



ACADEMIA ROMÂNĂ
INSTITUTUL DE ARHEOLOGIE „VASILE PÂRVAN”

MATERIALE ȘI CERCETĂRI ARHEOLOGICE

SERIE NOUĂ
NR. XIX, 2023



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**Toate lucrările publicate în revista *Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice* sunt recenzate de specialiști în domeniu.
(peer-reviewed journal)**

**Revista *Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice* este indexată în următoarele baze de date:
Persée, Copernicus, ERIH PLUS, Scopus, CEEOL, EBSCO și DOAJ.**

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ORION PRESS IMPEX 2000 S.R.L., P.O. Box 77-19, București, România, Tel./Fax: 4021-610 6765, 4021-210 6787, Tel.: 0311 044 668, e-mail: office@orionpress.ro.

S.C.MANPRESS DISTRIBUTION S.R.L., Piața Presei Libere nr. 1, Corp B, Etaj 3, Cam. 301-302, sector 1, București, România, tel./fax: 4021-314 6339, e-mail: abonamente@manpres.ro, office@manpres.ro, www.romanianjournals.com.

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THE MORTUARY TREATMENT OF CHILDREN AT LATE ROMAN/EARLY BYZANTINE (L)IBIDA (4TH–6TH CENTURIES AD)

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Keywords: Scythia, Late Antiquity, funerary archaeology, children, differential approach

Abstract: This study evaluates the treatment of children in death through an examination of the available archaeological evidence related to mortuary practices from Late Roman and Early Byzantine (L)ibida (Slava Rusă, Tulcea County, Romania). Certain components such as burial location, grave type, orientation, body position, and grave goods were analyzed based on a sample of 41 non-adult individual burials. A differential approach that involved making a comparison and highlighting the similarities and differences between non-adult and adult burials was used. The instances where adults and non-adults were buried together in the same grave were also discussed. Although differences were apparent in certain instances, it was found that children were not necessarily buried differently than adults. The limits of the study determined by the current state of research and by sample sizes are highlighted. Additionally, it is acknowledged that caution should be exercised as material remains and their interpretation only reveal a part of the entire story related to any mortuary behavior.

Cuvinte-cheie: Scythia, antichitate târzie, arheologie funerară, copii, tratament diferențiat

Rezumat: Articolul discută tratamentul funerar documentat în cazul mormintelor de copii din epoca romano-bizantină descoperite în situl de la (L)ibida (comuna Slava Rusă, județul Tulcea). Pe baza unui lot de 41 de morminte individuale au fost analizate diverse elemente, precum localizarea înmormântărilor, tipurile de morminte, orientarea acestora, poziția scheletului și inventarul funerar (acolo unde este cazul). Au fost incluse în studiu și mormintele de adulți (n = 82), în cadrul unei abordări comparative care să evalueze eventuale similitudini și diferențe în ceea ce privește tratamentul funerar aplicat celor două categorii (non-adulți și adulți). Mormintele duble în care apar atât schelete (sau fragmente din schelete) de adulți, cât și de copii, au fost de asemenea discutate. Cu toate că s-a putut documenta un oarecare grad de diferențiere pentru anumite elemente ale practicilor funerare, ipoteza existenței unui tratament funerar diferențiat pe criteriu de vârstă nu se poate susține. Limitele studiului de față, rezultat al stadiului actual al cercetării și determinate de dimensiunea loturilor disponibile, sunt amintite de-a lungul textului.

INTRODUCTION

The development of narratives on children and their mortuary treatment through the lenses of archaeology and anthropology has received an increased scholarly attention over the last decades. The 1990s were labeled “*the decade of the ancient family*”¹ owing to the numerous published works concerning the family in general, and women and children in particular². Occurring at the same time, a debate in archaeology about the potential for a study of children in the past led to the emergence of the inclusion in archaeological studies of this previously marginalized category³. The growing interest in children in Roman culture can be seen as a development within this trend, by virtue of the countless studies published over the last twenty years or so⁴.

Notwithstanding the unavoidable occurrence of non-adults skeletal remains while excavating in an ancient cemetery, Romanian scholarship has seldom focused on such investigations of children in the past. Certain attempts deserve recognition for aiming at a better understanding of the position of children in the archaeological dossier, either by assessing the variability of the funerary practices within a given chronological and geographical framework (a regional approach – such as the study of Sarmatian children graves from the historical regions of Wallachia and Moldavia⁵ and those from the Roman period in Dobruja⁶), or through the analysis of a particular sample (e.g. infant burials inside the settlement and buried in amphorae in Early Byzantine (L)ibida⁷, attitudes towards infant mortality in the ancient world and the mortuary treatment received by children in the

¹ Grubbs *et alii* 2014, p. 3.

² See Bradley 1991; Dixon 1992; Demand 1994; Saller 1994, to name just a few.

³ The milestone contribution in this regard is considered Grete Lillehammer’s 1989 paper *A child is born. The child’s world in an archaeological perspective*. Given the plethora of studies published on this topic, citing a few of them would not do justice to the others without ending up with an extremely long list. For the history of the field see Lillehammer 2015; 2018; Crawford *et alii* 2018.

⁴ To better comprehend the scale of this phenomenon is useful to check out two bibliographies that are available online: Panidis’ *Children in*

the Ancient World: A Selected Bibliography accounting for 4860 entries (available at https://www.academia.edu/43695502/Y_Panidis_2020_Children_in_the_Ancient_World_A_Selected_Bibliography_4773_entries_) and the bibliography compiled by scholars from the University of Tampere with 2351 entries available at https://www.academia.edu/30831355/CHILDREN_IN_THE_ANCIENT_WORLD_AND_THE_EARLY_MIDDLE_AGES_A_BIBLIOGRAPHY_9th_expanded_edition_.

⁵ Oța 2018.

⁶ Achim 2012.

⁷ Rubel, Soficaru 2012.

cemeteries from Histria⁸, or the children's burials in the Eneolithic cemetery of Sultana – *Malu Roșu*⁹).

Most of the aforementioned studies acknowledge the existence of various limitations that deemed the research as *preliminary* or *work in progress*. Both the Achim and Rubel & Soficaru papers point out the poor state of preservation of children's skeletons given the physiological frailty of the material or due to taphonomic reasons¹⁰. Leaving aside this factor that belongs to the natural world and escapes the scholar's capabilities, further more immediate aspects account for the incompleteness or shortcomings of the research done on children, mainly the uneven character of the information provided in the published materials both in terms of quantity and quality, *videlicet* laconic and insufficient descriptions of the archaeological features, lack of systematic and exhaustive field research, or the poor exploration of an integrated approach that would bring together the anthropologist with expertise in estimating the age and sex of the human remains and the archaeologist with a good understanding of the archaeological and historical context.

Though there are some gaps due to unavailable data¹¹, all things considered, an analysis of the funerary practices as documented in children's burials from (L)Ibida is an optimum choice on the grounds that, despite some shortcomings, most of the graves were recorded in a proper manner and the osteological material was studied for age-at-death and sex estimation, as well as for other anthropological inquiries (such as health status, pathological conditions, and stature estimation)¹².

Some introductory remarks about the archaeological site are necessary to establish the geographical and chronological framework. The settlement of (L)Ibida (Slava Rusă) is located approximately in the center of the province of Scythia, along an important road that starts from Noviodunum all the way to Tropaeum Traiani, Zaldapa and further to Constantinople, the Empire's capital. Although the Roman presence at (L)Ibida is attested early in the second half of the 1st century AD¹³, archaeologists are facing

a challenging knowledge hiatus regarding any activities in the area for a long period, spanning from the middle of the 2nd century to the beginning of the 4th century when the defense system with its massive walls, 30 towers and three gates is built¹⁴. At the beginning of the 7th century, the devastating attacks of the Avars and the Slavs caused the destruction and abandonment of many urban settlements from the province, and (L)Ibida made no exception¹⁵.

