

BUREBISTA AT THE BANAT'S DANUBE. ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL DATA REGARDING THE EVOLUTION OF SETTLEMENTS IN THE IRON GATES REGION IN THE 1ST CENTURY BC*

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The first king of the Dacians (and of the Getae)¹ mentioned in ancient written sources was Burebista (also spelled Boerebistas, Byrebistas, Burvista etc)². Despite the fact that the epigraphic sources and the contemporaneous or later mentions by ancient authors are scarce³, modern works regarding king Burebista are extremely numerous⁴. It seems that both the chronology

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¹ The analysis of ancient literary sources suggests that during the 1st century BC and later, the terms “Dacians” and “Getae” referred to populations speaking the same language. The distinction between the two seems to be mainly a geographic one. Strabo (VII.3.12 C304) mentions that the Getae inhabited the territory towards the Pontus and the east, while the Dacians occupied the western parts towards Germania and the source of the Istros. During the Roman imperial period the term “Dacians” is generally mentioned by Latin writers, while the term “Getae” is used by the ones writing in Greek. It is worth mentioning that the population from Moesia Inferior, known as “Getae” before the Roman conquest, is designated with the term “Dacians” in official documents of the province (Dana, Matei-Popescu 2006, 203–204; Dana 2007, 235–236).

² King Rubobostes mentioned by Trogus Pompeius (*Prol.* XXXII) was very probably Burebista (Iliescu 1968; Lica 1997, 12–17; Dana 2006, 103, 107; Rustoiu 2008, 135–136 etc), despite the fact that some scholars have considered that he could be another Dacian dynast from the end of the 3rd century or the 2nd century BC (Daicoviciu 1955, 50–51; Crişan 1977, 30; Glodariu 1970 etc). For different spellings of the name Burebista, see Dana 2006, 103.

³ See Ruscu 2002, 295, notes 238–239.

⁴ Among the studies that influenced significantly the Romanian historiography are Crişan 1975; 1977; 1978; 1980 and Daicoviciu 1972.

of his reign and the deeds of the Dacian king are still subject of controversy⁵. Nevertheless, all scholars agree that Burebista was a contemporary of C. Julius Caesar. Likewise, the military campaigns carried out to the west, against the Boii and the Taurisci, the plundering expeditions in Macedonia and Illyria, as well as the military operations carried out on the Black Sea coast allowed, in a quite short period of time, the establishing of a realm which was large enough to impress some of the ancient writers (Fig. 1) (see Strabo VII.3.11 C303). Along the same lines, the decree honouring Akornion of Dionysopolis (*IGB* I[2] 13), which was dated to 48 BC, mentions that Burebista controlled territories to the north and south of the Danube.

It has to be noted that his relations with the Greeks from the Black Sea shores differed significantly from one city to another. For example, in a discourse held in front of his fellow citizens following the visit to Olbia, which probably took place in AD 97⁶, Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 36, 1–6) deplored the fate of the once thriving city, which had never recovered after the destruction caused by the Getae one and a half century ago, around 50 BC. The same author mentions that besides Olbia, the Getae took control of other Greek cities on the western shores of the Black Sea down to Apollonia. Ancient written sources do not offer many details concerning the fate of most of these cities. It is maybe possible to connect the decree from Histria honouring Aristagoras, son of Apaturios, with the aftermath of the attacks carried out by Burebista's army. The inscription, dated to the middle of the 1st century BC, refers to a difficult period for the city, when the barbarians controlled the agricultural hinterland and the Danube⁷. Along the same lines, recent archaeological excavations seem to document massive destructions from around the middle of the 1st century BC in the sacred area at Histria. These could also be connected with Burebista's Pontic expedition⁸. One fragmentary inscription from Messambria explicitly mentions the organization of the city's defence against Burebista (*IGB* I[2] 323). However, the aftermath of the military encounter remains unknown. It is possible that the city was plundered, as it had happened in other cases. Lastly, an inscription from Odessos has been connected with a potential destruction of the city in the same historical context (*IGB* I[2] 46)⁹. All these archaeological and epigraphic data indicate that Burebista's actions along the western Pontic coast were largely plundering raids against prosperous cities, which cannot be related to any coherent planning supposedly meant to organize and

⁵ For a summary of the debate, see Ruscu 2002, 296–297.

⁶ Sheppard 1984.

⁷ Pippidi 1967, 270–286.

⁸ Alexandrescu 1994.

⁹ See Ruscu 2002, 298, with the bibliography.

administrate the respective territory in order to incorporate it into the Dacian kingdom¹⁰.

However, other Pontic cities went through a different experience. The aforementioned decree honouring Akornion of Dionysopolis attests that the city benefited from royal protection, and Akornion himself was appointed as a sort of personal advisor (designated in the inscription as “φίλος”) and ambassador of the king to Pompeius Magnus in the context of the civil war against Julius Caesar.

Therefore, Burebista’s actions along the northern and western coast of the Black Sea resulted either in the plundering of probably most of the cities, or in the establishment of friendly relationships in some cases, like the one of Dionysopolis. Unfortunately, there is no information regarding the fate of other cities like Tyras, Tomis, Callatis, Apollonia, and possibly Odessos.

From the archaeological point of view, Burebista’s Pontic expeditions have left their mark for a long period of time on the layout of the civilian habitat and religious buildings from the area of the Dacian capital in the Orăştie Mountains. During the reign of Burebista, soon after 50 BC, Greek architects and stonemasons were brought in the mountainous area from south-western Transylvania to build fortifications, civilian buildings and temples using limestone blocks¹¹. The construction technique (*opus quadratum*) and the architectural layout of the fortresses and certain buildings

¹⁰ See in this regard Ligia Ruscu’s pertinent comments: Ruscu 2002, 300–307.

¹¹ During Burebista’s reign, some of the Greek craftsmen were probably either taken prisoners from the plundered Greek cities, or were provided by the “friendly” cities. Others could have been hired from the same region in the context of the so-called “commercial mobility”, which was defined as a voluntary movement in search of clients; this kind of movement is already documented, for example, in the first half of the 1st millennium BC in Greece or the Levant or in certain communities from the Near East after the collapse of the Bronze Age societies (Zaccagnini 1983, 257–264). Still, the mobility of the craftsmen can be also “reciprocativ”, meaning that specialized craftsmen, dependant to a certain extent, were sent from one “master” to another following the same mechanisms that governed the exchange of gifts (Zaccagnini 1983, 249–256). This type of mobility occurs in societies which are strongly hierarchical and are dominated by an authoritarian aristocracy which relies on an economic and social system based on prestige. It can be therefore presumed that Greek architects and stonemasons could have arrived in Dacia also as part of some exchanges between some Pontic cities and the Dacian kings. These exchanges could have included diplomatic gifts which were meant to confirm the friendly relations established between these parties, or tributes paid to maintain the protection offered by the dynasts from Samizegetusa. The craftsmen sent by Domitian as part of the peace treaty concluded with Decebalus more likely followed the same model of mobility. For different types of craftsmen’s mobility in pre-Roman Dacia, see Egri 2014a and Egri 2014b.

are Hellenistic¹² (Fig. 2). Since the Dacians did not use writing, the presence of Greek craftsmen is also documented by numerous examples of mason's marks, including Greek letters, on some stone blocks, as well as by graffiti incised on everyday objects or tools¹³. These artefacts suggest that the foreign construction specialists were accompanied by other categories of craftsmen, like blacksmiths or potters.

Burebista's successors continued and extended this building program, turning to Greek artisans even if they lost direct control of the territories from the Black Sea coast. Furthermore, during the 1st century AD and especially in the second half various specialized craftsmen from the Roman Empire have also been drawn into the region¹⁴. Around the time of the Dacian wars from end of the 1st century and the beginning of the 2nd century AD, the region of the Orăștie Mountains comprised a vast network of fortresses and watch towers made of stone, civilian settlements and manufacturing areas, all of them revolving around the large settlement and sacred area at Grădiștea de Munte, which was the capital and the religious centre of the kingdom. During this period, the Dacian dynasts benefited from the services of certain "court artisans", some of them of Greek origin, others arriving from the Roman Empire, in order to acquire the so-called "desirable goods" which were meant to enhance their prominent social status and prestige within the indigenous society¹⁵.

