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ARTICLES AND STUDIES

THE ARCHAEOZOOLOGICAL MATERIAL IN THE NOUA SETTLEMENT AT BOLDUȚ (CLUJ COUNTY)

DIANA BINDEA, XENIA POP

Abstract: The analysed archaeozoological sample comes from the archaeological excavation performed in 2006 and gathers 109 determined bone remains, dated to the Bronze Age, Noua culture. The lot, numerically small, has the appearance of domestic waste and belongs entirely to mammals. The majority are domestic, in 94.85% (according to NR) and 76.92% (according to NMI). In Bolduț, bovines were the key to the economy. They were firstly bred for meat, most being slaughtered before adulthood, and secondarily, for other by-products and utility purposes. Beside bovines, other species, like ovicaprines, swine and horse were also important sources. In small quantities emerge dog, red deer, roe deer and a rodent.

Keywords: archaeozoology; bones; Bronze Age; Noua culture; Bolduț.

Rezumat: Eșantionul arheozoologic analizat provine din săpătura arheologică efectuată în anul 2006 și cumulează 109 resturi osteologice determinate, datate în epoca bronzului, cultura Noua. Lotul, redus numeric, are aspect de resturi menajere și provine în totalitate de la mamifere. Pondereea o dețin cele domestice, cu un procentaj de 94.85% (după NR) și de 76.92% (după NMI). La Bolduț bovinele dețin rolul primordial în economie. Acestea erau crescute în primul rând pentru carne, fiind sacrificate în mare parte înainte de-a atinge vârsta maturității, iar în mod secundar pentru alte produse și în scop utilitar. Bovinele sunt urmate de alte specii cu importanță alimentară: ovicaprine, suine și cal. În cantități mici, apar câinele, cerbul, căpriorul și un rozător.

Cuvinte cheie: arheozoologie; oase; epoca bronzului; cultura Noua; Bolduț.

The analysed archaeozoological sample comes from the archaeological excavation carried out in 2006¹ and gathers 109 determined osteological remains dated to the Bronze Age, Noua culture. The lot, numerically small, has the appearance of domestic waste and belongs entirely to mammals. The majority are domestic (Tab. 1; Fig. 1), in 94.85% (according to NR) and 76.92% (according to NMI)².

Species	NR	%	NMI	%
<i>Bos taurus</i>	50	51.54	3	23.07
<i>Ovis aries</i> / <i>Capra hircus</i>	17	17.52	2	15.38
<i>Sus scrofa domesticus</i>	12	12.37	2	15.38
<i>Equus caballus</i>	12	12.37	2	15.38
<i>Canis familiaris</i>	1	1.03	1	7.69
Total domestic mammal remains	92	94.85	10	76.92
<i>Cervus elaphus</i>	2	2.06	1	7.69
<i>Capreolus capreolus</i>	1	1.03	1	7.69

¹ The team was conducted by archaeologist Mihai Wittenberger.

² NR = number of faunal remains; NMI = minimum number of individuals.

Species	NR	%	NMI	%
<i>Rodentia</i>	2	2.06	1	7.69
Total wild mammal remains	5	5.15	3	23.08
Total mammal remains	97	100	13	100
Large size ribs	10			
Small-average size ribs	2			
Total	109			

Table 1. Frequency of the material by species at Bolduț.

Bos taurus (domestic bovines)

Among the domestic mammals, the majority are bovines with a 51.54% frequency after NR and 23.07% after NMI. Fifty fragments, coming from a minimum of 3 individuals, were determined. Indications regarding the slaughtering age³ are few: an individual was 3–3½ years old, another was immature, while in the case of the third, it is impossible to establish the age of slaughtering. The distribution of the faunal material according to anatomical elements shows that fragments coming from the non-edible regions (skull and limb extremities) of the skeleton predominate.

The absence of horn apophyses makes impossible the appreciation of the morphological bovid types bred by the population in Bolduț. Estimations of their size could not be made either due to the absence of complete long bones in the analysed sample. Therefore, information on the massiveness of *Bos taurus* individuals were supplied by measurements performed on bone fragments (Appendix).

Some cattle remains exhibit traces of anthropic intervention. We mention a fragmentary scapula (Pl. I/1), whose lateral edge of the glenoid cavity was jagged on a length of ca. 4 cm. The ten ridges are 2–3 mm deep. Another piece exhibiting processing traces is a body fragment of a cubitus (ca. 1/3 of the body length) cut in the distal part and polished. Multiple cuts, approximately 5 cm long may also be noticed on the sides. The total length of the piece is of 126.7 mm. There was also identified a proximal fragment of a metatarsal with a bone tissue layer removed along the coalescence hollow, in the medial half, on a length of approximately 6.5 cm and width of ca. 1 cm.

Ovis aries / *Capra hircus* (ovicaprines)

Ovicaprines rank second as importance within the site at Bolduț, being 17.52% frequent after NR and 15.38% after NMI. Minimum two individuals corresponding to the 17 determined bone fragments were identified. One fragment may be assigned to sheep and two fragments to goats, the other being included in the mixed category *Ovis* / *Capra*.

One of the ovines was slaughtered at ca. 18 months of age, while the other reached adulthood. Based on the two discovered horns (one complete and the other fragmentary) we suppose that the adult individual could have belonged to the caprines. In terms of distribution on skeletal elements, non-edible regions predominate by 70.59%.

³ Silver 1963, 252–253.

Within the ovicaprine sample were also identified bone remains with traces of human intervention. Thus, a diaphysis fragment (wall) of a humerus has one of the edges slightly ridged, while four fine cuts are noticeable on the exterior side. The ends of a diaphysis fragment, likely coming from a tibia, exhibit polishing and cutting processing traces. The piece is 43.2 mm long and 13.6 mm wide. The surface of a calcaneus evidences four cuts, two smaller, superficial and two deeper (calcaneus maximum width = 18 mm). Another piece which also exhibits processing traces is a metatarsal split transversally, with more than half diaphysis polished, namely in its lower part. The piece is 112.3 mm long (metacarpal metric data: proximal epiphysis width = 19 mm; proximal anteroposterior diameter = 20.2 mm; diaphysis minimum width = 10 mm; anteroposterior diaphysis diameter = 9.5 mm).

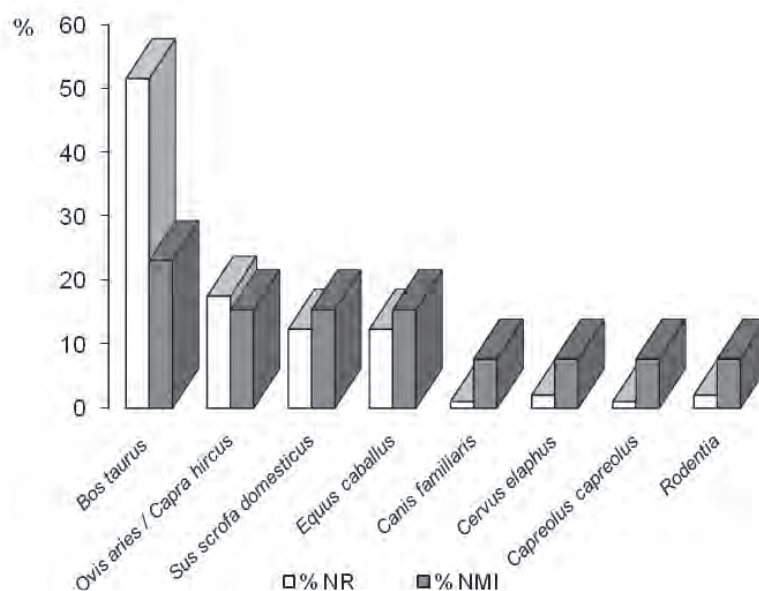


Fig. 1. Mammal ratio within the site at Bolduț.

Sus scrofa domesticus (domestic swine)

The domestic swine gathers 12 fragments, its frequency being of 12.37% (after NR) and 15.38% (after NMI). Minimum two individuals were estimated, one under 2 years of age (un-epiphysed metacarpal, tibia, phalanx) and one of ca. 21–23 months. To the latter belongs a mandible fragment with an unworn third cuspid of molar M_3 ; M_2 was partially lost during the animal's life, the bone tissue being rebuilt at alveoli level. The presence of a male is recorded by the alveoli of a canine in a fragmentary mandible.

A quarter of the swine remains come from the edible regions of the skeleton. The few measurable fragments explain the impossibility of any appreciations regarding the size of the individuals in the swine population.

A secondary phalanx exhibits on the median side traces of human intervention in the form of 6–7 mm long parallel cuts.

Equus caballus (horse)

The horse ranks, beside swine, third among the domestic mammals, recording the same percentage of 12.37% (after NR) and 15.38% (after NMI). Phalanges and isolated teeth predominate among the fragments.

We computed the gracility index based on a primary phalanx (proximal epiphysis width \times 100 / maximum length). The resulted value is of 38.67. A fragment of a scapula body coming likely from a horse exhibits processing traces, with a ca. 10 cm surface polished by the edge.

Canis familiaris (dog)

From an adult dog comes a complete tibia. Based on the maximum length (195.6 mm), by using Koudelka indices (1885), the size was computed as to 571.15 mm⁴. This value frames the individual in the category of over-average size dogs, the limits for this class being of 50–59.9 cm⁵. The gracility index (minimum diaphysis width \times 100 / maximum length) is of 6.64. The limits for the category of average robustness are of 6.6–8.5. Therefore, this individual frames by the lower limit of the interval for average robustness, being very close to the group of gracile dogs⁶.

Wild species

There were identified three wild mammals represented by a very small number of fragments, to which correspond a single individual each, their frequency, after NMI, being of 7.69%. From an adult red deer (*Cervus elaphus*) come 2 remains (scapula and tibia), roe deer (*Capreolus capreolus*) is represented by a single fragment of a basal rosetted horn. The piece morphology evidence the horn was detached from the skull, being, likely, collected. From a rodent (*Rodentia sp.*) come two remains (a mandible and a long bone), possibly appearing accidentally in the culture layer (intrusive species).

Since, on several rib fragments species identification was impossible, they were included in two categories: large size ribs (*Equus* / *Bos* / *Cervus*) and small-average size ribs (*Ovis* / *Capra* / *Capreolus* / *Sus*). We note that in the lot at Bolduț predominate ribs of large animals, they being the majority also as number of fragments identified in the settlement.

Beside the worked bones belonging to the various species presented above, there were also identified pieces with anthropic intervention marks which could not be determined specifically. Noteworthy is a 99.7 mm long piece, which exhibits by the end a cut in shape of a spiral (hence the twisted appearance (of a «drill») of the tip) (Pl. I/2). A fragment coming from a diaphysis wall of a large size animal is polished. The length of this piece was of 117 mm. Still to a large size species belongs a wide bone fragment with a cut edge and polishing marks and an epiphysis (?) remain with slight traces of cuts and polishes.

⁴ von der Driesch, Boessneck 1974, 343.

⁵ Udrescu, Bejenaru, Hrișcu 1999, 108.

⁶ Udrescu, Bejenaru, Hrișcu 1999, 108.

Some bone remains exhibit fire contact traces. We mention two fragments (secondary phalanx, chest vertebra) belonging to domestic bovids and three unidentified remains with dark burning stains.

Final considerations

In Bolduț, bovids were key in the economy. They were mainly bred for meat, the majority being slaughtered before adulthood, and secondarily for other by-products and utility purposes. In Bolduț, over 50% of the total estimated meat quantity corresponds to bovines, secondly to the horse, which in Prehistory was used as food source.

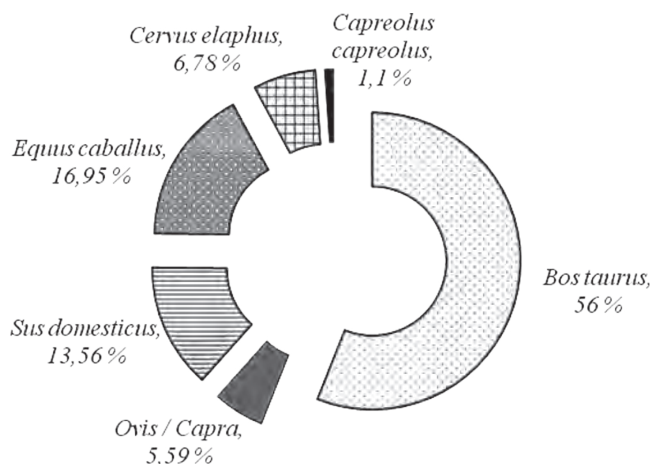


Fig. 2. Meat quantity supplied by the species identified at Bolduț.

The faunal lots within the sites dated to the Bronze Age (Noua culture and not only) discovered in Transylvania are few. This period is better studied outside the Carpathian Arch. Correlations between the faunal data supplied by the sample originating from the settlement at Bolduț and those in the specialty literature, firstly with the sites in Transylvania: Iclod⁷, Zoltan⁸ and Pălatca⁹, but also with other Noua sites on the territory of Moldova, reveal both resemblances and differences between settlements.

The domestic mammal ratio is high in Late Bronze settlements of Transylvania (Fig. 3) and Moldova. Except for the site at Iclod, where the domestic species ratio is almost of 89%, in all the other sites it exceeds 90%. The circumstances are also valid for the Noua settlements in Moldova: Petrușeni¹⁰, Dochia¹¹, Piatra-Neamț¹², Valea Lupului¹³, Bârlad¹⁴, Cavadinești¹⁵, Gârbovăț¹⁶.

⁷ Bindea 2008, 97-98.

⁸ El Susi 2002, 153-159.

⁹ Bindea, Kelemen 2008-2009, 54-59.

¹⁰ Levitschii, Sava 1993, 130.

¹¹ Bejenaru, Stupu 2001, 108.

¹² Haimovici 1964, 220.

¹³ Haimovici 1963, 172.

¹⁴ Haimovici 1964, 220.

¹⁵ Haimovici 1983, 99.

¹⁶ Haimovici 1991, 163.

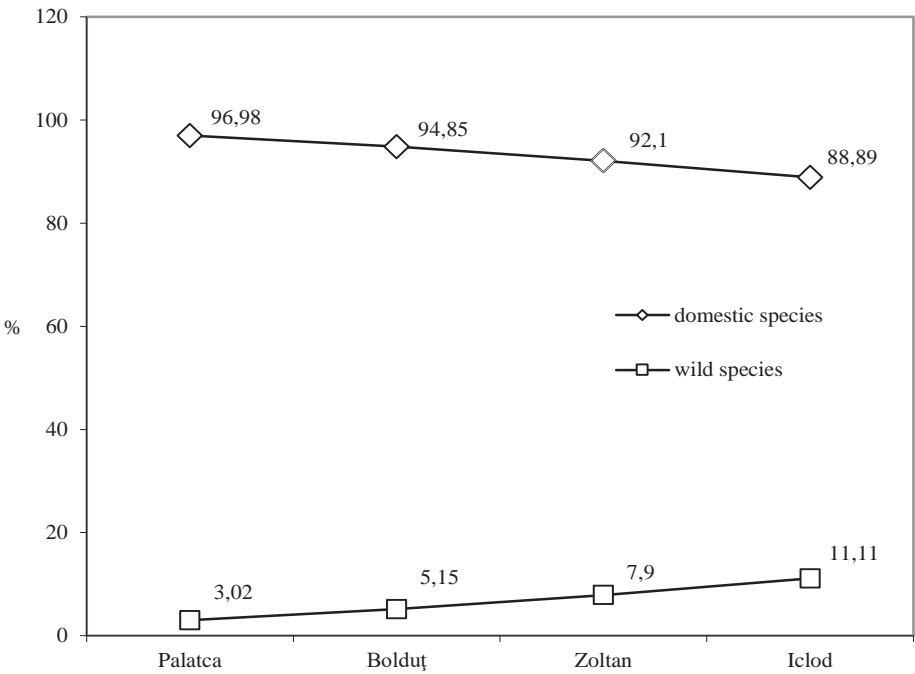


Fig. 3. Domestic/wild mammals ratio in sites belonging to the Late Bronze Age in Transylvania.

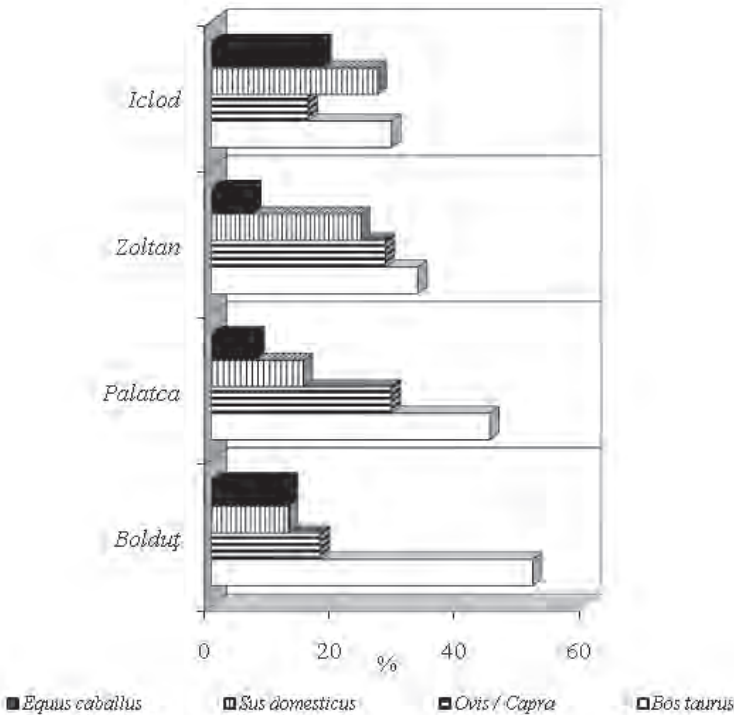


Fig. 4. Frequency of domestic mammals in sites belonging to the Late Bronze Age in Transylvania.

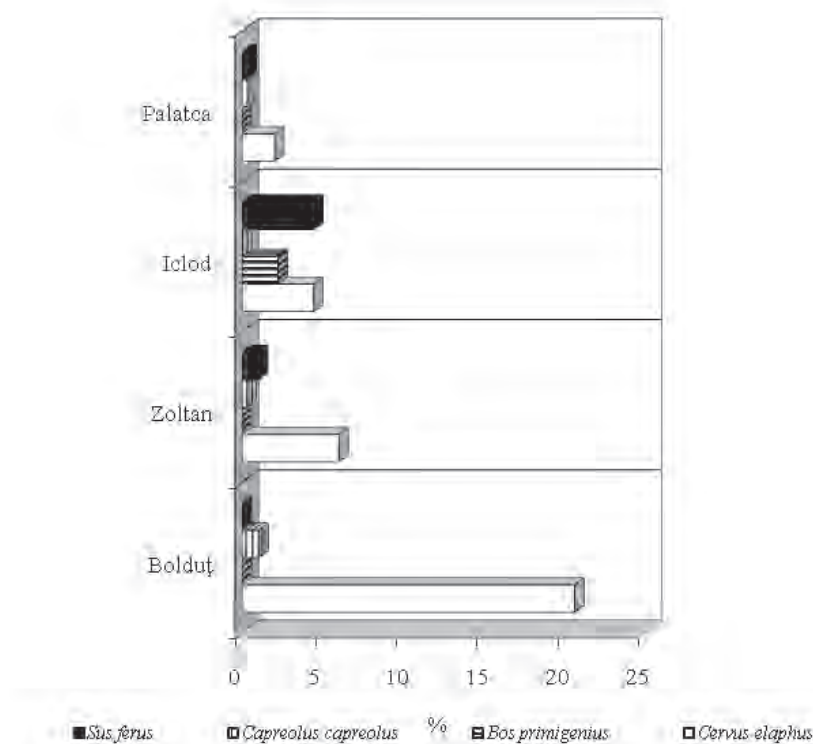


Fig. 5. Frequency of wild mammals in sites belonging to the Late Bronze Age in Transylvania.

The domestic mammals husbandry (Fig. 4) during the Late Bronze Age relied, in all settlements, firstly on bovines, and, secondarily, on ovicaprines, with the exception of the site at Iclod, where domestic swine and caballines preceded ovicaprines. At Bolduț, swine and horses share the third place.

Hunting was focused on large size-species (Fig. 5) – red deer, wild boar, sporadically aurochs –, however roe deer, hare (important as food source) or other species like the bear, wolf, beaver, fox and the badger were also hunted.

Although the Bronze Age communities in Romania were often researched from the archaeozoological point of view as well, we notice that in Transylvania, data referring to various animal husbandries in the Noua culture are very few.

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Appendix. Metric data retrieved from the faunal material at Bolduț

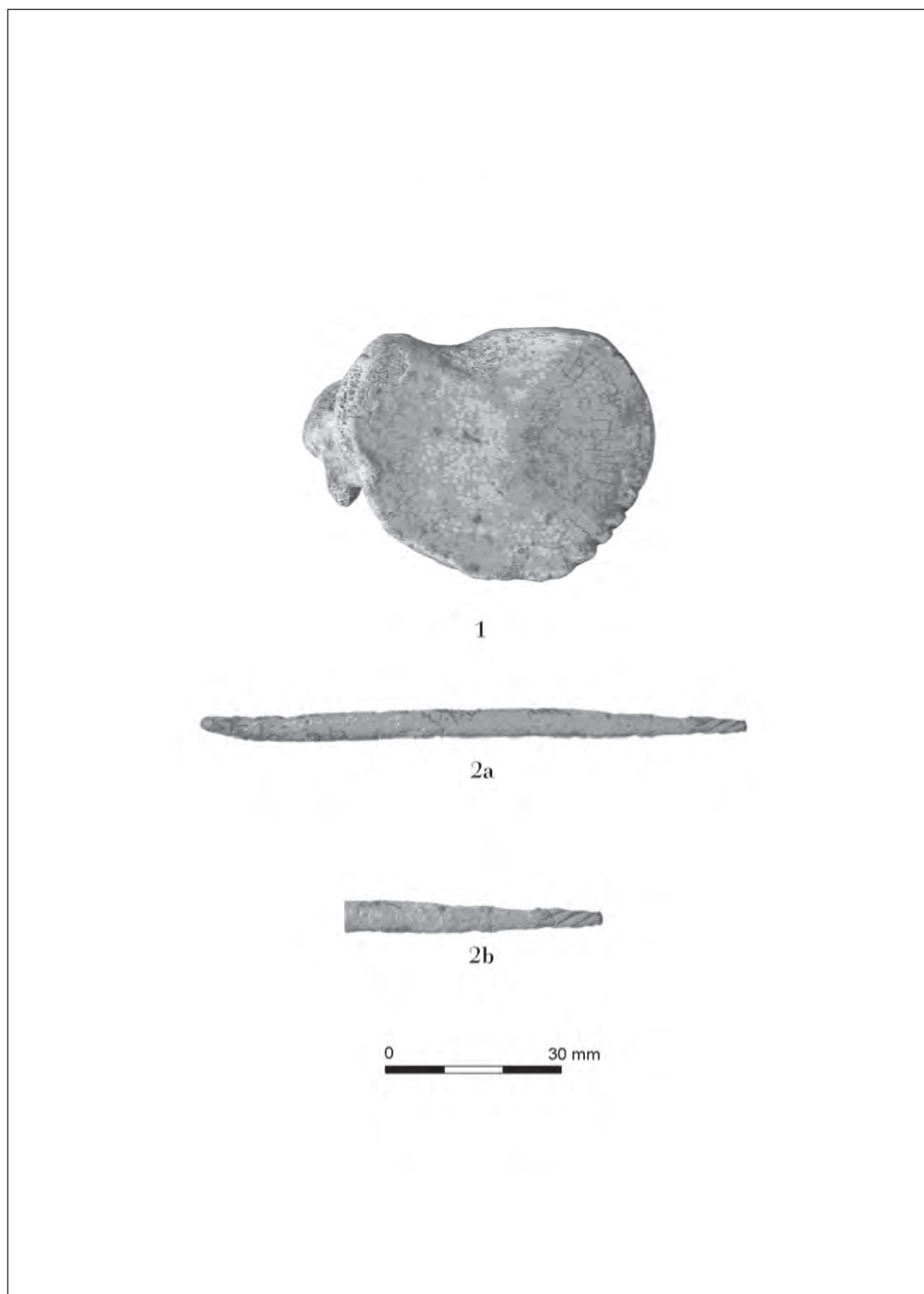
Measurements	Species	<i>Bos taurus</i>	<i>Ovis aries</i> / <i>Capra hircus</i>	<i>Sus domesticus</i>	<i>Equus caballus</i>	<i>Canis familiaris</i>	<i>Cervus elaphus</i>	<i>Capreolus capreolus</i>
Horncore								
GL			210 ^{Capra}					
GD base			56.3					
LD base			36.3					
C base			150					46.7*
GD rosette								
Mandible								
L P ₃ -M ₃								
L P ₃ -P ₄		53.2	73*					
Hm P2		32.7 33.7	28*					
Hm M1		41.5						
L M ₁ -M ₃			46.7*					
L M ₃			24					
Isolated dentition								
L M ₃					29			
Scapula								
GLP		69.2					52*	
LG		58					49	
BG		48 47.3						
SLC		48.7						
Humerus								
SD			14.6	15.3				
Radius								
SD			16.3					
APDdf			8.2					
Cubitus								
BPC		35.7						
Metacarpus								
Bp		59.3						
APDp		36.3						

Measurements	Species	<i>Bos taurus</i>	<i>Ovis aries / Capra hircus</i>	<i>Sus domesticus</i>	<i>Equus caballus</i>	<i>Canis familiaris</i>	<i>Cervus elaphus</i>	<i>Capreolus capreolus</i>
Metacarpus III								
Bp				20				
SD				12.4				
Pelvis								
LA	65							
Femur								
DC	43.2							
Tibia								
GL							196.6	
Bp							33.7	
APDp							36.5	
SD							13	
APDdf							12.3	
Bd	57.6 58						22.6	51.8
BFd	39.6 40 40.6*						17.4	40
APDd	43.7 39.5 39.4						16	37.6
Index (SD × 100 / GL)							6.64	
Withers height (Koudelka)							571.15	
Astragalus								
GH					57.5			
GB					58.5			
Bfd					55.6			
LmT					50			
GLl	64.7							
GLm	60.6							
DI	34.4 32							
Dm	31.6 30.8							
Bd	40.5							
Calcaneus								
GB			18		51.4			

Measurements	Species	<i>Bos taurus</i>	<i>Ovis aries</i> / <i>Capra hircus</i>	<i>Sus domesticus</i>	<i>Equus caballus</i>	<i>Canis familiaris</i>	<i>Cervus elaphus</i>	<i>Capreolus capreolus</i>
Metatarsus								
Bp		45.5	19					
APDp		40	20.2					
SD		25.4	10.4					
APDdf		25.5	9.5					
Phalanx I								
GL		58.6 53*	36.4 ^{Ovis}		84.8			
Bp		31.4	11.8		54 51.2 50 51			
BFp					49 4 7.3 49 47			
Dp					35.7 32.6 31.6 34.2			
SD		24.8	10	17.4	32.8 34 32.6			
Bd		27.5	11	19.3	44.7			
BFd					42.9			
Index (Bp × 100 / GL)					71.05			
Index (SD × 100 / GL)					38.67			
Phalanx II								
GL		36 41.5		27.5	45			
Bp		24.5 34.4		16.5	49.4			
BFp					45.5			
APDp					30.4			
SD		19.3 26.3		12.6	42			
Bd		21.4 28.5		13.8				

* - approximate metric values

APDd - Antero-posterior diameter of the distal end; APDdf - Antero-posterior diameter of the diaphysis; APDp - Antero-posterior diameter of the proximal end; Bd - Breadth of the distal end; BFd - Breadth of the Facies articularis distalis; BFp - Breadth of the Facies articularis proximalis; BG - Breadth of the glenoid cavity; Bp - Breadth of the proximal end; BPC - Breadth across the coronoid process; C base - Horncore basal circumference; DC - Depth of the Caput femoris; D1 - Depth of the lateral half; Dm - Depth of the medial half; Dp - Depth of the proximal end; GB - Greatest breadth; GD base - Greatest diameter of the horncore base; GD rosette - Greatest diameter of the rosette; GH - Greatest height; GL - Greatest length; GL1 - Greatest length of the lateral half; GLm - Greatest length of the medial half; GLP - Greatest length of the Processus articularis (glenoid process); Hm P₂ - Height of mandible in front of P₂; Hm M₁ - Height of mandible in front of M₁; L P₂-M₃ - Length of the cheektooth row; L P₂-P₄ - Length of the premolar row; L M₁-M₃ - Length of the lower molar row; L M₃ - Length of the lower 3rd molar; LA - Length of the acetabulum; LD base - Least diameter of the horncore base; LG - Length of the glenoid cavity; LmT - Length of the Trochlea tali; SD - Smallest breadth; SLC - Smallest length of the Collum scapulae.



Pl. I. Processed bones discovered at Bolduț. **1.** Worked scapula - ridged - *Bos taurus* (bovine). **2.** Worked bone - “drill shaped” **a.** Full image. **b.** Detail.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXTS OF DNA SAMPLES COLLECTED FROM PREHISTORIC SITES IN TRANSYLVANIA

MIHAI ROTEA, MIHAI G. NETEA, CONCEPCION DE-LA-RUA,
TIBERIU TECAR, MONTSERRAT HERVELLA, SANTOS ALONSO,
ZOAIA MAXIM, MIRCEA RĂCHITĂ

Abstract: The National History Museum of Transylvania initiated an international collaboration focusing on the genetic analysis of 63 individuals that has led to 59 sequences of mitochondrial DNA obtained from several prehistoric sites from Romania. The results of these analyses have been recently published in the multidisciplinary journal PLOS ONE.

The present paper aims to show in detail the prehistoric contexts (sites and funerary features) from which the 18 samples from Transylvania have been collected, accompanied by brief presentations of the cultures to which they belong. Two of the samples were collected from the Neolithic site of Gura Baciului (Starčevo-Criș Culture) (Early/Middle Neolithic), three from necropolis B in Iclod (Iclod Group/Zau Culture) (Late Neolithic), two from the necropolis in Decea Mureșului (Decea Mureșului Group) (Middle Eneolithic), two from the tumular necropolis from Florești-Polus (Copăceni Group) (Early Bronze Age II), and nine from the flat grave necropolis from Florești-Polus (Noua Culture) (Late Bronze Age I-II). The paper also discusses, in a general manner, the chronological aspects generated by the radiocarbon dates obtained for some of the analyzed samples. The authors thus presented the first C14 dates obtained both for two of the graves in Gura Baciului and a funerary complex of the Copăceni Group.

Keywords: Transylvanian prehistory; mitochondrial DNA; haplogroups; radiocarbon dating.

Rezumat: Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei a inițiat o colaborare internațională privind analizarea genetică a unui număr de 63 indivizi, obținându-se 59 de secvențe de ADN mitocondrial, provenind din mai multe situri preistorice din România. Rezultatele analizelor au fost recent publicate în revista multidisciplinară PLOS ONE.

Demersul actual își propune să prezinte în detaliu contextele preistorice (siturile și complexele funerare) din care au fost prelevate cele 18 probe din Transilvania, însoțite de scurte prezentări ale culturilor cărora le aparțin. Două probe provin din situl neolitic Gura Baciului (cultura Starčevo-Criș - neolitic timpuriu/neolitic mijlociu), trei din necropola B de la Iclod (grupul Iclod/cultura Zau - neolitic târziu), două din necropola de la Decea Mureșului (grupa Decea Mureșului - eneolitic mijlociu), două din necropola tumulară de la Florești - Polus (grupul Copăceni - bronz timpuriu II) și nouă din necropola plană de la Florești - Polus (cultura Noua - bronz târziu I-II). De asemenea, sunt discutate într-o manieră generală și aspectele cronologice generate de datările C14 obținute pentru unele dintre probele analizate. În acest sens, menționăm publicarea primelor date absolute atât pentru două morminte de la Gura Baciului, cât și pentru un complex funerar al grupului Copăceni.

Cuvinte cheie: preistorie transilvăneană; ADN mitocondrial; haplogrupuri; datare cu radiocarbon.

Recently the National History Museum of Transylvania initiated a Romanian-Spanish-Netherlandish cooperation regarding the genetic analysis of 63 prehistoric individuals that has led to 59 sequences of the mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA) samples

obtained from several prehistoric sites from Romania. The results and discussion of this mtDNA analysis have been recently published in the American multidisciplinary journal PLOS ONE¹. The mitochondrial DNA lineages of individuals from prehistoric sites in Romania were analysed in the context of other prehistoric and present-day populations from Europe and Near East, showing genetic differences between the populations of the Early Neolithic (EN), the Developed Neolithic (Middle Neolithic – MN and Late Neolithic – LN), the Early Eneolithic (EE), and the two Bronze Ages (Early Bronze Age – EBA and Late Bronze Age – LBA)². We have detected a strong genetic similarity between the populations of the Romanian Developed Neolithic (MN and LN) and those of the Early Eneolithic (EE), on the one hand, and modern European populations on the other hand, while the Early Neolithic populations were more similar to those of the Near East³. This observation suggests that major changes took place in the genetic structure of the populations starting with the MN (the Boian-Gumelnița cultures in southern Romania and the Iclod Group in Transylvania), rendering unlikely a genetic filiation between these cultures and the Early Neolithic European cultures (Starčevo-Criș, LBK)⁴. The data above suggest that starting with the MN there was a migration of Neolithic populations from Anatolia, more numerous than the previous ones (from EN), forming the basis of the Boian-Gumelnița cultures / Iclod Group and decisively influencing the genetic structure of modern European populations⁵. At the same time, the results of our analyses suggest a possible contribution of migrations from the east during EE, EBA and LBA to the genetic stock of the European populations⁶.

The present paper aims to show in detail the archaeological contexts from Transylvania (funerary sites and features) (Pl. I) where the 18 samples had been collected from, accompanied by brief presentations of the cultures to which they belong. The paper also briefly discusses chronological aspects generated by radio-carbon dating, some of which were obtained in the Beta laboratories, New York (Pl. XIX). In order to ease the discussion these dates are presented in a chronological order, divided into three main epochs: A. Neolithic; B. Eneolithic; C. Bronze Age; subsequently, they are subdivided according to the recently elaborated chronological system⁷.

A. Neolithic (6100–4500/4400 cal BC)

EN (6100–5500/5400 cal BC). **The Starčevo-Criș Culture** marks the beginning of EN in Romania⁸. It is part of a larger cultural complex, the Starčevo-Criș-Körös (coined according to the terms used in Serbia, Romania, and Hungary) that spread, over a vast territory, a cultural pack consisting of agriculture, animal husbandry, stable life, pottery

¹ Hervella et alii 2015.

² Hervella et alii 2015, 7–8.

³ Hervella et alii 2015, 4, 11.

⁴ Hervella et alii 2015, 11–12.

⁵ Hervella et alii 2015, 11.

⁶ Allentoft et alii 2015; Haak et alii 2015.

⁷ Rotea 2016.

⁸ Ursulescu 2001, 129.

products etc⁹. According to the stratigraphic situation in Starčevo¹⁰, archaeologists divided this culture into four phases (I-IV). In Romania, thus including Transylvania, the earliest phase is also called the Gura Baciului-Cârcea Horizon, while the latest one is contemporary to the Vinča A Culture¹¹ that marks the beginning of MN.

The first Starčevo-Criș settlements from Transylvania are usually located on high terraces along secondary valleys. The dwellings are pit-houses and semi pit-houses, but one also finds surface houses. Fine-ware pottery was created (bowls, cups, vessels with small legs), painted with spots or white geometric motifs against red or brown-red backgrounds. Along with pottery, plant cultivation and animal husbandry, this culture introduced polished stone tools and the first clay statuettes¹². The dead were buried inside the settlements, sometimes right under the dwellings. Inhumation was the dominating rite, but according to the archaeologists who discovered them, incineration was also attested at Gura Baciului¹³.

The site of Baci - Gura Baciului (Pl. I) is located near the city of Cluj-Napoca, west of the settlement of Baci, along the valley of Nadăș creek. E. Orosz performed the first researches on the spot called Gura Baciului¹⁴, discovering a Neolithic settlement belonging to the Starčevo-Criș Culture. The subsequent campaigns of archaeological research were coordinated by N. Vlassa¹⁵ and performed in 1960, 1962, 1968-1971, while Gh. Lazarovici and Z. Maxim¹⁶ have coordinated excavations on the site between 1990 and 1993. Inside the settlement specialists have revealed nine inhumation graves and a presumed incineration grave¹⁷. The inhumation graves usually contained bodies in fetal position, except for one which consisted of an isolated deposition of a skull¹⁸. The skeletons have been identified as belonging to individuals of various ages, both adults and children¹⁹. Besides the skeletons there were fragments of pottery, animal bones and stone tools²⁰. Two samples that became part of our research project of prehistoric DNA were collected from two different graves preserved in the collection of the National History Museum of Transylvania. Unfortunately we were unable to identify precisely the analyzed graves in the list published in the site's monograph²¹. Still, if one excludes the child's grave (M1b), the incineration grave (M7) and two other graves identified in the storage of the "Francisc I. Rainer" Institute of Anthropology in Iași (M1 and very likely M3)²², the two analysed samples were most probably taken from M2 and M6.

⁹ For the general traits of the Starčevo-Criș Culture see Ursulescu 2001, 129-132; Maxim 1999, 30-63, with the bibliography.

¹⁰ Milošević 1949, 261-266.

¹¹ Lazarovici, Maxim 1995, *passim*, with the bibliography.

¹² Lazarovici, Maxim 1995, *passim*; Maxim 1999, 50-55; Ursulescu 2001, 129-132.

¹³ Lazarovici, Maxim 1995, 186.

¹⁴ Orosz 1900, 29-38; Orosz 1906, 340-341.

¹⁵ Vlassa 1968, 371-379; Vlassa 1972, 175-197.

¹⁶ Lazarovici, Maxim 1995, 49-53.

¹⁷ Lazarovici, Maxim 1995, 183-188.

¹⁸ Lazarovici, Maxim 1995, 187.

¹⁹ Vlassa 1965, 13-17; Vlassa 1972, 21-22; Lazarovici, Maxim 1995, 183-188, 193-197.

²⁰ Lazarovici, Maxim 1995, 183-188.

²¹ Lazarovici, Maxim 1995, 183-188.

²² The skeletons discovered in Gura Baciului are preserved at the "Francisc I. Rainer" Institute of

Sample GB2, grave M2, (Pl. II). Mature woman²³, body at the depth of 3.20 m, lying on a “bed of shards” inside a pit-dwelling²⁴. The skeleton was discovered in a fine state of preservation, in fetal position, lying on its right side, along the NS axis. N. Vlassa, who had researched the grave, attributed it to phase GB I²⁵, while the authors of the site’s monograph have attributed it to a subsequent level²⁶.

Sample GB3, grave M6, (Pl. III). Adult laid in fetal position on the left side, facing NE, discovered in 1990. By his hands archaeologists found grave goods consisting of a ceramic pot made of yellowish fabric on the outside and polished brick-red fabric inside. Researchers have attributed the pot to the III B phase of Starčevo-Criș Culture²⁷.

The DNA analysis of these samples, and those from the southern and eastern parts of Romania also belonging to the Starčevo-Criș Culture, demonstrate the presence of a strong southern, Anatolian component²⁸. This southern component was also revealed by the results of the metric anthropological analyses that noted gracile, Mediterranean features, but also robust paleo-Mediterranean and proto-Europoid features for the Starčevo-Criș Culture²⁹.

From a chronological perspective, the Transylvanian beginning of the culture under discussion should most probably be placed at the end of the 7th millennium BC (ca. 6100 cal BC)³⁰, while its end is marked by the introduction of the Vinča Culture during the period 5500/5400³¹. The C14 results that we have obtained for grave M2 indicate an interval from 5210 to 4960 cal BC (2 sigma), while the results for M6 indicate an interval from 5480 to 5320 cal BC (2 sigma) (Pl. XIX); this dating placed the funerary features during a very late stage of the Starčevo-Criș Culture³². One must thus take into consideration, if the stratigraphic observations in Gura Baciului are correct and the graves belong indeed to the Starčevo-Criș Culture, the possible survival of the communities forming this culture, in certain areas, until towards the end of the 6th millennium BC, beyond the limit that marks the beginning of the MN (the onset of Vinča A in Transylvania³³).

LN (5100/5000–4600/4500 cal BC). **The Iclod Group**, once part of numerous archaeological cultural entities³⁴, recently included with those entities in the Zau Culture³⁵, is a cultural structure from the late period of the Neolithic, distributed in

Anthropology in Iași, except for the analysed pair which is kept in the National History Museum of Transylvania collection. The identification of the archaeological features in which each skeleton was found remains uncertain, despite the efforts of dr. A. Simalcsik, our colleague from Iași, to whom we are grateful.

²³ Necrasov et alii 1990, passim.

²⁴ Vlassa 1972, 21.

²⁵ Vlassa 1972, 21.

²⁶ Lazarovici, Maxim 1995, 184–185.

²⁷ Lazarovici, Maxim 1995, 186.

²⁸ Hervella et alii 2015, 3–4.

²⁹ Cristescu, Botezatu 2001, 40–42, with the bibliography.

³⁰ Biagi, Shennan, Spataro 2005, 49.

³¹ Luca, Suciu, Dumitrescu-Chioar 2010, 113–114; for the dating of this culture in Hungary see Oross, Siklósi 2012.

³² The authors of the research chose an earlier dating, see: Lazarovici, Maxim 1995, 185, 187.

³³ Rotea 2016, with the bibliography, where a later dating of Vinča A in Transylvania was favored.

³⁴ Lazarovici 1991, 10–12.

³⁵ Colesniuc 2014, with the bibliography; Lazarovici 2014, 13–32.

the central and northern parts of Transylvania. M. Roska initiated the investigation of the eponym site at the beginning of the 20th century³⁶ and from 1972 Gh. Lazarovici continued the research for a long period, seconded by a large number of collaborators³⁷. Starting from a combination of elements typical of Turdaş and Tisa Cultures and adding painted pottery, the Iclod Group developed during three phases³⁸. The best researched settlements are those in Iclod and Cluj-Napoca – Unirii Square³⁹. The first is a site where numerous habitation features have been unearthed (pit-houses and surface houses) and a complex system of fortifications⁴⁰.

The Iclod site⁴¹ (Pl. I). The eponym station of this cultural group has been researched north-east of the village of Iclod. The site consisted of one settlement and two necropolises (Iclod A and B). Necropolis A, in use during the early stages of the settlement, is located on the bank of river Someşul Mic, while necropolis B, in use during later stages and having two burial phases, is located between the settlements of Iclod and Livada, on both sides of the road. The ca. 100 inhumation graves discovered had the skeletons lying on their backs and seldom in fetal position; the grave goods consisted of pottery vessels and other artefacts made of flint, obsidian, antler, bone etc⁴². The three samples that were analysed had been collected from necropolis B.

Sample I6, grave M20, (Pl. IV). The skeleton of a man aged 30–35, measuring 164 cm in height. The skeleton was partially preserved in a precarious state of conservation. The facial skeleton had been destroyed. On the basis of the recovered remains, specialists were able to note Mediterranean-type features⁴³.

Sample I8, grave M68, (Pl. V/2). Adult buried at a depth of 1.50 m, oriented along NS axis. Grave goods: numerous pots of various types, incised and painted, were deposited on the left side.

Sample I9, grave M67, (Pl. V/1). Robust adult with the hands laid on the pelvis, buried at a depth of 1.50 m, placed along NS axis. Grave goods: cylindrical cup, near the head; one axe made of amphibolite and one scraper made of opal; near the hip, one tall-footed cup; at the feet, one large cylindrical pot.

The Neolithic samples from the Iclod Group/Zau Culture that were analysed showed the presence of haplogroups J (I8 and I9) and T1a (I6); both haplogroups have been suggested as genetic markers of the demic diffusion of the Developed Neolithic populations arriving from the Near East⁴⁴.

A recent study has published the results of the C14 dates for several samples taken from necropolis B in Iclod⁴⁵. These results have placed the analysed funerary

³⁶ Roska 1942, 193–195, Fig. 234–235.

³⁷ Lazarovici 1991, 5.

³⁸ Lazarovici 1991, 9–10.

³⁹ Vlăsa 1971, 21–34; Lazarovici 1991, 10; Maxim 1999, 87; Daróczy 2015, with the bibliography.

⁴⁰ Lazarovici 1991, 7.

⁴¹ We are grateful to Mr. Gh. Lazarovici for his kindness in providing us data and previously unpublished excavation site documents regarding his researches in the necropolises from Iclod.

⁴² Lazarovici 1991, 8–9.

⁴³ Miu, Lazarovici 2004.

⁴⁴ Hervella et alii 2015, 6.

⁴⁵ Diaconescu, Lazarovici, Tincu 2013, 47–64.

features during the 5000–4450 cal BC (2 sigma) interval⁴⁶. The data we have obtained for graves M20, M67 and M68 from the same necropolis show they are dated between 4830–4690 cal BC (2 sigma) (Pl. XIX), so that, on the one hand, they confirm the veridical character of the previously obtained dates and, on the other hand, they stress our conviction that the main body of this culture must be placed during the first half of the 5th millennium, even more so as M67 and M68 are attributed to the end of phase I of the Iclod Group.

B. Eneolithic (4600/4500–3500/3400 cal BC)

Middle Eneolithic (ME) (4300/4200–3800/3700 cal BC). **Decea Mureşului Group**⁴⁷ was thus labeled due to the Eneolithic discoveries made in 1912 in Decea Mureşului (currently Decea, Mirăslău commune, Alba County). I. Kovács was the archaeologist that uncovered a flat grave inhumation necropolis consisting of 19 burials⁴⁸. The cultural traits of this group, significantly different from those of the known Petreşti and Ariuşd painted pottery cultures have led archaeologists to attribute the necropolis in question to steppe communities⁴⁹ of the Suvorovo type⁵⁰ that came to Transylvania during the Eneolithic period. Specialists have also attributed to this group several stray finds consisting of four-lobed (cruciform) maces, zoomorphic scepters and isolated burials⁵¹. The first known settlement belonging to this cultural entity has been recently researched in Şeuşa-Gorgan (Alba County)⁵².

The necropolis in Decea-Mureşului (Pl. I) researched by I. Kovács consisted of 19 inhumation ochre graves⁵³. The grave goods consisted of pots, flint knives, beads made from *Unio* shells, hundreds of copper beads, other small copper artefacts etc., including one granite four-lobed stone mace⁵⁴. The peculiar character of this necropolis was, as previously mentioned, connected to an eastern migration, the duration and magnitude of which we believe must not be overestimated⁵⁵. The same cannot be said about the impact it had on the Transylvanian cultural environment, as it must have been significant⁵⁶.

Sample DM3, grave M12, (Pl. VI/2). Inhumation grave containing the remains of an adult. The deceased had been placed on his back, with his bent knees found pointing to his left and the arms parallel to the body. Red ochre lumps were

⁴⁶ Diaconescu, Lazarovici, Tincu 2013, 47–64.

⁴⁷ They have been labeled as cultures of cultural groups, but we believe the most appropriate notion is local variant or local group (i.e. the peripheralization of a general cultural phenomenon).

⁴⁸ Kovács 1944, *passim*.

⁴⁹ Dodd-Opriţescu 1978, 87–97; Gogâltan, Ignat 2011, *passim*, with the bibliography; Gligor 2014, with the bibliography.

⁵⁰ On this culture see for example: Anthony 2010, 249–257, with the bibliography.

⁵¹ Gogâltan, Ignat 2011, *passim*, with the bibliography; Gligor 2014, with the bibliography. We do not believe that the discovery of artifacts of this type involves directly the presence of Decea Mureşului-type communities; this cultural group probably remained at the level of an enclave populated by a small community in an area marked by the middle valley of River Mureş as central axis.

⁵² Gligor 2014, with the bibliography.

⁵³ Kovács 1933; Kovács, 1944; Gogâltan, Ignat 2011, 13–14.

⁵⁴ Kovács 1933, 95.

⁵⁵ Rotea 2016.

⁵⁶ Rotea 2016.

discovered near the feet. The grave goods consisted of one 120 cm long string of disk-shaped beads made from *Unio* shells placed by the knees, one 22.5 cm-long flint blade, one copper needle measuring 3.5 cm in length, and one four-lobed stone mace placed on the right hip. The mace measures 3.2×6.8 cm with the shaft hole of 1.4 cm in diameter. The beads measure 2.5–1.2 cm in diameter and had polished edges. They were arranged in descending order from the center towards the edges. Pottery fragments were also discovered by the feet, once part of a plate measuring 6×12 cm, grey-yellow in colour⁵⁷.

Sample DM4, grave M10 (Pl. VI/1). Inhumation grave of an adult placed lying on his back, with the arms stretched parallel to the body and the knees bent and found turned to the right. Ochre was found near the skull, on the back of the right hand, under the pelvis, on both tibias, and near the left heel. The grave goods consisted of a copper needle sharpened at both ends and two ceramic vessels. Pottery fragments were found near and under the layer of ochre by the feet. The copper pin measured 6.4 cm in length and 0.3 in thickness in the middle, was sharp at both ends, and was found on the right hip. Traces of coal were noted above the skull⁵⁸.

The analysis of the DNA samples from the two graves indicates the presence of haplogroup K in both cases. These mitochondrial DNA lineages belonging to haplogroup K have yet to be found in any of the prehistoric DNA samples in Europe, but they are present in very small proportions in some modern populations from the Near East⁵⁹.

We are unaware of metric analyses performed on discovered skeletons, but one should mention the study dealing with the trepanned skull found in this necropolis⁶⁰.

B. Govedarica included the Decea Mureşului Group in stage II of the Early Ochre Burial Complex that lasted between 4.650 and 4.000 cal BC and is marked by specific burials from stretching from Ukraine to the Pannonian Plain (Csongrád)⁶¹. The same author published the result of the C14 analysis performed on a sample from the necropolis in Decea Mureşului (collected from M12) that indicates the date 5380 ± 40 BP⁶². This date has been recently modeled according to the Bayesian system, reaching 4237 cal BC⁶³. The sample that we have analysed was taken from M10 and indicates the interval from 4230 to 3990 cal BC (2 sigma) (Pl. XIX). Thus, by taking into account the results of the two samples (from M10 and M12), the only ones available in Transylvania for this cultural entity, one can note the fact that it possibly started with the final stage of the EE (4600/4500–4300/4200) and continued throughout the first stage of the ME, thus being a late moment of the general cultural phenomenon to which it belongs.

⁵⁷ Kovács 1933, 95.

⁵⁸ Kovács 1933, 94.

⁵⁹ Hervella et alii 2015, 6.

⁶⁰ Lenghel 1926.

⁶¹ Govedarica 2004, with the bibliography.

⁶² Govedarica 2004, 73, Abb. 9.

⁶³ Gligor 2014.

C. Bronze Age (3500/3400–1100/1000 cal BC)

EBA II (2700/2600–2300/2200 cal BC). **The Copăceni Group**, from the second stage of the EBA, occupied the central, north-eastern and south-western parts of Transylvania and bears the name of a settlement situated in close proximity to the town of Turda (Cluj County)⁶⁴. When establishing their settlements, the members of this group preferred dominating positions both in the eastern arch of the Eastern Carpathians, from Deva⁶⁵, through Livezile⁶⁶ and Copăceni to Gilău, and in the upper basin of the rivers Someș (Fântânele)⁶⁷. This cultural entity, first defined in 1993⁶⁸, was shortly afterwards introduced in all the chronological cultural structures of EBA⁶⁹.

By continuing the road opened by the Coțofeni Culture (that we have recently defined as a culture at the crossroads of time and paths, precisely due to the fact that it managed to change gradually⁷⁰ and irreversibly, over a vast territory, the structures of the Eneolithic world, replacing them with those typical of the Bronze Age⁷¹) and by the Schneckenberg Culture⁷², the Copăceni Group was also characterized by the use of four-wheeled means of transportation, and this also involved an increasing use of

⁶⁴ Rotea 1993, 75–84; Rotea 1995, 154–158; Ciugudean 1996, 96–100; Rotea 2003.

⁶⁵ Rîșcuța 2000, 42–43.

⁶⁶ Ciugudean 1996, *passim*.

⁶⁷ Rotea 2003, with the bibliography.

⁶⁸ Rotea 1993, 75–84.

⁶⁹ See for example: Ciugudean 1996, 96–100; Vulpe 2001, 232–234; Rotea 2003; Dani, Tóth 2014, 58, Fig. 9. The first mentioned author, on that same occasion, created a forced parallel group called Livezile (Ciugudean 1996, 78–96), the existence of which was denied by numerous researchers (see for example: Rotea 2003, 67–68, 72–73; Popa 2015, 37, with the bibliography).

⁷⁰ Starting from the gradual character of this process, researchers have often suggested a different chronological-historical identification for the different phases of the Coțofeni Culture (Ciugudean 1991; Popa 2015, 36–37). We believe that one culture must be analysed from the perspective of its complete historical development – the Wietenberg culture was perceived similarly, when it was proposed to begin with the MBA (Rotea 1994b, 138), not with the EBA III (see, for example, Andrișoiu 1992, Pl. 76, 244), a stance wholeheartedly accepted now by the majority of researchers. Even if it started through more or less Eneolithic forms (too little is known about the economic-social components of the Coțofeni Culture in Transylvania during phases I and II, but one can nevertheless presume they were still of a transitional character), in the end of its development the Coțofeni Culture reached a completely different form, typical for the Bronze Age (Rotea 1993; Rotea 2009). Recent suggestions (Popa 2015) of “cutting off” the early phase from the body of this culture (in other words and on another level, we are asked to elude a person’s youth and limit our perspective to his mature image, as long as the latter is the direct result of previous accumulations) or of adding the post-Coțofeni groups (Copăceni, Șoimuș) to this culture, can only be sterile theoretic exercises, which left unsanctioned can lead to the creation of an artificial culture, only to fit the author’s own unrealistic constructions (Popa 2015, *passim*). Coțofeni Culture and the Copăceni Group differ, for example, not only through their ceramic products (Popa 2015, 37), that we nevertheless believe to be fundamentally different, but also on the level of metallurgy, habitat structures etc.

⁷¹ Among them: new mental and cultural norms, the development of an agrarian-pastoral type economy parallel with the initiation of modular economy types (in other words, a new type of economy, dispersed over the territory – based much more on movement and the differentiation of craftsmen from the rest of the population –, a fact that required a superior organization of communal work and the coordinated transportation of products between certain points), smaller mono-layer sites, including also cave sites, all evolving parallel to centralized and fortified settlements, the pluripolarism of the types of settlements, relating to traffic routes, wheeled transport, the assertion of the elites, metallurgy during the period of new searches, dominated by flanged axes and the creation of the first shaft hole axes, new symbols of status and power, the first monumental funerary architecture (tumulus graves), different social valorisations, ritual features placed on heights, a new system of rituals based on small, family groups etc. (Rotea 2016).

⁷² Prox 1941; Székely 1997, 35–50.

animal traction, but also by the significant employment of secondary animal products, i.e. milk, cheese, and wool, something that specialists have called “the revolution of the secondary products”⁷³. The mountainous regions, that had already entered the circuit of economic life through the Coțofeni Culture since the first period of the Early Bronze Age (EBA I: 3500/3400–2700/2600 cal BC) not only through transhumance, but also through the exploitation of the rich and varied resources, including the metal ones, from the Apuseni Mountains⁷⁴.

The elite of the Copăceni Group commanded the erection of tumular funerary monuments that were, through their quantity and quality, unprecedented (but this phenomenon too starts during the Coțofeni Culture). The same elite was the beneficiary of metallurgy that had reached the level of the Dumbrăvioara-type shaft hole axes⁷⁵, surpassing the level of Baniabici/Vâlcele-type axes⁷⁶ typical of the Coțofeni Culture⁷⁷. The onset of inhumation under tumuli has been related to the Yamnaya Culture, also known as the Pit Grave Culture⁷⁸, but one must take into consideration the fact that the latter’s model was not copied, but an original form was created, characterized by multiple building variants (with mounds of earth and stones, with stone rings, cists and wooden chambers etc.) (Pls. VII–XI) and various manipulations of the bodies, including excarnations, such as M1–2 found inside the great tumulus from Tureni – La Furci⁷⁹. Unfortunately, at the current stage of research, correctly differentiating the tumuli among themselves based on a typological and chronological perspective is almost impossible, as long as the majority of the burials also have poor grave goods or even lack them (possibly also due to ulterior lootings). At the same time, flat graves (sector B, labeled M4 and M53), where common people were buried, have also been found near the tumuli⁸⁰ (Pls. VII–VIII) or even inside caves⁸¹. We also note, in passing, the absence of small children from tumuli, though they were found in other types of funerary or ritual features, such as the one from Copăceni – La Moară⁸².

⁷³ Sherratt 1981; Sherratt 1983, 100–101.

⁷⁴ The presence of the Copăceni Group have also been signaled through the tumular discoveries from Roșia Montană (Rișcuța 2005, 96) and pottery fragments discovered by chance on a terrace of Vâlcoi Peak (Rotea 2016).

⁷⁵ Rotea 2016. This conclusion is based on the reanalysis of the moulds from Fântânele. Besides, the synchronicity of the Copăceni and Jigodin cultures also supports this point of view (Rotea 2016).

⁷⁶ For the early dating of this type of axes see: Hansen 2011, 144; Dani 2013, 204; Szeverényi 2013, 666; Rotea 2016. Baniabici/Vâlcele-type axes are cast in open bivalve moulds, unlike those of the Dumbrăvioara type which are cast in closed bivalve moulds. A long time ago, it has been perceived that the level of metallurgic activity reached by the Coțofeni Culture must not be regarded so “skeptically”, but on the contrary (Rotea 1993, 66). This warning has recently found new followers (Popa 2015, 36, note 231). Nevertheless, the last author mentioned (Popa 2015, 36) reiterated the old observation about the quantity of 500 kg of cooper for the Romanian Eneolithic and just 2.5–3 kg for the Coțofeni and Baden cultures (Vulpe 1974, 245), when only the axes discovered in Vâlcele/Baniabici (dated in EBA I) weigh ca. 30 kg of metal. One must also take into consideration some of the flanged axes that together reach significant weight (for example, one item from Sălicea alone weighs 0.322 kg according to Wittenberger, Rotea 2015, 20).

⁷⁷ Rotea 2016, with the bibliography.

⁷⁸ Ciugudean 1996, 132; Rotea 2009, 28.

⁷⁹ Rotea 1993, 74–75.

⁸⁰ Unpublished researches Florești – Polus coordinated by F. Marcu.

⁸¹ Unpublished researches by M. Rotea and M. Wittenberger in Cheile Turului.

⁸² Rotea, Wittenberger 1998, 17–23.

The Copăceni Group, chronologically directly succeeding the Coțofeni Culture, developed through two obvious phases; the first (that includes, both geographically and chronologically, the discoveries from Livezile⁸³) is marked by the discoveries from Copăceni - La Moară, while the second phase is marked by the discoveries made in Gilău⁸⁴. In south-western Transylvania one notes the separation of the Șoimuș Group during Copăceni Group's second phase of development⁸⁵. From the perspective of pottery products, throughout the culture's existence one notes a significant reduction of shapes and decorations⁸⁶ by comparison to the exuberant ornamentation of ceramic items during phase III of the Coțofeni Culture⁸⁷.

The site from Florești - Polus (Pl. I) is located on the eastern side of the settlement of Florești, in the vicinity of the city of Cluj-Napoca. The rescue excavations performed during 2006-2007 have revealed an impressive number of features dating back to several eras.⁸⁸ Among them one notes a settlement⁸⁹ and an inhumation necropolis belonging to the Copăceni Culture (Pl. VII). Three tumuli with stone rings from sectors B⁹⁰ and A⁹¹ (labeled R 1-3) (Pl. VII) are considered to belong to this necropolis. The tumulus with a stone ring from sector B (labeled R1) (Pls. VII, X)⁹², two other constructions of the same type from sector A (R2 and R3) (Pl. VII), and two funerary constructions of a different type, also from sector B (C42 and T69) (Pls. VII, IX) form what is probably the most spectacular funerary complex from the entire EBA II period from Romania.

The DNA samples have been collected from two graves discovered in tumulus R1 (Pls. VII, X). The latter is a monumental construction with a stone ring at the base⁹³, measuring 12.5 m in diameter, and with a stone anthropomorphic statue on

⁸³ Rotea 2003, 67-68, 72-73.

⁸⁴ Rotea 1993, 75; Rotea 2003, 9-34.

⁸⁵ Andrițoiu 1989, 39-56; Rișcuța, Andrițoiu 2007, 29-52.

⁸⁶ Rotea 1995, 155-157.

⁸⁷ Roman 1976, 43-47.

⁸⁸ Rotea et alii 2008, 47-88; Mustață et alii 2009.

⁸⁹ Unfortunately, the monograph focusing on the sector in question (Mustață et alii 2009) lacks the presentation of the Copăceni discoveries that I have especially signaled to my colleague F. Gogâltan ever since the research was under way. The same colleague seems to have paid much more attention to the archaeological research coordinated by MNIT in sector B which he claims to have coordinated himself (Gogâltan 2013, 50) though this was not the case.

⁹⁰ Unpublished excavations coordinated by F. Marcu; the excavation of R1 was coordinated by M. Rotea and F. Marcu (Rotea 2009, 15).

⁹¹ Unpublished excavations coordinated by V. Voișan, E. Bota, and Z. Maxim.

⁹² Rotea 2009, 15-17.

⁹³ The building technique of several funerary features erected during EBA II involves, for the first time in Transylvanian prehistory, the use of very large stone blocks, carefully cut and even with joining elements. A prehistoric limestone processing quarry must have functioned for a significant period in Gârboului Valley, very close to the funerary features in question. The quarry has provided the significant quantity of stone blocks required for the construction of the monuments. These massive blocks, that were cut, chiseled and polished with much patience and that perfectly fit together, indicate (by quantifying the work hours, the quality of the tools employed and that of the means of transportation, the organization capacity of the work site force etc.) an advanced technological and economical level. What we see today must not have been only the work of a master helped by a small group of workers, but also a group of specialized individuals working as a team. Another example is the alabaster quarry recently researched in Cheia - Carieră by M. Rotea and M. Wittenberger (unpublished researches performed in 2015), which functioned during the EBA I and EBA II (Coțofeni and Copăceni Cultures).

top (Pl. X)⁹⁴. During the archaeological research the area of the ring was divided into four quadrants, labeled (clockwise) A, B, C, D, starting from the northward one. Five inhumation graves were discovered in quadrants B, C, and D, mostly disturbed – except for M1 – by subsequent interventions. From a stratigraphic perspective, the R1 funerary feature overlaps the Coțofeni habitation layers and is overlapped (the mound of the tumulus was flattened, its entire perimeter was ritually purified by fire and several pits were dug out and various offerings deposited inside, mainly consisting of clay pots) by the ritual complexes of the Deva-Bădeni Group.

Sample P11, grave M1 (55)/Sector B, Ring R1 (Pl. XI/1). The deceased, an adult, had been placed in a fetal position on his right side, along the S-N axis, with the feet towards the north. No grave goods have been found and the skeleton was in a good state of preservation.

Sample P12A, grave M2 (56)/Sector B, Ring R1 (Pl. XI/2). The grave consisted of an adult's incomplete skeleton discovered inside quadrant C. It was placed along the SW-NE axis, with the face towards the SE. No funerary inventory has been found.

The DNA analysis of the two samples belonging to the Copăceni Group indicates the presence of the same mtDNA lineages belonging to haplogroup K that are often encountered both in ancient populations and in modern European populations⁹⁵.

As for the absolute chronology, few direct data is available for the Copăceni Group. One sample from the settlement in Livezile – Baia, which we consider to be part of the Copăceni Group, indicates a 70% probability for the 2780–2580 cal BC interval⁹⁶, so it can be taken into consideration for phase Copăceni I. The date obtained for M1 in R1 from Florești – Polus indicates 2490–2340 cal BC (2 sigma) (Pl. XIX) and the interval can be taken into account for phase Copăceni II. Based on the result of the two C14 samples examined we estimate the interval 2700–2300 cal BC as the most probable time scale for the development of this culture, also corroborated with the dating of synchronical cultures⁹⁷.

LBA I-III (1500/1450–1100/1000 cal BC). **Noua Culture** is part of the Noua-Sabatinovka-Coslogeni Cultural Complex which occupied the Carpathian-Dniester area (SW part of Ukraine, the Republic of Moldova, the entire eastern part of Romania, including the eastern part and partially the center of Transylvania)⁹⁸. Eastern elements from the Pontic-Caspian steppes and carriers of the Monteoru and Costișa-Komarov cultures from Moldavia also played their part in the genesis of the Noua Culture⁹⁹.

The number and size of Noua settlements in Transylvania are not great and the culture layers are thin and poor in artifacts¹⁰⁰, but the “ash-pits” (deposits of remains

⁹⁴ Rotea 2009, 15.

⁹⁵ Hervella et alii 2015, 6.

⁹⁶ Ciugudean 1996, 146

⁹⁷ See for example: Horváth et alii 2013, 171–172.

⁹⁸ Florescu 1991; Petrescu-Dâmbovița 2001, 281.

⁹⁹ Sava 1998, 267; Cavruc 1998.

¹⁰⁰ Wittenberger 2006.

of practical and ritual fires)¹⁰¹ often contain numerous pottery fragments, animal bones, tools, weapons, and jewelry items made of stone, bone, and more rarely bronze.

Noua Culture brought significant changes in the field of pottery: the shapes used were few and simple and the decoration was modest when compared to the “Baroque” products of the Wietenberg Culture from the Middle Bronze Age (2000/1900–1500/1450 BC cal BC), the culture that triggered the renaissance of Transylvania and the creation of the Transylvanian style of the Bronze Age¹⁰². Nevertheless, one notes significant progress in the fields of bone processing (notched shoulder blades, arrow heads, ice skates etc.) and metallurgy¹⁰³. During LBA, Transylvania experienced a great quantitative and qualitative jump in the field of non-ferrous metallurgy (the second metallurgic boom after that of ME Bodrogheresztur Culture¹⁰⁴) unequaled in the entire temperate-climate Europe; during this process one must stress the contribution of eastern elements through the numerical increase of eastern tradition artifacts (celts, hook sickles etc.). At the same time we should stress the determinant role played by the sources, experience and quality of specialists, commercial routes, and the cultural traditions specific to Transylvania that were perpetuated and developed in the new context by the Deva-Bădeni Group¹⁰⁵.

The numerous flat grave necropolises investigated in Noua culture’s range attest the fact that inhumation was the preferred funerary ritual¹⁰⁶, unlike the incineration practiced by the carriers of the previous Wietenberg Culture from MBA (2000/1900–1500/1450 cal BC)¹⁰⁷ and the carriers of the contemporaneous Deva-Bădeni Group¹⁰⁸. The most important Noua necropolises from Transylvania are the ones from Cluj-Napoca¹⁰⁹, Archiud¹¹⁰, and Florești¹¹¹. All these provide significant data not only on the way in which the carriers of this culture buried their dead, but also on the anthropological structure of the population. As for the position of the deceased in the graves, one must note a preference for the fetal position.

The site in Florești – Polus (Pl. I). Among the prehistoric monuments researched by teams of the MNIT¹¹² one must include the largest transylvanian Noua necropolis¹¹³, comprising of a significant number of inhumation graves (according to the most recent re-classifications: over 120 graves that contained ca. 130 complete or partial human skeletons); the settlement was not identified in the ample excavated area. Up

¹⁰¹ Wittenberger 2010, with the bibliography; Rotea et alii 2011, 17–19; Dietrich 2012, 227–246, with the bibliography.

¹⁰² Rotea 2016.

¹⁰³ Wittenberger 2008.

¹⁰⁴ Rotea 2016.

¹⁰⁵ Rotea 1994a, 39–58; Rotea 2016.

¹⁰⁶ Sava 2002.

¹⁰⁷ Rotea 2016, with the bibliography.

¹⁰⁸ Rotea 2016. We believe that the necropolises from Florești – Polus (Rotea 2016) and Band (Roska 1942, 174–175, Pl. 206) and the grave from Băcăinți (Andrițoiu 1992, 68, Pl. 28/2) are characteristic of this cultural entity.

¹⁰⁹ Sava 2002; Wittenberger 2006.

¹¹⁰ Marinescu 1986, 46–58; Sava 2002.

¹¹¹ Rotea et alii 2008, 52.

¹¹² Rotea et alii 2008.

¹¹³ Rotea et alii 2008, 52.

until now the general rules regarding grave placing inside the necropolis have not been identified. But, we can still note that all the bodies had been placed in a compact area, sometimes according to blood relations (the double graves labeled M17/samples P22 and P23) (Pl. XII) and/or the deceased's social position in that community (graves rich in artifacts, including bronze or gold items, and poor graves, even lacking any sort of grave goods, are intermingled).

Samples P22, P23, grave M17/Sector C (Pl. XII). Double inhumation grave with the bodies placed in fetal positions. The deceased, adolescents, were placed facing one another. They were of different sexes¹¹⁴ and recent genetic research has indicated the fact that they were siblings¹¹⁵. The skeletons were placed along the SE-NW axis. Two pottery fragments have been discovered behind the individual on the western side of the grave¹¹⁶.

Samples P24, P25, grave M26/Sector K6 (Pl. XIII). Double inhumation grave measuring 1.3 m long and 1 m wide. The inhumed bodies had been found on their backs, along the S-N axis, with the knees bent and turned to the West. The grave's inventory included two atypical pottery shards and one arrowhead made of chert from Şardu¹¹⁷, placed by the deceased's feet. The arrowhead measures 1.5 cm in length and 0.8 cm in width at the base. The grave had not been disturbed and the skeletons were in a good state of preservation.