Systematic research has been carried out at (L)Ibida since 2001 on various sectors inside the settlement, as well as in the extra-muros cemetery including the family vault that housed the remains of at least 39 individuals. Almost all the burials were dated between the 4th and the 6th centuries AD. Although a standard description is available for most graves in the annual excavation reports, a systematic archaeological study dedicated to these features is yet to be published¹⁶.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

It has been accepted as an axiom that the count of buried individuals that were discovered reflects neither the total number of people who lived in a particular place or time, nor any demographic profile based on age or sex¹⁷, as long as archaeological excavations are often limited in scope and do not uncover every grave or burial site in a given area, as happens with all major ancient cemeteries. The sampling processes could introduce bias into the archaeological record, and they need to be attended to.

Over 179 graves were unearthed so far at (L)Ibida¹⁸ (169 dated to the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods and 10 medieval burials). However, we do not have sufficient and relevant information for all of them. As the present paper is concerned with the category of children, a necessary condition that must be fulfilled is the existence of the anthropological assessment of age-at-death in order to differentiate between adults and non-adults. As a result, the number of cases considered is reduced to 132 graves containing either adult or non-adult individuals, or both (for the double burials). Furthermore, there are certain situations where necessary details (such as position and/or orientation of the skeleton) are missing even for individuals in this sample. A purposeful sampling¹⁹ method was employed to avoid the occurrence of an *unknown* category in each interrogated categorical variable. In other

⁸ Crețu 2022, p. 186–251.

⁹ Lazăr *et alii* 2017.

¹⁰ Even though observed that subadult individuals generally had skeletons less well preserved and less well represented than adults in osteological series, this is however a complex issue as it has been already established that preservation (or destruction) of the skeletal material depends on many factors and the underrepresentation of non-adults in cemeteries samples cannot be explained by taphonomy alone (see Guy *et alii* 1997; Bello, Andrews 2006; Manifold 2012).

¹¹ Unrecorded information during the excavation process, mainly due to the impossibility to document certain aspects such as the orientation or position of a skeleton given the poor preservation state of the osteological material.

¹² The anthropological study for all skeletons was performed by Dr. Andrei Soficaru ("Francisc I. Rainer" Institute of Anthropology, Romanian Academy) who generously provided me with the data; see Soficaru 2014 for the anthropological data. I would also like to thank Dr. Soficaru for entrusting me with access to his database without which this study would not have been possible. See also Soficaru 2011 for an overall view of the mortuary practices in the province of Scythia.

¹³ Paraschiv *et alii* 2019, p. 436–437.

¹⁴ Opaîț 1991, p. 21–22; Iacob, Paraschiv 2021, p. 125.

¹⁵ See Kardaras 2019, p. 43–87 for an overview; for the Scythia province in particular, see Madgearu 1996; 2001.

¹⁶ See Paraschiv *et alii* 2006; Aparaschivei *et alii* 2012.

¹⁷ Milner *et alii* 2007; Weiss-Krejci 2011.

¹⁸ A. Soficaru, personal communication. Most of the osteological material is stored at the Institute of Anthropology in Bucharest.

¹⁹ A sampling method where the researcher deliberately selects specific cases or units to be included in the sample based on specific criteria that are relevant to the research question. The aim is to ensure that the sample contains enough information to answer the research question. See Maxwell 2013, p. 99–102; Patton 2022.

words, any individual for whom orientation and or/ position of the body is unknown was removed before any statistical inquiry. This choice does not affect the statistics. An *unknown* or *not recorded* category is of less interest for this paper, as will only say something about the current state of research at best.

Burials containing the remains of adult individuals are included in this study since one main research question refers to the occurrence (or absence) of a different mortuary treatment based on age categories (adults – non-adults). Both categories are needed for comparative reasons as a condition to explore the null hypothesis stating that there are no differences between adults and non-adults in the mortuary record.

In addition to the individual graves, features that contained more than one individual are also discussed since non-adult skeletons were found together with remains belonging to adults in double burials as well as in the family vault. The association of the two categories and its meaning and interpretation are worth discussing.

Considering the above-mentioned aspects, in the present study are included 123 single burials and nine double burials²⁰ that are subject to a separate discussion. The case of the individuals buried in the family vault is also briefly discussed. A thorough consideration of the latter is unattainable because the monument was repeatedly robbed, and the bones were disturbed and scattered²¹. As shown in Fig. 1, the basic burial sample consists of 123 individuals, with 82 (66.6%) adults and 41 (33.3%) non-adults. For some variables, such as burial type or presence/absence of grave goods, all units have known values, while for others (orientation and position of the body) certain values are missing. Following the same principle of purposeful sampling, this issue was addressed

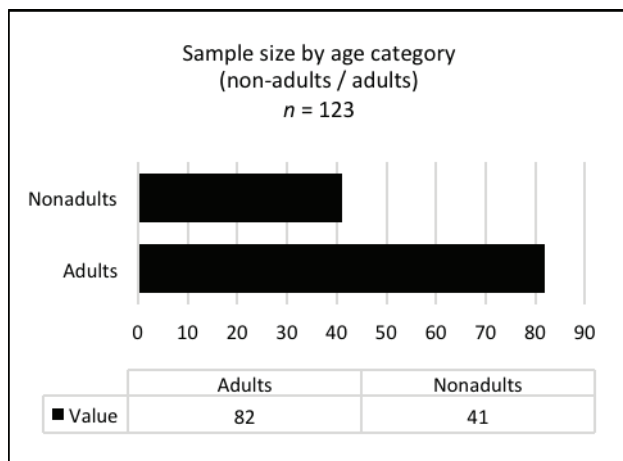


Figure 1. Sample size with distribution by age category (non-adults/adults).

²⁰ One double burial (Grave 063/2003) was not considered because even though the grave contained the remains of an adult female (50 years old) together with another skull found just by her right knee, no relevant details are available about this second individual. Out of the nine double burials, eight contained adult and non-adult skeletons.

²¹ Mirițoiu, Soficaru 2003b.

by stating the sample size each time such a situation occurs. For instance, the orientation of the body was recorded for 107 out of 123 burials, while the position is known in only 86 cases. As sex assessment of non-adult human skeletal remains with sufficient accuracy is a recognized problem in anthropology²², a sex ratio table was not included. However, any relevant issue related to this aspect was suitably addressed in the discussion section²³.

DISCUSSION

Defining children

Notable issues exist in archaeology and anthropology regarding the terminology used for defining *children* and *childhood*²⁴. Age is a socially manipulated and manipulable category. The identification of children and the way childhood was constructed in specific cultural contexts in the past impose certain restrictions and challenges for historians and archaeologists alike. A distinction should be made between three types of age: chronological age, biological age, and social age.

Chronological age refers to the number of years individuals have lived since their birth, calculated based on a specific birth date. Biological age refers to the somatic development of the human body. The pace of physiological maturation, expressed as biological age, depends on the processes occurring at the level of each individual and can change as chronological age advances. This is the age that anthropologists work with, based on the observation of morphological features and changes in the human skeleton. Finally, social age describes culturally constructed and mediated norms, roles, activities, and statuses that are ascribed to individuals based on the stage or position they have reached in the human life course. Social age involves a series of major events or rites of passage in the cycle of existence. Belonging to a category may depend on the changes that occur at a certain time, such as a girl's first menstruation which causes her to be viewed by the ancients more as a woman of marriageable age, and less as a child²⁵.

Although these are three distinct levels, they intertwine when defining the *child*. The biological age of the skeleton translates into chronological age and then further described in terms of social age²⁶. A definition that takes into account the chronological dimension and the cultural context was considered in this paper. More precisely, childhood is the period between birth and puberty, legally defined as twelve years for a girl and fourteen for a boy, as

²² Scheuer, Black 2004, p. 19–21.

²³ *E.g.*, the occurrence of certain decorative items worn for personal adornment in both adult and non-adult female burials.

²⁴ See Gowland 2006; Lally, Ardren 2009 (*cf.* Halcrow, Tayles 2010).

²⁵ As it is illustrated by the legal age of marriage for women set at 12 years (see the chapter on marriage in Roman law and society in Grubbs 2002).

²⁶ Sauvain-Dugerdil *et alii* 2006; Sofaer 2011.

it appears for example in the *Institutes* of Gaius, a jurist of the 2nd century AD, as well as in later sources²⁷.

