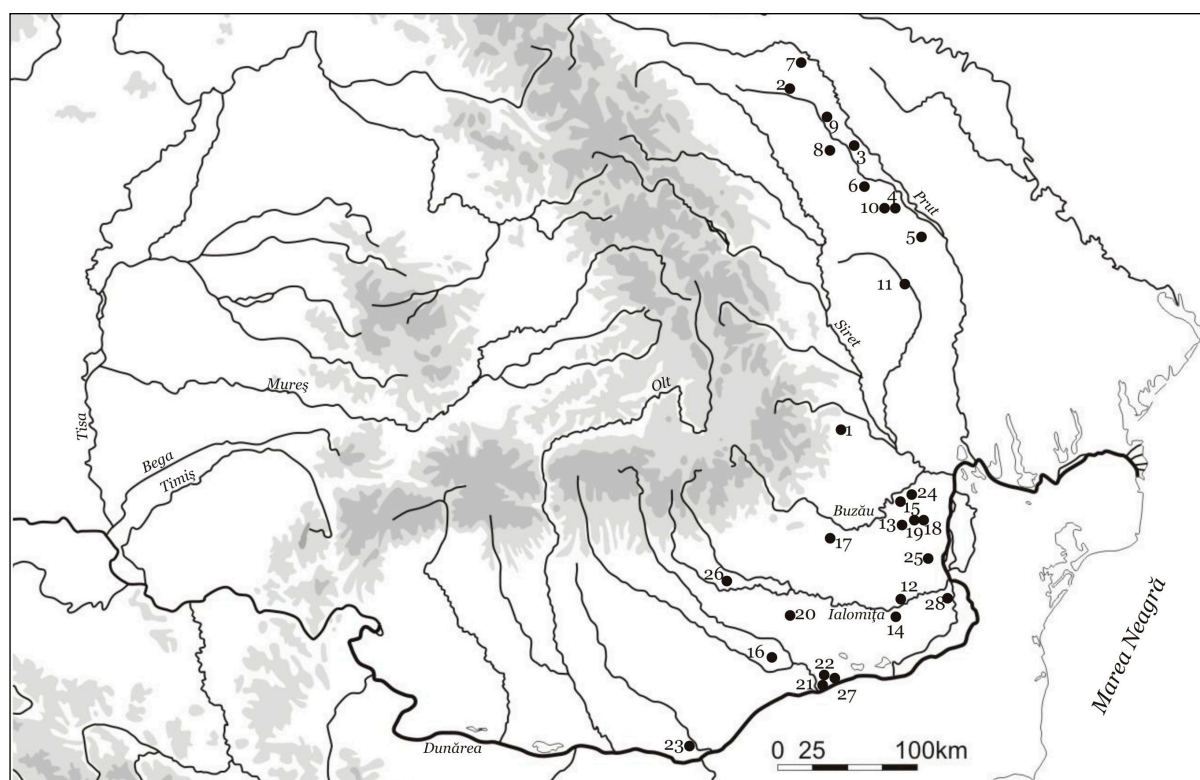
From the very beginning, definitions are to be made. Several studies have questioned lately the use of the term “Sarmatians” either in general (Dan 2017, 113; Mordvinceva 2009, 237; Mordvintseva 2013, 203-216), or with reference to certain areas, especially the north of the Black Sea (Мордвинцева 2015, 111-112, 126-130). I have

already drawn attention (Oța, Sîrbu 2012, 128) to the fact that I do not use the term “Sarmatians” to designate an ethnic reality, but I use it in the same sense it is used by the ancient literary sources – a generic name covering a diversity of tribes (a review of the various names encountered in the written sources at Olbrycht 2000, 116-129) that probably had specific names, a diversity in which, however, certain common general features can be distinguished.

The variety of the archaeological discoveries in the space that is perceived as being inhabited by populations generically designated by the Greek or Latin historiography as “Sarmatians” is the reason for which the following analysis will be limited to only one case study – that of the Sarmatian children burials in Wallachia (territory between the Danube and the Carpathian Mountains, bordered to the west by the Olt River) and Moldavia (more precisely the area between the Prut River and the Carpathian Mountains). I chose these two regions (pl. 1) because, despite some detail differences, both are border areas of the conglomerate of steppe populations, and the vicinity with the Roman Empire (in the case of Wallachia) and with the Dacians (in the case of Moldavia) has left its mark, manifested through the Roman control over the Sarmatian communities in Wallachia (Oța 2007, 51-55; Oța 2016, 129-150; Oța, Sîrbu 2013, 291) and the secondary, perhaps even subordinate role of the Sarmatians in Moldavia in relation to the Dacians (Oța, Sîrbu 2016b, 215-219, 230-234).

An approach to analyze children graves is from the very beginning conditioned by anthropological determinations. From a total number that, at the current stage of research, does not seem to exceed 270 Sarmatian graves discovered in Wallachia (Oța 2016, 131-132), 47 burials were attributed to children (Oța, Sîrbu, Matei 2013, 328), three to teenagers (Oța, Sîrbu, Matei 2013, 330-331) and 89 to adults (either as a result of the

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Pl. 1. Sarmatian children graves in Wallachia and Moldavia (the numbers on the map coincides with the numbers in the catalog).

anthropological analysis, or of the estimation of the archaeologists). To these 138 funerary structures, 11 others can be added, which based on the photographs or the published drawings were estimated by Alexandra Comşa as belonging to adults² – Bucureşti-*Mogoşoia* (Tzony 1975, 283, fig. 1), G. 3 and G. 6 in Buzău-*sud* (Drâmbocianu 1981, 52 and 53-54, figs. 4/3 and 5/3), one grave in Ruşeţu (Bichir 1996, 310, fig. 4/3), G. 1 and G. 2 in Jugureanu (Bichir 1977, 173, fig. 5/1; Bichir 1996, 310, fig. 4/1-2), G. 1 in Lişcoteanca-*Moş Filon* (Harţuche 1980a, 208, fig. 8/3; Oţa, Sîrbu 2009, 124, fig. 10/3), G. 17 in Lişcoteanca-*Movila Olarului* (Harţuche 1980a, 207-208, fig. 8/1, 9/1; Oţa, Sîrbu 2009, 128, fig. 9/4), G. 7 in Olteniţa-*Renie* (Morintz, Ionescu 1970, 39, 43, 45, fig. 2), G. 1 in Sănduliţa (Ulanici 1984, 113, fig. I/2) and G. 4 in Gălăţui (CCA 2001, 141, fig. 8). The presence of a dagger in other five graves – Vedeia (Sîrbu et al. 2014, 85, no. 46), Căzăneşti G.

² The assumptions of Alexandra Comşa have a certain margin of error, due to their being conditioned by the correctness of the published drawings. If these drawings are indeed correct, then the fact that the epiphyses are fused with their diaphyses could indicate an adult skeleton. I would like thereby to thank once again to Alexandra Comşa for the help and advice she has always given me.

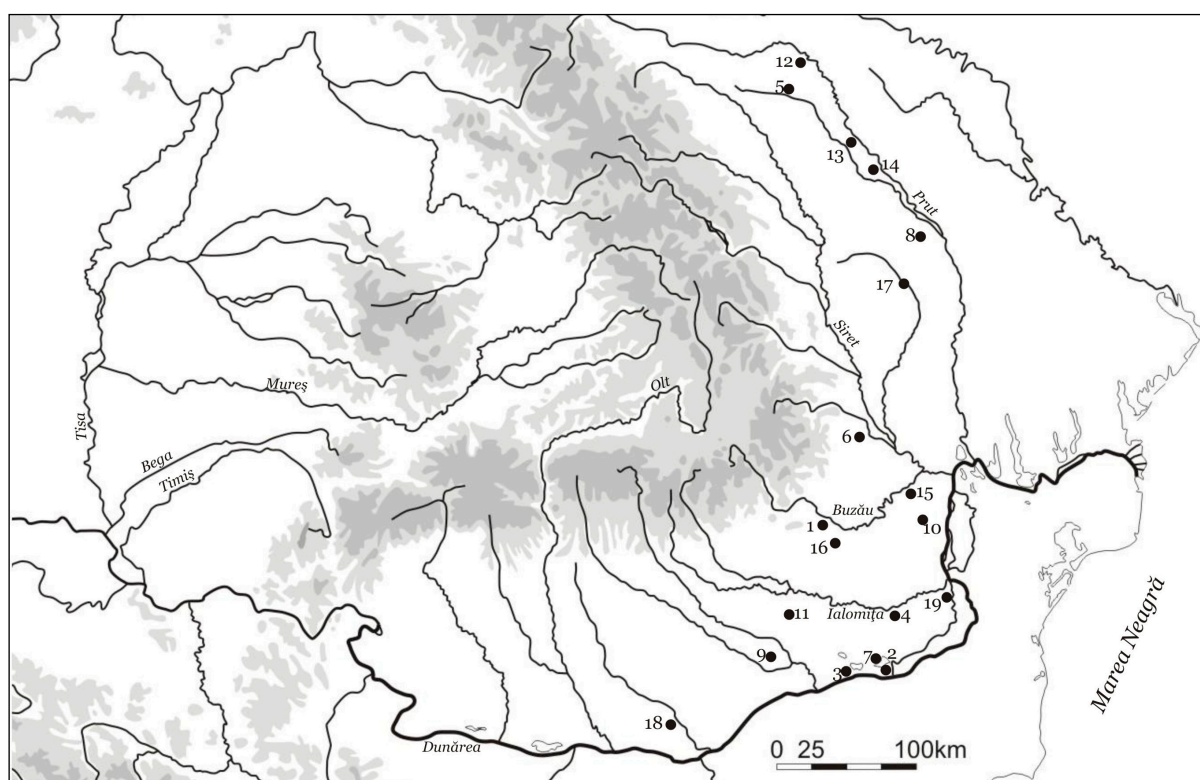
1 (Sîrbu et al. 2014, 34-35), Olteniţa-*Iordoc* G. 6 (Sîrbu et al. 2014, 62), Olteniţa-*Renie* G. 3 (Sîrbu et al. 2014, 64-65) and Nicolae Bălcescu (Sîrbu et al. 2014, 58, nr. 27, all of them with the previous bibliography) – can be considered as an indication of the burial of adults³, which results in a total of 152 Sarmatian graves in Wallachia for which the age of the deceased is known/estimated. Even so, the number of structures for which the age of the buried individuals cannot be known or estimated remains very high (over 100), a fact which at first glance might seem to be a reason strong enough to abandon any such analysis of the Sarmatian graves in Wallachia. However, the careful reading of the circumstances of the discovery of each grave greatly nuances this bleak picture. 31 graves were destroyed and from some of them only the

³ Of course, in the absence of anthropological analyses, this observation can be questioned. Indeed, for later periods, there are some examples of deposits of adult grave-goods in graves belonging to children or preadolescents (Curta 2009, 310; Effros 2006, 160; Graenert 2004, 186; Härke 1994, 36). However, considering that, at least so far, I do not have information on any burial with weapons belonging to a child in the case of the Sarmatians in Wallachia, Moldavia, Banat or Crişana, I think that the assumption that the deposits of weapons seem to characterize the graves of adults can be accepted, of course, with the adequate reserves.

inventory could be recovered (partially or totally), while six other graves were partially destroyed or disturbed. 15 funerary structures attributed to the Sarmatians were only mentioned in the literature or published without too many details – Călărași G. 5 (Sîrbu et al. 2014, 27), Hagieni (Sîrbu et al. 2014, 52-53, no. 21), Nana (Sîrbu et al. 2014, 58, no. 26), Zimnicea (Sîrbu et al. 2014, 90, no. 50), two burials in Oltenița-Valea Mare Filatură (Sîrbu et al. 2014, 69, nos. 28-34 H) and nine graves in Chirnogi (Sîrbu et al. 2014, 37-38, nos. 11-12). Other 27 burials are still unpublished – 17 graves in Târgșor (Niculescu 2003, 182), nine in Ploiești-Triaj (Bichir 1971, 276; Bichir 1972, 139; Bichir 1977, 172, 193; Bichir 1985, 1167) and one in Moisica (Drâmbocianu 1981, 54, 55), which means that in reality we can speak of only 38 funerary structures attributed to the Sarmatians in Wallachia for which the anthropological analysis would have been possible, but it has not been done.