Regarding the military campaigns of Burebista to the west and south, these are also mentioned by Strabo (VII.3.11 C303) in a well-known paragraph frequently cited in Romanian historiography:

"As for the Getae, then, their early history must be left untold, but that which pertains to our own times is about as follows: Boerebistas a Getan, ... only a few years he had established a great empire and subordinated to the Getae most of the neighbouring peoples. And he began to be formidable even to the Romans, because he would cross the Ister with impunity and plunder Thrace as far as Macedonia and the Illyrian country; and he not only laid waste the country of the Celti who were intermingled with the Thracians and the Illyrians, but actually caused the complete disappearance of the Boii who were under the rule of Critasirus, and also of the Taurisci"¹⁶.

Different opinions were expressed regarding the chronology of the campaign against the Boii and Taurisci. Some scholars dated these events to around 60 BC

¹² Glodariu 1983; Florea 2011, 107–159.

¹³ Florea 2000; Florea 2001; Florea 2011, 149–151, Fig. 34b; Egri 2014, 237, Pl. 3:1–3.

¹⁴ Rustoiu 2002, 77–78.

¹⁵ See Egri 2014.

¹⁶ English translation by Jones 1924.

or shortly afterwards¹⁷, while others opted for a later dating towards the end of Burebista's reign¹⁸.

However, in this article more attention will be paid to the information regarding the plundering raids in Thrace, Macedonia and Illyria, when the Dacians also attacked “the Celti who were intermingled with the Thracians and the Illyrians”. In another paragraph, Strabo (VII.5.12 C318) mentions that “The Scordisci lived along the Ister and were divided into two tribes called the Great Scordisci and the Little Scordisci. The former lived between two rivers that empty into the Ister—the Noarus, which flows past Segestica, and the Margus (by some called the Bargas), whereas the Little Scordisci lived on the far side of this river, and their territory bordered on that of the Triballi and the Mysi”. The Margus River was identified as the Serbian Morava. Since the main route towards Macedonia went along the Morava River and the Little Scordisci were the neighbours of the Triballi and Moesi¹⁹, it can be presumed that Strabo was referring to these Celts when he mentioned the plundering of their territory. In this case, the military actions must have happened close to the Banat's Danube or in the surrounding area. The question is whether Burebista's campaign to the south also leaved archaeological evidence in the region in question.

In order to find the answer, there is the need to begin with a short description of the archaeology of the territories inside the Carpathians range and along the lower Danube around the middle of the 1st century BC – the chronological horizon corresponding to the Dacian kingdom established by Burebista.

From the perspective of habitat organization, some fortified settlements and fortresses built on dominant hilltops already appeared in the second half of the 2nd century BC. Each of them was supported by an agricultural hinterland

¹⁷ Macrea 1956; Crișan 1977; Rustoiu 2002, 38–40. Alongside the already mentioned arguments, some observations regarding the written sources used by Strabo should also be added. It is more likely that the Greek geographer collected information about Burebista from some minor works of Poseidonios (who probably died in 51 BC) or from other authors of the times of Caesar (see Petre 2004, 208–226). At the same time, Strabo's accounts contain no references to the Pontic campaigns of Burebista, which must have attracted the attention of the authors who were contemporaries of the Dacian king. It can be therefore presumed that Strabo used works which predated the campaigns against the Greek cities on the western Black Sea coast, which were carried out in around 50 BC. Accordingly, the campaigns to the west and south must have happened earlier, probably in the 60–50 BC.

¹⁸ Alföldi 1942; Dobesch 1995, 15–19; Urban 1994, 21.

¹⁹ This geographical closeness of the Triballi and Moesi could have made the Greek geographer to believe that these Celts lived together with the Thracians and Illyrians. On the other hand, it is quite clear that Poseidonios, which largely inspired Strabo's accounts, used the term Moesi to describe the Getae: see Petre 2004, 217–218, 226.

which was dotted with dependant rural settlements. The fortresses from Cugir²⁰ or Divici²¹ provide relevant examples of this hierarchical model of social and economic organization of the territory and habitat (Fig. 3).

This model differed from the one identified in Central and Western Europe, where numerous Celtic *oppida* were investigated. Unlike the Dacian settlements whose fortified enclosure was not larger than 1 ha (the ones at Socol, Divici and Pescari have a surface area of 0.6 – 0.8 ha²²), Celtic *oppida* have a surface area of several dozens, hundreds or even thousands of ha (Fig. 4). The fortified enclosures comprised residential and manufacturing quarters and sacred areas. From this point of view, Celtic *oppida* are closer in what concerns their organization to the early medieval towns and marketplaces from temperate Europe²³. Their organization is more likely the product of a heterarchical social structure, whereas the Dacian society of the kingdom period had the characteristics of a hierarchical model dominated by aristocracy²⁴.

The masters of these settlements and fortresses were members of the warlike elite, at least according to their funerary inventories which consisted of panoplies of weapons and other types of military equipment. The graves were organized in small flat or tumulus cremation cemeteries, usually located in the close vicinity of the fortresses controlled by the ruling families. These cemeteries were dated to the 2nd–1st centuries BC, with the latest ones belonging to the Augustan age. They were identified on a wide area from Bulgaria to the upper Tisza basin and from the Iron Gates region to north-eastern Bulgaria, Muntenia and Moldova²⁵ (Fig. 5).

Dacian settlements and fortresses from the Iron Gates region have to be interpreted according to the general cultural model specific to the kingdom period. They are located on the left bank of the Danube, on dominant heights or terraces. Many were archaeologically investigated during a few decades, mainly by Marian Gumă and his collaborators²⁶. Going upstream along the Danube, such sites were identified at Liubcova-Stenca²⁷, Pescari-Culă²⁸, Divici-Grad²⁹

²⁰ Rustoiu 2015.

²¹ Rustoiu, Ferencz 2017, 215, 227.

²² Rustoiu, Ferencz, Drăgan 2017.

²³ See, for example, Büchsenschütz 1995.

²⁴ For these concepts, see Crumley 1995.

²⁵ Rustoiu 2005b; Łuczkiewicz, Schönfelder 2008; Rustoiu 2012 etc.

²⁶ Gumă, Luca, Săcărin 1987; Gumă, Rustoiu, Săcărin 1995; 1997; 1999.

²⁷ Gumă 1977; Rustoiu 2005a, 61–63.

²⁸ Medeleț, Soroceanu, Gudea 1971; Matei, Uzum 1973; Gumă 1992, 39–40; Rustoiu 2005a, 63–64

²⁹ Gumă, Luca, Săcărin 1987; Gumă, Rustoiu, Săcărin 1995; 1997; 1999; Rustoiu 2005a, 64–67; 2006–2007.

and Socol-Palanački breg³⁰ (Fig. 6). The settlement at Orešac-Židovar on the Caraș valley can also be added; while its ethnic and cultural identity was highly debated over time³¹, it had a quite similar fate³².

All of these settlements and fortresses had several habitation layers corresponding to different phases of fortification³³ (Fig. 7/1–2). From the stratigraphic and chronological viewpoint, the first layers from Liubcova, Pescari, Divici and Židovar can be dated to the end of the 2nd century and the first half of the 1st century BC. The settlements corresponding to this phase were fortified with earth ramparts and timber palisades. All of them ended in a fire accompanying violent destructions.

Afterwards, the settlements in question were rebuilt while their fortifications were repaired using different techniques. The archaeological situation is better known at Liubcova and Divici, where dry stone walls made of local stone were built on top of the existing earth ramparts. One rectangular tower having a dry stone ground level and the upper level made of bricks and timber was built inside the fortress at Divici and perhaps also at Liubcova (Fig. 7/3). The settlements corresponding to these fortifications were dated to the second half of the 1st century BC and the beginning of the 1st century AD, also ending in a fire and violent destruction.

³⁰ Gumă, Rustoiu, Săcărin 1997, 381; Rustoiu 2005a, 67–68. More recently (between 2001 and 2006) Caius Săcărin excavated at Socol. His brief and often confusing published report suggests that the Late Iron Age fortress had at least two phases (one earth rampart superposed by a stone wall?). The habitation extended outside the fortified enclosure. However, it is impossible to say how many Late Iron Age phases of habitation have been identified, since the report only mentions one “Dacian” phase, which is hard to believe: Săcărin, Rancu 2009.

³¹ See Gavela 1952; Jovanović *et alii* 1988, 192–193 etc, who identified its inhabitants with the Scordisci vs. Daicovicium 1972, 72; Crișan 1977, 319 etc, who placed the Dacians in the settlement at Orešac-Židovar. A more nuanced position can be found in Glodariu 1983, 54, n. 218, stating that the aforementioned settlement belonged during its earlier phases to the Scordisci, but was later occupied by the Dacians during the western campaigns of Burebista. More recently, and independently of Glodariu, the archaeologists who carried out new investigations reached the same conclusion by interpreting the discoveries stratigraphically: Jevtić, Sladić 1999, 96–97; Jevtić, Lazić, Sladić 2006, 26–28; Jevtić, Ljuština 2008, 29.

³² Recent archaeological investigations have clarified several important aspects. Three habitation phases belonging to the Late Iron Age have been identified. The first one, severely disturbed by subsequent construction works, ended in a powerful fire. Therefore, most of the identified structures belong to the second phase. These include surface dwellings, hearths, pits etc, and also a large building having an apse oriented to the north-west, which has analogies in some major settlements from Dacia. Lastly, the third phase, which was poorly preserved and not burnt, indicates that the settlement was more likely abandoned peacefully: Uželac *et alii* 1997; Sladić 1997; Jovanović 1997; Jevtić, Sladić 1999; Jevtić, Lazić, Sladić 2006; Jevtić, Ljuština 2008; Ljuština 2013a; 2013b.

³³ See further Rustoiu, Ferencz, Drăgan 2017, with the bibliography.

The settlements from Divici and Židovar were again rebuilt and continued to be used throughout the 1st century AD until the Roman conquest. On the other hand, the settlement from Liubcova ceased to exist more likely due to the Roman military activities on the right bank of the Danube though other explanations could also be possible.

Returning to Burebista's reign, it has been observed that all of the settlements from the Iron Gates region went through important transformations around the middle of the 1st century BC. Among them, the appearance of dry stone precincts and rectangular tower-dwellings is relevant for the interpretation of the events happening during the respective period. Similar dry stone walls and towers were also identified in other fortresses from Dacia, for example at Cetățeni³⁴ or Piatra Neamț-Bâta Doamnei³⁵ (Fig. 8). While the ashlar walls and towers from the area of Sarmizegetusa Regia and the neighbouring regions, for example from Tilișca and Ardeu, could have been made by Greek stonemasons working for the Dacian kings and their close followers, the dry stone constructions were perhaps the creation of local stonemasons who either were not familiar with the Greek technique or lacked access to good quality materials (Fig. 9). These local craftsmen worked for some chieftains from the periphery of the kingdom, aiming to imitate the monumental structures from the capital area. It has to be mentioned that these constructions played an important symbolic role in the visual expression of a dominant social status and authority.

At the same time, the walls and towers from Liubcova and Divici indicate the orientation of local chieftains towards the centre of power of the Dacian kingdom, which served as a social and cultural model. Consequently, the destruction of the first settlements from the Iron Gates region and their subsequent reorganization could be interpreted from the perspective of their integration into the power structures of the Dacian kingdom during Burebista's reign.

At the same time, the transition from one cultural model to another can also be observed by analysing other categories of archaeological evidence. Among these is the style of bodily ornamentation that served to visually communicate the social and cultural affiliation of any individual. One relevant example is provided by the silver jewellery discovered in settlements from the region in question.

Thus one hoard consisting of jewellery made of silver and amber was discovered in the first phase at Židovar³⁶. These assemblages of ornaments including brooches, chains, pendants, beads etc of local and Mediterranean origin have analogies in the Scordiscian environment³⁷ (Fig. 10/1–2). The hoard was hidden

³⁴ Chițescu 1976, 156–158, Fig. 2.

³⁵ Gostar 1969, 19–22.

³⁶ Jevtić, Lazić, Sladić 2006.

³⁷ Jevtić, Lazić, Sladić 2006; Spănu 2012, Fig. 1; etc.

under the floor of a house which was set on fire. The discovery suggests that the settlement was probably destroyed by a Dacian attack and the local elite disappeared in one way or another, failing to recover the hidden treasure.

The following phase from Židovar contains, among other things, assemblages of Dacian and Scordiscian vessels which point to the existence of hybrid culinary and dining practices, a phenomenon which is commonly appearing in contact zones between two cultural entities. One silver spiral ring with stamped palmettes comes from the same phase³⁸ (Fig. 10/5). At the same time, one silver nail pendant was discovered at Liubcova, in a habitation layer that is contemporaneous with the second phase from Židovar³⁹ (Fig. 10/3). These two artefacts, as well as other costume accessories made of bronze, like the spoon-shaped brooches (Fig. 10/4, 6), are specific to a style of bodily ornamentation which is only encountered in pre-Roman Dacia (Fig. 10/1). Once again, their presence indicates the orientation of local elites towards the cultural models promoted by the aristocracy of the Dacian kingdom during Burebista's reign.

In conclusion, the appearance of Dacian settlements and fortresses in the Iron Gates region at the end of the 2nd century BC was part of the social and cultural evolution of the communities from the entire Dacian territory during the LT D1. Their destruction and subsequent rebuilding around the middle of the 1st century BC, during Burebista's reign, reflect the orientation of local elites controlling the region in question towards the social and cultural models promoted by the Dacian kings and their close followers.

However, Burebista's political construct would be ephemeral. Confronted probably with the internal social and political competition of the warlike elites, he was overthrown. The events must have happened sometimes after 48 BC, but before Octavian's Illyrian campaign from 35 BC⁴⁰. The kingdom was initially divided in four and afterwards, during the times of Augustus, in five parts (Strabo VII.3.11 C303). From an archaeological viewpoint, the separation of certain territories from Burebista's former realm can sometimes be observed due to changes in settlement organization. For example, the dismantling of the defensive system in the second half or towards the end of the 1st century BC was identified in settlements located on the Siret Valley, east of the Carpathians, which had been fortified in the times of Burebista with earth ramparts and timber palisades⁴¹ (Fig. 11). In other areas, as in the case of the lower Danube region, ancient literary sources mention some local βασιλείς in the last third of the 1st century BC (Cassius Dio LI.26).

³⁸ Jevtić 2007, 11, Fig. 7.

³⁹ Rustoiu, Ferencz, Drăgan 2017, Fig. 13.

⁴⁰ Dobesch 1995, 15–19.

⁴¹ Ursachi 1986–1987.

The central area of Burebista's large realm, with the capital in the Orăștie Mountains, outlived the disappearance of the king and continued to evolve until the Roman conquest of Dacia at the beginning of the 2nd century AD. Several kings succeeded one another, the last of them being Decebalus. The distribution area of the fortified settlements and fortresses dated between the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD, expressing a pattern of social, economic and territorial organization which was specific to the Dacian Kingdom, probably defines the extent of the territory controlled by the Dacian dynasts from Transylvania (Fig. 11). The limits of this territory correspond to a certain degree to the frontiers of the future Roman province of Dacia. Taking into consideration these observations, it is quite clear that the settlements and fortresses from the Iron Gates region more likely continued to belong to the Dacian kingdom after the disappearance of Burebista.

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BUREBISTA LA DUNĂREA BĂNĂȚEANĂ. DATE ARHEOLOGICE ȘI ISTORICE PRIVIND EVOLUȚIA AȘEZĂRILOR DIN ZONA PORȚILOR DE FIER ÎN SEC. I A. CHR.

Rezumat

Primul rege la dacilor (și al geților) menționat în izvoarele literare antice a fost Burebista (consemnat și sub numele de Boerebistas, Byrebistas, Burvista etc). Cronologia și faptele regelui dac sunt încă controversate. Campaniile militare purtate spre vest, împotriva Boiilor și Tauriscilor, expedițiile de jaf în Macedonia și Iliria, ca și operațiunile militare de la Marea Neagră i-au permis, într-o perioadă scurtă de timp, să constituie un regat destul de întins pentru a-i impresiona pe scriitorii din antichitate.

Scopul acestui articol este de a analiza datele arheologice și istorice referitoare la evoluția așezărilor dacice din zona Porților de Fier în contextul campaniilor militare ale regelui Burebista spre Tracia, Macedonia și Iliria. Având în vedere o serie de date de geografie istorică furnizate de Strabo, acțiunile militare trebuie să se fi desfășurat la Dunărea bănățeană sau în apropierea acestei zone. De aceea am putea să ne întrebăm dacă nu cumva campania lui Burebista spre sud nu a lăsat și urme arheologice în regiunea respectivă.

Apariția așezărilor și cetăților dacice din Clisura Dunării (Liubcova-Stenca, Pescari-Culă, Divici-Grad și Socol-Palanački breg, la care se adaugă cea Oreșac-Židovar) la sfârșitul sec. 2 a. Chr. se datorează unei evoluții culturale și sociale manifestate pe o scară mai largă în spațiul dacic în LT D1. Distrugerea și refacerea acestor așezări pe la jumătatea sec. 1 a. Chr., adică în vremea lui Burebista, reflectă orientarea elitelor care stăpâneau această zonă spre modelele promovate de către regii daci. Această orientare este argumentată prin apariția unor construcții de piatră locală nefasonată (ziduri de incintă și turnuri rectangulare) care le imită pe cele monumentale ridicate în tehnică grecească din zona capitalei Regatului, în Munții Orăștiei, precum și prin schimbări consemnate în elementele de ornamentare corporală (podoabe și garnituri de port de argint și bronz), care sunt similare celor din aria Regatului.

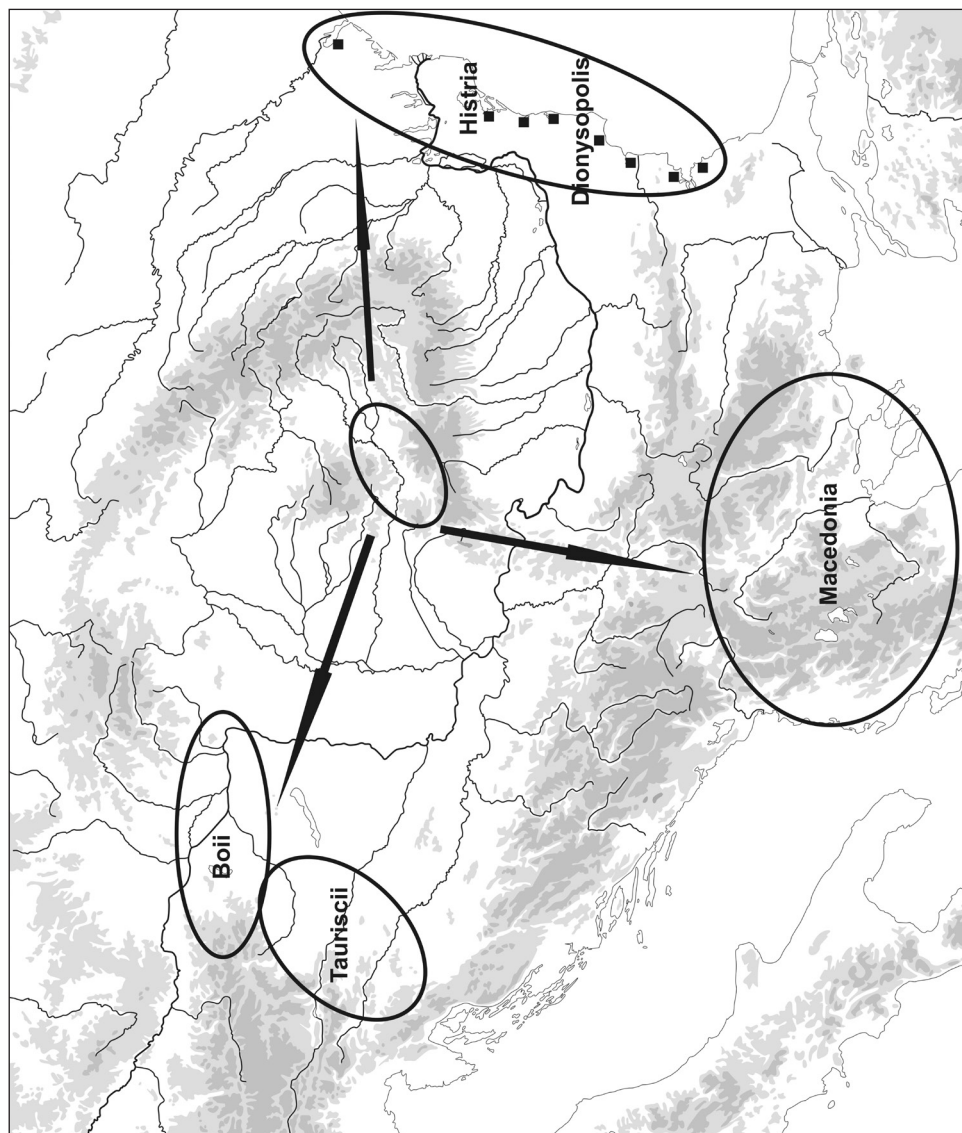


Fig. 1. Directions of the military campaigns of Burebista according to ancient authors and epigraphic evidence. / Direcțiile campaniilor militare ale regelui Burebista conform autorilor antici și a izvoarelor epigrafice.



Fig. 2. Stone walls built in the *opus quadratum* technique. 1 – Cape Sounion. 2 – Dacian fortress at Blidaru. 3 – Grădiștea de Munte. 4 – Costești. 5 – Căpâlna (1 photo M. Egri; 2 aerial photo Z. Czajlik ; 3-5 photo A. Rustoiu). / Ziduri de piatră ridicate în tehnica *opus quadratum*. 1 – Cap Sounion. 2 – Cetatea dacică de la Blidaru. 3 – Grădiștea de Munte. 4 – Costești. 5 – Căpâlna (1 foto M. Egri; 2 foto Z. Czajlik; 3-5 foto A. Rustoiu).

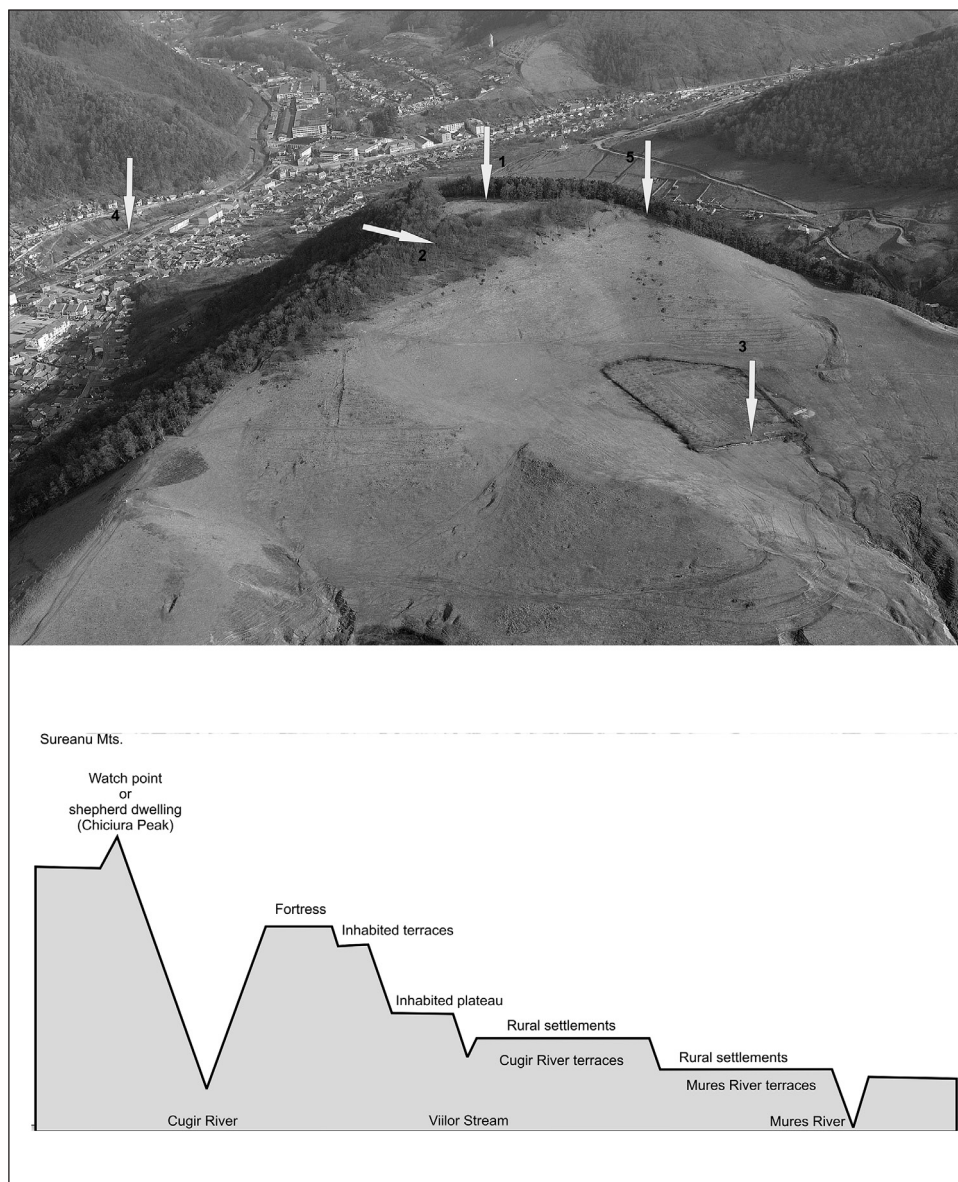


Fig. 3. Dacian fortress at Cugir and the theoretical model of vertical landscape organization. 1 – Fortified hilltop. 2-4 – Inhabited terraces and dependant rural settlements. 5 – Family cemetery of the local elite (after Rustoiu 2015). / Cetatea dacică de la Cugir și modelul teoretic de organizare a spațiului pe verticală. 1 – Platoul fortificat al dealului. 2 – 4 Terase locuite și așezări rurale dependente. 5 – Necropola familială a elitelor (după Rustoiu 2015).

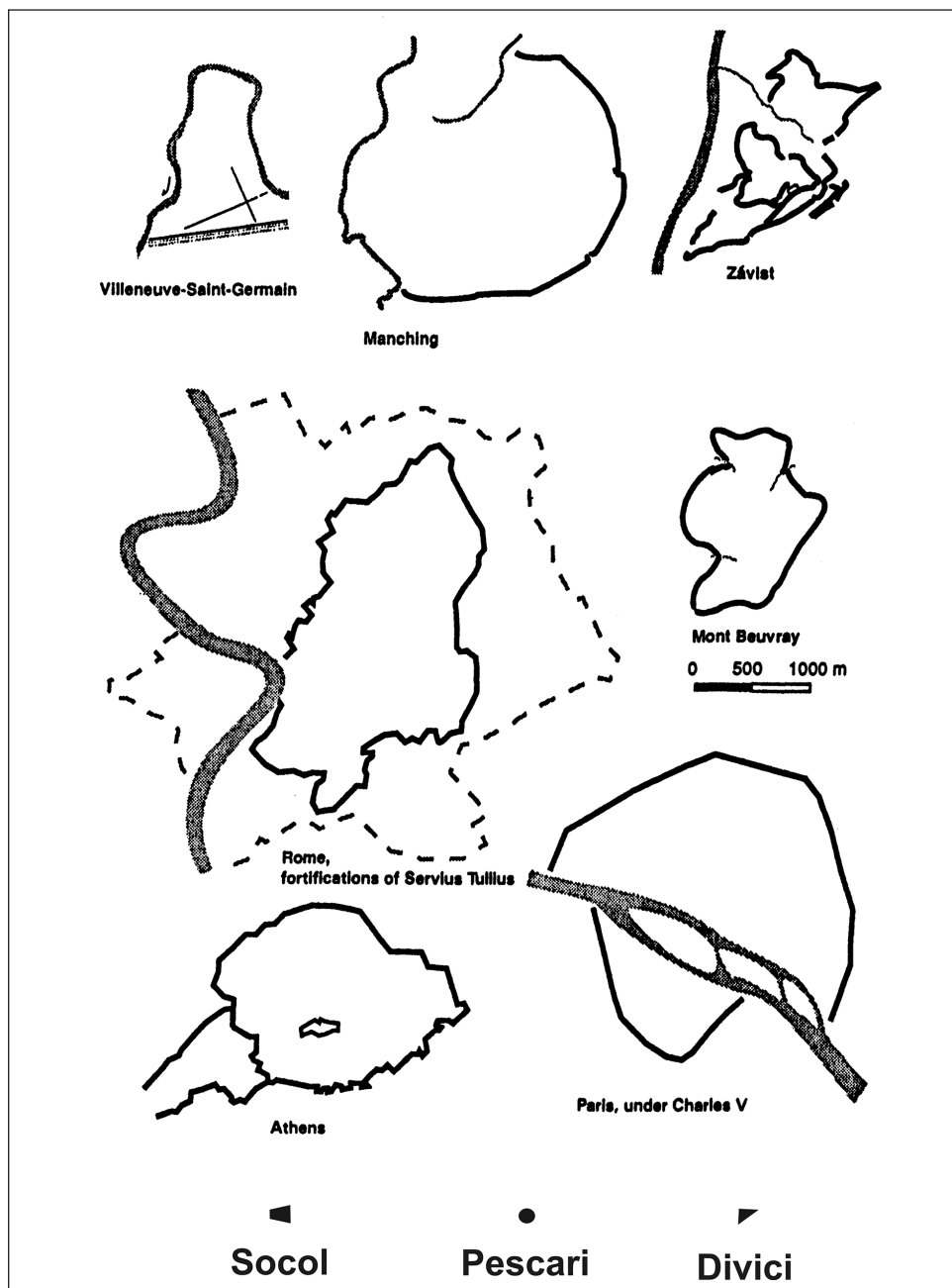


Fig. 4. Surface area of some Celtic *oppida*, ancient and medieval towns, and Dacian fortresses from the Iron Gates region (adapted from Büchsenschütz 1995). / Suprafața unor *oppida* celtice, orașe antice și medievale și mărimea comparativă a cetăților dacice din zona Porților de Fier (adaptare după Büchsenschütz 1995).

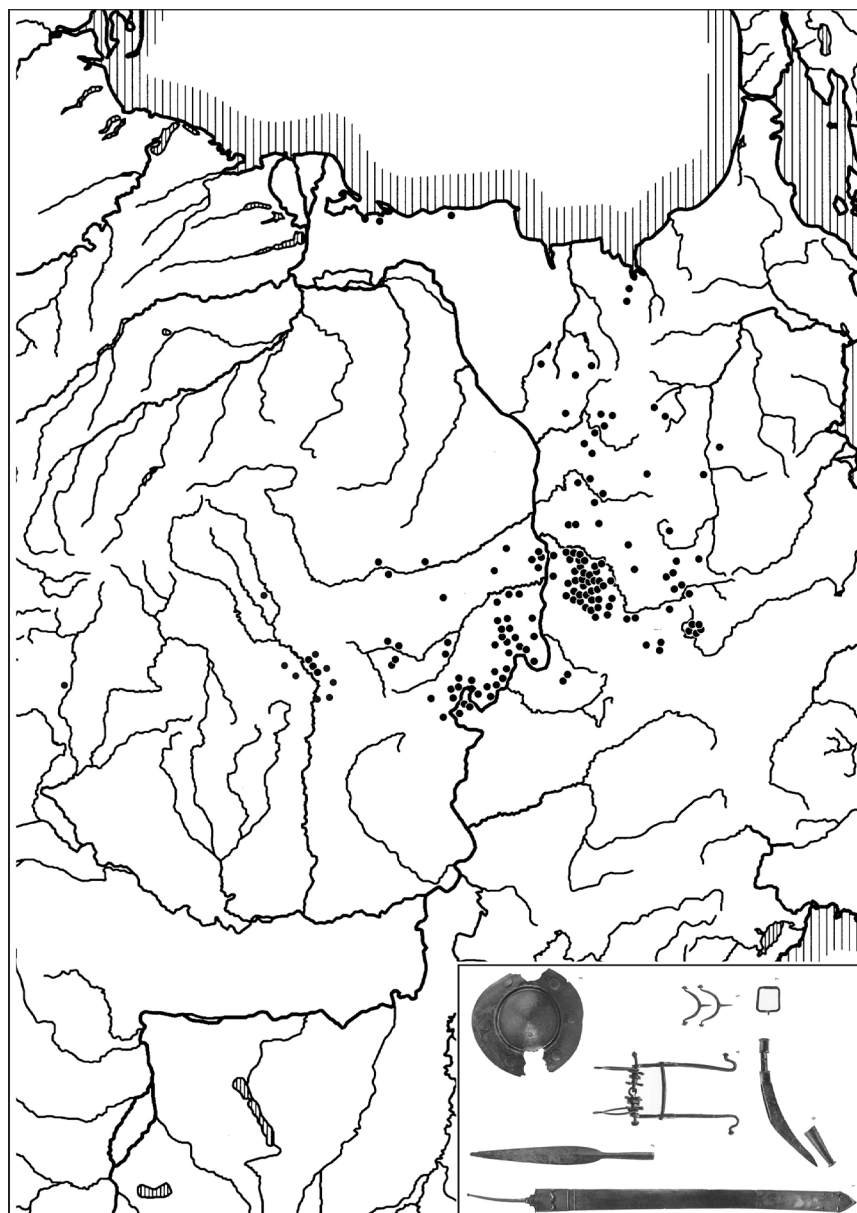


Fig. 5.
Distribution of
graves contain-
ing panoplies of
weapons of the
Padea-Panagjurski
Kolonii (after
Łuczkiwicz,
Schönfelder 2008
and Rustoiu 2012).
/ Răspândirea
mormintelor cu
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de tip Padea-
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Kolonii (după
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Schönfelder 2008
și Rustoiu 2012).

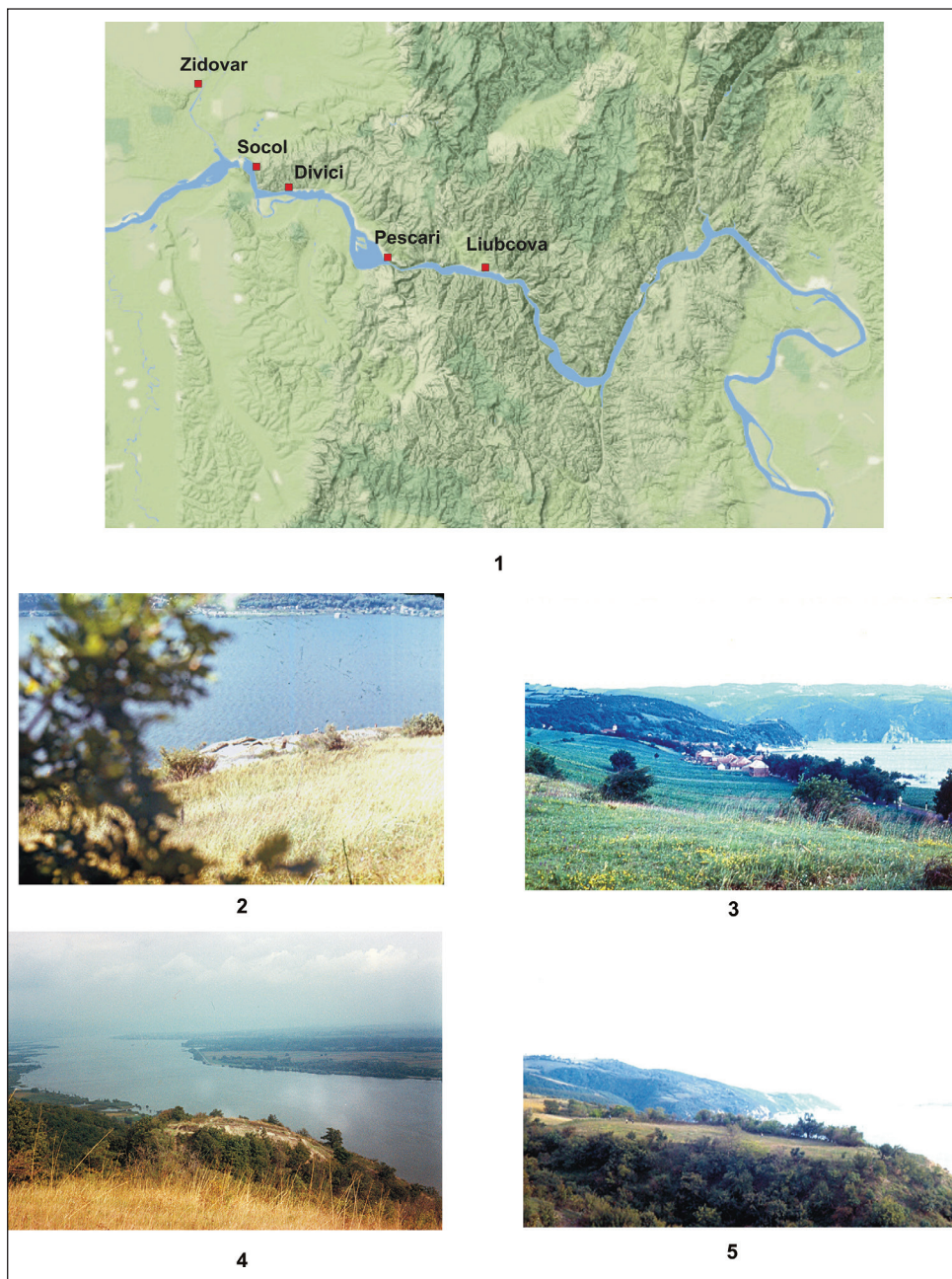


Fig. 6. 1 – Dacian settlements in the Iron Gates region. 2 – Liubcova-Stenca. 3 – Pescari-Culă. 4 – Divici-Grad. 5 – Socol-Palanački breg (after Rustoiu, Ferencz, Drăgan 2017). / Așezările dacice din zona Porților de Fier. 2 – Liubcova-Stenca. 3 – Pescari-Culă. 4 – Divici-Grad. 5 – Socol-Palanački breg (după Rustoiu, Ferencz, Drăgan 2017 cu bibliografia).

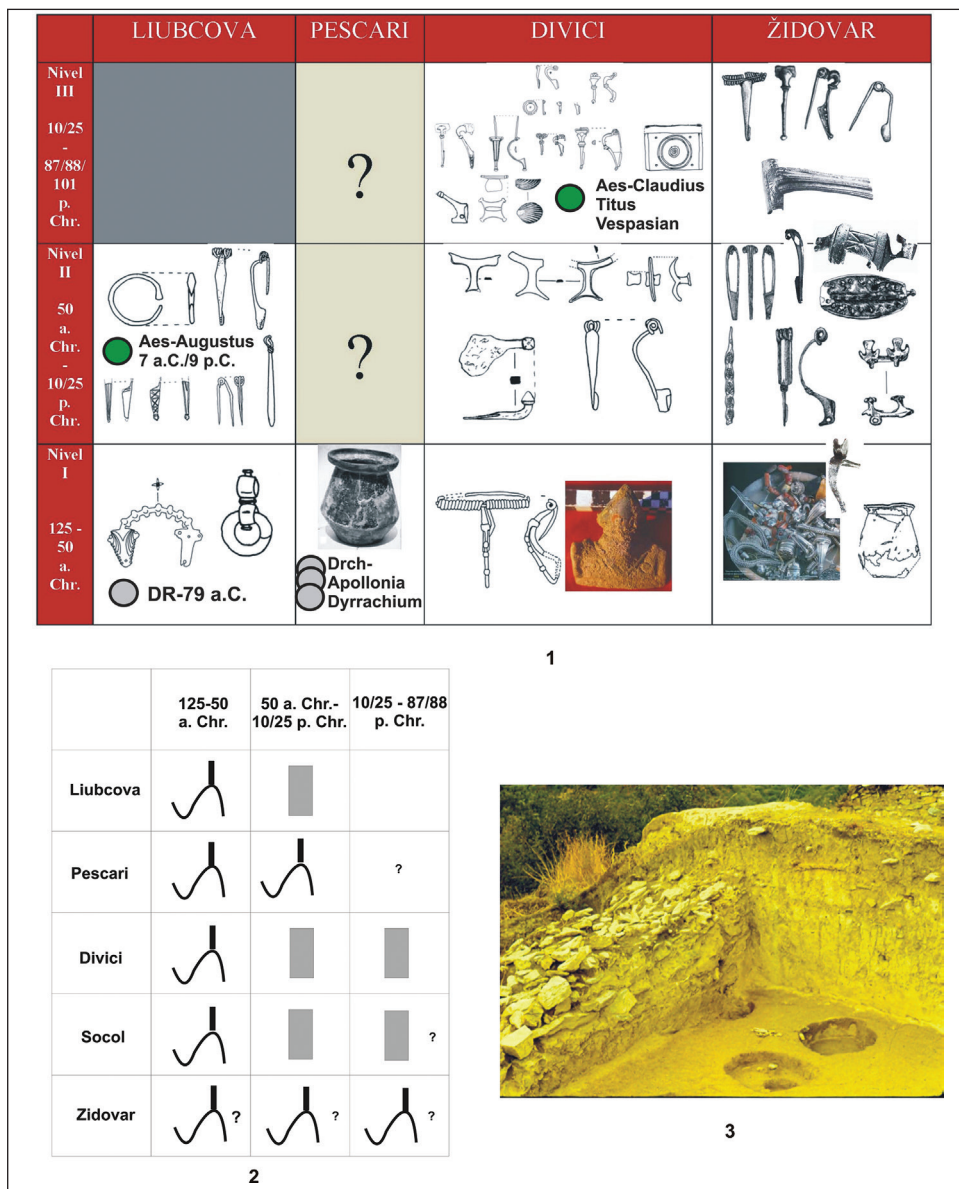


Fig. 7. 1 – Chronological evolution of the settlements from the Iron Gates region (after Rustoiu, Ferencz, Drăgan 2017). 2 – Evolution of the elements of fortification from earth ramparts with timber palisades to dry stone walls and towers. 3 – Divici: traces of the timber palisade preceding the dry stone precinct (after Rustoiu, Ferencz, Drăgan 2017). / Evoluția pe faze cronologice a așezărilor din zona Porților de Fier (după Rustoiu, Ferencz, Drăgan 2017). 2 – Evoluția elementelor de fortificație de la valuri de pământ cu palisade de lemn la ziduri și turnuri de piatră nefasonată. 3 – Divici: urmele palisadei de lemn care precede incinta cu ziduri din piatră (după Rustoiu, Ferencz, Drăgan 2017 cu bibliografia).

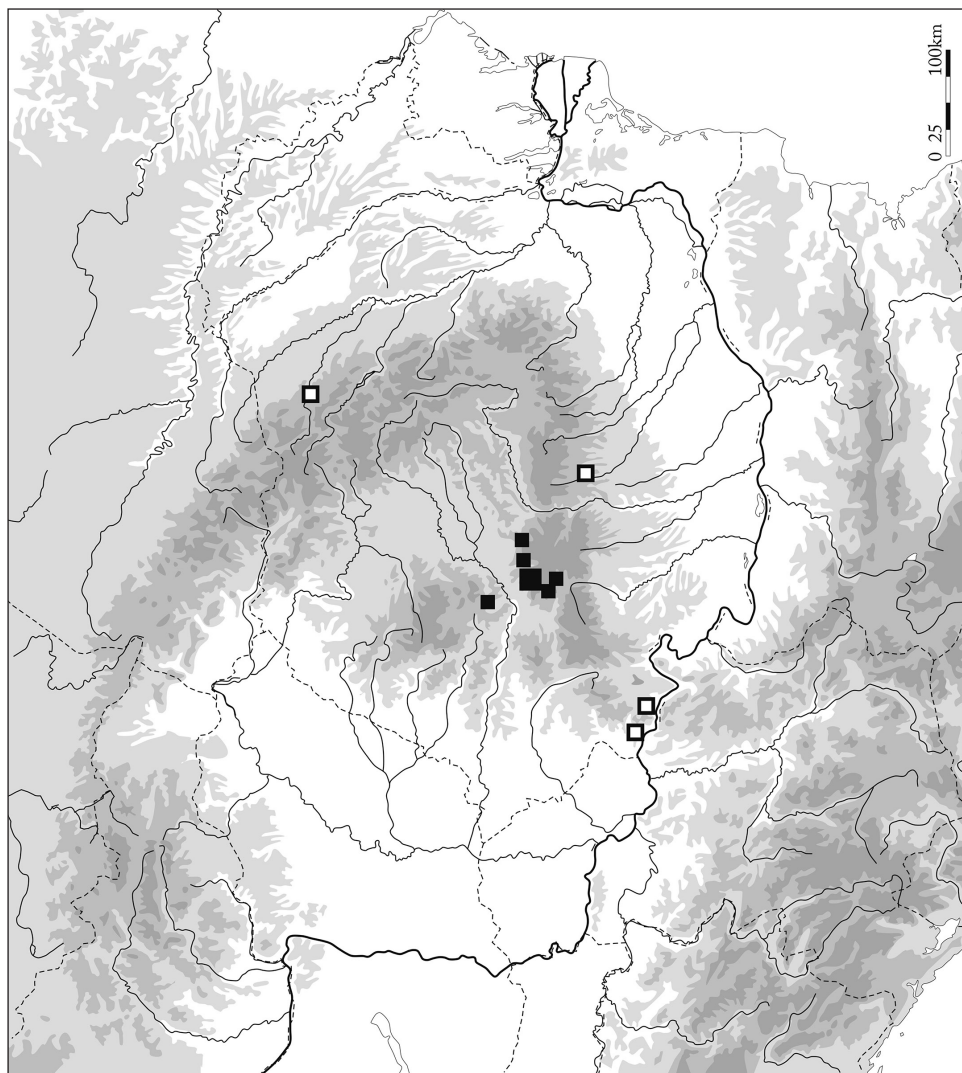


Fig. 8. Distribution of rectangular towers built in the Hellenistic technique in the capital area of the Dacian kingdom and the neighbouring regions (black squares) and of the dry stone towers built in the local technique, imitating the structures from the capital area (white squares). / Răspândirea turnurilor rectangulare din ziduri de piatră construite în tehnică elenistică din zona capitalei Regatului dac și din zonele limitrofe (pătrate negre) și a celor din piatră nefasonată construite în tehnică indigenă care imită edificiile din zona capitalei (pătrate albe).

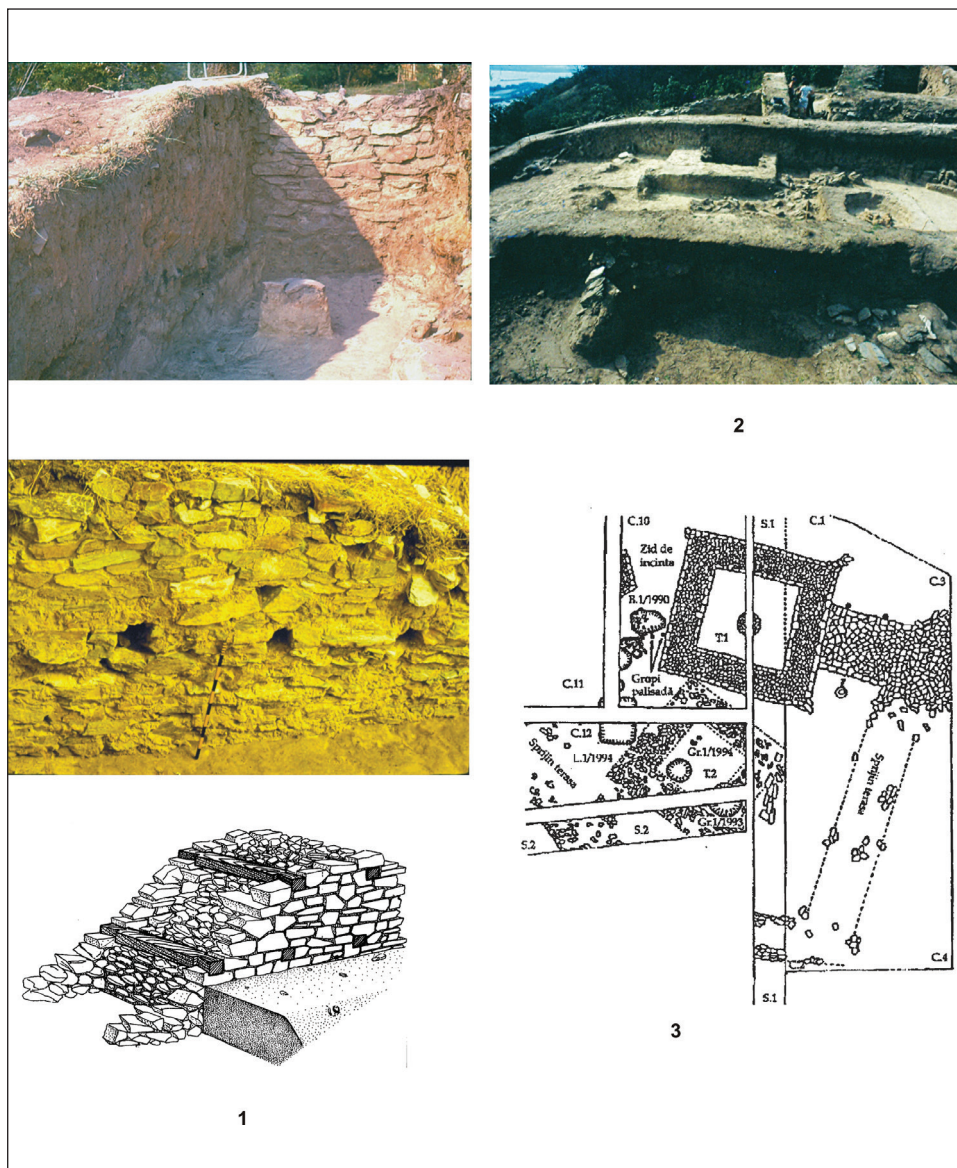


Fig. 9. Stone towers at Divici and their construction technique (after Rustoiu, Ferencz, Drăgan 2017). / Turnurile din piatră de la Divici și tehnica lor de construcție (după Rustoiu, Ferencz, Drăgan 2017 cu bibliografia).