Sample P26, grave M23/Sector C¹¹⁸ (Pl. XIV). Inhumation grave with the body placed in a strongly crouched position, on his left side, in a relatively good state of preservation. The body was placed along the N-S axis. One ceramic pot made of semi-fine category, black colour with cylindrical neck and slightly bulging body had been placed by the upper limbs.

Sample P27, grave M92/Sector K5¹¹⁹ (Pl. XV). The deceased has been inhumed in fetal position along the W-E axis, on his left side. The grave goods consisted of two ceramic pots of small and medium size, respectively, placed by the face (the small pot) and the abdomen (the medium sized pot). The two black pots made of semi-fine-ware belong to the kantharos type with handles variable in section and provided with button-like knobs. The pots' mouths have diameters measuring 6 cm and 16 cm, respectively. The skeleton's state of preservation was good and the bones were found in anatomical connection.

Sample P28, grave M44/Sector C (Pl. XVI). The grave contained one deceased buried in fetal position, along the E-W axis. The grave goods, consisting of two black pots, had been deposited in front of the upper limbs. Both pots, with the maximum diameters of 15 and 25 cm, respectively, have been partially preserved.

Sample P29, grave M42/Sector C (Pl. XVII). The deceased had been interred along the W-E axis, facing north. The body was deposited in a strongly crouched position on the left side and was in a good state of preservation. The grave goods

¹¹⁴ Rotea et alii 2008, 55.

¹¹⁵ Hervella et alii 2015, 7.

¹¹⁶ Rotea et alii 2008, 55, 79, Pl. XV/3, 83, Pl. XIX/1; Rotea 2009, 47, 49.

¹¹⁷ Data kindly provided by L. Săsăran.

¹¹⁸ Rotea et alii 2008, 79, Pl. XV/1.

¹¹⁹ Rotea et alii 2008, 81, Pl. XVII/2.

contained, beside the two fragmented ceramic pots, one bronze ring found on one of the phalanges. The semi-fine ware pots were black in color, of medium and small size, respectively, had been placed one on top of each other in front of the skull, with the medium-size pot on top. The ring made of thin copper wire was found fragmented. The largest recovered fragments measured 2.4 cm and 1.7 cm in length and 1 mm in width.

Sample P30, grave M116/Sector K5 (Pl. XVIII). Inhumation grave with the body placed in fetal position on the left side, oriented along the NE-SE axis, with the face towards the south-east. The skeleton was in a good state of preservation. The grave contained no grave goods.

The analysis of the samples collected from carriers of the Noua Culture has indicated eight different haplotypes that belong to four European haplogroups (H, HV, U5, and W). Sub-haplogroup U5, one of the oldest European haplogroups dispersed by hunter-gatherers in Upper Paleolithic, has also been identified in samples from the Developed Neolithic¹²⁰. Furthermore, mtDNA lineages (haplotypes) corresponding to haplogroup W have been identified in two distinct individuals (P22, P23). As the archaeological context suggested the possibility of family ties between these two individuals, the analysis of genetic mutations was performed and it confirmed the fact that they were brother and sister¹²¹ (and not lovers as some had initially suggested with caution until subsequent genetic analyses¹²²).

Metric anthropological data on Noua populations indicate the preponderance of dolico-mesocephalic individuals in the East-Carpathian regions and of brachicephalic subjects in Transylvania¹²³.

As for the absolute chronology of the Noua Culture in Transylvania, important dates have been obtained through the researches in Rotbav. Radiocarbon dating for a Noua ash-pit indicated, with 95% probability, the 1415–1282 cal BC interval, while another analysis indicated the interval 1284–1157 cal BC (probability 88.6%) for the Late Noua layer¹²⁴. The C14 date that we have obtained for the double grave labeled M17 – 1410 to 1220 cal BC (2 sigma) (Pl. XIX) – fits the cultural-chronological realities in the center of Transylvania, placing the grave in question during phase II of the Noua Culture's evolution in Transylvania¹²⁵.

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¹²⁰ Hervella et alii 2015, 6.

¹²¹ Hervella et alii 2015, 7.

¹²² Rotea et alii 2008, 55; Rotea 2009, 47.

¹²³ Necrasov 1980, 423–443.

¹²⁴ Dietrich 2014, 59–70.

¹²⁵ For phase II of the Noua Culture see: Wittenberger 2006, with the bibliography; Rotea 2016.

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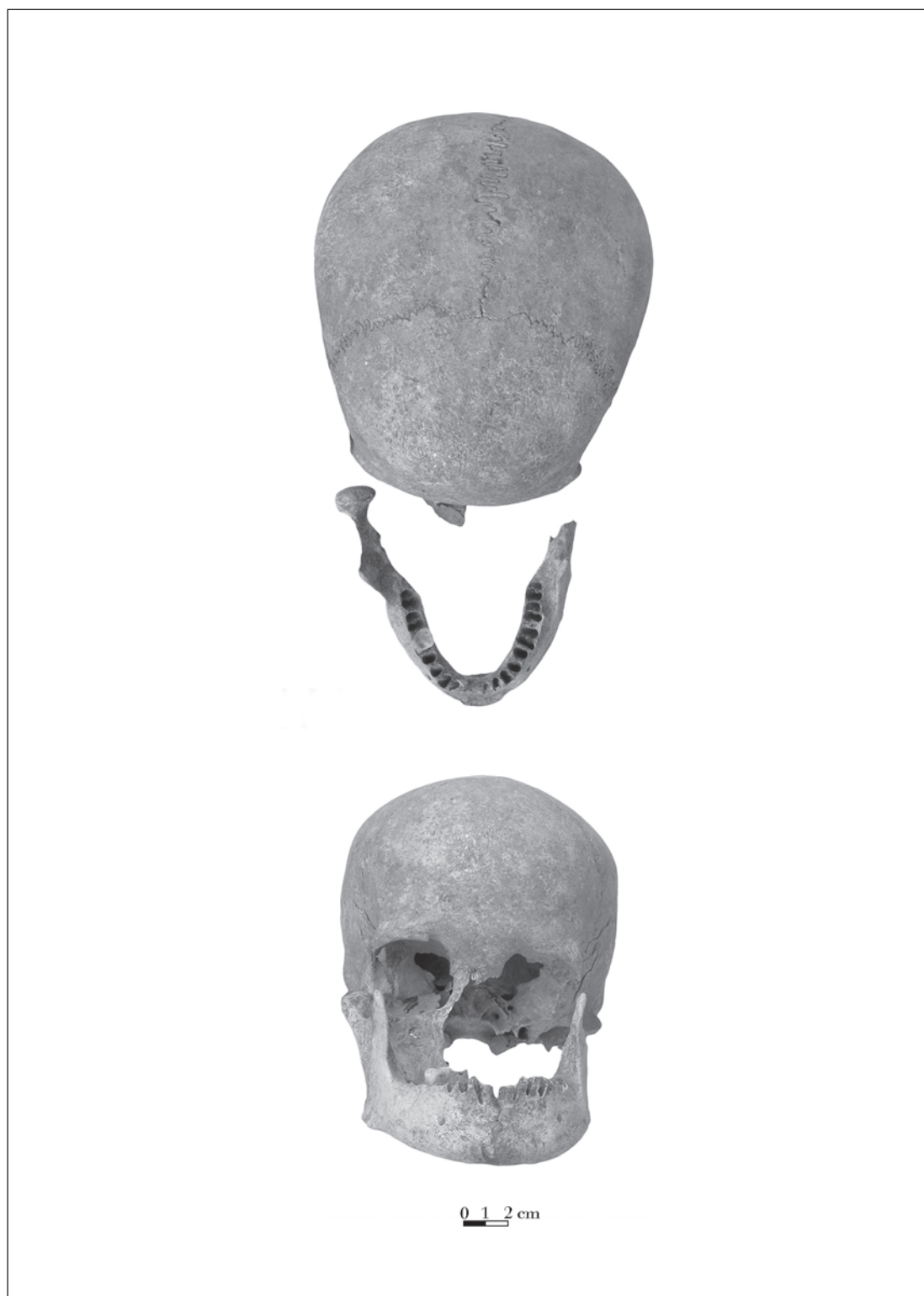
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Mircea Răchită

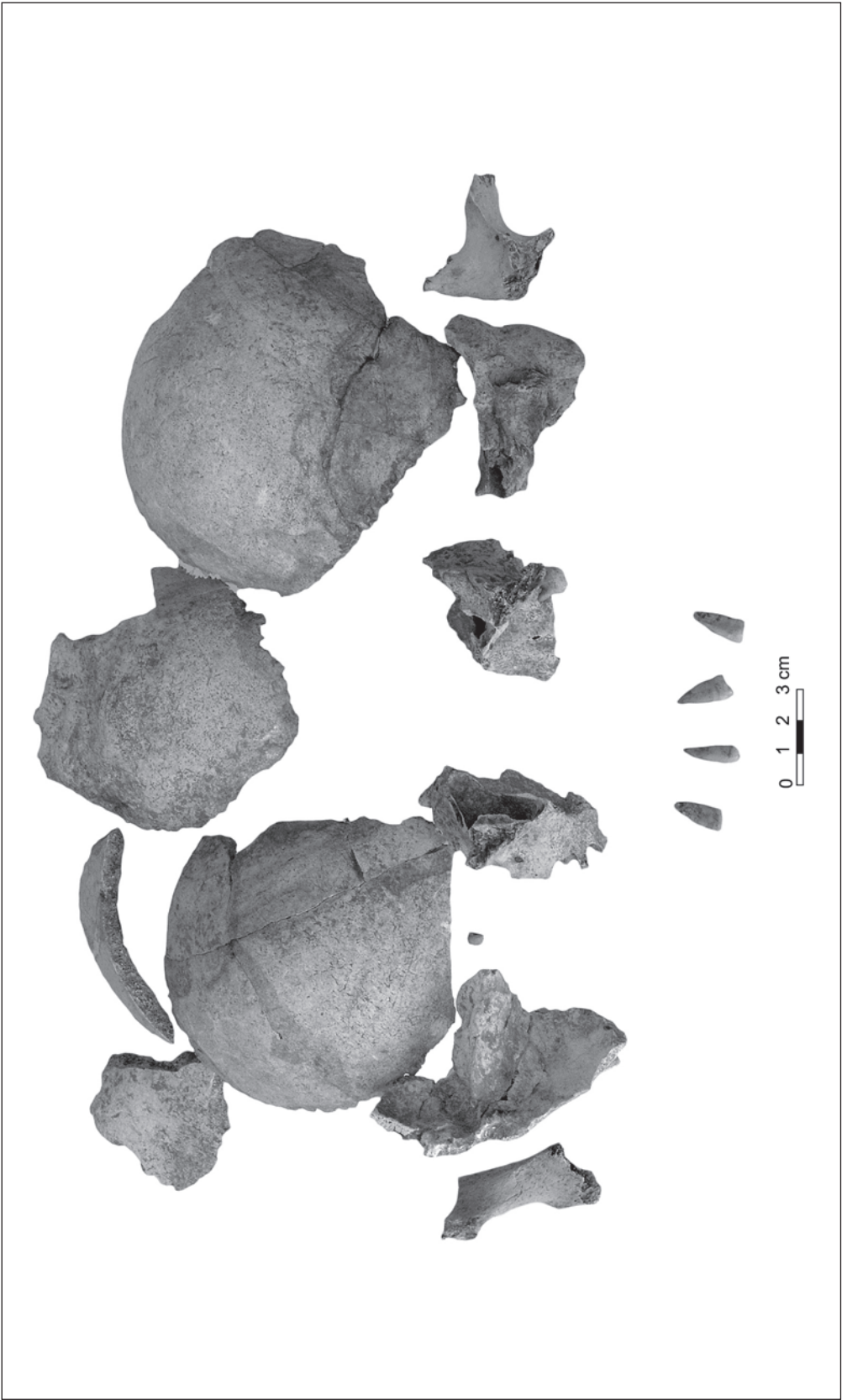
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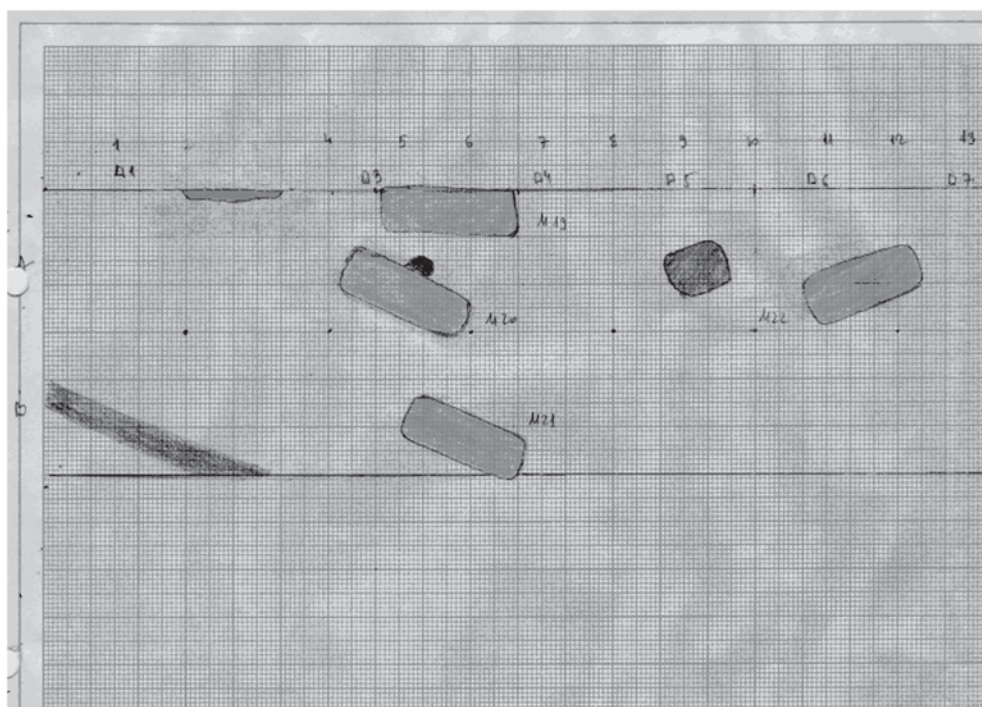
Pl. I. Map pointing the archaeological sites.



Pl. II. Gura Baciului. Sample GB2 = M2.



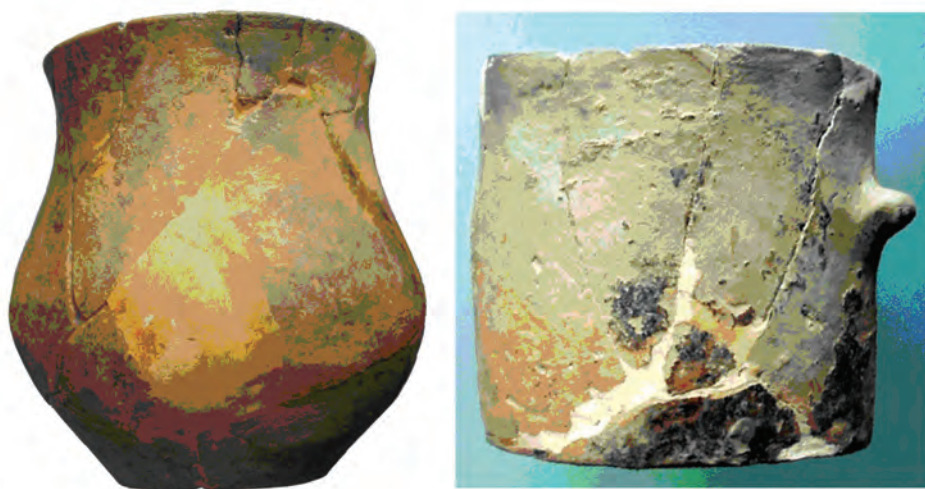
Pl. III. Gura Baciului. Sample GB3 = M6.



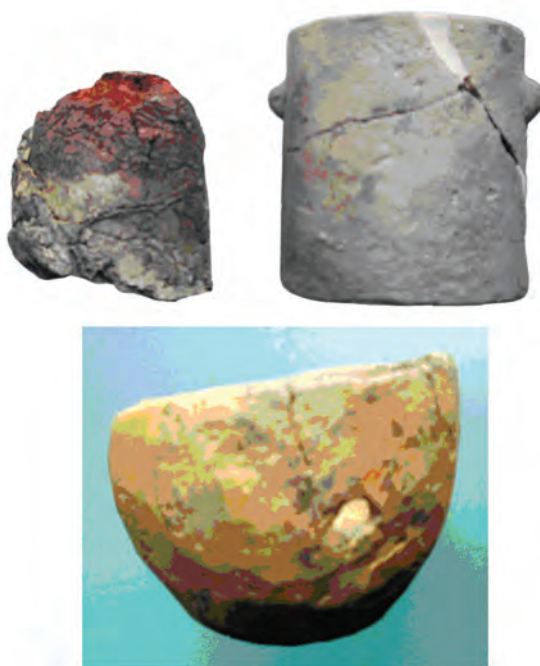
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3

Pl. IV. Iclod. Sample I6 = M20, necropolis B. 1-3. Excavation plan and photos by Gh. Lazarovici.

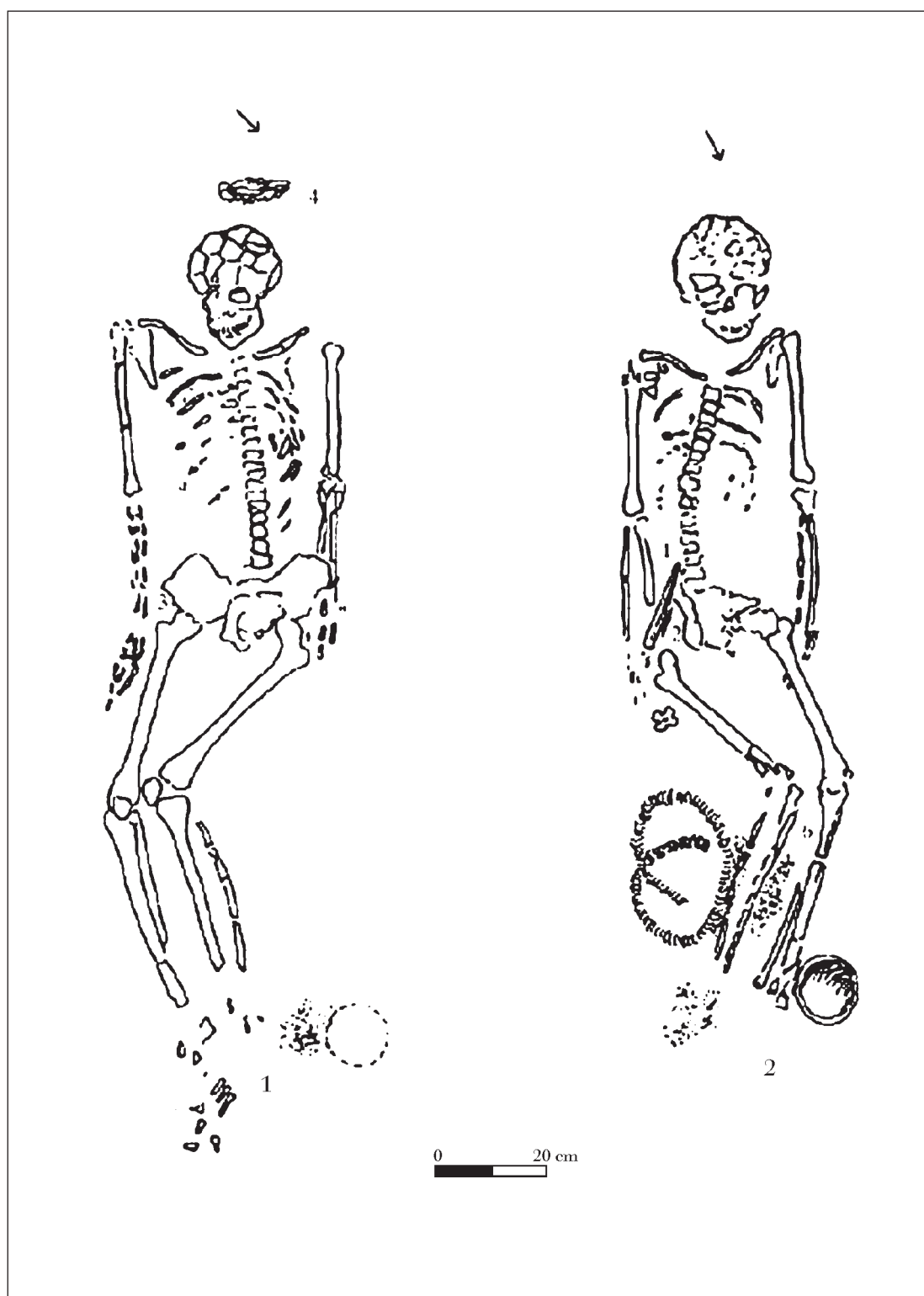


Iclod B M67

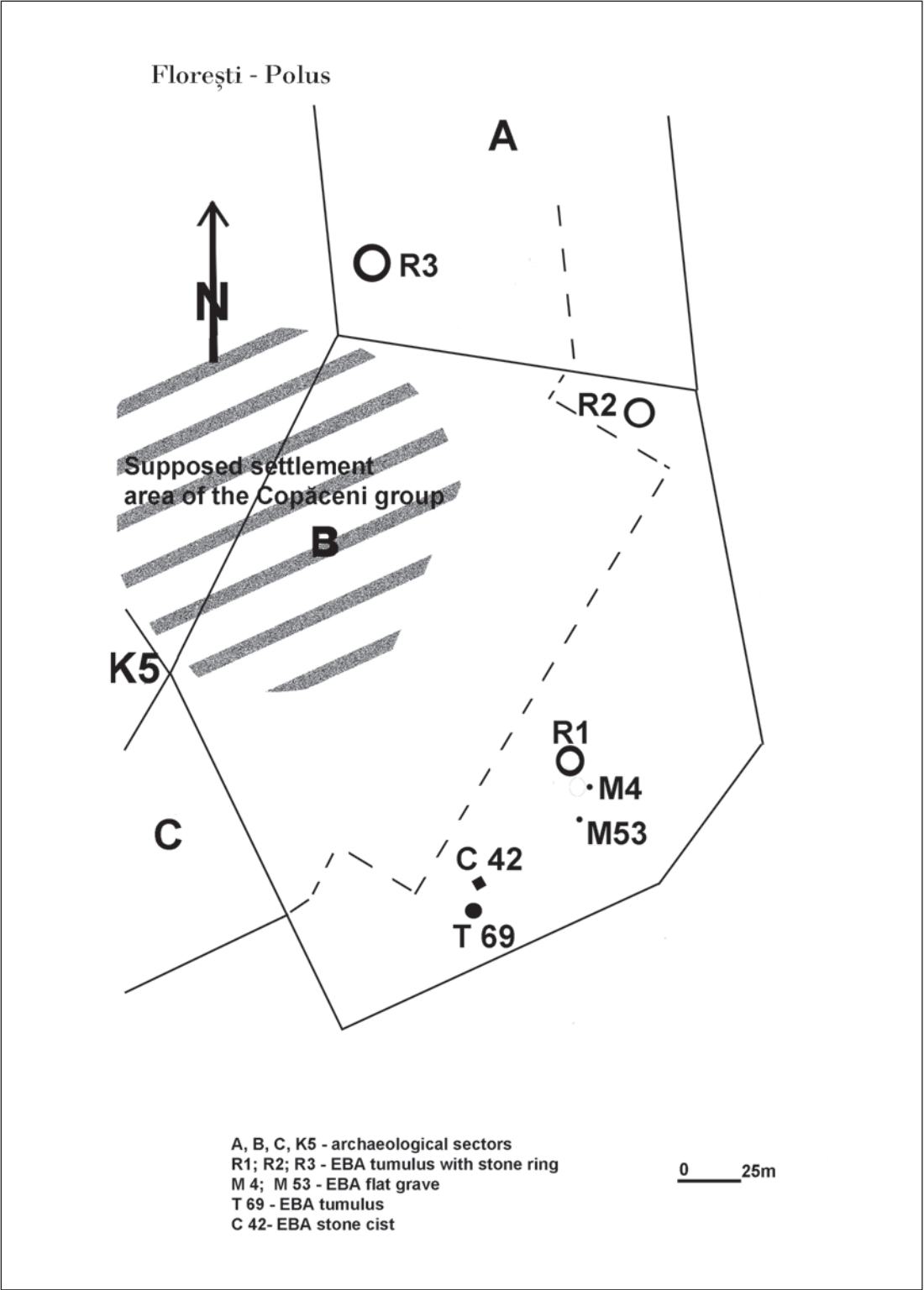


Iclod B M68

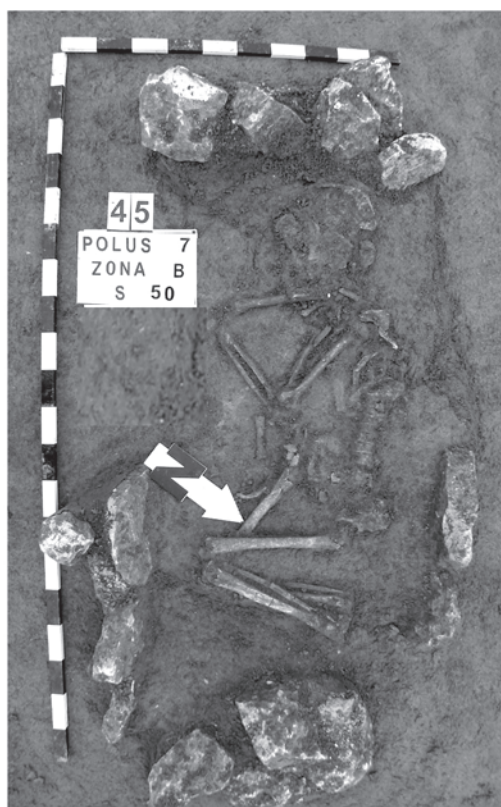
Pl. V. Iclod. 1. Sample I9 = M67, necropolis B; 2. Sample I8 = M68, Necropolis B (photos Gh. Lazarovici).



Pl. VI. Decea Mureșului. 1. Sample DM4 = Grave M10;
2. Sample DM3 = Grave M12 (after Govedarica 2004).



Pl. VII. Florești - Polus. General plan with EBA discoveries.



1



2

Pl. VIII. Florești - Polus. 1. M4 = complex no. 45; 2. M53 = complex no. 53 - EBA flat graves (photo F. Marcu).

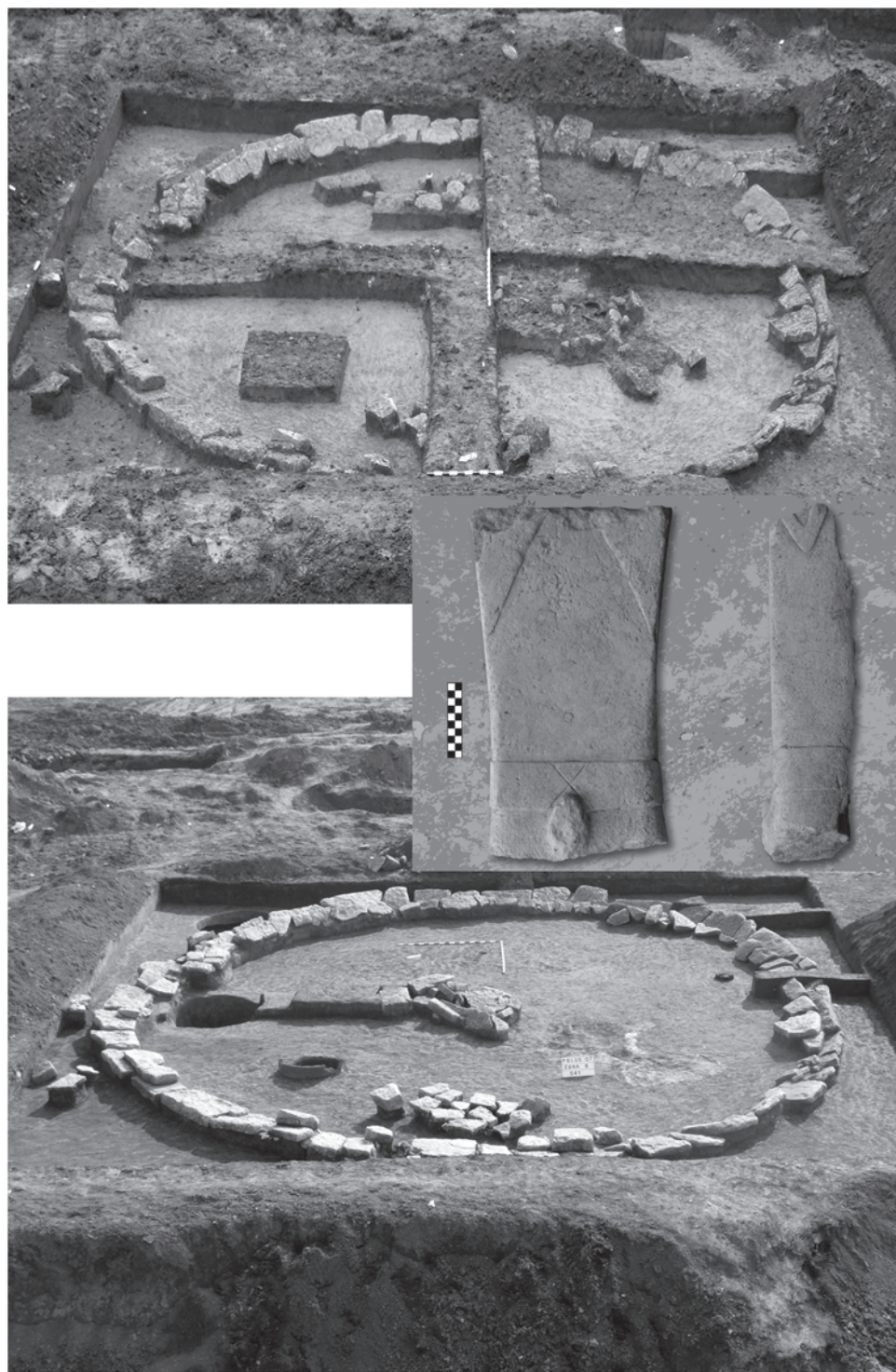


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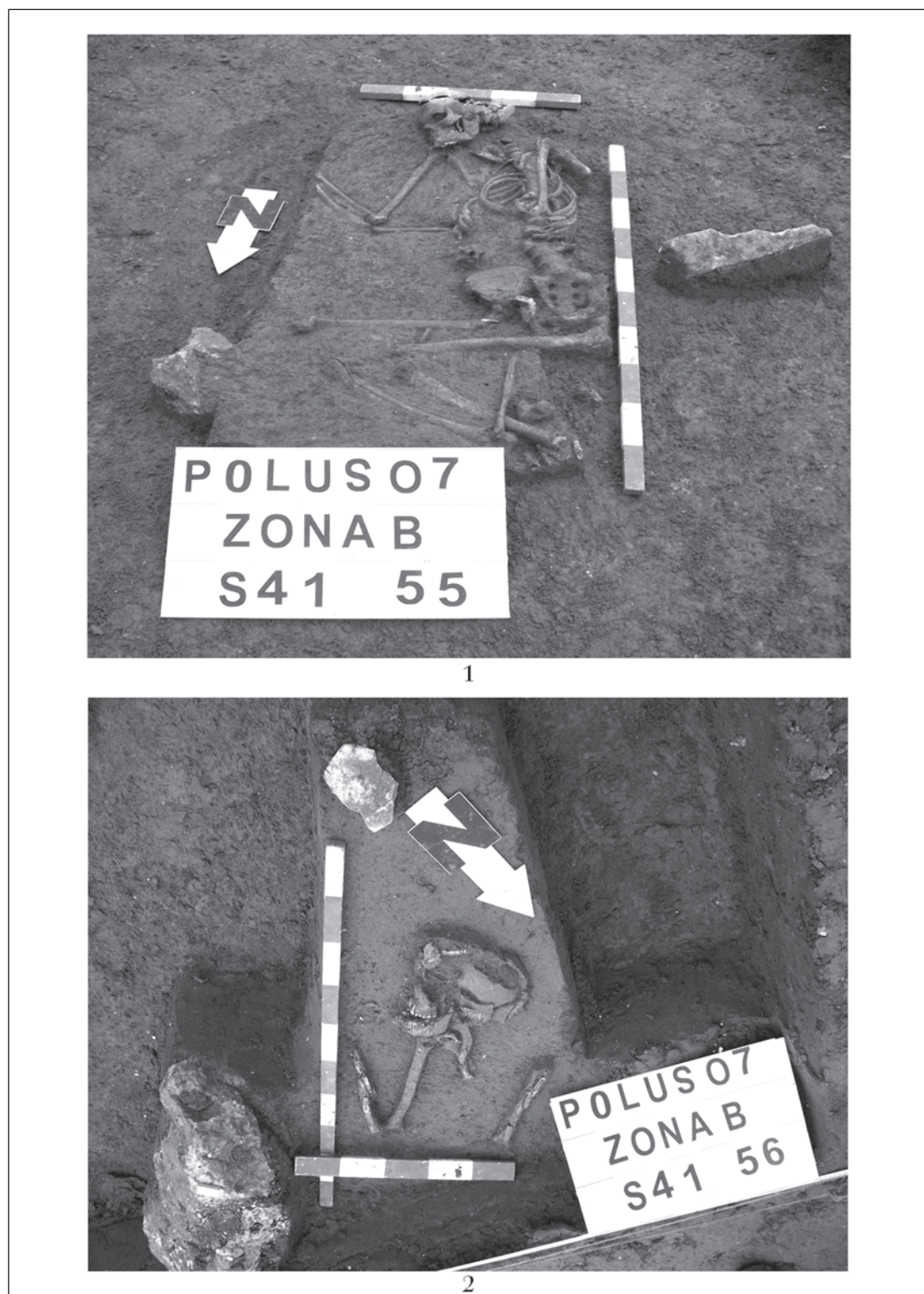


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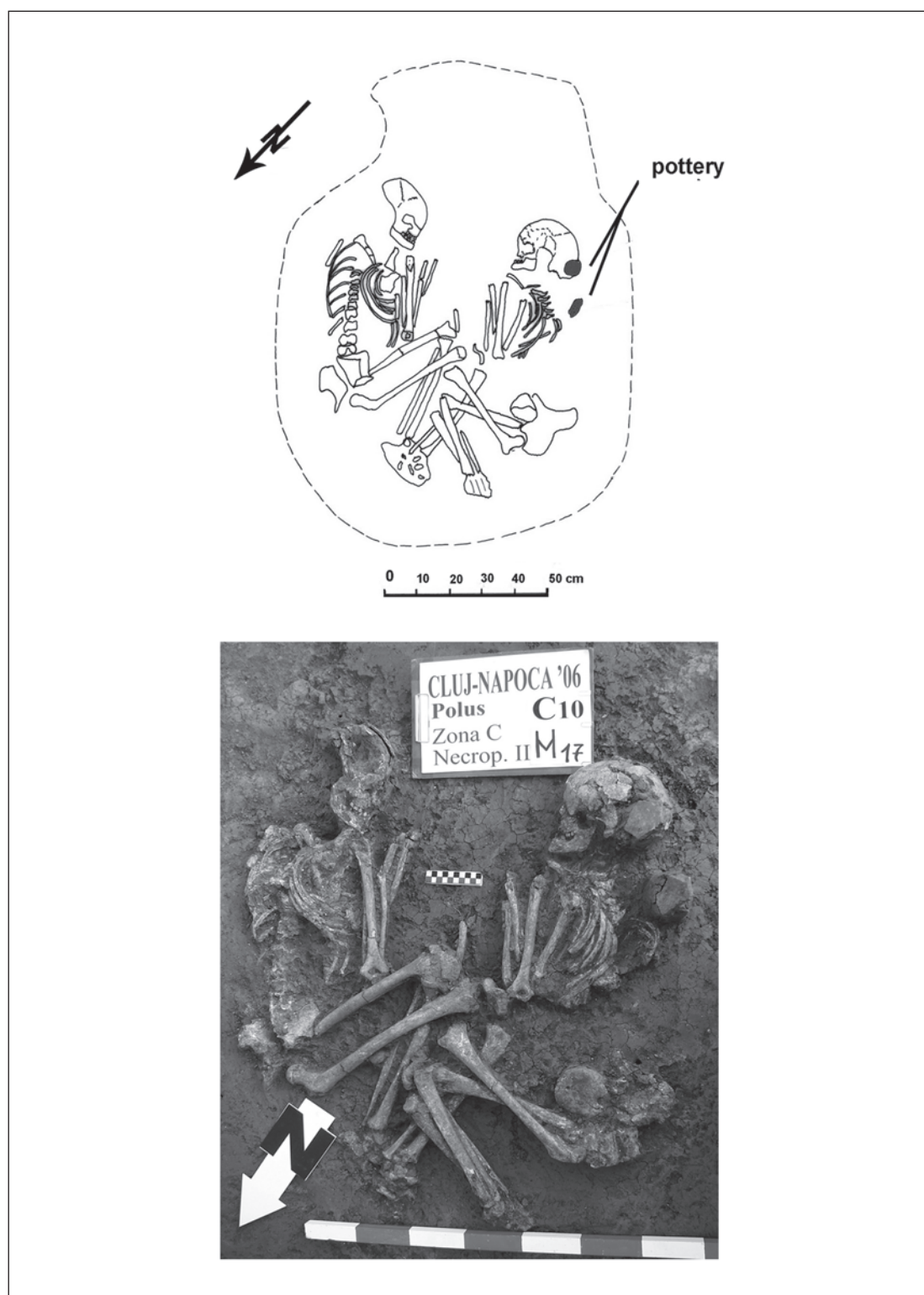
Pl. IX. Florești - Polus. 1. C42 - stone cist = complex no. 42;
2. T69 = tumulus = complex nr. 42 - EBA funeral complexes (photo F. Marcu).



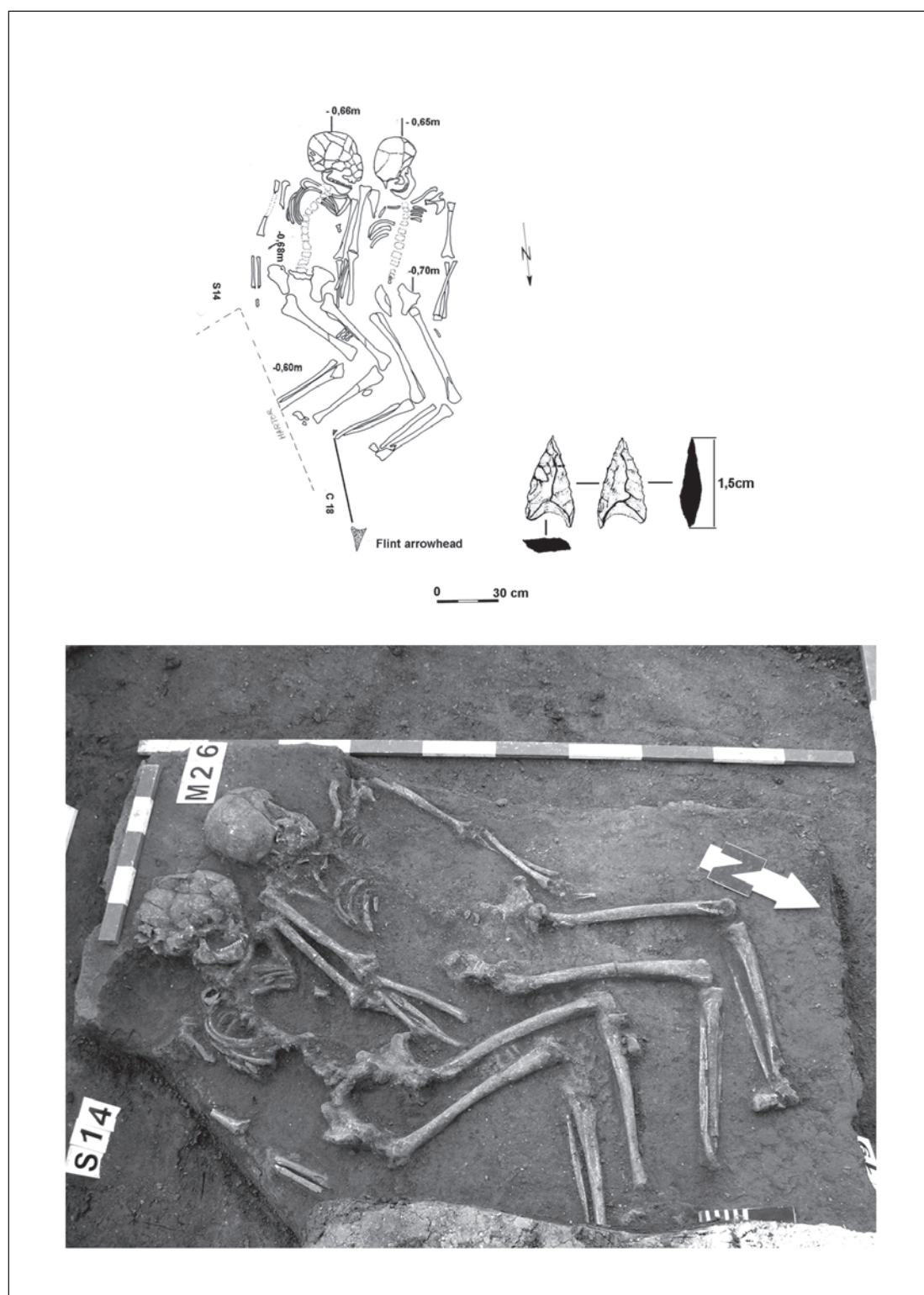
Pl. X. Florești - Polus. R1 - EBA funeral tumulus with stone ring and anthropomorphic statue.



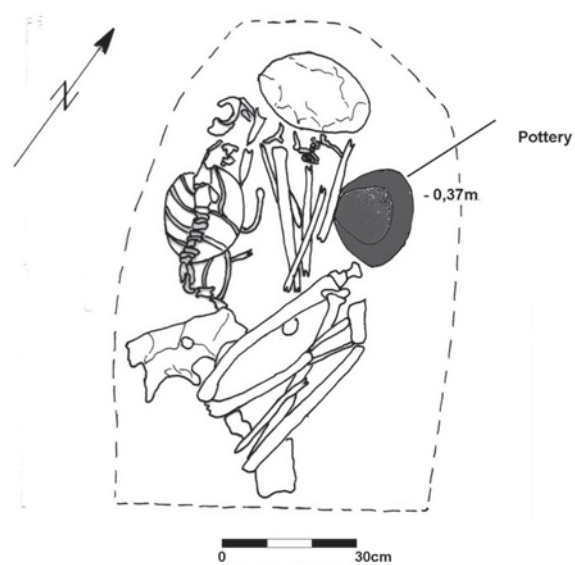
Pl. XI. Florești - Polus. 1. Sample P11 = M1 (complex no. 55) / Sector B - R1;
2. Sample P12A = M2 (complex no. 56) / Sector B - R1.



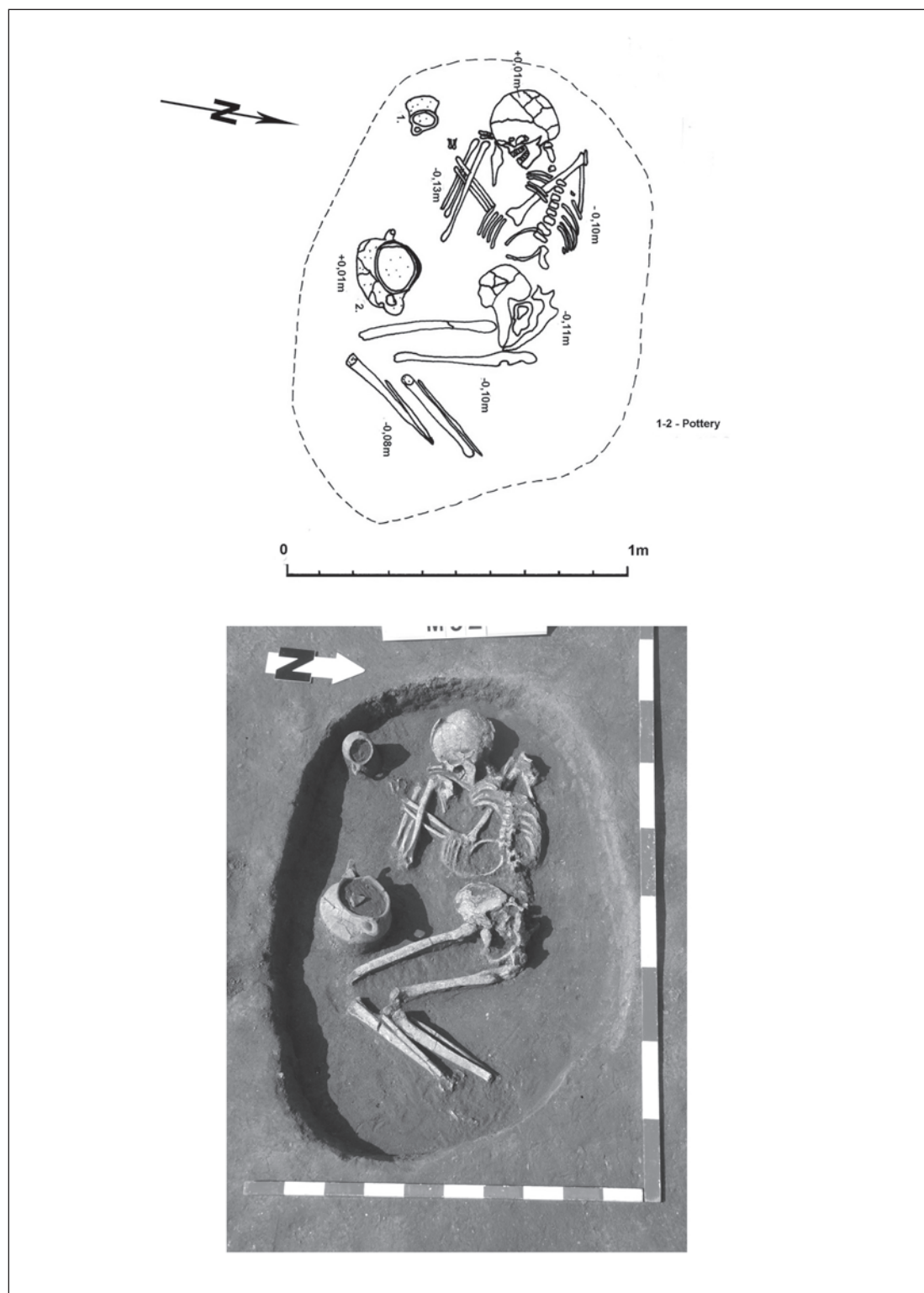
Pl. XII. Florești - Polus. Samples P22 and P23 = M17 / Sector C.



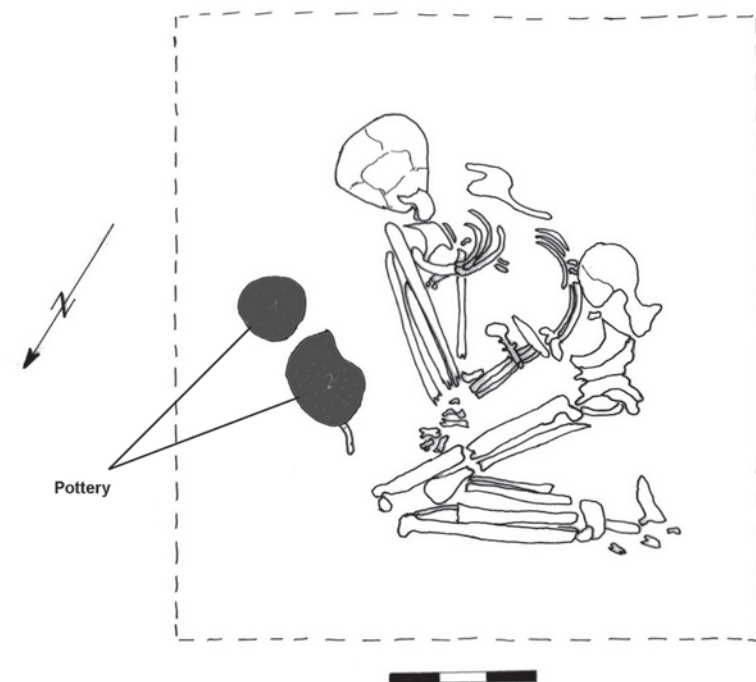
Pl. XIII. Florești - Polus. Samples P24 and P25 = M26 / Sector K6.



Pl. XIV. Florești - Polus. Samples P26 = M23 / Sector C.



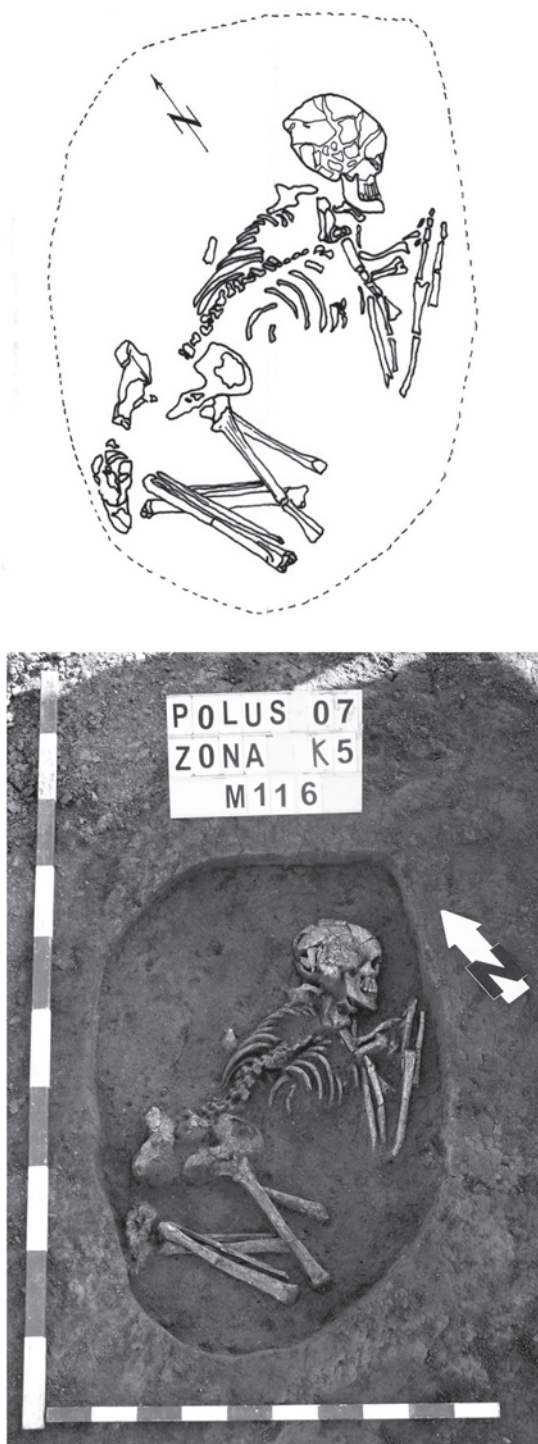
Pl. XV. Floreşti - Polus. Samples P27 and M92 / sector K5.



Pl. XVI. Florești - Polus. Samples P28 = M44 / Sector C.



Pl. XVII. Florești - Polus. Samples P29 = M42 Sector C.



Pl. XVIII. Florești - Polus. Samples P30 = M116 / Sector K5.

No.	Site	Sample	Laboratory number	Conventional radiocarbon age	1 sigma calibrated result (68% probability)	2 sigma calibrated result (95% probability)	Material
1	Gura Baciului	GB2	Beta-317254	6120±30 BP	Cal BC 5190 to 5180 (Cal BP 7140 to 7130) and Cal BC 5060 to 5000 (Cal BP 7010 to 6950)	Cal BC 5210 to 5140 (Cal BP 7160 to 7100) and Cal BC 5140 to 5130 (Cal BP 7090 to 7080) and Cal BC 5120 to 5090 (Cal BP 7070 to 7040) and Cal BC 5080 to 4980 (Cal BP 7030 to 6930) and Cal BC 4970 to 4960 (Cal BP 6920 to 6910)	Human bone collagen
2	Gura Baciului	GB3	Beta-320673	6450±40 BP	Cal BC 5480 to 5370 (Cal BP 7420 to 7320)	Cal BC 5480 to 5320 (Cal BP 7430 to 7280)	Human bone collagen
3	Iclod	I6	Beta-317255	5890±30 BP	Cal BC 4790 to 4720 (Cal BP 6740 to 6670)	Cal BC 4830 to 4810 (Cal BP 6780 to 6760) and Cal BC 4810 to 4710 (Cal BP 6760 to 6660)	Human bone collagen
4	Iclod	I8	Beta-317256	5890±30 BP	Cal BC 4790 to 4720 (Cal BP 6740 to 6670)	Cal BC 4830 to 4810 (Cal BP 6780 to 6760) and Cal BC 4810 to 4710 (Cal BP 6760 to 6660)	Human bone collagen
5	Iclod	I9	Beta-317257	5860±30 BP	Cal BC 4770 to 4750 (Cal BP 6720 to 6700) and Cal BC 4740 to 4730 (Cal BP 6690 to 6700) and Cal BC 4730 to 4710 (Cal BP 6680 to 6660)	Cal BC 4790 to 4690 (Cal BP 6740 to 6640)	Human bone collagen
6	Decea Mureșului	DM4	Beta-317252	5280±30 BP	Cal BC 4220 to 4200 (Cal BP 6180 to 6150) and Cal BC 4160 to 4130 (Cal BP 6110 to 6080) and Cal BC 4110 to 4100 (Cal BP 6060 to 6050) and Cal BC 4070 to 4040 (Cal BP 6020 to 5990)	Cal BC 4230 to 4190 (Cal BP 6180 to 6140) and Cal BC 4180 to 4040 (Cal BP 6130 to 5990) and Cal BC 4020 to 3990 (Cal BP 5970 to 5940)	Human bone collagen
7	Florești - Polus	P11	Beta-317258	3930±30 BP	Cal BC 2470 to 2460 (Cal BP 4420 to 4410) and Cal BC 2420 to 2410 (Cal BP 4270 to 4360)	Cal BC 2490 to 2340 (Cal BP 4440 to 4290)	Human bone collagen
8	Florești - Polus	P22	Beta-317259	3050±30 BP	Cal BC 1380 to 1330 (Cal BP 3340 to 3280) and Cal BC 1320 to 1290 (Cal BP 3280 to 3240) and Cal BC 1280 to 1270 (Cal BP 3230 to 3220)	Cal BC 1410 to 1260 (Cal BP 3360 to 3210) and Cal BC 1230 to 1220 (Cal BP 3180 to 3170)	Human bone collagen

Pl. XIX. Radiocarbon dating results.

THE IMMORTAL THRACIANS. GRAVES DISAPPEARANCE AT THE END OF THE IRON AGE IN THE CARPATHO-DANUBIAN AREA¹

LUCA-PAUL PUPEZĂ

Abstract: Over 3000 graves were discovered in the Thracian Carpatho-Danubian area of the 5th-3rd centuries BC, while only approximately 100 graves dating to the 2nd century BC - 1st century AD were identified. For the period of the maximum development of the Dacian Kingdom, in the 1st century AD, grave finds do not exceed 20. The disappearance of the traditional graves, namely pit cremation graves with urn and lid, may be the result of the shift in the archaeological research towards habitat and fortification elements. However, the graves' disappearance is rather a real historical phenomenon, the result of a radical change of the funerary behaviour.

Keywords: Dacians; graves; temples; fortifications.

Rezumat: În spațiul tracic carpato-danubian, pentru secolele V - III a. Chr. s-au găsit peste 3000 de morminte, în timp ce pentru secolele II a. Chr. - I p. Chr. s-au descoperit circa 100 de morminte. Pentru perioada de maximă dezvoltare a Regatului Dac, în secolul I p. Chr. descoperirile nu depășesc 20 de morminte. Dispariția mormintelor tradiționale, de incinerare în groapă cu urnă și capac, poate fi rezultatul orientării cercetării arheologice spre elementele de habitat și fortificații. Dar, mai degrabă dispariția mormintelor reprezintă un fenomen istoric real, rezultat al unei schimbări radicale a comportamentului funerar.

Cuvinte cheie: daci; morminte; temple; fortificații.

“But before he came to the Ister he conquered first the Getai, who make themselves immortal [...]. And their belief in immortality is of this kind, that is to say, they hold that they do not die, but that he who is killed goes to Salmoxis”².

The paragraph in Herodotus, beside other similar ancient information, shaped a complex image of the immortality of the Thracians, either called the Getae, Moesi, Odrisi or Dacians. The archaeological finds dated to the end of the Late Iron Age seem to “confirm” Herodotus’s accounts. By the end of the 2nd century BC, in the Thracian territories by the Danube and the Carpathians, as the number of settlements increased, the traditional graves, most of them pit cremations with urn and lid, seemed to disappear. Only an immortal population leaves no trace in the graves; the Thracians “became immortal”.

Obviously, the association between the two phenomena is apparent. However, tackled separately, the two phenomena are as real as they can get. The Thracians’

¹ The topic was partially discussed in Pupeză 2012a, 373-382.

² Herod. IV, 93-95, see the interpretation of the text in Dana 2011, 67-68.

immortality was a thoroughly analysed subject, the major interest of the ancient authors being equalled by that of the modern authors³. By contrast, the phenomenon of the disappearance of the traditional graves was rather statistically noted than interpreted⁴.

Traditional graves

The Thracians in the Carpatho-Danubian region practiced the cremation rite during the entire Iron Age. In the peculiar case of the Late Iron Age, cremation graves represent approximately 90% of the total discovered graves. For the 5th–3rd centuries BC there were identified over 3000 local graves, the majority clustering in the area of the lower Danube. The graves are both flat and tumulus type isolated or grouped in cemeteries. The great majority have the cremation remains placed in urns of specific shapes, some lidded, the deposition of the bones directly in the pit being rare. In general, bones are few, not mixed with ash or charcoal. Except for the urn and lid, other deposited vessels are rare. The meat offering is missing almost entirely⁵.

In the case of the local graves of the 2nd century BC – 1st century AD, cremation remains the predominant rite, exceptions being rare. The great majority of the graves are flat, rarely grouped in cemeteries⁶, most being isolated. Cremation remains are most often placed in an urn which no longer has a specific shape, common wares being used instead (biconical vessels, pots, bell-shaped vessels, cups, bowls). Grave inventories are modest, being composed of pottery and, rarely, metal objects, brooches or weapons⁷.

The great quantity of graves during the 5th–3rd centuries BC is no longer found after mid 2nd century BC, the graves dated to the 2nd century BC – 1st century AD being around 100⁸. Most of them were located in the south-east area of the Carpatho-Danubian region (Oltenia, Banat, south Transylvania, east Muntenia) and belonged to group Padea – Panagjurski Kolonii. The graves north the Danube belonging to this group were framed into the second half of the 2nd century BC – first half of the 1st century BC. The predominant funerary rite within these archaeological features was cremation, most often the cremation remains being placed directly in the pit. South the Danube, appear flat graves and tumuli, inhumation graves being very rare, while north the Danube the flat cremation graves are the only ones found. The funerary inventory consisted of pottery, long swords, daggers and belt chains of Celtic type, curved knives and horse bite of Thracian type. The origin of this group, either Celtic or Thracian remains uncertain⁹.

³ Petre 2004; Dana 2008.

⁴ Crișan 1986; Babeș 1988; Sîrbu 1993; Spănu 2002.

⁵ Sârbu 1993, 41–42; Sîrbu, Florea 1997, 41–43.

⁶ The cemetery at Zimnicea is different by both the long time of existence, the 4th–2nd centuries BC as well as its extensive use, with over 170 identified graves (cf. Alexandrescu 1980).

⁷ Sârbu 1993, 39–40.

⁸ Sârbu 1993, 39–40.

⁹ Wozniak 1974, 74–138; Sîrbu 1993, 24–26, 77–79; Sîrbu, Rustoiu 1999, 77–91; Rustoiu, Comșa 2004, 267–276; Rustoiu 2005, 109–119; Sîrbu, Arsănescu 2006, 163–186.

Foreign graves

Inhumation graves are specific to the Scythian group (Ciumbrud group) of the 6th–5th centuries BC within the Carpathian Arch, however the burial rite would gradually change to a rite of pit cremation¹⁰. Funerary finds subsequent to the Scythians and just prior the Celtic presence are few, being broadly dated to the 5th–4th centuries BC¹¹. Any connection between these finds and the Scythian group from Transylvania is difficult to make. This could be related to the state of research or to the correlation of the late chronologies of the Early Iron Age and those of the Late Iron Age. West the Carpathians (Partium), funerary finds previous to the Celts are rather numerous. Graves dated to the 5th–4th centuries BC belong to Vekerzug culture, the north-west area, characterised by urn cremation graves being assigned to group Sanislău – Nir¹².

In the east of the Carpathian Basin (Transylvania, Banat, Crișana and Maramureș) there were found around 500 graves assigned to the Celts, dated to the 4th–2nd centuries BC¹³. The great majority of the graves come from cemeteries¹⁴, however, most sites with finds are isolate or incidental¹⁵. Over 60% of the graves are of pit cremations, 5–6% are urn cremations, the rest being of inhumation¹⁶. Grave inventories are relatively rich consisting of pottery, jewellery or weapons, frequently accompanied by meat offerings.

East the Carpathians (Moldavia) were found around 400 graves belonging to the Bastarnae, dated by the end of the 3rd century BC until early 1st century BC. The great majority of the graves come from cemeteries¹⁷, those from isolate finds being few. The funerary rite was almost exclusively the cremation, the cremation remains being placed most often in urns. In the majority of cases, the funerary urn was a pot covered with bowls as lids. The funerary inventory, most often burnt, can also contain jewellery, rarely tools and seldom weapons or pots other than the urn and lid¹⁸.

The disappearance of the traditional graves

The statistical difference amongst the funerary finds in the Carpatho-Danubian area is eloquent. For the 5th–3rd centuries BC over 3000 graves were found, while for the 2nd century BC – 1st century AD there were found ca. 100 graves. Most late graves come from peripheral areas, from cemeteries dated broadly to the 4th–2nd centuries BC or from finds belonging to group Padea – Panagjurski Kolonii of the 2nd – first half of the 1st century BC. Therefore, for the period of the 1st century AD, in the entire

¹⁰ Vulpe 1970, 198–203; Vasiliev 1980, 136.

¹¹ Ocna Sibiului (cf. Rustoiu, Berecki 2012, 161–181), Olteni (cf. Cavruc, Buzea 2005, 121–154; Sîrbu, Cavruc, Buzea 2008, 191–228) or Săvârșin (cf. Barbu, Hügel 1997, 91–92).

¹² Némethi 1978, 36–37; Curtuișeni (cf. Nanasi 1969, 85–90), Ghenci (cf. Némethi 1999, 64–70), Porț (Bejinariu, Pop 2008, 35–46) or Sanislău (Némethi 1972, 121–149; Némethi 1982, 115–144).

¹³ Dietrich, Dietrich 2006, 20–22.

¹⁴ Apahida – 50 graves (cf. Crișan 1971, 37–70; Zirra 1976, 129–166), Ciumești – 35 graves (cf. Crișan 1966; Zirra 1967); Fântânele – 100 graves (cf. Dănilă 1978, 267–276), Pișcolt – 185 graves (cf. Némethi 1987, 49–74; Némethi 1989, 75–114; Némethi 1992, 59–112; Zirra 1997, 87–137).

¹⁵ Berecki 2006, 66–71.

¹⁶ Berecki 2006, 54–56; Dietrich, Dietrich 2006, 9–56.

¹⁷ Boroșești – 150 graves, Lukașevka – 21 graves or Poienăști – 152 graves (cf. Babeș 1993, 32–52).

¹⁸ Babeș 1993, 32–52.

Carpatho-Danubian area there were found around 20 local graves¹⁹. The reduction/disappearance of the traditional graves is the more striking as, after mid 2nd century BC, there is a significant increase in the numbers of the settlements during the Dacian Kingdom²⁰.

The first hypothesis that would explain this rather paradoxical situation is that of an incipient stage of the archaeological research. The archaeology of the Early Iron Age and beginning of the Late Iron Age in the Carpatho-Danubian region is focused on funerary finds. For the 1st century BC – 1st century AD, archaeology is focused on habitat, especially on the Dacian fortified centres. Such a shift in the research orientation could cause the “disappearance” of the graves amongst the finds. Nonetheless, the mapping of a site with finds does not depend on the systematic archaeological research only, but also on fortunate finds, illegal excavations or surface researches. The nature of the archaeological research may determine the number of excavated sites however not the number of identified sites. Or, for the period of the 1st century BC – 1st century AD, not only the archaeological sites with investigated funerary complexes are lacking but also those identified.

In the capital area of the Dacian Kingdom, systematic archaeological research, fortunate finds, surface researches, illegal or dilettante excavations have been performed for over 300 years. However, until present day, the area of over 200 km², extensively populated in Antiquity did not yield any certain grave²¹. In fact, for the 2nd century BC – 1st century AD, in the entire area of the Mid course of Mureş river were identified very few points with funerary finds, while the identified settlements are over 100 in number²². Among the funerary finds, most seem to belong to group Padea – Panagjurski Kolonii and do not exceed the 1st century BC; the single later find is of a special nature, namely the inhumation of infants²³.

Circumstances are not specific to only the area of the Dacian Kingdom capital. Another archaeologically well documented area is that lying north-west the Carpatho-Danubian area, in the Sylvania Depression. For the period of the 2nd century BC – 1st century AD, the number of identified settlements is of ca. 60, and only a single grave, otherwise uncertain being found²⁴.

Hence, for the Carpatho-Danubian area, the incipient stage of the research cannot provide but a partial or superficial explanation of the traditional graves disappearance amongst the finds. This is rather a real historical phenomenon, a radical change in the funerary beliefs of the Thracians. The nature of such change and especially the novel burial forms are difficult to identify archaeologically.

Temples, fortifications and graves – divergent elements?

The change in the funerary mindset occurring most likely by the end of the 2nd century BC takes place almost concurrently with the emergence of the first structures

¹⁹ Sîrbu 1993, 39–40.

²⁰ Daicoviciu 1972; Crişan 1975.

²¹ Likely a single grave, at Costeşti-Cetăţuie (cf. Glodariu et alii 1998, 78; Gheorghiu 2005, 208).

²² Gheorghiu 2005.

²³ Sîrbu, Luca, Roman 2007, 155–179.

²⁴ Pop, Pupeză 2006, 183–212.

of the Dacian Kingdom. Once with the end of the Kingdom and the establishment of the Roman province of Dacia, by early 2nd century AD, traditional local graves resurface, over 1000 being identified with most certainty. Local cremation cemeteries, containing over 2000 graves, resurface in the 2nd–4th centuries AD also in territories that originally belonged to the Dacian Kingdom yet which the Romans did not control²⁵. At first sight, the funerary changes seem to be related to those political-military which led to the emergence and then dissolution of the Dacian Kingdom.

Even though one may not speak of a central structure in the modern meaning of the word, the control exercised from the Kingdom capital must have had a powerful echo in the organisation of the religious life. As the capital Sarmizegetusa reinforced its position compared to the other centres in the Carpatho-Danubian area, the number of traditional graves suddenly decreased in the 1st century AD, the most being found in peripheral areas. Funerary changes seem to have a reversed evolution compared to the other religious contemporary phenomenon: the construction of the first temples. Temples appear in the Carpatho-Danubian area by the end of the 2nd century BC or early 1st century BC and would disappear by early 2nd century AD, once with the Roman conquest and dissolution of the political and religious control of the centre at Sarmizegetusa. Noticeably, by early 2nd century AD, temples disappear even from the Dacian territories where the Romans exercised no control²⁶.

The emergence (end of the 2nd century BC)/disappearance (early 2nd century AD) of the temples and the disappearance (end of the 2nd century BC)/emergence (early 2nd century AD) of the traditional graves could be part of the same phenomenon. Once with the establishment of the Kingdom, past the political, military or economic aspects of this process, there might have occurred a religious reorganisation. The hypothesis of a religious reform initiated by Deceneus, according to some paragraphs in the ancient authors²⁷, seems to provide an explanation to this effect²⁸, however, for the lack of archaeological arguments, it is not yet sound enough²⁹. According to today's research, there is a chronology difference between the two phenomena: the graves' disappearance seems to be a phenomenon that commenced previous (end of the 2nd century BC) the aggregation of the Dacian Kingdom (first half of the 1st century BC).

Another phenomenon evolving symmetrically with the funerary one is the emergence of the fortifications. The novel significance assigned to the fortifications erected after the end of the 2nd century BC seems to have led to a mindset change in the funerary customs. In the Celtic world, prior the emergence of the fortified centres of *oppida* type, cemeteries were large, community cemeteries, so that later they would be rather small, family cemeteries. It is a sign of fragmented society, somewhat in contrast with the emergence of the fortified centres which seem to gather political, economic and religious resources³⁰. Cases when Celtic cemeteries appear near *oppida* are few and almost never inside the fortified area, regardless the surface they covered, sometime of

²⁵ Protase 1971; Bichir 1973; Sîrbu 1993, 26–27, 42–45.

²⁶ Florea, Pupeză 2008, 297–332.

²⁷ Iord. *Get.* LXXI.

²⁸ Lica 1980, 177–182; Babeş 1988, 3–31.

²⁹ Florea 2007, 99–105.

³⁰ Hatt 1956; Collis 1975; Fichtl 2000; Buchschenschutz 2007.

tens of hectares, or the inhabitancy density, sometimes very small, which would have allowed the use of the area as burial site³¹.

Past their political and military importance, fortifications were invested with other attributes too. Fortifications are most often rather the expression of peace and prosperity than of troubles of any sort³². Mobilising the constructional effort, organising and developing the works for the erection of the Dacian fortifications were impossible if at war, insomuch as gathering resources for such ample projects may take place only in the absence of immediate military pressure³³. The Dacian fortifications may also be regarded as transposition into practice of an elite ideology. According to a simplified definition, ideology is a system of ideas that make sense of the world. In order to serve as power source, ideology must be controlled. Materialising ideology in tangible and visible forms, monuments, objects or ceremonies, may provide such control³⁴. The public monuments are a good example to this effect since they convey to a large number of individuals a simple message: power, safety, wealth³⁵. Therefore, the fortifications seem to convey such a symbolic message³⁶. The location of fortifications in visible places, near access roads, amplifies this message. The purpose of such location may be that of overseeing a close area, but also that of being seen from such area³⁷.

The graves represent an image of the society of the living, which is most often distorted compared to reality. The deceased do not bury themselves, but are placed in the pit by the members of a community, the burial being an event organized by the living for the living. In fact, the burial is less of the dead and more of the death impact on the living. The image of the deceased, as he/she appears in the grave, does not mirror his/her life but the way he/she was seen in the community³⁸. Once with the emergence of the fortified centres, of a new elite and new hierarchy, the social system prior to their emergence must have suffered changes. Views regarding the prestige, standing or authority, basic elements in outlining an image within a community, shifted.

Regardless the inventory of the traditional graves, they mirror in one way or another prestige, standing or authority of the deceased. Prior the emergence of the fortified centres and, at some point, of the kingdom structures, prestige, standing and authority had a rather more personal nature, with multiple symbolic connotations³⁹. In the novel context, they lose their personal feature, being related to a novel collective power notion, established around the fortified centres and kingdom "institutions". All these changes might have generated a new view of the burial, which loses its central role in the community life, being replaced by other means of expressing prestige, standing or authority⁴⁰ (jewellery, stone tower-houses and hierarchical ranks).

³¹ Fichtl 2000, 135–137.

³² Daubigney 2002, 371.

³³ Florea 2011, 126.

³⁴ Butters, Demarais, Earle 1996, 4–6.

³⁵ Trigger 1990, 119–132.

³⁶ Fichtl 2005, 70.

³⁷ Pupeză 2012b, 81–85.

³⁸ Parker-Pearson 1999, 3–20; Hakenbeck 2004, 1–6; McCarthy 2004, 25–39.

³⁹ Fried 1967; Berreman 1981; Henrich, Gil-White 2001, 165–196; Ames 2009, 488.

⁴⁰ Egri 2012, 509.

The emergence of both the temples and fortifications by the end of the 2nd century BC within the broader frame of the establishment of kingdom institutions may have resulted in the disappearance of the traditional graves in the Carpatho-Danubian area. Likely not accidentally, there existed a very close connection between the construction of the fortifications and the emergence of the temples⁴¹: most temples in the Carpatho-Danubian area by the end of the second Iron Age emerged within fortified settlements.

Graves with no archaeological traces

Traditional burials disappear starting with the end of the 2nd century BC, nonetheless, the novel view towards the deceased is difficult to identify archaeologically. The few identified graves of the 1st century BC – 1st century AD, preserve cremation as funerary rite. Despite the disappearance of pits and urns, very likely cremation remained the dominant rite in this period, however the way that cinerary remains were treated changed. It is possible that cinerary remains had been placed in waters or thrown into the air, practices difficult to identify archaeologically⁴². In the event of such practices, the single archaeological traces may be supplied by the places where the bodies were burnt, however no complex of the type was identified with certainty until present⁴³. It is not excluded that the place where the cremation remains were deposited was completely moved, like for instance in caves, areas less investigated by the Romanian archaeology⁴⁴.

Another way that the body was handled does not necessarily require its burning. The discovery in various archaeological contexts of skeletons that seem mutilated or preserving only parts, may suggest there existed exposure/decomposition practices of the bodies⁴⁵. Such archaeological features appear sporadically as early as the 4th century BC, being practiced in parallel with traditional burials. Their ratio amongst the finds does not change significantly from the 2nd century BC until the 2nd century AD, hence one may not argue that the possible exhibition/decomposition practices replaced traditional burials. Very likely, they are funerary practices that continue to be used even after the 2nd century BC, in the way they were also used previously.

A possible broader view

In terms of geographical diffusion, the disappearance of the traditional graves was not limited only to the Carpatho-Danubian area. The southern Thracians between the Danube and the Balkans (Tribali, Odrii, Moesi) also used cremation as dominant rite. Statistically, in these areas a decrease of the number of traditional graves during the 3rd century BC⁴⁶ is noticeable, while later, during the 2nd century BC and in the period just prior the Roman conquest, were identified areas from where traditional

⁴¹ Florea 2007, 102.

⁴² Sîrbu 1993, 40.

⁴³ Such an *ustrinum*, likely at Conțești (cf. Vulpe, Popescu 1976, 217–226).

⁴⁴ Boroneanț 2000.

⁴⁵ Sîrbu 1993, 31–34.

⁴⁶ Măndescu 2010, 125–192.

graves disappeared completely, although the settlements continue to be present in finds⁴⁷.

By the end of the 2nd century BC, Celtic graves disappear from the Carpathian Basin while those belonging to the Bastarnae tribes are no longer found east the Carpathians. Hypotheses regarding the disappearance of the Celtic and Bastarnic graves are sensitively different from those regarding the disappearance/decrease of the Thracian traditional graves from the Carpatho-Danubian area. The disappearance of the Bastarnic graves is closely connected to the disappearance of their settlements, which may be related to the Bastarnae attempt to massively cross south the Danube⁴⁸ by the end of the 1st century BC⁴⁹. Assimilation by the natives, acculturation or departure of the Celts are the most frequent invoked causes for the disappearance of the specific graves, the phenomenon being most often regarded as local⁵⁰.

If in the case of the Bastarnae, the scenario is likely that of the mass departure from the Carpatho-Danubian area, the Celts' situation seems to have been more complex. Once with the end of the 2nd century BC, the Celtic traditional graves in broad areas of Central Europe (Hungary, Austria, Switzerland, Slovakia, Bohemia and south Germany) decrease or disappear⁵¹. Furthermore, the phenomenon is also visible in Western Europe (northern half of France, south of Great Britain)⁵². The Celtic Central and West European society undergoes during the 2nd century BC a similar process of deep change like that Thracian in Eastern Europe. This is the time when fortified centres of *oppida* type appear, when the large community temples are built and the cremation rite is adopted on large scale⁵³.

An alternate explanation of the phenomenon was that of the migration of the Celtic populations. Thus, it was supposed that the earliest graves from one area date the time when the Celts arrived, while the later funerary complexes date the time when they left. This arrival-departure pattern seems to provide an explanation of the disappearance of the graves from one region, including the Carpathian Basin. However, seen in detail, this scenario has many flaws, which may be related or not to the early state of research: groups of populations and not entire populations are in movement, the archaeological disappearance from one area does not mean the appearance in another, the association settlement – cemetery represents rare cases, the connection between the number of graves and the effective control of the territory is difficult to make⁵⁴.

Past the possible similar causes leading to such a phenomenon in both the Thracian and the Celtic world, one may not entirely exclude the hypothesis that various influences were conveyed from one population to another in the funerary field. A unity element facilitating such changes is that of the funerary rite, both Celts and Thracians

⁴⁷ Ghetov 1980, 97-123.

⁴⁸ Dio Cass. LI, 23-25.

⁴⁹ Babeş 1993, 128-154.

⁵⁰ Crişan 1966, 75-84; Zirra 1975, 47-63.

⁵¹ Filip 1961; Stahli 1977; Waldhauser 1979, 117-156; Szabó 1988; Drda, Rybova 1995; Sankot 2007, 111-120.

⁵² Wilson 1981, 127-169; Baray 2004; Barral 2011.

⁵³ Kruta 2000; Haselgrove 2006; Buchschenschutz 2007.

⁵⁴ Rapin 2004, 21-36.

cremating themselves by the end of the Late Iron Age. There is no identical funerary rite, the Celts preferring pit cremations, while the Thracians the urn cremations. How the Celts adopted cremation is a phenomenon not entirely known. The causes of the dominant rite change, from inhumation to cremation, were of either domestic nature, specific to the Celtic world, or subsequent to influences coming from the outside⁵⁵. It is possible that behind these external influences stood precisely Thracian origin populations, practicing cremation during Early Iron Age. The Celts entered in contact with the Thracians in the 5th century BC or in the 4th century BC in both the centre as well as the east of Europe. The first to adopt cremation at large scale are precisely the Celts in these contact areas, in the 4th–3rd centuries BC⁵⁶.

One may not exclude either the hypothesis of a phenomenon of Mediterranean influence, from the Greek-Roman world. The Greek influence of the 5th–3rd centuries BC was consistent in both the Celtic⁵⁷ and the Thracian⁵⁸ worlds. The funerary beliefs of the Greeks were dominated by cremation, funerary practices which resulted in the “disappearance” of the proper graves⁵⁹ being also recorded. Such funerary practices may have well diffused from the Greek world into the Celtic or Thracian worlds. In what the Romans are concerned, they themselves adopted the cremation rite late, during the 2nd–1st centuries BC⁶⁰. The rite shift is part of a more extensive process occurring in the Italian peninsula once with the 3rd century BC, generalising as well with populations outside the Etruscan or Latin worlds, like with the Ligurii⁶¹, Venetii⁶² or the Celts⁶³ there.

Peculiar and general

The disappearance from the archaeological landscape of the traditional cremation graves is a phenomenon especially visible during the period of the Dacian Kingdom. The lack of funerary finds may be the result of a peculiar situation of the archaeological research focused almost exclusively on habitat and fortifications. However, the graves’ disappearance is more likely the result of a real historical phenomenon occurring in the Carpatho-Danubian area, caused by a radical change of the funerary beliefs. Such change might have entailed the special handling of the cremation remains, which is not easily identified archaeologically. In the current state of the archaeological research, it is hard to establish if this was a local phenomenon, limited to the Thracian populations by the Danube and the Carpathians, or if it was part of a general phenomenon, which included several populations of the Antiquity in the European area.

⁵⁵ Brunaux 1996, 21.

⁵⁶ Kruta 2000, 679.

⁵⁷ Ellis 1997; Roure 2007.

⁵⁸ Glodariu 1974; Ruscu 2002.

⁵⁹ Kurtz, Boardman 1971; Morris 1992.

⁶⁰ Toynbee 1996.

⁶¹ De Marinis, Spadea 2004.

⁶² Capuis 1993.

⁶³ Kruta, Manfredi 2000.

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THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CADASTER OF APAHIDA (CLUJ COUNTY)*

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Abstract: Archaeological sites are impossible to be protected unless their precise location is known. In the recent years, the number of published archaeological repertories, characterised overall, by the same inaccurate data as in the past, increased. Thus, the location area of the archaeological sites is only briefly described, occasionally by even preserving the ancient toponyms. Our attempt herein is to locate and briefly analyse the archaeological sites in an extensively populated area of Cluj county, by providing an as much as accurate topographical location where these sites could be identified in the field, based on previous bibliography and non-invasive methods.

Keywords: Archaeological cadaster; Archaeological repertory; *villae rusticae*.

Abstract: Siturile arheologice nu pot fi protejate dacă nu li se cunoaște localizarea precisă. În ultimii ani au fost publicate tot mai frecvent repertorii arheologice, caracterizate în general de aceleași date imprecise ca și în trecut. Localizările siturilor arheologice constau în descrieri succinte ale zonei, uneori chiar cu păstrarea vechilor toponime. De aceea, facem aici o încercare de localizare și scurtă analiză a siturilor arheologice dintr-o zonă intens populată din județul Cluj, oferind o localizare topografică cât mai exactă, acolo unde aceste situri au putut fi identificate pe teren, pe baza bibliografiei mai vechi și a metodelor non-invazive.

Cuvinte cheie: cadastru arheologic; repertoriu arheologic; *villae rusticae*.

The issue of high quality archaeological repertories became increasingly topical and stringent in the recent years. More and more administrative-territorial units update their general/zonal urban plans, studies of historical and archaeological fundaments becoming integral parts and mandatory. This process entails the record of all reported archaeological finds and sites, their description and, most importantly, their most accurate topographical location, according to Stereo 70 coordinates, as well as the establishment of protection areas. The latter, most expensive, is in fact key for the effective protection of the Romanian archaeological heritage, and why not, a first step for normality thereby.

The two authors have completed, within a project financed by the Ministry of Culture, a modern archaeological repertory, according to the most recent standards in the field, for the entire metropolitan area of Cluj-Napoca¹. Although the metropolitan area is still in the project phase, the information collected thereof is of real importance and worth disseminating in the scientific environment.

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¹ "Cadastrul arheologic al Clujului" ("The Archaeological Cadaster of Cluj") - AFCN, I/2011.

Thus, possibly the richest commune in the neighbourhood of Cluj city from the view of the archaeological heritage is Apahida, for this reason the authors deciding to develop the repertory and its broad presentation herein. Besides, “Repertoriul Arheologic al județului Cluj” (“The Archaeological Repertory of Cluj county”), published in 1992, one of the most complex catalogue of sites, is obsolete from many points of view, for instance, many of the most important archaeological sites being erroneously mapped.

The area around Cluj city and implicitly the territory of Apahida commune was inhabited as early as the Middle Palaeolithic (120000–80000 BC). To the Neolithic belong the first archaeological finds within the range of the commune territory, among which at least three were large-sized settlements. Inhabitanacy continues in the area also during the Bronze Age, when settlements are reported on higher grounds than previously. The finds at Apahida, dating back to this period, radically contributed to the research of the Bronze Age. The first Iron Age is also recorded by cemeteries, while during the La Tène period it is noted, like in almost entire Transylvania, that the Dacians lived alongside the Celts. The latter are recorded by at least two important cremation cemeteries and high value finds. The Dacians are recorded by a settlement at Dezmir, but also by several pottery fragments identified in the territory of Apahida village.

In the Roman era, the area was for the first time urbanized. Assuming that Apahida was part of the territory of the Roman town of Napoca, it followed a typical Roman rural development. This is recorded by the impressive number, at least eight rural *villae*, discovered within the commune area. In addition, epigraphic monuments and even coin hoards have been also found. Finds of the type are abundant in all the villages of the commune territory, which is indicative of the area use for farming purposes, since 2000 years ago. The current territory of the commune is crossed by at least two Roman roads, of which one, highly important, although of secondary rank, connected the town of Napoca to the northern area of the province, towards Dej city and *Samum*-Cășeu. Another branch of the Roman imperial road seems to have been detached from the area of Gheorgheni village, ensuring a bypass east the Roman city, of economic and strategic importance, reaching Sânnicoară area.

During the migrations, Apahida was, in the light of the archaeological heritage, an important Barbarian power centre. This is fully proven by the three “chieftains” graves identified on the territory of Apahida village. All three, with a rich and highly valuable inventory, record the presence of the German military chieftains, Christianised and officially amicable with the Eastern Roman Empire. At a later date, the territory would be inhabited by the Slavs, and then incorporated in Gelou’s chiefdom, while in the 13th century it was included in the medieval socio-economic system, with the first written records of the villages in the area.

In the 13th century (1263), emerges the village *Apathyda*, as important crossing site of Someș river, over a bridge, pertaining to a Benedictine monastery in Cluj city area². In the same period still, also emerge four of the adjacent villages, Pata, Dezmir, Sânnicoară and Corpadea. During the Middle Ages, Apahida became, from

² See for a brief history of Apahida Cinezan 2008, *passim*.

the property of the abbacy in Cluj, the feudal domain of several families, or even, partially, of the city of Cluj. Its population was involved in the majority of significant events of the period and was constantly active socially and economically. Within the commune territory are established or discontinued a series of settlements. The area has an important farming role, with fertile lands, as well as a trading role, being located in a customs area.

During the Austrian control of Transylvania, Apahida is present, by the involvement of its Romanian natives, in both the uprising of 1711, as well as especially the Revolution of 1848. Later, a turning point in the area development is the commissioning of the railway, in 1869–1871, which resulted in a substantial economic boost of the entire region. The national feeling would be emphasized towards the end of the 19th century, when Apahida is represented even in the “Memorandum” Movement. During WWI, the Romanian inhabitants were forced to fight for the Empire. After the Union with Romania, the agrarian reform gave land propriety rights, for the first time after almost 1000 years, to a large part of the Romanian natives. During WWII, Apahida was included in the territories lost by the Vienna Award, however, when the war ended, due to its strategic position, it played a key role in freeing northern Transylvania from under the Hungarian control.

The most important reliable source, sometimes the only source, when reconstructing the archaeological layout and sites in Apahida commune was the “Repertoriul Arheologic al județului Cluj” (“The Archaeological Repertory of Cluj County”). Identifying the archaeological sites recorded therein was extremely difficult, since most often text descriptions were not mirrored by either the realities in the field or the mapped places. We complied with the numbering in the Repertory, where the archaeological finds within the range of Apahida commune are described, with the eponymous village Câmpenești, Corpadea, Dezmir, Pata and Sânnicoară. We preserved the descriptions in the Repertory, even though sometime the locations are imprecise, cleared them by ST 70 coordinates, quoted in text and mentioned in the field notebook. All points were determined in the field, subsequent to a field walk, with a few exceptions mentioned in the text.

Some points are known with unclear location data, others are described by only Hungarian authors in publications by the end of the 19th century – early 20th century. This is the case of the Roman farms, the largest known in the area, which were unknown in the field: see the case of those at Tarcea Mică or south Sânnicoară village.

Apahida

1. In an unknown location, east the main road, was discovered an obsidian fragment, as described in “Repertoriul Arheologic al județului Cluj”, number 1 (GPS 7)³.

2. Similarly to no. 1, we find from “Repertoriul Arheologic al județului Cluj” that in the east of the commune, in a garden, was found a silex scraper dated to the Neolithic (GPS 8)⁴.

³ Orosz 1902, 404 and Roska 1942, no. 92 are quoted, however without further clarification.

⁴ Orosz 1902, 404; Roska 1942, no. 92.

3. Similarly, with a clearer note, yet unidentified in the field, somewhere in a garden, “La Gârlă”, was found a silex chip, also from the Neolithic (?) (GPS 13)⁵.

4. The “Repertoriul Arheologic al județului Cluj” mentions Fața Merezii, south-east the commune, there being noted a few pieces of burnt adobe, potshards, bones, silexes, however the period is impossible to specify.

5. In the area of Tăul Cocor (Cocor Pond) (or Tăul Maer/Maer Pond), located near the road from Apahida to Mociu, east of it, were identified several prehistoric pottery fragments, half a Dacite axe with cross hole and an obsidian chip⁶.

6. Similarly to no. 5, somewhere on the hill, were discovered an obsidian chip and a chalcedony scraper, likely still Neolithic⁷.

7. Near the old train station in the village, where the railway intersects the communal road leading to Jucu, is the place where the “Repertoriul Arheologic al județului Cluj” records pottery fragments, an obsidian chip, a stone tool tip, likely Neolithic, yet also Roman objects. There is also mentioned a Sarmatian mirror dated to the 3rd century AD (GPS 45)⁸.

8. In the valley of Tarcea stream are reported traces of a prehistoric settlement, on whose surface, on a length of 300 m, were identified pottery fragments, quartz chips, fragments of primitive grinders, animal bones, shells dating most likely to the Neolithic⁹. This is probably the plateau north the current bypass of Apahida village, nearby the stone quarry, practically in front the place where the stream flows into Valea Caldă creek. There were identified many prehistoric pottery fragments, likely Neolithic (GPS 121).

9. In the area termed the Promontoriul de la Stăvilă, which we could not identify in the field, are recorded two complete grinders, a grinding stone and prehistoric pottery fragments¹⁰.

10. East the village, in the place named Contenit, were identified in the field left the Câmpiei road (by boundary stone 17.2) an obsidian chip, a silex knife and adobe pieces. There were also found a lid and a small vessel with projections and belts, likely Neolithic¹¹. Contenit is the name of the area east the Chibaia plateau, on Pădurița hill, near the *villa rustica* researched in the 80'ies, at approximately 400 m altitude (GPS 47). In fact, they may likely come from the settlement mentioned at no. 12; it is more clearly specified that the traces (scrapers, cores, blades etc.) were discovered on Chibaia plateau, beside Roman pottery fragments, hence the two locations could be identical or overlapping.

11. The clay-made Neolithic cup found nearby a sand quarry¹² most likely comes from by the base of Chibaia plateau, being, we believe, in a secondary position, fallen from the plateau. In the area of this sand quarry were identified most of the prehistoric

⁵ Orosz 1902, 404; Roska 1942, no. 92.

⁶ Orosz 1902, 403; Orosz 1905, 305–306; Roska 1934, 18; Roska 1942, no. 92.

⁷ Orosz 1902, 404; Roska 1942, no. 92.

⁸ Orosz 1902, 402.

⁹ Orosz 1902, 405; Roska 1942, no. 92; RepCluj, no. 8, 29.

¹⁰ Idem, no. 7.

¹¹ Orosz 1902, 403–404; Orosz 1905, 305–306; Roska 1934, 151; Roska 1942, no. 92.

¹² RepCluj, no. 11, 29.

traces, yet the Neolithic settlement from where it came is most likely the one described above at no. 10 (GPS 46).

12. Still on Chibaia plateau we also identified in the field prehistoric pottery fragments, beside those of Roman origin¹³. The prehistoric settlement must have spread indeed eastwards, to the Contenit (GPS 47)¹⁴.

13. The position where the Bronze Age pottery fragments were identified on the south and south-west banks of Cocor pond (Tăul Maer/Maer pond) was approximately established (GPS 89). There lies indeed a terrace suitable for habitation. Since the land was not farmed, we could not identify pottery fragments¹⁵.

14. Similarly to number 13, yet north the mentioned pond, were also found other pottery fragments dated to the Bronze Age (GPS 87)¹⁶.

15. In the place named Malul Gârlei, by km 14.80 of the national road, was found a bronze link with four edges, likely dating to the Bronze Age (GPS 14)¹⁷.

16. On the right bank of Someșul Mic river is recorded a settlement dated most likely to the Bronze Age, being found clay weights, potshards and red deer horns¹⁸ (GPS 11-12). The area is partially damaged by houses and especially by some large halls. We had no access behind them, eastwards, in order to more precisely identify the location.

17. Still to the Bronze Age belongs a stone link found in the schoolyard (GPS 5)¹⁹. It could not be identified in the field.

18. In the area of the so-called Loc al Expoziției were found adobe traces with post prints, dated to the Neolithic²⁰. In the mentioned area, where street Pietroasa from Apahida turns, heading towards SW, have been and are still being built blocks of flats. We could not identify anything in either the farmed land or in the 2 m deep holes made for the supporting pillars of a future block of flats (GPS 85).

19. In Râțul Satului, NE the commune, yet on the hill, E. Orosz had identified in 1896 traces of a Bronze Age settlement, finding stone and bone objects belonging to Sighișoara-Wietenberg culture. Later, once the stone quarry was opened, bronze objects were also found, dating to the end of the Bronze Age: a celt, sickle fragments, a chisel and a pin with projections. In the area were also found pottery fragments dating to the La Tène period²¹ (GPS 36-37-38-39-40-41-42). We delimited by GPS an area where we also identified pottery fragments in the farmed land, the area being yet broader, extending to the Celtic cemetery described at no. 21 and the sand quarry east Apahida train station, in the area of point GPS 46. In "Repertoriul arheologic al județului Cluj" the area is mentioned as identical with numbers/points 22, 25, 27, 36. E. Orosz establishes the stretch of this perimeter as from the area of a spring, most likely the one still

¹³ See also Ferenczi 1962, 2, 48, 54.

¹⁴ Vide supra, no. 10.

¹⁵ Orosz 1902, 403; Roska 1942, no. 92.

¹⁶ Orosz 1903, 91; Ferenczi 1962, 48, 54.

¹⁷ E. Orosz collection (MNIT).

¹⁸ RepCluj, no. 16, 30; Orosz 1902, 404-405; Roska 1942, no. 92.

¹⁹ Orosz 1902, 404-405; Roska 1942, no. 92; E. Orosz collection (MNIT).

²⁰ Banner 1943, 3, 17; RepCluj, no. 18, 30.

²¹ Orosz 1908, 179; Roska 1934, 151; Popescu 1944, 104; Horedt 1960, 110, no. 5; Crișan 1961, 147; Soroceanu 1973, 498.

preserving nowadays, near the former gravel quarry, 168 m towards N-NE and 250 m towards W-NW, past the road to Jucu, up to the Pădurița hill base²². In E. Orosz's description, nonetheless, the settlement seems to extend, south the spring, in the area where today lie houses, however we highlighted in plan especially the area N-NW this spring, where pottery fragments similar to those described by E. Orosz emerge. The area delimited in this fashion, seems similar to that described by the author in 1908, hence it is possible it had also been the area described above. The finds are similar and are found in the same area as described at number 22 and partially 21.

20. 30 m NW from the junction between the road leading from Apahida to Gherla and to Mociu were identified several pottery fragments dating to the Neolithic (Iclod group), the Bronze Age (Sighișoara-Wietenberg culture), the Roman Empire and to the 4th-5th centuries AD. We could not identify in the field the place, as most likely, more recent houses being built there. Nevertheless, the material seems to have been found in secondary position (GPS 2)²³.

21. Some of the most important finds in Apahida lay along the railway, between the km milestones 3 and 3.1, west the junction between the railway and the road leading to Jucu, near and partially overlapping number 19. There were identified Bronze Age pottery fragments (Sighișoara-Wietenberg culture) and Celtic cremation graves dating to the La Tène. I. Kovács²⁴ carried out archaeological excavations in 1900. Their traces are seen in the field even today. Furthermore, the farming land contains many pottery fragments with projections, belts in relief, incisions or alveoli, similar to those found in previous excavations²⁵. Once the railway was reinforced, there were also identified Roman pottery fragments, bronze items, and a 14 cm-long bronze celt, with scabbard and attachment orifices²⁶. Not many inhabitancy traces could be found, with only a fireplace being identified. According to E. Orosz, the features are specific to certain prehistoric pottery fragments found in the area, yet possibly belonging to the settlement mentioned at no. 19, being similar to those of Petriș culture from Gherla, resembling some pottery fragments discovered in the caves of Cheile Turzii²⁷. The Celtic cemetery is the largest from Transylvania²⁸, with over 50 cremation graves and some inhumation graves investigated. The graves were richly furnished, among the military equipment items counting a bronze helmet plated in golden leaf²⁹. Many animal bones, bone objects, a prism-shaped piercer and a bronze chisel were also discovered. Pottery fragments dating to the first Iron Age also surfaced: wares with grooves³⁰, cattle humeral bones used to decorate pots

²² Orosz 1908, 172.

²³ RepCluj, no. 20, 30; information R. Ardevan.

²⁴ Kovács 1911, 1-69.

²⁵ Former E. Orosz collection, today housed with the National History Museum of Transylvania (inv. nos. 3149, 3154, 3173, 3179, 3181, 3221, 3228, 3239, 3241, 3270, 3312, 3339, 3345, 3360, 3385, 3390-3391, 3394, 3400, 3466, 3507, 3567-3568, 3663, 3665, 3670-3671, 3674-3675, 3679-3681, 3724, 3729, 3770).

²⁶ They were yet found east the railway, in the stone removal pit, see Orosz 1908, 173.

²⁷ Orosz 1908, 179.

²⁸ See also Pârvan 1926, 372.

²⁹ Orosz 1908, *passim*; Crișan 1973, 51; Daicoviciu, Vlassa 1974, 12.

³⁰ Possibly, to this settlement belongs the funerary urn mentioned by G. Finály as having been found near the train station, on the way to Jucu (see Finály 1898, 429).

and a few small iron objects. In terms of the graves' inventories, it is noted the deposition of the cremated bones directly on the ground³¹, with pots, animal bones and various metal objects, all with burning prints, placed around. The pottery consists of wheel-thrown pots, dark-grey, occasionally orange. The most encountered shapes are the biconical pots without handles, the short terrines and the simple bowls. The rims are always reverted and thickened with a cylindrical ring. The decoration consists of alternate horizontal areas either polished or dull, one horizontal strip in relief on the shoulder, polished zigzags and small series of imprinted concentric circles. The larger vessels contained food remains: swine and chicken bones. One grave contained also a wild boar skull. The metal objects are either iron or bronze made. Several tools and weapons were found. Amongst count an iron sword with scabbard, arrow and spearheads, shield enarmes and a boss. Most of the metal objects identified are jewellery³². Hence, the graves are dated between phases C and D of the La Tène period, suggesting the existence there of a Celtic warlike population arrived there from Western Europe. We also examined 5 surfaces covered with river stones, interpreted as stakes.

22. Equivalent to nos. 19 and 21.

23. Still in Chibaia area, on the plateau over Râtul Satului, similarly to nos. 10, 11 and 12, yet this time, described as dating to the Hallstatt was discovered a biconical urn containing charred bones³³.

24. On the extension of hill Ciuha (*sic!*) are mentioned in "Repertoriul Arheologic al județului Cluj" "on the lowest lands, prehistoric potshards and bone chips"³⁴. This is likely the area from the south, south-west the station in Apahida, which is though not identical with Ciuha hill, spreading nearby Dezmir, being similar to no. 3 described, most likely erroneously, among the finds at Dezmir³⁵.

25. Similar to nos. 19, 21, 22, 25, 27, 36 (GPS 44).

26. Similar to no. 24.

27. Similar to nos. 19, 21, 22, 25, 36 (GPS 46).

28. Another "primitive settlement" is recorded south "Cotitura Someșului" hill, without further notes³⁶. We could not identify it in the field, however it is likely identical with no. 8. Towards NE this place, Someș river makes a broader bend, the hill from the west being likely identified with the hill named as such in the Repertory. Currently, from there is removed the filling earth for the construction of the commune bypass.

29. Between the city hall and the synagogue, in the gardens left to the road, were identified prehistoric objects and a pair of golden earrings³⁷. We determined by coordinates an area nearby the houses on the left side of the road, the accurate location of the find being likely the area of the gardens behind these houses (GPS 9-10).

³¹ Information J. Nagy.

³² See RepCluj, no. 31.

³³ Orosz collection (MNIT).

³⁴ RepCluj, no. 24.

³⁵ Ferenczi 1962, 46-47, 54.

³⁶ Orosz 1901, 26; RepCluj, no. 28.

³⁷ Orosz 1902, 404; place named in RepCluj, no. 29 Retegan, however unidentified in the field today.

30. By the junction between the road from Apahida to Gherla and that to Mociu, in the area where also Omharus's grave was discovered (no. 42), we identified a foot fragment of a hand-made vessel, likely similar to those Neolithic described at no. 20 (GPS 1).

31. South the previous centre of the village, on the "După deal la Tău" plateau were discovered building remains, stamped bricks, pottery fragments, Roman tiles and an altar dedicated to Dis Pater and Proserpina (CIL III 7656)³⁸. Likely, the location is on the plateau spreading SW the Tăul Cocor (Maier) (Cocor pond), where building traces may be clearly distinguished, even though the most recent developments seem to have been made for a WWII battery, the highest point being the proper place strategically. Still somewhere south the village was also found the coin hoard described below at no. 40 (GPS 124).

32. In the place Cocor are mentioned, as having been found in the excavations, wall foundations, red and grey pottery fragments, lamp fragments and a bronze coin from Hadrian³⁹. It is likely that the point is similar to nos. 33 and 34 (GPS 114–118).

33. At this number in "Repertoriul Arheologic al județului Cluj" are mentioned Roman pottery fragments found in a caved-in well, located to the right of the road climbing between Cocor, Darvaș and Pădurița. The position of the three hills is rather interesting. The first two seem to be in fact the same hill, the name of Cocor being the approximate translation of the Hungarian word *daru* or plural *daruk*, from where the Romanian natives supposed that the name Daravas would come, transliterated though in Romanian and well known to the Apahida inhabitants as the Darvaș hill. Therefore, it is made reference to the road climbing originally between Pădurița hill to the north and Darvaș hill to the south, turning when reaching a plateau to the right (southwards) only to intersect the main road leading from Apahida to Mociu. Somewhere midway the road crossing the plateau from north to south, near a water storage basin, there are noticeable slight field bumps and Roman pottery fragments. Since the land was farmed in the spring of 2010, when the field survey was carried out, other traces could not be found. In the grass we identified what seems to be a rudimentary column base or a supporting post (GPS 114–118).

34. Still, between the three (*sic!*) hills mentioned at no. 33 were identified *terra sigillata* fragments and adobe pieces. G. Finály identifies the building on the Hungarian military maps of the 19th century: "Daravas 382" and "Padurita 405", which were not available to us, concluding it is a Roman signal tower, the building being located in a high area from which you can see up to Cluj, at a distance of 14 km⁴⁰. The wall length between points A and B, marked on his plan as fig. II, is 5.93 m long and 0.68 m wide, resulting a building of 6.66 × 5.93 m measured from outside the walls⁴¹, another argument to identify the structure as signal tower. Nevertheless, among the discovered objects there are no pieces of military equipment⁴². The walls are made of local

³⁸ Torma 1880, 18; Finály 1898, 427–428; RepCluj, no. 31.

³⁹ Finály 1901, 239–242; Ferenczi 1924, 271.

⁴⁰ Finály 1898, 429–430; Finály 1901, 239–240, Fig. I.

⁴¹ Finály 1901, 239–240, Fig. 2.

⁴² Cf. Finály 1901, 240.

tuff, also used for the carts road⁴³. In the material yielded counts a coin dated under Hadrian. The place is marked on our maps with a non-hatched red circle, at 185 m NW the GPS points 114–118, where we identified in the field also pottery fragments and the mentioned column base.

35. The Roman building identified at ca. 170 m N-NW the building found at no. 34 was shown to G. Finály by the village teacher E. Orosz⁴⁴. The building lies this time on hill Pădurița, near Chibaia plateau, to the left of the boundary road climbing onto the hill finally reaching Jucu (GPS 48–56, 57, 59–66). The building was firstly researched by G. Téglás around 1900 and later, in the 80'ies, by R. Ardevan. The building wall is ca. 0.75 m thick and its total surface is of 20.95×10.15 m⁴⁵. The structure is divided into two by a transversal wall, forming two compartments of 9.60×4.20 m (SW), respectively 9.60×4.60 , the one from NE. The building material is very rich, the wall base being identified at 1.40 m from the surface level preserving five stone rows, the wall being 130 m high⁴⁶. In the excavation were discovered also many bipedal bricks and even of *suspensura*⁴⁷. As resulting from the field walk of 1988, the Roman inhabitancy stretches all over the plateau on a surface of ca. 100–150 mp. In the field, where the Roman building was located, a rich material consisting of pottery fragments and Roman tiles may be collected. Humps may be noticed, which may though come from the removal pits of the gravel or sand, including on the southern slope, between the GPS points 48–56. In the eastern part, in the field we found Roman pottery fragments until the GPS point 47, hence on a length of almost 650 m.

36. Similarly with nos. 19, 21, 22, 25, 27 (GPS 43–44). We do not know if the pottery fragments discovered in 1896 are Roman, yet given their inclusion in the “Repertoriul Arheologic al județului Cluj”, no. 36, among the Roman period finds, we are tempted to agree they are. In addition, even though the position is similar with the points discovered above, the fragments were identified on the hill, respectively on Chibaia (Pădurița), namely where the Roman settlement at no. 35 was identified.

37. A *villa rustica* is mentioned also within the boundary Fillereș, archaeologically investigated by M. Roska, wares and metal objects being discovered (National History Museum of Transylvania, inventory nos.: 1347–1516). The place can no longer be identified, not being specified on any older available map, being novel to all the elder inhabitants we asked. It is most likely confusion, being in fact, one of the mapped *villae*.

38. Mostly difficult to identify in the field was the *villa rustica* at Tarcea Mică. Its accurate location was never checked in the field, being quite obvious it lies north the village⁴⁸, somewhere near Someș river, approximately in the area of the current bypass. It was rightfully located in that area, without yet being checked in the field, since

⁴³ E. Orosz identifies the walls down to 2 m in depth with a 1.5 m thick wall, then argues in favour of an existent Roman well, containing Roman amphora and tile fragments in the filling (cf. Orosz 1913, 77).

⁴⁴ Finály 1901, 242.

⁴⁵ Finály 1901, 242.

⁴⁶ The owner by early the 20th century, Bács Dumitru, carried stone constantly from there to his house, G. Finály thus learning that much stone was carried from there for the future national road Cluj-Gherla (cf. Finály 1901, 244).

⁴⁷ Nonetheless, the author argued the floor was clay-made (cf. Finály 1901, 244).

⁴⁸ RepCluj, no. 38.

Á. Buday's description, the author of the archaeological excavations by early 20th century, fitted with the area. We shall briefly resume below the description that Á. Buday made. The author maintains that while crossing the village along the national road, one must follow a country road leading to the so-called Királyrét⁴⁹, today identified, likely, with Dâmbul lui Crai, located near the Avicola farms. From there, if following the described road, one reaches the flow into Someș river of a small valley today called Valea Caldă, very close to the current bypass. Since Á. Buday goes on describing that from Királyrét one reaches a valley called Fejérdi patak⁵⁰, it was understood that it was the area where the *villa* was discovered. Still, we could not identify it in the field. It suited neither the 1: 960 map, copied after the Hungarian military maps provided by Á. Buday⁵¹, where it may be seen that in Fejérdi patak flew from the south a stream based on which the *villa* was located. The images that Á. Buday provided within the article are neither suitable. The Roman building is thus located at 150–200 steps from a well, across the river⁵². In the field we could not identify anywhere a stream flowing from the south into Valea Caldă, it being the only oriented east-west as recorded on the 1913 map Fejérdi patak. We were also misled by the original description that Á. Buday made, alike the rest of the archaeologists, however in the end we noticed that another valley flowing from the west lies northwards, past the area named Tarcea, north the place where the Austrian map mentions Kis Tarcsa (Tarcea Mică), respectively in the Feiurd valley, undoubtedly the true Fejérdi patak. This is the valley which forms the current lakes at Câmpenești, village established only the beginning of the 20th century, hence impossible to mention by Á. Buday in 1913. There, in the valley of a stream flowing into Feiurd valley, we identified that so-called *villa rustica* at Tarcea Mică. The 1: 960 Hungarian map complied with the realities in the field, except the fact that Feiurd valley was marked southwards, due to the resulted lakes. The well described in 1913 exists even today, and, indeed, at ca. 30 m from it, across the stream, one may note in the field the ruins of the Roman construction, many pottery fragments and Roman bricks and tiles. By the start of the 20th century were identified and archaeologically investigated two buildings, a main building and an extension. The main building, lying most likely near the river, is oriented according to the cardinals, being sized 21.80 × 22.60 m, has two apses, one on the western side and the other on the eastern side⁵³. The building walls were well built, surviving on a considerable height. It was divided in approximately 10 compartments, two of which being equipped with *hypocaustum*. The second building was most likely used as an extension and had no divisions. Many objects were found, from pottery fragments to architectonical elements and a few coins dated to the first half of the 3rd century AD (GPS 122–123)⁵⁴.

39. The Roman road was still visible by the end of the 20th century to the left of Someș river⁵⁵. Nonetheless, the majority of Roman finds are on the hills to the right of

⁴⁹ Buday 1913, 128, 130.

⁵⁰ Buday 1913, 130.

⁵¹ Buday 1913, Fig. 1.

⁵² Buday 1913, 130–131.

⁵³ The building was reused in the 17th–18th centuries (cf. Buday 1913, 131–132, Fig. 2).

⁵⁴ See Buday 1913, *passim*.

⁵⁵ Finály 1898, 427.

Someş river, hence it is possible that the road headed to Jucu on the right side, possibly precisely where the current commune road is nowadays. Geomorphologically, this would be the most suitable position, the Someş river meadows being floodable⁵⁶. In fact, the road is mentioned also on the Austrian map parallel to the national road, yet always on the right side of Someş river, through Jucu, Bonţida, to Iclozel, where it was identified in the field, in the same location as in Apahida, on the right side of Someşul Mic river, on the first terrace of Someş river (near GPS 43)⁵⁷.

40. In the area of Cocor Pond (Maer Pond), on the pastureland, was discovered by chance, in 1987 a Roman coin hoard composed of 1068 coins. The evaluation trenches and field walks in the area led to the discovery of many pottery fragments, evidencing Roman inhabitancy (area of point GPS 89)⁵⁸.

41. In 1889, on a side road of the village, in a gravel pit, near the commune cemetery was discovered an inhumation grave with a very rich inventory⁵⁹. It is difficult to locate, yet it is likely the area of the garages south the current park behind the school. There, say the natives, there was a large pit, which might have been the older gravel pit. G. Finály argues also, that the inventory was found by the SE edge of the cemetery, thus concluding that the find was not *in situ*⁶⁰. The author had researched the area, however found nothing on a 10–20 m radius, the inventory being found among the stones, likely carried from 200–250 m eastwards⁶¹. The inventory consisted of a headknob brooch, of a late type, two buckles with almandine inlays, a massive bracelet with thickened ends, a ring with a cross and inscription *Omharus*, another ring with cross and monogram and another with four incised crosses, six prism pendants, of which hung five twisted necklaces, a triangular adornment piece with inlays, various golden leafs likely applied on clothing, two silver cups whose walls are decorated with Bacchic scenes and vegetal ornaments, two silver pendants, a bronze buckle and ring. The grave is dated to the second half of the 5th century (GPS 83–84).

42. By the junction of the roads leading to Gherla with that to Mociu, in the former point of traffic control, was discovered in 1968 a quantity of 900 g gold⁶². The inhumation grave researched in the following year had a very rich inventory. The dead, almost 2 m tall, was oriented towards the west and placed in a timber coffin. The single side preserved *in situ* was the lower part, there being identified ca. 2 kg golden jewellery embellished with almandines: buckles, appliques, rosettes, two large appliques in the shape of an eagle from the saddle, tubes, globes etc. There were also identified other harness pieces of silver and iron, among which a *spatha* placed near the left leg, a glass vessel, fragments of a bronze vessel, bit pieces, a spear heel covered in golden leaf. The grave dates, alike that of *Omharus*, to the second half of the 5th century AD (GPS 1).

⁵⁶ Information D. Ursuţ.

⁵⁷ See Ursuţ 2008, 98.

⁵⁸ In RepCluj, no. 40, is mentioned Mărăloiu valley as landmark and the I.A.S. orchard fence, although in the field the place does not seem to correspond.

⁵⁹ Finály 1898, 305–320; Hampel 1897, 278; Hampel 1905, I, 58; Hampel 1905, II, 39–43; Hampel 1905, III, Pls. 32–36, 45; Horedt 1956, 140–141; Werner 1968, 120–123.

⁶⁰ Finály 1898, 428.

⁶¹ Without further specifications (cf. Finály 1898, 429).

⁶² Horedt, Protase 1970, no. 111; Protase 1972, 163–176.

43. The third grave dated to the same period was found in 1978 below the current post office⁶³. The single inventory piece preserved was a golden buckle decorated with almandines (GPS 6).

44. A high mound still un-researched is reported somewhere near the Avicola farm, between Someș river and Eleveghiu (?) (GPS 13)⁶⁴. Its location is though uncertain, the place being likely somewhere between Someș river and the current bypass, in the area called by I. Ferenczi - Eleveghiu or Elővölgy, an area beyond Tarcea.

45. In other points unidentified on the commune territory are also reported under this number in "Repertoriul arheologic al județului Cluj" the following: an obsidian core, pottery fragments of the Noua culture, vessels with handles and knobs of the Bronze Age or early Iron Age, cremation graves in urn belonging to Sighișoara-Wietenberg culture and others dated to the Hallstatt, two Dacian pots⁶⁵, three handmade vessels, an orange vessel of Celtic origin, a Celtic bronze helmet fragments of Dacian pottery, a bronze coin from Antoninus Pius, a denarius from Septimius Severus, one from Iulia Domna, another bronze coin from Gordian III, a bronze returned foot brooch, a vessel with polished decoration dated to the 5th century and Paleo-Christian objects (?)⁶⁶.

Câmpenești

1. At point Ambraveghi, located on the left bank of Feiurd valley, in 1988, when the country road was made, there were identified pottery fragments dating from the first Iron Age (GPS 15). We established the coordinates on the route of the country road, and identified no archaeological material.

2. At point Măgheruș, west the village, there are five un-researched tumuli (GPS 17-35). In the field, there may be identified a group of projections on a headland in place Măgheruș, yet it yielded no archaeological material.

Corpadea

1. In the place called Ciungui (likely Ciungu), I. Kovács found in 1901, eight pits, of which seven ellipsoidal and one round, apparently houses, although the sizes are too small. The found pottery belongs to the Bronze Age, namely the cultures Coțofeni and Sighișoara-Wietenberg. Based on these excavations, M. Roska used in his works, the names of Corpadea I for Coțofeni and Corpadea II for Sighișoara-Wietenberg (GPS 90-105)⁶⁷. We identified in the field prehistoric and Roman pottery and traces of ruins/pits on the neighbouring headland, yet no archaeological material.

2. In the village there was found a bronze celt from the early Bronze Age (GPS 106). The single guidance was the map provided by "Repertoriul arheologic al județului Cluj".

⁶³ Matei 1982, 387-392.

⁶⁴ Ferenczi 1962, 17.

⁶⁵ Housed with the Museum of Aiud (inv. nos. 4865-4866).

⁶⁶ See RepCluj, note 45.

⁶⁷ Kovács 1913, 1-17; Roska 1942, 132, no. 227, Horedt 1960, 111.

3. Within the village is recorded, without any topographical specifications, a brooch⁶⁸.

4. From other unspecified places come: small vessel-melting pot of Gheja-Bodrogkeresztúr culture, Neolithic, Bronze and Hallstatt pottery, two Eneolithic stone axes and one of bronze, a glass bead⁶⁹.

5. Roman materials: bronze objects, iron knives, iron link, clay lamp, human face antefix, small jug, likely from a civil settlement (GPS 107)⁷⁰. For the lack of further details we followed the “Repertoriul arheologic al județului Cluj”. It could be a *villa rustica*, F. Fodorean supposing that it is in the place where the secondary road Apahida-Reghin⁷¹ crosses, yet this seems difficult to prove in the field due to the relief.

Dezmir

1. In the place named Casele Popii there were found a silex scraper and a horn chip from the Neolithic⁷².

2. On an elevation named La Butiu there lies an Eneolithic settlement⁷³. It is likely the same with that at Tăușor (no. 4).

3. In the place named Ciuha, a hilltop SW the Apahida station, ca. 900 m, in the farmed land, there emerged the traces of 6-7 houses with many adobe pieces, wattle and Coțofeni pottery from the transition period to the Bronze Age (GPS 141)⁷⁴. Other source mentions it in a different place than the point, closer to Sânnicoară. Ciuha hill lies SW Sânnicoară and NE Dezmir, by no means SW the Apahida station.

4. On a headland, in the point named Tăușor, an evaluation trench performed in 1963 identified an early Hallstatt settlement, overlapped by one of the 11th-12th centuries (GPS 149-150)⁷⁵. No archaeological material was found, yet we found an elevation which resembles a barrow.

5. In 1938 by the western border of the CFR (national railway) workshops, in a gravel quarry were found several materials dating back to the first Iron Age. An evaluation trench carried out in the same year revealed also three cremation graves, of which one had a richer inventory⁷⁶, even military⁷⁷. The graves were identified in a gravel quarry. It is a bi-ritual Celtic cemetery, with graves dated to La Tène B - early La Tène C⁷⁸. 6th century BC Scythian graves and second Iron Age graves are supposed (GPS 136)⁷⁹. Currently, the former quarry was replaced by the factory Rondocarton SRL.

6. Within the boundary of Crișeni, in a small valley opening towards Someș river, are located Roman buildings foundations, beside which a portion of the Roman

⁶⁸ Orosz 1906, 368.

⁶⁹ Pósta 1903, 18.

⁷⁰ Pósta 1903, 25; Gostar 1961, 160; Kovács 1913, 12-17.

⁷¹ Fodorean 2006, 182.

⁷² Orosz 1905, 305.

⁷³ Orosz 1905, 305.

⁷⁴ Ferenczi 1962, 46-47.

⁷⁵ Andrișoiu 1964, 556 (where speaking of Râțul vițelilor); Macrea, Crișan 1964, 354; Orosz 1908.

⁷⁶ One of the grave goods was a chariot (cf. Crișan 1964, 91; Crișan 1973, 56).

⁷⁷ A Celt warrior grave dated to La Tène C1 (cf. Crișan 1964, 99).

⁷⁸ Crișan 1973, 56.

⁷⁹ Roska 1944, 56.

road between Cluj and Apahida was identified. From there, in 1863, comes a votive altar (CIL III 863 = 7661) and a sarcophagus (GPS 143-144)⁸⁰. M. Roska identifies the place with the one described below, however the two places could be identical⁸¹. I. Mitrofan mentions as location the boundary side Sub Colină, near Crișeni⁸², hence it could be on the stream flowing into Valea Caldă coming from Pata, on the current bypass and likely the Roman road. We are not certain of the location, since we found no archaeological material.

7. Within the boundary Sub Berc there are the ruins of an *opus incertum* walled building of a *villa*, excavated in 1903, with small finds: fine pottery, bricks, nails, Neolithic pottery (GPS 142)⁸³. No pottery fragments could be found there as well. It is possible that modern houses were built there.

8. From an unspecified place, within the village territory, comes a biconical vessel dated to the Bronze Age.

9. On the terrace on the right side of Someș valley, near the aero club, were discovered red-black pottery fragments, decorated with grooves, everted bowls, a fragment with a groove on the rim, dated to the first Iron Age and pottery fragments decorated with alveoli belts and buttons dated to the Bronze Age (GPS 140)⁸⁴.

10. In the Ciurgău or Sub Muncel area, in fact, east, north-east of it, left the Dezmir stream, were identified pottery fragments dated to the first Iron Age and the Bronze Age (Wietenberg culture) (GPS 146-147)⁸⁵. We also identified there pottery fragments.

Pata

1. In the place named Pusta Grofului, SW the village, left the country road leading to Gheorgheni, there was found by early 20th century a limestone funerary relief (54 × 41 × 17 cm), with a knight and a pedestrian. From the same spot come also Roman and Dacian pottery fragments (GPS 112)⁸⁶. Orientation after “Repertoriul arheologic al județului Cluj”, yet no material resulted.

2. Near the village, in Curmătura area, were recorded the traces of Roman salt mines⁸⁷. This is a settlement dated to the first Iron Age (12th-11th centuries BC)⁸⁸.

3. Within the village boundary, towards Gheorgheni, are seen the traces of the Roman road Napoca-Potaissa. Based on Roman period finds, a rural settlement or a *villa*⁸⁹ is supposed. The traces of the Roman road were discovered west the village, by-passing it, after which followed the route towards Dezmir or Sânnicoadă, on Pusta stream (Pârâul Sărat) and Zapodie valley (Valea Mare) (see *infra*).

⁸⁰ Torma 1865, 13; Torma 1880, 17.

⁸¹ Roska 1911, 106.

⁸² Mitrofan 1974, 6.

⁸³ Described in detail, M. Roska also providing a layout (cf. Roska 1911, Fig. 1). See also Mitrofan 1974, 150.

⁸⁴ Stan 2008, 33, no. 3.

⁸⁵ The settlement is described as lying even today on Ciurgău, where the river springs, yet the topographical coordinates are similar with those we also provided (cf. Stan 2008, 33-34, nr. 5).

⁸⁶ Vasiliev 1967, 477-480.

⁸⁷ Bielz 1898, 67.

⁸⁸ Field survey (cf. Stan 2008, 37, no. 15).

⁸⁹ Kővári 1892, 49; TIR L 34, 88.

4. From a chance find comes a *sestertius* from Hadrian⁹⁰.

Sânnicoară

1. Near the village, in the place named Pripor, was discovered by chance a fragment of a silex tool, dating likely to the Neolithic⁹¹. We could not identify the toponym.

2. In the place named Țigla were discovered an obsidian chip and a fragment of a Neolithic silex blade (GPS 135)⁹². It was equalled with that Sub Coastă, on the plateau, towards the E, where we also found prehistoric pottery (nos. 3, 6).

3. In the farming place west Țigla, in 1985, there were discovered semi fine, brownish-grey pottery fragments and silex tools belonging to the Tiszapolgár and Coțofeni cultures⁹³.

4. West of the village, in the place named Lab, between the school, church and the right bank of Someș Mic river, there was identified a cremation grave of the Bronze Age, containing charred bones, pottery, likely pertaining to Sighișoara Wietenberg culture (GPS 119-120)⁹⁴. We identified a few pottery fragments in a private garden across the school and new church.

5. In the garden of the secondary school and the neighbouring territories appear Bronze Age and Hallstatt⁹⁵ pottery fragments (similar to those found at Cluj-Mănăștur, Dealul Gol).

6. On the terraces of the hill N the village are found atypical pottery fragments, some datable to the Bronze Age. Equivalent to nos. 2, 3 and 7.

7. Left Someșul Mic river, near the village, lies a prehistoric settlement. Equivalent to nos. 2, 3 and 6.

8. By the SW edge of the village, west the hill Tarcea Mică there is a Hallstatt settlement⁹⁶. It is erroneously located, hill Tarcea Mică lying left the road to Câmpenești. It must be in fact, the equivalent of point Dezmir 9.

9. In the centre of the village, near the church house, appear Roman pottery fragments (GPS 137)⁹⁷. The land is rearranged, has many fillings, so even if we had identified pottery fragments, their origin would have been uncertain.

10. South the village there were found large building ruins, with sculptural monuments and objects, now lost, like for instance a funerary relief with a male bust and inscription (CIL III 6254) (GPS 151-158)⁹⁸. Indeed, on a plateau south the village, when descending from hill “*Ciuha*”, we found abundant Roman and prehistoric pottery, tiles and bricks. Likely, in the upper part of the plateau lies the main building of the villa, and below, its extensions.

⁹⁰ Chirilă et alii 1970.

⁹¹ Orosz 1905, 305.

⁹² Orosz 1908, 257.

⁹³ Kalmar 1985-1986, 405.

⁹⁴ Erdély 1932, 106-107; Roska 1942, 253; Crișan 1961, 147.

⁹⁵ Ferenczi 1962, 47-48 (also for nos. 6 and 7).

⁹⁶ Orosz 1903, 89-91.

⁹⁷ Orosz 1901, 25.

⁹⁸ Torma 1866, 147 = Torma 1880, 18.

11. NW the village, on the hill on the left river bank, in the place “După capul satului”, the archaeological excavations of 1930 revealed walls in *opus incertum*, 1.00–1.50 m thick, bricks, tiles, hypocaust, recording a *villa* (GPS 138)⁹⁹. In the field we identified nothing, possibly because the land was not farmed for a long time, or it is a mistake and the place could have actually been the same with no. 10.

12. Close to the western edge of the terrace where the village lies, appear traces of Roman constructions in *opus incertum*. Nearby appear the traces of a small Roman cremation cemetery¹⁰⁰. We could not identify in the field any ruin traces, it could be in fact the *villa rustica* south the village, described at no. 10.

13. In the Someș river meadows, left the railway Cluj – Apahida, near the train station Dezmir, towards NE, there are two tumuli similar to those in Someșeni¹⁰¹. However, in the area we could not identify in the field any elevation, possibly because the land is levelled and rearranged with filling earth.

14. The Roman road was identified on the Someș river bank¹⁰². Likely, there too the Roman road crossed southwards the village near the hill, close to the *villa rustica* found on the plateau south the village (no. 10).

15. From within the village territory, without further specifications come: an early medieval dark-coloured clay vessel and a hybrid *denarius* from Caracalla.

The road Gheorgheni – Dezmir – Someșeni

The road is a branch of the imperial road – *deverticulum*, likely a bypass of Napoca *municipium*, for strategic purposes. On an Austrian map of the 19th century, beside the level curves are mapped the area valleys, as well as the road used for this direction in the period, following the route of the Roman road¹⁰³. By the exit from Gheorgheni, it follows the route of a deserted country road, to Fântâna Sărată (elevation 356 m). From this point it maintains the N-NE direction, following Pârâul Sărat stream to the interflow with Valea Mare river, coming from village Pata. From the interflow it shifts direction towards N-NW, overlapping the current commune road going to Someșeni. It crosses by Crișeni, Oaselor (to the E) and Borzaș (to the W) foothills. It intersects the Roman road Napoca – Gherla – Samum W the Sânnicoară station, precisely on Someș river bank¹⁰⁴. The brick foundations that seem to come from the *villa rustica*

⁹⁹ Daicoviciu 1935, 200, Fig. 4 (mentions the cross-signed brick, also recorded by Buday 1913); Mitrofan 1974, 45. In 2003 was discovered by chance an altar dedicated to Silvanus (cf. Ciongradi 2006). Nothing is said about the location except that it was found by some workers in a gravel pit close to the river bank (“in einer Schottergrube”) and on an area of about 2 ha in the immediate vicinity of the discovery some can see other Roman finds, suggesting afterwards that the place could have been identified with the *villa rustica* mentioned NW of the village, at “După capul satului” (Ciongradi 2006, 213, 215). Nevertheless, the location is still uncertain; the *villa* is on the left bank and on the hill, not in the flooding area. More possible is that the monument is part of a construction or a sacred area adjacent to the Roman road which might have been nearby. The word *ara* from the inscription might suggest indeed this fact.

¹⁰⁰ Ferenczi 1962, 47–48.

¹⁰¹ Ferenczi 1962, 57.

¹⁰² Torma 1884, 16.

¹⁰³ Fodorean 2006, 150–151.

¹⁰⁴ Fodorean 2006, 151.

identified in the place Crișeni were found precisely near the Roman road Gheorgheni – Dezmir – Someșeni¹⁰⁵. The location is not yet certain.

Investigated in the 70–80'ies, then after 1990, it detaches in 90° angle from the imperial road. The road crosses DN1C in Sânnicoară and enters the road Napoca – Gherla near the Someș river¹⁰⁶. It fulfilled a military and strategic role, shortening the road towards the forts at Gherla and Cășei by 5 km. Its economic role was to capitalize on the salt resources from Pata and sulphur waters by Oaselor foothill. It was visible W Crișeni, from Dezmir¹⁰⁷.

Road Napoca – Gherla

The researchers of the Roman roads in Cluj county, D. Ursuț and F. Fodorean, argue that the road route may not be reconstructed up to Bonțida¹⁰⁸. The road is noticeable only from Bonțida onwards. As mentioned above, we also noted that the Roman road crossed the area southwards, than eastwards the villages Sânnicoară and Apahida partially on the routes of the current communal roads (see Apahida, no. 39).

We thank herein those who contributed with information for a more accurate identification of the points of archaeological interest, among whom many villagers. Among the researchers we mainly mention R. Ardevan, D. Ursuț, J. Nagy and E. Beu-Dachin, the latter, yet not the last, who aided us in deciphering the Hungarian texts of the articles by the end of the 19th century – early 20th century.

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¹⁰⁵ Fodorean 2006, 153.

¹⁰⁶ Ursuț 2008, 105.

¹⁰⁷ Ursuț 2008, 105.

¹⁰⁸ Ursuț 2008, 106.

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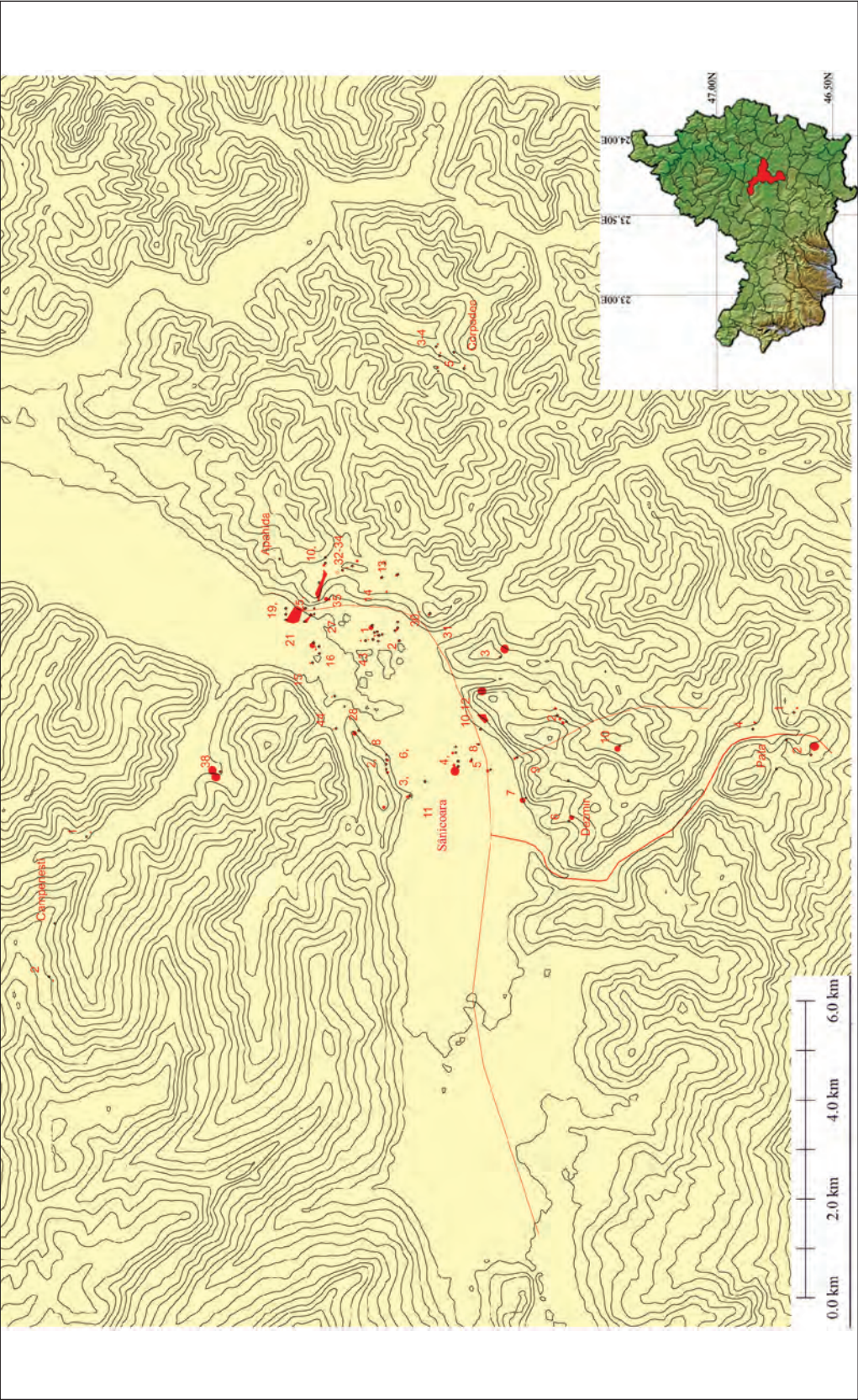
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Pl. I. The archaeological topography of Apahida.

THE ROMAN KILNS GROUP FROM POTAISSA AND ITS DATING

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Abstract: The archaeological research performed in 2005 and 2006 on “Dealul Zânelor” (“Zânelor Hill”) evidenced the extensive operation of the pottery workshops, with many kilns abandoned and turned into waste pits. Since most frequent types of common wares manufactured in Dacia date to the 2nd-3rd centuries AD, we shall attempt herein a more complex analysis of all identified artifacts for a more restricted chronological framing. Given the extended circulation period of the coins in Antiquity, we shall correlate the issuer and the wear state with brooch dating, stratigraphy contexts and the workshops’ layout. The archaeological excavations performed in the kilns area yielded 10 coins and three brooches, while from the previous excavations in the same area resulted other 51 Roman coins and four brooches. The kiln group - workshop 2 - located just near the water source seems to be earlier than workshop 1, which lies ca. 50 m westwards, where a well was in fact examined too. It is not excluded that the workshops operated concurrently, nonetheless, the grouping of certain coins from Iulia Domna and Traianus Decius with a knee brooch found in workshop 1 evidences it was functional by mid 3rd century AD. If the 2nd century-coins found in workshop 2 may be related to chance, nevertheless the *terra sigillata* vessel with a lion protoma of type Drag. 45, imported from central Gaul after mid 2nd century, found in the mortar of a stone wall foundation of a building in workshop 1 reinforces our observation.

Keywords: pottery workshops; phase; *terra sigillata*; coins; brooch.

Rezumat: Cercetările arheologice de pe “Dealul Zânelor” din 2005 și 2006 indică o funcționare intensă a atelierelor ceramice, cu numeroase cuptoare abandonate și transformate în gropi de deșeuri. Ca urmare a faptului că cele mai frecvente tipuri de vase de uz comun produse în Dacia se datează în secolele II - III p. Chr., pentru o încadrare cronologică mai restrânsă vom încerca o analiză complexă a tuturor artefactelor descoperite. Având în vedere perioada lungă de circulație a monedelor în antichitate, vom corobora emitentul și starea de uzură cu datarea fibulelor, contextele stratigrafice și planimetria atelierelor. Din zona cuptoarelor cercetate arheologic provin 10 monede și trei fibule, iar din vechile descoperiri din această zonă se cunosc alte 51 de monede romane și patru fibule. Grupul de cuptoare - atelierul 2 - amplasat în imediata apropiere a sursei de apă pare să fie mai timpuriu decât atelierul 1, aflat la cca 50 m spre vest, unde s-a cercetat și o fântână. Nu este exclus ca atelierele să fi funcționat concomitent, totuși, gruparea unor monede de la Iulia Domna și Traianus Decius cu o fibulă cu genunchi descoperite în atelierul 1 indică funcționarea acestuia la mijlocul secolului al III-lea. Dacă monedele din secolul al II-lea descoperite în atelierul 2 pot fi puse pe seama hazardului, totuși fragmentul de vas *terra sigillata* cu protomă de leu de tipul Drag. 45, importat din Gallia centrală după mijlocul secolului al II-lea, găsit în mortar, în fundația unui zid din piatră aparținând unei construcții din atelierul 1, întărește observația noastră.

Cuvinte cheie: ateliere ceramice; faze de funcționare; *terra sigillata*; monedă; fibulă.

Located along the imperial road, Potaissa is one of the most important towns of Roman Dacia, whose evolution and economic development is closely related to the stationing of Legio V Macedonica in the fortress on “Dealul Cetății” (“Fortress Hill”) for ca. 100 years.

By the periphery of the town at Potaissa, on the south-eastern slopes of “Dealul Zânelor”, developed a genuine industrial centre where pottery was made and which also contained stone or bronze casting and bone processing workshops. An impressive quantity of artifacts (common wares, terracotta, toys, lamps, potter’s tools, brooches, coins, small bronze and bone objects) come from the finds by the end of the 19th century and early 20th century, but especially from the archaeological surveillance of 1964 and our own research carried out in 2005 and 2006. The 20 pottery kilns investigated insofar at Potaissa seem to group into two workshops¹.

Our concerns on the matter resulted until now in two studies², presenting various moulds that the potters used and the various categories of workshop scrap. Our goal herein is to identify the phases of the workshops and to frame them chronologically.

From previous information and chance finds over the time, it was hypothesized that the Roman *vicus* was actually located on “Dealul Zânelor” just after the conquest of AD 106³, or that an auxiliary fort⁴ was built there. For the lack of archaeological sondages in the area, it is difficult to argue in favour or against on either the civil or military nature of the inhabitancy. Our research has though shown that by the base of the mentioned hill and on its south-eastern slopes operated only pottery workshops, without any record of previous inhabitancy levels.

The scarce import *terra sigillata* at Potaissa⁵, in both previous excavations as well as our own, provide few chronological landmarks. The most frequent types of common wares produced in Dacia have a broad dating, namely the 2nd–3rd centuries AD. Given the long circulation period of the coins in Antiquity, we shall correlate the issuer and the wear state of the coin with the chronological framings provided by brooches or other artifacts coming from the same stratigraphic contexts, with further reference to the workshops’ layout evolution.

The previous chance finds on “Dealul Zânelor” include 51 Roman coins and four brooches⁶, however where precisely they were found is unknown, while the kiln area

¹ Bărbulescu 1994, 110 – most definitely there were several potter’s workshops, on both Zâna Mare or Zâna Mică hills, as well as on Șuia hill; Pîslaru 2011, 169.

² Pîslaru 2007, 151–157; Pîslaru 2011, 167–182.

³ Bărbulescu 1994, 35 – the area of the Roman *vicus* in the first decades of the 2nd century is hard to delimit, given the continuous inhabitancy and the fact that most archaeological finds, like pottery, tools, various objects do not allow a more restricted dating to a few decades. Appealing to the horizontal distribution of the coin finds, the grouping of Traianus – Hadrianus issues on Zânelor Hill and Sând valley is noteworthy. Hence, the first Roman settlement overlapped only partially the Dacian settlement.

⁴ Nemeti 1999, 194–204 – the military equipment items underlie this hypothesis.

⁵ Bărbulescu 1994, 126 – “the explanation would consist in the gap between the time when Potaissa became a military and urban centre and the flourishing period of certain workshops making this pottery and from where Dacia commonly got its supplies”; Căținaș 1997, 25 – the stamped pottery produced at Potaissa makes up for the *terra sigillata* imports.

⁶ Pîslaru 2009, 250–254, nos. 1162–1170, 1172–1180, 1182, 1184–1186, 1188, 1190–1195, 1197–1209, 1212–1217, 1219, 1221–1222; two brooches came from the collections of Téglás István, being described and drawn in his journals, while other two brooches come from field walks, being today in the collection of the History Museum of Turda; see for this Cociș 2004, 195, no. 1055, type 19a6b1b, 209, no. 1559, type 25j1; Bajusz 2005, 730, 36/20/3, 734, 39/161/1; for the brooch with inv. no. 16420 see Nemeti 1999, 204, Pl. III/6; Cociș 2004, 193, no. 1004, type 19a6a1a, while for the novel item with inv. no. 15577 see analogies at Cociș 2004, type 19b (Traianus, the third quarter of the 2nd century).

yielded 10 coins and three brooches. Although the coin grouping may be accidental, nevertheless, one may hypothesize based on certain associations.

The research evidences the intensive operation of several pottery workshops on an area of ca. 2500 sq. m (Pl. I), with numerous kilns disused and changed into waste pits or overlapping (Pl. III). The area covered by this “artisanal” quarter is much vaster, as proven by the abundant pottery fragments discovered in the topsoil of the gardens in the area.

Workshop 1. The grouping of several kilns, the foundation of a large stone building, a well and a drainage ditch and several waste pits compel us to assume that they are part of the same group and represent one of the potter’s workshops. The identification of prints of red burnt clay overlapped by construction elements or the print of a timber wall evidence at least two phases⁷. We do not however know if all the four kilns we identified only at print level, operated concurrently. It is certain though that once with the extension of the workshop and the rebuilding of the stone walls, these kilns were completely dismantled. Therefore, we may agree that to the first stage belong at least four kilns, two being placed not far one from the other – in S 01 and S 08 (Pl. II), near a borrow pit, later changed into a waste pit, while the other two kilns were more scattered – S 08 – S 06 and S 05 (Pl. II). The print of a timber wall in S 01, trenches 19–23 (Pl. II), oriented NE–SW, was identified at -1.40 m deep. In its eastern corner, on the northern profile of S 01 (m. 20–21) is also noticeable the print of two posts stuck in the geological soil. Based on the location of the kilns, the workshop in this stage had either a different orientation than the one in the stone phase or was smaller. A *sestertius* from Antoninus Pius issued for Faustina II (Pl. V/9)⁸ was found towards the westward end of the timber wall print, at -0.95 m deep. Compared to the other coins, the *sestertius* is well preserved, with few wear traces, hence less used. An *as* from Antoninus Pius (Pl. V/10)⁹ moderately well preserved and worn was found at -1.20 m deep, not far from the print of one of the mentioned kilns – S 08, m. 2 (Pl. II). Without other absolute dating elements, the workshop operation in a first phase may be placed after mid 2nd century, as evidenced by the two bronze coins.

Near the burnt clay prints a well was researched down to 4 m deep, most likely covered with beams, rotten over time (Pl. II/B)¹⁰. Given the water need and distance to the Sând stream, we suppose that the well was excavated once with the kilns of the first phase, remaining in use after their disuse.

From our notes, yet also the specialty bibliography, we found that the kilns construction or dismantle etc. was frequent in a potter’s workshop, which hinders any association with accurately dated phases. In the case of workshop 1 at Potaissa we may though identify also a second phase. During the first decades or even towards the mid 3rd century AD, the workshop is extended and rebuilt in stone walls. In the stone wall, fallen in the mortar there was discovered a fragment of *mortarium* Drag. 45 (Pl. IV/1), decorated with a lion head spout (“tête de lion-déversoir”, “Löwenkopfschale”). Such *sigillata* are specific to eastern-Gallic workshops (Rheinzabern, Trier, Lavoye,

⁷ Pislaru 2007, 154.

⁸ Pislaru 2009, 252, no. 1187.

⁹ Pislaru 2009, 251, no. 1183.

¹⁰ On the southern side of the well, a print filled with dark earth and pottery fragments is noticeable.

Avocourt etc.), yet they were also produced in central Gaul (Lezoux, Gueugnon). The production of *mortaria* Drag. 45 commenced by the end of the 2nd century, continued in the 3rd century especially in the first half, however the shape still preserved occasionally by the end of the 3rd century or even the 4th century¹¹. Shape Drag. 45 was unnoticed in Dacia insofar. The emergence of this vessel at Potaissa (where, overall, import *sigillata* are few)¹² proves the importance of the pottery workshop and the owner's standing, who bought the *mortarium* for his/her house or its use as model. Damaged, the vessel reached the mortar used for the construction of the stone wall foundation, which ensures the wall's dating to the 3rd century, more likely towards its middle.

In this stage operated the two kilns found south the workshop wall - C 1 and C 2 in S 09 (Pl. II). The platform made of rocks was likely the area where the clay was battered. From the area near the kilns come many artifacts, among which also count two silver coins. We note that from an upper layer, from -0.70 m comes a cast *denarius* from Iulia Domna (Pl. V/9), while from the same perimeter, yet from -1.00 m comes an overstruck *antoninianus* from Traianus Decius (Pl. V/6)¹³. Without being able to specify the time when the *denarius* from Iulia Domna was copied by casting (revealed by the casting marks), it must have been lost towards mid 3rd century, as proven by the entire stratigraphic context. Of the three identified brooches¹⁴ only the knee brooch (Pl. V/12)¹⁵ provides dating chronological indices until the first decades of the 3rd century.

The surface level in the stone walled workshop was built with a layer of yellow clay over the print of the disused kilns and was paved here and there with bricks. From inside the building - S 06 (Pl. II), at -0.60-0.70 m deep, where the lower part of a lamp mould¹⁶ was also identified, there were collected also ca. 30 pavement elements, shaped as number eight (sponge fingers). Therefore, it is possible that the potter's house or that of the workshop's owner existed beside the proper workshop.

The well, incorporated inside the workshop during a second phase, was abandoned at a certain time and filled with earth and pottery fragments. Many tiles, shingles and wall stones were collected from the upper side of the well (down to -2.70 m deep from the vegetal layer). In fact, roof elements (tiles and shingles) and wall stones, yet also a limestone fragmentary profile were found in the entire investigated area. Since the wall identified in S 01, S 06, S 08 and C 9 (Pl. II) measures at least 9 m, we may estimate that building sizes were impressive. A few bricks stamped LEG V MAC were found near the kilns and the drainage. The presence of the legionaries is also recorded by a few military equipment pieces (buckle tongues, enamelled applique) and a *pilum*

¹¹ Oswald, Pryce 1920, 231, Pl. LXXIV; Mitard 1965, 151; Mitard 1979, 90; Bémont, Jacob 1986, 141 (Lezoux), 166 (Gueugnon), 200 (Lavoye).

¹² Bărbulescu 1994, 126.

¹³ Pîslaru 2009, 254, no. 1220.

¹⁴ Two bronze brooches with strongly profiled body come from workshop 1 - S 01 and S 07 (Pl. II): inv. no. 17031 (Pl. V/13), sizes: 4 × 2.2 cm, analogies at Cociş 2004, type 21b2b and inv. no. 17029 (Pl. V/11), sizes: 5.2 × 2.3 cm, analogies at Cociş 2004, type 8a8b.

¹⁵ Inv. no. 17030, missing the pin, sizes: 3.2 × 2.1 cm, analogies at Cociş 2004, 19a6a (mid 2nd century and first decades of the 3rd century).

¹⁶ Pîslaru 2007, 151-152, Pl. I.

heel, discovered in the kilns area – S 09. A fish-decorated tray (Pl. IV/3) comes from the same area, while a few fragments were found in the waste pit in S 01. Although this decoration was also used during the 2nd century¹⁷, the context where the vessel was found in S 09 at -1.20 m (Pl. II), comprising sufficient dating elements by early 3rd century, shows it was made during the second stage of the workshop's existence.

At a distance of ca. 50 m north-eastwards, near Sând stream, another kiln group was investigated, which we designated as workshop 2, with several phases. Both its location and the artifacts suggest an earlier dating of this kiln group. Still, until the research of the given perimeter is completed, such statements are far fetched. An example to this effect is the chance find of an overstruck *antoninianus* from Phillip the Arab (Pl. V/7)¹⁸, at only -0.30 m deep, in the garden between the two workshops. Without being able to associate this coin with any of the contexts, we notice that from near the kilns in workshop 2 come five bronze coins, all of the 2nd century AD, poorly preserved: an *as* from Traianus (Pl. V/4)¹⁹, two *sestertii*, one from Antoninus Pius and the other from Commodus (Pl. V/5, 1)²⁰, a *dupondius* with the effigy of an empress with a small bun in the back of the head on the obverse, who might be either Faustina II, Lucilla or Crispina (Pl. V/2)²¹ and an undetermined *sestertius* (Pl. V/3)²². The *dupondius* is strongly worn, which proves that the coin was lost after long usage.

The red burnt earth prints of the two kilns dismantled by the Romans – C 5 and C 8 (Pl. III) are likely the earliest kilns investigated in workshop 2. The stone wall foundation, identified in S 5, marks another phase, namely the kilns disuse and the workshop's construction, since it is less likely that kiln 8 was built inside the workshop. The stratigraphic context in this section, but also in S 3, evidences a third-phase, identified by the outline of a large waste pit stopping precisely by the stone wall. Unfortunately, the *as* from Traianus, strongly corroded, found somewhere near the wall (to the outside), provides no chronological criteria for dating any of the mentioned phases. Instead, the HS from Antoninus Pius might provide a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the two limestone slab rows parallel to the stone wall and over the waste pit. By the end of the row identified during our research, the slabs reach the wall of kiln 6, which evidences concurrent operation by mid 2nd century. There are no chronological landmarks available for the second group of kilns in this workshop, at least not until the study of the ware types etc. is completed. All the four kilns were abandoned and changed into waste pits, and the fact that two kilns were overlapping – C 3 and C 7 (Pl. III) evidences different operation phases. Currently, it is difficult to chronologically frame the noted phases. The *sestertius* from Commodus, though found by chance in the kilns area, provides a *terminus post quem* by the end of the 2nd century.

Therefore, for the dating of workshop 2 are significant the grouping of the 2nd century bronze coins, the absence of artifacts dated with certainty to the 3rd century

¹⁷ See Mitrofan 1991, 177, note 32, Fig. 20/2; Mitrofan 1999, 170.

¹⁸ Pişlaru 2009, 254, no. 1218.

¹⁹ Pişlaru 2009, 251, no. 1171.

²⁰ Pişlaru 2009, 251, no. 1181 and 252, no. 1196.

²¹ Pişlaru 2009, no. 1189.

²² HS – very worn, 28 × 29 mm, ↑. Av. laurelled effigy to the right. Rv. animal (red deer?) standing to the left.

as well as the *terra sigillata* Drag. 35 decorated with slip (Pl. IV/2)²³ found inside the stoke hole of one kiln – C 4 (Pl. III). The current state of research in workshop 2 did not yield any tile materials stamped LEG V MAC or other artifacts of military nature. In fact, precisely the location of the workshop just near the stream by the base of “Dealul Cetății” and “Dealul Zânelor” hills plead for dating the archaeological complex by mid 2nd century until the last quarter of this century (maybe even prior to the arrival of the legion to Potaissa in 170). The legion’s transfer to Potaissa impacted the town’s economic life, noted by the extension of the industrial area and increased workshop activity, which seem to have produced for both the civil and the military environments. Chronologically workshop 2 seems to precede the existence of workshop 1. However it is untimely to argue that workshop 2 was abandoned in the 3rd century.

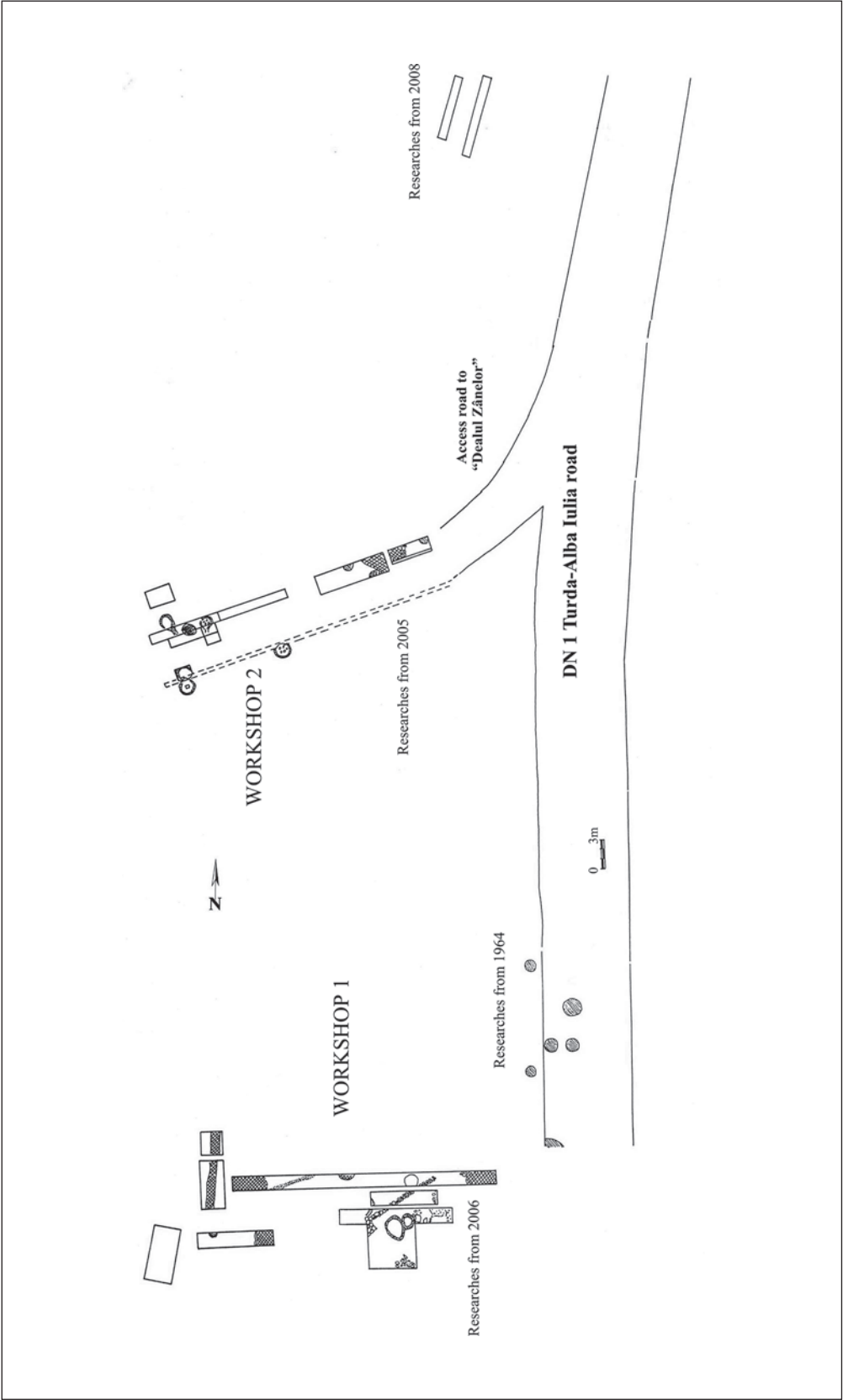
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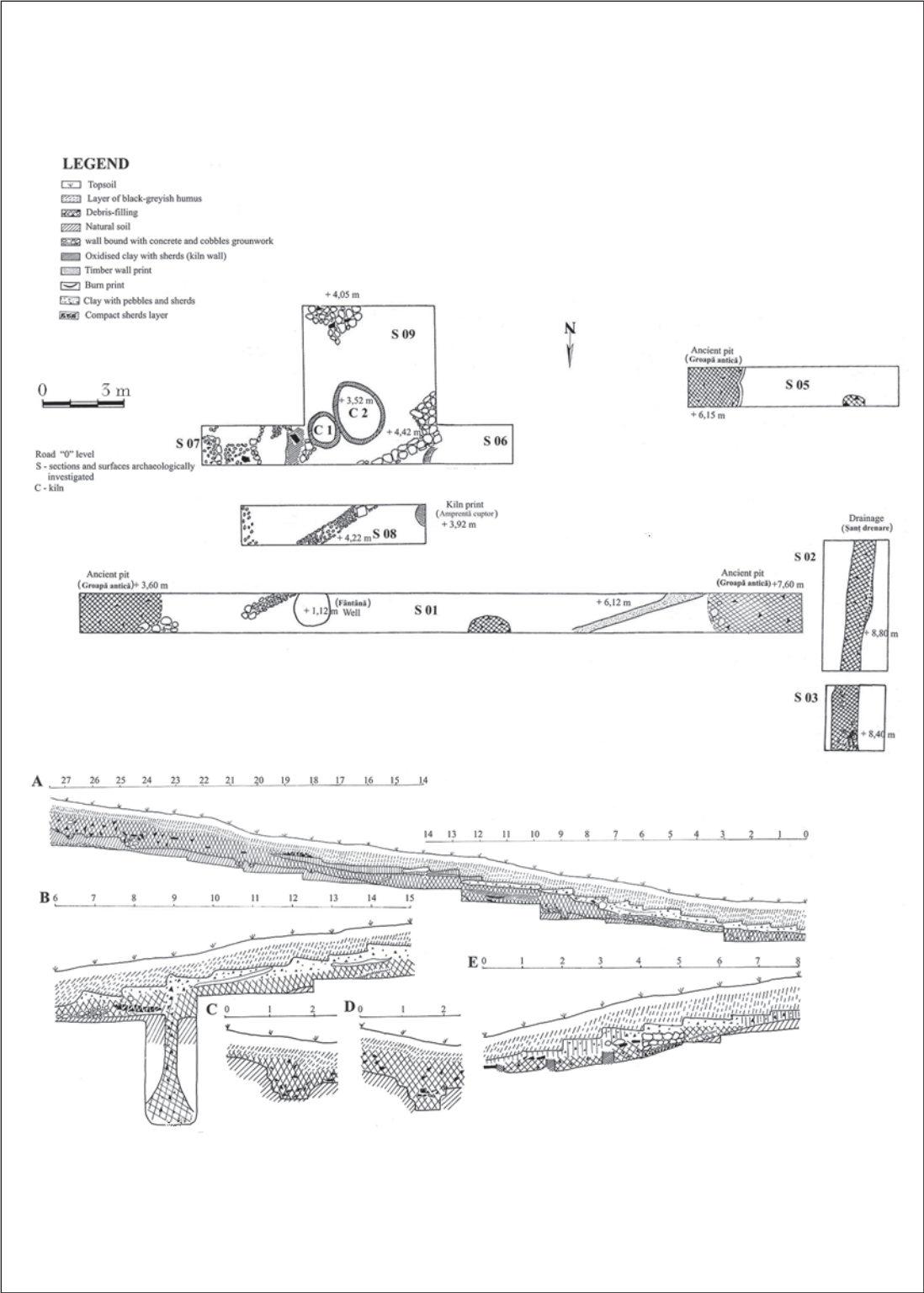
²³ Popilian 1976, 51-52 – the pots discovered in Oltenia come from 2nd century stratigraphic contexts, yet in Moesia Inferior the workshops at Butovo-Hotnița-Pavlikeni seem to have produced slip-decorated pottery until early 3rd century. See also Popilian 1997, 13, Pl. 13-14; Rusu-Bolindeț 2007, 152-156, Pl. XXIII, 94 – the workshops at Rheinzabern supplied the Danubian provinces with a significant quantity of *sigillata* towards the end of the 2nd century and early following century; Ardeț 2009, 46.

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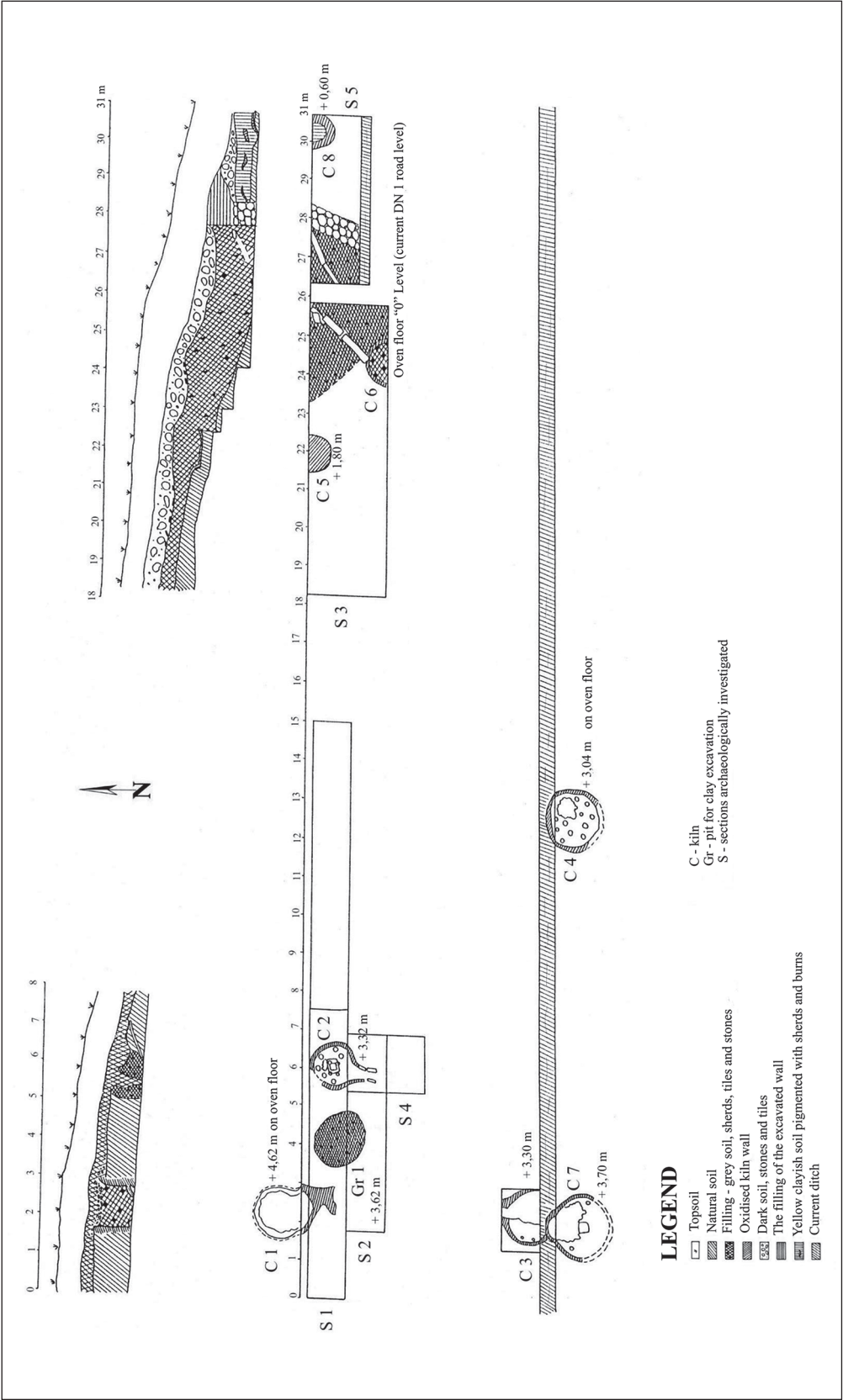
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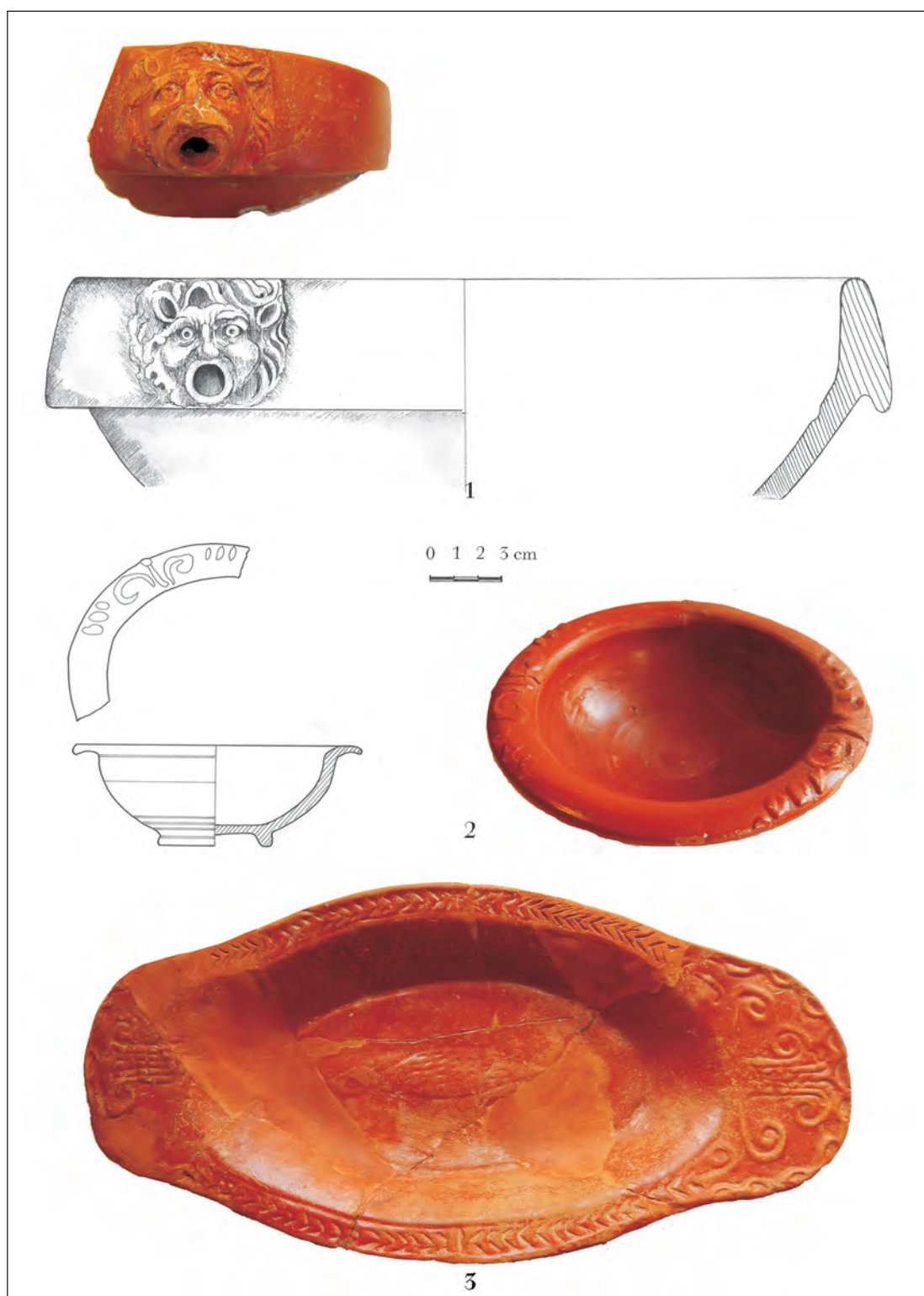
Pl. I. Potaissa. General layout of the pottery workshops on "Dealul Zânelor".



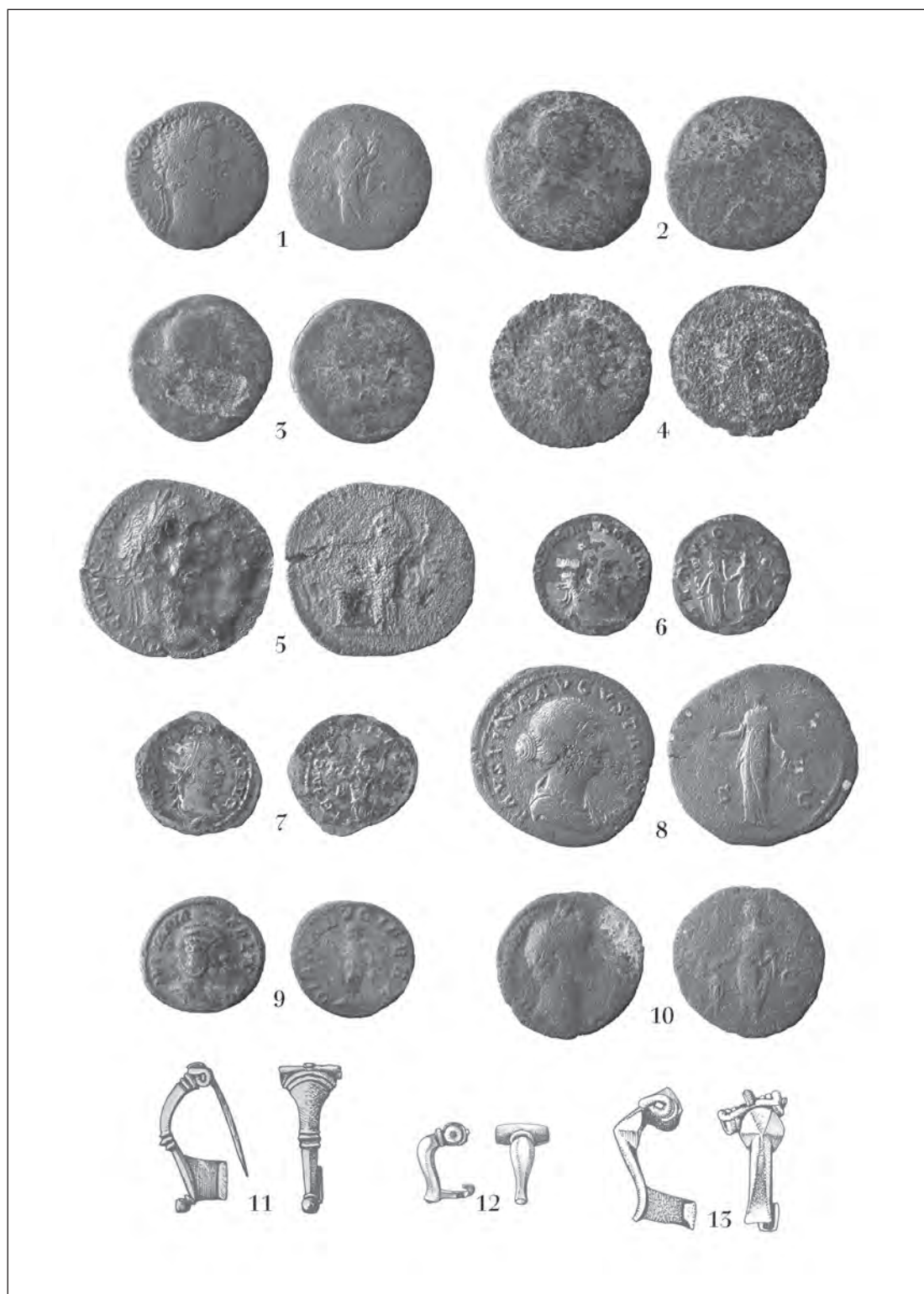
Pl. II. Potaissa. The layout of the kilns in workshop 1. A. S 01; C. S 02; D. S 03 - northern profiles. B. S 01; E. S 06 - southern profiles.



Pl. III. The northern profile, the layout of the kilns in workshop 2, and the acces road to “Dealul Zânelor”.



Pl. IV. Wares in the pottery workshops at Potaissa. 1. Mortarium of type Drag. 45 with lion protoma; 2. Restored terrine of type Drag. 35 decorated in the slip technique. 3. Restored tray with the image of a fish (photo M. Pîslaru).



Pl. V. Coins and brooches found in the pottery workshops at Potaissa
(1, 8 photos after Pişlaru 2011, nos. 1187, 1196; 2-7, 9-10, photos M. Pişlaru).

THE “DANUBIAN RIDERS” ON A RELIEF FROM POTAISSA

SORIN NEMETI, MARIANA PÎSLARU

Abstract: This study discusses a fragmentary relief with the depiction of the “Danubian Riders” recently retrieved in the collections of the History Museum of Turda. The fragmentary relief belongs to the category of oval medallions, framed in type B1b, a type mainly distributed in the provinces of Moesia, Pannonia and Dacia. The chronology of these artisanal objects is uncertain, however they are believed to be of a later date, during the first half of the 3rd century AD. The recently discovered item adds to a series of six reliefs previously found at Potaissa, pertaining to different iconographical types. This diffusion of the Danubian cult is related to the military environment influence.

Keywords: “Danubian Riders”; relief; artisanal handicraft; chronology; amulet.

Rezumat: Studiul de față expune un relief fragmentar cu reprezentarea Cavalerilor Danubieni redescoperit recent în colecțiile Muzeului de Istorie din Turda. Relieful fragmentar aparține categoriei medalioanelor de formă ovală, încadrate în tipul B1b, tip răspândit cu precădere în provinciile Moesia, Pannonia și Dacia. Cronologia acestor piese artizanale este incertă, dar se înclină pentru o datare mai târzie, pe parcursul primei jumătăți a secolului al III-lea p. Chr. Piesa în discuție se adaugă unei serii de șase reliefuri descoperite anterior la Potaissa, aparținând unor tipuri iconografice diferite și această difuziune a cultului danubian este pusă pe seama influenței dinspre mediul cazon.

Cuvinte cheie: Cavaleri Danubieni; relief; artizanat; cronologie; amuletă.

The old collections of the History Museum of Turda¹ contain a marble oval-shaped medallion with the depiction of the “Danubian Riders”². How the item was found is unknown, yet it likely comes from the territory of the ancient town at Potaissa or from even the fortress of *legio V Macedonica*.

The preserved sizes of the fragmentary relief are of 5.7 cm in height and 6 cm in width. Certain parts are missing from the lower register and the left side edge, hence the restored object would have had a diameter of ca. 8 cm. It is made of white marble, of macro-crystalline structure and massive compact texture³. In terms of the monument type, it might be either a medallion (round or oval) with the iconographic field divided into two registers or a rectangular tablet with the upper edge curved. The fragmentary state of the relief makes impossible the accurate identification of the monument type.

The central scene of the cult of the “Danubian Riders”, namely the two facing riders, heading towards a goddess in the middle of the image, is sculpted in the main

¹ The item was recently identified and inventoried (inv. no. 21309).

² For the iconography of the “Danubian Riders” see Antonescu 1889; Rostovtseff 1923, 385-415; Tudor 1937, 189-356; CMRED; LIMC VI, 1, 1992, s.v. *Heros Equitans*, 1078-1081 (Popović); Ertl 1996; Tatcheva 2000, 231-245; Nemeti 2005a, 200-216.

³ Macroscopic description - by geologist Luminița Săsăran.

register in an artisanal fashion, sketchily and without any emphasis on details. The rider on the right is better preserved. Although no dress details are rendered, the artist's intention to depict the rider with the Phrygian cap on the head is noticeable. The rider holds the hand rose above the head, bent from elbow, making the spear throwing gesture. Below the horse appears a fallen human individual, trampled by the horse (depicted sketchily as an object in the shape of a cylinder). The scene on the left preserves only the front side of the rider's horse. The goddess is rendered very schematically, with only the round head and, in its front, the fish placed on a *mensa tripes*. The body of the goddess is delimited by the horses' heads, while the lower part with *mensa tripes* is outlined by the arched forelegs of the horses. The lower register is preserved fragmentarily and the surviving parts are difficult to interpret. One may also note, from left to right, an elongated object put over a vessel or a *mensa tripes*, a human silhouette (with also the round head and upper part of the body noticeable) and the upper part of a four-footed animal looking to the right.

The fragmentary relief from Turda has the preserved sizes of 5.7×6 cm and, if complete, would have been approximately 8×7 cm. The chronological framing of the monument must take into consideration two known types: the circular medallion with two registers and the rectangular tablets with rounded upper edge. The restored sizes of the monument are suitable to both medallions and tablet. Tablet specimens entirely preserved have sizes varying from 9×7.3 cm⁴ to 13×11 cm⁵, while the known medallions are round and oval and vary in sizes from 6.2×6 cm⁶ to 16.4×11 cm⁷. Since, stylistically, the closest analogy for the relief at Turda is a relief from Aiud⁸, we believe that it belongs to the same type. The relief was framed by D. Tudor in the category of rectangular tablets with rounded upper edge, however, the item at Aiud may in fact belong to the category of medallion-reliefs of ovoid shape. Both reliefs are sculpted in a distinct fashion, sketchily, with sharp edges barely delimiting the figures, without any depth, even without deepening the relief field. In addition, the delimited area where these two reliefs were found makes probable their origin into the same workshop. In terms of style and composition, a similar item is known at Suhindol (*Moesia Inferior*), again an ovoid-shaped medallion⁹.

Thus, by the analogy with the items at Aiud and Suhindol, we tend to believe that the relief at Potaissa belongs rather to the type of ovoid (and circular) relief-medallions with the scenes depicted in two registers, type which we named B1b and to which belong items identified mainly in the Danubian provinces (Dacia, Moesia, Pannonia, Thracia etc.)¹⁰.

The presence of this marble relief at Potaissa complies with the diffusion pattern of the "Danubian Riders" reliefs, as defined insofar. In Dacia, stone reliefs predominate (limestone, marble), being shaped as a tablet or rondel, with the field split into

⁴ CMRED, no. 76.

⁵ CMRED, no. 28.

⁶ CMRED, no. 119.

⁷ CMRED, no. 153.

⁸ CMRED, no. 20.

⁹ CMRED, no. 78.

¹⁰ Nemeti 2005a, 210.

registers. In the case of the stone rectangular tablets with three registers, a long time ago it was expressed the view that they are the creation of the Dacian workshops (especially due to their discovery mainly in the artistic centres of the Carpathian area – Tibiscum, Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, Apulum, Potaissa)¹¹. Regarding the tablets or rondels with two registers, statistically, most come from the provinces of Moesia Inferior and Pannonia Superior. It is also hard to believe that there existed an evolutionary scheme in the multiplying of registers, which would chronologically place reliefs with two registers prior those with three registers (but rather an involution, schematising by returning to essential models). As mentioned when we attempted to define the typological-chronological tree of the “Danubian Riders” reliefs, those with two or three registers may be synchronous and may express regional iconographic variants (due to the presence of a common iconographic theme for the two categories of monuments)¹². The reliefs with two registers (plates with rounded upper edge) are close to the reliefs with two registers depicting the Thracian Rider discovered between the Danube and the Balkan Mountains¹³ and, for this reason, likely derived from them. The dating of these artisanal reliefs is difficult in the context of the missing inscriptions or of finds from accurately dated contexts. E. Will believes that in the medallions’ case, where the lower register may be interpreted as an exergue, the rough division of the upper register highlights the mechanical applying of the principle of the areas in the round or oval shape, procedure which ensures the late nature among the monuments of the “Danubian Riders”¹⁴. We propose as chronological framing the first half of the 3rd century AD.

In terms of the functionality of these small-sized reliefs we tend to believe they are a sort of amulets / charms rather than ex-votos, according to the previous views expressed by several authors from F. Cumont¹⁵ to M. Clauss¹⁶. The absence of dedicatory inscriptions and their sizes plead in favour of such hypothesis.

Insofar, six reliefs with the depiction of the “Danubian Riders”¹⁷ are known to come from Potaissa, all belonging to the category of marble reliefs with the field divided into three registers (rectangular tablets and one medallion). The recently identified item in the deposit of the History Museum of Turda belongs to a kindred variant and completes this series of finds illustrating the religious preferences of the natives in this town. It was noted that ex-voto and amulets with the depiction of the “Danubian Riders” are mainly spread in the military environment, so that we may suppose that these artisanal traditions and religious ideas diffused at Potaissa especially among the soldiers of *legio V Macedonica*.

¹¹ Nemeti 2005b, 357–363.

¹² Nemeti 2015a, 131–132.

¹³ Oppermann 1981, 519–520.

¹⁴ Will 1969, 319.

¹⁵ Cumont 1938, 69–70; Will 1955, 32.

¹⁶ Clauss 2006, 231.

¹⁷ CMRED, nos. 9–14; Bărbulescu 1994, 166.

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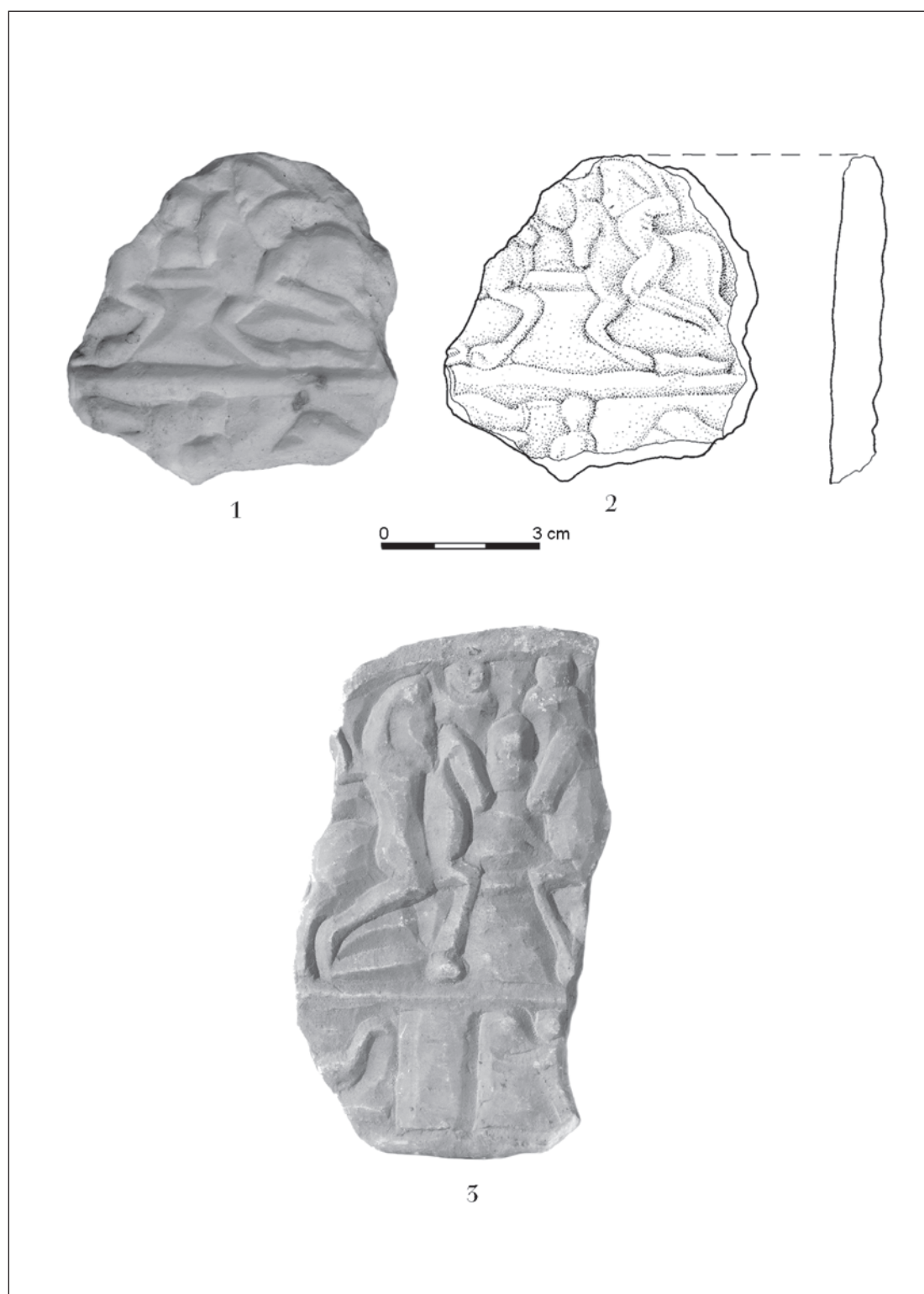
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Pl. I. 1-2. Turda. Photo S. Odenie, drawing A. Bâlc. 3. Aiud.
Photo S. Odenie (MNIT photo archive).

A BRONZE *FASCINUM* DISCOVERED AT POLUS CENTER (FLOREȘTI, CLUJ COUNTY)*

RADA VARGA, FELIX MARCU

Abstract: The current paper presents a *fascinum* from Roman Dacia. The artefact is a bronze mount, discovered in Florești (Cluj county), during the rescue excavations undertaken before building a commercial centre. The phallic amulets are part of the apotropaic magic, meant to advert misfortunes and the evil eye.

Keywords: mount; apotropaic symbol; Roman cellar.

Rezumat: Lucrarea de față prezintă un *fascinum* din Dacia romană. Artefactul este o aplică descoperită în Florești (jud. Cluj) în timpul săpăturilor arheologice de salvare efectuate cu ocazia construirii unui centru comercial. Amuletele falice aparțin magiei apotropaice, fiind destinate prevenirii nenorocului și deochiului.

Cuvinte cheie: aplică; simbol apotropaic; *cella*.

The Latin word *fascinum* translates as either an evil spell, a bewitchment, or a phallic emblem worn as a charm¹. The verb *fascinare* basically meant to use the power of a *fascinum* – to practice magic – and from here its meaning in many modern languages: to figuratively enchant, bewitch. In Roman society, phallic amulets were used for protection against malevolent spirits, evil eye or simply as good-luck charms².

Phallic representations abound in Roman minor arts, on amulets, statuettes, vessels and drinking cups, lamps, furniture decorations etc. Equally vast is the modern literature on the matter. In the following paragraphs we will concentrate on presenting the meanings and typologies of phallic bronze amulets, especially focusing on their place in provincial society.

Amulets in phallic forms could be worn by persons or were even placed on buildings, as terracotta or bronze plaques³. Regarding the personal charms, they are mentioned by Varro and Pliny the Younger. The former says⁴ that boys wore such amulets, in order to be kept from harm (as part of or associated with the *bullā*, which incorporated more magical elements), while the latter records⁵ that babies of both genders were protected by phallic charms. The religious role of the phallic symbols is reflected in the funerary sphere as well, representations of *phalli* being registered on

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¹ After OLD 1968, s.v. *fascinum*.

² Younger 2005, 146.

³ Moser 2006, 63.

⁴ VAR. *L.* 7. 97.

⁵ PLIN. *Nat.* 28. 39.

gravestones⁶. But Pliny also mentions a very important fact⁷, namely that the *phallus* was used as an apotropaic and good-luck symbol by the militaries as well. This detail is fully confirmed by the archaeological discoveries from military sites situated in the *limes* provinces of the Empire.

The *fascina*, present in military and civilian sites, usually are pendants, mounts or belt fittings. The pendants are more commonly three-dimensional, while the mounts are two-dimensional or – less frequently – a disk decorated with the phallic motif in relief. The most common category is the pendants, made usually of bronze or, more rarely, bone. The phallic amulets were worn by adults as stand-alone pendants, rather than as part of a more complex necklace⁸. Although in Britain and the Rhine region they appear preponderantly in military contexts, they were more probably not exclusively military adornments, but masculine ones. As symbolic role, we can assume that especially in the military milieu, the phallic representation stands for virility, force and victory, besides its apotropaic function. Up to the present day, apparently Colchester has produced the most phallic pendants from the Roman provincial environment – apparently, because many sites don't have exhaustive monographs, including all small finds and because many of the artefacts we found were listed on the pages of auction houses⁹. In this context, the phallic mounts are rarer – without constituting an actual rarity.

The published phallic amulets from Roman Dacia are not very numerous and some of the most beautiful pieces, as the three bronze pendants from the Museum of Oltenia (Craiova)¹⁰ or one of the pendants from Apulum¹¹ are donations from private collections – thus without a known archaeological context. The artefacts with known provenience are divided between civilian settlements, military environments¹² and funerary contexts¹³. Frequently, the civilian settlements where *fascina* were discovered are adjoined to military camps, as is the case with Apulum¹⁴ or of the *vicus* from Cășeiu¹⁵. The artefacts registered so far in Dacia are mainly three-dimensional pendants (two examples from Porolissum are double *phalli* and one from Craiova represents a winged *phallus*, cast in bronze).

The artefact we are presenting is a bronze phallic mount (inv. no. V.58934), discovered during the rescue excavations undertaken before the building of Polus Center (Florești, Cluj County) in the so-called area “Șapca Verde” (“Green Hat”) (Pl. I). Here, a civilian settlement was discovered, situated close to the road connecting Napoca and the fortress of Gilău, at about 5 kilometres West of Napoca¹⁶.

⁶ Moser 2006, 68 – for some examples.

⁷ PLIN. *Nat.* 28. 39.

⁸ Crummy 1983, 139.

⁹ Timeline auctions, Live auctioneers and of course E-bay.

¹⁰ Bondoc 2000, 55–58.

¹¹ Bounegru et alii 2011, 69, no. 80.

¹² Porolissum (Gudea 1989, 670), Apulum (Bounegru et alii 2011, 69, no. 81).

¹³ Bounegru et alii 2011, 69, no. 82.

¹⁴ Timofan 2005, 205–206; Bounegru et alii 2011, 69, no. 79.

¹⁵ Isac, Isac 2006, 121–123.

¹⁶ Unfortunately, almost all of the Roman structures have been destroyed before the proper archaeological excavation was started, because of the investor's haste to finish the construction. Therefore, only the lower parts of about five deepened huts, a well, the earth cellar and half of a kiln for tiles/bricks have

The mount was discovered in an earth cellar¹⁷, identified in the so-called trench S47 (Pl. II). The structure presents a heavily burnt upper level, it initially appeared quadrilateral and became round and shallower in depth, with an intermediate step (Pl. II/4; Pl. III/1)¹⁸. The dimensions were of 2.40 × 2.40 m with a lower diameter of 1.20 m, and a maximum depth of almost 3.00 m. In the same archaeological context more artefacts were discovered: pottery fragments – including several *terra sigillata* and luxury vessels, a bowl representing a human face, the upper part of a bronze scale, a fitting, arrowheads and a spearhead. Among these artefacts, was the *fascinum*, cast in bronze (Pl. III/2–3), with a diameter of 5.30 cm and a thickness of 0.40 cm. The phallic representation is in relief, 2.20 cm long, placed in the center of a circular ring of 2.80 cm in width. The outer part of the mount is partially deteriorated. On the upper part of the ridge, close to the tip of the *phallus*, might be represented a stylized vulva¹⁹.

The *fascina* are material expressions of an archaic form of personal religious devotion – the apotropaic magic. While during the period we are dealing with this practices might have been connected to vague superstitions or only traditionally perpetuated, they still are part of the private religious universe. The artefact presented here is a rather rare form of phallic mount, without exact analogies in Roman Dacia. Its discovery inside a cellar, while it could be the result of chance, could also indicate a ritual/magical gesture for protection of the stock in the vault.

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survived. In the Northern-Eastern part of the complex the lower part of a Roman road and some traces of wooden structures were preserved for research.

¹⁷ The artifact was first presented in the catalogue of the exhibition dedicated to the finds from the excavation at Polus Center (Alicu et alii 2008, 32, no. 96).

¹⁸ For similar features see Czysz 2003, 103, Abb. 68.

¹⁹ The analogies we have found in the Empire are typologically solely approximative, because the mounts tend to be three-dimensional (Crummy 1983, Fig. 163–165 – three Late Roman phallic mounts; <http://www.finds.calverley.info/0325.htm> – it lacks discovery place and conditions; <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/491921> – a phallic mount from Widfort). More resembling to our artifact are two pieces from auction websites: *Roman Bronze Phallic Mount – Lot No. 0567*, from www.timelineauctions.com (page visited in May 2015, now the artifact doesn't exist on sale anymore) and *Female Phallic Mount 003795*, from <http://www.ancient-erotica.co.uk/>.

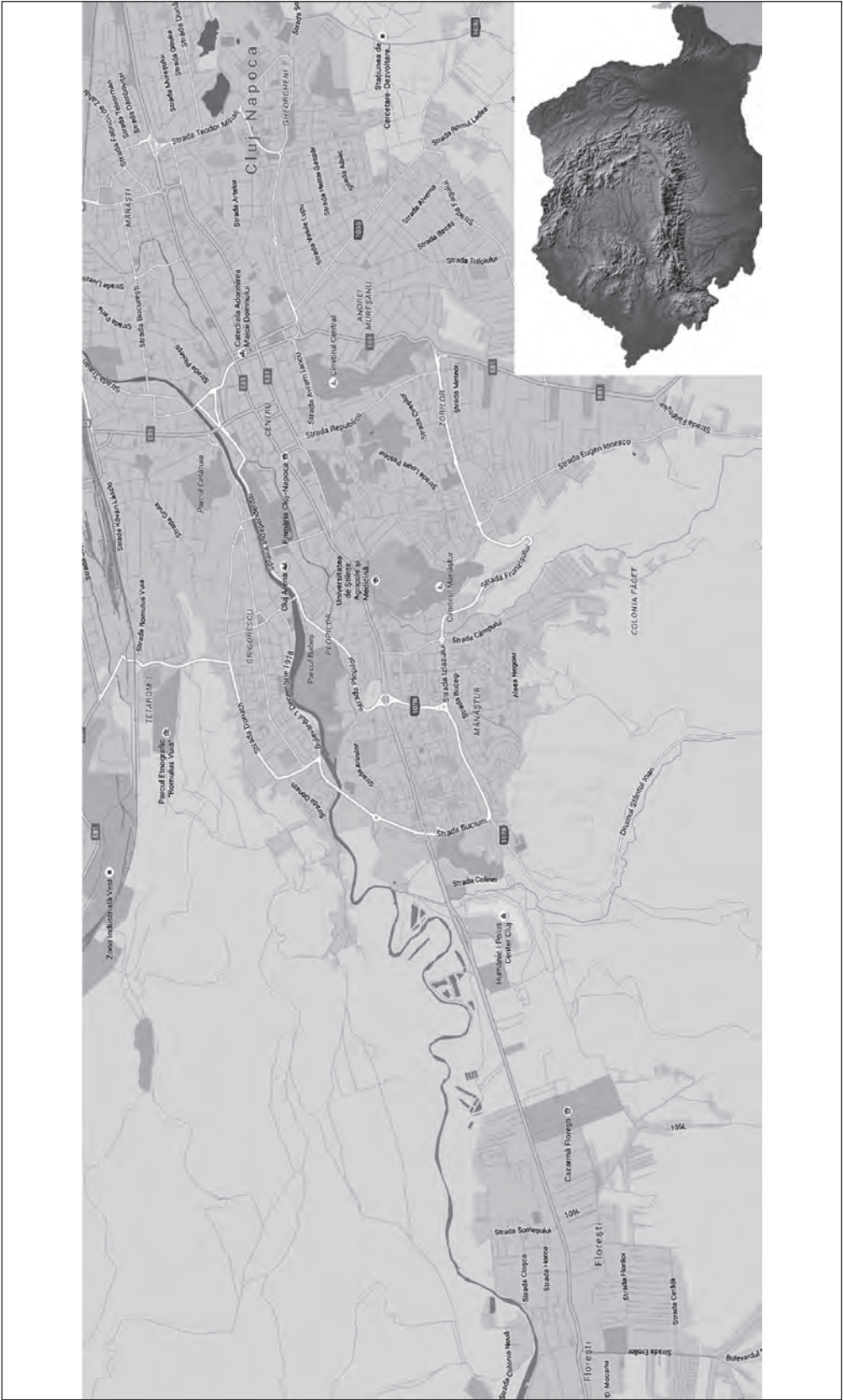
- Moser 2006 C. Moser, *Naked power: the phallus as an apotropaic symbol in the images and texts of Roman Italy*, Undergraduate Humanities Forum 2005-2006: Word & Image, 2006 (http://repository.upenn.edu/uhf_2006/11).
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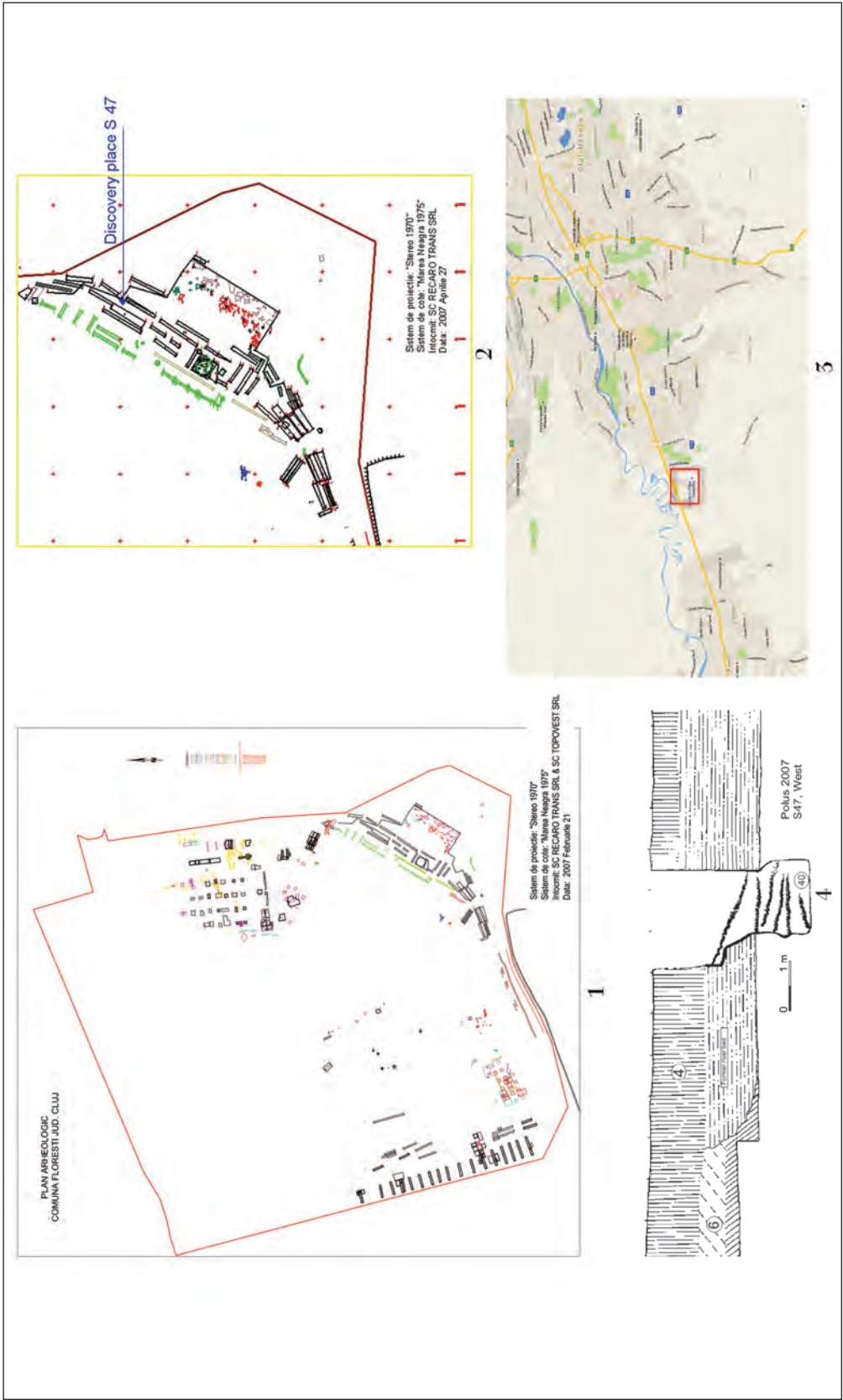
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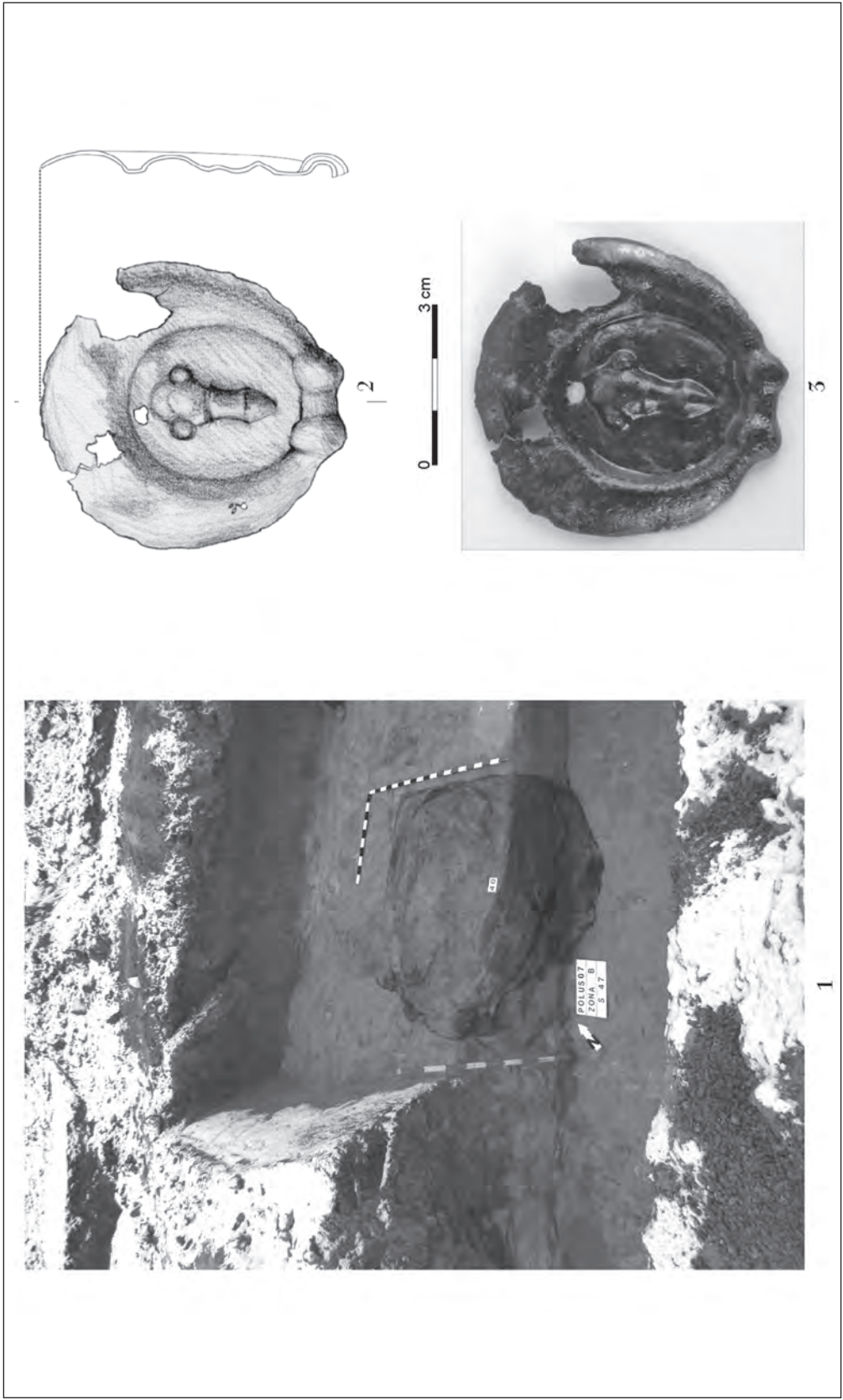
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Pl. I. Geographical localization.



Pl. II. Topographical localization of the excavation and finding spot.



Pl. III. The artifact in situ (1), drawing (2) and picture (3).

ZWEI BEMERKENSWERTE BRONZESTATUETTEN DES SOL MIT INSCHRIFT

RAINER WIEGELS

Zusammenfassung: Vom August Kestner Museum in Hannover war 1995 eine Bronzestatuetten des Helios/Sol erworben worden, deren genaue Herkunft unbekannt ist. Die Inschrift auf dem Postament nennt einen *actar(ius) ped(itum) sing(ularium)*, der mit dieser Weihgabe ein Gelübde einlöst. Aus dem rumänischen Alba Iulia ist eine weitere, allerdings verlorene Bronzestatuetten des Sol offenbar desselben Stifters bekannt, welcher der dort gepunzten Inschrift zufolge als *actar(ius) eq(uitum) sing(ularium)* zwar eine ähnliche, aber nicht identische Funktion im Heer des römischen Dakians ausgeübt hat. In dem Beitrag wird versucht, das historische Umfeld der Weihgaben und das Verhältnis der beiden Statuetten zueinander näher zu klären, soweit dies möglich ist.

Schlüsselwörter: Römische Militär- und Religionsgeschichte; *Singulares*; Helios/Sol; Bronzestatuetten; Lateinische Epigraphik.

Rezumat: În anul 1995 Muzeul August Kestner din Hanovra a achiziționat o statueta de bronz reprezentându-l pe Helios/Sol, proveniența piesei fiind necunoscută. Înscripția de pe soclul statuei menționează un *actar(ius) ped(itum) sing(ularium)* care a îndeplinit prin această dedicație promisiunea făcută zeului. Din Alba Iulia, România, cunoaștem o altă statueta de bronz reprezentându-l pe Sol, astăzi pierdută, care a fost dedicată de același donator. Conform inscripției, acesta a îndeplinit o funcție similară, dar nu identică, aceea de *actar(ius) eq(uitum) sing(ularium)* în armata romană din Dacia. Articolul de față încearcă să lămurească atât cât este posibil contextul istoric al acestui *ex voto*, precum și legătura dintre cele două statueti.

Cuvinte cheie: istorie militară; istoria religiilor; *Singulares*; Helios/Sol; statueta de bronz; epigrafie latină.

Im Museum August Kestner in Hannover befindet sich in der Ausstellung eine bemerkenswerte Bronzestatuetten des römischen Sonnengottes Sol, deren ursprüngliche Herkunft unbekannt ist (Abb. 1–3). Sie war 1995 vom Museum bei einer Auktion aus Privatbesitz erworben worden. Einer Vermutung zufolge stammte sie möglicherweise aus Gallien¹, aber diese Annahme bleibt unbestätigt und lässt sich nicht hinreichend durch eindeutige Indizien sichern². Aufmerksam geworden waren wir auf die Figur anlässlich ihrer Präsentation im Rahmen der Niedersächsischen Landesausstellung 2013: „Roms vergessener Feldzug. Die Schlacht am Harzhorn“, die vom 01. September 2013 bis 19. Januar 2014 im Landesmuseum Braunschweig gezeigt wurde³. Erstmals kurz besprochen wurde das Objekt von P. Matern im Rahmen ihrer Studie zu Helios und Sol⁴. Wenig später und offenbar unabhängig von Matern hat dann an etwas

¹ Matern 2002, 230 zu I 2.

² Die Vermutung scheint allein aus dem Ort der Versteigerung erschlossen. Nähere Angaben konnten nicht ermittelt werden.

³ Vgl. dazu auch Deppmeyer 2013, 260 f. mit Abb. 3.

⁴ Matern 2002, 230 zu I 2 mit Abb. 33 f. (ohne Sockel).

versteckter Stelle U. Gehrig den Neuerwerb vorgestellt und etwas ausführlicher kommentiert⁵. Die Figur des Gottes von außergewöhnlicher künstlerischer Qualität steht auf einem rechteckigen, allseits gerahmten bronzenen Postament, das auf seiner vorderen Seite eine zweizeilige Inschrift aufweist. Die Gesamthöhe der Statuette beträgt 53 cm, davon entfallen ca. 5 cm auf den Sockel. Damit gehört die Statuette zu den größeren ihrer Art. Man erkennt einige gravierende Beschädigungen: Verloren ist der linke Unterschenkel der Figur, zudem fehlen einige Finger beider Hände. Sol ist in heroischer Nacktheit und ohne den sonst vielfach vorhandenen kurzen Mantel (Chlamys) dargestellt. Sein im Ellenbogen angewinkelter linker Arm ist leicht schräg nach vorne ausgestellt. In der nach oben offenen Hand muss sich ursprünglich ein Gegenstand befunden haben, der aber verloren ist. Aufgrund dieser Haltung ist nicht wahrscheinlich, dass der Gott in seiner Linken etwa eine kurze Peitsche umfasste wie bei anderen Kleinbronzen und weiteren Objekten mit Darstellungen des Helios/Sol⁶. Anzunehmen ist eher auf Grund von parallelen Monumenten ein Globus⁷. Denn auf diese Weise wird der Gott etwa auf Münzen der Kaiser Elagabal (218–222 n. Chr.) und Severus Alexander (222–235 n. Chr.) dargestellt, aber auch bei weiteren Statuetten ist dieses Symbol in der Hand des Gottes nachzuweisen⁸, wenig überzeugend ist jedenfalls die Annahme eine Spendenschale. Der rechte Arm des Sol ist in bekannter und vielfach belegter Weise demonstrativ zum Gruß erhoben. Am Kopf des Gottes fehlen Spuren der üblichen, zumeist siebenfachen Strahlen, welche die Sonne symbolisieren und bei den Bronzen vielfach mit gegossenen wurden (vgl. beispielhaft Abb. 4). Möglicherweise war das Haupt aber auch mit einer eigens gefertigten Strahlenkrone geschmückt gewesen, von der sich aber nichts erhalten hat. Nach U. Gehrig „hat das jugendliche Gesicht des Gottes porträtartige Züge und erinnert besonders an Darstellungen Alexanders des Großen. [...] Die Statuette scheint [...] eine berühmte griechische Statue frühhellenistischer Zeit zu kopieren, wahrscheinlich die des Koloss von Rhodos“⁹. Dargestellt ist Sol im sogenannten „Invictus-Typus“, d. h. als „unbesiegter und unbesiegbare Sonnengott“¹⁰. Diese Sieghaftigkeit war zweifellos auch ein entscheidender Grund für seine Beliebtheit im römischen Kaisertum und beim Heer¹¹. Bereits seit augusteischer Zeit verband sich solare Symbolik nicht zuletzt im Zusammenspiel Sol – Apollon mit der kaiserlichen Selbstdarstellung und damit auch mit dem Anbruch eines neuen, goldenen Zeitalters sowie der ewigen Dauer des römischen Reiches. In diesem Zusammenhang ist auch bemerkenswert, dass bei der 20 Jahre nach dem Sieg über Kleopatra im Jahr 10 v. Chr. eingeweihten monumentalen Sonnenuhr des Augustus die Inschriften auf dem Sockel des als Gnomon dienenden Obelisk diesen als Gabe für Sol ausweisen¹². Demnach kann die Vorstellung vom

⁵ Gehrig 2003, 72 f. mit Abb. 103 a-b.

⁶ Matern 2002, passim; Hoepfner 2003, 65 ff.

⁷ Matern 2002, 230 zu I 2; Gehrig 2003, 72.

⁸ Beispiele mit Abb. bei Matern 2002.

⁹ Gehrig 2002, 73.

¹⁰ Matern 2002, 230 ff.

¹¹ Halsberghe 1972; Turcan 1978; Berrens 2004, bes. 22–24, u. 184–204 mit ausführlichen Verweisen insbesondere auf die epigraphischen und numismatischen Zeugnisse, aber auch auf die umfangreiche Forschung.

¹² CIL VI 701, 702 = CIL VI 30815 = ILS 91 a-b.

helfenden Wirken und der göttlichen Kraft des Sonnengottes nicht allein auf die Sieghaftigkeit beschränkt werden, obwohl dieser Aspekt offenbar zunehmend – und erst recht in der Zeit der Reichskrise im 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr. – in den Vordergrund rückte. Ein Heiligtum für Sol existierte in Rom schon seit früher Zeit¹³. Aber es dauerte immerhin bis nach der Mitte des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr., dass Kaiser Aurelian im Zusammenhang mit seinem Triumph 274 n. Chr. in der Hauptstadt Rom einen offiziellen, d. h. staatlichen Kult für Sol etablierte und einen prächtigen Tempelbau sowie *ludi Solis* einrichtete. Dass sich die Verehrung des Sol Invictus im offiziellen Kontext bereits im frühen 3. Jahrhundert vor Elagabal nachweisen lasse¹⁴, kann nach der Neulesung der Inschrift CIL XIII 6754 aus Mogontiacum/Mainz durch M. Christol¹⁵ nicht mehr mit diesem Zeugnis begründet werden. Hinzuweisen ist auch darauf, dass die früher verbreitete Vorstellung von Sol Invictus als einem ursprünglich orientalischen Sonnengott¹⁶ heute nicht mehr geteilt wird und stattdessen sein Hervorgehen aus dem traditionellen griechisch-römischen Helios bzw. Sol und noch weiter zurück aus einem verbreiteten indigenen, prähistorischen Sonnenkult betont wird¹⁷. Auch eine unbestrittene Affinität zum Mithraskult, wie sie etwa in Weihungen an Sol Invictus Mithras zum Ausdruck kommt, ändert nichts an diesem Befund¹⁸. Der Mithraskult jedenfalls war und blieb ein weitgehend im Verborgenen gepflegter Privatkult innerhalb exklusiver Gemeinschaften, während öffentliche Heiligtümer für Sol in Rom eine lange Tradition haben.

Von besonderem Interesse ist die nicht in jeder Hinsicht professionell eingeritzte Inschrift auf dem Sockel der Statuette. Sie ist wie folgt zu lesen und zu übersetzen:

*M(arcus)·Aurel(ius)·Sila (oder Sila(nus)?) actar(ius) ped(itum)
sing(ularium)·pro se-et-suos (sic!)·v(otum)·l(ibens)·s(olvit)*

„Marcus Aurelius Sila (oder Sila(nus)?), Kanzleibeamter der *pedites singulares*, hat für sich und die Seinen das Gelübde gerne eingelöst“.

In der Inschrift wurden die Worttrenner in Form von Punkten nicht immer konsequent mittig gesetzt. Gegen Ende der Z. 1 geriet der Graveur mit dem Text in Platznot; die Buchstaben sind hier deutlich enger gestellt und auch kleiner. Beim Buchstaben L sind die Querhaken durchgängig schräg nach unten gerichtet; M, A und G nähern sich der Kursive an. Am Ende von Z. 2 ist das S trotz einer Verletzung der Bronze an dieser Stelle gewiss. Hinzuweisen ist auf den grammatischen Fehler *pro se et suos* statt *pro se et suis*.

Der Dedikant weist sich mit seinem vollen, dreigliedrigen Namen als römischer Bürger aus; zumindest war er im Besitz der Latinitas. Die Ergänzung seines Cognomens zu *Sila(nus)?*¹⁹ oder – zuversichtlicher, weil ohne Vorbehalt – *Sila(nus)*²⁰

¹³ Vgl. etwa TAC. *Ann.* 15. 74. 1: *vetus aedes* aus der Zeit des Nero.

¹⁴ Halsberghe 1972, 52 f.

¹⁵ Christol 1975.

¹⁶ So noch Halsberghe 1972.

¹⁷ Hijmans 1996, 118 ff.; Berrens 2004, 17 ff.

¹⁸ Berrens 2004, 24 ff.; 184 ff.

¹⁹ Speidel 1978, 90, Nr. 37.

²⁰ Matern 2002, 230 zu I 2; Gehrig 2003, 73.

ist denkbar, aber nicht zwingend, da der Beiname Sila auch anderweitig, wenngleich selten, belegt ist²¹. Ein Freigelassener *P(ublius) Largius P(ubli) l(ibertus) Sila* wird in der Inschrift CIL X 6158 (Formiae – Italien) genannt, ansonsten ist in den wenigen weiteren Belegen für Männer die Form *Silus* überliefert, dagegen für Frauen *Sila*²².

In der Inschrift wird Sol nicht eigens angesprochen, was ja auch angesichts der eindeutigen Darstellung nicht zwingend erforderlich ist, und dementsprechend ist dort auch kein Epitheton *Invictus* verzeichnet. Wie die Inschrift ausweist, war der Stifter der Statue, der damit ein Gelübde einlöste, Angehöriger der römischen Armee. In dieser versah er bei den *pedites singulares* die Dienststellung eines *actarius*. Generell bestand die Aufgabe der *pedites singulares* ebenso wie diejenige der entsprechenden *equites singulares* als Gardetruppen der Provinzarmeen im Schutz der hohen Amtsträger in der Provinz; sie waren daher durchweg als Einheiten am Statthaltersitz stationiert²³. Rekrutiert wurden sie aus den Hilfstruppen, die *pedites singulares* aus der Infanterie der Kohorten, die *equites singulares* aus den Alen und den entsprechenden Abteilungen der berittenen Kohorten, und zwar in der Regel derjenigen Provinz, in der sie stationiert waren. *Singularis* war aber kein militärischer Rang mit eigener Bezahlung, sondern eine Diensttätigkeit²⁴. Die Abkommandierten blieben daher auch in den Stammrollen ihrer jeweiligen Einheiten verzeichnet. Zusammen genommen dürften diese Formationen, die seit der Frühzeit des Principats bestanden, in den größeren Provinzen ca. 1000 Mann umfasst haben²⁵. Gewöhnlich agierten *equites* und *pedites singulares* als getrennte Einheiten, konnten aber gegebenenfalls auch in einen gemeinsamen *numerus singularium* zusammengefasst werden, und bisweilen wurden aus den *singulares* sogar vollständige neue Hilfstruppen-Einheiten gebildet. Sie begleiteten den Statthalter bei der Ausübung seiner Amtsgeschäfte und bildeten im Kriegsfall eine taktische Eliteeinheit, deren Aufgabe M. P. Speidel wie folgt beschreibt: „The governor’s singulares ... functioned as a mobile reserve at a time when the main army guarded the long frontiers in fortified forward positions, i. e. they served as „Abschnittsreserven““²⁶. Entsprechend ihrer Funktionen gehörten sie in den Provinzen zum *officium* des Statthalters. Seit einigen Jahren ist aber auch ein *singularis* eines Legionslegaten nachgewiesen²⁷. Eine besondere, eigenständige Bedeutung besaßen die *equites singulares Augusti*, Begleitformation und Leibwache der *principes*, die in unserem Fall aber keine weitere Bedeutung spielen²⁸.

Die Tätigkeit der *actarii* – auch in der Form *actuarii* belegt – lässt sich im Detail nicht genau festlegen. Sie waren auch im privaten Bereich tätig, sei es als Freie oder als Sklaven²⁹. Als Funktionäre im Heer lassen sie sich in Inschriften der Hohen

²¹ AE 1962, 202; Kajanto 1965, 105; 237 zu Silus/Sila: danach zu den lateinischen Cognomina auf „-a“ gehörend und wahrscheinlich aus dem Griechischen entlehnt.

²² Vgl. auch RE II A, 1923, s.v. *Sergius*, 1719 f, Nr. 38–421923 (Münzer): Silus als Beiname eines republikanischen Zweiges der Sergii.

²³ Speidel 1978.

²⁴ Speidel 1978, 34 f.

²⁵ Speidel 1978, 4 ff., 11.

²⁶ Speidel 1978, 14.

²⁷ AE 1969–1970, 583.

²⁸ Hierzu Speidel 1965; Speidel 1994; Speidel 1994a.

²⁹ RE I, 1894, s.v. *Actarius* 1, 301 (Kubitschek); Stauner 2004, 129.

Kaiserzeit mehrfach nachweisen. Nach derzeitigem Stand unseres Wissens sind sie erstmals sicher unter Septimius Severus, also seit der Wende 2.–3. Jahrhundert, durch eine Inschrift aus Albanum/Albano Laziale bezeugt, welche die Einlösung eines Votums zu Gunsten des Septimius Severus und seiner Familie durch einen *cornicularius legionis* und einen *actarius cum imm(unibus) libr(ariis) et exactis* dokumentiert³⁰. Dieses schließt selbstverständlich ihre frühere Existenz nicht aus, zumal die meisten epigraphischen Zeugnisse nicht genau genug datiert werden können. Zu ihrer vollen Titulatur gehörte auch die Angabe der Truppengattung bzw. der Einheit, der sie zugeordnet waren. So kennen wir mehrere *act(u)arii* bei den Legionen, aber auch bei den Hilfstruppen, also Alen, Kohorten und Numeri. Mit unserer Inschrift sind sie jetzt erstmals auch bei den *pedites singulares* nachgewiesen. Unstrittig ist, dass sie im Heer Verwaltungsfunktionen ausübten³¹, aber das meiste über ihre Tätigkeit erfahren wir erst aus spätantiken Quellen. Danach spielten sie im Versorgungswesen der Truppen eine wichtige Rolle, wie verschiedene Erlasse der Kaiser zeigen³². Im Einzelnen wird man wohl mit unterschiedlichen Aufgaben im Zusammenhang mit den Pflichten eines ‚Quartiermeisters‘ zu rechnen haben, die sich im Laufe der Zeit auch geändert haben mögen. Mit unserer Inschrift wird zudem nahe gelegt, dass diese Aufgaben für *pedites singulares* und *equites singulares* von unterschiedlichem Personal erledigt wurden.

Unsere Statuette wird vor allem wegen der Inschrift und des dort verzeichneten Namens des Stifters in die Regierungszeit Marc Aurels (161–180 n. Chr.) datiert³³, aber aus diesem Indiz lässt sich lediglich ein Terminus a quo ableiten, zumal aus dem Namen gewonnene Indizien und Fertigung des Objektes nicht zeitgleich sein müssen. Der Zeitraum kann u. E. vom späten 2. bis ins frühe 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr. gedehnt werden, jedoch gemäß den *tria Nomina* des Dedikanten auch kaum länger. U. Gehrig datiert dagegen in erster Linie nach stilistischen Kriterien. Seiner Meinung nach stammt die Statuette aus einer stadtrömischen Werkstatt in den ersten Regierungsjahren des Kaisers M. Aurelius Severus Alexander, ca. 222–224 n. Chr.³⁴. Das wäre eine höchst präzise Einordnung, der gegenüber unseres Erachtens gewisse Vorbehalte angebracht sind. Die von Gehrig aus dem – ergänzten (!) – Beinamen *Sila(nus)* gezogene Folgerung, dass der Weihende in den Jahren 188–189 n. Chr. aufgrund der Konsulate von drei *Silani* römisches Bürgerrecht und einen römischen Namen angenommen habe, bleibt dabei in jedem Fall spekulativ.

Die Tatsache, dass *pedites singulares* als eine Spezialtruppe vor allem im Umfeld eines Statthalters anzutreffen sind, zwingt zwar nicht dazu, legt es aber nahe, den möglichen Ort der ursprünglichen Aufstellung der Votivgabe im Bereich eines Statthaltersitzes zu vermuten. Nach der allerdings unsicheren und unbestätigten Angabe „Gallien (?)“, die möglicherweise auf den Eigentümer der zur Auktion

³⁰ CIL XIV 2255 = CIL VI 3401 (p. 3393) = ILS 2398; vgl. auch CIL II 2663 (p. 708, 912) = ILS 2335 (Legio/León – Hisp. cit.): ... *actarius / leg(ionis) VII Gem(inae) / Ant(oninianae) P(iae) Fel(icis)*

³¹ Stauner 2004, bes. 129 ff.

³² Unter anderem RE I A, 1894, s.v. *Actarius* 2, 302 f. (Seeck).

³³ Matern 2002, 230: 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr. (160–180?); nach einer Beischrift im Museum 140–180 n. Chr.

³⁴ Gehrig 2003, 73.

angebotenen Statuette zurückgeht, käme dafür in erster Linie Lugdunum/Lyon, Sitz des Statthalters der Tres Galliae, infrage. In dessen Umfeld gab es zweifellos auch *equites* bzw. *pedites singulares*, obwohl konkrete Belege bislang fehlen. Aber die Basis für diesen Schluss ist zu brüchig, als dass sich darauf bauen ließe. Bei weiteren Recherchen stößt man jedoch noch auf einen anderen bemerkenswerten Fund. In einer Notizin der L'Année Épigraphique zum Jahr 1962³⁵ wird auf eine Inschrift aus Apulum/Alba Iulia (früher Karlsburg) im siebenbürgischen Rumänien, seit Hadrian Hauptstadt der Provinz Dacia superior bzw. Dacia Apulensis und Standort einer römischen Legion, aufmerksam gemacht. Danach handelt es sich um eine „statuette de bronze, disparue, dédiée par M. Aurel. Sila actar. e sing.; stèle funéraire“, was zusammen genommen allerdings zunächst an der korrekten Deutung zweifeln lässt. Denn schon auf den ersten Blick erweist es sich zweifellos als irrig, dass es sich um eine Grabinschrift handeln würde, aber eine solche Zuschreibung findet sich auch nicht in der Primärliteratur, auf der die Information beruht. Die Version in AE 1962, 208, welche auch Grundlage für die Aufnahme des Textes in die Zusammenstellung der *singulares* durch M. P. Speidel war³⁶, geht zurück auf eine Mitteilung von E. Zefleanu³⁷, der sich seinerseits auf Informationen aus zweiter Hand beruft. Aufgenommen – und damit auch einem größeren Fachpublikum zur Kenntnis gegeben – wurde die Inschrift dann in die Sammlung der römischen Inschriften Dakiens, wo I. Piso ausführlich aus den Angaben bei Zefleanu zitiert³⁸. Im Folgenden sei zunächst die Maiuskel-Transkription von Zefleanu vorgelegt mit den entsprechenden Auflösungen der Abkürzungen sowie der französischen Übersetzung von Piso:

M AVREL · SILA · A
CTAR · EQ
SING · PRO · SE ET SVOS V L S

M(arcus) Aurel(ius) Sila a/ctar(ius) eq(uitum) / sing(ularium) pro se et suos v(otum) l(ibens) s(olvit)

„Marcus Aurelius Sila, *actarius* de la garde montée (du gouverneur), s'est acquittée de (son) voeu de bon gré pour lui-même et pour les siens“.

Die auf merkwürdige Weise teils mit Stern, teils mit Punkten und unregelmäßig innerhalb der Zeilen gesetzten Trenner bei Zefleanu seien nur nebenbei erwähnt. Vielleicht sollten die Punkte nach V und L aber auch nur modern die Abkürzung signalisieren. Auffallend ist allerdings die Verteilung des Textes, insbesondere das am Ende von Z. 1 allein stehende und zum kurzen Text in Z. 2 gehörende A von *a/ctar(ius)*. Sachlich von Bedeutung ist aber, dass am Ende von Z. 2 offenbar *eq(uitum)* stand und nicht ein irritierendes einfaches E, welches dann zu *e(quitum)* ergänzt wurde, wie nach AE 1962, 208 angenommen werden müsste. Da das Objekt bereits unmittelbar nach seinem Auffinden im Jahr 1926 verschwunden war – Bemühungen,

³⁵ AE 1962, 208.

³⁶ Speidel 1978, 90, Nr. 37.

³⁷ Zefleanu 1958, 170 f., Nr. 1.

³⁸ IDR III/5, 358.

es zu erhalten und dem Museum zu übergeben, waren offenbar gescheitert –, müssen wir uns an die Überlieferung halten. Demnach haben wir es mit einem dreizeiligen Text zu tun, der sich allerdings wie bei der Statuette des Sol in Hannover auf der Basis einer Bronzestatuetten desselben Gottes befand. Auch inhaltlich stimmen beide Inschriften in ihrem Aufbau überein und entsprechen sich bei einer allerdings entscheidenden Ausnahme selbst im Detail. Die Namen der Dedikanten sind gleich und wurden im Text jeweils auf dieselbe Weise abgekürzt. Auch die Weiheformeln sind identisch, und schließlich weisen beide Inschriften denselben grammatischen Fehler *pro suos* auf. Aber im Unterschied zum Text der Hannoverschen Sol-Inschrift weist sich der Dedikant der Statuette aus Alba Iulia nicht als *actarius* der *pedites singulares*, sondern als *actarius* der *equites singulares* aus! Trotzdem kann kein Zweifel bestehen, dass wir es mit ein und derselben Person zu tun haben. Das Verschwinden der Bronzestatuetten des Sol aus Apulum/Alba Iulia und die unbekannte Herkunft eines gleichen Objektes in Hannover legen zwar den Verdacht nahe, dass wir es mit demselben Stück zu tun haben könnten, bei näherem Zusehen lässt sich diese Vermutung jedoch nicht bestätigen. Schon die skizzierten Unterschiede lassen zweifeln, ohne dass dadurch die Parallelität infrage gestellt werden würde³⁹.

Glücklicherweise wird von E. Zefleanu eine recht genaue Beschreibung der verlorenen bzw. verschwundenen Sol-Statuette überliefert, die wir hier der Einfachheit halber in der französischen Version von I. Piso zitieren wollen⁴⁰: „La statuette était complète, mais, lors de la fouille, on cassa les deux bras au-dessous des épaules et les pieds au niveau des chevilles, ce qui fit qu'elle se détacha de la base en bronze sur laquelle elle était fixée. Tous les fragments furent conservés. Elle (la statue) est haute de 30 cm; elle représente une divinité jeune, nue, qui porte une couronne à cinq rayons, travaillée séparément et montée sur les boucles de sa chevelure. Le bras droit tombe le long du corps et le gauche s'élève dans un geste d'orateur. La jambe droite est tenue et porte le poids du corps; la gauche est légèrement projetée en avant et fléchie au genou. Les pieds sont fixés sur une base en bronze qui porte, sur une plaque fixée séparément, l'inscription suivante, gravée en lettres pointillées”.

Übereinstimmungen und Unterschiede zwischen dieser und der in Hannover befindlichen Statuette sind gleichermaßen signifikant. Nach dieser Mitteilung war die Statuette zunächst komplett, es wurden ihr dann aber beide Arme in Höhe der Schultern und beide Füße in Höhe der Enkel abgetrennt; somit wurde also die Figur des Gottes als solche von der Basis gelöst. Vergleicht man diese Aussage mit dem Befund am erhaltenen Objekt in Hannover, so lassen sich an Letzterem sekundäre Lötspuren lediglich am rechten, nicht aber an dem linken Arm und auch nicht am erhaltenen rechten Fuß feststellen. Zwar blieben nach Zefleanu alle Teile der Statuette aus Siebenbürgen (zunächst?) erhalten, es spricht aber nach den erfolglosen Rettungsversuchen vieles dafür, dass die Reste eingeschmolzen wurden. Verschieden sind auch die Maßangaben: Die Statuette aus Apulum soll 30 cm hoch gewesen sein; die Figur in Hannover ist auch ohne Postament mit etwa 48 cm deutlich größer; Maßangaben zum Postament der

³⁹ Im Übrigen sei zumindest notiert, dass es entsprechend den Stellungnahmen der archäologischen Experten offenbar keine Hinweise auf mögliche Fälschung des einen oder anderen Objektes gibt.

⁴⁰ Zu IDR III/5, 358.

Statuette aus Apulum fehlen allerdings. Offenbar hatte sich aber die fünfstrahlige (!) Krone des Sonnengottes erhalten, und zudem waren bei dieser Statuette noch Spuren der Befestigung derselben auszumachen, die bei derjenigen in Hannover – wie gesehen – fehlen. Auch die Armhaltung des Gottes müsste – die Korrektheit der Mitteilung vorausgesetzt – spiegelbildlich zu derjenigen des Sol in Hannover gewesen sein. Es sei aber immerhin notiert, dass in der Regel bei derartigen Statuetten der Grußgestus des Gottes durch den erhobenen rechten Arm erfolgt. Schließlich sollen die Inschrift auf dem Postament des Sol aus Apulum mit einem gesonderten Schild befestigt und die Buchstaben gepunzt gewesen sein, bei der Statuette in Hannover ist die Schrift dagegen unmittelbar in den bronzenen Sockel geritzt.

Aus diesem Befund ist mit großer Sicherheit zu folgern, dass wir es mit zwei Statuetten des Sol zu tun haben, die aber von ein und demselben Stifter in Auftrag gegeben worden waren, ohne Zweifel ein ungewöhnlicher Zufall. Bemerkenswert ist dabei vor allem die Tatsache, dass sich Sila(nus?) einmal als *actarius* bei den *pedites singulares*, zum anderen als *actarius* bei den *equites singulares* ausweist. Für eine Erklärung wäre es zweifellos mehr als hilfreich, ließe sich der genaue Fundort der in Hannover befindlichen Statuette ermitteln.

Unabhängig davon lohnt zunächst noch ein genauerer Blick nach Dakien. Die übergreifende Studie von G. Cupcea zu den Gardetruppen der dakischen Statthalter ist in unserem Zusammenhang von besonderem Interesse, ohne dass wir hier darauf eigens eingehen können⁴¹. Dabei kommt den Funden aus Apulum besondere Bedeutung zu. An diesem Ort sind *singulares* mehrfach nachgewiesen: Ein *n(umerus) sing(ularium)* und *singul(ares)* ohne dezidierte Zuordnung zu *equites* oder *pedites* sind uns durch eine beachtliche Zahl von Inschriften bekannt⁴², aber ebenso *equites singulares*⁴³ wie *pedites singulares*⁴⁴. Mehrfach handelt es sich dabei um gestempelte Ziegel dieser Truppen⁴⁵. Hier reiht sich die Sol-Statuette bestens ein, zumal auch der Kult des Sonnengottes an diesem Ort seinen festen Platz hatte. Allerdings ist nicht immer festzustellen, in welche genaueren Zusammenhänge die einzelne Weihung an Sol bzw. Sol Invictus einzuordnen ist, dem an dieser Stelle nicht näher nachgegangen werden kann⁴⁶. Eine weitere Inschrift aus Apulum überliefert den folgenden Text: *Soli Invicto / aedem restituit / C(aius) Caerellius / Sabinus / leg(atus) Aug(usti) / leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae)*. Die Inschrift wird in die Zeit des Commodus 183–185 n. Chr. datiert und belegt, dass dort bereits einige Zeit zuvor ein Tempel für den Sonnengott errichtet worden war⁴⁷. Ebenfalls von dort stammt die Inschrift eines weiteren Legaten der

⁴¹ Cupcea 2015. Die Studie lag uns beim Abschluss des Manuskriptes 2013 noch nicht vor. Der vorliegende Beitrag erschien auch 2015 nach längerer Druckverzögerung in der Zeitschrift „Die Kunde“, welche vom Niedersächsischen Landesmuseum herausgegeben wird. Eine kurze Version wurde in Varuskurier 15, 2013, 1–5 vorgelegt.

⁴² AE 1891, 77 a; AE 1962, 209 c; CIL III 7799 = IDR III/5, 477; CIL III 12633 a-b = IDR III/6, 270, 271, 285, 286, 305.

⁴³ CIL III 1160 = IDR III/5, 375; CIL III 1195 (p. 1390) = IDR III/5, 558; CIL III 7787 = IDR III/5, 405; CIL III 7800 = IDR III/5, 522; CIL III 12633h = IDR III/6, 269.

⁴⁴ AE 1891, 77 c-d; CIL III 12633 c-g; IDR III/6, 272–284.

⁴⁵ Vgl. auch Speidel 1978, 88 ff., Nr. 32–39.

⁴⁶ Weiterführende Hinweise finden sich unter anderem in den Literaturangaben zu den einzelnen Zeugnissen in IDR III/5.

⁴⁷ CIL III 1111 = CIMRM II 1968 = IDR III/5, 354.

legio XIII Gemina für Sol Invictus⁴⁸, und noch ein dritter Kommandant dieser Einheit löste zusammen mit seiner Frau und seinem Sohn am Ort ein an Sol (ohne begleitendes Invictus) gerichtetes Gelübde ein⁴⁹. Diese zuletzt genannte Inschrift stammt aus der gemeinsamen Regierungszeit des Septimius Severus und Caracalla. Schließlich ist noch eine leider akephale Weihinschrift aus Apulum mit folgendem Text zu erwähnen, deren Ergänzung mit dem Namen des verehrten Gottes allerdings strittig ist: [--- *In]victo pro sa/lute imp(eri) p(opuli)q(ue) R(omani) / et ordinis col(oniae) / Apul(ensis) C(aius) Iul(ius) Va/lens har(uspex) col(oniae) s(upra) s(criptae) / et antistes hu/iusque loci / v(oto) l(ibens) p(osuit)*⁵⁰. Mit ihr wird auf Grund eines Votums möglicherweise [Sol? In]victus als Schutzgottheit des Reiches und der Stadt Apulum angesprochen. Einem anderen und wohl auch plausibleren Ergänzungsvorschlag zufolge handelt es sich aber nicht um Sol, sondern wahrscheinlicher um Hercules⁵¹. Weitere Weihungen an Sol bzw. Sol Invictus aus Apulum sind aber bekannt⁵². Offenbar existierte am Ort eine rege Kultgemeinschaft. Mit Recht wurde bereits mehrfach darauf verwiesen, dass die Verehrung des Sonnengottes in den militärisch geprägten Donauprovinzen – und hier vor allem in Dakien – eine herausragende Rolle spielte⁵³.

Letztlich nicht schlüssig zu klären sind die genaueren Hintergründe und Umstände für beide Weihungen. Wir halten es nicht für ausgeschlossen, dass die Statuette in Hannover ursprünglich ebenfalls aus Dakien (Apulum?) stammte, gewiss ist das aber nicht. Demgegenüber ist jedenfalls eine Versetzung des Dedikanten über Provinzgrenzen hinweg in verschiedene Heeresbezirke weniger wahrscheinlich, aber andererseits auch nicht unmöglich. Gut vorstellbar ist dagegen eine Versetzung innerhalb desselben statthalterlichen *officium* bei gleichbleibender Funktion, die er als *actarius* in unbekannter Reihenfolge bei den *pedites* und *equites singulares* ausgeübt hat; zeitgleich dürfte er diese nach den pointierten Formulierungen in den Inschriften kaum innegehabt haben. Solche Statuetten wie diese zweifellos sich sehr ähnelnden des Sol, mit denen Sila(nus?) seine Gelübde eingelöst hat, mögen vorgefertigt gewesen sein und gleichsam aus dem antiken Devotionalienhandel stammen. Dass aber die in Hannover verwahrte Statuette in Rom gegossen wurde, wie U. Gehrig annahm⁵⁴, lassen wir lieber offen.

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⁴⁸ CIL III 1013 = CIMRM II 1969 = IDR III/5, 353.

⁴⁹ CIL III 1118 = CIMRM II 1952 = IDR III/5, 350.

⁵⁰ CIL III 1114 = CIMRM II 1998 = IDR III/5, 356.

⁵¹ Vgl. den Kommentar von Piso in IDR III/5, 356 zur Inschrift mit weiterer Literatur. Ähnlich Piso zum Fragment CIL III 14475 = IDR III/5, 357 im Kommentar an letztgenannter Stelle.

⁵² Vgl. AE 1944, 31 = CIMRM II 1946 = IDR III/5, 351; CIL III 1107 = CIMRM II 1999 = IDR III/5, 352; CIL III 7781 = CIMRM II 1984 = IDR III/5, 355.

⁵³ Halsberghe 1972, 49 f.; Berrens 2004, 23 f.

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Taf. I. 1. 2. Bronzestatuetten des Helios/Sol im Museum August Kestner, Hannover (Höhe 53 cm), Inv. Nr. 1995. 1.



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Taf. II. 1. Inschrift auf dem Postament des Helios/Sol im Museum August Kestner, Hannover; **2.** Montdidier, Dép. Somme (Picardie). Statuette des Helios/Sol (Höhe 35 cm) AO: Louvre, Paris.

THE FUNERARY AEDICULAE OF POROLISSUM*

RADU IUSTINIAN ZĂGREANU, DÁVID PETRUȚ

Abstract: The present paper continues the analysis of the funerary monuments discovered in and around the Roman center from Porolissum (Dacia Porolissensis), setting forth a new, up-to-date catalogue and typological classification. This time, the investigation focused on the monuments belonging to aedicula type funerary structures. Accordingly, the finds from Porolissum were classified based on their preserved parts and conservation state. A total of 31 fragments coming from aediculae were identified. Among them 14 walls, three possible pedestal panels, two cornice fragments and 11 fragments of so-called Syrian arches. The funerary aedicula was one of the most frequent monument types found in the cemeteries around Porolissum. Resemblances with other important centers from Dacia Porolissensis are evident both from a typological and iconographic perspective, however at some point the local workshops developed an individual style. It is here that the aedicula with Syrian arch (“aedicula mit Archivolte”) was most popular among the local elites, the military environment seemingly also displaying a propensity for this monument type. The iconography is varied and at times surprising, the repertoire of usual genre scenes is tinted by images with erotic connotations, highly uncommon in Roman Dacia.

Keywords: aedicula; funerary monument; Porolissum; Dacia Porolissensis.

Rezumat: Acest studiu continuă analiza noastră asupra monumentelor funerare ce provin din centrul de la Porolissum, încercându-se realizarea unui catalog cât mai complet precum și propunerea unor tipologii realiste. De această dată atenția noastră s-a oprit asupra monumentelor ce provin de la construcții funerare de tip *aedicula*. Referitor la acest tip de monument funerar, descoperirile de la Porolissum au putut fi clasificate în funcție de elementele componente păstrate și starea lor de conservare. Am identificat un număr de 31 fragmente ce provin de la construcții funerare de tip *aedicula*. Dintre acestea 14 sunt pereți, trei posibile plăci de postamente, două fragmente de cornișe, 11 fragmente de așa-zise „frontoane siriene”. *Aedicula* funerară a constituit unul dintre tipurile de monumente frecvent întâlnite în necropolele din jurul orașului și castrului de la Porolissum. Tipologic și iconografic asemănările cu alte centre importante ale Daciei Porolissensis sunt evidente, însă atelierele locale ajung la un moment dat să își dezvolte un limbaj stilistic propriu, reușind să producă piese unicate atât din punct de vedere arhitectonic cât și iconografic. Porolissum este centrul unde *aedicula* de tip clasic cu arhivoltă a cunoscut o mare popularitate în rândul elitelor locale. De asemenea și mediul militar își manifestă preferința pentru acest tip de monument, reprezentându-se în scene de gen sau propunând scene surprinzătoare cu conotații erotice în cadrul unor monumente mai modeste ca dimensiuni, *aedicula in antis*.

Cuvinte cheie: *aedicula*; monument funerar; Porolissum; Dacia Porolissensis.

Currently Porolissum is one of the best known sculptural centers from Roman Dacia as a result of the numerous studies published subsequent to the issue of the comprehensive catalogue by N. Gudea and V. Lucăcel in 1975¹. Since then, a series

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¹ Gudea, Lucăcel 1975.

of articles and books² have resumed the discussion on both old and new finds³, in an attempt to define the specificity of the workshops operating in this northern area of the province. The present paper is meant to continue our previous analysis on funerary stelae from Porolissum⁴.

Aediculae are thought to be monuments of north-Italic origin, entering Dacia via Pannonia⁵. The term “funerary aedicule” commonly applies to structures consisting of a roof supported by a hind wall and two side walls – when speaking of the so-called *in antis* types –, or by columns, in the case of more elaborate structures, also referred to as “classical aediculae”. Thus, the resulting niche under the roof houses the image of the deceased either in the form of “ronde-bosse” statues or as reliefs (either high or low) applied on the surface of the hind wall. The third part of the structure is the pedestal, supporting the roof and niche, also bearing the epitaph. All in all, one may argue that basically the funerary aedicula is a reduced image of a temple-type structure supported by a pedestal⁶.

The finds from Porolissum were classified according to their surviving parts and state of conservation. A total of 31 fragments coming from aediculae were identified. Among them 14 walls, three possible pedestal panels, two cornice fragments and 11 fragments of so-called Syrian arches.

The investigation focused on the architectural features, structural and stylistic characteristics, figural representations as well as their inherent chronological implications. This in turn opened the way to the discussion of a series of aspects regarding the production and diffusion of the funerary aediculae in and around Porolissum. Most of the fragments are stray finds, and their overall state of preservation is poor, furthermore due to the fact that the fragments cannot be interlinked based on their discovery context, in most cases it is impossible to know whether some of them belonged to the same monument. Consequently the number of fragments discussed here is by no means equivalent with the hypothetical number of aediculae from Porolissum. Furthermore some of the reconstructions (Pl. VI/A-B) have merely a visual purpose, it is by no means suggested that the respective elements come from the same monument.

The identified aedicula elements can be classified according to the following typology:

Hind walls:

Type I – wall of *aedicula in antis* with the full-figure representation of the deceased (Pl. V/A);

Type II – wall of “classical aedicule” (Pl. V/B);

Side walls:

Type I – architectural wall with depictions on one side, in two registers (Pl. V/C);

² Tóth 1978; Țeposu Marinescu 1982; Bianchi 1985; Gudea 1986; Gudea 1989; Gudea 1996; Gudea, Tamba 2001; Diaconescu 2003–2004; Petruț 2009; Bajusz 2011.

³ Floca, Wolski 1973; Bărbulescu 1977; Gudea 1978; Gudea 1982; Matei 1982; Gudea 2001; Gudea 2003; Gudea 2005; Gudea 2007; Crănguș-Balaci 2008; Petruț, Mustață 2010; Petruț et alii 2010; Petruț, Zăgreanu 2011; Dana, Zăgreanu 2013; Nemeti, Zăgreanu 2013.

⁴ Petruț, Zăgreanu 2011.

⁵ David, Mărghită 1968, 130.

⁶ Diaconescu 2003–2004, 305.

Type II – profiled wall with depictions on both sides (Pl. V/D);
 Syrian arches;
 Pedestal panels;
 Cornice fragments.

Aedicula elements

1. Walls

The so-called *in antis* type, represents the earliest form of aedicula within the funerary architecture of the Italian Peninsula, yet due to its simplicity, it is the type most commonly associated with the so-called “provincial” aedicula, quite common in Dacia. According to Al. Diaconescu, provincial aediculae have their origin in this monument type⁷.

Hind walls		Side walls		
<i>In antis</i> type (low relief)	“Classical type” (high relief)	Architectural type	Profiled type	Uncertain
Ae1, Ae2, Ae3, Ae4	Ae5	Ae6, Ae7	Ae8, Ae9, Ae11, Ae13, Ae14	Ae10, Ae12

Tab. 1. Typological classification of the walls

Hind walls bearing the image of the deceased in high relief are believed to come from aediculae fitted with frontal columns⁸. This assumption is based on the primordial function of the high relief as substitute of “ronde-bosse” representations, as well as on the fact that some walls are not provided with orifices ensuring attachment to side walls⁹. There are however some inconsistencies regarding this theory. The restored dimensions of some of these walls (Ae1, Ae2, Ae3, and Ae4) are identical to the hind wall of the aedicula from Micia, thus rather suiting a simple *in antis* type structure. A large aedicula would commonly have much larger walls, with the relief arranged in separate registers. Therefore, the walls most likely come from the more modest *in antis* type, with good analogies in Dacia Porolissensis at Potaissa¹⁰, Napoca¹¹, Gherla¹² and the rural areas of Zam-Sâncrai¹³, Dragu¹⁴. Furthermore, the recently identified piece from Șieu-Odorhei should also be added to this list¹⁵. The fragmentary state of the monuments hinders attempts of more accurate dating, nonetheless, based on the aforementioned analogies it can be asserted that this wall type probably emerged in the mid-2nd – early-3rd century AD. The sole instance of a hind wall coming from a “classical aedicula” is Ae5. The fragment displays a higher level of artistic skills than the rest of the material. Unfortunately its borders are not preserved, hence it is

⁷ Diaconescu 2003–2004, 307.

⁸ Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 36.

⁹ Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 36.

¹⁰ Floca, Wolski 1973, 16, no. 36, Fig. 48; 17, no. 42, Fig. 56; 18, no. 49, Fig. 64.

¹¹ Benea, Hica 2004, 131, no. 7, Pl. VII/3.

¹² Floca, Wolski 1973, 22–24, no. 69, Fig. 87.

¹³ Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 221, no. 107, Pl. XLI.

¹⁴ Crânguș-Balaci, Matei 2008, 143–152, Pl. 1.

¹⁵ Zăgreanu 2011, 179–191, Pl. III, Fig. 5 a-b, Fig. 6 a-b.

impossible to assess the type and position of the cramp mortices. A further feature which is uncommon for aedicula walls in Dacia is the vertical double division line between the heads of the two figures. In the case of the so-called “classical aedicula”, the hind wall is flanked by two very short side walls, essentially a pair of projecting pilasters. Usually, the edges of these walls are shaped into pilasters. On the axis of each of the two side walls a freestanding column was placed with the role of supporting either a gable roof or a pyramidal roof with curved sides. The latter feature is specific to the funerary architecture of Northern Italy¹⁶.

Some of these pieces were incorrectly catalogued as so-called “family stelae”¹⁷. Considering their dimensions and the cramp mortices on the upper edge, it is obvious that we are not dealing with stelae. All of these finds were discovered within the distribution area of aediculae: Potaissa, Gherla and Porolissum. Analogies can be found in Dalmatia¹⁸, although in variants with two registers, the upper one comprising the bust of the deceased (rather than the full-figure representation), while the lower one displaying mythological or symbolic motifs. The closest analogy is a wall from Augsburg¹⁹, with the figures of the deceased exceeding the upper edge of the wall in similar fashion to the examples from Dacia. The monuments from Augsburg are dated to around 170 AD²⁰. Not surprisingly they display a superior level of craftsmanship, but even so, hypothetically they still could have served as models for the pieces from Dacia. The skills of the craftsmen involved in the production of funerary monuments were crucial in the execution of this type of reliefs. Walls of aedicula type funerary structures with the full-figure representation of the deceased are also known from Rome²¹, dated to the 3rd century AD. Furthermore the aediculae from Celeia²², dated to the early-2nd century AD, also need mentioning. The local elites of the Norican settlement, emulating the funerary practices of the Italian Peninsula represented their deceased wearing the toga, displaying in this way their citizen status.

Since all aedicula walls are stray finds, there are no three pieces found together, and thus no possibility for at least the partial reconstruction of an aedicula from Porolissum. Based on analogies it seems there were usually a number of specific combinations, e.g. hind walls with family depictions mostly associated with architectural side walls.

A total of seven fragmentary side walls were identified among the finds from Porolissum. Although some pieces are highly fragmentary (Ae6, Ae7), it is still possible to include them into the category of architectural walls with two figural registers. Analogies for this wall type are known in Dacia Porolissensis at Potaissa²³, Gilău²⁴, and Sutoru²⁵. Interestingly enough, the upper register of all these pieces contains

¹⁶ Diaconescu 2003–2004, 311.

¹⁷ Pop, Soroceanu 1968, 351–355.

¹⁸ Sergeievski 1935, 18–19, Pl. V.

¹⁹ Oblenroth 1953, 32–38; CSIR III I/I Raetia, Noricum 1973, 23, no. 17, taf. 5.

²⁰ CSIR III, I/I Raetia, Noricum 1973, 23, no. 17, taf. 5.

²¹ Kraus 1990, 285.

²² Šajn 2012, 376, C5.

²³ Nemeti, Nemeti 2014, 248, no. 1, Pl. III/1.

²⁴ Nemeti, Nemeti 2014, 249, no. 3, Pl. III/4.

²⁵ Cociș et alii 2009, 55–57, no. 4, Pl. III, Fig. 1, 2; 53–67, 57, no. 5, Pl. IV, Fig. 1 a-d.

the same depiction of the rider on foot walking next to his horse. It seems that in the environment of the auxiliary troops there was a marked propensity for aediculae with architectural walls as well as for the abovementioned iconographic model. The case of Ae7 is particularly interesting. The piece is clearly unfinished. The left side of the relief field, much thicker than the sculpted part, was merely smoothened with the claw-chisel, thus prepared for further sculpting. In the lower part, the line bordering another register is noticeable. Most likely the piece was abandoned prior to completion, then broken in two fragments for reuse as building material.

The rest of the fragments belong to the profiled type with a single register and depictions on both sides. Just as in the case of the stelae, the profiled frames replace the usual architectural motifs (predominantly columns). Analogies for these wall types come from the workshops in Potaissa²⁶, Gherla²⁷, but also the rural settlement from Gârbou²⁸. The fairly well-preserved monuments from Potaissa and the one from Gârbou, were dated to the period subsequent to the mid-2nd century AD. Fragments A10 and A11 belong to side walls with decoration on both sides, however given their fragmentary state, any further assessments are problematic. In the case of further two pieces – A12, decorated with an unidentifiable anthropomorphic figure, and Ae9, ornamented with vine tendrils springing from a *kantharos* – their advanced state of deterioration hinders any additional evaluation.

2. Syrian arches

The architectural elements discussed here draw on a very specific syncretic element of Roman cultic architecture which originated in the Orient, hence the general and somewhat inaccurate term of “Syrian arch”. This element made its way to the western part of the Empire from very early on²⁹. In architecture, it entails a distinctive arrangement of the entablature which unlike the classical Greco-Roman design, bends up to form an arch in the middle of the structure³⁰. This element was at some point adopted in funerary architecture and became quite common in larger aediculae³¹. The funerary structures of this type known from Noricum were designated as “aedicula mit Archivolte” by G. Kremer. One of the most emblematic aedicula with Syrian arch is the one from Šempeter³² in the aforementioned province. The monuments from Porolissum must have been however somewhat less sophisticated.

The finds from Porolissum yield a total of ten such elements, including one discovered in 2008 (Ae24), in addition to a number of fragments recently identified in museum storehouses, and older publications. The issue of the Syrian arches, with or without incorporated pediments, identified at Porolissum does emerge periodically since their first publication by N. Gudea and V. Lucăcel in 1975³³. Their interpretation

²⁶ Floca, Wolski 1973, 12–13, no. 14.

²⁷ Floca, Wolski 1973, 24, Fig. 88–89.

²⁸ Floca, Wolski 1973, 26, no. 81, Fig. 99.

²⁹ Hrnčiarik 2014, 101.

³⁰ Hrnčiarik 2014, 99–100.

³¹ For examples from Noricum see Kremer 2001, 57–134.

³² Kremer 2001, 27–34.

³³ Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, 36–37.

has varied strongly since then, being designated in publications as: arches³⁴, gate arches³⁵, lintels³⁶, and pediments³⁷. The reason for this increased focus resides in the fact they suggested to the authors the existence of complex funerary structures in Porolissum. This aedicula element remains unknown in the rest of the province. A possible exception may come from Apulum, unfortunately however the piece was published without illustration almost half a century ago³⁸. Commenting on this issue while analysing two monumental pilasters from Napoca, M. Bărbulescu asserted that the two architectural elements were directly associated within a massive funerary structure. The author argued that pediments and arches of this type were placed on top of the respective monumental pilasters, thus forming the entrance into certain types of mausolea³⁹. A similar view was expressed earlier by C. Pop, who used the term “gate arches” in his description⁴⁰. Al. Diaconescu asserted for the first time that the respective elements were parts of certain types of aediculae⁴¹. The relatively recent discovery of a Syrian arch during the excavation of a funerary complex in Porolissum in 2008⁴² is a decisive argument in favour of the funerary nature of these architectural elements. As stated above, in our view these elements come from large funerary aediculae, which seem to have been a characteristic of the funerary architecture from Porolissum.

The finds from Porolissum can be included in three types. Among these only Type I (Pl. V/E) incorporates triangular pediments, drawing on the so-called “Syrian pediment” albeit in a simplified monolithic version, consisting of an entablature curving up into an arch and a triangular pediment above. One may notice that the arch does not penetrate the field of the proper pediment, but only interrupts the entablature. As mentioned above Type II (Pl. V/F) consists only of the arched entablature or archivolt, which can also be interpreted as an “arcuated lintel”⁴³. Type III (Pl. V/G) is similar to the latter category, but is in addition also provided with geometrical decoration. Based on the dimensions of the preserved pieces, this type is typical for monuments of reduced size. A number of analogies can be cited for these elements from Noricum: Šempeter⁴⁴, Flavia Solva⁴⁵, Sankt Peter in Holz⁴⁶; Pannonia: Intercisa⁴⁷, Gorsium⁴⁸; Germania Superior: Nyon⁴⁹. There is no certainty regarding to the roofs associated with the type II and III arches, which were either gable, vaulted or pyramidal. In addition to these pieces a series of sculptural fragments published by Á. Buday in

³⁴ Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, 37.

³⁵ Pop 1977, 125.

³⁶ Bărbulescu 2003, 118, note 115.

³⁷ Diaconescu 2003–2004, 316; Crînguș-Balaci 2008, 291.

³⁸ Civiltà 223, G. 20.

³⁹ Bărbulescu 2003, 118, note 115.

⁴⁰ Pop 1977, 123.

⁴¹ Diaconescu 2003–2004, 316.

⁴² See Gudea et alii 2009, 150–154.

⁴³ See Hrnčiarik 2014, 101.

⁴⁴ Kremer 2001, 27–34; Kremer-Molitor 2006, 83, Fig. 2; Lupa 13256.

⁴⁵ Lupa 1209.

⁴⁶ Lupa 5052.

⁴⁷ Lupa 3995.

⁴⁸ Lupa 4042.

⁴⁹ Lupa 8520.

1915⁵⁰ were later incorrectly interpreted as fragments of Roman arches similar to the abovementioned types. They are in fact medieval sculptural pieces, mostly fragments of window frames and tracery.

Type I	Type II	Type III
Ae20, Ae21, Ae22, Ae23, Ae24	Ae25, Ae26, Ae27, Ae28, Ae29	Ae30, Ae31

Tab. 2. The typological distribution of the Syrian arches from Porolissum.

3. Cornice fragments

Two pieces of cornices with dentils must also be mentioned (Ae18, Ae19). These cornices were probably mounted on arches of type II and III as part of funerary aediculae. One other similar fragment is known from Gherla⁵¹.

4. Pedestal panels

Among the funerary inscriptions known from Porolissum, there are three epigraphic panels (Ae15, Ae16 and Ae17), with somewhat uncertain functionality. In the present paper these are included among the inscription panels of aedica bases. In the case of panel Ae15, the hypothesis according to which it was engaged in the wall of a mausoleum or funerary enclosure can be excluded from the very start, due to its upright orientation. L. Țeposu Marinescu mistakenly includes it among the funerary altars⁵². The cross-section of the piece is however characteristic to panels engaged in various masonry structures (mainly walls and pedestals). Hence the most plausible interpretation is that of a panel covering the masonry pedestal of an aedica. The dimensions of the piece corroborate this hypothesis. In this case the width of the pedestal was around 96 cm, thus corresponding to most aedica hind walls known in Dacia, which usually have around 90 cm in width⁵³. A similar pedestal was proposed for the graphic reconstruction of the aedica from Micia⁵⁴. The elegant decoration and carefully executed letters suggest that the panel was part of a funerary structure which displayed a quite high level of craftsmanship. Fragment Ae17 (for the illustration see the publication cited below) had probably a similar functionality, although its poor preservation state hinders a more conclusive analysis (see below).

A further similar piece is the funerary inscription Ae16. In this case the possibilities of interpretation are multiple, including that of a panel incorporated into a funerary enclosure, a mausoleum or an aedica base. None of the possibilities can be excluded at this stage, as recent archaeological investigations revealed the existence of funerary enclosures and quite monumental funerary mounds in the cemetery of Porolissum on Ursoieș Hill⁵⁵. The extensive width (133 cm) compared to the dimensions of most aedica hind walls known from Porolissum does not exclude the possibility that it was part of an aedica pedestal (Pl. VI/B).

⁵⁰ Buday 1915, 75, 103, Fig. 16; 78, 103, Fig. 19; 75, 103, Fig. 17; 78, 104, Fig. 20.

⁵¹ Zăgreanu 2007, 262–263, no. 6, Fig. 15.

⁵² Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 166, A 25.

⁵³ Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 219.

⁵⁴ Diaconescu 2003–2004, 324, Fig. 117.

⁵⁵ Gudea et alii 2008, 201–204; Gudea et alii 2009, 150–154; Petruț et alii 2010, 81–87.

The iconography

1. Representations of the deceased

The deceased are usually represented in full figure from a frontal perspective in a familial setting, usually with their spouse and children (Ae1-Ae5). In the case of Ae1 and Ae4 however there is no certainty that there were additional figures. Two of the male figures are portrayed in the military mantle, the *sagum* (Ae2, Ae7), one is wearing only a sleeved tunic (*tunica manicata*) (Ae8b), while one character is wearing the toga (Ae3), which is quite uncommon for funerary reliefs in Dacia. The figure on horseback (Ae6) is wearing a sleeved tunic reaching down below the knees, fastened around the waist, a mantle, trousers (*braccae*), and probably short boots. On fragment Ae7, a bearded standing figure clad in a short tunic and *sagum* holds a long object, probably a weapon. Women are usually depicted wearing the *palla* (Ae1, Ae8b). In the case of Ae1 the woman's pose follows the model known as "La Piccola Ercolanese". The *volumen* in the hand of the female figure on Ae3 probably suggested the citizen status of the deceased. Despite the unequal quality and state of preservation of the reliefs, on account of the iconography, one might suggest that at least two of these monuments are the products of the same workshop due to the similar composition employed (Ae2, Ae3), displaying mirror products of the same iconographic model.

Monument Ae8 containing the depiction of a couple is quite surprising⁵⁶. The two figures are represented hugging and seem to be kissing tenderly. Based on their pose, one may assume that we are dealing with an erotic scene. The image is unique and somewhat shocking in the context of funerary sculpture in Roman Dacia. Interestingly enough, the scene is rendered on the outer face of the wall, thus intended to be seen. The inner side contains the figure of a female waiting servant. This is most likely not the depiction of a brothel scene, which usually would convey a rather more direct expression of a sexual act. One might speculate that it is the monument of a soldier, who wished to be portrayed associated with certain military and manly virtues, such as virility. Though rendered somewhat crudely, the relief presents an intimate and passionate love scene. According to our knowledge there is hitherto no analogy for the monument in the Roman Empire.

The female figure portrayed on Ae5 displays the so-called Faustina Major-type hairstyle, which would suggest a dating to the Antonine period. However, the use of the drill is usually placed in the 3rd century AD. There is of course no certainty that the hairstyle depicted on the funerary monument was not fashionable at the time of the person's death or at any certain time during its life. This iconographic element should rather be viewed as a *terminus post quem*. The hairstyle of the male figure is reminiscent of Emperor Traianus' hairdo, popular in Dacia under Antoninus Pius and Septimius Severus⁵⁷, indicating a possible dating for the monument to the late-2nd – early-3rd century AD.

The equestrian representation on side wall Ae6 displays the rider moving forward at a slow pace. It presents stylistic similarities with further five reliefs known from Dacia Porolissensis, which may suggest a common workshop located probably

⁵⁶ See Zăgreanu 2015.

⁵⁷ Ciongradi 2007, 28.

at Napoca or Porolissum⁵⁸. The object held by the figure in his right hand, is possibly either a long sword (*spatha*) or a staff. The relief belongs to model 1 according to the typology of I. Nemeti and S. Nemeti⁵⁹. The horse is depicted in motion. Part of the animal's mane may be distinguished, while the harness elements, the bridle, reins and bit, are carefully sculpted. The saddle is also rendered. The depiction of the animal is disproportional, with oversized legs. Based on analogies from the province, the monument may be dated to the second half of the 2nd century AD.

2. Mythological and magic motifs

The funerary symbolism associated with Hercules is mainly linked to his accomplishment of taming Cerberus and thus overcoming death⁶⁰. On the arch Ae22 the deity is depicted while performing the first task in Eurystheus' service, i.e. fighting the Nemean lion. On the right edge of the arch the hero is portrayed choking the lion, while his club is represented next to the scene.

The Gorgon head appears on arch Ae20, occupying the center of the relief field, with a wind protoma depicted on the left edge. Placing this depiction in the center of the monument was intended to make the face of the deity as visible as possible in line with its apotropaic qualities. The wind protoma is depicted on the same arch in the form of an adult male. Although the right edge of the arch is damaged, it is very likely that it was carrying the same type of depiction.

The center of arch Ae21 contains fragments of a scene comprising of a hand holding a snake. In this case we might be dealing with the depiction of Oceanus, guardian of the Isles of the Blessed⁶¹. This type of representations is found on Greek vessels of the classical period, where the deity holds a snake and a fish, in accordance with the prophecy regarding the afterlife and the wealth thereafter. Since the monument is fragmentary, any further iconographic assessment is purely conjectural. Arch Ae26 contains an enigmatic depiction of a figure with hands clasped together facing the center of the arch. The face of the figure is not well discernible as the stone is weathered in that area. In front of the figure either a feather or a leaf is represented. This is likely a very crude depiction of a mythological figure, which unfortunately remains unknown. Further fragmentary depictions of figures with pointed hats, likely images of Attis appear on two side walls (Ae10, Ae11).

The adze (*ascia*) is an extremely well diffused symbol in the funerary art of Roman Gaul especially in Lyon and the Rhone valley⁶². On the monuments from Lyon, the representations of adzes are most often accompanied by specific epigraphic formulas, the most frequent being: *sub ascia dedicavit* (or the acronym: SAD)⁶³. Deciphering the meaning of the representation may be approached from the textual evidence. J. E. Sandys believed that the symbol and afferent formula indicate a recent grave already consecrated to the Manes, but which is still pending completion. Two funerary inscriptions,

⁵⁸ Nemeti, Nemeti 2014, 241.

⁵⁹ Nemeti, Nemeti 2014, 242.

⁶⁰ Bărbulescu 2003, 260.

⁶¹ Ferri 2003, 601.

⁶² Carroll 2006, 81.

⁶³ Sandys 1919, 19.

from Rome and Ostia, use the phrase with opposite meaning: *deasciare* (the exact form being *deasciaverit*), denoting the usurpation of a grave by erasing and replacing the original epitaph. Based on this Fr. Prévot showed that the phrase *sub ascia dedicavit* was designed precisely to prevent the usurpation of graves, bearing a legal connotation⁶⁴. In Dacia, six funerary monuments with the depiction of this symbol were hitherto identified⁶⁵, although the afferent epigraphic formula is not attested. In Porolissum the adze is represented on arch Ae20, associated with the depiction of the wind.

3. The funerary banquet

No direct representations of the funerary banquet are known on aedicula walls from Porolissum, however the symbolism inherent to the scene is reflected by the representation of a female waiting servant⁶⁶. The representation appears on the interior of side wall Ae8a. The relief shows a female waiting servant clad in a tunic and possibly a *palla*. The figure holds a flagon in her right hand, while a towel is hanging on her left (*mantella*). Together with the “Griffschale” these implements composed the hand-washing set used by servants during banquets, thus the relief serves as a symbol for the funerary banquet⁶⁷.

4. Marine symbols

Of the marine symbols most commonly encountered in Dacia, dolphins seem to have been the most popular⁶⁸. In general, dolphins appear on the funerary monuments in the spandrels, the attic, or even in the relief fields of stelae or on the pediments of altars⁶⁹. They appear on two aedicula arches from Porolissum: Ae22 – associated with the scene of Hercules slaying the Nemean lion, and Ae27 – as the principal iconographic element of the piece. Furthermore the corners of arch Ae21 contain the fragmentary representations of two snakes, in addition to the central scene which features a figure holding a snake in his right hand. It is thought that the snake in funerary context is a symbol of immortality⁷⁰. Its depiction on monuments is rather rare, being encountered especially on aediculae walls. Two representations are known from Micia and one from Ampelum⁷¹.

The epigraphy

The only monuments which provide epigraphic information are the aedicula pedestal panels: Ae15, Ae16 and Ae17. From the first one we learn that the monument was dedicated by Cassius Martialis, *beneficiarius consularis* probably of Oriental origin, to his deceased wife Iulia Iustina. Based on the technical and ornamental details of the panel, it must have belonged to a quite elaborate and expensive monument. Although the letters are elegant, the sculptor failed to accurately estimate the size of

⁶⁴ Prevot 2005, 88–89.

⁶⁵ Chiș 2004, 111.

⁶⁶ See Petruț, Mustață 2010.

⁶⁷ Petruț, Mustață 2010, 172, note 11.

⁶⁸ Chiș 2004, 211–212.

⁶⁹ Chiș 2004, 211–212.

⁷⁰ Prieur 1991, 188–189.

⁷¹ Chiș 2004, 191.

a few lines, so due to lack of space in the second row, letter A at the end of the name Iustina was downsized and crammed into the end of the line, just like in the case of the two *hastae* belonging to number XLII in the third line.

In case of the second monument (Ae16) we learn that Aelius Vitalianus, member of the municipal elite, erected a collective funerary monument for his mother, son and granddaughter. Based on the names involved, a Celtic origin may be implied. The fact that the inscription mentions several persons and the dedicator fulfils an important local magistrature (*augur*), suggests that the respective epigraphic panel was part of a sophisticated funerary structure, either a “classical” aedicula, or perhaps even a mausoleum. Aelia Nice, the mother of Aelius Vitalianus is present on another inscription at Porolissum commemorating her daughter⁷². Her age represents a record, according to the epitaph she passed away at 90 years of age. Based on the *nomen* Aelius, their citizenship was probably obtained under Emperor Hadrianus. According to Á. Szabó the inscription should be dated to the first decades of the 3rd century AD⁷³. The career of Aelius Vitalianus may have followed the following steps: *augur* of the municipium, then *sacerdos* and finally *quinquennalis*. In order to obtain the latter office, he was required to fulfil a further important office beside the decurionate. In the 4th line R. Ardevan proposed the following reading: *pontif. q. q.*, since *pontifex* cannot be followed by other *honores municipales*, and the two letters OO must be interpreted as shorthand for *quinquennalis*⁷⁴. According to the interpretation of I. Piso the text should be read as: *augur et q(uin)q(uennalis)*. At the end of the 4th row and at the start of the 5th row the text reads: *matrī fil(io) et / nept[i]ae*⁷⁵.

In case of fragment Ae17 the epitaph is all but lost, only a few letters in the second row have survived. According to I. Piso the name Aurelius Dexter⁷⁶ appears on the panel which can be dated to the 3rd century AD based on the lack of the *cognomen*.

Conclusions

The funerary aedicula was among the popular types of funerary monuments which populated the necropolis around Porolissum. From a typological and iconographical point of view, resemblances with other important centers of Dacia Porolissensis are obvious, even so the local workshops did develop at some point an individual style from all perspectives. Porolissum is the center where the so-called aedicula with “Syrian arch” or archivolt (Pl. VI/C) seems to have been very popular amongst the local elites, a trait which clearly sets apart the monuments from Porolissum in the context of the funerary architecture of Roman Dacia. One of the main problems in assessing this monument type in Roman Dacia is the lack of the epigraphic evidence which can be clearly associated with aediculae, given their complex structure and the fact that the large majority of the material is comprised of stray finds. This hinders any straightforward inferences on the social, ethnic or cultural identity of commemorators and persons commemorated alike.

⁷² Petruț, Zăgreanu 2011, 205, no. 13, Pl. 2/13.

⁷³ Szabó 2007, D 23.

⁷⁴ Ardevan 1998, 440, R 491.

⁷⁵ Piso 2014, 127–128, no. 6, Fig. 6.

⁷⁶ Piso et alii 2015.

Catalogue⁷⁷

Aedicula walls

Ae1. Fragment of hind wall (Pl. I/Ae1).

Prov: Porolissum.

Loc: MJIAZ. Inv. no.: 222.

Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, 41, no. 133, Fig. 133; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 221, no. 104; Gudea 1989, 786–787, no. 89; Husar 1999, 205, no. 48; Petruț 2009, 111, no. 44.

The left side of the wall is preserved, the right side, including the border was probably intentionally cut off.

H: 82 cm; W: 27 cm; Th: 24 cm. Limestone.

The relief depicts a woman dressed in a *palla*. The traces of the coarse finishing on the left edge and the fact that the right side of the relief is clearly incomplete suggest the panel was reused in antiquity or at a later stage, possibly in the medieval period. The respective edge was crudely worked with the point, being subsequently smoothened with the claw-chisel in the upper part. Some possible wedge holes suggest that the piece may have been split using the “feather and wedges” technique. Furthermore the irregular surface of the edge hindered the possibility of attachment to another wall, thus substantiating the fact that we are dealing with a later intervention. The opposite edge presents no such marks. Originally a male figure may have stood next to the female representation, a composition typical for aediculae hind walls.

Ae2. Fragment of hind wall (Pl. I/Ae2).

Prov: Porolissum, the Wesselényi-Teleki collection.

Loc: MJIAZ. Inv. no.: 1045.

Pop, Soroceanu 1968, 351, no. 1, Fig. 1; Țeposu Marinescu 1972, 220, no. 102; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 220–221, no. 103; Floca, Wolski 1973, 25–26, no. 77; Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, 41, no. 132, Fig. 132; Bianchi 1985, 278, no. 189; Gudea 1989, 786, no. 88; Husar 1999, 205, no. 47; Petruț 2009, 111, no. 45.

The piece is fragmentary, preserving only the central area, the upper part is lacking completely. The relief is highly weathered.

H: 124 cm; W: 68 cm; Th: 32 cm. Limestone.

The relief contains the depiction of a family. The two parents can be well distinguished in the back, while only a couple of lines are preserved from the child's representation. The male figure on the left side wears a short tunic and a mantle. The female figure stands on the right side dressed in a long tunic and *palla*.

Ae3. Fragment of hind wall (Pl. I/Ae3).

Prov: Porolissum, the Wesselényi-Teleki collection.

Loc: MJIAZ. Inv. no.: 1046.

Pop, Soroceanu 1968, 351, no. 2, Fig. 2; Floca, Wolski 1973, 26, no. 78; Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, 40, no. 131, Fig. 131; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 220, no. 102; Bianchi 1985, 278, no. 188; Gudea 1989, 785–786, no. 82; Husar 1999, 205, no. 46; Petruț 2009, 112, no. 46.

Fragmentary. Only a central portion of the relief is preserved. The relief is extremely worn.

H: 60 cm; W: 55 cm; Th: 30 cm. Limestone.

⁷⁷ The following abbreviations were used for the description of the sculptural pieces: Prov = provenance; Loc = place of preservation; H = height; W = width; Th = thickness; L = length; D = diameter; r = row; dist = distance between the lines; MJIAZ = Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Artă Zalău (The County Museum of History and Art, Zalău).

The remains of two figures dressed in richly draped garments can be seen, a female on the left in a *palla* holding a *volumen* and a child in front of her, the male figure on the right apparently wearing a toga.

Ae4. Fragment of hind wall (Pl. I/Ae4).

Prov: Porolissum.

Loc: MJIAZ.

Petruț 2009, 113, no. 48, Pl. 17.

Fragmentary. Only the lower left corner of the wall is preserved.

H: 32 cm; W: 37.5 cm; Th: 14 cm; base frame: 15 cm. Sandstone.

The feet and the lower part of a female figure's dress (long tunic or *palla*) can be seen on the relief.

Ae5. Fragment of hind wall (Pl. I/Ae5).

Prov: Porolissum.

Loc: MJIAZ.

Petruț 2009, 113, no. 49, Pl. 17/49.

Fragmentary. Only a central portion of the wall is preserved.

H: 25 cm; W: 43 cm; Th: 16 cm. Limestone.

High relief originally containing the depiction of a male (right side) and female figure (left side), of which only the two heads were preserved. The female displays a "Faustina Maior"-type hairstyle, parted in the middle and bun in the upper part. She is also wearing earrings with globular pendants. The male figure has his hair combed forward in line with the trends of the early-2nd century AD. His face is shaved clean. The figures have prominent eyes, the edges are worked with the drill, resulting in a realistic effect, also the eyelids are marked. The ears are projecting. The two are divided by a line comprised of a double moulding. Dated to the early-3rd century AD (based on stylistic criteria, see above).

Ae6. Fragment hind wall. (Pl. I/Ae6).

Prov: Porolissum.

Loc: Jibou. Identified in 1937 embedded in the wall of house Fleischer from Jibou, where it can be found today. According to C. Daicoviciu it comes from the cemetery of Porolissum.

Daicoviciu 1940, 324, no. 2, Fig. 21; Gudea 1989, 789-790, no. 107, Pl. CCCI; Nemeti 2003, 316, no. 16, Fig. 1; Petruț 2009, 109, no. 40; Nemeti, Nemeti 2014, 254, no. 18, Pl. I/5.

Fragmentary. Most of the right side of the relief is preserved.

H: 78 cm; W: 60 cm. Limestone.

The wall is bordered on the right side by an engaged column. The relief contains the depiction of a rider in a rectangular niche.

Ae7. Fragment of right side wall (Pl. II/Ae7).

Prov: Porolissum. Discovered inside a wall.

Loc: MJIAZ. Inv. no.: 466.

Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, 41, no. 134; Gudea 1989, 787, no. 90; Petruț 2009, 109, no. 41.

The lower register of the wall is preserved. The right side of the relief is unfinished.

H: 58 cm; W: 53 cm; Th: 16 cm; frame: 4.5 cm. Limestone.

The relief displays a standing figure dressed in a short tunic and *sagum*. Despite the weathering of the relief one can notice that the man is wearing a beard and is also holding a long object with both hands, probably a weapon. The frame, present on the right side, is undecorated.

Ae8. Fragment of right side wall (Pl. I/Ae8 a-b).

Prov: Porolisum. Discovered in 1982, in the area of the *porta praetoria* of the fort. Reused in the wall of a buttress on the north-eastern side, at ca. 20 m from the gate tower.

Loc: MJIAZ. Inv. no.: CC 723/2015.

Zăgreanu 2015, forthcoming.

Fragmentary. Reconstructed from several fragments.

H: 150 cm; W: 46 cm; Th: 14 cm.

Both sides of the wall are decorated. In the inner side: a female waiting servant holding a flagon in her right hand. The rendering of the hand is slightly disproportionate compared to the rest of the body. The figure is depicted with an oval face, however the portrait is poorly preserved. She is wearing a tunic with a round collar around the neck, while a *palla* is covering her shoulders and right arm. She is holding a flagon in her right hand, while a towel (*mantella*) is hanging on her left shoulder. In certain parts the relief preserves traces of red dye. On the outer side an erotic scene comprising a kissing couple is represented. The female figure is wearing a tunic fastened around the waist. She is represented resting her left hand on the male figure's shoulder, while her right hand, covered by the dress folds is directed towards his waist. The male figure seems to be wearing a sleeved tunic, ending above the knee. They are both wearing some sort of footwear (*calcei*). The male figure holds his left hand on his partner's raised leg, seemingly pulling her towards him. The scene is worked in low relief, despite a general sense of crudeness, the complexity of the movements and care for details are noteworthy. The considerable height of the wall is surprising, as well as the abundant free space remaining below the relief.

Ae9. Side wall fragment (Pl. II/Ae9).

Prov: Porolisum.

Loc: MJIAZ.

Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, 41, no. 134; Petruț 2009, 109, no. 41.

Fragmentary. Only the lower end of a side wall is preserved.

H: 43 cm; W: 34 cm; Th: 13 cm. Sandstone.

The relief displays a *kantharos* with a vine stalk growing out of it. The vessel is apparently undecorated; it has a globular body, narrow neck and mouth opening, and no clearly visible base. The two handles end in volutes. On the lower frame of the wall, on the left edge, there is a rectangular cramp mortice.

Ae10. Fragment of side wall (Pl. II/Ae10 a-b).

Prov: Porolisum.

Loc: MJIAZ. Inv. no.: 1758.

Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, 40, no. 126, Fig. 126; Gudea 1989, 788, no. 97; Chiș 2007, no. 35; Petruț 2009, 110, no. 42.

A fragment from the upper part of the wall is preserved.

H: 36 cm; W: 29 cm; Th: 12 cm; frame: 14 cm. Limestone.

The lower part of the relief displays a male head (Ae10 a), while the outer part probably a vine tendril (Ae10 b). The elongated shape of the head may suggest the depiction of Attis with the Phrygian cap. The outer part contains a cramp mortice 2 cm deep and 3 cm in diameter.

Ae11. Fragment of side wall (Pl. II/Ae11 a-b).

Prov: Porolisum.

Loc: MJIAZ.

Unpublished.