At the current stage of publication of the findings, the number of graves attributed to the Sarmatians in Moldavia seems to be around 220 (Oța, Sîrbu 2016b, 214 and 230). 18 funerary structures were determined either by the archaeologist or the anthropologist as belonging to children and seven to teenagers – Bârlad-Fabrica de confecții G. 1 (Palade 1978-1979, 249, 250, 252, no. 3; Mazilu 1985-1986, 81, no. 29.1; Ioniță, Mamalaucă, Vornic 2009, 10, no. X and 33), Drăgușeni-Ostrov G. 3 (Crîșmaru 1977, 137), Mitoc G. 1 (N. Zaharia 1959, 20-21; Chirica 1979, 634; Mazilu 1985-1986, 68; Păunescu, Șadurschi, Chirica 1976, 190, no. XLI. 1. E), Prăjeni-Alimândra G. 4 (Șadurschi, Ungureanu 1997, 40; CCA 1983-1992, 77, no. 53), Trușești G. 6m and G. 8m (Petrescu-Dîmbovița, Florescu, Florescu 1999, 616), Valea Lupului-Movilă G. 8 (Dinu 1957, 174; Chirica, Tanasachi 1985, 346, no. LXII. 5. B. II. 3). I have excluded from among the Sarmatian graves G. 1 in Valea Lupului-Terasă, which belonged to a teenager, because the presence among the grave-goods of an earring with polyhedral-shaped end (Petrescu-Dîmbovița et al. 1954b, fig. 11/2=Bichir 1972, pl. IX/2=Bichir 1977, pl. 18/2) suggests a dating later, in the early Migration period (Harhoiu 1998, 62-63, type IV.1.6.1.2 and 193, no. 94). 17 other possible burials of adults can be added to the 45 graves determined by the anthropologist or the archaeologists as belonging to adults – seven according to the published drawings, provided that they are indeed cor-

rect – Mitoc G. 6 (Șovan, Chirica 1983, 80, fig. 1/3), Prăjeni-Nelipești G. 1 (Ursulescu, Șadurschi 1986, 18-19, fig. 3/1), Trușești G. 15m (Petrescu-Dîmbovița, Florescu, Florescu 1999, 6, fig. 385 c), Valea Lupului-Terasă G. 6 (Dinu 1955, 79, fig. 11), Cioinagi-Balintești G. 1 (E. Zaharia 1959, 897, fig. 1), Albești (Șovan, Chirica 1983, 81, fig. 3/1) and Ciocani (Palade 1978-1979, 253, no. 5, fig. 6/1) – and 10 considering the deposit of the dagger – Tecuci G. 4 (Vendelin 1940, 101-102), Bârlad-Depozit G. 3 (Palade 1978-1979, 252, no. 4; Mazilu 1985-1986, 81, no. 29.2; Bârcă 2006, 289, no. 26), Ivești G. 3 (Palade 1978-1979, 253, no. 6; Mazilu 1985-1986, 82, no. 31), Manoleasa G. 1 (Păunescu, Șadurschi, Chirica 1976, 159, no. XXXVI. 1. A; Mazilu 1985-1986, 69, no. 2), Podu Iloaiei (Chirica, Tanasachi 1985, 309-310, no. LVI. 1. L), Șerbotești (Ioniță 1964, 312; Mazilu 1985-1986, 78, no. 22), Unțești G. 1 (Palade 1978-1979, 247; Mazilu 1985-1986, 80, no. 26), Sat-Nou G. 2 (Palade 1981, 71-72, no. 4), possibly also Dângeni G. 1 (Ioniță 1964, 311-312; Păunescu, Șadurschi, Chirica 1976, 112, no. XIX. 1. B; Mazilu 1985-1986, 72, no. 8; Șovan 2013, 149, no. 2) and Valea Lupului-Terasă G. 10 (Dinu 1955, 79, 80). Just as in the case of the Sarmatian burials in Wallachia, apparently the number of graves for which the determination or estimation of the age of the deceased was possible is low – only 87. For the rest of the funerary structures attributed to the Sarmatians in Moldavia, the actual shortcoming of the research is rather the unexpectedly large number of graves still unpublished – 23 graves in Pogorăști (Păunescu, Șadurschi, Chirica 1976, 217, no. XLVIII.3.G; Ioniță 1976, 475), 24 in Probota (12 graves according to E. Zaharia, N. Zaharia 1962; 14 according to Mazilu 1985-1986, 70, no. 4.1; 22 according to Bichir 1971, 276 and 1972, 138; 25 according to Bichir 1977, 168 and Bichir 1985, 1166), 12 in Prăjeni (CCA 1983-1992, 77, no. 53), one in Răcătău (Căpitanu 1979, 40; Mazilu 1985-1986, 80, no. 27), two in Strahotin (CCA 1983-1992, 104, no. 68), at least three in Slobozia-Hănești (Diaconu 2010, 47-49, 73; Șovan 2013, 241, nos. 45-46) and one in Tutova-Lutărie (Bichir 1993, 143), therefore a total of 66 funerary structures – than the fact that the graves were published without anthropological determinations (only 28). For the remaining 38 graves, the anthropological analysis is no longer possible, either because of the total destruction of the skeletons or the disturbance of the grave.



Pl. 2. Anthropological determinations for Sarmatian graves in Wallachia and Moldavia. 1 - Buzău-sud; 2 - Călărași; 3 - Cetatea Veche; 4 - Ciulnița; 5 - Drăgușeni; 6 - Foçșani; 7 - Gălățui; 8 - Isaiia; 9 - Jilava; 10 - Lișcoteanca-Moș Filon; 11 - Măriuța; 12 - Mitoc; 13 - Pogorăști; 14 - Probotă; 15 - Râmnicelu; 16 - Smeieni; 17 - Vaslui; 18 - Vitănești; 19 - Vlădeni.

At least in the current stage of research and publication, the percentage of children graves seems to be reduced by reference to the total number of the Sarmatian funerary structures in Wallachia or Moldavia (around 13%). The automatic equivalence between a group of burials and a Sarmatian community entails some risks, especially since the Sarmatian settlements have not been certainly documented from the archaeological point of view, at least for the time being⁴. As far back as 2009, I have drawn attention to the fact that we cannot know precisely whether a group of burials reflects a single community, because we cannot exclude the possibility that more small groups and/or isolated burials belong in fact to the same community that moves on a relatively limited territory (Oța, Sîrbu 2009, 187).

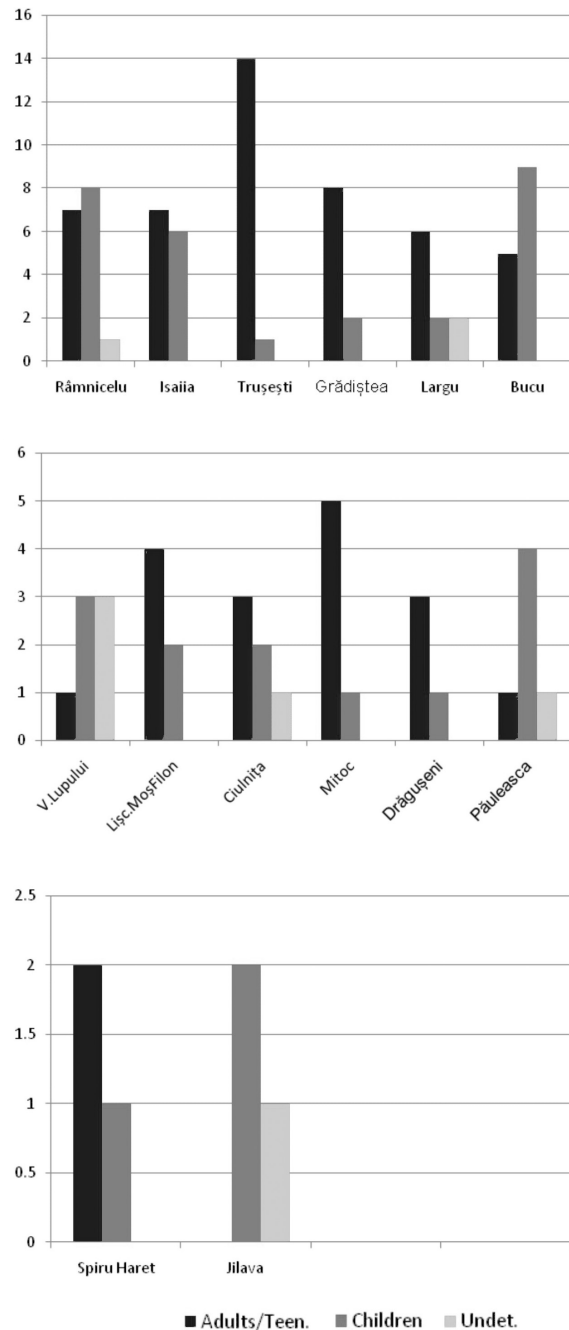
⁴ Yatsenko 2003, 92 draws attention to the fact that the references of the ancient authors to the Sarmatian settlements were questioned from the very beginning, due to the stereotype imposed by the nomadism of the steppe populations. However, a careful analysis of the context of certain discoveries (Sîrbu et al. 2014, 31, nos. 4-6, J, 35, no. 8, 53, no. 22, 72-73, nos. 36-37, 85, no. 45, 94) indicates that not all of them can be interpreted as graves.

The conclusions of the analysis of the groups of graves can only be used with some caution in order to shape the image of the everyday life of the Sarmatian communities in Wallachia or Moldavia, but this does not mean that an approach attempting to go beyond the statistics of the funerary ritual features must be rejected a priori as being dangerous or unnecessary. Even though the relationship between children and adult burials in a particular group of graves may not reflect the real balance between the adults and the children within a particular Sarmatian community, a review of the proportion between the adult and children graves reveals an unexpectedly varied picture of the various groups of burials, whose explanation is not decoded now, but could be a subject of reflection in the future.

Unfortunately, for a large number of groups of graves, the ratio between the burials of children and adults cannot be known⁵: Chirnoși (eight

⁵ A review of the ratio between the graves of children and those of adults in the case of the Sarmatian graves in Wallachia can be found in Oța, Sîrbu, Matei 2013, 327-328.

graves – Sîrbu et al. 2014, 37-38, nos. 11-12 and 124, with the previous bibliography), Dorobanțu (five burials – Sîrbu et al. 2014, 42-44, no. 16 and 128, with the previous bibliography), Oltenița-*Coada Lupului* (three graves – Sîrbu et al. 2014, 58-59, nos. 28-34 A and 125, with the previous bibliography), Oltenița-*Iordoc* (eight graves – Sîrbu et al. 2014, 59-62, nos. 28-34 C and 123-124, with the previous bibliography), Oltenița-*Renie* (16 graves – Sîrbu et al. 2014, 63-68, nos. 28-34 F and 121-122, with the previous bibliography), Ulmeni (five graves – Sîrbu et al. 2014, 76-84, no. 41 and 127-128, with the previous bibliography), Călărași G. 6-10 (five graves – Sîrbu et al. 2014, 27-30, nos. 4-6 F and 124-125, with the previous bibliography). The groups of exclusive burials consisting only of funerary structures of adults or children are relatively few and the number of graves is generally low. So far, the only group of graves of children only is the one in Cireșu (two burials – Oța, Sîrbu 2009, 120, no. 6 and 190-191, with the previous bibliography) and other 10 groups revealed only burials of adults: Brăila-*Hipodrom* (five graves – Oța, Sîrbu 2009, 117-118, no. 1 and 191-192, with the previous bibliography), Drăgușeni-*Ostrov* (again five graves, of which four of adults and one of a teenager – Crișmaru 1977, 136-137; Crișmaru 1981, 83-87; Bârcă 2006, 306-307, no. 53), Tichilești (four graves – Oța, Sîrbu 2009, 133-134, no. 19 and 196, with the previous bibliography), Giurcani (four graves – Buzdugan 1981, 7-15; Buzdugan 1982, 29-30; Bichir 1993, 152, 154-156, 158, 159; Bârcă 2006, 312-314, nos. 62-66), Lișcoteanca-*Movila din baltă* (three burials – Oța, Sîrbu 2009, 126, no. 12 and 189, with the previous bibliography), Smeieni-*Movila mare* (the same – Frînculeasa et al. 2017, 54-55, 58, 177-181, 186-188, with the previous bibliography), Jugureanu (the same – Oța, Sîrbu 2009, 123-124, no. 10 and 189-190, with the previous bibliography), Gălățui (three definitely Sarmatian graves of adults and one child burial, however chronologically uncertain – Sîrbu et al. 2014, 48-51, no. 19 and 125, with the previous bibliography), probably also Buzău-*sud* (six burials of adults, with the observation that we do not know the actual situation, since other graves were destroyed – Drîmbocianu 1981, 50-54) and possibly Cioinagi (three adults and one grave impossible to determine – E. Zaharia 1959, 897-900). A balanced proportion between the graves of children and the graves of adults (pl. 3) may be observed in three cases: Râmnicelu (16



Pl. 3. Age ratio in Sarmatian groups of graves.

graves, of which seven of adults, eight of children and one undetermined grave – Oța, Sîrbu 2009, 130-132, no. 16 and 185-187), Isaiia (13 graves, of which seven of adults and six of children – Ursulescu, Kogălniceanu 2002-2004, 27-35), possibly also Valea Lupului-*Movilă* (seven burials, of which three of children and one of a teenager – Dinu 1957, 174; Dinu 1959 a, 248; Dinu 1959 b, 204; Chirica, Tanasachi 1985, 346, no. LXII. 5. B. II. 3; Mazilu 1985-1986, 76, no. 17).

In the case of other eight clusters (pl. 3), the graves of adults were predominant: Trușești (15 graves, of which 12 adults, two teenagers and one child – Petrescu-Dîmbovița, Florescu, Florescu 1999, 613-617), Grădiștea (10 graves, of which seven of adults, two of children and one female teenager – Oța, Sîrbu 2009, 120-123, no. 7 and 192-195, with the previous bibliography), Largu (10 graves, of which five adults, two children, one female teenager and two undetermined graves – Dragomir 1957, 300, 302, 304; Dragomir, Croitoru 2011, 40-45, with the previous bibliography), Lișcoteanca-Moș Filon (six graves, of which four adults and two children – Oța, Sîrbu 2009, 124-126, no. 11 and 187-189, with the previous bibliography), Mitoc (six burials, of which four adults, one female teenager and one child – N. Zaharia 1959, 20-21; Chirica 1979, 631-634; Șovan, Chirica 1983, 79-80; Mazilu 1985-1986, 69, no. 1), Ciulnița (six burials, of which three of adults, two of children and one undetermined grave – Rența 2016, 86-87, 94, 96-97, 98; Sîrbu et al. 2014, 126-127), Drăgușeni-La Ocoale (four graves, of which two of adults, one of a teenager or young man and one of a child – Crișmaru 1977, 133-135), Spiru Haret (three graves, of which two of adults and one of a child – Oța, Sîrbu 2009, 133, no. 18 and 196, with the previous bibliography), to which could be added Târgșor (of the 18 graves published so far, 15 belong to adults and only three to children – Diaconu 1965, 20-22) and possibly Lișcoteanca-Movila Olarului (12 graves, of which six of adults, three of children and three undetermined graves – Oța, Sîrbu 2009, 126-128, no. 13 și 185-187, with the previous bibliography). The predominance of the children graves (pl. 3) can be noted in three cases: Bucu (14 graves, of which nine children and five teenagers – Sîrbu et al. 2014, 16-24, no. 3 and 123, with the previous bibliography), Păuleasca (six burials, of which four of children, one of an adult and one undetermined burial – Sîrbu et al. 2014, 69-72, no. 35 and 126, with the previous bibliography) and Jilava (three graves, of which two of children and one undetermined grave – Rosetti 1934, 208-209).

