

## A GOD OF CONVALESCENCE. TELESPHORUS/ GENIUS CUCULLATUS IN ROMAN DACIA

ADRIANA ANTAL

**Abstract:** This study presents in light of the discovered material, the figured and epigraphic representations regarding the cult of Telesphorus / Genius Cucullatus in the province of Dacia. The aim of this study is to clarify the god's identity and the local aspects of the cult, emphasizing the small figurative material, the most numerous part of the cult. The studied material showed that this was rather a personal than official cult, the extremely rare epigraphic evidence being edificatory to this effect. The find contexts, the items' functionality as well as the association with the triad Aesculapius, Hygeia and Epione provide precious clues on the god's competence field. Thus, it was noted that this was a deity with healing values, a childhood protector and also important in fecundity and fertility.

**Keywords:** Telesphorus; Genius Cucullatus; convalescence; fecundity-fertility; childhood.

**Rezumat:** Studiul de față prezintă prin prisma materialului descoperit reprezentările figurate și epigrafice privind cultul lui Telesphorus / Genius Cucullatus în provincia Dacia. Scopul studiului este de a clarifica identitatea divinității și aspectele locale ale cultului, punându-se accent pe materialul figurativ mărunț, partea cea mai numeroasă din cult. Din materialul studiat s-a putut observa că este vorba mai mult de un cult personal decât unul oficial, mărturiile epigrafice rarissime fiind edificatoare în acest sens. Contextele de descoperire, funcționalitatea pieselor, precum și asocierea cu triada Aesculapius, Hygia și Epione oferă indicii prețioase legate de domeniul de competență al divinității. Astfel s-a putut observa că este vorba de o divinitate cu valențe vindecătoare, protectoare a copilăriei și totodată cu un rol important în fecunditate și fertilitate.

**Cuvinte cheie:** Telesphorus; Genius Cucullatus; convalescență; fecunditate-fertilitate; copilărie.

Genius Cucullatus is a minor god, whose name does not designate a special character, but rather a garment peculiarity, *cucullus*, the hooded cape, *paenula cucullata*, which the god is usually rendered with. In general, the character wearing the *cucullus* is hebetate and often holds a round object in his hand, as offering, which may be a fruit or *patera*. The sleeves hooded cloak is a garment frequently used for the newborns or toddlers. Risus is also depicted with this type of clothing (Fig. 1)<sup>1</sup>.

Head covering in the Roman world is related to death, those near death frequently covering their heads. The cape has many connotations, being used in cult ceremonies in order to get closer to the gods, in various "rites of the passing", as well as in the passing to the world of the dead, marriage or other esoteric celebrations. Furthermore, demons and all nocturnal spirits are described as wearing such garments. The *cucullus* is also used as a disappearing or camouflage trick. Iuvenalis mentions even *cucullus*

<sup>1</sup> LIMC, Suppl. I, 2009, s.v. *Telesphoros*, 870-878 (Cherici); DA I, 2, 1887, s.v. *Cucullus*, 1577-1579 (Reinach).

*nocturnus*. Therefore, these characters have firstly funerary attributes, being related to infant burials, likely also playing an apothropaic role<sup>2</sup>.



Fig. 1. Asclepius and Telesphorus marble statue: a. Museo Borghese, Rome; b. Musée du Louvre, Paris; Galerie Chenel, Paris.

The origin of this character does not seem Roman, being noticeable from the early beginning a strong Celtic influence, of a deity of vegetation and wealth with healing values which via *interpretatio Romana* receives the name of Cucullatus<sup>3</sup>. It is noteworthy that the name Cucullatus is recorded only by two inscriptions, both from Noricum, discovered in a Celtic influence sanctuary<sup>4</sup>. The character also appears in the Etruscan environment, likely assumed from the Celtic tribes in northern Italy. Moreover, via the Celtic tribe of the Galatii Cucullatus becomes popular in Asia Minor, while the Greek and later Roman priests mention him as Telesphorus, being associated with Asclepius and Hygeia<sup>5</sup>.

The cult diffuses within the Empire through the areas with a strong Celtic substratum, eastwards included, via the military troops and also the traders. Finds of the type cluster in the provinces where there is an underlying Celtic influence like Gallia, Germania, Britannia, Noricum and Pannonia<sup>6</sup>. Dacia is an exception to this effect, as there was no Celtic sublayer previous to its conquest by the Romans, nevertheless where such finds exist. Seldom directly, from Gaul, and frequently from other provinces, such items enter the provinces without Celtic substratum, beside *terra sigillata*, decorated lamps or figured terracotta.

