

ACTA MVSEI
NAPOCENSIS
53/I

MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND NATIONAL IDENTITY
NATIONAL HISTORY MUSEUM OF TRANSYLVANIA

ACTA MVSEI NAPOCENSIS

53/I

PREHISTORY-ANCIENT HISTORY-ARCHAEOLOGY

CLUJ-NAPOCA
2016

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This volume was printed with the financial support of the Ministry of Culture.

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ACTA MVSEI NAPOCENSIS Publicația Muzeului Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei Orice corespondență se va adresa: Muzeului Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei 400020 Cluj-Napoca Str. Constantin Daicoviciu nr. 2 Tel: 0040 264 595677 Fax: 0040 264 591718 email: secretariat@mnit.ro	ACTA MVSEI NAPOCENSIS Publication of the National History Museum of Transylvania All correspondence will be sent to the address: National History Museum of Transylvania 400020 Cluj-Napoca Constantin Daicoviciu St. no. 2 Tel: 0040 264 595677 Fax: 0040 264 591718 email: secretariat@mnit.ro
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Cover: Satue base from Porolissum (foto R. Zăgreanu).

ISSN 1454-1513

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CONTENTS

ARTICLES AND STUDIES

TIBOR-TAMÁS DARÓCZI

Early Minoan Domestic Architecture. A preliminary study of Cretan Early Bronze Age domestic architecture, building materials and techniques9

MIHAI ROTEA, NICOLAE HAR, LUMINIȚA SĂȘĂRAN, MONICA BODEA

Stone artifacts from the Coțofeni settlement in Bretea Mureșană. Geo-archaeological analyses.....61

VIORICA CRIȘAN, PAUL PUPEZĂ

Dacian fortresses (almost) without weapons. Covasna - Fairies Fortress.....73

ALIN HENȚ

Implements in “military context” from Orăștie Mountains85

PÉTER KOVÁCS

Kaiser Constans und Pannonien.....93

ÁDÁM SZABÓ

The seat of the Provincial Assembly and the Forum Provinciae of Pannonia Inferior during Trajan’s Age.....107

JUAN RAMÓN CARBÓ GARCÍA

STVDIA DACICA ET PARTHICA (III): Las campañas párticas de Trajano a Galieno y la difusión de cultos de origen oriental en la Dacia romana.....121

SORIN NEMETI

The Reliefs on Trajan’s Column and Dio’s text. The First Dacian War and Imperial Propaganda.....137

GEORGE CUPCEA

On Police and Administrative Duties of the Roman Military: *regionarii*151

LIVIU PETCULESCU, MARIUS BARBU

Roman swords from Micia.....177

LUCIANA NEDELEA

Pontic sigillata at Potaissa. New data regarding the import of fine ware in Roman Dacia at *castra legionis V Macedonicae*185

RADU IUSTINIAN ZĂGREANU

Votive statue bases and votive altars from Porolissum..... 203

REVIEWS

Mihai Bărbulescu, *Arheologia azi, în România / Archaeology today, in Romania*, Editura Idea Design & Print, Cluj 2016, 224 pages (**Sorin Nemeti**).....249

Juan Ramón Carbó García, *Apropiaciones de la Antigüedad. De getas, godos, Reyes Católicos, yugos y flechas*, Anejos de la Revista de Historiografía N° 3, Universidad Carlos III, Madrid 2015, 270 pages, 29 figures (**Sorin Nemeti**).....255

Andrei Oișteanu, *Sexualitate și societate. Istorie, religie și literatură / Sexuality and society. History, religion and literature*, Editura Polirom, Iași 2016, 664 pages (**Alin Constantin**)..... 259

Abbreviations.....287

ARTICLES AND STUDIES

EARLY MINOAN DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE. A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF CRETAN EARLY BRONZE AGE DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE, BUILDING MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES

TIBOR-TAMÁS DARÓCZI

Abstract: The present paper will summarise the evidence for Early Minoan domestic architecture and provide a preliminary analysis from the perspective of building materials and techniques, underlining island-wide similarities and special features. Building on an extensive, descriptive catalogue of Early Minoan domestic, architectural finds at an island-wide level and preserved building materials of the period are documented, while perishable materials are inferred from archaeological layers, architectural and environmental possibilities. Furthermore, a unified terminology is suggested for common and some specific architectural features as well, in order to facilitate scholarly discussions. A synoptic presentation of building manner is also put forth, to underscore ways by which ancient builders employ their tools, materials and the very landscape that they erect their structures on. Finally, general conclusions are drawn in terms of domestic architectural preferences on Crete during the little over a millennium analysed, while special features of construction and finishing are highlighted as well.

Keywords: Early Minoan; Crete; architecture; building techniques; building materials.

Rezumat: Studiul de față inventariază mărturiile arhitecturii domestice ale Minoicului Timpuriu și prezintă o analiză preliminară a materialelor și tehnicilor de construcție, punând accent pe similitudinile și trăsăturile speciale la nivel insular. Extrapolând dintr-un catalog descriptiv bogat și aproape exhaustiv, au fost documentate structurile păstrate, precum și materialele de construcție, iar materialele perisabile au fost presupuse analizând contextele arheologice precum și posibilitățile structurale și de mediu. De asemenea, am propus o terminologie unificată pentru elementele arhitecturale, menită să faciliteze dialogul academic. Am prezentat și o analiză sinoptică a modalităților de construcție, cu scopul de a sublinia felul în care uneltele, materialele și chiar și mediul înconjurător erau utilizate de către constructorii antici. Preferințele arhitecturale domestice din Creta, analizate pe extinderea cu aproximație a unui mileniu, sunt prezentate în concluziile generale ale studiului, unde sunt puse în evidență atât trăsăturile speciale structurale cât și cele de finisare.

Cuvinte cheie: Minoic Timpuriu; Creta; arhitectură; tehnici de construcție; materiale de construcție.

Introduction¹

The purpose of this paper is to highlight the fact that even at the present, under-researched stage, Early Minoan (EM) Crete has something to contribute to Minoan

¹ First, I would like to acknowledge the financial and logistical support provided by the German Academic Exchange Service through a *DAAD-Forschungsstipendium* in 2007-2008 at the Ruprecht-Karls University, Heidelberg. Further, I would like to express my gratitude to Maria C. Shaw and Quentin Letesson for

architecture as summarised by Shaw and Hitchcock². It is intended to be used as a guide for EM field archaeology, by concentrating on special contextual features of the architecture from raw materials through pre-construction site treatment to specific traits of the buildings; further, it presents a picture of our present knowledge of EM architecture and highlights the geographical areas and research topics which are in desperate need of more detailed understanding and study.

A catalogue of the EM domestic architectural features which have been preserved until the present day will be presented and an analysis will be conducted from the perspective of building materials, manner, architectonical elements and specific features in order to establish regional or even island wide characteristics of Minoan domestic architecture within the island of Crete and the given chronology (relative and absolute) of the EM period. In order to at least grasp the basic elements of building site preparation, construction and possible use, it is the intent of the author to point out and underline the particular attributes of the constructions. If traced through the different phases of the EM period, these could lead to a better understanding of the architectural evolution during the period in discussion, thus creating a cross-over to the later constructed, but better researched, and therefore better known, Minoan villas and palaces. It should be stressed that this is a preliminary report, as a full study including EM settlement and funerary landscape will complete the picture.

The detailed catalogue of EM architecture at an island-wide level will provide the raw material for the present study, and a relative chronological account of the general architectonical activities, material procurement, building styles and features will be based on this catalogue. The similarities and local specifics will be highlighted and the architecture presented and discussed based on building phases, forms and extent; clear definitions of architectural features will be attempted as it could contribute to a developing EM research sphere.

The plates at the end of the paper supplement the actual raw data of the catalogue, provided by the description and architecture of each site, to make the conclusions stated at the end of this paper verifiable and to ensure a general transparency of the present work and its conclusions.

Description of EM sites with domestic architecture – Catalogue

Each entry contains the name of the site and the toponym (if needed), the region where the site is located (Pl. I), dating and the field research method. Following this, a citation indicating chronology and site location is noted (Pl. II). The most substantial part of the entries is the description of the domestic structural remains, which comes at the very end of the entry. It should be noted that some of the sites have been identified through surveys, which has not yet been published in the form of a final report, thus only EM evidence associated with some structural remains will be indicated here.

reading the manuscript and providing useful comments and suggestions. Lastly, I am in debt to Lærke Recht for her enduring support and time taken to provide improvements on the language of the present paper.

² Shaw 1971; Hitchcock 2000.

Furthermore, no distinction is made between domestic and religious architecture, as there is no conclusive evidence for the latter in the EM period, or means to recognize it.

It is noted that although the catalogue is quite extensive in terms of EM domestic structural evidence, and as such, provides the basis for the present analysis, EM Crete is in desperate need of field research in the sphere of domestic architecture and settlement. Therefore, it can be stated that the nature of late EM/MM palaces and developed island wide social connections may not fully be enlightened without further research of the EM period.

1. Amygdaloi, south foot hills, Lasithi – EM III, excavation (Πλάτων 1959, 370; Πλάτων 1960a, 259; Πλάτων 1960b, 511; Πλάτων 1960c, 205; Hood et alii 1964, 82; Batten 1995, 18).

The information about the remains is very scarce. There is only a reference to a building with a rectangular plan. This was defined by the two walls. Apart from that, it is noted that the destruction was violent and occurred at about the same time as in Boubouli (cat. no. 3) (Πλάτων 1959, 370; Πλάτων 1960a, 259; Πλάτων 1960b, 511; Πλάτων 1960c, 205; Batten 1995, 18).

2. Ayia Triada, west Mesara – Pl. III/1-2. EM II-III, excavation (Droop 1913, 365; Pendlebury 1963, 92; Laviosa 1970, 407-415; Laviosa 1973, 503-513).

The excavations at the end of the 1960s and the early 1970s revealed several EM buildings just to the north-east of the MM and LM villa at this site. Two houses were recorded by the excavator (East and West House) (Laviosa 1973, 503, 509, 511). The East house was a rectangular room of 7.20 × 4.10 m oriented in a general north-south direction, but a little off to the east. The northern and southern walls were double-walls – consisting of two nearly identical halves – and were of different width. The former was 40 cm wide resulting in an overall width of about 80 cm, whereas the latter had an exterior wall-width of only 26 cm. None of the exterior walls of these double-walls continued till the western edge of the inner ones. The longer walls (eastern and western) were thinner, with a width of 50 cm, the eastern one showing a light swelling opposite to the L-formed structure (Laviosa 1973, 503, 506). The walls were all built from carefully selected local field-stones in a dry-stone work technique. Mud was only sometimes used as binding material (Laviosa 1973, 506). In the southern part of the eastern wall was the only wall-opening of the structure, with a width of 70 cm and, in its southern end, an inserted stone with a hole in it (diam. 8 cm, depth. 4 cm). It was probably used as a socket-hole for the door, which must have opened into the room from right to left (Laviosa 1973, 503). Just outside this doorway a bench was built against the eastern wall. The southern one was better preserved, with a height of 1 m, as opposed to the northern one, which was only 20-25 cm high (Laviosa 1973, 503). Inside the building, in its north-central part, an L-formed structure had been built, its long side being east-west oriented. The southern end of its short segment is a little off-set with about 6-7 cm – and on it a door could have turned that once closed the small corridor formed by the short arm of the L-structure and the eastern wall of the building (zone β) (Laviosa 1973, 507). The inner room furthermore contained an 80 × 40 cm long bench separating zones γ and δ from each other. Another two small benches were found in the south-eastern and south-western corners of zone α (Laviosa 1973, 507-508). Only in this area did the excavators find floor levels of beaten earth. This was of reddish colour, and in the inner closing of the L-formed structure this had a grey-yellow tone. Apart from that, it is noted that in the rest of the room no floor levels were discovered, but the finds were situated 15 cm deeper than the above described floors just at the base of the wall (Laviosa 1973, 507-508).

The West House has an unknown size with several rooms and is north-south oriented. The southern-most is a small room of about 3 × 3 m with a wall-width of about 45-50 cm and a small niche in its northern wall's eastern end. Just to the west of it is an L-shaped enclosure, which

according to the excavation plans looks like a building-section added later (Laviosa 1970, 407). Another room(s?) is located in the east of the building; it has a double western wall with two door-openings in it, the southern one with a width of 60–70 cm. This was closed at some point after the initial use (Laviosa 1970, 407). The most important room of the West House is the middle one, with an approximate north-south length (?) of 5.20 m, while its western boundaries were destroyed. Its eastern wall is shared by the neighbouring room and it is built in the double dry-stone technique, with an overall width of 95 cm. The south wall is partially also a double one. To the north are a couple of door-ways which are well built, and the southern-most is probably equipped with a door. The north part is formed by two parallel walls running east-west, thus forming a corridor. In the middle of the room a Π -shaped structure of 2.20×1.80 m can be identified (Laviosa 1970, 407) and a low bench is located in the south-eastern corner of the room (Laviosa 1970, 411). It is also to be noted that the small wall running perpendicularly east-west to the double-wall of the West House continues underneath the East House for a while, with a 40–50 cm deeper foundation than the structure above it. At the same depth, a level of gravel stones was also discovered, which was regarded as the destruction or the decommissioning level of the West House. To the north of the East House another smaller stretch of wall was excavated 50–60 cm deeper than the foundations of the above-lying house and with the same orientation as the West House. It should be noted that these houses, based on the preliminary analysis of their pottery, were not showing any considerable chronological difference (Laviosa 1973, 509–511). At the beginning of the last century, Halbherr excavated a LM I court between the north façade of the palace and the agora, and underneath this, remains of EM and MM houses were discovered, but no further data has been published (Droop 1913, 365; Pendlebury 1963, 92).

3. Boubouli, south foot hills, Lasithi – Pl. III/3. EM III, excavation (Πλάτων 1959, 370; Πλάτων 1960b, 511; Πλάτων 1960c, 205; Hood et alii 1964, 81–82; Batten 1995, 15–18).

In the eastern part of the site Platon discovered a row of rooms of later Prepalatial period (~EM III-MMIA) through a trial excavation. No further details are available about these (Πλάτων 1960b, 511; Πλάτων 1960c, 205; Batten 1995, 16).

4. Chrysokamino, Kavousi area – Pl. III/4. EM I–III, excavation (Schachermeyer 1938, 472–473; Branigan 1968, 50–51; Haggis 1996a, Fig. 4; Betancourt 1999, 34; Betancourt et alii 1999, 343).

The building was north-south oriented and 2.60×3.50 m in size. It was built over a layer of 45 cm of levelled-out slag and furnace fragments. At its southern end six postholes were identified and a further one in the north-east corner. Its northern end had an apsidal closing whereas the southern one probably held the entrance. Three floors of beaten earth were identified. Out of these the lowest was the better packed. All three of them showed an area of red, burnt soil at their northern end, which probably indicates the location of a hearth which was not delimited by its users (Betancourt et alii 1999, 360–361). The second floor held larger, flat stone slabs which were probably used as benches or platforms. It has been suggested that the upper structures could have been of perishable materials, like wooden beams used as pillars, and wicker walls with interwoven branches (Betancourt et alii 1999, 360, 362).

5. Debla, Chania area – Pls. III/5–6, IV/1–2. EM I–IIA, excavation (Greig, Warren 1974, 130–132; Warren et alii 1974, 299–302, 305–320, 340).

The structural remains consisted of four buildings. One of the two larger ones has a triangular ground plan, the other is rectangular with a narrow access corridor. Both are located on the lower levels and not on the top of the hill. Building 1 – the triangle shaped one – has wall lengths of 6.20, 5.30 and 5.96 m. The south-west wall is curved and thicker, probably due to structural needs, as the slope to the south is quite steep. A doorway may have been in the east, with a width of 90 cm (Warren et alii 1974, 310). The floor was made of packed earth in order to level the uneven bedrock. It has been suggested that a central beam was used to sustain the

roof, which was made of organic material and clay and was partially found above the floor (Warren et alii 1974, 311). Furthermore, a stone-built bench was identified in the western corner (Warren et alii 1974, 335).

Building 2 was a rectangular house with a short narrow access corridor from the west. The one-roomed house was built against the bedrock. The room was 1.58×1.60 m, the access-corridor being 90 cm long. The floor was of beaten earth (Warren et alii 1974, 313-314). Building 3 was north-south oriented just as the former one. Its size was of 3×2.80 m with north and east walls being built against the bedrock. The entrance was probably placed on the disturbed south side. In the northern part, a reddish clay floor was found, which ran under the walls, thus two use and building phases could be delimited, but their precise dating is still not outlined (Warren et alii 1974, 306, 314-317). The remains of another possible triangular house (Building 4) were discovered just south-east of the former one. Two different walls have been discovered. The uppermost had an internal corner which lay over a stratum of red earth, which in turn was above a level of disturbed stones. The bottom layer consisted of a pit and its fill (Warren et alii 1974, 306, 317-318). In both cases, local grey limestone was used and they were bound by earth. The width of the walls were between 60-80 cm, the largest being the south-west wall of Building 1, with 1.20 m. The walls in this building were double-faced and made of medium-sized blocks and filled with earth and smaller stones. Building 2 used larger blocks in order to reinforce the corners and the lower courses of the walls. In some cases walls were built against the natural bed-rock where it projects outwards (Warren et alii 1974, 310, 335).

6. Diakymi, south coast, west Crete – EMI, survey? (Nixon et alii 1989, 201-215; Nixon et alii 2000, site 3.09)

Nothing further can be said as the final publication of the site is still in progress.

7. Drepani Akrotiri, north coast, Malia – EM I, survey (Nowicki 1999, 578).

Of major interest can be seen the structures with defensive character, which sealed off the promontory at the southern and western ends, represented nowadays only by a few wall segments. Further architectural remains survived in the centre of the site (Nowicki 1999, 578). No further information is published.

8. E11, Ayiofarango valley, south of Mesara – Pl. IV/3. EM I-III, survey (Blackman, Branigan 1977, 41).

The most substantial structural remains were recorded in the north-eastern part of the site. There were two wall segments, carefully built and parallel to each other, but possibly not belonging to the same building as they were found on two different lower terraces. Both of them had an approximate north-south orientation. The eastern one was longer and had a traceable length of 25 m. In the middle of the site, just south of the excavated tholoi, another wall segment, running east-west, was seen. The whole terrace is encircled by a wall with a 90 cm width and traceable on the entire northern, western and partially south-western side, with an estimated original length of a couple of hundred meters, the purpose of which is still obscure (Blackman, Branigan 1977, 41).

9. E12, Ayiofarango valley, south of Mesara – Pl. IV/4. EM I-III, survey (Blackman, Branigan 1977, 41-43).

Traces of three terrace walls have been recorded on the north and east side of the peak and east end of the west plateau. On the lower east side, two segments of a wall were recognised, each with a length of about 3 m. One had a north-south orientation. The other two walls were forming the corner of the north-east hilltop on the eastern and northern side. Both had a length of about 3 m, though the former was slightly shorter (Blackman, Branigan 1977, 41-43).

10. E13, Ayiofarango valley, south of Mesara – EM II-III, survey (Blackman, Branigan 1977, 43).

What was presumably a terrace wall, 30 m long and about 1 m wide, and similar to the perimeter wall of E11, was traceable on the edge of a terrace above the valley. Besides this, six other walls were recognized within the settlement; they were much shorter, differently built, and thinner than the longer one to the south and therefore possibly belonging to buildings. Interestingly, they were not on the flat area of the terrace but rather spread out on the slope above it (Blackman, Branigan 1977, 43).

11. E14, Ayiofarango valley, south of Mesara – Pl. IV/3. EM II-III, survey (Blackman, Branigan 1977, 43).

The traceable wall segments were of different length. The northernmost had a length of 5 m. It consisted of only five blocks, placed in line in groups of two and three slabs, which testify to their massive size. They had an east-west orientation. A bit further away to the west of this wall, another one was noted which was running up to the former in a right angle, and had therefore a north-south orientation and was also traceable for 5 m. The building technique of this one was different as it was made of smaller slabs which were laid on their width, thus reaching a width of 50 cm. A third wall was recognized south-east of the second one. It was parallel with the northern one, but it had a traceable length of only 1.5 m and a width of 60 cm (Blackman, Branigan 1977, 43).

12. E18, Ayiofarango valley, south of Mesara – Pl. IV/5. EM I-III, survey (Blackman, Branigan 1975, 44). On the east, north and west side of the summit, “enclosure” wall segments were found. The northern wall was the best preserved with a width of 80 cm. This was built of fairly large blocks from the area (Blackman, Branigan 1977, 44).

13. Elias to Nisi (EN 1A/B), Vrokastro area – EM I, survey (Hayden et alii 1992, 338; Hayden 2003, 373–374; Hayden 2004, 36–38; Hayden 2005, 24–25, site CD).

The actual architectural remains were found in both loci. In locus A there was very badly preserved structural remains with five possible rooms spread out over multiple terrace levels, and built of dry stonework. These walls were connecting the different levels of the present five terraces uphill; they also had some preserved corners. The preserved height rarely reached three courses and some are summarily worked, and in most cases the walls connect with the different prongs of the natural bedrock (Hayden 2005, 25, site CD). In locus B the construction style is different, meaning that we have two-faced rubble walls, some with corners. It has been suggested that this could be the EM I coastal settlement of the EN 1A/B site (Hayden 2005, 25, site CD). It should be mentioned that in both cases the possibility exists that some walls do not necessarily belong to domestic structures but are part of a terracing system of the peninsula.

14. Fournou Korifi, Myrtos, south coast, Hierapetra – Pl. V/5. EM II, excavation (Hood et alii 1964, 95–96; Warren 1969, 224–227; Warren 1972b, 1).

At Fournou Korifi, Myrtos there are two settlement phases, each dated to one of the sub-phases of EM II. The earlier settlement is located in the central part of the site, comprising rooms 30–31, 37–43, 47–51. “Room” 31 may have been an open area with paving. Its eastern part was made of smaller and very narrow (under 80 cm) rooms (?) or cells/shafts. A doorway (0.8–1 m wide) was recorded in the north-east corner of room 41 (4.40 × 1.28 m) with a threshold made of smaller stones, and beside these, mud-brick was also found here (Warren 1972b, 14). S wall of room 42 (3.40 × 1.88 m) is a stairway (1 m wide) which leads up towards the east. This was built on an outcropping with added stone. Room 43 is also very narrow and is located on the south side of this stairway (Warren 1972b, 14). Room-unit 38–40 is conceived as a walk-through system. It is accessible from the stairway coming up near room 42. Room 38 (2.74 × 2.04 m) was the northern-most of them. It had a small projection in the north-east corner which formed a cupboard and an eastward stairway (?) (40 cm wide) or a structural element for the upper structure. Its doorway was in the south and had a width of 68 cm. Beside this doorway, Room 39 (measuring 2.10 × 1.70 m) was accessible from the south through an only 48 cm wide doorway.

It should be noted that the eastern walls of the complex are thinner (~40 cm) than the northern ones (~80 cm), which would be in accordance with the structural requirements of the slope. Room 40 (measuring 2.10×0.90 m) is mainly taken up by the stairway which here had a width of 60 cm (Warren 1972b, 15-16). Room 37 is actually a north-south passage way (1.06×4 m) accessible from the south through the above-mentioned staircase. The area under room 36 was used as a dump in the first period. Room 30 was probably also an open area in the older period (Warren 1972b, 13, 17). Room 47-51 also form a complex. Room 49 is a potter's workshop and its northern walls are built against staircase 40, so we are here dealing with a double wall-technique. Room 47 is a small cell-like space (86×44 cm) with two steps made of two larger stone-slabs from the south, probably leading to the area above it. Its northern wall also doubles the southern one of room 40. Room 48 (0.60×1.20 m) is another shaft-like construction with no entrance. Room 49 is the actual potter's workshop (1.08×2.08 m) with an entrance (50 cm wide) at the south-west corner. The width of the wall does not exceed 50 cm on either side. Room 50 (3×1.50 m), with entrance on the south or west side, is poorly preserved, and the same goes for Room 51 (width 1.50 m). The slope towards the west was packed with stones in order to support the wall in this part. The southern wall was the largest (90 cm in width), which would indicate an outer wall of some kind (Warren 1972b, 17-20). All the walls of Period I were built right on the bedrock without foundations. Neither floor deposits nor floor levels have been recorded from this phase.

Period II is much better preserved and it corresponds to the EM IIB phase. Building 1 (7.10×1.78 m) is the largest preserved room in the northern part of the site. It is built on the rock with a large foundation on its west side (on the slope). The western wall has a V-shaped projection outwards and its southern end is formed in an L-shape. A similar shape and ending was suggested for its northern part. The entrance (46 cm) was at the northern end of the eastern wall over a large slab of stone. The width of the wall width is 60 cm (Warren 1972b, 22). Area 2 and 3 were probably open. In the former there is a stone-lined pit (90 cm deep). The latter is accessed from the south through a doorway from room 10. The limits of Area 4 are also poorly preserved. Its eastern side is delimited by a large platform (1.50×2.88 m), with a floor-surface of stone. Room 5 was the southern neighbour of the former room, but lying lower than it. Room 6 (1.70×4.60 m) is only delimited on the southern (86 cm wide) and eastern side. The eastern wall is built in a special feature of the slope and its form is also unique, ending in the small cell-like enclosure at its northern end. Room 7 is very poorly preserved and it was entered from the south via passage 14 (Warren 1972b, 23-25). Rooms 8-10 also create a unit. Room 8 (3.80×2.50 m) is poorly preserved, and none of its walls exceed a width of 55 cm. It was probably entered from the south-east. Another doorway (50 cm wide) led to its southern part; this was situated between its middle north-south wall and its western wall. Because of its ground plan it has been suggested that it was an open area. Its special features were a channel which ran towards the western rooms and originated at an eastern hole (30 cm deep and 48-60 cm wide), put right under a lekane. Also in its south-eastern corner, behind the tub, there was a poorly preserved stone paving. Room 9 (1.02×1.12 m) is a shaft of triangular form. Its walls are well built of larger slabs of stone with small tone-chip and earth packing. Its southern wall forms a double-wall. Room 10 (2.10×1.54 m) was a small L-shape-like room accessed from area 3. The south wall has a surface made of large flat stone slabs at the width of the wall. It has been suggested that this could have been a working/processing platform. None of the other walls are as well built as this one. The largest width is at its southern part (86 cm) (Warren 1972b, 25-28). Shaft 11 (1.20×1.40 cm) is triangular in ground plan and it must have been entered from the stairway at its south-western corner. It has a double-wall like feature consisting of its southern wall and stairway. To the south of this is a massive stone platform, which is a partial stairway and wall for the surrounding rooms. Room 12 is small with two entrances,

one at its north-western corner (26 cm), and one at its south-western corner (31 cm). It has been suggested that they were rather used as a channel. Passage 13-14 ($9.80 \times 0.52/0.82$ m) is running east-west and is wider in the area of room 13 (1.48 cm). It slopes 2 m from its eastern towards its western end where it continues in a flight of steps leading down to area 15. There were four steps with an average width of 15 cm over a length of 1 m. Some showed evidence of lime plastering. Wall width is ~50 cm. (Warren 1972b, 28-30). Entrance 15 ($4.30 \times 1.20/1.86$ m) is well-built; it has an access way at its northern part made of two stone ledges of the natural rock. Its southern wall is a double wall and in this part it has a small return of the room towards the east. It has a rock-cut hole (30 cm in diam.) in its floor-surface (Warren 1972b, 30). It follows another complex of several rooms. Room 16 is small (1.80×1.34 m); it was probably entered from its south-eastern corner, where a gap of 76 cm would have facilitated the access. The inner wall of the room is built against a rock ledge. The floor was made of several slabs of stone. Room 17 (3.32×1.82 m) was entered from its north-east corner. Its northern walls narrow twice towards its western end through a couple of right angle turns. Its south walls present a 54 cm wide doorway. Mud plaster (some painted red) was also found in association with it. In its western end, a stone plastered floor segment was preserved. Room 18 (3.14×2.50 m) had only one entrance at its north-western corner, and its rock-floor level was 40 cm higher than that of its northern neighbours. It had a trapeze ground plan. The southern end of its western wall in its original form did not unite itself with the southern wall of the room, leaving an access way to the triangular room to the west of it. At a later stage, this was walled in. Room 19 (1.44×2.40 m) is entered from room 17. Against the face of its south wall there are a series of natural rock ledges which may have been used as benches/stands. The west wall still had remains of mud and lime-plaster on it. Above a height of 1.30 m of stonework, a mud-brick layer began with a vertical stone frame (traceable through a fallen stone line). The preserved mud-bricks had a niche cutting for a wooden part on one of their edges. Room 20 (3.70×1.94 m) had a doorway at its western end (54 cm wide). Its northern wall preserved traces of lime plaster. Midway along this wall a stone structure (80×80 cm) with the rim of a pithos and a semi-circular stone slab as cover were recognised, seemingly representing the remains of an oven. The western side of the structure still preserved traces of lime-plaster. A series of larger stone slabs placed along the southern wall could have formed a bench. Also, this wall was made of two wall segments, of which the western seemed to be the later one, but built at about the same time. The floor was preserved in its eastern end as a thin layer of clay and in its western end as white plastered floor (Warren 1972b, 31-35). Area 21 (1.80×4.50 m) was probably open and had a slight slope towards the room. It shows an L-shaped return at its northern end just as in room 15. Its northern wall is actually a platform of stones placed on white clay bedding, probably used as a counterfort against the sloping of the area. (Warren 1972b, 36). The next complex of rooms is formed by rooms 22-26. Room 22 (1.54×2.80 m) is entered from an east-west passage (2.10×0.80 m) from the west. The north wall exhibits a double-wall feature as it is built up against the stairway. Its floor was of white clay and two stone slabs were found still in place. Room 23 (0.84×2.98 m) is a triangular space with an entrance at its northern point. Area 24 is poorly preserved, but a north wall could be envisaged here. Room 25 (3.14×1.28 m) had a white clay floor and was east-west elongated. Area 26 is an open area; only its western boundary is preserved through a north-south wall which is built near a natural stone ledge almost 1.5 m higher than its foundations, thus having an open space about 50 cm wide (Warren 1972b, 36-38). Room 27 (4×1.85 m) has no entrance. Its only unique feature comes from its southern wall, where halfway along, a projection occurred towards the north. Wall width was between 50 and 76 cm, with the thicker walls occurring on the sides where there was a slope. Room 28 (2.60×4.04 m) probably does not have an entrance either; it has a projection southwards on the same alignment as the aforementioned. The width of the wall was between 44 and 76 cm, with

the northern room providing a stable foundation for the upper storey, above rooms 27 and 28. Room 29 (0.64×2.60 m) is a narrow room opening of area 30, it had an entrance (1 m wide) on the northern side of its western wall over a threshold made of two large stone slabs (Warren 1972b, 39–41). Areas 30 and 31 were probably used as open spaces in this second period (Warren 1972b, 41). The following complex of spaces is formed by rooms 32–36. Room 32 (4.26×1.14 m) is a narrow room/passage with a probable opening at its southern end. The best preserved wall is the western one with a max. width of 1.35 m and built up against the stairway which led up to room 34. Area 33 is just south of the above room, and to the west of a natural hollow in the rock with a decayed stone-floor. Its north-west corner was bordered by a projection of the southern wall of room 34. It appears to be opened from the south and on the other side it is bordered by projections from the neighbouring walls. Room 34 (2.80×2 m) was also L-shaped with a stairway in its north-eastern corner running up to room 24 and flanked on both sides by walls. The width of the wall was between 50 and 76 cm. Room 35 (3×1.35 m) has no preserved doorway, but was probably accessed from its western side or from above. The floor was made of white clay (Warren 1972b, 41–45). Area 44 (width of 90 cm) is a north-south passage way, which may have connected with passage 65 to the south. At its northern end, the bedrock was shaped to make steps. Area 45 was maybe an open area connecting to passage 44. Room 46 (2.12×1.60 m) was entered from the south. The floor had a paving of large stone slabs. One of these had circular hollows forming a circle on its top surface. It is interesting to notice that the northern and western walls were of Period I whereas the other two of Period II (Warren 1972b, 46–47). Room 52 (2.06×1 m) has an entrance (62 cm wide) at its south-western corner. Its northern, eastern and western walls are built against a rocky outcrop. It is probable that its southern wall in reality was a bench between rooms 52 and 53. Room 53 (2.40×2.50 m) is preserved only at its northern and western side. Room 54 (1.66×3.30 m) has a short bench (1.26×0.53 m) built against its eastern wall's southern end. The northern one was built against the bedrock with traces of plaster on its face. The entrance was possibly located in the south-east corner. Its west wall also had traces of plaster. The floor was made of a beaten white, clayish earth. Lumps of roofing plaster of clay with reed impressions were found in the debris. Area 55 is only delimited at its southern end by a 35 cm thick wall and partially at its western end. Area 56 (1.40×5.63 m) is a narrow space which could have led to room 57, according to the excavators. At the northern end of the western wall, a patch of plaster, 1 cm thick and with a diameter of 1.26 m, was found with associated heavy burning. It has been suggested that this could have been the location of a wooden column or pole. This western wall was also plastered on its eastern side (Warren 1972b, 47–51). Room 57 (1.40×1.90 m) has a line of outcropping stones (30 cm wide), which was probably used as bench. At the south-western corner there is a possible doorway leading to passage 56. Its west wall is a massive structure flanking the passage to the west. The floor was of beaten white clay with a pit dug into the rock (29 cm deep, 33–40 cm in diam.), which in turn had a smaller tube-like hollow (15 cm diam.). On the north-east side, a line of stone delimited the cavity. The southern doorway has been plastered and lead to an area (2×1.60 m) of stones which also yielded some mud-brick fragments. Due to this plastering and further fragments of roof plastering, we can be sure that the area was roofed (Warren 1972b, 51–52). Room 58 (1.30×1 m) was filled with a large quantity of plaster coming from the walls, as well as the roofs and mud-brick. The north wall is built against the rock. On its western side, it had a couple of stones used as a threshold, and leading up to room 59 and the doorway. Room 59 (2.90×1.74 m) has a double wall (80 cm wide) on its western side as the passage way there was strengthened by it. Plaster fragments (some painted red) were recovered from the fill. Room 60 (3.60×3.88 m) had a central Π -shaped structure. Its north-west corner had a bench ($90 \times 48 \times 25$ cm). The eastern part of the north wall was plaster covered and this wall also had a doorway (86 cm wide). The western wall (98 cm) is thicker than usual and it has a projection

eastwards (77 cm wide and 70 cm long), probably serving as consolidation for the roof. Room 62 (1.25 × 2.08 m) had a sharp fall off the bedrock, forming a pit at its southern end. It is suggested by the excavators that it was a bastion-like structure on the southern end of the settlement and at the same end of the main north-south running passage (64). (Warren 1972b, 52–57). Area 63 was an open space with a floor of hard, beaten white clay, and in some places embedded with larger slabs of stones. These stones were forming a pathway along the outside of the southern wall and were defined as area 93 (Warren 1972b, 57, 87). Passage 64 is 0.86–1 m wide, running north-south for 6 m before it turns east and then again northwards for 8 ½ m; it is accessed from the south via 3 steps made of medium- and large-sized stone slabs. On the east side of the inner sill, a circular hollow (8.5 cm diam.) indicates the position of a door socket. The eastern wall had traces of red plaster still in situ. This wall also had two niches (64 × 54 cm and 64 × 64 cm from north to south), made by adding a reinforcing wall to the western walls of rooms 59 and 60, thus creating a double-wall feature. The western wall has a plastered doorway into room 78. Connecting the two is a threshold (27 cm high and 26 cm wide), which continued to the north with a plastered bench of the same height (1 × 0.33 m). This wall has a width of 40 cm. At the northern end of the passage slabs were laid down in order to create steps, which could compensate for the rising of the slope in this area. These in turn led eastwards to a 50 cm wide doorway with a round stone as a doorway. This continues northwards through passage 65, which has a width between 65 cm and 1.30 m. The eastern wall is 44 to 64 cm wide. It also has the entrance (82 cm wide) to room 66. The western wall has a width of 60 cm and no other special features save for a double-wall feature on its outside in its middle section. Slabs are set into the rock to form steps to counter the slope. At its northern end a short segment suggests a turn of the passage towards the west. Mud-brick (20 × 16 × 10 cm) has been recovered from the debris along with traces of yellow plaster (Warren 1972b, 57–59). Room 66 (2.14 × 0.74 m) has a wider entrance (80 × 80 cm) and a southward projection from its northern wall. The north and east walls are built against the natural rock. The overall room shape was that of a mirrored L (Warren 1972b, 60). Passage 67 is an east-west corridor probably 9 m long and 50–80 cm wide. The southern wall is preserved for only ca. 3 m, and just to the west of its end, a door socket (diam. 6 cm, depth 2 cm) has been recorded, indicating a doorway to the south into room 68. It opened to the right, entering from this corridor (Warren 1972b, 60–61). Room 68 (6.10 × 1.20 m) was an east-west aligned room. Its western wall is built against the drop of the slope and has a width of only 46 cm. Between this wall and the eastern wall of room 74 it was a poorly preserved room (~1.24 × 1.80 m). Area 69 (6.16 × 1.90/2.50 m) has an uneven slope to the south-west; therefore it must have been an opened area, as was suggested by the excavator. Room 70 (2.70 × 1.90 m) has an entrance (40 cm wide) at its north-west corner. Its eastern wall doubles that of corridor 65 but leaves a small gap between the two of them and continues northwards beyond its northern wall. This forms a T-shaped counterfort for the corridor wall. The southern part was filled up with stones in order to create a levelled surface for the floor. Room 71 has no northern wall, but at its north-east corner there is a threshold leading up to room 70. The northern part slopes sharply, and against it is a series of stone slabs which have been set on their sides to form a cupboard 60 cm high; the southern half was filled up in order to create a levelled floor surface. On top of the western wall-mud brick has been preserved in situ (Warren 1972b, 61–63). Room 72 (1.90 × 2.25 m) was accessed from its western part through a doorway (40 cm wide). The floor was made of beaten clay and its southern part of a few stone slabs as well. It is possible that its northern wall formed only a ledge as two vases were found on it. Area 73 (1.08 × 84 cm) led through a step into room 81. On the north side there are two stone slabs on the edge with several complete vases to the north of it in the middle of the access way into room 74. Room 74 (6 × 1.5 m) is a long and narrow space. Its east wall has a doorway leading into area 69; the east wall was built against the rock face with a width of only 35–40 cm. Its

western wall was well preserved and had a width of 40 cm. For most of its course it was doubled on the outside by the north-eastern wall of room 82. Area 75 (1.20 × 2.40 m) was only bordered on its southern and western side by walls (Warren 1972b, 63–66). Room 76 (2.25 × 1.08 m) connects to room 77 through a doorway (56 cm wide) but neither of them connects with the outside, hence they had to be entered from above. A little towards room 77 a door-socket has been identified. Its northern wall is built up against the rock and large patches of plastering are preserved. This was also true for the eastern wall. The southern wall not only showed traces of plaster on the surface of the wall, but in between the stones as well. The western wall had a 20 cm projection into of the room, which was used as a counterfort for the wall to compensate for the steepness of the slope in this area. In the north-west corner of the room there was a cupboard made of stone slabs set on the edge (46 cm wide and 31 cm high). Room 77 (2.56 × 2.50 m) has a southward projection from the north wall, no doubt acting as a counterfort for this and further stabilising the upper structure. All the walls had preserved traces of plaster and in the fill of the room at least one piece had traces of red paint. A second wall was built, in a later phase, against the outer face of the southern wall. In the south-west corner stone slabs make up a bench (1.03 m long and 37 cm wide) (Warren 1972b, 66–67). Room 78 (2.60 × 1.60/2 m) has a double northern wall which has an overall width of 64 cm and in its western part has a niche in its eastern wall face. It has a plastered bench (90 cm long 25 cm wide and high) spanning the entire length of the niche. The eastern wall had a doorway (65 cm wide) leading up from passage 64 through a plastered threshold (20 cm high from passage and 55 cm from room). This was continued through plaster steps into the room. Just to the right of the threshold were two hollowed out stone weights which were used as door sockets. The west wall is not bonded in neither of its adjacent walls, therefore it must have been built later in order to close the room from this side (Warren 1972b, 68–70). Room 79 (6.14 × 1.85 m) had well-constructed walls with plaster remains in many places of the walls. The southern wall was constructed at a later stage. Neither of the walls exceeds a width of 50 cm except for the southern wall (70 cm). The doorway (90 cm wide) was located in the western wall and it had a 25 cm high threshold leading up into the next room. Roofing plaster and red painted wall plaster were retrieved from the fill. The eastern wall had a slot in it for the entire width of the wall. It was located 1.20 m from the north wall and 65 cm above the floor with a width of 18 cm. It has been suggested that it held a beam, which was the support for the ladder to the roof. Room 80 (4.85 × 5 m) had a central Π -shaped structure. In the north west corner was a cupboard (40/50 cm high) made out of stone slabs placed on their edges. Its northern wall has a 1.05 m wide doorway with a 35 cm high threshold. All the walls showed traces of plaster and their width was between 45 and 70 cm. Room 81 is a triangle-shaped room entered from the east and south. Its north-west wall was probably used as a buttress or a roof support. Wall plaster was in place on all the walls. The eastern doorway was reached by a step up of stones. Room 82 (3.60 × 2.48/2.60 m) is entered from room 81. Its north-eastern wall (38 cm wide) is doubling the western wall of room 74. A low bench (20 cm high and 54 cm wide) is built along the south wall of packed earth and stones (Warren 1972b, 70–76). Room 83 (3.60 × 2 m) has an irregular form as it follows the shape of the rising rock surface. Its entrance was at its north-eastern corner. The south-eastern wall does not unite with the north-eastern wall as the double wall from room 82 continues partially into this room. The walls are around 60 cm wide. Room 84 (width 3.30 m and 2.16 preserved length) is poorly preserved in its western end. White clay floor was preserved in some instances. The north-eastern wall may have been a bench (47 cm wide) as the top of it as made of large, flat slabs (Warren 1972b, 77–78). Area 85 does not have any walling on its south-eastern side. It is paved and descends via two 13 cm high steps to a yard. Outside its southern wall several slabs are set to form a 39 cm wide bench. Cell 86 (90 × 90 cm) has wall widths between 40 and 45 cm. In its north-eastern corner a door socket (16 cm diam.

and 8–10 deep) has been found. Room 87 (1.04×1.73 m) had a very well-packed white clay surface. It was probably accessed from above. It has been suggested that the last two rooms were used as defensive towers with usable roofs (Warren 1972b, 77–79). The last complex of spaces consists of rooms 88–92. Room 88 (1.30×4.46 m) has walls with width around 50 cm. The south wall may have been an access way with a threshold from the outside, being only 24 cm high (preserved?). The western walls still preserved mud-bricks in situ. The surviving three layers were bounded together by a pebble and clay mixture. They had a 7.5 cm height and the fugues were of 1.3 cm. In the north-east part of the room there was a bench (2.40 m long, 66 cm wide and 57 cm high). It was made of two stone courses placed on a base of 40 cm high compacted clay with some stones mixed in. The sides showed traces of plaster. In the south-western corner there is a circular hollow (35 cm diam.) which was probably used as a hearth. Room 89 (1.62×6 m) has a structure (2.18×0.6 m) built against its eastern wall. This consists of two low benches (northern – 60×51 cm and 11 cm high; southern – 60×80 and 25 cm high) with a hearth (55×60 cm and 40 cm high) in between them. The northern and western sides of the southern bench were limited by a line of slabs set on their edge. At the southern and northern edges of the hearth, steps run east-west for the width of the whole room. The rock has been cut and stone slabs were forming steps on clay bedding. Further to the north, a third step was hewn and prepared in the same way. Heights are of 23, 14 and 17 cm from the top downwards. It is also interesting that no entrances were recorded. Room 90 (2×1.22 m) has a door (53 cm wide) on its western side. Along the north wall ran a low bench (90 cm long, 30 cm wide and 28 cm high) of stones placed on a base of compacted white clay, which in turn rested on the packed, white clay floor. In the north-east corner we have a large stone (32×68 cm and 7 cm high) probably used as a vase stand. Room 91 (3.12 (preserved) $\times 2$ m) has two access ways, from the east and its south-eastern (80 cm wide) corner. The northern wall is built on a rock ledge of the natural rock. This also projects further into the room forming a bench (28–48 cm wide and 22 cm high). The eastern wall also has a bench (40 cm wide and 16 cm high) built against it. The south-eastern corner consisted of a projection of a wall fragment on its southern side. Along its southern wall a second bench (50 cm wide) was built of stones set into a clayey earth. Room 92 (2.52 (preserved) $\times 4$ m) had four large stones along its southern side, probably used as pot stands, and a small structure (66×44 cm and 13 cm high) was built against its eastern wall. The floor was made of packed white clay (Warren 1972b, 80–87).

15. Ioannimiti 9 (IM 9), Vrokastro area – EM II-III, survey (Hayden 2004, 62–63; Hayden 2005, 43–44, site CD).

Architectural remains were scarce here. Several, badly preserved walls in the bushes of the area, in one line, were recognised. Some of these possessed corners and the largest stones had a length of ~80 cm (Hayden 2005, 44, site CD).

16. Istron river 2 (IS 2), Vrokastro area – Pls. IV/6, V/1–4. EM I-III, survey (Hayden et alii 1992, 340; Haggis 1996b, 656–657; Hayden 2003, 379–380; Hayden 2004, 3–8–39, 64, tabs. 2.1, 3.1; Hayden 2005, 50–51, site CD).

The EM architecture was uncovered only in a square of about 4×4 m. It consisted of tumbled wall remains and preserved architectural features. It had two construction phases, five floor surface, six phases were defined and four occupation levels (levels 4–6, 7, 12, and 14) were identified (Haggis 1996b, 656–657, 661). The excavators identified five wall parts (A, B, C, D, E), which were only partially unearthed. Walls B, C, D and E were connected in such a way that B and C had a south-west – north-east orientation and from the north-east and the south-west corners walls E and D, respectively, projected perpendicularly. These suggest planning of straight walls and an overall building orientation of south-west to north-east. Through these walls three rooms (1, 2, 3) were identified, of which rooms 2 and 3 were connected through a doorway that was 60 cm wide, and room 1 was only excavated in its

south-western corner at the junction of walls C and D. At the junction of walls C and E, in the north-east corner of room 3, a bench, made of three stone slabs, was also recognised (Haggis 1996b, 658). Wall A has a preserved height of five courses (~1 m) and has a levelled layer of compacted clay underneath (Haggis 1996b, 660–661). Wall C was preserved to a height of four courses (~1 m) and in the north-east corner of room 3 had a foundation made of packed pebbles and cobbles (Haggis 1996b, 660–661). The floors were of compacted clay of dark-brown colour with inclusions of ash, carbon flecks, schist flakes, small marine shell, and sherds; they also had patches of burning and compacted pebbles or gravel (Haggis 1996b, 660). Stratigraphic levels 4–6 indicate a natural, slow destruction of the building(s?) in a stage after the abandonment of them. Stone debris in levels 11 and 13 are evidence for rebuilding activities. The foundation layer of the building is layer 16/17, upon which rests the building in its first building phase (Haggis 1996b, 660). Despite these observations, a difference in building technique is not noticeable. This means that the walls had approximately the same width (50–60 cm), using small and medium sized stones (~20x40 cm), and just mud as binding material, thus achieving a rough coursing of them. The joints are filled in with small stones. The walls are two-faced, using larger stones, which are occasionally roughly worked on the visible surface, and filling up the interior with smaller stones and grey limestone chips. The corners and junction points of the walls were given special attention, as in these cases the builders used larger stones in order to consolidate them (Haggis 1996b, 659–660). Schist flakes and phyllite mixed with the debris from the habitation are possible evidence for a collapsed ceiling (Haggis 1996b, 662).

Wall A was built in the first building phase, and floors 1 and 2 used, as walls B to E were constructed and used only from the use of floor 3 onward. Built in the same phase, it is possible that walls B and E are constructed as a redesigning of the building, because they project from wall C. Wall D is bonding with wall C and of the same phase (Haggis 1996b, 660). Phases I–III define chronologically construction and use of wall A, phases IV–V represent the use of all three rooms, and in the last, VIth phase only room 1 was in use while the other two were abandoned (Haggis 1996b, 662).

Phase I is represented through a levelling for the wall, in layer 17 with silty clay without any archaeological material or pigmentation. Upon this was resting well-compacted clay which possibly was a floor. Phase II had floor 1 (layers 16/17) and wall A construction, which is followed by a packing through domestic debris (layer 15) for the second floor (floor 2 – layer 14). In phase III there is another foundation deposit but this time with a denser wall debris (level 13) for floor 3 (level 12) and the newly added walls B and C. Level 12 was filled with domestic residues and also with silty clay which may be from roofing. The following two levels (10/11) were also filled with tumbled stones. In phase V, floor 4 was made of compacted clay, and the debris of level 7 was resting directly on this floor. In the last phase (VI), floor 5 was built, directly covering wall A, possibly pointing to the disuse of rooms 2 and 3 (Haggis 1996b, 662–663).

17. Kalami 2, south coast, Lasithi – EM I, survey (Hood et alii 1964, 93).

Some wall foundations were recognized; they were built of rather large blocks as they were described by the authors of the find as being “megalithic” (Hood et alii 1964, 93).

18. Kambria, south coast, west Crete – EM I, survey (Nixon et alii 1988, 159–173).

Due to the fact that the final publication of the Sphakia Survey is still in work, further statements about the nature of these structural remains would be ill advised.

19. Kastello, Khnondru, south foot hills, Lasithi – Pl. VI/1. EM III, survey (Πλάτων 1960b, 511; Πλάτων 1960c, 206; Hood et alii 1964, 82; Batten 1995, 18–23).

Some of the walls were visible as they were not fully under the earth. Two buildings were recognised. Building 1 is on a gentle southern slope and had a north-south orientation with a slight tilt to the west. Its western wall had a traceable length of 15 m and had a northern wall partially

visible which was aligned to it in a right angle (Πλάτων 1960c, 206; Batten 1995, 18). Building 2 had a north-south orientation. Its size was 12 × 15 m, with its western wall the longest and best preserved. The south wall had a right angle orientation to the former one, and on the north side, approximately in the middle, it showed a segment of what probably is an interior partition wall. The eastern wall was only partially recognisable. Other wall segments were seen to the south-west and north-west of this building (Πλάτων 1960c, 206; Batten 1995, 18).

20. Katharo, Lasithi plain – Pl. VI/3–4. EM II-III, survey (Watrous 1982, 49).

Although attribution of them to the EM period is not certain, the finds could indicate an approximate dating, as in the western part of building A, potter's wheel fragments were found. These would place this complex already in the MM period, unless a case is made for them being dated to the EM period, but without excavation and any other such early examples from EM Crete, it would be rather useless (Watrous 1982, 49). As for Building B, it could be argued that it dates to the late EM period. It uses much smaller blocks than Building A as raw material. It also has some steps that lead up from a small paved street which was running in between two houses. They show corners and well-built outer sides of the walls, and much smaller ones behind them, piled up. These could indicate a two-faced rubble wall construction technique (Watrous 1982, 49).

21. Kato Arniko 2, Vrokastro area – EM II-III, survey (Hayden et alii 1992, 340; Hayden 2004, 66, tab. 3.1; Hayden 2005, 54–55, site CD).

Architectural remains are very scarce at this point. As mentioned above, only the upper part of a few two-faced rubble walls were noticed on the south and west slopes of the hill. Two of these walls are parallel, but quite a distance away from each other (4 m), and some stones have a length of 80 cm (Hayden 2005, 55, site CD).

22. Katsoucheiroi, Plati, Lasithi plain – EM I-II, survey (Watrous 1982, 64).

Traces of walls and obsidian were recorded from this site, and besides these, Pendlebury retrieved stone axes and beads from here (Pendlebury et alii 1936, 12).

23. Kendromouri 3, Vrokastro area – EM I-II, survey (Hayden et alii 1992, 341–342; Hayden 2003, 374; Hayden 2004, 64, tabs. 2.1, 3.1; Hayden 2005, 73–74, site CD).

A small building was identified at this site. It had an east-west orientation and had two-faced rubble-built walls, 60–70 cm wide. The largest stones had a length of 60 cm. Related to this structure was pottery from the EM I-II phases, as well as some of MM I-II date. These point to the possibility that this structure could be of early 3rd millennium BCE date (Hayden 2005, 74, site CD).

24. Khori (Amira), south foot hills, Lasithi – EM III, survey (Hood et alii 1964, 86).

The architectural remains were not described in detail, thus with further statements we would only venture into the area of assumptions.

25. Knossos, Heraklion area – Pls. VII/4–7, VIII/1–6. EM I-III, excavation (Evans 1921, 56–126; Hood 1962, 92–98; Evans 1972, 115–128; Warren 1972a, 392–393; Branigan 1988, 42–43; Cadogan et alii 1993, 21–28; Wilson 1994, 23–44; Manteli, Evely 1995, 2, 4; Momigliano, Wilson 1996, 1–57; Day, Wilson 2002, 145–167).

The earliest evidence for structures at this site comes from the north-east area of the palace, where an EM I well was found; it was over 10 m deep with a uniform fill of earth and EM material (Hood 1962, 92–93; Branigan 1988, 42). In the early 1970s, J. D. Evans undertook some deep soundings in the West Court of the later Minoan palace. He found a room complex which could be attributed to an EM II house. The walls stood 1 m high and had a width of 40 cm. Their facing was carefully laid in place making a sort of double-faced wall, and a packing of clay and cobbles was used as fill in between them. The clay served as mortar in between these small- and medium-sized stone blocks, and some querns were also incorporated in the wall fabric (Evans 1972, 117). The walls were north-south oriented with a slight tilt to the

north-east. There was a continuous 8 m long western wall from this, and to the east the interior partition walls of the three rooms projected. The southernmost had a thin east-west wall, dividing the room longitudinally into two parts, thus creating two corridor-like spaces. This wall was broken at its western end by a 50–60 cm wide doorway. It has been suggested that it had a similar doorway at its eastern end. Rooms 2 and 3 were only separated by a shorter stretch of wall 2.50 m long which had a T-shaped like ending at its eastern end. Room 2 had an opening of 20 × 30 cm in the outer wall which was interpreted as a possible drain with a narrow opening above it for the roof-beams. Room 3 had in its western wall a doorway (75 cm wide) which led to the outside (Evans 1972, 117, Fig. 2, 118). The floors were slightly higher than the bases of the walls, and were made of beaten earth. In room 1, the traces of a second floor have been uncovered which was lying slightly above the former one (Evans 1972, 120). Further evidence of EM II architectonics comes from house-floors from the Early Houses of the southern slope of the palace, just off the South Corridor. They were divided into two deposits, upper and lower, the latter being of EM II B and the former of EM III date. The former also contains red painted floors (Evans 1921, 75; Hood 1961, 27; Hood 1962, 93; Momigliano 1991, 198–201, 268; Cadogan et alii 1993, 24). The lower deposit contained two floors, with the lower associated with a north-south running wall (δ) right under wall 1. The upper floor of the Lower Deposit was laid down just above wall δ and its associated floor (Momigliano, Wilson 1996, 9). It has been documented that at least by EM II B in this area, the Neolithic strata was cut back even 75 cm in order to terrace the area (Momigliano, Wilson 1996, 27). The foundations of the South Front House were cut into the Neolithic and EM II levels with a maximum foundation trench width of 50 cm (Momigliano, Wilson 1996, 43–44). The South Front House has been attributed with 3 building phases, all of EM III date. Phase 1 was only represented by a short stretch of wall (16) and a beaten, red painted clay floor. Phase 2 is represented by wall 9, which rests above the red clay floor of wall 16 and under wall 8. Phase 3 was represented by walls 1–8A, 12–13, 15 and the two associated red painted floors (Momigliano, Wilson 1996, 47–48, 54). The plan of this later phase shows a house with walls oriented on the compass axes with a minimal wall width of 1 m. These possibly represent basement or foundation walls which could have easily supported at least an upper storey. It is interesting to note that to the west of wall 2 there are two narrow rooms of 1.20 m width, out of which the northern one communicates through a doorway of 1.50 m width. The feature delimited by walls 1, 3 and 4 is also interesting as it is a space of 1.20 × 0.75 without any access way and with unknown purpose. The walls are double-faced and bound by mud (Momigliano, Wilson 1996, 8, Fig. 5, 53, Fig. 31). Also in the area of the Royal Road Warren uncovered remains of an EM II building consisting of a single room (1.32/2.54 × <4.40 m). A robust exterior wall of unworked limestone blocks was identified on the south side, as opposed to the northern side where, on a stone base, mud-brick walls of reddish-brown colour were recorded. The bricks had a size of 52 × 25 × 9 cm. The construction technique of this wall consisted of bricks laid down in alternating courses of headers and stretchers. The inside of the room had a plaster of white clay. The western end of the room contained a construction which seems to be a bench of white mud bricks placed on a stone foundation (Warren 1972a, 392–393). The first floor level contained a hearth in a small hollow. Above this was laid a layer of bright red gravel which was used as levelling for a cobble floor of the second phase (Warren 1972a, 393–394). House traces with floor deposits belonging to the EM III period are reported from north of the Royal Road. These EM floors were from right under MM IA layers (Hood 1960, 23; Hood 1962, 92–93; Cadogan et alii 1993, 26). Other evidence for EM III in Knossos comes from the north-west part, where a massive terrace wall of this date has been incorporated in the later palace (Wilson 1994, 34; Branigan 1995, 95). The Early Hypogeum from under the south entrance of the Minoan palace is also attributed to this period. It is cut into the soft bed-rock. It has a circular

base-plan with a diameter of 33 m and a reconstructable vault height of 16 m. The floor was reached by a staircase which was tunnelled into the same rock. This passage way had an opening with parapets. It has been suggested by the excavator that it was accessed through a dromos which probably also ran underground (?) (Evans 1921, 103–107; Momigliano 1991, 195–197). Other MM IA material was recently reclassified by Momigliano, and she attributed part of it to an EM III period. First of all is the Upper East Well, which was situated under the later West Court of the Palace. Its diameter at the mouth was of 1.50 m and was excavated to a depth of 19.40 m (Evans 1901, 93; Evans 1921, 175; Momigliano 1991, 155, 268). Never published, but only mentioned at the beginning of the century, is a “large number of houses, going back to Early Minoan times, were traced ...”. The location was identified as on the eastern bank of the Kairatos on a cliff and steep slope 0.5 km to the north of Makryteichos village. The finds were all from floor deposits. This location is also known in the literature as the North Quarter of the City (Evans 1903, 3; Evans 1921, 175; Evans 1928, 551–552; Momigliano 1991, 176, 181, 268). Underneath the West Court more EM houses were excavated at the beginning of the century. They were named House A, B, C, and they will be presented here in the chronological order of their excavation. House C is located under the West Court of the palace, just to the north of Kouloura 1. The published evidence for the EM III building is not conclusive. We may say that at a depth of 1.20–1.50 m at least one floor level was reached (possibly two), made of plaster. The house was north-south oriented with another wall running off to the south, and turning perpendicularly to the west. The eastern wall of the one-roomed house could have been a double wall and its ground form was of a trapeze with a doorway on its western side (Evans 1904, 18–20, Fig. 7; Evans 1905, 16–18; Evans 1921, 172; Evans 1935, 85; Momigliano 1991, 185–187, 268). House A was found under the Kouloura II and it could be dated to a mixed EM III/MM IA phase (Momigliano 1991, 268). It had two rooms, a northern and a southern one, and the walls were oriented on the cardinal axes. Its foundations were cut down in the virgin soil and its walls were made of stone blocks. The northern room (4 × 3.60 m) presented five steps which led downwards from its north-east corner. A narrow passage-way led to the south (1 m wide) to a narrower room (4 × 2/2.40 m). In the middle of the northern room, a circular hollow (65 cm diam.) was found with a smaller circular hollow (diam. 25 cm, depth 9 cm) in it. To the west of this, the floor had another, but smaller, circular hollow. In the south-east corner of the same room, a small basin/cupboard-like area (1 × 0.8 m) was delimited by rills (6 cm high and wide) of red plaster. The entire floor of the northern room as well as the steps were covered by red plaster. In an initial stage, the southern room also had red plaster floor, but this was later turned into white. The floor had a slight difference in height. The walls retained evidence of a red and white plaster coating and plaster coming from the ceiling was also identified. A couple of metres to the north of this house, a well of the same date was also discovered (Pendlebury, Pendlebury 1930, 53–56; Åberg 1933, 174–175; Evans 1935, 66–68; Momigliano 1991, 206–207, 268). House B was situated under Kouloura 3. It had two building phases, an upper and a lower one. The actual structural remains represented the basement level in the case of rooms 1–4 and other had upper storeys (rooms 5–8, and corridor 3), as fallen red plaster floors were good indicators of this. It has been suggested by the excavators that the upper floor was laid down on wooden beams which were covered by light organic material (e.g. reeds) coated with mud and then plaster. Rooms 5, 6 and 8 are narrow, corridor-like in form (1.4, 0.75 and 1.4 m, respectively) and do not present any opening in the walls, although a case for a doorway in the south-east corner of room 8 has been made. The lower rooms are also very narrow. Room 4 has three inner spaces and these only communicate with each other through an east-west running corridor. The same is true for the room complex of rooms 1, 2 and 3, where the role of the corridor (75 cm wide) is taken by the later. Their entire system and partitioning is similar to

the storage area of the later palaces, with the difference that in this case, there is no main corridor but rather two (possibly three) which indicates a separation of use by movement control. Room 2a was thought to communicate with a light-well. Remains of burnt mud-brick ($30 \times 9 \times 9$ cm) have been found which probably came from the upper storeys, but the visible remains were all made of blocks of stone. In rooms 1 and 2, two distinct floors were identified. The one in room 1 was higher and made of clay with red plastering. The one in the other room was therefore lower and of the same construction technique with a white plaster coating. The lower floor levels in both rooms were made of the beaten earth of the underlying Neolithic strata (Pendlebury, Pendlebury 1930, 57-59; Åberg 1933, 174-175; Evans 1935, 69-70; Momigliano 1991, 207, 268).

26. Kopranes 2/4, Vrokastro area - EM II-III, survey (Hayden et alii 1992, 342; Hayden 2004, 64, tab. 3.1; Hayden 2005, 75-76, site CD).

Due to the lime kiln, only a few wall segments were preserved which can be described in the following way: they were double-faced (1 m wide) running at least 10 m on an east-west axis from the edge of a gully to an outcrop of lime boulders. Smaller walls were also two-faced and they encircled the margins of the flat area. It has been suggested that this could be a sheepfold. Further, to the SW of this area very fragmentary remains of rubble walls were recognised (Hayden 2005, 76, site CD).

27. Korfi tou Koukkoyiani, Ellenos, Amariou, Amari plain, west of Ida - EM I, survey (Karo 1932, 177; Payne 1932, 255; Dunabin 1947, 188; Pendlebury 1963, 55; Hood et alii 1964, 7; Branigan 1988, 39).

The architectural venues were never fully published. The excavation cleared a trapeze-form like house with a size of 4.20×2.70 m. One of its walls was actually cut out of the natural bedrock (Karo 1932, 177). This house was free-standing, but evidence for further houses built in blocks was also found (Branigan 1988, 39).

28. Lakoudia, Vraskas, south coast, Sfakia - EM IA, survey (Nowicki 1999, 577-578).

Scarce architectural evidence was recorded on the west side of the summit. These consist of a single wall-segment for possible defensive purposes, preserved for a length of 5 m and a height of 1.3 m on the eastern side of the summit (Nowicki 1999, 578).

29. Langos, west Mesara - EM II-III, survey (Pendlebury et alii 1933, 89; Pendlebury 1963, 77).

The above-mentioned sighting is all we have in terms of architecture at this site (Pendlebury et alii 1933, 89; Pendlebury 1963, 77).

30. Listis, south coast, Lasithi - Pl. VI/2. EM II-III, survey (Batten 1995, 10).

In terms of architecture, an east-west wall at the entrance point of Minoan nature was noted, which is probably related to a defensive system at this access part of the site. Also, most of the architecture on the summit could be of partially EM date (Batten 1995, 10).

31. Malia, north coast, Malia - Pls. VIII/7, IX/1-4. EM IB-III, survey (Chapoutier, de Santerre 1947, 13-22, 41-43; Pendlebury 1963, 56, 76, 91; van Effenterre, van Effenterre 1969, 13-21; van Effenterre 1980, 81-94; Poursat et alii 1984, 880-891; Stürmer 1987, 41-43; Poursat et alii 1989, 762-785; Pelon et alii 1991, 726-750).

Under the plaster floor of room III 7, the base of two EM walls was discovered. They were built of small- and medium-sized stones joined by mud-mortar, and with an associated succession of beaten earth floors. The walls were placed against each other so we have here more evidence of double-wall building technique (Daux 1965, 1004; van Effenterre 1980, 87). Underneath "Quartier 1", a series of architectural features belonging to the same period were recognized as being built in among the features of the later palace. Due to this, the precise attribution of them to a defined period is quite difficult, but two parallel east-west running wall segments which had a groove in between them could be mentioned. Also, the northern one had on its northern side

a counterfort, or a double-wall for a stretch of 2 m (T-shaped). There were two floors associated with them. The lower one was of EM II date and made of red lime plaster (Daux 1966, 1009–1111, Fig. 5; van Effenterre 1980, 87).

There is strong evidence for a large palatial building under the MM-LM palace. The evidence mainly comes from the north-west corner of the palace. In a series of verification excavations in the 1980s, several very important late EM structural remains were identified (Pelon 1982, 182). Under rooms III, IV, V and VI of the later palace, three large rooms were identified; these were called α , β , γ , δ , ϵ . The first exploration and recognition of these finds was made by Chapoutier, who identified a plaster floor associated with collecting vessels with their cavities, low platforms and draining rills in the floor (Lamerle 1936, 484; Pelon 1982, 166–168). The limits of the hall were determined already by its first excavator as 7×6.75 m (Chapoutier, de Santerre 1947; Pelon 1982, 168, 172). At the western end of each platform, a block of earth and stones held together by plaster (1.48×0.70 – 0.80×0.40 m and $0.67 \times 0.95 \times 0.40$ m) was defined as a base for the organic pillars which probably upheld the roofing. This way, the large size of the roof-span would have been reduced to on average of only 4.10/4.20 m (Pelon 1982, 178). The plaster of the room was laid down in such a manner that beside the draining rills, the floor would tilt to the west and to the north thus allowing any spilled liquids to collect in the collecting vessels specially placed in the floor cavities of these areas (Pelon 1982, 179). The later excavations further elaborated the plan of the late EM building, showing that the eastern wall of room β was beyond the palace wall, and beside these, three other collecting holes of the floors with their vessels were recorded. They were placed in the corner of the platforms which seemed to continue from the western room towards the east, thus resulting in a length of 3.30–3.40 m (Pelon 1983, 683, 686–687). Also, it has been shown that the platforms ran along the entire length of the eastern, southern and western wall of the room (Pelon 1983, 685). On the eastern platform a series of cavities (seven) were seen, the northern one with a semi-circular riling attached to it. They were of 5.5–8 cm in diameter, one being rectangular in form (6×5.5 cm) and 4–7 cm deep. It was remarked that at a distance of 2.40 m they were quite regularly placed at an average of 38 cm (Pelon 1983, 687). At the northern end of the eastern wall of this room, the wall width diminishes from 70 cm to 15 cm, resulting in a 1.60 m long niche construction with an average width of the “missing” wall (60 cm) (Pelon 1983, 686). In the western wall of room β is a doorway towards room α which had a similar width to the former, and also had a platform with plaster covering in the explored part along its eastern and southern wall. This room was 10–20 cm deeper than the room to the east and a light step of 10 cm height was placed in the doorway, which was also plaster covered (Pelon 1983, 684–685). Room γ was situated to the east of room β with two pillar bases, with a circular foundation base partially deeper than the plaster floor of this room, in the middle (?) of the room, which would result in a room similar in size to its western neighbour. The floor of this room was higher placed than that of room β by 30 cm (Pelon 1983, 691). The plaster floor of this room was missing in the south-east corner. The eastern wall had a decreasing width in its southern part (Poursat et alii 1984, 882). To the east we have room δ , which was not entirely cleared but further traces of floor plaster were seen here. An L-shaped attachment to the outer, northern wall of rooms β and γ created an elongated room (ϵ) along the north side. In this room, like in the former one, a plaster floor was revealed, and to the east of this, a cobble-stone road (“kalderimi”) was revealed in two soundings running approximately west-east (Poursat et alii 1984, 882). It has been shown that the southern wall of rooms β , γ , δ was at a given time the northern façade of the later Central Court of the Minoan palace (Poursat et alii 1984, 882; Poursat et alii 1989, 769, Fig 11, 773). This complex of rooms also had a north-south running wall under room IV 7, which would have been perpendicular to this massive southern wall. To the east of this north-south wall (80 cm width), a cupboard (31 cm high) was found made of stone slabs placed on their side. The joints were filled in with

grey clay identical to that of the material of the nearby beaten clay floor. It contained just one complete vessel, and therefore it has been interpreted as a “foundation deposit/offering” of this wall/structure, with which it was associated (Pelon et alii 1986, 814; Stürmer 1987). The walls were all made of smaller stone blocks carefully put in place in order to make a surface as smooth as possible. The southern wall was of a large size of approximately 1 m width. All of the walls on their inner side showed traces of red lime-plaster, as did as every floor uncovered in these rooms. Belonging to the same system there is a series of rooms of slightly earlier date (EM II and EM III) under the room-complex 9, just north of the Central Court. Under rooms IX 1 and 2 we have a Hypostyle Hall similar to the one of Neopalatial date. There were six pillar bases recognised with the same general outlining. These were covered on the other hand by EM III layers associated with rectilinear, east-west running walls. The north-east corner of the Central Court has also been identified in this early period, meaning that at least its north-east corner had some building or rooms in this period (Pelon et alii 1991, 726, 733). The walls were built of smaller blocks in a double-faced technique (Pelon et alii 1991, 733).

Besides this large-scale building complex, a wall-segment of 2 m and with a 50 cm width of EM date, running north-south, was revealed in a deep sounding just to the south of the “Esplanade Gate” in the Agora (van Effenterre, van Effenterre 1969, 14). The same sort of technique revealed near “l’Estrade” a small wall-segment built of relatively large limestone blocks joined together with mud (van Effenterre, van Effenterre 1969, 16, Pl. XXVII, 3; van Effenterre 1980, 87). In both cases, the building material is bluish limestone blocks and they are placed in double-faced technique, but without being filled up in the middle with earth and cobbles but adjoining to each other’s back. The width was 50-60 cm which in the opinion of the author could have been enough for supporting an upper storey (van Effenterre 1980, 87). In the EM III period at Malia, a defensive (?) wall was erected between the palace and the sea (van Effenterre 1980, 93).

Lastly, it should be noted that structural remains of EM period at Malia were mentioned in the literature but the attribution of them to the EM period posed in most of the cases problems as they were without certain stratigraphic context.

32. Maryiou, south coast, Ayios Vasilios – EM II-III, survey (Hood, Warren 1966, 182).

Architectural remains are rich; several buildings were recognised, even with interior partition walls. The most substantial evidence came from the plateau area of the ridge, where the architectural remains were highly concentrated (Hood, Warren 1966, 182). As no further mention of these architectural venues are to be found in the literature only the suggested excavations would further enlighten the nature of them.

33. Mokhos, Malia area – EM II-III, survey (Pendlebury 1963, 76).

Beside ceramic material, plaster and a stone vase were seen by Pendlebury at this location. The existence of a settlement similar to Myrtos, Fournou Koriphi (cat. no. 14), or perhaps Vasiliki (cat. no. 51) is highly probable (Pendlebury 1963, 76).

34. MoW2, Ayiofarango valley, south of Mesara – Pl. VI/5. EM II-III, survey (Blackman, Branigan 1977, 63-64, 71).

The two EM buildings were of contemporary date. They have survived to present day only in their foundations, since in no place had a greater depth than 1 to 2 stone-courses. Building 2 was about 13 × 6 m large with a wall-width of 50 cm and, on its north-east side it had a narrow corridor. The building material was procured locally and in the form of limestone-blocks (Blackman, Branigan 1977, 63). Building 3 was situated on a steeper slope, with a size of 12 × 8 m and a wall-width of 50 cm, and it was preserved to a maximum height of 3 courses. The building technique and materials were the same as those of the former one (Blackman, Branigan 1977, 63-64).

35. Palaikastro, east coast – Pls. IX/5, X/1. EM II-III, excavation; (Dawkins, Hawes 1905, 272-273; Pendlebury 1963, 78; Sackett et alii 1965, 250, 270-271; Branigan 1988, 43-44; Driessen, MacGillivray 1990, 389-399).

In the EM IIB phase, a large building was erected under Block X. It had a wall width of about 2 m and an approximate length of 35 m (Driessen, MacGillivray 1990, 399). At least two buildings were recognised. The massive construction had two larger areas, each with a width of at least 10 m. The western one did not indicate any interior partition walls, but the other one had a north-east to south-west aligned wall, thus dividing the initial space into two areas of 6 and 3 m (from west to east) (Branigan 1988, 43). The walls were made of smaller blocks of stone, but nevertheless carefully constructed (Dawkins, Hawes 1905, 272-273, Pl. X). The second house segment was adjoining the north-east wall and had a preserved L-shape, thus creating a double-wall construction (Branigan 1988, 44, Fig. 6). In the EM III there is evidence of another massive construction at Kastri, with a massive wall made of large stone blocks in a dry-stone technique running north-south. Opposite this was another wall built in the same technique, of unknown width, running parallel to the former and with a slight curve at its northern end towards the massive wall. The distance between the two was of about 1.5 m; they were also built of smaller blocks (Sackett et alii 1965, 271, 277; Driessen, MacGillivray 1990, 399).

36. Petras, east Crete, Siteia – EM I-III, excavation (Pendlebury 1963, 59; French 1990, 76; Tomlinson 1995, 70; Blackman 1999, 121-122).

Very little of the EM remains at Petras has been published. As a result, our data is almost inexistent, but judging from the size of the later EM settlement or palace (?) and the many finds which were produced through smaller soundings, important EM remains should have been present. The only published EM structural remains are of an EM III-MM IA dated floor and its deposits in the western part of the later Central Court (Blackman 1999, 122).

37. Phaistos, west Mesara – Pl. X/2-8. EM I-III, excavation (Pernier 1935, 319, Pl. VI; Levi 1958, 167-182, 290-291, 296-297; Vagnetti 1973, 12-15, 27-30, 33-35, 38-40; Levi 1976, 36, 57, 63, 74, 78, 83, 96, 108, 137, 156, 160, 161, 179-181, 230, 275-276, 278, 288-294, 299, 314, 316, 333, 353-354, 358, 370, 409, 414-416, 426, 442, 464, 468, 494, 483, 526, 528, 552-553, 558, 598, 604, 616; Branigan 1988, 41-42; Benzi 2001, 121-155).

On the EM site of Phaistos we have several points which yielded EM structural remains. At the beginning of the century, L. Pernier published several of them, the most important being that underneath the Peristyle Hall (Room 74). It was probably built of three rooms and had a slight trapeze-shaped form, and was dated to the EM I-II period. It had a north-south orientation and a southern, and the two almost parallel eastern and western walls were preserved. The size was about 6 × 7 m. On the outside of the western wall, the remains of a further east-west running wall were found, which was connecting perpendicularly to the former one. The walls were double-faced with fill in the middle of them, and their foundations lay partially on the virgin rock and partially on Neolithic deposits, but a very thin clay “levelling” layer was also recognised above the earlier deposits. A lot of clay was used as binding material for these walls (Pernier 1935, 115-120, Pl. VI; Branigan 1988, 41; Benzi 2001, 123). On top of this, Branigan also discovered an L-shaped wall segment to the west, which with the other shorter east-west wall formed a formerly unknown corridor to the building (Branigan 1988, 41). Further mentions of EM habitation remains is attested through soundings in different rooms of the later Minoan palace, but no further description of them was given. In the “Pithos Storage-Room” (Room XXXIV), in a small test sounding, other EM architectural remains were encountered, dated to the EM III period (Pernier 1935, 319; Benzi 2001, 123). Underneath the plaster floor of Room XII, at a depth of 15-20 cm, another red painted plaster floor was found, which due to its stratigraphical position belonged to the later EM or pre-Protopalatial context (Pernier 1935, 152; Benzi 2001, 124). 28-30 cm underneath the Protopalatial floor of Room XIII another

red painted plaster floor was encountered, and on the east and west side benches (low and wide) were recorded also painted red and running underneath the MM palace walls (Pernier 1935, 152; Benzi 2001, 124). From underneath the northern bench of room XIV and doorway XV-XVI was found another floor at a depth of 80 cm and made of stone slabs and plates, a feature specific to the open spaces (Pernier 1935, 152; Benzi 2001, 124). In a test trench laid down in the north-east corner of the Prophyleum two more EM floors were found (first in a depth of 3.40 m, second in a depth of 4.50 m). The upper one was a beaten clay floor, whereas the second was made of stone slabs and plates, and to the north of cobble stones and beaten earth (Levi 1953, 266-267; Levi 1962, 667-668; Vagnetti 1973, 33-34; Benzi 2001, 127). More substantial architectural evidence was found underneath the floor of Room XXV. At a depth of 80 cm, another floor was discovered, which was associated with a southern and a western wall, a floor which had a slight tilt to the north-east. The floor also preserved some stone slabs along the southern wall. These pre-Protopalatial walls were made of red stone blocks and bound together by mud (Pernier 1935, 139; Benzi 2001, 128). Outside Room 18, in a test sounding, Pernier found two walls at a depth of about 4.50 m closing in at a right angle made of smaller, red stone blocks held together by earth and plaster. The right angle was oriented on the main axis of the compass with a slight tilt to the south-west. The preserved height varied between 0.90 and 1.60 m (Pernier 1935, 81-84, 115; Benzi 2001, 128-129). In the south-eastern corner of the Central Court, underneath the stone paving, at a depth of 1.55 m, an EM wall was found. It had an east-west orientation and was made of small red stones bound together by mud. It disappeared under the portico (Pernier 1935, 120; Benzi 2001, 129-130). Following the reasoning of the excavator, a floor could have been associated with these walls. This was found underneath Room XLV/22 and it was also a red plaster floor (Benzi 2001, 129). In the North-east corner of Room XXVII Levi found an EM floor deposit with almost one hundred restorable vases which were lying on a stone slab floor, in turn just over a pure Neolithic layer. The slabs are large schist slabs (Levi 1976, 63-65; Benzi 2001, 131). Underneath Corridor 97, a small room of 80 cm width was discovered with walls made of red blocks of stone. It had no foundation as the walls were resting on the virgin rock (Pernier 1935, 128-129; Benzi 2001, 132). Immediately to the south of this, underneath the Central Court, the remains of a so-called "Campana Neolitica" have been found. This is important for the EM period as in the middle of it the remains a Pre-Palatial stone-slab floor have been uncovered. This had as foundation a mixture of cobblestones, earth and other domestic residues, and a small segment of wall to the north-west was associated with it (Levi 1976, 415-416; Benzi 2001, 132). Underneath the Upper Western Court and alongside the western façade of the palace, an EM stone plastered floor was found suggesting another possible open area (Pernier 1935, 124-125; Benzi 2001, 134). Underneath the second Kuloura, an east-west running wall-segment was found with a width of 65-92 cm. It was a double-faced wall with cobble-stone and earth filling (Levi 1976, 353-354; Benzi 2001, 134). The most important evidence for EM housing at Phaistos comes from underneath the Lower Western Court. Here the remains of two houses have been discovered (East- and West House) which were dated in the EM I late or early EM II phase. Both houses were north-south oriented and build in the double-faced technique, with the eastern one showing a rigorous construction style, as opposed to the western one, which gives the impression of clumsy building skills. The East House conserved the remains of a red painted plaster floor (the earliest known in Crete) with a 60 cm wide doorway on the north wall, which led to a possible open space. Opposite to this in a distance of about 1 m, an east-west running wall-ending is seen, which could have formed a corridor with the north wall of this house. The West House had slightly thicker walls (~60 cm) and it was adjoined to the west wall of the former one thus creating a double wall (Levi 1958, 169; Branigan 1988, 41; Benzi 2001, 135-136). It is interesting to note that this double wall in the uncovered section the western wall of the Eastern House does

not continue into the profile of the trench as the adjoining one does. It would be possible to speculate that we are dealing with a former wall-opening or a cupboard of this house. Outside the Minoan palace under the modern ramp which leads to it, remains of EM structural finds were recorded. Under a MM plaster floor a wall segment was seen which was made of smaller blocks of stone tightly built together having a height of 1 m. It had no foundation but at its base it was associated with a beaten earth floor (Levi 1976, 604–605; Benzi 2001, 147–148). Under Room CVIII a destruction layer of a possible EM house was identified, a layer which consisted of structural debris and a beaten earth floor (La Rosa 2000, 60; Benzi 2001, 149). Under Room CI there is another beaten earth floor with a small wall segment of 58 × 20 cm size (Levi 1976, 552–553; Benzi 2001, 150). Under Room XCI along the western wall a stone plastered floor was identified with some EM pottery deposits still on it (Levi 1976, 494–495; Benzi 2001, 150).

38. Phrouzi 1, Vrokastro area – EM I–III, survey (Hayden et alii 1992, 345; Hayden 2003, 374; Hayden 2004, 64, Tabs. 2.1, 3.1; Hayden 2005, 115–116, site CD).

On the top of the Phrouzi peak poorly preserved foundation remains were observed. These consisted of rubble built foundation having a north-south orientation and delimiting a room of about 6 × 6 m. They had a width of about 60 cm (Hayden 2005, 116, site CD).

39. Plakaki Kriou, southwest coast – EM II–III, survey (Hood 1967, 51–51; Price et alii 2002). Tumbled stones from walls make up most of the evidence for architecture at this site. Besides these, the tops of the structural remains were recognised in several places. Also, burnt, hard and red clay pieces of different size were seen indicating fire destruction and light upper structures. These could have been used as roof-sealing material, for floors of beaten clay or even as plastering of walls (Hood 1967, 52).

40. Poros and Katsambas, Heraklion area – EM I–III, excavation (Δημοπούλου-Ρεθεμιωτάκι 1998, 450–459; Blackman 1999, 117–118; Day, Wilson 2002, 153).

The Psichoyoudakis plot (Odos Meteoron) yielded EM architectural remains in the north-eastern part (EM I–IIB until MM I) (Δημοπούλου-Ρεθεμιωτάκι 1998, 450–451; Blackman 1999, 117). Pratikakis plot (Odos Agias Lavras) held some structural evidence belonging to the Minoan harbour and other industrial related architecture. The evidence for the EM phase was from the EM II onwards (Δημοπούλου-Ρεθεμιωτάκι 1998, 456; Blackman 1999, 118). Although some plans were published, without detailed description it will be impossible to use them in this analysis.

41. Priniatikos Pyrgos 1, Vrokastro area – EM II–III, survey (Branigan 1988, 43; Hayden et alii 1992, 344; Hayden 2004, 62–63, 71, Table 3.1; Hayden 2005, 133–136, site CD).

At present time rubble walls were recognized running into the sea, probably of EM date. As these walls prove, the settlement extended 50 m to the west, 20 to the east and surely a few tens of meters to the north in the EBA. Although architectural remains abound in this area, due to the multitude of them and of the associated ceramic fabrics variety they cannot be precisely dated (Hayden 2005, 135, site CD). The ongoing Irish-American excavation will surely elucidate the nature, date and tychotomy of these structural remains in the near future.

42. Prophitis Ilias 1, Vrokastro area – EM I–III, survey (Hayden et alii 1992, 343; Hayden 2003, 379; Hayden 2004, 40, 65, Table 2.1, 3.1; Hayden 2005, 118–119, site CD).

At the north end of the ridge, a few wall-segments were visible, which could belong to a FN-EM structure. Due to the dense vegetation, further data collection was not possible (Hayden 2005, 119, site CD).

43. Pyrgos, Khondru, south foot hills, Lasithi – EM III, survey (Batten 1995, 23–24).

Some architectural remains were mentioned by Batten but no further information was published concerning them (Batten 1995, 23–24).

44. Pyrgos, Myrtos, south coast, Hierapetra – Pl. VI/7. EMI I–III, excavation (Hood et alii 1964, 93–94; Cadogan 1978, 70).

In the phase Pyrgos I (EM II) there are architectural remains only in secondary position, as deposits of burnt mud-brick in stratigraphic relation to EM II sherds, so destruction through fire and probably an upper building of sun-dried mud-brick is attested here (Cadogan 1978, 70-71). In the Pyrgos II phase (EM III-MM IA-IB?) the domestic architectural venues multiply. These were to be found in the western part of the site. In Pyrgos IIa there is a nicely paved road which leads to the courtyard of a tomb. There are also steps leading down to this from the north (Cadogan 1978, 71). In Pyrgos IIb there is the level of use of the road and courtyard, also the level in which a possible foundation deposit was placed. This consisted of a rhyton of a collard dove, a jug base and cups of EM III and MM IA style (Cadogan 1978, 71). It is obvious that we are dealing here with an important structural find of EM date, but due to the lack of publication of the excavations conducted in the early 1970s, no further may be said about the nature, technique and employed raw materials.

45. Roussocharakas, south coast, Hierapetra – EM I, survey (Nowicki 1999, 576).

Due to the lack of published information about the site's architectural remains, the presence of very early, possibly EM structural venues, is noted.

46. SC 5, south coast, Mesara – Pl. VII/2. EM I-II, survey (Blackman, Branigan 1975, 22-24, 34).

Just below the summit to the east remains of walls were identified, which could belong to a single building. On the east-facing slope two more wall-segments were traceable which formed an enclosure that attached to the east side of the previous building (Blackman, Branigan 1975, 22). On the west side of the summit we have walls with a width of 50 cm of same nature and made of identical raw materials as the walls below the summit (roughly rectangular blocks of limestone). They had a north-south orientation and could be traced for 15 m, and with two east-west returns forming a corner. Off this corner, but not binding with it, a wall, similar in building technique, was running down-slope for 7.5 m, after which it turned south with the slope of the hill. It was traceable for 21 m and formed an enclosure of some kind, as the thickness was able to support upper storeys on this slope (Blackman, Branigan 1975, 22-23). The dimensions of the entire structure are of 19 × 12 m; obviously most parts of the building were not covered with roofing. This results in an 8 m width of the actual roofed building. Also along the inner north wall-line a double-sided saddle-quern was found in the middle of stones being set on their edge, a cupboard like construction (Blackman, Branigan 1975, 23).

47. Skourocharako, south coast, Lasithi – Pl. VI/6. EM III, survey (Batten 1995, 12-13).

There were very few architectural remains preserved, and in poor condition, but the sherds dated to the end period of the EM and very early (and very few) MM (Batten 1995, 12-13). No further analysis or data was published about the nature of the structures of the site; thus we cannot continue our enquiry of it.

48. Troulos, south coast, west Crete – EM I, survey (Nixon et alii 2000, site 4.44).

Substantial architectural remains were discovered, which allow recognition of some houses. The site had large amounts of chipped chert, obsidian and quartz (Nixon et alii 1989, 201-215). Due to the lack of final publication no further remarks or analysis can be conducted on the architecture of the site.

49. Trypiti, south coast, Mesara – Pl. VII/1. EM II-III, excavation (Pendlebury et alii 1933, 87-88; Catling 1987, 57; Catling 1989, 101; Βασιλάκης 1989, 52-56; Vasilakis 1995).

Several rooms were uncovered during the campaigns of the late 1980s. Until present day, no final publication was conceived for them; thus no rooms, areas or walls were given final numbers or names, or a detailed description. In total there are eight houses with about 36 rooms, including a three-roomed house with a southern entrance from the street that ran between the houses (in the northern part). This had a larger central room, and the two smaller ones adjoining opposite to each other to the central room; it has been suggested that they were used as

store rooms (Catling 1989, 101). The space at hand on the hilltop where the settlement was located was further enlarged towards the south as a retaining terrace-wall was built. A 1.50 m wide street cut this area into a southern and a northern part, area from which every house had its entrance. Access to the settlement was gained through openings along the road in the south-eastern and north-western corners (Vasilakis 1995, 72). The northern side had three houses. They were without parting-walls, but in the cases of adjoining houses, double-walls occurred (Catling 1989, 101). In the north-western house, the excavators recognised two building phases. From the earlier levels two square pier bases were found which probably sustained the roof of the central room (Catling 1989, 101). The southern half had five houses (Vasilakis 1995, 72). In one room a round central hearth was found and another had benches built along two of its walls. The native rock has been levelled for use as floors; besides these, some of them had stone-slab and beaten-earth floors (Catling 1987, 57). Apart from these, there is evidence for cellars, terraces, several benches and cupboards partially built in the base of the walls, as well as hearths dug not very deep into the floors. The roofs were upheld by pillars and realised in a wooden frame which was sealed off with *lepidio-earth* (clayish earth with schist inclusions) and schist-plates. They were also built with local stone blocks and brown clayish earth as binding material (Vasilakis 1995, 72).

50. Tylissos, Heraklion area – Pl. XI/1. EM III, excavation (Droop 1913, 365–366; Hazzidakis 1921, 10, 63–70; Hazzidakis 1934, 59–60, 111; Pendlebury 1963, 80, 92).

The EM III remains extend all under the later Minoan villa. In the southern part at least three structures have been recognised over an area of about 30 × 50 m. The walls are oriented to the axis of the compass. We can delimit an east-west aligned corridor at its western extremity with two attached narrow, and possibly long, rooms to the south of this. The second building is situated between the later two structures. It has a built hearth (?) in the eastern side of its largest room under rooms 12 and 13 of the MM villa. Due to the fragmentary nature of the remains, the plan of the EM building could only be guessed in this part. We may say that the rooms were rectangular with walls of local limestone and medium-sized boulders for the inner walls and the outer walls were of roughly worked and cut blocks, which is also true for the rest of these structures. The excavator reported that the two buildings were lying over one another, but not enough information was published about them, and therefore it could be the case that we are dealing with lower lying structures in the western part. Thus, the two structures could be connected by a narrow (1.20 m wide) north-south running corridor (?). This had an entrance (90 cm wide) at its south-western corner. To the north of these two, a third building emerges, with elongated and trapeze-formed rooms. In one instance double-walls are seen at its northern end (Hazzidakis 1921, 8–9, 64; Hazzidakis 1934, 59–60, Pl. XXXIII). In the northern and eastern part, the remains of a fourth structure are visible. It has wide walls (2 m) and has two north-south running parallel segments (Hazzidakis 1921, 64; Hazzidakis 1934, Pl. XXXIII).

51. Vasiliki, Hierapetra isthmus – Pl. XI/2. EM II-III, excavation (Seager 1905, 207–220; Seager 1907, 111–129; Ζωής 1976, 25–120).