If we attempt to correlate the total number of graves in a group with the proportion of graves, we can notice some interesting aspects, synthesized in Table 1. In the case of the large groups (with at least 10 graves – pl. 3), a balanced proportion between the graves of adults and the graves of children was seen for two of them (Râmnicelu

and Isaiia), in the case of five others the burials of adults are predominant (Trușești, Grădiștea, Largu, probably also Târgșor and Lișcoteanca-Movila Olarului⁶), while the exception is represented, at least so far, by Bucu, where the children graves are prevalent. The groups with an average number of graves (ranging from nine to four – pl. 3) are the most diverse: a) with a balanced structure (maybe Valea Lupului-Movilă, should it turn out that the three undetermined burials belong to adults), b) predominantly with graves of adults (Lișcoteanca-Moș Filon, Ciulnița, Mitoc and Drăgușeni-La Ocoale), c) predominantly with graves of children (Păuleasca) or d) exclusively with graves of adults (Brăila-Hipodrom, Tichilești, Giurcani, Drăgușeni-Ostrov, possibly also Buzău-sud and Cioinagi). Probably as a matter of course, in the case of the small groups (two and three burials – Pl. 3) exclusivity prevails, be it of adults (Lișcoteanca-Movila din baltă, Smeieni-Movila mare, Jugureanu, possibly also Gălățui), or of children (Cireșu), with two exceptions of predominance of children graves (Jilava) or of adults graves (Spiru Haret).

Of the total of 65 graves of children (pl. 1) currently available for analysis⁷, six are isolated graves: Căndești, Prăjeni-Lutărie, Larga Jijia, Vaslui G. 5, Măriuța G. 2 and Vlădeni. Two explanations are already required. The first concerns the inclusion of G. 2 in Măriuța and G. 5 in Vaslui among the isolated graves. In relation to G. 2 in Măriuța, I have drawn attention on another occasion (Oța, Sîrbu 2016a, 262) to the chronological gap between the two Sarmatian graves discovered there up to now, which could be an argument in favour of the hypothesis that, this funerary structure was isolated, at least initially. The big distance between G. 1 and G. 5 in Vaslui (Andronic, Neamțu, Banu 1962, fig. 1) and the fact that between them there were no other discoveries of Sarmatian funerary structures are arguments in favour of the hypothesis that the two graves in Vaslui did not form a proper group, but in fact were isolated

⁶ Unfortunately, the presence at Lișcoteanca-Movila Olarului of three graves for which the age of the deceased is unknown, requires a lot of caution in formulating assessments, because, although classified in this analysis among the groups with graves of adults preponderantly, if all three deceased with undetermined age would have been children, then the situation would have been radically different, with the said group belonging to the category with a balanced presence of children and adult burials.

⁷ For the bibliography of each grave, see the catalogue, at the end of the paper.

Table 1

The proportion of graves of adults and children in the case of the groups of Sarmatian graves

	Balance between the graves of adults/children (total number of graves)	Predominance of graves of adults	Predominance of graves of children	Exclusivity of graves of adults	Exclusivity of graves of children
Large groups (over 10 graves)	Râmnicelu (16) Isaiia (13)	Trușești (15) Grădișteța (10) Largu (10) Târgșor (18 published) (?) Lișcoteanca-Movila Olarului (12) (?)	Bucu (14)		
Average groups (4-9 graves)	V. Lupului – <i>Movilă</i> (7) (?)	Lișcoteanca-Moș <i>Filon</i> (6) Ciulnița (6) Mitoc (6) Drăgușeni- <i>La Ocoale</i> (4)	Păuleasca (6)	Brăila- <i>Hipodrom</i> (5) Tichilești (4) Drăgușeni- <i>Ostrov</i> (5) Giurcani tumuli (4) Buzău- <i>sud</i> (6) (?) Cioinagi (4) (?)	
Small groups (1-3 graves)		Spiru Haret (3)	Jilava (3)	Lișcoteanca- <i>Movila din baltă</i> (3) Smeieni- <i>Movila Mare</i> (3) Jugureanu (3) Gălățui (3) (?)	Cireșu

burials. The second explanation refers to the exclusion from the present analysis of two burials of children – *Vaslui-Gura Bustei* and *Giurcani T. 1 G. 7*. The assumption of the two authors (Rotaru, Chiriac 2004-2006, 38-40) that the grave in *Vaslui-Gura Bustei* belongs to a child is generated by the very small diameter of the two bronze wire bracelets (6.2 cm and 6.9 cm). Even if located on the territory of a Roman province, namely Moesia Inferior, the rural necropolis in Kragulevo provided two examples that showed us how misleading such a judgment can be, when based only on impressions: the diameter of the adult bracelet in G. 50 was of 7.1 cm, while the diameter of the bracelet found in G. 69 belonging to a child was of 7.6 cm (Vasilčin 1996-1997, 54-55 for G. 50 and 58-59 for G. 69). As regards G. 7 in tumulus 1 of *Giurcani-Argeaua*, the fact that it does not have any grave-goods and the crouched position of the skeleton prevent any definite chronological attribution, despite the attempts to support the dating of the abovementioned structure either to the period of transition from the Eneolithic to the Bronze Age as presumed by the author of the excavations (Buzdugan 1981, 13), or to the first century A.D., as Gh. Bichir (Bichir 1993, 157-159)

seems to finally think, although he had previously drawn attention in a correct manner to the fact that „ethno-cultural attributions cannot be made solely based on the position and orientation of the skeletons, if the ritual details and the grave-goods are absent” (Bichir 1993, 157).

The majority of Sarmatian burials of children were discovered in groups of graves. Most frequently, the number of graves of children in a group is two – eight cases (Jilava, Largu, Cireșu, Ciulnița, Grădișteța, Lișcoteanca-Moș *Filon*, Oltenița-*Renie* and *Ulmeni*) or one – seven cases (Oltenița-*Iordoc*, Spiru Haret, Drăgușeni-*La Ocoale*, Glăvăneștii Vechi, Holboca, Mitoc, Trușești). Three children graves in the same group are much less frequent – Lișcoteanca-*Movila Olarului*, Valea Lupului-*Movilă* and possibly Târgșor, judging based only on the discoveries published up to this time. Higher numbers of graves of children are recorded as very exceptional occurrences: four burials/group (Păuleasca), six burials/group (Isaiia), eight burials/group (Râmnicelu) and nine burials/group (Bucu).

I believe that, at least for the current stage of research, it would be useful to find out the per-

centage of burials of children within the various groups, although one may object that such an approach does not reflect the actual situation, not even in the case of the burials and an anthropological analysis could change the data at any time. If we take into account *all* the groups of Sarmatian graves in which burials of children have been discovered, therefore also those for which the exact ratio between the graves of children and the graves of adults (underlined in the table below) is not known, the result is a very high variation of the percentage of the number of children burials/group ranging from 100% to 6.66%, according to Table 2.

A look at the above table shows that, at least at the current stage of the discoveries, the small groups of graves (two and three burials) are characterized by significant percentages of children graves (between 100% and 33.33%). Medium-sized groups (between nine and four graves) are heterogeneous, with percentages varying between 66.66% and 12.5%, although the majority focuses between 40% and 25%. The large groups show either high percentages of child burials (between

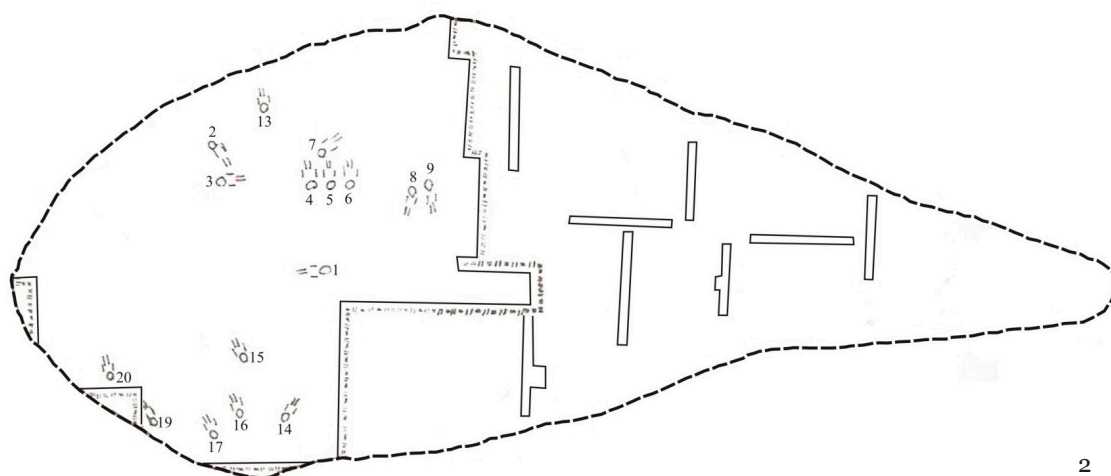
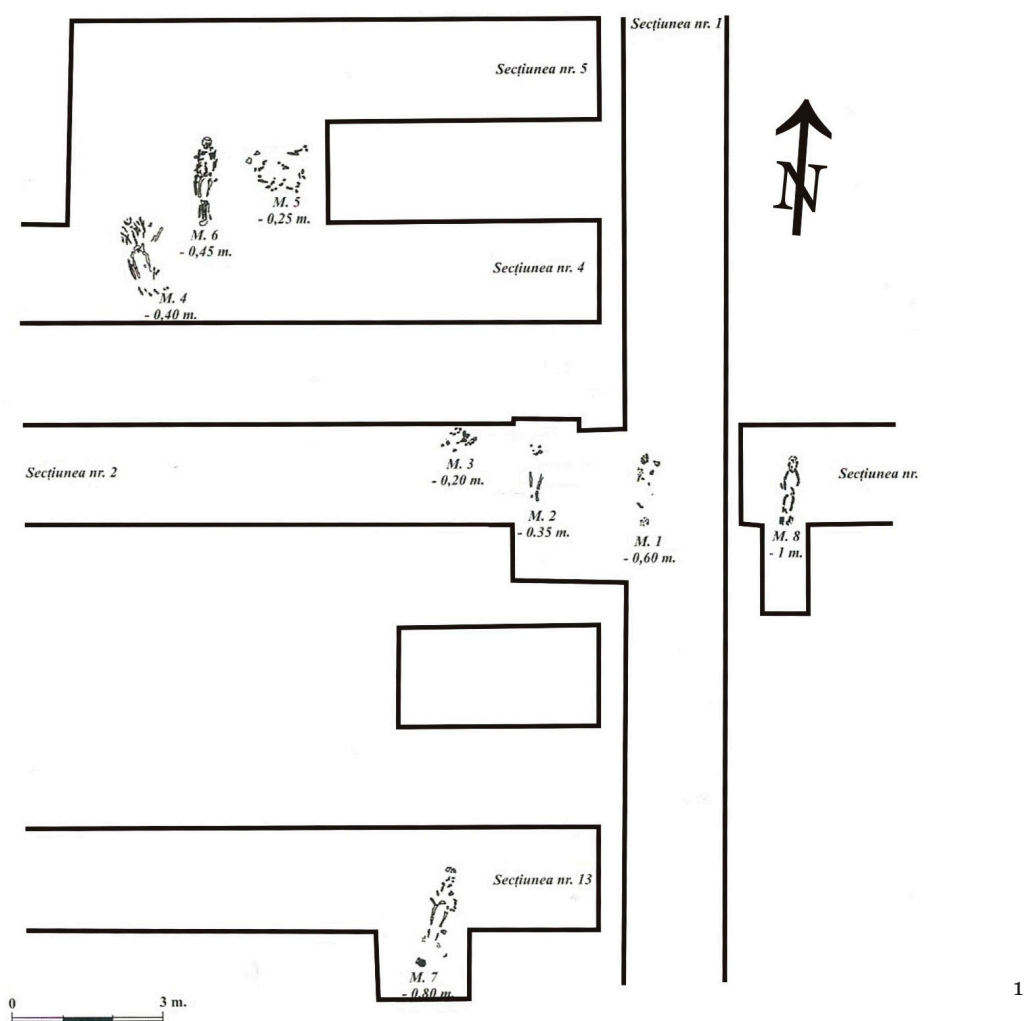
64.28% and 46.15% – Bucu, Râmnicelu and Isaiia), or rather low percentages (between 25% and 12.5%), or even very low (the case in Trușești, with only 6.66%).