As a consequence, only individuals with an estimated age-at-death below 14 will be considered as belonging to the category of non-adults. In agreement with the terminology following the German anthropological convention, frequently used by archaeologists and anthropologists, the categories included here are only *Neonatus* (from birth up to three months old), *Infans I* (from over 3 months to 7 years) and *Infans II* (from 7 to 14 years, between the appearance of the 1st and 2nd molars of the permanent dentition)²⁸. Assigning each non-adult individual to one of the three categories was not possible in all cases, since for some individuals it was recorded that they are adults or non-adults, without a precise age-at-death. As can be seen in Fig. 2 ($n = 35$), the most solid group is *Infans I* with 24 members (68.5%), while only four (11.4%) individual neonate burials and seven (20%) with remains belonging to *Infans II* were discovered. Two neonates, four *Infans I* and one *Infans II* found in double burials may be added to the count.

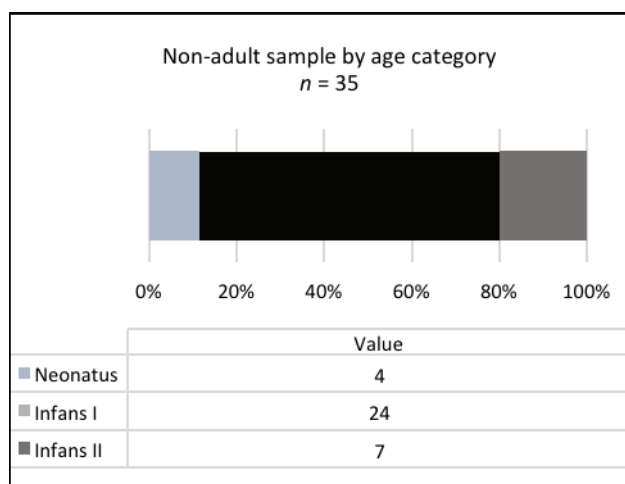


Figure 2. Non-adult sample by age category.

Children's burial practices at (L)Ibida. Similarities and variability

The diversity of locales where children graves were situated and the position of the burials in relation to certain features considered as differentiator between adults and non-adults mortuary treatment received much attention lately. Burials within domestic structures, such as barns, bath houses, food preparation areas, storerooms, and workshops, or in the immediate vicinity of domestic buildings like porticos, in association with wells, and from

areas which abutted the main domestic structure are documented on many sites throughout the Empire²⁹.

Achim notes that *at the present state of the research [...] child graves discovered in Dobrudja seem to have been integrated without restrictions in the funerary space reserved for the adults*³⁰. The case of Callatis where recent research documented a high concentration of child burials towards the southern periphery of the cemetery, suggesting perhaps a distribution based on demographic grounds³¹, is further cited in the same paper. The author concludes such a hypothesis could be misleading or erroneous bearing in mind that the cemetery is far from being exhaustively researched. A similar conclusion can be reached for (L)Ibida, lacking a general plan with the excavations from various sectors and the graves discovered, as well as detailed plans that would enlighten the (spatial) relationships between burials and the surrounding landscape.

In spite of these circumstances, some aspects regarding the space(s) intended for children's burials are worth discussing. At least two intramural infant burials were discovered at (L)Ibida³². Grave 23³³ belonging to an

²⁹ Duday *et alii* 1995; Esmonde Cleary 2000; Hölschen 2002; Trumm, Fellmann Brogli 2008; Moore 2009; Liston, Rotroff 2013; Gowland *et alii* 2014.

³⁰ Achim 2012, p. 186.

³¹ See Ionescu *et alii* 2002–2003, p. 244.

³² See Rubel, Soficaru 2012; Rubel 2013. Even though on the map in fig. 1 from Rubel, Soficaru 2012 (p. 164) three burials are marked (M 23, M 145 and M 32), no further details are offered about the latter; it is unclear, as M 32 from the map is actually M 31 discussed in the paper, but with no given location. In M 31, one 4 to 6 months old infant was covered with ceramic fragments from a large storage vessel; this one should be discarded as it is, however, not located within the settlement, but 185 m away from the southern wall, at least according to the published excavation report (See Iacob 2003, p. 298). After talking about *suggrundaria* as mentioned by Fulgentius, the authors note that *four older children were found in the necropolis of Ibida* (Rubel, Soficaru 2012, p. 163). In his work, *Expositio sermonum antiquorum*, where Fulgentius explains a series of archaic and obsolete Latin words, we also find a discussion on *suggrundaria*. This word was used by the ancients to denote the grave of a child (*sepulchra infantium*) who died before reaching 40 days. Unfortunately, we do not know how old is the custom that Fulgentius refers to. We can only wonder whether he had heard of this practice among his contemporaries, or he was rather speaking of a truly ancient custom of which no evidence remained, except an obscure literary reference to a passage in the tragedy of an equally forgotten author, Rutilius Geminus (See Fulg. *Serm.* 7). The interpretation of the word used by Fulgentius is problematic. Most likely it comes from *sub-grunda* (where *grunda* refers to eaves, gutter, or even to the roof). When it becomes a noun, *subgrundarium* implies spatiality, *spatium*, thus defining the covered place between the outer edge of a roof and the wall. This word has come to be used in the archaeological literature to denote the burial of a child in a ceramic container located in a domestic context. While *suggrundaria* refers to the location of the burial, inhumations inside ceramic vessels (either of *dolia* type or in amphorae) are conventionally termed *enchytrismos* in modern scholarship. Rubel 2013 notes that *in two cases the small bodies were put into larger pots*, but with no references to the different burial locations (one found inside the settlement, shown in Fig. 1/b, and the other, from Fig. 1/c, discovered *extra urbem* at significant distance south of the settlement).

³³ The notation follows Rubel, Soficaru 2012. When the excavation report was published (Iacob 2003), no numbers were assigned to the graves.

²⁷ Much work has been published on the topic of terminology related to childhood and the transition to adolescence/adulthood in the Roman world (see Gray-Fow 1985; Harlow, Laurence 2002, p. 34–53; Laes, Strubbe 2014, p. 23–40).

²⁸ Knussmann 1988; Grupe *et alii* 2015; Trautmann, Harbeck 2019.

individual aged 38 foetal weeks was discovered below the foundation of a dismantled wall in the northwestern part of the settlement within the *Curtina G și turnul 8 Sector*³⁴, while the remains of a non-adult of similar age (grave 145) were found in the southeast corner of tower no. 10 of the defense wall³⁵. Fabius Planciades Fulgentius (late 5th/early 6th century AD) mentions *suggrundaria* as used in ancient times (*Priori tempore suggrundaria antiqui dicebant*) for the grave of a child (*sepulchra infantium*) who was not yet 40 days old (*qui necdum quadraginta dies implessent*), since it could not be called a proper grave (*busta*) because there were no cremated remains to be buried and the child's body was not even large enough to fill the space of a normal grave³⁶.

The motives behind the intentional deposition of children inside settlements most certainly varied. Given their exceptional occurrence constructing any narrative about this kind of behavior remains highly speculative. From a form of disposal of stillborn babies or victims of infanticide (unwanted offspring), a practice related to parents' willingness to keep them close to the safety and comfort of the home, to an exception related to the perceptions of when an infant became a full member of society, thereby obtaining a social identity, a wide range of explanations has been explored³⁷.

It is worth noting that burials within the city walls are extremely rare in the province of Scythia. Apart from the two cases from (L)Ibida, one burial and several dispersed human bones were discovered at Halmyris³⁸, two crania at Tropaeum Traiani³⁹, and at least five burials at Histria. The small isolated group of graves from Histria, located in the immediate vicinity of a basilica, offers the only instance where a space inside the city was allocated and deemed suitable for burying the dead. These tombs were interpreted as belonging to the religious personnel that during their lifetime performed certain duties in relation to the cult building⁴⁰.

³⁴ Iacob 2003, p. 295.

³⁵ Iacob 2009, p. 197.

³⁶ Fulg. *Serm.* 7.

³⁷ See Smith, Kahila 1992; Moore 2009; Mays, Evers 2011; Kramis 2020, p. 15–27.