The earliest architectural evidence comes from EM IIA at this site in the form of two houses, the Northern and the Southern House. The Northern House was to the north-west of the later buildings. The excavated area consisted of several rooms. Rooms θ 1–5 and Ξ 1, 4–5 were very narrow (approx. 1 m) and long. Room Π 6 and 7 were not divided by a common north-south wall but rather only from an ante projecting southwards from their common northern wall. North of room θ 1, a double- and parallel running pair of walls had a narrow rill between them. Such double walls with spaces in between them occur between rooms θ 5 and Π 6–7 and between the houses θ and Ξ. The only difference is that the space here (Ξ 8) is triangular and elongated and with its southern end plastered with stones. This plastering is the northwards continuation of the plastered open space Ξ 2. The southern structure is located under the remains of rooms

8,9,10 and 11 of the West House. They had a width of 2.5 m. In the south-western region they showed a double wall technique south of rooms ε II and III. It was only partially preserved, and its walls were made of small stones with clay packing (Seager 1905, 209; Ζωής 1976, 32–33, Map 3; Zoīs 1982, 210, Fig. 2, 213). The most substantial remains are dated to the EM IIB period. The initial excavator (R. B. Seager) published the entire complex as a unit and called it “The House on the Hill”, but later analysis of the site showed two different structures and building phases. Also, it has been argued that the stone plastered large western court (20 × 20 m open space) could be brought into relation with the Red House and its building phase (Ζωής 1976, 45, 50, 52, 83; Zoīs 1982, 212). The first house to be built was the south-eastern one called the Red House. The western part of the structure consists of two complexes which communicate with each other. The northern one (rooms 1,–3, 3α, 6 and 13/34) has very narrow rooms (width around 1 m) save for room 13/34 (2 × 3 m). This later one has two openings in its walls, the eastern one a doorway and the western one a possible window silt as it is placed 90 cm high. In the north-east and south-east corner of room 3α were two narrow openings which facilitate access into the neighbouring rooms. The continuity of the north wall of room 2 is also broken by a doorway (Ζωής 1976, 91–108; Zoīs 1982, 210, Fig. 2). The southern part is attached to the northern thus a double-wall emerges in this part. A larger space holds rooms 15, 15α, 33 and 33α, each divided from the other via projections of walls which considerably reduce the roof span. Access into the area is gained through a doorway in the south-eastern corner of room 15. This leads to a long east-west running room (16), which in turn has two entrances on its southern side. Shaft 28 is a small rectangular space about 1 × 1 m (Ζωής 1976, 109–111; Zoīs 1982, 210, Fig. 2). The southern part (rooms 35, 35α, 36, 36α, 36β, 37, 38) of the Red House forms double walls with the eastern and northern parts of it. None of the rooms exceeds 2 m, except “room 36”, which could have been (if a roofed space) an east-west aligned elongated room (Ζωής 1976, 116–118; Zoīs 1982, 210, Fig. 2). The northern part of the building has two large spaces divided into smaller rooms by shorter segments of wall. These two spaces are connected on their eastern side by a corridor (AA). The eastern wall of this corridor is also a double-wall for its entire length. Room 39 (3.5 × 4 m) has an L-shaped wall built against his western wall. The return of the inner wall and the northern wall create a space approximately 1 × 3.5 m. It has a double east wall. The north-east corner is taken up by another, originally L-shaped, structure, which probably contained in its western end a doorway with the shorter segment of the other L-shaped structure. The other space is divided into several smaller rooms by a central structural piece. Rooms 42/41 α could be regarded as longer and narrower rooms and the antae projecting from their northern walls would thus create smaller spaces (niches), also contributing to the stability of the roofing system. Room 41 is located in the middle of the central structure. It only communicates through the south with room 40. This room was only defined from the east and west by two projections of the south wall. Room 40 α is the largest of this area (approx. 3 × 3 m). It is obvious that the westward projection of the central structures serves to reduce the span of the roof. For a short segment outside the northern wall, a stretch of another wall was traced. This created in this part a double-wall (Zoīs 1982, 210, Fig. 2). To the north-east of the Red House is a rectangular structure (room 43, approx. 3 × 3 m) which apparently has no openings in its walls nor does it connect to the previously described building (Zoīs 1982, 210, Fig. 2). Vast areas were covered with thick remains of an earth mortar (50 cm in some cases), sometimes with reed impressions, probably belonging to the first storey floors. Further, a fill over 2 m thick in some cases probably derived from the fallen and decayed mud-bricks (Ζωής 1976, 40). The walls are built of smaller stones and plaster made of clay mixed with straws was used over large surfaces in almost every room (Ζωής 1976, 45). The walls were strengthened with wooden parts running vertically and horizontally in the fabric of the wall. Floors were also of two types: packed clay- and stone plastered floors. The floors of the upper

storey were covered with reeds and packed with the same straw and mixed clay as used by the plastering of the walls. The whole weight of these was sustained by horizontal beams (Zωής 1976, 45). In room 13, the technique of applying plaster was clearly visible. The lower levels were plastered with clay-based plaster, while the upper ones were made of lime plaster. The later one was rubbed into the stitches of the wall fabric and even on wooden (beams) surfaces in order to create a neatly finished surface (Zωής 1976, 101). Between rooms 6 and 13/34 we now have a 45 cm high threshold which could belong either to a doorway or to a window. The same problem of interpretation arises in the case of the opening between rooms 36 and 38 (Zωής 1976, 96–97). Packed earthen floors were very well preserved in rooms 36 and 36a, where their lower levels had a stone foundation (Zωής 1976, 47). The West House is formed by rooms 4–5, 7–9, 14, 29–32 and 3β, 4a, 4β, 4δ, 8a, 29a, 32a. In most parts it was preserved only to a height of a few courses. Room 32 is accessed from the western and northern side as it has no closing walls in these parts, hence it was probably an open area. Rooms 31 and 30 are larger rooms of approximately 2 × 3 m. It does not show any opening in its walls in this state of preservation (Zωής 1976, 75–79; Zoīs 1982, 210, Fig. 2). The northern part of the building also has rectangular rooms, with the largest one here being room 4 (approx. 1 × 3 m). An interesting feature presents itself in room 4β as it is divided to the east from room 3β only by a small northwards projection from its southern wall. This feature makes room 3β very narrow (1 × 3 m) (Zωής 1976, 81; Zoīs 1982, 210, Fig. 2). The southern part is also comprised of a series of long and narrow (approx. 1 × 4 m) rooms (8 and 9) combined with smaller (approx. 1 × 1 m) rectangular rooms to the east (7, 14 and 7a, 14a) (Zωής 1976, 82–90; Zoīs 1982, 210, Fig. 2). The central room (5) is the largest room of this house (approx. 3 × 5 m). It has in its north-western corner a construction of two east-west walls running parallel, with the northern one built against the northern wall of the room. Their length is about 2.5 m and the width is about 1.8 m. The space between them is less than 1 m (Zωής 1976, 80–88; Zoīs 1982, 210, Fig. 2). The EM III period also yielded some architectural remains, but these were never fully published by the early excavators. They were made of small stones and packed with a lot of clay. Also, they were built against the remains of one of the EM II buildings. Only the well still remained in use (Seager 1905, 218; Seager 1907, 113, 118). The main EM II buildings are the “Red House” and the West House; both are built in the EM IIB period, but the former is earlier and in the time of the later, the paved courtyard is laid down. Initial excavators at the beginning of the 20th century thought of this as one building complex, it was only the later research, especially that of A. Zωής, which demonstrated that these were not a single building, but different construction phases of joint structures.

52. W7, Ayiofarango valley, south of Mesara – Pl. VII/3. EM II–III, survey (Blackman, Branigan 1977, 58).

At least two different structures were noticed; in one case even interior separation of the rooms could be observed. It is interesting to note that these two buildings were placed on terraces on the west slopes above the river, every one of them with a different height above the river bed. The longest wall-stretch had a length of 16 m with a north-south orientation. The stones of the walls were more carefully chosen than those of the terrace walls, which are rather rough in shape. The overall house-wall width is 60 cm (Blackman, Branigan 1977, 58).

Discussion of Early Minoan domestic architecture

Building materials

The building materials of the documented structures of EM Crete are varied, depending on their environment and purpose of construction. In most cases, we have

no published information about primary materials; if any references are made in the publications, they are elusive and fugitive.

The documented building materials of the period are stone, earth (mud-brick), clay, lime plaster and a few organic ones. Every type of material is used in at least two different instances. Their nature is varied, adapting to the local needs and environment.

In most instances, the only surviving architectural building material is stone. These were of local sources and of all sizes, either unworked or roughly hammered. The stones used in walls were of different kinds of limestone, and therefore colour as well. Thus, bluish limestone was used at Debla, as opposed to Phaistos, where a reddish toned one was quite often encountered. Regarding size, we may say that they used even the largest slabs, as the example of the foundation or orthostatic-like base at site E14 (cat. no. 11) shows. Here, a single stretch of a 5 m long wall was formed by only five large stone slabs, placed in two parallel rows of two and three stones, meaning that the length of the blocks was between 1.5 and 2.5 m. At the other end, we have walls built with medium and small-sized stone blocks and slabs, like in the case of most of the structures at Phaistos or Palaikastro. Besides limestone, schist plates, probably of different colours as well (red and green), were used, especially for roofing or paving of floors. The former is attested in Trypiti, Vasiliki and Fournou Korifi, Myrtos where remains of decayed schist plates were documented and in some cases described as “*lepidohoma*”. The schist slabs can be seen in most of the paved courts, walkways or roads mentioned in the catalogue. The best examples for such paving are found at Pyrgos, Myrtos and Trypiti (most of the stones in the road), Vasiliki with its large paved Western Court, the paved, probably open, area under the Upper Western Court along the west façade in Phaistos, and the upper floor under the Propyleum, and Fournou Korifi, Myrtos paved area 85. Gypsum was in very rare cases incorporated into the wall-fabric, like in the cases of Debla and Fournou Korifi, Myrtos. Other reports of stone as building material mention cobblestones, which were used in most cases as filling for double-faced walls, and in some special cases as floors (Royal Road, Knossos excavations conducted by Warren) placed on a red gravel levelling, Phaistos as the lower floor level under the Propyleum or at Malia north of the possible central monumental structure, the cobbled “*kalderimi*”. Other references to this material occur at site IS 2, where it was used in the northern part of Wall C as foundation material mixed with other materials (mostly residues); this is also the case with the floor foundation of the “*Campana Neolitica*” at Phaistos.

Clay was employed in several instances by the constructors of the EM structures. In most cases it was either used in a packed form as floor levels or as clay plaster on walls, and more seldomly mixed with gravel and cobble stones, schist or grass for different usage. In the first instance, it may be of white, grey-yellow or red colour and beaten very hard. In the second case it is applied on walls, sometimes red painted.

Earth was used in EM constructions in dry form or as mud for packing of walls. The most common usage of this material is in the form of mud mixed with straw (?) or grass in order to make mud-bricks, but evidence for them is scarce, as they are only rarely documented due to their high degradation level. We should not forget that this was probably used along with stone as the other primary building material

of at least the EM phase, as for example at Vasiliki and especially Knossos, where the archaeological deposition of such was possible, indicated by the thick debris layers. Other usage of earth was of roofing material, i.e. “lepidohoma”, which is a clayey earth mixed with degraded schist plate remains.

A finishing product of EM architecture is lime plaster. It is white, whitish-yellow, grey or painted red in colour, but, with the exception of the painted colour, we cannot be sure what the original tones were. It has many uses in EM structures – at Fournou Korifi, Myrtos the wall plaster consisted of three layers and it was just under 2.5 cm thickness.

In other, rather rare cases, clues for organic building materials are only found decayed – such materials were grass, reeds and wood. Grass is documented as a binding or tempering material in the clay plaster at Vasiliki. Reeds are represented by impressions in clay, with almost all the examples coming from impressions from adobe or clay (Knossos, Debla, Vasiliki and Fournou Korifi, Myrtos). Wood is recorded by vertical and horizontal open spaces and niches in walls, and was probably used either as roof-beams for upper floors or for roofs (West Court House, Knossos, Vasiliki, especially the Red House, and Fournou Korifi, Myrtos). Other hints for the use of wood come from door sockets suggesting wooden doors, as at Ayia Triada and Fournou Korifi, Myrtos.

These building materials indicate highly specialised usage. Each material is applied in the places where its qualities best benefit the structures, always keeping in mind local availability, as indicated by the different and special spectra of use of the same material in different regions.

Architectural components and elements, special and specific features – Terminology

In most of the cases, the surviving structural fragments are features at the bottom of the walls. That is, they are only a few courses high, and therefore we are dealing with descriptions of basements, or at best, ground floors. It has been suggested that in several instances, the lack of proper and suitable terminology constraints architectural studies from the archaeological view, especially for the EM period⁵. The purpose of this section is to indicate and define a terminology which could be used in the future for descriptions of EM architectural elements in order to facilitate analysis. The remains may be divided into vertical and horizontal architectural elements.

The vertical remains include mostly *walls* and their associated features (see below). The walls usually have a width between 40 and 80/90 cm. Thinner ones are considered the normal width of the walls, and in the cases of such measurements, we can be pretty certain that if other features are not associated with them, there was no upper storey, but possibly a roof or roof-open space. For the thicker ones, it could be that we are dealing with special adaptations of man-made features to the natural environment. In a few, very exceptional instances, the widths are well over the commonly encountered measures – these are at Palaikastro, Tylisos and Knossos, all of which are

⁵ Zoïs 1990, 82–83.

dated to the EM III period and are probably related to structures of massive or possibly even monumental scale.

Features associated with walls are openings of different sizes; most commonly these are *doorways*. We can define several types of doorways on EM Crete. One is formed by the discontinuation of a stretch of wall, placed at any given point in it, based on the needs of the constructors. The other is formed by two different walls. Even this has several subtypes; it may be formed by two walls which are running perpendicularly to one another, leaving an open space between them. The doorway thus is formed via the width and a surface of a wall; this could also be called a *pseudo-doorway* (as for example in the Red House, Vasiliki, rooms 15, 33 and 15a, 33a). The other possibility is that the entrance is formed by two parallel running walls, in which case it is located at its end or even both ends; this could be called a *corridor-doorway*. The best example of this feature comes from Fournou Korifi, Myrtos, where corridor 64 even had a door socket in place at its southern end. The last type of documented doorways looks almost the same as the pseudo-doorway, the only difference being that this one has an anta projecting from the face of the wall, thus forming an actual doorway with the width of the wall in front of it, tentatively called the *anta pseudo-doorway* (e.g. in Red House, Vasiliki – rooms 40 and 42a).

Other wall openings could be *windows*, but due to the nature of the conserved features, archaeological evidence is very scarce for EM Crete. There is a possible windowsill at Vasiliki (between rooms 6 and 13/34), as its height is about 90 cm from the floor. Another possible example comes from Fournou Korifi, Myrtos (at the north-west corner of room 56), where a large, circular plaster patch would suggest an opening, although the envisaged pillar/column opening here is quite daring for the EM IIB period⁴.

Smaller wall openings are *niches* or small *sockets*. Niches can be of many kinds; they can be either an opening in the actual wall fabric (West House, Ayia Triada – southernmost room), or wall width diminishing (between rooms β and γ at Malia), or even empty spaces left between one of the double-walls (Fournou Korifi, Myrtos – north wall of corridor 64). Sockets could be used for inserting transverse beams which could uphold the roof or upper storeys (Red House, Vasiliki; West Court House, Knossos) or even, as suggested, lighter vertical structures (Fournou Korifi, Myrtos – room 79).

Unique features in the published architectural information for this period on Crete are the *postholes* of Chrysokamino metallurgical site. They are roughly circular and not very deep; they were used for inserting vertical posts of wood in order to sustain the roof and walls.

Special features among vertical structural elements were *wells*. Three have been identified with any certainty in EM contexts; two at Knossos and one at Vasiliki.

Horizontal features of the EM structures are *floors*, their *foundations*, other associated structures and the *roof*. Floors are relatively even surfaces in an open or roofed space. Usually, care is taken to create a neat area with paving of stone or levelling with

⁴ Warren 1972b, 50–51.

packed earth or clay. These rarely have foundations (e.g. Royal Road, Knossos excavation by Warren); in most of the cases the structure below these consists of levelled habitation or destruction debris (ex. Chrysokamino; East House, Ayia Triada).

The most common associated structures are *benches* and *platforms*: these are slightly elevated and elongated, horizontal structures. They come in many shapes and forms, and are found inside as well as outside buildings, and they are always built against at least one wall, and quite often placed in corners.

Cupboards are another common feature in EM architecture, and these are also always built against walls or natural features of the landscape.

Hearths in this period are features associated with floors, usually, but not always in a floor cavity. Elements associated with hearths are *ovens*, which also appear to be slightly elevated, small and rectangular features, usually built against walls.

Under *special*, horizontal *features* we may also note different cavities and channels of the floor surface. The northern room of House A at Knossos has such a hole with a smaller cylindrical one in the middle of it. Its function is unknown. The northern part of the EM Central Building at Malia had a series of such cavities in the floor, and due to the nature of the finds, it was possible to establish their function as holes for collecting spilled liquids. The cavity and channel of room 8 from Fournou Korifi, Myrtos had quite a similar function, where, instead of collecting, its role was to channel liquids down the slope.

In terms of roofs in EM times, we may note that there is very little evidence of them. The best documented instances were found at Vasiliki, where it was shown that they were a multi-layered feature of the building.

Although the structural components and elements are quite common, a detailed analysis reveals quite a range of variability, indicating the care that was taken by the constructors to realise them in a manner that fit their own mental templates and needs.

Building types and manner, embodiment of the architecture

In this section I will discuss the overall types in which the building materials and features of the architecture meet in order to present the general plans and forms of the structures used in this period. I will work from the small units of rooms to the larger ones of possible buildings and in some cases settlement plans as well.

Based on the ground plans, it is possible to distinguish narrow and wide spaces, which through the interaction of their cultural and environmental delimitations were planned in such a way as to fit the needs and possibilities of their builders⁵. Usually, the narrow rooms (1 m width and over 1.5 m length) are either elongated or corridors. The wider spaces rarely exceed 3 m in width. Of all the analysed sites, these were the largest roofing spans that could be used without a central structure or pillar. The walls were either built on virgin soil/rock or had a foundation trench made for them, usually with the same width as the wall. These techniques are in particular employed at multi-stratified sites, where the soil is loose. In other instances, they are built against

⁵ Sanders 1990, 44–45.

outcropping rock or against the slope in order to stabilize their structure – the latter is often encountered in the hills or mountains of Crete, where habitation prior to the construction was present.

Walls are of two kinds, either double-faced or built of roughly straight stone rows. The double-faced walls have two parallel walls of dry stonework or of packed earth and medium or large-sized stones; the space between them is filled with earth and smaller stones and cobbles. This way, the faces of the walls are smooth. Their width rarely exceeds 1 m. The other possibility is that the walls are built only with stones, without any filling and earth or clay packed. Usually, the larger stone blocks are preferred for this kind of wall building technique. Special placements are applied in some spaces, like in Debla, where the corners and lower rows were built of larger stones in order to strengthen the structure. Usually, the upper structure would have been made of mud-brick, as evidence from Vasiliki, Knossos, Malia and Fournou Korifi, Myrtos indicate. Each mud-brick was of different length and thickness: the longest ones were around 50 cm and their widths around 20 cm. They were placed in courses and bound together by clay mixed with pebbles. They were used at the Royal Road, Knossos, in a technique known as ‘headers and stretchers’; this is not otherwise documented. Usually, the inner structure of the upper wall was reinforced via vertical and horizontal beams – the best documented examples for such beams are found at Vasiliki. Other than this, at Fournou Korifi, Myrtos, a vertical line of stones was discovered fallen and was interpreted as a strengthening method of the upper mud-brick structure. Usually the surfaces were also plastered, either with lime or clay. The former had several layers and could have been painted, the recorded colours being especially red, yellow and white. Clay plaster was different than the clay floor; it had wild grass as temper and was applied all over the surface. The detailed documentation of the Vasiliki architecture showed that, beside the inner structural beams in the upper part of the structures, clay plaster was rather used in lower-lying places and the upper part of the building plastered with lime, thus reinforcing the lower structure by using the more compact plaster. The entire surface of the wall was covered with it, even over the beams, and it was pressed into the joints in between the stones or mud-bricks in order to create a smooth surface.

Benches were usually built of stones placed in courses 20–40 cm high; they could have been earth packed or not. In some cases they were also plastered, as in Fournou Korifi, Myrtos room 78 and corridor 64. Sometimes even thresholds were plastered, as in the same room. A special type of this category is the large elongated platforms of Malia rooms α and β , which were very low and all plastered.

Cupboards are smaller spaces delimited by stone slabs set on their sides; their height does not exceed 40–50 cm. They are usually built against a wall or against an outcropping of stone. The stitches between the stones are usually filled with the same material as that used for the floor.

Larger rooms may have a central structure in order to reduce the roof span. Usually it is either L- or Π -shaped (both houses at Ayia Triada and Fournou Korifi, Myrtos), and it may not have a regular form like in the case of the northern complex of spaces at the Red House at Vasiliki. Also, the walls may be doubled in order

to strengthen the entire structure like in the case of corridor 64 at Fournou Korifi, Myrtos. Wall doubling usually occurs either when the slope is much too steep and/or when two room complexes are separately built – this could be for cultural or architectural reasons. Another way to reinforce the walls against slope or outward pushing is to apply an L- or T-shaped wall against the wall in need. Such T-shaped structures occur at Malia (Quartier 1) and Fournou Korifi, Myrtos (rooms 69–70). These are slightly more complex counterforts than simple wall stretches built perpendicularly against the wall (e.g. Fournou Korifi, Myrtos – room 77), and they appear quite often in EM structures.

One special and documented feature is the building at Chrysokamino, which is built in a totally different manner than the usual technique in EM Crete. It is a lighter, wicker and daub structure. The frame was of wooden posts placed in wooden post-holes. These were covered with an even lighter organic material (woven branches or reeds), which were covered up with clay or clayey earth. One of its ends was an apsidal one. The fact that it is oriented to the north from where most of the year the dominant winds are blowing, could suggest a highly adaptable and practical approach on behalf of the constructors. It has also been suggested that it was not a habitation but rather a working or processing area.

The roofs of these structures are highly problematic as there is little evidence concerning their form. The best recorded indications come from Vasiliki, where the roofs were built with horizontal beams upon which woven reeds were placed, and the entire surface was sealed with a clayey earth (*lepidohoma*), and sometimes even schist plates were used for plastering a roof for walking or performing activities on.

The floors had no special foundations; usually they were either made of packed clay or stone plastered with schist. There are few exceptions to this rule, like in the case of one room at the Royal Road, Knossos, where red gravel was laid down in order to create a levelled surface for the cobblestone paving above it. The preparation of the site is further indicated by the levelling of previous structures (of course this can only be proved at multi-stratified locations).

The definition of open spaces is highly problematic in light of the archaeological evidence, since the people of the EM period may not even have delineated most of their exterior spaces. From this perspective, only the archaeologically documented and recognised ones will be seen as possible open spaces. There are quite a few of these. Especially stone plastering over a large surface is a definite indicator for such a space, as they withstand weathering and severe use. In most of the cases, these are referred to as courts (“West Court” at Vasiliki, in the Upper West Court along the façade at Phaistos, the northern, central, south-western and southern open spaces and north-eastern access at Fournou Korifi, Myrtos, and northern spaces at Tylissos). It should be noted that these so-called “courts” are not always plastered but only delimited by structures, as in most of the examples at Fournou Korifi, Myrtos. Other areas which could be classed in this category are stone plastered walk-ways and roads, such as at Trypiti, kalderimi at Malia, and road at Pyrgos, Myrtos.

The holes in the northern room of House A at Knossos and the one in room 56 at Fournou Korifi, Myrtos should be considered special features. They are different

in size, but in form they are very similar, with a larger circular hollow in the floor, in the middle of which a second cylindrical one goes even deeper. Their function is unknown, but as they appear in at least two places, they indicate a well-embedded practice related to them. Hearths are also documented in this period; in all the examples they are immovable. They appear in three forms; as burning marks on the floor (Chrysokamino); as built ones (Trypiti, Fournou Korifi, Myrtos – room 89); or more commonly as hollows in the floor (Royal Road, Knossos, Fournou Korifi, Myrtos). We have one documented instance of an oven in room 20 at Fournou Korifi, Myrtos. This was built on a stone sub-structure and it was a mixture of larger pithos sherds, stones and earth. Another special feature is the Hypostyle Hall at Malia, found below the later one of the MM palace. Its position, place, orientation and inner partition is almost identical with the later one. This means that, if not the entire palace, then at least some features, such as the north façade, store rooms and the large hall, were already in place in the EM phase in one form or another. Also, the presence of large roofed spaces indicates complex architectural planning associated with specific cultural behaviour and indicators.

The majority of the rooms are roughly rectangular and usually has a trapeze or triangular form. Thus, we may say that the builders had the concept of rectangular spaces, but the finishing of the work did not quite reflect their mental image of the place. Triangular rooms are not only seen as single standing, one roomed houses, as in Debla, but also built in a more complex structure like for example at Fournou Korifi, Myrtos room 81. The access into rooms is well controlled and without a doubt well-conceived. There are two entrance strategies. One is where several rooms are entered from a single room/corridor (rooms 1, 2 from corridor 3 at House B, Knossos); the other is the walk-through system. In this latter case, one must pass through several rooms in order to reach another one (rooms 73, 81, 80, 79 at Fournou Korifi, Myrtos). Regardless of which system is applied, in the case of larger complexes, the buildings indicate a similar mental planning, although their finishing and form may differ. This means that the room clusters, from the way of access, reproduce one or the other type, but they do not open to a single central place or access way; rather, they have a radial planning where they are accessible from several places. The only exception to this is in the excavated EM villages at Fournou Korifi, Myrtos and Trypiti, where such a role is played by the “principal” access ways, corridor 64 and the paved street, respectively. Also, in the case of larger, excavated settlement plans, it has been shown that we are dealing with house units and not a multi-roomed single structure. Trypiti has eight houses and Fournou Korifi, Myrtos has five, possibly used in the same period (as definable at the present state of conservation)⁶. Therefore, the houses are single standing or built against and near each other. In none of the cited examples in the catalogue did the two types mix. If there were several documented houses, they were either built closely together with a lot of double walls and no obvious preconceived settlement plan, or they were single standing and “scattered” in the landscape (Debla). As they come from the same chronological phase, one could underline that

⁶ Whitelaw 1983, 332, Fig. 69.

the phenomenon of clustering of houses in the region of the coast (a strip of 4–5 km in this period) and the smaller settlements of lesser architectural concentration and elaboration would indicate an inter-regional socio-economic practice related to the sea and its better economical possibilities. The mentioned practices are partially mirrored in the architecture of these coastal settlements, as opposed to the one in the hinterland.

The nature of Early Minoan domestic architecture. Conclusions

After the presentation of the natural and cultural landscape of Crete in the introduction, of the site catalogue with EM domestic architecture and the extraction and analysis of the materials, techniques and types of the architecture, what may we say about EM domestic architecture?

First of all, at the present stance of research, it shows a continuity and evolution spanning the entire EM period. There are certain elements which appear at different points in the Cretan landscape in the same EM phase. The most obvious analogies come from the EM II period. Also, some elements and techniques are visible at several different stages of the cultural make-up of the 3rd millennium in Crete.

How does it look or what characterises it? Structures are built either together or are single standing. In the latter case, they never appear as solitary ones, save for a few exceptions (e.g. Chrysokamino); they are rather grouped into several houses. Further, the present level of research does not allow us to say if they were used simultaneously or at different stages of the EM subphase, as our understanding of chronology is related to the ceramic sequence, where certain shapes and wares define a period longer than a couple of hundred years. In cases where the architecture is built together, the different stages are mostly easily visible, and in these instances, the continuity of a site is provable over several stages of the EM period and centuries. The houses have a radiant access system even if there is a “central” area (court, road, passage) from where they start their way into a structure. The construction or presence of these open areas to which the individual structures open up indicates at least partially preconceived planning and a sense of community strength. Features like central structures of L-, Π -shape are special features of EM architecture. Such special techniques in wall constructions are double walls, either for a single structure, or two different complexes of rooms. These always indicate two different construction phases, which are not necessarily architectural phases, but could also be cultural ones. Also, for the purpose of stabilizing walls these are built against the rising slope or outcropping of it. They can also have perpendicular walls or double L-walls which are built on the lower part of the slope in order to resist the drag of the slope on the wall. Cupboards are also specific features of EM architecture, as are clay and lime plasters which, if painted, are usually red, or more rarely white or yellow. The latter usually cover the entire inner surface of the wall, even floors and benches. The upper structure is of lighter mud-brick reinforced with wooden or stone parts.

Paved areas are used from the EM II onwards, as are benches outside and inside buildings. They may be made of coursing stones and sometimes they are plastered.

The materials are local, beginning with the earth and clay used for the floors and ending with the stones for the walls. The source of the wood used in the wooden parts and reeds of the roof is so far not traceable.

No special feature or technique may be said to be EM, but an association of several of them from the building style to the overall ground plan of settlements may define specific EM buildings. Association of the enumerated features, or at least a part of them, can define the nature of the EM domestic architecture, meaning that the more of the features and techniques enumerated in the above analysis and description that are employed in a single structure or EM site, the nearer it is from an evolutionary and chronological point of view to the period in discussion.

The hope is that this paper will provide a useful summary of architectural features and habits for further field research of the EM period. By attempting a unification and definition of certain terms, which relate to different stages (raw materials, site preparation, construction, usage) of the structural creation, it will stimulate the scientific dialogue of this period. Finally, it could be a valuable step towards understanding the complex thought materialised in the form of the intricate building systems of the later Minoan periods.

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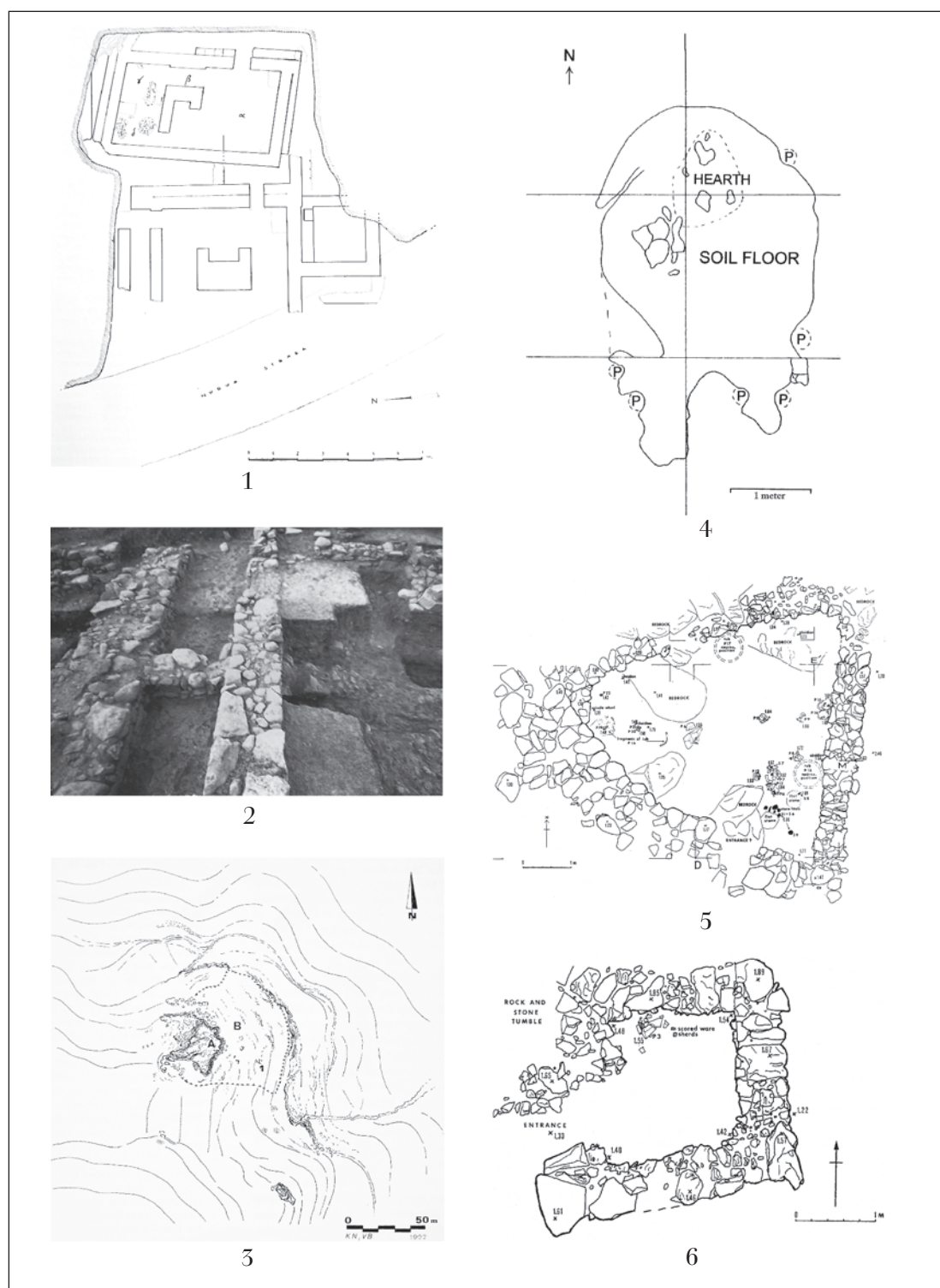
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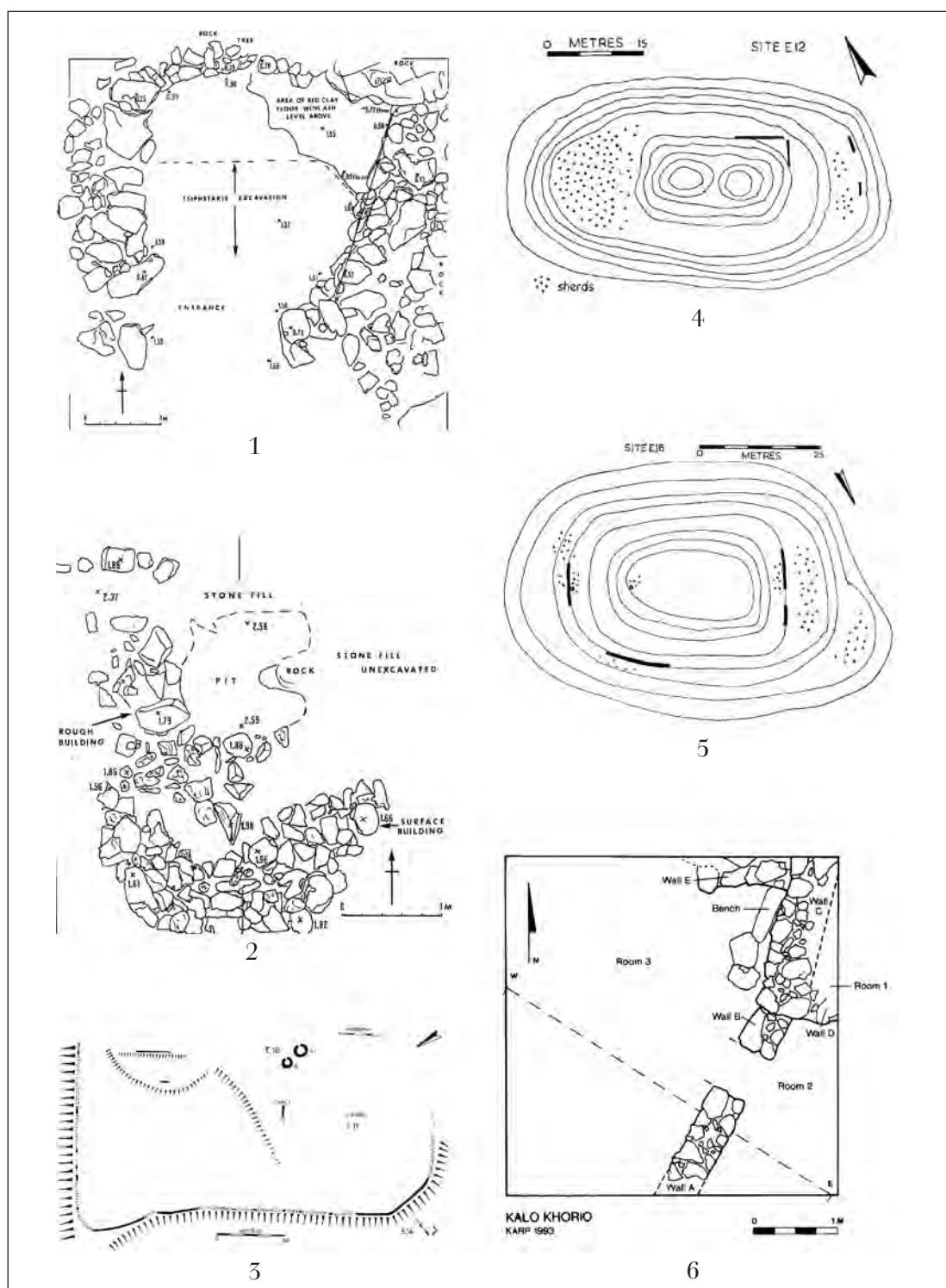
Pl. I. Topography of Crete.



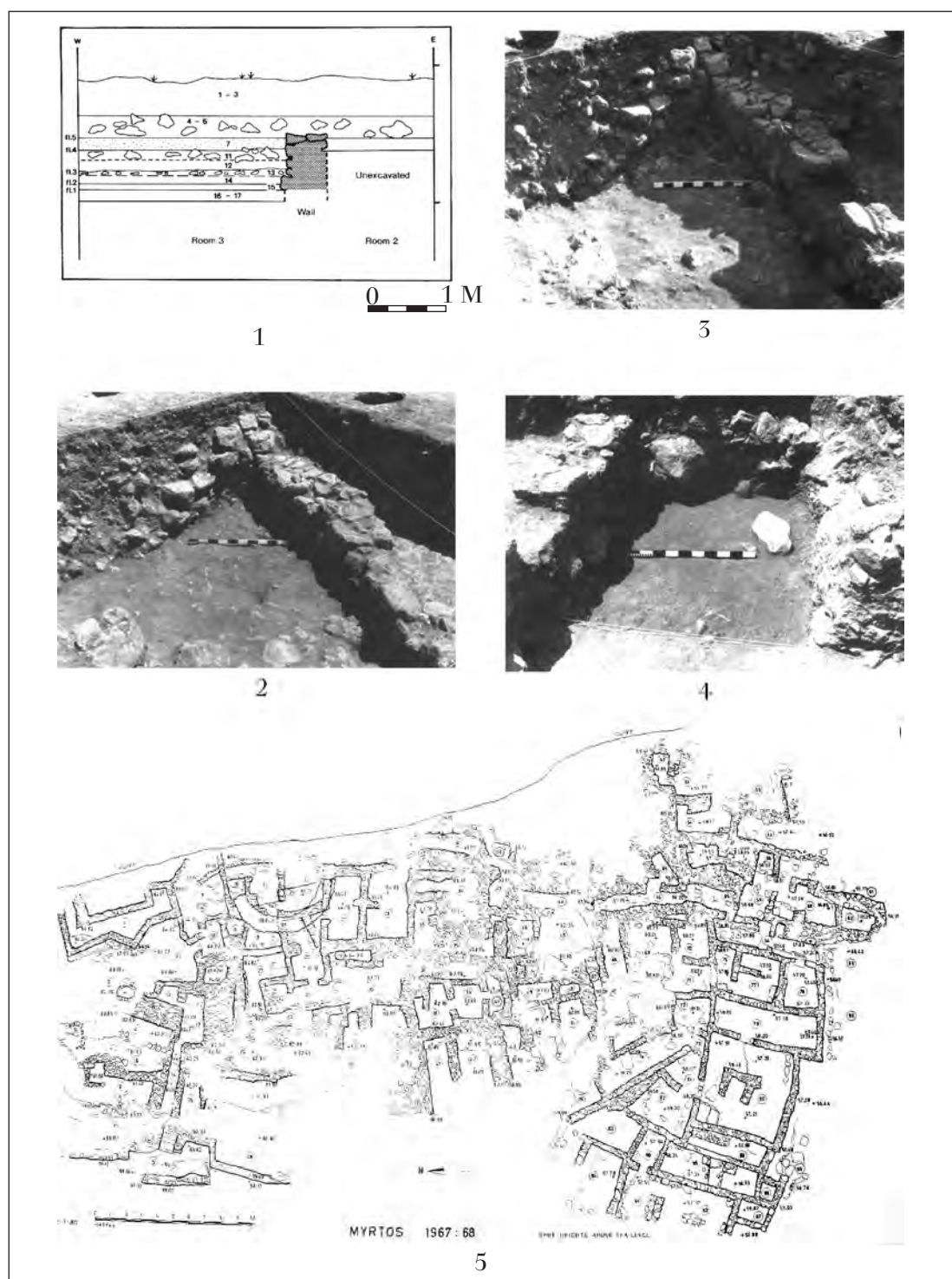
Pl. II. Early Minoan sites with architecture.



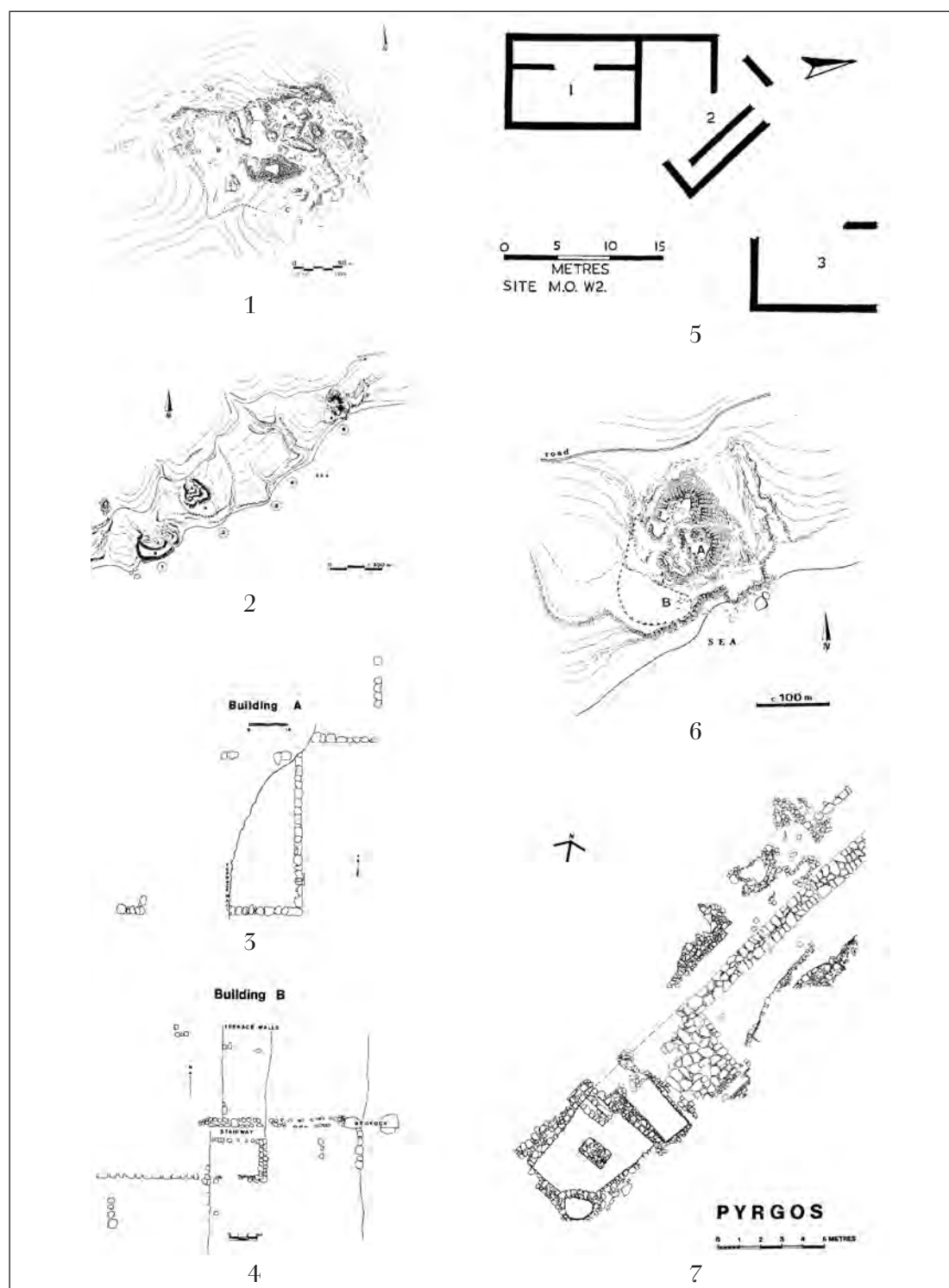
Pl. III. 1. Ayia Triada, East- and West House (Laviosa 1973, 504, Fig. 1); 2. Ayia Triada, East- and West House from S (Laviosa 1973, 510, Fig. 10); 3. Boubouli (Batten 1995b, 15, Fig. 6); 4. Chrysokamino (Betancourt et alii 1999, 361, Fig. 11); 5. Debla, Building 1 (Warren, Tzedhakis 1974, 311, Fig. 13); 6. Debla, Building 2 (Warren, Tzedhakis 1974, 314, Fig. 14).



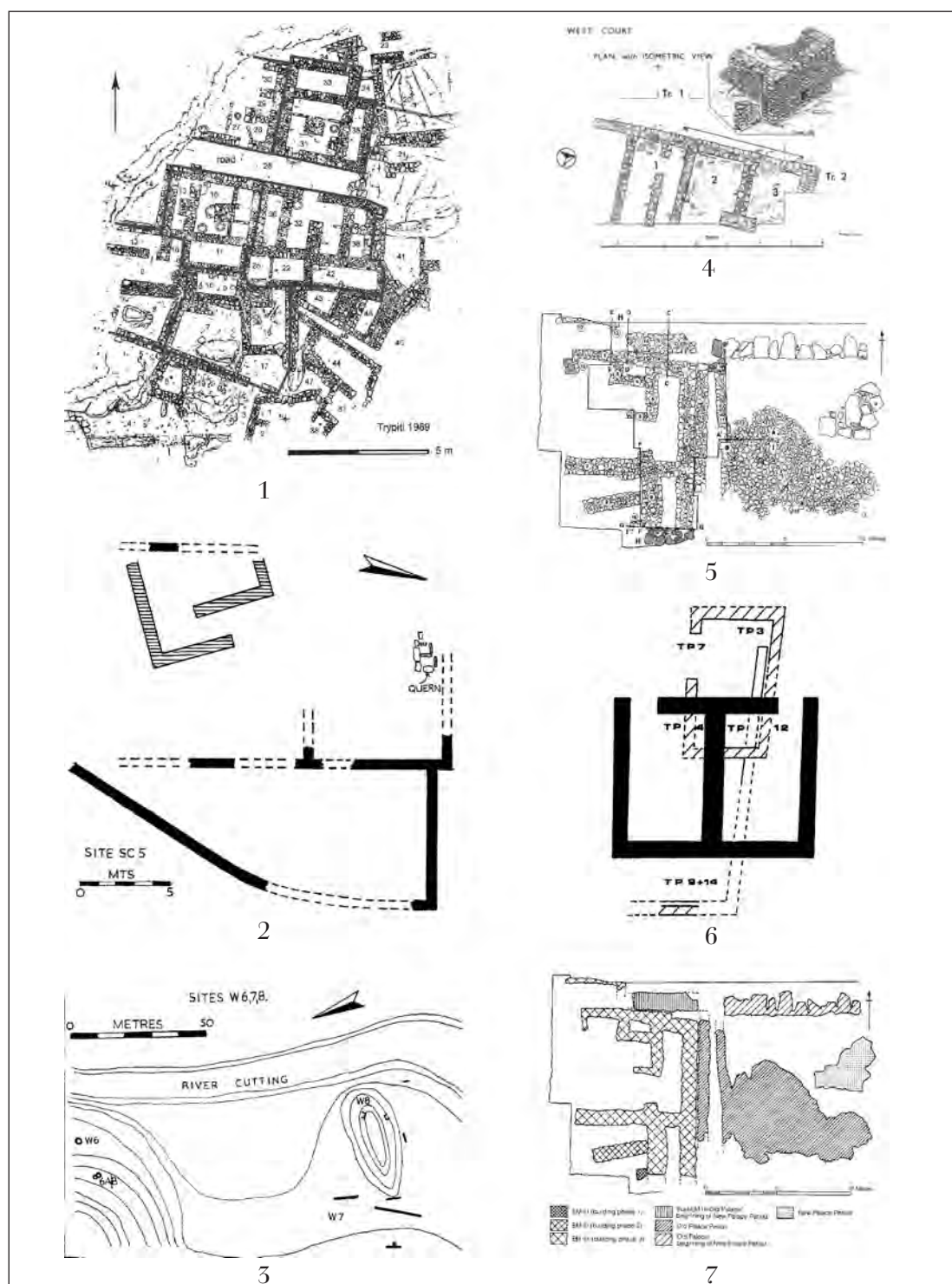
PL. IV. 1. Debla, Building 3 (Warren, Tzedhakis 1974, 315, Fig. 15); 2. Debla, Building 4 (Warren, Tzedhakis 1974, 317, Fig. 16); 3. E 11 and E 14 (Blackman, Branigan 1977, 39, Fig. 13); 4. E 12, Peak sanctuary (Blackman, Branigan 1977, 42, Fig. 14); 5. E 18, peak sanctuary (Blackman, Branigan 1977, 45, Fig. 16); 6. IS 2, plan of EM House (Haggis 1996b, 657, Fig. 13).



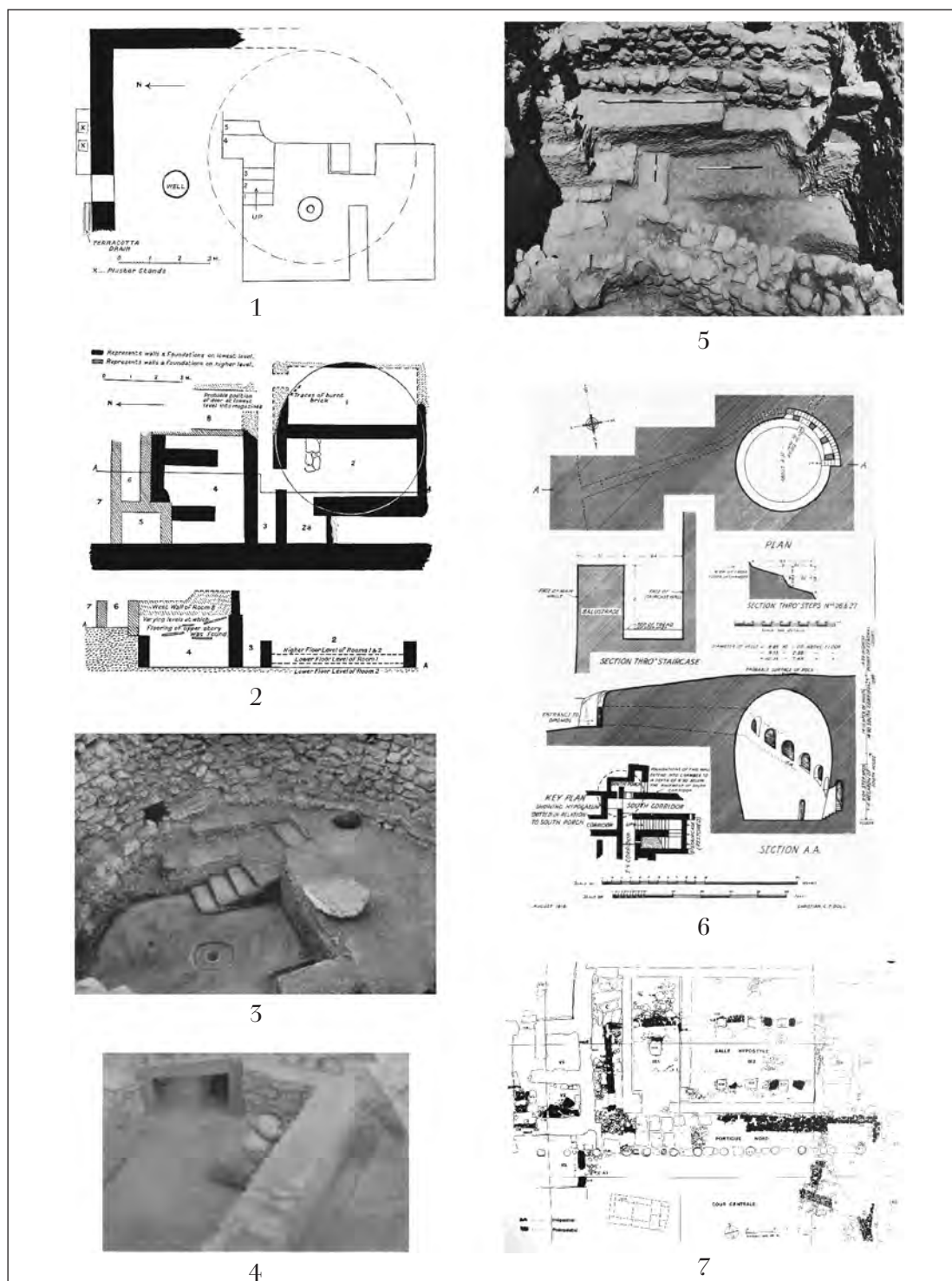
Pl. V. 1. IS 2, west-east section through Room 3 (Haggis 1996b, 658, Fig. 14); 2. IS 2, level 12 from south-west: floor 3, walls B-E (Haggis 1996b, 659, Fig. 15); 3. IS 2, level 13 from south-west: cobble foundation fill for walls C and E (Haggis 1996b, 660, Fig. 16); 4. IS 2, level 16-17 from north: sandy foundation fill for wall A (Haggis 1996b, 661, Fig. 17); 5. Fournou Korifi, Myrtos (Warren 1972b, fold-up plan).



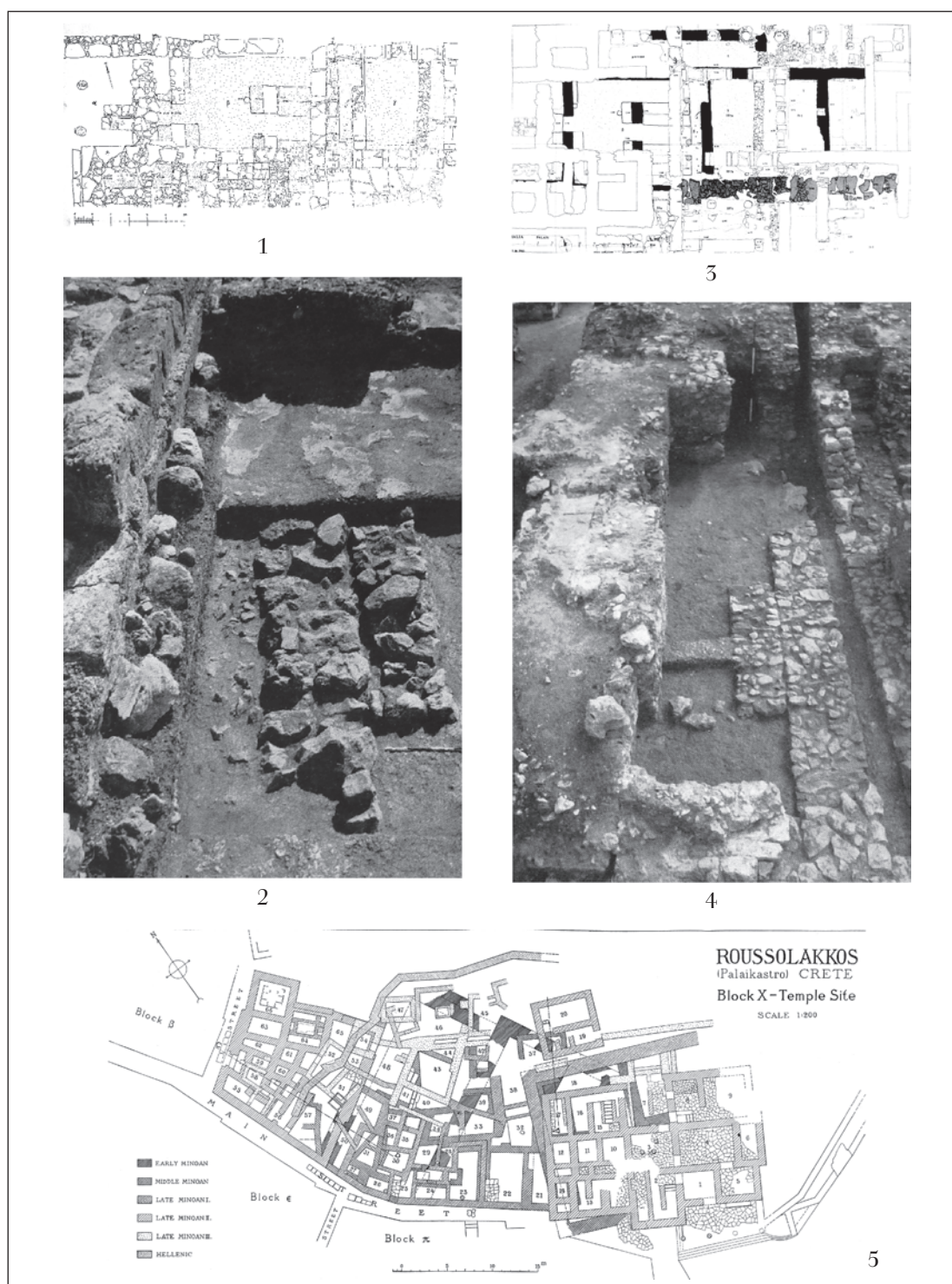
Pl. VI. 1. Castello, Khondru (Batten 1995b, 11, Fig. 3); 2. Listis (nr. 1) (Batten 1995b, 19, fig. 8); 3. Katharo, Building A (Watrous 1982, 50, Fig. 2); 4. Katharo, Building B (Watrous 1982, 51, Fig. 3); 5. Mo W2 (Blackman, Branigan 1977, 63, Fig. 32); 6. Skourocharako (Batten 1995b, 12, Fig. 4); 7. Pyrgos, Myrtos (Cadogan 1978, 72, Fig. 5).



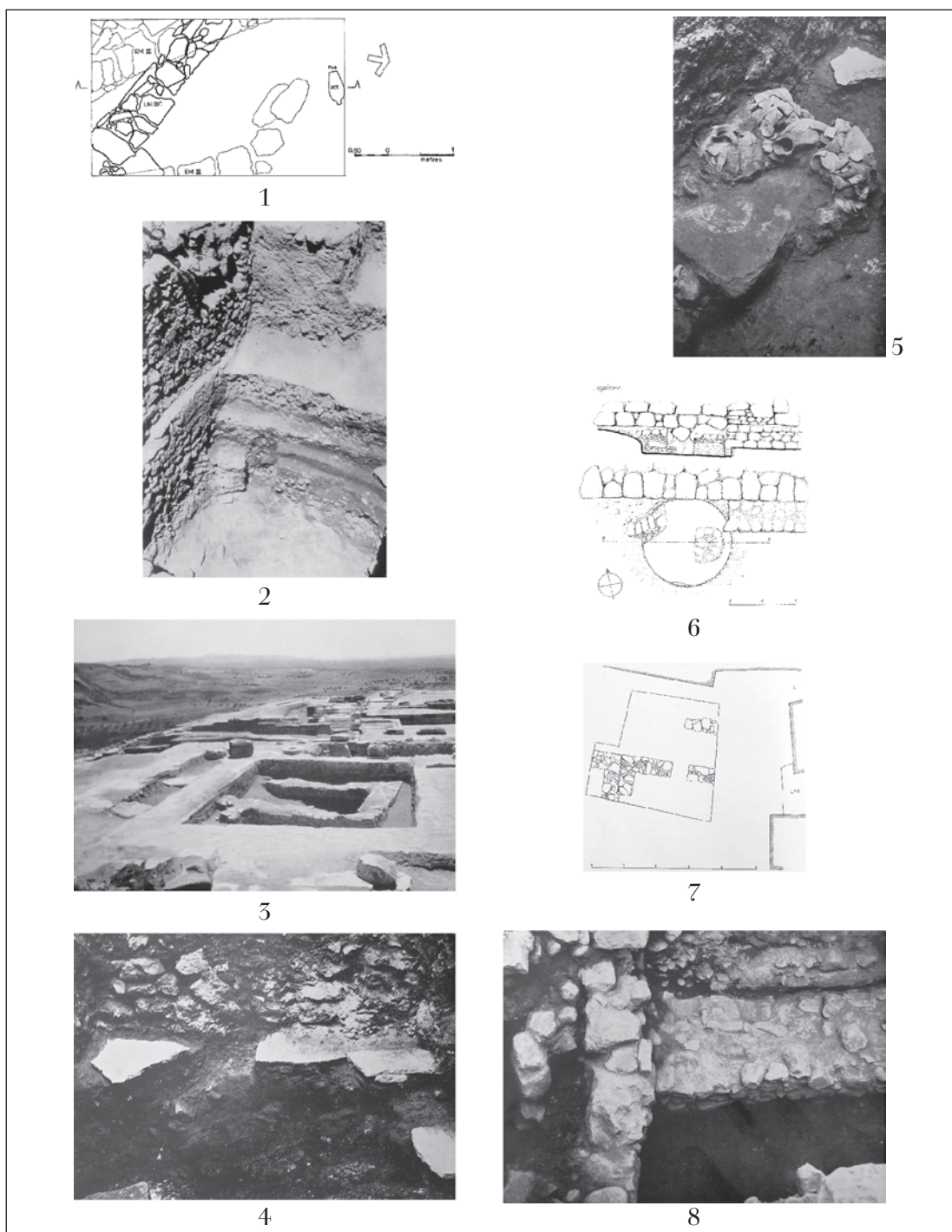
Pl. VII. 1. Trypiti (Vasilakis 1995, 70); 2. SC 5 (Blackman, Branigan 1975, 23, Fig. 5); 3. W7 (Blackman, Branigan 1977, 57, Fig. 27); 4. Knossos, West Court House (Evans 1972, 117, Fig. 2); 5. Knossos, South Front Houses (Momigliano and Wilson 1996, 8, Fig. 5); 6. Knossos, House C (hatched) (Momigliano 1991, 185, Fig. 7); 7. Knossos, South Front Houses (Momigliano, Wilson 1996, 53, Fig. 31).



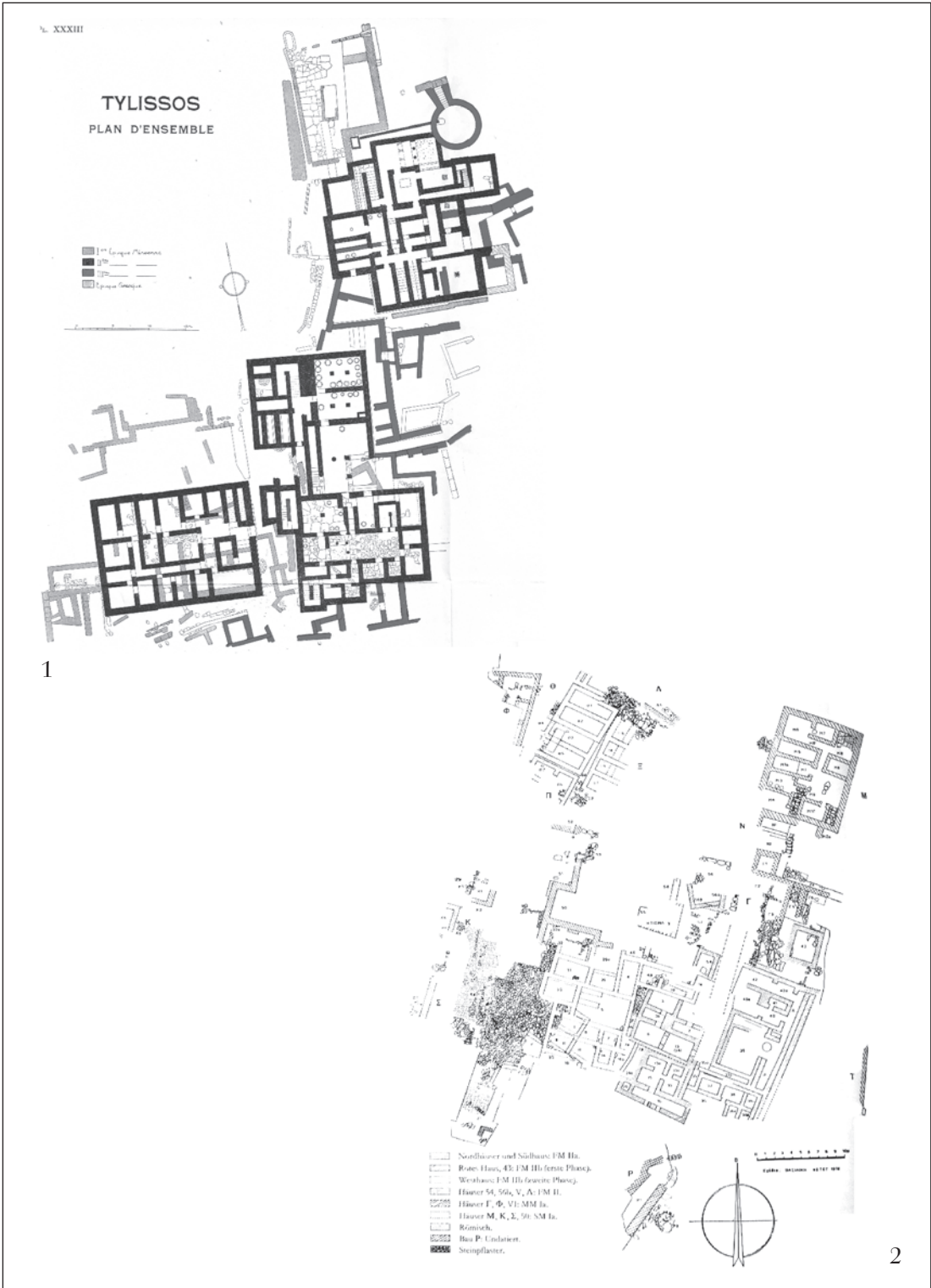
Pl. VIII. 1. Knossos, House A (Pendlebury, Pendlebury 1930, 55, Fig. 2); 2. Knossos, House B (Pendlebury, Pendlebury 1930, 57, Figs. 3, 4); 3. Knossos, House A (Pendlebury, Pendlebury 1930, Pl. XI/1); 4. Knossos, House B (Pendlebury, Pendlebury 1930, Pl. XI/5); 5. Knossos, Royal Road - EM II house from south (Warren 1972a, 392, Fig. 1); 6. Knossos, Hypogeum (Evans 1921, 106, Fig. 74); 7. Malia, EM III structures under Hypostyle Hall (Pelon et alii 1991, 731, Fig. 8).



Pl. IX. 1. Malia, EM III structures under Quarters III and IV (Pelon 1983, 684, Fig. 8); 2. Malia, EM II structures under Room III7 (Daux 1965, 1004, Fig. 9); 3. Malia, EM III structures under Quarters III and IV (Poursat et alii 1984, 882, Fig. 1); 4. Malia, EM III structures under Quartier 1 (Daux 1965, 1010, Fig. 5); 5. Palaikastro, EM building under Block X (Dawkins, Hawes 1906, Pl. X).



Pl. X. 1. Palaikastro, EM building at Katri (Sackett et alii 1965, 271, Fig. 4); 2. Phaistos, EM floors under Propileum 2 (Levi 1953, 267, Fig. 26); 3. Phaistos, EM building under Peristyle Hall (Pernier 1935, 116, Fig. 49); 4. Phaistos, EM floor under room XXVII (Levi 1976, 64, Fig. 70); 5. Phaistos, EM floor and deposit along western wall of room XXVII (Levi 1976, 64, Fig. 71); 6. Phaistos, EM floor above (in the middle) "Campana Neolitica" (Levi 1976, 415, Fig. 639); 7. Phaistos, EM houses under Lower Western Court (Levi 1958, 168, Fig. 348); 8. Phaistos, EM double-faced wall (above) under Koulura 2 (from the east), (Levi 1976, 353, Fig. 550).



Pl. XI. 1. Tyliossos (Hazzidakis 1934, Pl. XXXIII); 2. Vasiliki (Zois 1982, 210, Fig. 2).

STONE ARTIFACTS FROM THE COȚOFENI SETTLEMENT IN BRETEA MUREȘANĂ. GEO- ARCHAEOLOGICAL ANALYSES

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LUMINIȚA SĂSĂRAN, MONICA BODEA

Abstract: The article sets out to analyse from a geological-archaeological perspective four stone artifacts (two axes and two curved knives) that have been found by chance in the Coțofeni IIIc site in Bretea Mureșană (Hunedoara County). The items had been processed from primary materials with high hardness (magmatic rocks: basalt and dolerite) that could be found close to the site (the outcrop in Valea Mare located 7 km away from the prehistoric site). Both for the curved knives and the battle axe the authors stress the prestige function of these tools-weapons. They also underline the important economic, social, and strategic role of the site from Bretea Mureșană - Dealul Sârbilor.

Keywords: Early Bronze Age, Coțofeni culture, Bretea Mureșană settlement, lithic artifacts, axes, curved knives

Rezumat: Articolul își propune analiza geo-arheologică a patru artefacte de piatră (două topoare și două cuțite curbe) descoperite întâmplător în situl Coțofeni IIIc de la Bretea Mureșană (jud. Hunedoara). Ele au fost lucrate din materie primă cu duritate mare (roci magmatice: bazalt și dolerit), care putea fi aflată la mică distanță de sit (aflorimentul de la Valea Mare, aflat la 7 km de situl preistoric). Atât pentru cuțitele curbe, cât și pentru toporul de luptă este subliniat caracterul de prestigiu al acestor unelte-arme. De asemenea, este evidențiat și rolul important economic, social și strategic al sitului de la Bretea Mureșană - Dealul Sârbilor.

Cuvinte cheie: Perioada timpurie a epocii bronzului, cultura Coțofeni, aşezarea de la Bretea Mureșană, artefacte litice, topoare, cuțite curbe.

The settlement in Bretea Mureșană - Măgura Sârbilor (Hunedoara County) (Pl. I), part of the Coțofeni Culture, is well known in specialized literature through the discoveries attributed to a late period in the development of this culture¹. We hereby aim at valorising from a geo-archaeological perspective four stone artifacts (two axes and two curved knives) discovered by chance during the 1980s by pupils of the former Agro-Industrial High School from Ilia (Hunedoara County) and preserved in the Prehistory Collection of the National History Museum of Transylvania. Though the artifacts in question have never been the subject of detailed analyses, they were nevertheless illustrated in various synthesis works dedicated to the Bronze Age².

¹ Rotea 1981, 19-34; Rotea 1993, 65-86; Andrițoiu 1989, 39-56; Ciugudean 2000, *passim*; Kopacz 2011, 75-98; Popa 2009, *passim*; Sava 2015, *passim*.

² Rotea 1993, 66, Pl. I-VI; Kopacz 2011, Fig. 8/1-2; Popa 2009, 421, Pl. 29/1-4.

1. Battle axe, preserved in a fragmentary state (Pl. II). The edge and the sides are arched and the section is round. The item has been carefully processed, as its entire surface preserves traces of polishing and burnishing. The edge shows traces of use and on the body of the axe one can note small striations, grouped in pairs, placed in an approximately circular fashion.

Dimensions: length: 8 cm; width: 4.8 cm, thickness: 3.8 cm.

Inv. no.: MNIT, P 135571.

2. Axe-hammer, preserved in a fragmentary state (Pl. III/3). It is rectangular in section and its socketing mouth is placed in the upper part (2.7 cm away from the edge of the butt). The orifice, obliquely placed, is straight on one side and slightly flattened on the other. The walls of the perforation display striations. The perforation has been performed starting from both sides of the item. The butt, rectangular in shape with rounded corners, preserves traces of use and wear. The preserved surface of the axe is well polished.

Dimensions: length: 3.8 cm; maximum width: 4.5 cm; diameter of the perforation: 1.9 cm.

Inv. no.: MNIT, P 135585.

3. Curved stone knife (Krummesser), preserved in a fragmentary state (missing since Prehistory a small fragment of the tip and another from the lower part) (Pl. III/1). The edge is rounded and slightly curved and the blade is relatively straight. The item has been carefully processed and polished on both sides. The blade is thick and lentil-shaped in section.

Dimensions: length: 7.3 cm, maximum width: 3 cm; maximum thickness: 0.9 cm.

Inv. no.: MNIT, P 135570.

4. Curved stone knife (Krummesser), preserved in a fragmentary state (the median part of the knife) (Pl. III/2). The edge is straight and slightly curved, while the blade is relatively straight. Both facets, largely broken, preserve traces of polishing. The blade is thin, triangular in section.

Dimensions: length: 6.7 cm; maximum width: 4.4 cm; maximum thickness: 0.6 cm.

Inv. no.: MNIT, P 135572.

From a geological perspective, we have set out to identify the rocks from which the four items discovered in Bretea Mureșană were made of, to present the physical-mechanical properties of these rocks (that helps one understand why only certain types of rocks were fit to resist the wear to which such axes were submitted to) and to establish their area of origin. The types of rocks were identified through mineralogical-petrographic analyses, in thin sections, under the petrographic microscope with polarized light and microphotographs. Two types of magmatic rocks have thus been identified: dolerite and basalt.

Dolerite (samples P 135571 and P 135585) is a hypabyssal eruptive rock with fine granulation, light grey in colour, slightly greenish. It has the following physical-mechanical properties: hardness coefficient – 22–30; resistance to breakage under compression – 2200–3000 daN/cm², and splintery conchoidal fracture⁵. Microscopically, the rock displays a porphyritic texture with intragranular groundmass (Pl. IV/1–2). The phenocryst consists of plagioclase feldspars (Pl. IV/1) and green hornblende (Pl. IV/2, 4). Rarely, quartz is developed as phenocryst (Pl. IV/3). The groundmass (Pl. IV/2) consists of small plagioclase feldspar crystals randomly orientated, hornblende, quartz, chlorite, calcite and opaque minerals (iron oxides and hydroxides). Both phenocryst and small plagioclase feldspar crystals are affected by the weathering and partly transformed into clay minerals.

⁵ Pârvu 1983, 124.

Basalt (samples P 135570 and P 135572) is an extrusive eruptive rock with massive textures, fine granular mass and black in colour. It has the following physical-mechanical properties: very high hardness coefficient - 25–30; resistance to breakage under compression - 2500–3000 daN/cm²; and splintery-irregular breakage⁴. Microscopically, the rock displays a fluidal structure (Pl. IV/5, 6), with oriented plagioclase feldspars as a result of basaltic lava flows. Isometric and prismatic crystals of pyroxene (augite) are also present as primary minerals. Secondary minerals as chlorite and iron hydroxides replacing the phenocrysts of olivine or in the groundmass of the rock can be noticed.

Based the geological map⁵ of the region where the items were found, one can note the existence of the magmatic rocks described above. Both dolerite and basalt could have originated in the outcrops of the area (ca. 7 km away from Măgura Sârbilor Hill). Mesozoic ophiolitic rocks are present in the southern border of the territory of Deva map, generated by the extensional magmatism of the geosynclinal area of the Metaliferi Mountains. These ophiolitic rocks are represented by submarine eruptions of basalts that feature dolerite and gabbros sills (the body from Valea Mare)⁶.

From an archaeological perspective, E. Comșa has performed a global analysis of perforated stone axes⁷. The axe-hammer (Pl. III/1), that was also used as a hammer, is one of the simplest and most often used types of axes; it was thus also employed during the Eneolithic and the Bronze Age⁸. On the other hand, the axe with cylindrical butt (also called a battle axe) is of a much more sophisticated type; according to Al. Vulpe⁹ the type included two main categories: A) with straight longitudinal profile and B) with curved longitudinal profile. The analysed edge fragment (Pl. II) most likely belongs to the second category that is, with very few exceptions, typical to the Bronze Age¹⁰. Despite the fact that the two artifacts are stray finds, starting from the cultural-chronological identification of the site in Bretea Mureșană - Măgura Sârbilor, they can be attributed to the Coțofeni Culture (during the early period of the Bronze Age)¹¹. Though axe-hammers are frequently present on sites belonging to this culture¹², axes with cylindrical butt are much rarer¹³. An entirely preserved item, that we have attributed with a great degree of probability to the same culture, was discovered in Someșu Rece, in a ritual context¹⁴. Items dated during the same time period or close to the development period of the Coțofeni Culture were also found in the environment of the Schneckenberg Culture¹⁵.

⁴ Pârvu 1983, 63.

⁵ Geological map 1968, Deva sheet, sc. 1:200 0000, Geological Institute, Bucharest.

⁶ Geological map 1968, Deva sheet, sc. 1:200 0000, Geological Institute, Bucharest, 36–37.

⁷ Comșa 1972, 245–262.

⁸ Comșa 1972, 258–259.

⁹ Vulpe 1959, 266–276; for a more recent and complex typology, see: Diaconu 2010, 5–21.

¹⁰ Comșa 1972, 260; Diaconu 2010, 6, with the bibliography.

¹¹ Rotea 1993, 65, 86; Rotea 2009, 10–11.

¹² Roman 1976, 17.

¹³ Roman 1976, 17; Ciugudean 2000, 31, Pl. 121/3, 124/4, but also 124/3.

¹⁴ Tecar, Rotea, Săsăran 2015, 15–19.

¹⁵ Prox 1941, *passim*; Székely 1997, *passim*.

Though curved stone knives are not numerous, they were still found in many Bronze Age settlements and thus holding a significant role among the tools/weapons of this era. The facts that such curved knives were passed on almost unchanged typologically from the early period of the Bronze Age until the end of the same era and that they were made of sturdy materials, enjoying a long period of use, lead one to the conclusion that these tools/weapons were not only widely used due to their multifunctionality, but also had an important role in the period's economy. The discovery of curved stone knives inside habitation structures or near them¹⁶ can prove the domestic use of these tools. One must not exclude their possible agricultural use either, as curved knives could have been used as sickles¹⁷ and might have been the model for the first sickles made of metal (the deposit from Deva), as I. Nestor suggested¹⁸. At the same time one must stress the presence of curved knives in cultic, ritual contexts (such as the Otomani Culture sanctuary discovered in Sălacea)¹⁹.

The cultural and chronological identification of the site on Dealul Sârbilor, including that of the items analysed here, has a high degree of certainty in our opinion²⁰. Its attribution to the final phase of the first period of the Early Bronze (EBA Ic)²¹, namely phase IIIc of the Coțofeni Culture²², fits all the discoveries published from this site²³. At the same time, one could take into account the fact that the presence of materials specific to the cultural phenomena of phase II EBA in certain Coțofeni contexts²⁴ might characterize a more recent stage of phase Cotofeni IIIc. Still, only researches on other sites with similar discoveries could lead to new arguments along these lines, as long as the site in Măgura Sârbilor has been destroyed by the excavation works for the quarry of basaltic andesite. Even so, this does not seem to have been the last stage in the development of the Coțofeni Culture but, on the contrary, it was the most flourishing stage.

From a petrographic perspective, the four analysed items are made of magmatic rocks. Basalts and dolerites are very hard rocks, resistant to compression, shock, and wear. The presented lithic material, fragmentarily preserved, was entirely processed through polishing, carefully finished. The primary material employed is local and there is no certain proof of long distance exchanges. The location of the site in question in the proximity of a main active riverbed (Mureșului Valley) and of two creeks (Valea Bătrână and Valea Bozului) has favoured the collection of cores right from the surface or through minimal interventions. Still, one cannot exclude, on a theoretical level, the exploitation of local outcrops through wells or even small galleries.

Globally, geo-archaeological studies performed on lithic artifacts from the collections of the National History Museum of Transylvania stress the fact that prehistoric

¹⁶ Székely 1955, 846; Székely 1997, 49.

¹⁷ Kull 1986, 363-390.

¹⁸ Nestor 1945, 180, Fig. 3.

¹⁹ Ordentlich 1972, 63-81.

²⁰ Rotea 1981, 23-24; Rotea 1993, 66; Rotea, Tecar, Tecar 2010, 38.

²¹ Rotea 2009, 10-12.

²² Roman 1976, 40, 46.

²³ Rotea 1981, 19-34; Rotea 1993, 65-86; Rotea, Tecar, Tecar 2010, 36-44.

²⁴ Rotea, Tecar, Tecar 2010, 38.

people used a wide variety of magmatic, metamorphic, and sedimentary rocks²⁵. These rocks were selected according to the field of use based on properties such as: their mineral composition, their structure and texture, their hardness, their resistance to breakage and compression, their splitting pattern when hit according to certain planes etc. Also, the characteristics of the lithic material and its origin indicate the fact that local/micro-regional processing workshops were set out near the sources of primary materials, thus they displayed certain peculiarities both regarding the nature of the mineral primary material employed and the typology of the processed tools. Supra-regional workshops seem to stand out through a wider diversity and quality of the rocks they used (coming from more varied and rarer sources, sometimes great distances apart) and through the typology and quality of the created items. Nevertheless, in both cases one must stress the contribution of specialists, people who knew well the use value of minerals (both of the primary material out of which the artifacts were processed and of the primary material needed to polish them) and the processing techniques.

The two curved knives from Bretea Mureșană that we relate to the Coțofeni IIIc habitation are among the earliest items of this type discovered in Transylvania²⁶. Nevertheless, the introduction of this type of artifact in the Transylvanian area is not undoubtedly attributed to the Coțofeni Culture, but rather to the cultural realities from south-eastern Transylvania (Schneckenberg A or pre-Schneckenberg)²⁷, that presumably adopted it, in their turn, from the populations of the steppes²⁸. As for the function of these artifacts, J. Kopacz, who has analysed the distribution of these items over a wide area, has noted the fact that they were deposited in tombs, hidden away in deposits, and transported outside settlements and inhabited areas; this indicates they had a representative function, pointing to their owners' upper social standing²⁹.

The fragmentary "battle axe" from Bretea Mureșană, just like the one from Someșu Rece³⁰ or others of the same type³¹ are complex creations, carefully processed out of hard rocks. Specialists have also noted the fact that they are not simple tools or weapons but also symbols of power, social standing and they were used, in this context, as objects of offering³².

The stratigraphic situation, that includes the terracing of the slopes and the complex system of construction of the dwellings, the richness and variety of the archaeological material (including a copper flanged-axe) discovered over time in the Coțofeni site from Bretea Mureșană, the dominating position of the height along Mureșului Valley (the main communication axis between Transylvania and the Western Plain) indicate the site's significance as an important economic, social and strategic centre of

²⁵ See for example: Săsăran, Wittenberger 2008, 151-154; Benea, Săsăran, Rotea 2008-2009, 75-80; Tecar, Rotea, Săsăran 2015, 15-19.

²⁶ Roman 1976, 18; Ciugudean 2000, 31.

²⁷ Prox 1941, Pl. 29/1-6, 8; Székely 1997, 49; Ciugudean 2000, 31.

²⁸ Székely 1955, 846; Kopacz 2011, 75, 77.

²⁹ Kopacz 2011, 79-80.

³⁰ Tecar, Rotea, Săsăran 2015, 20-22.

³¹ Diaconu 2010, 5-21.

³² Diaconu 2010, 16-18; Ignat 2008, 155-160; Bejinariu 2006, 33-42; Tecar, Rotea, Săsăran 2015, 17.

this culture. It is thus even more regretful that one must speak of this site only in the past tense, not in the present or the future.

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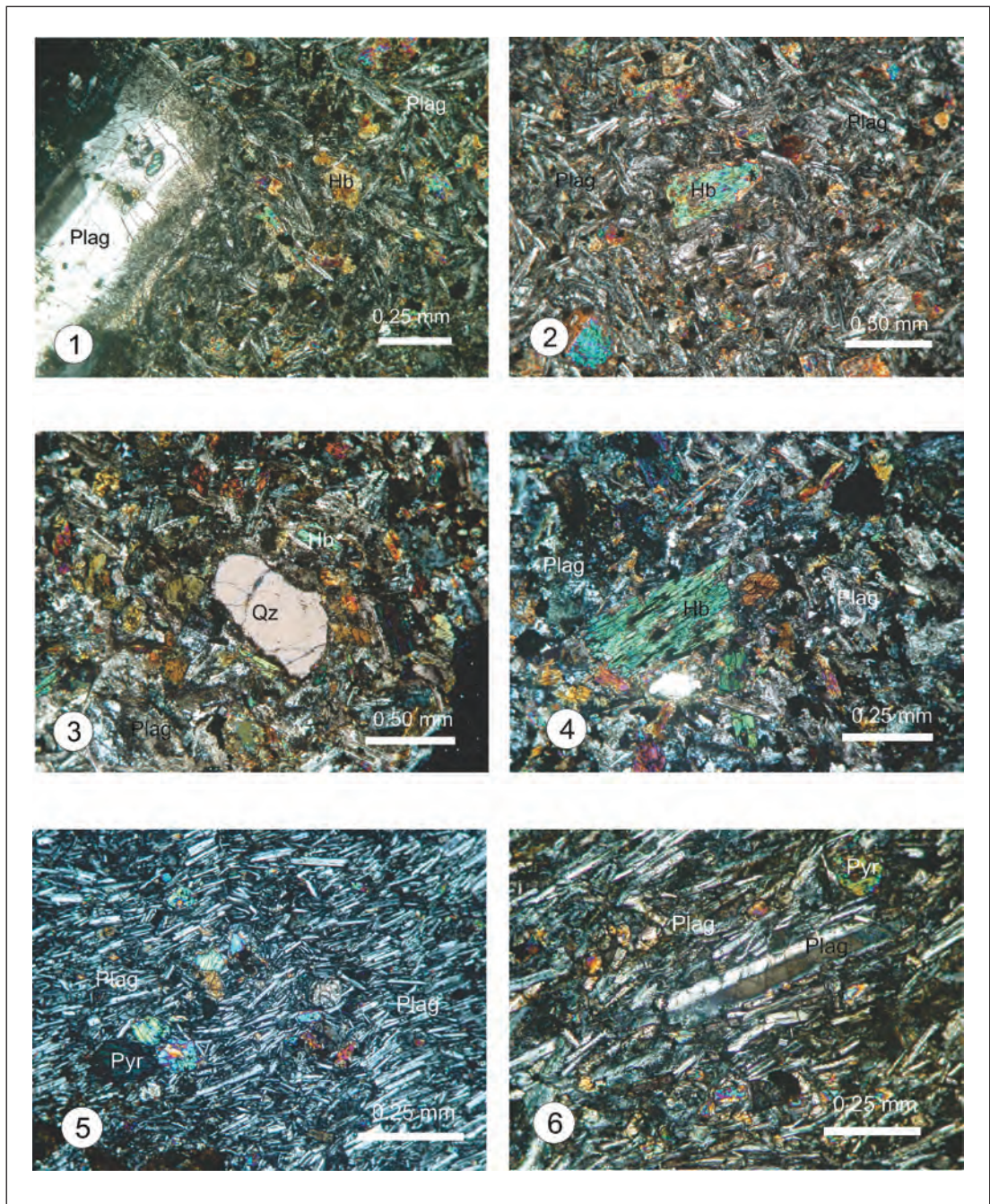
Pl. I. Bretea Mureșană - Măgura Sârbilor. 1. Vedere din satelit. 2. Vedere dinspre Valea Mureșului.



Pl. II. Battle axe.



Pl. III. 1-2. Curved stone knives (krummesser); 3. Axe-hammer.



Pl. IV. Dolerite and basalt under the microscope.

1. Microphotograph of dolerite (sample P 135571) showing phenocryst of plagioclase feldspar into intergranular groundmass consisting of plagioclase feldspars and hornblende (N+); 2. Microphotograph of the groundmass in dolerite (sample P 135571) with green hornblende and small crystals of plagioclase feldspars (N+); 3. Microphotograph with phenocryst of quartz in dolerite. The groundmass consists of altered crystals of plagioclase and green hornblende (N+). 4. Microphotograph with green hornblende developed as phenocrysts in dolerite (sample P 135585). 5. Microphotograph with fluidal texture of the basalt (sample P 135572) consisting of parallel crystals of plagioclase feldspars and isometric crystals of pyroxene (N+). 6. Microphotograph with oriented crystals of plagioclase feldspars (sample P 135570) (N+). Plag - Plagioclase feldspar; Hb - Hornblende, Pyr - Pyroxene; Qz- Quartz.

DACIAN FORTRESSES (ALMOST) WITHOUT WEAPONS. COVASNA – FAIRIES FORTRESS

VIORICA CRIȘAN, PAUL PUPEZĂ

Abstract: Weapons are almost missing from the Dacian hillfort Covasna – Fairies Fortress. Only a spearhead, a javelin head, and six arrowheads have been discovered so far. The situation is not unique among the Dacian fortresses. The lack of weapons can be caused by an incipient stage of archaeological investigations or by the absence of relevant archeological complexes. It could also be a real historical phenomenon in connection with the importance of weapons in the Dacian society or with the specific conditions in which the fortress from Covasna ended.

Keywords: Dacia, fortresses, weapons, walls, Covasna.

Rezumat: În fortificația dacică de la Covasna – Cetatea Zânelor armele aproape lipsesc din descoperiri. Până în prezent s-au găsit doar un vârf de lance, un vârf de suliță și șase vârfuri de săgeți din fier. Situația nu este unică printre fortificațiile dacice. Lipsa armelor din descoperiri se poate datora stadiului incipient al cercetării sau absenței unor anumite complexe arheologice. Lipsa armelor poate fi legată și de importanța lor în societatea dacică sau de felul în care cetatea de la Covasna și-a încetat funcționarea.

Cuvinte cheie: Dacia, fortificații, arme, ziduri, Covasna.

Covasna – Fairies Fortress

The archeological site Covasna – Fairies Fortress¹ is located on Fortress Hill, between the Fortress Stream and the Mișca Stream, about two kilometers east of the city (Pl. I/1). Most of the artefacts found here are Dacian, but they also come from the Early Iron Age and the Middle Ages.

The Dacians strongly fortified the hill raising 700 meters of walls made of irregular and summary processed stones, bounded with clay. The ramparts defended and sustained an acropolis and at least six terraces (conventionally numbered from I to VI), covering approximately 8000 m² (Pl. I/2). The remains of dwellings, workshops and temples were discovered inside the fortified area. A square tower was erected at the junction of Terraces II and III; at least other two similar towers were raised on site but not yet investigated.

The relatively large surface of the terraces and the massive fortifications are those of an important political and military center. The first construction stage started at the end of the 2nd century BC, followed by destruction and rebuilding during the 1st century AD. The fortress was destroyed in the Dacian wars with the Romans at the beginning of the 2nd century AD.

¹ Székely 1969, 99-122; Székely 1972, 201-214; Crișan 2000, 33-36; Crișan 2009, 59-64; Crișan, Sirbu 2010, 266-285; Crișan, Sirbu, Popescu 2013, 22-26. Crișan, Sirbu, Pupeză 2016.

Weapons and military equipment

The archaeological inventory from Covasna is very diverse, including a large range of Dacian pottery, but also Hellenistic and Roman imports, tools and utensils, adornments and garment accessories, coins etc. Instead, the weapons are almost absent from finds.

