

BUSTA IN MOESIA INFERIOR***Liana Oța (Romania)****Key-words:** *busta, Moesia Inferior, pyre, burial, grave-goods.*

Abstract. *The author tries to define the main characteristics of busta found in Moesia Inferior. Grave goods are separately discussed for each cemetery. The chronology of the busta from Moesia Inferior covers the first three centuries AD (climax in the 2nd century AD), with a unique survival of this funerary ritual, in the 4th century AD. At this moment of the research, the arguments are in favor of the hypothesis that in Moesia Inferior, busta represent a burial custom imported from the Roman world, but it is premature to formulate an answer about the region where busta-cremation type came from.*

I. Number and diffusion

According to the data gathered so far in the specialized literature, the *busta* represent the most numerous types of cremation graves in Moesia Inferior during the 1st - 3rd centuries AD (176 graves of this type published until now, with data that allow us to assess their main characteristics).

Let's add to these 176 graves the *busta* excavated at Tropaeum Traiani and Butovo, but unpublished, just a few notes (CCA 1983-1992, 119, respectively Pisarev 1977, 203 and note 3). I haven't taken into consideration, neither the number, nor the characteristics of the 54 *busta* identified in Galați, Dunărea district, unpublished (CCA 1983-1992, 33). The archaeologists found this type of burials in Barboși area too, but I am not aware whether all the complexes have been published. What we already know is that the *busta* are rarer comparatively to the graves with the remains from the pyre deposited in a pit. Their characteristics are the pit shape, simple or with stepped sides, and the burning of the pit, so intense that the pit edges seem 10-25cm bigger (Sanie 1981, 81-82 and 224; Sanie 1994, 158). The destroyed *busta* with stepped pits, covered by *tegulae* are also present in Krušeto (Pisarev 1981, 34). Other unpublished *busta* are those discovered in Vladislavovo, today part of Varna city (information from Al. Minčev). If we take into account also the complexes mentioned above, then the total number of *busta* in Moesia Inferior reaches today at least 234. Still, I chose to let aside at least 58 possible graves of this type incompletely published, because I considered the numerical data would allow us a too great limit for error in the present paper. Consequently, I calculated the percentage from 176, which, I must repeat, represent the number of *busta* published so far, with certain data, at least partially.

Nevertheless, a shadow of uncertainties is cast on the relatively great number of Moesia Inferior *busta* published until now. These questions refer to the absence of mainly important details concerning the situation of the funerary structures either being tombs with identical cremation and burial place (*busta*), or graves with the remains of the pyre cremation deposited in a pit (McKinley 2000, 39-40). The missing details for most of the *bustum*-burials in Moesia Inferior concern the burning of the pit and the amount of cremated bones. There are no data whatsoever concerning the burning of the pit in the case of 123 funerary complexes that the researches authors name *busta* (Capidava three graves; Carsium **T.4 M.2**; Histria **T.XLIV**; Niculițel; Noviodunum T.Bădila **M.1, 2, 4, 5, zone e M.2, T.XXX M.3, 7, 8, 9, T.II-A M.3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 14, 15, 16, T.XXVII-A M.3, 4, T.XXVIII-A M.2, 3, 4, T.XXIX-A M.1, 2, 3, T.XXXII-A M.1, 2, 3, T.XXXIII-A M.1, T.II-B M.2, 3, 4, T.V-B M.1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, T.I-C M.1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, T.II-C M.1,**

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3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13; Tomis M.459, **106, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 3, 12, 15**; Džuljunica M.1, **2, 3, 4**; Kokodiva two graves; Krušeto M.1, **2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9**; Mogilec M.1, 2, 3, 4; near Odessos; Sredina M.6; Stražica M.3, **4, 6, 7**; Tutrakanci M.2; Dionysopolis; Callatis Constanței Str.-two graves, Dobrogea II district-one grave; Vardim; Tegulicium three graves).

Theoretically, the typological frame of all the graves mentioned above is uncertain and one should not take them into consideration as far as the characteristics of the Moesia Inferior *busta* are concerned, but this would diminish drastically the number of *busta* at only 53. Still, I have taken into account these graves, relying on the authors opinion, who considered them *busta*; further more, an excessive caution would damage even more the general uncertain image of the tombs dated in the Principality period found in Moesia Inferior, because for most of them the publishers haven't even specified the funerary rite (Oța 2003, 135-150). However, the lack of details for 64 tombs from the 123 ones is due also to the field situation, because the tombs have been either plundered since the ancient times (underlined in the enumeration) or devastated in more recent periods (bolded in the enumeration).

I have made an exception for the eight tombs in the necropolis in Kragulevo, seen by the author as *busta* (M.1, 25, 35, 36, 42, 43, 59, 65). I have not taken into account these structures for a number of reasons: the absence of detailed information about the burning of the pit and the amount of cremated bones, but especially the very small dimensions of the pits (0,40-0,70m in diameter, 0,20-0,40m in depth). As the pits dimensions of the eight complexes are comparable with the 16 tombs where the remains of the cremation at *ustrina* were deposited in the pit, discovered in the same cemetery, I thought right to exclude them of the present analysis, moreover the burning of the pit is present equally in the funerary complexes with the pyre cremation remains deposited in a pit found in Moesia Inferior (Oța 2003, 34).

Out of the 176 *busta* discovered in Moesia Inferior, only two are, at least in the present stage of the research, isolated graves (Bărăganu and Brestnica), the other 174 structures of this type are found in 23 cemeteries. Numerically speaking, the diffusion by necropolises (Pl. I) is unequal. Most of the *busta* come from the cemeteries of Noviodunum (where there is the maximum number of *busta* found in a Moesia Inferior necropolis, 67) and Galați-Barboși (62). The cemetery in Tomis reveals a pretty big numerical gap in comparison with the two necropolises already mentioned (28). As for the most of cemeteries where this type of tomb is to be found, the number of *busta* varies between 1 and 10, as it follows: Krušeto (10 graves), Carsium and Histria (7 graves each), Stražica (6 graves), Džuljunica, Callatis and Capidava (5 graves each), Mogilec and Tropaeum Traiani (4 graves each), Tegulicium (3 graves), Durostorum, Tutrakanci, Sredina, Ljublen, Kokodiva (2 graves each), Marcianopolis, near Odessos, Dionysopolis, Vardim, Niculițel (one grave each).

II. Characteristics

Most of the *bustum*-burials discovered on the territory of Moesia Inferior are covered by tumuli - at least 121 (Barboși M. without number and tumulus with ring-M.1; Bărăganu; Callatis the tomb situated at the western limit; Histria T.XXVII, T.XXX, T.XXXVI M.1, 2, T.XLIV; all the complexes of this type at Capidava; Carsium; Džuljunica; Ljublen; Mogilec; Sredina; Stražica; Tutrakanci; Tegulicium; all the *busta* found at Noviodunum, except for M.2-zone e, T.XXVII M.3 and 4; Brestnica; Dionysopolis; all the *busta* discovered at Krušeto; together with an unspecified number of this kind of burials, destroyed, at Vladislavovo). Due to the fortuitous discovery or to the destructions, the tumular character of 11 burials remains uncertain: Noviodunum T.XXVII M.3, 4; Niculițel; Vardim; Kokodiva both complexes; Galați-Dunărea M.1, 2, 5, 7; near Odessos (the tomb is situated at the bottom of a natural elevation). 44 *busta* are flat (Barboși M. 6 on the western side of the fort, M.6-in fact, situated outside the tumulus with ring; Histria-two complexes of Z2 area; Noviodunum M.2-zone e; all the *busta* found in Tomis; Marcianopolis M.12; Callatis Constanței Str.-two *busta*, Horia Cloșca și Crișan Str.-M., Dobrogea II district-M.; Durostorum M.1, 8; Tropaeum Traiani M.1, 3, 4, 8) and the tombs of this type from Butovo as well. Only two *busta* were found in tumuli previous to the Roman period (Capidava M. 2; Histria T.XLIV).

For most of the cases (110 at least), the pit shape belongs to the type "with stepped sides" (in fact, two pits overlapped, the upper one bigger): Barboși western side of the fort-M.6, tumulus with ring-M.1, Galați M.1; Bărăganu; Callatis tumular grave; the five *busta* of Capidava; Carsium T.3 M.2 (Pl. II/1), T.6 M.1; Histria T.XXXVI M.2, T.XLIV; Niculițel; Noviodunum T.Bădila M.1, 2, T.VI M.6, T.XXV M.8,

T.XXVI M.9, T.XXXI M.10, T.XXX M.1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, T.II-A M.9, 11, 14, 15, T.XXVII-A M.1, 2, 3, 4, T.XXVIII-A M.2, 4, T.XXIX-A M.1, 2, 3, T.XXXII-A M.1, 3, T.II-B M.2, 3, 4, T.V-B M.1, 2, 5, 6, 8, T.I-C M.1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, T.II-C M.3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 12, 13; Tomis M.466, 106, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 3, 12, 15; Džuljunica M.1, 2, 3, 4, 6; Krušeto M.1, 2 (stepped only on one side), 3, 4, 5, 6, 8; Ljublen M.1; Mogilec M.1, 2; Stražica M.4, 6; Tutrakanci M.1; Callatis Horia, Cloșca and Crișan Str.-M.; Durostorum M.8; Tropaeum Traiani M.8. The *busta* from Butovo and those destroyed from Krušeto as well have stepped sides. I am not sure about the same pit shape for five structures (Barboși near the tumulus with ring-M.6, Galați M.7; Tomis I.G.Duca Str.-the third grave; Krušeto M.7, 10). 37 graves had a simple pit (Galați M.2, 5; Carsium T.2 M.1 (Pl. II/2), 3, T.3 M.1, T.4 M.1; Histria T.XXVII, T.XXX, T.XXXVI M.1, the two *busta* of Z2 area; Noviodunum T.Bădila M.4, 5, T.XXXII-A M.2, T.V-B M.9, T.II-C M.1, 10, 11; Tomis M.35; Krušeto M.9; Ljublen M.2; Marcianopolis M.12; Mogilec M.3, 4; near Odessos M.1; Sredina M.5, 6; Stražica M.1, 2, 3; Tutrakanci M.2; Brestnica; Durostorum M.1; Vardim; Tegulicium three graves). The destructions as well as the incomplete publication don't allow me to know the shape of 24 pits (Barboși M. without number; Carsium T.4 M.2; Noviodunum zone e M.2, T.II-A M.3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 16, T.XXVIII-A M.3, T.XXXIII-A M.1, T.V-B M.3, 7; Tomis M.459; Kokodiva both *busta*; Stražica M.7; Dionysopolis; Callatis Constanței Str.-two graves, district Dobrogea II-M.; Tropaeum Traiani M.1, 3, 4).

The relation between the shape of the pit and the flat or tumular fitting out of the *bustum*-burials in Moesia Inferior is marked by the predominance of the tumular tombs, either for the pits with stepped sides (85 pits covered by tumuli in comparison with 31 flat), or the simple pits (32 pits covered by tumuli and only 5 flat).