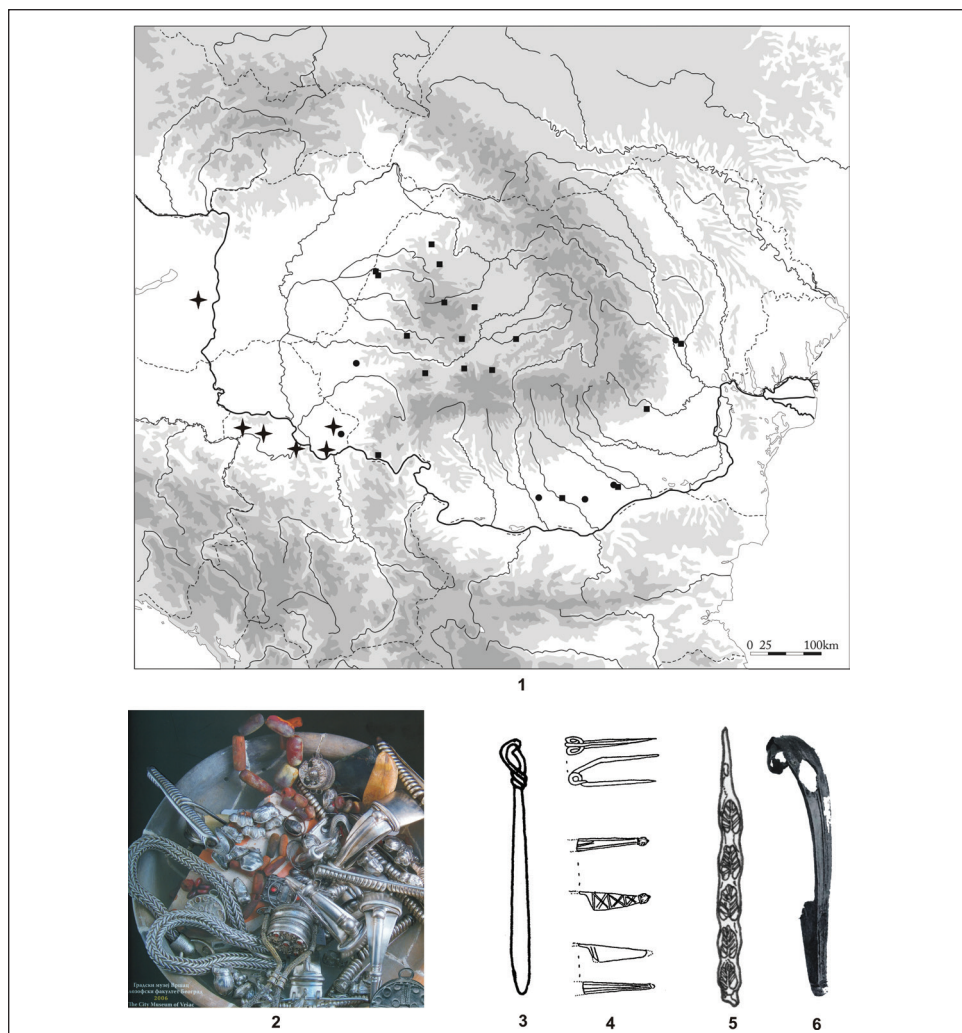


Fig. 10. 1 – Distribution of hoards containing silver jewellery specific to the Scordiscian environment (black stars), silver nail pendants (black squares) and silver rings with stamped palmettes (black dots). 2 – The hoard from Orešac-Židovar (after Jevtić, Lazić, Sladić 2006). 3 – Silver nail pendant from Liubcova. 4. Bronze spoon-shaped brooches from Liubcova (after Rustoiu, Ferencz, Drăgan 2017). 5 – Silver ring with stamped palmettes from Orešac-Židovar (after Jevtić 2007). 6 – Bronze spoon-shaped brooches from Orešac-Židovar (after Uželac et al. 1997). / Răspândirea tezaurelor cu obiecte de podoabă de argint specifice teritoriilor locuite de scordisci (stea neagră), a pandantivelor-cui din argint (pătrate negre) și a inelelor de argint cu palmete ștanțate (puncte negre). 2 – Depozitul de la Orešac-Židovar (după Jevtić, Lazić, Sladić 2006). 3 – Pandantiv-cui de argint de la Liubcova. 4. Fibule de tip linguriță din bronz de la Liubcova (după Rustoiu, Ferencz, Drăgan 2017 cu bibliografia). 5 – Inel de argint cu palmete ștanțate de la Orešac-Židovar (după Jevtić 2007). 6 – Fibule de tip linguriță din bronz de la Orešac-Židovar (după Uželac et al. 1997).

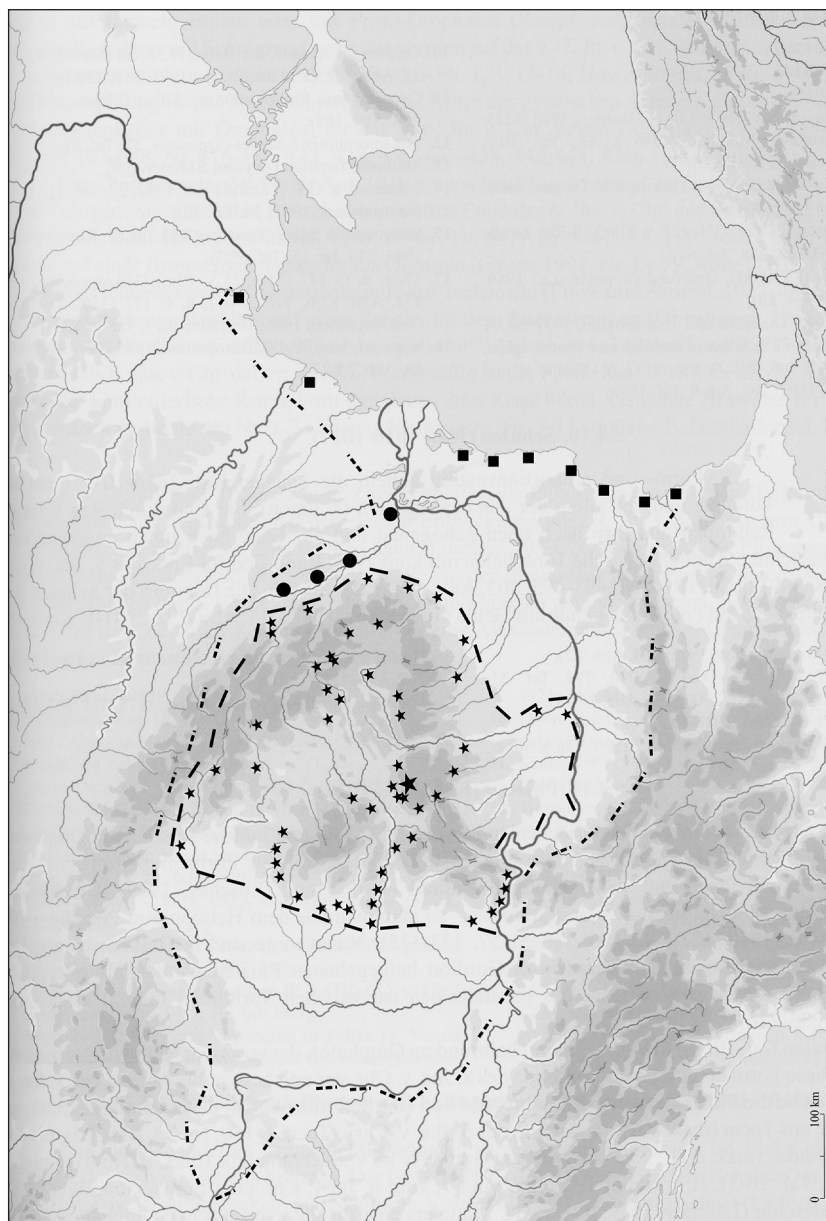


Fig. 11. Dacian kingdom from Burebista to Decebal: dotted line – territories controlled by Burebista; dashed line – extent of the Dacian kingdom after Burebista's death and until the Roman conquest; black squares – Greek cities on the western Black Sea coast; black dots – Dacian settlements on the Siret valley; black stars – fortified Dacian settlements with archaeological layers dated to the 1st century BC – 1st century AD. / Regatul dac

de la Burebista la Decebal: linie punctată – teritoriile controlate de regele Burebista; linie întreruptă – întinderea regatului dac după dispariția lui Burebista și până la cucerirea romană; pătrate negre – orașele grecești vest-pontice; puncte negre – așezările dacice date în sec. 1 a. Chr. – I p. Chr. stele negre – așezări dacice fortificate cu niveluri arheologice