³⁸ The Halmyris crypt is situated under the altar and beneath the pavement of the church. Remains from two individuals were found inside, in the main room. An inscription on the eastern wall of the mortuary chamber served as the basis for the identification of two names: Epictetus and Astion, who died most probably at the beginning of the 4th century, in the same period when other martyrs were killed in the Danubian provinces ruled by Galerius, and were laid to rest inside the church at a later date (Zahariade 2001–2003, p. 149–152; Madgearu 2012). Scattered bones belonging to three non-adults (one neonate, one *Infans I* and one *Infans II*) and at least 6 adults were discovered in the access corridor of the crypt, suggesting the subsequent use of this area as a burial place (for the anthropological analysis see Mirițoiu, Soficaru 2003a; 2007).

³⁹ Found in the vicinity of Basilica D, one from a 20-year-old female, the other belonging to 12 to 13-year-old non-adult (Soficaru 2006–2007).

⁴⁰ The precise number remains unclear given that a total of seven graves are mentioned in the annual reports including one cenotaph and

Leaving aside the two cases mentioned so far, all the other graves, whether of adults or children, were discovered in the settlement's necropolis located *extra urbem*. While there are instances when two individuals were placed in one grave, the largest part of the archaeological record consists of individual burials. It is against this background the so-called Tudorka family vault, a remarkable exception, deserves to be discussed.

Approximately 1.5 km south-west of the settlement an underground vaulted tomb was discovered in 2001. The funerary chamber of rectangular shape measured 4.5 × 4.5 m with a height of 1.92 m. The dimensions of the dromos are 1.70 × 1.65 m and 1.65 m high. The walls of the crypt were rendered and painted in the *a seco* technique, divided in panels delimited by red and dark blue stripes and decorated with vegetal motifs and honeycombs. A raised platform located between the funerary beds was probably used for the placement of offerings, as well as support for the *lucernae* and other paraphernalia. The dead were laid to rest in wooden coffins, as proven by the large number of iron nails found inside. Unfortunately, the vault was looted multiple times and no skeleton was found in anatomical connection. Scattered human bones were also discovered in the dromos area outside the mortuary chamber⁴¹. The anthropological study revealed that the remains of at least 39 individuals of both sexes and various ages, including those of ten non-adults⁴², were found inside.

It is of paramount importance to notice that the vault was used by many generations over a long period of time between the 4th and the beginning of the 7th century AD. This chronological interval was established on the basis of the objects found inside the funerary chamber: several glass beads, fragments from two bone combs, a silver double-loop belt buckle with mobile plate, oval in shape, with three rivets arranged in a triangle (dated to the second half of the 4th century – first part of 5th century AD), and another iron belt buckle without plate, rectangular with rounded corners (largely dated from the 4th to the 6th century AD)⁴³.

The significance of this monument with everything that its existence implies could be better understood by drawing on the idea that places are *centers of meaning* constructed by human experience, social relationships, emotions and thoughts, locations that have been invested with meaning and emotion, through humans' experiences and cultural practices⁴⁴. Cemeteries and graves can be seen as centers of meaning that are constructed through the experiences, beliefs, and practices of the families and

one belonging to an infant, while in the monograph dedicated to the building only five burials are discussed (see Suceveanu 2007, p. 37–38).

⁴¹ Iacob 2002; Aparaschivei *et alii* 2012, p. 171–173.

⁴² Five belong to the age group of 1–5 years, three to the 5–10 years category and two fall in the 10–13 years group. No new-born individuals were identified (Mirițoiu, Soficaru 2003b).

⁴³ Aparaschivei *et alii* 2012, p. 178.

⁴⁴ Tuan 1979; 2001.

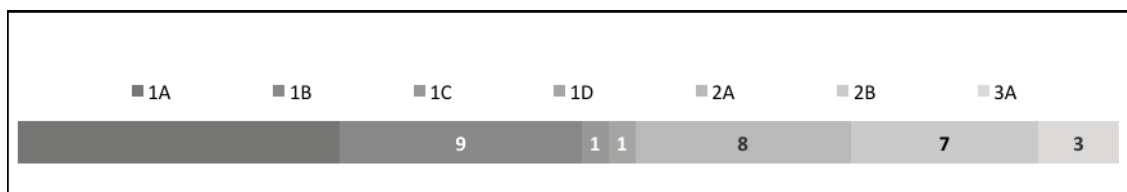


Figure 3. Burial types for non-adults.

communities who use them, that is to say, as settings for certain behaviors and activities.

The long period of use of the vault for the disposal of the dead for over two hundred years as attested by the objects found inside, together with the raised platform from between the funerary beds for the placement of offerings as well as support for oil lamps and perhaps other paraphernalia, testify to the ways people interacted with this place, in agreement with their *savoir penser* and *savoir faire*⁴⁵. The construction, maintenance and subsequent re-use and re-visiting of the vault, as well as the associated practices and rituals performed on the site, are the constituent elements of memory praxis in the mortuary arena. In this sense, the burial vault could be considered as a repository of (collective) memory. Regardless of the narratives that could have been built in the past around this particular burial place, it is worth noting that children were by no means excluded from this discourse. The presence of non-adult remains in the vault indicates that their burial was seen as appropriate in such a place, thus they presumably possess a similar position to that of adults within commemoration and remembrance narratives and strategies (dealing, for example, with ancestry, social status, identity, etc.). Since no differentiation in the use of burial space depending on age categories is apparent within the cemetery as well, the same hypothesis could be presumed valid, bearing in mind this scenario is based on the current state of research.

Several variables (and the relationship between them) pertaining to mortuary treatment could be examined aside from the spatial distribution of burials by age category considered as vector of differentiation. Even though inhumation was the only way of disposing of the dead since cremation became obsolete from the 3rd century, the funerary architecture presents great variety. The typology established by Soficaru for the province of Scythia was used to examine the occurrence of various burial types at (L)Ibida⁴⁶. The typology comprises five main categories with further subtypes in some cases, as follows:

Type 1: burial in simple pit

- 1a: body wrapped in a shroud.
- 1b: body placed in a (wooden) coffin.
- 1c: non-adult buried in amphora.
- 1d: box-like structure made of *tegulae*.

Type 2: simple pit with external arrangements such as stones or tiles placed above the pit (either at the upper or lower extremity of the body or on one side) or a lid made of tiles.

- 2a: body wrapped in a shroud.
- 2b: body placed in a (wooden) coffin.

Type 3: simple pit with internal arrangements such as stones, tiles or fragments of *dolia* placed either at the upper or lower extremity of the body or on one side (including niche graves):

- 3a: body wrapped in a shroud.
- 3b: body placed in a (wooden) coffin.

Type 4: cist with walls built of stone blocks or bricks, bound with clay or mortar, and covered with two or more limestone blocks.

- 4a: body wrapped in a shroud.
- 4b: body placed in a (wooden) coffin.

Type 5: Family underground vaults (*hypogaea*).

As illustrated in Fig. 3, from the total number of non-adult burials observed, 12 were of type 1A (simple pit with no further arrangements), which represents the highest frequency at 29.3%. Type 1B (simple pit, body placed in coffin) was the second most frequent type accounting for nine burials or 22.0% of the total. Types 2A (simple pit with external arrangements, body wrapped in shroud) and 2B (simple pit with external arrangements, body placed in coffin) each had eight and seven burials respectively, representing 19.5% and 17.1% of the total. Types 3A, 1C, and 1D each had only one or three burials and represented 7.3%, 2.4%, and 2.4% respectively of the total burials.

As observed above, the arrangement of a simple pit with no additional features where the body was placed wrapped in a shroud is the most common type encountered in non-adult burials. Wooden coffins deposited in similar simple pits were also frequently used. The existence of such containers was inferred based on the discovery of numerous iron nails inside the pits, as well as by means of archaeoanatomical analysis. Regardless of any external feature, non-adults were buried in coffins in 16 cases (or 39%), which is a slightly higher proportion compared to adults, of whom 26 (31.7%) were buried in coffins.

Except for the two neonati, one buried in an amphora, the other covered with *dolia* fragments, other external arrangements used in non-adult graves include stones and *tegulae* placed either towards the upper or the lower extremity of the body, or on one side. *Tegulae* (together with fragments from a large ceramic vessel in one grave)

⁴⁵ Ando 2008, p. 13–18.