I have to mention some particular cases of fitting out the pit. The special examples are in Niculițel (a pit with a threshold at the northeastern side), Tropaeum Traiani M.8 (the northern edge of the pit is apse-shaped, 0,44m the apse radius), Mogilec M.1 (the southwestern side apse-shaped - Pl. II/3). The pit covered by T.XXX of Histria (Pl. III) is a unique type for the early Roman graves in Moesia Inferior. The cremated surface had 3,15-2,50m in diameter, but the pyre consisted of two long pits crossing, 3,00 and 2,10m in length and 0,40m width. The two long pits were symmetrically limited at each end by four small, circular, irregular pits, 0,20-0,30m deep and a medium diameter of 0,40-0,60m. The remains of the intense cremation (consisting mainly in cremated bones, charcoals, a thick layer of ash, clods of burnt earth and a part of the grave goods) have been put in the long pits, especially in the northern, southern, and western sides. In the small marginal pits, serving probably for stabilizing the pyre, were found a few cremated bones, a little fragment of charcoal, little ash, nails, and pink-violet paint, according to the author. The rest of the funerary inventory was deposited all around the tomb, at some distance. The author considered as funerary fireplace a small circular burnt area, but without remains of charcoal or inventory, situated in the zone of the grave goods deposited after the cremation.

There are different dimensions of the pits, depending on the fitting out, either simple or with stepped sides. As far as the simple pits are concerned, the range of dimensions is larger than for the pits with stepped sides. The smallest dimensions of the *busta* with simple pits can be found at Stražica (1,00x0,90/1,20m for M.1, 2 and 1,20x1,20m for M.3). Most of the simple pits had the length between 1,79-2,50m, the width between 0,40-2,30m and the depth between 0,30-0,50m. Only two *busta* with simple pits are bigger, both of them in the tumular necropolis of Histria: T.XXVII (3x1,15m) and T.XXX (3/2,10x0,40m). As for the *busta* with stepped sides, the smallest one is M.8 at Durostorum (the upper pit 1,15x0,78m, the lower one 1,15x0,23m, total depth 0,60m). The great majority of *bustum*-burials with stepped sides, for which there are published data, are grouped relatively compactly as for the dimensions: the upper pits had lengths between 1,95-2,85m and width between 1,00-1,90m, while the bottom pits had lengths between 1,30-2,60m and width between 0,30-1,60m. Their depths are between 0,45-1,20m. Only a few tumular tombs were bigger: T.VI M.6, T.XXV M.8, T.XXVI M.9, T.XXXI M.10 from Noviodunum (3x1,50m), T.XXXII-A M.1 of the same necropolis (3,35x1,85m, and the bottom pit depth between 0,30-0,55m) and the tumular tomb of Callatis (2,50x4,00m the upper pit and 2,75x0,45m the bottom one, total depth 0,90m).

It is difficult to establish the frequency of the different axes of orientation because, in the absence of an anthropologist, the orientation of the corpse is very rarely noticed. Then, most of the orientations are

taken for the pits. Due to this reason, I considered together the orientation of the body as well as the orientation of the pit (Pl. VI). In only 17 cases (9,65%), one could remark or assume the body orientation. The dominant orientation is E-W (six deceased - Histria T.XXXVI M.1, both complexes of Z2 area; Noviodunum T.II-A M.16, T.XXXII-A M.1; Sredina M.5), followed, in decreasing order, by the orientations N-S (four dead - Callatis tumular grave; Noviodunum T.XXIX-A M.2, T.V-B M.5; Marcianopolis M.12), V-E (two cases - Noviodunum T.XXIX-A M.1; Brestnica), NW-SE (two dead - Noviodunum T.XXVII-A M.3, T.V-B M.3), NE-SW (Carsium T.2 M.1), SW-NE (Capidava M.2), S-N (Noviodunum T.I-C M.3).

Unfortunately, for 112 *busta*, out of which 61 destroyed, there are no data published about the way the tomb was covered. After the cremation, the pyre was usually covered with earth - 30 tombs (Barboși western side of the fort-M.6, tumulus with ring M.1; Capidava-the four *busta* of T.7 and T.8; Carsium T.2 M.1, 3, T.3 M.1, 2, T.4 M.1, T.6 M.1; Histria T.XXXVI M.1, 2, the two *busta* of Z2 area; Noviodunum T.Bădila M.4, 5, T.XXX M.3, 9, T.XXVII-A M.2, T.II-B M.3, T.I-C M.2; Tomis M.466; Džuljunica M.6; near Odessos M.1; Brestnica; all the *busta* of Tegulicium). It is also possible that the 51 *busta* not destroyed, but for which the authors don't mention the existence of a special roof, to have been covered with earth too (then the number of *busta* with no special roof is 85). The pyre was covered with a special roof in 34 cases. The most frequent are the roofs made of clay tegulae or bricks, sometimes combined with curved and hollow roofing tiles, set gable-wise - 11 *busta* (Niculițel; Noviodunum T.Bădila M.1, 2, T.VI M.6, T.XXV M.8, T.XXVI M.9, T.XXXI M.10, T.XXX M.2, T.XXVII-A M.1 (Pl. IV/1), 3, T.V-B M.5). The same tiles or bricks, put horizontally served to build a cover for four tombs (Noviodunum T.XXX M.7, T.II-B M.2 (Pl. IV/2); Stražica M.4, 7). The roofs made of flat tiles of nine *busta* (Noviodunum zone e-M.2, T.II-A M.7 - the presence of the cover is not certain, but in the inventory of the tomb the tiles were mentioned, so I interpreted them as the remains of a roof, T.V-B M.6, 8, T.I-C M.4; Tomis M.459, 33, 35; Vardim; plus the destroyed *busta* of Krušet) could not be recuperated any more or there are no published details. The other *bustum*-burials revealed a great diversity for the tomb cover, almost every one being a particular case. Large *tegulae* or fragments of tiles and stones covered two graves (Barboși near the tumulus with ring-M.6; Ljublen M.2). Two other complexes were covered by clay roof or ceramic slabs linked with mortar (Histria T.XXVII, respectively Noviodunum T.XXIX-A M.1). Some remains of roofs made of wood were found in T.XXX M.1 of Noviodunum and M.1 of Tutrakanci. A layer of little pebbles covered M.1 from Ljublen, while a combination between a marble sarcophagus roof and a stone slab covered the tumular grave of Callatis (Pl. IV/3). I have to make a special mention for two graves: Bărăganu and Durostorum M.1. In both cases, the grave revealed a more elaborated protection, consisting of a box made of limestone slabs and blocks, with a flat roof at Bărăganu (Pl. IV/4) and a box made of bricks with a vaulted roof at M.1 in Durostorum (Pl. IV/5).

Except for three *busta*, the information about the construction of the funerary pyre is almost completely missing. Taking into consideration the setting of the charcoals on the step separating the upper and the bottom pit of T.XXXVI M.2 from Histria (Pl. V/1), the pyre was made of three wood tiers, two longitudinal and one transversal. The dead found in the funerary complex of Brestnica was also cremated on a pyre consisting of three wood tiers, 10-11cm of diameter, but put only horizontally. The body found in Marcianopolis M.12 (Pl. V/2) was first put in a coffin made of large wood boards. Then the coffin was deposited in the pit and over it, was made a pyre of thick wood, 10-12cm of diameter. The case of the 55 *busta* where iron nails have been found seems to me less clear (Barboși the western side of the fort-M.6, tumulus with ring-M.1, Galați M.1; Bărăganu; Carsium T.2 M.1; Histria T.XXXVI M.1, Z2 area-M.; Noviodunum T.Bădila M.1, T.XXX M.1, 3, T.XXVII-A M.2, 3, T.XXVIII-A M.2, T.XXIX-A M.1, 2, T.II-B M.2, 3, T.V-B M.1, 2, 5, T.II-C M.1, 6, 8, 11, 12, 13; Tomis M.17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 3; Džuljunica M.2, 3; Mogilec M.1, 4; near Odessos M.1; Sredina M.5, 6; Tutrakanci M.1, 2; Vardim). These nails were supposed to be the remains of the funerary couch or the coffin with/in which the dead have been cremated or even remains of the pyre. In most of the cases, the authors' assumptions may be true (although it would be necessary to have more details about the nails burning, their number and position). Nevertheless, we might have questions about certain situations, as long as there are very few nails: one (Galați M.1; Noviodunum T.XXVII-A M.2), two (Noviodunum T.II-A M.9, T.XXVIII-

A M.2), three (Mogilec M.4), or the nails are made of other material than the iron, more precisely bronze (Noviodunum T.II-C M.13). Besides the use of nails at the pyre assembling or the coffin making, one could also suppose they come from certain grave goods, as the wooden toilet cases, or even from the wooden roof of the grave (Getov 1970, 4).

In case of *bustum*-burials the corpse is cremated on the spot, consequently, the cremated bones are mingled with remains of the cremated pyre or with burnt grave goods. Unfortunately, for most of the tombs of this type (118), the authors couldn't notice or did not publish details concerning the treatment of the cremation remains. For the other 56 *busta* of Moesia Inferior, the rule was the following: the cremation remains were on the spot, spread in the pit (38 cases: Barboși the western side of the fort-M.6, the tumulus with ring-M.1, near the tumulus with ring-M.6; Callatis tumular grave, Horia, Cloșca and Crișan Str.-M.; all the seven *busta* of Carsium; Histria T.XXX, T.XXXVI M.1, 2, Z2 area-two graves; Noviodunum T.VI M.6, T.XXV M.8, T.XXVI M.9, T.XXXI M.10; Tomis M.466, I.G.Duca Str.- the second grave; Džuljunica M.1, 2, 3; Ljublen M.2; Marcianopolis M.12; Mogilec M.1, 2, 3, 4; Sredina M.5, 6; Tutrakanci M.2; Brestnica; Tropaeum Traiani M.8; Vardim). There is not a unitary treatment for the 20 cases where the remains of the dead cremation have been gathered in one place. The remains of the cremation have been gathered near the eastern side of the lower pit, protected also, together with the grave goods, by a stone box with a roof (Bărăganu); gathered in the middle of the pit (near Odessos M.1); wrapped up in a linen (Noviodunum T.XXVII-A M.1, T.II-B M.2); or assembled in one place, no other details (Tomis M.459). The authors specify that in 14 other graves (I placed them in the same category with the 20 graves previously mentioned), the remains of the cremation were put together in the lower pit (Krušetó M.1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8; Ljublen M.1; Stražica M. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6; Tutrakanci M.1), although I could not totally reject the hypothesis of them belonging to the category of the complexes where the cremation remains are spread (because the apparent setting out could be, in fact, the result of the pyre falling during the burning). Remains of the cremation were noticed in the northwestern part of the pit at Galați M.2.

Although the burning type of the pit is one of the main criteria in defining and differentiating the *busta* from the tombs with the cremation remains at the *ustrina* deposited in a pit, it was not thoroughly studied. The authors published 123 complexes placed in the category of *bustum*-burials, but they did not specify anything about the pit burning (see *supra*, section I). The only thing they are specifying is that 10 other structures had a burnt pit: Krušetó M.6, 7, 10; Barboși near the tumulus with ring-M.6; Marcianopolis M.12; Stražica M.1, 2; Tropaeum Traiani M.1, 3, 4. Either from the authors' description, or from the published grave plans, the burning of the walls can be characterized as strong for 13 *busta*: Capidava M.2, 5; Histria T.XXVII, XXX, T.XXXVI M.2 (Pl. V/1); Noviodunum T.XXX M.1, 2, T.XXVII-A M.1, 2; Tomis I.G.Duca Str.- the third grave; Callatis tumular grave, Horia, Cloșca and Crișan Str.-M.; Barboși tumulus with ring-M.1. For 23 *busta*, the thickness of the walls burning varies between 2-7cm: Galați M.1, 2, 5, 7; Bărăganu; Histria Z2 area-M.; Carsium T.2 M.1 (Pl. II/2), 3, T.3 M.1, 2, T.4 M.1, T.6 M.1; Tomis M.466; Durostorum M.8; Tropaeum Traiani M.8; Noviodunum T.VI M.6, T.XXV M.8, T.XXVI M.9, T.XXXI M.10; Tutrakanci M.1; Ljublen M.1, 2; Brestnica. The thickness of the burning area is not always uniform, as there are also zones of the pit less burnt, such as the end (Histria T.XXXVI M.1) or the bottom (Histria Z2 area-M.7). At Sredina, the walls of the M.5 pit are here and there burnt to red. For seven complexes, the layer consisting of burning remains varies between 5 and 15cm (Džuljunica M.6; Barboși the western side of the fort-M.6; Histria T.XXX (Pl. III); Durostorum M.1; Carsium T.2 M.1, T.4 M.1; Tomis M.466).

The stratification of the pit content was noticed in 12 cases: Carsium T.2 M.1 (Pl. II/2), T.3 M.1, T.4 M.1, T.6 M.1, Histria T.XXXVI M.1, 2, Tomis M.466, near Odessos M.1, Noviodunum T.VI M.6, T.XXV M.8, T.XXVI M.9, T.XXXI M.10.

Another essential criterion for the distinction between *busta* and graves with the cremation remains at the pyre deposited in a pit, the amount of cremated bones and remains of the burning, is less studied than the burning of the pit. The amount of cremated bones was not at all considered separately of the other remains of the burning, such as ash, coal, or the remains of the grave goods. It seems to deal with a great quantity of cremation remains in 13 tombs (Barboși M., near the tumulus with ring-M.6, tumulus with ring-M.1; Tomis I.G.Duca Str.- the third grave; Krušetó M.6; Durostorum M.1; Callatis tumular grave; Bărăganu; Carsium T.2 M.1, T.4 M.1, T.6 M.1; Noviodunum T.XXX M.3; Sredina M.6), while the layer of

cremation remains in T.2 M.3 of Carsium is rather thin. Only for two complexes of Galați, the amount of the recuperated cremated bones has been weighed: 44,183 g (M.1, neither charcoal nor ash are present) and 21,746 g (M.2), but both *busta* have been partially destroyed in recent period.

I have analyzed on another occasion the post-funeral practices associated with the *busta* dated in the 1st - 3rd centuries AD, found in Moesia Inferior (L. Oța, in *Dacia, N.S.* 2008, in press), that is why I am now going to enumerate them: remains from funerary feasts (Carsium T.3 M.1; Noviodunum T.XXXI M.10; Ljublen M.1, 2; Histria T.XXVII, T.XXXVI M.1, 2; possibly Carsium T.3 M.2 and T.4 M.1; Noviodunum T.II-C M.1); pottery deposits (Carsium T.3 M.2; Brestnica; Histria T.XXVII; possibly Noviodunum T.Bădila M.1, T.XXX M.1); traces of burning (Vardim; Brestnica; Histria T.XXX); lamps deposits (Carsium T.4 M.1, T.6 M.1); cult site (Ljublen M.1, 2); dog skull (Ljublen M.1); pavements (Noviodunum T.V-B M.1, T.II-C M.1).

III. Grave goods and chronology

From the beginning, I have to draw the attention about the remarks concerning the inventory of *busta* in Moesia Inferior during the Principality period as being subjected to a degree of uncertainty. It is due to the funerary ritual going on: the cremated corpse remains were left on the spot, consequently, the cremation place becomes the tomb. During the burning, some grave goods might have been irremediably damaged.

In spite of this error margin, the inventory of the *bustum*-burials found in Moesia Inferior is rather numerous to allow certain general remarks. Only 35 *busta* out of 176 (19,88%) had no grave goods, but 25 graves (bolded) have been destroyed in different periods, then initially, they might had an inventory whatsoever (Galați **M.5, 7**; Noviodunum T.Bădila M.5, T.XXX **M.8, 14**, T.XXVIII **M.3, 4**, T.XXXII-A **M.2, 3**, T.XXXIII-A **M.1**, T.II-B M.4, T.V-B **M.3, 7, 8, 9**, T.I-C **M.1, 2, 5, 7**, T.II-C M.1, **3, 4**, Tomis **M.106, 15**, Krušetó M.1, **5, 7, 9, 10**, Stražica M.2, Tropaeum Traiani M.1, **3, 4, 8**).

Regarding the 141 complexes with grave goods, the first place of frequency belongs to pottery (109 graves). The other categories are much less frequent than pottery: lamps (39 tombs), coins (38 graves), adornments (37 tombs), glass vessels (33 tombs), fruits and pine or fir cones (25 tombs), household tools (22 graves), toilet implements (20 tombs), personal dress items (20 tombs), metallic vessels (14 tombs), weapons (12 graves).

From the beginning, I'll operate the distinction between the types of cemeteries: of the Roman towns, of the Greek towns, of the Roman forts and/or the nearby settlements, of the rural communities. I have to operate with this distinction, on one hand, because of the settlements juridical status and, on the other, because the rather great number of *busta* in Moesia Inferior makes almost impossible (and ultimately even useless) their undifferentiated, in the lump treatment.

1. The archaeologists found *busta*, at least until now, only in the cemeteries of four towns founded by the Romans. The more are in Noviodunum (67 graves of this type - 67% of the discoveries published so far). Four of the 10 funerary complexes excavated near Tropaeum Traiani, at the place named "Valea Mare", are *busta*. Unfortunately, in the absence of numerical information, I am not able to estimate the frequency of the *bustum*-burials in the necropolises excavated on the hills at north, northeast and east of the ancient town. Two *busta* have been discovered at Durostorum and only one at Marcianopolis (a surprising small percentage of the total number of discoveries at my disposition - 2,38%). There were no grave goods in many *busta* of Noviodunum (21), but this absence might be the consequence of plundering or destructions. Pottery was the most frequent inventory in the tombs of the mentioned cemetery. The rule was that of a small number of ceramic vessels - one vessel (13 certain tombs, 20 if we take into account the complexes revealing pottery fragments) or two (10 certain tombs, 18 if we take into consideration the ceramic fragments too). In four cases, were found more vessels in a tomb (two graves with three vessels each, two with four and five vessels). Four graves had not pottery as inventory. Typologically speaking, two shapes obviously dominate - jugs (19 tombs), and mugs (18 graves), eight times associated. The rest of the vessel types are rather exceptionally present: *amphorae* (six *busta*), bowls (four *busta*), pots, and clay *unguentaria* (in two complexes each), *turibulum* (one grave). Lamps were found in 14 *busta*, one in each grave, as a rule (nine cases). The same singularity regards the coins (eight tombs out of ten, with a coin each). As for the adornments (nine *busta*), they were, besides one (association between a necklace and a finger ring)

deposited one in each grave, but their typology is more varied - necklaces, rings (in three tombs each), hairpin (two complexes), earrings (one case), and bracelet (one uncertain case). The metallic vessels are mainly toilet vessels - cylindrical vessels (three) and ointment pots (three), deposited, as a rule, one in each grave (besides T.XXIX-A M.1, with two ointment pots). The frequency of other categories of grave goods is rather small: glass vessels (five *busta*), personal dress items (five), toilet implements (five), fruits (especially nuts, but also figs and dates - four cases, associated once with cones), household tools (three), and weapons (two). The most frequent combination of grave goods in the *busta* of Noviodunum is between pottery and lamps (13 times), followed, in equal proportion, by the association pottery-adornments and pottery-coins (nine times each). Almost equal in number are the combinations pottery-dress items (five times), pottery-toilet implements (five), pottery-lamps-coins (four), and pottery-fruits (four). The general image of the grave goods found in *busta* at Noviodunum is modest. 37 *busta* revealed a number of grave goods from 1 to 4, mainly pottery vessels, not associated with other categories of items (12 cases) or associated with lamps (10 cases). Only nine *busta* contained, as grave goods, 5 to 10 items (T.Bădila M.1, T.XXVI M.9, T.XXX M.1, 2, T.II-A M.6, T.XXIX-A M.1, T.V-B M.6, T.II-C M.9, 11). Five tombs are very interesting. First of all, there are the two graves with weapons (T.XXX. M.1 and 2). The weapon owners underline even after their death the connection to the Roman army (Petculescu 1998, 154). The two mentioned tombs belong to the category of the few *busta* with a lot of grave goods, which do not fit, although not ostensibly, in the general category of modest grave goods. The same observation could be applied to the other three *busta* - the graves represent an exception, but they are not ostensibly displaying the fortune and/or the social status through an unusual gathering of grave goods or valuable items. The vessels called by a modern term "ointment pots" (deposited in T.Bădila M.1 and T.XXX-A M.1) are in fact semi-luxury products, but functional, used in the every day life of certain provinces of the Empire, such as Belgium, Germany, Pannonia, Moesia, Thrace, Hispania, deposited in the grave as items of special significance for the dead (Marti 1996, 990-1000). Even the necklace of T.XXIX-A M.3 belongs to a widely distributed type of necklaces, those of "*hormoi*" type (Popović, Donevski 1999, 43; Ruseva-Slokoska 1991, 44-55). For all the *busta* of Moesia Inferior it is difficult to operate with the distinction between the primary grave goods and the secondary grave goods, because either of the state of preservation, or the lacks in the publication. Coming back at Noviodunum, I have to make a first remark: the deceased did not always wear the jewelry, because in four cases, the adornments were found on the step separating the upper and the bottom pit - necklaces, rings and earrings, all made of gold. Besides the jewelry, on the step of the pit were found pottery (dominant), glass vessels, a golden *fibula*, buckles, a mirror, a *strigilis*, and a knife. There are eight such graves with the items deposited on the pit step (T.XXX M.2, T.XXIX-A M.1, 3, T.II-B M.3, T.II-C M.6, 9, 10, 13). The grave goods of two other complexes have been deposited over the tomb roof (T.XXX M.2 - burnt glass beaker, and T.V-B M.6 - *amphorae*, mugs and clay *unguentaria*).

The *busta* from the other cemeteries of Roman towns in Moesia Inferior are characterized by the same general image of the lack of ostentation. Nevertheless, the lack of the grave goods in the four complexes of this type discovered in the necropolis of "Valea Mare" near Tropaeum Traiani may be accidental, due to the recent destructions. There was nothing but a coin in the unique *bustum* found so far in the cemetery in Marcianopolis. The two *busta* of Durostorum point out the same association of grave goods, coin-jewelry, but the adornments are rather modest (Popović, Donevski 1999, 62).

2. The considerations about the grave goods of the *busta* discovered in cemeteries of the Roman forts in Moesia Inferior are overshadowed either by parsimonious details or photos, or by a useless review. For example, out of 77 *busta*, discovered in four cemeteries of this type (62 at Galați-Barboși, 7 at Carsium, 5 at Capidava and 3 at Tegulicium), only 16 could be used (the complexes of Carsium, eight *busta* at Barboși-Galați, and one at Capidava).

Although with reserves due to the present state of the publication, the inventories of the *busta* found in three cemeteries of the Roman forts in Moesia Inferior (Barboși-Galați, Capidava, Tegulicium) are as modest as the inventories of *busta* found in the cemeteries of Roman towns. The most frequent category of grave goods is, again, pottery (ten complexes, at least, of all the three sites), followed by fruits and cones (five complexes, all in Capidava), lamps (at least three tombs at Barboși and Capidava) and coins (the same, but in all the three cemeteries), jewelry (two graves at Barboși), household items (the same). The other

categories are, for the time being, singular: glass vessel (one grave at Barboși), metallic vessel (likewise), and toilet items (one grave at Capidava). Except for the necropolis in Tegulicium, the weapons are missing.

I let aside on purpose the tumular necropolis of Carsium. The authors of excavations attributed it to a Daco-Roman settlement ("La Moară"), while the flat necropolis belonged to the population of the fort (Buzdugan et al. 1998-2000, 450). Nevertheless, I am convinced this assumption is partially true. Certainly, the grave goods of the seven *busta* in Carsium are deposited following different rules than the similar complexes of the Roman forts or towns in Moesia Inferior. The most frequent category is here again, the pottery (found in all *busta*), with a great variety of shapes: jugs (three tombs), *amphorae* and jars (two tombs each). The small jug, the mug, the pot, the bowl, the rushlight and the lid are singular. Besides the great variety of pottery shapes, another difference consists in the presence, as a rule, of many vessels in a grave (four tombs with two vessels each, one with four vessels and one with seven). The pottery is followed in frequency by the fruits (nuts, dates, peanuts), sunflower seeds, and fir cones, found in six complexes (except for a destroyed grave). Coins are always associated with pottery and fruits (five *busta*). In all the four *busta* with lamps, these were associated with pottery, fruits, and coins. Jewelry and dress items were found in three *busta*, toilet implements in two and household objects in one. Other grave goods are: glass *unguentaria* (two cases), bronze ointment pot with *strigilis* (one case). An outstanding difference could be noticed between the *busta* in Carsium and the complexes of the same type found in the cemeteries of Roman towns and forts of Moesia Inferior: the great number of grave goods discovered in the tombs from Carsium. With one exception, which should not be generalized (T.4 M.2 - destroyed almost completely), the rest of the graves with cremation *in situ* had between 6 and 15 grave goods. A few remarks can be made concerning the moments of the funerary ceremony when the items have been deposited. The fruits and the cones of all the six tombs are carbonized. In four *busta* the position of the grave goods is relevant for at least two moments of the burial (T.2 M.3, T.3 M.1, 2, T.4 M.1). The burnt categories of grave goods in the four complexes are the fruits, the jewelry and the dress items, the glass or clay vessels, the lamps and the coins. Once the cremation was over, only clay vessels were deposited, either in the pit or in the filling earth: five *amphorae* (from two complexes, without any association whatsoever), two jugs (from two complexes, one associated with a single-handle mug). The tumular necropolis in Carsium may be characterized and assigned to a certain type by a series of arguments: the ostentatious grave goods, the mixture of autochthonous items (hand made pottery) and Roman ones, the adoption of certain grave goods specific to the Roman world (coins, lamps, toilet vessels and items), a relatively small number of burials (10), the dominance of *busta* (seven), the spatial and layout distinction from the other cemeteries found at Carsium, the presence of very few tombs all along a large time span (from the second half of the 1st century AD to the beginning of the 3rd century AD). In my opinion, only a part of the population of the military *vicus* near the auxiliary fort has been buried in the tumuli from Carsium, maybe those with a high social status, if we take into account the raising of tumuli and the individual pyre, which needed more effort and space (Struck 2000, 85-86).

3. The general image of the *busta* in the necropolises of the Greek towns in Moesia Inferior has its own features. In the absence of a thorough publication of the numerous funerary discoveries, it is difficult to determine the proportion of the *bustum*-burials. If we consider the number of complexes published so far, the percentage is small in all the cemeteries of the Greek towns: five *busta* at Callatis (5%), seven at Histria (3,22%), 28 at Tomis (5% - information from C. Chera).

Waiting for a more detailed publication, I can make only few remarks about the *busta* found in Callatis. The pottery remains the most frequent type of grave goods, but more than one vessel is found in each grave (at least, two). By its abundant and expensive grave goods and by the burial layout (*bustum* covered by a marble sarcophagus roof, under a tumulus) the tumular grave displays a unique wealth among the *busta* found in Moesia Inferior.

As far as the number of grave goods is concerned, the seven *busta* of Histria may be classified in two groups: one group, made of four tombs, all of them in the tumular necropolis (T.XXVII, T.XXXVI M.1, 2, T.XLIV), with less grave goods (3-4 items) and another group of three complexes, one tumular and two flat (T.XXX, Z2 area-M., M.7) with a number of goods between 10 and 15. Pottery and glass vessels are the most frequent categories of grave goods (each of them in four complexes). Present equally in both groups, the glass *unguentaria* (the only type of glass vessel present in the *busta* from Histria) have been deposited at

least in number of two, except for Z2 area-M.7. The pottery seems to be rather the attribute of the group with numerous goods, the only exception being T.XXXVI M.1. The rule was to put more than one vessel: two (one case), three (two tombs), nine (one grave). The personal dress items (four cases) were found predominantly in the graves of the group with less numerous items. The other categories common to both groups are: adornments (three tombs), household tools (three tombs), cones and fruits (three tombs), and coins (two tombs). The toilet items (three graves), the lamps (two cases), a writing implement, and a metallic vessel (each in one grave) are rather specific to the second group. In four of the seven *busta* of the necropolis in Histria were discovered both burnt grave goods and items deposited after the cremation. The cremated inventories were the glass *unguentaria*, the adornment or dress items, the toilet or household items, the cones, and a writing implement. The most consistent part of the funerary inventory was deposited either during the process of filling the two flat *busta* pits (pottery associated in one case with a glass one and a metallic one), or put near the funerary complex, in the case of the tumular *busta* (clay vessels, associated with lamp and burnt mirror, little glass *amphora*). Regardless the number of the grave goods, all the seven *busta* of Histria express a high status, either through the layout of grave, accompanied (T.XXXVII, T.XXXVI M.1, 2) or not (T.XLIV) by the remains of the funerary feast, or through the abundant grave goods (the complexes of the Z2 area), or through the combination of the two features (T.XXX).

Compared to the previous cemeteries, the 28 *busta* of Tomis reveal different grave goods. The most frequent category is the pottery (19 tombs), deposited particularly one in a tomb (12 cases) or two (five tombs) and exceptionally three or four. The amount of the pottery shapes is the following: bowls (seven tombs), jugs (six), clay *unguentaria* (five), mugs (three), *amphora* (one), lid (one). The lamps have been found in 11 tombs, mostly one in a tomb (10 cases). A particular feature of the necropolis in Tomis is the great number of glass vessels (10 tombs): one in a tomb (seven cases), two (one grave), three (two tombs). Typologically speaking, the jugs and beakers are predominant (four, respectively three graves), but the fire has destroyed a great number of glass vessels and it is impossible for us to reconstruct their initial shape. The most frequent associations are pottery-lamps and glass vessels-pottery (eight times for each). The less frequent grave goods are the adornments (three tombs), toilet implements (two), household tools (one) or metallic vessels (one), while the coins, the personal dress items and the weapons are missing. In two complexes, there was a cremated pinecone in each, while in two other *busta* (M.32, 33) was met the association between the cremated eggshells and nuts. The modesty of grave goods (21 tombs with 1-4 items) may be only apparent if we take into consideration the great number of destroyed tombs (20). There are just four *busta* revealing a rich amount of grave goods, between 6-19 items (M.459, 466, 24, 25). It would seem, at a first approach, that these four *busta* might be linked to a special status, but I have two arguments against it: their dating in the second half of the 1st century AD and the presence, in a complex less important in number (I.G. Duca Str. - the third grave), of a set, Nuber G type (Canterbury), consisting of a bronze jug and *patera*. Taking into account that the mentioned tomb belongs to the same period as the four complexes with numerous grave goods, I'm asking myself whether in the necropolis at Tomis, the differences in the funerary inventories are not due to a change of mentality which, during the 2nd - 3rd centuries AD, moved to a standardization of the grave goods, the possible social or financial status being expressed in a way unavailable for the archaeologists.

I have not taken into account until now the only *bustum* found so far at Dionysopolis, because, although topographically it belongs to a Greek town, the grave goods (14 clay vessels, bronze vessels, weapons) justify its belonging to a group of *busta* from rural cemeteries.

4. The mentioned group of *busta* found in rural cemeteries consist of the funerary complexes of Bărăganu, near Odessos, Ljublen, Tutrakanci and Brestnica. They form a group because they have common features that differentiate them from the rest of *busta* in Moesia Inferior: grave markers as tumuli (Bărăganu, Ljublen, Tutrakanci), a heap of rocks (Brestnica) or a higher hill (near Odessos); small number of burials (one at Bărăganu and Brestnica, two at Ljublen and Tutrakanci, three near Odessos); territorial dissociation by isolation (Bărăganu, Brestnica, near Odessos) or isolation and wall enclosure (Ljublen); exceptional amount of goods in the grave (more than 15 items, except for M.1 near Odessos); emphasizing rather the glass vessel (Bărăganu, Tutrakanci M.1 - both of them with 11 vessels, deposited after the cremation) or the

pottery (Tutrakanci M.1 - 24 vessels, Brestnica - 13 vessels, the biggest ones deposited after the extinction of fire) than the items the deceased was wearing; the presence of weapons.

A few remarks are necessary about the weapons in the *bustum*-burials of Moesia Inferior. Most of the *busta* found in rural cemeteries (Bărăganu, Ljublen M.1, near Odessos M.1) revealed spearheads, as a sign, probably, of the status, like the burials before the Roman conquest (Vulpe 1976, 194, 201, 208). Two other *busta*, one from the rural milieu (Tutrakanci M.1) and one from the cemetery of a Greek town (Dionysopolis) are characterized by the combination between two military traditions - local (the spearhead) and Roman (the sword). The swords characterize the majority of *busta* with weapons found in Moesia Inferior: three in rural cemeteries (Brestnica, Džuljunica M.3, Kokodiva-one grave) and two in the Roman urban milieu (Noviodunum T.XXX M.1, 2). The weapons found in the complexes of Brestnica, Džuljunica and Ljublen are burnt, while those of Bărăganu and Tutrakanci M.1 have been deposited, with the majority of the grave goods, after the extinction of the fire. Coming back to the rural burials under question, I may assume that local leaders have been buried inside. Only two of them might have had relations with the Roman army (those buried at Brestnica and Tutrakanci M.1).

The complexes of Džuljunica, Krušeto, Mogilec, Stražica, Sredina and Vardim form another group of rural *busta* with the following distinctive features: small number of burials (between 4 and 10); most of the burials are covered by tumuli (the exception is Vardim); usually all the funerary complexes are grouped in one tumulus (Džuljunica, Krušeto, Stražica, Mogilec); *busta* is the dominant burial type (the unique tomb type at Krušeto and Mogilec; 85,71 % at Stražica; 55,5% at Džuljunica; except for Sredina 25%). Nevertheless, the grave goods are gathered following certain rules, great diversity in the first place, comparing not only the necropolises, but inside the same cemetery. The communities from Stražica and Krušeto deposited in the tombs inventories modest in number (between 1 and 4 objects) and value as well. In the six *busta* of Stražica the grave goods reveal very little variety: three complexes had pottery followed in frequency by the household tools (two graves), adornment items (one grave) and coin (one grave). None of the 10 *busta* of Krušeto had pottery or coins (although my observations might be uncertain because of the tombs destructions). The grave goods categories are more diversified than at Stražica, but one could find them only in one complex: glass vessel, brooch, spindle-whorl, lamp, and toilet case, except for the adornment items, characteristic for two graves (bell and earring associated with a fragment of hairpin). The communities from Mogilec and Džuljunica had different rules for the grave goods deposits. There are more items deposited than in the graves of the two communities previously mentioned (between 3 and 7 items, with one exception). In all the *busta* of Džuljunica was found pottery (out of the regular two vessels, one was a *kernos*), followed in frequency by adornments (four tombs), coins (three tombs), glass vessel, household tool and weapons (each one in a complex). The association between a clay vessel, an adornment item, and a coin is the most frequent (three graves). Three of the four *busta* found in Mogilec contained pottery, always associated with a coin (which is normal, because all the *busta* contained coins as grave goods). The *kernos* vessel is predominant as pottery type. The other categories of grave goods are jewelry (three tombs), household items (two tombs), and glass vessels (one tomb with two vessels). The clay or glass vessels were deposited after the cremation of the body. The *busta* found in Vardim and Sredina have more than one vessel: four at Vardim, three at Sredina M.5 and two at Sredina M.6. As they were not published in detail, the tomb of Niculițel (a bead and a coin as grave goods) and the two *busta* of Kokodiva (both characterized by the association between the pottery and the glass vessels, and one by weapons too) could not be integrated in one group or another.

The chronology of the *busta* from Moesia Inferior covers the first three centuries AD, but in unequal proportion. 17 complexes of this type, discovered in the cemeteries of Greek towns (Tomis and Histria), cemeteries of Roman towns (Noviodunum), or in the cemeteries of the military *vici* near the auxiliary forts (Carsium) may be dated in the 1st century AD. Nevertheless, *busta* from Moesia Inferior reach their chronological and territorial climax in the 2nd century AD (54 complexes), and particularly in the second half (20 complexes) or the end of the century (16 tombs). In the 3rd century AD the number of *bustum*-burials decreases (13 complexes), and they are concentrated in the rural necropolises (Mogilec, Ljublen, Džuljunica, Niculițel), their presence being scarce in the cemeteries of Roman towns (Noviodunum, Marcianopolis) or in the cemeteries of Roman forts (Barboși). The province Moesia Inferior is unique, for

the time being, for a phenomenon without analogies whatsoever: the survival of this funerary ritual, though exceptional, in the 4th century AD, in a rural necropolis (Kragulevo), where the ritual did not seem to be attested during the early Roman period. M.72 of the mentioned necropolis has stepped sides, while the grave goods consist of pottery (three vessels), a lamp, and 17 copper coins, the most recent dating from Constantius II (337-361 AD).

IV. Origin of *busta* in Moesia Inferior

There are two directions in the discussion about the origin of *busta* in Moesia Inferior. The prevalent one considers the *busta* of the Roman period as a continuation of a funerary rite of Greek origin (Alexandrescu 1966, 259, 264-267; Babeş 1970, 195-196; Barbu 1971, 65-66; Lungu, Chera 1986, 94; Struck 1993, 89). The other direction, in a minority for the time being, considers the *busta* as a funerary custom brought from the Roman world (Petculescu 1995, 114; Simion 1994, 93-94). I am not going to insist over the discussions concerning the origin of *busta* in the rest of Europe, viewed as a renaissance of older traditions (Struck 1993, 86-90), an Illyrian or Thracian custom (Garašanin 1968, 27-34; Jovanović 2000, 209-210; Srejić 1962-1963, 85-88), a tradition brought in Pannonia from the Rhineland (Sagi 1954, 111), a custom appeared when the southeastern part of Gallia or Britannia became Roman provinces (Bel, Tranoy 1993, 109; Struck 1993, 91).

Due to some obvious differences, it is difficult to assume the existence (as P. Alexandrescu tries to do - 1966, 264-266) of a direct filiation between the *busta* dated in the Greek period and those of Roman period in the tumular necropolis of Histria. Unlike the Roman period *busta*, the Greek period tombs with cremation *in situ* are not so deep, the form is rather irregular, and the burning goes beyond the pit area. In contrast with Histria, the Roman period *busta* of Tomis cemetery have the same features (Barbu 1971, 65-66; Bucovală 1967, 119) and, at least in the 1st century AD, similar grave goods, in comparison with *busta* dated in the Greek or Hellenistic period.

The attempt to solve the origin of *busta* from Moesia Inferior must take into consideration the characteristics of this burial type, synthesized as follows:

1. in the Roman period, the *busta* in Moesia Inferior are particularly concentrated in the cemeteries of Roman towns (74 tombs of this type in 4 cemeteries) or in the necropolises of the Roman forts and the auxiliary *vici* (77 tombs in 4 necropolises), consequently 151 *busta* in all (at least, for now), in comparison with 80 *busta* in the cemeteries of Greek towns (41 tombs in 4 necropolises) or rural cemeteries (39 tombs in 15 sites);

2. in the cemeteries, the *busta* percentage is small, in general, except for two - Noviodunum and Barboşi-Galaţi;

3. chronologically speaking, the *busta* cover the first three centuries AD;

4. in most of the *busta*, the grave goods are modest in number and value;

5. although pottery is predominant, there are also Roman grave goods, as lamps (39 *busta* in 11 sites, 22,51%), coins (38 *busta* in 18 sites, 21,59%), glass vessels (33 tombs in 14 sites, 18,75%), metallic vessels (14 tombs in 9 sites, 7,95%), strigils (11 *busta* in 8 sites, 4,54%);

6. most of the post-funeral practices, specific to the Roman world are associated with *busta* (pottery deposits, foodstuff remains, traces of burning, lamps deposits).

The six characteristics mentioned above, as well as the differences and similarities between the Roman and Greek *busta* of Histria, respectively Tomis, are altogether arguments to elucidate the origin of *busta* in Moesia Inferior. There is not a single answer for all the cemeteries in this province, all the more if we consider the different ethnic background, at least at the beginning of the Roman period (Greek, native or born after the colonization). My strong belief is, at least for now, that the continuity of this funerary custom from the Greek period is valid only for the *busta* in Tomis. As for the necropolis in Histria, I think we could speak about a revitalization, starting to the Roman period, of the funerary custom of cremation *in situ*, used by a part of the population, in order to emphasize their special status.

Nevertheless, this funerary custom is, for most of the *busta* in Moesia Inferior, imported from the Roman world. This hypothesis of a Roman import could be easily accepted for the necropolises in the towns founded by the Romans (Noviodunum, Tropaeum Traiani, Durostorum, Marcianopolis) or cemeteries of Roman forts and/or the military *vici* (Galaţi-Barboşi, Carsium, Capidava, Tegulicium). I think that, for the

tombs found at Dionysopolis and Bărăganu, we are dealing with an integration of the dominant civilization values in the traditional system of the dominated civilization, until they became new status symbols (N. Wachtel, *apud* Schucany 2000, 123), in the first period of the province. Besides other features, the cremation is used, as a distinctive element of the social status during the following centuries too (near Odessos, Tutrakanci, Brestnica, Ljublen) with a unique extension in the 4th century AD (Kragulevo). Besides the funerary custom of cremation *in situ* as a status marker, in the 2nd-3rd centuries AD, it seems that *busta* were adopted on a large scale (at least as a cremation tomb type) in several rural cemeteries (Džuljunica, Krušeto, Stražica, Mogilec, Sredina, Vardim).

Certainly, if I assumed that *busta* represent, for the majority of the necropolises in Moesia Inferior, a funerary custom imported (or even passed through the Roman filter, in the case of the revitalization in Histria), I have to determine, more accurately, the area of the Roman Empire where the cremation *in situ* came from. It is not an easy thing to do.

In the colonization of the rural territory of Moesia Inferior, the military element was essential (at least, based on the epigraphic evidence) (Avram 2007, 98; Mrozewicz 1982, 127; Suceveanu 1977, 37-75; Suceveanu, Barnea 1991, 39-54, 104-112). Among the military colonists, the Italic element and of the western provinces of the Roman Empire is predominant until the early 2nd century AD (Mrozewicz 1982, 128). The Italic element dominates as well the legions in the Balkan provinces (Matei-Popescu 2006, 395). Let's add the preponderant presence of the auxiliary troops of Gallic or Germanic origin in the forts near which *busta* have been found in Moesia Inferior (Gudea 2005; Matei-Popescu 2001-2002). The weak sides of this demonstration consist in ignoring, at least for the time being, the proportion of the military and the civilian colonists in the diffusion of cremation all along Moesia Inferior, and that Noviodunum was a station of *classis Flavia Moesica* whose soldiers had also Oriental origin (Petculescu 1995, 114). The grave goods found in *busta* from Moesia Inferior have some general similarities with those found in the group of *busta* from North Italy, characterized by the presence of coins, lamps, glass *unguentaria*, personal dress items and a small number of clay vessels (Struck 1993, 86-87). The predominant kind of pits with stepped sides could be imported from a relatively homogenous group of tumular tombs found in *castella* all along the Danube and belonging, most probably, to the immigrants who came from the Rhine region or to the Treveri from the auxiliary troops (Struck 1993, 88 and 92). The great number of pottery in the *busta* in Moesia Inferior is a common feature with the *busta* from the Rhine region, where one can often find this Romanized burial custom (Struck 1993, 87-88). It would seem easy to interpret the matter on the basis of toponymical signs of Celtic origin - Noviodunum (the greatest number of *busta* in Moesia Inferior) and Durostorum (Falileyev 2005, 291; Guyonvarc'h 1968, 201-208; Guyonvarc'h 1974, 83-85). Still, the toponyms seem not to have anything to do with the Celts presence in the territory under discussion (Falileyev 2005, 295). In the southeastern Gallia, the *busta* represent a practice unknown to the local traditions, being interpreted like a consequence of the Romanization, but with a limited success (Bel, Tranoy 1993, 109). Like in Moesia Inferior, the cemeteries with *busta* in Gallia have different grave goods - poor, such as Vatteville-la-Rue (Lequoy 1987, 59) and Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux (Bel 1987, 37) or surprisingly various and numerous, such as Vayssière *l'Hospitalet-du-Larzac* (Vernhet 1987, 88). In Gallia, as well as other provinces of the Empire, the poorness and the homogeneity of the grave goods are linked to the Romanization (Fasold 2000, 189; Struck 2000, 92). It is perhaps a paradox, but the *busta* found in Moesia Inferior are not too much resembling to the rich *busta* belonging to the Thracian aristocracy (Lichardus et al. 1996, 67, 70).

It is, for the time being, premature to formulate an answer about the region where *busta*-cremation type came from in Moesia Inferior, because the signs are vague. At this moment of the research I can only say the arguments are in favor of the hypothesis that in Moesia Inferior, *busta* represent a burial custom imported from the Roman world.