The absence of plans of the groups of graves considerably hinders the answer to the question on the place of the graves of children in the area where the burials were performed. The few published plans show the tendency towards grouping the graves of children within the group. This tendency is most clearly observed in the graves at Râmnicelu (pl. 4/2) – where six of the eight children graves were aligned in a row in the center of the group, except for G. 16 and G. 20 that occupied a peripheral position (Hartușche 1980 a, fig. 4; Oța, Sîrbu 2009, fig. 12/2). The same grouping and central position of the graves of children (G. 2, G. 6, G. 13 – pl. 5/1) can also be observed at Lișcoteanca-Movila Olarului (Oța, Sîrbu 2009, fig. 12/1), but this layout does not involve also identical orientations of the skeleton in any of the cases. The two graves of children in Largu (pl. 4/1) were situated side by side (Dragomir, Croitoru 2011, fig. 10). Another way of ar-

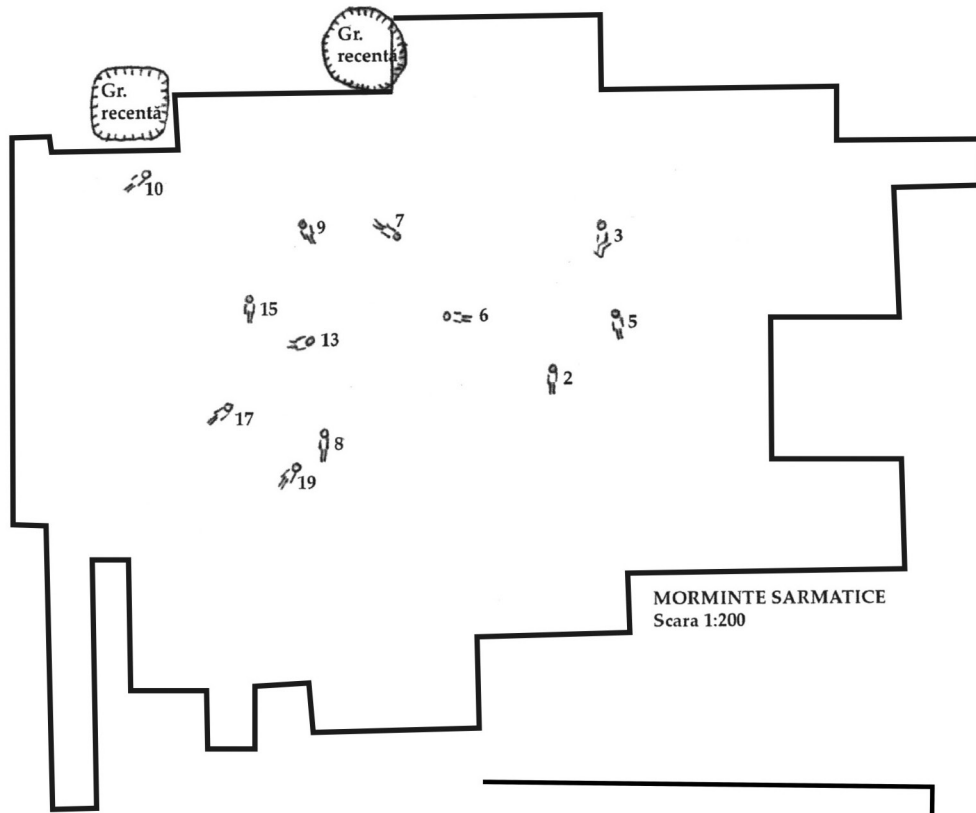
Table 2

The percentage of children burials in the groups of Sarmatian graves

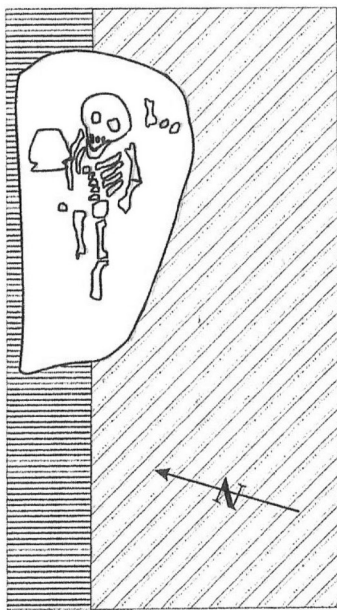
No.	Group of graves	No. of children burials	Total number of burials	Percentage of children burials
1.	Cireșu	2	2	100 %
2.	Jilava	2	3	66,66%
3.	Păuleasca	4	6	66,66%
5.	Bucu	9	14	64,28%
6.	Râmnicelu	8	16	50%
7.	<u>Holboca</u>	1	2	50%
8.	Isaiia	6	13	46,15%
9.	<u>Ulmeni</u>	2	5	40%
10.	<u>Valea Lupului-Movilă</u>	3	7	37,5%
11.	Lișcoteanca-Moș Filon	2	6	33,33%
12.	Spiru Haret	1	3	33,33%
13.	<u>Glăvăneștii Vechi</u>	1	3	33,33%
14.	Lișcoteanca-Movila Olarului	3	12	25%
15.	Ciulnița	2	6	25%
16.	Drăgușeni-La Ocoale	1	4	25%
17.	Largu	2	10	20%
18.	Grădiștea	2	10	20%
19.	Târgșor	3	18 published	16,66%
20.	Mitoc	1	6	16,66%
21.	Oltenița-Renie	2	16	12,5%
22.	Oltenița-Iordoc	1	8	12,5%
23.	Trușești	1	15	6,66%



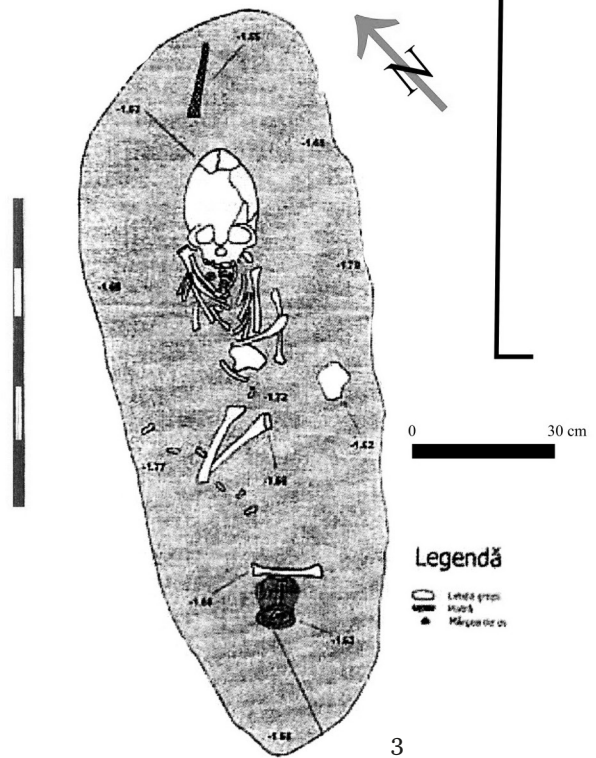
Pl. 4. 1 - Largu (after Dragomir, Croitoru 2011); 2 - Râmnicelu (after Oța, Sîrbu 2009).



1



2



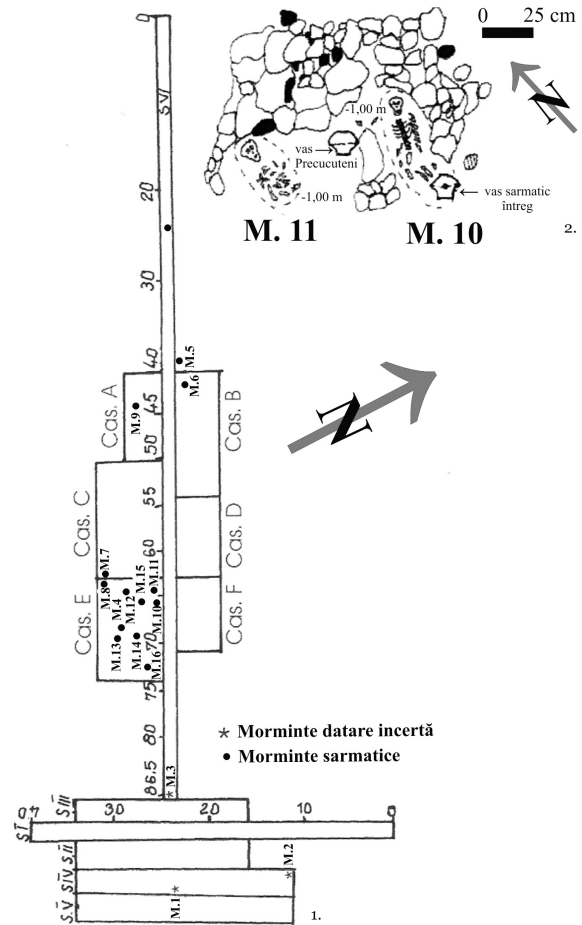
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Pl. 5. 1 - Lișcoteanca-Movila Olarului – plan (after Oța, Sîrbu 2009); 2 - Vlădeni (after Sîrbu, Corbu 2006); 3 - Măriuța G. 2 (after Lazăr, Parnic 2007).

ranging the children graves can be seen in Isaiia (Ursulescu, Kogălniceanu 2002-2004, fig. 1), where three graves of children (G. 10, G. 11 and G. 16 – pl. 6/1) were arranged in a row at the edge of the group, while the remaining three children graves were arranged near the grave of an adult: G. 6 (9-12 months old child)+G. 5 (male about 30 years of age); G. 4 (6-9 months old child)+G. 13 (25-30 years old female) and G. 7 (2-3 months old child)+G. 8 (female about 30 years of age). The situation at Bucu (Rența 2000, fig. 2) is fairly similar, with G. 2, G. 3 and G. 4 – all graves of children, being grouped at the edge of the burial area (pl. 7/2), while another child grave, G. 5, was situated near G. 9, which belongs to an adult without grave-goods.

Most of the children graves are flat, with 25 exceptions arranged in tells (Cândești, Râmnicelu, Lișcoteanca-Moș *Filon*, Lișcoteanca-Movila *Olarului*, Spiru Haret, Cireșu), in older tumuli (Glăvăneștii Vechi, Ciulnița and G. 3 at Valea Lupului-Movilă), in higher landforms (Holboca and Vlădeni) or in sand dunes (Largu). The cases of particular arrangements of the pit are few. The child skeleton in G. 220 at Târgșor was buried diagonally in a large pit, almost square-shaped. Under the skull of the child buried at Cândești (Pl. 9/6) was observed a river stone, under which there was a bone, probably of a bird, deposited as an offering, according to the author of the discovery (Bobi 1982-1984, 333). A fragment of a stone grinder attributed to the Precucuteni culture was placed in vertical position, to the right of the body of the child in G. 10 at Isaiia (pl. 6/2), whose pit was covered with clay slabs of the Neolithic kiln. Moreover, at Isaiia, in G. 6, the skeleton was covered with fragments from a ceramic cover belonging to the Precucuteni culture. Instead, the presence of a stone 12 cm north of the skull of the little girl in G. 2 at Măriuța (pl. 5/3) seems to be accidental, rather due to the way of filling of the pit than to an intentional deposit. One of the very rare double graves registered in the case of the Sarmatians in Wallachia or Moldavia, the one at Glăvăneștii Vechi, contained two deceased – an adult and a child buried approximately 20 cm higher.

The predominant orientation of the graves of children is N-S, with the variations NNE-SSW or NNW-SSE (30 cases), which are added by another eight graves whose deceased were buried in the NE-SW or NW-SE direction. The excep-

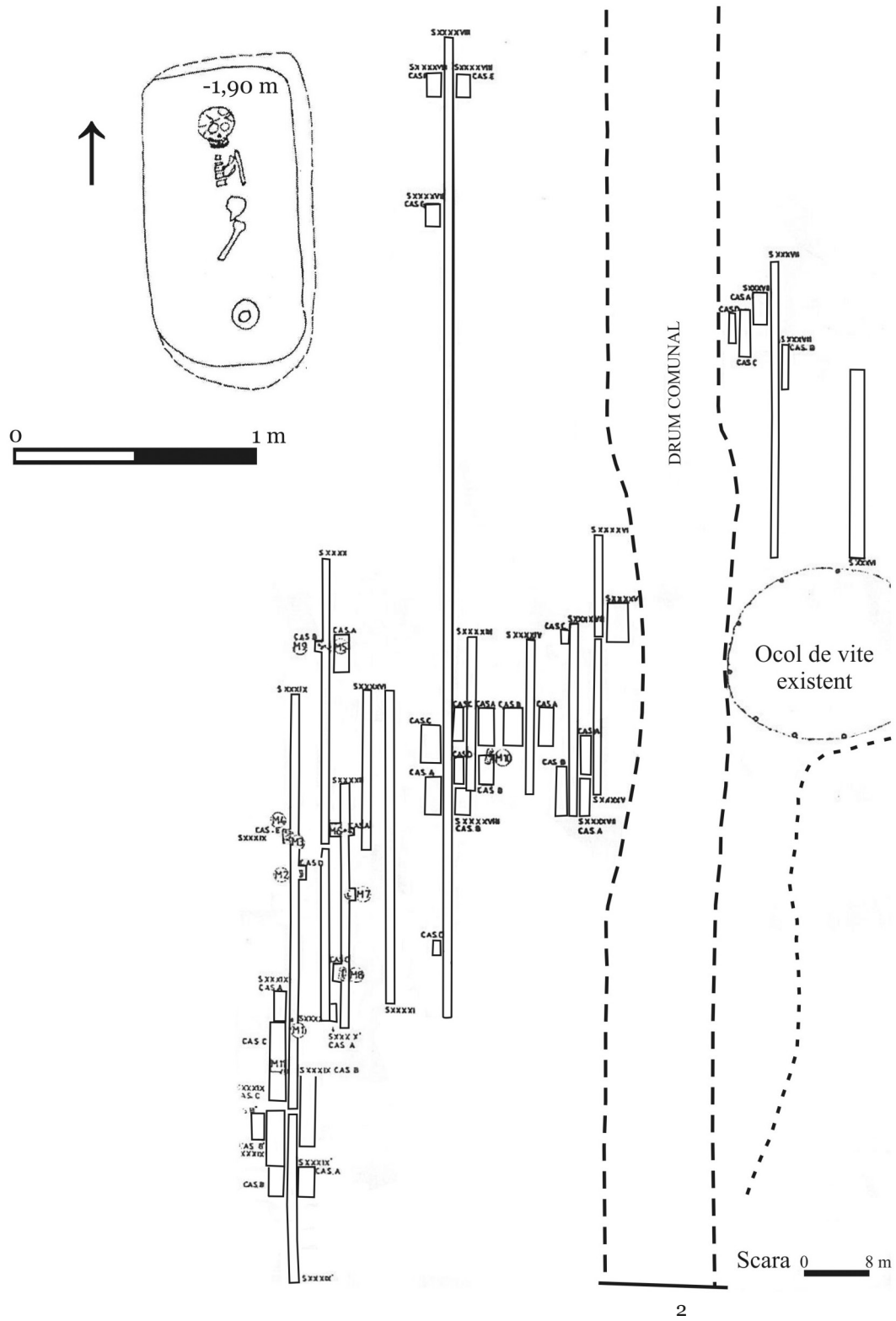


Pl. 6. 1 - Isaiia – plan (after Ursulescu, Kogălniceanu 2002-2004); 2 - Isaiia G. 10 and G. 11 (after Ursulescu, Kogălniceanu 2002-2004).

tions are only 11 – seven graves W-E oriented (Lișcoteanca-Movila *Olarului* G. 2, Râmnicelu G. 4, G. 5, G. 6, G. 8, G. 16, Ulmeni G. 5), two E-W oriented (Vlădeni and Râmnicelu G. 9) and two S-N oriented (Lișcoteanca-Movila *Olarului* G. 6 and Păuleasca G. 23). Unfortunately, the orientation of the skeleton could not be determined for 16 graves.