An iron spearhead was found on Terrace II, near the tower (Pl. II/11)². The spear blade is rectangular in section, solid and slightly narrowed at the top. It features a conical sleeve with overlapping and joined edges. At the bottom there is a hole and a rectangular nail. The sleeve is decorated with circular incisions and small cuts. The spearhead is 16.3 cm in length (10 cm the blade) and has a weight of 60 gr³.

In Dacia similar spearheads have been found, but not identical in shape. At Costeşti and Grădiştea de Munte elongated spearheads, rectangular in section but with cylindrical and not conical sleeve were found⁴. Spearheads with conical sleeve were found at Costeşti, Grădiştea de Munte and Ocniţa, but with less elongated blades than the one from Covasna⁵. Spears of this type are frequent in the Roman world, some being used as *ballista* bolt heads⁶. It is possible that the spearhead from Covasna has a Roman origin and it was imported in Dacia or arrived here during the conflicts between Dacians and Romans.

Stratigraphically, the spearhead belongs to the late layers of the site, dated in the 1st century AD⁷. The spear was found along with seven Roman coins, six republicans and one issued during Emperor Vespasianus⁸. The other similar spearheads from Dacia are dated mostly in the 1st century AD⁹.

Near the same tower on Terrace II, an iron javelin head was found (Pl. II/8)¹⁰. The javelin blade is elongated, flattened, in the shape of a willow leaf, without a medial rib. The sleeve has not been preserved. The blade is 9.2 cm long and 2.5 cm wide; some items of the same type but larger in size were considered to be spear heads¹¹.

Similar javelin heads were found at Căpâlna, Craiva, Gruia, Răcăţau, Tilişca and Zemplin¹². Stratigraphically, the iron head from Covasna is dated to the 1st century AD. The other javelin heads of the same type from Dacia are dated largely between the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD or even earlier¹³.

In what regards the Dacian offensive arsenal, 6 iron arrowheads were found inside the fortress. An arrowhead was found probably together with the above mentioned

² Sekely 1972, 205, 208, Fig. 10/2.

³ MNCR, Inv. no. 17745.

⁴ Glodariu, Iaroslavschi 1979, 135, type Ia, Fig. 69/18, 20-23; Cioată 2010, 123, type Ia, Pl. XXXII.

⁵ Glodariu, Iaroslavschi 1979, 135, type II, Fig. 69/1-17; Cioată 2010, 123-124, type II, Pls. XXXIII, XXXIV.

⁶ Glodariu, Iaroslavschi 1979, 135; Cioată 2010, 123-124.

⁷ Székely 1972, 205.

⁸ Székely 1972, 212.

⁹ Glodariu, Iaroslavschi 1979, 135; Cioată 2010, 123-124.

¹⁰ MNCR, Inv. no. 8145.

¹¹ Cioată 2010, 117-118.

¹² Cioată 2010, 124, type III, Pl. XXXV.

¹³ Cioată 2010, 124.

spearhead (Pl. II/5)¹⁴. This arrowhead has a thin blade, approximately triangular in shape, and a cylindrical sleeve. The iron head is 9 cm long and 2.1 cm wide. Another arrow of the same type was found near the wall of the Terrace II (Pl. II/6)¹⁵. The sizes of this piece are almost the same: 8.4 cm long and 2.1 cm wide.

This type of arrowhead is common in Dacia, numerous finds being registered (Ariuşd, Augustin, Băniţa, Brad, Căpâlna, Costeşti, Craiva, Cuciulata, Divici, Grădiştea de Munte, Jigodin, Lazuri, Luncani – Piatra Roşie, Ocniţa, Pecica, Poiana, Popeşti, Răcătău, Sighişoara, Solotvino and Şuncuiuş)¹⁶. The two arrowheads from Covasna are among the largest of this type. These arrowheads in Dacia are mostly dated between the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD, but some of them are earlier and also later¹⁷.

Another arrowhead found on Terrace II has a cylindrical sleeve and a triangular blade, flattened, with two spikes at the bottom (Pl. II/3)¹⁸. The iron head is 4.9 cm long and 2.1 cm wide. Similar arrowheads were found at Augustin, Brad, Craiva, Jigodin, Răcătău, Ocniţa, Poiana, Popeşti and Sf. Gheorghe¹⁹. This type of arrowhead is common in the Roman Empire but also in the Celtic world²⁰. Stratigraphically, the arrowhead from Covasna belongs to the latest Dacian layers, from the 1st century AD. Other similar arrowheads from Dacia are dated between the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD²¹.

Two arrowheads found near the wall of the Terrace II have a relatively conical shape (Pl. II/1-2)²². There are similar in size: one is 4.7 cm long and 0.9 cm wide, the other is 5.1 cm long and 1.1 cm wide. Arrowheads of the same type were found in Dacia at Jigodin, Ocniţa and Răcătău, dated between the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD²³. Stratigraphically, the two arrowheads from Covasna are dated in the 1st century AD.

Another arrowhead from Terrace II was found on the surface (Pl. II/7). It has a conical sleeve and a flattened blade, sharp, with two long spikes at the bottom²⁴. Similar arrowheads were found in Dacia at Craiva, Coţofenii din Dos, Gogoşu, Gropşani, Ocniţa, Tilişca, Popeşti and Vlădiceasca²⁵. These arrowheads were dated from the 4th–3rd centuries BC to the 1st century AD²⁶.

Due to the lack of its context, the arrowhead could not be considered certainly Dacian. The same types of arrows were found in medieval sites²⁷. It would not be the

¹⁴ Székely 1972, 208, Fig.10/4.

¹⁵ MNCR, Inv. no. 19331.

¹⁶ Cioată 2010, 128, 215, type Ia, Pl. XL.

¹⁷ Cioată 2010, 129.

¹⁸ MNCR, Inv. no. 13137; Pupeză, Găzdac, Zăgreanu 2009, 76; Crişan, Sîrbu, Pupeză 2016, Pl. XV.

¹⁹ Glodariu, Iaroslavschi 1979, 135–136. Cioată 2010, 129–130, type Ic, Pls. XLII, XLIII/1–10.

²⁰ Cioată 2010, 130.

²¹ Glodariu, Iaroslavschi 1979, 136; Cioată 2010, 130.

²² MNCR, Inv. no. 13148.

²³ Cioată 2010, 133, type IV, Pl. XLVI/7, 13–19.

²⁴ MNCR, Inv. no. 7479.

²⁵ Cioată 2010, 133–135, type V, Pl. XLVI/8–12.

²⁶ Cioată 2010, 134.

²⁷ Glodariu, Iaroslavschi 1979, 136, n. 692; Cioată 2010, 134, n. 659.

first medieval find from Covasna: on the acropolis was found an iron arrowhead dated between the 11th–13th centuries AD (Pl. II/4) together with medieval coins²⁸. The chronology of the two arrowheads could be similar. Nearby, at Racoșul de Sus two such arrowheads were discovered in the same context²⁹.

Concluding, the following weapons were found at Covasna: one spearhead, one javelin head and 6 (5?) arrowheads. Besides them, different types of iron knives were found, but none of these can be certainly categorized as a weapon. Also uncertain is the association with military activities of some harness pieces discovered at Covasna, such as spurs or horse bites.

A bronze spur was found near the tower on Terrace II (Pl. II/9). It is of semicircular shape, with a conical spike and widened ends, slightly bended like a hook³⁰. The spur is 7.1 cm long, from one arm to another. This kind of spurs was made mainly of bronze, rarely of iron. Similar spurs were found in Dacia at Brad, Căpâlna, Costești, Craiva, Poiana and Răcățău, dated between the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD³¹. Stratigraphically, the spur from Covasna can be dated in the 1st century AD. It is a common type of spur, found also in the Roman Empire, the Celtic world or other contemporary populations³².

Made of iron, a second spur was found in the destruction layer of the Terrace II wall (Pl. II/1)³³. Partially preserved, the spur has a circular shape, a conical spike and probably was ending with buttons. The spur is 6.9 cm long, from one arm to another. As the button type cannot be determined, establishing exact analogies is difficult. In Dacia there were found iron spurs with discs, circular buttons or cylindrical buttons at the ends, dated from the 2nd century BC to the 1st century AD³⁴. Stratigraphically, the iron spur from Covasna belongs to the latest Dacian layers, from the 1st century AD.

Near the tower of Terrace II two iron pieces from a horse bite were found (Pl. II/12–13)³⁵. The pieces are of the same type: cylindrical bars, thickened at the ends, with two rectangular holes in the middle. There are similar in size: one is 12.9 cm long and 1.8 cm wide (unrestored), the other is 12.1 cm long and 1.5 cm wide (restored). This kind of pieces belongs to horse bites used for riding and not for traction³⁶, so they could be connected to military activities. Other finds from Dacia were made at Bâzdâna, Costești, Craiva, Grădiștea de Munte, Ocnița, Poiana, Pietroasele, Popești, Răcățău and Radovanu³⁷.

²⁸ Daicoviciu et alii 1950, 120.

²⁹ Bordi 2003, 62, nos. 173, 175.

³⁰ MNCR, Inv. no. 19552. Crișan, Sîrbu, Popescu 2007, 436, Pl. 32; Pupeză, Găzdac, Zăgreanu 2009, 77.

³¹ Glodariu, Iaroslavschi 1979, 126–127; Rustoiu 1996, 156–157, Fig. 96/9, 10; Dima 2005, 181, type IIId, Pl. III/5–7.

³² Endert 1991, 37–41; Dixon, Southern 1992, Fig. 26; Stoyanov 2003, 198–202; Filipovic 2009, 179; Novicenkova, Kontny 2015, 303–324; Pieta 2010, Pl. 129.

³³ MNCR, Inv. no. 19250.

³⁴ Glodariu, Iaroslavschi 1979, 126–127; Dima 2005, 180–182.

³⁵ MNCR, Inv. no. 19415.

³⁶ Glodariu, Iaroslavschi 1979, 124.

³⁷ Glodariu, Iaroslavschi 1979, 125, type III, Fig. 73/17, 22–24, 29–31; Werner 1984, 353–360;

Dated between the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD, horse bites having this kind of pieces were common in Dacia, just a few exemplars being found outside Dacian territories³⁸. Stratigraphically, the item from Covasna can be dated in the 1st century AD.

Fortresses (almost) without weapons

The lack of weapons from Covasna – Fairies Fortress is not a singular example from Dacia. Similar cases are those of Dacian sites near by Covasna, in today eastern Transylvania. Here, several fortified Dacian sites have been investigated, among which Biborțeni, Cernat – Vârful Ascuțit, Ciceu, Ghindari, Lelicieni, Mihăileni, Odorheiul Secuiesc, Porumbenii Mari, Racu – Cetatea Păgânilor, Valea Seacă and Zetea³⁹. No weapons were found in any of these sites, although archaeological investigations were significant and focused on areas with fortification elements. Weapons in fortified sites, other than Covasna, were found only at Jigodin⁴⁰ (4 iron arrowheads from a workshop) and Merești⁴¹ (one iron arrowhead from a dwelling).

The lack of weapons from eastern Transylvania Dacian sites is not just a particular aspect of this area. An overview of all weapons from Dacia reveals that most of them were found outside the fortresses or fortified areas⁴². Moreover, the chronology of the finds highlights that most weapons are dated to the 2nd and 1st centuries BC⁴³. Namely, for the period of major conflicts between Dacians and Romans (1st century AD – beginning of the 2nd century AD) were found fewer weapons than before.

The military character of the fortifications cannot be questioned, even if the fortified sites have been probably invested with other functions too⁴⁴. Presumably, within the fortified area there was a military garrison but also the residence of the local leaders⁴⁵. Inside the fortifications were found military, but also living spaces, and places intended for handicraft or religious activities. Weapons were found in all these spaces inside the fortifications⁴⁶.

In some Dacian fortresses weapons seem to be numerous: Brad (4 spearheads, 4 javelin heads, and 18 arrowheads), Căpâlna (10 spearheads, 2 javelin heads, 2 arrowheads and 1 shield *umbo*), Costești (14 spearheads, 13 javelin heads, and 17 arrowheads), Craiva (1 sword, 20 spearheads, 5 javelin heads, and 27 arrowheads), Divici (2 spearheads, and 4 arrowheads), Grădiștea de Munte (8 swords, 16 spearheads, 13 javelin heads, 6 arrowheads and 10 shield *umbones*), Luncani – Piatra Roșie

Werner 1988, 51, type VIII; Vulpe, Teodor 2003, Fig. 50/3–6; Matei, Sîrbu 2009, 89; Rustoiu 1996, 155, Fig. 96/1–5.

³⁸ Glodariu, Iaroslavschi 1979, 125; Zirra 1981, 115–171; Werner 1984, 357; Werner 1988, 51.

³⁹ Crisan 2000, 97–114.

⁴⁰ Crișan, Gheorghiu, Popescu 2004, 116, Pl. 5/9; Crișan 2000, Fig. 108/2–5; Cioată 2010, 246, Pl. XLVI/7.

⁴¹ Crișan 2000, 55; Crișan, Ferenczi 1994, 381, Pl. IV/2; Cioată 2010, 253.

⁴² Cioată 2010, 57, table VIII.

⁴³ Cioată 2010, 174–175, Fig. 18.

⁴⁴ Pupeză 2012, 81–85.

⁴⁵ Glodariu 1983, 118, 127, 434–435.

⁴⁶ Cioată 2010, 57–62.

(one sword, one spearhead, 3 arrowheads and one shield *umbo*), Ocnița (1 sword, 3 spearheads, 3 javelin heads, 18 arrowheads and 1 shield *umbo*), Poiana (5 swords, 19 spearheads, 2 javelin heads, 101 arrowheads one two shield *umbones*), Popești (2 swords and 18 arrowheads), Răcățău (4 spearheads, 8 javelin heads, and 28 arrowheads) or Tilișca (2 spearheads, 5 javelin heads, and 2 arrowheads)⁴⁷. But, compared to all archaeological materials found in these sites, the number of weapons is relatively small. Also to be mentioned that the chronology of these weapons covers almost two centuries (1st century BC – 1st century AD).

The absence of weapons from fortresses and fortified sites may have several explanations. In the particular case of Covasna the lack of extensive archaeological investigations is a cause to be considered. The site was systematically researched only in the last 20 years, the investigated surface being relatively small. Most of the weapons were found on Terrace II, near the tower, where the most important archaeological excavations took place. So, future researches could change the statistics. But, Covasna is not the only case, and some fortified sites were researched for longer time on wider areas (Brad, Ocnița, Răcățău, Popești etc.), and the result was the same: almost no weapons.

Changes in the Dacian society at the end of the 2nd century BC and during the 1st century BC caused the disappearance of traditional graves, those with weapons deposition included⁴⁸. The graves are the archaeological context with most weapons dated in the 2nd–1st centuries BC⁴⁹. Also, deposition of weapons for religious purposes is rarely attested in Dacia⁵⁰. Thus, two of the richest archaeological contexts in what regard weapon discoveries are missing from the Dacian world, especially the contexts dated in the 1st century AD. The weapons were found in military buildings, dwellings, workshops, temples and in isolated contexts. Few weapons have been found in “fear deposits” together with other objects⁵¹. In other words, the weapons discoveries mostly represent lost and not deposited objects, that being the probable explanation why most of the discoveries are arrowheads.⁵² The lack of certain archaeological contexts could be a cause for the absence of weapons from discoveries.

Inside the fortresses weapons were most likely to be found in military buildings and aristocratic dwellings, often placed in a dominant position, such as the acropolis⁵³. At Covasna, the acropolis was partially destroyed by treasure hunters, thus little is known about archaeological complexes and about the inventory they might have. One single complex erected for military purposes was investigated, the tower from Terrace II; most of the weapons have been found in this area. Therefore, the lack of certain archaeological contexts at Covasna could be an explanation for the absence of weapons.

Another reason may be related to the importance of weapons in the Dacian Kingdom. Due to their rarity, and most often indicating a status, weapons were probably transmitted from one generation to the next. The importance of weapons led to

⁴⁷ Cioată 2010, 177–309; the statistics is based on published material until 2010.

⁴⁸ Sîrbu 1993, 182–183; Sîrbu, Florea 1997, 15–20; Pupeză 2014, 61–74.

⁴⁹ Rustoiu 2005, 109–119; Sîrbu, Arsănescu 2006, 163–186; Cioată 2010, 31–57.

⁵⁰ Cioată 2010, 30–31.

⁵¹ Cioată 2010, 29–64.

⁵² Cioată 2010, 174–175, Fig. 15.

⁵³ Cioată 2010, 57–61.

their recovery from the battlefields, as was the case of some fortified sites. Weapons were considered to be a significant trophy in almost all ancient societies; their representation on the Trajan's Column is a good example for this practice. Obviously, weapons were recovered also for their iron, still an expensive material in that period⁵⁴.

Another aspect should be mentioned here: the large number of Roman type weapons found in the Dacian Kingdom. Among them there is the spearhead from Covasna. Starting from the typology of those weapons (swords, spears, javelins, and arrows) is very difficult to establish if they are of Roman fabric or of Dacian fabric, imitating the Roman products. Of Roman fabric means weapons made in the Empire and arrived in Dacia through commerce as war trophies or used by Roman soldiers during the conflicts⁵⁵. The situation becomes even more complicated for the weapons found in fortresses, because some of the battles between the Dacians and Romans took place here.

But, probably not all fortresses were battlefields. The fact that some Dacian fortresses were not involved in military conflicts is a scenario that should be considered as a cause for the lack of weapons. The most important battles between Dacians and Romans (end of the 1st century AD – beginning of the 2nd century AD) took place outside the fortresses. Moreover, some battles took place outside the Dacian Kingdom, such as the Decebalus raid in Moesia⁵⁶. Anyway, it is unlikely that all Dacian fortresses would have been besieged by the Romans.

The chronology of the Dacian fortresses cannot be improved enough to clarify this aspect⁵⁷. Very likely some of the Dacian fortresses were abandoned during the Roman advance or even before the conflicts with the Romans. Also, one can suppose that some local leaders participated with troops at the major conflicts from the Orăștie Mountains, the area of Dacian Kingdom capital. Leaving the fortresses meant taking the weapons by those who left. In case of a siege, it cannot be always said that all defenders died. As the scenes on Trajan's Column show, the defenders often surrendered and handed over their weapons.

The fortress from Covasna does not seem to fit entirely into these scenarios. The stone walls have a consistent layer of debris, over which a new fortification of stone and wood has been built. This last fortification ended in burning. In the current state of research, it is difficult to match the archaeological finds with a historical scenario (the layer of debris – the war from 101–102 AD – and the layer of final burning – the war from 105–106 AD). But, based on stratigraphy and archaeological materials it is certain that the fortress was destroyed in the Dacian wars with the Romans, at the beginning of the 2nd century AD. Under what conditions this happened (siege/surrender) is still to be considered.

⁵⁴ Glodariu, Iaroslavschi 1979, 141–142; Cioată 2010, 29–30, 174.

⁵⁵ Glodariu, Iaroslavschi 1979, 141; Petculescu 1998, 261–285; Cioată 2010, 173–174.

⁵⁶ Petolescu 2000, 105–156.

⁵⁷ Glodariu 1983, 129–130.

(Almost a) Conclusion

The lack of weapons from Covasna is a particular case among the Dacian fortresses. The reasons for this fact could be the early stage of archaeological investigations or the absence of relevant archaeological complexes from the site. On the other hand, it could be also a real historical phenomenon related to the importance of weapons in the Dacian society or to the specific conditions in which the fortress ended during the wars with the Romans.

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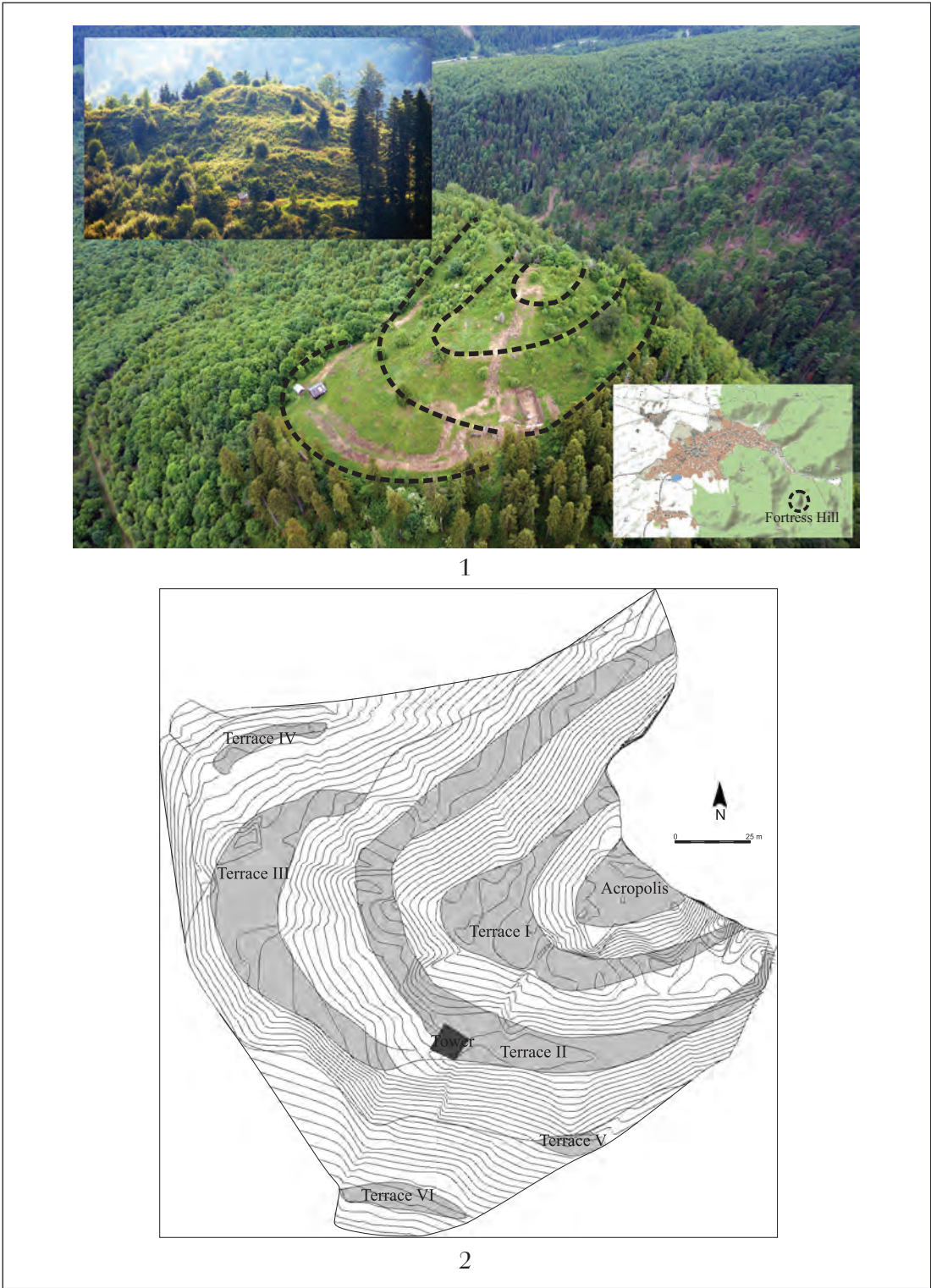
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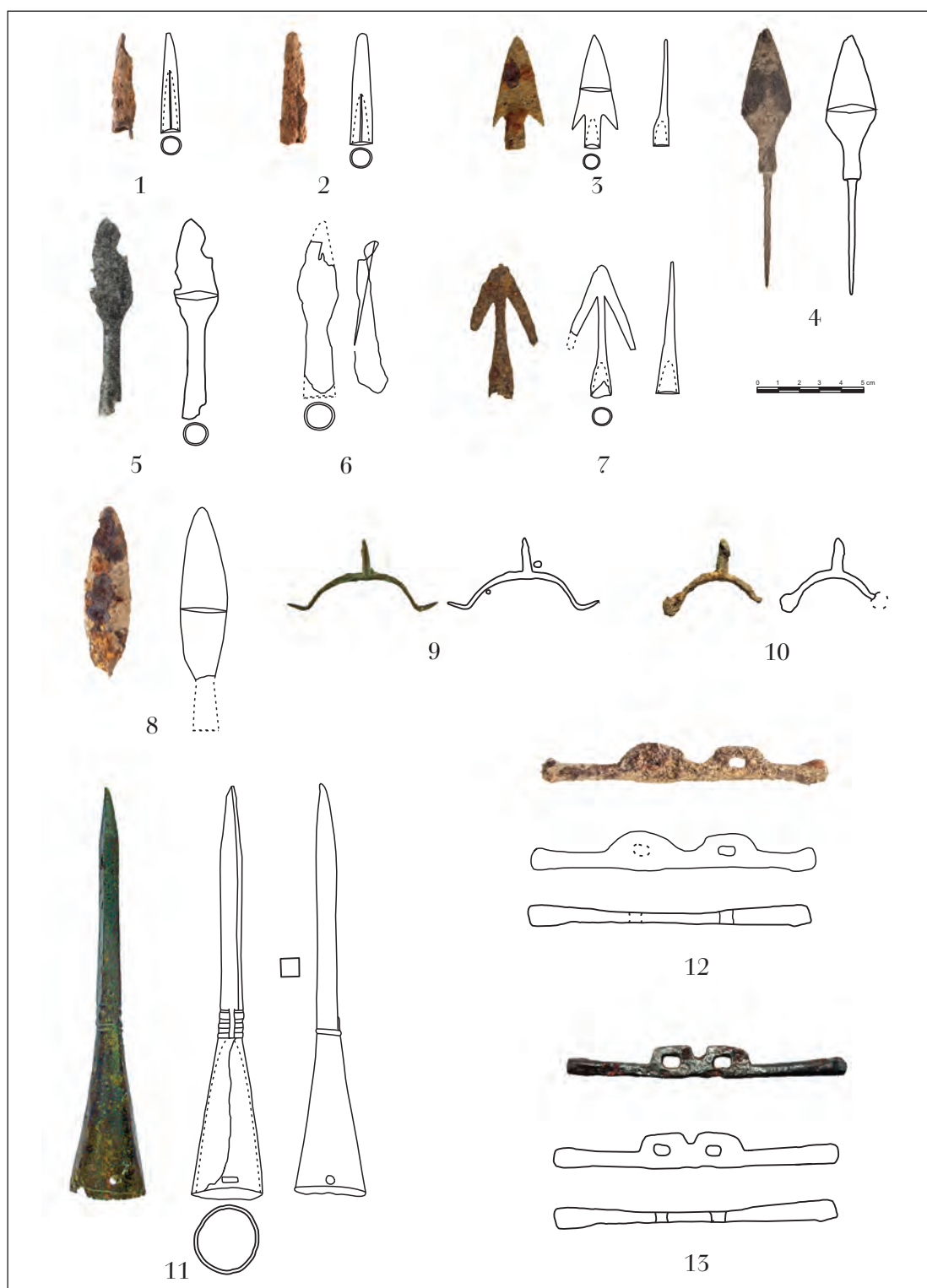
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Pl. I. Covasna - Fairies Fortress, location and topography (topographic map Z. Bede).



Pl. II. Covasna - Fairies Fortress, weapons and harness equipment (photos S. Odenie; drawings P. Pupeză).

IMPLEMENTS IN “MILITARY CONTEXT” FROM ORĂȘTIE MOUNTAINS

ALIN HENT

Abstract: The present paper is a short discussion of some military implements discovered in the area of the Dacian hillforts from the Orăștie Mountains (Hunedoara County). Since the beginning it should be mentioned that two of the implements were already published in the specialised archaeological literature from Romania, only the third one being unpublished so far. This paper presents the implements with all their characteristics together with a new set of illustrations and photographs and a discussion of their place of discovery, where it was possible.

Keywords: implements; *dolabra*; Orăștie Mountains; military context; camps.

Rezumat: Prezenta notă este o scurtă discuție a unor unelte cu caracter militar descoperite în zona cetăților dacice din Munții Orăștiei (jud. Hunedoara). Încă de la început ar trebui menționat faptul că două dintre aceste piese au mai fost prezentate în literatura arheologică de specialitate din România, doar cea de a treia nefiind publicată până în prezent. Această notă prezintă piesele cu toate caracteristicile lor, împreună cu un nou set de ilustrații și fotografii și o discuție a locului de descoperire.

Cuvinte cheie: unelte; *dolabra*; Munții Orăștiei; context militar; caste.

From an archaeological point of view, the Orăștie Mountains area is for sure the most investigated area dated to the Late Iron Age period on present day Romania. The archaeological excavations – especially the systematic ones –, started after the Second World War and carried out since then, have revealed a complex system of fortifications, temples, dwellings and workshops, which represent the original and monumental expression of the Dacian Kingdom civilization. Both in the past and in the present, these features raised the interests of scholars or of the general public. The archaeological material is also not negligible, whether we refer to imports from other areas, the daily use ceramic, the painted pottery with geometric or zoomorphic motifs or the quantity and quality of iron objects. Often, all of these shown elements are meaningful for underlining a different identity for this area in comparison with other areas inhabited by the Dacians. Moreover, the archaeological excavations have led to the identification of the Roman traces – marching camps or permanent camps, architectural elements or artefacts – which complete the general image of this area.

In this last category of the Roman objects, we could include also the implements under discussion. They are known under the Latin word *dolabra*. The *dolabra*¹ is a double-headed implement, having on one side a narrow axe-blade, balanced on the other side by a rather narrow pick, which could be either straight or crooked. Precisely,

¹ DA, II, 1, 1892, s.v. *dolabra*, 328-329 (Caillemer); Rich 1873, 246; White 1967, 61-64.

because of this aspect, this type of tool was mentioned in the archaeological literature as double-headed axe, pick-axe or simply pick².

Dolabra was one of the classical tools of the Roman army³, idea strongly suggested both by iconographical representations and archaeological discoveries. Frequently, the scenes on Trajan's Column⁴ show the use of these tools for various activities: construction or land works (digging trenches, land clearing, turf cutting), demolishing some defensive works; they also appear in some battle scenes. Apart from the piece from Mărculeni⁵ (Mureș County), which comes from an iron tools deposit, the rest of the archaeological discoveries from Roman Dacia is coming from military contexts, such as Porolissum⁶ (Sălaj County) and Berzovia⁷ (Caraș-Severin County). The same can be said about the discoveries from the Western parts of the Empire; the most suitable examples are coming also from military context, the Roman camps from Saalburg⁸ (Germany) and Newstead⁹ (Scotland, United Kingdom). This fact comes only to reinforce the scenes from the Trajan's Column, where the representations of *dolabra* are in close connection with Roman military camps and soldiers' activities.

Five decades ago, in a paper dedicated to the agricultural implements of the Roman world, K. D. White made the first typology for the *dolabra*, based on the iconographical representations and archaeological discoveries. Judging by the presence or the absence of curved pick blade, the British archaeologist distinguished three types of *dolabra*: (1) the straight pick, (2) the down-turned pick and (3) the up-turned pick¹⁰. Another classification was made by M. Pietsch, who proposed a typology based on their usage, distinguishing the military pieces from the civilian examples. In his view, the implements from the civilian contexts present a longer and smoother curve of the pick blade in comparison to the military examples¹¹.

For the Orastie Mountains area three *dolabra* are known up to the present. They are kept in the collections of the National History Museum of Transylvania, Cluj-Napoca.

1. The first implement (MNIT, Inv. no. V 18546, Pl. I/1-2) was initially published¹² as being found at Grădiștea de Munte – Sarmizegetusa Regia; in fact, the piece was discovered in the Roman fortification from Costești, in the point called "Piatra Grădiștii". Some small trenches were dug here in 1961 and 1975¹³, and most probably the piece was discovered in the latter excavations. It is a massive tool made by hot forging. The eye of the handle has two rectangular

² Gheorghiu 2005, 182; Glodariu, Iaroslavschi 1979, 140; Pupeză 2016, 133; Râncu 2010, 179-180.

³ Bishop, Coulston 2006, 117.

⁴ Cichorius 1896, especially scenes XIII, LII, LVI, LXVI-LXVIII, CXVI, CXVII, CXXVII.

⁵ Glodariu et alii 1970, Figs. 14/5, 27/11.

⁶ Gudea 1989, Pl. 139/3.

⁷ Râncu 2010, 179-180, Pl. III/6.

⁸ Pietsch 1983, 16-17, Taf. 3/42-48.

⁹ Curle 1907, 450; Curle 1911, Pl. LVII.

¹⁰ White 1967, 63.

¹¹ Pietsch 1983, 16.

¹² Glodariu, Iaroslavschi 1979, 140, Fig. 72/12.

¹³ Daicoviciu et alii 1973, 74-75; Daicoviciu et alii 1989, 159, 165.

lugs on each side. One of the active parts resembles an axe blade and the second one, the pick, starts with a rectangular cross-section (4.5 cm), and then a rhomboid cross-section with four longitudinal ridges.

Dimensions: total length: 46 cm; axe-blade width: 16 cm; pick blade length: 23.5 cm; diam. oval eye: 4.5 cm; weight: 3.082 g.

Chronology: the end of the 1st century AD – beginning of the 2nd century AD.

The best analogies for this piece are from the discoveries made in the Roman camps from Newstead¹⁴ in United Kingdom and Saalburg¹⁵ on the Germanic limes.

2. The second piece (MNIT, Inv. no. V 41067, Pl. II/1-2), also published¹⁶, comes from Grădiştea de Munte – Sarmizegetusa Regia, being discovered in the first year of the systematic excavations. It is a massive iron tool made by hot forging. One of the arms has a rectangular section and ends with a straight top, but most likely this part of the piece is damaged. The other arm is an axe.

Dimensions: total length: 33 cm; axe-blade width: 14 cm; pick blade length: 14 cm; diam. oval eye: 4 cm; weight: 1.452 g.

Chronology: the end of the 1st century AD – beginning of the 2nd century AD.

3. Also discovered at Grădiştea de Munte – Sarmizegetusa Regia, the third piece (MNIT, Inv. no. V 41068, Pl. III/1-2) is made by hot forging. The piece present two active parts, the first resembles an axe. The pick blade has a rectangular section and its tapering to the top. The eye of the handle is oval and present on each side rectangular ridges.

Dimensions: total length – 52.5 cm; axe-blade width – 15.2 cm; pick blade length – 27 cm; diam. oval eye – 3.5 cm; weight – 2.136 g.

Chronology: the end of the 1st century AD – beginning of the 2nd century AD.

Analogies found for these last two pieces are coming also from military contexts, the Roman auxiliary forts from Newstead¹⁷ (Britannia) and Saalburg¹⁸ (Germania Superior), and the legionary fortress of Mogontiacum¹⁹ (Germania Superior). Unfortunately, the lack of a clear context of discovery for the implements from Grădiştea de Munte – Sarmizegetusa Regia, perhaps the most important element in archaeology, urges to caution in the interpretation. Despite the fact that this type of implement belongs to the Roman army, or better said, it is part of the soldier's tool-kit, we cannot exclude, that such tools were used or imported in the local context. However, the implements from Grădiştea de Munte – Sarmizegetusa Regia should be linked with the presence of the Roman army in this area and with the works made in the local landscape.

¹⁴ Curle 1907, 450; Curle 1911, Pl. LVII/2-5.

¹⁵ Pietsch 1983, Taf. 3/42.

¹⁶ Glodariu, Iaroslavschi 1979, 140, Fig. 72/12.

¹⁷ Curle 1911, Pl. LVII/1.

¹⁸ Pietsch 1983, Taf. 3/45-48.

¹⁹ Petrie 1917, Pl. 3/56, 60, 69.

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Pl. I. *Dolabra*. Costești. 1. Drawing (Rodica Gaciu). 2. Photo (Răzvan Mateescu).



Pl. II. *Dolabra*. Grădiștea de Munte-Sarmizegetusa Regia.
1. Drawing (Rodica Gaciu). 2. Photo (Răzvan Mateescu).



Pl. III. *Dolabra*. Grădiştea de Munte-Sarmizegetusa Regia.
1. Drawing (Rodica Gaciu). 2. Photo (Răzvan Mateescu).

KAISER CONSTANS UND PANNONIEN

PÉTER KOVÁCS

Abstract: This paper examines the history of Roman Pannonia following Constantine the Great's death (between 337–350 AD) based on the written and epigraphic sources. Analyzing the sources, esp. Libanius' and Julian's contemporary works, it can be concluded that the period was peaceful; the existence of a smaller Sarmatian incursion around 337 can be accepted.

Keywords: Pannonia; Emperor Constans; literary sources; Libanius; summit of Sirmium.

Rezumat: Lucrarea de față examinează istoria Pannoniei romane de după moartea lui Constantin cel Mare (între 337–350 AD), pe baza surselor literare și epigrafice. Analizând sursele, în special lucrările lui Libanius și Iulian, se poate trage concluzia că a fost o perioadă liniștită, dar se poate vorbi despre existența unei incursiuni sarmate de mici dimensiuni în jurul anului 337 AD.

Cuvinte cheie: Pannonia; împăratul Constans; surse literare; Libanius; întâlnirea de la Sirmium.

In nahezu jeder wichtigeren Monographie und Studie zur Geschichte Pannoniens wurde der Tatsache¹, dass im Ergebnis der auf den Tod Konstantins I. folgenden Verhandlungen (die ebenfalls in Pannonien stattfanden) das Illyricum mit den pan-nonischen Provinzen ab September 337 bis zum Tod des Constans im Januar 350 zu dessen Herrschaftsgebiet (und nicht zu dem Constantius' II.) gehörten, nur wenig Beachtung geschenkt, wobei Constans sich relativ wenig in Pannonien aufhielt (s. Tabelle)². Grund dafür dürfte die ruhige Lage der Provinz sowie auch der Umstand gewesen sein, dass der junge Augustus seinen Sitz in Naissus hatte (Zon. XIII.5.9)³. Das Fehlen von Angaben ist zum Teil darauf zurückzuführen, dass die die Ereignisse vor 353 behandelnden Bücher des Ammianus Marcellinus (der auch die von Constans im Westen errungenen Militärerfolge später erwähnt: XXX.7.5)⁴ verloren gingen, wohingegen aus demselben Grund die Alleinherrschaft Constantius' II. in allen Einzelheiten bekannt ist. Hauptquellen des Zeitalters sind daher die an Constantius und Constans adressierten Orationes des Libanios und des Iulianus Apostata (LIX und I-II)⁵. Im vorliegenden Aufsatz befasste ich mich mit der weniger bekannten Geschichte der Provinz in letzterem Zeitraum.

¹ Alföldi 1942, 658; RE, Suppl. IX, 1962, s.v. *Pannonia*, 573 (Mócsy); Mócsy 1972, 89; Mócsy 1974, 285; Mócsy, Fitz 1990, 47.

² Kienast 1996, 312–313.

³ Barnes 1980, 161; Barnes 1993, 224.

⁴ Frakes 1995, 232–246; Barnes 1998, 213–217; Frakes 2000, 48–53.

⁵ Lieu, Montserrat 1996, 147–209; Tantillo 1997.

Das Kaisertreffen von Sirmium (9. September 337)

In erster Linie der auf einer irrtümlichen Datierung der Rückkehr des Athanasios aus dem Trierer Exil nach Alexandria gründenden Ansicht von O. Seeck ist es zuzuschreiben⁶, dass viele Forscher den Schauplatz des Kaisertreffens (das sie um ein Jahr später in das Jahr 338 n. Chr. datieren: s. dazu auch ein von Constans im Juni in Viminacium datierendes Edikt: Cod. Theod. X.10.4) noch heute in Viminacium suchen⁷. Die jüngere Forschung jedoch hat anhand zweier Textstellen der I. Oratio des Iulianus (14.19A ἐν Παιονίᾳ, von wo Constantius II. wegen des persischen Feldzugs nach Syrien eilte: 15.20C πορείας μὲν τάχει χρῆσάμενος ἀθρώως <ὅπως> ἐκ Παιόνων ἐν Σύροις ὤφθης) eindeutig geklärt, dass es zu dem Treffen zwischen Constantius, Constantinus und Constans in Pannonien, das heißt in Sirmium, gekommen und dass auch kein Grund zu erkennen ist, weshalb man mit dem Treffen und der Aufteilung des Reichs hätte ein Jahr warten sollen. Iulianus hätte sich in seiner Rede an den Imperator kaum einen solchen Fehler gestattet, nach dem Viminacium in Pannonien liege⁸, zumal Sirmium für die Veranstaltung einer solchen Konferenz weitaus geeigneter war mit seinem Kaiserpalast und der sonstigen Infrastruktur. Das Treffen der drei Brüder und ihre Proklamation zu Augusti fanden demzufolge gleichzeitig (s. Vita Const. 40.1), am 9. September in Sirmium statt, welches Datum in der Consularia Constantinopolitana überliefert ist (Chron. Min. I p. 235)⁹. Der nach Hause reisende Athanasios hatte den sich (wahrscheinlich aus anderen Gründen: s. unten) auf das Kaisertreffen vorbereitenden Constantius II. schon früher, im August 337, getroffen (Ap. ad Const. 5.2)¹⁰. Eindeutiges Ziel des Treffens war es, sich nach der Abrechnung mit Dalmatius und seinen Gefährten über die Neuaufteilung des Reichs zu einigen (Iulianus erwähnt Übereinkünfte [συνθήκαι], im Plural). An den damals erst 14-jährigen Constans fielen die pannonischen Provinzen zusammen mit dem Illyricum sowie Italia und Africa (mit Macedonia und Achaia)¹¹, welche die Basis der auch später bestehenden italischen Präфекtur bildeten (Orig. Const. 6.35, Zon XIII.5.1-4, Epit.

⁶ Seeck 1898, 49-53; RE IV, 1900, s.v. *Constans* 3, 948-949 (Seeck); RE IV, 1900, s.v. *Constans* 4, 1046-1047 (Seeck); Seeck 1919, 186-187; Seeck 1921, IV, 42-45.

⁷ E.g. Olivetti 1915, 68-69; Moreau 1959a, 160-161; Moreau 1959b, 164; Moreau 1959c, 179; Arnaldi 1977, 93; Klein 1979, 17; Garrido González 1984, 270; DiMaio 1988, 236-237; Kienast 1996, 312, 314; Lieu, Montserrat 1996, 148-149; Tantillo 1997, 255-264, Anm. 130-131; Paschoud 2000, 244-246, Anm. 52; Barceló 2004, 46-57.

⁸ So argumentierten schon RE IV, 1900, s.v. *Constans* 4, 1047 (Seeck); DiMaio 1988, 236, Anm. 39, aber s. dazu Bleckmann 2003, 242, Anm. 47.

⁹ Barnes 1980, 160-161; Barnes 1982, 86, 198; DiMaio, Arnold 1992, 198-208; Barnes 1993, 34-45; Burgess 1993, 69, 234-235; Cara 1993, bes. 40, Anm. 6; Bleckmann 2003; Burgess 2008, 9-10, Anm. 27; Banchich 2009, 209-210, Anm. 44; Woods 2011; Burgess 2013, 59.

¹⁰ Barnes 1993, 34, 41; Burgess 2008, 38, 41.

¹¹ RE IV, 1900, s.v. *Constans* 3, 949 (Seeck); Kienast 1996, 312; Bleckmann 2003: Orig. Const. 6.35 *Itaque Gallias Constantinus minor regebat, Orientem Constantius Caesar, Illyricum et Italiam Constans, ripam Gothicam Dalmatius tuebatur*; Zon. XIII.5.1-4 τῷ μὲν Κώνσταντι προσκληρωθῆναι τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην αὐτὴν τὴν Ἀφρικὴν τε καὶ Σικελίαν καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς τῶν νήσων, ἀλλὰ μέντοι καὶ τὸ Ἰλλυρικὸν καὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ σὺν τῇ Ἑλλάδι τὴν Πελοπόννησον; Epit. de Caes. 41.19-20 *Constans Illyricum Italiamque et Africam*; Zos. II.39.2 καὶ Κωνσταντίνος μὲν ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἅμα τῷ νεωτάτῳ Κώνσταντι τὰ ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἀλλεῖς ἅπαντα καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ Ἰλλυρίδα πρὸς τοῦτοις ἔλαχεν ἔχειν; Philost. III.1 καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ μέχρι τῆς Προποντίδος ὅποσα ὑπῆκοα Ῥωμαίοις.

de Caes, 41.19–20, Zos. II.39.2, Philost, III.1)¹². Die Kräfteverhältnisse betreffend allerdings hat Iulianus später wohl nicht übertrieben (Or. II.94C und Lib. LIX.75 [erwähnte Konstantin nicht einmal]), wenn er schrieb, dass Constantius in einer besseren Position war und die Vereinbarung auch durchsetzen konnte.

“Vergessene”Sarmatenüberfälle (337/338)?

Die in den Zeitraum zwischen September 337 und spätestens April 340 zu datierende¹³ Bauinschrift von Troesmis verzeichnet in der Titulatur des Konstantin und des Constantius auch den Titel Sarmaticus. Auf Grund dessen ist seit langem klar, dass es zu Beginn von Constans’ Herrschaft, in den Wirren nach Konstantins Tod, auch zu einem Sarmatenüberfall gekommen sein muss, das Ereignis aber infolge der falschen Datierung des Kaisertreffens in das Jahr 338 datiert wurde¹⁴. Letztere Tatsache haben die meisten Forscher schon früh akzeptiert (ausgenommen Arce 1982 und 1984), wohingegen man Constantius’ Siegeltitel an einen Sieg Konstantins im Jahr 334 knüpfte. Da aber der Titel Sarmaticus auf der statdtrömischen Inschrift CIL III 40776 unter den Titeln des Constantius und des Constans fehlt, während Constantinus II. bereits Alemannicus war und die Rolle des damals erst 17-jährigen Constantius in den Ereignissen von 334 sich nicht belegen lässt (Libanios hätte sie in der die Ereignisse zwischen 332 und 334 schildernden Or. I.29 auf jeden Fall erwähnen müssen)¹⁵, und weil darüber hinaus noch andere Angaben auf einen Barbareneinfall längs der Donau hindeuten, liegt es auf der Hand, Constantius’ Sarmaticus-Titel mit einem Ereignis nach Konstantins Tod in Verbindung zu bringen. Ammianus Marcellinus zufolge ist gewiss, dass er 358 den Titel Sarmaticus ein zweites Mal annahm: XVII.13.25 *secundo Sarmaticus appellatus ex vocabulo subactorum. 33 ... secundum Sarmatici cognomen, quod vos unum idemque sentientes mihi – ne sit adrogans dicere – merito tribuistis*¹⁶. In derselben Ansprache an seine Soldaten streut Constantius die Bemerkung, dass Quaden und Sarmaten sein Kriegsglück schon öfters (*saepe*) hätten kennenlernen müssen (im Praeteritum Perfectum stehend, also nicht auf den Feldzug des laufenden Jahres bezogen): XVII.13.28 ... *cuius* (sc. Constantii) *proelia saepe conpererant* (sc. Quadi et Sarmatae) *exitus habuisse felices*. Letzteres kann als Rückverweis auf einen früheren Feldzug aufgefasst werden. Da die Anwesenheit des Imperators in

¹² Demougeot 1981, 243–244; Weiler 1996, 132–133.

¹³ Wegen des Bürgerkrieges ist im Jahr 340 die Erwähnung Konstantins II. völlig ausgeschlossen.

¹⁴ Toutain 1891; Seeck 1898, 57–58; RE IV, 1900, s.v. *Constans* 3, 949 (Seeck); Seeck 1921, IV, 45; Patsch 1928, 33; RE, Suppl. IX, 1962, s.v. *Pannonia*, 573 (Mócsy); Mócsy 1972, 89; Barnes 1976, 154; Arnaldi 1977, 93–94; Barnes 1980, 162, 164; Arce 1982; Barnes 1983; Arce 1984; Garrido González 1984, 271; Mócsy, Fitz 1990, 47; Barnes 1993, 219, Anm. 4; Kienast 1996, 312–313, 317; Pietri 1997, 286; Bursche 2003; Barceló 2004, 56; Burgess 2008, 12–13, 33; Burgess 2013, 100; Marcos 2014, 767–769.

¹⁵ Keine der auf uns gekommenen Quellen erwähnt sie, obschon sie sich über das spätere Verhältnis zwischen dem Herrscher und den Sarmaten des Langen und Breiten auslassen: Kovács 2014a, 265–266.

¹⁶ de Jonge 1977, 373, 393. Über einen der Schlacht bei Mursa folgenden Sarmateneinfall (darauf schließt lediglich auf Grund eines längeren Sirmiumaufenthalts des Constantius 351–352: Barnes 1983, 235; Barnes 1993, 221, Anm. 30), gibt es keinerlei Angaben. Ammianus schreibt in seinem XVI. und XVII. Buch über die im erhaltenen Teil als erste erwähnten Sarmaten, als sei von ihnen seit langem nicht mehr gesprochen worden (Beschreibung ihrer Gebräuche: XVI.10.20, XVII.12.1).

den Donauprovinzen nach 337 nicht belegbar ist¹⁷, und zudem ab September die mit den Sarmaten benachbarten Provinzen zur Machtsphäre des Constans gehörten, hat besagtes Ereignis wohl noch im Sommer 337 stattgefunden (am frühesten Ende Juli, eher jedoch im August), in dessen Verlauf er in Viminacium mit dem heimreisenden Athanasios zusammentraf¹⁸.

In dem Constantius dedizierten Panegyricus des Iulianus sah sich der Imperator beim Tod seines Vaters mit folgenden Gefahren konfrontiert: 15.20B τοσοῦτων κύκλῳ περιστάντων μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν κινδύνων καὶ παντοδαπῶν, θορύβου πραγμάτων, πολέμου γενναίου, πολλῆς καταδρομῆς, συμμάχων ἀποστάσεως, στρατοπέδων ἀταξίας, das heißt mit

1. Wirren, 2. einem unumgänglichen (persischen) Krieg, 3. zahlreichen Barbareneinfällen (καταδρομή), 4. Aufruhr der Verbündeten und 5. gelockerter militärischer Disziplin¹⁹. Letzteres bezieht sich natürlich mehrheitlich auf die verworrene persische Lage, das mehrfach erwähnte Aufbegehren der Armenier (18D, 20D), desentwegen er nach dem Treffen in Sirmium umgehend nach Syrien eilen musste (20C). Aber die zahlreichen Barbareneinfälle beziehen sich zum Teil auch auf die Sarmaten (und neben der persischen Belagerung von Nisibis gleichfalls auf die Armenier: 18D), wie auch die erwähnte Verletzung des *foedus* nicht ausschließlich auf die armenischen Ereignisse hindeuten dürfte.

Libanios beschreibt in dem besagten Panegyricus ausführlich, wie zur Zeit des Perserkrieges das 332 mit den Goten geschlossene Bündnis stand hielt (LIX.89–90), ja dass diese den römischen Feldzug gegen die Perser sogar mit beträchtlichen Hilfstruppen unterstützten (92–93). Die *ripa Gothica* wurde nach 335 von Dalmatius beaufsichtigt, bis zu dessen Tod (Orig. Const. VI.35 *ripam Gothicam Dalmatius tuebatur*)²⁰, und anschließend sofort von Constantius übernommen. Von einem Meilenstein in Sirmium aus dem Jahr 354 ist auch der nicht offizielle Titel *Gothicus maximus* des Herrschers bekannt (der Sarmaticus hingegen fehlt darauf: CIL III 3705 = 10617)²¹. Libanios warf direkt die Frage auf, was wohl die Goten (außer der Person des Constantius) zur Einhaltung des Friedens bewogen haben mochte (LIX.89)²². Auf Grund dessen ist nicht auszuschließen, dass nach dem Tod Konstantins im Sommer 337 auch die gotische Situation die Anwesenheit des Imperators an der Donau erforderte. Allerdings hatte der Frieden vermutlich seinen Preis (welchen die Quellen unter Constantius verschwiegen, auch Iulianus erwähnt ihn erst später [als sehr bald wieder verlorenen: Caes. 329B–D]), namentlich die Aufgabe der unter Konstantins Herrschaft zurück eroberten transdanubischen, zu ehemaligen Provinz

¹⁷ Seeck 1919, 186–188; Barnes 1980, 162; Barnes 1993, 219.

¹⁸ Zum Zeitpunkt s. Barnes 1993, 34, 41; Burgess 2008, 38.

¹⁹ Burgess 2008, 12–13.

²⁰ Anonymus Valesianus, 184–186; Marcos 2014, 762–765.

²¹ Arnaldi 1977, 94–96; Barnes 1983, 234–235.

²² τούτων τοίνυν οἱ μὲν θρασυνόμενοι πράττουσιν οὐδέν, οἱ δὲ οὐδὲ κινεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν. τίς οὖν οὕτω ῥάθυμος ἢ νωθρός, ὅστις οὐκ ἂν ἥδιστα ζητήσκειν οὕτω παραδόξου πράγματος φύσιν, τί ποτέ ἐστιν ὁ Σκύθας τοὺς φονικωτάτους καὶ τοὺς Ἄρει τετελεσμένους καὶ δυστύχημα τὴν ἡσυχίαν κρίνοντας εἰρήνην μὲν ἐπεισεν ἀγαπῆσαι, καταθέσθαι δὲ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ βασιλεῖαν τὸν ἡμέτερον ἐν ἴσῳ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἄγειν καίτοι πολὺ μὲν ἀπληρημένον Ἰστροῦ, τὰς δὲ δυνάμεις ἐφ' ἐτέροις τάττοντα.

Dacia gehörenden Gebiete²³. Auch die zum Schutz vor den Goten erbaute Festung von Troesmis (*locum in parte limitis positum gentilium Gotho[ru]m t[e] meritati semper aptissimum ad [co]nfirmendam provincialium [s]uorum [ae]ternam securitatem erecta istius fabrfic[ae] munitione clausurunt*) deutet auf ein im Grunde friedliches Verhältnis, schützte sie doch lediglich vor den Überfällen oder Raubzügen kleinerer Gruppen (*latru[nc]ulorumque impetum perennis mun[imi]nis dispositione tenuerunt*), die den Namen *hostis* eigentlich gar nicht verdienten (cf. Ulp. Dig. 49.15.24, Her. I.10.1)²⁴. Unter Constantius' Herrschaft blieb dieses friedliche Verhältnis bestehen (s. die Goten als Bündnispartner in den Perserkriegen noch unter Iulianus: Amm. XX.8.1, XXIII.2.7, Zos. III.25.6)²⁵, die Hypothese eines späteren Gotenüberfalls ist also unbegründet (der auf gotischem Boden verfolgte Wulfla und die Ansiedlung gotischer Christen auf römischem Gebiet, in Moesien, um das Jahr 348 [Jord. Get. LI.267] können wohl kaum dafür angesehen werden [Aux. 37 *sanctissimus uir beatus Ulfla cum grandi populo confessorum de uarbarico pulsus in solo Romanie, athuc beate memorie Constantio principe, honorifice est susceptus ... ita et per sepe dictum deus confessores sancti fili sui unigeniti de uarbarico liberauit et per Danubium transire fecit et in montibus secundum sanctorum imitationem sibi seruire*] cf. Philost. H. E. II.5)²⁶.

In seiner LIX. Oratio gibt Libanios kurz die folgende Charakteristik von Constans: LIX.124 ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἅπαντα φόβον ἐκ Περσικῆς ἐφόδου προσερχόμενον ἐπέσχευεν, οὕτως οὗτος τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐσπέραν ἔθνη βάρβαρα πανταχόθεν περικεχυμένα τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἀγειν κατηνάγκασε, das heißt, einem Bruder ähnlich verteidigte er überall im Westen (so auch in Pannonien) die Grenzen. Genauso charakterisiert auch Iulianus Constans in seiner I. Oratio (I.9D ὁ δὲ ἐτήρησεν ἄβατον τοῖς πολεμίοις τὴν χώραν, αὐτὸς ἐπιστρατεύων ἐκείνοις πολλάκις, ἕως ἐπέτρεπον οἱ μικρὸν ὕστερον τῶν εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἀδικημάτων δίκην ὑποσχόντες), und Firmicus Maternus in seinem Werk gleichfalls (De err. prof. rel. 28.6 *vicistis hostes, propagastis imperium et ut virtutibus vestris ...*, 29.3 *strati sunt adversantium cunei, et rebellantia ante conspectum vestrum semper arma ceciderunt*)²⁷.

Von den Siegen der Herrscher, so auch des Constans, kündeten außerdem die mit den Namen der drei in Siscia geprägten Solidus- (und Multipla-) Münzen, auf deren Revers die Legende VICTORIA (oder GLORIA) ... AVG zu lesen ist (RIC VIII, 1-8, 17, 33-38; 23-32: VICTORIA DDDNNN AVG: RIC VIII, 23-32: im Fall Konstantins II. s. dessen Germanicus-Titel auf der Inschrift von Troesmis)²⁸. Was Constans betrifft kommt hinsichtlich der zwischen 337 und 340 in Rom für Konstantin II., Constans und Constantius II. geprägten Protocontorniata-Bronzemünzen mit den Revers-Legenden DEBELLATORI GENTT BARBARR und VICTORI GENTIVM

²³ Thompson 1956; Barnes 1980, 162; Barnes 1983, 231.

²⁴ Kovács 2014b, 161-162.

²⁵ Barceló 2004, 150.

²⁶ Patsch 1928, 33-36; Heather 1986, 289-318; Wolfram 1990, 66-67; Heather, Matthews 1991, 125, 132-137. Der im 27. Fragment von Olympiodorus erwähnte Überfall ist entgegen Thompson 1956, 379-380 nahezu mit Gewissheit nach 376 zu datieren: Croke 1977, 358-359.

²⁷ Tantillo 1997, 198-199, Anm. 72; Portmann 1999, 311-312.

²⁸ Burgess 2008, 44.

BARBARORVM nur eine gegen die Sarmaten gerichtete Aktion in Betracht²⁹. Auf dasselbe Ereignis dürften auch die nur aus dem Barbaricum bekannten, um 340 in Aquileia mit der Legende VICTORIA AVGVSTI NOSTRI geprägten Multipla-Münzen des Constantius und des Constans hindeuten³⁰.

Nicht ganz klar ist, ob Constantius und Constans gemeinsam gegen die Sarmaten antraten oder ob Constans später eine eigene Expedition gegen die Sarmaten führte. Constans' donauländisches Auftreten im Juli und August des Jahres 337 lässt sich nicht belegen³¹, ja am 29. August könnte er sogar noch in Aquileia gewesen sein (Frag. Vat. 35)³², was die letztere Annahme wahrscheinlicher macht. Darauf deutet auch die Münzprägung des jungen Herrschers.

Bürgerkrieg gegen Constantinus II. (340)

Am wenigsten zufrieden mit der territorialen Aufteilung unter den drei Brüdern war zweifellos Konstantin, aber zur bewaffneten Auseinandersetzung kam es erst in Verbindung mit der Herrschaft über Africa (und Italia: Epit. de Caes. 41.21, Zos. II.41.1) drei Jahre später, im Jahr 340 (Hier. Chron. 235a, Chron. Min. I. p. 236, Iul. Or. II.94B, Aur. Vict. 41.22, Eutr. X.9.2, Epit. de Caes. 41.21, Ruf. H. E. X.15, Socr. H. E. II.5, Soz. H. E. III.2.10, Philost. H. E. III.1, Zos. II.41.1, Zon. XIII.5)³³. Der ältere Bruder provozierte die offenen Feindseligkeiten, indem er zu Beginn des Jahres 340 in Italien eindrang (von wo er angesichts des Schauplatzes der späteren Schlacht [die Umgebung von Aquileia: Hier. Chron. 235a, Epit. de Caes. 41.21] wahrscheinlich nach Pannonien weiterziehen wollte), welche Nachricht Constans in Dazien (das heißt in Naissus und nicht auf dem Weg nach Rom: Philost. H. E. III.1) erreichte (Zon. XIII.5.9. Anfang Februar war er gewiss noch dort: Cod. Theod. X.10.5)³⁴. Die zeitgenössischen Quellen schwiegen ganz offensichtlich über diesen unangenehmen Bruderkrieg, so dass Zonaras' Bericht der detaillierteste ist (XIII.5)³⁵. Am leichtesten hat Constans wohl seine ihm gewiss treu ergebenen pannonischen *comitatenses*-Truppen³⁶ unter Führung eines *magister militum* vorausschicken können, welche die Hauptstreitmacht bildeten (denn in den Kampf zog er sicher nicht mit den italischen

²⁹ Gnechi 1912, 140, Nr. 2-3, 142, Nr. 16, 143, Nr. 1-2, 145, Nr. 22, 146, Nr. 1-4 = RIC VIII, p. 235, 283-285.

³⁰ Bursche 2003.

³¹ Barnes 1976, 154; Barnes 1980, 164, Anm. 18; Barnes 1983, 240; Barnes 1993, 224, Anm. 46; Burgess 2008, 33, Anm. 102.

³² Barnes 1982, 86-87, aber s. Burgess 2008, 29-30, 38-39.

³³ RE IV, 1900, s.v. *Constans* 3, 949 (Seeck); Seeck 1921, IV, 47-48; Moreau 1959a, 161; Moreau 1959c, 179-180; Barnes 1980, 162-165; Barnes 1993, 218, 224-225; Bleckmann 2003; Barceló 2004, 74-75.

³⁴ Seeck 1919, 189; Barnes 1980, 162, 165; Barnes 1993, 218, 224-225; Kienast 1996, 310, 312.

³⁵ Banchich 2009, 210-211, Anm. 46.

³⁶ Die auf dem Territorialprinzip beruhenden, dem *magister militum per Illyricum* (später *comes Illyrici*) unterstehenden (west-)illyrischen *comitatenses*-Verbände wurden erst kurze Zeit später aufgestellt (Fitz 1995, 1190-1991), doch ein Teil der von Constans befehligten *comitatenses* war gewiss in Pannonien, am ehesten in der Umgebung von Sirmium und Mursa stationiert (s. die Herrscherproklamation des *magister militum* Vetranio i.J. 350).

Truppenteilen, deren Treue ungewiss war: Philost. H. E. III.1³⁷). Es gelang ihnen, vor der Ankunft des Imperators Konstantin zu besiegen, der im Verlaufe der Schlacht sein Leben verlor³⁸. Kurze Zeit später traf Constans auf dem Weg über Pannonien in Aquileia ein (spätestens am 9. April war er schon in Aquileia: Cod. Theod. II.6.5, X.15.3).

Pannonien zwischen 340 und 350

Unter den Aktivitäten des nach dem Tod seines Bruders dessen westliche Gebiete (und auch Probleme) übernehmenden Imperators nach 340 (s. Iul. Or. I.18b–20b, 41b–d, 47a–d, II.94d, Them. Or. II.38c–d) finden in erster Linie seine kirchenpolitische Rolle zum Schutz der Orthodoxie beziehungsweise der Feldzug 342 gegen die Franken (Lib. Or. LIX.127–136, Hier. Chron. 235e, Chron. Min. I. p. 236, Socr. H. E. II.13.4, Zos. II.42) und sein überraschender Britannienbesuch im Jahr 343 häufiger in den Quellen Erwähnung (Lib. Or. LIX.137 139–141, Firm. Mat. De err. prof. rel. 28.6, Amm. XX.1.1, XXVII.8.4, XXVIII.3.8)³⁹. Wie auch aus der beigefügten Tabelle hervorgeht, hielt sich Constans in diesem Zeitraum mehrfach in Pannonien auf, mit Sicherheit im Juni 342 sowie 346 und im Frühjahr 349⁴⁰. Nicht einer dieser Besuche lässt sich jedoch an ein konkretes Ereignis binden, aus den 340-er Jahren liegen keine Informationen über einem eventuellen Barbareneinfall vor, und es gibt auch keinen Grund, einen solchen zu vermuten. Die längste Zeit dürfte er wahrscheinlich in der zweiten Hälfte des Jahres 344 beziehungsweise Anfang 345 in der Provinz gewilt haben, was eine Textstelle bei Libanios (Or. LIX.133) sowie die Tatsache bekräftigen, dass er zu Beginn des folgenden Jahres in Poetovio Thalassius als Abgesandten des Constantius empfing (Ath. Ap. ad Const. 3.3: PLRE Thalassius 1) und von dort nach Aquileia weiterreiste, wo er auch Athanasios begegnete (Ath. Ap. ad Const. 3.7, 4.5)⁴¹. Libanios erwähnt, während er die Erfolge des Imperators gegen die Franken aufzählt (die er detailliert schildert und angemessen ausschmückt: LIX.127–136), an einer schwer interpretierbaren Stelle Pannonien: 133 καὶ νῦν βασιλεὺς οὐ ταῖς φύσει τῶν Φρακτῶν, τῷ δὲ παρ’ αὐτοῦ φόβῳ τὰς ἐκείνων ὁμολογίας τηρεῖν παραδούς ἐν ταῖς Παιόνων πόλεσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων βουλευέται, das heißt, nach dem Friedensschluss mit den Franken sorgt der Herrscher in den Städten Pannoniens für das ganze Reich (ἐν ταῖς Παιόνων πόλεσιν). Auf Grund der Datierung der Rede hat Constans die Provinz in der zweiten

³⁷ Bleckmann 2003, 247–248.

³⁸ ὁ δὲ ἐν Δακίᾳ ἀποδημῶν καὶ τὴν κίνησιν τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου μαθὼν, στράτευμα κατ’ αὐτοῦ πέμπει καὶ στρατηγούς, καὶ αὐτὸς ὅσον ἤδη μετὰ πλείονος στρατιᾶς ἐπιστῆναι ἐπαγγεῖλαμενος. οἱ γοῦν πεμφθέντες ἐγγὺς τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου γενόμενοι λόχους καθίζουσι καὶ συμβαλόντες αὐτῷ φεύγειν ὑπεκρίνοντο. τῶν δὲ τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου διωκόντων αὐτούς, ἐξόπισθεν αὐτῶν οἱ λοχῶντες γενόμενοι κατὰ νῶτων αὐτοῖς ἐπιτίθενται, καὶ οἱ φεύγοντες ἐπιστραφέντες μέσον περιέσχον αὐτούς· καὶ πολὺ τῆς τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου διέφθαρτο στρατιᾶς κάκεῖνος αὐτός. τοῦ γὰρ ἵππου τρωθέντος αὐτῷ καὶ διὰ τὸ τραῦμα σφαδάζοντος καὶ ἀνασκιρτῶντος, ἐκπέπτωκε τῆς ἐδρας ὁ Κωνσταντίνος καὶ ἀνηρέθη πολλὰ δεξάμενος τραύματα, οὔτε τυχὼν τῆς ἐφέσεως καὶ αὐτὴν προσζημιωθείς τὴν ζωὴν, καὶ ὅτι ἀδίκων ἦρξε, καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τῆς ἀρχῆς μοῖραν ἀποβαλὼν.

³⁹ RE IV, 1900, s.v. *Constans* 3, 950–951 (Seeck); Moreau 1959c, 180–183; Barceló 1981, 117–118; Birley 2005, 414–416.

⁴⁰ Seeck 1919, 189–197; Barnes 1993, 225.

⁴¹ Barnes 1993, 65–66.

Hälfte des Jahres 344 wohl erneut besucht⁴². Da die segensreiche Wirkung des mit den Franken geschlossenen Friedens nur im Westen spürbar gewesen sein konnte, dürfte Libanios an eine andere, Pannonien drohende Gefahr gedacht haben. Ausgehend von der Textstelle wäre ein längerer, mehrere pannonische Städte betreffender Besuch denkbar (ἐν ταῖς Παιόνων πόλεσιν), während dessen er sich mit Reichsangelegenheiten befasste (ὕπὲρ τῶν ὅλων βουλευεται). Was könnten diese Reichsangelegenheiten gewesen sein? Ein Barbareneinfall kommt eher nicht in Betracht, aber gerade in diesem Zeitraum erwähnen die einschlägigen Quellen das ziemlich abgekühlte Verhältnis der beiden Herrscher, was die Gefahr eines erneuten Bürgerkriegs heraufbeschwor (laut kirchengeschichtlichen Quellen ging es um die Person des Athanasios: Ruf. H. E. I.19, Socr. H. E. II.22.3, Theod. H. E. II.8, Philost. H. E. III.12)⁴³. Diese Angelegenheiten dürfte Libanios im Sinn gehabt und Constans aus diesem Grund längere Zeit in "Pannoniens Städten" verweilt haben. Im genannten Zeitraum (gewiss nachdem Libanios seine LIX. Oratio verfasst hatte) kam es, nach Überwindung der Kriegsgefahr, noch zu einem anderen wichtigen Ereignis im Leben der Provinz, namentlich zur Aufstellung der autonomen Präfektur Illyricum⁴⁴, deren erster Präfekt, Anatolius, als einer der wichtigen Männer des Constans galt⁴⁵. Ihm folgte kurz darauf der auch im nächsten Jahrzehnt eine bedeutende Rolle spielende (s. Petr. Patr. Frag. 16, Epiph. Panar. LXI.1.5) Vulcarius Rufinus (ab 347), dessen Tätigkeit in Pannonien unter Constans' Herrschaft vorwiegend für die Sicherung der Getreideversorgung von Savaria bekannt wurde (RIU 48)⁴⁶.

Addendum

Quellen

Julianos Apostata Or. I

9D ὁ δὲ ἐτήρησεν ἄβατον τοῖς πολεμίοις τὴν χώραν, αὐτὸς ἐπιστρατεύων ἐκείνοις πολλάκις, ἕως ἐπέτρεπον οἱ μικρὸν ὕστερον τῶν εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἀδικημάτων δίκην ὑποσχόντες.

19A τέως οὐχ ὑπῆρχε διὰ τὰς πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἐν Παιονία συνθήκας, ἃς αὐτὸς παρὼν οὕτω διώκησας, ὥς μηδεμίαν ἀφορμὴν ἐκείνοις παρασχεῖν μέμψεως.

20B Ἄλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων καὶ αὐθις ἐξέσται διὰ μακροτέρων δηλῶσαι ὅπως δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπεμελήθης, τοσούτων κύκλῳ περιστάντων μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν κινδύνων καὶ παντοδαπῶν, θορύβου πραγμάτων, πολέμου γενναίου, πολλῆς καταδρομῆς, συμμαχῶν ἀποστάσεως, στρατοπέδων ἀταξίας, ὅσα ἄλλα τότε δυσχερῆ κατελάμβανεν, ἴσως ἤδη διελθεῖν ἄξιον.

20C Ἐπειδὴ γάρ σοι τὰ τῶν συνθηκῶν μετὰ τῆς ἀρίστης ὁμονοίας διώκητο, παρῆν δὲ ὁ καιρὸς τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπιτάττων βοηθεῖν κινδυνεύουσι, πορείας μὲν τάχει χρησάμενος ἀθρόως <ὅπως> ἐκ Παιόνων ἐν Σύροις ὤφθης, οὐδὲ τῷ λόγῳ δεῖξαι ῥάδιον ἀρκεῖ δὲ τοῖς ἐγνωκόσιν ἡ πείρα.

⁴² Lieu, Montserrat 1996, 161-164.

⁴³ Portmann 1999.

⁴⁴ Norman 1957, 253-259; Barnes 1992, 258-259; Fitz 1995, 1195; Portmann 1999, 304-305, Anm. 23.

⁴⁵ Barnes 1992, 259; Fitz 1995, 1209-1210, Nr. 848.

⁴⁶ PLRE I; Rufinus 25; Fitz 1995, 1207-1209, Nr. 847.

Or. II.94C πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι Κωνσταντίῳ ταύτην ἐξείλε τὴν μοῖραν, ἣν αὐτῷ πρότερον προσήκειν ἔχειν ὑπέλαβεν, εἴθ' ὅτι τελευτῶν τὸν βίον, τὸν πρεσβύτατον καὶ τὸν νεώτατον ἀφείς σχολὴν ἄγοντας, τοῦτον δὴ ἄσχολον ἐκάλει καὶ ἐπέτρεπε τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ζῦμπαντα. Γενόμενος δὲ ἐγκρατὴς ἀπάντων οὕτω τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς δικαίως ἅμα καὶ σωφρόνως προσηνέχθη, ὥστε οἱ μὲν οὐδὲ κληθέντες οὐδὲ ἀφικόμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐστασίαζον καὶ διεμάχοντο, τοῦτ' αὖ ἐχαλέπαινον οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἐμέμφοντο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῶν ἡ στάσις τέλος εἶχεν οὐκ εὐτυχές, ἐξὸν μεταποιεῖσθαι πλειόνων, ἐκὼν ἀφῆκε, τῆς αὐτῆς ἀρετῆς ὑπολαμβάνων πολλὰ τε ἔθνη καὶ ὀλίγα δεῖσθαι, περικεῖσθαι δὲ οἶμαι φροντίδας μείζονας ὅτ' αὖ πλειόνων ἀνάγκη ἐπιμελεῖν καὶ κήδεσθαι ...

94D Οὐκοῦν ἐκεῖν' αὖ μὲν ἔχειν τὸ πλεον ζυγῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ ἀρετῆς ἔλαττον ἔχων, τῷ κρατίστῳ πλεονεκτεῖν ὑπέλαβε. Καὶ ὅτι μὴ δέει μᾶλλον τῆς ἐκείνου παρασκευῆς τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἡγάπα, τεκμήριον ὅμιν ἐμφανές ἔστω ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα ζυμπεσὼν πόλεμος-ἐχρήσατο γοῦν πρὸς τὰς ἐκείνου δυνάμεις ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῖς ὅπλοις ὕστερον.

Libanios Or. LIX.

75 διαπραζάμενος δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τῷ πάντα ἀξίῳ θαυμάσαι συγγενόμενος ἀδελφῷ ...

124 ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἅπαντα φόβον ἐκ Περσικῆς ἐφόδου προσερχόμενον ἐπέσχε, οὕτως οὗτος τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐσπέραν ἔθνη βάρβαρα πανταχόθεν περικεχυμένα τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν κατηνάγκασε.

133 καὶ νῦν βασιλεὺς οὐ ταῖς φύσει τῶν Φρακτῶν, τῷ δὲ παρ' αὐτοῦ φόβῳ τὰς ἐκείνων ὁμολογίας τηρεῖν παραδούς ἐν ταῖς Παιόνων πόλεσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων βουλευέται.

Chron. Min. I p. 235 *et ipso anno nuncupati sunt tres Augusti Constantinus et Constantius et Constans V Idus Septemb.*

Athanasios Ap. ad Const. 5.2

ἀξιώ γὰρ γινώσκων σε μνημονικώτατον ἀναμνησθῆναι τῶν λόγων, ὧν ἀνέφερον τότε, ὅτε κατηξίωσας ἰδεῖν με πρῶτον μὲν ἐν Βιμινακίῳ, δεῦτερον δὲ ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τῆς Καππαδοκίας καὶ τρίτον ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ.

Der Titel *Sarmaticus*

Ammianus Marcellinus XVII.13.25

tali textu recte factorum Constantius iam metuente sublimior militarique consensu secundo Sarmaticus appellatus ex vocabulo subactorum ...

XVII.13.28 ... *cuius* (sc. Constantii) *proelia saepe conpererant* (sc. Quadi et Sarmatae) *exitus habuisse felices.*

XVII.13.33 *Postremo ego quoque hostilis vocabuli spoliū prae me fero, secundum Sarmatici cognomentum, quod vos unum idemque sentientes mihi - ne sit adrogans dicere - merito tribuistis.*

Bauinschrift Troesmis CIL III 12483 = ILS 724, 337-340 n. Chr.

Imp[pp(eratores) Caes(ares)] Fl(avius) Cl(audius) Constantinus Al(aman(icus) max(imus)] [Germ(anicus) max(imus) et] / Fl(avius) Iul(ius) Constantius Sarm(aticus) [Per]si[cu]s [max(imus) et] / [Fl(avius)] Iul(ius) Constans Sarm(aticus) Pii Felices Aug[ug(usti)] / locum in parte

limitis positum gentilium / Gotho[ru]m t[e] meritati semper aptis/simum ad [co]nfirmendam provincialium / [s]uorum [ae]ternam securitatem erecta is/tius fabr[ic]ae munitione clausurunt latru[nc]ulorumque impetum peren/nis mun[imi]nis dispositione tenuerunt / adiuuante Sappone v(iro) p(erfectissimo) duce limitis / Scythiae.

Münzen (337–340)

RIC VIII 1–4 (solidus), 12–13 (siliqua) Siscia

VICTORIA CONSTANTINI AVG

RIC VIII 5–7 (solidus), 17 (multipla) Siscia

GLORIA CONSTANTII AVG

RIC VIII 8 (solidus) Siscia

VICTORIA CONSTANTII AVG

RIC VIII 33–38 (solidus) Siscia

VICTORIA CONSTANTIS AVG

RIC VIII 23–32 (solidus) Siscia

VICTORIA DDDNNN AVG

RIC VIII 146–148 (multipla) Siscia

TRIVMFATOR GENTIVM BARBARORVM

Gnecchi 1912, 140, Nos. 2–3, bronzene Medallion des Constantinus II., Rom

DEBELLATORI GENTT BARBARR

Gnecchi 1912, 142, No. 16, bronzene Medallion des Constantinus II., Rom

VICTORI GENTIVM BARBARORVM

Gnecchi 1912, 143, Nos. 1–2, bronzene Medallion des Constans, Rom

DEBELLATORI GENTT BARBARR

Gnecchi 1912, 145, No. 22, bronzene Medallion des Constans, Rom

VICTORI GENTIVM BARBARORVM

Gnecchi 1912, 146, Nos. 1–4, bronzene Medallion des Constantius II., Rom

DEBELLATORI GENTT BARBARR

Constans in Pannonien

Person	Datum	Ort	Quelle (Cod. Theod., sonstige)
Constantius II., Constans, Constantinus II.	07.09.337	Sirmium	Iul. Or. I.19a, 20B, Chron. Min. I p. 235

Constans	338?	Gegen die Sarmaten	Titel Sarmaticus: CIL III 12483
Constans	27.07.338	Sirmium	XV.1.5 (Cod. Iust. X.48.7)
Constans	06.04.339	Savaria	X.10.6
Constans	13.08.339	Mursella	XVI.8.1, 6, 9.2
Constans	März/Anfang April 340		durch Pannonien reisend am 9. April in Aquileia: II.6.5, X.15.3
Constans	24.06.342	Sirmium	VII.20.6
Constans	Herbst 344	Pannonia	Lib. Or. LIX.133
Constans	Anfang 345	Poetovio	Ath. Ap. ad Const. 3.3
Constans	05.03.346	Sirmium	X.10.8
Constans	27.05.349	Sirmium	VII.1.2+VIII.7.3

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THE SEAT OF THE PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY AND THE FORUM PROVINCIAE OF PANNONIA INFERIOR DURING TRAJAN'S AGE

ÁDÁM SZABÓ

Abstract: The *forum provinciae* of Pannonia Inferior, the seat of the provincial assembly or the center of the Imperial Cult has not yet been archaeologically identified. According to the available sources, there are more possible sites, such as Aquincum, Gorsium or Mursa. We cannot rule out the possibility that the assembly had held its meetings on several different locations throughout the two centuries of the province's existence. However, at the time of its formation, there was only one urban community in the province, the colonia Flavia Sirmiensium. Taking into consideration the geopolitical angle, while studying the aspects of selecting imperial locations, it can be assumed that the provincial assembly was gathering in Sirmium at the formation of Pannonia Inferior, and for some time after that.

Keywords: provincial assembly; Pannonia Inferior; Sirmium; *forum provinciae*; imperial cult.

Rezumat: *Forum provinciae* din Pannonia Inferior, sediul adunării provinciale sau centrul cultului imperial, nu a fost deocamdată identificat arheologic. Potrivit surselor disponibile, există mai multe centre care ar putea îndeplini acest rol: Aquincum, Gorsium sau Mursa. Nu putem exclude posibilitatea ca, pe parcursul celor două secole ale existenței provinciei, întrunirea să fi avut loc în diverse locuri. Cu toate acestea, în momentul formării sale, în provincie exista doar o comunitate urbană, colonia Flavia Sirmiensium. Studiind aspectele legate de alegerea sediilor imperiale, dacă luăm în considerare perspectiva geopolitică, se poate presupune că, în momentul formării Pannoniei Inferior și încă o perioadă de timp după aceea, adunarea provincială avea loc la Sirmium.

Cuvinte cheie: adunarea provincială; Pannonia Inferior; Sirmium; *forum provinciae*; cult imperial.

The location of the provincial assemblies in the Carpathian Basin, which location was the ritual site of the imperial cult in the province, the *forum provinciae*, that can be identified in Pannonia Superior and in Dacia, even in detail¹, has not yet been found in Pannonia Inferior.

At the time of founding the Dacia province, Emperor Trajan also divided Pannonia into Pannonia Superior and Pannonia Inferior by 106 at the very latest². Pannonia Inferior became a narrow border province, previously the eastern side of Pannonia, and in its formation, military aspects were the most significant. After its creation, the only *legio* of the province was stationed in Aquincum³. The province was governed by a *legatus Augusti pro praetore* until 213-214⁴.

¹ See Tóth 2001, 5-33 and Szabó 2004b, 83-119.

² Cf. Nagy 1986, 377-383; Fitz 1992-1995, 371-372; Kovács 2004a, 176-177.

³ Alföldy 1959, 113-141; Lőrincz 2000, 151-158, 159-168.

⁴ Cf. Nagy 1986, 377-383; cf. also Haensch 1997, 98-104; Szabó 2000, 85-109; Lőrincz 2004, 35-40.

After the formation, the only settlement with municipal rights was the *colonia Flavia Sirmiensem*⁵. Beside this town, the civil population of the province was living within the confines of the *civitates*⁶, and also in the *canabae*⁷ next to the military camps, as well as in *vici*⁸. The following *civitates* are known from the era, which later became urban centers and territories⁹: *civitas Eraviscorum*, *civitas Belgitum*, *civitas Breucorum*, *civitas Cornacatum*, *civitas Hercuniatum*, *civitas Scordiscorum*. The transition of *Gorsium* from military into civilian settlement also began in Traian's era. Neither its category, nor its legal status is known from that time, *Gorsium* was past being an auxiliary camp, but before its transformation into a civilian town¹⁰. There has been *canabae* with its own self-governing community in Aquincum, next to the legionary camp. Next to the auxiliary forts situated along the *ripa* military *vici* developed also¹¹. The population of the province in the 1st and 2nd centuries consisted mostly of – besides the gradually romanized original inhabitants¹² – immigrated people from the western provinces; civilians, soldiers' families and their successors¹³.

The new territory had a longer-range provincial history. It had already been part of a province equipped with fully organized governmental and domestic institutions, for more than half a century. In practice, the same institutions had to be recreated for the new administrative unit, that had been existing in the province Pannonia earlier. This way, the new administrative framework meant no vital change for the population of Pannonia Inferior.

There are four known provincial high priests in Pannonia Inferior from the second half of the 2nd to the mid-3rd century¹⁴. Their existence indicates that there was also a provincial assembly: the two institutions were interdependent¹⁵. In the imperial

⁵ Mirković 1971, 5–59; Mirković 2004, 145–156.

⁶ Which later became towns, cf. Mócsy 1958, 488–498; Mócsy 1990, 59–64; Fitz 1992–1995, 415–427; Kovács 2004a, 164–193.

⁷ For a synthesis of the settlement's character, see Bérard 1992, 75–105; see also Mócsy 1990, 65–66, 234; Kovács 1999, 105–119; Madarassy 1999a, 643–650; Madarassy 1999b, 69–75.

⁸ On the settlement's character, see e.g. Sommer 1988, 457–707; for a synthesis of the *vici* in Pannonia Inferior see Kovács 1999, 105–164 – although he deals with the era after 214, he gives an insight to the auxiliary *vici*, that had existed on the same site a hundred years before.

⁹ Cf. also Nagy 2003, 439–462.

¹⁰ Cf. Fitz 2004b, 197–207 including the whole bibliography of previous research, and Fitz 2004a, 25–53; see also Lőrincz 2005, 53–56.

¹¹ See Visy 2000, 53–99; for the auxiliary troops one by one with their encampments, see Lőrincz 2001, 80–82, and Abb. 8.

¹² Cf. Szabó 1964, 165–175; the latest synthesis of the original inhabitants of Pannonia before and right after the Roman occupation was Szabó 2005.

¹³ For a synthesis see Mócsy 1959, and as an addition from the end of the 2nd to the end of the 3rd century, see Barkóczi 1964, 257–356.

¹⁴ CIL III 10305 = ILS 7126 = AE 1891, 57 = Alföldi 1940, 205–207, no. 8 = AE 1944, 91 = AE 1952, 11 = AE 1952, 9 s. n. 8 = Fitz 1992–1995, 425–426 = Kovács 1999, 110, no. 2 = RIU 1442 = Alföldi 2000 (2002), 56–57, no. 14 – Vetus Salina, after the second third of the 2nd century; CIL III 14038 = RIU 979 = Tóth 2006, 56₃₈, 85, 1. pict. – Sopianae (Mursa?), after the first third of the 2nd century; CIL III 6452 = CIL III 10496 = ILS 7124 = Fitz 1992–1995, 425–426 = Fishwick 2000, 257–260 = AE 2000, 1220 = Kovács 2004b, 79–88 = TRH 205 = Tóth 2006, 56–57 – Bátmonostor (Aquincum? Mursa?), second decade of the 3rd century; CIL III 3485 = RD 60 = Fitz 1992–1995, 425; Fishwick 2000a, 97 – Aquincum, mid-3rd century.

¹⁵ RE IV, 1, 1900, s.v. *Concilium*, 801 (Kornemann).

era the founding of a new province was immediately followed by the formation of a provincial assembly attending to the imperial cult¹⁶ (*provincia, concilium provinciae*). In the already existing provinces, where there was no precedent of the institution, these assemblies were founded in the beginning of the Principate. Their members were the delegates (*legati*) of the provincial communities regulated by law¹⁷. They were headed by a high priest (*flamen- or sacerdos provinciae, sacerdos Arae Augusti*) elected (*electus*) after a preliminary designation (*designatio*)¹⁸. The immediate founding of the provincial assembly was explained by its quintessential role. On the one hand, its members overlooked the governor's activity. On the other hand, it was an instrument of the pacification and romanization of the province, besides it assured the voluntary loyalty of the civilian population towards the emperor. The proclamation of loyalty also happened within the confines of the imperial cult¹⁹.

In the time of an undivided Pannonia, the communities of the territory that later became Pannonia Inferior also had delegations taking part in the assemblies and rituals taking place in Savaria – just like the rest of the settlements in the province²⁰. This way, the assemblies and imperial cult could, and by its nature did continue within the new administrative framework in Pannonia Inferior, as well as in Pannonia Superior. In the latter, Savaria remained seat of the assemblies throughout the 2nd and 3rd centuries²¹. In Pannonia Inferior, however, a new location had to be assigned, one where after 106, delegates of townships in the eastern part of the former province could gather under good conditions, and where the annual rituals of the imperial cult could be performed²², just as it was previously done in Savaria.

The central figure of the imperial cult in Pannonia, maintained by the provincial assembly, continued to be *Divus Claudius*, who founded the province as an emperor. A temple was dedicated to him in Savaria²³, which could have been a provincial centre, just as the temple of Camulodunum in Britannia²⁴. The cult that had been founded within municipal confines, finally rose to a provincial level in the 1st century AD in other Western provinces as well, e.g. in Hispania Citerior²⁵ and Gallia Narbonensis²⁶. The all-provincial level of *Divus Claudius* is referred to by the existence of a 2nd century *flamen Divi Claudi* from Siscia²⁷. Cults of the four additional

¹⁶ For a synthesis see Hänlein-Schäfer 1985; Liertz 1998; Clauss 1999.

¹⁷ Deininger 1965, 52–60, 99–107, 141–143.

¹⁸ RE IV, 1, 1900, s.v. *Concilium*, 814 (Kornemann); for a new synthesis see Fishwick 2002.

¹⁹ For a synthesis see RE IV, 1, 1900, s.v. *Concilium*, 801–830 (Kornemann); Kornemann 1901, 51–146; Abaecherli 1935; Deininger 1965; Fishwick 1978, 1201–1253; Fishwick 1987–2004.

²⁰ Szabó 2003, 395–402; Szabó 2004a, 256–264; comp. also Szabó 2004c, 121–138.

²¹ See recently Tóth 2001, 5–33; Szabó 2003, 402–410.

²² Cf. Kornemann 1901, 133–134, according to whom the provincial assembly was established right at the foundation of the province; see also Fitz 1992–1995, 421 – he also assumed the two were isochronal.

²³ Its building inscription, or the inscription of the cult statue remained as a small fragment: RIU 42 = RSS 76 = AE 1944, 131 = Tóth 1994 (1995), no. 44 (caption is erroneously no. 43) – *Di[vo] / Clau[dio] ...*; comp. Tóth 1974, 299–301; see also Mráv 1996–1997 (1998), 217–236.

²⁴ Sen. *Apocol.* 8; Tac. *Ann.* 14, 31; Fishwick 1987, 195–218; Fishwick 1995, 11–27; Haensch 1997, 129.

²⁵ Comp. Tac. *Ann.* 1, 78; Fishwick 1982, 222–233.

²⁶ Gayraud 1969, 304–316; Fishwick 1987, 240–256.

²⁷ Marble altar. *Savaria*. Szombathely, 1 Jókai Mór Str., the so-called Calvary Hill (Kálvária domb),

divi consecrated until Trajan's era have no traces in Pannonia. Vespasian among them could have been the subject of worship at least in the *coloniae* founded by him, like Siscia and Sirmium. However, in the *colonia* of Siscia, that was part of Pannonia Superior, there was only trace of the *Divus Claudius* cult, also advocated by Vespasian – that is, the name of the aforementioned priest from the 2nd century. Hence in Sirmium, the only urban centre at the founding of Pannonia Inferior, it can be assumed that the subject of the local imperial cult was *Divus Claudius* until Hadrian's era. Under Hadrian, the cult of the emperors was defined as *cultus Divorum et Augustorum* throughout the Empire, thus altering it in favour of all the *divi* and the currently reigning Emperor²⁸. However, until Hadrian's era in Pannonia, and in Pannonia Inferior and Superior after the division, *Divus Claudius* possibly remained to be the central figure of the imperial cult, just like in Britannia. Neither Vespasian, nor Titus, nor Nerva, and not even Trajan, founder of Pannonia Superior and Inferior were subject of a personal cult on a provincial level as far as the traces go. There is one exception, a statue of Trajan from Savaria, with a peculiar text, of which the base inscription has remained, but its function (other than the conventional act of erecting a statue for an emperor) cannot be determined²⁹. According to the currently available data, only *Divus Claudius*, who founded the province Pannonia and its first *colonia* at the time, can be named as a central figure of the imperial cult in the newly established province of Pannonia Inferior. Under Trajan's reign he could only have been worshipped on a provincial level, within urban and formal framework, in the only urban centre of the province, Sirmium. On account of the scarcity of archaeological research, epigraphic material is lacking; thus the assumption can not be supported by immediate data, since the number of inscriptions is remarkably low compared to the significance of Sirmium as a town³⁰. On the other hand, on the copy of Ptolemy's world map, which records the contemporary conditions, Sirmium stands out among the settlements of Pannonia Inferior as the most important, possibly drawn based on the original³¹.

site of the theatre of Savaria. AE 1972, 389 = RSS 38 = RIU 20 = Tóth 1994 (1995), no. 35 = Fitz 1992–1995, 423–424 = Tóth 2001, 25–26, no. 1: *Nemesi / Aug(ustae) sac(rum) / L(ucius) Val(erius) Valerian(us) / dec(urio) col(oniae) Fl(aviae) Sisc(iae) / IIvir i(ure) d(icundo) flamen / Divi Cl(audi) IIvir q(uin)q(uennalis) / sac(erdos) p(rovinciae) P(annoniae) s(uperioris) ex vot(o)*.

