ASPECTS OF ETHNO – RELIGIOUS HABITS OF SOUTH DANUBE (IIIRD IVTH VTH CENTURY)

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Abstract: The evolution of the religious life, after the Aurelian's retreat from Dacia, has been made in a fluctuant politic and etno-demografic context. The literary and archaeological information we have permits only partially to rebuild the spiritual universe of local communities and migratory groups from below Danube. In order to understand the spiritual life, the factors that facilitated the currency of Christianity, the changes made to funeral eschatology sphere, the contacts, the ethno-cultural life and interferences, attached to stereotype gestures and the assimilation of the pagan patrimony, it is necessary to study the decisions of general and local councils, the imperial legislation, the eulogistic and patristical writings, the West-European and Byzantine hagiography and other sources.

Key words: Christians, pagans, migratory/Barbarian, ethnic, Romanization, integration, interethnic dialogue, divinity, heresy.

1. South of Danube – an area of contacts, influences and inter-ethnical interferences

The retirement of imperials, in the South of the Danube, after leaving Dacia, in the second half of the IIIrd century because of the attacks of the" steppe knights", has facilitated the communication between romantics and non-romantics in the same socio – cultural field, has stimulated the values trade, has encouraged the Christian missionaries in an almost hostile environment, controlled by the migratory, and it produced changes in the collective mentality. Our affirmation is based on a simple reason, which starts from the ethno – demographic context, emphasis by various sources. The ethnic communities have operated, to a certain level, by assuming some foreign cultural elements to their tradition and using Latin as a commune language.

Within this assumption process, the traits of traditional civilization and culture have stopped, in time. The integration of a foreign person was almost natural, as there weren't politic or religious constraints. But in order to reach this level, one should complete the stages of knowledge and accommodation with the others. Knowledge was inevitable given by the report between the value system of the other to the own cultural knowledge. This partial and subjective knowledge has generated some negative reactions, which could affect the interethnic relation[1].

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[1] Zugravu N. , *The Genesis of traditional Christianization of Romanian people*, Bucharest , 1997, p. 66; *IGLR*, nr. 167; P. Lemerle, *Invasions et migrations dans les Balkans depuis la fin de l'époque romaine jusqu'au VIIIe siècle*, în Revue Historique, t. 211 (1954), pp. 265-280; Al. Barnea, *Voies de communication au Bas-Danube aux IVe – VIe siècles après J.-C.*, în Études byzantines et post-byzantines, Bucharest, 3, 1997, pp. 29-31; Ioana Hica , *La continuité romaine dans l'ancienne Dacie sous l'influence du Bas-Empire (d'après les sorces antiques)*, in La politique édilitaire dans les provinces de l'Empire romain IIème – IVème

In the South of Danube, the Christianization of the foreign persons has lead many times to their ethnic assimilation. This was possible because the conversion was made simultaneously with the Romanization. The lack of state structures in the left side of the river was successful replaced by the socio – economic structures (rural community) and clerical structures. Their influences of the clerical structures on the communities can be questioned. The history is offering us few examples in this sense[2].

In this context, the terms *"etnos"/"gens", paganus"* and *"christianus"* receive new meanings. It is known that in Greek the *New Testament, the term etnos* (ἐθνος, ους, τό) means people, community, nation, (pagans, Jewish, foreign, atheists), equivalent to Hebrew term *goyim[3]*. Next to the term *etnos* we also find the term (λαος) which means people, crowd[4]. By an enlargement meaning, the ethnic principle of the Christian churches has been recognized, according to the tradition, from the beginning by the apostles[5]. This canonically precaution had an important effect from a socio-cultural point of view. In other words, we can say that the church has facilitated the accommodation of the Christian religious values to the ethnic – cultural specific of each ethnic entity and has permitted the conservation of their traditions.

In Christian circles a new acceptance of the term *paganos* has been approached in IVth century. Peter Brown affirms that this term is related to the marginal state of pagan religion in report with the Christianity[6]. Other specialists who studied the Cristian phenomenon in Dacia and Dobrogea consider that *"the Christian religious meaning of this term has been imposed by the equivalence made by the faithful Dacian-Romans between ethnikoi, gentiles, nations, "believers of the ancient divinities" and gentiles who tread on the Dacian-Romans territory after the middle of IVth century"[7]*. In other words, Romanus and Christianus would mean, in the acceptance of Latin's from North of Danube, same as to other provincials, *elements of ethnical and spiritual individualization against Barbary and paganism"[8]*.

According to this matter, we consider it necessary to reflect the opposition between paganus – Christianus from the antique authors' point of view. Therefore, at Auxentiu from Durostor[9] we deal with many believers, heterogeneous from an ethnic point of view, which live in a "barbarian" territory. Orosius[10] shows that few Goths from Athanarich nation, although they're Christian, they remain Barbarian. In Philostorgios[11],

siècles après J.-C. (Actes du IIe Colloque roumano-suisse, Berne, 12-19 septembre 1993, édités par Regula Frei-Stolba et Heinz E. Herzeg, Peter Lang SA, Éditions scientifiques européennes, Berne, 1995, pp. 295-296; J. Zeiller , *Les origines chrétiennes dans les provinces danubiennes de l´Empire Romain*, Paris, 1918; I. Rămureanu , *The Cristianity of Romanian provinces from the Danube of Ilir at the end of IVth century*, în ST, XVI (1964), nr. 7-8, pp. 408-450; Iordanes , *Romanian*, XLI, 217, în *FHDR*, II, p. 407; *Not.Dir.Or.* III, în FHDR, II, 1970, p. 209; E. Glenn Hinson, *The Church Triumphant: A History of Christianity Up to 1300*, published 1995 Mercer University Press, pp. 207-215; A. Soby Christensen, *Cassiodorus, Jordanes and the History of the Goths: Studies in a Migration Myth,* published 2002 Museum Tusculum Press, pp. 197-221, 230-321.

[2] Lets not forget that the first forms of state organization have begun as religious associations (greek *polis-es*, for example). Not to mention the exceptional role of the ones who administrated the Jewish religion after the temple from Jerusalem was destroyed and the state was abolished.

[3] Carrez, M., Morel Fr., , *Greek dictionary of New Testament*, translated by Gh. Badea, Bucharest, 1999, p. 88; *Marcu* XIII, 7-8; *Matei i* IV, 23, X, 18; Romani III, 29, IX, 24, XVI, 24-25 etc.

[4] Matei IV, 23; *Luca* I, 20-21; *Apoc*. V, 9.

[5] *Can*. 34 *Ap.*

[6] Brown, P., (2002), *The foundation of occidental Christianity. Thryumph and variety. 200 – 1000 before Christ.* ,translated by Hans Neumann, Iaşi, p. 45.

[7] Zugravu, N., *op. cit*., p. 306.

[8] *Ibidem.*

[9] Auxentiu din Durostor, (1970), *Epistola de fide vita et orbitu Wulfilae*, în FHDR, II, p. 113.

[10] Orosius, (1970), *Historiam adversum paganos libri VII*, 32, 9, în FHDR, II, p. 195.

[11] Philostorgios, (1970), *The Church history* II, 5, în FHDR, II, p. 201.

no matter the ethnic origin, everyone who has been led by Ulfila was Christian. Epiphanios makes the difference between Audiens and what we call "*our Christians*" meaning, supporters of Nietche's doctrine. In "*The Suffering of Nichita[12]* we find Christians, controlled by Athanarich, who have been persecuted by him for their faith.

If we return to the remark made by Orosius, regarding those "*barbarians, killed for their belief",* we can see that, in this case, the opposition between *Barbary/paganism – Romanus/Christianus* is not working, but only the phrase barbarian/Christian. In this context, we need to mention that, in the South of Danube, the principle of affiliation to Romanian citizenship doesn't seem to work anymore. The analyses made to the literary fragment suggest that, in this case, it's a matter of perceiving the text that belongs to a cult novel of foreign outside the territory of the Empire. More than this, Orosius is a man of Church, not a simple laic. Another surprising description is when he talks about Goth Christians, who have taken refuge in Romania. They chose to take refuge on the territory of their brothers in faith, being convinced that they will receive political asylum.

2. Are there heterodox pressures against the Dacian-Roman Christianity?

The coexistence, in the North of Danube, of an "Orthodox" Church and others Arian and Audian, has generated some particularities to the local Christianity. In this area, the sources do not register misunderstandings between believers of different religions. Dogmatic differences seem to be understood only by the clerks and Christians with a high level of education.

But what do these churches have in common? A clerical hierarchy almost identical, ceremonies developed in same religious places, celebration of cult adjusted by a liturgical calendar[13]. What was different about them, though: the representation of the divinity, the nature of Holy Trinity and the reports between them. While for Audiens, God the Father receives a form which reminds us of an old man with white hair, for Arians He is the only God and the Creator of the Son, without constituting the same being[14].

From this perspective, the term *creatio* from Latin terminology of Romanian Christianity, will proceed directly from the Arian doctrine, as some researchers say, this being the most important and perhaps the only contribution of Arien Goths. Only the cohabitation of Arians with Nitche's Christians would have led eventually to the transition from *dies Natalis Christi to dies Creationis Christi[15]*. The opponents of this theory sustain that the term *Crăciun* has its origin from the Latin word *calatio, - onem,* by changing the *l* intervocalic with *č* originate in *t + i + o[16]*. If we also add the difference that literary sources make between Arians, Audiens and Nietchian on one hand[17] and the

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[12] *Nicetae, P.S.,* (1970), 4, în FHDR, II, p. 723.

[13] Epiphanios shows us that Audios has blessed many bishops, has built monasteries, has made many proselytes in Goths country. For details see Epiphanios, *Against the eighty heresies*, 14, 5-6, în FHDR, II, 1970, p. 173. About the preach of Ulfila in three languages see Auxentiu from Durostorum, *Epistola de fide vita et orbitu Wulfilae*, in FHDR, II, 1970, p. 110; Zugravu, N., *op. cit.*, p. 338.

[14] *FHDR*, II, (1970), p. 173; Popescu, I.M., *The history and sociology of religions. The Christianity,* Bucharest, 1996, p. 67.

[15] Diaconescu, T., (1998), *La motivazione semantica della parola romena Crăciun-Natale. Studia sulla terminologia cristiana della Romania Orientale*, în SAA, V, Iaşi, pp. 165-174; Zugravu, N., *op. cit.*, p. 340.

[16] Ionescu, I., (1998), *The beginnings of Romanian Dacian – Roman Christianity (III-VII centuries),* Bucharest, 1998, p. 44. About the initial meaning of Christmas of sacred oak see A. Chelariu, *Santa Clause and his roots in Indo-European mythology,* in Thraco-Dacia, 19, 1-2, pp. 197-198.

[17] Epiphanios, *About the split of audiens*, 15, 5, in FHDR, II, (1970), p. 175; Ramureanu, I., *The audians movement in Pontic Dacia and North of Danube (IV – V centuries),* extras from BOR, XCVI, 1978, p. 9-10, p. 1065.

rejection of Arianism by Tomitan bishops on the other hand[18], we can conclude that things are not as clear as they look at a first sight. However, the circulation of some heretical ideas cannot be totally excluded.

But lets see in the following pages, which were the misunderstanding within the Church in the IV th century and how exactly did they affect the north part of the South of Danube. The transformation of the Christianity in the official religion of the Empire has made the Church message to adapt to "*hierarchical realities of laic society, loosing gradually the initial values*"[19]. The Romanian concept about state, the changes made during the imperial ideology after the Christianity has become official[20], the social and the oriental provinces opposition against the fiscal politics of the metropolis along the shores of Bosfor, the resistance of Semitic people against Hellenization and others have made that the existing tension from the society reflects in the religious life [21].

The interventions of the Emperor within the Church, as *pontifex maximus* and *defensor pacis,* sometimes abusive, have ruined the existing harmony between the State and the Church and have generated conflicts among the religious leaders[22]. From the perspective of Latin Occident, "the Arian controversy" has been defined as the beginning of the conflicts between the two institutions. Only that, at the end of IV th century " *a long line of evidences that the ambitious local leaders have used, trying as much as they could to determine the structural deficit, fundamental for the Roman Empire – the constant faith of absent emperors in local groups of interest, mostly in the increasing power of the churches*"[23]. In this sense we mention the attitude of the successors of the Apostle Petru regarding the leading of Roman Church, following a clear determination of the reports between sacerdotal (*hierôsyne*) and empire (*basileia*). However, these papal tendencies, within which the roman bishops take over temporal domains, mustn't be exaggerated, even if "*auctoritas sacrata, pontificum regalis potesta*" becomes a preferred theme of papal rethoric[24].

For Peter Brown the fast change of mentality means "*the personal change* of the society and the culture of the Roman Empire"[25]. In his opinion there were necessary few decades for the Christian's intransigence to be shared with most of the people from the Empire[26].

In the short time that has gone by since the proclamation of the Edict of Milan and up until the divide of the empire in 395, the Church has been dealing with two big heresies: Aryanism[27] and Macedonism or Marathonism[28]. Those who deviated from the church's official doctrine had started the discussions on the concept of the divine trinity.

This first stage of the Christ fights ends with the completion of the Christian Credo formulae pertaining to the Constantinople's second ecumenical synod, whose first

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[18] See the refusal of Bretanion in receiving the arianism during Valens – Sozomen, *The Church hystory,* VI, 21, 2-4, în FHDR, II, 1970, p. 224-225.

[19] Brezeanu, St., (2005), *A history of Bizantin Empire*, Bucharest, pp. 26-27.

[20] See the imperial title: *imperium Romanum, basileia ton Rhomainon – ibidem*, p. 16

[21] *Ibidem, pp. 27 – 28,* 34; I.M. Popescu, *op.cit.,* pp. 60-61.

[22] *IBU*, I., pp. 324-332; P. Brown, *op.cit.*, p. 49.

[23] Brown, P., *op.cit.,* p.50.

[24] Brezeanu, St., *op.cit.*, pp.34-35; *IBU,* I, pp. 303-312.

[25] Brown, P., *op. cit.*, p.47.

[26] *Ibidem*: "This thing happened in the following decades that separated the flourishing period of Constantin and Constantiu the IInd from the insecure period that began with the reign of Teodosius the Ist.

[27] Ortiz de Urbina, (2002), *Nicée et Constantinople*, Edition de l'Orante; Paris, 1960, p.19; cf. A. Niculcea, *Hristologiile eretice*, Bucureşti, p. 172 şi nota 172.

[28] Both the bishop of Constantinopol, Macedoniu 341 – 360) and his deacon, Marathon, who became later bishop of Nicomedia, agreed that the third member of the Holy Trinity is not borned, neither unborn (Popescu, I.M., *op. cit.*, p. 72).

proposition was established in Nicaea[29]. Next, we will reference only those Christian objects, or those with a Christian mark as well as literary sources which can supply us information regarding the religion of the inhabitants of the South Danube. The acclamation I(N) (CHRISTUM) UNUM (VICTORIA), which can be seen on a vase of Porolissum[30] , reminds us of the nicaean formulae of the belief „Credimus in unum deum patrem omnipotentem ... Et in unum dominum Jesum Christum...". It represents the only graphical clue of orthodoxy's in a dacian-roman community living in the territory called Dacia[31].

The great Cappadocian bishop, St Vasile the Great, has appreciated the Christians from *Barbaricum* that have kept their faith[32]. The same appreciation is made by the other writers, this time regarding the Christians from Scythia Minor[33]. The orthodoxy of scythes can be proved also by other sources. We can mention, in this sense, examples as *"the symbol of faith"* of Ioan Casian, introduced in the paper work *De incarnatione Domini contra Nestorium* (issued at Marsilia at the beginning of the Vth century)[34], specified with a quality of a certain Heraclide of Holy Universal Church, made on a funeral inscription (discovered in Tomis)[35], the zeal of "*scythes monks*" for the defense of chalcedonies formulae, seen as an opposition to the compromises made by the politic imperial factor of faith[36], the abbreviations written on some inscriptions and the outlines promoted by the bishops from Tomis in order to conserve the Nietce–Constantinopolitan belief[37]. In exchange, the inscriptions with the abbreviations X (ριστòυ) M (ἀριὰ) Γ (ευνὰ) ("*Maria gives birth to Christ*")[38], seem to refer to Nestorian formulae *Christotokos*

The persuasive force of the new religion is applied by the clerical members by assuming the important moments of life (birth, marriage, death), by the Christian epigraphy, with the role of a permanent instruction[39], founding the religious places, the conservation of the relives and Christianizing the barbarians.

All these have contributed to the appearance of a Christian "*mentis form*". In the absence of a political pressure, only the superposition of some polytheisms on the native

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[29] The symbol of Niceea hasn't been approved and signed by the bishops: Eusebiu of Nicomedia, Teonas of Marmarica, Teognis of Niceea, Second of Ptolemaida and Maris of Calcedon – *IBU*, I, p.319. The names of some south bishops are being known in this period of arians disagreements. For example, Dominius or Domnus from Sirmium, Protogenes from Serdica, Dacus from Scupi, Pistus from Marcianopolis. Adepts of Arie have been Valens from Mursa and Ursacius from Singidunum – cf. V. Itineanţ, Christian life in South of Danube *(IV-VIth centuries),* Timişoara, 2006, p. 221.

[30] Gudea, N., (1993), in AMP, 17, p. 159; cf. N. Zugravu, *op. cit.*, p. 298 and nota 225 de la p. 319.

[31] Zugravu, N., *op. cit.*, p. 298.

[32] Basil the Great, (1970), *Letter CLXIV*, in FHDR, II, p. 89.

[33] Marcellinus Comes, *The chronicle,* in FHDR, II, (1970), pp. 363, 365; Sozomen, *The history of the Church*, VII, 26, 6-9, in FHDR, II, 1970, p. 229; Theodoret from Cyr, *The history of the Church*, III, 7, 5, in FHDR, II, 1970, p. 233.

[34] "*Credo in unum et solum verum Deum, Patrem omnipotentem, creatorem omnium visibilium et invisibilium creaturam. Et in Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, Filium eius unigenitum et primogenitum totius creaturae, ex eo natum ante omnia saecula, et non factum, Deum verum ex Deo vero, homoousion Patris, per quem et saecula compaginata sunt et omnia facta, qui propter nos venit et natus est ex Maria virgine, et crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato, et sepultus, et tertia die resurrexit secundum Scripturas, et ascendit in coelos, et iterum veniet iudicare vivos et mortuos...*" - Ioannes Cassianus, *De incarnatione Domini contra Nestorium*, VI, 3; cf. Zugravu, N., *op.cit.*, p. 372 şi nota 140 de la p. 395.

[35] *IGLR*, nr. 45.

[36] *FHDR*, II, (1970), pp. 322-335; Păcurariu, M., *History of the Romanian Orthodox Church,* second edition, Bucharest, 1991, p. 148< see the *Henoticon* –Popescu, I.M., *op. cit.*, p. 81.

[37] *IGLR*, nr. 387, 396, 308, 316-324, 329, 344, 248 etc.

[38] *IGLR*, nr. 139-144.

[39] Câteia, A., *Eclesiastic instituriuns on the West –pontic shore, interpretated by the archeologic, literary and epigraphic sources during the IV- VII centuries,* Constanţa, p. 494.

fund of beliefs could represent an obstacle in the way of faster ascension of a new religion in the south-danubian territories.

The end of Goths reign has led, at a first sight, to the loss of the bishop's chair of Gothia. If we approve this aspect, the life of Christian communities has been, without doubt, affected. We don't believe this thing happened as no Christian source reminds us about any missionary action in local communities, but only the conversion of the emigrants. If things were different, the supply of the Bizantin army would have been difficult, the military alliance of the locals with the emigrants would have been normal and the Constantinopolitan Church would have tried to improve this situation by choosing spiritual leaders for the local Christian community. Indirectly we can say that through their empire exercised a "political control" over the area (subl.n). By providing "Christian citizenship" Church of pagans managed to blur the ethno-cultural differences, introducing them all in a big brotherly community. This policy has used it and if migratory, managed to transform not only once, the avowed enemy of the Empire ally or at least the circumstances. Baptism of Clovis and the Omharus / Omahar expression can be considered the same policies pursued by the Empire to the barbarian world: *Orbis Romana* integration into the *Christianization* and *Romanization*[40]. And so uncouth and summary of peoples trained church through preaching and managed objects to cultivate the sense of beauty, to inspire a higher moral and pave the way to social emancipation.

The continuous spreading of the Christianity, in the same time with the generalization of rural areas, has generated some changes of the Latin language spoken by the population from the left side of the river and not only. The epigraphic realities from Dobrogea put into sight this phenomenon. For example, the diphthong "oi" is represented by "i"; "e" becomes "i"; the "t" from the end of the words is lost etc[41]. To these changes we can add some phonetic particularities that exist in the faith symbol of Ulfia[42].

The formation and the expansion of the bishop's network have generated a numerous church department (bishops, priests, deacons etc) who have contributed not only to the development of orthodox values by the local people, but also to the spiritual integration of barbarians who have settled in the province. The conversion of Turkish "*Attala, son of Tzeiuk*"[43] and the federate committee Gibastes[44] has been immortalized on the funeral epigraphy of the province. Finally, the graduate disappearance of Geto – Dacian funeral particularities from the left side of the Danube, we can affirm that this can be a proof not only for the continuity of Romanization but also for the local Christianity.

3. Funeral eschatology – element of ethnic division
The research made on the funeral field and its mental impact on different theologies, faith, practices and sacrifice forms, which gravitates around survival area of the soul beyond existence, cannot be separated by the role that the ecclesiastic and sacerdotal institution had in the life of Christian communities from the North of the

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[40] Opreanu, C.H., (2005), *Childerich and Omahar. Two federates barbarian kings of the late Roman Empire,* the Bibliotheca Septemcastrensis, XII, pp 12-13.

[41] Popescu, Em., (2005), *Christianitas daco – romana. Florilegium studiorum*, Bucharest 1994, p. 285-293; Liliana Trofin, *Romanianism and Christianity in South of the Danube, between the IV th and VIII th centuries*, Bucharest, pp. 89-90.

[42] Ramureanu, I., (1984), *Latin and Christian terms from Ulfila's symbol and the letter of Auxentiu of Durostor that entered as Romanian terms*, in ST, XXXVI, 9-10, pp. 692-693.

[43] *IGLR*, nr. 41.

[44] *IGLR*, nr. 195.

river[45]. It's true that it needs to be mentioned, as for a long time, various forms of manifestation and understanding of the own collective mentality have represented the object of ethnography/ethnology.

The specialists show that this separation from the historic context and the social environment and the extraction of the archaic pre-Christian fund have led to the appearance of some studies with a pronounced speculative character[46]. Therefore, only the analyses, at a certain level, of traditions, based on the canonic stipulations of the Church, corroborated with the information provided by the written sources and archeological ones, can create a general image, closer to reality, of the spiritual manifestations regarding the life "beyond death" in the north of the Danube[47].

Therefore, despite the canonic interdictions[48], which included a communion relation with heretics and pagans, the necropolises constitute a certain reality[49]. Leaving aside the polemic among Christians and pagans, regarding the funeral ritual, we can see that building the *martyria*, the cemeteries of basilicas, the appearance of funerals in the space destined once to livings, the development of holy cult, the pilgrimages to holy places and assuming by the Church the thanatological issues, seem to suggest that the collective mission of salvation defeats the barriers of time and "goes" beyond the grave.

The mixture of populations and religious concepts, as well as the absence of well established rules, especially during the first stage of Christianity, is also reflected in the lack of uniformity of the orientation of skeletons in graves. Therefore, the west-east positioning of the remains was replaced with the east-west, north-south and south – north, with small changes depending on the seasons. In the current state of research, it's difficult to say in which era the burying was first used on a large scale, due to the fact that there hasn't been repeated digging within the settlements and necropolis of The South Danube, there have only been sporadic diggings. It was only at the end of the 8th century that we can see a predomination of Christian burials[50].

As well as with other Christian provinces, the burial ritual is a way to differentiate, on a spiritual level, between the Christians from the north Danube and the believers in traditional cults. Within the Inferior Danube basin the funeral inventory of the graves, the content of the inscriptions, the stereotype of some formulae and some funeral motifs uncover the ever more evident tendency of integration of the pagan sacrament by the Christian funerary anthropology and aesthetics[51]. But this valuable conclusion has its limitations. It's almost impossible to know their ethnic origins after they've converted to Christianity. The lack of funerary inventory and the east-west orientations of the remains do not offer us any clue for this purpose.

Conclusions

Therefore, from everything showed so far, we can draw the conclusion that the affirmation of the ethno-cultural entities within the South Danube area is certain.

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[45] Bejenariu, C., *Social dimensions of death in different aspects of funeral rethoric,* in AMN, 23, 2, Zalau, pp. 567 – 568.

[46] *Ibidem*, p. 567.

[47] Trofin, L., (1987), *op. cit.,* pp. 184- 225; Tertulian, *De anima*, LI, în PL, II, Paris, 1878, col. 781; Stan, Al., *Fundamental doctrines of prayers for deceased (funerals, requiem, prayers for the dead)*, în ST, XXXIX, 4, June-August, p. 82.

[48] *Can*. 9 *Laod.*

[49] Simion, G., (1984), *Traditions and rituals practiced in roman necropolis from Noviodunum in Pontica*, 26, 1993, pp. 92-96; Zugravu, N., *op. cit*., pp. 250-251; Lungu, V., *New discoveries from Tomitan necropolis* in Pontica, 17, p. 126.

[50] Trofin, L., *op. cit*., p. 216.

[51] N. Zugravu, *op. cit*., p. 235.

Besides the military conflicts and dogma, we can see that the thought process of the people settled there was marked by ideas and belief, with different origins and times. A lot of these contributed to the shaping of their spiritual universe. And the meltdown between barbarians/pagans and Christians facilitated the interethnic communications. The Latin world Christianity became a way of integration of the north-danubian territory within the politic and spiritual context of the era.

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