Though questioned by the large number of cases where the position of the skeleton is not known (24), a few observations may however be sketched. The most common position is with the body laid out in dorsal position, with the arms and legs extended, therefore position 1⁸ (28 certain cases and three with doubts due to the partial preservation

⁸ For the numbering and description of the positions, see Oța, Sîrbu 2009, 141-143.



Pl. 7. 1 - Bucu G. 2 (after Rența 2000); 2 - Bucu – plan (after Rența 2000).

of the skeleton). The position in which the child of G. 2 at Bucu (pl. 7/1) was buried is difficult to determine precisely. According to the author's brief description (Rența 2000, 39), it is not excluded that the child was also buried in position 1, and the direction towards the right of the preserved femur could only be an accident, and not an indication of bending both legs at the knees and their inclination to the right, therefore the position numbered 11. There are nine exceptions to the dorsal position, with the arms and legs extended: dorsal position with the palms on the chest and the skull on the right – position 3 (Lișcoteanca-Moș Filon G. 3), dorsal position with the palms on the pelvis – position 4 (Vlădeni – pl. 5/2), dorsal position, extended legs, left arm extended and right arm bent and turned towards the skull – position 9 (Râmnicelu G. 9), dorsal position with legs bent

at the knees and inclined to the right – position 11 (Lișcoteanca-Moș Filon G. 4), dorsal position with legs bent to the right and left palm on the pelvis – possibly variant 14, with a margin of error due to the absence of the right arm (Măriuța G. 2), lying on the right, with the arms and legs extended – position 18 (Râmnicelu G. 3), lying on the left with the legs and right arm extended, and the left arm bent, with the palm under the chin – position 19 (Râmnicelu G. 16) and a position generically called crouched – possible variant of positions 19-22 (Șirbu et al. 2014, 97), whose main feature is the deposition on the left (Păuleasca G. 2 and G. 3).

The age of the children was determined only in quite a few cases, and among these data, only a part is the result of an anthropological analysis, as can be seen in the following table.

Table 3

The age of the children

No.	Grave	Age	Sex	Anthropological analysis
1.	Isaiia G. 16	dead at birth or soon after	-	yes
2.	Isaiia G. 7	2-3 months	-	yes
3.	Isaiia G. 11	5-6 months	-	yes
4.	Isaiia G. 4	6-9 months	-	yes
5.	Isaiia G. 10	6-9 months	-	yes
6.	Isaiia G. 6	9-12 months	-	yes
7.	Larga Jijia G. 3	very young child	-	-
8.	Trușești G. 11m	very young child	-	-
9.	Valea Lupului-Movilă G. 3	young child	-	-
10.	Păuleasca G. 23	1-1.5 years old	-	-
11.	Păuleasca G. 26	1-1.5 years old	-	-
12.	Vlădeni	1.5-maximum 2 years old	-	yes
13.	Măriuța G. 2	2-2.5 years old	female	yes
14.	Lișcoteanca-Moș Filon G. 3	approximately 2.5 years old	-	yes
15.	Valea Lupului-Movilă G. 4	2-4 years old	-	-
16.	Valea Lupului-Movilă G. 6	2-4 years old	-	-
17.	Mitoc G. 5	4-6 years old	-	-
18.	Râmnicelu G. 9	approximately 7-8 years old	-	-
19.	Lișcoteanca-Movila Olarului G. 13	approximately 10 years old	-	-
20.	Cândești G. 71	approximately 10 years old	-	-

The determination of the age and the sex of the deceased (pl. 2) is an issue with regard not only to the skeletons of children but also to those of adults discovered in the graves attributed to the Sarmatians in Wallachia and Moldavia. In order to have an overview and an assessment of the current state of the research, although only indirectly related to the topic under discussion, I have tried to synthesize in another table the few data available so far in the scientific literature on the age and sex of the teenagers and the adults.

Intentional skull deformation was found in only four cases of children (*Lișcoteanca-Moș Filon* G. 3, *Măriuța* G. 2, *Vlădeni* and *Isaiia* G. 11), possibly five if the observation of the archaeologist will be indeed confirmed for the skeleton in G. 3 at *Bucu*.

The absence of some parts of the skeleton was noticed in five cases: *Cireșu* G. 2 (the leg bones from the knee down are missing), *Târgșor* G. 227 (left forearm), *Măriuța* G. 2 (left radius and humerus), *Bucu* G. 2 (right arm, right leg and left tibia) and *Vlădeni* (parts of the skull, right ilium and left tibia). At least for the time being, it is impossible to provide an explanation for this situation, all the more so since two of the skeletons were analyzed by anthropologists (*Măriuța* G. 2 and *Vlădeni*). According to the anthropological diagnosis, the child buried in *Vlădeni* was suffering from iron-deficiency anemia or congenital hemolytic anemia (Mirițoiu 2006, 202).

14 of the 65 Sarmatian graves of children in Wallachia and Moldavia did not have any grave-goods (21.53%), and on the inventory of four other funerary structures (G. 23, G. 26 and G. 2 at *Păuleasca* and G. 4 at *Valea Lupului-Movilă*) we have no data, which means that 47 graves remain available for the grave-goods analysis.

Pottery is the most frequently registered category of inventory – 31 graves. The number of vessels deposited is low, ranging from one to three, as following: 23 burials with one vessel (*Târgșor* G. 261, *Largu* G. 3, *Bucu* G. 1, G. 2, G. 4, G. 7, G. 13, *Cireșu* G. 2, *Ciulnița* G. 4, *Grădiștea* G. 19, *Măriuța* G. 2, *Oltenița-Iordoc* G. 4, *Oltenița-Renie* G. 2, *Spiru Haret* G. 1, *Vlădeni*, *Râmnicelu* G. 16, *Drăgușeni* G. 2, *Isaiia* G. 4, G. 10, *Trușești* G. 11m, *Valea Lupului* G. 6, *Vaslui* G. 5, *Ciulnița* G. 2), six graves with two vessels (*Bucu* G. 12, *Cireșu* G. 3, *Cândești*, *Jilava* G. 1 and G. 2, *Valea Lupului* G. 3)

and only one certain case (*Ulmeni* G. 4, to which perhaps *Larga Jijia* G. 3 could be added) where three vessels were discovered.

The pottery found in the children graves is in most cases hand-made – 22 graves. As a rule, only one hand-made vessel was deposited (19 graves – *Bucu* G. 1 and G. 13, *Ciulnița* G. 2 and G. 4, *Drăgușeni* G. 2, *Isaiia* G. 4 and G. 10, *Jilava* G. 1 and G. 2, *Larga Jijia* G. 3, *Măriuța* G. 2, *Oltenița-Iordoc* G. 4, *Oltenița-Renie* G. 2, *Râmnicelu* G. 16, *Spiru Haret* G. 1, *Târgșor* G. 261, *Valea Lupului* G. 3, *Vaslui* G. 5, *Vlădeni*) and far less frequently (three cases – *Bucu* G. 12, *Cireșu* G. 3, *Ulmeni* G. 4) two hand-made vessels. The typology of the hand-made ceramic vessels is not very varied. The jars prevail – 18 items in 16 graves (*Bucu* G. 1 and G. 12, *Cireșu* G. 3, *Ciulnița* G. 2 and G. 4, *Isaiia* G. 4 and G. 10, *Jilava* G. 1 and G. 2, *Oltenița-Renie* G. 2, *Râmnicelu* G. 16, *Spiru Haret* G. 1, *Târgșor* G. 261, *Ulmeni* G. 4, *Vaslui* G. 5, *Vlădeni*), complemented in two cases by a lid, placed either over the vessel (*Cireșu* G. 3), or near the vessel (*Ciulnița* G. 2), reason for which I have taken into account only one proper vessel in the latter two cases, unlike G. 2 at *Drăgușeni-La Ocoale*, where the lid was the only type of ceramic deposited. Hand-made mugs were found in three graves (*Bucu* G. 13, *Larga Jijia* G. 3 and *Măriuța* G. 2), and hand-made bowls were found only in two structures (*Ulmeni* G. 4 and *Valea Lupului* G. 3).

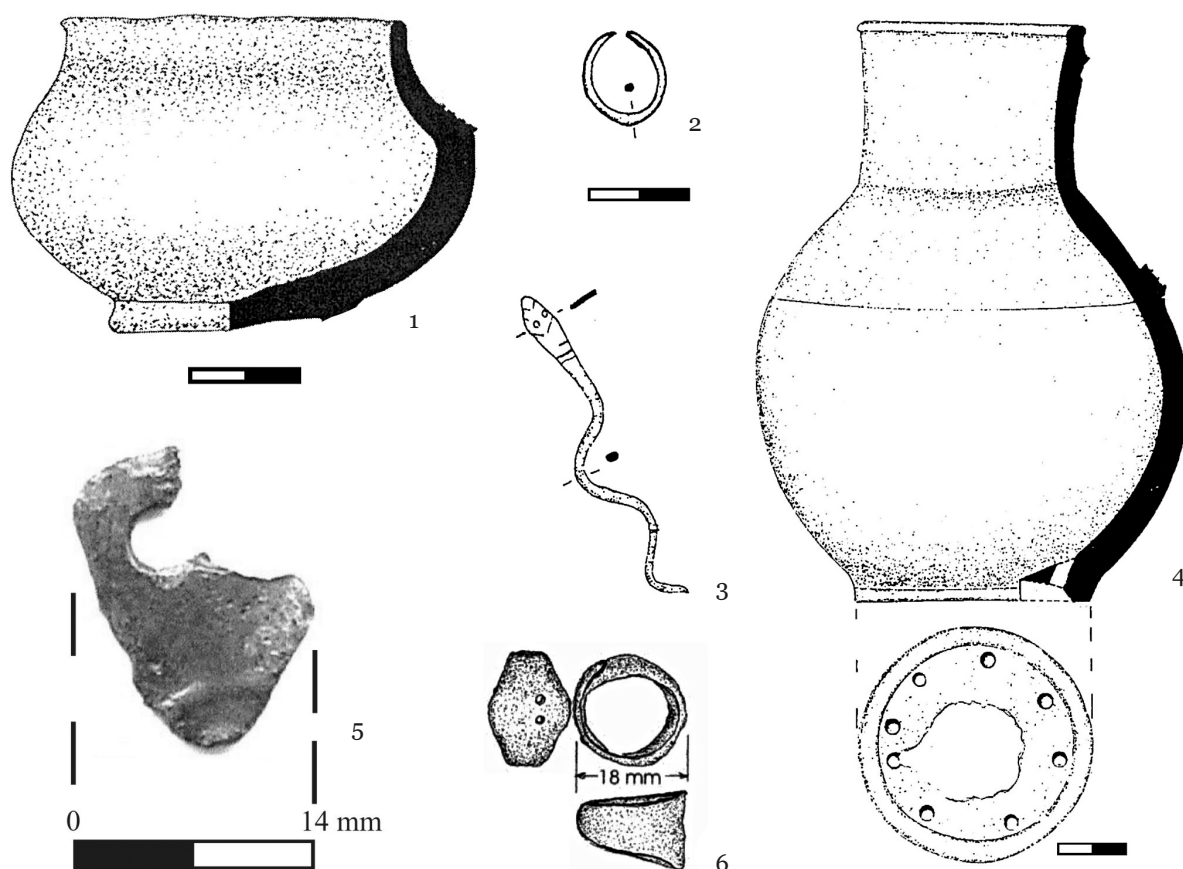
The wheel-made pottery is more rarely found in the Sarmatian children graves in Wallachia and Moldavia – 12 items in 11 graves. The only exception to the rule of depositing one vessel is the burial in *Cândești*, with two wheel-made ceramic vessels. The two types of vessels with analogies in the repertoire of Dacian wheel-made pottery (deposited in seven graves) are the mugs – five items into the same number of graves (*Bucu* G. 4, *Cireșu* G. 2, *Cândești*, *Jilava* G. 1, *Valea Lupului* G. 3) and the jugs – two vessels in two graves (*Bucu* G. 2 and *Valea Lupului* G. 6). Instead, each of the five wheel-made vessels imported from the Roman Empire belongs to a different type of vessels: cup (*Cândești*), mug (*Grădiștea* G. 19), jug (*Bucu* G. 7), pot with two handles (*Jilava* G. 2), added by the base of the vessel in G. 4 at *Ulmeni*.

The fragmentary state of the vessels in G. 3 at *Largu*, G. 3 at *Larga Jijia* and G. 11m at *Trușești* does not allow assessments on the type of vessel.

Table 4

The age and sex of the teenagers and the adults

No.	Grave	Age	Sex	Anthropological analysis
1.	Râmnicelu G. 13	16-18 years old	female	yes (Mirițoiu 2003, 205, no. 57)
2.	Dridu-tell G. 2	teenager	female	-
3.	Grădiștea G. 11	teenager	-	-
4.	Largu G. 1	teenager	-	-
5.	Bârlad-Fabrica de confecții G. 1	teenager	-	-
6.	Drăgușeni-Ostrov G. 3	teenager	-	-
7.	Mitoc G. 1	teenager	-	? (according to N. Zaharia 1959, 20-21, the skeleton was given to be studied by Olga Necrasov)
8.	Prăjeni-Alimândra G. 4	teenager	-	-
9.	Trușești G. 6m	teenager	-	-
10.	Trușești G. 8m	teenager	-	-
11.	Valea Lupului-Movilă G. 8	teenager	-	-
12.	Drăgușeni-Ostrov G. 5	approximately 25 years old	female	yes (Crîșmaru 1981, 84-87, 88)
13.	Isaia G. 9	25-30 years old	male	yes (Miu 2002-2004, 61-62)
14.	Isaia G. 13	25-30 years old	female	yes (Miu 2002-2004, 63)
15.	Isaia G. 14	25-30 years old	uncertain, rather female	yes (Miu 2002-2004, 63-64)
16.	Mitoc G. 3	25-30 years old	female	yes (Chirica 1979, 632, 634)
17.	Isaia G. 5	approximately 30 years old	male	yes (Miu 2002-2004, 59-60)
18.	Isaia G. 8	approximately 30 years old	female	yes (Miu 2002-2004, 60-61; Comșa 2015, 151-152)
19.	Vitânești G. 2	35 years old	female	yes (Leahu, Trohani 1979, 134-139)
20.	Pogorăști G. 3	35-40 years old	male	yes (Cristescu 1964, 329, 330, 334-336)
21.	Smeieni-Movila Mare G. 10	40 years old at most	male	yes (Frînculeasa et al. 2017, 186-188)
22.	Gălățui G. 2	adult	female	yes (CCA 2001, 140-141)
	Focșani	adult	female	yes (Моринц 1959, 451-467; Untaru, Morintz 1962, 157-162)
23.	Pogorăști G. 2	40-45 years old	male	yes (Cristescu 1964, 329, 330-334; Comșa 2015, 153, 157, 158)
24.	Smeieni-Movila Mare G. 2	40-45 years old	female	yes (Frînculeasa et al. 2017, 177-179)
25.	Mitoc G. 2	approximately 45 years old	male	yes (Chirica 1979, 631)
26.	Vaslui G. 1	approximately 40-50 years old	male	? (Andronic 1963, 349-351; Bârcă 2006, 368-369, no. 157)
27.	Drăgușeni-Ostrov G. 4	45-50 years old	male	yes (Crîșmaru 1981, 83-84, 88)
28.	Isaia G. 12	over 50 years old	probably male	yes (Miu 2002-2004, 62, 63; Comșa 2015, 158)
29.	Smeieni-Movila Mare G. 3	40-60 years old	male	yes (Frînculeasa et al. 2017, 179-181)
30.	Cetatea Veche G. 1	approximately 60 years old	female	yes (Necrasov, Antoniu 1962, 116, 119; Mirițoiu 2003, 204, no. 23; Comșa 2015, 148-149)
31.	Mitoc G. 4	mature	male	yes (Șovan, Chirica 1983, 79-80)
32.	Călărași G. 1	mature	female	yes (Oța, Comșa 2012, 100-101; Oța 2015, 121; Comșa 2015, 147, 149)
33.	Gălățui G. 3	mature	female	yes (CCA 2001, 140-141)
34.	Pogorăști G. 4	over 60 years old	male	yes (Cristescu 1964, 329, 336-339)
35.	Isaia G. 15	60-65 years old	female	yes (Miu 2002-2004, 64)



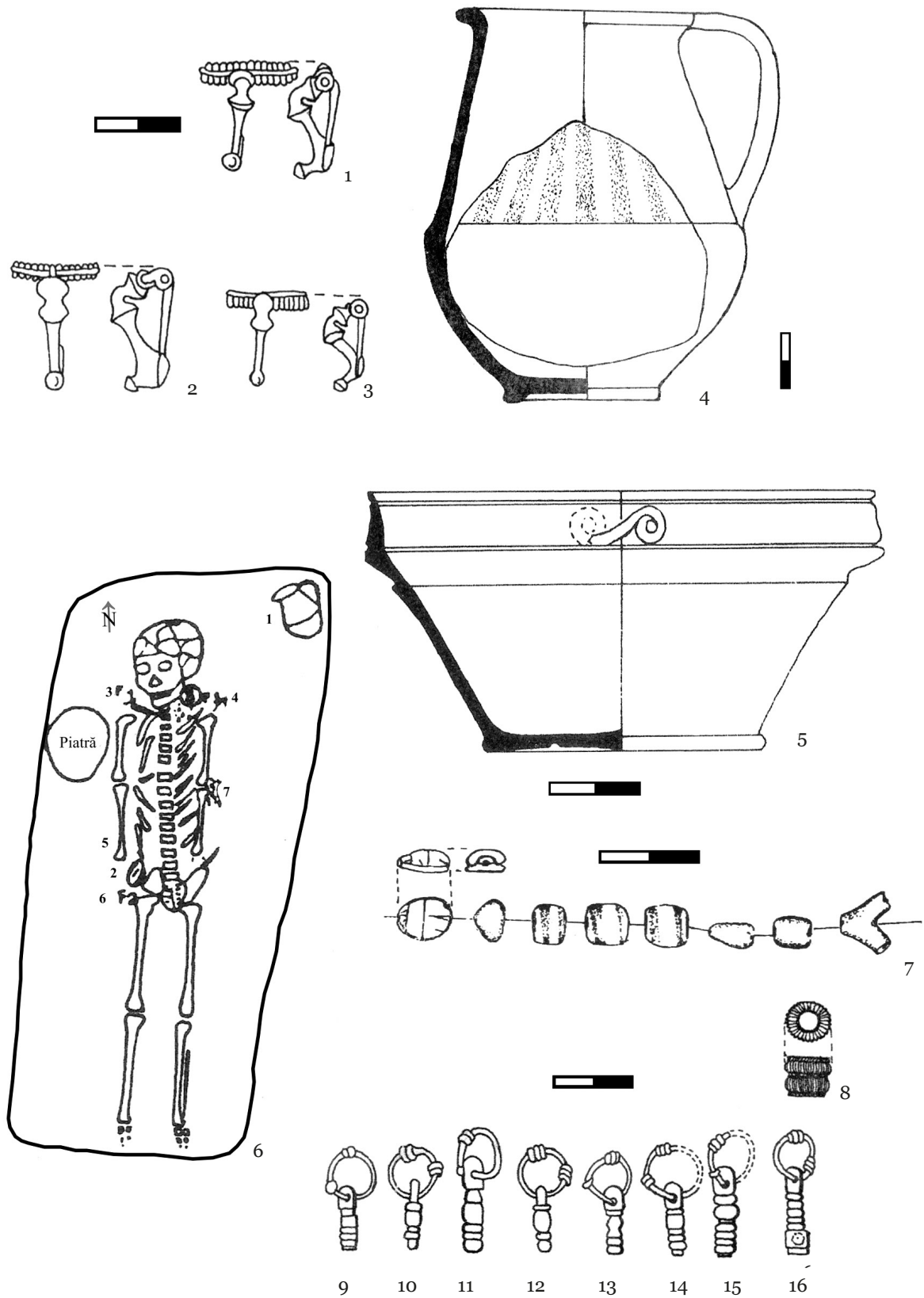
Pl. 8. 1 - Bucu G. 4 (after Rența 2000); 2, 3 - Bucu G. 11 (after Rența 2000); 4 - Bucu G. 7 (after Rența 2000); 5 - Isaiia G. 6 (after Ursulescu, Kogălniceanu 2002-2004); 6 - Isaiia G. 10 (after Ursulescu, Kogălniceanu 2002-2004).

The combinations between the ceramic vessels deposited in the Sarmatian graves of children are less often associations of two vessels of the same type (two hand-made jars were discovered only in two cases – Bucu G. 12 and Cireșu G. 3), preference being given to the combination of two different vessels (five cases): jar+Dacian mug (Jilava G. 1), jar+Roman pot (Jilava G. 2), Dacian mug+Roman cup (Cândești), hand-made bowl and Dacian mug (Valea Lupului G. 3), jar+hand-made bowl+base of Roman vessel (Ulmeni G. 4). Unfortunately, no details are published on the fragments of vessel found along with the hand-made mug in G. 3 at Larga Jijia.

Although I would not go so far as to make a connection between a possible lower or socially disregarded status of the children with the deposition of poor quality or fragmentary grave-goods, it is nevertheless necessary to mention the deposit in three cases of intentionally cut ceramic vessels

(Bucu G. 4 – pl. 8/1), repaired and perforated vessels (Bucu G. 7 – pl. 8/4) or a fragmentary vessel (Ulmeni G. 4).

Regardless of the tradition to which they belong, the ceramic vessels were deposited either near the head (15 cases: Bucu G. 1 and G. 4, Cireșu G. 2 and G. 3, Cândești, Isaiia G. 4, Jilava G. 1 and G. 2, Largu G. 3, Oltenița-*Iordoc* G. 4, Râmnicelu G. 16, Spiru Haret G. 1, Ulmeni G. 4, Valea Lupului G. 6, Vaslui G. 5), or near the feet (11 cases: Bucu G. 2 and G. 7, Ciulnița G. 4, Drăgușeni G. 2, Isaiia G. 10, Jilava G. 1 and G. 2, Măriuța G. 2, Oltenița-*Renie* G. 2, Târgșor G. 261, Valea Lupului G. 3). The exceptions consist of G. 2 at Ciulnița (jar found on the knees), Vlădeni (jar deposited near the right elbow), Cândești (Roman cup discovered between the hip and the right arm), Trușești G. 11m (a few fragments of a wheel-made vessel found in the grave pit and even outside of it). When two or three vessels were found in a grave,



Pl. 9. Căndești. 1-3 - Brooches (after Bobi 1999); 4, 5 - pottery (after Bobi 1982-1984 and Bobi 1999); 6 - plan (after Bobi 1982-1984); 7 - beads (after Bobi 1982-1984); 8-16 - pendants (after Bobi 1999).

they were deposited grouped near the head (Ulmeni G. 4 – three vessels, Cireșu G. 3 – two jars), or near the feet (possibly Valea Lupului G. 3 – two vessels⁹), or separately, near the head and the feet (Jilava G. 1 and G. 2, possibly also Valea Lupului G. 3) or near the head and the hip (Cândești).

In 24 graves were found items which I classified as adornments in order not to fragment the analysis, despite the doubts raised by the fact that the exact position of the beads in five graves is unknown, and therefore their role as adornments or dress accessories is uncertain (Sîrbu et al. 2014, 108).

The beads were discovered in 21 children graves, but if we exclude five graves in which their position is not specified (Drăgușeni G. 2, Grădiștea G. 19, Isaiia G. 7, Prăjeni-*Lutărie* and Ulmeni G. 5) and Isaiia G. 10 where the beads found near the feet can be assumed to belong to the attire, therefore being rather dress accessories than adornments, then the number of burials in which adornments made of beads were discovered decreases to 15 (string/parts of a necklace at Cândești, Ciulnița G. 4, Holboca G. 12, Largu G. 2, Lișcoteanca-Moș Filon G. 3, Lișcoteanca-Movila Olarului G. 13, Măriuța G. 2, Oltenița-Renie G. 8, Râmnicelu G. 3 and G. 9, Spiru Haret G. 1, Ulmeni G. 4, Valea Lupului G. 3 and G. 6 and a bracelet in G. 5 at Râmnicelu). The beads were made of usual material: glass (Cândești, Ciulnița G. 4, Largu G. 2, Lișcoteanca-Moș Filon G. 3, Lișcoteanca-Movila Olarului G. 13, Râmnicelu G. 3, G. 5, G. 9, Spiru Haret G. 1, Ulmeni G. 4, Valea Lupului G. 3), bone (Măriuța G. 2), stone (Valea Lupului G. 6) or unspecified (Oltenița-Renie G. 8). The exceptions are the gold leaf beads (Holboca G. 12), the amber beads (associated with the glass beads in G. 4 at Ulmeni and with the rock crystal pearls and coral at Cândești) or the coral beads (Cândești, Largu G. 2, associated with glass beads in this latter case).

The pendants, worn either at the neck or on the hand (only one case at Cândești, made of silver – pl. 9/9-16) were found in six burials (Ulmeni G. 4, Isaiia G. 10, Prăjeni, Valea Lupului G. 3, Cândești and, with a certain degree of uncertainty due to its unusual form, Isaiia G. 6 – pl. 8/5). Except for

the item in G. 10 at Isaiia which was made of a dog canine tooth, the rest of the pendants were made of bronze and the item at Cândești was made of silver (pl. 9/8).

Earrings manufactured without exception of bronze were found in four graves, one item (Bucu G. 11, Grădiștea G. 19, Păuleasca G. 3) or minimum two items (Prăjeni-*Lutărie*)¹⁰. Other types of adornments are represented by the bracelets (Cândești – made of eight bronze pendants (pl. 9/9-16), Bucu G. 11 – silver snake (pl. 8/3)¹¹, Prăjeni – made of bronze) and a ring (Isaiia G. 10 – pl. 8/6).

The beads worn around the neck were the only adornment item of most children – 11 cases, made of glass (Ciulnița G. 4, Lișcoteanca-Moș Filon G. 3, Lișcoteanca-Movila Olarului G. 13, Râmnicelu G. 3 and G. 9, Spiru Haret G. 1), bone (Măriuța G. 2), stone (Valea Lupului G. 6), gold leaf glass (Holboca G. 12), glass and coral (Largu G. 2) or unspecified material (Oltenița-Renie G. 8). In three other burials was deposited a bronze pendant (Isaiia G. 6 – pl. 8/5), a bronze earring (Păuleasca G. 3) or a bracelet made of glass beads (Râmnicelu G. 5) as the only adornment item. The beads made of glass and amber at Ulmeni G. 4 or those made of glass at Valea Lupului G. 3 were associated with the bronze pendants. In Cândești (pl. 9), the set of adornments consisted of a necklace of eight pearls made of different materials (pl. 9/7), a bracelet made of eight bronze items (pl. 9/9-16) and a silver filigree pendant (pl. 9/8), perhaps worn on another bracelet. Likewise, two types of adornments were found in G. 11 at Bucu (bronze earring – pl. 8/2 and a possible silver bracelet – pl. 8/3) and G. 10 at Isaiia (pendant made of a dog canine tooth and a ring – pl. 8/6). The inventory of the grave at Prăjeni-*Lutărie* consists in several types of adornments – earrings, bracelet and pendants, possibly also a necklace or a bracelet made of beads, if the beads discovered in the abovementioned burial were worn around the neck or the hand.

⁹ The authors contradict each other as regards the position of the hand-made bowl found inside the grave. In the first publication (Petrescu-Dîmbovița et al. 1954 b, 251), the vessel is mentioned as deposited near the feet, but later (Dinu 1955, 80, taken over by Mazilu 1985-1986, 76, no. 17) the bowl is mentioned as being found near the head.

¹⁰ The exact number of the earrings in the grave is not mentioned. However, I considered that since in the publication (CCA 1983-1992, 78, no. 53) was used the term “earrings”, the plural indicates the existence of at least two such adornments.

¹¹ For the analogies and the classification, although with doubts, of the mentioned item as a bracelet, see Sîrbu et al. 2014, 23, no. 2.

Dress accessories were found only in four graves: brooches at Căndești (three fibulae, one made of silver and two of bronze – pl. 9/1-3) and Ciulnița G. 4 (made of bronze), bronze appliqué in G. 3 at Lișcoteanca-Moș *Filon* and beads, probably sewn on the attire, in G. 10 at Isaiia.

Household tools were found in two graves: knife in G. 3 at Lișcoteanca-Moș *Filon* and lead spindle-whorl in G. 16 at Râmnicelu. The shells (G. 3 and G. 6 at Râmnicelu), the fragments of chalk (Râmnicelu G. 3 and G. 6) or charcoal (Râmnicelu G. 9), a horn cut at one end (Glăvăneștii Vechi G. 1), the animal bones (Vlădeni, Trușești G. 11m and Căndești), the astragali (Jilava G. 1) and the knucklebones (Oltenița-Iordoc G. 4) complete the picture, varied at first sight, of the categories of grave-goods deposited in the Sarmatian children graves in Wallachia and Moldavia. I used the words „at first sight” because after more thorough analysis, we can speak of a frequency of the deposits only in the case of pottery (31 graves, therefore 65.95 %) and the adornment items (24 burials, therefore 51.06 %), while the rest of the categories remain only sporadic occurrences, with percentages varying between 8.51 % (dress accessories), 6.38 % (animal bones), 4.25 % (household tools, shells, chalk) and 2.12 % (charcoal, horn, astragali, knucklebones).

The number of grave-goods discovered in the Sarmatian children graves in Wallachia and Moldavia varies between one and eight/nine. In most of the graves (20) a sole inventory item was found, usually a vessel (12 cases – Bucu G. 1, G. 2, G. 4, G. 7, G. 13, Cireșu G. 2, Ciulnița G. 2, Isaiia G. 4, Largu G. 3, Oltenița-Renie G. 2, Târgșor G. 261, Vaslui G. 5), less frequently beads worn around the neck or the hand (five cases – Holboca G. 12, Largu G. 2, Lișcoteanca-Movila *Olarului* G. 13, Oltenița-Renie G. 8, Râmnicelu G. 5) and only exceptionally earring (Păuleasca G. 3), pendant (Isaiia G. 6) or horn cut at one end (Glăvăneștii Vechi G. 1). About the beads in G. 5 at Ulmeni and G. 7 at Isaiia we do not know for sure whether they were proper grave-goods (hence deposited deliberately) or dress accessories (attire adornments), therefore in the case of these two burials, there are two possibilities: they are either graves without inventory (and then the total number of burials without inventory increases to 15), or they are graves with only one inventory item (and then their number increases to 22).

13 graves had two inventory items: ceramic vessels (Bucu G. 12, Cireșu G. 3, Jilava G. 2), ceramic vessel and adornment made of beads (Măriuța G. 2, Spiru Haret G. 1, Valea Lupului G. 6), ceramic vessel and animal bones (Vlădeni and Trușești G. 11m), ceramic vessel and spindle-whorl (Râmnicelu G. 16), ceramic vessel and knucklebones (Oltenița-Iordoc G. 4), two adornments (Bucu G. 11), beads, probably worn on a hoop made of iron and charcoal (Râmnicelu G. 9), to which G. 2 at Drăgușeni could be added, if the beads associated to the ceramic vessel were adornment items, and not dress accessories. G. 3 at Larga Jijia and G. 19 at Grădiștea had between two and three inventory items (only ceramic vessels in the first case, ceramic vessel+earring+possibly adornment made of beads in the second case).

The number of graves containing with certainty three inventory items is seven. The ceramic vessels were found in four graves, one or two each, associated with brooch and adornment made of beads (Ciulnița G. 4), with ring and pendant (Isaiia G. 10), with beads with pendant (Valea Lupului G. 3) or with astragali (Jilava G. 1). The shell and the chalk were associated with beads in G. 3 at Râmnicelu and with an item made of iron, impossible to determine due to decomposition, in G. 6 of the same group. The beads used as adornment, an appliqué and a knife were found in G. 3 at Lișcoteanca-Moș *Filon*.

High numbers of grave-goods were found in three burials: four (three vessels and beads with pendant at Ulmeni G. 4), four or five (earrings, bracelet, pendants, maybe also adornment made of beads at Prăjeni-Lutărie), eight or nine (two vessels, beads, bracelet, pendant, three brooches and bird bone perhaps from an offering, at Căndești).

At the end of this analysis of the funerary ritual and inventory of the children burials attributed to the Sarmatians in Wallachia and Moldavia, the general conclusion is that, speaking strictly from a funerary point of view, the children do not benefit of special funerary rules by comparison to the adults. The same funerary ritual characterizes both adults and children – the inhumation, there are no orientations or positions for depositing the body that can be found only in the case of children and the inventory did not contain items that could be considered as specific to the childhood universe.

Overall modest, actually as in the case of most Sarmatian graves in Wallachia and Moldavia, the inventory of the children burials registers however two remarkable exceptions – Cârdești (pl. 9) and Bucu G. 11 (pl. 8/2-3), characterized by the deposition of silver adornments (pendant and brooch at Cârdești, bracelet at Bucu), which are among the few jewels made of precious metal deposited in the Sarmatian graves in Wallachia and Moldavia. If, indeed, in the case of the Sarmatian communities in Wallachia and Moldavia, the funerary inventory reflects the social status during life and it is not just a transformation, an option unrelated to the social status during life or even a compensatory choice in the case of a lower status (Pearce 2000, 3-5, 8), these two exceptions seem to confirm the hypothesis of a possible inheritance of the social status, also noted in some graves of children in the area of the lower Volga (Мордвинцева 2015, 116).

An overview of the main features of funerary ritual of some of the Sarmatian groups of graves for which the age of *all* the deceased is known could complete the analysis, suggesting at the same time certain possible questions for a future research.

In Râmnicelu, 16 graves were discovered – eight belonging to children, seven to adults and one undetermined grave. The most frequent orientation is in the E-W direction – 10 cases (five graves of adults and the same number of children). It is true that G. 9 which belonged to a child was the only grave in the group oriented in the E-W direction, but considering the Sarmatian burials in the Brăila Plain as a whole, it is part of a group of nine funerary structures that reunite both adults and children¹². As regards the number of inventory items, three graves of children and two graves of adults did not have grave-goods, in one child grave and four adult graves there was only one item deposited (ceramic vessel in two cases, adornment item and weapon in the graves of adults and beads bracelet in the child grave), four graves of children, one adult grave and one undetermined grave had two and three inventory items. A concentration of Roman imports can in-

deed be noticed in the graves of children (out of four funerary structures with such items, three belonged to children), but this situation could be explained not so much by a possible abundance of valuable items in the children graves, but much simpler, by the fact that these imported items barely consist of a few beads. The only feature truly specific to the burials of children at Râmnicelu is the arrangement in a row of the graves of children, at the center of the tell.

What first draws attention to the group of 13 graves at Isaiia is the fact that all six children died very young, under one year of age. The four graves of children for which orientation could be determined were in the same direction, N-S, with variations just like the seven graves of adults, and the most frequent position, the supine position with arms and legs extended, equally characterized children (three cases) and adults (also three cases). Two graves of children certainly had no inventory, or maybe three graves, if the beads in G. 7 belonged to the category of dress accessories, and in two other graves of children a single item was deposited. The possible observation related to the deposition of a small number of items or the absence of inventory in the case of the children at Isaiia also registers a notable exception – G. 10, not only by the number of objects (three), but also by the presence of an adornment whose type (ring) and diameter (2 cm) suggests the adult universe.

The trend noted in the case of the graves of children at Isaiia – the absence of grave-goods or the deposit of a rather small number of items can be also confirmed in the case of the group of graves at Bucu (out of nine burials of children, two had no inventory and five had a sole item). Not many observations can be made on the position of the children skeletons, due to the fact that most of them were destroyed. However, in terms of orientation, except for four burials of children for which the orientation was impossible to determine, the rest of the burials, i.e. five belonging to adults and five to children, were in the N-S direction, with the NW-SE and NE-SW variants.

The two graves of children at Grădișteea had the same orientation (N-S, with the NW-SE variant) and position (body laid out in supine position, with arms and legs extended) as most of the seven graves of adults. The same trend noticed at Isaiia and Bucu, namely the absence of inventory or the

¹² Oța, Sirbu 2009, 140. On the contrary, the exceptional feature of the S-N orientation of M. 6 at Lișcoteanca-*Movila Olarului* which belonged to a child, too, stands out not only within the abovementioned group but also throughout the Sarmatian burials in the Brăila Plain, where only three graves out of 66 determined had such an orientation (Oța, Sirbu 2009, 140).

deposit of a small number of items is visible also in the case of the children burials at Grădișteea¹³.

The heterogeneity of the positions is taken to the extreme in the case of the group at Lișcoteanca-Moș Filon, where each of the six deceased was deposited in a different position, regardless of whether adults or children. Most graves – three of adults and the two of children were oriented in the N-S direction, with the NW-SE and NE-SW variants. Taking into account the inventory, the two children burials are opposite – G. 4 was completely devoid of inventory, while G. 3 is, along with two other graves of adults, among the interments with high number (three) of grave-goods, at least for the group in Lișcoteanca-Moș Filon. There is something that should also be noted in relation to the three abovementioned graves that each had three inventory items – G. 1, G. 7 and G. 3. Both graves of adults, G. 1 and G. 7, were characterized by the presence of a weapon, namely the dagger. Although I have underlined the ambivalence of the knife – which, at least in the case of the Sarmatian graves in Wallachia and the Roman graves in Moesia Inferior (Oța, Sîrbu, Matei 2013, 337) is found not only in graves of men but also in graves of women, and although the sex of the child in G. 3 at Lișcoteanca-Moș Filon is unknown, it is however interesting to notice the presence of the weapons and knife in all three graves with great number of grave-goods at Lișcoteanca-Moș Filon.

The groups of graves at Spiru Haret, Mitoc and Drăgușeni have as a common feature the presence of a single child grave, with the same orientation and position as the rest of the graves of adults. The differences concern the inventory. At Drăgușeni, the child grave does not stand out among the graves as a whole, which are characterized by the presence of a small number of inventory items. In Mitoc and Spiru Haret however,

the graves of children are individualized either by the absence of inventory in the case of Mitoc (all the more striking as the remaining five graves had between two and eight grave-goods), or by the presence of two items in the case of Spiru Haret (in contrast to the absence of inventory in the two graves of adults).

Of course, having so little anthropological data, this approach can be criticized for not revealing, in fact, anything about the real status of children within the Sarmatian communities in Wallachia and Moldavia. The information on the structure of the society that could be inferred from the study of the archaeological data about the graves (funerary rite, grave layout, orientation and position of the body, grave-goods) is however distorted by the fact that it represents the choices of the participants at the funerary ceremony, therefore they do not reflect directly the realities of the lives of the buried individuals, but images of their life and social role generated by the minds of those who perform the burial (Härke 1993, 142; Härke 1994, 32, 34). This distortion is worse still in the case of the burials of children, because our vision of the universe of children in antiquity is mediated by the adults who have deposited inside the graves items that might not have coincide with the child's preferences or ideas about the world (Dasen 2012, 12), but they correspond to their own ideas and way of thinking. It is obvious that a large part of the anthropological information about the skeletons of the Sarmatians in Wallachia and Moldavia will never be recovered, for the simple fact that the circumstances of the discovery (detailed at the beginning of this study) no longer allow it. I believe, however, that an analysis showing the variability (Jones 1993, 250) of the funerary practices in case of children could still be a gain, not only because it synthesizes the data currently available, but most of all because it provides an assessment of the current state of the information, useful, I hope, in formulating suggestions for future research.

¹³ Due to the fact that the age of the buried individuals is unknown in two of the 10 graves at Largu, therefore a margin of uncertainty may be invoked, I prefer to mention in a note that the group at Largu could be classified among the groups in which the graves of children had a small number of grave-goods (only one). At least for now, the observation about the absence or the small number of inventory items also applies to the group at Lișcoteanca-Moș Filon, with the caution imposed by the fact that if all three deceased for whom the age could not be determined would have been children, then a possible exception would have been also recorded, more precisely a grave with three inventory items. However, in the case of both groups, a small number of grave-goods were deposited in most burials.