²⁸ For a synthesis with the earlier research see e.g. Clauss 1999.

²⁹ Front side of a marble statue base or pedestal. *Savaria*. Szombathely, Hungary. It was reused in the stairways of the Saint Martin Church. Now lost. CIL III 4178 = CIL III 10919 = EE IV, n. 482 = RSS 77 = RIU 45 = Tóth 2001, 30, no. 13: - - - - - / *[Imp(eratori) Ca]esari / [Divi N]ervae / [ff(ilio) N]ervae / [Traian]o Aug(ust)o / [German]ic(o) Dac(ico) / [pontif(ici)] maxim(o) / [tribunicia]e potestatis / [- - - c]o(n) s(uli) V patri p(atriciae) / [pont(ifices) a]ugur(es) sacer[dot(es)] fl(amines?) ex colonia / [S]avaria*. There's a modification to the reading that needs to be added to the readings, made necessary by the contents of the text, which contradicts previous publications <the line before the last: *sacer[dot(es)] fl(amines?)*>. It cannot be explained why the flamines are missing at the dedication of the statue, or why the retired sacerdotēs would have been present. The whole priestly order of the city (comp. Ladage 1971) who wore lifelong offices, thus the sacerdotēs and flamines alike, were present, according to the remaining part of the inscription and its reasonable previous interpretations. The statue was possibly erected on the forum provinciae, comp. Mráv 2003, 340.

³⁰ Cf. for the history of the town Mirković 1971, 5–59; Popović 1993, 15–27; Mirković 2004, 145–156.

³¹ See Ptolemy part XIV and map V, in Stevenson ed. 1991, 67 and map 5.

There are two aspects that can be indirectly helpful in determining the seat of the provincial assembly in Pannonia Inferior in Trajan's era, the time of its founding. Besides the assembly seats being tied to urban centres, there is a geopolitical and chronological pattern that seems general in the case of Eastern and Western settlements that hosted provincial assemblies. Amongst them there are some in the Western provinces, confirmed by archaeological evidence (ground-plans), epigraphic material, or literary sources, that could be assessed as parallel to Pannonia Inferior – these are the ones closest to it in time. Large similar characteristics apply to the rest of the known or supposed centres not listed here by name. There were centres in the Greek speaking and Eastern provinces that could have differed in circumstances from those described below; for which the reason is in the different historical tradition of pre-Roman times (comp. Pl. I).

The major assembly centres identified by archaeological, epigraphic or literary evidence in the Western part of the Empire were the following: Camulodunum³² in Britannia; Lugdunum³³ in Tres Galliae; Tarraco³⁴ in Hispania Citerior; Emerita³⁵ in Hispania Lusitania; Corduba³⁶ in Hispania Baetica; Narbo³⁷ in Gallia Narbonensis; Cemenelum³⁸ in Alpes Maritimae; Cambodunum³⁹ in Raetia; Virunum⁴⁰ in Noricum; Salona⁴¹ (?) in Dalmatia; Savaria⁴² in Pannonia and Pannonia Superior; Sarmizegetusa⁴³ in Trajan's Dacia; Mons Eryx⁴⁴ (?) in Sicilia; Carthago⁴⁵ in Africa Proconsularis; Caesarea⁴⁶ in Mauretania Caesariensis. These centres listed above were all located in the part of the province closest to the city of Rome. Therefore, referring to their geopolitical location, they were situated towards the Southeastern – Eastern border in Britannia, Tres Galliae, Hispania Citerior, Lusitania and Baetica, and Gallia Narbonensis; in the Southern part in Alpes Maritimae, Raetia and Noricum – as far as the Alps allowed; in the Southwestern part in Dalmatia, Pannonia and Pannonia Superior; towards the Western border in Asia Proconsularis; and towards the Northern in Africa Proconsularis, Mauretania Caesariensis and Sicilia (Pl. I). When they were selected in the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd centuries, the primary

³² Tac. *Ann.* 14, 31; Fishwick 1987, 195–218; Fishwick 1995, 11–27; Haensch 1997, 129; Fishwick 1997, 31–50.

³³ Deininger 1965, 99 sq.; Turcan 1982, 608; Hänlein-Schäfer 1985, 252–254; Fishwick 1987, 97–98, 308–352; Fishwick 1996, 87–100; Haensch 1997, 133, 135, 138.

³⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 1, 78; Alföldy 1973 and RE Suppl. XV, 1978, s.v. *Tarraco*, 572–644 (Alföldy); Fishwick 1982, 222–233; Haensch 1997, 171, Alföldy 2000, 3–22.

³⁵ Deininger 1965, 130; Fishwick 1987, 157; Haensch 1997, 177.

³⁶ Deininger 1965, 128; Fishwick 1987, 219; Haensch 1997, 183.

³⁷ Deininger 1965, 107 sq.; Gayraud 1969, 304–316; Fishwick 1987, 240–256; Haensch 1997, 141.

³⁸ Comp. Deininger 1965, 110; Haensch 1997, 142.

³⁹ Deininger 1965, 113; Weber 1985, 230–232; Haensch 1997, 149.

⁴⁰ Lorenz 1987, 141; Harl 1989, 521–598; Haensch 1997, 359; Piccotini et alii 2002, 103–116.

⁴¹ Deininger 1965, 116; Fishwick 1987, 299₃₄, 302; Haensch 1997, 80.

⁴² Recently see Fitz 1992–1995, 423–424; Haensch 1997, 352; Tóth 2001, 5–33.

⁴³ Daicoviciu, Alicu 1984; Haensch 1997, 345–346; Szabó 2004b, 83–119.

⁴⁴ Cf. Haensch 1997, 159 f. and 369.

⁴⁵ Apul. *Flor.* 16, 25; comp. August. *Epist.* 138, 4, 19; see also Deininger 1965, 133; Fishwick 1987, 257–268; Haensch 1997, 91; based on Apuleius' cited passage it was presumed that the seat of the provincial assembly is to be located at Carthago, although there are no archaeological traces up to this moment.

⁴⁶ Deininger 1965, 132; Fishwick 1987, 282–294; Haensch 1997, 118.

factor was not easy accessibility within the province, thus the province's inner road system and transport, but to be able to reach Rome and return as soon as possible. The next is a second, chronological aspect besides the aforementioned geopolitical one: namely that the oldest and most prestigious, or rather the first founded urban centre became the seat of the provincial assembly. This seat, according to Roman law, should have been the town that in the moment of its founding, was situated on the location easiest accessible on the way to and from Rome. Determining the location happened taking into account the economic and political aspects. Even if later urban centres were founded closer on the road to the City, the assembly seat remained the same – if there were no other economic, administrative or political factors motivating the change. In the case of Pannonia Superior, it is shown by the example of Savaria, that the founding of Poetovio did not affect the seat of the provincial assembly. These two factors together apply only to Sirmium in the year of Pannonia Inferior's founding, and even after that. There is another parameter of these assembly seats, namely that they also functioned as economic centres for their respective region, as is the case with Lugdunum⁴⁷. In relation to that, more assembly seats served also as headquarters of the procurator of the province, although based on our current knowledge, this was not common⁴⁸. During the history of Pannonia Inferior in the 2nd and 3rd centuries, three seats were suggested having been possible procuratorial headquarters: Sirmium, Mursa and Aquincum⁴⁹. The terminus of all the traffic along the trade routes was the City of Rome. There were complex criteria that made the seats of provincial assemblies stand out amongst other settlements. In the context of Pannonia Inferior, all above mentioned aspects apply only to Sirmium; besides, it was the social and economic centre of the province in our era of interest.

Therefore it can be determined – without any direct sources –, that the provincial assembly of Pannonia Inferior and the local establishment of the imperial cult, that continued the Pannonian tradition, could only have been founded and could only have functioned in Sirmium. The central figure of the imperial cult was *Divus Claudius*, who had a municipal sanctuary here. It is most probable that the annually elected high priests of the era were also citizens of the same town, although none of them is known by name, since research, and thus epigraphic material is scarce. Beside the *colonia* of Sirmium, the *civitates* set up upon former tribal centres were also elements of forming the provincial assembly, and their delegates definitely took part in the rites of the imperial cult, just as the Gaulish tribes⁵⁰. Apart from them, the delegates of other

⁴⁷ See Strabo 4.3.2.

⁴⁸ In general see Haensch 1997, 288, 370. For the provinces in which the seat of the assembly and the procurator's headquarters concur: see e.g. Haensch 1997, 96 – Africa Proconsularis: probably Carthago, 346 – Dacia: Sarmizegetusa, 135 – Tres Galliae (Aquitania and Lugdunensis of them): Lugdunum, 165 – Hispania Citerior: Tarraco, 140–141 – Gallia Narbonensis: Narbo, 359–360 – Noricum: probably Virunum, 372 – Thracia: Philippopolis. From the 2nd century on in Pannonia Superior the procurator's headquarters were not located in Savaria, but in the centre of the *publicum portorium Illyrici*, which was due to the closeness of the two urban centres and the customs office in Poetovio, comp. Fitz 1992–1995, 391. The listed towns in Pannonia Inferior in the same order represent a type of chronology regarding the procuratorial office.

⁴⁹ Cf. Fitz 1992–1995, 391; Haensch 1997, 104, 446; Alföldy 2003, 226.

⁵⁰ Comp. Liv 137; Strabo 4.3.2; Suet. *Claud* 2; Dio Cass. 54.32.

communities organized under the law, like the *canabae legionis*, and the existing *vici auxiliares*, were supposedly present in Sirmium at the right time⁵¹.

Communities in posse taking part in the provincial assembly
of Pannonia Inferior in the era of Trajan:

Community	Name of the institution	Seat of the institution	Title of the high priest
<i>colonia Flavia Sirmiensem</i> <i>civitas Eraviscorum</i> <i>civitas Belgitum</i> <i>civitas Breucorum</i> <i>civitas Cornacatum</i> <i>civitas Hercuniatum</i> <i>civitas Scordisorum</i> <i>canabae legionis?</i> <i>vici auxiliares?</i>	<i>provincia (?)</i>	<i>colonia Flavia Sirmiensem</i>	<i>sacerdos provinciae (?)</i>

The *civitates* were municipalized by Hadrian in the first half of the 2nd century AD. As a more general form of the imperial cult started to evolve (*cultus Divorum et Augustorum*), the building of grand *fora provinciae* also began, where such have not been established. Perhaps connected to this turn of events, and also the development of the territories north of Sirmium in Pannonia Inferior, the seat of the provincial assembly could have changed from Hadrian's era. By the middle/second half of the 2nd century, the central and northern parts of the province also reached a sufficient economic and social potential.

In previous research there have already been numerous attempts to determine the seat of the provincial assembly, and there have been remarkable arguments in favour of Aquincum⁵², Gorsium⁵³, and more recently, Mursa⁵⁴. Part of the data presented and interpreted, but referring to the time after the mid-2nd century, indeed suggests provincial assembly as well as local imperial cult, especially in Mursa, that

⁵¹ The significance of Sirmium did not lessen in later times, as it remained an important urban centre of the province and the region as well, comp. also Haensch 1997, 103; Marcus Aurelius was sought out in Sirmium by a delegate of the provincial assembly of Hispania Citerior around 172 (see CIL II 4246 = ILS 6939 = Alföldy 1973, 97, no. 111), similarly, Caracalla was also greeted there by delegates from Asia Proconsularis, Ephesus in the autumn of 213 (cf. Halfmann 1986, 223; the autumn of 213 has been confirmed by Scheid 1998, before him the date had been assumed to be 213-214). Maximinus Thrax made Sirmium his headquarters (comp. e.g. SHA, *Max. Thrax*). That is to say, these three emperors found it easy to connect with the rest of the Empire from the same town. The suggestion presented in this paper was part of a lecture given in 9 March 2006, Győr, Hungary, on the Ist Conference of Young Roman Archaeologists.

⁵² Alföldy 1942, 300-303; RE Suppl. IX, 1962, s.v. *Pannonia*, 595 (Mócsy); Deininger 1965, 117; RE Suppl. XI, 1968, s.v. *Aquincum*, 75 (Szilágyi).

⁵³ Cf. Nagy 1942, 419-421; see also Fitz 1970, 152-153; Fitz 1985, 257-265; cf. also Tóth 1991 (1992), 97-112; Fitz 1992-1995, 424; Haensch 1997, 104; see also Alföldy 1997, 227-241; Fishwick 2000b, 309-331; Fitz 2004b, 197-208.

⁵⁴ Tóth 2006, 53-60.

was developing significantly in the 2nd century, and in Aquincum, that flourished in the prime of its economic growth in the 3rd century. Mursa connected to the main imperial road system through Siscia, much like Sirmium. Aquincum, amidst the changed socio-economic conditions by the 3rd century, came to be a station on the route connecting the European provinces in the Western part of the Empire. Remains of the procuratorial office have also been found in the above mentioned towns.

Nevertheless, the later chapters of the history of Pannonia Inferior's provincial assemblies are subject of a different study.

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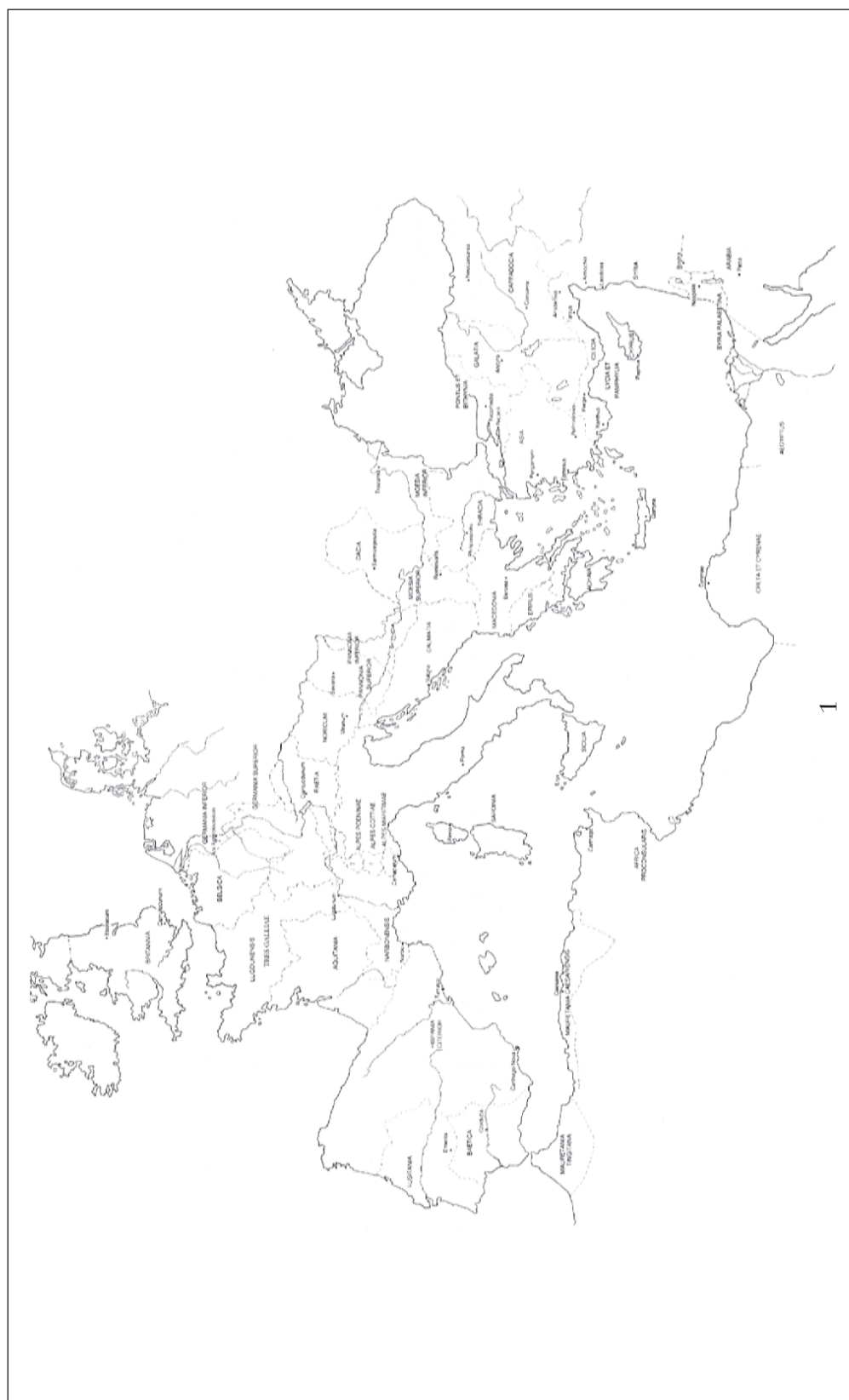
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Pl. I. The provinces of the Roman Empire and the seats of the provincial assemblies in the first third of the 2nd century AD (after Deininger 1965; Weber 1985; Haensch 1997).

STVDIA DACICA ET PARTHICA (III): LAS CAMPAÑAS PÁRTICAS DE TRAJANO A GALIENO Y LA DIFUSIÓN DE CULTOS DE ORIGEN ORIENTAL EN LA DACIA ROMANA

JUAN RAMÓN CARBÓ GARCÍA

Abstract: The spread of cults of eastern origin in the Dacian provinces is studied in the light of the campaigns conducted by different Roman emperors in the East against the Parthians and, later, against the Persians, during the first decades of dominance of the Sassanid dynasty, coinciding with the final decades of Roman rule over Dacia in the North of the Danube. This study analyzes the inscriptions that allow us to detect a direct relationship with the Parthian wars and, through their possible dates, to establish a chronology of its introduction and diffusion in Dacia by the hand of the same chronology of the Roman wars in the East. We conclude that the spread in Dacia of certain cults of deities of Syrian origin, such as Jupiter Heliopolitanus, Jupiter Balmarcodes and, above all, Azizos, was due to the campaigns in the East led by Trajan, Lucius Verus, Septimius Severus and many other emperors of the 3rd century, until the campaigns of Valerian and Gallienus.

Keywords: Parthia; Roman Dacia; Parthian Wars; oriental cults; Azizos.

Rezumat: Răspândirea cultelor de origine orientală în provinciile dacice este analizată în lumina campaniilor purtate de diferiți împărați romani în Orient împotriva parților, ulterior împotriva perșilor, în timpul primelor decenii ale stăpânirii dinastiei sasanide, perioadă care corespunde cu ultimele decenii ale stăpânirii romane în Dacia, la nord de Dunăre. Studiul de față analizează inscripțiile care ne-au permis detectarea unei relații directe cu războaiele partice și, prin intermediul posibilelor datări ale acestora, stabilirea unei cronologii privind introducerea și difuzarea cultelor orientale în Dacia ca urmare a aceleiași succesiuni a războaielor din Orient. Concluzionăm că difuzarea în Dacia a anumitor culte a unor divinități de origine siriană, ca Jupiter Heliopolitanus, Jupiter Balmarcodes și mai ales Azizos, se datorează campaniilor orientale conduse de Traian, Lucius Verus, Septimius Severus și alți împărați din secolul al III-lea, până la campaniile lui Valerian și Gallienus.

Cuvinte cheie: Partia; Dacia romană; războaiele partice; cultele orientale; Azizos.

Bajo el título de *Studia Dacica et Parthica*, hace aproximadamente una década comenzamos a producir una serie de trabajos cuya finalidad es el análisis comparativo de distintos aspectos en relación con los pueblos dacio y parto, y en general con los territorios de Dacia y Partia, desde la época tardorrepublicana hasta finales del Principado y comienzos del Bajo Imperio. La expansión romana en oriente desde época tardorrepublicana conllevó el inevitable enfrentamiento con el Imperio Arsácida, y siempre tuvo un punto débil en la amenaza que suponía el potente reino dacio en el limes danubiano. Esto habría de conducir a diferentes líderes romanos desde César hasta Trajano a intentar neutralizar o eliminar esa amenaza, como condición previa a una posible expansión de las fronteras en el Este, lo cual, curiosamente, ha dado lugar a una serie de paralelismos y de relaciones entre ambos pueblos adversarios de Roma, y

también entre sus territorios, incluso estando después bajo dominio romano. Si en el primer artículo de la serie abordábamos el estudio de las posibles relaciones diplomáticas entre ambos pueblos y con los romanos¹, y en el segundo, algunos aspectos de la política propagandística ideológica romana desarrollada por Trajano en relación con la conquista de Dacia y de Partia², en este nuevo estudio pretendemos analizar nuevas líneas de conexión en torno al aspecto religioso. Más concretamente, dirigiremos nuestro foco de atención a la cuestión de la difusión de cultos de origen oriental en la Dacia romana, pero no de forma general –algo sobre lo que este mismo autor ya ha trabajado anteriormente³ –, sino de manera específica a la difusión de esos cultos desde el ámbito militar; y de forma aún más concreta, analizaremos la relación directa que pueda existir entre la difusión de alguno de esos cultos en las provincias dácicas y la participación de tropas romanas en alguna de las numerosas campañas párticas desarrolladas por diversos emperadores romanos entre la época de Trajano, conquistador de Dacia, y la de Galieno, pocos años antes del abandono de los territorios nordanubianos bajo el reinado de Aureliano.

El marco temporal de las campañas en Oriente: arsácidas y sasánidas

Si el término *post quem* que daría inicio a nuestro estudio queda perfectamente definido en el reinado de Trajano, dado que este emperador conquistó la Dacia en el 106 y después realizó su importante campaña contra Partia entre el 114 y el 117, el término *ante quem* que pusiera fin al ámbito cronológico abarcado podría dar lugar a dudas. El imperio de los partos arsácidas, como tal, dejó de existir en el 226, cuando Ardashir restauró el poder persa bajo la dinastía de los sasánidas. Sin embargo, los romanos se vieron obligados a seguir realizando campañas militares en Oriente contra esos nuevos enemigos, que habitualmente se mostraron más agresivos hacia Roma que los partos, dado que su pretensión era la recuperación de los territorios que habían formado parte del enorme imperio persa bajo la dinastía de los aqueménidas, muchos de los cuales estaban ahora bajo el control romano. Cualquiera podría aducir, siguiendo esta línea de pensamiento, que esas campañas militares romanas posteriores a la caída del Imperio Parto, no deberían contemplarse en este estudio, dado que no podrían denominarse en sentido estricto como “párticas”. Por consiguiente, las campañas de Septimio Severo y Caracalla habrían sido las últimas desarrolladas contra Partia.

No obstante, esta distinción que hoy conocemos con precisión no se muestra en absoluto de forma tan clara en el pensamiento imperial romano, que realmente es el que nos interesa en la perspectiva de nuestro estudio: no hay más que observar la titulación de los emperadores de esa época tal y como aparece en el registro epigráfico para poder darnos cuenta de que Partia sigue siendo una realidad constante para los romanos frente al renacido concepto de Persia, unido a los nuevos enemigos sasánidas. Filippo I el Árabe recibió la dignidad de *Parthicus Maximus* en el año 244 y

¹ Carbó, Rodríguez 2007.

² Carbó, Rodríguez 2012.

³ CODR I, II.

más raramente es llamado *Persicus Maximus* en esa misma fecha, y lo mismo ocurre con Galieno, que recibe ambos títulos en el 264. Pero es que Claudio II recibe sólo el título de *Parthicus Maximus* en el 270 y también Aureliano en el 271 o 272, siendo éste el último emperador en recibirlo. Vabalato, en el 271, recibe ya solamente la dignidad de *Persicus Maximus*, al igual que Caro y Carino en el 283. Ni siquiera en la amplísima titulatura honorífica de Diocleciano aparecerá ya la mención a Partia, mientras que sí que recibió el título de *Persicus Maximus* en el 288 y de nuevo, *Persicus Maximus II* en el 297. En relación con las campañas romanas, Eutropio, escribiendo en la segunda mitad del siglo IV, mencionaba que Valeriano fue derrotado por Sapor, rey de Persia, y poco después hecho prisionero y condenado a una ignominiosa esclavitud entre los partos!⁴. Por esta razón, y también porque la Dacia nordanubiana fue abandonada bajo el gobierno de Aureliano, hemos decidido que el término *ante quem* que cierre el marco cronológico de nuestro estudio sea la famosa – y para los romanos catastrófica – campaña pártica de Valeriano y Galieno, que terminó con la captura del primero a manos de los persas. Dejamos fuera de nuestro estudio a Claudio II o a Aureliano porque, al abandonarse en esa época los territorios al norte del Danubio, resulta más que evidente que no hubo tiempo para que pudiera darse ningún tipo de difusión religiosa en Dacia a través de las tropas que hubiesen luchado en el Este en esa época.

Establecida entonces la cuestión del marco temporal abarcado en este trabajo, tendríamos una serie de campañas militares romanas en Partia a lo largo de esos años que es conveniente recordar en estos momentos para que, más adelante, podamos analizar la cronología de la difusión de determinados cultos de origen oriental en Dacia relacionada con la propia cronología de las campañas párticas y con la participación en ellas de unidades militares que, después, se dirigieron a los territorios nordanubianos, ya fuera de regreso o para acantonarse allí por vez primera.

En primer lugar, por supuesto, estaría la campaña de Trajano (113–117). Después de su victoriosa campaña en Dacia, con la conquista de los territorios nordanubianos y su conversión en provincias del Imperio, y de la posterior incorporación de la Arabia Nabatea, Trajano dirigió la maquinaria militar romana contra el reino de los arsácidas, comenzando las operaciones en el año 113, algo que parece establecido a partir de las fuentes, o al menos, la decisión de una intervención en la frontera oriental⁵.

⁴ Eutr. 9, 7.

⁵ Sobre las fuentes para esta campaña, el que sólo se hayan conservado fragmentos dispersos de la obra de Arriano *Parthica*, contemporánea a los acontecimientos, nos ha dejado sólo la opción de la obra de Dion Casio como fuente principal para la campaña, conservada en Xiphilino, junto a autores aún más tardíos, más confusos, imprecisos y de menos confianza, como serán Eutropio, Marco Cornelio Fronto, Aurelio Victor, Rufio Festo y Malalas. Podemos seguir el desarrollo de la campaña por el relato de Dion Casio principalmente y también por las emisiones monetales que fueron produciéndose a la par que los acontecimientos (ver Richier 1997).

Existe una bibliografía relativamente extensa sobre el tema, aunque no demasiado actualizada. Para un análisis bibliográfico bastante reciente, ver el completo estudio de González 2000, 203–226. Los trabajos clásicos son los de Longden 1931, Longden 1936, Guey 1937 o Lepper 1948; una versión resumida en González 1993; también Lightfoot 1990. En general, para las relaciones entre romanos y partos, ver Ziegler 1964 y el clásico de Debevoise 1968, y más recientes, Edwell 2008, Shayegan 2011y Sauer 2017.

La siguiente sería la campaña de época de Marco Aurelio, dirigida por el co-emperador, Lucio Vero (161-166), con sonoras victorias romanas, pero que terminó con un abrupto final por la aparición de la peste entre las legiones romanas⁶.

Después habrían de venir las campañas de Septimio Severo (195-198)⁷, Caracalla (216-217) y Macrino (217)⁸. Alejandro Severo condujo una campaña que, como ya hemos visto anteriormente, realmente sería contra los sasánidas (232-233)⁹, lo mismo que sucedería con las expediciones militares y/ o resoluciones de conflictos por parte de Gordiano III (244), Filipo el Árabe (244), Treboniano Galo (251), Valeriano I (257-259) y Galieno (259).

El ejército como difusor de los cultos orientales en Dacia

El papel desempeñado por el ejército romano en la difusión de determinados cultos en Dacia, así como de forma general todos los aspectos relacionados con la práctica religiosa de las tropas y las divinidades cuyos cultos practicaban ha sido bien estudiado¹⁰. Del mismo modo, su papel en la difusión de los cultos de origen oriental ha quedado bien definido en los últimos años¹¹. Volver sobre estas cuestiones sería reiterativo y no es la finalidad del artículo, dado que lo que pretendemos es estudiar específicamente los casos de algunos cultos que, gracias a las inscripciones y a su datación, podemos relacionar directamente con la participación de unidades militares romanas en alguna campaña pártica y con su posterior regreso o traslado a la Dacia.

Del total de dedicantes conocidos de los cultos de origen oriental en las provincias dácicas, en torno a un 30% eran militares, contabilizándose entre ellos desde los oficiales de mayor graduación, miembros de los *ordines* senatorial y ecuestre, hasta los soldados y veteranos que no reflejan en los monumentos otra ocupación o estatus posterior. La gran atracción que tenían para los soldados el Mitraísmo o el culto sirio de Júpiter Dolichenus –precisamente los dos cultos de origen oriental más extendidos en Dacia– resulta también esclarecedora a la hora de entender la destacada presencia de los militares entre el resto de dedicantes. En cuanto a sus preferencias religiosas dentro de la multitud de dioses de estos cultos que están presentes en las tres provincias, los cultos sirios y especialmente el de Júpiter Dolichenus, como se ha señalado, se encuentran en primer lugar, reuniendo más de la mitad de las dedicatorias, mientras que el Mitraísmo apenas sobrepasa el 30%. Esto podría explicarse hasta cierto punto por el número escaso de monumentos mitraicos en la provincia más militar de la Dacia, la Porolissensis, en la que sin embargo, Júpiter Dolichenus fue el dios preferido de los

⁶ Para las fuentes clásicas, volvemos a apoyarnos sobre la obra de Dion Casio, además de algunas otras como las obras de Amiano Marcelino, Eutropio, Luciano de Samosata, Marco Aurelio o la Historia Augusta. En cuanto a la bibliografía, ver Birley 2000 o McLynn 2009.

⁷ Gradoni 2013.

⁸ Scott 2008, 76.

⁹ Las fuentes principales son Herodiano 6, 5 y 6, 6, y la SHA *Alex. Sev.* 55, 1-3. Como referencias bibliográficas para esta y para el resto de expediciones que referimos, ver los ya citados trabajos de Edwell 2008, Shayegan 2011 y Sauer 2017.

¹⁰ Popescu 2004.

¹¹ Popescu 2004, 126-158; CODR I esp. 256-265, 483-490.

militares, posiblemente por la influencia de las unidades sirias y palmirenas, cuyos cultos contribuyeron a propagar¹². Junto al culto de Júpiter Dolichenus, también otros cultos sirios como los de Azizos, Júpiter Heliopolitanus, Turmasgades, Hierapolitanus, Balmarcodes y los dioses palmirenos parecen haber sido especialmente favorecidos por el papel difusor del ejército. No obstante, muy pocas entre las inscripciones de estos cultos pueden ser relacionadas de forma directa con las campañas párticas.

Por ejemplo, en el caso del culto de Júpiter Dolichenus, originario de Commagene, es muy probable que con ocasión de la campaña pártica de Trajano su culto fuera adquirido por las tropas romanas, que pudieron considerar que el dios las había beneficiado, así como al plan del emperador en su búsqueda de la conquista de nuevos espacios y pueblos¹³. Sin embargo, no tenemos constancia epigráfica de su aparición fuera de Siria antes del reinado de Adriano¹⁴, y en lo que respecta a la Dacia, la inscripción más antigua data de la época de Antonino Pío; y aunque ésta presenta un carácter ciertamente arcaico e introductorio por su referencia al lugar de proveniencia del dios – *nato ubi ferrum exor[itur]...* –, ni siquiera fue dedicada por un militar¹⁵. A pesar de que reunía ciertas cualidades con las que resultaba un dios atractivo para los soldados – vestía la coraza, llevaba sus armas, les acordaba protección en las batallas y les proporcionaba su fuerza para la obtención de la victoria –, a la luz de su difusión en el Imperio, los militares no desempeñaron un papel prominente en la implantación de su culto en las distintas provincias, ni siquiera en aquéllas que constituían el *limes* danubiano, alcanzando una representación de en torno a un 40%¹⁶. Sus poderes iba más allá del mero aspecto militar y esta divinidad no puede definirse como específicamente militar o legionaria¹⁷.

Pero, como decíamos, no tenemos ningún testimonio directo de la relación entre la difusión de este culto en Dacia y la participación en las campañas párticas de alguna unidad militar estacionada en las provincias nordanubianas. Lo mismo ocurre para la mayoría de los otros cultos sirios, que son los que potencialmente habrían conocido y ayudado a difundir los soldados romanos durante su estancia en Siria en alguna de las campañas contra los partos en Oriente. Son solamente 3 los cultos de los que tenemos testimonios epigráficos concretos que nos permiten relacionar en mayor o menor medida su introducción o difusión en Dacia con las campañas párticas: los de los dioses Iuppiter Heliopolitanus, Azizos y Iuppiter Balmarcodes.

Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Heliopolitanus es el nombre bajo el cual era adorado en los monumentos romanos el dios Baal de la ciudad de Baalbek-Heliópolis, en Siria, llamado Hadad por los sirios. Entre sus atributos se contaban los de dios de la tormenta, de la lluvia y de las fuentes, de la fertilidad, dios supremo, soberano y cósmico, eterno, oracular, santo, benévolo, salvador y victorioso. El desarrollo de la teología solar tuvo como consecuencia que las divinidades locales tendieran a identificarse con

¹² CODR I 483-484.

¹³ Popescu 2004, 135.

¹⁴ CIL VIII 2680 = 18221.

¹⁵ CIL III 1128 = IDR III/5, 222 = CODR II 168.

¹⁶ Speidel 1978a, 11, 39.

¹⁷ Popescu 2004, 136.

el sol, como es este caso. En Baalbek-Heliópolis formaba parte de una tríada de divinidades, junto con Venus Heliopolitana y Mercurio Heliopolitanus, equivaliendo a Atargatis y a Semia, respectivamente. Allí tenía un oráculo que fue consultado incluso por el emperador Trajano antes de comenzar su campaña pártica¹⁸. Macrobio proporciona algunas indicaciones sobre las procesiones del dios, sobre sus portadores y sobre el propio aspecto de la estatua¹⁹. Su culto se extendió por las provincias del Imperio gracias al elemento militar, más que por colonos o comerciantes de origen sirio. En Dacia no parece haber tenido la importancia que tuvo en otras regiones del Imperio Romano²⁰ y su culto está atestiguado únicamente por tres inscripciones, que veremos en el próximo apartado.

Por su parte, Bonus Puer era una divinidad sirio-arábica venerada en la ciudad siria de Edessa bajo el nombre de *ʿAziz*, que significaba “el fuerte” o “el poderoso”, y cuya forma latinizada era *Azizos* o *Azizus*, equivaliendo al Lucifer de los romanos y al Phosphoros de los griegos, el dios de la estrella de la mañana, Venus, que precede al sol y anuncia la venida de la luz y de la vida, una divinidad de carácter heliaco y armado, honrado por los militares en las provincias danubianas y traído a occidente por los militares de origen sirio²¹. Solía ser representado como un adolescente (*Puer*) que llevaba una torta. La principal fuente literaria antigua es un texto de Juliano en el que éste reproduce las anotaciones de Jámblico en un discurso pronunciado por el emperador en diciembre del año 362 en Antioquía, en honor del Sol²². Como dios solar y armado, su culto se extendió en las provincias danubianas gracias al ejército, especialmente, de tal forma que está presente en Pannonia y en Dacia, donde aparece asociado a Apolo en varias ocasiones. En Dacia, aparece en 15 inscripciones bajo distintas formas²³: *Bonus Puer*, *Bonus Puer Phosphorus*, *Azizos Bonus Puer* o *Deus Fortis Phoebus*. Esta divinidad tenía un templo atestiguado epigráficamente en Potaissa²⁴ y es muy probable que existiera otro en Apulum, de donde proceden 8 de las 15 inscripciones.

En cuanto a Balmarcodes, este dios de origen fenicio es conocido en inscripciones de época romana en diversas provincias europeas y en Roma²⁵, aunque tenía escasos seguidores en la zona occidental del Imperio. A partir de su propio nombre, parece que sus atributos corresponderían a los de un Baal “Señor de las danzas”, por lo que mantendría un carácter distintivo respecto a los de los otros Baal sirios, relacionados con una ciudad²⁶. Su identificación con el Júpiter capitolino está atestiguada por inscripciones de Siria y de las provincias europeas. La divinidad femenina que era su pareja era conocida bajo *interpretatio romana* como *Iuno regina* o *Iuno filia Iovis*²⁷.

¹⁸ Hajjar 1977; Hajjar 1981, 213-240; Hajjar 1985, 217-229; Hajjar 1990, 2458-2508; Turcan 1996, 148-158.

¹⁹ Macrobi. *Sat.* I, 23, 12 y 13.

²⁰ Sanie 1981, 90-94.

²¹ Turcan 1996, 184; Sanie 1981, 117-122.

²² Julian. *Or.* IV, 150 d, 154 b.

²³ CODR II 103-117.

²⁴ Rusu-Pescaru, Alicu 2000, 134-135.

²⁵ CIL III 155; CIL III 159; CIL III 6677; CIL III 6678; CIL III 12098; CIL VI 403.

²⁶ Sanie 1981, 104.

²⁷ CIL III 159.

Pero los atributos de este *Baal Marqod* son poco conocidos, pese a que su templo en Deir El-Qalaa, cerca de Beirut, ha sido bien estudiado²⁸. En Dacia su culto está representado por una sola inscripción dedicada a la divinidad, que también veremos enseguida.

Las campañas párticas y los cultos orientales en Dacia

Los monumentos datables en la primera parte del siglo II d.C., desde la conquista hasta finales del reinado de Antonino Pío, son muy escasos. De época de Trajano son las tres inscripciones halladas en la Dacia que están dedicadas a Júpiter Heliopolitanus, las dos primeras procedentes de Micia y la tercera, de Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, con lo cual, tres de los principales centros de difusión de los cultos sirios y palmirenos en Dacia –Apulum, Ulpia Traiana y Micia– parecen presentar en fecha muy temprana, unos años después de la conquista, los primeros testimonios la presencia de estos cultos; testimonios que, como veremos enseguida, parecen estar en relación con la campaña pártica del emperador Trajano.

Los tres dedicantes de las inscripciones al Baal de Heliópolis son centuriones legionarios. El primero de ellos era centurión de la legión *IV Flavia Felix*²⁹, aunque por otra inscripción suya proveniente de Sinope sabemos que había sido también centurión de la legión *XXII Primigenia*³⁰. La legión *IV Flavia Felix* estuvo estacionada en el suroeste de la Dacia durante el reinado de Trajano, hasta que entre el 117 y el 118 d.C. fue retirada a la Moesia Superior. De esta forma, esta fecha nos sirve como término *ante quem*. Esta inscripción se ha puesto en relación con un hecho concreto de la guerra pártica de Trajano: la visita y la consulta, por parte del Emperador, del oráculo de Heliópolis, relatadas por Macrobio³¹. Resulta muy probable que el centurión, todavía destinado en la legión *XXII Primigenia*, hubiera conocido el culto en la misma ocasión que Trajano, durante la campaña pártica³². Y lo mismo sucedería con el dedicante de la otra inscripción de Micia³³, centurión de la legión *XIII Gemina*, cuya participación parcial en la guerra parece probada por la presencia de una *vexillatio* de esta unidad en la campaña³⁴, y parece que la unidad legionaria al completo, o al menos una *vexillatio*, estuvo estacionada en el campamento de Micia en época del emperador Trajano³⁵. Aunque para la inscripción de Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa no disponemos de datos tan precisos y podría pertenecer a una época posterior, el centurión que la dedica pertenecía a la legión *XIII Gemina* y por analogía con las dos inscripciones anteriores nos inclinamos más bien por una datación en la misma época, a finales de la segunda década del siglo II d.C., y siempre en relación con la visita y la consulta de

²⁸ Éliane, Nordiguan 1983. Sobre el dios, ver Lipiński 1995, 115-116.

²⁹ Ver inscripción 1 del repertorio.

³⁰ CIL III 14402b.

³¹ Macrobi. *Sat.* I, 23, 14-16. Gostar 1973, 256-257.

³² Sanie 1981, 92; Popescu 2004, 140, no descarta categóricamente la posibilidad de que se trate de un centurión de origen sirio, quizá descendiente de colonos romanos de Heliópolis.

³³ Ver inscripción 2 del repertorio.

³⁴ IDRE II 409; Petolescu 1989, 253-254; Una opinión contraria en Piso 2000, 222.

³⁵ Gostar 1973, 254.

Trajano del oráculo de Heliópolis con ocasión del comienzo de la campaña pártica³⁶. Esta consulta, antes de dar comienzo a la campaña, debió de convencer a muchos de sus oficiales y soldados de la eficacia de las acciones divinas³⁷.

Asimismo, la única inscripción dedicada a Júpiter Balmarcodes - *Baal Marqod* -, una base de estatuilla hallada en Potaissa³⁸, ofrece un *terminus post quem* entre el 168-169 d.C., dado que está dedicada por un veterano de la legión *V Macedonica* y esta unidad fue trasladada en torno a esas mismas fechas a Potaissa, donde tuvo su campamento hasta los años 274-275³⁹. Es probable que el dedicante, un veterano con el nombre romano de Ianuarius, conociera la divinidad durante la estancia de la legión *V Macedonica* en Siria, en la campaña pártica de Lucio Vero, entre el 161 y 166 d.C., pocos años antes del traslado de la unidad a Potaissa, de modo que la inscripción quizá podría datarse en las últimas décadas del siglo II. El que fuera una inscripción aislada, el único testimonio de la presencia de este culto en Dacia, parece hablar a favor de un conocimiento directo de la divinidad en el lugar de origen de ésta, en Deir El-Qalaa, cerca de Beirut, o en la zona siria en general.

Una inscripción procedente de Apulum y dedicada a Azizos menciona el *municipium Aurelium Apulense*, que existió en tiempos de Marco Aurelio, entre el 161 y el 180 d.C., transformándose en *colonia Aurelia Apulense* bajo el reinado de Cómodo, entre el 180 y el 193 d.C., de tal modo que se puede datar el monumento durante el reinado de Marco Aurelio o incluso en los primeros años del reinado de Cómodo⁴⁰. Otra inscripción dedicada a Azizos, también de Apulum⁴¹, podría datarse en las últimas décadas el siglo II en función del nombre de factura peregrina del dedicante, según ha observado Piso. En este sentido, podemos constatar que la introducción de este culto es anterior a la campaña pártica de Septimio Severo, y resulta muy probable que se deba al conocimiento directo de nuevas divinidades durante la participación de la legión *V Macedonica* en la campaña de Lucio Vero contra los partos⁴².

Más compleja es la datación de un tercer monumento de este dios⁴³ dedicado por un centurión de la legión *V Macedonica*, en el que Azizos aparece junto a Apolo Pártico, el mismo título llevado por varios emperadores con el significado de “vencedor de los partos”, como ya hemos visto, y parece que en este caso también se refiere a una victoria sobre éstos. En su día, Mihail Macrea apuntaba a la que tuvo lugar en tiempos de Lucio Vero, entre el 161 y el 166 d.C., campaña en la que la legión *V Macedonica* tomó parte con todos sus efectivos y en la que además se tomó Edessa, ciudad-fortaleza de la que era dios Azizos⁴⁴. Sin embargo, también se ha argumentado que el título *pia constans* que lleva la unidad en la inscripción es de tiempos de Cómodo, del 185 o 187,

³⁶ Ver inscripción 3 del repertorio.

³⁷ Popescu 2004, 140.

³⁸ Ver inscripción 4 del repertorio.

³⁹ Grec 2004a, 17-18; Para la historia de la legión y su presencia en Dacia, ver Moga 1985; Bărbulescu 1987; Bărbulescu 1994.

⁴⁰ Ver inscripción 5 del repertorio.

⁴¹ Ver inscripción 6 del repertorio.

⁴² Popescu 2004, 134.

⁴³ Ver inscripción 7 del repertorio.

⁴⁴ Macrea 1971, 352-353.

por lo que Speidel databa el altar después de la guerra pártica de Septimio Severo y lo relacionaba directamente con esta campaña y no con la de Lucio Vero⁴⁵. Por otra parte, más recientemente, Nemeti no excluía una datación más tardía en relación con las campañas párticas de Gordiano III, Filippo el Árabe, Treboniano Gallo o sobre todo Valeriano I, si tenemos en cuenta las otras inscripciones de Potaissa⁴⁶ y en concreto, una en la que, como ocurre en ésta, también aparece el dios denominado como *Deus Fortis*, un epíteto absolutamente sorprendente para esta divinidad, ya que no aparece ni en el registro epigráfico ni en las fuentes literarias antiguas⁴⁷. La coincidencia de dos inscripciones en la misma localidad con este inusual epíteto podría sugerir una misma datación para ambas en el siglo III y con posterioridad a la *Constitutio Antoniniana* de Caracalla, como expondremos enseguida. El dedicante, Caius Cassius Vitalis, centurión de la legión *V Macedonica*, habría participado con toda la unidad o con alguna *vexillatio* en una campaña pártica, y en cualquier caso habría desempeñado un papel en la difusión directa del culto de Azizos en Dacia en relación con su presencia en Oriente. Ésta es una inscripción en la que Azizos se esconde bajo una fuerte *interpretatio* en la que, en lugar de utilizar la común denominación de *bonus Puer*, se ha preferido traducir el significado original del nombre de la divinidad siria, y en la que se ha cambiado igualmente *phosphorus* por *phoebus*, de forma que Azizos se acerque más a Apolo al igual que éste se acerca más a Azizos gracias al epíteto *parthicus*. *Phoebus* significaba “el brillante” o “el luminoso”, destacando los atributos solares que, desde luego, poseía Apolo, pero que también tenía Azizos⁴⁸.

Otras 4 inscripciones dedicadas a Azizos⁴⁹ pueden ser datadas de forma general en el siglo III, sin mayor precisión, aunque quizá deben ser puestos en relación sobre todo con la época de los Severos. Piso opinaba que el hecho de que Halmágy viera esta inscripción junto a otras tres correspondientes a esta divinidad⁵⁰ sugeriría la existencia de un templo de Azizos en Apulum.

Entre esas 4 inscripciones se halla la que mencionábamos unas líneas más atrás, en la que aparece el dios Azizos denominado como *Deus Fortis*⁵¹. Teniendo en cuenta el espacio que aparece dañado en la primera línea, es seguro que la denominación de la divinidad vendría acompañada por otros nombres o epítetos divinos, como estamos viendo en otras inscripciones de Azizos en Dacia. Por ejemplo: *Deo For[ti Apollini Parthico]* o *Deo For[ti Bono Puerio Apollini]*⁵². La placa está dedicada por la salud del emperador o de los emperadores, en una fórmula típica que, en unión de una divinidad oriental, indica una conexión con el culto imperial, que en esa época de

⁴⁵ Speidel 1978b, 479-482. No obstante, este autor piensa que la inscripción es una muestra del sincretismo entre Mitra y Apolo, sin tratarla como un testimonio del culto de Azizos y de su difusión desde Oriente.

⁴⁶ Nemeti 2005, 184; Nemeti 2007, 231.

⁴⁷ Ver inscripción 8 del repertorio. Normalmente se encuentra este epíteto acompañando a divinidades guerreras, como Hércules, Marte o Liber.

⁴⁸ Nemeti 2005, 182-184.

⁴⁹ IDR III/5, 300 = CODR II 103; IDR III/5, 307 = CODR II 106; IDR III/5, 306 = CODR II 110; CODR II 114.

⁵⁰ IDR III/5, 302 = CODR II 104; IDR III/5, 305 = CODR II 105; IDR III/5, 307 = CODR II 106.

⁵¹ Ver inscripción 8 del repertorio.

⁵² Cfr. Nemeti 2005, 183; Nemeti 2007, 230.

gran propagación de los cultos orientales, pretende valerse de su popularidad para su difusión y al mismo tiempo, ejercer un cierto control religioso y social sobre los cultos y sus seguidores. Los dedicantes, si tenemos en cuenta los espacios borrados, habrían sido diez como mínimo. Son ciudadanos romanos, aunque desconocemos su origen, y la mayoría de ellos presentan el gentilicio Aurelius. En una acertada propuesta de reconstitución, Nemeti proponía que el fragmento formaría parte de una misma inscripción con el otro fragmento más amplio recogido en CIL III 7688, una lista de veteranos de la legión V Macedonica⁵³. La lista completa habría llegado a comprender aproximadamente unos 75 nombres. La repetición entre ellos del gentilicio *Aurelius* parece indicar una datación posterior a la *Constitutio Antoniniana* de Caracalla, en el año 212. Como decíamos anteriormente, la coincidencia de dos inscripciones en la misma localidad con la inusual denominación del dios como *Deus Fortis* y su asociación con Apolo podría sugerir una misma datación para ambas en el siglo III y con posterioridad a la *Constitutio Antoniniana*. La lista de legionarios que participan en la dedicatoria de la inscripción habría sido entonces muy probablemente una relación de veteranos de alguna campaña pártica, como la de Gordiano III, la de Filipo el Árabe, la de Treboniano Gallo o sobre todo la de Valeriano I. Una idea muy sugerente, aunque no tenemos elementos suficientes como para poder contrastarla, sería interpretar estas dos inscripciones a *Deus Fortis* – Azizos en el marco de la primera campaña pártica de Valeriano I y el regreso a Dacia de una *vexillatio* de la legión V Macedonica, esto es, entre finales del 256 y el 258. Coincidirían así en el tiempo con otra inscripción de este dios en Potaissa que es, además, la más tardía hallada hasta la fecha en esta localidad. Y también coincidiría con ella –al menos, la inscripción que estamos tratando– en su dedicatoria por la salud de los emperadores, como veremos enseguida. Sin embargo, no podemos olvidar que la mención del epíteto *pia constans* para la legión en la inscripción dedicada al *Deus Fortis Phoebus Apollo Parthicus*, y la no aparición de los sobrenombres *Antoniniana* (concedido por Caracalla), *Severiana Alexandriana* (por Severo Alejandro) o *Gordiana* (por Gordiano III)⁵⁴, parecen apuntar más bien a la campaña pártica de Septimio Severo para el caso de esa inscripción.

Precisamente las más tardías de las inscripciones de los cultos sirios en Dacia son dos dedicatorias a este mismo dios. La primera⁵⁵, procedente de Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, en la que Azizos acompaña a Apolo en una dedicatoria a los *numina* de ambos dioses, fue erigida por un procurador imperial que fue gobernador interino de la Dacia entre los años 251 y 253 d.C., según otra inscripción de Apulum⁵⁶, lo que la sitúa en los años de reinado de Treboniano Gallo y Volusiano, precisamente en la época en la que, en el frente oriental, el rey persa Sapor I conquistó la provincia de Siria.

La segunda, procedente de Potaissa⁵⁷, menciona a los emperadores Valeriano y Galieno, así como al César Valeriano, hijo de Galieno, y a Cornelia Salonina, mujer

⁵³ Nemeti 2007.

⁵⁴ Petolescu 2010, 198.

⁵⁵ Ver inscripción 9 del repertorio.

⁵⁶ IDR III/5, 68.

⁵⁷ Ver inscripción 10 del repertorio.

de Galieno. Así pues, puede ser datada de forma general entre el 255 d.C., cuando Valeriano, el primer hijo del emperador Galieno, es nombrado César, y el 258-259, cuando el emperador Valeriano es capturado por los sasánidas en Persia en el marco de su campaña “pártica” y ante los muros de Edessa; y más probablemente entre finales del 256, con el final de la primera guerra pártica de Valeriano I y el retorno a Dacia de una *vexillatio* de la legión, y el 258 d.C.⁵⁸. Se trata de la inscripción latina más tardía hallada en Potaissa y es también una de las últimas de la Dacia previas al Cristianismo, entre las que pueden datarse con exactitud. En esta inscripción aparece el nombre de Azizos, junto con su denominación más común de *bonus Puer*, y el epíteto *conservator*, presente en las inscripciones de otros dioses sirios y especialmente cuando toman un carácter militar, como Júpiter Dolichenus. Se considera que era un símbolo de estabilidad, algo muy necesario en la época en la que se erige el monumento y que viene a redundar la mención de la familia imperial, con miembros de tres generaciones, que da idea de una necesaria estabilidad sucesoria. Además, la inscripción es testimonio de la finalización de las obras de reconstrucción de un templo de la divinidad en Potaissa por parte de la legión *V Macedonica*. Así pues, estos dos testimonios avalarían la hipótesis de la presencia de Azizos entre los *dii militares*, en el panteón oficial del siglo III d.C., una época difícil en lo político-militar y económico, cuando la unidad militar retoma un trabajo civil edilicio comenzado mucho antes. Por ello la inscripción es dedicada por la salud de los emperadores y de la familia imperial. La mención de los emperadores y de la familia imperial, con la conocida fórmula *pro salute*, debe ser puesta en relación con la forma de expresión del culto imperial en esta época, en la que sus manifestaciones se asocian a las de los cultos orientales para lograr una mayor difusión y un mayor control religioso y social en consonancia con la política religiosa imperial. El dedicante, *Donatus*, era el prefecto de la legión *V Macedonica*, muy probablemente originario de las provincias africanas⁵⁹. La invocación reflejada en la inscripción parece haber respondido por una parte a los deseos de que el dios protegiese la legión, después de que ésta hubiese sufrido pérdidas en los últimos combates en el norte de la Dacia, y por otra parte, manifiesta la lealtad y preocupación por los emperadores: en el caso de Valeriano el joven, hijo de Galieno, el deseo de su pronta recuperación, gracias a las cualidades salvadoras de la divinidad originaria de Edessa, y en el caso de Valeriano I, la protección y garantía del éxito para el viejo emperador en su lucha contra los atacantes persas⁶⁰.

Conclusiones

Hemos podido constatar que la participación de militares romanos en las campañas desarrolladas por diversos emperadores en Partia tiene una relación directa con la introducción y con la difusión de algunos de los cultos de origen oriental atestiguados

⁵⁸ Nemeti 2007, 231; Popescu 2004, 135: el epíteto *III pia fidelis* que lleva la legión le habría sido concedido tras los combates en la frontera septentrional de la Dacia contra los dacios libres, como muy tarde en el año 257, tal y como revela el título *Dacicus Maximus* que recibe Galieno.

⁵⁹ Sanie 1981, 120.

⁶⁰ Popescu 2004, 135.

en Dacia hasta la fecha. Los casos más significativos serían el de Azizos-Bonus Puer, que es una de las divinidades orientales con mayor número de testimonios en Dacia (15 inscripciones, un templo seguro en Potaissa y otro muy probable en Apulum), y el de Júpiter Heliopolitanus, que con solamente tres inscripciones, presenta una difusión mucho menor que en otras provincias del Imperio, pero cuya introducción y presencia en Dacia puede datarse con bastante precisión en época de la campaña pártica de Trajano.

El intento de recomposición de la historia de la difusión del culto de Azizos en Dacia revela una estrecha relación con la misma historia de las campañas párticas de los emperadores romanos, desde Trajano hasta Valeriano y Galieno, independientemente de que, en realidad, a partir de Caracalla los romanos tuvieron que hacer frente a los persas sasánidas y no a los partos arsácidas. Aunque no todas las inscripciones pueden ser datadas con precisión y algunas de ellas podrían estar relacionadas con alguna de las campañas militares en Oriente, pero sin poder precisar mucho más, podemos comprobar que la cronología de la difusión de estos cultos en Dacia corresponde *grosso modo* con la cronología general de la difusión de los cultos de origen oriental en Dacia. La época en la que pueden datarse más monumentos es la de la dinastía Severa, comprendiendo la última década del siglo II y las primeras del siglo III d.C., siendo muy notable la diferencia con el número de testimonios datables en otras épocas. La difusión de los cultos orientales en las tres provincias transdanubianas comenzó ya en época de Trajano, pero durante su reinado y el de sus dos primeros sucesores el número de testimonios todavía fue muy pequeño. Su cifra crecería en la época de los últimos Antoninos, pero el auge definitivamente se alcanzó durante la dinastía Severa, coincidiendo esta apreciación con la situación general observable en el Imperio Romano con la llegada al poder de Septimio Severo y sus sucesores. Realmente, tan sólo un número reducido de testimonios pueden datarse en época posterior, pero entre ellos, los cultos sirios parecen destacar gracias, precisamente, a la importancia del culto de Azizos en el medio militar y en relación directa con las expresiones de lealtad hacia la familia imperial de Valeriano y Galieno en el marco de sus campañas párticas.

En lo que respecta al planteamiento de nuestro trabajo, la campaña contra los partos emprendida por Trajano tuvo como consecuencia la introducción en Dacia del culto de Júpiter Heliopolitanus. La campaña pártica de Lucio Vero en tiempos de Marco Aurelio conllevó la introducción del culto de Azizos y probablemente también el de Júpiter Balmarcodes. Las campañas de Septimio Severo en Partia se corresponden con la importancia del culto de Azizos en esos años. Las campañas posteriores, desde Severo Alejandro hasta Valeriano y Galieno, ayudan a explicar las postreras manifestaciones de ese mismo culto en Dacia, que además constituyen algunos de los últimos testimonios epigráficos de las provincias nordanubianas.

Repertorio de inscripciones

1. Micia (Vețel). Altar votivo o base de estatua de conglomerado de arenisca. Se conserva en MCDR.

Bibliografía básica: CIL III 1353; Gostar 1973; Sanie 1981, 261, n° 32; IDR III/3, 95; Petolescu 1989, 253-254; CODR II 202.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Heliopolitan(o) / Q(uintus) Licinius Ma/crinus 7(centurio) / leg(io-nis) IIII F(laviae) F(elicis) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

2. Micia (Vețel). Altar votivo de conglomerado de arenisca. La pieza no se conserva.

Bibliografía básica: CIL III 1354; Gostar 1973; Sanie 1981, 261, n° 33; IDR III/3, 96; Petolescu 1989, 253-254; CODR II 203.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Heli[o]/politan[o] / L(ucius) Licinius / Messalin[u]s / 7(centurio) leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae) / [v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)]?

3. Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa (Sarmizegetusa). Losa votiva fragmentaria de mármol. Sanie señala que se conserva en MCDR, pero lamentablemente se trata de una pieza desaparecida.

Bibliografía básica: AE 1933, 18; IDR III/2, 243; Sanie 1981, 261, n° 34; Petolescu 1989, 253-254; CODR II 204.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) [M(aximo)] / Heliopolita[no] / C(aius) Domitius Valen[s] / [(centurio)?] leg(ionis) XI[II G(eminae)] de suo.

4. Potaissa (Turda). Probable base fragmentaria de estatuilla en piedra amarillenta. No se conserva en la actualidad.

Bibliografía básica: CIL III 7680; Sanie 1981, 263, n° 39; CODR II 156.

[I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)] Bal(marcodi?) et Iuno[ni] / [Ianu]arius vet(eranus) leg(ionis) [...] p(osuit).

5. Apulum (Alba Iulia). Inscripción votiva, probablemente un altar o base de estatua. No se conserva en la actualidad.

Bibliografía básica: CIL III 1132; ILS 7142; Sanie 1981, 265, n° 48; IDR III/5, 303; CODR II 108.

Bono Deo / Puero p(h)os/phoro / T(itus) Fl(avius) Italicus / primus IIII / vir m(unicipii) A(urelii) A(pulensis) / cum Stati/lia Lucia / coniuge et / suis ex voto.

6. Apulum (Alba Iulia). Fragmento superior de un altar votivo o de una base de estatua. No se conserva en la actualidad.

Bibliografía básica: CIL III 1137; Sanie 1981, 265, n° 53; IDR III/5, 302; CODR II 104.

Bono P/uero ex v(ot)o A[ph]ro/di[si]us Alex/andri po[s(uit)].

7. Potaissa (Turda). Altar votivo en piedra arenisca. Se conserva en el MIT.

Bibliografía básica: Macrea 1971, 350; AE 1972, 454; ILD 482; CODR II 113.

Deo Forti / phoebo / Apollin(i) / Parthico / C(aius) Cassius / Vitalis (centurio) / l(egionis) V M(acedonicae) p(iae) c(onstantis) / l(ibens) posu(it).

8. Potaissa (Turda). Placa votiva de mármol fragmentaria. No se conserva en la actualidad. Fragmento A.

Bibliografía básica: ILD 483; Nemeti 2007; CODR II 114.

Deo For[ti ...] / pro salute imperat[oris, torum?] / Aur(elius) Quintianus [...] / Aur(elius) Augustinianu[s ...] / Iul(ius) Rufinus [...] / Aur(elius) Surus [...] / Aur(elius) Marcu[s ...].

Lectura combinada con CIL III 7688.

Bibliografía básica: CIL III 7688; Nemeti 2007; CODR II, p. 1244-1245.

Deo For[ti...] / pro sal(ute) imperat[or(um)]? et [...] sacerdotalis Daciae / Aur(elius) Quintianus e[x ...], [...], [...]us ex dup(lario), Aur(elius) Iulianus, Aur(elius) Anice[tus ex ...], / Aur(elius) Augustianus [...], [...], [...]nes, Aur(elius) Statilius ex dup(lario), Aur(elius) Firmidiu[s ex...], /

Iul(ius) Rufinus e[...], [...], [...], nus, Aur(elius) Valens, Ael(ius) Aufidius [...], / Aur(elius) Surus [...], [...], [...] ex dup(lario), Aur(elius) Valens, Aur(elius) Victorinus ex eq(uite), / Aur(elius) Marcu[s ...], [...], [...], Sep(timius) Alexander ex dup(lario), Aur(elius) Verus ex eq(uite), / [...], [...], [...], Val(erius) Valens, Aur(elius) Firmus ex dup(lario), / [...], Aur(elius) Vict[or] ex [...], [...], [...] ex dup(lario), Aur(elius) Flavianus ex imm(une), Aur(elius) Maximinus, / [...], Aur(elius) Farnax [...], [...] ex dup(lario), Aur(elius) Viatorinus, Aur(elius) Sedatus ex im(mune) lib(rario), / [...ex c(ustode)] a(rmorum), Aur(elius) Lucilius ex opt(ione), Aur(elius) Vital(is) ex dup(lario), Aur(elius) Crispus, Aur(elius) Crescens, / [...], Aur(elius) Gaianus, Aur(elius) Celsus ex dup(lario), Aur(elius) Verus, Aur(elius) Iulius ex be(neficiario) tr(ibunus), / [...ex s]pec(ulatore), Aur(elius) Mucianus ex c(ustode) a(rmorum), Aur(elius) Valeria[nus] EM GN, Aur(elius) Maximus ex arc(ario), Aur(elius) Quintillianus, / [...ex] dup(lario), Aur(elius) Maximus ex c(ustode) a(rmorum), Aur(elius) Sabin[us ...], Aur(elius) [...], Petr(onius) Marcianus ex lib(rario), / [...ex] opt(ione), Aur(elius) Cassius //IL, Sep(timius) Crisp(us) ex ca(n)d(idato), Aur(elius) Valerius ex c(ustode) a(rmorum), Aur(elius) Valentinus ex tub(icene), / [...ex] opt(ione), Aur(elius) Lucius ex c(ustode) a(rmorum), Aur(elius) Lu[... ex] dup(lario), Aur(elius) Domnio ex imm(une), Ael(ius) Maximia[nus] ex tess(erario), / [...ex] dup(lario), Aur(elius) Agrippa ex c(ustode) a(rmorum), [...ex] opt(ione), Aur(elius) Valerius, Sep(timius) Volusius, / [...], [...] vet(erano) ex b(ene)ff(iciario) leg(ati) m[ar]mo[r]a ex suo posuit.

9. Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa (Grădiște - Sarmizegetusa). Base de estatua votiva de mármol. Se conserva en el MNIT.

Bibliografía básica: AE 1983, 841; ILD 264; CODR II 117.

Numinibus prae/sentissimis Apol/lini et bono Puero / M(arcus) Aur(elius) Marcus, v(ir) e(gregius) / proc(urator) Aug(usti) n(ostri) age(n)s / vice praesidis / Heraclida alumn/us pro salute patro/ni sui posuit.

10. Potaissa (Turda). Inscripción votiva descubierta en la base de un templo. No se conserva en la actualidad.

Bibliografía básica: CIL III 875; ILS 4345; Sanie 1981, 265-266, 55; CODR II 112.

Deo Azizo bono P[ro]uero conserva[tor]i pro salutem dd(ominorum) [nn(ostorum) Valeriani et Gal]lieni Augg(ustorum) et Valerian[us] nobiliss(imus) Caesaris] / et Corneliae Salonina[e Augustae et] / leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae) III pia[e fid[el]is ...] / Donatus praef(ectus) leg(ionis) eiusde[m ...] / templum ince(p)tum perfecit v[er]o [...].

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THE RELIEFS ON TRAJAN'S COLUMN AND DIO'S TEXT. THE FIRST DACIAN WAR AND IMPERIAL PROPAGANDA*

SORIN NEMETI

Abstract: The lost literary works about the Dacian Wars probably contained many anecdotes, *exempla*, in order to illustrate the emperor's virtues (his military *virtus*, courage, and fidelity towards Rome). Some of them are maybe depicted even on the Column's frieze. For the First Dacian War, modern historians were able to identify several such *hapax* scenes, for example scene IX (a peasant falling down from his mule), scene XXIV (Jupiter throwing his thunderbolts during the so-called battle of *Tapae*), scene XXX (a woman stepping on-board a ship in the presence of the emperor), and scene XL (two wounded Roman soldiers bandaged by military paramedics).

We will discuss the scenes IX, XXIV and XL in relation to the first two preserved fragments of Dio's words about the first battle of the First Dacian War, namely the battle of *Tapae*, which contains two anecdotes.

In our opinion scene IX is not related to the text about the embassy of the Buri and their giant mushroom, and scene XL is just a parallel *exemplum*, akin to the text preserved in Cassius Dio's history where Trajan acts like a *medicus*. Two of the scenes from the Column (IX, XXIV) and the fragment about the bandaged soldiers (Dio Cass. LVIII. 8. 1) are parables used in order to express ideas related to Trajan's divine charisma, as a man favoured by the gods: he is averted directly by the gods through signs (*omen Victoriae* – scene IX), he is helped directly by his divine protector, Jupiter (*fulminans* in the battle of *Tapae* – scene XXIV) and he cures by human means (*ops humana*) the wounds of his soldiers (not by touch, *ops divina*, as Vespasian and Hadrian does). Scene XL and the text about the embassy of the Buri are anecdotes related with the other main character of this propaganda movie, the Roman army. Just like Trajan, the paramedics bandage the soldiers (in just one scene from the entire frieze) and help in spreading literacy (i.e. civilization) beyond the frontiers.

Keywords: Trajan; Column; Dacian Wars; parables; virtues.

Rezumat: Lucrările pierdute despre războaiele dacice conțineau, probabil, multe anecdote, *exempla*, destinate să ilustreze virtuțile împăratului (*virtus* militară, curajul și fidelitatea față de Roma). Unele dintre acestea sunt, poate, ilustrate în friza Columnei. Pentru primul război dacic istoricii moderni au identificat câteva asemenea scene *hapax*, de exemplu scena IX (un țăran căzând de pe catârul său), scena XXIV (Iupiter aruncându-și fulgerele în așa-zisa bătălie de la *Tapae*), scena XXX (o femeie îmbarcându-se pe o corabie în prezența împăratului) și scena XL (doi soldați romani răniți bandajați de paramedici).

O să discutăm scenele IX, XXIV și XL în relație cu primele două fragmente păstrate din textul lui Dio despre prima bătălie din primul război dacic, adică bătălia de la *Tapae*, scene care conțin două anecdote.

În opinia noastră scena IX nu este legată de textul referitor la ambasada burilor și ciuperca lor uriașă, iar scena XL este doar un *exemplum* paralel, similar cu textul păstrat în istoria lui Cassius Dio unde Traian acționează ca un *medicus*. Alte două scene de pe Columnă (IX, XXIV) și fragmentul despre soldații bandajați (Dio Cass. LVIII. 8. 1) sunt parabole utilizate pentru a ilustra idei referitoare la carisma divină a lui Traian, un om favorizat de zei: el este

* Proiect PN-II-RU-TE-2011-3-0131.

avertizat direct de către zei prin semne (*omen Victoriae* – scena IX), este ajutat direct de protectorul său divin, Iupiter (*fulminans* în bătălia de la *Tapae* – scena XXIV) și vindecă prin mijloace umane (*ops humana*) rănilor soldaților săi (nu prin atingere, *ops divina*, ca Vespasian și Hadrian). Scena XL și textul despre ambasada burilor sunt anecdote legate de celălalt personaj principal al acestui film de propagandă, anume armata romană. Întocmai ca Traian paramedicii bandajează soldații (într-o singură scenă din întreaga friză) și ajută la răspândirea alfabetizării (a civilizației) dincolo de frontiere.

Cuvinte cheie: Traian; columna; războaiele dacice; parabole; virtuți.

Trajan's Column held a place of honour in Romanian historiography from the end of the 19th century until today. The figurate frieze was perceived as a main historical source for the beginning of a privileged era in Romanian history, i.e. the age of the Roman province of Dacia, the monument itself being labelled as the *stone picture of Romanian formation process, the birth certificate of the Romanian people*¹. The silent figured story contained by the series of sculpted reliefs has been approached in different ways, but a central question remains: Which is the documentary value of these ancient "comics" that lack speech bubbles, of this silent propaganda movie? In order to evaluate this value, historians are taking into account the nature of the information provided from a threefold perspective: 1) narrative (the temporal succession of the events of the Dacian wars), 2) topographical (the spatial display of the two campaigns), and 3) ethnographical (the veracity of the depiction of barbarian people and places)².

In our opinion the Column is not a picturesque chronicle that accurately recounts Trajan's war journal; the frieze is not a Venetian *vedutta*, nor a map, a military *itinerarium*, or an illustrated encyclopaedia of Barbarians living north of the Danube. It is a little bit of all the above, but it is more an artistic monument, a work of art that operates with symbols in order to narrate for the people of Rome the official story of the conquest of the Dacian Kingdom. Emperor Trajan plays the leading role, while the Roman army features in the supporting role; these two heroes are responsible for spreading civilization in the wild lands beyond the Danube³.

We are convinced that the right answers for the old questions are still important today, just as they were for Teohari Antonescu⁴, Radu Vulpe⁵ or Constantin and Hadrian Daicoviciu⁶, but we will not follow the old path. We will not compare the long figurate frieze with the scarcely preserved literary texts, using them as "speech bubbles" of the lost dialogues. Such an enterprise is meant to fail because we have to compare, for the First Dacian War, 78 figurate scenes with the few paragraphs preserved in Dio's epitome referring to less than ten moments or actions.

The ancients used to express their truths in parables. We have to keep in mind Salvatore Settis' observation that the lost literary works about the Dacian Wars

¹ Vulpe 1988, 12.

² Gramatopol 1984, 185–188.

³ Mandruzzato 2010, 165, n. 5 (bibliography).

⁴ Antonescu 1910.

⁵ Vulpe 1988.

⁶ Daicoviciu, Daicoviciu 1966.

probably contained many anecdotes, *exempla*, in order to illustrate the emperor's virtues (his military *virtus*, courage, and fidelity towards Rome). Some of them are depicted even on the Column's frieze, if we interpret thus the *hapax* scenes, those which did not fit the main figurate speech composed of scenes of sacrifices, *adlocutiones*, battles, soldiers building camps and roads, embassies, captives⁷.

For the First Dacian War, modern historians were able to identify several such *hapax* scenes, for example, scene IX (a peasant falling down from his mule) (Pl. I), scene XXIV (Jupiter throwing his thunderbolts during the so-called battle of *Tapae*) (Pl. II), scene XXX (a woman stepping onboard a ship in the presence of the emperor), and scene XL (two wounded Roman soldiers bandaged by military physicians / paramedics) (Pl. III).

Despite the fact that the scenes do not match the order of the events reconstructed with the help of literary sources, all these figurative anecdotes were identified through their written correspondents. For the present analysis we shall ignore scene XXX, the woman embarking in front of the emperor, constantly identified as Maximus capturing Decebalus' sister (Dio Cass. LXVIII. 8. 3, or LXVIII. 9. 4, different positions assigned to this fragment in Dio's epitome). We will discuss the other three scenes in relation to the first two preserved fragments of Dio's words about the first battle of the First Dacian War, namely the battle of *Tapae*, which contains, essentially, two anecdotes⁸:

Dio Cass. LXVIII. 8. 1. *Fungus Latinis litteris inscriptus*⁹

στρατεύσαντι δὲ τῷ Τραϊανῷ κατὰ τῶν Δακῶν καὶ ταῖς Τάπαις, ἔνθα ἐστρατοπέδενον οἱ βάρβαροι, πλησιάσαντι μύκης μέγας προσεκομίσθη, γράμμασι Λατίνοις λέγων ὅτι ἄλλοι τε τῶν συμμάχων καὶ Βούρι παραινοῦσι Τραϊανῷ ὀπίσω ἀπιέναι καὶ εἰρηνῆσαι.

When Trajan in his campaign against the Dacians had drawn near Tapae, where the barbarians were encamped, a large mushroom was brought to him on which was written in Latin characters a message to the effect that the Buri and other allies advised Trajan to turn back and keep the peace.

Dio Cass. LXVIII. 8. 1. *Traianus uestem discindit ad obliganda militum uulnera*¹⁰

συμβالῶν δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ Τραϊανὸς πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν οἰκείων τραυματίας ἐπεῖδε, πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν πολμίων ἀπέκτεινεν · ὅτε καὶ ἐπιλιπόντων τῶν ἐπιδέσμον οὐδὲ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἐσθήτος λέγεται φείσασθαι, ἀλλ' ἐς τα λαμπάδια ταύτην κατατεμεῖν, τοῖς δὲ τελευτήσασι τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ βωμόν στήσαι καὶ κατ' ἔτος ἐναγίζειν κελεῦσαι.

Nevertheless he engaged the foe, and saw many wounded on his own side and killed many of the enemy. And when the bandages gave out, he is said not to have spared even his own clothing, but to have cut it up into strips. In honour of the soldiers who had died in the battle he ordered an altar to be erected and funeral rites to be performed annually.

⁷ Settis 1998, 173-174.

⁸ Dio's Roman History, with an English Translation by Earnest Cary, London - New York 1925, 372-375.

⁹ Fabretti 1690, 17-18.

¹⁰ Fabretti 1690.

We begin by noticing that the insertion of these *hapax* scenes on the frieze or in the written account is not accidental, but serves a clearly determined purpose. Being anecdotes, parables and *exempla* they have a role in expressing general ideas, notions belonging to the ideological frame of the Principate. Hence, they have no rigid positions in the epic discourse. For interpreting them we do not have to force the ancient text, to accuse Xiphilinus of having mutilated Dio's words in order to serve the taste for wonders of Michael VII Ducas Parapinakes¹¹. The same idea, symbolically expressed in both image and text, like that of Trajan helping the wounded Roman soldiers, could appear in several points of the epic narration: The text preserves traces of such an idea for the battle of *Tapae*, the figurate frieze for the so-called battle of Adamclisi. It is inappropriate to forcedly match those two episodes, like T. Antonescu and R. Vulpe did, and to arrive at the conclusion of a corrupted text in Dio's epitome, that starts with the battle of *Tapae* (LXVIII. 8. 1) and ends with the battle of Adamclisi (LXVIII.8.2), all caused by Xiphilinus' abridging method¹².

Scene IX

Scene IX, the peasant falling down from the mule (Pl. I), was connected, since 1690, to Dio Cass. LXVIII. 8. 1, the fragment with the embassy of the Buri bringing a message written on a large mushroom¹³. In fact, R. Fabretti, in his *De Columna Traiani syntagma*, opens the possibility of a two-way interpretation of the scene that has haunted the scholarly community for centuries. The events recorded in scene IX took place in the beginning of the First War, immediately after the Romans crossed the Danube. Near the walls of the first camp built on Dacian land, after a *libatio* made by Trajan as *pontifex maximus* (scene VIII), the viewer can see a scene depicting preparations for a sacrifice, *lustratio exercitus* (*tubicines* and *cornicines* are announcing the ceremony, *victimarii* are bringing an ox, a ram and a pig)¹⁴. In the second ground of scene IX, Trajan flanked by two high-ranking officers (recently identified as Licinius Sura and the future emperor Hadrianus), make a gesture addressed to a person which falls from a mule to the ground in an odd attitude. The falling man holds a strange round object, riddled with holes in his left hand. The object was identified as the giant mushroom of the Buri (then the person is an ambassador of the Buri, a Suebian population living in *Germania*)¹⁵, or with a *cribrum*, the person being involved in a ritual of *divinatio per cribrum*¹⁶.

¹¹ Vulpe 1964, 221.

¹² Antonescu 1910, 172-174; Vulpe 1963, 234; Vulpe 1964, 205-232; *contra* Daicoviciu 1970, 121-124; Daicoviciu 1972, 317-318.

¹³ Fabretti 1690, 17-18 (*fungus / cribrum*).

¹⁴ Cichorius 1896, 50-51.

¹⁵ Froehner 1865, 79; Cichorius 1896, 53; Petersen 1899, 17; Antonescu 1910, 100-101 (two different episodes: the falling peasant and the embassy of the Buri); Vaschide 1903, 40; Rossi 1971, 134; all the opinions are listed in Gostar 1978, 124-125; Against R. Vulpe's theory about the presence of the Buri on the Column and on the Tropaeum Traiani's reliefs see Florescu 1976, 65-78.

¹⁶ Reinach 1886, 44: "un égouttoir, ..., un crible"; n. 1: "... il y a peut-être dans cet épisode une allusion à quelque incident presque comique qui n'avait pas semblé sans importance aux contemporaines, mais dont les textes que nous avons conservés ne parlent pas".

Since Fabretti, both of these directions were followed, in the center of attention being the round perforated object, giant mushroom or *cribrum*. Werner Gauer and Salvatore Settis have changed the perspective by diminishing the role of the round strange object and showing that the main motif of the composition is the falling from the mule¹⁷. W. Gauer believes the scene of falling from the mule is a *prodigium* that anticipates the falling of the Barbarian¹⁸. S. Settis goes too far and deciphers the meaning of the entire scene in the frieze: The scene, inserted between *lustratio* and *adlocutio*, should be an anecdote, but not a common one. Placed at the beginning of the war, the falling from the mule is an *omen victoriae*. Trajan's gesture means *omen acceptum* (the return to the *divinatio* theory without the help of *cribrum*). In order to support the theory of *omen victoriae* S. Settis and C. Ampolo list the cases that involve the accidental falling of a person or an object: Scipio in Africa or Caesar in the moment of embarking, two cases mentioned by Frontinus in his *Stratagemata* (I. 12. 1-2), so-called *omina caduca*. The association between a person falling seen as an *omen* and the role of the mule is expressed by the encounters with the *asini* or mules as *omina*. Suetonius (*Vita Augusti*, 96. 5) and Plutarch (*Vita Antonii*, 65. 5) tell the story of Octavian's encounter with an *asinus* and his master before the battle of Actium. The name of the animal was Nikon (The Victorious) and that of his master Eutychus (The Lucky One). The *omen* was accepted by Octavian which after the victory erected a statuary group of a donkey and a man¹⁹. Liliana Marinescu-Nicolajsen follows the same path, returning to the identity of the round holed object, viewed as identical to the object held by Sôsinos from Gortyna on a funerary *stela* from the Louvre. The object is considered a kind of sieve for sifting ore or the golden sand and the peasant from scene IX is labeled as a *faber aurarius*²⁰. With the help of vertical reading, Liliana Marinescu-Nicolajsen states the existence of a triptych of Victory: scenes VIII-X (Victory invoked – predicted – communicated), scene LXXVIII (symbolic Victory) and scene CXLV (Decabalus' suicide – accomplished Victory). The presence of a *faber aurarius* alluding to the huge quantities of gold is quite uncertain²¹. Maybe the modern exegesis will never be able to establish the true identity of the round object. Even so, it seems quite certain that the peasant wearing an *exomis* is neither Dacian nor Burus, and the object is not a giant mushroom written with Latin letters. Between *victimarii*, *popae*, *haruspices*, in the margin of the *lustratio* scene an insignificant person involved in divination falls down from his mule in front of the emperor. *Optimus imperator* understands and accepts the *omen victoriae*, without the help of the divinatory personnel.

¹⁷ Settis 1998, 192-200.

¹⁸ Gauer 1977, 25.

¹⁹ Gauer 1977; Ampolo 1995, 322-324.

²⁰ Marinescu-Nicolajsen 1991, 281-284.

²¹ Marinescu-Nicolajsen 1991, 273-310.

Μύκης μέγας

Cribrum or an instrument for sifting golden ore, the object held by the person in scene IX is certainly not a mushroom, and scene IX does not illustrate the episode of the embassy of the Buri.

From Fabretti²² to Austin and Rankov²³, the message of the Buri and other allies was written in Latin on the top of a very large mushroom. Who are those strange people, Buri, who know the Latin letters (γράμμασι Λατίνοις) and write on mushrooms? Dierauer emended Dio's text: Instead of μύκης (mushroom) he read λυκῇ (wolf skin), but the preserved manuscripts do not authorize that reading²⁴.

The Buri seem to be one of those German disappearing and reappearing tribes²⁵. They are mentioned in Tacitus' *Germania*, 43 together with the Lugi, meanwhile Ptolemy talks about the Lougoi Bouroi (*Geography*, III. 11. 10). Cassius Dio notes four times the presence of Buri near Dacia: in the fragment about the giant mushroom (101 AD) (LXVIII. 8. 1) and in three passages related to the events of the Marcomannic Wars, around 180 AD (LXI. 18; LXXI. 1. 2; LXXII. 3. 1-3). Buri belong to the Barbarian coalition that started the Marcomannic Wars according to the *Historia Augusta* (*Vita Marci*, XXII). Tabula Peutingeriana places the Buri north of the Pannonian Danube and a soldier from *legio III Italica* took part in an *expeditio Burica* (CIL III 5937: *Flavius Vetulenus ... reversus ab expedit. Burica*)²⁶.

Why does Dio mention the fact that "other allies and Buri" sent the message written on the mushroom with Latin letters? To underline the fact that knowledge of the Latin alphabet was spread far beyond the limits of the Empire? The *exploratores* write on everything in order to send messages: Those recorded by Pliny (*HN* 16. 14) engrave letters on freshly stripped and full of juice bark²⁷. Tree bark and mushrooms belong to the same family of writing supports, those used in the uncivilized *Barbaricum*. Some barbarians, the allied ones, sometimes write in Latin, but in their savage ways, on tree bark or mushrooms. We miss the entire context of this anecdote, but that should be the general meaning.

Scene XXIV

Scene XXIV (Pl. II) shows the first battle of the First Dacian War, a battle traditionally identified with that of *Tapae* (Dio Cass. LXVIII, 8. 1)²⁸. In fact, it is a fight between the auxiliary forces and the Dacians. On the left side, near a camp built in stone, Trajan and Claudius Livianus are supervising the battle; meanwhile, on the right, Decebalus is depicted deep inside a forest²⁹. In the upper part of the scene one

²² Fabretti 1690, 17-18.

²³ Austin, Rankov 1995, 65.

²⁴ Dierauer 1868, 84, apud Migliorati 2003, 72.

²⁵ The definition of the problem and the case-studies of disappearance and reappearance in Heather 1998, 95-111.

²⁶ Schmidt 1934, 101-105; Berciu 1931, 1-28; Dumitrașcu 1993, 71-72; Opreanu 1994, 193-194.

²⁷ Austin, Rankov 1995, 65.

²⁸ Cichorius 1896, 116-117, Pl. XVII-XIX; RE X, 1965, s.v. *M. Ulpius Traianus*, 1035-1102 (Hanslik).

²⁹ Panaitescu 1923, 389-390.

can see the image of Jupiter *fulminans*, throwing his thunderbolts toward the Dacian warriors⁵⁰. The presence of Jupiter in the battle, helping the Romans, is an allegory that speaks about a divine intervention in favour of the Roman emperor, the terrestrial representative of the supreme god⁵¹. There are very few allegories on the Column (Danubius, scenes III-IV; Jupiter, scene XXIV; Selene, scenes XXXVII-XXXVIII; Victory, scene LXXVIII; Nix or Dacia devicta, scene CL); the ideas are expressed mainly through narrative scenes. There was a story behind the image of Jupiter in the battle of *Tapae*, very probably similar to that of the “rain miracle” on Marcus Aurelius’ column. In the absence of the text we can only observe the fact that the imperial propaganda speculates around the theme of a Jovian election of the emperor (*Traianus ab Iove electus*). Pliny’s Panegyric, the legends of the coins that illustrate *traditio fulminis*, the reliefs of the arch of Beneventum, are all proofs of the use of senatorial publicity in order to build the new emperor a Jovian charisma. But this is done in a quite discrete way because of the negative example of Domitianus. The epithet *optimus* granted by the Senate in July 114 AD shows the end of a process, underlining the correspondence between Jupiter Optimus Maximus and Trajan in such a way that thanks for the imperial benevolence are addressed not to the *Genius* of Trajan, but to *Numen Iovis Optimi Maximi* (Plin. *Pan.* 52. 6)⁵².

Dio Cass. LXVIII. 8. 1. and scene XL

Trajan’s *Genius* acts not only as Jupiter *fulminans* during the Dacian wars. We like to think that these parables and *exempla* preserved in text and images, namely the structures of signification could be rearranged in order to discover their messages.

It is obvious that scene XL is an *unicum* on the Column: it is the only place where the viewer can see wounded Roman soldiers (Pl. III). Not only wounded, but cured by paramedics, a detail that links the image with the text preserved in Dio’s work that describes Trajan’s theatric gesture of cutting his own clothes into stripes in order to bandage the soldiers. It is obvious that in this case Trajan does not act like Jupiter Optimus Maximus. Elsewhere, I have tried to underline the fact that the two interventions, that of Jupiter in favour of his terrestrial partner and of Trajan like a *medicus* are clearly related⁵³. Following George Dumézil’s interpretation of the battle from *Algidus Mons* (Liv. IV. 25. 3–4) I have sustained that Trajan as *medicus* is foremost a *topos*, a literary cliché used by the ancients in battle descriptions⁵⁴.

Trajan’s gesture could also be analyzed in a historical-comparative manner, by including the emperor in the category of “sacred / magic kings” with healing powers.

⁵⁰ Vulpe 1971, 571–583.

⁵¹ Rufus Fears 1981, 84; an analysis of Jupiter appearances in Schowalter 1993, 109–111.

⁵² Schowalter 1993, 80–84; Michelotto 1994, 21–27; Cizek 1980, 118–119, 190–195.

⁵³ Nemeti 2001, 401–410, where I have compared the interventions of Jupiter *fulminans* and Trajan *medicus* in the battle of *Tapae* with the traditions about the reception of the god Apollo in the Roman pantheon, that show a divine *modus operandi*, a specific manner of intervention in order to obtain victory. The god is *sagittarius*, the enemies being directly shot at, then he is *medicus*, closing wounds and relieving pain in order for his subjects to obtain victory.

⁵⁴ Dumézil 2005, 179–187.

The category, well defined by Sir J. G. Frazer³⁵ is largely analyzed by M. Bloch in his book about the medieval kings of England and France which were said to possess the gift of healing scrofula through touching the sick³⁶. The Roman Emperors, as well as the Greek monarchs, act as wonder-workers, performing healing miracles. A case recorded by Plutarch, *Life of Pyrrhus*, 3 and Pliny, *HN*. 7, 20 informs us that King Pyrrhus used to heal splenetic diseases by stepping on the patient's stomach with his right foot; the big toe of his foot was endowed with divine power, and after his death was venerated as a relic.

As far as the Roman Emperors are concerned, the best known episode is that of Vespasianus during his visit in Alexandria. This new emperor, with no linkage with the previous imperial dynasty, acts like a New Serapis and heals two men, one blind and the other lame, during his stay in Alexandria, Egypt; the story is transmitted by Tacitus, *Hist.* 4. 81, Suet. *Vesp.* 7. 2, and Dio Cass. LVI. 8. 1. In this case the god Serapis has chosen the emperor as the instrument of his healing action (Tacit. *Hist.*, 4, 81: *id fortasse cordi deis et divino ministerio principem electum*)³⁷. Healing wonders, described by ancient authors in the style of the Asclepian cure inscriptions (*iamata*), were a means through which the charisma of the emperors manifested itself in Rome. Titus, Vespasian's son, attempted to end a plague. Suetonius' account vaguely explains that "he employed any means, divine or human, to cure the sick and alleviate illness, after every kind of sacrifice and remedy had been inquired, too" (Suet. *Tit.* 8. 4: *Medendae valitudini leniendisque morbis nullam divinam humanamque opem non adhibuit inquisitor amni sacrificiorum remediorumque genere*)³⁸. Hadrian was also credited as a wonder-worker, healing people by touch (SHA *Hadr.* 25). A blind old man (*vetus caecus*) from Pannonia, when touched by the emperor, had his eyesight restored³⁹.

In this context, as Pliny the Younger testified, Trajan wisely avoided this performance, i.e. the direct participation in healings. At his *adventus*, when he entered Rome for the first time, the sick dragged themselves out of their beds against the advice of doctors, believing that Trajan's presence could heal them (Plin. *Paneg.* 22. 3: *aegri quoque, neglecto medentium imperio, ad conspectum tui, quasi ad salutem sanitatemque prorepere*)⁴⁰.

The amplification of the emperor's divinity is a development of public imperial cult under Domitian. Trajan, on the other hand, rejects Domitianic practices, being just a man favoured by the gods, instead of being a living god⁴¹. Vespasian and Hadrian, as wonder-workers, heal by touch, by divine means (*ops divina*); Titus has tried the human and divine techniques (*ops humana* and *ops divina*), meanwhile Trajan returns

³⁵ Frazer 2009, 90.

³⁶ Bloch 1997, 45 (Roman Emperors).

³⁷ Henrichs 1968, 54, 65068; a detailed analysis, in context of the Domitianic ideology of power, in Luke 2010, 77-106.

³⁸ Luke 2010, 85 (the English translation of the passage).

³⁹ Trentin 2013, 103.

⁴⁰ http://agoraclass.fltr.ucl.ac.be/concordances/Pline_le_jeune_panegeticus/texte.htm.

⁴¹ Schowalter 1993, 71-75.

to *ops humana*. During the battle of *Tapae* he cut his own clothes into stripes in order to bandage the soldiers, so they could keep on fighting.

In our analysis, by confronting the images and the texts, we have abandoned the old path of the narrative reading in favour of the so-called paradigmatic reading.