⁴⁶ Soficaru 2007.

Grave type	Adults	Non-adults
1A	36	12
1B	13	9
1C	0	1
1D	1	1
2A	8	8
2B	12	7
3A	8	3
3B	1	0
4B	1	0

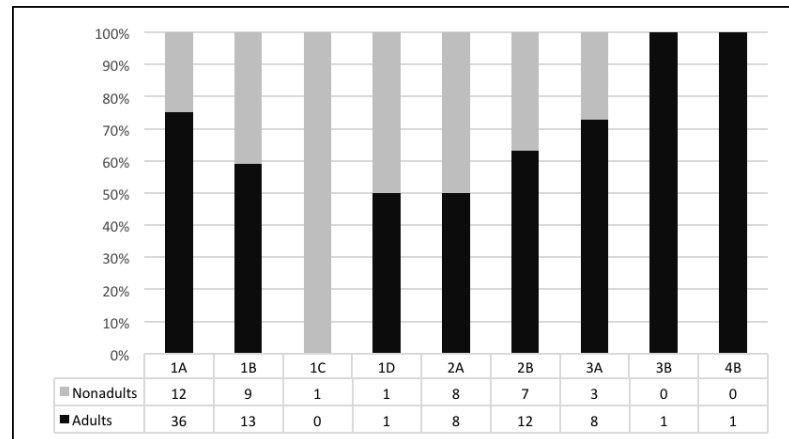


Figure 4. Burial types by age category (adults and non-adults).

were placed near the head in 6 cases, while in another 6 graves stones and tiles were placed towards the feet. Only in one burial the body of a non-adult (of unknown age, due to the poor preservation of the osteological material) was enclosed in a brick box. This type of burial is extremely rare at (L)Ibida. Only a single additional sarcophagus made of tiles containing the body of a 25-year-old male was discovered so far.

The table in Fig. 4 provides information about the distribution of grave types for adult and non-adult individuals. The preference for burials in simple pits with no additional arrangements is obvious for both age categories. Grave type 1A has the highest number of adults (36) and non-adults (12), while Grave type 1B has the second-highest number of adults (13) and the highest number of non-adults (9). Grave type 2A has an equal number of non-adults (8) as adults, while grave type 2B has fewer non-adults (7) than adults (12). Very few individuals were buried in grave types 1D, 3B, and 4B, with only one or none non-adults.

Based on the table from Fig. 4 that displays the distribution of two categorical variables simultaneously (burial type and age group), with each row representing a different burial type, while each column represents the values for the two age groups, statistical inference was used to test the null hypothesis stating that there is no association between burial type and age group. In other words, the proportions of non-adults and adults buried in each burial type are the same, and any observed differences are due to chance.

Given that some counts are less than five, the cross-tabulation table does not comply with the rule of thumb for expected cell counts for a chi-square test to be valid⁴⁷. Fisher's exact test, an alternative to the chi-square test, especially when the frequency count is <5 for more than 20% of cells, was used instead. The degree of deviation from the null hypothesis of independence, which postulates that there is no correlation between the age

category and the burial type variables, is indicated by the likelihood ratio chi-square value of 8.253 with 8 degrees of freedom and an exact significance value (2-sided) of .558. When the Fisher's exact test value of 7.377 with an exact significance value of .489 is also considered it shows that there is no strong evidence to suggest that the proportions of non-adults and adults buried in each burial type are different from what we would expect by chance alone.

In Sprague's terminology, alignment is concerned with two directions in relation to the cardinal points, while orientation is concerned with only one direction: the end with the head of the individual⁴⁸. The alignment was not recorded for all graves but only for 36 out of 41 in the non-adult burials sample, while for the adult sample this feature was recorded in 71 out of 82 burials (see Fig. 5). Based on the available data, as seen in Fig. 6, the most common alignment among the non-adult burials was W–E, which occurred in 23 (63.8%) instances. The other directional alignments were less common, with the SW–NE and NE–SW alignments occurring in five (13.8%) and four (11.1%) instances, respectively. The N–S and S–N alignments were the least common, occurring only two and one times, respectively. With 36 documented cases (50.7%), the preference for W–E alignment is also evident in adult burials, followed by the SW–NE alignment with 12 instances (16.9%). If for the adult burials the third most common alignment is N–S, only two non-adult graves were oriented in this manner.

The likelihood ratio chi-square value of 4.962 with 6 degrees of freedom indicates the degree of departure from the null hypothesis of independence, *i.e.*, the hypothesis that there is no association between the two variables (age categories and orientation). The higher the value of the test statistic, the stronger the evidence against the null hypothesis, and the lower the *p*-value (significance level), the stronger the evidence against. The *p*-value of the likelihood ratio chi-square test in the table is provided as both the asymptotic significance (two-sided) and the exact significance (two-sided) based on Monte Carlo simulation.

⁴⁷ See Yates 1984, p. 428; Yates *et alii* 1999, p. 734.

⁴⁸ Sprague 2005, p. 31.

Orientation	Non-adults	Adults
W-E	23	36
SW-NE	5	12
N-S	2	9
NE-SW	4	6
S-N	1	3
E-W	0	3
NW-SE	1	2

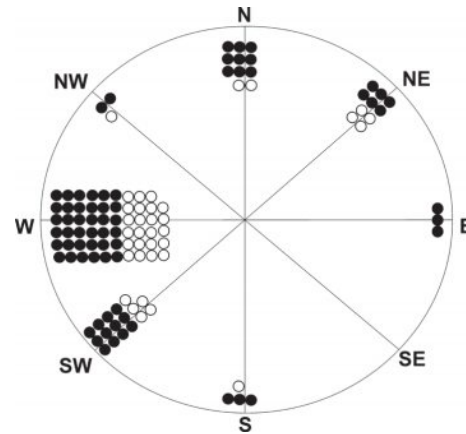


Figure 5. Grave alignment for the whole sample ($n = 107$).

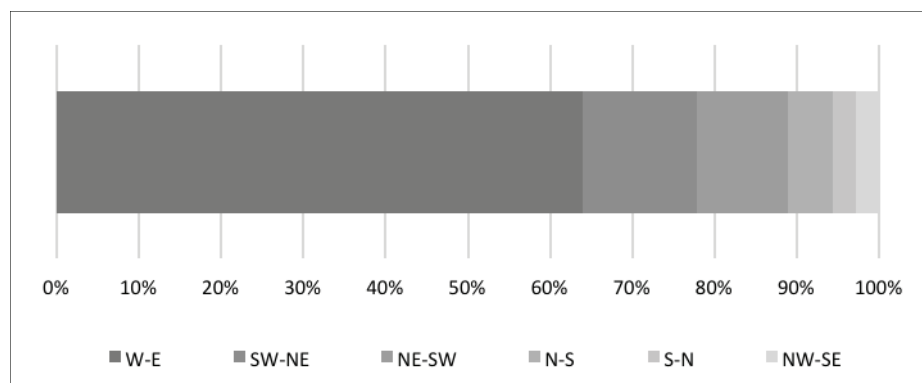


Figure 6. Alignment of non-adult graves.

The asymptotic significance (two-sided) is 0.549 and the exact significance (two-sided) is 0.670. Fisher's exact test value is 3.584, with an exact two-sided p -value of 0.781. These values indicate that the observed differences in the distribution of grave alignment between adults and non-adults could have occurred by chance and are not statistically significant⁴⁹.

Position refers to the relationship of the body parts to each other. In this paper the points considered were the trunk of the body together with the position of the arms and legs in relation to the body axis⁵⁰. In a similar manner to the previous variable, the position of the body was not always recorded. From the entire sample of 123 single burials, position was documented in 86 (69.9%). Unfortunately, for the non-adult graves this info is missing for almost half of the total number, with the position of the body recorded in only 24 (58.5%) out of 41 burials.

Based on the available evidence, three main positions were established. A fourth category that includes *other*

rarely encountered positions was added. The categories were labeled with numbers ranging from 1 to 4:

1 – body lying on its back with both the upper and lower limbs extended and parallel to one another.

