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**New perspectives in the study
of Roman religion in Dacia**

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Risus, Cucullatus, Venus. Divine Protectors and Protective Divinities of Childhood in Dacia and Pannonia¹

Adriana ANTAL

National Museum of Transylvanian History, Cluj-Napoca

Abstract. The study investigates a less known aspect of Roman life – the childhood, by means of bringing to light its few manifestations that left visible traces in the material culture: the fear of death and the divine protectors against it. For defending their children from natural and supernatural dangers, the Romans invoked more frequently divine forces (some even magical) than the official gods of different cults. This results, for instance, in the deposition of apotropaic statuettes such as *Risi*, which mark the passing from infant to child, or the *Genii Cucullati* in the next stage, from child to adolescent. Most likely, some Venus statuettes can be ascribed to the same category, representing girls' votive dedications or dowries and marking the end of childhood. To better understand this phenomenon, it will be traced from inception until the moment when it begins to fade away. Some elements of this phenomenon probably originate in Gallia, and then its spreads in the provinces, notably in those with a Celtic ethnic background, such as Pannonia. There is no direct influence from Gallia in Dacia, where we can detect only a provincial component which was probably heavily influenced by the Pannonian practices.

Keywords: Roman religion, childhood, protective divinities, Dacia, Pannonia

Rezumat. *Risus, Cucullatus, Venus. Protectori divini și divinități protectoare ale copilăriei în Dacia și Pannonia.* Studiul urmărește un aspect mai puțin studiat al vieții romane din Imperiu, copilăria, reliefând unul dintre puținele aspecte ale acesteia care au lăsat urme în cultura materială: spaima de moarte și protectorii divini împotriva acesteia. Pentru protecția copilului în fața diferitelor pericole naturale sau spirituale, precum și cu ocazia diferitelor sărbători care marchează în general trecerea diferitelor etape, romanii apelează mai degrabă la forțe divine (unele cu caracter magic) și mai puțin la divinitățile

¹ This work was possible with the support of the Domus scholarship program, MTA, Budapest.

oficiale ale cultului. Astfel, apar spre exemplu depuneri de statuete apotropaice, cum ar fi cele cu *Risi*, care marchează trecerea de la etapa de sugar la cel de copil, sau de *Genii Cucullati* pentru stadiul următor, marcând trecerea de la etapa de copil la cel de adolescent. În această categorie de piese par să intre și unele statuete cu Venus, care probabil sunt dedicații votive sau reprezintă zestrea tinerelor fete, marcând astfel sfârșitul copilăriei. Pentru înțelegerea cât mai completă a fenomenului s-a urmărit traseul acestuia de la formare la dispariție. Gallia pare să fie probabil locul de origine al fenomenului, urmând apoi propagarea lui în alte provincii, mai ales cu substrat celtic, așa cum este și Pannonia. Nu există o influență directă din Gallia în Dacia, putându-se observa doar o componentă provincială puternic influențată de practicile din Pannonia.

Cuvinte cheie: religie romană, copilărie, divinități protectoare, Dacia, Pannonia

For the Roman society, as for any other Ancient one, the children represented a precious resource. But it's a resource less protected than one might presume. For the Ancient world, it was assumed that approximately 30-40 % of the newborns died until the age of one, the life expectancy growing after the age of seven, but only a third of the children being able to reach full maturity². In these harsh conditions, it was expected that the Roman society had to take certain measures for protecting its children, even from the magical-religious perspective, assuring the divine protection. In this respect, the children were surrounded by apotropaic objects, in the shape of amulets, toys or statuettes of the protective divinities. The fear of premature death was present in each step of childhood. In time, as the child becomes more important to his family and to society, the protection measures increase, as well as the passage from one stage to the other.

The newborn's entrance in the first step of childhood, *infans*, and in the following one, *pueritia*, was not easy. His or her life was in constant danger: birth complications, abandonment or diseases. In addition to these natural causes, other spiritual factors, malefic and thwart forces, were present in the Roman mentality, powers which could be softened, but never controlled. In order to be protected, children were surrounded by apotropaic artifacts, toys or amulets. In

² Montanini 1997, 92.

this category are comprised the so called *bullae* and *lunula* pendants³. These items were also found in children tombs, pointing to the fact that their protection continued in the afterlife as well. In the first months of life, children are attracted by sounds, light or colors and toys like *sistrum* or *crepitaculum* were designed taking into account this observation. They were made from metals or clay, in the shape of birds or children. Besides their role of toys, they banished through sounds the evil spirits.

Some divinities, like Venus, but also a series of characters with divine attributes, such as Cucullatus and Risus, can also be included in the category of childhood protectors, with objects discovered in archaeological contexts related to children and childhood.

In her vast authority, the goddess Venus (Pl. I.)⁴ appears also as protector of childhood, especially of girls, whom she protects even after marriage. In fact, Venus is one of the few divinities associated with the protection of children from the *dii consentes*. Terracotta statuettes representing Venus are frequently discovered in children tombs, Venus being one of the few divinities that are present in funerary inventories, of adults as well⁵. She is known in the children graves from Gallia, alongside toys⁶. She is also associated with toys in the necropolis from Londinium, Britannia⁷. Such statuettes were also unearthed in the tombs close to the Pannonian limes, at Intercisa⁸. Venus is the only divinity present in the graves from Dacia, as best proved by the Apulum necropolis, with five statuettes⁹. Another funerary context is the complex from Potaissa, on the right bank of the Arieş River, where a statuette of the goddess was found in the same pit with toys, pottery shards and bones, in the proximity of several tombs¹⁰. Probably, the presence of Venus in graves is linked with the idea of rebirth, an attribute highlighted by the *lunula* pendant, symbol of the moon phases, and the idea that life triumphs over death.

³ Dasen 2003, 283- 286; Laes 2006, 64-69.

⁴ I would like to express my gratitude to dr. Szabó Ádám and dr. Lassányi Gábor, for their support in my research at Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum and Aquincumi Múzeum, Budapest.

⁵ Antal 2012, 93-104.

⁶ Coulon 1996, 152-153; Faudet 1997, 82-84; Talvas 2007, 192, tab. 192.

⁷ Barber/Bowsher/Whittaker 1990, 10, pl. II.

⁸ Barkóczy et al. 1954, 24; Póczy 1963, 241.

⁹ Cserni 1899, 55, pl. X; Ciugudean et al. 2003, no. 75; Gligor et al. 2009, 247; Anghel et al. 2011, 32, 46, 52, no. 2, 32, 50.

¹⁰ Pâslaru 2007, 339-364, pl. 15/A.

For that matter, the goddess may be linked to the end of the adolescence of the young *nubendae* girls, which often coincided with marriage. These events are somehow blended and the situation is different compared to the boys. Before the wedding, the girls dedicate a small toga (*togula*) to the gods and offer dolls or terracotta statuettes to the goddess Venus, marking the passage to the next stage of life¹¹. Probably this is the aspect to which relate those statuettes with the representation of the goddess from the Liber Pater sanctuary from Apulum or the ones from the round sanctuary of Celtic influence from Aquincum, in both cases toys being found as well.

Moreover, Venus may be associated with those distaffs with the representation of the goddess which were probably given to girls after the first step of childhood at the age of seven, when they began household duties. These have a more symbolic function rather than a functional one, the images of the goddess making the distaff practically unusable. The objects aren't offered to the goddess at the time of marriage as in the case of the rest of the toys, but they are taken as dowry in the new home, sometimes being present in tombs¹². Such artefacts are frequent in Pannonia (Brigetio, Mursa), in funerary contexts (Intercisa, Tordas)¹³. In Dacia, one piece was discovered at Porolissum¹⁴.

Less information is available for Risi and Cucullati. The Risus type statuettes (Pl. II) are those boy busts without hair, with a chubby happy face and bare chest and back. Some examples from Gallia wear a hooded cloak, like the Cucullati statuettes¹⁵. The Risus type objects are similar to the ones of Republican age from Italy or Gallia, dedicated as *ex-voto* in the sanctuaries. Most of them depict infants wrapped in swaddling bands. They wear on their heads *cucullus* type caps, and the *lunula* pendant on their neck, as well as Risi. They are often deposited with anatomical uterus type *ex-votos*, as in the urban sanctuary from Paestum or the Apollo sanctuary from Alessia¹⁶.

Thus, it seems that these statuettes had a role in the fertility cult or in maintaining the children's health. The Risus statuettes are made from clay, are hollow inside, and may contain clay beads or granules, being used as a rattle. These statuettes were in this way denominated by

¹¹ Martin-Kilcher 2000, 64; Hersch 2010, 66.

¹² Bíró 2000, 102.

¹³ Bíró 1994, 195-229; Bíró 2000, 38-40.

¹⁴ Vass 2012, 59-70.

¹⁵ Henrion/Bütner 2010, 2, no. 4; Bémont/Jeanlin/Lebanier 1993, 65, fig. 24/b.

¹⁶ Ammerman 2007, 142-145; Cazanove 2013, 148.

archaeologist Edmund Tudot due to their happy expression. He mentions the character as a divinity, making a reference to Risus, a personification of laughter at Apuleius (*Metamorphoses* 2. 31, 3. 2, 3. 11)¹⁷. In addition, Emory B. Lease considers Risus as a divinity, referring to its equivalent in the Greek mythology, Gelos (Γέλως). Philostratus presents Gelos as part of Dionysus' suite, along with Comus (*Images*, 1. 25)¹⁸. Recent hypotheses saw in Risus a representation of Sabazius or Bacchus as children, but without providing any solid arguments to this¹⁹.

Therefore, it remains to be proved if we are dealing with a divine character, as it was presumed from the beginning, a protective genius of childhood, or just with a toy with protective functions. This type of statuettes was largely spread in the Empire, in domestic contexts, where they were used as toys, but also in graves, where they had an apotropaic or psychopompos role.

In archaeologically well documented provinces, like Gallia²⁰ or Britannia²¹, Risi appear almost exclusively in children tombs. In Pannonia, such statuettes were discovered in graves close to the limes at Intercisa or Brigetio, in the workshops from Savaria, or in the round sanctuary of Celtic influence from Aquincum²². In Dacia, they appear in funerary contexts (Apulum, Celei)²³, cultic contexts (Apulum)²⁴, workshops (Slăveni)²⁵, and domestic contexts (Apulum, Napoca, Potaissa, Porolissum)²⁶.

Another type of statuette which could be comprised in the category of the childhood protectors is the one which represents a Cucullatus (Pl. III). The name does not designate a special character, but a feature of the garment, *cucullus*, the hood, which is always depicted. Usually, the statuettes of this type wearing the *cucullus* have an

¹⁷ Tudot 1860, 27.

¹⁸ Lease 1916, 30.

¹⁹ Vertet/Zeyer 1982, 85.

²⁰ Talvas 2007, 191, 258, 259.

²¹ Taylor et al. 1993, 196, fig. 3/ii, iii; Eckardt 1999, 65, pl. XII/B.

²² Hekler 1910, 38; Kuzsinszky 1932, 306; Nagy 1942, 582; Barkóczi et al. 1954, 24; Alföldi et al. 1957, 67, pl. 24/13; Póczy 1963, 241-242.

²³ Tudor 1974, 46, fig. 54-55; Bondoc 2005, 56, no. 45; Ota 2009, 25-26, pl. V/1; Anghel et al. 2011, 69, 70, 76, 78, no. 83, 84, 97, 98, 102.

²⁴ Diaconescu/Haynes/Schäfer 2005, 38-45; Schäfer 2014, 42-43.

²⁵ Ungurean 2008, 223-224, no. 378; Bondoc 2005, 37, no. 26.

²⁶ Beu-Dachin 2010, 237-238, 240, no. 4, 5, pl. II, IV/f, V, VI; Anghel et al. 2011, 72-74, 77-80, no. 89, 90, 92, 100, 103, 104, 105, 107; Gudea 1989, 514-515, no. 16, 25, pl. CIX/16, CX/25.

adolescentine face and sometimes hold in their hand a round object as an offering, which could be a fruit or a *patera*. The hood and the sleeveless cloak, with which the characters are represented, are garments generally worn by newborns or small children. This type of clothing is sometimes present on the Risus type statuettes as well. Generally, the covering of the head is associated with death, as suggested by numerous antique examples when the ones close to death cover their heads. The sleeveless cloak is also linked with the funerary medium. As a consequence, these characters may be related to funeral rituals, especially regarding children, probably playing an apotropaic role too²⁷. In addition to this function, the Cucullati might have had healing attributes as well, being associated with Telesphorus and Aesculapius. This type of statuettes is largely spread in the entire Empire, in Asia Minor, Egypt, Dacia, Thrace, Greece, Italy, Pannonia, Germania, Gallia, or Britannia, being made of terracotta, bronze or amber²⁸. The name *Cucullatus* is mentioned in two inscriptions from Noricum discovered in a sanctuary of Celtic influence²⁹. According to Rudolf Egger, we are dealing with a divinity of Celtic influence, which receives the name Cucullatus through the *interpretatio Romana* phenomenon. This type is taken by the Etrusci from the Celts of Northern Italy. Moreover, due to the Galati Celts, Cucullatus becomes popular in Asia Minor, while the Greek priests and, later on, the Roman ones mention him as Telesphorus, in association with Asklepios and Hygia³⁰.

Such statuettes rarely appear in Dacia or Pannonia, being often mistaken for Attis in the bibliography, or mentioned just as the character wearing the *phrygian* hood³¹. In Pannonia, they are found in cultic contexts, such as the sanctuary and its supply store from Aquicum³². In Dacia, in this stage of research, Cucullati are not present in funerary contexts, being discovered mainly in domestic (Apulum, Ampelum, Napoca, Potaissa, Cicău)³³ or cultic features (Apulum)³⁴.

²⁷ Vertet/Zeyer 1982, 63-65.

²⁸ Deona 1955, 43- 74; Toynbee 1957, 456- 469; D' Ambrozio 1993, 179- 237.

²⁹ Kenner 1976, 147.

³⁰ Egger 1932, 31.

³¹ Tóth 1985, 127-161; Póczy 1963, 241-257.

³² Póczy 1956, 73-136.

³³ Anghel et al. 2011, 60, no. 60; Ungurean 2008, 151, 230, 239, no. 30, 410, 468; Alicu et al. 1995, 623, no. 62, fig.5/5; Winkler/Takács/Păiuș 1979, 160; Gudea 1989, 514, no. 15, pl. CIX/15.

³⁴ Diaconescu/Haynes/Schäfer 2005, 38-45; Schäfer 2014, 43.

Hence, the terracotta statuettes which belong to these protectors are often associated with children and childhood. The phenomenon seems to have originated in Gallia, where elaborated terracotta statuettes with Cucullatus or Risus appear for the first time. Just like the figurative statuettes and the *terra sigillata* from Gallia, the Cucullatus or Risus statuettes had spread through the Empire, even towards East, especially with the help of soldiers, but of merchants too. In Pannonia, these terracotta objects arrive rarely from Gallia and more frequently from other provinces, like Germania, alongside *terra sigillata*, ornamental lamps and figurative terracotta³⁵. Later, in the 2nd century AD, workshops appear even in Pannonia, like the one from Aquincum. The pieces produced in these workshops, such as Risi or Venus statuettes, bear the Gallic influence arrived through Germania³⁶. It must be noted that the statuettes representing these childhood protectors are concentrated in the provinces with a Celtic substratum, like Gallia, Germania, Britannia, Noricum and Pannonia. Dacia is an exception because there is no local Celtic background, although this type of discoveries is present.

The Gallic influences are not visible in the case of the Dacian objects, but some of them are met in contexts similar to the ones from Gallia, Germania or Pannonia. Most probably, these artefacts arrive in Dacia from Pannonia, following the Danube line, just like other goods. But because when Dacia became a Roman province, the local production began in Pannonia, the Gallic primary characteristics are dimmed, being hard to identify.

The most solid argument for studying these characters together is the archaeological research, statuettes of Venus, Risus and Cucullatus being found in the same context. This is the case of the round sanctuary of Celtic influence from Aquincum, where many Venus, Risus and Cucullatus statuettes were discovered, the edifice being attributed in the archaeological literature to the goddess Venus because of the high frequency of her representations³⁷.

For Dacia, one must mention the Liber Pater sanctuary from Alba-Iulia, where all the above mentioned items of childhood protectors

³⁵ Fremersdorf 1938, 168.

³⁶ Kuzsinszky 1932, 306-307.

³⁷ Kuzsinszky 1934, 17; Kuzsinszky 1924, 33; Nagy 1942, 580-583; Szilágyi 1956, 74; Póczy 1963, 241-242.

have appeared, in contexts including toys as well³⁸. Judging by the initiation character of the sanctuary, the deposits could be related to the Liberalia feast, on the 17th of March, coinciding with the festivities during which the adolescents wear the *toga virilis* or *toga libera* for the first time, marking their entrance in the public life³⁹. Thus, along with toys (carts and small wheels), the children dedicate also Risi statuettes, which seem to mark the passage from the infant stage to the child stage, or Cucullati statuettes, which seem to mark the passage from the child stage to the adolescent stage.

The moments for the dedication or the use of such items are numerous: the *lustratio* feast, at eight-nine days after birth, when the child receives his/her name and the purification takes place, respectively the child's entrance in society. Other occasions could have been the passage through the different steps of childhood, after each seven years – *infantia*, *pueritia* or *adolescentia*, or other quotidian events, different feasts or recovering after a disease. So, the Romans mainly called on the divine forces, some with magical attributes, even of Greek tradition, to protect their children, are more rarely the official cult divinities. In fact, until the boys wear the *toga virilis* or until the girls get married, they are not actually part of the Roman civil society. In a way or the other, they remain at the *infans* level, the ones who cannot speak, who have no rights⁴⁰. As a consequence, the children evolve at the edge of the public cult, outside the protection area of the major divinities. They belong more to the private area, a clue in this regard being the absence of feasts in the Roman calendar focused on children.

Despite the importance of the childhood stages, many of the aspects of the short life of a Roman child are nowadays unknown. The written information is scarce, depicting fragmentary aspects of life, without almost any reference to the ones related to death. Instead, the materials conserved from Antiquity are mainly of funerary character, stereotypes, which may offer information on a child's death, but not on his life. Infantile archaeology, if we may call it this way, has focused especially on the monuments and tombs from necropolises, with little accent on the day by day life. Thus, we know more on how the Roman children died and less on how they lived.

³⁸ Diaconescu/Haynes/Schäfer 2005, 38- 45; Schäfer 2014, 39-50.

³⁹ Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, VI, I, 12; Ovidius, *Fastes*, III, 771.

⁴⁰ Montanini 1997, 90.

Some details concerning childhood, the fears and dangers to which children were exposed, are found in the works of ancient Greek and Roman authors, such as Plutarch, Tertullian, Virgil and Ovid. These sources treat especially stereotype aspects of Roman life, traditions and common laws of the higher classes, which bring few information on the ordinary citizens or provincial life. Thorough studies focusing on the material culture regarding the protectors of childhood are missing. The majority of the data concerning the Roman childhood are revealed by the material culture, having in mind various objects found in funerary contexts, sacred areas or the domestic milieu.

Although infantile death was high in the Roman world, the affection and care of the parents may be observed in the reliefs and funerary medallions where children are accompanied by the mothers or the entire family, but also in the diversity of the divine protectors of childhood, represented in the shape of clay statuettes.

Illustrations

Pl. I: Venus terracotta statuettes: 1. Apulum - Liber Pater sanctuary (after Diaconescu/Haynes/Schäfer 2005); 2. Intercisa - grave good; 3. Apulum - grave good (after Anghel et al. 2011); 4. Aquincum - Round Sanctuary.

Pl. II: Risus terracotta statuettes: 1. Apulum - grave good (after Anghel et al. 2011); 2. Potaissa (MNIT photo archive); 3. Brigetio - grave good; 4. Intercisa - grave good (after Szabó Á.).

Pl. III: Cucullatus terracotta statuettes: 1. Potaissa (MNIT photo archive); 2. Ampelum (after Anghel et al. 2011); 3. Apulum (after Anghel et al. 2011); 4. Napoca - Valea Chintăului, *villa rustica* (MNIT photo archive).

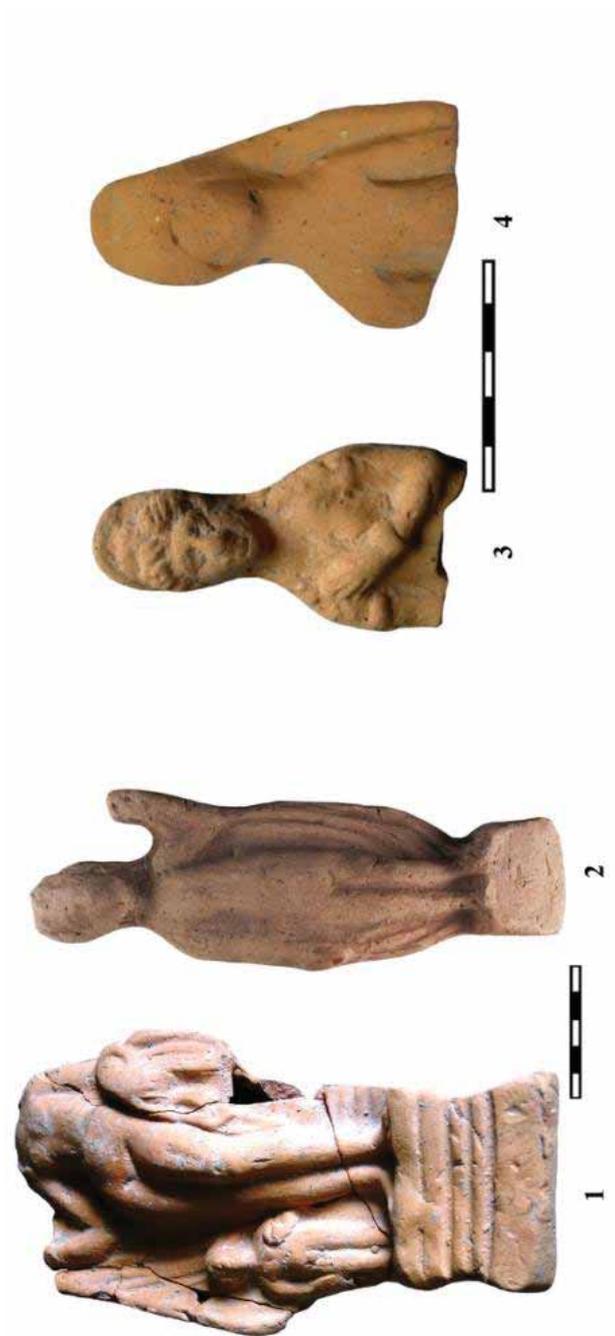
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Pl. I



Pl. II



Pl. III

Telesphorus. A healing child god in Roman Dacia

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Abstract. The aim of this study is to map the repertoire of the cult of the healing child-god Telesphorus and to trace the spatial layout and the specific patterns of each of his distinct iconographical types. First of all this study will try to trace the itinerary of this child-god from Pergam to the Danubian area and implicitly to Dacia, based on the literary, epigraphic, or iconographic sources. Furthermore this study attempts to analyze and confirm the identity of an ithyphallic Telesphorus at Ampelum, proving that its earlier interpretations as Priapus or *genius cucullatus* are not sufficient theories, and correlating the few analogies that can be attributed to Telesphorus with other literary, epigraphic and numismatic sources. Lastly it identifies some rare associations (i.e. the Hygieia – Telesphorus statuette from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, the presence of Hypnos or Epione next to the healing triad), some unusual archaeological contexts (i.e. the presence of ten terracotta figurines representing Telesphorus in the *favissae* of the Liber Pater sanctuary of Apulum) and some distinct iconographical types (i.e. an ithyphallic Telesphorus, votive reliefs with *pseudo-aedicula* framework portraying the healing triad, typical for the Thracian area, and votive reliefs with the healing quartet, typical only for the Eastern part of the Roman Empire.)

Keywords: Telesphorus, healing triad, iconography, cult, Roman Dacia.

Rezumat. Telesphorus. Un zeu-copil salutar în Dacia romană.

Scopul acestui studiu este de a repertoria cultul zeului-copil salutar, Telesphorus și de a urmări difuziunea sa spațială și modelele specifice fiecărui tip iconografic în parte. În primul rând, se va încerca reconstituirea itinerariului acestui zeu-copil de la Pergam în zona dunăreană, și implicit în Dacia, pornind de la sursele literare, epigrafice sau iconografice cunoscute. În continuare studiul urmărește să analizeze și să confirme identitatea unui Telesphorus ithyphallic la Ampelum, dovedind că interpretările anterioare ale acestuia ca Priapus sau *genius cucullatus* nu pot fi considerate satisfăcătoare și corelând puținele piese de acest tip care pot fi atribuite lui Telesphorus, cu alte surse literare, epigrafice și numismatice. În cele din urmă, articolul identifică câteva asocieri rare (i. e. statueta care îl

reprezintă pe Telesphorus alături de Hygia, de la Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, prezența lui Hypnos sau Epione alături de triada salutară), unele contexte arheologice aparte (i. e. zece figurine de teracotă reprezentându-l pe Telesphorus în *favissae*-le sanctuarului lui Liber Pater de la Apulum) și câteva tipuri iconografice distincte (i. e. un Telesphorus itifalic, reliefuri votive cu cadru în formă de *pseudo-aedicula*, înfățișând triada salutară, tipice pentru zona tracică și reliefuri votive cu cei patru zei salutarți, tipice pentru partea estică a Imperiului Roman).

Cuvinte cheie: Telesphorus, triada salutară, iconografie, cult, Dacia romană.

From Telesphoros Pergamēnos to the Eastern part of the Roman Empire. The itinerary of a god

For some the genius of convalescence, for others the divinity that perfects health, Telesphorus appears as a secondary deity in the entourage of Aesculapius and Hygieia, far later than the beginning of the cult of his alleged father, barely in the first century AD.

The earliest literary sources regarding this god go back to the second century AD, Pausanias and Aelius Aristides both agreeing on his Pergamēnian origin¹. In fact this theory seems to be the most plausible one, since the first dedication ever made to Telesphorus, dated 98-99 AD, comes from the same place².

Besides mentioning his Pergamēnian origin, Pausanias' testimony is otherwise more important for equating Telesphorus with Euamerion (*Accomplisher*) of Titane and Akesis (*Cure*) of Epidaurous³. It seems that the three are in fact the same deity worshipped under different names in various *asklepieia*, names that Telesphorus will eventually completely overlap under his name. He is in fact the only one among the three that is epigraphically attested as son of Aesculapius in an Attican inscription dated at the end of the second century AD⁴.

The rhetorician Aelius Aristides calls him *Περγαμηνός* and feels grateful to him for a healing balsam that Telesphorus gave him as a treatment during alternative cold-hot baths⁵. After learning in a dream that he will die in two days, he manages to cheat death with the help of

¹ Pausanias, *Descriptio Graeciae*, II.11.7; Aelius Aristides, *Orationes*, II, 10.

² DA, V, 1892, s.v. *Telesphorus*, 70.

³ Pausanias, *Descriptio Graeciae*, II.11.7.

⁴ IG III, 1, 1159, *apud* Edelstein 1945, T. 287.

⁵ Aelius Aristides, *Orationes*, II, 10.

Telesphorus, by offering the child-god a ring inscribed with the words «O, son of Cronus», which is in fact a substitution for the sacrifice of one of his body parts for the sake of the whole as Aesculapius has demanded⁶. He also tells us that Telesphorus had a temple and a statue in the *asklepieion* of Pergam and that in the temple of Zeus Asclepius a silver tripod was placed, wearing the golden statues of Aesculapius, Hygieia and Telesphorus⁷.

After overlapping Akesis of Epidaurus, the itinerary of Telesphorus probably follows Athens, Attica and Thessaly, and the precise motive of his rapid diffusion can be found in a third century AD eulogy, that thanks Aesculapius, Hygieia and Telesphorus for their efficient intervention during an epidemic⁸.

However from Epidaurus the cult of the healing child-god Telesphorus follows another route as well, penetrating the Thracian area, as it seems suggested by an inscription found at Epidaurus⁹. Dedicated by a *sacerdos*, the inscription calls Aesculapius, Hygieia and Telesphorus with the toponymic epithet *Παυταλιωται*, suggesting thus that from Epidaurus the cult reaches Thracia and becomes assimilated locally under this epithet. We can imagine that the dedicator was either an epidaurian *sacerdos* native of Pautalia, or more probably that he went on a pilgrimage at Epidaurus and offered as *ex voto* this monument for the healing gods, attaching to their name the epithet *Παυταλιωται*, probably out of faithfulness for the *asklepieion* he was serving.

Indeed this association of Telesphorus with the healing divine couple will form in the Thracian area a particular iconography, numerous votive reliefs or coins representing the healing triad Hygieia, Aesculapius and Telesphorus, in the mentioned order or with Telesphorus in the central part being discovered solely in the Eastern part of the Roman Empire, mostly at Pautalia, Batkun and Glava Panega in Thracia¹⁰ and at Tomis, Odessos and Nicopolis ad Istrum in Moesia Inferior¹¹.

⁶ Aelius Aristides, *Orationes*, II, 27.

⁷ Aelius Aristides, *Orationes*, III, 21; IV, 16; IV, 45-46.

⁸ EG, no. 1027.

⁹ IG IV², 1, 477, apud, Alfieri Tonini 2012, 225.

¹⁰ LIMC, II, 1984, s.v. *Asklepios (in Thracia)*, 898-899, no. 15-20; LIMC, V, 1990, s.v. *Hygieia (in Thracia)*, 572-573, no. 3-5; LIMC, VII, 1994, s.v. *Telesphoros*, 874, no. 56-59; Sirano 1994, fig. 17; Alfieri Tonini 2012, fig. 1.

¹¹ Aparaschivei 2012, 164-165, 169-170.

The reliefs show a particular iconography, portraying the healing triad in a *pseudo-aedicula* frame. Aesculapius is represented almost always with long and richly curled hair and beard, and wearing a long *chiton* that covers completely his left arm and almost entirely his abdomen, this draping being characteristic for some of the variants of the *Chiaramonti* type statues¹². He also holds the snake entwined rod under his right armpit, typical for the *Giustini* type¹³, and seems to hold an egg in the same hand, an attribute characteristic for the Nea Paphos versions¹⁴.

Hygieia wears a *himation* that covers her shoulders, passes under the right arm and forms a ridge under her belly before falling back on her left forearm, a draping characteristic for the Broadlands type¹⁵. In her left hand she holds the *patera* from which she feeds the snake that coils around her right arm, while Telesphorus holds his hands clasped to his chest, under the usual *bardocucullus*.

One similar relief was found in Pannonia¹⁶, while 2 variants of this particular iconography can be found in Dacia as well¹⁷, suggesting that the presence of the healing triad in Dacia and Pannonia is in fact the end of a long itinerary, that culminates with a new iconographical type that radiates outwards the adjacent areas of the Thracian space as well.

Curative tasks and the association with the healing gods. From the protector of children to the god of convalescence

It is very likely that, before extending his curative tasks to the more general façade of a convalescence god, Telesphorus would have had a more specific role among the healing gods, that of the protector of children. He must have inherited these attributes from his father Aesculapius, as it is suggested by the numerous *ex vota* representing children figurines that were discovered in several *asklepieia* of the Greek world¹⁸.

In this quality he accompanied children from birth to adolescence, and even beyond death, portraying thus his strong

¹² LIMC, II, 1984, s.v. *Asklepios*, 878.

¹³ LIMC, II, 1984, s.v. *Asklepios*, 879-881.

¹⁴ Sirano 1994, 199-232.

¹⁵ LIMC, V, 1990, s.v. *Hygieia*, 560-562.

¹⁶ Fitz 1998, 80, no. 89.

¹⁷ See Catalogue no. 14, 15.

¹⁸ Deonna 1955, 54-55.

association with infants, besides his obvious iconographical features that exclusively show him as a boy at young age. Some hymns honoring him thank the god for favoring the birth of healthy children¹⁹, while two attic lists mentioning *epebes* from the 3rd century BC show Telesphorus as the protective divinity of one of the fraternities²⁰.

More interesting however remains the fact that in this quality he even accompanied children beyond death, perhaps as a final gesture of protection, as suggested by some statuettes depicting the small cloaked god together with a child, that were discovered in two children's graves in the necropolis of Stobi, dated in the 2nd century B.C.²¹. One of them is an inhumation grave containing besides the skeleton of an infant a rich funerary inventory, including bronze objects, a terracotta «baby-feeder» and 4 terracotta figurines, a bull with a winged rider, a rooster and two statuettes portraying Telesphorus with a child²². In another grave, this time a cremation burial, another 15 identical figurines of Telesphorus with a child were found together with another «baby feeder», suggesting thus that we have to do with another infant burial²³.

Even though in Roman period he is generally seen as the symbol of recovery from illness and plays an important role in the health triad Aesculapius – Hygieia – Telesphorus, his special role as the protector of children never seems to disappear, as it seems suggested by the figurines representing Telesphorus that were discovered in children's graves in various Roman necropolises from Sardinia²⁴.

The cult of Telesphorus in Roman Dacia. Iconographical types - spatial layouts and specific patterns.

In Dacia it is hard to outline whether Telesphorus played the specific role of protector of children, since there are no votive terracottas found in funerary contexts attributed to infants or ones that show him together with a child, neither any specific inscriptions that mention him healing children. However we might presume that the plastic lamps portraying

¹⁹ LexMyth, V, 1916-1924, s.v. *Telesphoros*, 312; Deonna 1955, 54.

²⁰ DA, V, 1892, s.v. *Telesphorus*, 70.

²¹ Wiseman/Mano Zissi 1976, 278-279; LIMC, VII, 1994, s.v. *Telesphoros*, no. 35; Similar terracotta statuettes can be found at Thessaloniki and Würzburg: LIMC, VII, 1994, s.v. *Telesphoros*, no. 34, 36.

²² Wiseman/Mano Zissi 1976, 278-279.

²³ Wiseman/Mano Zissi 1976, 278, note 18.

²⁴ La Fragola 2015, 60.

an ithyphallic Telesphorus found at Ampelum (Pl. I /1-2) could have played this role²⁵ and Grandjouan offers us as a pertinent explanation, saying that the lamps used to watch through night children's rooms or sickrooms could have used a specific imagery, either apotropaic grotesques or the images of Telesphorus and Hygieia, imagery used in order to avert the evil eye or any kind of sickness²⁶.

Having no dedicatory inscription, these pieces are highly contradictory, being published in the specialty literature initially as Priapus, than as *genius cucullatus* or Telesphorus. This study inclines towards the latter, bringing forward some arguments in favor of this identification, showing us that an ithyphallic Telesphorus at Ampelum wouldn't be an odd finding at all.

First of all we should try to outline why the identification of our pieces with either Priapus or *genius cucullatus* is not a sufficient theory, and if we take a look at the various lamps depicting ithyphallic *cucullati* found in the Roman Empire²⁷ we will easily observe that they don't show a whatsoever standardized uniform image, some of them depicting bearded figurines with grotesque or silenic features or just having the expression of an old man, while others are beardless, portraying younger men or having distingue childish features.

Also iconographically speaking we should note that the bearded figurines are usually draped in a bell shaped mantle, that runs above or till the knee, having a pointed conical hood, made separately from the mantle²⁸, while the *cucullati* with infantile features wear a mantle that follows closely the body line, usually covering the knees and having their head protected by the *bardocucullus* realized in one piece²⁹.

Another important characteristic may be that of the confection material, the lamps portraying *cucullati* with childish features known so far being all terracotta lamps, while the bearded ones are made solely out of bronze.

For the bearded figurines the interpretations vary from Priapus, mime or actor in theatrical costume or *genius cucullatus*³⁰, while the

²⁵ Popa/Moga/Ciobanu 1986, 112, fig. 8/3; Lipovan 1992, 63, no. 1, 2, fig. 1, 2; Anghel et al. 2011, no. 66-67.

²⁶ Grandjouan 1961, 32.

²⁷ Grandjouan 1961, no. 904, 943, 954, 1062; Bolla 2010, no. 1 - 22, fig. 1-27.

²⁸ Bolla 2010, no. 1-15, fig. 1- 21.

²⁹ Grandjouan 1961, no. 943; Lipovan 1992, 63, fig. 1, 1 a-b; Anghel et al. 2010, no. 67; LIMC, VII, 1994, s.v. *Telesphoros*, 871, no. 8-9; Bolla 2010, fig. 26, fn. 13.

³⁰ Singular or tripled divinity whose cult is diffused especially in Britannia and Gallia.

beardless ones were considered to be depictions of Telesphorus or generically included in the aforementioned category of *genii cucullati*³¹.

Bolla concludes that the identification of these particular plastic lamps with the Celtic *genius cucullatus* cannot be considered a sufficient explanation since numerous bronze lamps portraying ithyphallic *cucullati* appear in areas where this cult is not even attested³². Also the absence of this kind of representation from Britannia and the presence of the beard and the phallus, which are absent in other certain representations of the *genius cucullatus*, seems to confirm that the interpretations must vary according with the different iconographies.

Neither the identification with Priapus seems to be sufficient, because he rarely appears with the *bardocucullus* closed at the sides and sharpened on the head³³. Some of the lamps also show a prominent stomach or grotesque features and should perhaps be generically included among the apotropaic imagery³⁴, while others show the prominent ears and the snub nose characteristic for Silenus³⁵.

Second of all, the presence of Telesphorus at Ampelum, even in the form of a lamp, can easily be explained by the existence here of an epigraphically attested temple dedicated to Aesculapius and Hygieia by a certain Eutyches, *Augusti libertus* and *adiutor tabularii*³⁶. Whether it would have been used in the temple or for the night watch of a sickroom or a child room, it still proves us that people were well aware of the significant role that Telesphorus played in the healing triad, thing otherwise well attested by the 7 sculptural monuments found in Dacia that portray him next to Aesculapius and Hygieia, and sometimes even in the presence of Hypnos³⁷.

The best analogy for our pieces is the terracotta lamp discovered at Athens (Pl. 1/4), showing a very similar Telesphorus standing on a round base and wearing a hood on his head that leaves a small portion of his neck visible³⁸. In fact these kinds of pieces, terracotta lamps

³¹ Bolla 2010, 61-63.

³² Bolla 2010, 62.

³³ Bolla 2010, fn. 51.

³⁴ Grandjouan 1961, no. 1062; Bolla 2010, fig. 22.

³⁵ Bolla 2010, fig. 12, 27.

³⁶ Igna 1935, 92; AE 1959, 306; Popa 1961, 271; IDR III/3, 280; Rusu-Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 123; Fenechiu 2008, 214, no. 5, p. 219; Bărbulescu 2009, 132.

³⁷ See Catalogue no. 3, 14-19.

³⁸ Grandjouan 1961, no. 943; LIMC, VII, an, s.v. *Telesphoros*, 871, no. 8.

portraying *cucullati* with distinguishable childish features and with a phallic nozzle, can only be found so far in Greece, and especially in Athens (Pl. 1/4-5)³⁹, a well-known centre of the Aesculapius cult.

Now that we established that an ithyphallic *cucullatus* is not necessarily Priapus or the Celtic *genius cucullatus*, and that finding him at Ampelum inclines the balance in favor of a third interpretation, that of Telesphorus, we will further try to solve the contradictions that arouse from this unlikely iconography, ultimately aiming to respond to two main questions, why would Telesphorus be represented on a lamp and why in an ithyphallic posture.

As for the first question, the key lies in the strong connection of the healing gods with the *incubatio* ritual and thus with the need of light, Telesphorus himself being called in various hymns dedicated to him as «bringer of light».

The opening of a hymn dedicated to the healing child-god at Athens calls Telesphorus «blessed one, light-giver, giver of necessities / image of Paeon, illustrious and expert»⁴⁰, while at Pergamum he bears both the epithets ζωοφόρος, «life bringing, generating», perhaps an allusion to his fertile nature and φαεινβροτος, «bringing light to mortal men», a large number of votive tablets showing him standing beside Aesculapius at a sickbed⁴¹. Indeed Damascius says that, though inferior to his father, Telesphorus supplies a missing element in the Paeonian wholeness of Aesculapius, perfecting the health of one who invokes him properly next to the later⁴². Perhaps that's why sometimes he even substitutes his father in the *incubatio* ritual, offering the right treatments for the sick ones during their dream, this duplication being attested both by epigraphic⁴³ and literary sources⁴⁴.

Beside the epithet ζωοφόρος, «life bringing, generating» and his association with Terra Mater - Demeter⁴⁵, his phallic nature was also

³⁹ Bolla 2010, fig. 26, fn. 13.

⁴⁰ Furley/Bremer 2001, Hymn 7.7.2.

⁴¹ Deonna 1955, 53; Meier 2003, 39.

⁴² Damascius, *Dubitationes et solutiones*, 245, *apud*, Edelstein 1945, T 313.

⁴³ IG IV² 1, 561: A certain Phaboullos erects a temple and a statue for Telesphorus at Epidaurus after a dream, naming him *Savior*, suggesting that his actions follow his healing.

⁴⁴ Aelius Aristides, *Orationes*, 3. 23; Marinus, *Vita Procli*, 7.

⁴⁵ Numerous clay figurines representing *cucullati* and Magna Mater, dated late 3rd-2nd century B.C. were discovered among the votive deposits found in the Temple of

noticed by Mionnet on a coin found at Samos, that wears the effigy of Decius and on the reverse the two healing gods Aesculapius - Hygieia and between them a small figure with a Phrygian bonnet and a mantle that leaves his phallus visible, a figure that most likely is in fact the same ithyphallic Telephorus that we see on our lamps (Pl. I/1-5)⁴⁶.

Besides these two lamps there are another ten unpublished terracotta figurines portraying Telephorus alone, found in the cult pits discovered within the perimeter of the Liber Pater sanctuary from Apulum⁴⁷.

Haynes says that among the 77 votive terracotta figurines discovered in the Liber Pater sanctuary 40 represent Venus, 10 Telephorus, 8 Aesculapius and Hygieia and 6 Liber Pater, mentioning as well that the first two categories were the only ones found among the inventory of the cult pits⁴⁸.

He also suggests as a possible explanation that this discard pattern could be associated with «visiting deities» over the site's divine patron or a distinct cultic allegiance amongst diverse income groups⁴⁹, however I think that the explanation might be a simpler one and that the key lies in the well-known motto «*balnea, vina, Venus*»⁵⁰.

A statistic analysis of the sculptures found in the *thermae* of Italy, North Africa and Asia Minor shows us that statues of Aesculapius and Hygieia prevail as share of representation together with those of Venus and Liber Pater⁵¹. Perhaps this particular association can be summed up in the aforementioned motto that lies on the epitaph of one named Tiberius Claudius Secundus, showing us that in some cases these gods portray the symbols of some of the things that corrupt the human life, but also paradoxically make life better: Aesculapius and Hygieia for the curative baths, Liber Pater for the wine and Venus for love.

Magna Mater on the Palatine and are currently exhibited at the Palatine Museum in Rome. In Roman period he is sometimes seen depicted on coins next to Demeter: LIMC, VII, 1994, s.v. *Telesphoros*, no. 80 or accompanying a local Dea Mater, Mater Malene, on a phrygian votive stela: LIMC, VII, 1994, s.v. *Telesphoros*, no. 81.

⁴⁶ Mionnet 1908, no. 267, *apud*, Deonna 1955, 53.

⁴⁷ The pieces were mentioned in several articles: Haynes 2013, 16-17; Schäfer 2014, 42-43, but are yet to be published by Mariana Egri.

⁴⁸ Haynes 2013, 16-17.

⁴⁹ Haynes 2013, 17.

⁵⁰ CIL VI 15258 = ILS 8157.

⁵¹ Manderscheid 1988, 120, *apud*, Fagan 2002, 89.

In our case, the apparition of Telesphorus in the cult pits has to do most definitely with the presence of Aesculapius and Hygieia in the Liber Pater sanctuary, and if we look at the similar number of their findings we could even assume that they were meant to be placed inside together. Probably we have to do with some *favissae* that contain among their intentional deposits the discarded terracottas once used as votive offerings in the Liber Pater temple.

Besides the ithyphallic Telesphorus discussed at the beginning, there is another rare representation type found in Dacia, which shows us the small cloaked god together with his alleged sister Hygieia (Pl. II/2), this particular iconography being rather rare in statuary art⁵², where Hygieia either appears single or next to her father Aesculapius or at most accompanies another child-god, Hypnos⁵³, while Aesculapius is the one accompanying Telesphorus.

The statuette was found at Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa⁵⁴, and shows Hygieia standing on a base, dressed in a double *chiton*, feeding the snake that she holds in her right hand from a *paterna* held in the left. Telesphorus is dressed in a *bardocucullus* that covers his knees and head and seems to hold an opened *volumen* in his hands, one of the well known attributes of his father, Aesculapius⁵⁵.

Besides the atypical association this piece is also remarkable for its attention for anatomical details and for the natural molding of the clothing folds, suggesting the careful study of the artisan. The distinguish childish features of Telesphorus were well evidenced by the artisan who chose to depict him with chubby cheeks and rich curls that cover his forehead, an iconography rather rare in general⁵⁶, perhaps due to the god's reduced size that only allows a schematic representation usually.

The same display of chubby features and curls that frame his face line, this time through a pearly strip, is represented on a votive relief found at Apulum that shows Telesphorus together with Hygieia,

⁵² LIMC, VII, 1994, s.v. *Telesphoros*, no. 78. However this association has been recorded on the reverse of several coins found at Hierapolis as well, where Telesphorus accompanies a seated Hygieia: LIMC, V, 1990, s.v. *Hygieia*, nr. 16-17; LIMC, VII, 1994, s.v. *Telesphoros*, nr. 79.

⁵³ For the association Hygieia - Hypnos, see Varga 2015.

⁵⁴ Alicu/Pop/Wollmann 1979, no. 13, pl. II.

⁵⁵ For the representations of Aesculapius with a *volumen* in his hands in Dacia, see Catalogue no. 3, 18, 19.

⁵⁶ LIMC, VII, 1994, s.v. *Telesphoros*, no. 2, 7, 10, 14, 77.

Aesculapius and Epione (Pl. II/1)⁵⁷. This time however he holds his hands clasped at his chest under the mantle, while his father Aesculapius holds a *volumen* in his left hand. Another distinguishing feature is his *bardocucullus* that goes till his knees as usually, but this time shows an opening in the front that lets us foresee the clothing he wears underneath, this type of mantle being rather rare among his representations⁵⁸.

Another *ex voto* showing the healing triad Hygieia, Aesculapius and Telesphorus, in the mentioned order, was recorded in the collection of the photographer Botár Imre from Turda (Pl. III/1)⁵⁹ and shows a typical iconography for the Thracian area, that we have already mentioned at the beginning of our study.

We can easily spot the same architectural framework in form of a *pseudo-aedicula*, but this time the iconography has slightly changed, suggesting that we have to do with a local variant of the Thracian type.

We see the same Aesculapius with facial traits that rather resembles Jupiter, wearing this time however a *chiton* with a different draping, that still covers completely his left arm but lets his abdomen at full sight, this type of very low draping characteristic to the Chiaramonti type being in fact almost a constant in the iconography of Aesculapius in Dacia⁶⁰.

Even though the artisan respected the organic structure of Aesculapius' anatomical forms, he fails to do likewise in the case of Hygieia, where we can easily observe the sloppy depiction of her hands and the rigidity of her clothing's folds, as well as the strong schematization of the snake, that instead of coiling around her right arm takes the form of a crooked cane. The typical ridge formed under her belly, going up to her left shoulder and covering it up, is depicted this time simplistically through 4 lines, while Telesphorus seems to wear a Phrygian bonnet and a *chiton* that leaves his arms uncovered, instead of his well-known *bardocucullus*.

Interesting is however that the artisan kept the same *pseudo-aedicula* framework and that he even respected the characteristic Nea

⁵⁷ See no. 3 in the catalogue.

⁵⁸ LIMC, VII, 1994, s.v. *Telesphoros*, no.10, 77.

⁵⁹ See Catalogue no. 15.

⁶⁰ See Catalogue no. 14-15, 17-19. For other reliefs and statues with the same draping see Alicu/Pop/Wollmann 1979, no. 8-9, 11.

Paphos⁶¹ attribute, the egg that Aesculapius feeds to the snake that climbs up the staff that looks rather like a tree trunk, suggesting that he used a Thracian model as inspiration.

In this context we also have to mention another piece representing the healing triad that was found at Porolissum, this time with Telesphorus in the central part (Pl. IV/1). Unfortunately however due to its poor condition we can't imagine the original form of the relief, so we can't tell for sure if it's the same *pseudo-aedicula* framework typical to the Thracian area.

The piece is of a very coarse execution, the volumes and the organic structures of the anatomical forms being virtually not at all respected. The limbs are disproportionately large while the clothing's folds are depicted through a rich network of oblique lines.

Telesphorus is shown in his usual *bardocucullus*, holding his hands clasped to his chest, while the other two healing gods are placed symmetrically on each side, each one holding a *patera* in his left hand. No snake or snake entwined staff is visible, so we could almost say that without these essential attributes Telesphorus is the deciding element in establishing the identity of this divine triad.

A votive relief with uncertain place of origin, deposited at the National Museum of History⁶², shows us a rather unique iconography, portraying the healing couple Aesculapius - Hygieia flanked symmetrically on each side by two child gods, Hypnos⁶³ and Telesphorus (Pl. V/1). Besides the presence of Telesphorus, the association of Hygieia with Hypnos in an iconographic scheme close to that of Aphrodite - Tyche accompanied by Amor⁶⁴ is typical only for the Eastern part of the Roman Empire, being so far registered only in Asia Minor⁶⁵ and some of the Greek islands in the nearby i.e. Kos⁶⁶ and

⁶¹ See no. 14.

⁶² See Catalogue no. 19.

⁶³ For the identification of this god with the Sleep God Hypnos/Somnus, see Varga 2015. In the previous literature he was misinterpreted as Eros-Thanatos without any further explanations.

⁶⁴ LIMC, V, 1990, s.v. *Hypnos/Somnus*, 609.

⁶⁵ LIMC, V, 1990, s.v. *Hygeia*, no. 127 = LIMC, V, 1990, s.v. *Hypnos/Somnus*, no. 149; LIMC, V, 1990, s.v. *Hypnos/Somnus*, no. 150, 150bis; LIMC, VIII, 1997, s.v. *Hypnos*, no. 9: The piece is found at the Museum of Fine Arts Boston with the access number 1974.131 and can be consulted on the museum's official site.

⁶⁶ LIMC, V, 1990, s.v. *Hygeia*, no. 71 = LIMC, V, 1990, s.v. *Hypnos/Somnus*, no. 147; Petsalis-Diomidis 2010, fig. 10.

Crete⁶⁷ and more recently in Dacia⁶⁸ and it seems to confirm Gil Renberg's theory on how the *incubatio* ritual was the apanage of the Eastern *asklepieia*, so far being no evidence whatsoever for its practice in the Latin West as well⁶⁹.

Besides a relief portraying the healing divine couple next to Hypnos, there are no votive reliefs whatsoever that could supply us a close analogy for our reliefs by including Telesphorus in their iconographical schemes as well, however his apparent absence can easily be explained by the existence of both Aesculapius-Telesphorus and Hygieia-Hypnos statues that were meant to form a greater unitary statuary group when placed next to each other, as it seems suggested by some statues portraying the aforementioned gods that were found in the richly decorated House of Abduction of Europa from Kos (Pl. V/4)⁷⁰.

Another fragmentary relief found in the square shaped fountain of the *asklepieion* of Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa (Pl. V/2)⁷¹ seems to show the same iconographical scheme like our previous piece, and we can assume for sure that the right side held the image of Telesphorus as well based on the strong similarities between the two pieces : the same architectural framework, the presence of the same Hypnos in attitude of Eros-Thanatos, the serpent-entwined rod that looks rather like a tree trunk and the same style of clothing worn by the gods, i.e. Hygieia's *himation* that falls diagonally above her right knee and has a V shaped crease on her chest, and the low draping of Aesculapius' clothing that forms a crease on his lower abdomen.

A third piece discovered at Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa⁷² as well might be typologically incorporated amongst the other two, since the preserved fragment shows us the same Aesculapius with a *volumen* in his left hand next to a Telesphorus portrayed with his hands clasped to his chest under his usual *bardocucullus* (Pl. V/3). More importantly, the inscription [*Aesculapio et Hygiae* / [---- e] x voto preserved on the last third of the piece, correlated with the inscription *Num(ini) Aesc(ulapii) [et Hyg(iae)] / U[l]pia Ianu[aria] v[otum] l[ibens]* found on the first two thirds preserved from the other votive relief found at Ulpia Traiana

⁶⁷ Frontori 2011, fig. 13.

⁶⁸ See no. 63.

⁶⁹ Renberg 2006, 105-147.

⁷⁰ See no. 66; Petsalis-Diomidis 2010, fig. 9.

⁷¹ See Catalogue no. 17.

⁷² See Catalogue no. 18.

Sarmizegetusa, seems to confirm that there would have been sufficient space for depicting Hypnos and Hygieia as well.

Catalogue of finds in Roman Dacia⁷³

Ampelum (Zlatna, Alba County)

1. Plastic lamp representing an ithyphallic Telesphorus; MUAI, inv. no. R 8344; donated by I. T. Lipovan in 1990; terracotta lamp with nozzle in form of a *phallus* and round base that bears the name of the owner of the *officina* that functioned at Ampelum inside of a *tabula ansata*: *G(aius) I(ulius) P(roculus)*; fragmentary, the upper part of the god's body is not preserved; h=77 mm, l=46 mm, d_{base}=41 mm; Pl. I/1; Popa/Moga/Ciobanu 1986, 112; Lipovan 1992, 63-65, fig. 1, 2 a-b; Anghel et al. 2010, no. 66.

2. Plastic lamp representing an ithyphallic Telesphorus; MUAI, inv. no. R 8343; terracotta lamp with nozzle in form of a *phallus*; fragmentary, the lower part of the body from the nozzle below is missing; h=91 mm; Pl. I/2; Lipovan 1992, 63, fig. 1, 1 a-b; Anghel et al. 2010, no. 67.

Apulum (Alba Iulia, Alba County)

3. Votive relief with the representation of Aesculapius, Hygieia, Epione and Telesphorus; MNIR – Bucharest; discovered in 1847 on the bank of the Mureş river, in the Partoş district, from where it entered the collection of the Reformed College and afterwards that of the Aiud Museum; marble votive relief with the following dedicatory inscription: *Deo Aescul(apio) et Hygiae Aur(elius) (A)etern<a>lis / v(otum) s(olvit)*; fully preserved; 29 x 36 x 5 cm; Pl. II/1; Igna 1935, 63 - 64, nr.2; RR 1969, 215, F 101; IDR III/5, 9; Mihăilă 2008, 14, no.1.

4-13. Lot of 10 unpublished terracotta figurines representing Telesphorus; MUAI (?); found in the cult pits discovered within the perimeter of the Liber Pater sanctuary, together with fragmented tableware, sherds from glass vessels, 36 fragmented lamps, 2 miniature money boxes, 5 miniature clay cartwheels

⁷³ The presentation order of the pieces in this catalogue is done alphabetically on their find spot (ancient name) and mentions after a brief description of the pieces the following information: storage location and inventory number; archaeological context; typology and production material; dimensions and preservation state; plate number of the corresponding illustration in the text; further references.

and other terracotta figurines representing cocks and Venus statuettes; votive terracotta figurines; Haynes 2013, 16-17; Schäfer 2014, 42-43.

Porolissum (Zalău, Sălaj County)

14. Votive relief with the representation of Aesculapius, Hygieia and Telesphorus; MIA – Zalău; discovered in the Jac village, where it was previously brought together with other stone materials from the Roman fort of Porolissum; votive limestone relief with the following fragmentary dedicatory inscription: *[Au]r(elius) Iustu[s]*; fragmentarily preserved, the upper part of the bodies and the heads are missing; 30 x 24 x 12 cm; Pl. IV/1; AE 1960, 220; Mihăilă 2008, 15-16, no. 3.

Potaissa (Turda, Cluj County)

15. Votive relief with the representation of Aesculapius, Hygieia and Telesphorus; MI – Turda; initially part of the Botár Imre collection of antiquities; votive sandstone relief; relatively fully preserved; 36 x 31 x 4 cm; Pl. III/1; Igna 1935, 62, fig. 24; Ardevan/Rusu 1979, 390, fig. 9; Mihăilă 2008, 21-22, no. 13.

Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa (Sarmizegetusa, Hunedoara County)

16. Fragmentary statuette representing Hygieia together with Telesphorus; MNB – Sibiu, inv. no. 6224; chance find; votive marble statuette; fragmentary, the head of the goddess is missing; the preserved height is of 21,4 cm; Pl. II/2; Alicu/Pop/Wollmann 1979, no. 13, pl. II.

17. Votive relief with the representation of Aesculapius, Hygieia and Hypnos;⁷⁴ MA – Sarmizegetusa; recovered in 1973 from a square fountain found in the *asklepieion*, together with another two statues, representing Hygia and Telesphorus; votive marble relief with the following fragmentary dedicatory inscription: *Num(ini) Aescul(ape) [et Hyg(iae)] / Ulpia Ianu(aria) v(otum) l(ibens) p(osuit)*; fragmentary, the upper and the right part of the relief is missing; the surface of the relief is corroded due to extensive exposure to water; 36 x 27 x 4 cm; Pl. V/2, Piso 1974-75, 60-61, fig. 5 a-b; Rusu 1975, 698-702, fig. 3/8; Daicoviciu 1976, 63; Alicu/Pop/Wollmann 1979, no. 1, pl. I; IDR III/2, 166, fig. 136; Fenechiu 2008, 215, no. 12, p. 220; Schäfer 2007, 148-149, H I 1; Mihăilă 2008, 16-17, no. 5; Bărbulescu 2009, 132; Varga 2015.

18. Votive relief with the representation of Aesculapius, Hygieia and Telesphorus; nowadays lost; chance find during the agricultural works done in

⁷⁴ Although Telesphorus is not preserved, based on the analogies we can assume that the original piece would have included his representation as well. See explanation in text.

1910, initially in the collection of the Reformed High School from Orăștie; votive marble relief with the following dedicatory inscription : [*Aesculapio e]t Hygiae / [----- e] x voto*; fragmentary condition, only the right part of the relief was preserved; 33x5x5 cm; Pl. V/3; Daicoviciu 1924, 253-254, fig. 16; Igna 1935, no. 4; Alicu/Pop/Wollmann 1979, no. 5, Pl. CXLIII; IDR III/2, 170, fig. 138; Mihăilă 2008, 19, no. 8; Varga 2015.

Unknown find spots

19. Votive relief with the representation of Aesculapius, Hygieia, Telesphorus and Hypnos; MNIT – Cluj-Napoca; votive marble relief; fragmentary condition, the lower part of the relief that could have worn a dedicatory inscription is missing; 24 x 21 x 3,5 cm; Pl. V/1; Igna 1935, 64, fig. 25; Mihăilă 2008, 22-23, no. 14; Varga 2015.

20. Votive relief with the representation of Telesphorus; nowadays lost; probably from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa; fragmentary condition, h=10 cm; Alicu/Pop/Wollmann 1979, no. 16; Mihăilă 2008, 23, no. 15.

Illustrations

Pl. I: Terracotta lamps representing an ithyphallic Telesphorus : 1-2 Ampelum (Photos from Anghel et al. 2010, no. 66-67) ; 3 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (Photo from Bolla 2010, fig. 26) ; 4-5 Athens (Photos from Grandjouan 1961, fig. 943, 954).

Pl. II: 1. Votive relief from Apulum representing Hygieia, Aesculapius, Telesphorus and Epione (photo from Mihăilă 2008, fig.1) 2. Statuette from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa representing Hygieia next to Telesphorus (photo from Alicu/Pop/Wollmann 1979, pl. II).

Pl. III: Votive reliefs representing the healing triad Hygieia – Aesculapius – Telesphorus : 1. Potaiassa (photo from Igna 1935, fig. 24) 2-3 Glava Panega (photos from LIMC, II, 2, 1984, s.v. *Asklepios (in Thracia)*, fig. 17, 19).

Pl. IV: Votive reliefs representing the healing triad Hygieia – Telesphorus – Aesculapius : 1. Porolissum (photo from Mihăilă 2008, fig. 3); 2. Kjustendil (photo from LIMC, V, 2, 1990, s.v. *Hygieia (in Thracia)*, fig. 4) 3. Pannonia (Photo from Fitz 1998, fig. 89).

Pl. V: 1. Votive relief from the National Museum of Transylvanian History (photo from Mihăilă 2008, nr. 14) ; 2, 3 Votive reliefs from the asklepion of Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa (photos from Mihăilă 2008, nr. 5, 8) ; 4. Statue of Aesculapius with Telesphorus and statue of Hygieia with Hypnos, from the house of Abduction of Europa, Kos (photo from Petsalis – Diomidis 2010, fig. 10).

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Plate I



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Plate II



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2



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Plate III

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Plate V

The sacred topography of Tibiscum

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Abstract. The religious life in Tibiscum is well documented by numerous sculptural and epigraphic pieces certifying various deities, religious practices and donors. Broadly speaking, the monuments reveal, through the iconographical type or through the epithets worn by the deities, which one of these cults enjoyed a more special worship and especially, who the worshipers were. The purpose of the present paper is to objectively analyze all the epigraphic sources of the *castrum* and the civil settlement of Tibiscum, which is concentrated on the religious life of the community, following the chronological and topographical evolution of the establishment so as to define the sacred topography of Tibiscum to the current stage of the research. Thereby, we intend to foreshadow, for the local archeological research, certain urban layout elements that integrated the places of worship in the planimetry of the establishment.

Keywords: religion, Tibiscum, topography, epigraphy, sculpture

Rezumat. Topografia sacră a așezării Tibiscum. Viața religioasă la Tibiscum este bine documentată prin descoperirea a numeroase piese epigrafice și sculpturale reprezentând diferite divinități, edificii cultice și dedicații. Pe scurt, monumentele indică, prin tipurile iconografice și epitetele purtate de diferitele divinități, care din aceste culte s-a bucurat de mai multă popularitate și cine erau adoratorii. Scopul acestei lucrări este să analizeze sursele epigrafice votive din castru și din așezarea civilă de la Tibiscum, fiind centrată pe viața religioasă a comunității, urmărind evoluția cronologică și topografică a așezării, astfel încât să poată fi definită topografia sacră a așezării analizate în actualul stadiu al cercetării. Prin urmare, intenționăm să indicăm, pentru cercetarea arheologică locală, anumite elemente de structură urbană care integrează locurile de cult în planimetria așezării.

Cuvinte cheie: religie, Tibiscum, topografie, epigrafie, sculptură

Lately, the geography and topography of the Tibiscum - Jupa archeological site was a frequently approached subject by specialists. Also, a great amount of information on religious life is known from the studies focused on the epigraphic, architectonic, votive and sculptural monuments, none of these scientific approaches manages to interpret the data, in an interdisciplinary manner, in order to establish a connection between the religious life and the topography of the studied settlement.

In the last decades, the study of the Roman religion has known great progress, by the introduction of some new methods, where the emphasis is on appropriation and religious experience. The present paper attempts to connect to the new methodologies already used European research¹.

The archeological site of Tibiscum is currently the most representative one for the Roman era of Banat. The systematical archeological research undertaken here during the interwar period and then resumed in 1964 and pursued until today has brought to light the spectacular magnitude of the area inhabited by the Romans.

Fives hectares of ruins, including the ones of the *castrum*, located on the left shore of Timiș, were salvaged by preserving them in an archeological reservation that is unique in Banat, and another 17 hectares, from the right shore of Timiș – the place on which the Roman city was built – even if affected by agriculture, are periodically subjected to archeological investigations². The large surface occupied by the Roman ruins only allowed, until now, the research of only 5% of the edifices and monuments of ancient Tibiscum. Even so, in the last decades, enough epigraphic and sculptural material that would allow us to sketch the religious life of its habitants and to learn the local

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¹ For the bibliographical references that are considered essential for the under debate topic, see: Steimle 2007, 66-73; Steimle 2008; Andringa 2009; Castella/Krause 2009. For the sacred topography of a city from Pannonia, see: Brelich 1938, 20-142; Paulovics 1943; Alföldy 1963, 47-69; Balla 1967; Sosztarits 1994, 233-241; Szabó 2005-2006, 57-78, 67-76. For the sacred topography of a city from Dacia, see: Boda 2015, 281-304. For the new methods used in the research of the religious life of a Roman city, see, among others, Rüpke 2011, 191-203; Szabó 2014, 41-58.

² Cîntar 2015, 52.

tendencies regarding the practice of cults of various origins has been accumulated.

The archeological and epigraphic sources gives us an image on the presence of religious practices and a variety of divinities within the fort of Tibiscum³: in the court of the headquarters of the great *castrum*, was found, among others, a marble column of 2.32 m high, dedicated to Mars Augustus⁴ for the health of two emperors, identified by I. Piso⁵ as Maximinus Thrax and his son, Maximus⁶.

In the basilica of the *principia*, an altar dedicated to Silvanus Domesticus⁷ and another to Minerva Augusta⁸ were identified.

In the *praetentura dextra*, a fragment of the inscription dedicated to the Palmyrene deity Bel⁹ was discovered, which can represent a clue that, in this area of the great *castrum*, the bowmen brought by the Romans from Palmyra were accommodated.

The Eastern side of the great *castrum* of Tibiscum has benefited of intense systematical archeological research, inside the last investigated structure, the edifice no. IV¹⁰, being found a monument dedicated to the deity Minerva Augusta and to the protective spirit of the Palmyrene bowmen' garrison¹¹.

From the area of the north-west corner of the great *castrum* one votive monument dedicated to Malagbel¹² and another to Iuppiter Conservator¹³ are known from archeological findings. Adjacently, a

³ Cîntar 2015, 316.

⁴ IDR III/1, 144.

⁵ Piso 1982, 225-238.

⁶ Benea/Bona 1994, 25. The authors of IDR (III/1, 144) are keen to date the monument during the reign of Filip the Arab and his son (247-249 A.D.).

⁷ IDR III/1, 146.

⁸ IDR III/1, 184.

⁹ IDR III/1, 134.

¹⁰ Building No. IV of the *castrum* is a building that appeared late in the planimetry of the fortification and had a utilitarian nature, however just on the Northern extremity, the last room being better equipped seeing that it has a *hypocaustum* and there, the inscription dedicated to Minerva and to the Genius of the Palmyrene unit was found upside-down. For more details, see: Timoc 2007, 85-96.

¹¹ Timoc 2006, 277.

¹² Piso 1983, 109, no. 5. We believe that this piece was rather discovered in the *schola*, namely in the first building of the north-east corner of the great *castrum*, seeing that, in this space, all the epigraphic pieces dedicated to this god of *Tibiscum* were discovered.

¹³ IDR III/1, 138 a.

votive relief representing Iuppiter Tronans¹⁴ has surfaced. The association of these pieces in the same context has made the researchers D. Benea and P. Bona to suspect the existence of a *fanum* in the area¹⁵.

It is difficult to believe that in the North-Western corner of the great *castrum* of Tibiscum a sacre space existed, the vestiges of the field being inconclusive; instead, it is certain that, in the civil settlement, there was a sanctuary dedicated to the Capitoline Triad which unfortunately, hasn't yet been identified on the site.

The possible *schola* from the North-Eastern side of the *castrum*¹⁶ was, very likely, a meeting place, as well as a space consecrated to the usual ceremonial banquets. An interesting inscription is dedicated to the deities *Genius Numeri Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium*, *Genius Horreorum* and *Dii patrii*¹⁷. At the moment, we accept the speculation that, in the epigraphic document, *Genius Horreorum*, alongside *Genius Numeri* and *Dii patrii* are mentioned simply because such an association with the Palmyrene deities is not unusual. G. Rickman recalls that, in the *horrea*, apart from *Genii horreorum*, other deities are mentioned also¹⁸. The same opinion was raised also by J. S. Domínguez¹⁹. Thus, they also mention an epigraphic document from the *horreum* of *Palmyra*, where *Malagbel* and *diis Palmyrae*²⁰ are attested. In addition to this discovery, the *Genii horreorum* is present, among other locations, in *Mogontiacum* (Mainz)²¹, *Germania Superior*²² and *Rome*²³. Regarding these grain stocks, the risk of a fire was always present and that is why they had a *genius*, who protected them and to whom P. Aelius Servius from Tibiscum, along

¹⁴ Moga/Benea 1979, 134, fig. 2.

¹⁵ D. Benea and P. Bona claim that these were placed by the same person (Benea/Bona 1994, 21, 111), a theory subsequently resumed by A. Ștefănescu-Onițiu as well (Ștefănescu-Onițiu 2009, 37); however, we have no proof to support it.

¹⁶ Piso/Benea 1999, 104-106; Alicu 2002, 201-235; Timoc 2005 b, 115-122; Marcu 2006 a, 76-105; Marcu 2006 b, 259-269.

¹⁷ IDR III/1, 136.

¹⁸ Rickman 1971.

¹⁹ Domínguez 2012, 310-341.

²⁰ Domínguez 2012, 310-341. He mentions the epigraphic document after Rickman 1971, 314.

²¹ CIL XIII 11802 = AE 1904, 180 = AE 1906, 133.

²² CIL XIII 7749.

²³ CIL VI 237; CIL VI 238 (3004, 3755). Regarding the religious life in *horrea* with the examples from Rome and Ostia, see: Van Haepere 2010, 243-259.

with other important deities from the private Pantheon of the individual²⁴ they were dedicated to.

From the mentioned edifice, monuments dedicated to Malagbel²⁵ and *Dii patrii*²⁶ are also well-known, and at the entrance of the structure, according to some researchers, monuments for Sol Invictus Mithras²⁷ by both of the troupes of the Tibiscum garrison - *numerus Palmyrenorum* and *numerus Maurorum*, have been erected. In the latter case, the name of the deity cannot be read on the preserved fragment; therefore, the worshiped deity must have been another, because we are not familiar with such an association in the Roman Empire, in which Mithras is to be venerated in the same room of worship as other deities of Palmyra.

The Palmyrene influences on the sacred topography of the *castrum* is present also in other units of the Tibiscum garrison. An eloquent example is offered to us by the monument dedicated to Ierhabol²⁸ by Aurelius Laecanius Paulinus, a service man in *cohors I Vindellicorum*, who, doesn't seem to be of Eastern origin.

We notice the existence of a single relief with a representation of the Danubian Riders inside the mentioned edifice, moreover unique on the surface of the *castrum*²⁹. Because of the small size of the relief (15 x 14 cm) and the lack of similarities necessary for associating this cult to the Syrian/Palmyrene deities, we believe that this piece occupies a secondary position, because all the other ten reliefs are found in *in situ*, in the private buildings of the civil establishment. The relief could have belonged to one of the decuriones from the 3rd building of the north-east

²⁴ Concerning the dating of the monument, the two emperors could be Caracalla and his brother Geta, taking into account that a *G* and an *N* are inscribed behind by the *damnatio memoriae* of the year 212, but I. I. Russu chooses wrong, in our opinion, dating the piece under the reign of the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (IDRIII/1, 136).

²⁵ Piso 1983, 109, no. 4.

²⁶ IDR III/1, 135.

²⁷ IDR III/1, 147.

²⁸ We wish to mention the fact that this solar deity of the *Palmyra* appears in Roman Dacia on epigraphically sources under different names: Ierhabol (*Tibiscum* - IDR III/1, 137, *Colonia Sarmizegetusa* - AÉ 2004, 1216), Hierabol (*Apulum* - IDR III/5, 102, 105, *Colonia Sarmizegetusa* - AÉ 2011, 1084), sometimes appears associated with Sol of the Romans (*Apulum* - IDR III/5, 103, *Tibiscum* - IDR III/1, 137, *Colonia Sarmizegetusa* - AÉ 2004, 1216). For the more information, see: Sanie 1981; Carbó García 2011, 923-927.

²⁹ Moga 1972, 40, no. 1.

corner of the great *castrum* and that, according to planimetry, is an *equites* barrack.

In Tibiscum, two votive reliefs representing the goddess Epona are known, both in an incomplete state and both presenting the deity feeding horses with forage from the foot of her coat³⁰. This type of representation is the most wide-spread one in the Roman society, the so-called *Reichstypus*, according to M. Euskirchen – type VI³¹. This deity protects the horses, and these votive plates in which she appears, if they were indeed discovered, as suspected, inside the Roman *castrum*, then they were certainly pinned on one of the stable's pillars, stable used for sheltering the horses of the Tibiscum garrison *equites'* detachments³². We are not dismissing, taking into account that the votive pieces have become a part of the collection of the Museum of Lugoj in the interwar period (probably being discovered in proximity to one other), the possibility of the authors of the discoveries made back then uncovering a stable with the role of a *veterinarium*³³ for the horses of the garrison.

At the entrance of the great fort, before the *porta praetoria*, a monument in a secondary position, dedicated to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus and another one, also re-used as a construction material, located a few meters away, farther North than the first monument, dedicated to the same deity, were found³⁴.

In the Western vicinity of the road that crosses the civil settlement, very close to the eastern gate of the small fort, the votive plate dedicated to Liber Pater³⁵ was discovered. The size of the entire horizontal stone, after the highly credible restoration proposition of I. Piso, of approximately 1.40 m in length and 0.50 m in height, suggests a monumental entrance in the temple of this god, as the epigraphic document³⁶ mentions.

³⁰ Isac/Stratan 1973, 120-123; Timoc 1997, 115-117; Timoc 2005 a, 237.

³¹ Euskirchen 1993, 662.

³² In this regard, see Apuleius, *Met.*, III, 27.

³³ The sculptural reliefs with the representation of Epona have entered the collections of the Museum of Lugoj during the interwar period, when the administrator, the Greco-Catholic priest I. Boroş was performing the first archeological excavations in *Tibiscum* (1926-1927) along with G. G. Mateescu, a lecturer of the University of Cluj.

³⁴ IDR III/1, 138; Piso/Benea 1999, 97-98, no. 3.

³⁵ Piso/Benea 1999, 97-98, no. 1.

³⁶ The most delicate issue is raised by the epithet of the god *Frugifer*, hypothetically deciphered by I. Piso. Herein, we wish to mention the fact that epithets appear in the 1st or 2nd line of the inscription, anyhow, after the name of the god and never in the

A major issue is related to the significance of Liber Pater for the Palmyrene, insomuch that it was decided to build him, and not the deities of *Palmyra*, a temple. Their veneration could also be noted in Porolissum, in a single temple, if we accept the fact that the materials came from the same place, and lest we are talking about two different edifices³⁷.

The comprehension of this religious preference is difficult to explain, because there is no direct connection between Liber Pater and the Palmyrene gods, but especially because these bowmen very rarely worship deities other than their own. We believe that the construction of this temple is a collective religious manifestation of the Palmyrene, whose occupation was trading wine (in *Palmyra*³⁸ and probably in *Tibiscum* also), and the main reason that has led to them worshipping this deity is closely linked to their practiced profession³⁹.

last line of the text. The epithet is known in the settlement of *Colonia Sarmizegetusa*, but herein, it is annexed to the goddess Isis (IDR III/2, 227). The deities of the Roman Empire that wear this epithet are Pluto (Africa Proconsularis, AÉ 1968, 595), Caelestis (Hispania Citerior, AÉ 2003, 948), us having frequent conjurations for *Genius Frugifer* (Numidia, EDCS-46400017; Africa Proconsularis, EDCS-06000004) or *Frugiferus Augustus* (Africa Proconsularis, AÉ 2002, 1681; AÉ 1997, 1642; AÉ 1974, 690; AÉ 1915, 22; Numidia, AÉ 1946, 106 = AÉ 1909, 8 = AÉ 1909, 128 1; Mauretania Caesariensis, CIL VIII 20318; CIL VIII 8826 = CIL VIII 20628). Instead, until now, it appears that the epithet *Frugifer* for Liber Pater is a unique case of veneration. From this point of view and also, by taking into account that the epithet only appears after the name of the deity, we believe that, in this particular case, in the last line of the inscription, we are most probably dealing with just one part of the names of the dedicators, closely linked to the Palmyrene soldiers.

³⁷ Chirilă/Gudea/Matei/Lucăcel 1980, 82-104; Chirilă/Gudea/Matei/Lucăcel 1983, 119-148. Unfortunately, the exact location and context of the inscriptions discovered for the gods Liber Pater and Bel are not known, therefore, a correct identification cannot be made if we are dealing with two separate temples or if the two deities were worshiped in the same building. If we take as example the case from *Tibiscum*, we notice that the Palmyrene were worshipping Liber Pater because of their occupation. In these circumstances, the appearance of the two deities in the same temple isn't so difficult to believe. For the more information, see: Diaconescu 2011, 135-192.

³⁸ Sommer 2012, 2; Smith 2013, 107; Zuchowska 2013, 382.

³⁹ If we were to assess the importation of wine in *Tibiscum* based on the *amphorae* discoveries, from the analysis of the archeological material examined for the current stage of the research, A. Ardeț has already observed that the wine was brought, in *amphorae*, in Asia Minor and Moesia Inferior in large quantities (Ardeț 1993, 105; Ardeț 2006, 256-257). 80% of the total of the *amphorae* discoveries come from the civil

The deities worshiped outside the *castrum*, in *vicus militaris*, a civil establishment later known as *municipium Tibiscensium*⁴⁰, certified through epigraphic documentation, are Iuppiter⁴¹ and Liber Pater⁴². However, based on the existing data, a relative wealth regarding the presence of the emblematic monuments was detected. Firstly, we must remember a head of a statue representing Iuppiter, emerged in the archaeological excavations from building no. III⁴³.

Regarding the civil area, as S. Nemeti⁴⁴ claimed, a particular importance is brought on by Tibiscum by its specific features emphasized for the Cult of the Danubian Riders⁴⁵. The 11 pieces discovered until now, 10 of which found in the civil settlement, just about in any private building of the civil establishment, suggest that, at one point (in our opinion), the cult of the Danubian Riders was present exclusively in domestic – primary spaces in *lararia*, together with other divinities.

Venus, the goddess of beauty, love, pleasure, as well the patron of marriage and family⁴⁶ is represented in *Tibiscum* on a marble relief (nude *Venus Capitolina*; on the left side, a tail of a dolphin can be observed, on which beneath, a small Cupido⁴⁷ may have been reproduced), on bronze statues, which were discovered in the *castrum*,

settlement of *Tibiscum*. In the *castrum*, the insertion of *amphorae* filled with wine was very likely allowed just for the officers of the garrison (Ardeț 2006, 246). The most common wine amphora of *Tibiscum* is the one with the funnel-shaped opening and with the neck widening towards the joint of the recipient (Opaiț III, Popilian², Peacock & Williams 57 models). This type, widely known in the 2nd and 3rd century AD and even specific to Dobrogea and Pontus, is pot-bellied and has a considerable storage capacity (Ardeț 1993, 103-104). The frequency of this amphora in *Tibiscum* indicated that this beverage was also sold, not just consumed.

⁴⁰ Ardeț 2004, 79.

⁴¹ IDR III/1, 141.

⁴² IDR III/1, 135; Piso/Benea 1999, 97-98, no. 2.

⁴³ Benea 1999-2000, 191-223; Rusu-Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 102-104, pl. XXXV; Benea 2003, 123; Cîntar 2013 a, 597-605; Cîntar 2013 b, 155-159.

⁴⁴ Nemeti 2005, 200-218; Nemeti 2012, 167-191; Nemeti 2015, 129-138.

⁴⁵ Moga 1972, 39-51; Tudor 1976; Nemeti 2005, 200-218; Vasinca 2009, 259-264; Nemeti 2012, 167-191; Nemeti/Ardeț 2013, 213-244; Nemeti 2015, 129-138.

⁴⁶ For the bibliography regarding the propagation of the cult in Roman Dacia, see: Boda/Szabó 2014, 131-133.

⁴⁷ We kindly thank our colleague, Dr. Adriana Antal, for the description regarding the material in question. A. Antal, *Cultul Venerei în Dacia romană*, PhD Thesis, Cluj-Napoca, 2014.

as well as in the civil settlement (*Venus Anadyomene*⁴⁸). Nevertheless, the better-rendered exemplars seem to be the terracotta ones: nude *Venus Cnidos* (two such exemplars), *Venus Victrix* (also two) and a statuary group that depicts Venus with Cupido (two exemplars⁴⁹). Even proof of patterns in which the obverse of the first part of a certain type of Venus statue have been discovered, and the reverse belongs to another type⁵⁰.

Analyzing the pieces that represented Venus in Tibiscum, we state that indeed, the possibility of a workshop existing in the area is not excluded: the vague, sometimes even “unsightly” features of the pieces, the much too oblong, disproportionate body, indicate patterns created by provincial craftsmen, without many artistic capabilities.

The Nymphs seem to be worshiped in Tibiscum in conjunction to the drinking water sources of here. In the statuary art of Tibiscum a representation on an impressive block of limestone (1.10 x 0.60 x 0.30 m) is well-known, with a Nymph sitting down, supported on her elbow. From an iconographic point of view, this posture of the goddess has many similarities (for example: Aquincum, Pergamon⁵¹ and in Dacia, in - Băile Herculane⁵²) in the statues that adorn the public fountains⁵³. These sculptures were located above the water basin, in the center of the fountain and, in many cases the latter was close to a wall, which could have belonged to a neighboring edifice. From a point of view of the sacred topography, in Tibiscum, this piece could have belonged to an imposing fountain from the area of the entrance in the municipal forum, in the *castrum* or at the crossroad of the main roads of the civil settlement, in any case, in an area accessible to the habitants.

The god Apollo is known in Tibiscum from two epigraphs, both pieces being votive stones discovered together 1 km outside the city, on the imperial roads that led towards the Roman Dacia metropolis, *Colonia Sarmizegetusa*⁵⁴. The epigraphic documents attest the restoration of the

⁴⁸ Țeposu-Marinescu/Pop 2000, 91, pl. 54, Fig. 101; Antal 2014.

⁴⁹ Ungurean 2008, 29-32, 63, cat. nr. 130-135; Antal 2014.

⁵⁰ Ungurean 2008, 29-32, 63.

⁵¹ Diaconescu/Bota 2004, 478-479.

⁵² Benea/Lalescu 1997-1998, 301.

⁵³ Timoc 2004, 79-80.

⁵⁴ A first piece of information we find in Piso/Rogozea 1985, 211-214, who processed the epigraphic documents. The edifice per se appears in D. Benea, P. Bona, in the *Tibiscum* monograph (Benea/Bona 1994, 108-109). Based on it, A. Rusu-Pescaru and D. Alicu, in their paper on the Roman temples of Dacia (Rusu-Pescaru/Alicu 2000)

building destroyed by age (*fanum vetustate conlapsum restituit*), which was accomplished by Septimius Diomedes, a tribune of *the cohors I Vindelicorum*⁵⁵. Therefore, this information suggests that we also have a 2nd phase, one of a *fanum* that dates between the years AD 200-202.

On the occasion of emperor's Caracalla⁵⁶ visit, the second construction slab, with the name of Dacia's governor, L. Marius Perpetuus, is dedicated to Apollo Conservator, for the health of the mentioned emperor. This was accomplished by the tribune P. Aelius Gemellus, the commander of the *cohors I Vindelicorum*, in the year AD 213/214⁵⁷.

Without having a clear reference to the discovery site, a small votive relief, highly corroded, is also part of the older archeological discoveries, representing the scene of Mithras'⁵⁸ tauroctony. Unfortunately, we also do not know the location of the discovery of the monument built by Hermadio (also confirmed in the *Colonia Sarmizegetusa*⁵⁹) for the deity Sol Invictus Nabarze Mithras⁶⁰.

The discovery of a bronze votive hand with symbols connected to the cult of Sabazios in Jena indicates, as a center of origin, the settlement of Tibiscum - Jupa⁶¹ also. We do not necessarily believe in the existence of a temple dedicated to the mentioned god, the cult piece could have very well been stored in one of the buildings that were excavated or epigraphically mentioned as temples.

work on a manuscript based the excavation report received from P. Rogozea and, on this occasion, correct many mistakes made by D. Benea and P. Bona in 1994 (Benea/Bona 1994). We also mention a study of D. Alicu (Alicu 2000, 299-304), whose main purpose is the analysis of the chronology of the stages researched and the typological framing of the edifice. Subsequently, the issue is resumed by D. Benea (Benea 1999-2000, 191-203) however; no new corrections or interpretations are introduced.

⁵⁵ Piso/Rogozea 1985, 211-215.

⁵⁶ Popescu 2011, 62-63.

⁵⁷ Piso/Rogozea 1985, 211-215.

⁵⁸ Isac/Stratan 1973, 120.

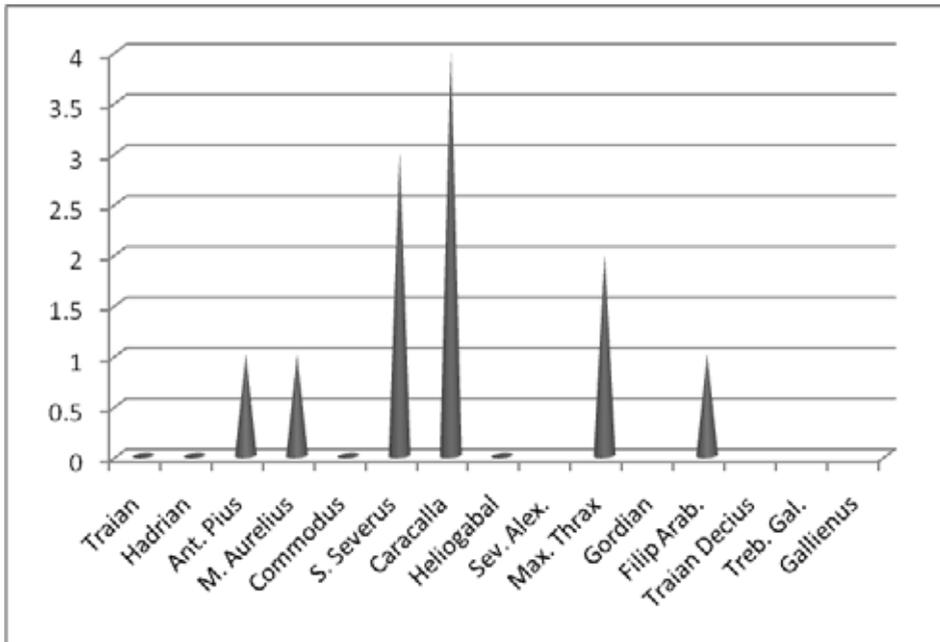
⁵⁹ IDR III/2, 283.

⁶⁰ IDR III/1, 145. For the more informations, see: Tóth 1994, 153-160 = Tóth 1995, 175-180 = Tóth 2003, 81-86; Nemeti 2012, 149; Szabó 2015, 407-422. For the cult of Mithras in *Tibiscum*, see: Timoc/Boda 2016, 245-257.

⁶¹ Milleker 1892, 133-136; On the history of research, see also: Boda/Varga 2013, 397-412.

Conclusions

Chronological observations regarding the religious phenomenon from Tibiscum can be made, by analyzing diachronically the dated artifacts.

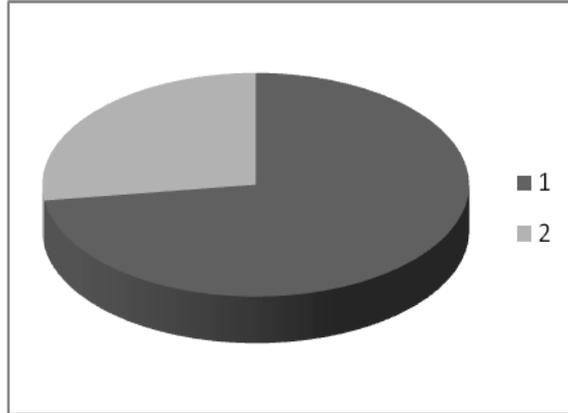


The frequency of the datable votive epigraphs of *Tibiscum*.

From the total of the archeological and epigraphic sources, approximately 60% are epigraphic monuments, the remaining 40% being inscribed iconographic material with representations of divinities such as votive reliefs, statues or terracotta figurines. From the quantity of epigraphs, we notice that a significant part of them are chronologically grouped in the period of the emperors Septimius Severus and Caracalla, and the ones discovered in the *castrum* area (in *principia* and in the area of the edifices from the North-Eastern corner of the fortification) come from the 3rd century AD. For the 2nd century there are no known attestations, the layers of this period hardly being archeologically investigated.

Almost three quarters of the inscriptions come from the *castrum*, their dedicators being military, and of the ones from the civil settlement,

besides three inscriptions that belong to some magistrates or clergymen, the rest also belong to some servicemen or former servicemen. This can also be owed to a research deficiency, the area of the *municipium* hardly being investigated from an archeological point of view comparatively to its surface.



The statistical distribution of the votive epigraphic discoveries:
1. The military environment; 2. The civil settlement.

We are not denying the involvement of the military in the religious life of the civil settlement, and in the case of the cities born from *vici militares*, their involvement is even more obvious (for example, the worship edifice dedicated to Apollo).

However, the archaeological research of the last few years of the civil settlement draws our attention on the fact that this area can surprise us, the discoveries regarding religious life progressively multiplying with the advancement of the excavations in the area.

Among the deities worshiped by the military, apart from the official Greek-Roman ones and from the patrons of the military bases of the garrison, we notice that a significant group of gods belongs to the bowmen of Palmyra, which are, perhaps, more «pious» and attached to their ancestral deities.

Also from the global analysis of the data linked to the moment when the civil settlement became a *municipium*, we notice, from the series of epigraphs that can be dated, that this moment was marked by many investments also in the case of public buildings such as places of worship.

Finally, regarding the situation of the sacred topography, we can observe, for the great *castrum* of Tibiscum, the fact that we have two areas in which the votive inscriptions dedicated by the soldiers are grouped.

The first area, somewhat natural for the setup of these monuments is the *basilica* of the headquarters building and the immediate vicinity. From here, we only know inscriptions dedicated to the official Greek-Roman deities.

The second area is the North-Eastern corner of the great *castrum*, where a *schola* has functioned. The deities venerated in this edifice are mostly originating in the East, all the monuments being dedicated by soldiers and veterans. The relatively large amount of dedicated votive pieces discovered here is owed to the fact that this edifice also had religious functions.

For the moment, we weren't able to notice the contour of *area sacra* within the urban planimetry of the civil settlement of Tibiscum. The epigraphic and emblematic documents discovered scattered on the entire archeologically researched area rather attest the existence of some private cults. Each house had a *lararium* and this seems to be reasoned in Tibiscum by the discovery of plates representing the Danubian Riders in almost each house.

Two existing worship places (building No. III - Iuppiter and Liber Pater), near the main road of the civil settlement, indicate the concern of the local authorities of having worship places in the most intensely circulated areas of the town.

The existence of a temple dedicated to the Capitoline Triad is self-understood, because each Roman town is built after the model of Rome⁶², to which the proof of the numerous inscriptions and emblematic monuments dedicated to the gods and discovered on the surface of the investigated territory (quite circulated due to the fact that the monuments were re-used as building material⁶³).

Building No. III has a *portico* marked by four imposing marble columns; the bases of these columns are the largest ones discovered until now in Tibiscum, having a diameter of 0.80 m. Inside the edifice were found the fragment of a votive column dedicated by Victorinus, a decurion from Apulum (the first line of the column, that contains the

⁶² Wissowa 1902, 280-298; Brelich 1938, 20-142; Alföldy 1963, 47-69.

⁶³ IDR III/1, 138, 138 a, 140; Moga/Benea 1979, 134, fig. 2; Piso/Benea 1999, 91-98, no. 3.

name of the divinity, is missing, but the space and the type of epigraphic monument allows us to assign it to IOMD), and a marble head of a god, with beard and wearing a tiara have been discovered. This statue head was already identified by D. Benea as Iupiter Dolichenus⁶⁴.

Also around this building, a century ago, the shrines built for Deus Aeternus⁶⁵ and probably, for IOMD⁶⁶ were brought to light, from which we discover that the town's flamen, Iulius Valentinus, dedicates, to the god, the monument for the health of his comrades in *contubernium*⁶⁷.

Another place of worship in which Hercules was venerated, presumably because of the narrative relief discovered in the civil settlement⁶⁸. This discovery suggests the existence of an edifice, the *aedes* of a college where, in addition to its own patron deities (*Genius*), deities of various origins were also worshiped. An eloquent example for supporting this hypothesis is offered by the presence of the *aedes Augustales*, archeologically researched in *Forum Vetus* of the *Colonia Sarmizegetusa*⁶⁹.

The problems of the cult edifices from the civil society is not yet satisfactorily solved; even if there are enough clues linked to the existence of such public constructions, their complete plan, the architecture and the sequence of the construction stages is far from being clear.

⁶⁴ Benea 2013, 301. After the statuary iconography that the supra-dimensioned head of the statue of Iupiter represents it can't be Dolichenus, because is not wearing the frigian bonet, and the hair loops that are hold together with a ribbon it is characteristic for the Roman-Greek deities and not for those of Oriental origin.

⁶⁵ CIL III 7996 = IDR III/1, 133 = Ardevan 1997, 119-129.

⁶⁶ By identifying Iuppiter Aeternus with Iupiter Dolichenus, the numerous *ex voto* dedicated to Aeternus in Dacia, in the *Apulum*, *Ampelum* and *Colonia Sarmizegetusa* centers, where the cult of Dolichenus was very popular (Nemeti 2005, 224-235, 352-366), are explained. For example, three inscriptions dedicated to Iupiter Aeternus in *Colonia Sarmizegetusa* were discovered along with a shrine dedicated to Dolichenus and with two statues representing eagles that hold an animal in their claws (Nemeti 2012, 83, note 30), a topic belonging to the Dolichenus imagery (Boda/Szabó 2011, 275-285; Nemeti 2012, 83, note 30).

⁶⁷ IDR III/1, 139 = Szabó 2007, 94-95, D 60 = Carbó García 2010, no. 196.

⁶⁸ Bărbulescu 1981, 455-460.

⁶⁹ Bărbulescu/Nemeş 1974-1975, 317-322; on *Forum Vetus* of the *Colonia Sarmizegetusa* see the monograph: Étienne/Piso/Diaconescu 2006.

Area sacra from Tibiscum cannot yet be spot out for now, the cult buildings documented archaeologically are scattered through the site.

We are looking forward, in the future, for a complex approach of the temples and theirs inventory, combined with an exhaustive analysis from the archaeological and architectural point of view, a mandatory one for those who study the religious life of a provincial town.

Illustrations

Map of *Tibiscum*-Jupa archaeological site, pointing the location of the monuments

Epigraphic documents: 1: Mars Augustus (IDR III/1, 144); 2: Silvanus Domesticus (IDR III/1, 146); 3: Minerva Augusta (IDR III/1, 184); 4: Bel (IDR III/1, 134); 5: Iupiter Optimus Maximus (IDR III/1, 138); 6: Minerva Augusta and *Genius Numerus Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium* (Timoc 2006, 277); 7: Ierhabol (IDR III/1, 137); 8: Malagbel (Piso 1983, 109, no. 5); 9: Iuppiter Conservator (IDR III/1, 138a); 10: Iupiter Optimus Maximus (Piso/Benea 1999, 97-98, no. 3); 11: *Genius Numerus Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium* and *Genius Horreorum* and *Dii Patrii* (IDR III/1, 136); 12: Sol Invictus Mithras? (IDR III/1, 147); 13: Malachbel (Piso 1983, p. 108, no. 4); 14: Liber Pater (Piso/Benea 1999, 91, nr. 1); 15: *Dii Patrii* (IDR III/1, 135); 16: Iupiter Optimus Maximus (IDR III/1, 140); 17: Liber Pater (IDR III/1, 181; Piso/Benea 1999, 96, no. 2).

Sculptural monuments: a: Head of a statue representing Iupiter (Benea 2003, 128); b: Danubian Riders (Nemeti/Ardeț 2013, 217-218); c: Danubian Riders (Moga 1972, 46, nr. 4); d: Danubian Riders (Vasinca 2009, 262-263, no. 31); e: Danubian Riders (Moga 1972, 40, no. 1); f: Danubian Riders (Vasinca 2009, 263, no. 33); g: *labrum* (Regep/Timoc 2000, 225); h: Venus terracotta (Benea/Bona 1994, 112); i: mould for a Venus terracotta (Benea/Bona 1994, 111), j. bas-relief of Iupiter (Moga/Benea 1979, 134, fig. 2).

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Beyond iconography. Notes on the cult of the Thracian Rider in Apulum

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Abstract. The article deals with an unpublished relief of the Thracian Rider, discovered on the territory of the conurbation of Apulum, presenting also the catalogue of the finds and some important features related to the cult. Interpreting the cult as part of religious individuation one can attest the «lived religion» of ancient people in the context of a Roman province.

Keywords: Dacia, Apulum, Thracian Rider, relief, Roman religion

Rezumat. Note despre cultul Cavalerului Trac la Apulum. În acest articol este tratată problema unui relief inedit al Cavalerului Trac, descoperit pe teritoriul aglomerării urbane de la Apulum. Este prezentat de asemenea catalogul pieselor cultice și câteva trăsături importante ale acestui cult. Interpretarea cultului ca parte a individualizării religioase în antichitate va deschide noi perspective asupra religiei romane «trăite» în context provincial.

Cuvinte cheie: Dacia, Apulum, Cavaler Trac, relief, religie romană

In this article I will present an unpublished relief of the so called Thracian Rider¹ from Apulum (Alba Iulia, Gyulafehérvár) emphasizing through this object and the repertory of this cult in the conurbation also some notable problems, which appears in the literature. The cult of the Thracian Rider can raise some questions regarding the problematic relation between ethnicity and religion, the dynamics and social network of the worshippers of Apulum and the, «lived» religion of the soldiers.

The find: description and iconographic features

¹ The conventional denomination of this iconographic type is a modern construction, which doesn't necessary reflect the ancient religious views on these objects or divinities.

The fragmentarily preserved limestone relief (cat. nr. 6) has the following dimensions: 25 cm length, 18 cm high. At the superior part, the thickness is between 8 and 10 cm. The fragment presents the left - upper part of the relief (Pl. I/2). On the left the relief is framed with an elaborated column. The *corona* is slightly decorated with two rectangular motives, the abacus and the necking is disproportionally emphasized. The superior part of the rectangular relief is unusually thin, a clue for the unepigraphic nature of the monument. The inner part represents the beautifully elaborated *chlamys* of the divinity, with carefully carved pleats. The form and dynamic shape of the *chlamys* suggest, that the horse and its rider are in movement. The head of the god is missing, however its form is clearly visible. The breakline follows the shape of the horse. The backside of the relief is rudimentary, without traces of elaboration, which indicates, that as the great majority of the reliefs dedicated to this divinity, was designed only for a frontal view (pl. I/1). Based on the analogies and on a hypothetical reconstruction, the original size of the relief could be between 35 cm x 40 cm. The relief has no inventory number, which makes impossible to establish the provenience of the monument.

The relief represented probably the Thracian rider in gallop walking or riding to the right, returning from the hunt, represented in a rectangular frame marked from both sides with columns. This type (Oppermann Ac²) is often associated with an altar and a snake - entwined tree (CCET IV 6, 7, 10, 11, 26, 27, 28, 45, 51, 58, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 71, 72, 108, 118, 124, 127, 135, 143, 173, 181), however there are analogies without these attributes (CCET IV - 102, 104, 128, 152, see fig. 4. for analogies)³. In some rare cases, the rider is represented in gallop or in a standing position in an *aedicula - naiskos* frame, associated with different divinities (CCET IV 37, 53, 88, 92, 93, 112, 117 - Oppermann Ae), although there are no analogies for this type in Dacia⁴. The majority of the representations of the Thracian Rider from Dacia - and from Apulum too - are belonging to the Oppermann B type, representing the Thracian Rider as a hunter with several attributes. The fragmentary state of the relief can't offer a more precise iconographic determination.

² About the typology and iconographic problems of the Rider, see Boteva 2011, 95-96.

³ I present only the analogies from Dacia and the Romanian part of Moesia Inferior (CCET IV).

⁴ About CCET IV, 139 and 150, see Nemeti 2000, 328. The interpretation of CCET IV 155 and 163 is also very problematic.

The Thracian Rider in Apulum: some reconsiderations

There was no comprehensive study on the cult of the Thracian rider in Apulum till now⁵. The numerous studies regarding the cult in Dacia – but generally, in the whole Empire – is stressfully focusing only on the iconographic features, neglecting numerous other aspects regarding the functionality, dynamics, workshops and dedicators of the *ex-votos*, analyzing the artifacts as agents in religious communication⁶. The recent studies on the dynamics of Roman visual culture, the role of the votive reliefs and statues (*signum*) abandoned the classical approach of the long, art historian tradition which focused on typology, iconography and sometimes, epigraphic details of these objects⁷. Recently, a semiotic approach and discourse appeared, which deals what is beyond the picture, the narrative and its phenomenological evolution. Introducing the theory of role identity of objects and the cognitive approach of the religious studies⁸, studying a Roman votive monument must consider the effect of an object on space and spatiality⁹, the relationship between object and owner or dedicator¹⁰, movements, rituals and «acting» with objects¹¹ or the visual / psychological role of votive dedications. In this new perspective, the study of the Thracian Rider must be reconsidered too. As Boteva already proved, the iconographic variations of the Thracian Rider represent not only local workshops, but a personalized narrative and religious choice of the worshipper¹². Every single *ex-voto* represents a sequence from an unknown mythological narrative, personalized and modified by the worshipper. It is not necessary to differentiate two types of narratives (representation effigy and representation narrative) as Boteva stated, based on the attributes or their absence on the relief: it could be more an individualized choice and

⁵ The cult and its monuments were mentioned shortly in some general works about the city: Popa 1975, 98; Ota 2012, 106.

⁶ On the rich bibliography of the Thracian Rider in Dacia, see BRRD II, 420-442. On the neglected aspects of the cult: Boteva 2011, 95.

⁷ About the historiography of this process, see Gordon 1996. For a new approach on votive offerings: McCarty 2015.

⁸ On role theory see Weiss 2012, 185-205; Hodder 2012.

⁹ Auffarth 2009, 307-316.

¹⁰ Mylonopoulos 2010, 1-19.

¹¹ Madigan 2013.

¹² Boteva 2011, 96-97.

sign of religious individuation¹³. Her analysis – however is the most comprehensive study till now on the visual material of the cult – doesn't deal with those neglected aspects which were mentioned by herself¹⁴. First of all, the representation of the Thracian Rider with a lyre, a Sabazios gesture or an egg must have a wider, more comprehensive narrative behind the presented sequence, which breaks the main groups of Boteva. However she mentions the importance of the dedicators / donors, her typology doesn't really change the traditionalist concepts which still focus exclusively on iconography¹⁵. An important aspect what she omits is the communication between dedicator / donor and divinity and the personal, intimate nature of this cult. The few number of the epigraphic monuments, the small size and the natural location of the sanctuaries in Thracia, the large number of funeral depictions, the great topographic variety of the finds and the small size of the ex-votos suggests, that this cult was a highly personalized, individualized cult¹⁶. It was inevitably influenced of course by the narratives and visual culture («knowledge»)¹⁷ of the small group – religions of that time¹⁸ and also by a strong, ethnic narrative of «being Thracian»¹⁹. The literature emphasize two aspects of the cult: it appears as a *par excellence* military and Thracian cult, a kind of *dii patrii* of the Thracian soldiers²⁰. The epigraphic evidence partially sustain these statements, however further studies should be more careful also with these aspects of the cult, which

¹³ Gordon 2015.

¹⁴ Boteva 2011, 97: «an exhaustive study of the votive plaques should investigate five different aspects: the syntax, semantics and pragmatics of the votive reliefs, their dedicators and their addressees».

¹⁵ Although one of the most important advantage of the iconographic typologies would be to identify the local and regional workshops and the economic dynamic of these, it has been never done for Dacia.

¹⁶ On religious individualization: Rüpke 2013; Woolf 2013, 137-138.

¹⁷ Gordon 1996, 7-8.

¹⁸ On the concept of group – religion in the Roman Empire: Rüpke 2004, 235-258; Rüpke 2007, 1-6, 113-126. On the common visual knowledge of the 2-3 rd centuries A.D. see: Faraone 2013.

¹⁹ On the Thracian nature of the cult and the ethnicity of it, see Boteva 2011, 99-100; Dana/Ricci 2014, 1-30.

²⁰ Pettazzoni named the cult of the Thracian Rider as «the expression of the most genuine national spirit» and considered it as the ancestor of the whole people, similarly to Dis Pater, as ancestor of the Gaulish nation: Pettazzoni 1954, 91.

seems to have broken its ethnic barrier and received a regional, extra-provincial and interethnic popularity²¹.

From the conurbation of Apulum with the recently identified monument, we know six reliefs and a statue representing the Thracian Rider (cat. nr. 1 - 7)²², most of the pieces coming from civilian context, from the *Colonia Aurelia Apulensis*, one of them probably was found in the *castra legionis* (cat. nr. 1.) and one in the *praetorium consularis* (cat. nr. 2.)²³. The topography of the finds shows a great variety, which could indicate a more complex social structure and dynamic of the worshippers. All of the monuments are small sized *ex votos*, none of them were found in the same spot, which exclude the possibility of a sanctuary²⁴. The divinity – or divinities – were worshiped in small, primary places, associated always with other gods, like in the proximity of the *thermae* in the *praetorium consularis*, where votive monuments of Minerva and Nemesis were found²⁵ or in the shrine and sacred district of Liber Pater, where monuments of numerous divinities - Serapis, Mithras, Hercules, Venus, Danubian Riders - were attested²⁶. The Thracian Rider appears numerous times in association with Liber Pater (CCET IV, 33, 34, 56, 92, 115) and in rural context, with Silvanus and Pan too (CCET IV 33)²⁷. The curious case of Philippi and other analogies from the Greek speaking world of the Empire show the coexistence of Liber Pater, Silvanus and the Thracian Rider²⁸. In all of these cases, the worship of the Thracian Rider is manifested in a modest, syncretistic manner in small sized rural shrines or urban, convivial halls. There is only one epigraphic monument from Apulum related to this cult (cat. nr.

²¹ On the epigraphic sources of the Thracians, see: Dana 2015. On the military dedications, see Boteva 2005, 199-210.

²² This number is higher than similar urban centers, as Aquincum or Carnuntum.

²³ Two other monuments (CCET IV 173, 174) from the Museum of Alba Iulia have an uncertain iconography, however could represent the Thracian Rider in funeral context. See also Nemeti 2003, 294-320.

²⁴ The existence of central workshops related to a sanctuary is highly possible in Dacia too. These centers – religious focus points and places of ritual density and intensification – could monopolize the spread of the portable *ex-votos* and votive souvenirs related to the so called small group religions.

²⁵ Cserni 1897, 47-48.

²⁶ IDR III/5, 370-372; Haynes 2005.

²⁷ See also a case study from Sălașu de Sus: Oltean 2007, 189. On the relationship between Liber Pater-Dionysos see Covacef 1978, 122-123.

²⁸ This phenomenon is mentioned even by Polycarp: Hartog 2002, 55-56.

7.) mentioning the name of a father and his son, Aurelius Taciturnus and Aurelius Tacitus²⁹. However they have a Latin name, the Greek text makes obvious that they came from a Greek speaking province of the Empire, possibly Asia Minor and Syria, as the Liber Pater community from the *Colonia Aurelia Apulensis* suggest³⁰. The small relief dedicated by Aurelius Tzolutus for Liber Pater sustains also the hypothesis, that, the presence of the Thracians, was dominant in this community³¹. The presence of the Thracians in Apulum is attested also in numerous other cases (IDR III/5, 156, 193, 383). As the dedications of Aurelius Renatus *miles legionis XIII Geminae* (IDR III/5, 236), Claudius Atteius Celer *veteranus legionis XIII Geminae* (IDR III/5, 240) or the *Cohors I Sagittariorum Tibiscensium* (IDR III/5, 371) show, the small group of the Liber Pater community was a mixed, civilian and military one, which dissolve the omnipresent discussion of «military contra civilian» narrative of the historiography³².

It is hard to establish the frequency, use and functionality of the small size ex-votos. We don't know, if they were portable or used in multiple, repetitive rituals or just one single time, but as we highlighted already, the unepigraphic nature of them, the context of the finds in syncretistic milieu and the personalized iconography of these reliefs prove obviously the more «private», intimate nature of these dedications.

²⁹ OPEL IV, 105.

³⁰ Schäfer 2004, 183. See also IDR III/5, 371.

³¹ IDR III/5, 245. The relief was found in 1868 during the building of the railway system in Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár) which cut the *Colonia Aurelia Apulensis*, probably affecting also the shrine of Liber Pater and its surroundings: Szabó 2016, 106-113.

³² IDR III/5, 558, 559. On the presence of the Thracian militaries in Dacia: Varga 2010, 110-111, Zahariade 2009. See also: Schäfer 2004, 180-181. In his important summary on the research priorities of religion in Roman Dacia, the author underline the importance of individualization within the process of colonization in Dacia, but mentioning also, that «scholars also did not take into account whether Roman soldiers or municipal dignitaries worshipped different gods from those worshipped by craftsmen and traders».

Catalogue of finds

1. Anepigraphic relief

Dimensions: 31,5 x 23, 5 x 3,5 cm. Place of discovery: *castra legionis*. Description: slightly trapezoid plaque in marble with a plain frame. The upper side is arched, the plaque is restored from two fragments. The superior side is damaged and the relief is worn. The Thracian Rider is galloping toward the right, presented in a rising position in the so called *benedictio Latina* position. His *chlamys* is beautifully carved, with undulating folds. Under the rider a dog hunting a rabbit. Bibliography: Cserni 1901, 219-221, Hampel 1903, 313-314 nr. 8, Hampel 1905, 5; Russu 1967, 99, nr. 24; CCET IV 138; Lupa 19330.

2. Anepigraphic relief

Dimensions: 17 x 14 x 5 cm. Place of discovery: *Praetorium consularis*. Description: rectangular marble plaque with a plain frame. The sides are damaged. The Thracian Rider in gallop with the spear in his right hand. Under the horse a hunting dog and a boar. In the right a female figure is represented. The tail of the horse is willed by a *camillus*. The relief is rudimentary elaborated. Bibliography: Cserni 1897, 47-48; Cserni 1901, 219-221, Hampel 1903, 313, nr. 7; Hampel 1905, 6-7; Russu 1967, 98, nr. 22; CCET IV 137; Lupa 19329.

3. Anepigraphic relief

Dimensions: 10 x 13 cm. Place of discovery: Kutyamál – probably the extra mural territory of the *Colonia Aurelia Apulensis*. Description: rectangular marble relief with a plain frame. Only the upper part has survived. The Thracian Rider is represented as a young person with a spear in his right hand and a *khitara* in the left. The head and headdress of the person have Apollonian features. Bibliography: Hampel 1905, 5, nr. 69; Russu 1967, 98, nr. 21; CCET IV 139.

4. Anepigraphic relief

Dimensions: 18 x 17,5 cm. Place of discovery: 1830, probably from the territory of the *Colonia Aurelia Apulensis*. Description: fragmentarily preserved relief. Only the inferior part of the short chiton and the horseman and a part of the horse is survived. Bibliography: ArchÉrt 25, 1905, 6, nr. 70; Russu 1967, 99, nr. 23; CCET IV 140.

5. Anepigraphic relief

Dimensions: 26 x 21 x 3,4 cm. Place of discovery: Dealul Furcilor, probably the territory of the *Municipium Septimium Apulense*. Description: fragmentary relief, the central part preserved. Due to the severely damaged nature of the

monument, it is impossible to reconstruct the form and shape of the relief. The Thracian Rider is in gallop toward the right side, under the horse a fragment from the dog is preserved. The belt of the horse is emphasized. Bibliography: Ciobanu/Gligor/Drîmbărean/ Rodean 2000, 318-319, nr. 3.d, fig. 11.

6. Anepigraphic relief

Dimensions: 25 x 18 x 8 cm. Place of discovery: unknown. Description: rectangular limestone relief, partially preserved. The carefully elaborated *chlamys* of the Thracian Rider is survived. The horseman is looking to the right side.

7. Statuette with inscription

Dimensions: 17 x 19,5 x 5 cm. Place of discovery: shrine of Liber Pater, *Colonia Aurelia Apulensis*. Description: fragmentary marble statuette (or *alto relievo*), representing the Thracian Rider in gallop, heading toward right. The belt of the horse is carefully presented, similarly to the cat. nr. 5. Under the horse a dog in hunt is represented, probably with a boar. The head of the Rider is missing. Bibliography: IDR III/5, 370.

Inscription: *Αυ(ρηλιος) Τακτιουρος κέ Αυ(ρηλιος)/ Τακτιουρ υιος*

Illustrations

Pl. I/1-2. The relief from Apulum (photo Cs. Szabó).

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Pl. I

Recent Reflections on the Cult of Mithras

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Abstract. The article deals with the recent interpretations of Mithraism, analyzing the ideas of two historians of religion who are very influential today, Richard Gordon and Roger Beck, in order to individualize the interpretative vein and the method of anthropologic extraction that has led to the current understanding of the Mithraic cult.

Keywords: Mithras, religion, astrology, anthropology, method.

Rezumat. Reflecții recente despre cultul lui Mithras. Acest articol tratează interpretările recente ale mithraismului, analizând ideile a doi istorici ai religiilor foarte influenți azi, Richard Gordon și Roger Beck, pentru a remarca curentul interpretativ care i-a influențat și metoda de inspirație antropologică care au condus la înțelegerea curentă a cultului mithraic.

Cuvinte cheie: Mithras, religie, astrologie, antropologie, metodă.

Today, like in the past, Mithraic studies are fashionable and almost a sub-discipline in the field of religious science. The interpretation of Mithraic reliefs, statues, and inscriptions owes much to Cumont's narrative, to the Persian/Iranian referents and to the symbolic-allegoric language of the personifications. Starting from an older idea that K. B. Starck formulated in 1869¹, specialists have noted the similarities between the Mithraic icon, the bull-slaying scene, and ancient Uranography: Mithras, the bull, the dog, the snake, the scorpion, the raven, the Dadophores, the krater, the lion, and the grain ear are the Equatorial constellations and the southern *paranatellonta* (the constellations located immediately south of the line of the Celestial Equator): Perseus / Orion, Taurus, Canis Minor, Hydra, Scorpius,

¹ Starck 1869, 1-25.

Corvus, Gemini, Crater, Leo, and Spica (Alpha Virginis)². During the 1980s-1990s it was fashionable for one to gloss on the margin of this astral image carved on the reliefs that came to explain a Mithraic astrologizing theology that envisages the taurochtony icon as a celestial *via salutis*. Several decades have passed since the hypotheses expressed by Stanley Insler³, David Ullasney⁴, Roger Beck⁵, Michael Speidel⁶ and others⁷, but few relevant new artifacts have been found since and few remarkable explanations and interpretations have been formulated.

Among the artifacts one can mention the pot from Mainz, discovered in 1976 and published only in 1994, a vessel with relief figures that depicts seven characters engaged in a ritual that remains unknown, a ritual used by the Mithraic communities on the Rhine during 120-140 AD⁸. Another exceptional discovery is a bronze plaque (*album*) from Virunum (Klagenfurt, Austria) that contains 98 anthroponyms (names of members of the local Mithraic community in 183-201 AD). 34 of the 98 mentioned names are those of people who paid for the rebuilding of the sanctuary in 183 A.D. On June 26th 184 A.D. the Mithraists from this sanctuary in Virunum gathered on the occasion of the death of several adepts (*mortalitatis causa convenerunt*). The other names in the *album* are those of people from the annual cohorts of new members from the period between 184 and 201 A.D.⁹. The discovery of the Mithraeum in Tienen (Belgium) was important for the knowledge of the interior design of a sacred area and its ritual equipment¹⁰.

Various interpretative approaches have contributed with new elements to the understanding the cults of Mithras and the Mithraic ritual in the Roman Empire. One should mention the contributions of Walter Burkert¹¹, Reinhold Merkelbach¹², Manfred Clauss¹³, Jaime

² Speidel 1980, 1-18; Beck 1988, 20-21; Ullasney 1989, 15-39, 44-66.

³ Insler 1978, 519-538.

⁴ Ullasney 1989.

⁵ Beck 1988.

⁶ Speidel 1980.

⁷ Beck 1984, 2081-2083.

⁸ Horn 1994, 21-66; Beck 2004, 9-10.

⁹ Beck 1998, 335-344.

¹⁰ Martens 2004; Martens 2004 a.

¹¹ Burkert 1992.

¹² Merkelbach 1984.

¹³ Clauss 2001.

Alvar¹⁴, Attilio Mastrocinque¹⁵ etc. I shall not insist on these works, as their conclusions start from the traditional methods of the archaeologists and historians of Classical Antiquity (either Claus's «out fashioned Empiricism», Burkert's phenomenological comparativism, or Alvar's sociologizing explanations)¹⁶.

I shall rather discuss the recent interpretations of two *patri patrum* of the Mithraic sub-discipline, two historians of religion who are very influential today, i.e. Richard Gordon and Roger Beck, in order to individualize the interpretative vein and the method of anthropologic extraction that has led to the current understanding of the Mithraic cult. Both Richard Gordon's pioneering article *Reality, Evocation, and Boundary in the Mysteries of Mithras* (1980)¹⁷ and Roger Beck's recent synthesis work entitled *The Religion of the Mithras Cult in the Roman Empire. Mysteries of the Unconquered Sun* (2006)¹⁸ pay tribute, in their interpretation, to the methodological direction inaugurated by Clifford Geertz, American reformer of Cultural Studies, with the publication of his work *The Interpretation of Cultures* (1973)¹⁹.

The 1980s marked for Mithraic studies the abandonment of Cumontian narration and authors publishing during this period were very innovative in their interpretations. Giving up the unique reference field – the Old Persian religion – and revealing the existence of two other reference fields of the Mithraists (at least equally important as the one suggested by Franz Cumont) are mostly due to R. Gordon and R. Beck.

Applying Clifford Geertz's «thick description» method, Richard Gordon analyzed the structure of the Mithraic grades in connection to the generalized «encyclopedic knowledge» of the Greek and Roman world, the sum of knowledge in the area where the Mithraic cult appeared and developed. The author noted how much the structure of the hierarchy of grades owes to the popular Greek-Roman culture, the *encyclopedia* of that era. He explained this through the fact that in order to attract interest the new religions and cults were forced to elaborate

¹⁴ Alvar 2008.

¹⁵ Mastrocinque 1998.

¹⁶ Beck 2004, 4-5, 14-17.

¹⁷ Gordon 1980.

¹⁸ Beck 2006.

¹⁹ Geertz 1973.

postulates that might seem absurd to the environment in which they propagated. Thus, there was an issue of validation that determined the need to connect to a pre-existing field of reference, a cultural *agreement* on what must be considered real and what must not be considered so. The more absurd the postulates of the cult, the more real must the references to the «real» world be in order to persuade the possible adepts. In order to elaborate a self-sufficient network of symbolic meanings (as each symbol was explained by reference to another from the same set), the new cults had to cannibalize an entire series of common and trivial beliefs from the society in which they existed. Otherwise they would have disappeared or would have been restricted to a handful of adepts²⁰. Clifford Geertz, following Max Weber, believed that man is an animal suspended in certain networks of meaning that he had woven himself and defined religion as «a system of symbols which acts to establish powerful, pervasive and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by formulating conceptions of general order of existence and clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the moods and motivations seemed uniquely realistic»²¹.

Analyzing the hierarchy of the grades in Mithraic mysteries from this perspective, Richard Gordon observed that the *absurdity* of some of the grades – Corax, Leo – can be understood by analyzing the structural homologies between the role that such grades played in the economy of the cult and the opinions on the actual ravens and lions as members of the natural kingdom inside the Greek-Roman «encyclopedic knowledge». Gordon's investigation reveals the way in which the entire network of Mithraic symbols, far from being Old Persian allegories and borrowings, was in fact connected to the Greek-Roman world and thus formed an essential reference field for the Mithraism of the Imperial Era²².

Another reference field perceived by modern people and fundamental for the understanding of ancient Mithraic mysteries is the sum of astrological knowledge. The symbolic language in which the constellations are represented as characters of the taurochtonic icon is defined as «star talk». Extra information – groups of altars and ritual objects, characters of the Aïon – Kronos type, zodiac signs, and busts of the planetary gods – open the path to deciphering these symbolic codes and the messages hidden inside them by connection to the structure of

²⁰ Gordon 1980, 22-23.

²¹ Geertz 1973, 90.

²² Gordon 1980, 25-64.

the grades and the patronage of the planets over them. Such decipherings must lead to isolating certain soteriological messages regarding the astral journey of the initiate's soul into post-existence, along Celsus's planetary ladder²³. Due to the high number of possible combinations of the astronomical data and the ambiguous symbolism of the image in general, it is hard to say to what degree this is positive science and where does the astrologizing mumbo-jumbo begin.

In my opinion, Roger Beck's exceptional book *Planetary Gods and Planetary Orders in the Mysteries of Mithras* published in 1988²⁴ remains essential to the understanding of the «star-talk» in Mithraism.

R. Beck's most recent synthesis work²⁵, entitled *The Religions of the Mithras Cult*, is declaredly oriented towards applying Clifford Geertz's anthropological method in the study of the Mithraic cult in order to reconstitute the theological aspects of Mithraism to modern knowledge. The author accepts the fact that «thick description» cannot be applied to reading the Mithraic icon, but that it is useful in understanding the written texts, the ground plan of the sanctuaries, and the structure of the initiation grades²⁶. As privileged gateway Beck chose Porphyrius's text *De antro Nympharum*, 29, that contains the list of the main Mithraic oppositions and tried to formulate the ultimate sacred «axioms» or postulates of Mithraism, in the style of Shema Israel or the Christian «Christ is Lord». He only suggested two *axioms*:

1) *Deus Sol Invictus Mithras* (in the sense that the god's ritual title and the consecrated dedicatory formula establish the fact that the divine power in the center of this cult is a god, i.e. the Sun, is undefeated, and is called Mithras, and

2) «Harmony of tension in opposition», in Porphyrius, *De antro*, 29 who takes over one of Heraclit's expressions (Fr. 51 DK), an axiom that is iconographically expressed through the image of Mithras as archer from the pot from Mainz, where a *pater* imitates Mithras's gesture of shooting an arrow while sitting during the ritual of initiation²⁷.

After enumerating certain oppositions (mortal - immortal, south- north, left -right, night - day) Porphyrius stated, literally, that *καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παλίντονος ἡ ἄρμονία καὶ τοξεύει διὰ τῶν ἐναντίων* / thus

²³ Beck 1988; Beck 2006, 153-256.

²⁴ Beck 1988.

²⁵ See also the reviews of Edwell 2006 and Tommasi Moreschini 2010, 107-113.

²⁶ Beck 2006, 67-71.

²⁷ Beck 2006, 5-6.

«harmony is made of oppositions and is reached through opposites»²⁸. I do not believe that Porphyrius's Platonizing allegory held a central place in the Mithraic doctrine and I rather envisage this choice as a simple personal preference on the part of Roger Beck.

The effort of dealing with the Mithraic cult from an anthropological perspective also triggers one comparison outside the sphere of ancient religiosity. Beck compared Mithraism, irrelevantly so in my opinion, to the religion of the Chamula population in the Chiapas Plateau of Mexico, a religion he saw as a syncretism mix of «Maya» solar cult and Christianity²⁹.

As for the third field of reference, Beck broke with Cumont, as for the latter Mithraism was the Roman form of Mazdeanism and preferred to interpret the Iranian elements encountered in Roman Mithraism rather as a *Perserie* (an imitated Persianism, built by the founders of the mysteries)³⁰.

The purpose of analyzing these more or less recent reflections of the two above mentioned historians of religions (who are currently among the most entitled people in the world to understand and interpret Mithraic mysteries) was to stress the fact, noted by Beck as well, that Mithraic studies have reached a dead end. After Cumont's great challenge set in the end of the XIXth century and the beginning of the 20th century and the late, coordinated reply of the representatives of the astrologizing direction during the 1970s-1980s, nothing significant has been produced in the beginning of the twenty first century. All means of analysis of the reference fields – Iranian religion, the Greek-Roman cultural environment, and ancient astronomy and astrology – have been explored and exhausted. The great explanations that privilege the Old Persian religion or the astrological constructs are now out dated³¹ and one notes a return to Empiricism, positivism, and sociological approaches. Richard Gordon and Roger Beck are exceptions, attempting to break this blockage by turning to the methods of American Cultural Anthropology.

²⁸ Beck 2006, 83, renders the same fragment thus: «And so there is a tension of harmony in opposition / and it shoots from the bowstring through opposites».

²⁹ Beck 2006, 77-81.

³⁰ Beck 2006, 28-30.

³¹ Recently Faraone 2013, 96-116, has tried to establish a connection between the Mithras bull-slaying scene and the amulets against the evil-eye with the image of «all-suffering eye».

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Relationship of temples of Deus Invictus Serapis at Sarmizegetusa and of Apollo at Tibiscum with Emperor Caracalla

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Abstract. The autor is proposing another reconstruction of the building inscription of the temple of Deus Invictus Serapis from Sarmizegetusa, dating it more precisely than I. Piso did (212-217), in AD 213, before 8 October, using as main analogies the three construction plaques from Porolissum. At the same time he links this inscription with one raised as well for Apollo and Caracalla in the shrine from Tibiscum, considering both raised at the same time under the governor L. Marius Perpetuus. He proposes, based on epigraphic evidence, a visit of Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Geta at Tibiscum and Sarmizegetusa in AD 202 on their journey back from Orient and Egypt, even not recorded in the written sources. Then he discusses the journey of Caracalla along the Danube going to Orient in AD 213. The author's conclusion is he had not enough time from 8 October when finished the *expeditio Germanica* to 17 December 213 when attested already at Nicomedia to travel across Dacia till Porolissum. The only acceptable trip is at Drobeta and possible to the *fanum* of Apollo at Tibiscum. All this inscriptions from 213 do not prove Caracalla's visit in Dacia, but the province's desire to get the same benefits as Pannonia and Moesia and the willing of the communities and military units to have the emperor in their places to get advantages. That was the reason everywhere in Dacia were made great preparations expecting the imperial tour, which for many never came.

Keywords: Dacia, Serapis, Apollo, temples, Caracalla

Rezumat. Templele lui Deus Invictus Serapis la Sarmizegetusa și Apollo la Tibiscum și împăratul Caracalla. Autorul propune o altă întregire a inscripției de construcție a templului lui Deus Invictus Serapis de la Sarmizegetusa, datând-o mai precis decât I. Piso (în 212-217), adică în 213 p. Chr., înainte de 8 octombrie, folosind ca analogii trei plăci de construcție de la Porolissum. În același timp, această inscripție este pusă în legătură cu cea dedicată lui Apollo și Caracalla în templul de la Tibiscum, considerând că ambele au fost dedicate în

aceiași timp, sub guvernatorul L. Marius Perpetuus. Pe baza documentației epigrafice, autorul propune o vizită a lui Septimius Severus, Caracalla și Geta la Tibiscum și Sarmizegetusa în 202 p. Chr, chiar dacă aceasta nu este menționată de sursele scrise. Apoi discută călătoria lui Caracalla la Dunăre în 213 p. Chr., în timp ce mergea spre Orient. Concluzia autorului este că nu a avut timp suficient pentru a traversa Dacia până la Porolissum, de la 8 octombrie când s-a încheiat *expeditio Germanica* până la 17 decembrie 213, când este prezent la Nicomedia. Singura călătorie acceptabilă este la Drobeta și posibil până la *fanum*-ul lui Apollo de la Tibiscum. Toate inscripțiile din 213 nu dovedesc faptul că împăratul a vizitat Dacia, ci dorința provincialilor din Dacia de a primi aceleași privilegii ca cei din Pannonia și Moesia și disponibilitatea comunităților și soldaților de a-l primi pe împărat pentru a obține avantaje. Pentru acest motiv, peste tot în Dacia, au fost făcute pregătiri masive în așteptarea vizitei imperiale, care pentru mulți nu s-a mai petrecut.

Cuvinte cheie: Dacia, Serapis, Apollo, temple, Caracalla

Most of the inscriptions dedicated to Serapis and Isis known from colonia Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa in Dacia come from an area belonging to a complex of buildings conventionally named *praetorium procuratoris*, where was the headquarters and private residence of the financial procurator (also *agens vice praesidis* in case the consular governor from Apulum was missing, or was unable to govern) of the province Dacia Apulensis after the reforms of Marcus Aurelius¹. The complex was situated in one, or more *insulae*, having access from *cardo maximus* and being bordered on two sides by two military type granaries² (Pl. I). It is composed of a living area, two baths blocks and a huge open space, considered to be an *area sacra*, due to many votive inscriptions found. Inside the *area sacra* it is supposed it have existed also some small shrines, some being related with the imperial cult³.

¹ For its earlier history when probably was the *praetorium consularis Daciae*, see Opreanu 2010, 49-53, fig. 8.

² Alicu/Paki 1995, 20. For the *horrea*, good analogies in Britain at Corbridge, Birrens and especially at Chesters and Inchtuthil, being placed near the gates (cf. Rickman 1971, 235, fig. 42, 45, 46), the military granaries from Hispania (Salido Dominguez 2009) and in the legionary fortress at Lambaesis very similar as position and plan with those at Sarmizegetusa (Papi/Martorella 2007, 173-174, Fig. 2-3).

³ Piso 1998, 253, Abb. 1.

One of this was identified as a *Serapeum*. The main evidence is a fragmentary marble inscription (Pl. II/1). The attempts to reconstruct the text gradually developed as the five fragments were discovered and correlated along almost a century. The fragments are kept in the Lugoj Museum, Sighișoara Museum and Sarmizegetusa Museum⁴. It is the merit of I. Piso⁵ to stick together old fragments with new identified ones. Here is the reconstructed text proposed by him:

[*Invicto Deo Sera*]pidi
 et Is[idi frugi]ferae pro salute
 atque incolumitate Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris)
 M(arci) [A]jurel(ii) Antonini [p]ii felicis
 [Aug(usti)] Part(hici) max(imi) [Part(hici) sive Britt(anici) max(imi)]
 Britt(anici) max(imi)
 [..... A]jug(?usti) [...]
 [---]

The formula *Invicto Deo Serapidi*, even known from another inscription at Sarmizegetusa⁶, in this case it is more probable to be *Deo Invicto Serapidi*, as we will show bellow. In the second row to the more frequent epithet *Regina* was preferred *Frugifera*. It is recorded on a stone disc from Museo Capitolini, discovered in Rome, being initially placed in the church of S. Maria in Aracoeli where for-sure arrived from the *Capitolium*⁷. Follows the wish often used for the emperors *pro salute et incolumitate*. Rows 3 and 4 are very well-preserved, present no problem to identify the name of Caracalla. A real problem of Piso's version exists in the middle of the 5th row, where the stone is broken. The row starts with the title of *Part(hicus) Max(imus)*, while at its very end it is easy to read *Britt(annicus) (sic!) Max(imus)*⁸. Piso, with no explanation filled in the gap by a second *Parthicus Maximus*, or a second *Brittannicus Maximus*, as he noticed the upper half of a P, or B⁹ was visible at the beginning of the gap. It seems he thought to a mistake of the man who

⁴ Cristea/Tecar 2010, 275, nr. 21.

⁵ Piso 1998, nr. 1, Abb. 2-3.

⁶ IDR III/2, 331; AE 1930, 134.

⁷ CIL VI 351 = ILS 4354.

⁸ The double «b» seems like the man who cut the text in stone was more familiar with the ethnical name *Brittoni* than *Britanni* and their forms used mainly in the titles of the auxiliary units.

⁹ Piso 1998, 256.

executed the writing. Such a mistake is not at all plausible in the titles of the emperor.

The other title known from Caracalla's reign is *Germanicus Maximus*, but as it received it last, with no exception it is placed in inscriptions after *Britannicus Maximus*¹⁰. It was not in the 6th row, as Piso probably believed. The evidence and the solution are offered by other well-known building inscriptions of Caracalla from Porolissum. It is about the three identical inscriptions¹¹ (Pl. III) mentioning a work, probably the gates of the fort, or the whole curtain wall, even not specified in the text. In the two intact plaques the title of *Germanicus Maximus* does not appear. After the title of *Particus Maximus* and before the *Britannicus Maximus* is the title of *pontifex maximus*. The upper part of a P, which is the first letter of the missing word, is obviously in Piso's drawing. So, it is sure the title of *pontifex maximus* was in the gap. This anomalously appears also in an inscription from Intercisa¹². Follow in the inscriptions at Porolissum *trib(unicia) pot(estate) XVI, imp(erator) II, co(n)sul III, p(ater) p(atriciae) proco(n)s(ul)*. The same titles can be considered for the inscription from Sarmizegetusa too. The only small difference is the abbreviation *trib(uniciae) potes(tatis)*, variant also existing on one of the inscriptions for Caracalla from Porolissum¹³.

Our (Pl. II/2) new reconstruction is:

[Deo Invicto Sera]pidi
 et Is[idi frugi]ferae pro salute
 atque incolumitate Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris)
 M(arci) [A]urel(ii) Antonini [p]ii felicis
 [Aug(usti)] Part(hici) Max(im)i p[ontif(icis) max(im)i] Britt(annici) Max(im)i
 [trib(uniciae) potes(at)is] XVI imp(eratoris) II co(n)s(ulis) III p(ater) p(atriciae)
 proco(n)s(ulis) et
 ?Iuliae Piae Aug(ustae) Matris Castrorum
 ac patriae templum?...]]

It seems the inscriptions from Porolissum and Sarmizegetusa have the same dating. But Piso dated the inscription from Sarmizegetusa wide, between 212-217, as his reconstruction is wrong.

¹⁰ As he got the title of *Britannicus Maximus* in 209 (cf. Kneissl 1969, 151).

¹¹ Macrea 1957, 222-226, fig. 2-3.

¹² AE 1971, 334.

¹³ Tóth 1978, nr. 9.

Trying to establish a finest chronology we need to get first a deeper insight into the sources concerning Caracalla's actions. In AD 212 the emperor was in Rome. He killed Geta between 17 December 211 and 7 January 212¹⁴. A period of terror followed in Rome and in the provinces, 20 000 people being killed, as Cassius Dio recorded¹⁵. Sometime during the spring of 213 Caracalla left Rome for Gaul. In Gallia Narbonensis the milestones near Nice were raised between 1 January-6 October 213¹⁶ and the governor of the province was put to death by Caracalla¹⁷. From here, he followed the Rhone valley towards Upper Germany reaching Mogontiacum (Mainz) on the Rhine, the traditional Roman operation base in *Barbaricum*. Then he stopped at Aquae (Baden-Baden) and in the fort at Abusina (Eining)¹⁸. *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* recorded that in 11 August 213 the emperor arrived at the frontier of Raetia and crossed it in *Barbaricum*¹⁹. The same source mentions that at 8 October 213 in Rome, on the *Capitolium* was hailed the *Victoria Germanica* of Caracalla²⁰. M. Macrea dated the construction inscriptions at Porolissum before 6 October 213 because of the missing of the title *Germanicus Maximus* and *imperator III*²¹. Recently, F. Marcu, without any footnote, dated the inscriptions at the end of 213 and in 214, which is not possible²². Long time ago, J. Fitz made the observation that the inscriptions dedicated to Caracalla from the first half of the year 213 do not contain the title of *proconsul*, which in his opinion means that the emperor was still in Rome²³. In this respect the inscriptions from Porolissum and the moment when the works were finished can be placed in the second half of 213, but no later than 8 October.

But how can we be sure the inscription from Sarmizegetusa has the same chronology? The main argument is the missing of the title *Germanicus Maximus* and the same position in the text of title *pontifex maximus*. It is known Caracalla's relation with the cult of Serapis who

¹⁴ Królczyk 2011, footnote 6 with bibliography.

¹⁵ Cassius Dio, LXXVII, 4, 1.

¹⁶ Królczyk 2011, 210.

¹⁷ SHA, Caracalla 5. 1: *Narbonensem proconsulem occidit...*

¹⁸ Królczyk 2011, 211.

¹⁹ Scheid 1998 Fr. 99 a: *...per litem Raetiae ad hostes extirpandos barbarorum terram introiturus est...*

²⁰ Scheid 1998 Fr. 99 a: *...ob salutem victoriamque Germanicam...*

²¹ Macrea 1957, 224.

²² Marcu 2011, 128.

²³ Fitz 1966, 202 who mentions the inscription CIL XI 2086 = ILS 451, dating 3 May 213.

became strongly linked with the imperial cult²⁴. That was the reason many officials of the Roman army and administration raised inscriptions to Serapis and Isis (identified with Iulia Domna) and wishing health, or something else to the emperor and his mother. These proves of loyalty are frequent after the death of Geta (february 212) and the arrival in Oriental expedition (beginning of 214). The best analogy for the inscription at Sarmizegetusa comes from Carnuntum. It is a fragmentary monumental limestone inscription found occasionally in 1979 in the field at Bruck an der Leitha²⁵ (Pl. IV/3). The first row was reconstructed [*Deo Invicto*] *Sarapidi et [Isidi Reginae]*. Formula *Deo Invicto* can be found in an inscription dedicated to Serapis and Caracalla from Pannonia at Nyergesújfalu (Crumerum)²⁶ (Pl. IV/2). For this reason, being inscriptions dedicated to the emperor as well and being more official, we prefer it also for the inscription at Sarmizegetusa, instead of more colloquial *Invicto Deo*. The reason of the imperial dedication at Carnuntum is [*pro salute Victoria et in*] *columitate*. The choose of *Victoria* in the reconstruction is based on the existing in the preserved fragment of the title *Germanicus Maximus*. At Sarmizegetusa the formula is only *pro salute atque incolumitate*, the missing of *Victoria* fitting very well with the missing of title *Germanicus Maximus*. In the Carnuntum epigraph it is sure the last title is *Ger(manicus) Max(imus)*, as it is followed by *pont(ifex) max(imus)*. The chronology of the inscription from Carnuntum is sure after 8 October 213. The inscription at Sarmizegetusa is earlier, before 8 October 213. The 7th row of our reconstruction is supposing the mention of *Iulia Pia Augusta Mater castrorum ac patriae*. We have the right to think she was also honored by the inscription not only because Serapis is accompanied by Isis in the inscription, but also because the same situation is recorded by the inscription from Carnuntum. Finally, it is the same inscription which suggests the inscription at Sarmizegetusa was also a construction inscription of a *templum*. The verb explaining the action could have been *fecit*, as in the inscriptions from Porolissum, or an earlier construction inscription from Sarmizegetusa of Septimius Severus and sons, without anybody else from the provincial staff added, or *restituere*, as at Carnuntum. The financial procurator of Dacia Apulensis, or the provincial governor were, probably, the dedicants of

²⁴ Cassius Dio, LXXVII, 15, 5; Mráv 2000, 83-88.

²⁵ Bricault/Veymiers 2014, 173, 613/0703.

²⁶ RIU 3 753; AE 1962, 40; Mráv 2000, 81, Abb. 11/2.

the epigraph. Piso is thinking that could be an unknown procurator²⁷. Taking into account our new chronology of the inscription the governor of the three Dacias in charge that moment was, probably, L. Marius Perpetuus²⁸. It does not matter if himself was or was not the dedicant of the inscription and of the temple, but the action was sure a political-propagandistic action destined to send a message of loyalty and support from the highest command of Dacia. The same is attested in an inscription from Iaz, near Tibiscum, dedicated to *Apollo Conservator Maximus Sanctissimus* and to Caracalla²⁹ (Pl. V/2). Being well-known also the great importance of Apollo for the destine of the emperor³⁰, the dedication of the governor is not an ordinary votive action, but a political one proving his loyalty to the emperor³¹, just in case he will visit the sanctuary, as did at Phoebiana (Eining) on the Raetian *limes* where he started the *expeditio Germanica* in 11 August 213, choosing this place

²⁷ I. Piso is believing that only a financial procurator was able to build a temple in his *praetorium* and he reconstructs a fragmentary inscription in Greek, considered as the construction inscription of the temple of Serapis (Piso 1998, 258, Abb. 4; 5), where he thinks can read in the 2nd row a name Κα[σ]σιος ΑΛ[...] dated, with no serious evidence, in AD 212-217 (Piso 2013, 207, nr. 98 a). More, this name is unknown between the Roman knights. Anyway the reconstruction is not convincing. Even we accept in the 2nd row was the name of the dedicant, the reconstruction Cassius is not the only possibility. It can be as well Caesidius (second part of the word being more damaged than Piso would have been wished, see his photo) an attested procurator who put an inscription to Serapis (IDR III/2, 331). Piso dated him in 230?-235? only because that was the period empty in his list (Piso 2013, 226-227, nr. 101). In our opinion the inscription to Deus Invictus Serapis and Isis is the construction inscription of the temple and not the fragmentary Greek one. The Latin inscription is surely dated in 213, before 8 October, so it is hard to believe the Greek one can be earlier (first months of 213?). So the office of a so-called Cassius Al... doesn't seem real in this period.

²⁸ Piso 1993, 169-177, nr. 38 placed him as governor between 212/213-215. The only well datable inscription is that from Napoca (AÉ 1960, 226) from 214, based on the consuls.

²⁹ Piso/Rogozea 1985, 214-217, nr. 2, Abb. 2.

³⁰ The visiting of the oracle of Apollo Clarius by Caracalla in 213, as E. Birley proposed, is possible only if it happened by intermediary, the emperor being impossible to be present in Asia Minor that year before 17 December. The 11 inscriptions all over the Empire mentioning *dis deabusque secundum interpretationem oraculi Clarii Apollinis* could be from Caracalla's time (even it is not the only possibility) referring to an imperial consultation of the oracle (See: Nemeti 2012, 420).

³¹ The connection of the temple of Apollo Clarius from Sagalassos with the imperial cult, at Talloen/ Waelkens 2004; Talloen/Waelkens 2005.

probably because here was the temple of Apollo Grannus³², where he probably had prayed.

The similitude with the action of rebuilding the temple in Carnuntum and the standardization of the texts are evidences of this idea. It seems that also the strange text of the three building inscriptions from Porolissum were composed in the circle of the governor and his staff. They have similitudes with the epigraph from Sarmizegetusa in the writing of the emperor's titles as we have seen and also avoid mentioning any provincial high clerk and any military unit, which is unusual for the building inscriptions. Maybe the text was sent to Porolissum as was written in the inscription and nobody from the staff of Dacia Porolissensis, or the commanders of the military units didn't dare to add the name of the local procurator and of the auxiliary unit which worked, in a suspicious and confuse atmosphere after Geta's death.

The inscriptions raised in 213, mainly the inscriptions from Porolissum and now the one from Sarmizegetusa and Tibiscum, were usually interpreted by the researchers in the context of the visit of Caracalla in Dacia. Ancient written sources mention a visit of the emperor Caracalla in Dacia while he was ready to leave Danube frontier for the Oriental expedition. *Historia Augusta* is recording that Caracalla: *Dein ad Orientem profectionem parans omissio itinere in Daciam resedit*³³. So he had no intention to go to Dacia, which was not on his way, but at a moment (we do not know exactly where was his location) something happened in Dacia (we do not know what) as he decided to change his route (*omisso itinere*) and go to Dacia, if we believe the text of *Historia Augusta* is precise. Cassius Dio is writing that the emperor arrived in Thrace, being not any more concerned about Dacia and crossed, not without danger, the Helespontus³⁴. This source says only that he was at a moment concerned about Dacia (not necessary he travelled inside the province) and it is pointed the last European segment of his journey. Obviously he arrived in Thrace leaving one of the Danube's fortresses, as Novae, for example. The third source, Herodianus, is only mentioning that the emperor inspected the forts along the Danube, before arriving in Thrace, which in our opinion supports he passed through the fortresses

³² Cassius Dio, LXXVIII, 15, 6; Królczyk 2011, 207.

³³ SHA, Vita Caracallae, 5, 4.

³⁴ Cassius Dio, LXXVII, 16, 7.

of Moesia Inferior at least till Novae³⁵. In conclusion, only *Historia Augusta* explicitly recorded a visit in Dacia, the others being more evasive. But the most relevant epigraphic document to our discussion is the new fragment from *Acta Fratrum Aroalium* which attests the presence of Caracalla in his winter headquarters at Nicomedia as early as 17 December 213³⁶ and not only in the next winter as was supposed before. In conclusion, Caracalla travelled from the frontier of Raetia to Nicomedia between 8 October and 17 January 213. Now the question is if in that period of approximately two months there is room for a travel from the Danube till Northern Dacia, at Porolissum and back and then to Thrace and Nicomedia. In this new light year 214 is out of discussion. It seems the emperor was at Aquincum and Intercisa, but a direct crossing of the Hungarian plain to Porolissum from Aquincum is less probable. The rainy days of November and the dangerous crossing through the Iazyges territories exclude in our opinion such a possibility. So the only reasonable variant remains a travel from Drobeta along the imperial road to inner Dacia.

Very useful in our attempt to reconstruct Caracalla's journey through Danubian provinces towards Asia Minor from 213 is the information we have concerning another travel of the imperial family in 202 when Septimius Severus and sons were travelling back from Orient and Egypt crossing Moesia and Pannonia³⁷. The emperor was directing to Carnuntum to feast at 9 April 202 his ten years of reign, inaugurating on his way many roads, bridges, public and religious buildings³⁸. He passed Augusta Traiana in Thrace and then from Philippopolis crossed Haemus Mountains to Nicopolis ad Istrum, recently transferred in Lower Moesia. It is not sure he continued the journey along the Danube, but there is good reason to consider he visited Novae, as legio I Italica was the first unit acting against Pescennius Niger who controlled the Bosphorus. Next information we have is that he arrived in 18 March 202 at Sirmium, then continued to the North on the Danube, passing Intercisa³⁹ and very probable Aquincum and finally Carnuntum, both getting from the emperor the status of *colonia*⁴⁰. As also Drobeta was

³⁵ Herodian, IV, 8, 1.

³⁶ Scheid 1998, Fr. 99 b, 445.

³⁷ Herodian, III, 10, 1.

³⁸ CAH 2005, 247.

³⁹ CAH 2005, 247-248.

⁴⁰ Mráv 2013, 213-216.

granted with the rank of *colonia* between 198-209⁴¹, it is very probable this event happened during Severus journey from 202. That means it is realistic to think he came from Novae on the Danube to Drobeta. Another inscription from Iaz-Tibiscum⁴² (Pl. V/1) dedicated to Apollo is *pro salute dominorum nostrorum* Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Geta and the governor of the three Dacias L. Octavius Iulianus, dating between 200-202⁴³. At Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa a construction plaque found in the first half of the 19th century at Nopcea manor from Zam, today in the museum from Deva (Romania), records the names of emperors Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Geta in Nominative case, followed only by the verb «*fecerunt*» and it was dated between 200-209⁴⁴. Usually, when in inscriptions the name of the emperor is in Nominative case, it is considered as a sign of his direct interest, or that the work was done at his order and those who executed the work were in tight connection with him⁴⁵. It is very plausible that the building was inaugurated in 202. Even not recorded in the written sources a journey of Septimius Severus from Drobeta to Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa has logic⁴⁶. It is highly probable that ten years later, in 213 Caracalla reconstruct on the other direction the itinerary done together with his father. It had the same reasons to do this: he needed political support of the army and communities from the provinces after dubious death of Geta and was marching along the military roads of the Danubian provinces gathering troops from the legions which were loyal to his father. We can guess that while still in Pannonia, probably around the beginning of November 213 (maybe at Sirmium), something happened concerning Dacia and he decided to action. He had to pass Singidunum and maybe Viminacium before arriving in Drobeta. That means he was already in Dacia. The question is if he resolved the problems of Dacia from Drobeta, or he continued his trip on the military road to Tibiscum, Ulpia Traiana, Apulum, Potaissa, Napoca, Porolissum. We can only speculate, how

⁴¹ Mráv 2013, 218-219.

⁴² Piso/Rogozea 1985, 211-214, nr. 1, Abb. 1; AE 1987, 848; ILD 199.

⁴³ Piso/Rogozea 1985, 213.

⁴⁴ CIL III 1451 = IDR III/2, 21.

⁴⁵ Horster 2001, 44.

⁴⁶ Boteva 2010, 234 affirms that the emperor's journeys to Lower Moesia and Thrace were much more numerous than that recorded by the written sources, based on regional complexes of commemorative coins issued by towns and on many honorary inscriptions.

many days were necessary for such a two-ways journey⁴⁷. Anyway once on the Danube at Singidunum and Viminacium area the province and the communities of Dacia probably ask him to come and did preparations to demonstrate their loyalty and obedience to the emperor. If we take into account than from Novae he had to walk in November - 17 December and to cross the Haemus Mountains, not to mentions the stops in very loyal towns, as Nicopolis ad Istrum, for example, it doesn't seem realistic he travelled till to the North of Dacia, at Porolissum. Usually the passing of the imperial court with the army and the supplies was a complicated matter. It have to be planned in details with rest places and requisitions in advance from local communities, which slowing the march⁴⁸. We can at least accept he, joined only by the praetorians, briefly visited the *fanum* of Apollo from Tibiscum, probably inaugurated together with his father in 202, to pray for his health and journey⁴⁹, leaving the army and the logistics on the Danube line. The other known inscription from the shrine of Apollo at Tibiscum, raised to *Apollo Conservator Maximus Sanctissimusque*, put by the governor from Apulum L. Marius Perpetuus using the *tribunus* of *cohors I Vindelicorum* from Tibiscum, demonstrates at least that the visit was expected. Among the epithets of Apollo, *Sanctissimus* is related to the emperor as he is named *Dominus Noster Sanctissimus* in an inscription from Apulum raised by the *legatus* of the 13th legion *Gemina* for the health of the emperor⁵⁰, *Sanctissimus Antoninus Augustus* in a honorary inscription

⁴⁷ Today there are 470 km on road between Drobeta and Porolissum, that is 317 Roman miles. The Roman army was marching during campaigns 12 miles a day (Diaconescu 1997, 8), that means were necessary 26 days to cover this distance and the same to be back. Of course the imperial court need more, if we only take into account the smaller length of daylight in November and the stops in towns and forts. In conclusion, a visit of Caracalla in Dacia is not possible to imagine in AD 213. If we are using ORBIS, the geospatial network model of the Roman world (<http://orbis.stanford.edu>), the distances calculated for autumn are: Carnuntum - Drobeta 19, 1 days; Drobeta - Porolissum 14, 4 days (and back); Drobeta-Nicomedia 21, 2 days. The total is 69,1 days of travel, without counting the stops in many towns and military bases from Pannonia, Dacia, Moesia and Thrace.

⁴⁸ CAH 2005, 244.

⁴⁹ Cassius Dio, LXXVII, 15, 5 is writing that Caracalla was ill and he spent nights praying in the temples of Apollo Grannus, Aesculapius and Serapis. Many from his staff were obliged daily to bring gifts to gods and he himself was often coming, performing all the required rituals and hoping his own presence will help improving his health.

⁵⁰ CIL III 1129.

from Porolissum raised by *cohors V Lingonum Antoniniana*⁵¹ and *Sanctissimus Imperator Antoninus Augustus* on a honorary altar from Micia⁵².

Both inscriptions from Sarmizegetusa and Tibiscum were put at the same time, probably expecting an imperial visit, but we cannot be sure if it really happened. They were both raised, probably, under the office of the governor L. Marius Perpetuus, before 8 October 213. All these inscriptions are not proving Caracalla's journey in Dacia⁵³, but the interest of the authorities, the army and communities to keep a good relation with the emperor and to transmit their loyal attitude. By its geographical position Dacia was disadvantaged compared with Pannonia and Moesia, as it was outside the emperor's way. Dacia wanted to get the same benefits, so the only thing that was possible to be done was the raising of epigraphs and statues of the emperor and his mother hoping they will appreciate and will be generous if will pass over their fort, or town. In fact, the construction inscriptions from Porolissum and from the temple of Serapis at Sarmizegetusa, as well as the honorary one from Tibiscum, being erected before 8 October 213 are proofs that Caracalla was not in Dacia in 213, as we know precisely he was far away from Dacia that time⁵⁴.

Illustrations

Pl. I: *Praetorium Procuratoris* from Sarmizegetusa with S - Temple of Serapis (after Piso 1998).

Pl. II: Inscription dedicated to Serapis and Isis honoring Caracalla and Iulia Domna from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa: 1) photo and reconstruction by I. Piso and 2) new interpretation by the author.

Pl. III: Three identical construction inscriptions from Porolissum (after Tóth 1978).

Pl. IV: 1.-2. Honorary inscriptions for Caracalla from Piliscsev and Nyergesújfalu in Pannonia; 3. Construction inscription of the temple of Deus Invictus Serapis from Carnuntum (after Mráv 2000).

Pl. V: Inscriptions from the temple of Apollo in Tibiscum (after Piso/Rogozea 1985).

⁵¹ Tóth 1978, 26, nr. 12.

⁵² IDR III/3, 55.

⁵³ More detailed discussion at Opreanu 2015.

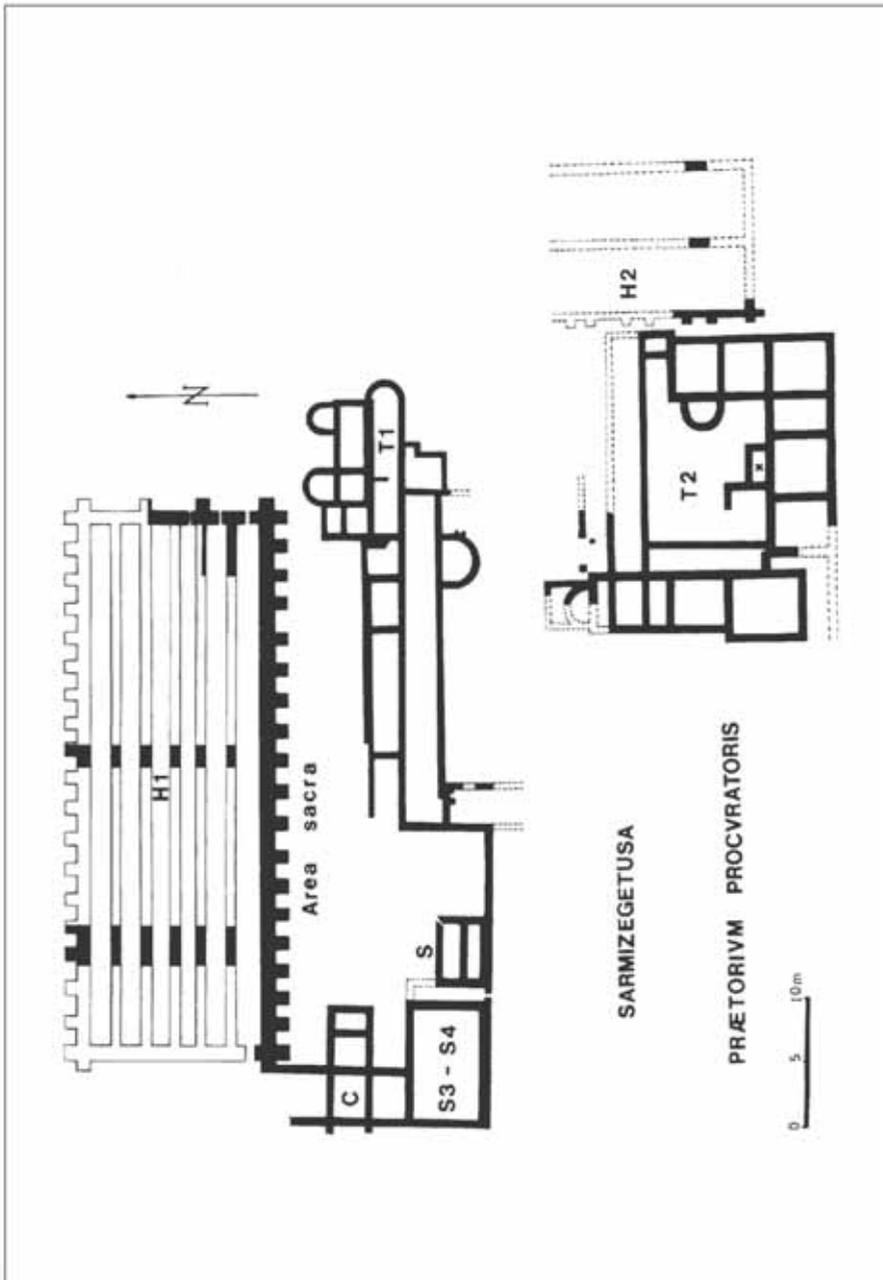
⁵⁴ Caracalla's journey in Dacia in 213 was rejected with various arguments by Mráv/Ottományi 2005 and Szabó 2003.

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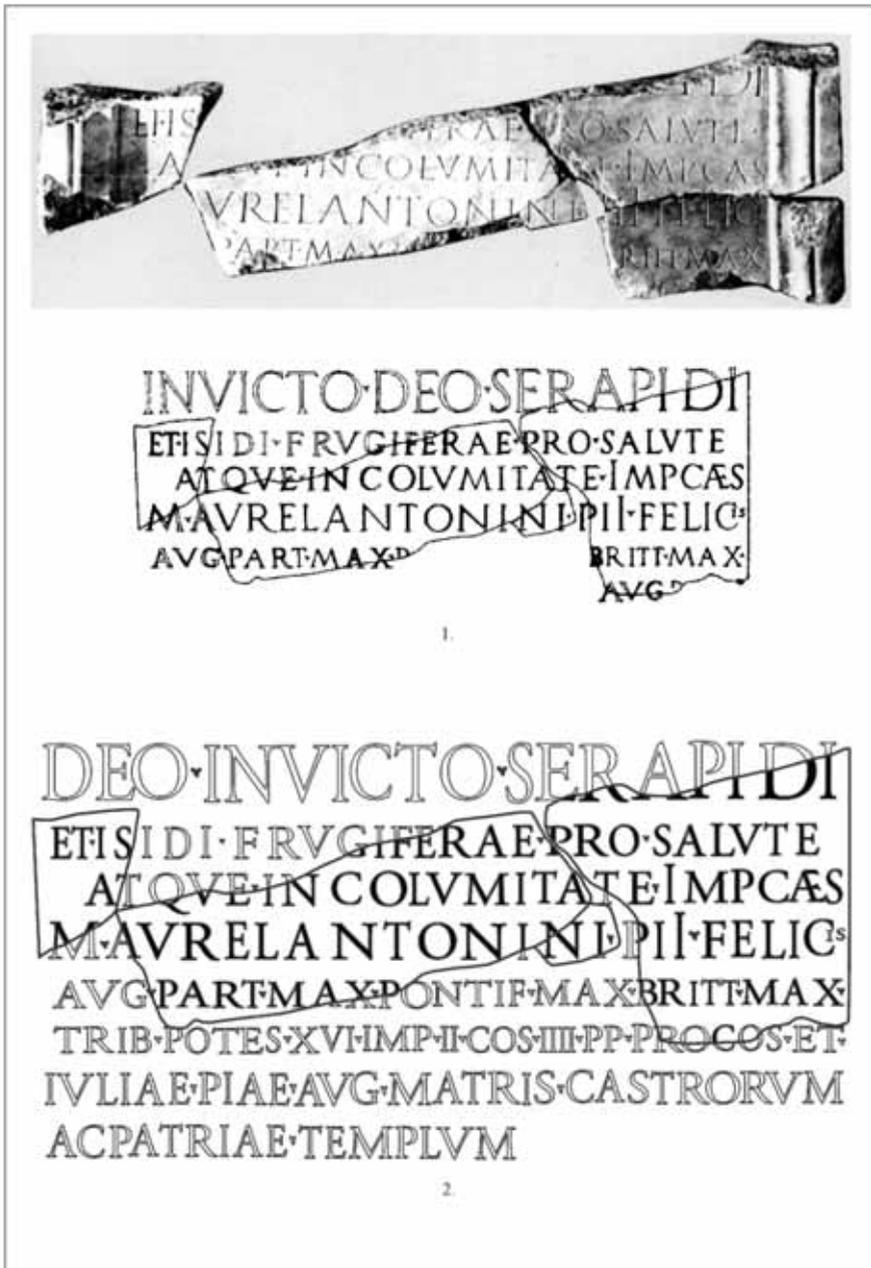
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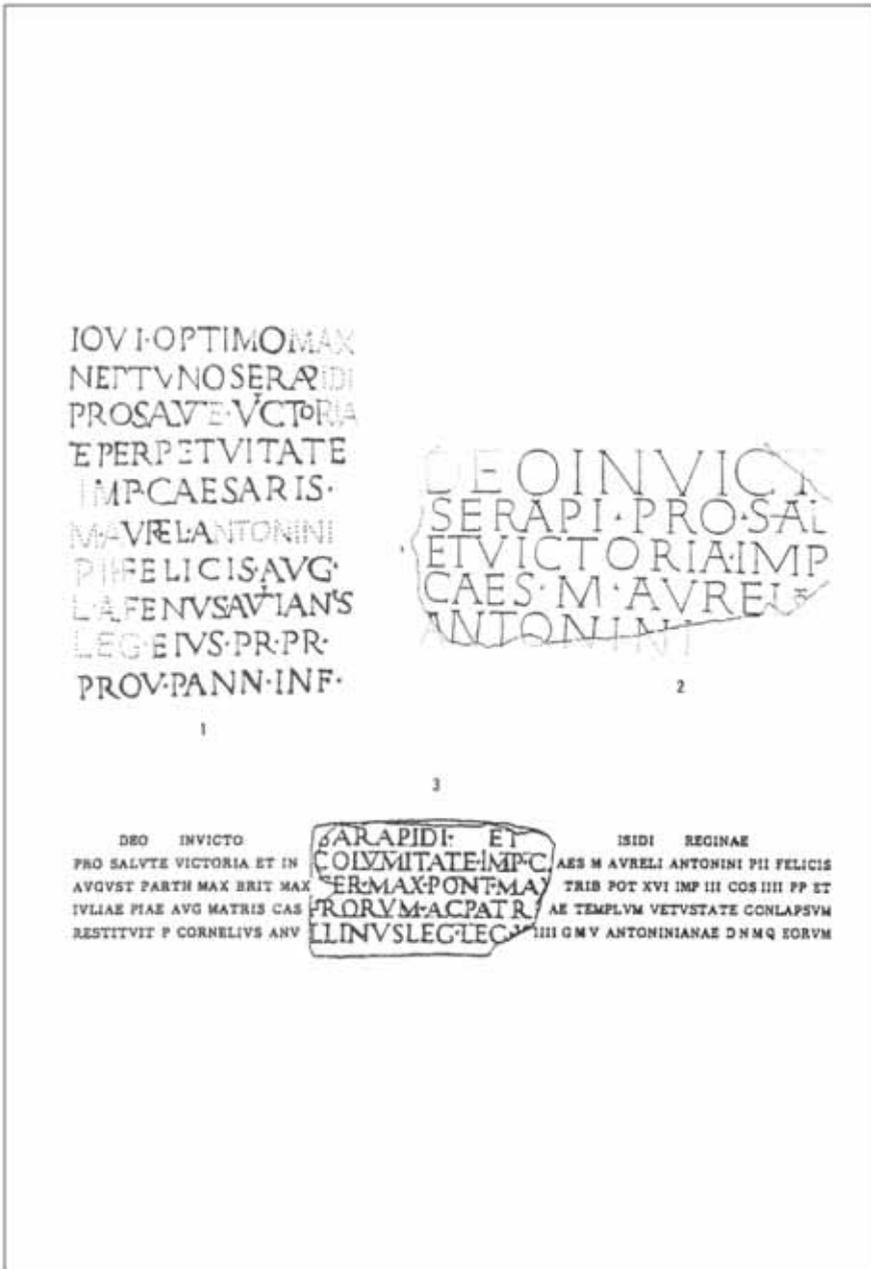


Pl. I

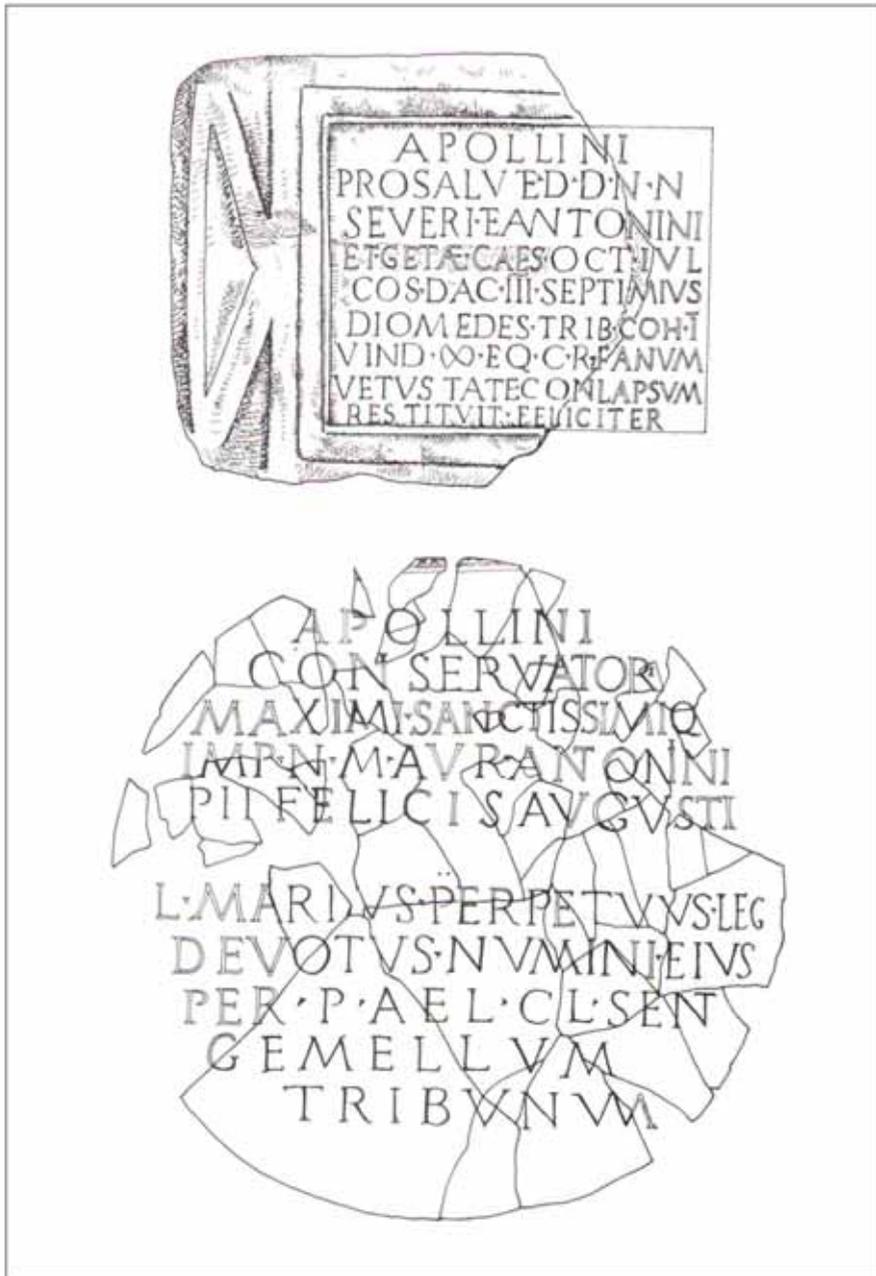




Pl. III



Pl. IV



Pl. V

An epigraphic monument dedicated to Liber Pater recently found at Ampelum

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Abstract. This paper describes and transcribes a Roman inscription-bearing altar. The photo of the altar was founded in the PC of a culprit searched for illegal prospections in archaeological sites. The culprit declared that the piece was excavated in the area of the former Copper Processing Factory from Zlatna (Alba County), well known as the former area of *municipium* Ampelum, the residence of the gold and silver mining administration of Dacia. The fragmentary monument, dedicated to the Liber Pater by a certain Iulius, is missing now (wanted by the Romanian Police). The characteristics of the text and the aspect of the decorated surfaces suggest that it was made by an urban craftsman with experience. The altar may have originated from the *municipium* Ampelum. Although the great number of Roman vestiges, especially with inscriptions or figurative reproductions (statues, altars, funerary monuments etc.) placed Ampelum, both the settlement and necropolis, among the most dynamic urban centers of the province. The paper is also focused on the problematic of the inefficient protection of the cultural heritage.

Keywords: Liber Pater, votive altar, Dacia, penal file.

Rezumat. Un monument epigrafic dedicat lui Liber Pater descoperit recent la Ampelum. Acest studiu descrie și întregește un altar cu inscripție romană. Fotografia altarului a fost găsită în calculatorul unei persoane cercetate pentru prospecții ilegale în situri arheologice. Persoana a declarat că piesa a fost descoperită în zona fostului Combinat de prelucrare a cuprului din Zlatna (județul Alba), pe teritoriul fostului *municipium* Ampelum, reședința administrației minelor de aur și argint din Dacia. Monumentul fragmentar, dedicat lui Liber Pater de un anume Iulius, este acum dispărut, fiind căutat de poliția română. Caracteristicile textului și aspectul părții decorate sugerează că a fost făcut de un meșter urban cu experiență și precizie.

Altarul ar putea proveni din *municipium* Ampelum. Un mare număr de vestigii, inscripții și monumente figurate (statui, altare, monumente funerare etc.), plasează Ampelum - așezarea și necropola - printre cele mai dinamice centre urbane din provincie. Lucrarea se concentrează și asupra problemei ineficienței protecției patrimoniului cultural.

Cuvinte cheie: Liber Pater, altar votiv, Dacia, dosar penal

The beginning of the 21st Century in Romanian archaeology is marked by a phenomenon with previously unseen and multiple connotations, a phenomenon that places those involved in researching the underground remains of civilizations and cultures in front of a new and complex challenge. We are here referring to the emergence of dilettantes and *pseudo-archaeologists* amongst owners of metal detectors, commonly referred to as *detectorists*. We will not accomplish here a detailed analysis of this phenomenon¹, as we will limit ourselves to the conclusion that the Romanian society, is, once again (!) unprepared to adequately and efficiently react to the consequences of this type of investigations, resulting in most cases in the irreversible destruction of archaeological contexts and/or the plundering and loss of often important and spectacular artefacts of national heritage status.

On the importance of archaeological heritage of the Ampoi valley we do not consider necessary to elaborate again in detail². The location of this area in the famous *Gold Quadrilater* of the Occidental Carpathians, the presence of essential metal resources (copper, gold, silver, marble, useful construction rocks, etc.) and the important role played in connecting this area to the main artery of communication and transport of the Mureș Valley made it the home of representative habitations and cultural evolutions. The highlight of this continuous evolution, from prehistory to nowadays, is considered to be the Roman presence, closely linked to the exploitation of gold and silver at Roșia Montană (*Alburnus Maior*) and the surroundings of nowadays Zlatna (*Ampelum*) and Almașul Mare.

The object of our discussion here is a chance find, probably from recent construction works in the area of the former Copper Processing

¹ See more literature on the subject: Teodor 2014; Ciută 2012; 2014.

² Moga/Ciugudean 1995, *passim*; Wollmann 1979; Wollmann/Lipovan 1982; Wollmann 2009, *passim*; Popa, Berciu, Pop 1968, *passim*; IDR III/3.

Factory, known to have overlapped to a great extent the ruins of the ancient *Ampelum*, a *municipium* of the Roman Empire and the headquarter of the administration of the gold mining operations in Dacia³. We cannot ignore the fact that, while the specialists of Roman times considered this town to be an extremely important and essential economical centre in the Roman times, with remarkable ruins noticed since the 16th Century to the early 20th Century, while it is listed on the National Repository of Historical Monuments - *Lista Monumentelor Istorice* (coded LMI 2010 AB-I-s-B-00055 while even more listed in the National Archaeological Registry - *Repertoriul Arheologic Național* (RAN 2032.01)⁴ and the Archaeological Registry of the county of Alba - *Repertoriul Arheologic al Județului Alba*, the last 20 years have not seen even a single rescue archaeological excavation being performed as part of the important interventions and construction works that have taking place here!⁵ It is hard, if not impossible to disregard the fact that in this case we are confronted with major urban development plans backed, unfortunately, by a lack of interest from the public offices of heritage management, failing thus to solve this serious disfunction. In practice, even though the museums of Transylvania (and not only) are full of artefacts originating in the ancient *Ampelum*⁶, to this date we do not have an official and public local museum, only the passionate activities of some scholars, amongst them I.T. Lipovan, resulting in the compilation

³ Moga/Ciugudean 1995, 221-222.

⁴ An unexplained occurrence is that the archaeological site of *Ampelum* is listed in the National Archaeological Registry - RAN as belonging to the nearby village of Pătrîngeni (Petrîngeni, Pătrunjeni) and not the town of Zlatna (!), a situation different from that of the Alba County's list (*Repertoriul arheologic al județului Alba* (Alba Iulia 1995), where both localities are treated distinctly, with the Roman town of *Ampelum* listed only for Zlatna, at Pătrângerii we have only the suburbs (!) and Roman cemeteries (Moga/Ciugudean 1995, 140).

⁵ A simple check with the evidences filed at the Ministry of Culture, specifically the authorisation forms issued for rescue archaeology (since of systematic excavation at Zlatna and Pătrângerii we cannot even talk about!) points out that even if in the town we had a lot of new buildings and several other major construction works, no such authorisation was requested or obtained, as the law requires. We therefore rightfully ask if this listing of the site to the nearby village instead of the town was a deliberate act, a *modus operandi*, chosen so that the housing developments of the last 20 years should not be impeded by the existence of the site. We would also like to mention here the destruction, in 1993, of another settlement, belonging to the Bronze Age, at *Măgura Dudașului* (Moga/Ciugudean 1995, 221).

⁶ Wollmann 2009, *passim*.

of a museum collection, in the building of the town's cultural centre, a project that was abandoned at some point⁷.

The investigation of a recent penal case, involving illegal metal detecting activities performed in various archaeological sites, supplied to us a new and interesting archaeological research subject. This investigation included an examination of the computer archive of one of the persons indicted in this case⁸, and revealed, quite surprisingly, a series of photographs made at his summer house, somewhere in the Vâltori Valley⁹, nearby the town of Zlatna - and representing several artefacts of obvious archaeological origin, exposed in his backyard, as follows: a fragmentary votive altar, with inscription, two column bases and a fragment of a column. A remarkable photograph shows the readable text on the upper side of the altar, in an excellent preservation state (Pl. I/1). We will not report on this case's obvious illegal activity, the presence of these archaeological artefacts on a private property, especially as the defendant, a known metal detectorist (!), is also a graduate of historic studies...

In regards to the origin of these artefacts, including the altar, the defendant declared that they were brought over accidentally, by truckload, amongst the spoil earth needed for raising the yard of his summer house. This was most likely excavated recently within the compounds of the former Copper Processing Factory, within the Zlatna town's limits¹⁰, nearby Pătrângenii (Suseni) village. On this occasion he recognized the white sandstone fragments of an altar and column fragments (Pl. II/2-3), which he then rescued and displayed in his

⁷ Unfortunately, despite some recent concerns of a nationalist nature from the local administration, the town does not benefit from the existence of a local history museum, even though it certainly deserves one, at least to recover protect and valorize the remains of the old archaeological exhibit. In the interval 2009 - 2012, this old collection was affected by the precarious state of preservation of the town's cultural centre, the uninspired vicinity of an area of youth entertainment (bars and disco's) and a landslide that partially covered the backyard of the building, arranged as a *lapidarium*. A hypothesis we have to work with is that the object of this study might originate from this location and remains to be seen if there is an inventory of this collection that can confirm it.

⁸ As this case is on trial at this moment, we will not render some information to the public, but we hereby retain the right to add essential information later on, pending the results of the trial.

⁹ Here we have traces of Roman habitation (Moga/Ciugudean 1995, 221).

¹⁰ Zalatna, Goldmarkt, Kleinschlatten, Ampelum (Moga/Ciugudean 1995, 221).

backyard, for aesthetic reasons (?!). The digital photographs that depict the roman monument and the column fragments also contain the date they were taken (October 22nd 2012), making this backyard look more like an open air *lapidarium* than a vacation home. At the moment of the formal inquiry and at the end of the police raid on the premises, in November 21st, 2014, none of these cultural goods were to be found in this location, the official statement of the defendant being that *they were stolen since*¹¹...

Description of the artefact

The epigraphic monument is in a fragmentary state, missing about half of the lower part, the base, and considerable fragments from the back side, several fragments of the monuments canopy. One of the canopy's spirals is broken, our drawing being an attempt to reconstruct its initial position¹². Judging by the aspect of these broken surfaces they are most likely the result of a recent unfortunate mechanical manipulation by means of an excavator¹³.

The monument is of a common shape, with the canopy and the base wider than the body of the altar. What survived of the altar is about 70 cm tall, our estimate of the original complete height being around 1.30-1.40 m, (in agreement with the assumed height of the base and the number of text lines in the inscription). The overall width is 60 cm, of this the inscription is 50 cm wide. The monument has a crowning 80 cm wide, the monument we assume to be at least 50 cm thick, with a possibility of being even thicker (over 60-70 cm). The height of the preserved inscription field is of 45 cm, the total height being, probably, around 70 to 80 cm. The back of the altar seems to be entirely broken and missing. The lateral sides are preserving some bas-relief depictions that cannot be identified due to the poor quality of photographs we have. Also, due to the damage sustained it is hard to assume if the canopy and

¹¹ As it is the case, all the information and data obtained for the current study are almost exclusively based on the data recovered from the culprit's computer.

¹² From the photograph we can easily notice that the cylindrical spiral from the right had broken and was laid at the base of the monument, with two other fragments, possibly from the crown or the base.

¹³ For the estimation of the measurements we used several photos of it, frontal, from the sides and with the back. Unfortunately the low quality of these photographs and the fact that in most of them the subject was not the monument limited our perception of details.

the base are symmetrical; our conclusion is that they most likely were not. Above the inscription, the partially deteriorated crowning has about six rounded steps topped by a classic pediment, with a bas-relief decoration of a grape bunch. At the lower ends of the pediment, facing the front of the monument, we have two ornamental spirals (volutes, curls), about 14 cm in diameter, with ornaments, the right one a 4 petal symmetric flower and the broken off left spiral a 16 (or 15) petal flower (Pl. I/1-2). One of the few photographs taken from the sides show several linear base-relief ornaments on the cylinder of the right spiral (a bunch of *fascias*?), very difficult to reconstruct (Pl. II/1).

Above the pediment, on each side, most likely were other representations, either of animals or vegetation, now impossible to identify or reconstruct. It is very likely that the right side might have had represented the head of an animal (wolf?). The crowning continues, above the garble, but is missing, most likely having a libation cavity on top.

The first row of text, as well as the third, is decorated, most likely on both sides, with the vegetal motif of a summarily depicted vine leaf. The one at the end of the first row is large while the one on the third is smaller. The height of the letters is approximately constant, at 5 to 6 cm, with a row space of 1 cm. The letters are correctly depicted, in an elegant manner with no asymmetries, with slightly rounded extremities and well proportioned spaces, the work of a good scribe, with a good and experienced hand. The text is laid out symmetrically in the inscription field, the blank fields that might unbalance the whole being filled with the inspired addition of vine leaves. The craftsman who wrote the text from the altar could be an urban stone-cutter, probably from Ampelum or Apulum. It may have been a qualified craftsman, good connoisseur of the scripts and ligatures and of symbolic meanings specific to votive monuments. We may presume that the altar it wasn't his first order of its kind, if we take into consideration the very good quality of the whole altar which was made very symmetrically with well finished surfaces and elegant decorations (Pl. I/1).

The reading

The preserved text of the inscription is easily readable being framed in the rectangular shaped field but incompletely (four rows fully legible but the fifth illegible has kept the upper part of at least 3 letters from the final word) is as follows:

LIBERO
 PATRI AVG
 SACR
 [...]IVLIVS
 [...]NVS

It seems that the fifth row it is ending with VS or rather NVS, representing the terminus of the *cognomen* dedicator. Unfolded text gives as follows:

Liberō
Patri Aug(usto)
sacr(um)
 (...) *Iulius*
 (...) *ius*
 [...].

The translation of the incomplete text is: «*For Liber Pater, Augustus, consecration,... Iulius (...)nus*» and it may end with a formulation in which the altar was dedicated to this deity. It is supposed that there were at least two or three rows. Even in the absence of the final text it is obvious that we are dealing with a votive monument, which might be ended with *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)* as in the case of another altar discovered in Mesentea locality which was dedicated to the same god¹⁴. Either in the case of other similar shrines dedicated to the same deity, from *Apulum* or other cities of the Roman province¹⁵.

Liber Pater to whom it was dedicated the altar, was very popular and highly worshiped in the imperial province of Dacia¹⁶. The proofs are standing his dedicated temples from *Apulum* and *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa* as well as multitude of shrines discovered throughout the Roman province colonized with peoples from Dalmatia and Pannonia¹⁷.

The representation of the bunch of grapes on the top, associated with vine leaves is a common one to whole manifestations dedicated to

¹⁴ Ardevan, Popa 2012, 216.

¹⁵ Popa, Aldea 1974; Wollmann 2009, 145 fig. 25b; Ardevan, Popa 2012.

¹⁶ Ardevan, Popa 2012, 216.

¹⁷ Bodor 1963; Popescu, Popescu 1995; Ardevan, Popa 2012, 216; Popa, Aldea 1974; Nemeti 2005, 189.

Liber Pater¹⁸. Archaic deity from central Italy, Liber Pater was together with its counterpart Libera, the protector of vines and fields fertility. This circumstance has led to its assimilation with Dionysus - Bacchus and his cult has spread in the whole Roman Empire¹⁹. Liber Pater, from the Latin word *libare* which means *flow, sacrifice, taste*, was an old Italic deity of abundance and breeding. Usually Liber Pater was associated with Libera goddess, both being plebeian deities. The celebration consecrated to Liber were been called *Liberalia* and were celebrated on 17 March.

The dedicator, which probably was a wealthy person and certainly a Roman citizen, still remains unknown, because the text of the inscription is lacking right at his cognomen space which enable the identification of his hierarchical position or social status. We only know his name, Iulius and his ending cognomen, «...NVS» too common to give a social or ethnic connotation²⁰.

Iulius was a *gentilicius* widespread in Dacia and in other roman provinces. It may be a citizen with Italic origins, a wealthy *beneficiarius* of the *procuratorium aurarium*, perhaps. Or why not, even a *procurator aurariorum*.

The hypothetical place of the discovery of the epigraphic monument being associated with ancient *Ampelum* territory as well as the his skilled and complex realization it may suggest the affiliation to his dedicator to the wealthy class of the administration staff of silver and gold mining from the Quadrilater of the Apuseri Mountains.

Returning to the extremely unusual situation of the «discovery» of the images with monuments from the Roman era, which seems to be arranged as a personal *lapidarium* in a private courtyard from Zlatna locality, we are wondering how many such pieces «decorate» other personal properties of the inhabitants from that city? If we take into consideration that in the last 20 years in Zlatna, on the territory of the old Roman town, there were frequent interventions in the ground caused by the dismantle of many buildings and improvement of the Copper Factory, activities which have not benefit from any professional assistance!

Moreover, a certain fashion of the moment imposed by the individuals with resonant names in what is desired to be the high-life of

¹⁸ Ciută 2010, 185-192.

¹⁹ Teodorescu et al. 1966, 75.

²⁰ For exemple, C. Iulius Priscinus (AÉ 1991, 1346).

of Alba Iulia and Zlatna cities makes more and more people, usually unwitting, to wish to decorate their private properties with ancient monuments, a gesture being considered to be one of *bon ton*...

In the same manner as we previously talked about archaeological-epigraphic monuments Diaspora in urban and military centers in Dacia Superior²¹ it is most likely that in the next years will be identify many such epigraphic and anepigraphic monuments.

Unfortunately it is an omnipresent practice in those countries where the interest in protection of the national cultural heritage does not exist or is extremely lower, and the institutions that are meant to handle this issue are weak, influenced, inefficient, lacking the levers that can protect the heritage.

In an exhaustive recently published study with statistical valences, we found data which shows that *Ampelum* city ranks on the third position in Dacia, after *Apulum* and *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*, when we discuss about the number of epigraphic finds²². In this context, the epigraphic monument under our attention comes to sustain this idea and to provide new data and information related with the cult of *Liber Pater* in Dacia province²³.

Instead of conclusion, we ask ourselves the question (rhetorical certainly!) regarding the reasons for what in the current Penal Code, launched into force in February 2014 has disappeared the article no 280¹, which punish *non-compliance regime for the protection of cultural property*?

Illustrations

Plate I - 1. The altar from Ampelum (photo). 2. Detail from left view, with the decorative elements 3. The graphical drawing of the altar from Ampelum.

Plate II - 1. Detail from right, with the decorative elements. 2-3. Other monuments (columns, basis etc.) photographed in the same location with the altar.

²¹ Wollmann 1979; 2009, 100-158. Wollmann, Lipovan 1982.

²² Wollmann 2009, 116; IDR I-IV.

²³ Bodor 1963; Popa, Aldea 1974, 113; Popescu, Popescu 1995; Nemeti 2005; Ciongradi 2009; Ardevan, Popa 2012; Popa, Berciu, Pop 1968.

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Pl. I



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Pl. II

Votive monuments from Dacia Superior in Lugosi Fodor András' manuscript

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Abstract. The present study presents two votive monuments from Dacia Superior that in the nineteenth century Lugosi Fodor András saw and documented. I have identified the items as among those depicting Mithraic and the Dolichenian iconography, I have detailed their typological identification, and have provided a brief discussion of the religious context in which they must be placed.

Keywords: Lugosi Fodor András, votive monuments, Dacia Superior, Mithras, Dolichenus.

Rezumat. Monumente votive din Dacia Superior în manuscrisul lui Lugosi Fodor András. Studiul de față prezintă două monumente cu caracter votiv din Dacia Superior văzute și consemnate în secolul al XIX-lea de Lugosi Fodor András. Am identificat piesele ca aparținând iconografiei mitraice, respectiv dolicheniene și am realizat încadrarea lor tipologică, precum și o scurtă discuție asupra contextului religios în care trebuie plasate.

Cuvinte cheie: Lugosi Fodor András, monumente votive, Dacia Superior, Mithras, Dolichenus.

The manuscript left by Lugosi Fodor András (1780? - 1859) has only been partially published. As a surgeon in the county of Hunedoara and a passionate collector of antiquities and art objects, Fodor András has noted down for decades his observations on monuments and ancient artifacts that he saw in the area where he practiced, but also in other parts of Transylvania¹. His heirs have donated the manuscript to the Transylvanian Museum Society and it is currently kept at the "Lucian Blaga" Central University Library in Cluj-Napoca².

¹ Csergő 1998, *passim*; Ferenczi 1914, *passim*; Wollmann 1982, 44sq; Russu, 1972, 647; Bodor 1995, 78-79.

² BCU no. 754 (Special Collections, manuscripts *Lugosi Fodor András Kézirata*), vol. I-VIII; <http://dspace.bcucluj.ro/handle/123456789/22029>.

Out of the eight volumes, the first five (I, II, III, IV, V) are in fact several variants in Hungarian and German of the text that Fodor was about to publish. The final three volumes (VI, VII, VIII) contain drawings, in several variants, of the items inventoried in the text. One must nevertheless note that there are significant differences among the drawings he made of one and the same item; the differences envisage not only the drawing manner but also the details, dimensions, and proportions. After a brief introduction, the text presents the narration of the Dacian wars, the transformation of Dacia into a Roman province, the history of the province, and the period after its abandonment until the time of Constantine the Great. The author then repertories the settlements where Roman antiquities had been found, structuring them thus: the county of Hunedoara, Lower Alba, and Turda, and then the other monuments from Ardeal, Oltenia, Banat, and Hungary. The settlements are structured alphabetically and presented geographically and historically. The city of Deva is presented amply and the corresponding plates numbered from XII to XXXII. Fodor "inventoried" circa 165 monuments and small artifacts among which some are medieval or even modern. In some cases the author mentions the collections and the houses where he saw the items, and to the best of his knowledge the place where they had been discovered. In such cases one can note the fact that some of the inventoried artifacts had been found outside Deva, especially at Vețel (*Micia*)³.

Plate XXI (Tab. XXI) illustrates five sculptural fragments (Pl. I), but no information on their origin is available in the text. Fodor describes the items thus: a) marble fragment with the depiction of Phaeton or some other character; b) sandstone base that preserves the depiction of a human leg and the inscription *Longinus*; c) male head made of limestone, statue fragment; d) marble fragment with the depiction of a priest sacrificing a wild animal on an altar; e) female head made of marble, statue fragment⁴. I was mainly interest in fragments a) and d) that can be clearly identified typologically. The other items, all statue fragments, allow for several interpretations due to their fragmentary state and lack of specific attributes, thus rendering their identification an almost futile initiative.

³ <http://dspace.bcucuj.ro/handle/123456789/22029> (BCUCLUJ_FCC_MS754I-VIII); Csergő 1998, *passim*.

⁴ BCUCLUJ_FCC_MS754II; BCUCLUJ_FCC_MS754VI.

The first envisaged item, (a), is according to Fodor a fragment of white marble depicting a seminude character in a triumphal chariot, holding the horses' reins. The character might be Phaeton or some other divine entity. The item measured one Viennese foot in height.

Analyzing the image carefully, I must partially agree with the author: one notes a chariot, probably a *quadriga*, with the front wheel nicely detailed. There are also three horses at a gallop, with the forelegs raised up high. In the chariot a seminude character holds the reins in his left hand. The lower part of the fragment depicts a lintel, probably the lower part of the sculptural piece.

This is one of the typical scenes associated to the tauroctony scene and the fragment is part of a Mithraic relief. Decorated with either two or three figurative rows, Mithraic reliefs depict the tauroctony scene in the main row and a series of episodes from the Mithraic legend in the upper row, the lower row, or around the central scene. The number of scenes and their selection varies from one item to the next, but they most frequently depict the following episodes: Sol in a chariot, the birth of Mithras from the rock, the miracle of the water, the bull in the boat, the bull in the temple, Mithras Taurophoros, the reconciliation between Sol and Mithras, Sol's consecration, Mithras hunting, the initiation, the sacred banquet, and Mithras' apotheosis in the presence of Oceanus⁵. In case of the item under discussion, it is part of the lower figurative row, depicting the apotheosis scene: Mithras climbs into Sol's chariot that rises on the firmament while from below Oceanus looks at them⁶. The characters are always turned to the right. On the left, Mithras is aided by Sol, on the right, to climb into the *quadriga*. Sol holds the reins of the horses that are depicted at a gallop, rearing up high, their position suggesting the moment of take off. The fragment under discussion only partially preserves the depiction of Sol's body and the *quadriga*, but the identification is certain. From an iconographic perspective, according to the LIMC, the scene can be included in type XI. D. *Auffahrt des Mithras mit Sol im Wagen*. I. *Sol reicht dem aufsteigenden Mithras die Hand*. The fragment preserves nothing from the right corner of the relief, but one can presume that Oceanus was once depicted there (XI. D. I. d. γ. *Mithras, Sol und Oceanus*. In *Quadrikanach r.*)⁷.

⁵ Toutain 1909, 235-238; Le Glay 1978, 279-285; Clauss 1990, 71-110; Cumont 2007, 136-145; Cumont 1896-1899, I, 159-179.

⁶ LIMC, VI, 1, 1992, 611-614; 624-625, s. v. Mithras, [R. Vollkommer].

⁷ LIMC, VI, 1, 1992, 614, s. v. Mithras, [R. Vollkommer].

The shape of the relief cannot be reconstructed in all certainty and the original number of figurative rows is uncertain. Nevertheless, in the context of the entire Mithraic iconographic repertory from Dacia⁸, the fragment most probably belonged to a rectangular relief with three rows. On such reliefs the apotheosis scene was usually placed in the lower row, closing the illustrated mythical narrative (Pl. II/1). As for the dimensions of the item, the manuscript mentions the fact that it measured one foot (= one Viennese foot), namely 31.601 cm. One can estimate that the lower row had a height of circa 40 cm, thus rendering the total height of the item of more than one meter. In this case, the relief might have been the central relief of a *mithraeum* (Kultbild).

In Roman Dacia, 17 reliefs depict the above mentioned scene. They were found in Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa - 6, Apulum - 4, Slăveni - 3, Sucidava - 2, Romula - 1, and one unknown location. The items from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa and Slăveni were discovered in *mithraea*⁹.

The cult of Mithras has enjoyed great popularity in the province of Dacia¹⁰. During the Imperial Era the god of the mysteries was identified with Sol and this brought it closer to official and imperial religion and ensured for it a significant role in the devotion of soldiers. The fact that it had the character of an invincible divinity and the solar and soteriological dimension of the divine personality have aided the diffusion of the cult in all strata of society in an even manner, without ethnical specificities. Thus, in a strongly militarized province such as Dacia, the number of Mithraic monuments is considerable in the urban centers and in the proximity of the camp¹¹.

⁸ Sicoe 2014, 137-258.

⁹ Cumont 1896-1899, nr. 137a, fig. 121, nr. 137b, fig. 122, nr. 165, fig. 148, nr. 167, fig. 150; nr. 169, fig. 152, nr. 170, nr. 171, fig. 154, nr. 180, fig. 161, nr. 192 bis, fig. 168, nr. 199, nr. 211, nr. 270, nr. 271, nr. 273, 279; CIMRM nr. 1972, fig. 513, nr. 1958-1959, fig. 512, nr. 1975-1976, fig. 515, nr. 2034-2035, fig. 533, nr. 2036, fig. 534, nr. 2044-2045, fig. 538, nr. 2048-2049, fig. 540, nr. 2051, fig. 542, nr. 2052, fig. 543, nr. 2166, nr. 2167, nr. 2171, fig. 591, nr. 2182, fig. 595, nr. 2187, fig. 598; Sicoe 2014, nr. 30, Abb. 77, nr. 40, Abb. 25, nr. 41, Abb. 95, nr. 43, Abb. 87, nr. 111, Abb. 98, nr. 113, Abb. 92, nr. 118, Abb. 53, nr. 119, Abb. 79, nr. 120, Abb. 80, nr. 129, Abb. 89, nr. 219, Abb. 108, nr. 232, Abb. 104, nr. 241, Abb. 109, nr. 242, Abb. 90, nr. 244, Abb. 145, nr. 248, Abb. 105, nr. 251, Abb. 106.

¹⁰ Sicoe 2014, *passim*;

¹¹ Nemeti 2005, 309-316; Popescu 2004, 126-130.

The second fragment envisaged here is the item labeled d) in Fodor's list, described as an altar made of white marble, measuring seven fingers in height, supporting the head of a bull with the neck pierced by a priest with a knife that he holds in the right hand; the upper and lower parts are missing.

A close analysis of the image reveals a male character in military costume, wearing a *lorica anatomica* with lambrequins over a short *tunica* that reveals the legs until above the knees, and a *paludamentum* on the shoulders. On the chest one finds a good representation of the *balteus*, placed diagonally, over the right shoulder and down to the left hip, supporting the *pugio* sheath. The handle of the *pugio* can be seen protruding from the sheath. The contraposto is on the left leg; the right arm is missing, but the left is extended in front of the body, the hand holding an object of which only the lower part has been preserved, prolonged or slightly conical in shape. On the left side of the person, at pelvic level, one can note the head and chest of a bull.

This is a statuette or a relief depicting Jupiter Dolichenus. The posture is classical: the god in military costume, probably wearing the Phrygian bonnet on his head, standing on the bull, holds the double axe in his raised right hand and the bundle of lightning bolts in his left hand, extended in front of the body¹² (Pl. II/2). According to the LIMC, the item is to be included in type I. A. *Iuppiter Dolichenus allein*. I. *Mit beden Füßen auf einem Stier stehend*¹³. According to Fodor's manuscript, the fragment measures 7 fingers (= Viennese fingers), namely 18.430 cm. Adding the approximate size of the missing elements – the god's head, the body of the bull, the possible base in case of a statuette or an epigraphic field in case of a relief, one can estimate that the entire item measured between 30 and 40 de cm and was an *ex voto*.

Eight such depictions of Jupiter Dolichenus standing on the bull are known from Roman Dacia (envisaging here only those cases when the depiction of the bull has been preserved). These are marble statuary groups, bronze statuettes, and reliefs made of marble and bronze that were found in Porolissum - 3, Potaissa -1, Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa - 1, Surducu Mare - 1, Răcari - 1, and an unknown place - 1¹⁴. The items from Porolissum were discovered in the temple of Dolichenus.

¹² Merlat 1960, 31-35; Hörig 1984, 2140-2142.

¹³ LIMC, V, 1, 1990, 422, s. v. Iuppiter Dolichenus [R. Vollkommer].

¹⁴ Berciu/Petolescu 1976, nr. 7, pl. III, 3; nr. 28, pl. X, nr. 30, pl. XI; nr. 34, pl. XII/3; Florescu/Miclea 1979, nr. 53, fig. 47; CCID nr. 135; nr. 142, nr. 158, Taf. XXX; nr. 170,

A celestial god, a military god *par excellence*, Iupiter Dolichenus is attested in Roman Dacia by a significant number of sculptural and epigraphic monuments. The ample diffusion of the cult in both the civilian and the military environments is demonstrated by the concentration of votive monuments in cosmopolite urban centers and in the proximity of the castra¹⁵.

The items presented and identified here complete the Mithraic and Dolichenian repertoires from Dacia. Mithras and Iupiter Dolichenus are the most popular gods from the group of oriental divinities in the pantheon of this province. One cannot state with certainty where the items have been found in Dacia Superior, but they were most probably found in Micia, as many other monuments and artifacts that Fodor András saw in various collections from Deva.

The manuscripts of modern collectors and antiquarians record a significant number of the most varied Roman monuments and artifacts. Many of the items have disappeared since then and modern notes are in fact the only kind of documentation available. Naturally, many of these items have been published over time, but rarely in an extensive manner. The study of manuscripts left behind by modern antiquarians still holds the possibility of new “discoveries”.

Illustrations

Pl. I. Fodor’s manuscript, page XXI.

Pl. II. 1. Mithraic relief from Apulum (ubi-erat-lupa.com, no. 17299); 2. Iupiter Dolichenus from Savaria (ubi-erat-lupa.com, no. 8422).

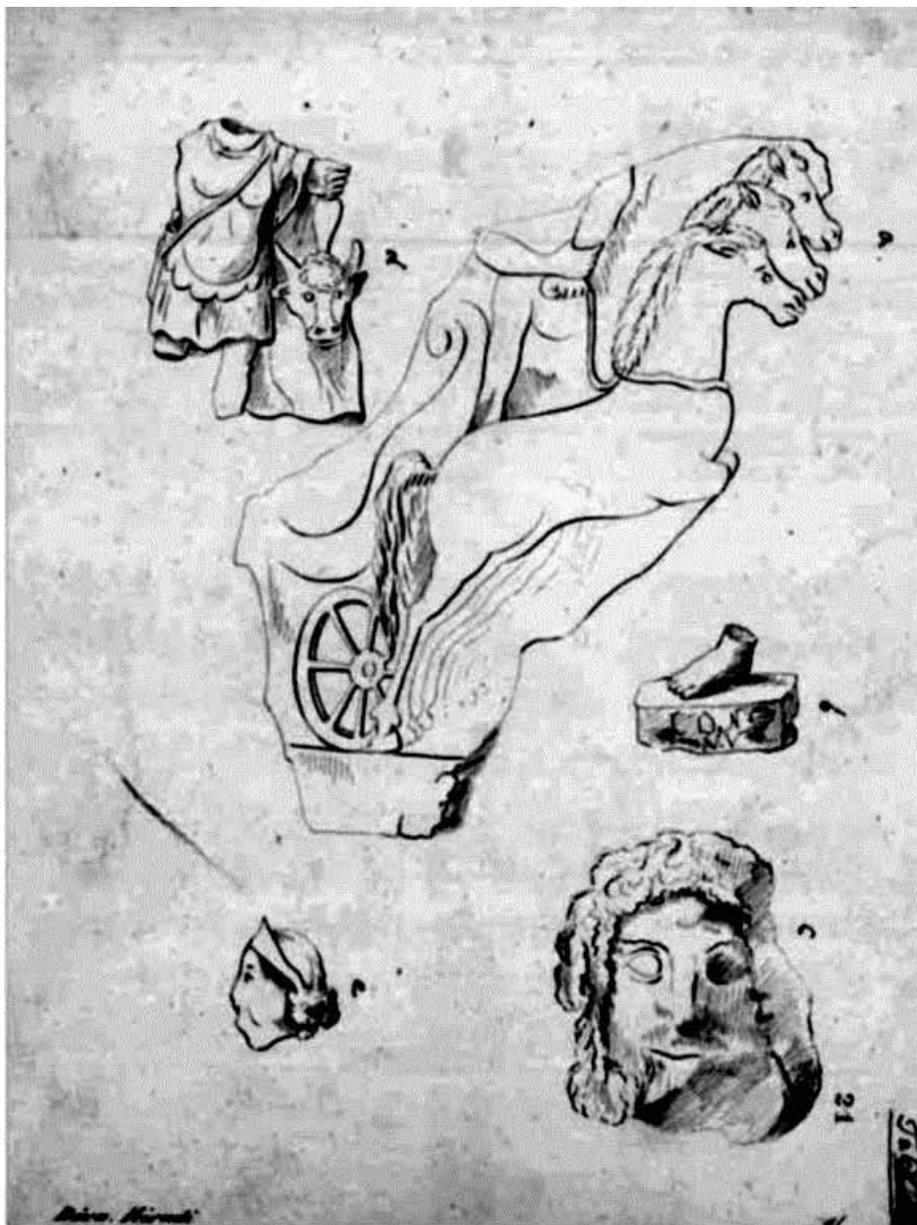
nr. 174, Taf. XXXIII; Sanie 1981, nr. 12; Gudea/Tamba 2001, nr. 2, fig. 18-19, nr. 3, fig. 20-21; Gudea 2001, 166-172; Nemeti 2005, nr. 206, 207, 225, 228, 234, 240, 242, 255.

¹⁵ Balla 1976, 61-66; Kan 1979, 13-22, 53-57; Nemeti 2005, 227, 352-336; Popescu 2004, 135-140.

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Pl. I



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Pl. II

Votive stone carvings from Tibiscum. Local production and import

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Abstract. Tibiscum is an important military and civilian settlement from south-western part of Dacia Superior. In the fort several units were garrisoned, mainly from oriental provinces of the Empire and beside the fortification the civil settlement quickly flourished and in the beginning of the IIIrd century AD the settlement here become a *municipium* or at least some part of it. The votive stone carvings discovered in the fort, the *vicus* or the *municipium* represent, in general, Greco-Roman divinities regardless of the fact that the main troops forming the garrison here were of oriental origin. Were discovered representations of Jupiter, Diana, Mercury, Silvanus, Liber Pater, Venus, Hercules etc.; along them several representation of Danubian Riders and two Epona representations. Some votive carvings were made in stone workshops from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, others were made somewhere in the South of the Danube line and some others are made locally. The ones produced locally are easy traceable because they are of small size and very schematized.

Keywords: Votive reliefs, stone-workshops, local productions, Greek-Roman deities

Rezumat. Sculpturi votive de la Tibiscum. Producție locală și importuri. Tibiscum este o importantă așezare militară și civilă din Dacia Superior. Castrul era garnizoana mai multor unități, în special din provinciile orientale ale Imperiului și pe lângă fortificație a înflorit o așezare civilă care, în secolul al III-lea p. Chr., a devenit *municipium*, sau cel puțin o parte a acesteia. Reliefurile în piatră descoperite în castru, *vicus* sau *municipium*, înfățișează în general divinități greco-romane, în ciuda faptului că unitățile principale care formau garnizoana erau de origine orientală. Au fost descoperite statui și reliefuli care înfățișează pe Iupiter, Diana, Mercurius, Silvanus, Liber

Pater, Venus, Hercules etc., și, pe lângă acestea, câteva reprezentări ale Cavalerilor Danubieni și două reliefuri ale zeiței Epona. Unele au fost realizate în atelierul de la Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, altele provin din ateliere de la sud de Dunăre și unele au fost produse în atelierul local. Produsele locale sunt ușor de recunoscut pentru că sunt de dimensiuni mici și foarte schematizate.

Cuvinte cheie : Reliefuri votive, ateliere de pietrărie, producție locală, divinități greco-romane

Tibiscum is an important military, civil and commercial centre in Roman Dacia on the banks of Timiș river. The name - Tibiscum is supposed to derive from Thraco-Dacian language and means a marshy place literally translating «place of the marsh»¹. Tibiscum is a military center right from Trajan conquest and soon after a permanent stone military fort was built here, along the fort a civil settlement appeared quickly (military *vicus*) and another roman settlement was founded on the other bank of the river almost in the same time.

In the reign of Antoninus Pius some reorganizational works have been done by the Romans and a new stone fort (larger) and a new civil settlement appeared on the banks of Timiș River. At this time three military units were stationed here (*cohors I Sagittariorum* replaced at some time at the end of the 2nd century AD by *cohors I Vindelicorum equitata c. R. pia fidelis, numerus Palmyrenorum* and *numerus Maurorum*).

In the North-Eastern part of the fort, nearby it, the civil settlement - the military *vicus* expanded also in the time of Antoninus Pius. This settlement grew larger and in the time of Caracalla the civil settlement will become *municipium Tibiscense*. In fact the Severus dynasty reign was for Tibiscum the «golden age» period, for instance the dedications for imperial family is quite abounded in this time, also economic growth is observed through archaeological means. Here pottery workshops existed along tile and brick ones², glass³, blacksmith and jewelry shops⁴. Just presumed but not actually found a stone workshop had been present here. This concentration of workshops

¹ Benea/Bona 1994, 7.

² Benea/Bona 1994, 92-96.

³ Benea/Bona 1994, 101-102.

⁴ Benea/Bona 1994, 96-100.

along trading businesses (also attested here) makes Tibiscum quite unique in Roman Dacia⁵.

Stone monuments from Tibiscum were never subjected to paleographic and scientific examination⁶ and the stone was identified just by looking at it. Limestone was the most used type of stone at Tibiscum, especially cristallin one but we have encountered also fossiliferous one. Sandstone was also used especially for funerary monuments.

Marble was used at Tibiscum especially of epigraphic monuments and votive reliefs. Due to these particularities we assert that a stone workshop existed at *Tibiscum* only for the needs of the inhabitants and not concentrated on export.

At Tibiscum are known now many votive stone monuments (statues, statuettes, plaques and reliefs) making easy to define religious beliefs here both in the military and civilian life. The main concern of this study are votive reliefs, usually we have encountered here divinities from Roman pantheon such as Jupiter, Diana, Mercury, Liber Pater, Venus, and also Epona and Danubian Riders.

Jupiter is present at Tibiscum with two reliefs, in one he is alone and in the other he is represented along Diana. The first relief is actually a bas-relief and the depiction of Jupiter is quite typical to Roman art. Jupiter is nude and is holding the scepter in his left hand and in the right hand holding the bunch of lightning or the *patera*⁷ (Pl. I/1). His image is completed by the eagle with the open wings. The depiction is more schematic than natural especially the musculature is heavily schematized. The relief was discovered in the North-Western part of the Roman fort alongside to an altar dedicated to Juppiter Conservator.

The second relief shows both Jupiter and Diana (Pl. I/2), Jupiter on the right and Diana on the left; the god has a similar depiction as before holding the scepter in the left hand, with the crinkle of his clothes along the waist and on the left shoulder⁸. The image of Diana is fragmented; we can only see her right hand which is used to take an arrow from her back quiver, an extremely common depiction of this goddess. The artistic touch is more carefully than the first one especially to the left hand of Jupiter and his coat crinkles.

⁵ Benea/Bona 1994, 27.

⁶ Wollmann 1973, 120, no. 84.

⁷ Moga/Benea 1979, 131.

⁸ Benea 1997, 233-234, no. 1.

Jupiter is shown on relief carvings with other deities too, in our case alongside Diana into a manner of depiction very similar with that from Bukovo⁹ from South-Eastern part of today Serbia were is depicted alongside Dionysus and Hercules. Jupiter is shown in both carving reliefs holding in his left hand his scepter, and the manner of holding this scepter and the position of the fingers on the scepter are similar in both depictions also the position of the left arm is similar at Tibiscum and Bukovo. The manner of execution of the carving is different though the relief from Serbia has a higher artistic quality so we assert that these similarities are consistent with the use of templates in both cases.

Diana hunting has been represented alone in one limestone relief from *Tibiscum* (Pl. I/3). We can see the goddess in frontal view, clothed in a Doric chiton covering her to her knees; over chiton she wears a *hymation*¹⁰. Unusually, she is not represented along another deity and also without a dog or a buck deer. A similar piece in representation of the deity was uncovered at Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa¹¹.

Mercury is shown at Tibiscum on a single marble relief (Pl. I/4), depicted with cloak over bear shoulders, his musculature is quite anatomically correct executed and also we can observe the intention of the artisan to show Mercury as a calm and distinguished young man, but artistically this relief is a modest achievement¹². Mercury is wearing a *chlamys* and *petasus*. The wings are depicted schematically.

Liber Pater is shown at *Tibiscum* on two reliefs (actually both fragmented and high reliefs). In both cases we can see the foot of Liber Pater and Pan¹³ (Pl. I/5). The margins of reliefs are fluted and the fact that the details are well depicted. Due to the fine details D. Benea assert, and we agree, that both reliefs are likely to be made at Ulpia Traiana were analogies exist.

Venus is depicted on one relief at Tibiscum¹⁴. This one is made out of marble, has rectangular shape with a slightly vaulted part and shows Venus in *Venus Pudica* typical depiction (Pl. II/1). The technique is truly provincial, awkward and sometime sloppy in details, even the specific elements are poorly detailed. The body is shown well-

⁹ Pilipović 2009, 65.

¹⁰ Benea 1997, 235, no. 2.

¹¹ Alicu/Pop 1979, 71, fig. 19.

¹² Benea 1997, 235, no. 3.

¹³ Benea 1997, 235-236, no. 4, 5.

¹⁴ Isac/Stratan 1973, 123-124.

proportioned but hair curls and clothes crinkles are not depicted. The work is fragmentary and on marble stone.

An interesting high relief is the one depicting the works of Hercules¹⁵ (Pl. II/2). Here two unique scenes for Dacia are shown: the seventh one The Cretan Bull and the eleventh one The Apples of the Hesperides. Due to the fact that another narrative relief, with many common elements with this one, was discovered at Ulpia Traiana we consider that the place of origin of this high relief is also Ulpia Traiana¹⁶.

Two fragmentary marble reliefs dedicated to the Celtic goddess Epona were discovered at Tibiscum (Pl. II/3-5). In the first one, just a fragment survived, the goddess feeds the horses, a very common iconographical stance but due to the fact the left part was destroyed we can only guess the actual iconography¹⁷.

The second relief broken in four pieces shows again Epona feeding the horses and we can actually see the goddess¹⁸. The presence of a tree in the background was considered by C. Timoc¹⁹ to be unprecedented but some similar depictions were discovered into an altar in Bordeaux²⁰. One of the depictions has a vaulted top part and the other is rectangular in shape. The depiction of Epona from Tibiscum makes Dacia to have seven mentions of this goddess alongside Italy, being the Danubian Province with the most attested mention of this particular deity.

Analyzing the manner of work and observing the schematic depiction we can assert that these reliefs were made in a provincial environment, maybe at Tibiscum.

Votive representation of Epona from Roman Dacia, make us to assert that the cult of this deity is larger than usual and that alongside Italy, Dacia is the second province outside the traditional Celtic space with a large cult dedicated to this Celtic goddess before Britannia or Hispania²¹. Analyzing the manner of depiction of animals and of the deity we can observe a pattern of schematization, a pattern used before at Tibiscum probably a characteristic of this artistic centre, because the

¹⁵ Bărbulescu 1981, 455-457;

¹⁶ Bărbulescu 1981, 455-457.

¹⁷ Isac/Stratan 1973, 122-123; Timoc 1997, 115-116.

¹⁸ Isac/Stratan 1973, 120-121; Timoc 1997, 115.

¹⁹ Timoc 1997, 116.

²⁰ Magnen 1953, nr. 224, pl. 46.

²¹ Magnen 1953; a statistic of monuments depicting Epona on the whole Empire numbers 246 items, most of them in Celtic space (Belgium and Germany).

main focus is attended to the central element of the composition and the details are more schematized than usual.

At Tibiscum 14 reliefs were dedicated to Danubian Riders²². Most of them are the type with one rider (pl. III/2-3, 5), three are with two riders (Pl. III/1). The shape is almost always rectangular, with profiled border and three registers (type B2a after Nemeti's catalogue²³). Most of them heavily fragmented only six of them can be shown due to their size being understandable. Artistically they are heavy elaborated and common in all Dacia, typologically similar with all other depiction known in province. Three of them could be locally produced or produced in the same workshop due to the lower register in which the main personage is shown seated and holding a long rod (?) or a fishing pole (?) pointed at the ritual feasting table and due to the similar depiction of the head of the ram on the table (Pl. III/3-5)²⁴. Other carvings could be imports as similar with the latest relief uncovered in the civil settlement that has an analogy in another piece discovered at Castelu, another roman settlement but from Moesia Inferior²⁵.

Conclusions

Twenty-four votive reliefs were discovered at Tibiscum, most of them without well specified place of finding due to the time of their uncovering. Marble is the predominant stone, followed by limestone. The characteristics that support our assertion of the artistic centre from Tibiscum are more or less tied to the fact that all carvings are of rectangular shape, rarely with a vaulted top, most of them low relief, mainly with small dimensions (10 to 16 cm wide), the anatomical details of the deity is well depicted the rest (clothes, hair) are more schematized; usually a carving relief is dedicated to one deity, with few exceptions especially the Danubian Riders but also here predominant is the type with one rider, also some depictions are unique to Dacia (Hercules, Epona) and finally simplicity is the first characteristic that we can say about all depictions, most of them respects the patterns but the

²² Moga 1976, 39-51; Tudor 1939, 70-73.

²³ Nemeti 2005, 210.

²⁴ Tudor 1969, 14, nr. 25, pl. XII; 9-10, no. 201, pl. III; Moga 1972, 6, no. 4; Vasincea 2009, no. 33.

²⁵ Nemeti/Ardeţ 2013, 215.

background is simply depicted the main focus is centred on deity/deities.

Assuming that the place of origin for the most of them is local could be correct, some of them are still imported probably from Ulpia Traiana from where we have strong analogies in high reliefs depicting Liber Pater and Hercules and not so strong ties regarding the relief of Jupiter and Diana. The artisans from Ulpia Traiana carved the reliefs of Liber, of Hercules (all three of them made in high relief technique a technique not used before or after in the stonemasonry workshop from Tibiscum) and probably one depiction of Jupiter and one of Diana. Probably locally produced are the reliefs depicting Danubian Riders with the same lower register and rest of them probably imports, most plausible place of origin being Moesia Superior and Moesia Inferior.

Illustration

- Pl.I/1. Relief of Jupiter (foto Călin Timoc).
- Pl. I/2. Relief of Jupiter and Diana (foto Călin Timoc).
- Pl. I/3. Relief of Diana (foto Călin Timoc).
- Pl. I/4. Relief of Mercur (after Benea 1997).
- Pl. I/5. Reliefs of Liber Pater (after Benea 1997).
- Pl. II/1. Relief of Venus (foto Răzvan Pinca).
- Pl. II/2. Relief of Hercule (foto Călin Timoc).
- Pl. II/3-5. Reliefs of Epona (foto Răzvan Pinca; after Timoc 1997).
- Pl. III/1-5. Reliefs of Danubian Riders (foto Maria Vasinca).

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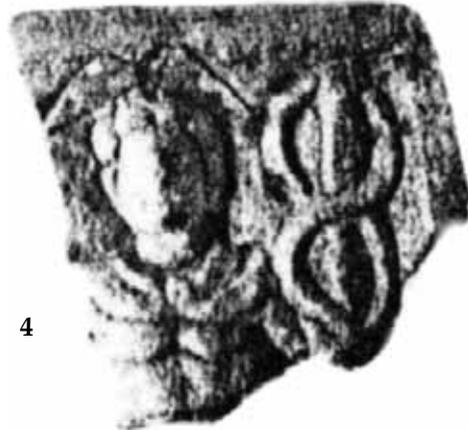
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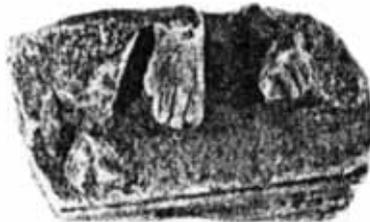
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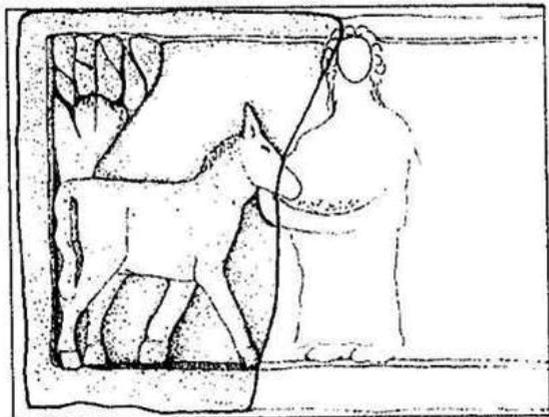


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3

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Pl. II



1



2



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4



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Pl. III

Aspects of the cult of *Silvanus* at *Alburnus Maior*¹

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Abstract. In this study we proposed to review certain aspects of the cult of *Silvanus* starting from more recent epigraphic finds, with special focus on those yielded by the archaeological excavations in building E2 on Carpeni Hill. The altars set up in this building, in use after the dismantling of the public baths, are the expression of devotion acts performed within a building, whose specific functionality we hope to determine following subsequent research. We have discussed herein the statistical data on the space diffusion of the finds at *Alburnus Maior*, their analysis according to the archaeological context, the epithets of the deity and origin of the names of the dedicants. The cult of *Silvanus* has reached *Alburnus Maior* from Dalmatia, with certain peculiarities from this area present. We suppose that an ancestral deity, highly popular, was worshipped under this name, who later was given the Latin name of *Silvanus*. Another peculiarity of this cult at *Alburnus Maior* is represented by the collective dedications made in the name of the *k(astellum) Ansi(s)* community or of a college.

Keywords: *Alburnus Maior, Silvanus, interpretatio Illyrica, Dalmatia, balnea*

Rezumat: Câteva aspecte ale cultului lui *Silvanus* de la *Alburnus Maior*. În acest studiu, ne-am propus o trecere în revistă a unor aspecte ale cultului lui *Silvanus*, pornind de la descoperirile epigrafice mai recente, cu specială privire la cele descoperite în cursul cercetărilor arheologice din edificiul E2 de pe Dealul Carpeni. Altarele depuse în această clădirea, care a funcționat ulterior dezafectării băilor publice, reprezintă exprimarea unor acte de devoțiune în cadrul unui edificiu, a cărui funcționalitate exactă sperăm să fie precizată în cursul unor cercetări ulterioare. Au fost luate în discuție datele statistice privind distribuția spațială a descoperirilor de la *Alburnus Maior*, analiza lor în funcție de contextul arheologic, epitetele divinității și originea numelor dedicanților. Cultul lui *Silvanus* a ajuns la *Alburnus*

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Maior din zona dalmată, observându-se unele particularități originare din acest spațiu. Presupunem că sub acest nume a fost venerată o divinitate ancestrală, foarte populară în spațiul dalmat, care a primit ulterior numele latin *Silvanus*. O altă particularitate a acestui cult la *Alburnus Maior* o constituie dedicațiile colective făcute în numele comunității *k(astellum) Ansi(s)* sau a unui colegiu.

Cuvinte cheie: *Alburnus Maior, Silvanus, interpretatio Illyrica, Dalmatia, balnea*

The more recent epigraphic finds from *Alburnus Maior* led to the resumption of significant debates on both this exceptional site and various important aspects related to the religious life in *Dacia*. We have proposed herein to review certain aspects of the cult of *Silvanus*, starting from the results of the archaeological excavations in the Roman baths on Carpeni Hill. During the investigations, two altars dedicated to *Silvanus* were identified, which fact would be, at first sight, surprising. Building E 2, where they were found, located in the central area of the hill, was functional for a period of at least a few decades, three construction phases² being identified. The first two could be assigned with certainty to a small public bath, *balneum*, most elements required for the functioning of such a building being found. The last phase corresponds to a building of different functionality, which, although preserved the same overall layout, was built according to a different plan than those previous, some areas being discontinued, while others were substantially reconfigured.

The two altars were discovered in archaeological contexts which may not be directly connected to any of the three mentioned phases. The first inscription was found at a very small depth, underneath the vegetal layer, in the western area of the building. The inscription reads as follows:

*Șily[a]no / Augusto / sacrum / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) l(aetus) vel.
v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) l(aeti)*³.

² Țentea/Voișian 2003, 449; Țentea/Voișian 2014, 261-263.

³ Țentea/Voișian 2014, 267 no. 1, pl. XVI. The single known record of the epigraphic phrase *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) l(aetus)* in *Dacia* comes from a dedication to *Silvanus Domesticus* from *Potaissa* (ILD 488). The phrase *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) l(aetus)* *m(erito)* is also recorded in few cases: *Alburnus Maior* (Cociș/Oloșutean 2002, 167), *Apulum* (CIL III 1009 = IDR III 5/1, 75; CIL III 1014 = IDR III 5/1, 78; CIL III 1045 =

The second monument was identified inside an area resulted from the demolition of the ancient buildings, reading as follows:

*Silvano / Domesti(co) / Helius / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*⁴.

Based on logic argumentation exclusively, the altars' set up may be assigned to the last phase building. The spacing of the two monuments, assuming they were not significantly moved from their original positions, provides no relevant clues. The purpose of the new building cannot be established for certain. Its relation with possible buildings in the western proximity needs also clarifying (pl. I). Therefore, one may assume that a building for cult purposes was erected where the public baths were discontinued. Differences in interpretations may result from the lack of conclusive parallels for the last phase of the building⁵ or due to the vague information caused by gaps in the texts of the inscriptions and their archaeological contexts. Hence, our approach started from examining the frequency and significance of placing votive monuments inside public baths, which seemed infrequent, inscriptions found in such buildings being usually honorific⁶.

The closest analogy is the depiction of god Pan – a deity which is sometimes mistaken with Faunus or Silvanus – on a parallelepipedic block of limestone, located on the facade of the baths at Barzan, Charente-Maritime, in Gallia Aquitania⁷.

Instead, the depictions of goddess Fortuna are quite frequent. If the Nymphs ensured the patronage of springs and water supply, as noted especially in the case of the public fountains, Fortuna, a true *dea*

IDR III/5 152; IDR III 5/2, 720) and Micia (CIL III 7855 = IDR III/3, 109). Cf. Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss / Slaby - EDCS: - http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/epi_en.php.

⁴ Țentea/Voișian 2014, 267 no. 2, pl. XVII.

⁵ The majority of the buildings at Roșia Montană, where votive monuments were identified, have a rather atypical layout that does not necessarily correspond to a specific type of cult building. Exceptions are the buildings T1 and T2 on Nan valley - Crăciun et al. 2003, 269, fig. 3; Crăciun/Sion 2003, 312 fig. 2.

⁶ We shall mention here only two of the most known cases from Micia, Dacia Apulensis, referring to the repair of the same baths CIL III 1374 = IDR III/3, 45; AÉ 1903, 66 = IDR III/3, 46: *balneas cohortis II Flaviae Commagenorum (Severianae) vetustate dilapsas restituit*.

⁷ Santrot 2003, 207–209.

*militaris*⁸, was responsible for the public baths. The most suggestive dedications are to Fortuna Balnearis from the baths at *Gigia-Gijon*, Hispania citerior (CIL II 2701), Duratón, Hispania Citerior (CIL II 2763) or Kirkby Thore, Britannia (RIB 764). Other altars dedicated to goddess Fortuna were discovered in the baths of the soldiers from Britannia⁹. Other two similar dedications from Germania Inferior and Germania Superior¹⁰ are worthy of note. In Dacia are known the dedication to Fortuna Augusta, discovered in a public bath at Apulum¹¹, two altars dedicated by the same individual M. Publicianus Rhesus to gods Aesculapius and Hygia, respectively Fortuna from the baths of the fortress at Potaissa¹² and two altars to Fortuna Redux, found at Ilişua¹³.

The reason for which votive altars were dedicated in baths to the healing gods associated with Fortuna Balnearis, were thus related to the concerns of the dedicants for health and hygiene, a context in which, as noted, *Silvanus* was never invoked.

Silvanus is a god with a multitude of attributes, occasionally mistaken with those of Pan or Faunus, his cult being performed in the middle of the nature. The works of the classical authors contain much information on how the cult of *Silvanus* was performed and its many aspects. One of the most ancient reports belongs to Titus Livius, who mentions that the god, who lived in the woods, intervened in the favour of the Latins during one of their conflicts with the Etruscans, namely in that of 509 BC¹⁴. Information on the diffusion of the cult throughout the Empire, taken from a statistics made in 1992, evidences the higher frequency of records in Rome and Italy (ca. 450, of which 250 are from

⁸ For the complete situation see Perea Yébenes 1997, 162-165.

⁹ Carvoran, *apodyterium* - Fortuna Augusta (RIB 1778), Binchester - Fortuna Sancta (RIB 1029), York (RIB 644), Great Chesters (RIB 1724), Risingham (RIB 1210), Caerleon (RIB 317), Chesters, *tepidarium* - Fortuna Conservatrix (RIB 1449), possibly Balmuilty (RIB 2189).

¹⁰ Goddess Fortuna Redux was dedicated the inscription for reopening following repair works of the baths at Coriovallum-Heerlen, Germania Inferior (AÉ 1959, 9) or those at Walldürn, Germania Superior (CIL XIII 6592 = AÉ 1983, 729 - found in *apodyterium*).

¹¹ CIL III 1006 = IDR III 5/1, 72. The deity has the same epithet in other two official inscriptions from Apulum (CIL III 1007 = IDR III/5, 73; CIL III 1008 = IDR III/5, 74).

¹² Bărbulescu 2012, 188-191, No. 23, Abb. 87-88; Piso 2014, 125 a; Bărbulescu 2012, 186-189, No. 22, Abb. 85-86; Piso 2014, 125 b.

¹³ CIL III 789, 790.

¹⁴ Titus Livius, *Ab Urb. cond.*, II, 7, 2.

Rome), Pannonia (ca. 250), Dacia (ca. 100), Dalmatia (ca. 90) and Galia Narbonensis (ca. 65)¹⁵. When interpreting the statistics, one should consider that the number of records is not related to the chronological interval when these dedications were made, which would bring together the circumstances in *Dacia* and *Pannonia*.

The origin of the god is Italy, as resulting mainly from the reports of the ancient authors as well as his popularity in the ratio of the dedicated monuments. How did *Silvanus* become most popular after *Iupiter*? Evidence to this fact would be its most spread epithet, *Domesticus*, the opposite of any official feature, which, according to Mócsy, drew him near the *Lares*¹⁶. It seems that the earliest monuments of the cult of *Silvanus*, known in the provinces, emerge in *Pannonia*¹⁷. They appear in the towns located along the Amber Road, in connection with the cult of *Silvanus Augustus* performed in *Aquilea*, which excludes the possibility asserted by previous studies on the *Pannonian* origin of this deity¹⁸. Without further emphasis on the historiography arguing in favour of the *Dalmatian* origin of the cult, we shall mention P. Dorcey's outlook, the author of an impressive synthesis on the cult of *Silvanus*, according to whom the cult originated in Italy and was later adopted by the local populations from *Pannonia* and *Dalmatia*, areas where the depiction and worship earned certain peculiarities¹⁹.

The cult of *Silvanus* in *Dacia* is recorded mainly in *Dacia Superior*. Mihai Bărbulescu believed that the most important factors impacting the diffusion of the cult in *Dacia* were the *Dalmatian* miners, the colonists from *Pannonia*, respectively the soldiers in the *Mauri* units²⁰.

¹⁵ Dorcey 1992, 161 sqq.

¹⁶ Mócsy 1974, 252.

¹⁷ *Silvanus* is dedicated in *Pannonia* on the largest number of altars after *Iupiter*, rarely associated with other deities. He is depicted alone or accompanied by deities of the nature, the *Silvanae* (occasionally named *Quadrivivae* and, when alone, *Diana*) - Mócsy 1974, 251.

¹⁸ Mócsy 1974, 250, note 154. The fact that it is much more frequently recorded in the north of the province than the south, further consolidates this note, to the detriment of the views suggesting the god's *Illyrian* origin.

¹⁹ Dorcey 1992, 68-71; Dzino 2013, 262.

²⁰ To this effect pleads the record of *Silvanus* in the temple of *dii Mauri* rebuilt at *Micia* in AD 204, respectively its association with *Mercury* (Bărbulescu 2009, 72). Then at *Ampelum*, the inscription dedicated to *Silvanus* by *numerus Maurorum Hispanensium* - CIL III 1149 = IDR III/3, 325 or CIL III 1306 = IDR III/3, 328).

The distribution of the cult's epigraphic records is as follows: Apulum (32), then Micia (21), Alburnus Maior (15), Napoca (7), Ampelum (6), Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa (5), Potaissa (5), Porolissum (4), Tibiscum (1) and so on²¹. A large part of the inscriptions contain insufficient data in order to establish the origin or social standing of the dedicants, in some cases, the inscriptions containing many gaps. Nevertheless, the statistical study made by Sorin Pribac concludes: artisans (35), traders (32), soldiers (23), notables (12), which show that the god was not necessarily worshipped by individuals of modest means.

The most frequent epithet of Silvanus, in both Dacia and Pannonia, is *Domesticus*. It may be interpreted as a request for the divine protection of the place where the individuals carried their activities. The reason of the dedications is also not too explicit, like the case of the inscriptions herein; phrases *v(otum) s(olvoit) l(ibens) m(erito)* or *v(otum) s(olvoit) l(ibens) l(aetus)*, which express only the previous contract between the dedicant and the deity.

The analysis of many epigraphic sources from Dalmatia and Dacia allowed Dušanić to discuss a special phenomenon, termed the religion of the miners²². These cultural aspects had many common features in the mining areas from several regions of the empire.

The individuals involved in the mining activities were exposed to the same difficulties and fears, which profoundly influenced their religious feelings and beliefs during various historical periods. The specificities of this *religion of the miners* were not much influenced by the ethnic differences of its worshippers. The classification of the cults in the mining areas was made depending on the relations with the proper mining activity. Thus, they were divided in three groups: deities of nature (*Liber, Silvanus, Diana, Ceres*), of the depths (*Dis Pater, Terra Mater, Orcia, Aeracura*) and the patrons of the work in galleries or metal *officinae* (*Hercule, Vulcanus, Neptun*)²³.

Silvanus is not a Roman god associated with *dii patrii* of the community of Africans in Micia, but an *interpretatio Africana* of the Roman god, namely one of the *dii patrii* (Bărbulescu 1994, 1335-1336; Nemeti 2004 a, 42).

²¹ The statistics is for guidance purposes only and based on the data from the following publications: Pribac 2006, 55-56, 270-275; Bărbulescu 2009 a, 256-257; Bărbulescu 2009, 70; Dészpa 2012, 61-67.

²² Dušanić 2004, 264.

²³ Dušanić 1999, 129-139; Dušanić 2003, 264.

In *Dalmatia*, the interaction of the local cults, characterised by non – figurative expressions, with the Greek and Roman ones occurred differently in the sea shore area compared to the inlands, characterised mainly by mountain relief. The idyllic deity of the Illyrian-Dalmatian native groups dominated the cultic iconography in these mountainous places, being a first example of widely spread popular cult, which was not institutionalised²⁴. It became known and widely spread under the name of Aegipan (Greek), Silvanus (Latin), being occasionally associated with Priapus. The attributes of this indigenous deity were, thus, similar to those of the mentioned consecrated gods.

The arguments according to which the epigraphic monuments dedicated to Silvanus in *Dalmatia*, considered a tribal divinity of the Delmatae populations, are based mainly on significant iconographical differences between the monuments dedicated to the god in this area, compared to the rest of the empire. Silvanus is by far the best represented iconographically deity from *Dalmatia*²⁵.

The inscriptions in the mentioned region were dedicated almost exclusively by local civilians and only a few by soldiers²⁶. The most frequent epithet was Augustus, followed by Silvester and in only three inscriptions Domesticus²⁷. Out of the total of twenty four inscriptions from Salona, Silvanus is accompanied by the epithet Augustus on 17. In exchange, the deity had this epithet in only two of the twelve inscriptions reported for the entire area of the Dinaric Mountains²⁸. The epigraphic monuments recording the deity with the epithet *Augustus* distribute almost exclusively in the territory of the town at Salona, Silvester appearing mostly in the Rider river area and west Bosnia, while Domesticus is sporadic²⁹.

The likelihood that the anonymous individual performing the votive deed for *Silvanus Augustus* in the building on Carpeni Hill, or the group in whose name the offering was placed, had come from Salona area is very high.

²⁴ Prusac 2011, 14.

²⁵ Lulić 2013, 37.

²⁶ Dzino 2013, 264.

²⁷ Dorcey 1992, 69 no. 117; Dzino 2013, 264.

²⁸ Bekavac 2011, 158.

²⁹ Lulić 2013, 38. The inscriptions from Pannonia show the following: no epithet - 28%, Domesticus - 43%, Augustus - 5% (Perinić Muratović 2010, 173).

The most relevant aspect of epithet Augustus found in the case of the dedications for Silvanus at Alburnus Maior is related to the cult origin and its worshipers. The dedications for Silvanus Augustus may be regarded as indirect constituents of the imperial cult³⁰. In this context, one should mention that some of these devotion acts could have been carried out by the soldiers, whose involvement in the religious processions performed within the imperial cult was one of their regular duties fulfilled during service time.

The name of the individual who dedicated the altar to Silvanus Domesticus discovered in building E2 at Roșia Montană, Helius (HIILIVS), is of Greek origin. The name is frequent in the inscriptions from Salona³¹. It was also found in a few inscriptions from the Dobrudja area of the province of Moesia inferior, namely, for a scribe³². A

³⁰ In the studies regarding the «imperial cult» the discussion on the deities who receive the epithet *Augustus* or *Augusta* is common place (Fishwick 1991, 446-454). This epithet evidences the deity's association with the person of the emperor, thus ensuring the god's power transfer to the emperor and his family. By these practices, the dedicant expressed loyalty to the emperor, which did not coincide with the identification of the latter with the worshipped deity. The act itself cannot be interpreted as a manifestation of the imperial cult (Fishwick 1991, 446-448, 453, Gradel 2002, 104-105). Thus, according to I. Gradel, the worship of the emperor is honorific, without being exclusively framed in the sphere of the political and religious. The absolute power of the emperor induced only his assimilation with a god. The manifestations of the imperial cult are found, according to the same author, in the private sphere, especially at the level of those of lower social standing, freedmen or slaves (Gradel 2002, 1-27). For the living emperor, there existed, at least theoretically, an indirect cult, even though no ex votos dedicated to him are known. Even if the altars do not contain the phrase consecrated by the honorific inscriptions, *pro salute imperatoris...*, in those cases when Augustus was used as epithet of a divinity, it is assigned the role of guardian of the emperor. For the inscription dedicated to Aesculapius Augustus at Thamugadi-Timgad, Numidia, placed in occasion of decorating a bath (AÉ 2010, 1819), the reference to the person of the emperor is obvious. Similarly may be regarded the inscriptions for Diana Augusta at Montana-Mihailovgrad, Moesia inferior (AÉ 1975, 744 = AÉ 1985, 737 = AÉ 1987, 874; AÉ 1987, 872; CIL III 12371 = AÉ 1891, 80; AÉ 1987, 871), a land known for the hunting or seizing animals place for the shows in Roma - *venatio Caesariana*, Velkov/Aleksandrov 1988, 271-277.

³¹ Helius, freeman or slave: *domino / b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit)* (CIL III 2045), Iulius Helius (CIL III 2391), Q(uintus) Aernius Helius (CIL III 12917), Q. Cloelius Helius, dedication to Silvanus Augustus (CIL III 14677 = AÉ 1900, 138).

³² Three inscriptions are placed in relation with the same individual, likely a scribe, two inscriptions at Capidava (found at Crucea, Constanța county) (CIL III 14214, 20

freedman, M. Herennius Helius, was recorded on an inscription from Cybala (Vinkovci) in Pannonia Inferior³³. These few examples evidence the frequency of the name among the peregrines, which may be an important indication for the peregrine status of Helius, without excluding the possibility he was a slave³⁴. The dedicant of the other inscription from Alburnus Maior dedicated to Silvanus Augustus, is Hermes Myrini, an individual who has a Greek origin name³⁵.

Silvanus is the second god as presence in the dedications from Alburnus Maior, circumstances similar to those at province level.

Of the fifteen inscriptions dedicated to Silvanus at Alburnus Maior, seven mention no epithet or the corresponding text part was damaged³⁶. Most frequent is epithet Augustus (4)³⁷, while Domesticus³⁸ and Silvester³⁹ appear twice. From this point of view, circumstances are different from the general statistics made for the province level and updated in 2012: Domesticus (56), Silvester (8), Sanctus (2), Augustus (2), Aeternus (1)⁴⁰.

The statistics made by M. - L. Dészpa show that, among the dedicants of Silvanus in Dacia, 57 individuals bear Roman names, 13 Greek names and Illyrian 5 (possibly 6)⁴¹. It is noteworthy that all Illyrian named individuals dedicating votive altars to Silvanus are recorded at Alburnus Maior⁴². In addition, most individuals placing *ex*

= ISM V, 29; CIL III 13737 = ISM V 20) and one at Ulmetum (Pantelimon) (ISM V 73 = AÉ 1912, 300 = AÉ 1922, 64): *Cocc(eius) (H)elius / scripsit!*. Another inscription recorded a *Helius, domo Amurio* (ISM V 234, Topolog).

³³ CIL III 9966 = CIL III 13360.

³⁴ The name origin of the individuals making the votive dedications at Alburnus Maior is proportionately 71.5% Illyrian, 19.8 % Roman, respectively 7.5% Greek (Varga 2014, 104). For the complete repertoire of the peregrines from Alburnus Maior - see Varga 2014, 122-126, nos. 92-199.

³⁵ IDR III/3, 405; Piso 2004, 281 no. 87.

³⁶ IDR III/3, 402, 403, 404, 406, 407; ILD 382; Borș/Simion/Vleja forthcoming.

³⁷ IDR III/3, 405; Țentea/Voișian 2014, 267 no.1, pl. XVI; 2 inscriptions cf. Borș/Simion/Vleja forthcoming.

³⁸ IDR III/3, 408; Țentea/Voișian 2014, 267 no. 2, pl. XVII.

³⁹ IDR III/3, 405 a, 406.

⁴⁰ Dészpa 2012, 67.

⁴¹ Dészpa 2012, 65-67.

⁴² *Pla(res)tor* Baotius (CIL III 7827 = IDR III/3, 402 = AÉ 2003 1511; Piso 2004, 285 note 92); *Varro Scen(?)i* (IDR III/3, 403 = AÉ 1960, 235; Piso 2004, 274 no. 3, 289 no. 169); *Rufi(us) Sten(natis)* (CIL III 12564 = IDR III/3, 404; Piso 2004, 286, note 104); *Varro Titi* (IDR III/3, 405 a, Piso 2004, 289 no. 168); *Annai(-)ius* (IDR III/3 406 = AÉ 1944, 19;

voto epigraphic monuments at Alburnus Maior, regardless the divinity, have Illyrian names⁴³.

We believe that the monuments at Alburnus Maior dedicated to Silvanus illustrate the *interpretatio Illyrica* of a deity originating in the Dalmatian area, widely spread under the Latin name of Silvanus. The most relevant examples to this effect are the collective dedications belonging to the *k(astellum) Ansi(s)* community, respectively a college for the cult of this deity⁴⁴.

The same phenomenon was also noted in the case of the four monuments dedicated to Ianus, three comprising epithet Geminus, by *kastellum Ansis*⁴⁵ or other worshipers of Illyrian anthroponymy⁴⁶. Therefore, the dedication of the same community to Silvanus must be understood under similar terms⁴⁷. Also, the invocation of Neptune at Alburnus Maior was interpreted still as an *interpretatio Illyrica* of the Roman god of the sea, identified by the Illyrians with the local god of springs and rivers, Bindus - Neptunus. He did not emerge as a sea god, but as guardian of the flowing waters and fountains⁴⁸, who might be deemed – in our case – the master of the waters carrying gold-bearing sands⁴⁹.

The cult of Silvanus reached Alburnus Maior from the Dalmatian area, certain peculiarities specific to this area being noted. We suppose that under this name an ancestral deity was worshiped, highly

Piso 2004, 276 no. 20); ?*Sameccus* (CIL III 7828 = IDR III/3, 408; Piso 2004, 286 no. 141). Roman names: *Dexter ?per. frater Martralis* (Zirra et al. 2003, 346 no. 5; AÉ 2003, 1496; Piso 2004, 280 no. 77), and Greek origin Hermes Myrini (IDR III/3, 405; Piso 2004, 281 no. 87) and Helius (see supra).

⁴³ The ethnicity of all the dedicants from Alburnus Maior is as follows: Illyrian 71.5%, Latin 19.8 %, Greek 7.5%, 1.3 % Egyptian - Varga 2010, 252.

⁴⁴ AÉ 1990, 848, respectively IDR III/3, 403 = AÉ 1960, 235. See discussion Nemeti 2005, 96. At empire level, *Silvanus* was worshipped especially by acts of individual devotion.

⁴⁵ AÉ 1990, 842.

⁴⁶ *Aelius Baeb(?ius)* and *Beusas Beus(as) Plar(entis)* (CIL III 7824 = AÉ 1944, 18 = IDR III/3, 389; Piso 2004, 279 n. 51); *Lonius Tizius Celsi* (Crăciun/Sion 2003, 298 = AÉ 2003, 1505, ILD 399), respectively *Dasas Verzo(nis)* and *Nevato Impl(i)* (Moga/Drâmbărean/Ciobanu 2003, 50, no. 1, fig. 17/1).

⁴⁷ AÉ 1990, 848.

⁴⁸ Nemeti 2004, 93.

⁴⁹ Bărbulescu 1985, 79 apud, Nemeti 2004, 93 note 11: with parallel at Gunzburg - *Guntia, Raetia: Neptu(no) /sacr(um) /molin(arii)* - CIL III 5866.

popular in the Dalmatian area, which later received the Latin name of *Silvanus*.

Another peculiarity of this cult at *Alburnus Maior* – since at empire level *Silvanus* was worshipped especially by individual devotion acts – were the collective dedications made in the name of the *k(astellum) Ansi(s)* community or a college established for the purpose of officiating this deity's cult. Epigraphically, a sacred space, *ara*, is recorded, where processions dedicated to this god were performed⁵⁰. His cult was also celebrated in other areas or cult edifices, beside other deities. The altars placed in the building functioning subsequent to the demolition of the baths on Carpeni Hill are the expression of devotion deeds carried out within this building, whose specific functionality would be determined by future research.

Illustrations

Pl. I: 1. The archaeological map of Carpeni Hill; 2. Building E2, the third phase of construction: display of the altars of *Silvanus*

Pl. II: 1. The altar for *Silvanus Augustus*; 2. The altar for *Silvanus Domesticus*.

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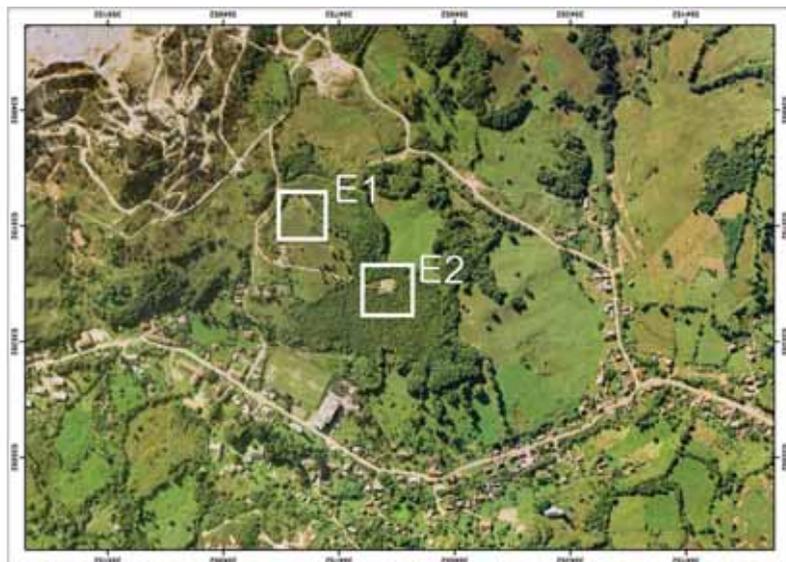
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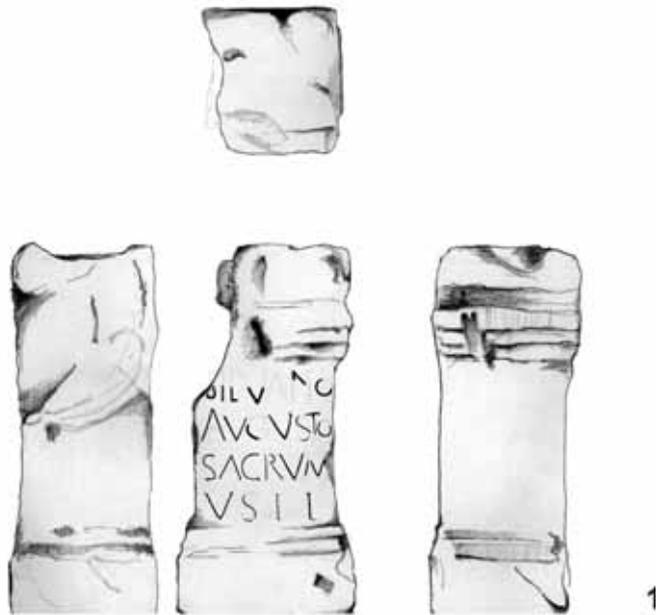
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Pl. I



2

Priapea Daciae.

A new statuette depicting Priapus from Porolissum

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Abstract. This paper presents a previously unpublished bronze statuette representation of Priapus. The artifact was discovered in the South-Western part of the settlement of Porolissum, in Dacia Porolissensis. Unfortunately, the precise archaeological context is unknown. In addition to presenting succinct description of the bronze statuette, this paper discusses the known finds of Priapus from the province of Dacia and suggests how they may have been used in public or private religious manifestations.

Keywords: Priapus, Roman Dacia, Porolissum, bronze statuette, Roman religion.

Rezumat. Priapea Daciae. O nouă statueta cu reprezentarea lui Priapus de la Porolissum. Acest studiu prezintă o statueta de bronz inedită cu reprezentarea lui Priapus. Artefactul a fost descoperit în zona sud-vestică a aşezării de la Porolissum, în Dacia Porolissensis. Din nefericire, contextul arheologic precis nu este cunoscut. Pe lângă prezentarea succintă a descrierii statuetei, în studiul de faţă se discută şi celelalte descoperiri cu reprezentarea lui Priapus din provincia Dacia sugerând în acelaşi timp cum ar fi putut fi folosite acestea în manifestările publice sau private.

Cuvinte cheie: Priapus, Dacia romană, Porolissum, statueta bronz, religie romană.

In the spring of 1980 a stray find from Porolissum (Pl. I) was reported to the local museum of Zalău, namely a bronze statuette depicting the god Priapus¹. The small, solid cast statuette has a height of 7.1 cm, a width at

¹ We would like to show our gratitude towards S. Nemeti (Cluj-Napoca) and M. Buona (Udine) for the critical remarks and observations made upon the text. We also thank to E. de Sena (Zalău) for the English review of the manuscript.

the shoulders of 2.1 cm and a base of 0.98 cm². The statuette depicts a schematic, grotesque and provincial representation of an ithyphallic Priapus. Represented as a dwarf and possibly naked, he wears a Phrygian cap on his head. The facial characteristics are easily distinguishable: exophthalmic eyes, small nose, and a proportionate mouth. The body is proportionally shaped. With both of the palms of his outstretched hands, the deity holds his erected *phallus*, while his other genital organs are outlined. The feet are represented down to just a little lower than the knees; the statuette has a support at its lower extremity for being attached on a small base (Pl. II, photos and Pl. III, drawing). The state of conservation of the bronze statuette is satisfactory, with only a small corroded area on the right shoulder. The precise archaeological context of the statuette is unknown; however, it was found in the South-Western area of the *municipium Septimium Porolissense*.

Priapus was a native deity from the Mysian city of Lampsakos on the Hellespont. In Greco-Roman times, Priapus was perceived as a fertility god, symbolized by the exaggeratedly large dimensions of his *phallus*. He was also considered to be the protector of gardens, goat and sheep herds, bees, vineyards, and of agricultural products³.

In Roman Dacia, there is only one inscription mentioning of Priapus, accompanied by the epithet *pantheos*, suggesting his universality as a Roman god⁴. The altar/statue base was erected by Publius Aelius Ursio and Publius Aelius Antonianus, *aediles* of the *colonia Aurelia Apulensis*, and dates to AD 235⁵.

Furthermore, there are only five other representations of Priapus, in the form of bronze statuettes found in Dacia, known to the scientific community: 1) a small statuette, with a height of 5.3 cm. and discovered in the civil settlement of Sucidava, portrays Priapus holding his cloak with his *phallus*⁶; 2) construction workers in Deveselu unearthed Roman bricks and a 5.8 cm. high representation of Priapus *pantheos* with a large

² History and Art County Museum Zalău, inv. no. 744/1980.

³ For the ancient literary sources and a general and fairly recent bibliography on Priapus see W. Rüdiger Megow s.v. *Priapos*, in LIMC, VIII/2 (1997), p.1028-1044.

⁴ Herter sv. *Priapus* in RE XXII 2 (1954) col. 1929-1930, for commentary on Priapus see col. 1914-1941.

⁵ IDR III/5 308, now lost: Text: *Priapo/ pantheo/ P. P(ublii) Aelii/ Ursio et An(tonianus) aed(iles) col(oniae) Apul(esnsis)/ dicaverunt/ Severo et Quintiano co(n)s(ulibus)*.

⁶ Tudor 1948, 193, no. 38, fig. 38; Tudor 1978, 390, 394; Țeposu-Marinescu/Pop 2000, 57, no. 47, pl. 27.

phallus and wearing a cloak⁷; 3) a statuette was found in the *thermae* of the Roman town of Romula by G. Tocilescu, which later disappeared⁸; 4) in Micia a Priapus statuette with a height of 4.2 cm. holds with both of his hands his *phallus* and also has a *kalathos* – this was discovered in 1979 in a distinct archaeological layer, the *principia* of the fort at a depth of 0.95 m, dating to AD 106-170⁹; and, 5) the most recent discovery was made in Apulum in 2007 (66A Moșilor street in what was the *municipium Septimium Apulense*) – a statuette depicting Priapus with a height of 4.7 cm plus a base of 1 cm, was found in a pit dated to the middle of the IIIrd century AD¹⁰. This was probably votive offering, judging by the fact that it was found in a pit.

There are two fragmentary *terracotta* figurines from Ampelum that were recovered in the context of a kiln, respectively 7.5 and 9 cm in height and both hollow¹¹. One of the artefacts bears incisions with the letters GIP on the pedestal, interpreted as the name of the manufacturer *G(aius) I(ulius) P(roculus)*¹². Also, made out of *terracotta*, is a *phallus* from Romula, which has been interpreted as an object used in association with the cult of Priapus¹³.

Priapus is also represented on an oval gem crafted from orange carnelian. The figure, housed in the collections of the Brukenthal Museum in Sibiu, wears a *chlamys* and walks to the right¹⁴. Unfortunately the find spot of the artifact is unknown.

⁷ Pârvan 1913, 66, Pl. VIII/4; Tudor 1978, 229, 390, 394, fig. 100, 3; Țeposu-Marinescu/Pop 2000, 57, no. 49, pl. 27; Petculescu 2003, 104, no. 51.

⁸ Tudor 1978, 390.

⁹ Țeposu-Marinescu/Pop 2000, 57, no. 48, pl. 27; Petculescu et al. 2003, 104, no. 51, dating in the 2nd century AD. For a recent analysis of the statuette, see Cristea 2015, 993-1000.

¹⁰ Ota 2008, 99, no. 120 (with the bibliography of other catalogues or conservation reports dealing with this artifact); Ota 2012, 104, pl. XXIX, 4; dating according to the archaeological context in the 3rd century AD.

¹¹ Lipovan 1992, 63, no. 1, fig. 1 a-b; 63-66, no.2, fig.1, 2 a-b; Ungurean 2008, 239, nos. 466-467.

¹² Lipovan 1992, 63-66, no. 2, fig. 1, 2 a-b; Ungurean 2008, 41. However we consider the reading of the letters as speculative.

¹³ Tudor 1978, 390; Ungurean 2008, 41 and no. 275. This *phallus* however could have been used as an amulet; thus, we doubt the direct link between the artifact and the cultic manifestations towards Priapus.

¹⁴ Țeposu-David 1965, 96, no. 19.

The most impressive representation of Priapus is the one found in *Napoca*. The colossal limestone statue of Priapus *pantheos* (with an estimated total height of 2.2 m according to A. Diaconescu) was found in the 19th century in the South-Eastern part of the Roman city. Its state of preservation is poor, especially in the extremities of the body; the erect phallus was probably destroyed in antiquity. The ithyphallic god holds an axe in his left hand and an eagle in his right one; his cloak is tied with a disk-shape *fibula* on his right shoulder¹⁵. A. Diaconescu has dated the statue to the Severan age, based upon artistic and sculptural analogies¹⁶. This colossal statue must have been a cult statue of a temple dedicate to Priapus *pantheos* in *Napoca*, which functioned at least during the Severan dynasty. It is impossible, for now, to establish when the temple was built or when it was eventually abandoned. We can be certain that this is the most unequivocal evidence of a public cult of Priapus *pantheos* in Roman Dacia.

As illustrated here, the vast majority of the representations of Priapus discovered in the province of Dacia are from urban or military settlements, whereas only a few were recovered at rural settlements¹⁷. The precise archaeological contexts of most of the artifacts, with the exception of the bronze statuettes of Priapus from *Micia* or the *colonia* of *Apulum*, are unknown. It appears that the examples from *Napoca* and, possibly, the *colonia* of *Apulum* were used in the context of a public cult of Priapus, whereas all other known representations were utilized for private and quotidian religious manifestations towards the ithyphallic god.

Returning to the bronze statuette depicting Priapus from *Porolissum*, we can only state that there is no firm evidence to propose a closer dating than the wide segment of time in the 2nd-3rd centuries AD. It is likely that this artifact was part of a private shrine or a *lararium* in one of the households of *Porolissum*; thus, there was no connection to

¹⁵ Diaconescu 2005, vol. 2, 163-164, cat. no. 35, pl. LXI for a more detailed artistic analysis, further information of the discovery and older bibliography.

¹⁶ Diaconescu 2005, vol. 1, 437.

¹⁷ Bărbulescu 1998, 203. This situation is, however, normal, as archaeological excavations did not particularly focus on Roman rural settlements up to present day. M. Bărbulescu counts 13 representations of Priapus in Roman Dacia in the same paper without mentioning them. We chose to focus solely upon the evidence related to the cult of Priapus without mentioning *lucernae*, Samian ware, phalluses, or other artifacts which are not relevant for this study.

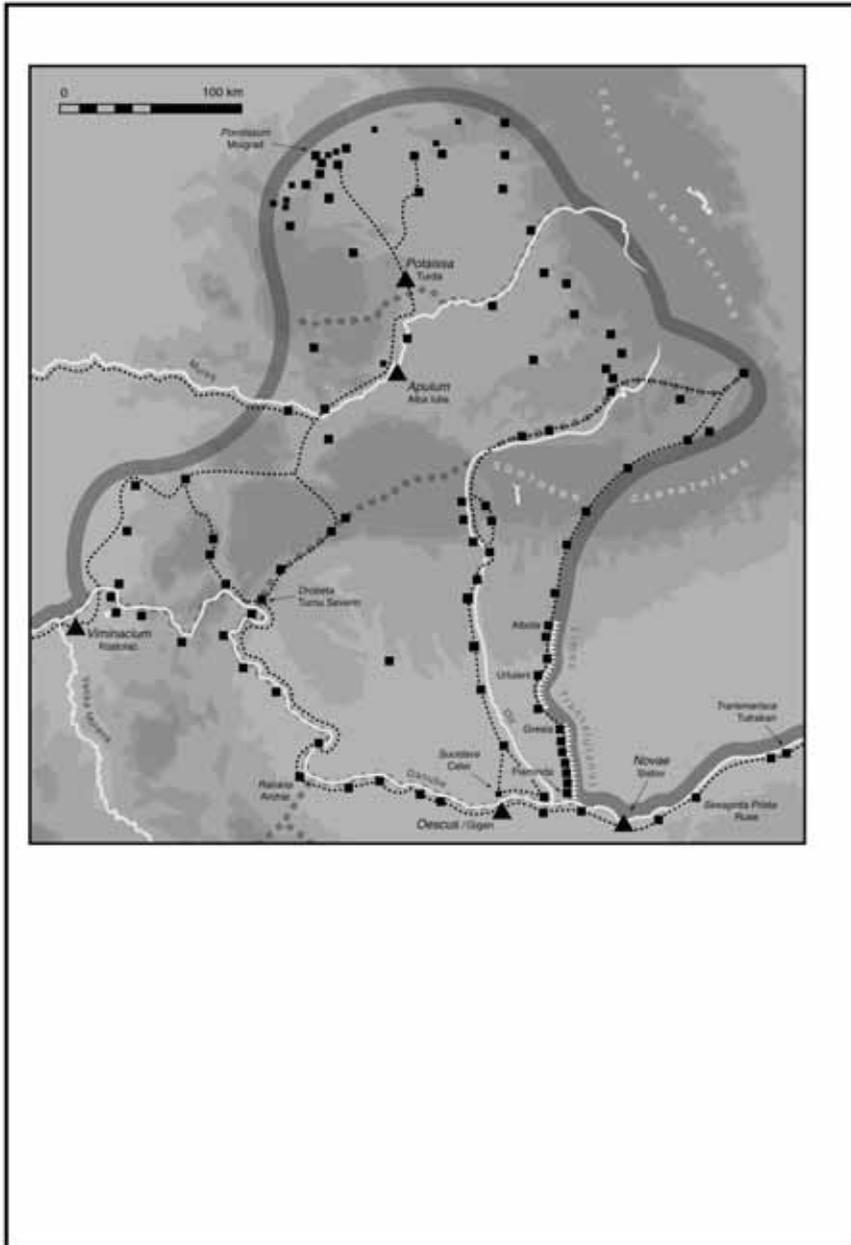
the military environment. Finally we can add that the importance of this statuette is based upon the general scarcity of representations of Priapus in Dacia.

Illustrations

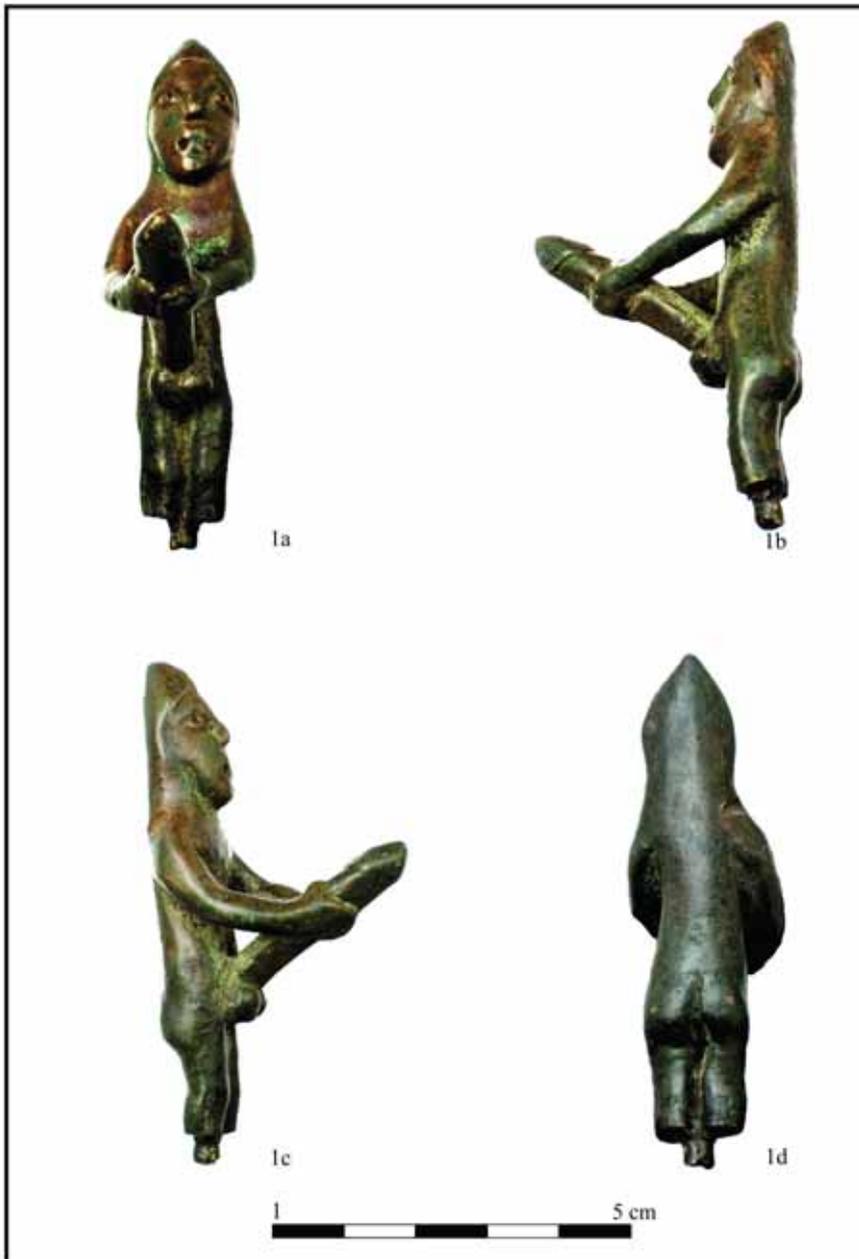
Pl. I: Map of Roman Dacia (Danube Limes – UNESCO World Heritage / Pen & Sword / CHC – University of Salzburg, authors: David Breeze and Kurt Schaller).

Pl. II: 1a. Priapus, frontal side view. 1b. Left side view. 1c. Right side view. 1d. Back side view. Porolissum (Sălaj county/RO). Photo D. Deac.

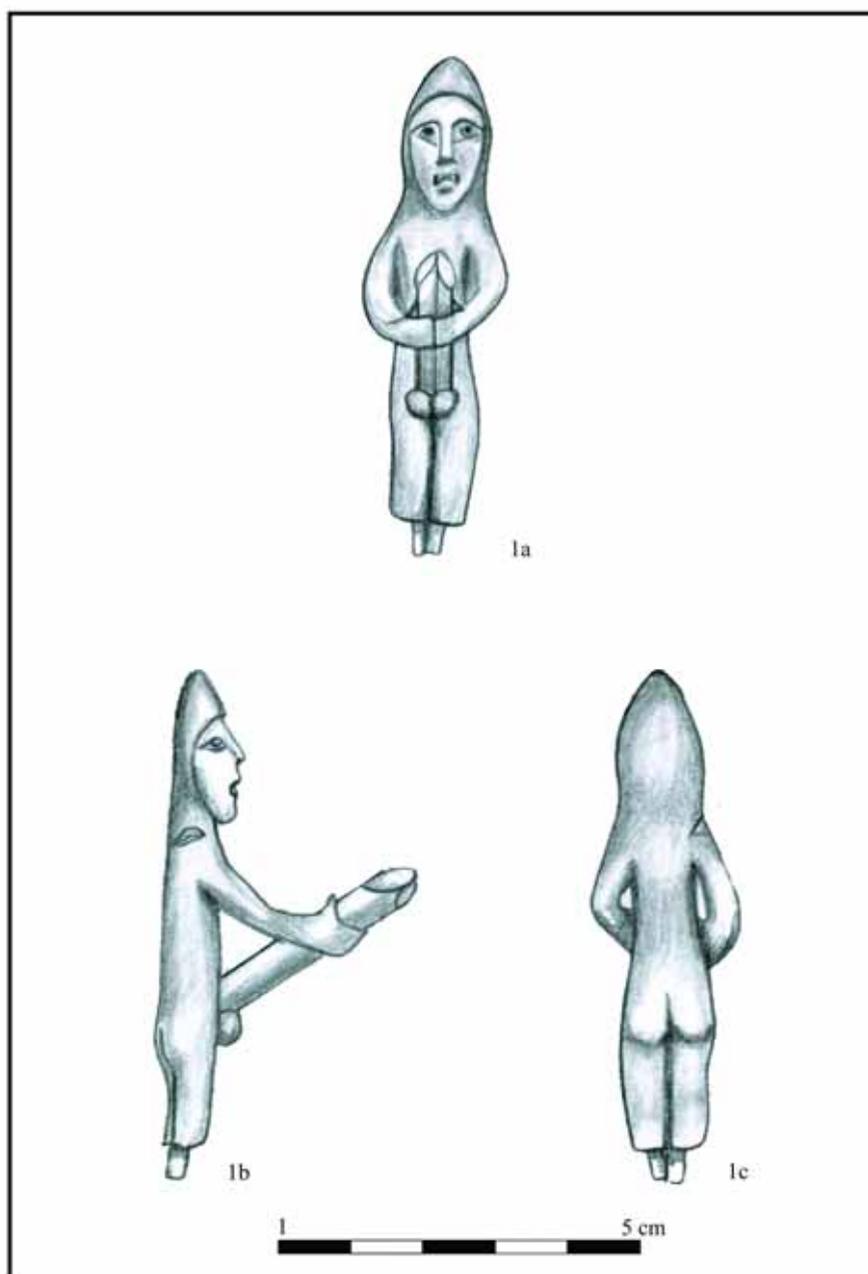
Pl. III: 1a. Priapus, frontal side view. 1b. Right side view. 1c. Back side view. Porolissum (Sălaj county/RO). Drawing O. Orțan.



Pl. I



Pl. II



Pl. III

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A jeweller toolkit discovered at Sarmizegetusa Regia (Grădiștea de Munte, Hunedoara county)¹

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Abstract. The jeweller toolkit object herein was discovered on a small terrace, conventionally termed terrace VIII A located just nearby the fortress and sanctuary at Sarmizegetusa Regia. It is a deposit of iron artefacts, lying in a pit lined with stones. The items in its composition represent most likely the toolkit of a jeweller. The deposit contains 48 complete or fragmentary artifacts, as follows: 30 iron tools (an anvil, a hammer, a pair of tongs, a calliper, ten files, nine chisels, two punches, a drawknife, a rake, a small spoon-like tool, a drill bit and a small knife), three crampons and one iron link, a whetstone and a knob/bead made of glass, four nails (complete and fragmentary), six fragments of pieces, difficult to identify, and two plates, one of iron and the other of bronze. Their diversity makes the toolkit unique among the finds in Dacia and, also, one of the most complex finds of the type in the ancient world. The jeweller toolkit dates back to the second half of the 1st century AD and early 2nd century AD.

Keywords: Sarmizegetusa Regia, jeweller toolkit, goldsmithing, the Dacians, La Tène.

Rezumat. O trusă de bijutier descoperită la Sarmizegetusa Regia (Grădiștea de Munte, jud. Hunedoara). Trusa de bijutier care face obiectul studiului de față a fost descoperită pe o terasă de mici dimensiuni, denumită convențional Terasa VIII A, aflată în imediata vecinătate a fortificației și a sanctuarului de la Sarmizegetusa Regia. Este vorba de un depozit de piese de fier, aflat într-o groapă căptușită cu pietre. Piesele care compun depozitul constituie, după toate probabilitățile, instrumentarul unui meșter orfevrar. Depozitul conține 48 de piese întregi sau fragmentare, după cum urmează : 30 de

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unelte de fier (o nicovală, un ciocan, un clește, un compas cu funcție de șubler, zece pile, nouă dălți, două punctatoare, o cuțitoaie, un răzuitor, o linguriță, un sfredel și un cuțitaș), trei crampoane și o verigă din fier, o cute de piatră și un buton / mărgea din pastă de sticlă, patru cuie (întregi și fragmentare), șase fragmente de piese, greu de identificat și două plăcuțe, una de fier și cealaltă de bronz. Diversitatea pieselor face ca trusa să fie unică între descoperirile din Dacia și, totodată să fie una dintre cele mai complexe descoperiri de acest tip pentru lumea antică. Trusa de bijutier se datează în intervalul cronologic cuprins între a doua jumătate a secolului I e.n. și începutul secolului al II-lea e.n.

Cuvinte cheie: Sarmizegetusa Regia, trusă de bijutier, orfevărie, daci, La Tène.

One of the specificities of the Dacian capital of Sarmizegetusa Regia (Grădiștea de Munte), consists in the quality, quantity and diversity of the artifacts discovered during the archaeological excavations carried out there. Many, were locally produced (tools and iron weapons, pottery, precious metal objects and glass etc.).

Numerous workshops functioned at Sarmizegetusa Regia before the wars with the Romans by early 2nd century AD, built on the terraces of the civilian quarters or just nearby the fortress. Smithing workshops were archaeologically investigated in the civilian settlement, like the one in the place called *Căprăreța*,² but also the “bronze and iron working” workshop discovered in the western quarter of the settlement.³ A group of workshops performing various types of activities functioned near the fortress and the sacred area, namely on terrace VIII.⁴

The jeweller toolkit object herein was discovered on a small terrace, conventionally named terrace VIII A, located just nearby the workshop on terrace VIII, from which it is separated only by a slight

² Glodariu 1975, 107-134.

³ Daicoviciu et al. 1955, 208-209.

⁴ Daicoviciu et al. 1952, 297-302; Glodariu et al. 1997, 50; Glodariu et al. 1996, 103-104; Glodariu/ Iaroslavschi 1979, 39; Iaroslavschi 1997, 100-101; Gheorghiu 2005, 148, 155, 174; on the terraces of the civil settlement at Grădiștea de Munte, in the recent years were discovered hundreds of iron objects. How numerous were the workshops making such objects is hard to say. Should we keep in mind that over 30 anvils were found insofar, it may be assumed their number was rather high. Iaroslavschi 2006, 260. Beside the smithing and goldsmithing workshops, in the settlement there functioned at least one coin workshop and a glass workshop.

land dislevelment. The terrace was archaeologically investigated during the campaigns conducted in 1995 – 1997, by a few parallel trenches (S IV/1995, SII/1996, S IV/1996). The stratigraphy in the three trenches (from up downwards) is as follows: 1. modern humus; 2. Dacian level II (marked by a pit and a limestone block); 3. the terrace levelling and filling level (for level II); 4. Dacian level I; 5. the terrace filling. Towards the valley, the terrace filling was supported by a small “wall” made of rock-cut or of mica-shist slabs bound with earth.⁵ It is believed that a workshop functioned there, built in timber placed on a limestone block base, without wall plastering. The building was burnt down, which made any layout restoration impossible.

The artefacts discovered in the three trenches consist of iron objects,⁶ pottery⁷ and glass.⁸ The most interesting find comes from S IV/1996. It is a deposit of iron items, found in a pit lined with stones. The archaeological feature belongs to the second Dacian level on terrace VIII A (it is the latest level, dated based on the partly above mentioned finds, to the second half of the 1st century AD – early 2nd century AD). Several small nails (most likely from a wooden box containing the tools) were found together with the pieces composing the deposit. An iron crampon, with mobile extremities, was also found placed on the top of the tools in the deposit.

The objects that compose the deposit mainly belong to a kit of a goldsmith. It contains a total of 48 pieces: 30 iron tools (an anvil, a hammer, a pair of iron-tongs, a calliper, ten files, nine chisels, two pin-punchers, a drawknife, a rake, a spoon-like tool, a drill-bit and a small knife), three crampons and an iron link, a fine whetstone and a knob / bead made of glass paste (pl. I). To these also add four nails (complete and fragmentary), six fragments of various pieces, difficult to identify and two fragments of metal sheets, one of iron and the other of bronze. The diversity of its contents makes the kit unique among the finds in

⁵ Glodariu et al. 1997, 50.

⁶ Amongst we mention an axe, a deposit of hoes and adzes (found near a limestone block, likely from the timber structure base, set in such a manner to occupy as little space as possible), a massive punch, a large fragmentary knife etc.

⁷ The pottery fragments come from large vessels (storage vessels), bowls with pedestals or with foot rings etc. To these add two pottery fragments with incised signs after firing (*graffiti*), a fragment of a Roman lamp and so on.

⁸ For instance, a fragment of a bottle base and a glass lump.

Dacia and also one of the most complex finds of the type in the ancient world. The kit inventory, which we shall present below, includes almost all types of metal tools necessary for activities related to goldsmithing.⁹ The artefacts are held in the collections of the National Museum of Transylvanian History, in Cluj-Napoca (Romania).

Of various shapes and sizes, jewellery making anvils are usually made of iron or bronze.¹⁰ The jeweller toolkit from Sarmizegetusa comprised only a small **anvil**, square and four-legged (*VD 2450*; pl. II/1, pl. VII/1). The working surface is slightly bulging midway, being wider compared to the anvil body. It is 9.1 cm tall and has an upper part of 8 x 7.9 cm, copying at a smaller scale anvils frequently discovered in the blacksmith workshops at Sarmizegetusa Regia.¹¹

The hammer having two faces and an eye (*VD 2451*; pl. II/3, pl. VII/2). Part of its body has a circular cross-section, while the active face is also circular, slightly larger than the body. The other face has a quasi-rectangular cross-section (with rounded corners) and a rectangular active part, being wider and flatter towards the tip.

Sizes: length 16.3 cm, max. width (in the handle orifice area) 2.7 cm, circular extremity diameter 2.2 cm, sizes rectangular extremity 2.6 x 0.6 cm, d. handle orifice 1.5 cm.

⁹ For metal tools used in goldsmithing on the territory of Dacia see Glodariu/Iaroslavschi 1979, 96-103; Iaroslavschi 1997, 67-71; Rustoiu 1996, 66-88; Rustoiu 2002, 83-90. Amongst the tools mentioned by the authors above, the jeweller toolkit from Sarmizegetusa Regia lacks the chisels with handle and drawplates. On the other hand, among the tools that the archaeological investigation of the smithing workshop on terrace VIII yielded also counts a drawplate, a tool used for making wires of soft metals (silver or gold) and which, at least theoretically, is a piece which belongs to the goldsmith rather than the smith. The association between smithing workshops and those making other metal pieces is in fact common in the ancient world. This seems to be the case of the jeweller toolkit found just nearby the smithing workshop at Grădiştea de Munte, unless it was part of the inventory of precisely this workshop, hidden most likely in a time of crises.

¹⁰ A. Rustoiu identifies at least 7 anvil types that might have been used in jewellery making workshops. Rustoiu, 1996, 68-70.

¹¹ Glodariu/Iaroslavschi 1979, 44-45, fig. 9/3; Iaroslavschi 1997, pl. XXIX/3. Anvils of the type, yet of much larger sizes, were used in metal processing workshops in the Roman world (from where the Dacians likely assumed them), occasionally depicted in the reliefs of the Roman environment like those at Rome (Reddé 1978, 56, fig.2), Gorzegno or Aquileia (Pleiner 2006, 95, fig 43/2-3; Tran 2011, fig 74).

Similar specimens (however of other sizes) come still from Sarmizegetusa Regia, some even from the workshop on terrace VIII, lying just nearby the spot where the jeweller toolkit was found.¹²

A special item in the kit inventory is the **tongs with locking bar** (VD 2452; pl. II/2, pl. VII/3). The tongs jaw has a simple grip, made of two overlapping flat parts, rather wide and thick. In the junction area of the two sides of the tongs, the body of each part widens in the shape of a rhomb, tapering towards the jaw. The two sides are attached by a rivet. The handles are rectangular in cross-section in the junction area and circular towards the extremities. One of the handles is ending with a ring where a locking bar was attached (with another ring). The other handle tapers towards the tip (hence the nail appearance), for it was inserted in one of the orifices of the locking bar thus ensuring, during operations, a certain span of the tongs jaw. The locking bar was provided with 8 orifices (the eighth survived fragmentarily, the item being broken in that spot) of various sizes, set at unequal distances one from the other.

Sizes: length 21.5 cm, handle length 15 cm, opening width 1 cm, locking bar length (attachment ring included) 8.5 cm, width 1.4 cm, thickness 0.2 cm, orifices diameter between 0.3 and 0.5 cm.

Jeweller tongs are rather rare among finds, a few specimens coming from Sarmizegetusa Regia.¹³ Until present, two specimens with locking bar are known, one found in the fortress at Căpâlna (the locking bar of these tongs was provided with three orifices)¹⁴ and the second in the settlement at Răcățău (in this case, the locking bar was provided with four indentations instead of orifices).¹⁵

Another piece in the tools kit inventory, unparallel in Dacia until now, is a **calliper** (VD 2438; pl. III/1, pl. XI/6). The piece, preserved complete, has its legs strongly curved, widened in the form of a ring in the upper part and attached by a rivet. The arms are made of a bar, rectangular in cross-section; they are wider in the upper part and taper in the lower part.

¹² Glodariu/Iaroslavschi 1979, 97-98, fig. 53/13-16; Rustoiu 1996, fig.22/2-7.

¹³ Glodariu/Iaroslavschi 1979, 101.

¹⁴ Glodariu/Iaroslavschi 1979, 101; <http://dacit.utcluj.ro/scandb/?page?=scandb#/model/223/ro>.

¹⁵ Căpitanu 1985, 48, fig. 6/a.b.c. The piece was interpreted by the author as a pair of vine scissors. The accurate interpreting (that of a pair of tongs with locking bar) belongs to Rustoiu 1996, 72.

Sizes: height 10 cm, max. thickness arm 0.6 x 0.45 cm, ring diameter 1.4 cm.

Originally identified, when found, as a compass, of a special type among the Dacian objects in the Orăștie Mountains area, the piece is rather a calliper, enabling the measurements and sizing of certain objects.¹⁶ Other pieces of the kind were not further identified in the Dacian world, being instead rather frequent in the Roman world,¹⁷ similar tools being discovered at Rome¹⁸ or Pompeii.¹⁹ Sometimes, callipers of the type are depicted on Roman funerary reliefs.²⁰

The tools kit also includes ten **files of various shapes and sizes**, of which eight survived complete and two only fragmentarily (pl.IV/2 partial).

1. File of semi-round section, average sizes, with handle tang (VD 2463; pl. VIII/1). The teeth are well preserved (in the form of squares of very small sizes) on both sides of the file. The handle tang is triangular and separated from the file body by a necking. The file point was broken as early as the Antiquity. Sizes: total length 20.6 cm, body length 14.7, max. width 1.9 cm, thickness between 0.7 cm by the base and 0.3 by the tip.
2. File of rectangular section and average sizes (VD 2469; pl. VIII/2). Preserving teeth traces (in the form of parallel, horizontal lines) on all four sides of the piece. The tool body is divided from the tang allowing the handle attachment by a barely visible necking. The file has a slightly rectangular shape, which it preserves midway the body, from where it starts to slightly taper towards the point (it lacks only a small part). The handle has a triangular shape and a rectangular cross-section.

¹⁶ In general, it is believed that the objects of the type were used in sculpture to measure thicknesses and inner diameters. http://archeoroma.beniculturali.it/ParoleDiPietra/archeologia_01bottega.htm

¹⁷ Hanemann 2014, 456, fig. 376/3.

¹⁸ http://archeoroma.beniculturali.it/ParoleDiPietra/archeologia_01bottega.htm

¹⁹ Most specimens from Pompeii are made of bronze. Di Pasquale 1994, 642, fig. 10; Di Pasquale 1999, 288, 308, fig. 388. A bronze callipers with silver inlays on both legs in the collection of the University College of London was published by W.M.F.Petrie - Petrie 1917, 60, pl. LXXII/ 223.

²⁰ An example to this effect is the funerary relief of a family of *agrimensores* at Rome - Di Pasquale 1994, 642, fig 7.

Sizes: total length 20 cm. Body length 15 cm, max width 1.2 cm, thickness 0.25-0.60 cm.

3. File of rectangular cross-section, slightly thicker than the preceding (*VD 2467*; pl. VIII/3). Preserving teeth marks on all four sides (in the form of parallel, horizontal lines). The file body is separated from the handle tang by a small necking and tapers very little towards the tip. The handle tang is triangular and has a rectangular section, being damaged by the end. The item preserves its thickness almost on the entire length tapering only towards the tips (of the body, respectively the handle). Sizes: total length 23.2 cm, body length 17 cm, max. width 1.5 cm, thickness 0.7 cm.
4. File of rectangular cross-section, similar with the preceding, yet without damaged handle (*VD 2466*; pl. VIII/4). Sizes: total length 23 cm, body length 16.6 cm, max. width 1.3 cm, max. thickness 0.6 cm.
5. File with rectangular cross-section similar to the preceding (*VD 2468*; pl. VIII/5). The necking between the body and handle is slightly better marked. Sizes: total length 20.7 cm, body length 16.3 cm, max. width 1.3 cm, max. thickness 0.7 cm.
6. File similar to the preceding, yet more massive (*VD 2464*; pl. VIII/6). Sizes: total length 24.5 cm, body length 19 cm, max. width 1.4 cm, max. thickness 0.9 cm.
7. File similar to the preceding, has the tip broken from Antiquity (*VD 2465*; pl. VIII/7). Sizes: surviving length 20 cm, body length 13.5 cm, max. width 1.3 cm, max. thickness 0.6 cm.
8. Iron file of rectangular cross-section, somewhat smaller, broken tip (*VD 2445*; pl. VIII/8). Preserving teeth marks on two sides (in the form of parallel lines). The file body tapers towards the handle forming a triangular tang, with a rectangular cross-section. Sizes: length 11 cm, max. width 0.8 cm, max. thickness 0.4 cm.
9. Fragment of iron file (*VD 2471*; pl. VIII/9). The item, with approximately circular cross-section, is broken by the tip from Antiquity. The body file still exhibits visible the teeth marks. The attachment tang is triangular and sharpened by the tip. The differentiation between the file body and the attachment tang is made only by a change to the cross-section of the item. Sizes: total surviving length 9.6 cm, max. body diameter 0.8 cm.

10. Iron file fragment (VD 2442; pl. VIII/10). The item had a triangular cross-section and still preserves the teeth marks (perpendicular to the body, in the form of parallel grooves). Sizes: surviving length 8.5 cm, max. width 1 cm.

Noticeably, the toolkit contains several file types, which vary according to sizes, the cross-sections of the active parts or the teeth types present on the tool body. Small-teeth iron files were auxiliary tools used in smithing and goldsmithing workshops in order to remove the metal surplus and finish certain items.²¹ The teeth cut and their sizes were often used to divide these tools in fine or coarse files. They were produced and used depending on the material type which they were supposed to be used on. Thus, coarse files were used on soft materials, while the fine files were used on somewhat harder materials.²² Most of the files in the toolkit inventory (6 specimens) have a rectangular section and teeth made in the form of parallel and horizontal lines, present on all four sides of the piece body (pl. V/2).²³ Also, the slight semicircular notch on both sides of the item marks the difference between the file body and the handle tang.²⁴ The sizes of the pieces in this category vary between 20 and 24.5 cm. In Dacia, files were also discovered in the workshops found in the settlement at Sarmizegetusa Regia and in the fortress at Costești,²⁵ yet the specimens in the jeweller toolkit are of a special shape. This type of file with a necking between the handle and the proper body of the piece is infrequent in the Roman world. For instance, two similar artifacts come from the site at Avenches, one of the items dating, due to the find context, to the end of the 1st c. AD – early 2nd c. AD.²⁶ The other four specimens in the jeweller tools kit are

²¹ Iaroslavschi 1997, 74.

²² Duvauchelle 2005, 28.

²³ The files of rectangular cross-section (also termed flat files) are frequent also in the Roman world where they represent ca. 40% of the total of found pieces. In addition, the horizontal setting of the teeth, even though less practical, is frequent on these tools, the transversal setting of the teeth (which appears in the 1st c. AD) spreading rather difficult. Files of the type are commonly used for finishing certain flat pieces. Duvauchelle 2005, 28; Gaitzsch 1980, 54.

²⁴ Most likely, these semicircular spots marked the place where the thumb was placed when handling the tool. Duvauchelle 2005, 28.

²⁵ Glodariu/Iaroslavschi 1979, 55.

²⁶ Namely, two pieces with a length of 27 cm, respectively 33.5 cm, provided with semicircular notches between the body and handle, one with a rectangular cross-section and the other with an almond-shaped section. The latter was found

different, each with their own section type (semi-round, circular,²⁷ triangular), sizes or teeth making. The piece with semi-round section, semicircular notches and teeth likely made with the aid of a stamp (Pl. V/1) is also paralleled in the site at Avenches.²⁸ In the respective case, the piece was interpreted as file used in woodworking, bone or even stone processing activities.²⁹

Another category of auxiliary tools present by nine specimens in the jeweller toolkit from Grădiştea de Munte is represented by **chisels** (pl. IV/1). The items, of relatively small sizes, may be divided into two categories: massive chisels of rectangular shape, straight blade and bevel flattened due to use (3 specimens) and chisels with a slender body with an either rectangular or circular section (or a mixture of both) (6 specimens). The blade of the latter is either straight, or oblique and usually, very sharp.

1. Massive iron-made chisel of rectangular cross-section, slightly bulging midway, tapering towards the point (VD 2456; pl. IX/1). Slightly narrowed and sharpened head, in the form of a blade (partially damaged). The bevel, flattened by repeated blows, has an approximately circular shape. Sizes: length 11.8 cm, max. width 1.4 cm, thickness 1.1 cm.
2. Massive chisel similar to the above, yet with an almost square cross-section (VD 2461; pl. IX/2). It has a chipped point and the bevel is strongly "splayed" due to use. Sizes: length 15.1 cm, max. width 1.5 cm, thickness 1.2 cm.
3. Chisel similar to the above, the piece body has a polygonal cross-section and the active part is in the shape of a sharp blade (VD 2460; pl. IX/3). Sizes: length 12 cm, max. width 1.7 cm, thickness 1.4 cm.
4. Iron chisel with a straight-cut sharp point (VD 2441; pl. IX/4). Broken from Antiquity, it has a circular body in the upper third, rectangular towards the blade. Sizes: length 11.7 cm, body diameter 1 cm, blade width 0.9 cm.

in a demolition layer related to a casting pit used for making a bronze statue, beside a chisel. Duvauchelle 2005, 26, cat 48-49, pl.7/48-49.

²⁷ The files with circular or semi-round section were mainly used for mouldings and orifices. Duvauchelle 2005, 28.

²⁸ Duvauchelle 2005, cat 143, pl.227/143, with the note that the specimen at Avenches is much longer, namely 38.5 cm.

²⁹ Duvauchelle 2005, 56.

5. Iron chisel with sharp edge, cut obliquely and slightly wider than the body (*VD 2457*; pl. IX/5). It has a circular cross-section in the upper body half, rectangular in the lower. Sizes: length 12.1 cm, body diameter 0.9 cm, blade width 0.9 cm.
6. Chisel of rectangular cross-section, broken in the point area, slightly widened in the bevel area (*VD 2453*; pl. IX/6). Similarly to the preceding chisels, the upper part has an approximately circular cross-section. Sizes: length 15.5 cm, max. width 0.8 cm, maximum diameter (in the bevel area) 1.3 cm.
7. Chisel with straight blade, sharp and chipped from Antiquity. The piece body is rectangular in cross-section and wider towards the tip (*VD 2454*; pl. IX/7). Sizes: length 10.5 cm, max. width 0.9 cm.
8. Chisel with an oblique-cut tip and rectangular cross-section body (*VD 2455*; pl. IX/8). Sizes: length 16.3 cm, max. width 0.8 cm.
9. Iron chisel fragment (*VD 2472*; pl. IX/9). The tool's body has a round cross-section, in the lower third changing into a rectangular one tapering towards the tip forming a blade. It may be a chisel, according to the present blade, but also a round cross-section file (although the teeth are no longer visible on the body). Both ends of the piece are damaged. Sizes: surviving length 10.4 cm, max. diameter 0.8 cm, blade width 0.6 cm.

Chisels are tools mainly used for cutting metal or for making incisions on metal items. In the case of the jeweller toolkit, chisels may be divided into two categories: cutting tools (the pieces with massive body, wide and straight blade) and decorating tools (the specimens with slender elongated body and fine, narrow blade). The chisels in the first category might have been used for cutting metal pieces, either hot or cold.³⁰ In the case of the three tools in the jeweller toolkit, they were very likely used to punching out metals when cold, hence their massiveness, their

³⁰ Duvauchelle 2005, 25. When used for punching out already heated metals, they have a somewhat elongated body to prevent hands burns, while the area of the hammer blows is almost not deformed (since the metal was soft, the necessary force applied for its cutting was not very high).

relatively short body and strongly battered head by hard usage. The chisels used for metal cutting were discovered in several Dacian sites,³¹ with parallels in numerous sites in the ancient European space.³² A specimen similar with those in the jeweller toolkit, yet of somewhat smaller sizes (7.6 cm), was discovered in the site at Avenches, dating back to the last half of the 1st c. AD/first half of the 2nd c. AD – end of the 2nd c. AD.³³

The chisels in the second category, commonly used by goldsmiths or bronze artisans, may be of various sizes, depending on the operations they were used for;³⁴ they are rather frequent finds both in Dacia and in the Celtic or Roman worlds. The closest analogy for the items at Grădiștea de Munte are the chisels discovered in the workshop at Pecica (in this case, they are made of bronze and not iron like at Sarmizegetusa Regia),³⁵ those found in the hoard at Oșanići³⁶ or those discovered at Galjub.³⁷

Still for marking, tracing, decorating or piercing small orifices in metal **punches**³⁸ were also used. The toolkit contains two such items:

1. Punch of a rectangular cross-section (almost square), sharpened by the tip (*VD 2458*; pl. X/1). The part hammered during operations is bevelled and damaged. Sizes: length 9.6 cm, max. width 0.6 cm.
2. Punch of a rectangular cross-section (square in the upper side, rectangular in the rest) sharpened by the point (*VD 2459*; pl.

³¹ Glodariu/Iaroslavschi 1979, 54.

³² Manning 1985, pl 5; Pietsch 1983, pl. 11/230-234.

³³ Duvachelle 2005, cat 23, pl. 4/23. According to the author, the piece might be dated even more accurately, between AD 70 and 120.

³⁴ The items might have been used to make decorations on plates, to make incised/engraved motifs on various metal objects, for finishing cast pieces etc. In some cases, chisels might have been used for making wax models necessary for bronze casting by lost-wax. Ippel 1922, 82.

³⁵ Crișan 1969, 96, pl.V, 1-4, 10-11.

³⁶ The chisels at Oșanići have their sizes between 7 and 10.4 cm, being slightly smaller than those at Grădiștea de Munte; Marić 1978, 31, fig. XXIX/103-112; Gebhard 1991, 7, fig. 6.

³⁷ Ippel 1922, 81-82, tafel X/109-113. They are also made of bronze.

³⁸ The items are also called stamps. Due to their very slender shape and sizes which hinder its handling only by fingers instead of a full hand, M. Pietsch believed that punches were used for decorating not so hard materials (for instance metal sheet). Pietsch 1983, 39.

X/2). The other end is bevelled and splayed. Sizes: length 7.8 cm, width 0.4-0.5 cm, thickness 0.1- 0.6 cm.

The two punches are very similar in shape with the bolts or massive iron nails. The rectangular shape, the flattened and damaged end (due to repeated blows) and the very sharp tip, as well as their association with the other items in the toolkit suggest they were used as tools rather than building materials. Punches, of other types than the ones already described, are known for now only in the Dacian sites at Costești and Sarmizegetusa Regia,³⁹ being though rather frequent in the Roman world.⁴⁰

Interestingly, among the items composing the jeweller toolkit, tools known rather for their use in wood processing than metal were also found: **a drawknife, a rake, a small spoon-like tool, a drill-bit and a small knife**. Nevertheless, compared to the tools of the same type frequently used in carpentry-masonry, the ones found in the kit are of much smaller sizes.

1. Small drawknife with curved blade and perpendicular handles onto the blade (*VD 2437*; pl. X/3). The active part of the piece (the blade) is thicker in the upper part, tapering towards the point and is strongly curved. The drawknife had two handles, of which only one is complete, including the end part, sharp and bent at 90 degrees. The other handle, preserved partially, is slightly deformed. The handles are of rectangular shape, wider towards the blade and thinner towards the end. Sizes: total length 18.5 cm, max. width 13.1 cm, blade length 11.2 cm, blade width 1.9 cm, blade thickness 0.1- 0.4 cm.
2. Small rake (*VD 2439*; pl. VI/1, pl. X/4). The blade survived fragmentarily, being in the shape of a trapezoid plate with a sharp cutting edge, and slightly inverted. The item is provided with a rectangular rod, sharpened towards the end, bent at almost straight angle towards the body of the tool. Sizes: total length 14 cm, max. width (in the surviving active part) 3.6 cm, blade thickness 0.1 cm.
3. Spoon (?) (*VD 2446*; pl. III/2, pl. X/5). It is slightly concave, with raised edges ending straight. The active side is slightly sharpened, curved in cross-section and cut straight. The spoon

³⁹ Glodariu/Iaroslavschi 1979, 54-55.

⁴⁰ Pietsch 1983, 38-39, taf. 12/258-274; Manning 1985, 9-11.

scoop extends by a rectangular section rod, bent in relation to the piece body and sharpened by the end. Sizes: total length 8.9 cm, max. width 1.8 cm.

4. Drill-bit (?) (VD 2470; pl. XI/1). The piece is made of an iron rod having two distinct parts: the upper part, in four edges is sharpened by the tip (likely to allow the attachment of the handle) while in the lower part (of smaller sizes and mixed cross-section, rectangular and circular) is provided with a sharp blade, slightly curved. The blade is damaged from Antiquity. Sizes: total length 20.4 cm, max. width 1 cm, blade width 0.9 cm.
5. Small knife (VD 2443; pl. XI/2). The item is provided with a handle of rectangular section, narrower and thinner by the end. The blade, surviving fragmentarily, has a triangular cross-section, wider and slightly curved. Sizes: total length 15 cm, max. width (in blade area) 1.6 cm, blade thickness 0.1- 0.3 cm.

All five items presented above might have been used for both wood processing as well as for other types of materials (skins, bone, horns etc.). Thus, the drawknife was mainly used for polishing or finishing wooden surfaces (either flat or curve). The discussed specimen is part of the category of curved blade drawknives with analogies in the area of the fortresses in the Orăștie Mountains, but also in other sites from Dacia, specifying that the item is much smaller than all known specimens insofar.⁴¹ Similar tools are found in both the Celtic milieu⁴² as well as the Roman.⁴³ Drill-bits were also used for wood working. Employed for making orifices in wood or removing part of the wood mass, drill-bits are rather frequent in the finds specific to the settlements of Dacia,⁴⁴ but also in the Roman world.⁴⁵ Regarding the rake and the spoon-like tool, they might have been used for making wood cut-outs or finishing small, possibly hollowed areas. If in case of the drawknife and drill-bit, their use in wood working is more than likely, while the rake and spoon-like tool might have been used for other purposes as well. For instance, the rake might have been used in skin working, while the spoon-like tool might have been also used for casting small quantities of

⁴¹ Type I in the classification of Glodariu/Iaroslavschi 1979, 92.

⁴² Jacobi 1974, pl 16.

⁴³ Manning 1985, 19. A small specimen was discovered at Hod Hill, Dorset (15.2 cm) - Manning 1985, 18, pl 9/B18.

⁴⁴ Glodariu/Iaroslavschi 1979, 92-93, fig. 51/1-11.

⁴⁵ Pietsch 1983, 42-45, taf. 13/326-342; Manning 1985, 25-26.

metal. Similar rakes with the one discussed herein were discovered only at Sarmizegetusa Regia.⁴⁶ On the other hand, this type of “spoon” is for now unique among the Dacian tools.⁴⁷ Iron spoons for metal casting were discovered until present in several Dacian sites,⁴⁸ yet their shapes and sizes are entirely different than the specimen part of the jeweller tools kit from Sarmizegetusa Regia. A similar spoon comes from the Dacian fortress at Piatra Roşie, yet it is worked of bronze sheet and seems more like a medical or make-up instrument.⁴⁹ Still for cutting, scraping or finishing varied materials might have been also used the small knife present among the tools of the artisan jeweller.

The presence of these tools in the tools kit of a goldsmith may be explained either by their use in the making of wooden “standard moulds” necessary for casting pieces by “lost wax”⁵⁰ or maybe for carving reliefs on wooden “dies” used for the repoussé decoration or drawing of bronze, silver or gold sheets. It is also possible that the goldsmith had been making pieces whose parts also contained other materials (wooden, bone or horn/antler handles, leather belts, glass etc.), such tools being necessary to obtain a finished product. The small sizes of these tools, suggest their use for processing small pieces.

Another object present in the inventory of the analysed kit is a small, **fine whetstone**, with an approximately rectangular shape and an orifice pierced close to one of the ends. It is 10 cm long, has a maximum width of 2 cm and a thickness of 1 cm (pl. VI/2, pl. XI/3). Commonly used for sharpening tool blades or finishing the surfaces of metal pieces, whetstones are frequent in the Dacian sites.

The inventory of the jeweller toolkit also contained a glass knob/bead, a link and three iron crampons.

The knob flat in the lower side and bulging in the upper side has the appearance of a shell, the glass paste being cast in concentric spirals (VD 2743; pl. XI/4). The piece had a central orifice, being made of

⁴⁶ Glodariu/Iaroslavschi 1979, 94.

⁴⁷ A small “shovel” (l. 10 cm) made of an iron bar with flattened end and edges slightly raised is mentioned by I. Glodariu and E. Iaroslavschi as coming from Căţelu Nou. Since it is not illustrated and has no bibliographical references, we are not sure if it is similar with that herein. Glodariu/Iaroslavschi 1979, 110.

⁴⁸ For a complete list of finds see Rustoiu 2002, 86.

⁴⁹ Daicoviciu 1954, 88, pl. XV, fig.16.

⁵⁰ Rustoiu 2002, 86-87.

a yellow glass on the bulging surface, dark brown in the flat area. Sizes: diameter 2.3 cm, orifice diameter 0.4 cm, height 1.9 cm.⁵¹

The link is made of a flattened iron bar, obtained by hammering, with 0.4 cm thickness and 5.7 cm diameter (VD 2440; pl. XI/5). The piece may come from the wooden box which contained the tools.

In what the **crampons** are concerned, each belongs to another type (at least one seems to be, until present, unique in Dacia).

1. "Cross"-shaped iron crampon (VD2447; pl. XII/1). The piece survived almost complete, missing both ends. They were mobile and were attached to the body with the aid of hinges, of which one survived complete and the other fragmentary. The short side has rounded extremities. On the outer surface the piece has four pyramidal teeth, well preserved. Sizes: total length 10.3, width 6.7 cm, sheet thickness 0.3 cm, total height 3.2 cm.
2. Iron crampon (VD 2448; pl. XII/2). The piece is almost complete, with only a small part of its edge damaged. The crampon has the edges raised at an obtuse angle to the piece body; the ends are provided with an open-work orifice of a triangular shape. On the outer surface, the piece has three teeth in the shape of a pyramid (distance between the teeth is unequal). Sizes: total length 10 cm, width 2.2 cm, sheet thickness 0.4 cm, total height 3.8 cm.
3. Iron crampon with mobile handles (VD 2449; pl. XII/3). The piece is rectangular, with bend edges and exhibits on the exterior surface three teeth in shape of a pyramid. The crampon is provided with two mobile endings, attached to the body by hinges. It is rather well preserved, lacking only a few fragments of the mobile parts. Sizes: total length 11.4 cm, width 2.3 cm, sheet thickness 0.4 cm, piece height (without mobile handles) 3.2 cm, surviving handle height 2 cm.

With few exceptions, iron crampons were discovered until present only in the Dacian settlements from the Orăștie Mountains. In

⁵¹ A similar piece, in shape and sizes, yet of other colour (white and indigo), was discovered in level II of the open Dacian settlement at Brad - Ursachi 1995, 242, pl.209/ 22.

terms of their use, it was believed they were attached to the footwear to ease ice walking or on timber runners used in lumbering.⁵²

Together with the tools which compose the jeweller toolkit were also discovered four nails and nail fragments (likely from the wooden box where the tools were kept). The iron nails, of rectangular section and round head, are of relatively small sizes (the largest survives on a 4.8 cm length). Such a nail (*VD 2444*), 4.4 cm long and ca. 0.4 cm thick, is presented on pl.XI/7.

The deposit also contains a series of pieces which survived in a rather fragmentary state, their identification being challenging.

1. File fragment or small chisel fragment, missing both ends. The piece body is slender and has a circular cross-section (length 8.2 cm, diameter 0.6 cm) (pl. XI/8).
2. Iron piece fragment. The piece, rather damaged, seems to have had a rectangular cross-section, sharpened by one end and bent to the other. The total surviving length is of 9.8 cm (pl. XI/9).
3. Fragment of slightly curved blade, surviving on a length of 6.2 cm.
4. Three fragments of a piece or from different iron pieces, preserved in the form of rectangular cross-section bars. A fragment survived on a 4.1 cm length, the other is slightly narrowed towards the tip, 6 cm long, and the third fragment, widened towards one of the ends, is 6.7 cm long.
5. Iron plate in the shape of a trapezoid sized 3.5 cm.
6. Small bronze plate, slightly arched, preserved on a length of 1.5 cm, 0.9 cm wide and 0.1 cm thick. It likely comes from a circular piece made of bronze sheet.

The jeweller toolkit from Sarmizegetusa Regia comprises the most diversified range of tools known insofar in Dacia. If separate pieces necessary for goldsmithing were rather frequently discovered in the sites of Dacia,⁵³ this is not the case with the discovery of tools associated in kits or which might have composed the inventory of a goldsmithing workshop. Until present, such finds come from the sites at Grădiştea (Brăila county), where in a pit were identified a few objects used in a bronze processing workshop (a round anvil, a bronze small chisel and

⁵² Glodariu/Iaroslavschi 1979, 122.

⁵³ See to this effect Rustoiu 1996, 58-61; Rustoiu 2002, 65-66; Florea 1992, 40 sqq.

five crucibles),⁵⁴ Radovanu (near the workshop hearth were discovered a chisel, a few punches, a spoon for metal casting, a mould and a few crucibles)⁵⁵ and Pecica, where were found three moulds, three crucibles, a stamp, two anvils, eight bronze chisels, two vices, beside a series of small finished or half-finished pieces.⁵⁶ Lastly, as mentioned above, in the western quarter of the civil settlement at Grădiştea de Munte, was discovered a workshop designed for iron and bronze processing and which had in inventory, beside finished or half-finished pieces, also a few punches, chisels, an anvil in the shape of a bolt and a few crucibles.⁵⁷ Noticeably, jeweller toolkits are very rare in the settlements of Dacia. Circumstances are also similar for other spaces of ancient Europe. Isolate pieces are frequent in the Celtic, Dalmatian or Roman sites, while the association of some tools in kits is rather rare. One of the richest “kits” of the kind is represented by the deposit found in 1977 at Oşanići (Daors), in fact an accumulation over several generations of moulds, stamps, finished or half-finished pieces.⁵⁸ The toolkit of a goldsmith workshop (chisels, punches and tongs) and a series of bronze figured pieces were discovered at Galjub (in Egypt).⁵⁹

Most often, toolkits of goldsmithing workshops also contain other types of objects (crucibles, moulds, matrices). Such items are missing from the inventory of the analysed jeweller toolkit. One should though bear in mind at Sarmizegetusa Regia was discovered one of the most spectacular matrices identified insofar in ancient Europe, found in secondary position, brought from somewhere else once with the earth

⁵⁴ Sirbu 1996, 41, fig. 56-57.

⁵⁵ Trohani/Şerbănescu 1975, 281; Rustoiu 1996, 56.

⁵⁶ Crişan 1985, 93-96.

⁵⁷ Daicoviciu et al. 1955, 209.

⁵⁸ The deposit contains 245 bronze and iron pieces of which some were used in goldsmithing: matrices for bronze ornaments, for metal sheets decorated in relief and for reliefs made of silver sheet; anvils, chisels, hammers, punches, compasses, scales and drawplates. To these also add smithing tools (tongs, hammers, massive metal cutters, clamps, adzes, pick-axes), woodworking tools (chisels, knives and callipers) as well as matrixes for making bronze vessels. The deposit was buried in the 2nd c. BC yet the pieces composing it were hoarded starting with the 4th c. BC. Wilkes 1995, 194. See supra note 36.

⁵⁹ Namely, 32 pieces of which 2 are modelling tools (a round bronze *stylus* and a puncher), 2 complete chisels (of 10.6 cm respectively 13.05 cm) and 26 fragmentary and two pairs of tongs. Ippel 1922, 81 -82, tafel X; for such workshops see Treister 1996, 294 -298, Treister 2001, 169, 253-296.

used for filling the area nearby the Southern Gate of the fortress. It is not excluded that it originates still from terrace VIII.⁶⁰

The pieces part of the jeweller toolkit might have been used to obtain objects by hammering or for decorating metal surfaces in techniques like the repoussé, stamping, punching, engraving etc. An analysis made by D. Spânu proves that many pieces made of precious metal from pre-Roman Dacia were obtained mainly by hammering not by casting metal into moulds or drawing wires, being often decorated by using one of the above mentioned techniques.⁶¹ The presence of certain auxiliary tools (for instance, for wood processing) might suggest that the jeweller made a wooden matrix or relief matrix onto which metal sheets were then hammered or for making wax models, both matrices and wax models being necessary in the jewellery-making process or of certain decorated metal pieces. It is possible that the artisan who used the toolkit presented above had also worked/decorated/repared, beside precious metal objects, other types of items (for instance iron artefacts).⁶²

The find's context, the variety of the pieces and their quality, but also the parallels with specimens identified in other sites from Dacia or the Roman world chronologically place the jeweller toolkit into the second half of the 1st century AD – early 2nd century AD.

Its presence in the settlement at Sarmizegetusa Regia, in an area where several types of crafts were carried out, further evidences the preponderant crafting nature of a part of the settlement, the scale which the metal production reached there around the Daco-Roman wars not being found in other areas of Dacia. Some of the pieces composing it, are of local tradition, others adopted by the local artisans from the Roman world only to become common items in the Dacian milieu. There are also unique pieces insofar among the known Dacian tools. Altogether they witness not only the artisans' skills to assume and use higher

⁶⁰ Florea et al. 2015, 25.

⁶¹ Spânu 2012, 95-96.

⁶²To this effect, the large number of decorated iron pieces discovered in the settlements of Orăștie Mountains is noteworthy. Amongst, the most spectacular are the iron disks with zoomorphic designs discovered in the Dacian fortress at Piatra Roșie, the decorated tacks and tongs found in the settlement at Grădiștea de Munte. Daicoviciu 1954, 119-121, fig. 39-40; Glodariu/Iaroslavschi 1979, 131; Mândruțău 2015, 9-17. It is not excluded, for instance, that the presence of the three iron crampons in this iron deposit be explained precisely by their making or repair with part of the analysed tools.

quality tools but also the relations they established with artisans or traders coming from the Mediterranean space.

Illustrations⁶³

Pl. I The jeweller toolkit from Sarmizegetusa Regia.

Pl. II 1. Anvil; 2. Tongs with locking bar; 3. Hammer.

Pl. III 1. Calliper; 2. Small spoon-like tool.

Pl. IV 1. Chisels; 2. Files, chisel and drill bit.

Pl. V 1-2 Types of teeth present on the files in the jeweller toolkit (detail).

Pl. VI 1. Rake; 2. Whetstone.

Pl. VII 1. Anvil; 2. Hammer; 3. Tongs with locking bar.

Pl. VIII 1-10 Files.

Pl. IX 1-9 Chisels.

Pl. X 1-2 Punches; 3. Drawknives; 4. Rake; 5. Spoon.

Pl. XI 1. Drill bit; 2. Knife; 3. Whetstone; 4. Knob/Bead; 5. Link; 6. Calliper; 7. Nail; 8-9 Iron fragmentary pieces.

Pl. XII 1-3 Crampons.

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Pl. I



1



2



3

Pl. II



1



2

Pl. III



1



2

Pl. IV



1



2

Pl. V

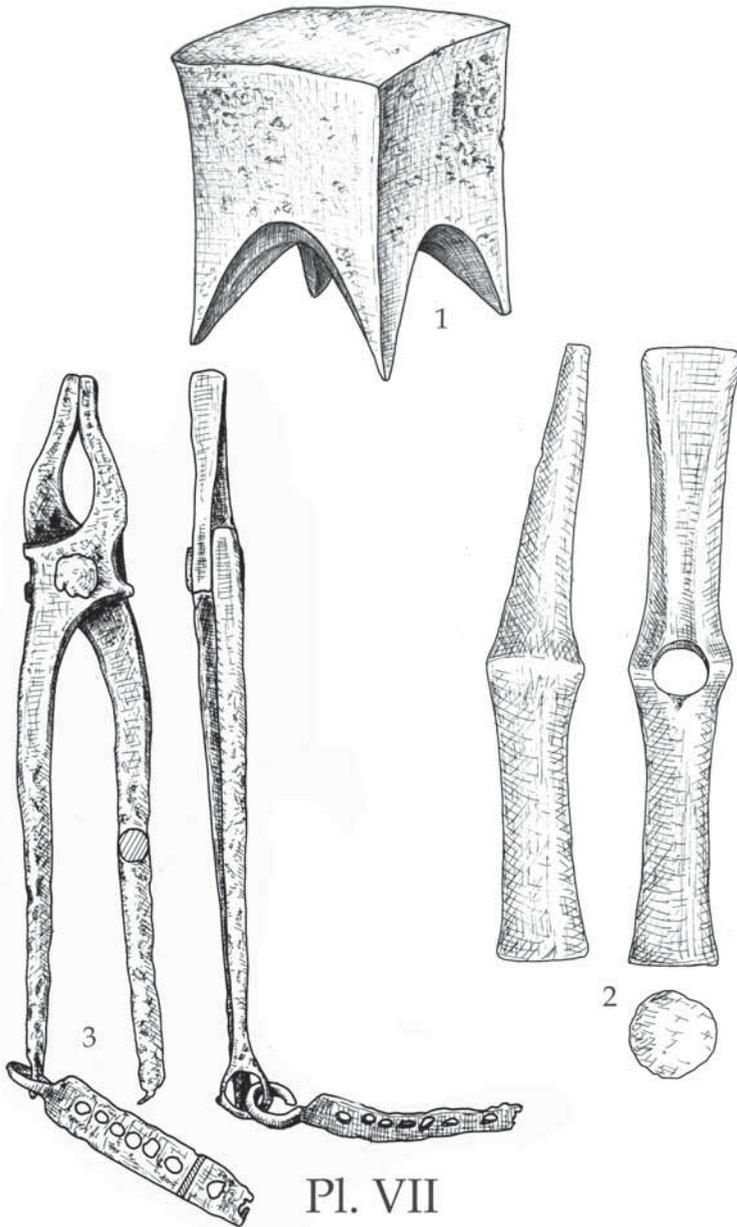


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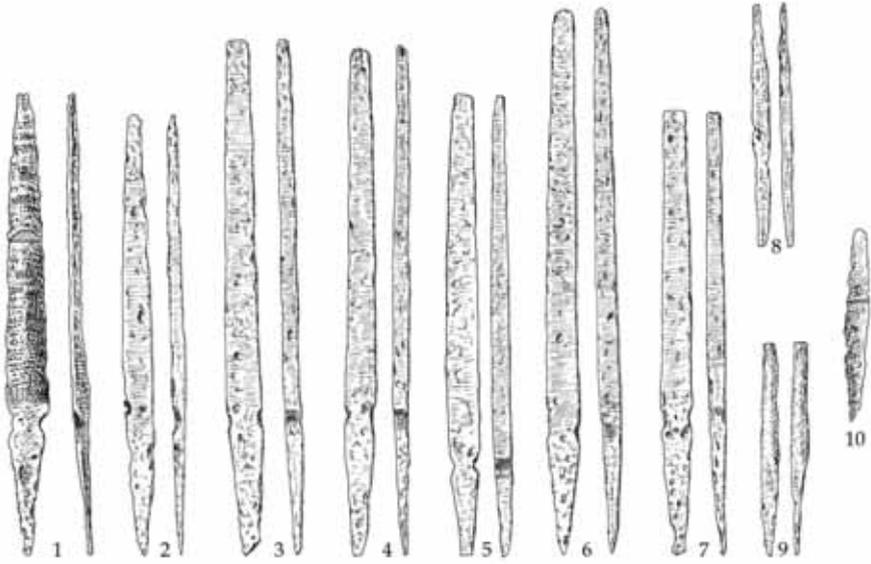


2

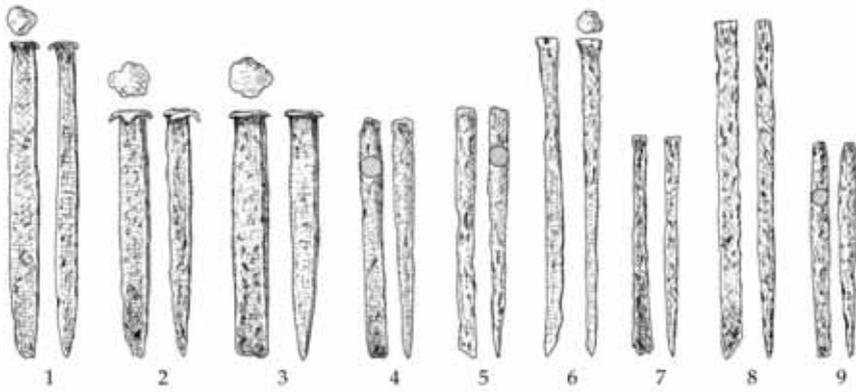
Pl. VI



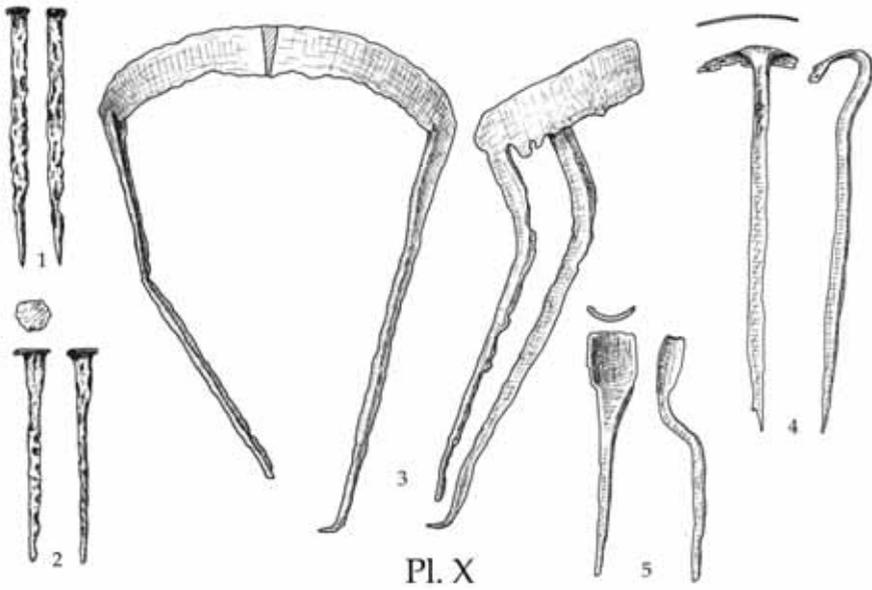
Pl. VII



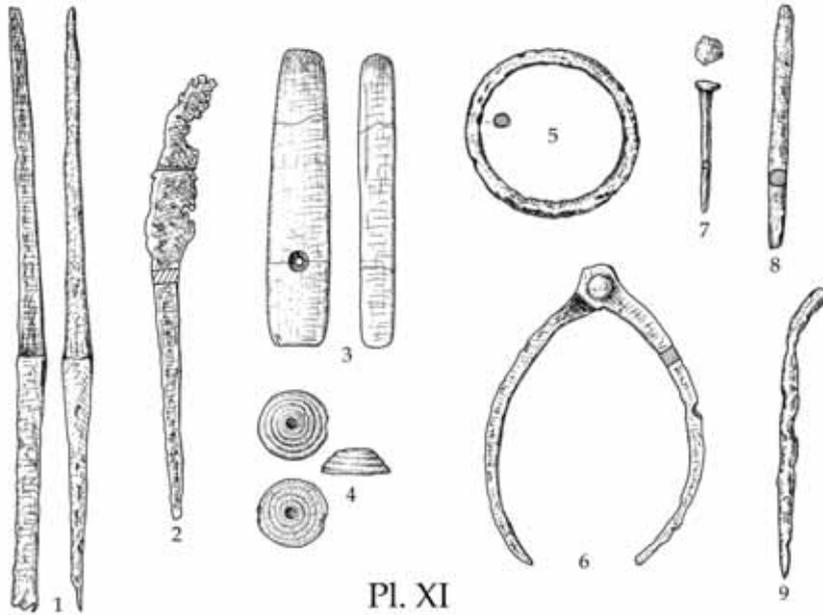
Pl. VIII



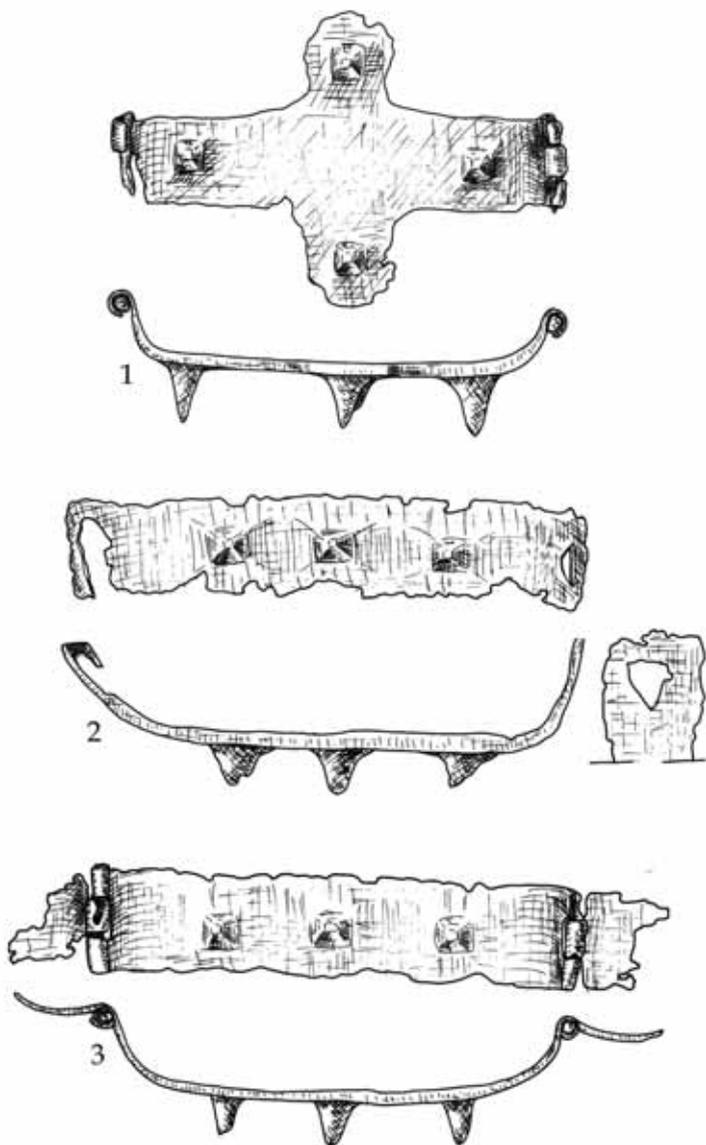
Pl. IX



Pl. X



Pl. XI



Pl. XII

Some considerations about several roads from Moesia reflected in *itineraria picta et adnotata*

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Abstract. Several years ago, in 2011, I started a research focused on some of the most important cartographic documents of the Roman world: the Peutinger map and the Antonine itinerary. The idea for this research started from several fundamental questions: 1. Do the Peutinger map and the Antonine itinerary offer different information related to the roads of the Roman provinces? 2. How can one establish this? 3. How did other late sources, such as the *Notitia Dignitatum*, the Bordeaux itinerary, or the Cosmography of the Anonymous from Ravenna, present or describe these regions? 4. How were the Peutinger map and the Antonine itinerary actually compiled? 5. By analyzing the routes of these provinces, can one obtain new information useful to dating the above-mentioned documents? 6. So far, in order to date these documents, historians have discussed them as a whole or separately, focusing on small, sometimes insignificant details from certain areas. What other methodological criteria or means can be employed, beside the classical, established methods, to provide new data? 7. Can we differentiate between the purpose of the Peutinger map and the Antonine itinerary? 8. Supposing that new dating criteria can be identified, will they be useful for further research and could this method be applied to other regions, and finally to all former Roman provinces? 9. The Peutinger map and the Antonine itinerary each list around 2700 settlements. Can one compare these two documents by analyzing the presence or the absence of certain settlements, in order to date the documents? To find possible new insights, I have compared the distances between the settlements, and I have chosen to discuss the situation from Moesia.

Keywords: Roman Empire, cartography, Tabula Peutingeriana, *itineraria*, Moesia.

Rezumat: Acum câțiva ani, în 2011, am început o cercetare legată de cele mai importante documente cartografice ale lumii romane: *Tabula Peutingeriana* și *Itinerarium Antonini*. Ideea acestei cercetări a început de la câteva întrebări fundamentale: 1. Cele două documente amintite

oferă informații diferite privind drumurile din provinciile romane? 2. Cum putem stabili acest lucru? 3. Cum au fost descrise aceste drumuri în alte surse romane târzii, precum *Notitia Dignitatum*, itinerariul de la Bordeaux sau *Cosmographia* Anonimului din Ravenna? 4. Cum au fost redactate *Tabula Peutingeriana* și *Itinerarium Antonini*? 5. Prin compararea drumurilor din anumite provincii, se pot obține informații noi utile în datarea celor două documente? 6. Până în prezent, pentru a data cele două documente, istoricii le-au discutat fie în ansamblu, fie separat, concentrându-se uneori pe detalii prea mici, ne semnificative din anumite zone. Ce alte criterii metodologice sau mijloace pot fi utilizate, în afară de metodele clasice stabilite, pentru a obține noi date? 7. Se poate face o distincție între scopul Tabulei și cel al documentului *Itinerarium Antonini*? 8. Presupunând că pot fi identificate noi criterii de datare, pot fi acestea utile pentru viitoare cercetări, și poate fi această metodă aplicată și pentru alte regiuni, și în final pentru toate provinciile romane? 9. Atât *Tabula Peutingeriana*, cât și *Itinerarium Antonini*, amintesc fiecare în jur de 2700 de așezări. Pot fi comparate cele două documente prin analiza prezenței sau absenței anumitor localități, pentru a data aceste documente? Pentru a descoperi noi informații, am comparat distanțele dintre așezări, și am decis să discut situația din Moesia.

Cuvinte cheie: Imperiul Roman, cartografie, *Tabula Peutingeriana*, *itineraria*, Moesia

Moesia became a Roman province during the last years of Augustus' reign. In the ancient geographical sources, the province was delimited to the East by the Pontus Euxinus (Black Sea), to the West by the river Drinus (Drina), to the North by the Danubius (Danube) and to the South by the Haemus (Balkan) and Scardus (Šar) mountains. Today it includes territories from Macedonia, Southern Serbia (Moesia Superior), northern Bulgaria and the Dobrudja (South-Eastern Romania). The Romans first approached this territory during the last years of Caesar's reign. Burebista intended to expand his control over the north-eastern part of the Balkan Peninsula. Octavian Augustus, Caesar's successor, considered a war against the Dacians inevitable. In 35 BC Augustus captured Siscia. This settlement was strategically positioned at the confluence of the rivers Odra, Kupa and Sava, in Croatia. Subsequently, Octavian abandoned the idea of a war against the Dacians, but the benefits of such a conflict were obvious. He secured the

Eastern Alps and the control along the coastal strip of the Northern Adriatic¹. During Augustus' reign, in 6 AD, Dalmatia was organized as an imperial province. In 87 AD, after attacks by the Dacians, the emperor Domitian personally arrived in Moesia and divided it into two provinces: Moesia Superior to the west and Moesia Inferior to the East. The provinces were separated by the river Ciabrus.

Moesia and its roads. A short overview

Several articles have only partially focused on the roads from Moesia represented on the Peutinger map². In 2004, A. Panaite studied the Roman roads of Moesia Inferior, investigating also data referring to this region provided by the Peutinger map and the Antonine itinerary³. At the end of her article, she provided a useful catalogue of the milestones discovered in Moesia Superior. In another study, she described the Roman roads within the territory of the city of Tropaeum Traiani⁴.

In one of his books, D. Benea provided data concerning the military infrastructure and the history of the legions *III Flavia* and *VII Claudia*⁵. S. Conrad recently made an interesting contribution to the topic⁶, focusing on the archaeological survey of the Lower Danube. A central part of his article is dedicated to the Roman settlements from the first century AD to the fifth century AD.⁷ J. J. Wilkes has successfully investigated the Danubian area⁸. M. Madzharov recently published a book about the Roman roads of Bulgaria. In presenting the main roads he included data provided by the Roman cartographic sources. In 1979 P. Petrović published the fourth volume of the *Inscriptions of Upper Moesia*⁹, to be followed the third volume in 1995¹⁰. In 1982 B. Dragojević-Josifovska published the sixth volume¹¹.

¹ Mócsy 1974, 22.

² Ivanov 1997, 467-640; Lisičar 1978, 9-19; Todorov 1937; Torbatov 2000, 59-72; Zavadzki 1964, 531-538.

³ Panaite 2004, 41-92.

⁴ Panaite 2006, 57-70.

⁵ Benea 1983.

⁶ Conrad 2006, 309-331.

⁷ Conrad 2006, 315-321.

⁸ Wilkes 2005, 124-225.

⁹ Petrović 1979.

¹⁰ Petrović 1995.

¹¹ Dragojević - Josifovska 1982.

The Roman road along the Iron Gates has been studied by P. Petrović¹². In 2007 he discussed the historical and the geographical characteristics of Roman Dardania¹³. Petrović analyzed the same area in a book published in 2007¹⁴, adding an important study on the Roman road from Naissus to Lissus in 2008¹⁵. The Roman frontier in the Iron Gate area of Upper Moesia was investigated in 1996¹⁶. The traces of the Roman road Naissus-Ratiaria were identified on site and the results were published in 2007¹⁷. In 2008 the road Lissus - Naissus - Ratiaria and the problem of the location of the Timacus Maius station were again investigated¹⁸. The same station was the object of another article published in 2010¹⁹. Other studies, such as the one published by P. Donevski about Durostorum, are very useful for details of the settlements discussed²⁰. Of course, essential contributions by A. Mócsy, P. Petrović²¹, Miroslava Mirković²² and D. Mitova-Džonova should also be taken into consideration²³.

Some roads of Moesia depicted in the Peutinger map

Along the first road, from Sirmium to Viminacium, the Peutinger map depicts: Sirmium (vignette of the 'double-tower' type, today's Sremska Mitrovica) - XVIII - Bassianis (Donji Petrovci) - VIII - Idiminio - VIII - Tauruno (vignette of the 'double-tower' type) III - Confluentib(us) - I - Singiduno. Six settlements are mentioned and a total distance of 18 + 8 + 9 + 3 + 1, i.e. 39 Roman miles.

The second road starts at Singiduno and ends at Viminatio. The settlements and distances are: Singiduno (vignette, 'double tower' type, segment grid 6A1) - XIII - Tricornio - XII - Monte Aureo - XIII -

¹² Petrović 1986, 41-47.

¹³ Petrović 2007, 7-24.

¹⁴ Petrović 2007 a.

¹⁵ Petrović 2008, 31-40.

¹⁶ Petrović/Vasić 1996, 15-26.

¹⁷ Petrović/Filipović 2007, 29-43.

¹⁸ Petrović/Filipović 2008, 47-58.

¹⁹ Petrović/Filipović 2010, 25-30.

²⁰ Donevski 1991, 277-280.

²¹ Petrović 1996.

²² Mirković 1977, 171-178; Mirković/Dušanić 1976; Mirković 1986; Mirković 1994, 345-404; Mirković 1996, 27-40; Mirković 2002, 757-763; Mirković 2003; Mirković 2007.

²³ Mitova-Džonova 1986, 504-509.

Margum fl - X - Viminatio (Kostolac, segment grid 6A2, vignette, 'double tower' type). The total distance along this road is 50 miles. Five settlements, four distance figures, and two vignettes are recorded. All these distances have values which represent circa one marching day of the Roman army. The frequency of the distances is: 10 (Roman miles) - 1 (time); 12 - 1; 14 - 2.

The third road is the route along the line of the Danube. The settlements and the distances are: Viminatio - X - Lederata - XIII - Punicum - XI - Vico cuppae - XII - Adnovas - X - Adscrofulas - XV - Faliatis (vignette of the 'double-tower' type) - VIII - Gerulatis - VI - Unam - VI - Egeta - IX - Clevora - IX - Ad Aquas - XXIV - Dortico - XXV - Ad Malum - XVI - Ratiaris (vignette of the 'double-tower' type) - XII - Remetodia - IV - Almo - IX - Pomodiana - IX - Camistro - VI - Aug(us)tis - XX - Pedonianis - XI - Esco (vignette of the 'double-tower' type) - XIV - Vio - IX - Anasamo - XVII - Securispa - XIII - Dimo - XVI - Adnovas (vignette of the 'double-tower' type) - IX - Latro - XVI - Trimamio - XII - Pristis (Ruse) - IX - Tegrus (Marten) - XIV - Appiarius (Ryakhovo) - XIII - Trasmарisca - (Tutrakan) - XII - Nigrinianis (Malak Preslavets) - XIII - Tegvlicio (Sreburna) - XI - Durostero (Silistra, vignette of the 'double-tower' type). The total distance along this road is 423 miles. 35 figure distances are mentioned, 35 settlements, and five vignettes of the 'double-tower' type. The frequency of the distances is: 4 (Roman miles) - 1 (time); 6 - 3; 8 - 1; 9 - 7; 10 - 2; 11 - 3; 12 - 4; 13 - 4; 14 - 2; 15 - 1; 16 - 3; 17 - 1; 20 - 1; 24 - 1; 25 - 1. Thus, out of 35 distance figures, 27 (i.e. 77.14%) have values between 8 and 16 miles.

The fourth road continues along the line of the Danube and then along the coast of the Black Sea. The settlements and the distances on the Peutinger map are: Durostero - XVIII - Sagadava - XII - Sucidava (Dunăreni?) - XVII - Axiopolis (Cernavodă) - XVIII - Calidava - XVIII - Carsio (Hârșova) - XXV - Bereo - XXI - Troesmis (Turcoaia, vignette, 'double tower' type) - VIII - Arubio - XXVI - Novioduni (Isaccea) - XLI - Salsovia (Mahmudia) - XXIII - Adstoma - LX - Histropoli (Istria) - XL - Tomis (Constanța, vignette, 'triple tower' type). Along this road section, 13 settlements, 13 distance figures, and a total distance of 329 miles are mentioned. Two vignettes are depicted. The frequency of the distances is: 9 (Roman miles) - 1; 12 - 1; 17 - 1; 18 - 3; 21 - 1; 24 - 1; 25 - 1; 26 - 1; 40 - 1; 41 - 1; 60 - 1. Only two distance figures (9 and 12) have values between 8 to 16 miles. The others are, sometimes, unusually high.

Accepting the location of the place-names, I measured the distances between each and every settlements. From Silistra to Dunăreni the distance is 46.23 kilometers. The Antonine itinerary indicates 12 miles, i.e. 17.742 kilometers. The Peutinger map indicates 30 miles: 18 from Silistra to Sagadava, 12 from Sagadava to Sucidava. Thirty miles equals 44.355 kilometers. Therefore, the Peutinger map is more accurate in this case. The same itinerary shows Sagadava between Durostero and Sucivada. Measuring 18 miles (26 kilometers) from Silistra, I reached the settlement of Izvoarele. This settlement is mentioned in the list of the settlements provided by the Barrington Atlas²⁴ as Sucidava, which is correct. Sucidava on the Peutinger map is Sacidava. According to my measurement, the distance between Izvoarele and Dunăreni amounts to another 21 kilometers, i.e. circa 14 miles, which corresponds to the distance stated on the Peutinger map.

From Dunăreni to Hinog (Axiopolis) the distance measured on digital maps is circa 25 kilometers. This is correctly stated both on the Peutinger map (17 miles - 25.13 kilometers) and in the Antonine itinerary (18 miles - 26.6 kilometers). The distance from Hinog to Capidava is 23 kilometers. The Antonine itinerary states 12 miles, i.e. 17.742 kilometers. The Peutinger map indicates 18 miles between these two settlements, equal to 26.61 kilometers, closer to the real distance. From Capidava to Carsium (Hârșova) the distance measured is 28 kilometers. Both the Peutinger map and the Antonine itinerary register 18 miles (26 kilometers). From Hârșova to Gârliciu the distance is 17 kilometers. The Antonine itinerary mentions 18 miles (26 kilometers) in a straight line, and 27 kilometers if the distance is based on the meandering line of the Danube. The Peutinger map does not mention this settlement. From Gârliciu to Piatra Frecăței the measured distance is 24 kilometers. The Antonine itinerary indicates 10 miles (14.785 kilometers). From Hârșova (Carsium) to Piatra Frecăței (Beroe) the Peutinger map shows 25 miles (36.96 kilometers). As the total distance is 41 kilometers, the information seems quite accurate.

From Beroe (Piatra Frecăței) to Troesmis (Iglița/Turcoia, Tulcea County), the distance measured on modern maps is 30 kilometers. The Peutinger map registers 21 miles (31.04 kilometers), while the Antonine itinerary is wrong again, since it states only 14 miles (20.69 kilometers).

²⁴ Map 22, Moesia Inferior, 340. Available at: http://press.princeton.edu/B_ATLAS/BATL022_.pdf.

From Troesmis to Arrubium (Măcin) the Peutinger map indicates nine miles. In the Antonine itinerary 18 miles are mentioned, and another settlement, Scytica. The distance measured on modern maps, in a straight line, amounts to 13 kilometers (almost 9 miles, as on the Peutinger map). From Arrubium to Dinogetia (Garvăn) the distance measured is, in a straight line, circa 7 kilometers. The Peutinger map does not show Dinogetia. From Arrubium to Noviodunum (Issacea) the distance is 35 kilometers. The Peutinger map indicates 26 miles (38.44 kilometers), therefore the distance is accurate. The distance Arrubium-Dinogetia-Noviodunum in the Antonine itinerary is $9 + 9 = 18$ miles (26.61 kilometers), so once again the Antonine itinerary is inaccurate.

From Noviodunum (Issacea) to Salsovia (Mahmudia) the Peutinger map does not contain intermediate settlements. The distance mentioned on the Peutinger map is 41 miles (60.61 kilometers). The Antonine itinerary lists 20 miles (29.57 kilometers) from Noviodunum (Issacea) to Aegyssus (Tulcea). The distance measured on modern maps is circa 30 kilometers, so this time the Antonine itinerary is accurate. From Aegyssus (Tulcea) to Salsovia (Mahmudia) the same itinerary lists 24 miles (35.484 kilometers). The distance measured on digital maps is only 24 kilometers. The Antonine itinerary adds up to a total of $20 + 24$ miles between Noviodunum (Issacea) to Salsovia (Mahmudia), while the Peutinger map indicates 41 miles. The current distance is 54 kilometers.

From Salsovia (Mahmudia) to Tomis the Peutinger map shows a total distance of 124 miles (183.33 kilometers). Only one intermediate settlement in this segment is mapped by both the Peutinger map and the Antonine itinerary. This is Histriopolis. From Mahmudia to Istria the distance measured on maps is circa 126 kilometers, *via* Ad Stoma, today's Sfântu Gheorghe, Tulcea County. The Peutinger map totals $24 + 60 = 84$ miles (124.19 kilometers). From Histriopolis to Tomis the Peutinger map registers 40 miles (59.14 kilometers). The distance measured on today's maps is circa 55 kilometers.

From Salsovia (Mahmudia) to Tomis the Antonine itinerary lists 94 miles (138.97 kilometers). The current distance is 181 kilometers. From Histriopolis to Tomis the Antonine itinerary records 25 miles (36.96 kilometers), less accurate than the Peutinger map (40 miles); the current distance is 55 kilometers. From Mahmudia to Istria the same Antonine itinerary lists 69 miles (102.01 kilometers). Again, this number is too low and inaccurate compared to the Peutinger map and the distance measured on current maps.

To sum up, the total distance between Durostero and Tomis is 329 miles on the Peutinger map, i.e. 459.81 kilometers. The same distance is stated in the Antonine itinerary as 276 miles, i.e. 408.06 kilometers. The current distance, measured on digital maps, is 476 kilometers. Once again, the information from the Peutinger map is more accurate than the data provided by the Antonine itinerary.

The fifth road continues the route of the fourth road, along the coast of the Black Sea. The settlements and the distances are: Tomis - XII - Stratonis - XXII - Callatis (Mangalia) - XXIII - Trissa (Bŭlgarevo) - XII - Bizone (Kavarna) - XII - Dyosinopoli (XXXII) - Odessos (Varna, vignette of the 'double-tower' type) - XI - Erite - XVI - Templo Iovis (Obzor, vignette, associated with temples, type B2) - XVI - Messembria - XII - Ancialis (Pomorije, vignette of the 'double-tower' type). The total distance along this road is 169 miles. Along this road, the Peutinger map depicts 10 place-names, two vignettes of the 'double-tower' type, one associated with temples. The frequency of the distances is: 11 (Roman miles) - 1 (time); 12 - 4; 16 - 2; 22 - 1; 24 - 1; 32 - 1.

The sixth road, running from south to north, connects Ancialis with Durostero. The settlements and distances along it are: Ancialis - XVIII - Cazalet - XVIII - Scatras - XII - Pannisso - XII - Marcianopolis (Devnya) - XLV - Palmatis - XIII - Durostero. Along this road, a total distance of 119 miles is recorded as well as five settlements and six distances. The frequency of these distances is: 12 (miles) - 2 (times); 14 - 1; 18 - 2; 45 - 1.

The seventh road starts from the same Ancialis (a cross-roads) and, going from east to west, it reaches Phinipopolis/Philipopolis (Plovdiv). The settlements and the distances are: Ancialis - XII - Aquis calidis (segment 7B4, vignette, thermal baths type, symbol type C30) - L - Cabilis (Kabile) - LII - Berone - XXXVI - Ranilum - XXVII - Phinipopolis (Plovdiv, vignette of the 'double-tower' type). The total distance along this road is 177 miles. Two vignettes are shown, one of the 'double-tower' type and the other one associated with thermal places. Five distance figures are given. The frequency of the distances is: 12 (miles) - 1 (time); 27 - 1; 36 - 1; 50 - 1; 52 - 1.

The eighth road starts at Phinipopolis and reaches Marcianopolis. The settlements and the distances are: Phinipopolis - XII - Subradice (Hristo Danovo) - VI - Montemno - VIII - Ad Radices - X - Sostra (Lomets) - Nicopolistro (Nikjup) - CXXX - Marcianopolis (Devnya). The total distance is 166 miles. Six settlements and five

distance figures are mentioned. The frequency of these distances is: 6 (Roman miles) - 1 (time); 8 - 1; 10 - 1; 12 - 1; 130 - 1.

The ninth road connects Sostra to Esco (Gigen). The settlements and the distances are: Sostra - XIII - Melta - X - Dorionibus - XI - Storgosia - VII - Adputea - Esco (Gigen, vignette, 'double tower' type). Four settlements, four distance figures and 41 miles are recorded. The frequency of these distances is: 7 (Roman miles) - 1 (time) - 10 - 1; 11 - 1; 13 - 1.

The tenth road connects Viminacium to Naissus. The settlements and the distances are: Viminatio - Municipio - X - Iovis Pago - XII - Idimo - XVI - Horrea Magi - XVII - Presidio Dasmini - XV - Presidio Pompei - XII - Gramrianis - XIII - Naisso (vignette, 'double tower' type). The total distance is 113 miles. Eight settlements and eight distance figures are recorded. The frequency of these distances is: 10 (Roman miles) - 1 (time); 12 - 2; 13 - 1; 15 - 1; 16 - 1; 17 - 1; 18 - 1. Of these, five distance figures are between the values of 8 and 16 miles.

The eleventh road connects Naissus to Ratiaris. The settlements and the distances are: Naisso - XXVII - Timaco Maiori - X - Timaco Minori - XXVII - Conbustica - XXVII - Ratiaris (Vidin, vignette of the 'double-tower' type). A total distance of 91 miles, four settlements, and one vignette are shown.

The twelfth road connects Naissus to Phinipopolis. The settlements and the distances are: Naisso - XXVIII - Romesiana (Bela Palanka) - XXV - Turribus (Piroto) - XXVIII - Meldiis - XXVIII - Sertica (Sofia, vignette, 'double tower' type) - XX - Sarto - XVIII - Egirca - XIII - Zyrmis - XXVIII - Phinipopolis (Plovdiv, vignette of the 'double-tower' type). A total distance of 177 miles is recorded, as are eight settlements and eight distance figures, together with two vignettes. The frequency of these distances is: 14 (Roman miles) - 1; 18 - 1; 20 - 1; 24 - 3; 25 - 1; 28 - 1.

The thirteenth road connects Naissus to Gabuleo. The settlements and distances are: Naisso - XIII - Adherculem (Zitorada, vignette type B29, associated with this toponym) - Hammeo (Prokuplje) - XX - Adfines - XX - Vindenis - XIX - Viciano (Ulpiana) - XXV - Theranda - XXX - Gabuleo. A total distance of 134 miles, seven settlements and seven distance figures are mentioned.

The fourteenth road connects Naisso to Scuris. The settlements and the distances are: Naisso - XIII - Adherculem (vignette) - VI - Hammeo - Scuris (Scupis) - XX. A total distance of 20 miles is recorded.

Here are some statistics based on the data presented above. From the total of 116 distance figures, 62 have values ranging from 8 to 16 miles. This represents 53.448 %. If we also include the distance figures 17 and 18, we obtain a total of 73 distances out of 116 between the values of 8 to 18 miles, representing 62.931 %. 23 distance figures have values ranging between 20 and 30 miles, representing 19.827 %. 10 distance figures out of 116 have values between 31 and 130, representing 8.62 %. Another 10 distance figures have values from 1 to 7 miles. A total number of 2048 miles is recorded in Moesia. If we divide this figure by the number of settlements (119), we obtain 17.21 miles, the average distance.

The roads of Moesia listed in the Antonine itinerary

Along the first road, from Sirmium to Singidunum, the Antonine itinerary lists four settlements, three distance figures, and a total distance of 74 miles:

131,4	Sirmi civitas	26
131,5	Bassianis civitas	18
131,6	Tauruno classis	30
132,1	Singiduno castra	

Compared to this, from Sirmium to Singidunum, the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* lists 50 miles.

Along the second road, from Singidunum to Viminacium, the same document lists 6 settlements, 5 distances, and a total distance of 52 miles:

132,1	Singiduno castra	4 miles
132,2	Aureo Monte	24 miles
132,3	Ab Aureo Monte Vinceia	6 miles
132,4	Margo	8 miles
133,1	et leg. m. p. VIII	
133,2	inde Euminacio	10 miles
133,3	Viminacio	

Along the third road, from Viminacium to Durostorum, the Antonine itinerary lists 26 settlements, 26 distance figures, and 386 miles:

217,7	Cuppe	24
218,1	Novas	24
218,2	Talia	12
218,3	Egeta	21
218,4	Aquis	16
219,1	Dortico	10
219,2	Bononia	17
219,3	Ratiaria leg. XIII GG.	18
219,4	Almo	18
220,1	Cebro / Cebrus	18
220,2	Augustis	18
220,3	Variana	12
220,4	Valeriana	12
220,5	Oesco leg. V Mac.	12
221,1	Uto	14
221,2	Securisca	12
221,3	Dimo	12
221,4	Novas leg. I Ital.	16
222,1	Scaidava	18
222,2	Trimmamio	7
222,3	Sexantapristis	12
222,4	Tigra	9
222,5	Appiaria	13
223,1	Transmariscam	16
223,2	Candidiana	13
223,3	Teclicio	12
223,4	Dorostoro leg. XI Cl.	

Along the fourth road, from Durostorum to Tomis, the Antonine itinerary lists 18 settlements, 17 distance figures, and a total distance of 276 miles:

223,4	Dorostoro leg. XI Cl.	12
224,1	Sucidava	18
224,2	Axiupoli	12
224,3	Capidava	18
224,4	Carso	18
224,5	Cio	10

225,1	Biroe	14
225,2	Trosmis leg. I Iovia	18
225,3	Scytica	
225,4	Arrubio	9
225,5	Diniguttia	9
226,1	Novioduno leg. II Herculea	20
226,2	Aegiso	24
226,3	Salsovia	17
226,4	Salmorude	9
226,5	Vale Domitiana	17
227,1	Ad Salices	26
227,2	Historio	25
227,3	Tomos	

The fifth road, between Tomis and Ancialis, is a continuation of the fourth road. The Antonine itinerary lists 8 settlements, 7 distance figures, and a total distance of 176 miles:

227,3	Tomos	36
227,4	Callacis	30
228,1	Timogitia	18
228,2	Dionisopoli	24
228,3	Odisso	24
228,4	Marcianopoli	18
229,1	Scatris	26
229,2	Ancialis	

Out of 58 distance figures, 25 (43.10%) have values ranging from 8 to 16 miles. This is a particular case for the Antonine itinerary. Eight distance figures of 12 miles can be found along the third road, and two along the fourth road, which are, in fact, stretches of the same Roman road along the Danube, reaching the final destination at Tomis. This road was projected and constructed by the Roman army. That is why the ancient sources record distances of 12 miles in 10 cases. The Antonine itinerary used military documents for the mapping of this particular road. 14 distance figures out of 58 (24.13 %) have values ranging between 20 to 30 miles. Six of these amount to 24 miles. The distance figure of 18 miles is represented 12 times. A total number of 964 miles is recorded for

Moesia in the Antonine itinerary. If we divide this figure by the number of settlements (62), we obtain an average value of 15.548 miles.

Final remarks

For Moesia, the Peutinger map mentions 14 roads, a total of 2048 miles, 119 settlements, 116 distance figures, 17 double-tower vignettes and two vignettes representing thermal places. Out of 116 figures, 62 are between the values of 8 and 16 miles, representing 53.448 %. 23 distance figures range in value between 20 and 30 miles, representing 19.827 %. The average distance, calculated by dividing the total figure of miles by the total number of settlements, is $2048 : 116 = 17.655$ miles. The most frequent distance figure in Moesia, depicted on the Peutinger map, is 12 miles, recorded 16 times.

The Antonine itinerary lists in Moesia five roads, a total distance of 964 miles, 62 settlements, and 58 distance figures. 25 distance figures out of 58 (43.10%) have values from 8 to 16 miles. 14 distance figures out of 58 (24.13%) have values ranging between 20 and 30 miles. Six of these measure 24 miles. The distance figure of 18 miles is represented 12 times. A total of 964 miles is recorded for Moesia in the Antonine itinerary. If we divide this figure by the number of settlements (62), we obtain 15.548 miles, the average distance.

Based on the examples discussed above, and on several other analyses which have been already published, I am tempted to believe that the Peutinger map was compiled using early *itineraria picta*, created by the army, as sources. Therefore, I suggest that the short distances registered by the Peutinger map reflect the marching stages of the Roman army. In other words, the Peutinger map had better, far more accurate sources: road descriptions, distances recorded in ancient literary sources, lists of settlements including the distances between them, *formae*, military *itineraria* (depicted or written), maybe even *formulae provinciarum* etc. It was in the fifth century A.D., probably during the reign of Emperor Theodosius II, that it was compiled in order to assemble, in a 'map', all the geographical knowledge of the Roman Empire available at that time. This document may have accompanied, as an appended map, one of the two geographical works written in 435 A.D.: *Divisio orbis terrarum* and *Demensuratio provinciarum*²⁵.

²⁵ Weber 1976, 22.

It might be possible that the Antonine itinerary was compiled from several sources and for an administrative purpose. The person or persons who compiled the document melted together different categories of sources: probably lists of settlements and the distances recorded in the imperial archives of the public transportation system (*cursus publicus*), itineraries recorded on travel permits (*evectiones*), and, extremely rarely, data from military itineraries. Although it is apparent that the provinces were listed according to a certain order, the order of the itineraries within a province does not follow any noticeable criteria. In Pannonia as well as in Moesia, but also in Britannia, the listing of the itineraries (of the roads) seems chaotic. Some itineraries are doubled, others are presented from south to north and then, along the same road, from north to south.

As I have already pointed out, in numerous cases the distances recorded in the Antonine itinerary do not match those measured on digital maps along the former Roman roads. Even the comparison and the analysis of the same roads, as it was undertaken for the frontier road in Pannonia, lead to the final conclusion that the Peutinger map and the Antonine itinerary had different sources.

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Sit tibi terra levis

2013 was the year in which archaeology has lost several specialists who have dedicated their whole life to its practice. Not only this scientific field, but also their family, which included numerous friends, colleagues, admirers and foes, even the latter regarding them with the due respect. Their loss is as tragic as it is unexpected. All were senior researchers recognized nationally and internationally. The first was Alexandru Suceveanu, followed by Dan Isac, Dorin Alicu and Nubar Hampartumian. They were not alone, surrounded by friends and many people they have taught this very special craft to.

Dan Isac was part of a famous family that gave its name to the street where he lived, in downtown Cluj. The Isac family became famous through his great-grandfather and grandfather, dr. Aurel Isac, a famous member of the Memorandum movement, and Emil Isac, a representative of symbolism and modern literature, both involved in defending the rights of Romanians in Transylvania in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Despite these antecedents Dan Isac has dedicated his life to archaeology and Roman history, having a teaching career at Babeş-Bolyai University for over 40 years, becoming in 1969 at only 23 years of age, assistant professor, supporting courses and seminars in Roman army and pottery, but also in modern methods in archaeology. He has published over 70 studies and five books. His first preoccupation was the study of luxury pottery, Roman religion and Roman art, followed by the Roman army, by leading excavations in two major camps near the Northern frontier of Dacia. His research led to his international recognition, the results of excavations of Roman forts at Căşeiu and Gilău clarifying major issues of Roman provincial history. He was a polyglot, becoming recognized early as a European scientist, with scholarships in Athens, Venice, Frankfurt, Passau, Cologne and Stuttgart. He participated in numerous national and international congresses and conferences, also coordinating several research projects.

I remember Dan Isac, telling us how much he loves this profession, saying that at any moment had he been offered the option for something better, he would have chosen the same profession, without a second thought. He never doubted that choice he made; therefore passion was often the only thing that still kept him connected. Even when, as now, archaeological research was neglected by the

authorities, nothing stopped him to go on practising it, imagining it, attracting also others in this magic - the discoveries that are still to come. The most charming was the act of discovery itself, as it should be for each specialist, the emotion he felt and transmitted when after scraping a surface, a timber wall, a hut, a fountain or a pit appeared. He anticipated, after the German routine, and mastered every detail, although sometimes seeming theatrical for the younger. If he was leaving for the excavation at 5 a.m. nothing prevented him to leave behind the delayed colleagues.

Unfortunately, gradually we lose all those that can induce this passion to teach and to practice archaeology, without perverting its purpose. There are increasingly more people who practice archaeology, but fewer who understand and truly love it. His childlike, but charming naivety, sometimes needing additional explanations to understand jokes, was offset by a serious and deep understanding of the science that he practiced. He was a young optimistic spirit, loving the pleasures of life, beginning to age well, close to his children, but continuing to do his job. He was proud of his retired status, but failed to enjoy the hard-earned freedom. Hopefully he does where he is now.

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Book reviews

Alexandru Diaconescu, «Clasicismul» în plastica minoră din Dacia Romană, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Mega, 2013, 240 p., ISBN 978-606-543-425-7.

The legacy of the Roman Empire is still very much alive in our modern world, exerting a powerful fascination after centuries of history, as well as surviving as an important pillar in the development of culture worldwide, in its continuous and fast process. The term of *Classicism*, especially within Roman art, has witnessed countless forms of scientific inquiry throughout time, especially after the 19th century, proving once again that its creative reformulation of Greek-derived and borrowed ideas, have lead to the syncretism that later on would come to define the imperial aesthetic taste, which would mesmerize and «conquer» an entire world.

If the bibliography associated with the subject of *Classicism* and *Roman Art* is very vast worldwide, we can't say the same when it comes to the province of Roman Dacia, or the components that spread throughout this area that can be attributed to groups of *Minor Arts*. However, the year 2013 would add another jewel to this «collection», which would underline the significance of Roman Dacia as a part of the Roman Empire, from an artistic, economic and cultural point of view. The book entitled «*Classicism*» in the minor arts from Roman Dacia by Alexandru Diaconescu, would see the light of the day with the help of a publishing house that became a very important name on the book market in Cluj-Napoca, but also Romania, by publishing numerous volumes on diverse fields, one of them being ancient history and archaeology. As the author already announces through the title, the main concern of the book would be the importance of *Minor Arts* when it comes to understanding the huge impact that the major works of art created by renowned artists have had throughout the Roman Empire and on the collective mentality of the time. Whether one form of art is superior while others are considered lesser or minor forms of art, is not a subject in this book (though it is necessary to make the difference between the two), and the author manages to create a wonderful balance between the two categories, and invites us on a 240 pages journey to various places from Roman Dacia, with relevant examples for each case from all over the empire to underline the strong influence that consecrated works of art have had back then, becoming sources of inspiration and models that would be copied in order to aspire towards perfection and also to respond to an increasing demand on behalf of the upper class. We notice how the label of "Minor Arts" in this book does not take on pejorative associations, quite the contrary and surprisingly, the author is able to elevate this group, making his reader understand the amount of work and the attention to detail that was considered while creating these

artifacts, and the overwhelming history that lies behind the small statues and reliefs that are being presented in his work. Being able to do all this with ease denotes professionalism and a very strong and vast knowledge of the subject from the author's behalf, Alexandru Diaconescu being one of the most important researchers that Cluj-Napoca and the Babeş-Bolyai University have to offer when it comes to Archaeology and Ancient Art History. His name comes in association with an impressive and overwhelming amount of work, from archaeological fieldwork, archaeological reports and excavations, to conferences held abroad (Newcastle, London, Berlin, Köln), to international congresses and scientific communications (Athens, Stuttgart, Rome, Potsdam, Glasgow, to mention a few), books (a part of them were published by the same Mega Publishing House) and various articles published in prestigious national and international journals and volumes, expeditions in Orient (Syria) and also being the author of documentaries and many other scientific activities involving Art History, Archaeology and Classical Studies. This being said, the book «*Classicism*» in the minor arts from Roman Dacia not only attests once again the writer's remarkable skills, but also provides a great example of how the author's knowledge and efforts have come together to create a very important working tool for any researcher or student that embarks on this journey, a very difficult segment in the history of roman art, trade and artisans, all in connection to Roman Dacia.

The structure of the book does not follow the traditional lines with successive chapters and rigorously organized plates and figures, but rather provides an own interpretation of it, which seems to flow naturally with the text and the number of artifacts which were analyzed. One could almost say that it follows the structure of a PowerPoint Presentation that most of the author's students are used to, each "slide" having its own subject. Therefore, the author has opted for themes or subjects that are presented from a chronological point of view, starting off with an introduction that allows the reader to enter the general world of Classical Antiquity and Greco-Roman Art. The book is well-illustrated with the author's own photographs, or collaborations with other colleagues, their names being mentioned next to each of them.

The introduction will allow anyone to get acquainted with the terminology used throughout the book, as well as in the scientific dialogue of this field, and to accumulate general knowledge on the subject of Ancient Art History. We notice again the ease with which the author is selecting the most essential notions and periods, continuing with the sculpture of the Archaic Period, The Severe Style, The Classical Period, The Late Classical Period and Hellenistic sculpture, culminating with a beautiful and concise chapter on The Roman Republic and the highly eclectic statues created in that period, drawing on both Greek and Etruscan traditions, with a predominant preference for rational thinking as the art of arriving at true beliefs and forms of manifestation. The author is insisting upon some of the hallmarks of Roman art, with its stylistic eclecticism, diversity and of course the flexibility of artistic motifs. We

are also given countless examples of important works and authors, some of which have coined the idea of artistic eclecticism «in the mature years» by combining classical elements and rejecting the opulence of the Hellenistic style, which introduce us slowly to the author's next short chapter on Praxiteles, Stephanos and Cossutius Menelaos, followed by the *Opera Nobilia* and the «fashion» of setting up copies from consecrated classical sculptures, with changes in style and preference from Augustus to Hadrian. Important works of art which are representative for these periods are not forgotten, such as the Pergamon Altar, The statue of Laocoön and His Sons, The Belvedere Torso, The Ludovisi Battle sarcophagus or «Great» Ludovisi sarcophagus, to mention a few, all of them followed by accurate descriptions and curiosities. The extended introduction followed this particular structure intentionally, the author preparing its readers for the second part of his book and the conclusion in regard to the moment when Roman Dacia had entered the sphere of «the civilized world», and the roman minor arts which undoubtedly had approximately a millennium of aesthetic experience towards what we nowadays call «classicism».

The second part of the book is therefore organized around some of the most valuable and exceptional finds that Roman Dacia has to offer when it comes to minor arts, with a total of nineteen artifacts (seventeen chapters) that resemble or copy renowned sculptures of the time. A part of these artifacts were already published in previous papers, and some of the text was reproduced in this book, but the rest of the material in the chapters for each artifact is original: 1. Zeus Brontaios or Jupiter Fulminans (Tonans) from Potaissa; 2. Apollo from Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; 3. Mercurius from Drobeta; 4. Jupiter from Potaissa; 5. The statuary group of Liber Pater and Pan with panther, from Partoş (Colonia Aurelia Apulensis); 6. Herakles of Tibiscum; 7. Herakles Farnese from Apulum; 8. Applique in the form of a menad, from Sarmizegetusa; 9. Applique in the shape of Gorgona-Medusa, from Sarmizegetusa; 10. Elements of domestic decorations in villas from Roman Dacia; 11. Statue representing a Centaurus, from Sarmizegetusa; 12. The statue of a gryllos, from the Brukenthal National Museum, Sibiu; 13. Dionysos from Apulum; 14. «Venus Ulpiana»; 15. Clay plaque depicting a Satyr and menad dancing, from Apulum; 16. Muse Polyhymnia on a clay model from Apulum; 17. A bronze aryballos from Gilau. Each of these artifacts are used by the author as «gates» through which he introduces the reader to the wider image, where our artifacts become only small elements in a long list of artistic changes, preferences and styles, proving once again that sculpture was the most long-lasting legacy that the roman art had, either carved from marble or cast in bronze. Each of the titles for the chapters that analyze the artifacts start with a question or small and very smart conclusion that hints and summarizes the body of work that is to come, together with the title of the archaeological find. The scientific approach is very accurate and systematic, introducing and contextualizing his descriptions of the formal elements of the works of art. Therefore, the reader is able to understand how the

elements influence the particular sculpture's overall effect on the viewer and its impact on the collective mentality of the time. Before the actual analysis, each of the artifacts have a small section dedicated to a short description, dimensions, state of conservation, conditions of discovery, the places where they can be found today, together with the associated bibliography to this date on each piece. The author is giving all the information that one could possibly discover on each of the subjects. The reader will be faced with some of the most representative works that played a very important role in association with the finds from Roman Dacia, as well as the importance of the sculptures and their frequency in the Roman Empire. A very good example is the statue of Mercurius from Drobeta, which the author is connecting to one of Polykleitos most famous works of art, the Discophoros, created as an example of his «canon» of the ideal human form in sculpture. Alexandru Diaconescu is therefore combining the components of *Major Arts* with those of *Minor Arts* in his search for the most representative examples that lay at the origins of each of the finds from Roman Dacia. All this is done with the help of very accurate iconographic analysis, used to establish the meaning of every particular work, after studying every formal element of the sculptures, such as scale, in-the-round vs. relief, shape, material, volume, texture, light and shadow, technique and directionality. The main scientific approaches of these chapters are comparative analysis and the commonality as the foundation to establish a comparison. Through these, the author is combining the formal analysis, with the overall knowledge and data on each of the sculptures and artists, together with the rest of the relevant background information used to reach a conclusion on the basis of evidence and reasoning, about the relationship between two works of art. One of the main aims of the book (as the author states himself) is to prove that the social (or cultural) elite groups of this province also aspired to a «comfortable and civilized lifestyle», the same lifestyle that the Roman Empire was promoting at the time. The mistakes made in this book are very few and insignificant, and they are related to the composition and structure of the photographs and illustrations, as well as some grammatical and spelling errors (ex. «Bruckhenthal Museum» vs. Brukenenthal Museum), which might have slipped unwillingly.

In conclusion, the book «*Classicism*» in the minor arts from Roman Dacia by Alexandru Diaconescu is one of the most important works on the subject of not only *Minor Arts* and finds from this area, but also general Ancient Art History, becoming a strong tool for research. The author is clarifying the importance and the influence exerted by the Roman Empire on Roman Dacia and the local elite groups, through the diversity of objects that arrive here through trade or are created in the local workshops, as the demand of the upper class was continually raising, in their attempt to incorporate a comfortable lifestyle into their lives and to enjoy some of the benefits of the imperial aesthetic taste.

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Cristina-Georgeta Alexandrescu (ed.), *Jupiter on your side. Gods and humans in antiquity in the Lower Danube area.*

Accompanying publication for the thematic exhibitions in Bucharest, Alba Iulia and Constanța, May – September 2013, Bucharest, Institutul de Arheologie Vasile Pârvan, 2013, 295 p., ISBN 978-973-0-15140-4 Paperback.

Dedicated to ancient monuments coming from the Lower Danube area, on the occasion of the exhibition «Jupiter de partea ta...Zei și oameni în Antichitate la Dunărea de Jos» («Jupiter on your side...Gods and humans in antiquity on the Lower Danube area»), the volume under review represents a bridge between the field of ancient history and the wider public.

The exhibition was one of the outcomes of the ArheoMedia – Project¹, and it gathered monuments (or their representations) from several Romanian and Bulgarian institutions, as well as a replica from the University of Tübingen Museum, Cast Collection.

The volume is a properly edited work which has an almost unifying aspect given by the languages used, the papers (16) being written mostly in English (14) and in French (2) – and having only some minor language and typographical errors.

Even though the papers debate specific scholarly issues, they are written in an accessible manner, reaching out to the wider public due to their approach.

The illustrations are exceptional in quality and quantity – even though not all of the exhibits were published in the books' catalogue. Being an accompanying publication, of the aforementioned temporary exhibition, the volume gives the public a glimpse on the exhibition, being almost like a guided, but written, tour of it. The artefacts displayed were diverse and some of them were either never shown to the public, either they were recently discovered.

The book follows a certain path paved by the exhibition. The papers bring into focus various temples from Romania, and Bulgaria, and various problems regarding sculptural techniques, iconography, but also issues

¹Project developed amidst the Archaeological Institute “Vasile Pârvan”, between 2010 and 2013.

regarding more contemporary items. Besides these, the reuse of ancient monuments is also brought into focus.

By opting for an interdisciplinary approach, the volume manages to successfully recreate the religious world in the Lower Danube area from Antiquity, bringing forward to the public remarkable information on the reuse of the past for building our architectural and ideological present.

Considering the fact that besides the collection of essays, the book has also a catalogue of artefacts displayed but not under focus in the text, it would have probably been useful to provide a comprehensive and exhaustive catalogue of all exhibits.

Besides the introduction, the 16 essays, the catalogue, the bibliography and the list of abbreviations, the book also contains the sources of illustrations – being from this point of view a meticulous and scholarly work. The absence of an index is justified by the compendious character of the publication.

The papers are enlisted in a chronological manner, carrying the reader from prehistory, to the Roman, mediaeval, modern and contemporary times. The papers unfold in a harmonized manner. Opening the volume, Daniel Spânu writes on the *pre-Roman divinities in Dacia – appearances and identities* (p. 13-22), trying to fill in the blank related to the religious life in pre-Roman Dacia. More particularly, due to the absence of literary sources, the paper focuses on the iconography of the Dacian divinities presenting their types and the themes represented; these iconographical testimonies lead the author to conclude that the local mythological narrative implies the existence of a masculine – feminine couple, and that it maintains traces of a likely animistic and shamanistic past.

Moving to a different geographical area, Iulian Bîrzescu's paper *The Kosmos of Greek sanctuaries on the shores of the Black Sea before the Roman conquest* (p. 23-30) introduces the reader to the religious architecture of the Black Sea area, of the early days, during the period of autonomy. Based on the literary and archaeological evidence, the author examines the sanctuaries from Leuke Island, Olbia, Berezan Island, Histria, Apollonia Pontica, Dionysopolis, Pantikapaion, Kytaia, Nymphahion, Myrmekion, Pahanagoria, and Kepoi. While the literary evidence is scanty, and the archaeological evidence is based mostly on discoveries made by chance, the author brings a significant contribution to the field of research by gathering the existing evidence, by analysing and interpreting it. Among the specific conclusions we mention: the early phases of constructions were probably characterised by perishable materials, followed later by stone; the materials used were of local origin, but an Aegean input is to be found in the more impressive decorative elements. Furthermore, the use of marble for the Pontic sanctuaries is light and the dimensions are small.

Next, after the general overview offered by Iulian Bîrzescu, a more particular one is provided by Igor Zakarenko, Elina Mircheva, Radostina Encheva and Nikolaj Sharankov who discuss *The Dionysopolis temple of the Pontic Mother of Gods* (p. 31-41). The paper is based on the discovery of a temple from

Dionysopolis (modern Balchik), brought to light in 2007. The temple, mentioned as *Metreon*, comes from the Hellenistic period, it was in use until the IVth Century AD (destroyed by an earthquake or by a fire), and it was dedicated to the Pontic Mother of Gods (also referred to as *Pontic Mother*, *Pontic Goddess*). The archaeological finds are rich in number and content, offering a view on the religious life (and economy) of Dionysopolis. The corresponding illustrations include: the plan of the temple, and some of the architectural and sculptural elements, which were preserved due to the geographical conditions.

Maintaining a similar approach, Zaharia Covacef presents *Temples from Tomis* (p. 43-53). The paper is a reorganised translation of a previous work published in *Peuce* s.n. 3-4, 2005-2006, p. 159-172, which sustains, based on the epigraphic and archaeological evidence, the existence of the following temples: temple of Apollo, of the Dioscuri, of the Eleusian Triad, of the Imperial cult, of Jupiter, of Cybele, of Dionysos – Bacchus, of Sarapis, of Hercules, of the Hero – the Thracian Rider, and maybe of Nemesis, Tyche – Fortuna, Concordia, Athena, and Demeter.

Varbin Varbanov, reports in *A Roman Sanctuary in Sexaginta Prista* (p. 55-61), the ancient construction layers of Sexaginta Prista, the central area of nowadays Russe. Based on the archaeological excavations in this area (1976-1978; 2005-2010) the site reveals multiple levels of development and usage: from a Thracian pit sanctuary (IInd / Ist Century BC – Ist Century AD), to a Temple of Apollo and the Thracian Rider (IInd Century AD), and a military Roman construction (*principia* – IVth century AD). The Roman temple is remarkable due to its apse plan, which is less common in the area.

Returning to iconographic topics, Roman statuary is brought into focus by Radu Ota, with his paper *Remarks on the stone representations of Jupiter in Roman Dacia* (p. 63-78)². The paper brings information on local sculptors' workshops, on the imports of these artefacts, on how the representations spread and on their dating.

In the meticulous paper, *Nemesis statuettes and a votive aedicula from Tomi/Constanța* (p. 79-85), Gerhard Bauchhenß presents two Nemesis statuettes from the National Museum of Antiquities in Bucharest, and an *aedicula* of the same deity, discovered in 1962. The paper points out the particular iconographic feature of the representations, which the author assumes to be a local variant from Tomis.

The iconography of deities is discussed also in the paper *Deities on the coins of Histria, Tomis and Callatis* (p. 87-103), written by Florina Panait Birzescu. The paper underlines the willingly choice of the gods' iconography on coins, providing an insight into the religious context of these *poleis* which have a

² The paper's title differs from the one in the table of contents, where one can find it as *Remarks on the stone statues of Jupiter in Dacia*.

strong Greek character, as well as an Oriental input. Each iconographic (and standardized) type is discussed and explained in a wider historical context.

Following a popular research path, the paper *Les couleurs des statues de l'antiquité – quelques considérations préliminaires sur les pièces découvertes à Apulum* (p. 105 – 114), underlines the common use of colours in antiquity, providing local examples. First, the paper introduces the reader to the general topic, being an enjoyable reading. Next it focuses on examples of colour usage in Apulum which reveal the importance of sight. It is worthy to mention that one of the examples, a votive relief of Mars, indicates possible traits borrowed from the iconographic pattern of the Gallic pantheon.

Ana Căținaș, in *Sculpture workshops in Roman Potaissa* (p. 115-121)³, overviews the workshops discovered in Potaissa, and reinforces their past existence through evidence provided by the quantity and diversity of stone monuments found there. She also points out the fact that some iconographic elements pertain to a specific “Potaissa type/ style”; moreover, she sustains that the stone workshops in Potaissa were specialized in producing funerary *aediculae*.

Trying as well to provide an outlook on the social, cultural and economic aspect of religion, Zaharia Covacef presents, in her second paper, the *Sculptural workshops at Tomis* (p. 123-133)⁴. First, the paper explains the growth and diversity of the local workshops, and brings forth arguments for their existence. The paper has a chronological approach, presenting the state of the art both during the Hellenistic and Roman times.

Adriana Panaite presents, in *Protective deities of Roman roads* (p. 133-142) these particular divinities, and concludes that the Diviae, Trivia and Quadriaviae bear Latin names, but their origin is probably Illyrian, being spread through the soldiers, and through the barbarian migration.

Magical practices in Dacia and Moesia Inferior (p. 143-156)⁵, discusses the repertory of magic – related items found in the aforementioned provinces. S. Nemeti determines the fact that the instruments used in rituals, connected to medical magic were predominant in this area; that the *tabellae defixionum* were used for aggressive purposes; that the gems were linked to erotic magic, and that magical divination is absent.

Returning to iconography, Radu Ciobanu, in his second paper, *Les Dieux Vents - iconographie et symboles à partir d'une mosaïque d'Apulum* (p. 157-164), reassesses the mosaic from Apulum, discovered in 1950, a mosaic which represents the Wind gods. Based on analogies, and on a thorough etymological

³ The paper's title differs from the one in the table of contents, where one can find it as *Stone carving workshops in Potaissa*.

⁴ In this case as well, the title differs slightly from the one in the table of contents, where it appears as *Sculpture workshops at Tomis*.

⁵ The table of contents misses an “s” from the word magic.

analysis, the author identifies two types of iconographic use of these gods: representing the positive and the dreadful passage of time – this latter one being characteristic beginning with the imperial period.

The remaining two papers put an emphasis especially on humans rather than gods. Rendering a connection between the past and the present, the paper «Migrated» *Roman lithic fragments in the vicinity of the capital of Roman Dacia* (p. 165-185), which is a summary of a larger scale, and exceptional project, documents the custom of using ancient monuments for mediaeval and modern construction works. The project itself, as well as the result, is extremely interesting because it shows a different side of history. The documentation is very meticulous and powerful in content.

On the same line, the reuse of past is unfolded by Sabina Marițiu and Romeo Cîrjan in *Creating identities...Roman antiquities in modern Romanian numismatics (1877-1989)* (p. 187-193). The paper provides an insight on the national identity created and depicted on money. The messages depicted and sent to the public changed according to the political context, being official *instrumenta* of propaganda. If up to 1948 the idea of Latinity was central, afterwards it was replaced with a Stalinist one.

To conclude, this engaging volume is a mirror of the exhibition; it comprises papers which complement each other, recreating aspects of the ancient life in the Lower Danube area. One of its greatest merits lies in the fact that it provides in an accessible manner a specialized content.

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George Cupcea, *Professional Ranks in the Roman Army of Dacia*, BAR International Series, Archaeopress, 2014, 154 p., ISBN 978-1-4073-1325-2.

The study of the Roman army it was a century ago, as it is nowadays, a topical research area trying to understand and explain this complicated operating mechanism represented by the most well organized army of Antiquity. The Romanian historiography tried, step by step, to understand the role played by Dacian legions and auxiliary troops in provincial and imperial contexts, highlighting the historical, political, social, ethnical and economical features and implications.

In a quite large amount of studies and monographs concerning the Roman Army from Dacia, G. Cupcea's recent publication based on his Ph.D.

Thesis, represents a more than welcomed study about the military hierarchy of the troops stationed in the aforementioned province. As the author explains, his study deals with the military ranks and hierarchy between *miles immunis* as the lower rank, distinguished by the simple *miles* because of some extra attributes and a possibility for further promotion and *primi pili*, the most important *centuriones*, the chief-centurions, also, achieving this function being the only way to join the ranks of the *equites*. Therefore, the study deals directly with the mobility of military ranks and the possibilities of soldiers to climb the social ladder.

As Voltaire said once, before we start a debate, we must first define our terms. The author defines his terms in the first chapter, *Introduction* (p. 7-12), where he explains the framework of the study. By presenting the historiography on the subject, the author connects himself at line of studies dating back to Alfred von Domaszewski and continuing through all of 20th century, studies of Roman military hierarchy being produced by both German and Anglo-Saxon scholars.

The sources of the study are mixed. The author combines the literary sources which are obviously the main category with epigraphic and archaeological sources. As the author highlights, more than 10% of all inscriptions refers to military sphere, in the case of Dacia representing almost 100% of sources for the military element. The archaeological sources, especially the military archaeology, offers extremely precious information about the military ranks. Further, the author explains his research methodology and structure of the book, the *Introduction* ending with some general facts regarding the three main legions from Roman Dacia, *XIII Gemina*, *V Macedonica* and *III Flavia Felix* and other legions attested: *VII Gemina*, *I Adiutrix* and *VII Claudia*.

The second chapter of the book, *Immunes and principales* (p. 15-71) represents an exhaustive study about these «soldiers/small officers», not clearly defined, as the author claims, when we talk about the limits between them. G. Cupcea's position is that in fact they are soldiers who are organized after a complex internal hierarchy in accordance to the tactical and administrative needs of the unit and not officers. In the first part of the chapter, the author tries to clarify the terminology used in connection with these officers and also to follow some aspects regarding the significance and the attributes of the rank, the role and the hierarchical position within its troop and also the possibilities of promotion in the army and evolution within a distinct social scale. Also, *immunes* and *principales* are discussed and analyzed in three different military contexts: the *cohortes* from Rome, the legions and the auxiliary troops: *cohortes* and *alae*.

After a detailed discussion about the lower hierarchy of the legion and career of the legionary soldiers, the author analyzes the lower hierarchy of legionaries from Dacia, starting obviously with *leg. XIII Gemina*, the legion with the highest number of attested petty officers followed by *leg. V Macedonica* and

other attested legions. *Officium consularis*, the bureaucratic apparatus that gives the governor possibility to coordinate the activity throughout the province, is analyzed in detail. After each troop is discussed, the author uses statistical tables to centralize a quite big amount of info provided by the epigraphical sources. At the end of this part there are analyzed the particularities of legionary *immunes*, *principales* and of course the particularities of *officium consularis III Daciae*.

In the last part of the second chapter is basically used the same methodology, but applied on the lower hierarchy of auxiliary units. Firstly, the author drives the reader through lower hierarchy of *alae*, *cohortes*, *numeri* and military fleet, generally speaking, and then refers to auxiliary units from Dacia, using again the statistic analyses and tables, ending the chapter with some particularities of *immunes* and *principales* from auxiliary units of Dacia.

The third chapter, *Centuriones* (p. 73-112), is about the highest rank of militia, the most responsible officer of the legion and the only category of professional officers. As the author claim, the «authority of the centurion is purely disciplinary».

In the first part of this chapter are traced back the centurions' origins and the entry to the rank; the author is also discussing here the evolution of theories regarding centurion's origins from Domaszewski who believed in the «principle of keeping intact the Roman-Italian component of legionary centurions in order to obtain tactical and loyal unity of the army,..., until the 3rd century AD» to E. Birley who reforms the old theories and B. Dobson who opens the way for prosopographic studies for each distinct legion. When the author analyzes the centurion's hierarchy, he brings into discussion two main theories regarding above mentioned hierarchy: Domaszewski's theory which broadly suggests that there are two system of promotion, one for the *centuriones* coming from Rome, *ex equite Romano*, and another for the so called *ex caliga*, and Wegeleben's theory that posits an equality in rank for all *centuriones* from *cohortes II-X*, the exception being *primi ordines* that are superior.

As in the second chapter, the author makes an excursion through centurionate in Rome analyzing five distinct types of *centuriones*: *centuriones* of the *vigilles*, *centuriones* of the *urbaniciani*, *praetorian centuriones*, *centuriones* of *castra peregrina* and finally *centuriones* of the *praetorian fleet*. Every mentioned category is treated in terms of hierarchy and career. Going further, the author discusses the special tasks of the *centuriones*: «administrative and economic tasks maintaining internal security and public order, circulation, intelligence and even diplomatic duties»; obviously this discussion is well connected with aspects regarding centurions' payment (a *primus pilus* having during the reign of Maximinus Thrax a salary of 432.000 *sestertii* per year) and of course with social status of the *centuriones*, the author underlining several times that the centurionate is the only institutionalized way of advancing step by step on a

social ladder and the admittance into the *ordo equester* being possible only after a promotion to *primus pilus*.

Keeping the same methodological analyses, the author carries his research on legionary centurionate from Dacia tracing different aspects. The first one is the origin of centurions from the army of the province, the statistical analyze being presented in a table. The previous careers of *centuriones* from Dacian legions are known from several inscriptions, some of them being *stratores*, *speculatores*, *beneficarii*, *evocatii*, *signiferii*, etc. In addition to this topic, the author follows the *centuriones* in their post-centurionate careers. There are eight cases of post centurionate-careers of *centuriones* from Dacia. As for example, we know Titus Pontius Sabinus from *legio XIII Gemina* who became procurator of Gallia Narbonensis after a successful legionary career or the famous Lucius Artorius Castus from *leg.V Macedonica* who became *procurator centenarius provinciae Liburniae iure gladii*. Later on, the author surprises the role that *centuriones* fulfill in the provincial society. An integrating mechanism could be getting a municipal office (the case of the *centurion* from Dacia who is a *bouleutes* in Nikopolis ad Istrum is an exception). Another very interesting example is a *centurion* from Domnești (Bistrița-Năsăud county), a *centurio regionarius* «in charge with an ad-hoc military region». Another mechanism used to integrate *centuriones* is the religion.

Finally, the last chapter (p. 115-134) of this study is concerning about *primipili* and *primipilares*, a distinct class of soldiers who enjoys benefits and special payment, being also the crosspoint and the gateway to the equestrian order during the Principate. After a brief discussion about the Republican and Principate *primipilate* and the entry to this rank, the author concludes that are three groups of soldiers who reach the *primipilate*: legionary petty officers only after 13-20 years of service, until the epoch of Septimius Severus, *praetorian* or *urban* petty officers only after serving as legionary *centurion*, legionary and *praetorian centurion* or just *praetorian centurion*, only after 16 years. In the third category are included *centuriones* who are appointed directly. Further, the study focuses on the careers of the *primipilares*. There are explored two legionary careers of *primipilares*: *praefectus castrorum* and *praefectus legionis*, highlighting also the major changes that occurs in the 3rd century. The section ends with a discussion regarding equestrian careers of the *primipilares*.

The author underlines the position of this chief-*centuriones* in organizing legion's religious life because they receive the *signa* and the eagle. Their role in economy is given by the fact that their payment is huge comparing to a simple *miles* or a simple *centurion*, enjoying a fairly large amount of money after withdrawal.

Next section of the chapter deals with *primi pili* and *primipilares* from Roman Dacia, 25 epigraphically attested. The *primi pili* are placed in connection with their legion and the *primipilares* with their garrison because of the rank of *praefectus castrorum*. Those who chose a civil career are met in different social

aspects. The chapter ends with some particular ideas of the primipilate in Dacia, corresponding broadly to general features of this category.

In conclusion, «Professional Ranks in the Roman Army of Dacia» represents a very comprehensive study regarding the career and hierarchy of professional officers of this peripheral province. Being a highly documented work, it represents the first comprehensive study from Romanian historiography, a study that analyze and clarify important aspects for understanding the complex mechanism of Roman army and its role in the general and particular historical frameworks. G. Cupcea's book will remain a binding study for any further investigations on provincial armies, providing an analysis model and a rich bibliography in connection with the subject.

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Gelu Florea (ed.), *Matriţa de bronz de la Sarmizegetusa Regia*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Mega, 2015, 168 p, ISBN 978-606-543-604-6

This volume wants to be the first presentation of the bronze matrix discovered at the beginning of summer 2013 on the archaeological site of Sarmizegetusa Regia. It was published in 2015 in Cluj-Napoca by the research team of Sarmizegetusa Regia, being coordinated by Gelu Florea, professor at the Babeş-Bolyai University, Faculty of History and Philosophy, Department of ancient History and Archaeology.

The content includes details about the discovery of the bronze matrix, its description, technology, patterns and themes illustrated on it, its place in the local artistic environment and also contains interdisciplinary measurements and observations. The high number of illustrations brings clarity of information regarding the artifact, giving details of each side of the artifact and on the representations. As the authors explain in this volume, the bronze artifact was discovered in 2013, under a fallen beech, after a storm. The found spot is located in the central part of the archaeological site, the discovery spot being positioned 50 m East-Southeast of the Southern gate of the fortification.

The description of the matrix presented by authors in the first chapter shows us the massive bronze piece, weighing 8.241 kilos, with eight faces, the two large ones have a rectangular hexagonal shape and the other six are rectangular. The piece fits in the so-called hollow design matrices or intaglio matrices category, and was made using the lost wax casting technique.

On the surface of the Side A are depicted 25 animal representations, individually or associated in elaborate compositions, as well as an isolated

geometric sign. This side of the matrix is considered to be adapted for producing portable objects as *phalerae* or decorative fittings and three-dimensional figurines. There are represented five lion heads and two couchant lions of different sizes, there are also hollow designs of a resting lion, seen from above, this type of representation reminds, as the authors say, of some amulets made from gems or faience found in funerary context from the North Pontic region, as well as of large *phalerae* coming from the tomb of Danči. On this side are also four different sized wolf-griffin round appliquéés, this kind of imaginary animal being extremely rare illustrated. A winged wolf silhouette with a lion tail could be identified in a similar representation on an ornamental plate also found in the North Pontic region, which could be an unusual hybrid morphology specific to the imaginary of the steppes. The geometrical sign close to one corner of the side divided into two rectangles, using lines of pearls, could be a „signature» of the artist who made the prototype of the matrix or a property mark if the person who produced the wax model of the artifact was the same with the goldsmith who used it.

On the Side B surface, are rendered nine animals, organized in two registers separated by pearled circles, in the centre being a leonine mask surrounded by four pairs of fighting animals. Four pairs of animals are antipodal displayed within the circular shaped register disposed around the central lion mask: lion-bear, goat-griffin, leopard-bull, tiger-boar. It is possible that the whole ornamental structure of this side may have been transferred on precious metal or bronze sheets, forming a single object or those decorative motifs could be used separately on smaller items, both of the two variants are considered possible.

The lateral sides are organized in two friezes, both of the strips being framed by pearled lines. The hollow designs of the lateral sides of the matrix are assumed to be clothing and weaponry accessories, wooden vessels, cases or furniture fittings, based on some analogies from other sites in the ancient world.

The second chapter presents the production technique, the shapes and the sizes of the pearled frames and the decorated objects found as analogies. The research being oriented towards the Hellenistic-Roman area and the Northern zone of the Black Sea. The analogies were focused on Roman military equipment items as shield bosses, decorative plates, *phalerae*, helmets and other decorative objects. Other possible analogies were looked among Roman, Hellenistic and North Pontic finery and other decorative pieces. Analogies for the images depicting the animal finds were found on various artifacts from military and civil milieus.

The authors of the volume have attempted to place the matrix in the local artistic environment based on the known manifestation of art from Sarmizegetusa Regia. The style depicted on the bronze matrix is considered to be specific for Dacian *davae* from Orăștie Mountains were the metallurgy is a true art, nothing similar being found in other areas of Dacia. The example of the

«shields from Piatra Roşie» and the realistic representation of animals depicted on them could be an argument of artistic features from the capital of Dacia. This example and other ones show that local environment from that area was familiar in 1st century AD with the Mediterranean artistic style, and that the Dacians adapted that style to their own taste. A hypothesis about the matrix is that a large amount of colored glass found during the archaeological research in 2014 near the spot where the bronze matrix was found could be linked. The glass fragments could be used as ornaments fitted on pieces of gold which could indicate that at Sarmizegetusa Regia were probably produced complex jewelries decorated in polychrome style.

A commendable aspect of this volume are the interdisciplinary measurements and observations, truly necessary for a complete examination of such an artifact. Scanning and digitizing the bronze matrix had the objective to document the state of conservation, volumetric measures and calculations based on the 3D model and obtaining models to illustrate possible products made by using the matrix.

As hypothesis, the origin of the matrix is either Italic, East Mediterranean, Alexandrine or North Pontic, based on iconographic elements and analogies as well as on technologic and artistic performances. As the research team says, based on the excavations, the matrix was at Sarmizegetusa, and probably has been used, around the Dacian Wars. The iconography analysis and some analogies show that the artifact was produced and used in 1st century AD.

I believe that the authors of this volume have achieved their aim, which was to depict a visual scan of the bronze matrix, in a relatively short time. The data presented provides a good picture of the artistic environment of the capital of Dacia, and a basis of a future detailed study of this astonishing artifact and the Dacian civilization.

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Corpora

AE	L'Année Épigraphique, Paris, 1888-.
CCET	Corpus Cultus Equitis Thracii I-V. Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire Romain, 71-75, Leiden, 1979.
CCID	M. Hørig, E. Schwertheim, Corpus cultus Iovis Dolicheni, Leiden - New York - København - Köln, 1987.
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin, 1863-.
CIMRM	M. J. Vermaseren, Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae, Hague, 1956-1960.
CMRED	D. Tudor, Corpus monumentorum religionis Equitum Danuviorum. 1. The Monuments, Leiden, 1969; 2. The Analysis and Interpretation of the Monuments, Leiden, 1976.
EDCS	Epigraphische Datenbank Clauss-Slaby: http://www.manfredclauss.de/ .
EG	G. Kaibel, Epigrammata graeca ex lapidibus conlecta, Berlin, 1878.
IDR	Inscriptiile Daciei Romane, București, I, 1975 - III/5, 2001.
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae, Berlin, 1873-.
ILD	C. C. Petolescu, Inscriptiile latine din Dacia, București, 2005.
ILS	Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae, Berlin, I, 1892 - III, 1916.
LIMC	Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae, Zürich and Munich, 1974-.
OPEL	B. Lőrincz (ed.), Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum I-IV, Budapest, 1999-2002.
RR	Römer in Rumanien, Köln, 1969.

Dictionaries

BBRD	I. Boda, Cs. Szabó, The Bibliography of Roman Religion in Dacia, Cluj-Napoca, 2014.
DA	Ch. Daremberg, Edm. Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines, Paris, I-V, 1877-1919.
Roscher Lexikon	W. H. Roscher, Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie, Berlin, 1884-.

Abbreviations

AAASH	Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest.
AB (SN)	Analele Banatului. Muzeul Național al Banatului, Timișoara.

ACD	Acta Classica Universitatis Scientarum Debreceniensis, Debrecen.
ActaMN	Acta Musei Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca.
ActaMP	Acta Musei Porolissensis, Zalău.
Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis	Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis. Institutul Pentru Cercetarea Patrimoniului Cultural Transilvanean în Context European. Universitatea Lucian Blaga, Sibiu.
AIIA Iași	Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie "A.D.Xenopol", Iași.
AJP	American Journal of Philology, The Johns Hopkins University Press.
Alba Regia	Alba Regia. Annales Musei Stephani Regis, Székesfehérvár.
AlsóTerm	Az Alsó-Fehér megyei történelmi, régészeti és természettudományi Évkönyve, Gyulafehérvár.
Évkönyve	
Anatolian Studies	Anatolian Studies. British Institute at Ankara, Cambridge University Press.
Ancient Society	Peters Online Journal: Ancient History section of the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven. Online.
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt, Berlin-New York.
Antiquités Africaines	Antiquités Africaines. Études d'Antiquités Africaines, Aix-en-Provence.
Apulum	Apulum. Acta Musei Apulensis, Alba Iulia.
Archeologia Classica	Archeologia Classica. Università Degli Studi di Roma «La Sapienza», Roma.
Archeo	Archeo Rivista, Milano.
ArchBulg	Archaeologia Bulgarica, Sofia.
ArchÉrt	Archaeologiai Értesítő, Budapest.
ArchHung	Archaeologia Hungarica, Budapest.
ARG	Archiv für Religionsgeschichte, Frankfurt.
Aristonothos	Aristonothos. Scritti per il Mediterraneo antico, Trento.
ARW	Archiv für religionswissenschaft, Leipzig / Berlin.
AUC	Analele Universității Creștine Dimitrie Cantemir, București.
AUVT	Annales d'Université Valahia Târgoviște.
Balcanica	<i>Balcanica</i> . Annuaire de l'Institut des Etudes Balkaniques, Belgrade.
Banatica	Banatica. Muzeul Banatului Montan, Reșița.
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, Bulletin de l'École française d'Athènes.
BerRGK	Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Frankfurt, Mainz-Berlin.
Bonner Jahrbücher	Bonner Jahrbücher. Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn und des Rheinischen Amtes für Bodendenkmalpflege im

- Landschaftsverband Rheinland und des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande. Köln/Bonn.
- Britannia
BSAF
Budapest Múemlékei
BudRég
CAH
CCA
CIW
CRAI
CWA
Chiron
ComArchHung
Dacia (NS)
Dolgozatok
Drobeta
EN
Erdélyi Múzeum
Ephemeris
Dacoromana
FA
Gallia
Glasnik
HTRTÉ
JAA
JFA
JMS
JPMÉ
JRA
JRS
JVAR
- Britannia, London.
Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France, Paris.
Budapest Múemlékei, Budapest.
Budapest Régiségei, Budapest.
Cambridge Ancient History, Online.
Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România, București.
The Classical Weekly, New York.
Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris.
Current World Archaeology, London.
Chiron. Mitteilungen der Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, München.
Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae, Budapest.
Dacia. Revue d'archéologie et d'Histoire ancienne, București.
Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem-és Régiségtárából, Kolozsvár, I-IX (1910-1918).
Drobeta. Muzeul Regiunii Porților de Fier, Turnu-Severin.
Ephemeris Napocensis. Institutul de Arheologie și Istoria Artei, Cluj-Napoca.
Erdélyi Múzeum-Évkönyve, Kolozsvár.
Ephemeris Dacoromana. Annuario della Scuola Romana di Roma, București.
Folia Archaeologica. A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Évkönyve, Budapest.
Gallia. Fouilles et monuments archéologiques en France métropolitaine, Paris.
Glasnik. Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine u Sarajevu (Bulletin du Musée de la République Socialiste de Bosnie-Herzégovine à Sarajevo), Sarajevo.
Hunyadmegyei Történelmi és Régészeti Társulat Évkönyve, Déva.
Journal of Anthropology and Archaeology. Online.
The *Journal of Field Archaeology*, Boston University. Online.
The Journal of Mithraic Studies, London.
A Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve, Pécs.
The Journal of Roman Archaeology, London.
The Journal of Roman Studies, Cambridge Journals. Online.
Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunde in Rheinlande.

Klio	Klio. Beiträge zur alten Geschichte, Berlin-Wiesbaden.
LANX	LANX. Rivista della Scuola di Specializzazione in Archaeologia, Milano.
Latomus	Latomus. Societe d'Études Latines de Bruxelles, Bruxelles.
LDA	Le Dossiers d'Archéologie, Dijon.
Madriider Mitteilungen	Madriider Mitteilungen. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Madrid.
Marisia	Marisia. Studii și Materiale, Târgu Mureș.
Materijali	Poceci ranih zemljoradnickih kultura u Vojvodini i Srpskom Podunavlju, Materijali X, Srpsko arheološko društvo. Gradski muzej, Subotica, Beograd.
MAZ	Mainzer Archäologische Zeitschrift, Mainz.
MEFRA	Mélanges de l'École française de Rome - Antiquité, Rome.
Mythos	Rivista di Storia delle Religioni, Palermo.
Nemus	Nemus, Alba Iulia.
Numen	Numen. International Review for History of Religions, Leiden.
Nuncius	Nuncius. Journal of the Material and Visual History of Science (Formerly: Annali dell'Istituto e Museo di storia della scienza di Firenze), Florence.
Orma	Orma. Revistă de studii istorico-religioase, Cluj-Napoca.
PA	Patrimonium Apulense, Alba Iulia.
PB	Patrimonium Banaticum, Timișoara.
PIAZ	Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu, Zagreb.
Phoenix	<i>Journal of the Classical Association of Canada</i> , University of Toronto.
Pontica	Pontica. Muzeul de Istorie Națională și Arheologie Constanța, Constanța.
Potaissa	Potaissa. Studii și Comunicări, Turda.
RA	Revue Archéologique, Paris.
RCRF Acta	Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Acta, Abingdon.
Religion	<i>The Journal of Religion</i> , Chicago.
RömÖst	Römisches Österreich. Jahresschrift der Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Archäologie, Wien.
Saalburg-Jahrbuch	Saalburg Jahrbuch. Bericht des Saalburg-Museums, Berlin.
Sargetia (SN)	Sargetia. Buletinul Muzeului județului Hunedoara, Acta Musei Devensis, Deva.
SCIV(A)	Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche și Arheologie, București.
Specimina Nova	Specimina nova dissertationum ex Instituto Historico Universitatis Quinqueecclesiensis de Iano Pannonio Nominatae, Pécs.
Starinar	Starinar. Arheološki Institut, Beograd.
StComSatuMare	Studii și Comunicări Satu Mare, Satu Mare.
StComSibiu	Studii și Comunicări, Muzeul Brukenthal, Sibiu.
Studia Historia:	Studia Historia: Historia Antiqua, Universidad de

Historia Antiqua	Salamanca, Salamanca.
Studia Palmyreńskie	Studia Palmyreńskie / Études palmyréniennes, Warsaw.
Studi e Ricerche Museo Civico «G. Zanato»	Studi e Ricerche Museo Civico «G. Zanato», Montecchio Maggiore, Vicenza.
TD	Thraco-Dacica. Institutul Român de Tracologie, București.
Terra Sebus	Terra Sebus: Acta Musei Sabesiensis. Anuarul științific al Muzeului Municipal «Ioan Raica», Sebeș.
Tibiscum (SN)	Tibiscum. Studii și Comunicări. Etnografie. Istorie, Caransebeș.
Tibiscus TRÉ	Tibiscus. Muzeul Banatului Timișoara, Timișoara.
Tyche	Történelmi és Régészeti Értesítő, Temesvár.
	Tyche. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte, Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Vienna.
VAPD	Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku, Split.
VAMZ	Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu, Zagreb.
Vallástudományi szemle	Vallástudományi szemle, Zsigmond Király Főiskola, Budapest.
WprZeit	Wiener prähistorische Zeitschrift, Wien.
ZAK	Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte. Revue suisse d'Art et d'Archéologie, Zürich.
Živa antika	Živa antika - Antiquité vivante. Drus̃tvo za antic̃ki studii na SRM, Skoplje.
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Bonn.

Museum abbreviations

MA - Sarmizegetusa	Museum of Archaeology, Sarmizegetusa.
MIA - Zalău	Museum of History and Art, Zalău.
MI - Turda	Museum of History, Turda.
MNB - Sibiu	Bruckenthal National Museum, Sibiu.
MNIR - Bucharest	National Museum of Romanian History, Bucharest.
MNIT - Cluj-Napoca	National Museum of Transylvanian History, Cluj-Napoca.
MUAI	National Museum of the Union, Alba Iulia.