Catalogue of children graves (pl. 1):

MOLDAVIA:

1. Cândești

(comm. of Dumbrăveni, Vrancea County)*Coasta Banului G. 71* (Bobi 1982-1984, 333-335; Bichir 1993, 143, 145; Babeș 1999, 230; Bobi 1999, 98, 141, 166, 178, 182, 183, 185, 227; Bârcă 2006, 302-303, no. 46);

2. Drăgușeni

(comm. of Drăgușeni, Botoșani County)*La Ocoale G. 2* (Crîșmaru 1977, 134-135);

3. Glăvăneștii Vechi

(comm. of Andrieșeni, Iași County)*La Ghilitoare G.* (Nestor et alii 1950, 28-29; Nestor et alii 1951, 64-65; Bichir 1971, 275, 276, 277; Bichir 1972, 138, 141, 156; Bichir 1977, 171, 172, 184; Chirica, Tanasachi 1984, 37, 38, no. II. 5. B; Bichir 1985, 1168; Mazilu 1985-1986, 74, no. 12);

4. Holboca

(comm. of Holboca, Iași County)*La cimitir G. 12* (SCIV 1952, 107; Bichir 1971, 279; Bichir 1972, 139, 156; Bichir 1977, 172, 185; Chirica, Tanasachi 1984, 171, 173, no. XXXV. 1. C; Bichir 1985, 1167, 1169; Mazilu 1985-1986, 77, no. 18);

5. Isaiia

(comm. of Răducăneni, Iași County)*Balta Popii G. 4* (Ursulescu, Kogălniceanu 2002-2004, 28, 40 and Annex 1), **G. 6** (Ursulescu, Kogălniceanu 2002-2004, 30, 38; Miu 2002-2004, 60), **G. 7** (Ursulescu, Kogălniceanu 2002-2004, 31-32, 38; Miu 2002-2004, 60), **G. 10** (Ursulescu, Kogălniceanu 2002-2004, 31-32, 38; Miu 2002-2004, 62), **G. 11** (Ursulescu, Kogălniceanu 2002-2004, 32, 36; Miu 2002-2004, 62; Comșa 2015, 151), **G. 16** (Ursulescu, Kogălniceanu 2002-2004, 35, 36; Miu 2002-2004, 64);

6. Larga Jijia

(comm. of Movileni, Iași County)*La Grădină G. 3* (SCIV 1952, 55; Bichir 1977, 175; Mazilu 1985-1986, 74, no. 13);

7. Mitoc

(comm. of Mitoc, Botoșani County)*Malul Galben G. 5* (Șovan, Chirica 1983, 80; Mazilu 1985-1986, 69, no. 1);

8. Prăjeni

(comm. of Prăjeni, Botoșani County)*Lutărie G.* (CCA 1983-1992, 78, no. 53);

9. Trușești

(comm. of Trușești, Botoșani County)*Țugueta G. 11m* (Petrescu-Dîmbovița et alii 1954 a, 19; Petrescu-Dîmbovița, M. Florescu, A. Florescu 1999, 617);

10. Valea Lupului

(comm. of Valea Lupului, Iași County)*Movilă G. 3* (Petrescu-Dîmbovița et al. 1954b, 251; Dinu 1955, 80; Bichir 1971, 278, 279; Bichir 1972, 145, 156; Bichir 1977, 184; Bichir 1985, 1170; Chirica, Tanasachi 1985, 346; Mazilu 1985-1986, 76, no. 17), **G. 4** (Dinu 1957, 174; Chirica, Tanasachi 1985, 346, no. LXII. 5. B. II. 3), **G. 6** (Dinu 1957, 174; Chirica, Tanasachi 1985, 346, no. LXII. 5. B. II. 3)

11. Vaslui

(town, Vaslui County)*Curțile Domnești G. 5* (Andronic, Neamțu, Banu 1962, 94; Andronic 1979, 168-169; Mazilu 1985-1986, 79, no. 24; Bichir 1993, 149; Bârcă 2006, 369-370, no. 158);

WALLACHIA:

12. Bucu

(comm. of Bucu, Ialomița County)*Pochină G. 1* (Rența 2000, 39; *Muntenia* 2001, no. 105; Sîrbu et al. 2014, 16-17, 123), **G. 2** (Rența 2000, 39; *Muntenia* 2001, no. 121; Sîrbu et al. 2014, 17, 123), **G. 3** (Rența 2000, 39; Sîrbu et al. 2014, 17-18, 123), **G. 4** (Rența 2000, 39; *Muntenia* 2001, no. 123; Sîrbu et al. 2014, 18, 123), **G. 5** (Rența 2000, 40; Sîrbu et al. 2014, 18, 123), **G. 7** (Rența 2000, 40; *Muntenia* 2001, no. 120; Sîrbu et al. 2014, 19-20, 123), **G. 11** (Rența 2000, 41-42; Sîrbu et al. 2014, 22-23, 123), **G. 12** (CCA 2005, 99; Sîrbu et al. 2014, 23, 123), **G. 13** (CCA 2005, 99; Sîrbu et al. 2014, 23-24, 123);

13. Cireșu

(comm. of Cireșu, Brăila County)**G. 2** (Harțuche 1980a, 241, 245, no. 12; Sîrbu 1980, 27, 30; Sîrbu 1986, 189, 190; Oța, Sîrbu 2009, 120), **G. 3** (Harțuche 1980a, 241, 242, 243; Sîrbu 1980, 30; Oța, Sîrbu 2009, 120);

14. Ciulnița

(comm. of Ciulnița, Ialomița County)**T. II G. 2** (CCA 1994, 23; Barnea 1995, 282, no. 5; Rența 2016, 86), **T. III G. 4** (CCA 1994, 23; Barnea 1995, 282, no. 5; Rența 2016, 95-96);

15. **Grădiștea**

(comm. of Grădiștea, Brăila County)

Mormântul Elizei **G. 12** (Harțuche 1980b, 322; Harțuche, Anastasiu, Sîrbu 1983, 51; Oța, Sîrbu 2009, 122), **G. 19** (Harțuche 1980a, 246; Harțuche 1980b, 322; Harțuche, Anastasiu, Sîrbu 1983, 51, 55, 56; Oța, Sîrbu 2009, 123);

16. **Jilava**

(comm. of Jilava, Ilfov County)

Măgura Jilavei **G. 1** (Rosetti 1934, 208; Tzony 1975, 283; Bichir 1977, 177), **G. 2** (Rosetti 1934, 209);

17. **Largu**

(comm. of Largu, Buzău County)

Cornul Malului **G. 2** (Dragomir 1959, 476, 477; Dragomir, Croitoru 2011, 41), **G. 3** (Dragomir 1959, 476, 477, 479, 480; Dragomir, Croitoru 2011, 41);

18. **Lișcoteanca**

(comm. of Bordei Verde, Brăila County)

Moș Filon **G. 3** (Harțuche 1980a, 210, 244; Bichir 1977, 184; Mirițoiu 2003, 205, no. 40; Oța, Sîrbu 2009, 125), **G. 4** (Harțuche 1980a, 210; Oța, Sîrbu 2009, 125);

19. **Lișcoteanca**

(comm. of Bordei Verde, Brăila County)

Movila Olarului **G. 2** (Harțuche 1980a, 206; Bichir 1977, 172; Bichir 1985, 1167; Oța, Sîrbu 2009, 125), **G. 6** (Harțuche 1980a, 206; Bichir 1977, 172, 184; Bichir 1985, 1167; Oța, Sîrbu 2009, 127), **G. 13** (Harțuche 1980a, 207; Oța, Sîrbu 2009, 128);

20. **Măriuța**

(comm. of Belciugatele, Călărași County)

La Movilă **G. 2** (Lazăr, Parnic 2007, 139-140; Gătej, Soficar, Mirițoiu 2007, 160; Sîrbu et al. 2014, 54-55, 129; Comșa 2015, 152);

21. **Oltenița**

(town, Călărași County)

Iordoc **G. 4** (Morintz, Ionescu 1968, 101; Morintz, Ionescu 1970, 38; Sîrbu et al. 2014, 61, 123-124);

22. **Oltenița**

(town, Călărași County)

Renie **G. 2** (Sîrbu et al. 2014, 64, 121-122), **G. 8** (Sîrbu et al. 2014, 67-68, 121-122);

23. **Păuleasca**

(comm. of Frumoasa, Teleorman County)

G. 23 (Comșa, Bichir 1973, 318; Sîrbu et al. 2014, 70, 126), **G. 26** (Comșa, Bichir 1973, 318; Sîrbu et al. 2014, 70, 126), **G. 2** (Sîrbu et al. 2014, 72, 126), **G. 3** (Sîrbu et al. 2014, 72, 126);

24. **Râmnicelu**

(comm. of Râmnicelu, Brăila County)

Popină **G. 3** (Harțuche 1980a, 217; Bichir 1977, 186, 187; Oța, Sîrbu 2009, 130), **G. 4** (Harțuche 1980a, 217; Oța, Sîrbu 2009, 130), **G. 5** (Harțuche 1980a, 217; Oța, Sîrbu 2009, 130), **G. 6** (Harțuche 1980a, 217; Bichir 1977, 186, 187; Oța, Sîrbu 2009, 130-131), **G. 8** (Harțuche 1980a, 217, 218; Oța, Sîrbu 2009, 131), **G. 9** (Harțuche 1980a, 218; Bichir 1977, 174; Bichir 1985, 1169; Oța, Sîrbu 2009, 131), **G. 16** (Harțuche, Anastasiu 1976, 230, no. 473; Harțuche 1980a, 222, 243; Bichir 1977, 184; Oța, Sîrbu 2009, 132), **G. 20** (Harțuche 1980a, 224; Oța, Sîrbu 2009, 132);

25. **Spiru Haret**

(comm. of Berteștii de Jos, Brăila County)

Cornu Malului **G. 1** (Harțuche, Anastasiu 1976, 228, no. 465; Harțuche 1980a, 224, 243; Harțuche 1980b, 333; Bichir 1977, 172, 174, 193; Oța, Sîrbu 2009, 133);

26. **Târgșoru Vechi**

(comm. of Târgșoru Vechi, Prahova County)

G. 220 (Diaconu 1963, 324, 325; Diaconu 1965, 19, 21; Bichir 1971, 277; Bichir 1972, 144; Bichir 1977, 173; Bichir 1985, 1168), **G. 227** (Diaconu 1965, 21), **G. 261** (Diaconu 1963, 325, 334; Diaconu 1965, 19, 22, 23);

27. **Ulmeni**

(comm. of Ulmeni, Călărași County)

G. 4 (Morintz, Ionescu 1968, 110, 111; Morintz, Ionescu 1970, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45, 46; Bichir 1972, 156, note 24a; Bichir 1977, 185; Sîrbu et al. 2014, 81-82, 127-128), **G. 5** (Morintz, Ionescu 1968, 110; Morintz, Ionescu 1970, 40, 41, 45, 46; Bichir 1972, 156, note 24a; Bichir 1977, 185; Sîrbu et al. 2014, 82, 127-128);

28. **Vlădeni**

(comm. of Vlădeni, Ialomița County)

Popina Blagodeasca **G. 1** (Sîrbu, Corbu 2006, 195-199; Mirițoiu 2006, 201-206; Sîrbu et al. 2014, 90, 129, 130, 132; Comșa 2015, 153, 156, 157).

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Mormintele de copii atribuite sarmaților din Muntenia și Moldova

Cuvinte-cheie: morminte, copii, sarmați, ritual funerar, inventar funerar, Muntenia, Moldova.

Rezumat: Studiile care au ca subiect organizarea socială a sarmaților sunt încă puține. Studiul de față își propune să analizeze mormintele de copii, în încercarea de a completa, atât cât este posibil pe baza datelor arheologice actuale, imaginea comunităților sarmatice din Muntenia și Moldova, conturată în câteva studii anterioare. Analiza se va limita doar la un studiu de caz – acela al înmormântărilor sarmatice de copii din Muntenia (teritoriu situat între Dunăre și Munții Carpați, mărginit la vest de râul Olt) și Moldova (mai precis zona dintre râul Prut și Munții Carpați). După o privire de ansamblu asupra descoperirilor sarmatice din Muntenia și Moldova (cu accent pe prezența sau lipsa analizei antropologice), autoarea încearcă să contureze imaginea, așa cum reiese din balanța de vârstă, a câtorva dintre grupurile de morminte sarmatice. Analiza ritualului și inventarului funerar a celor 65 de morminte de copii a dus la concluzia generală că, vorbind strict din punct de vedere funerar, copiii nu beneficiază de reguli de înmormântare aparte față de adulți. Același rit funerar caracterizează atât adulții, cât și copiii – inhumarea, nu pot fi remarcate orientări sau poziții de depunere a cadavrului proprii doar copiilor, iar inventarul funerar nu conținea piese care ar putea fi considerate ca specifice universului copilăriei.

Lista ilustrațiilor:

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Pl. 9. Cândești. 1-3 - Fibule (după Bobi 1999); 4, 5 - ceramică (după Bobi 1982-1984 și Bobi 1999); 6 - plan (după Bobi 1982-1984); 7 - mărgele (după Bobi 1982-1984); 8-16 - pandantive (după Bobi 1999).

Сарматские детские погребения в Мунтении и Молдове

Ключевые слова: погребение, дети, сарматы, погребальный обряд, погребальный инвентарь, Мунтения, Молдова.

Резюме: Пока еще мало исследований посвящено социальной организации сарматов. Задачей данной работы является анализ детских захоронений с целью дополнить, насколько это возможно на основе существующих археологических данных, представление о сарматских общинах в Мунтении и Молдове, изложенное в предыдущих исследованиях. Анализ ограничен рамками тематики, посвященной сарматским детским погребениям в Мунтении (территория, расположенная между Дунаем и Карпатами, ограниченная на западе рекой Олт) и Молдове (между рекой Прут и Карпатами). На основе обзора сарматских находок в Мунтении и Молдове (обратив особое внимание на наличие или отсутствие антропологического анализа) автор пытается дать представление о некоторых группах сарматских могил с точки зрения возраста погребенных. Изучение погребального обряда и инвентаря 65 детских захоронений позволило сделать вывод, что они ничем не отличаются от взрослых захоронений. Для них характерен один и тот же обряд – ингумация, не существует особых отличий в положении тел, а инвентарь не содержит никаких предметов, которые можно было бы рассматривать как относящиеся к детской сфере.

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