The competence field of the character seems to be that of Asclepius's assistant, even the deity's son, being associated with Telesphorus. He is the one "leading to full development" or "completion". Telesphorus's name, of Greek origin, is composed of τέλος, the purpose, goal, and of φόρος, the one who brings, bears, the meaning being that of the one who fulfils. The name etymology sets the deity's action area, the convalescence, fostering the healing from illness, fulfilling thus a therapeutic function. To

<sup>2</sup> Deona 1955, 43-74; Toynbee 1957, 456-469; D'Ambrosio 1993, 179-237; Vertet, Zeyer 1982, 63-65.

<sup>3</sup> Egger 1932, 31.

<sup>4</sup> Kenner 1976, 147.

<sup>5</sup> Kenner 1976, 148.

<sup>6</sup> Domínguez 2015, 106.

this effect, the character is rendered holding occasionally a roll, which bears inscribed the medical prescriptions<sup>7</sup>.

The funerary values of the character are recorded by clay statue finds placed in infant graves, like those at Ostia, Aquileia, Sassari, Dijon, Köln or Trier<sup>8</sup>. In addition, Telesphorus is regularly mentioned in funerary inscriptions, most often those erected for infants.

The connection with the characters wearing *cucullus* and a fertility cult is evidenced by their association with the mother goddess, like the case of the votive relief at Cirencester, exhibiting three *Cucullati* and a sitting goddess, who seems to hold a baby<sup>9</sup>. On a small marble stela, he appears associated with Mater Malene, a local goddess of farming fertility, whose origins seems to be in Phrygia<sup>10</sup>. On an inscription from Kassel, a mother thanks him for painless birth and the birth of healthy babies<sup>11</sup>. Moreover, he may be identified within the Egyptian triad Serapis - Isis - Harpocrates, the idea of fecundity and fertility being underlined also by the association by deities like Demeter or Aphrodites<sup>12</sup>.

The healing skills of the character wearing *cucullus* are obvious by the association with Asclepius, whereby it seems that *Telesphorus* played an active role in the *incubation* process. In the case of the Asclepeion at Pergamum, *incubatio* occurred precisely in the Telesphoreion. Dio Cassius<sup>13</sup> reports that Caracalla fell ill during the march against the Germans, his recovery being related to the Asclepeion at Pergamum, which resulted in a series of coin issues with Telesphorus<sup>14</sup>.

The presence of the characters using the *cucullus* in Dacia is infrequent. Despite the association with Aesculapius and Hygeia, Telesphorus is mentioned by only an inscription of the 85 inscriptions mentioning the two deities, on a votive plate coming from Turda (Pl. I/3)<sup>15</sup>. One inscription on a votive relief from Sarmizegetusa, fragmentarily preserved, mentions Aesculapius and Hygeia, however there was not enough space for Telesphorus's name<sup>16</sup>. It is fully rendered on the above relief. Among analogies count the reliefs in the sanctuaries at Glava Panega, Dionysopolis or Nicopolis ad Istrum in Moesia Inferior<sup>17</sup>.

Seldom, Telesphorus is rendered on stone figured monuments. Two representations of the type come from Sarmizegetusa, where Telesphorus appears in the company of Hygeia (Pl. I/1 a-b, 2)<sup>18</sup>. Analogies for these items are few within the Empire, where Telesphorus appears especially beside Aesculapius lone or beside both Aesculapius and Hygeia and rarely only beside Hygeia.

<sup>7</sup> Bonanome 2014, 12.

<sup>8</sup> La Fragola 2015, 57-61.

<sup>9</sup> Green 2003, 185.

<sup>10</sup> Guarducci 1973, 365-370.

<sup>11</sup> Bonanome 2014, 12.

<sup>12</sup> Aparaschivei 2012, 158.

<sup>13</sup> DIO C., LXXVII 15, 27.

<sup>14</sup> Deona 1955, 54-55.

<sup>15</sup> Cumont 1894, 16, Fig. 1.

<sup>16</sup> Daicoviciu 1924, 224-263, no. 8, Fig. 16.

<sup>17</sup> Aparaschivei 2012, 165.

<sup>18</sup> CIL III 7896; IDR III/2, 152; Alicu, Pop, Wollmann 1979, 68, no. 7; Diaconescu, Bota 2004, 190, Pl. XVII/I 4.

On a relief at Alba Iulia, beside Hygeia, Aesculapius and Telesphorus also appears Epione. The inscription however mentions only the first two (Pl. I/5)<sup>19</sup>. A good analogy for this item is given still by a relief in Moesia Inferior<sup>20</sup>.

On a relief from Transylvania, beside the common depictions of Aesculapius, Hygeia and Telesphorus, also appears a small Hypnos / Thanatos with crossed legs (Pl. I/6)<sup>21</sup>. Representations of the sort are extremely rare within the Empire.

These depictions express the devotion to the god of medicine, the healing process also involving Telesphorus. It is difficult to establish the functionality of placing terracotta statuettes of characters wearing the *cucullus*, since in any case the accurate find context is missing. These items are briefly mentioned in the specialty bibliography, sometimes confused with Attis or certain *Genii cucullati*, the connection with Telesphorus.

Three fragmentary statuettes of the type come from Alba Iulia (Pl. II/3 a-b, 4, 5)<sup>22</sup>, a head being found in the *villa rustica* at Chinteni (Pl. II/7 a-b), in the same context with a clay small wheel<sup>23</sup>, a terracotta head (Pl. II/6 a-c)<sup>24</sup> comes from a pottery kiln at Zlatna, from Moigrad come other two terracotta heads<sup>25</sup>, while in the sanctuary of Liber Pater at Alba Iulia were also identified several fragments. In the same sanctuary, beside the Cucullati statuettes, were also identified statuettes depicting Venus, toys, among which also small wheels, as well as statuettes with Risi<sup>26</sup> representations. Given the initiation nature of the sanctuary, the offerings might have been related to the Liberalia festival occurring on the 17<sup>th</sup> of March and which coincided with the festivities by which the teenagers donned *toga virilis* or *toga libera*, thus marking the moment when the young men entered public life. Thus, beside toys (among which also small wheels), the infants also dedicate Risi statuettes, which seem to mark the passage from the baby state to that of toddler, or Cucullati statuettes, which mark the passage from the state of child to that of teenager. In Pannonia, such a case is that of the round sanctuary of Celtic influence at Aquincum, where several toys figures and Venus, Risus, Cucullatus<sup>27</sup> statuettes were discovered in the same context.

Noticeably, statuettes of the type are missing from funerary contexts. Very likely, such items are part of personal *lararia* or are *ex voto* depositions within sanctuaries, playing an apothropaic role. They might have been used to protect children, for instance against evil eyes, believed the main reason why illness occurred. Furthermore, they might have been invoked against infertility, for wealth and abundance. The offerings in the sanctuary of Liber Pater are likely connected to its initiation nature, the items being placed by the young in occasion of specific celebrations.

Another category of items depicting characters wearing *cucullus* is that of toys. Statuettes with Genius Cucullatus of *tintinnabulum* type, with mobile arms and legs,

<sup>19</sup> Igna 1935, 1; CIL III 979; IDR III/5, 9.

<sup>20</sup> Bonanome 2014, 8.

<sup>21</sup> Lenghel 1928, 69-96; Igna 1935, 64, no. 3, Fig. 25.

<sup>22</sup> Anghel et alii 2011, 55-56, nos. 56, 58.

<sup>23</sup> Alicu et alii 1995, 623, no. 62, Fig. 5/5.

<sup>24</sup> Ungurean 2008, 239, no. 468.

<sup>25</sup> Gudea 1989, 514, no. 15, Pl. CIX/15.

<sup>26</sup> Diaconescu, Haynes, Schäfer 2005, 38-45; Schäfer 2014, 42-43.

<sup>27</sup> Kuzsinszki 1934, 17; Póczy 1963, 241-242.

*paenula* appearing as a bell, inside with grains were identified mainly in Hispania. They were used as baby rattles, however also casting out evil spirits<sup>28</sup>.

Another toy type, which appears in Dacia as well, with the depiction of Cucullati, is that where the character is rendered on horseback, which instead of legs has four wheels. The character wears the classical hooded cape, *paenula cucullata*, sometimes bare-headed, the hood on the back. In some cases, hands are visible, holding a spear, likely of wood or metal, which no longer preserves, in the right hand and a shield in the left hand, where an *umbo* may be seen. The rider's body is one and the same with that of the horse, legs being no longer modelled. The wheels are made separately, being attached to the horse by a small axle for mobility. The horse nose is pierced so that a string would be inserted in order to pull the toy (Fig. 2).



Fig. 2. Cucullatus rider: a. Private Collection Gerhard Hirsch; b. Bavay, Musée Archéologique de Bavay; c. Cologne, Römisch Germanisches Museum.

Such a complete item comes from Celei (Pl. III/1)<sup>29</sup>, another restorable item comes from Alba Iulia (Pl. III/3)<sup>30</sup>. Four fragmentary *cucullus* riders were discovered at Alba Iulia (Pl. III/2, 6, 8)<sup>31</sup>, other two come from Turda (Pl. II/2)<sup>32</sup>, and other three are from Zlatna (Pl. III/7)<sup>33</sup> and Cristești (Pl. III/5)<sup>34</sup>. A slightly different rider which appears in a common representation of the genius, is that of Cicău (Pl. II/1)<sup>35</sup>. It wears the hood on the head and has no visible hands, the back side of the cloak preserving the prints of attachment to the horse.

Other statuettes depicting horses with wheels and prints of rider attachment on the horseback come from Turda (Pl. III/4 a-b)<sup>36</sup> and Romula<sup>37</sup>. Terracotta horse

<sup>28</sup> Domínguez 2015, 111–114.

<sup>29</sup> Comănescu 1965, 797–802, Fig. 2; Gudea 1996, 186, Fig. 46 a; Ungurean 2008, 161, no. 78; Ene 2014, 264, no. 408.

<sup>30</sup> Anghel 2010, 533; Anghel et alii 2011, 81, no. 109, 110.

<sup>31</sup> Pop, Dănilă 1971, 140, no. 4, Fig. 4; Anghel et alii 2011, 58, 82, 83, nos. 64, 112, 113.

<sup>32</sup> Miclea, Florescu 1980, no. 297; Bajusz 2005, 656, Fig. 51/60.

<sup>33</sup> Anghel 2010, 533; Anghel et alii 2011, 82, no. 111.

<sup>34</sup> Man 2010, 104, no. 4, Pl. 1/6; Man 2011, 193, no. 4, Pl. CXL/4.

<sup>35</sup> Winkler, Takács, Păiuș 1979, 160.

<sup>36</sup> Rusu 1956, 687–713; Miclea, Florescu 1980, no. 297; Ungurean 2008, 232, no. 423.

<sup>37</sup> Bondoc, Dincă 2005, 61, no. 30; Popilian 2006, 418, no. 43, Pl. IX/43 a-c; Ungurean 2008, 207, no. 290.

fragments were found at Alba Iulia, Turda, Sarmizegetusa, Romula and Jupa<sup>38</sup>. Terracotta wheels were identified at Alba Iulia, Turda, Sarmizegetusa, Moigrad, Romula, Cristești, Gilău, Valea Chintăului or Miercurea Sibiului<sup>39</sup>. It is though worthy of note that such horse and wheel fragments might also come from other toy types.

Similar items come from Germania, Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium (Fig. 2 c)<sup>40</sup>, Gallia (Fig. 2 b) or Moesia, from within funerary furniture (Slokošcița, Suhindol)<sup>41</sup>. In addition, in Athens or Myrna such items come still from infants' graves<sup>42</sup>. A good analogy for the item at Cicău (Pl. II/1), where Telesphorus has his head covered, comes from a private collection in Germany (Fig. 2 a). A character wearing *cucullus* is rendered on a votive relief at Brigetio<sup>43</sup>, flanked by two riders, a similar depiction with a figurine in Asia Minor<sup>44</sup>.

The association of such a character with toys is not novel, the skill field of Telesphorus being easily related to childhood. Thus, the toy might have also had protective, saving values, its protection extending also in the world beyond, as evidenced by the items found in graves<sup>45</sup>.



Fig. 3. Plastic lamps: a. Musée Rolin, Autun (after Bolla 2010); b. National Museum Athens (after Robinson 1959); c. Arheološki Muzej, Zadar (after Bolla 2010).

Another category of items with Cucullati representations are the ithyphallic lamps (Fig. 3). Since it is a fecundity and fertility deity, it is often depicted with phallic attributes, present in various places of the empire<sup>46</sup>.

Such lamps were discovered at Zlatna (Pl. II/8 a-b, 9 a-b)<sup>47</sup>, in a pottery kiln. The character wear the *paenula cucullata*, one shorter down to the belt area, from under which exits an exaggerate *phalus* as *rostrum*, the place where the wick was

<sup>38</sup> Ene 2014, 247-250, nos. 355-364.

<sup>39</sup> Ene 2014, 270-274, nos. 427-444.

<sup>40</sup> Rouvier-Jeanlin 1995, 77-84, Fig. 1/1.

<sup>41</sup> Filov 1911, 226-227, 286, Fig. 21.

<sup>42</sup> Pottier, Reinach 1887, 458.

<sup>43</sup> Barkóczy 1944, Pl. 51/2.

<sup>44</sup> Ehling 2005, 162, Figs. 1, 2.

<sup>45</sup> Ehling 2005, 161; Domínguez 2015, 114.

<sup>46</sup> Eveillard 1995, 144-145.

<sup>47</sup> Lipovan 1992, 63-65, Fig. 1, 2/1 a-b; Anghel et alii 2011, 59-60, nos. 66, 67.

inserted. On the back side, the head area was provided with an orifice where the oil was poured. The character sits on a round pedestal and has a wine leaf vegetal motif on the back.

Terracotta lamps with such representations are rather few within the empire, like the Roman period item discovered in the Athens agora (Fig. 3 b)<sup>48</sup>. Most often such lamps are bronze-made, features being better rendered. Only in these cases appears instead of a younger beardless character a middle-aged character, wearing a beard and mobile hood, in certain cases. Such items are often in funerary inventories of Gallia, Dalmatia (Fig. 3 a, b), Germania, Graecia and Italia<sup>49</sup>.

Very likely, these lamps were used on a daily basis, lighting for instance, a small domestic altar or a grave. Due to the phallic symbol and the vine leaf motif, they may be most definitely related to a fertility and wealth cult. The items may also be related to the healing process by *incubatio*, playing the role of guard in the healing process occurring at night or in dark places. For instance, Telesphorus is accompanied by a shining light in Aelius Aristides's healing dream<sup>50</sup>. Thus, they provided protection in sleep, being also the sleep carrier. In some cases, reference to the eternal sleep is made, recovery from illnesses or the promise of afterlife.

The characters wearing *cucullus*, either *Genii cucullati* in the real meaning or Telesphorus appearances, had their importance in the Roman world. Based on the nature of the discovered material and the discrepancy between the figurate and epigraphic material, it may be concluded that this was a personal cult, for the own welfare, rather than an official cult. This is a deity playing an active role in the healing process beside Aesculapius and Hygeia, childhood guardian, playing a somewhat role in fecundity and fertility as well. Thus, behind the terracotta, stone or bronze items lies the Romans' wish for the guardianship and benevolence of chthonian forces, in both the daily and after lives.

## Bibliography

- |                           |  |
|---------------------------|--|
| Alicu et alii 1995        | D. Alicu, S. Cociș, I. Ferenczi, A. Paki, C. Ilieș, <i>Cercetări arheologice la Cluj-Napoca. Villa Rustica din Valea Chintăului. Campania 1988</i> , ActaMN, 32, I, 1995, 619-624. |
| Alicu, Pop, Wollmann 1979 | D. Alicu, C. Pop, V. Wollmann, <i>Figurated Monuments from Sarmizegetusa</i> , BAR 55, Oxford 1979.  |
| D'Ambrosio 1993           | L. D'Ambrosio, <i>Il Cucullus: Uomini e Geni</i> , <i>Rivista storica dell'antichità</i> , 21-23, 1991-1993, 179-237.  |
| Anghel 2010               | D. Anghel, <i>Restaurarea unor figurine ceramice din epoca romană aflate în colecția Muzeului Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia</i> , <i>Apulum</i> , XLVII, 2010, 525-536.           |
| Anghel et alii 2011       | D. Anghel, R. Ota, G. Bounegru, I. Lascu, <i>Coroplastica, medalioane și tipare ceramice din colecțiile Muzeului Național al Unirii Alba Iulia, Alba Iulia</i> 2011.               |

<sup>48</sup> Robinson 1959, 52-53, Pl. 47.

<sup>49</sup> Bolla 2010, 51-69.

<sup>50</sup> Robinson 1959, 52-53.

- Aparaschivei 2012 D. Aparaschivei, *Healthcare and medicine in Moesia Inferior*, Iași 2012.
- Bajusz 2005 I. Bajusz (ed.), *Téglás István Jegyzetei. Régészeti feljegyzések, Vol. I, 1-2*, Kolozsvár 2005.
- Barkóczi 1944 L. Barkóczi, *Brigetio*, DissPann II, 22, Budapest 1944.
- Bolla 2010 M. Bolla, *Lucerna figurata romana in bronzo da Montecchio Maggiore*, *Studi e Ricerche*, XVII, 2010, 51-69.
- Bonanome 2014 D. Bonanome, *Telesforo e le divinità salutari a Grottaferrata: indagine sul piccolo dio „cucullatus”*, presented in “Giovedì al Museo, riflessioni culturali e pillole di archeologia”, Guidonia Montecelio, aprile 10, 2014, 1-18.
- Bondoc, Dincă 2005 D. Bondoc, D. R. Dincă, *Tipare și figurine ceramice romane din centrul ceramic de la Romula. Muzeul Romanătiului din Caracal, Craiova* 2005.
- Comănescu 1965 S. Comănescu, *O figurină ecvestră descoperită la Celei*, *SCIV*, 16, 4, 1965, 797-802.
- Cumont 1894 F. Cumont, *Neue Funde aus Dacien und Moesien*, *Archaeologisch-Epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, XVII, 1894, 16, 16-32.
- Daicoviciu 1924 C. Daicoviciu, *Fouilles et recherches à Sarmizegetusa*, *Dacia*, I, 1924, 224-263.
- Deona 1955 W. Deona, *Télesphore et le „genius cucullatus” celtique*, *Latomus*, I, 1955, 43-74.
- Diaconescu, Bota 2004 Al. Diaconescu, E. Bota, *La décoration architectonique et sculpturale du “forum vetus” Sarmizegetusa: origine, évolution et chronologie*, *ActaMN*, 39-40, I, 2002-2003 (2004), 155-196.
- Diaconescu, Haynes, Schäfer 2005 Al. Diaconescu, I. Haynes, A. Schäfer, *Apulum: the shrine of Liber Pater*, *Current World Archaeology*, 10, 2005, 38-45.
- Domínguez 2015 J. S. Domínguez, *Figurillas de encapuchados hispanorromanos: Definición, clasificación e interpretación*, *Archivo Español de Arqueología*, 88, 2015, 105-125.
- Egger 1932 R. Egger, *Genius Cucullatus*, *Wiener Praehistorische Zeitschrift*, XIX, 1932, 311-323.
- Ehling 2005 K. Ehling, *Ein Reitender Telesporus*, *Epigraphica Anatolica*, 38, 2005, 159-164.
- Ene 2014 S. D. Ene, *Arta coroplastică în provincia Dacia*, PhD Thesis, București 2014.
- Eveillard 1995 J. Y. Eveillard, *Statues de l'Antiquité remaniées à l'époque moderne: l'exemple d'une tête au cucullus à Châteauneuf-du-Faou (Finistère)*, *Revue archéologique de l'ouest*, 12, 1995, 139-146.
- La Fragola 2015 A. La Fragola, *Il Dio Sfuggente*, *Archeo. Attualità del passato*, 361, 2015, 56-65.
- Filov 1911 B. Filov, *Découvertes archéologiques en Bulgarie: pendant 1910-1911*, *Bulletin Bulgare*, II, 1911, 267-287.
- Green 2003 M. Green, *Symbol and Image in Celtic Religious Art*, London - New York 1989.
- Guarducci 1973 M. Guarducci, *Telesforo in Anatolia*, *Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche. Rendicoli*, XXVII, Roma 1973, 365-370.



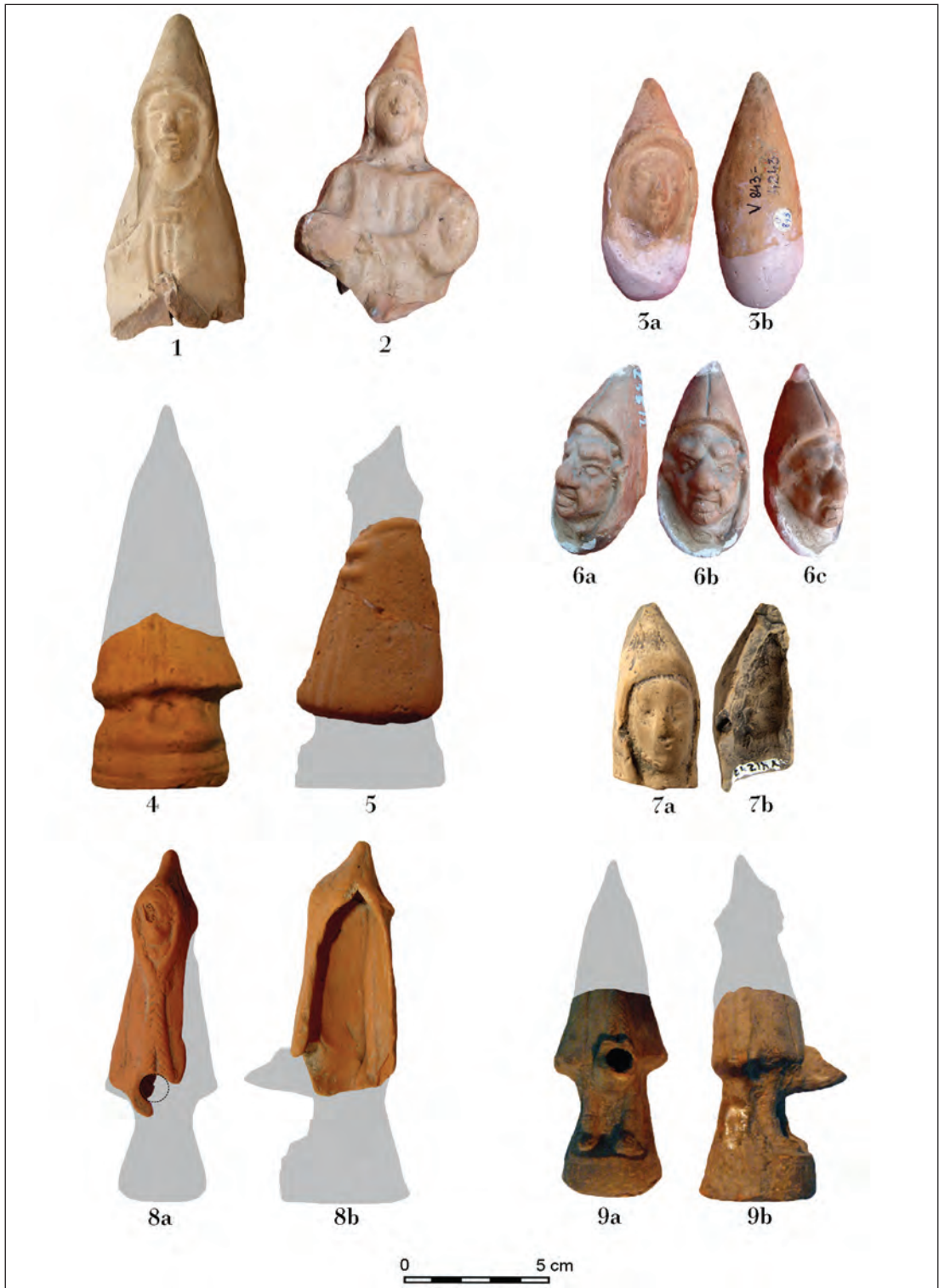
- Gudea 1989 N. Gudea, Porolissum. Un complex arheologic daco-roman la marginea de nord a Imperiului Roman, *ActaMP XIII*, 1989.
- Gudea 1996 N. Gudea, Porolissum vama romană. Monografie arheologică, Cluj-Napoca 1996.
- Ignă 1935 N. Ignă, Cultul lui Esculap și al Higiei cu specială privire la Dacia Superioară, Cluj-Napoca 1935.
- Kenner 1976 H. Kenner, *Zu Namenlosen Götten der Austria Romana II. Genius Cucullatus*, RÖ, 4, 1976, 147-161.
- Kuzsinszki 1934 B. Kuzsinszky, Aquincum. Ausgrabungen und Funde, Budapest 1934.
- Lenghel 1928 A. Lenghel, *Date nouă despre cultul lui Esculap în Dacia Traiană*, Clujul Medical, IX, 2, 1928, 1-5.
- Lipovan 1992 I. T. Lipovan, *Teracote votive de la Ampelum*, SCIVA, 43, 1, 1992, 63-70.
- Man 2010 N. Man, *Art and religions on the eastern part of Dacia*, Marisia, XXX, 2010, 95-114.
- Miclea, Florescu 1980 I. Miclea, R. Florescu, Tezaur transilvane la Kunthistorisches Museum din Viena, București 1979.
- Póczy 1963 K. Póczy, *A termékenység-kultusz terrakottái Aquincumban*, Budapest Régiségei, 20, 1963, 241-257.
- Pop, Dănilă 1971 C. Pop, Ș. Dănilă, *Statuete romane reprezentând luptători*, Banatica, I, 1971, 127-131.
- Popilian 2006 Gh. Popilian, *Centrul coroplastice de la Romula*. In: L. Mihailescu-Bîrliiba (ed.), *Studia historiae et religionis Daco-Romanae. In honorem Silvii Sanie*, București 2006, 409-437.
- Pottier, Reinach 1887 E. Pottier, S. Reinach, *La Necropole de Myrna*, Paris 1887.
- Robinson 1959 H. S. Robinson, *The Athenian Agora, Pottery of the Roman period chronology*, V, Princeton - New Jersey 1959.
- Rouvier-Jeanlin 1995 M. Rouvier-Jeanlin, *Les jouets en terre cuite de la Gaule romaine*, BAGB, 54, 1, 1995, 77-84.
- Rusu 1956 M. Rusu, *Cercetări arheologice la Gilău*, MCA, II, 1956, 687-713.
- Schäfer 2014 A. Schäfer, *Deliberate destruction and ritual deposition as case study in the Liber Pater-sanctuary of Apulum*, EN, XXIV, 2014, 39-50.
- Toynbee 1957 J. M. C. Toynbee, *Genii Cucullati in Roman Britain*, *Latomus*, 28, 1957, 456-469.
- Ungurean 2008 O. Ungurean, *Teracote figurate în Dacia Romană*, PhD Thesis, Cluj-Napoca 2008.
- Vertet, Zeyer 1982 H. Vertet, Th. Zeyer, *Les statuettes gallo-romaine en argile du Musée de Langres*, Avignon 1982.
- Winkler, Takács, Păiuș 1979 I. Winkler, M. Takács, Gh. Păiuș, *Așezarea dacică și daco-romană de la Cicău*, *Apulum*, XVII, 1979, 129-193.

**Adriana Antal**

National History Museum of Transylvania, Cluj-Napoca  
adrianna.antal@yahoo.com



Pl. I. Stone statues and reliefs: 1 a-b. Sarmizegetusa (after O. Harl); 2. Sarmizegetusa (after O. Harl); 3. Turda (after Igna 1935); 4. Sarmizegetusa (after Daicoviciu 1924); 5. Alba Iulia (after O. Harl); 6. Unknown (photo S. Odenie, MNIT photo archive).



**Pl. II.** Terracotta statues and plastic lamps. 1. Cicău (after P. Scrobotă); 2. Turda (photo S. Odenie, MNIT photo archive); 3 a-b. Alba Iulia (photo S. Odenie, MNIT photo archive); 4. Alba Iulia (after Anghel et alii 2011); 5. Alba Iulia (after Anghel et alii 2011); 6 a-c. Zlatna (photo S. Odenie, MNIT photo archive); 7 a-b. Chinteni (photo S. Odenie, MNIT photo archive); 8 a-b. Zlatna (after Anghel et alii 2011); 9 a-b. Zlatna (after Anghel et alii 2011).



**Pl. III.** Terracotta statues. 1. Celei (after Ene 2014); 2. Alba Iulia (photo S. Odenie, MNIT photo archive); 3. Alba Iulia (after Anghel et alii 2011); 4. Turda (photo S. Odenie, MNIT photo archive); 5. Cristești (after Man 2010); 6. Alba Iulia (after Anghel et alii 2011); 7. Zlatna (after Anghel et alii 2011); 8. Alba Iulia (after Anghel et alii 2011).