The figurate frieze and the text preserved in Cassius Dio's work contain some very similar discourses about Trajan's *virtus*. Sometimes the two stories interfere, but this was not the case for the scenes and passages recounting the First Dacian War. In our opinion scene IX is not related to the text about the embassy of the Buri and their giant mushroom, and scene XL is just a parallel *exemplum*, akin to the text preserved in Cassius Dio's history where Trajan acts like a *medicus*. Two of the scenes from the Column (IX, XXIV) and the fragment about the bandaged soldiers (Dio Cass. LVIII. 8. 1) are parables used in order to express ideas related to Trajan's divine charisma, as a man favored by the gods: He is averted directly by the gods through signs (*omen Victoriae* – scene IX), he is helped directly by his divine protector, Jupiter (*fulminans* in the battle of *Tapae* – scene XXIV) and he cures by human means (*ops humana*) the wounds of his soldiers (not by touch, *ops divina*, like Vespasian and Hadrian). Scene XL and the text about the embassy of the Buri are anecdotes related with the other main character of this propaganda movie, the Roman army. Just like Trajan, the paramedics bandage the soldiers (in just one scene from the entire frieze) and help in spreading literacy (i.e. civilization) beyond the frontiers.

The Columns' frieze is indeed a "book with seven seals"⁴², and we hope that we challenged some of its hidden ideological messages expressed through parables, *exempla* and anecdotes, all preserved in image and text.

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Pl. I. Scene IX (Photo Sorin Nemeti).



Pl. II. Scene XXV (Photo Sorin Nemeti).



Pl. III. Scene XL (Photo Sorin Nemeti).

ON POLICE AND ADMINISTRATIVE DUTIES OF THE ROMAN MILITARY: *REGIONARII**

GEORGE CUPCEA

Abstract: Administration and internal security is at least as important for the Roman Empire as the defence from the external enemies. However, at least seemingly, the former is a much more complex and encrypted system and much more difficult to analyse in our modern way of thinking. One of the most important aspects of administration is internal security, a task best performed by military or paramilitary units. One of the least understood such systems is the involvement of professional military personnel in provincial administration, justice delivery and internal security. Out of the immense variety of military cadre available to the governor or Emperor, for such a task, the centurion seems to be the most versatile professional officer ever created by the Roman army. But solely a particular status of the centurion is in discussion here, that of *regionarius*.

Keywords: internal security; *regionarii*; centurions; Roman army; administration.

Rezumat: Administrația și securitatea internă sunt cel puțin la fel de importante pentru Imperiul Roman ca apărarea sa de pericolele externe. Cu toate acestea, cel puțin aparent, primul aspect este un sistem mult mai complex și criptat, în același timp mai dificil de analizat cu sistemul modern de gândire. Una dintre cele mai importante ramuri ale administrației este securitatea internă, o sarcină ce se potrivește optim structurilor militare și paramilitare. Unul dintre cele mai puțin înțelese astfel de sisteme este implicarea activă a personalului militar în administrația provincială și centrală, precum și în aplicarea justiției și securității interne. Din imensa varietate a cadrelor militare disponibile guvernatorului sau împăratului pentru o asemenea misiune, centurionul pare să fie cel mai versatil ofițer profesionist creat vreodată de armata romană. Însă doar un statut particular al centurionului va fi în discuție aici, *regionarius*.

Cuvinte cheie: securitate internă; *regionarii*; centurioni; armata romană; administrație.

The matter of internal security in the provinces of the Empire has been for long an interesting subject for the scholar of the Roman army, and not only. The gallery of works on the subject is opened by the important studies of R. Cagnat and O. Hirschfeld, both published more than a century ago, concerning the police forces of the Roman Empire¹. They are the first that discuss the role of the military in the internal security of the provinces, which seems to be rather significant. There are few literary sources that confirm this acceptance², backed up by the increasing amount of epigraphic and papyrological evidence nowadays. Even though that by the time of Hirschfeld, it seemed obvious that the internal security of the provinces was also ensured by the military, deployed, especially as *beneficiarii consularis*, in the system of *stationes*³, we now know

* This paper was supported by the Babes-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca, Romania, through the programme Grants for Young Researchers, contract no. 31786/2016.

¹ Cagnat 1880; Hirschfeld 1891, 845-877.

² Plin. *Ep.* 10.77-78; Tert. *Apol.* 2: *latronibus investigandis per universas provincias militaris statio sortitur*; Hirschfeld 1891, 862, 864; Zwicky 1944, 83; Fuhrmann 2012, 222.

³ Hirschfeld 1891, 862.

that things are not that simple and homogenous, plus it is obvious that the Roman system had to adapt to the Hellenistic one, in the East⁴.

This general opinion is consequently reduced in scale, as at the middle of the 20th century, scholars begin to separate the two branches of Roman administration⁵. Therefore, we come to the point where we notice that for police and security reasons, the military were used exclusively where other civilian institutions are missing and the *stationes* system is typical to this phenomenon⁶. The main tool of the governor to enforce his jurisdiction in the territory is his *officium*. Together with the ranking soldiers, members of the *officium consularis*, the governor sometimes needed authority to be expressed professionally in the field, thus calling on the legionary centurions of his provincial army. One can assume a translation of subordination of such a centurion, from the *legatus legionis* to the provincial governor⁷. These officers usually have their mission clearly stated in their title, e.g. *praepositus*. The origins of their usage in provincial administration goes further back, to the time of Caesar and Augustus, which dispatched Roman officers as commanders of auxiliary units and administrators of newly subdued communities. They were first used as *praefecti civitatum*, especially after the harsh lesson of the rebellion from Pannonia, when Augustus put the whole of Illyricum under a very strict military administration system.

However, the multitude of tasks and missions a centurion could have been entrusted with is not the subject of this discussion, but more precisely one – *regionarius*. The term is clearly connected to the *regio*, which, in its primary sense, used in the municipal language, is synonym to *territorium*, meaning the area of extension of a magistrate's jurisdiction⁸. As can be seen from epigraphic evidence, in some cases, *regiones* can be considered also administrative subunits of a city's *territorium*, in this case corresponding to the *pagi* of the West or to the *chora* of the East⁹. *Regio* can also mean an uncharted territory inhabited by Barbarians¹⁰ or an area of imperial estate/property. From the 2nd century onwards, the *regiones* in discussion in this paper have the significance of marginal territories of the Empire, mostly rural, characterized by the lack of urban institution or influence. It is the manner in which Roman Imperial authority is enforced in areas with administrative and security deficiencies¹¹, or the rural administrative districts where the imperial special interests were predominant¹². It is precisely these non-urban, militarized regions that need the military commissioners that are the *centuriones regionarii*¹³, as compensation for the lack of professional civil administrators¹⁴.

⁴ Hirschfeld 1891, 865–867; Hirschfeld 1913, 613–623.

⁵ Significant work on the matter by Alston 1999; Echols 1958, 377–385; Nippel 1984, 20–29; Nippel 1995; Baumann 1996; Brélaz 2005; Campbell 2002 etc.

⁶ Zwicky 1944, 82; MacMullen 1992, 259–260.

⁷ Mócsy 1953, 198.

⁸ Leveau 1993, 465.

⁹ Leveau 1993, 465.

¹⁰ Plin. *HN*. 3.4.33–37.

¹¹ Faure 2013, 130.

¹² Brélaz 2005, 264.

¹³ Ott 1995, 120.

¹⁴ Nelis-Clément 2000, 237. The appointment could be done by gubernatorial decision or by request from the community. Herz 2007, 307.

The phenomenon of *regionarii* is attested in different places of the Empire, at such a level that it is tempting to say that it could have been a general tool at one time. Situations in which the evidence occurs are almost similar, but there are no two alike, making it difficult to draw definitive and unanimous conclusions.

The East

The situation of the Eastern half of the Empire is very specific, especially because of the administrative background that the Romans encountered and in some extent preserved. Somewhat opposite to the West, the East had a solid urban tradition at the arrival of the Romans, which could not be overthrown by colonization. In most of the cases the new administrators overlapped the already established system, altering its contents exclusively through human resource.

Two pieces of important, while contradictory evidence, come from Asia Minor. By 85–84 BC, Asia is divided into four *regiones*, which were meant to collect the punitive tribute instated by Sulla to the communities that supported Mithridates. Consequently, probably because most of the Anatolian communities were rural, not organized as *poleis*, the Romans thought it easier to collect taxes and manage levies in such administrative units. Therefore, the term *regio* is preserved in the provincial terminology, altering its sense towards imperial estates or significant rural administrative units, not concentrated around an urban centre. This is the moment when also the *regionarii* come into action¹⁵.

The only actual literary evidence connected to the title of the *centuriones regionarii* in the East is the matter of a certain letter sent by Plinius to Trajan¹⁶. He is asking for a *centurio regionarius* to be appointed from a legion in Lower Moesia to the city of Juliopolis, at the border between Bythinia and Galatia, for public order issues. He argues that there is a precedent to such an appointment in Byzantium, leading us to the conclusion that even in this area of the Empire, such military administrators and order enforcers were needed¹⁷. However, the emperor's answer proves otherwise and shows us the clear Imperial perspective on urban public order in the Greek East. He refuses, arguing that, on one hand, the military cannot be involved in any urban problem and therefore subject citizens to their will and on the other that Juliopolis is not as important as Byzantium¹⁸.

However, the matter of *centuriones regionarii* in the East first came into attention at the beginning of the 20th century, when a particular inscription of Antioch in Pisidia was discussed¹⁹. Aurelius Dionysius, the centurion, transliterated into Greek as *regionarius* (ἐκατόνταρχος ῥεγεωνάριος), honoured by the community of Antioch for his work in the service of the citizens and 'peace and justice keeping', is considered as

¹⁵ Calder 1912, 82; Mitchell 1999, 29–30.

¹⁶ Plin. *Ep.* 10.77–78: *praecepisti Calpurnio Macro clarissimo viro ut l<r>egionarium centurionem Byzantium mitteret.*

¹⁷ The centurion is called *legionarius*, but most authors think that this is a misspelling, as no such title is attested: Calder 1912, 80–84; Merkelbach 1998, 114; Speidel 2009, 494.

¹⁸ Brélaz 2005, 265–266; Speidel 2009, 494.

¹⁹ IGRR III 301.

the officer in charge with order and internal security in the city and its surroundings²⁰. The term used specifically in this instance reveals that the authority of the *centurio regionarius* is extended over an entire *regio*, which had to have a specific significance in Roman administrative practice. In this case, *Mygdonia* most likely extended south of Phrygia and it had a police/internal security character, because of attestations of *stationarii*, *beneficarii consularis*, probably under the command of the centurion in Antioch²¹. In fact, all of Asia Minor is an entirely particular area of the Empire in its administrative evolution, Phrygia not acting as a province *per se*, but rather as a unity of imperial estates, *regiones* and *tractus*, gathered in a wider district, under a freed-man imperial procurator, starting with Hadrian²². In this particular case, Aurelius Dionysius is honoured by the local community for his kindness, the peace he helped keep and the numerous lives he saved²⁵.

The general assumption for the East is that the *centuriones regionarii* are in charge with order/security maintenance and justice for entire regions, both rural and urban²⁴. Both literary and epigraphic sources indicate such prerogatives: Juv. *Sat.* 16.13–14 (a centurion acting as judge for a case between a soldier and a civilian), two centurions of the XIth legion appointed judges by the governor²⁵. However, they are best attested in Egypt, where the role of centurions and other officers in the administration of justice is clearly visible, but apparently limited to common felonies²⁶.

Numerous examples of *papyri* with petitions to security officers in the *regiones* of Egypt are attested, *regionarii*, but also *beneficarii*, *decuriones*. The centurions command detachments of *stationarii* or *beneficarii* and have larger power and competence than their subordinates. Probably their authority over simple soldiers gave them a larger flexibility than the other police forces²⁷. The procedure was possibly the following: the victim would address the petition to the soldier/centurion, which most likely lead the investigation, arrested the suspect and forwarded the matter to a superior, civil authority, for judgement and sentence. Considering the number of such petitions, more than eighty, we can assume that it was a quite efficient system²⁸.

In a series of recent works on the matter²⁹, all these petitions to military men were centralized, leading to very interesting statistics. From all of them³⁰, 41 are sent to centurions (four for centurions ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων and one for an Ἀρσινοεῖτη ἑκατοντάρχη), 13 for *beneficarii* (five for *beneficarii* ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων, one for a βεenefικιάρῳ ἐν τῷ Ὀξυρυγχίτῃ and

²⁰ *Regio Phrygia*, according to Calder 1912, 80–84. The statue base has a couple of hexametric verses on the side, describing the dedication from the community of Mygdonia (poetic/Homeric name of Phrygia): Merkelbach, Stauber 2001, 403.

²¹ Hirschfeld 1891, 863–864; Calder 1912, 82–83; Fuhrmann 2012, 224; Faure 2013, 130.

²² Hirt 2010, 114.

²³ Brélaz 2005, 266.

²⁴ MacMullen 1963, 55–56.

²⁵ CIL III 9832; according to Pollard 2000, 94.

²⁶ MacMullen 1964, 315; Campbell 1984, 433–434; Fuhrmann 2012, 223.

²⁷ Fuhrmann 2012, 223–224.

²⁸ Davies 1989, 175–185. The two branches of Roman administration don't exclude each other: Faure 2013, 136.

²⁹ Alston 1995; Whitehorne 2004, 155–169; Gallazzi 2007, 98–100; Peachin 2007, 79–97.

³⁰ By now, at least 81, according to Whitehorne 2004, 161–169.

another two for the same βενεφικιαρίῳ στατίζοντι ἐν Ἀρσινοείτῃ) and ten for decurions³¹. The situations do not seem to indicate any clear relation between the competences of the centurions and the administrative limits of the *nomes*, nor does it imply in any way the existence of *regiones* in Roman Egypt. Therefore, the geographic extent of their authority was vague³², leading to the conclusion that the denomination ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων must have been a popular attribute of the military officer closest in the field (*of this place*), rather than a Greek-Ptolemaic variant of *centurio regionarius*, both expressions intensively used in the East and West³³. However, in most of the literature, this equivalence between ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων and *regionarius* is generally accepted³⁴. In regard to the contents and significance of these petitions, evidence is mixed. On one hand, a part of them seem only to draw attention to the military in the victim's closest vicinity (thus the personalisation of state authority) and to demand for an inquiry, but a large part of them actually demand the act of justice to be pursued by the officer and reparations of all kinds³⁵.

It was thought until recently that these Egyptian centurions have no clearly defined area of competence, that they attend only to small matters and petty justice and that their authority is not official, but rather given by their military reputation. At the same time, we have at least three examples, in which the officer is denominated along with the locality he is active in (Ἀρσινοεῖτης, Ὀξυρυγχίτης). However, in the northern part of Fayoum, where most of this evidence comes from³⁶, there is no other form of Roman authority present, and they may be the only way in which Roman law gets to this rural, outskirt environment. Plus, the *strategos* of Arsinoe must have been with duties in such an economically active place³⁷. Therefore, even with no formal legal training they are the only images of authority available to the simple peasants in any marginal, scarcely Romanized area³⁸.

The authority of the centurion and his command over a corps of soldiers in charge with police duties in Egypt is also confirmed by the numerous examples of *ostraka* from *Mons Claudianus*, dating from the time of Trajan, mentioning a group of *stationarii* receiving furlough from their commander, the centurion. Moreover, a centurion delegates a *stationarius* for the arrest of a city official, at Oxyrinchos, in AD 242³⁹.

The situation is slightly different in Syria and Mesopotamia. In these provinces, centurions and other soldiers, *beneficiarii*, *stationarii*, are mentioned in relation to

³¹ Alston 1995, 88–90. Updated by Whitehorne 2004, 161–169.

³² However, noticeable for some *beneficiarii* in CBFIR 647 (Montana), *P.Cair.isid.* 63 and 139 (Arsinoe), *P.Mich.inv.* 1960 (Oxyrinchos) and a centurion in *P.Mich.* 6.425 (Arsinoe).

³³ *Contra* Alston 1995, 93.

³⁴ See also MacMullen 1964, 315; Campbell 1984, 432.

³⁵ Peachin 2007, 89–91. Peachin debates the particular case of *P.Sijp* 15, dated AD 50–51, an extensive petition for violence and theft, to a centurion that is in office since AD 46 (*P.Thomas* 5).

³⁶ There are only 10 examples coming from the Oxyrhynchite (urban), but more than 64 coming from the Arsinoite (predominantly rural). Whitehorne 2004, 158.

³⁷ Whitehorne 2004, 160–161.

³⁸ Peachin 2007, 83–84, 95–96.

³⁹ *O.Claud* 53–71, 108–117, between September 17 and December 11 and *P.Oxy.* 62, January 6. Luce-roni 2001, 56–60, 70.

police duties, public order and objective surveillance or sentence enforcement⁴⁰. For example, Iulius Marinus is in charge with public order in Sphoracene, an unknown administrative *region* (ἐπὶ τῆς εὐταξίας), and from that position, is called upon by a local woman, who demands his authentication on some legal depositions that are later to be sustained in court⁴¹. Other centurions, of *III Gallica* and *XIV Flavia firma*⁴², are benefactors of the local communities, as they contributed to several infrastructure projects of the city, and responsible for road security in Trachonitis⁴³. They are most likely *regionarii*, honoured by the local communities in a similar way to Aurelius Dionysius from Antioch⁴⁴. In another case, a series of centurions of *IIII Scythica*, from Henu, a small Nabataean sanctuary on the road from Damascus to Bostra, are probably in charge with road surveillance and security in the entire region, even if they are not styled as *regionarii*, but they most likely are⁴⁵. A certain denomination seems to be revealed in the title of a legionnaire of *VIII Augusta*, a κούστωρ Σεία, which can very well be the equivalent of an *agens regionis* ...⁴⁶. In the same way, a papyrus of Azeizos, in the territory of Bostra, Arabia, is a petition for a *beneficiarius* κατὰ τόπους⁴⁷. To this we can add the numerous attestations of the involvement of centurions and other military in the police duties of Palestine, in the Gospels, recently argued in a very comprehensive publication⁴⁸.

In any case, there is no evidence for police duties of centurions or other soldiers in the great cities of the area, with the exception of Dionysius and another few, but those we cannot connect them particularly to the urban. The areas of competence and expertise are almost exclusively rural, with no specific institutions, the Romans preferring military police only where the civil one was not available⁴⁹.

The East has thus its particularities even in the matter of military administration. This is expected, as in this part of the Empire, the Roman administrative units are overlapping the Hellenistic ones (*chora*) or are established immediately after the conquest for taxation and military recruitment purposes. The language differences and title denomination fashion excluded in most of the cases the usage of the Latin term *regionarius* for the styling of the centurions in charge. However, the people and administration of the East found some other titles for these soldiers available to them in the field (as ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων).

⁴⁰ *PEuphr.* 2: κατὰ τόπους ἑκατοντάρχῳ; *PEuphr* 5: Ἰουλ(ίῳ) Μαρείνῳ (ἑκατοντάρχῳ) τῷ ἐπὶ τῆς εὐταξίας Σφωρακηνῆς ...

⁴¹ *P. Euphr* 5, Peachin 2007, 92, dated May 27th, AD 243.

⁴² CIG III 4542 = IGR III 1120 and CIG III 4543 = IGR III 1121, 1122, Phaena.

⁴³ Pollard 2000, 96; Stoll 2001, 73.

⁴⁴ Stoll 2001, 73.

⁴⁵ Speidel 1998, 185–186.

⁴⁶ Pollard 2000, 96–97.

⁴⁷ *P.Bostra* 1, according to Brélaz 2005, 264, n. 198 (calls him a centurion); Gasco 1999, 61–74.

⁴⁸ Kyrychenko 2014.

⁴⁹ Pollard 2000, 97.

Britannia

One of the best-represented provinces of the Empire in the matter of the *centuriones regionarii* and, at the same time having the earliest attestations, is Britain. Scholars' interest in the matter is rather old, and mostly stimulated by a couple of inscriptions discovered in Ribchester – *Bremetennacum Veteranorum*⁵⁰. The site was the garrison of *numerus equitum Sarmatarum Bremetennacensium*, one of the units raised from the bulk of Sarmatians relocated by M. Aurelius after their defeat (Cass. Dio 71.16)⁵¹.

The first step was the recognition of the centurial sign, very schematically represented, leading thus the way towards title reconstruction: > (*centurio*) *leg(ionis) praep(ositus) n(umeri) et reg(ionis)*, which, adjacent to revealing us the commanding officer of this irregular unit, is also telling us who was the administrator of the region⁵². The matter in discussion is: what was the nature of this region, so that it needed such a military administrator. Most of the opinions orbit around the possibility that this was the centre of an imperial estate, specifically a horse-breeding farm, thus needing an official, military man, in charge, appointed by the governor of York⁵³.

An alternative solution is proposed very early by I. A. Richmond, and supported by more recent evidence interpreted by A. R. Birley, both connecting the issue to more social and civilian aspects of administration. Richmond proposes that the presence of a *regio* here can be explained through the place's name – *Bremetennacum Veteranorum* – revealing implicitly its status, a veteran settlement. Unlike the veterans from the colonies, the ones in rural areas received land properties inside already established communities, along with tax exemption. They could gather in associations (*consistentes*), led by a *curator*, former legionary officer⁵⁴.

Such groups are known from Africa⁵⁵ and also *Diana Veteranorum* (Upper Moesia), *Deultum Veteranorum* (Thrace), both districts inhabited mostly by veterans, inside and outside the municipal centre⁵⁶. The particularity of Ribchester is that it is probably the site where all the veterans of the 5.500 Sarmatians brought here to enlist in the provincial army were settled. The difference however is that it never produced an urban settlement⁵⁷.

This is explainable through the initial status of the community. The Sarmatians were brought as *dediticii*, and settled in the swampy, lush area that they were accustomed to. After they served in the army, the Romans continued to make use of them, probably as *peregrini*⁵⁸. In this regard, the more recent arguments of A. R. Birley come

⁵⁰ CIL VII 218 = RIB 583; CIL VII 222 = RIB 587. First major study, Richmond 1945.

⁵¹ Richmond 1945, 15–19.

⁵² Richmond 1945, 20; Davies 1976, 137; Holder 1982, 70, 76; Birley 2007, 322. They both probably come from *VI Victrix*, according to Holder 1982, 76.

⁵³ Richmond 1945, 22; Davies 1976, 137.

⁵⁴ Richmond 1945, 21.

⁵⁵ ILS 6803; ILS 6885; ILS 9400.

⁵⁶ Richmond 1945, 21–22.

⁵⁷ Richmond 1945, 22.

⁵⁸ Richmond 1945, 23, even though honorable service in the auxiliary units would have granted them citizenship.

to assistance. In the first decades after the conquest, some districts were left in the administration of local chieftains, afterwards being transferred under military rulers. In this category fall all the examples of *centuriones regionarii* from Britain, including the two from Ribchester⁵⁹.

More light is shed on the matter by the recent attestations of such *regionarii* in the Vindolanda tablets⁶⁰. Three *centuriones regionarii* are known from these tablets, all dated under Trajan⁶¹: Annius Quaestor > *regionarius Luguvalio* – ultimate recipient of a recommendation letter intermediated by the prefect⁶²; Clodius Super > *reg(ionarius)* – in private correspondence with Cerealis⁶³ and Valerius Maxim(?) > *reg(ionarius)*⁶⁴. Especially the first case is relevant for the discussion, as it reveals the name of the administrative unit of the centurion – a region around Luguvalium. This was a native settlement in the vicinity of Vindolanda, becoming in the 3rd century the *caput civitatis* of a people called the *Carvetii*⁶⁵. Their territory was probably managed initially by a centurion, under the form of a *regio*, and received the right to self-administration only beginning with Severus⁶⁶.

Therefore, soldiers and officers could play important roles as civil administrators also, but not exclusively, in frontier regions, where it is vital not to drastically discern between military and civil management. In this sense, the presence of the *centuriones regionarii* in the area of Hadrian's Wall is relevant, as they could be in charge with operations of census and levy, even beyond the frontier⁶⁷.

Another seemingly isolated such centurion is attested at Bath-*Aquae Sulis*, ensuring the purification and restoration of a destroyed sanctuary⁶⁸. The name or nature of the region mentioned here is not known, but it may be connected to the lead mining district of Mendip⁶⁹. In any case, he is amongst the few Roman officers that attend to architectural munificence on their own initiative, in Britain, revealing once again a close relation to the local community⁷⁰. Finally, a different *regio* of Britain is mentioned on engravings on two brooches – *fibula ex reg(ione) Lagitiense*⁷¹.

To sum up, in Britain, *centuriones regionarii* acted as district commanders, in charge with the administration and police of regions where civil management was not suitable or possible, conveniently connected to the lack of urban development. The revealing title of *praepositus numeri et reg(ionis)* indicated precisely that the officer was

⁵⁹ Birley 2005, 14.

⁶⁰ *TVin II* 250+add., 255+add., *III* 653.

⁶¹ Birley 2005, 14. They are the earliest attestations of the function, and the only form of military police well attested in Roman Britain.

⁶² *TVin II* 250+add.

⁶³ *TVin II* 255+add. Indicating the close relations between the two officers, also from the hierarchical point of view. Faure 2013, 338.

⁶⁴ *TVin III* 653.

⁶⁵ RIB 933; Birley 2007, 323.

⁶⁶ Birley 2007, 324.

⁶⁷ Bowman 2006, 79.

⁶⁸ CIL VII 45 = RIB 152. Probably from *II Augusta*, according to Holder 1982, 76.

⁶⁹ Birley 2005, 14; Birley 2007, 322.

⁷⁰ Blagg 1990, 20.

⁷¹ Birley 2007, 323.

the full chief of the administrative unit: the fort, the *vicus* and its *territorium*⁷². This extension of title leads probably to the authority assignment in land rent, entrusted to centurions from the time of Severus. The only problem of debate is that even though the two centurions of Ribchester are not styled as *regionarii*, are they are precisely that?⁷³ The fact is that we can't know exactly how they are called, as they could just as well be >(centurio) *leg(ionis) praep(ositus) n(umeri) et reg(ionarius)*, as the abbreviation stands equally for both options⁷⁴.

Lower Moesia

More than half of the *regionarii* and the *centuriones regionarii* of the Empire are attested in Lower Moesia, concentrated on an area located between the Danube and the Haemus Mts. The area of Montana has a special administrative status under Roman rule that will be changing all throughout the 1st to the 3rd centuries AD. From the first decades of the 1st century, we already have the garrison of *cohors Sugambrorum* here, along with *cohors I Montanorum* and *cohors Cilicum*. Sometime before AD 134⁷⁵, the settlement was transferred from the province of Thracia to Lower Moesia. From about that time we have the evidence of the garrison of *cohors Sugambrorum*, in a *praesidium Montanensium*, and also of its dispatch to the East, where it will remain permanently⁷⁶.

There are clues to the significance of the region, more precisely its overlap on major Gold and Silver deposits, but only circumstantial, therefore leaving us with the problem of explaining the important military presence here⁷⁷. The region is not fighting Romanization, it seems to be urbanizing sometime at the middle of the 2nd century AD and even its important position on the main route from the North (Dacia) to Dalmatia and Thrace would not explain such a military presence. Moreover, in the 2nd century we find an important sanctuary of Diana and Apollo here, attracting pilgrims even from Rome, which can be related in the Balkans to precious metal extractions. It is only such an important exploitation that would necessitate the surveillance and escort of a mounted cohort⁷⁸. In this sense, the inscription attesting a *dispensator vikarius*⁷⁹, imperial clerk present in several *officia* in Rome is the single piece of evidence for a mining district in Montana area⁸⁰.

Another question is the presumed urbanization of the area. Between the two Moesian colonies, Ratiaria and Oescus, an independent territory, with no urban

⁷² Richmond 1945, 24–25.

⁷³ Birley 2007, 322–323.

⁷⁴ See the above-mentioned RIB 152 and *TVin III* 653, but also CIL III 12385 = AE 1895, 61; AE 1980, 828 = ISM V 239; AE 1974, 574 (Lower Moesia); CIL VIII 3029 (Africa); AE 1950, 105 = RIU 663 (Upper Pannonia); CIL III 7625 = Piso, Cupcea 2014, 115–124 (Dacia).

⁷⁵ Or AD 129, according to Speidel 1984, 185. A recent work on the matter of the concerned military units is Matei-Popescu 2010.

⁷⁶ Rankov 1983, 40–42.

⁷⁷ Rankov 1983, 45.

⁷⁸ Rankov 1983, 43–46. We have also some other epigraphic circumstantial evidence: *argentaria, primiscrinus officinae* (CIL III 14209).

⁷⁹ CIL III 14207³⁹.

⁸⁰ Velkov 1970 (1980); Vittinghoff 1977, 164; Rankov 1983, 47; Speidel 1984, 185; Hirt 2010, 70.

settlement, was coagulated under the name of *regio Montanensis/Montanensium*. Initially called *Montanense praesidium*⁸¹, military were stationed here continuously from the creation of the province until the time of Gallienus. Adding up the departure of *legio V Macedonica* from Oescus, we are left with Montana as the most important military centre in Western Lower Moesia, mostly because its position on strategic routes and precious metal deposits, probably in exploitation since before the Roman conquest⁸². At one time, the epigraphic attestation of two *decuriones*⁸³ seems to indicate the development of a *municipium* in the area, which can coexist with a *regio*, as a city's territory can have such subdivisions, especially in the Balkans⁸⁴. At the same time, other Roman settlements than cities (*vici*, *oppida*, *regiones*) could have also *decuriones*, this also being the case, as the development of *DEC M* of CIL III 7451 must be *dec(urio) M(ontanensium)*, excluding thus the *municipium*, as in the case of *dec(urio) Mo(ntanensium)* of AE 1939, 248⁸⁵. In any case, the matter remains unsolved, in the lack of further evidence⁸⁶.

The most important feature of Montana that falls into general attention is the largest concentration of *regionarii* attestations in the Empire. By the half of the 2nd century, the auxiliary garrison in Montana is replaced with a squadron of legionnaires, probably around a *centuria*, mostly attested as *regionarii*, led by a *centurio regionarius*⁸⁷, revealing a not so common form of military administration in the Empire.

There must be two opposing motivations for this switch: the special situation in the area, detailed above, required along with an auxiliary garrison also a corps of legionnaires, acting as military police⁸⁸, or the reduction of military presence here can be viewed through the diminish of external threats and the pacification of inner Moesia⁸⁹. In fact, the explanation could also be rather different, revealing the need for security and central surveillance of an Imperial estate. The fact that it stretched until the Danube tells us that it must have covered also the farms in the area, therefore requiring the presence and dispatch of these legionnaires⁹⁰. Analogies are met in Dalmatia, Dacia, Africa⁹¹, but most of them come from the silver mining area of

⁸¹ AE 1927, 95 (Phrygia).

⁸² Gerov 1988, 101-102.

⁸³ CIL III 7451; AE 1939, 248.

⁸⁴ Velkov 1970 (1980); Gerov 1988, 87, 105.

⁸⁵ Vittinghoff 1977, 164, 185. Other civilian settlements in the vicinity of forts are led by decurions: CIL III 1093, 1100 (Apulum) - *decurio canabensium*; AE 1957, 266 (Troesmis) - *quinquennalis canabensium*. At Brigetio, it is expressed identically as at Montana - *decurio Brigetionis* - CIL III 4298; CIL III 4309; CIL III 4355.

⁸⁶ This is not something definitive, as urban settlement and *regiones* so not exclude themselves: in the cases of the Pontic shore Greek colonies, the *regio* seems to coincide with the former *chora* (see below *regio Histriae*). Gerov 1988, 87.

⁸⁷ Rankov 1983, 45, 58; Speidel 1984, 185; Gerov 1988, 103; Hirt 2010, 71.

⁸⁸ Gerov 1988, 103.

⁸⁹ Rankov 1983, 53.

⁹⁰ Rankov 1983, 57-58. As a coincidence, slaves in charge with imperial estates from Italy are also called *regionarii*. This interpretation reduces drastically the chances for Montana to develop into an urban settlement (in spite of the decurions, see above, Gerov 1988).

⁹¹ CIL VIII 270 = 11451 = 23246 = AE 2008, 1606 (Casae, Africa): *regione Beguensi territorio Musulamiorum*.

Dardania, in Upper Moesia, where several *stationes* are attested, manned by legionary *principales*⁹².

As for the duties of the *regionarii*, we can only be sure of a particular interest of the governor in the area of Montana. This must be clearly separated from the dispatch of an entire vexillation from the legion *XI Claudia*, AD 155, formed from six *immunes* and *principales*, one decurion, ex legionary horseman and 67 soldiers, all under the command of a legionary centurion⁹³. Consequently, the squad will become permanent and will stretch its personnel all throughout the region, in the several *stationes* attested. The *stationes* were manned by legionnaires or legionary *principales*, thus the five *beneficiarii consularis* in the *statio* of Montana, one of them entitled *agens territorio Montanensium*, and the chances are slim that a *centurio regionarius* must have commanded all of them⁹⁴, as he seems to stand as a solitary form of authority in the field.

Attestations of such officers in the region are several, most of them in Montana (3)⁹⁵ or in the very close vicinity, at Gromšín, possibly the location of the Apollo and Diana sanctuary, restored by the entire group – *per reg(ionarios) Mont(anenses)*⁹⁶ and a few in a more remote location to the north, on the Danube southern bank, at Almus (2)⁹⁷. Most of them come from the legion *I Italica*, garrisoned at Novae, the closest one (two centurions and a *vexillarius equitum legionis*), with an *optio* from *XI Claudia*, of Durostorum and a *centurio regionarius*, attested twice, with no legion mentioned (probably *I Italica*?). Along with these, but surely later, there are three other legionary centurions, one of *I Italica*⁹⁸, one of *XI Claudia*⁹⁹ and one of *II Augusta*¹⁰⁰, all three acting as commanders, *praepositi*, of a peculiar auxiliary unit developed apparently from the legionary vexillation, in the 3rd century¹⁰¹.

Trying to reveal the meaning of the presence of these legionnaires and officers here, we can only presume that the interest of the governor in the region was so, that he decided this special dispatch for security reasons, at least from the middle of the 2nd century until the reign of Severus Alexander¹⁰². However, it is still unclear as what sort

⁹² Rankov 1983, 49, 58.

⁹³ CIL III 7449 = AE 2010, 1449. The *optio* is missing, but it seems to be replaced by the *beneficiarius consularis*. However, another *optio agens regione Montanensium* is attested at Almus, by the Danube. Rankov 1983, 54. At the same time, this could be an *ad-hoc* detachment with various logistic duties (such as the *venatores* in Germany).

⁹⁴ Rankov 1983, 48, 51–52; Gerov 1988, 103–104 (the centurion is replaceable by *optio/beneficiarius agens regione*?); Hirt 2010, 70–71 (*territorium* is to be equated with *regio*?).

⁹⁵ CIL III 12380; AE 1975, 745 = 1985, 738; AE 1957, 341.

⁹⁶ CIL III 12371 = AE 1891, 80. Speidel 1984, 187; Sarnowski 1988, 100. See also CIL III 12385.

⁹⁷ CIL III 7420; AE 1969–1970, 577. This confirms the extension of *regio Montanensium* north, until the Danube. Rankov 1983, 54. On the east-west axis, it seems to stretch from the western border with Upper Moesia until approximately 30–35 km east of Montana, according to Gerov 1988, 104.

⁹⁸ AE 1979, 548; AE 1987, 884.

⁹⁹ AE 1985, 746.

¹⁰⁰ AE 1979, 550.

¹⁰¹ *N C R: numerus civium Romanorum* (Rankov 1983, 58; Sarnowski 1988, 100); *numerus collectum regionariorum* later transformed into *cohors III Collecta* (Speidel 1984, 188; identification with the police forces of *kolletiones* in Lydia and Egypt, according to Urano 2011, 187–188; Fuhrmann 2012, 218–20. *Contra*, Haensch 2010, 503–507).

¹⁰² Rankov 1983, 50–51, 55, 59–61, presumes also the surveillance of the mining area by imperial procurators.

of administration would these *regionarii* impose, as there is no actual proof of their activities in imperial estates¹⁰³, only presumed or circumstantial. Together with the lack of evidence for a procurator office or any imperial mines in Montana, one could argue that their single mission is to survey the important trade routes in the area and traffic on them¹⁰⁴. To sum up, it is precisely because of the special and complex interest of the governor in the area, difficult to explain exhaustively, that it was organized as a *regio* and put under military command and administration.

This can be explainable at some level when considering that this is not the only instance where such officers and such an administration are attested in Lower Moesia. The development, by M. P. Speidel of the abbreviation *RE*, as a ligature, in the title *regionarius* of some centurions¹⁰⁵, led to the discovery of another series of such centurions in Montana, Lower Moesia and elsewhere. This evolution revealed us at least four other cases of *regionarii/centuriones regionarii* in Lower Moesia.

One, coming from *XI Claudia* is attested 20 km south of Sexaginta Prista as restoring the temple of *Diana Plestrensis*, probably commander of a *regio Plestrensis*¹⁰⁶. Another piece of evidence near the Pontic shore is the one of southern Dobruja, attesting a centurion of *V Macedonica*, garrisoned at Troesmis, as *r(egionarius) r(egionis) Au(gustensis/gustensium)*¹⁰⁷. Again from *V Macedonica* comes another *centurio regionarius*, attested closer to the legionary fortress of Troesmis, raising an altar¹⁰⁸. Finally, in the extensive territory of Histria, several references to *regio* and *regionarii* are attested: two of them to *regio Histriae*, an administrative unit whose meaning is unclear, possibly synonym to *territorium*, led either by two *magistri* or by two *archontes regionis*¹⁰⁹; and another mentioning *regionarii* on a copy of the decision of border establishment of Histria, dating October 25, AD 100¹¹⁰. These are all examples of a strategic appointment fashion, of military in the administration of extensive, non-urban areas, especially popular in the 2nd century Lower Moesia.

Other provinces/The Upper Danube

A funerary inscription from Lambaesis, Numidia¹¹¹, is dedicated to a soldier of the legion *III Augusta*, dead at 35, by his father, C. Iulius Rullius *reg(ionarius)*, at the end of the 2nd century, beginning of the 3rd. A fragmentary inscription from Lugdunensis mentions a *regionarius* dedicating the funerary monument to his freedman, but we cannot know for sure if this is a military, much less an officer¹¹².

¹⁰³ Sarnowski 1988, 101.

¹⁰⁴ Hirt 2010, 71.

¹⁰⁵ Speidel 1984, 185; acknowledged by Sarnowski 1988, 99.

¹⁰⁶ AE 1974, 574, Bali/Košov. Sarnowski 1988, 101. The capital of this presumed *regio* should be Sexaginta Prista, where another attestation of the deity is present, AE 1954, 35.

¹⁰⁷ CIL III 14211¹⁰ = AE 1985, 100, Sirakovo. Sarnowski 1988, 102.

¹⁰⁸ AE 1980, 828 = ISM V 239, Horia, with the same ligature *RE*. Speidel 1984, 186.

¹⁰⁹ AE 1984, 803 = ISM I 329, Histria and AE 1960, 367 = ISM V 123, near Troesmis.

¹¹⁰ ISM 1 67, Histria. Sarnowski 1988, 101-102.

¹¹¹ CIL VIII 3029, unrecognized as such by Le Bohec 1989, 274.

¹¹² CIL XIII 2958, Agedincum.

In the *principia* of the legionary fortress of Lauriacum, Noricum, a partial inscription of an honorary monument dedicated to Emperor Aurelian was discovered. Few important things can be said on the text. First of all, it can be dated between AD 271 and 273 and based on the presence of the title of *proconsul* of the Emperor one can assume that he was not in Rome at the time of the dedication, maybe even on visit in Lauriacum (?). Second, there is no way of knowing for sure the unit of the centurion Ingenuus, who dedicated the monument. The three letters *VIN* in the lower row were developed in two options: a. [*> (centurio) coh(ortis) - - pra(etoriae) / [piae] vin(dicis) regi[onarius]*]; b. [*> (centurio) leg(ionis) III It(alicae) / [Aug(ustae)] Vin(delicorum) regi[onarius]*]. With no evidence of a praetorian centurion acting as a *regionarius*, it is tempting to accept the second option¹¹³, even if the placement of origin is rather peculiar.

Brigetio, of Upper Pannonia, has two examples of *regionarii*, from which one is a centurion. In the first case, Iulius Nigellio, originary from Septimia Flavia Siscia, was a *beneficiarius tribuni militum legionis I Adiutricis*, dead at 40, with 18 years of service. His monument is erected by his *coregionarius*¹¹⁴. The sense of *coregionarius* is unclear; it could mean that the two were acting as *regionarii* in the same administrative unit of Pannonia¹¹⁵ or that they were both coming from Siscia. I tend to support the first opinion, because we already know of legionary *principales* acting as *regionarii* from different places of the Empire, the two being therefore comrades, probably both on the same rank or on similar ones, active in an unknown *regio*. This view is supported also by an earlier piece of evidence from Brigetio, a monument dedicated to *Iupiter optimus maximus* and the genius of the place, dated October 15, AD 210, by a centurion of *I Adiutrix*, *regionarius*¹¹⁶. This is an important person, as he erects an honorary monument in the health of the emperors and under the supervision of the consular governor, therefore an official act. Such privileges are rarely given to regular centurions, except for the *primipili*. This is probably the chief centurion of the *regio*¹¹⁷ also attested in the previous inscription, an administrative unit of Pannonia still unknown by now.

Dacia

The other single province that offers substantial evidence in the matter of the *regionarii* is Dacia. It is the location with the largest number of *beneficiarii consularis* attested, the well-known *statio* of Cășei-Samum that offers an important amount of information in this regard¹¹⁸. This military installation is changing sometime at

¹¹³ Proposed by the authors of AE 1953, 129.

¹¹⁴ AE 2008, 1086.

¹¹⁵ Supported also by Borhy 2010, 70–73.

¹¹⁶ AE 1950, 105 = RIU 663.

¹¹⁷ Mócsy 1953, 198.

¹¹⁸ *XIII Gemina* has at least three such NCO's attested here and another in Napoca, and *V Macedonica* no less than eight. See the discussion in the context of the Dacian *officium consularis* in Cupcea 2012. The *aedilis* in Napoca (CIL III 827 = 7633) is in service at Samum, but highly honored by the municipal community with a civilian function in absence. See Ardevan 1994, 199–204 and Nelis-Clément 2000, 237. In no circumstances this can indicate that the *regio* included also the city.

the middle of the 3rd century, revealing the popular *regio Ans.* during the reign of Gordian III¹¹⁹.

We have at least two stages of the military installations in the area of the auxiliary fort of Cășei. The first dates from the time of Severus Alexander and marks the existence of a *statio*, attested through ten of the fourteen monuments discovered in the fort¹²⁰. Only in four of them the concrete mention of a *statio* appears, in different forms: *agens in munere stationis*¹²¹, *agens curam stationis*¹²² or *iterato agens statione*¹²³. At this stage, the *beneficiarii* are acting commanders of the *statio* that bears no actual name nor the mention of any special mission¹²⁴.

The second stage of the military installations in this area dates from the time of Gordian III. In the four monuments datable at this time no mention of a *statio* appears, but that of a *regio*, namely *regio Ans(?)*. In this *regio*, the acting *regionarii* are legionary *principales*, *beneficiarii consularis*. The nature of their activity here is mentioned under the form of *agens sub signis Samum cum regione Ans.*¹²⁵, *agens sub signis regione Ans.*¹²⁶ or *agens Samo cum regione Ans. sub segnis*¹²⁷.

First of all, we cannot tell if the *beneficiarii* of this time still command the installation that they man. This is somewhat normal, because this time it is not a simple *statio*, but of an administrative unit under military control, *regio*, which, after all analogies, should have been under the command of a *centurio regionarius*. The *beneficiarii* are *agentes sub signis*, meaning members of a military unit, which may have its own *signum*¹²⁸. As far as the territorial limits of their activity, it is also mentioned, as *Samum cum regione Ans.*, therefore the fort and *vicus Samum* plus a *regio* in the surrounding area¹²⁹. The nature of this *regio* is basically unknown, because the abbreviation *Ans.* doesn't offer us the necessary detail¹³⁰.

It's equally peculiar how the *regio* overlapped the territory of an auxiliary fort, even if the places of discovery of the monuments do not necessarily imply that. In this

¹¹⁹ It was consequently associated to a local population of northern Dacia, which would have been under the control of the military, in a *statio*, and eventually annexed in the form of a *regio* to an area of an Imperial estate, which would include the salt mines of Dej to a trade tax - *ansarium* or to a meander - *ansa* of the river Someș. However, after almost a century, during which the evidence was basically the same, no final solution has been produced. See Isac 2003, 48-52, 57-58; Opreanu 1994, 71-74, also for the history of the subject.

¹²⁰ CIL III 826; CIL III 823; CIL III 825; CIL III 7632; CBFIR 527; ILD 771; ILD 772; ILD 773; ILD 774; ILD 775. The place of discovery for all of them is the auxiliary fort.

¹²¹ CIL III 825.

¹²² ILD 771; ILD 772.

¹²³ ILD 775.

¹²⁴ One can only assume the number of men in a *statio*, but military hierarchy would act here as in any other unit. Zwicky 1944, 84. From this stage, one more such an altar was recently discovered in the vicinity of the fort, unpublished, a dedication to Liber and Libera made by a *Valentinus, b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae) Severianae* (information Felix Marcu).

¹²⁵ CIL III 827 = 7633.

¹²⁶ CIL III 822.

¹²⁷ AE 1957, 326.

¹²⁸ Or are simply depicted as bearing their over dimensioned spear. Ott 1995, 106.

¹²⁹ Zwicky 1944, 85-86.

¹³⁰ However, the option of naming a local population after the name of the river Samus, *Ansamenses*, and the naming of the whole *regio* after it, or the hypothetical annexation of a *civitas* transformed into a *regio*, seem to be the least plausible.

sense, the presence of legionnaires here, controlling a territory under the supervision of an auxiliary unit would be as peculiar, even if such situations are not without precedent, as we can see in Montana. In that case, as discussed above, these *regionarii* seem to take over the control of *regio Montanensium*, after the auxiliary unit has left. The situation seems very similar to that from Cășei. Also here there is a *regio* named probably after the most important settlement in its territory – *Samum*, and also *regionarii* attested as *principales* of the legions in Dacia – *beneficiarii consularis*, which are detached specifically with military duties, and, apparently in some kind of an *ad-hoc* unit, a fact that can be deduced from the formula *sub signis*. Who commanded these *regionarii* remains to be found out, probably a centurion¹³¹. The presence of a centurion at the command of a *statio* is not regular, but we can find them in the administrative structure of military installations and surely at the head of an entire *regio*¹³².

As for their role here, we can only assume. The analogy with Montana, which is not the only one, could lead us to the assumption that the auxiliary unit is missing from the fort, even if only temporary, in a time not too calm for the Empire and Dacia, and it is replaced with a unit of *regionarii*. However, such assumptions should be verified. More likely, this area, profoundly rural and fairly wild and forested needed a force of military to ensure the public order and safety of traffic.

The area of the northern Roman frontier in Dacia is not without other references to *regiones* or *regionarii*. Very recently, an inscription in Domnești, Bistrița, attesting a centurion of *X Fretensis* dedicating an altar to *Iupiter optimus maximus Dolichenus*, was revisited. The sequence of letters following his title was not readable, leading to assumption of a second dedicator bearing a peculiar (Dacian?) name. However, after the revision, the inscription attests a *P. Caius Valerianus > (centurio) leg(ionis) X Fretensis reg(ionarius) r(egionis) Neridonis(- -?)*¹³³.

This is a premiere attestation in Dacia, in all regards. First, no other centurion *regionarius* is known in this region of the Empire, even though we know of more than 120 legionary centurions in Dacia overall¹³⁴. Second, we know of at least another *regio* and two *territoria* in the Danubian province, but not of this one¹³⁵. In fact, the entire name and location of this *regio Neridonis?* is peculiar, because we don't have any resembling toponym in Dacia or around¹³⁶. The only clue that we have on the matter is the attestation of salt mining at the site of discovery¹³⁷. The place is in the close vicinity of the auxiliary fort of Orheiul Bistriței, garrisoned by *coh. I Hispanorum milliaria*,

¹³¹ However, their dispatch here, with no centurion in command would not be a premiere. Ott 1995, 107. All other evidence indicates that a group of *regionarii* were subordinated to a centurion, including Plin. *Ep.*, Nelis-Clément 2000, 69; Fuhrmann 2012, 223.

¹³² Faure 2013, 130, 132.

¹³³ See Piso, Cupcea, *Regionarius*, 117.

¹³⁴ However, in Dacia there is also the centurion C. Titius Ianuarius (AE 1959, 314 = IDR II 35, Dro-beta), > (*centurio*) *leg(ionis) IIII F(laviae) f(elicis) r(egionarius)*. See G. Cupcea, *Centurions of the IIII Flavia legion in Dacia*, in D. Micle et al (eds.), *Arheovest I. In memoriam Liviu Maruia*, Szeged, 2013, 349–50; G. Cupcea, *Professional Ranks in the Roman Army of Dacia*, Oxford, 2014, esp. 93–112; and below.

¹³⁵ *Regio Ans.*, see above and *territorium Arcobadarensis* (AE 2010, 1359, Ilisua), *territorium Sucidavensis* (IDR II 190, Sucidava).

¹³⁶ See Piso, Cupcea 2014, 123.

¹³⁷ Also the Austrian toponym is *Salzbrunn*.

revealing also one of the attestations of a *conductor pascui et salinarum*¹³⁸. This already known, it was thought to have been supervised by the *regionarii* in Samum¹³⁹, but the distance is however much too long (almost 70 km). As for the legion of the centurion, this is *X Fretensis*, of Jerusalem. His presence here can only be explained through the movements of units during the civil wars of S. Severus, when this inscription is datable¹⁴⁰.

To sum up, we can only assume that the centurion came along with an entire *centuria* from Palestine during the years of Severus and remained in Dacia for a time. In this period, he must have been appointed by the governor as administrator and chief-police of a *regio* established at the northern edge of the province. The purpose of this appointment as well as the reason for the appointment of a centurion from another provincial army is unclear. However, we must assume that once in Dacia, the legionary squad of *X Fretensis* was under the command of the Dacian governor and therefore at his disposal. The *regio Neridonis*' connection to the presumed salt mines in the area is as relative as the similar connection in the situation at Montana.

The second case of a *centurio regionarius* attested in Dacia was in plain sight for a long time. C. Titius Ianuarius, native of Camulodunum (Britain) or Philippi (Macedonia) dies at 56 and is buried in Drobeta¹⁴¹. He is attested as > *LEG F F R*, letter sequence previously developed into (*centurio*) *leg(ionis) IIII F(laviae) fr(umentarius) / IIII F(laviae) f(elicis) (f)r(umentarius)*¹⁴². This doesn't seem to be accurate, and the epithet *felix*, appearing for the *IIII Flavia* legion after the reign of Trajan, should not be excluded. Indeed a look upon the inscription reveals no pause mark between the two F's, and moreover, a look on a similar inscription, of another centurion of the same legion, indicates the abbreviation *IIII Fl(aviae)*, when missing the epithet¹⁴³. In this case I would incline towards the reconstruction (*centurioni*) *leg(ionis) IIII F(laviae) f(elicis) / r(egionario)*, regarded as possible by M. P. Speidel, however not adopted since¹⁴⁴.

The remaining problems are the missing of the region's name or its topographic placement. As *regiones* under military supervision are placed at key points in the Empire, Drobeta would correspond to such conditions, being the most important passage over the Lower Danube. In such a case, a *regio* under military supervision in regard to public order and traffic control is not to be excluded¹⁴⁵, even if there is no way of knowing if this is an administrative unit of Dacia or Upper Moesia, especially at this moment in time when *IIII Flavia* is switching provinces¹⁴⁶.

¹³⁸ AE 1967, 388. Also known from IDR III/3, 119 (Micia), IDR III/1, 145 (Tibiscum) and AE 2013, 1281 (Porolissum).

¹³⁹ Rankov 1983, 49.

¹⁴⁰ Piso, Cupcea 2014, 122–123.

¹⁴¹ AE 1959, 314 = IDR II 35.

¹⁴² IDR II 35 and ILD 60.

¹⁴³ CIL III 14484 = IDR II 34, Drobeta.

¹⁴⁴ Speidel 1984, 186, n. 8. Confirmed also by Matei-Popescu 2015, 297–300.

¹⁴⁵ The case would then be very similar to the centurion dispatched from Lower Moesia to Byzantium, described in Plin. *Ep.* 10.77–78.

¹⁴⁶ Cupcea 2013, 349–350.

Gathering all the evidence, a few analyses and classifications are necessary. The criteria that can be established are of different categories, according to geography, utility or specific of activities.

The first fact is that the evidence is somehow equally shared between the Eastern and Western halves of the Empire. In this sense, the East has more attestations of centurions involved in civil administration, police duties and jurisdiction, but fewer actually styled *regionarii*, because of the translation / transliteration into Greek. The West is statistically superior in the matter of individually attested *regionarii* and *centuriones regionarii*, exclusively in inscriptions. In regard to the provinces where evidence is present, these again are equally divided between the two parts of the Empire. The East is presenting significant evidence for Egypt and Syria and also a few individual examples for different provinces of Asia Minor. Specific to the West are a series of provincial concentrations, as Britannia, Lower Moesia¹⁴⁷ or Dacia, and a few individual attestations, in Africa, Gaul, Noricum and Pannonia. A striking fact noticeable after this is that evidence is concentrated in a couple of critical spots on the map of the Empire, which might lead us to the conclusion that this was not a general approach towards administration.

Another significant topographic differentiation divides the attestations according to where are they located in relation to the Roman frontier, as this can be relevant in order to establish their role and functionality. From this perspective, we can notice that inside the same province, evidence is placed in different spots, not necessarily in relation to the frontier. E.g. in Britain, only the attestations of Vindolanda are precisely on the frontier, the other, significant ones, seem to indicate *regiones* more to the inside of the province. The much-debated case of Lower Moesia presents also a double feature, as Montana is rather to the inside of the province and the evidence in Dobruja or Sexaginta Prista seem to be connected to the frontier. The other individual attestations on the Danube are precisely on the frontier, in Lauriacum or Brigetio, and the other two unsure cases from the West (in Lugdunensis and Africa) seem to be related to the interior, even if one of them is evidently connected to the military. Finally, Dacia has most of its evidence placed on the northern frontier, but, like in the cases of Brigetio and Lauriacum, this seems to be simply a coincidence, as these are the key-regions in the provinces in discussion.

As far as the East is concerned, here such classifications are not easy to make or even relevant. If for Egypt it is evident that the centurions are tightly connected to internal security and jurisdiction, for Syria the situation is different, as the Eastern frontier was never a continuous line, like the European one. Here, most of the centurions are surveying roads and traffic, or isolated settlements, but these are precisely the features of the Eastern, desert frontier. Finally, Asia Minor was a special zone to begin with, the Roman authority preferring to induce their administrative units only in areas where Hellenistic urbanism was not present. In this case no piece of evidence can be regarded as being on the frontier.

¹⁴⁷ Even though Lower Moesia is practically at the border of the two dominant cultures of the Roman Empire, I preferred to place it in the West, because of its belonging to the European Danube frontier system and because evidence is exclusively in Latin and of Latin origin.

In a similar, more theoretical perspective, we could ask ourselves, depending again on the spatial distribution of the evidence, what role did this practice have in Roman imperialism and colonization? Applying the concepts of centre and periphery for the Roman history, one can analyse the distribution of evidence and attempt to draw conclusions from it. In our case, with few exceptions, almost all the attestations are found in periphery areas, even those from urban centres being connected mostly with the process of the integration of the hinterland.

But perhaps the most relevant of the criteria is that of functionality. From this perspective one can attempt to decipher the role and function of the administrative units and of their personnel in each of the cases. Even if in more than one such case we cannot establish a definitive functionality, reasonable suppositions allow us to at least attempt such an analysis. However, the cases described below are very dual in their nature, a fact which makes it very difficult to pinpoint one or another functionality.

One of the first functionalities that comes in mind is the public security on areas in imperial property. This seems to be the case for at least four of the provinces where evidence is known. E.g. in Britain, the *regio* in the vicinity of Bremetennacum is thought to have included an imperial horse breeding estate, but, at the same time it could stand as evidence for a rural administrative unit dedicated to the integration of the colonized natives into Roman civilization. Another case in Britain, of Bath-*Aquae Sulis*, could also be connected to the Lead mines attested in the area. The most troubling such case is that of Montana, where evidence for an imperial Gold and Silver mining estate is doubtful, at most circumstantial. Still, it is impossible to deny the possibility, even if a clear separation must be made between the actual administration of the mines and the police and security concerns in the area. Dacia is again relevant from this point of view, with both of its two *regiones* being attested on the northern frontier, but also in areas where salt mines are presumed or even attested in Roman times. This is again a duality that can lead to vicious assumptions. As far as the East is concerned, the only situation where such a connection could be established is at *Mons Claudianus*, in Egypt.

The second most important functionality of the *regiones* and *regionarii* that we have to take into account is community administration, directed especially to those who are less than a proper urban Roman establishment, with all its civil administrative features. In this category fall the already mentioned example of Bremetennacum and the other attestations from Hadrian's Wall. Already on the Danube, the examples of Lauriacum and Brigetio could be included in this category, as well as the ones from the eastern part of Lower Moesia and the Pontic shore. In all these cases, evidence for their inclusion in this category of functionality is circumstantial, but it falls into the broader approach towards rural, isolated, native communities, unable to self-govern and on their way to Romanization. It is not necessary to assume that the army had legal control over civilians in their settlements, only police, public order and investigating tasks¹⁴⁸.

The East is again different from this perspective, gathering almost exclusively the evidence for the police and jurisdiction functionalities. The vast majority of the

¹⁴⁸ Salway 1969, 273-274.

attestations in Egypt look in this direction. They are accompanied by the security missions of the centurions on Syria and Palestine, by the individual and very relevant case of Aurelius Dionysius of Antioch in Pisidia, and, of course by the confirmation for such interests in the correspondence between Younger Pliny and Emperor Trajan.

From many perspectives, the papyrologic evidence of Egypt is the most relevant. Here, and perhaps everywhere in the Roman world, the best known point of contact between rural civilians and the military is the district centurion. His power rested in two factors: their ability to call on military force and their political power as representatives of the governor and of the Roman authorities. In Egypt, they seem to serve in civilian settlements for a brief period of time, and are responsible to the *epistrategoï* and prefect¹⁴⁹. They are regularly called back to the capital, not only to issue reports and receive special missions, but also to participate in more informal manifestations, as the celebration of the Imperial birthday¹⁵⁰. It is in this way that the centurion cultivates his connection to the central authority and is better seen in the territory as the expression of that authority. He is, in this case, the ‘tie that binds’ the higher civilian authorities to the villages with no proper political organization. Through this vital agent, the regular rural citizen transfers his problems into the official Roman system¹⁵¹. Therefore, even if these centurions remain political figure, they are also agents of the local communities.

There is no particular reason why we cannot apply this principle at the entire scale of the evidence. The model is practically applicable in all other provinces and particular situation where *regionarii* are attested. The only slightly different situation is that of cities, where, at least in theory, the military would prefer not to interfere with the civilian administration and public order institutions. This however, with a few exceptions, out of which the case of Dionysius of Antioch in Pisidia is the most resounding. But he is not the only one in such a situation. Aulus Instuleius Tenax, centurion of *X Fretensis*, is highly honoured by the *boule* and *demos* of the city of Ashkelon, in Palestine, on account of his goodwill towards the city¹⁵². The honorific inscription of Ashkelon is set on a statue basis, precisely in the civil centre of the city (the basilica and *bouleuterion*), together only with one other person, an important local citizen¹⁵³. His role and relation to the community must have been highly important to the city, if they decided to honour him in such an official manner, practically identical to the case of Antioch. In other urban situations, centurions act as *iudices dati*, and their special task is mentioned in similar honorary inscriptions¹⁵⁴. The active involvement of officers, especially centurions, in the process of police and justice inqui-

¹⁴⁹ Alston 1999, 187.

¹⁵⁰ *P.Oxy* IX. 1185, a letter sent to the *strategoï*, in which the prefect asks that the centurions be reminded to return to Alexandria to celebrate the Imperial birthday. Alston 1999, 188.

¹⁵¹ Alston 1999, 188–189.

¹⁵² AE 1923, 83, also known from CIL III 30, dated AD 65, when he became a *primus pilus* of the legion *XII Fulminata*. On his story see Eck 2015, 145–160.

¹⁵³ Boehm, Master, Le Blanc 2016, 271–324.

¹⁵⁴ CIL V 923 – a praetorian centurion is *iudex* in Aquileia and CIL II 1183 – a *primus pilus* is a highly appreciated *iudex* in Romula, Baetica, honoured by the *consistentes*. See also Peachin 2007, 93.

ries is confirmed also by juridical sources¹⁵⁵, their competence being extended even to those of acting judge¹⁵⁶.

As a detail, the *regionarii* have a lot in common with the *stationarii*, in title and function, acting as military police detached in the provinces to maintain order and security in a designed area of control. They are not however equal, as the former are mainly legionary centurions, and the latter are merely soldiers, the former are in charge of a specific post, the latter of an entire *regio*. This kind of assignments is just a part of the numerous functions that centurions can fulfil in the service of the provincial governor. They are, in this case, detached in civil environment, rural or seldom urban, where they assume great responsibilities in security administration in their *regio*. The title itself implied greater responsibilities than those of a regularly serving centurion, otherwise not being necessary¹⁵⁷. All that true, we cannot argue that they were part of a regular omnipresent system, with well-defined police stations or clearly limited competences, not that they are acting as vexillation commanders, as that would be a completely different appointment.

To sum up, this practice in Roman military police and administration seems to be in use as early as Trajan and as late as the second half of the 3rd century AD¹⁵⁸. Legionary centurions were one of the best tools at the disposal of the governors, their versatility and implicit authority in both military and civilian environments insuring them the special position in the gubernatorial staff. The variety of their task reveals exactly this, that they were pretty much used whenever, wherever and however was needed. The single common point that we can establish in their functionality and their practice is that they were always acting on behalf of the governor that dispatched them¹⁵⁹. The spatial and temporal distribution would not point to anything else but official, central interest of the governor (or of the Emperor, through the governor) in an area, community or resource. Whether this interest occurred intentionally or was provoked by the lack of Roman authority in an area are merely matters of coincidence, but at the same time it is the proof that the Romans preferred to administrate as simple as possible but to enforce their power everywhere¹⁶⁰. The centurions could act just as well as police officers, community leaders or administrators, tax collectors or levy officers. From all these missions, one seemed especially attractive to the Roman military, that of administrating public order and justice, as it is revealed by this centurion's versified inscription¹⁶¹: *[O]ptavi Dacos tenere caesos tenui / [opt]avi in sella*

¹⁵⁵ Modestinus, in *Dig.* 47.2.73: *Sempronia libellos composuit quasi datura centurioni, ut ad officium transmitterentur, sed non dedit: Lucius pro tribunali eos recitavit quasi officio traditos: non sunt inventi in officio neque centurioni traditi ...*

¹⁵⁶ Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 6.41.21 and *Dig.* 5.1.61.1.

¹⁵⁷ Fuhrmann 2012, 222, 225. They can also handle the recruitment of *burgarii* for the interior watch-towers (CIL III 13795 = ILS 8909 = IDR II 587, Rakovitz, Upper Moesia).

¹⁵⁸ Faure 2013, 131, denying that this is a Severan practice.

¹⁵⁹ In this sense, the centurion requested by Plinius would have reported to him, once dispatched from the army of Moesia, in the same way, the centurion *regionarius* of Domnești, Dacia, even if from *X Freten-sis*, would report to the Dacian governor.

¹⁶⁰ Peachin 2007, 97.

¹⁶¹ AE 1928, 37 = IDRE II 456, Aquae Flavianae, Numidia.

pacis residere sedi / [o]ptavi claros sequi triumphos factum / optavi primi commoda plena pili hab[ui] / optavi nudas videre Nymphas vidi. He considers the seat of judge (*sella pacis sedere*)¹⁶² one of his greatest achievements, worth to be mentioned along with the primipilate and war triumph.

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¹⁶² Equated with the position of *centurio regionarius* by Speidel 2010, 182–184.

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Annex

No	Name	Legion	Title/position	Province	Place	Date	Source
1	Artemidorus	<i>I Italica</i>	<i>r(egionarius)</i>	Moesia Inf.	Gromšin-Montana	160	CIL III 12371 = AE 1891, 80
2	L. Messius Primus	<i>I Italica</i>	<i>r(egionarius)</i>	Moesia Inf.	Almus	157	CIL III 6125 = 7420
3	Saturninus		<i>regionarius</i>	Moesia Inf.	Montana		CIL III 12380
4	C. Iulius Saturninus		<i>regionarius</i>	Moesia Inf.	Montana		AE 1985, 738
6	Collective		<i>regionarii Montanenses</i>	Moesia Inf.	Gromšin-Montana	161-169	CIL III 12385 = AE 1895, 61
7	Aurelius Titus	<i>I Italica</i>	<i>veixillarius agens reg(ione)</i>	Moesia Inf.	Montana		AE 1957, 341
8	C. Valerius Valens	<i>XI Claudia</i>	<i>optio agens re(gione)</i>	Moesia Inf.	Almus		AE 1969-1970, 577
9	Annaeus Pulcher	<i>V Macedonica</i>	<i>re(gionarius)</i>	Moesia Inf.	Horia - RO	before 168	AE 1980, 828
10	<i>Collective</i>		<i>regionarii V</i>	Moesia Inf.	Histria		ISM I 67
11	Iulius	<i>XI Claudia</i>	<i>re(gionarius)</i>	Moesia Inf.	Bali/Kosov		AE 1974, 574
12	D. Mussidius Proculus	<i>V Macedonica</i>	<i>r(egionarius)</i>	Moesia Inf.	Sirakovo		AE 1895, 100
13	C. Severius Emeritus	<i>II Augusta?</i>	<i>reg(ionarius)</i>	Britannia	Aquae Sulis		CIL VII 45 = RIB 152
14	Aelius Antoninus	<i>VI Victrix</i>	<i>praep(ositus) reg[ionis]</i>	Britannia	Bremetennacum	241	CIL VII 218 = RIB 583
15	T. Floridius Natalis	<i>VI Victrix?</i>	<i>praep(ositus) reg[ionis]</i>	Britannia	Bremetennacum	222-235	CIL III 222 = RIB 587
16	Ammius Equester		<i>regionarius</i>	Britannia	Vindolanda	Trajan	<i>TVind</i> II 250+add.
17	Valerius Maximus		<i>reg(ionarius)</i>	Britannia	Vindolanda	Trajan	<i>TVind</i> III 653
18	C. Iulius Rullius	<i>III Augusta?</i>	<i>reg(ionarius)</i>	Numidia	Lambaesis		CIL VIII 3029
19	...		<i>regionarius</i>	Lugdunensis	Agedincum		CIL XIII 2958
20	Ingenuus	<i>III Italica</i>	<i>regionarius</i>	Noricum	Lauriacum		AE 1953, 129
21	Aelius Paternianus	<i>I Adiutrix?</i>	<i>coreg(ionarius)</i>	Pannonia Sup.	Brigetio		AE 2008, 1086
22	M. Aelius Honoratus	<i>I Adiutrix</i>	<i>reg(ionarius)</i>	Pannonia Sup.	Brigetio	210	AE 1950, 105 = RIU 663
23	M. Aurelius Moenus	<i>V Macedonica</i>	<i>bf cos agens regione</i>	Dacia	Samum	238	CIL III 822

No	Name	Legion	Title/position	Province	Place	Date	Source
24	M. Valerius Valentinus	<i>XIII Gemina</i>	<i>bf cos agens regione</i>	Dacia	Samum	238	CIL III 827 = 7633
25	P. Aelius Marcellinus	<i>V Macedonica</i>	<i>bf cos agens regione</i>	Dacia	Samum	238	AE 1957, 326 = ILD 765
26	P. Gaius Valerianus	<i>X Fretensis</i>	<i>reg(ionarius)</i>	Dacia	Domnești	3 rd c.	CIL III 7625
27	C. Titius Ianuarius	<i>IIII Flavia</i>	<i>r(egionarius)</i>	Dacia	Drobeta	2 nd c.	AE 1959, 314 = IDR II 35
28	Aurelius Dionysios		ἐκατόνταρχος πρεσβυτέρως	Pisidia	Antiocheia	after 212	IGRR III 301
29	...		βενεφικαρίος ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων	Egypt	Tehtynis	3 rd c.	<i>P.Mil.Vogl.</i> IV 234
30	...		ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων ἑκατοντάρχῃ	Egypt	Tehtynis	3 rd c.	<i>P.Mil.Vogl.</i> IV 233
31	Valerius Maximus		ἐκατόνταρχος ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων	Egypt	Soknopaïou Nesos	167	<i>BGU</i> II 522
32	...		βενεφικαρίος ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων	Egypt	Soknopaïou Nesos	139	<i>P.Amh.</i> II 77
33	Heron		βενεφικαρίος ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων	Egypt	Soknopaïou Nesos	167	<i>Stud.Pal.Pap.</i> XXII 55
34	...		βενεφικαρίος ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων	Egypt	Soknopaïou Nesos	185	<i>P.Lond.</i> II 342
35	Klotios (Claudius)		ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων ἑκατοντάρχῃ	Egypt	Philadelphia	50	<i>P.Mich</i> 10.582
36	...		Ἀρσινοεῖτῃ ἑκατοντάρχῃ	Egypt	Karanis	198	<i>P.Mich</i> 6.425
37	...		ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων ἑκατοντάρχῳ	Egypt	Theadelphia	193	<i>SB</i> 4.7469
38	...		ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων βενεφικαρίῳ	Egypt	Narmuthis	155	<i>P.Sipp.</i> 16
39	Aurelius Dioskoros		βενεφικαρίῳ ἐν τῷ Ὁξύρυνχῃ	Egypt	Oxyrhynchos	291	<i>P.Mich.inv.</i> 1960
40	Aurelius Gordianus		βενεφικαρίῳ στατίζοντι ἐν Ἀρσινοεῖτῃ	Egypt	Karanis	296	<i>P.Cair.isid.</i> 139
	Aurelius Gordianus		βενεφικαρίῳ στατίζοντῳ	Egypt	Karanis	296	<i>P.Cair.isid.</i> 63
41	...		στατίζόντος βενεφικαρίου	Egypt	Oxyrhynchos	301	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 46 3304
42	...		βενεφικαρίος κατὰ τόπος	Arabia	Bostra	260	<i>P.Bostra</i> 1
43	Iulius Marinus		ἐκατόνταρχος ἐπὶ τῆς ἐβραζίας	Syria	Sphoracene	243	<i>P.Euphr.</i> 5
44	...		κατὰ τόπους ἑκατοντάρχῳ	Syria	Birtha Okbanon	244-250	<i>P.Euphr.</i> 2

ROMAN SWORDS FROM MICIA

LIVIU PETCULESCU, MARIUS BARBU

Abstract: As the archaeological excavations at Micia haven't produced any Roman sword so far, the casual finding of two blade fragments and of one handguard plate is of some interest for the reconstruction of the equipment of the military units quartered in this large auxiliary fort. The narrow sword blade fragments dating from c. AD 170 to 270 were probably deposited in the last years of the fort c. 250/260. Having a close parallel at Hoghiz auxiliary fort, they seem to have belonged to cavalry equipment. The copper alloy handguard plate is of a type met between c. AD 180 and 260/280 on a very large area of the Roman Empire. With five examples known so far, the handle assemblages of wood including guards provided with copper alloy plates look like the most fashionable type of *spatha*-grip in Dacia after the Marcomannic Wars and until the abandonment of the province. Yet, in this period of time in Dacia, as in all the Roman Empire, bone and iron sword-grip assemblages were also used.

Keywords: swords; handguard plate; Micia; Roman Dacia; 2nd-3rd centuries AD.

Rezumat: Întrucât săpăturile arheologice de la Micia nu au dus până în prezent la găsirea nici unei săbii romane, descoperirea întâmplătoare a două fragmente de lame și a unei plăci de gardă prezintă o oarecare importanță în reconstituirea echipamentului unităților militare încartiruite în acest mare castru auxiliar. Fragmentele de lamă de sabie înguste, datând din aproximativ 170 p. Chr. până către 270, au fost probabil abandonate în ultima perioadă de folosire a castrului, adică aproximativ în anii 250/260 p. Chr. Având o analogie apropiată în castrul auxiliar de la Hoghiz, săbiile de la Micia par a fi făcut parte din armamentul cavaleriei auxiliare. Placa de gardă din aliaj de cupru aparține unui tip răspândit între anii 180 și 260/280 p. Chr. pe o mare parte a Imperiului Roman. Cu 5 exemplare cunoscute până acum, mânerele de lemn incluzând gărzi prevăzute cu plăci din aliaj de cupru, par a fi reprezentat în Dacia cel mai popular tip de mâner de *spatha* folosit după războaiele marcomanice și până la abandonarea provinciei. Totuși în această perioadă, în Dacia, ca și în întregul imperiu, au fost utilizate deasemenea și mânerele de os și cele de fier.

Cuvinte cheie: săbii; placă de gardă de sabie; Micia; Dacia romană; secolele II-III p. Chr.

The archaeological excavations in the fort and civilian settlement at Micia (Vețel, Hunedoara county) have not produced any Roman sword so far. Thus the casual finding of three fragments of swords is of some interest for the reconstruction of the equipment of the military units accommodated in this large auxiliary fort.

The sword no. 1 has a tang of rectangular section with its lower end gently curved toward the blade. The virtually parallel-edged blade of lenticular section splayed slightly towards the flared level shoulders. One cannot estimate the length of the missing lower part of the blade and consequently nor of the entire weapon. As the fragment

* We are grateful to Georgiana Ducman (București) for drawing the items, to Cristina Mitar (Deva) for the information on the item from Cigmău, and for computerizing the illustration of the paper.

left weigh almost half of a kg. it means that it belonged to a narrow but heavy weapon which seems to have been a long sword of Straubing-Nydam type¹.

The piece was discovered on the surface of the soil meaning that it was used during the last building period of the fort dated c. AD 170–270. Besides, considering that such a big item could hardly have been lost unnoticed or stored as scrap metal for recycling a very long time, one can assume that it was probably deposited in the last years of the fort c. AD 250/260².

From the sword no. 2, it was preserved only the lower part of a narrow flat blade of parallel-edged or slightly tapering shape ending in an elongated ogival point. The surviving small fragment of the sword does not permit typological considerations.

It was also found on the surface of the soil what means that it has the same dating as no. 1. The find spots of both fragments of swords are near *via sagularis*, in the part of the fort occupied by the barracks (Pl. I).

No. 3 is an oval handguard plate with an upward rim provided with pierced decoration on the outer face which is largely destroyed. Toward the sides of the outer face of the rim are placed three small circular nail holes which were used for the fixing of the plate to the lower part of the wooden handguard. On the lower external face of the plate there are two grooves going off the rectangular tang aperture to tightly fit the shoulders of the blade.

No. 3 comes from the strip of land making the north-eastern limit of the civilian settlement but the circumstances of its recovery preclude any statement on its precise find spot and dating (Pl. I).

Remarkably similar handguard plates were discovered on a very large area, from Mauretania Tingitana (Thamusida, Banasa, Volubilis) to Britannia (Cramond fort, Colchester, Canterbury), Upper German-Raetian limes (Saalburg fort and Zugmantel fort or *vicus*), Gallia Lugdunensis (Lugdunum), Dacia and Syria (Dura Europos)³. Out of all the published examples, those from Thamusida, Cramond, Dura Europos and Lugdunum can be dated more precisely within the 2nd–3rd centuries AD. So, as the fort at Thamusida was used between c. 166–280, it is probable that both plates found in the civilian settlement had the same chronology with the military presence on this site⁴. The fragmentary lead plate from the *frigidarium* of the bath-house near Cramond fort dates from AD 142/155 until 211, the duration of the Roman fortification itself⁵. As it is very probable a test-casting means that at Cramond there was a workshop producing such sword fittings. In Dura Europos four pieces were discovered, among which two near the defensive wall⁶. They were probably deposited during the last years preceding the destroying of the town in AD 255/256, but anyway from AD 163/165 to 255/256, the period of time when Dura was annexed and held by the Romans as an important military base⁷. At Lugdunum (Lyon) it was found a military

¹ Ulbert 1974, the typology of the Roman long swords.

² Petculescu 1981, 110–113.

³ Miks 2007, 164–165, Pl. 169, with bibliography.

⁴ Boube-Piccot 1994, 143–144, nos. 237–238; Lenoir 2011, 269–270, the chronology of the fort.

⁵ Holmes 2003, 106, no. 20, the piece; 153–156, the chronology of the fort.

⁶ James 2004, 149, nos. 524–527.

⁷ James 2004, 11, the chronology of the Roman town.

burial including a *spatha* with the handguard plate and its scabbard, the fittings of the baldric and “felix utere” belt mounts, a brooch and 13 coins⁸. As among the coins the latest was a denarius struck by Septimius Severus in 194 probably at Antiochia it was concluded that the dead was a soldier from the Severan army killed in the battle at Lugdunum in 197. Thus it results that this type of handguard plate was certainly used from c. AD 180 until c. 260/280.

In Dacia we know four close parallels of the item from Micia originating in the legionary fortress from Potaissa, Slăveni and Cigmău auxiliary forts and Porolissum or Tihău forts or civil settlements⁹. As at Potaissa the *legio V Macedonica* was quartered, at Slăveni *ala I Hispanorum* and at Cigmău *pedites singulares Britannici*, it is obvious that this type of sword fitting was part of the equipment of all kind of Roman military units¹⁰. Among the Dacian items, the one from Potaissa has a shorter dating, c. AD 170–270, the life span of the fortress, which corresponds to the general chronology of this type of fitting¹¹.

Both blade fragments from Micia are narrow, between 40–45 mm, and have parallel or almost parallel edges. These features are also met at the *spatha* from the auxiliary fort of Hoghiz (Braşov county)¹². As this fort was quartered by *ala I Asturum* and *cohors III Gallorum*, one cannot specify if it was part of the cavalry or infantry weaponry¹³. However the little width of Hoghiz and both Micia swords seem to point to their inclusion in the cavalry equipment. If this was the case, no. 1 and no. 2 belonged to two cavalrymen from one of the military units garrisoning Micia in the last building period of the fort: *cohors II Flavia Commagenorum equitata sagittariorum*, *ala I Hispanorum Campagorum*, or *Mauri Micienses = numerus Maurorum Miciensium*¹⁴.

With five examples discovered so far, the handle assemblages of wood including guards provided with copper alloy plates looks like the most fashionable type of *spatha*-grip in Dacia between c. AD 170/180 and 270. Yet in this period of time in the province were also used bone and iron sword-grip assemblages. So, besides the 3rd century AD the short sword with bone pommel and handguard from Tibiscum¹⁵ there are two fragments of so-called ring-pommel swords with the guard, tang, and ring-pommel made up of iron¹⁶. In addition to the real weapons, at Micia one knows a sculptural representation of a ring-pommel sword on a funerary pilaster of a cavalryman¹⁷.

⁸ Wuilleumier 1950; Feugere 1993, 149; Drost, Planet 2014, 186–190.

⁹ Potaissa: unpublished, on display in Turda Museum; Slăveni: Tudor, Popilian, Bondoc, Gudea 2011, 211, no. 423, Pl. 79/423, with wrong identification of its function, metal, and drawing made after it had lost part of the outer face of the rim; Porolissum or Tihău: Gudea 1989, 587, Pl. 179/12, piece originating in Wessélenyi – Teleky Collection made of objects originating in Porolissum or Tihău; Miks 2007, 845, B 190/1, Pl. 169/B 190/1, with wrong findspot; Cigmău: unpublished, pers. inf. C. Mitar.

¹⁰ Potaissa: Gudea 1997, 109–111, no. 104; Slăveni: Gudea 1997, 83–85, no. 69; Cigmău: Gudea 1997, 103, no. 99.

¹¹ Bărbulescu 1987, 24, 32.

¹² RR, 111, c. 40 (L. Marinescu).

¹³ Gudea 1997, 66, no. 43.

¹⁴ Petolescu 1977, 369–371.

¹⁵ Bona, Petrovsky, Petrovsky 1983, 413, no. 21, Pl. 12/1 a-e.

¹⁶ Porolissum: Gudea 1989, 578, no. 7/6, Pl. 170/6, spike (!); Gudea 1996, 246, no. 9, Pl. 65/9, nail (!).

¹⁷ The monument was cursorily published by Diaconescu 2005, Pl. 63/3 and Ciongradi 2007, 213, Pf/M3, Pl. 69/3 a-b; L. Petculescu, *A funerary monument of a soldier from Micia and the representation of*

In conclusion, the evidence for the contemporary use of a variety of swords in Dacia after the Marcomannic Wars was significantly increased by the real items and the sculptural representation from Micia.

CATALOGUE

The catalogue numbers correspond to the illustrations of the pieces. All the measurements are made in mm and grams respectively. Abbreviations: L. = length; W. = width; H. = height; T. = thickness; Wt. = weight.

1. Sword. Chance find made in 2014 by M. Barbu and A. Bălos in the southern part of the auxiliary fort. Iron. Incomplete, only the lower part of the tang and the upper part of the blade survive. The blade is bent. L. (total): 360; Wt. 470; Blade: L.: 340; W. under the shoulders: 47.5; W. at the lower end: 44; T.: 6.5; Tang: L.: 20; T.: 6. MCDR, Inv. no. 52787.
2. Sword. Chance find made in 2014 by M. Barbu and A. Bălos in the northern part of the auxiliary fort. Iron. Incomplete, only a small fragment of the lower part of the blade including the point survive. L.: 158; W.: 40; Tof the tip: 3; Wt. 105. MCDR, Inv. no. 52788.
3. Handguard plate. Chance find made in 2007 by M. Barbu in the earth excavated from the water discharge channel of the thermoelectric plant. Copper alloy. Complete with the exception of the decorated part of the front side of the piece which is missing. L.: 78; W.: 31; H.: 9; T.: 2; Wt.: 32.6. MNIR, without Inv. no.

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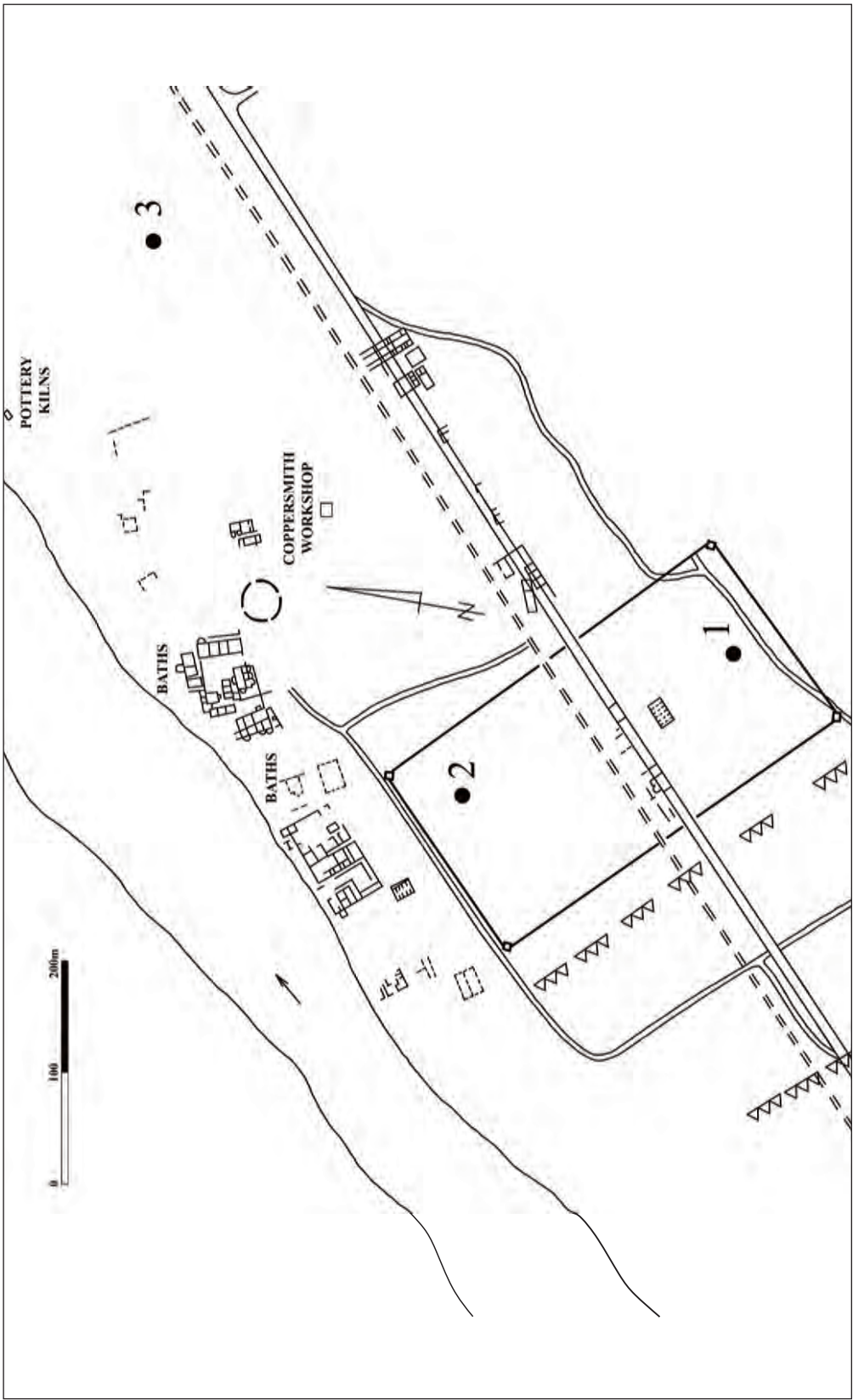
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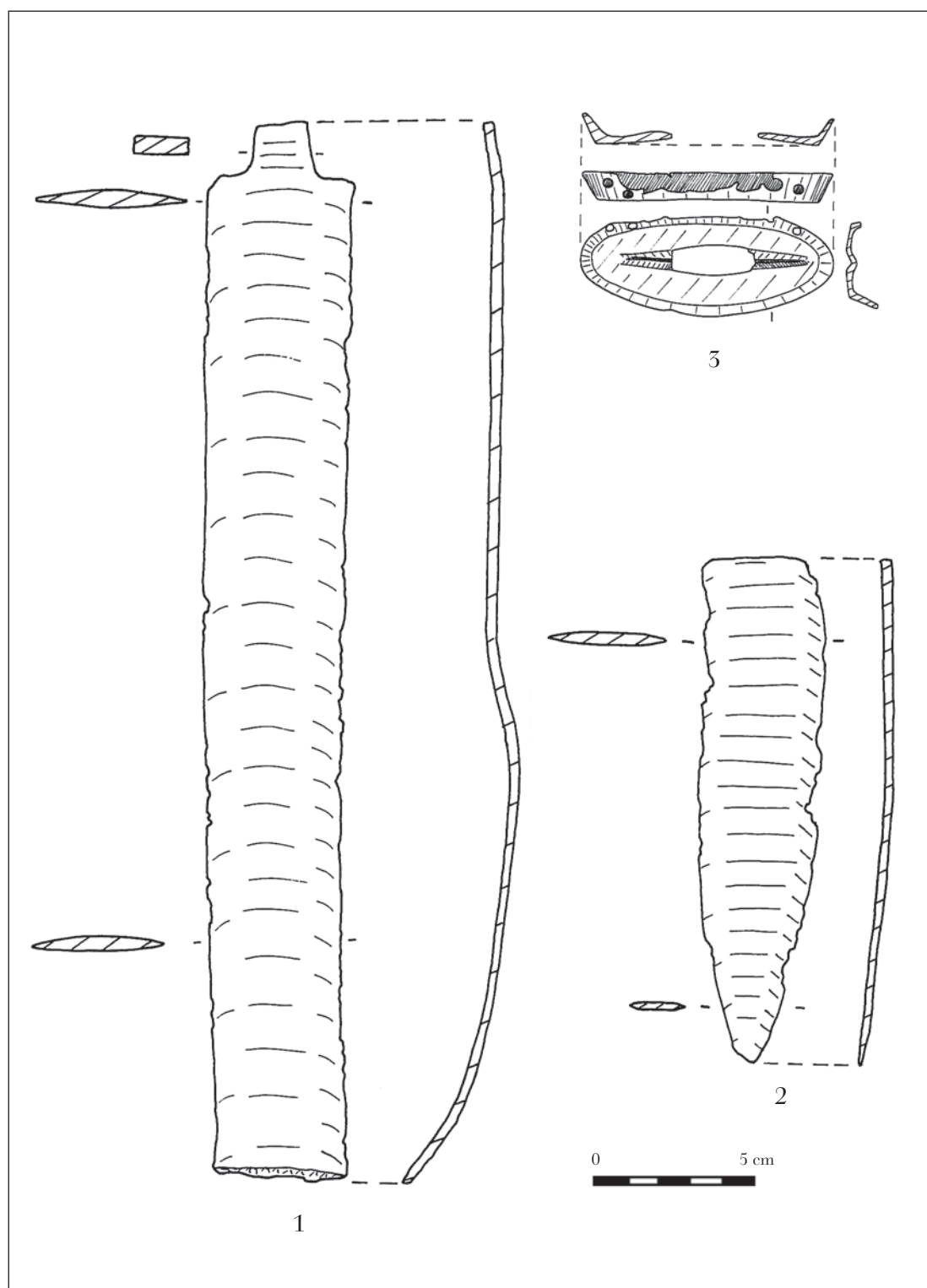
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Pl. I. Micia. Fort and civilian settlement (after the original plan by A. Sion). Location of the swords.



Pl. II. 1-2. Sword blades (iron); 3. Handguard plate (copper alloy).

PONTIC SIGILLATA AT POTAISSA. NEW DATA REGARDING THE IMPORT OF FINE WARE IN ROMAN DACIA AT *CASTRUM LEGIONIS V MACEDONICAE*

LUCIANA NEDELEA

Abstract: The lack of imported *terra sigillata* and even local *terra sigillata* at Potaissa has been discussed in several articles in the past. The main fine ware groups identified so far for this legionary fortress were: imported *terra sigillata* with relief motifs, local stamped pottery and local *terra sigillata* with relief motifs, all in small quantities. The absence of large quantities of fine ware at a legionary fortress seemed bizarre. After analyzing all the pottery from the Roman fort, this issue seems to be solved, and we are now able to talk about the presence of more groups and classes of fine pottery at Potaissa: imported plain sigillata, local plain sigillata and Pontic sigillata. The number of imported *terra sigillata* products raised considerably, with the preponderance of plain sigillata taking completely over all other fine ware imports or locally produced ware, and for the first time one can observe Pontic sigillata on this site pertaining to the Pontic sigillata C group. Also, based on new data related to fine ware, especially Pontic sigillata discovered at Troesmis, this article will try to make a connection between the former basecamp of *Legio V Macedonica*, and the new basecamp at Potaissa, but also a connection between the province of Roman Dacia and fine ware/Pontic sigillata production in the province of Moesia Inferior.

Keywords: *terra sigillata*; plain sigillata; Pontic sigillata; Roman Dacia; Moesia Inferior.

Rezumat: La Potaissa, lipsa produselor fine de import sau chiar și a celor locale din categoria *terra sigillata* a fost discutată în repetate articole pe parcursul ultimelor decenii. Până în prezent fuseseră identificate doar următoarele grupe de ceramică fină pentru acest sit: *terra sigillata* cu decor în relief (import și locală) și ceramică ștampilată. Absența produselor ceramice fine sau de lux dintr-un castru de legiune părea foarte surprinzătoare. După prelucrarea întregului lot ceramic provenit din castrul roman, această problemă pare să fie rezolvată, putând acum să vorbim despre prezența mai multor grupe și clase din categoria ceramicii fine la Potaissa: *terra sigillata* lisă (import și locală) și sigillate pontice. Numărul produselor provenite din import crește considerabil și observăm cum sigillatele lise sunt cele mai numeroase, umbrind astfel toate celelalte categorii. Totodată putem vorbi acum pentru prima dată despre prezența sigillatelor pontice la Potaissa, aparținând grupei sigillatelor pontice C. Pe baza recentelor descoperiri (sigillatele pontice) și cercetări de la Troesmis, acest articol va încerca să creeze o conexiune între fosta garnizoană a Legiunii V Macedonica și noua garnizoană de la Potaissa, dar totodată și o conexiune între provincia Dacia și producția ceramicii fine/sigillatele pontice în provincia Moesia Inferior.

Cuvinte cheie: *terra sigillata*; sigillate lise; sigillate pontice; Dacia romană; Moesia Inferior.

As we well know today, Potaissa was undoubtedly one of the biggest cities of Roman Dacia, flourishing and reaching new heights in all departments after the year 168 AD, when *Legio V Macedonica* arrived here after the Parthian war of Lucius

Verus¹, and leaving behind the fortress at Troesmis². The fingerprints of the Roman Empire remained visible for many centuries after its retreat from Dacia and subsequently Potaissa, when the legion went back to the fortress at Oescus³.

The ruins of the legionary fortress were still imposing their beauty on any visitor and scholar, even as far as 19th century Turda, when many of them felt compelled to take notes and to write down observations about the large quantities of artifacts that were found in the area⁴.

When we talk about the material finds at any basecamp that once belonged to a legion, we would expect to find extraordinary amounts of goods, displaying the greatest quality, and of course imported fine ware being amongst these goods. However, for the longest time, Potaissa seemed to have a very big problem when it came to pottery: the lack of imported *terra sigillata* and even local *terra sigillata*.

From 19th and 20th century collections and throughout systematic campaigns over the last decades, only 14 imported *terra sigillata* fragments were uncovered on this site (one Drag. 45 *mortarium* fragment found in the foundations of one of the workshops⁵, 4 fragments from the Téglás collection⁶, 4 fragments from the Roman settlement attributed to the workshops of Lezoux and Westerndorf, and another 5 fragments from the Roman fort - barracks and baths - belonging to the workshops of Rheinzabern⁷). The situation regarding local *terra sigillata* was not any better, with a total of 5 fragments⁸.

¹ Zuckermann 1988, 279-287; Piso 2000, 205-225; Strobel 2000, 515-528; Fodorean 2014, 41-42; Eck 2016, 34-47.

² Doruțiu-Boilă 1972, 136; Bărbulescu 1987; Suceveanu, Barnea 1991, 50-60; Bărbulescu 1994; Bărbulescu 1997; Baumann 2011, 204; Alexandrescu 2016; Bărbulescu 2015.

³ CIL III 7449; Syme 1933, 20-31; Stein 1940; Mócsy 1974; Gerov 1980; ILBulg; Ivanov 1999, 319; Matei-Popescu 2006, 379-400; Boyanov 2008, 69-76.

⁴ Ackner 1856, 94; Finály 1874; Orbán 1889: in his description of Turda, he mentioned Potaissa as “a big military center and one of the most important strategic locations for Rome”. He also seems to take note on the large quantities of pottery that used to come to surface in that time as a result of agricultural activities, and that piles of pottery were used to delimitate properties in the area; Orosz 1915; Petranu 1922, 158-159; Macrea 1944-1948; Țigară 1960; Mitrofan 1964; Bajusz 1980; Bărbulescu 2003, 381-386; Bajusz 2005; Groza 2013 - for the history of all collections of Kemény József (1795-1855), Botár Imre (1846-1906) and Téglás István (1853-1915) that created the foundations for what we know now as The History Museum Turda.

⁵ Pîslaru 2014, 95-107.

⁶ Inv. nos. 115, 291, 304 and 710.

⁷ Căținaș 2004, 83-97 - Roman settlement: Drag. 37/PATERNVS/DOECCVS from Lezoux, Drag. 30/PATERNVS (145-190 AD) also published in Căținaș 1980, 84, Fig. 4/1, Fig. 30/11/25, Drag. 30/PATERNVS (145-190 AD), Drag. 37/COMITIALIS/HELENIVS from Westerndorf/Pfaffenhofen (190-233 AD); Roman fort: barracks/*cohors quingenaria* - Drag. 37/IANVARIVS I from Rheinzabern (150-190 AD), barracks/*cohors milliaria* - Drag. 37/LAXTVICISA from Rheinzabern (150-180 AD) and also published in Bărbulescu 1994, Drag. 37/BELSVS I (first half of the 3rd century AD), Roman baths - Drag. 37/CERIALIS I, Drag. 37/LVPVS from Rheinzabern (3rd century AD).

⁸ Căținaș 1980, 85 - 5 fragments were published in total, 3 of them were considered imitations of products from the workshops at Lezoux and Rheinzabern, and 2 fragments of local Drag. 39; Bărbulescu 1994, 111: “Products decorated with relief motifs are represented by modest imitations of imported ware (*terra sigillata*). Sometimes the relief motifs appear only on the handles of the products, imitations of Drag. 39 (Fig. 21/8), and other times they cover the entire surface of the vessel (Fig. 37/2). The characteristics of the fabric, but especially the lack of the glossy/metallic shine when it comes to their glaze, can easily betray their origins”.

With almost 100 years-worth of collected material, this issue did not seem to be related to existing but yet unpublished material, as everything that stood out during archaeological campaigns or was in any way interesting and helped to pinpoint certain chronological aspects in connection with the Roman fort and the Roman settlement, was always promptly published⁹.

The lack of imported fine ware at a legionary fortress had to be explained somehow, and the most frequent interpretations were related to the decline of some of the workshops that used to provide Dacia with fine ware until the middle of the 2nd century, keeping in mind that Potaissa only really takes off after the year 170 AD¹⁰. The second explanation is related to the local stamped pottery finds on this site, their production at Potaissa in local workshops supposedly replacing imported fine ware¹¹.

However, neither of the explanations seemed to be satisfactory, bearing in mind that the quantities of stamped pottery are also very small, with a total of 108 products from both the Roman fort (49) and the Roman settlement (59)¹².

Interestingly enough, we are able to observe how the main focus on this site was always directed towards classes of fine ware that are quite easy to identify: *terra sigillata* with relief motifs (imported or local) and stamped pottery, most of the articles focusing on the later subject.

After analyzing all the pottery from the Roman fort and its close vicinity (approximately 10.000 products), new groups of pottery and classes of *terra sigillata* were identified¹³.

The presence of plain *terra sigillata*¹⁴ and Pontic sigillata¹⁵ at Potaissa was never brought into discussion or identified until now, as if it did not exist at all, and a

⁹ Cătinaş 1978, 195–200; Cătinaş 1980 – 86 potterywares were published, alongside other materials from Potaissa, only 30 of them belonging to the Roman fort. There are several identification errors, where plain local *terra sigillata* such as Drag. 33 cups and Drag. 44 bowls were published as common pottery, due to the fact that not much of the coating was preserved on the surface; Cătinaş 1982, 41–52 – another 59 potterywares were published, 19 from the Roman fort (2 from *porta decumana*, 7 from *principia* and 11 from the barracks) and 40 from the Roman settlement; Cătinaş 1984, 481–503 – the catalogue of the previously published pottery; Cătinaş 1997, 21–30 – another 39 vessels, this time 29 from the Roman fort and 10 from the Roman settlement; Cătinaş 2004, 83–97 – all the imported *terra sigillata* fragments found at Potaissa were published in this article.

¹⁰ Bărbulescu 1994, 126 – “...the center of Banasac, from south Gaul, activated only until the middle of the 2nd century; from central Gaul, especially from Lezoux, the products enter the province only until the middle of the 2nd century. For the first half of the 3rd century, for Potaissa, we would expect to find more products from Rheinzabern and Westerndorf, as the activity of Lexoux stops when Potaissa becomes a city.”; Pîslaru 2014, 95–107.

¹¹ Cătinaş 1997, 25 – “... la poterie estampillée – destinée à remplacer les importations de *terra sigillata*, mais aussi de satisfaire aux besoins d’une population riche dont les goûts pour le beau et non seulement pour l’utile vont développer à côté du développement économique de la région”.

¹² Cătinaş 1982, 41–52 and Cătinaş 1984, 481–503, with 47 oxidation firing products and 12 reduction firing products (4 from the Roman fort and 8 from the Roman settlement); Cătinaş 1997, 21–30, with 27 oxidation firing products and 12 reduction firing products (all 12 from the Roman fort).

¹³ The material and all related information are currently being edited for my PhD thesis “Roman Pottery from the legionary fortress at Potaissa”. I would like to thank Professor Mihai Bărbulescu for giving me the unique chance of working with all the material from this legionary fortress, and also The History Museum Turda for all their help and support.

¹⁴ Oswald, Pryce 1920 (1966), 23; Picon 1973; Bolindeţ 2007, 195; Țundrea 2010, 157–163.

¹⁵ Bucovaia 1968; Bounegru 1988–1989, 99–103; Zhuravlev 1998, 31–51; Domżański 1998, 17–30;

connection to the former fortress at Troesmis, the pottery that was discovered there and the production of pottery in Moesia Inferior¹⁶ was also never taken into account.

As a result, to the 14 known imported *terra sigillata* fragments with relief motifs, we are now able to add another 110 imported plain *terra sigillata* fragments from the workshops of Rheinzabern, 12 imported Pontic sigillata products¹⁷ (all plain forms) and over 1400 local plain *terra sigillata* products with strong Pontic characteristics. Therefore, the number of imported *terra sigillata* at Potaissa raised from 14 to 136 products. From these quantities we can easily notice the preponderance of plain *terra sigillata*, be it of imported or local provenience. It is odd that such large quantities of products were simply ignored. In this article, due to its importance, we will focus only on the imported Pontic sigillata vessels, as the rest will be discussed with different occasions.

Pontic sigillata was for the first time separated from the rest of the material and pointed out by J. W. Hayes in *Sigillate orientali*¹⁸. He was able to identify 13 main forms dated between the 1st and the 3rd centuries AD. This class was later divided by Denis Zhuravlev into three main groups¹⁹, with 50 forms: Pontic sigillata A (1st century to the middle of the 2nd century), Pontic sigillata B (middle of the 2nd century), Pontic sigillata C (2nd and 3rd centuries)²⁰. The workshops where these products were manufactured are thus far unknown, although Zhuravlev was able to point out that they came from different production centers, and that some forms have similarities to the vessels discovered at Butovo and Hotnica²¹. The characteristics of these forms are: the main chronological segment when they were manufactured is the first half of the 1st century AD, towards the second half of the 3rd century AD; mainly open forms like dishes, bowls, *kantharoi*, *skyphoi*, cups have been produced; one of the main characteristics of Pontic sigillata is that almost all the time, the body of the vessels were not fully coated, and the slip was mostly applied on the upper part of the body²².

One of the main reasons for not being able to identify this class at Potaissa so far is the fact that both Pontic sigillata products and what later became to be local plain *terra sigillata* here (thus continuing the Pontic pottery tradition) possess certain characteristics which are sometimes hard to identify, and for an untrained eye they can be easily classified as provincial/common pottery. Most of these products are plain forms (no decoration at all, not even the barbotine technique) manufactured out of fine and

Zhuravlev 2000, 151-160; Domzalski 2001, 112-115; Zhuravlev 2001, 187-278; Zhuravlev 2002, 237-309; Zhuravlev 2008, 85-121; Zhuravlev 2009, 25-94; Nuțu, Costea 2010; Zhuravlev 2013, 676-685.

¹⁶ Opař 1977, 328-366; Soultov 1976; Soultov 1985; Sarnowski 1987, 121-122; Dyczek 1997, 46; Poulter 1999, 76; Dimitrova-Milceva 2000, 9-11; Lund 2007, 187; Dyczek 2016, 239-257.

¹⁷ These are the only fragments we can with certainty assign to Pontic workshops. The advanced state of fragmentation usually makes the identification process very difficult.

¹⁸ EAA, II, 1985, s.v. *Sigillate orientali*, 1-96 (Hayes).

¹⁹ Zhuravlev 2000a.

²⁰ Zhuravlev 2002, 256-261; Zhuravlev 2009, 26.

²¹ Zhuravlev 2000b, 152-155; Soultov 1976 - 52 ovens associated with 3 workshops near Nicopolis ad Istrum (Butovo, Pavlikeni and Hotnitsa) that activated between the first decades of the 2nd century AD to the 4th century AD. One of the main characteristics of the products found here is the fact that decorative elements on the surface of the vessels are very rare.

²² Zhuravlev 2009, 27.

very good quality fabric that very often displays the following inclusions: limestone particles (1-10%), micas, quartz grains, ceramoclasts, small white stones (1 to 5 mm), very fine sand and small wood or reed fragments (that disappear once the pot is fired). The factors that complicated the identification of Pontic sigillata and local fine ware of Pontic tradition at Potaissa, is the aspect and quality of the fabric and coating. In some cases, the fabric of the products is very compact, with a smooth surface, other times the walls exfoliated over the centuries due to natural agents. The coating that was applied on the surface of the products can vary from good to bad quality, from a glossy/metallic shine to matte and very thin layers that were carelessly applied. The coating in some situations is also dripping from the middle section towards the base of the vessel. Sometimes, due to the very poor adherence on the surface of the product, only very small traces of coating are left in time, or it peeled off completely from the walls, leaving us with a bare form/only the fabric. This is where one most oftenly has to rely on typology and also the fabric quality, elements which indicate that the products belong to the fine ware category. In almost all cases coating is only applied on the upper part of the vessel, or it is observed on only one of the surfaces, while the other is only half covered. Very often the bottom/foot of the product is left intentionally without coating, most likely to cut out costs of production. One can notice the exact same practice with local plain sigillata.

The identification of the Pontic products is also being worsened by the advanced state of fragmentation, and unfortunately in many cases only the rims and bases of the products were kept during archaeological campaigns, while the body sherds were thrown away. For example, bearing in mind the characteristics of Pontic sigillata, if we have a small fragment belonging to the upper part of a product, and this is covered completely by coating we cannot know or guess what happened on the rest of the vessel, if it was covered completely with coating or only half of it. The same happens with bottom/foot fragments – if the bottom is completely bare, we cannot guess what happened in the upper part of the body. In only 12 cases we were lucky enough to find Pontic sigillata products (some almost intact) that indicate all the necessary characteristics for correct identification²³.

At Potaissa all the products belong to the third category of this class, namely Pontic sigillata C dated between the end of the 2nd century and the first half of the 3rd century AD (168-274)²⁴.

The majority of the forms that arrive here from the Pontic workshops consists of Drag. 34 cups/ Zhuravlev Form 31 that remind us of the *kantharoi* forms of ancient Greece (Pl. I/1-2; Pl. II/1-4). Four of the cups were found in the Roman baths, and another two in the *praetentura sinistra*. This statistic could be a result of the current stage of research, but the preponderance of Pontic sigillata cups amongst other types of pottery was noticed on other sites as well²⁵. The forms of these cups indicate the

²³ MIT, Inv. nos. 8532, 15750, 18543, 18779, 21169, 19829, 19967, 21652, 21676, 21095, 20537, 19841.

²⁴ All the material published in this article was inventoried and analyzed by the author.

²⁵ Popescu 2013, 65-77 – these cups belong to the category Pontic sigillata A (until the 1st century AD) but they are very important for our study, to understand the propagation of Pontic sigillata until the 1st century and when it reappears in Roman Dacia; 98 cups at Răcătau, 144 cups at Poiana, 23 cups at Brad, 1

fact that they were manufactured somewhere else, because they do not pertain to any of the typologies identified so far at Potaissa, where the vast majority of cups have a globular or flared body. The body of these cups has a double truncated cone shape and is very symmetric, with two handles that always start from the neck area and are glued on the middle section of the body. They always present a high-foot ring with a flared shape that is very similar to the tall flared neck of the cup, accentuating the symmetry of the form even further. The thickness of the walls varies between 4.23 mm and 5.96 mm. The cups are never fully coated, and there is no rule on how the coating was applied. Some of the cups have coating only on the inner surface, while on the outer surface only half of the body was covered. Other times only the exterior surface is fully covered, while the inner surface has coating only around the rim. The color of the coating is always Munsell 2.5 YR, 7/8 and 10 R, 5/8. Fabric colors: Munsell 2.5 YR, 7/8, 2.5 YR 6/8 and 5 YR, 8/4. In Zhuravlev's typology, Form 31 is amongst the most frequent Pontic sigillata vessels.

Belonging to the same group of *vasa po(ta)toria*, a wall fragment of a jug was identified here as well, but it is impossible to recreate the exact shape of the body (cat. no. 7).

The second most important discovery at Potaissa that belongs to the Pontic sigillata class, are two Drag. 15/17 bowls (Pl. III/1-2). One was discovered West of the Roman baths and the other in the *praetentura sinistra*²⁶, and they are almost identical in shape, size, wall thickness, rim diameter, fabric (Munsell 2.5 YR, 7/6 Light Red), coating color (Munsell 2.5 YR, 5/8 Red) and the way the coating was applied on the body (the bottom of the vessels are bare, with no coating, and the coating was applied in a thick, glossy layer on only half of the body), with the distinction that the first vessel mentioned above bears a graffito reading "*LVM*" - *LEGIO V MACEDONICA*. The generous sized graffito (dimensions: 28.95 mm × 69.59 mm) was placed in the immediate vicinity of the rim (11.05 mm), and it covers a good part of the outer surface of the bowl. The letters of the graffito are very clear and clean, with straight lines. They were made by a sharp object, with precision, by gently scratching the thick layer of the coating. Even though the bowl is almost intact one cannot say with certainty if the graffito continued in the lower register or not, as parts of the lower body in this area are missing. One thing is certain though - this was not a graffito inscribed by a soldier, it was made in the workshop where the legion most likely ordered the products from, to know where the ware was supposed to go. The fact that we find another vessel that is exactly the same as the one with the graffito, underlines the idea that they belonged to the same line of production that was purchased and paid for by the legion, and that they were brought simultaneously to the basecamp at Potaissa. Most likely, more of these bowls will come to light in future archaeological campaigns.

Further three vessels were identified here, all belonging to different individual types, but to the same group as the previous two bowls, namely *vasa escaria*.

cup at Covasna and 1 cup at Cernat - "Of all the classes of Hellenistic and Roman pottery found on Geto-Dacian sites, Pontic sigillata are very well represented, representing approximately half of the catalogue entries".

²⁶ MIT, Inv. nos. 21652 (West of the Roman baths), with a "*LVM*" graffito; 21676 - *praetentura sinistra*.

We continue therefore our catalogue with the form Ludowici Type Tf/Drag. 32 (Pl. IV/1), a bowl with a hemispheric body that presents a slight incurving of the rim. The form is plain and displays the usual characteristics of Pontic sigillata, with only the rim covered by coating.

The following analyzed form is a small bowl (Pl. IV/2) resembling *mortaria* shapes that most often were decorated with barbotine. Our form is plain and presents analogies with Zhuravlev's Form 7²⁷ and Conspectus 9.

We end our catalogue with a Ludowici Type Tg dish with rounded walls, horizontal flat rim and upturned lip. This is a very common form at Potaissa among local plain sigillata (Pl. IV/3)²⁸. Usually these dishes have a very elegant high-foot ring. The analysed cases lead to the conclusion that the wares can not in any way belong to local production, but to the Pontic sigillata class, and have been produced in workshops from Moesia Inferior.

After reviewing all 12 forms we can say that the main characteristics of Pontic sigillata products found at Potaissa are: the body is always not fully coated; most of them, especially the form Drag. 34/Zhuravlev 31 belong to the most frequent Pontic sigillata forms; the color of the fabric alternates between four shades – Munsell 2.5 YR, 7/8, 2.5 YR 6/8, 2.5 YR, 7/6 Light Red and 5 YR, 8/4; coating colour, only three shades – Munsell 2.5 YR, 7/8, 2.5 YR 6/8 and 5 YR, 8/4. The most common forms identified in the Pontic sigillata repertoire at Potaissa are both imitations of products with a long tradition that belong to Italic workshops, but also forms most frequently found at Rheinzabern. After the new research and data, plain sigillata imports from Rheinzabern were also found in the Roman fort from Potaissa in big quantities, and it is also known from other archaeological sites and typologies that Pontic sigillata products most often imitate Italian forms²⁹.

The presence of Pontic sigillata imports at Potaissa is very important, as it is one of the few locations where we notice how this type of product has a very big influence on local sigillata production. The local workshops will continue to create plain sigillata products of Pontic tradition to satisfy the needs of the legion. The preponderance and preference for plain sigillata around the middle of the 2nd century and the first half of the 3rd century AD is not a surprise, as these vessels are much easier to manufacture, they involve less workforce, effort and materials.

In all this, a major role will be played by the former fortress at Troesmis where *Legio V Macedonica* stationed for circa 60 years before heading to the Parthian war and afterward moving its fortress at Potaissa in 168 AD. According to new research³⁰, Pontic sigillata was found at Troesmis in very large quantities, both in the Roman fort and the Roman settlement. Over 445 Pontic sigillata vessels were identified here³¹

²⁷ Also Zhuravlev 2008, Figs. 10, 92; Popescu 2013, 223, Pl. 13/216.

²⁸ Oswald, Price 1920 (1966), 202.

²⁹ Zhuravlev 2008, 85–121.

³⁰ Alexandrescu, Gugl 2014a; Alexandrescu, Gugl 2014b – between the years 2012–2013, they were able to give an exact location of the Roman fort and the Roman settlement. On this occasion, over 11500 artifacts – mostly pottery – have been recovered.

³¹ Waldner, Gugl 2016, 436, Fig. 4.

and separated into two groups (101–200 AD / KZ M; 201–300 AD / KZ SP)³². Even here, they were not able to say with certainty if the products are of North or West Pontic origins³³. These types of vessels are very frequent and found in large quantities in the Roman fort, but in even bigger quantities in the Roman settlement at Troesmis. One thing is certain though, Pontic sigillata products seemed to be some of the most preferred at the time when the legion was present at the basecamp at Troesmis. This situation perpetuated after the departure of the legion for Potaissa, indicating that the workshops where Pontic sigillata was produced played a big influence on the market of Moesia Inferior, and that they were still very active at the time when Potaissa was developing.

In conclusion, after analyzing over 10000 vessels, we are now able to talk about the presence of more groups and classes of fine pottery at Potaissa. The number of imported sigillata raised considerably, with the preponderance of plain terra sigillata taking completely over all other fine ware imports or locally produced ware, and for the first time we can observe Pontic sigillata on this site belonging to the Pontic sigillata C group. We could almost say that the word “plain” would define the entire production of fine ware that is associated with the Roman legion at Potaissa, be it local or imported ware. The fact that we find the same classes of fine pottery in both basecamps that belonged to *Legio V Macedonica*, clearly indicates a functional connection between the production of pottery at Potaissa and the province of Moesia Inferior.

Catalogue³⁴

1. Cup Drag. 34 (Zhuravlev Form 31): full profile fragment with rim, wall and high-foot ring (85% of the initial form; three fragments); technique: uniform oxidation firing; the surface of the cup is very smooth; fine and compact clay, with limestone particles and mica (Munsell 2.5 YR, 7/8 Light Red); very good quality; Dimensions: R. d. 9 cm; R. t. 4.90 mm; N. h. 21.56 mm; W. t. 4.30 mm; F. t. 5.94 mm; H. h. 57.60 mm; H. t. 9.20 mm; H. w. 10.51 mm; 1% impurities; the surface is covered with a glossy red-orange slip (Munsell 2.5 YR, 5/8 Red); only one of the handles is preserved; the handles were attached on the rim and the middle section of the cup; the neck of the cup is very high and it reminds of *kantharoi* forms; high ring-foot, in the same shape as the neck; Turda (Potaissa); Roman fortress; *thermae*; exterior of the room; Depth: 0.40–0.60 m; 07.06.2005; MIT; unpublished; Inv. no. 18532 (Pl. I/1, 2).

2. Cup Drag. 34 (Zhuravlev Form 31): rim, wall and handle fragment (20% of the initial form; one fragment); technique: uniform oxidation firing; the surface of the cup is very smooth; fine and compact clay, with limestone particles and mica (Munsell 2.5 YR, 7/8 Light Red); very good quality; Dimensions: R. d. 9.5 cm; R. t. 5.38 mm; W. t. 4.79 mm; 1% impurities; on the outer surface only half of the body is covered with a glossy red-orange slip (Munsell 2.5 YR,

³² Waldner, Gugl 2016, 433 – „Mittlere Römische Kaiserzeit” and „Späte Römische Kaiserzeit”.

³³ Kuhnelt 2008; Zhuravlev 2009, 25–28 – for the North Pontic region, the production center at Chersonesos; Sultov 1985; Falkner 1999 – for the West Pontic region (Moesia), the production center at Nicopolis ad Istrum.

³⁴ Catalogue Abbreviations: MNIT – Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei /National History Museum of Transylvania; MIT – Muzeul de Istorie Turda/History Museum Turda; F. t. – Foot thickness; F. d. – Foot diameter; F. h. – Foot height; H. t. – Handle thickness; H. h. – Handle height; H. w. – Handle width; N. h. – Neck height; R. d. – Rim diameter; R. t. – Rim thickness; R. w. – Rim width; Rg. t. – Ring thickness; Rg. w. – Ring width; W. t. – Wall thickness; W. h. – Wall height.

5/8 Red), while on the inner surface the slip was applied only on the rim; one of the handles is preserved; the forms of the cup are very elegant, with a double inclination; the handles were attached on the rim and the middle section of the cup; the neck of the cup is very high and it reminds of the early forms of *kantharoi*; high ring-foot, in the same shape as the neck; Turda (Potaissa); Roman fortress; *thermae*; C. S1/S VII; Depth 1.60 m; 1996; MIT; unpublished; Inv. no. 15750 (Pl. II/1).

3. Cup Drag. 34 (Zhuravlev Form 31): full profile fragment with rim, wall and high-ring foot (15% of the initial form; one fragment); technique: uniform oxidation firing; the surface of the cup is very smooth; fine and compact clay, with limestone particles and mica (Munsell 2.5 YR, 7/8 Light Red); very good quality; Dimensions: R. d. 8 cm; R. t. 7.91 mm; W. t. 5.96 mm; H. t. 12.74 mm; 1% impurities; the surface is covered with a glossy red-orange slip (Munsell 2.5 YR, 5/8 Red); only one of the handles is preserved; the handles were attached on the rim and the middle section of the cup; the neck of the cup is very high and it reminds of the early forms of *kantharoi*; high ring-foot, in the same shape as the neck; Turda (Potaissa); Roman fortress; *thermae*; C5/2005/southern profile; Depth: 0.30–1.00 m; 07.06.2005; MIT; unpublished; Inv. no. 18543 (Pl. II/2).

4. Cup Drag. 34 (Zhuravlev Form 31): full profile fragment with rim, wall and high-ring foot (15% of the initial form; one fragment); technique: uniform oxidation firing; the surface of the cup is very smooth; fine and compact clay, with limestone particles and mica (Munsell 2.5 YR, 7/8 Light Red); very good quality; Dimensions: R. d. 7 cm; R. t. 9.31 mm; W. t. 6.40 mm; H. t. 13.64 mm; 1% impurities; the surface is covered with a glossy red-orange slip (Munsell 2.5 YR, 5/8 Red); only one of the handles is preserved; the handles were attached on the rim and the middle section of the cup; the neck of the cup is very high and it reminds of the early forms of *kantharoi*; high ring-foot, in the same shape as the neck; Turda (Potaissa); Roman fortress; *thermae*; C14 – North of *frigidarium* I; 26.09.2006; Depth: 0.30 m; MIT; unpublished; Inv. no. 18779 (Pl. II/3).

5. Cup Drag. 34 (Zhuravlev Form 31): high-foot ring and wall fragment (15% of the initial form; one fragment); technique: uniform oxidation firing; the surface of the cup is very smooth; fine and compact clay, with limestone particles and mica (Munsell 5 YR, 8/4 Pink); very good quality; Dimensions: W. t. 8.03 mm; H. t. 8.40 mm; F. d. 6 cm; Rg. t. 10.84 mm; Rg. w. 9.55 mm; 1% impurities; on the inner surface a glossy red-orange slip (Munsell 2.5 YR, 5/8 Red) was applied only on the upper part of the cup, and on the outer surface the slip is running down from the shoulder towards the foot, as if it was applied very fast, without much care; Turda (Potaissa); Roman fortress; *praetentura sinistra*; S10/2014; M7–11; Depth: 0.75–0.90 m; 02.09.2014; MIT; unpublished; Inv. no. 21169 (Pl. II/4).

6. Cup Drag. 34 (Zhuravlev Form 31): only a small wall fragment was preserved from the initial form; technique: oxidation firing; the surface of the cup is very smooth; fine clay, with limestone particles and mica (Munsell 2.5 YR, 6/8 Light Red); the surface is covered with a red-orange slip (Munsell 10 R, 5/8 Red), which is glossy only on the outer surface, while the inner surface was not covered with slip at all; the potter's fingerprints are visible on the inner surface; Dimensions: W. t. 4.23 mm; Turda (Potaissa); Roman fortress; *praetentura sinistra*; G1; S05/2014; Depth: 1.75 m; MIT; unpublished; Inv. no. 19829.

7. Jug: wall fragment; technique: uniform oxidation firing; the surface is very smooth; fine clay, with limestone particles and mica (Munsell 2.5 YR, 6/8 Light Red); only the outer surface is covered with a glossy red-orange slip (Munsell 2.5 YR, 5/8 Red), and it is absent on the interior surface; Dimensions: W. t. 8.08 mm; symmetric fluted surface; Turda (Potaissa); Roman fortress; *praetentura sinistra*; G1; S05/2014; Depth 1.40 m; 17.10.2014; MIT; unpublished; Inv. no. 19967.

8. Bowl Drag. 15/17: full profile fragment with rim, wall and high-foot ring (40% of the initial form; seventeen fragments); technique: uniform oxidation firing; the surface is very smooth;

fine and compact clay, with limestone particles and mica (Munsell 2.5 YR, 7/6 Light Red); 5% impurities; on the surface there are a series of little holes that resulted after the impurities found in clay disappeared once it was fired; the rim of the bowl is separated from the rest of the body by a very elegant and thin groove; the wall is slightly oblique; the surface is covered with a glossy red-orange slip (Munsell 2.5 YR, 5/8 Red) on the entire bowl, except the foot area which was left uncovered; Dimensions: R. d. 24 cm; R. t. 9.03 mm, W. t. 9.90 mm; W. h. 99.56 mm; F. d. 12 cm; F. h. 9.65 mm; F. w. 9.85 mm; on the outer surface we observe a graffito: “*LVM*” – *L(egio) VM(acedonica)*, inscribed after firing; the graffito was placed in the immediate vicinity of the rim (11.05 mm), and it covers a good part of the outer surface of the bowl; the bowl is very fragmented and we cannot say with certainty if the graffito continued in the lower register; graffito dimensions: 28.95 mm × 69.59 mm; Turda (Potaissa); Roman fortress; West of *thermae*; S3; hole next to portico; Depth: not mentioned; 5.08.2002; MIT; unpublished; Inv. no. 21652 (Pl. III/1).

9. Bowl Drag. 15/17: full profile fragment with rim, wall and high-foot ring (40% of the initial form; seventeen fragments); technique: uniform oxidation firing; the surface is very smooth; fine and compact clay, with limestone particles and mica (Munsell 2.5 YR, 7/6 Light Red); 5% impurities; on the surface there are a series of little holes that resulted after the impurities found in clay disappeared once it was fired; the rim of the bowl is separated from the rest of the body by a very elegant and thin groove; the wall is slightly oblique; the surface is covered with a glossy red-orange slip (Munsell 2.5 YR, 5/8 Red) on the entire bowl, except the foot area which was left uncovered; Dimensions: R. d. 24 cm; R. t. 9.68 mm, W. t. 10.00 mm; W. h. 99.70 mm; F. d. 12 cm; F. h. 9.70 mm; F. w. 9.91 mm; Turda (Potaissa); Roman fortress; *praetentura sinistra*; S5/2014; C8-15; 22.08.2014; Depth: 0.60-0.70 m; MIT; unpublished; Inv. no. 21676 (Pl. III/2).

10. Bowl (Ludowici Type Tf): rim and wall fragment (30% of the rim diameter; one fragment); technique: uniform oxidation firing; the surface is very smooth; fine and compact clay, with limestone particles and mica (Munsell 5 YR, 8/4 Light Red); very good quality; Dimensions: R. d. 22 cm; R. t. 10.96 mm; W. t. 8.33 mm; 1% impurities; the inner surface is entirely covered with a glossy red-orange slip (Munsell 2.5 YR, 5/8 Red), while on the outer surface only the upper part of the body is covered; Turda (Potaissa); Roman fortress; *praetentura sinistra*; S05/2014; G 3; Depth: 1.00-1.25 m; 02.09.2014; MIT; unpublished; Inv. no. 21095 (Pl. IV/1).

11. Bowl (Conspectus 9/Zhuravlev Form 7): rim and wall fragment (20% of the initial form; one fragment); technique: uniform oxidation firing; the surface is very smooth; fine and compact clay, with limestone particles and mica (Munsell 2.5 YR, 7/8 Light Red); only the surface of the rim is covered with a matte red-orange slip (Munsell 2.5 YR, 5/8 Red); Dimensions: R. d. 28 cm; R. t. 11.53 mm; R. w. 34.83 mm; W. t. 7.16 mm; Turda (Potaissa) Roman fortress; *thermae*; C1; 2002; North of *frigidarium* I; Depth: 0.50-0.70 m; MIT; unpublished; Inv. no. 20537 (Pl. IV/2).

12. Dish: rim and wall fragment (5% of the initial form; four fragments); technique: uniform oxidation firing; the surface is very smooth; fine and compact clay, with limestone particles and mica (Munsell 2.5 YR, 7/6 Light Red); the surface is covered with a glossy red-orange slip (Munsell 2.5 YR, 5/8 Red) on the entire inner surface, while on the outer surface it only covered half of the body; Dimensions: R. d. 13 cm; W. t. 8.41 mm; R. t. 9.24 mm; R. w. 18.55 mm; fluted rim surface; Turda (Potaissa); Roman fortress; *praetentura sinistra*; G1; S01/S05-2014; Depth: 1.65-1.75 m; MIT; unpublished; Inv. no. 19841 (Pl. IV/3).

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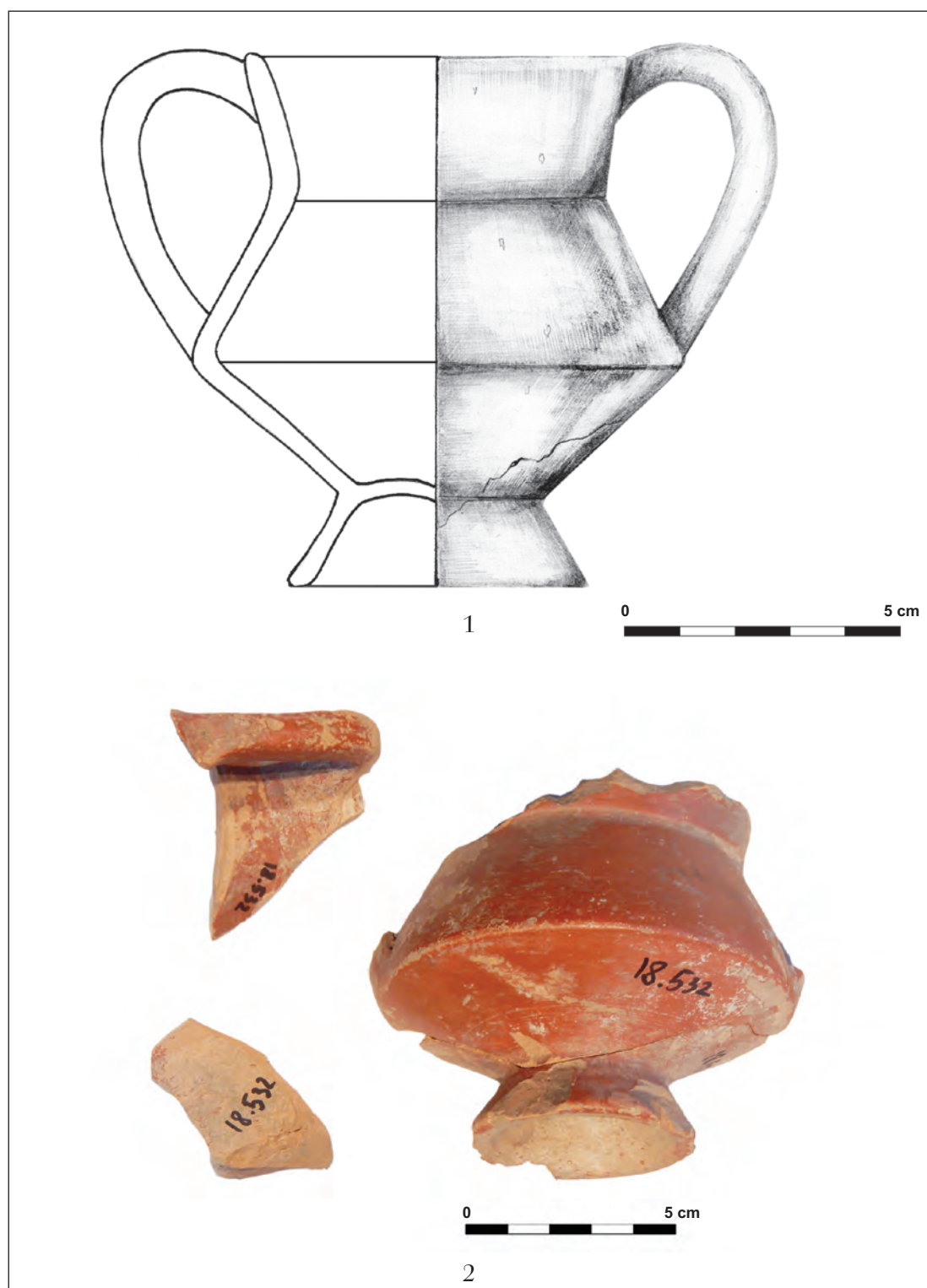
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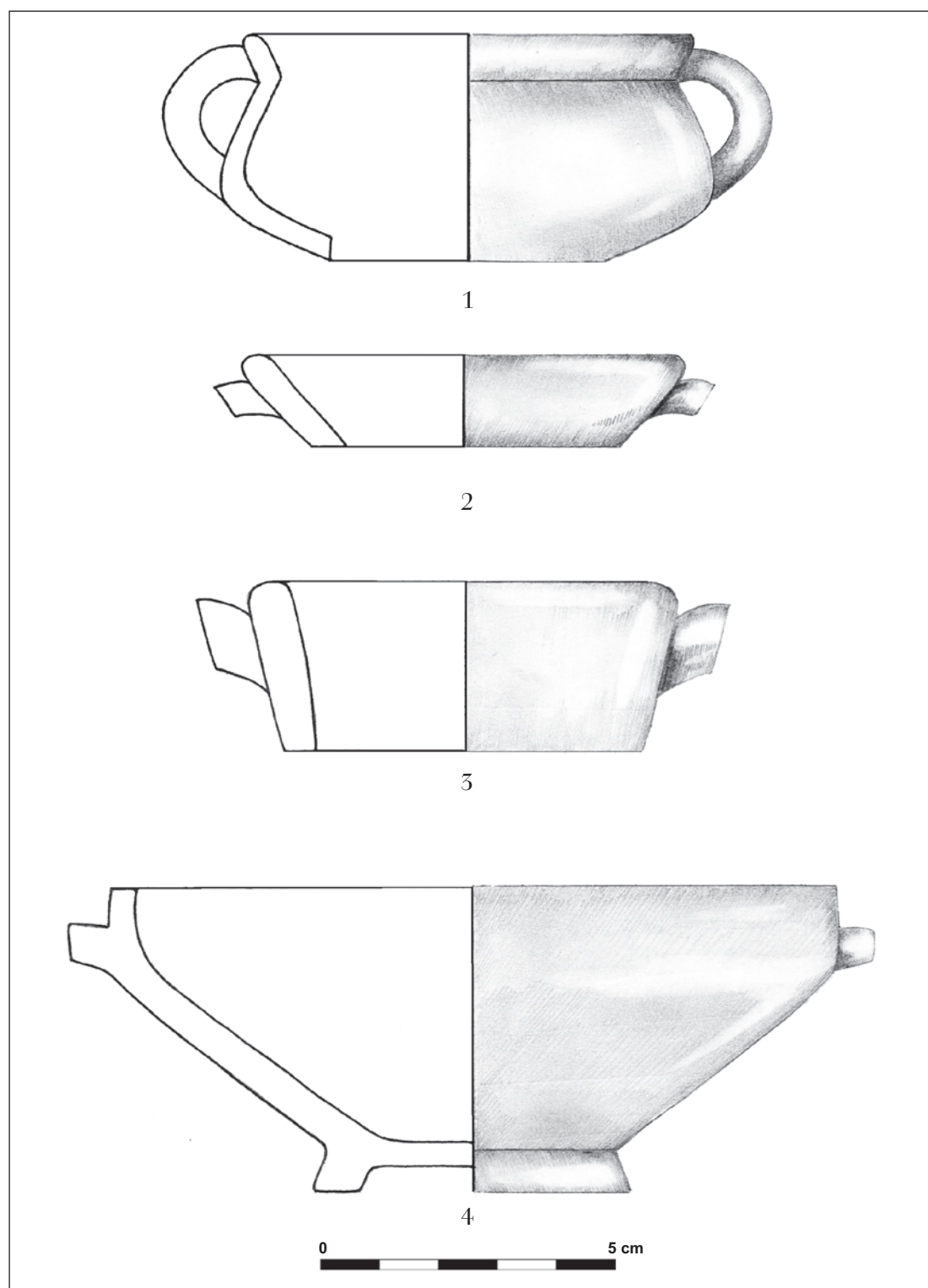
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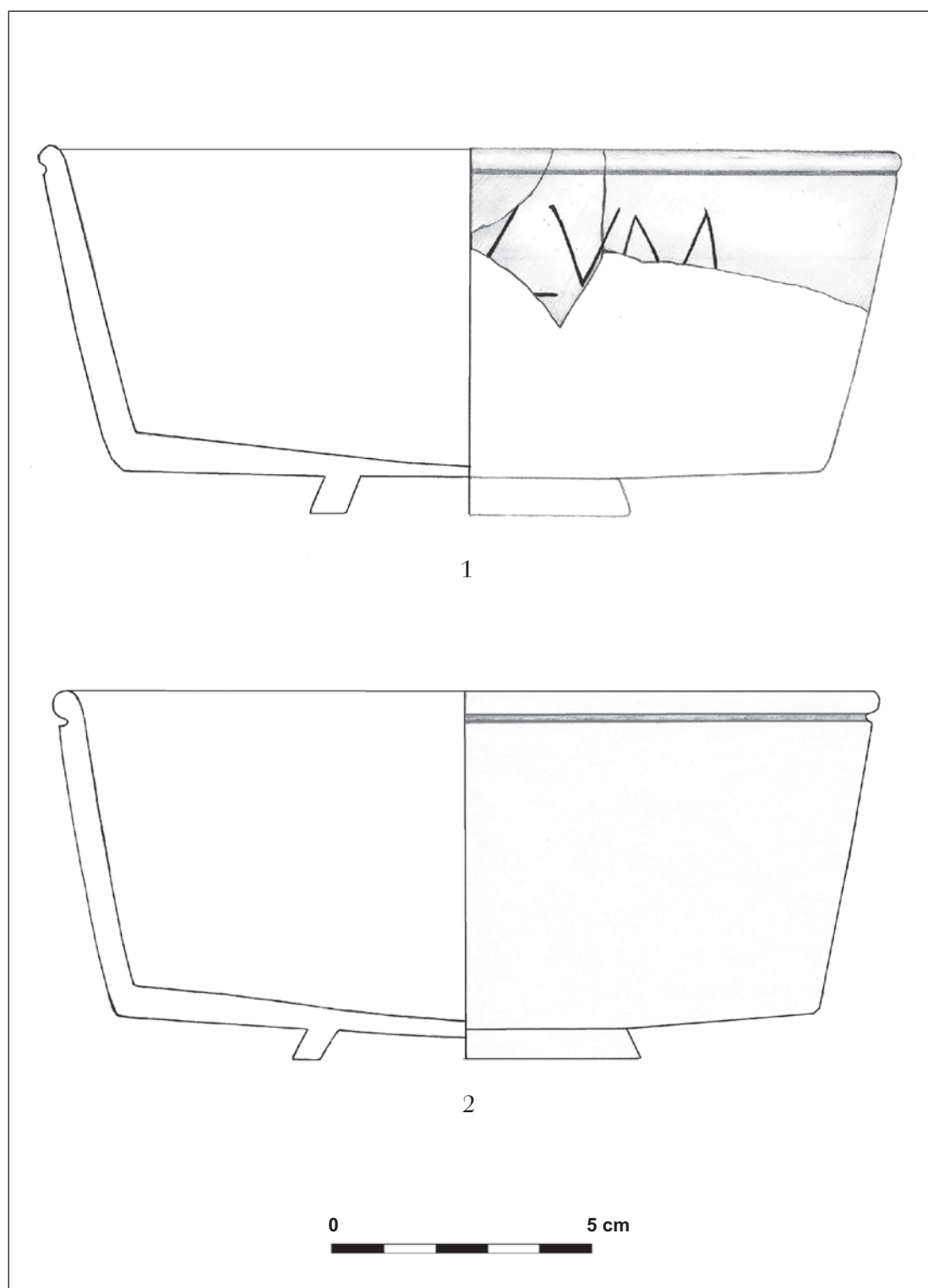
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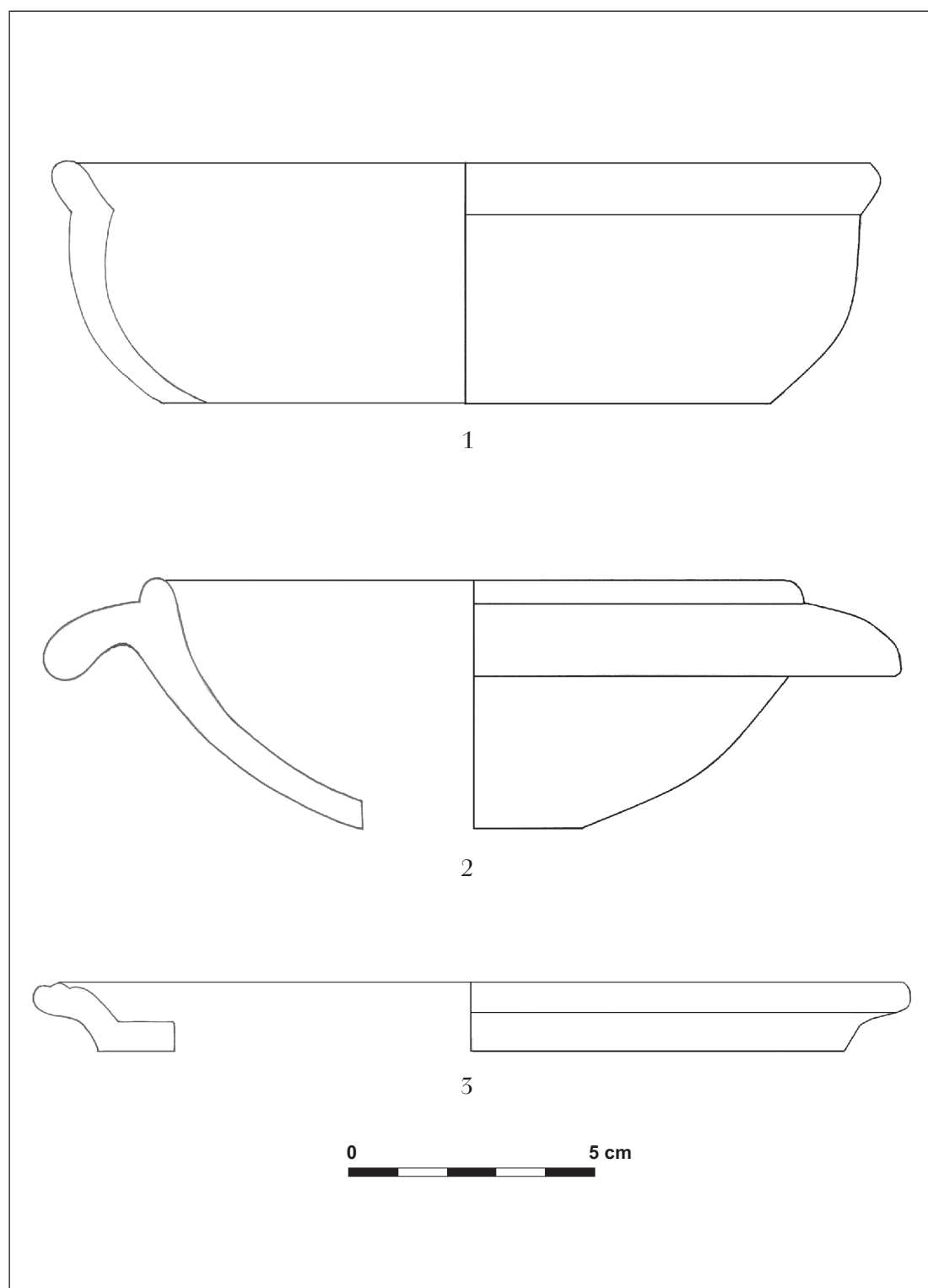
Pl. I. Pontic Sigillata from Potaissa: Drag 34/Zhuravlev Form 31. 1. Drawing (Luciana Nedelea); 2. Photo (©MIT).



Pl. II. 1-4. Pontic Sigillata from Potaissa: cups Drag. 34/
Zhuravlev Form 31. Drawings (Luciana Nedelea).



Pl. III. 1-2. Pontic Sigillata from Potaissa: bowls Drag. 15/17. Drawings (Luciana Nedelea).



Pl. IV. Pontic Sigillata from Potaissa. 1-2. bowls; 3. dish. Drawings (Luciana Nedelea).

VOTIVE STATUE BASES AND VOTIVE ALTARS FROM POROLISSUM

RADU IUSTINIAN ZĂGREANU

Abstract: The article deals with Roman sculptural monuments such as votive statue bases and votive epigraphic altars, anepigraphic ones or only fragments, from the Roman center Porolissum. By their interpretation, determination of functionality and typology of these monuments is essential. At Porolissum are to be mentioned two statue bases and about 35 altars, of which 21 have epigraphic fields preserved today, eight have fragments of the pediment intact and five are lost. The criteria used to classify them relay on the decoration of the pediment. The following types were identified: type I – altars with pediment decorated with a triangular gable = I. a – with a flower-rossette, palmettes and *acroteria*; I. b – with a *pinea* and *acroteria*; type II – altars with the pediment decorated with *pulvini*; type III – altars with the pediment decorated with geometrical figures; type IV – altars with pediment decorated on the gable with representations in relief: IV. a – *acroteria* and simple ornaments; IV. b – a decoration in steps and ornaments; type V – altars with a pediment with a simple gable. Compared to other centers from the province of Dacia Porolissensis, the number of these sculptural types is not very high at Porolissum. Following the analysis of all these monuments, some specific types have been determined taking into consideration the interpretations of the epigraphic texts and stylistic features. Thus several conclusions regarding the spread of these types of sculptural monuments at Porolissum, their dating and functionality, the stylistic evolution of the local workshop could be outlined. As well, at Porolissum there were identified new sculptural fragments belonging to the above-mentioned types of sculptural monuments.

Keywords: votive altar; Porolissum; Dacia Porolissensis; sculptural workshop.

Rezumat: Articolul tratează altarele votive sau bazele de statui votive epigrafice, anepigrafice, precum și cele păstrate fragmentar, din centrul roman de la Porolissum. Pentru interpretarea lor, funcționalitatea și tipul acestor monumente sunt esențiale. Se păstrează două baze de statuie și 34 de altare. Dintre acestea, opt sunt fragmente ale unor coronamente de altare, 21 au câmpul epigrafic cunoscut, iar cinci sunt astăzi pierdute. Criteriul de tipologizare folosit în cazul altarelor a fost stabilit în funcție de decorul coronamentelor acestora. Am identificat astfel următoarele tipuri: tip I – altare având coronamentul cu un fronton triunghiular decorat = tip I. a – cu o rozetă-floare și palmete și acrotere; tip I. b – cu un con de pin și acrotere; tip II – altare având coronamentul decorat cu *pulvini*; tip III – altare având coronamentul decorat cu figuri geometrice; tip IV – altare având coronamentul decorat pe fronton cu reprezentări în relief = tip IV. a – cu acrotere și ornamente simple; tip IV. b – cu un decor în trepte și reprezentare în relief; tip V – altare având coronamentul decorat cu un fronton simplu. În comparație cu alte centre din provincia Dacia Porolissensis, numărul acestor tipuri sculpturale nu este foarte mare la Porolissum. În urma stabilirii unor tipuri specifice au putut fi analizate monumentele atât pe baza interpretărilor textului epigrafic, cât și prin sesizarea unor caracteristici stilistice. Astfel, au putut fi conturate câteva concluzii privind răspândirea acestor tipuri de monumente sculpturale la Porolissum, evoluția stilistică a atelierului local, datarea și funcționalitatea unor piese, dar și identificarea unor noi fragmente ce aparțin tipurilor sculpturale menționate.

Cuvinte cheie: altar votiv; Porolissum; Dacia Porolissensis; atelier sculptural.

A special category of Roman sculptural monuments from Porolissum is the one which contains dedications to deities. Porolissum constituted a major and cosmopolitan center from the religious point of view, with numerous gods attested epigraphically, mainly in Latin. Except for the well-known and standard Graeco-Roman gods, a long line of other deities appeared such as Bel, a deity of the Palmyrean community, Iupiter Dolichenus, a warrior god, specific for the military, Dea Syria and many others. The only published brief study regarding the religious life of the Roman town and fortress from Porolissum belongs to N. Gudea, and it was published in 2007¹. The author briefly categorized four types of votive monuments: votive inscriptions, votive monuments with inscriptions, plaques and votive reliefs, votive statues and statuettes². He also identifies around 15 votive inscriptions and two votive monuments with inscriptions. The numerous fragmented stone monuments that were impossible to piece together, were not considered in this study. He's main focus was to bring an archaeological and historical perspective to the ethnical origins of the population, based on the monuments analysis³. Of great interest is the importance of each category of monuments to depict the religious life at Porolissum, but no typological or stylistic analysis were made.

N. Gudea also published a more in depth study about a special category of votive monuments, the marble statuettes depicting Iupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus, discovered in the sanctuary of Porolissum⁴. His study carefully inspects these artifacts based on their material, dimensions, esthetic features, in connection with other ones discovered along the Roman Empire. He also created a detailed catalogue with every piece discovered belonging to Porolissum or other provinces⁵.

At Porolissum, N. Gudea identifies about five archaeologically researched sanctuaries and another one assumed, based on an inscription⁶. Four of them functioned in the civil settlement, in the *municipium Septimium Porolissense*, one in the amphitheater and the other in the Roman fort on Pomăt Hill. Recent researches have confirmed or denied some of these attributions⁷, but only a few of the monuments analyzed by us can be clearly linked to these constructions.

There are some general interpretations of the religious life at Porolissum in some publications⁸ or in articles that publish different items individually⁹, but no studies that consider the specific categories for these sculptural monuments. Some recent articles¹⁰ have been discussing new artifacts that contribute to the information regarding the religious life during the Roman period of the city and military center of Porolissum.

The problems that emerged from using the various fragmentary categories of evidence to underpin studies of Roman religion have been somewhat resolved by the

¹ Gudea 2007, 7-29.

² Gudea 2007, 9.

³ Gudea 2007, 8-9.

⁴ Gudea 2001, 163-187.

⁵ Gudea 2001, 166-172.

⁶ Gudea 2003, 217-235.

⁷ Diaconescu 2011, 139-148; Opreanu et alii 2012, 76; Opreanu et alii 2013, 83-106.

⁸ Gudea 1989, 217-222.

⁹ Matei 1982, 75-80; Bajusz 2003, 165-193; Gudea 2005, 215-220.

¹⁰ Zăgreanu, Deac 2014, 209-211; Zăgreanu et alii 2016, 329-342.

more recent critical approach, which has been paralleled in many associated study areas¹¹. In the last 20 years, the framework for numerous culture-history approaches in the European archaeology has been slowly but steadily eroded as part of wider trends in post-modernism and the social sciences¹². Through necessity, it would be impossible to ignore the military context for much of this material evidence, especially for the Dacia Porolissensis province, which relates to identity and the social-political context of ritual practice. However, there are wider social factors for life on the frontier than the military focus that has previously dominated the study of Roman Dacia and this need to be integrated into the interpretation of altars, iconography, and votive offerings dedicated to the gods in Northern Dacia.

The information coming from the epigraphic monuments related to the public religious life of Porolissum were written on altars. This paper wants to investigate the decorations of the statue bases and the pediments of the votive altars, to create a typology of these altars and to identify presumably the common sculptural workshops where they belong. I analyzed the statue bases and the votive altars from a sculptural point of view, interpreting them as the products of craftsmen and workshops that worked and used the stone quarries of Porolissum.

In Dacia, there is so far, only one study applied on this type of sculptural monument¹³. There are no analyzes of the important centers from Dacia, such as Sarmizegetusa, Apulum, Napoca etc., therefore the realization of this article suffers from some clumsiness, which will be noticed by the academic environment. With the risk of mistaking, we believe that it is still necessary to try to make such analyzes of the sculptural monuments because this is the only way to make some progress in the study of provincial art in Dacia. It cannot be waited indefinitely for the publication of specialized studies on some categories of sculptural monuments, even if our study refers to a sculptural center as Porolissum, not very spectacular from the artistic point of view.

The work of C. Ciongradi¹⁴ classified the sculptural monuments from Alburnus Maior and served, in regard of the altar's typology, as a model to this scientific endeavor. The different geographical and structural realities have pushed to a reevaluation of C. Ciongradi's proposed classification, adapting it to the "needs" of Porolissum. It is worth mentioning that the typology has a miscellaneous category of lost monuments, formerly included in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, volume III. These monuments present the layout of an epigraphic field which implies a certain degree of cautiousness, that these were votive altars. The inscriptions on these monuments helped identify their chronological data and enabled to create a link between certain decorations styles and particular time frames in Roman Dacia's existence.

At the level of the Roman Empire, the issue of the votive altars is highly debated. The research here is at an advanced level, it has facilitated excellent studies on this type of sculptural monument, and some studies have been carried out on specific

¹¹ Rives 2006, 232-234.

¹² Jones 2007, 163.

¹³ Ciongradi 2015, 213-234.

¹⁴ Ciongradi 2009, 25-28, Taf. 3.

centers¹⁵, that have benefited from a consistent number of *in situ* discoveries. One of the most recent editorial appearances dealing specifically with this issue is the work “Römische Weihealtäre im Kontext. Kolloquium Köln 2009”, edited by A. W. Busch and A. Schäfer¹⁶. There are a number of articles that can be a source of inspiration for a study of this kind, in the absence of studies concerning the discoveries from Dacia. I tried to relate to them as much as possible, but not all of them could be applied to the province of Dacia Porolissensis. One of the most eloquent articles in this regard is that of C. Berns, which deals with the statue bases and votive altars of *Conventus Tarraconensis*¹⁷. The author’s analysis insists on the archaeological contexts of their discovery¹⁸, on the divinities to whom they are dedicated, providing statistics on the number of statue bases and votive altars¹⁹, or on the dedicators and their social status²⁰, as well as their motivation, either official, public or commemorative²¹. But this study also fails to propose a stylistic analysis of the decoration of the altars or to try to categorize them from a sculptural point of view. N. Coulston, analyzing the Maryport²² votive altars, identifies according to the decoration of the fronts five main types. Analyzing them thoroughly, he manages to identify some particularities of the local sculpture workshop, as well as a certain chronological deployment of the types of decoration used.

At Porolissum are to be mentioned two statue bases and about 35 altars of which 21 have epigraphic fields preserved today, eight have fragments of the pediment intact and five are lost. The difference between statue bases and votive altars was made on the basis of the pediment and the dimensions of the monuments. Almost all altars show clear traces of use for libations, some presenting common cavities, others with clear burn marks on the top. Small monuments are certain altars, as they have no way of supporting a statue above. The funerary altars are very rare in Porolissum, there is a single monument, and this was identified based on the inscription. The main criteria used to classify them relies on the decoration of the pediment.

Statue bases

The first statue base was dedicated to Liber Pater (Pl. I/SB1 a), by a *beneficiarius* in the service of the consular governor of the Dacian provinces. Is well-fashioned on three sides, and roughly carved at the back. The front of the pediment is decorated with a triangular gable in which a five-petalled rosette and *acanthus* leaves are placed, half-crescents and *acroteria* on the margins (Pl. I/SB1 b), the same decoration on the lateral sides. The pediment has on the top a couple of small holes in a shoe shape (Pl. I/

¹⁵ Schörner 2015, 55–66; Bauchhenß 2015, 155–178; Derk 2015, 199–221; Schattner et alii 2015, 249–268; Busch 2015, 317–334.

¹⁶ Busch, Schäfer 2015.

¹⁷ Berns 2015, 69–78.

¹⁸ Berns 2015, 71.

¹⁹ Berns 2015, 72.

²⁰ Berns 2015, 73.

²¹ Berns 2015, 74.

²² Coulston 2015, 387–389.

SB1 c) and three bigger orifices (Pl. I/SB1 d) of 2×2.5 cm and 1 cm depth, aligned in a straight line. Those orifices suggest that on the top of the monument a bronze statue was placed on.

A temple of Liber Pater was considered to have been discovered in the excavations conducted in the years 1939–1940 by C. Daicoviciu and L. Ghergariu on the sanctuaries' terrace, north of the fort²³. Unfortunately, the plan of the buildings or their description is not known²⁴. There have been published some architectural elements, a fragment of relief with Liber Pater and the inscription dedicated to Liber by Titus Flavius Valentianus, *beneficiarius consularis*²⁵. It was thought that Liber Pater's temple burned and was never rebuilt. Above it was built another temple, dedicated to Bel, in Emperor Caracalla's period. A recent analysis of the building confirms that the last building was an Oriental temple²⁶, but Al. Diaconescu doubts about the idea of a replacement of a temple by another. He assumes that it is more reasonable to believe that the building excavated in 1938–1939 was a different one. Also, Al. Diaconescu thinks that there is no reasonable argument to link this statue base with the first believed phase of the temple²⁷.

With the resumption of the archaeological excavations in the years 1990–1993 at the building LM 1, the proper digging identified its elements. Towards north-east, at the corners of the building, were identified building extensions, which resumed more investigations in 1995²⁸, when a building with an irregular quadrilateral plan was discovered. Inside were identified two rooms: room a – having a slightly trapezoidal plan with successive archaeological layers; room b – with a simple trapezoidal plan. In the middle of room b was found the votive inscription in honor of Iupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus (Pl. I/SB2 a–d) and on the eastern side was found the pedestal of a marble statue or a place for sacrifices. In room b, lots of dolichenian monuments have been identified: votive reliefs, statuettes, the statue of Iupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus with the eagle²⁹. Thus, the authors of the excavation believe that the alleged sanctuary of Iupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus from Porolissum was identified; its dating is based, according to the archaeological material, to the mid–3rd century AD.

The monument SB2 has a large niche on the back (Pl. I/SB2 d), whose purpose is not clear. It may have reused an older monument. At the top there are no mortises to grip a statue, nor a focus. There is, on the other hand, a round portion, which had long been subjected to fire, which means that the monument could have functioned as an altar before the statue was placed there³⁰. It should be noted that the width of the pediment of the base is 61 cm, while the width of the base forming a common body with the statue does not exceed 34 cm. It seems that the statue was supported by its

²³ Daicoviciu 1940, 323; Gregariu 1980, 77–78.

²⁴ Gudea 1989, 144–145.

²⁵ Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, 14, no. 12, Fig. 12.

²⁶ Diaconescu 2011, 140.

²⁷ Diaconescu 2011, 142.

²⁸ Gudea, Tamba 2001, 21.

²⁹ Gudea, Tamba 2001, 21.

³⁰ Piso 2001, 225.

own weight. It is clear that the two elements were not originally made for each other. The pediment was decorated with two *acroteria*, the gable in the center with *pineae*, on the front and on the sides also. On the front, between the *pineae* and the left *acroteria*, *Luna* is represented. The field of the inscription has had much to suffer. The statue of 78 cm (Pl. I/SB2 a) of the same material, represents the god standing on the bull. He is in military uniform, with the Phrygian cap, holding in his left hand the thunderbolts, while in the raised right hand, now broken, he will have held the *bipennis*.

Votive altars

The votive altars in the province of Dacia are well represented, but for a sculptural center as Porolissum, a comparison with *colonia* towns as Apulum or Sarmisegetuza, is improper. In other *municipia* from Dacia the case is as follows: Tibiscum – 15 altars⁵¹, Ampelum – 54 altars⁵², Romula – 9 altars⁵³, Dierna – 1 altar⁵⁴, Drobeta – 5 altars⁵⁵. According to the number of votive altars discovered in other centers of Dacia Porolissensis, the number of votive altars discovered at Porolissum is almost similar to that from Napoca⁵⁶. In Dacia Porolissensis their number is extremely significant⁵⁷. They are an essential source for identifying the religious, social and military evolution of the province. They predominate especially in urban areas, where there were temples of worship, and also around the auxiliary forts. In this case, mainly small altars have been discovered that were used for libations, resembling to a statue base. The top has *focus* and *pulvini*, which proves the function of an altar, but in most cases the top is simple and can receive both a statue or a *turribulum*, or another vessel for libations, like a tripod. On the other hand, there are known certain statue bases, which keep on the top traces of pins securing a metal statue, or the “waiting bed” or the lodging for the plinth of a stone statue. In most cases, however, we cannot decide if the piece in question was an altar or the base of a votive statue. Probably *vota* were much more consistent, the altar bought for this occasion being an insignificant expense compared to the costs of the sacrificial banquet. After serving the ceremony, the altar remained in the sacred space, reminding of the patron’s generosity. A statue was perceived by the religious man as a substitute incarnating the deity, and so it gained cultic value. The fact is that in the case of an altar, the “gift” was the animal or animals sacrificed, whereas in case of a statue the homage is the statue with its base. Naturally,

⁵¹ IDR III/1, 065, 133, 134, 135, 137, 138, 138a, 139, 140, 141, 145, 146, 151; AE 1999, 1297; AE 2006, 1175.

⁵² IDR III/3, 282, 286, 287, 288, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 307, 308, 310, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321; 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334; AE 1988, 954, 955, 956, 957; AE 1991, 1344, 1345, 1346, 1347; AE 1992, 1471.

⁵³ IDR II 329, 330, 331, 332, 334, 336, 337, 338, 341.

⁵⁴ IDR III/1, 35.

⁵⁵ IDR II 17, 18, 21a, 22, 23.

⁵⁶ At Napoca, there are 36 votive altars identified (see Zăgreanu 2014, II, 39–53) and at Potaissa, 101 altars (see Zăgreanu 2014, II, 3–39).

⁵⁷ For the province Dacia Porolissensis, there is a number of 270 votive altars identified (see Zăgreanu 2014, II, 3–107).

the altars were more numerous than the statues, and when an artifact is uncertain, it is most likely to have been an altar, not a base of a votive statue. In a recent study, C. Ciongradi³⁸ notes that in some cases, the front of the votive altars depicted stylized offerings that the believer allegedly offered to the deity, like fruits, poultry or *paterae*, besides *pulvini*.

The altars vary greatly in dimensions and proportions, perhaps reflecting the dimensions of available quarried blocks. The largest one is reaching up to 130 cm high, most of them have around 70 cm in height, 30 in width and 30 in thickness. There are also a large number (8 altars) of small sized altars with a height below 40 cm. The material from which they are sculpted is limestone, with the statement that in the case of five altars it is an oolitic limestone, extracted from one of the quarries around Porolissum³⁹. Oolitic limestones are soft and allow deep grooves to be cut with relative ease. A single altar is carved from volcanic tuff. It is virtually certain, in any case, that there were local sculpture workshops in Porolissum and the artists worked there on plain blocks of limestone. It is hardly likely that complex altars, as those of bigger dimensions, were prefabricated and transported from elsewhere.

As far as their place of discovery is concerned, there is only one altar with inscription discovered *in situ*⁴⁰, the altar dedicated to the Goddess Nemesis, discovered in the sanctuary from the amphitheater (Pl. II/3). Finally, a newly republished monument discovered somewhere in the amphitheater, a statue with a depiction of the Goddess Fortuna, perceived by the local inhabitants of Porolissum as a Nemesis-Fortuna⁴¹, could be related to the altar. The statue must have been a local variant of the cult statue of the sanctuary of Nemesis attached to the amphitheater⁴², a sanctuary built in stone between the years 157–161 AD, as a fragmentary inscription proves⁴³. It could be presumed that the altar would have been the statue's base, but there's no certain evidence for that. It is worth noting that besides this, another three altars, two complete and one fragmentary, but without preserved inscription, were found in the same building.

A special case is that of the two altars, A6 and A7. They were discovered at the main entrance of the Roman town Porolissum, where a fortified construction, the "Custom House" building was identified⁴⁴. The altars were dug on the north side of the building, exactly on the direction of the gate, near the eastern wall, fixed near the enclosure wall, toward the road, fallen face down (see Pl. II/2).

The other altars, whose place of discovery is known, come all from the territory of the Roman fort from Pomăt (16 monuments, see Pl. II/1): from *porta praetoria* – two monuments; from *porta principalis sinistra* – one monument; from *principia* – one monument; near the *principia* – two monuments; *latus praetorium sinistrum* – one monument; *via decumana* – one monument; *praetentura sinistra* – one monument.

³⁸ Ciongradi 2006, 216.

³⁹ Bajusz 2012, 94; Zăgreanu, Iov 2011, 294–295.

⁴⁰ Bajusz 2003, 166.

⁴¹ Zăgreanu et alii 2016, 330–332.

⁴² One may notice that the cultic statue was never found during the archaeological excavations, only the presumed statue base (?), which was recently reinterpreted in Piso 2014a, 127, no. 5 (photo).

⁴³ Piso et alii 2015, 215–217, no. 1, Fig. 1 a-c (photos).

⁴⁴ Gudea 1996, 75–87.

All the monuments discovered inside the Roman fort have been found in a secondary position, being reused either in the fort walls (seven monuments) or in the walls of some buildings from the territory of the fort, or being without a certain place of discovery (six altars). From the archaeological excavation reports⁴⁵, it has been noticed that the archaeological sections from which the aforementioned altars originated, did not focus on unveiling the whole building, so that the functionality of some buildings along which they were discovered remains uncertain. Unfortunately, for many of them, the poor information kept does not help us to better analyze and narrow down their chronological data. Being embedded in a wall or found in the buildings debris, their correlation with other discovered artifacts is not a very easy task to achieve, but despite our efforts, they did not provide us with a certain possibility of a closer chronological connection. But through some new artifacts recently published⁴⁶, the general view regarding the religious life in the Roman fort on the Pomăt Hill in Porolissum has considerably improved. It is now firmly confirmed the existence of a small shrine dedicated to Apollo in the central area of the fort⁴⁷, somewhere probably in the precinct of the *principia*, from where an altar dedicated to the god is reminded, while in the *praetentura* another cultic area must have existed in relation with the cult of Hercules⁴⁸.

Unfortunately, the place of discovery of ten monuments is unknown. In conclusion, the points from which there are certain discoveries of votive altars at Porolissum are the town-entrance building, the so-called Customs House, the Pomăt Roman fort and the amphitheater.

From Porolissum, till now there is only one funerary altar known, from a recent discovery, from the funeral complex researched during the 2008 excavation campaign, in the necropolis on Ursoieș Hill – sector P⁴⁹. The decoration of the pediment has a triangular gable with *acanthus* leaves and *acroteria* on the edges, as one of the usual decorative motifs that can be found on some votive altars from Porolissum, and proves the contemporaneity of this model of decorating the pediment, both on the votive and funerary altars.

Their carving is not of the highest order in terms of layout and execution. The total amount (35 monuments) is relatively modest by standards elsewhere in the empire, but some of it casts light on the aesthetic and religious preoccupation of owners. The decorative carving on these altars falls into five main ornamental types⁵⁰.

I have identified the following types (Pl. III):

Type I – altars with the pediment decorated with a triangular gable:

⁴⁵ Gudea 1997.

⁴⁶ Zăgreanu, Deac 2014, 214.

⁴⁷ Zăgreanu, Deac 2014, 214.

⁴⁸ Zăgreanu, Deac 2014, 214.

⁴⁹ Petruț et alii 2010, 81–83.

⁵⁰ The proposed typology is definitely insufficient, being improvable in the future. The number of the monuments is low and the risks I assume is high. But in our assistance, comes the argument that I know the monuments very well, I have seen them, photographed them, drawn and measured them, for several times, and I could notice the stylistic differences between the various types of decorations of their pediments.

I. a - with a flower-rosette, palmettes and *acroteria* (Pl. III/I a) - A1, A2, A3, A4;

I. b - with a *pineae* and *acroteria* (Pl. III/I b) - A5;

Type II - Altars with the pediment decorated with *pulvini* (Pl. III/II c) - A6, A7;

Type III - Altar with the pediment decorated with geometrical figures (Pl. III/III d) - A8, A9, A10.

Type IV - Altars with the pediment decorated on the gable with representations in relief:

IV. a - *acroteria* and simple ornaments (Pl. III/IV e) - A11, A12;

IV. b - decoration in steps and ornaments (Pl. III/IV f) - A13, A14;

Type V - altars with a pediment with a simple gable (Pl. III/V g) - A15, A16, A17, A18, A19;

Uncertain altars with deteriorated pediments (the rest).

The 21 dedications on the altars and statue bases are distributed as follows (Pl. III/2): Jupiter - six epigraphs, among the epithets of the god is mentioned *Optimus Maximus* (A7, A8, A9, A10, A20, A22); Silvanus - five epigraphs, among the epithets of the god there is *Domesticus* (A3, A14, A18, A19, A25); Jupiter Dolichenus - one epigraph (SB2); *Genius publici portorii Illyrici* - two epigraphs (A6, A7); Junona - one epigraph, with the epithet *Augusta* (A20); Apollo - one epigraph (A17); Fortuna - one epigraph, with the epithet *Augusta* (A24); Vulcanus - one epigraph (A15); Liber Pater - one epigraph (SB1); Dea Syria - one epigraph (A21); Nemesis - one epigraph (A2).

It was perfectly normal, in a place that concentrated military units brought from different provinces, and settlers, craftsmen, merchants, farmers, *ex toto orbe Romano*, to show traces that concern almost all Roman cults⁵¹. In order to observe the limits and religious manifestations of this center, the altars with votive inscription are essential. These attest the religious and cultural level of the people who activated in the ancient Roman town and its surroundings. The Greco-Roman deities are best represented, followed by Oriental deities.

The most adored deity is Jupiter, mentioned on six monuments, worshiped by the municipal elite, who honor him with altars, not very sophisticated in terms of carving.

Silvanus, with the usual epithet *Domesticus*, is particularly appreciated by those of Porolissum. It is likely that there was a strong community who worshiped this god, given the special geographical positioning of the town Porolissum, and the success he had among soldiers and the elites, as it is seen in other urban centers of Dacia Porolissenis, as well. Among the soldiers, as dedicators, there is an *optio* from the Palmyrene unit stationed at Porolissum, along with a veteran with the function of *decurio* of the municipium (A29). Silvanus is seen at Porolissum, too, as a deity with complex attributions, adored by different social classes that existed around this center: small farmers, slaves and liberts, artisans, notables and soldiers.

There are two special dedications on the monuments A6 and A7, altars dedicated by some *vilici* to the health of the emperor, and to the *Genius publici portorii* in the name of the *procurator Augusti*.

⁵¹ Gudea 1989, 217.

To the God Apollo is dedicated an altar by a *praefectus [C]ludius* (A18), from the unit *Cohors I Brittonum*, to whom the divinity appears in a dream, and he reverently fulfills his desire. Dedications to Apollo can be interpreted as a correlation of the necromantic and oracular practices. He most likely thanks to the deity for the contact in order to eliminate a disease or for physical rehabilitation⁵². Goddess Fortuna is honored by a *vilicus* with an inscription in which an epithet frequently used in Dacia appears, *Augusta*. A deity rarely found in Dacia is Vulcanus (A17), which appears in Dacia Porolissenis at Potaissa⁵³, the cult of this deity being of little importance in Dacia⁵⁴. Usually his dedications are collective dedications of the *collegium fabrum*, as in Potaissa, in honor of their patron. The epigraph from Porolissum is extremely damaged, so the dedicator remains anonymous.

The research projects undertaken at the amphitheater in 1987–1988 by I. Bajusz revealed in room I, to the southwest part of the northwest gate of the edifice, a small temple dedicated to the Goddess Nemesis⁵⁵. The identification was made following the discovery inside of an altar (A2) dedicated to the goddess by a *tesserarius*⁵⁶, Nepos, from *numerus Palmyrenorum*. The popularity of the goddess at Porolissum should not surprise us, and the presence of her sanctuary in the amphitheater is natural. It is known she was worshiped by gladiators, as a protective goddess, but also as a possible goddess of revenge⁵⁷. Like in Porolissum, from the rubble of the amphitheater in Ulpia Traiana came to light numerous monuments dedicated to the goddess, among these several altars⁵⁸.

Instead, Jupiter Dolichenus enjoys high esteem in the area. To Jupiter Dolichenus is dedicated a votive altar (A7), with a dedication to the two emperors M. Aurelius and L. Verus. As noted by S. Nemeti, the presence of this deity in Dacia can be attributed to the civilian element in the large economic or Syrian military centers⁵⁹. The God of Doliche, identified by the soldiers as the Greco-Roman supreme god, becomes their protector, like as Jupiter Optimus Maximus. The cult of this deity becomes integrated into the communities where the worshipers lived. Thus, at Porolissum a part of the deity's worshipers are municipal magistrates, like Aurelius Flavus *IVvir* and Antonius Maximus, decurion of the municipium. Aurelius Flavus could be identical to the eponymous character from Apulum, who appears as *decurio municipii* and *vegesimarius (vicesimarius)* at the inauguration of Jupiter Optimus Maximus's temple in the period of Gordian III⁶⁰. The fact that the altar (A13) is dated precisely during the time of Gordian III, seems to contradict the old theories that spoke of the deliberate destruction of the temples of Dolichenus and the disappearance of the cult of this god in the border areas along the Danube and the Rhine during the reign of Maximinus

⁵² Zugravu 2005, 108.

⁵³ Russu, Milea 1976, 165–173.

⁵⁴ Bărbulescu 1985, 81.

⁵⁵ Bajusz 1992, 149.

⁵⁶ Piso 2014b, 127.

⁵⁷ Bărbulescu 1985, 157.

⁵⁸ IDR III/2, 309, 322.

⁵⁹ Nemeti 2005, 231.

⁶⁰ Popescu 2007, 238.

Thrax⁶¹. Rather in this period, it's the peak of the worship, at least in northern Dacia Porolissenis. The presence of these members of *ordo decurionum* attests the intense activity of the local Senate, that included the aristocrats of the municipium.

A Romanized Syrian by name, Aurelius Gaianus, possibly a veteran or the heir of a veteran, achieving the position of decurion of the municipium Porolissum, dedicates an altar to the Goddess Syria (A21). Under this name is known in the Roman world the Syrian Goddess Atargatis or Derketô. In Dacia, her cult must be linked to the presence of Syrian elements in the province. The person from Porolissum is the only known priest of the cult in the province.

The same is the situation of Aelius Malachus, who, besides the function of *flamen*, is also *sacerdos* of the gods of the military unit of Palmyrene *numeri* established at Porolissum. It is interesting who these gods of the unit are; most likely they are the so called *Dii patrii* adored by the Syrians. Also, a colonist of Semitic, or even Hebrew origin, P. Aelius Iacubus, *decurio* of the municipium Porolissum, dedicates an altar to Jupiter Optimus Maximus with interesting analogies. The cognomen Iacubus was considered to have Hebrew origin⁶², being a citizen of at least four generations, but his Hebrew origin is unlikely due to the character of the Jewish religion. However, because of the specific relations with the Jews in the time of Hadrian, R. Ardevan rather thinks he is a Semite with a widely used name⁶³ and connects it to the Palmyrean community from Porolissum.

The recent publication of an altar (A20) revealed a new municipal function at Porolissum, that of *aediles*. It is a usual dedication to the divine couple Jupiter Optimus Maximus and Iuno Regina, who are honored especially by the municipal magistrates. P. Aelius Stadylo⁶⁴ is a *decurio* and *aedilis* of the town, so he functioned sometime during the reign of Septimius Severus, when the town was promoted to the rank of municipium. The order of the two titles most likely shows the order of the functions that he held. The ethnic origin⁶⁵ of this character remains dubious, but most likely he was of Oriental origin, perhaps a Palmyrean from the ranks of the military contingent stationed in the area.

Social classes

Name	Social status	Ethnic origin	Family connection	Dating	Type of altar	Nr. Cat.
Titus Flavius Valentianus	<i>beneficiarius</i>	Italic		late 2 nd – early 3 rd AD	-	SB1
Marcus Aurelius Flavius	<i>quattuorvir</i>	Italic	Joint dedication; father of Aurelius Flavius	238–244 AD	-	SB2

⁶¹ Toth 1973, 109–116.

⁶² Gudea 1980, 89–90.

⁶³ Ardevan 1998, 88.

⁶⁴ Dana, Zăgreanu 2013, 33.

⁶⁵ Dana, Zăgreanu 2013, 35.

Name	Social status	Ethnic origin	Family connection	Dating	Type of altar	Nr. Cat.
Marcus Antonius Maximus	<i>veteranus et decurio</i>	Italic	Joint dedication	238-244 AD		SB2
Aurelius Flavius	<i>sacerdos</i>	Italic	Joint dedication, son of M. Aurelius Flavius	238-244 AD	-	SB2
Nepos	<i>tesserarius</i>	Italic		3 rd AD	Type I	A2
Marcio et Pollio	<i>vilici</i>			181-183 AD	Type II	A6
Felix	<i>vilicus</i>			175-177 AD	Type II	A7
Aelius Malachus	<i>flamen et sacerdos, quinquennalis</i>	Syrian		3 rd AD	Type III	A8
Publius Aelius Iacubus	<i>decurio</i>	Syrian		3 rd AD	Type III	A9
Σabdas Hutri		Palmyrean		2 nd AD	Type III	A10
Mucianus	<i>optio</i>	Thracian		3 rd AD	Type V	A16
Valerius Themo	<i>veteranus et decurio</i>	Palmyrean		3 rd AD	Type V	A19
Publius Aelius Stadylo	<i>decurio, aedilis</i>	Palmyrean		after Septimius Severus	uncertain	A20
Aurelius Gaianus	<i>decurio et sacerdos</i>	Syrian		3 rd AD	uncertain	A21
Felix Augustus	<i>vilicus</i>			2 nd AD	uncertain	A24

In terms of social hierarchy and class, most of those who dedicate votive inscriptions at Porolissum are soldiers, but there are also civilians with administrative functions in the ancient town. From the army there are: a consular *beneficiarius* – Titus Flavius Valentianus; a *tesserarius* – Nepos; an *optio* – Mucianus; two veterans – Marcus Antonius Maximus, Valerius Themo. Two of them, Nepos and Mucianus, are some of the few peregrines attested epigraphically as part of the military environment of Dacia⁶⁶. The monuments commissioned by them mostly show a good craftsmanship, stressing the care these soldiers had for their public image, in this corner of the Empire.

Among the civilians there are: a *flamen et sacerdos* – Aelius Malachus; a *quattuorvir* – Marcus Aurelius Flavius; two *decuriones* – Publius Aelius Iacubus, Aurelius Gaianus; a *sacerdos* – Aurelius Flavius; one *decurio et aedilis* – Publius Aelius Stadylo; one *veteranus et decurio* – Valerius Themo; and three *liberti* – Felix, Marcio and Pollio. Aelius Malachus, with an obvious Syrian origin, was *quinquennalis municipii Septimii Porolissensium* and *flamen* in the same town, and also a priest of the Gods of the Palmyrean *numeri*, quartered here somewhere around 140 AD⁶⁷. Thus, he dedicates an altar to the gods of the military unit, both as a service obligation, but also as a sign of piety.

⁶⁶ Varga 2014, 92.

⁶⁷ Gudea 2006, 396.

There is some equality between the two social classes, but it should be noted that a significant number of the members of the social elite appear in the inscription from the sanctuary of *Iupiter Dolichenus*, where they appear alongside a former soldier. There are mentioned four civil servants of the town, of which two are priests of the cult of *Iupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus*. Thus there are: Marcus Aurelius Flavus – *quattorvir* of the *municipium Septimium Porolissensium*; Antonius Maximus, former soldier, has the function of *decurio* and *ornatus ornamentis quattuorviralibus municipii*; Aurelius Flavus *sacerdos Dei et coloniae*⁶⁸ and *sacerdos*. According to R. Ardevan these *ornamenta decurionalia* could be conferred to some rich people who, although were not decurions, they could have become that anytime⁶⁹. Among the individuals mentioned, there is a proven filiation between M. Aurelius Flavus, occupying a municipal position, and his son Aurelius Flavus, serving as a *decurio*. M. Antoninus Maximus must have been a veteran of *Cohors III Campestris*. I. Piso, analyzing the situation of those priests who appear on inscriptions alongside units, considers that they fulfill the religious service in the close vicinity of the fort, and they do it in the name of the unit stationed nearby too⁷⁰.

The most active part of the social structure of the population of Porolissum is determined by the three main institutional frameworks known: 1) the order of *decuriones* and the municipal magistracy, 2) the army and 3) the customs officials. The latter, although theoretically belongs to the category of *humiliores*, being slaves or freedmen, enjoys a remarkable financial force, demonstrated by the votive and funerary monuments they commissioned at Porolissum. The two freedman Marcio and Pollio are heads of the customs office sometime in the first half of the reign of Emperor Commodus⁷¹. Their devotional manifestation is dedicated to the procurator Tiberius Claudius Xenophon. He was a Roman knight, originating in the Greek-speaking part of the Empire, and came to Dacia as financial procurator of Dacia Apulensis around 183 AD⁷². His next post was that of *procurator argentariarum Pannoniarum et Dalmatarum*, followed by the procuratorship of the Illyria Customs district, with responsibility for *tres Daciae* and *Moesia Inferior*⁷³. From this final stage dates the inscription of the two *vilici* (A6) at Porolissum, in the time of Commodus. The dedication *pro victoria Commodi* and *restitutor commerciorum* most likely refers to Commodus' victory over the neighboring Dacians and Sarmatians in the battles fought around 183 AD⁷⁴. The restoration of the trade could have been the result of the pacification of these peoples neighboring Pannonia and Dacia, which made possible again the trade between the two mentioned provinces through “the Sarmatian country”, which lay between them. Xenophon dedicated to Commodus another inscription too at Sucidava. This inscription, too, was set by two *villici*, which indicates Xenophon's function as *procurator publici portorii*. Commodus does not bear in this inscription the epithets *pius* or *felix*, which dates

⁶⁸ Piso 2001, 227.

⁶⁹ Ardevan 1998, 175–176.

⁷⁰ Piso 2001, 229.

⁷¹ Piso 2014a, 189.

⁷² PIR² I 492; Piso 2014a, 189–197.

⁷³ Piso 2014a, 189–197.

⁷⁴ Nemeth 2007, 178.

the monument earlier than that from Porolissum⁷⁵. Thus, it appears that the experience gathered in Dacia Apulensis as financial procurator, in Pannonia and Dalmatia at the head of silver mines, was a good premise to obtain the post of *procurator* of the Customs House, for the eastern district of *portorii Illyrici*, sometime around 182 AD. The altar A7 is commissioned by *libertus* Felix, in remembrance of the *procurator p(ublici) p(ortorii) vectigalis Illyrici*, Pompeius Longus, who activated sometime in the second part of the reign of Commodus. Both monuments were hammered, invoking the name of Emperor Commodus. These *vilici* must be regarded as individuals, with a privileged status, being imperial slaves. They managed to assemble during their life an important wealth, *peculium*, gained from donations of patrons, or speculation. Hence their financial capabilities to raise important monuments and inscriptions. Thus, they administered these *stationes*, which gave them an important *census* and some local notoriety.

The fact is, soldiers, either commanders of units or simple ones, on their own behalf or through intermediaries, are deeply placed in the religious life of the town, turning to both traditional and universal deities⁷⁶. Ethnically the presence of the soldiers of the Palmyrene *numerus* stands out, but, as already remarked by N. Gudea, there should be a certain reluctance in considering them all of Eastern origin, because among them there are other ethnic names: Nepos – with a Latin name, Mucianus – with a Thracian name⁷⁷. A Palmyrean name was recently identified on A10 altar by D. Dana⁷⁸, Sabdas being a graphical alternative for Zabda/Zabdas. The *lapicida* realized the ligature of the first three letters so that the idiom of the worshiper could be engraved in full, on a single line, with the letter D in the center, of large dimensions.

Regarding the municipal elites, A. Paki considers that “the upper layer” of the population of Porolissum was dominated by Syrian elements⁷⁹, but, as seen, there are also elements of obvious Italic origin.

Stylistically remarks

From an artistic point of view, it must be remarked that the altars dedicated by the members of the municipal elite are top quality, usually being the result of joint financial efforts. Among the soldiers, only Titus Flavius Valentianus dedicates an outstanding statue base; for example, the altar dedicated by the *praefectus* ... *Claudius* of *Cohors I Brittonum* is quite modest. He earned a double salary compared to the common centurions, so he could certainly afford to go to a notorious stone carver, which produced one of the most beautiful statue base in Dacia Porolissensis. Both the decoration of the pediment and the precision and professional manner of carving the epigraphic field show his care, turning it into an exceptional monument. Stylistically speaking the artifact belongs to the second part of the 2nd century AD, when this type

⁷⁵ Nemeth 2007, 178.

⁷⁶ Gudea 2003, 235.

⁷⁷ Gudea 2003, 240.

⁷⁸ Dana 2016, 208.

⁷⁹ Paki 1988, 223.

of pediment was spread throughout the area of the province of Dacia. The best analogies come from Napoca⁸⁰ or Apulum⁸¹. This monument is actually a limestone copy of this type of altar, frequent in centers like Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa⁸² and Apulum, where they were made out of marble. Going slightly forward, a subtle speculation can be made, the creation of this altar could be connected to the emergence of craftsmen, who came perhaps from the capital of the province, and who were required around 157 AD for the reconstruction and decoration of the amphitheater from Porolissum⁸³. Being an important man in the local community, Titus Flavius Valentianus could call on them to embellish the local temple of Liber Pater and to dedicate this statue base as a personal thank to the god. A recent study on the funerary stone monuments from Porolissum shows that the *acanthus* leaves which decorate the gable of the altars are also present on the pediments of some funerary stelae from here⁸⁴.

This type of pediment is popular in Porolissum, being used on three other altars, although small in size. Altar A3 stands out, of which only the right side of the monument is preserved. On the front, the gable has a decoration with a schematic vegetal theme. On the right side (Pl. IV/A3b), within a border delineating the edges, appears a very schematically rendered animal with a long tail, perhaps a dog, the god's devoted companion. The monument is difficult to interpret, given the precarious state of conservation, but the name of the God Silvanus was recently identified on it⁸⁵. A similar decoration is on a monument dedicated to Nabarzes-Mithras by the slave Protus, with an interesting form of a Doric column from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa⁸⁶. Another possible analogy is an altar from Gherla⁸⁷ with a representation of a bull on one side. A similar monument, severely weathered, with an animal shown in profile to the left, a quadruped, probably a wolf, comes from Eburacum⁸⁸.

An innovation of the workshops of Porolissum is to replace the rosette inside the triangular front of the pediment of some altars with a *pineae*. So far there is only one such monument (A5) from Dacia Porolissensis, I believe it was one of the attempts made at a time to embellish the pediment and give them a special appearance, although the *pineae* have rather funerary connotation. Given that the monument was preserved fragmentarily, I do not exclude the possibility that the monument was an altar with a funerary inscription. The monument at Porolissum, although properly executed, is still a modest monument, made by a skilled local craftsman, but conditioned by the small size of it.

In type II, I have included two monuments (A6, A7). They have a recess at the top for depositing offerings. The pediment is decorated with a triangular gable, between

⁸⁰ Bodor 1963, 217, no. 4, Fig. 8.

⁸¹ IDR III/5, 1, 34.

⁸² IDR III/2, 121, 187.

⁸³ CIL III 836.

⁸⁴ Petruț, Zăgreanu 2011, 202, no. 1, Pl. 1/1; 203, no. 5, Pl. 2/5; 203–204, no. 8, Pl. 2/8.

⁸⁵ A new reading for the inscription, proposed by professor I. Piso, to whom I would like to thank for his observation.

⁸⁶ IDR III/2, 307.

⁸⁷ Ardevan 2015, 126, Fig. 4–5.

⁸⁸ CSIR Great Britain, I/3, 5.

the front and the inscription field, and a simple profile towards the base. The pediment seen frontally presents two cylindrical *pulvini*. The rudimentary appearance of the *pulvini* gives the look of simple cylinders. With clear erosions, the A6 altar was one of good quality, certifying the labor of a good stonecutter, who knew how to realize the volutes of the front in a pattern known in other centers of the province, like Gherla and Potaissa. The similarities between the front of the altar at Porolissum and those of Potaissa are obvious, it can be speculated that the inspiration for the one who raised this altar must have been that model. All these monuments were dated sometime in the second half of the 2nd century, and probably are contemporary with the altar from Porolissum. Along with these lines, it is possible that this type of pediment with volutes and triangular gable might have been one of the types of decoration that have spread in the second half of the 2nd century AD, possibly being the hallmark of one of the sculpture workshops that functioned at a time in Dacia Porolissensis. It should be noted, however, that although poorly preserved, the altar from Porolissum is one of the most accomplished and has the largest dimensions. Similar decoration of the pediment can be found on altars from Großkrotzenburg⁸⁹, in Germania Superior. In this type of altars, it's included A7, too. It features at the top of the pediment a plate for offerings; it is ornamented and has *pulvini*. The front of pediment has an unusual decoration, a cordiform motive, something like two semi-palmettes, scarcely preserved. It was carved with great care, the *pulvinus* on the left side being worked accurately. On the side of the front, on the upper part, the pediment is decorated with three large ovolos. Also, the two semi-palmettes in the middle of the front are rendered by deep incisions. In Dacia Porolissensis this type of decoration is unique at this moment. A similar decoration on the treatment of the *pulvini* can be seen on an altar from Apulum⁹⁰, probably also from the 2nd century AD. Regarding the central decoration of the front, somewhat similar analogies we have on altars of the Pannonian region, where the altars with *pulvini* are numerous. A recent discovery gives us a clue regarding their place of discovery. A new inscription⁹¹ proves the existence of a temple inside the *statio portorii* presumed by N. Gudea to be the building where the altars were identified⁹². The inscription tells us that the temple was repaired sometime in the reign of Septimius Severus (193-197 AD) or Caracalla⁹³ (212-217 AD). These altars are among the first sculptural monuments used inside the temple. It must be mentioned that there is also noted the existence of four statue bases made out of bricks and fragments of gilded bronze statues⁹⁴.

A characteristic of Porolissum local workshop is the preference for type III altars, with the pediment decorated on the front with a simple geometric decoration. Thus, there are four monuments of this type, the situation being only temporary as other monuments of other types could emerge and change the statistic. The best is A8,

⁸⁹ CSIR Deutschland II/12, 273, 274, 277, 303.

⁹⁰ IDR III/5, 167.

⁹¹ Piso et alii 2016, 544-546, Fig. 2-3.

⁹² Gudea 1996, 75-87.

⁹³ Piso et alii 2016, 548.

⁹⁴ Gudea 1996, 48-49.

raised by an important local figure, Publius Aelius Malachus. The monument is well done, with finished edges bordering the epigraphic field, the base and the pediment, although simplistically treated, create an imposing appearance. The remains of the tooth chisel preserved on some parts, the attention for a superior finish, the shape of the letters in the epigraphic field provide evidence of elaborate carvings, painstakingly and accurately achievement. We can only regret that the craftsman has opted for such a simplistic pediment, with only isosceles triangles, but perhaps this part of the work, a superior decoration, was too much for him. It can be speculated that it is a *lapidaria* specialized in shaping, preparing, finishing and carving the letters of the epigraphic field, and he does not venture into an elaborate decoration. He tries to copy the model of a pediment of more elaborate pieces, but not knowing how to do it, he renders the triangular gable and the *acroteria* on the edges as triangles. This being an altar dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, the geometric decoration can be interpreted as a highly stylized rendering of the idea of lightning. It reminds also of the horned altars, which comprise a large and diversified group of objects and are found over a long period of time through a wide geographical area, particularly the Semitic Near East, Egypt and the Greco-Roman world⁹⁵. This type of decoration is actually a simplification brought to the highest degree of schematism of type I, where the triangular gable and the *acroteria* are reproduced only in the form of triangles. Such decoration is seen in Dacia Porolissensis at Potaissa⁹⁶ and Cășeu⁹⁷. In Dacia this is a quite frequent motif, and a good analogy comes from Inlăceni⁹⁸, and another one from Germisara⁹⁹. Similar decoration of the pediment can be found on an altar from Örvényes¹⁰⁰ from Pannonia Inferior. The altar raised by Sabdas Hytri belongs to the same type, schematically decorated with triangles. It has a hole at the top, where probably the vessel for libations was fixed. It is a small monument, of a mediocre quality. The same way of rendering the *acroteria* through parallel incised lines we encounter also at altars in the Arrabona (Győr) area¹⁰¹.

Type IV proposes altars with a pediment decorated on the gable with representations in relief. Type IV. a includes two fragments of altars with a *pineae* carved in the middle of the gable (A11, A12) and *acroteria*. On the altar A11, the pediment is decorated with a triple molding, with 2 *cavetto*-type profilings separated by a listel, and above the pediment is decorated with *acroteria* at the edges, and a rounded *pineae*. This type of decoration with *pineae* is seen in Dacia Porolissensis only here, at Porolissum. The best analogies in Dacia are at Apulum¹⁰², Micia¹⁰³, and a highly schematic variant at Tibiscum¹⁰⁴. A spectacular monument carved in the same manner is the statue base

⁹⁵ Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2008, 7.

⁹⁶ Bărbulescu, Căținaș 1992, 113-114, no. 3, Fig. 7.

⁹⁷ Russu 1956, 131, no. 9.

⁹⁸ IDR III/4, 272.

⁹⁹ IDR III/3, 232.

¹⁰⁰ CSIR Ungarn VIII, 81.

¹⁰¹ CSIR Ungarn II, 74.

¹⁰² IDR III 5, 1, 178.

¹⁰³ IDR III/2, 84.

¹⁰⁴ IDR III/1, 138.

SB 2. The pediment is decorated with the head of the Goddess Luna, and probably across from Luna must have been the image of the god Sol, the three deities (adding here Iupiter Dolichenus), together being a triad of cosmic significance¹⁰⁵. It is interesting that this monument shows traces of fire on the pediment¹⁰⁶, which confirms its involvement in religious ceremonies. The statue that was found next to it is apparently added later. The manner of carving the face of the goddess resembles the human images that appear on one of the Doric capitals also discovered at Porolissum¹⁰⁷. Given that the monument was approximately at the eye level, the image of the god could easily be identified on the altar pediment; its face is rendered with fine, shallow incisions, made with a very thin chisel. The craftsman took care to render the naturalness of the curls of the disheveled hair, the eyebrows are carefully marked, only the nose is damaged and the mouth is outlined. These representations are specific to the local workshop, and now it can be narrowed down, based on this monument, the moment of occurrence and the spread of these figurative representations from Porolissum. The statue is dedicated to Iupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus, and to the *Cohors III Campestris*, which is mentioned on an altar of good quality from Napoca¹⁰⁸ and on a fragmentary altar or statue base from Porolissum¹⁰⁹. Being a joint financial effort, the three dedicants afford an outstanding statue base, with a special decoration on the front. The representations in relief on statue base and votive altars are rare in Dacia Porolissensis, and they are specific to towns like Napoca¹¹⁰ or important auxiliary forts like Gherla¹¹¹. This type of decoration appears at Napoca under the influence of workshops from Ulpia Traiana, where such representations are present, and from here it spreads to centers such as Porolissum or Gherla, and even in rural settlements around. Perhaps the most important information underlined by the presence of this statue base, in terms of study of the votive art in Dacia Porolissensis, is that during the reign of Gordian III at Porolissum functioned a workshop of highly skilled stonecutters, which produced consistently and variously for the temples in the immediate vicinity of the Roman fort.

The type IV b (A13, A14) proposes a geometric decoration that depicts the same triangular front, the *acroteria* on the edge, and the top of the pediment has the same decoration, oriented inwards, in a semi-gable in steps. This type of decoration in steps appears on some other monuments. It also is a schematic way to decorate the altars pediment, but a more elegant one than just with triangles. It derives from a type having only *acroteria* on the edges, but the monuments of this type have a pediment not very wide, so the *acroteria* are abandoned and they are suggested by steps descending at an angle toward the center of the pediment. Here the craftsman was conditioned by the small size of the monument, which is in the form of a pillar, the base and the pediment

¹⁰⁵ Merlat 1961, 43.

¹⁰⁶ Piso 2001, 225.

¹⁰⁷ Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, 32, no. 81, Fig. 81.

¹⁰⁸ Piso 2013, 169–171, Fig. 9–10.

¹⁰⁹ Piso et alii 2015, 217–218.

¹¹⁰ Piso 2013, 165–167, no. 3, Fig. 4–5.

¹¹¹ Protase et alii 2008, 45, no. 8, Pl. V.

reduced. For such decoration, analogies can be found at Inlăceni¹¹². But the most striking analogies come from Pannonia Inferior, from Aquincum¹¹³, where they are more varied and they combine several elements, but like the ones from Porolissum, they try to simplify the decoration of type I. Maybe this decorative type reaches Porolissum with the arrival in the region of craftsmen from Pannonia, probably at the beginning of the 3rd century AD, when this type of decoration is used extensively in the province Pannonia Inferior¹¹⁴. This type of altar, shaped as a pole, with a massive body, and reduced base and pediment is specific only to Pannonia Inferior. In Dacia it is not preferred, and the monuments from Aquincum show a stylistic trait of the local workshop, which later was imported to Porolissum.

An outstanding altar, but preserved in a fragmentary state and of small size, is A13. Only the top is preserved, with the front decorated on all sides. It has a decor in steps, the main side bearing an eagle. Both on the left and on the right side the figure of a man is represented, and on the back side the moon. Both the human character and the eagle are rendered extremely primitively, and the fact that the altar was broken during discovery, makes even harder the interpretation of these representations. From the epigraphic field, bordered by a simple molding, nothing was preserved, so it's not known to which deity it was dedicated. The presence of the eagle might suggest the cult of Iupiter Dolichenus, but, due to the schematic rendering, it might also be a simple decoration. At one time, this type of small altars was specific for the workshop of Porolissum. The altar A14 dedicated to the God Silvanus was lost, but it presents a decoration similar to another altar from Dacia Porolissensis from Gherla¹¹⁵ dedicated to Iupiter Optimus Maximus, and from the whole Dacia, a monument from Pătrânjeni¹¹⁶ dedicated to Fortuna.

The most popular type is type V which is also the simplest. There are five altars of this type with a simple pediment and a *focus* on the top. These are common achievements of the local sculptural workshop. Some are modest, although considering the patron's material situation they should be more spectacular.

The other altars are unfortunately typologically uncertain, without a preserved pediment. However, among the preserved fragments there is an altar pediment (A33) with a deepened *focus*. It has on one side a beautifully carved decor, a palmette rendered with great finesse and *acroteria* decorated with three vegetal stalks. For this type of *acroteria*, with such a decoration, perfect analogies come from Gorsium (Székesfehérvár)¹¹⁷, Aquincum (Óbuda) and Vác¹¹⁸ in Pannonia, which are dated around 220 AD. It seems that this type of decoration of the *acroteria* appears at Porolissum, possibly contemporary or at least not long after this model has spread in Pannonia. Unfortunately, the artifact has been preserved fragmentarily, so that

¹¹² IDR III/4, 276.

¹¹³ Hampel 1906, 36–37, nos. 24–25; Fitz 1993, 536–538, no. 320 or AE 1990, 819 with a rosette in the central area; AE 1920, 120 with a *pinea* in the central area.

¹¹⁴ Hampel 1906, 56.

¹¹⁵ Protase et alii 2008, 44, no. 2, Pl. IV.

¹¹⁶ IDR III/3, 302.

¹¹⁷ Nagy 2007, 143, no. 159.

¹¹⁸ Nagy 2007, 147, no. 164.

many comments on it cannot be made. This altar is similar to the quality of the decor, to the fragments of an altar from the temple of Nemesis from the amphitheater at Porolissum (A31), this, too, being preserved in a fragmentary state. The decoration is remarkably done around the *focus*, a novelty for the situation in Dacia Porolissensis, and the vegetal decoration of the pediment. Here it is confirmed the presence of a sculptor who knew how to work in the manner used to make Corinthian capitals. The rendering of the leaves decorating the bottom of the pediment is identical to what appears on Corinthian capitals from Porolissum, the *acanthus* leaves are rendered similarly, with the same care as on the Corinthian capitals. Thus, these fragments must date from the Severian period. Given that it comes from the area of the amphitheater, which is probably related to the cult of the Goddess Nemesis probably was realized by the craftsmen who worked at the amphitheater, as in Aquincum, where two fragments of statues depicting the goddess¹¹⁹, were discovered inside the amphitheater shrine. Another piece of the pediment (A32) proposes an altar with very well executed *acroteria* in steps. An important role in determining the type of altar and its decoration belonged to those who ordered the altar, who had military background, and they did not consider the aesthetics to be essential, but probably focused more on fulfilling the devotion and specifying the name of the deity to whom is dedicated the monument.

Among the archaeological finds from Porolissum there are five altars (A26, A27, A28, A29, A30) with the epigraphic field unwritten, called anepigraphic in literature. These are the most eloquent evidence of a local sculptural workshop. These were monuments that were to be sold and the epigraphic field remained blank until a buyer appears requesting a particular text to be written on the monument. One of the altars (A26) has the pediment decorated with a vegetal ornament. A *pulvinus* could be noticed. Above shows a focus, being perhaps an unfinished piece. Most of them are small altars with a pediment with a simple molding. But not in the case of all altars the epigraphic field was carved, as was practiced simply by painting the letters, so it's possible that some of these monuments have been painted on the epigraphic field.

The altars from Porolissum show some local characteristics; it seems that at certain moments in the area appeared craftsmen that produced a range of high-quality monuments. The influences are diverse, both from major urban centers of Roman Dacia and from the neighboring provinces, especially Pannonia Inferior.

Few votive altars have a certain place of discovery, only a few of them being discovered *in situ*. Some were discovered in the vicinity of the premises or buildings considered to be sanctuaries. But many were reused in antiquity, in the walls of the fort. In terms of chronology, when it could be determined, based on stylistic criteria or on the inscription, the earliest monument is from the first half of the 2nd century AD, and the latest by mid-3rd century. Throughout the 2nd century AD, common models were widely disseminated in the province Dacia Porolissensis, having a particular impact on the workshops of Porolissum. For instance, the altars with a triangular gable and *pulvini* are extraordinarily popular in other parts of the Roman Empire. At the same time there was a rise in the popularity of the altars with the pediment decorated

¹¹⁹ Szirmai 2005, 289-290.

with geometrical figures in the 3rd century. However, the most notable increase in the opulence of the pediments' decoration came approximately in the middle of the 3rd century AD, as it can be seen on the Jupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus' statue base. However, it should be taken into consideration that the sculptural discoveries found by now reveal the later periods of Roman domination in the area, thus the hazard of discoveries offers only few glimpses of traces of art from the periods prior to the Severan period. It also should be taken into consideration that during this period of time (i.e. the Severan dynasty) money flown into the province, and thus, the emergence of monuments in the 3rd century AD. In contrast with the local workshops from the other towns of the province, Napoca and Potaissa, it seems that the local workshop from Porolissum hasn't had a permanent contact with the major sculptural centres from Sarmizegetusa and Apulum. Is therefore fundamental to try to study the local sculpture workshops, which are not always easy to identify. So local stylistic characteristics can be traced by the skillful hands of artisans from a workshop known particularly even from the ornamentation of the statue bases and altars. But we must assume that only series that show evidence of a workshop's peculiar habit or the existence of production waste, can definitely confirm local manufacture. Although some shrines were monumentalized at the end of the 2nd century AD, the true moment of transformation of the local workshop came about, as it did in many other areas of material culture, in the 3rd century AD, and especially in the Severian period. The sizes of the monuments are different, there are some large pieces, but also an impressive number of small altars. The material used is generally limestone, but for smaller altars was used sandstone and tuff of inferior quality. When there is an item carved out of local stone, there can be little doubt that it was made within a limited radius.

One of the biggest deficiencies of our study is the lack of petrographic studies. It would have been extremely useful if samples from a majority of the monuments were analyzed, in order to achieve information regarding the provenance and distribution of limestone from certain quarries for the sculptures in Porolissum and in the region. In addition, it would have helped a lot to examined whether similar sculptures were prefabricated and produced in the same workshop. So, our only way was to examine the sculptural material concerning technical and stylistic elaborations and try to obtain information on workshop traditions, possible itinerant and local workshops. Furthermore, some informations were gathered when analyzing the historical context, the erection of the altars and statue bases, the social status of the customers and worshipers, as well as the occasion of the erection. In some cases, evidence for reworking and reusing of sculptures, epigraphic and numismatic evidence, and the sculptural material was to be considered likewise.

Through this general study, we are able now to have a complete overview on the votive altars and statue bases in stone raised in the honor of the Roman deities from Porolissum. As artistic value, the votive altars from Porolissum does not distinguish itself from the most Roman provincial sculptural items of this category. New discoveries could change significantly the picture of how cults were celebrated inside the Roman fort and the nearby town of Porolissum. Current view are in need of revision. Concluding, the Roman sculptural center from Porolissum was specialized in

making small and medium-sized votive altars, made out of local stone quarried from the nearby quarries. Only in the case of special orders there are monuments of bigger size and high aesthetic value, referring here to the statue bases of temples or altars raised by characters with a high financial status in the city. Even the military units dedications are not very spectacular. From the stylistic point of view, it is noticeable influences from the other cities of Dacia Porolissensis, but especially those from the neighboring province of Pannonia Inferior.

Catalogue¹²⁰

Statue basis

SB 1. (Pl. I/SB1 a-d).

Prov.: Porolissum, found in the ruins of a building.

Loc.: MJIAZ; Inv. no.: 213.

Stein 1942, 4, Fig. 2; Bodor 1962, 32; Bodor 1963, 217, n. 40, no. 8, Fig. 4; Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, 14, no. 12, Fig. 12; Gudea 1989, 767, no. 32, Pl. CCLXXV; Schallmayer et alii 1990, 415, no. 540; Paki 1998, 61, no. 42; ILD 687; Gudea 2007, 10, no. 3; Cupcea 2010, 392, no. 44; Diaconescu 2011, 142, no. 2; HD 044626.

Well preserved on the front, but with the left part of the pediment damaged.

H.: 132 cm; W.: 74 cm; Th.: 54 cm; inscription field: 71 × 56 cm; letter H.: 8 cm; dist.: 1.5 cm; limestone.

The monument is well-fashioned on three sides, and roughly carved at the back. The pediment with a right-angled shaped base, is connected with the inscription field by a strongly shaped *kyma*, a *listel* and a well-carved molding. The plinth is connected to the inscription field by a simple *listel*. The pediment is decorated with a triangular gable in which five-petalled rosette and *acanthus* leaves are placed, half-crescents and *acroteria* on the margins, the same decoration on the lateral sides. The pediment has on the top some few small holes in a shoe shape and three bigger orifices that suggest that on the top of the monument, a statue was placed on.

Deo Libero / Patri Titus / Flavius / Valentianus / b(ene)ff(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis).

Ligature: r. 4: NT

Dated towards the late 2nd - early 3rd century AD, by the epithet Deus of the divinity.

SB 2. (Pl. I/SB2 a-d).

Prov.: Porolissum, Roman town, sector LM, building LM 1-S, room b.

Loc.: MJIAZ. Inv. no.: CC. 216/2000

Gudea, Tamba 2001, 25, no. 1, Fig. 16-17; Piso 2001, 225-233, no. 2, Fig. 2 a-b; Petolescu 2001, 228-230, no. 75; Alicu 2001, 205; Nemeti 2005, 356-357, no. 205; Piso 2005, 323; Królczyk 2005, 174; ILD 683; Petolescu 2006, 464-465, no. 7; AE 2001, 1707; AE 2006, 1125; Popescu 2006, 481-483, Fig. 1; Gudea 2007, 10, no. 10; Szabó 2007, 46, D26, 54, D30, 55, D31; Mihailescu-Bârliba 2010, 172, no. 335, no. 336, no. 337; HD 043639; Lupa 13200.

Broken into several pieces, the monument was found collapsed, with the face lifted up, the text of the inscription was dislocated; restored in the MJIAZ lab; it lacks the right part of the pediment and the upper right part of the inscription field.

H.: 104 cm; W.: 61 cm; Th.: 60 cm; inscription field: 68 × 56 cm; letter H.: 3-4.5 cm; dist.: 1.5 cm; volcanic tuff.

¹²⁰ The following abbreviations were used for the description of the sculptural pieces: SB = statue base; A = altar; Prov. = provenance; Loc. = place of preservation; H. = height; W. = width; Th. = thickness; L. = length; D. = diameter; r. = row; dist. = distance between the lines).

The pediment is decorated in the center with the head of the Goddess Luna, uncovered, her hair is parted in the middle; on the neck the two lunar horns occur; on the right side of the head is a *pinea*, and wreath ornaments on the lateral sides. The plinth is 20 cm high, is rectangular and has above two moldings. In the back is a niche of 63 × 38 × 20 cm.

After Gudea, Tamba: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) D(olicheno) / Pro Salute et incolu/mitate Imp(eratoris) C(aesaris) M(arci) Antoni / Gordiani Pii F(elici) Aug(usti) / et coh(ortis) III Camp(estris) M(arcus) Aurel(ius) Ital/us IIIvir M(unicipii) S(eptimii) P(orolissensium) (et) M(arcus) Ant(onius) Mavius / vet(eranus) et dec(urio) ornat(us) ornamen(tis) IIII vir(alibus) / col(oniae) s(upra) s(criptae) et Acius Flavus et C(aius) M(arcus) Vegesius / sacerdotes D(ei) I(ovi) et Col(oniae) s(upra) s(criptae) templum et / tabernis (a)ere suo fecerunt.*

After Piso: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) [D(olicheno)] / pro salute et [incolu]/mitate Imp(eratoris) C(aesaris) M(arci) [Ant(onii)] / Gordiani Pii F(elici) Aug(usti) / et coh(ortis) III Camp(estris) M(arcus) Aurel(ius) Fla(v)us IIIvir m(unicipii) S(eptimii) P(orolissensium) M(arcus) Ant(onius) Maximu[s] / vet(eranus) et dec(urio) o[rnat]us ornamen(tis) IIII vir(alibus) / m(unicipii) s(upra) s(criptae) et Aure(lius) Fla(v)us dec(urio) m(unicipii) vegesi[m]a[r(ius)] / sacerdotes dei et coh(ortis) s(upra) s(criptae) / [t]emp[lum] cum / tabernis (a)ere suo feceru[nt].* Ligatures (after Piso): r. 2: ET; r. 3: TE; r. 5: CO, MP, RE; r. 6: NT; r. 7: VET, ET, DE, [NAT]; r. 8: ET, AVRE, DE, VE; r. 9: RD, TE, DE, CO, [T]E; r. 10: BE, RE; bars under abbreviations in r. 3, 5, 6, 8, 9; separation points.

Dated 238-244 AD.

Altars

Type I. a. Altar with pediment with a triangular gable decorated with *acanthus* leaves and a rosette (with or without *acroteria*)

A1. Votive altar (Pl. IV/A1).

Prov.: Porolissum.

Loc.: MJIAZ.

Zăgreanu, Iov 2010, 337, no. 7, Pl. III/7; Zăgreanu, Iov 2011, 298, no. 7, Pl. III/7.

Fragment, only the pediment remained.

H. preserved: 21 cm; W: 38 cm; Th.: 20 cm; white limestone.

A small altar, with a pediment of 14 cm height. In a triangular gable, there is a flower with four petals, neatly represented, between two leaves. The *acroteria* were destroyed. A molding of 1 cm separates the front from the inscription field.

A2. Votive altar (Pl. IV/A2).

Prov.: Porolissum, discovered in the Nemesis sanctuary from the amphitheater, in 1988.

Loc.: MJIAZ; Inv. no.: CC. 668/1988.

Gudea et alii 1992, 149-150, 174, Fig.1; Bajusz 2003, 166, no. 1; Bajusz 2011, Pl. LXXIX; AE 2003, no. 1468; ILD 692; Gudea 2007, 10, no. 11; Piso 2014a, 127, no. 5, Fig. 5; ILD 1034; HD 043945; Lupa 13222.

Well preserved, the plinth damaged.

H.: 56 cm; W.: 32; Th.: 21 cm; inscription field: 25 × 25 cm; letter H.: 4-6 cm; yellowish limestone. The pediment is ornamented with a double leaf in a triangular gable. The sides have two *acroteria* formed of *acanthus* leaf bulbs, sketched easily.

Neme/si sac(rum) / Nepos / te(sserarius) n(umeri) Pal(myrenorum).

Ligature: in r. 4: NP.

Dated by I. Piso at the middle of the 3rd century AD.

A3. Votive altar (Pl. IV/A3 a-b).

Prov.: Porolissum.

Loc.: MJIAZ.

Zăgreanu, Iov 2010, 337, no. 3, Pl. III/3 a-b; Zăgreanu, Iov 2011, 297, no. 3, Pl. III/3 a-b.

Only the upper part preserved.

H. preserved: 26 cm, W. preserved: 15 cm, Th.: 10 cm; inscription field: 7 cm left; letters H.: 1 cm; limestone.

The right side of the piece is kept. On the pediment, a vegetable motif is visible. On the right side, in a frame defined on the edges, is presented schematically an animal with a long tail, probably a dog. Two lines have been preserved with letters of different height, lacking carving skills. *Sif}lva/no.*

A4. Votive altar (Pl. IV/A4).

Prov.: Porolissum, inside the Roman fort.

Loc.: lost.

Tóth 1978, 17, no. 3; Gudea 1989, 768, no. 38; ILD 695.

Fragment, only the left half of the upper part was preserved.

Limestone.

It was the left upper part of the monument. Only a drawing of the monument was left. There it can be seen the left part of the triangular pediment and a small part of the *acanthus* leaf.

Deo...

Type I. b. Altar with the pediment with a triangular gable decorated with a *pinea***A5. Votive altar (Pl. IV/A5).**

Prov.: Porolissum.

Loc.: MJIAZ, Inv. no.: 1883.

Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, 48, no. 170, Fig. 170; Gudea 1989, 794-795, no. 161.

Only the right half of the upper end has been preserved.

H. preserved: 55 cm; W. preserved: 33 cm; Th.: 25 cm; white limestone.

Altar with a pediment with a triangular gable. In the middle of the gable is a *pinea*, on the lateral side of the pediment is a floral ornament. The inscription field is anepigraphic.

Type II – Altar with the pediment with a triangular gable and *pulvini***A6. Votive altar (Pl. IV/A6)**

Prov.: Porolissum, discovered in 1986 in S II, at the entrance of the Roman town, in a building.

Loc.: MJIAZ; Inv. no.: I.S. Pu 4.

Gudea 1988, 178, Fig. 5-6; AE 1988, 977; Petolescu 1989, 397-398, no. 507; Gudea 1996, 278, no. 2; Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2004, 142, no. 89-90; ILD 677; Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2006, 189, no. 115-116; Piso 2014a, 189, no. 9; HD 009422; Lupa 13220.

H.: 114.5 cm; W: 67 cm; Th.: 44 cm; inscription field: 57.5 × 57 cm left, letters H: 3.5-4 cm; dist.: 1-1.5 cm; gray oolitic limestone of good quality.

The top has a cavity for the dispose of the offerings. The pediment is decorated with a triangular gable and two *pulvini*, cylindrically rendered. The gable is marked by two arrowed moldings and in the middle, next to the arrows, are two small circles. The pediment is connected with the inscription field by a strongly shaped *kyma*, a *listel* and a well-carved molding. The plinth is connected to the inscription field by a simple *listel*, a *kyma* and a molding.

Pro salute / et victoria / Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) [M(arci)] / [Aurel(i) Antonini] / [Commodi P(ii) F(elicis)] Aug(usti) n(ostri) restitu(tori) commerc(iorum) / et Genio p(ublici) p(ortorii) Illyr(rici) Cl(audius) Xenophon / proc(urator) Aug(usti) n(ostri) per Marcion(em) et Pol(lionem) vil(icos).

Ligatures: in r. 1: ET, r. 9: HON, r. 11: ET. The name of the emperor is hammered.
Dated by I. Piso in 181–183 (?) AD.

A7. Votive altar (Pl. IV/A7)

Prov.: Porolissum, discovered in 1986 in S II, at the entrance of the Roman town, in a building.
Loc.: MJIAZ, Inv. no.: 1031.

Gudea 1988, 178–179, Fig. 7; AE 1988, 978; AE 1996, 1274; AE 2005, 1289; Petolescu 1989, 398–398, no. 508; Fitz 1992, 201; Paki 1998, 77, no. 81, no. 82; ILD 678; Piso 2007, 183–185, no. 1; ILD 988; HD 009425; Lupa 13221.

The left side of the pediment is damaged.

H.: 129 cm; W.: 60 cm; Th.: 71 cm; inscription field: 61 × 58.5 cm left, letters H.: 2.5–3.5 cm; dist.: 1.5 cm; oolitic limestone.

In the upper part of the pediment a plate for offerings is still visible, but damaged. The pediment is ornamented and has *pulvini*. Between the two *pulvini*, like an ending, there is a cordiform motive something like two semi-palmettes. Under the pediment, in connection with the inscription field, there is a strongly profiled *kyma* of 6.6 cm, a listel of 2 cm and a shaped molding of 1.5 cm. The plinth has two small moldings of 2.5 cm and a bigger one of 5 cm. On the lateral side of the pediment, three large oves are to be noticed.

After Gudea: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / pro salute Imp(eratoris) M(arci) / Aurel(ii) Antonini / Aug(usti) / [[Commodi]] / [[Pii Fel(icis)]] et Genio p(ublici) p(ortorii) / vectigalis Illyr(ici) / procurante Pompeio Longo, proc(uratore) / Aug(usti), Felix et Luc(ius) vil(ici).*

After Piso: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / pro salute Imp(eratoris) M(arci) / Aurel(ii) Antonini / Aug(usti) / [[[et Commodi]]] / [[[Caesa(aris)]] et Genio p(ublici) p(ortorii) / vectigalis Illyr(ici) / procurante Pompeio Longo, proc(uratore) / Aug(usti), Felix eius vil(icus).*

Ligatures: r. 7: NT, r. 9: ET. The name of the emperor is hammered.

Dated by I. Piso in 175–177 AD.

Type III. Altar decorated with geometrical figures

A8. Votive altar (Pl. IV/A8).

Prov.: Porolissum, discovered in 1979, inserted in the enclosure wall of the Roman fort, on the SE side.

Loc.: MJIAZ.

Chirilă et alii 1980, 89–90, no. 3, Fig. 3; Sanie 1981, 218, no. 1, 292, no. 1; Ardevan 1998, 440, R. 489; Paki 1998, 45–46, no. 5; ILD 680; Isac 2007, 151, Pl. II; Mihailescu-Bîrliaba 2010, 172, no. 326; Szabó 2007, 29, D13; Diaconescu 2011, 142, no. 4; HD 044623.

Well preserved.

H.: 82 cm; W.: 25 cm; Th.: 37 cm; inscription field: 30 × 46 cm; letter H.: 2.5–3 cm. dist.: 1.5–2 cm; oolitic limestone.

The pediment has two *acroteria* and in the middle a triangular ornament. The same decoration is on the lateral sides. On the top of the pediment there are traces of intense burning. The epigraphic field is boarded by a simple molding.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / P(ublius) Aelius M(alachu(s)) / flamen / q(uin)q(uennalis) mun(icipii) / S(eptimii) Por(olissensis) et sa/cerdos iu(...?) / dei n(umeri) P(almyrenorum) P(orolissensium) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

Ligatures: r. 6: ET, r. 7: TS. The name of the emperor is hammered.

Dated in the 3rd century AD, based on the municipal status of the town.

A9. Votive altar (Pl. IV/A9).

Prov.: Porolissum, discovered in S63 in the SE of the Roman fort, inserted in the wall, in 1979.

Loc.: MJIAZ.

Chirilă et alii 1980, 89, no. 2, Fig. 3/1; Sanie 1981, 162, n. 40; Eskenasy 1995, 163, IIE, Pl. LXXII; Gudea 1999, 280-281; Gudea2000, 200-201, no. 2, Fig. 10; Ardevan 1998, 439, R. 488; Paki 1998, 44-45, no. 2; ILD 681; Isac 2007, 151, Pl. II; Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2010, 171, no. 325; HD 044624.

Broken in two pieces, that merges perfectly together.

H: 95 cm; W: 27 cm; Th.: 25 cm; inscription field: 20 × 38 cm; letter H: 3-3.5 cm; yellowish limestone.

It is decorated on the front and both sides. The pediment is decorated with two *acroteria* filled with parallel streaks, and with a triangle in the middle, also filled with streaks. The top of the pediment is carved in steps with an ornament in the form of a triangle pointed down in a step-wise semi-gable. On the pediment there is a path for libations, decorated on the lateral sides, but with simple *acroteria*, without streaks. Centrally on top, there is a *focus*, 21 × 15 cm with a margin of 2.5 cm.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / P(ublius) Aelius / Iacubus / dec(urio) / mun(icipii) / Por(olissensis) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

Dated in the 3rd century AD, based on the municipal status of the town.

A10. Votive altar (Pl. IV/A10).

Prov.: Porolissum, discovered in 1987 near the water tank in *praetentura sinistra*, in a secondary position.

Loc.: MJIAZ; Inv. no.: 1627.

Gudea, Chirilă 1988, 153, Fig. 7; AE 1988, 976; AE 1999, 1278; Sanie 1999, 177, no. 4, Fig. 1/3; Gudea 2000, 201-202, no. 3, Fig. 11; Gudea 2007, 10, no. 12; ILD 682; Varga 2014, 140, no. 38; Dana 2016, 108-109, no. 12, Fig. 23; HD 009419.

Well preserved.

D.: 53 cm; W.: 25 cm; Th.: 21 cm; inscription field: 40 × 19 cm; letter H.: 4 cm; oolitic limestone. A small altar, decorated with a simple gable with *acroteria* on two sides and a semicircular decor in the middle. It has a hole in the top, of 12.5 × 7 cm, where it was probably fixed a vessel for libations.

After Petolescu: *Iupp(iter) M(axime) / Sabidas Hutri / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

After Dana: *Iup(iter?) M(aximus) / Sabdas / Hutri / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

Ligature: r. 1, 2: ΣAB, the inscription rows are lined.

Dated 2nd century AD.

Type. IV. Altars with the pediment decorated with representations in relief

A11. Votive altar (Pl. V/A11)

Prov.: Porolissum.

Loc.: MJIAZ; Inv. no.: 1030.

Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, 20, no. 26, Fig. 26; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 107, No. 20; Bianchi 1985, 36, 278, no. 182; Gudea 1989, 774, no. 66, Pl. CCLXXX; ILD 695; HD 044627.

Fragment, only the left half of the upper end has been preserved.

H. preserved: 38 cm; W. preserved: 31 cm; Th.: 17 cm; letter H.: 6 cm; limestone.

It represents the top of the altar. The cornice is decorated with a triple molding (two profiles of *cavetto* type, separated by a listel), above the pediment it is decorated with *acroteria* at the edges, and a rounded *pineae* in the center. From the first line, only three letters have been preserved at their original height. Based on the inscription, it is placed in the votive altars category. The monument was published as a funerary altar.

DE(o)...

A12. Votive altar (Pl. V/A12).

Prov.: Porolissum.

Loc.: MJIAZ, Inv. no.: 1018.

Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, 41, no. 136, Fig. 136; Gudea 1989, 787, no. 92.

Fragment, only the right of the upper end has been preserved.

H. preserved: 21 cm; W. preserved: 30 cm; Th.: 20 cm; white limestone.

Small altar, in the upper gable having a *pinea* framed by two *acroteria*, only the right one kept.

A13. Votive altar (Pl. V/A13).

Prov.: Porolissum, inside the Roman fort, discovered in 1985 somewhere near the *principia*.

Loc.: MJIAZ; Inv. no.: P. 1985 Pm.179.

Zăgreanu, Iov 2010, 338, no. 6, Pl. III/6 a-d; Zăgreanu, Iov 2011, 298, no. 6, Pl. III/6 a-d.

Fragment from the upper part.

H. preserved: 22 cm; W.: 10 cm; Th.: 15 cm; white limestone.

Only the top part remains with a pediment decorated on all sides. From the inscription field a part of 5 × 12 cm remains. It is separated from the top by five deeply incised moldings. The front has a decoration in steps, in the main field there is an eagle. On the left and right sides there is a human character and on the back-side a moon. Both the human character and the eagle are extremely primitively represented. From the epigraphic field, that was bordered by a simple molding, nothing remains, so it is not known to which deity was the altar dedicated.

Lost monuments**A14. Votive altar (Pl. V/A14).**

Prov.: Porolissum, inside the Roman fort, discovered in 1943 at the *porta principalis sinistra*.

Loc.: lost.

Tóth 1978, 16, no.1, Pl. IV; AE 1979, 487; Gudea 1989, 768, no. 36; Paki 1998, 61, no. 42; ILD 689; Gudea 2007, 10, no. 7; HD 008296; Lupa 13218.

Damaged.

H.: 55 cm; W.: 25; Th.: 22 cm; inscription field: 25 × 35 cm, letter H.: 2.8–6 cm; limestone.

The pediment was nicely shaped with steps motives on three sides. The letters retained traces of red paint.

Silvano / Domest(ico) / Fl(avius) Mar(...)/vo(tum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

Type V. Altars with simple pediment**A15. Votive altar (Pl. V/A15)**

Prov.: Porolissum, discovered inside the Roman fort, in the debris of *via decumana*.

Loc.: MJIAZ; Inv. no.: CC. 721/2015.

Chirilă et alii 1992, 145, Fig. 12; ILD 686; Gudea 2007, 11, no. 12; HD 044625.

Severely damaged.

H. preserved: 70 cm; W.: 32 cm; Th.: 22 cm; inscription field: 40 × 32 cm; letter H.: 3.5 cm; yellowish limestone.

An altar with a simple pediment, the epigraphic field appears to be unfinished. Only four rows are visible. Four lines have been preserved at their original height, but only a few letters are visible.

[De]o Vol[ca]no / [p]ro salute N / [...] C / [...] AM.

A16. Votive altar (Pl. V/A16).

Prov.: Porolissum, discovered on the Pomăt Hill, in 1917.

Loc.: MJIAZ; Inv. no.: 1627.

Russu 1959, 872, no.1, Fig. 2; AE 1960, 219; Russu 1967, 92; Gudea, Lucăcel, 1975, 14, no. 13, Fig. 13; Tóth 1978, 38, no. 49, Pl. CCLXXV; Gudea 1989, 768, no. 34; Paki 1998, 77-78, no. 83, 78, no. 85; Reuter 1999, 530, no. 150; Petolescu 2001, 145; Dana 2004, 442; ILD 690; Gudea 2007, 10, no. 5; Zahariade 2009, 278, 350, 354; Cupcea 2010, 392, no. 690; Varga 2014, 140, no. 35; HD 018925; Lupa 13213.

Well preserved, the upper right corner broken. The inferior part is decorated with a triple molding (a central profile of *cavetto* type, separated by two listels).

H.: 40 cm; W.: 26.5 cm; Th.: 22 cm; inscription field: 26 × 25 cm; letter H: 3,5 cm. dist.: 1-2 cm; volcanic tuff.

Sil(vano) Do(mestico) / Mucianu/s optio Pal/m(yrenorum) / v(otum) po(suit) l(ibens) m(erito).

Dated in the 3rd century AD.

A17. Votive altar (Pl. V/A17).

Prov.: Porolissum, discovered inside the Roman fort near the *principia* in 1939-1940.

Loc.: MJIAZ; Inv. no.: 227 (lost today).

Szilágyi 1943, 96, n. 68; Radnóti 1945, 150-151, 167, Pl. XC, Fig. 2; AE 1947, 32; AE 1971, 388; Russu 1968, 453-454, no. 2, Fig. 2; Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, 12, no. 9, Fig. 9; Tóth 1978, 37, no. 44, Pl. VIII; Gudea 1977, 131-132, no. 5, Fig. 5; Gudea 1989, 767, no. 29, Pl. CCLXXV; Gudea 2007, 10, no. 1; ILD 68; Zugravu 2005, 118, no. 46; Piso 2015, 200, no. 11, Fig. 12; HD 019355; Lupa 1321.

Fragment, the inferior part is missing.

H. preserved: 47 cm; W.: 45 cm; Th.: 31 cm; inscription field: 32 × 35 cm; letter H.: 3-4 cm; limestone.

It is the upper part of an altar with a simple pediment, damaged partially. The cornice is decorated with a triple molding (two profiles of *cavetto* type, separated by a listel). Seven lines have been preserved from the main inscription, with *hederae* in rows 1, 2 and 5.

Apollini / ex viso / coh(ors) I Brittonum (miliaria) eq(uitata) / p(ia) f(idelis) / c(ivium) R(omanorum) / [c]ui pr(a)eest / [C?]ludius.

Dated in the 2nd century AD.

A18. Votive altar (Pl. V/A18).

Prov.: Porolissum, discovered inside the Roman fort in 1939, during excavations.

Loc.: MIAZ; Inv. no.: 809.

Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, 21, no. 32, Fig. 32; L. Țeposu-Marinescu 1982, 175, no. 60; Gudea 1989, 774, no. 62, Pl. CCLXXX; ILD 723; HD 44636.

The front of the monument is damaged except the upper right corner.

H.: 40 cm; W.: 25 cm; Th.: 11 cm; inscription field: 21.5 × 18 cm; letter H.: 3 cm; dist.: 1 cm; limestone.

At the top, on the pediment, there is a four-side truncated crest, with a specially widened space for libations. Four lines have been preserved at their original height, but only a few letters are visible.

[Silv?]an[o]¹²¹ / [.....]con- / [.....]nt(.) / [.....]T / [- - -].

Lost monuments

A19. Votive altar (Pl. V/A19).

Prov.: Porolissum, Roman fort, discovered by C. Daicoviciu, before 1940 in the Astra Zalău collection.

¹²¹ A new reading for the inscription, is proposed by D. Deac, to whom I would like to thank for his observation.

Loc.: lost.

Russu 1968, 453, no. 1; AE 1971, 387; Branga 1986, 99, no. 95; Gudea 1989, 768, no. 33; Gudea 2007, 10, no. 4; Ardevan 1998, 439, R. 487; Paki 1998, 67–68, no. 54; Królczyk 2005, 171; ILD 688; Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2010, 171, no. 324; Piso 2015, 198–199, no. 9, Fig. 10; HD 011698; Lupa 13214.

Damaged.

H.: 74 cm; W.: 35 cm; Th.: 30 cm; letter H.: 4 cm; limestone.

Only a simple drawing was kept in Daicoviciu's notebooks, which shows that there is a simple pediment with a focus in the middle.

Silvano / Domest(i)c(o) / sacrum / Val(erius) Them(o) (sive The(i)m(es)) / v[et(eranus)] et dec(urio) / municip(ii) / [v(otum)] s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

Ligature: in r. 2: possible TI, CO, in r. 4: EI.

Dated in the 3rd century AD, based on the municipal status of the town.

Uncertain altars with damaged pediments

A20. Votive altar (Pl. V/A20).

Prov.: Porolissum, Roman fort, discovered during 1985 excavations in the *latus praetorium sinistrum*.

Loc.: MJIAZ; Inv. no.: 143/2013.

Dana, Zăgreanu 2013, 32–35, no. 2, Fig. 3; ILD 989.

Damaged, preserved in two pieces, the pediment is missing and part of the epigraphic field in the upper zone.

H. preserved: 65 cm; W.: 27 cm; Th.: 30 cm; inscription field: 60 × 27 cm; letter H: 3–5 cm; dist.: 2–2.5 cm; oolitic limestone.

The inscription field is intact, and the rows are marked with double lines.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / et Iunoni / Reg(inae) P(ublius) Ael(ius) / Stadylo / dec(urio) aedil(is) / pro vot(o).

Ligatures: in r. 3 and r. 5: AE.

Dated in the 3rd century AD, based on the municipal status of the town.

A21. Votive altar (Pl. V/A21).

Prov.: Porolissum, discovered in the NV part of the Roman fort.

Loc.: MJIAZ; Inv. no.: 1044.

Daicoviciu 1940, 325, no. 6; AE 1944, 50; AE 1977, 662; Russu 1959, 183; Russu 1975, 61, no. 1, Fig. 5 a-b; Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, 15, no. 14, Fig. 14; Sanie 1989, 1253, no. 40; Gudea 1989, 768, no. 37, Pl. CCLXXV; Gudea 2007, 10, no. 8; Ardevan 1998, 439, R. 486; Paki 1998, 51–52, no. 21; Alicu 2001, 234, no. 21; ILD 694; Szabó 2007, 56–57, D32; Diaconescu 2011, 142, no. 3; Piso 2014a, 126–127, no. 4, Fig. 4; ILD 1033; HD 020331; Lupa 13204.

Fragment, the upper part is missing.

H. preserved: 63.5 cm; W.: 32 cm; Th.: 16 cm; inscription field: 60 × 27 cm; letter H: 3.5–4.5 cm, dist.: 2 cm; limestone.

The monument was reused. The inscription field is very corroded.

De(ae) Suri/ae Aur(elius) / Gaianus / de(curio) m(unicipii) P(rolissensis) / sace(r)do[s].

After Piso: *De(ae) Suri/ae / Aur(elius) / Gaianu<s> / de(curio) m(unicipii) P(rolissensis) / sace(rdos) dei.*

Dated in the 3rd century AD, based on the municipal status of the town.

A22. Votive altar (Pl. VI/A22).

Prov.: Porolissum, *principia* in SE part, discovered in 1989.

Loc.: MJIAZ; Inv. no.: CC. 338/79.

Gudea, Chirilă, 1992, 167, Fig. 10/5; Piso et alii 2015, 218, no. 4, Fig. 4.

Fragment.

H. preserved: 13 cm; W. preserved: 16 cm; Th. preserved: 9 cm; letter H.: 2.5 cm; limestone.

It is from the upper left part of the inscription field. Three lines have been preserved.

I(ovi) o(ptimo) [m(aximo)] / Aure(lius) / Oce[a]/[nus ...] / [- - - - -].

Dated probably the 3rd century AD.

A23. Votive altar (Pl. VI/A23).

Prov.: Porolissum.

Loc.: MJIAZ.

Piso et alii 2015, 218-219, no. 5, Fig. 5.

Fragment.

H. preserved: 24 cm; W. preserved: 29 cm; Th. preserved: 21 cm; letter H.: 4.5 cm; limestone.

Three lines of the inscription are kept. The inscription recalls a *duumvir* of the town.

[- - - - -] / [I - - -] / *inianus* / *d(ecurio) m(unicipii) Po(rolissensis) IIII/viralis* / [- - - - -].

Dated after Septimius Severus' reign.

Lost monuments

A24. Votive altar (Pl. VI/A24).

Prov.: Porolissum.

Loc.: lost.

Daicoviciu 1937-1940, 323, no. 1; AE 1944, 47; Gudea, 1989, 767, no. 30; Paki 1998, 74, no. 72, no. 73; ILD 691; Gudea 2007, 10, no. 2; HD 020319.

Fragment.

Limestone.

[*For*]tunae / [*Au*]gustae / [*Fe*]lix Aug(usti) / *n(ostri) vil(icus) sacr(um) / vo(tum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.

Ligature: in r. 2: AE.

Dated by Piso¹²² before 173-175 AD.

A25. Votive altar (Pl. VI/A25).

Prov.: Porolissum, from the south part of the Pomăt Hill, from an excavation made by K. Torma inside a building on 12 July 1879.

Loc.: lost.

CIL III 7642; Torma 1879, 89, no. 7; Torma 1880, 129; Gudea, 1989, 768, no. 35; Gudea 2007, 10, no. 6.

Lacking any technical details or description. Only one line was preserved.

H.: 105 cm; W.: 90 cm; limestone.

Sil(vano)....

Anepigraphic altars and uncertain fragments

A26. Votive altar (Pl. VI/A26).

Prov.: Porolissum.

Loc.: MJIAZ; Inv. no.: 1050.

Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, 46-47, no. 159, Fig. 159; Gudea 1989, 794, no. 150.

Well preserved, but one of the corners is fractured.

¹²² Piso 2014a, 297-298.

H.: 56 cm; W.: 25 cm; Th.: 25 cm; white limestone.

The pediment is decorated with a vegetal ornament. A *pulvinus* could be noticed. Above shows a focus with a diameter of 12 cm. Perhaps it is an unfinished piece.

A27. Votive altar (Pl. VI/A27).

Prov.: Porolissum.

Loc.: MJIAZ; Inv. no.: CC. 724/2015.

Well preserved, the plinth is damaged.

H.: 60 cm; W.: 30 cm; Th.: 22 cm; limestone.

On the right side of the pediment is observed the shape of a *pulvinus*. The epigraphic field with a 28 cm height has lines marked, prepared for four lines. The distance between the lines is 6 cm. Perhaps it is an unfinished piece.

A28. Votive altar¹²³ (Pl. VI/A28).

Prov.: Porolissum.

Loc.: used as a pillar inside the altar of the wooden Orthodox church from Jac (Sălaj county).

Preservation state is good. The upper part of the monument was cut to fit with the other sculptural pieces used for the current church altar.

H.: 76 cm, W.: 32 cm, Th.: 18 cm; limestone.

Altar without inscription. The pediment is connected with a plinth of a reused Roman column. The monument is well finished, with the lower part inserted in a hole in the church floor. There are no traces of an epigraphic field. It looks like it was prepared for a future customer. On the back of it, a small hole is visible made during the transport.

A29. Votive altar (Pl. VI/A29).

Prov.: Porolissum, inside the wall toward the *porta praetoria*.

Loc. MJIAZ, Inv. no.: CC. 1382/82.

Zăgreanu, Iov 2010, 337, no. 4, Pl. III/4; Zăgreanu, Iov 2011, 297, no. 4, Pl. III/4.

Preservation state is good.

H.: 40 cm; W.: 25 cm; Th.: 20 cm; white limestone.

Altar without inscription. On the pediment there is a molding that is repeated on the lateral sides.

A30. Votive altar (Pl. VI/A30).

Prov.: Porolissum, in the inner wall toward the *porta praetoria*.

Loc.: MJIAZ; Inv. no.: CC1380/82.

Zăgreanu, Iov 2010, 337, no. 5, Pl. III/5; Zăgreanu, Iov 2011, 297-298, no. 5, Pl. III/5.

Preservation state is good.

H.: 37 cm, W.: 15 cm, Th.: 15 cm; yellow sandstone.

Altar without inscription, possibly deleted. The pediment is connected to the epigraphic field by a simple molding. On top of it, there is a space for a sacrifice vessel. It has traces of mortar on it.

A31. Votive altar (Pl. VI/A31).

Prov.: Porolissum, discovered in the sanctuary room R of Nemesis, from the amphitheater.

Loc.: MJIAZ; Inv. no.: CC. 1314/1987.

Bajusz 2003, 166, no. 2, Pl. VI; Bajusz 2011, Pl. LXXIX.

Broken in two pieces. The upper end of the altar has not been preserved.

¹²³ The photo of the monument was handed to me by C. Iov, to whom I would like to thank on this occasion.

H.: 50 cm (initially), preserved today 25 cm; W: 19 cm, Th.: 8 cm; yellow sandstone.

Altar without inscription. On the pediment there is a simple molding.

A32. Votive altar (Pl. VI/A32).

Prov.: Porolissum, discovered in the sanctuary room R of Nemesis, from the amphitheater.

Loc.: MJIAZ; Inv. no.: CC. 1314/1987.

Bajusz 2003, 167, no. 3, Pl. VII; Bajusz 2011, Pl. LXXX.

Fragment, only the pediment is kept.

H. preserved: 18.5 cm; W. preserved: 23 cm; Th.: 14 cm; oolitic limestone.

The pediment has a *focus* in the middle, and the sides of it are richly decorated with a vegetable ornament. The abacus has three stepped moldings, and immediately below appears the lobes of *acanthus* leaves, neatly carved, but kept fragmented. The *focus* is placed in a molded frame of 2 cm wide, with vegetal motifs rendered in two corners. It comes from an altar with a votive inscription.

A33. Votive altar (Pl. VI/A33).

Prov.: Porolissum.

Loc.: MJIAZ, Inv. no.: 1102.

Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, 48, no. 172, Fig. 172; Gudea 1989, 793, no. 163.

Only the left half of the upper end has been preserved.

H. preserved: 27 cm; W. preserved: 24 cm; Th. preserved: 15 cm; white limestone.

Small votive altar, having kept only the top pediment decorated on all sides. The *acroteria* crest shows pyramidal steps, decorated with a vegetal ornament. Above, a portion of the *focus* is kept.

A34. Votive altar (Pl. VI/A34).

Prov.: Porolissum.

Loc.: MJIAZ.

Fragment, only the upper end has been preserved.

H. preserved: 25 cm; W.: 30 cm; Th.: 20 cm; oolitic limestone.

The pediment has a *focus* on the top; a quite rich vegetal ornament was on the sides of the pediment, today destroyed. It is decorated on one side with a very well done ornament, a large *acanthus* leaf which ends in *acroteria*, decorated in steps into the corner.

Dated in the 3rd century AD by the use of the drill.

A35. Votive altar (Pl. VI/A35).

Prov.: Porolissum, amphitheater zone, reused.

Loc.: MJIAZ, Inv. no.: P. 94/I.

Fragment. Only the left half of the upper end has been preserved.

H. preserved: 36 cm; W. preserved: 24 cm; Th. preserved: 25 cm; yellow sandstone.

It has two moldings, the first one of 8 cm wide, the second of 4 cm; a small part of the inscription field is left.

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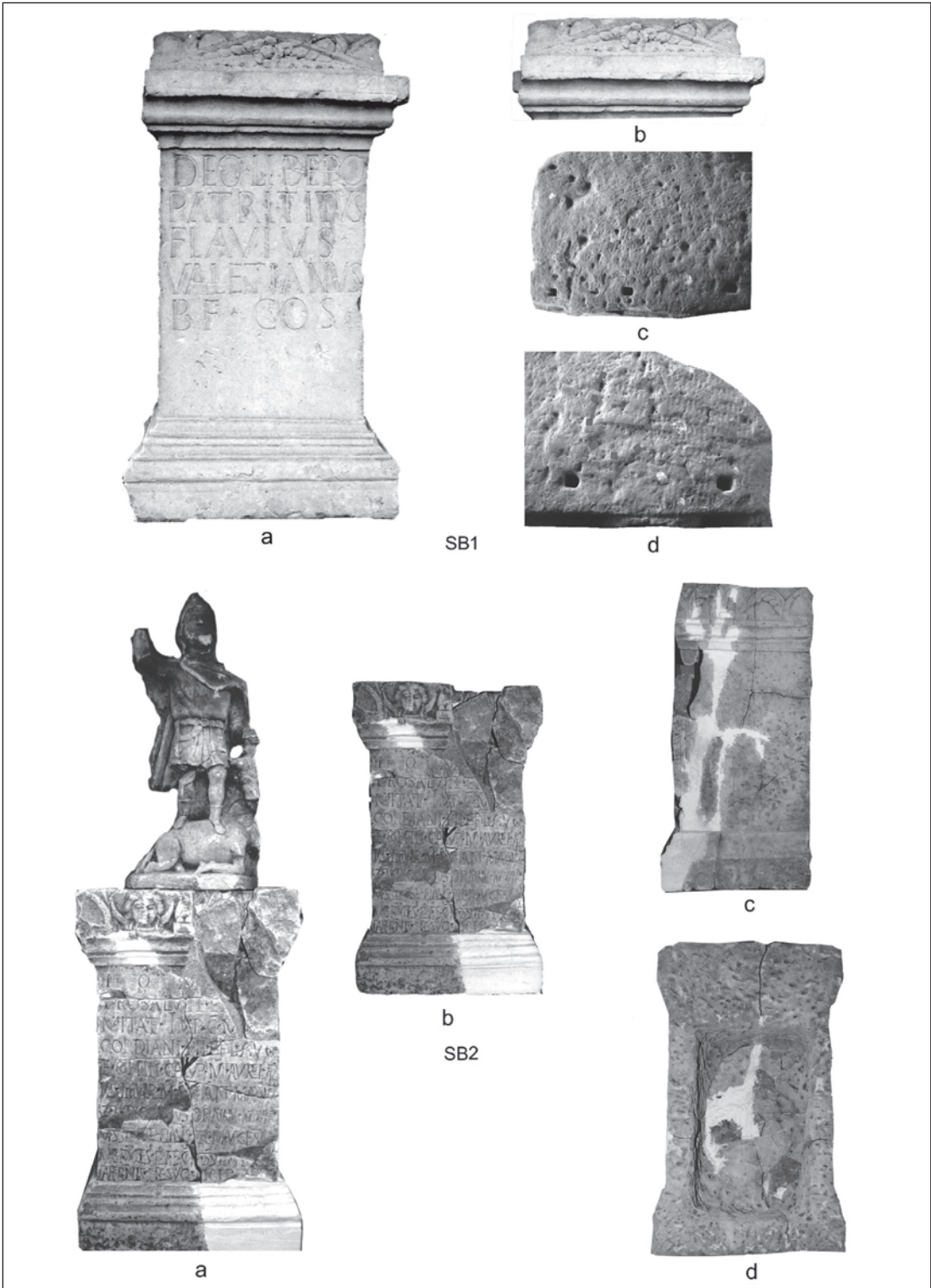
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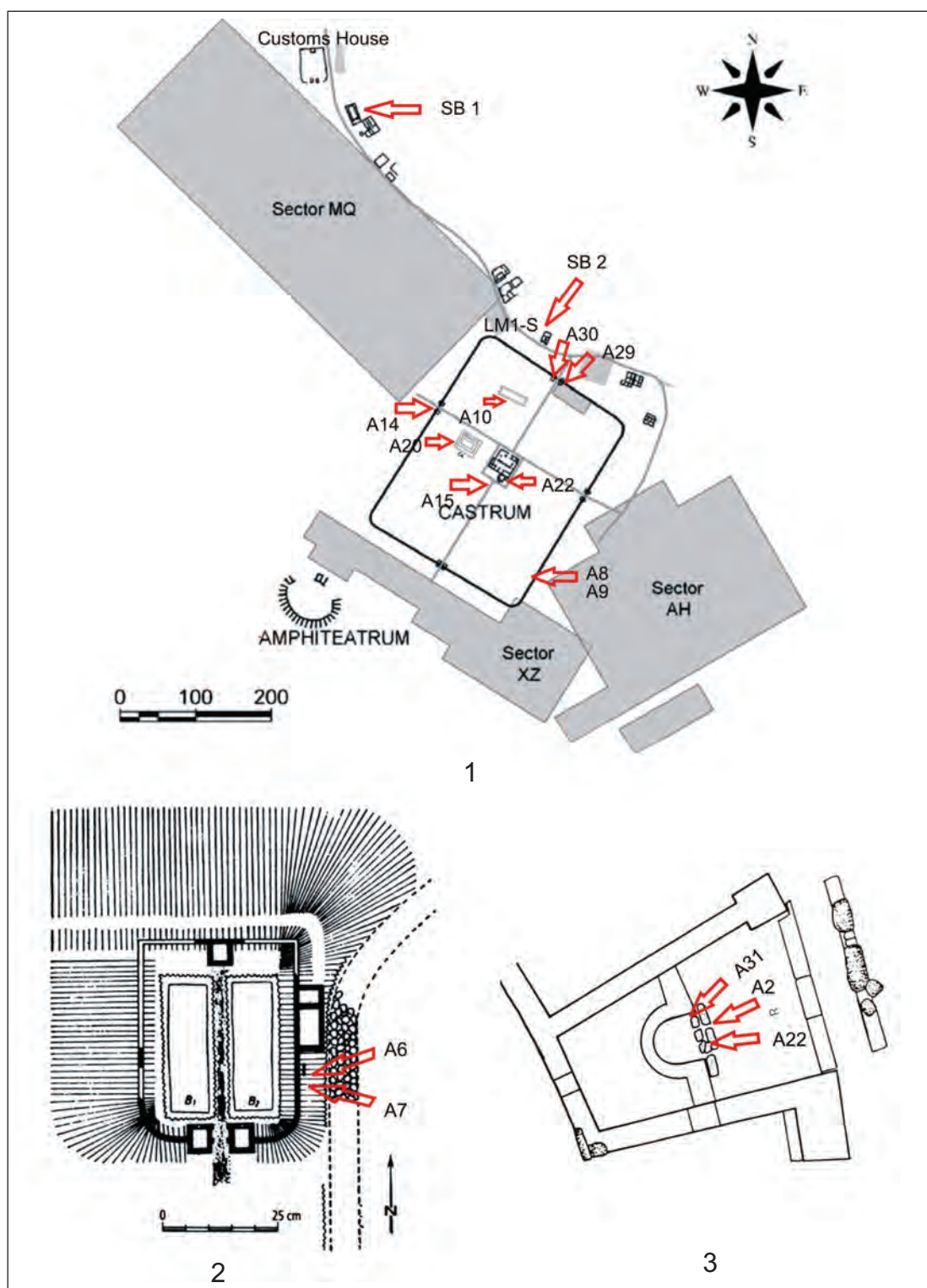
Radu Iustinian Zăgreanu

Museal Complex of Bistrița-Năsăud

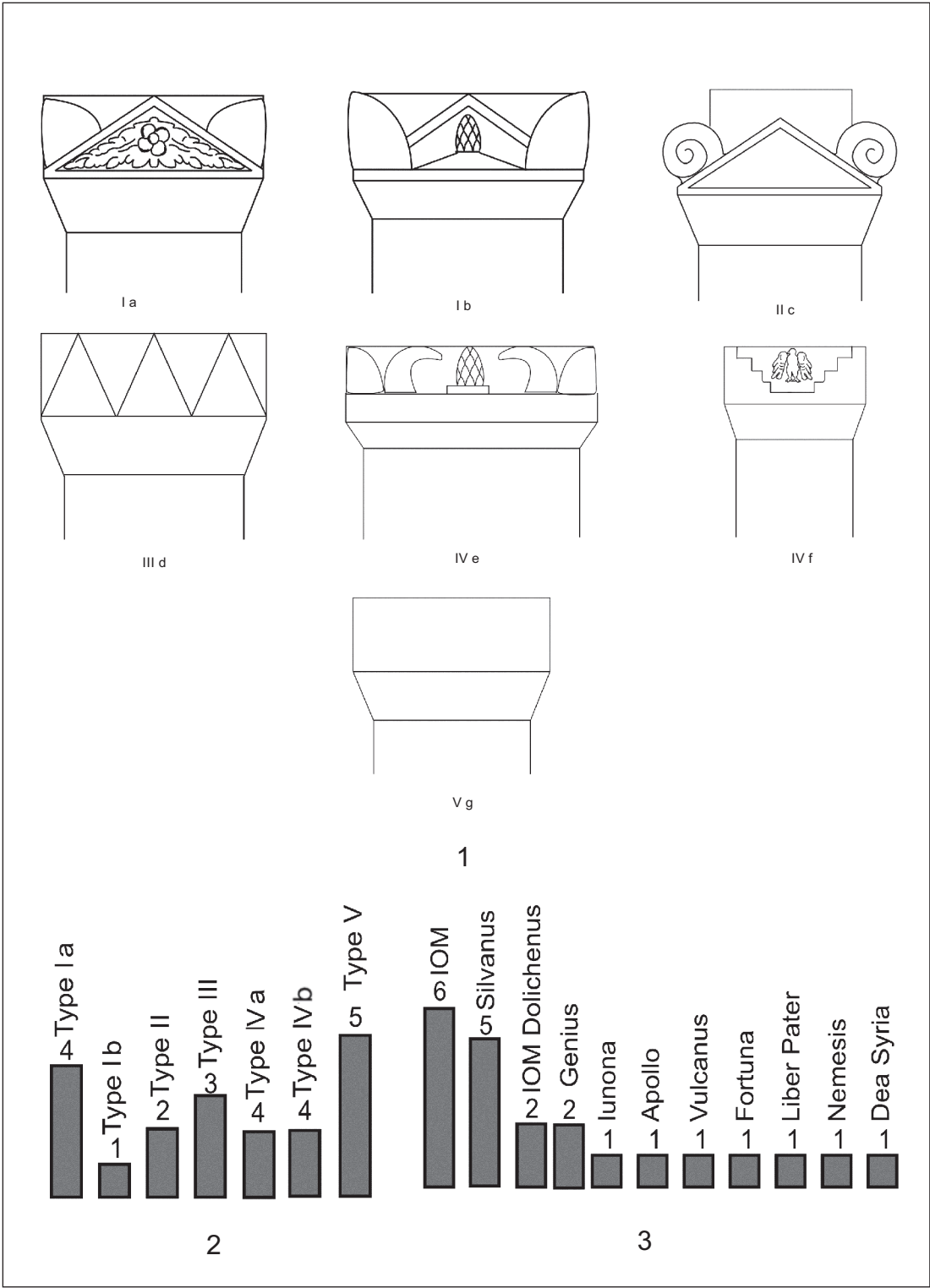
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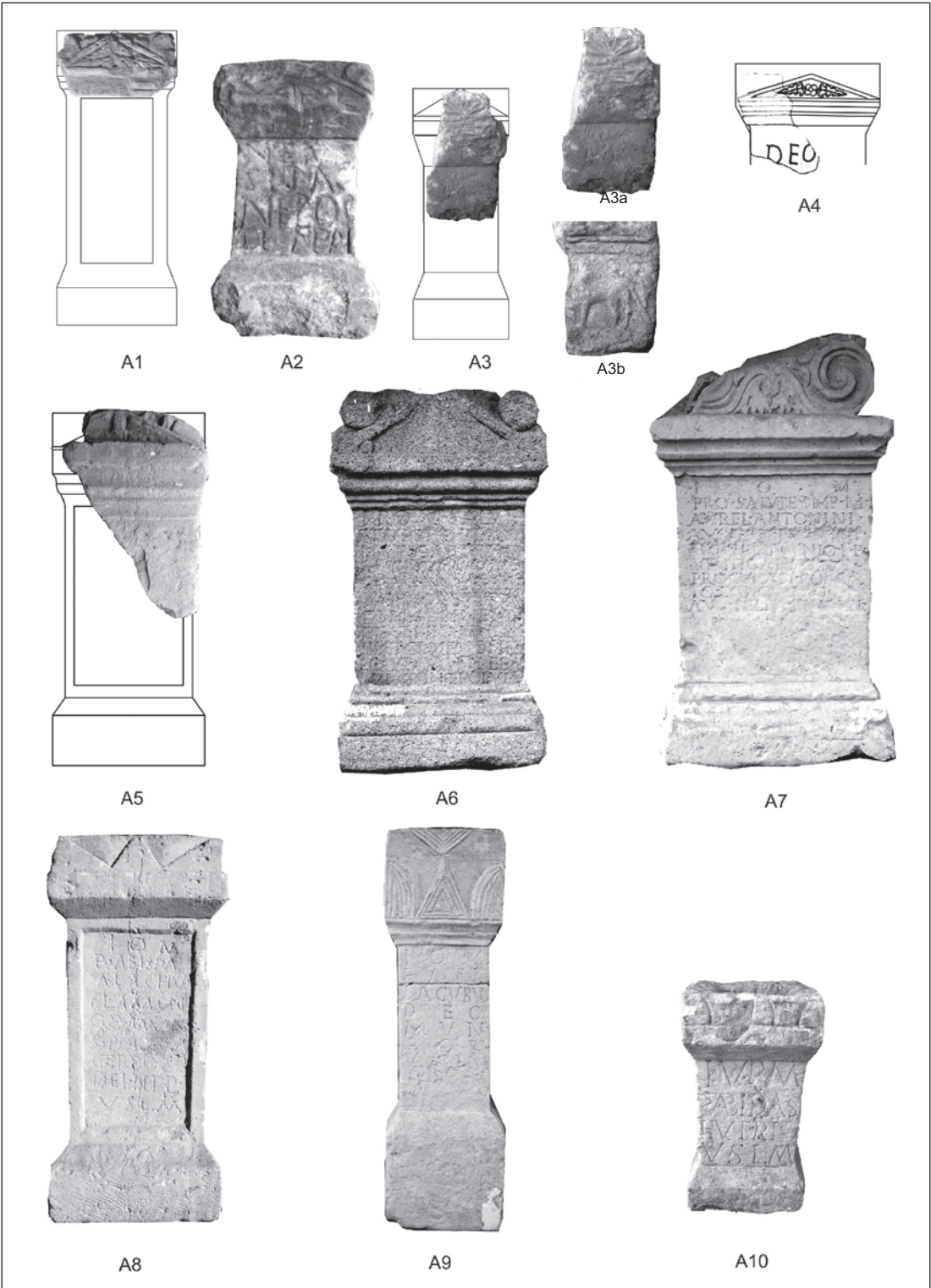
Pl. I. Statue bases.



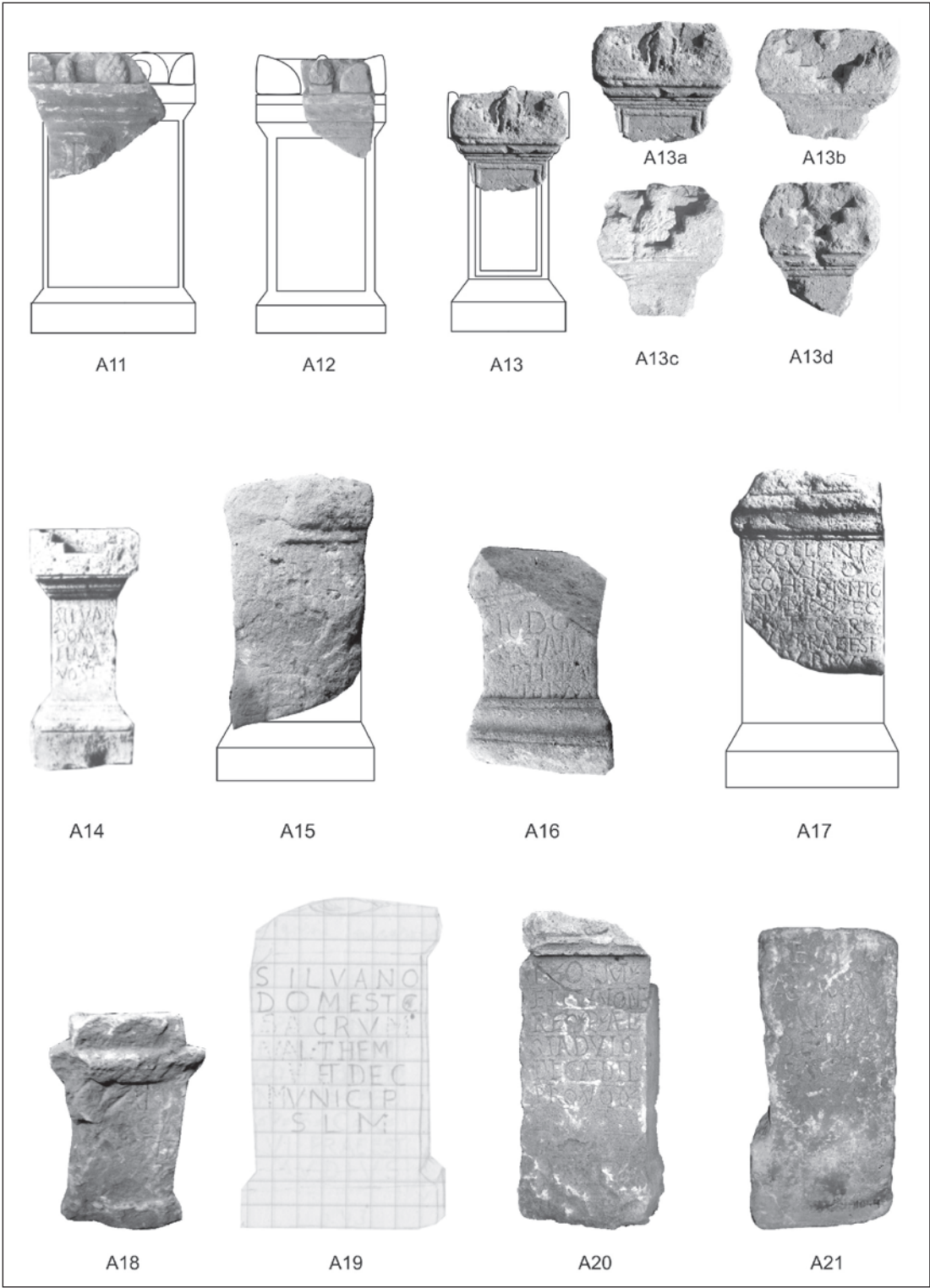
Pl. II. 1. General plan of the Roman town and fort situated on the Pomăt Hill (After Opreanu et alii 2013, 93, Fig. 1); 2. The plan of Customs House (after Gudea 1996, 142, Fig. 4); 3. The plan of the Nemesis Sanctuary from the amphitheatre (after Bajusz 1996, 142, Fig. 4).



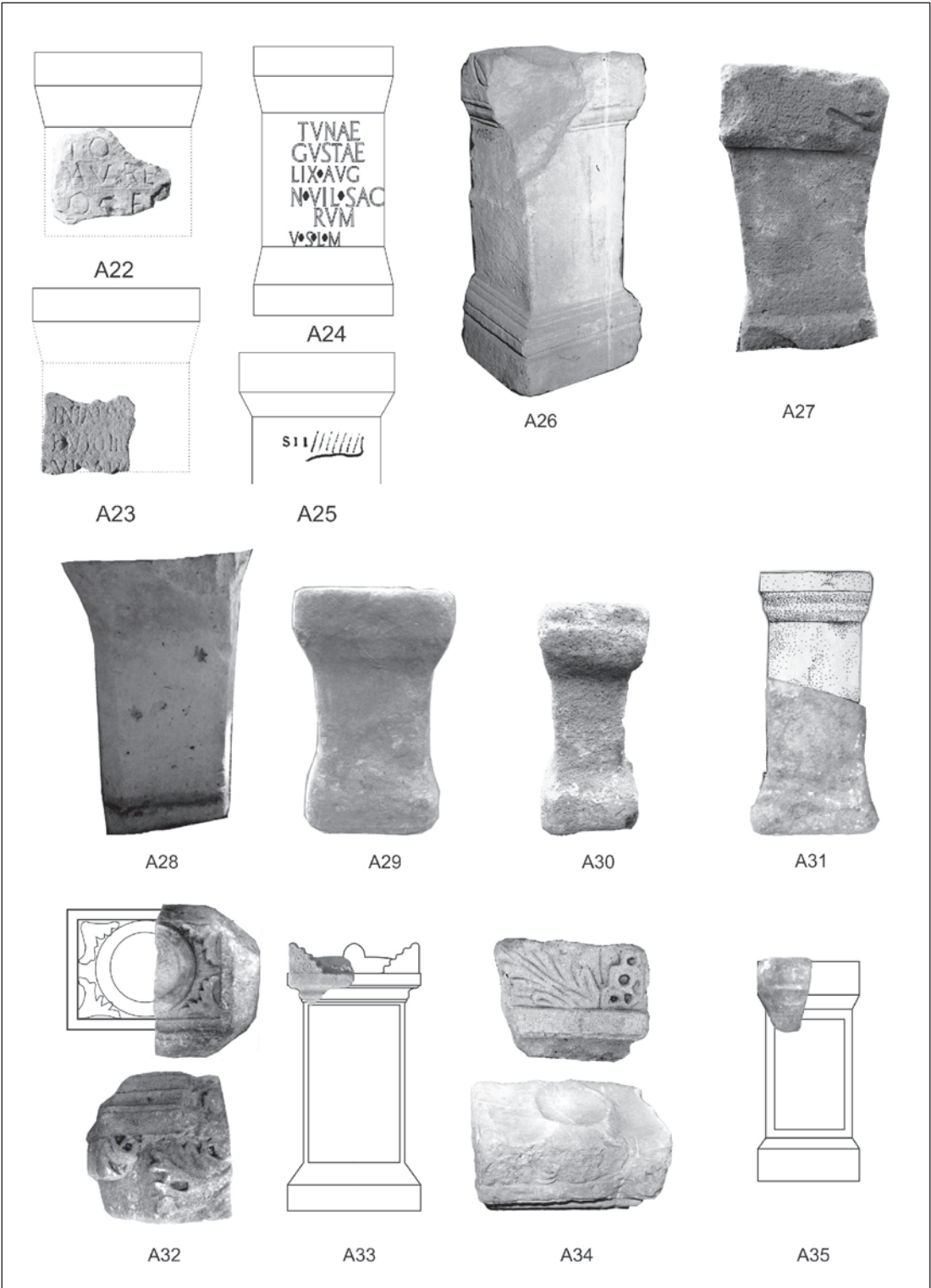
Pl. III. 1. Typology; 2. Types of votive altars from Porolissum;
3. Deities attested on the epigraphs from Porolissum.



Pl. IV. Votive altars.



Pl. IV. Votive altars.



Pl. IV. Votive altars.

REVIEWS

Mihai Bărbulescu, *Arheologia azi, în România / Archaeology today, in Romania*, Editura Idea Design & Print, Cluj 2016, 224 pages.

The book of Mihai Bărbulescu, *Arheologia azi, în România* [Archaeology today, in Romania], Idea Design & Print Publishing House, Cluj 2016, is difficult to frame within a clear-cut category. A memoir, civic, polemical text, specific legislation explained, pamphlet of mythographies. It is a mosaic arisen from Professor Mihai Bărbulescu's lifetime experience, an archaeologist in Romania, that of the past and today.

Although the memoir part, well dosed, is lengthily limited and secondary to the book's structure, is most certainly savoury. Many of its readers, mostly field archaeologists, can taste the anecdotic, laugh and humour on excavation sites even under the harsh working conditions they sometimes entail. Then, younger archaeologists wish to know how the *titans* of the Romanian archaeology, whom they "knew" from book covers, were. To find out they were usual men, that they liked to joke, have a glass and were concerned with everyday life issues. The portraits of the author's professors, briefly sketched in appendix I, most of whom today's specialists did not meet in person, namely Emil Condurachi, Dumitru Tudor, Constantin Daicoviciu, Mihail Macrea, I. I. Russu, complete *the memory showcase*. It is good to know that Romanian archaeology neither started nor will end with us, to be aware that we are *nani gigantium humeris insidentes*.

Chapter I, Noi și antichitatea clasică [We and the Classical Antiquity], pleads for the return to Antiquity, to its patterns, to books after all. Too many archaeologists of today –Mihai Bărbulescu would emphasize precisely that in the following chapters – believe that to unearth ancient things by employing an almost perfect, unless not perfect technique, is actually topmost. Archaeology evolves towards technicism, while the archaeologist becomes a technician, leaving behind that necessary side, which must be the historian. Archaeologists must also be historians, not only excavate for future generations or leave interpreting at the expense of another. Mass education has gradually removed the study of classical languages, the Latin and Greek from school curricula thus any connection to Antiquity has become increasingly more difficult. I always notice, whenever I make an in-depth analysis of a topic, that hypotheses of Carl Gooss, for instance, were much closer to solutions than those of the authors a few decades ago. And I ask myself, rhetorically, what did we lose in the meanwhile, how is this possible when sources are plenty compared to Gooss's time and analysis methods are more refined? In fact, the Sighișoara-based teacher knew by heart the few existent sources, directly from Greek and Latin, and got confused less in an unequal and anarchical secondary literature. Neither in Romania, for that matter anywhere else in the world, we shall return to the *liceo classico*, to the classical education, however it is important to know from sources, as historians, the period that we study

archaeologically. Otherwise, we shall continue to write in excavation reports that we found pre-history potshards, “possibly Neolithic”.

Mihai Bărbulescu wondered how we should today relate to Antiquity, not only us, the archaeologists, but also our contemporaries. Antiquity raises the public’s interest and examples include volunteering on archaeological sites and the re-enactment shows. Nevertheless, in today’s technical and industrialised world, submerged in the pseudo-culture flooding on media channels, one should seek the perennial patterns in the classical Antiquity, which worked during the Renaissance and modern times. The European ancestry is founded on a few identity coordinates, among which the Greco-Roman cultural ascendancy is key.

Chapter II is consistent. *Arheologul român* [The Romanian archaeologist], has a title that reminds me, I have no idea why, of the *Trompetta Carpaților* [The Trumpet of the Carpathians]. How to become an archaeologist is a chapter on the greatness and decay of the profile education in Romania, with references to the academic education in general. Together with other fellow colleagues, the author was directly involved in the establishment of the archaeological education in Romania in the period after the Revolution of December 1989, founding even the department of History – Archaeology with the Faculty of History and Philosophy of the Babeș-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca, still functional today, we do not know for how long. The Babeș-Bolyai University is not an Oxford or Cambridge, Romania is a country too poor for specialised education. As the author notes: studies of “pure” archaeology there are none, graduates being awarded a history diploma with archaeology as specialty. Students too are discontent about learning too much history, about having to study International Relations of the 20th century as well, and what good would that serve. And I tell them, that nowadays, nothing does you any good, except for elementary mathematics which teaches you how to count your money.

How many archaeologists must there be trained in classes and on archaeological sites? That many that Romania needs today. Estimating the number of practising archaeologists to 750 (yet I believe they are more), the author computes there is an archaeologist to 25000 inhabitants. The ratio in France, with ca. 3000 archaeologists, is that of one to 20000 inhabitants, and in Italy, with 4300, one to 14000 inhabitants (however there, 30% have no permanent jobs). I would add here that in Romania neither, 30% of the 750, have permanent jobs.

The parts regarding the qualities and flaws of the archaeologist build up the sketch of an ideal, timeless archaeologist, of the past and today, as seen by Mihai Bărbulescu. An essential quality is the passion and here the author brings personal examples. “There is nothing comparable with summer mornings on an archaeological site, when everything seems possible, when the greatest find lies somewhere near ...” (p. 50). Passion is a key ingredient, beside patience. This is how it happened on the 18th of July 1996 when the author made the find of his lifetime, the princely 5th-century grave from the fortress’s baths. This Transylvanian Arnegunda was baptised by the author Franziska, now consecrated name in the literature, and published exemplarily in 2008. There also add honesty, discernment, elevated language, among the necessary qualities, while among the flaws, vanity, the demon of self-conceit and lack of elegance.

Chapter III, *Arheologia azi, în România* [Archaeology today, in Romania]. Member of the National Commission of Archaeology with the Ministry of Culture from 1991 until 2009, chairman of aforementioned commission between 2003 and 2008, the author was an involved actor. The current configuration of the Romanian archaeology is owed to him in a proportion that it is impossible to measure now. The sub-chapter *Set-up, regulation and financing of archaeology* should be read not only by the other archaeologists, but also by the local and national decision-making factors, by the public or private investors, who by their actions come into contact with the monuments, the archaeological heritage, most often by destroying them.

A short history of the National Commission of Archaeology from its creation until 2015 explains its current drift. Unsupported by academic fora and higher education institutions, the Commission remained a consulting institution subordinated to the Ministry of Culture. From the high spheres of strategy-making, the National Commission of Archaeology retains today only an auxiliary role of checking documentations for the issue of rescue archaeological excavation permits, in fact, doubling the role of the Heritage Directorate's Secretariat with the Ministry of Culture. In 2015, the Commission no longer prioritized the systematic archaeological research projects that should have been financed by the Ministry. For 2015, as also noted by the author, was the first year, likely from Alexandru Ioan Cuza onwards, when the Romanian state no longer financed by any means the Romanian archaeology. After discussing the deplorable state of the systematic archaeological research owing to chronic underfunding, the retractile academic institutions and domineering attitude of some of the clerk-directors with the Ministry, attention shifts to the so-called rescue archaeology. Only that, as Professor Bărbulescu observes, this archaeological research segment was not defined by the legislation in force to rescue and prevent heritage destructions, but simply for archaeological discharge. The enforcement of the *polluters pays* principle and cast of archaeological research expenses to the burden to the investor-beneficiary means, according to some, that discharge was mandatory. That the archaeologist, after having spent the money and excavated the pit, is bound by contract to endorse in the conclusions of the excavation report the *archaeological discharge*, regardless of whatever the excavations revealed, either Roman or Greek monuments, a pre-history village, a medieval cemetery etc. Today, anything seems archeologically dischargeable. It has to do with the professional deontology of every archaeologist and each and everyone's conscience, to understand that the national heritage is more important than some extra hours paid or a place in a zone or national commission. That a surface of a few square meters of a Roman town for which the archaeological permit was issued and from where Roman stones are effectively removed in order to cast cement foundations, is lost forever. That those ancient walls are not the property of the archaeologist who proposes the discharge (regardless of how much money they made) or the national commission endorsing it (free of charge), but of the Romanian state.

The author identifies certain stage solutions for these problems: set up of a professional association of archaeologists for common grounds and stronger voice against abusive administration and political factors, scientific under-pinning of the field by access to the archaeological registry provided that excavation results are published

in a scientific manner, establishment of a National Institute of Rescue Archaeology based on the French INRAP, with branches in the main centres of the country. Others would also be: for instance, the creation of archaeological sub-commissions with the Zone Commissions of the Historical Monuments, which together with the office clerks of County Heritage Directorates and the County Heritage Police more carefully supervise the situation in the territory (from issuing permits to the check of diagnosis reports and archaeological supervision, leaving the National Commission to take truly important decisions regarding large investment and infrastructure projects). And why not, even deregulation of the archaeologist profession and the abolishment of public institutions' monopoly over the research. However, this has to do with the *archaeology of tomorrow* and not with *the archaeology of today*. And I do not wish to appear pessimistic, but the future of archaeology in Romania seems rather bleak. Government Ordinance 43 of 2000, as loose and incomplete, is mutilated by ministry orders and subsequent procedures allowing for the destruction of archaeological sites precisely by the one supposed to defend them, namely the Romanian state, law in hand. As also noted by the author, Order 2613/1038 of 2011 of the Ministry of Culture and that of the Transports simplified the issue procedure of archaeological discharge permits for road infrastructure projects. As archaeologists stood in the way of progress, the relevant ministers of the time decided that, in the case of national interest projects, discharge shall be carried out for *each land plot that may be returned to current human activities*. Certain highway parts are auctioned by builders and archaeological discharge is their liability. If previously, excavations were performed a few months prior the start of the construction works and archaeologists could reasonably *rescue* a site, today excavation starts once with the commencement of the topsoil removal works and the archaeologist's main tool is the builder's bulldozer screaming behind. More specifically, archaeological research means the mechanical excavation of the highway territory, the rescue archaeologist being left with the important mission to empty and record pit bottoms, finically called archaeological complexes. What was above, the stratigraphic column, the relations between the strata, are details which today, under the neoliberal pressure of the progress, matter no more. Everything must be wrapped up in two weeks or maximum a month as equipments left in the field cost the builder much money. As highway construction, only to quote the former Romanian president Traian Băsescu, would not be hindered by *two potshards* or a *blackbird with strange feathers*, while archaeologists may research to the right and left of the highway for how long they want and on much greater distances. For shutting down works and equipments left in the field costs. Professor Bărbulescu asks himself too, rightfully, what do equipments and archaeologists do on the field at the same time?

Sub-chapter Arheologie și societate [Archaeology and society] does not include only the analysis of this conflict between the politicians promoters of the progress and the retrograde archaeologist, but also two examples of conflict escalation between society, state and heritage (whose defender the archaeologist should be): the cases of Roșia Montană and Unirii Square in Cluj. Different in evolution and stake, the two cases have in common the civic energies mobilised in the support of the archaeological heritage. The film of the events of the archaeological discharge of the Cărnic massif

is reported by someone *in medias res* and subject to the concurrent pressure of the ministry, investor and society. The author accounts more detached the events in Cluj regarding the research in the Unirii Square. How should one react under such circumstances, when civic energies unleash for the rescue of a certain site? We do not know, however we must say, communicate, that each day when people gathered in the Unirii Square for the rescue of Roşia, a bulldozer destroyed somewhere else in Romania another archaeological site or context.

Chapter IV, Arheologia şi mass-media [Archaeology and mass-media] starts with a presentation of the archaeological topics in today's professional media, the author noting that our field does not count much. Archaeology or, well, ancient topics are brought to the public's attention by historical reenactment shows performed during various celebration days of the cities, when viewers may watch simulated battles between young people dressed as the Dacians and the Romans. An important place in the book's structure is held by ancient history themes and Romanian archaeology presented in the *new media*, the on-line press, on blogs, facebook etc. There are analysed the protochronist themes circulating on-line, a few main aspects being identified: *primordial role of the Romanian territory in the European and world wide civilisation, finds here being unique in the world, the Romanians lineage directly from the spiritually superior Dacians* (and, as corollary, *denial of the Romanians' Latinity*), *deciphering writings and unknown languages* and *the conspiracy theory of the official historians' hiding true history*. The gibberish mythographs are broadly presented, quoting the productions (not to say works) of a Miulescu, Săvescu, Bucurescu, Tonciulescu from where we find that the Sumerians were schooled at Tărtăria, that an aluminium object of unclear functionality was found near some mammoth bones and dates from 250000 years ago, that Jesus himself was Thraco-Dacian, initiated in Dacia, and the Christian doctrine is of Zalmoxian origin, that the Romanian language has no Latin origin, because Latin and Dacian were identical and originated in the Pelasgian language. Other stars of the mythograph undergrounds enter the scene: the mysterious codex Rohonczi translated into Romanian by Viorica Enăchiuc or the lead tablets from Sinaia translated by Dan Romalo.

The author wonders what should one do before this Dacian mania wave? How could the historian and archaeologist argumentatively dialogue with those producing such nonsense and believe in them alike the members of a new-age Zalmoxian sect? The specialist is opposed by "the old age protochronist theories, the avidness for the sensational, occultism and parapsychology, the need to mythicise a glorious national identity ...". Nevertheless, despite all these disadvantages, the specialist must reveal the decrepitude of these phantasmagorical theories to the broad audience. This is what Professor Mihai Bărbulescu precisely does in this chapter IV.

Appendix II contains three articles from the Tribuna magazine and two reports of the National Commission of Archaeology presented during the author's office as chairman of said commission, which some of the younger archaeologists heard, *viva voce*, at Mangalia in 2005 and at Constanţa in 2006.

Lastly, I urge you to read the book and must note the author's courage. Today, fewer and fewer people take the stand, most joining the dominant mindset trend of

pessimism, defeatism and small retractions. We gradually lose ground, it's true, by small steps, however, we relinquish our principles under the pressure of the system acting mechanistically, distracted by our daily struggles for survival. Today, a student who passes an exam even though ignorant, tomorrow a site entirely discharged and destroyed only because a lost monument is not a hanging matter. Professor Mihai Bărbulescu, at an age when he may speak the truth loudly, warns us by showing where we stand today. I do not believe we can bring back what we have already lost, regardless of how many books we write, but I believe we can try to preserve what remains of the Romanian archaeology.

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Juan Ramón Carbó García, *Apropiaciones de la Antigüedad. De getas, godos, Reyes Católicos, yugos y flechas*, Anejos de la Revista de Historiografía Nº 3, Universidad Carlos III, Madrid 2015, 270 pages, 29 figures.

Gothicism is a shifting trend, with strong ramifications in medieval and modern European culture. Romanians share their interest in antique and medieval Gothicism with other peoples, especially the Scandinavian ones, but also with the Spanish, imagined heirs of the Goths. All searches for the ancestors contain a degree of fiction. For Miron Costin, in *De neamul moldovenilor* (1686–1691), the ancestors of each people from the North Danubian area were clear: the Hungarians were the heirs of the Huns, the Moldavians (and Romanians in general) were heirs of the Romans, while the Saxons from Transylvania were the heirs of the Dacians, because this is what he knew from *Toppeltin's Chronicle* (Laurentius Toppeltinus, *Origines et occasus Transylvanorum*, Lyon 1667). Valentin Franck von Franckenstein (*Breviculus originum nationum et preecipue Saxonicae in Transylvania*, Cibinii 1696) and the confirmation brought by the Andreanum (*Andreanum*, 1224) would free the spirits from this medieval fiction of the Dacian ancestors (Getae thus Goths) of the Saxons and would reestablish historical truth, in a positivist meaning of the term, according to von Ranke. Tröster, Toppeltinus, Schesaeus, and other Saxon humanists from Transylvania have received from the German area these ideas resulted from the “exaltation of the Goths”, famous and exemplary ancestors of the medieval Teutons. And according to Iordanes, the obscure and controversial compiler who lived during the reign of Justinian, the Goths were none others than those called Getae in the ancient times.

In his work dealing with the appropriation of Antiquity, J. R. Carbó García analyses this “Gothic fable”, tracking all its occurrences in ancient, medieval, and modern texts and attempting to describe its many forms during the long development of the trend since the 4th century AD until today.

There is up to date a rich bibliography on the topic of Gothicism in the various cultural provinces where the phenomenon became manifest. Among the essential contributors one can mention Jane Acomb Leake, J. Svennung, and K. K. Klein, and in Romanian literature A. Busuioceanu, A. Armbruster, Ovidia Babu-Buznea, and D. Dana. Each of them has focused on regional or particular aspects of the phenomenon. The importance of J. R. Carbó García's synthesis work mainly resides in that it attempts to cover the Scandinavian, Spanish, and Transylvanian Gothicism in a unique and ample analysis.

The work's chapters 2 to 5 follow the Gothic myth chronologically. Chapter 2 (p. 29–40) starts with the sources from Late Antiquity where the author looks for the confusion between and identification of the Getae with the Goths. The author's theory is that such an identification based on confusion made in the fourth-sixth-century sources

and then the two peoples were annexed per se in the 6th–7th centuries by the story tellers of the barbarian histories and by the era's scholars (Cassiodorus – Iordanes, Isidor of Seville). The Goths were identified with the Getae and the Dacians since ancient times and their ancient history became that of the Goths. Chapter 3 (p. 41–53) follows the medieval destiny of these ideas in the mythical geography of Orosian origin and in the historical mythology of the Spanish search for ancestors from the era of the Reconquista until the 15th century (Lucas of Tuy, Rodrigo Jiménez of Rada, Alfonso el Sabio, Alonso of Cartagena etc.). Chapter 4 (p. 54–66) follows the persistence of the Getae, the expansion of Gothicism, and the birth of other appropriation mechanism during the Modern Era, while Chapter 5 (p. 171–196) deals with the 19th and 20th centuries when Gothicism topics, the search for the ancestors, and the return to the origins can be found in the scientific imaginary of the national historiographies.

This entire multitude of sources, from Late Antiquity until the most recent contemporaneity is debated with the single purpose of seeing the manner in which the identity and history of the Getae and of the Dacians and of some of the main characters of this history (Zalmoxis, Deceneu, Burebista) were used during subsequent eras. In his conclusions, the author differentiates among several forms of approach: direct, or first-level approaches, made by Greek and Roman authors of Late Antiquity who explicitly identified the Getae with the Goths; indirect, or second-level approaches, of the middle Ages and the Modern Era when the object of the approach was the history and the identity of the Goths but their identification with the Getae and their history persisted consciously in the equation; and third-level approaches, when the “Gothic” symbols of the Spanish kings were adopted by modern political movements such as that of the falangists and the francoists (Conclusiones, p. 197).

After briefly presenting the structure of the book one should analyze some of the ideas expressed by the author and I shall refer to the direct, first-level approach type in order to see what is the possible meaning of the concept “confusion between Getae and Goths during Late Antiquity”.

In order to understand the mechanisms behind this confusion between the Getae and the Goths in Late Antiquity one should immerse himself into that distant world that knew nothing of Cartesian and Positivist thinking. Two notes must be made in connection to two of the “sciences” of Antiquity: ethnography and geography, not so clearly delimited terminologically in their mind as they are for us today. Ethnography, etymologically meaning the description of peoples, is placed somewhere between history and human geography, while geography, etymologically the description of the earth, mainly refers to Greek mathematical history, to the astronomical calculations of people like Eratosthenes and Ptolemaios. The term chorographia is more adequate for those endeavors to describe lands and peoples and draw maps. Attachment to tradition was the most important factor for both ancient ethnographers and geographers (the difference sometimes did not even exist, as in the cases of Strabon and Mela). Modern science is built upon observation and experiment, oriented towards discovery and towards the future, while the ancient sciences were oriented towards tradition and the past. If Herodotus had said that Scythians, Sauromati, Geloni, Neuri and Melanchlaeni inhabit Scythia, Mela gives him total credit and populates Sarmatia

with the ancient peoples that Herodotus had noted five centuries before him. Ptolemy, appreciated for the mathematical precision through which he surpassed his era, places near Dacia the mountains of the Bodini and Amadoci and exiles more to the north-east the Rhiphaei Mountains. This blockage into a geographic-ethnographic tradition also partially explains the statement of Synesius of Cyrene (*Oratio de regno ad Arcadium imperatore*, 15) that barbarians did not change, but were the same since the time of Herodotus, only changing their name and outlook in order to deceive the Greeks and the Romans. From this ancient “scientific” perspective one better understands the fact that there was no “confusion” between the Getae and the Goths. For the Romans, the 3rd century AD. Goths were none other than the Getae mentioned by the Greek sources, with their famous wise kings Zalmoxis and Deceneus. The dialectal differences known today, after the establishment of the modern science of linguistics, were lost to them. Namely the fact that the Goths spoke a Germanic language (Indo-European, part of the *kentum* group) and the Getae spoke a Thracian language (Indo-European, part of the *satem* group). This raises a question mark in relation to Strabo’s (Posidonius’) assertion that the Getae and the Dacians spoke the same language. Was this a precise scientific observation or was it an appropriation of the identity of the Getae?

Reconstructing the reasoning and applying it to geography one better understands the medieval developments of the idea. If Agrippa and Pliny the Elder had said that the northern Ocean was located in northern Dacia, 386 Roman miles north of the Danube, all subsequent cartography, from Tabula Peutingeriana, to Orosius, *Divisio orbis terrarum*, *Demensuratio provinciarum*, Dicuilus, The Anonymous Geographer of Ravenna and others until the medieval cartography of the *orbis terrarum* type maps reflect it. On all of these maps Germania, Dacia (Gotia) and Sarmatia (Alania) are neighboring units and are both washed by the waters of the Northern Ocean. In the restricted vision of the *oikumene*, that was missing large parts of North-Eastern Europe, the northern Germans and the Scandinavians neighbored the Dacians, located between them and the Sarmatians. The island of Scandza, *officina gentium vel vagina nationum*, where all the Gothic peoples originated, is located immediately to the north. From an ancient perspective, this was “scientific” ethnography and geography, strongly based on tradition and then translated into the geographic-ethnographic vulgate and drawn onto maps that illustrate at the time the only vision of the known world. There was thus no “confusion” between the Getae and the Goths, but in fact the Getae “were the same” as the Goths, i.e. Getae was the ancient name of the Goths. What we label today, from a modern perspective, as mythical ethnography or geography was, according to their criteria, as scientific as can be. The basic principle of appropriation is *reductio ad notum*. Who were those Dacians who attacked the Roman state? They were the Getae of Zalmoxis and Dromichaetes that the Greeks talked about. But who were those Goths who plundered the Pontic and Danubian territories of the Empire and lived on the edge of Scythia? They were those that Herodotus and Ovid called Getae in the old times. Reduction to what is known.

In conclusion, I would like to add some considerations on the author and his book. Several years ago Juan Ramón Carbó García travelled from Salamanca to Cluj in order to study the Oriental cults in the province of Dacia. The book *Apropiaciones*

de la Antigüedad is a secondary consequence, a collateral effect of the author's contact with this city in the center of Transylvania. Reading the book I was impressed by the author's wide approach, by the richness of data gathered in a single volume, by the sagacity of his analysis and his power of synthesis. After reading the book I decided it was the most significant secondary consequence I ever encountered.

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Andrei Oișteanu, *Sexualitate și societate. Istorie, religie și literatură* / Sexuality and society. History, religion and literature, Editura Polirom, Iași 2016, 664 pages.

*“Indeed, the scantier the field research the more practicable
the comparative project appears”
(Douglas 2002, 167)*

When it comes to the topic of sex, if the social sciences, and subsequently the humanities, in the last hundreds of years have taught us anything, it is that what we hold to be the most intimate act, far from being a private action, is subject to the direct influences from the society at large, with political, economic and religious factors coming to the fore. Building on this conception, scholars in a variety of fields have investigated the manner in which the above mentioned factors, in an interwoven and complex fashion, determine intimacy¹. The domain of religious studies has been long preoccupied with exploring the significance of sexual matters², inheriting the developments brought on by ethnography and anthropology³. Andrei Oișteanu’s new book is the latest Romanian addition to this already fertile corpus. However, there is nothing to get excited about, for the volume is completely lacking in several respects. A detailed critique would probably equal the book itself in length (nearly seven hundred pages) and a reduced one would not fully show the gravity of the errors it contains (all the more so considering the prestige of the man who wrote it)⁴. As such, an extended essay should meet the criterion of a rightful critique that properly accounts for its points. Insofar as I come from a materialist perspective, I take a naturalist approach to the study of religion, one that can explain “not only the data of religion but also the type of scholarship carried out within the discourse on *sui generis* religion”⁵. Or, to paraphrase Kenneth Burke, whenever one finds a doctrine of “nonpolitical” religion affirmed with fervor, one should start looking for its politics⁶. As Dr. Oișteanu’s is a *sui*

* In appreciation of their encouragement and support over the last couple years, I would like to thank Professor Margit Peterfy of the English Department of the University of Heidelberg, Professor Johannes Becke of the Hochschule für Jüdische Studien Heidelberg, and Professor Irit Dekel of the Humboldt Universität zu Berlin. Last but not least, I want to acknowledge the help of Dan Dana of the Centre national de la recherche scientifique (Paris) and Sorin Nemeti of the “Babeș-Bolyai” University of Cluj in regards to this study. To all of them I dedicate this text.

¹ For a useful overview, see Matysik 2013.

² See Griffith 2012, 338–358.

³ Lyons, Lyons 2004. For works of anthropology and ethnography from the nineteenth and early twentieth century that deal with the subject of sexuality, see Goodland 1931.

⁴ Andrei Oișteanu characterizes himself as an ethnologist, cultural anthropologist, historian of religions and of mentalities. He is, among other things, a member of the Scientific Council of the Romanian Academy’s Institute for the History of Religions (Institutul de Istorie a Religiei), the president of the Romanian Association for the Study of Religion (Asociația Română de Istorie a Religiei) and of the Group for Social Dialogue (Grupul pentru Dialog Social).

⁵ McCutcheon 1997, 63.

⁶ Burke 1969, 28.

generis orientation⁷, I will make reference to the socio-political context in which his text was developed in order to identify his ideological presuppositions⁸.

I should like to start by proposing to the reader a mental exercise. Imagine one were to leaf through Margaret Mead's *Coming of Age in Samoa* and came across the following description: "After marriage, in front of all the people, in a house brilliantly lit, the talking chief of the bridegroom will take the tokens of her virginity"⁹. Now imagine that one were to write down this passage – without making references to Mead's analysis of other types of sexual practice among the members of the population, her explanation of the manner in which child rearing and gender roles affect sexual behavior, and she holds to differentiate between Samoan and Western norms of sexuality – in order to portray ritual sexual practices in Oceania. No mention would be made of the criticism against this text¹⁰, nor of the replies brought to such critiques (best summarized in Shankman¹¹; consider also the moving personal account in Bateson¹², nor to the way in which the whole affair played a role in determining anthropologists to rethink the importance of the scholar's own sexual orientation during fieldwork in the production of scholarship on sexuality¹³. Such an account would feel, undeniably neutered, for it would renounce careful observation for sensationalism and scholarship for titillation. Such is the manner in which Andrei Oișteanu's whole book is written.

One might look at all of the terms found in the book's title, namely: "sexuality", "society", "history", "religion" and "literature". Judging from their coupling, one might deduce that the author holds a connection between *society* on the one hand, and *sexuality*, on the other to exist. From their grouping together, one might further adduce that *history*, *religion* and *literature* set the stage on which the relationship between culture and sexuality manifests itself. These terms are never properly defined. Dr. Oișteanu does not differentiate between sex (the act of intercourse) and sexuality (which could be defined as the totality of attitudes shaped around the preferences regarding the act per se). Sexual intercourse might have well have begun in 1963, but the notion of sexuality as such dates from the Enlightenment period. The complete erasure of the historical roots of the terms used characterizes the whole study under discussion.

⁷ The main influence is Mircea Eliade. Throughout the entirety of Mr. Oișteanu's oeuvre, Eliade appears concomitantly in his writings as inspiration, exemplum and source of criticism, a juggling act which is certainly hard to keep up. But Mr. Oișteanu manages to keep it up. In this present book, the up keeping of the Eliadean legacy takes center stage.

⁸ By ideology, I mean the totality of ideas, beliefs and attitudes regarding the manner in which society should function. I understand ideology to be both descriptive and prescriptive, insofar no existing political establishment can ever attain the status expected of it in theory. Furthermore, when an existing society is seen to have achieved a relatively satisfactory level of coherence between theory and praxis, ideology continues to manifest itself. Even the most conservative position which seeks to uphold the status quo will have a view on the manner in which the current state is to be kept up and what is necessary to avoid in order to maintain that status. The present and future of society is constantly negotiated, it is in other words, a perpetual work in progress. As I see it, it is impossible to talk about the end of ideology (Bell 1961).

⁹ Mead 1928, 98.

¹⁰ Freeman 1997.

¹¹ Shankman 2009.

¹² Bateson 1984, 224–226.

¹³ Kulick, Willson 1995; Markowitz, Ashkenazi 1999.

Neither are some of the other terms the author parades around defined, namely “ritual”, “symbol”, “metaphor”, “mentality”, “magic” or “ideology”. What differentiates “magical-ritual” activities from purely “ritual” ones? How does the use of these terms look now, rather, than say, forty years ago? Is the famous notion of “mentalités” popularized by the Annales School an unchanged one?¹⁴ The wide panache of Eliadean gobbledygook is fully present: “initiatory”, “sacred”, “profane”, “spiritual” etc¹⁵. One is reminded of Marshall McLuhan’s quip that Eliade’s choice “to call oral man “religious” is, of course, as fanciful and arbitrary as calling blondes bestial”¹⁶. Mr. Oișteanu does not realize that concepts such as religion are not real in the sense that they do not manifest themselves as such in society, but rather are abstract concepts used by scholars for the sake of convenience¹⁷. Eliade’s vocabulary to a very large extent fits Theodor Adorno’s critique of what he called the “jargon of authenticity” (*Jargon der Eigentlichkeit*). The jargon is characterized by an emphasis of words at the expense of the sentence, disregard for the subject matter behind its fanciful turn of phrases¹⁸, and an ennobling of the antiquity of language¹⁹, it ultimately aims to displace specific socio-historical conditions as essential human conditions²⁰. According to its logic, human suffering is to be accepted, not contested²¹. The fact that Oișteanu can take up this terminology so easily is a sign of the jargon’s propensity to de-evaluate thought: one merely has to take it up and it will naturally flow on from there²².

There is no introduction to the book in which such terms would be explicated, nor is a methodology or theoretical position assumed, we are merely treated with a brief foreword. Henri H. Stahl (1901–1991) is praised for going beyond the limits of a “sociological” approach and taking a “historical-religious” perspective (p. 405)²³. But what distinguishes one perspective from another, what separates a social science, namely sociology, from one in the humanities, as history? And what unites “history” and “religion” in their common venture? These are rhetorical questions, for there are not even the faintest suggestions apart from Mr. Oișteanu’s inner convictions, which as readers are supposed to take for granted. Darlene Juschka’s observation that

¹⁴ It is not. For a discussion of the differentiation in the first generation of the Annales between the sociological approach of Marc Bloch and the psychological one of Lucien Febvre, see Burguiere 1982, 424–437.

¹⁵ For a detailed critique of the mystical and obfuscatory nature of this vocabulary, see Dubuisson 2010, 133–146.

¹⁶ McLuhan 1962, 70–71.

¹⁷ Bateson 1972, 64. For the problematization of “religion” as an analytical category, essential are Fitzgerald 2000, Dubuisson 2003, Masuzawa 2005, Josephson 2012 and Nongbri 2015.

¹⁸ Adorno 1973, 8.

¹⁹ Adorno 1973, 42.

²⁰ Adorno 1973, 99.

²¹ Adorno 1973, 65. I will return to Eliade’s and Oișteanu’s conceptualization of time later on and its implicit acceptance of social injustice.

²² Adorno 1973, 9. At six-hundred and seventy-two pages, the book illustrates the depth to which jargon can unleash itself once it is not reigned in.

²³ When a page is referred to without the author being named it means that I mean talking about Oișteanu’s volume. Oișteanu cites an important collection of essays by Stahl from 1983 (643 note 658), but takes no account of Stahl’s critique of armchair anthropology and its hasty generalizations that result from lack of fieldwork.

Eliade's hermeneutics "is little more than belief put forward as explanation"²⁴ applies equally well to Oişteanu²⁵. Rather than theology, it is a product of "religious spirits without religion"²⁶. In a famous critique of Eliade, anthropologist Edmund Leach called out the former to task for his "bad history", "bad ethnography", "bad method", "bad psychology", and "confusion of terms"²⁷. In the present case, I would add bad sociology and bad literary criticism to the list²⁸.

Returning to the forward, we are told that "the comparative method is absolutely normal, if not even obligatory" (p. 5)²⁹. Mr. Oişteanu assures us that he thought about whether the kind of unbounded, ahistorical comparativism he engages in is warranted: he believes it is. By going from "is" to "ought", draws up an agenda for the study of culture. But unlike the claims of scripture, those of scholarship cannot be sustained merely on self-supported normative injunctions. They rest on proof. What proof does the author of the present volume bring in order to warrant such a method? Theorized as such, the history of religions "seems to imply an oxymoron, because the study purports to establish the history of a datum (i.e., the sacred) that is essentially ahistorical"³⁰. Referring to Eliade's methodology, one scholar talks about a "hermeneutics of indistinction", in which plurality that characterizes real life is reduced to "a small series of archetypal myths"³¹. We find the exact same tendency here. Despite

²⁴ Juschka 2014, 170.

²⁵ Similarly, one important critic, Robert Alan Segal, noted: [Eliade] assumes rather than proves his point. What should his conclusion is really his premise, and what should be a testable hypothesis becomes a dogmatic assertion" – Segal 1978, 164. It should be emphasized that Eliade's homo religiosus *is not* a Weberian Idealtypus, but rather an imposition on Eliade's part of his own set of beliefs unto the materials with which he dealt: "I have access, especially, to metaphysical formulas of religiosity ("metaphysical" in the primordial, not the modern, sense of the word. I "live" [*trăiesc*] these formulas that in appearance are dry and rigid [...] I count myself today among the few who have access to obsolete myths and symbols, to the spiritual meanings of the life long since superseded in the mental evolution of mankind" – Eliade 2010, 36–37, emphasis present in the original. Segal, who wrote during Eliade's lifetime, wondered about the basis on which Eliade's speculations on meaning were founded on – Segal 1978, 163. Today, as a result of the publishing of his diaries and correspondence, we know, as the previous quote shows.

²⁶ Cioran 1978, 263. It should be made clear that my criticism against the author is not intended as a secular critique of people who identify themselves as religious. Rejection of religion, like religion itself, is not immune to ideological positions. For such a case – which incidentally shares many of the politics as Oişteanu, see the study by Seymour 2013.

²⁷ Leach 1966, 28; Leach's seminal essay "Magical Hair" (Leach 1958, 147–164) is unmentioned by Oişteanu when discussing women and men's capillary habits (p. 133).

²⁸ In his discussion of the late Romanian avant-garde, namely the Infra-noir group, the author merely paraphrases and generously quotes the poets under discussion, (581–595), adding nothing to new to an already rich body of works by the likes of Ion Pop, Paul Cernat or Tom Sandqvist that deal with currents such as Dadaism and surrealism in Romania. He also makes an extremely tasteless wordplay on the deaths of Paul Celan and Gherasim Luca (591). While there are important studies of the individual figures of this group (e.g.: Fijalkowski 1993, 625–638; Laville 1994; Finkenthal 2013), we lack an adequate sociological study that would the evolution of Infra-noir figures from interwar political radicalism, manifested in opposition to the established culture and Western democracy, to a visible dissidence towards communist cultural policies after 1945. Such a contextual understanding will add much to our reading of their radical sexual politics. The collection edited by Yaari 2014, and the secret police reports collected in Tănase 2008 offer a good starting point.

²⁹ Unless otherwise stated, all translations belong to me.

³⁰ McCutcheon 1997, 35.

³¹ Idel 2014, 15.

peddling of his project as a comparative one, there can be no comparison made when one presumes likeness without demonstrating it and concentrates on similarity to the detriment of difference.

We are informed that whether “real, unreal, or semi-real”, all “situations share a degree of significance” in human mentality. By abolishing any distinction between those situations that are imagined and those that are real, Mr. Oişteanu’s brings his readers in Meinong’s jungle. He then speaks about mythology, legends, literature and history (p. 8), but if we are talking about basically different shades of the same color, is there really a difference between history and mythology? It is said that there are “mental and behavioral models which have persistently survived, remaining hidden somewhere in the folds of collective mentality”, expressed in symbolic and metaphorical traces (p. 5). He speaks about a “*pattern of mind*” (p. 186, italics in the original), and also about living fossils in the sense that Eliade described them (p. 244). Eliade/Oişteanu seem to be enthralled in some sort of mental Lamarckism.

But is this truly the case? Against Mr. Oişteanu’s presuppositions, I would put forward *actual* historical research. To take of the many periods he investigates: the Middle Ages. One scholar who analyzed the sexual norms of the times observed: “sexual intercourse was understood as something that one person did to another. One consequence of this was that the two partners were not understood to be doing the same thing or having the same experience”³². Unfortunately, common sense is not a good guide for historical understanding. Our preconceived ideas about diverse factors tell us much about the historical period we inhabit, but they cannot be used as a scale to measure the past. Unfortunately, history is a screen on which Mr. Oişteanu projects his own thoughts and mistakes it for reality. This presentist approach to the writing of history, which detaches situations from their own context and places them on the stand to be judged according to the standards of the day has been called “the historian’s ‘pathetic fallacy’”³³. One cannot come to the past without prior knowledge, and as we *do know* how history turned out, this necessarily affects every instance of historical analysis³⁴. However, the manner in which history is narrated must leave out as much as possible any prejudice on the part of the author and leave the reader come to his own conclusions based on the information he is offered. To do otherwise is to bring an audience to a rigged horse race and ask to feel the same emotions they would do had they not been told.

There is no motivation for his selection, which deals mostly with shocking and outrageous sexual practices: why no necrophilia or transvestism³⁵? “A class is a group of things, and things do not present themselves to observation group in such a way”³⁶.

³² Karras, 2005, 4.

³³ Butterfield 1951, 30–31.

³⁴ Engel 2010, 35.

³⁵ Such concerns have affected the ways in which museums are set up. Thus, the Stockholm Museum of Ethnography (Etnografiska Museet) contains on its second floor exhibits detailing Native-American cultures, Inuit culture, Japanese culture, etc. On the first floor, a warehouse-like room called “The Storage” contains a more or less random selection of 6000 artifacts from the Museum’s collection. The objects contained a detailed description of their provenience and of the way in which it was acquired by the Museum. While this could be dismissed as a form of postmodern “play”, I consider that it displays the increased awareness among those working with public displays of the rejection of essentialism.

³⁶ Durkheim, Mauss 1963, 7–8.

Selection is not a neutral process. Classification implies hierarchization³⁷. But why is sexuality to be defined by such instances? This is not to say we should aim for a white-picket fence image of sexuality³⁸, but there is surprisingly little about consensual sex in a book concerned with sex as such. Ranging from masters who force themselves upon their slaves, children who are abused, and women who are raped, one is left wondering whether there are any happy couplings taking place between the sexes. This is provided that the men will not be impotent (272–290), or that when they will be virile enough they will not have their penises trapped in the vagina dentate (213–234). No wonder then that people indulge in masturbation (333–339) or zoophilia (339–354), seeing what a drag it is to have sex with an actual person. There is no thematic index, but I would have been curious to see how many entries there are for “orgasm”. Why is menstruation, a natural monthly process, to be defined only in relation to witchcraft (78–84)³⁹?

Jensen observes that when a scholar deals with a specific subject matter he or she is never alone with the material, but he or she are in working in relation to previous scholarship, a relation that is seen as “triadic”⁴⁰. Or to put in Bakhtinian terms, there is a dialogical connection between the totality of writings on a certain subject. One need not approve of the positions of one’s predecessors, but one cannot ignore their works. Even if they are to be rejected, one needs to theorize one’s method in relation to theirs. I have looked in vain for such an approach in the present book. Freud and the Freudians, as well as Lacan, and the psychoanalytic method in general are ignored⁴¹. Foucault’s approach is entirely absent, as well as feminist research and queer theory. When writing about incest, theoreticians of kinship, family relations and kinship such as Lévi-Strauss, Bronisław Malinowski or Westermarck are ignored. He knows about van Gennep (69), but not about Victor Turner. Moreover, he confounds the initiation models of van Gennep and Eliade as if they were similar when in reality they couldn’t be any more different⁴². In spite of her valuable studies of Hinduism and the comparative history of sexuality, Wendy Doniger O’Flaherty is singled out as a disciple of Eliade (425)⁴³. In fairness to Oişteanu, he does mention Lévy-Strauss (sic!) occasionally (416; 629, n. 489). Yet even when someone like Lévi-Strauss or Freud is

³⁷ For an attempt to establish a typology of erotic folklore, see Legman 1964, 454–493.

³⁸ ““Normality” passes itself off as a natural, meaningful, universal idea, one that seems always to have existed. It is, however, a concept with a particular and traceable history” – Creadick 2010, 148.

³⁹ It should be pointed out that by referring to “menstruation” as natural I do not imply that it is “normal”, but rather to detach it from the various euphemisms (e.g. “the curse”, “on the rag”) which mystify it. Writing in opposition to the brands of feminism which celebrate menstruation as “normal” part of female sexuality, one anthropologist noted that the danger is that women will thus be forced to rationalize the pain that comes during a woman’s period – Harrell 1981, 817. For a balanced cultural analysis of the meaning of menstruation, see Walker 1997.

⁴⁰ Jensen 2014, 146.

⁴¹ Strangely enough, although Oişteanu is interested in developing historical parallels between Romania and the West, no reference is made to the rich history of psychoanalysis in Romania. See Brătescu 1994.

⁴² Lincoln 2003, 241–254; Leach’s above mentioned critique of Eliade faulted him of ignoring van Gennep’s *Les rites de passage* in his works.

⁴³ As this case and others will show, there is dissonance between the author’s supposed embrace of feminism, exhibited in a breast-beating compassion towards the unequal states of women vis-à-vis men in

referred to, it is for providing relevant examples for his cases. It is worse in the case of the thinkers forced upon Oişteanu's Procrustean bed of Eliadean thinking.

Judging from his recurrent use of the term "collective memory" one could gather Oişteanu is some kind of a Jungian. Yet Oişteanu's Jung has less in common with the actual founder of analytical psychology than with his bowdlerized New-Age appropriations⁴⁴. It quickly becomes apparent that he considers Jung's and Eliade's take on archetypes to be identical⁴⁵. But whereas for Jung archetypes exist within the individual, for Eliade they exist outside of him or her⁴⁶. As the archetypes "fall into history", they manifest themselves in various geographical and historical settings⁴⁷. Since historical time is a fall from grace for humanity, mankind inevitably marches on towards desecralization, i.e. secularization. Memories of the archetypes continue to be reflected in folklore, art and popular culture. It is therefore the task of researcher to identify them and make people aware of their existence⁴⁸. Just like in the television series *The X-Files*, the truth is out there. We know from William James however that permanently existing Ideas which shine in front of human consciousness are as mythological as the Jack of Spades⁴⁹. And seeing how much violence Eliade had to do to the texts with which he dealt in order to construct his archetypes⁵⁰, show how unnatural archetypes are⁵¹.

Oişteanu's relationship to Eliade vis-à-vis the former's Jungian inflections is not the only instance of his strained path. When it comes to analyzing "religious experience", Oişteanu is not a phenomenologist. For Eliade, if I had a "religious" nature, and was thus significant for the believer, even an act such as cannibalism could be justified⁵². By contrast, Oişteanu is quick to make value judgments. Thus, Shabbatai Zvi we are told was a "fake Messiah" (247) and the Islamic afterlife is a "sexist and

different ages and places, and the lack of agency with which he portrays the female subjects in his various descriptions.

⁴⁴ See Tacey, 2001.

⁴⁵ On Eliade's development of his notion of archetypes during his Romanian period see Doeing 1975, 190-209.

⁴⁶ Segal 1986, 92; Despite having friendly relations, such theoretical differences strained their contact - Ţurcanu 2003, 396-401; Skarżyńska 2010, 29; Halk 2013, 170. Barth wrongly asserts that Eliade's conception of archetypes was informed by depth psychology, and that Eliade does never define his own notion of the term - Barth 2013, 62, n. 5. In actuality, Eliade distanced himself from Jung in the preface to the English edition of his study on cyclicity and eternal recurrence - Eliade, 1959, VIII-IX, as well as in his memoirs - Eliade, 1988, 162. Mills 1983, 34 notes the difference but ascribes its origin inaccurately. A positive appraisal of the Eliade's and Jung's archetypal thinking is to be found in Meadow 1992, 187-195.

⁴⁷ For an illustration of Eliade's system, see the brilliant graph in Smith 2000, 349.

⁴⁸ Eliade 1989, 162-163; R. A. Segal further problematizes Eliade's notion of archetypes in relation to Jung's by showing how the former's notion of modern myth is inconsistent, and ultimately unsubstantiated, when measured against his understanding of myth as a primordial tale Segal 2001, 25-32.

⁴⁹ James 1950 [1890], 236.

⁵⁰ e.g. Gombrich 1974, 225-227; Korom 1992, 103-125.

⁵¹ While I remain suspicious of idealist notions such as Adolf Bastian's psychic unity of mankind thesis, or the New Age style appropriations of "collective unconsciousness", I do not reject attempts to locate a neurological basis for religion, as foreshadowed by Claude Lévi-Strauss and developed in current cognitive studies.

⁵² Eliade 1987, 103. This should not be seen as concern for the practices of someone who professes a certain religious belief. If anything, Eliade regarded believers as being unaware of the significance of their own traditions. Being incapable of understanding, they needed someone else to explain to them - Eliade 1989, 162-163.

mythologist paradise (28)⁵³. What Oişteanu does take from the phenomenological *sui generis* approach to religion is its penchant for generalizations, dehistoricization, universalization, and essentialization⁵⁴. As a result of such practices, novelty is reinterpreted and confined within repetition, the present is controlled by its inscription into past patterns, and the present is judged according to past standards⁵⁵. Such a discourse is therefore conservative, elitist, and Romantic⁵⁶.

A necessary requirement for a comparative project as the one envisioned here is a consistent knowledge of the languages of the group one studies. Though he speaks confidently about societies as diverse as ancient Babylonia and Sumer, the Roman Empire, Kievan Rus, or the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Oişteanu is unable to read any of the languages in which the codes of these societies were legislated. No primary sources were consulted in the original, as the author relies exclusively on translations, whether dealing with Vedic India or the Tannaitic period of Judaism⁵⁷. Hopscotching around the globe, he drags after him a hodge-podge of reference to ethology, linguistics, anthropology, literary criticism, sociology. The work of a jack of all trades such as that of the present volume is destined to fall like a house of cards when someone who truly possesses the relevant knowledge takes a look. I will proceed to name some of the errors made by Mr. Oişteanu.

Richard von Krafft Ebing (1840–1902) was not pre-Freudian, but contemporary with Freud (1856–1939). To say that his terminology was pre-Freudian (517) is to suggest that had he lived more, he would have become a Freudian, which is baseless speculation. Arthur Koestler was an author of both fiction and non-fiction writings, and not a historian (389). Larry Wolff is not an anthropologist (574), but a historian. Abelard was not castrated for entertaining sexual relations with Heloise (“deflowering”, 568), but for sending her to a nunnery after they were married, a fact which made her uncle think that Abelard was evading his responsibility towards her⁵⁸. The two had become intimate long before they were married, when Abelard had become her tutor. Maybe Mr. Oişteanu would have known this if he read the whole of their correspondence, not just the naughty bits. Stig Wikander did not invent the designation “Männerbund” for male fellowships, it already existed. It was developed by a group of

⁵³ He nonetheless criticizes other researchers for presenting moralistic accounts of the imaginary practice of *ius primae noctis* instead of maintaining scholarly distance (235). In this case, as well as throughout the entire book, Dr. Oişteanu does not distinguish between a *moral* perspective and a *moralizing* one. Opting for one or the other has definite effects upon the reader: “A moralizing narrative is used to claim propriety and authority, to cordon off a rhetorical arena to gain a moral ground, but it creates a dissonance when the topic at hand is already considered by the reader to be morally clear” – Confino 2012, 35.

⁵⁴ McCutcheon 1997, 18.

⁵⁵ McCutcheon 1997, 73.

⁵⁶ McCutcheon 1997, 73.

⁵⁷ Nonetheless, Mr. Oişteanu feels confident enough to make linguistic speculations. While linguists have tried since the late eighteenth-century to reconstruct the proto-Indo-European (PIE) language, Mr. Oişteanu is above such discussions: he informs us that the word for “whore” has “ancient, pre-Indo-European” origins.

⁵⁸ It was not uncommon for nuns not to be virgins, in places such as Anglo-Saxon England – Dockray-Miller 2010, 60–62.

Viennese folklorists and anthropologists⁵⁹, which in turn influenced him⁶⁰. Moreover, Wikander did not use it as a general designation as does Oişteanu, but specifically in reference to men's associations in ancient India and Iran. Oişteanu presents Vladimir Tismăneanu's published dissertation as a Romanian "echo" of Freudo-Marxism (683, n. 582), when in reality it is a proof of the *lack* of an echo in Romania of such a venture: published when the Romanian thaw was coming to a close, the book represents an Orthodox Marxist critique of the New Left and Herbert Marcuse⁶¹. Georges Dumézil did not consider himself a historian of religions (236), insofar as religion was not a self-sufficient unit of study for Dumézil. For him, mythology constituted an illustration of the tryfunctional social organization of the Indo-Europeans ("idéologie tripartite"): myths, epic poems and legends around the world represented memories of this societal division of labor. Dumézil, who argued for a sociological mythology, would have found unacceptable the continued use of terms such as "sun god" or "vegetation spirit"⁶² which for Mr. Oişteanu seem to be part and parcel of the tradition of the "history of religions". Pierre Bourdieu made contributions to anthropology and philosophy, but he was primarily a sociologist, not an anthropologist (250). Stith Thompson was not an ethnologist (267), but a folklorist⁶³. He speaks about a Judeo-Christian perspective on women, but Judaism and Christianity differ radically on gender issues. According to Oişteanu, this common tradition disapproves of the woman being on top of the man during sex. But rabbinic Judaism contains no prohibition against such a sexual position⁶⁴. He speaks about the patriarchal tendency in Judaism as manifested in its limiting the space of women to that of the household, citing a passage from the *Mishneh Torah* of Maimonides in support of his claim (122-123). However, with the exception of Yemenite Jewry, no other Jewish community has accepted Maimonides's codification as the definitive one. As such, the *Mishneh Torah* is not indicative of Jewish social life. I find it perplexing that someone who considers himself a historian of religions can think in such monolithic terms. *The One Thousand and One Nights* are not Arabo-Persian (93), but rather Indian and Persian. Scholars assume that they originated in India and Persia, and were translated into Arabic around the early eighth century. In the ninth or tenth century, the original layer had an addition of Arabian tales crafted unto them – and from that point they would suffer more editing⁶⁵. Michel Millot and Jean L'Ange are named authors of *L'école des filles*, although they were only its co-publishers, there is no proof that they wrote it⁶⁶. There is a wide

⁵⁹ Ginzburg 1989, 135-140; Arvidsson 2006, 209-217.

⁶⁰ Wikander 1938, 64-65.

⁶¹ Tismăneanu 1976. There were many other studies that took jabs at such forms of revisionist marxism – e.g. Druță 1982. Nonetheless, in the eighties the first Romanian translations of complete works by Freud were published under the aegis of Leonard Gavriliu and Vasile Dem. Zamfirescu – Brătescu 1994, 328-331. For the lack of reformist/revisionist Marxism as a stumbling block to the development of a culture of dissidence among Romanian intellectuals, see Shafir 1985.

⁶² Dumézil 1988, 127.

⁶³ Roberts 1998, 1467-1468.

⁶⁴ Boyarin 1993, 109-113.

⁶⁵ Irwin 2005, 48.

⁶⁶ Turner 2003, 106. Among the figures to which it was attributed include: Pietro Aretino, Claude Le Petit, Paul Scarron, and Françoise d'Aubigné, the marquise de Maintenon – Turner 2003, 106.

difference between the quality of the research of a historian like Alain Boureau (born 1946) and a popularizer such as Raphael Patai (1910–1996) to the extent they cannot be listed in same breath as authorities on the subject of the *jus primae noctis* (7). He discusses the sexual meanings of the allegory of the unicorn in the Middle Ages, but he completely ignores Odell Shepard's masterful account⁶⁷. He uses Graves' and Patai's popular 1964 account *Hebrew myths: The Book of Genesis* (354), but not Louis Ginzberg's magisterial *Legends of the Jews*⁶⁸. Once in print, every text that confirms Oişteanu's pre-conceived views is lauded about. The rather dubious figure of Romulus Vulcănescu (1912–1999) is mentioned for his writings on legislature in the Romanian lands (52)⁶⁹. The now largely discredited theories of Marija Gimbutas⁷⁰ are used to explain the origins of the Indo-Europeans (175)⁷¹, despite the fact that her vision of a serene matriarchal pre-Indo-European past has come to be seen as a projection of identity politics upon historical reality⁷². He relies wholly upon Frazer's notions of cultic sacrifice and resurrection, without acknowledging the criticism his theories have attracted⁷³, nor does he seem to be aware that Frazer's myth and ritual theory has two versions, that change from the first to the second edition of *The Golden Bough*⁷⁴. I am not advocating a teleological view of intellectual history in which everything deemed obsolete should be thrown to the wayside. Some of the criticism made towards Frazer's model of kingship has been contested by scholars who looked at the same material⁷⁵, and it is probable that further consideration could lead to rebuttals in other aspects in which his work has been contested. But one cannot work as if the state of scholarship is today the same as it was decades ago. In this sense, one can observe no difference between Oişteanu's investigation on "ritual" nudity (182–187) on and one more than forty years ago⁷⁶. As such, this is a sad proof of *vetustate supervacanea* in which religious studies in Romania linger on.

I want now to focus on some of the ethical issues which plague Oişteanu's work. I should start with one moral consideration which relate directly to the wider methodological observations already undertaken.

⁶⁷ Shepard 1979, 41–69.

⁶⁸ Ginzburg 1909.

⁶⁹ Consider the dismissive comments about him in what is arguably the definitive history of Romanian folkloristics, namely Birlea 1974, 538.

⁷⁰ Arvidsson 2006, 288–298.

⁷¹ One of the leading scholars in the field wrote that "memory, decency, and scholarly prudence suggest we ought exercise extreme caution when we theorize about matters now politely called "Indo-European" – Lincoln 1999, 216. None of these attributes is discernable in the work under review.

⁷² Whitehouse observed that "worship of the Mother Goddess is not a religion of the Neolithic, but of the late twentieth century AD" – Whitehouse 2000, 329. On the development of Mother Goddess theories, see de Vries 1967, 121–128.

⁷³ Smith 1978, 208–239; Smith 2005, 2535–2539.

⁷⁴ Segal 2004, 64–70.

⁷⁵ Nirenberg 1996, 61–62.

⁷⁶ Muşu 1971, esp. 168–169. Muşu was also influenced by Eliade. Considering the widespread reception of Eliade's books in the Eastern bloc, in countries such as Romania, Poland – Skarżyńska 2010, and Czechoslovakia – Václavík 2015, 74–75, one should not assume that just because his ideas were at odds with Marxist-Leninist doctrine the intellectual classes were not acquainted with them. As such, there is warrant for further reception studies.

The issue of sexual violence looms large in the book under discussion. Irrespective of how repulsive certain acts or attitudes might strike us – take for example group rape – readers are assured that somewhere at some time in history similar events occurred before, nothing is ever truly new. One could ascribe such an almost clinical detachment as a form of scholarly distancing from the facts which are being reported. As I made clear earlier however, the present author does not demur at taking a moral stand. What appears to be contradiction is cleared when one looks at the ideological undertones which support a passion for Tradition as such, which marches on impeccably throughout the centuries. “A statement of a man’s time perspective is a way of describing his character”⁷⁷. Writing about the idea of cyclicity and eternal repetition in history, George Orwell observed that: “It is not very difficult to see that this idea is rooted in the fear of progress. If there is nothing new under the sun, if the past in some shape or another always returns, then the future when it comes will be something familiar”⁷⁸. Oîşteanu’s vision of history as the manifestation of a limited number of exemplary models which keep repeating on and on and on and on ad infinitum preempts only any possibility of change in the human sphere. If social relations take the same form on and on than there is no point in trying to change: one should not even to hope to do so. Commenting on Eliade’s take on millenarianism, R. A. Segal observed that the characteristics which mark it in distinction to everyday experience, “its strangeness, its bizarreness, its fabulousness” are eliminated in Eliade’s analysis, as he sees arising not from a new framework, but from an old one, as a result of which it becomes naturalized⁷⁹. Eliade’s, and by default, Oîşteanu’s view of time is a conservative political orientation which demurs at any type of action which might result in any differentiation to the social order⁸⁰. This is because humanity is already “fallen” since its fall from ontological grace, so there can be no hope glimmer of earthly salvation⁸¹. Historicization of various practices is vital for understanding human behavior. But when history is distorted, the results are much different.

The image of Eliade with which we are presented is that of someone who welcomed the sixties counterculture (589–590), and despite being to the right of the political spectrum, was nonetheless progressive in his views. Does this any way correspond to Eliade’s real persona?

⁷⁷ Bateson 2000, 336.

⁷⁸ Orwell 1968, 98.

⁷⁹ Segal 1978, 173.

⁸⁰ How does this square with Eliade’s embrace of fascism, which was a revolutionary political movement? A detailed analysis exceeds the space and scope of this article. However, I should emphasize that historians have come to see fascist ideology as *dynamic* defense of *tradition* – Herf 1984, which ultimately seeks to restore what is perceived to be the adequate status quo that was unjustly overturned – Griffin 2002, 204. After the war, a deeply bitter Eliade came to terms with Western democracy, despite never ceasing to lament its secular decadence. I touch upon Oîşteanu’s relation to progress later on.

⁸¹ Imperfection comes as a result of human, not divine error: “The sacred, as he defines it, never projects anything demonic or destructive” – Gill 2006, 37. This also explains the *sui generis* nature of religious studies, which replaces the previous “study of the supreme good” – Abelard 1979, 77, namely theology, in the post-confessional world.

One should start by looking back at Eliade's years in Romania. In his memoirs, Eliade makes no secret of the fact that opposed pornography⁸². Responding to the question whether the government inspired campaign against pornography was justified, Eliade again voice his support for its suppression. I consider it is worth quoting from this Foucaultian source at length. The piece begins with Eliade decrying the success of pornographic magazines and the novels of Barbusse, Zola and Maupassant, as well as the fact that boys lose their virginities in secondary schools and engage in masturbation. "At which point should the propaganda start from? From the school years. Here is where one can still find innocents, here is where souls are formed, as here is where the *man* of tomorrow is formed. The number of classes must be increased, and there has to a close connection between teachers and pupils, which will allow for advice and leadership. [There have to be] conferences and especially *orders*. Our schoolchildren do not possess a sense of *initiative*, the schoolteacher has to form it in them. They will be *forced* to read, to work, and think three times as much as they do now. Through study their mind will be awakened. They will become aware of the danger. They will fight and many will succeed! They have to. Through an ascetic regime, through Benedictine labor, the specter of vice must be squashed! I trust these methods". The text ends with quote from a poem by Mihai Eminescu which invokes the legacy of Vlad Țepeș, a fifteenth century ruler of Wallachia, praising him for the burning of insane asylums and prisons (italics present in the original)⁸³.

There is no evidence that Eliade become more liberal in his sexual politics later on, so it is hard to see him a champion of the swinging sixties. If Eliade could find some good things to say about nudism and drug taking, he despised the politics of the counterculture, such as the opposition movement to the American invasion of Vietnam. Eliade claimed in the seventies during an interview that the protest movement of Western youths is nothing but a recapitulation of the archetypal struggle of the young against the old⁸⁴ although in private he could fully express his distaste for student activism⁸⁵.

Distortions do not stop here. Oişteanu follows Eliade in his perception of populations from South America, Australia, Oceania, etc. as "archaic" and "primitives", a position which received criticism even during Eliade's lifetime⁸⁶. "Archaic" and "prim-

⁸² Eliade described how at a 1936 special session of the Society of Romanian Writers: "[...] I had declared myself opposed to pornography as a means of creating scandal and publicity [...] I made a point of specifying that in the case of pornographic writings a problem existed [...] I recalled a few examples in which it was clearly understood that certain authors, the majority of them young scandal seekers or else suspicious dilettantes hiding under pseudonyms, used graphic and erotic scenes exclusively for their shock value. I said, then, that we could not make common cause with any author of pornographic prose" - Eliade 1981, 317. This statement was issued before Eliade himself faced accusations of writing pornography after the publishing of his vampire-themed novella "*Miss Christina*" (*Domnişoara Cristina*) in 1936. Though he opposed the charges, this did not lead to a change of mind: Eliade insisted that the text's aesthetics were in accordance to the principles he had previously outlined.

⁸³ Eliade, 2008, 376-377.

⁸⁴ Simion 1979, 312.

⁸⁵ Țurcanu 2003, 474-475.

⁸⁶ Saliba 1976.

itive” people do not exist and neither does a “primitive mentality” (à la Lévy-Bruhl) manifest itself in the world of pre-modern or non-Western societies. Such a terminology, directly associated with of European colonialism and imperialism, is no longer utilized in ethnographical, anthropological or philosophical accounts, as it devalues the intellectual capacities of the subjects of such exploitative practices⁸⁷. As a result of their unequal status, European scholars depicted native populations as equal in terms of mental development to those people from mankind’s infancy, having them displaced from “the present and into a different time frame”, to the extent that “the native crossed into history”⁸⁸. To continue to use such terms as those mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph is to enter into such a discourse⁸⁹. The singer and social activist Paul Robeson was made aware of the inequality of aborigines in Australian society while he was on tour there. Addressing a peace gathering in Sydney, he stated that: “There’s no such thing as a “backward” human being, ... there is only a society which says they are backward”⁹⁰.

Oișteanu’s description of the Middle East is problematic to say the least. Placed between the noble Antiquity – represented by ancient Israel, Greece and Rome – and medieval Europe is the “Orient”, comprised of the Ottoman Empire. This brings to mind “a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between “the Orient” and (most of the time) “the Occident””⁹¹, a distinction maintained throughout the text. The chapters and their sub-headings of this section recall the pictures of Delacroix, Ingres and Gérôme⁹². Oișteanu’s geography is one modeled by presentist notions of European culture, one that does not properly reflect the geographical perception of the time he is describing. Thus, the Byzantine Empire (29–31) and the British Isles (32–35), constitute for the author “Western Europe”, while the Ottoman Empire is both “more Oriental” and “more archaic”

⁸⁷ Montag 1968; Torgovnick 1991.

⁸⁸ Wolfe 1999, 227.

⁸⁹ This is not to say that *all* thinkers who used notions such as “archaic” or “primitive” from the nineteenth century until the half of the twentieth century were serving the interests of one or another empire. The contrast between “primitives” and “civilized” Westerners was used as a means of critique of bourgeois notions of “proper” conduct by the various modernist currents that sprang up in the early twentieth century. See Rubin 1984; Barkan, Bush 1995; Genter 2010, 164–235.

⁹⁰ Cited in Haebich 2000, 435. In this sense, see also Bouttiaux, Seiderer, Vecchio 2011.

⁹¹ Said 1995, 2. I do not follow in Said’s footsteps when it comes to his absolutization of this separation. “To argue that the East-West divide is endemic in “Western” civilization is to collapse historical evolution into the methodological anarchy of ahistorical synechdochism” – Varisco 2007, 65. On the latent essentialism found in *Orientalism*, see the critique by al-Azm 2000, 218–231. Said’s model of orientalism as a grand theory that seeks to explain the history of the Middle East, colonialism and imperialism has been disproven by historians. Yet as applied to *certain* cases, Said’s model remains useful.

⁹² They are “Dreptul șahului, sultanului și hanului” p. 16–28, with the sub-chapters: ““Obicee turcești”” p. 24–25; “Dezvirginări rituale în Orient” and the later sub-chapters ““Mi-a dat sultanul domnia”” p. 428–429; “Dregătorii sultanului suzeran” p. 439–443; “Inițierea fetelor în Orient” p. 502–505; “Ospitalitate și sexualitate în Orient” p. 570–572. Oișteanu quotes Said’s *Orientalism* at one point (p. 267), but does not seem to be aware that is engaging in the very practices condemned by Said. This is only one case in which the author quotes someone, only to proceed contrary to the direction of the author he cites. I cannot tell whether this should be taken as proof of an assumed obfuscatory practice on the part of Oișteanu, or a sign that has not read or understood the works he quotes. For painting in the nineteenth-century, see Derr 1979, 62–114; Benjamin 1997, esp. 56–140; Belgin 2005; Cable 2010.

than Romanian society⁹³. Little does it matter that Byzantines and Christians from the Holy Roman Empire deeply disliked one another⁹⁴ and would have surely balked at such a common grouping. Nor does he stop to think about how the Irish, who were part of the British Isles, were considered in the Middle Ages to be outside the pale of civilization, and appear in the writings of clergymen such as Bernard de Clairvaux, John of Salisbury and Gerald of Wales as impious and brutish⁹⁵.

No reference is made to the fact that these are *present* time national incarnations, and by way of presenting them as if there is a straight line running from the Middle Ages until the present is to validate teleological nationalist narratives. By contrast to the diverse West, the Orient is homogenous, perpetually languishing in a state of despotism (with rulers such as Gaddafi, 240) religious fundamentalism and oppression of women (147–148, 385). With a situation such as this, it is no wonder the West should militarily intervene in such countries in order to bring civilization⁹⁶. When he speaks of the “Islamic treatment of women”, one cannot but ask: is it the same in *all* Islamic countries⁹⁷? Returning to his description of the “Orient”, Oişteanu weaves his tale of the East and wild Araby from the *Travels of Marco Polo* and *One Thousand and One Nights*. The “Orient” is also the birthplace of the practices such as the sexual initiation of girls by older women. The people presented by Mr. Oişteanu are so removed from reality that they might as well inhabit Francis Burton’s sotadic zone⁹⁸, where sexual openly proliferates as a result of climatological influence. By contrast, any resemblance to actual persons, living or dead, or actual events is purely occidental. As usual, Oişteanu is following his *maître à penser*. For Eliade, the “Oriental” has a much healthier approach to sexuality insofar as he understands it exclusively in terms of the “sacred”⁹⁹. The relationship between “Orientals” and “primitives” is an unequal one for Eliade¹⁰⁰. To a large extent Eliade fits Said’s model of Orientalist scholarship. Consider the essentialist comments spread throughout his work, such as his observation that “the sense of history” is “nonexistent in the Orient”¹⁰¹.

⁹³ The “more” in this context dispels any notion of these terms neutrality.

⁹⁴ Chadwick 2005; Nicol 1967, 315–339.

⁹⁵ Martin 1988, 11–13.

⁹⁶ The Group for Social Dialogue (Grupul pentru dialog social), of which Oişteanu is part of, was fervent in its flag-waving during the American wars of “liberation” against Afghanistan and Iraq. Foreign press reports later revealed that Romania, in its capacity of an US ally in its “war on terror”, served as a black site on which, after extraordinary rendition, terrorist suspects and “enemy combatants” were delivered in order to be subjected to “enhanced interrogation techniques”.

⁹⁷ On the Western fixation with empowering Muslim women, see Abu-Lughod 2013. For a case study in a national context, see Bowen 2008.

⁹⁸ Burton ca. 1934.

⁹⁹ Eliade 2013 [1934], 104–105.

¹⁰⁰ Allen 1998, 301–302; Murphy, 2001, 35–47.

¹⁰¹ Eliade 2010, 38. The tendency to reproduce the “Orient” in line with the Eliade’s essentialist perspective on regions as diverse as India and the Middle East is common among Romanian researchers dealing with his writings e.g. Culianu 1978, 152–153; Marino 1981, 306–325; Gligor 2016. For the degree to which Said’s model of orientalism applies to Romanian writings dealing with Arabs and other ethnicities of the Middle East before Eliade, see Vainovski-Mihai 2010; while focusing on India as opposed to the Middle East, Bordaş 2006, is also important in understanding the meaning of “the Orient” in Romanian culture.

To turn now to the local level, the Oișteanu's grasp of Romanian history is not any better. The beginning of Romanian civil society is placed the early nineteenth-century (478). But seeing how the development of civil society is placed in relation to the rise of bourgeoisie¹⁰², a social category which was nonexistent in the Romanian principalities of that time, it is hard to view the evolution of Western democratic values and the raising of Romanian national consciousness – which characterized Romanian intellectual life then – as in any way synonymous¹⁰³. We are then told about the transition of post-communist societies (330–331). But what do these societies transition to? Scholars have long pointed out the teleological implications of “transition”¹⁰⁴ which rests its methods on the basis of Cold War modernization theory¹⁰⁵. Just as in actually existing socialism the present was devalued in favor for a future towards which society was inevitably marching off towards to, with the goal of finally achieving communism, transitology promises the people of the Eastern bloc that one day they will finally get really existing capitalism¹⁰⁶. As such, it is a form of “capitalist realism”: one has no alternative than to blindly accept the rules of the game as part of the “natural” order of things¹⁰⁷. Communism was only a breach in Romanian history. The existence of kitsch, as exemplified by the manele genre of music serves as an example of post-1989 societal disarray¹⁰⁸. This is why the Romanian people need liberal elites such as Mr. Oișteanu to successfully guide them through the process. It is beyond the scope of this paper to explore the evolution of Romania's educated elites after 1989. A few preliminary observations should be made however¹⁰⁹.

¹⁰² e.g. Habermas 1991. Habermas' theory of civil society was *the* standard for a long time and continues to exert influence. For a critical evaluation of his conceptualization of the public sphere, which also makes reference to the relevant bibliography, see Thorne 2009, 225–261.

¹⁰³ Campbell 1971, 205; Barbu 2001; Rizescu 2012, 158–164.

¹⁰⁴ Verdery 1996, 204–228; Gal, Kligman 2000, 11–12; Carothers 2005, 5–21; Ghodsee 2011.

¹⁰⁵ Gilman 2007.

¹⁰⁶ It is needless to say that throughout Eastern Europe such a discourse excused the harsh realities of post-communist life (dismantling of communist welfare agencies as a consequence of the imposition of neo-liberal policies, mass unemployment as a result of de-industrialization – practices labeled “shock therapy”, government corruption, etc.) as growing pains before the new stage of history finally sets in.

¹⁰⁷ Fisher 2009.

¹⁰⁸ For an analysis of the manele culture of post-communist Romania, see the volume by Beissinger et alii, 2016. Of varying quality, but nonetheless instructive for an understanding of how this culture is perceived on a day to day level by people with higher education, see the essays in the volume edited by Cesereanu 2005.

¹⁰⁹ The new class of Romanian intellectuals comprised of people who avoided dissidence during the communist period, but who found it profitable to do it as a profession after 1989. In a time in which “‘mere words’ would have been deeds” – Arendt 1963, 116, they intentionally remained silent. They claim to have “resisted through culture”, opposing the regime by studying German idealist philosophy or Byzantine iconography. Probably the closest concept with which comparison is possible is that of “inner exile”, professed by German writers and poets who did not adhere to the policies of Third Reich, but did not oppose them outright either. Compensating after the fact for lack of samizdat in Romania, the likes of Liiceanu and Patapievici offer their readers angry denouncements of communism and of leftists of all stripes and colors while they are at it. Mindful of the readership of such tracts, their books are available in lush hardcovers, and as soon as one gets published, an anniversary edition is soon in the works. For a small sum of money, buyers can avoid the wear and tear of the clandestine dissident writings. I would call such a discourse “*stalinisme pour rêver*”. On their road to class power, these intellectuals strongly oppose the claims of people who acted out against the communist regime, as they see it as a threat to their status and a challenge to their successful integration within state institutions. Illustrative in this sense was the extremely negative

Neither politicians nor technocrats, they jump from web to web of NGO's, think thanks and government post¹¹⁰. As the process of transition seemingly lingers on indefinitely, the liberal intellectuals continue to safeguard the country's evolution irrespective of the political changes that take place¹¹¹. Consider the upbraiding of Romanian society's penchant for kitsch in the present volume, which is identified as one of the marks of a society in transition. Why is the kitschiness of the manele genre of music taken up by Mr. Oişteanu to be a cultural form of "transition"? Is not the image of the patron of the manele singer fluttering bills into the air while the performer cries out the names of those for whom the song is dedicated between cries of "countless" ("fără număr", suggesting the limitlessness of the patron's wealth) during parties, weddings and baptisms the embodiment of the internalization of the capitalist logic? After all, the songs are about (mostly) men who successfully make large amounts of money out of their "businesses", win out against their opponents in life's struggle, and possess the woman (or women) of their dreams. Lascivious description of women places them on the same scale as the manelist's cars and houses¹¹².

As Mr. Oişteanu takes his expertise to bedroom life of his co-citizens, one is reminded about the above-quoted passage in which Eliade developed his model education plan. Oişteanu is much more open than Eliade, but one finds the same know-it-all attitude, coupled with a sniggering contempt towards those who are less educated than the author. Thus, readers are informed about the socialist politics of N. D. Cocea (488), but no mention is made of the right-wing sympathies of Culianu, Dumézil or Wikander. Again following Eliade¹¹³, Oişteanu proposes that folklore serves as a repository of actual lived experiences and should be used as a resource for understanding the past, as in folklore they persist outside of their historical context as "living fossils" (without mentioning that for Eliade, among the experiences that could be accounted for included levitation and human incombustibility)¹¹⁴. The author made

reaction the weekly *Revista 22* had to the winning of the Nobel Prize by Herta Müller - Segesten 2013, 41. It is no wonder that they desperately cling on to the largely discredited and to a certain extent abandoned totalitarian model (in the present volume, see the sweeping statements at pages 590-591 as in its claims of total government control they find a useful excuse for their passivity during the Ceauşescu years. Abbott Gleason's observation that since perestroika, "Russian intellectuals have been much better at reviving or recycling old categories than at inventing new ones" - Gleason 1995, 215, a tendency which exculpatory pretensions - Gleason 1995, 8 applies equally well to them. The best exploration of the claims of this group remains - Barbu 2004, esp. 58-63.

¹¹⁰ Such appreciation for democracy does not come in conflict for them with an apologetical treatment of Romanian intellectuals who unabashedly supported fascism and Nazism, such as Mircea Eliade, Nae Ionescu, Constantin Noica, Petru Ţuţea, and Vintilă Horia. From this group of thinkers they adopt the rejection of Enlightenment secularization, elitism and opposition to emancipatory social movements (e.g. feminism in the case of Patapievic).

¹¹¹ Mr. Oişteanu's colleague at the publication *Revista 22*, Andrei Pleşu, was more or less part of every Romanian government between 1989 and the late 2000s.

¹¹² For an analysis of the popularity of the manele style of music in post-communist Romania, see the volume by Beissinger et alii 2016. Of varying quality, but nonetheless instructive for an understanding of how this culture is perceived on a day to day level by people with higher education, see the essays in the collection edited by Cesereanu 2005.

¹¹³ Eliade 1937, 137.

¹¹⁴ For Eliade questions that traditionally preoccupied folklorists, such the provenance of a ballad (local

a similar use of this notion in the past¹¹⁵, failing to take into account that the collective memories offered by scholars are also *collected* memories. Oral traditions are subjected to the whims of the researcher's subjective preferences, and as a result certain traditions can be downplayed or even censored at the expense of others. In other words, folk traditions are mediated by social reality as much as any other tradition handed down¹¹⁶. "Remnants" are scholarly inventions which developed in the nineteenth century, reflective of the period's obsession of the survival of the last exemplars undergoing extinction¹¹⁷ and have "survived" ever since. Scholarship has generally disproved accounts which proclaim to evidence pagan persistency¹¹⁸. The most prized works of nineteenth century folklore did not come as a result of a Herderian Volk expressing its antique beliefs thinly veneered by Christianity, which folklorists merely had to record, but were in actuality products of highly educated men of letters. In regards to Germany, one scholar observed that the "nearest equivalents of the Homers and the Ossians" were not found among the peasantry, but were represented by "gifted storytellers like Wilhelm Grimm¹¹⁹".

Mr. Oişteanu should be applauded for bringing into attention such challenging pieces of folklore in an age where for marketing purposes, Romanian traditions are portrayed as squeaky clean. In the context in which three million signed a petition asking that the constitution explicitly define marriage as between a man and a woman, prejudice is nothing something to be treated lightly, I hope his calls for the abandonment of normative standards of sexual behavior will strike a chord. Perhaps some – myself not included – will find his humanism inspirational.

But a study cannot be sustained by good intentions alone. Like any other subject matter, vulgarity in Romanian folklore deserves to be studied in its own socio-historical context, not treated as a quaint exoticism¹²⁰. And while we should remain disdainful of prejudice, if we want to combat it, we must comprehend its sources in order to discern the way it functions. Comprehension of its sources does not imply compassion or empathy for prejudice, but the scholar must have an understanding nature¹²¹. Mr. Oişteanu is permanently ironic towards the less educated and less informed people who show intolerance, and he likes to show off his learning in front of them, an attitude which smacks of the elitism that is part and parcel of contemporary Romanian intellectual culture¹²². If the author intends to preach to the choir, I doubt his will

origin or transmission by diffusion) were of mediocre interest – Eliade 1943, 25. As such, it is hard to imagine how a classification of these "fossils" might look like.

¹¹⁵ Oişteanu 2009, 24, 343, 430.

¹¹⁶ Beiner 2007, 61, 314–315.

¹¹⁷ Stafford 1994; Brantlinger 2003.

¹¹⁸ e.g. de Martino 1915 [1957]; Gurevich 1990, 91; Hutton 1999; Carroll 1999; Rock 2007.

¹¹⁹ Ellis 1983, 109.

¹²⁰ Such a model remains Kligman 1988. For anyone who will one day undertake a real comparative analysis of Romanian sexual folklore with that of other countries, the bibliography arranged by Gershon Legman – Legman 1990, 417–501, will prove vital.

¹²¹ The need for understanding in trying to comprehend even the most atrocious historical agents is discussed in Bauer 2001, 17–25.

¹²² The first volume of Foucault's *The History of Sexuality* is present in the bibliography. Despite this, the intense, condemnatory public focus on artistic and scientific discussions of sexuality is considered by

any social effect. Most importantly, serious study should prevent misconceptions, not harbor them.

A full chapter is dedicated to *ius primae noctis* (468–492), which is described as “an archaic custom”, an unwritten law which dates to Antiquity. Lords had the rights to have intercourse with women whom they ruled over on their wedding night¹²³. Mr. Oișteanu is unconvinced by the definition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* of this practice as an imaginary one, and takes a whole series of publications to task for failing to properly attest to its historical reality (172–173). He seems to be unfamiliar with the work of historian Alain Boureau, who studied this subject most consistently (1998). The answer for which so many studies contest the authenticity of this practice is because there is no proof of it. The *droit du seigneur* is a fiction. Boureau’s work is part of a larger trend of research, which provides us with a more nuanced view of the Middle Ages, one in which sexual policies were not as uniform, austere and repressive as previously conceived¹²⁴. There are other issues at stake.

First of all, to assume that just because a similar legal practice existed in Western Europe does not automatically imply similar social conditions in the Romanian, insofar as social needs lead to legal development, not the other way around¹²⁵. Western feudalism differed radically from that in Southern Europe, so that the conditions that led to the development of *ius primae noctis* would be lacking in the latter zone. The second problem, which is perhaps the most important one, is that this practice *never existed*.

A description of *droit du seigneur* provided by the man of letters Codru Drăgușanu is said to be an important “primary resource” in the study of the topic¹²⁶. In order to convince us of his qualities as an informant, Mr. Oișteanu tells us that Drăgușanu was well attuned with the European realities of his time. Indeed he was. In his European travelogue, Drăgușanu wrote about how the “kike” Rothschild is the real emperor of Europe. Rothschild, whose soul is golden, was said to control the rulers of the continent and impose on them his own policies¹²⁷. Would Mr. Oișteanu, who wrote a book about anti-Semitism, also consider these remarks to be important “primary resource” about nineteenth-century European politics?

Oișteanu further relies on a *novel* by historian Radu Rosetti, the memoirs of the writer Gheorghe Sion, *fiction* by writer Mihail Sadoveanu, and a *novel* by the

Oișteanu as a sign of puritanism and prudery. As in other cases, one is left to doubt whether the author paid any attention to Foucault, he would have thought twice about making such a statement. A proper investigation of the public discourse on sexuality in Romania will have to take into account the historical high tolerance for vulgarity and curse words with a sexual connotation in areas such as politics which continues to manifest until the present day – Cesereanu 2003, in contrast to the outrage provoked by ones in other areas such as art.

¹²³ This is the way it is presented in the 1995 film *Braveheart*. Considering how Mr. Oișteanu purposefully blurs distinctions between works of historical fiction and the record, I gather he takes this film to be akin to a primary source in the study of Scottish history.

¹²⁴ Rossiaud 1999, 1082.

¹²⁵ Stahl 1992, 113. Mr. Oișteanu would probably reply that a disembodied entity called “Law” floats around the popular unconscious, mentality etc.

¹²⁶ For a brief description of Drăgușanu, see Constantinescu et alii 1974, 24–27.

¹²⁷ Bălan 2006, 467.

journalist N. D. Cocea to build up his case. The only *historical* works used for his record are Neagu Djuvara's *Între Orient și Occident. Țările române la începutul epocii moderne (1800-1848)*, originally written in 1989, and Bogdan Mateescu's *Căsătoria robilor: între alegerea cuplului și voința stăpânului* published in 2014, but there is no mention of other relevant studies that deal specifically with the Roma published after 1989¹²⁸. Djuvara's work was written while he was in exile¹²⁹ so he was unable to consult archives in Romania, a fact which should be taken account of when evaluating the book's actuality. Nor does he mention previous works of scholarship which present us with the harsh reality of the time in all its brutality¹³⁰. He does mention an interwar book¹³¹ as "troubled". This phrasing is euphemistic: Chelcea's book is openly racist in parts¹³². While I do not deny the book's merits, I consider such attitudes such be openly called out.

Oișteanu decries the oversexualization of Roma women in Romanian society throughout time, but he participates in this very process, by making them appear in his phantasmagoric scenarios: how else is one likely to perceive them after reading his tales about "ritual" sexual initiation, incest and debauchery? I want to make it clear that I am not in any way denying the existence of instance of sexual abuse in the case of Roma slaves, cases of which were attested in the scholarly literature long before the current volume came to press¹³³. What I am contesting is the presumption that there existed a legislative frame for abuse, the basis on which the author builds his narrative, and the manner in which he chooses to present it. In tone with Eliade's privileging of ritual, Mr. Oișteanu places much emphasis on the *droit du seigneur* as a carefully crafted practice. Yet by doing so he fails to take into consideration whether or not enslaved subjects perceived their sexual abuse as distinct from the everyday exploitation of their bodies (Elbourne 2014, 7). Should we avoid altogether writing about practices which contradict our own Western value system because it risks ostracizing those being written about? Definitely not: there are ways of writing that do not gratify one's taste for the perverse and that manage to depict the subject in less sensational, but more realistic manners¹³⁴. This process of "othering" unfortunately characterizes a lot of the writing done about Roma in the former Eastern bloc¹³⁵. Even benevolent

¹²⁸ c.f. Achim 2004; Marushiakova, Popov 2009; Woodcock 2015, 176-186.

¹²⁹ Djuvara 2012, 517; Djuvara 2013, 7-11.

¹³⁰ Potra 1939, 74-86.

¹³¹ Chelcea 1944.

¹³² Chelcea 1944, see 100-101.

¹³³ e.g. Potra 1939. R. M. Karras wonderfully makes this point in relation to Boureau's work: "Medieval history is full of rapes of women of subordinate groups by men of dominant groups. To deny that lords in the Middle Ages had a legal right to commit such rapes does not amount to denying that they committed them with impunity, or to whitewashing the Middle Ages. Perpetuating groundless myths for political purposes only discredits those purposes" - Karras 1999, 359.

¹³⁴ Consider the following passage from a book dealing with "Children dressed up with special ornaments and new clothes, a surgical procedure, ululations, small gifts and congratulations, a gathering of people for breakfast. No mystery, no religious figures present, no chanting or manipulation of sacred objects, no patriarchal authority figure overseeing and dictating the sequence of events" - Gruenbaum 2001, 59. Thorough the book, the author tries to maintain a balanced critique of the practice in question.

¹³⁵ Kligman 2001, 61-78; Marushiakova, Popov 2011, 96-101.

researchers impose on the situation of the Roma concepts associated with Western identity politics that have come out the civil rights struggle in the US¹³⁶.

In the beginning of the above analyzed chapter, Mr. Oişteanu finds himself ironizing Nicolae Păun, a Roma politician and spokesperson of the Roma minority in Parliament, who during a televised program, expressed outrage for the suffering of the groom in the practice of *ius primae noctis*. Dr. Oişteanu sanctions this careless display of male-centered thinking. The fact is, however, that in the end both figures find themselves sharing the same erroneous beliefs. As an exercise in encouraging the persistence of fake narratives of victimhood, it distracts attention from the very real dramas the Romas faced in Romanian history. The goal of scholarship should not be to confirm the various myths social groups believe about themselves, but to critically analyze them in view of the existing data. As Bruce Lincoln reminds us, when one fails to do so, he ceases to be a historian or a scholar, but fulfills a variety of other roles. And while some of these positions may be more commendable than others (e. g. advocate rather than cheerleader), in the end none of them “should be confused with scholarship”¹³⁷. If my paper has succeeded in any way, I hope no one will confuse Mr. Oişteanu’s latest offering with scholarship.

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¹³⁶ Stewart 133-155.

¹³⁷ Lincoln 2012, 3.

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ABBREVIATIONS

The following list contains abbreviations which are not included in the list at http://www.annee-philologique.com/files/sigles_fr.pdf.

AAA	Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών, Αθήνα.
AB (S. N.)	Analele Banatului, Timișoara; Serie Nouă (S. N.): Analele Banatului, Timișoara.
ACMIT	Anuarul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice, Secțiunea pentru Transilvania, Cluj.
Acta Carnuntina	<i>Acta Carnuntina</i> . Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft der Freunde Carnuntums, Carnuntum.
ActaCD	<i>Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis</i> , Debrecen.
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.
ACSS	Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia. An International Journal of Comparative Studies in History and Archaeology, Bordeaux - Moscow.
AE	L'Année Épigraphique, Paris.
AEM	Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn, Wien.
AIIA Cluj	Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie, Cluj-Napoca.
AIIA Iași	Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie, Iași.
AIJ	V. Hoffiller, B. Saria, Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslawien, Heft 1: Noricum und Pannonia Superior, Zagreb 1938.
AISC	Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice, Cluj-Napoca.
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology, Boston.
Alba Regia	<i>Alba Regia. Annales Musei Stephani Regis - Alba Regia</i> . A Szent István Király Múzeum Évkönyve, Székesfehérvár.
Aluta	<i>Aluta</i> . Revista Muzeului Național Secuiesc, Sfântu Gheorghe.
American Anthropologist	American Anthropologist. Journal of the American Anthropological Association.
AMS	Asia Minor Studien. Forschungsstelle Asia Minor im Seminar für Alte Geschichte der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster.
Angustia	<i>Angustia</i> . Revista Muzeului Carpaților Răsăriteni, Sfântu Gheorghe.
ANRW	H. Temporini, W. Haase (Hrsgg.), Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, Berlin - New York.
AO	Arhivele Olteniei, Craiova.
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament. Veröffentlichungen zur Kultur und Geschichte des Altens Orients und des Alten Testament, Kevelar/Neurkirchen-Vluyn, Münster.
Apulum	<i>Apulum</i> . Anuarul Muzeului Național al Unirii din Alba Iulia, Alba Iulia.
Αρχ	Αρχαιολογία, Αθήνα.

Археологія	Археологія. Спілка ароехеологів України, Kiev.
ArchAnz	Archäologischer Anzeiger, Berlin.
Archaeologica Bulgarica	<i>Archaeologica Bulgarica</i> , Sofia.
ΑρχΔελτ	Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον, Αθήνα.
ArchHung	<i>Archaeologia Hungarica. Dissertationes Archaeologicae Musei Nationalis Hungarici a Consilio Arcaeologorum Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae redactae</i> , Budapest.
ArchKözl	Archeológiai Közlemények, Budapest.
ArhMold	Arheologia Moldovei, Iași.
Arheologie și Studii Clasice	Arheologie și Studii Clasice, București.
ArhVest	Arheološki Vestnik, Ljubljana.
Banatica	<i>Banatica</i> , Reșița.
BAR	British Archaeological Reports, Oxford.
BCMI	Buletinul Comisiei Monumentelor Istorice, București.
BGU	Berliner griechische urkunden (Ägyptische urkunden aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin), Berlin.
BHAUT	<i>Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Universitatis Timisiensis</i> , Timișoara.
BMC	H. Mattingly, R. Carson (eds.), <i>Coins of the British Museum</i> , London 1923.
CA	Cercetări Arheologice. Muzeul Național de Istorie, București.
CAB	Cercetări Arheologice în București. Muzeul de Istorie și Artă al Municipiului București.
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History, Cambridge.
CCA	Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România, București.
CCCA	M. J. Vermaseren, <i>Corpus cultus Cybelae Attidisque VI</i> , Leyden 1989.
CCDJ	Cultură și civilizație la Dunărea de Jos, Călărași.
CCID	M. Hörig, E. Schwertheim (eds.), <i>Corpus cultus Iovis Dolicheni</i> , EPRO 106, Leiden 1987.
CCIS	E. N. Lane, <i>Corpus cultus Iovis Sabazii</i> , Leyden 1985.
Ch&K	Chaos e Kosmos. Per Tommaso Marciano, Roma, http://www.chaosekosmos.it/pdf/2009_01.pdf .
CIG	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , I-IV, Berlin 1828-1877.
CIGD	L. Ruscu, <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum Dacicarum</i> , HPS 10, Debrecen 2003.
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , Berlin 1863 sqq.
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.
CMRDM	E. N. Lane, <i>Corpus monumentorum religionis Dei Menis</i> , Leiden 1976.
CMRED	D. Tudor, <i>Corpus monumentorum religionis equitum Danuviorum</i> , I-II, Leiden 1969-1976.

CODR	J. R. Carbó García, Los cultos orientales en la Dacia romana. Formas de difusión, integración y control social e ideológico, I, II, Salamanca 2010.
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	Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani.
A Csíki Székely Múzeum Évkönyve	A Csíki Székely Múzeum Évkönyve, Miercurea Ciuc.
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 1877-1919.
Dacia (N. S.)	<i>Dacia</i> - Recherches et découvertes archéologiques en Roumanie; Nouvelle Série (N. S.): Dacia - Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne, București.
A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve	A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve. <i>Annales Musei Debreceniensis de Frederico Déri nominate</i> , Debrecen.
DissPann	<i>Dissertationes Pannonicae</i> , Budapest.
Dizionario Epigrafico	E. di Ruggiero (ed.), Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane, I-III, Roma 1895-1922.
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).
Drobeta	<i>Drobeta</i> , Drobeta-Turnu Severin.
EDCS	Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss/ Slaby (http://www.manfredclauss.de/).
EDR	<i>Ephemeris Dacoromana</i> . Annuario della Scuola Romana di Roma, Roma.
EN	<i>Ephemeris Napocensis</i> , Cluj-Napoca.
EphEp	Ephemeris Epigraphica: <i>Corporis inscriptionum Latinarum supplementum</i> , Roma 1872 sqq.
Epigraphische Studien	Epigraphische Studien, Bonn.
EPRO	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain, Leiden.
Erdély	Erdély Honismertető Folyóirat. Az Erdély Kárpát-Egyesületnek és Múzeumának értesítője, Kolozsvár.
ErdMuz	Erdélyi Múzeum. Kiadja az Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület, Kolozsvár.
Έργον	Έργον της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας, Αθήνα.
FolArch	<i>Folia Archaeologica. Annales Musei Nationalis Hungarici</i> , Budapest.
Fundberichte aus Baden-Württemberg	Fundberichte aus Baden-Württemberg, Stuttgart.
Glasnik	Glasnik Srpskog Arheološkog Društva (Journal of the Serbian Archaeological Society), Belgrade.
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 .

A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve	A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve. <i>Annales Musei Miskolciensis de Herman Ottó Nominati</i> , Miskolc.
Hierá	<i>Hierá</i> . Collana di studi storico-religiosi, Cosenza.
HPS	Hungarian Polis Studies, Debrecen.
HSCPh	Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Cambridge.
HTRTÉ	A Hunyadmegyei Történelmi és régészeti Társulat Évkönyve, I-XXII, Deva 1880-1913.
IDR	<i>Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae</i> , I-III, București - Paris 1975 sqq.
IDRE	C. C. Petolescu, <i>Inscriptions externes concernant l'histoire de la Dacie</i> , I-II, București 1996, 2000.
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> , Berlin 1873 sqq.
IGB	G. Mihailov, <i>Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae</i> , I-V, Serdicae (Sofia), 1956-1997.
IGLNovae	J. Kolendo, V. Božilova, <i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de Novae (Mésie Inférieure)</i> , Bordeaux - Paris 1997.
IGLR	Em. Popescu, <i>Inscripțiile grecești și latine din secolele IV-XIII descoperite în România: culese, traduse în românește, însoțite de indici și comentate</i> , București 1976.
IGR	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas pertinentes</i> , Paris.
ILBulg	B. Gerov, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria repertae</i> , I, Sofia 1989.
ILD	C. Petolescu, <i>Inscripții latine din Dacia</i> , București 2005.
ILJug	A. Šašel, J. Šašel, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt</i> , Ljubljana 1963.
ILLPRON	M. Hainzmann, P. Schubert, <i>Inscriptionum lapidariarum Latinarum provinciae Norici usque ad annum MCMLXXXIV repertarum indices</i> , Berlin - New York 1986.
ILS	H. Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , I-IV, Berlin 1882-1916.
IMS	<i>Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure</i> , I-VI, Beograd 1976-1982.
InscrItal	<i>Inscriptiones Italiae</i> , Roma 1937 sqq.
ISM	<i>Inscripțiile din Scythia Minor grecești și latine</i> , București 1980 sqq.
Istros	<i>Istros</i> . Buletinul Muzeului Brăilei, Brăila.
Journal of Democracy	Journal of Democracy, Washington DC.
JSA	Journal of Social Archaeology, http://jsa.sagepub.com/ .
Journal of Military History	Journal of Military History, Lexington (VA).
Journal of Religion and Health	Journal of Religion and Health, Blanton-Peale Institute.
Közlemények	Közlemények az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából, Budapest.
ΚρΧρον	Κρητικά Χρονικά, Ηράκλειο.
krisis/crisi	<i>krisis/crisi</i> , Roma 2012.
KSK RBS	Kleine Schriften zur Kenntnis der römischen Besetzungsgeschichte Südwestdeutschlands, Stuttgart.
KunArchiv	Kün Archiv: Arbeiten aus dem Landwirtschaftlichen Institut der Universität Halle, Berlin.
KVHAA	Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, Stockholm.
LGPN	Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, Oxford, http://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/ .

Libyca	<i>Libyca</i> . Bulletin du Service des Antiquités. Archéologie, Épigraphie, Alger.
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> , 1981 sqq.
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 .
MAL	Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Memorie. Classe di Scienze morali storiche e filologiche, Roma.
Madrider Mitteilungen	Madrider Mitteilungen. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Madrid.
Marisia	<i>Marisia</i> . Studii și materiale. Arheologie, istorie, etnografie, Muzeul Județean Mureș, Târgu Mureș.
Marmatia	<i>Marmatia</i> , Baia Mare.
MAVORS	MAVORS – Institute for Ancient Military History.
MCA	Materiale și cercetări arheologice, București.
Medicina nei secoli	Medicina nei Secoli, Roma.
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.
Michmanim	Michmanim. The Bulletin of the Reuben and Edith Hecht Museum. Haifa University.
MMM	Fr. Cumont, Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra, II, Bruxelles 1896.
Montana II	V. Velkov, G. Alexandrov (eds.), Епиграфски паметници от Монтана и района, София 1994.
Musaios	<i>Musaios</i> , Muzeul Județean Buzău.
Neohelicon	Neohelicon. <i>Acta Comparitionis Litterarum Universalis</i> , Budapest.
Novensia	<i>Novensia</i> : badania Ekspedycji Archeologicznej Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego w Novae, Warsaw.
OLD	Oxford Latin Dictionary, Oxford 1968.
OPEL	B. Lőrincz, F. Redő et alii, <i>Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum</i> , I–IV, Budapest 1994–2005.
ORA	Orientalische Religionen in der Antike.
Oriens et Occidens	<i>Oriens et Occidens</i> . Studien zu antiken Kulturkontakten und ihrem Nachleben, Stuttgart.
Ősrégészeti Levelek	Ősrégészeti Levelek. Prehistoric newsletter, Budapest.
PamátkyArch	Památky Archeologické, Praga.
PAS	Prähistorische Archäologie in Südosteuropa, Berlin.
PAwB	Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge.
PBF	Prähistorische Bronzefunde, Berlin.
Peuce	<i>Peuce</i> . Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale “Gavrilă Simion”, Tulcea.
Phoenix	<i>Phoenix</i> . Classical Association of Canada, Toronto.
PIR	<i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani</i> , Berlin 1897–1898.
PIR²	E. Groag, A. Stein et alii, <i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani²</i> , Berlin 1933 sqq.

PLRE	Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, I-III, Cambridge 1971-1992.
Pontica	<i>Pontica</i> . Studii și materiale de istorie, arheologie și muzeografie, Constanța.
Potaissa	<i>Potaissa</i> . Studii și Comunicări, Turda.
Probleme de Muzeologie	Probleme de Muzeologie, București.
PZ	Prähistorische Zeitschrift, Berlin.
RCRF Acta	Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Acta.
RD	F. Rómer, E. Desjardins, A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum római feliratos emlékei - <i>Inscriptiones monumentorum Romanorum Musei Nationalis, Acta Nova Musei Nationalis</i> , 1, Budapest 1873.
RE	A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, K. Ziegler (eds.), <i>Realencyclopädie der classischen altertumswissenschaft</i> , Stuttgart 1893 sqq.
Religion	Religion, http://www.tandfonline.com/ .
Religious Studies	Religious Studies. An International Journal for the Philosophy of Religion, Cambridge.
Rheinisches Museum	Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Köln.
RepCluj	I. H. Crișan, M. Bărbulescu, E. Chirilă, V. Vasiliev, I. Winkler, Repertoriul arheologic al județului Cluj, Cluj-Napoca 1992.
Revista Arheologică	Revista Arheologică, Chișinău.
RevBistriței	Revista Bistriței, Bistrița.
Revista Fundațiilor Regale	Revista Fundațiilor Regale: revistă lunară de literatură, artă și cultură generală, București.
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, Bucarest.
RGZM	B. Pferdehirt, <i>Römische Militärdiplome und Entlassungsurkunden in der Sammlung des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums</i> , I-II, Mainz - Bonn 2004.
RIB	The Roman Inscriptions of Britain, Oxford 1965 sqq.
RIT	G. Alföldi, <i>Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco</i> , Berlin 1975.
RIU	Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns, I-VI, Budapest - Bonn 1972-2001.
Rivista storica dell'antichità	Rivista storica dell'antichità, Roma.
Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia	Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia, Milano.
Rivista di Studi Liguri	Rivista di Studi Liguri, Bordighera.
RMD	M. M. Roxan, P. Holder, <i>Roman Military Diplomas</i> , I-V, London 1978-2006.
RMI	Revista Monumentelor Istorice, București.
Romanian Journal of Archaeology	Romanian Journal of Archaeology, http://apar.archaeology.ro/rja.htm .
RR	Römer in Rumänien. Ausstellung des Römisch-Germanischen Museums Köln und des Historischen Museums Cluj, 12. Februar - 18 Mai 1969, Köln 1969.

RSS	A. Mócsy, T. Szentlélek, Die römischen Steindenkmäler von Savaria, Budapest 1971.
SA	<i>Studia Archaeologica</i> , Roma.
Saggi	I Saggi, Roma.
Sargetia	<i>Sargetia</i> . Buletinul Muzeului Județean Hunedoara, Deva.
Savaria	<i>Savaria</i> . A Vas Megyei Múzeumok Értesítője, Szombathely.
SAWW	Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Wien.
SBA	Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft.
SCIV(A)	Studii și cercetări de istorie veche (și arheologie - since 1975), București.
SCN	Studii și cercetări numismatice, București.
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> , Leiden 1923 sqq.
Situla	<i>Situla</i> . Razprave Narodnega Muzeja v Ljubljani - <i>Dissertationes Musei Nationales Labacensis</i> , Ljubljana.
SMMIM	Studii și materiale de muzeografie și istorie militară, București.
SMSR	Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni.
Social History of Medicine	Social History of Medicine, Oxford.
Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei	Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei. Mitteilungen der Museen des Komitates Somogy, Kaposvár.
SpecNov	<i>Specimina Nova Dissertationum ex Institutis Historiae Antiquae et Archaeologiae Universitatis Quinqueecclesiensis</i> , Pécs.
StCl	Studii Clasice, București.
StComSatuMare	Studii și comunicări, Satu Mare.
Studii de Preistorie	Studii de Preistorie, http://arheologie.ro .
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.
ThesCRA	M. Greenberg (ed.), <i>Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum</i> , Los Angeles 2004.
Thraco-Dacica	<i>Thraco-Dacica</i> . Institutul de Tracologie, București.
TIR	<i>Tabula Imperii Romani</i> .
Tisicum	<i>Tisicum</i> . A Szolnok megyei múzeumi évkönyv, Szolnok.
TitAq	P. Kovács, Á. Szabó, <i>Tituli Aquincenses</i> , Budapest 2009 sqq.
Transylvanian Review	Transylvanian Review. Revue de Transylvanie, Cluj-Napoca.
Tyragetia	<i>Tyragetia</i> . Muzeul Național de Istorie a Moldovei, Chișinău.
Ziridava	<i>Ziridava</i> . Complexul Muzeal Arad.
MCDR	Muzeul Civilizației Dacice și Romane Deva.
MJIAZ	Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Artă Zalău.
MNIR	Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București.