2 – body lying on its back with both forearms bent from the elbows and brought closer to the axis of the body (with different degrees of flexion, placed either on the pelvis or on the chest) and extended legs.

3 – body lying on its back with only one forearm bent (while the other is parallel to the body) and extended legs.

4 – other positions, such as ventral and lateral decubitus or crouched.

Seventeen non-adult individuals (70.8%) were placed lying on the back with both the upper and lower limbs extended and parallel to one another, while only in two instances (8.3%) both forearms were flexed: 7-year-old individual buried in a simple pit had the forearms bent with hands resting on the chest; 2-year-old buried in a pit with ceramic fragments and one tile placed near the head with hands on the pelvis. It is worth noting that no case with the body lying on its back with only one forearm bent and extended legs was documented in non-adult burials.

Five graves (20.8%) belong under the fifth category. In three graves the body was placed in ventral decubitus position. In grave M 10 the body of a 2.5-year-old was laid in a face-down position with the head lying on the

⁴⁹ Before applying Yates' correction and Williams' correction, the p -value for the chi-square test was 0.7324, and the p -value for Fisher's exact test was 0.806. These values are slightly higher than the corrected p -values, but still indicate a lack of statistically significant difference in orientation between adults and non-adults in this data.

⁵⁰ See Sprague 2005, p. 29–31.

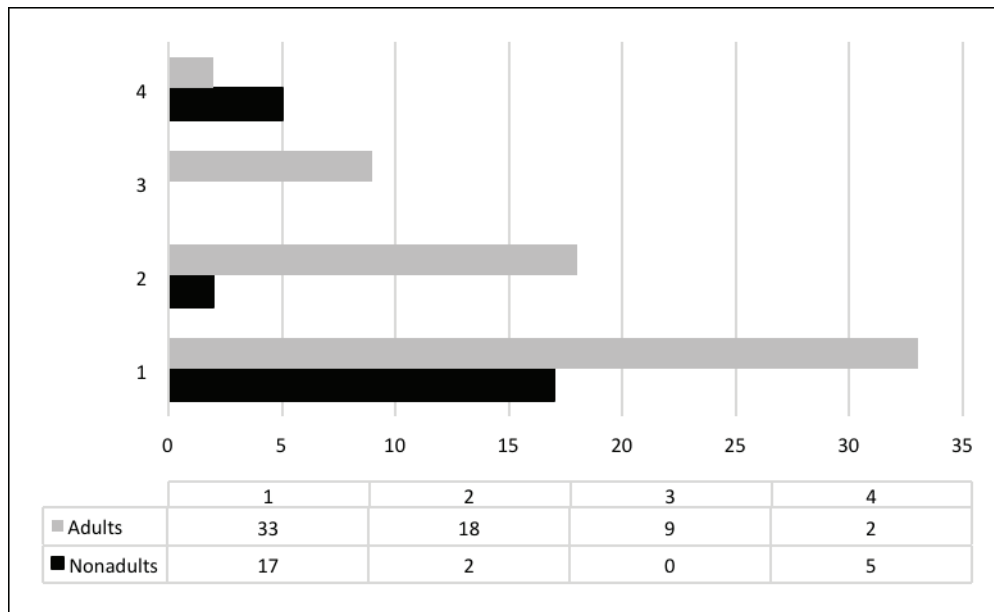


Figure 7. Body position by age category.

left side and the mandible on the chest. In grave M 023, the newborn buried *intra muros* in amphora was placed in ventral decubitus and had the right arm parallel to the chest while the left one was parallel to the femurs, with bent legs. For grave M 152 (non-adult of unknown age) it is also stated that the body was placed in ventral decubitus, but no further details are provided. The crouched position is recorded for the newborn buried under fragments of a large storage vessel, but also no additional information is available. Finally, in grave M 059 the body of a 2.6-year-old non-adult was lying on the right side. Although the category of adult burials is larger, only two cases feature such rather peculiar positions: in grave M 009 one adult male was placed in ventral decubitus, while in grave M058 an adult female was lying on one side (not specified).

For the adult burials, the position of the body was documented in 62 (75.6%) out of 82 entries. As shown in Fig. 7, the most common position for both age categories is the same – arms and legs extended and parallel to one another, accounting for 33 cases (53.2%) in adult graves and, as already noted, in 17 (70.8%) non-adult burials. Things are significantly different, however, when it comes to the second and third positions in order of preferences for adult graves. While 18 (29%) adult bodies were placed with both forearms bent from the elbows and legs extended, only two non-adults fall under this category. Moreover, nine (14.5%) adults had only one forearm bent (while the other is parallel to the body). This position was not recorded in any non-adult graves.

As expected from the data discussed above, when the Fisher's exact test was performed it returned a high value of 79.987 and an exact significance value of .000. This very low exact significance value indicates that the probability of observing such extreme results, or more extreme, under the null hypothesis is very low. In other words, the results

suggest strong evidence to reject the null hypothesis of independence between the two variables (body position and age category) and conclude that there is a significant association between them. However, before advancing a hypothesis such as one stating that it was not customary to place non-adult individuals only with one forearm bent from the elbow, while the other was parallel to the body, it is important to consider the limitations of the sample size in this analysis and the lack of data regarding body position for a significant amount of the non-adult burials.

Studying the relationship between the occurrence of objects found inside a grave and the various manifestations of social organization (be they age categories, sex, or other distinct categories as a result of the differences in social status) has fully proven its usefulness for Roman archaeology. For example, researchers following such an approach in their study of the Late Roman cemetery from Lankhills, Winchester, UK, were able to establish that some objects repeatedly appear in the graves of a certain gender or age category. Beaded necklaces occurred in most cases in children and adolescents' graves; non-adult females were buried wearing several bracelets while adult women only had one or two; jewellery was most often associated with young females; crossbow brooches, belts, and similar accessories, as well as knives are attributes of male burials⁵¹.

In most non-adult graves at (L)Ibida ($n = 28$, 68.2%), the body was interred without any accompanying objects. The table from Fig. 8 offers the available data regarding the objects found in the remaining 13 burials. By comparison, 65 (79.2%) adults were buried with no grave goods.

The most frequently occurring items are jewellery such as earrings, bracelets, pearls, and beads. It is noteworthy

⁵¹ See Booth *et alii* 2010.

Grave	Age-at-death (and sex, when not indeterminable)	Grave goods
M 018	10 (years)	pair of bronze earrings
M 020	1.5	beaded necklace
M 027	6–7	glass cup and bone comb
M 034	9 months	iron object (?)
M 036	1 (year)	5 beads/pearls; iron object (?)
M 055	11 (F)	glass pearl
M 064	7	bronze bracelet with loose ends
M 069	6 (F)	two bronze bracelets (one on each wrist); bronze earring
M 090	6 (F)	bronze coin
M 096	2 (M)	iron buckle (near the distal epiphysis of the left tibia)
M 120	12	bronze buckle (in the area of the pelvis)
M 153	Non-adult of unknown age	two iron buckles
M 159	Non-adult of unknown age	brooch, ring and bronze fitting plate

Figure 8. Grave goods in non-adult burials.

that earrings were discovered in two non-adult and two adult graves. In grave M 018 one 10-year-old non-adult was buried wearing a pair of bronze earrings, while in grave M 069 belonging to a 6-year-old female individual one earring of the same material was discovered. Two graves (M 133 and M 143) of adult females (20- and 30 to 40-year-old, respectively) each had one earring. A paper aimed at studying the relation between the social status of the deceased and the presence of only one earring among the grave goods revealed that mainly girls and/or adolescent females had worn a single earring. The study claims such practice was an indication that the buried individual had not been married and is related to her *virgo* status⁵². But the profile of the women identified in the archaeological record also includes much older women, and even though the argument that those were still unmarried for some reason might be pertinent, it remains rather unconvincing. Moreover, at least in the case of (L)Ibida, the only female who wore a pair of earrings (as opposed to only one) was the 10-year-old girl from grave M 018.