H: 32 cm; W: 20 cm; Th: 12 cm; frame: 14 cm. Limestone.

Fragment of the left upper corner of the wall is preserved.

b. The wall was decorated on both sides. The relief displays a male head, possibly Attis with the Phrygian cap (Ae11 a), while the external side contains an elongated object in the shape of an animal horn (Ae11 b).

Ae12. Wall fragment (Pl. II/Ae12).

Prov: Porolissum.

Loc: MJIAZ. Inv. no: 257.

Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, 45, no. 153, Fig. 153; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 207, no. 39; Gudea 1989, 792, no. 137, Pl. CCCV.

Fragmentary. A small portion of the relief field is preserved.

H: 24 cm; W: 32 cm; Th: 9 cm. Limestone.

The relief displays the head of a bearded man.

Ae13. Side wall fragment (Pl. II/Ae13).

Prov: Porolissum. Discovered in the auxiliary fort from Pomet Hill in 1982 embedded in the *porta praetoria*.

Loc: MJIAZ. Inv. no.: P 82 AP m - 89 g.

Unpublished.

Fragmentary. Only the upper right corner of the side wall is preserved. Reconstructed from four adjoined pieces.

H: 36; W: 21 cm; Th: 11 cm; frame: 14 cm. Limestone.

Ae14. Wall fragment (Pl. II/Ae14).

Prov: Porolissum.

Loc: MJIAZ.

Unpublished.

A small fragment of the frame is preserved.

H: 20 cm; W: 16 cm; H: 8 cm; frame: 10 cm. Limestone.

Pedestal panels

Ae15. Pedestal panel (Pl. II/Ae15).

Prov: Porolissum. Discovered in 1946 under Pomet Hill.

Loc: MJIAZ. Inv. no.: 212.

Macrea 1956, 114-116, no. 14, Fig. 10; AE 1958, no. 288; Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, 16, no. 16, Fig. 16; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 166, no. 25; Gudea 1989, 771, no. 52, Pl. CCLXXXVIII; Schallmayer et alii 1990, 417, no. 541; ILD 701; HD 044150.

Intact. The edges of the frame are chipped off in certain places.

H: 160 cm; W: 60 cm; Th: 30 cm; inscription field: 116 × 60 cm; letter H: 7.5 cm; dist.: 1.5 cm. Limestone.

Pedestal panel with inscription. The inscription field is bordered by a profiled frame decorated with floral motifs. The text employs the abbreviation *BE* instead *BF*; the ending phrase is also rare. Based on the lack of the *praenomen* the inscription can be dated towards the late-2nd - early-3rd century AD.

D(is) M(anibus) / Iulia Iustina / vix(it) ann(is) XLII / Cassius / Martialis / be(neficiarius) co(n)-s(ularis) / coniugi / carissimae / Iustina / coniux / sit tibi / terra levis.

Ae16. Pedestal panel (Pl. II/Ae16).

Prov: Porolissum. It was brought to the courtyard of Teleki castle in Jibou. In 1957 it entered the collection of MJIAZ.

Loc: MJIAZ. Inv. no.: 1024.

Daicoviciu 1940, 324, no. 4 (published only one fragment); AE 1944, 48; AE 1977, 663; Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, 16–17, no. 17, Fig. 17; Gudea 1989, 769, no. 39, Pl. CCLXXVI; Ardevan 1998, 440, R. 491; Ruscu 1998, 171; ILD 700; Szabó 2007, 42–43, D23; Petruț 2009, 115–116, no. 52, Pl. 19; Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2010, 172, nos. 329–332; Piso 2014, 127–128, no. 6, Fig. 6; HD 20325; Lupa 13202.

Fragmentary. A part of the upper frame as well as a central piece of the epigraphic field are missing. The panel was reconstructed from four adjoining pieces.

H: 133 cm; W: 74 cm; Th: 20 cm; inscription field: 112 × 60 cm; letter H: 6 cm; dist.: 2–2.5 cm. Limestone.

According to Ardevan 1998: *Aeli(a) Nice [vi]x(it) annis XC Ael(ius) / Victor vi[x(it)] annis IIII Aelia Mam/mutio vix(it) annis XXII Ael(ius) Vitalia/nus augu(r) [po]ntifex Q.Q. (?) matri et fili(o) et / neptiae b(ene) m(erentibus).*

According to Piso 2014: *Aelia Nice [v]ix(it) annis XC Ael(ius) / Victor vix(it) [a]nnis IIII Aelia M[a]mmutio / vix(it) a[n]nis XXII Ael(ius) Vitalia/nus augur et q(uin)q(uennalis) matri fil(io) et / nept[i]ae b(ene) m(erentibus).*

Ligatures: in r. 1: AE, NN; in r. 2: NN, AE, M[A?]; r. 3: AE; r. 4: AV, VR; r. 5: T[I?], AE. In r. 3 letter O is miniaturized. Dated after the start of the Severan period, based on the municipal status of the town.

Ae17. Pedestal panel (Pl. III/Ae17).

Prov: Porolissum. Discovered in the auxiliary fort, reused.

Loc: MJIAZ. Inv. no.: P. 80 A. P. 41.

Piso et alii 2015, 220, no. 8, Fig. 23.

Fragmentary. Only the left upper corner is preserved.

H: 35 cm; W: 53 cm; Th: 21 cm; inscription field: 14 × 38 cm; frame: 6.5 cm; letter H: 7.5 cm (r. 1), 6 cm (r. 2); dist. 2 cm. Limestone.

The upper side holds a cramp mortice indicating that the panel was attached to a structure.

Afu[r(elius) Dexi[er ...]. Dated to the 3rd century AD, based on the lack of a *cognomen*.

Cornice fragments**Ae18.** Cornice fragment with dentils (Pl. III/Ae18).

Pov: Porolissum.

Loc: MJIAZ. Inv. no.: P 82 AP m 152.

Unpublished.

Fragmentary. A small fragment of a cornice with a dentil is preserved.

H: 9 cm; W: 13 cm; Th: 7 cm. Limestone.

Ae19. Cornice fragment with dentils (Pl. III/Ae19).

Prov: Porolissum.

Loc: MJIAZ. Inv. no.: P 82 AP m 41.

Unpublished.

Fragmentary. A small fragment of a cornice with two dentils is preserved.

H: 20 cm; W: 16 cm; Th: 8 cm; dentils: 4 × 4 cm. Limestone.

The structure displaying this cornice must have been quite impressive.

Fragment of an aedicula roof; preserving two dentils of 4×4 cm. The item comes from a rather impressive structure.

Syrian arches

Ae20. Syrian arch with triangular pediment (Pl. III/Ae20).

Prov: Porolissum.

Loc: MJIAZ. Inv. no.: 221.

RR 239, G 51; Civiltà 233, G 21; Pop 1971, 64, no. 5; Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, 37, no. 113, Fig. 113; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 223, no. 7; Gudea 1989, 783, no. 65; Chiș 2003, 338, no. 7, Fig. 3; Petruț 2009, 117, no. 54, Pl. 19.

Nearly intact. Reconstructed from two adjoining pieces, the right end is broken.

H: 74 cm; L: 117 cm; Th: 27 cm; inner D: 103 cm. Limestone.

The relief field is bordered by a simple moulded frame. On the short side as well as along the arch, the moulding is doubled by a bead and reel string. The center of the composition displays a Gorgon head. The left edge displays a male head, a so-called "wind protoma" blowing air towards the center of the arch. To the left of this image, an adze (*ascia*) is placed. Probably the same image was represented on the opposite edge.

Ae21. Syrian arch with triangular pediment (Pl. III/Ae21).

Prov: Porolissum.

Loc: MJIAZ. Inv. no.: 1025.

Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, 48, no. 137, Fig. 137 a-c; Gudea 1989, 795, no. 164.

Fragmentary. Reconstructed from three fragments.

Fragment no. 1 (left): H: 71 cm; W: 68 cm; Th: 22 cm. Fragment no. 2 (center): H: 36 cm; W: 24 cm; Th: 9 cm. Fragment no. 3 (right): H: 58 cm; W: 37 cm; Th: 21 cm. Frame (left and right end fragments): 10 cm. Limestone.

The fragment from the center probably features Oceanus holding a snake in his right hand and a fish in the left. The fragments from the left and right end of the arch, both display a coiled up snake. Its body is covered in scales rendered with incised thin lines.

Ae22. Syrian arch with pediment (Pl. III/Ae22).

Prov: Porolissum.

Loc: MJIAZ.

Bărbulescu 1977, 187-188, no. 79, Pl. IX/1; Bărbulescu 2003, note 115, Pl. XVII/2; Petruț 2009, 117, no. 55, Pl. 20.

Fragmentary. The right half of the arch is preserved.

H: 44 cm; W: 106 cm; Th: 24 cm. Limestone.

The relief register is bordered by a simple frame, still partly visible on the short side and along the line of the arch. The end of the arch displays the scene of Hercules fighting the Nemean lion. To his left, a seahorse is depicted. The center probably featured a Gorgon head. On the upper side of the right edge there is a cramp mortice with a width of 3.5 cm.

Ae23. Syrian arch with pediment (Pl. IV/Ae23).

Prov: Porolissum.

Loc: MJIAZ.

Unpublished.

Fragmentary. A small portion of the central part of the arch is preserved.

H: 26 cm; W: 38 cm; Th: 20 cm; frame: 5 cm. Limestone.

The relief field displays a vine stalk motif. A simple frame runs along the line of the arch. The lower edge displays a cramp mortice 5 cm deep and 3 cm wide.

Ae24. Syrian arch with pediment (Pl. IV/Ae24).

Prov: Porolisum. Discovered during the excavations from 2008 carried out in the necropolis from Ursoieș Hill, in the area of a possible funerary enclosure.

Loc: MJIAZ.

Petruț 2009, 117, no. 56, Pl. 20.

Fragmentary. Only the right end of the arch is preserved.

H: 44 cm; W: 106 cm; Th: 24 cm. Limestone.

The surface is badly weathered, even so it seems that it was undecorated.

Ae25. Syrian arch (Pl. IV/Ae25).

Prov: Porolisum.

Loc: MJIAZ. Inv. no.: 220.

Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, 37, no. 111, Fig. 111; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 224, no. 8; Gudea 1989, 783, no. 69; Petruț 2009, 118, no. 57, Pl. 2.

Fragmentary. The left half of the arch is preserved.

H: 63 cm; W: 39; Th: 15 cm; frame: 3-4 cm. Limestone.

The decoration consists of an elaborately rendered vine stalk.

Ae26. Syrian arch (Pl. IV/Ae26).

Prov: Porolisum.

Loc: MJIAZ. Inv. no.: 228.

Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, 37, no. 112, Fig. 112; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 224, no. 9; Gudea 1989, 783-784, no. 70; Petruț 2009, 119, no. 58.

Fragmentary. The right half of the arch is preserved, the surface is badly weathered.

H: 58 cm; W: 50 cm; Th: 18 cm; frame: 3-4 cm. Limestone.

The relief field is bordered by a simple frame. The end of the arch contains the depiction of a male figure with hands clasped together.

Ae27. Syrian arch (Pl. IV/Ae27)

Prov: Porolisum.

Loc: MJIAZ. Inv. no.: 253.

Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, 37, no. 112, Fig. 112; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 224, no. 10; Gudea 1989, 783, no. 71; Petruț 2009, 119-120, no. 59.

Fragmentary. The right edge of the arch is preserved.

H: 39 cm; W: 25 cm; Th: 16 cm; frame: 4 cm. Limestone.

The relief field is bordered by a simple frame. The relief displays a dolphin, most likely rendered symmetrically on the other side as well.

Ae28. Syrian arch (Pl. IV/Ae28).

Prov: Porolisum.

Loc: MJIAZ. Inv. no.: 1757.

Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, 37, no. 110; Gudea 1989, 783, no. 68.

Fragmentary. Part of the left half of the arch is preserved.

H: 66; W: 57 cm; Th: 15 cm. Limestone.

The arch seems to be undecorated.

Ae29. Syrian arch (Pl. IV/Ae29).

Prov: Porolissum.

Loc: MJIAZ.

Unpublished.

Fragmentary. More than half of the left side is preserved.

H: 64 cm; W: 52; Th: 16 cm. Limestone.

The arch seems to be undecorated. It displays a cramp mortice in the upper side.

Ae30. Syrian arch (Pl. IV/Ae30).

Prov: Porolissum.

Loc: MJIAZ. Inv. no.: 1028.

Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, 37, no. 109, Fig. 109; Gudea 1989, 783, no. 67.

Fragmentary. The central part of the piece is preserved.

H: 18 cm; W: 52 cm; Th: 25 cm. Limestone.

The line of the arch is decorated by a moulded frame doubled by a bead row.

Ae31. Syrian arch (Pl. IV/Ae31).

Prov: Porolissum.

Loc: MJIAZ. Inv. no.: P 82 AP m 82.

Unpublished.

Fragmentary. A small portion of the central part is preserved.

H: 15 cm; W: 27 cm; Th: 10 cm; frame W: 7 cm. Limestone.

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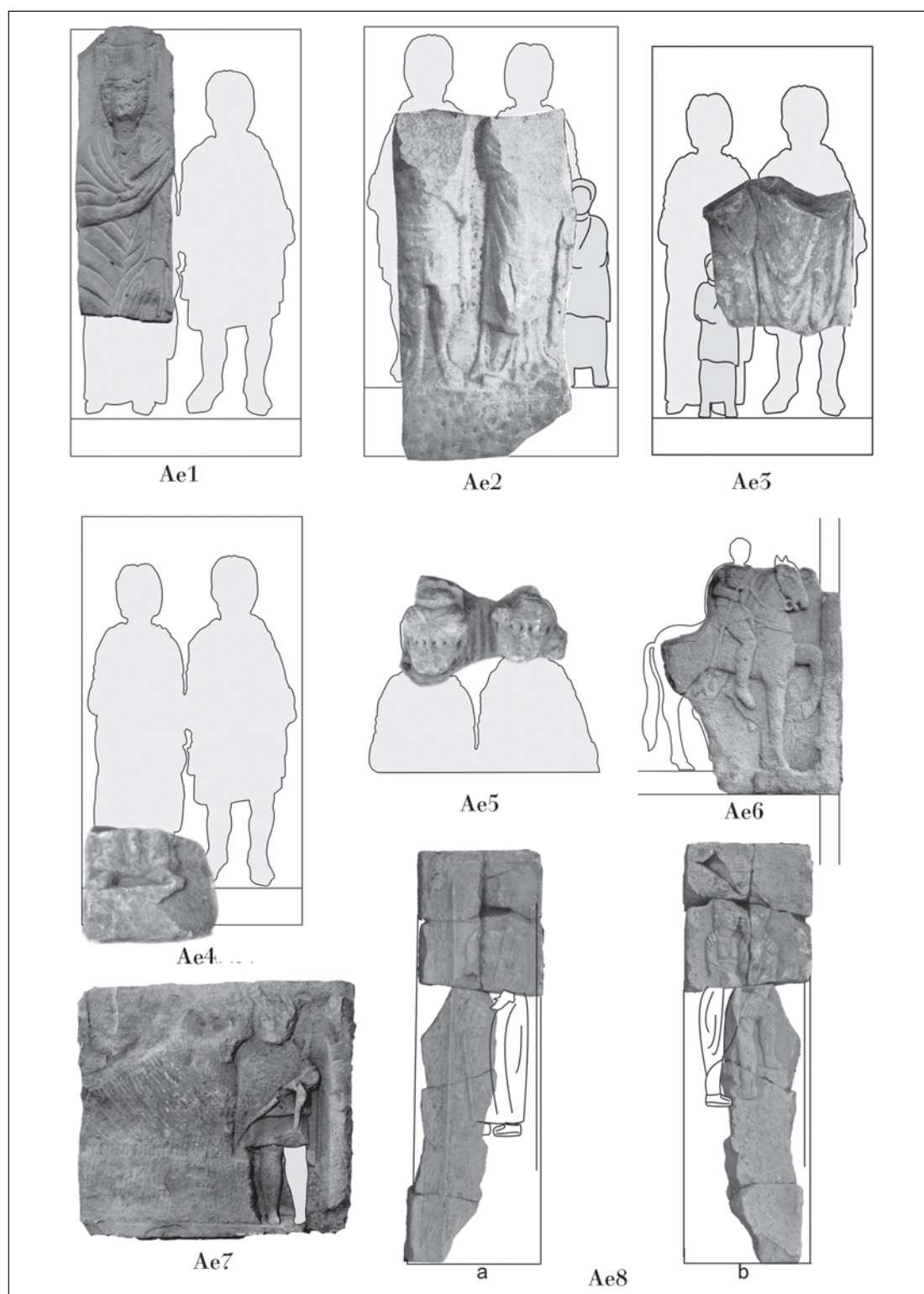
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Radu Zăgreanu

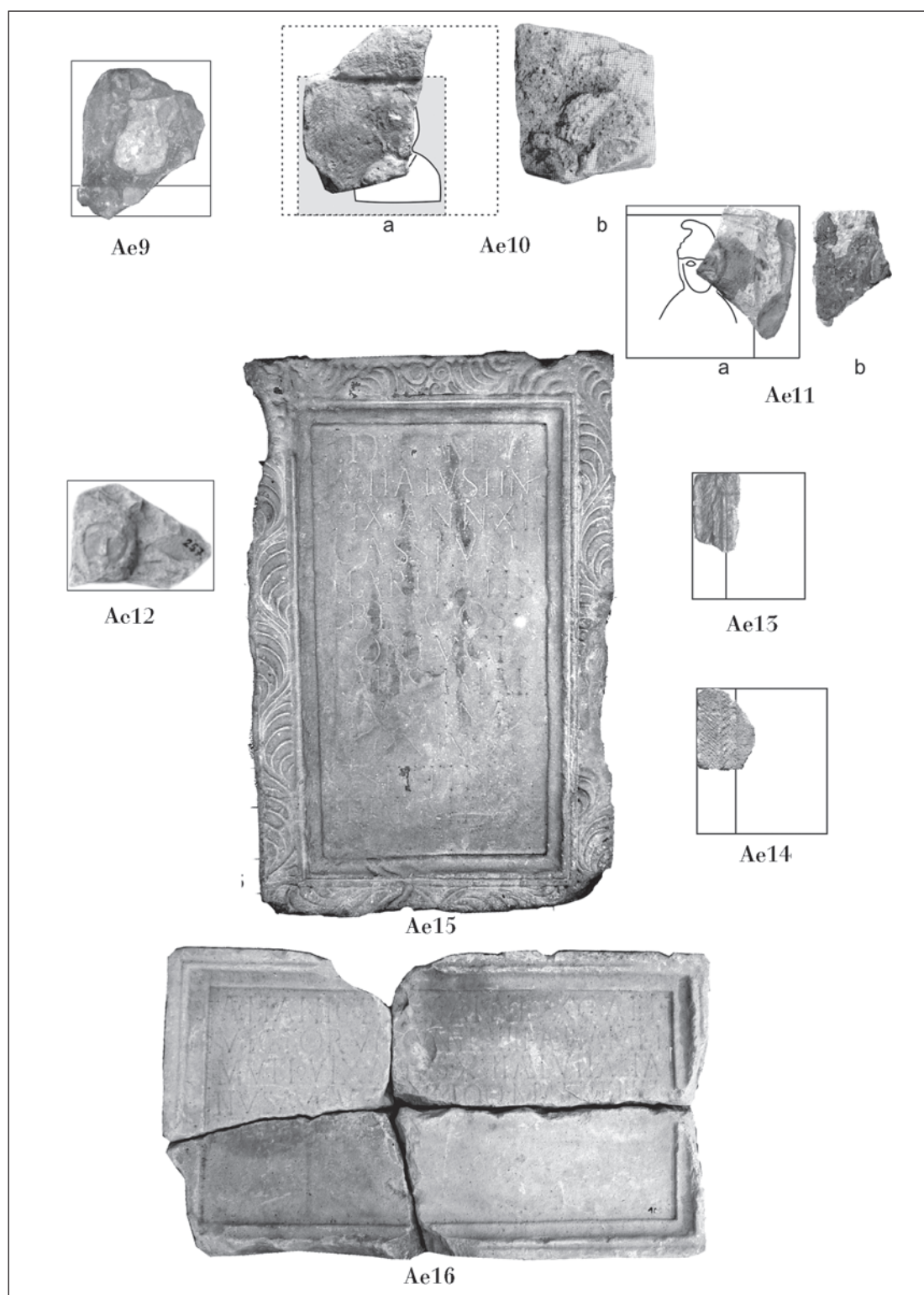
Museal Complex of Bistrița-Năsăud
raduzagreanu@gmail.com

Dávid Petruț

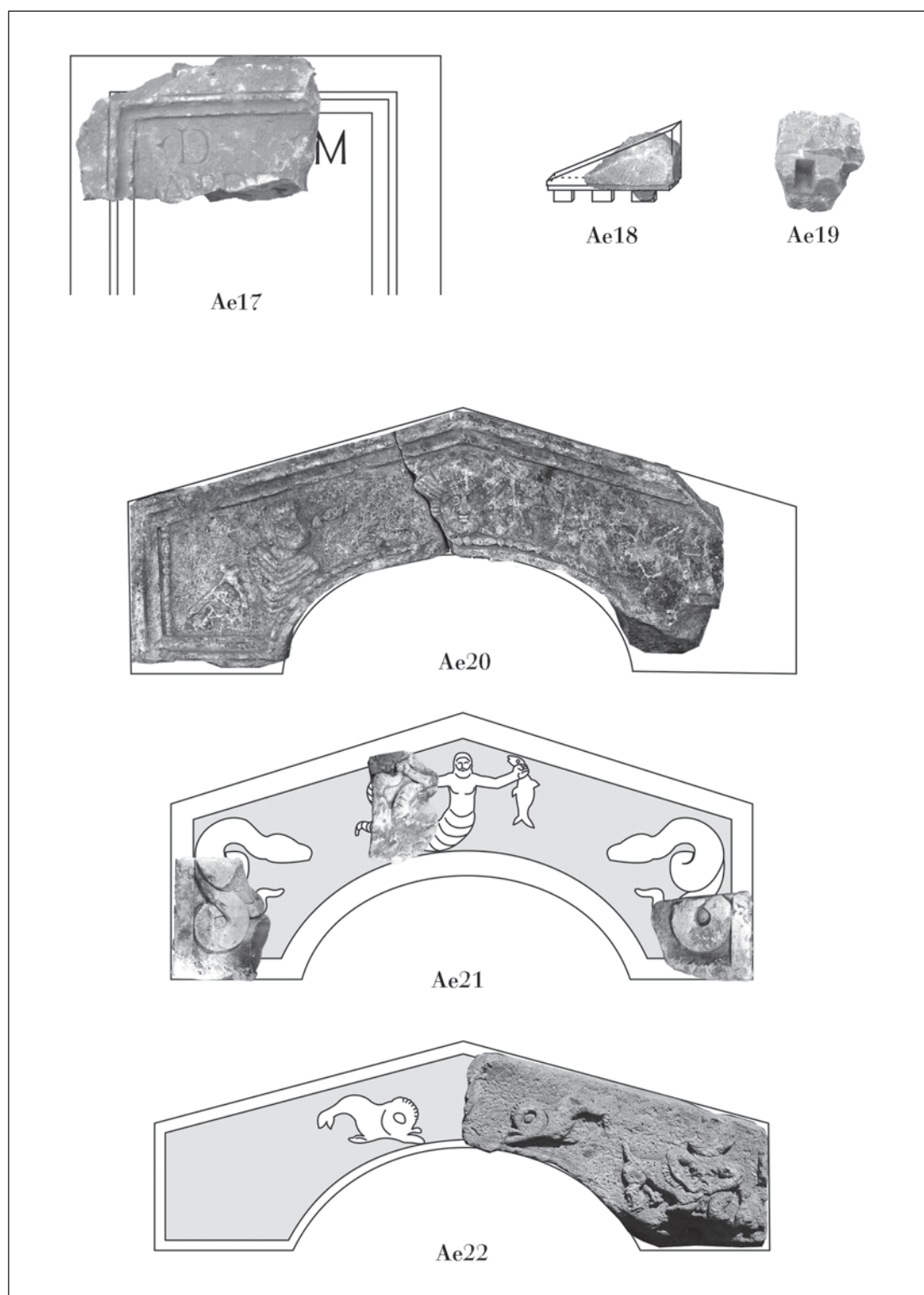
Mureș County Museum, Târgu Mureș
petrutdavid@gmail.com



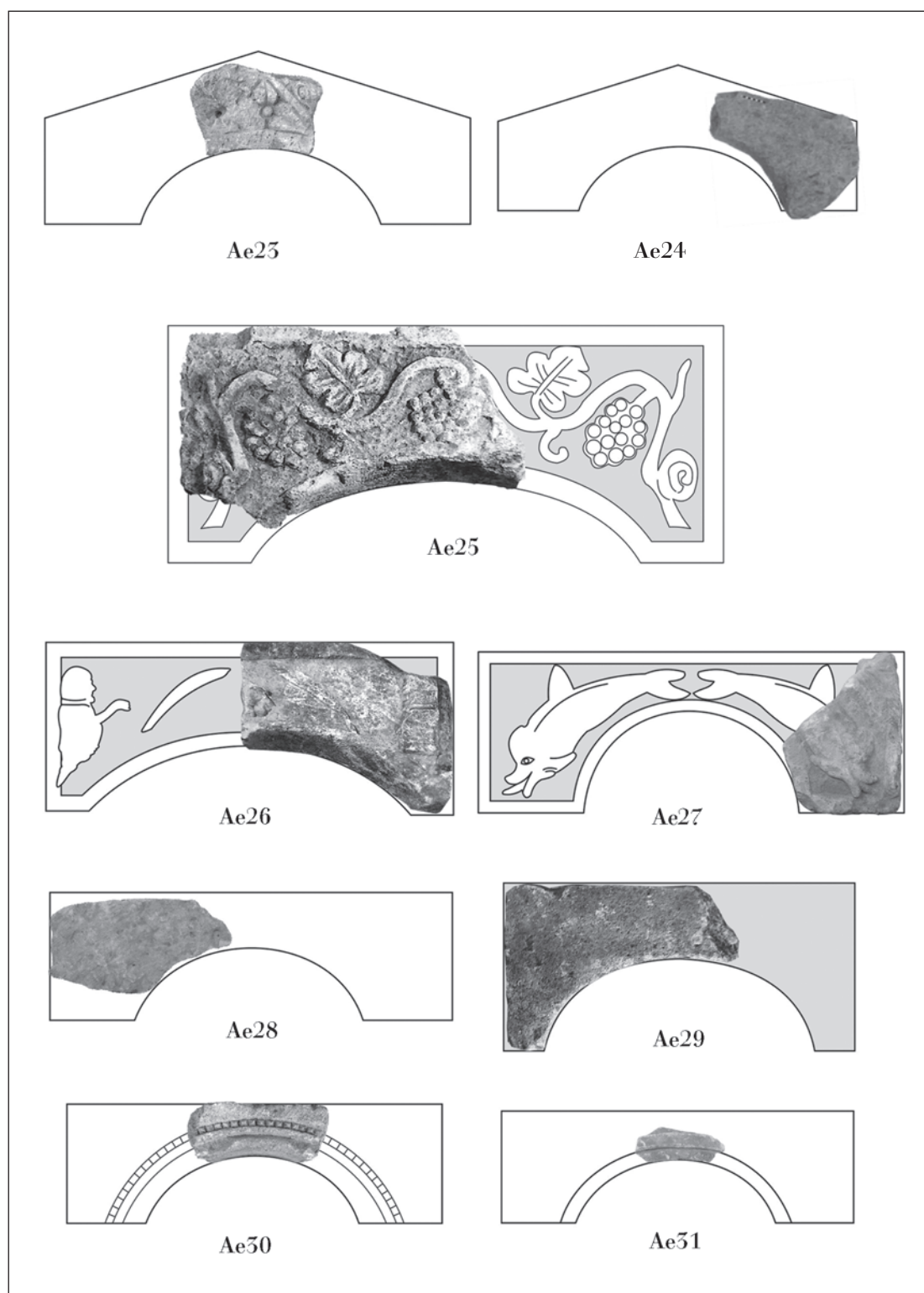
Pl. I. Aedicula walls (photos and graphic R. Zăgreanu).



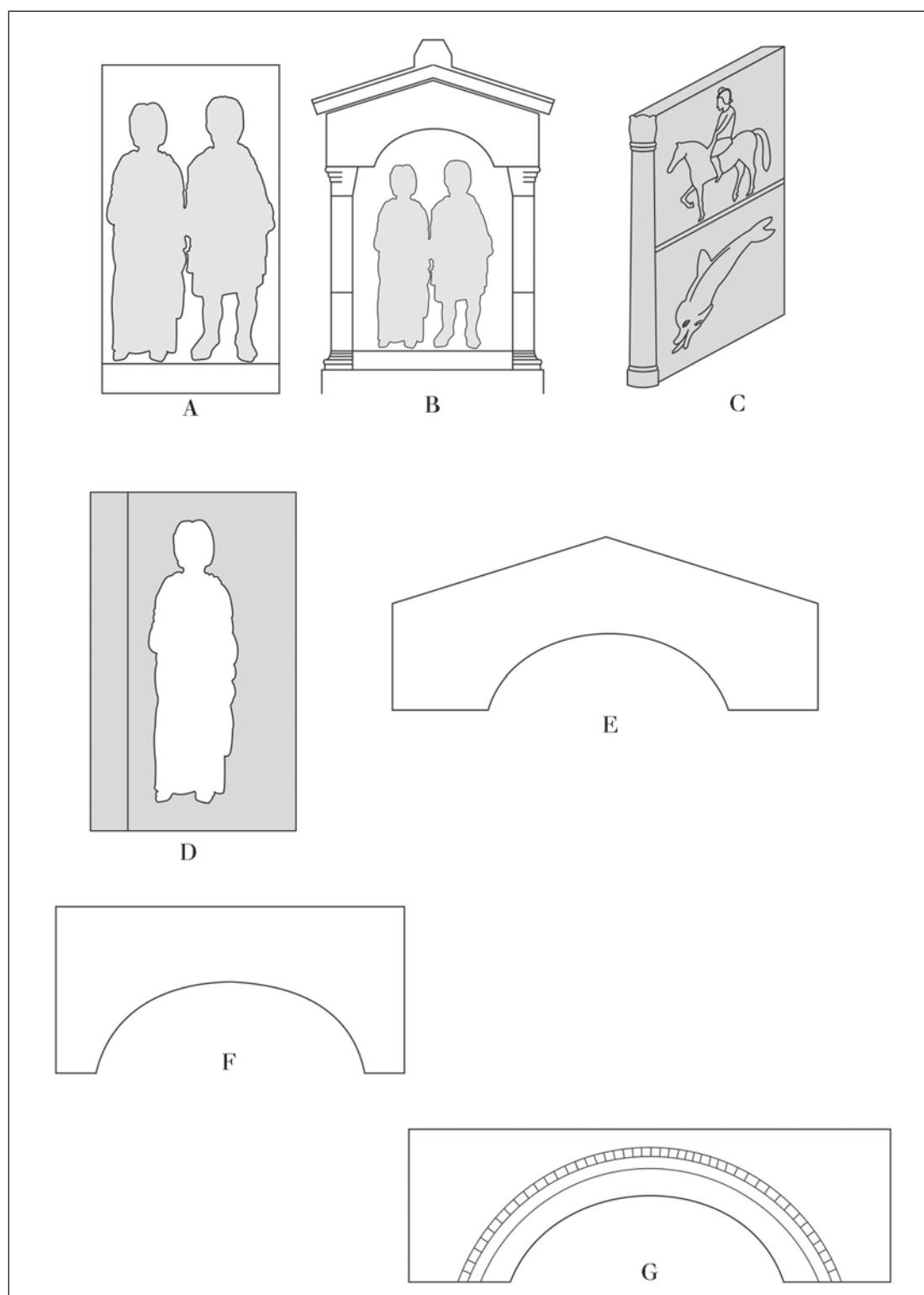
Pl. II. Ae9-Ae14. Aedicula wall fragments; Ae15-Ae16. Pedestal panels (photos and graphic R. Zăgreanu).



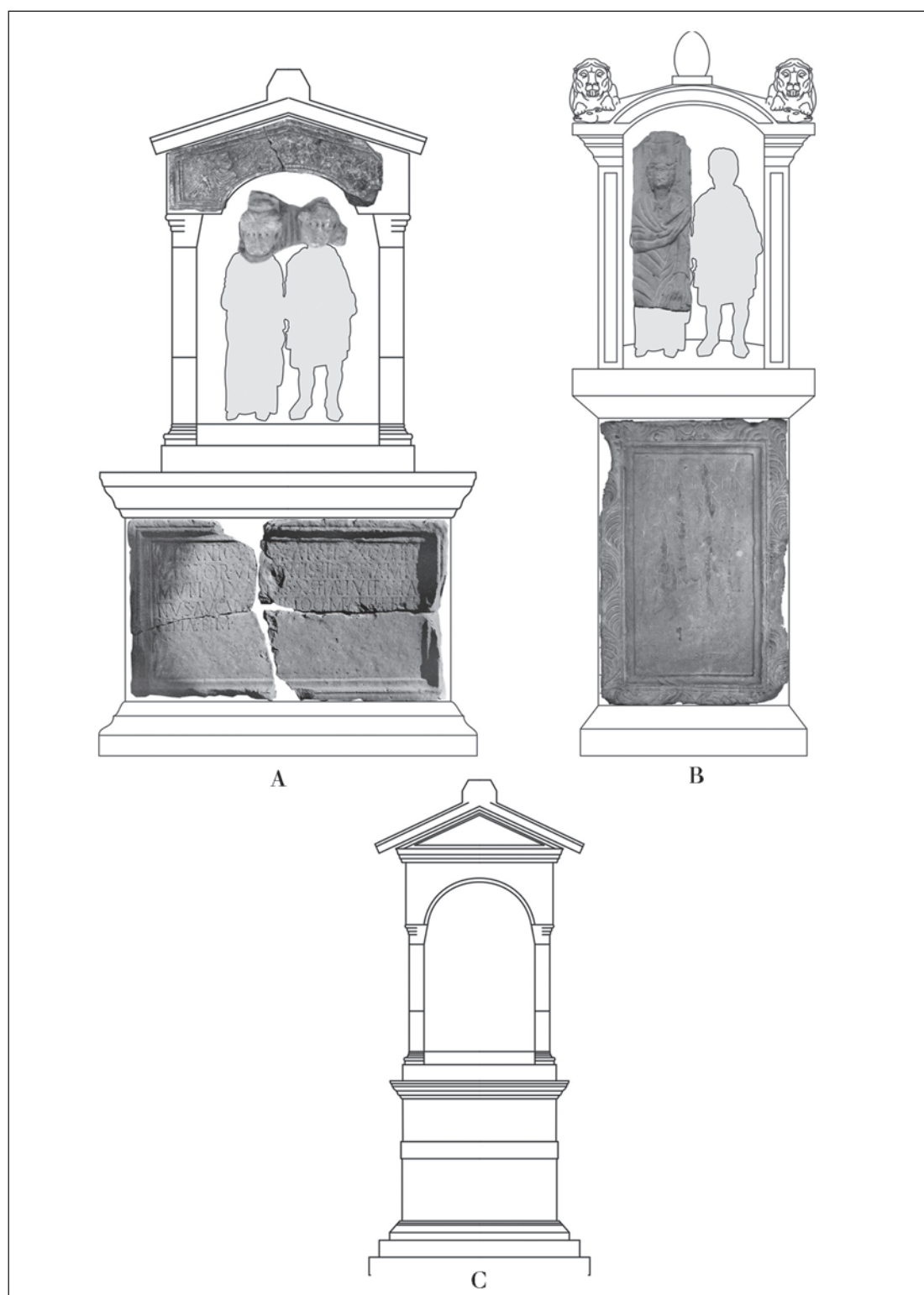
Pl. III. Ae17. Pedestal panel; Ae18-Ae19. Cornice fragments; Ae20-Ae22. Syrian arches (photos and graphic R. Zăgreanu).



Pl. IV. Syrian arches (photos and graphic R. Zăgreanu).



Pl. V. Aedicula wall and arch typology (graphic R. Zăgreanu).



Pl. VI. Reconstructions proposed for aediculae from Porolissum (graphic R. Zăgreanu).

MONUMENTE VON PROKURATOREN DER PROVINZ DACIA POROLISSENSIS*

CARMEN CIONGRADI

Zusammenfassung: Der Artikel befasst sich mit dem Studium der Steinmonumente, in deren Inschriften Prokuratoren von Dacia Porolissensis erscheinen: Präsidialprokuratoren bis 168 n. Chr. und Finanzprokuratoren nach diesem Datum. Je nach Funktionalität und Typ erlauben diese Denkmäler verschiedene Folgerungen. Es sind zehn solche Monumente erhalten, sieben Votivaltäre aus Napoca, dem Sitz des Finanzprokurators, zwei Bauinschriften aus Porolissum und eine Statuenbasis aus Colonia Dacica Sarmizegetusa in Dacia Apulensis. Im Vergleich zu dieser Provinz sind in Dacia Porolissensis keine Ehrenmonumente erhalten, in deren Inschriften die Ämterlaufbahn aufgeführt wird. In dieser Provinz befand sich weder der Versammlungsort des *concilium trium Daciarum* noch der Amtssitz des konsularen Statthalters, um dafür ein Publikum der ganzen Provinz vor Augen zu haben.

Schlüsselwörter: Prokuratoren; Monumente; Dacia Porolissensis; Napoca; Amtssitz.

Rezumat: Articolul tratează monumentele epigrafice de piatră în ale căror inscripții sunt menționați procuratori ai provinciei Dacia Porolissensis – până în 168 p. Chr. procuratori pre-sidiali, iar după această dată procuratori financiari. În interpretarea lor, funcționalitatea și tipul acestor monumente sunt esențiale. Sunt păstrate zece asemenea monumente, șapte altare votive provenind din Napoca unde se afla și sediul procuratorului financiar, două inscripții de construcție din Porolissum și o bază de statuie din Colonia Dacica Sarmizegetusa în Dacia Apulensis. În comparație cu această provincie, în Dacia Porolissensis nu avem monumente onorifice în a căror inscripție să apară redat parcursul carierei procuratoriene. Aici nu era nici locul de adunare al *concilium trium Daciarum*, nici sediul guvernatorului consular, pentru a beneficia de un public din toată provincia Dacia.

Cuvinte cheie: procuratori; monumente; Dacia Porolissensis; Napoca; sediul procuratorului.

Die Grundlage für diese Arbeit bilden die inschriftlichen Steinmonumente aus Dacia Porolissensis, die von Präsidialprokuratoren und Finanzprokuratoren der Städte dieser Provinz – Napoca und Porolissum – errichtet oder geweiht wurden.

Die Provinz Dakien wurde gleich nach den Eroberungskriegen Trajans als eine kaiserliche Provinz gegründet. Die zwei Legionen, die unter Trajan sicher in Dakien stationiert waren, hatten ihre Lager in Apulum (*legio XIII Gemina*) und Berzovia (*legio IIII Flavia Felix*). Der konsulare Statthalter hatte seinen Sitz in Sarmizegetusa¹. Dacia Porolissensis entstand im Laufe der Ereignisse der Jahre

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¹ IDR III/2, 205; Piso 1993, 9; Piso 2008, 319-325.

118–119 als eine neue, nach Norden und Nordwesten ausgerichtete Provinz, aus dem Gebiet nördlich des Flusses Arieș und des Unterlaufs des Mureș, ein Gebiet, das bis dahin der Provinz Dacia Superior angehört hatte². Um 119 wurde die *legio IIII Flavia Felix* in das Lager von Singidunum abkommandiert. In Dakien blieb nur eine Legion, die *legio XIII Gemina*, in Apulum stationiert³. Der Statthalter prätorischen Ranges hatte seinen Sitz in Apulum und kommandierte auch die einzige verbliebene Legion. Dacia Porolissensis wurde von einem Präsidialprokurator der duzenaren Klasse verwaltet⁴.

Der Sitz des Präsidialprokurators der Provinz Dacia Porolissensis war Napoca⁵, obwohl er nach einigen Meinungen auch Porolissum gewesen sein könnte, wo sich die größte Truppenkonzentration der Provinz befand⁶. Porolissum bekam erst spät, unter Septimius Severus, den Status eines Munizipiums. Der Name der Provinz ist ein wichtiges Argument für Porolissum als Sitz des Präsidialprokurators. Der Name ist offiziell und von Anfang an belegt. In Dacia Porolissensis gab es weder ein *concilium* mit eigenen Tagungsort, noch lag der namensgebende Ort zentral, so können diese Argumente nicht dafür herangezogen werden⁷. Auch die Truppenkonzentration von mehreren Auxiliareinheiten kann nicht eine Provinzhauptstadt bestimmen, da ein solcher Ort niemals, im Gegenteil zu einem Legionslager militärischer Schwerpunkt einer Provinz war⁸. Weder in Napoca, noch in Porolissum sind bis jetzt Präsidialprokuratoren oder irgendwelche ihrer *officiales* bezeugt. Die Bauinschrift des Amphitheaters aus Porolissum unter Antoninus Pius kann nicht als Beweis für den Statthaltersitz berücksichtigt werden⁹. Napoca bekam früh, unter Hadrian, munizipalen Status und unter Mark Aurel den Status einer *colonia*¹⁰. Wir können wohl mit zwei Zentralen rechnen, wie für Oberdakien: Porolissum als militärische Kommandozentrale und Napoca als wichtiger Gerichtsort¹¹. Unter Mark Aurel wurde Dakien wieder einer Umorganisation unterzogen. Sie bestand in der Verlegung der *legio V Macedonica* nach Potaissa und aus der Unterstellung aller dakischen Gebiete und Truppen unter einen einzigen Statthalter konsularen Ranges. Dacia Porolissensis ist ab jetzt als ein Sprengel der Finanzverwaltung zu verstehen¹². Allerdings lag in Napoca ab 168 der Sitz des Finanzprokurators, wie die von verschiedenen Finanzprokuratoren im ausgehenden 2. und 3. Jahrhundert errichteten Votivaltäre recht eindeutig zeigen.

² Piso 1993, 33–34 mit der vorherigen Literatur.

³ RE XII, 1924, s.v. *Legio*, 1544 (Ritterling); IMS I, S. 29; Strobel 1984, 90.

⁴ Stein 1944, 34; Piso 1993, 38.

⁵ Macrea 1964, 151; Balla 1980, 68; Macrea 1967, 136, 139; Vittinghoff 1968, 134; Wolff 1990, 618; Wolff 1975, 156; vgl. Vittinghoff 1969, 141; Daicoviciu 1977, 924–926; Piso 1993, 39; Bota 2007, 23, 26.

⁶ RE I 4, 2, 1901, s.v. *Dacia*, 1971 (Brandis); Stein 1944, 34; Tóth 1978, 114; RE XXII 1, 1953, s.v. *Potaissa*, 1014–1020 (Daicoviciu); Gudea 1986, 123; Gudea 1989, 118; Gudea 1990, 833.

⁷ Haensch 1997, 348.

⁸ Haensch 1997, 348.

⁹ So auch Piso 1993, 39; Haensch 1997, 348.

¹⁰ Daicoviciu 1977, 921; Diaconescu 2003–2004, II, 117–120.

¹¹ Piso 1993, 39 mit der Diskussion. Horster 2001, 409 ist der Meinung, dass Porolissum das militärische Zentrum und Napoca der Sitz des Finanzprokurators und wohl auch des Provinzprokurators war, da in Porolissum keine ausgeprägten städtischen Strukturen gaben.

¹² Piso 1993, 82–93.

Es gibt neun Steinmonumente in Dacia Porolissensis und eines in Dacia Apulensis, in deren Inschriften Prokuratoren der Provinz Dacia Porolissensis erscheinen, nämlich ein Präsidialprokurator¹³ und acht Finanzprokuratoren¹⁴. Sie datieren aus der Zeit ab Antoninus Pius. Zwei stammen aus Porolissum, sieben aus Napoca, wo der Sitz des Finanzprokurators war, und eines aus Sarmizegetusa. Diejenige aus Porolissum sind Bauinschriften. Diejenige aus Napoca sind Votivaltäre¹⁵ und eine Statuenbasis; letzteres ist auch in Sarmizegetusa der Fall.

Von diesen Monumenten wurde nur eine Bauinschrift (Nr. 7) bei kontrollierten archäologischen Ausgrabungen entdeckt. Fünf sind Zufallsfunde (Nr. 3, 5, 6, 8, 9) und wurden als Spolien wiederverwendet. Die anderen vier (Nr. 1, 2, 4, 10) sind nur aus Manuskripten oder Inschriftenkorpora bekannt, ohne Bestimmung oder Beschreibung des Typus des Monuments, ohne Fundort, Material oder Ausmaße. In der Forschung wurden sie meist isoliert und nur bezüglich der Inschrift als wichtig betrachtet und so veröffentlicht. Inschrift und Inschriftsträger wurden nicht zusammen behandelt, die Forschung maß leider nur der Inschrift Bedeutung zu, die als eine für sich deutbare Quelle betrachtet wurde¹⁶. Sie wurden oft als „Ehrentafel“, „Ehreninschrift“, oder als zu gar keinem Typus gehörendes Monument behandelt, nur als eine unter einer Nummer befindliche Inschrift in einem Katalog.

Es gibt aber keine „Ehrentafel“ oder „Ehreninschrift“ als solche¹⁷. Sie können verschiedenen Typen von Monumenten angehören. Eine Bauinschrift besagt etwas anderes und hat eine ganz verschiedene Funktion als einen Votivaltar oder eine Statuenbasis. Die Bauinschriften kommunizieren die Tatsache, dass ein Bau von einer Person oder einer Gemeinde bezahlt wurde. Eine Inschrift, die auf einer Statuenbasis angebracht wurde, ist eine Ehrung, die eine Gemeinde, ein Kollegium oder eine oder mehrere Personen in der Form einer Statue dem Geehrten erwiesen. Die Ehrenmonumente waren öffentliche Denkmäler, die die ganze Gemeinschaft bewundern könnte, was die Bedeutung der medialen Qualität der Weihung verstärkte.

¹³ Andere Präsidialprokuratoren, die aus Militärdiplomen für die Truppen von Dacia Porolissensis bekannt sind: Livius Gratus für das Jahr 123 (RMD I 21, 22; Pferdehirt 2004, 22; Eck, Pangerl 2011, 234–242); Flavius Italicus für 131–134 (RMD I 35; RMD IV 248; RMD V 378; Eck, MacDonald, Pangerl, 2002–2003, 38–41, Nr. 3; Weiss 2007, 249–250); M. Macrinus Vindex für 151–154 (RMD I 47; RMD V 404) und 154 (CIL XVI 110 = RMD 47); L. Sempronius Ingenius für das Jahr 164 (CIL XVI 185; RMD I 63, 64, 65, 66; RMD II 116, 117; RMD IV 287, 289; Eck, Pangerl 2006–2007, 203–205); L.(?) Volusius [...] um 160–163 (RMD III 177; Eck, MacDonald, Pangerl 2002–2003, 46–47); Clodius [...] irgendwann zwischen 124–167 (RMD II 128). M. Macrinus Vindex wird 168 *praefectus praetorio* und stirbt 172 in den Markomannenkriegen. Der Kaiser errichtet drei Statuen für ihn, wie für M. Bassaeus Rufus, vgl. Pflaum 1960 I, 388, Nr. 161. Eine Liste der Prokuratoren von Dacia Porolissensis bei Bărbulescu 1973, 176–178; neulich Piso 2013.

¹⁴ M. Valerius Maximianus war Finanzprokurator 177–178 n. Chr., vgl. Alföldy 1974, 199–215. Seine Karriere ist aus der Inschrift auf einer Statuenbasis aus Diana Veteranorum in Numidien bekannt, vgl. Pflaum 1955, 135–154; Pflaum 1960, I, 476–494, Nr. 181 bis. Im Jahre 181 war er Legat der *legio V Macedonica* aus Potaissa und 182 Legat der *legio XIII Gemina* aus Apulum; hier hat er einen Votivaltar für Mithras geweiht (CIL III 1122).

¹⁵ Laut Haensch 1997, 47 genügen fünf Monumente, die ein Statthalter oder Finanzprokurator auf Grund einer persönlicher Entscheidung und nicht in Verbindung mit anderen Institutionen oder Personen für Götter oder den Kaiser errichtete, um damit den Amtssitz zu lokalisieren.

¹⁶ Analysen der Monumente, die Inschrift und Inschriftsträger zusammen betrachten, wurden bis jetzt nur für Oberdakien unternommen, vgl. Ciongradi 2007; Ciongradi 2009.

¹⁷ Dazu Eck 2009, 79–92.

Sie standen auf dem *celeberrimus locus* einer Stadt, meist auf dem Forum, aber auch in Theater, Portiken, Tempelvorhallen oder öffentlichen Gärten. Die Dedikanten waren meist Personen mit wichtigen Funktionen in der Gemeinde, oder die Gemeinde selbst, die mit einem solchen Monumenten Kaiser, Mitglieder der Kaiserfamilie, Statthalter oder einflussreiche Mitglieder der Eliten des Reiches ehrte und ihren Dank ausdrückte. Die Votivaltäre sind den Göttern geweiht. Wichtig war der Aufstellungsplatz des Altars und das Publikum, das damit in Kontakt kam. Diese vermitteln die Absicht des Vorhabens: persönliche Devotion, lokale Tradition, kultische Routineakte oder Angehörigkeit zu einer Gemeinschaft.

Katalog¹⁸

1. Bauinschrift (Taf. I/1).

FO: Porolissum (Moigrad, Kreis Sălaj). 1853 befand sie sich in der Sammlung Andrassy (Gârceiu) und 1880 in der Sammlung Szikszai (Zalău).

AO: Verschollen.

Kalkstein. In zwei Frg. gebrochen.

Jung 1894, 49, Nr. 13; PIR¹ C 783; RE III 2, 1899, s.v. *Claudius*, 2862, Nr. 311 (Stein); CIL III 836; Stein 1944, 29; PIR² C 993; Ackner, Müller 1865, 158, Nr. 751; Pflaum 1960–1961, III, 1065; Kerényi 1944, 628; Torma 1964, 18, Nr. 14; Macrea 1969, 58; Bărbulescu 1973, 177; Thomasson 1984, 153, Nr. 28; Petolescu 1986, 889–890, Nr. 27; Gudea 1989, 760, Nr. 1; Bajusz 1997, 92; AE 1997, 1287; Ruscu 2000, 26; Petolescu 2000, 172; Horster 2001, 409, Nr. XXXI/4; Bajusz 2005, 881; Bărbulescu 2006, 126, Nr. 1; Petolescu 2010, 173; HD 044018; Lupa 13223; Faoro 2011, 295, Nr. 4; Piso 2013, 122, Nr. 76.

Imp(erator) Caes(ar) T(itus) Ael(ius) Hadrianus Antoninus Aug(ustus) Pius pontifex maximus trib(unicia) pot(estate) XX imp(erator) II co(n)s(ul) IIII p(ater) p(atriciae) amphitheatrum vetustate dilapsum de novo fecit curante Tib(erio) Cl(audio) Quintiliano proc(uratore) suo.

Chronologisch ist der erste auf einem Steinmonument bezeugte Prokurator Tiberius Claudius Quintilianus. Der Stein ist leider verschollen; dem Text nach, handelt es sich um eine Bauinschrift, die die Neuerrichtung des Amphitheaters in Porolissum aus Stein unter Antoninus Pius (157 n. Chr.) bestätigt, unter der Fürsorge des Präsidialprokurators Tiberius Claudius Quintilianus. Zu bemerken ist hier das Verwenden des Verbs *facere*, das meist bei Inschriften verwendet wurde, in denen

¹⁸ FO = Fundort; AO = Ausstellungsort; Frg. = Fragment; H. = Höhe; H. erh. = Höhe erhalten; Br. = Breite; Br. erh. = Breite erhalten; T. = Tiefe; Bh. = Buchstabe; Z. = Zeile; Lig. = Ligatur; RS = Rückseite; NS = Nebenseite; OS = Oberseite; US = Unterseite.

gesagt wird, dass der Kaiser die Arbeiten durch eine andere Person durchführen ließ, oder das Militär dafür einsetzte. Der zuständige Statthalter kommt auch in solchen Inschriften oft vor¹⁹. Porolissum bekam munizipalen Status erst unter Septimius Severus. Die Nutznießer dieser Baumaßnahme waren also in erster Linie die Soldaten und die Einwohner des Militärvicus. Sie waren wohl auch diejenige, die die Arbeit verrichteten. Es gibt keine weiteren Steinmonumente, in deren Inschriften dieser Prokurator erscheint.

157 n. Chr.

2. Votivaltar (Taf. I/2).

FO: Cluj-Napoca (Kreis Cluj), wiederverwendet in einem Mauer der dominikanischen Kirche, nach Mezerzius.

AO: Verschollen?

Seivert 1773, 166, Nr. 242; Neigebaur 1851, 224, Nr. 4; Ackner, Müller 1865, 154, Nr. 734; CIL III 853; Jung 1894, 49, Nr. 16; RE II 2, 1896, s.v. *Aurelius*, 2454, Nr. 63 (Rohden); PIR¹ A 1214; Kerényi 1944, 32, Nr. 350; 226; Stein 1944, 85–86 (wahrscheinlich unter Caracalla); Russu 1956, 711 (um 170 n. Chr.); Pflaum 1960–1961, II, 792–793, Nr. 307; III 1067 (wohl 212–217 n. Chr.); PIR² A 1461; Macrea 1966, 148 (um 170 n. Chr.); Macrea 1967, 139–140; Macrea 1969, 65; TIR, L 34, 83; Bărbulescu 1973, 177 (170 n. Chr.); Petolescu 1986, 904, Nr. 80 (unter Caracalla?); Haensch 1997, 693; Petolescu 2000, 177; Petolescu 2010, 177 (unter Caracalla); Piso 2013, 260–262, Nr. 112, 3 (169–177 oder 210–217 n. Chr.); HD 048884 (151–250 n. Chr.).

Fortunae

Aug(ustae)

G(aius) Aurelius

Atilianus

5 *proc(urator)*

Aug(usti).

In der Inschrift auf diesem verschollenen Votivaltar für Fortuna Augusta erscheint als Dedikant C. Aurelius Atilianus, *procurator Augusti*. Keine Schlußformel erscheint. A. Stein und H. G. Pflaum sehen eine Möglichkeit, dass er identisch mit Aurelius Atilianus ist, der in einem Reskript des Kaisers Caracalla bezeugt ist²⁰. Stein schlägt auch eine mögliche Identifizierung dieser Atilianus mit einem Q. Aurelius Atilianus, Prokurator von Arabien in unbestimmter Zeit vor²¹. Dieser ist laut Stein eher der Bruder, Vater oder Sohn des Prokurators in Dakien. Pflaum identifiziert den Prokurator von Arabien als den Bruder des Aurelius Atilianus aus dem Reskript Caracallas. In der Militärdiplomen von Gilău vom 21. Juli 164²² und Buciumi vom 21. Juli 164²³

¹⁹ Horster 2001, 50.

²⁰ IUST. Dig. 48. 19. 43.

²¹ AE 1939, 256; Pflaum 1960–1961, II 793, 1 (*Gerasa*).

²² RMD 64.

²³ RMD 66.

n. Chr. erscheint ein C. Aurelius Atilianus als *praefectus alae Silianae*²⁴. Mit sehr großer Wahrscheinlichkeit handelt es sich um dieselbe Person, da dies nicht der einzige Fall war, als ein Offizier der *ala Siliana* zum Prokurator von Dacia Porolissensis wurde²⁵. Nach der Präfektur dieser *ala* übernimmt er diese Prokurator der Provinz Dacia Porolissensis um 170 n. Chr. Er war der erste Prokurator, dessen Tätigkeit eng mit Napoca verbunden war.

169–177 n. Chr.

3. Schaftblock/Statuenbasis (Taf. I/3).

FO: Cluj-Napoca (Kreis Cluj), 12 Mai 1781 in Óvár, wovon dann die Oberseite im Garten Szathmári, später Szabó abtransportiert war. Unterseite ab der Z. 10 verschollen.

AO: MNIT. Nr. Inv. VI 3481 = V 15890.

Kalkstein. H. erh. 61 cm, Br. 59 cm, T. 44 cm. Bh. Z. 1: 4 cm, Z. 2: 4–3.6 cm, Z. 3, 7–8: 3.8–3.6 cm, Z. 4: 3.8–3.5 cm, Z. 5: 4.2–3.5 cm, Z. 6: 3.8–3.5 cm, Z. 9–10: 3.8 cm. Lig. in der Z. 8: A+M. Bh. tief eingraviert. Die Z. unterstrichen. Unterseite ab der Z. 9 quer weggebrochen. Profile bestoßen. RS mit je einem Teil den NS zerstört. OS geglättet. Das Inschriftfeld stark verwittert.

Torma 1865, 14–15, Nr. 5; CIL III 865, S. 1380; RE I 1, 1893, s.v. *Aelius*, 491, Nr. 40 (v. Rohden); Jung 1894, 49, Nr. 15; PIR¹ A 123; PIR² A 163; Stein 1944, 84; Kerényi 1944, 6, Nr. 35; 66, Nr. 745; 79, Nr. 912; Pflaum 1960–1961, II, 605, 1; III, 1067; TIR, L 34, 83; Daicoviciu 1974, 31; Daicoviciu 1977, 926–927; Bărbulescu 1973, 178; Petolescu 1986, 903, Nr. 76; Devijver 1976–1987, I, 91; Ardevan 1998, 431–432, Nr. 450 (185–192 n. Chr.); Haensch 1997, 693, Anm. 236; Petolescu 2000, 177; Diaconescu 2003–2004, II, 203, Nr. 22 (185–192 n. Chr.); Petolescu 2002, 76–78; Petolescu 2010, 177; Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2010, 170, Nr. 303–304; Piso 2013, 262–264, Nr. 113; HD 048893; Lupa 20943.

Profilgerahmter Schaftblock²⁶. Die Profile bestehen aus einer Leiste und einem Kyma. An der linken NS sind die Profile zerstört.

Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) L(ucio) Aelio
Aurel(io) Commodo
p(io) f(elici) Aug(usto) Sarm(atico) Ger-
manic(o) max(imo) Britt(anico)
 5 *ob honorem dec(urionatus)*
Ael(ii) Constantis
proc(uratoris) eius et Iul(ii) Pa-

²⁴ Devijver, 1976–1987, 144, A 213. Nach Piso könnte der Prokurator von Dacia Porolissensis der Sohn des Präfekten der *ala Siliana* und so auch mit dem *praeses* Aurelius Atilianus aus dem Digesten identisch sein, was eher unwahrscheinlich ist; laut Piso könnte seine Prokurator dann auch zwischen 210 und 217 n. Chr. datiert werden. vgl. Piso 2013, 262.

²⁵ Siehe hier Nr. 3, Aelius Constans.

²⁶ Über die Typologie der Schaftblöcke, vgl. Ciongradi 2007, 84–86.

- [c]atiani quondam
 [pr(aefecti) T(itus) Fl(avius)] Ianua-
 10 [rius Ilvi]r col(oniae) et
 [T(itus) Fl(avius)] Germanus
 dec(urio) col(oniae) quod dec(uriones)
 alares promise-
 runt pecunia su-
 15 a posuerunt l(ocus) d(atus)
 d(ecurionum) d(ecreto).

Es handelt sich um einen profilgerahmten Schaftblock aus Kalkstein, der als Statuenbasis für eine Lebensgroße Statue des Commodus fungierte. Aus dem Text geht hervor, dass die Statue samt Basis zwischen 191–192 n. Chr. errichtet wurde, für die Ehre des Dekurionats des Finanzprokurators von Dacia Porolissensis Aelius Constans und von dem Ritter Iulius Pacatianus. Was die beiden gemeisam hatten, war das Kommando der ala Siliana, die in der Nähe von Napoca, in Gilău, stationiert war. Die Finanzierung und die Errichtung des Monuments wurden von zwei lokalen Magistraten aus Napoca übernommen. Der eine, Flavius Ianuarius, war *Ilvir* oder Patron der Kolonie, der andere, T. Flavius Germanus, einfacher Dekurion. Beide hatten in der *ala Siliana* als Dekurione unter dem Kommando der beiden oben genannten *praefecti* gedient und beide hatten versprochen, dass sie, wenn sie Dekurione von Napoca würden, für die Finanzierung und Errichtung der Statue Sorge tragen würden²⁷. Die Inschrift dokumentiert auch die engen Beziehungen zwischen den Offizieren der *ala Siliana* und dem *ordo decurionum* von Napoca, was auch von einer Inschrift auf einem Votivaltar aus Gilău bezeugt wird²⁸. Sextus Valerius Saturninus weihte dem Iupiter Optimus Maximus einen Altar, als *decurio alae et coloniae*.

191–192 n. Chr.

4. Votivaltar (Taf. II/1).

FO: Cluj-Napoca (Kreis Cluj), 1847, im Garten des ehemaligen Gouverneurs von Siebenbürgen, J. Teleki, heute Kogălniceanu. Nr. 7, nach Kemény.

AO: Verschollen.

Neugebauer 1851, 225–226, Nr. 12; Ackner, Müller 1865, 152, Nr. 724; Jung 1894, 49, Nr. 17; CIL III 857; Schulze 1904, 407; Kerényi 1944, 124, Nr. 1459; 227; PIR¹ V 34; Stein 1944, 83–84 (kurz vor Septimius Severus); TIR, L 34, 83; Pflaum 1960–1961, III, 1067 (kurz vor 193 n. Chr.); Bărbulescu 1973, 178 (vor 193 n. Chr.); Petolescu 1986, 903, Nr. 75 (unter Commodus); Petolescu 2000, 177; Petolescu 2010, 177 (unter Commodus); Piso 2013, 273–274, Nr. 120/1 (169–170 n. Chr.; kurz nach 180 n. Chr., in die ersten Jahren des Septimius Severus oder ins 3. Jhs.); HD 048887 (151–275 n. Chr.).

²⁷ So auch Diaconescu 2003–2004, II, 209, der die Lesung der Inschrift von Ardevan 1998, 184, 431–432, Nr. 450 übernahm.

²⁸ CIL III 845: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Sex(tus) Vale(rius) Satur(ninus) dec(urio) al(ae) / Sil(ianae) et col(oniae) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)
Valerius
Catulli-
nus
 5 *proc(urator) Aug(usti).*

Der nächste Prokurator ist wiederum ein Finanzprokurator, Valerius Catullinus, der von A. Stein kurz vor 193 n. Chr. datiert wird²⁹. Nach Stein könnte er der Sohn, der Bruder oder identisch mit einem homonymen Senator sein, den Didius Iulianus als Statthalter von Oberpannonien 193 n. Chr. ernannt hatte, in der Meinung, Septimius Severus schon beseitigt zu haben. Valerius Catullinus wurde dann später auf Befehl des Severus getötet³⁰. Die große Zahl der Valerii Catulli oder Catullini senatorischen Ranges hatte I. Piso zu der Annahme gebracht, das der Prokurator aus einem ritterlichen Zweig einer senatorischen Familie stammen könnte³¹. Er widmete einen Votivaltar für Iupiter Optimus Maximus. Die Inschrift ist kurz gefasst, nach dem Namen des Gottes im Dativ folgt der Name des Widmers im Nominativ. Keine Schlussformel folgt.

Ab. 170 n. Chr.

5. Votivaltar (Taf. II/2).

FO: Cluj-Napoca (Kreis Cluj), im Haus des Barons Apor Benndorf.

AO: MNIT. Nr. Inv. Ohne.

Kalkstein von Baciú. H. erh. 55 cm, Br. erh. 46.5 cm, T. Schaft 42 cm. Bh. Z. 1: 5–4 cm, Z. 2: 5.5 cm, Z. 3: 7.4–4 cm, Z. 4: 6 cm. Lig. in der Z. 2: T+E, Z. 3: N+I, Z. 4: A+V. Die letzten zwei Bh. der Z. 4 kleiner geschrieben. Bh. tief eingraviert. Oberseite. Als Spolie wiederverwendet. Zu diesem Zweck wurde die Bekrönung auf die Br. des Schaftes reduziert. Bekrönung zerstört. Ein Teil der RS weggebrochen. Bestoßen. OS geglättet, mit Spuren der Gradine. An den NS des Schaftes Spitzmeißelspuren. RS in Bosse gelassen.

Hirschfeld 1874, 376–377, Nr. 2; Mommsen 1875, 302, Nr. 373; CIL III 7659 (3. Jh.); Jung 1894, 44–45, Nr. 8; RE II A, 1923, s.v. *Sempronius*, 1362, Nr. 14 (Stein); ders., PIR² A 256; Stein 1944, 84–85 (198–209 n. Chr.); Kerényi 1944, 172, Nr. 2006; Merlat 1951, 23–24, Nr. 20; Pflaum 1960–1961, II, 700–701, Nr. 262 (198–209 n. Chr.); Bărbulescu 1973, 178 (198–209 n. Chr.); Pflaum 1978, 164, 3; Kan 1979, 54, Nr. 23; TIR, L 34, 83; Popa, Berciu 1978, 26–27, Nr. 24, Taf. IX, 2; Sanie 1981, 258, Nr. 21; Petolescu 1986, 903, Nr. 77 (cca 198–209 n. Chr.); CCID 98, Nr. 140, Taf. XXX; Nemeti 2005, 355, Nr. 198; PIR¹ S 258; Petolescu 2000, 177; Petolescu 2010, 177 (cca

²⁹ Stein 1944, 83–84. Dieselbe Datierung auch von Pflaum 1960–1961, III, 1067; Bărbulescu 1973, 178; Daicoviciu 1974, 31 übernommen.

³⁰ SHA. *Did. Iul.* 5. 7.

³¹ Piso 2013, 274. Er hält für weniger wahrscheinlich die Annahme Steins, dass der Prokurator identisch mit dem Prokurator sein, dessen Namen auf Ziegelstempel in Sarmizegetusa erscheint, C. V. C. PR. AV, CIL III 8075 = IDR III/2, 567 = AE 1996, 1282.

198–209 n. Chr.); GLIA I, ad 17, 108; HD 043601 (198–211 n. Chr.); Lupa 15276 (Severisch, 198–211 n. Chr.); Piso 2013, 265–269, Nr. 115/2 (um 200 n. Chr.).

Schaftaltar mit drei bearbeiteten Seiten³². Die Bekrönung wird mit dem Schaft durch mehrere Profile verbunden, von denen nur eine abgerundete Leiste, eine Kehle und eine abgerundete Leiste erhalten sind.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Dolic(heno)
pro salute
Ael(ii) Lycini
proc(uratori) Augg(ustorum)
 [---]

In der Inschrift erscheint der Finanzprokurator der Dacia Porolissensis, Aelius Lycinus, *procurator Augustorum*. Nur die ersten vier Zeilen der Inschrift sind erhalten. Der Altar wurde an Iupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus für sein Wohl gewidmet. Es handelt sich um den Prokurator Publius Aelius Sempronius Lycinus. Seine Ämterlaufbahn kennen wir aus zwei Inschriften aus Ancyra, wohl zwei Statuenbasen³³. Zu berücksichtigen ist der unterschiedliche Aufbau des *cursus* in den beiden Inschriften. Die früheste ist eine Ehrung von Seiten eines provinziellen Stifters und wurde gesetzt, nachdem Lycinus von dem centenaren Rang des Prokurators in Dacia Porolissensis zur Stellung eines *procurator ducenarius* von Ägypten, avancierte. Die Ämter erscheinen in aufsteigender Folge³⁴. Die andere Ehrung ist chronologisch später anzusetzen und enthält einen absteigenden *cursus*³⁵. Sie wurde gesetzt, nachdem Lycinus Prokurator von Syria-Palästina wurde. Da sowohl in diesen Inschriften, als auch in jener von Napoca keine Spuren von Erosion auf dem Stein zu sehen sind, ist seine ganze Ämterlaufbahn unter Septimius Severus und Caracalla zu datieren, also vor 209³⁶. Im Fall einer anderen Inschrift aus Ancyra³⁷ handelt es sich um eine Ehrung, sehr wahrscheinlich eine Statue, die er selbst dem Kaiser Caracalla errichtete. Der Altar in Napoca ist also das früheste Zeugnis seiner Ämterlaufbahn. Im Falle der Inschrift auf der Statuenbasis für Caracalla aus Ancyra bezeichnet er sich als Stifter nur als *vir egregius* und verzichtet auf seine Ämterlaufbahn.

Um 200 n. Chr.

³² Über die Typologie der Votivaltäre, vgl. Ciongradi 2009, 25–28.

³³ CIL III 6756, 6757.

³⁴ CIL III 6757 = ILS 1413: *P(ublio) Ael(io) Semp[ro]ni[o] Lycino om[nibu]s / militiis equestribus ornato proc(uratori) XX h(ereditatium) / per provinc(ias) Narbonensem et Aquitanicam / proc(uratori) provinc(iae) Daciae Porolissensis proc(uratori) (ducenario) / Alexandria(e) idiu logu / G(aius) Fab(ius) Titi[an]us a militiis municeps eius / amico incomparabili.*

³⁵ CIL III 6756 = ILS 1414: *P(ublio) Semp(ronio) Ael(io) Lycino proc(uratori) Aug(ustorum) n(ostrorum) / prov(inciae) Syriae Palaestinae proc(uratori) hidi logi (sic) proc(uratori) Daciae Porolissensis / proc(uratori) XX her(editatium) provinciarum Galliarum / Narbonensis et Aquitaniae item omnibus / equestribus militiis perfuncto / Q(uitus) Blaesus Apollinaris.*

³⁶ Jung 1894, 44–45; Stein 1944, 84; Pflaum 1960, II, 701.