Catalogue:

1. Barboși-Galați

- M. without number (Dragomir 1991, 237-238);
- on the western side of the fort-M.6 (Sanie 1981, 82);

- tumulus with ring-M.1 (Dragomir 1981, 74, 84, 85, 86);
- near tumulus with ring-M.6 (Dragomir 1981, 76, 83);
- Dunărea district M.1 (Țentea 2006, 50, 57; CCA campania 2004, 155), M.2 (Țentea 2006, 50, 57; CCA campania 2004, 155), M.5 (Țentea 2006, 51; CCA campania 2004, 155), M.7 (Țentea 2006, 51; CCA campania 2004, 155);
- Roman cemetery (Sanie 1981, 81-82, 224; Sanie 1994, 158; Situri 1983-1992, 11);
- Notice: all the graves discovered in the Barboși-Galați area belong, in fact, to a single large necropolis (Țentea 2006, 52-53). As there is not an unitary numbering of all the complexes discovered, I had, in order to facilitate the references, to keep the names of Galați and Barboși, without meaning I am referring to two distinctive cemeteries.
- 2. Bărăganu**
 - “Ceairul Bărăganu” T.I (Bărbulescu, Ocheșeanu 1990, 227 no.51; Irimia 1987, 117-126);
- 3. Brestnica**
 - “Goliamata mogila” M. (Agre, Dičev 2000, 35-48);
- 4. Butovo**
 - unpublished graves (Pisarev 1977, 203 and note 3);
- 5. Callatis**
 - tumular grave (Alexandrescu-Vianu 1970, 290-291 no.17; Irimia 1966, 24-29 nos.14-15-16; Mușețeanu 1994, 201 no.78; Preda 1965, 233-251; Simion 2003, 87 no.57);
 - Constanței Str.-2 graves (CCA campania 2003, 182);
 - Dobrogea II district-M. (CCA campania 2005, 215);
 - Horea, Cloșca și Crișan Str.-M. (CCA campania 2004, 219);
- 6. Capidava**
 - T.7 M.2 (Cheluță-Georgescu 1979, 179, 180), T.8 - 3 graves (Cheluță-Georgescu 1979, 181-182), tumular grave (CCA 1993, 13-14);
- 7. Carsium**
 - “stația PECO” T.2 M.1 (Buzdugan et al. 1998-2000, 430, 442-443, 446, 447-448, 449), T.2 M.3 (Buzdugan et al. 1998-2000, 430-431, 439-440, 444, 446, 447, 449), T.3 M.1 (Buzdugan et al. 1998-2000, 432, 438-439, 440, 442, 445, 449), T.3 M.2 (Buzdugan et al. 1998-2000, 432, 440, 442, 445, 449; Paraschiv 2002-2003, 190 and 194 no.20), T.4 M.1 (Buzdugan et al. 1998-2000, 433-434, 440, 444, 447, 449), T.4 M.2 (Buzdugan et al. 1998-2000, 434), T.6 M.1 (Buzdugan et al. 1998-2000, 435, 449);
- 8. Dionysopolis**
 - M. (Vagalinski 1993, 24);
- 9. Durostorum**
 - Vasil Kolarov Str. M.1 (Popović, Donevski 1999, 11-12, 21-22, 61-62), M.8 (Popović, Donevski 1999, 12, 22);
- 10. Džuljunica**
 - M.1 (Pisarev, Stanev 1987, 17-18), M.2 (Pisarev, Stanev 1987, 18), M.3 (Pisarev, Stanev 1987, 18-19), M.4 (Pisarev, Stanev 1987, 19), M.6 (Pisarev, Stanev 1987, 20-22);
- 11. Histria**
 - tumular necropolis T.XXVII (Alexandrescu 1966, 210-213; Rădulescu 1976, 103 no.3 c; Suceveanu 2000, 78 nos.1-2, 145-146 no.10, 152 no.9, 161 no.1, 174 no. 1), T.XXX (Alexandrescu 1966, 197-201; Suceveanu 2000, 10 no.1, 63-64 no.2, 73 no.21, 87 no.17, 163-164 no.1, 169 no.1), T.XXXVI M.1 (Alexandrescu 1966, 201-202; Suceveanu 2000, 63 no.1, 85 nos.1-2), T.XXXVI M.2 (Alexandrescu 1966, 202), T.XLIV (Alexandrescu 1978, 340);
 - flat necropolis Z2 area M. (Coja 1974, 35-45; Suceveanu 2000, 105 no.37, 146 no.11, 146-147 no.12), M.7 (Coja 1975, 551-559; Suceveanu 2000, 104 no.33, 111 no.23, 151 no.5, 151-152 no.6);
- 12. Kokodiva**
 - “Sanatoriuma” 2 graves (Minčev 1985, 12-13);

13. Krušeto

- "Sazlaka" M.1 (Pisarev 1981, 34), M.2 (Pisarev 1981, 34), M.3 (Pisarev 1981, 34), M.4 (Pisarev 1981, 34), M.5 (Pisarev 1981, 34), M.6 (Pisarev 1981, 34-35), M.7 (Pisarev 1981, 35), M.8 (Pisarev 1981, 35), M.9 (Pisarev 1981, 35), M.10 (Pisarev 1981, 35);

14. Ljublen

- "Gjuljuva" M.1 (Ovčarov 1979, 33-34), M.2 (Ovčarov 1979, 34-35);

15. Marcianopolis

- eastern cemetery M. 12 (Minčev, Georgiev 1979, 106);

16. Mogilec

- T. II M.1 (Ginev 1986, 19-21), M.2 (Ginev 1986, 21), M.3 (Ginev 1986, 21-23), M.4 (Ginev 1986, 23);

17. Niculițel

- M. (Baumann 1973-1975, 114; Baumann 1983, 78; Baumann 1991, 123);

18. Noviodunum

- T.Bădila M.1 (Simion 1977, 125, 128, 130, 133; Simion 1996, 113-124), T.Bădila M.2 (Simion 1977, 125, 130, 133), T.Bădila M.4 (Simion 1977, 125, 128, 133), T.Bădila M.5 (Simion 1977, 125, 133);

Notice: The distance between the barrow and the Roman town, and the similarities regarding the layout and the inventories of graves found in T. Bădila seems to argue that the tumulus belonged to the cemetery of the Roman town than to a necropolis of a *villa rustica*, as G. Simion supposed (1977, 124, 132).

- zone e-M. (Bujor, Simion 1961, 396);

- tumular necropolis T.VI M.6 (Bujor 1960, 528, 533; Bujor, Simion 1961, 393, 395), T.XXV M.8 (Bujor 1960, 536; Bujor, Simion 1961, 393, 395), T.XXVI M.9 (Bujor 1960, 528, 533; Bujor, Simion 1961, 393, 395), T.XXXI M.10 (Bujor 1960, 529, 533, 535; Bujor, Simion 1961, 393, 395), T.XXX M.1 (Simion 1994-1995, 124-125, 132), T.XXX M.2 (Simion 1994-1995, 125, 131), T.XXX M.3 (Simion 1994-1995, 125), T.XXX M.7 (Simion 1994-1995, 126), T.XXX M.8 (Simion 1994-1995, 126), T.XXX M.9 (Simion 1994-1995, 126-127), T.II-A M.3 (Simion 1984, 76), T.II-A M.4 (Simion 1984, 76), T.II-A M.6 (Simion 1984, 76), T.II-A M.7 (Simion 1984, 76), T.II-A M.8 (Simion 1984, 77), T.II-A M.9 (Simion 1984, 77), T.II-A M.11 (Simion 1984, 77), T.II-A M.14 (Simion 1984, 77), T.II-A M.15 (Simion 1984, 77), T.II-A M.16 (Simion 1984, 77), T.XXVII-A M.1 (Simion 1984, 77), T.XXVII-A M.2 (Simion 1984, 77), T.XXVII-A M.3 (Simion 1984, 77), T.XXVII-A M.4 (Simion 1984, 77-78), T.XXVIII-A M.2 (Simion 1984, 78), T.XXVIII-A M.3 (Simion 1984, 78), T.XXVIII-A M.4 (Simion 1984, 78), T.XXIX-A M.1 (Simion 1984, 78; Simion 1996, 11; Simion 2000-2001, 389), T.XXIX-A M.2 (Simion 1984, 78), T.XXIX-A M.3 (Simion 1984, 78), T.XXXII-A M.1 (Simion 1984, 79), T.XXXII-A M.2 (Simion 1984, 79), T.XXXII-A M.3 (Simion 1984, 79), T.XXXIII-A M.1 (Simion 1984, 79), T.II-B M.2 (Simion 1984, 80), T.II-B M.3 (Simion 1984, 80), T.II-B M.4 (Simion 1984, 80), T.V-B M.1 (Simion 1984, 80, 83-84), T.V-B M.2 (Simion 1984, 80, 84), T.V-B M.3 (Simion 1984, 80), T.V-B M.5 (Simion 1984, 80), T.V-B M.6 (Simion 1984, 80, 84), T.V-B M.7 (Simion 1984, 80), T.V-B M.8 (Simion 1984, 80), T.V-B M.9 (Simion 1984, 80), T.I-C M.1 (Simion 1984, 80), T.I-C M.2 (Simion 1984, 80), T.I-C M.3 (Simion 1984, 81), T.I-C M.4 (Simion 1984, 81), T.I-C M.5 (Simion 1984, 81), T.I-C M.6 (Simion 1984, 81, 86), T.I-C M.7 (Simion 1984, 81), T.II-C M.1 (Simion 1984, 81), T.II-C M.3 (Simion 1984, 81), T.II-C M.4 (Simion 1984, 81), T.II-C M.6 (Simion 1984, 81), T.II-C M.8 (Simion 1984, 81), T.II-C M.9 (Simion 1984, 81-82), T.II-C M.10 (Simion 1984, 82), T.II-C M.11 (Simion 1984, 82, 83), T.II-C M.12 (Simion 1984, 82), T.II-C M.13 (Simion 1984, 82);

19. near Odessos

- "Vladislas Varnenčik" Park M. (Mirčev 1969, 223-224);

20. Sredina

- "Detskite grobišta" T.2 M.5 (Torbatov 1992, 98-101), T.3 M. 6 (Torbatov 1992, 101);

21. Stražica

- "Mogilkite" M.1 (Pisarev 1977, 202), M.2 (Pisarev 1977, 202), M.3 (Pisarev 1977, 202), M.4 (Pisarev 1977, 202-203), M.6 (Pisarev 1977, 203), M.7 (Pisarev 1977, 203);

22. Tegulicium (Vetren)

-3 graves (Teodorescu, Mateescu 1916, 49);

23. Tomis

- Jupiter Str. M.459 (Bucovală 1968 a, 132-133 nos.273-274; Bucovală 1968 b, 279-294; Covacef, Chera 1977, 196 no.15; Minčev 1988, 53 no.14);

- I.G.Duca Str. M.466 (Bucovală 1968 b, 269-279; Covacef, Chera 1977, 191-192 no.1; Minčev 1988, 52 no. 1, 54 no.16; Minčev 1990, 74-75 no.19), the third grave (Bucovală 1968 b, 294-302);

- western necropolis M.106 (Bucovală, Pașca 1988-1989, 142),

- Mircea Str. M.17 (Lungu, Chera 1986, 91), M.27 (Lungu, Chera 1986, 92), M.28 (Lungu-Chera 1986, 92), M.34 (Lungu, Chera 1986, 92), M.35 (Lungu-Chera 1986, 92, 111);

- București Str.-1 Decembrie 1918 Bld. M.18 (Lungu, Chera 1986, 91, 97, 107, 109), M.19 (Lungu, Chera 1986, 91, 107, 113), M.20 (Lungu, Chera 1986, 91, 97, 105, 107, 109, 113), M.29 (Lungu, Chera 1986, 92);

- Cuza vodă Str.-M.Kogălniceanu Str. M.23 (Lungu, Chera 1986, 91, 105, 107, 113), M.24 (Lungu, Chera 1986, 92, 105, 109);

- 1 Decembrie 1918 Bld. M.21 (Lungu, Chera 1986, 91, 103, 105, 107, 113), M.22 (Lungu, Chera 1986, 91, 105, 107, 113), M.25 (Lungu, Chera 1986, 92, 109, 113; Minčev 1990, 75 no.20), M.31 (Lungu, Chera 1986, 92), M.32 (Lungu, Chera 1986, 92, 109), M.33 (Lungu, Chera 1986, 92, 109), M.37 (Lungu, Chera 1986, 93);

- Castanilor Str. M.26 (Lungu, Chera 1986, 92, 105, 107, 109, 113), M.30 (Lungu, Chera 1986, 92, 103);

- Piața Griviței M.36 (Lungu-Chera 1986, 93);

- G. Enescu Str. M.3 (CCA campania 2006, 133), M.12 (CCA campania 2006, 133), M.15 (CCA campania 2006, 134);

24. Tropaeum Traiani

- "Valea Mare" M.1 (CCA campania 2003, 18), M.3 (CCA campania 2003, 18), M.4 (CCA campania 2003, 18), M.8 (CCA campania 2003, 19);

- Roman cemetery (Cronica 1983-1992, 119);

25. Tutrakanci

- "Katrandžijata" M.1 (Lazarov, Mitkov 1993, 64-76; Lazarov 2001, 40-41 nos.60-64), M.2 (Lazarov, Mitkov 1993, 77-80);

26. Vardim

- M. (Vălov 1965, 32-33).

Tombs considered by the authors of the discoveries as *busta* but not I:

27. Kragulevo

- M.1 (Vasilčin 1996-1997, 61), M.25 (Vasilčin 1996-1997, 63-64), M.35 (Vasilčin 1996-1997, 65), M.36 (Vasilčin 1996-1997, 65), M.42 (Vasilčin 1996-1997, 66), M.43 (Vasilčin 1996-1997, 66), M.59 (Vasilčin 1996-1997, 67), M.65 (Vasilčin 1996-1997, 68).

Tombs that I have not taken into account:

Asparuhovo-lost grave plans (Lazarov 1992, 81-86);

Carsium T.1 M.1-destroyed (Buzdugan et al. 1998-2000, 428), T.5 M.1-destroyed (Buzdugan et al. 1998-2000, 435, 446);

Gura Canliei M.1, 3-uncertain funerary character (Papasima 1997, 305, 310, 312);

Noviodunum T.XXX M.4-superficial burning (Simion 1994-1995, 125);

Radanija-incomplete description (Gerasimov 1946, 242);

Tomis, Mircea Str. and 1 Decembrie 1918 Bld. M.38-40-uncertain chronology (Lungu, Chera 1986, 93),
Cuza vodă Str.- summary description (Papuc 1974, 307);
Tutrakanci M.3-uncertain funerary character (Lazarov, Mitkov 1993, 64).

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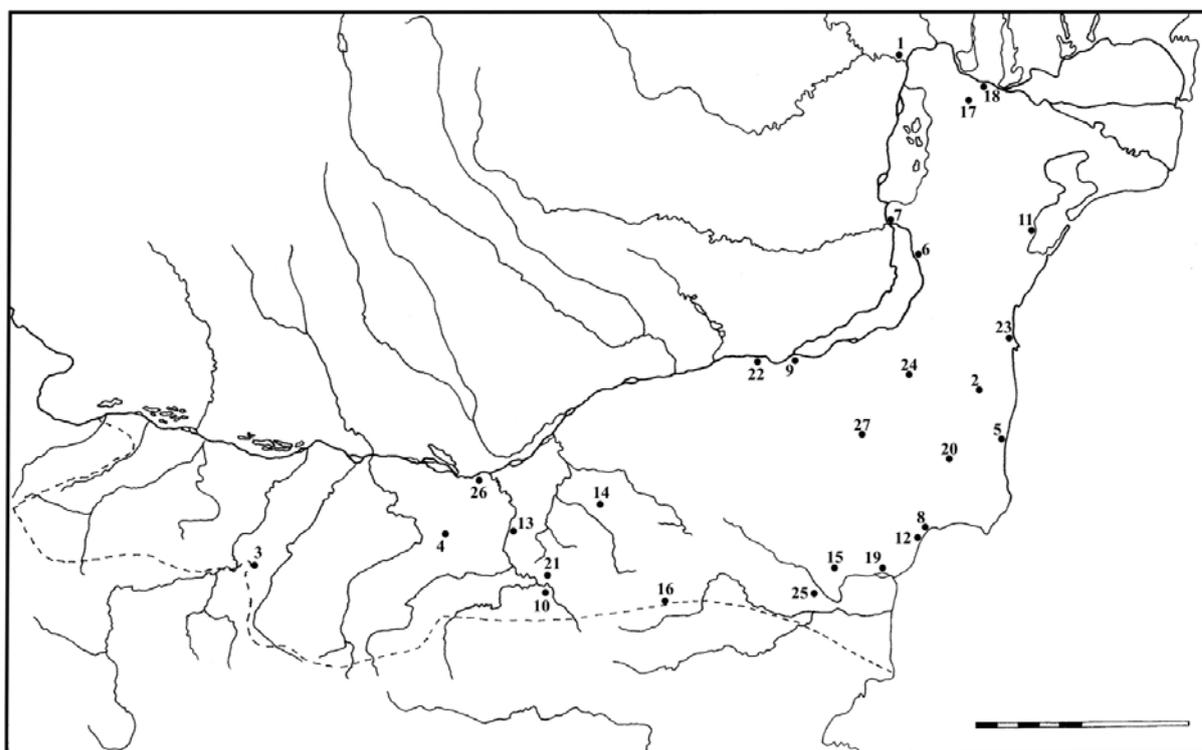
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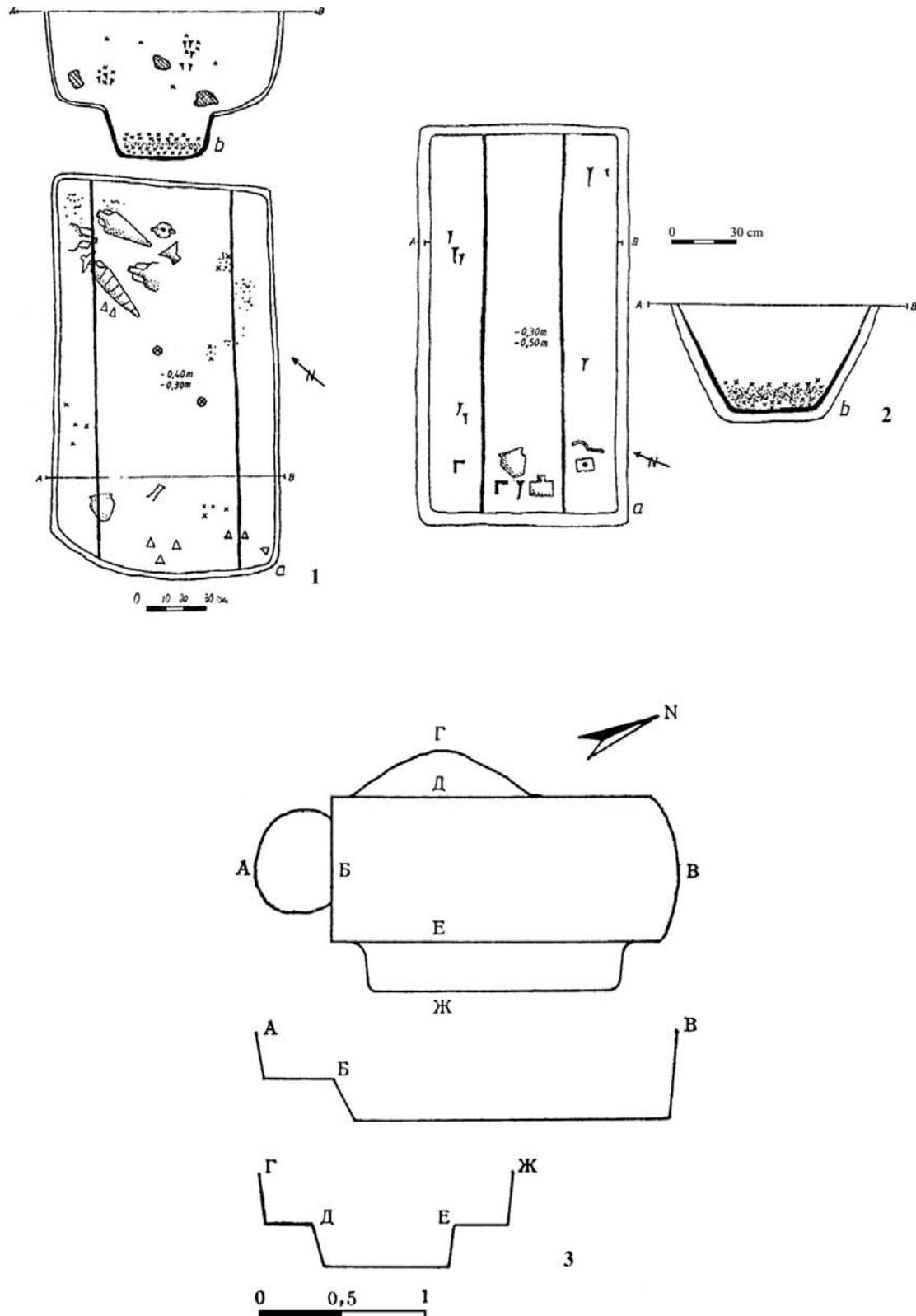
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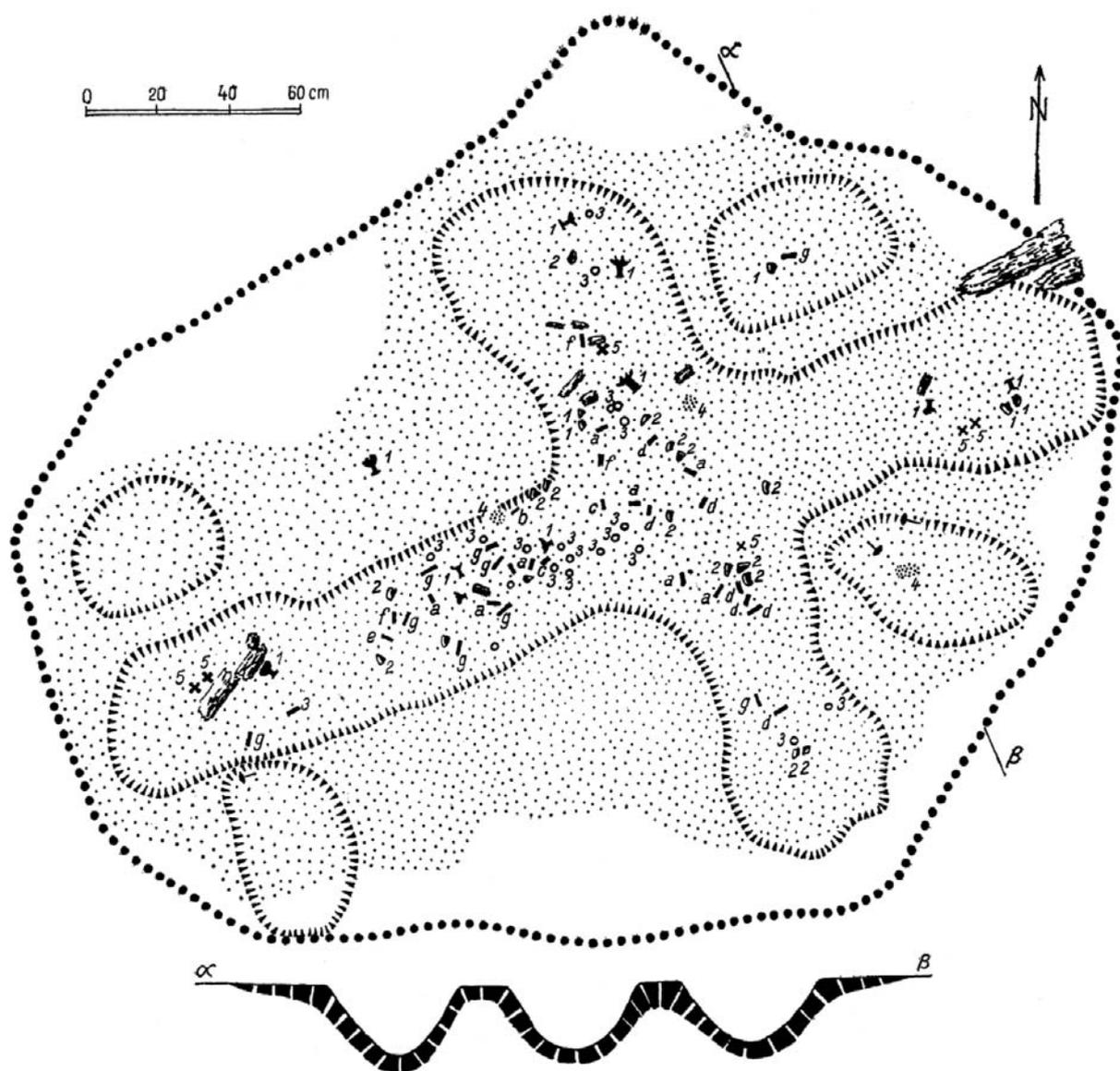
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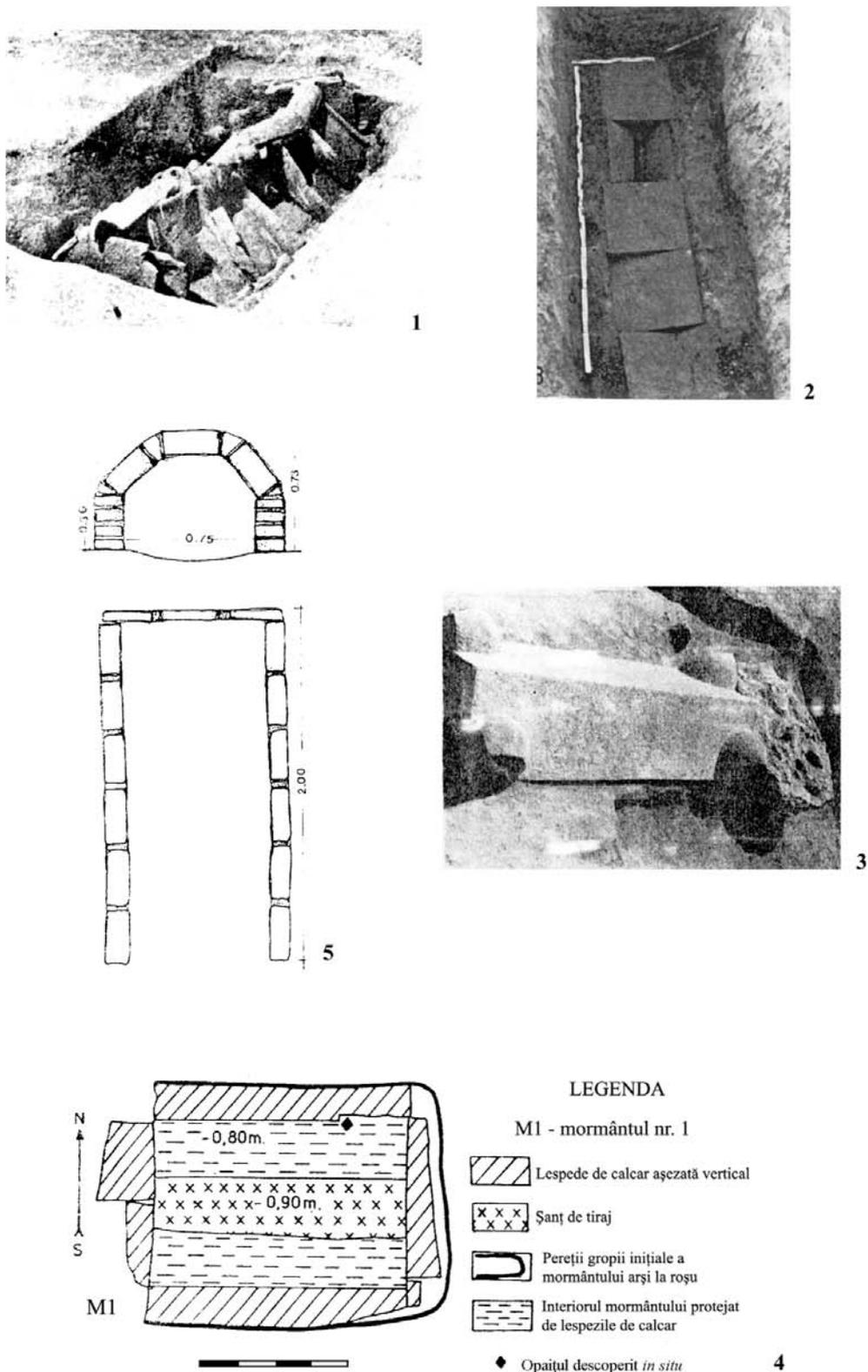
Pl. I. Busta in Moesia Inferior.



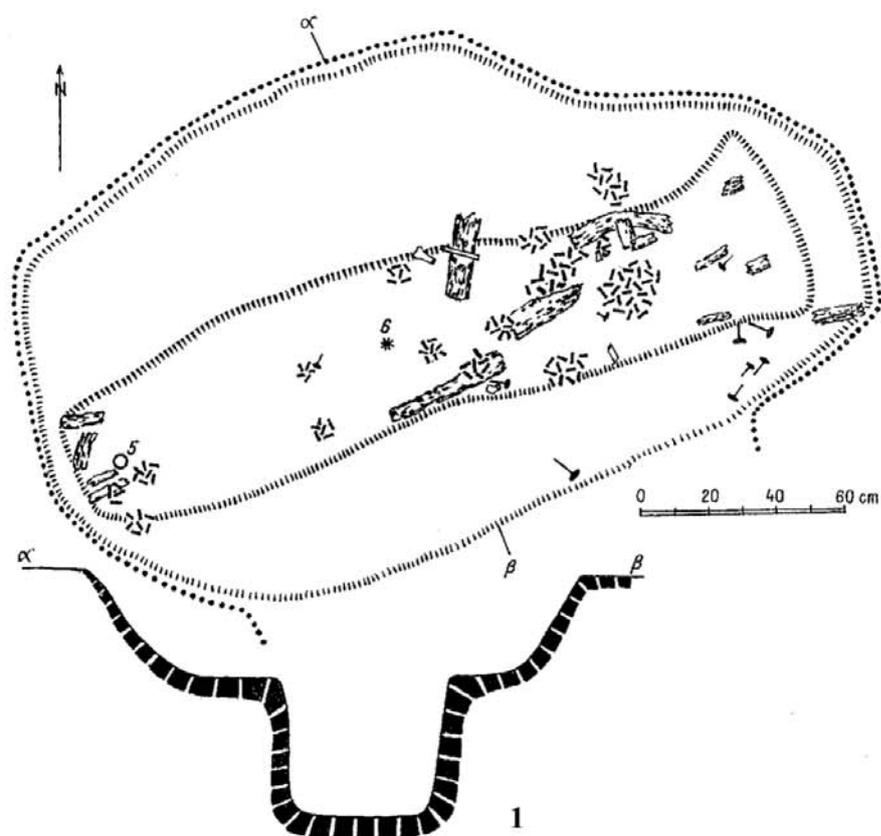
Pl. II. 1. Carsium T.3 M.2 (after Buzdugan et al. 1998-2000, fig.7/2); 2. Carsium T.2 M.1 (after Buzdugan et al. 1998-2000, fig.6/3); 3. Mogilec M.1 (after Ginev 1986, fig.4).



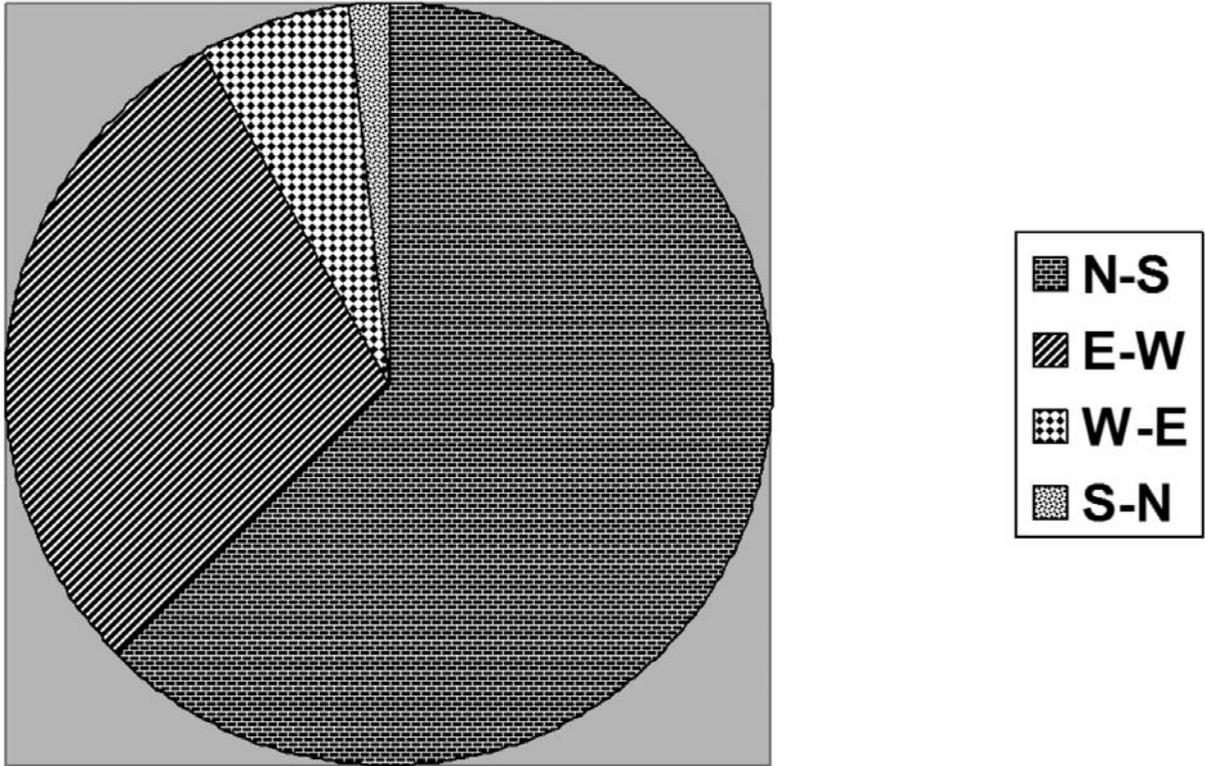
Pl. III. Histria T.XXX (after Alexandrescu 1966, fig.40).



Pl. IV. 1. Noviodunum T.XXVII M.1 (after Simion 1984, pl.VIII/5); 2. Noviodunum T.II-B M.2 (after Simion 1984, pl.VIII/3); 3. Callatis (after Preda 1965, fig.2); 4. Bărăganu T.I (after Irimia 1987, fig.1); 5. Durostorum M.1 (after Popović, Donevski 1999, fig.2).



Pl. V. 1. Histria T.XXXVI M.2 (after Alexandrescu 1966, fig.43); 2. Marcianopolis M.12 (after Minčev, Georgiev 1979, fig.VIII/12).



Pl. VI. Orientation of busta in Moesia Inferior.