Bracelets were exclusively documented in the two non-adult burials: the 7-year-old from M 064 was buried with a bronze bracelet with loose ends, while the same 6-year-old female from grave M 069 that was mentioned earlier had not one but two bronze bracelets (one on each wrist). In a similar manner, pearls only occur in non-adult graves in two instances (M 055 and M 064). Beads appear in two non-adult burials – M 020 and M 036, and in one female burial – M 080 that had blue and red glass beads and amber beads around the neck.

In grave M 159 a non-adult (of unknown age) was buried with a brooch, ring, and bronze fitting plate. Brooches only appear in three other graves, all belonging to adult males: M 004 – 30–35-year-old individual has one

glass cup and one gilded *Zwiebelknopffibel*; the same type of gilded brooch, together with a silver strap end and a belt buckle⁵³ were found in grave M 039 where a 25-year-old male was interred; lastly, one iron fibula placed on the chest, as well as a glass cup (again) and one bronze coin were discovered in grave M 160 with the skeleton of a male adult (of unknown age). Rings are a rare occurrence, and they were found, in contrast to the brooches, in two other burials, both of adult females: in grave M 021 a female 30 to 35-year-old was buried with one bronze ring and a bone comb; one bronze link, possibly a ring was found in grave M 136 (40-year-old female).

While it is tempting, as advocated by the circumstances, to speculate around ideas of gendered items or distinct categories of objects deemed suitable to be buried either with non-adults or adults, such a perspective should be approached with prudence for a number of reasons. Swift's study of Late Roman bead necklaces and bracelets already showed that 87% of those containing amber beads were from children's graves and there is a clear association between the occurrence of beads in general, regardless of the material from which they are made, and children and (young) adult females⁵⁴. At cemeteries like Lankhills, Poundbury, and Colchester, a common trait observed in the burial practices of older children and adolescents is the addition or rise in the quantity of gender-specific items, particularly jewellery items such as bracelets. Approximately half of the older children (aged 8–12 years) and adolescents (aged 13–17 years) buried at Lankhills were found to have been given bracelets⁵⁵.

However, in the case of (L)Ibida, based on the few documented cases and keeping in view the current state of research it would be rather hazardous to assume any straightforward connections between certain items and

⁵² Ivanov 2008. The study is based on 87 graves dated from the 1st to the 5th century AD from Bulgaria, Romania, Macedonia, and Serbia. See also Aparaschivei 2014, p. 70–71.

⁵³ See Aparaschivei *et alii* 2012, p. 175, Fig. 8, p. 178–179.

⁵⁴ Swift 2003.

⁵⁵ Gowland 20012; Cool 2010, p. 31, Table 3.4.

age. Instead, it is more appropriate to acknowledge that non-adults were buried more or less in the same fashion as adults, and the objects and categories of objects used as furnishing in child burials are similar to those in adult burials, suggesting that the former were treated and viewed as *not-so-different* than the latter at least in the mortuary realm. There may have been a relation between children and adults, based on the fact that the child should preferably grow up to become an adult. The manifested regret when this desire is not fulfilled is a fairly widespread motif in both Greek and Roman thought as it is depicted in parents' lamentation (sometimes through the voice of the deceased on the epitaphs written in the first person) who find themselves in the situation of burying their offspring while remembering that the death of children is not only a cause for grief but also a disturbance to the expected course of events. *What the sons should have had to do for their parents, an untimely death forced the parents to do for their children*, as it is written on many epitaphs commemorating children⁵⁶. Even though according to modern estimates approximately 50% of children did not survive beyond their tenth birthday, while there was a suggested infant mortality rate of between 20% and 30% in the first year of life alone⁵⁷, it is reasonable to believe premature death was still a tragic event, since *mors acerba* is nothing less than the untimely disappearance of the heir of the family with all the expectations (in the social, economic, religious and ritual realm) it carried.

Double burials: adults and children together

Further evidence supporting the lack of a differentiated mortuary treatment of children at (L)Ibida is provided by

reviewing the instances where adults and non-adults were buried together in the same grave. Nine double burials are included in this study. Even though in grave M 063 a skull was found near the left knee of the female skeleton, this case was not considered, since no further details are available about it.

In eight of the nine cases the body of an adult was buried together with that of a non-adult. Grave M 068 is the only exception, as it contains the remains of two adult females aged 37 and 60, respectively. For the remaining cases, almost all of them feature an association between adult females and children, aside from grave M 017 where a 60-year-old adult male was buried with a 2 to 4-year-old child.

Adult women (of unknown age) are accompanied by newborns in two graves, while in the other cases the age range spans from 1 to 12 years for the non-adult individuals. The graves were exclusively aligned on the West–East axis (with one instance of NW–SE alignment; data provided only for six out of nine graves). Except for grave M 003, where an oil lamp was discovered, no artifacts were found in any other burial. Coffins were used as body containers for three burials in simple pits, one grave had tiles placed on the right side and for other stones were arranged on the left side.

The presence of adult (mainly females) and non-adult individuals in the same grave is not a phenomenon restricted to the mortuary record from (L)Ibida. Five double burials, together with another one containing the remains of three individuals discovered at the Basilica extra muros Sector in Histria⁵⁸, together with at least six double burials from Callatis⁵⁹ further support this claim. Within the Viminacium 1 – “Više globalja” necropolis, there are at least eight cases of double burials of women with newborns⁶⁰.

Grave	Age-at-death and sex	Description
M 003	65–70 (F); 12 (IND)	Simple pit with coffin as container; oriented W–E; oil lamp found inside; the non-adult individual represented only through a few bone fragments (perhaps a secondary burial/reburial?)
M 017	60 (M); 2–4 (IND)	Simple pit; oriented NW–SE; no grave goods; disturbed by a later burial
M 025	Adult (F); newborn	Two tiles placed on the right side; no grave goods; poorly preserved material
M 029	Adult (F); newborn	Simple pit with coffin as container; unknown orientation; no grave goods; the non-adult represented only through the right temporal bone (perhaps a secondary burial/reburial?)
M 030	Adult (F); 3 (IND)	Simple pit with coffin as container; unknown orientation; no grave goods; the non-adult represented only through diaphysis fragments and some teeth
M 051	30 (F); 1 (IND)	9 stones arranged on the right side of the grave; oriented W–E; no grave goods; from the non-adult only the skull was preserved, located near the head of the adult, on the right side
M 056	35 (F); non-adult (IND)	Simple pit; oriented W–E; no grave goods; the non-adult skull located right next to the one belonging to the adult
M 068	37.5 (F); 60 (F)	Simple pit, oriented W–E; no grave goods; no further details on the non-adult remains (perhaps a secondary burial/reburial?)
M 119	45 (F); 3 (IND)	Simple pit with coffin as container; no grave goods; two skulls, the non-adult exhibits intentional cranial deformations

Figure 9. Double burials.

⁵⁶ Cugusi, Sblendorio Cugusi 2010, p. 83–85; Katarzynski 2015.

⁵⁷ Hopkins 1983, p. 225; Golden 1987; Parkin 2013, p. 49–50.

⁵⁸ Crețu 2022, p. 168–169, 175.

⁵⁹ Ionescu *et alii* 2002–2003.

⁶⁰ Zotović, Jordović 1990, p. 61, 67, 101–103.

It is important to exercise caution in assuming any kinship relation between non-adults and adults buried together in double graves in the absence of any genetic evidence.

CONCLUSIONS

By examining and analyzing the available archaeological evidence related to mortuary practices, it was possible to evaluate the ways in which children were treated in death. Several components of the funerary treatment were considered in the study, such as burial location, grave type, orientation, body position and whether any grave goods were present (or not). The study also employed a comparative approach to examine potential differences between burials of non-adults and adults.

Although differences in the treatment received by each category became apparent in certain instances, it can be stated that children were not necessarily buried in a different manner than their adult counterparts. For example, even though it seems that grave goods are somehow more likely to be buried with non-adults, we do not have enough evidence to conclude that there is a statistically significant difference between the likelihood of adults being buried with grave goods and the likelihood of non-adults being buried with grave goods. The same scenario is valid for other variables as well. No case with the body lying on its back with only one forearm bent and extended legs was documented in non-adult burials, but at the same time it is of equal importance to acknowledge that the majority of both adults and non-adults were buried in the same position with arms and legs extended.