³⁷ CIL III 244.

6. Votivaltar (Taf. II/3).

FO: Cluj-Napoca (Kreis Cluj), eingemauert im mitellalterlichen Brückenthor, an der Nordseite, an der Kreuzung zwischen G. Barițiu Str. und Ferdinand Str.

AO: MNIT, Nr. Inv. Ohne.

Kalkstein. H. 72 cm, Br. max. erh. 25 cm, Br. Schaft 23.5 cm, T. max. erh. 27 cm, T. Schaft 23 cm, Bh. Z. 1: 3.5–3 cm, Z. 2: 3.3–1 cm, Z. 3: 3–1 cm, Z. 4, 6: 2.8–3 cm, Z. 5: 2.6–3 cm, Z. 7: 3.2–3 cm, Z. 8: 3–1.2 cm. Lig. in der Z. 3: T+E, V+A, Z. 5: N+I. Z. 3: O im Wort *pro* kleiner geschrieben. Unregelmässige Bh. Einige nur eingeritzt. Z. 5: O im Wort *Cocc(eius)* kleiner geschrieben. Z. 8: O in Wörter *prov(inciae)* und *Porol(issensis)* kleiner geschrieben. Bekrönung und Basis zwecks Wiederverwendung zur Breite des Schaftes reduziert. Linke NS und RS abgearbeitet. OS nicht geglättet. Zwei Bohrungen am Altarschaft. Das Inschriftfeld bestoßen. An der US ein Loch. An der rechten NS Spuren der Gradine.

Hirschfeld 1874, 377, Nr. 3; Mommsen 1875, 303, Nr. 375; CIL III 7662; RE IV 1, 1900, s.v. *Cocceius*, 129, Nr. 6 (Stein); PIR² C 1217; CIMRM II, 1916, 273, Nr. 297, Taf. III, Abb. 2; MMM II 138, Nr. 297; Kerényi 1944, 58, Nr. 651; 226; Jung 1894, 49, Nr. 14; PIR¹ C 965; Stein 1944, 85 (Septimius Severus – Caracalla); Pflaum, 1960–1961, III, 1067 (wohl 198–209 n. Chr.); Bărbulescu 1973, 178 (193–217 n. Chr.); Sanie 1974–1975, 339, Nr. 12 (Septimius Severus – Caracalla); TIR, L 34, 83; Daicoviciu 1974, 31 (Septimius Severus – Caracalla); Daicoviciu 1977 (Septimius Severus – Caracalla); Petolescu 1986, 903–904, Nr. 78 (cca 200 n. Chr.); Sanie 1981, 268, Nr. 67; Sanie 1989, 1257, Nr. 67; Haensch 1997, 693; Petolescu 2000, 177; Petolescu 2010, 177 (cca 200 n. Chr.); Piso 2013, 272–273, Nr. 119 (Statue; um die Mitte des 3. Jhs. n. Chr.); Lupa 20929 (161–211 n. Chr.); HD 048703 (161–211 n. Chr.).

Schaftaltar. Die Bekrönung und die Basis sind durch Profile mit dem Schaft vereinigt. Sie bestehen aus abgerundeter Leiste und dünner Leiste.

[D]eo Soli

Invicto

pro salute sua

et suorum

- 5 *M(arcus) C(o)cc(eius) Genialis v(ir) e(gregius) proc(urator) Augg(ustorum) nn(ostrorum) pro[v(inciae)] Dac(iae) Porol(issensis) v(otum) l(ibens) m(erito) p(osuit).*

Der nächste bekannte Prokurator ist uns nur aus einer Inschrift auf einem als Spolie wiederverwendeten Votivaltar bekannt. Marcus Cocceius Genialis weihte einen Altar für Mithras, als Deus Sol Invictus benannt. Obwohl es sich um einen Akt persönlicher Religiosität handelt, ist diesmal die Inschrift ausführlicher als im Fall anderer Prokuratoren. Der Altar wurde auch *pro salute sua et suorum* geweiht. Darauf folgen sein Name, die Bezeichnung *vir egregius* und sein Amt als Prokurator zweier *Augusti*

in der Provinz Dacia Porolissensis. Die Inschrift endet mit der Formel *votum libens merito posuit*. Im Falle der beiden *Augusti* handelt sich am ehesten um Septimius Severus und Caracalla³⁸. Piso schlägt eine Datierung um die Mitte des 3. Jhs. auf Grund der Schrift.

1. Hälfte des 3. Jhs.

7. Bauinschrift (Taf. III/1).

FO: Moigrad – Porolissum (Kreis Sălaj), 1939, in der römischen Stadt, Sektor N.

AO: MJIAZ. Nr. Inv. 218.

Kalkstein. H. 45 cm, Br. 60 cm, T. 16 cm. Bh. Z. 1–5: 4 cm, Z. 6: 3 cm, Z. 7: 2.5 cm, Z. 8: 2 cm. Lig. in der Z. 1: N+T, Z. 3: T+R, T+E. In der Z. 6: F als E. Obere rechte Ecke weggebrochen. An den Bh. rote Farbe.

Stein 1942, 3–4, Abb. 1; Stein 1944, 63; 80 (212–217 n. Chr.); Pflaum 1960–1961, II, 691–694, Nr. 257 (212–217 n. Chr.); Pflaum 1950, 275; Pflaum 1970, 371–372, Nr. 212; Bărbulescu 1973, 178 (211–217 n. Chr.); Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, 11–12, Nr. 7, Abb. 7 (211–218 n. Chr.; Ehrentafel); Tóth 1978, 38, Nr. 48; RE Suppl. XI, 1968, s.v. *Ulpus*, 1277, Nr. 19 (Winkler); Petolescu 1977, 159–165; AE 1977, 666; Piso 1980, 277–282, Taf. XVIIIe; AE 1980, 755; Petolescu 1986, 904, Nr. 81 (cca 217 n. Chr.); Gudea 1989, 762, Nr. 10, Taf. CCLXVIII, Abb. 10; Piso 1993, 179, 10 (?215–217 n. Chr.); Nemeti 2005, 345, Nr. 127; ILD 663; Popescu 2005, 263–264 (215–217 n. Chr.); Grec 2004, 20, Nr. 2; Petolescu 2010, 177 (cca 217 n. Chr.); Diaconescu 2011, 141–142, Nr. 1; HD 05830 (215–217 n. Chr.); Lupa 13219 (215–217 n. Chr.); Piso 2013, 269–270, Nr. 116/1 (215?–217? n. Chr.).

Profilgerahmte Tafel³⁹. Sie wird von einer breiten und einer dünnen Leiste gerahmt.

*Pro salute [I]mp(eratoris) M(arci) Aur[eli(i)]
Antonini Aug(usti) Pii Fel(ici)s deo
patrio Belo n(umerus) Pal(myrenorum) sagit(tariorum) tem-
plum vi ignis consumptum
5 pecunia sua restituer(unt) dedi-
cantf(sic) [[[C(aio)] I[ul(io) Sept(imio) Casti]no]]
co(n)s(ulari) III Daci[ar(um) M(arco)?] Ulpio Victore
proc(uratore) Aug(usti) provin[c(iae) Por]ol(issensis) cura agen-
te T(ito) Fl(avio) Saturn[ino (centurione) le]g(ionis) V Mac(edonicae) p(iae) c(onstantis).*

Die Bauinschrift bestätigt die Wiederherstellung des Tempels des Liber Pater durch den *numerus Palmyrenorum sagittariorum* und wurde vom Statthalter der *tres Daciae* und dem Finanzprokurator von Dacia Porolissensis Ulpus Victor⁴⁰ für das Wohl des

³⁸ Stein 1944, 85.

³⁹ Über die Typologie der Inschrifttafeln in Funerärkontext, vgl. Ciongradi 2007, 105–108. Ähnliche Kriterien der Typologie können auch für öffentliche Inschrifttafeln verwendet werden.

⁴⁰ Homonyme Prokuratoren: *Ulpus Victor*, *procurator Raetiae*, *Norici* um 153–158 n. Chr. vgl. Pflaum, 1960, I, 385–386, Nr. 159; Pflaum 1982, 45, Nr. 159; Thomasson 1984, 78, Nr. 12, 84, Nr. 17; *M. Ulpus*

Kaisers Caracalla geweiht. Er wurde von Stein⁴¹ und Pflaum⁴² mit dem Prokurator *Ulpus* ... aus der Inschrift auf der Statuenbasis (Nr. 8) aus Marmor in Sarmizegetusa identifiziert. I. Piso hat festgestellt, dass es sich um zwei verschiedene Prokuratoren handelt. Nach der Wiederherstellung wurde der Tempel dem palmyrenischen Gott Bel geweiht.

215?-217? n. Chr.

8. Statuenbasis (Taf. III/2).

FO: Sarmizegetusa? Im 19. Jh. wurde sie in Ostrov, in der Nähe von Sarmizegetusa, gesehen.

AO: Museum Sarmizegetusa, Nr. Inv. Ohne.

Marmor. H. 130 cm, Br. 65 cm. RS und OS mit der Bekrönung und einem Teil des Schaftes quer weggebrochen. Mehrere vertikale Risse.

CIL III 1464 + S 1407; Mommsen 1875, 316, Nr. 430; ILS 1370; IDR III/2, 100; v. Domaszewski 1967, 204; Jung 1894, 45-46, Nr. 10; Stein 1942; Stein 1944, 63-65 (212-217 n. Chr.); Kerényi 1944, 1299; Pflaum 1960-1961, II, 691-694, Nr. 257; III 1030, 1040, 1066-1067 (Elagabal); Pflaum 1970, 371, 1; Saxer 1967, 48; RE Suppl. XI, 1968, s.v. *Ulpus*, 1277, Nr. 19 (Winkler); Pavis d'Escurac 1976, 394; Devijver 1976-1987, II, U 20; IV, U 1 bis; Petolescu 1977, 164-165; Roldán Hervás 1974, 489, Nr. 820; Fitz 1977, 396, Nr. 19; Piso 1980, 275-276, Taf. XVII-XVIII (Anfang der Herrschaft der Philippi); Thomasson 1977, 45-46; Thomasson 1984, I, 158, Nr. 62 (244-249 n. Chr.); AE 1980, 758; Fitz 1983, 62, Nr. 220, 176, Nr. 697a, 220, Nr. 856; Petolescu 1986, 899, Nr. 63 (cca 218-222 n. Chr.); Fitz 1994, III, 1105-1106, 1110-1112, 1, Nr. 746; Lörincz 2001, 240, Nr. 276; Diaconescu 2003-2004, II, 257-258, Nr. 24; ILD 241; Haensch 1997, 690-691; Petolescu 2000, 177; Petolescu 2010, 176 (unter Elagabal?); Nemeth 2007, 63, Nr. 48; Piso 2013, 245-251, Nr. 105/1 (246?-248? n. Chr.).

Profilgerahmte Statuenbasis⁴³. OS ist von einer Leiste und einem Kyma umgeben. Zwei Kymata verbinden die Basis mit dem Schaft. An der OS der Basis eine Leiste.

*Ulpio [.....v(iro) e(gregio)?]
proc(uratori) Au[[g(gustorum)]]]
pr[ovinc(iae)]
Dac(iae) Apul(ensis) a(genti) v(ice) p(raesidis) item
5 proc(uratori) prov(inciae) Porol(issensis) sub
praef(ecto) annon(ae) sacrae*

Victor proc(urator) pro leg(ato) um 239/241, *Volubilis, Mauretania Tingitana*, vgl. ILM, 357, 404; Pflaum 1960, II, 842-843, Nr. 326; Thomasson 1984, 422, Nr. 33; *M. Ulpus Victor proc(urator) Aug(usti) n(ostris) praef(ectus) prov(inciae) Sard(iniae)* um 244, vgl. Pflaum 1960, II, 842-843, Nr. 326; Boninu, Stylow 1982, 54, Nr. 8; Thomasson 1984, 10, Nr. 32.

⁴¹ Stein 1944, 63-64.

⁴² Pflaum 1960, II, 691-694, Nr. 257.

⁴³ Über die Typologie von Statuenbasen vgl. Ciongradi 2007, 65-66.

- Urbis praep(osito) leg(ionis) VII Gem(inae) [[Philip(pianae)]] item proc(uratori)*
stat(ionis) <rei>
privat(ae) per Tusciam et
 10 *Picenum item proc(uratori) ad*
bona Plautiani trib(un)o
mil(itum) leg(ionis) II Part(hicae) [[Philip(pianae)]]
praep(osito) vexill(ationi) auxiliar(iorum)
Pann(oniae) infer(ioris) praef(ecto) coh(ortis)
 15 *VII Breucor(um) Siscius Valerius (centurio)*
leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae) [[Philip(pianae)]]
patrono optimo.

Stein datierte die Laufbahn des Prokurators *Ulpus* ... bis in die Zeit der Alleinherrschaft Caracallas⁴⁴. Laut Pflaum ist seine Karriere unter Elagabal zu datieren, da die Beinamen der Legionen Antoniniana gewesen wären und getilgt wurden⁴⁵. Nach der Meinungen von Piso⁴⁶ und I. I. Russu⁴⁷ und nach ihnen von Devijver⁴⁸ handelt es sich aber um zwei verschiedene Prokuratoren von Dacia Porolissensis. Der *Ulpus* ... in der Inschrift auf der Statuenbasis aus Marmor von Sarmizegetusa war *procurator Auggustorum*, nicht *Augusti*. Die zwei *G* sind eradiert, so kann man mit der *damnatio memoriae* zweier Kaiser, deren Beinamen in der Inschrift erwähnt sind, rechnen; ansonsten hätte man die Eradierung eines einzelnen *G* genügt⁴⁹. Anstatt *Antoniniana* lasen Piso und I. I. Russu *Philippiana*, wie die Spuren auf dem Stein deuten ließen. Der Name des Statthalters in der Bauinschrift aus Porolissum wurde von Piso mit C. Iulius Septimius Castinus identifiziert, der am Ende der Herrschaft Caracallas Statthalter der *tres Daciae* war. Die Basis in Sarmizegetusa wird von einem *centurio* der *legio XIII Gemina*, die in Apulum stand, gewidmet. Die Formel *locus datus decurionum decreto* fehlt, obwohl auf dem Stein Platz genug dafür war. Das bedeutet aber nicht unbedingt, dass die Statue nicht auf einem öffentlichen Platz stand, da in der Inschrift die ganze absteigende Ämterlaufbahn des Prokurators angegeben wird. Sie könnte am Sitz des Finanzprokuratoren der Dacia Apulensis aus Sarmizegetusa gestanden haben⁵⁰, woher mehrere Monumente ans Licht gekommen sind⁵¹. Diese Inschrift bezeugt, dass er, nachdem er Finanzprokurator von Dacia Porolissensis war, als Finanzprokurator von Dacia Apulensis amtierte und in dieser letzteren Eigenschaft zugleich als Stellvertreter des Statthalters fungierte. So erklärt es sich, dass ein Legionszenturio aus Apulum, der sonst mit dem Finanzprokurator wenig zu tun hat, ihm als seinem *patrono optimo* eine Statue errichtet.

⁴⁴ Nach Stein 1944, 64 war er zuerst Prokurator der Provinz Dacia Porolissensis, von wo er später zum Prokurator der Provinz Apulensis avancierte. Als solcher war er *agens vice praesidis*, bis ein neuer konsularischen Statthalter erfolgte.

⁴⁵ Pflaum 1960, II, 692–693.

⁴⁶ Piso 1980, 277–282.

⁴⁷ IDR III/2, 100.

⁴⁸ Devijver 1976–87, 1749 U20.

⁴⁹ Piso 1980, 274–275.

⁵⁰ Diaconescu 2003–2004, II, 257–258, Nr. 24.

⁵¹ Über die Inschriften aus dem Amtssitz der Prokuratoren in Sarmizegetusa, Piso 1983, 233–251; Piso 1998, 253–271.

246?–248? n. Chr.

9. Votivaltar (Taf. IV/1).

FO: Cluj-Napoca (Kreis Cluj), September 1972, bei der Demolierung der modernen Umfassungsmauer der Franziskanerkirche, gegenüber des Zolls Cluj, als Spolie.

AO: MNIT. Nr. Inv. IN 24121, IN 24122.

Kalkstein. Zwei Fragmente. Zusammengestellt. H. erh. 74.5 cm, Br. erh. 37.5 cm, T. erh. 23 cm. Bh. Z. 1: 6.2–6.8 cm; Z. 2: 7 cm, Z. 3: 7–6.5 cm; Z. 4: 7.8–7.2 cm, Z. 5: 3.5–3 cm. Lig. in der Z. 3: I+V+S, Z. 5: V+M. Die Z. unterstrichen. Über des Buchstaben M der Z. 2 ein *sicilicus* eingemeißelt. Der Buchstabe O der Z. 5 ist an der Unterseite schärfer. Die Oberseite mit der Bekrönung fehlt. Linke NS und linke Seite des Inschriftfeldes beschädigt. Mit Zement repariert. Die Profile, die der Schaft mit der Basis verbunden, wurden zwecks Wiederherwendung abgearbeitet. Ein Teil von der rechten Seite weggebrochen, mit Zement wiederhergestellt. An der linken NS Spuren der Gradine. RS teils geglättet.

Bărbulescu 1973, 171–179, Abb. 1–2 (217–218 n. Chr.); AE 1974, 544 (Basis); Daicoviciu 1974, 32; Christol 1976, 866–874; Daicoviciu 1977, 927; RE Suppl. XV, 1978, s.v. *Aurelius*, 76–77, Nr. 54 a (Eck); Pflaum 1960–1961, 75, Nr. 296 A; Petolescu 1986, 904–905, Nr. 82; Petolescu 1986a, 165, Nr. 19; Haensch 1997, 693; Petolescu 2000, 177; Petolescu 2010, 177; Bărbulescu 2003, 218; ILD 553; HD 011451 (211–268 n. Chr.); Lupa 15101 (Severisch-Soldatenkaiser, 211–268 n. Chr.); Piso 2013, 271–272, Nr. 118/1 (Ende des 2 Jhs.–3. Jh. n. Chr.).

Schaftaltar. An der linken Nebenseite ist zwischen dem Schaft und der Basis eine dünne Leiste von den Profilen, die diese Teile verbanden, noch zu sehen.

*Salu[ti]
M(arcus) Aur[e]-
lius Apo[l]-
lina[ris]*

5 *proc(urator) Aug(usti) cum s(uis).*

Der Altar wurde für Salus von dem Prokurator Marcus Aurelius Apollinaris und seiner Familie gewidmet. Nach M. Bărbulescu⁵² war der Widmer identisch mit Aurelius Apollinaris, einem Prätorianertribunen, der in der Verschwörung, die zu Caracallas Ermordung führte, involviert war⁵³. W. Eck⁵⁴ und H. G. Pflaum⁵⁵ sind gegen diese Identifizierung, da ihres Erachtens für einen Prätorianertribun die nächste Funktion immer eine ducenare ist. H. G. Pflaum⁵⁶ ist der Meinung, dass der Prätorianertribun

⁵² Bărbulescu 1973, 174–176.

⁵³ Dio Cass. LXXVIII, 5–2; SHA. *M. Ant.* 6. 7; PIR² A 1 452.

⁵⁴ RE Suppl. XV, 1978, s.v. *Aurelius*, 76–77, Nr. 54 a (Eck).

⁵⁵ Pflaum 1982, 75, Nr. 296 A.

⁵⁶ Pflaum 1973–1974, 269–270.

Aurelius Apollinaris identisch mit einem *procurator Augusti* von Makedonien, der im 3. Jh. gleichzeitig auch die Aufgaben des prätorischen Prokonsuls übernahm⁵⁷. M. Christol⁵⁸ sieht eine mögliche Identifizierung des Prokurators von Makedonien mit M. A[ur(eliu)s] Apollinaris, von Thrakien unter Gallienus⁵⁹. Zu einer Identifizierung dieser Prokuratoren mit denen von Dacia Porolissensis liegt nur die Namensgleichheit vor⁶⁰. I. Piso ist gegen eine solche Identifizierung, da diese in die zweite Herrschaft des Gallienus einzusetzen sind. Er war Prokurator eines einzigen Kaisers.

Ende des 2. Jhs.–3. Jh. n. Chr.

10. Votivaltar (Tab. IV/2).

FO: Cluj-Napoca (Kreis Cluj), im 19. Jh. im Garten von Szathmári.

AO: Verschollen?

Neugebauer 1851, 226, Nr. 18; Ackner, Müller 1865, 152, Nr. 723; Jung 1894, 49, Nr. 18; CIL III 856; Schulze 1904, 216; 414; 456; 518; Kerényi 1944, 102, Nr. 1181; PIR¹ P 776; Stein 1944, 86; Pflaum 1960–1961, III, 1067; PIR² P 1039; TIR, L 34, 83; Daicoviciu 1974, 32 (Marcus Aurelius – Commodus, oder Septimius Severus – Caracalla); Daicoviciu 1977, 927–928 (Marcus Aurelius – Commodus oder Septimius Severus – Caracalla); Bărbulescu 1978, 178; Petolescu 1986a, 165, Nr. 18 (Marcus Aurelius – Lucius Verus oder Marcus Aurelius – Commodus); Petolescu 1986, 904, Nr. 79 (198–209? n. Chr.); Petolescu 2000, 177 (cca 198–209? n. Chr.); Haensch 1997, 693; HD 048886 (161–260 n. Chr.); Piso 2013, 264–265, Nr. 114/1 (198?–209? n. Chr.).

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)
G(aius) Publici-
us Anto-
nius Pro-
 5 *bus proc(urator)*
Augg(ustorum)
v(otum s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)).

Der letzte auf einem Steinmonument bezeugte Prokurator aus Dacia Porolissensis ist Caius Publicius Antonius Probus. Das Monument ist heute verschollen, aber es handelt sich sehr wahrscheinlich um einen Votivaltar. Er wurde für Iupiter Optimus Maximus geweiht. Antonius Probus nennt sich in der Inschrift Prokurator beider *Augusti*. Da die Formel *proc. Augg.* unter die gemeinsame Regierung des Marcus Aurelius und Lucius Verus selten vorkommt, und nach der Auffassung, dass nur die Finanzprokuratoren, nicht aber auch die Präsidialprokuratoren, ihren Sitz in Napoca

⁵⁷ IG X 2, 1, 140, Thessalonike.

⁵⁸ Christol 1976, 870–874; nachdem Aurelius Apollinaris die Vertretung des Prokonsuls von Makedonien um 260–267 übernahm, wurde er 267–268 Statthalter von Thrakien; Petolescu 1986, 904–905, Nr. 82.

⁵⁹ IGB III 1569.

⁶⁰ RE Suppl. XV, 1978, s.v. *Aurelius*, 77, Nr. 54 b (Eck).

haben konnten, schlug Piso eine Datierung zwischen 177–180 n. Chr. oder 198–209 n. Chr. vor. Eine andere Samtherrschaft des 3. Jhs. ist aber auch nicht auszuschließen.

198?–209? n. Chr.

Von den zehn Monumenten in Dakien, in deren Inschriften Prokuratoren von Dacia Porolissensis erscheinen, sind sechs Votivaltäre (Nr. 2, 4–6, 9–10), die aus Napoca stammen. Die Prokuratoren fungieren hier als Widmer. Drei wurden für Iupiter Optimus Maximus (Nr. 4, 5, 10), einer für Fortuna (Nr. 2), einer für Mithras (Nr. 6) und einer für Salus (Nr. 9) geweiht. An zwei Weihungen beteiligten sich auch Familienangehörige (Nr. 6, 9). Nur in der Inschrift auf dem Altar für Mithras (Nr. 6) wird das Amt des Prokurators ausführlicher angegeben. Er erscheint als *vir egregius procurator Augustorum nostrorum provinciae Daciae Porolissensis*. Auf anderen beschränkt sich die Formulierung auf *procurator Augusti* (Nr. 2, 4, 9) oder *Augustorum nostrorum* (Nr. 5–6, 10), wie auf den Votivaltären beim Sitz der Finanzprokuratoren in Sarmizegetusa. Nur bei zwei von ihnen ist eine Schlussformel, *votum solvit libens merito* (Nr. 6, 10), vorhanden. Es ist demnach wohl möglich, dass die Altäre aus der *area sacra* aus dem Amtssitz des Prokurators stammen⁶¹. Auch beim Sitz des Finanzprokurators in Sarmizegetusa sind eine Reihe von Zeugnissen persönlicher Religiosität von Prokuratoren erhalten. Familienangehörige beteiligten sich manchmal auch an den Weihungen. Das Publikum solcher Weihungen bestand aus den Besuchern des Amtssitzes und aus *officiales*. Das Fehlen der Formel *votum solvit* könnte auch auf Weihungen hinweisen, die eher infolge des Prokuratorenamtes als infolge eines Gelübdes durchgeführt wurden, so z. B. die Feiern anlässlich der Einlösung der jährlichen *vota solemnia* oder der *dies imperii*⁶². Der Altar für Mithras (Nr. 6) könnte, wegen der Formulierung der Inschrift aus einem *mithraeum* entstammen, wo ein anderes Publikum mit der Weihung in Kontakt gekommen wäre. Die Dokumentation durch einen inschriftlichen Votivaltar kann auch auf eine lokale, mit der Zeit herausgebildete Tradition hinweisen⁶³. Darauf können die Votivaltäre hinweisen, die C. Sempronius Urbanus⁶⁴, M. Luceius Felix⁶⁵ und Q. Axius Aelianus⁶⁶, Finanzprokuratoren von Dacia Apulensis, im Amtssitz in Sarmizegetusa für verschiedene Gottheiten geweiht hatten.

⁶¹ Im Statthaltersitz in Lambaesis in Numidia sind 38 inschriftlichen Monumente ans Licht gekommen. In Aquincum in Pannonia inferior wurden 31 solche Monumente gefunden, Weihungen für verschiedene Gottheiten und für das Heil des Kaiserhauses, so wie beim Sitz des Finanzprokurators in Sarmizegetusa, vgl. Haensch 1997, 98, 193, 443, 449, 727–731.

⁶² Eck 1992, 152–156; Haensch 1997, 47–48.

⁶³ Eck 1992, 155, besonders wenn ein Amtsträger mehrere Votivaltäre weiht.

⁶⁴ Piso 1983, 235–237, Nr. 1–4; Weihungen für Hercules Augustus (Nr. 1), Vulcanus (Nr. 2), Apollo Grannus und Sirona (Nr. 3), Mars Singilis und Minerva (Nr. 3).

⁶⁵ Piso 1983, 244–247, Nr. 10–11, 13, 15; Weihungen für Apollo sanctus (Nr. 10), Diana sancta (Nr. 11), Core (Nr. 15).

⁶⁶ IDR III/2, 191: Votivaltar für Apollo Grannus, Sirona und *Dii praesenti*; IDR III/2, 206: Votivaltar für Fortuna redux, Lar vialis und Roma aeterna; IDR III/2, 244: Votivaltar für IOM, Iuno Regina, Minerva und *omnes dii immortales*; Piso 1998, 265–267, Nr. 13–14; Weihungen für Mithras, Mars Camulus, Rosmerta (Nr. 13) und Aesculapius, Salus, Epione, Venus, Neptunus, Salacia (Nr. 14).

Diejenigen Altäre, die erhalten sind, wurden alle aus Kalkstein hergestellt, was nicht weiter überrascht, wenn wir die gesamten Steinmonumente aus Napoca vor Augen haben. Anders gestaltet sich die Lage im Prokuratorensitz von Dacia Apulensis in Sarmizegetusa, wo durch archäologische Ausgrabungen 28 Votivaltäre aus Marmor gefunden wurden⁶⁷. Sie datieren auch aus dem ausgehenden 2. und aus dem 3. Jh. und stehen im Einklang mit der gesamten Produktion von Monumenten dort, wo ab der 2. Hälfte des 2. Jhs. Marmor für die Serienproduktion von Monumenten eingeführt wurde⁶⁸.

Soweit Monumente von Prokuratoren in Dacia Porolissensis erhalten und ans Licht gekommen sind, sind es keine Ehrenmonumente, die ihnen gewidmet wurden, und in deren Inschriften die Ämterlaufbahn aufgeführt wird. In dieser Provinz befand sich weder der Versammlungsort des *concilium* noch der Amtssitz des konsularen Statthalters, um dafür ein Publikum der ganzen Provinz vor Augen zu haben. Die Gemeinden der drei wichtigsten Siedlungen der Provinz – Napoca, Porolissum und Potaissa – errichteten anscheinend kein Ehrenmonument für die Prokuratoren dieser Provinz. Hier entwickelte sich nicht, wie in Sarmizegetusa, eine konkurrenziale Gesellschaft, für deren Mitglieder Ehrenstatuen in den öffentlichen Plätzen errichtet wurden. Anstatt dessen wurden der Eliten große Grabbauten gebaut, um ihren Wunsch zur Selbstdarstellung zu befriedigen. Anders gestaltet sich die Lage in Sarmizegetusa, wo sich der Sitz der Finanzprokuratoren von Dacia Apulensis und Versammlungsort der *concilium trium Daciarum* befand. Von dort stammen drei Statuenbasen aus Marmor für Ehrenstatuen, die für Finanzprokuratoren der Provinz Apulensis errichtet wurden⁶⁹. Q. Axius Aelianus wurde vom *ordo coloniae Sarmizegetusae* mit einer Statue geehrt. Er war zweimal auch Stellvertreter des konsularen Statthalters von Dakien. Eine Ehrenstatue an öffentlichem Platz wurde für den Finanzprokurator M. Aurelius Tunesianus von einem Freigelassenen in Sarmizegetusa errichtet, auf jeden Fall nachdem er Senator geworden war⁷⁰. Ein Ehrenmonument, Basis aus Marmor samt Statue, wurde dem *Ulpianus* ..., in seiner Qualität als Prokurator der Dacia Apulensis und als Stellvertreter des Statthalters der *tres Daciae*, in Sarmizegetusa von einem Centurio gewidmet (Nr. 8). In der Inschrift erscheint seine gesamte Ämterlaufbahn. Bevor er Finanzprokurator von Dacia Apulensis war, amtierte er als Finanzprokurator von Dacia Porolissensis. Ein Ehrenmonument, eine Statue samt Basis, wurde in Napoca für den Kaiser Commodus errichtet (Nr. 3). Dieses stand an einer öffentlichen Stelle in der Stadt, wohl auf dem Forum, und wurde von zwei lokalen Magistraten errichtet, nachdem zwei *praefecti* der *ala Siliana*, von denen einer später zum Prokurator der Provinz Dacia Porolissensis wurde, die Statue versprochen hatten. Zu bemerken ist hier die Beförderung der *praefecti* der in Gilău stationierten *ala Siliana* zur Prokuratoren von Dacia Porolissensis. Die anderen zwei Monumente sind Bauinschriften, eine aus dem Amphitheater (Nr. 1) und die andere aus dem

⁶⁷ Piso 1983, 233–251; Piso 1998, 253–271.

⁶⁸ Über die Verwendung von Marmor für Monumente in der colonia Dacica Sarmizegetusa, vgl. Diaconescu, Bota 2002–2003, 155 ff; Ciongradi 2007, 39–40, 45–46.

⁶⁹ CIL III 1456 = ILS 1371 = IDR III/2, 89. Dazu Diaconescu 2003–2004, II, 256–257.

⁷⁰ IDR III/2, 88; Diaconescu 2003–2004, II, 254–255. Über seine Karriere vgl. Piso 1978, 515–527; Piso 1993, 92, 247 mit Anm. 14.

Tempel des Liber Pater, später Bel (Nr. 7) und beide stammen aus Porolissum. Die Prokuratoren beschlossen oder genehmigten und beaufsichtigten die Errichtung. Sie erscheinen hier in ihrer Qualität als offizielle Amtsträger.

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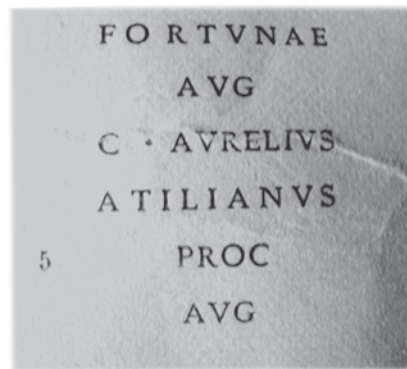
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IMP ̄ CAESAR ̄ T ̄ AEL ̄ HADR
 ANVS ̄ ANTONINVS ̄ AVG ̄ PI
 VS ̄ P ̄ M ̄ TRB ̄ POT ̄ XX ̄ IMP ̄ II ̄ CoS
 IIII ̄ P ̄ P ̄ AMPITHEATRVM VET^{VS}
 TATE ̄ DILAPSVM ̄ DENVO ̄ FE
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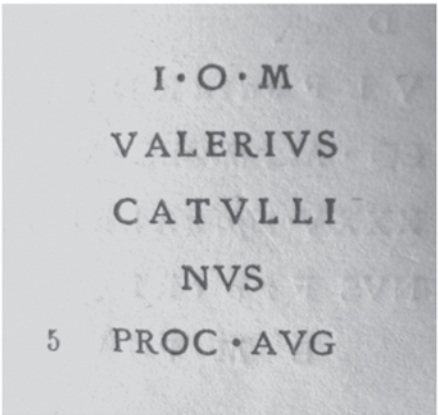
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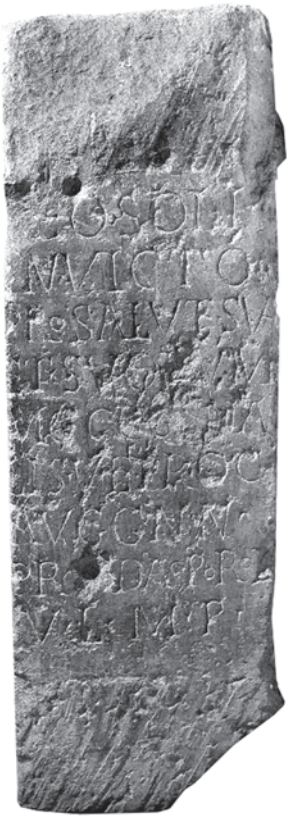
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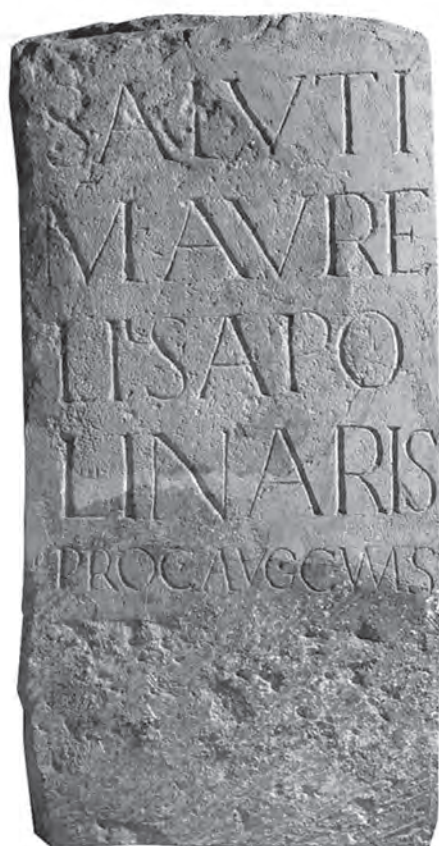
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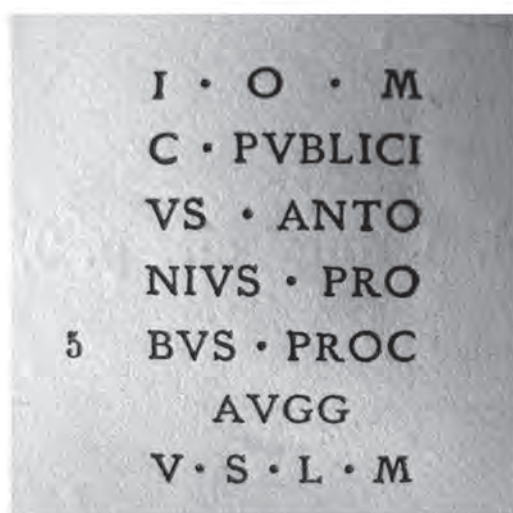
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Taf. IV.

THE VOCABULARY OF METALS IN LATIN INSCRIPTIONS FROM DACIA*

CARMEN FENECHIU, ȘTEFANIA LALU**

Abstract: The present study tackles the vocabulary of metals in the Latin inscriptions from Roman Dacia. Four metals are attested: gold, silver, bronze, and iron, either as base words *aurum*, *argentum*, *aes*, and *ferrum*, or in substantival and adjectival derived forms. As expected, given the importance of Dacia as a gold-mining province, the richest word family is that belonging to “gold”, with five members (the nouns *aurum*, *auraria*, *aurarius* and the adjectives *aureus*, *aurarius*), followed by that of “bronze”, with four (the nouns *aes*, *aerarium* and the adjectives *aeneus*, *aereus*), that of “iron”, with three (the nouns *ferrum*, *ferraria* and the adjective *ferratus*), and lastly, that of “silver”, with only two words (the noun *argentum* and the adjective *argenteus*).

Keywords: Dacia; inscriptions; vocabulary; metals.

Rezumat: Articolul își propune să examineze vocabularul metalelor documentat în inscripțiile latine din Dacia romană. Sunt atestate patru metale: aur, argint, bronz și fier, fie în cuvinte de bază (*aurum*, *argentum*, *aes* și *ferrum*), fie în cuvinte derivate, atât substantive, cât și adjective. După cum este de așteptat, ținându-se cont de importanța Daciei ca provincie producătoare de aur, cea mai bogată familie de cuvinte este cea a aurului, care cuprinde cinci membri (substantivele *aurum*, *auraria*, *aurarius* și adjectivele *aureus*, *aurarius*), urmată de cea a bronzului, cu patru membri (substantivele *aes*, *aerarium* și adjectivele *aeneus*, *aereus*), cea a fierului, cu trei (substantivele *ferrum*, *ferraria* și adjectivul *ferratus*) și, în cele din urmă, cea a argintului, care are numai doi membri (substantivul *argentum* și adjectivul *argenteus*).

Cuvinte cheie: Dacia; inscripții; vocabular; metale.

Four metals are attested in the Latin inscriptions from Dacia: gold, silver, bronze, and iron, either as base words *aurum*, *argentum*, *aes*, and *ferrum*, or in substantival and adjectival derived forms. Taking into account Dacia's importance as a gold-mining province, it is not surprising that the largest word family is that belonging to “gold”, with five members, followed by that of “bronze”, with four, that of “iron”, with three, and lastly, that of “silver”, consisting only of two words.

This paper will use the extent of the word family as criterion for presenting and discussing the epigraphic material that documents words denoting or pertaining to each of the four metals.

1. The noun *aurum*, *-i* (“gold”; in the ablative form *auro*) has multiple occurrences in a fragmentary inscription¹ from Sarmizegetusa documenting a *votorum*

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¹ IDR III/2, 241: [*astu ea ita faxis tunc tibi bovem cornibus auro decoratis / v*]ovem[us esse futurum Iuno Regina quae in verba I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) bovem cornibus auro] / decorat[is] vovimus esse

nuncupatio. The gods attested are not only the ones invoked in *vota annua pro salute Imperatoris* (i.e. *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus*, *Iuno Regina*, *Minerva* and *Salus publica*), but also *Mars Pater Gradivus* and, probably, *Fortuna* or *Mars Ultor*, therefore, most assuredly the vows were *vota extraordinaria*, taken at the beginning of a military expedition². Unfortunately, little information³ is preserved in the left corner of the marble block that was found: only an incomplete list of the deities and the *hostiae*. The fragment details the sacrifices promised to different gods, if they will grant victory and safe return to the emperor. The promised sacrificial victims are bovine (*boves* for all – *bos mas* for Jupiter, *boves feminae* for the goddesses –, except Mars, who will receive a *taurus*⁴) and are mentioned as having “horns adorned with gold” (*cornibus auro decoratis*).

The dative *auro* is found only once, in an honorific monument⁵ set up by Colonia Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa to C. Curtius Rufinus, from the senatorial order. Before coming to Dacia as a tribune of the *legio XIII Gemina*, he was one of the *IIIviri* responsible for minting the coin or, in a more precise translation, “one of the three men responsible for casting and striking gold, silver and bronze”: *III vir a(ere) a(rgento) a(uro) f(lando) f(eriundo)*. In the full official title three nouns denoting metals are present, *auro* being coordinated by juxtaposition with *aere* and *argento*.

Not surprisingly, many inscriptions referring to gold are related to gold extraction and come from the mining district of Dacia Superior, situated to the south and south-east of the Apuseni Mountains.

A wax tablet⁶ found in Alburnus Maior (now Roșia Montană) and consisting of a miner’s work contract, of the *locatio-conductio* type, attests the expression *opere auri*. In this tablet (IDR I 42), Aelius (or Iulius?) Restitutus is renting to Titus Beusantis, a *conductor* of illyric origin, his own work force for the extraction of gold (*[l]oca[v]it oper[as] suas opere auri*).

A somewhat similar expression is used in IDR I 41⁷, where the adjective *aurarius*, *-a*, *-um* (“concerned with, used for, gold”⁸) is used instead of the genitive *auri*

futurum quod hodie vovimus astu ea ita faxis tunc] / tibi in ead[em verba bovem cornibus auro decoratis vovimus esse futuram] / Minerva qu[ae in verba I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) bovem cornibus auro decoratis vovimus esse futurum / q]uod hodie vo[vimus astu ea ita faxis tunc tibi in eadem verba bovem corni/b]us auro decorati[s vovimus esse futuram Salus publica p(opuli) R(omani) Q(uiritium) quae in ver/b]a I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) bo[vem cornibus auro decoratis vovimus esse futurum / q]uot hodie vovim[us astu ea ita faxis tunc tibi in eadem verba bo/ve]m cornibus auro [decoratis vovimus esse futuram Invicte / Ma]rs Pater Gradive [quae in verba I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) bovem cornibus / auro] decoratis vov[imus esse futurum quod hodie vovimus astu ea / ita fa]xis tunc tibi in e[adem verba taurum conibus auro decoratis / vove]mus esse futur[um Fortuna Redux quae in verba I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / bovem] cornibus au[ro decoratis vovimus esse futurum quod hodie / vovim]us astu ea [ita faxis tunc tibi in eadem verba bovem / cornib]us au[ro decoratis vovimus esse futurum.

² Piso 1974, 724.

³ Although neither the magistrates undertaking the *vota*, nor the identity of the emperor for whom they were pronounced is to be found in the preserved fragment, the former were probably the *duumviri* of Sarmizegetusa, while the latter may well have been the emperor Trajan, going to war against the Parthians (Piso 1974, 728–732).

⁴ See Piso 1974, 725 discussing specific victims to different deities and also Gradel 2002, 21–22.

⁵ CIL III 1459 = IDR III/2, 110.

⁶ CIL III p. 949 = IDR I 42.

⁷ CIL III p. 948 = IDR I 41.

⁸ The definitions of the words are those found in OLD 1968, with the exception of *aurarius*, *-ii*, where L&S 1891 was used.

(*locavit operas s[ua]s opere aurario*). The tablet documents the employment contract between Memmius Asclepi and the *conductor* Aurelius Adiutor, the former renting his labor power for activities concerned with gold (extraction).

The noun *aurarius*, *-ii* (“a worker in gold, a goldsmith”) is only once⁹ found in Dacia, and even this occurrence is uncertain. On a votive altar set up for Hercules by a certain Aelius Ties (or Theseus?), he probably documents his occupation as that of *aur(arius?)*.

The most frequently attested member of this word family is the noun *auraria*, *-ae* (“gold mine”), but only in the genitive plural form, *aurariarum*. Different officials, both high- and low-ranking, responsible for the administration of the Dacian gold mines¹⁰ appear in these inscriptions: *procuratores*¹¹, *subprocurator*¹², *tabularius*¹³, *dispensator*¹⁴, *praepositus*¹⁵.

At Ampelum¹⁶, the empress Annia Lucilla is honoured¹⁷ by the *lib(erti) et familia et leguli aurariar(um)*. While the imperial freedmen and slaves (*liberti et familia*) are part of the gold mines’ administration, the *leguli*¹⁸ are to be understood as denoting the individuals really involved in the extraction of gold (i.e. the miners)¹⁹.

The adjective *aureus*, *-a*, *-um* (“made of gold, golden”) is only once attested, in an honorific inscription²⁰ from Sarmizegetusa listing the military decorations (between them, the gold crown, *corona aurea*) the senator M. Claudius Fronto, governor of Dacia, received from the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus: *coron(a) mural(i) item vallar(i) item classic(a) item aurea item hast(is) puris IIII item vexill(is)*.

⁹ CIL III 1292 = IDR III/3, 305 = ILD 332.

¹⁰ For detailed information on the administration of the Dacian gold mines see the following works: Mrozek 1968; Noeske 1977; Wollmann 1996; Hirt 2010; Pundt 2012.

¹¹ One *proc(urator) aurar(iarum)* of equestrian rank (CIL III 1311 = IDR III/3, 359) and two imperial freedmen: *proc(urator) aurariarum* (CIL III 1312 = ILS 1593 = IDR III/3, 366), *proc(urator) aurar(iarum)* (CIL III 1622 = ILS 1532 = IDR III/3, 347).

¹² The office of *subprocurator auraria[r(um)]* (deputy to a *procurator*) is held by an imperial freedman (CIL III 1088 = IDR III/5, 228).

¹³ An accountancy office usually held by an imperial freedman - *tabul(arius) aur(ariarum)* - attested by the inscription CIL III 1297 = ILS 1594 = IDR III/3, 314.

¹⁴ This financial administration office - *disp(ensator) aurar(iarum)* - held by an imperial freedman is attested by the inscription AE 1959, 308 = IDR III/3, 292 = AE 2003, 1512 = ILD 331.

¹⁵ AE 1989, 629 = ILD 346. See Piso 2013, 348 for more information on Aurelius Ursus and his extraordinary function as *[pr]aepos[itus] au[raria]r[um]*. According to Piso, this is not (as previously thought) the only instance where a *praepositus aurariarum* is recorded in Dacia: at page 341, the author proposes a new reading of the inscription CIL III 1333 = CIL III 7842 = IDR III/3, 334 = AE 2007, 1182: *[V]ictoria[e] / Commod[i] / Ant[on]i[n]i A[u]g[usti] / [U]lp[ius] Maxim[us] / p[raep]os[itus] / aur[a]r(iarum) / [---]*.

¹⁶ Most of the epigraphical monuments attesting *aurariarum* were found in Ampelum, where the headquarters of the gold mining administration was found.

¹⁷ CIL III 1307 = IDR III/3, 283.

¹⁸ *Leguli*, rarely attested in the Latin literary texts and only in agricultural context with the meaning of “pickers (of fruits)”, is to be interpreted here, as Wollmann 1996, 99 indicates, as “pickers of gold nuggets”. However, the actual text of the inscription specifies only that they were connected to the gold mines, without detailing what were they picking, probably because this was inferred through *aurariarum*.

¹⁹ Noeske 1977, 349; Wollmann 1996, 98-99 discusses more amply this inscription. See also the commentaries of Hirt 2010, 271-272.

²⁰ CIL III 1457 = ILS 1097 = IDR III/2, 90.

2. *Aes*, *aeris* with the proper meaning of “bronze”, is found only in the honorific monument discussed here above, set up for C. Curtius Rufinus, once a *IIIvir* superintending the coinage of money in Rome: *IIIvir a(ere) a(rgento) a(uro) f(lando) f(eriundo)*²¹.

Five inscriptions²² attest the use of *aes* with the secondary meaning of “money”, more precisely the expression *aes conferre* (“to raise money”) in the *ablativus absolutus* construction (*aere conlato*). This formula must be related to generosity, “one of the most attractive features of the Roman world”, and records the communal munificence displayed by groups of individuals or communities²³.

Two testimonies of such generosity were discovered in Apulum: the public subscription comes, in the first case, from a religious association²⁴, and, in the second, from the *collegium fabrum*²⁵. The latter inscription specifies that the money was raised in accordance with a decision (*secundum decretum*) of the *decuriones* and *principales collegii* for the funerary monument of P. Aelius Valerianus, who was *patronus* and *decurio* of the same association. The community (the *populus*²⁶) of Sarmizegetusa generically named *plebs* honoured one of its important members, a *IIvir* and *praefectus collegii fabrum*²⁷. We do not have information about who raised the money for the honorific monument²⁸ of Sex. Attius Secundus, who received the *ornamenta decurionalia* from *ordo coloniae Sarmizegetusae*. He was also *patronus collegii fabrum* and probably a rich and influential *Augustalis* and a freedman²⁹ (which would explain why he was not an actual decurion, but enjoyed prestige in his community)³⁰. The last of these inscriptions is fragmentary and gives us very little information; therefore no further discussion is possible³¹.

In a wax tablet³² (IDR I 44) from Alburnus Maior documenting the founding of a *societas danistaria* (a money lending association) is attested the expression *aes alienum* (“debt”), in the *ablativus absolutus* construction: *de[duc]to aere alieno*, “after the deduction of debt”.

Both adjectives *aeneus*, *-a*, *-um* and *aereus*, *-a*, *-um*³³ (“made of bronze”) occur in ablative singular in the military diplomas found in Dacia, in the expression *ex tabula aenea*³⁴ or *ex tabula aerea*³⁵. The adjective *aereus* is also documented as a plural

²¹ CIL III 1459 = IDR III/2, 110.

²² CIL III 1493 = AE 1978, 667 = IDR III/2, 105; IDR III/2, 116 = AE 2003, 1514; AE 1983, 804 bis = IDR III/5, 452; CIL III 1210 = IDR III/5, 486; IDR III/5, 661.

²³ Ferguson 1918, 515.

²⁴ AE 1983, 804 bis = IDR III/5, 452 - [*aere*] *collato*.

²⁵ CIL III 1210 = IDR III/5, 486 - *aere conlato*.

²⁶ Piso 2002–2003, 216.

²⁷ IDR III/2, 116 = AE 2003, 1514 - *a[er]e conlato*.

²⁸ CIL III 1493 = AE 1978, 667 = IDR III/2, 105 - [*ex a*] *ere conlato*.

²⁹ Mihailescu-Bîrlița 2007, 72.

³⁰ Langhammer 1973, 200–201; Jacques 1984, 391; Kleijwegt 1992, 136; Ardevan 1998, 245, 257.

³¹ IDR III/5, 661 - *aere [conlato]*.

³² CIL III p. 950, 13 = IDR I 44.

³³ Roxan 1978, 65 notes that from February 138, with few exceptions, the words *aenea* is replaced with *aerea*.

³⁴ e.g. CIL XVI 160 = AE 1944, 57 = AE 1946, 131 = AE 1947, 31 = IDR I 1; CIL XVI 57 = CIL III p. 868 = ILS 2004 = IDR I 2; CIL XVI 163 = AE 1944, 58 = AE 1946, 131 = AE 1947, 31 = IDR I 3; AE 1958, 30 = AE 1959, 31 = AE 1960, 336 = IDR I 5 = RMD I 17; AE 1962, 391, 1 = IDR I 28 = RMD I 26 = IDR III/5, 695.

³⁵ e.g. CIL III p. 882 (p. 1989) = CIL XVI 107 = IDR I 15; CIL III p. 1989 (p. 2328) = CIL XVI 108 = ILS 2006 = IDR I 16; IDR I 26 = RMD I 7 = IDR III/5, 693.

accusative in a marble plaque³⁶ from Sarmizegetusa recording the donation of two bronze chandeliers (*[can]delabra aerea duo*) to a *collegium*.

Also attested is the noun *aerarium*, *-ii* (“treasury”) in the genitive case. More precisely, two inscriptions mention a *praefectus aerarii militaris*, where *aerarium militare* denotes the military exchequer for the payment of veterans: *pr(a)efectus aerarii militaris*³⁷, *praef(ectus) aerarii militaris*³⁸.

3. The word *ferrum*, *-i* (“iron”) is found only in one votive inscription³⁹ from Apulum attesting a dedication to *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus, natus ubi ferrum exoritur*. The phrase *nato ubi ferrum exor[itur]* is referring to the native town of this Jupiter, Doliche, situated in the iron-bearing district of Commagene⁴⁰.

An inscription⁴¹ from Teliucu Inferior documents the noun *ferraria*, *-ae* (“iron mine”), also in the genitive plural form, as the above discussed *aurariorum*. The marble votive altar is set up for the “divine power” (*numen*) of the emperor Caracalla by two *cond(uctores) ferrar(iarum)*. One of the contractors of the iron mines is C. Gaurius Gaurianus, *sacerdos coloniae Apulensis*, while the other is a freedman⁴², Flavius Sotericus, *Augustalis coloniae Sarmizegetusae*.

A block of calcareous stone found in Sarmizegetusa Regia certifies the presence of a *vex(illatio) leg(ionis) VI ferr(atae)*⁴³ in Dacia, during the military campaigns against Decebalus. The adjective *ferratus*, *-a*, *-um* is translated in OLD as “clad in armour; armoured” when referring to a *legio*, but, more probably, in this instance the reference to iron is made figuratively, the metal being considered a symbol of strength and resistance. The epithet of the legion is also thus accounted for in Real-Encyclopädie⁴⁴.

4. The noun *argentum*, *-i* (“silver”) is found in votive inscriptions, mostly in the genitive form and in the presence of *pondo*. With the exception of *[statuam ex ar]genti p(ondo)*⁴⁵, where a statue is given (as the editors reconstructed the missing part of the text), the type of gift to the deity is not specified, only its weight in Roman pounds: *[ex ar]gent[i] pondo --f*⁴⁶; *ex arg(enti) p(ondo) III*⁴⁷; *a(rgenti) p(ondo) X*⁴⁸.

The ablative is attested only two times in the epigraphical texts. One of these (CIL III 1459 = IDR III/2, 110), concerning a *IIIvir a.a.a.ff.*, was already previously discussed. The other is a funerary inscription⁴⁹ detailing the military career of

³⁶ AE 1977, 667 = IDR III/2, 4 = AE 1982, 831 = AE 2006, 1154.

³⁷ CIL III 1072 = IDR III/5, 365.

³⁸ CIL III 1071 = IDR III/5, 195.

³⁹ CIL III 1128 = ILS 4303 = IDR III/5, 222.

⁴⁰ Turcan 1998, 185.

⁴¹ AE 1909, 112 = IDR III/3, 37.

⁴² Ardevan 1998, 245, 258; Piso 2006, 104, 106; Mihailescu-Birliba 2007, 74.

⁴³ IDR III/3, 270 = AE 1983, 825 = AE 2001, 1716.

⁴⁴ RE XII 2, 1925, s.v. *Legio*, 1588 (Ritterling): “der Name *ferrata* erinnert an ihre unzerstörbare Widerstandskraft”.

⁴⁵ ILD 211 = AE 1999, 1300.

⁴⁶ AE 2006, 1176.

⁴⁷ CIL III 1616 = IDR III/3, 146.

⁴⁸ CIL III 7860 = IDR III/3, 131.

⁴⁹ CIL III 1193 = ILS 2746 = AE 1967, 644 = IDR III/5, 542.

C. Iulius Corinthianus and listing the *dona militaria* he received: *coronam muralem, hastam puram et vex[il]lum argent(o) insigne*⁵⁰ (a mural crown, a spear without iron tip and a replica of a military banner, made of silver).

The adjective *argenteus*, *-a*, *-um* (“made of silver, silver”) appears only in the feminine accusative form, on a statue base⁵¹ discovered in Apulum, that records L. Aninius Firminus, *primus pilus* of the *legio XIII Gemina* as dedicating a silver eagle: *aquilam argenteam posuit*.

The vocabulary of metals attested in Latin inscriptions from Dacia comprises fourteen words, eight of which are nouns and six adjectives. The epigraphic texts record four metals: gold, silver, bronze, and iron, either as base words *aurum*, *argentum*, *aes*, and *ferrum*, or in substantival and adjectival derived forms. Taking into account the importance of Dacia as a gold-mining province, it is not surprising that the word family belonging to “gold” is the richest one, containing five members (the nouns *aurum*, *auraria*, *aurarius* and the adjectives *aureus*, *aurarius*). This family is closely followed by that of “bronze”, with four members (the nouns *aes*, *aerarium* and the adjectives *aeneus*, *aereus*), that of “iron”, with three (the nouns *ferrum*, *ferraria* and the adjective *ferratus*), and lastly, that of “silver”, with only two words (the noun *argentum* and the adjective *argenteus*). These terms denoting or pertaining to metals are attested in different types of epigraphic monuments (votive, honorary, official, funerary) and even in three wax tablets, two of them recording work contracts and one the founding of a money lending association.

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⁵⁰ As *vexillum* is of the neuter gender, the form *insigne*, instead of *insigne*, is incorrect.

⁵¹ AE 2007, 1199.

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A GOD OF CONVALESCENCE. TELESOPHOPUS/ GENIUS CUCULLATUS IN ROMAN DACIA

ADRIANA ANTAL

Abstract: This study presents in light of the discovered material, the figured and epigraphic representations regarding the cult of Telesphorus / Genius Cucullatus in the province of Dacia. The aim of this study is to clarify the god's identity and the local aspects of the cult, emphasizing the small figurative material, the most numerous part of the cult. The studied material showed that this was rather a personal than official cult, the extremely rare epigraphic evidence being edificatory to this effect. The find contexts, the items' functionality as well as the association with the triad Aesculapius, Hygeia and Epione provide precious clues on the god's competence field. Thus, it was noted that this was a deity with healing values, a childhood protector and also important in fecundity and fertility.

Keywords: Telesphorus; Genius Cucullatus; convalescence; fecundity-fertility; childhood.

Rezumat: Studiul de față prezintă prin prisma materialului descoperit reprezentările figurate și epigrafice privind cultul lui Telesphorus / Genius Cucullatus în provincia Dacia. Scopul studiului este de a clarifica identitatea divinității și aspectele locale ale cultului, punându-se accent pe materialul figurativ mărunț, partea cea mai numeroasă din cult. Din materialul studiat s-a putut observa că este vorba mai mult de un cult personal decât unul oficial, mărturiile epigrafice rarisime fiind edificatoare în acest sens. Contextele de descoperire, funcționalitatea pieselor, precum și asocierea cu triada Aesculapius, Hygia și Epione oferă indicii prețioase legate de domeniul de competență al divinității. Astfel s-a putut observa că este vorba de o divinitate cu valențe vindecătoare, protectoare a copilăriei și totodată cu un rol important în fecunditate și fertilitate.

Cuvinte cheie: Telesphorus; Genius Cucullatus; convalescență; fecunditate-fertilitate; copilărie.

Genius Cucullatus is a minor god, whose name does not designate a special character, but rather a garment peculiarity, *cucullus*, the hooded cape, *paenula cucullata*, which the god is usually rendered with. In general, the character wearing the *cucullus* is hebetate and often holds a round object in his hand, as offering, which may be a fruit or *patera*. The sleeves hooded cloak is a garment frequently used for the newborns or toddlers. Risus is also depicted with this type of clothing (Fig. 1)¹.

Head covering in the Roman world is related to death, those near death frequently covering their heads. The cape has many connotations, being used in cult ceremonies in order to get closer to the gods, in various "rites of the passing", as well as in the passing to the world of the dead, marriage or other esoteric celebrations. Furthermore, demons and all nocturnal spirits are described as wearing such garments. The *cucullus* is also used as a disappearing or camouflage trick. Iuvenalis mentions even *cucullus*

¹ LIMC, Suppl. I, 2009, s.v. *Telesphoros*, 870–878 (Cherici); DA I, 2, 1887, s.v. *Cucullus*, 1577–1579 (Reinach).

nocturnus. Therefore, these characters have firstly funerary attributes, being related to infant burials, likely also playing an apothropaic role².



Fig. 1. Asclepius and Telesphorus marble statue: a. Museo Borghese, Rome; b. Musée du Louvre, Paris; Galerie Chenel, Paris.

The origin of this character does not seem Roman, being noticeable from the early beginning a strong Celtic influence, of a deity of vegetation and wealth with healing values which via *interpretatio Romana* receives the name of Cucullatus³. It is noteworthy that the name Cucullatus is recorded only by two inscriptions, both from Noricum, discovered in a Celtic influence sanctuary⁴. The character also appears in the Etruscan environment, likely assumed from the Celtic tribes in northern Italy. Moreover, via the Celtic tribe of the Galatii Cucullatus becomes popular in Asia Minor, while the Greek and later Roman priests mention him as Telesphorus, being associated with Asclepius and Hygeia⁵.

The cult diffuses within the Empire through the areas with a strong Celtic substratum, eastwards included, via the military troops and also the traders. Finds of the type cluster in the provinces where there is an underlying Celtic influence like Gallia, Germania, Britannia, Noricum and Pannonia⁶. Dacia is an exception to this effect, as there was no Celtic sublayer previous to its conquest by the Romans, nevertheless where such finds exist. Seldom directly, from Gaul, and frequently from other provinces, such items enter the provinces without Celtic substratum, beside *terra sigillata*, decorated lamps or figured terracotta.

The competence field of the character seems to be that of Asclepius's assistant, even the deity's son, being associated with Telesphorus. He is the one "leading to full development" or "completion". Telesphorus's name, of Greek origin, is composed of τέλος, the purpose, goal, and of φέρω, the one who brings, bears, the meaning being that of the one who fulfils. The name etymology sets the deity's action area, the convalescence, fostering the healing from illness, fulfilling thus a therapeutic function. To

² Deona 1955, 43-74; Toynbee 1957, 456-469; D'Ambrosio 1993, 179-237; Vertet, Zeyer 1982, 63-65.

³ Egger 1932, 31.

⁴ Kenner 1976, 147.

⁵ Kenner 1976, 148.

⁶ Domínguez 2015, 106.

this effect, the character is rendered holding occasionally a roll, which bears inscribed the medical prescriptions⁷.

The funerary values of the character are recorded by clay statue finds placed in infant graves, like those at Ostia, Aquileia, Sassari, Dijon, Köln or Trier⁸. In addition, *Telesphorus* is regularly mentioned in funerary inscriptions, most often those erected for infants.

The connection with the characters wearing *cucullus* and a fertility cult is evidenced by their association with the mother goddess, like the case of the votive relief at Cirencester, exhibiting three *Cucullati* and a sitting goddess, who seems to hold a baby⁹. On a small marble stela, he appears associated with *Mater Malene*, a local goddess of farming fertility, whose origins seems to be in Phrygia¹⁰. On an inscription from Kassel, a mother thanks him for painless birth and the birth of healthy babies¹¹. Moreover, he may be identified within the Egyptian triad *Serapis - Isis - Harpocrates*, the idea of fecundity and fertility being underlined also by the association by deities like *Demeter* or *Aphrodites*¹².

The healing skills of the character wearing *cucullus* are obvious by the association with *Asclepius*, whereby it seems that *Telesphorus* played an active role in the *incubation* process. In the case of the *Asclepeion* at Pergamum, *incubatio* occurred precisely in the *Telesphoreion*. *Dio Cassius*¹³ reports that *Caracalla* fell ill during the march against the Germans, his recovery being related to the *Asclepeion* at Pergamum, which resulted in a series of coin issues with *Telesphorus*¹⁴.

The presence of the characters using the *cucullus* in Dacia is infrequent. Despite the association with *Aesculapius* and *Hygeia*, *Telesphorus* is mentioned by only an inscription of the 85 inscriptions mentioning the two deities, on a votive plate coming from Turda (Pl. I/3)¹⁵. One inscription on a votive relief from Sarmizegetusa, fragmentarily preserved, mentions *Aesculapius* and *Hygeia*, however there was not enough space for *Telesphorus*'s name¹⁶. It is fully rendered on the above relief. Among analogies count the reliefs in the sanctuaries at Glava Panega, *Dionysopolis* or *Nicopolis ad Istrum* in *Moesia Inferior*¹⁷.

Seldom, *Telesphorus* is rendered on stone figured monuments. Two representations of the type come from Sarmizegetusa, where *Telesphorus* appears in the company of *Hygeia* (Pl. I/1 a-b, 2)¹⁸. Analogies for these items are few within the Empire, where *Telesphorus* appears especially beside *Aesculapius* lone or beside both *Aesculapius* and *Hygeia* and rarely only beside *Hygeia*.

⁷ Bonanome 2014, 12.

⁸ La Fragola 2015, 57-61.

⁹ Green 2003, 185.

¹⁰ Guarducci 1973, 365-370.

¹¹ Bonanome 2014, 12.

¹² Aparaschivei 2012, 158.

¹³ DIO C., LXXVII 15, 27.

¹⁴ Deona 1955, 54-55.

¹⁵ Cumont 1894, 16, Fig. 1.

¹⁶ Daicoviciu 1924, 224-263, no. 8, Fig. 16.

¹⁷ Aparaschivei 2012, 165.

¹⁸ CIL III 7896; IDR III/2, 152; Alicu, Pop, Wollmann 1979, 68, no. 7; Diaconescu, Bota 2004, 190, Pl. XVII/I 4.

On a relief at Alba Iulia, beside Hygeia, Aesculapius and Telesphorus also appears Epione. The inscription however mentions only the first two (Pl. I/5)¹⁹. A good analogy for this item is given still by a relief in Moesia Inferior²⁰.

On a relief from Transylvania, beside the common depictions of Aesculapius, Hygeia and Telesphorus, also appears a small Hypnos / Thanatos with crossed legs (Pl. I/6)²¹. Representations of the sort are extremely rare within the Empire.

These depictions express the devotion to the god of medicine, the healing process also involving Telesphorus. It is difficult to establish the functionality of placing terracotta statuettes of characters wearing the *cucullus*, since in any case the accurate find context is missing. These items are briefly mentioned in the specialty bibliography, sometimes confused with Attis or certain *Genii cucullati*, the connection with Telesphorus.

Three fragmentary statuettes of the type come from Alba Iulia (Pl. II/3 a-b, 4, 5)²², a head being found in the *villa rustica* at Chinteni (Pl. II/7 a-b), in the same context with a clay small wheel²³, a terracotta head (Pl. II/6 a-c)²⁴ comes from a pottery kiln at Zlatna, from Moigrad come other two terracotta heads²⁵, while in the sanctuary of Liber Pater at Alba Iulia were also identified several fragments. In the same sanctuary, beside the Cucullati statuettes, were also identified statuettes depicting Venus, toys, among which also small wheels, as well as statuettes with Risi²⁶ representations. Given the initiation nature of the sanctuary, the offerings might have been related to the Liberalia festival occurring on the 17th of March and which coincided with the festivities by which the teenagers donned *toga virilis* or *toga libera*, thus marking the moment when the young men entered public life. Thus, beside toys (among which also small wheels), the infants also dedicate Risi statuettes, which seem to mark the passage from the baby state to that of toddler, or Cucullati statuettes, which mark the passage from the state of child to that of teenager. In Pannonia, such a case is that of the round sanctuary of Celtic influence at Aquincum, where several toys figures and Venus, Risus, Cucullatus²⁷ statuettes were discovered in the same context.

Noticeably, statuettes of the type are missing from funerary contexts. Very likely, such items are part of personal *lararia* or are *ex voto* depositions within sanctuaries, playing an apothropaic role. They might have been used to protect children, for instance against evil eyes, believed the main reason why illness occurred. Furthermore, they might have been invoked against infertility, for wealth and abundance. The offerings in the sanctuary of Liber Pater are likely connected to its initiation nature, the items being placed by the young in occasion of specific celebrations.

Another category of items depicting characters wearing *cucullus* is that of toys. Statuettes with Genius Cucullatus of *tintinnabulum* type, with mobile arms and legs,

¹⁹ Igna 1935, 1; CIL III 979; IDR III/5, 9.

²⁰ Bonanome 2014, 8.

²¹ Lenghel 1928, 69–96; Igna 1935, 64, no. 3, Fig. 25.

²² Anghel et alii 2011, 55–56, nos. 56, 58.

²³ Alicu et alii 1995, 623, no. 62, Fig. 5/5.

²⁴ Ungurean 2008, 239, no. 468.

²⁵ Gudea 1989, 514, no. 15, Pl. CIX/15.

²⁶ Diaconescu, Haynes, Schäfer 2005, 38–45; Schäfer 2014, 42–43.

²⁷ Kuzsinszki 1934, 17; Póczy 1963, 241–242.

paenula appearing as a bell, inside with grains were identified mainly in Hispania. They were used as baby rattles, however also casting out evil spirits²⁸.

Another toy type, which appears in Dacia as well, with the depiction of Cucullati, is that where the character is rendered on horseback, which instead of legs has four wheels. The character wears the classical hooded cape, *paenula cucullata*, sometimes bare-headed, the hood on the back. In some cases, hands are visible, holding a spear, likely of wood or metal, which no longer preserves, in the right hand and a shield in the left hand, where an *umbo* may be seen. The rider's body is one and the same with that of the horse, legs being no longer modelled. The wheels are made separately, being attached to the horse by a small axle for mobility. The horse nose is pierced so that a string would be inserted in order to pull the toy (Fig. 2).



Fig. 2. Cucullatus rider: a. Private Collection Gerhard Hirsch; b. Bavay, Musée Archéologique de Bavay; c. Cologne, Römisch Germanisches Museum.

Such a complete item comes from Celei (Pl. III/1)²⁹, another restorable item comes from Alba Iulia (Pl. III/3)³⁰. Four fragmentary *cucullus* riders were discovered at Alba Iulia (Pl. III/2, 6, 8)³¹, other two come from Turda (Pl. II/2)³², and other three are from Zlatna (Pl. III/7)³³ and Cristești (Pl. III/5)³⁴. A slightly different rider which appears in a common representation of the genius, is that of Cicău (Pl. II/1)³⁵. It wears the hood on the head and has no visible hands, the back side of the cloak preserving the prints of attachment to the horse.

Other statuettes depicting horses with wheels and prints of rider attachment on the horseback come from Turda (Pl. III/4 a-b)³⁶ and Romula³⁷. Terracotta horse

²⁸ Domínguez 2015, 111–114.

²⁹ Comănescu 1965, 797–802, Fig. 2; Gudea 1996, 186, Fig. 46 a; Ungurean 2008, 161, no. 78; Ene 2014, 264, no. 408.

³⁰ Anghel 2010, 533; Anghel et alii 2011, 81, no. 109, 110.

³¹ Pop, Dănilă 1971, 140, no. 4, Fig. 4; Anghel et alii 2011, 58, 82, 83, nos. 64, 112, 113.

³² Miclea, Florescu 1980, no. 297; Bajusz 2005, 656, Fig. 51/60.

³³ Anghel 2010, 533; Anghel et alii 2011, 82, no. 111.

³⁴ Man 2010, 104, no. 4, Pl. 1/6; Man 2011, 193, no. 4, Pl. CXL/4.

³⁵ Winkler, Takács, Păiuș 1979, 160.

³⁶ Rusu 1956, 687–713; Miclea, Florescu 1980, no. 297; Ungurean 2008, 232, no. 423.

³⁷ Bondoc, Dincă 2005, 61, no. 30; Popilian 2006, 418, no. 43, Pl. IX/43 a-c; Ungurean 2008, 207, no. 290.

fragments were found at Alba Iulia, Turda, Sarmizegetusa, Romula and Jupa³⁸. Terracotta wheels were identified at Alba Iulia, Turda, Sarmizegetusa, Moigrad, Romula, Cristești, Gilău, Valea Chintăului or Miercurea Sibiului³⁹. It is though worthy of note that such horse and wheel fragments might also come from other toy types.

Similar items come from Germania, Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium (Fig. 2 c)⁴⁰, Gallia (Fig. 2 b) or Moesia, from within funerary furniture (Slokošcița, Suhindol)⁴¹. In addition, in Athens or Myrna such items come still from infants' graves⁴². A good analogy for the item at Cicău (Pl. II/1), where Telesphorus has his head covered, comes from a private collection in Germany (Fig. 2 a). A character wearing *cucullus* is rendered on a votive relief at Brigetio⁴³, flanked by two riders, a similar depiction with a figurine in Asia Minor⁴⁴.

The association of such a character with toys is not novel, the skill field of Telesphorus being easily related to childhood. Thus, the toy might have also had protective, saving values, its protection extending also in the world beyond, as evidenced by the items found in graves⁴⁵.



Fig. 3. Plastic lamps: a. Musée Rolin, Autun (after Bolla 2010); b. National Museum Athens (after Robinson 1959); c. Arheološki Muzej, Zadar (after Bolla 2010).

Another category of items with Cucullati representations are the ithyphallic lamps (Fig. 3). Since it is a fecundity and fertility deity, it is often depicted with phallic attributes, present in various places of the empire⁴⁶.

Such lamps were discovered at Zlatna (Pl. II/8 a-b, 9 a-b)⁴⁷, in a pottery kiln. The character wear the *paenula cucullata*, one shorter down to the belt area, from under which exits an exaggerate *phalus* as *rostrum*, the place where the wick was

³⁸ Ene 2014, 247-250, nos. 355-364.

³⁹ Ene 2014, 270-274, nos. 427-444.

⁴⁰ Rouvier-Jeanlin 1995, 77-84, Fig. 1/1.

⁴¹ Filov 1911, 226-227, 286, Fig. 21.

⁴² Pottier, Reinach 1887, 458.

⁴³ Barkóczi 1944, Pl. 51/2.

⁴⁴ Ehling 2005, 162, Figs. 1, 2.

⁴⁵ Ehling 2005, 161; Domínguez 2015, 114.

⁴⁶ Eveillard 1995, 144-145.

⁴⁷ Lipovan 1992, 63-65, Fig. 1, 2/1 a-b; Anghel et alii 2011, 59-60, nos. 66, 67.

inserted. On the back side, the head area was provided with an orifice where the oil was poured. The character sits on a round pedestal and has a wine leaf vegetal motif on the back.

Terracotta lamps with such representations are rather few within the empire, like the Roman period item discovered in the Athens agora (Fig. 3 b)⁴⁸. Most often such lamps are bronze-made, features being better rendered. Only in these cases appears instead of a younger beardless character a middle-aged character, wearing a beard and mobile hood, in certain cases. Such items are often in funerary inventories of Gallia, Dalmatia (Fig. 3 a, b), Germania, Graecia and Italia⁴⁹.

Very likely, these lamps were used on a daily basis, lighting for instance, a small domestic altar or a grave. Due to the phallic symbol and the vine leaf motif, they may be most definitely related to a fertility and wealth cult. The items may also be related to the healing process by *incubatio*, playing the role of guard in the healing process occurring at night or in dark places. For instance, Telesphorus is accompanied by a shining light in Aelius Aristides's healing dream⁵⁰. Thus, they provided protection in sleep, being also the sleep carrier. In some cases, reference to the eternal sleep is made, recovery from illnesses or the promise of afterlife.

The characters wearing *cucullus*, either *Genii cucullati* in the real meaning or Telesphorus appearances, had their importance in the Roman world. Based on the nature of the discovered material and the discrepancy between the figurate and epigraphic material, it may be concluded that this was a personal cult, for the own welfare, rather than an official cult. This is a deity playing an active role in the healing process beside Aesculapius and Hygeia, childhood guardian, playing a somewhat role in fecundity and fertility as well. Thus, behind the terracotta, stone or bronze items lies the Romans' wish for the guardianship and benevolence of chthonian forces, in both the daily and after lives.

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⁴⁸ Robinson 1959, 52-53, Pl. 47.

⁴⁹ Bolla 2010, 51-69.

⁵⁰ Robinson 1959, 52-53.

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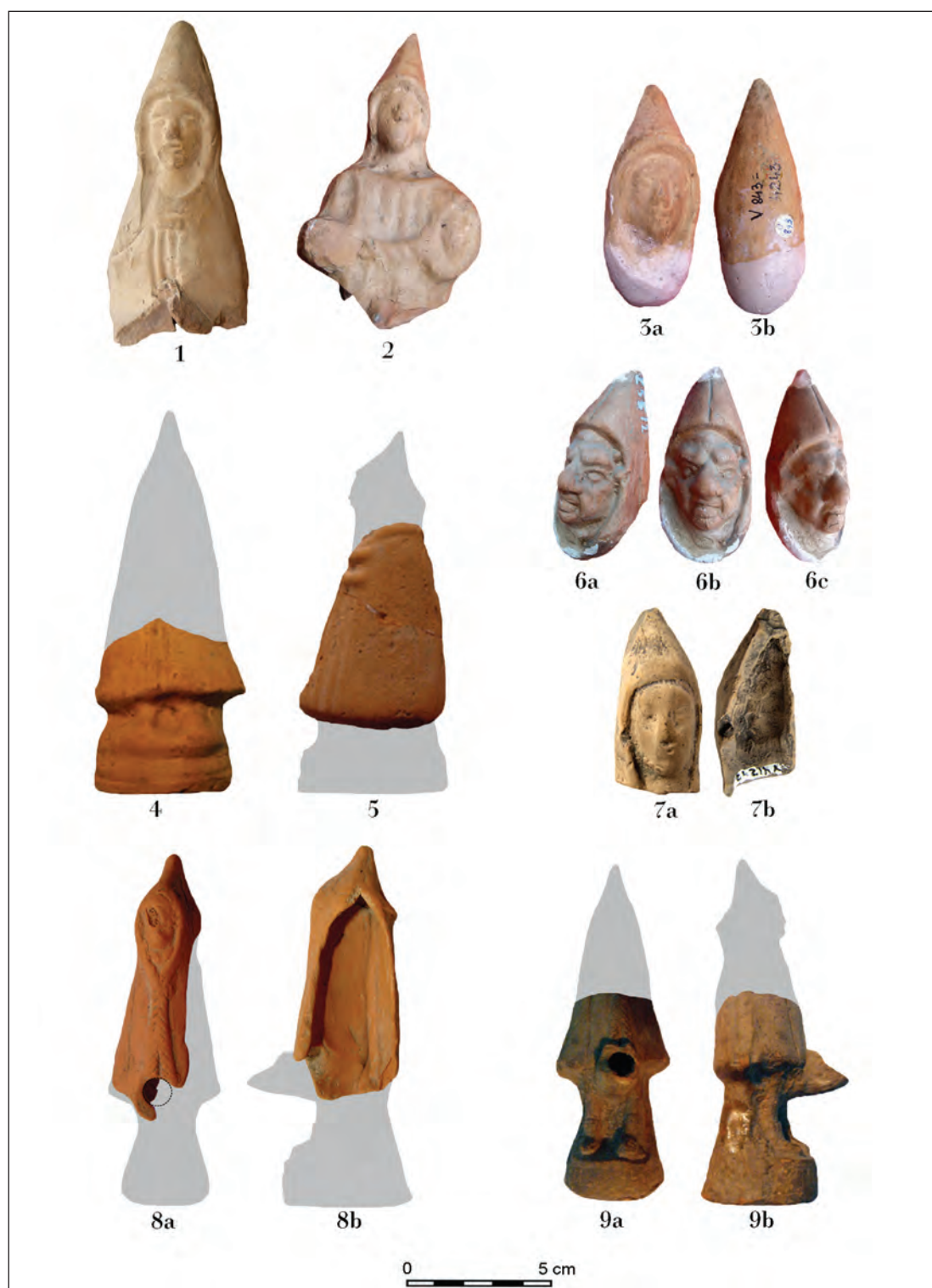
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Pl. I. Stone statues and reliefs: 1 a-b. Sarmizegetusa (after O. Harl); 2. Sarmizegetusa (after O. Harl); 3. Turda (after Igna 1935); 4. Sarmizegetusa (after Daicoviciu 1924); 5. Alba Iulia (after O. Harl); 6. Unknown (photo S. Odenie, MNIT photo archive).



Pl. II. Terracotta statues and plastic lamps. 1. Cicău (after P. Scroboță); 2. Turda (photo S. Odenie, MNIT photo archive); 3 a-b. Alba Iulia (photo S. Odenie, MNIT photo archive); 4. Alba Iulia (after Anghel et alii 2011); 5. Alba Iulia (after Anghel et alii 2011); 6 a-c. Zlatna (photo S. Odenie, MNIT photo archive); 7 a-b. Chinteni (photo S. Odenie, MNIT photo archive); 8 a-b. Zlatna (after Anghel et alii 2011); 9 a-b. Zlatna (after Anghel et alii 2011).



Pl. III. Terracotta statues. 1. Celei (after Ene 2014); 2. Alba Iulia (photo S. Odenie, MNIT photo archive); 3. Alba Iulia (after Anghel et alii 2011); 4. Turda (photo S. Odenie, MNIT photo archive); 5. Cristești (after Man 2010); 6. Alba Iulia (after Anghel et alii 2011); 7. Zlatna (after Anghel et alii 2011); 8. Alba Iulia (after Anghel et alii 2011).

A ROMAN HARBOUR GATE IN COLOGNE

ALFRED SCHÄFER, CLAUS DANIEL HERRMANN

Abstract: In connection with the construction of the north-south city railway of Cologne, an archaeological investigation of the Roman “harbour gate” was undertaken during 2007–2008, not far from the choir of the city’s cathedral. It was one of the five gatehouses that faced the Rhine along the city-wall of Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium (CCAA). The structural remains at Kurt-Hackenberg-Platz were documented with detailed hand-drawings. On the basis of the hand measurements, georeferenced plans and elevation-drawings were prepared that enabled a three-dimensional reconstruction of the “harbour gate”. During a further operation, the gatehouse was recorded as part of the 3D-visualisation of the Roman town. The digital reconstruction, called “Colonia3D”, does not have the format of a film with a predetermined sequence of images; instead, it comprises a so-called “realtime application” that allows one to access and experience any sequence of pictures and perspectives of the Roman town. The realtime application functions like a Geographic Information System (GIS), in as much as archaeological contexts and finds are linked to the reconstruction, so that the digital model of the town can be evaluated critically.

Keywords: Roman Cologne; fortification; harbour; laser scanning; 3D reconstruction.

Rezumat: În perioada 2007–2008, cu ocazia construirii liniei ferate pe linia NS a oraşului Köln, s-a cercetat intrarea în portul roman, zonă situată nu departe de corul catedralei oraşului. A fost cercetat unul dintre cele cinci turnuri care supravegheau Rinul de-a lungul zidului oraşului Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium (CCAA). Au fost realizate desene detaliate ale structurilor păstrate în Piaţa Kurt-Hackenberg. Pe baza măsurătorilor s-au întocmit planuri georeferenţiate şi relevee, ceea ce a permis reconstruirea tridimensională a intrării în port. Ulterior turnul a fost inclus în proiectul de vizualizare 3D a oraşului roman. Reconstituirea digitală, denumită “Colonia3D”, nu are formatul unui film prezentând o succesiune predeterminată de imagini, ci conţine o aşa-numită “aplicaţie în timp real” care permite accesarea şi experimentarea succesiunilor de imagini şi perspective ale oraşului roman. Aplicaţia în timp real funcţionează ca un Sistem Informaţional Geografic (GIS) referitor la multiple contexte arheologice şi vestigii conectate la reconstituire. Astfel, se poate face evaluarea critică a modelului digital al oraşului.

Cuvinte cheie: Köln-ul roman; fortificaţie; port; scanare laser; reconstituire 3D.

For the last ten years, the archaeological research stemming from the construction of the NS city railway in Cologne has dominated the work of the archaeology department of the Römisch-Germanisches Museum¹. The four kilometre-long route runs from the Central Station into the southern part of the city. At a depth of 20 to 27 m, the tunnel lies far beneath the archaeologically relevant layers, meaning that the ancient structural remains are exposed only in the areas of stations, access shafts and service shafts. Nevertheless the archaeological investigation was undertaken in a zone of 30.000 m² as a whole – roughly corresponding to the area of 3–4 football pitches.

¹ Trier, Naumann-Steckner 2012.

The archaeological layers extend to a depth of 13 m, because parts of the modern construction pits were built in the area of the former Roman harbour. For that reason the archaeological volume amounts to circa 150.000 m³ as a whole. The construction of the NS Urban railway represents the most extensive intervention in the city's underground history so far.

1. Revealing a Roman harbour gate in Cologne

The archaeological investigations can be shown exemplarily on the basis of the excavations on the Kurt-Hackenberg-Platz not far from the choir of the city's cathedral (Pl. I). At this place a Roman harbour gate was excavated during 2007–2008². It was the northern one of five gates that faced the Rhine along the city wall of *Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium* (CCAA) (Pl. II). An almost 3000 m² large and 13 m deep excavation was being produced on the Kurt-Hackenberg-Platz. The square – a result of the reconstruction process following World War Two – is located, as the topographical-archaeological investigations showed, on top of an old secondary arm of the Rhine, which existed in the 1st century AD (Pl. III)³. During the foundation of Roman Cologne the secondary arm of the Rhine could be used for shipping, but sedimentation processes started very early. So the main harbour of Roman Cologne should be located open to the Rhine.

The secondary Rhine arm was about 60–70 m wide and more than 1000 m long. Towards the west the area rises from the Rhine bank to a higher area protected against high water. On this plateau the Roman town was founded shortly before the birth of Christ⁴. The Rhine-side Roman city wall runs along the foot of this protected area. In the choice of site for the first settlement at Cologne, the topographical situation – comprising a middle fluvial terrace of 1 km² on the Rhine's left bank, the old Rhine channel and the river island – would have played a decisive role.

Nearly one meter beneath Kurt-Hackenberg-Platz, the consortium KölnArchäologie, under the supervision of the Römisch-Germanisches Museum, came across the monumental remains of the town's fortifications facing the Rhine⁵. A section of the Roman town wall, ca. 25 m long, traversed the modern construction pit in a north-south direction. The view from the south records the town wall and the outlet of the main sewer located in the foundation of the gatehouse (Pl. IV/1). The passageway through the “harbour gate” is at the height of the slabs covering the sewer. In the late Roman period the entrance was sealed with re-used worked stones, so-called *spolia*. The projecting sewer outlet comprises ashlar blocks of tufa resting on a foundation of *opus caementicium*, and its face is contained within limestone blocks. An impression of the high quality of Roman building techniques is conveyed by the red sandstone blocks to be found in the wall bond above the level of the slabs covering the sewer. The blocks border the sewer and are a structural element of the fortified tower's gate jamb.

How may we imagine the harbour gate at Kurt-Hackenberg-Platz?

² Trier 2008; Schäfer 2012; Schäfer-Trier 2013.

³ Berthold et alii 2011; Kempken, Nehren 2012.

⁴ Eck 2004; Spiegel 2006.

⁵ Neu, Riedel 2002; Eck 2007; Berthold et alii 2011; Kempken, Nehren 2012.

There is evidence of a substructure for a 6.5 m deep and 7.4 m wide gatehouse on the inner-face of the town wall (Pl. IV/2). A manhole cover associated with a maintenance shaft corresponds to the level of the pavement within the gatehouse. Between the red sandstone blocks, the inner width of the gate's opening was 2.7 m. The plan of the gatehouse permits a rough reconstruction of the superstructure. Including the elevation of the roof, an overall height of 13.5 m is likely (Pl. V). Beneath the passageway of the gate ran a drain with an outlet in front of the town wall.

2. A sensational state of wood preservation

The foundation of the Roman town wall rested on the firm gravel of the river-terrace. It comprises *opus caementicium* 3 m wide and over 4 m deep. Due to the wet soil near the level of the groundwater, the foundation's wooden shuttering remains almost fully preserved (Pl. VI/1-2). An analysis by Cologne University's Dendrochronology Laboratory established that this shuttering was of fir timber⁶. The firs were felled in the Black Forest, transported down the Rhine, and sawn to size at Cologne. The fir planks of the foundation's shuttering were in excellent condition; they had a length, on average, of 8 m, a width of ca. 30 cm, and thickness between 3.5 and 4 cm. The width and thickness hardly varied, reflecting a very high quality of craftsmanship, but despite this, the wood was left in the ground.

A contiguous row of oak stakes in the area of the river bank were found in the construction pit at Kurt-Hackenberg-Platz (Pl. VII/1). This plank wall was situated 4 m before the town wall and ran parallel to it (Pl. VII/2). It functioned as shoring for the Roman town wall's construction trench, as clearly shown by the stratigraphic relationships. In addition, together with further posts, the plank wall also served as a pile-foundation grill supporting a wooden walkway situated at the same height as the base of the wall. A ramp comprising fragments of greywacke was piled against the walkway that probably assumed the function of a quay during the building process of the wall⁷.

Analysis by the Cologne University's Dendrochronology Laboratory of 150 oak stakes from the plank wall confirms that all the trees from which they crafted were felled in AD 89. Around AD 90-91, Cologne's bank of the Rhine was a building site. Responsibility for the erection of the town wall was not only the *colonia* itself, but also the Roman army of the Rhineland under the reign of Emperor Domitian (AD 81-96).

Soon after the construction of the town wall the harbour basin was already fully silted up (Pl. VIII/1). By the middle of the 2nd century AD the river island, formerly close to the bank, was now joined to it⁸. It is very likely that the main harbour of Roman Cologne was located on the side open to the Rhine, making the area of the river island the most important transshipment point. The Roman settlement was extended to the eastern bank of the "island" and shored up by walls in the north and south of the island in the 4th century AD. How many constructions were made in medieval times in the former Rhine channel area would be another story of the archaeology of the NS underground line of Cologne.

⁶ Schmidt 2005; Schmidt, Frank 2012.

⁷ Kempken, Nehren 2012.

⁸ Trier 2012.

3. The digital reconstruction of the northern Harbour gate

For the visualisation of the archaeological contexts of the harbour gate and to make possible a 3D-reconstruction for the project Colonia3D, basically two sources were analysed and integrated: firstly, a 3D-scan of the site and, secondly, CAD drawings containing plans and sections of the excavated town wall and the foundations of the gate. The resulting visualisation comprises a polygon model that lends volume to the archaeological remains. The following sections summarise the process by which the various data were combined.

Dipl.-Ing. Jost-Michael Broser from the Institut für Baugeschichte und Denkmalpflege of the Fachhochschule Köln kindly supported the project with the provision of data from a 3D laser scan carried out on the site. The data from the scan were, as usual, in the form of a point cloud (Pl. VIII/2). Each measured point within such a cloud represents a three-dimensional coordinate and a colour value. To be able to incorporate the scan within the digital reconstruction – the real time 3D model – a polygon mesh must be derived from the point cloud (Pl. IX). Polygon meshes depict surfaces comprising contiguous triangles (polygons). The greater the density of polygons, the finer the details of the surface. However, the higher level of detail created by the higher number of polygons creates problems: the quantity of data the computer has to process increases with the number of polygons which, in turn, leads to a slowing of the frame rate in real time; secondly, it is more complicated and time-consuming for the computer operator who works on the mesh. The basic aim is to find a balance between the density of data (thus the level of detail) and manageability.

In the real case of the “harbour gate”, a 3D scan was available that had captured the area of the wooden stakes south of the drain outlet so accurately that the grain of the wood was visible – an unnecessarily high resolution for the 3D visualisation of Colonia3D. Our task was to derive a 3D model from the scan that depicts the volume and position of the individual structural elements, such as planks, posts and stones.

The entire process from 3D scan to solid model can be summarised as:

1. Importing the point cloud.
2. Thinning the point cloud.
3. Cleaning the point cloud.
4. Conversion into a polygon mesh.
5. Regularization (the closure of interiors).
6. Intelligent reduction of surfaces.
7. Exporting to a conventional 3D mesh format (*.OBJ).
8. Retopologization⁹.

This process is not fully automatic because the reduction requires a conscious interpretation of the data, but it is strongly simplified through the use of software. In this case the software Geomagic was applied from the import of the point cloud to the export as a *.OBJ file, since it was designed specifically for this field of application. Basically any polygon modelling software can be used for the retopologization, but for

⁹ Retopologization means to manually superimpose a completely new mesh on the surface of the exported 3D mesh. The advantage is that the new mesh has a better polygon structure (also called topology).

the “harbour gate” we employed Blender¹⁰. Subsequently, the data were exported into 3D Studio Max, where all the 3D models from Colonia3D can be worked on.

The 3D scan captured only a relatively small part of the archaeological situation at the “harbour gate” site. More than 50 individual CAD drawings recorded the remaining contexts, including the drain outlet, the sections of wall above the former street level, the wooden shuttering north of the outlet, and the gate foundations (Pl. X). The CAD drawings also had to be transformed into a polygon model in order to combine them with the retopologized scan, for which two basic steps were required:

1. All the individual drawings were combined and exported from a CAD format into a 3D Max-capable format and thus brought together within a 3D file.

2. The drawings were extruded¹¹ in 3D Studio Max.

The individual CAD drawings were already spatially organised (georeferenced) in the CAD format, so that a good overall impression of the site was already available with the first step. A hurdle was represented by the georeferenced coordinates that comprised eight digits: programmes like 3D Studio Max are unable to handle such large numbers. Consequently, before exporting, the coordinates in CAD were offset to a predetermined value towards the zero point. Because the degree of the offset is known, the plans remain, in principle, georeferenced. In step two, the main task was to determine the depth of the extrusions. Since the majority of the objects were made up of views from multiple angles, this permitted their volumes to be easily deduced.

Before the above described modelling of the site took place, a reconstruction of the “harbour gate” in the model Colonia3D already existed. The older version, based on earlier records, could now be amended by the new and exact data. The most important changes were related to the proportions of the structures, the size of the passageway through the gate, and the form of the gate jamb in red sandstone. It was possible to recreate the gate jamb with stone-by-stone accuracy.

The completed 3D model of the northern harbour gate (Pl. V) was promptly integrated within the application Colonia3D, which may be viewed in Cologne’s Römisch-Germanisches Museum (Pl. VIII/1). The flexible structure of the application allows the easy integration of new data.

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¹⁰ Blender is an open-source 3D software (www.blender.org).

¹¹ To extrude means to give three-dimensional form to a surface; for example, a cylinder is an extruded circle.

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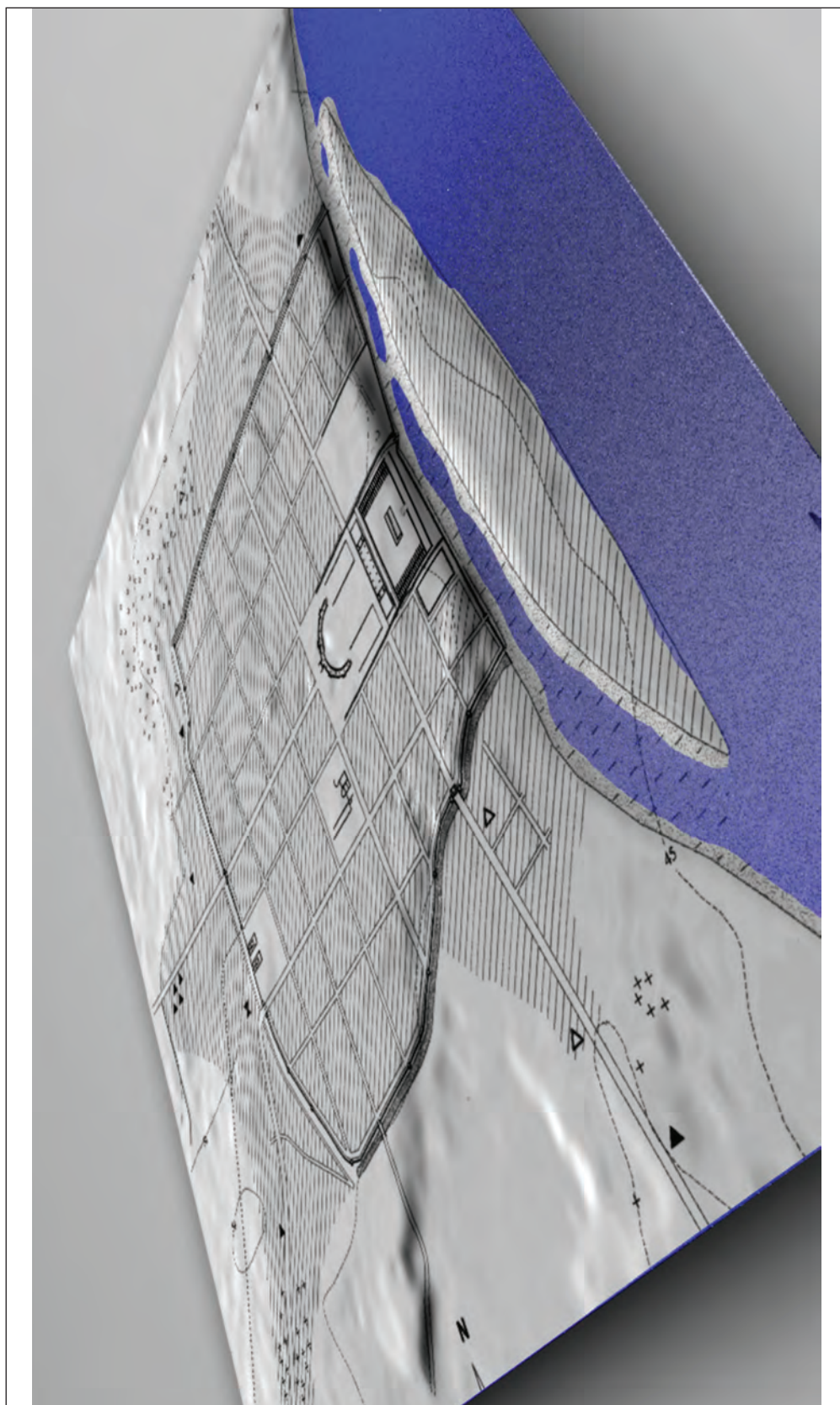
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Pl. I. Cologne, Kurt-Hackenberg-Platz (RGM, photo A. Schäfer).



Pl. II. Roman Cologne in the middle of the 2nd century (RGM digitized plan P. Otten).



Pl. III. Digital terrain modell of Roman Cologne in the end of the 1st century AD (RGM, Colonia3D).

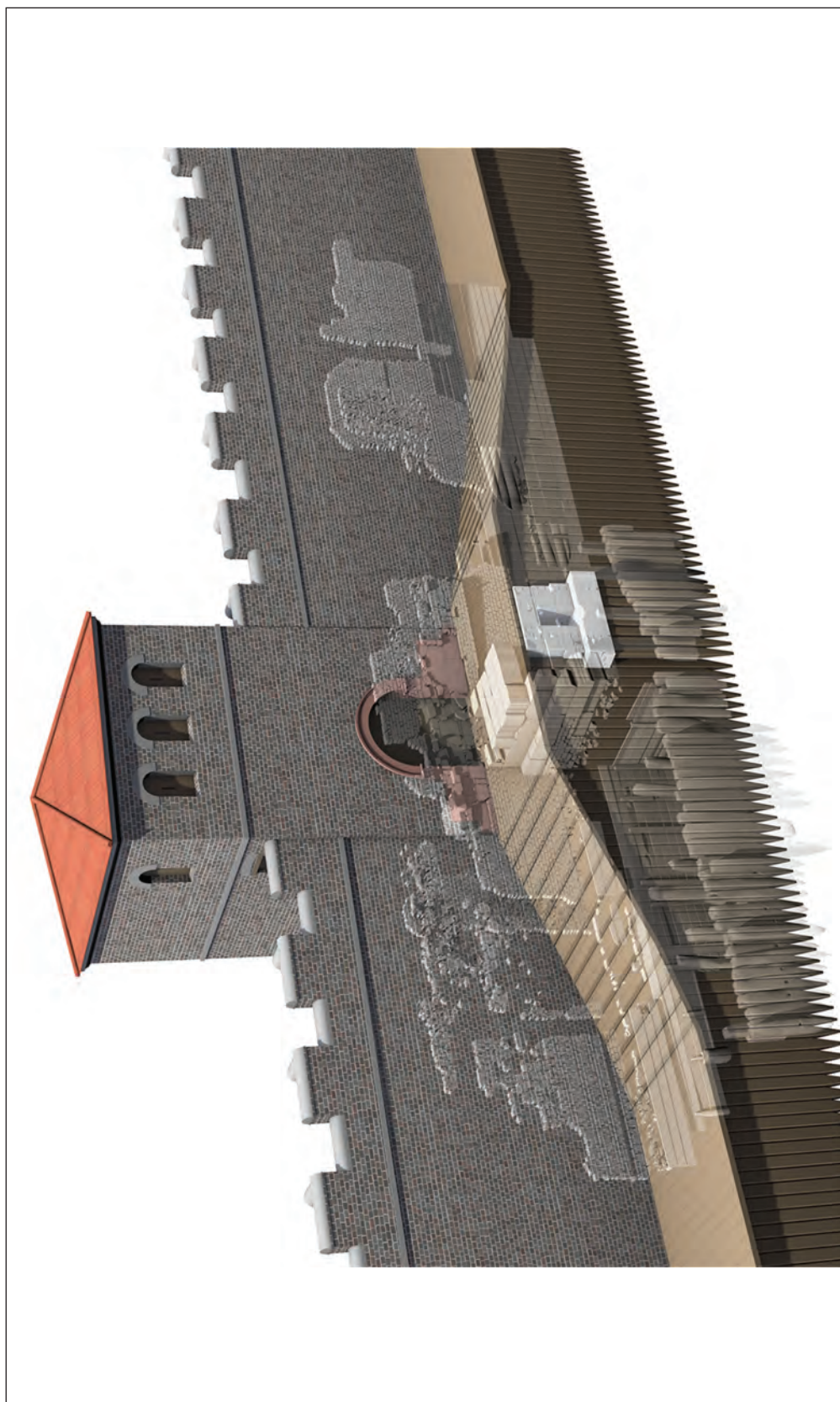


1



2

Pl. IV. Cologne, Kurt-Hackenberg-Platz. 1. Roman town-wall with front of the harbour gate and sewer; 2. Substructure of the northern harbour gate on the inner-face of the Roman town wall (RGM, photos A. Schäfer).



Pl. V. Digital reconstruction of the northern harbour gate of Roman Cologne (RGM, Colonia 3D).



1

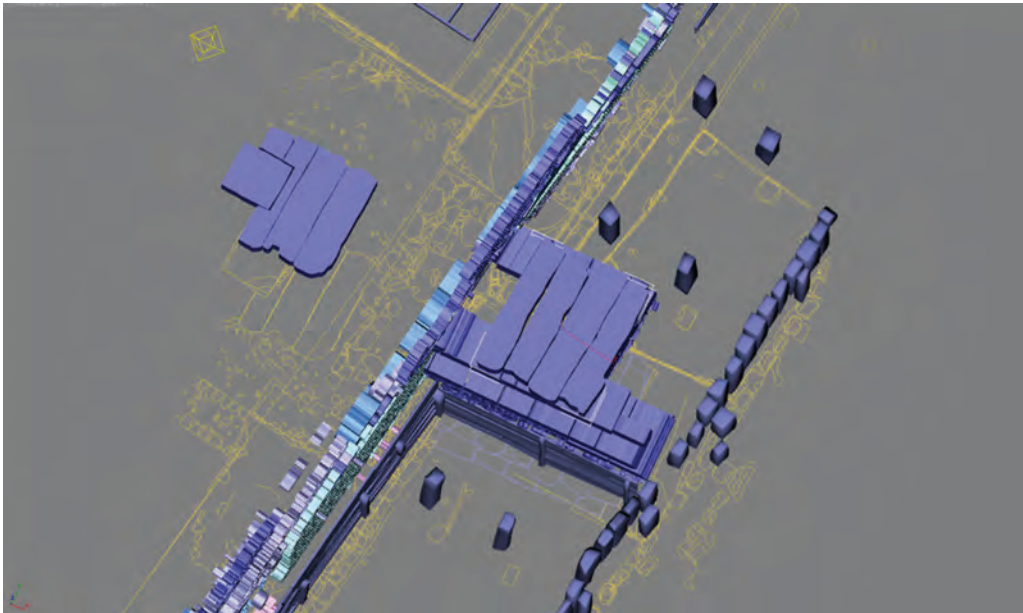


2

Pl. VI. Cologne, Kurt-Hackenberg-Platz. Wooden shuttering from the foundation of the Roman town wall (RGM, photos A. Schäfer).



1

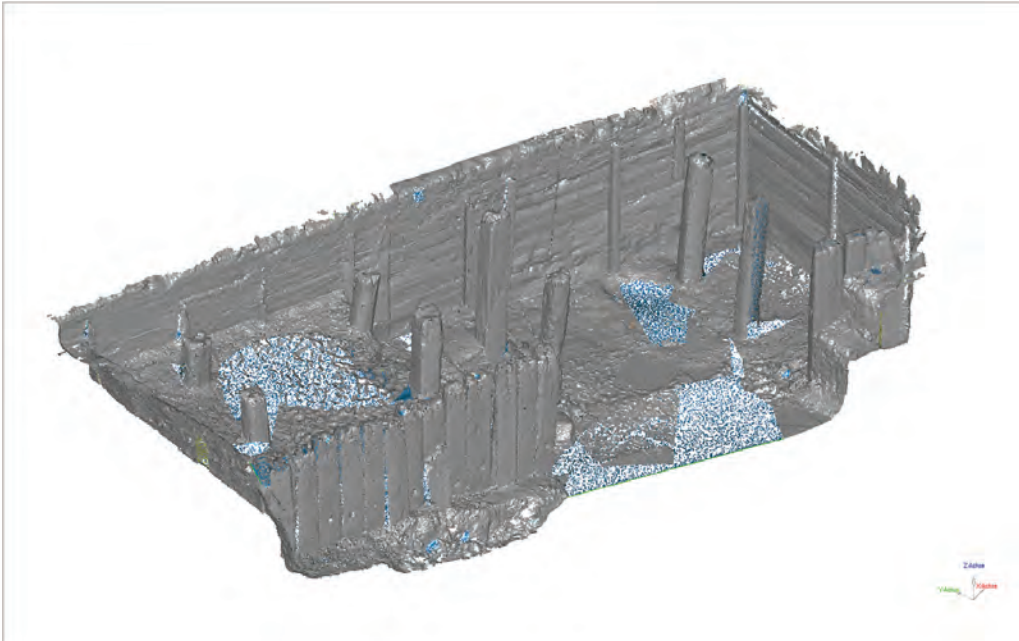


2

Pl. VII. 1. Cologne, Kurt-Hackenberg-Platz. Row of oak stakes functioned as shoring for the Roman town walls construction trench (RGM, photo A. Schäfer); **2.** 3D-Plan of the northern Roman harbour gate in Cologne (RGM, Colonia 3D).

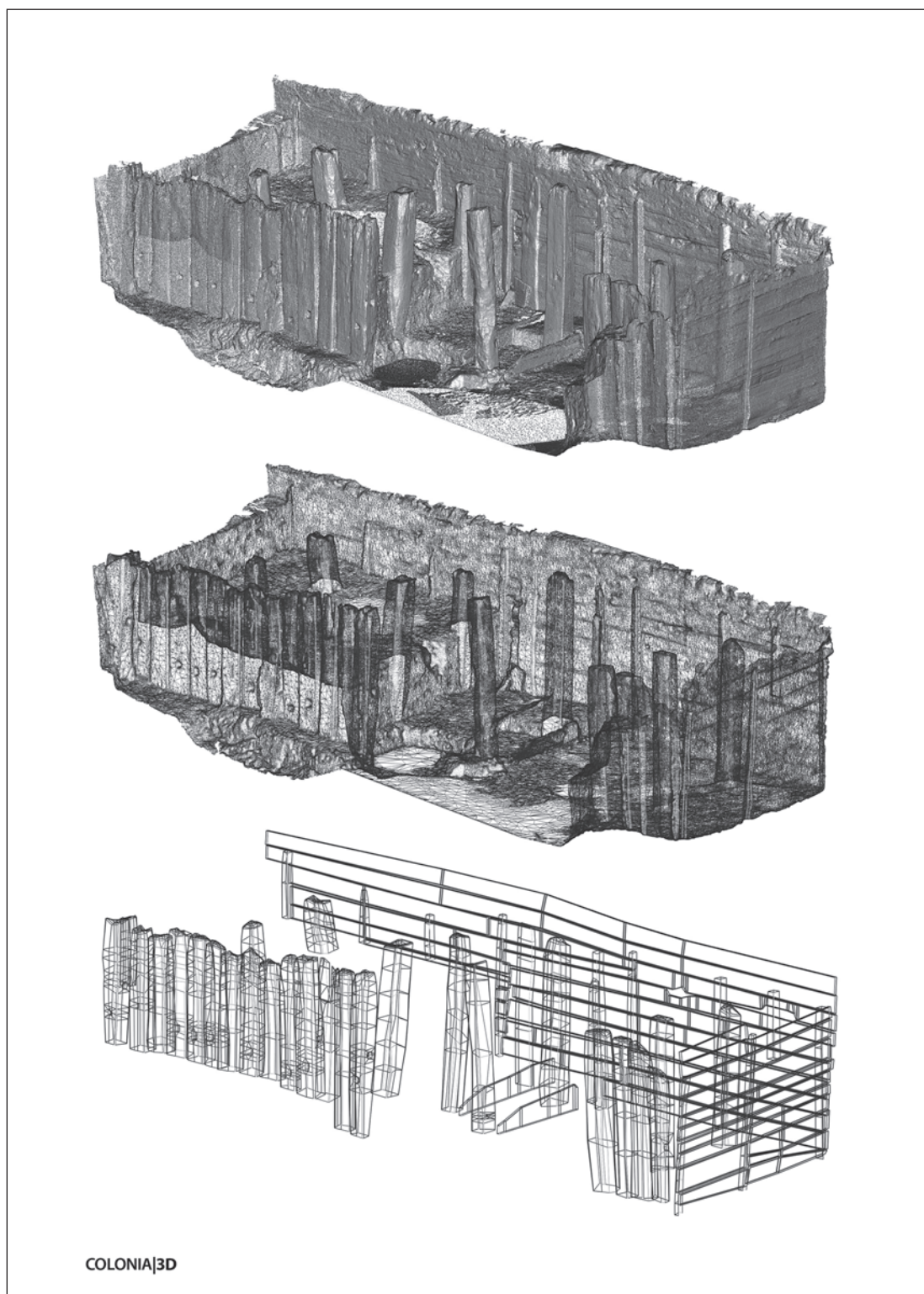


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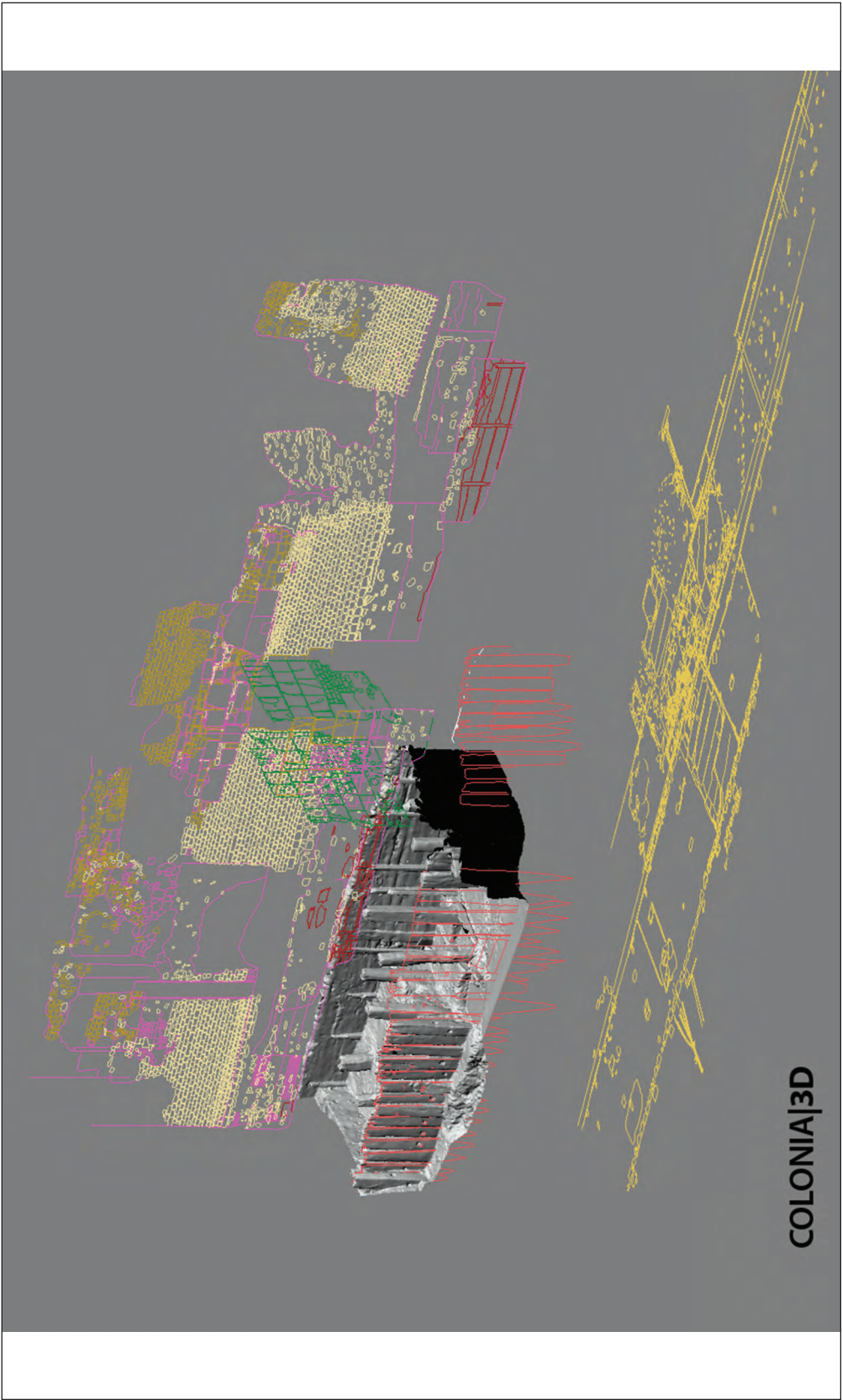


2

Pl. VIII. Ideal Reconstruction of Roman Cologne. 1. Central town without suburbia and harbour district (Colonia 3D); 2. Point cloud of oak stakes in the underground beneath Kurt-Hackenberg-Platz, Cologne (RGM, Colonia 3D, J. Broser, C. D. Herrmann).



Pl. IX. Polygon meshes from the oak stakes in the underground beneath Kurt-Hackenberg-Platz, Cologne (RGM, Colonia 3D, C. D. Herrmann).



Pl. X. Northern harbour gate of Roman Cologne. CAD drawings and polygon model (Colonia3D).

REVIEWS

Vincze Zoltán, *A kolozsvári régészeti iskola a Pósta Béla-korszakban (1899–1919)* [The archaeological school of Cluj during the Béla Pósta era (1899–1919)], Eme Kiadó, Kolozsvár 2014, 812 pages.*

Zoltán Vincze's extensive monograph on the archaeological school of Cluj¹, established and led by Béla Pósta during the first two decades of the last century, was published in 2014, and is a most timely and welcome book. The monumental volume, both in terms of length (812 pages) and informational value represents the culmination of a two decade-long documentary effort. It follows a long line of articles on the subject, published by the author in different media, ranging from academic and cultural journals to less formal popularizing forums². During this time the author has emerged as a leading scholar in the history of Transylvanian archaeological research. Unsurprisingly the author has opted for a predominantly biographical dimension, whereby the most noteworthy aspects of the life and activity of Pósta, and to a certain degree his disciples within the respective timespan, are thoroughly discussed. The result is a comprehensive account of the scholarly and cultural movement headed by Pósta and its impact on the local and international scientific community as well as on Transylvanian society as a whole.

The work is centred on the history of two pivotal institutions of the time: the Transylvanian Museum Society's Collection of Coins and Antiquities, and the Numismatics and Archaeology Institute of the Franz Josef University, both based in Cluj and both headed by Pósta during these two decades. With over 30000 artefacts, in addition to some 15000–20000 coins in 1899, the Transylvanian Museum Society possessed by far the most consistent collection of antiquities in the region, becoming the foundation for the exhibitions of the National Museum of Transylvania. The Numismatics and Archaeology Institute, reuniting Pósta and his first generation students, István Kovács, Árpád Buday and Márton Roska, became the first archaeological research establishment in this part of the country. The bilingual Hungarian-French language journal of the Institute: *Dolgozatok - Travaux* (*Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából / Travaux de la section numismatique et archéologique du Musée de Transylvanie*)³ published biannually between 1910 and 1919 became a much sought-after periodical throughout the museums and research institutes of Europe.

The book is structured in ten chapters in addition to a rich selection of transcribed documentary sources, comprising of 112 letters and other documents, index of names and places as well as abstracts in Romanian and English. The opening of the first

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¹ Official name of the city up to 1974, currently Cluj-Napoca.

² E.g. Vincze 2002; Vincze 2003; Vincze 2004; Vincze 2009; Pósta 2013.

³ For the issues of the journal see: <http://epa.oszk.hu/html/vgi/kardexlap.phtml?id=1580> (26.10.2015).

chapter deals with the antiquarian and archaeological activities prior to 1899, especially the foundation of the Transylvanian Museum Society (Erdélyi Múzeum-Egylet) in 1859, which can be viewed as the starting point of institutionalized archaeological research in the area. It is in this section that we also learn about the foregoing career of Pósta during his years at the University of Budapest and the Hungarian National Museum. The next chapters thoroughly scrutinize various aspects of Pósta's pursuits in Cluj, with emphasis on the ceaseless efforts aimed at the infrastructural development of the abovementioned institutions, the training of his students and their evolution from apprenticeship to partnership with their mentor. The next chapters are dedicated to the development of the antiquities collection, research activity of the Institute and Pósta's widespread efforts aimed at the creation of museums across the eastern half of the country as an inspector for the National Inspectorate for Museums and Libraries. The last section covers the personal and public life of Pósta, the effects of World War I on the functioning of the two institutions, ending with the dissolution of the first archaeological school from Cluj and an assessment of its legacy.

The core argument of the book centres on the pivotal role played by Pósta in establishing and managing the archaeological school from Cluj which throughout its two decade long history eventually developed into a genuine cultural and scientific movement. It is hence called for to outline briefly the organizational, pedagogical and scholarly activity of Pósta. Born in Kecskemét in 1862, he was introduced to archaeology by Károly Torma Transylvanian jurist, archaeologist and epigraphist at the University of Budapest. After a period spent as custodian of the collection of antiquities at the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest, he was named head of the newly founded Department of Archaeology at the Franz Josef University of Cluj and director of the Transylvanian Museum Society's collection of antiquities. The archaeology department was created to boost the training of professional archaeologists across the country and thus alleviate the acute lack of specialised personnel in the growing number of local museums. Subsequent to the passing of his predecessor Henrik Finály in 1898, Pósta assumed his office as head of department and director of the antiquities' collection the following year. Right from the outset, his priorities were twofold: the formation of a team of specialists set out to undertake comprehensive archaeological investigations in Transylvania, as well as to acquire a proper venue for the storage and exhibition of the antiquities' collection. With regard to the training of young specialists, the results were both fast and pervasive, the excavations carried out by his students from 1900 onwards laid the foundation of professional archaeology in the region and prompted the reinterpretation of the early history of Transylvania, especially concerning the Migration and Early Medieval Period⁴. Unfortunately the same cannot be said in the case of the antiquities' collection, which changed locations on numerous occasions during these two decades without settling down definitely. The onset of World War I all but paralysed the activity of the institutions headed by Pósta since with the exception of Árpád Buday, all of his students and young colleagues were drafted for military service, with two of them, Balázs Létay and János Gulyás being killed in action during the Battle of Galicia. Eventually, the passing of Béla Pósta in

⁴ See Gáll 2010, 293–306.

the months following the conclusion of the armed hostilities, in April 1919, brought to an end the first archaeological school of Cluj.

Interest in the history of Transylvanian archaeology has never been particularly high among historians and archaeologists of this region, however during the last years it has witnessed a gradual intensification. A serious disincentive in this case is partly determined by the language barrier, the overwhelming majority of the sources being in Hungarian, as are the publications on the subject. Besides the author of the currently considered book, the work of István Bajusz⁵ and Erwin Gáll⁶ should be mentioned here. Notwithstanding the undoubtable merits of the studies hitherto written on the subject, they present an overwhelmingly cultural-historical perspective, without effectively integrating the connections between the archaeological discourse and its inherent ideological background. Studies written on the evolution of western archaeology have pointed out close ties between archaeological agendas and their scientific output on one hand and their political, economic and social context on the other⁷. Based on this theoretical framework, future investigations should explore the possible connections between the early phases of archaeological research in the region, the leading ideological movements in Europe at the time, and the local political projects and aspirations which were shaped in the political, economic and social context of Transylvania. The book contains some quite rich data in this regard which could be at some point elaborated into an analysis according to the abovementioned approach. Zoltán Vincze's book is undoubtedly a milestone in the history of Transylvanian archaeology, which anticipates a considerable upsurge in the research of this subject. Nevertheless the integration of ideological criteria in future studies has the potential of providing a better understanding or even a reinterpretation of certain cultural and scientific phenomena.

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⁵ Bajusz 2005.

⁶ Gáll 2010; Gáll 2012; Gáll 2013; Gáll 2014.

⁷ See Trigger 1984, 356.

- Gáll 2013 E. Gáll, *Márton Roska (1880–1961) and the archaeological research of the 10th and 11th centuries*, Acta Eurasiatica, 1, 2013, 74–104.
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Mihai Bărbulescu, *Inscripțiile din castrul legionar de la Potaissa* / The Inscriptions of the Legionary Fortress at Potaissa, Editura Academiei Române, București 2012, 288 pages, 150 figures.

The book of Professor Mihai Bărbulescu is not an epigraphic corpus, despite its title and despite the fact that it presents 67 epigraphic items, namely inscriptions in Latin and Greek written on marble, limestone, bronze and burnt clay. It is firstly a history book, the inscriptions, some published for the first time, being, to the author, no other than historical sources, occasion for lengthy narrative expositions regarding important events in the history of the province of Dacia and the Roman Empire (*exempli gratia* emperor Caracalla's visit in Dacia or the troubled period of Gallienus).

The bilingual work, in Romanian and English, presents to the public a rich and new epigraphic material of key importance for the history of the Roman town Potaissa, for the province of Dacia and for the history of the Roman Empire. The inscriptions come from the author's own systematic research, namely the 41 archaeological campaigns that Mihai Bărbulescu conducted in the fortress at Potaissa (today Turda, Cluj county).

The ruins of the city of Turda allured travellers like Pierre Lescalopier or Jacques Bongars, as early as the Renaissance, while the discovered inscriptions or sculptures were recorded in the manuscripts of the first epigraphic *corpora* or those of the collections of antiquities. Since any presentation of the inscriptions found in the fortress at Turda could not ignore either the first epigraphists like Mezerzius, Zamosius, Gruterus, Ariosti etc. or the modern collectors (the collections of Kemény József, Nagy Miklós, of the pharmacist J. Wolff, of Botár Imre or Téglás István), in the "Introduction" (p. 18–51) Professor Mihai Bărbulescu summarizes "the epigraphic research of Potaissa". Concerns regarding the epigraphy of Potaissa are discussed exhaustively, all who published or improved the reading of the inscriptions found at Turda, from Mezerzius to Petolescu being mentioned.

The inscriptions' presentation is judiciously organized. The first part discusses the older inscriptions, known since the modern period and already published in epigraphic *corpora*, yet which speak of the fortress and its buildings. Where possible, previous readings were improved, new fragments sometimes completing the old inscriptions. Furthermore, the archaeological research revealed the layout and internal planning of the fortress. Thus, chapter A. "The fortress" presents a series of inscriptions (some already known from CIL, others found recently) speaking of the buildings in the fortress (especially, the area from the headquarters building, *principia*). Some of the inscriptions are very important for understanding the existence phases of respective buildings. One should note that all datable inscriptions referring to *aedificia* belong to the Severan period (AD 195, 198–209) or the reign of Gordian III (those recording a *basilica legionis*, a *schola beneficiariorum*, a *schola signiferorum*). In terms of the restoration of these building plates, broken into many pieces, we note the author's effort

to complete this epigraphic puzzle, not only with the parts of inscriptions discovered during the archaeological research but also with fragments known as early as the 19th century, either published or in the museum collections. For instance, the building/repair inscription of a *schola signiferorum* was discovered in the campaigns of 1981, 1988, 1995 etc., while a fragment (CIL III 927) was already in the possession of Góró Lajos, later found in the Kemény collection, from where it passes into the collection of the Erdélyi Múzeum (Muzeul Ardelean). Thus, inscription parts were discovered in the first decades of the 19th century until the last decade of the 20th century.

In the second chapter, B. "The legion", important moments in the history of legion V Macedonica and its fortress are illustrated with the aid of the honorific inscriptions. Of special importance are proven the inscriptions of statue bases erected in the *basilica* of the headquarters building for Caracalla and Iulia Domna, but also those on votive altars, like the two monuments dedicated by M. Publicianus Rhenus, which noticeably change the historical view of the last decades and of the end of the province of Dacia.

The *laterculi* decorating the statue bases erected in the *basilica* of the headquarters building for M. Aurelius Antoninus Caracalla and his mother Iulia Domna contain the lists of names of the centurions in the ten cohorts of the legion, the ones who paid for the erection of respective statues, likely in occasion of the emperor's visit in 214. If in 1987, 21 centurions of legion V Macedonica were known, in the present day, their number, owing to these inscriptions, has reached 64. As noted by the beginning, the inscriptions are not discussed only for restoration purposes, to complete the epigraphic rebus. The inscriptions for Caracalla and Iulia Domna allow the author a historical exposition resuming the context of the supposed visit of Antoninus in Dacia. Whether the emperor reached the province or not, whether he inspected the towns and *castra* of the Trajanic province or not, one thing is certain, namely, he was expected to do so. Statues and inscriptions for Caracalla alone or beside his mother, votive altars dedicated to the health of the imperial family appear everywhere, at Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, Tibiscum, Micia, Germisara, Ilișua, Inlăceni, Cășei, Gilău, Porolissum and, of course, Potaissa.

A sub-chapter B. b. is titled "History moments", broadly discussing three very interesting inscriptions and the issues they raise. A small altar documents the presence in the fortress at Potaissa of the soldiers of legio VII Gemina Felix, camped at Leon, in Hispania Tarraconensis. The presence of this legion at Potaissa and Porolissum generated an entire "epigraphic-historical dispute" which the author sums up therein.

Two altars dedicated by a certain M. Publicianus Rhenus, discovered in 2000, in the south-western corner of courtyard E in the *thermae*, are possibly the most interesting inscriptions discovered in the last decades in Dacia. Despite the fact they are difficult to decipher (they are written on a coarse calcareous conglomerate and contained erased rows), one thing is clear, as Professor Mihai Bărbulescu pointed out, namely that M. Publicianus Rhenus is *praefectus alae I Batavorum milliariae* and, concurrently, legion commander deputy (*agens vice praefecti legionis*). This office places us after Gallienus's reform, during his turbulent reign or just after, until Dacia was officially abandoned by Aurelian. Thus, these two altars shed an entirely new

light over that *amissio Daciae* under Gallienus, being comparable, *mutatis mutandis*, with the inscription of M. Simplicinius Genialis at Augsburg. Just like Simplicinius Genialis's altar triggered endless debates, was the subject of colloquiums and volumes of studies, similarly, the discussion regarding Publicianus Rhenus's altars will not end soon. However, regardless the erased emperor, either Gallienus, Claudius or one of the known Danubian usurpers (Ingenuus or Regalianus), we find that the legion (or a small part of it) was still in the fortress subsequent to Gallienus's reform.

The last part, chapter three C. "The daily life" contains votive inscriptions and *instrumenta* (*tegulae scriptae*, *lucernae*, *amphorae*, *pondera*, *anuli* and pieces of military equipment inscribed), completing the modern view of the daily universe of a Roman legionary camp.

By the end of this brief presentation, one may conclude that this is a volume written accurately and skilfully by a historian of the Antiquity, a famous archaeologist who turns a true epigraphist. The Book "Inscriptiile din castrul legionar de la Potaissa" / "The inscriptions in the legionary fortress at Potaissa" is not only a *corpus*, a working tool, but a history fragment of the legion and its camp, seen from epigraphic point of view. Obviously, it is also a tool, however, past the simple epigraphic restorations, of special importance is the historical interpreting, a significant gain for our science.

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ABBREVIATIONS

The following list contains abbreviations that are not included in the list at http://www.annee-philologique.com/files/sigles_fr.pdf.

AB	Analele Banatului, Timișoara.
ACMIT	Anuarul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice, Secțiunea pentru Transilvania, Cluj.
ActaMN	<i>Acta Musei Napocensis</i> , Cluj-Napoca.
ActaMP	<i>Acta Musei Porolissensis</i> , Zalău.
ActaTS	<i>Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis</i> , Sibiu.
ActMuz	Din activitatea muzeelor, Cluj-Napoca.
AE	L'Année Épigraphique, Paris.
AIIA	Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie, Cluj-Napoca.
AISC	Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice, Cluj-Napoca.
Aluta	<i>Aluta</i> . Revista Muzeului Național Secuiesc, Sfântu Gheorghe.
Angustia	<i>Angustia</i> . Revista Muzeului Carpaților Răsăriteni, Sfântu Gheorghe.
ANRW	H. Temporini, W. Haase (Hrsgg.), <i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> , Berlin - New York.
AO	Arhivele Olteniei, Craiova.
Apulum	<i>Apulum</i> . Anuarul Muzeului Național al Unirii din Alba Iulia, Alba Iulia.
ArchAnz	Archäologischer Anzeiger, Berlin.
ArchKözl	Archeológiai Közlemények, Budapest.
ArhMold	Arheologia Moldovei, Iași.
Banatica	<i>Banatica</i> , Reșița.
BAR	British Archaeological Reports, Oxford.
BCMI	Buletinul Comisiei Monumentelor Istorice, București.
BHAUT	<i>Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Universitatis Timisiensis</i> , Timișoara.
CA	Cercetări Arheologice. Muzeul Național de Istorie, București.
CAB	Cercetări Arheologice în București. Muzeul de Istorie și Artă al Municipiului București.
CCA	Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România, București.
CCDJ	Cultură și civilizație la Dunărea de Jos, Călărași.
CIG	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , Berlin.
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , Berlin.
CIMRM	M. J. Vermaseren, <i>Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae</i> , I-II, The Hague 1956, 1960.
Civiltà	Civiltà romana in Romania, Roma 1970.
Classica et Christiana	<i>Classica et Christiana</i> . Revista Centrului de Studii Clasice și Creștine, Iași.
CMRED	D. Tudor, <i>Corpus monumentorum religionis equitum Danuviorum</i> , I-II, Leiden 1969-1976.
CommArchHung	<i>Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungaricae</i> , Budapest.
Comunicări de geologie	Comunicări de geologie. Societatea de Științe Naturale și Geografie a Republicii Populare Române, București.

Crisia	<i>Crisia</i> . Muzeul Țării Crișurilor, Oradea.
CSIR	<i>Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani</i> .
Cumidava	<i>Cumidava</i> . Muzeul Județean de Istorie, Brașov.
DA	Ch. V. Daremberg, Ed. Saglio, Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines, d'après les textes et les monuments, Paris.
DissPann	<i>Dissertationes Pannonicae</i> , Budapest.
Dizionario Epigrafico	E. di Ruggiero (ed.), Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane, Roma, I (1895) - III (1922).
Dolgozatok/Travaux	Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem és Régiségtárából, Kolozsvár (Cluj) / Travaux de la section numismatique et archéologique du Musée National de Transylvanie à Kolozsvár (Cluj).
EDR	<i>Ephemeris Dacoromana</i> . Annuario della Scuola Romana di Roma, Roma.
EN	<i>Ephemeris Napocensis</i> , Cluj-Napoca.
EphEp	<i>Ephemeris Epigraphica: Corporis inscriptionum latinarum supplementum</i> , Roma 1872.
Epigraphische Studien	Epigraphische Studien, Bonn.
EPRO	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain, Leiden.
ErdMuz	Erdélyi Múzeum. Kiadja az Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület, Kolozsvár.
FolArch	<i>Folia Archaeologica. Annales Musei Nationalis Hungarici</i> , Budapest.
Glasnik	Glasnik Srpskog Arheološkog Društva, Beograd.
GLIA	S. Mitchell, D. French, The Greek and Latin inscriptions of Ankara (Ancyra), I. From Augustus to the end of the third century AD, München 2012.
HD	Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg. Edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de.
HPS	Hungarian Polis Studies, Debrecen.
HSCPh	Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Cambridge.
HTRTÉ	A Hunyadmegyei Történelmi és régészeti Társulat Évkönyve, Debrecen, I (1880) - XXII (1913).
IDR	<i>Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae</i> , București-Paris.
IDRE I	C. C. Petolescu, Inscriptions externes concernant l'histoire de la Dacie, I, București 1996.
IDRE II	C. C. Petolescu, Inscriptions externes concernant l'histoire de la Dacie, II, București 2000.
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> , Berlin.
IGB I²	G. Mihailov (ed.), <i>Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae. I. Inscriptiones orae Ponti Euxini. Editio altera emendata</i> , Serdicae 1970.
IGB II	G. Mihailov (ed.), <i>Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae. II. Inscriptiones inter Danubium et Haemum repertae</i> , Serdicae 1968.
IGB III	G. Mihailov (ed.), <i>Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae</i> , Sofia 1964.
IGLNovae	J. Kolendo, V. Božilova, Inscriptions grecques et latines de Novae (Mésie Inférieure), Bordeaux - Paris 1997.
IGLR	Em. Popescu, Inscriptiile grecești și latine din secolele IV-XIII descoperite în România: culese, traduse în românește, însoțite de indici și comentate, București 1976.
ILBulg	B. Gerov, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria repertae</i> , I, Sofia 1989.

ILD	C. Petolescu, <i>Inscripții latine din Dacia</i> , București 2005.
ILS	H. Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , Berlin, I (1882) - IV (1916).
IMS	Inscripțiile din Scythia Minor, grecești și latine, București.
IMS II	M. Mirković, <i>Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure. II. Viminacium et Margum</i> , Belgrade 1986.
ISM	Inscripțiile din Scythia Minor grecești și latine, București.
Istros	<i>Istros</i> . Buletinul Muzeului Brăilei, Brăila.
JbRGZM	Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums zu Mainz, Mainz.
KVHAA	Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, Stockholm.
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> .
L&S	C. T. Lewis, C. Short, <i>A new Latin Dictionary</i> , New York - Oxford 1891.
Lupa	<i>Ubi erat lupa</i> , www.ubi-erat-lupa.org .
Lybica	<i>Libyca</i> . Bulletin du Service des Antiquités. Archéologie, Épigraphie, Alger.
Marisia	<i>Marisia</i> . Studii și materiale. Arheologie, istorie, etnografie, Muzeul Județean Mureș, Târgu Mureș.
Marmatia	<i>Marmatia</i> , Baia Mare.
MCA	Materiale și cercetări arheologice, București.
MelBidez	Mélanges Joseph Bidez, Bruxelles 1934 (= Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves 2, Bruxelles 1933-1934).
Memoria Antiquitatis	<i>Memoria Antiquitatis. Acta Musei Petrodavensis</i> , Piatra Neamț.
MGH. AA	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi</i> , Hannover - Berlin 1826 sqq.
MMM	Fr. Cumont, <i>Textes et monuments figures relatifs aux mystères de Mithra</i> , II, Bruxelles 1896.
Montana II	V. Velkov, G. Alexandrov (eds.), <i>Епиграфски паметници от Монтана и района</i> , София 1994.
OLD	Oxford Latin Dictionary, Oxford 1968.
OPEL	B. Lőrincz, F. Redő et alii, <i>Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum</i> , I-IV, Budapest 1994-2002 and I ² , Budapest 2005.
PamátkyArch	Památky Archeologické, Praga.
PAS	Prähistorische Archäologie in Südosteuropa, Berlin.
PBF	Prähistorische Bronzefunde, Berlin.
Peuce	<i>Peuce</i> . Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale "Gavrilă Simion", Tulcea.
PIR	<i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani</i> , 1897-1898, Berlin.
PIR ²	E. Groag, A. Stein et alii, <i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani²</i> , Berlin 1933 sqq.
PLRE	<i>Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i> , Cambridge University Press 1971 (vol. I), 1980 (vol. II), 1992 (vol. III).
Pontica	<i>Pontica</i> . Studii și materiale de istorie, arheologie și muzeografie, Constanța.
PZ	Prähistorische Zeitschrift, Berlin.
RCRF Acta	<i>Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Acta</i> .
RE	A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, K. Ziegler (eds.), <i>Realencyclopädie der classischen altertumswissenschaft</i> , Stuttgart 1893 sqq.
RepCluj	I. H. Crișan, M. Bărbulescu, E. Chirilă, V. Vasiliev, I. Winkler, <i>Repertoriul arheologic al județului Cluj</i> , Cluj-Napoca 1992.

RevBistriței	Revista Bistriței, Bistrița.
Revista de Istorie	Revista de istorie. Academia de Științe Sociale și Politice a Republicii Socialiste România. Secția de Istorie și Arheologie, București.
RevMuz	Revista Muzeelor, București.
Revue Roumaine d'Histoire	Revue Roumaine d'Histoire, București.
RGZM	B. Pferdehirt, Römische Militärdiplome und Entlassungsurkunden in der Sammlung des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, I-II, Mainz-Bonn 2004.
RIB	The Roman Inscriptions of Britain, Oxford.
Rivista storica dell'antichità	Rivista storica dell'antichità, Roma.
RIU	Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns I-VI, Budapest-Bonn 1972-2001.
RMD	M. M. Roxan, P. Holder, Roman Military Diplomas, London.
RMI	Revista Monumentelor Istorice, București.
RR	Römer in Rumänien. Ausstellung des Römisch-Germanischen Museums Köln und des Historischen Museums Cluj, 12. Februar - 18 Mai 1969, Köln 1969.
Sargetia	<i>Sargetia</i> . Buletinul Muzeului Județean Hunedoara, Deva.
SAWW	Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Wien.
SCIV(A)	Studii și cercetări de istorie veche (și arheologie - since 1975), București.
SCN	Studii și cercetări numismatice, București.
Situla	<i>Situla</i> . Razprave Narodnega Muzeja v Ljubljani - <i>Dissertationes Musei Nationalis Labacensis</i> , Ljubljana.
SMMIM	Studii și materiale de muzeografie și istorie militară, București.
StComSatuMare	Studii și comunicări, Satu Mare.
SympThrac	<i>Symposia Thracologica</i> . Lucrările Simpozionului Anual de Tracologie, Institutul Român de Tracologie, București.
Terra Sebus	<i>Terra Sebus</i> . <i>Acta Musei Sabesiensis</i> , Sebeș.
Thraco-Dacica	<i>Thraco-Dacica</i> . Institutul de Tracologie, București.
TIR	<i>Tabula Imperii Romani</i> .
Tyragetia	<i>Tyragetia</i> . Muzeul Național de Istorie a Moldovei, Chișinău.
Ziridava	<i>Ziridava</i> . Complexul Muzeal Arad.
Živa Antika	<i>Živa Antika</i> . Antiquité vivante, Skopje.

Museums

MJIAZ	Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Artă Zalău.
MNIT	Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca.