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Founder: Constantin Daicoviciu

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Publicația Muzeului Național
de Istorie a Transilvaniei

Orice corespondență se va adresa:
Muzeului Național de Istorie
a Transilvaniei

400020 Cluj-Napoca

Str. Constantin Daicoviciu nr. 2

Tel: 0040 264 595677

Fax: 0040 264 591718

email: secretariat@mnit.ro

ACTA MVSEI NAPOCENSIS

Publication of the National History Museum
of Transylvania

All correspondence will be sent to the address:
National History Museum
of Transylvania

400020 Cluj-Napoca

Constantin Daicoviciu St. no. 2

Tel: 0040 264 595677

Fax: 0040 264 591718

email: secretariat@mnit.ro

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STUDIES

GEOPHYSICAL PROSPECTING VS. EXCAVATION AT THE NEOLITHIC SITES ȚAGA AND ICLOD

CARSTEN MISCHKA, ZOIA MAXIM, MAGDA LAZAROVICI

Abstract: In 2007-2010 geomagnetic surveys (by the University Kiel, Institute for Pre- and Protohistory) were made on 11 Neolithic sites in Romania, with three of them (Țaga, Iclod and Fundătura, all Zau-Culture) located in the Cluj area. Spacious enclosures with multiple ditches and numerous house plots, arranged in rows and circles were revealed. The reliability of the geophysical measurements meanwhile was proved by sondage excavations.

Keywords: geophysics; geomagnetic survey; excavation; Neolithic period; Transylvania.

Rezumat: În perioada 2007-2010 au fost făcute prospecțiuni geomagnetice de către Universitatea din Kiel, Institutul de Pre- și Protoistorie, la 11 situri din România, dintre care trei (Țaga, Iclod și Fundătura, toate aparținând culturii Zau) situate în zona Clujului. Au fost identificate zone mari delimitate cu șanțuri multiple și șiruri de case, aranjate în rânduri sau circular. Fiabilitatea măsurătorilor geofizice a fost dovedită apoi prin sondaje arheologice.

Cuvinte cheie: geofizică; măsurători magnetometrice; cercetări arheologice; neolitic; Transilvania.

1. Introduction

The surveys in Iclod, Țaga and Fundătura were part of two projects of the Institute of Pre- and Protohistory of the University Kiel and of the German Archaeological Institute (DAI), together with various partner organizations in Romania. The first project consisted of survey campaigns in 2007 and 2008, visiting sites in Transylvania and Moldavia in cooperation with the National History Museum of Transylvanian in Cluj-Napoca, the Brukenthal Museum in Sibiu, the Institute of Archaeology in Iași and the Museum Complex in Piatra Neamț. The second project in 2010 saw surveys and a test excavation in Iclod and Fundătura, together with the National History Museum of Transylvania (Fig. 1).

1.1. The survey campaigns

The late Neolithic and the transition to the following Copper Age is one of the most important phases in the prehistory of central and southeast Europe. It contains an exceptional amount of changes not only in the material culture, but also regarding the social systems, which can be derived from settlement-types and - hierarchies or burial rites. The initial point for the survey campaigns was the fact that the most interesting sites from this period are multi-layer settlements. Excavations on such sites normally are necessarily small in area, due to the thickness of the stratigraphies. This result in detailed knowledge regarding typochronology and single dwelling

structures, but information about the wider context of the excavated structures, e.g. the size of the settlement, the number of houses or the fortifications (all factors providing information on the social processes) are rare.

The main objective of the initial survey campaigns was to conduct geomagnetic surveys of complete multilayer and multitemporal sites and if possible, of contemporary adjacent sites from the late Neolithic to the early Copper Age in different parts of Romania. These surveys should help to gather information about the settlements' size and inner structure as well as to improve the possibility of estimations of population densities and settlement dynamic issues.

During the survey campaigns, ten sites were examined: three in southern, and two in central Transylvania, three in the Subcarpathian Mountains and two on the Moldavian plain. The campaigns proved the outstanding suitability of the geomagnetic method for fast, large-area surveys, as nearly all sites revealed numerous house plots, complex ditch-systems and the interaction of all these structures, which indicate complex settlement dynamics¹.

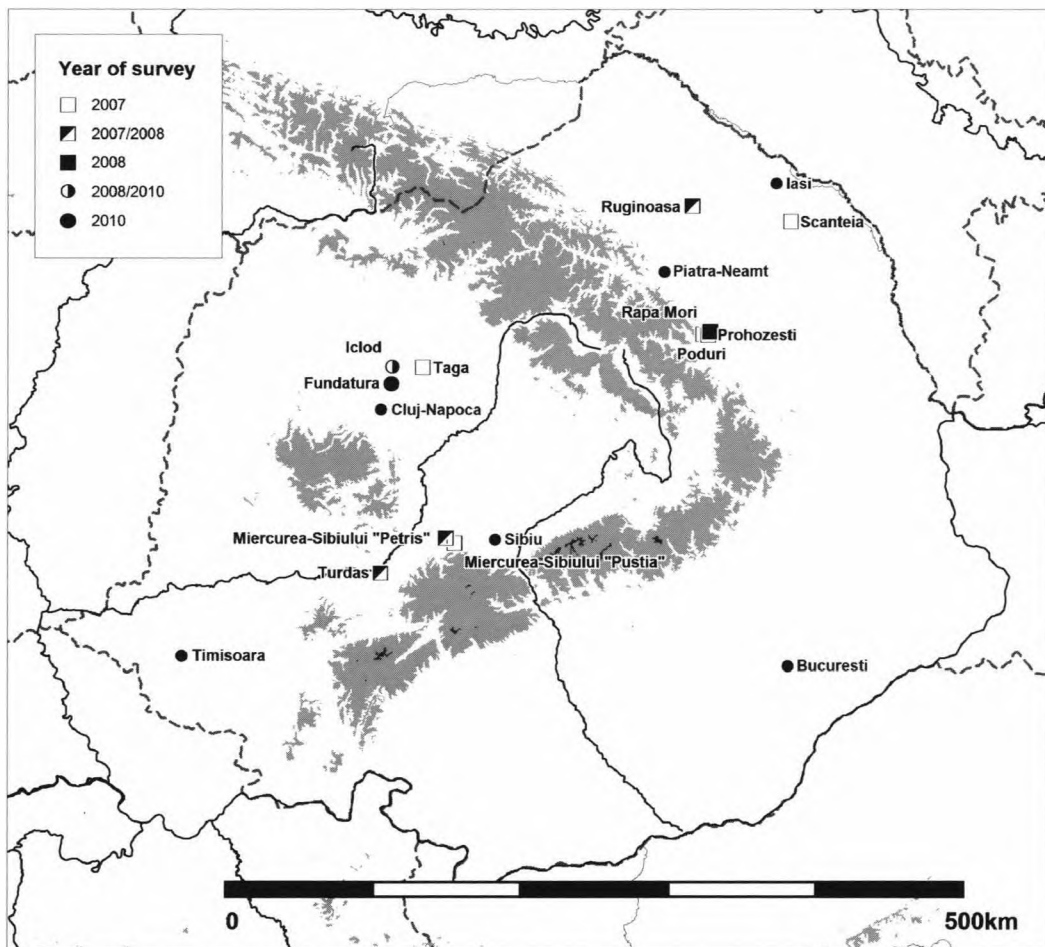


Fig. 1. Neolithic sites surveyed between 2007 and 2010.

¹ For more details: Mischka 2008; Mischka 2009; Mischka 2010.

1.2. The Iclod campaign

The results from the campaigns in 2007–2008 were impressive, but closer examinations of one exemplary settlement and its surrounding were necessary to understand the settlement processes and the hierarchies in the settlement group. The next logical step was the closer examination of an assumed central site by test trenches and the expansion of the geomagnetic prospection to adjacent contemporary sites. This combined approach should validate the interpretation of the geomagnetic anomalies, deliver chronological information about the detected structures and improve knowledge about the Neolithic settlement network.

In cooperation with the National History Museum of Transylvania from Cluj-Napoca and based on the results of the survey in 2008, the settlement of Iclod was chosen as best point to launch such an approach. Excavations were made here since 1974, so a solid chronological backbone was given. It should be easy to integrate the results of the small test trenches from 2010 into this framework.

The comparatively big settlement Iclod is also the assumed center of a little settlement group. From the related settlements, the site of Fundătura was chosen for further geomagnetic survey. Additional information on the comparison of geomagnetic anomalies and the archaeological structures came from the Cluj Museum's excavations at Țaga, which was geomagnetically surveyed during the 2007 campaign.

2. Geomagnetic survey

During the 2007–2008 campaigns a hand-held Bartinton GRAD-601 one-probe gradiometer with an accuracy of 0.1nT was used. This instrument allowed to survey up to approximately 1.3 hectare per day in a 0.125×0.5 m raster, with an optimal flexibility even on small fields, which are very common at the visited sites.

In 2010, a wheel-based Sensys four-probe gradiometer array with odometer was used. This device provides the same accuracy as the GRAD-601, but a higher resolution with a 0.05×0.5 m raster and greater speed, up to 3 hectares per day. In difficult terrain, for example mud or high grass, the wheels have to be removed, but the daily performance is still higher than the Bartington's. The only disadvantage is the need for comparatively big, flat and open survey areas, which a lot of interesting archaeological sites simply do not provide.

2.1. Iclod

The late Neolithic site of Iclod is located on the low terrace of the Someșul Mic, some hundred meters north-east of the modern Village Iclod (Cluj County). It is intersected by a major road and a railroad line. The site contains a large graveyard, stretching from the slope of the Someșul Mic to the north and the settlement itself, which lies further north².

² Lazarovici 1991; Lazarovici, Lazarovici 2006, 626–639.

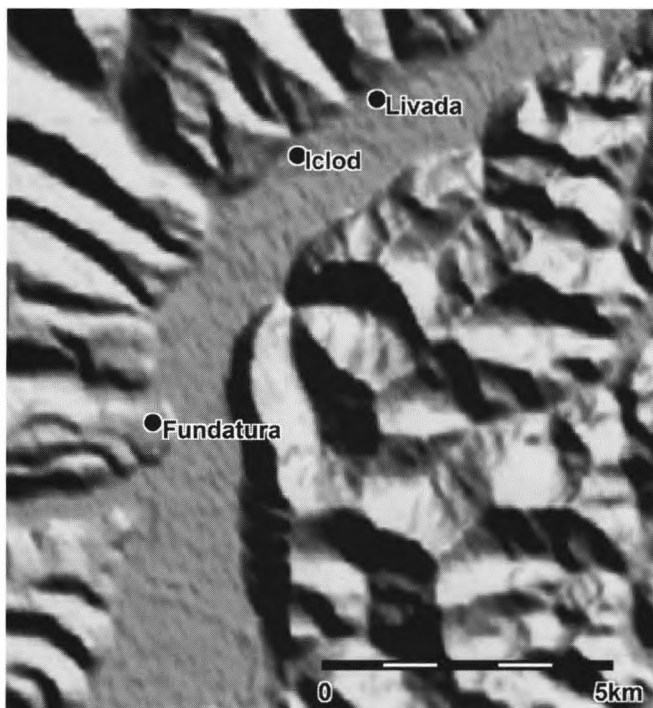


Fig. 2. The late Neolithic settlement group in the Someșul Mic valley (SRTM-Dataset).

Excavations were made since 1974, but they were mainly concentrated on the central part of the settlement and the graveyard. Iclod is dated to the late stage (Iclod-phase) of the Zau-Culture and its importance for the transition from the older Neolithic stages to the new emerging Petrești-culture was undisputed³. It is part of and most probably the center of a late Neolithic settlement group, with at least two neighboring sites of Livada and Fundătura nearby (Fig. 2). Despite Iclod's importance, until 2008 the size of the settlement could only be estimated roughly on the basis of the excavations and a narrow trench, dug for a pipe, running along the street.

The first survey in 2008 proved the exceptional potential of the site, but not harvested fields prohibited the complete examination of the settlement⁴. The survey was eventually finished in 2010 and the results exceeded the expectations by far.

The geomagnetically surveyed area covers more than 11 hectares, divided by the road and the railroad tracks. Between linear disturbances caused by water conduits (Fig. 3-1) and a lot of modern waste resulting in lots of small dipoles, the magnetogram shows very clearly the components of the Neolithic settlement. The largest structures belong to a threefold ditch system which surrounds the inner part of the settlement. The diameter of the three (Fig. 3/2-4) ditch-circles is 140 to 240 m, with an enclosed area of 1.7-4.7 hectares. The two outer ditches are linked with each other in the south. This indicates a gate construction (Fig. 3-5), which proves that these two ditches existed contemporarily.

³ Maxim 1999, 237.

⁴ Mischka 2009, 5-7.

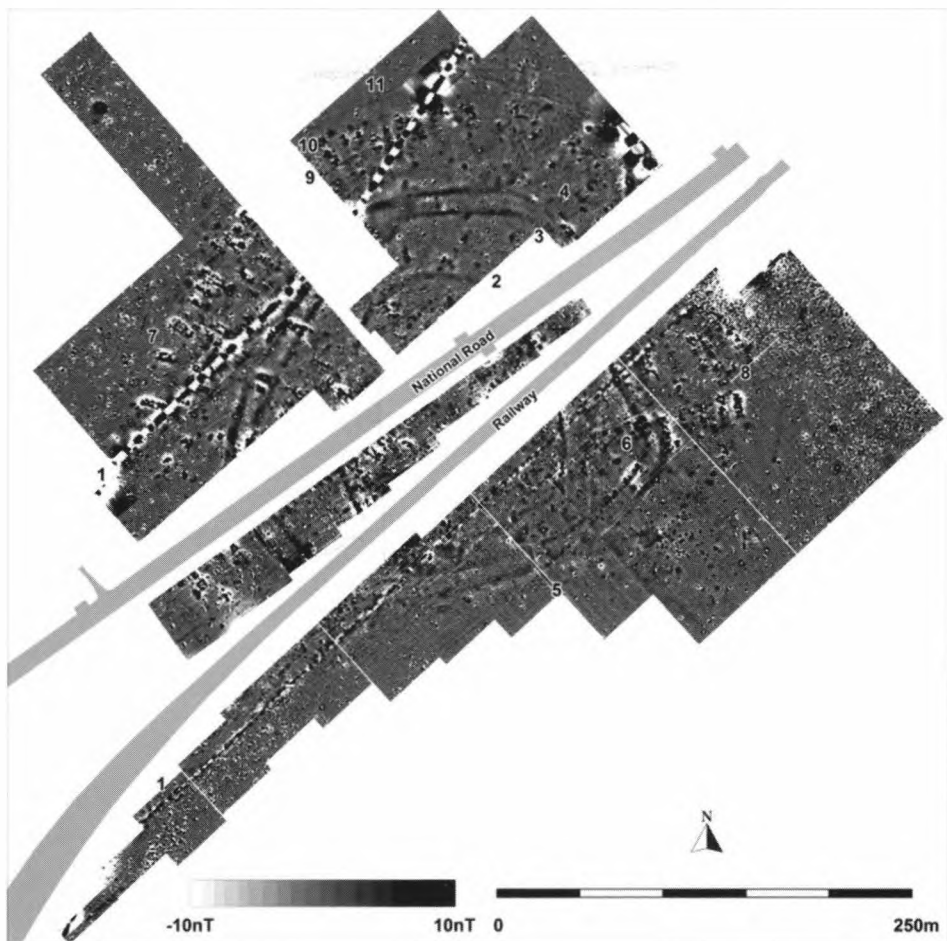


Fig. 3. Iclod. Magnetogram (numbers showing structures mentioned in the text).

The settlement itself is marked at first by a lot of round anomalies (Fig. 3-6), empirically caused by settlement-pits, filled with ceramic fragments, burned clay and humus material, magnetically contrasting the clayish material of the soils B- and C-horizon. The pits provide information about the settlements extent and intensity of the settlement process, but there are some other, more interesting structures: rectangular shaped, comparatively strong anomalies which can be interpreted as house structures, basing on excavation results from other sites.

At least 33 of these houses are visible. In the northwest of the settlement they are arranged in at least three concentric rings, where they partly overlay the ditches, pointing to the settlement's expansion- or shrinking-processes (Fig. 3-7). In contrast to this, the houses in the northeast seem to be arranged in two straight, parallel rows (Fig. 3-8).

His whole arrangement is surrounded by a triple ring of smaller, linear anomalies (Fig. 3-9; 10-11). They can be most probably interpreted as smaller ditches, perhaps for palisades. Unfortunately these structures do not appear clearly in the magnetogram

and so the palisade-rings must remain a hypothesis; however, but the results of the excavations in Țaga support this interpretation (see Chapter 3.2). Assuming the palisades are real, their system would have a diameter of 385 m, resulting in an enclosed area of 10.6 hectares, nearly completely filled with settlement structures.

2.2. Fundătura

The results from Iclod lead to the question, of whether this site is a single phenomenon, a center in a network of smaller satellites, or just the normal case in this time and area. To further investigate this question, one of the neighboring, contemporary settlements was also surveyed. Because the nearest one, the site of Livada 3 km to the north, was recently destroyed to a large part by a development area, the site of Fundătura was chosen.

In contrast to Iclod and Livada, Fundătura is located on a promontory above the valley of the Someșul Mic and not on the river terrace (Fig. 2). From this promontory Iclod is clearly visible in the north, at a distance of 5 km. Small rescue excavations and surface finds at the edge of the plateau indicates here a Zau-Culture/Iclod group settlement here, but nothing more was known until the 2010 campaign⁵.

The geomagnetic survey covers six hectares. Some plowed areas, as well as some parcels with thin, soft, but very high grass made the use of wheels and odometer impossible. The effects of the different vegetation are clearly visible in the magnetogram as stripes, indicating the direction of plowing.

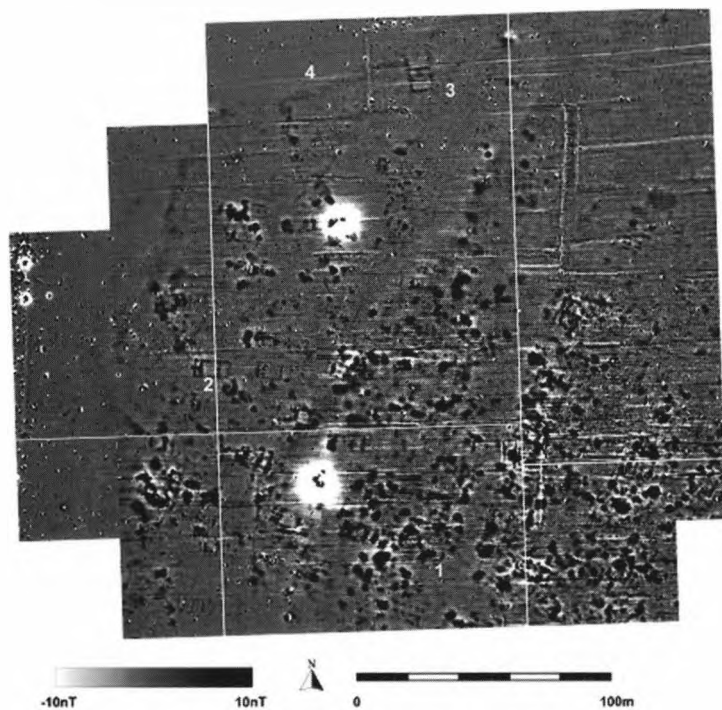


Fig. 4. Fundătura - "Poderei". Magnetogram (Numbers showing structures mentioned in the text).

⁵ Lazarovici, Lazarovici 2006, 639.

The result of the survey shows a settlement of at least 4 hectares, clustered with pit-anomalies even more densely than *Iclod* (Fig. 4-1). The southern boundary of the site has not yet been reached due to high corn fields, but it is very likely that the settlement spans over nearly 5 hectares.

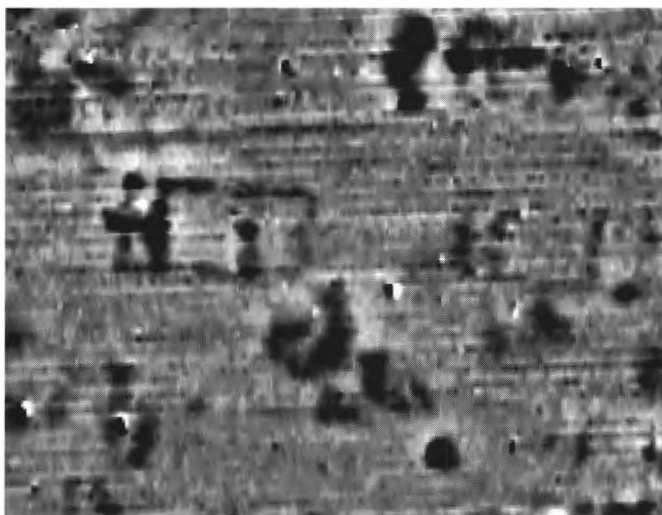


Fig. 5. Fundătura - "Poderei". Detail of two houses in the Magnetogram.

The special features on this site are the houses (Fig. 4-2). In contrast to *Iclod*, there can be no question about the archaeological interpretation of the geomagnetic anomalies. These are not roughly rectangular areal anomalies, pointing to burned clay-layers. Instead of this, the magnetogram shows the postholes and foundation ditches for the walls visible as bounded anomalies (Fig. 5). These anomalies form rectangular arrangements; with houses as the only possible interpretation. Nearly all of these at least 19 houses have the same size of approximately 15 by 7 meters and a division into one big central room, with one smaller room at both ends. Only one house in the north, at the entrance of the settlement is much bigger than the other buildings (Fig. 4-3). This structure is connected with a weak, blurry limited, linear anomaly, which seems to surround the settlement in the north and west and could be interpreted as a ditch (Fig. 4-4). With the steep cliff in the east, this ditch would delimit the settlement from the rest of the plateau. If this interpretation is true, the big house could also be a fortified entrance to the settlement.

All in all, we can record *Iclod*'s neighbor as a comparatively large settlement with the much weaker fortification probably caused by the different topographical setting. This leads to the conclusion, that the differentiation in the settlement hierarchy seems not to be as big as expected.

2.3. *Țaga*

Another contemporary settlement is *Țaga*, located 20 kilometers east of *Iclod* in the next small river valley. Today, the site lies near the lake *Țaga Mare*, and new houses, an electrical power plant and a gas pumping station made numerous rescue

excavations necessary⁶. Because of the location on a slope down to the lake, erosion is another problem for the archaeology.

Because most of the area was inaccessible or completely disturbed by gas conduits and electrical power lines, only a little more than 2 hectares were left undisturbed for the geomagnetic survey, which took place during the 2007 campaign. Even the small surveyed area reveals the potential of the site, but the interpretation of the results was more difficult than in Iclod or Fundătura which highlights the importance of large survey-areas.

The clearest structures are the ditches. At least five of them, marked by linear anomalies, are running through the surveyed area (Fig. 6). All of them are mostly parallel to the slope, with a change of direction indicated in the northernmost part of the picture. Ditches 2 and 3 seem to be a linked system. It is difficult to connect the ditches from the geomagnetic with the structures found in the former rescue excavations, but the minimal reconstruction leads to an at least 9.5 hectare large installation (Fig. 7).

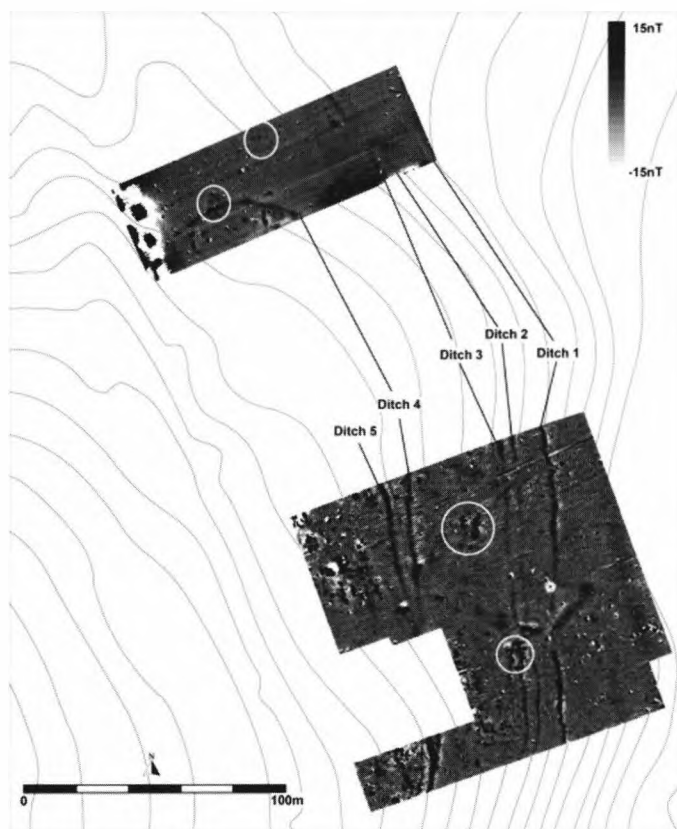


Fig. 6. Țăga. Magnetogram with ditches and, possible, house plots (white circles).

In contrast to the clear ditches, the magnetogram from Țăga shows only four possible house structures. They consist of small posthole-anomalies, forming much smaller house plots than in Iclod or Fundătura. Two of them are intersecting with

⁶ Lazarovici, Lazarovici 2006, 640–662.

the ditch system, and it is not proven that they belong to the same archaeological context as the ditches.

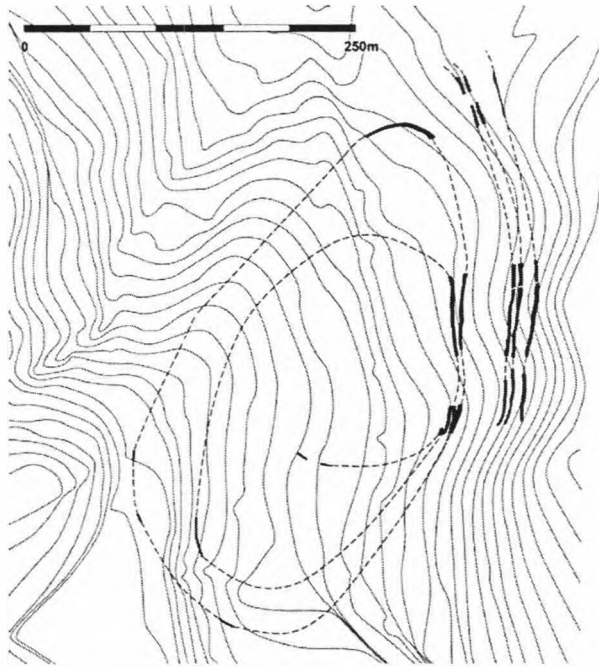


Fig. 7. *Țaga*. Ditches from the geomagnetism and excavation (solid black lines) and interpolated course of the enclosures (dashed lines).

3. Excavations

The possibility to check the interpretation of the geomagnetic surveys by archaeological excavation was given at two sites. In *Iclod* it was a planned part of the project, and at *Țaga* a new rescue excavation allowed another review.

3.1. *Iclod*

Until the test excavation, the interpretation of the house-anomalies at *Iclod* only rested on finds at other settlements⁷. In addition, the question arose of whether the postulated houses are really as big as the very strong halos of the anomalies suggest. To answer this question, two small test trenches were opened in the spring of 2010 in the area of the south-eastern row of houses, at the expected northeastern corner of what was called “House 1”, a structure which was probably greater than 20 by 8 meters.

The soil was formed of several thick layers of clayish colluviums. Approximately 15 centimeters under the surface, a massive layer with big fragments of burned clay appeared; the fragments still bearing the imprints of the tree branches, which once formed the skeleton of the house wall (Fig. 8-9). This layer, revealed to be more than 40 centimeters thick and also containing a lot of ceramic sherds, which could be dated in the *Iclod* II period. In contrast to this, stone artifacts were very rare.

⁷ Hoffmann et alii 2007, 74-94.

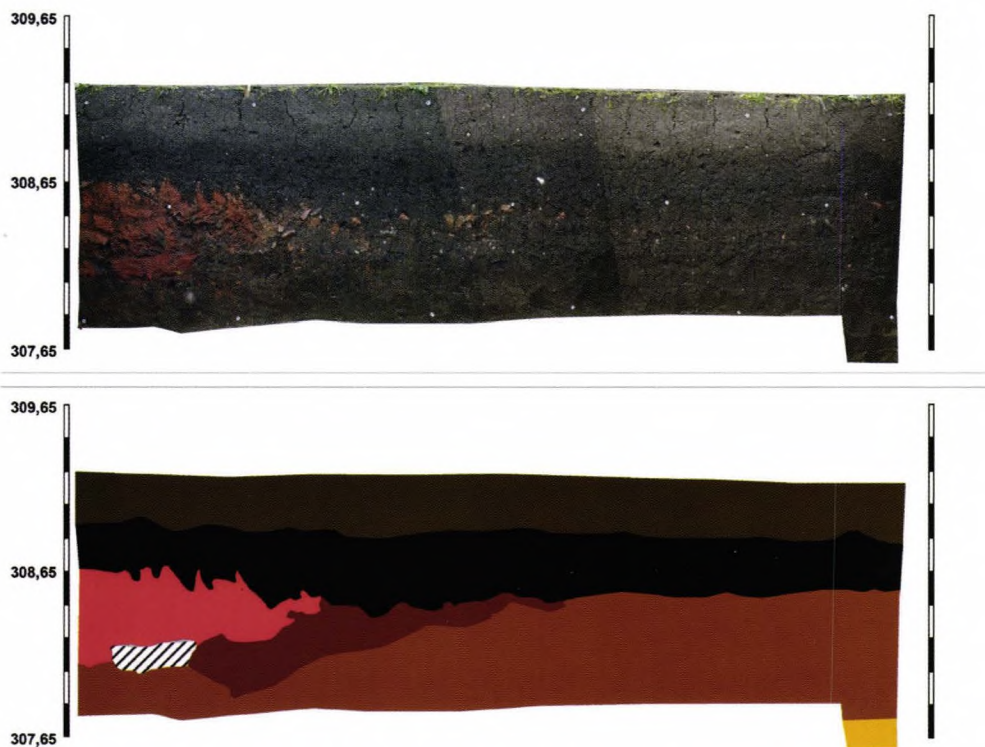


Fig. 8. Iclod. House 1, North profile. Red: burned clay; shaded: hearth. Position of the profile is shown in Fig. 12.



Fig. 9. Iclod. House 1, south profile. Red: burned clay. Position of the profile is shown in Fig. 12.

On the base of the layer of burned clay, a fired hearth plate, covered by a deposit of crushed ceramic pots was found (Fig. 8, 10). This feature strengthened the suspicion, that the excavated structures were the remains of a collapsed, burned down house.

Under the burned layer the remains of the houses foundation, postholes and wall ditches were visible; about ninety centimeters under the modern surface. These structures formed a rectangular system, so even though the bottom of the postholes was not reached during the excavation, it is possible to postulate the geomagnetic anomaly only representing one single building.



Fig. 10. Iclod. House 1, ceramic deposit.

The still persistent necessity of at least small excavations confirmed a feature, which was located 20 centimeters under the burned clay layer: a burial, containing the skull and some disarticulated bones from the torso of ca. 6 year-old child, combined with two nearly complete pottery vessels, standing upright in the sediment (Fig. 11). Nearly one meter under the surface, very small and without a clear pit structure, such an archaeological feature is invisible to all kinds of geophysical survey-methods, especially when additionally hidden below half a meter of burned clay.

The ornamentation of one of the vessels could be classified as Precucuteni-style import to the Iclod I-period. With the ceramic from the house dating to the Iclod II-period, a gap of some hundred years between the grave and the house emerges⁸. This seems to exclude the interpretation of a planned burial under the house. Perhaps the grave points to a bigger extension of the Neolithic graveyard than estimated until now.

⁸ Lazarovici, Lazarovici 2006, 624.



Fig. 11. Iclod. House 1, burial with skull, bone and two ceramic vessels.

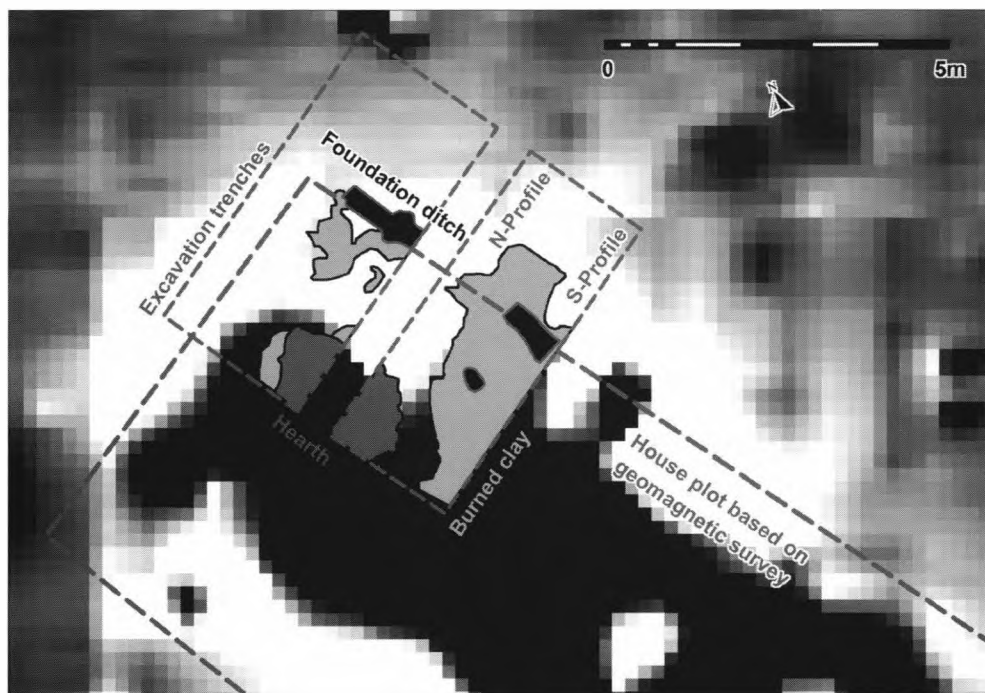


Fig. 12. Iclod. House 1, magnetogram with excavated features.

The overlay of the excavated house-structures and the magnetogram shows that the positive part of the magnetic anomaly matches the burned clay-layer. The parts

of the burned clay layer found in the negative halo of the anomaly were only a few centimeters thick, so they seem to be overlaid by the halo of the much stronger central anomaly. The overlay also proves that the size of the house, as estimated from the geomagnetic survey, matches very accurately the real size of the building, marked by the foundation trenches and postholes (Fig. 12).

To summarize, the 2010 Iclod campaign showed that geomagnetic survey allowed recognition that the settlement is much bigger and more complex than presumed.

The absence of big houses in the inner part of the fortification is remarkable, as is the fact that the settlement was possibly undefended in its biggest phase. The regular arrangement of houses shows the strength of social control and planned settlement development. For the metrological part, the test excavation secures the interpretation that the strong rectangular anomalies are really houses. In contrast to this, the graveyard remains invisible in the geomagnetic images, because it is covered by more than a meter of clayish colluviums and, at the settlements margins, by strong house-anomalies. Here excavations remain the only suitable method for research.

3.2. Țaga

At Țaga the excavations of the National History Museum of Transylvania from Cluj-Napoca, showed some differences between geomagnetic survey and excavation. This also proved that excavations are still an indispensable method for testing the models derived from geophysical surveys.

Because of the rescue character of the excavation, only narrow, long trenches were opened, but this was enough to allow a satisfying comparison. In the overlay, the excavated structures follow satisfactorily the geomagnetic anomalies, but only at first sight (Fig. 13). Zoomed in, it becomes clear that the narrow palisade ditches found in the excavation are not entirely visible in the magnetogram (Fig. 14). The problem of the geomagnetic method's missing resolution concerning the depth of structures with unknown susceptibility is affecting the interpretation of the anomalies very strongly.

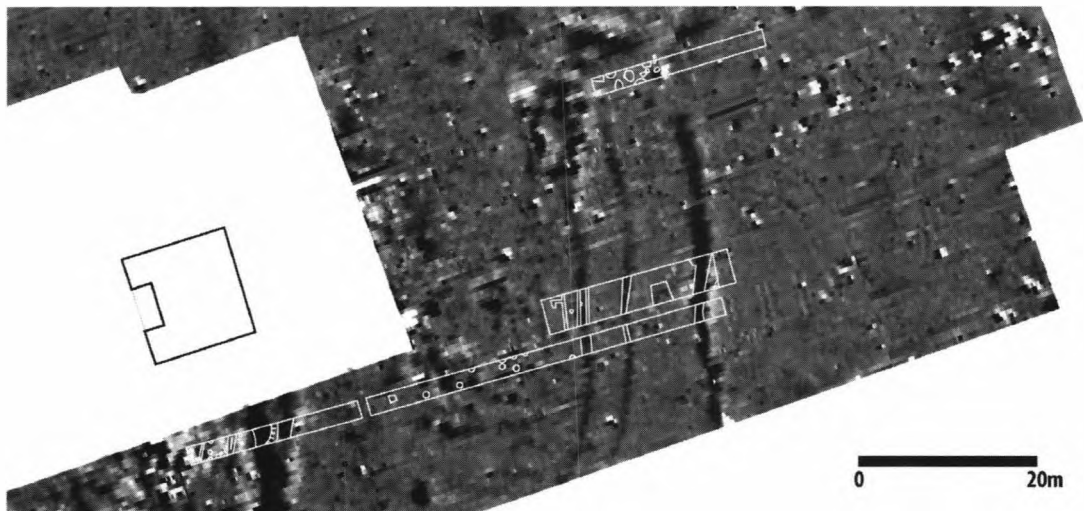


Fig. 13. Țaga. Magnetogram and excavated features (white).

The second excavated fortification also definitely looked contrary to expectations. One broad anomaly, formerly interpreted as ditch 3 was revealed as two smaller structures. To increase the confusion, a completely new palisade ditch arose only one meter away from the now doubled ditch 3 (Fig. 14-15).

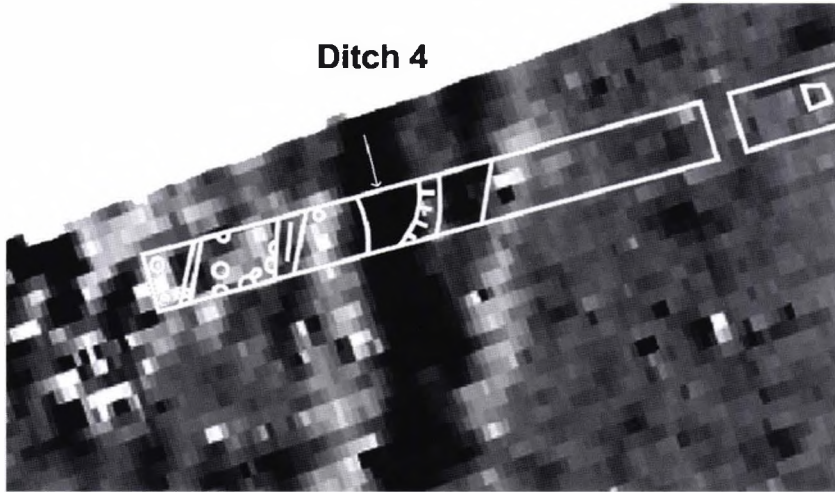


Fig. 14. Țaga. Ditch 4, 5, detail of the magnetogram with excavated features (white).

There are two reasons for this lack of correlation. The first one is the soil erosion.



Fig. 15. Țaga. Ditch 5, North profile with the narrowing ditch.

The “invisible” ditch in particular was only a few centimeters deep. Only filled with humus, rather than with pottery sherds or burned clay, the contrast in susceptibility is too small for the fluxgate devices. But this explanation does not apply to the doubled ditch 3. Here, a problem with data sampling is the most probable cause. The survey was done with a 0.5×0.125 centimeter-raster. On countless archaeological sites this has proved to be more than sufficient, a perfect compromise between invested time and gathered information. The problem at Țaga was the slope of the terrain. To achieve the steady pace while sampling the data, which is necessary with handheld instruments, the direction of the traverses was parallel to the slope. This direction is nearly the same as the direction that the ditch follows. With the ditches a little more than one meter

wide each, spaced nearly half a meter apart, an unlucky coincidence can occur. It is possible to measure the two ditches in four traverses, 50 centimeters apart, each one covering the left and right margin of one ditch. The space between the two structures remains unmeasured and the magnetogram will show a 2 meter wide structure instead of two smaller ones. In this case, the character of the site is clarified, but only excavations, even of a very small size minimize the possibility of false interpretations.

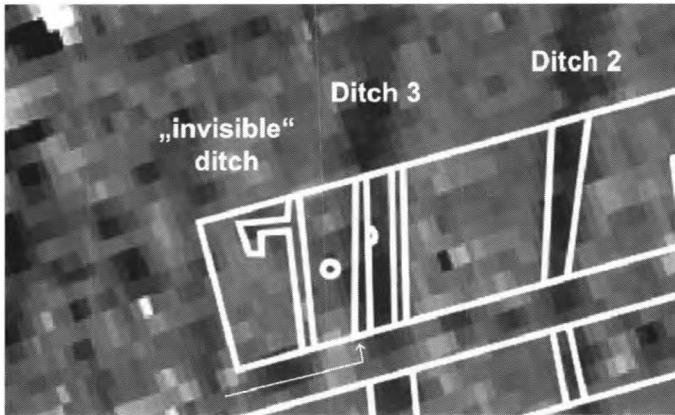


Fig. 16. *Țaga*. Ditch 3, detail of the magnetogram with excavated features (white). Arrow indicates the south profile from Fig. 17.



Fig. 17. *Țaga*. Ditch 3, south profile with the doubled ditch 3 and the additionally discovered ditch.

4. Conclusion

The work at *Iclod*, *Fundătura* and *Țaga* emphasizes the possibilities and the limits of geomagnetic survey on big Neolithic settlements. With a minimum of expense, large areas and many sites can be surveyed, leading to a much more detailed picture of the internal settlements order and also of the regional settlement networks and hierarchies. Ditches, house plots, settlement pits and even single postholes can be recognized, and lot of interpretation work can be done without a single excavation. On the negative side two main problems remain: Small structures can only be examined with a much higher input of workforce (smaller raster), if at all, and no

geophysical method provides an archaeological date. In future, an optimal compromise has to be found for the ratio between excavation and geophysics, allowing a safe extrapolation of the results of small excavations to the rest of the surveyed area.

With the work presented here still in an initial phase, it is at least possible to have a view of the superregional context of the surveyed sites. The comparison of the late Neolithic settlements of Transylvania with sites from the adjacent parts of Europe, show Iclod, Fundătura and, also, Turdaş at the river Mureş, as typical representatives of the very large sites, dominating parts of middle and southeastern Europe and especially Transylvania in the horizon of ca. 4800-4300 BC (Fig. 18). At this point, the size of the settlements and the comparative large houses seem to be the connection. On the regular tell-sites outside of Transylvania especially, the buildings tend to be smaller, with far less space between each other. Although the inner structure of the big settlements tends towards great diversity, more research is clearly necessary here.

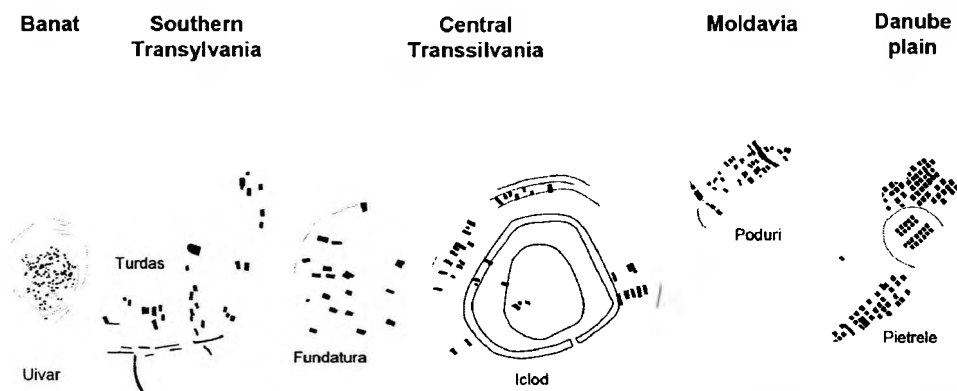


Fig. 18. Size of Romanian Neolithic settlements compared. All sites plotted in the same scale. (Data for Uivar: Schier, Draşovean 2004; for Pietrele: Hansen et alii 2006).

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Carsten Mischka

Institute of Pre- and Protohistory,
Christian-Albrecht University, Kiel
carsten_mischka@gmx.de

Zoia Maxim

National History Museum of Transylvania, Cluj-Napoca
zoiamaxim@yahoo.fr

Magda Lazarovici

Institute of Archaeology, Iași
magdamantu@yahoo.com

A COMPARATIVE TECHNOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE NEOLITHIC BURNISHED POTTERY FROM VĂDASTRA AND CRUȘOVU (ROMANIA)

†GHEORGHE GĂȚĂ, RADU-ALEXANDRU DRAGOMAN

Abstract: This text consists in a comparative analysis of two categories of burnished Neolithic pots originating in two sites that belong to Vădastra tradition (ca. 5200-4900 CAL. BC), namely the eponymous settlement and that at Crușovu (Oltenia, Romania). The analysis results showed that the same pottery technology was used in both sites.

Keywords: pottery technology; Neolithic; Vădastra tradition; Vădastra - "Măgura Fetelor"/"Dealul Cișmelei"; Crușovu.

Rezumat: Textul de față constă într-o analiză tehnologică comparativă a două categorii de vase lustruite neolitice provenite din două situri aparținând tradiției Vădastra (cca. 5200-4900 CAL. BC), și anume așezarea eponimă și cea de la Crușovu (Oltenia, România). Rezultatele analizei au indicat faptul că pe ambele situri a fost utilizată aceeași tehnologie ceramică.

Cuvinte-cheie: tehnologie ceramică; neolitic; tradiția Vădastra; Vădastra - „Măgura Fetelor”/„Dealul Cișmelei”; Crușovu.

Introduction

The Vădastra tradition from south of Romania and north-west Bulgaria was attributed to the Middle Neolithic period and dated ca. 5200-4900 CAL. BC¹. Research of the Neolithic pottery technology in the eponymous settlement (Olt County, Oltenia) showed that the clay was taken from the outcrops nearby the settlement and that vegetal material was used as temper². The pots were modelled into certain proportional shapes, sizes and thickness. The burnished black pottery, fired in reducing atmosphere and ornamented with incised and excised motifs was decorated with white paste and ochre, both substances coming from local sources and in the case of some of the ochre, from sources located at a distance³. One of the themes, not discussed insofar, is whether the Vădastra Neolithic pottery technology was developed within the settlement or was brought by the potters working in this tradition. The lack of pottery waste exhibiting deformation or deep cracking suggests that the pottery technology was brought to the settlement and adapted to local clay sources, demand of certain vessel shapes, and to possible changes due to its transmission over time, from one generation of potters to another. By comparing two sites of the Vădastra tradition (Fig. 1), we aimed at identifying possible adaption of the pottery technology to the local conditions or, on the contrary, the less likely establishment of a new technology.

¹ Regarding the dating, see for instance Mantu 1999-2000; Krauß 2008.

² Găță, Mateescu 1992a; Găță, Dragoman 2004-2005.

³ Găță, Mateescu 1987; Găță, Mateescu 1992b; Găță, Mateescu 1999-2001.

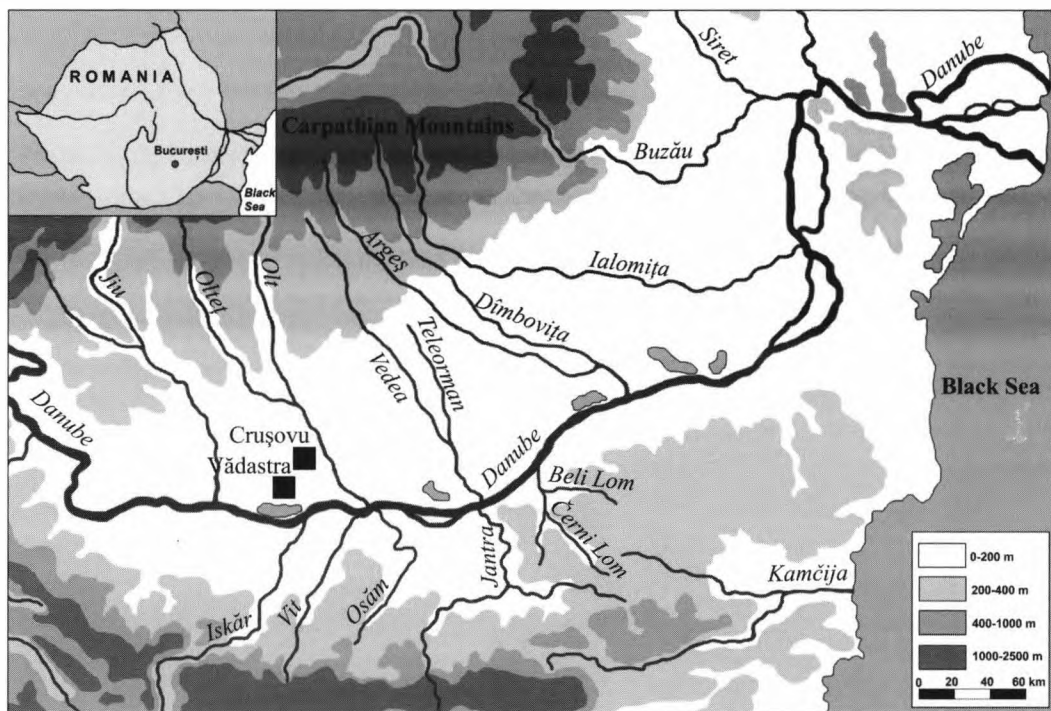


Fig. 1. Location map with Vădastra and Crușovu sites.

Materials and methods

Two categories of burnished pottery from the Neolithic settlements at Vădastra and Crușovu (Olt County, Oltenia) were chosen for analysis. Weight, thickness, diameter and porosity were determined in all pottery fragments and the porosity index was computed as a porosity-section ratio.

Colour was specified with the aid of Munsell charts by the $B.B. = (10-c) H/V$ formula, where “B.B” is the darkening degree, “H” is colour; “c” is chroma and “V”, the hue value.

The comparison of clay sources and pottery masses was made based on quartz (4.26 \AA) and mica (4.97 \AA) X-ray diffraction beam levels. An additional test used, for the same purpose, the total content of nickel and cobalt, obtained by acid disaggregation and determined by atomic absorption⁴. The presence of Kaolinite in the samples was assessed by the 3690 cm^{-1} infrared absorption band and micaceous minerals by the 10 \AA to 4.97 \AA X-ray diffraction beams.

Pottery

The settlement at Vădastra - “Măgura Fetelor”/“Dealul Cișmelei” is located at 14 km north-west the city of Corabia, in the Oltenia Plain, on the Băilești mid terrace of

⁴ Total nickel and cobalt were determined by atomic absorption subsequent the disaggregation of the samples via a hydro fluoric and sulphuric acid mixture. Being comprised of crystalline silicate networks, these two microelements were chosen due to their stability in case of alteration.

Danube. The site stratigraphy was established following the excavations performed by Corneliu N. Mateescu, with occasional breaks, starting with 1946 until 1974: a Palaeolithic layer (Aurignacian); an intermediary layer with no archaeological materials; two Neolithic layers which the author named Vădastra I and Vădastra II; a layer dating to the Copper Age (Sălcuța); and the lower part of a 14th and 17th-18th centuries layer⁵. According to C. N. Mateescu, Vădastra I layer is defined by a burnished dark/grey pottery, undecorated or decorated with channelled motifs⁶, while layer Vădastra II is characterised by a burnished dark/grey or brownish pottery, decorated with incised and excised motifs inlaid with white paste and painted with red ochre⁷ (Fig. 2/1-2). Occasionally, the channelled and excised decoration are associated on the same vessel; in C. N. Mateescu's view, these fragments always come from the upper part of Vădastra I layer⁸.

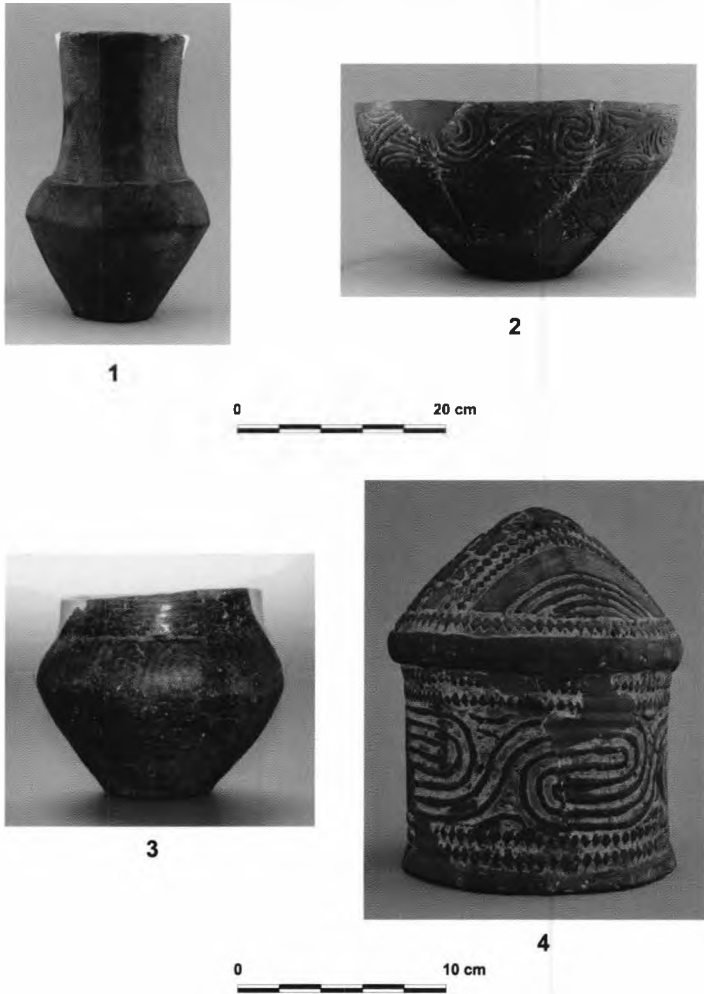


Fig. 2. Burnished vessels at: 1-2. Vădastra; 3-4. Crușovu; 1, 3. Vessels decorated with channelled motifs ; 2, 4. decorated with incised/excised motifs.

⁵ For instance Mateescu 1971.

⁶ E.g. Mateescu 1961.

⁷ E.g. Mateescu 1965.

⁸ E.g. Mateescu 1961, 533.

The settlement at Crușovu is located at 19 km north-west of Corabia, between the Oltenia Plain and the upper terrace of Olt river. The same C. N. Mateescu carried out a sondage there in 1955⁹. Excavations at Crușovu were performed by C. N. Mateescu according to the same research methods as in Vădastra. The archaeologist even employed some of the workers from the Vădastra team¹⁰, already accustomed with his work method. C. N. Mateescu identified two Neolithic layers, named them Vădastra I and Vădastra II as well, some Roman pits and two huts dated to the end of the 18th century and early 19th century¹¹. As resulting from the published report, similarly to the settlement at Vădastra, layer I is characterised by a burnished pottery decorated with channelled motifs and layer II by a burnished pottery decorated with incised and excised motifs, and painted with ochre (Fig. 2/3-4). In C. N. Mateescu's view, the fragments onto which channelled motifs associate with those excised "make, stylistically, the transition - stratigraphically confirmed - between Vădastra I and Vădastra II"¹².

In the case of the channelled burnished pottery, only the upper part of the recipients is usually decorated. On vessel necks, the channellings are placed either horizontally or in zigzag, occasionally associated with triangles formed by impressions; on the pots' maximum diameter, decorative motifs consist of vertical, oblique, braquet or spiralled-shaped channellings, associated sometimes with impressions. Red ochre appears on some of the sherds; the substance analysis highlighted that 32% of the samples labeled Vădastra I were painted after firing¹³. A human face was applied on one of the pots. Some vessels exhibit two or four knobs on the maximum diameter; sometimes, they are perforated vertically, for instance in the case of some of the cups. The inner surface of the vessels was also frequently burnished. To this pottery category belong open shapes such as cups, beakers, bowls, footed vessels and, to use a term adopted from L. Thissen¹⁴, "drinking bowls", but also closed shapes, such as jars¹⁵.

In the case of the incised and excised burnished pottery, the recipients are decorated almost entirely with meanders, spirals, rhombs or rectangles. The incisions and excisions were filled with white paste. Undecorated vessel surfaces (the rim, the base, the body portions located in-between the decorated segments) were covered with red ochre; most frequently, ochre was applied before firing - only in 6% of the samples labeled Vădastra II ochre was applied after firing¹⁶. Several fragments belongs to pots with human faces or heads. On some of the sherds, the incised/excised decoration associates with incised stripes filled with dots and inlaid with white paste - the so-called "Vinča" decoration. In one case, the incised/excised decoration associates with an alveolate band specific rather to the surface-roughened pottery. The inner

⁹ Mateescu 1957.

¹⁰ Gheorghiuța Grădinaru and M. Ion Grădinaru, former workers for C. N. Mateescu, personal communication, Vădastra, August 2008.

¹¹ Mateescu 1957.

¹² Mateescu 1957, 106.

¹³ Gâță, Mateescu 1999-2001, 188.

¹⁴ Thissen 2008, 106, 108.

¹⁵ For the site at Vădastra, see Dragoman 2010.

¹⁶ Gâță, Mateescu 1999-2001, 188.

surface of the vessels is either burnished or smoothed. This pottery category includes open shapes like bowls, dishes, plates, four-legged vessels, footed cups or pedestalled vessels, and closed shapes like storage vessels; lids are also present¹⁷.

In his publications, C. N. Mateescu named the burnished dark-grey undecorated or channelled-decorated pottery as “Vădastra I” and the burnished dark-grey or brownish pottery with incised and excised decoration as “Vădastra II”. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that despite the evolutionist view adopted by C. N. Mateescu, within contexts discovered precisely in layer I in the settlement at Vădastra, like for instance Pit I/1946 or the Pit in squares 4-15/1971, both identified on “Măgura Fetelor”, the two categories coexist. Herein, in order to avoid a too often recurrence of the term “Vădastra” (associated with both pottery categories from the two discussed settlements, as well as with the eponymous site) and for an easy reading, we used “pottery D” and “pottery F” respectively instead of the “Vădastra I” and “Vădastra II” terms.

Clay sources

Pottery clay sources could differ texturally and mineralogically from one settlement to another, requiring changes in fabric technology, even though the vessels’ modelling, shape, drying and firing resemble. Quartz (4.26 Å) and micaceous minerals (4.97 Å) diffraction beam levels were used to compare clay sources with pottery materials. The chart of these quartz-micaceous minerals beam levels (Fig. 3)

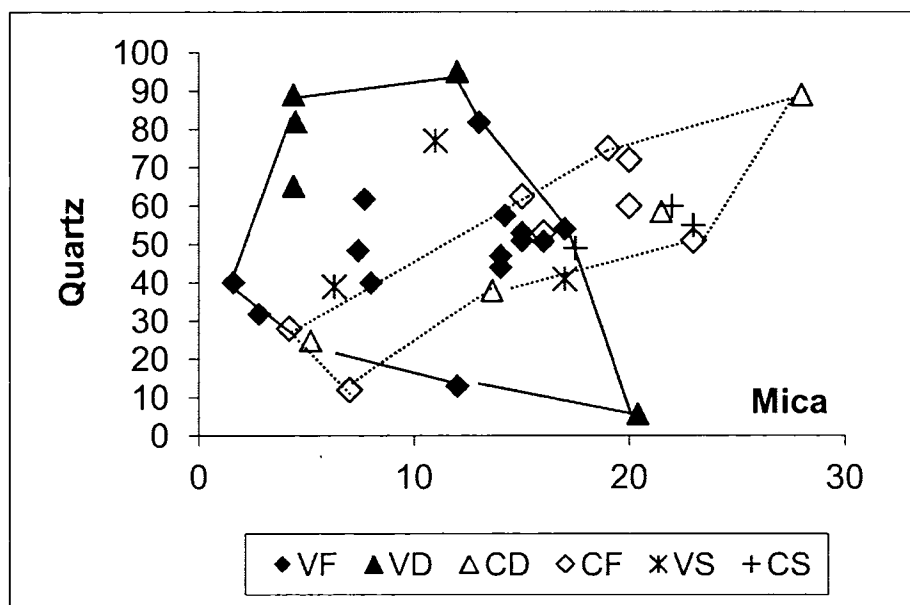


Fig. 3. Distribution of Vădastra and Crușovu clay sources and sherds.

shows that the areas of the pottery materials from the two settlements partially overlap, each also comprising points corresponding to the presumptive clay sources, since the quartz content increase is proportional to the clay fraction content decrease. Given

¹⁷ For the site at Vădastra, see Dragoman 2010.

that chart areas partially overlap, one may conclude that the fabric sources texture is similar, and, from Vădastra to Crușovu, varies from clayish sand to sandy clay. Hence, there were tested several microelements and observed that a chart using the total cobalt and nickel content in the presumptive sources and pottery materials can better divide both the samples and sources from the two settlements (Fig. 4). This could be used in the research of certain vessels' distribution in-between these settlements, provided this occurred in the Middle Neolithic from south Oltenia. The two presented charts indicate that clay sources are in the close vicinity of the two settlements and that their texture and mineral composition is similar to the clay used by modern potters.

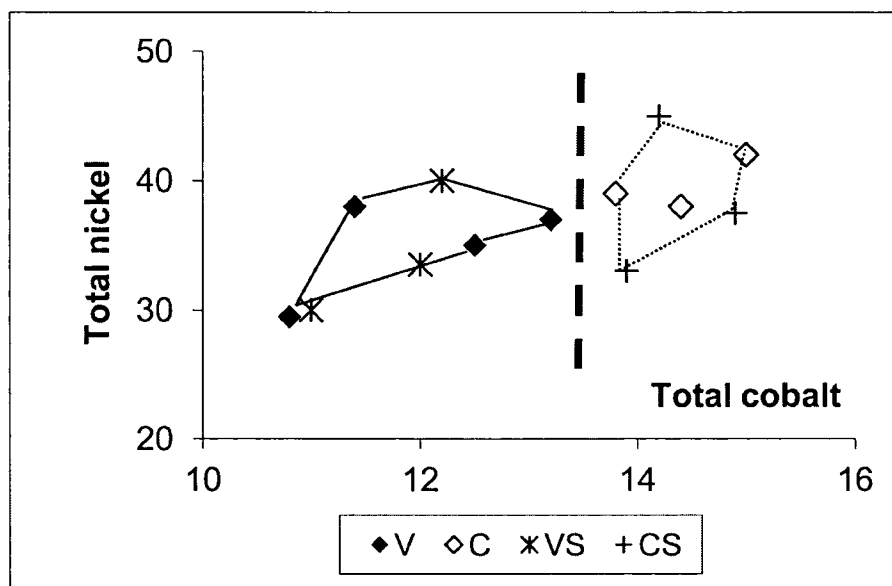


Fig. 4. Distribution of clay sources and sherds according to total nickel and cobalt contents.

Tempering

The clay for pottery was kneaded twice. Initially, water was added to the clay little by little and it was kneaded so to form a fabric whose consistency allowed modelling. A part from this paste was removed and added some amount of crushed vegetal mass as temper, in order to prevent cracking when drying and firing. The amount of crushed plants (vegetal material) added to the paste, the consequent tempering and flattening in order to model vessels, was made according to each potter's own experience and the tradition inherited from the successive generations of potters in the settlement.

The first part of the fabric was used for modelling vessel bases, subsequent flattened coils being glued one after the other to the already modelled vessel parts, while continuously smoothening vessel walls so that pieces would adhere to each other well and remove any possible holes; still, such holes appear in microscopic sections. Owing to this pottery modelling fashion (i.e. the coiling technique), great differences in the

crushed plants-fabric ratio could result from one potter to another or from one potter generation to another.

Crushed plants increase, upon firing, the holes' volume and hence, porosity. Moreover, it is possible that Neolithic potters added different amounts of crushed plants to each of the vessel parts or depending on the walls' thickness or vessels' size. In order to confirm such suppositions, we represented the porosity-thickness ratios in some of the rims, bodies and bases of type D vessels from Cruşovu (Fig. 5).

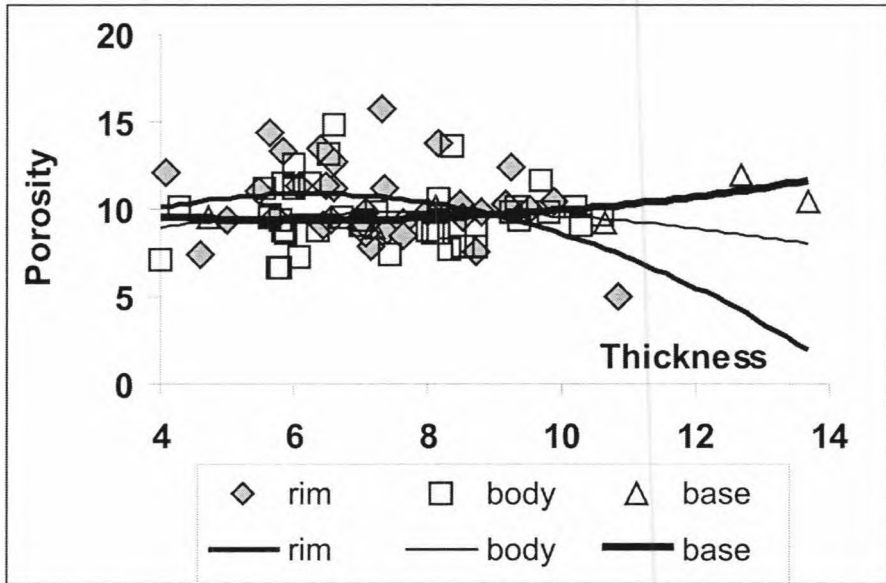


Fig. 5. Porosity and thickness ratio of Vădastra and Cruşovu D type sherds.

The representative points for the three vessel parts are mixed up and string on a band quasi-parallel to the abscissa. Porosity differences at same thickness vary between 5% and 8%, being indicative of high technological tolerance compared to thickness and suggest that Neolithic potters tempered the paste of all vessel parts in the same manner. Such high tolerance shows that Neolithic potters were not concerned with adding to paste amounts proportional to the vessel walls thickness. The practice is confirmed by the lack of porosity and thickness correlation in the case of the entire group of sherds ($n = 82$, $R_{poly} = 0.052$, $R_{lin} = 0.008$, $F = 0.005$), vessel bodies ($n = 40$, $R_{poly} = 0.095$, $R_{lin} = 0.040$, $F = 0.061$), and poor correlation in vessel rims ($n = 35$, $R_{poly} = 0.341^*$, $R_{lin} = 0.260$, $F = 2.39$) and vessel bases ($n = 7$, $R_{poly} = 0.729$, $R_{lin} = 0.683$, $F = 4.37$).

In order to compare the sherds selected from the settlements at Vădastra and Cruşovu, in table 1 are presented statistical data regarding some of their properties. In the settlement at Cruşovu, all mean values of type D pottery are smaller than those for the type F pottery, except for the porosity index. This would suggest that crushed plants addition to paste ratio was better controlled by potters for the type F pottery, whose sizes, walls thickness and porosity are higher. At Vădastra, the sizes and walls thickness, except for the porosity index of F type pottery compared to type D pottery, are higher. Thus, it results that the properties of the type D and F pottery from both settlements resemble,

with the note that the porosity index of the pottery in Vădastra is in general smaller than that at Crușovu. This would account for a certain improvement of the fabric technology with F type pottery compared to type D pottery in both settlements and would raise the question whether the F type pottery is partially later than type D pottery or that the incised/excised pottery required a more careful control of crushed plants tempering.

Properties	Number of samples	Mean value	Variation coefficient	Minimum	Maximum	Median
<i>Crușovu type D</i>						
weight	82	30.1	85.94	5.42	180.34	22.61
diameter		155.44	37.04	47.86	357.66	150
thickness		7.51	25.84	3.99	13.66	7.18
porosity		10.02	19.68	5	15.83	9.72
porosity index		1.43	31.73	0.77	2.94	1.29
<i>Crușovu type F</i>						
weight	96	44.24	118.79	4.95	371.52	27.06
diameter		247.38	40.4	52.58	565.29	239.77
thickness		9.85	25	4.78	16.63	9.86
porosity		10.98	17.95	6.93	16.25	10.85
porosity index		1.17	30.58	0.6	2.54	1.1
<i>Vădastra type D</i>						
weight	215	45.6	73.63	7.21	258.76	
diameter		186	33.42	61.35	381.56	173.57
thickness		7.8	24.34	3.13	13.54	7.6
porosity		9.89	21.22	3.75	17.33	9.63
porosity index		1.34	31.09	0.34	3.05	1.28
<i>Vădastra type F</i>						
weight	290	57.71	102.79	5.57	547.11	36.32
diameter		226.64	51.82	20.33	640.33	223.36
thickness		10.08	27.4	4.44	19.1	9.53
porosity		10.32	16.84	5.94	15.87	10.1
porosity index		1.1	32.67	0.44	2.3	1.06

Table 1. Statistic data on the analysed pottery.

Variation coefficients of sherd weights are over 70%, which might suggest that pots were unevenly fired, thus leading to variable resistance to mechanical shock. Instead, variation coefficients of porosity and porosity index are comprised between 20% and 33%, which show that, upon paste making, plants addition was taken into consideration by Neolithic potters.

All pottery properties vary within broad limits (with thick-walled large vessels in type F pottery from both settlements). Thus, one may appreciate that selected sherd groups are statistically representative upon first estimation.

Medians are always smaller than mean values and occasionally, almost equal; histograms are almost symmetrical with a slightly right asymmetry. For instance, the porosity distribution of type D sherds from Vădastra and Crușovu appears unimodal slightly left asymmetric (Fig. 6), with maximums close to 9.89% and 10.2%.

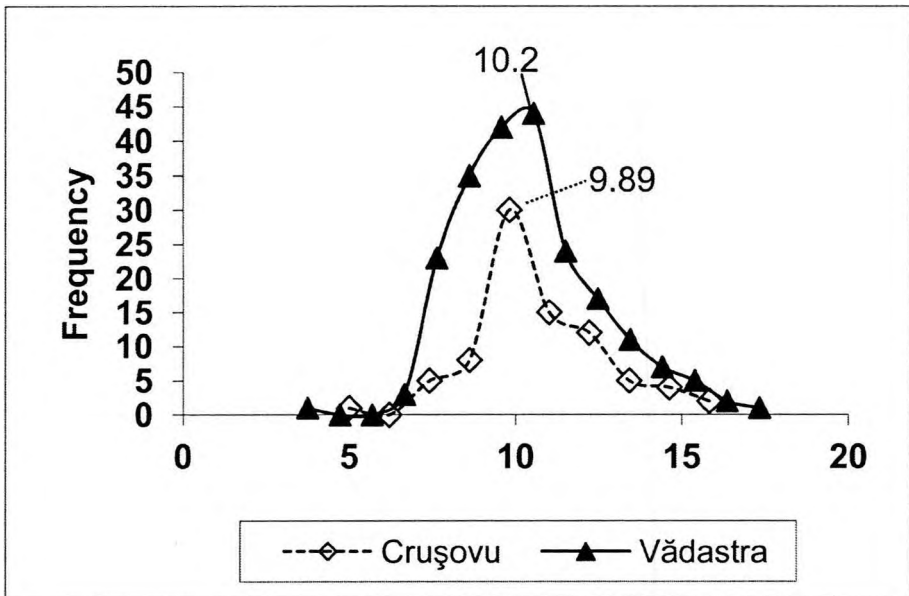


Fig. 6. Porosity distribution of Vădastra and Crușovu D type sherds.

Porosity does not correlate with F type sherds thickness from Crușovu ($n = 96$, $R_{poly} = 0.173$, $R_{lin} = 0.056$, $F = 0.3$) and poorly correlates with those at Vădastra ($n = 290$, $R_{poly} = 0.134^*$, $R_{lin} = 0.121^*$, $F = 8.04$). Representative points for the pottery in both settlements are mixed up and distributed all over the chart (Fig. 7).

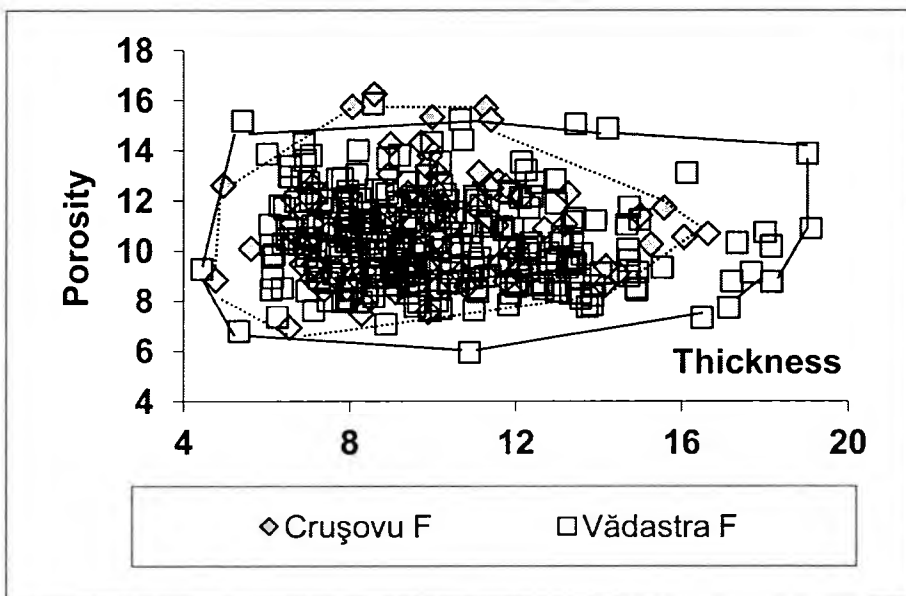


Fig. 7. Porosity and thickness ratio of Vădastra and Crușovu F type sherds.

Their areas are overlapping, that at Vădastra including almost entirely the area of Crușovu points. The porosity-thickness charts of the sherds show that the Neolithic potters did not add amounts of crushed plants proportional to the walls thickness of the vessels which they intended to model, but, rather, proportional to the volume of the clay piece they kneaded. Therefore, the crushed plants amount might be assessed by the sherds porosity and thickness ratio, i.e. the porosity index.

The distribution of the porosity index for the two pottery types (D and F) from Vădastra and Crușovu (Fig. 8) appears unimodal slightly right asymmetric. In type D pottery from the two settlements, the maximum frequency is identical (1.25%/mm), the two distribution curves almost overlap and are indicative of the same tempering technology. In F type pottery, the frequency maximums are 1.31%/mm and 1.1%/mm and the distribution curves are similar. Their position suggests that the paste-crushed plants ratio is smaller in F pottery at Vădastra and points to the fact that, in general, the clay source was richer in smectite than that from Crușovu.

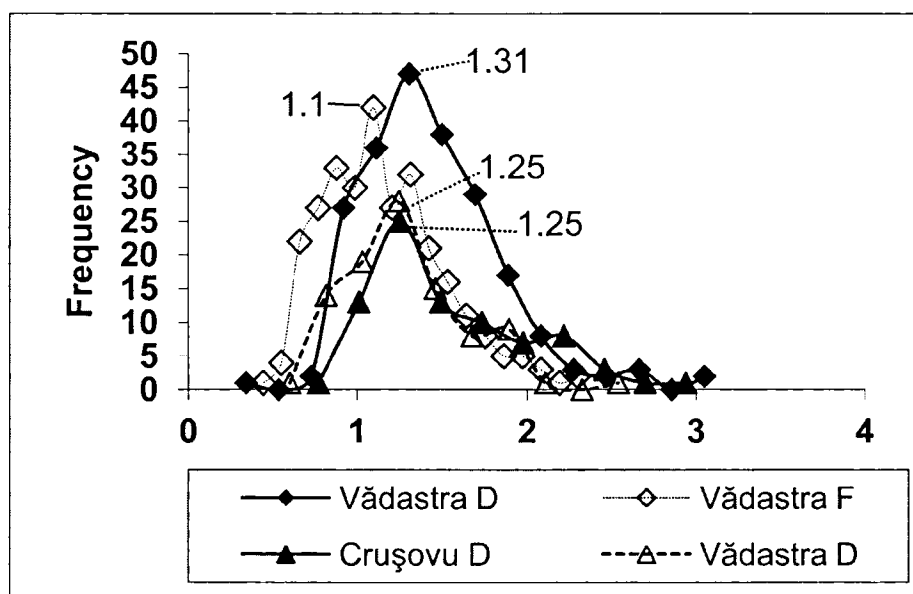


Fig. 8. Porosity index distribution of Vădastra and Crușovu D and F type sherds.

The plasticity index closely correlates with the sherds thickness (Fig. 9) in type D pottery at Crușovu ($n = 82$, $P_{pow} = 0.728^{***}$, $R_{lin} = 0.690^{***}$, $F = 60.82$) and Vădastra ($n = 215$, $R_{poly} = 0.728^{***}$, $R_{lin} = 0.674^{***}$, $F = 177.57$). Representative points are mixed up and distribute over a descending curve, with few of the points corresponding to type D pottery at Vădastra spread outside the compact points' area.

For the F type pottery from the two settlements, the distribution of representative points is even closer (Fig. 10), as shown by the porosity index-thickness ratio of the sherds from Crușovu ($n = 96$, $P_{exp} = 0.751^{***}$, $R_{lin} = 0.729^{***}$, $F = 106.91$) and Vădastra ($n = 290$, $R_{pow} = 0.659^{***}$, $R_{lin} = 0.800^{***}$, $F = 512.66$). Still, the thickness of the areas with compact points is relatively reduced and proves the successful adapt- ing of the potters in Vădastra tradition to the use of local clay sources to the paste

for vessels modelling. These very close correlations show that the potters in the two settlements practiced the same technology for paste making and used a paste-crushed plants ratio which they tried to maintain within as close as possible boundaries, given the plastic properties of the clay sources.

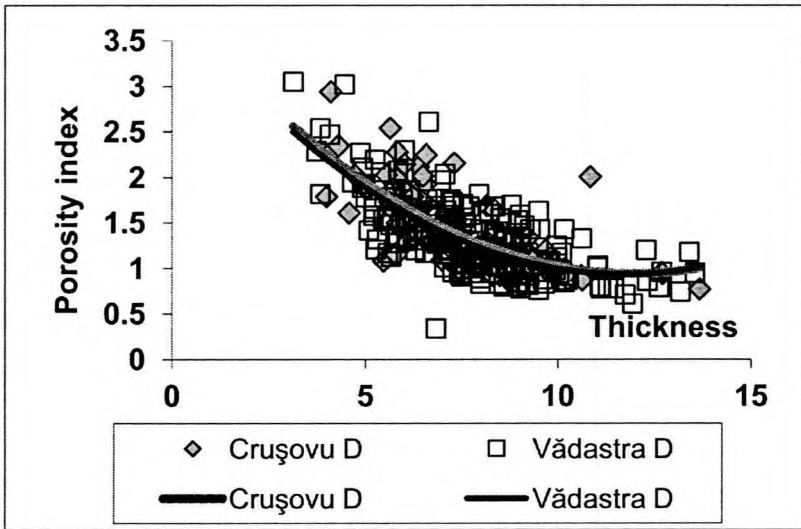


Fig. 9. Plasticity index and thickness ratio of Vădastra and Crușovu D and F type sherds.

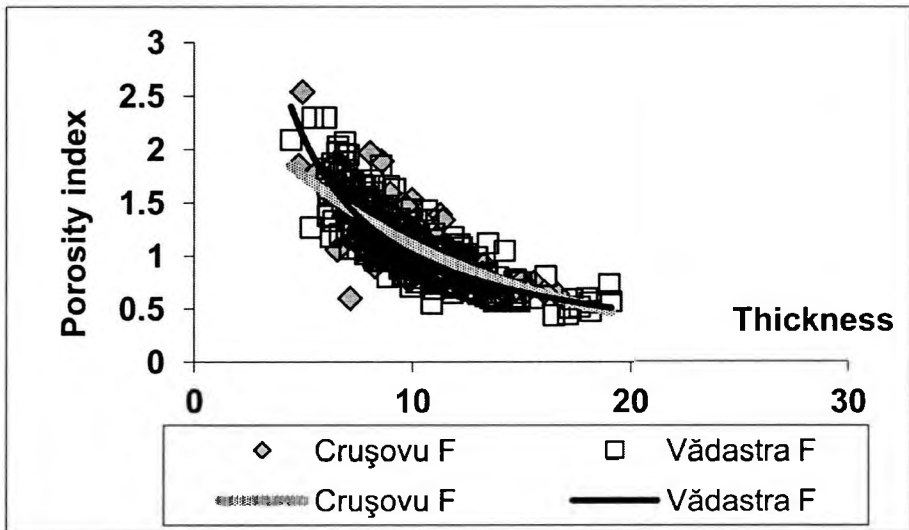


Fig. 10. Porosity index and thickness ratio of Vădastra and Crușovu D and F type sherds.

Modelling

In Vădastra tradition, vessels were modelled according to the coiling technique. Some recipients, like the pedestalled vessels, were modelled from two parts, while others, like the large elaborately ornamented storage vessels, seem to have been made

from three segments; smaller vessels, like for instance miniature pots, were made from a single clay piece¹⁸.

In the two settlements, vessels that belong to the analysed pottery categories were modelled into different shapes and sizes. From experience and tradition, the Neolithic potters maintained the same vessel types of different sizes and same proportions between size and walls thickness. Variation between walls thickness and their diameter was determined by the vessels shape (conical shaped, truncated shaped etc.), their plastic elements (vertical rims, everted, differences between the upper and lower parts of truncated shaped vessels etc.), the incisions and excisions, and the set up of surfaces for applying decorative white or ochre. In D type vessels from the two settlements, the thickness-diameter ratio (Fig. 11) is closer in the pottery from Vădastra ($n = 215$, $R_{exp} = 0.544^{***}$, $R_{lin} = 0.539^{***}$, $F = 87.3$) than in that from Crușovu ($n = 82$, $R_{poly} = 0.291^{**}$, $R_{lin} = 0.020$, $F = 0.03$). Representative points of the pottery in the two settlements are mixed up, their areas are almost overlapping and statistical curves follow the same trajectory in diameters over 150 mm. The pots' walls thickness of this type from the two settlements is below 15 mm, while diameters are below 400 mm.

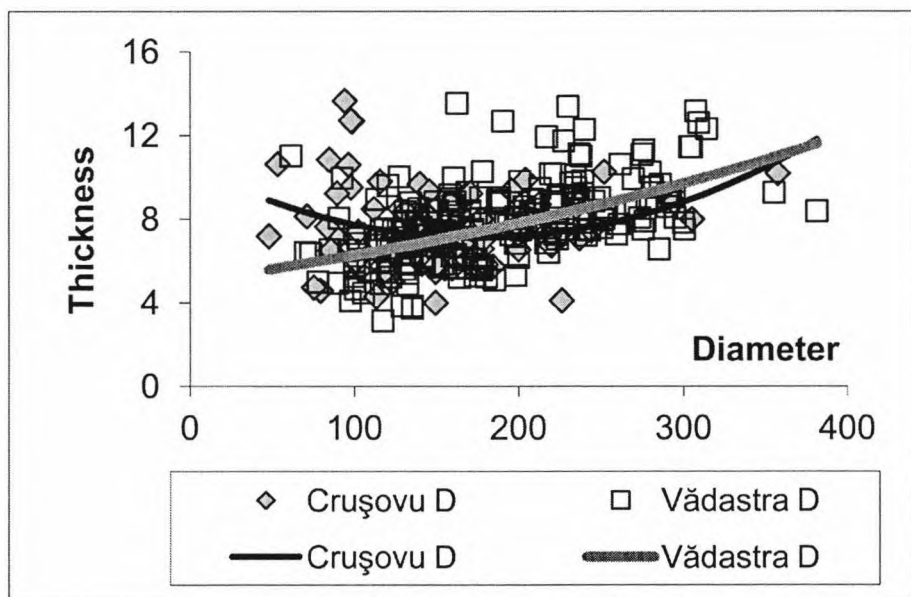


Fig. 11. Thickness and diameter ratio of Vădastra and Crușovu D type sherds.

In the F type pottery at Crușovu ($n = 96$, $R_{exp} = 0.346^{***}$, $R_{lin} = 0.314^{**}$, $F = 10.29$) and Vădastra ($n = 290$, $R_{poly} = 0.346^{***}$, $R_{lin} = 0.220^{***}$, $F = 14.68$) thickness-diameter ratios are close (Fig. 12) and close statistical curves overlap at values over 280 mm. The representative points are mixed up and the Vădastra pottery area appears slightly bigger than the F type pottery area at Crușovu. Vessels of this type are larger than those in type D, their diameters being over 600 mm and their thickness being up to 20 mm.

¹⁸ Dragoman 2010, 49-50.

The distribution of the chart points (Fig. 11-12) and their statistically significant correlations show that analysed pottery from the two settlements was mostly comparable in sizes and thickness for both D and F type vessels, with probably a bigger number of large-size vessels in the settlement at Vădastra.

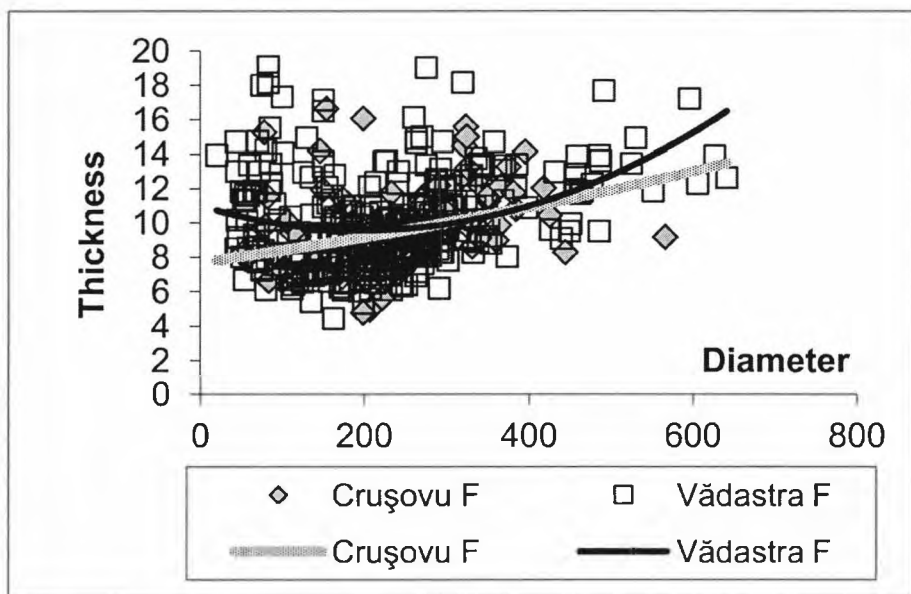


Fig. 12. Thickness and diameter ratio of Vădastra and Crușovu F type sherds.

Surface treatment

Drying the vessels subsequent to modelling was made at outdoor temperatures and in shadow. Dried vessels were covered with a barbotine obtained from the same clay as the paste. To the clay was gradually added a large water amount, being thoroughly shaken and the coarse part left to settle. Alternately, some archaeologists suggest that barbotine was made by potters' hands washing after modelling. This barbotine was used to cover vessel walls later burnished with pebbles, usually fine granulation quartz. Sherds were also used in vessels burnishing¹⁹. As traces on the sherds show, burnishing was most likely repeated several times. When lastly wetted, F type vessel walls were incised or excised, limy concretions were added and certain portions were covered with ochre. White paste and ochre were applied by some sort of brushes, some of the sherds preserving traces of such tools²⁰. A pottery fragment with incised decoration from Vădastra²¹ and a quartz stone from Crușovu²² were also used for applying ochre. Among other, bone tools²³ were used for the incised/excised decoration.

¹⁹ Dragoman 2010, 53 and Fig. 3.12/3.

²⁰ Găță, Mateescu 1992b, 241-242; Găță, Mateescu 1999-2001, 193.

²¹ Dragoman 2010, 54, Fig. 3.12/4.

²² Mateescu 1957, 106-107, Fig. 5.

²³ Mateescu 1957, 106-107, Fig. 6.

Firing

Subsequent the complete drying, vessels were fired in covered pits in a reducing atmosphere that would deposit onto their walls dark carbon compounds. In the settlement at Vădastra were discovered several round or oval “pot firing pits”, with maximum diameters between 0.56 m and 1.00 m²⁴. No such Neolithic pots firing installation was found at Crușovu.

The variation of dark hues and the occasional presence of grey and dark brown staining are evidence that air tight insulation was rather poor. Additionally, dark hues vary pronounced on inner and outer surfaces of the fired vessels. Quantifying the darkening degree and its representation on inner sides according to the value on outer surfaces (Fig. 13) in D type pottery at Crușovu and Vădastra show that representative points are mixed up and well spread on the chart, but their areas overlap. Statistic curves for D type pottery at Crușovu ($n = 72$, $R_{pow} = 0.652^{***}$, $R_{lin} = 0.647^{***}$, $F = 46.94$) and Vădastra ($n = 102$, $R_{pow} = 0.723^{****}$, $R_{lin} = 0.708^{***}$, $F = 147.7$) almost overlap and are evidence of the same firing system, with uneven temperature firing spaces, like those in firing pits. Usually, outer and inner sides exhibit different darkening degrees depending on the vessel position in the uneven temperature firing space.

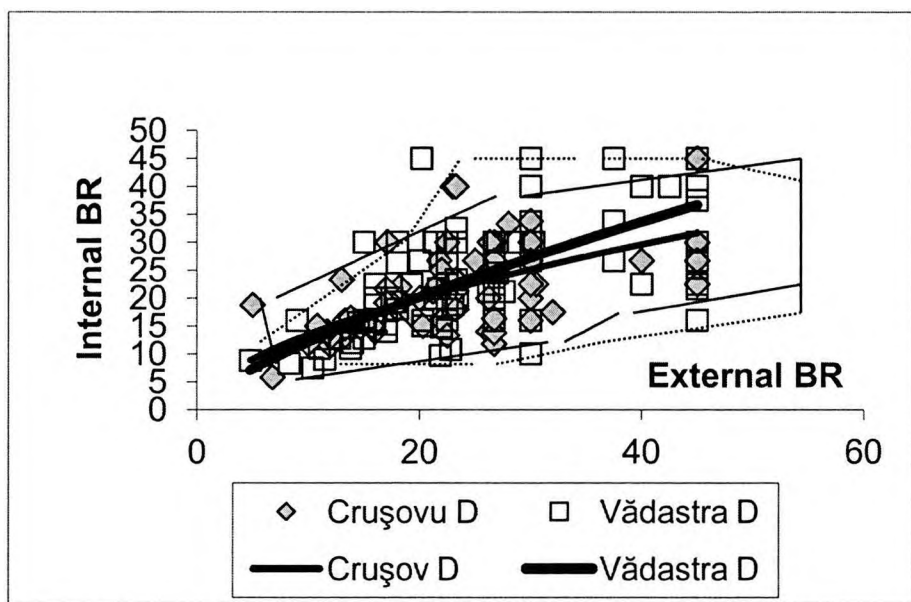


Fig. 13. Darkening degree of outer and inner surfaces of Vădastra and Crușovu D type sherds.

The F type vessels in the two settlements were fired in similar firing pits, in reducing atmosphere and have similar darkening degrees with the D type pottery. For the larger vessels, maintaining a reducing firing space was difficult, probably due to the uneven firing conditions and the necessity to avoid deposition of thick, difficult to remove carbon layers on the decorated portions.

²⁴ See Dragoman 2010, 55-57.

Firing temperatures were in most cases between 400°C and 550°C , since micaceous mineral was preserved undecomposed on the sherd surfaces from both settlements, while kaolinite is present in over 70% of the samples. This firing interval is also confirmed by rehydration of the clay minerals in the ceramic mass over the several millennia burial of the Vădastra sherds. Since pots were incompletely fired, and probably, over a limited time, the wall core temperature did not exceed 200°C - 250°C in many cases.

After firing and gradual cooling in the firing space, the D type vessels were burnished again. In F type pots only the non-decorated parts were burnished and, with the aid of small polishing pebbles, the burnish on the ochre covered parts was emphasized. Very rarely, the surfaces were remedied with raw ochre, possibly because its poor adherence to fired ochre.

Mechanical resistance of the pots

The pottery in Vădastra tradition has a relatively poor resistance to shock and the sherds buried in the archaeological layer are in general of relatively small sizes. At a first estimate, their weight might be considered as measure to their mechanical resistance. The distribution of D and F type pottery fragments from the two settlements is always marked unimodal and right asymmetric (Fig. 14). Types D and F at Crușovu have 24.9 g and respectively 45.7 g maximums, while those at Vădastra - 34 g and 37.4 g, respectively. These close values confirm that the entire burnished Neolithic pottery in the two settlements has approximately identical mechanical resistance properties and comes from the same pottery technology, differences resulting from the experience and skillfulness of each potter and the tradition in each settlement.

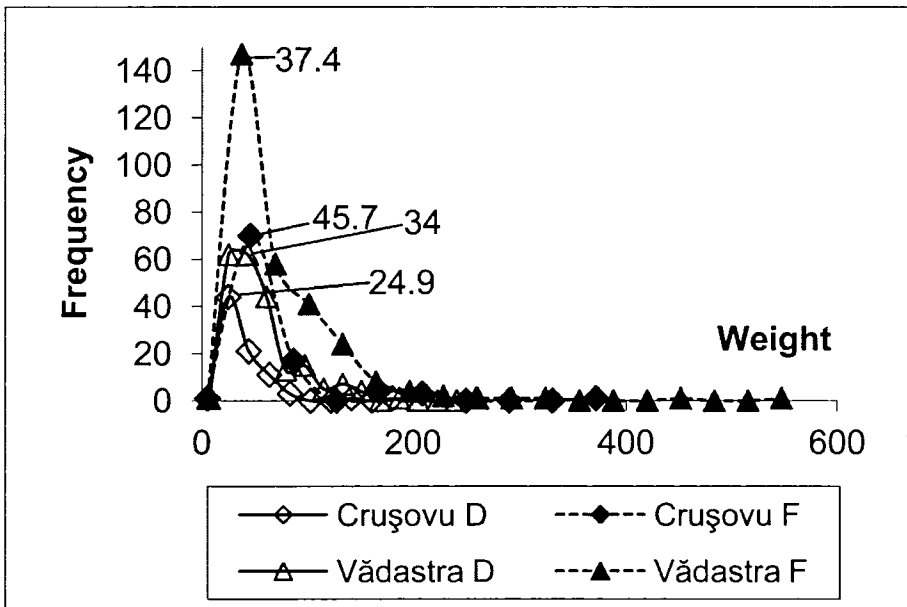


Fig. 14. Weight distribution of Vădastra and Crușovu D and F type sherds.

If the sherds weight and size would be proportional to the mechanic resistance, then weight should be related to the thickness of pot walls. In D type pottery from both settlements (Fig. 15), representative points are mixed up, yet those at Vădastra spread over an area that encompasses Crușovu points. The density of representative points is high in sherds below 70 g and much lower in the rest of the chart, where sherds from Vădastra settlement predominate. Statistic curves from Crușovu ($n = 82$, $R_{pow} = 0.402^{***}$, $R_{lin} = 0.245^*$, $F = 5.1$) and Vădastra ($n = 215$, $R_{log} = 0.480^{***}$, $R_{lin} = 0.420^{***}$, $F = 45.62$) are overlapping and confirm the same mechanical resistance of the sherds from the two settlements and the same pottery technology.

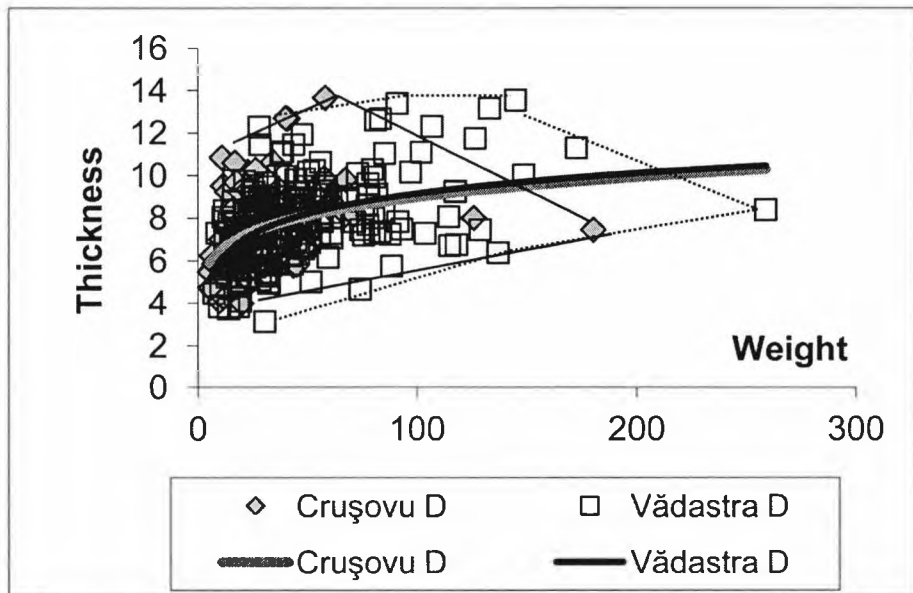


Fig. 15. Thickness and weight ratio of Vădastra and Crușovu D type sherds.

In type F pottery, the chart (Fig. 16) is in general similar to that preceding. Representative points at Crușovu ($n = 96$, $R_{pow} = 0.379^{***}$, $R_{lin} = 0.341^{***}$, $F = 12.34$) are mixed with those at Vădastra ($n = 290$, $R_{pow} = 0.521^{***}$, $R_{lin} = 0.422^{***}$, $F = 62.51$) and the F type pottery area at Crușovu is included in the F type pottery area at Vădastra. This chart also comprises of two areas with different densities of points, the compact area comprising almost entirely points corresponding to F type pottery from Crușovu. Representative curves of the pottery in the two settlements follow the same trajectories and slightly distance one from another for large sherd weights. The resemblance of the last two charts is indicative of the same properties of D and F pottery from the two settlements, which accounts for identical fabric and firing technologies.

Conclusions

The comparison between type D and F black burnished pottery in the Neolithic settlements at Vădastra and Crușovu showed that the same pottery technology was used at both sites, from local clay sources of clayish sand-sandy clay textures and

two-fold successive tempering, namely, that of the paste and paste tempered with crushed plants, respectively.

The modelling of the vessels was carried out by the coiling technique, in compliance with traditional shapes and decorations.

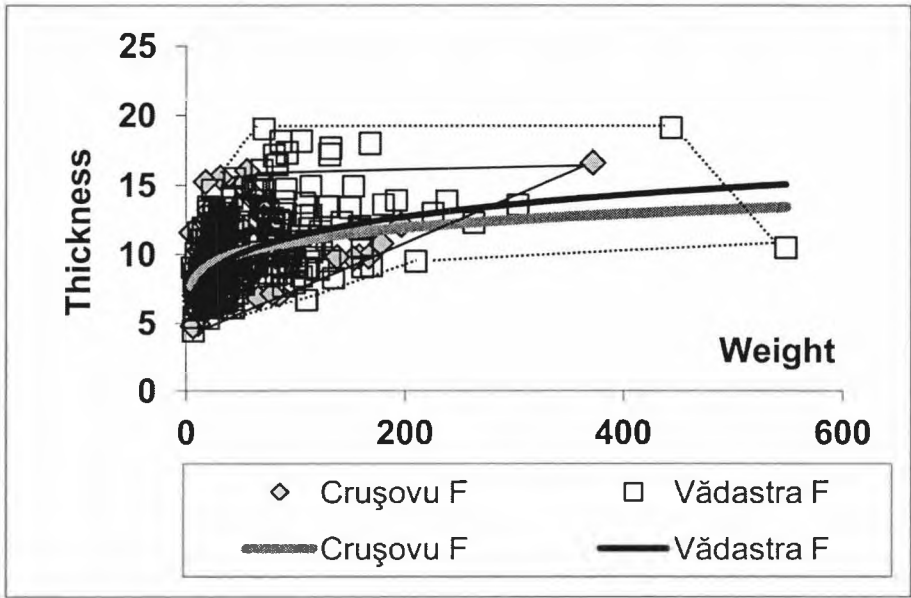


Fig. 16. Thickness and weight ratio of Vădastra and Crușovu F type sherds.

After having been dried at outdoor temperature, vessels were covered with a diluted barbotine made from the same paste and were burnished using (also) polishing pebbles. Such burnishing was likely carried out several times. The D type vessels were ornamented with channellings, and those of F type, with incisions and excisions. In the F type pottery, incised/excised decoration was ornamented with white paste, while undecorated portions and pot rims were painted with ochre.

Firing in covered pits, in an intentionally reducing atmosphere and uneven firing space was in general carried out at temperatures between 400°C and 550°C, as shown by the kaolinite and micaceous minerals present on the sherds surface. Owing to the uneven firing space, the outer, core and inner sides of the vessels evidence frequently different firing temperatures.

Analytic data proved there is no technological difference between Vădastra and Crușovu potteries, yet the F type pottery in the two settlements seems to be of better quality than the D type pottery, this accounts either for a technological improvement (which could be assigned to a time succession of the two pottery types use), or a special attention (i.e. a more careful tempering of the paste due to deeper excisions, which could result in firing problems and/or special importance).

Acknowledgements

Radu-Alexandru Dragoman would like to express his gratitude to Alexandra Ion and Gheorghe Alexandru Niculescu for the English revision.

Information on illustrated pots

Fig. 2/1. Vădastra; pot published for the first time as drawing in Mateescu 1965, Tav. XLIII/2; storage location: National Museum of Romanian History, Bucharest (MNIR); inv. no. 15857.

Fig. 2/2. Vădastra 1946; pot published for the first time as drawing in Mateescu 1961, 532, Fig. 2; storage location: MNIR; inv. no. 15859.

Fig. 2/3. Crușovu 1955; pot published for the first time as drawing in Mateescu 1957, 105, Fig. 2/2; storage location: “Vasile Pârvan” Institute of Archaeology of the Romania Academy, Bucharest; inv. no. III 7133 .

Fig. 2/4. Crușovu 1955; lid published for the first time as drawing in Mateescu 1957, 109, Fig. 8 and photo in Dumitrescu 1968, Fig. 11; storage location: MNIR, inv. no. 15856.

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†Gheorghe Gâță

Radu-Alexandru Dragoman
“Vasile Pârvan” Institute of Archaeology
of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest
al_dragoman@yahoo.com

FROM “DIACHRONIC JUDGEMENT” TO THE THEORY OF POSSIBLE TYPES OF SYMMETRY: AN INVESTIGATION INTO CYCLADIC AND TRANSYLVANIAN BRONZE AGE RELATIONS

TIBOR-TAMÁS DARÓCZI

Abstract: The aim of this paper is to present and analyse the possibilities of application of a research method called “diachronic judgement”, put forward and repeatedly advocated in the literature. The cornerstone of this theory is the “diachronic” relation between materials that come from the Aegean Early Bronze Age (“frying pans”) and the eastern Carpathian Basin (dishes). Both assemblages will be subjected to a thorough spatial and chronological analysis, presenting the reader with information on all the possible aspects of the discussed materials, in order for the validity of the conclusions to be clear. Finally, the validity of the claims and theory is tested and other possible explanations are suggested.

Keywords: Cyclades; Transylvania; Bronze Age; “frying pan”; Wietenberg culture.

Rezumat: Scopul acestei lucrări este de a prezenta și analiza posibilitățile de aplicare a unei metode de cercetare numite “judecata diacronică”, prezentată și susținută în mod repetat în literatura de specialitate. Piatra de temelie a acestei teorii este relația “diacronică” între materialele care provin din Bronzul Timpuriu egeean (“tigăi”, i.e. “frying pans”) și din estul Bazinului Carpat (“străchini”). Ambele ansambluri ceramice vor fi supuse unei analize aprofundate, prezentând cititorului informații despre materialele discutate, pentru a susține concluziile acestui studiu. În cele din urmă, valabilitatea afirmațiilor și a teoriei enunțate sunt supuse unei analize critice și sunt sugerate explicații alternative.

Cuvinte cheie: Ciclade; Transilvania; epoca bronzului; „frying pan”; Wietenberg.

Introduction¹

In recent years, new research concerning connections between the Aegean Early Bronze Age and the eastern Carpathian Basin (Pl. I) has been published. The research methodology in most of the case relies on comparing and charting the archaeological finds. The aim, of the mentioned new research, is to analyse these connections from other perspectives, while also considering chronological synchronisms². This paper addresses a similar new approach but of somewhat peculiar relation. The strange part about this newly proposed relation is that the synchronism usually adopted in such an analysis is replaced with a diachronic perspective. This “diachronic judgement” theory and material are thoroughly analysed in what follows. A standpoint is taken

¹ I would like to thank Florin Gogâltan for drawing my attention to the discrepancies of the “diachronic judgement”, also I am thankful for the useful conversations on the margins of earlier drafts. Furthermore, I am grateful to Lærke Recht for the valuable comments and corrections made on this paper.

² Bader 1990; Dietrich 2010.

based on this analysis. Furthermore at the end of the paper an alternate explanation is offered to the presented similarities.

The “diachronic judgement” – a brief overview

In recently published and re-edited papers, a diachronic relation between the Carpathian Basin and the Aegean is suggested. To support this relation, evidence is forwarded in the form of Cycladic “frying pans” (Pl. IVA/1–3) and Bronze Age vessels of the Wietenberg culture (Pl. IVA/4–6) from Transylvania³. A comparison is made between the decorations on these vessels and similarities between the two sets of objects are stated. Furthermore, it is argued for in the “Istoria Românilor” (History of Romanians) that this “phenomena might be judged from a diachronic perspective”⁴. At first reading the meaning of the “diachronic judgement” seems elusive, but thankfully its principles were outlined by the same author. In the introduction of the same book, the “diachronic judgement” is explained as follows: “a group of people in similar environments will create a similar culture, regardless of the temporal notion... and any group of people that moves into another environment will create another culture”⁵.

The applied “diachronic judgement” basically materialises itself in the shape of a comparison made between the decorative patterns on the six vessels (Pl. IVA), three from the Aegean islands and the other three from the eastern Carpathian Basin (Pl. I). The similarity is further strengthened, in the opinion of the same author, through the cultic nature of the “frying pans” and the “religious-symbolic” character of the decoration⁶. After the authors own account the theory is forwarded for the first time during a workshop on Bronze Age relations between south-east Europe and Greece held at Tutzing in 1980. The paper is not published and the reaction at the conference is dismissive towards the proposed diachronic relation⁷. Some authors are even going to the extent of analysing this “lack of factual argumentation” and are showing how such opinions and statements are becoming archaeological facts in the literature⁸.

In the lines that follow the two sets of materials are presented in detail. The analysis will be focused on the aspects used as arguments for the “diachronic judgement”, which are: the individual decorative elements, decoration composition, function of vessels, chronology and occurrence.

The Cycladic “frying pans”

The Cycladic “frying pans” are circular, open vessels of medium size with a single “handle” of different shapes. The vessels actual wall part is very short and usually

³ Vulpe 2001a, 13, 20, Fig. 2.

⁴ Vulpe 2001c, 257.

⁵ Vulpe 2001b, 214.

⁶ Vulpe 2001c, 257.

⁷ Vulpe 2001a, 13.

⁸ Vasiliev 2005.

straight or slightly outwards projecting. It is always decorated on the “bottom” part, possibly its base, with incised or stamped motifs⁹.

The first objects of the type were published by the “father of Greek archaeology”, Ch. Tsountas, at the end of the 19th century, coming from the cemetery of Chalandriani on Syros¹⁰. Through their unique shape and decoration they quickly became of major research interests in the Aegean and not only, and as such in 1903 P. Wolters proposed the name of “pfannenartigen Thongefäse” (“frying pan” - like clay vessels)¹¹. During the following decades their numbers steadily increases thus allowing for wider ranging conclusions to be made in regards of types, chronology and usage¹². The last major synthesis that analysed the Cycladic “frying pans” was that of J. Rambach¹³. Till present more or less 200 fully or partially preserved pieces are documented from the Aegean (Pl. II)¹⁴.

In most of the cases they are made out of terracotta but in rare instances stone¹⁵ or metal counterparts (copper or bronze from Alaça Hüyük - Pl. I)¹⁶ are also documented. The terracotta ones always have a thick and heavy black slip, with the decoration on the “bottom” of the vessel, which in some cases also extends onto the lower and, in even fewer cases, on both sides of the “handle”. The outer side of the vessels wall is only in rare instances decorated. The decoration techniques are almost exclusively incision and stamping, which are incrustated with white, probably lime-based, paste. Very few of them are undecorated¹⁷.

The “frying pans” have been organised into two different typologies. One of them is grouping the objects based on the shape of their “handles” into *forked*, *barred*, *rectangular*, “*bracket*”, *rectangular/bracket*”, *rectangular/forked* and *triangular* ones¹⁸. The other is considering the shape of the “bottom”, walls, handles and also their relation to each other: Kampos group, Mainland group, Louros group, Chalandriani I group, Chalandriani II group, Chalandriani III group, Chalandriani IV group, Chalandriani V group, Aplomata I group, Aplomata II group, Aplomata III group, Aplomata IV group, Aghioi Anargyroi group and Siphnos group¹⁹.

Based on the briefly presented typologies the mentioned “frying pans” (Pl. IVA/1-3) are classified in one of these groups. The Louros group is only represented by a single “frying pan” (Pl. IVA/3) from the cemetery with the same name on Naxos²⁰. The decoration is structured in concentric motifs. The centre consists of an incised circle with radiating lines, surrounded by four linked double-line spirals that alternate with four schematic fishes. The border motif is usually made up by a “Kerbschnitt” band,

⁹ Ekschmitt 1986, 86-87.

¹⁰ Τσούντας 1898; Τσούντας 1899.

¹¹ Wolters 1903, 271.

¹² Zschiezschmann 1935; Bossert 1961; Coleman 1985.

¹³ Rambach 2000a; Rambach 2000b.

¹⁴ Coleman 1985, 193.

¹⁵ Κοντολέοντος 1972, 152, Pl. 140 α-β; Λαμπινουδάκη 1976, 296-298, Pl. 196 γ-δ; Thimme 1977, no. 364.

¹⁶ Koşay 1944, Pl. 83/60, 89/27.

¹⁷ Coleman 1985, 193.

¹⁸ Coleman 1985, 193, 194, Pl. III/2.

¹⁹ Rambach 2000a, Pl. XXV-XXVIII.

²⁰ Coleman 1985, 197.

which in this case is obviously missing. The singularity of its decoration does not allow a grouping of it with other, more common, ones. It has a broken off “handle” but it has been suggested that it might have had a rectangular “handle” due to the narrow stem, which is still visible²¹. The “frying pans” with a barred handle are all belonging to the Kampos group (Pl. IVA/1-2). Its hallmarks are the typical barred handle and the aired decoration of its “bottom”. In most of the cases the decoration has a concentric structure. The central motif is a group of concentric circles, a spiral or a star followed by alternating bands of “Kerbschnitt” and running spirals (usually double-lined). Most commonly the border band is made up by “Kerbschnitt”²². It is emphasized that the three “frying pans” are not of the Keros-Syros culture as they were presented by Al. Vulpe²³.

The functionality of these objects has spurred many opinions. The first diverging statements on their usage appeared shortly after the publications of the first examples as one belief states that they were filled with water and used as mirrors²⁴, whereas another is proposing the use of them for mixing paint with oil, which later could be used as a sort of body paint²⁵. The former one found echoes all through the first half of the past century²⁶, whereas the latter usage is suggested by the finding of colour material in a stone “frying pan”²⁷. The indication of a possible cultic use of these objects is also put forward, as in some cases in the area of the stem of the “handle” a pubic region, shaped as a triangle, is clearly recognisable. In this case they can be regarded as figurine-like and it is suggested that these objects are used in a libation²⁸. Some other functions were suggested next to the above mentioned ones, either drums with hides stretched over them²⁹ or instruments for navigation³⁰ or just plainly vessels for liquids³¹.

The “frying pans”, with the exception of the ones from Alaça Hüyük (Pl. I), are exclusive to the Aegean (Pl. II). Within this area the northernmost point of their occurrence is at Pefkakia-Magula (Pl. II/1), the westernmost Asea (Pl. II/20) whereas the eastern and southernmost coincide this being Aghia Photia on Crete (Pl. II/34).

The Kampos and Louros groups of the Cycladic “frying pans” are the earliest of the entire ensemble³². For the present paper the chronological positioning of the Kampos group is vital. This group is considered as evidence for an Anatolian cultural manifestation in the Aegean, and it is usually placed at the turn of the Early Cycladic I to Early Cycladic II, technically being a transitional horizon, and as such a very short period, between the earlier Pelos-Lakkoudes and the later Keros-Syros

²¹ Coleman 1985, 210, no. 37.

²² Bossert 1961, 3-6; Coleman 1985, 196-197.

²³ Vulpe 2001a, 13; Vulpe 2001c, 257.

²⁴ Τσοῦντας 1899, 92.

²⁵ Wolters 1903, 271.

²⁶ Zschietzschmann 1935, 656, 659; Mellink 1956, 53; Mylonas 1959, 125-126.

²⁷ Βαρούχα 1926, 111.

²⁸ Zschietzschmann 1935, col. 656, 663, 669.

²⁹ Mylonas 1959, 125, note 21.

³⁰ Faucounau 1978, 108, 110-111.

³¹ Christmann 1996, 167.

³² Bossert 1965, 90-92; Coleman 1985, 197-198, 204; Rambach 2000b, 229-247.

cultures³³. It is noted that the dating of the three Cycladic vessels (Pl. IVA/1-3) into the later Early Cycladic II period, and as such in the second part of the 3rd millennium BC by Al. Vulpe, is erroneous³⁴. Although, it should be mentioned that the youngest context, in which a fragment of a "frying pan" is found, is at Asine dated to a mixed Early Helladic II and III (unlikely) level. After this period, the "frying pans" disappear from the material culture of the Aegean³⁵. The absolute dates of the two "frying pan" groups may be inferred to from the latest C₁₄ dating. These are only rough estimates as some periods are lacking good and sufficient data (as is the Early Bronze Age I of the Aegean) for conclusive results (Pl. IVB).

The vessels of the Wietenberg culture

The pots (Pl. IVA/4-6) are all from the name giving site of the culture on the Wietenberg hill next to Sighișoara³⁶. They are decorated, as seen from below, with concentric patterns and in all the cases with "S"-spirals (double or triple-lined) in a circular shape around a central motif called the "Wietenberg Cross" (Pl. IVA/4), or a radiant circle (Pl. IVA/5) or a simple incised double lined circle (Pl. IVA/6). The latter has four geometric (diamond) shapes alternating the four spiral heads and all the filling decorations of this vessel are made in the technique of the "Zahnstempelung". These patterns usually appear on the lower parts of vessels in most instances arranged in concentric shapes: VC 6, VD 28, VD 29, VD 61, VD 62 and VD 65³⁷. Through a simple comparison of the presented objects (Pl. IVA) it is noted that a number of motifs are very similar, possibly even identical, between the two sets of vessels: VD 2, VD 4, VD 6, VD 7, VD 8, VD 18, VD 23³⁸.

In regards of their usage these deep dishes (Pl. IVA/4-6) are very difficult to define. Some experts are seeing the decoration as cultic symbols, which are representing the sun, moon or even the stars and so on³⁹, but even after a brief analysis, such statements lose their validity as no conclusive evidence can be put forth. Given the fact that most complete vessels are from graves and only in very few instances full pots are found within settlements, and have their context documented, their functionality is impossible to be referred to.

In an attempt to put these vessels of the Wietenberg culture in context, the motifs will be analysed at the level of the entire culture and not only in the case of the three presented ones as former research has done⁴⁰. In this sense the limits of occurrence of these vessels will be plotted on a map (Pl. III) and a chronological analysis of their dating will be conducted.

³³ Warren, Hankey 1989, 25, 30; Manning 1995, 45-48, Fig. 1; Maran 1998, 138-139, Taf. 81.

³⁴ Vulpe 2001a, 13; Vulpe 2001c, 257.

³⁵ Coleman 1985, 204.

³⁶ Schroller 1933, Pl. 10/4, 11/4, 5; Horedt 1960, 122, Fig. 9/2-1, 3, 4; Horedt, Seraphin 1971, Pl. 31/6, 32/2, 4, 33/2, 4.

³⁷ Boroffka 1994, 184, 190-191.

³⁸ Boroffka 1994, 188-189.

³⁹ Andrițoiu, Rustoiu 1997, 25.

⁴⁰ Vulpe 2001a, 12-13, Fig. 2.

It is clearly visible (Pl. III) that the above recognised motifs are located within Transylvania and only in a few cases are found outside of it, in the north-eastern parts of the Tisza lowland. As north-eastern borders we may mention the Someşul Mare river, in the northwest the lower Someş river, the south-western border is the Haţeg depression and in the southeast, the region of Întorsura Buzăului.

The Wietenberg culture has two established chronologies. An earlier one, through the excavation of Derşida, where three different habitation levels allowed the division of the culture into three phases: I, II and III⁴¹. The later one is based on the collection and grouping of the shapes and decoration of the entire culture thus creating a system that more or less overlaps with the previous one, but also being able to recognise a later phase, one that was not present at Derşida: A₁, A₂, B, C and D⁴². The latter is preferred for the dating of motifs in the present article.

The running "S"-spirals only appear from the B phase onward either single or double-lined⁴³, although the double-lined hook spirals are documented early as the A₁ phase⁴⁴. Hatched triangles placed upright on a baseline appear for the first time in the oldest phase⁴⁵ where as the "Wietenberg Cross" appears in the later part of the first phase of the culture⁴⁶. The radiant or "solar" motifs and the pseudo-spirals make their appearance only from the C phase onward⁴⁷. The remaining motifs cannot be precisely dated to a certain phase of the Wietenberg culture since they are either extremely rare or very common throughout the Middle Bronze Age of Transylvania. The dating of these motifs in the internal chronology of the culture is in the II and III⁴⁸ or in the A₂, B and C phases⁴⁹.

There are only two published C₁₄ dates for the Wietenberg culture. The first one (Bln 4622) comes from a Wietenberg pit also containing some Noua elements at Sighişoara - Cartierul Viilor; as such probably it is safe to assume that it is a date for the later parts of the C phase and it is 1685-1524 BC⁵⁰. The second one (Ly-9190) is from Oarţa de Sus, from a Wietenberg B context, and it is dated between 1610-1445 BC⁵¹. An obvious issue arises from this picture either the later dating (Ly-9190) is quite low or the former one is quite high (Bln 4622). Whatever the case the two dates must be regarded just as rough data, as further sample will surely help elucidate the issue. Furthermore it can be concluded that the turn from Wietenberg B to Wietenberg C occurred sometimes during the period between 1685-1445 BC, probably in the earlier part of this interval.

⁴¹ Chidioşan 1980.

⁴² Boroffka 1994.

⁴³ Boroffka 1994, 190-VD29, 250.

⁴⁴ Boroffka 1994, 198-VD28, 250.

⁴⁵ Boroffka 1994, 189-VD18, 250.

⁴⁶ Boroffka 1994, 191-VD65, 250.

⁴⁷ Boroffka 1994, 184, 189-VC6 and VD23, 250.

⁴⁸ Andriţoiu, Rustoiu 1997, 34-36.

⁴⁹ Boroffka 1994, 249-250.

⁵⁰ Popa, Boroffka 1996, 56, note 40.

⁵¹ Kacsó 2004, 60, note 143.

Of similarities and differences

The origin of some of the presented "frying pans" has been erroneously stated as the one from Pl. IVA/2 is said to be from Syros⁵² a small correction is needed. The finding spot of the object is actually unknown but based on the shape of its "handle" and the decoration on its "bottom" it can be culturally and chronologically safely assigned to the Kampos group⁵³.

If a comparison is made between the spirals from the Cyclades and Transylvania some similarities may be recognised between the objects of the Kampos group and the deep dishes of the Wietenberg culture. One of these is double-lined running spiral with several or just a single volute. In both instances they are used as an exterior element, which encircles a central motif and it is separated from this only in the case of the "frying pans" by a "Kerbschnitt" band. The central patterns, in the case of the Cycladic objects, are incised concentric circles or a radiant shape whereas in the other case it is either the "Wietenberg Cross" or also a radiant shape created through "Zahnstempelung". In every instance they are organised in concentric bands, although this similarity might be due to the shape of the space at hand (circular "bottom" of a vessel). The last recognisable similarity is between the "frying pan" from Louros (Naxos) (Pl. IVA/3) and the Wietenberg vessel with "Zahnstempelung" filled diamond shaped motifs (Pl. IVA/6) in the structuring of its decorative space through the alternation of volutes and fishes and volutes and "diamonds", although it should be noted that at a level of individual elements they totally differ from each other.

Some similarities are recognised at the level of individual decorative elements of these two cultures. Both groups have incised, circular lines. The few pubic triangles of the discussed "frying pans" are made up by elements that are common to both cultural areas, namely diagonally or vertically hatched, incised bands or bands with point impressions; successive triangular impressions ("Kerbschnitt" and "Wolfzahn", respectively); concentric circles with or without point in their middle; pseudo-spirals; more rarely fishbone pattern decoration; upright standing, hatched triangles on an incised base line, or large surfaces filled with zig - zag lines.

Regardless of the several common traits of these two cultures the "frying pans" of the Kampos group are lacking the pubic triangles, which could serve for further similarities between them and the decorations of the Wietenberg culture. In this sense the presented two groups of materials (Pl. IV) have very little in common at the level of individual decorative elements and it seems that the only a few similarities are recognised in the structuring of the decoration.

From a relative chronological perspective it is sure that the Kampos group is located at the turn from Early Cycladic I to Early Cycladic II, which is more or less synchronised with the established chronologies of Egypt and the Near East. From the perspective of the absolute chronology the most C₁₄ samples are from the period of the Aegean Early Bronze Age II and as such date *ante quem* the Kampos group⁵⁴. Most

⁵² Vulpe 2001a, 13, Fig. 2/2.

⁵³ Coleman 1985, 211.

⁵⁴ Warren, Hankey 1989, 13, 25, 30; Manning 1995, 144-151, Fig. 1.

of the researchers allow for a period of ~100 years for this Cycladic group, that ends around an estimated date of 2750-2650 BC (+/-50)⁵⁵.

Through the association of the individual decorative elements on the Wietenberg vessels it can be said that they date into the C phase of the culture, due to the presence of the radiant motifs (VC 6) and pseudo-spirals (VD 23)⁵⁶. Although, some of the other decorative elements might appear sooner in the cultures repertoire the above stated dating remains valid since the principle of “the youngest element dates the context” must be applied in this case. The end of the C phase was dated between 1685-1524 BC (see above) and the beginning of it, by a *post quem* date, between 1610-1445 BC (see above). As a general conclusion in regards of absolute chronology of the Wietenberg culture the beginning of the C phase must be placed after the beginning of the 17th century BC and most probably sometimes in the 16th century BC.

As a conclusion to the analysis of the proposed objects and to the comparative study it might be safely stated, that the large geographic distance (~1000 km in air-line), with no further evidence for common elements of shape and decoration in this area, and the large temporal difference (at least 1000 years) between the two proposed groups of materials does not allow for any relationship between the mentioned “frying pans” of the Cyclades and the vessels of the Wietenberg culture.

Theory of the Possible Symmetry Types – Final considerations

The question still remains why does the structure of the decorative patterns seem so similar? A possible explanation might be sought in the Theory of the Possible Symmetry Types. This theory was developed at the end of the 19th century and it states that there are seven possible types of symmetries for the shape of a band and seventeen for a surface. The types are differentiated based on how they are placed in a space in relation to the symmetry elements (e. g. mirroring line, rotation points) in the symmetry structure⁵⁷. Based on this theory there are only seven types of symmetries in which the bands on the vessels of the Aegean Bronze Age and Transylvania might be organised and also considering the common shape of the surface that was intended for decoration (a roughly circular area) a possible explanation arises. From the perspective of the mentioned theory in all of the instances, regardless if from the Aegean or Transylvania, the surface is circular and the decoration is adapted to it, as the only way of creating symmetry on such a surface is through a point-symmetrical system⁵⁸. Such a mirror-symmetry is very structured and rigid and a method to visually loosen such a surface is the introduction of elements of spin-symmetry, in these cases, the different shapes of running spirals in the outer areas. As a direct result of such a combination the central motifs mirror-symmetry effect on the entire system of symmetry is annulled⁵⁹. Above is noted that the similarities between the two groups of

⁵⁵ Manning 1995, 217, note 1.

⁵⁶ Boroffka 1994, 250.

⁵⁷ Otto 1985, 5-28; Otto 1992, 244.

⁵⁸ Otto 1985, 26-27.

⁵⁹ Otto 1992, 246, 247, Fig. 4/a.

objects are just at the composition level of their decoration. The Theory of the Possible Symmetry Types seems to provide a satisfying explanation for the noticed similarities, especially since no other connections between the two groups could be ascertained.

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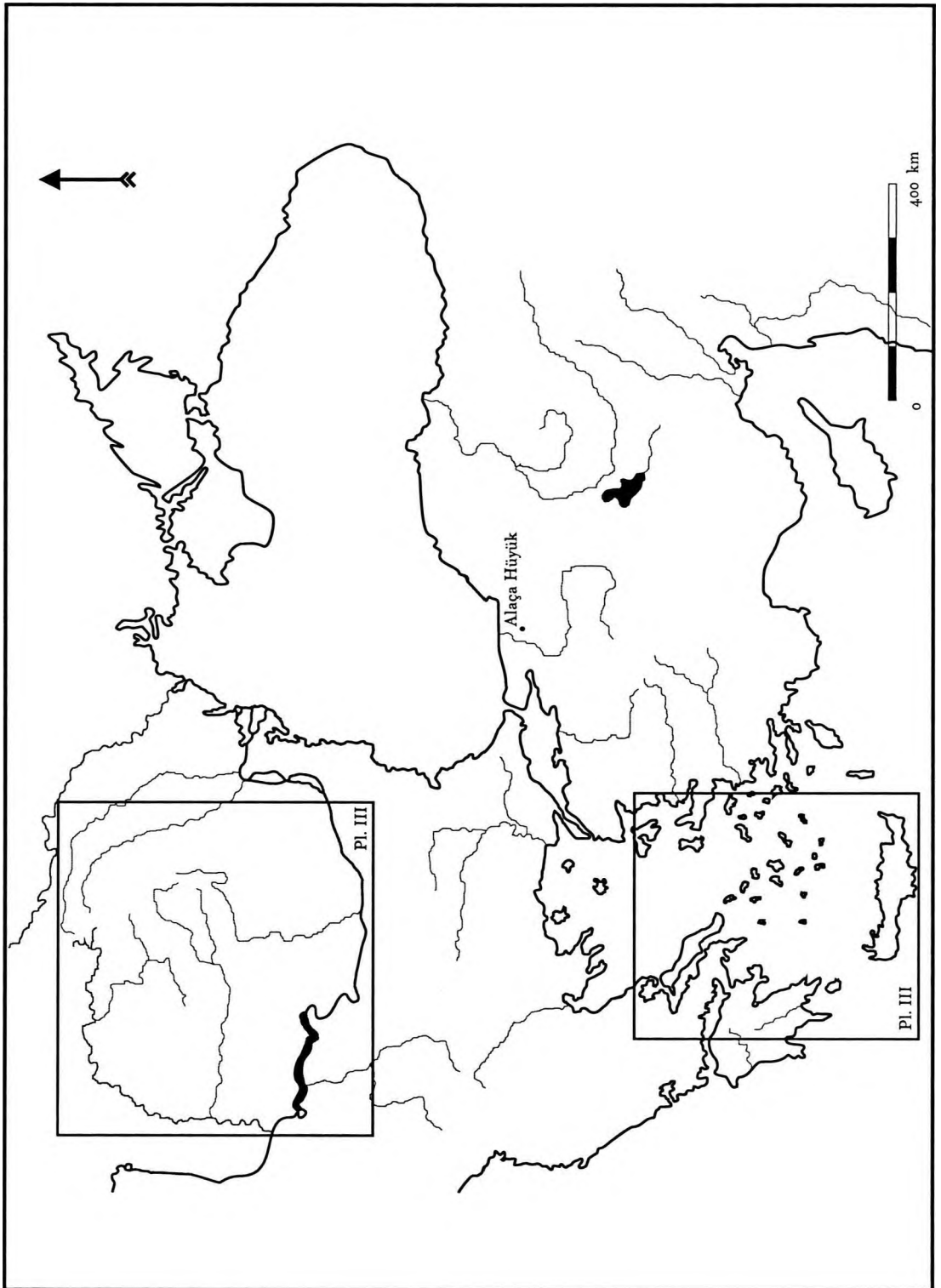
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Tibor-Tamás Daróczi

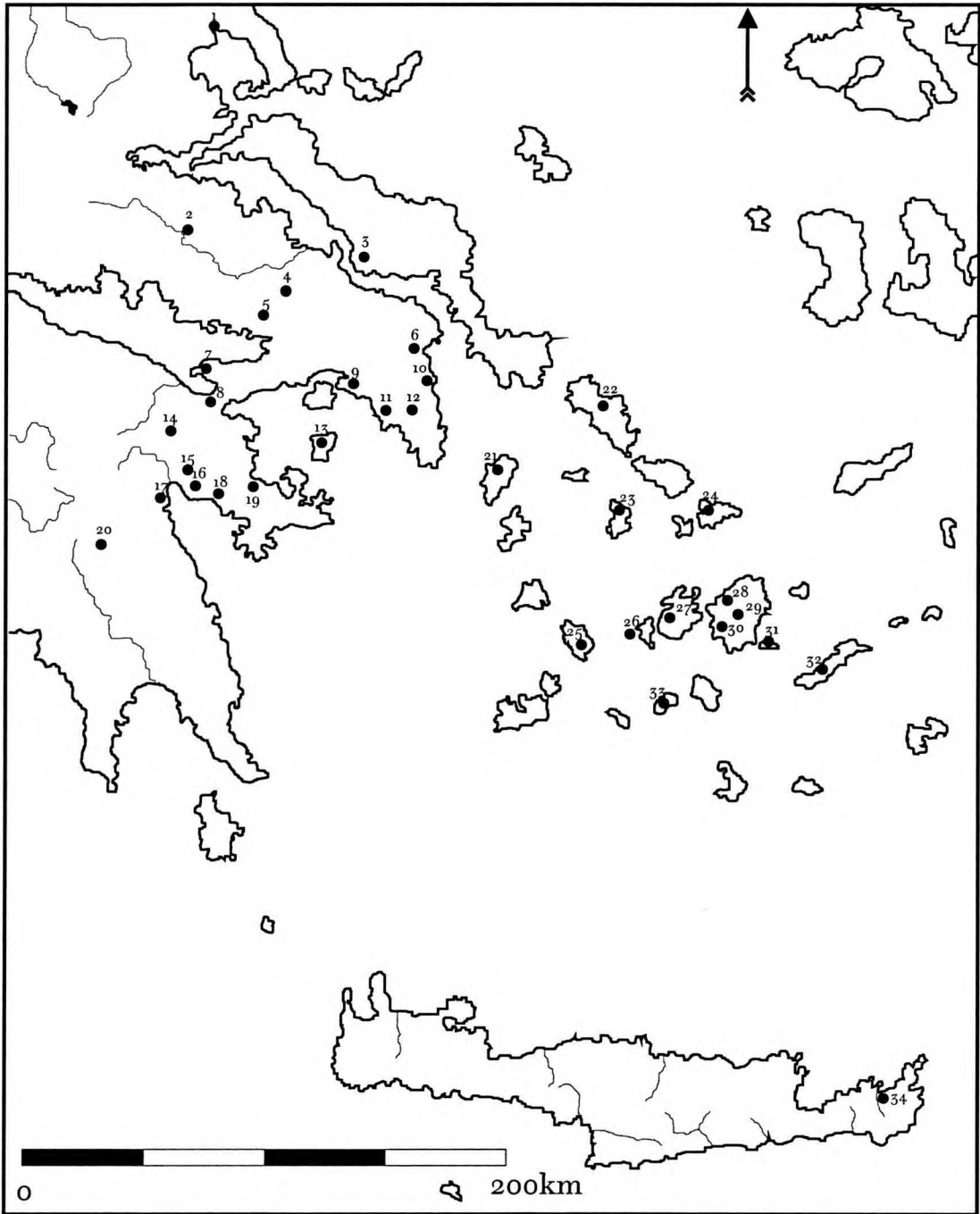
Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte und Vorderasiatische Archäologie

Ruprecht-Karls Universität, Heidelberg

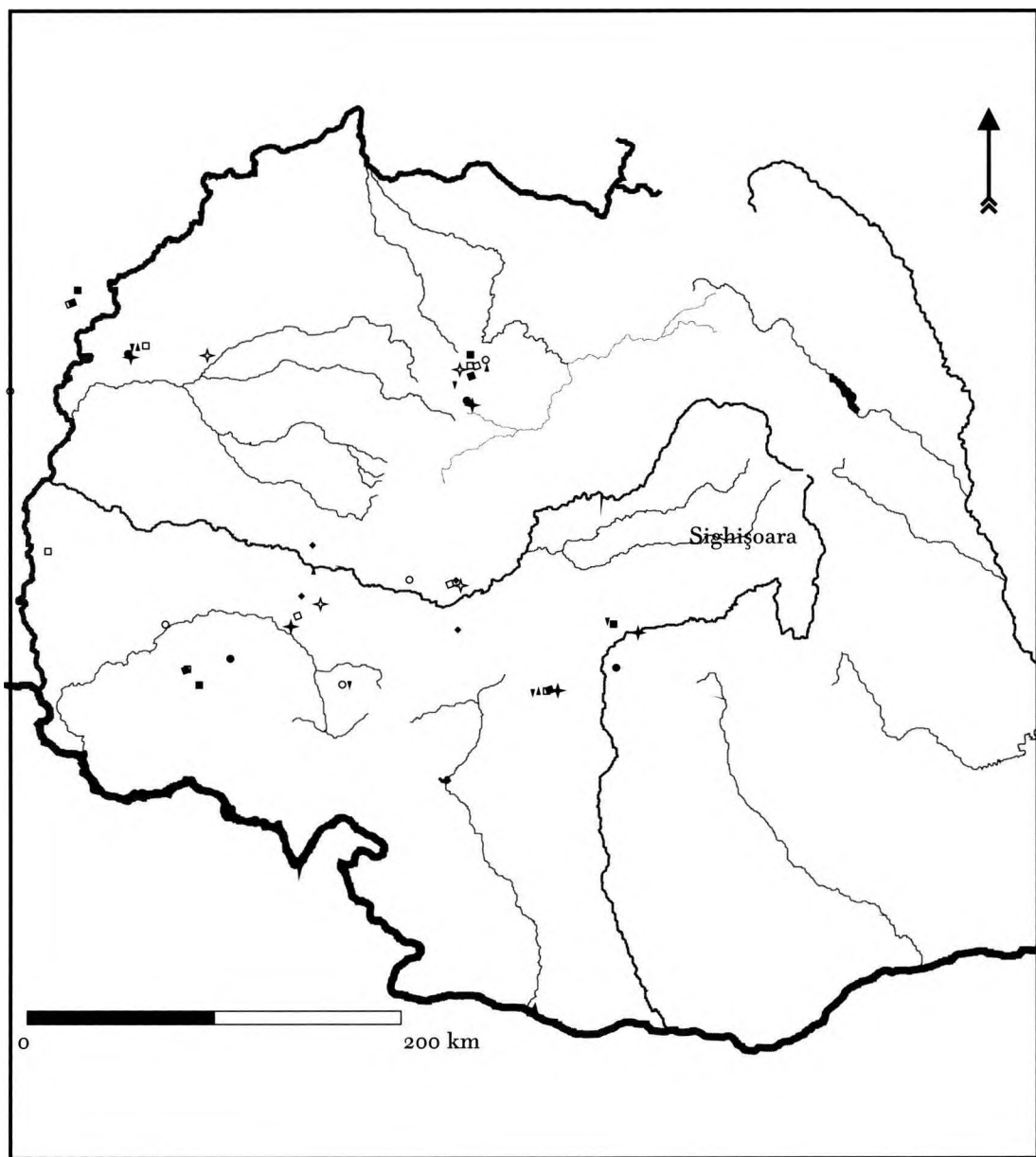
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Pl. I. Southeastern Europe and Anatolia.

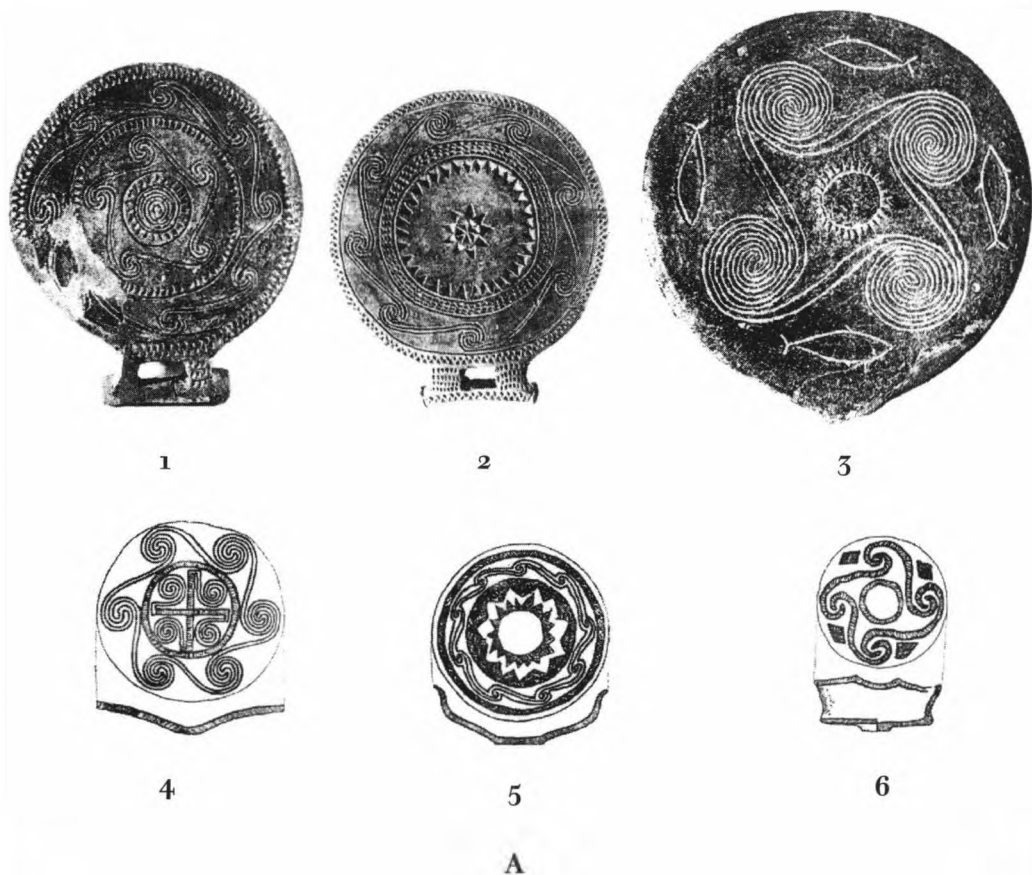


Pl. II. Aegean sites with “frying pans” discoveries: 1. Pefkakia; 2. Manesi; 3. Manika; 4. Lithares; 5. Eutresis; 6. Marathon; 7. Perachora; 8. Corinth; 9. Palaia Kokinia; 10. Raphina; 11. Aghios Kosmas; 12. Markopoulo; 13. Egina; 14. Nemea; 15. Berbati; 16. Tyrins; 17. Lerna; 18. Asine; 19. Epidaurus; 20. Asea; 21. Aghia Irini (Keos); 22. Andros; 23. Chalandriani (Syros); 24. Mykonos; 25. Akrotiraki (Siphonos); 26. Despotikon; 27. Kampos (Paros); 28. Grota and Aplomata (Naxos); 29. Aghioi Anagyroi (Naxos); 30. Louros (Naxos); 31. Ano Kouponisi; 32. Kato Acroterion (Amorgos); 33. Sikinos; 34. Aghia Fotia (Crete) (after Coleman 1995, 185, Map 1).



○ VC 6 • VD 2 ■ VD 4 ◆ VD 6 † VD 8 □ VD 18 ▲ VD 23 ◻ VD 28 † VD 29 ✦ VD 61, 62 • VD 65

Pl. III. Occurrence limits of VC 6, VD 2, 4, 6, 8, 18, 23, 28-29, 61-62, 65 types decorations of the Wietenberg culture (after Boroffka 1994, Maps 18-21, 34-35, 41, 49-50).



	Mainland	Cyclades	Crete
Early Bronze Age I	c. 3100 - 2650	c. 3100 - 2700	c. 3100 - 2650
Early Bronze Age II	c. 2650 - 2100	c. 2700 - 2250	c. 2650 - 2150
Early Bronze Age IIIc.	c. 2100 - 2000	c. 2250 - 2050(?)	c. 2150 - 2000

B

Pl. IV. A. Cycladic "frying pans" and Wietenberg culture vessels: 1. Paros; 2. Unknown; 3. Naxos; 4-6. Sighișoara (after Vulpe 2001a, 20, Fig. 2); B. Overview of the Aegean Early Bronze Age absolute chronology (after Manning 1995, 217 and Fig. 212).

THE DACIAN FORTIFICATION FROM SOMEȘU RECE – “DEALUL CUSTURII” (GILĂU, CLUJ COUNTY)

DINU IOAN BERETEU

Abstract: The Dacian civilisation has not been uniformly studied and recognized on its entire geographical area, great research deficiencies being found even in the case of the intra-Carpathian region, like for instance the Someșul Mic river basin. In Mid La Tène a direct contact space between the Celtic population and the local background representing a powerful intra-Carpathian “Latènization” focal point was in existence in the area separating the upper and lower basins of Someșul Mic river. There lays a true road junction of the Dacian Antiquity, where some of the main trade routes across Transylvania joined. Like elsewhere in Dacia, a significant population growth occurred after the disappearance from the area of the markers of a Celtic presence, archaeologically outlined by both the increase in the number of settlements and the construction of certain fortifications, as well as in an intensified monetary circulation. Herein, I attempted to define more clearly the nucleus of Dacian inhabitancy by the feet of Gilău Mountain, in the light of the identification of an insofar unknown fortification. Lastly, there were discussed a few aspects related to the location of the pre-Roman centre of *Νάπουκα*.

Keywords: fortifications; Dacians; Late La Tène; Gilău Mountains; *Νάπουκα*.

Rezumat: Civilizația dacică nu este uniform studiată și cunoscută pe întreg arealul său geografic, existând mari lacune de cercetare chiar în aria intracarpatică, așa cum este cazul bazinului Someșului Mic. În La Tène-ul mijlociu, în zona ce separă bazinul superior de cel inferior al Someșului Mic, a existat un spațiu de contact direct între populația celtică și mediul autohton, reprezentând un puternic focar de „latènizare” intracarpatic. Tot aici se afla un adevărat nod rutier al antichității dacice, prin intersectarea câtorva dintre principalele drumuri comerciale din spațiul transilvănean. După dispariția celților din această zonă se constată și aici, ca de altfel în toată Dacia, o importantă creștere demografică, reliefată arheologic atât prin înmulțirea numărului de așezări și ridicarea unor fortificații, cât și printr-o intensă circulație monetară. În acest articol am urmărit conturarea mai clară a nucleului de locuiri dacice de la poalele Munților Gilăului, ca rezultat al descoperirii unei fortificații dacice necunoscute în literatura de specialitate până în acest moment. În final am discutat câteva aspecte legate de localizarea centrului preroman *Νάπουκα*.

Cuvinte cheie: fortificații; daci; La Tène târziu; Munții Gilăului; *Νάπουκα*.

In the interval of approximately one century of activity, from early 20th century until these days, the Dacian branch of the Cluj-Napoca Classical archaeology school has focused its research on the spectacular complex from Orăștie Mountains, including the capital of the Dacian Kingdom, Sarmizegetusa Regia, as well as the many Dacian fortresses and open settlements scattered over its peripheral territory. Such archaeological activity, more or less intense over time, explains the extremely low level of knowledge and research of Dacian realities in the Someșul Mic river basin.

The micro-region has benefited of a single synthesis of the finds originating in the Cluj county¹, the brief presentation of the excavations carried out at Aghireșu-Fabrici - "La Stoguri"², the publication of certain materials identified at Florești-"Cetatea Fetei"³ and the fortified Dacian settlement from Sălicea, close to "Vârful Peana"⁴.

The insofar identified Mid La Tène settlements assigned to the local population are not many, namely those from Cluj-Napoca-"Băile Someșeni"⁵, Suceagu-"Hălăștău"⁶ and Florești-"Șapca Verde"⁷, the latter likely belonging to the settlement at "Sinitău" on the territory of Cluj-Napoca, and their modest character does not comply with the wealth and military power suggested by the issues of the "Crișeni-Berchieș"⁸ and "Tonciu"⁹ type tetradrachms. In the following period, known as the *classical phase* of Dacian development, the centre in the upper basin of Someșul Mic river, that pre-Roman Νάπουκα, whose existence is still doubted by some, is increasingly clearer outlined both by numismatic evidence¹⁰ and fortifications¹¹. In this area, in the upper basin of Someșul Mic river, two well delimited inhabitancy nuclei appeared that together formed an important complex of Dacian settlements and fortifications. One comprises the "Cetățuia" in Cluj-Napoca, the late Dacian settlement at "Băile Someșeni", "Cetatea Fetei" and the fortified settlement close to "Vârful Peana", hence the territory of the current city of Cluj-Napoca. The other is located in the Someșul Cald and Someșul Rece rivers interflow area, which I shall discuss herein.

I previously argued that the mixed hoard identified before 1844 coming from an unknown find spot close to the village of Someșu Cald should be linked to the Dacian settlement on "Cetate" hill from Someșu Rece¹². Most likely, this hoard was discovered somewhere on the northern hill slopes, those facing Someșu Cald. Its inventory, which later reached Vienna, consisted of one silver chain (Horedt B1 type) with nine nail-shaped pendants (Horedt F1a type), three silver chains attached to a silver ring and 438 coins, of which 318 Dyrhachium drachmas and 120 Roman Republican denarii, the latest dating to 50 BC¹³, placing the moment of its deposition in the last decade of Burebista's reign. This is the most consistent Dacian hoard known from the entire Someșul Mic river basin.

The fortified settlement from Someșu Rece-"Cetate" (Pl. I/1; II/2) was known for a very long time, as early as the second half of the 18th century¹⁴ and has been

¹ Florea 1985-1986, 755-766.

² Ferenczi 1986, 83-94.

³ Rustoiu 1993, 63-75.

⁴ Bereteu 2012, 109-122.

⁵ Mitrofan 1965, 666; Daicoviciu 1974, 22-23.

⁶ Crișan 1969, 275, no. 289.

⁷ Pupeză 2008, 37-72.

⁸ Chirilă 1965, 185-200.

⁹ Chirilă, Chifor 1979, 59-79.

¹⁰ Florea 1985-1986, 763-764.

¹¹ Bereteu 2012, 114.

¹² Bereteu 2012, 110.

¹³ Pârvan 1926, 536, Fig. 370; Popescu 1937-1940, 202; Horedt 1973, 137, 141; Glodariu 1974, 272, nos. 76, 293; no. 293; Spânu 2012, 243, no. 108.

¹⁴ Ferenczi 1964, 68, note 13.

accurately conjectured, this time, almost a century ago by I. Marțian as including a Dacian level¹⁵. The site was excavated in 1931 by Al. Ferenczi who cut a trench through the imposing rampart, curiously termed "Șanțul Mare" ("the Great Ditch") (Pl. I/2), yet without reaching everywhere the native rock. The excavation was continued in 1962 by Șt. Ferenczi. There were recognized at least two construction phases of the rampart, which was formed of a burnt core covered with earth and the charred traces of a double palisade made of fir and oak logs¹⁶. The identified ceramic material in the rampart shows that this was built and rebuilt in the early First Iron Age¹⁷. Although Dacian materials were not found inside the rampart, it is very likely that the Dacians had also restored it at least partially, or that they at least built a palisade, being expected that in the event of a Dacian reconstruction the used earth would have especially contained artefacts from the First Iron Age layer. It remains to be seen whether future excavations will confirm or not the Dacian reconstruction of "Șanțul Mare".

By ca. 70 meters south-west of the "Șanțul Mare" lies another rampart, called "Șanțul Mic" ("the Small Ditch"), rather flat, made of earth and river pebbles, which shows in the profile made by the road cutting it, lacking pottery fragments that would allow a more accurate dating¹⁸.

Insofar, the Dacian pottery found on "Cetate" is scarce. The lasting character of inhabitancy in the settlement is however underlined by the existence of a Dacian millstone kept with the National History Museum of Transylvania¹⁹. A small lot of pottery fragments is currently with the restoration department of the same Museum. Amongst, neither may be considered "archaic, dating to the 3rd - 2nd centuries BC", as previously maintained²⁰, but belong to the *classical phase*, similarly to the jug published by I. H. Crișan, who then assigned it to the second phase of the Dacian pottery, thus still to the 3rd - 2nd centuries BC²¹. Should we also consider the accumulation period of the coins in the hoard at Someșu Cald, namely the second half of the 2nd century BC and first half of the following century, one may assume that the Dacian settlement there emerged most likely sometime in the second half of the 2nd century BC.

No conclusions may be drawn concerning the spread of the Dacian inhabitancy on "Cetate", but it is hard to believe it compactly occupied the entire surface of over 10 ha that was fortified by early First Iron Age. It is plausible that house clusters also existed outside the fortified area, possibly nearby certain springs. Most likely, the Dacian inhabitancy clustered especially in the eastern side of the plateau, where on the surface of the earth road, close to "the Great Ditch", I identified three pottery fragments that certainly belong to the Dacian period.

Two of the three fragments belong to hand-made jars of coarse clay and fired in oxidising atmosphere. One has a medium-sized round button applied (Pl. IV/1), while

¹⁵ Marțian 1921, 22.

¹⁶ Ferenczi 1964, 70-73, Fig. 2.

¹⁷ Ferenczi 1964, 75.

¹⁸ Ferenczi 1964, 69.

¹⁹ Ferenczi 1964, 75.

²⁰ Popescu 1963, 455-456; RepCluj, 365.

²¹ Crișan 1969, 275, no. 284, Pl. LX/2.

the other exhibits a flattened button with three finger impressions (Pl. IV/2) having close analogies in the fortified settlement at Sălicea²². Together with these, a pedestalled bowl fragment (Pl. IV/3), wheel-thrown, made of fine clay, fired in an oxidising atmosphere and covered with a grey slip was also found. While it lacks the rim end, the wall thickness and the large diameter of the cup point to a pedestalled bowl of the massive category.

Another pedestalled bowl fragment (Pl. IV/4) was identified on the earth road, yet somewhat downwards, in the area of the sharpest road turn before climbing to the plateau. This pedestalled bowl is particular, firstly due to its clay that contains also graphite dust. It was fired in a reducing atmosphere, resulting in its dark colour. Both the wall, unusually slender, of the cup and the rim, thicker, were uniformly fired in the kiln, compared to the other pedestalled bowl, much more massive and fired in an oxidising atmosphere, though with a grey core delimited in profile. Another rarely identified aspect of the dark pedestalled bowl is the decoration, applied both on the rim as well inside the cup (Pl. IV/4a). Due to the rather small size of the fragment, one may not know whether the entire inner surface of the cup was decorated or only its upper part, which displays a subtle and carefully drawn polished decoration made not in the usual continuous style, but a discontinuous one. On the rim, just near the cup, a bunch of three parallel lines are distinguishable. Inside the cup another bunch of three lines delimits the upper part of a register comprising a decoration in the shape of the letter V, formed from bunches of five lines. The polished decoration of pedestalled bowls is common²³. Many pedestalled bowls decorated by polishing on both rim and cup, yet in a different manner, were identified at Ocnița²⁴. Furthermore, they are constant, though not general, in Dacian settlements of higher importance.

All four fragments can be only broadly dated in the interval between the 1st century BC - 1st century AD. For now, one may not exclude the supposed earlier Dacian level on "Cetate" (3rd-2nd centuries BC), however clear evidence to this effect is still missing.

The settlement from Someșu Rece-"Cetate" is the central point of the Dacian inhabitancy in the spring area of Someșul Mic river, yet it did not exist isolated in the mountain space by the feet of Gilău Mountains. Another Dacian settlement, still rather obscure scientifically, was recorded on the large plateau of "Pădurea Orașului" at Gilău²⁵. No archaeological material that would document it was published, all summing up to its mention by Șt. Ferenczi following verbal information received from M. Rusu. Though there can be no doubt on the scientific expertise of the two scholars, despite many attempts, I was yet unable to identify it with certainty due to the large forested surface of the respective plateau. Instead, one should be extremely cautious in maintaining the existence of the supposed fortified settlement east of "Dâmbul Țiganilor"²⁶. Most likely, this is a confusion related to the Bronze Age fortified

²² Bereteu 2012, Pl. III/5.

²³ Crișan 1969, 169.

²⁴ Berciu 1981, Pl. 5/8, 6/5; 9; 9/2; 16/1, 3; 18/2; 68/1; 76/2; 86/3; 87/6, 9; 90/6, 10; 92/1; 93/1; 94/2, 3.

²⁵ Ferenczi 1972, 408, no. 27a.

²⁶ RepCluj, 222, no. 15.

settlement on "Dâmbul Țiganilor" (coordinates: N 46°44'13,8"; E 23°23'30,3", that belongs to the so-called "Wietenberg-Otomani synthesis horizon"²⁷.

Traces of a settlement or other archaeological traces²⁸ were identified neither on "Dealul Cetății", located north of "Cetate", on the other side of Someșul Cald valley, currently of Gilău Lake, nor on its northern extension, "Pădurea Cetății". Upstream on Someșul Cald valley, by the interflow of Fărcașului and Râșca streams with Someșul Cald, currently Tarnița Lake, an interesting fortification was identified on a small rocky promontory, provided with two defensive ditches cut in the rock on the access road that protected a small two-level plateau, also cut in the native rock. Pottery fragments found on the plateau point to the construction of the fortification in the early medieval period (8th-9th centuries) and its reuse in the 13th-14th centuries, while the few hand-made pottery fragments, deemed prehistoric²⁹, rather belong to the early Medieval level. Both its isolation in the Gilău Mountains, the strong fortification elements and, especially, its direct proximity to Fărcașului stream make it very resistant to extended siege, being an excellent refuge. Amongst possible locations of the long sought "fortress on Someș"³⁰, where it is said that Gelou wanted to seek refuge when slain somewhere on Căpuș river, this fortification should be considered.

The Dacian settlement on "Cetate" was extremely well defended naturally on three sides by sharp hill slopes, while on the "vulnerable" south-western side it was protected by an imposing defensive rampart erected in the First Iron Age, likely rebuilt in the Second Iron Age. On the other side of Someșul Rece valley, south of "Cetate" was built in the Dacian period another fortification, with obvious military and surveillance purposes, on a "Dealul Custurii" hogback. The fortification, unknown in the specialty archaeological literature, was identified during a personal field survey in the autumn of 2011. "Dealul Custurii", which belongs still to the village Someșu Rece, is framed to the north-east by Custurii stream and by Valea Seacă to the south-east. The hill has two hogbacks oriented towards the Someșul Rece valley: one is located between Custurii and Poienii streams, in the area named "Poiurile", and the other, onto which the fortification lies, is located between Poienii stream and Valea Seacă. The promontory where the fortification is found (Pl. II/1) above the mine "Anton" on Valea Seacă and faces the modern golden mine "Acariu-Dezideriu" from "Baia de Aur" by the feet of hill "Cetate". The exact coordinates taken from the centre of the fortified plateau are 46°42'35.5" northern latitude and 23°21'07.9" eastern longitude.

The slopes of the fortified promontory towards north-east, north-west and south-west are very steep, so that it is practically inexpugnably on these directions. South-eastwards, on the narrow saddle linking the hill hogback to the main body of "Dealul Custurii", a defensive ditch was dug (Pl. III/1) in the same manner as in the case of the fortified settlement from Aghireșu-Fabrici³¹ and Sălicea³², namely with

²⁷ Ferenczi 1972, 408, no. 27b.

²⁸ Ferenczi 1972, 405-407, nos. 24-25.

²⁹ Ferenczi, Ferenczi jr., Ferenczi sen. 1994, 316.

³⁰ Sălăgean 2006, 189-190.

³¹ Ferenczi 1986, 86.

³² Bereteu 2012, 113.

the intent to generate a considerable difference between the fortified surface level and that of the access road. The ditch has a current maximum depth of 2.5 m and a maximum width of 9 m. On the connection saddle, which was likely purposefully narrowed, before the ditch lie other two possible defensive ditches with corresponding ramparts, of smaller sizes. However, they may also represent natural or erosion aspects. Other fortification elements are not clear on the ground, yet a more obvious ridge on the north-west and north-east sides could be the base of a palisade that likely surrounded the entire fortified surface.

The small plateau has an elliptical shape oriented north-west - south-east with a maximum 62 m length and 16.5 m width, which means a surface smaller than 1000 m². Approximately in the centre of the plateau a very clearly delimited soil bulging becomes apparent. It is relatively rectangular, sized 11 × 6 m and oriented with the long axis north-east - south-west, thus on the long axis of the plateau. This soil bulging most likely conceals the ruins of a tower-house (Pl. III/2). The 66 m² of the current surface of the mound do not represent the inhabitable surface of the respective building, assumingly much more reduced.

The pottery fragments identified on the surface come from both the plateau, namely its northern side, and especially the upper part of the steep slopes surrounding the plateau. They are not many and those typical are all hand-made pottery. The clay is generally fine, yet there are some more coarse, with high granulation sand. Their firing was done in oxidising atmosphere. All of the eight rim fragments (Pl. V-VI) come from jars, smaller or larger, as well as a fragment with an applied small protuberance (Pl. VII/2) and a fragment from the bottom of a vessel (Pl. VII/1).

A small ceramic fragment from the western corner of the rectangular mound, most likely a tile fragment, was strongly secondarily fired on the outside, almost vitrified (Pl. VII/3-3a). This point to the destruction of the house together with its possible appurtenances and the probable palisade by strong fire.

The pottery fragments identified on the surface cannot be dated but broadly, between the end of the 2nd century BC and early 2nd century AD, similarly to the Dacian settlement on "Cetate". However, the construction of the fortification, on "Dealul Custurii", most likely occurred after the establishment of the settlement on "Cetate".

The fortification on "Dealul Custurii", of *inland promontory* type, belongs to that category of fortifications used for solely military purposes, according to the classification made by Professor I. Glodariu "designating those defences, either permanently or non-permanently accommodated by a garrison, designed to block important access routes from a variably spread area or for their surveillance"³³. This is also the function of the fortification on "Dealul Custurii" that controlled the access in the Someșul Rece valley and implicitly to "Cetate", the latter still unknown, but done most likely by a more accessible area, like Mieilor stream or more upstream, such as the road climbing to hamlet Pape. The fortification from "Dealul Custurii" could not be directly attacked from Someșul Rece valley, regardless of the strength of the enemy, due to the

³³ Glodariu 1983, 50.

high abruptness of the three slopes. The only possibility for its conquest required the preliminary access of the besiegers on the main part of "Dealul Custurii" that could be done only from "Pădurea Orașului" or Stolna village. From this point further, they would have been forced to attack the fortification in small groups, due to the narrow connection saddle that, blocked by at least a defensive ditch, hindered any advance of a massive, compact group.

If the circumstances of access control on Someșul Rece valley are now rather clear, not the same may be argued about the Someșul Cald valley, from where one could accede to a possible northern road of the settlement on "Cetate". Although I explored several promontories in the area suitable for fortifications, none could be identified. Such a fortification could lay on one of the northern footholds of "Cetate" hill above Someșu Cald village, yet not surveyed, in the area where I presume that the above discussed silver hoard was found.

Νάπουκα, recorded by Ptolemy among the main "cities" in Dacia³⁴, was deemed by V. Pârvan to represent the accurate form of the Dacian, pre-Roman toponym, opting for a Scythian or Thracian-Getae origin of the name³⁵. A Celtic influence on the Dacian name form can't be excluded, given the massive Celtic presence in the area until mid 2nd century BC. For the location of the pre-Roman Νάπουκα several aspects must be considered, especially chronological. Firstly, if we see in it the centre of the tribal union issuing by early 2nd century BC coins of "Crișeni-Berchieș" and "Tonciu"³⁶ types, then the supposed settlement should have a Mid La Tène level, datable no later than early 2nd century BC, such as the settlement from Cluj-Napoca-"Sinitău". However, the latter settlement can't be proven to continue its existence into Late La Tène that would have allowed the passing on of the name to Roman times.

Two hypotheses can be formulated, which add to the variant "Cetățuia" in Cluj-Napoca suggested by I. Marțian and I. Glodariu³⁷. Firstly, is taken into account the settlement on the terraces of "Sinitău" and a possible late Dacian inhabitancy there, but yet unproven. In this case, another possibility is that due to certain causes the inhabitancy on "Sinitău" ceased and transferred to the fortified settlement near "Vârful Peana", the only one with direct visibility to all the Dacian settlements known in the Someșul Mic river upper basin.

The second hypothesis, previously developed³⁸, refers to the Dacian settlement from Someșu Rece - "Cetate". Despite the lack of evidence of an early Dacian level (end of the 3rd century BC - first half of the 2nd century BC), several indications converge towards this variant. The pedestalled bowl fragment with graphite in the fabric is an additional reason in favour of the existence there of an important Dacian settlement. Although it possibly only mirrors a state of research, it was statistically established that during the *classical* phase pottery containing graphite in fabric was discovered only in Dacian settlements of a high development level, such

³⁴ Iliescu, Popescu, Ștefan 1964, 544.

³⁵ Pârvan 1926, 258-259.

³⁶ Chirilă 1965, 185-200; Chirilă, Chifor 1979, 72-75.

³⁷ Marțian 1921, 19; Glodariu 1987, 133, note 4.

³⁸ Bereteu 2012, 114.

as Costești-“Cetățuie”³⁹, Grădiștea de Munte-“Fețele Albe”⁴⁰, Lunca-“Piatra Roșie”⁴¹, Berindia-“Șindrioara”⁴², Pecica-“Șanțul Mare”⁴³, Marca-“Cetate”⁴⁴, Șimleu Silvaniei-“Cetate”⁴⁵ and Moigrad-“Măgură”⁴⁶. The sharp drop in the import of graphite in Dacia after mid 2nd century BC was firstly due to the disappearance of the Celts from the intra-Carpathian area. Later, subsequent to the Celtic campaign of Burebista, the small quantity of raw graphite imported in the Dacian space, related to the perpetuation to a certain extent of trade relations with Central Europe⁴⁷, was absorbed by the Dacian aristocratic environments close to which great pottery workshops operated.

The most conclusive evidence of the presence of the Dacian aristocracy at Someșu Rece - “Cetate” remains the silver hoard. It is possible that the number of nail-shaped pendants on the Dacian decorative silver chains mirrors an aristocratic hierarchy or a certain degree of initiation of the owner, which would indicate that the silver ring with nine nail-shaped pendants in the hoard from Someșu Cald could record the presence there of an important aristocrat living sometime in the period between the end of the 2nd century BC and the first half of the following century. Most likely, pendants of this type, attached to chains one, three, four or nine, such as in the case of the ring from Someșu Cald, fulfilled a decorative and apotropaic function, the two aspects non-excluding a role in the expression of social position.

Ultimately, the construction of the Roman fort at Gilău relatively close and facing the Dacian settlement from Someșu Rece-“Cetate” might be related, at least hypothetically, to a siege during the wars of early 2nd century AD, in the event that the Dacian centre in the upper basin of Someșul Mic river was conquered by the Romans through battle and not after a betrayal of Decebalus by the local aristocracy. The validation of such hypothesis would mean the identification of the first earth-and-timber phase of the fort from Gilău in the time of Trajan’s rule and, furthermore, for the period of the Daco-Roman wars. Here it should be considered the small earth-and-timber fort identified there⁴⁸ or the possible existence of another earlier phase, yet unidentified.

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³⁹ Crișan 1969, 203, Fig. 111.

⁴⁰ Daicoviciu, Glodariu, Piso 1973, 69, Fig. 15.

⁴¹ Daicoviciu 1954, 103, Pl. XIII/6.

⁴² Dumitrașcu, Ordentlich 1973, 62-63.

⁴³ Crișan 1978, 154-155, Pl. 10/5, 8, 9.

⁴⁴ Dumitrașcu, Lucăcel 1974, 20; Pop 1994, 40-41, Pl. A/1, 3; Pl. B/6, 10.

⁴⁵ Pop 1994, 41, Pl. A/2, 4; B/11, 12.

⁴⁶ Pop 1994, 41, Pl. B/1-2, 4-5, 7-9.

⁴⁷ Rustoiu 1993a, 70.

⁴⁸ Isac, Diaconescu, Opreanu 1981, 88.

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Dinu Ioan Bereteu
„Babeș-Bolyai“ University, Cluj-Napoca
dinu_bereteu@yahoo.com



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2

Pl. I. 1. The fortified settlement at Someșu Rece-“Cetate”; 2. Detail of the highest part of the rampart at Someșu Rece-“Cetate”.

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Pl. II. 1. Someșu Rece-Dealul Custurii seen from “Cetate”; 2. Someșu Rece - The settlement on “Cetate” seen from “Dealul Custurii”.

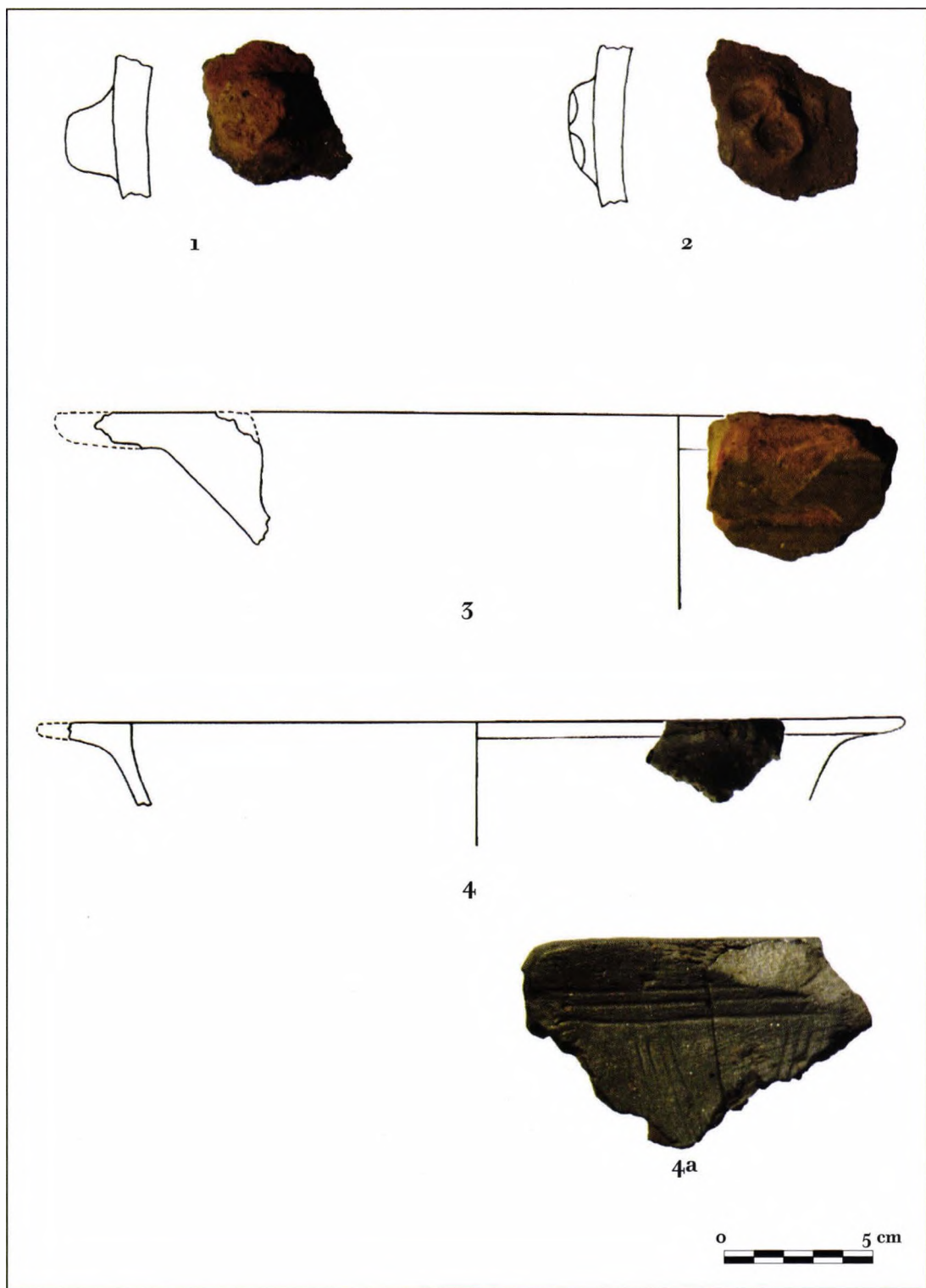


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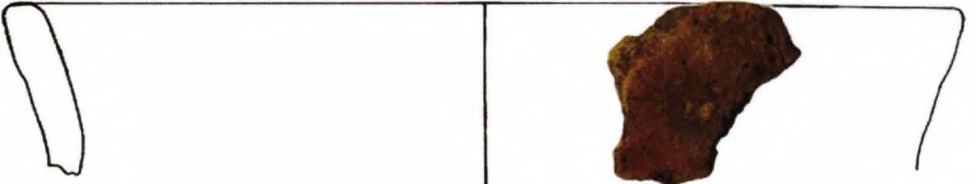
Pl. III. 1. The ditch of the fortification at Someșu Rece-“Dealul Custurii”; 2. Tower-house on the plateau of the fortification at Someșu Rece-“Dealul Custurii”.



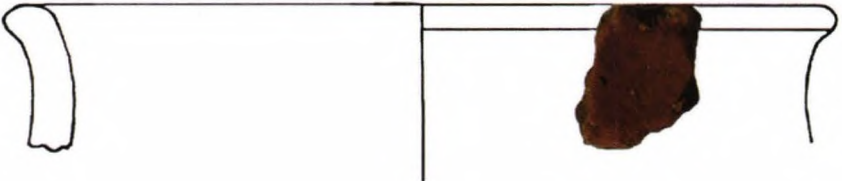
Pl. IV. Someșu Rece-“Cetate”: 1-2. Hand-made pottery fragments; 3-4. Wheel-thrown pottery fragments; 4a. detail of fragment no. 4 (no scale).



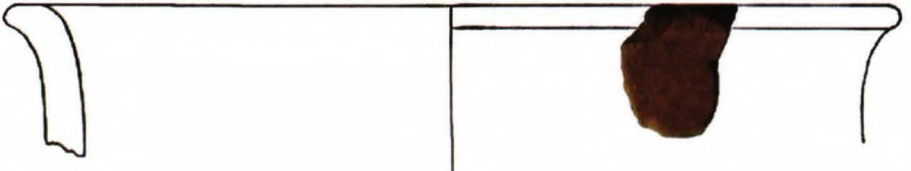
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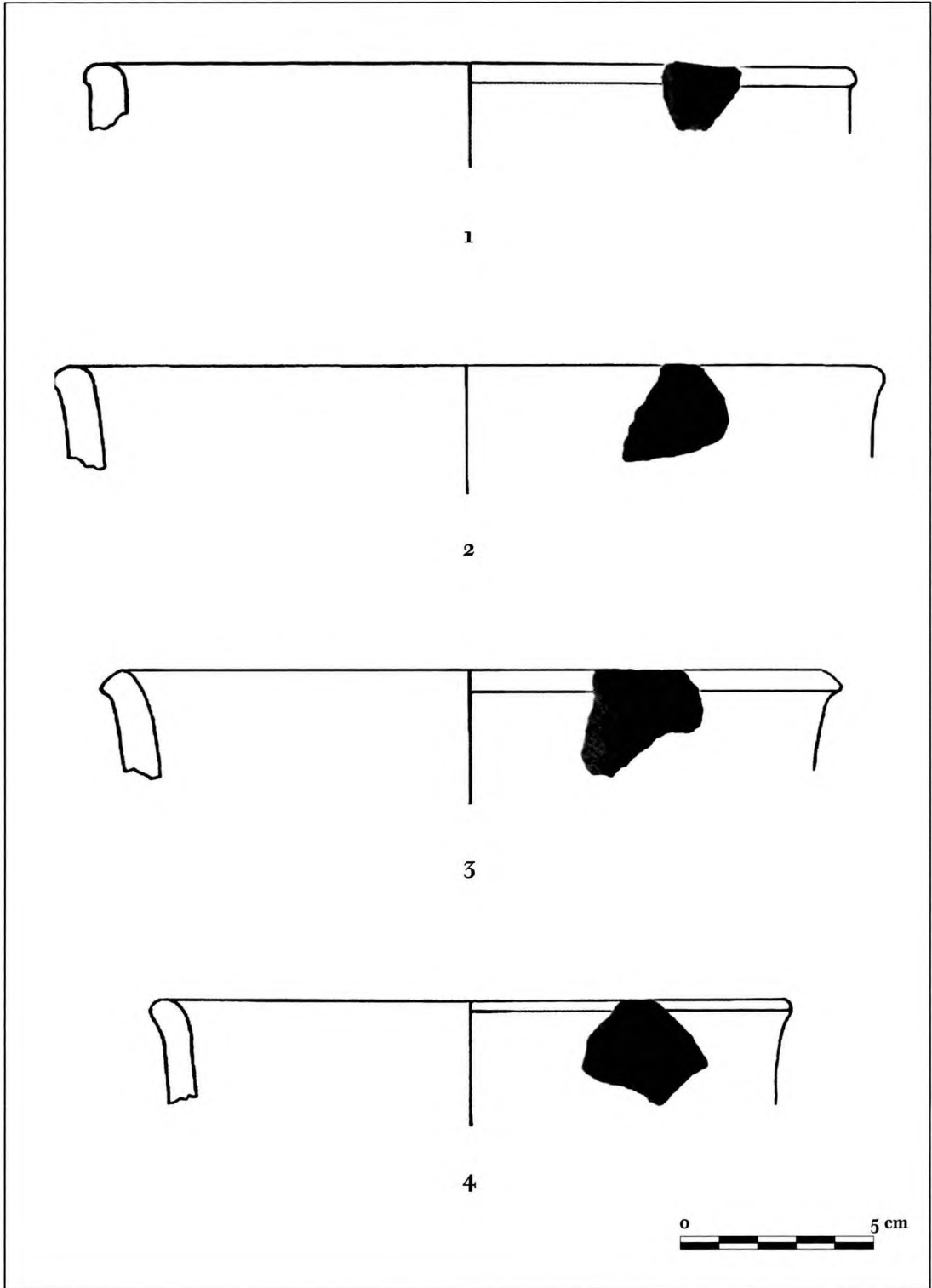
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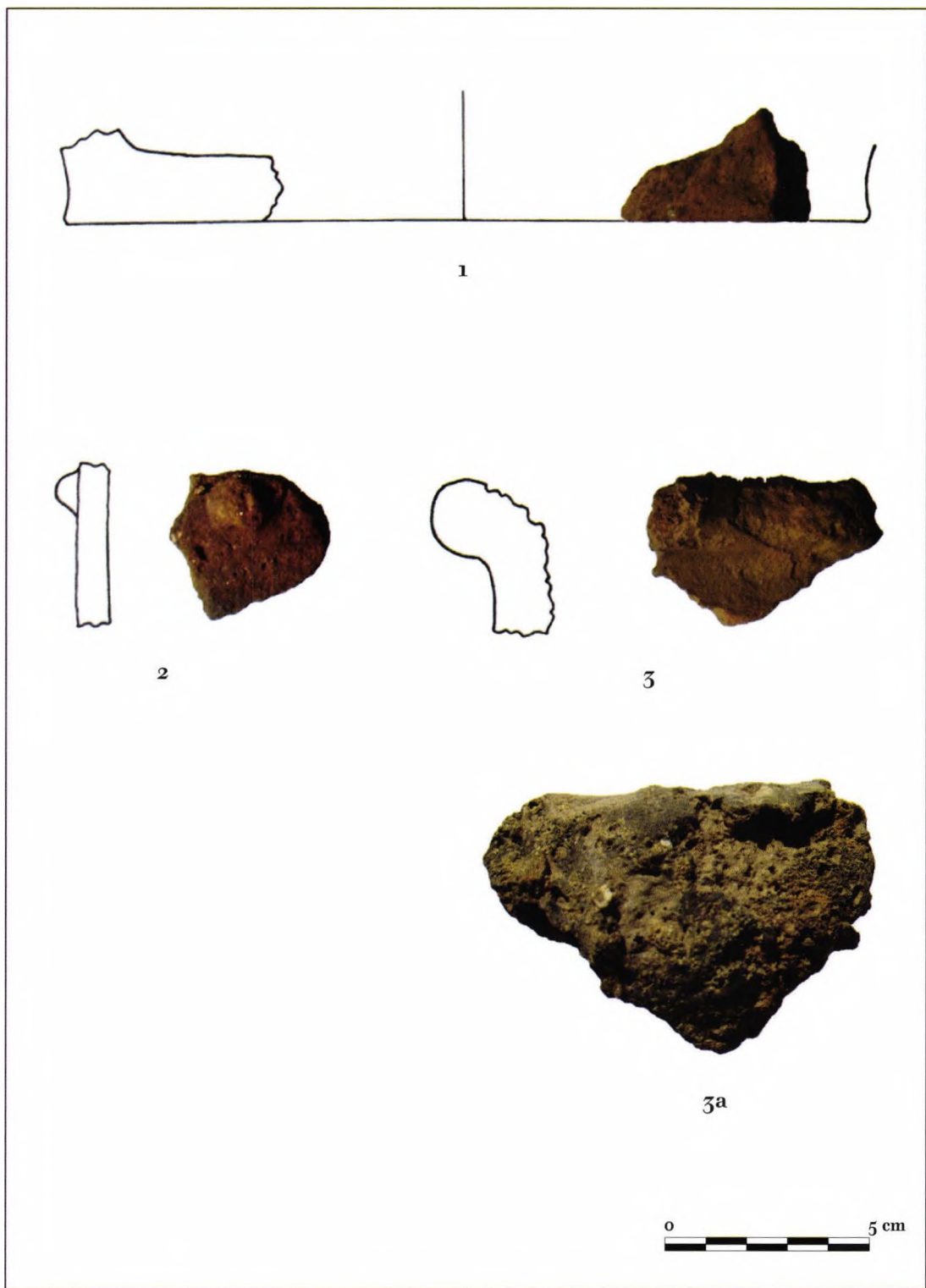
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Pl. V. 1-4. Someșu Rece - "Dealul Custurii". Hand-made pottery fragments.



Pl. VI. 1-4. Someșu Rece-“Dealul Custurii”. Hand-made pottery fragments.



Pl. VII. Someșu Rece-“Dealul Custurii”: 1-2. Hand-made pottery fragments; 3. Tile fragment; 3a. detail of fragment no. 3 (no scale).

COIN FINDS AT GRĂDIȘTEA MUNCCELULUI DURING THE EXCAVATION CAMPAIGNS OF 1803-1804

AURORA PETĂN

Abstract: The excavations carried out in 1803 and 1804 at Grădiștea Muncelului by the Austrian tax authorities resulted in the discovery, among other archaeological materials, of several ancient coins in gold, silver and bronze, remained novel so far. This article is based on the numismatic evidence offered by the reports issued on occasion of such excavations.

Keywords: numismatics; Kosons; the period of the Dacian kingdom; Grădiștea Muncelului; Austrian tax authority excavations.

Rezumat: Săpăturile efectuate în anii 1803 și 1804 la Grădiștea Muncelului de către fiscal austriac s-au soldat cu descoperirea, între alte materiale arheologice, a mai multor monede antice de aur, argint și bronz, rămase inedite până în prezent. Articolul de față valorifică informațiile numismatice din rapoartele emise cu ocazia acelor săpături.

Cuvinte cheie: numismatică; cosoni; epoca regatului dac; Grădiștea Muncelului; săpăturile fiscalului austriac.

The discovery, by the natives, of two large coin hoards in the autumn of 1802 and spring of 1803, close to the ruins at Grădiștea Muncelului, resulted in measures taken by the Austrian tax authority. The decision was to perform official excavations in the fortress area, prohibiting the villagers to search for treasures on the imperial properties. The aim of the excavations carried out by the authorities was still that to find gold, yet the scholars of that time quickly understood the special archaeological value of the area. Despite the fact that financial gain upon the excavations were still expected, and the authorities in Vienna were not at all convinced of the importance of the undertaking, the interventions of certain scholars contributed to the maintained interest for the remains at Grădiștea Muncelului by early 19th century¹.

Two excavation campaigns were carried out, the first in 1803, and the second in the following year. In 1803, excavations unfold for three months, without spectacular results for the leading Viennese. After their discontinuance, despite interdictions, the villagers began the search for treasures again, and in the spring of 1804 another hoard of approximately 1000 Kosons was found. The second campaign lasted for almost six months, yet failed to identify the gold that the authorities believed hidden within the fortress. By the end of 1804, the Imperial Chamber decided to cease the excavations, arguing that the spent amount is higher than the gained profit.

¹ Among counted the tax procurator P. Török, treasurer I. Bethlen, Abbot F. Neumann, director of the Imperial collections of antiquities, and count C. Zichy, chairman of the Imperial Chamber, who kept Emperor Francis himself informed on the finds at Grădiștea Muncelului.

Reports were issued during the excavations, in the first campaign twice a month, and in the following year, weekly². Although the excavations followed no method, the main finds were still recorded, and these accounts represent a precious information source regarding the site at Grădiștea Muncelului. Among these finds, several golden, silver and bronze coins are recorded. The numismatic data provided by the documents issued on the occasion has not been turned to advantage insofar³. The aim of the article herein is to make such documentary information available.

Coin finds following the campaign of 1803

There is scarce information on coinage finds in the summer of 1803 because not all reports issued on the occasion were identified in the archives. Excavations were performed between 21 July and 11 September, with 2 miners and 8 day labourers. Reports were issued every other two weeks, under the signature of I. Bodoki, inspector of the tax authority in Sibișel and B. Aigler, a mining supervisor, who coordinated the excavations. The last two reports of that year, those concerning the activity carried out between 16–31 August and 1–11 September, could not be found in the archives, yet some information related to their content could be inferred from the documents recording the forwarding of the reports by the Monetary and Mountain Treasury to that of the Chamber⁴. Seemingly, precisely those reports recorded the only coin finds of the campaign. Thus, the report of 10 September 1803 mentions the discovery of a few Lysimachi by early September 1803, by the three employees of the tax authority in Sibișel, close to the ruins at Grădiștea Muncelului⁵. Until the recovery of the report in question, we are not able to have more details on its content. The Rescript of the Imperial Chamber from 20 October 1803 confirms the discovery of the Lysimachi during that year's campaign⁶, without yet providing further details on neither the number of coins nor the find spot.

Still, there is another source that provides certain data on the discovery of the Lysimachi, namely the summary report submitted by metal work inspector A. Bögözi, on 25 April 1805 to the Administration of Hunedoara domain⁷. He mentions the discovery of certain Lysimachi and Kosons in the areas he noted *C* and *E*, broadly corresponding to the granaries terrace and the pond area⁸. Since in 1804 no further

² The information on the finds by the early century at Grădiștea Muncelului, as well as most documents referring to the excavations of 1803–1804, were published by S. Jakó, see Jakó 1966; Jakó 1968; Jakó 1971; Jakó 1972; Jakó 1973. I express my gratitude towards Alexandru Müller (Stuhr, Germany) for helping me translate the documents from German.

³ Except for Benea 2004, who mentions some of the coins, yet without providing further details.

⁴ Although in 1966 S. Jakó promised to completely publish the reports of 1803, after only two years he stopped with the report of 16 August 1803, arguing that he was unsuccessful in finding the last two reports (Jakó 1968, 443, note 3).

⁵ The Archives of the Monetary and Mountain Treasury, 3330/1803, see Jakó 1966, 116, note 40.

⁶ Jakó, 1971, 447.

⁷ Jakó 1973, 630.

⁸ S. Jakó did not succeed to find in the archives the addendum of the report, which comprised the layout of the excavated areas. Finály 1916, 18, Fig. I reproduces a plan after J. C. Eder who, in his turn, had summarised the texts of several reports, including that of Bögözi. It is possible for it to derive from

Lysimachi would be discovered, they could not be other than those found in 1803. However, A. Bögözi does not mention how many pieces were discovered.

Treasure hunters were forced to deliver to the Mint of Alba Iulia the hoards found in 1802 and 1803, where they were to be melted. P. Török's inquiry shows they preserved part of the coins, which they later sold. The authorities in Vienna wished that the found gold would be sent to the imperial capital. Notified on 15 September 1803 by Count Zichy regarding the coin finds from Grădiştea Muncelului, Emperor Francis decided that all discovered coins, or those to be discovered, would be delivered to the Numismatic Cabinet in Vienna⁹.

The coins identified following the excavations of 1803 originally reached Sibişel, where inspector Bodoki resided. On 30 September, the Treasury ordered that the objects be sent from Sibişel to Hunedoara¹⁰, and from there to Vienna¹¹.

Coin finds following the campaign of 1804

The situation of the finds in the following year was much better. In 1804, excavations commenced on 5 May 1804 and ended on 27 October. This time, 14 miners were involved, and reports were drafted on a weekly basis and in much more detail. The signatories of the accounts were the Mining Intendent I. Molitor and the scribe of the Tricesimal Office at Deva, L. Barta. The first coins identified that year were under the care of an officer in the Splényi infantry regiment, who, together with 33 soldiers, supervised and supported the excavations at Grădiştea Muncelului¹². The domain Administration body subsequently requested that all valuable pieces be sent to Hunedoara, weekly, together with the excavation report. From Hunedoara, they were sent to Vienna on 21 December 1804, accompanied by an inventory note, signed by J. J. Zörnlaib, Administrator of the domain.

We shall present below the finds, as recorded in the original documents, in the chronological order of their listing, as well as the excerpt of the inventory note referencing the coins.

1) 23 June 1804, Grădiştea Muncelului¹³.

„Es wurden in dieser Woche von zwey Gemeinen-Mann des hierortigen Sicherheits K. Militair-Comando 2 Cosonische Dukaten eine Spanne tief in der schon lang angegrabenen Erde gefunden“.

Bögözi's plan, since the numbering of the area in the drawing coincides with that in the report. A similar plan, drawn by under officer A. Szóts, is dispatched on 31 December 1804 by the Administration of the domain to the Treasury, and in February 1805 was presented to the Imperial Chamber. The five areas, noted from A to E, are as follows: A - the fortification; B - the building south the fortification; C - the granaries terrace; D - the pentagonal tower; E - the pond.

⁹ Jakó 1971, 447.

¹⁰ Jakó 1971, 447.

¹¹ In P. Török's possession were, at some point, several Lysimachi and Kosons confiscated from the villagers in the area, as he recorded it in his report of 26 August 1803 (Jakó 1971, 444). He imprinted in wax some of these coins prior further delivering them, as per a letter addressed to Gh. Aranka in 1806 (Jakó 1973, 636).

¹² Jakó 1972, 591.

¹³ Jakó 1972, 591.

“This week were found two ducats of Koson type by two common individuals in the Royal military corps, at one palm deep, in the previously disturbed earth.”

2) 7 July 1804, Grădiștea Muncelului¹⁴.

„In der Festung eine vermutlich alte kupfer Münze“.

“Inside the fortress, an ancient coin, likely of copper.”

„(...) beim Waschwerk in der abgewaschenen Erde, 1 Spann tief, durch Bergmann Repinski 2 Kosonishce Dukaten“.

“Upon earth cleaning, in the washed earth, at a palm deep, two ducats of Koson type discovered by miner Repinski.”

3) 14 July 1804, Grădiștea Muncelului¹⁵.

„Beim Waschwerk wiederum 2 Cosonische Dukaten“.

“Upon earth cleaning, again two ducats of Koson type.”

4) 28 July 1804, Grădiștea Muncelului¹⁶.

„Gegen Mittag beim Stadt-Thor, wo die Mauer 1 Klafter tief in der Erde liegt (...) eine erdene, grobe Schüssel voller Pech, welche mit einem Quadrat-Ziegel zugedeckt war, und unter dieser Schüssel eine silberne Münze, woran auf einer Seite ein Pferd sichtbar ist, auf der andere vielleicht alte Buchstaben“.

“Southwards, near the fortress gate, where the wall is about one fathom in the ground, (...) a coarse clay vessel, full of pitch, covered with a square brick, and below it, a silver coin, with a horse visible on one of the sides and on the other side, possibly some ancient letters.”

„Bei der Militair-Wacht gegen Sebeshely wurde 1 Klafter breit ein Schramm gerissen und nur ein Schuh tief in der schon oft aufgegrabenen Erde 4 Cozonische Dukaten gefunden, weiter aber in der Erde hinein nichts“.

“Near the military guard, towards Sibișel, a furrow of approximately one fathom and one foot deep was dug and, in the ground already dug [by others], were identified 4 ducats of Koson type, then nothing else was found in the ground.”

5) 11 August 1804, Grădiștea Muncelului¹⁷.

„Beim errichteten Waschwerk wurde durch Waschen 1 Kozonischer Dukat gefunden“.

„Upon earth cleaning, when washed, a ducat of Koson type was found.”

6) 20 October 1804, Grădiștea Muncelului¹⁸.

„Es wurde in dem neben entdeckten Gebäu gegen Mittag (...), eine messingene, oder mit Kupfer vermischte, vermutlich römische Münze gefunden, welche auf einer Seite einen gekrönten Kopf und um etliche fällig halbverdorbene lateinische Buchstaben hat, auf der andere Seite einen kaum sichtbaren Ritter unten mit diesen zwey lateinischen Buchstaben S C und um mehreren fast vom Alter ausgelöschten, von welchen diese lesbahr sind S.T.Q.R.O.P”.

“In the building discovered nearby, southwards, was found a coin, likely Roman, of brass or mixed copper, which on one side has a crowned head and all around

¹⁴ Jakó 1972, 594.

¹⁵ Jakó 1972, 595.

¹⁶ Jakó 1972, 597.

¹⁷ Jakó 1972, 599.

¹⁸ Jakó 1973, 619.

half damaged Latin letters, and on the other side a poorly visible knight below who are two Latin letters, S C, and around there are letters worn by time and of which S.T.Q.R.O.P. are legible.”

7) 21 December 1804, Hunedoara¹⁹.

„(...) wird in dem Anschlusse die Specification deren zu Gredistye gefundenen und gesamleten Alterthümer nebst einem Verschlag worunter auch 12 Stück kozonische Ducaten, 1 alte Silber-Münz und 1 versilbertes Kupferbattl separierter beiliegen ... überstendet“.

“This is forwarded as ending to the specification of the antiquities found and gathered at Grădiște, together with a box where there are separately 12 pieces of ducats of Koson type, 1 ancient silver coin, 1 silver plated copper tablet.”

[Under number 51] „1 Stück altes silbernes Münz, im Berichte als Kupfer beschreiben, untern 7 Jul. 1804“.

“1 silver ancient coin, in the report of 7 July 1804 mentioned as of copper.”

[Under number 58] „12 Stück Kozonische Ducaten, nebst 1 Silber-Münz und versilbertem Kupferblatte“.

“12 ducats of Koson type, together with a silver coin and a silver plated copper tablet.”

It results, from the above, that 11 Kosons, a silver coin and two bronze coins were discovered. The final report mentions though 12 Kosons. It is possible that the twelfth Koson was found in the week 26 August-1 September 1804, the only interval in the respective year for which Jakó could not find the excavation report²⁰.

Another inconsistency between the reports and Zörnlaib's list is the silver piece under number 51, of which we are told in the inventory, that it was reported on 7 July, however in bronze. Under number 58, together with the Koson, appears a second silver coin, definitely the one mentioned in the report of 28 July. It is possible that in the report of 7 July an error was made, caused by the rushed examination of the coin, which might have appeared of bronze at first sight. Once reached Hunedoara, the coin was once again examined and framed as silver coin, yet without further details.

Noticeably, in 1804, most of the coin finds are represented by Kosons. Unfortunately, there is no clear indication on their find spot: five specimens come from the washed excavation earth, two were found in the previously dug ground and four near the guard from Sibişel, at a depth of one foot, still in the already excavated earth. The earth was brought for washing from several places of excavation: the fortress plateau, terrace IV (in the current numbering scheme of the terraces), the fortress wall (eastern and western gates and an excavation on the west side, northwards), the granary, the terrace X (spring area), terrace XI (the overflow canal and the terrace wall), the pentagonal tower and the building south the fortification²¹. One cannot determine with precision either the area with deranged earth, mentioned in

¹⁹ Jakó 1973, 625-627.

²⁰ Text 25 refers to the period 19-25 August and text 26 to the period 2-8 September, see Jakó 1972, 600. In-between these two there must have been another report.

²¹ Information corroborated also with the plan published by C. Daicoviciu (Daicoviciu, Ferenczi 1951, Fig. 21), recording the early 19th century excavation traces.

the report of 23 June, or the location of the military guard “Sibișel-wards”. Though the reports provide no detailed data, the recovery of the information that some of the found Kosons come from the fortress and that they represent isolated finds is still very much valuable. This changes the picture over a by excellence treasured coinage, found only outside the fortress.

The Kosons reached for sure the Numismatic Cabinet of Vienna, as the emperor requested. When in 1912 the first inventory of the Kosons (which were spread in various collections) was published, at Vienna were kept 14 of such coins²², of which 12 had to come from the excavations at Grădiștea Muncelului, unless they were transferred to another location over one century, and the Cabinet kept Kosons from other sources as well²³. Interestingly, of the 14 coins in the imperial collection, six display striking peculiarities, recording an obvious clumsiness in their making: three have a doubled image on the reverse due to recurrent striking, two of them display engraving errors, and one is “barbarised”²⁴. If 12 of the 14 coins come from Grădiște, this means that at least four of the six rudimentarily made coins should belong to the lot dispatched from Hunedoara.

The information concerning the discovery of Kosons during the excavations carried out by the Austrian tax authorities is surprising, since no such coins had been recorded insofar but as chance finds, or following poaching, most grouped in hoards located outside the fortress²⁵. Isolated finds are rare and deemed displacements of the great hoards discovered in the previous centuries or coming as early as Antiquity from the spoils subsequent the conquest of Sarmizegetusa Regia²⁶. Useless to add, the Koson finds following the campaign of 1804 dismiss the hypothesis, recently formulated, on this coin type belonging to the Medieval period, as production of some Antiquity affectionates²⁷.

The coin reported on 7 July as made of bronze was later re-evaluated, as mentioned above, and in the inventory of December 1804 it appears listed as in silver. There is no other detail in aid of its determination. Concerning the find spot, we only know it comes from inside the fortress, without any further specifications. We also know from previous reports that up to that date, excavations were carried out on the fortress plateau, where two trenches were excavated in a cross, on terrace IV, not far from the eastern gate, and in two places by the fortress wall, on the interior (by the eastern gate and western side). Even though we cannot further restrict the find area, these four possibilities are to be considered.

²² M. Bahrfeldt *apud* Winkler 1972, 174.

²³ Unfortunately, the Numismatic Cabinet of Vienna has no information on the origin of the 14 Kosons, the oldest mention in inventories dating starting with 1875 (information given by Dr. Klaus Vondrovec, curator of the Ancient Coins Department of the Numismatic Cabinet of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, whom we hereby thank for his kindness). Therefore, we can only state with certainty that those coins entered the collections of the Cabinet prior this date.

²⁴ Winkler 1972, 175-177.

²⁵ The inventory of finds with Winkler 1972, 173-174; Preda 1973, 354-355; Glodariu 1974, 300; Preda 1998, 230-231; Munteanu 2004, 267-270; Petolescu 2011, 18-20. None of these inventories include the items discovered in the excavations carried out by the Austrian tax authorities.

²⁶ Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 1990, 92.

²⁷ Preda 1998, 226 sqq.; Preda 2008 s.v. *koson*. Other arguments against this hypothesis in Cojocaru et alii 2000; Gheorghiu 2005, 193; Vilcu 2010, 803-804.

The silver coin of 28 July was found by the fortress wall, in a relatively well defined context. This was the excavation of a wall portion near the western gate, south of it, where a clay vessel, full of pitch covered with a square brick, was identified. The coin was deposited under the vessel's bottom. In the same spot were also identified: much slag, brick pieces, tin, lead and copper pieces, iron and copper tablets, glass pieces, nails, an iron knife, a silver plated copper ringed item and other. This inventory could point to the existence, on that spot, of a metal processing workshop. Such a discovery should not be surprising, since the route of the wall intersects, on its southern segment, a Roman smithy discovered in 1987 (which, at its turn, overlaps a Dacian coin workshop) and also a Dacian building, nearby the western gate²⁸.

The item is described as silver-made, with a horse visible on one side, and "ancient letters" legible on the other side. It is hard to determine to which coinage type it belongs, however it is not excluded for it to be a Dacian coin of Hunedoara type, as in fact discovered once more on the same southern side of the fortification, south the coin workshop, still underneath the wall route²⁹. The find context would plead for the same direction, although one should bear in mind that the layer the find belonged to is unknown. The position of the coin under the pitch vessel may bear significance, yet whatever it was, it is hard to establish more precisely³⁰. Both silver coins were sent to Vienna.

Finally, the bronze coin reported on 20 October presents better circumstances concerning its find spot and description. It was identified in the building south the fortress, later deemed Roman bath, yet the report does not specify the room. The inscription on the obverse could not be read by the finders; however a crowned head was visible. A rider could be seen on the reverse, in the exergue the initials *S C*, and around the figure the letters *S T Q R O P*, which evidently must be read *SPQR OP[TIMO PRINCIPI]*. This is obviously a sesterce issued under Trajan, after 103, celebrating the victory against the Dacians (RIC II, p. 282, no. 534-537, 543, Roma, AD 103-111)³¹. It's the latest coin found at Grădiștea Muncelului until now³². It was likely brought by the Romans stationed there either in-between the wars or after 106³³. After the cease of the excavations, likely the bronze coin remained with the Administration of the Hunedoara domain, together with other small value objects.

²⁸ Glodariu 1995, 109.

²⁹ Glodariu 1995, 109.

³⁰ Benea 2004, 14 tends to deem it still as a Dacian coin, possibly ritually deposited under the vessel.

³¹ We wish to thank this way Professor Radu Ardevan for his support in determining the coin. Benea 2004, 17 deems it as an unidentified Roman imperial coin.

³² At least four other coins from Trajan are mentioned in the literature as originating in the site at Grădiștea Muncelului: a denarius, without the title *Dacicus*, on the fireplace of a house in the western settlement (Daicovicu et alii 1952, 306); a sesterce issued in 101-102, found in the circular house where the vessel inscribed *Decebalus per Scorilo* was also found (Daicovicu et alii 1954, 202); two asses coming from the fortress plateau, one being issued in 98-102, and the other having an illegible legend (Florea, Suci 2004, 65, notes 7 and 8). A coin dating back to Trajan, bearing the title *Dacicus Maximus*, was mentioned by Daicovicu et alii 1989, 160, but with an erroneous reference to Crișan, Ferenczi 1973, 67-68, where there is no record of the coin.

³³ A *dupondius* with the same legend on the obverse, yet with other representations, dated to the same interval (AD 103-111), was discovered at Costești-Cetățuie, see Macrea 1936, 158.

The above picture could be completed by following certain investigations of the archives, by recovering the missing reports: the two reports from 1803, and the one from September 1804. Thus, the coins reported on the occasion of the early 19th century excavations could be a significant part of the long expected catalogue of the coin finds from Grădiștea Muncelului.

The inventory of the coin finds from Grădiștea Muncelului, reported during the excavation campaigns of 1803-1804

No.	Report date	Find spot	Monetary type	No. of pcs.
1.	10 September 1803	Close to the ruins	Lysimach	?
2.	23 June 1804	In the earth previously disturbed by the villagers	Golden Koson	2
3.	7 July 1804	Inside the fortress	Silver, undetermined	1
4.	7 July 1804	Washed excavation earth	Golden Koson	2
5.	14 July 1804	Washed excavation earth	Golden Koson	2
6.	28 July 1804	Southern side of the fortress wall	Silver, undetermined, possibly Dacian	1
7.	28 July 1804	Nearby the guard from Sibîșel-wards	Golden Koson	4
8.	11 August 1804	Washed excavation earth	Golden Koson	1
9.	1 September 1804?	?	Golden Koson	1
10.	20 October 1804	Building south the fortification	bronze, sesterce Trajan, AD 103-111	1

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Aurora Pețan

"Babeș-Bolyai" University, Cluj-Napoca

apetan@gmail.com

THE CULT OF VENUS WITHIN THE FORTS FROM DACIA

ADRIANA ANTAL¹

Abstract: According to archaeologically identified contexts and the features of specific materials, the cult of goddess Venus may be divided into public and private. Discovered within forts, houses, sacred or funerary spaces, terracotta statuettes and most statuettes made in bronze rather belong to the private side of the cult, while inscriptions and stone statues are related to the public cult of Venus. Compared to other gods in the Roman pantheon, the figured material of Venus's cult is by far the most frequent among the finds in Dacia. This general statistics is also valid in the particular case of the forts. The figured material was found disparate, in various locations within the forts, yet statuettes predominate being identified in barracks, space of choice for the private cult. For their own benefit, in the private space, soldiers worshiped Venus for her primary attributes: goddess of love and marriage, protectress of life against death. Some inscriptions mentioning Venus, though not identified inside the forts perimeter, have soldiers as dedicants. These inscriptions belong rather to the public cult. In the official, public cult, Venus was worshipped as ancestor of the imperial family and mother to all Romans. Dedications for the official cult are made in public spaces, as the result of political loyalty and not of piety. The iconography of the imperial couples mimicked the divine couple Mars - Venus, Venus been thus also regarded as a deity leading to victory or army welfare.

Keywords: Venus; fort; statuettes; inscriptions; public; private.

Résumé: A partir des contextes archéologiques identifiés et des types de matériaux spécifiques, le culte du Vénus peut être divisé en public et privé. Découvert dans camps militaire, habitat, espaces sacrés ou funéraire, les statuettes en terre cuite et la majeure partie du bronze appartiennent au culte privé du Vénus. Les inscriptions et les grandes statues semblent appartenir à un culte public. En comparaison avec les autres divinités du panthéon romain, le matériel figuré pour le culte du Vénus est de loin la plus fréquente en Dacie. Cette statistique est valable aussi pour les camps militaires. Le matériel figuré a été trouvé par toute dans les camps mais en particulier dans les casernes, où le culte du Vénus a été essentiellement privé. Pour leur propre bénéfice, dans l'espace privé, les militaires ont adoré Vénus pour ses qualités primaires: déesse de l'amour et le mariage, divinité qui apporte la prolificité et protège la vie contre la mort. Même s'ils ne sont pas trouvés dans les camps, un certain nombre d'inscriptions de Dacie sont dédiés par militaires à Vénus. Ces inscriptions peuvent être attribuées au culte public du Vénus. Dans le culte public Vénus était adoré comme l'ancêtre de la famille impériale et mère de tous Romanes. Les dédicaces pour Venus dans cette case sont faites dans l'espace publique, comme un acte politique de piété. Comme l'épouse de Mars, couple divin souvent imité dans la famille impériale, Vénus était une déesse qui peut apporter la victoire pour Rome et le bien-être de l'armée.

Mots-clés: Venus; *castrum*; inscriptions; statuettes; privé; public.

Rezumat: Pornind de la contextele arheologice și tipurile de materiale specifice, cultul zeiței Venus poate fi împărțit în public și privat. Descoperite în castre, complexe de habitat, spații sacre sau funerare, statuetele de teracotă și o mare parte a celor din bronz aparțin cultului privat al zeiței. Inscricțiunile cu dedicații pentru Venus și marile statui aparțin cultului public.

¹ This work was possible with the financial support of the Sectoral Operational Programme for Human Resources Development 2007-2013, co-financed by the European Social Fund, under project number POSDRU/107/1.5/S/77946 with the title "Doctorate: an Attractive Research Career".

În comparație cu alte divinități din panteonul roman, materialul figurat din cultul Venerei este de departe cel mai frecvent în Dacia. Această statistică este valabilă și în cazul particular al descoperirilor din castre. Materialul figurat acoperă întreg teritoriul unui castru, fiind găsit mai ales în barăci, acolo unde cultul pentru Venus a fost unul predominant privat. Pentru propriul beneficiu, în spațiul privat, soldații au venerat-o pe Venus pentru atributele sale primare: zeiță a dragostei și căsătoriei, divinitate protectoare a prolificității și a vieții contra morții. Chiar dacă nu au fost găsite în interiorul castrelor, unele inscripții sunt dedicate de soldați, făcând parte cel mai probabil din cultul public al zeiței. Venus era adorată în cultul public ca strămoș al familiei imperiale și mamă a tuturor romanilor. În acest caz, dedicațiile pentru Venus sunt făcute în spațiul public, fiind rezultatul unui act politic de pietate. Ca și parteneră a lui Mars, formând un cuplu divin frecvent imitat în reprezentările cuplurilor imperiale, Venus a fost adorată ca zeiță care aduce victoria pentru Roma și asigură bunăstarea armatei.

Cuvinte cheie: Venus; castru auxiliar; statuete; inscripții; public; privat.

Goddess Venus is consistently present in the province of Dacia, as shown by archaeological finds. Among Greek and Roman divinities, figured representations of Venus represent 80% of the total in terracotta, 24% of those in bronze and 5% in stone. Despite the many figured representations, the presence of Venus in inscriptions is rare, only 2% of the total inscriptions recording gods. Archaeological context may be specified only for half of the total of over 260 items discovered in Dacia. According to the find spot, the 130 items may be divided in four large categories: 1. domestic contexts, designating especially the living space (*villae rusticae*, *villae suburbanae*, city houses, *canabae* or *vici*); 2. military contexts, especially the forts; 3. cult contexts, namely temples and sanctuaries; 4. funerary contexts, more specifically, cemeteries and monuments associated to the funerary space.

Most Venus statuettes were found in military contexts, respectively within forts² (approximately 34%) (Pl. I.), followed by the cult contexts (33%)³ and domestic contexts (26%), funerary contexts being less represented (7%) (Fig. 1)⁴. The high percentage of finds within forts may be the result of either a real historical situation, like the case of other provinces, or that of an incipient stage in the archaeological research of other site types, excavations carried out in the forts of Dacia being more frequent than those performed in settlements or cemeteries. In what the manufacturing material of the statuettes is concerned, the majority are of terracotta (57%), followed by bronze (37%) and marble (only 9%). In terms of sizes, only a few statuettes exceed 15 cm in height.

² This study considers 44 marble, bronze and terracotta statuettes found in the forts at: Bologa (Cluj county), Buciumi (Sălaj county), *Samum-Cășeiu* (Cluj county), Cioroiul Nou (Olt county), *Cumidava-Râșnov* (Brașov county); *Drobeta* (Mehedinți county), Gherla (Cluj county), Gilău (Cluj county), Hinova (Mehedinți county), Ilișua (Bistrița-Năsăud county), Jidava-Câmpulung (Argeș county), *Porolissum-Moigrad* (Sălaj county), *Potaissa-Turda* (Cluj county), Răcari (Brădești, Dolj county), Tibiscum (Caraș-Severin county), *Micia-Vețel* (Hunedoara county). Finds are more numerous, yet only a part has been published.

³ The large number of the statuettes in cult contexts is due to the finds from the sanctuary of Liber Pater at Apulum - 31 statuettes of the 42 total originating from cult contexts.

⁴ Each drawing herein was made by the author.

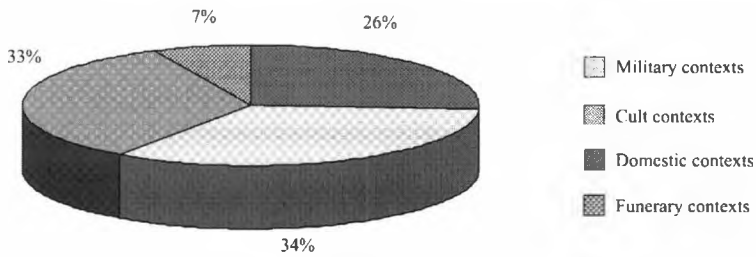


Fig. 1. Distribution of material upon discovery contexts.

Iconographical types these statuettes copy belong to the major statuary. One would expect that within the military environment, goddess Venus would appear armed and as *Victrix*⁵, yet the type does not appear at all in the statuary of Dacia (Fig. 2 a). In Dacia, Venus in the aspect of *Victrix* appears only on coins and a few gems, standing in a battle chariot, crowned by Amor⁶. The type Venus *Victrix* is rarely found in statuary all over the Roman empire. Circumstances of another type associated to victory, Venus *Felix*⁷ (Fig. 2 b) are similar. The statuary type is represented by only a few statuettes in Dacia⁸. In the symbolic of *Venera Felix*, on coins, palm leaves and garlands signify victory, while the crown and sceptre represent authority.

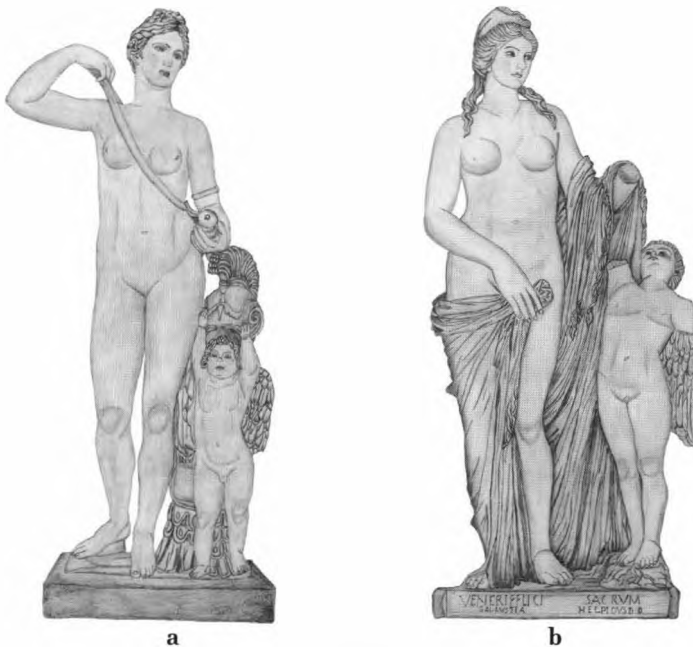


Fig. 2. a. Venus *Victrix*; b. Venus *Felix*.

⁵ LIMC, VIII/1, 211-212; Flemberg 1991, 110-114.

⁶ Marinescu 1960, 528, Fig. 2/31; Marinescu 1965, 84, Pl. 1, Fig. 3.

⁷ LIMC, VIII/1, 203.

⁸ Alicu, Pop, Wolmann 1979, 95, Pl. CXXXV; Nemeş 1987, 488-490, Fig. 1/a, b; Bondoc, Dincă 2005,

Most frequent representations belong to types *Venus Capitolina* (Fig. 4 a-b), *Cnidos* (Fig. 3 a-b), *Anadyomene* (Fig. 4 c-d) or *Genetrix* (Fig. 3 c), the goddess being depicted both nude and semi-nude⁹.

Differences between minor statuary and major statuary models are occasionally so high that original models are hard to identify. In general, such differences consist in simplified representation: facial details are no longer emphasized; anatomical proportions are disregarded; changes are made (for instance, the position of the hands is in most cases reversed, the right hand slides along the body with the palm turned to the viewer); certain elements (*hydria*) are no longer represented, while others (crown usually held in the left hand) are added etc. Only a few of the statuettes are more carefully worked, like those in bronze from Gilău (no. 21)¹⁰, Drobeta¹¹ (no. 13) and Porolissum¹² (no. 33), the terracotta statuettes from Buciumi (no. 4)¹³ and Gherla (no. 18-19)¹⁴. Bronze and terracotta statuettes are mass produced, some being made in the workshops nearby forts. Obviously, the three marble representations are clearly superior in execution compared to the others.

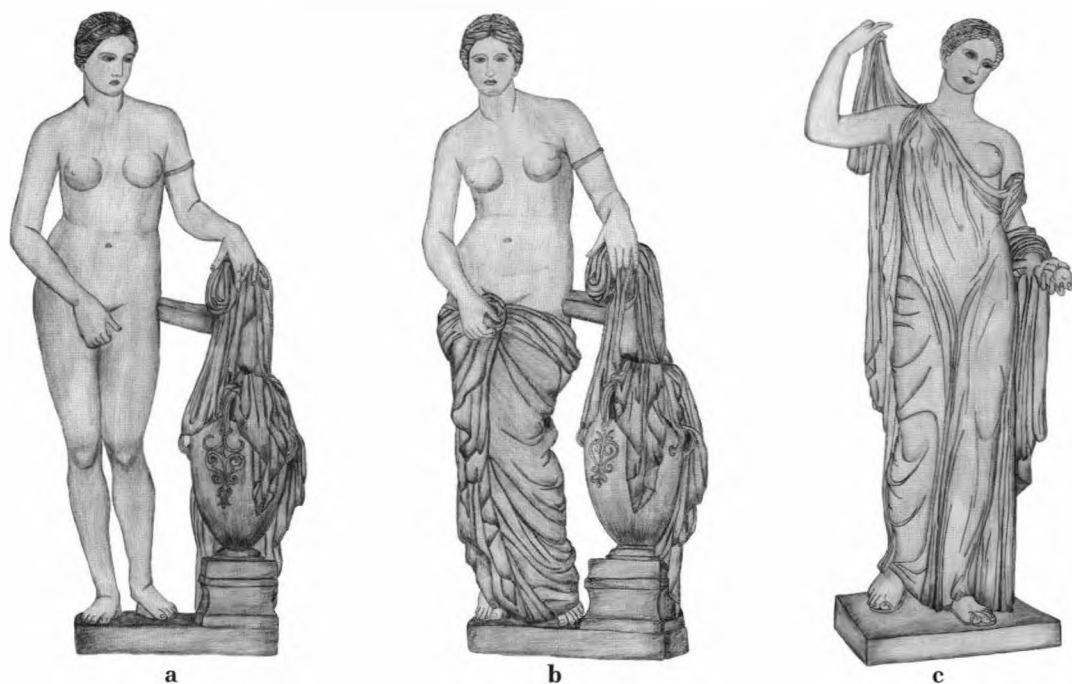


Fig. 3. a-b. *Venus Cnidos*; c. *Venus Genetrix*.

From the point of view of fort types with finds, no differentiations between legionary fortresses and auxiliary forts can be inferred. The location of the statuettes inside

⁹ LIMC, VIII/1, 196-198, 202, 204, 206.

¹⁰ Isac 1977, 163-170; Pop 1998, 317, no. 4, Pl. IX/5; Marinescu, Pop 2000, 86, no. 93, Pl. 50.

¹¹ Bărcăcilă 1934, 21, no. 9c, Fig. 27; Marinescu 1988, 70, no. 24; Pop 1998, 318, no. 12, Pl. X/3.

¹² Gudea 1986, Fig. 14; Gudea 1997a, 26/71; Marinescu, Pop 2000, 97, no. 113, Pl. 60.

¹³ Chirilă, Gudea, Pop 1972, 108, no. 4, Pl. CXXXI/3; Ungurean 2008, 157, no. 59.

¹⁴ Alicu, Szöke, Pop 1997, 40, 81; Protase, Gudea, Ardevan 2008, 100, Pl. LXXIII-LXXIV.

the forts is diverse, finds covering practically the entire fort surface: barracks - Buciumi (no. 4-6)¹⁵, Hinova (no. 24-25)¹⁶, Porolissum (no. 34)¹⁷, Tibiscum (no. 31)¹⁸; *horrea* - Micia (no. 42)¹⁹; *principia* - Potaissa (no. 40)²⁰; *praetorium* - Bologna (nos. 1-2)²¹; *retentura sinistra* - Gherla (no. 17)²², Porolissum (no. 33)²³; *via sagularis* - Micia (no. 44)²⁴; *praetentura sinistra* - Gilău (nos. 21-23)²⁵; *porta praetoria* - Ilișua (no. 26)²⁶; *porta principalis dextra* - Jidava (no. 29)²⁷; *porta principalis sinistra* - Tibiscum (no. 30)²⁸ or *via principalis* - Porolissum (nos. 35-36)²⁹, Răcari (no. 37)³⁰.

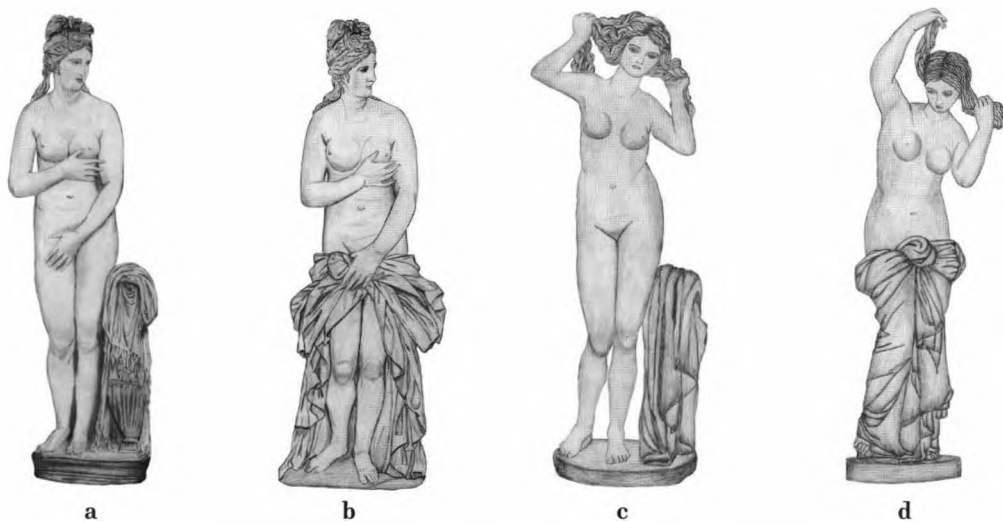


Fig. 4. a-b. Venus Capitolina; c-d. Venus Anadyomene.

Some of goddess Venus statuettes found within forts belong to the public cult, while other to that private. An official cult requires official space, a consecrated cult place, where statuettes would be displayed *ex-voto*. From *aedes principiorum*, storing standards, altars and emperor statues³¹ comes only one find, that in the fort at Potaissa. Inside forts, two possible cult locations were identified in Dacia - at Pojejena³² and

¹⁵ Chirilă, Gudea, Pop 1972, 108, nos. 2-4, Pl. CXXXI/1-3; Ungurean 2008, 157-158, nos. 59-61.

¹⁶ Davidescu 1989, 86, Fig. XXIX /a, b; Marinescu, Pop 2000, 316, 318, nos. 1, 16, Pl. IX/1, XI/2.

¹⁷ Gudea 1996, 227, Pl. LI/3; Gudea 1997a, 29/71.

¹⁸ Benea 2001, 275; Ungurean 2008, 174, no. 135.

¹⁹ Petculescu 1983, 49.

²⁰ Bajusz 1980, 383, no. 662; Bajusz 2005, 674, Fig. 44/91; Ungurean 2008, 230, no. 408.

²¹ Gudea, Pop, 1972, 137, Fig. 17/4, 9; Ungurean 2008, 157, nos. 57-58.

²² Gramatopol 1982, 184, Pl. X/8; Marinescu 1994, 277, no. 36, Fig. 5; Pop 1998, 318, no. 15, Pl. XI/1.

²³ Gudea 1986, Fig. 14; Gudea 1997a, 26/71; Marinescu, Pop 2000, 97, no. 113, Pl. 60.

²⁴ Marinescu 1979, 405-408; Marinescu, Pop 2000, 59, no. 112, Pl. 59.

²⁵ Isac 1977, 163-170; Isac 1997, 8, 70; Marinescu, Pop 2000, 86, no. 93, Pl. 50.

²⁶ Protase, Marinescu 1977, 42, 70; Marinescu, Pop 2000, 92, no. 103, Pl. 55.

²⁷ Popescu 2004, 90.

²⁸ Benea, Bona 1994, 107, 112; Alicu, Szöke, Pop 1997, 40, no. 245; Ungurean 2008, 173, no. 133.

²⁹ Gudea 1986, 48, 109; Gudea, Tamba 2005, 472, no. 6, Fig. 1; Ștefănescu 2009, 69.

³⁰ Florescu 1931, 22-23, no. 4, Fig. 14; Tătulea 1994, Fig. 35/2; Ungurean 2008, 188, no. 206.

³¹ Domaszewski 1895, 9-10; Helgeland 1978, 1476; Marcu 2010, 75.

³² Gudea, Bozu 1977, 128.

Tibiscum³³ -, both dedicated to the worship of Mithras, none for goddess Venus. The existence of a location inside the fort where soldiers would revere various gods, the *auguratorium*, placed between *praetorium* and *via principalis*, was rather supposed than archaeologically identified. The association of certain Venus statuette discovered in this area with such a cult space is highly hypothetical.

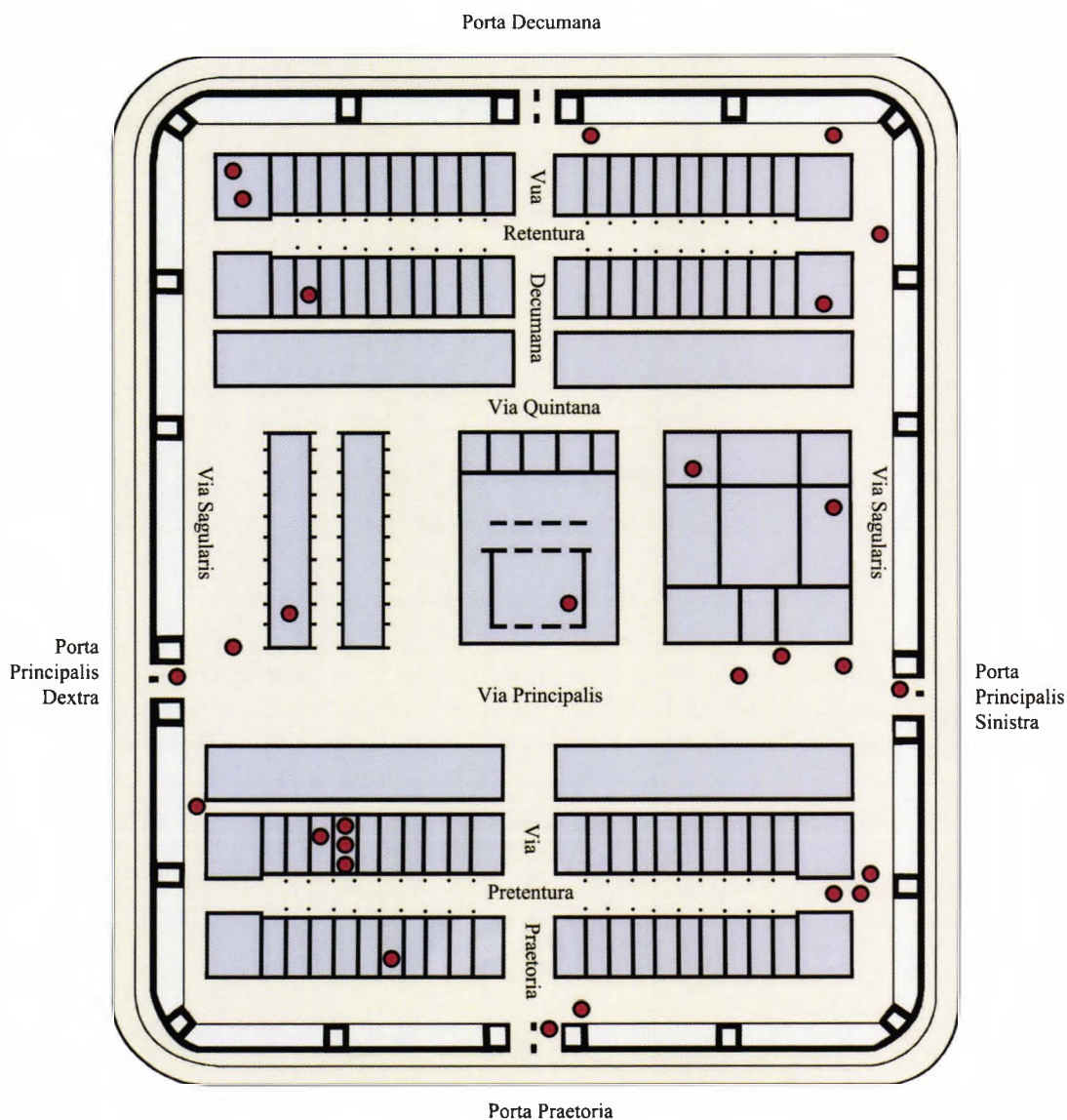


Fig. 5. Distribution of finds within forts (according to Johnson 1983, Fig. 19).

A possible public cult of goddess Venus within forts may be related to the imperial cult and its attribute as goddess-mother to the Romans and the imperial family.

³³ Benea, Bona 1994, 50.

Some of the imperial couples copy the divine couple Mars - Venus, the emperor and spouse posing as two divine protectors of the Empire³⁴. The best examples to this effect are Hadrian and Sabina or Commodus and Crispina³⁵. Venus associated with Mars are two fundamental virtues of the Roman religion: *felicitas* and *victoria*. In this aspect, Venus's role is not to disarm Mars, but to participate in his actions, in the service of Rome. This warlike emphasized side of Venus is mirrored in some of the late epithets, like Venus *Martialis*³⁶. In addition, Venus is frequently associated to another warlike god, Hercules.

Occasionally, only empresses are associated to Venus, the goddess being deemed personal ancestor or as the goddess of beauty and fertility. Coins issues with the face of the empress and goddess Venus as *Victrix* on the reverse are many. In other cases, empresses are portrayed by statues in various aspects of Venus, being worshiped after death *in formam deorum*. *Post mortem*, in Puteoli Iulia Domna is also deified as goddess Venus *Caelestis*³⁷. Noticeably, some of these empresses associated to Venus, like Faustina Minor³⁸, Iulia Domna or Iulia Mamaea, also receive epithet *Mater Castrorum*.

The goddess popularity within the military environment is also recorded by the consecration of a legion, X Veneria, just after Caesar deemed the goddess the ancestor of gens Iulia. Noticeably, the symbol of the legion was the bull³⁹, which was also chosen by other Caesar's legions like VII and VIII Augusta or X Gemina. The bull is the zodiac sign associated to Venus, much previous the emergence of the Mithraism in the Empire, symbol of procreation and life⁴⁰. The symbol is later adopted by legions III Gallica, III Macedonica or V Macedonica. This would constitute an additional argument for the popularity of the goddess at Potaissa.

Even though no inscription put in honour of goddess Venus was identified within forts, of the nine found in Dacia, four may be related to the military environment and the official cult. These are the inscriptions from Napoca⁴¹, Băile Herculane⁴², Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa⁴³ and Apulum⁴⁴, the dedicants exercising the public offices of *decurion* or *procurator*. In fact, all the nine inscriptions from Dacia may be almost entirely assigned to the public cult, Venus being worshipped with epithets like *Victrix*, *Augusta* or *Ubique*.

According to the location of the finds within forts, one may argue that the cult of Venus was rather disorganised than organised. An obvious cluster of finds was not identified around a possible place of public worship, but in the barracks, area which is mainly private. Materials found in barracks are rather the result of personal devotion

³⁴ Aymard 1934, 178-196.

³⁵ Kleiner 1981, 538, Pl. XXVI/9.

³⁶ CIL XI 5165.

³⁷ Mikocki 1995, 70.

³⁸ Boatwright 2003, 249-268.

³⁹ Lawrence 1984, 139.

⁴⁰ Clebert 1995, s.v. *taurus*, 294.

⁴¹ CIL III 00864.

⁴² CIL III 1567; IDR III/1, 68.

⁴³ AE 1998, 1101; Piso 1998, 264, no. 14; ILD 278.

⁴⁴ CIL III 1157; IDR III/5, 363.

than of duty-requested obligations. There, the goddess was worshipped for her primary attributes, those powerfully influenced by the Greek Aphrodite.

The statuettes present in the private military environment are neither due to the fact they are made of a cheap material, accessible to anybody, nor to its function as the depiction of beauty, field pertaining by excellence to Venus. The deposition of a statuette, in agreement with the contractual character of the Roman religion, could be made only in the hope of materialising a love request or as a reward, following its fulfilment beside other gifts and offerings. One should not neglect the healing function of Venus. Her association in inscriptions with Aesculapius or Hygia likely references certain “amorous” diseases the soldiers might have suffered from, for the healing of which the one “causing” the disease in the first place had to be persuaded. Not by accident, a Venus terracotta was found in the legionary hospital at Novae⁴⁵.

Venus was also worshipped as protectress of life against death. This attribute of the goddess is underlined by the pendant she occasionally wears, the *lunula*, a symbol of Moon’s phases, of the idea that life triumphs over death⁴⁶. The association of the Moon with the funerary space is based on certain beliefs according to which the souls of the dead go to the Moon, to the Elysian Fields. The diffusion of this symbol within the Empire was most likely done via soldiers coming from the East. Thus, the Moon appears rendered when also referencing the Eastern triad (Babylonian): Moon (Sin), Sun (Shamash) and Venus (Ishtar)⁴⁷. The goddess is also known as patron of fecundity and fertility not only human, but also agrarian, which might explain the emergence of her statuettes in forts barns.

By *interpretio Romana*, a series of deities of the populations incorporated within the Empire, whose worship rather concerns the private field, may be regarded as Venus. Many of the recruited soldiers bring with themselves their own gods, some foreign to the official Roman pantheon. A good example to this effect is the fort at Carnuntum, where cults for Venus *Victrix* (likely disguised as Venus *Heliopolitana*), Jupiter *Heliopolitanus* and Mercurius *Augustus* were recorded. In fact, behind this triad lie the tutelary gods of Heliopolis, Venus *Victrix* or *Heliopolitana* being in fact goddess Astarte⁴⁸. This would explain the large number of inscriptions from the Danubian provinces dedicated to Jupiter or Mercurius. Dedications to Jupiter *Heliopolitanus* are also made by the centurions of legion XIII Gemina⁴⁹ and those in IV Flavia Felix⁵⁰ in the fort at Micia. Venus *Heliopolitana* is yet missing from the repertoire of divinities identified insofar in Dacia.

In conclusion, the overall view concerning the environment where the cult of goddess Venus was carried out in Dacia clearly points out that the figured material belongs most frequently to the military environment. The proper situation is not the result of a likely state of research of the archaeological sites from Dacia, but

⁴⁵ Popescu 2004, 90.

⁴⁶ Ungurean 2008, 86.

⁴⁷ Cumont 1966, 211.

⁴⁸ Birley 1978, 1520; Speidel 1984, 2228; Kremer 2005, 449-450, Fig. 4.

⁴⁹ IDR III/2, 243; IDR III/3, 96.

⁵⁰ IDR III/3, 95.

records a historical phenomenon. This is also found in other Roman provinces. The cult material for goddess Venus also abounds in other forts of the Empire, especially in the provinces which, alike Dacia, were strongly militarised (Germania, Britannia, Pannonia).

Given the poor artistic quality of the representations, they were not used as simple decoration objects, but carried an intrinsic cult value. Their modelling attempted to render stereotype gestures, which were not supposed to be detailed. The significance of gestures and not their fine rendering made them important. The right palm downwards might be the gesture by which the divinity welcomed her worshippers, while the reversed gesture with the upward palm might be the sign of offering blessings to the believers. According to this view, the fact that fingers are only sketched is of no great importance.

Statuettes in the military environment were mainly identified in the barracks area, a space closest to what a private area means to a civil environment. The significance of the cult performed there is also close to that completed in the private environment outside fort walls. As such, Venus is worshiped for her primary attributes: protectress of human or agrarian prolificacy, goddess of love or keeper of life against death.

Inscriptions having soldiers as dedicants, even though discovered outside the forts, is indicative of the fact that they worshiped Venus also in the public space. In addition, inscriptions indirectly record that Venus was also revered collectively, her attributions being other than those in the private filed, rather complementary than different. In public, the soldiers' attitude to Venus is one profoundly politicised. Venus appears early as an ancestor of the imperial family, later becoming mother to all Romans. Moreover, imperial couples mirror iconographically, *in formam deorum* the divine couple Mars - Venus, alike Hadrian and Sabina or Commodus and Crispina. Her popularity with the imperial house is additionally recorded by certain epithets like *Augusta* or even *Victrix*, the last epithet being in direct relation to the relation of the goddess to Mars. As such, the fact that some empresses received the title *Mater Castrorum* is not surprising. Roman soldiers made dedications in the public space, more visible to the community than that private, rather as the result of a duty task, as an obligation, as a necessity incurred once with the office held. Personal piety is almost excluded from this public cult.

Beyond all these aspects of the cult, it is worthy of mention that Venus also received epithet *Ubique*, the one who is everywhere, above all, attribute of a goddess with general and universal authority. This epithet likely reunites best the two spaces where the cult was performed, the military and private, intimate and personal, with that public, official and impersonal.

Catalogue of finds⁵¹

1. **Bologa** (Cluj county); MIA - Zalău; unspecified inv. no.; fort *praetorium*; terracotta statuette; fine, reddish fabric; h = 4 cm; fragmentary - preserving only the head; unidentified type (Pl. V).
Gudea 1972, 137, Fig. 17/9; Ungurean 2008, 157, no. 57.
2. **Bologa** (Cluj county); MIA - Zalău; unspecified inv. no.; fort *praetorium*; terracotta statuette; reddish-brick fabric; unspecified h; fragmentary - preserving only the shoulder and upper part of the left arm; unidentified type.
Gudea 1972, 137, Fig. 17/4; Ungurean 2008, 157, no. 58.
3. **Bologa** (Cluj county); fort; bronze statuette; no further specifications.
Isac 2001, 178.
4. **Buciumi** (Sălaj county); MIA - Zalău, inv. no. C.C. 144/69; fort, barracks 5; terracotta statuette; grey fabric; h = 15.8 cm; relatively complete, missing base on the right side; type Venus *Anadyomene* semi-nude (Pl. V).
Chirilă, Gudea, Pop 1972, 108, no. 4, Pl. CXXXI/3; Ungurean 2008, 157, no. 59.
5. **Buciumi** (Sălaj county); MIA - Zalău; inv. no. C.C. 273/68; fort, barracks 5; terracotta statuette; reddish fabric; h = 7.3 cm; fragmentary - preserving only from waist down; unidentified type (Pl. IV).
Chirilă, Gudea, Pop 1972, 108, no. 3, Pl. CXXXI/2; Ungurean 2008, 157, no. 60.
6. **Buciumi** (Sălaj county); MIA - Zalău; inv. no. C.C. 378/70; fort, barracks 4; terracotta statuette; brownish-grey fabric, with strong firing traces; h = 16.5 cm; fragmentary - fractured by the middle, part of the right side of the dress and base missing; type Venus *Cnidos*, nude (Pl. V).
Chirilă, Gudea, Pop 1972, 108, no. 2, Pl. CXXXI/1; Ungurean 2008, 158, no. 61.
7. **Buciumi** (Sălaj county); MIA - Zalău; unspecified inv. no.; fort, without any specifications; terracotta statuette; reddish fabric; unspecified h; relatively complete; type Venus *Anadyomene* semi-nude.
Gudea 1997b, 71, Fig. 26; Ungurean 2008, 158, no. 62.
8. **Buciumi** (Sălaj county); MIA - Zalău; inv. no. C.C. 145/69; fort, no further specifications; bronze statuette; artificial green patina; h = 11.9 cm; fragmentary, slightly damaged diadem, base missing; type Venus *Capitolina* semi-nude (Pl. II).
Chirilă, Gudea, Pop 1972, 107-108, no. 1, Pl. CXXX; Miclea, Florescu 1980, 242-244; Pop 1998, 320, no. 32, Pl. XIV/3; Marinescu, Pop 2000, 98-99, no. 117, Pl. 61.
9. **Cășeiu-Samum** (Cluj county); MI - Dej; inv. no. 128; fort, no further specifications; marble statuette; h = 31 cm; fragmentary, preserving lower part from waist down and part of the base; type Venus *Genetrix* (Pl. III).
Isac 1994, 54-57, no. 2, Fig. 2.

⁵¹ The presentation order of the items in the catalogue is as follows: find spot; storage location; inventory number; archaeological context; representation type; production material; item sizes; preservation state; statuary type; plate, references. In addition, within the illustration accompanying this study, the order number of the items in the catalogue corresponds to the number given in their afferent illustration. Very fragmentary items and those published without images were not included.

10. **Cioroiul Nou** (Olt county); MO - Craiova; inv. no. 14669; southern corner of the fort; terracotta statuette; fine, reddish fabric; h = 11 cm; fragmentary - missing head, right forearm and feet; type Venus *Cnidos* semi-nude (Pl. V).

Tudor, Diaconescu, Popilian 1967, 597, Fig. 3/5; Bondoc 2005, 9, no. 2; Ungurean 2008, 162, no. 82.

11. **Cioroiul Nou** (Olt county); MO - Craiova; inv. no. I 50876; fort, no further specifications; terracotta statuette; fine, light grey fabric; h = 8 cm; fragmentary - preserving lower part from waist down and part of a tree trunk; unidentified type (Pl. V).

Bondoc 2005, 10, no. 3; Ungurean 2008, 162, no. 83; Bondoc 2010, 39, no. 35; Pl. XVI/35.

12. **Drobeta-Turnu Severin - Drobeta** (Mehedinți county); MNIR; inv. no. 636; fort, no further specifications; marble statuette; h = 55 cm; fragmentary - missing head, arms and legs from knee down, chest chopped on the left side; unidentified type (Pl. II).

Pârvan 1913, 371, no. 12, Fig. 7; Tudor 1966, Fig. 31; Bordenache 1969, 28, no. 33; Pl. XVII.

13. **Drobeta-Turnu Severin - Drobeta** (Mehedinți county); M - D. Tr. Severin; inv. no. II 7102; fort, no further specifications; bronze statuette; grey patina; h = 20.5 cm; fragmentary - missing arms below armpits and right leg from shank; unidentified type (Pl. II).

Bărcăcilă 1934, 21, no. 9c, Fig. 27; Miclea, Florescu 1980, 110, no. 341, Fig. 341; Pop 1998, 318, no. 12, Pl. X/3; Marinescu, Pop 2000, 85-86, no. 91, Pl. 49.

14. **Drobeta-Turnu Severin - Drobeta** (Mehedinți county); M- D. Tr. Severin; inv. no. II 7116; fort, no further specifications; bronze statuette; grey patina; h = 9.5 cm; mediocre preservation state - corroded surface; fragmentary - missing both hands from wrists, left leg from shank and left leg above the knee; unidentified type (Pl. III).

Marinescu 1981, 593, no. 76; Pop 1998, 319, no. 25, Pl. XI/6; Marinescu, Pop, 2000, 94, no. 107, Pl. 57.

15. **Drobeta-Turnu Severin - Drobeta** (Mehedinți county); M- D. Tr. Severin; inv. no. II 9349; fort, no further specifications; bronze statuette; brownish patina; h = 10.8 cm; poor preservation state - missing right hand from wrist, shows casting traces in-between the legs, strongly corroded surface; unidentified type (Pl. II).

Marinescu 1981, 593, nos. 73-76, Pl. IV, Fig. 4; Marinescu 1988, 71, no. 40; Pop 1998, 320, no. 30, Pl. XIII/5; Marinescu, Pop 2000, 94, no. 108, Pl. 57.

16. **Drobeta-Turnu Severin - Drobeta** (Mehedinți county); M- D. Tr. Severin; inv. no. II 9350; fort, no further specifications; bronze statuette; brownish-golden patina; h = 8.5 cm; relatively good preservation state - missing fingers from right hand only; type Venus *Cnidos* nude (Pl. IV/16).

Miclea, Florescu 1980, 110, no. 341, Fig. 341; Marinescu 1994, 277, no. 23; Pop 1998, 317, no. 8, Pl. IX/8; Marinescu, Pop 2000, 84, no. 89, Pl. 48.

17. **Gherla** (Cluj county); MNIR; inv. no. 37852; fort, *retentura sinistra*; bronze statuette; brownish patina; h = 11.8 cm; complete - light scratch on the chest; type Venus *Anadyomene* nude (Pl. III).

Gramatopol 1982, 184, Pl. X/8; Marinescu 1994, 277, no. 36, Fig. 5; Pop 1998, 318, no. 15, Pl. XI/1; Marinescu, Pop 2000, 91, no. 102, Pl. 55.

18. Gherla (Cluj county); MNIT; inv. no. V 31075; eastern side of the fort; terracotta statuette; fine, reddish fabric; h = 14 cm; fragmentary - missing feet; type Venus *Cnidos* nude (Pl. IV).

Alicu, Szöke, Pop 1997, 40, 81; Protase, Gudea, Ardevan 2008, 100, Pl. LXXIII.

19. Gherla (Cluj county); MNIT; inv. no. V 31067; north-eastern corner of the fort; terracotta statuette; fine, reddish fabric; h = 10.3 cm; fragmentary - missing feet; type Venus *Cnidos* nude (Pl. IV).

Protase, Gudea, Ardevan 2008, 100, Pl. LXXIV.

20. Gherla (Cluj county); MNIT; inv. no. V 31071; fort, no further specifications; terracotta statuette; fine, reddish fabric; h = 2.2 cm; fragmentary - preserving only the head; unidentified type.

Protase, Gudea, Ardevan 2008, 100.

21. Gilău (Cluj county); MNIT; inv. no. 21094; outside a stone barracks located on the left side of *praetentura*, close to the eastern side; bronze statuette; brownish patina; h = 14 cm; relatively good preservation state - missing fingers from left hand and feet (restored); type Venus *Cnidos* nude (Pl. III).

Isac 1977, 163-170; Miclea, Florescu 1980, 88, no. 176, Fig. 176; Pop 1998, 317, no. 4, Pl. IX/5; Marinescu, Pop 2000, 86, no. 93, Pl. 50.

22. Gilău (Cluj county); MNIT; inv. no. 46760; fort, *praetentura sinistra*; terracotta statuette; fine, reddish fabric; h = 8 cm; fragmentary - statuette is preserved from chest down, missing legs from knee down and left arm; unidentified type (Pl. V).

Isac 1997, 70.

23. Gilău (Cluj county); MNIT; inv. no. 45629; fort, *porta principalis dextra*; terracotta statuette; fine, reddish fabric; h = 7 cm; fragmentary - preserving only the head; unidentified type (Pl. V).

Isac 1997, 8.

24. Hinova (Mehedinți county); M - D. Tr. Severin; inv. no. II 11037; fort, barracks (western side); bronze statuette; patina removed upon cleaning; h = 13.5 cm; fragmentary - missing right forearm, right foot and left leg below the knee; type Venus *Anadyomene* nude (Pl. III).

Davidescu 1989, 86, Fig. XXIX /b; Marinescu, Pop 2000, 318, no. 16, Pl. XI/2.

25. Hinova (Mehedinți county); M - D. Tr. Severin; inv. no. II 9812; fort, barracks; bronze statuette; grey patina; h = 11 cm; mediocre - missing both hands from wrists down and legs from ankles; type Venus *Capitolina* nude (Pl. II).

Davidescu 1989, 86, Fig. XXIX/a; Marinescu, Pop 2000, 316, no. 1, Pl. IX/1.

26. Ilișua (Bistrița-Năsăud county); MJ - Bistrița; inv. no. 20647; fort, *porta praetoria*; bronze statuette; green patina; h = 15 cm; relatively good preservation state - missing feet; type Venus *Anadyomene* nude (Pl. III).

Protase, Marinescu 1977, 42, 70; Alicu, Szöke, Pop 1997, 40, no. 243; Marinescu, Pop 2000, 92, no. 103, Pl. 55.

27. **Ilișua** (Bistrița-Năsăud county); MJ - Bistrița; unspecified inv. no.; fort, no further specifications; terracotta statuette; reddish fabric; h = 8.3 cm; fragmentary - preserving only the bust up to the chest area; unidentified type (Pl. V/27).

Protase, Gaiu, Marinescu 1997, Pl. XLII/3; Cătinaș 2005, 145.

28. **Ilișua** (Bistrița-Năsăud county); MJ - Bistrița; unspecified inv. no.; fort, no further specifications; terracotta statuette; reddish-brick fabric; h = 15.8 cm; fragmentary - preserved from the front the head and part of the right arm, and from the back side - almost entire legs; missing left shoulder and arm; unidentified type (Pl. V).

Protase, Gaiu, Marinescu 1997, Pl. XLII/2; Cătinaș 2005, 145.

29. **Jidava** (Câmpulung, Argeș county); storage place and inv. no. unspecified; fort, *porta principalis dextra*; terracotta statuette; reddish fabric; unspecified h; fragmentary; unidentified type.

Popescu 2004, 90.

30. **Jupa - Tibiscum** (Caraș - Severin county); MJ - Caransebeș; inv. no. I 3305; fort, *porta principalis sinistra*; terracotta statuette; reddish-brick fabric; h = 13.1 cm; fragmentary - preserving only the lower part, bust down; unidentified type.

Benea, Bona 1994, 107, 112; Alicu, Szöke, Pop 1997, 40, no. 245; Ungurean 2008, 173, no. 133.

31. **Jupa - Tibiscum** (Caraș - Severin county); storage place and inv. no. unspecified; fort, barracks terracotta statuette; reddish fabric; height and preservation state unspecified; unidentified type.

Benea 2001, 275; Ungurean 2008, 174, no. 135.

32. **Jupa - Tibiscum** (Caraș - Severin county); MO-Craiova; inv. no. 10971; fort, barracks; terracotta statuette; reddish-brick fabric; h = 9.5 cm; fragmentary - preserving the torso and an arm; unidentified type.

Bona et alii 1983, 411, no. 2.

33. **Moigrad - Porolissum** (Sălaj county); MIA - Zalău; inv. no. 1001/1982; northern side of the fort; bronze statuette; dark green patina; h = 11.3 cm; complete; type Venus *Anadyomene* nude (Pl. III).

Gudea 1986, Fig. 14; Gudea 1997a, 26/71; Marinescu, Pop 2000, 97, no. 113, Pl. 60.

34. **Moigrad - Porolissum** (Sălaj county); MIA - Zalău; inv. no. CC 491/1988; fort, barracks 1; terracotta statuette; fine, reddish fabric; h = 5.5 cm; fragmentary - preserving only head and neck; unidentified type (Pl. IV).

Gudea 1996, 227, Pl. LI/3; Gudea 1997a, 29/71.

35. **Moigrad - Porolissum** (Sălaj county); unspecified storage place and inv. no.; fort, in the water tank near the *praetorium*; marble statuette; h = 18.4 cm; fragmentary - preserving only the goddess legs and those of Amor on the right side, the left Amor missing its head; unidentified type (Pl. II).

Gudea, Tamba 2005, 472, no. 6, Fig. 17.

36. **Moigrad - Porolissum** (Sălaj county); unspecified storage place and inv. no.; fort, at 5 m from *praetorium*; marble statuette; height and preservation state unspecified; unidentified type.

Gudea 1986, 48, 109; Ștefănescu 2009, 69.

37. **Răcari** (Brădești, Dolj county); MO - Craiova; inv. no. I 6131; fort, *via principalis*, near *praetorium*; terracotta statuette; fine, reddish fabric; h = 13.5 cm; fragmentary - preserving only the lower part, waist down, without feet and great part of the base; unidentified type (Pl. IV).

Florescu 1931, 22-23, no. 4, Fig. 14; Tătulea 1994, Fig. 35/2; Ungurean 2008, 188, no. 206; Gudea, Bondoc 2009, 195, no. 405.

38. **Râșnov - Cumidava** (Brașov county); MIA - Zalău; unspecified inv. no.; fort rampart; terracotta statuette; brick fabric; h = 16.3 cm; fragmentary - missing head and part of the base; type Venus *Anadyomene* nude (Pl. V/38).

Gudea, Pop 1972, 54, Fig. 51-52; Isac 2001, 178; Ungurean 2008, 188, no. 207.

39. **Turda - Potaissa** (Cluj county); missing piece; fort, no further specifications; bronze statuette; dark grey patina; h = 16.2 cm; fragmentary - missing right palm from wrist and legs from ankles; type Venus *Cnidos* nude (Pl. II).

Téglás 1904, 410-413; Bărbulescu 1994, 61, Pl. XIV/2; Bajusz 2005, 915, Fig. 29/94C.

40. **Turda - Potaissa** (Cluj county); missing piece; fort, *principia*; terracotta statuette; reddish fabric; h = 9 cm; fragmentary - preserving only head and bust; type Venus *Capitolina* (Pl. IV).

Bajusz 1980, 383, no. 662; Bajusz 2005, 674, Fig. 44/91; Ungurean 2008, 230, no. 408.

41. **Vețel - Micia** (Hunedoara county); MNIR; unspecified inv. no.; fort, no further specifications; terracotta statuette; reddish fabric, glaze; h = 9.5 cm; fragmentary, preserving the back side and right arm; unidentified type.

Bărbulescu 1985, 66, nr. 51; Ungurean 2008, 237, no. 457.

42. **Vețel - Micia** (Hunedoara county); unspecified storage place and inv. no.; fort, *horreum*; terracotta statuette; fabric with yellowish slip; height and preservation state unspecified; unidentified type.

Petculescu 1983, 49.

43. **Vețel - Micia** (Hunedoara county); MNIT; inv. no. 4225; fort, no further specifications; bronze statuette, dark grey patina, solid cast; h = 7.4 cm; fragmentary - missing right arm, part of the left forearm and right leg from knee down; unidentified type (Pl. II).

Alicu 1994, 22, Fig. 6; Marinescu 1994, 227, no. 29; Marinescu, Pop 2000, 100, no. 120, Pl. 62; Benea 2008, 115.

44. **Vețel - Micia** (Hunedoara county); MNIR; inv. no. 131731; western side of the fort, inside a pit; bronze statuette; patina removed upon cleaning; h = 11.8 cm; relatively good preservation - little deterioration on the body surface and a cut on the face; type Venus *Cnidos* nude (Pl. III).

Marinescu 1979, 405-408; Miclea, Florescu 1980, no. 56, Fig. 56; Pop 1998, 320, no. 32, Pl. XIV/2; Marinescu, Pop 2000, 59, no. 112, Pl. 59.

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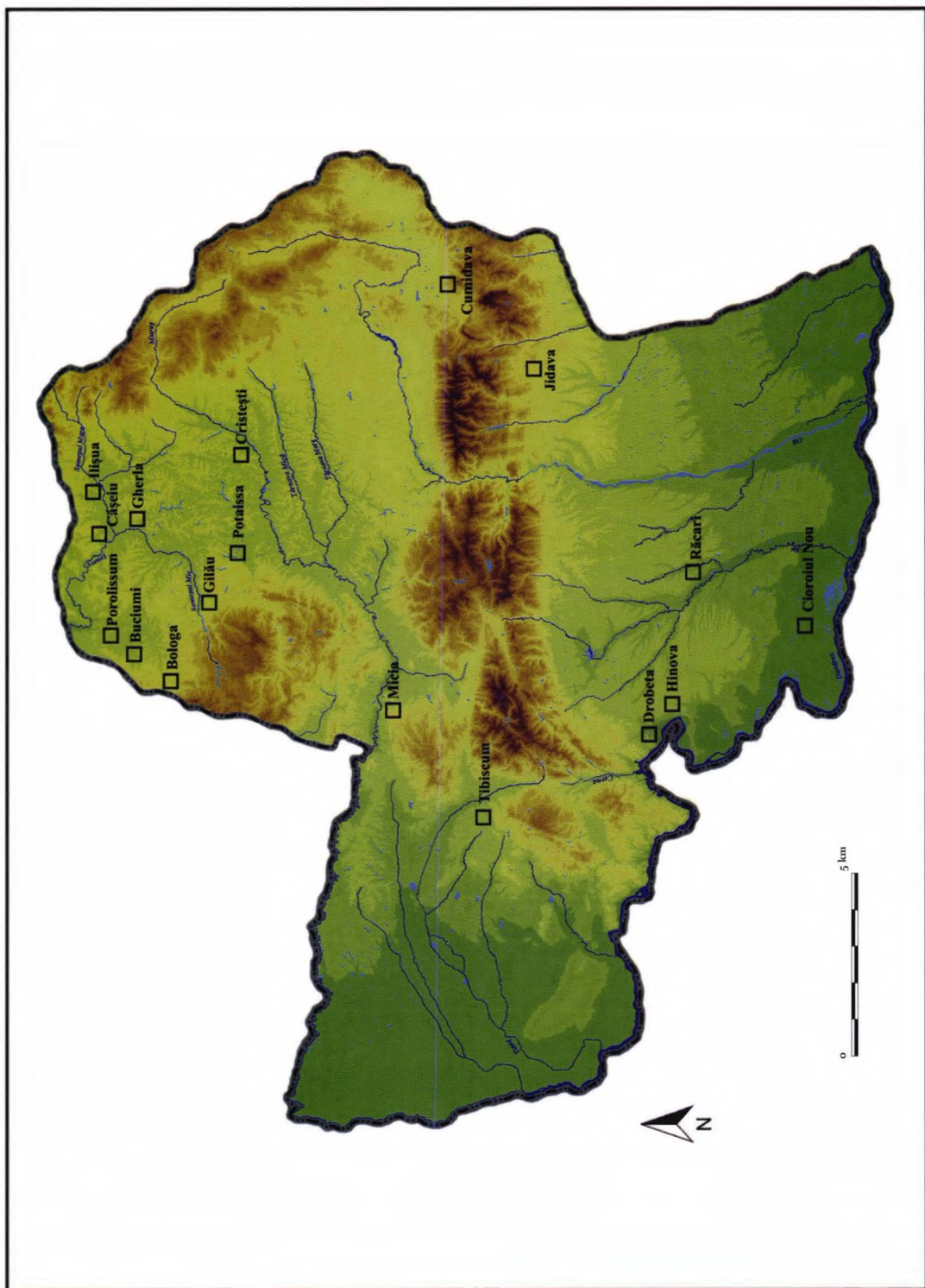
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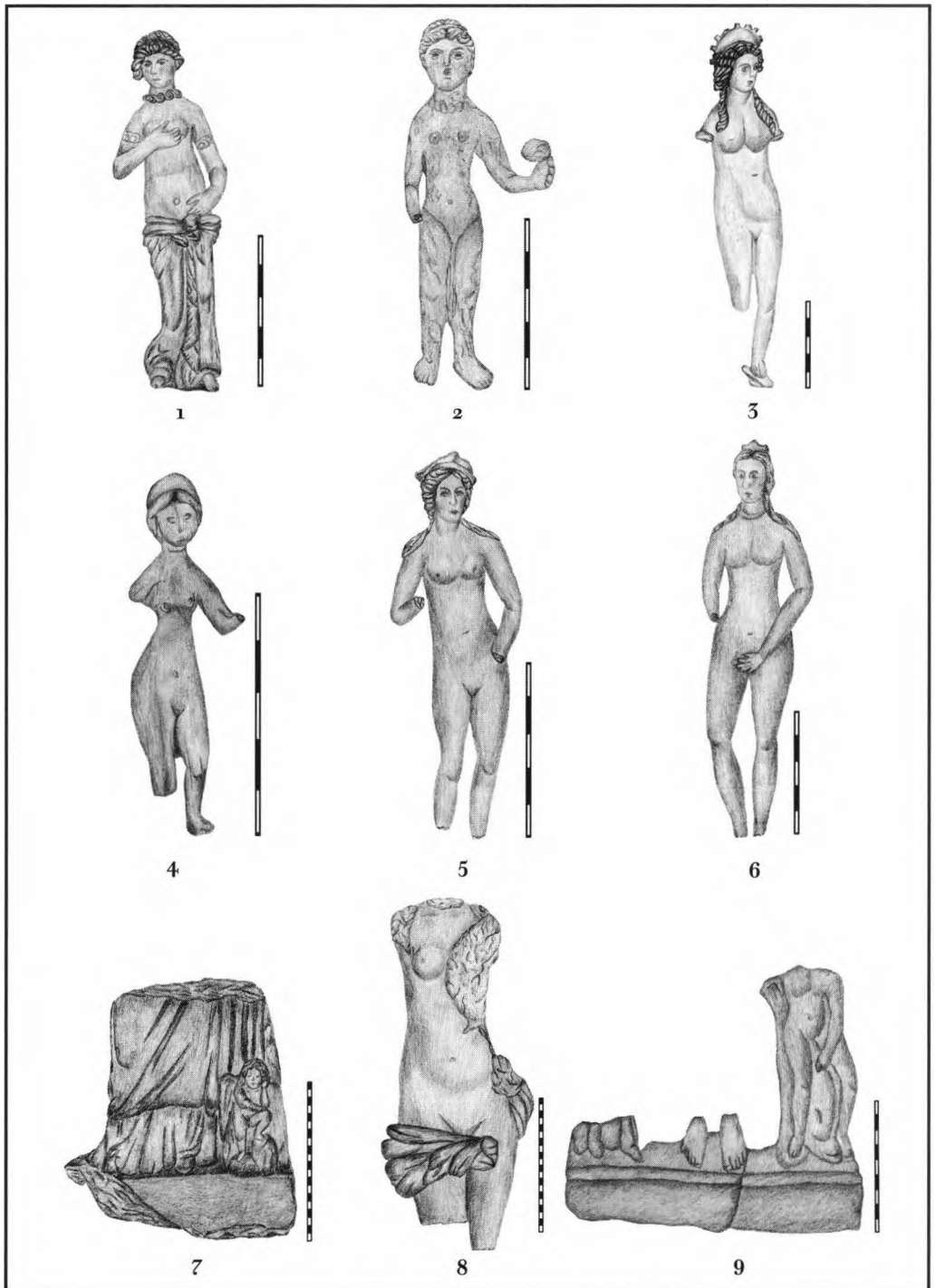
Museum Logos

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M - D. Tr. Severin	Regional Museum Porțile de Fier, Drobeta - Turnu Severin;
MIA - Zalău	History and Art Museum - Zalău;
MJ - Bistrița	Bistrița - Năsăud County Museum;
MJ - Caransebeș	Caransebeș County Museum of Ethnography and Border Regiment;
MNIR - București	National Museum of Romanian History - București;
MNIT - Cluj-Napoca	National History Museum of Transylvania - Cluj-Napoca;
MO - Craiova	Oltenia Museum - Craiova.

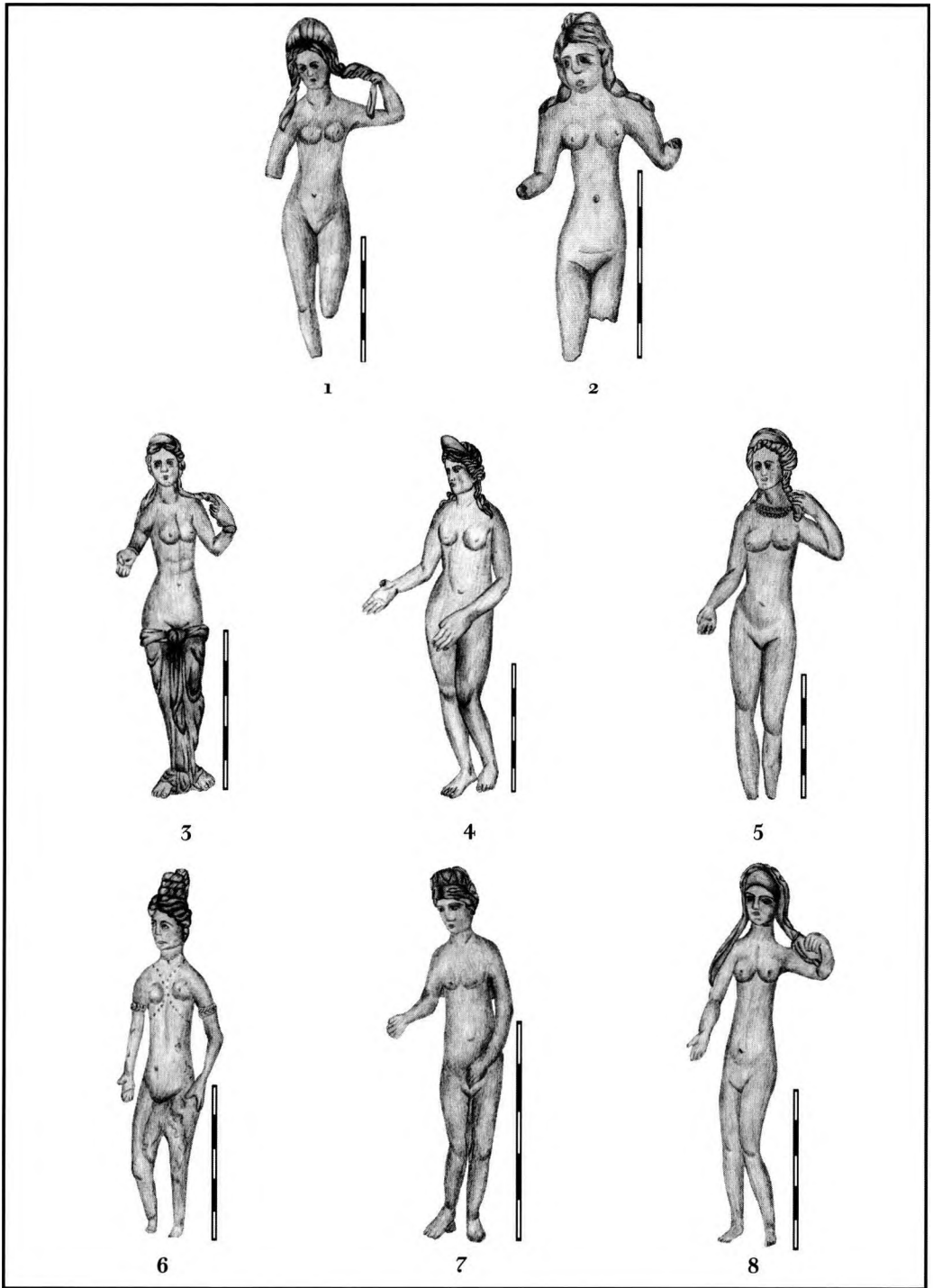
Adriana Antal
“Babeș-Bolyai” University, Cluj-Napoca
adrianna.antal@yahoo.com



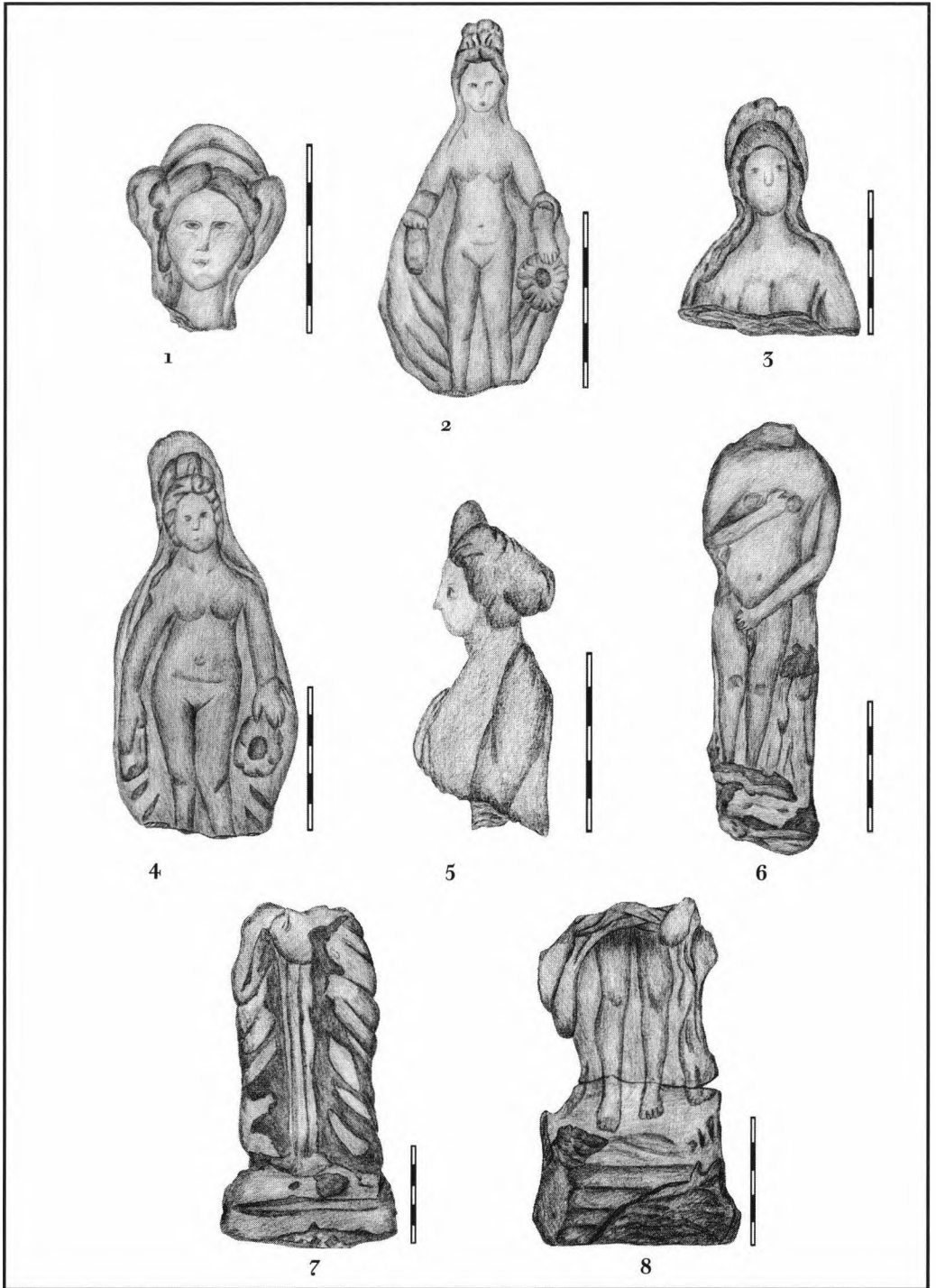
Pl. I. Forts in Roman Dacia with Venus statuettes.



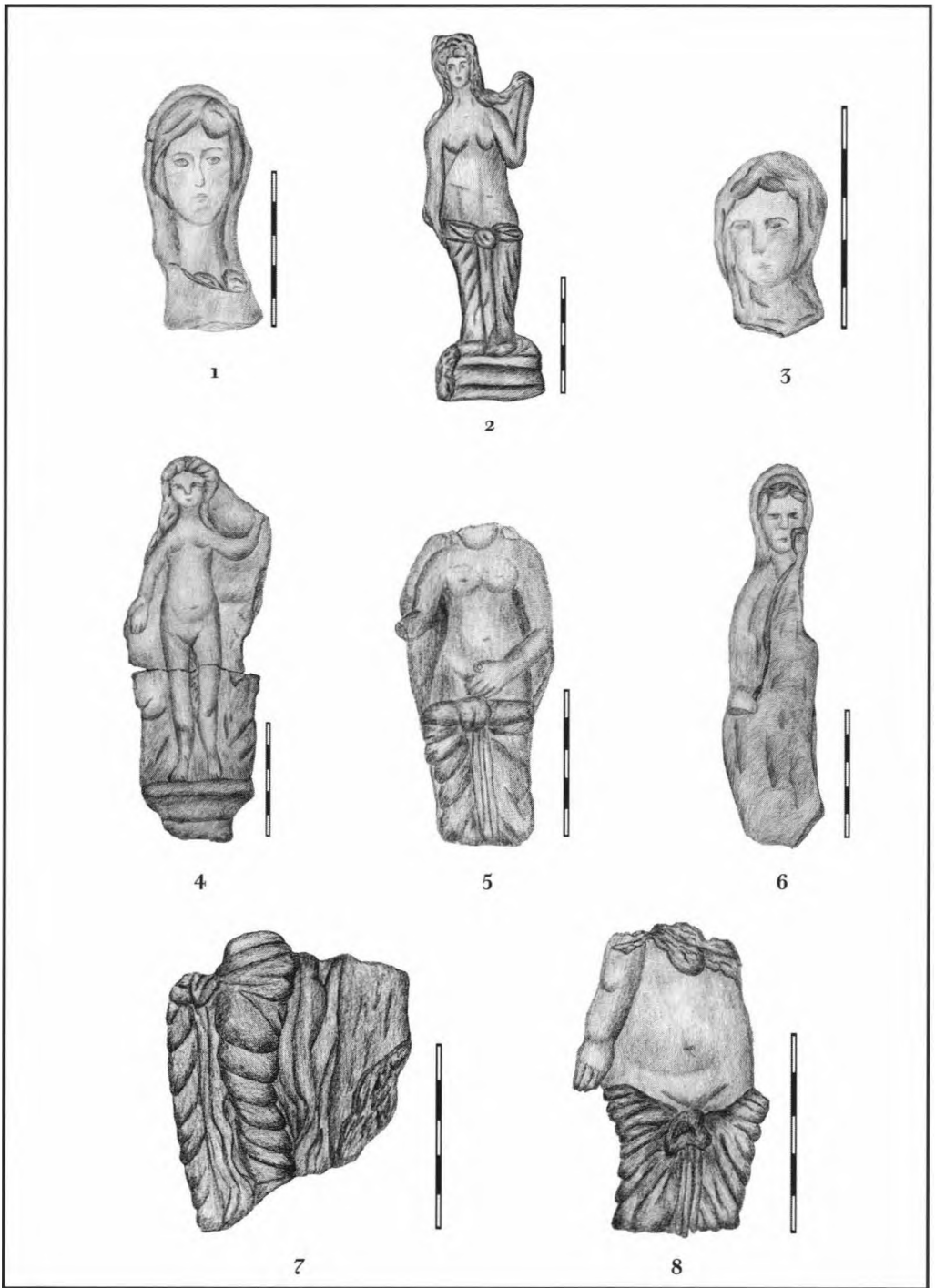
Pl. II. Bronze and stone statues: 1. Buciumi, cat. no. 8 (after Marinescu, Pop 2000, Pl. 61/117); 2. Drobeta, cat. no. 15 (after Marinescu, Pop 2000, Pl. 57/108); 3. Drobeta, cat. no. 13 (after Marinescu, Pop 2000, Pl. 49/108); 4. Micia, cat. no. 43 (after Alicu 1994, Fig. 6); 5. Hinova, cat. no. 25 (after Marinescu, Pop 2000, Pl. 9/1); 6. Potaissa, cat. no. 12 (after Bărbulescu 1994, Pl. XVII/2); 7. Samum, cat. no. 9 (after Isac 1994, Fig. 2); 8. Drobeta, cat. no. 12 (after Bordenache 1969, Pl. XVII); 9. Porolissum, cat. no. 35 (after Gudea, Tamba 2005, Fig. 17).



Pl. III. Bronze statues: 1. Hinova, cat. no. 24 (after Davidescu 1989, Fig. XXIX/b); 2. Drobeta, cat. no. 14 (after Pop 1998, Pl. XI/6); 3. Porolissum, cat. no. 33 (after Gudea 1986, Fig. 14); 4. Gilău, cat. no. 21 (after Marinescu, Pop 2000, Pl. 50/93); 5. Ilișua, cat. no. 26 (after Marinescu, Pop 2000, Pl. 55/103); 6. Micia, cat. no. 44 (after Pop 2000, Pl. XIV/2); 7. Drobeta, cat. no. 16 (after Miclea, Florescu 1980, Fig. 341); 8. Gherla, cat. no. 17 (after Marinescu, Pop 2000, Pl. 55/102).



Pl. IV. Terracotta statues: 1. Porolissum, cat. no. 34 (after Gudea 1996, Pl. LI/3); 2. Gherla, cat. no. 19 (after Protase, Gudea, Ardevan 2008, Pl. LXXIV); 3. Ilișua, cat. no. 27 (after Protase, Gaiu, Marinescu 1997, Pl. XLII/3); 4. Gherla, cat. no. 18 (after Protase, Gudea, Ardevan 2008, Pl. LXXIII); 5. Potaissa, cat. no. 40 (after Bajusz 2005, Fig. 44/91); 6. Cumidava, cat. no. 38 (after Gudea, Pop 1972, Fig. 51-52); 7. Buciumi, cat. no. 5 (after Chirilă, Gudea, Pop 1972, Pl. CXXXI/2); 8. Cumidava, cat. no. 38 (after Gudea, Pop 1972, Fig. 51-52).



Pl. V. Terracotta statues: 1. Gilău, cat. no. 23 (after Isac 1997, 8); 2. Buciumi, cat. no. 4 (after Chirilă, Gudea, Pop 1972, Pl. CXXXI/3); 3. Bologa, cat. no. 1 (after Gudea 1972, Fig. 17/9); 4. Buciumi, cat. no. 6 (after Chirilă, Gudea, Pop 1972, Pl. CXXXI); 5. Cioroiul Nou, cat. no. 10 (after Tudor, Diaconescu, Popilian 1967, 597, Fig. 3/5); 6. Ilișua, cat. no. 28 (after Protase, Gaiu, Marinescu 1997, Pl. XLII); 7. Cioroiul Nou, cat. no. 11 (after Bondoc 2010, Pl. XVI/35); 8. Cumidava, cat. no. 22 (after Isac 1997, 70).

NEPTUNE AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ITS CULT IN THE NORTHERN *LIMES* AREA

ANDREA CUMURCIUC

Abstract: The article presents the epigraphic items and figurative representations depicting god Neptune in the northern provinces of the Roman empire, namely Britannia, Gallia, Germania, Noricum, Raetia, Pannonia and Dacia. The analysis of the mentioned materials is made upon provinces, and therewith, upon object categories. The aim of the study is to clarify local aspects of the cult, yet it approaches only the official side of the issue, reason for which the items belonging to the minor art were not included herein. It could be ascertained that the cult was less popular in the northern part of the Empire, among the worshipers predominating individuals from the military environment or the political elite of the provinces. As such, the cult has a public and military character, being often used in imperial propaganda. The cult of Neptune is often overlapped by that for the Danube and Rhine; however it is also the protector of categories of craftsmen whose operations involved water.

Keywords: Neptune; Roman religion; votive altars; figurative representations.

Rezumat: Articolul prezintă piesele epigrafice și reprezentările figurative închinat zeului Neptun în provinciile nordice ale Imperiului Roman, respectiv în Britannia, Gallia, Germania, Noricum, Raetia, Pannonia și Dacia. Analiza materialelor menționate se face pe provincii și, în cadrul acestora, pe categorii de piese. Scopul studiului este acela de a clarifica aspecte locale ale cultului, dar el urmărește doar latura oficială a problemei, motiv pentru care piesele aparținând artei minore nu au fost incluse în articol. S-a putut stabili faptul că acest cult se bucură de o popularitate redusă în zona nordică a Imperiului, printre dedicatanți predominând persoanele din domeniul militar sau din elita politică a provinciilor. Prin urmare, cultul are un caracter public și militar, fiind adesea utilizat în propaganda imperială. Cultul lui Neptun este adesea suprapus cu cel al Dunării și Rinului, dar este și protectorul unor categorii de meseriași care își desfășoară activitatea cu ajutorul apei.

Cuvinte cheie: Neptun; religie romană; altare votive; reprezentări figurative.

Neptune is one of the oldest Italian divinities, a god who succeeded to maintain popularity over the entire duration of the Roman state until Christianity became the official religion. Records of its cult are present in all provinces of the Empire, yet with different frequencies and connotations. We shall analyze herein the specificities of the cult in the Northern provinces based on epigraphic and figurative monuments discovered in Britannia, Gallia, Germania, Noricum, Raetia, Pannonia and Dacia.

The term of "Neptune" seems to be of Etruscan origin, coming from "Nethuns", "Nethunus", the root *neptu* meaning "moist". Another possible explanation of the origin of the name is the Indo-European root *nepot* or *nept*, meaning "descendant", explanation based on the existence of the Indo-Iranian deity, *Apām napāt*, descendant of water¹.

¹ Arnaldi 1997, 5.

Neptune was a god of water, especially of springs, rivers and lakes. It is not excluded that he was a divinity of the sea from the very beginning, yet he was definitely not exclusively a god of the sea and navigation. He becomes a marine deity after having been assimilated to Poseidon, which most likely occurred in the 7th century BC². During the Archaic period though, Neptune was worshiped in Rome as a divinity of inland waters by a population who mainly dealt with agriculture. As an argument in favour of his original character of divinity of inland waters, one must mention the celebration of his annual holiday, *Neptunalia*, on July 23, in full drought. In addition, the temple of Neptune in Rome, on which there are records dating it to 206 BC, was built in Circus Flaminius, in the area most frequently flooded by the Tiber³.

Regarding Neptune's iconography, one may notice images of the god rendered by reliefs, statues, mosaics or coins, after the pattern of Poseidon, standing with one foot on a rock, on a ship prow, leading a chariot pulled by marine figures and having the trident and dolphin as attributes⁴.

The importance of the cult of Neptune increased considerably once with the break of the Punic Wars. The trident appears on *aes signatum* issued in Rome between 260 and 242 BC, as a possible symbol of the naval victories obtained by the Romans in the First Punic War⁵. Starting from mid 3rd century BC, Neptune was worshipped publicly as divinity of the sea, his place as divinity of inland waters being taken over by the Nymphs, Fons and Tiberinus⁶. During the imperial period, Neptune's image was used within the imperial propaganda as symbol of Roman naval victories. Neptune appears on coins issued under Augustus, Vespasian, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Commodus and Septimius Severus⁷. Still, compared to other major divinities in the Roman pantheon, Neptune appears relatively rare on coins. This is due to the introduction in 19 BC of the cult of Fortuna Redux, who takes over Neptune's attributes related to the protection of those travelling⁸.

In Roman Britannia, Neptune owns a small number of epigraphic monuments. A votive altar was discovered at Birdoswald and is dedicated to Neptune by *Reginius Iustinus*, who entitles himself "tribune". As mentioned by the dedicant, the monument was put upon an oath, which is not detailed though⁹. Another altar, dedicated to *Deo Neptuno*, was found at Castlesteads¹⁰, similarly to that from Newcastle, on river Tyne, identified close to the Roman bridge. From the same area was also recovered an altar for Oceanus, having the same dedicants¹¹. The monument for Neptune is dedicated by legion VI Victrix, having represented on the front side a trident and a dolphin¹². The two monuments were likely placed on the bridge, as sign of a successful

² LIMC VII/1.

³ Arnaldi 1997, 21.

⁴ LIMC VII/2.

⁵ Arnaldi 1997, 23.

⁶ Arnaldi 1997, 55.

⁷ Arnaldi 1994, 596.

⁸ Arnaldi 1997, 58.

⁹ CSIR-GB I/6, 89.

¹⁰ CIL VII 893.

¹¹ CSIR-GB I/1, 71.

¹² RIB 1319.

crossing of the legion. The monuments' location on the bridge is noteworthy, since thus Neptune may be deemed god of inland waters and Oceanus, god of the sea. In Castlecary, close to the Roman fort, another altar dedicated to Neptune by a military unit was identified. This is the first cohort of *Varduli*, formed of Roman citizens, who raised the monument under the command of prefect *Trebius Verus*¹³.

A few figurative representations of the deity were also discovered in Britannia. An altar identified at Cramond, of which only the upper part was preserved, renders the head of a bearded and long-haired god. Two crab claws were depicted on the head, and below, appeared two figures of tubular shape, which, based on analogies, were interpreted as dolphins¹⁴. A sculptural fragment coming from a statue of Neptune was identified at Cirencester. The statue represents the head and shoulders turned to the left of a male character. The nose of the statue is broken, yet the beard and rich hair point to an aquatic divinity. The typology of the sculpture may be established from the preserved fragment, the divinity being rendered reclined, leaning most likely on an urn¹⁵. Although the item appears published as a representation of Neptune, given the atypical position of the divinity, its identification with a river god seems more adequate. A relief fragment depicting Neptune was discovered at Housesteads, in the latrines from the south-eastern corner of the Roman fort. Only the god's feet and part of the body of a marine creature were preserved. The god's left leg rests on the body of the sea animal, its presence pointing to Neptune, and thus excluding the possibility for its identification with a river god¹⁶. From the same settlement comes another relief of Neptune, accompanied by three Nymphs. Neptune sits in the right corner of the relief, legs stretched to the left. Behind him is depicted an aquatic plant, onto which the god seems to be leaning. The divinity is rendered bearded with curled hair, holding a dolphin in the right hand and a trident in the left. On the left side of the image are rendered three female characters, standing, having only the lower part of the body dressed and each holding a *patera*. In the centre of the image appears a circular hole, the trace of a pipe, accounting for the use of the relief as part of a fountain decoration¹⁷. Another relief depicting Neptune together with Victoria and Mars was discovered at Corbridge. In the middle of the image appears a winged Victoria, sitting on a globe and holding with both hands a *tabula ansata*. Underneath, in the left corner of the relief, appears Neptune, and in the right corner - Mars. Neptune has only the lower part of the body covered, is rendered with crab claws on the head and holds a large anchor in the left arm. Mars appears sitting in the right corner, without weapons and pointing to the *tabula ansata*¹⁸. The image obviously conveys a political message, a reference to a Roman military victory, obtained with the cooperation between land and naval forces. A relief fragment depicting Neptune was also discovered at Bath. The preserved part of the relief renders a hand holding

¹³ RIB 2149.

¹⁴ CSIR-GB I/4, 62.

¹⁵ CSIR-GB I/7, 89.

¹⁶ CSIR-GB I/6, 87.

¹⁷ CSIR-GB I/6, 88.

¹⁸ CSIR-GB I/1, 46.

a trident¹⁹. Neptune's image discovered on the territory of a spring sanctuary seems to be indicative of the inland waters nature of the deity. Another relief fragment also depicting a hand holding a trident was identified on the territory of the Roman villa at Wiltshire²⁰.

In Gallia Narbonensis, Neptune appears on four votive monuments. The altar discovered at Antibes is dedicated by *Veratia Montana*, who mentions no further details²¹, that in Arles, put by *Lucius Veratius Verus*²², that in Substantion erected by a tribune of legion II, whose name did not preserve²³, and that in Genova, placed by *C. Vitalinius Victorinus*, soldier in legion XII²⁴. In a single inscription, Neptune appears with the appellative *deus*²⁵, in a single case bears epithet *Augustus*²⁶, and on a single altar is associated with the *Nymphae*²⁷, which would account for his nature of god of inland waters.

In Germania Superior, Neptune appears on two votive altars. Among the dedicants count: at Lausanne, *T. Nontrius Vanatactus*²⁸; at Avenches, *Aprilis*, slave to *C. Camillus Paternus*²⁹; at Ettlingen - *Cornelius Aliquandus*³⁰; at Heidelberg - *Valerius Paternus*, architect and *Aelius Macer*³¹, and at Brohl, *C. Marius Maximus*, centurion in *classis Germanica*³². In the rest of the inscriptions, the name of the dedicants did not preserve³³. Neptune is associated in a single case with *Silvanus*, in the inscription dedicated by slave *Aprilis*, association which seems to point to a nature and inland waters deity and in a single inscription, that dedicated by the centurion in the German fleet, appears beside *Jupiter Optimus Maximus*. Obviously, in this second case, the dedication is official and, in loyalty to the Roman state, the centurion makes a dedication to *Jupiter* and then to the protective divinity of the craft he practiced. Neptune appears as protector of sailor collegia in two cases, at Ettlingen³⁴ and Lausanne³⁵; in two cases, his cult is associated to that imperial, at Ettlingen and Heidelberg, and a single inscription mentioned an *aedes* for Neptune in Heidelberg. Regarding the inscription from Lausanne, one should mention that it was discovered in the territory of a sanctuary, located within the city walls, close to the basilica, sanctuary consecrated to Neptune by the sailors on Lake Lemman³⁶. Therefore, one may establish that

¹⁹ CSIR-GB I/2, 27.

²⁰ CSIR-GB I/2, 110.

²¹ CIL XII 168.

²² CIL XII 660.

²³ CIL XII 4186.

²⁴ CIL XII 5878.

²⁵ CIL XII 5878.

²⁶ CIL XII 660.

²⁷ CIL XII 4186.

²⁸ AE 1939, 102.

²⁹ AE 1991, 1257.

³⁰ CIL XIII 6324.

³¹ CIL XIII 6403.

³² AE 1923, 32.

³³ CIL XIII 5158, 11693; AE 1965, 245.

³⁴ CIL XIII 6324.

³⁵ AE 1946, 256.

³⁶ Ciobanu, Bărbuță 2000, 270.

in the continental area, Neptune was regarded not only as a divinity of flowing waters, but of lakes as well.

In Germania Inferior, Neptune appears mentioned on five votive altars. Among his dedicants count *Rufinius Saturninus*, soldier in I Minerva at Köln³⁷; *Octavius Ammius* at Domburg³⁸; the legate of legion I Minerva at Vechten³⁹ and *Octavius Verus Felicissimus* and *Qurtius Vetus* at Köln⁴⁰. Of the five cases, on three altars appears Neptune as main deity, each time his name being preceded by appellative *deus*⁴¹. In the other two cases, Neptune appears in collective dedications beside Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno, Minerva, *Genius loci*, Oceanus and Rhenus⁴², respectively *Genius loci*, Mars, Victoria, Mercury and Ceres⁴³. Interestingly, of the five discovered altars, three come from Köln⁴⁴, which is due to the presence of legion I Minerva and the importance it granted to the Rhine, and implicitly, to the cult of Neptune. In addition, one should mention that in three cases, the cult of Neptune is associated to that imperial, at Vechten⁴⁵ and on two altars in Köln⁴⁶, further proving the importance of the Rhine in the protection of the Empire.

A few figurative representations of Neptune also come from the German provinces. On a fragment of a gigantic column of Jupiter in Alzey are rendered in relief Victoria, Neptune, Vulcan, Minerva and Mars. Neptune holds the trident in the left hand and wears on the head a mantle also covering his left side of the body. Neptune's unusual attire is adopted from mosaic representations, where the divinity often appears with a fluttering mantle⁴⁷. A relief fragment depicting Neptune was also found at Mainz. The divinity is rendered in a niche, holding the trident in the left hand and having before him many fish. Stylistically, the item is dated to early 3rd century AD, and it might have been part, alike the first case, of a column of Jupiter⁴⁸. An anepigraphic altar of Neptune was discovered at Worms. The image of the god is displayed in a niche on a side of the monument. Neptune is rendered standing, nude, right leg lifted on a rock. The left hand, raised, holds the trident, and a dolphin⁴⁹ appears rendered in the right hand.

Two inscriptions dedicated to Neptune were identified in Raetia. One comes from Gunzburg and is dedicated by millers⁵⁰, and the other, found at Stepperg, is dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Neptune and Danuvius by an individual calling himself *Toppo*⁵¹. In the case of the first altar, Neptune is the protective deity of

³⁷ CIL XIII 8239.

³⁸ CIL XIII 8803.

³⁹ CIL XIII 8811.

⁴⁰ AE 1981, 660.

⁴¹ CIL XIII 8239; AE 1981, 660; IKoeln 184.

⁴² CIL XIII 8811.

⁴³ AE 1981, 660.

⁴⁴ CIL XIII 8239; AE 1981, 660; IKoeln 184.

⁴⁵ CIL XIII 8811.

⁴⁶ AE 1981, 660; IKoeln 184.

⁴⁷ CSIR-DE II/1, 6.

⁴⁸ CSIR-DE DE II/4, 85.

⁴⁹ CSIR- DE II/10, 34.

⁵⁰ CIL III 5866.

⁵¹ CSIR-I, 1, 65.

a craft practiced with the aid of flowing water. The same character of god of inland waters is attached to the association with the Danube in the second inscription. A figurative representation of Neptune is also known in Raetia. It is a limestone statue fragment discovered at Faimingen. The head and lower part of the legs are missing, yet one may notice that the left leg was raised. The depicted character is nude, except for a mantle covering part of his back. Identification with Neptune was made based on the dolphin held in the left hand⁵². The find spot of the item seems to provide a few clues concerning the cult. In Faimingen, there was a famous sanctuary of Apollo Grannus, healing god whose cult originated in the belief in a Celtic god of springs, Grannus. It is very likely that the statue of Neptune also came from this sanctuary, where water fulfilled a considerable function, circumstances whereby Neptune would designate a local water god.

Three altars of Neptune were discovered in Noricum. The monument in Trojane is dedicated by *C. Castricius Optatus*⁵³, that in Celeia is a collective dedication made by all inhabitants⁵⁴, and that in Cetium is dedicated by a certain *Aurelius, vir perfectissimus*, who records water supply to Tragisamum⁵⁵, place which appears on Tabula Peutingeriana, however which was not identified in the field. Setting water supply process under Neptune's protection is indicative of his nature as god of inland waters, similarly to the inscription from Celeia concealing a critical event caused by inland waters, likely a flood.

An interesting situation related to the cult of Neptune is found in the territory of the *Lapydes*, an Illyrian tribe, established between the upper and mid courses of rivers Una and Korana⁵⁶. In 1895 a series of votive altars were identified close to spring Privilica, of which four dedicated to *Bindo Neptuno*⁵⁷, and one to *Bindi Neptuni*⁵⁸. The monuments were erected by local chieftains, bearing the title *praepositus* or *praepositus et princeps*. Figurative representations also appear on two votive monuments. Two goats are noticeable on both sides of the altar, and on the other, anepigraphic, appears the representation of a divinity. In the case of the second altar, a human character is rendered on one of the sides, holding a dolphin in the right hand and a trident in the left hand. On the other side of the altar, under a laurel garland, lies Triton holding a dolphin⁵⁹ in his hand. Conclusively, the local god Bindus was identified with Neptune, and the cluster of monuments evidence the existence of a sanctuary of the god there. The sanctuary from Privilica is a sanctuary of the springs, located inland, hence we cannot consider Bindus Neptune a sea god, but rather a god of freshwater. Regarding the cult of Bindus, the votive altar discovered in Noricum⁶⁰ is also noteworthy, which means that his followers also lived outside the territory

⁵² CSIR-I/1, 158.

⁵³ CIL III 5137.

⁵⁴ CIL III 5197.

⁵⁵ CIL III 259.

⁵⁶ Popovič 2000, 423.

⁵⁷ CIL III 14323, 14325-14327.

⁵⁸ CIL III 14327, 1.

⁵⁹ Popovič 2000, 423.

⁶⁰ CIL III 5483.

of the *Lapydes*. In fact, indications related to this god were also identified in Dacia, which we shall further discuss herein.

Neptune's cult is relatively more spread in the Pannonian provinces. Ten votive altars were discovered in Pannonia Superior. Among Neptune's followers count: *Lucius Servilius Sabinus* in Nauportus⁶¹; *Hostilius Ergiano* in Emona⁶²; *Iulius Lupus* in Pusztaapati⁶³; *L. Antonius Sabinianus*, legate of legion I Adiutrix and his spouse, *Aurelia Aeliana*, in Arabona⁶⁴; *M. Asinius Masinus* in Emona⁶⁵; *Cassia Clementilla* still in Emona⁶⁶; *Medus*, a slave, in Neviodunum⁶⁷; veterans of legion I under the command of *Aurelius Secundus* as *primus pilus* in Vindobona⁶⁸; *C. Vibius Celer*, centurion in Vindobona⁶⁹; *Ti. Claudius Martinus* in Nagyvaszony⁷⁰. In five of the ten cases, Neptune bears epithet *Augustus*⁷¹, indicative of the relation to the imperial cult. Neptune appears associated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Salacia, Nymphae and Danuvius⁷², with the Nymphae⁷³ and Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno, Minerva, Liber Pater and Diana⁷⁴. The inscription in Nauportus records the construction of an *aedes* and a portico for Neptune, and the inscription from Arabona, dedicated to several gods, confirms the reconstruction of a temple destroyed by decay. Unfortunately, it may not be established, on the basis of the inscription, to which god the temple was dedicated to. In a single case, that in Neviodunum, the altar for Neptune records a sailor, indicating the god as protector of trade on continental waters. The same nature of god of inland waters also results from the association of Neptune to Nymphae and Danuvius.

In Pannonia Inferior, Neptune's name appears on eight altars. Among the dedicants count: *C. Iulius Geminus Capellianus*, province governor at Aquincum⁷⁵; *L. Alfenus Avitianus*, another governor of Pannonia Inferior, at Csaba⁷⁶; *Antonius Aulianus*, prefect of cohort V Lucensium at Crumerum⁷⁷; *Flavius Secularis*, tribune in Bononia⁷⁸; *L. Valerius Italus*, member of a sailors guild at Aquincum⁷⁹; *M. Ulpius Silvanus*, *signifer* in legion II Adiutrix at Aquincum⁸⁰ and *Marcus Omv...* also

⁶¹ CIL III 3778.

⁶² CIL III 3841.

⁶³ CIL III 4124.

⁶⁴ CIL III 4363.

⁶⁵ CIL III 10765.

⁶⁶ CIL III 13400.

⁶⁷ CIL III 14354.

⁶⁸ CIL III 14359.

⁶⁹ CIL III, 14359, 29.

⁷⁰ AE 1996, 1244.

⁷¹ CIL III 3778, 3841, 4124, 10765; AE 1996, 1244.

⁷² CIL III 14359, 27.

⁷³ CIL III 13400.

⁷⁴ CIL III 4363.

⁷⁵ CIL III 3486.

⁷⁶ CIL III 3637.

⁷⁷ CIL III 3662.

⁷⁸ CIL III 10248.

⁷⁹ CIL III 10430.

⁸⁰ TitAq-02, 934.

from Aquincum⁸¹. Neptune is associated with Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno and Silvanus⁸², Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno and Mars⁸³, Jupiter Optimus Maximus and Serapis⁸⁴ and Nymphae⁸⁵. Of the eight altars, four were discovered at Aquincum and one at Crumerum, settlement located on the Danube bank. This clearly shows that Neptune's cult overlapped that of rivers, in this case, of the Danube. The large number of the inscriptions dedicated by individuals exercising public, civil or military offices expresses their preoccupation for the province safety and implicitly that of the Empire, whose guarantor was the Danube under Neptune's protection. The same explanation may be given also to the association of Neptune's cult to that imperial, visible on two altars⁸⁶. The official character of the cult arises from the inscription on the altar discovered at Sirmium⁸⁷, which was located in a municipality space, as evidenced by the final phrase *decreto decurionum*.

From Pannonia Superior also comes a figurative representation of Neptune. On a relief discovered at Carnuntum, Neptune is accompanied by Victoria. The goddess is rendered in long attire, standing right foot on a globe and holding a palm leaf. To her right is depicted Neptune, entirely nude, holding the right foot on a ship front and holding a dolphin in the right hand and the trident in the left hand⁸⁸. The monument symbolises a Roman naval victory, which, due to the find spot, most likely occurred on the Danube.

A few votive altars dedicated to Neptune were also discovered in Dacia. *P. Catius Sabinus*, tribune of legion XIII Gemina, dedicates in Apulum a collective altar for Penates, Lares militares and Lares protectors of roads, Neptune, Salus, Fortuna Redux, Aesculapius, Diana, Apollo, Hercules and Spes⁸⁹. The unusual association of the gods seems to indicate that the monument was erected in acknowledgement of a successful travel, which at least partially occurred on waterways. Other two altars were discovered at Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa. The first is dedicated by *Philomusus*, an *adiutor tabularii*, addressing Jupiter and Neptune⁹⁰, and the second altar is dedicated by *Q. Axius Aelianus*, a *procurator augusti*, who erects a collective monument, likely located in the asklepieion, for Aesculapius, Salus, Epona, Venus, Neptune, Salacia, Cupid and Fons⁹¹. Three altars for Neptune were discovered at Alburnus Maior. The dedicants are as follows: *Nassidius Primus*⁹², *Surio Sumeletis*⁹³ and *Valerius Nico Platoris*⁹⁴. Compared to the other dedications in the province, in the

⁸¹ TitAq-02, 942.

⁸² TitAq-02, 934.

⁸³ CIL III 10430.

⁸⁴ CIL III 3637.

⁸⁵ CIL III 3662.

⁸⁶ CIL III 3637, 3662.

⁸⁷ CIL III 10219.

⁸⁸ CSIR-I/3, 154.

⁸⁹ IDR III/5, 299.

⁹⁰ IDR III/2, 247.

⁹¹ AE 1998, 1101.

⁹² AE 1990, 830.

⁹³ AE 1990, 845.

⁹⁴ AE 2003, 1507.

case of these altars, Neptune is the only mentioned god, bearing in two cases epithet *Augustus*. Regarding the origin of the dedicants, they are Illyrians⁹⁵ brought from Dalmatia in order to exploit the ores in the area. As mentioned above, in Dalmatia there was a pre-Roman cult of inland waters, represented by Bindus, who in the Roman period was worshipped as *Bindus Neptunus*. Although there is no mention of Bindus at Alburnus Maior, it may suppose that the name of Neptune concealed an Illyrian origin cult, which became actual due to the importance of water in ore processing. Other two altars identified at Alburnus Maior, dedicated to gods Naon and Maelantonius were also interpreted as references to the same Illyrian deity⁹⁶. It is certain that these dedications put in a sanctuary in the mountain area do not refer to Neptune as the god of sea, but as the god of inland waters, as seen in fact in the rest of the Northern provinces.

According to those presented herein we may draw a few conclusions regarding the cult of Neptune in the studied area. The number of the monuments, both epigraphic and figurative put to this god in all of the analysed provinces is relatively small compared to other major gods in the Roman pantheon. Circumstances are obviously due to the character of this god, generally perceived as the god of the sea in the Mediterranean region. In the northern provinces though, his cult has another character. Among dedicants for Neptune, in the entire northern area, predominate individuals in the military environment or the provincial political elite. They are, in Britannia a tribune, in Gallia a tribune of legion II and a soldier in legion XII, in Germania Superior a centurion in *classis Germanica*, in Germania Inferior a legate of legion I Minerva and a soldier in the same legion, in Pannonia Superior a legate of legion I Adiutrix, a veteran in the same legion and a centurion, and in Pannonia Inferior - two governors of the province, a tribune, a prefect of cohort V and a *signifer* in legion II Adiutrix. The public and military character of the cult also results from the inscriptions dedicated by an entire unit in Britannia and an entire city in Noricum. The association of the military field with Neptune's cult, as well as the use of this cult in the imperial propaganda is visible on the reliefs identified in Britannia and Pannonia Inferior, on which Neptune is associated to Victoria and Mars, as symbol of Roman naval military victories, but also by the association of Neptune with the imperial cult, visible in the German and Pannonian provinces.

Interestingly, most of the epigraphic monuments come from the two German provinces and the Pannonias. The situation is due to the presence of the Rhine and the Danube, rivers that played an important role in the defensive system of the Empire, whose cults overlap that for Neptune. The same association between Neptune and Danuvius is visible in fact also in Raetia.

Beside the military and political aspect, Neptune's cult has also a "civil" side in the Northern provinces. Thus, Neptune is the protector of certain categories of craftsmen, who practice their activity with the aid of water. Sailors erect altars for Neptune in Germania Superior, Pannonia Superior and Pannonia Inferior, miners in Dacia, millers in Raetia, while in Noricum water supply is put under the protection of the

⁹⁵ Nemeti 2004, 93.

⁹⁶ Nemeti 2004, 93.

same god. In what Neptune's cult locations are concerned, the god is provided with an *aedes* at Heidelberg, in Germania Superior and Nauportus, in Pannonia Superior.

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Andrea Cumurciuc
cumurciuca@gmail.com
Donath str., no. 44, Cluj-Napoca

MALE AND FEMALE FUNERARY STATUES FROM ROMAN DACIA¹

ALEXANDRU DIACONESCU

Abstract: This paper is a complete survey of full standing statues from Roman Dacia and of some statuesque reliefs directly connected to them. With a few exceptions they are carved in Bucova marble, a quarry only 11 km away from Sarmizegetusa, the only Trajanic colony in the province. Most of these statues come from Sarmizegetusa and Apulum a former *pagus* of the first one, later a *municipium* and *colonia*, and also residence of the 13th legion starting with Trajan. Other *pagi* of Sarmizegetusa, such as Tibiscum and Dierna, only produced a statue each. At their turn the Hadrianic *municipia*, such as Napoca, Drobeta and Romula Malvensium, were not more prolific, nor did the Severan towns, such as Porolissum. Only Potaissa, seat of the second legion from Dacia, and Severan town, is present in the catalogue of female statues with four pieces. These around 90 statues had a funerary purpose which illustrates the desire for self-presentation and public notoriety of the local elite from Dacia.

The 13 male portraits and the 11 female ones are to be dated between the middle of the second century and the middle of the third one, the period when the main workshop, that of Bucova, was functioning. The portraits are no likenesses, they were meant to evoke social status (in some cases age groups too), so that the typology of the statues is more instructive than portraits themselves. Most of the male statues (23 pieces) represented *togati*, civilian magistrates, the four *statuae loricateae* and the five in campaign dress (*habitu militari*), represented officers of the army, and three statues in casual dress probably represented common rich people. Among the female statues the majority (17 pieces) belong to the Grand Herculean woman type, followed at distance by *palliata* (4-6 pieces), and by other types, such as “*Pudicitia*” (3 pieces), and Eumachia-Fundilia (2 cases), Small Herculean woman (1 case) and hybrid types (5 cases, 3 from Potaissa and 2 from Drobeta). Among statuesque reliefs, with the exception of one from Napoca in “heroic nudity” and two *togati* from the same north-west Dacia, a legionary from Apulum and a Grand Herculean woman from Sarmizegetusa, all others are men in casual dress (*tunica* and *sagum*) and women depicted as *palliata*. This must have been judged by then the appropriate way of depicting members of the upper middleclass which did not fulfill any public duty.

Keywords: Roman; provincial; sculpture; portrait; *statua loricata*; *togatus*; *palliatus-palliata*; Grand/Small Herculean woman; *Pudicitia*, Eumachia-Fundilia.

Rezumat: Această lucrare reprezintă un studiu complet al statuariei din Dacia romană și al unor reliefuri statuare direct legate de acestea. Cu câteva excepții, ele sunt sculptate din marmură de Bucova, a carieră aflată la doar 11 km de Sarmizegetusa, unica colonie Traianică din provincie. Cele mai multe dintre aceste statui provin de la Sarmizegetusa și Apulum, un fost *pagus* al celei dintâi, devenit mai târziu *municipium*, apoi *colonia*, și, de asemenea, reședință a legiunii a XIII-a Gemina începând cu Traian. Alți *pagi* ale Sarmizegetusei, cum ar fi Tibiscum și Dierna, au dat abia câte o statuie fiecare. La rândul lor, *municipia* hadrianice, cum ar fi Napoca, Drobeta și Romula Malvensium, nu au fost mai prolifici, nici orașele severiene, cum ar fi Porolissum. Doar Potaissa, reședință a celei de-a doua legiuni din Dacia și oraș severian, este prezentă în catalogul de statui feminine cu patru piese. Aceste aproximativ 90 de statui au

¹ All photos in this article were made by the author, unless specified.

avut rol funerar, ceea ce ilustrează dorința de auto-prezentare și de notorietate publică a elitei locale din Dacia.

Cele 13 portrete masculine și cele 11 feminine pot fi datate între mijlocul secolului al II-lea și mijlocul secolului al III-lea p. Chr., perioada în care atelierul principal, cel de la Bucova, și-a desfășurat activitatea. Portretele nu redau fizionomia reală, ci ele au fost făcute să evoce statutul social (în unele cazuri grupuri de vârstă), de aceea tipologia statuilor este mai semnificativă. Majoritatea statuilor masculine (23 piese) reprezintă *togati*, magistrați civili, cele patru *statuae loricatae* și cele cinci în costum de campanie (*habitu militari*) reprezintă ofițeri și cele trei statui în costum obișnuit reprezentau probabil oameni bogați obișnuiți (fără funcții). Printre statuile feminine, majoritatea (17 piese) aparțin tipului “La Grande Ercolanese”, urmată la distanță de *palliata* (4–6 exemplare) și de alte tipuri, precum *Pudicitia* (3 piese), Eumachia-Fundilia (2 exemplare), Piccola Ercolanese (o piesă) și de un tip hibrid (5 cazuri, 3 de la Potaissa și 2 de la Drobeta). Printre reliefurile cu aspect statuar, cu excepția uneia de la Napoca în „nudită eroică” și a doi *togati* proveniți tot din nord-vestul Daciei, a unui legionar de la Apulum și a unei statui de tipul “La Grande Ercolanese” de la Sarmizegetusa, toate celelalte statui masculine sunt îmbrăcate obișnuit, iar femeia este reprezentată ca *palliata*. Acesta ar fi fost considerat modul adecvat de a reprezenta membrii superiori ai clasei de mijloc, care nu au îndeplinit nici o funcție publică.

Cuvinte cheie: Roman; provincial; sculptură; portret; *statua loricata*; *togatus*; *palliat*; *palliata*; La Grande /Piccola Ercolanese; *Pudicitia*; Eumachia-Fundilia.

1. Introduction

Funerary monuments represent a distinctive mark of Roman civilization. Preserving the memory of the dead was deeply inserted in ancient mentality as a direct way to achieve immortality, but for the Romans it was also a mean of self presenting in front of the local society². In an earlier study on epigraphic behavior in Roman Dacia³, I have identified a central area within the province, populated by the first colonial communities (such as Sarmizegetusa and Apulum), where both honorific and funerary inscriptions of the local elite prevail. In Hadrianic urban settlements and in later Antonine and early Severan towns the only epigraphic manifestation of the local aristocracy was located within the cemetery. Here, in the absence of honorific statues, impressive funerary monuments were erected, while in the small towns and in rural settlements less elaborate grave structures and even simple *stelae* provided the only mean of public self display and preserving own memory. Religious inscriptions follow a similar pattern: in the central zone, inhabited by colonists and veterans, there were temples and shrines built by individuals and impressive votive statues were frequently erected, while in the last zone, inhabited by people of peregrine condition (such as the miners from Alburnus Maior), simple votive altars (and no statues) were currently dedicated.

In the present study I intend to do a review of funerary statues, coming from *mausolea* or other monumental structures, thus tracing the self presentation habits of the local elite mostly from the central, profoundly Romanized part of Roman Dacia. In a border province such as Dacia local senators were almost absent and the members

² For the last discussion of the mater see Stewart 2003, passim.

³ Diaconescu 2004, passim; Diaconescu 2012, vol. I, 2, cap. IX.

of the equestrian order prevailed. In the 3rd century they provided skilled officers for the imperial army, valuable generals and even emperors (such as Aureolus). Their connections to the local ruling class (*ordo decurionum*) were always strong so that in terms of self presentation in funerary contexts they barely can be distinguished from each other. The number and quality of these statues, compared to the neighboring frontier provinces (the two Moesiae and even the two Pannoniae) illustrates the vitality and wealth enjoyed by the Dacian provincial society in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD.

The great majority of the statues presented here were carved in Bucova marble, a quarry only 11 km away from the provincial religious capital, Sarmizegetusa. The stylistic evolution of the local workshop (or workshops) from Bucova, which supplied with statues customers even 200 km away (such as from Napoca), has been largely presented in the 2004 issue of this journal⁴, so that I do not feel necessary to insist on the criteria used here for dating these statues. In our last study portraits and inscriptions were related to the rich material coming from architectural decoration of well dated monuments from Sarmizegetusa.

As already mentioned above, the male and female statues from this paper had a funerary purpose. At least on one of them (Cat. M. 7) the letters D M, inscribed on the plinth, confirm the funerary character of the piece. Honorific statues in Roman Dacia were made of bronze (occasionally gilded bronze) as the excavations of the two forums from Sarmizegetusa have proved. Here an impressive number of inscribed bases and several bronze small pieces of honorific statues were found, but not a fragment of any marble statue⁵. The pieces of imperial marble statues recorded by the excavators come, either from a chapel dedicated to the imperial cult (containing busts of *divi Augusti* carved in imported marble from Asia Minor), or from the shrine in the eastern part of the basilica and probably dedicated to Rome and Augustus⁶. No female statue susceptible to have represented a *diva Augusta* was found.

2. Portraits

It is obvious that the portraits discussed here represent private persons despite their hair cut and hairstyle that could recall imperial ones, since these dresses were fashionable at a certain moment in the entire Roman society. In the case of male portraits an intention of likeness can be detected, while female images were less individualized. This does not mean that male heads represent real portraits, in the way nose, eyes, cheeks or lips are rendered, and they remain generic, rather attached to a certain human type than to a specific person. In fact only those acquainted to the art of professional portraying can easily seize the difference between an individualized image and a generic one. Since provincial portraits were produced rather by common artisans than by real artists, imperial portraits could easily pass for private ones, due to the scarce resemblance to the metropolitan models, but even in this case I could

⁴ Diaconescu, Bota 2002–2003 [2004], passim.

⁵ Diaconescu 2010, 80–89 (*Forum Vetus*) and 120–142 (*Forum Novum*).

⁶ Diaconescu, Băeștean 2003 [2005], passim; Diaconescu, Bota 2009, 247–262, Pl. 97–105; Diaconescu 2010, 70–79, 114–115.

eliminate from private portraits both colossal heads as well as miniature ones, which certainly belong to the imperial cult. On the other hand in case of the life size busts from the chapel in the north-west corner of the forum from Sarmizegetusa the identification as imperial images was facilitated by the fact they were carved in Micro-Asian marble, probably in the workshop from Dokimon (see above note 4). In this respect it must be emphasized that no traces of any portraits of the local sponsors, epigraphically attested, were ever found there.

A. Male portraits

Chronologically the earliest portrait is a marble head from Sarmizegetusa (Cat. M, 1, Fig. 1a). The face was heavily damaged but ears, beard and hair still survive enough to indicate its poor quality. The rather simplified shape of the scull, the ears placed too low and far back, plus the decorative treatment of hairy surfaces define a coarse artisanal product. This portrait should be dated in Hadrianic times due to the short cut beard and the hair curls in shape of crescents which are directed from behind towards the front (a hairstyle in fashion by then, called *coma per gradus formata* = „Rollockenfrisur”). Two limestone heads from Apulum follow in time (Cat. M, 25-26, Fig. 1/b-c). They must come rather from life size statues then from deeply carved reliefs. Both should be dated in the mid-Antonine period, due to the more consistent beard and the hair with small, dense, curls.



Fig. 1. Mid-Antonine portraits: a. marble Sarmizegetusa (Cat. M, 1); b-c. limestone Apulum (Cat. M, 25-26).



Fig. 2. Portrait from Sarmizegetusa (marble) (Cat. M, 2).

The first genuine portrait comes from Sarmizegetusa (Cat. M, 2, Fig. 2) and was carved in the marble workshop at Bucova probably by the first generation of Greek (Micro Asian) artists who were commissioned to work at the monumental entrance in the old forum of Sarmizegetusa and at the new Capitoline temple of the colony. The portrait is obviously individualized, not only because of the face which has no parallel in imperial portraiture, but also because of the peculiar hair dress, with an unusual vortex to the right of the front head. The reinforcement similar to a

buttress at the back of the neck which gives it an extra resistance is a typical mark of the Micro Asian artists⁷.

The same reinforcement at the back of the neck is to be encountered at a marble cuirassed statue from Apulum (Cat. M, 28, Fig. 3b). It was regarded for long as an imperial statue (representing perhaps Helvius Pertinax), but the difficulties of a strait identification and the undecorated cuirass plead for a funerary statue of an equestrian officer, a *militiis* (for a full discussion of the statue see below).

The tensioned, pathetic, glimpse (with clearly marked pupils and frown forehead) also pleads for a late Antonine-early Severan dating. Similar in hairstyle is a limestone portrait from Napoca (Cat. M, 41, Fig. 3a) which should be dated in the same period. It was either unfinished or just poorly carved (meant to be later covered with gypsum?).

Two further marble heads are to be dated in the mid and late Severan period. The first, with completely destroyed face, was discovered together with the *togatus* body from Cinciş (Hunedoara county), in the rural territory of Sarmizegetusa (Cat. M, 20, Fig. 4a). Despite its low level of preservation the short cut curled hair, similar to the one of Caracalla, is still visible and thus pleads for a dating in the second decade of the 3rd century.

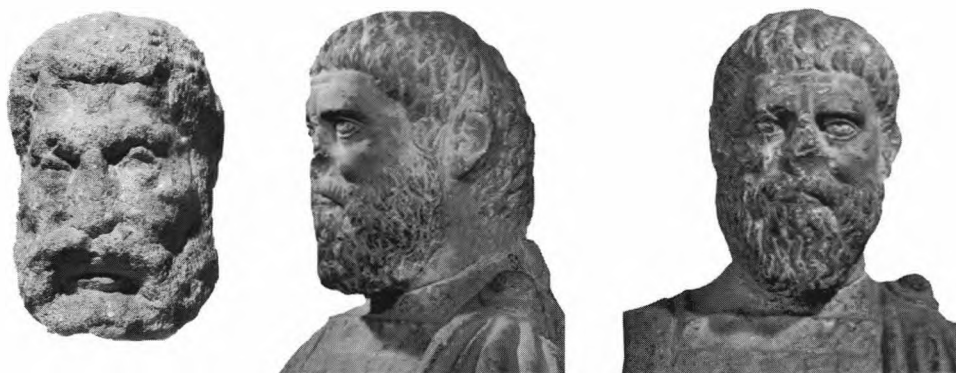


Fig 3. Late antonine - early Severan portraits: a. Napoca (limestone) (Cat. M, 42); b. Apulum (marble) (Cat. M, 28).

The head from the old collections of the Alba Iulia Museum, obviously coming from Apulum, is better preserved but still not enough to decide once for good weather it is a rude portrait of Severus Alexander⁸ or the image of some local private person of high status (Cat. M, 27, Fig. 4b). In the absence of any marble analyze it is hazardous to state that this portrait was imported, and thus that it should be an imperial one, but the fine grained white marble with a light ochre nuance

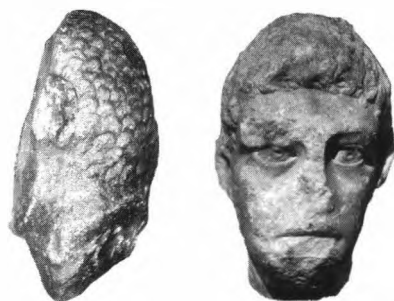


Fig. 4. Mid and late Severan portrait: a. Cinciş (Cat. M, 20); b. Apulum (Cat. M, 27).

⁷ Cf. Braemer 1973, 746; Braemer 1988, 189-198.

⁸ This was the opinion of M. Gramatopol expressed several times (see Gramatopol 1975, 192-194, Fig. 12-13; Gramatopol 1985, 132-136, no. 25, il. 25a-b).

seems to me not to come from Bucova. Despite these doubts for the benefit of the inventory of all life size portraits from Dacia we have decided to include this one into the catalogue.

The period of “soldier emperors” or “barrack emperors” (“Soldatenkaisern”) represented the peak of Apulum town life and of its prosperity. From here three marble portraits are recorded. The first two belong to statues of un-commissioned officers in campaign dress.

The third is now wrongly attached to an inadequate *togatus* statue, but in reality it is an independent piece. The first one (Cat. M, 31, Fig. 5a) could be dated in the period AD 235-240 because of the similarities with the portraits of Gordian III. The typical technique of rendering the hair by short deep cuts fits well into the second quarter of the 3rd century.



Fig. 5. Portraits from the times of “barrack emperors” (marble): a-c. Apulum (Cat. M, 31-32; 34); d. Valea Târnavei (Cat. M, 48).

The other portrait (Cat. M, 32, Fig. 5b) is less individualized, being a genuine coarse product. The third one (Cat. M, 34, Fig. 5d) is datable around the middle of the 3rd century, because of hair and beard rendered by dense small holes made with the pointed chisel in the “a penna” technique. The unusually big eyes pointed to the heights correspond to the same period. A more suggestive expression has a recently discovered head (Cat. M, 48, Fig. 5c), carved in Bucova marble, and coming from the *sepulchretum* of some *villa* in the valley of Târnavă Mare (in the territory of Apulum). Despite the poor of some villa in the valley of Târnavă Mare (in the territory of Apulum). Despite the poor estate of preservation, the well defined cheekbones and the mimic muscles (*zigomaticus major* and *minor* plus *elevator labii superioris*) with the *naso-labial* furrow indicate a good work of the mid’ 3rd century.

Generally in the 3rd century must be dated a worn out, eroded, marble portrait from Sarmizegetusa (Cat. M, 3). The head is slightly dolichocephalic and the marked prognathism of the lower jaw pleads for a bearded figure. The left ear, which is entirely visible, is a proof that hair was short-cut. The presence of a beard excludes the Trajanic period, when M. Gramatopol dates this portrait. Due to the short hair, I am inclined to date the piece under the soldier emperors, rather than under the Antonines or Severans, when hair is commonly thick and curly, though soldiers used to wear short hair even by then (see above no. 28, Fig. 3b).

From far the best private portrait of Roman Dacia comes from 3rd century Drobeta (Hadrianic municipium, Severan colony) (Cat. M, 43, Fig. 6).



Fig. 6. Head of a young worshiper of Isis from Drobeta, worked in Paros marble (Cat. M, 43).

It was imported from Greece (was carved in Parian marble) and can be assigned to the good Hellenistic tradition of children portraits from that area. The head belongs to a young boy with short hair rendered in the “a penna” technique, who wears a strand of long hair behind the neck, which is typical for children dedicated to goddess Isis. This exquisite funerary statue must have been brought across the Aegean and Black Sea, and further upstream the Danube to Drobeta.

B. Female portraits

In the frames of provincial art female portraits were less individualized by comparison to their male counterparts. Local craftsmen were primarily interested in rendering the age group of the women and its related status, then to reproduce their individual traits. Thus hair dress and garments were essential in female statues and relief images⁹ (as a matter of fact only a restricted number of sculptors were able to render individual features, and we doubt that any of such fine artists ever existed in Dacia)¹⁰.

The best of all female portraits from Roman Dacia is located in the Sibiu Museum and must originate rather in Sarmizegetusa than in Apulum (Cat. F, 21, Fig. 7c). Together with my colleague Em. Bota I have discussed this intriguing piece several times so that summarizing here the main conclusions would be enough¹¹. The hairstyle is late Hadrianic but stylistically the portrait should be dated considerably later. This peculiar hair dress is reproduced by a portrait from the late Antonine – early Severan *nymphaeum* in front of the forum from Sarmizegetusa (Fig. 7a). It

⁹ Dillon 2006; Dillon 2010, *passim*.

¹⁰ In fact, despite the literary sources, insisting on the likeness of the statuary portraits and on the individuality of the portrayed person, the Romans themselves paid little interest on the matter, being more interested in the status of the individual. Cf. Stewart 2003, especially p. 82-87.

¹¹ Diaconescu, Bota 2002-2003, 175-179, Pl. XI, 1; Diaconescu, Bota 2009, 292, Fig. 44C.

follows that in this particular place such an early hairstyle was in use almost two generations after the period it was launched.

In the other hand we encounter these features at portraits which should be dated up to the middle of the 2nd century, such as the head of Arete Kelsou from Ephesos



Fig. 7. Medium and late Antonine portraits from: a. Sarmizegetusa, *nymphaeum* (Lugoj Museum); b. Apulum (Cat. F, 23); c. Sarmizegetusa or Apulum (Cat. F, 21) (Sibiu Museum); d. Ephesos, Arete Kelsou (Ephesos Museum, Wien); e. Ampelum, limestone funerary medallion (Cluj-Napoca Museum).

(Fig. 7d)¹² and in Rome several portraits from of the Hadrianeum which display hair strands separated by deep trenches interrupted by small bridges, features that were invented under Trajan and Hadrian¹³. In Dacia, the same expression with lowered mouth corners and encrusted pupils is documented by a limestone portrait from Apulum, with the hairstyle of Faustina Senior (Cat. F, 24. Fig. 7a) and by late Antonine portraits, such as the one on a funerary medallion from Ampelum (Fig. 7e).



Fig. 8. Tomis, monument of *M. Servilius Fabianus* (Inst. București).

In this respect, a special attention deserves a portrait from Tomis (on the Black Sea shore), which must have been executed on the spot by some sculptor from Nicomedia, accompanying the half carved pieces of the monument dedicated around AD 163 to the governor of Moesia Inferior, *M. Servilius Fabianus* (Fig. 8). The hairstyle fits well into the period, but the raised glimpse with incrusted pupils could be dated even later¹⁴.

To conclude, the marble portrait from Sibiu Museum, despite its Hadrianic hairstyle, should be dated towards the middle of the 2nd century and should

thus be related to the first generation of Micro Asian artists that started the great workshop near the Bucova quarry. The portrait must have represented an old woman, who was wearing the hairstyle of her youth (in Roman art funerary monuments of several generations, each character with his specific haircut, are frequent).

¹² Atalay 1989, 46-47, nos. 40, 100-102, Abb. 83-84.

¹³ See Strocka 1988, passim.

¹⁴ Alexandrescu-Vianu 1992, 457-59, Fig. 9-11.

Other four limestone heads, which could be dated in the mid' Antonine period, come from the same town of Apulum (by then a *pagus* of Sarmizegetusa and the only legionary garrison of Dacia). The earliest one bears the hairstyle of Sabina (Cat. F, 22, Fig. 9a). Other three display the hair dress of Faustina Senior (Cat. F, 23, Fig. 9b; Cat. P, II 25 (not illustrated here); Cat. F, 25a, Fig. 9c). The consistent number of



Fig. 9. Mid Antonine limestone portraits from Apulum: a. with the hairdress of Sabina (Cat. F, 21); b-c. with the hairdress of Faustina Senior (Cat. F, 22 and 25a).

portraits with the hairstyle of Sabina and Faustina Senior makes us suppose that this hairstyle must have been very popular and might have lasted in Dacia well beyond the middle of the 2nd century.

In the second half of the same century, the imperial hairstyle changed, the loop from the top of the head being moved to the back of the neck. This late Antonine hairstyle is attested at another portrait from Apulum and at one from Napoca. At the end of the period, both settlements were granted colonial status, thus challenging Sarmizegetusa. Yet in the decades to come the old religious capital maintained its prominent position and prosperity. The portrait from Apulum comes from a marble statue of the



Fig. 10. Late Antonine portraits from: a. Apulum (Cat. F, 32); b. Napoca (Cat. F, 33).

Eumachia-Fundillia type (Cat. F, 32, Fig. 10a). The one from Napoca was carved in local limestone (Cat. F, 33, Fig. 10b) and displays the same pathetic mimics. Both seem to represent aged persons with slight dark circles around the eyes.

As normally expected, the early and middle Severan portraits from Roman Dacia are of good

quality. The face of the marble statue from Sarmizegetusa (Cat. F, 9, Fig. 11a) belonging to the type known as “La Grande Ercolanese”, presents great similarities with the early portraits of Iulia Domna and thus should be dated at the turn of the 2nd to the 3rd century. Further, the portrait of an undefined hybrid type statue from Potaissa (Cat. F, 39, Fig. 11b) recalls the portraits of the same empress under the rule of her son, Caracalla, and is to be dated into the second decade of the 3rd century. The statue



Fig. 11. Early and middle Severan portraits from: a. Sarmizegetusa (Cat. F, 9); b. Potaissa (Cat. P. II, 39). Late Severan to the middle of the 3rd century portraits from: c. Cinciș - Hunedoara (Cat. F, 20); d. Apulum (Cat. F, 28).

was carved in local marble and shows that under the Severans the drill was known to the Potaissa artisans. This particular technique is attested at Sarmizegetusa already in the last decades of the 2nd century, as some reliefs from the east *nymphaeum* in front of the forum clearly show¹⁵. The fragmentary head of the statue from Cinciș (Hunedoara), in the territory of Sarmizegetusa, also belonging to the “La Grande Ercolanese” type (Cat. F, 20, Fig. 11c) must be dated in late Severan times because of the hairstyle which leaves the ears at sight. The execution of the statue is of good quality, which forbids us to date this portrait later. On the other hand the statue from Apulum (Cat. F, 28, Fig. 11d) is so rudimentary that it should be dated to the middle of the 3rd century (cf. the similar piece Cat. F, 29).

The study of the portraits indicates that most of the funerary statues from Roman Dacia were produced between the middle of the 2nd to the middle of the 3rd century.

3. Male statues

A. *Statuae togatae*

For centuries, *toga* was the national garment of the Romans and alongside with the cuirassed statues (*statuae loricateae*) the *togati* were unanimously considered to be typical images of the Romans, often opposed to the Greek *palliat*¹⁶. In this respect

¹⁵ Diaconescu, Bota 2004, 478, Pl. 25; Diaconescu, Bota 2009, 199, ArM 102, Pl. 78; Diaconescu 2010, 58-60.

¹⁶ At the end of the 2nd century, when Tertullian wrote his *De pallio*, this garment was still regarded as a sign of a Greek-Oriental origin, which was the case with most of the Christians even in North Africa, a region where Latin was currently spoken. At the beginning, the Greek mantle, *himation*, was not essentially different from the simple *toga* (*exigua*), what led to frequent confusions in interpreting funerary

I always strongly recommend to my students two works, written in the early 90's, but still valid nowadays: H. R. Goette's "*Studien zu römischen Togadarstellungen*"¹⁷, an impressive monograph covering four centuries of Roman history and a large geographical space, on one hand, and on the other hand, S. Stone's, "*The toga: from national to ceremonial costume*"¹⁸, a considerably smaller work, but equally valuable, which despite being independently written reached the same conclusions expressed by the German scholar. Yet both works were more concerned with the significance of this garment, or with the draping of the toga and consequently with the dating of several dressing styles, than with matters regarding iconographic aspects such as composition, pose and stance of the statues, or carving and modeling of the surfaces. At his turn, V. Kockel, when dealing with the funerary monuments of Rome, brought supplementary arguments for a more accurate dating of draping styles¹⁹.

According to Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 34, 18), the oldest type of Roman honorific statue was the one dressed in toga. The first persons depicted this way did not wear any *tunica*, and thus they had naked chests, like the Greeks. The oldest and most venerable way of draping the toga was *cinctus Gabinus*, used by magistrates at sacrifices (see for instance the panel of Ara Pacis with the sacrifice of Aeneas)²⁰.

Initially the toga was the Roman national costume, so that Vergilius (*Aeneid.* 1, 282) applies to the descendents of Romulus the name of *gens togata* ("nation in toga"). In ancient literature the term *togatus* was designating the Roman, both from Rome itself and from Italy, and according to Suetonius (*Augustus* 40), Octavian passed a law obliging all citizens to wear the toga while in forum. Later, the same garment was forbidden to the foreigners and deportees, so that they should not be taken for Roman citizens (Suetonius, *Claudius* 15, 2). Yet, in time, this heavy and uncomfortable costume (especially in summer time) progressively lost its day to day use, and became an official garment, worn mostly by magistrates²¹. At the end of the 1st century AD, the poet Martial (10, 47, 5) praised the country life, where there are no trials, the toga is rarely seen and the mind is clear (*Lis nunquam, toga rara, mens quieta*)²². By the same time Quintilian, in his 11th book of *Institutio oratoria* (3, 137-144), dedicates an extended passage to the draping of the toga, which because of its official character, when unskillfully or wrongly arranged, could compromise a promising oratorical career. A few years later, the poet Juvenal (*Satirae* 3, 171-173) trifles that most of

monuments and other statues or reliefs, where free born Roman citizens could be taken for freedmen of Greek origin, or viceversa. M. Bieber has pointed out that despite the similar draping, there is still a difference which consists in the round cut of the toga, while the *pallium* had individualised corners, cut at right angle (Bieber 1977, 129-147). In the case of the Dacian provinces although the Greek-Oriental ethnic elements are far from being absent, there is no statue of a *palliatus*, the type of "mousikos aner" (or intellectual) being unpopular within the local elite.

¹⁷ Goette 1990.

¹⁸ Stone 1995, 13-45.

¹⁹ Kockel 1993, 15-24 cf. Lahusen, Formigli 2001, 118-119, catalogue no. 63; 140-141, catalogue no. 82; 141-142, catalogue no. 83, for the bronze *togati*.

²⁰ Diaconescu 2012, vol. I, 1, 137-138, with the complete discussion of *cinctus Gabinus*.

²¹ According to Juvenal, *Sat.* 3, 173-177, even the *aediles* during summer ceremonies were wearing only a *tunica*.

²² For further literary sources on the use of toga see Goette 1990, 10-19; Stone 1994, 13.

the inhabitants of Italy meet the toga only at their funerals (...*pars magna Italiae est, si verum admittimus in qua / nemo togam summit sive mortuus*). In fact, with the exception of public persons, the clients were still wearing the toga, because they had to dress smart while accompanying their patrons in the forum²³. It should be noted that by the time Dacia became a Roman province, a *statua togata* would not depict anymore a citizen in opposition with a peregrine, or the Roman versus the barbarian, but would represent the magistrate, the person with a public duty and a corresponding high social status. From the 25 statues depicting *togati*, two thirds come from Sarmizegetusa and its restricted territory, only 3 from Apulum, one from Tibiscum and one from Dierna (all former *pagi* of Sarmizegetusa). From the rest of the province (zones 2 and 3), a *togatus* is known to come from Napoca (Hadrianic *municipium*) and another one from Porolissum (Severan creation). Only one could be assigned to the rural zone (excepting the statue from Cinciș, in the territory of Sarmizegetusa, Cat. M, 20), *id est* the *togatus* from Sibiu Museum, which must come from east Transylvania (probably the rural territory of Apulum). It becomes obvious that in a colony of veterans, such as Sarmizegetusa, it would have been tautological to emphasize on the citizen status.

The situation becomes different in remote territories, where most of the inhabitants had peregrine status. This was the case of the veteran *L. Poblucius* from Cologne, who at the middle of the 1st century preferred to be depicted in toga, rather than in some military costume. A huge fragmentary relief depicting a person in toga was found long ago some 50 km north of Napoca, in the territory controlled by *ala II Pannoniorum* from Gherla (Fig. 22b). We have interpreted it as coming from the cemetery (*sepulchretum*) of some villa belonging to an aristocrat from Napoca, but recently an intriguing fragment of an *aedicula* was found, far in the north-east of Dacia Porolissensis at Șieu-Odorhei (Fig. 22a). It depicts two full standing characters, a woman and a man in toga. In this case, the monument must have been erected by the family of a veteran from one of the auxiliary units from the region, who would have gained his Roman citizenship after retiring from military service. A somehow similar choice, but on slightly different grounds, is the one made by one *Iddibal Caphada Aemilius (Himillis)* from Lepcis Magna, to whom the Roman citizenship was also recently granted²⁴.

In the Greek East, the toga had another meaning and perception: it symbolized the attachment of the Greek intellectual elite to the Roman ideals of peace and prosperity, as well as its contribution at the administration of the Empire (see the case of Celsus in Ephesus and of Herodes Atticus in Athens and Olympia)²⁵. Further east, in another frontier region such as Palmyra, where Greek and Aramaic were currently spoken, wearing a toga would represent again the attachment to Roman values and service for the benefit of the Empire (the case of *equites*), while the “national”

²³ Stone 1994, 16, note 25.

²⁴ Balty 1993, 18-19.

²⁵ Bol 1984, *passim* and Smith 1998, 75-77, for Olympia; Outschar 1995, *passim* and Smith 1998, 73-75, for Ephesus.

costume, worn by the so called “senators” and high priests (social and religious top elite) represented a way of displaying the “national” identity²⁶.

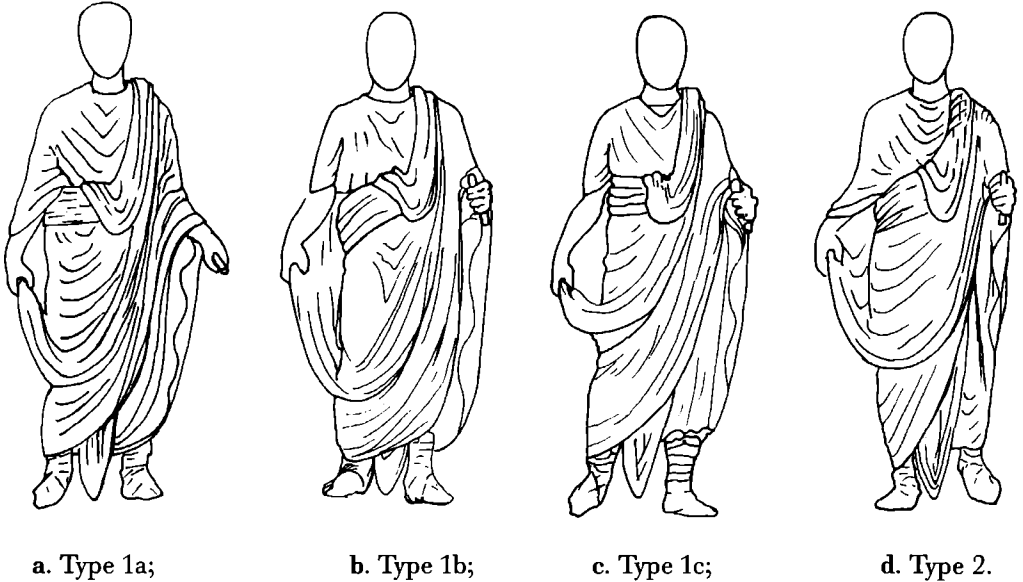


Fig. 12. Types of toga statues from Roman Dacia.

In the present list we have gathered 25 toga statues, considerably more than in all neighboring provinces. The majority, if not all of them (for example catalogue nos. 47 from Porolissum and 50 from *vicus Samum*), was carved in the workshop (or workshops) at Bucova. With two exceptions (catalogue nos. 23 and 47, Fig. 21), the rest of the depicted persons wear a tunica and a toga of type B in Goette’s classification, with a well developed *umbo* wrapped over the *balteus* and with an ample *sinus*. This manner of draping the toga was in use from the Augustan to the late Antonine period. The person holds a fold of the toga with his right hand and in the left he keeps a *volumen*.

Despite the great uniformity of draping the toga the statues from Dacia can be divided into two main groups (Fig. 12), according to the balance (or *contrapposto*): the first variant (group 1) has the body weight supported by the left foot (9 or 10 pieces), while by the second one (group 2), the right foot is engaged and the left leg is bent from the knee (10-11 pieces). Only a few pieces, which will be discussed separately, do not fit into this scheme.

As far as the first group is concerned, taking into consideration the draping of the toga and the position of the upper limbs, it could be divided into three subgroups (variants): a, b, and c. Each subgroup is perfectly coherent, the lack of hybrid cases and of atypical pieces is a mark of identity which could indicate that these variants could be also considered well defined independent groups, produced by individualized workshops or circles of artists. The repertory of the first generation of *marmorii* from Bucova (ca. AD 150-170) comprised both the variant 1a (of the first group) and the second group (which is less differentiated). The subgroup 1b seems to have been

²⁶ Balty 1993, 19-21.

introduced later, towards the end of the 2nd century, by a secondary workshop, while the beginning of the third variant (1c) is more difficult to be dated.

To the first group, subgroup 1a (Fig. 13) belongs a good quality statue from Napoca, carved in Bucova marble (Cat. M, 40), and two others, less exquisite and consecutively later pieces, which come from Sarmizegetusa (Cat. M, 4-5). By subgroup 1a the pose is of classical inspiration, with an Attic *contrapposto*, the weight being supported by the left foot, while the right leg is bent, so that its thigh and knee are visible through the draping of the toga. The right foot lies with its entire sole on the ground, thus pushing forwards the corresponding knee, which becomes visible. On the other hand, the shoulders are positioned at the same level, and the person is looking strait forwards. This frontality is characteristic to provincial sculpture. The specific traits of the draping are: the *balteus* which runs obliquely across the chest and the *sinus* that descends under the right knee. To the left the folds of the toga cover entirely the lower part of the *tunica*²⁷.

The piece from Napoca (Cat. M, 40, Fig. 13a) is the first in the series and is to be dated in the mid' rather than late Antonine period. The anatomic volumes have organic aspect, the right shoulder and the pectoral muscle reveal themselves from



Fig. 13. *Statuae togatae*, group 1, subgroup 1a from: a. Napoca (catalogue no. 40); b-c. Sarmizegetusa (catalogue nos. 5 and 4).

under the tunic, and the thigh and knee emerge from under the toga. The deeply cut folds, despite a certain geometric shape, have still a material appearance. By reverse,

²⁷ Such details have been used by Goette as dating criteria for the Augustan, Claudio-Neronian or Flavian periods. By the mid-2nd century, when these types entered the statuary art of Roman Dacia, they must have been since long integrated in the repertoires of provincial craftsmen.

the statue from Sarmizegetusa (Cat. M, 5, Fig. 13b) is late Antonine, with well individualized folds but with considerable geometric features. The “V” shaped tucks on the chest and the wrinkled ones, covering the right thigh and lower belly, hide any anatomic form. As for the third piece, also from Sarmizegetusa (Cat. M, 4, Fig. 13c), its stylistic position is less obvious. On one hand it displays no organic shape at all, on the other the folds are delicate, with subtle and smooth passages from a plan to the other, which would plead for an early date. It also could be a coarse and superficial artisanal product, impossible to be dated accurately.

It is highly probable that subgroup 1a was intensively used in the second half of the 2nd century, with the possibility of lasting in the next decades of the 3rd century too. Group 1, subgroup 1b (Fig. 14), consists of a late Antonine (more likely then



Fig. 14. *Statuae togatae* subgroup 1b from: a. Apulum (catalogue no. 33); b-c. Sarmizegetusa (catalogue nos. 6-7); d. Tibiscum (Cat. M, 45).

early Severan) statue from Apulum (Cat. M, 33, Fig. 14a), and of two statues from Sarmizegetusa, both mid' Severan in date (Cat. M, 6-7, Fig. 14b-c). Another statue from Tibiscum might be added here, although it is difficult to judge it, because of the bad estate of preservation of its frontal side (Cat. M, 45).

The pose of subgroup 1b is similar to the previous one. The only significant difference comes from the left limb, which is not bent at 90° with the forearm strait ahead, but lowered, the hand with *volumen* being almost symmetrical to the right one holding a fold of the toga. In the case of the first variant, the outlook of the right sleeve of the tunica can not be defined, but at subgroup 1b it is large and quite long, covering not only the arm and the elbow but also almost half of the forearm (at the third variant, 1c, the sleeve ends at the level of the elbow). The draping of the toga has also several particularities: the first section of the *balteus* runs almost horizontally

and the *sinus* descends to the level of the knee, not under it as in the previous case, or above it as in the case of 1c.

The three statues of subgroup 1b are stylistically related, having the same wrinkled parallel folds. This could be the mark of a specific workshop since it can be encountered at further two female statues carved at Bucova in the Severan period (Cat. F, 12–13). The togatus from Apulum is the best modeled statue, with anatomic shapes partly visible, while the Sarmizegetusa ones are more rigid and conventional. Catalogue no. 7 with the deeply cut tucks in an illusionistic manner should be dated later than the previous ones, probably in the second quarter of the 3rd century.

Subgroup 1c (Fig. 15) consists of three pieces all from Sarmizegetusa (Cat. M, 8–10). They can be dated on stylistic grounds in Severan times. The folds are deeply carved and have the appearance of dark trenches in contrast with the lighted high surfaces. As already mentioned above this illusionistic technique makes its appearance at the early Severan east *nymphaeum* from Sarmizegetusa.

At the statues of this subgroup the weight is supported by the left foot, while the left leg is bent. The pose is more dynamic than the one of previous subgroups, because here the left foot is positioned to the back and slightly to the side. The heel is lifted from the soil as in the case of Polycleitian *contrapposto*. The left limb is bent at a right angle, but the hand with *volumen* is not projected forwards, being attached to the abdomen. The right sleeve of the tunic is rather short, covering only the arm, while



Fig. 15 a-c. *Togati* of subgroup 1c, Sarmizegetusa (Cat. M, 8–10).

the *sinus* is placed above the right knee. The lower part of the *balteus* is horizontal. To the left the long tunica is covering the leg beyond the knee, revealing entirely the *corrigeae* of the *calcei senatorii*.

Group 2, comprising 10–11 statues (Fig. 16–18) is roughly the same size as group 1 (9–10 pieces). Within group 2, a number of 6 or 7 statues come from Sarmizegetusa (Cat. M, 11–15, 17, maybe 18 too, both from Hunedoara castle), the eights comes from its territory (Cinciş, Cat. P, 24), and only two come from Apulum (Cat. M, 35–36) and one from Dierna (Cat. P. I, 46). To this, a rudimentary statue from Sibiu Museum (Cat. M, 49) must be added. It is worked in Bucova marble and is either a late output of the central *marmorarii* workshop, or a local product.

The second group is characterized by the weight upheld by the right foot, the left leg being bent. The corresponding foot is slightly set forwards and to the side. In the case of some better worked pieces such as Apulum (Cat. M, 36, Fig. 16b) the right shoulder is lowered, so that the *contrapposto* is complete. The draping is almost the same at all pieces: *tunica* with long large sleeves, *toga* with an extensive *sinus* at right knee level, well defined *lacinia* and beyond it the left bent leg entirely free, revealing the long *tunica*. The *balteus* runs obliquely and the *umbo* is well defined. In most of the cases it has an extra torsion towards the left shoulder, which recalls of the type C toga (where the *umbo* is replaced by this torsion). Only Cat. M, 24 from Cinciş (Fig. 17a) and Cat. M, 49 (Fig. 18d) from Sibiu definitely do not share this particular feature, which is rather a detail that makes us hesitate into putting these pieces into a separate subgroup.

The file leader of group 2 is the statue from Dierna (catalogue no. 46, Fig. 16a) whose draping has more sculptural volume than any other statue of the group. It is followed by the small scale statue from Apulum (Cat. M, 35, Fig. 16c)²⁸, which is also well balanced but has a more geometric draping, with folds having angular edges. In Dacia this technique is early Severan, so that the first piece, from Dierna, must be late Antonine, if not earlier. Follows the statue from Sebeş Museum, which must come from Apulum or a villa in its immediate vicinity (Cat. M, 36, Fig. 16d). The pose is still natural and the volumes are correctly rendered, but the illusionistic manner in which the deep carved folds are treated pleads for a mid- to late Severan dating. The statue from Sarmizegetusa (Cat. M, 11, Fig. 17b) is in a poor estate of conservation, but its carving seems to be rather elegant and the rendering of the volumes quite good, so that I would date this piece in late Antonine times. A more geometric treatment of the drapery places the next three pieces from Sarmizegetusa and its territory into the late Severan period. The statue from Cinciş (Cat. M, 24, Fig. 17b) has a part of the head preserved (see above Fig. 5), which enables a dating in mid- and late Severan period. The strait cut of the folds defines a new technique, of a doubtful decorative quality but which loses any contact with the real form of the draping. The next piece, Cat. M. 12, Fig. 17c from Sarmizegetusa or a *villa* in its territory (it was brought at the Deva Museum from Brănişca), has clear stylistic affinities with the one in Cinciş (despite the fact that this

²⁸ Due to the dimensions it could have represented as well a *Genius* (perhaps with a *cornucopia* in the left hand, where a cavity for some object was intentionally carved). My only reserve was that he does not hold a *paterna* in his right hand, but Al. Dudău (2012, 389–390, no. 1, Pl. 1) has recently demonstrated that such a pose is acceptable for a funerary *Genius*, derived from the iconography of *Genius familiaris*.

one does not have the twist of the *balteus* on the left shoulder). The transition from the middle Severan statue at Sebeş (catalogue no. 36) to this distinctive manner of treating the sculptural surface is provided by a statue from Hunedoara castle, probably brought here from Sarmizegetusa (Cat. M, 15). The deep trenches retaining the shadow indicate already the progressive lost of materiality. Several fragmentary pieces from the same area display the same geometric style that dominated the Bucova workshop production in the late Severan and in the times of the “soldier emperors”.



Fig. 16. *Statuae togatae*, group 2, from late Antonine to mid Severan times from: a. Dierna (catalogue no. 46); b. Sarmizegetusa (catalogue no. 11); c. Apulum (catalogue no. 35); d. Sebeş Mus., probably Apulum (catalogue no. 36).



Fig. 17. *Statuae togatae*: group 2, mid- and late Severan period, from: a. Hunedoara (Sarmizegetusa?, catalogue no. 15); b. Cinciş (catalogue no. 24), c. Brănişca (Sarmizegetusa, catalogue no. 12); d. Sarmizegetusa (catalogue no. 13).



Fig. 18. *Statuae togatae*, late Severan - middle of the 3rd century from: a. Sarmizegetusa (catalogue no. 14); b. Hunedoara (Sarmizegetusa?, catalogue no. 16); c. Deva (Sarmizegetusa), Cat. M, 18; d. East Dacia (?) or Apulum (catalogue no. 49).

To the same group 2, which has the right foot engaged, belongs a good quality statue from Deva Museum (Cat. M, 17, Fig. 19), that must come from Sarmizegetusa or its territory (Micia?). In this case the toga covers almost entirely the left leg and has an extra fold at its outer edge. The *sinus* is also placed lower than in other cases and the upper part of the *balteus* is not twisted in the manner recalling the type C toga draping. The carving is of good quality despite the relative rigidity of the folds. Singular as it is, this statue shows that group 2 is by no means monotonous.

Besides the two groups mentioned here there are some peculiar togati that deserve a separate treatment. A statuette from the auxiliary fort at Cășei, *vicus Samum*, (Cat. M, 50,



Fig. 19. Type 2 statue, an out of the ordinary variant from Deva Museum (Cat. M, 17).

Fig. 20) is an exquisite product of a local workshop. It depicts a *Genius Augusti*, with a typical *cinctus Gabinius*. The beardless young person wears a long tunic and a toga. In



Fig. 20. Statuette of *Genius Augusti* from Cășei, *vicus Samum* (Cat. M, 50).

his right hand he holds a round plate for libations and in the left a *cornucopia*, now partly broken. Since he is performing a sacrifice the head is covered with a fold of the toga (*togatus capite velato*). The wriggled *balteus* runs horizontally and the sinus is placed above the knee. Although the original *cinctus Gabinius*, involves a very short toga, the statuette from *vicus Samum* has an extra fold running obliquely from the right shank to the left armpit. This particular draping reproduces an Augustan model, which combines the ancestral way of wearing the toga with the recent one, characterized by a large *umbo*²⁹.

Other two statues (Fig. 21), one from Deva Museum, apparently of good quality, which comes from Micia (?) or some other place in the territory of Sarmizegetusa (Cat. M, 19, Fig. 21a) and the other one, of lesser quality, from Porolissum (Cat. M, 47, Fig. 21b), have both a curious way of draping the toga, which resembles the C type of Goette. This was a later fashion which penetrated in Dacia probably in the 3rd century. The round cut of the lower edge of the garment is typical for the Roman toga, and distinguishes it from the Greek *pallium*. On the upper part of the person's torso a sort of *balteus* emerges, or a poorly twisted *umbo*. The very presence of these two statues shows how complex the problem of local inspired production and foreign influences on the sculpture from Roman Dacia were.

Despite some peculiar cases, the *togati* from Dacia were not original creations of local workshops, presumably inspired from the immediate reality. In fact the *marmorarii* from Bucova were reproducing models from the collection of their own workshop. Long before Dacia became a Roman province both *togati* types (groups 1 and 2) entered the repertoires of the main *marmorarii* workshops in Italy and Greece, or Asia Minor. The absence of typical togas of



Fig. 21. Toga of type C (?): Deva museum (Cat. M, 19) and Porolissum (Cat. M, 47).

²⁹ For instance the statue of *Genius Augusti* from Rome (now in Vatican) was not adjusted in the 18th century as H. Kunckel believed (Kunckel 1974, 26-27, A1, Taf. 9, 1). Its *sinus* is shorter than usual similar to the statuette from *vicus Samum*. The iconography of the draped *Genius* is typical for the 1st century AD; cf. Dudău 2012, 391-392, no. 3, Pl. III/2.

Goette's types C and D shows how insensible to the reality of their own times were the *marmorarii* from Bucova and how attached were they to their models.

The considerable number of toga statues from Roman Dacia (25 pieces) stays in contrast to the relatively small number of statues known to us from the neighboring provinces. From Moesia Superior we can quote only one piece from Viminacium³⁰. This statue fits into my second group, and was probably imported from Asia Minor around the middle of the 2nd century. South of Upper Moesia, in Macedonia, there are two examples, one at Heraclea and the other at Stobi³¹. To the East, in Moesia Inferior I can quote three *togati*: one at Tomis, one at Histria and one from *Noviodunum* (Isaccea)³². I have scarce information about Pannonia but from Noricum I can quote 3 standing *togati* in Gratz Museum (from Triebensdorf, Schwanberg and St. Lorenzen)³³, and 5 sitting *togati*³⁴, a type that seems not to have been popular down streams the Danube.

In Dacia, besides free standing statues which stood in *mausolea* or *aediculae*, there are some reliefs fulfilling the same task but with lower costs. The standing full statuesque figures (representing a family) are depicted entirely in low or in deep relief.



Fig. 22. Statuesque reliefs depicting *togati*:
a. Șieu-Odorhei (after Zăgreanu 2011, Fig. 5);
b. Gherla.

Currently the men are depicted in casual costume (see below) corresponding to a lower social level than the elites shown in toga. Yet recently a back wall from an *aedicula* was discovered in north-east Dacia at Șieu-Odorhei (Fig. 22a)³⁵. The presence of an extensive *sinus*, the *balteus* and *umbo* make the identification of the toga certain. Another fragment from a similar monument, probably bigger, comes from Gherla (Fig. 22b), in the same north-east rural region of Napoca³⁶. Only the lower part is preserved but it is obvious that the man wears a toga because of the typical round cut of the lower edge of the mantle.

³⁰ Tomović 1992, 61–62, 81, no. 41, Fig. 17/4.

³¹ Tomović 1992, 61, note 243.

³² Covacef 2002, 78, no. 17; 86, no. 5; 91, no. 1. In the East there are more statues of Greek *palliatii*. For instance from Dobrogea (eastern half of Moesia Inferior) 3 statues of *palliatii* are known to me (Tomis - Covacef 2002, 78–79, no. 145; Histria - Covacef 2002, 85, no. 2; 86, no. 4), other 6 from Bulgaria, and 15 from Macedonia (Tomović 1992, 61, note 238). Only one *palliatius* is recorded in Moesia Superior, at Singidunum (Tomović 1992, 60–61, 81, no. 43, Fig. 15/4). The so called "*palliatius* from Viminacium" (Tomović 1992, 62, 81, no. 42, Fig. 38/3), is in reality a votive statue of a male deity.

³³ Kremer 2001, 196, no. 77, Taf. 23; 122, no. 74, Taf. 11; 122, no. 75, Taf. 11.

³⁴ Kremer 2001, 35–42 (two persons from the monument of the *Spectantii*); 121–122, nos. 70–72.

³⁵ Zăgreanu 2011, *passim*.

³⁶ Zăgreanu 2007, 258–259, no. 2, Fig. 11, with the previous literature.

B. *Statuae loricateae*

Pliny's famous phrase (*Nat. Hist.* 34, 18): *Graeca res nihil velare, at contra Romana ac militaris thoraces addere*, is usually taken for a proof that the cuirassed statue, *statua loricata*, was a pure Roman creation. In fact, such statues existed well before in classical Greece, at least within funerary monuments, and starting with the Hellenistic period the armed image became a privilege of the monarchs³⁷. As for Roman cuirassed statues, K. Stemmer has convincingly demonstrated that initially they were attached both to the idea of triumph and to that of apotheosis³⁸. This iconographic type also appears in later Republican funerary art, for instance in the case of the aedicule of M. Octavius and his wife from Porta Nocera in Pompeii. Here the main character in the middle, probably the patron of the two freedmen is depicted in a body armor of Hellenistic tradition³⁹. In such cases the cuirassed statue had both a heroic connotation (similar to the nudity, which will be discussed below) and was also representative of the social status. On the other hand, under the Principate the cuirassed statue was not an exclusive privilege of the emperor and his family. As K. Stemmer has shown at this point, the distinction must be made between the image of the soldier with his weapons, which was a specific form developed in Roman art, on one side, and the *statuae loricateae*, which illustrate the conception of an elite, attached to the Hellenistic ideas of expressing personal value. While in archaic and classical times the armed statue on a funerary monument had more of a descriptive role, in the Hellenistic world the image of the heroic savior and of the charismatic sovereign depicted in armor gained a new semantic value. The Roman elite adopted these ideals, so that during the Principate we often encounter several marble statues depicting private persons, some in simple, undecorated cuirass, and others with loftily adorned armor, like in the case of imperial statues⁴⁰.

Further research, due first of all to H. Devijever⁴¹, has shown that the distinction between "private apotheosis" and "descriptive statue" is not so sharp. In the case of the members of the equestrian order for instance, who as high officers were entitled to anatomic armor, they were often presented on their funerary monuments wearing such a cuirass. In this case it is not necessary a private apotheosis, but the usual way of presenting any military person in his battle dress. In case we encounter an undecorated anatomic armor and some weapons we might conclude without hesitation that this is not an imperial statue, but a private one, probably with funerary function.

This must be the case of a 1st century statue, sold in 2005 at New York by Christie's (Fig. 23)⁴². Another example is the *statua loricata* of Aquila, son of Celsus,

³⁷ Stemmer 1978, 136-139.

³⁸ According to a pattern well documented in Hellenistic art, Caesar appears in chariot and dressed in *lorica*, on the "Lares altar" from Belvedere depicting his apotheosis, and on the "Parthendenkmal" from Ephesos, Antoninus Pius is depicted with the same garment in the scene of the apotheosis. The cuirassed statue of Trajan on the top of his column in Rome had a double significance: honorific and apotheotic (see Stemmer 1978, 147).

³⁹ Gabelmann 1979, Abb. 6; Bonifacio 1997, nos. 15, 64-65, Tav. XVI a.

⁴⁰ Stemmer 1978, 148.

⁴¹ Devijever 1989 (1986); Devijever 1989 (1987); Devijever 1989.

⁴² It comes from an Austrian private collection, is made of marble and now measures 91 cm in height (see http://www.christies.com/Lotfinder/lot_details.aspx?sid=&intObjectID=4505563).

from the library in Ephesus, which dates from AD 143-144. He also wears a simple, undecorated anatomic armor, with *cinctorium* and a mantle, which covers most of his chest⁴³. A similar torso, with undecorated cuirass and *cinctorium*, comes from Stobi in Moesia Superior⁴⁴. It worth retaining it because it is similar to the cuirassed statue from Apulum, currently attributed to Pertinax, and which, in our opinion, depicts an



Fig. 23. Statue from private collection, New York.

equestrian officer (see below Cat. M, 28, Fig. 24).

As a matter of fact such statues of private persons come from funerary monuments and belonged to the local elite. Only the marble statue fragments discovered in the forum of Sarmizegetusa represented emperors, worshipped as *divi* (see above note 4). It is no wonder that the cuirassed statues recorded here as funerary ones, come mostly from Apulum, the most important military settlement of Roman Dacia.

The earliest of them (Cat. M, 28, Fig. 24), is the closest to a genuine imperial statue, because it reproduces a type existing in imperial art too (Stemmer's type V, corresponding to our type 1a⁴⁵). The man upholds his body weight on the right foot and in the lowered left hand holds the commander's short sword, the *parazonium*, with the point upwards. On the left shoulder a part of the mantle, *paludamentum*, attached with a round brooch, is visible. One end of the mantle was descending over the left elbow, the other one was passed by behind, being held with the right hand, now missing. The muscled cuirass with *epomides* is undecorated, with the exception of a Medusa head placed on the chest. The *pteryges* are small and rounded, being decorated with a simple circle. Over the belly there is a *cinctorium* fastened with the usual knot, provided with a beautiful bow.

The anatomy of the torso is well rendered, but the frontality and the fact that shoulders are at the same level, despite the left leg being bent, pleads for a local provincial work. The lambrequins are also rendered like an amorphous mass of vertical

⁴³ Stemmer 1978, 101, VIII, 6 and p. 105. See also Stemmer 1978, 108, VIII a 4, Taf. 73, for the Trajanic statue of a fleet officer from Rome.

⁴⁴ Stemmer 1978, V 18 and p. 71, Taf. 41.

⁴⁵ Diaconescu 2012, vol. I, 1, cap. 2, 168-170.



Fig. 24. *Statura loricata*, of Stemmer type V = Diaconescu type 1a, from Apulum (so called Pertinax, Cat. M, 28).

stripes. This statue must have been carved in the workshop at Bucova (as the marble analyses have proven) at a time when prestigious good models were still vivid, not later than the early Severan period (see the reinforcement at the back of the neck which is a mark of Micro Asian workshops). The portrait discussed above (see Fig. 4) can be dated in the last decades of the 2nd century. The absence of almost any decoration on the armor, and the fact that the portrait does not fit any emperor supposed to be honored or worshipped as *divus* in the Dacian province, make me assign this statue to a private person from Apulum, obviously of equestrian rank, one of the many *a militiis* known to have lived here.

As a matter of fact starting with the second command (*militia secunda*), which involves the rank of *tribunus militum*, one could be represented wearing a muscled cuirass, decorated with a Medusa on the chest and with a *paludamentum* on the right shoulder. This is the case of the monument of *Sex. Adgenius Macrinus*, buried at Nemausus, in Gallia Narbonensis⁴⁶. The monument dates from the last years of the Flavian period, or under Trajan. Macrinus started his career in the native town of Nemausus, where he was *IIIvir iure dicundo*, *pontifex* and *praefectus collegii fabrum*. The peak of his career was the rank of *tribunus* in the VI legion Victrix, from Novaesium and then Xanten in Germania Inferior. On the relief only the bust of Macrinus is shown but all the above mentioned equipment elements are present. In the image there is no room for the short sword, *parazonium* (somewhere between a *gladius* and a *pugio*), but Martial (14, 32) informs us that this was the weapon of the

⁴⁶ Devijver 1989, 432-435, Fig. 8.

legionary tribune, and was currently worn on the left, attached to a *cingulum*, not to a *balteus* such as the *gladius*⁴⁷.

More obviously an officer and not an emperor is the next cuirassed statue from Apulum (Cat. M, 29, Fig. 25a), also mentioned by K. Stemmer⁴⁸. Only the head and left hand is missing. The chest is almost entirely covered by the long military mantle (presumably a *sagum fibulatorium*), fastened on the right shoulder by a round brooch. The man wears a large *cinctorium* with an elaborated knot. The rounded *pterygae* are separated by circular holes made with the drill. The armor depicted here was provided with two rows of lambrequins. The man wears short boots decorated with lion heads, *embromides*, covering the lower half of the shanks and ending in strap handles. The *contrapposto* is quite dynamic, with the left foot pushed backwards, the heel being raised above the soil, like by Polycleitian figures. The left limb bent at right angle and the forearm held horizontally adds more movement to the pose. The right hand holds the edge of the mantle like in the case of statues in coarse dress, discussed below. K. Stemmer included this piece in a loose group XII (containing both imperial and private statues) which should be dated under Trajan. How unconvincing is the dating method based on types or groups is illustrated by the Apulum sculpture, where the drill holes at the lambrequins and the deep trenches on the mantle indicate the early Severan period. To the same group belongs a torso with undecorated muscle cuirass from Aquincum⁴⁹, which has the usual *cinctorium* and in addition to it a *balteus* for the *spatha*, a combination which indicates with certitude an officer and not an emperor. Similar is the Hadrianic statue of an active officer from Tyras⁵⁰, who wears a simple cuirass ending in two rows of *pterygae*. On the abdomen there is an acanthus leaf divided into three lobes. The person depicted here wears a leather belt, *cingulum*, decorated with studs in shape of animal heads and entire animals. In addition he also has a *balteus* across the chest, but from the photo we can not decide what kind of sword hangs to it. Next to the engaged leg there is a Thracian helmet with the typical loop shaped crest. All the details indicate a field high ranking officer.

Similar to these statues is another one from Apulum (Cat. M, 30, Fig. 25b). The *contrapposto* is reversed, the engaged leg being the left one. The right shoulder is slightly raised, because the corresponding limb was partly raised (did he hold a spear?). The muscled cuirass is



Fig. 25. *Statuae loricae* from Apulum (Cat. M, 29-30).

⁴⁷ Devijver 1989 (1986), 393.

⁴⁸ Stemmer 1978, 116, XII, 2, Taf. 78.

⁴⁹ Stemmer 1978, 116, XII, 3, Taf. 78.

⁵⁰ Stemmer 1978, 118, XII a, 2, Taf. 79.

undecorated and finishes with two rows of long *pteryges*, decorated with incised circles. The *cinctorium* consists of a narrow bandeau. The person wears a military mantle, *sagum*, which covers almost entirely the chest and falls on the back, one edge being held with the right hand. The elaborated folds on the chest have a realistic appearance, which makes us date this piece in the late Antonine period. Like the previous one, this statue with mantle and simple armor must have represented a person of equestrian rank.

The last two statues do not have a *paludamentum* and *parazodium*, such as the first one, which has a more “heroic” look. They are closer to images of lower ranking equestrian officers, the *praefecti cohortis*. A good example is the huge stela (2.30 m high) of *T. Exormius Manusetus* who must have died after his first *militia*, which he exercised in Flavian times at the command of cohorts II Hispanorum. His funerary monument was erected by his father in Sitten-Sion, Switzerland (Fig. 26a)⁵¹. The inscription is perfectly legible, but the surface of the relief is quite damaged. Despite this the silhouette of the officer can be distinguished. He wears a long mantel, *sagum* (not a *pludamentum* as Devijver assumes) fastened on the right shoulder with a round brooch. Under it there is a cuirass ending in the lower part in two rows of rounded *pterygae*. Below the lower part of the *tunica* is visible. With the left hand he grabs the handle of a *gladius* which hangs attached to a *balteus*, which crosses his chest. The gesture is a parade one⁵². On the hand a golden ring, *annulus aureus*, the symbol of equestrian rank, is visible. In the right hand he might hold a *volumen*, a sign of the educated elite to which he belongs⁵³.

A special treatment deserves a fragmentary statue from Sarmizegetusa (Cat. M, 20, Fig. 27), which obviously differs from the imperial ones, and consequently does not fit in the typology of K. Stemmer. The short cloak (*sagulum*), fastened on the right shoulder with a round brooch, covers the whole front of the torso, hiding the knot of the *cinctorium*, but does not descend lower on the back. Under it there is a *cingulum* to which a *spatha* is attached. It has a handle ending in an eagle head. The cuirass is cut strait above the hips, which is typical for cavalry armors. Stylistically this statue could be dated in the first two decades of the 3rd century. The only analogy in K. Stemmer’s book is a statue from Celeia, dated in the 3rd century and with head and helmet readjusted in recent centuries⁵⁴. The cuirass has no features in relief which would suggest muscles, and seems to be made of leather. It is decorated on the abdomen with a vegetal pattern, like imperial armors but ends strait such as any cavalry cuirass. The



Fig. 26a. The funerary stela of *T. Exormius Manusetus* (drawing of the author).

⁵¹ Devijver 1989 (1987), passim.

⁵² Devijver 1989, 256, note 11. Cf. Braemer 1994, passim.

⁵³ Devijver 1989 (1987), 415, note 22.

⁵⁴ Stemmer 1978, 114, XI 6, Taf. 77; Kolšek 1996.



Fig. 26b. Tomb of *T. Flavius Mikkalus*: a. Detail of the protagonist; b. one of the soldiers.



Fig. 27. *Statua loricata* from Sarmizegetusa, Cat. M, 20.



Fig. 28a. *Stela* from Brâncovenesti.

character wears a *cingulum* and a *spatha* hanging from a *balteus*, which defines him as an active cavalry officer, probably a prefect of an *ala*. All these elements are reproduced on funerary reliefs such as the one of *T. Flavius Mikkalus*, from Perinth, now in Istanbul Archaeological Museum⁵⁵. From the inscription we find out that the peak of his career was the command over a cavalry unit (*praefectus alae*). He wears armor similar to the one from Sarmizegetusa (Fig. 26b/a). One of his cavalry soldiers, who is saluting, has even a sword with an eagle head (Fig. 26b/b).

An interesting analogue from Dacia is provided by a stela from Brâncovenesti⁵⁶, depicting an officer of the *ala numeri Illyricorum* which was stationed there.

The man wears a leather short cuirass with lambrequins at the shoulders, and small rounded *pterygae* at the bottom. He has a *cinctorium* with an elaborated knot, which indicates his high rank. The *balteus* with a circular fastener and the *spatha* with handle ending in an eagle head, complete his equipment. The last attire is a *sagum*, fastened on the right shoulder with a “T” shaped brooch.

To conclude, the person depicted in a heroic manner by the cuirassed statue from Apulum (with *paludamentum* and *parazonium*, but undecorated cuirass), probably exercised more than the usual three military commands, he might have fulfilled the *quarta militia*. At his turn, the character

⁵⁵ Devijver 1989 (1986), passim; Devijver 1989, 435-437.

⁵⁶ Diaconescu 2004-2005, Pl. LXXXIII, 2.

depicted by the statue in Sarmizegetusa must have been also of equestrian rank, and the highest command he exercised was the *militia tertia*, that is *praefectus* of an *ala*. The other two *statuae loricateae* from Apulum with undecorated cuirass and with military cloak (*sagum*) are definitely not imperial statues. In the absence of the object held in the left hand (spear, sword or stick) it is difficult to determine with precision the rank of the character depicted this way, but it fits well a person which exercised the first *militia*, the command of a cohorts. Since these statues date from the early years of Septimius Severus reign, one can not reject the possibility that such statues might depict also centurions of the XIIIth legion Gemina from Apulum. Starting with Septimius Severus, who granted the centurions the privilege of wearing the golden ring, they were assimilated to persons of equestrian rank, which would place them above the common members of the decurional class who wore the *toga*.

To these examples of high ranking officers from Dacia an exquisite statuesque relief from Napoca must be added. In an arched niche a nude standing human figure is represented in deep relief. The total height of the bloc is 1.88 m, so that we might infer that the person has natural dimensions. The *contrapposto* is well balanced, the right leg being engaged and the left one bent standing with the whole sole on the



Fig. 28b. Statuesque relief on *aedicula* wall from Napoca.

ground (Attic pose). The hips are tilted and the shoulders are positioned also obliquely but in the opposite direction. The head is slightly inclined to the right (viewer's left), thus compensating the whole composition. The young man is beardless. The shoulders are covered by a long mantle (*sagum fibulatorium*) fastened with a round brooch on the right shoulder. The end of the cloak is held with the left hand, thus covering the thighs. With the right hand he holds the end of the handle of a short sword, a *parazonium*. Against some opinions questioning the authenticity of this piece several scholars acknowledged the Roman character of this relief)⁵⁷.

The bloc is part of a triptych integrated in a big funerary monument, depicting a family (several generations of a patron and his freedmen). For instance at Formiae there is such a mausoleum where the father is depicted in *toga* and his sons in heroic nudity⁵⁸. This iconographic type, very popular among the late republican Roman elite, is of Hellenistic origin, as the cuirass often placed at the feet of the personage proves. The most popular type, and closer to the relief from Napoca, is illustrated by the so called "general from



Fig. 29. Statue in "heroic nudity", Pompeii

⁵⁷ Florescu 1930, 90, no. 21, Fig. 18; Bodor 1987-88, 215-216, no. 30; Diaconescu 2012, Vol. I, 1, cap. 2, 164-165, Fig. 160.

⁵⁸ Bonifacio 1997, 26 and note 29.

Tivoli” (probably *Aulus Postumius Albinus*), with a *paludamentum* covering the hips and partly the thighs⁵⁹. His left leg is engaged, but the inverted *contrapposto* was equally popular. For instance the Flavian statue from the holy chapel of the *macellum* in Pompeii, depicting one of the financiers of the building⁶⁰ (Fig. 29), has the weight supported by the right foot and the left leg bent. In his left hand he holds a *parazonium* with the point upwards. This short sword is a symbol of the affiliation of the portrayed person to the equestrian order.

Even later under the Principate the heroic nudity was by no means an imperial privilege. From the Antonine period alone Diana and F. Kleiner have gathered 9 cases of such private heroization with Hellenistic armor at the feet⁶¹. The reliefs inspired by statues, such as the one from Napoca, are common in the Roman world⁶². Back to the relief in Napoca, it is obvious that it depicts a local member of the equestrian class. The long cloak with brooch (*sagum fibulatorium*), replacing the *paludamentum* around the hips, and the sword held with the point downwards (*gladius* and not the usual *parazonium*?), are meant to indicate the function of senior officer.

C. Statues in campaign or “battle-dress”

Unlike the previous types, which are attested in neighboring provinces too, the marble statues of soldiers in campaign dress are specific to the province of Dacia. The soldiers are depicted in a long sleeved tunic (*tunica manicata*) and cloak (*sagum*), wearing a long sword, *spatha*, which hangs from a baldric, *balteus*. To our knowledge, only one free standing statue of this kind exists outside Dacia, in Tyras, on the Black Sea coast⁶³. In the other provinces (and even in Rome) such images appear only on reliefs from funerary *stelae*, belonging to non-commissioned officers (*principales*) and other categories of petty officers.

Such statues of *principales* in campaign dress (Fig. 30-31) were



Fig. 30. Statue in campaign dress from Apulum, Cat. M, 31.

⁵⁹ Bandinelli 1970, 85, Fig. 93; Giuliano 1979, no. 164; Baratte 1996, 80-81, Fig. 17.

⁶⁰ Bonifacio 1997, no. 8, 44-46, Tav. IX.

⁶¹ Kleiner, Kleiner 1975, 262-265, nos. 29, 31, 34, 37, 40, 41, 43, 46-47.

⁶² At least three cases are quoted by Kleiner, Kleiner 1975, 167-170 and catalogue nos. 49, 55, 88; Cf. Zanker 1975, 304-306, Figs. 44, 46 and Stewart 2003, 93-97, Fig. 14.

⁶³ Karışçovski, Kleiman, 1985, 114-115, Fig. 37. The statue measures 2.2 m in height and was made of marble.

found not only at Apulum (Cat. M, 31 and 32), but also in civilian centers such as Sarmizegetusa (Cat. M, 22-23) and Napoca (Cat. M, 41, Fig. 32).

The first statue from Apulum (Cat. M, 31, Fig. 30) has rather impressive dimensions (H = 180 m) and was carved in Bucova marble. In the lower part the *contrapposto* is quite dynamic, the left foot being set back and to the side, but the sole lies entirely on the soil, so that the bent knee is considerably lowered.

The engaged right leg is buttressed by an unfinished support. The shoulders are almost at the same level and, because they are now broken, the body shape looks disproportionate (the statue was attached to the back wall of the *mausoleum* by two iron cramps which had one end inserted in the shoulders of the statue). The right limb is stretched along the body and the hand grabs an end of the mantle. The left limb was bent at right angle and the hand (probably holding a *volumen*) was worked separately.

The iconographic scheme is derived from that of *statuae loricateae* mentioned above, but the attributes (*cingulum*, *balteus* ending in a heart shaped pendant and *spatha* with circular handle-end and scabbard with round rivet) are different. The man wears simple shoes (*calcei*), fastened with a single latchet. The draping is rudimentary rendered, folds and pleats running un-naturally parallel and thus loosing completely their material outlook. The impersonal portrait (see above) is less differentiated, like it was unfinished or corroded. Everything pleads for a dating under the “soldier/barrack emperors”, towards the middle of the 3rd century.

The second statue from Apulum (Cat. M, 32, Fig. 31), also worked in Bucova marble,



Fig. 31. Statue in campaign dress from Apulum (Cat. P. I, 31).

differs slightly from the previous one. Its frontality is more obvious. This time the engaged leg is the left one, the right one being only slightly bent. The position of the upper limbs is also different. The forearms and hands were worked separately and now they are missing. The right hand was brought to the chest, while the left one was projected forwards. The gesture resembles the one made by common people dressed in coarse garment and often depicted on simple *stelae* (for the statues see below). It seems to us that the man was holding a *volumen* in his left hand and was pointing to it with two fingers of the right one. The clothing and attributes are similar to the preceding ones. The *balteus* consists of a narrow belt, barely visible under the left elbow, and the *spatha* with circular rivet is hanging on the left side of the body.

The portrait discussed above (Fig. 5a), pleads for a dating in the last two decades before the middle of the 3rd century. The carving of this piece is less deep than by other contemporary sculptures, so that either the illusionistic Severan style was abandoned by then, or this is the product of a secondary workshop, possibly a local one (using row blocks brought from Bucova).

This statue must have belonged to a complex monument, a sort of triptych, this piece being the first in the row counted from the right (left viewer's side). On the left side of the body a rectangular groove is visible. It was used to attach this piece to the next one. This also explains the unusual narrow shape of this figure.

The first statue from Sarmizegetusa (Cat. M, 21, Fig. 32a), despite its precari-



Fig. 32. Statue in campaign dress from Sarmizegetusa (Cat. M, 21-22) and Napoca (Cat. M, 41).

ous estate of preservation, belongs with certitude to the group in campaign dress. The military belt, the baldric and the sword with spherical handle head are perfectly visible. The engaged leg was the left one, the right leg being slightly pushed forwards. This

piece has a rather good modeling, better than that of the previous piece and is to be dated earlier, in the Severan period. The rigid aspect of the folds pleads for the last half of the period.

The other statue from Sarmizegetusa (Cat. M, 22, Fig. 32b) is rather primitive and thus must be dated in the last years of activity of the Bucova workshop. The fragmentary statue (more likely than a high relief) from Napoca was carved in the local limestone and widely differs from other pieces of the kind from Dacia (Cat. M, 41, Fig. 32c). The tucks and pleats are so deeply carved that they reach a tubular shape and the dress loses completely its natural form. The draping of the cloak with a large fold over the chest, as well as the tunic which reverberates over the belt so that it covers it completely, are other characteristic features of this piece. The decoration of the *balteus* is rendered in detail: the circular fastener is adorned with concentric folds and a central button; the large strap terminal has two rhomboidal studs and a globular pendant; the narrow belt was probably decorated with a series of small fittings⁶⁴.

As already mentioned above, the best analogies for these statues from Roman Dacia are funerary from the Danube region and even Rome⁶⁵.

In the opinion of M. P. Speidel this iconography emerged in the region of Bizantium under Septimius Severus and was then brought back to their home by the Danube soldiers who participated at the Severan oriental campaign⁶⁶. In the Greek speaking world, such as the provinces of Achaia and Pontus-Bithinia, the classical and Hellenistic tradition of representing soldiers with their equipment on funerary monuments was still vivid. To this evolution scheme Dacia must be added. In this province we have free standing statues instead of reliefs. Their dating in the 3rd century of stylistic criteria is completely justified, since the relief models are early Severan in date. For the moment it is difficult to decide



Fig. 33. Funerary stela of *M. Aurelius Lucianus* (after IDRE I, Pl. III).

⁶⁴ A good parallel from north-west Dacia can be found at Wright, Tamba, Găzdac 2006.

⁶⁵ The fashion of such images was brought in the capital by soldiers from the Danube region, serving in the *praetorian guard* and as *equites singulares*. For example the stela of *M. Aurelius Lucianus* (Fig. 33), born in Dacia and who served in the 6th cohort of praetorians (IDRE I, 64-65, no. 30, Pl. III).

⁶⁶ Speidel 1976, especially 134-136.

weather the replacement of relief with a full statue in *ronde-bosse* took place in Dacia (and perhaps independently in Moesia Inferior), or there was a prestigious model, produced in a workshop such as Nicomedia, on the shore of the Marmara sea.

D. Statues in casual (hunting or traveling) dress

The most intriguing statues from Roman Dacia are two pieces, one from Apulum and one from Sarmizegetusa (and possibly another one from Napoca), depicting persons dressed in casual, daily garment, consisting of a long sleeved tunic and a cloak with a brooch. They hold a scroll in the left hand and with the right index and middle finger they indicate towards it. On funerary monuments of the middle class this is the most popular way of portraying a person. How can one explain the use of this iconography by the local elite?

Occasionally such a port can be encountered at equestrian statues depicting persons of high rank on the hunt or on the road. For instance a reduced scale funerary statue (H = 1.50 m) from Rome, depicts a character riding on a horse and dressed with tunic and mantle⁶⁷. The horse is rearing and the man with a spear in the right hand hits something under the horse's front hoofs. The feline skin on the horse back indicates a hunting scene, the deceased being treated as a "hunting hero". On the Hadrianic *tondos* with hunting scenes from Constantine's Arch in Rome the participants wear the same simple dress⁶⁸. On the other hand, in some cases the same casual garment appears at the equestrian statues of Marcus Aurelius from Rome and of Augustus from Athens (Fig. 34)⁶⁹. By raising the right hand (*ingens dextra*) they



Fig. 34. Augustus from Athens.



Fig. 35. Statues in casual dress from Apulum (catalogue no. 37) and Sarmizegetusa (catalogue no. 23).

⁶⁷ Bergemann 1990, 111-112, P 54, Taf. 83-84.

⁶⁸ Hannestad 1989, 95-98.

⁶⁹ Bergemann 1990, P 5, Taf. 14-16; P 51, Taf. 78-80.

salute the crowd at their feet. The image is obviously that of an emperor returning from a journey (*adventus imperatoris*), and thus the costume is that of the traveler.

These examples throw some light on how might this costume be called, but being equestrian statues they can not be applied to the cases from Dacia. Here on several *aediculae* depicting full size standing persons, man and wife, sometimes with children (so called “*stèles familiales*”) the men are depicted in this casual dress (Fig. 36)⁷⁰.



Fig. 36. *Aedicula* back walls from Potaissa and Zam-Sân Craiu.

The fragmentary statue from Apulum (Cat. M, 37, Fig. 35a) is of good quality. The draping has a natural appearance, due to the smooth passage from a plan to another. The distribution of the folds follows the anatomic volumes and thus gives life to this work. Probably this was the product of the first generation of artists that grounded the Bucova workshop immediately after the middle of the 2nd century. The gesture with the *volumen* in the left and the right pointing at it is typical. It was also borrowed in the same place for the statue of a non-commissioned officer. The dressing is very simple: the large fold of the *tunica manicata* covers entirely the belly belt, which might have been a simple cord. The long cloak (*sagum*), fastened on the right shoulder with a round *fibula*, covers the chest almost entirely.

The statue from Sarmizegetusa (Cat. M, 23, Fig. 35b) belongs to the same type, but is far more primitive and thus must date from the 3rd century (probably late Severan). The left hand with the scroll is lowered and the right one is set against the chest (saluting?). Although it is a free standing statue (*ronde-bosse*) it is quite flattened. The heavily corroded surface makes it doubtful weather it was carved in marble or in limestone. It must have belonged to a funerary monument of a *villa* in the territory of Sarmizegetusa (the statue was seen in the 19th century at Fărcădin, near Hațeg). The *villa* could have belonged to a member of the upper middleclass, who did not fulfill any public duties, but whose family was rich enough to afford a monumental grave. The case of Apulum is more complicated, viewing the high quality of the work. One might imagine here a loftily decorated grave of a recently enriched family, with a gallery of statues depicting several generations, amongst which one ancestor did not have any public function.

A third statue in casual dress is a small size unfinished one from Cluj Museum (Fig. 37)⁷¹. In its estate it is difficult to decide weather it was intended to be a full

⁷⁰ Floca, Wolski 1973, 16, no. 36, Fig. 48 (Potaissa); 28, no. 88, Fig. 107 (Zam-Sân Craiu).

⁷¹ Diaconescu 2012, vol. I, 2, 88-89 and Pl. LXII, 1-2. The inventory number is partly erased and its provenience is uncertain. To me it seems to be worked in local limestone, from the Roman quarry of Baci, near ancient Napoca.

statue or a high relief. For this reason we did not include it in the catalogue. Anyhow, the position of the hands recalls that of the other two statues.

Before drawing any conclusion on male statues from Dacia another piece deserves our attention. It is a high relief carved in marble (most probably Bucova), depicting a life size legionary soldier (Cat. M, 38, Fig. 38). He has a large rectangular infantry shield (*scutum*) with a boss modeled in shape of a Medusa head (partly damaged). The soldier is dressed with a short tunic, descending till above the knees. The shanks are protected by knee-length stockings (*ochreae*), fastened with crossed straps (belonging to the *calcei*, now missing).

The man wears a lamellate armor, consisting of a breast plate and a corset made of three *lamellae*. On the breast, under the neck, there is a rectangular fastening plate and a collar made of scales. The right limb is protected by a lamellar *manica*⁷². The armor has no *pterygae*, or lambrequins. Above the hips there is a belt (*cingulum*), decorated with fret worked rectangular fittings. On the left hip a long sword must be attached to the *cingulum*, most of it being covered by the shield. The pelta shaped rivet at the end of the scabbard is visible below the shield. The right hand, might have been worked separately and attached by two pegs and a cramp, or these are traces of an ancient repairing, because the long object in the right seems to have been connected to the back wall of the aedicule throw a rail decorated with a leaf.



Fig. 37. Unfinished statue from Cluj Museum.

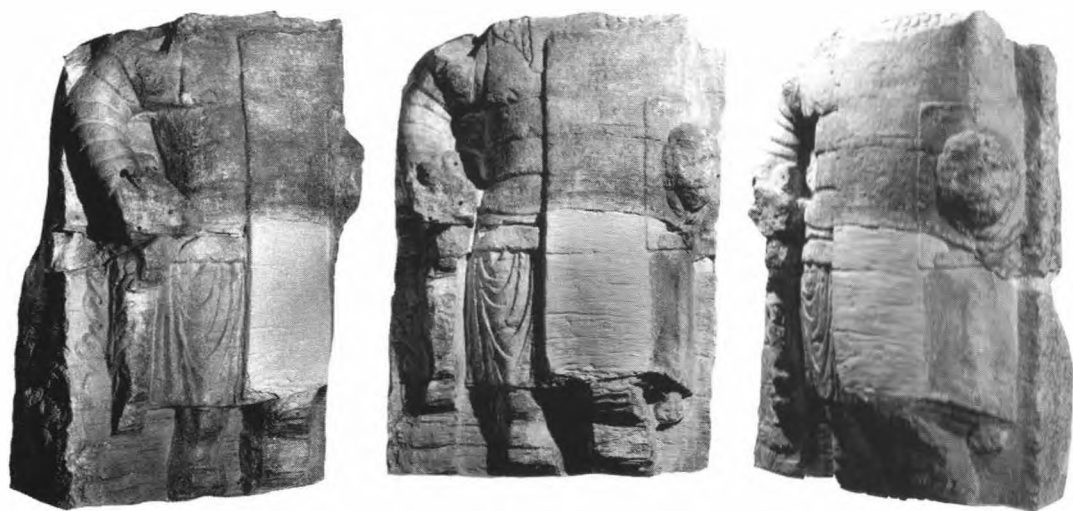


Fig. 38. High relief of a legionary soldier (Cat. P. I, 38).

⁷² A completely preserved one was found in Sarmizegetusa and will be published soon.

The long object might have been rather some spear (*hasta* or *pilum*), then a standard (*signum, aquila, imago, vexillum*). In the case of a standard bearer the heavy shield is inadequate, so that the legionary soldier depicted here in full armor must be an ordinary infantry man (*gregalis*), and not an officer.

The dating of this monument must be in the Severan period both on stylistic grounds (geometric treatment of folds and use of the drill) and on details of military equipment: *spatha* with *pelta* shaped rivet and scale collar⁷³.

The left edge of the back wall is carefully worked while the right one is roughly carved, proving that another block with relief was attached to the right (left viewer's side). It follows that this was also part of a larger *aedicula*-shaped monument, depicting several persons probably in a paratactic group, view the frontality of our piece. In the case of an honorific, or triumphal monument, one would expect another disposition of the characters, while in the case of a funerary ensemble, the persons looking straight ahead with no connection between them is absolutely plausible.

E. Comments and conclusions

The male funerary statues of Dacia are far from being monotonous. From a total of 33-34 pieces, 23 are *togati*, 9 represent officers of all kinds and two or three common people (the unfinished small statue from Napoca and the aedicule wall with the legionary from Apulum were not taken into account). More than a half (21 pieces) comes from Sarmizegetusa and its restricted territory, and other two statues come from Tibiscum and Dierna, former *pagi* of Sarmizegetusa. Further 9 statues come from Apulum, initially *pagus* of Sarmizegetusa and seat of the 13th legion Gemina, later *colonia* (from the *pagus*) and *municipium* (from the *canabae*). Only 3 statues come from other places: two from Napoca (Hadrianic *municipium*) and one from Porolissum (Severan *municipium*).

A considerable number of military statues come from entirely civilian communities, such as Sarmizegetusa and Napoca. This is no wonder if we take into consideration the close relation between the town elite and the provincial army in 3rd century Dacia. For instance, many of the sons of the *decuriones* from Sarmizegetusa were enlisted in the 13th legion from Apulum, where they served as *principales* and eventually they could be promoted centurions. After Septimius Severus marched on Rome with the Danube legions, he appointed praetorians out of the officers from his own troops. The study of the origin of these praetorians shows that a great part was played by the civilian urban elite. From 24 cases quoted by A. Dobó⁷⁴, more than a half, that is 14 persons, originate from Sarmizegetusa (nos. 616-621), other 5 from Apulum (nos. 613-615), two from Napoca (nos. 611-612), two from Drobeta (nos. 622 a-b) and one from Malva (no. 623). The list is largely dominated by purely civilian settlements, such as Sarmizegetusa and Napoca, followed by mixed places (auxiliary fort and Hadrianic *municipium*) such as Drobeta and Malva. The most intriguing is the absence of purely military sites of the time, such as Potaissa (residence since AD 170

⁷³ A well preserved bronze collar was discovered in the legionary fort at Potaissa in a 3rd century context: Bărbulescu 1994, 101, Pl. VII/5.

⁷⁴ Dobó 1975, nos. 611-623 = Petolescu 1999, nos. 34-45.

of *legio V Macedonica*) or Porolissum (seat of several auxiliary units at the same time, a garrison half a legion strong). Under these circumstances, I am afraid that the 5 cases from Apulum are to be related to the former *pagus* of Sarmizegetusa, which became a *municipium* around AD 180, and later (under Commodus) a colony, then to the 13th legion Gemina, camped there since Trajan.

The obvious primacy of Sarmizegetusa not only among *togati* statues, but partly in military ones, can be explained by the exceptionally successful members of the equestrian order from here. Throw honorific inscriptions found in the forum of Sarmizegetusa, we are informed about several persons who exercised military commands and were awarded equestrian statues by the local *ordo decurionum*. One is *M. Ulpius Gemellinus*⁷⁵, who fulfilled the first *militia* as *praefectus of coh II Fl. Commagenorum*. Another member of the equestrian order honored with an equestrian statue was *Comminius Quintus*⁷⁶, who by the time was honored did not exercise any command, but his father has reached the *militia secunda*, serving as legionary tribune, as we are informed by the funerary plate with inscription coming from his *mausoleum*⁷⁷. His brother in law, *T. Varenius Pudens*⁷⁸, exercised all three equestrian commands (*tres militiae*). He held several offices in other places such as the two towns from Apulum and Porolissum. He was also related to another well known equestrian family, the *Titi Varenii* from Apulum. Another example from the forum of Sarmizegetusa concerns the two honorific statues raised by a centurion from *legio VI Victrix Severiana* from Britain, to honor his father in law *C. Valerius Surus*, and his mother in law, *Valeria Frontina*⁷⁹. The son-in-law must have been centurion of the 13th legion from Apulum and was transferred as a “reliable person” in the British legion after the victory over Clodius Albinus from AD 197. Another example is *P. Antonius Super*, known from several inscriptions which could be dated starting with Severus Alexander⁸⁰, and who had successful descendents, as we are informed by his funerary inscription⁸¹. One of his sons, who was member of the equestrian order, exercised the *militia quarta* as tribune of *coh. III Delmatarum milliaria*, from Mehadia (near Băile Herculane, in the territory of Sarmizegetusa). His brother-in-law (married to a daughter of Antonius Super, *Antonia Bonosa* by name), *Aurelius Constantius*, who lived only 45 years, was also member of the equestrian order and decurion at Viminacium, in near by Moesia Superior. Another son, *P. Antonius Victor*, who died at the age of 19, was enlisted in *legio VI Victrix* from Britain as intelligence petty officer, *frumentarius*. He was also considered a trustful person for the Severans.

From Apulum there are further examples of honorific statues erected for local equestrian officers, which can be supposed to have commissioned there impressive funerary monuments. For instance *C. Antonius Agrippinus* was a *militiis* and *decurio* not only in Apulum, but also of Napoca and Potaissa (Severan creation), when he

⁷⁵ Diaconescu 2012, vol. II, Cat. E. III, 14 = CIL III 1484 = IDR III/2, 123.

⁷⁶ Diaconescu 2012, Cat. E. III, 15 = CIL III 1497 = IDR III/2, 107.

⁷⁷ CIL III 1473 = IDR III/2, 371.

⁷⁸ Diaconescu 2012, Cat. E. III, 18 = CIL III 1486 = IDR III/2, 128.

⁷⁹ Diaconescu 2012, Cat. E. III, 25 = IDR III/2, 124; Cat. E. III, 25 = IDR III/2, 127.

⁸⁰ IDR III/2, 134, 543.

⁸¹ IDR III/2, 379.

erected the honorific statue for his father⁸². Several members of two related equestrian families, of *P. Aelius Antipater* and of *P. Aelius Marcellus*, are known to us from votive, honorific and funeral inscriptions, reflecting the exceptional social success of these people of recent citizenship in a town that had the byname *chryso polis* = “the town of gold”. *P. Aelius Antipater* was of Oriental origin and reached the high title of *a militiis* by the moment the statue of his natural son, *P. Aelius Antipater Marcellus*, was erected⁸³. Later Antipater the father exercised the provincial priesthood, the greatest honor a provincial could expect⁸⁴. *Aelius Iulianus*, was also of equestrian rank when the statue of his daughter, *Aelia Iuliana Marcella*, was also erected⁸⁵. The younger of the three brothers, *P. Aelius Genialis*, who was also honoured with at least one statue⁸⁶, also reached equestrian status⁸⁷.

The other *P. Aelius, Marcellus* by name, who has adopted the son of Antipater and the daughter of Iulianus, is the only member of the local elite that was honored with an equestrian statue to our present knowledge⁸⁸. He was born in Apulum, where he was member of the local senate, *ordo decurionum*, being also inscribed in *tribus Papiria*. He became *praefectus castrorum* of *legio I Adiutrix* from Brigetio, being transferred on the same position in *legio VII Claudia*, from Viminacium, where he eventually was promoted *primipilus*. After the expedition of Septimius Severus in Italy, he became *subprinceps peregrinorum*, and *sacerdos* of Laurentes Lavinates, of Iguvium, Forum Flaminium and Fulginiae (where he was equally honored with several statues). Under Caracalla, *P. Aelius Marcellus* was appointed *centurio frumentarius*, intelligence officer.

At their turn, the active soldiers were also involved in the administration and welfare of neighboring towns. For instance at Napoca, several officers (*decuriones*) from the nearby *ala Siliana* were also members of the local council. For instance, *Sex. Valerius Saturninus*⁸⁹ was at the same time *decurio alae Silianae et coloniae*, as well as *Flavius Germanus*, while his colleague *Flavius Ianuarius* became even supreme magistrate (*II vir*) of Napoca⁹⁰.

4. Female statues

This category of statues was extensively studied by Margret Bieber, who thoroughly investigated the origin and genesis of different Roman iconographic types, descending in time to the early Hellenistic (even late classical) models. She then observed the fate of such groups in the Roman world⁹¹. The work of M. Bieber was preceded by restricted

⁸² Diaconescu 2012, Cat. E. III, 43 = CIL III 7804 = ILS 7148 = IDR III/5, 495.

⁸³ Diaconescu 2012, Cat. E. III, 42.

⁸⁴ IDR III/5, 210, 217.

⁸⁵ Diaconescu 2012, Cat. E. III, 43.

⁸⁶ Diaconescu 2012, Cat. E. III, 44.

⁸⁷ IDR III/5, 4, 215, 259.

⁸⁸ Diaconescu 2012, Cat. E. III, 41.

⁸⁹ CIL III 845.

⁹⁰ CIL III 865.

⁹¹ Bieber 1977.

studies such as Traversari's book on the statues from Cyrenaica⁹², or H-J. Kruse's book on 2nd century female statues in the provinces of the Roman Empire⁹³. Later, the work of M. Bieber was completed by more detailed investigations, such as Erol Atalay's book on female statues of Ephesus⁹⁴. The unanimous conclusions might intrigue some archaeologists less acquainted with classical archaeology: the female statues from the first three centuries of the Christian era do not reflect the provincial garment of Roman women, but Greek dressing, because they reproduce classical and Hellenistic iconographic models. Only details such as hairstyle and jewels were inspired from reality and can be used in dating. In fact, during the Principate, one encounters only a few iconographic types, which were reproduced with astonishing accuracy by local artisans. Despite the good tradition of individualized Republican portraits, the provincial ones were merely generic images. In the Hellenistic world, there was a similar discrepancy between partly individualized, partly idealized male portraits, and generic female ones. For the artisan and his public, the main concern was to represent the feminine beauty in general, and then the age group and social status of the woman, rather than her individual traits. Consequently, each iconographic type gained a symbolic meaning, related to age and status, and less to the individual⁹⁵.

In Rome, with the exception of the empress and some vestals, women did not enjoy public honors, but in the provinces the situation was quite different. For instance, in the *cryptoporticus* of *forum novum* from Sarmizegetusa at least two honorific statues for venerable matrons were erected (the term used in the inscriptions is *femina stolata*) and in the entrance of *forum vetus* another notable woman was honored with a statue⁹⁶. These statues were made of bronze, but those dealt with in this paper, are in marble. The only possible confusion could be made with votive statues, which also derive from classical and Hellenistic models, but their typology differs from the one of funerary statues⁹⁷. Still in Dacia there are at least three doubtful cases, which will be discussed separately at the end of this chapter.

The female funerary statues from Roman Dacia roughly equal in number the male ones. From the 33 statues known to us (further eight items in our catalogue are independent heads) roughly one half belongs to the "Grande Ercolanese" type (17-18 pieces: 10 from Sarmizegetusa and other 2 from its immediate territory, 3 from Apulum, one or two Drobeta, and one from Romula), and only one piece (from Apulum), possibly two, reproduces the model of the "Piccola Ercolanese". At great distance follows the *palliata* type (7 pieces), the *pudicitia* one (3 cases from Apulum and Sarmizegetusa), and only one piece from Apulum (maximum two) belongs to Eumachia-Fundilia type. Further 4-5 pieces (mainly from Potaissa) represent hybrid forms, combining either "La Grande" with the "Piccola Ercolanese" or both of them with *palliata*.

⁹² Traversari 1960.

⁹³ Kruse 1968 (1975).

⁹⁴ Atalay 1989.

⁹⁵ Dillon 2006; Dillon 2010, *passim*.

⁹⁶ Diaconescu 2010, 143; Diaconescu 2012, vol. II, Cat. E. III, 26, and the commentary at p. 334.

⁹⁷ Of the same opinion are Țeposu-Marinescu 1972, *passim* and Gramatopol 1982, 127-128.

A. The “Great/Small Herculaneum Women”

The types of the “Large Herculaneum woman” (“La Grande Ercolanese” = “Die große Herkulanerin”) and its counterpart, the “Small Herculaneum woman” (“La Piccola Ercolanese” = “Die kleine Herkulanerin”) were created at the turn of the classical period to the Hellenistic one. The name comes from two Augustan statues representing the wife and the daughter of the senator *M. Nonnius Balbus* from Herculaneum⁹⁸.



Fig. 39. Faustina Junior from Perge (Antalya Museum).

“La Grande Ercolanese” (the “Large Herculaneum woman”) is a mature lady, covering her head with a fold of the *himation*. This cloak is held straight to the chest with the right hand, which stretches the mantle across the body, so that it leaves little to be seen from the *chiton* under it. This one falls in parallel pleats to the ground. With the left limb the other part of the mantle, which initially was passed under the armpit, is held tight to the hip. The weight is supported by the left foot, the right leg being bent in an Attic *contrapposto*. The well balanced rhythm, the severe gestures completed by a complex draping, made this iconographic type the most popular way of representing the mature women on honorific and funerary monuments from 300 BC to AD 300.

The “Small Herculaneum woman” has a more dynamic pose and has a more complex draping. She is a young woman, a virgin, a *nubenda* (potential bride), with the head uncovered and dressed with the same *himation* and *chiton*. The *contrapposto* is inverted and the right hand is moved further away, to the shoulder’s level. At the middle of the 1970’ies, H. J. Kruse counted in the provinces of the Roman Empire 153 copies of the “Large Herculaneum woman” and 125 copies of the “Small Herculaneum woman”.

In Dacia, the “Large Herculaneum woman” type can be divided into three subgroups which differ only in detail. The first variant (Fig. 40), which is the earliest (cf. Cat. F, 1, datable around AD 160), is the most dynamic one. The woman grabs energetically the draping, so that the right hand arrives at the shoulder’s level. The position is slightly emphatic by comparison to the late classical original, but is of great effect and generates a rich draping. We suppose this is a Hellenistic contribution, but as far as we know this variant is attested in the 2nd century in Asia Minor⁹⁹. For instance, the statue of Faustina Junior (Fig. 39) from the *nymphaeum* F3 from Perge¹⁰⁰ illustrates well this variant.

In Dacia this subgroup (Fig. 40) is attested only in Sarmizegetusa (Cinciș falls in its restricted territory). Two of the statues are to be dated in middle and late Antonine period (Cat. F, 1 and 2), and other two in early and middle Severan times (Cat. F, 5 and 19). Another piece, Cat. F, 6, datable in the late Severan or “soldier emperors”

⁹⁸ Bieber 1962; Bieber 1977, 148–163; Fuchs 1983, 220–221; Atalay 1989, 77–83.

⁹⁹ Personal examination in year 2000; the photo of Fig. 39 was made by us on that occasion.

¹⁰⁰ Mansel 1975a, 91; Mansel 1975b, 370.



Fig. 40. The “Large Herculaneum woman” type, subgroup a: a-c. Sarmizegetusa (Cat. F, 1-3); d. Cinciş (Cat. F, 19); e. Sarmizegetusa (Cat. F, 4).

period, proves that this type continued to be used well in the 3rd century. Cat. F, 3, Fig. 40a, is a work of good quality, the anatomic volumes being perceivable under the drapery. The folds are partly rigid, but they do not differ essentially from the statue in Perge, depicting Faustina Junior (Fig. 39) or the one in Olympia, depicting Annia Regilla (Fig. 39)¹⁰¹. The dating of the Sarmizegetusa statue at the middle of the 2nd century seems reasonable. Its quality is similar to that of the portrait from Fig. 7c, which could not be dated too far after the middle of the 2nd century because of the hairstyle.

The statue Cat. F, 4 (Fig. 40b) has less graphic volume and the edges of the folds are sharper, which are characteristics of an artisanal, serial product, and must be dated later than the previous piece. Stylistically, Cat. F 5 and 19 are related, the geometric cut of the folds being typical for the early and middle Severan period, while Cat. F, 6 because of the complete lack of volume and the deep dark trenches suggesting folds must be dated later.

By subgroup „b” of the “Large Herculaneum woman” type the right hand is brought to the chest, the draping being thus simpler, which provided an easier task for the sculptor. This variant is the closest to the classical model, and was most popular in the Roman provinces. For the statues from Dacia the best analogy is the statue from the nymphaeum in Olympia, depicting *Annia Regilla*, wife of Herodes Atticus, datable in AD 153¹⁰² (Fig. 41).

The earliest statue in Dacia belonging to subgroup „b” is Cat. F, 5 (Fig. 42 a) from Sarmizegetusa, which should be dated at the end of the 2nd century and the first years of the 3rd



Fig. 41. Statue of *Annia Regilla*.

¹⁰¹ See notes 99-100.

¹⁰² Bol 1984, 175, no. 38, Taf. 38; B. McManus, *Plancia Magna, Aurelia Paulina, and Regilla: Civic Donors*, at http://www.vroma.org/~bmcmanus/women_civiconors.html.

century. The draping has some volume and the folds are not cut so straight, which is the case with the next pieces (nos. 6-7, Fig. 42 b-c) that must be dated later, because



Fig. 42. The “Large Herculaneum woman” type, subgroup b, first variant from Sarmizegetusa (Cat. F, 5-7).

of a more rigid and geometric treatment of the folds. A variant of this subgroup has a slightly different draping on the upper part of the abdomen: a long triangular fold, similar to the one of group “a”, but the position of the hand indicates the second subgroup. We do not think that this small difference would justify the creation of another subgroup, so we think it is better to consider it a simple variant (nr. 2) of subgroup “b”.

The earliest of this type is the well preserved Cat. F, 8 (Fig. 43a), which has the hairstyle of Iulia Domna (see above Fig. 11a). Close to it is no. 9, Fig. 43b.

For the moment without other direct parallel is a statue from Sarmizegetusa, Cat. F, 10, (Fig. 43 c) which obviously belongs to subgroup “b”, having the right hand brought to the chest, but its draping on the abdomen is unique. It consists of vertical stripes in contrast with the rest of the statues,



Fig. 43 a-c. The Large Herculaneum woman, subgroup “b”, variant 2. Sarmizegetusa (Cat. F, 8-10).

where the draping is more complex. The right fist holds a large fold of the mantle which makes the transition to the next subgroup.

Variant 3 has a similar pose with the other statues of subgroup „b”, but in the right hand the great fold is held in such a manner that above the fist appears an extra bow (similar to the one from Eumachia-Fundilia type, see below). This innovation comes from Asia Minor as did most of the novelties in the sculptural art of the Dacian provinces. A hint concerning the trail followed by the artisans or by their products belonging to this subtype is a statue from Romula Malvensium (a Hadrianic municipium), later colonia Malva (Cat. F, 36, Fig. 44).

Judging after the aspect of the marble, this statue is an import. In Asia Minor, where from this statue must come, the technique, characterized by the intensive use of the drill which produces deep canyons, is late Antonine. In the typology of E. Atalay, the fact that the hand is half covered by the mantle, places this statue in the middle period of evolution of this type¹⁰⁵, that is at the end of the 2nd century. In Dacia, this technique must be dated later. Here the earliest example of subgroup „b”, variant 3, is another piece found on the Danube, at Drobeta (Cat. F, 34, Fig. 45a). It displays the same technique which uses deep trenches, and which in Dacia can not be dated previous to the late Severan times.



Fig. 44. The “Large Herculean woman” type, subgroup “b”, variant 3 from Romula (Cat. F, 36).



Fig. 45. Statues of the “Large Herculean woman” type, subgroup “c” from: a. Drobeta (catalogue no. 34); b. Cinciş (catalogue no. 19); c-d. Apulum (catalogue nos. 26-27).

¹⁰⁵ Atalay 1989, 78-79.

This subgroup type was adopted by the artisans from the Bucova workshop too. The statue from Cinciș (Cat. F, 19, Fig. 45 b) is dated by the help of the hairstyle in late Severan times. The two statues from Apulum (Cat. F, 26-27, Fig. 45c-d), are stylistically related and so different from other statues from Bucova, that we would gladly assign them to a local workshop, functioning here at the middle of the 3rd century, but which was supplied with marble blocks from Bucova.

The Small Herculaneum woman type is usually associated with the Large Herculaneum woman, because in a group it represented the young woman by comparison to the older one. It is not the case in Dacia, where only one piece is known. Cat. F, 29, Fig. 46a, from Apulum has a height of only 0.80 m (without plinth), so that it could have been as well a votive statuette as a funerary one. The good movement of right leg and limb corresponds to the initial model. The draping is somehow



Fig. 46a. “Small Herculaneum woman” from Apulum (Cat. F, 29).



Fig. 46b. *Aedicula* wall from Aiud. One of the women represented as the “Small Herculaneum woman”.

simplified, but does not lose entirely its material appearance. The quality of the work makes us date this statuette immediately after the middle of the 2nd century, when the Greek artists that founded the great *marmorarii* workshop from Bucova, brought with them various models, including the “Small Herculaneum woman”. On one *aedicula* wall from Aiud there is apparently a woman represented in the posture of the Small Herculaneum one, which is astonishing view the rarity of this type in Dacia.

The “Eumachia-Fundilia” type statue from Apulum (Cat. F, 30, Fig. 47a) deserves a separate comment. This is the only type that originates in Italy and not in the Greek East¹⁰⁴. The statue from Apulum was carved in the same workshop

¹⁰⁴ The name derives from the famous statue dedicated by *fullones* to *Eumachia* in Pompeii (Bonifacio 1997, 51-53, no. 11, Tav. XII), now in Naples museum and that dedicated to Fundilia, the patron of actors



Fig. 47. “Eumachia-Fundilia” type statues from: a. Apulum (Cat. F, 30); b. Statue of *Eumachia* from Pompeii (copy from the site); c. Sarmizegetusa, (Cat. F, 11).

from Bucova in the late Antonine period (the portrait with the hairstyle of Faustina Junior - Crispina, see above Fig. 10a). The Apulum copy is an accurate one as a comparison with the statue of *Eumachia* clearly shows. The correct balance, with the left engaged foot and the right leg bent, as well as the disposition of the limbs corresponds in general. The only notable differences consist in the position of the right hand and of the head. The right hand of the Apulum statue is closer to the left shoulder. On the other hand the head of *Eumachia*'s statue is slightly turned to the left, while the woman from Apulum looks straight on. An inaccurate copy of the model, if not a hybrid form, influenced by the *palliata* type, is the statue from Sarmizegetusa (Cat. F, 11, Fig. 47c). The carving is rather poor and the draping on the chest is different from the original one. This must be a late product of the Bucova workshop, when the genuine models went forgotten.

The *Pudicitia* type is represented in Dacia only by three pieces: Cat. F, 12, Fig. 48 b, from Sarmizegetusa, and Cat. P. II, 31-32, Fig. 48 c-d, from Apulum. The first two can be dated at the end of the Antonine period, and illustrate the first

from Nemi, now in Copenhagen (Poulsen 1962, 114, no. 78, Pl. CXXIV). The difference is that the first has her head covered, while the second does not. This hybrid type, basically combining the Great and the Small Herculaneum women, was born in Augustan Italy. During the first three centuries of the Christian era, this became the most popular type in Italy, depicting a venerable matron (but not empresses or vestals, for which other types were judged adequate). For the type see Bieber 1977, Fig. 827-832; other examples: Nista 1984, 495-496, no. XVI, 3; 497-498, no. XVI, 5.

variant, with the body weight supported by the right foot, and the left leg being bent, and the foot set aside and with the heel probably raised. The left forearm is set horizontally across the abdomen, the hand supporting the right elbow. The right hand catches a fold of the himation and covers the mouth in a gesture of shyness and modesty. The third one has an inverted contrapposto but the position of the upper limbs is similar. The draping is simplified and the carving very modest (with deep narrow trenches suggesting the folds). The technique is typical for the period of “barrack emperors”.



Fig. 48. *Pudicitia* type statues from: a. Tomis; b. Sarmizegetusa (Cat. F, 12); c-d. Apulum (Cat. F, 31-32).

The *pudicitia* type has its roots in the Hellenistic period¹⁰⁵, but by then the draping was different. In the 3rd century BC, a series of good quality reliefs from Smyrna shows the *pudicitia* figure used for women from the high society¹⁰⁶. We encounter this type in *ronde-bosse* at least starting with the middle of the 2nd century BC (for instance, the statue of Cleopatra from Delos)¹⁰⁷.

In the case of the first two pieces from Dacia, an edge of the *himation* descends in curved folds from the left hand ankle between the legs, on the axis of the statue. Such a draping is attested at Pompeii already in Augustan times¹⁰⁸. This complex draping

¹⁰⁵ For the type see Bieber 1977, 132-147. The name *pudicitia* is derived the coinage, where it appears in relation to different iconographic types, this particular one being used of issues of Sabina (RIC 407). In Italy it was popular not only for statues but also for reliefs (Bonifacio 1997, 59-60). In time, the *pudicitia* type from the reliefs was replaced by simpler images, but in the statuary art it remained in use, at least till Antonine times (Bieber 1977, 133, Fig. 622).

¹⁰⁶ Zanker 1994, passim.

¹⁰⁷ Moreno 1994, vol. II, 673-674.

¹⁰⁸ Bonifacio 1997, 65-66, no. 16, Tav. XVIIb; 68-69, no. 19, Tav. XVIIb-XVIIIa.

is documented in the nearby Moesia Inferior in the 1st century AD¹⁰⁹. The third piece (Cat. F, 32 from Apulum) has a simplified draping, closer to the Hellenistic one. The *pudicitia* type must have been brought to Dacia by the same Micro Asian sculptors that founded the Bucova workshop towards the middle of the 2nd century.

The two variants of *pudicitia*, with the right and with the left leg engaged, were imported as such in Dacia, since both existed since Hellenistic times. They were used in case of two women who had to be represented on the same monument, such as the mother and the wife of *L. Valerius Flaccus* (proconsul of Asia in 62 BC) from Magnesia on Meander¹¹⁰.

In Dacia, the most popular statuary type after the “Large Herculaneum woman” was the so-called *palliata*. The balance is given by the left leg which is engaged, the right one being bent and set aside, like by the “Small Herculaneum woman”. The mantle is also held with the left hand, the corresponding limb being kept tight to the body, but an end of the *himation* or *pallium* is thrown over the right shoulder. The right hand rests in the large fold of the cloak at chest level. This way of draping resembles male statues (with *pallium* and *toga exigua*)¹¹¹.

As all other female types, the *palliata* was a Hellenistic creation. Already at the middle of the 3rd century BC, the statue of *Nikokleia* in British Museum (Fig. 48a), displays the pose and draping of a *palliata*¹¹². She was priestess of Demeter from Cnidus and her high rank proves that this type was not meant for women of lower position as it turned up to be later.

The six *palliata* statues from Dacia range from the second half of the 2nd century (Cat. F, 13, Fig. 49b, from Sarmizegetusa) and till the middle of the 3rd century (Cat. F, 41, Fig. 49g, from the Sibiu Museum, a rather primitive piece, and Cat. F, 16, Fig. 49e, with deeply incised, canyon like, folds). With the exception of the last piece,



Fig. 49. Statues of *palliata* type from: a. *Nikokleia* (Cnidus); b, d-f. Sarmizegetusa (Cat. F, 14-17); c. *Micia* (Cat. F, 18); g. East Dacia (Cat. F, 41).

¹⁰⁹ Covacef 2002, 72, no. 2; 81, no. 22, Pl. XXXIX, Fig. 3, both from Tomis.

¹¹⁰ Bieber 1977, 133, Fig. 612, 615; Sismondo Righway (III) 2002, 119-121 and notes 11, 135.

¹¹¹ Bieber 1977, 132-133.

¹¹² Sismondo Righway (I) 2001, 212, Pl. 96.

the other statues come from Sarmizegetusa and its immediate vicinity (Cat. F, 18, Fig. 49c, is from Micia, a pagus of Sarmizegetusa). The early dating of no. 15, which is sustained by the exquisite, natural, draping, especially on the right hip and abdomen, is a proof that this type was also in the repertoire of the Micro Asian artists.

Most of the female statuary types, such as “Great” and “Small Herculaneum woman”, *pudicitia*, Eumahia-Fundillia, Core del Vaticano, are not reproduced on high reliefs, depicting entire people in natural proportions (the so called “stèles familiales”). The only type used in Dacia was *palliata* (Fig. 50). It has been argued that this draping being simpler it was preferred by the artisans, but in reality they were not the first to choose. As well as their male counterparts, who were depicted in daily dress, the women dressed with *pallium* were judged to be adequately presented, in accordance with their status. The so called “stèles familiales” belonged to the upper middle class of well to do merchants, small bankers and veterans, whose families could afford monuments of some magnitude, but could not usurp status symbols that were not theirs.

Already M. Bieber made the remark that at least at the beginning most of these iconographic types represented age groups not social categories, but in time this meaning was lost in the provinces. Thus the connection between the first three types (Large and Small Herculaneum woman, and *pudicitia*), and the women from the upper classes is certain, while the *palliata* must have been accessible to women from the *populus*. In a province such as Dacia besides these „classical” types there were some out of the ordinary statues. Actually they were hybrid creations, combining



Fig. 50. Female characters from “stèles familiales”: *palliata* from: a. Potaissa; b. Zam-Sân Craiu; c. Gherla; d. Potaissa; e. Aiud (hybrid form).



Fig. 51. Hybrid statues. a-c. Potaissa (Cat. F, 37-39); d. Tomis.

with little discernment the consecrated forms. In this direction the most prolific was the workshop from Potaissa which combined the “Large” and “Small Herculaneum woman” (Cat. F, 37, Fig. 51a) or the “Large Herculaneum woman” and the *palliata* (Cat. F, 38-39, Fig. 51b-c, and probably no. 40, too). Last combination seems to have been typical for the Potaissa workshop. The prototype for such provincial works were statues produced in Moesia Inferior by workshops directly under Micro-Asian influence. This must be the case of a statue depicting a young lady from Tomis, which combines several common types (Fig. 50d)¹¹³. It is possible, if not highly probable, that the artisans from Potaissa brought with them the models from Moesia Inferior in around AD 170, when legio V Macedonica was transferred here from Troesmis in Moesia Inferior.

A similar combination (sort of *palliata* with an inverted contrapposto) can be encountered at Drobeta (Cat. F, 35, Fig. 52), and even at Sarmizegetusa, if Cat. F, 13 (Fig. 46c), is not an artisanal interpreting of the “Eumachia-Fundillia” type.



Fig. 52. Hybrid statue from Drobeta (Cat. F, 35).

¹¹³ Covacef 2002, 69, no. 1, with the previous literature.

B. Comments and conclusions

From Roman Dacia we could gather 35 female statues (plus 7 separate heads), considerably more than those known to us from the neighboring provinces - only 6 in Moesia Superior and 8 from the Romanian part of Moesia Inferior¹¹⁴. In both, the “Large Herculaneum woman” is the most popular type: three pieces in Moesia Superior, one from Singidunum, the second from Viminacium and the third from Aquae¹¹⁵, and three from Dobrogea (Romanian part of Moesia Inferior), one from Tomis, the second from Noviodunum and the third from Durostorum¹¹⁶. In Moesia Superior, the “Small Herculaneum woman” is attested only in one case (as in Dacia) at Aquae¹¹⁷, and is absent from Dobrogea. The *palliata* type is attested in one case in Moesia Superior, at Singidunum¹¹⁸, and again it misses from Dobrogea. In stead in Moesia Superior the *pudicitia* type is absent, but is represented in Dobrogea by not less than three pieces, two from Tomis¹¹⁹ and one from Durostorum¹²⁰. The “Eumachia-Fundilia” type, attested in one or two cases in Dacia is absent from the other Danube provinces. In Moesia Inferior there is a hybrid statue¹²¹, which might have been a source of inspiration for the artisans emigrated at Potaissa from the Lower Danube. The presence at Drobeta of a similar case indicates that the phenomenon is by no means local.

Another notable difference between the Dacian and the Moesian provinces is that north of the Danube almost all statues (with the exception of Cat. F, 36, Fig. 44, from Romula) are locally carved, while south of the Danube almost all are imports¹²². Yet, from Naissus comes an exceptional piece, representing a woman in local dress¹²³.

Before ending this chapter we feel necessary to mention, and briefly discuss, three life size marble statues, which were not included in the catalogue, although there are voices that claim these pieces might have had a funerary character (and we do not entirely disagree with that).

A first piece that could have been as well a votive, or cult statue, as a funerary one, is the “Core del Vaticano” type statue from Sarmizegetusa (Fig. 53)¹²⁴. Despite its precarious estate of conservation, the good modeling of folds (on the torso for instance), pleads for an early dating (immediately after the middle of the 2nd century). The presence of “Core del Vaticano” type among the female statues from Cyrene

¹¹⁴ To these another one from Durostorum can be added: Popova-Moroz, Bachvarov 1992, 16-17 and Fig. 7.

¹¹⁵ Tomović 1992, 81, no. 44, Fig. 18/1; 82, no. 49, Fig. 15/3; 82, no. 47, Fig. 16/4.

¹¹⁶ Covacef 2002, 71-72, no. 5; 91, no. 2; 93-94, no. 5.

¹¹⁷ Tomović 1992, 82, no. 48, Fig. 15/5, wrongly identified by the author as “*pudicitia*”.

¹¹⁸ Tomović 1992, 81, no. 46, Fig. 15/1-2, wrongly identified by the author as the “Small Herculaneum woman”.

¹¹⁹ Covacef 2002, 72, no. 6; 81, no. 22.

¹²⁰ See above note 114.

¹²¹ Mentioned above, see note 114 and Fig. 51d.

¹²² Alexandrescu-Vianu 2008-2009, above all the list from p. 4-5.

¹²³ Tomović 1992, 81, no. 45, Fig. 16/3.

¹²⁴ Deva Museum, inv. no. 199. The statue, without head and feet measures 105-110 cm in height, and has human dimensions. Hekler 1910, 19-20, no. 52, Fig. 9; Țeposu-Marinescu 1972, 64-65, no. IV, 1, Pl. IV/3; Alicu et alii 1979, 139, no. 349, Pl. LXII; Diaconescu 2004/2012, Cat. P. II, 1; XLIV, 1.

would indicate that the piece from Sarmizegetusa could have been a funerary statue¹²⁵. Yet the complicated draping, which descends from the so called “Sapho” of Sylanion, from around 360 BC, is more suitable for deities. In the expert opinion of E. Ataly, this type was used to represent above all Hygeia, but Core/Persephone could also be an option¹²⁶.



Fig. 53. Sarmizegetusa. Statue of “Core del Vaticano” type.

Equally doubtful is the case of a headless statue almost unanimously identified as Venus, and depicting a woman with the naked left breast and shoulder, reclining on an altar, which bears the inscription *Cla(udius) Saturnin(us) sculpsit* (Fig. 54)¹²⁷. The classical model was Venus Genitrix, currently attributed to Kallimachos¹²⁸ (in our opinion the author should have been Paionios from Mende, whose Nike has the same fine draping as the famous “Venus from Frejus”, the best replica of Venus Genitrix). In the Hellenistic period, the model was altered, the right arm being lowered and a belt being added around the hips. From Asia Minor,



Fig. 54. Sarmizegetusa. Statue of Venus, carved by *Claudius Saturninus*.

Sarmizegetusa not only lacks the belt but is also extremely primitive.

In a recent paper, A. Antal has suggested with good arguments that such images were used not only for goddesses or empresses, but also for private women, who were consecrated at the grave as Venus (*consecratio in formam Veneris*)¹³⁰. The term was borrowed from the inscription of *Claudia Semne*'s tomb on *via Appia*¹³¹ where the phrase used was *consecratio in formam deorum*¹³². Another good parallel is provided

¹²⁵ Traversari 1960, 59.

¹²⁶ Atalay 1989, 86–88, Abb. 55–56.

¹²⁷ Deva Museum, without inventory number. H = 140 cm with plinth. Human dimensions. Alicu et alii 1979, 141, no. 360 (with the earlier literature), Pl. LXVI. Inscription: CIL III 1413 = IDR III/2, 15; Gramatopol 1982, 131, Pl. III/9; Bărbulescu 1984, 39; Diaconescu 2004/2012, Cat. V. 10, Pl. LXVII, 2; Antal 2012, catalogue no. 8, Fig. 4a.

¹²⁸ Fuchs 1983, 207–209, Abb. 224; Todisco 1993, no. 15.

¹²⁹ Atalay 1989, 110–111.

¹³⁰ Antal 2012, no. 8, Fig. 4a.

¹³¹ CIL VI 15593.

¹³² Cf. Wrede 1971 and Wrede 1981 with several examples of private persons represented as gods.

by the text of Statius (*Silvae*, 5.1.231-3), who describes the tomb of *Priscilla*, wife of *Abascantus*. Her statues (*efigies*) were impersonating several goddesses and were made in different materials, each having its own special display: “in this place a Ceres in bronze, here a bright Gnosis, in that *tholos* (round shrine) a Maia, (and) an innocent Venus in this stone”. In many cases for such statues the very type of “Venus Genitrix” was used¹³³. As curious it might look for a frontier province but there is another case in Dacia which could be interpreted with even more chances of success as a funerary statue of a woman impersonating Venus. It is a sarcophagus (more likely

than a relief as most of the scholars believe), supporting on the cover a half naked lying woman of “Venus from Capua” type¹³⁴. The piece comes from Băile Herculane, a resort in the territory of Sarmizegetusa, and is preserved only in an 18th century drawing, so that there are some doubts about the accuracy of the image¹³⁵, but the analogies provided by A. Antal for the central figure are convincing enough; is more probably a funerary monument than a votive dedication to Venus. In the case of the statue from Sarmizegetusa the absence of the head with hair dress, makes it impossible to decide whether this statue represented a private person or a goddess.

More probably a goddess rather than a private person is the female statue from Apulum, whose forearms and head are missing (Fig. 55)¹³⁶. The *himation* covers her back and the lower half of the front of the body, being twisted and running horizontally across the abdomen. Judging after the preserved parts the mantle was also covering the head. Under the heavy *himation* there is a fine *chiton* tied under the breasts, and then falling to the feet. The carving is somehow contradictory, because the chest is flattened while the draping is rendered with great accuracy, as if two different artists worked successively at this statue. Both hands were pushed forwards, in the right one the person depicted was holding a heavy object, so that the sculptor



Fig. 55. Apulum, Statue of a goddess.

had to leave a crane to support it. Near the left foot there was an acolyte, a child (an Amor?), from whom the right foot with the sole upwards has survived. This detail as

¹³³ For further examples Antal 2012, loc. cit. Cf. Stewart 2003, 102-103.

¹³⁴ Antal 2012, no. 6, Fig. 4b.

¹³⁵ The drawing of Griselini from 1780 shows apparently a statuesque high relief, with a reclining woman in the centre, placed on a high pedestal and flanked by the fragmentary statues, both on low pedestals, and representing Hercules and Diana. The way heads, limbs and other parts are broken is unusual even for a high relief, but fits well statues standing in the round. In this case the pedestal under the Venus figure is a sarcophagus itself, and the drawing represents a collection of antique statues from Băile Herculane, not a single relief.

¹³⁶ Alba Iulia Museum, inv. no. 48. H - 145 cm. Almost human dimensions. See Hekler 1910, 18, no. 45, Fig. 6; Diaconescu 2004/2012, Cat. V. 19, Pl. LXV, 2.

well as the complicated pose, makes me think at some goddess. This iconographic type was very popular in Asia Minor, and especially in Ephesus¹³⁷, and was used in Roman times to represent Hygeia, Nemesis and Fortuna. Among private persons only the vestal virgins enjoyed the privilege of such an iconography¹³⁸. As already noted by Hekler in 1910, the classical prototype goes back to Nemesis from Ramnous¹³⁹, the Hellenistic contribution being the transparent chiton.

5. Catalogue of stone statues in Dacia

A. Male statues (Cat. M)

In order to facilitate the analysis and interpreting, I have chosen to order the material inasmuch as possible according to manufacturing centres. Like this typology and chronology would appear as natural as possible. If the listing had been initiated arbitrarily, starting from south or from north, I would have been forced to start with a peripheral and relatively late centre, such as Drobeta or Napoca, whereas - in what stone sculpture is concerned - Sarmizegetusa was both the starting point and model for the rest of the province. Therefore, our material was organized according to ethno-cultural areas, as defined by me earlier¹⁴⁰:

Area 1. Sarmizegetusa, with its *pagi*, and Apulum, a territory of intense initial colonisation by Roman citizens and in the action range of the workshop at Bucova.

Area 2. Napoca, Drobeta, Romula, which were Hadrianic creations, with diverse colonists, initially most of them non-citizens (hence the large number of *Publii Aelii*), with their own workshops, developed according to the model of Bucova.

Area 3. Potaissa and other Severan *municipia*, such as Porolissum, which experienced a later development and produced fewer statues, yet from their own workshops.

Area 4. Rural area, if applicable. In most of the cases there are villas in the rural territory of a town (such as Cinciș, in the *territorium* of Sarmizegetusa)

Within the catalogue, the height is abbreviated as H. The museums are abbreviated as follows:

Alba Iulia Museum = Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia;

Arad Museum = Complexul Muzeal Arad;

Bucharest Museum = Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București;

Cluj Museum = Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca;

Dej Museum = Muzeul Municipal Dej;

Deva Museum = Muzeul Civilizației Dacice și Romane, Deva;

Instit. București = Institutul de Arheologie "Vasile Pârvan", București;

Hunedoara castle = Muzeul Castelul Corvineștilor, Hunedoara;

Lugoj Museum = Muzeul de Istorie, Etnografie și Artă Plastică, Lugoj;

¹³⁷ Atalay 1989, 47, no. 41; 102-103, Abb. 86, an exceptional copy of the Hellenistic original from the Hadrianic period, or p. 38-39, no. 32; 93, Abb. 67; cf. also the statue from Miletus at Abb. 70.

¹³⁸ Cf. three cases known to Bieber 1979, Fig. 818-820.

¹³⁹ For the reconstruction of the piece from original fragments see Fuchs 1983, no. 22. The best Roman copy is at Copenhagen (Todisco 1993, no. 11).

¹⁴⁰ Diaconescu 2004, *passim*.

- Mediaș Museum = Muzeul Municipal Mediaș;
 Sarmizegetusa Museum = Muzeul de Arheologie, Sarmizegetusa;
 Sebeș Museum = Muzeul Municipal „Ioan Raica”, Sebeș;
 Sibiu Museum = Muzeul de Istorie Sibiu;
 Timișoara Museum = Muzeul Banatului Timișoara;
 Turda Museum = Muzeul de Istorie Turda;
 Turnu Severin Museum = Muzeul Regiunii Porților de Fier,
 Drobeta Turnu-Severin;
 Zalău Museum = Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Artă Zalău.

Area 1

Sarmizegetusa (*colonia Dacica*)

1. Head (Fig. 1a); most likely carved in Bucova marble. Poorly preserved, the face being completely damaged; preserved H = 24 cm. This head must come from a life-size statue; unknown circumstances of discovery; Deva Museum, inv. no. 407.
 References: Gramatopol 1985, 218, no. 47, il. 47 a-b; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 3.
2. Head (Fig. 2); Bucova marble (Marble Analyses SA 10); rather well preserved; broken from below the neck. Since it was kept for a long time in a humid environment, the face features are slightly obscured. A layer of precipitated calcium carbonate covers the entire surface, thus wiping out any finishing traces. The back-head is not completely worked, the artisan leaving a roughly carved support; preserved H = 25.5 cm; wrongly M. Gramatopol gives a height of 31.4 cm; face height: 15 cm; the original statue was slightly under life-size; unknown circumstances of discovery; Sarmizegetusa Museum, inv. no. 1061 and 10027.
 References: Floca 1967, 71, Fig. from p. 67; Alicu et alii 1979, 134, no. 325, Pl. LVI; Gramatopol 1985, 220, no. 56, il. 56; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 4.
3. Head, most likely carved in Bucova marble, judging after its outlook. Poorly preserved: the forehead is broken and the entire surface was water eroded so that most features have vanished. Preserved H = 31 cm; the original statue must have been life-size, slightly over the average; unspecified circumstances of discovery. Deva Museum, inv. no. 406.
 References: Gramatopol 1985, 218, no. 48, il. 48; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 2.
4. Fragmentary statue of a *togatus*, variant 1, subgroup a (Fig. 13c); most probably Bucova marble; poorly preserved: head, right upper limb, left hand and the entire lower part of the statue, from above the knees are missing; preserved H = 78 cm; the entire item must have been life-size; unknown circumstances of discovery; Deva Museum, without inv. no.
 References: Alicu et alii 1979, 140, no. 358, Pl. LXV; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 26.
5. Headless statue of a *togatus*, subgroup 1 a (Fig. 13b); most likely, Bucova marble; poorly preserved: head, forearm with right hand and lower limbs just below the hip are broken; preserved H = 85 cm; complete, it must have exceeded life-sizes by a few inches; unknown circumstances of discovery; Deva Museum, without inv. no.

References: Alicu et alii 1979, 139, no. 351, Pl. LXIII, with previous references; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 26.

6. Statue of a *togatus*, variant 1, subgroup b (Fig. 14b); most likely, Bucova marble; fragmentary; head, right hand, left hand, which was worked separately and lower limbs from half leg down, are missing; preserved H = 102 cm; complete, it must have been life-size; unspecified circumstances of discovery; Deva Museum, without inv. no.

References: Alicu et alii 1979, 139-140, no. 353, Pl. LXIII; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 28.

7. Fragmentary statue of a *togatus*, variant 1, subvariant b (Fig. 14c); probably, Bucova marble; head, forearm and right arm are missing, as well as left hand and lower limbs from shank are also broken; preserved H = 97 cm; the complete statue must have reached life-size; unknown circumstances of discovery; Deva Museum, without inv. no.

References: Ferri 1933, 302, Fig. 400; Alicu et alii 1979, 140, no. 355, Pl. LXIV; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 29.

8. Headless funerary statue depicting a *togatus*, variant 1, subvariant c (Fig. 15a); most probably Bucova marble, rather well preserved: only the head and most part of the left hand are missing. Recently, it seems that the right half of the plinth with corresponding leg was also lost; preserved H = 152 cm; the original statue was life-size; unknown circumstances of discovery; it comes from the collection of Zam castle, where it was seen by Seivert, Neigebaur, Fodor and C. Torma; Deva Museum, inv. no. 3588.

References: CIL III 1543; Alicu et alii 1979, 139, no. 350, Pl. LXII (with part of the previous references); IDR III/2, 6 (with another part of the previous references, yet with multiple confusions); Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 23.

9. Statue of a *togatus*, variant 1, subvariant c (Fig. 15b); most probable Bucova marble; the head is missing, while lower limbs are broken above the knee; preserved H = 130 cm; originally, it must have been life-size; unknown circumstances of discovery: it should be mentioned that in 1910, Heckler (20, no. 53) notes only one statue of a *togatus* in the Deva Museum (and this was fragmentary). The rich collection of this museum must come from the Hunedoara castle, in whose gardens such statues were collected as early as the Renaissance; Deva Museum, without inv. no.

References: Alicu et alii 1979, 139, no. 352, Pl. LXIII; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 24.

10. Statue of a *togatus*, apparently variant 1c (Fig. 15c); most probably Bucova marble; very fragmentary: head, which was originally attached by a rivet, is missing, as well as the upper right limb, left hand and the entire lower part from the abdomen down; H ca. 50 cm; complete, it would have been life-size; unspecified circumstances of discovery; Deva Museum, without inv. no; most likely, a recent acquisition, otherwise it could not have been missed by authors Alicu et alii 1979.

References: Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 25.

11. Statue of a *togatus*, variant 2 (Fig. 16b); probably Bucova marble; poor state of preservation: head, right upper limb, left hand and lower limbs under the knee, are missing; moreover, the draping is poorly preserved; preserved H = 79 cm; unspecified circumstances of discovery; Deva Museum, without inv. no.

References: Alicu et alii 1979, 140, no. 357, Pl. LXV; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 31.

12. Statue of a *togatus*, variant 2 (Fig. 17c); probably, Bucova marble; fragmentary: head is missing, forearm with right hand and part of the *sinus* are broken; additionally, the left hand, worked separately is also missing; the item is broken from below the knees; preserved H = 121 cm; originally life-size; unspecified circumstances of discovery: purchased from Brănișca, where it was seen and drawn by A. Fodor; Deva Museum, without inv. no.

References: Ferri 1933, 302, Fig. 398; Alicu et alii 1979, 140, no. 354, Pl. LXIV; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 30.

13. Statue of a *togatus*, variant 2 (Fig. 17d); *non vidi*; probably, Bucova marble; poorly preserved: head, left hand, right hand and lower part under the knees are missing; in addition, the draping is largely destroyed; preserved H = 102 cm; complete, it would have been life-size; unspecified circumstances of discovery; Deva Museum, without inv. no.

References: Alicu et alii 1979, 140, no. 356, Pl. LXIV, with previous references; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 32.

14. Statue of a *togatus*, variant 2 (Fig. 18a); probably, Bucova marble; fragmentary: upper part of the bust, with right upper limb and most part of the left one are missing. Lower limbs are broken from shanks down. Preserved H = ca. 80 cm. Complete, it would have been life-size. Circumstances of discovery: unspecified. Deva Museum, without inv.

References: Definitely different from the previous piece, since in this case, the left hand holding a *volumen* is preserved; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 33.

15. Statue of a *togatus*, variant 2 (Fig. 17a); probably Bucova marble. Fragmentary: head and lower part with base are missing; preserved H = 125 cm. If complete, the statue would have been life-size. Circumstances of discovery: probably it comes from the archaeological excavations performed by the former T. Mariș in the immediate surroundings of the Hunedoara castle. Like the next piece, it must have decorated the gardens around the castle.

References: Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 34.

16. Statue of a *togatus*, unspecified variant (Fig. 18b). Probably Bucova marble, at least according to the outer aspect. Fragmentary: head and shoulders with upper limbs are missing, as well the hip with the entire right lower limb and shank with the left foot; preserved H = 90 cm. Unknown circumstances of discovery. I have remarked it inside the Hunedoara castle, where I took photos of it. Later, with the aid of my colleague C. Roman, from the Museum at Hunedoara, we established that it comes from the excavations carried out by T. Mariș in the castle gardens. Hunedoara castle, inv. no. 189.

References: Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 35.

17. Statue of a *togatus*, type 2 (Fig. 19). Marble of undefined type. Rather well preserved. Head, right hand with forearm and small part of the arm, plus the left hand holding the *volumen*, are missing, as well as both legs, which are broken from the ankles. Unspecified size. The circumstances of discovery are unknown to us. Deva Museum, without inv.

References: Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 38.

18. Fragmentary statue of a *togatus*, type 2 (Fig. 18c). Marble. Poorly preserved. Only the lower part of the body has survived. Size unknown to us. Circumstances of discovery also unknown to us. Deva Museum, without inv. no.

References: in case it is not a part of no. 10, or another piece which might have been damaged during the Museum restoration works, then this item could have been unpublished before Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 39.

19. Statue of a *togatus*, unusual type (Fig. 21a); marble (?). Rather poorly preserved. Head, right hand with forearm and the left hand are missing. Also, the lower limbs are broken from the knee. Unspecified size. The circumstances of discovery are unknown to us. Deva Museum.

References: Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 40.

20. Cuirassed statue (Fig. 27). Bucova marble, according to the outer aspect. Fragmentary; head, forearm with left hand and partially the right arm with elbow are missing; in addition, both lower limbs are broken from under the knee, and also part of the right hip and thigh are missing; preserved H = 91 cm; the original statue was life-size; unknown circumstances of discovery; Deva Museum, inv. no. 2181.

References: Alicu et alii 1979, 127, no. 296, Pl. XLIX (with previous references); Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 20.

21. Headless statue in campaign or "battle dress" (Fig. 32a). Bucova marble, according to the outer aspect; mediocre state of preservation: head, both upper limbs and lower limbs from under the knee are missing; preserved H = 102 cm; the original statue must have been life-size. Unknown circumstances of discovery; Lugoj Museum, inv. no. 515.

References: Isac, Stratan 1973, 126-127, Pl. V, II; Alicu et alii 1979, 127-128, no. 297, Pl. XLIX; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 21.

22. Headless statue in the same military outfit (Fig. 32b); probably Bucova marble; poorly preserved: head and right hand with most part of the sword are missing, lower limbs are also broken - the left one from under the knee and the right from above shank; preserved H = 115 cm; the original statue was life-size; unknown circumstances of discovery: purchased from Păclîșa, where it was seen and drawn by A. Fodor (*apud* Alicu et alii 1979); Deva Museum, inv. no. 200.

References: Neigebaur 1851, 40, no. 132; Alicu et alii 1979, 127, no. 295, Pl. XLIX; Florescu 1980, 66, no. 7; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 22.

23. Statue in travelling attire (Fig. 35b). Fine grained greyish limestone. Poorly preserved: head and lower limbs from under the knees are missing; part of the left arm and forearm are broken, yet the hand is preserved; preserved H = 80 cm. Human size. Unspecified circumstances of discovery. Already, Neigebaur recorded it at Fărcădin. Deva Museum, without inv. no.

References: Alicu et alii 1979, 141, no. 359, Pl. LXV; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 36.

Cinciș (near Hunedoara, in the *territorium* of Sarmizegetusa).

24. Statue of a *togatus*, variant 2 (Fig. 4a, 17b). Probably Bucova marble. Rather good state of preservation: broken from the ankles, yet the sculptural surface was not damaged; the head is detached from body and now does not fit on the neck anymore; today, the face is damaged, however the first editor notes, beside the presence of the beard, visible even today on a small portion, a part of the face, since he argues: “the head, mutilated, detached from the trunk, lacks not the vivid expression of a portrait”. H without head = 132 cm. The head with the preserved portion of the neck measures 30 cm. The statue was life-size. The circumstances of discovery are unclear. It appeared in 1929, together with a female statue, in the garden of a private person. Probably they came from the *sepulchretum* of a *villa*. Deemed for a long time missing, it was found, subsequent to the first draft of this catalogue, by Al. Sonoc from the “Lucian Blaga” University of Sibiu and presented to the Symposium at Hunedoara in October 2004. Today, it is located in the courtyard of priest Oprea-Crăciun, who rescued it when the village of Cinciș was covered by the recently built artificial lake. Together with the two female statues (Cat. P. II, 19-20), this item will be included in the Parish Museum.

References: Daicoviciu 1929, 6, no. 1, Fig. 8; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 37.

Apulum (*municipium/colonia Aurelia, municipium Septimium, camp of legio XIII Gemina*)

25. Portrait, possibly from a high relief (Fig. 1b). Limestone. Rather well preserved, excepting the fact that piece is fractured vertically from half head downwards. Total H = 29.5 cm. The figure was slightly over normal average size. Unknown circumstances of discovery. Alba Iulia Museum, inv. no. 813.

References: Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 38.

26. High relief head (Fig. 1c). Limestone. Mediocre state of preservation: broken from neck down and in the back side; nose is also missing. Total H = 36 cm. Head, from chin to the crown is 29 cm. It comes from a figure slightly over natural size (ca. 2 m). Discovered by chance in 1908 on the crest of Dealul Furcilor (Pitchfork Hill), in the area of the Roman cemetery. Alba Iulia Museum, inv. no. 821.

References: Ferri 1933, 332, 334, Fig. 435-436; Gramatopol 1975, 183-185; Gramatopol 1985, 80-82, no. 10, il. 10 a-b; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 41.

27. Head of a young boy (Severus Alexander?) (Fig. 4b). Large grained ochre-yellowish marble, probably imported. Partly preserved: the back side of the head was cut out, the nose, chin and right arch are broken; the upper lip is partly damaged, the lower one is entirely missing; preserved H = 26 cm. Total length of the head is 20.5 cm, which fits the average standards, but taking into consideration that the head is elongated and the face quite narrow, it is possible that it is slightly under life size. Unknown circumstances of discovery. The head comes from the deposit of Batthianeum Library. Alba Iulia Museum, inv. no. 798.

References: Gramatopol 1975, 192-194, Fig. 12-13; Gramatopol 1985, 132-136, no. 25, il. 25 a-b; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 40.

28. Fragmentary cuirassed statue of an officer (rather than emperor Pertinax) (Fig. 3b, 24). Bucova marble (Marble Analyses AP 17). Rather poorly preserved: the right lower limb is broken from under the knee, and the left one is broken from the middle of the shank; the lower half of the right arm, the corresponding forearm and hand are missing. The upper left limb lacks the lower part of the forearm and hand. The face is mutilated, with broken nose and ears. Right eye is chipped. At the back of the neck there is a support left uncarved from the original block. Preserved H = 138 cm. Head height is 28 cm. The entire statue was life-size. Found in the southern borrow of Alba Iulia, Partoş (*colonia Aurelia Apulensis*), according to A. Cserni. Alba Iulia Museum, inv. no. 51.

References: Cserni 1901, 328-329, no. 16, Fig. 37; David-Țeposu, in RR Köln 1969, 247-248, G 99; David-Țeposu, in CRR Roma 1970, 240, G 62; Gramatopol 1975, 186-189; Florescu 1980, no. 71; Gramatopol 1982, 121, Pl. II/2; Gramatopol 1985, 98-104, il. 15 a-d; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 44.

29. Headless cuirassed statue (Fig. 25a). Most likely Bucova marble. Well preserved: left hand is broken; the head, which was worked separately, is now missing. Total H = 190 cm according to our measurements. The base height is 23-25 cm. According to Florescu 1980, it measures 167 cm (including the base), after David-Țeposu (RR Köln 1969), it measures 176 cm. More reliable is Radu 1968, who gives 167cm + 25 cm the base. The statue was likely of heroic size, i.e. slightly above life-size (ca. 190 cm in height). Unspecified circumstances of discovery. Alba Iulia Museum, inv. no. 50.

References: Ferri 1933, 302 sq., Fig. 402; Radu 1968, 434-438, no. 1, Fig. 1; Țeposu-David, in RR Köln 1969, 284, G 101; Florescu 1980, 77, no. 102; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 46.

30. Fragmentary cuirassed statue (Fig. 25b). Marble, probably Bucova. Partly preserved: the head, the upper right limb, part of the left forearm and hand are missing, as well as the legs below the knee. Total height of the preserved part: 150 cm. The entire statue must have had heroic size, exceeding slightly the natural ones. The circumstances of discovery are uncertain. According to A. Cserni (who quotes P. Fasching, I. Benko and F. Hene's paper of 1836), the piece was discovered well prior 1820 in the ruins of the city of Alba Iulia. Interestingly, in 1901 it had already disappeared. Eventually, it reached Deva, where it is mentioned by L. Țeposu-David and M. Gramatopol (inv. no. 2189). Meanwhile it was transferred to the National Museum of Bucharest, where I could finally take pictures of it (K. Stemmer, who quotes information from S. Düll, locates it correctly in Bucharest).

References: Cserni 1901, 331-332, no. 18, Fig. 39; David-Țeposu, in RR Köln 1969, G 100; Țeposu-David, in CRR Roma 1970, 240, G 63, Tav. L; Stemmer 1978, 116, XII, 2, Taf. 78; Gramatopol 1982, 129, Pl. III/8; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 45.

31. Statue in campaign or "battle" outfit (Fig. 5a, 30). Bucova marble (Marble Analyses AP 15). Rather well preserved: lower limbs are broken above the ankle and forearms with hands, which were worked separately, are now missing. The head was also detachable, as we noted upon direct examination in 1989, when the piece was in the Museum's courtyard. The head had been worked separately and was provided at neck base with an attachment pin. Today, it is fixed to the body by white cement. To

the left and right of the statue are noticeable two attachment notches to another item. This is probably part of a statuary group, which also explains the unnaturally elongate figure; preserved H = 157-162 cm; head H = 27 cm. The entire statue was a life-size one. The statue was discovered in the Roman cemetery area "de pe Podei" ("on Podei") (between "Cetate" and Partoş). It was discovered together with a *sarcophagus*, hence in a definitely funerary context. The cemetery might have belonged to either *municipium Septimium* or *colonia Aurelia*. Alba Iulia Museum, inv. no. 8285.

References: Moga, Blăjan 1992; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 47.

32. Statue in campaign or "battle" suit (Figs. 5b, 31). Bucova marble (Marble Analyses AP 12). Well preserved, the piece being almost complete. It is damaged only at shoulder level, which might be misleading in judging the body shape, hence R. Florescu's idea that the character was "slouching" (Florescu 1980, 75). In fact the statue was attached to a back wall of the mausoleum with studs which were broken when the funerary monument was demolished. The left hand, worked separately, is now missing. Together with the base H = 195 cm; the base is 18 cm high, 64 cm wide and 48 cm deep/thick. The statue slightly exceeds life-size. Unspecified circumstances of discovery. Alba Iulia Museum, inv. no. 57.

References: Ferri 1933, 307, Fig. 402; Radu 1968, 438-441, no. 2, Fig. 1-3 a-b; Florescu 1980, 75, no. 69; Gramatopol 1982, 126, Pl. II/13; Gramatopol 1985, 235, il. 93/a-c; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 48.

33. Body of a *togatus*, with non-pertinent head, variant 1, subvariant "b" (Fig. 14a). Bucova marble (Marble Analyses AP 14). Acceptably preserved: forearm with right hand and left hand, worked separately, are now missing. As rightfully remarked by M. Gramatopol, the head does not belong to the statue, being attached only during the contemporary period. In fact, Hekler had published separately the body in 1910, without the head, which was discovered sometimes in the Interwar period. For this reason, we gave this ensemble two numbers. Total H = 200 cm, of which 17 cm the plinth and 182 cm the statue. The plinth was 76 cm high and 48 cm deep/thick. The statue was life-size to heroic. Circumstances of discovery: unclear. The body comes from Partoş (*colonia Aurelia Apuluensis*).

References: Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 49.

34. Portrait of a *togatus* with non-pertinent head (Fig. 5c). Probably Bucova marble. Right eye, nose, chin and lips partly damaged. H = 24 cm. Unknown circumstances of find. Alba Iulia Museum, inv. no. 44 - the body and 45/2704 - the head.

References: Hekler 1910, 17, no. 41; David-Țeposu in RR Köln 1969, 246, G 90; Gramatopol 1985, 234, il. 88 a-c; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 50.

35. Statue of a *togatus* depicting most probably a *Genius* (Fig. 16c). Most probably Bucova marble: head is missing and left hand seems to be broken from joint. It might be a straight cut for an object held in the left hand (a *cornucopia*?). Preserved H = 91 cm, of which the plinth is 19 cm high, 45 wide and 24 cm deep. Rather a statuette than a real statue. Unknown circumstances of discovery. Alba Iulia Museum, inv. no. 318.

References: Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 51; Dudău 2012, 389-390, no. 1, Pl. I/1.

36. Statue depicting a *togatus*, variant 2 (Fig. 16d). Marble, probably Bucova. Mediocre state of preservation: head, left hand and right forearm with hand are missing; preserved H = 156 cm, H of base = 16 cm. Life-size. It comes from the ruins of the Gothic altar of the Evangelic Cathedral of Sebeş, where it must have been used as filling material. It was likely brought there from one of the urban cemeteries or from a *villa* in the immediate vicinity of Apulum (*colonia Aurelia Apulensis* is at ca. 10 km distance). Sebeş Museum, inv. no. 3986.

References: Wollmann 1970, 178, no. 17, Fig. 14; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 52.

37. Statue with tunic and mantle (*in habitu civili*) (Fig. 35a). Probably Bucova marble. Head and lower limbs under the knees are missing; preserved H = 93-110 cm. It measures 87 cm from knee to shoulders. Complete, it must have had been less than life-size, representing approximately 3/4 of the real height. The circumstances of discovery are irrelevant: the item made its appearance in 1898, during the demolition of the foundations of the Bathory church. Alba Iulia Museum, inv. no. 49.

References: Cserni 1901, 332, no. 19, Fig. 40; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 53.

38. High relief depicting a legionary in lamellar armour (Fig. 38). Probably Bucova marble. Head, feet below the knee are broken. The right hand, which was worked separately is missing. The back wall is broken at shoulder level. Preserved H= 105 cm according to references (130 according to our measurements). Wall width = 75 cm; thickness = 18 cm. The depicted character must have been life-size. Chance find. It appeared in 1903 while demolishing the wall of a military storage, where it must have been recently reused. It may come from either the fort area or that of the Severan *municipium*. Alba Iulia Museum, inv. no. marked on statue = 299, on base = 235/II.

References: H. Daicoviciu, in RR Köln 1969, 123, C 63; H. Daicoviciu, in CRR Roma 1970, 141-142, C 56, Tav. XII; recently, Băluță 2001, *passim* (with many inaccuracies); Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 54.

39. Statue head with damaged face. Subsequent to the draft of this catalogue, a “young man head” appeared accidentally in the antiquities trade, later retrieved by the police of Alba Iulia and donated to the local Museum. The face is bizarre, as of a naive counterfeit. An individual, who called himself the author of the sculpture, even came out. Upon the analysis of the piece at the request of the state authorities, I sadly concluded it was an ancient head, restored erroneously and abusively. Only the original ears survived, proving the good quality of the initial work.

Area 2: Hadrianic *municipia*

Napoca

40. Statue of a *togatus*, variant 1, subvariant a (Fig. 13a). Bucova marble (Marble Analyses NA 2). Rather well preserved: head is missing and upper right limb, left hand and feet from under the ankles are broken. Preserved H = 120 cm (from knee to neck it measures 90 cm). The entire piece was life-size. Unknown circumstances of discovery. According to the information received from our colleague C. Pop, whom we thank this way as well, the statue comes from Napoca. Cluj Museum, without inv. no.

References: Popa 1999, *passim*; Diaconescu, Bota 2002–2003, 179, Pl. XIII/2; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 56.

41. Fragment of a statue in campaign or “battle suit” (Fig. 32c). Local limestone (from the quarry of Baciui, near Cluj). Poorly preserved. Practically, only part of the torso survived, which was recut to be used as building block. Preserved H = 85 cm (97 × 67 × 12 cm according to the first editors). It was found during the systematic excavations in the medieval settlement at Cluj-Mănăştur. The piece was transformed into a slab used in a child box-grave (G 92). Cluj Museum, without inv. no.

References: Iambor, Matei, Halassu 1981, 143–144, note 11; Pl. VII/1; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 57.

42. Head of a bearded man (Fig. 3a). Baciui limestone. Poorly preserved: large part of the face is destroyed; broken from under the chin, so the original position of the head is difficult to establish. Now it seems to have been tilted to the right. Preserved H = 22 cm. Almost life-size. Found by chance at Gura Baciului, in the Roman quarry area. Cluj Museum, inv. no. IV 5360.

References: Pop 1971, 556, no. 7, Fig. 3/3; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 58.

Drobeta

43. Head of a child (Fig. 6). Paros marble (Marble Analyses DR6; Müller et alii 2001, Fig. 3). Very well preserved: slight deterioration to the nose tip; broken from neck down, it might have originally belonged to a life-size statue of a child. Preserved H = 16.5 cm (together with the neck). Unspecified circumstances of discovery. It was found around 1871 around Drobeta and was part of Bolliac collection. Bucharest Museum, inv. no. 18699.

References: Tudor 1941–1944, 409, no. 2; Bordenache 1958, 277 sqq., Abb. 6; RR Köln 1969, 252, G 125; CRR Roma 1970, 244, G 88; Berciu, Petolescu 1976, 30, no. 12, Pl. 7; Simon 1980, 176, note 29; Wrede 1981, 37, note 62; Gramatopol 1985, 229, no. 83; Goette 1989, 215, no. 6 (erroneously deems it to originate in Dobrogea); Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 59.

Romula (probably Hadrianic *municipium*)

44. Head of an unidentified figure. Limestone of Vrața, a quarry across the Danube, near Oescus). *Non vidi*. H = 13 cm. It must come from a statue slightly below life-size. Unknown circumstances of discovery. It belonged to Capșa collection. Unknown storage place to us.

References: Tudor 1935, 39–40, no. 36, Fig. 13/a; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 60.

Possibly area 3:

Severan *municipia*, unless the items come from *pagi* of Sarmizegetusa and not the localities developed around auxiliary forts that later became *municipia*.

Tibiscum

45. Statue depicting a *togatus* (Fig. 14d). Marble, probably from Bucova, with a crust of calcareous precipitate on the frontal side, which is strongly corroded, so that projecting parts are very unclear. Missing head, left hand with part of the forearm, then the right forearm and hand, as well the lower limbs below the knee. Preserved H = 88 cm. The complete statue would have been 130, maximum 140 cm in height, being slightly below life-size. Unclear circumstances of discovery. It is only known to have been found at Tibiscum and brought to the Timișoara Museum by M. Moga. Timișoara Museum, without inv. no.

References: Crînguș 1996, *passim*; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 61.

Dierna

46. Statue depicting a *togatus*, variant 2 (Fig. 16a). Possibly Bucova marble. Rather poorly preserved: head, right forearm and hand, which held the toga fold, the entire left upper limb as well as the feet with part of the shanks are missing. Unspecified size. The entire statue must have been life-size. The circumstances of discovery are unknown to us. It must come from Roman Dierna. Stored in the local school museum of Orșova.

References: Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 62.

Porolissum (Severan *municipium*)

47. Statue of a *togatus* of undefined type. (Fig. 21b). Local limestone. Poorly preserved: head is missing as well as hands and feet from ankles; body fractured in two. Preserved H = 135 cm. The statue was likely life-size. Unclear circumstances of discovery. It is known to come from Moigrad (Porolissum). Zalău Museum, inv. no. 1027.

References: Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, 45, no. 152; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 63.

Area 4. "Rural" Dacia

Dacia Superior

48. Funerary statue head (Fig. 5d). *Non vidi!* According to the description, "white-grey marble", therefore probably from Bucova. Poorly preserved: the face is largely destroyed, and the fact that the head is broken immediately under the chin and that part of the lower jaw and neck are missing, the head has a curious aspect. Preserved H = 27 cm, of which the face is 23 cm. The statue must have been at least life-size if not heroic; in no case was it of "small size", as the first editors appreciate. A groove made at a later date is apparent in the left part of the head. A rectangular orifice is visible in the lower part, in the centre of the neck insertion area, likely from the attachment pin of the head to the body (as in no. 47). Unclear circumstances

of discovery. According to the inventory register, it was found in the 1960'ies by M. Blăjan and G. Togan, somewhere on the bank of Târnava Mare river, yet recently asked, M. Blăjan did not remember anything about it. Mediaș Museum.

References: Sonoc, Chiriac 2010, 440-453, Pl. I-III; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 64. 49. Statue depicting a *togatus*, variant 2 (Fig. 18d). Probably Bucova marble. Head is missing; the front part of the feet with *lacinia* and part of the *sinus* are broken. Preserved H = 145 cm. The original statue was life-size. Unknown circumstances of discovery. It belonged to the old Buckentahl museum fund. Sibiu Museum, inv. no. A 7586.

References: Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. I, 65.

Cat. P. I. Supplement

Samus (Cășeiu)

50. Statuette of a *Genius* dressed in *toga* (Fig. 20). Rather well preserved. The nose was broken and is now restored (the photo published by M. Macrea in 1961 was taken prior to this restoration). During my first examination of this statuette, around 1978-1979, I noted that the upper part of the horn of plenty (*cornucopia*) was broken, and a fragment, whose cut suited to that on the shoulder, survived. The fragment was meanwhile lost (likely when the museum was moved to its new location). In addition, a piece of the mantle and half of the *patera* are broken. The piece was also restored in the lower part, in-between the legs. H = 82 cm, of which the plinth 6.5 cm; plinth width = 38 cm; depth/thickness = 17 cm. Dej Museum, inv. no. 379 (*cornucopia* fragment - inv. no L. 20).

References: Isac A. 1993, 197-202 (quoting all previous mentions on the item); Diaconescu 2012, Cat. V, 51; Dudău 2012, 391-392, no. 3, Pl. III/2.

B. Female statues (cat. F)

Area 1

Sarmizegetusa

1. "La Grande Ercolanese" type statue, subgroup "a" (Fig. 40a). Marble, probably Bucova. Poorly preserved: head, right hand and lower limbs above the knees are missing. Preserved H = 91 cm. The original statue would have been life-size. Unknown circumstances of discovery. Having been stored for a long time in a lapidary with broken roof, the item was stained and almost impossible to photograph (see Diaconescu, Bota 2002-2003 and Diaconescu, Bota 2009). Recently, the piece was cleaned and exposed properly. Deva Museum, inv. no. 2197.

References: Țeposu-Marinescu 1972, 56, no. I, 2, Pl. I/2; Alicu et alii 1979, 136, no. 337, Pl. LVIII; Diaconescu, Bota 2002-2003, 179, Pl. XII/1; Diaconescu, Bota 2009, 293, Fig. 58; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. II, 3.

2. "Large Herculaneum woman" type statue, variant "a" (Fig. 40b). Marble, probably Bucova. Rather poorly preserved: Only the head is missing and there are

slight deteriorations to the right elbow, forearm and leg. Preserved H = 120 cm, of which 14 cm the base. Complete, the statue was slightly below life-size. Unknown circumstances of discovery. Being shown in permanent exhibition, the piece is being preserved in very good conditions. Deva Museum, inv. no. 2191.

References: Țeposu-Marinescu 1972, 56, no. I, 1, Pl. I/1; Alicu et alii 1979, 136, no. 336, Pl. LVIII; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. II, 4.

3. "La Grande Ercolanese" type statue, variant "a" (Fig. 40c). Most probably Bucova marble. Rather well preserved: only the head is missing and there are slight deteriorations to the left hand and knee. Preserved H = 140 cm, of which the base is 15 cm. The entire statue would have been slightly below life-size. Unknown circumstances of discovery. The piece was recently cleaned and adequately stored. Deva Museum, inv. no. 2184.

References: Ferri 1933, 296-297, Fig. 399; Țeposu-Marinescu 1972, 56-57, no. I, 3, Pl. I/3; Alicu et alii 1979, 338, Pl. LIX; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. II, 5.

4. "La Grande Ercolanese" type statue, variant "a" (Fig. 40e). Most probably Bucova marble. Rather well preserved: Only head and right leg above the ankle are missing. Preserved H = 145 cm. The entire statue must have been life-size. Unknown circumstances of discovery. Sarmizegetusa Museum, inv. no. 10001.

References: Alicu et alii 1979, 137-138, no. 344, Pl. LXI; Diaconescu, Bota 2002-2003, 190, Pl. XII/2; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. II, 6.

5. "La Grande Ercolanese" type statue, subgroup "b", variant 1 (Fig. 42a). Most probably Bucova marble. Mediocre level of preservation: head and both legs from under the ankles are missing; the lower part is today completed with plaster; additionally, the hands are broken. Preserved H = 140 cm. The entire statue would have been close to life-size. Unspecified circumstances of discovery. Sarmizegetusa Museum, inv. no. 10003.

References: Alicu et alii 1979, 137, no. 343, Pl. LX; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. II, 10.

6. "La Grande Ercolanese" type statue, subgroup "b", variant 1 (Fig. 42b). Marble. Poorly preserved: head and lower limbs above the knee are missing; the right hand, chest draping and partially the left hand are broken. Preserved H = 105 cm. The entire statue was likely life-size. Unknown circumstances of discovery. Deva Museum, inv. no. 2193.

References: Țeposu-Marinescu 1972, 57, no. I, 4, Pl. II/1; Alicu et alii 1979, 137, no. 339, Pl. LIX; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. II, 12.

7. High relief with the depiction of a woman posing as "La Grande Ercolanese", variant "b" (Fig. 42c). Probably Bucova marble. The upper part, from mid chest upwards is missing, together with the right hand, which was pressed to the chest, thus hindering any variant distinction. Slight deterioration to the left knee and base. Preserved H = 155 cm. The figure was life-size. Unspecified circumstances of discovery. Deva Museum, inv. no. 2179.

References: Țeposu-Marinescu 1972, 63, no. 10, Pl. III/3; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. II, 8.

8. "La Grande Ercolanese" type statue, subgroup "b", variant 2 (Fig. 43a). Bucova marble (Marble Analyses SA 31). Well preserved. Today, the piece is restored,

excepting some slight deterioration to the face (tip of the nose, upper lip and chin). When discovered, the head was probably broken, in addition, a fissure emerges in the area of the pelvis and the shanks are partially restored, but without rendering the folds. Since the head is disproportionately smaller in relation to the body, the neck area is restored and at present, no point where the head would have been naturally attached to the body is visible, we eventually wondered whether in the past century, a head coming from elsewhere was or was not attached to a body found in some other place. However, in 1832, when J. M. Ackner drew the piece at Păclîșa, it already exhibited the current shape. Since the statue had been then recently discovered, the separate discovery of the head and body and their subsequent joining is less likely. In fact, stylistically speaking, the head is concordant to the body, being thus produced in the same period. Total H = 154 cm. Hence, the statue was of dimensions slightly below life-size. Unspecified circumstances of discovery. The piece must come from Sarmizegetusa, as it was discovered slightly prior 1832 on the Pogany property in Păclîșa, in the cloth vicinity of Sarmizegetusa. Deva Museum, inv. no. 2190.

References: Wollman 1982, 120, Abb. 53; Neigeaur 1851, 40, no. 130; Hekler 1910, 19, no. 51, Fig. 8; Ferri 1933, 297, Fig. 389; Țeposu-Marinescu, in RR Köln 1969, 244, G. 83; Țeposu-Marinescu, in CRR Roma 1970, 237, G 47; Țeposu-Marinescu 1972, 61-62, no. I, 7, Pl. III/1; Alicu et alii 1979, 136, no. 335, Pl. LVIII; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. II, 9.

9. "La Grande Ercolanese" type statue, subgroup "b", variant 2 (Fig. 43b). Marble, probably Bucova. Quite poorly preserved: head and lower limbs from lower half of the shanks are missing. The right hand is strongly corroded. Preserved H = 115 cm. The original statue would have had life-size dimensions. Unspecified circumstances of discovery. The piece is rendered firstly by A. Fodor in a drawing (*apud* Alicu et alii 1979). Deva Museum, inv. no. 2177.

References: Țeposu-Marinescu 1972, 57, no. I, 6, Pl. II/3; Alicu et alii 1979, 137, no. 341, Pl. LX; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. II, 11.

10. "La Grande Ercolanese" type statue, subgroup "b", variant 2 (Fig. 43c). Marble, probably Bucova. Rather well preserved: only head is missing. Preserved H = 140 cm. The entire statue must have been slightly under life-size. Unknown circumstances of discovery. Deva Museum, without inv. no.

References: Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. II, 7.

11. "Eumachia-Fundilia" (?) type statue, local variant (Fig. 47c). Probably Bucova marble. Rather well preserved: only the head, which was worked separately (its fusing orifice has survived) is now missing. In addition, the statue has a fracture which starts at right knee level and finishes at the base. Preserved H = 150 cm. The complete statue was slightly below life-size. Unknown circumstances of discovery. Deva Museum, inv. no. 2192.

References: Ferri 1933, 296-297, Fig. 399 right; Țeposu-Marinescu 1972, 57, no. I, 5, Pl. II/2; Alicu et alii 1979, 137, no. 340; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. II, 13.

12. *Pudicitia* type statue, variant "a" (Fig. 48b). Probably Bucova marble. Poorly preserved: actually, only the lower part of the body was preserved, starting with the

pelvic girdle. Preserved H = 101 cm. Complete, it would have been life-size. Unknown circumstances of discovery. Deva Museum, inv. no. 2178.

References: Țeposu-Marinescu 1972, 64, no. III, 1, Pl. IV/2; Alicu et alii 1979, 138-139, no. 348, Pl. LXII; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. II, 2.

13. *Palliata* type statue (Fig. 49b). Probably Bucova marble. Poorly preserved: head and lower limbs below shanks are missing. Preserved H = 135 cm. The entire statue was slightly below life-size. Unknown circumstances of discovery. Initially at Arad Museum, without inv. no., borrowed from the Deva Museum, where it was returned and eventually photographed by me.

References: Țeposu-Marinescu 1972, 63-64, no. II, 1, Pl. IV/1; Alicu et alii 1979, 138, no. 345; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. II, 15.

14. *Palliata* type statue (or “Piccola Ercolanese”?) (Fig. 49d). Probably Bucova marble. Very poorly preserved: only the lower part of the statue from above the knees still exists. Preserved H = 80 cm. The entire statue was likely life-size. Unknown circumstances of discovery.

Deva Museum, inv. no. 1194.

References: Țeposu-Marinescu 1972, 62, no. I, 8, Pl. III/2; Alicu et alii 1979, 137, no. 342, Pl. LX; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. II, 14.

15. *Palliata* type statue (Fig. 49e). Bucova marble (Marble Analyses SA 12). Rather well preserved: only head is missing. The base was partially restored. Preserved H = 145 cm. The entire statue was slightly below life-size. Unspecified circumstances of discovery. Initially it is recorded at Sarmizegetusa, in M. Litsek’s garden. Sarmizegetusa Museum, inv. no. 10002.

References: Jánó 1912, 52; Daicoviciu 1924, 254, no. 9, Fig. 17; Floca 1967, 15, Fig. 14; Alicu et alii 1979, 138, no. 346, Pl. LXI; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. II, 16.

16. *Palliata* type statue (Fig. 49f). Probably Bucova marble. Poorly preserved: head and left leg below ankle are missing. Its surface was intensely eroded by ground water, which washed most of its surface. Preserved H = 121 cm. The statue was slightly below life-size. Unknown circumstances of discovery. Sarmizegetusa Museum, inv. no. 1235.

References: Floca 1967, 69; Alicu et alii 1979, 138, no. 347, Pl. LXII; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. II, 17.

Micia

17. *Palliata* type statue (rather than “Piccola Ercolanese”). Likely, Bucova marble. Very poorly preserved: Actually, only the lower part, below the belly, and a small part of the left forearm with hand have survived. Preserved H = 90 cm. The entire statue must have been close to life-size. Found in 1967 in the eastern cemetery of the settlement. Deva Museum, inv. no. 20303.

References: Țeposu, Mărghitan 1969, 159-160, Pl. III/1; Țeposu-Marinescu 1972, 62-63, no. 9; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. II, 18.

Cinciș

18. “La Grande Ercolanese” type statue, variant “a” (Fig. 40d). Probably Bucova marble. Rather well preserved: Head and part of the plinth are missing. The front oblique fold is also damaged. Preserved H = 135 cm. At 7 km south Hunedoara, in the Cinciș commune, two funerary statues, a *togatus* and this piece, were discovered by chance in 1929. They must come from the *sepulchretum* of a *villa* in the area. Believed to be disappeared for a long time, it was found again by Al. Sonoc, from the “Lucian Blaga” University of Sibiu and presented in the symposium at Hunedoara, in October 2004. Currently, it is located in the courtyard of priest Oprea Crăciun from Cinciș, who saved it when the village was moved. Being partially buried in gravel, our photo displays an incomplete piece.

References: Daicoviciu 1929, 309, no. 2, Fig. 8; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. II, 19.

19. “La Grande Ercolanese” type statue, subgroup “b”, variant 3 (Fig. 45b). Most probably Bucova marble. Rather well preserved: only the head is broken at the neck and lacks the face. Total H = 173 cm, of which the plinth is 13 cm. Unknown circumstances of discovery. It was not recorded in 1929, along with the other two items found then, hence it emerged later, likely after the war. Stored together with the previous piece and the *togatus* Cat. M., 24.

References: presented by Al. Sonoc in October 2004 and forthcoming; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. II, 20.

Apulum or Sarmizegetusa

20. Veiled head, wearing empress Sabina’s hair dress (Fig. 7b). Bucova marble (Marble Analyses T 2). Relatively well preserved: only the nose is destroyed. The head was detached from the body from mid neck. Preserved H = 24.5 cm. H head = 23 cm. Unknown circumstances of discovery. Sibiu Museum, inv. no. 14003.

References: Ferri 1933, 333, Fig. 438; David-Țeposu, in RR Köln 1969, 250, G. 117, Pl. 66; David-Țeposu, in CRR Roma 1970, 242, G 78, Pl. LIV; Gramatopol 1982, 127, Pl. II, 10; Gramatopol 1985, 218, 254, 257, 259, 271; Diaconescu, Bota 2002-2003, 175-179, Pl. XI/1; Diaconescu, Bota 2009, 292, Fig. 44 C; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. II, 21.

Apulum

21. Head with Sabina’s hair dress (Fig. 9a). Limestone, probably from the nearby quarry of Ighiu. Poorly preserved. The entire surface is corroded and displays many holes. In addition, the nose is broken and the orbs are chipped. Preserved H = 26 cm. Unknown circumstances of discovery. Alba Iulia Museum, inv. no. 1.

References: Hekler 1910, 18, no. 47; David-Țeposu, in RR Köln 1969, 250, G 118; David-Țeposu, in CRR Roma 1970, 242, G 79, Tav. LV; Gramatopol 1985, 218, no. 46, il. 46; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. II, 22.

22. Head with Faustina Senior hair dress (Fig. 9b). Fine limestone, probably from Ighiu. Mediocre state of preservation: it is broken from neck; the nose, upper lip and right side of the chin are chipped, while the eyes are very indistinct. Preserved

H = 18.8 cm. The entire statue was below life-sizes. Unknown circumstances of discovery. Alba Iulia Museum, inv. no. 802.

References: David-Țeposu, in RR Köln 1969, 250, G 116; David-Țeposu, in CRR Roma 1970, 242, G 77; Gramatopol 1985, 221, no. 58, il. 58; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. II, 23.

23. Head with Faustina Senior hair dress (Fig. 8c). Local limestone. Rather well preserved. Nose tip and chin are chipped, as well as the bun and part of the *himation*. The head is broken from neck base. Preserved H = 36 cm. It must come from a life-size statue. Unknown circumstances of discovery. Alba Iulia Museum, inv. no. 6, based on references (no. 3 – according to my examination).

References: Zefleanu 1947-1949, 175, Fig. 3; Gramatopol 1985, 222-223, no. 65, il. 65; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. II, 24.

24. Head with Faustina Senior hairdo. Local limestone. Very poorly preserved: face is completely destroyed. Preserved H = 35 cm. It must come from a life-size statue. Unknown circumstances of discovery. Alba Iulia Museum, inv. no. 263/II (old); no. 6 (new). The portrait is very similar to the previous, only it is worse preserved. Only hair braids are clearly distinguishable. This portrait also seems to come from a statue and not a high relief.

References: Gramatopol 1985, 222, no. 36, il. 36; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. II, 25.

25. Head with the hairstyle of Faustina Senior (Fig. 9c). Fine grained limestone, probably from Ighiu. Very poorly preserved: face is almost entirely destroyed, only the eyes and sides with hair rats and earlobes, with sketched earrings, are distinguishable. Preserved H = 29.5 cm. The statue to which it belonged must have been life-size. Unspecified circumstances of discovery. Being donated by an inhabitant from Lancrăm (some 10 km south of Alba Iulia, it must come from a *villa* in the rural territory of *colonia Aurelia Apulensis*). Sebeș Museum, inv. no. 4073.

References: Ota, Totoianu 2009, 615-619, Pl. I/1-3; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. II, 25a.

26. “La Grande Ercolanese” type statue, subgroup “b”, variant 3 (Fig. 45c). Probably Bucova marble. Well preserved: only the upper lip and nose are damaged. Total H = 190 cm, including the base. The statue is life-size, however it is slightly larger than most of female funerary statues. Unknown circumstances of discovery. It comes from the old collections of Bruckenthal Museum from Sibiu and was probably discovered in Apulum. Bucharest Museum, inv. no. unknown to me.

References: Țeposu-David, in RR Köln 1969, 244, no. G 82; Țeposu-David, in CRR Roma 1970, 237, no. G 46, Tav. XLVII; Gramatopol 1982, 128, Pl. III/2; Gramatopol 1985, 235, no. 92, il. 92, 93 a-c; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. II, 28.

27. “La Grande Ercolanese” type statue, subgroup “b”, variant 3 (Fig. 45d). Probably Bucova marble. Rather well preserved: only head is missing. Preserved H = 129 cm, of which the plinth is 11 cm; plinth width = 45 cm, depth/thickness = 23 cm. The entire statue would have been below life-size. Unknown circumstances of discovery. Alba Iulia Museum, inv. no. 47.

References: The piece is mentioned as novel by Țeposu-Marinescu 1972, note 9; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. II, 29.

28. “La Grande Ercolanese” type statue fragment. Probably Bucova marble. Very poorly preserved: the piece was cut in order to be reused in a wall; missing the upper part of the body, approximately from navel up and the lower limbs below the knee. Unspecified size. In our view, the complete statue was life-size. The circumstances of discovery are unknown to us. It is stored at the Orthodox Cathedral of Alba Iulia, northern portico; without inv. no.

References: Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. II, 30. I was unfamiliar with this piece until autumn 2005 and I do not know when and by whom it was brought there. However, I apologize to the person doing that for having included this fragment in my repertory without his consent.

29. “Piccola Ercolanese” type statue (Fig. 46a). Marble, possibly imported. Relatively well preserved: only head and front right base corner is missing. Preserved H = 88 cm. The plinth is H = 8 cm, width = 30 cm, thickness = 17 cm. This statuette slightly exceeded half life-size. Unknown circumstances of discovery. Alba Iulia Museum, inv. no. 539.

References: Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. II, 31.

30. “Eumachia-Fundilia” type statue (Fig. 10, 47a). Bucova marble (Marble Analyzes AP 21). Well preserved, only the nose is broken. Total H = 178 cm, together with the base. Hence, life-size. The plinth is: H = 20 cm, width = 50 cm, thickness = 31 cm. Discovered in Partoș, therefore coming from one of the cemeteries of *colonia Aurelia Apulensis*. Alba Iulia Museum, inv. no. 296 or 239/II.

References: Hekler 1910, 18, no. 43, Fig. 4; Ferri 1933, 296, Fig. 378; David-Țeposu, in RR Köln 1969, 243, G 79, Taf. 77; David-Țeposu, in CRR Roma 1970, 236, G 43; Florescu 1980, 77, no. 103; Gramatopol 1982, 128, Pl. III/4; Gramatopol 1985, 234, no. 88, il. 88 a-c; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. II, 32.

31. “*Pudicitia*” type statuette, variant “a”. Probably Bucova marble. Rather well preserved: only head and part of the right hand are missing. Preserved H = 57 cm. The entire statue must have slightly exceeded only half of life-size. Unclear circumstances of discovery. It came to light in 1894 on the fortress plateau, more precisely on “Calea Zlatnei” (“Zlatnei Path”). Therefore, it may come from the area of the great cemetery along the road to Zlatna, belonging to the *canabae* of XIII Gemina. Alba Iulia Museum, without inv. no.

References: Cserni 1901, 329-331, no. 17, Fig. 38; Hekler 1910, 18, no. 44, Fig. 5; David-Țeposu, in RR Köln 1969, 244, G. 81; David-Țeposu, in CRR Roma 1970, 237, G. 45; Țeposu-Marinescu 1972, 64 and note 14; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. II, 26.

32. “*Pudicitia*” type statue, variant “b”. probably Bucova marble. Rather well preserved: only head is missing. Preserved H = 156 cm, of which the plinth is 18 cm high, 43 wide and 22 cm deep/thick. The statue was life-size. Unknown circumstances of discovery. Alba Iulia Museum, inv. no. 46.

References: Radu 1968, 441-442, no. 3, Fig. 4; Țeposu-Marinescu 1972, 64 and note 15; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. II, 27.

Area 2

Napoca

33. Female statue head (Fig. 10b). Brown whetstone due to secondary firing. Rather well preserved, given it was burnt. Head broken from neck base. Part of the nose is missing. Preserved H = 26 cm. The entire piece would have been life-size. It was discovered accidentally in front of the former “Casa învățătorului” (“Teacher’s House”), namely in the Roman cemetery area from north-east of the city. Cluj Museum, inv. no. I. 2154.

References: Buday 1916, 89-90, Fig. 14 a-b; Bodor 1987-1988, 200, no. 11; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. II, 33.

Drobeta

34. “La Grande Ercolanese” type statue, subgroup “b”, variant 3 (Fig. 45a). Marble, according to R. Florescu, in fact a crystalline limestone (sort of travertine), according to the direct examination performed by me with a team of geologists from the Universities of Cluj and Vienna. M. Davidescu (1980, 110-111) identifies it with the travertine of Breznița, quarry located at only 10 km from the city, which supplied the building material in Drobeta after mid 2nd century AD (see also Stângă 1998, 60-64). Rather poorly preserved: head and left leg are missing and in addition several cracks are visible on the right side (at elbow and hip), as well as on the base corners. Preserved H = 14,6 cm. The entire piece must have been close to life-size. This statue was discovered in the auxiliary fort, where it must have been reused in Late Antiquity. Turnu Severin Museum, inv. no. L II 52.

References: Bărcăcilă 1938, 40, Fig. 55; Florescu, in RR Köln 1969, 244-245, G 84; Florescu, in CRR Roma 1970, 237, G 48; Florescu 1980, 110, no. 342; Davidescu 1980, 110, Fig. from the left and 111, with note 202; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. II, 34.

35. Statue of hybrid type, combining “La Grande Ercolanese” with “*palliata*” types. *Non vidi!* Limestone (travertine) of Breznița. Poorly preserved: head, right shoulder and arm, plus right hand, left forearm and hand, are all missing; the area of the left knee is also damaged and the lower part of the base was broken, thus resulting in the loss of the legs. Preserved H = 173 cm. The entire piece would have been life-size. It was discovered in the auxiliary fort, where it must have been reused in Late Antiquity. Turnu Severin Museum.

References: Davidescu 1980, 110, Fig. from the right, p. 111; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. II, 35.

Romula (*Malvensis* or *Malvensium*) (probably Hadrianic *municipium*, later *colonia*)

36. “La Grande Ercolanese” type statue, subgroup b, variant 2 (Fig. 44). Probably imported marble. Rather well preserved, yet the head is missing. Unspecified preserved height. The entire piece would have been life-size. The circumstances of discovery are unknown to us. Bucharest Museum, unknown inv. no.

References: I saw this piece in a brochure of the National Museum, where it was listed as coming from Sucidava. Subsequently, my colleague O. Țentea informed me that it comes from Romula and that it was published in an article of M. Alexandrescu-Vianu in *Römische Mitteilungen*, inaccessible to me; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. II, 36.

Area 3

Potaissa

37. Hybrid type statuette, local variant (Fig. 51a). Limestone. Rather badly preserved: head and part of the right leg with the corresponding base are missing; the left hand is also broken. Preserved H = 70 cm. The statue was below life-size, similarly to the figures in high relief on *aediculae* walls (the so-called “family *stelae*”). Unknown circumstances of discovery. Turda Museum, inv. no. 13.

References: Russu, Milea 1964, 27, no. 15, Fig. 15; Jude, Pop 1972, 18, no. 32, Pl. XVII/2; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. II, 37.

38. Hybrid type statue, local variant. Limestone. Rather well preserved: only head is missing. Preserved H = 124 cm. The entire statue would have been slightly below life-size. It was discovered in the area of the Roman cemetery from Valea Sândului.

References: Russu, Milea 1964, 27, no. 14, Fig. 14; H. Daicoviciu, in RR Köln 1969, 244, G 80; H. Daicoviciu, in CRR Roma 1970, 236-237, G 44, Tav. XLVII; (H only 70 cm, alike the previous piece?); Jude, Pop 1972, 18, no. 31, Pl. XVII/1; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. II, 38.

39. Statue of woman with child, hybrid type. Local marble with large grey-blue striations (Marble Analyses PO 5a-c) (limestone, according to R. Florescu). Well preserved: only nose and chin are broken. Total H = 166 cm, including the base. Approximately life-size. Unspecified circumstances of discovery. Hekler, who is the first editor of the piece, stored with the Cluj Museum, does not say it comes from Turda, which leaves open the possibility of its origin in Napoca (yet, the iconographical and stylistic trades plead for Turda). Cluj Museum, inv. no. 6634.

References: Hekler 1910, 14, no. 35, Fig. 1; Ferri 1933, 296, Fig. 386; H. Daicoviciu, in RR Köln 1969, 243, G 78; H. Daicoviciu, in CRR Roma 1970, 236, G 42; Florescu 1980, 84, no. 156; Gramatopol 1982, 128, Pl. III/4; Gramatopol 1985, 234-235, il. 90; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. II, 39.

40. Female statue, *palliata* or of hybrid type. Drawn by Ackner prior 1847 in Turda. Any other data is missing, including further explanations by Ackner (see Wollmann 1978, 51, no. 22, Fig. 13; Wollmann (Ackner) 1982, 124, Abb. 41). Although the sketch is summary, it seems that the piece was well preserved, only it was broken below the knees. According to the drawing, the female was bareheaded and the right hand rested on a mantle fold, like in *palliata* type. An oblique fold is visible over the abdomen, similarly to that in the “Small Herculaneum woman”, which made me include this piece among the hybride statues, in fact specific to Potaissa.

References: Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. II, 40.

Dacia

41. *Palliata* type statue. Marble, probably from Bucova. Rather poorly preserved: head and lower limbs, approximately from knee level, are missing. Strongly corroded surface. Preserved H = 100 cm. Life-size. Unknown circumstances of discovery. J. M. Ackner found it reused as cornerstone in a gate from Sibiu. Until 1908, it was left in the Gușterița (Hammersdorf) parish courtyard, from where it was transferred to the museum. Sibiu Museum, inv. no. 1951/A-7.909.

References: Wollmann (Ackner) 1982, 62, Taf. I/1, Abb. 26; Diaconescu 2012, Cat. P. II, 41.

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Alexandru Diaconescu
„Babeș-Bolyai” University, Cluj-Napoca
a_diaconescu@yahoo.co.uk

IN REGARD TO A POSSIBLE ABANDONMENT OF THE PROVINCE OF DACIA UNDER GALLIENUS

DOINA BENEA

Abstract: One of the most disputed issues in the Romanian specialty literature and largely, unresolved, is that of the partial abandonment of the province of Dacia as early as the rule of emperor Gallienus. Such information is recorded with several classical authors of the Late Roman period, like *Historia Augusta*, Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, Rufius Festus and later, in the 6th century, Jordanes in ...*Dacia amissa*¹.

This paper proposes a solution in this case, namely, the establishment of the mobile cavalry of Gallienus, which played an important role in preserving the Roman Empire's integrity, among the cavalry auxiliary troops in Dacia. It counted a number of 10 *alae* and 8 *numeri*, with cavalry strength amounting to ca. 8500-11000 soldiers. The mobile cavalry set up by Gallienus, most likely in AD 258, was commanded for approximately 10 years by general Aureolus, officer of Dacian origin, which was likely not by accident.

Keywords: Gallienus; mobile cavalry; Aureolus; military reforms; Dacia.

Rezumat: Una din problemele mult disputate în literatura de specialitate românească și, în bună măsură, neelucidată, o reprezintă aceea a unei părăsiri parțiale a provinciei Dacia încă din timpul împăratului Gallienus. O astfel de informație apare la mai mulți scriitori antici din epoca romană târzie, precum *Historia Augusta*, Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, Rufius Festus și apoi, în secolul VI, la Iordanes cu ...*Dacia amissa*².

Lucrarea de față propune o soluție în acest caz și anume formarea din trupele auxiliare de cavalerie din Dacia a cavaleriei mobile a lui Gallienus, care a deținut un rol important în păstrarea integrității Imperiului Roman. Este vorba de un număr de 10 *alae* și 8 *numeri*, cu efective de cavalerie care însumează cca. 8500-11000 de soldați. Cavaleria mobilă înființată de Gallienus, probabil în anul 258 p. Chr., a avut în fruntea ei cca. 10 ani pe generalul Aureolus, ofițer de origine dacică, fapt probabil neîntâmplător pentru această unitate.

Cuvinte cheie: Gallienus; cavaleria mobilă; Aureolus; reforme militare; Dacia.

One of the most disputed issues in the Romanian specialty literature, and largely, unresolved, in that of the partial abandonment of the province of Dacia as early as the

¹ Eutropius 9, 8, 1: ...*Dacia quae a Traiano ultra Danubium fuerat adiecta tum amissa est.*; Rufius Festus 8, 42 ... *sed sub Gallieno imperatore amissa est et per Aurelianus, translatis exinde Romanis duae Daciae in regionibus Moesiae ac Dardaniae factae sunt*; Aurelius Victor 33, 3: *et amissa trans Istrum, quae Traianus quaesiverat.*...; Jordanes, 217 ...*Sed Gallienus eos dum regnaret amissit Aurelianusque imperator evocatis extinde legionibus in Mysia conlocavit ibique aliquam partem Daciam mediterranean Daciamque ripensem constituit et Dardanium iunxit.*...

² Eutropius 9, 8, 1: ...*Dacia quae a Traiano ultra Danubium fuerat adiecta tum amissa est.*; Rufius Festus 8, 42 ... *sed sub Gallieno imperatore amissa est et per Aurelianus, translatis exinde Romanis duae Daciae in regionibus Moesiae ac Dardaniae factae sunt*; Aurelius Victor 33, 3: *et amissa trans Istrum, quae Traianus quaesiverat.*...; Jordanes, 217 ...*Sed Gallienus eos dum regnaret amissit Aurelianusque imperator evocatis extinde legionibus in Mysia conlocavit ibique aliquam partem Daciam mediterranean Daciamque ripensem constituit et Dardanium iunxit.*...

rule of emperor Gallienus. Such information is reported by several classical authors of the Late Roman period, like *Historia Augusta*, Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, Rufius Festus and later, in the 6th century, Jordanes⁵.

The information in the literary sources must have been somewhat true, mirroring a difficult time in the existence of the province of Dacia that resulted in the use of the mentioned phrases at the scale of the whole Empire⁴.

According to the literary information only, this would be explained by the withdrawal of certain military units from the province, thus giving the impression within the Empire of the date that the province of Dacia was lost by the Romans. Any explanation or attempt to clarify *Dacia amissa* under Gallienus is hard to find, since later, under Aurelian, literary sources provide much more accurate information on the province's abandonment by the Roman administration and army.

Archaeological information on the south-eastern corner of Roman Dacia and in general, for the east of the province, where it seems that archaeological evidence for the last years of the province is missing, would account for a lack of certain Roman military units in former forts. Mainly, these are the forts located in the eastern part of Dacia Apulensis and Dacia Malvensis: Brâncovenești, Călugăreni, Sărățeni, Inlăceni, Odorheiu Secuiesc, Sânpaul, Olteni, Brețcu etc. However, this may be principally due to deficiencies in the systematic archaeological research of the mentioned sectors of Roman frontier.

On the other hand, from a numismatic view, relatively few coin hoards are known for the period of AD 253-268, namely the five deposits of which two at Olteni (Vâlcea county) and Goleț (Caraș Severin county), ending with coins from the joint reign of Gallienus and Valerianus (hence, up to 260), and other three found at Apulum (II, IV), respectively Aiud, dated by coins ending in AD 260-268⁵.

In a 1979- study, subsequent the analysis of the entire documentary potential (provided by literary sources, coin and archaeological finds), H. Daicoviciu reached the ingenious conclusion that at a certain point, Gallienus lost control of Dacia⁶. According to the said author, there would have been two main causes to the event: either a devastating Barbarian attack on the province, or a revolt of the province army, which proclaimed its own generals as usurpers (?).

E. Cizek, resuming the analysis of the ancient texts noted that two distinct historical traditions were in place in the Antiquity with regards to the abandonment of Dacia by the Romans. The first, maintained by Aurelius Victor, reported the event under Gallienus, while the second, recorded in *Enmann's Kaisergeschichte* and assigned to Aurelian⁷.

⁵ Eutropius 9, 8: *Dacia quae a Traiano ultra Danuvii fuerat adiecta tum amissa est.*; Rufius Festus 8, 4: *...sub Gallieno imperatore amissa est et per Aurelianus, translatis exinde Romanis duae Daciae in regionibus Moesiae ac Dardaniae factae sunt*; Aurelius Victor 33, 3: *...amissa trans Istrum, quae Traianus quaesiverat.*; Jordanes, 217...*sed Gallienus eos dum regnaret amissit.*

⁴ See ancient texts in note 2.

⁵ Suciu 2000, 145; C. Găzdac underlines the decrease of the monetary circulation under Gallienus (between 260-268) as the result of a poor coin supply of the province of Dacia (Găzdac 2002, 97, note 793 with respective bibliography). Circumstances in Raetia, at *Agri Decumates* are similar.

⁶ Daicoviciu 1980, 651-660.

⁷ Cizek 1986, 150-156. *Enmann's Kaisergeschichte* is assigned to the period of Emperor Constantine.

C. C. Petolescu assigned the time leading to the belief of the Roman public opinion that Dacia would have been lost⁸ subsequently to the Gothic invasion of 267, noticed for several destruction levels in a few Roman forts in Oltenia, alike Bumbești, Drobeta and Slăveni.

C. Oprean, in a study published some time ago, attempted to explain a possible abandonment of Dacia by the withdrawal of Roman expeditionary forces to other fronts, given that the internal crisis of the Roman state was under full development⁹. Partly, it is possible these vexillations no longer returned to Dacia, the author argues – which worsened the military situation in this sector. Such reasoning appears likely, although only a few available epigraphic data confirm that certain troops from Dacia were displaced to other fronts.

D. Protase, in the last volume of the first edition of “Istoria Românilor”, appreciated the situation in Dacia under Gallienus via the mentions on *Tabula Peutingeriana*, where the eastern and south-eastern parts of the province are missing, which would support the assumption that this part of the Dacian territory was abandoned sometime between 259 and 260¹⁰.

References to circumstances in Dacia under Gallienus emerge in several Romanian specialty works; however it is not our intention herein to make a general inventory, rather to consider certain military aspects concerning the situation of the troops in the province¹¹. Concurrently, we shall attempt to chronologically follow the situation of the European part of the Roman Empire, especially the provinces bordering Dacia.

From 254, the Barbarian tribes in the north of the Black Sea area directed their attacks to the Aegean space and avoided to further attack the provinces by the Lower Danube, much damaged by previous attacks and likely, impoverished. Therefore, Dacia was not directly involved in such events. Still, danger engaging southern Balkans and Minor Asia made emperor Gallienus establish the headquarters at Sirmium in 254, in the attempt to run from there all efforts for the defence of the provinces hit hard especially by the attacks of the Goths, but also of the Marcomanni on Mid Danube. The emperor would remain there until 257. It is likely that it was then when a vexillation of XIII Gemina was displaced to Sirmium, as recorded on a limestone block found in 1972 inside the northern enclosure of the fortification. The stone inscription read: LEG XIII GEM PVC¹².

⁸ Petolescu 2000, 292; the idea was also defended in the synthesis dedicated to the history of the province of Dacia in 1995, with a more detailed argumentation that comprised in addition the known ancient literary sources (Petolescu 1995, 122-126.)

⁹ Oprean 1999-2000, 393-406.

¹⁰ Protase 2001, 264-265, dates this survey record between 251 and 271. The lack from the map of certain territories east the Rhine is deemed argument in favour to such dating. Recent research of the document supports its dating to the Late Roman period, under Theodosius II most likely (see Benea 2001, 285-300, with references to that date).

¹¹ Ruscu 2000, 272-273, presents the issue in question of the period of Gallienus with the same results as we obtained in our work of 1996, the Introductory Chapter, however actually not mentioned; Madgearu 2008 for instance, concerning the same period of Gallienus, makes no effective contributions, but rather presents a chaotic account, oscillating between various provinces and without following the chronological evolution of the events between 253-268.

¹² AE 1990, 855, Sirmium: the last three letters, interpreted either as imperial epithets *pia vindex*

During 254-257, the central power tries to set up an in-depth defensive designed to ensure the protection of the European provinces on the Rhine and the Danube, but especially the defence of Italy, as centre of the Imperial power.

On 256-257 coins, the two legions in Dacia appear with titles *pia* and *fidelis* as loyal to emperor Gallienus¹³.

Shortly after, possibly even in 256 or early the following year, Gallienus headed to the Rhine area to reject other attacks of the German tribes. Subsequently, Gallienus would carry out a few measures meant to balance the military effort at central power level, much upset by internal dissent. Concurrently, in 257, Gallienus holds the title *Dacicus Maximus*, either an indication of a military event against the free Dacians unknown to us insofar or a result of the imperial propaganda.

Among the imperial coins issued for legions loyal to Gallienus, those concerning V Macedonica and XIII Gemina recorded with titles VI P, VI F date to 258¹⁴. Those with imperial titles VII P and VII F, which the other legions receive¹⁵ and dated to 259, are though missing. This would account for the first stage of the joint reign of Gallienus and Valerianus, when the massive usurper proclamations in various European provinces had not occurred yet. However, the Empire leadership was confronted with the large scale attacks of the German tribes along the European provinces.

Instead, a few years later, respectively in 268, certain golden coins (*aurei*) issued for usurper Victorinus in Gallia, one of Postumus's successors after his slain, record the two legions in Dacia, *V Macedonica* and *XIII Gemina*¹⁶ among the legions loyal to this usurper, namely *I Minervia*, *II Traiana*, *III Gallica*, *X Fretensis*, *XIV Gemina*, *XX Valeria Victrix*, *XXII Primigenia* and *XXX Ulpia*. In general, the modern literature supposed that these coin issues would represent an element of imperial propaganda just after Gallienus's death, for the new usurper of Gaul.

Epigraphically, there is currently no information concerning the involvement of certain troops from Dacia in imperial campaigns outside the province. After 258, epigraphic information dated for the province of Dacia is missing. This may represent the time when, in the following years of Gallienus's reign, important changes occurring in the north-Danubian province would leave the impression, at the scale of the Empire, that the province was lost. Or, as accurately noted by H. Daicovicu a long time ago, of the loss of control over Dacia.

The analysis of the entire documentary material on the rule of Gallienus in general, compels us to formulate a possible working hypothesis insofar supported by some data. Accordingly, we believe that a significant military reform was implemented, resulting in the establishment of a central cavalry expeditionary corps, able to move swiftly from one area to another, depending to the necessities of the moment.

constans, or as *p(edes) v(alli) c(entum)*, signifying the enclosure portion built by the respective unit, which is more likely.

¹³ Fitz 1966, 363-365.

¹⁴ RIC, V/1, 1927, 92-97.

¹⁵ Fitz 1966, 363-365 argued that in this case, the legions in Dacia would have supported the revolt of Regalianus, thus being no longer listed among troops loyal to the central power.

¹⁶ Ritterling 1924, s.v. *Legio*, col. 1344.

It was set up on several echelons distributed to several centres deemed important in the defence of the part of the Empire which remained loyal to emperor Gallienus. They are mentioned epigraphically at Aquincum, Sirmium, Lichnidus and Poetovio.

To this effect, four powerful military centres, reuniting several troops designed to constitute a second defence echelon within the Empire are established from legion vexillations from several provinces. They are grouped as follows:

Sirmium (for the safety of provinces Moesia Superior, Moesia Inferior, Dacia and Pannonia Inferior): vexillations of the legions in the two provinces of Germania and the two provinces of Britannia with their *auxilia*¹⁷;

Aquincum (for the defence of the Pannonias): legion vexillations from provinces Germania: *VIII Augusta*, *XXII Primigenia*, *I Minervia*, *XXX Ulpia*;

Poetovio (for the protection of Italy): vexillations of six legions of which four from Pannonia and the two of Dacia - *XIII Gemina* and *V Macedonica*;

Lichnidus (Macedonia): vexillations of legions *II Parthica*, *III Augusta* under the command of Aurelius Augustianus¹⁸, for the defence of the Balkan and possibly Minor Asian provinces.

The known epigraphic material allows a single remark, namely that certain legion vexillations were displaced far from their garrisons in their provinces, like those from Germania and Britannia to **Sirmium** and **Aquincum**, and those from Dacia, precisely at **Poetovio**. Their stationing in those locations extended for a while. Thus, at Poetovio, several inscriptions mention there a vexillation formed of *XIII Gemina* and *V Macedonica*¹⁹ units. Four votive inscriptions (of which only one preserves clear the invocation to Mithras) record military elements coming from among certain *principales*, part of the *officium praepositi* accompanying respective vexillation led by *Flavius Aper*. The detailed mention of some of the soldiers forming the legion records office, *canalicularii*, *actarii*, *codicarii et librarii* in the two legions supports the fact that the unit had a significant strength, which in fact led to their involvement in this campaign. Inscriptions date between 260 and 268²⁰. Their dispatch to Poetovio was designed, among other, for the preparation of a campaign against usurper Postumus²¹.

In fact, vexillations of the four legions of Pannonia²² were located at Poetovio in the same period still, which supposes a massive concentration of troops for the Empire defence in this sector.

¹⁷ CIL III 3228; Saxer 1968, 55.

¹⁸ AE 1934, 193; Saxer 1968, 55-56.

¹⁹ AE 1936, 54, Poetovio: *D(eo) S(oli) I(nvicto) M(ithare) / pro sal(ute) officialium Apri prae/positi leg(ionum) V M(acedonicae) et XIII Gem(inae) Galli(eniarum)*; AE, 1936, no. 57: */...pro salute.../leg(ionum) V M(acedonicae) et XII/I G (eminae) G/allienarum (sic!)/Fl/avius Aper (vir) e(gregius)/pra/positus*; AE, 1936, 55: */pro salute/ tesserarior(um) et custod(um) ar/mor(um) leg(ionum) V M(acedonicae) /et XIII Gemin(a)e/ Gallienarum (sic!)*; AE, 1936, 56: */pro /sa/lute canaclari(i) et actariorum /et codicarior(um) et librariorum leg(ionum) V M(acedonicae) et XIII G(eminae) Gallienarum (sic!)*.

²⁰ Saxer 1968, 56-57.

²¹ Saxer 1968, 57.

²² AE 1934, 223; Saxer 1968, 57 appreciates they were present sometime in the second half of the 3rd century, without direct connection to the presence of the two units from the Dacian legions.

The military reform was initiated by Gallienus in 258/259 by the extension of legion cavalry echelons from 120 horsemen to 726²³, to which added units from auxiliary troops of the type.

The emergence of the four military centres was due to the foreign critical situation on Rhine and Danube borders and especially, to the relentless German barbarian incursions, reaching even north Italy. This is completed by the emergence, in the area believed as loyal to Gallienus, of certain generals later proclaimed emperors, against whom the same troops had to intervene.

Zosimus, one of the few classical authors with a relatively positive view on Gallienus's rule, reports that the establishment of the cavalry was a wise tactical move of the emperor, at a time the German hordes prepared to cross the Rhine²⁴.

R. Saxer, in his study of the Roman vexillations during the Principate, assumed that mobile cavalry detachments were raised from among cavalry auxiliary troops and transformed into distinct cavalry units, which had nothing in common with the former echelons²⁵. They were named according to the basic ethnicity, like for instance, *equites Mauri*, *equites Dalmatae* etc., the only mentioned by literary sources²⁶. The origin of these troops is unknown. Were they selected from all the provinces of the Empire or only from those provinces directly subordinated to Gallienus and loyal to him, in the European parts of the Empire, territory which he received upon the division of the Empire for administration together with his father?

Therefore, under the given circumstances of multiple difficulties, the emperor likely could choose only from among the troops in the provinces loyal to him, especially those in the European part of the Empire.

Since in 258, Gallia, Britannia, Pannonia had proclaimed several throne pretenders, the only area loyal to him at that date was that of the provinces by the Lower Danube (Thracia, Moesia Superior, Moesia Inferior and Dacia). Nonetheless, during Gallienus's rule, in Dacia there is neither any known usurper nor any obedience to other pretenders to the imperial throne proclaimed in Pannonia or Moesia, although this may be supposed.

The only province with intact military strength was the province of Dacia, which, by its position, was isolated in the middle of the Barbarian world in constant movement. It was provided with two legions and numerous auxiliaries.

This does not mean that Dacia was entirely deprived of troops; possibly, small detachments of XIII Gemina supplied the lack of original *auxilia* units. Discussed troops reach almost 9 000 horsemen²⁷, which is approximately the entire corps strength, appreciated to ca. 10 000 *equites*.

The mobile army included units from the auxiliary troops, especially from cavalry troops. The withdrawal of certain auxiliary troops from Dacia and subsequent defence limited to infantry troops remaining in certain fortifications, might have led to a

²³ Vegetius *Epit.*, II, 7.

²⁴ Zosimus, I, 30; Blois 1976, 27-28.

²⁵ Saxer 1967, 125.

²⁶ Tudor 1974, 286.

²⁷ Benea 2010, 643-648.

special situation in the province defence, hence the view of the Late Roman historiography that Dacia was abandoned, in the sense that control over the province was lost.

Direct information on the takeover of auxiliary troops units from Dacia into the campaign army is currently inexistent. However, an information provided by *Historia Augusta*²⁸ in the biography of usurper Aureolus would be worthy of note. Aureolus originally held the title of *dux Illyrici*, as such leading the troops from the entire Balkan area, including those in Dacia²⁹. This means that during Aureolus's command over Illyricum, until his transfer to north Italy, the units transferred from Dacia were also part of in these military troops. The fact that Aureolus was a Dacian native, coming from a modest shepherds' family is also striking. So, sometime until 261 or shortly after, no further information on the detachments in the army of Illyricum surfaced. Epigraphic information from Dacia disappears approximately in the same period as well.

Two military events occurred in this start period of general Aureolus's military activity. The first took place in 260, when Aureolus, commander of the mobile cavalry defeated at Mursa, on the Drave, the army of usurper Ingenuus, proclaimed emperor by the troops in Moesia also with the approval of the troops in Pannonia³⁰.

Then, in 261, Aureolus would head to Serdica, where he would crush the army of the two proclaimed emperors - Macrianus - father and son, on their way from the East on to Rome. After capturing Valerianus, general Macrianus had proclaimed himself emperor: father - *Augustus*, and son, *Caesar*³¹. Good part of Macrianus's army would side with Aureolus prior the proper military conflict, and another part, would be captured³².

This victory consolidated Aureolus's authority, who, in 265, accompanies Gallienus in a campaign against usurper Postumus, confrontation which ends somewhat inconclusively. Later, Aureolus was detached to Raetia as *dux*, at the head of an army that would repel German incursions. From 261, Raetia was under the authority of usurper Postumus.

Aurelius Victor mentions Aureolus's presence in Raetia as *dux* at the command of both the mobile cavalry and the infantry in the province in the fights against the Barbarians³³. After these events, Raetia would be again attached to the Empire, more precisely to the provinces loyal to Gallienus, Aureolus already holding the command of the entire mobile cavalry. In this capacity, he would be brought by emperor Gallienus to defend north Italy, respectively the military centre at Mediolanum against usurper Postumus in Gallia and the defence of north Italy against German incursions.

The time when Aureolus was moved to the new location at Mediolanum meant the establishment of a novel powerful military centre, the fifth, which obviously required new military units. There is no information on their source, however one

²⁸ SHA, *Aureolus*, 11, 1-3.

²⁹ We argue this since, subsequently, in Claudius, the future emperor's biography, he holds under his command the armies from Thracia, Moesia, Dalmatia, Pannonia and Dacia (SHA, *Vita divi Claudii*, 15, 3).

³⁰ SHA, *Ingenuus*, 9, 1.

³¹ SHA, *Aureolus*, 11, 3.

³² SHA, *Aureolus*, 11, 3; *Macrianus*, 12, are mentioned ca. 30 000 soldiers siding with Aureolus.

³³ Aurelius Victor, *Caesares*, 33, 17.

may assume they were largely part of Aureolus's troops, a Dacian origin general, as *dux Illyrici*, troops which later followed the general in the campaigns carried out in the west of the Empire. The removal of the units from the garrison provinces might have represented a factor of disquiet and discontent for the army remaining in Dacia.

Likely indirectly, this is referenced by a letter, preserved in SHA and deemed forgery, addressed by Gallienus to Venustus in Dacia, asking him to appease Claudius (future emperor Claudius II), ill-willed against the emperor and mentioning among other... *while the Dacian troops, even now in a state of anger, are still in ignorance, for I fear there may be some serious outbreak*³⁴.

Until present, the paragraph was not analysed under this context especially, being considered a false letter included in *Historia Augusta* for further emphasizing Claudius II. We believe it contains a grain of truth for the discussion herein³⁵.

Firstly, it appears obvious that Claudius had taken over, after Aureolus, the command of the armies in the Balkan provinces as *dux Illyrici*³⁶: having under his authority "the troops in Thracia, Moesia, Dalmatia, Pannonia and Dacia". From this point of view, the future emperor Claudius II was subordinated to Aureolus.

The discontent of the soldiers in Dacia could have several causes, of both military nature and social nature.

It is known that subsequent Severus Alexander's military reform, soldiers stationed on the limes were given land, which made the displacement of units outside the garrison provinces entirely unpopular. This reform had weakened the Roman army's mobility in setting up campaign armies. The removal from Dacia of massive units, beside the echelons in the two legions, *XIII Gemina* and *V Macedonica* present on 257/258 coins as loyal to emperor Gallienus, are in favour of our hypothesis and arguments.

Locally, these measures that Gallienus took had unfavourable consequences, as they imposed certain reorganisation, the displacement of small legionary detachments or infantry *auxilia* detachments to the abandoned forts, with troops departed to south Danube, in campaign. This likely generated special difficulties not only of military nature but also social since it was obvious that the displaced units introduced in this new "melanges", troops mixture lost their identity and even more damaging, had no chance of return to their province of origin, having stable seats in various locations, either in south Danube or in Upper Italy, at Mediolanum, Verona and Aquileia³⁷.

Hence, above letter to Venustus by Gallienus, likely mirrored a reality close to the truth, mentioning the discontent of the troops remained in the province. A last aspect concerns the families of the soldiers who stayed in Dacia, finding themselves in a general state of insecurity and likely deprived of the possibility to be effectively defended by the province army.

³⁴ SHA, *Vita divi Claudii*, 17, 1-4.

³⁵ Zahariade, Phelps 1999, 313-327.

³⁶ SHA, *Vita divi Claudii*, 15, 2-3.

³⁷ Alföldy 1927, 199.

Except for Dacia, the loss of control is recorded for none of the other Balkan provinces. Why is that? Possibly, the only explanation lies in the withdrawal of a large number of the troops from the province, from the point of view of coin hoard finds dated under Gallienus, circumstances appear relatively calm, suggesting no significant military incidents, as if Dacia would be avoided even.

We included in a table all present troops from the three Dacian provinces provided with cavalry units. We added Mauri, Syrian and Palmyrene units, given they were mounted archers and might have been implicitly selected. We found tricky the appreciation of the precise *numeri* strength, since commonly, in the west of the Empire, it was less, consisting of up to 250 soldiers, yet, the size of some of forts in Dacia, like those at Răcari, Sânpaul, compelled us to consider there normal strengths of up to 500 soldiers. In the case of Dacia, the measure initiated by Gallienus could have facilitated access to the eastern area of groups of free Dacians, who were archaeologically identified especially in the 4th century (we make no further suppositions related to such presence).

The military strength of the province of Dacia comprised several auxiliary troops, among which cavalry troops held a distinct place in each of the three Dacian provinces. Naturally, only *ala I Batavorum* was a *milliaria* unit, the rest being formed of 500 knights. Yet, *ala I Batavorum* was the auxiliary unit attached to legion XIII Gemina as early as under Trajan, in the fortress at Vindobona. A number of 4 *alae* come from the 10 units in Dacia Porolissensis, from Dacia Malvensis - 2 *alae* and from Dacia Apulensis other 4 units. The strength of these units amounts to up to 5500 soldiers. Should one also add to this number the 8 present *numeri* coming from Dalmatia, Africa, Syria etc., mostly formed of horsemen, another ca. 3600 soldiers would result, together summing up to 9000 soldiers. We did not include in the table below the infantry *auxilia* which also comprised a detachment of *equites*, since the proper cavalry units of Dacia covered almost entirely the number of soldiers in the mobile cavalry corps.

No.	Troop name	Garrison	Strength
1.	<i>Ala Asturum</i>	Boroşneul Mare, Hoghiz	500 knights
2.	<i>Ala I Batavorum milliaria</i>	Războieni	1000 knights
3.	<i>Ala Bosporanorum</i>	Cristeşti	500 knights
4.	<i>Ala I Claudia Gallorum Capitoniana</i>	Boroşneul Mare	500 knights
5.	<i>Ala I Hisp. Camp.</i>	Micia	500 knights
6.	<i>Ala I Siliana</i>	Gilau	500 knights
7.	<i>Ala Britannica c.R.</i>	Căşei	500 knights
8.	<i>Ala I Hispanorum</i>	Slăveni	500 knights
9.	<i>Ala II Pannoniorum</i>	Gherla	500 knights
10.	<i>Ala I Tungrorum Frontoninana</i>	Ilisua	500 knights
	Total		5500 knights

	<i>Numeri</i>		
1.	<i>Numerus Maurorum S....</i>	Sânpaul	250-500
2.	<i>Numerus Maurorum O...</i>	Sutor	250-500
3.	<i>Numerus Maurorum Tibiscensium</i>	Tibiscum	250-500
4.	<i>Numerus Maurorum Hisp.</i>	Ampelum	250-500
5.	<i>Numerus Maurorum S....</i>	Răcari	250-500
6.	<i>Numerus Maurorum Miciensium</i>	Micia	250-500
7.	<i>Numerus Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium</i>	Tibiscum	250-500
8.	<i>Numerus Palmyrenorum Porolissensium</i>	Porolissum	250-500
9.	<i>Numerus Palmyrenorum Optatianensium</i>	Sutor	250-500
10.	<i>Numerus Equitum Illyr.</i>	Hoghiz	250-500
11.	<i>Numerus Illyricorum</i>	Brîncovenești	250-500
12.	<i>Numerus Surorum</i>	Arutela, Romula	250-500.
	Total		3500-6000
	General total		8500-11000

Table I. Cavalry auxiliary troops in Roman Dacia.

There is no indication on any units removed from Dacia either as expeditionary cavalry forces formed of several *auxilia* detachments or, conversely, as complete units. The importance of Roman cavalry units in Dacia must have drawn the attention of the Empire rulers in the establishment of the echelons, at least for Illyricum, where not by accident, an officer of local Dacian origin, like Aureolus was appointed at the head of this army. At the time when these units, which must have been also completed by troops from the south-Danubian provinces, were involved, by the start of their establishment date in 259-261, into military events in areas close to their original garrisons, this was only natural, since it implicitly supposed the defence of their own territory. As the configuration of the cavalry corps fell into shape, becoming a distinct military force, likely for the entire Empire, the soldiers and even officers remaining in respective provinces must have felt discontented.

Given the internal dissensions caused by the usurpers claiming 1-3 provinces as part of the territory under their jurisdiction, the troops in the provinces by the Lower Danube were interested in only the defence of their own territories. This was most likely the "Gordian knot" of the conflict between Gallienus and the Illyrian officers led by Claudius and Aurelianus, who wished to protect mainly their Balkan territories of origin³⁸ and less the unification of the Empire with the western or even Eastern provinces.

The military measures taken by Gallienus had adverse local consequences in Dacia, as they imposed certain military reorganisation by bringing small detachments

³⁸ Hartmann 2006, 81-117.

in the forts abandoned by their units. These units came from the two legions or from bordering infantry auxilia. In only one case, the archaeological research has revealed damage by massive fire – in the fort at Ilişua – dated under Gallienus, which might be connected to these events³⁹. There is no other indication on the end of certain Roman fortifications by massive fire, which may be dated with precision.

The almost one decade in Gallienus's rule (260–268) might seem a period when not much may be said about Dacia, namely, data on and from the province are missing. However, one should bear in mind that the future emperor Claudius held the title of *dux Illyrici*, office taken over from Aureolus just after 261, who had meanwhile become the commander of the entire mobile cavalry. Or, his biography clearly mentions the presence of Dacian troops from in the composition of his units⁴⁰. Regardless the period until the end of Gallienus's rule, he succeeded to include Dacia again among the provinces under the control of the Empire. The situation is made definitive in 272, when emperor Aurelianus, following the victory against the Goths and Carps, would recover them (“... retracing Empire borders onto its previous frontiers...” – says the ancient source)⁴¹. Nevertheless, the new emperor Aurelianus would decide to finally abandon Dacia.

Why was Dacia chosen to relinquish part of its military strength? This is still an issue hard to explain and reconstitute⁴². Likely, the almost complete strength of the troops in Dacia, with numerous cavalry auxiliary units weighed much.

Secondly, starting with the Severans, Dacia represented one of the main sources of soldiers for the *equites singulares* and praetorian cohorts in Rome. Epigraphically, there are no many firm indications, however it is possible that the training degree of the soldiers in the province of Dacia exceeded that of simple soldiers and under-officers, becoming valuable high rank officers in the Empire army. One of them would be precisely Aureolus, of poor origin (shepherd) or Regalianus, legate of Pannonia Superior, proclaimed usurper by Gallienus.

These military elite, beside that coming from the south-Danubian provinces would play the most important role under Gallienus in maintaining the integrity of the Roman Empire and especially of their home provinces.

The analysis performed by U. Hartmann on the causes of Gallienus's slain led precisely to a more accurate understanding of the discontent of the officers in the Illyrian origin Roman army, whose main focus was the defence of the Danubian provinces and not the emperor's preparations for a new campaign against Postumus in order to bring again under central control the western provinces of Britannia, Gallia and Hispania⁴³.

In 267, the Heruli attack Asia Minor and Greece from sea, conquering the cities at Chrysopolis, Cyzicus and Byzantium. Only in the following year, 268, they would be defeated by Gallienus in Thracia, on river Nestus. The emperor would then head to

³⁹ Protase et alii 1997, passim.

⁴⁰ SHA, *Vita divi Claudii*, 15, 3.

⁴¹ SHA, *Vita Divi Aureliani*, 22, 3; Eutropios, 4, 131,1. See Benea 1996, 190, note 12.

⁴² Benea 1996, 190.

⁴³ Hartmann 2006, 81–117.

Italy, to attack Aureolus, who had proclaimed himself emperor at Mediolanum. The cause of this new usurpation should be perhaps related to the emperor's attitude during the latest events, further more that Aureolus had been loyal to emperor Gallienus for more than 10 years. It might have had the same cause like in the case of the rest of the officers in the mobile cavalry fighting for the integrity of the Roman Empire. Indirectly, circumstances in Dacia might have had a bear on this. It was left with few troops that had to ensure the safety of the frontiers and implicitly of the families of the soldiers departed for a campaign and unable to return to their native province⁴⁴.

Admittedly, in the military clash with Aureolus, which took place sometime in April or May of 268, the latter, though wounded, withdrew to Mediolanum and could not be killed. The time when the plot of the Illyrian officers unsatisfied by the government of Gallienus was put into effect was slightly prior 29 August or even early September 268. U. Hartmann⁴⁵ believes it is possible that the underlying reason was Gallienus's policy towards the East after his father's fall.

The withdrawal of certain auxiliary troops from Dacia and then the limited defence based only on the infantry remained in certain fortifications, might have created a special defence situation in the province and thereafter, the view of the Late Roman historiography on the loss of Dacia, namely a withdrawal.

This would explain the lack of auxiliary troops from the former province of Dacia, which, after 271 or 274/275, is no longer found on the territory of the Roman Empire, being "melted" in the structure of Gallienus's mobile cavalry. Our hypothesis is plausible given that, for the time being, other written information on Dacia, especially after 258-260 is unknown. Should we look at the number of auxiliary cavalry units, they noticeably amount to almost the number of the soldiers in the mobile cavalry, estimated to ca. 10000 horsemen. This might indirectly suggest the use of only the units from Dacia in the set up of the mobile cavalry. It is worth mentioning that at the date, both Moesia Superior and Moesia Inferior had fewer auxiliary cavalry troops, judging from the epigraphic evidence from these provinces.

However, the importance of the mobile cavalry in the destiny of the Roman Empire would increase in the following decades up to the establishment of the Dominate, most of the emperors succeeding Gallienus being elected amongst its commanders.

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⁴⁴ Such an assumption is underlined precisely by the text in Aureolus's biography, when he attempted to approach Claudius, who finally killed him (SHA, *Aureolus*, 11, 3).

⁴⁵ Hartmann 2006, 81-117.

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Doina Benea

Faculty of Letters, History and Theology

West University, Timișoara

doinabenea@yahoo.co.uk

VIEWS CONCERNING BARREL-SHAPED VESSELS IN THE SARMATIAN IAZYGES ENVIRONMENT

BOGDAN MUSCALU

Abstract: Barrel-shaped pots are typical Sarmatian items, of different origin than those Roman; some of the authors believe they originate in the East, namely, the Pontic region.

This pot category is usually formed of three parts, small vessels' sides being generally asymmetric. Asymmetrical barrel-shaped pots, with uneven weight distribution, were definitely hanged. The edges of the side ends or the side collar were used for tying the rope. The uneven weight distribution is indicative of the fact that cylinder pots were not only hanged. Most likely, the long rope was tightly tied thus letting the pot loose, spinning in circles. Because of the uneven weight distribution, spinning lasted longer.

Their use means may only be supposed: it is possible that large pots were used for storing butter and cheese products; smaller ones were likely used for storing alcoholic fermented beverages.

Barrel-shaped vessels are a type unknown to the Dacian, Daco-Roman and provincial Roman pottery, being specific to the Nomad environment, the specimens discovered in Banat and Bačka being dated to the late Sarmatian period.

Keywords: Sarmatian period; pottery; Danube - Tisa environment; 4th-5th century AD.

Rezumat: Vasele butoi sarmatice au o origine diferită față de cele romane, unii autori considerând că acest tip ceramic este originar din est, din regiunea pontică.

Acest tip de vase sunt formate, de regulă, din trei părți, la piesele de mici dimensiuni părțile laterale fiind, în general, asimetrice. Vasele asimetrice, cu împărțirea inegală a greutateii, au fost cu siguranță agățate. Marginea capetelor laterale sau gulerul lateral au folosit la fixarea frânghiei. Împărțirea inegală a greutateii indică faptul că vasele cilindrice nu au fost doar agățate. Este imaginabil că frânghia lungă a fost strâns răsucită, lăsându-se apoi vasul liber, care se rotea în cerc. Din cauza împărțirii inegale a greutateii se mărea timpul de răsucire.

Modul de utilizare a acestor vase poate fi presupus: piesele de dimensiuni mari este posibil să fi fost folosite pentru păstrarea untului și a brânzeturilor; piesele de mici dimensiuni erau utilizate pentru păstrarea băuturilor alcoolice fermentate.

Vasele în formă de butoi reprezintă un tip necunoscut în ceramica dacică, daco-romană și romană provincială din Dacia, fiind specifice mediului nomad, piesele din spațiul Banatului și Bačka fiind datate în perioada sarmatică târzie.

Cuvinte cheie: perioada sarmatică; ceramică; arealul Dunăre - Tisa; secolele IV-V p. Chr.

Barrel-shaped vessels or cylinder-shaped pots represent a pottery category specific to the Sarmatians. Most of barrel-shaped pots finds are generally found in settlements, with the exception of the Sarmatian graves at Deszk (Hungary) and Saravale (Timiș County, Romania).

From the manufacturing point of view, the Sarmatian pots in this category usually consist of three parts: the central bulging part, provided with an orifice in upper

position and the sides exhibiting grooves designed to attach the closed ends. The rims and neck are made separately, being glued subsequent to the assembly of the other two parts, in a technique resembling that of producing food storage pots. The weight distribution ratio between the two parts, different in shape, is uneven (Pl. I/1-3). Although rare, there are cases when the rim is hand-made (and not wheel-thrown).

This pottery type is usually found in the archaeological material identified in settlements, in numbers considerably higher than published, as it is impossible to determine with certainty, based on shards, whether they actually belong to a cylinder pot (in the shape of a barrel), differentiation from storage vessels being made only according to the rim in the upper part and the two closed side ends.

The first scholar to draw attention to barrel-shaped pots in the Sarmatian environment was L. Marton, who, based on shape, related clay barrels to skin hoses¹.

Referring to the evolution of the said pottery category, M. Párducz believed that these shapes had been developed in Pannonia, Sarmatian origin barrel-shaped pots being different from those Roman. The pots are indeed known, however not only in Pannonia, but also all over the Roman empire. The simplest shape of the type is the legged-barrel with an open part forming the pot mouth². In what Pannonian items are concerned, É. Bónis underlined that cylinder pots appeared in various shapes, from specimens with red firnis to *terra nigra* specimens. The author dated the Pannonian finds to the 2nd century AD, while for the western provinces she mentions specimens from the period between the 2nd and 4th centuries AD. Hungarian contemporary authors concluded that Roman cylinder pots may not be taken as model for those Sarmatian, positioned horizontally, and that there are only a few similarities³ between the two types.

There are specimens with three mouths, but also pots with one mouth only. In the latter, imitation of the circle specific to wooden pots is noticeable. Roman pots placed horizontally are provided with one or several smaller legs and the mouth is supplied with two small handles. Sarmatian cylinder pots were never provided with handles or legs for support, thus they could not rest on the bulging part in the lower part.

The two side parts may be either incised or simple and it was possible that one of the parts was vertically cut and the other rounded, or both sides rounded or slightly conical⁴. A part of the cylinder pot unornamented, however pots with smooth or polished surfaces were also identified. In these cases, the smooth part stretches between the two ends of the sides, hence upright (wheel-thrown). Barrel-shaped pots with polished surfaces are specific to archaeological finds dating to the late Sarmatian period and the Hunnic period. Shape deviations in Roman or Sarmatian barrel-shaped pots point to their different use.

A. Mócsy highlighted the eastern origin of the Sarmatian barrels⁵. M. Párducz deduced their origin from Roman pottery art and quoted a cylinder pot found at

¹ Marton 1909, 154-158.

² Párducz 1945, 77.

³ Bónis 1942, 16.

⁴ Vaday 1989, 159, Pl. 45/1-2.

⁵ Mócsy 1965, 107.

Poiana⁶. Sz. K. Póczy sought the origin of this pottery type (in relation to the cylinder Sarmatian pot discovered at Intercisa) in the East, in the Pontic region⁷. In the Minusinsk Basin, cylinder clay and wooden pots were confirmed archaeologically, yet these pot types are present even in the Alani environment of the Altai-Saian region. Cylinder wooden pots correspond, in terms of shape, to those clay-made. These specimens are provided with both the two side collars and the flared rim used for hanging. Cylinder type pots that could have been hanged come from rather early archaeological layers and differentiate by their use only: Troia I and Goldberger (in Ries region)⁸.

A. Mócsy argued these pots served for making fermented drinks⁹. In this case, one cannot explain shape through function. Asymmetrical pots, with the uneven weight distribution, were definitely hanged. The edges of the side ends or the side collar were used for tying rope. The uneven weight distribution is indicative of the fact that cylinder pots were not only hanged. It is likely that the long rope was tightly tied to the pot only to let the pot loose, spinning in circles. The spinning time increased due to the uneven weight distribution. Though chewing was used in fermentation, in A. H. Vaday's view, it is more likely that these pots were used by the Sarmatians to make butter and cheese¹⁰. Based on the specimen found at Intercisa, one can presume that the finished product was transported from abroad, as merchandise. A number of quite large specimens emerge among the cylinder pots of the late Sarmatian and Hunnic periods. There, one may observe size increases based on similarities with other household pots. We believe that A. H. Vaday's presumption is valid only in the case of larger pots, since smaller ones cannot be used for cheese products, but more likely for drinks.

Currently, most cylinder pots come from central and south regions of the Hungarian Plain. Besides the small pot found in a grave at Deszk-“Ujmajor”¹¹, cylinder pots from Nagykert, Gyoma, Hódmezővásárhely-“Fehértopárt”, Hódmezővásárhely-“Kopáncs”, Hódmezővásárhely-“Solt-Palé”, Orosháza-“Pusztaszentetornya” and Szeged-“Óthalom”¹², Tiszafüred-“Tiszaörvény” (Pl. I/4), Tiszasas (Pl. II/1)¹³ may also be mentioned. To these add the small pots from Doboz-“Óvár” (Pl. II/2)¹⁴, Banatski Karlovac-“Ciglana-stari iskop” (Pl. III/1)¹⁵, Baranda-“Ciglana” (Pl. III/2)¹⁶, from a Sarmatian grave at Saravale (Pl. IV/1 a-c)¹⁷, the finds in Serbia being dated to the 4th century AD.

⁶ Párducz 1952, 39.

⁷ Póczy 1957, 80.

⁸ Istvánovits 1981, 119-121.

⁹ Mócsy 1965, 107.

¹⁰ Vaday 1989, 159.

¹¹ Párducz 1945, Pl. XI/15.

¹² Párducz 1943, 165-167; Párducz 1950, 50; Mócsy 1965, Fig. 3.

¹³ Vaday 1989, 274, no. 332; 277, no. 353.

¹⁴ Párducz 1950, 50, Pl. CXXX/39.

¹⁵ Trifunović 2000, 89, TV.

¹⁶ Trifunović 2000, 86, T. II. 15; Trifunović 2001, in <http://curug.rastko.net/nezavisni-prilozi/objavljeni-radovi-pdf-html/2-strifunoviclimiganti.html> (21.06.2012).

¹⁷ Micle 1996, 68-74, Fig. 1 a-c.

Seeds of *Impatiens noli-tangere* (in Romanian: “Slăbănog”), a decorative plant in the *Balsaminaceae* family, were found inside the pot from Saravale (Pl. IV/1 a-c), which, according to some of the Romanian researchers, gives the pot a ritual function, related to a vegetation rebirth cult¹⁸. The *Impatiens noli-tangere* seeds may be though linked to something more practical, like medicine. From ancient times it is known that *Impatiens noli-tangere* seeds held in a fermented hard drink were used to cure dysentery¹⁹. Thus, the hypothesis that the pots were used for preparing or keeping alcoholic drinks seems more appropriate. Numerous cylinder potshards were identified in occasion of the survey works in the Békés County (Hungary), but unfortunately they have remained unpublished. Recent excavations yielded large cylinder pots, like those at Tiszaföldvár-“Téglagyár”, Gorsza, Örménykút, Orosháza-“Szentetornya-Székácsmajor”, the item in the latter site reaching 50 cm long, 7 cm wide and 31 cm in height (Pl. II/3)²⁰. In the northern part of the Great Hungarian Plain, *similar pieces were identified at Tiszavasvári-“Keresztfal”*²¹. Large pots have been dated to the end of the 4th century and early 5th century AD.

We believe that barrel-shaped pots may be included in the pottery category specific to the Sarmatian Iazyges from the Great Hungarian Plain, Banat and Bačka. Their use means may be presumed: large specimens were likely used for storing butter and cheese products, as A. H. Vaday argued, without any further evidence; as for the smaller items, we agree with the Serbian researchers' hypothesis - storing fermented alcoholic drinks. In support of the latter assumption comes the discovery of *Impatiens noli-tangere* seeds in the pot at Saravale, which also adds to ancient literary sources recording the use of plants for medicinal purposes by the Sarmatians inhabiting the region between Danube and Tisa. We believe that the reduced number of such barrel-shaped pots compared to other pottery categories is due to the parallel use by the Sarmatians of similar pots made of wood, which did not preserve. Barrel-shaped vessels are a type unknown to the Dacian, Daco-Roman and provincial Roman pottery, being specific to the Nomad environment, the specimens discovered in Banat and Bačka being dated to the late Sarmatian period.

The publishing of the recent specimens identified in the Sarmatian archaeological sites from Hungary may provide new relevant data in terms of use, spatial distribution as well as ratio in the Sarmatian pottery of these barrel-shaped pots.

¹⁸ Benea, Bejan 1988, 256, note 43; Micle 1996, 69, note 11.

¹⁹ *Impatiens noli-tangere* is a well known traditional medicinal plant. The former is used in Asia for a variety of ailments such as for contusion, painful inflammation, joint pains, dysmenorrhea, carbuncles, lumbago, eczema, warts, itches and snake bites, while the latter species is used in Europe as an antiseptic, diuretic, emetic, laxative and vulnerary, in <http://www.medicultau.com/plante-medicinale/plante-medicinale/slabanog.php>. (21.06.2012); Sonoc 2006, 92-93.

²⁰ Havassy 1998, 168-169, no. 150; 169, no. 151.

²¹ Vaday 1989, pp. 159-160.

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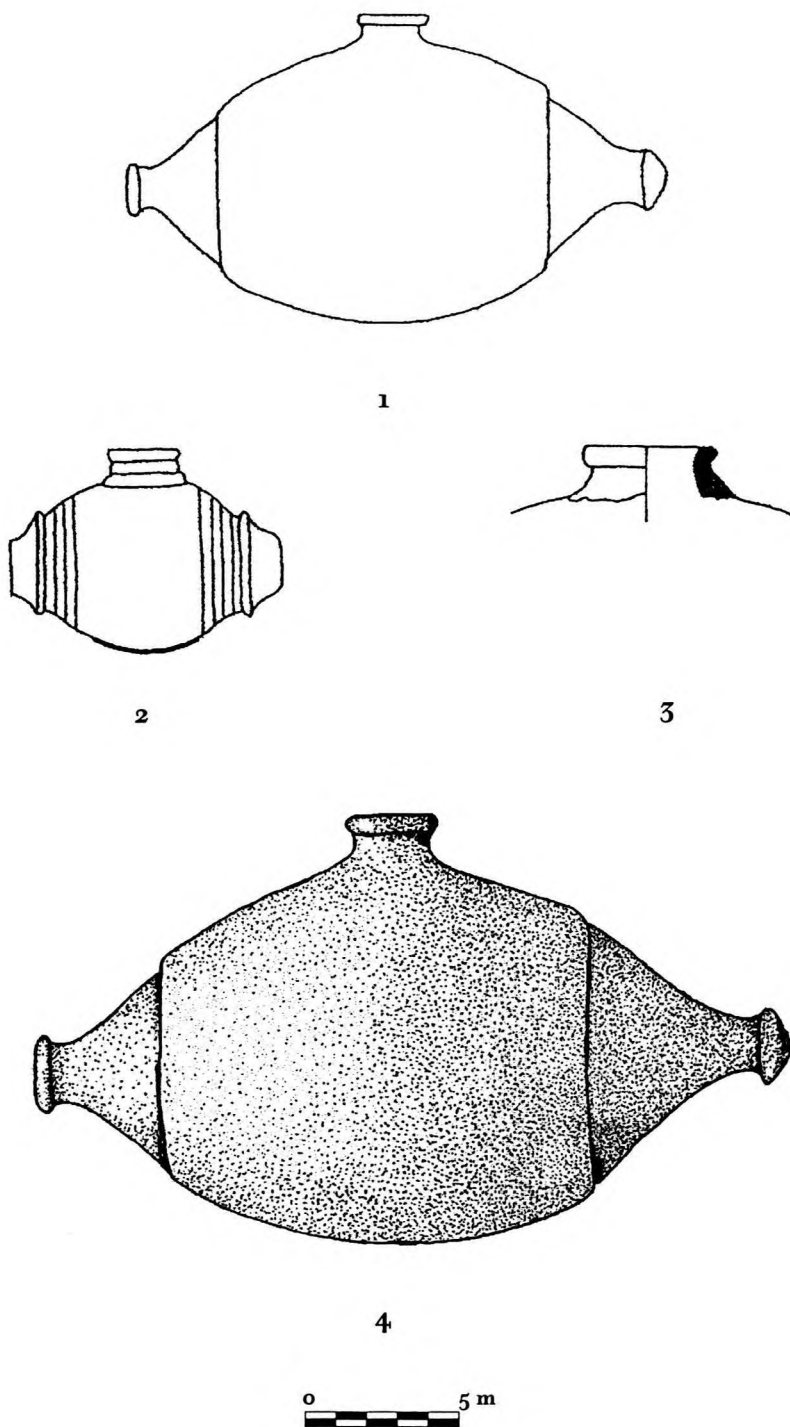
Bogdan Muscalu

Centre for Historical Studies and Archaeology,

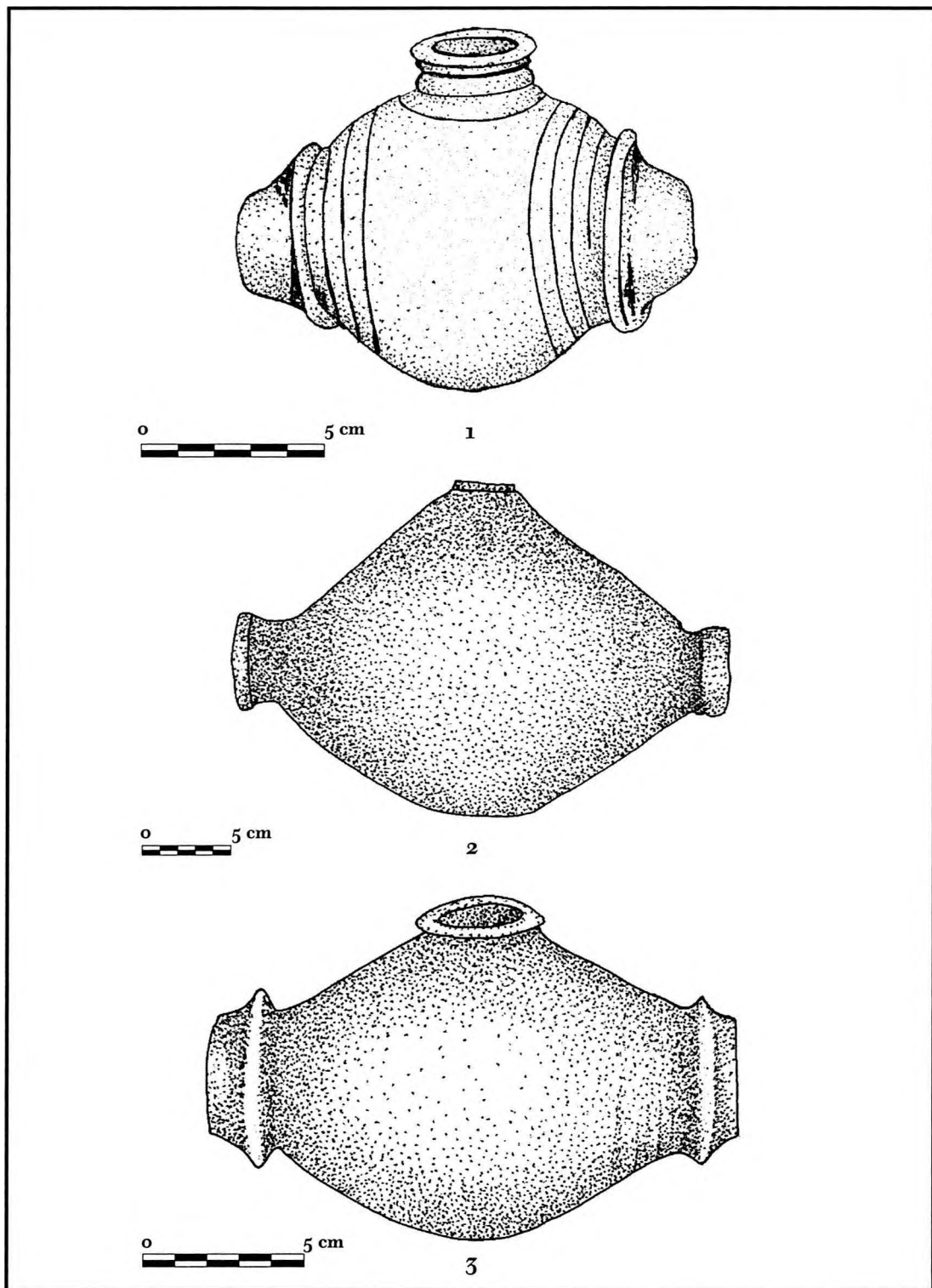
West University of Timișoara

khronos26ro@yahoo.com

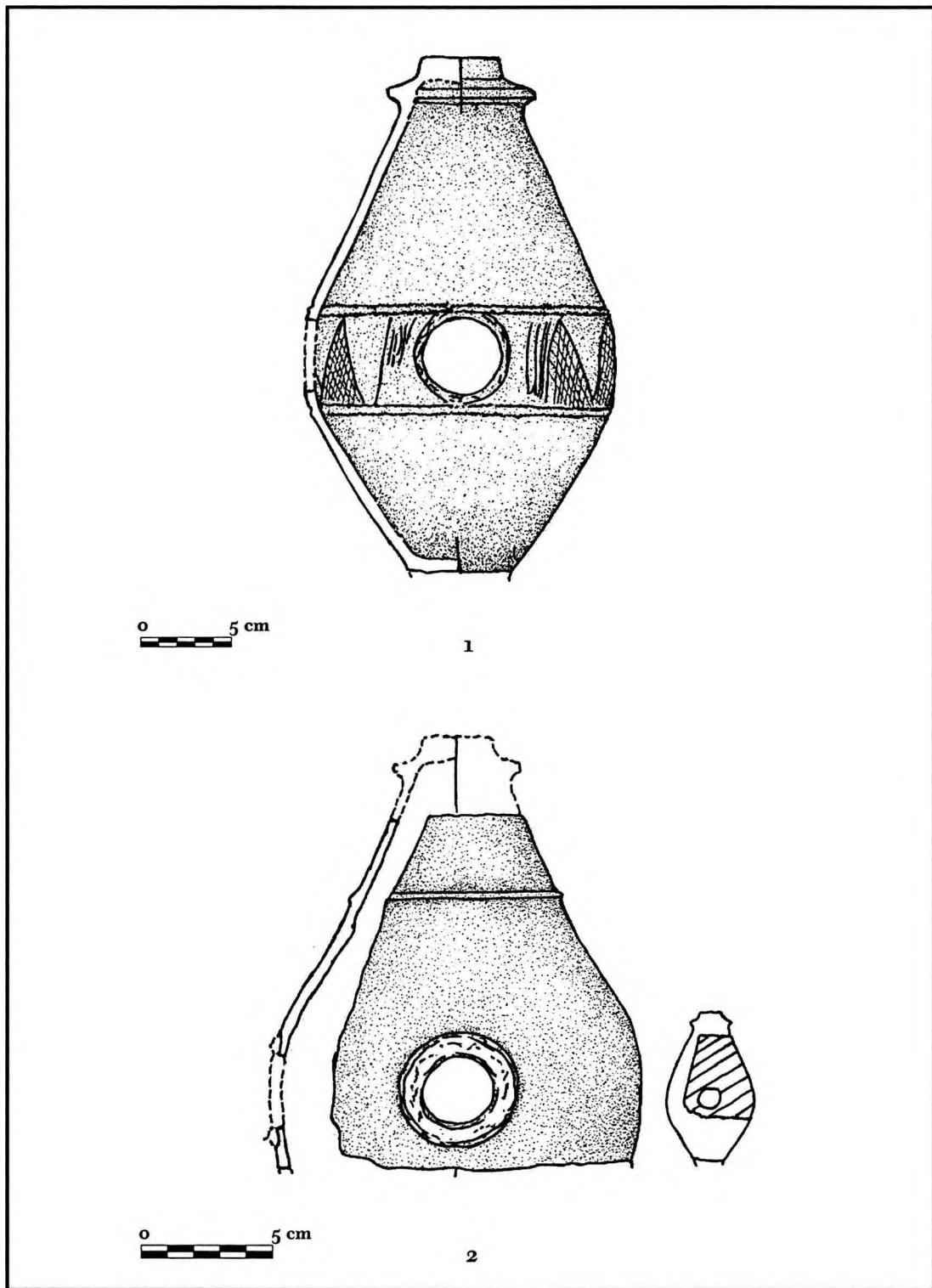
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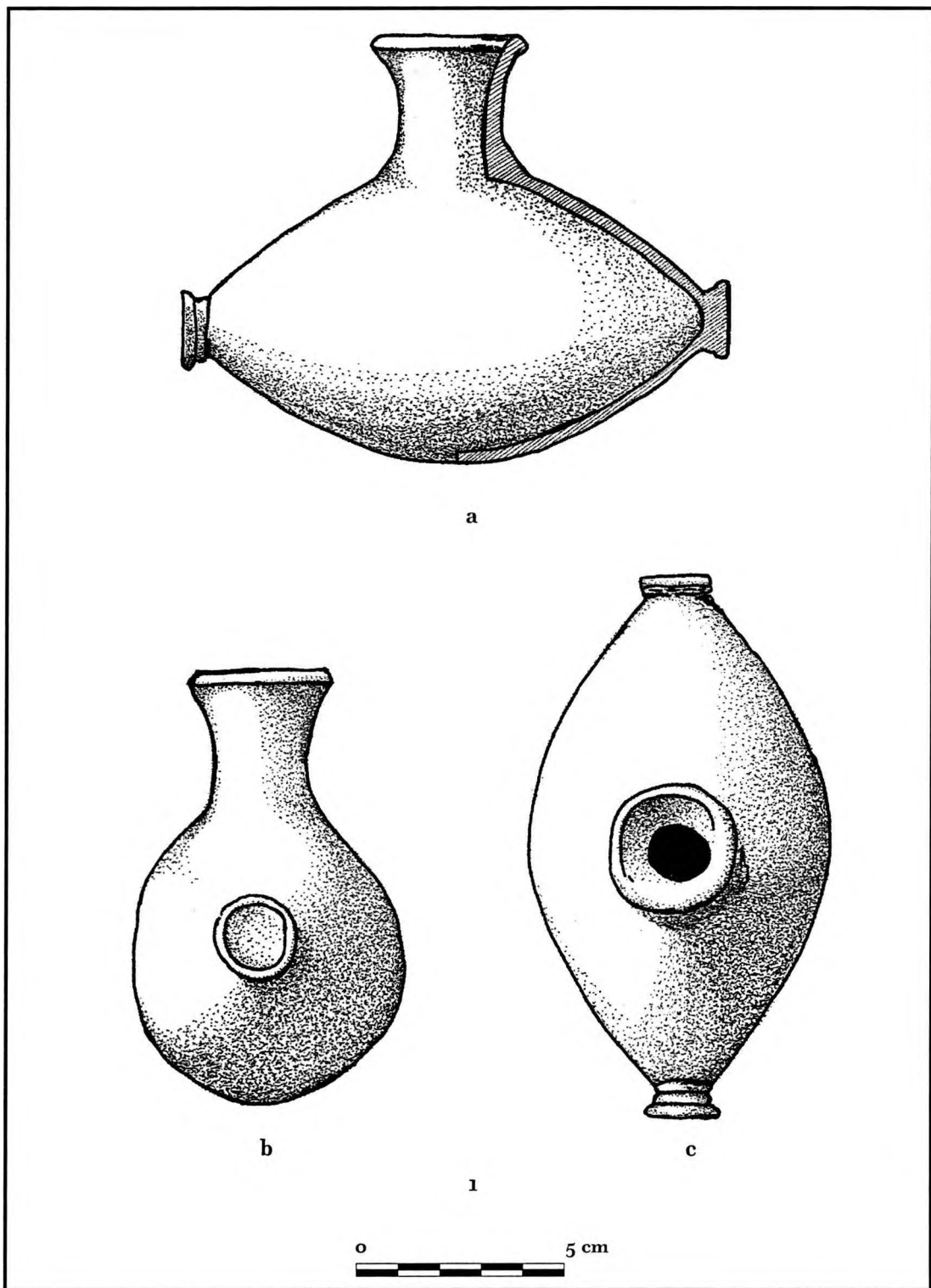
Pl. I. 1-3. Types of barrel-shaped vessels (after Vaday 1989, Tab. 45/1-3); 4. Barrel-shaped vessel discovered at Tiszafüred-“Tiszaörvény”, Hungary (after Vaday 1989, Pl. 332).



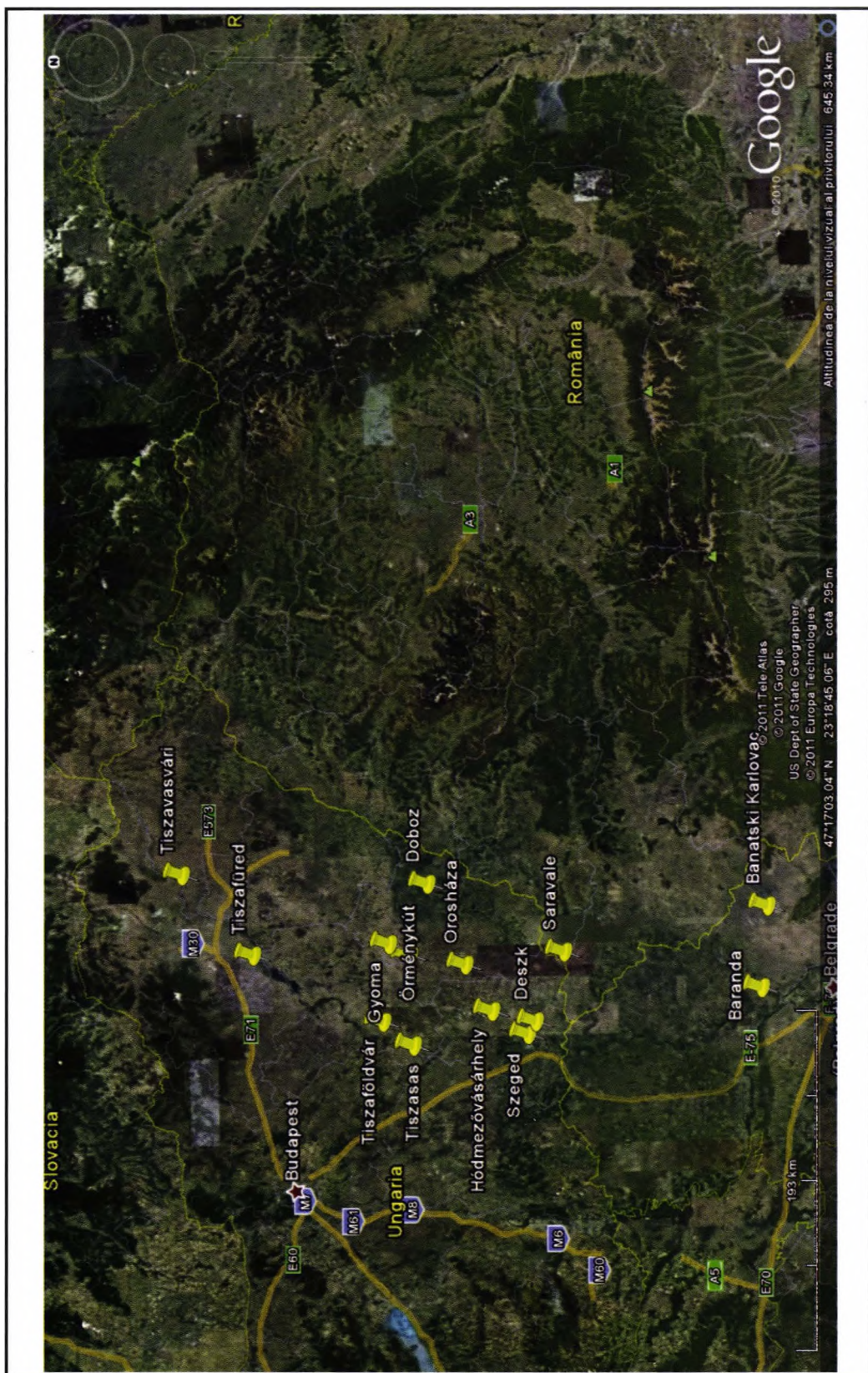
Pl. II. 1. Barrel-shaped vessel discovered at Tiszasas, Hungary (after Vaday 1989, Pl. 353); 2. Barrel-shaped vessel found at Doboz-“Óvár”, Hungary (after Párducz 1950, Pl. CXXX/39); 3. Barrel-shaped vessel discovered in Békés County, Hungary (after Havassy 1998, 169, no. 151, Jósa András Múzeum Nyiregyháza, inv. no. 55.211.1).



Pl. III. 1. Barrel-shaped vessel discovered at Banatski Karlovac- "Ciglana-stari iskop", Serbia (after Trifunović 2000, Fig. 5); 2. Barrel-shaped vessel discovered at Baranda-"Ciglana", Serbia (after Trifunović 2000, Fig. 2/15)



Pl. IV. 1a-b. Barrel-shaped vessel found in the Sarmatian grave at Saravale, Timiș County (after Micle 1996, Fig. 1).



Pl. V. Map of barrel-shaped finds in the Sarmatian environment.

BISHOP THEOPHILUS AND THE CHURCH OF GOTHIA

DAN RUSCU

Abstract: Among the participants at the council of Nicaea, a certain *Theophilus Gothiae* is mentioned, who became in time the subject of some discussion among scholars. Analyzing especially the written sources, a somewhat clearer image can be gained, firstly about the location of the Church of Gothia, secondly about the bishop Theophilus and his position in the Christian community of the time, and finally about the structure and theological identity of the Church of Gothia.

Keywords: Gothia; council of Nicaea; Church of Gothia; gothic Christianity.

Rezumat: Printre participanții la conciliul de la Niceea este amintit un anume *Theophilus Gothiae*, care a suscitat de-a lungul timpului o seamă de discuții în literatura de specialitate. Prin analiza surselor scrise ale epocii, poate fi dobândită o imagine mai limpede, mai întâi asupra localizării Bisericii Gothiei, apoi asupra lui Theophilus și a locului său în comunitatea creștină a vremii, și în sfârșit asupra structurii și identității teologice a Bisericii Gothiei.

Cuvinte cheie: Gothia; conciliul de la Niceea; Biserica Gothiei; creștinismul goților.

Among the participants at the council of Nicaea, a certain *Theophilus Gothiae* is mentioned¹, who became in time the subject of some discussion among scholars. The Gothia of bishop Theophilus was considered by modern research to be situated either north of the Black Sea, in the Crimea² – due mainly to the fact that in the mentioned list the eparchy of Gothia is followed by the Bosphorus –, or else in the region north of the Danube³.

Analyzing especially the written sources, a somewhat clearer image can be gained, firstly about the location of the Church of Gothia, secondly about the bishop Theophilus and his position in the Christian community of the time, and finally about the structure and theological identity of the Church of Gothia.

The name of *Gothia* occurs on Roman monetary issues of 332⁴ which celebrate the peace concluded by the emperor Constantine with the Goths, following the victorious campaign of that year, in the region north of the Lower Danube⁵. Gothia, mentioned here in what we can consider an official document, signifies therefore

¹ *Patr. Nicaen.* p. LXIV, no. 219; p. 56-57, 70.

² Zeiller 1918, 414; Lippold 1961, 512-531, especially 516; Thompson 1960, 82, note 3; Wolfram 1990, 87, is not so positive as in the 1979 edition of the same work (p. 88); Popescu 1994, 178-186, with the literature.

³ Vasiliev 1936, 11-18; Schäferdiek 1990, 36-37; Schäferdiek 1978, 498.

⁴ RIC, VII 215, no. 531 and 534 (Trier).

⁵ Anon. Vales., *Origo Const.* 6, 31 (526 Rolfe); Eus. *Vit. Const.* 4, 5 (119 Heikel); Eutr. X 7, 1 (67, 12-14 Santini); *Consularia Constantinopolitana* a. 332 (MGH.AA, IX/1, Berlin 1892, 234); Wolfram 1990, 70-71; Odahl 2005, 226; Kulikowski 2007, 84.

in this case the name given by the Romans to the territory held by the Goths north of the river⁶.

More precise data about the location of the territory named Gothia by the Romans are offered by the historical tradition of the 4th-6th centuries.

In the *Origo Constantini imperatoris* (6, 35)⁷, the name of *ripa Gothica* is given to the Lower Danube frontier of the Empire⁸. This work was most probably written shortly after the demise of the emperor and, even if it shows later interventions, the information provided is quite accurate⁹.

Towards the end of the same century, Eutropius relates that at the time when he wrote his Breviary (ca. 370), a Germanic coalition including also Gothic elements held the territory of the former province of Dacia¹⁰. During the same period, Ammianus Marcellinus uses the term of Gothia for the Gothic population which broke into Thrace during the reign of Valens, coming from the north¹¹.

In the next centuries, Gothia is mentioned in the context of geographical descriptions of the Roman world and its neighbours. The first is the history of Orosius which, in the geographical introduction, situates Gothia on the territory of former Trajanic Dacia¹². This information is taken from the geographical writings of the time¹³. The same location of Gothia, on the territory of ancient Dacia, can be found, with additional details, in the *Getica* of Jordanes¹⁴. Taking the information from Orosius, whom he used as a source also for the geographical descriptions¹⁵, Jordanes completed it with the realities of his own time, when the same area was known as Gepidia¹⁶.

⁶ Chrysos 1973, 61; Schäferdiek 1990, 36. A different opinion: Lippold 1977, 271, who argues that the name refers to the Gothic population.

⁷ MGH. AA, IX/1, Berlin 1892, 11.

⁸ Cf. Wolfram 1990, 70.

⁹ Odahl 2005, 3-4; for the dating cf. Barnes 1989, 158-161 and the analysis of Winkelmann 2005, 83-84.

¹⁰ Eutr. VIII 1, 2, 2 (50, 19-20 Santini): *Provincia trans Danubium facta in his agris, quos nunc Taifali, Victohali et Tervingi habent*

¹¹ Amm. Marc. XXX 2, 8 (312 Rolfe); Lippold 1977, 271, note 73.

¹² Oros. I 2, 53 (24-25 Arnaud-Lindet): *In medio ad Danuvium Dacia ubi et Gothia*

¹³ The sources used by Orosius for the geographical introduction are the *Dimensuratio provinciarum* and the *Divisio orbis terrarum*, both of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th century. The first, which is the oldest and apparently the most complete, gives also the name of *Getica* to Dacia, cf. Schnabel 1935, 427, and the resemblance of the passage with the text of Orosius appears obvious. Cf. Arnaud-Lindet 1990, XXXVII, note 75; Merrills 2005, 64-79.

¹⁴ Jord. *Get.* XII 74 (33, 14-34, 2 Giunta, Grillone): *Daciam dico antiquam, quam nunc Gepidarum populi possidere noscuntur; quae patria in conspectu Moesiae sita trans Danuvium corona montium cingitur ... haec Gothia, quam Daciam appellavere maiores, quae nunc Gepidia dicitur*

¹⁵ Jord. *Get.* I, 4 (2, 17 Giunta, Grillone). For the sources of Jordanes and their use cf. Th. Mommsen, in: MGH. AA, V/1, Berlin 1882, XXX-XLIV, especially XLIII; Croke 1987, 123-124; Goffart 1988, 20-110, especially 89-90.

¹⁶ For the manner in which Jordanes completed his sources with personal comments cf. Croke 1987, 125. That we have here a comment of Jordanes, bringing to attention realities of the mid-6th century, when he authored the *Getica*, results from the passage quoted above (*Get.* XII 74 (33, 14 Giunta, Grillone)). The *Gepidae* held Pannonia and a part of Trajanic Dacia in the interval between the fall of Attila's realm and the middle of the 6th century, when they were destroyed by an Avar-Lombard coalition - cf. Whitby 2008, 712, 720.

From the above information, it results that in the Roman perception of the time, as reflected by the numismatic data and by the historiography of the 4th-6th centuries, Gothia invariably designates the region north of the Danube¹⁷. Some of these sources connect, as we saw, Gothia with the territory of the former Trajanic Dacia.

The correspondence established by Orosius and Jordanes between Gothia and Trajanic Dacia has to be nuanced on account of the archaeological data available for the area under discussion. The presence of the Goths in the regions north and west of the Black Sea is attested by the discoveries belonging to the Chernjakhov culture, which for the Romanian area developed the specific aspect of the Sântana de Mureş culture¹⁸. According to most interpreters, the bearers of the Chernjakhov - Sântana de Mureş culture entered the area north of the Danube towards the end of the 3rd century, and the culture became stable at the beginning of the 4th century¹⁹. From this point of view, one can argue in favour of the presence of the Goths to the north of the Lower Danube frontier of the Roman Empire at the beginning of the 4th century. Their rule, however, covered only Moldavia and Wallachia and is attested only through a few finds to the west of the river Olt (Aluta); similarly, their presence in Transylvania is not strong²⁰. According to the archaeological data, the centre of the area settled by the bearers of the Chernjakhov - Sântana de Mureş culture has therefore to be located outside north Danubian Dacia; as a result, the identification made by the historical tradition between Gothia and Dacia does not appear sustainable²¹.

Here, however, there are some specifications to be made. To begin with, the limits of the area of a material culture reflect chiefly economic and social realities and do not offer much information about political boundaries²². Therefore, the boundaries of Gothic political authority do not have to coincide with the spread of the Chernjakhov - Sântana de Mureş culture. Secondly, it would be erroneous to put in opposition the data offered by the literary tradition with those provided by archaeology and to try to establish which are the most credible. A similar situation can be observed about the history of the same area in the second half of the 3rd century: although the archaeological finds show a continuity of habitation of the Romanic population on the territory of the former Trajanic province of Dacia, the literary tradition speaks about a total evacuation of the province. In fact, the Imperial authorities lost control of the province due to external threats and, following the strategic reorganization of the frontier, the administration, the army and a part of the population were withdrawn to the south of the river, but most of the inhabitants remained in their ancient places of habitation²³. We can therefore consider the information trustworthy that,

¹⁷ See also Schäferdiek 1990, 37.

¹⁸ Bierbrauer 1994, 98-134 with the literature; Bierbrauer 1999, 211-238; Magomedov 2001 *passim*; Kulikowski 2007, 62-8, 98-9, 100: "the material expression of Gothic hegemony in the lower Danube region".

¹⁹ Bierbrauer 1994, 123-124. A different opinion in Magomedov 2001, 192 and map 91, which places the stabilization of the Sântana de Mureş culture in the Hunnic period (after year 375).

²⁰ Bierbrauer 1994, 121 and note 206.

²¹ Bierbrauer 1994, 131-132 and Fig. 25; Magomedov 2001, 191.

²² Heather 1998, 488.

²³ Ruscu 1998, 235-254; Ruscu 2000, 265-276.

for the contemporaries of the 4th century, the realm of the Goths - Gothia in political terms - included some parts of the former Imperial territory north of the Danube. This assessment is also important since, in establishing the province of bishop Theophilus, we are to proceed from written information - which reflects rather the perception of a certain structure/authority, in this case an ecclesiastical one -, and not from an archaeological reality. Most relevant therefore for this analysis is not the precise area of the archaeological culture, but rather what the contemporaries understood under the name of Gothia.

It was mentioned above that one of the motives for considering the jurisdiction of Theophilus to be the Crimea is the fact that Gothia is followed in the list of Nicaea by the Bosporus. In the same list though, just before Theophilus of Gothia and Cadmus of Bosporus, there are listed the bishops of Thessaly, Pannonia and Gaul²⁴. The order of the list cannot therefore be considered to be very rigorous geographically. On the other hand, the placing of the two bishops at the end of the list can be otherwise explained. Both the north-Danubian region and the Bosporus were, during the reign of Constantine, under the protection of the Empire, though not integrated into its boundaries²⁵.

For the Bosporan kingdom it is a known fact that, after a quite difficult period in the second half of the 3rd century, when, under the pressure of the Goths, it tried to pursue an independent policy, it returned under Roman protection with the reign of Diocletian²⁶.

Concerning Gothia, there is proof that the north-Danubian territory was under the political influence of the Roman Empire beginning with the end of the 3rd century, when the Tetrarchs contained the attacks coming from across the river²⁷. Constantine repeatedly overpowered the Goths²⁸ and eventually, after the victory of

²⁴ *Patr. Nicaen.* nr. 215-216: Thessaly, 217: Pannonia, 218: Gaul (LXIV Gelzer, Hilgenfeld, Cuntz).

²⁵ Schäferdiek 1979, 268 supposes that they were placed at the end of the list as they both were territories outside the Empire.

²⁶ Brandis 1897, 785-788; Brandis 1899, 2268-2269; Gajdukevič 1971, 476-478; Nadel 1977, 87-114, especially 104.

²⁷ In *Pan. Lat.* IV (VIII) 3, 3 (84 Galletier), pronounced at Trier on May 1st 297, with the occasion of the celebration of the Britannic victory of Constantius Chlorus, together with his *quinquennalia*, the orator mentions, among the successes of the Tetrarchs, the retrieval of Dacia: *Partho quippe ultra Tigrum redacto, Dacia restituta, porrectis usque ad Danuvii caput Germaniae Raetiaequae limitibus* This statement was rightfully considered to be a propagandistic exaggeration, cf. Zawadzki 1973, 65-68, but also a reflection - using the specific methods of rhetoric - of a certain reality, which we should realistically reduce to a *foedus* with the Goths; this *foedus* would have placed the region north of the Danube into some sort of subordination towards Rome, cf. Lippold 1981, 351, note 19 and 353, notes 31-33; Wolfram 1990, 68. This interpretation is supported by a statement from the same panegyric which relates the submission of the Goths by the Tetrarchs (*Pan. Lat.* IV (VIII) 10, 4 (73 Galletier)), by the title *Gothicus maximus* borne by them (cf. Lippold 1981, 353, note 33. The title *Gothicus maximus* occurs ca. 293, and was later abandoned (296/297?), cf. Kienast 1996, 268), and by the information of Jord. *Get.* XXI, 110 (49, 4-6 Giunta, Grillone), who states that Galerius had, in the Persian campaign of 297, Gothic allies, as a result of a certain bargain/treaty.

²⁸ In 322/323, before the final confrontation between Constantine and Licinius, Anon. Vales., *Origo Const.* V, 21 (521 Rolfe) relates that, taking advantage of the weakening of the defence on the Danube frontier, due to the transfer of troops to Asia, the Goths invaded the provinces south of the river, cf. Zos. 2, 21 (77, 18-78, 16 Mendelssohn). The reaction of Constantine, who was stationed at Thessalonike, was

332, subjected them by means of a *foedus* and expanded Roman control over a strip of land north of Danube²⁹.

The position of the ecclesiastic provinces of Gothia and Bosphorus in the same place, at the end of the list of participants at Nicaea, can be thus explained by their status in relation to the Empire³⁰.

Christianity in this milieu is attested by the literary tradition only, archaeological evidence is lacking. Its origins are in the raids undertaken by the Goths into Asia Minor in the second half of the 3rd century³¹. Among the prisoners taken were also numerous Christians, since Asia Minor was at that time one of the most intensely Christianized regions of the Roman Empire³². These prisoners constituted the nucleus of the Christian community of north-Danubian Gothia. From them, the Christian faith spread in a rather small measure among the Goths³³. At any rate, one cannot speak about a conversion of the Goths in this period starting out from this nucleus - mass Christianization occurred later, after the Goths crossed the Danube in 376³⁴.

The status of Christianity in Gothia from an ecclesiastical perspective cannot be clearly defined. It is known that, canonically, the Churches in Barbarian territories could not be integrated into the Imperial Church, at least not in the 4th century, when she was articulated on the Imperial administrative system, the bishoprics being

swift and the following peace must have brought the Goths again under the control of the Empire, cf. Thompson 1956, 378; Wolfram 1990, 69 and Chrysos 1992, 187-188.

²⁹ The submission of the Goths: Anon. Vales., *Origo Const.* 6, 31 (526 Rolfe); Eus. *Vit. Const.* 4, 5 (119 Heikel); Eutr. X 7 (67, 12-14 Santini); *Consularia Constantinopolitana* a. 332 (MGH.AA, IX/1, Berlin 1892, 234). For the bridge over the Danube as a sign of the expansion of Roman domination across the river: *Epit. de Caes.* XLI 14 (167, 15 Pichlmayr, Gründel) and a medal issued in 328, RIC, VII 283, 331, no. 298 (Rome); cf. Thompson 1956, 373. To this expansion of Roman control beyond the Danube has to be connected also the statement attributed to Constantine in the *Caesares* 329C (396 Wright) of Julian, and the title of *Dacicus maximus*, borne by him beginning with 336, cf. Kienast 1996, 302; Cameron 2007, 105. For the archaeological data connected to the Roman domination north of the Danube in this period, cf. Barnea, Iliescu 1982, 107-123.

³⁰ The only other ecclesiastical provinces in the list of Nicaea which do not belong to the Empire are Persia, integrated to the eparchy of Mesopotamia (no. 82), and Greater Armenia (no. 106-107). The difference between these provinces on the one hand and the Bosphorus and Gothia on the other has to be one of jurisdiction: whereas the Armenian Church was, in the Constantinian period, suffragan to the episcopal see of Caesarea in Cappadocia (cf. Garsoïan 1999, 36-42; Maraval 2000, 876-877), and the Church of Persia was under some kind of jurisdiction of the see of Antioch (cf. Hage 1973, 181; Bundy 2007, 133), there is no information about a direct ecclesiastical connection of the Bosphorus or Gothia to any particular bishopric of the Empire. Mathisen 1997, 665-666, suggests another - I think complementary - explanation: Armenia, as well as Persia, were, areas considered by the Romans to be "civilized", a fact proved by the hierarchies developed in these regions, following the Roman model. This may be a reason for these two Churches to be regarded by the fathers of the Nicaean council as part of the Imperial ecclesiastical oikumene.

³¹ Zos. 1, 30-35 (21, 15-25, 14 Mendelssohn); Alföldi 1967, 138-153; Salamon 1971, 109-139; Mitchell 2001, I, 235-236.

³² Philostorg. *hist. eccl.* II 5 (17, 6-15 Bidez); Sozom. *hist. eccl.* II 6 (PG 67, 949); about the degree of Christianization of Asia Minor, cf. Friend 1985, 444; Mitchell 2001, II, 37-43.

³³ Philostorg. *hist. eccl.* II 5 (17, 6-15 Bidez); Sozom. *hist. eccl.* II 6 (PG 67, 949); about Christian prisoners converting their masters cf. Ps-Prosperus, *De vocatione omnium gentium* II, 33 (PL 51, 718A); Commodianus, *Carmen Apologeticum* 809-820 (167-168 Dombart).

³⁴ Heather 1986, 289-318.

situated in urban centres³⁵. As a result, the ecumenical councils had to take special decisions for the communities outside the Empire³⁶. Nonetheless these Churches were, in one form or another, connected to the Church of the Empire³⁷.

The first sign of the connection between the Church of Gothia and the Imperial Church is the participation of bishop Theophilus at the council of Nicaea, attested not only by the list of the participants, but also by the mention of a “Scythian bishop” by Eusebius of Caesarea, in his *Vita Constantini*³⁸. Regarding his office in Gothia, since we have no proof for the existence of any ecclesiastical structure in the Gothic milieu prior to that date, we cannot suppose that he was elected by the - otherwise insignificant - Christian community north of the Danube. His office in Gothia clearly indicates the involvement of the Church of the Empire: in order to hold the episcopal dignity, Theophilus had to be consecrated by an ecclesiastical authority. As such, from the very beginning he represents a connection between his Church and the Church of the Empire³⁹. This connection has at least one known antecedent. In one of his letters St. Basil mentions a Cappadocian missionary, Eutyches, also a bearer of a Greek name, who was active in the area north of the Danube⁴⁰. St. Basil writes about his mission in a „fortunate” time, which to the mind of the Cappadocian bishop and in the context of that particular letter designates the period of persecutions preceding the “peace of the Church”⁴¹. Eutyches most probably was one of the missionaries (who more likely went of their own accord than were sent by some authority) on the traces of the prisoners taken by the Goths in the 3rd century, who laid the foundations for the later Christian community that was to become the Church of Gothia⁴².

The connection of the Christian community in Gothia with the Church of the Empire, strengthened by the consecration of Theophilus, continued also after him, with the consecration of another bishop: Wulfila, this time a local personage, and most probably the pupil of Theophilus⁴³. It is therefore obvious that the Church of the Empire was constantly interested in the territory north of the Danube. The interest escalated, as is to be expected, from a private initiative in the 3rd century - Eutyches, a

³⁵ For the communities in barbarian lands see Mathisen 1997 passim.

³⁶ Canon 2 from Constantinople (381): τὰς δὲ ἐν τοῖς βαρβαρικοῖς ἔθνεσι τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας οἰκονομεῖσθαι χρὴ κατὰ τὴν κρατήσαν ἐπὶ τῶν πατέρων συνήθειαν (Alberigo 1994, 88); canon 28 from Chalcedon: ... τοὺς ἐν τοῖς βαρβαρικῆς ἐπισκόπους τῶν προειρημένων διοικήσεων, χειροτονεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ προειρημένου ἀγιωτάτου θρόνου τῆς κατὰ Κωνσταντινούπολις ἀγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας (Alberigo 1994, 226).

³⁷ Mathisen 1997 passim.

³⁸ Euseb. *Vit. Const.* III, 7-8 (80-81 Heikel); Zugravu 2008, 293-296. Like the official list of participants at the council of Nicaea, Eusebius sets Theophilus apart in a special/particular position on his list, next to another bishop from a territory outside the Empire, namely Persia. About the identity of Theophilus with the “Scythian” of Eusebius cf. Ruscu 2010 passim.

³⁹ Schäferdiek 1979, 115.

⁴⁰ *Ep.* 164, 2 (II, 98-99 Courtonne).

⁴¹ Ruscu 2011, 80.

⁴² Schäferdiek 1990, 39.

⁴³ Socrates, *hist. eccl.* II, 41 (I, 358 Hussey). About the succession, Schäferdiek 1979, 123, who does not accept, however, the master-pupil relationship between the two, without, however, bringing any substantial arguments against Socrates. There is therefore no real reason to doubt the information of Socrates - the rejection was originally based upon the fact that Theophilus was bishop in the Crimea, cf. Gryson 1980, 165-167; Krafft 1854, 327-334; Kaufmann 1883, 224-240.

missionary in search of the Christians abducted to the Gothic realm - to the appointment of a bishop by the Imperial Church - Theophilus -, to the official appointment of another, in consequence of a political act of supremacy - Wulfila⁴⁴.

The canonical status of bishop Theophilus is equally difficult to determine as that of his ecclesiastic province. From the list of Nicaea it already results that he was not the bishop of a city, as the majority of his peers from the Empire. Another possibility, given the ecclesiastical organization of the time, that of his being a *chorepiscopus*, is excluded by the fact that *chorepiscopi* are invariably mentioned as such in the list of the council, not having been assigned a specific province⁴⁵. Finally, he is not described as the bishop of a *gens* either, as in some cases in this period⁴⁶. All we can say, therefore, about the canonical status of Theophilus is that he was the bishop of an ecclesiastical province covering broadly the Gothia mentioned by the literary tradition of the 4th century. We cannot specify under what conditions he was nominated as shepherd of this community, and a logical question concerns the reasons which determined the imperial Church to consider it worthy of sending a bishop there. Certainly it was not the size of this community - the picture suggested by the acts of St. Sabas at the end of the 4th century is that of a religious minority. Wulfila was consecrated bishop with jurisdiction over "those who were Christians in Gothia"⁴⁷, which also indicates a small group.

Although not very numerous, the Church of Gothia seems to have had a structure of her own, which can be followed not only at the superior level. Towards the end of Constantine's reign or at the beginning of Constantius' II, when a delegation of north Danubian Goths travelled to Constantinople, among its members we find Wulfila, who was at the time *anagnostes/lector*, thus belonging to an already functioning ecclesiastical structure⁴⁸. Toward the end of the 4th century, the *Passio* of St. Sabas mentions two presbyters of this community: Sansalas and Gouththikas⁴⁹.

Another relevant aspect of the Gothic community north of the Danube was its determination in preserving the Christian faith. As a religious minority in the realm of the Goths and observing the religion of the main enemy of their masters, the Christians north of the Danube were inevitably subjected to persecution. First it was Wulfila, who had to escape to the south of the river into the Empire, in 348, with a small group⁵⁰. After a few decades, the persecution conducted by Athanaric in the early 370s made several martyrs, like the well-known Sabas⁵¹, or the less well

⁴⁴ The appointment of Wulfila was connected to the statement of Sozom. *hist. eccl.* II, 6 (PG 67, 949), that the Goths came to know the Christian faith as a result of Constantine's victory of 332 and of the subsequent *foedus*, cf. Schäferdiek 1979, 114.

⁴⁵ Cf. *Patr. Nicaen.* no. 60: Syria Coele, 88: Cilicia (LXI Gelzer, Hilgenfeld, Cuntz); nos. 99-103: Cappadocia (LXII Gelzer, Hilgenfeld, Cuntz); nos. 182, 185, 187, 189: Isauria (LXIII Gelzer, Hilgenfeld, Cuntz); no. 201: Bithynia (LXIV Gelzer, Hilgenfeld, Cuntz). About the chorbishop Kirsten 1954, 1106-1114.

⁴⁶ Mathisen 1997, 678-679, 690.

⁴⁷ Philostorg. *hist. eccl.* II 5 (17, 19-18, 2 Bidez): ἐπισκόπων χειροτονεῖται τῶν ἐν τῇ Γετικῇ χριστιανίζόντων.

⁴⁸ Maximin. *comment* 56 (244 Gryson).

⁴⁹ *Passio S. Sabae Gothi* 4 (218 Delehaye); 7 (220 Delehaye).

⁵⁰ Maximin. *comment.* 56 (244 Gryson); 59 (246 Gryson); Philostorg. *hist. eccl.* II, 5 (17, 3-6 Bidez).

⁵¹ *Passio S. Sabae Gothi* (216-221 Delehaye).

known group of Batwin and Werekas⁵². Other martyrs, somewhat difficult to situate in time, are Nicetas⁵³, and the group of Inna, Rhema and Pina⁵⁴. All these martyrs were considered as belonging to the universal Church by the Christians of the Empire. Consequently, Saint Basil of Caesarea organized, with the help of the military commander of Scythia Minor, the transport of the relics of Sabas to Cappadocia, the relics of Nicetas were brought to Mopsuestia through the care of a certain Marianus, and the Gothic queen Gaatha organized the transfer of the relics of the group of Batwin and Werekas to Cyzicus⁵⁵. The remains of Inna, Rhema and Pina were brought by a bishop Goddas to an unknown city named Haliskos⁵⁶. The recognition of their sacrifice was further consecrated by the reception of Sabas and Nicetas into the synaxarium of the Byzantine Church⁵⁷. On the other hand, Inna, Rhema and Pina, together with the group of Batwin and Werekas are present in Gothic Arian calendars⁵⁸.

The reception of the relics of various martyrs of the Gothic community in the churches of the Empire, as well as their description in contemporary sources, opens the discussion concerning another aspect of this community - its dogmatic identity. Since some of its members are described by sources as being Orthodox, or were later accepted by the Orthodox milieu as such, like Theophilus, St. Sabas and Nicetas, whereas others are present in a clearly Arian environment, like the groups of Inna, Rhema and Pina, or that of Batwin and Werekas, as were the martyrs from the same persecution of Athanaric mentioned by Socrates⁵⁹, the legitimate question of the dogmatic affiliation of the Church of Gothia arises. To complicate the situation, there were also the converts of the Syrian sect of Audians, won over by a certain bishop Silvanus, mentioned by Epiphanius⁶⁰, although they hardly represented a noticeable group in the whole picture.

The straightforward explanation, that this community was Orthodox until the episcopal consecration of Wulfila and afterwards became entirely Arian, seems oversimplifying in this context. Rather, the complex picture can be explained by the relation of the Gothic community with the Church of the Empire - as demonstrated above -, and by its influence north of the Danube. It is therefore to be expected that the dogmatic controversies and split groups of the Christianity also influenced this small community on the borders of Roman civilization.

The Church of Gothia can consequently be considered as a structured community on the territory of the Tervingian/Visigothic centre of power north of the Danube, connected with the "ecumenical" Church of the Roman Empire.

⁵² Achelis 1900, 308; Delehaye 1912, 276-281. For the datation see Heather, Matthews 2004, 118.

⁵³ *Passio S. Nicetae* (209-215 Delehaye).

⁵⁴ *Passio SS. Innae, Rimae et Pinae* (215-216 Delehaye).

⁵⁵ For Sabas: *Passio S. Sabae Gothi* 8 (221 Delehaye); Basil, *ep.* 155 (II, 80-81 Courtonne); *ep.* 164 (II, 97-99 Courtonne); for Nicetas: *Passio S. Nicetae* 6 (212 Delehaye); for Gaatha: Delehaye 1912, 279.

⁵⁶ Delehaye 1912, 215-216.

⁵⁷ Sabas: *Synax. Cpol.* 608-609; 611-612; Nicetas: *Synax. Cpol.* 45-46.

⁵⁸ Heather, Matthews 2004, 116-123.

⁵⁹ Socrates, *hist. eccl.* IV, 33 (II, 560-561 Hussey).

⁶⁰ Epiph. *adv. haeres.* LXX (III, 247, Hohl).

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Dan Ruscu

“Babeş-Bolyai” University, Cluj-Napoca

Faculty of Greek-Catholic Theology

dan.ruscu@ubbcluj.ro

IMAGES DE L'EMPEREUR EN FRANCE AU XIX^E SIÈCLE

PHILIPPE HENRI BLASEN

Résumé : Vu le peu d'informations sur sa vie privée et les jugements contradictoires de ses contemporains, la figure de l'empereur Honorius a été interprétée de maintes manières au cours des siècles et dans différents contextes. Son règne est surtout lié à la chute de Rome qui marque le début de la fin de l'empire romain. Sur la base d'un échantillon de textes, cet article s'intéresse aux images du prince qui ont circulé dans la France du XIX^e siècle, tant dans les encyclopédies que dans les histoires de France et les textes à fin politique ou religieuse ou encore dans la peinture. Il relève différentes reprises et innovations par rapport aux deux siècles précédents et constate notamment qu'au XIX^e siècle, Honorius fait son apparition dans l'histoire nationale française.

Mots-clés : Antiquité tardive ; XIX^e siècle ; monarchie ; nationalisme ; réception.

Rezumat: Deoarece există puține informații despre viața lui privată și pentru că părerile contemporanilor referitoare la el sunt contradictorii, figura împăratului Honorius a fost interpretată în mai multe moduri în cursul secolelor și în contexte diferite. Domnia lui este legată mai ales de căderea Romei, eveniment care marchează începutul sfârșitului Imperiului roman. Pe baza unui eșantion de texte, acest articol abordează reprezentările prințului, care au circulat în Franța secolului al XIX-lea: în enciclopedii, în istoriile Franței, în textele cu scop politic sau religios și în pictură. Demersul întreprins arată unele constante și unele schimbări față de cele două secole anterioare și constată mai ales că, în secolul al XIX-lea, Honorius începe să apară în istoria națională a Franței.

Cuvinte-cheie: Antichitatea târzie; secolul al XIX-lea; monarhie; naționalism; receptare.

Honorius du V^e au XVIII^e siècle

En 395, à l'âge de dix ans, Honorius succède à son père Théodose à la tête de l'Empire romain. Il partage la dignité impériale avec son frère Arcadius et règne en pratique sur la seule partie occidentale de l'empire, sous la tutelle d'un général d'origine vandale, Stilichon (ou Stilicon). Quinze plus tard a lieu l'événement qui marque son siècle et les générations futures : la chute de Rome, mise à sac par le roi visigoth Alaric.

La vie d'Honorius nous est surtout connue par son œuvre législative (*Codex theodosianus*, *Codex justinianus*, *Constitutio Sirmondiana*) et ses interventions contre le paganisme et dans les disputes et conflits au sein de l'Eglise chrétienne (*Gesta collationis Carthaginensis*, *Collectio Avellana* ou encore Augustin d'Hippone, *Retractionum libri duo*, Orose, *Historiarum adversus paganorum libri*, Possidius de Calame, *Vita Augustini*, Quodvultdeus, *Liber promissionum et praedictorum Dei*, Palladius, *Dialogus de vita Joannis Chrysostomi*, etc.).

Nous savons peu sur la vie privée du prince : à part les élogieux *Carmina* de Claudien, ce sont surtout les œuvres des historiens Orose, Olympiodore de Thèbes,

Sozomène et Zosime ainsi que de Procope de Césarée, qui nous livrent quelques détails et anecdotes sur le personnage.

Au fil du temps, le manque d'informations et les affirmations contradictoires des auteurs susmentionnés ont permis la création d'images disparates. Dans un premier temps, pendant le Moyen-Âge chrétien, de Bède le Vénérable à Marsile de Padoue, Honorius est, à quelques exceptions près (p. ex. Pierre Damien, *Epistolae*), acclamé pour sa piété et ses sages décisions en matière doctrinale par les chroniqueurs et les historiens ecclésiastiques. Ceci change avec la Renaissance, lorsque les valeurs politiques l'emportent lentement sur les vertus religieuses : dans ce sens, Nicolas Machiavel critique Honorius et Arcadius dans le premier livre des *Historiae Fiorentinae*.

C'est aussi dans ce contexte qu'Honorius sert de modèle ou contre-modèle dans la France du XVII^e siècle. Thomas Corneille (1625-1709), dans l'*Epistre* adressée au Cardinal Mazarin, qui tient lieu de préface au volume de sa tragédie *Stilicon*, créée le 27 janvier 1660, écrit :

« L'Histoire le (= *Stilicon*) marque pour un des plus Grands Hommes de son Siecle ; dans les divers honneurs que ses longs services luy firent obtenir, il mérita que l'Empereur Theodose le laissast pour tuteur à Honorius, qui daigna depuis se faire son Gendre, & il n'y auroit peut estre rien eu jusques à luy de plus éclatant que sa vie, s'il n'eust pas laissé surprendre son devoir aux tendresses inconsidérées de la Nature, & oublié ce qu'il devoit à son Maistre, pour rendre ce qu'il ne devoit pas à son Fils¹ ».

Stilicon est donc une sévère condamnation des conjurations contre les princes au pouvoir, où plus que sa vie, le gentilhomme risque de perdre son honneur².

Toujours dans ce sens, nous retrouvons Honorius en 1684 chez le père Claude Le Ragois (mort vers 1683), précepteur du duc du Maine :

« Honorius étoit d'un naturel doux, agréable, ennemi du travail, fuyant les affaires, mais zélé pour la Religion. Sous son regne les Goths se rependirent dans l'Italie; ils se rendirent maîtres de Rome, plusieurs Tyrans usurperent l'autorité souveraine. De forte que le regne d'Honorius fut rempli de troubles & de guerres suscitées par les Vandales, les Huns, & plusieurs autres peuples³ ».

¹ Corneille 1661 *Epistre* ; les textes cités proviennent essentiellement de gallica.bnf.fr ; books.google.com ; gutenber.org ; les autres sites sont indiqués dans la bibliographie derrière la référence spécifique.

² Sans réflexion de ce genre, Honorius se retrouve comme pur prétexte chez Desfontaines (Desfontaines 1645), où, prince clément, il essaye d'aider deux amoureux et fait finalement construire un temple sur leur tombeau. La seule réplique intéressante est, Acte I, scène 1 : « Je suis Honorius, & non pas Théodose » qui pourrait montrer la supériorité du père sur le fils ou inversement, mais qui n'est guère exploitée dans ce sens.

³ Le Ragois 1730 353-354 ; il s'agit peut-être d'une interpolation plus tardive, ce qui ne change pourtant rien à sa valeur d'exemple dans le contexte d'une éducation princière.

Nous voyons qu'Honorius est loué pour sa piété, mais que sa paresse, qui est un défaut politique, est condamnée ; l'exemple de l'empereur montre comment la paresse du prince au pouvoir peut mener l'Etat à sa perte.

Le père Louis-Sébastien Le Nain de Tillemont (1637-1698), auteur d'une vaste et pointue *Histoire des empereurs romains et des autres princes qui ont régné durant les six premiers siècles de l'Eglise, de leurs guerres contre les Juifs, des Ecrivains profanes, & des personnes les plus illustres de leurs temps* revient en 1701 sur le sujet :

« Pour Honoré, nous ne voyons point qu'on parle beaucoup de ses bonnes ni de ses mauvaises qualitez. Orose loue sa continence admirable dans un Prince, & sa foy très pure; par où il dit qu'il avoit pu mériter la protection que Dieu luy donna quelquefois dans ses malheurs. On ne peut douter ce me semble qu'il n'aimast l'Eglise, & qu'il n'ait este en cela le successeur de la piété de son père... Mais on pretend qu'il estoit foible & leger dans ses resolutions. Procope le depeint comme un Prince qui n'estoit point méchant, mais faineant, lasche, sans esprit & sans génie, digne de voir perir l'Empire d'Occident sous luy. Son témoignage ne seroit pas fort considerable si toute la conduite d'Honoré & l'histoire de son regne ne donnoient lieu de croire qu'effectivement il n'a eu ni la vigueur ni la capacité necessaire pour gouverner un Empire: & il est rare que ceux qui ont la conduite des affaires sous un jeune Prince, se mettent en peine de le rendre capable de commander, parceque peu preferent leur devoir & leur honneur aux maximes de l'ambition. Malheur en bien des manieres aux Etats qui ont des enfans pour Princes ⁴ ! »

De nouveau, les vertus religieuses du prince sont mises en exergue par l'auteur ecclésiastique qui confirme en même temps les critiques émises par Procope de Césarée, faisant ainsi encore une fois d'Honorius le contre-modèle de l'homme d'Etat appliqué, clairvoyant et prudent. Tillemont aboutit à la morale que le jeune âge des princes menace le bien de l'Etat - une morale invalidée par le souverain de l'époque, Louis XIV, qui, sous tutelle de 5 à 22 ans, s'est montré par la suite un brillant homme d'Etat.

Notons que Tillemont sera cité à plusieurs reprises par l'historien anglais Edward Gibbon (1737-1794) dans son magistral *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*⁵, qui aura à son tour une influence considérable sur les ouvrages tant anglais que français et européens en général rédigés pendant les deux siècles suivants sur l'antiquité romaine tardive. Le jugement de Gibbon sur le caractère d'Honorius ne diffère pas de celui de Tillemont :

« His subjects, who attentively studied the character of their young sovereign, discovered that Honorius was without passions, and consequently without talents; and that his feeble and languid disposition was alike incapable of discharging the duties of his rank, or of enjoying the pleasures of his age. In his

⁴ Tillemont 1701, 485.

⁵ P. ex. Gibbon 1781, chapitre 17, note 84.

early youth he made some progress in the exercises of riding and drawing the bow; but he soon relinquished these fatiguing occupations, and the amusement of feeding poultry became the serious and daily care of the monarch of the West, who resigned the reins of empire to the firm and skilful hand of his guardian Stilicho. The experience of history will countenance the suspicion that a prince who was born in the purple received a worse education than the meanest peasant of his dominions, and that the ambitious minister suffered him to attain the age of manhood without attempting to excite his courage or to enlighten his understanding. ... the son of Theodosius passed the slumber of his life a captive in his palace, a stranger in his country, and the patient, almost the indifferent, spectator of the ruin of the Western empire, which was repeatedly attacked, and finally subverted, by the arms of the barbarians. In the eventful history of a reign of twenty-eight years, it will seldom be necessary to mention the name of the emperor Honorius⁶. »

Tout comme Tillemont, Gibbon maintient le doute quant au rôle exact joué par Stilichon, à savoir si ce dernier a voulu usurper la dignité impériale ou non⁷.

Un jugement semblable à celui de Tillemont se trouve aussi chez Adrien Richer (1720-1798) :

« Cet empereur, fut exempt de vices, mais il eut tous les défauts. Ce fut un prince timide qui n'osa rien entreprendre; qui ne vit le danger qu'avec effroi et l'évita toujours; qui se laissa conduire et tromper, qui ne commanda jamais au peuple que pour obéir à ses ministres. Il ne sut former aucun dessein, et n'en put comprendre ni exécuter aucun. L'Empire enfin croula, parce que le chef ne put le soutenir⁸ ».

Richer est cité au plus tard en 1779 par Dom Louis-Mayeul Chaudon (1737-1817) dans son *Nouveau dictionnaire historique ou histoire abrégée de tous les hommes qui se sont fait un nom par le génie, les talents, les vertus, les erreurs &c. depuis le commencement du Monde jusqu'à nos jours*. Chaudon rajoute, peut-être en sa qualité d'homme d'Eglise, une remarque sur la piété d'Honorius, que Richer n'avait pas commentée :

« Tandis que l'Empire était ainsi ravagé, Honorius restait tranquille à Ravenne; et, manquant ou de courage ou de force pour s'opposer à ces barbares, il languissoit dans une oisiveté déplorable. Divers tyrans s'élevèrent dans l'Empire, Honorius s'en défit par ses capitaines; car pour lui, il était incapable d'agir... « Cet empereur, dit Richer... (*suit la citation*) » Les historiens catholiques ont

⁶ Gibbon 1781, chapitre 29, Marriage and character of Honorius, A.D. 398.

⁷ Tillemont 1701, 484-485: « ...divers auteurs l'accusent (Stilicon) d'avoir même songé à élever son fils à l'Empire au préjudice d'Honoré son Prince, son pupille & son gendre; & dans cette vue d'avoir causé tous les maux que nous verrons que les barbares firent aux Romains. Olympiodore & Zosime, tous deux payens, le défendent sur ce point: mais c'est peut-être qu'ils eussent est bien aises qu'Eucher eust usurpé l'Empire pour rétablir le paganisme ».

⁸ Richer 1767, 42.

loué sa piété, sa foi, ses mœurs et surtout sa charité. Mais ces vertus ne suffisent pas dans un monarque. Il publia une foule d'ordonnances, signe de l'embaras et de l'inquiétude d'un gouvernement qui cherche à soutenir l'édifice prêt à s'écrouler⁹. »

Encore une fois il est question de qualités politiques du prince, qui, même chez l'homme d'Eglise qu'est Chaudon, doivent être à la hauteur des vertus religieuses. Les lois promulguées par l'empereur ne sont que l'expression de l'inanité du prince et de la décadence générale.

Par contre, Chaudon justifie la mise à mort de Stilichon qui « forma le dessein de détrôner son pupille »¹⁰, en l'utilisant ainsi, tout comme Thomas Corneille un siècle plus tôt, comme exemple de juste répression de toute tentative d'usurpation.

Sous une autre forme, Honorius apparaît à la moitié du XVIII^e siècle chez Voltaire (1694-1778) qui en fait une des images de la décadence de l'empire romain, celle-ci lui servant de cadre pour sa critique de l'Eglise chrétienne naissante :

« Alaric mit Rome à contribution la première fois qu'il parut devant ses murs, & la seconde il la mit au pillage. Tel était alors l'avilissement de l'Empire que ce goth dédaigna d'être roi de Rome, tandis que le misérable empereur d'Occident Honorius tremblait dans sa Ravenne où il s'était réfugié¹¹ ».

Plutôt que de réfléchir sur les qualités du bon souverain, Voltaire utilise un ton sarcastique pour dénigrer davantage l'époque qu'il décrit. Nous verrons le succès de cette boutade.

Le XIX^e siècle marque un changement de conscience, qui se manifeste également dans la manière dont on écrit l'histoire. Entre les réflexions sur les vertus religieuses et les qualités politiques se glisse une recherche identitaire sur la base d'un nouveau concept, celui de nation. Or le règne d'Honorius est à de nombreux égards une clef de voûte dans cette recherche et dans l'écriture d'histoires nationales européennes, qui s'ensuit : les établissements des royaumes burgonde, franc et visigoths en Gaule et dans la péninsule ibérique sont considérés comme les poses des pierres de fondation de la France, de l'Espagne et du canton de Vaud (Suisse), le retrait des troupes romaines des îles britanniques comme le début de l'indépendance de la Grande-Bretagne. Quant aux défaites des Romains face au Visigoths avec la déroute complète qu'est la chute de Rome, elles semblent avoir anticipé les campagnes anti-napoléoniennes de 1813 à 1815, respectivement, après 1870, la guerre franco-prussienne, tandis que l'établissement d'un royaume goth indépendant sur le sol impérial préfigure la création d'un Etat allemand au détriment de la France. Les faiblesses et coups de tête d'Honorius face à la décision et la clairvoyance d'Alaric ressemblent à l'hésitation et à l'impulsivité française face à la calme détermination allemande¹².

⁹ Chaudon 1779, 536-537.

¹⁰ Chaudon 1779, 536.

¹¹ Voltaire 1769, 256.

¹² P. ex. Eicken 1876, 44, 56 : "Der patriotische Fanatismus, ich möchte sagen die patriotische Bornirtheit,

D'autre part, le XIX^e siècle est dominé par la lutte entre l'Église catholique romaine et les idéologies anticléricales qui gagnent en puissance au cours de ce siècle, tant en Italie, où l'autorité temporelle de la papauté est contestée en vue de l'unification des États italiens, que dans d'autres pays européens où les immixtions du pouvoir ecclésiastique dans les affaires politiques internes sont durement critiquées. L'Église, qui réagit par une politique antilibérale composée de condamnations, d'excommunications et de promulgations de dogmes réaffirmant la primauté papale, donne le jour à une nouvelle génération d'apologétiques qui, pour se justifier et en appeler aux chefs d'État, font l'apogée de tous les grands défenseurs, surtout temporels, de la vraie foi, dont l'empereur Honorius.

Nous présentons un échantillon d'images d'Honorius dans la France du XIX^e siècle en classant les textes selon les catégories suivantes : encyclopédies, manuels scolaires, histoires de France, textes à fin politique et textes à fin religieuse.

Encyclopédies

En France, le XIX^e siècle voit naître des encyclopédies qui sont d'habitude vouées à un point de vue politique ou idéologique particulier.

L'*Encyclopédie nouvelle* de 1836, dans l'article « Alaric », l'empereur est décrit de la manière suivante :

« Fier d'avoir gagné du temps, l'incorrigible Honorius renouvela les difficultés, et Alaric revint une troisième fois mettre le siège devant la ville éternelle¹³ ».

Le reproche est modéré, Honorius apparaît comme un enfant qu'il faut gronder. Malheureusement, les auteurs de cette encyclopédie n'ont jamais publié d'article dédié à Honorius, qui nous aurait informés davantage sur leurs positions.

Une critique relative à l'inaction du prince transparaît dans l'*Encyclopédie nationale des sciences, des lettres et des arts, Résumé complet des connaissances humaines de 1853* :

« En 409, Alaric, général des Goths, saccagea Rome, et ravagea le pays, tandis qu'Honorius restait tranquille à Ravenne. Il mourut dans cette ville en 423, âgé de 38 ans¹⁴. »

die noch heute ein Erbtheil aller romanischen Völker ist, verleitete die Römer, in den Unglücksfällen, welche sie so plötzlich betroffen, ein böswilliges Intriguenspiel der leitenden Persönlichkeit (*des Germanen Stilicho*) zu sehen... Der Patriotismus des Honorius war nicht grösser wie sein Eigennutz. Jetzt, wo sein Diadem auf dem Spiele stand, war er sogar zu einer Theilung des Reiches bereit und liess seinem Rivalen Attalus dies Anerbieten durch eine Gesandtschaft stellen". (« Le fanatisme patriotique, je veux dire le caractère patriotique borné, qui est encore de nos jours un héritage de tous les peuples latins, a poussé les Romains à interpréter les malheurs qui les frappaient comme un jeu d'intrigues malveillant du personnage dominant (*Stilichon*)... Le patriotisme d'Honorius n'était pas plus grand que son intérêt personnel. Maintenant que sa couronne était en jeu, il était même prêt à partager son empire et il fit faire cette offre à son rival Attalus par l'intermédiaire d'une ambassade. » Traduction Ph. H. Blasen).

¹³ Leroux 1836, 206.

¹⁴ Barré 1853, 171.

Dans le volume suivant, l'encyclopédie reprend même l'expression exacte de Voltaire :

« Alaric, qu'Honorius avait nommé préfet d'Illyrie, pour le détourner de l'Italie, ne voyant plus d'obstacle, tombe sur ce pays, qu'il saccage, et s'empare de Rome (410), tandis que Honorius s'enferme en tremblant dans Ravenne...¹⁵. »

C'est donc peut-être par pur zèle littéraire que l'image d'Honorius est négative.

La description voltairienne se retrouve aussi en 1872 dans le *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIX^e siècle* de Pierre Larousse (1817-1875) : le prince est lâche et, tout comme chez Tillemont, irresponsable, avec une claire opposition entre Honorius et Stilichon :

« Au lieu de faire face à tant de périls, le lâche empereur, enfermé à Ravenne, sacrifiait stupidement à des favoris de cour l'homme (*l'énergique Stilichon*) qui avait sauvé deux fois l'Italie et qui était comme le bouclier de l'empire... Au milieu de ces déchirements, l'inepte fils de Théodose achevait obscurément sa carrière dans sa retraite de Ravenne, jouet des événements et des hommes, sauvegardé peut-être, au milieu de la ruine de l'empire, par sa faiblesse et sa lâcheté¹⁶. »

Dans la réédition de cette encyclopédie en 1898, sous le titre de *Nouveau Larousse illustré*, en plus des défauts déjà mentionnés, l'auteur de l'article sur Honorius relève, comme Chaudon, la vanité de l'œuvre législative du prince, avec une argumentation toutefois différente, en la désignant de « multitude d'ordonnances qui renouvelaient presque toutes les anciennes lois »¹⁷.

La Grande Encyclopédie de Marcellin Berthelot (1827-1907), qui s'appuie sur Tillemont et Gibbon pour son article sur Honorius, nous offre en 1894 une version plus nuancée. D'une part, le jugement est le même que celui du *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIX^e siècle* et du *Nouveau Larousse*, voire pire ; même sa piété devient un défaut vu qu'elle est son unique qualité :

« Honorius, qui n'avait pas encore onze ans, ne pouvait être pendant longtemps empereur que de nom, et cette minorité se prolongea, en réalité, pendant tout son règne ; il resta jusqu'à la fin de sa vie une sorte d'enfant lâche, cruel, sans vigueur, sans capacité d'aucune sorte, jouet et instrument des eunuques et des généraux barbares ou romains qui se succédèrent au pouvoir. On ne peut s'imaginer une figure plus insignifiante dans cette époque dramatique, pleine de crises terribles qui vit s'opérer le premier démembrement de l'empire d'Occident. Un de ses historiens les plus favorables, Orose, ne trouve à louer que sa continence et sa piété. L'histoire du règne d'Honorius rentre pendant les treize premières années dans celle de son tuteur, le brave et énergique Stilicon...¹⁸. »

¹⁵ Barré 1853, 386.

¹⁶ Larousse 1872, 380.

¹⁷ Auge 1898, 156.

¹⁸ Berthelot 1894, 241.

Cependant, parmi toutes ses actions négatives voire son inaction, même si c'est avec réticence, l'encyclopédie relève aussi ses mérites, surtout en matière religieuse mais aussi de certaines de ses lois civiles :

« La grande loi de 399, qui achève la destruction du paganisme, ordonne la confiscation des revenus des temples, la destruction des statues et prohibe l'exercice du culte païen ; l'abolition des jeux de gladiateurs à Rome en 404 ; une intervention inutile auprès d'Arcadius en faveur de saint Jean-Chrysostome, voilà les seuls actes importants d'Honorius qu'on puisse signaler jusqu'en 408... L'occupation de la rive gauche du bas Rhin par les Francs, l'émancipation de l'Armorique, le schisme des deux papes Eulalius et Boniface en 418, terminé par l'intervention d'Honorius en faveur de Boniface, la brouille d'Honorius avec sa sœur Placidie, qui s'enfuit à Constantinople avec ses deux enfants, tels sont les faits importants de la fin de ce règne désastreux. On ne peut lui reconnaître d'autre mérite que d'avoir protégé l'Eglise chrétienne et l'orthodoxie. On a de lui de nombreuses lois contre le paganisme, les différentes hérésies... Le reste de sa législation n'a pas une grande originalité... Il y a cependant d'excellentes améliorations à signaler pour la juridiction criminelle¹⁹. »

De même, il n'est pas spécifié si la suppression du « brave et énergique Stilicon » s'ensuit à un complot monté de toutes pièces ou si Stilicon a effectivement essayé d'usurper le pouvoir, ce qui, implicitement, n'aurait pas dû être un fait bien grave vu sa valeur et la veulerie du souverain de droit :

« En 408, le défenseur de l'Empire succombe à une intrigue de palais ; Honorius, jaloux de sa puissance, craignant à tort ou à raison qu'il ne s'en serve pour donner l'Empire à son fils, Eucherius, le fait assassiner par un certain Olympius²⁰. »

Le consultant de l'une de ces encyclopédies devait rester avec l'impression d'un prince sinon velléitaire, du moins insignifiant. La brièveté des articles ne permet pas de discerner avec précision la raison d'être des images d'Honorius qu'elles proposent. Leur noirceur paraît dépendre plutôt des auteurs antiques et modernes qu'elles utilisent, que d'une position idéologique ou d'une époque déterminées, exception faite des mérites en matière de religion du prince, que parmi nos textes, seule *La Grande Encyclopédie* de Berthelot se permet de citer.

Manuels scolaires

Le XIX^e siècle français voit l'avènement progressif de l'école publique et, par conséquent, de manuels scolaires. En 1875, dans son *Abrégé d'histoire romaine*, Victor Duruy (1811-1894), ministre de l'Instruction de 1863 à 1869 sous le Second Empire,

¹⁹ Berthelot 1894, 242.

²⁰ Berthelot 1894, 242.

décrit le règne d'Honorius et d'Arcadius comme « la séparation irrévocable et qui dure encore dans la religion et la civilisation différentes de ces deux moitiés de l'ancien monde. Grâce à sa situation, Constantinople devait résister dix siècles à l'invasion, Rome fut presque aussitôt prise par les Barbares, et l'empire d'Occident se débattit pendant quatre-vingts ans dans une douloureuse agonie. Alaric, chef des Visigoths, donna le signal... »²¹.

Cette vision des choses, Duruy l'avait déjà exposée en 1861 dans son *Histoire du Moyen Âge*²² et peut-être aussi dans l'*Abrégé d'histoire romaine* de la même époque, que nous n'avons pas pu consulter. Dans son manuel, nous n'apprenons cependant rien sur la vie d'Honorius²³.

En 1887, nous retrouvons le jugement de Voltaire dans le manuel scolaire *Histoire de France et notions d'Histoire général (sic)* d'André Grégoire (dates inconnues) avec un Honorius qui « se blottissait, tout tremblant derrière les remparts et les marais de Ravenne »²⁴ et qui n'est pas décrit davantage. Dix années plus tard, dans le manuel *Histoire de l'Europe et particulièrement de la France de 395 à 1270* de Joseph Bernard (dates inconnues), l'image est beaucoup plus nuancée et dépourvue d'un vocabulaire dépréciatif. Tout d'abord, le manuel refuse de faire du règne d'Honorius le moment du partage définitif de l'empire ou du démembrement de l'empire en une multitude d'Etats germaniques, quitte à ce que le mérite en revienne non pas à Honorius, mais à son « ministre » Constance :

« Les deux fils de Théodose se partagent l'administration de l'empire. Personne ne considère cette séparation comme définitive²⁵. »

« ...le roi des Wisigoths d'Espagne et d'Aquitaine, le roi des Vandales d'Afrique, les chefs des Burgondes du Jura, de la Saône et des Ostrogoths du Norique n'étaient que les délégués d'Honorius et de Valentinien III. Les empereurs conservaient non seulement le gouvernement de l'Italie, mais aussi les passages des Alpes, la vallée du Rhône, et le centre de la Gaule entre la Loire et la Somme. Il est vrai qu'ils le devaient exclusivement à l'énergie et à la bravoure de deux de leurs ministres : Constance, le successeur de Stilicon, et Aétius... »²⁶.

L'assassinat du Vandale Stilicon est présenté comme un fait regrettable avec un léger pathétisme qui condamne Honorius et l'excuse en même temps à cause de sa jeunesse :

²¹ Duruy 1875, 448.

²² Duruy 1861, 18.

²³ Dans l'*Histoire du Moyen Âge*, Duruy le décrit comme quelqu'un qui, « s'il n'usait guère de l'épée, usait beaucoup de la ruse », ce qui entraîne la chute de Rome et est donc un net défaut (Duruy 1861, 21). Finalement, il conclut que : « Honorius était mort en 423, sans avoir su défendre l'empire, et sans laisser d'autre gloire que celle d'avoir, comme son père, protégé l'Eglise et l'orthodoxie: beaucoup de ses édits ordonnent la destruction des idoles et des temples, et interdisent les emplois publics aux païens et aux hérétiques. », relevant donc malgré tout son mérite en matière religieuse. » (Duruy 1861, 23).

²⁴ Grégoire 1887, 33.

²⁵ Bernard 1897, 5.

²⁶ Bernard 1897, 40.

« Pendant ce temps (*du triomphe*) le véritable vainqueur (*Stilicon*) s'accordait directement avec Alaric, lui fournissait des subsides, lui céda le gouvernement de la partie de l'Illyrie soumise à Honorius, et l'engageait à prendre de vive force l'autre partie confiée à l'empereur d'Orient. Il ne manqua pas d'envieux ni de mécontents pour signaler à Honorius la honte et le désavantage d'un pareil traité. On lui fit croire à la trahison de Stilicon, et le jeune empereur fit assassiner le seul homme capable de défendre l'empire, celui dont il venait d'épouser la fille (408)²⁷. »

Pourtant, comme nous venons de le voir, un autre homme, le Romain Constance, est présenté comme ayant pu sauver l'empire à la place de Stilichon.

L'attitude d'Honorius face aux barbares n'est non plus décrite comme frauduleuse, mais paraît plutôt résolue²⁸. Le reproche le plus grand que le manuel fait au prince est peut-être que

« Honorius ressemblait donc bien moins à ses prédécesseurs Trajan ou Septime Sévère qu'aux despostes (*sic*) ou aux grands rois d'Égypte ou d'Orient²⁹. »

Par conséquent, Honorius n'est pas décrit comme le prince titubant qui mène l'empire à sa perte, mais comme une personnalité dépendant de ministres et de généraux, au style oriental décadent, qui ne ressemble plus aux grands empereurs « classiques ». L'insistance sur l'intégrité du territoire impérial s'oppose à la perspective de Duruy, trente-six ans plus tôt. Elle peut être un choix personnel de l'auteur, mais exprime éventuellement aussi la douleur du démembrement de la France au profit de la création du Reichsland Elsaß-Lothringen. Pour une étude approfondie des manuels d'histoire, la consultation des programmes scolaires serait indispensable, mais dépasserait le cadre du présent article.

Histoires de France

En 1833 paraît le premier tome de la monumentale *Histoire de France* de Jules Michelet (1798-1874). Michelet propose une image originale d'Honorius et de son tuteur Stilichon :

« Sous Honorius, la rivalité du goth Alaric et du Vandale Stilicon ensanglanta dix ans l'Italie. Le Vandale, nommé par Théodose tuteur d'Honorius, avait en ses mains l'empereur d'Occident. Le Goth, nommé par l'empereur d'Orient, Arcadius, Maître de la province d'Illyrie, sollicitait en vain d'Honorius la permission de s'y établir³⁰. »

²⁷ Bernard 1897, 36.

²⁸ Bernard 1897, 37.

²⁹ Bernard 1897, 7.

³⁰ Michelet 1833, 177.

Le conflit ne se déroule donc plus entre le tuteur d'Honorius, Stilichon, et celui d'Arcadius, Rufin, mais entre Stilichon et Alaric, tous les deux d'origine germanique. Honorius n'est que l'instrument de Stilichon contre Alaric.

Par la suite, l'empereur, instrument du Vandale et réconcilié avec le Goth, devient une des raisons pour laquelle aucun Etat gaulois ne voit le jour à ce moment-ci de l'histoire :

« Pendant ce temps, la Bretagne, la Gaule et l'Espagne redevinrent indépendantes sous le breton Constantin. La révolte d'un des généraux de cet empereur (*Gérontius*), et peut-être la rivalité de l'Espagne et de la Gaule, préparèrent la ruine du nouvel empire gaulois. Elle fut consommée par la réconciliation d'Honorius et des Goths³¹. »

Dans une autre œuvre colossale, *l'Histoire de France depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'en 1789*, dont le premier tome paraît également en 1833, Henri Martin (1810-1883) introduit le V^e siècle de la façon suivante :

« Pour renverser les faibles barrières de l'Empire d'Occident, il suffisait qu'il s'opérât du Danube au Rhin un mouvement de peuples analogue à celui qui s'était opéré du Tanais au Danube et l'heure en était venue ! le funèbre cinquième siècle avait commencé³² ! »

Le rôle d'Honorius dans l'histoire de France est semblable à celui qu'il tient chez Michelet : il est l'opresseur des Gaulois, cependant cette fois-ci côte à côte avec Constantin, le « prétendu libérateur des Gaules »³³. La courte indépendance de la Gaule est obtenue non pas par ce général, mais par un soulèvement populaire :

« La Bagaudie prenait, sur ces entrefaites, une extension immense et un caractère tout différent de celui qui l'avait jusqu'alors signalée : ce n'étaient plus simplement les pauvres, les esclaves, les colons, qui se révoltaient contre l'ordre social, mais toutes les classes de la société, mais les cités et les provinces entières, qui rejetaient le pouvoir romain et le gouvernement impérial... On ne sait pas même jusqu'où s'étendit l'espèce de république fédérative qui brisa le joug d'Honorius et de Constantin³⁴. »

La Bagaudie apparaît donc comme une des matrices de l'esprit révolutionnaire français, ceci trois ans après les Trois Glorieuses. Cependant, il semble que le général usurpateur Constantin doit être éliminé par un autre général qui représente le pouvoir établi - pouvoir corrompu dont il se distingue par son sens de l'honneur :

³¹ Michelet 1833, 177-178.

³² Martin 1855, 334.

³³ Martin 1855, 338.

³⁴ Martin 1855, 339.

« Les manœuvres de Constance, brave et habile capitaine, décidèrent la victoire : Edowig fut défait et tué ; et Constantin, perdant toute espérance, se fit ordonner prêtre et se rendit, sans autre condition que d'avoir la vie sauve ; la capitulation fut violée, non par Constance, mais par Honorius, à qui le vainqueur expédia l'usurpateur captif : Constantin fut mis à mort³⁵. »

Le prince est inculpé d'avoir tué Stilichon par manque de reconnaissance et d'intelligence :

« Stilicon n'était plus : l'ingrat et inepte Honorius avait sacrifié à de perfides délateurs l'appui de sa jeunesse, le dernier défenseur de Rome (août 408)...³⁶ »

Le jugement porté sur l'œuvre législative d'Honorius ressemble à celui de Chaudon :

« Ces édits de Gratien et d'Honorius n'instituaient rien de nouveau et nous indiquent une institution qu'on tâchait d'empêcher de périr (*l'assemblée d'Arles*), et non point une institution qu'on tâchait de créer³⁷. »

Les deux histoires de France de Michelet et de Martin font donc référence à un Etat proto-français dont la réalisation est ruinée d'une façon ou d'une autre par l'empereur Honorius dont la figure est chargée de ce défaut en plus des autres qui lui ont déjà été attribués.

Textes à fin politique

Dans son *Histoire universelle* de 1822, Louis-Philippe, comte de Ségur (1753-1830), soutien de toutes les dynasties, des Bourbon aux Orléans en passant par les Bonaparte³⁸, copie et résume abondamment les descriptions négatives de Gibbon, sans jamais le citer :

« Le mariage d'Honorius (*avec Marie, fille de Stilicon*) ne donna point d'héritiers à l'empire. Marie mourut vierge, dix ans après l'époque où elle monta sur le trône. Honorius, faible d'âme et de corps, ne pouvait être ni père ni prince. Dans les premières années, on le vit quelquefois essayer de se livrer avec les jeunes Romains aux exercices militaires ; mais, s'amollissant de jour en jour, il se renferma dans son palais, ne s'occupa que des détails puérils de sa maison, de ses jardins, de sa basse-cour, confia son sceptre à Stilicon, et resta spectateur indifférent de l'agonie et de la ruine de son empire³⁹. »

³⁵ Martin 1855, 342.

³⁶ Martin 1855, 340.

³⁷ Martin 1855, 355.

³⁸ V. Robert 1891, 295.

³⁹ Ségur 1822, 347 = Gibbon 1781, chapitre 29, Marriage and character of Honorius, A.D. 398.

« Honorius, nourri dans la mollesse, n'avait jamais cru que le péril (*Alaric*) pût approcher du palais d'un successeur d'Auguste. Le bruit de la trompette l'épouvante ; la crainte générale augmente son effroi ; les Romains dégénérés qui l'entourent conseillent la fuite ; aucun ne prend les armes : l'empereur déclare qu'il veut se retirer dans la Gaule⁴⁰. »

« Les dangers qu'Honorius avait courus dans Milan ne sortaient pas de sa mémoire ; et, se croyant même peu en sûreté dans les murs de Rome, il vint s'établir à Ravenne... dont le port qui contenait deux cent cinquante vaisseaux, offrait toujours à la faiblesse l'espoir d'une fuite facile. Les timides successeurs d'Honorius suivirent son exemple...⁴¹ »

Reprenant Gibbon, Ségur condamne également l'assassinat de Stilichon comme un crime du prince :

« Olympius, courtisan adroit et servile, n'ignorait pas que les princes qui ont le plus besoin d'être gouvernés sont souvent ceux qui craignent le plus qu'on ne les croie dans la dépendance ; il excite la jalousie de l'empereur contre l'homme qui était son plus ferme appui, et lui persuade que Stilicon aspire au pouvoir suprême. Honorius, effrayé, n'écoute plus les avis de ce grand homme ; il court à Pavie, sous prétexte de passer en revue les troupes qui s'y trouvaient : c'étaient des Goths, dont la plus grande partie haïssaient Stilicon. L'empereur harangue ces barbares, implore leur secours, enflamme leur courroux. Entraînés par ses paroles, par ses menaces, par ses promesses, ils se jettent sur les officiers attachés à Stilicon, et les massacrent...

Le comte Héraclien, obéissant aux ordres infâmes de l'empereur, trompe lâchement cet illustre et malheureux guerrier, lui promet la vie au nom de son maître, l'engage à se rendre près de lui ; et, dès qu'il est en sa présence, lui montre son arrêt de mort.... (*Stilicon*) présente sa gorge au glaive, sans dire une parole, et meurt en Romain, comme il avait vécu⁴². »

Notons que Ségur introduit des variantes : ainsi, chez Gibbon, c'est Olympius qui harangue les troupes, tandis que Ségur attribue cette action à Honorius même, ce qui est en contradiction avec l'image de faiblesse et d'incapacité complètes créée par Gibbon et copiée par Ségur qui traite le prince d'« imbécile »⁴³, c'est-à-dire de « foible, sans vigueur... par rapport à l'esprit »⁴⁴.

Ségur introduit aussi l'anecdote de la poule Rome, que Gibbon a préféré éviter⁴⁵ :

⁴⁰ Ségur 1822, 351 = Gibbon 1781, chapitre 30, Honorius flies from Milan, A.D. 403.

⁴¹ Ségur 1822, 354 = Gibbon 1781, chapitre 30, Honorius fixes his residence at Ravenna, A.D. 404.

⁴² Ségur 1822, 561 = Gibbon 1781, chapitre 30, Disgrace and death of Stlicho, A.D. 408, August 23.

⁴³ Ségur 1822, 363.

⁴⁴ Dictionnaire 1835.

⁴⁵ Gibbon 1781, chapitre 29, Marriage and character of Honorius, A.D. 398, note 61 (en référence à Procope, *Histoire de la guerre des Vandales*, 3, 2, 25-26) : « I have borrowed the general practice of Honorius (*de se divertir avec des volailles*), without adopting the singular, and indeed improbable tale, which is

« On prétend que, lorsqu'on vint lui apprendre que Rome était perdue, il répondit froidement : « Cela est impossible, je viens de lui donner à manger. » Il parlait d'une poule favorite, à laquelle il avait donné le nom de Rome⁴⁶. »

Le commentaire suivant semble être propre à l'auteur ou parvenir d'une autre source, moins docte que Gibbon, vu qu'il est question de Lombardie avant la venue des Lombards :

« Dès que la faiblesse entrevoit un appui, elle passe rapidement d'une peur sans mesure à une confiance sans bornes. L'empereur, rassuré, court en Lombardie, et fait, aux pieds des autels de Milan, d'ardentes prières pour obtenir du ciel le salut d'un empire qu'il n'a pas le courage de défendre...⁴⁷ ».

La religion d'Honorius est utilisée cette fois-ci pour le blâmer ; elle n'est plus une vertu, mais une marque de sa lâcheté : au lieu de défendre personnellement l'Etat, le prince demande de l'aide à Dieu.

Propre à l'auteur ou reprise d'une autre source que Gibbon est aussi la conclusion moralisante de Ségur, lorsqu'il décrit la réaction d'Honorius suite à l'offre du beau-frère d'Alaric, Ataulf, de prendre la sœur du prince, Galla Placidia, en épouse :

« Il faut connaître le puéril orgueil des princes faibles, nés sur les marches du trône, pour concevoir le dédain avec lequel Honorius reçut cette proposition, et la répugnance que montra cet empereur, lâche et vaincu, pour l'alliance d'un guerrier qu'il nommait barbare, et qui lui rendait Rome et l'empire. Placidie, moins vaine et plus politique, sauva son frère malgré lui, et accepta la main du roi des Goths (*Ataulf*)...⁴⁸ »

Honorius devient donc de nouveau un contre-modèle de prince. Cependant, alors que sous l'Ancien Régime, c'étaient ses vices ou son influençabilité que l'on mettait en exergue, à présent c'est le caractère héréditaire de la monarchie, qui, à travers lui, est remis en question. Ceci est assez étonnant de la part d'un défenseur de Napoléon II et d'un pair de France de Louis XVIII - roi qui, bien qu'il n'eût pas de descendance, avait de par son frère héritier suffisamment de neveux pour lui succéder.

Quoi qu'il en soit, suivant Ségur :

« Il faut convenir que de tels princes, s'ils étaient moins rares, ne justifieraient que trop les déclamations des républicains contre la monarchie⁴⁹. »

related by the Greek historian. »

⁴⁶ Ségur 1822, 394-395.

⁴⁷ Ségur 1822, 351.

⁴⁸ Ségur 1822, 374.

⁴⁹ Ségur 1822, 394.

Honorius doit donc être un épouvantail non seulement pour les monarques mais également pour l'institution monarchique elle-même.

Un autre serviteur de plusieurs monarchies, qui évoque Honorius est François-René de Chateaubriand (1768-1848) qui écrit en 1831 dans la quatrième de ses études historiques :

« Honorius étoit fainéant et léger. Rufin se chargea de tromper et d'avilir les deux empereurs, Stilicon de les trahir et de les défendre. Honorius élevoit une poule appelée Rome et Alaric prenoit la cité de Romulus⁵⁰. »

Aucun des quatre protagonistes n'a de rôle positif, la décadence est totale. Chateaubriand reprend Voltaire, Honorius « trembloit dans les marais de Ravenne »⁵¹. La stupide fierté et la lâcheté généralement attribuées au prince réapparaissent :

« Si l'on ne connoissoit l'orgueil humain, on ne comprendroit pas qu'Honorius pardonnât moins à un chétif compétiteur (*L'usurpateur Constantin en Gaule*) qui lui disputoit le diadème, qu'aux Barbares qui le lui arrachent⁵². »

Avec la verve littéraire qui est la sienne, Chateaubriand se rit de la vanité des lois d'Honorius, même s'il en apprécie le contenu :

« (*L'usurpateur Constantin*) fut reconnu ou toléré par Honorius, qui faisoit paisiblement des lois assez bonnes pour des sujets qu'il n'avoit plus. Il proscrivit les priscillianistes et les donatistes⁵³. »

Avec une même ironie, il dépeint les « anti-qualités » du prince :

« Honorius avoit une qualité singulière : c'étoit de n'entendre à aucun arrangement ; il opposoit son ignominieuse lâcheté à tout, comme une vertu. Lui offroit-on la paix lorsqu'il n'avoit aucun moyen de se défendre, il chicanoit sur les conditions, les éludoit, et finissoit par s'y refuser. Sa patience usoit l'impatience des Barbares ; ils se fatiguoient de le frapper, sans pouvoir l'amener à se reconnaître vaincu. Mais admirez l'illusion de cette grandeur romaine qui imposoit encore, même après la prise de Rome⁵⁴ ! »

Honorius pourrait être un anti-héros, sa lâcheté et son indécision finissant par triompher des barbares incapables de soutenir cette inertie, ce qui fait des ces défauts des vertus et maintient l'illusion de la grandeur de Rome. Cependant, la conclusion de Chateaubriand, qui fait le lien avec sa propre époque, est sévère :

⁵⁰ Chateaubriand 1838, 435.

⁵¹ Chateaubriand 1838, 438.

⁵² Chateaubriand 1838, 442.

⁵³ Chateaubriand 1838, 439.

⁵⁴ Chateaubriand 1838, 443.

« Au bout d'un règne de vingt-huit ans, qui n'a d'exemple pour le fracas de la terre que les trente dernières années où j'écris, Honorius expire à Ravenne, douze ans et demi après le sac de Rome, attachant son petit nom à la traîne du grand nom d'Alaric⁵⁵. »

En comparant le règne d'Honorius à l'époque entre 1801 et 1831, c'est-à-dire au Consulat, à l'Empire et à la Restauration, sans inclure les régimes de la Révolution française au Directoire, Chateaubriand porte un jugement et sur le règne de Napoléon Bonaparte et sur celui des derniers Bourbon. Sa désapprobation de Napoléon ressort entre autres dans une autre comparaison avec l'Antiquité, où il annonce le jugement de Néron par Tacite, publiée déjà en 1807 suite à l'Affaire du duc d'Enghien⁵⁶, et sa déception face à la Restauration dans *De la Restauration et de la Monarchie élective* de 1831. Honorius sert donc de nouveau de contre-modèle d'un prince ou d'un chef d'Etat capable.

En 1847, une année avant le Printemps des peuples, la figure de l'empereur Honorius redevient exemplaire. Dans son *Histoire des Révolutions de Paris*, Jean-Gabriel Cappot-Feuillide (1800-1863) propose l'image habituelle d'un prince « inepte »⁵⁷, « lâche », « imbécile », « tranquillement enfermé dans ses marais inaccessibles de Ravenne »⁵⁸. Suite au conflit entre Honorius et le général Constantin qui débarque à Boulogne :

« ...un long cri de stupeur et d'indignation s'éleva contre cet Empire ignoble, où, même au plus fort des désastres d'une invasion, les prétendants et les empereurs savaient trouver pour leurs querelles des soldats dont pas un n'était armé pour sa défense. Et en 409, des grèves sablonneuses de l'Aquitaine aux rochers sourcilleux de l'Armorique, des sources de la Dordogne à l'embouchure de la Seine, toutes les populations qui habitaient le long des côtes de la mer et des rives des grands fleuves, à l'exception des provinces du centre, de l'Auvergne et de la Somme, se soulevèrent contre cette infâme administration romaine, dont les restes ne s'attachaient à elles que comme les vers à un cadavre, pour ronger ce que les Barbares avaient oublié. Elles la chassèrent ignominieusement à coups de fourches ; puis, se souvenant de l'édit de Théodose qui avait dit aux cités : « Si l'ennemi débarque, armez-vous de la manière que vous pourrez, et défendez contre lui vos personnes et vos biens, » elles se déclarèrent indépendantes et pourvurent à leur gouvernement et à leur salut.

Alors seulement les Empereurs sortirent de leur ignominieuse apathie...⁵⁹

Le passage paraît être une version dramatisée de la description de la Bagaudie donnée par Martin. De nouveau, il est question d'un esprit révolutionnaire gaulois

⁵⁵ Chateaubriand 1838, 444.

⁵⁶ Chateaubriand 1997, livre XVI, chapitre 10.

⁵⁷ Feuillide 1847, 200.

⁵⁸ Feuillide 1847, 204.

⁵⁹ Feuillide 1847, 204-205.

précurseur de celui français, qui mène à un Etat gaulois indépendant pourtant éphémère suite à la répression impériale. Honorius apparaît encore une fois comme l'ennemi du peuple et de l'indépendance gauloise, un ennemi

« non à la mesure du mal, mais à la taille de (*son*) intelligence, de (*sa*) lâcheté et de la bassesse formaliste de (*son*) temps⁶⁰. »

Sa méchanceté n'est donc pas méchanceté en elle-même, mais dérive de ses défauts et des protocoles qui ont cours à son époque. Or, dans son introduction, Feuillide désapprouve précisément ces systèmes de règles⁶¹, dont il relève, pour le règne d'Honorius, la vanité :

« (*Rome*) fabriquait des lois pour gouverner les peuples qu'elle n'avait plus⁶². »

A travers Honorius, c'est donc un système d'Etat gangrené qui est attaqué.

Textes à fin religieuse

L'image négative d'Honorius se retrouve aussi dans des textes à fin religieuse. Ainsi le père Marie-Joseph de Géramb (1772-1848) décrit Honorius et Arcadius de la façon suivante :

« ces fils du grand Théodose ne possédoient aucune des belles qualités de leur père. Également incapables de gouverner par eux-mêmes et de se choisir de bons ministres, ils donnèrent leur confiance à des ambitieux, qui, pour se rendre nécessaires, troublèrent l'empire et y appelèrent même les Barbares⁶³. »

Raison du jugement de l'auteur semble être la destruction de l'empire romain de Théodose le Grand, dont le règne, avec la soumission de l'ensemble de l'Europe méridionale, de la Gaule et de l'Afrique du Nord au catholicisme, doit représenter l'âge d'or de l'Eglise, dont Honorius et ses successeurs ont causé la perte.

Cependant, plus tôt, Géramb avait évoqué sa douleur face aux ruines de la basilique de Saint-Paul en écrivant :

« cet édifice, commencé par le grand Théodose, achevé par son fils Honorius, embelli par tant d'empereurs et de pontifes... a été brûlé en 1823⁶⁴. »

Ainsi, Honorius s'inscrit dans la liste des grands bâtisseurs d'édifices religieux.

⁶⁰ Feuillide 1847, 206.

⁶¹ Feuillide 1847, VI.

⁶² Feuillide 1847, 206.

⁶³ Géramb 1838, 307 (lettre XIX, Rome, le 2 avril 1838).

⁶⁴ De Géramb 1838, 254.

Une image plus clémente est donnée en 1847 par l'*Encyclopédie catholique, répertoire universel et raisonné*, ouvrage que nous n'avons pas traité avec les autres encyclopédies à cause de son caractère religieux déclaré :

« Ce prince doux, aimable et exempt de vices n'avait cependant aucun des talents nécessaires pour gouverner Rome dans un siècle où les barbares et les tyrans démembraient à l'envi les provinces romaines... Il mourut d'une hydropisie, après un règne de 28 ans, en 423, laissant la réputation d'un prince inhabile aux affaires et esclave de ses ministres⁶⁵. »

Honorius n'a pas de vices tels la lâcheté ou la stupidité, il est seulement inhabile à une époque qui ne lui est pas favorable. La même encyclopédie justifie la mort de Stilichon qui « forma le projet de détrôner Honorius et d'élever son fils Eucher à l'Empire »⁶⁶.

Elle remarque cependant que :

« Quelques historien ont cru ce grand homme innocent, et on a vu dans sa chute une des causes qui ont précipité la décadence de l'empire d'Orient⁶⁷. »

Dans d'autres articles, Honorius est mentionné voire loué pour ses lois contre les hérétiques et les païens et l'abolissement des jeux de gladiateurs⁶⁸. Ces lois sont aussi évoqués dans *Le christianisme jugé par ses œuvres ou de l'influence de la religion chrétienne sur le droit public européen...* de l'abbé Aristide Laviron (dates inconnues), paru en 1855⁶⁹, mais sans que l'auteur s'attarde davantage sur la personne du prince.

Le contraste entre la personnalité « faible » d'Honorius qui n'ose pas combattre Alaric⁷⁰ et ses lois innovatrices tant en matière religieuse que civile ressort à la fin du siècle, en 1896, chez Alfred Rastoul (1832-19??), dans son essai historique *L'Action sociale de l'Eglise* :

« Ce ne fut certainement pas un grand prince que le faible Honorius ; cependant avec son frère Arcadius, il poursuivit l'œuvre de Constantin et de Théodose ; une loi des deux empereurs disait : « La peine ne doit pas s'étendre là où le crime ne s'est pas étendu. Ne permettez pas qu'on accuse les parents, les amis des coupables quand ils n'ont pas été leurs complices. » Pour nous, qui vivons dans une civilisation chrétienne, cette prescription nous paraîtra toute naturelle ; il était loin d'en être de même dans l'empire romain, même après un siècle de christianisme. Le règne d'Honorius fut surtout marqué par la disparition des combats de gladiateurs⁷¹. »

⁶⁵ Glaire 1847, 770-771.

⁶⁶ Glaire 1848, 577.

⁶⁷ Glaire 1848, 577.

⁶⁸ P. ex. Glaire 1847, 516 (gladiateur) ; 712 (hérésie).

⁶⁹ Laviron 1857, 125 ; 181 ; 186 ; 238.

⁷⁰ Rastoul 1896, 178.

⁷¹ Rastoul 1896, 135-136.

Notons qu'une position similaire à ceux des auteurs précédents, qui condamne les défauts Honorius et loue son œuvre législative, se retrouve dans des textes catholiques allemands du XIX^e siècle⁷². Il en va de même de l'ouvrage protestant *Histoire générale du christianisme dans toutes les contrées où il a pénétré depuis le temps de Jésus-Christ* traduit en 1838 par le pasteur genevois Ami Bost (1790-1874) de l'original allemand du pasteur bâlois C.G. Blumhardt, mort cette même année :

« quoique faibles d'esprit et de caractère, (*Honorius et Arcadius*) s'attachèrent à exécuter et même à renforcer les lois de leur père contre le paganisme : ils retirèrent à toute espèce de prêtres païens leurs privilèges, et aux temples leurs revenus : on abattit les autels, les idoles, et les bois sacrés voués à l'idolâtrie, et on en employa les matériaux pour construire des édifices publics ou à couvrir les routes. Et quoiqu'il restât encore pendant long-temps (*sic*) quelques traces de l'ancienne idolâtrie cachées dans quelques coins reculés, le paganisme avait reçu son coup de mort définitif⁷³. »

Dans les milieux chrétiens, l'empereur Honorius, loin de devenir un prince vertueux, est présenté au moins comme méritant pour ce qui en est de son œuvre législative, soit parce qu'il défend l'orthodoxie, soit parce que ses lois font preuve d'humanité.

Jean-Paul Laurens (1838–1921)

A la fin du XIX^e siècle, l'empereur Honorius devient le sujet de toiles à succès. En 1870, Jean-Paul Laurens peint un *Saint Ambroise instruisant Honorius* dont la localisation actuelle est inconnue, mais dont il existe des estampes par Pierre Teyssonnières, auxquelles nous n'avons pas eu accès. En 1880 naît le tableau *Le Bas-Empire ; Honorius*. Le prince y est représenté enfant, vers le moment de son couronnement. Assis sur un trône trop élevé, il porte l'ensemble des insignes impériaux qui sont disproportionnés pour lui. Ses paupières mi-closes, ses yeux peu brillants et ses lèvres entrouvertes lui confèrent un air de somnolence et de mollesse.

Les critiques de l'époque reçoivent ce tableau comme une expression géniale de la décadence de l'empire romain. Ainsi Edmond About (1828-1885) juge que le

« tableau du *Bas-Empire*...condense dans le personnage d'un éphèbe idiot, somnolent et brutal, *Honorius*. Rien de plus singulier à première vue, mais rien de plus puissant que cette incarnation de la décadence impériale⁷⁴. »

Cette interprétation du tableau exprime la même idée d'un prince faible, qui est véhiculée par les auteurs français du XIX^e siècle. Si elle correspond au sens que le

⁷² P. ex. Nelk 1836, 151-162.

⁷³ Bost 1838, 202.

⁷⁴ Musée d'Orsay 1997, 101-102.

peintre, un républicain convaincu, a voulu donner à sa toile, elle peut être une allusion rétrospective au Prince impérial et à la décadence qui avait marqué, aux yeux d'aucuns, le Second Empire.

Rencontrant un succès immédiat, le tableau est présenté à plusieurs salons et expositions et reproduit dans des gravures dans différents journaux tant français qu'étrangers. Il finira par influencer un peintre anglais qui en tirera sa première grande œuvre :

En 1883, John William Waterhouse (1849-1917) crée sa grande toile *The Favourites of the Emperor Honorius*, après en avoir remanié deux fois la composition. Dans la version définitive, le jeune homme Honorius est assis à l'avant-plan, sur un trône placé dans une niche, qui contraste avec une statue d'Auguste au fond de la salle. Du bras gauche allongé il tient un plat, alors que de la droite, il nourrit un pigeon. Des pigeons et des dindons - mais pas de poules - occupent également l'espace du tapis étalé devant le trône tandis que, au milieu de la salle, des notables et clercs se tiennent inclinés, les traits marqués par la peur et le désarroi. Un porteur d'étendard se tient droit, collé contre le mur entre le trône et la statue, tandis qu'à l'arrière-plan deux serviteurs regardent le prince avec impertinence. Le titre de l'œuvre, la distribution des figures et des zones d'ombre et de lumière indiquent clairement que les favoris d'Honorius sont les pigeons et dindons⁷⁵. L'inspiration pour cette œuvre ne viendrait cependant pas directement de Gibbon qui mentionnait les volailles, mais d'un roman historique de Wilkie Collins (1824-1889), *Antonina, or The Fall of Rome*, qui, à son tour, reprend Gibbon, pour faire d'Honorius l'image même de la décadence :

« In the midst of a large flock of poultry, which seemed strangely misplaced on a floor of marble and under a gilded roof, stood a pale, thin, debilitated youth, magnificently clothed, and holding in his hand a silver vase filled with grain, which he ever and anon distributed to the cackling multitude at his feet. Nothing could be more pitiably effeminate than the appearance of this young man. His eyes were heavy and vacant, his forehead low and retiring, his cheeks sallow, and his form curved as if with a premature old age. An unmeaning smile dilated his thin, colourless lips; and as he looked down on his strange favourites, he occasionally whispered to them a few broken expressions of endearment, almost infantine in their simplicity. His whole soul seemed to be engrossed by the labour of distributing his grain, and he followed the different movements of the poultry with an earnestness of attention which seemed almost idiotic in its ridiculous intensity. If it be asked, why a person so contemptible as this solitary youth has been introduced with so much care, and described with so much minuteness, it must be answered, that, though destined to form no important figure in this work, he played, from his position, a remarkable part in the great drama on which it is founded--for this feeder of chickens was no less a person than Honorius, Emperor of Rome... When the imperial trifler had exhausted his store of grain, and satisfied the cravings of his voracious favourites, he was

⁷⁵ Trippi 2002, 51-54.

relieved of his silver vase by two attendants. The flock of poultry was then ushered out at one door, while the flock of geniuses was ushered in at the other⁷⁶. »

Conclusion

Sur la base de ces échantillons de textes, nous devons conclure qu'au XIX^e siècle, l'image d'Honorius est presque intégralement négative, que ce soit à cause de l'incapacité du prince de diriger les affaires de l'Etat ou parce qu'il ruine l'indépendance gauloise. L'aspect le plus positif de l'empereur est son rôle de contre-exemple édifiant, comme chef d'Etat incapable, qui peut même mener à douter du bien fondé de la monarchie héréditaire ou sert à condamner les régimes du début du siècle. Seuls quelques auteurs, surtout ecclésiastiques ou proches de l'Eglise, relèvent du bout des lèvres ses mérites en matière de législation religieuse et civile.

Cette image négative existe sans doute déjà au XVII^e siècle et provient peut-être encore de la Renaissance. Ce qui est nouveau au XIX^e siècle, c'est la critique, à travers le prince, de l'institution monarchique elle-même et, surtout, son implication dans une histoire gauloise censée annoncer la Nation française.

Par contre, il n'y a aucune réinterprétation du caractère d'Honorius. En général, les auteurs pleurent la fin de l'empire romain dont l'incapacité et la passivité du prince seraient une sinon la cause. Personne n'est prêt à accepter cette fin comme un destin inévitable, la fin des grands empires étant encore loin. Ce n'est qu'au lendemain de la Seconde Guerre mondiale qu'un écrivain suisse fait ce pas et transforme Honorius en prince philosophe qui a su réaliser que rien ni personne ne pouvait arrêter le cours de l'histoire. Mais Friedrich Dürrenmatt a préféré appeler son œuvre dramatique *Romulus le Grand* plutôt que *Honorius le Grand*.

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⁷⁶ Collins 1850, chapitre 2, The Court.

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Philippe Henri Blasen

Centre de Documentation sur les Migrations humaines, Dudelange
philippe.blasen@yahoo.fr

REVIEWS

Ioana A. Oltean, *Dacia: Landscape, Colonisation, Romanisation*. Routledge Monographs in Classical Studies, London–New York, Routledge 2007, 264 pages, 79 figures.

Over the last decade, auxiliary methods of historical and archaeological research have become increasingly popular. These non-destructive methods, based on aerial photographs, archaeometry, LiDAR scanning, geophysical studies led to spectacular and valuable results, which support and pick up the research pace. Ioana Oltean's book, whose pioneering research in the field leads the way to other interested researchers, joins such trend. Ioana Oltean is a Lecturer in archaeology at the University of Exeter, Great Britain. While writing the book, she was a post-doctoral fellow researcher of the British Academy at the University of Glasgow. She had defended her PhD thesis at the same University, study for which she benefited of a doctoral scholarship from the University and British Government. This book is based on her doctoral thesis titled "*Later prehistoric and Roman rural settlement pattern in Western Transylvania*" and contributed to her appointment with the University of Exeter. The landscape of Roman Dacia is well known to the author, who studied history at the "Babeş-Bolyai" University of Cluj. As early as the first year as a student, her focus was Roman archaeology. She was involved as student in the archaeological excavations at Colonia Dacica Sarmizegetusa, capital of Roman Dacia. After graduating, she was employed by the National History Museum of Transylvania, where she participated in several archaeological excavations and archaeological aerial reconnaissance programmes.

The analysed book tackles the impact of the Roman conquest and Romanisation on the Dacian natives, both socially and on their settlements, from the broad view of the archaeological landscape. Analysis is made on the territory from central Dacia for the pre- and Roman periods - respectively Dacia Superior.

The first chapter comprises the introduction, where the author presents the state of research of Roman Dacia and methodology and method issues. Archaeological sources on which Roman archaeology in Romania is based are dependent on the performed research, which mainly consisted in excavations carried out in Roman forts and towns. Villas and rural settlements were less investigated. Under the communism, two large, political themes affected archaeological research and led to distorted historical interpretation. One was that of the Marxism-Leninism, historians being forced to think and write history accordingly. The other theme was that of the Daco-Roman continuity, construed in order to counterpart the Hungarian historiography which claimed the antecedence of the Hungarian population in Transylvania. The author notes the lack in the past of a national system for the record and collection of data on the sites' location, as well as the lack of databases that would make them accessible on the internet, CIMEC being the only site of the sort. Past excavation methodology

is also criticised, which often paid no importance to timber-an-earth phases and failed to record various construction or repair phases of stone buildings. Thus, the chronology of some of the investigated sites is not always accurate. Archaeology was for a long time confused with excavations. Only non-systematic field research which resulted in the collection of material removed from tillage and the approximate delimitation of the site were carried out. Geophysical research performed in some of the sites was limited to them, and did not expand to their hinterland.

In a history of aerial investigations of the sites until the publishing date of the book, the author underlines existent burdens in the communist and post-communist period. The programme of aerial photography of the University of Glasgow in cooperation with the National Museum of Transylvanian History was the first programme of the kind in Romania. Having as investigation area the SW Transylvania with the mid valley of Mureş river and Țara Hațegului, the results of the programme underlay this book. The work attempts to answer the following questions: in what way did the Roman conquest affect the native landscape; which were the factors that determined the choice for a settlement and which were the decisive factors in the choice of a certain settlement type; whether one may detect any arguments in the support of the settlements' establishment following a directed policy or whether the impact of the Roman colonists was the product of multiple individual strategies; whether the conquest generated a perceptible resistance from the natives; how did the Romanisation process develop in Dacia. The book wishes thus to be an alternate interpretation of the Romanisation process in Dacia.

Chapter two deals with the natural environment from west Transylvania, topographical, climatic, resources and landscape changes from Late Antiquity to Modern times. Natural conditions in the area under analysis present all advantages to attract human settling, so no wonder that it became Dacia's heart.

Chapter three tackles the historical circumstances and historical sources on the Dacians and their conquest by the Romans.

Chapter four approaches the settlements and society in the late pre-Roman Iron Age. Methodologically, the author rejects the classification of settlements according to I. Glodariu's¹ and G. Gheorghiu's² typologies. The classification proposed by I. Glodariu was especially based on architectural criteria, which makes that settlements of high status be best known. Though these typologies admitted the importance of surveying, existent resources are deemed secondary, priority in the choice of a settlement being the possibility for defence. However, the manner of awarding hillforts a purpose exclusively military is, in the author's view as well, an approach outdated by most recent research, as they turn into the centres of a more spread settlement, while the distinction between hillforts and fortified settlements is most often insufficient on the basis of the current level of information. The exclusion of the hillforts and lowland settlements makes this typology incomplete. The author criticises also J. G. Nandriş's³ and K. Lockear's⁴ typolo-

¹ Glodariu 1983.

² Gheorghiu 2005.

³ Nandriş 1976.

⁴ Lockear 2004.

gies (as incomplete and unsatisfying). Nandriș's typology excludes low and mid altitude settlements and is suitable only to archaeological remains in Orăștiei Mountains. Lockyear's typology extends the typology of the settlements in Orăștiei Mountains to the rest of the territory, which leads to a distorted image of the type. Or, the area from Orăștiei Mountains is an exception, for it developed in response to exceptional activities. These typologies fail to use an accurate terminology, since the term "settlement" is used by Glodariu, while Nandriș prefers that of "site", though the terms are not synonymous. The author believes distinction based on the community size that each site type accommodates must be made, between aggregate settlements and individual settlements. However, the sites' micro and macro-structures must be connected, at the landscape scale of the space that functioned as a settlement.

Chapter four discusses the landscape inhabiting. Previous research tended to establish sites' chronologies according to the artifacts, yet without stratigraphic reference. Thus, simply "Dacian" or "La Tène" were deemed sufficient indications. For the La Tène period, based on analogies with other such settlements in Britannia, Gallia and Pannonia, the author established the existence of 20 aggregate settlements and 80 individual settlements. In the studied area, aggregate settlements were divided by previous authors depending on the presence or absence of the fortification, into fortified and open settlements. Still as such, fortified settlements were differentiated from hillforts by the fact they were larger, while hillforts were designed for the chieftain and his garrison. The author rejects such distinction which she finds problematic as long as in only a few cases, the inner settlements were investigated and such definitions are based on the presence or absence of *murus dacicus*, though it is restricted to the area of Orăștiei Mountains. On the other hand, many of the hillforts were centres of much larger settlements. In what individual homesteads are concerned, insofar only six settlements were recognized as such. To these, the author adds an additional of 13-15, to which, although the settlement type has not yet been identified, a small inhabitancy area was noted. Another category of settlements, intermediary, whose significance escaped previous studies, is represented by tower-houses. Until present, they were considered part of the defensive system⁵. The author believes that one of the strong arguments against their purely defensive role is they are provided with a large number of adjacent buildings, which would account for a more extended auxiliary settlement. Based on analogies with other such structures, for instance the Sardinian nuraghes⁶, the author assigns these towers a role rather residential than defensive and may be related to the emergence among the elites of a category of warriors more likely directly associated to the political leadership. They are a type of settlement of higher significance than villages and homesteads, being exceeded from this standpoint only by hillforts. Fortified sites, hillforts or fortified settlements were approached insofar exclusively from a political-strategic view to the detriment of the analysis of political-administrative or economic functions⁷. Thus, the author believes that the presence of *murus dacicus* is indicative of the social status and not the permanent or temporary

⁵ Glodariu et alii 1996; Gheorghiu 2005.

⁶ Trump 1991, 163-168.

⁷ Glodariu 1983; Gheorghiu 2001.

character of the site occupancy. Her arguments are based on several results of finds thus far, which show there was a symbiotic relationship between hillforts and the additional settlement, by which they proved their status and importance. The more important the hillfort, the more elaborate the settlement. I. Oltean challenges previous analyses⁸, which, tributary to old theories, prior to the introduction of modern surveying and aerial photography of the British Iron age⁹, deny the existence of settlements in lower regions. The discovery of the hillfort at Cigmău via aerial photography amends the theory according to which they were located only in the mountains. 39 of the sites discussed in the chapter - 14 at higher altitudes and 15 in the lowlands - were occupied as early as prehistory. The density of inhabitation in the Orăștiei Mountains, with settlements at less than 1 km apart, and which is not found anywhere else in Dacia, is due, according to the author, either to the very late chronology of the sites, where their emergence would be due to the political and social factors, or to the fact that most of them are of scattered character. Concerning farming, the author believes less likely the seasonal theory of grain farming and animal breeding, as there should have existed very large settlements in the upper-mid-altitude belt, as well as a very elaborate network of roads. The recently investigated settlement at Vințu de Jos proved a high potential of grain storage, which makes possible that such capacity of the other settlements be underrepresented. Thus, attentions refocus from altitude settlements to those in the lowlands would lead to rapid statistical changes. In what the social landscape is concerned, social layers are also visible in settlement types by hillforts and stone architecture. The traditional interpretation of the fortified sites is that of local equivalents of tribal centres in the Celtic world, Glodariu often using analogies with Gallia¹⁰. I. Ferenczi¹¹ believes that a tribe union must have comprised a few such fortified sites that would have remained important strategically and such circumstances would have perpetuated in the Dacian state. The basis of this information is literary¹². The author considers that the archaeological picture is yet different from that of the Celtic *oppida*. Thus, the form and size of the defensive sites is variable and mirrors not only the size of the group, but also its social structure. If during the Hallstatt, some of the largest fortified settlements in Europe were in existence in Transylvania, during the La Tène period they become smaller, which may be indicative of social changes and the emergence of aristocratic/royal sites. Their function was until present invariably interpreted as strategic. However, according to the author, who¹³, believes that even though the residential function of the hillforts is recorded only in the area of the tower-houses inside, similarly to Britannia, it is possible that their position had more to do with social psychology, while stone architecture was used as outer display of the social status. Tower-houses may be interpreted as an extension of the elites' houses past the walls. Those inside the hillforts, may be the

⁸ Gheorghiu 2001, 88-89.

⁹ Fox 1933, 82.

¹⁰ Glodariu 1983, 72.

¹¹ Ferenczi 1988, 127-159.

¹² Ptol. *Geog.* III 8.1-4.

¹³ See Hamilton, Manly 2001, 7-42; Williams 2003, 223-255.

houses of chieftains or kings, satellite tower-houses may house noblemen, those *hetairoi*. Their geographic distribution also points to their clustering around power centres.

Chapter five tackles the Roman social landscape, namely the changes brought by the Roman colonists and their influence in social, economic and communication activities. Alike the case of the La Tène period, research methods used insofar are analysed there. A noted lack is that small urban settlements (small towns) were omitted from urban and rural studies for the simple fact there is no written record of their status¹⁴. Other omission that Ioana Oltean noticed is that terms *vicus* or *villa* were applied on the basis of very little archaeological evidence, so that previous studies mention no *stationes*, *mansiones* or rural temples. These studies also tackle *villae* and *vici* from a rather architectural than functional view. There are few sites recognized in research as belonging to the Dacians and very few recording inhabitancy continuity from pre-Roman to Roman periods. Moreover, at the date when the author wrote the book, the space division within an administrative territory was unknown. The types of Roman period settlements are treated by the author archaeologically, without emphasis on literary and epigraphic sources at the scale of the Roman Empire. In terms of villas and homesteads, the author mentions that by aerial reconnaissance, field walking accompanied by geophysical survey, via the Apulum Hinterland Project and Aerial Reconnaissance of Western Transylvania villas like those at Oarda (two), Şibot or Vințu de Jos were identified. Subsequent to the preventive excavations on the Simeria-Orăştie highway in the last couple of years, at Şibot was noted the existence of a settlement, most likely of small town type. It is mentioned that the *villae* excavators did not recognize the different building phases, especially in relation to the introduction of heating systems (*hypocaust*) and corridor levels. As a result, their future accurate reinterpretation might produce a reviewed typology of the villas in both Dacia and its neighbouring provinces. The terms “village” and “small town” are used to designate aggregate settlements. Though Ioana Oltean believes that previous scholars dealt only with the legal and administrative status of the settlements, *vicus-pagus*, *civitates*, without yet having delimited the municipal territories and number of settlements, the author makes no literary and epigraphic analysis, but focuses mainly on archaeological evidence. She identifies two main types: villages that follow a pre-Roman architectural model, which are the majority and those of Roman architectural type, which are yet harder to identify owing to methodological deficiencies. In what the location of sites is concerned, the author notes that villas are located around large towns: Sarmizegetusa - 30 *villae* and at Apulum - 28, being favoured in what access to Roman goods by roads and river transports is concerned. Thus, the sites with Roman building material are located at up to 3 km distance from roads, while sites only with shards predominate at more than 3 km. Hence, the relation to the transport system was an important factor in the architectonical Romanisation process, similarly to Pannonia. Romanised architecture mirrors availability rather than ethnicity. It is noteworthy that smaller centres like Aiud, Cigmău and Războieni, important as trade centres per se, should have fulfilled the same administrative role as

¹⁴ Protase 1968, 502-511; Tudor 1969, 319-328.

Micia and Călan, since they were located at 15–17 km in-between and/or larger urban centres like Apulum and Sarmizegetusa. In the assessment of the Roman social landscape, the author criticises the fact that interprovincial comparative studies paid not enough attention to chronology. This would explain why villas in Dacia never reached the level of those in Britannia, Pannonia or Moesia, where the most elaborate and sophisticated, attempting to display social status and power, appear by the end of the 3rd – early 4th centuries. Or, Dacia, whose *villae* exhibit aspects not dissimilar to early *villae* from other provinces, was abandoned after mid 3rd century. It is also necessary that both the social status of *villae* owners and their ethnicity by material culture be more accurately defined, compared to what the archaeology of Dacia currently uses. Thus, the *villa* at Mănerău is indicative, by its sizes, of a higher wealth degree than that at Cinciş, however smaller villas like that at Deva may suggest a considerable level of wealth by inventory details or interior design. Settlements of traditional architecture and those which continue to be occupied from the pre-Roman period are indicative of a trend for architectural Romanisation, which accounts for a great predisposition to acculturation. In what *vici militares* are concerned, none was granted municipal status except for Porolissum and Tibiscum, which, according to the author, was due to the fact that body of Roman citizens was not large enough under Septimius Severus in order to justify such status. Noting the resemblance between the houses of the pre-Roman natives from Lun cani and Sarmizegetusa Regia to the type of *villae* in this part of Europe, the author hypothesises on a pre-Roman origin of the villas from Dacia, similarly to the West of the Empire, based on their orientation, division of internal space and access means, gradually, to the various rooms of such *villae*. Furthermore, the fine Dacian pottery from Sîntămăria de Piatră might account for the fact that the *villa* would have been owned by members of the local native elite. According to the results of the archaeological excavations, the villas at Răhău, Şeuşa and Chinteni, the latter in Dacia Prolissensis, were inhabited in the pre-Roman period. Hypocausts without fire prints and mixed hoards, consisting of Roman Republican and Imperial *denarii* together with the Dacian and Greek coins suggest the relation between the continuous wealth growth prior and after the Roman conquest. The absence of the natives from epigraphy should be explained in a different manner than their absence from the higher echelon of society. Dacian pottery in Roman contexts and the building techniques represent, according to Ioana Oltean, a rather temporary cultural reminiscence, a form of cultural conservatism than the deliberate rejection of the Roman culture.

Chapter six deals with the Romanisation of the landscape. The Romans built their settlements mainly in the plains, without completely eliminating those in the mountains, with a single exception – Sarmizegetusa Regia –, which was deliberately avoided. Traditional interpretation is based on classical sources, reporting that the area around Sarmizegetusa was deliberately depopulated and settlements moved to lowlands. The type of monumental architecture in the Orăştiei Mountains is found nowhere in any of the Dacian settlements of Roman period. On the contrary, they look alike lowland pre-Roman Dacian villages, with sunken/semi-sunken houses and storage pits. Once with the Roman conquest, hillforts and tower-houses disappear, yet

only at Sarmizegetusa Regia and Meleia there is clear evidence of their destruction during their use.

In conclusion, Ioana Oltean's book represents a important contribution, necessary and long expected in the interpretation of pre-Roman and Roman Dacia, which radically distances itself from traditional views, accepted insofar as such by the archaeological research. By awarding deserved attention to archaeological survey, aerial, systematic field walking and geophysical research, neglected and often disvalued by scholars, yet also based on the most recent contributions in the field, the author drafts a new typology and hierarchy of the settlements in the Late Iron Age and Roman period, different than the traditional based on elite hillforts and mass villages. The settlements typology and Romanisation pattern of the province of Dacia proposed by the author would remain a reference for the archaeological research in Romania and this part of Europe.

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Carmen Ciongradi

National History Museum of Transylvania, Cluj-Napoca
ciongradi.carmen@mnit.ro

Alexander Heising, Die römische Stadtmauer von Mogontiacum – Mainz. Archäologische, historische und numismatische Aspekte zum 3. und 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr., Verlag Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, Bonn 2008; VIII + 353 pages, 50 figures, 32 plates, 23 tables.

Today, given the unprecedented quantitative development of the historical literature, works that evidence a genuine diligence in exhausting a subject matter are not many at all. The patience that any thorough analyses require – time consuming to a great extent – is replaced by the desire for immediate partial results, despite their most likely soon enough invalidation and often, shifting to the sphere of the facile.

The book which we are delighted to popularize belongs to the category of those lengthily prepared and of good quality finished product. The fact remains that unfortunate financial circumstances, which belated its publishing, were also involved in the extended preparation. The author, Alexander Heising, is currently professor of Roman provincial archaeology with the “Albert-Ludwig” University of Freiburg im Breisgau. The volume originates in the MA dissertation *Die römische Stadtmauer von Mainz – Grundlagen ihren Datierung* completed in 1992, subsequently also benefiting of the doctoral thesis’ results concerning the potters in the Roman settlement at Mogontiacum. Although it was ready for print as early as 1997, financial hindrances led to a situation that one would believe unfathomable in Germany: the book will be published only in 2008! Though it is not upgraded at the current year’s level, still, it was completed with references where deemed absolutely necessary.

The volume obviously starts with a *Foreword* (p. [VII] *sq.*), detailing the genesis of the work, the little information we mentioned above on this matter being overtaken from these introductory pages.

A first section of the volume considers the *Topography and history of research* (p. [1]-11). There, the author clarifies the term “Stadt-Mauer” (“town wall”). In fact, when built, namely a few years after mid-3rd century AD, the wall defended the *cana-bae* of the legionary camp, as only later Mogontiacum would become a proper town also legally. Within the text, the term “Stadt-Mauer” would be used in a general way, for both the legal statuses of the settlement (p. 2 with n. 5).

The precinct had been documented in 52 points by the year 1997, insufficient though for a complete reconstruction of its route. In fact, this precinct underwent two construction stages: the first – just after half 3rd century AD; the second – after the legionary fortress was abandoned, around AD 355, when the route of the novel wall would cross the surface of the former fortification (p. 2). During the first stage, it is very likely that part of the respective wall also extended south-west the fortress, which was thus surrounded by precinct segments on at least three sides. Subsequently, in the 4th century, the surface that the precinct protected would be more reduced, as its south-western side would be built northwards, precisely through the surface of the

then deserted legionary fortification. Nonetheless, the wall route on the south-eastern side during both stages remains unclear (p. 4).

The groundwork of the Roman wall of the first stage would be reused, on several portions, in the construction of the medieval city fortification, except for the side facing the Rhine (p. 2; see also 6 with n. 13; 10 with n. 37; 181).

We underline the author's contribution, via his own archaeological research, in confirming the previous hypothesis according to which the "wall" had not one, but two stages of existence (p. 11, 65-67 - F[und] S[telle] 56).

The catalogue of find spots is the second part of the work (p. 13-71). 61 spots where finds emerged were discussed in order to clarify the precinct route and the chronology of some of its portions. Among respective points, FS 6, 8, 15a, 16 and 59 became known through this work.

The assessment of the first stage of the precinct (FS 1-28) spreads over a generous number of pages (73-179). The author appreciates that the functioning duration of its south-western segment also extends over the 4th century (p. 77 sq.). Dendrological data provided special insights in what the construction time of the wall in this first stage is concerned. In the case of the Rhine-wards side, it was possible to analyse the beams arranged below the foundations for higher stability (see for the construction system Abb. 3a). Most of the logs from where the beams were made were cut between 252 and 253 (254) (p. 88-90). It is noteworthy though that the sample under analysis comprised only 23 beams out of ca. 13,300 estimated to have been used for the complete route (p. 94). In addition, the relative chronology of the pottery related to the wall evidences that the north-west side was built in the second third of the 3rd century AD (p. 87).

Al. Heising attempted to deduce a more specific time for the fortification construction start date. On the basis of the available dendrological data, it was placed after April or May of 253, or, even more restricted, not long before respective year's September or October (p. 94).

The establishment of the historical framework of the building works carried out is made *in extenso* (p. 95-179), the author initiating discussion even with the anti-German campaign of Caracalla in AD 213. We are not dealing only with a successful synthesis, but with pages wherein critical emphasis is always apparent and the personal view, pertinent. Certain remarks not strictly concerning the subject matter of the paper seem excellent to us. For instance, when referring to the "*psychological effects of a vexillation being raised*" and invoking cases closer to present days, Al. Heising underlines that the family members of those soldiers in the campaigning vexillation envied the soldiers remained in garrison, which further more affected the military defence capacity (p. 99, note 232).

Joining other specialists, Al. Heising agrees that a clue for the displacement of certain units from certain garrisons to the Eastern campaigns would be the high percentage of eastern coin issues in the monetary circulation from respective stationing places (p. 100). Naturally, the pay of the soldiers involved in the confrontations from the East of the Empire had been paid - at a higher rate than usually - with coins struck in state mints found in the East. The presence there of additional units arriving from the west also determined an increased bronze civic coin production, which was

obviously also used by the soldiers¹. They later returned “home” in the possession of both coin types. Applied judiciously, the method of analysis appears viable, being also used by the Romanian scholars².

Three coin hoards discovered in places where garrisons were located - at Niederbieber, Zugmantel and Eining - might suggest that certain vexillations were dispatched from these points in Maximinus Thrax's war against the Dacians (and the Sarmatians, we would add) of 236 (p. 111). Although their value as a source in this matter is not entirely certain, if confirmed, one would deal with one of the few cases when the identity of the Roman troops opposed to the two peoples would be accurately known.

The author argues that the vexillation from legion XXII Primigenia involved in the Carpien war under Philippus Arabs and later in the erection of the precinct wall of Romula, would have left Mogontiacum by the end of 245 or the beginning of the following year (p. 114, see also 174)³. However, it is possible that the war against the Carpi did not take place in 245-247, as generally believed, but in 247-248⁴. Therefore, the date of the legion's departure from its camp should be appreciated as such.

Agreeing with L. Okamura, Al. Heising believes that title *Germanicus Maximus* worn by Philippus Arabs in 247, together with that of *Carpicus Maximus*, is the result of the victory against the Goths, allies of the Carpi, and not over the Franks or Alemanni (p. 114 sq., see also 174)⁵.

The fact that the coins issued under Phillipus Arabs are the last to be more frequently found in Germania Superior *limes* area (those struck under Traianus Decius being more rare) (p. 116) is not surprising. When appreciated globally, circumstances are the same in Dacia as well.

Although the author rejects, based on methodology and justly, Barbara Pferdehirt's conclusion that the inhabitants of the military *vicus* at Holzhausen would have been received in the nearby fort during the second third of the 3rd century (p. 132, note 433 sq.), he supposes that after 230, the civilian population of the open settlements in the *limes* area moved increasingly and chiefly towards the closest areas where forts or fortified cities lay (p. 133, see also 140), which seems to us very likely.

The city precinct enclosed the area *intra leugam*, hence the *canabae legionis* (p. 152), the legate of *Germania Superior* and the emperor being the supporters of its

¹ The phenomenon of the issue or increased civic Roman coin issue in occasion of the Eastern wars was due to the necessity for the circulation of the small denominations that the soldiers needed (together with those trained in their presence) and does not mirror logistic obligations imposed to respective cities by their presence. Convincingly to this effect, Ziegler 1996.

² Dana, Nemeti 2001, 253 sq.; Benea 2004-2005, 178-180 = Benea 2006a, 105-107; Benea 2006b, 694-697; see already for the way in which these coins reached Dacia: e.g. Mitrea 1968, 212; Mitrea 1971, 125; cf. Pişlaru 2009, 83, 97, 106, 110, 112 sq., 118 sq., 384, 390 sq., 394 sq.

³ It was also hypothesized they were not legion soldiers displaced from *Mogontiacum*, but soldiers marching home from the Eastern war theatre: Petolescu 1995, 149; Petolescu 2007 (= Petolescu 1996), 124; Petolescu 2000, 318; Petolescu 2010, 205, 303; the same view also in Benea 2004-2006, 175 = Benea 2006a, 102.

⁴ Piso 1974, 303-308 = Piso 2005, 53-59. Defending the almost unanimously accepted theory in Tudor 1976; Ruscu 2003, 153-156.

⁵ I. Piso considered the Taiphals, the Vandals or the Peucini: Piso 1974, 307 = Piso 2005, 58.

construction in virtue of the strategic importance of the location, as “*ihre Errichtung ohne Legion nicht in Frage kam*” (p. 154).

Exemplary analysis is dedicated to the issue of the *Possible events and initiators [in the erection] of the wall at Mainz* (p. 157–169). Defensive reasons must have been primary in its construction (p. 157), however propaganda must also be considered, the author tending to consider emperor Valerianus as the promoter of the city fortification construction (p. 169 and esp. 161 sq.), soon after his usurpation (p. 161). The practical personal reason for the emperor’s decision is admirably noted: “*Eine mögliche Zerstörung der unbefestigten Zivilsiedlung hätte die damals noch schmale politische Machtbasis des Valerian leicht erschüttern können, da Mainz nachweislich der Lebensmittelpunkt vieler Angehöriger von Soldaten, darunter auch Hochrangiger Offiziere der am Limes stehenden Truppen war. Wie stark das Wohlbefinden der Angehörigen die Moral der Soldaten beeinflussen konnte, hate nicht zuletzt Alexander Severus schmerzlich erfahren*” (p. 162). Furthermore, the town presented itself as the single unfortified provincial “capital” in the transalpine area of the Empire, being concurrently the most populated town in the north of the province (p. 161).

The author expresses reserves in relation to M. Reuter’s hypothesis concerning the collapse of the Raetian sector of the German-Raetian *limes* as early as 254. Such reserves – which we also share – refer to “*die Frage nach dem taktischen Wert eines obergermanischen «Restlimes»*” (p. 163), however considers more punctual matters too (p. 163 sq.)⁶.

The wall length in this first stage, taking into account the south-western side as well, would have measured at least 5175 m, only the Rhine-wards side being not provided with a defensive ditch. Informatively, the author calculated that a displacement of ca. 28,900 m³ of earth was required in order to erect 75–80,000 m³ of enclosure (into which at least 28,000 reused blocks would have been necessary). The beams, needed only for the side in street Hintere Bleiche (“Bleichesenke”) area and that facing the Rhine bank would have counted ca. 13,000, which required that at least 1,900–2,216 trees had to be cut, amounting to approximately 13 ha of forest (p. 169 sq.).

At the same time, the author also computed the time required for the wall erection, depending on the number of individuals involved in such action. For instance 2,500–3,500 workers would have carried out the work in 6.2 months (p. 170, 172 sq., Tab. 18). Practically, the author argues that the construction of the fortification would have required the constant work of 2–3,000 men for a period between 6 and 12 months (p. 176).

Although there is no epigraphic record insofar, the wall builders must have been soldiers in legion XXII Primigenia, as the construction was *intra leugam* and its strategic significance was major (p. 173). Soldiers in other troops stationed there must have been also involved in the works (p. 175), while vexillations from other legions might have contributed as well (p. 176).

⁶ Nonetheless, respective hypothesis has distinguished followers, e.g. Sommer 2009, 151, 173 sq., 177, Abb. 9; Scholz 2009, 469–471.

Prior the erection of the precinct at Mogontiacum, soldiers in *legio XXII Primigenia* had contributed in the construction of those at *Colonia Ulpia Traiana* (Xanten) (105/106 p. Chr.) and Romula in Dacia (completed in AD 248⁷). Soldiers involved in the building action from Dacia together with those in *legio VII Claudia* and likely *numerus Surorum sagittariorum* with the garrison precisely at Romula⁸ would have amounted to 900–2000 men. The author yet points out that other troops, unidentified still in any way, must have been requested to contribute in the effort⁹. From the Romanian literature related to *Romula's* precinct, the author quotes only D. Tudor's articles of 1941¹⁰ and 1965¹¹, as well as the inscription volume IDR II (p. 174), which is natural since only what was accessible, physically and linguistically, could be quoted. More recent contributions¹², even though do not essentially change the known data, are still little steps forward a better understanding of the monument.

The legion vexillation returned to Mainz in 248 or no later than the first part of the following year. Perhaps some of its soldiers, with the construction experience acquired in *Dacia*, had been the basis of the builders team of the wall in their own garrison town (p. 175).

The assessment of the second stage of the wall (FS 29-61) is comprised between p. 181-203. By the end of the seventh decade of the 4th century AD (364-370), the legionary fortress is deserted (p. 184, 186), while an invasion of the Germans already in 355 or their control over the area between 355 and 357 might have led to the fire that damaged its *praetentura* (p. 194). The precinct change during its second stage, in fact a "Stadtmauerreduktion", was integrated in the general programme of reorganisation of the Rhenan *limes* under Valentinianus. The winter of 368-369 was appreciated as the start moment of the fortification construction, which was completed in either 371 or 374 when the emperor would have likely made the "reception" of the works, historical-epigraphic sources recording him to have stopped at Mogontiacum during the two mentioned years. Among all works attributed to Valentinianus in the area of the Rhenan border, the approximately 35,000-40,000 m³ of structure in the Mogontiacum wall register it as the most consistent effort (p. 201 sq.).

⁷ We believe that the building activity in the Romula wall could have started in the preceding year or even sometime before that (depending on the cronology of the Carpien (and probably Gothic-Roman war which determined its erection), as the soldiers could not have been engaged in battle all the time, or at least not all those mobilized for the war in *Dacia*).

⁸ Still, we must draw attention that with good arguments, M. P. Speidel argued the transfer of the *numerus* to *Mauretania* at the turn of the 2nd - 3rd centuries: Speidel 1973b, esp. 171-174 = Speidel 1984, esp. 171-174; cf. Speidel 1973a, 545 sq.

⁹ C. M. Tătulea also considered *cohors I Flavia Commagenorum*, believing it to be constantly quartered at Romula (Tătulea 1994, 43, 77 sq.; in the latter problematic, a similar position previously at Vlădescu 1983, 35-no. 5; 52), stationing which is possible, however not certain (see in this matter, Marcu 2004, 577, no. 9; 585; 592, no. 9). About the *cohors I Flavia Brittonum Malvensis*, it still remains open if its "home" base was here: Marcu 2002-2003 (2004), 224 with note 53 sq.; cf. 228 sq. and table 1. For R. Ardevan, Romula would have become a point without troops when it became a *municipium* (under Hadrianus), invoking similar situations elsewhere: Ardevan 1998, 31 sq.

¹⁰ Tudor 1941.

¹¹ Tudor 1965.

¹² Tudor 1978, 187 sq.; Popilian, Chițu, Vasilescu 1983, 324; Vlădescu, Amon, Florescu 1991, 11 sq., Fig. 3; Negru et alii 2007; a synthetic view in Tătulea 1994, 43 sq., Fig. 8.

800 m of wall were erected, to which, according to another route option, further ca. 700 m would add, hence the entire precinct route erected in the second stage would have possibly spread over ca. 1,500 m. According to the author's calculations, if approximately 500 workers had worked each day, the wall would have been erected in approximately 12-18 months. Respective workers must have been soldiers, but also German chieftains, who might have been co-interested to participate in the building activity by providing labour and supplying building material. However, it seems that in an overwhelming percentage, the building material consisted of *spolia*, which is specific to building works under Valentinianus.

The new perimeter enclosed approximately 118 ha, namely around two thirds of the original surface. Only a fifth part from the surface of the deserted former legionary camp was enclosed now. In Al. Heising's view, it is possible that this "fifth part" (representing around 4 ha) quartered the late troop with the garrison at Mainz - *milites Armigeri*, unless they were garrisoned somewhere else in the city or lived beside their families (p. 202 sq.).

A German summary (p. 205 sq.) and another in English (p. 207 sq.) are followed by an appendix-chapter (p. 211-223). It comprises a section tackling *Theories on the forming of coin hoards in the first half of the 3rd century AD (level: 1997)* (p. 211-223); the impressive list of abbreviated works (p. 224-271 - singularly quoted works are not found there, which evidences the author's consistent documentary effort); the list of the illustrative material origin (p. 272); 16 lists dedicated to various issues (273-322). Finally, the judiciously drafted plates opportunely end the book (p. [324]-[353]).

The illustration is black-white, the general print appearance being well cared for.

We argue that the difficult task of discussing the issue of the precinct wall at Mogontiacum and, subordinately, of various archaeological, historical and numismatic aspects of the 3rd and 4th in terms of this issue, was successfully completed by Al. Heising. All source categories were exploited to the highest degree, without yet claiming much more than they could provide; the author's analytical spirit was fully manifest, yet not redundant; and the much stand-taking was well grounded and opportune. We can enjoy now a clear and objective view of the archaeological monument in the matter of his route, chronology, building manner, the reasons for the construction and those who determined its erection. The related approach of the mentioned aspects for the 3rd - 4th centuries was performed at the same quality standard.

In recommending this volume to the readers, we propose a wonderful mix of affection for Roman history, scholarship, much work, respect for the predecessors' work and a refined criticism. Let Dacian Romula's wall be treated the same!

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Dan Matei

“Babeș-Bolyai” University, Cluj-Napoca
danmatei_mail@yahoo.com

ABBREVIATIONS – ABKÜRZUNGEN – ABRÉVIATIONS

The following list contains abbreviations that are not included in the list available at http://www.annee-philologique.com/files/sigles_fr.pdf.

AAH	<i>Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i> , Budapest.
AB	Analele Banatului, Timișoara.
ACMIT	Anuarul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice, Secțiunea pentru Transilvania, Cluj.
AE	L'Année Épigraphique, Paris.
AErt.	Archeológiai Értesítő, Budapest.
AHB	The Ancient History Bulletin, Calgary.
AISC	Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice, Cluj-Napoca.
ActaMN	<i>Acta Musei Napocensis</i> , Cluj-Napoca.
ActaMP	<i>Acta Musei Porolissensis</i> , Zalău.
Apulum	<i>Apulum</i> . Anuarul Muzeului Național al Unirii din Alba Iulia, Alba Iulia.
ANRW	H. Temporini, W. Haase (Hrsgg.), <i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> , Berlin-New York.
Arch.Anz.	Archäologischer Anzeiger, Berlin.
ArhMold	Arheologia Moldovei, Iași.
AO	Arhivele Olteniei, Craiova.
Banatica	Banatica, Reșița.
BAR	British Archaeological Reports, Oxford.
BGL	Bibliothek der griechischen Literatur, Stuttgart.
BCMI	Buletinul Comisiei Monumentelor Istorice, București.
BHAUT	Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Universitatis Timisiensis, Timișoara.
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift, Berlin.
CA	Cercetări Arheologice, Muzeul Național de Istorie, București.
CAG	Carte archéologique de la Gaule, Paris.
CAH	<i>Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungaricae</i> , Budapest.
CCA	Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România, București.
CCDJ	Cultură și civilizație la Dunărea de Jos, Călărași.
CFHB	<i>Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, Series Berolinensis</i> .
Chiron	Chiron. Mitteilungen der Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, München.
CIG	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , Berlin.
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , Berlin.
CSIR I	<i>Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani</i> - Österreich, Vienna.
CSIR - DE II	<i>Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani</i> - Deutschland, Berlin.
CSIR - GB	<i>Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani</i> - Great Britain, Oxford.
Dacia (N.S.)	Dacia - Recherches et découvertes archéologiques en Roumanie; Nouvelle Série (N. S.): Dacia - Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne, București.

- DAF Documents d'Archéologie Française, Paris.
- DissPann. *Dissertationes Pannonicae*, Budapest.
- Dizionario Epigrafico E. di Ruggiero (ed.), Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane, Roma, I (1895) - III (1922).
- Dolgozatok/Travaux Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem és Régiségtárából, Kolozsvár (Cluj) / Travaux de la section numismatique et archéologique du Musée National de Transylvanie à Kolozsvár (Cluj).
- EKG Enmanns Kaisergeschichte.
- EN *Ephemeris Napocensis*, Cluj-Napoca.
- Epigraphische Studien Epigraphische Studien, Bonn.
- FolArch *Folia Archaeologica. Annales Musei Nationalis Hungarici*, Budapest.
- GCS I. A. Heikel (Hrsg.) Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte, Berlin 1897 sqq.
- Glasnik Glasnik Srpskog Arheološkog Društva, Belgrad.
- HSCPh Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Cambridge.
- HTRTÉ A Hunyadmegyei Történelmi és régészeti Társulat Évkönyve, Deva, I (1880)-XXII (1913).
- IAM M. Euzenat, J. Marion, Inscriptions antiques du Maroc. 2. Inscriptions latines (publié par J. Gascoü), Paris 1982.
- IDR *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae*, Bucureşti-Paris.
- IDRE I C. C. Petolescu, Inscriptions externes concernant l'histoire de la Dacie, I, Bucureşti 1996.
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- IGB I^a G. Mihailov, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae. I. Inscriptiones orae Ponti Euxini. Editio altera emendata*, Serdicae 1970.
- IGB II G. Mihailov, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae. II. Inscriptiones inter Danubium et Haemum repertae*, Serdicae 1968.
- IGLNovae J. Kolendo, V. Božilova, Inscriptions grecques et latines de Novae (Mésie Inférieure), Bordeaux-Paris 1997.
- IGLR Em. Popescu, Inscriptiile greceşti şi latine din secolele IV-XIII descoperite în România: culese, traduse în româneşte, însoţite de indici şi comentate, Bucureşti 1976.
- ILD C. Petolescu, Inscriptiile latine din Dacia, Bucureşti 2005.
- ILBulg B. Gerov, *Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria repertae*, I, Sofia 1989.
- ILS (= Dessau) H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Berlin, I (1882) - IV (1916).
- IMS II M. Mirković, Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure. II. Viminacium et Margum, Belgrade 1986.
- ISM Inscriptiile din Scythia Minor greceşti şi latine, Bucureşti.
- JRGZM Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums zu Mainz, Mainz.
- LIMC *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, Basel.
- Lupa www.ubi-erat-lupa.org.

- Marisia** *Marisia*. Studii și materiale. Arheologie, istorie, etnografie, Muzeul Județean Mureș, Târgu Mureș.
- Marmatia** Marmatia, Baia Mare.
- MCA** Materiale și cercetări arheologice, București.
- Mel. Bidez** *Mélanges Joseph Bidez*, Bruxelles 1934 (= *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* 2, Bruxelles 1933-1934).
- MGH. AA** *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi*, Hannover-Berlin 1826 sqq.
- Montana II** V. Velkov, G. Alexandrov (eds.), *Эпиграфски паметници от Монтана и района*, София 1994.
- OPEL** B. Lőrincz, F. Redő et alii, *Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, I-IV, Budapest 1994-2002.
- PamátkyArch** *Památky Archeologické*, Praga.
- PAS** *Prähistorische Archäologie in Südosteuropa*, Berlin.
- PBF** *Prähistorische Bronzefunde*, Berlin.
- PG** J. P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca*, Paris 1857-1866.
- PIR²** E. Groag, A. Stein et alii, *Prosopographia Imperii Romani²*, Berlin 1933 sqq.
- PL** J. P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina*, Paris 1841-1855
- PLRE** *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, Cambridge University Press 1971 (vol. I), 1980 (vol. II), 1992 (vol. III).
- Pontica** *Pontica*. Studii și materiale de istorie, arheologie și muzeografie, Constanța.
- PZ** *Prähistorische Zeitschrift*, Berlin.
- PWRE** A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, K. Ziegler (eds.), *Pauly-Wissowa, Realencyclopädie der classischen altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart 1893 sqq.
- RE** *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertums-wissenschaft*, Stuttgart 1894 sqq.
- RGZM** B. Pferdehirt, *Römische Militärdiplome und Entlassungsurkunden in der Sammlung des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums*, I-II, Mainz-Bonn 2004.
- RepCluj** I. H. Crișan, M. Bărbulescu, E. Chirilă, V. Vasiliev, I. Winkler, *Repertoriul arheologic al județului Cluj*, Cluj-Napoca 1992.
- RIB** *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, Oxford.
- RIU** *Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns I-VI*, Budapest-Bonn 1972-2001.
- RMD** M. M. Roxan, P. Holder, *Roman Military Diplomas*, London.
- RevBistriței** *Revista Bistriței*, Bistrița.
- RMI** *Revista Monumentelor Istorice*, București.
- RevMuz** *Revista Muzeelor*, București.
- Sargetia** *Sargetia*. Buletinul Muzeului Județean Hunedoara, Deva.
- SC** R. Gryson (éd.), *Sources chrétiennes*, Paris 1941 sqq.
- SCIV (A)** *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche (și arheologie - since 1975)*, București.
- SCN** *Studii și cercetări numismatice*, București.

SMMIM	Studii și materiale de muzeografie și istorie militară, București.
StComSatuMare	Studii și comunicări, Satu Mare.
SympThrac	<i>Symposia Thracologica</i> . Lucrările Simpozionului Anual de Tracologie, Institutul Român de Tracologie, București.
TAPA	Transactions of the American Philological Association, Baltimore.
Thraco-Dacica	<i>Thraco-Dacica</i> . Institutul de Tracologie, București.
TIR	<i>Tabula Imperii Romani</i> .
TitAq	P. Kovács, <i>Tituli Aquincenses</i> , I - II, Budapest 2009.