Caution is advised when approaching a topic such as funerary treatment in any past population and a nuanced view should be brought forward. While material remains and their interpretation are an essential aspect of this field, they only reveal a part of the whole story. Aspects such as grief, mourning, and emotional responses to death are inherently difficult to discern from the archaeological record, since they leave no physical traces. In a similar manner, the processes, and procedures the dead body went through before burial are often not directly visible to the archaeologist.

One could argue, and in good reason, there is an abundance of written sources on these materially invisible aspects. However, the sources dealing with the practices surrounding the death of children in Romanian society are primarily philosophical and literary texts. Interpreting such evidence in relation to the (differentiated) mortuary *habitus* is notoriously difficult and problematic since these texts were rather intended to serve as examples or guides of (ideal) behavior. As there is no mechanism to verify the implementation of Cicero's advice stating that there is no need to mourn at all for a child who has not yet reached one year old⁶¹, or the claim that children were buried at

night, by torchlight⁶² (to give just two examples), it would be a faulty assumption to believe that these scenarios are an accurate reflection of what *really* happened.

The entire discussion in this paper is informed by the current state of archaeological research at (L)Ibida and thus a resultant of the available sample under scrutiny. Undertaking additional excavations and eventually publishing a comprehensive study (monograph) of the resulting discoveries, which would include detailed descriptions, plans and maps, photographs, and drawings of graves and grave goods, as well as bioarchaeological analyses, would significantly enhance our understanding of mortuary practices for both children and adults. Similarly, conducting further intra- and inter-site studies on samples from other cemeteries within the province would provide additional valuable insights into the subject.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work is supported by project POCU 153770, entitled "Accessibility of advanced research for sustainable economic development - ACADEMIKA", co-financed by the European Social Fund under the Human Capital Operational Program 2014–2020.

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⁶¹ Cicero, *Tusc.* 1.93: *If a small child dies, the loss must be borne calmly; if an infant in the cradle, there must not even be a lament.*

⁶² See King 1997, p. 125–131; Carroll 2018, p. 151–152.

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ABREVIERI / ABRÉVIATIONS / ABBREVIATIONS

- Acta iuvenum: Sectio archaeologica – Acta Universitatis Szegediensis Acta Iuvenum Sectio Archaeologica (Szeged)
- ActaMN – Acta Musei Napocensis, Cluj
- ActaMP – Acta Musei Porolissensis, Zalău
- ActaMT – Acta Musei Tutovensia
- AH – Archaeologia Hungarica (Budapesta)
- AIESSE – Annuaire de l'Institut des Études Sud-Est Européennes, Bucarest
- AJA – American Journal of Archaeology, Boston
- AJPA – American Journal of Physical Anthropology
- AnB – Analele Banatului, Muzeul Banatului, Timișoara
- Angustia – Angustia. Arheologie, Etnografie, Sfântu Gheorghe
- Antaeus – Antaeus. Communicationes ex Instituto Archaeologico Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
- AnUA-SH – Annales Universitatis Apulensis, Series Historica, Alba Iulia
- AnUVT – Annales d'Université «Valahia» Târgoviște, Section d'Archéologie et d'Histoire
- Apulum – Acta Musei Apulensis. Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia
- ARA – Annuaire Roumain d'Anthropologie
- ArchÉrt – Archaeológiai Értesítő, Budapest
- ArhMold – Arheologia Moldovei, Iași
- BAI – Bibliotheca Archaeologica Iassensis, Iași
- BARIntSer – British Archaeological Reports. International Series, Oxford
- BCMI – Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice
- BCSS - Buletinul Cercurilor Științifice Studentești. Arheologie – Istorie – Muzeologie, Alba-Iulia
- BiblMemAnt - Bibliotheca Memoriae Antiquitatis, Piatra-Neamț
- BiblMusAp – Bibliotheca Musei Apulensis, Alba-Iulia
- BiblThrac – Bibliotheca Thracologica, București
- BSNR – Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române, București
- Bull. Int. Assoc. Paleodont. – Bulletin of the International Association for Paleontology, University of Zagreb
- CAB – Cercetări arheologice în București
- Caiete ARA - Caietele ARA, Revistă de Arhitectură, Restaurare și Arheologie, Asociația ARA, București
- CCA – Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România, București
- CCDJ – Cultură și Civilizație la Dunărea de Jos, Călărași
- Cerclst – Cercetări Istorice, Muzeul de Istorie a Moldovei, Iași
- Dacia – Dacia (Nouvelle Série). Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne. Académie Roumaine. Institut d'archéologie « V. Pârvan », Bucarest
- Danubius - Danubius, Revista Muzeului de Istorie Galați
- Dolgozatok-Szeged – Dolgozatok a Magyar Királyi Ferencz József Tudományegyetem Archaeologiai Intézetéből (Szeged)
- Frühmittelalterliche Studien – Frühmittelalterliche Studien (Münster)
- Germania – Germania. Anzeiger der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Frankfurt
- Histria Antiqua – Histria Antiqua. Journal of the International Research Centre for Archaeology Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade
- HOMÉ – A Hermann Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve (Miskolc)
- Homo – Homo. Journal of Comparative Human Biology, the Australasian Society for Human Biology, Elsevier
- IJO – International Journal of Osteoarchaeology
- Istros - Istros, Muzeul Brăilei, Brăila
- Iuxta Danubium – Iuxta Danubium. Sprvodaj Podunajského Múzea V Komárne (Komárno)
- IzvestijaVarna – Izvestija na Narodnija Muzej (Izvestija na Varnenskoto Arheologičesko Družestvo), Varna
- JAnat – Journal of Anatomy
- JAS – Journal of Archaeological Science
- JHE – Journal of Human Evolution
- JRA – Journal of Roman Archaeology, London
- JRGZM – Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz, Mainz
- KSIA (Moskva) – Kratkije Soobščenija Instituta Arheologij Akademij Nauk SSSR, Moskva
- KSIA (Kiiv) – Kratkije Soobščenija Instituta Arheologij Akademij Nauk SSSR, Kiiv

MarNero – Il Mar Nero. Annali di archeologia e storia
MAZCA – Musei Archaeologici Zagradiensis Collectanea archaeologica (Zagreb)
MCA – Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice, București
MemAnt – Memoria Antiquitatis, Piatra Neamț
MFMÉ-SA – A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve – Studia Archaeologica, Szeged
MHÁS – Magyarország honfoglalás kori és kora Árpád-kori sírleletei, Miskolc–Budapest–Szeged–Szombathely
MRGZ – Monographien des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums (Mainz)
Novensia – University of Warsaw, Center for Research on the Antiquity of Southeastern Europe
NAR – Norwegian Archaeological Review, Taylor & Francis
OJA – Oxford Journal of Archaeology
Peuce – Peuce, Studii și cercetări de istorie și arheologie, Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale, Tulcea
Pontica – Pontica. Studii și materiale de istorie, arheologie și muzeografie, Muzeul de Istorie Națională și Arheologie Constanța
RA – Revue Archéologique, Paris
RAASI – Revista de Arheologie, Antropologie și Studii Interdisciplinare, Institutul de Cercetări Bioarheologice și Etnoculturale, Republica Moldova
RACr – Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana, Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, Città del Vaticano
RazPr – Razkopki i Proučvanija, Sofia
RCAN – Revista de Cercetări Arheologice și Numismatice, Muzeul Municipiului București
RCRFACTa – Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Acta
RevMuz - Revista Muzeelor, București
RMM.MIA – Revista Muzeelor și Monumentelor, seria Monumente Istorice și de Artă, București
SAA – Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica, Iași
SAP – Studia ad Archaeologiam Pazmaniensia (Budapesta)
SCIV(A) – Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche (și Arheologie), București
SMIM – Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie, Institutul de Istorie „Nicolae Iorga”, București
SP – Studii de Preistorie, București
Starinar – Starinar. Scientific Journal of the Institute of Archaeology in Belgrade (Belgrad)
Tyragetia – Tyragetia. Anuarul Muzeului Național de Istorie a Moldovei, Chișinău
VAH – Varia Archaeologica Hungarica, Publicationes Instituti Archaeologici Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest